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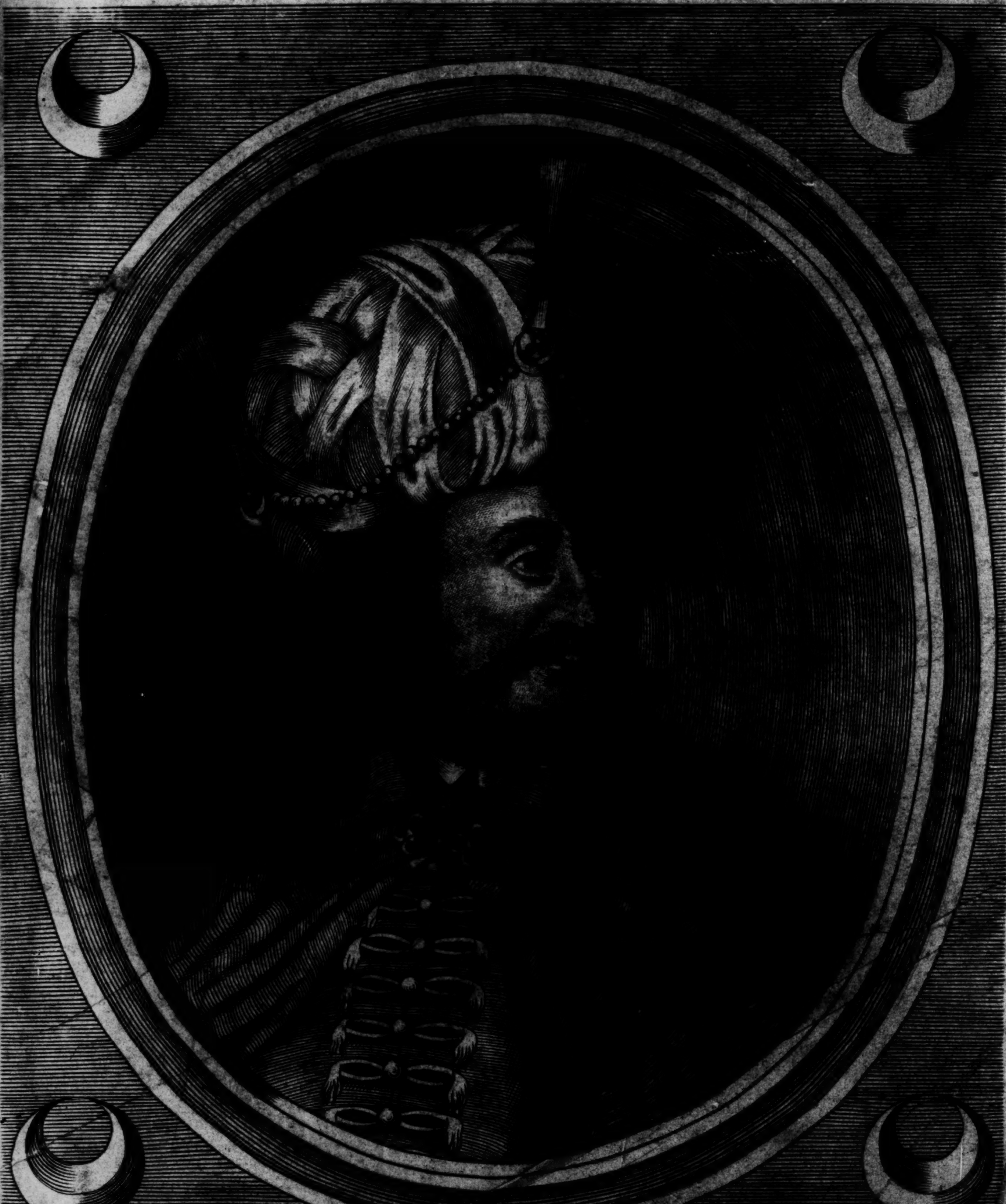
THE TURKISH HISTORY.

WITH
Sir *PAUL RYCAUT's* CONTINUATION.



W. Elder sculp.

Mahomethes Quartus
Magnus Turcarum Imperator
Qui nunc Regnat.
Anno 1684.

Sold by T. Baſset at the George near St. Dunſtans Church in Fleet street

THE TURKISH HISTORY,

FROM THE

ORIGINAL of that NATION,

To the GROWTH of the

Ottoman Empire:

WITH THE

LIVES and CONQUESTS

OF THEIR

Princes and Emperours.

By Richard Knolles, ſometime Fellow of *Lincoln* College in [illegible]

WITH A

CONTINUATION

To this Preſent Year. MDCLXXXVII.

Whereunto is added

The Preſent State of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

By Sir Paul Rycaut, late Conſul of *Smyrna*.

The Sixth EDITION, *with the Effigies of all the Kings and Emperors. Newly Engraven at large upon Copper.*

The Firſt Volume.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Tho. Baſſet*, at the *George* near St. *Dunſtan's*
Church in *Fleetſtreet*. MDCLXXXVII.

DR439
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The AUTHOR to the READER.

T*HE long and ſtill declining ſtate of the Chriſtian Commonweal, with the utter ruin and ſubverſion of the Empire of the Eaſt, and many other moſt glorious Kingdoms and Provinces of the Chriſtians, never to be ſufficiently lamented, might, with the due conſideration thereof, worthily move even a right ſtony heart to ruth: but therewith alſo to call to remembrance the diſhonour done unto the bleſſed Name of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, the deſolation of his Church here militant upon Earth, the dreadful danger daily threatned unto the poor remainder thereof, the millions of Souls caſt headlong into eternal Deſtruction, the infininit number of woful Chriſtians (whoſe grievous groanings under the heavy yoke of Infidelity no tongue is able to expreſs) with the careleſneſs of the Great for the redreſs thereof, might give juſt cauſe unto any good Chriſtian to ſit down, and with the heavy Prophet to ſay, as he did of* Jeruſalem, O how hath the Lord darkned the Daughter of Sion in his wrath! and caſt down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Iſrael, and remembred not his footſtool in the day of his wrath! *All which miſeries (with many others ſo great as greater there can none be) the Prince of darkneſs and Author of all miſchief hath by the perſecuting Princes of all Ages, and antient Hereticks his Miniſters, labored from time to time to bring upon the Church of God, to the obſcuring of his bleſſed Name, and utter ſubverſion of his moſt ſacred Word; but yet by none, no not by them all together ſo much prevailed, as by the falſe Prophet* Mahomet, *born in an unhappy hour, to the great deſtruction of Mankind: whoſe moſt groſs and blaſphemous Doctrine firſt fantaſied by himſelf in* Arabia; *and ſo by him obtruded upon the World, and afterwards by the* Saraſin Caliphes (*his ſeduced Succeſſors*) *with greater Forces maintained, was by them, together with their Empire, diſperſed over a great part of the face of the Earth, to the unſpeakable ruin and deſtruction of the Chriſtian Religion and State: eſpecially in* Aſia *and* Africk, *with ſome good part of* Europe *alſo. But the unity of this great* Mahometan *Monarchy being once diſſolved, and it divided into many Kingdoms, and ſo after the manner of worldly things drawing unto the fatal period of it ſelf, in proceſs of time became of far leſs force than before, and ſo leſs dreadful unto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, by whom theſe* Saraſins *were again expulſed out of all the parts of* Europe, *excepting one corner of* Spain, *which they yet held within the remembrance of our Fathers, until that by their Victorious Forces, they were thence at length happily removed alſo, after that they had poſſeſſed the ſame above the ſpace of 700 Years. In this declination of the* Saraſins, *the firſt Champions of the* Mahometan *Superſtition (who though they had loſt much, yet held they many Kingdoms both in* Aſia *and* Africk, *taken for the moſt part from the Chriſtians) ariſe the Turks, an obſcure and baſe People, before ſcarce known unto the World, yet fierce and couragious, who by their Valour firſt aſpired unto the Kingdom of* Perſia, *with divers other large Provinces: from whence they were about 170 Years after again expulſed by the Tartars, and enforced to retire themſelves into the leſſer* Aſia: *where taking the benefit of the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes of the Eaſt, and the careleſneſs of the Chriſtians in general, they in ſome good meaſure repaired their former loſſes again, and maintained the ſtate of a Kingdom at* Iconium *in* Cilicia (*now of them called* Caramania) *holding in their ſubjection the greateſt part of that fruitful Country, ſtill ſeeking to gain from the Chriſtians what they had before loſt unto the Tartars. But this Kingdom of the* Turks *declining alſo, by the diſmembring of the ſame, there ſtept up among the* Turks *in* Bythinia, *one* Oſman *or* Othoman, *of the* Oguzian *Tribe or Family, a Man of great ſpirit and valour, who by little and little growing up amongſt the reſt of his Countrymen, and other the effeminate Chriſtians on that ſide of* Aſia, *at laſt, like another* Romulus, *took upon him the Name of a Sultan or King, and is right worthily accounted the firſt Founder of the mighty Empire of the* Turks; *which continued, by many deſcents, directly in the Line of himſelf, even unto* Achmat, *who now reigneth, is from a ſmall beginning become the greateſt terrour of the World, and holding in ſubjection many great and mighty Kingdoms in* Aſia, Europe, *and* Africk, *is grown to that height of pride, as that it threatneth deſtruction unto the reſt of the Kingdoms of the Earth; labouring with nothing more than with the weight of it ſelf. In the greatneſs whereof is ſwallowed up both the Name and Empire of the* Saraſins, *the glorious Empire of the* Greeks, *the renowned Kingdoms of* Macedonia, Peloponeſus, Epirus, Bulgaria, Servia, Boſna, Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, Judea, Tunes, Algiers, Media, Meſopotamia, *with a great part of* Hungary, *as alſo of the* Perſian *Kingdom, and all thoſe Churches and Places ſo much ſpoken of in holy Scripture (the* Romans *only excepted) and in brief, ſo much of* Chriſtendom *as far exceedeth that which is thereof at this day left. So that at this preſent if you conſider the beginning, progreſs, and perpetual felicity of this the* Othoman *Empire, there is in this World nothing more admirable and ſtrange; if the greatneſs and luſtre thereof, nothing more magnificent and glorious; if the Power and Strength thereof, nothing more Dreadful or Dangerous: Which wondering at nothing but at the Beauty of it ſelf, and drunk with the pleaſant Wine of perpetual felicity, holdeth all the reſt of the World in Scorn, thundering out nothing ſtill but Bloud and War, with a full perſuaſion in time to Rule over all, prefixing unto it ſelf no other limits than the uttermoſt bounds of the Earth, from the riſing of the Sun unto the going down of the ſame. The cauſes whereof are many and right lamentable, but for the moſt part are ſhut up in the Counſels of the Great, as that for me to ſeek after them, were great Folly: Yet amongſt the reſt, ſome others there be, ſo pregnant and manifeſt, as that the blind World taketh thereof, as it were a general Knowledge, and may therefore without Offence of the Wiſer ſort (as I hope) even in theſe our nice Days be lightly touched. Whereof the firſt and greateſt, is the Juſt and Secret Judgment of the Almighty, who in Juſtice delivereth into the Hands of theſe mercileſs Miſcreants, Nation after Nation, and Kingdom upon Kingdom, as unto the moſt terrible Executioners of his dreadful Wrath, to be puniſhed for their Sins: Others in the mean while, no leſs Sinful than they; in his Mercy enjoying the benefit of a longer time, calling them unto Repentance. Then, the uncertainty of Worldly things, which is ſubject to perpetual Change, cannot long ſtay in one State; but as the Sea is with the Wind, ſo are they in like ſort toſſed up and down with the*

Lamen. Jeremy Cap. 13.

Granado in *Spain* was recovered from the *Saraſins*, by *Ferdinand* in 1491.

The Cauſes of the Greatneſs of the *Turkiſh* Empire.

continual Surges and Waves of alteration and change; ſo that being once grown to their height, they there ſtay not long, but fall again as faſt as ever they riſe, and ſo in time come to nothing: As we ſee the greateſt Monarchies that ever yet were upon Earth have done, their courſe being run; over whom Time now Triumpheth, as no doubt at length it ſhall over this ſo great a Monarchy alſo, when it ſhall but then live by Fame, as the others now do. Next to theſe Cauſes from above, (without Offence be it ſaid) is the ſmall care the Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially thoſe that dwelt further off, have had of the common State of the Chriſtian Commonweal, whereof even the very Greateſt are to account themſelves but as the principal Members of one and the ſame Body; and have, or ought to have, as ſharp a feeling one of anothers Harms, as hath the head of the Wrongs done unto the feet, or rather as if it were done unto themſelves: Inſtead of which Chriſtian Compaſſion and Unity, they have ever, and even yet at this time are ſo divided amongſt themſelves, with endleſs Quarrels, partly for Queſtions of Religion, (never by the Sword to be determined) partly for Matters touching their own proper State and Sovereignty, and that with ſuch diſtruſt and implacable Hatred, that they never could as yet (although it hath been long wiſhed) joyn their common Forces againſt the common Enemy: But turning their Weapons one upon another, (the more to be lamented) have from time to time Weakend themſelves, and Opened a way for him to Devour them one after another: Whereas with their combined Forces (the greedy Enemies greateſt Terror) they might long ſince not only have repreſſed his Fury, and abated his Pride; but with ſmall Danger and much Glory, (God favoring their ſo Honourable Attempts) have again Recovered from him moſt of thoſe famous Chriſtian Kingdoms, which he by Force, againſt all Right holdeth at this Day, in moſt miſerable Subjection and Thraldom: Many Millions of the poor Oppreſſed Chriſtians, in the mean time out of the Furnace of Tribulation, in the Anguiſh of their Souls crying in vain unto their Chriſtian Brethren for relief. By Civil diſcord the Noble Country of Græcia Periſhed, when as the Father riſing againſt the Son, and the Son againſt the Father, and Brother againſt Brother, they to the mutual Deſtruction of themſelves called the Turk, who like a greedy Lyon lurking in his Den, lay in wait for them all. So Periſhed the Kingdoms of Bulgaria, Servia, Boſna and Epirus, with the famous Iſland of the Rhodes and Cyprus, betray'd as it were by the Chriſtian Princes, their Neighbours, by whom they might have eaſily been relieved. So the moſt Flouriſhing and Strong Kingdom of Hungary, (in the Relicks whereof, the Fortune of the Turkiſh Empire hath longer ſtuck, than in the Conqueſt of any other Kingdom, by it attempted whatſoever) divided in it ſelf by the Ambition of Princes, and Civil diſcord, the Weaker ſtill calling unto his Aid, the mighty Power of the Turk, is long ſince for the moſt part become to him a Prey; the poor remainders thereof, being at this Day hardly Defended by the Forces of the Chriſtian Emperor, and of the Princes his Confederates; ſeldom times meeting together with ſuch Cheerfulneſs or Expedition, as the Neceſſity of ſo great a Matter requireth. Unto which ſo great a Cauſe of the common decay, may be added the evil Choice of our Souldiers employed in thoſe Wars, who taken up hand over head, out of the promiſcuous common People, are for the moſt part Untrained men, ſerving rather for ſhew, and the filling up of Number, than for Uſe; and in no reſpect to be compared with the Turks Janizaries, and other his moſt expert Souldiers, continually even from their Youth Exerciſed in feats of Arms. Not to ſpeak in the mean time of the want of the Antient Martial Diſcipline, the wholeſome preſervative of moſt Puiſſant Armies, which breedeth in the Proud Enemy a Contempt of the Chriſtian Forces, with a full perſuaſion of himſelf, that he is not by ſuch Diſordered and Weak means to be withſtood. But to come near unto the Cauſes of the Turks greatneſs, and more proper unto themſelves, as not depending of the improvident Careleſneſs, Weakneſs, Diſcord, and Imperfections of others: Firſt, in them is to be Noted an ardent and infinite Deſire of Sovereignty, wherewith they have long ſince promiſed unto themſelves the Monarchy of the whole World, a quick motive to their ſo haughty Deſigns: Then, ſuch a rare Unity and Agreement amongſt them, as well in the manner of their Religion, (if it be ſo to be called) as in matters concerning their State; (eſpecially in all their Enterpriſes, to be taken in hand for the augmenting their Empire) as that thereof they call themſelves Iſlami, that is to ſay, Men of one Mind, or at Peace amongſt themſelves; ſo as it is not to be Marvelled, if thereby they grow Strong themſelves, and Dreadful to others: Joyn unto this their Courage, conceived by the wonderful Succeſs of their perpetual Fortune, their notable Vigilancy in taking the advantage of every Occaſion, for the inlarging of their Monarchy; their Frugality and Temperateneſs in their Diet, and other manner of Living, their careful obſerving of their Antient Military Diſcipline, their Cheerful and almoſt Incredible Obedience unto their Princes and Sultans; ſuch, as in that point no Nation in the World was to be worthily compared unto them: All great Cauſes why their Empire hath ſo mightily encreaſed, and ſo long continued. Whereunto may be added the two ſtrongeſt Sinews of every well Governed Commonweal; Reward propounded to the Good, and Puniſhment threatned unto the Offender; where the prize is for Vertue and Valour ſet up, and the way laid open for every common Perſon, be he never ſo meanly Born, to aſpire unto the greateſt Honours and Preferments both of the Court and of the Field, yea even unto the neareſt Affinity of the Great Sultan himſelf; if his Valour or other Worth ſhall ſo Deſerve: When as on the contrary part, the Diſloyal or Cowardly, is to expect from the ſame Sovereign Power, nothing but Diſgrace, Death, and Torture. And yet theſe great ones, not contented by ſuch Commendable and Lawful means, ſtill to extend or eſtabliſh their far ſpreading Empire, if that point once come in queſtion, they ſtick not in their Diveliſh Policy to break and infringe the Laws both of Nations and Nature. Their Leagues, grounded upon the Law of Nations, be they with never ſo Strong Capitulations concluded, or Solemnity of Oath confirmed, have with them no longer Force than ſtandeth with their own Profit, ſerving indeed but as Snares to intangle other Princes in, until they have ſingled out him whom they purpoſe to Devour; the reſt faſt bound by their Leagues, ſtill looking on, as if their own turn ſhould never come; yet with no more aſſurance of their Safety by their Leagues, than had the other whom they ſee Periſh before their faces. As for the kind Law of Nature, what can be thereunto more contrary, than for the Father moſt unnaturally to embrue his Hands in the Blood of his own Children? And the Brother to become the Bloody Executioner of his own Brother? A common matter among the Othoman Emperors. All which moſt Execrable and Inhumane Murthers, they cover with the pretended ſafety of their State, as thereby freed from the fear of all aſpiring Competitors, (the greateſt torment of the Mighty) and by the Preſervation of the Integrity of their Empire, which they thereby keep whole and entire unto themſelves, and ſo deliver it as it were by Hand from one to another, in no part diſmembred or impaired. By theſe and ſuch like means is this Barbarous Empire (of almoſt nothing) grown to that height of Majeſty and Power, as that it hath in Contempt all the reſt; being it ſelf not Inferiour in Greatneſs and Strength, unto the greateſt Monarchies that ever yet were upon the face of the Earth, the Roman Empire only excepted. Which how far it ſhall yet further ſpread, none knoweth, but he that holdeth in his Hand all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and with his Word boundeth the raging of the Sea, ſo that it cannot further paſs. Moved with the Greatneſs and Glory, of this ſo Mighty and Dreadful an Empire, grown for the moſt part out of the Ruin of the Chriſtian Commonweal, with the utter Subverſion of many great and Flouriſhing Kingdoms, and Woful fall of many more, Right Puiſſant and Mighty Princes, not without Grief to be remembred; I long ſince (as many others have) entred into the heavy Conſideration thereof, purpoſing ſo to have contented my ſelf with a light View of that which might well be for ever of all good Chriſtians Lamented, but hardly or never Remedied; until that afterwards led with a more earneſt Deſire to know the Strange and Fatal Mutations by this Barbarous Nation in former time brought upon a great part of the World, as alſo ſo much as I might, to ſee ſo great a Terrour of the preſent time, and on what Terms it ſtandeth with the reſt, I had with long Search and much Labour, mixt with ſome Pleaſure and mine own reaſonable Contentment, paſſed through the whole Melancholy Courſe of their Tragical Hiſtory: Yet without purpoſe ever to have commended the ſame or any part thereof, unto the Remembrance of Poſterity, as deeming it an Argument of too high a reach, and fitter for ſome more happy Wit, better furniſhed with ſuch helps both of Nature and Art, as are of neceſſity requiſite for the Undertaking of ſo great a Charge, than was my ſelf, of many Thouſands the Meaneſt. Being not unmindful alſo of that which the Poet (keeping decorum) ſaith in like caſe, though far leſs matter, of himſelf:

Cum canerem Reges & prælia, *Cinthius* aurem
Vellit, & admonuit: Paſtorem *Titere* pingues
Paſcere oportet oves, deductum ducere carmen.

When I did Sing of Mighty Kings, or elſe of Bloody War,
Apollo *pluckt me by the Ear, and ſaid I went too far:*
Beſeems a Shepherd Titterus, *his fatlings for to feed,*
And for to fit his Rural Song unto his ſlender Reed.

Beſides that, ſo many Difficulties even at the firſt preſented themſelves unto my View, as to overcome the ſame, if I ſhould take the Labour in hand, ſeemed to me almoſt impoſſible: For beſide the Sea and World of matter I was to paſs through, (requiring both great Labour and Time) full of the moſt rare Example, both of the better and worſe Fortune, in Men of all ſorts and conditions, yeilding more Pleaſure unto the Reader, than Facility to the Writer; I ſaw not any (among ſo many as had taken this Argument in hand) whom I might as a ſure Guide or Load-ſtar, long follow in the Courſe of this ſo great a Hiſtory: Many Right Worthy, and Learned Men (whoſe Memory my Soul honoureth) contenting themſelves, to have with their Learned Pens enrolled in the Records of never dying Fame; ſome, one great Expedition or Action, ſome another, as in their times they fell out; yea, the Turkiſh Hiſtories and Chronicles themſelves (from whom the greateſt light, for the continuation of the Hiſtory, was in reaſon to have been expected) being in the Declaration of their own Affairs, (according to their Barbarous manner) ſo ſparing and ſhort, as that they may of right be accounted rather ſhort rude Notes, than juſt Hiſtories, rather pointing Things out, than declaring the ſame, and that with ſuch Obſcurity, by changing the antient and uſual Names, as well of whole Kingdoms, Countries, and Provinces, as of Cities, Towns, Rivers, Mountains and other Places; yea and oftentimes Men themſelves into other Strange and Barbarous Names of their own deviſing; in ſuch ſort as might well ſtay an intentive Reader, and deprive him of the Pleaſure, together with the Profit he might otherwiſe expect by the Reading thereof; whereunto to give Order, Perſpicuity and Light, would require no ſmall Travail and Pain: Not to ſpeak in the mean time of the diverſity of Reports in the Courſe of the whole Hiſtory, ſuch as is oftentimes moſt hard, if not altogether impoſſible to Reconcile. Notwithſtanding all which Difficulties, with many others more proper unto my ſelf, having with long Labour and diligent Search, paſſed through the Courſe of the whole Hiſtory, and ſo in ſome reaſonable ſort ſatisfied my ſelf therein, I thought it not amiſs, as well for the Worthineſs of the matter, as for the Zeal I bear to the Chriſtian Common-weal, and for the ſatisfying alſo of ſome others my good Friends very deſirous of the ſame, to make proof if out of the diſperſed Works of many Right Worthy Men, I could ſet down one orderly and continuate Hiſtory of this ſo Mighty an Empire, with the Great and Fatal mutation, or rather Subverſion of many Right Strong and Flouriſhing Kingdoms and States, (the proper Work of mighty Empires, ſtill encreaſing by the fall of others) wherewith this proud Monarchy hath already daunted a great part of the World, being ſo many and ſo Strange, as that more or more wonderful were not ever to be ſeen in any of the greateſt Monarchies of antient Time or Memory; and ſo together, and as it were under one View, and at one Shew; to lay open unto the Chriſtian Reader, what I was glad to ſeek for out of the confuſed Labours of many: A Work ſo Long and Labourious, as might well have deterred a Right Reſolute and Conſtant Mind from the undertaking thereof, being as yet to my Knowledge not undergone or performed by any: Wherein, among ſuch Variety, or more truly to ſay, contrariety of Writers, I did content my ſelf, as a blind man led by his Guide, happily of no better ſight than himſelf, to tread the ſteps of this or that one man, going for a while before me, and by and by leaving me again ſtumbling in the Dark: But out of the Learned and Faithful Works of many, according to my ſimple Judgment, to make Choice of that was moſt probable, ſtill ſupplying with the perfections of the better, what I found wanting or defective in the Weaker, propounding unto my ſelf no other Mark to aim at, than the very Truth of the Hiſtory; as that which is it ſelf of Power to give Life unto the Dead Letter, and to cover the Faults eſcaped in the homely Penning, or compiling

The Order of the Author's Proceeding, in the Writing of this Hiſtory.

compiling thereof. Which the better to perform, I Collected ſo much of the Hiſtory as poſſibly I could, out of the Writings of ſuch as were themſelves preſent, and as it were Eye-witneſſes of the greateſt part of that they Writ, and ſo as of all others beſt able, moſt like alſo to have left unto us the very Truth. Such is the greateſt part of ſo much of the Hiſtory of the Greek Empire, as I have (for the better Underſtanding, of the riſing of the Turks in this Hiſtory ſet down) gathered out of the Doings of Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus, Gregoras, and Laonicus Chalcocondiles, all Writing ſuch Things as they themſelves ſaw, or were for moſt part in their time, and near unto them done. Such are the Wonderful and almoſt Incredible Wars betwixt old Amurath the Second, and his Foſter-Child the Fortunate Prince of Epirus, of the Turks commonly called Scanderbeg, and by that wayward Tyrant at his Death, together with his Kingdom, delivered, as it were, by Inheritance, unto his Son, the Great and Cruel Sultan Mahomet, all Written by Marinus Barletius, himſelf an Epirot, and in all thoſe troubleſom Times then living in Scodra, a City of the Venetians joying upon Epirus. Such is the Woful Captivity of the Imperial City of Conſtantinople, with the miſerable Death of the Greek Emperor Conſtantinus Palæologus, and the Fatal Ruine of the Greek Empire, Written by Leonardus Chienſis, Archbiſhop of Mytilene, being himſelf then preſent, and there taken Priſoner. Such is the Lamentable Hiſtory of the Rhodes, taken for moſt out of Ja. Fontanus his Three Books de bello Rhodio, a Learned Man then preſent, and in great Credit with Villerius the great Maſter, at ſuch time as that famous Iſland, after it had by him and the other Worthy Knights of the Order, been moſt wonderfully of long Defended, was to the great ruth of Chriſtendom taken by the Great Sultan Solyman. Such is the moſt Tragical Hiſtory of Bajazet, Solymans youngeſt Son, Collected out of the notable Epiſtles of Augerius Busbequius, Legationis Turcicæ, he himſelf then lying Ambaſſadtr for the Empiror Ferdinand at Conſtantinople, and preſent in Solymans Camp, at ſuch time as he himſelf in Perſon, went over with his Army into Aſia, to Countenance his eldeſt Son Selymus, who Succeeded him in the Empire, againſt his Valiant yonger Brother Bajazet, and beſide well acquainted with the Great Baſſaes, Achmet, Ruſtan, Haly, and others, oftentimes mentioned in the Hiſtory following. Such is alſo the Hiſtory of the taking of the antient City of Tripolis in Barbary, from the Knights of Malta, by Sinan the proud Baſſa, Written by Nicholas Nicholy, Lord of Arfeuile, preſent at the ſame time with the Lord of Aramont, then Ambaſſador for the French King unto Solyman. So might I ſay alſo of the miſerable ſpoil of the Fruitful and Pleaſant Iſlands of the Mediterranean, made by Lutzis Baſſa, Solyman his Brother in Law, and Great Admiral, with the ſubmitting of the Iſland of Naxos, to the Turks Obeiſence, Written by John Criſpe, at that time Duke of the ſame Iſland. And ſo likewiſe of diverſe other parts of the Hiſtory, too long to rehearſe. But foraſmuch as every Great and Famous Action, had not the Fortune to have in it a Cæſar, ſuch as both could and would commend unto Poſterity, by Writing that, whereof they might truly ſay, They were themſelves a great part, many Right Excellent Generals contenting themſelves with the Honor of the Field, and their Glory there Won, leaving the Honorable Fame thereof to be by others reported, for lack of ſuch moſt certain Authors, or rather (as I before ſaid) Eye-witneſſes, I gathered ſo much as I could of what remained, out of the Works of ſuch as being themſelves Men of Great Place, and well acquainted with the Great and Worthy Perſonages of their Time, might from their Mouths, as from certain Oracles, Report the undoubted Truth of many moſt Famous Exploits done both by themſelves and others: As might Pau. Jovius from the mouth of Muleaſſes King of Tunes, from Vaſtius the Great General, from Auria the Prince of Melphis, Charles the Emperor his Admiral, and ſuch others: Or, elſe out of the Writings of ſuch as were themſelves great Travellers into the Turks Dominions, and withal, diligent obſervers of their Affairs and State, as were the Phyſitians Pantaleon, Minadoie, and Leunclavius, (of all others a moſt curious Searcher of their Antiquities and Hiſtories) unto which great Clerks, and ſome others of that Learned Profeſſion, we may Worthily attribute the greateſt Light and Certainty of that is Reported, of a great part of the Turkiſh Affairs. But theſe in the Courſe, of ſo long a Hiſtory failing alſo (as by conferring that which is hereafter Written, together with their Hiſtories, is eaſily to be perceived) to perfect that I had taken in Hand, I took my refuge unto the Writings of ſuch other Learned and Credible Authors, as of whoſe Integrity and Faithfulneſs, the World hath not to my Knowledge at any time yet doubted: Yea, for theſe few late Years, I was glad out of the German and Italian Writers in their own Language, in part to borrow the Knowledge of theſe late Affairs: As alſo from the credible and certain Report, of ſome ſuch Honorable minded Gentlemen of our own Country, as have either for their Honors ſake ſerved in theſe late Wars in Hungary, or upon ſome other Occaſions, ſpent ſome good times in Travelling into the Turks Dominions; but eſpecially unto the Imperial City of Conſtantinople, the chief Seat of the Turkiſh Empire, and Place of the Great Turks abode: Amongſt whom, I cannot but deſervedly remember my kind Friend and Couſin M. Rog. Howe, unto whoſe diſcreet and curious Obſervations, during the time of his late abode at Conſtantinople, I juſtly account my ſelf for many things beholden. In which Courſe of my Proceeding, if the Reader find not himſelf ſo fully ſatisfied, as he could deſire, I would be glad, by him my ſelf, to be better informed; as being no leſs deſirous to learn the Truth, of that I know not, than willing to impart to others, that little which I know.

So Wiſhing thee all Happineſs, I bid thee farewell.

Sandwich, Martii
ult. 1610.

R. KNOLLES.

The General
HISTORY
OF THE
TURKS,
Before the Riſing of the
Othoman Family,
With all the Noble EXPEDITIONS of the Chriſtian Princes againſt them.

THE glorious Empire of the Turks, the preſent Terror of the World, hath amongſt other things nothing in it more wonderful or ſtrange, than the poor beginning of it ſelf, ſo ſmall and obſcure, as that it is not well known unto themſelves, or agreed upon even among the beſt Writers of their Hiſtories, from whence this barbarous Nation, that now ſo triumpheth over the beſt part of the World, firſt crept out or took their beginning. Some (after the manner of moſt Nations) derive them from the Trojans, led thereunto by the affinity of the words *Turci* and *Teucri*, ſuppoſing (but with what probabily I know not) the word *Turci* or Turks to have been made of the corruption of the word *Teucri*, the common name of the Trojans: as alſo for that the Turks have of long moſt inhabited the leſſer ASIA, wherein the ancient and moſt famous City of TROY ſometime ſtood. No great reaſon in my deeming; yet give the Authors thereof leave therewith to pleaſe themſelves, as well as ſome others, which dwelling much further off, borrow, or rather force their beginning from thence, without any probability at all; and that with ſuch earneſtneſs, as if they could not elſewhere have found any ſo honorable Anceſtors. Otherſome report them to have firſt come out of PERSIA, and of I wot not what City there to have taken their name: neither want there ſome which affirm them to have taken their beginning out of ARABIA, yea and ſome out of SYRIA, with many other far fet devices concerning the beginning and name of this people: all ſerving to no better purpoſe, than to ſhew the uncertainty thereof. Among others, *Philip* of MORNAY the noble and learned Frenchman, in his worthy Work concerning the trueneſs of the Chriſtian Religion, ſeemeth (and that not without good reaſon) to derive the Turks, together with the Tartars, from the Jews, namely from the Ten Tribes, which were by *Salmanaſer* King of ASSIRIA, in the time of *Oſeas* King of ISRAEL, carried away into Captivity, and by him confined into MEDIA, and the other unpeopled Countries of the North: whoſe going thither is not unaptly deſcribed by *Eſdras*, where among the great hords of the Tartars, in the fartheſt part of the World Northward, even at this day are found ſome, that ſtill retain the names of *Dan*, *Zabulon* and *Naphthali*, a certain argument of their deſcent: whereunto alſo the word *Tartar* or *Tatar*, ſignifying in the Syrian-Tongue, remnants or leavings; and the word *Turk*, a word of diſgrace, ſignifying in Hebrew, baniſhed men, ſeemeth right well to agree. Beſides that, in the Northern Countries of RUSSIA, SARMATIA, and LYTHUANIA, are found greater ſtore of the Jewiſh Nation, than elſewhere, and ſo nearer unto the Tartarians ſtill the more: whereunto *Jo. Leunclavius* the moſt curious Searcher out of the Turks Antiquities and Monuments, addeth as a farther Conjecture of the diſcent of thoſe barbarous Northern people from the Jews, That in his travel through LIVONIA into LYTHUANIA in the Country, near unto the Metropolitan City of RIGA, he found there the barbarous people of the Lettoes, quite differing in Language from the other Country-people of the Curons and Eſtons, no leſs barbarous than themſelves; who had always in their mouths as a perpetual lamentation, which they with doleful moans daily repeated abroad in the fields, *Jeru*, *Jeru*, *Maſco Lon*: whereby they were thought to lament over JERUSALEM and DAMASCO, as forgetful of all other things in their ancient Country, after ſo many worlds of years, and in a deſolate place ſo far diſtant thence. And *Munſter* in his Deſcription of LIVONIA, repeating the like words, reporteth, That this rude people being demanded what they meant by theſe words ſo often and ſo lamentably by them without cauſe uttered: anſwered, That they knew no more, than that they had been ſo of long taught by their Anceſtors. But to leave theſe Opinions concerning their

Divers Opinions concerning the beginning of the Turks.

2 King. 17
4 Eſdr. 13.

Jo. Leunclavius Pandect. cap. 22.

Sebaſt. Munſter Univerſalis Coſmograph. lib. 2.

Scythia *the native Country of the Turks.* Pomp. Mela, lib. 1. cap. ult.

Plin. ſecundus, lib.6. ca.7.

The great agreement betwixt the Turks and Scythians.

beginning, ſo divers and uncertain, and to follow greater probabilities: as concerning the place from whence they came, it is upon better ground thought by divers others, and thoſe of the beſt Hiſtorians, That this barbarous Nation which hath of late brought ſuch fatal mutations upon ſo great a part, not of Chriſtendom only, but even of the whole World, took their firſt beginning out of the bare and cold Country of SCYTHIA: induced thereunto both by the Authority of the greateſt Coſmographers, as by moſt apparent reaſons. *Pomponius Mela* the Deſcriber of the World, reckoning up the people near unto the great River TANAIS (the bounder of EUROPE from ASIA Eaſtward) amongſt others maketh mention of the Turks, in theſe words, *Geloni urbem ligneam habitant. Juxta Thyrſagetæ Turcæq; vaſtas ſylvas occupant, alunturq; venando. Tum continuis rupibus late aſpera & deſerta regio ad Arympheos uſque permittitur.* The Geloni inhabit a City of Wood, and faſt by the Thyrſagets and Turks poſſeſs the vaſt Foreſts, and live by hunting. Then, a rough and deſert Country, with continual Rocks, is ſpaciouſly extended even as far as unto the Arympheians. *Pliny* alſo in like manner reckoning up the Nations about the Fens of MÆOTIS, agreeing with that *Mela* reporteth, ſaith, *Deinde, Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Meſſeniani, Coſtobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, Tuſſagetæ, Turcæ, uſque ad ſolitudines ſaltuoſis convallibus aſperas, ultra quos Arymphei qui ad Riphæos pertinent montes:* Next unto them, are the Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Meſſeniani, Coſtobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, the Thuſſagets and Turks, unto the deſerts rough with woody Valleys: beyond whom are the Arympheians, which border upon the Riphean mountains. And *Ptolomy* in the Deſcription of SARMATIA ASIATICA, maketh mention of the Tuſci, whom many learned men ſuppoſe to have been the ſame Nation with the Turks. Unto which ancient Teſtimonies of reverend Antiquity, add the manners and conditions of the Turks, their ancient attire, their geſture, their gate, their weapons, and manner of riding and fight, their language and dialect, ſo well agreeing with the Scythians; and a man ſhall find matter enough ſufficient to perſwade him in reaſon, that the Turks have undoubtedly taken their beginning from the Scythes; whom they in ſo many things reſemble, and with whom of all other Nations they beſt agree.

When and for what cauſes the the Turks left their ancient and natural Seats in Scythia, *to ſeek others in the Countries more Southerly.*

755.

844.

Sabellicus, Ennead.9. lib. 2.

Now it hath been no leſs doubted alſo, among the Writers of the Turks Hiſtories, at what time, and for what cauſes the Turks (to the trouble of the World) left their natural Seats in the cold Country of SCYTHIA, to ſeek themſelves others in more pleaſant and temperate Countries more Southerly, than it had been of their Original beginning. *Blondus* and *Platina* report them, enforced with a general want, to have forſaken their native Country, and followed their better fortune, in the year of our Lord, 755. with whom alſo *Segonius* agreeth in the cauſe of their departure, but not in the time or place when or whereby they departed: for they (as he ſaith) iſſued out of their dwelling places in the year of Grace, 844. by the Straits of the Mountain CAUCASUS; whereas the other with greater probability ſuppoſe them to have come forth by the Caſpian Straits: which the Turks alſo (as ſaith *Sabellicus*) affirm of themſelves, their Anceſtors (as they ſay) being by their Neighbors driven out of the Caſpian Mountains. Some others there be that report them to have forſaken their native Country, neither inforced thereunto by neceſſity, or the power of others; but for their valor ſent for by the *Sultan* of PERSIA, to aid him in his Wars: unadviſedly ſuppoſing that to have been the cauſe of their firſt coming out, which indeed hapned long time after, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall appear. But whatſoever the aforeſaid cauſes of want, or of the enemies power, might inforce them unto, a greater power no doubt it was that ſtir'd them up, even the hand of the Almighty, who being the Author of all Kingdoms upon Earth, as well thoſe which he hath appointed as Scourges wherewith to puniſh the World, as others more bleſſed, will have his work and purpoſe full of Divine Majeſty, to appear in the ſtirring of them up from right ſmall beginnings, in the increaſing and eſtabliſhing of their greatneſs and power, to the aſtoniſhment of the World; and in the ruine and deſtruction of them again, the courſe of their appointed time once run. As for the difference of the time of their coming forth, before remembred, it may reaſonably be referred to the divers emotions of that people, who being not under the command of any one, but of their divers Governors, as the manner of that people was, are not to be thought to have come forth all at once, either for one cauſe; but at divers times, ſome ſooner, ſome later, and that for divers cauſes. This people thus ſtirred up, and by the Caſpian Ports paſſing thorow the Georgian Country, then called IBERIA, near unto the Caſpian Sea, firſt ſeiſed upon a part of the greater ARMENIA, and that with ſo ſtrong hand, that it is by their Poſterity yet holden at this day, and of them called TURCOMANIA; of all other the moſt true Progeny of the ancient Turks. In which great Country they of long under their divers Leaders, in the manner of their living moſt reſembling their Anceſtors, roamed up and down with their Families and herds of Cattel, after the manner of the Scythian Nomades, their Country men, without any certain places of abode, yet at great Unity among themſelves, as not having much to loſe, or wherefore to ſtrive.

Armenia, *now called* Turcomania, *the firſt Seat of the Turks, after their firſt coming out* of Scythia.

The firſt Kingdom of the Turks erected in Perſia *by* Tangrolipix, *Chieftain of the* Selzuccian *Family: with the ſucceſs thereof.*

THis wandring and unregarded people, but now the terror of the world, thus firſt ſeated in ARMENIA, long time there lived in that wide Country, after their rude and wonted manner, (from which the Turcoman Nation their Poſterity in that place, even at this day, as we ſaid, much differeth not) and not only notably defended the Country, thus by them at the firſt poſſeſſed, but ſtill incroaching farther and farther, and gaining by other mens harms, became at length dreadful unto their Neighbours, and of ſome fame alſo farther off: whereunto the effeminate cowardiſe of thoſe delicate people of ASIA, with whom they had to do, gave no leſs furtherance than their own valour, being nevertheleſs an hardy rough people, though not much skilful or trained up in the feats of War.

The fame of theſe Turks, together with their fortune, thus daily increaſing, and the mighty Empire of the Saraſins as faſt declining, which under their Chaliphs, the Succeſſors of the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, having in leſs than the ſpace of two hundred years overſpread not only the greateſt part of ASIA and AFRICK, even unto GADES and the Pillars of *Hercules*; but alſo paſſing over that ſtrait, had overwhelmed almoſt all SPAIN; and not there ſtaying, but paſſing the *Pirenei*, had pierced even into the heart of *France*, and divers other parts of *Chriſtendom*, as namely ITALY, SICILY, the famous Iſland of the RHODES, with many others of the MEDITERRANEAN: now divided in it ſelf, and rent into many Kingdoms, turned their victorious arms from the Chriſtians, upon one another, to the mutual deſtruction of themſelves and their Empire. Amongſt other the Saraſin Sultans, which forgetting their Obedience to their great Caliph, took upon them the Soveraignty of Government (which admitteth no partner) was one *Mahomet* Sultan of PERSIA, a right great Prince, who hardly beſet on the one ſide with the Indians, and on the other with the Caliph of BABYLON his mortal Enemy, prayed Aid of the Turks his Neighbours, who were now come even to the ſide of ARAXIS, the bounds of his Empire: unto which his requeſt the Turks eaſily granted, in hope thereby to find a way for them afterwards to enter into PERSIA, and ſo ſent him 3000 hardy men under the leading of one *Togra Mucalet*, the Son of *Mikeil* a valiant Captain, and chief of the *Selzuccian* Tribe or Family; whom the Greeks commonly call *Tangrolipix*, and ſome others, *Selduck*, or *Sadock*, names (as I ſuppoſe) corrupted of the great Family whereof he was deſcended. By the aid of this *Tangrolipix* (for now we will ſo call him, as by the name moſt uſed) *Mahomet* the Perſian Sultan overcame *Piſaſiris* the Caliph of BABYLON, his Arabians being not able to endure the force of his Turkiſh Archers. This war thus happily ended, the Turks deſiring to return home, requeſted of the Sultan leave to depart, and with a ſafe convoy to be conducted unto the river ARAXIS, and there to have the paſſage of that ſwift river opened unto them, which was by the Perſians ſtrongly kept by two Caſtles built upon each end of the bridge, whereby the River was to be paſſed. But *Mahomet* loath to forgo ſuch neceſſary men, by whom he had obtained ſo great a Victory, and purpoſing to imploy them further in his Service againſt the Indians, would by no means hearken unto their requeſt; but ſeeming therewith to be diſcontented, commanded them to ſpeak no more thereof, threatning them violence if they ſhould more preſume to talk of their departure. The Turks therefore doubtful of their eſtate, and fearing further danger, ſecretly withdrew themſelves into the deſart of CARAVONITIS: and for that they were in number but few, and not able to come into the open field againſt ſo many millions of the Saraſins, lived as they might, by continual Incurſions and Roads which they made out of the deſart Foreſt into the Countries adjoyning: wherewith *Mahomet* greatly incenſed, ſent out an Army of twenty thouſand men under the Conduct of ten of his beſt Captains, againſt them: who for want of water and other neceſſaries, doubting to enter the deſart, encamped themſelves on the ſide of the Foreſt, there to conſult what courſe to take. But *Tangrolipix*, who with his Turks lay a great way off in the covert of the Woods and Mountains, underſtanding of the coming of his Enemies, and of the manner of their lying, thought it beſt upon the ſudden by night to ſet upon the Saraſins and Perſians, if ſo happily he might overthrow them by policy, whom he was not able to encounter in plain battel. Upon which reſolution having travelled two days long march in the deſart, the third day at night he ſuddenly ſet upon his Enemies, lying negligently in their Trenches, and by his unexpected coming brought ſuch a fear upon them, that they without longer ſtay betook themſelves to flight, every man ſhifting for himſelf, without regard of others. This Victory ſo happily gained, and *Tangrolipix* now (beyond his hope) throughly furniſhed with Armor, Horſes, and abundance of all things needful for the Wars, kept the Woods and Foreſts no longer as a Thief or Out-law, but ſhewed himſelf in the open field, where daily repaired unto him numbers of Rogues and Vagabonds ſeeking after ſpoil; with many other deſperate Villains, who for fear of puniſhment were glad of ſuch a Refuge: ſo that in a ſhort ſpace his Army was grown to be fifty thouſand ſtrong; and ſo much the ſtronger, for that they had nothing to truſt unto more than the valour of themſelves. Whilſt *Tangrolipix* thus increaſeth, *Mahomet* inraged with the overthrow of his Army, in his fury cauſed all thoſe ten Captains which had the leading thereof, to have their eyes pluckt out; threatning alſo to attire all the Souldiers that fled out of the battel, in Womans apparel, and ſo diſgraced to carry them about as Cowards; and withall raiſed a great Army for the ſuppreſſing of the Turks. All things being now in readineſs, he ſet forward; when by the way the Souldiers whom he had ſo threatned to diſgrace, ſuddenly fled to the Enemy: with whoſe coming *Tangrolipix* greatly encouraged and ſtrengthened, reſolved to give the Sultan battel. And ſo boldly coming on, met with him at ISPAHAN a City of PERSIA, where was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible battel, with wonderful ſlaughter on both ſides. In the heat of which battel, *Mahomet* unadviſedly riding to and fro to encourage his Souldiers, falling with his horſe, brake his Neck: upon which miſchance both the Armies coming to agreement, by common conſent proclaimed *Tangrolipix* Sultan in his ſtead, and ſo made him King of PERSIA, and of all the other large Dominions unto that Kingdom belonging.

Togra, *otherwiſe called* **Tangrolipix,** *ſent to aid the Perſian Sultan.*

Mahomet *the Perſian Sultan goeth himſelf with an Army againſt* **Tangrolipix.**

Tangrolipix *by conſent of the Souldiers made Sultan of* **Perſia.**

This was the firſt Kingdom of the Turks, begun by the good Fortune of *Tangrolipix*, about 214 years after their coming out of SCYTHIA, in the year alſo of our Lord, 1030. *Conſtantinus Monomachus* then reigning, or a little before (according to the Turks account) in the Reign of *Romanus Argirus*, *Conſtantine* his Predeceſſor. *Tangrolipix* by rare Fortune, thus of a mean Captain become King of PERSIA; forthwith commanded the Garriſon which kept the bridge over the River ARAXIS, to be removed, and ſo free paſſage to be given unto the Turks his Country-men, at their pleaſure to come over: who in great multitudes repaired into PERSIA, where they were by the new Sultan well provided for, and by little and little promoted unto the greateſt Dignities of that Kingdom; the Perſians and Saraſins, the ancient Inhabitants thereof, being by theſe new come Gueſts now kept under, and as it were trodden under foot. Together with this Kingdom, the Turks received the Mahometan Superſtition, the which they before not much abhorred, as men uſing Circumciſion: So that hard it is to ſay whether Nation loſt more; the Perſians and Saraſins by the loſs of ſo great a Kingdom; or the Turks, by imbracing ſo great a Vanity.

Tangrolipix *firſt Sultan of the Turks.*

When the Turks firſt received the Mahometan Superſtition.

Tangrolipix with his Turks thus poſſeſſed of the Kingdom of PERSIA, held not himſelf therewith long content, but made War upon his Neighbour Princes, eſpecially againſt *Piſaſiris* the

Caliph of BABYLON, whom he in divers battels overthrew; and having at length ſlain him, joyned his Kingdom unto his own.

Cutlu-Muſes *ſent by* Tangrolipix *againſt the Turks.*

After that, he ſent *Cutlu-Muſes* his Couſin, with an Army againſt the Arabians, by whom he was overthrown and put to flight. But returning by MEDIA, he requeſted of *Stephan* the Greek Emperors Lieutenant, leave to paſs with his Army by the confines of his Country: which his requeſt *Stephan* not only rejected, but alſo by ſtrong hand ſought to ſtop his paſſage; but joyning battel with him, was by the Turks eaſily overthrown, and himſelf taken. So *Cutlu-Muſes* returning to *Tangrolipix*, and recounting unto him the ſucceſs of his Wars, perſwaded him to turn his Forces into MEDIA, as a moſt fruitful Country, and eaſie to be ſubdued. But he highly offended with the overthrow given by the Arabians, would not hearken unto him, but raiſing a new Army in hope of better Fortune, went againſt the Arabians in perſon himſelf.

Cutlu-Muſes *rebelleth againſt* Tangrolipix.

Cutlu-Muſes in the mean time fearing the Sultans diſpleaſure, fled with his Followers and Favourites; and taking for his refuge PASAR a ſtrong City of the Choraſmians, revolted from him; which the Sultan ſeeming not to regard, held on his intended Journey againſt the Arabians, by whom he was alſo put to the worſt, and enforced with diſhonour to return. After that, he with part of his Army beſieged *Cutlu-Muſes*, who by the ſtrength of the place, and valour of the people, for a great while notably defended himſelf. In the mean time *Tangrolipix*, not unmindful what *Cutlu-Muſes* had before ſaid unto him, concerning the eaſineſs of the Conqueſt of MEDIA (a Country, as he ſaid, defended but by Women) ſent *Aſan* his Brothers Son, ſirnamed the Deaf, with a convenient Army to invade the ſame: who entring into the Frontiers of that Province, was there by the Emperors Lieutenant overthrown, and himſelf with the greateſt part of his Army ſlain. With which loſs the Sultan rather inraged than diſcouraged, ſent *Habramy Alim* his Brother again, with an Army of an hundred thouſand fighting men: with which ſo great a Power the Emperors Lieutenant thought it not good to encounter, until he had procured further aid from the Emperor, eſpecially out of IBERIA; and therefore kept himſelf with ſuch power as he had, within his ſtrong and fenced places. Which *Alim* perceiving, and out of hope to draw him unto battel, roaming up and down the Country, at laſt beſieged ARZEN, an open Town, but full of rich Merchants, by whom it was (contrary to his expectation) notably defended for the ſpace of ſix days; until that at length the Turks ſeeing no other way to win it, ſet fire upon it in divers places; by force whereof the Inhabitants were enforced for ſafeguard of their lives to fly, and to leave the Town with an infinite wealth to the ſpoil of the Enemy. By this time was *Liparites* Governor of IBERIA, come with a great Power to the aid of the Emperors Lieutenant in MEDIA: whereof *Alim* having intelligence, without delay haſted with his Army towards his Enemies: and meeting with them a little before night, had with them a cruel fight; wherein the Victory fell unto the Chriſtians, who had the Turks in chaſe a great part of the night. Nevertheleſs *Liparites* valiantly fighting in another wing of the battel, was there taken, and ſo carried away Priſoner: for whoſe ranſome the Emperor ſent a great ſum of money, with certain Preſents to the Sultan; all which he ſent back again, and frankly ſet *Liparites* at liberty, wiſhing him never to bear Arms more againſt the Turks. And with him ſent the Seriph, a man of great Place among the Mahumetans, his Embaſſador unto the Emperor.

The Turks Embaſſador contemned of the Emperor.

Tangrolipix *invadeth the Emperors Dominions.*

Who coming to CONSTANTINOPLE, amongſt other things, proudly demanded of the Emperor, to become Tributary unto the Sultan, and ſo to be at Peace with him for ever: Which his unreaſonable demand was by the Emperor with no leſs diſdain ſcornfully rejected, and the Seriph ſo diſmiſſed. Which contempt of his Embaſſador the Sultan taking in evil part, as alſo not a little moved with the death of his Nephew, and loſs of his Army, with all his Power invaded the Roman Provinces; but being come as far as COIME without any notable harm doing, for that the Country people hearing before of his coming, had in time conveyed themſelves with their ſubſtance into their ſtrong holds, whereof there was great ſtore in thoſe Countries; and hearing alſo that the Greek Emperor was raiſing a great Power to come againſt him at CESAREA, not daring to proceed any further, leaving ſo many Enemies behind him, he fretting in himſelf, returned into MEDIA, where finding the people all fled into their ſtrong Towns, he laid ſiege unto MANTZICHIERT, a City ſtanding in a plain Champain Country, but ſtrongly fortified with a triple Wall and deep Ditches. This City he furiouſly aſſaulted by the ſpace of thirty days without intermiſſion, but all in vain, the ſame being ſtill notably defended by *Baſilius* Governor thereof, and the other Chriſtians therein. The Sultan weary of this ſiege, and about to have riſen, was by *Alcan* one of his chief Captains, perſwaded yet to ſtay one day, for him to make proof in, what he were able to do for the gaining thereof: whereunto the Sultan yielded, committing the whole charge of the aſſault unto him. *Alcan* the next day dividing the Army into two parts, and placing the one part upon the higher ground, of purpoſe with the multitude of their ſhot to have overwhelmed the defendants, with the other part of the Army, furniſhed with all things needful for the aſſault, approached to the Walls: the Sultan in the mean time, with certain of the chief Turks, from an high place beholding all that was done. But this ſo forward a Captain in the midſt of his endeavour loſt himſelf, being ſlain with a great number of his Followers in approaching the Wall. His dead body known by the beauty of his Armor, was by two valiant young men that ſallied out of the Gate, drawn by the hair of his head into the City, and his head being forthwith cut off, was caſt over the Wall among the Turks: wherewith the Sultan diſcouraged, and out of hope of gaining the City, roſe with his Army, pretending himſelf with other his urgent affairs to be called home, and threatning withall, the next Spring to return with greater Power, and to do great matters.

Diſſention betwixt Tangrolipix *and his brother* Habramic Alim.

But not long after, great diſcord aroſe betwixt the Sultan and his Brother *Habramie Alim*, inſomuch that the Sultan ſought by divers means to have taken him out of the way: which *Habramie* perceiving, fled to his Nephew *Cutlu-Muſes*, and joyning his Forces with his, denounced War unto the Sultan his Brother; who meeting with them not far off from PASAR, overcame them in plain battel, wherein *Habramie* was taken, and preſently by the commandment of his Brother put to death. But *Cutlu-Muſes*, with his Couſin *Melech* and 6000 Turks, fled into ARMENIA, and by Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe requeſted of the Emperor *Conſtantinus Monomachus* to be received into

his

Cutlu-Muſes flyeth into Arabia.

Covetouſneſs and lack of reward the decay of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire.

Eudocia *the Empreſs contrary to her Oath deſirous to marry.*

his Protection. But the Sultan with his Army following them at the heels, they for their more ſafety were glad to fly into ARABIA. The Sultan afterwards turning into IBERIA, did there great harm, ſpoiling the Country before him: againſt whom the Emperor ſent *Michael Acoluthus*, a valiant Captain. Of whoſe approach the Sultan hearing, and that he would undoubtedly ere long give him battel, (deeming it no great honour unto him to overcome the Emperors Servant, but an eternal diſhonour to be of him overthrown) retired with his Army back again to TAURIS, leaving behind him one *Samuch* with 3000 Turks, to infeſt the Frontiers of the Emperors Territories: which both he and other the Turks Captains afterward more eaſily did, for that *Monomachus* the Emperor having prodigally ſpent the Treaſures of the Empire, to increaſe his Revenue, had impoſed a Tribute upon the Frontier Countries of his Empire, wont before to be free from all Exactions; in lieu whereof they were bound to defend the paſſages from all incurſions of the Enemy: but now preſſed with new Impoſitions, had diſſolved their wonted Garriſons, and left an eaſie entrance for the barbarous Enemies into the Provinces confining upon them. Beſides that, the Emperor's immediately following, and eſpecially *Conſtantinus Ducas*, abhorring from Wars, and given altogether to the hoarding up of Treaſure, gave little countenance, and leſs maintenance, unto men of Service, which in ſhort time turned to the great weakning, and in fine to the utter ruine of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire. At the ſame time alſo the Government of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, by the death of *Conſtantinus Ducas* the late Emperor, came to his wife *Eudocia* with her three Sons, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Conſtantinus*, all very young: whoſe ſex and tender years the barbarous Nations having in contempt, at their pleaſure grievouſly ſpoiled the Provinces of the Empire, namely MESOPOTAMIA, CILICIA, CAPADOCIA, yea and ſometimes as far as COELOSIRIA. The report whereof much troubled the Empreſs, and gave occaſion for many that loved her not, to ſay, That ſo troubled an Eſtate required the Government of ſome worthy man. Wherefore ſhe fearing leſt that the Senate making choice of ſome other, ſhe and her Children ſhould be removed from the Government, thought it beſt for the preſervation of her State and her Childrens, to make choice of ſome notable and valiant man for her Husband, that for her and hers, ſhould take upon him the managing of ſo weighty Affairs. But to check this her purpoſe (the only remedy of her troubled thoughts) ſhe had at the death of the late Emperor *Conſtantine* her Husband, at ſuch time as the Soveraignty was by the Senate confirmed unto her and her Sons, ſolemnly ſworn never more to marry; which her Oath was for the more aſſurance conceived into writing, and ſo delivered unto the Patriarch to keep. This troubled her more, than to find out the Man whom ſhe could think worthy of her ſelf, with ſo great honour. She held then in priſon one *Diogenes Romanus*, a man of great Renown, and honourably deſcended, whoſe Father having married the Neece of the Emperor *Romanus Argyrus*, and aſpiring to the Empire, being convicted thereof, ſlew himſelf for fear to be enforced by Torments, to bewray his Confederates. This *Diogenes* was by the late Emperor *Conſtantine*, for his great ſervice againſt the Scythians (who then much troubled the Empire) highly promoted, with moſt honourable teſtimony in the Charters of his Promotions, That ſuch Honours were beſtowed upon him, not of the Emperors meer Bounty, but as the due Rewards of his worthy Deſerts. Notwithſtanding after the death of the Emperor, he ſick of his Fathers diſeaſe, and ſwelling with the pride of Ambition, ſought by ſecret means to have aſpired unto the Empire: whereof the Empreſs having intelligence, cauſed him to be apprehended and brought in bonds to CONSTANTINOPLE, where being found guilty of the foul Treaſon, and ſo committed to ſafe keeping, was ſhortly after brought forth to the Judgment Seat again, to receive the heavy Sentence of death. In which woful plight, ſtanding as a man out of hope, and now utterly forlorn, he moved all the beholders with a ſorrowful compaſſion: for beſide that he was a man of exceeding ſtrength, ſo was he of incomparable feature and beauty, adorned with many other rare qualities and vertues anſwerable thereunto: wherewith the Empreſs moved with the reſt, or pierced with a ſecret good liking, is hard to ſay, revoked the Sentence of Condemnation ready to have been pronounced upon him, and gave him Pardon. And ſhortly after having ſet him at liberty, ſent for him as he was going into CAPADOCIA his native Country, and made him General of all her Forces, with a full reſolution in her ſelf to marry him, and to make him Emperor, if ſhe might by any means get the writing out of the Patriarchs hand, wherein her Oath for never marrying again was compriſed. For the compaſſing whereof, ſhe entred into a deep device full of feminine policy with one of her Eunuchs, whom ſhe purpoſed to uſe as her pander for the circumventing of the Patriarch. This crafty Eunuch inſtructed by his Miſtreſs, coming to the Patriarch *Joannes Xiliphilines*, a man both for his place and integrity of life much honoured, told him in great ſecret, that the Empreſs had ſo far ſet her good liking upon a young Gentleman, a Nephew of his called *Barda* (then a Gallant of the Court) as that ſhe could be content to take him to her Husband, and to make him Emperor, if ſhe might by his Holineſs be perſwaded, that ſhe might with ſafe conſcience do it, and by him be diſcharged of the raſh Oath ſhe had unadviſedly taken, never to marry again, whereof he had the keeping. The Patriarch, otherwiſe a Contemner of worldly honours, yet moved with ſo great a Preferment of his Nephew, promiſed the Eunuch to do therein whatſoever the Empreſs had deſired, which he accordingly performed. And ſo ſending for the Senators one by one, in whoſe good liking the matter chiefly reſted, he with much gravity propounded unto them the dangerous eſtate of the Common-weal, with the Troubles daily increaſing, and the continual fear of foreign Enemies, not to be repreſſed by the weak hand of a Woman, or the authority of young Children, but requiring (as he ſaid) the valiant courage of ſome worthy Man. After that, he began to find great fault with the raſh Oath which the Empreſs had taken a little before the death of her Husband, never to marry; and utterly condemning the ſame, as contrary to the Word of God, and unjuſtly exacted of her, rather to ſatisfie the jealous humour of the Emperor her late Husband, than for any good of the Common-weal; he in fine perſwaded them, that the unlawful Oath might be revoked, and the Empreſs ſet at liberty at her pleaſure, by their good liking to make choice of ſuch a man for her Husband, as might better undertake ſo weighty affairs of the Empire, more fit for a Man, than for ſo tender a Lady and three young Children. The greater

part

Diogenes Romanus *of a Priſoner by the Empreſs made General of her Army.*

part of the Senate thus perſwaded by the Patriarch, and the reſt with Gifts and Promiſes overcome by the Empreſs, the Patriarch delivered unto her the Writing ſhe ſo much deſired, and diſcharged her of her Oath; whereupon ſhe forthwith calling unto her certain of her ſecret Friends, married *Diogenes*, whom ſhe cauſed to be proclaimed Emperor. Now thought *Eudocia* after the manner of a Woman, to have had her Husband (whom ſhe even from the bottom of diſpair had exalted to the higheſt Type of Honour) in all things Loyal and Pliant: whereunto he for a while at the firſt forced himſelf, but afterwards (being a man of a proud nature, and haughty ſpirit) became weary of ſuch Obſervance, and began by little and little to take every day more and more upon him. And for that the Imperial Provinces in the Eaſt, were in ſome part loſt, and the reſt in no ſmall danger; he as well for the redreſs thereof, as for his own Honour, and to ſhew himſelf an Emperor Indeed, and not the Servant of the Empreſs, left the Court, and paſſed over into ASIA, although it were with a ſmall Army and evil appointed: for why, it was no eaſie matter for him to furniſh out the Army with all things neceſſary, which by the ſloth and ſparing of the late Emperors, had, to the great danger and diſhonour of the Empire, been utterly neglected. Neverthelefs the Turkiſh Sultan, who at the ſame time with a great Power invaded the Provinces of the Empire, hearing of his coming, and that he was a man of great valour, and doubting what Power he might bring with him, retired himſelf; and dividing his Army, ſent the one part thereof into the South part of ASIA, and the other into the North, which ſpoiled all the Country before them as they went, and ſuddenly ſurpriſing the City of NEOCESARIA, ſacked it, and ſo laded with the ſpoil thereof departed. But the Emperor underſtanding thereof, and not a little grieved therewith, drawing out certain bands and companies of the beſt and moſt readieſt Souldiers in his Army, and with them coaſting the Country to get betwixt the Turks and home, uſed therein ſuch expedition, that he was upon them before they were aware, and ſo ſuddenly charging them, brought ſuch a fear upon them, that they betook themſelves to their heels, leaving behind them for haſt, their Baggage and Carriages, with all the Priſoners and Booty they had before taken at NEOCESARIA, and in their late Expedition: yet was there no great number of them ſlain, for that the Chriſtians ſore wearied with long travel, were not able far to follow the chace. From thence taking his way unto SIRIA, he ſent part of his Army to MELITENA, and carried himſelf from ALEPPO, a great booty both of men and cattel. At which time alſo the City of HIERAPOLIS was yielded unto him, where he ſhortly after built a ſtrong Caſtle. But whilſt he there ſtayed, news was brought unto him, that the other part of his Army which he had ſent away, was overthrown by the Turks; for the relief of whom, he roſe with all haſt and marched towards them: but being in number far inferior unto his Enemies, he was by them as he lay encamped, incloſed round in ſuch ſort, as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible for him to have eſcaped. At which time alſo the Governor of ALEPPO traiterouſly revolted from him, and joyned his Forces with the Enemy, making now no other reckoning, but aſſuredly to have taken him. But whilſt the Turks thus dream of nothing but of a moſt glorious Victory, and were in mind dividing the ſpoil, the Emperor without ſo much as the ſounding of a Trumpet, ſuddenly iſſuing out of his Trenches, when they leaſt thought he durſt ſo have done; and reſolutely charging them home, put them to flight, and had of them a notable Victory, had he throughly proſecuted the ſame. After that, having taken divers Towns he came to ALEXANDRIA, in CILICIA, and there all about in the Country bilited his Army, becauſe of the approach of Winter, and ſo returned himſelf to CONSTANTINOPLE. The next Spring the Turks, according to their uſual manner invading the Frontiers of the Empire, did much harm about NEOCESARIA: whereof the Emperor advertiſed, went thither with his Army, and quickly repreſſing their fury, took his Journey to the River EUPHRATES, where leaving part of his Army with *Philaretus* for the keeping of thoſe Frontiers, he himſelf retired Northward into CAPADOCIA. But after his departure, the Turks ſetting upon *Philaretus*, put him to flight with his Garriſons: and taking the ſpoil of the Frontiers, entred into CAPADOCIA, waſting all as they went: and afterwards turning into CILICIA, ſacked ICONIUM a rich and populous City. Whereof the Emperor underſtanding at SEBASTIA, made towards them: but hearing by the way that they had ranſackt the City, and were for fear of his coming already retired, he ſent *Chatagurio* Governor of ANTIOCH, with part of his Army to MOPSIPHESTIA, to ſtop the Turks of their paſſage. But they in the plains of THARSUS were before diſtreſſed by the Armenians, and ſtript of all their rich Prey: and hearing farther of the approach of the Emperors Power, fled by night and ſo eſcaped: which the Emperor underſtanding, and having now well quieted thoſe Provinces, and the year far ſpent, returned again to CONSTANTINOPLE. But, after his departure, the Turks again invading the frontier Provinces, he ſent *Manuel Commenus*, a valiant young man, General againſt them; who ſo prevailed, that the Emperor envying at his Honour, took from him a great part of his Army, and ſent him with a ſmall Power into SIRIA. But as he was upon the way, he was by the Turks entrapped near unto SEBASTIA, and there taken, moſt part of his Army being at the ſame time overthrown and ſlain: with which loſs, the Emperor troubled, made great preparation to go himſelf in Perſon againſt his Enemies; who encouraged with the former Victory, ceaſed not to infeſt his Territories. In the mean time by great fortune came *Manuel Commenus* home, together with the Turk that took him; who being fallen into the diſpleaſure of the Sultan, fled unto the Emperor with his Priſoner, of whom he was honourably entertained. All things now in a readineſs, for ſo great an Expedition as the Emperor had in Perſon purpoſed, he ſet forward: and after long travel having paſſed CESAREA, he incamped at a place called CRYAPEGA: where for ſevere execution done upon certain mutinous Souldiers, one of the Legions of his Army roſe in mutiny againſt him: whom (for all that) he quickly pacified with the terror of the reſt of his Army, which he threatned to turn upon them if they proceeded to forget their duty. After that, removing to THEODOSOPOLIS, he divided his Army, and ſent *Ruſelius* one of his beſt Captains, with one part thereof againſt *Chliat*, and another part he ſent to beſiege MANTZICIERTS, retaining with himſelf the reſt, being of no ſtrength. The Turks in MANTZICIERTS

finding

Eudocia marrieth Diogenes Romanus, and proclaims him Emperor.

The Provinces of the Empire ſpoiled by the Turks.

The Turks diſcomfited by Diogenes the Emperor.

Diogenes goeth with a great Army againſt the Turks.

finding themſelves not able long to hold out, fell to compoſition, and yielded the City. But ſhortly after, the Souldiers left there in Garriſon for the keeping thereof, going out to ſeek for forrage, were by the Turks ſuddenly oppreſſed: which the Emperor underſtanding, ſent thither one *Nicephorus Bryennius*, with certain Companies to relieve the City; who encountring with the Turks, and finding himſelf too weak, ſent unto the Emperor for aid: who not knowing the ſtrength of the Enemies, blamed him of cowardiſe, yet ſent unto him *Nicephorus Baſilacius* with part of his Army; who joyning his Forces with *Bryennius*, and giving the Turks battel, put them to flight. But following too faſt upon them unto their Trenches, and *Bryennius* making no great haſt after, he had his horſe ſlain under him, and ſo on foot heavily laden with armor, and not able to ſhift for himſelf, was there taken and brought to the Sultan; who honourably entreated him, and oftentimes queſtioning with him concerning the Emperor, and ſhewing him his own Power, examined him alſo of the Emperors.

Axan the *Sultan ſendeth Embaſſadors unto* **Diogenes** *for peace.*

John Ducas *a notable Traitor cauſe of the flight of the Emperors Army.*

Diogenes *the Emperor taken by the Turks.*

Eudocia *the Empreſs depoſed by the Traytor* **John Ducas, Pſellus,** *and others.*

Tangrolipix was now dead, and the Sultan now in the field againſt the Emperor, was *Axan* his Son, a man of great wiſdom and diſcretion; who conſidering the doubtful event of battel, ſent Embaſſadors unto the Emperor to intreat with him of peace. But he (perſwaded by ſome of his Captains, that this motion made by the Sultan for peace, proceeded but of a meer fear and diſtruſt he had in his own Power, or elſe to gain time until ſome greater ſtrength came) had ſmall regard of the Embaſſors or their Meſſage, but proudly willed them to tell their Maſter, That if he were deſirous of Peace, he ſhould get him farther off, and leave the place wherein he lay encamped, for him to lodge in: and ſo without other anſwer, commanded them away. Now had the Emperor (as is before ſaid) ſent away part of his Army by *Ruſelius* againſt *Chliat*, whom he ſent now for in haſt again: but he hearing of the approach of the Sultan, by the perſwaſion of *Tarchomiates*, one of his Captains, was retired for his more ſafety back into the Roman Frontiers, leaving the Emperor deſtitute of his help. At which time alſo a Company of the Scythians which ſerved in the Emperors Camp, revolted unto the Turks; not without ſome ſuſpition, that the reſt of their Fellows which remained, would ere long do the like: nevertheleſs the Emperor preſuming of ſuch ſtrength as he had, or carried headlong with his own Fortune, reſolved to give the Turks battel, and therefore putting his men in Order, ſet upon them. Who ſomewhat troubled with the Emperors ſo ſudden a reſolution, as being yet in ſome hope of Peace, yet having put themſelves in order of battel, received the Enemies Charge; ſtill giving a little ground, as men not greatly deſirous either to fight or to fly. This fight continuing long, and the day now declining, the Emperor doubting leſt the Sultan ſhould ſend part of his Army to aſſault his Camp (from which he was now drawn ſomewhat far, and had left the ſame but weakly manned) cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and ſo began orderly to retire himſelf with them that were about him; which others afar off in the battel beholding, and ſuppoſing him to have fled, began themſelves to fly amain. Of which ſo ſhameful flight and ſudden fear *Andronicus* (the Son of *John Ducas*, the late Emperor *Conſtantine* his Brother, and by him created *Cæſar*, who with his Sons ſecretly envied at the Honour of *Diogenes*) was the cauſe: for he commanding a great part of the Army, gave it firſt out unto ſuch as were about him, that the Emperor fled: and to increaſe the fear, turning his horſe about, fled towards the Camp as faſt as he could; after whom all the reſt moſt diſorderly followed: which the Emperor beholding, and therewith not a little troubled, made a ſtand, labouring in vain to have ſtaid the reſt: for now the Turks incouraged with the ſudden flight of the Chriſtians, began hardly to purſue them, as men already overthrown by the hand of God; whom for all that, the Emperor with ſuch as yet ſtood with him, for a ſpace notably reſiſted. But being forſaken by the greater part of his Army, and oppreſſed with the multitude of his Enemies, being wounded himſelf, and his horſe ſlain under him, he was taken all imbrued in his own blood, and the blood of his Enemies, of whom he had wounded and ſlain many. The Sultan advertiſed of his taking, at the firſt believed it not, ſuppoſing it rather to have been ſome other great man: until that he was both by them, whom he had but a little before ſent Embaſſador unto him, and by *Baſilacius* one of his Captains then Priſoner with him, aſſured that it was undoubtedly he, which *Baſilacius* brought before him to ſee if he knew him, fell down proſtrate at his feet, as before his dread Lord and Soveraign. The Emperor brought before the Sultan, and humbling himſelf in ſuch ſort as beſt beſeemed his heavy Fortune, the Sultan preſently took him up, and thus chearfully ſpoke unto him, *Grieve not noble Emperor* (ſaid he) *at thy miſhap, for ſuch is the chance of War, overwhelming ſometimes one, ſometimes another: neither fear thou any harm, for I will uſe thee not as my Priſoner, but as an Emperor:* which accordingly he did, preſently appointing him a Princely Pavillion, with all things anſwerable to his ſtate, ſetting him oftentimes at his own boord, and for his ſake enlarging ſuch Priſoners as he required. And after he had thus for certain days honourably uſed him, and diſcourſed with him of many things, he concluded a perpetual Peace with him, upon promiſe of a marriage to be made betwixt their Children, and ſo with a ſafe Convoy ſent him away with greater Honour than was at an Enemies hand to have been expected. The Emperor in Turkiſh attire, which the Sultan had beſtowed upon him, coming to THEODOSOPOLIS, there ſtaid the curing of his Wounds, and afterwards accompanied with the Sultans Embaſſadors, ſet forward toward CONSTANTINOPLE. But all was now there changed: for upon the report of his Captivity, *John* the *Cæſar*, with *Pſellus* one of the chief Senators, and others of the ſame Faction, which always envied at the Honour of *Diogenes*, preſently took the Imperial Government from *Eudocia* the Empreſs, and thruſting her into a Monaſtery which ſhe had built near to PROPONTIS, ſet up *Michael Ducas* her eldeſt Son, Emperor, in ſtead of *Diogenes*: whoſe ſimplicity, *Cæſar* his Uncle abuſing with the reſt, did now what they liſt. And hearing that *Diogenes* was now (contrary to their expectation) ſet at liberty by the Sultan, and coming towards the the Emperial City, ſent out Letters every way in the new Emperors Name, unto all the Governors of the Provinces whereby he was to paſs, not to receive him as Emperor, or to do him any Honour: which *Diogenes* underſtanding, ſtaid at the Caſtle of DOCIA, whither ſome of his Friends with ſuch Power as they were able to make, reſorted unto him. Againſt whom, *Cæſar* with the contrary Faction firſt ſent his Son *Conſtantine*, and after that *Andronicus* his eldeſt Son, both *Diogenes* his Mortal Enemies, with a great

Army:

Diogenes *the Emperor taken Priſoner by* **Andronicus.**

Army: by whom *Diogenes*, with his Friends and Followers, were overthrown and diſcomfited. *Diogenes* himſelf flying to the City of ADANA, was there hardly beſieged by *Andronicus*, and in the end glad to yield himſelf, upon condition, that he ſhould reſign the Empire, and ſo for ever after to lead a private life. For whoſe ſafety, certain of the chief of the Clergy ſent of purpoſe from *Michael* the Emperor, gave their Faith: ſo *Diogenes* all attired in black, yielded himſelf to *Andronicus*; by whom he was brought to COTAI, then the Metropolitical City of PHRIGIA, there to expect what further Order ſhould be taken for him from the Court: during which time he fell ſick, being (as many ſuppoſed) ſecretly poiſoned. But whilſt he there lay languiſhing, an heavier doom came from the young Emperor, That he ſhould have his Eyes put out: which was forthwith in moſt cruel manner done; the Clergy-men that had before for his ſafety gaged their Faith, crying out in vain againſt ſo horrible a cruelty. Thus deprived of his ſight, he was conveyed into the Iſland of PROTA, where his Eyes for lack of looking to, putrifying, and Worms breeding in them, with ſuch an odious ſmell as that no man could abide to come nigh him, he in ſhort time after died, when he had reigned three years, eight months. All which miſery was thought to have happened unto him through the malice of *Cæſar*, without the knowledge of the young Emperor his Nephew.

The miſerable death of **Diogenes** *the Emperor.*

Axan *the Sultan ſeeketh to revenge the death of* **Diogenes:**

Axan hearing of the miſerable end of the late Emperor *Diogenes*, was therewith much grieved, and the more, for that the League which he had to his good content ſo lately made with him, was thereby come to nought: wherefore in revenge thereof, he with great Power invaded the Imperial Provinces; not for ſpoil and booty only, as in former time, but now to conquer and to hold the ſame. Againſt whom, *Michael* the Emperor ſent *Iſaac Comnenus* his Lieutenant, with a great Army: who meeting with the Turks, and joyning battel, was by them overthrown with all his Army, and taken Priſoner; and glad afterwards for a great ſum of money to redeem himſelf. After which overthrow, the Emperor ſent his Uncle *Cæſar* with another Army againſt them, who was by *Ruſelius*, that had before revolted from the Emperor, overthrown at the River SANGARIUS, and taken Priſoner; whom he for all that, ſhortly after ſet at liberty again, and joyning with him againſt the Turks, were both together by them diſcomfited and taken Priſoners, but afterwards redeemed; *Cæſar* by the Emperor, and *Ruſelius* by his Wife. This *Ruſelius* was a notable Traytor, who joyning with the Turks, did what he liſt in the Provinces of the Empire in the leſſer ASIA: for the repreſſing of whom, the Emperor ſent *Alexius Comnenus*, a young man, but very politick and couragious; who ſecretly practiſing with the Turks that were great with *Ruſelius*, had him at laſt by them for a ſum of money betrayed into his Power: who forthwith ſent him to CONSTANTINOPLE to the Emperor, by whom he was impriſoned, but afterward ſet at liberty, and employed againſt *Bryennius* and his Brother, then up in Rebellion againſt the Emperor.

Cutlu-Muſes *with his Sons and Kinſmen take up arms againſt* **Axan** *the Sultan.*

But to come nearer to the Turkiſh Affairs. *Cutlu-Muſes*, who with his Couſin *Melech* and others, were for fear of *Tangrolipix* their Couſin fled into ARABIA, as is before declared, now in the beginning of the Reign of *Axan*, returned: and as the envious Competitors of his Kingdom, having raiſed a great Power of their Friends and Partakers, were now ready to have tried the matter with him by plain battel. Againſt whom alſo, the Sultan on the other ſide had brought into the field his whole Forces, and was now likewiſe ready to have incountred them near unto the City of ERES. But whilſt the Turks thus divided, ſtood ready to deſtroy themſelves, the Caliph of BABYLON (from whom though the Turks had taken all Temporal Soveraignty, yet in matters of Religion ſtill held him in great reverence and eſteem, as their chief Biſhop, and the Succeſſor of their great Prophet) conſidering that nothing could be more dangerous to his Sect and Religion, than that civil diſſention, the late confuſion and utter ruine of the Saraſin Empire, and Authoriy of the Caliphs; and fearing the like effect in theſe new Saraſins, now the chief ſtay of the Mahometan Superſtition: ſetting aſide all Pontifical Formality, whereby he was bound not to go out of his own houſe, came with all ſpeed, even as the Armies were now ready to joyn battel, and thruſting himſelf into the midſt betwixt them, what with the reverence of his Perſon, what with his effectual perſwaſion, wrought ſo much, and prevailed ſo far with both Parties, that they were content to lay down their Weapons, and to ſtand to his Order and Judgment: which was, That *Axan* the Sultan ſhould ſtill injoy his Kingdom and Territories, whole and entire unto himſelf as he did: and that *Cutlu-Muſes* and his Sons, aided by him, and ſo invading the Provinces of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, ſhould thereof ſubdue ſo much as they could unto themſelves, and to be thereof accounted the only Lords and Governors: which Order as it was unto the Turks, and for the maintenance of the Mahometan Superſtition, very wholeſome and commodious, ſo was it unto the Chriſtian Commonweal and Religion moſt dangerous and hurtful, as in proceſs of time by proof it appeared. For by this mean, in ſhort time after, *Cutlu-Muſes* with his Couſins and Sons ſubdued all MEDIA, with a great part of ARMENIA, CAPADOCIA, PONTUS, and BYTHINIA, and ſo a great part of the leſſer ASIA. By the aid of this *Cutlu-Muſes*, and the favour of the Souldiers, *Nicephorus Botoniates* aſpiring unto the Empire of CONSTANTINOPLE, diſplaced his Maſter, the Emperor, *Michael Ducas*, after he had reigned ſix years and ſix months, and in the habit of a Monk thruſt him into an Abbey: which Uſurper by the juſt Judgment of God, was at length requited even with the ſame meaſure, and in like manner ſerved by *Compenus*; who thruſting him out, ſucceeded himſelf in the Empire. Much it was that this *Cutlu-Muſes*, with his Sons and Kinſmen did for the inlarging of the Turkiſh Empire, by the help of the great Perſian Sultan whoſe Forces, together with their own, in divers Countries conducted by theſe worthy Leaders his nigh Kinſmen, and doing great matters, gave occaſion for themſelves to be accounted Sultans, though indeed they were none, neither their names ſuch as are by ſome ancient Writers, and others of later time alſo reported; but unto the Turks themſelves by thoſe names, either for Sultans, unknown. Out of theſe great Commanders, all born of the Selzuccian Family, hath *Aithonus*, and others following his report, derived their *Dogriſſa*, *Aſpuſalemus*, *Melechus*, and *Belchiaroc*, whom they ſuppoſe to have orderly ſucceeded *Zadoc*, otherwiſe called *Tangrolipix*, in the Turkiſh Empire, and to have done great matters: whereas both by the report of the Turks themſelves, and the relation of the Greeks, it appears plainly,

A moſt hurtful Order for the Chriſtian Commonweal.

The ground of the error of divers Writers about the Succeſſors of **Tangrolipix**, *otherwiſe of them called* **Sadoch.**

Axan, (more truly called *Ax-han*, that is to ſay, the White King) to have been the Son of *Tangrolipix*, and to have ſucceeded him in the Empire: and that by him the Emperor *Diogenes* was taken, and not by *Aſpaſalemus* as they vainly imagine. As for *Aſpaſalemus*, whom the Turks by that name know not any thing of his doings, it ſeemeth to have been a name corrupted of *Aſpam Sallarius*, the Brother of *Tangrolipix* and *Habrami*, and not his Sons Son as they would have it. In like manner *Meleclas* alſo ſeemeth to have been forged of *Melech* the Son of *Habrami*, *Tangrolipix* his Brother, and not of *Aſpaſalemus*, as ſome without any good ground report. Whom they finding to have been all great Men in the Selzuccian Family, with ſome others alſo, have both corrupted their names, and given them an imaginary Soveraignty and ſucceſſion in the Turks firſt Empire, ſuch as beſide that the Turks themſelves acknowledge not, is eaſily to be refelled out of the Hiſtories of the Greeks, who had with them ſtill much to do. Wherefore leaving thoſe ſuppoſed Princes of the Turks, with their imaginary ſucceſſion, and doings, unto the Authors thereof, following more certainties, to return again to the courſe of our Hiſtory. *Axan* the Sultan at the ſame time that he had by the mediation of the Chaliph (or not long after) fallen to agreement with his Couſin *Cutlu-Muſes*; to increaſe the Honour of his Nation and the Bounds of his Empire, gave unto *Ducas* and *Melech*, two of his nigh Kinſmen, the Government of DAMASCO and ALEPPO, with that part of SYRIA which joyneth unto them, of purpoſe that way to incroach upon the Ægyptian Chaliph, who then had under his Juriſdiction, all, as far as LAODICEA in SYRIA; yet not with ſo large Priviledge as had *Cutlu-Muſes*, unto whom and his Poſterity he had yielded the abſolute Honour of a Sultan or King, over ſuch Countries and Provinces as they ſhould win from the Chriſtians: but unto theſe others his Kinſmen, he gave the Government of the aforeſaid Cities of DAMASCO and ALEPPO, in the Frontiers of his Dominion in SYRIA, conditionally that they ſhould ſtill remain his Vaſſals, and hold of him as of their Soveraign, whatſoever they had, who nevertheleſs in ſhort time mightily prevailed upon the Egyptian, ſtill inceaſing the Turkiſh Territory with the loſs of the Saraſins, whoſe name together with their Empire, was now by the Turks almoſt quite driven out of ASIA.

But theſe proud Branches of the Turkiſh Empire, thus over-ſpreading the leſſer ASIA, with the greateſt part of SYRIA, were in ſhort time after by the Mercy of God, and the valour of the moſt Chriſtian and moſt Religious Princes of the Weſt, cut ſhorter, and brought again into ſome better Order. The full diſcourſe whereof, worthy eternal Memory, by others inrolled in the ancient Records of Fame, I purpoſe not at large to follow, but in brief to touch, for the orderly continuation of the preſent Hiſtory, haſting to the doings of this Victorious Nation of latter times, wherein we are to make a longer ſtay, as more pertinent unto the dangerous eſtate of the preſent time.

Peter a French Hermit goeth on pilgrimage to Jeruſalem.

It fortuned that whilſt *Cutlu-Muſes* and his Sons, ſupported by the Sultan *Axan* their Kinſman, thus mightily prevailed againſt the Chriſtians in the leſſer ASIA on the one ſide, and *Melech* with his Couſin againſt the Egyptian Chaliph in SYRIA on the other ſide: that one *Peter* a French Hermit moved with a devout zeal, according to the manner of that time, went to viſit the Sepulchre of our Saviour, with the other holy Places at JERUSALEM; who coming into SYRIA, then for the moſt part poſſeſſed by the Turks and Saraſins, diligently noted by the way as he travelled, the Manners and Faſhions of theſe barbarous Nations, their Government, their Cities, their Power and Strength, but above all, the grievous Miſeries of the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians, that there lived in moſt miſerable thraldom among them, without hope of releaſe: all which, he in the habit of a poor Pilgrim, at liberty ſafely viewed, in the midſt of theſe Miſcreants, being withall a little low hard-favoured Fellow, and therefore in ſhew more to be contemned than feared: yet under ſuch ſimple and homely Feature lay unregarded a moſt ſubtil ſharp and piercing wit, fraught with diſcretion and ſound judgment, ſtill applying to ſome uſe what he had in his long and painful travel moſt curiouſly obſerved. He cometh to JERUSALEM, and performing his devotions there, ſaw the grievous miſery of the poor devout Chriſtians, ſo great and heavy, as that greater or more intollerable could none be: wherewith not a little grieved, he entred into a deep diſcourſe thereof with *Simon* the Patriarch and Abbot of the Monaſtery of the Chriſtians (there before built by certain Italian Merchants) and with the Maſter of the Hoſpitalers, by whom he was fully informed thereof, as of whatſoever elſe he required. After much grave Conference, it was at length agreed upon amongſt them, that the Patriarch and the grand Maſter, ſhould in their own, and the names of the other oppreſſed Chriſtians, write their Letters unto the Pope and the other Chriſtian Princes, concerning their Miſeries; and to crave their Aid for the Recovery of thoſe holy places out of the hands of thoſe cruel Infidels; of which Letters the devout Hermit promiſed himſelf to be the truſty Carrier, and of their Petitions the moſt careful Solicitor. Whereupon the Patriarch and grand Maſter, in the name of the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians wrote their Letters unto this effect:

The deſcription of Peter *the Hermit.*

The Letters of Simon *Patriarch of* Jeruſalem, *and of the grand Maſter of the Hoſpitalers, unto the Pope and other Chriſtian Princes, in the behalf of the oppreſſed Chriſtians in* Jeruſalem.

We the Citizens of the holy City, and Country-men of Chriſt Jeſus, daily ſuffer thoſe things which Chriſt our King ſuffered but once, in the laſt days of his mortality. We are daily buffetted, ſcourged, and pierced: every day ſome of us are brained, beheaded, or crucified. We would fly from City to City, unto the remoteſt parts of the Earth, and remove out of the middle of that Land where our Saviour wrought our Redemption, to lead a poor exiled and vagrant life; were it not impiety to leave the Land (ſacred with the Birth, Doctrin, Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of our Saviour) without Inhabitants and Prieſts; and that there ſhould firſt lack ſuch as would indure Death and Martyrdom, than ſuch as would inflict the ſame; and that there ſhould not be ſuch which would as willingly die for Chriſt, as in battel, ſo long as there were any that would fight againſt them. Theſe things truly we moſt miſerably ſuffer: yet was there a time when as our Anceſtors feared no ſuch thing, either to themſelves or their Poſterity. And now perhaps the Chriſtian Kingdoms of the Weſt live likewiſe without the leaſt ſuſpicion of fear: but let them be moved by our example and Teſtimony. The ſtrength of the Turks is daily increaſed, and ours diminiſhed: The continual gaining of new Kingdoms giveth them courage: They have already devoured the whole World, in hope. The Forces of the Turks are fiercer and ſtronger than the Forces of the Saraſins, their Policies deeper, their Attempts more deſperate, their Endeavours greater, and their Succeſs fortunater, Rome *and* Conſtantinople, *which was alſo called* Nova Roma, *or new Rome.*

fortunater. Yet have the Saraſins attempted both Romes; they have beſieged Conſtantinople, *and have waſted not only the ſea coaſts of* Italy, *but even the heart of the Land alſo. Then why ſhould the kingdoms of the Weſt preſume themſelves to ſtand in ſafety and out of all peril, when as the chief fortreſſes of the world have been ſo endangered? What may the reſt of Chriſtendom promiſe unto it ſelf, ſeeing that* Jeruſalem *(the ſeat and ſpectacle of the Chriſtian Religion) hath been beſieged, taken, ſacked, raſed and triumphed upon? Seeing that of the Chriſtian profeſſion remain but the poor and weak reliques, in compariſon of the ancient whole entire body? This land, which is dayly beſprinkled with our blood, yea the blood it ſelf crieth out for revenge: And we your moſt humble ſuppliants, proſtrate at your feet, call upon the help, aid, mercy, faith, and religion, of you moſt bleſſed Father, of the Kings, Princes, and Potentates; Chriſtians not in name and profeſſion only, but in heart, ſoul, and ſpirit. Before the tempeſt thunder, before the lightning fall upon you, avert from you and your children the ſtorm hanging over your heads: defend us your poor ſuppliants, deliver your religion from moſt wicked and accurſed ſlavery. You ſhall in ſo doing deſerve immortal fame, and God ſhall requite your ſo great valour in this world with terreſtrial kingdoms, and in the world to come with eternal bliſs, whoſe ſacred inheritance you ſhall have defended from the rage of hell.*

The Council of Claremont *in* France.

With theſe Letters, and plenty of other ſecret inſtructions, the devout Hermit returning into *Italy*, and coming to *Rome*, delivered his Letters unto *Urban* the ſecond of that name, then Pope, with a full diſcourſe of the miſeries of the Chriſtians under the Turkiſh Thraldom, which he had ſeen at *Jeruſalem* and other places as he travelled; requeſting his holy care for the redreſs thereof: with whom he ſo prevailed, that ſhortly after, he calling a Council at *Claremont* in *France*, among other things, propounded the miſery of the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians at *Jeruſalem*, as an eſpecial matter to be conſidered of. And having cauſed the aforeſaid Letters, directed unto him and the other Chriſtian Princes, to be openly read in the Council, whereunto three hundred and ten Biſhops were then out of divers parts of Chriſtendom aſſembled, with the Embaſſadors of all Countries, much moved the whole Aſſembly to compaſſion: at which time alſo the Hermit (whoſe flowing Eloquence fully countervailed what wanted in his feature,) ſtanding up in the midſt of the Council, delivered his meſſage in the name of the afflicted Chriſtians, with their heavy groanings and tears: which as they could not be in Letters expreſſed, ſo were they not hardly by the religious Hermit (as by him who having but lately ſeen both the miſery of the men, and deſolation of the places, and at the heart touched with the grief thereof) ſo lively repreſented, as that it moved the whole Aſſembly with the like ſympathie of heavineſs and grief. Which the Pope perceiving, took thereupon occaſion to enter into a large diſcourſe concerning that matter, with many effectual reaſons perſwading the Fathers and Princes there preſent, of the neceſſity of ſo religious a War to be taken in hand, for the deliverance of their oppreſſed Brethren out of the Thraldom of the Infidels; and now as well with their preſent Decree, as afterwards at their return home into their Countries, by all means to further the ſame. Which notable perſuaſion, with the heavy complaint of the Hermit, and the equity of the cauſe, ſo much moved the whole Council, and the reſt there preſent, that they all as men inſpired with one Spirit, declared their conſent by their often crying out, *Deus vult, Deus vult,* God willeth it, God willeth it: which words ſo then uttered by way of applauſe, were in the great and moſt ſacred expedition following, much uſed of the devout Chriſtians, as the fortunate ſignal of their cheerful forwardneſs, even in their moſt dangerous enterpriſes. Strange it were to tell, and hardly to be believed (but that the ancient Hiſtories bear witneſs of the like) how far in one days ſpace the report of this religious decreed war was by flying Fame diſperſed.

An expedition agreed upon by the Council, for the relief of the Chriſtians oppreſſed in the Holy Land.

The Council diſſolved, and the reverend Fathers returning every man home into his own Country, it pleaſed God by their effectual perſuaſions ſo to work with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, and people in general, that in all Countries and Provinces in Chriſtendom, were ſhortly to be ſeen men of all ſorts in great number, with red Croſſes on their breaſts (the cogniſance of that ſacred expedition) readie of themſelves to ſpend both life and goods for the defence of the Chriſtian Religion, and recovery of the Holy Land. The number of whom is of divers diverſly reported; but of moſt ſuppoſed to have been three hundred thouſand fighting men: Of whom the chief Commanders were, *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorrain,* with his two Brethren, *Euſtace* and *Baldwin,* all of the honourable Houſe of *Buillon*; *Hugh* ſirnamed the Great, brother to *Philip* then the French King; *Raymund* and *Robert* Earls of *Flanders*; *Robert* Duke of *Normandy, William* the Conquerors Son; *Stephen de Valois* Earl of *Chartiers*; *Ademar* Biſhop of *Podie,* the Popes Legate; and *Peter* the Hermit, not to be numbred amongſt the leaſt, as chief Author of this moſt famous expedition: unto whom many other honourable Princes joyned themſelves, as partakers of their travels, though not with like charge.

The chief Commanders of the Chriſtians in their expedition into the Holy Land.

The firſt that ſet forward in this expedition, was one *Gualter Senſavier* a noble Gentleman, with a great band of men: not long after whom followed *Peter* the Hermit, with forty thouſand more; who both travelling through *Germany, Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, were glad oftentimes, eſpecially in the further part of *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, to open themſelves a way with the ſword; and ſo with much labour, and no leſs loſs, came at length to *Conſtantinople*: where they were not greatly welcome unto the Emperor *Alexius Comnenus*; who guilty unto himſelf of the unlawful means whereby he had extorted the Empire from *Nicephorus* his predeceſſor, had that expedition of the Chriſtians into the Eaſt, in diſtruſt, as purpoſed againſt himſelf; until that fully reſolved to the contrary, by the Hermit and others; and that a far greater power was coming after, for the invaſion of the Turks, and recovery of the Holy Land; he was content to relieve them now weary of their long travel; and afterward to make room for them that were to come, ſhipped them over the ſtrait of *Boſphorus* into *Aſia*; who marching forward into *Bithynia*, encamped their Army in the Country not far from the City of *Nice.* In the mean time *Godfrey* with his Brethren, and divers other Princes that had joyned themſelves unto him, with the Germans and Loranois, and the greateſt part of the Army, followed the ſame way that the Hermit had taken before him. At which time alſo *Hugh* the French Kings Brother, with the Legate, the two *Roberts* (the one Duke of *Normandy*, and the other Earl of *Flanders*) and the reſt of the French

Commanders, paſſing over the Mountains into *Italy*, came to *Rome*, with a wonderful great Army: where taking their leave of the Pope, becauſe they would be leſs troubleſome unto the Cities and Countries whereby they were to paſs, they divided their great Army into three parts; whereof the one part went to *Brunduſium*, and the other to *Bary*, and the third to *Hydruntum*, unto whom alſo *Bohemund* one of the great Princes of *Apulia*, joyned himſelf with twelve thouſand good ſouldiers that followed him. From theſe three Ports the Chriſtian Army departing, and croſſing the *Adriatick*, arrived in ſafety at *Dirrachium*, and nigh thereabout upon the coaſt of *Dalmatia*: from whence they travelled by land through *Macedonia*, to *Conſtantinople*; where they met with Duke *Godfrey* and the reſt of the Army: whom alſo at the firſt, *Alexius* the Emperor is reported to have but coldly entertained, as jealous of his own eſtate; until that better perſwaded of their deſignments and good meaning towards him, confirmed by many rich Preſents ſent unto him by theſe ſtrange Princes, he joyned with them in league: wherein it was agreed, That the Emperor during the time of this expedition ſhould furniſh them with new ſupplies of men, armour, victuals, and whatſoever elſe they ſhould want: in regard whereof, the Princes on the other ſide promiſed to reſtore again unto the Empire, what Provinces, Countries, or Cities they ſhould happily gain out of the hands of the Turks and Saraſins, the City of *Jeruſalem* only excepted: which agreement was afterward on the ſuſpitious Emperor's part but ſlenderly performed. Nevertheleſs this league ſo made, he granted them paſſage, and ſo tranſported them over the ſtrait into *Aſia*: only *Bohemund*, for an old grudg betwixt the Emperor *Alexius* and his Father, would not come to *Conſtantinople*, but marching with his Army through the upper *Myſia* and *Thracia*, came ſooner than any man thought, unto the ſtraight of *Helleſpontus*, and ſo paſſed.

Godfrey ***Duke of*** **Buillon,** ***and the other Chriſtian Princes, meet together at*** **Conſtantinople.**

Now had *Gualter*, and the Hermit *Peter*, with their Army, lien two months in the Country about *Nice*, expecting the coming of the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes: for why, they thought it not good before their coming to attempt any thing againſt the Enemy, whom they knew to lie not far off very ſtrong. But the common Souldiers weary of ſo long lying, and nought doing, and pinched with ſome wants; and withal diſliking of *Gualter* their chief Commander, and the Hermit *Peter*, (of whoſe integrity and holineſs they had a greater opinion, than of his proweſs and direction) roſe up in mutiny, and diſplacing *Gualter*, made choice of one *Raymund* a valiant German Captain, for their General: by whoſe conduct they took *Exorgum*, a Town of purpoſe forſaken of the Turks. For they long before underſtanding what a tempeſt of war was growing upon them out of *Europe*, ſought by all means to cut off theſe that were already come over, as the forerunners of a greater Army following; and therefore had left them this Town, as a bait to train them out of their Trenches. And after that the Chriſtians were thus poſſeſſed of the Town, having laid certain ſtrong ambuſhes, they drave out certain heards of Cattle the more to allure them: all which certain companies of the Chriſtians brought in without any loſs, the Turks ſtill winking thereat. With which booty the Chriſtians encouraged, went out three thouſand of them to take in a little Town not far off; who were by the Turks cut off and ſlain every Mothers Son as they were about to have divided the Spoil. Which overthrow reported into the Town, diſcouraged even the chief Commanders of the Army, ſo that they reſolved no more to try the fortune of the field, before the coming of their friends. Nevertheleſs the common Souldiers condemning them of cowardiſe, choſe them a new General, one *Godfrey Burel*, whom they now requeſted not, but enforced to go out to revenge the death of their fellows. Which their raſhneſs not long after turned to their own deſtruction: for ten thouſand of them going out of *Exorgum*, to forrage the Country, were by the Turks intrapped, and almoſt all ſlain, except ſome few, which by ſpeedy flight eſcaped. The Turks proſecuting their victory, laid hard ſiege to them in the Town alſo, until they had partly with famine, and partly with the ſword conſumed the moſt part of them. The Hermit with the poor remainder of his Army took his refuge to *Cinite*, a Town not far off, before abandoned by the Turks; where with much ado he defended himſelf until the coming of Duke *Godfrey* and the reſt of the Princes.

Cutlu-Muſes the Turk was now dead, having left unto his Son Sultan *Solyman* many large Countries and Provinces, altogether gained from the Chriſtians in *Aſia*; whom he held in great ſubjection and thraldom. This warlike Prince having diſcomfited and almoſt brought to nought the Hermits forces, was no leſs careful for the withſtanding of the great Army following: which now being come into *Bithynia*, and lying before *Nicomedia*, removing thence, laid ſiege to the City of *Nice*, called in ancient time *Antigonia*, of *Antigonus*, the Son of *Philip* that built it; and afterwards *Nicea*, of *Nicea* the Wife of King *Lyſimachus*. In this City dwelt many devout Greeks, Chriſtians; but in ſuch thraldom unto the Turks, that they could not do any thing for the delivery of themſelves. This ſiege indured longer than the Chriſtian Princes had at the firſt ſuppoſed: who although they to the uttermoſt of their power forced the City on three ſides, yet was it ſtill notably defended, new ſupplies ſtill coming from the Turks by the Lake of *Aſcanius* joyning upon the other ſide of the City. But after that the Chriſtians, poſſeſſed of the Lake, began on that ſide alſo to lay hardly unto the City, the Turks diſcouraged, and ſeeing themſelves beſet round with their enemies, yielded up the City the fifth of *July*, in the year 1097, after it had been fifty days beſieged. But whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege, the Turks aſſailed that quarter of the Camp where the Legat lay; by whom they were notably repulſed, and with great loſs inforced to retire unto the Mountains. In this City, amongſt the reſt of the Turks, was taken *Solymans* wife, with two of her Children, whom the Princes ſent priſoners to *Conſtantinople*. This City ſo won, was according to the agreement before made, reſtored unto *Alexius* the Emperor, whoſe Fleet had in that ſiege done good ſervice, by taking the Lake from the Turks.

Nice *beſieged by the Chriſtians.*

1097.

The City of *Nice* thus won, the Chriſtian Princes removing thence with their Army, and marching through the Country, came the fourth day after unto a River which watered many rich paſtures: where as they were about to have incamped, for the commodiouſneſs of the place, and refreſhing of the Army, ſuddenly news was brought into the quarter where *Bohemund* lay, now buſie in caſting up his trenches, That the Turks with a great Army were ready even at hand to charge him. For *Solyman* having raiſed a great power of his own, and aided by the Sultan

A cruel battel fought betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

of *Perſia* his kinſman, was now come with an Army of 60000 ſtrong to give the Chriſtians battel: of whoſe approach *Bohemund* advertiſed, left the fortifying of his Trenches, and putting his Souldiers in array, ſet forward to meet him; ſending word to the reſt of the Princes that lay a far off, to be ready as occaſion ſhould require, to relieve him. Theſe two Armies conducted by their moſt reſolute Chieftains, meeting together, joyned a moſt fierce and terrible battel, where in a ſhort ſpace the Turks lay ſlain upon heaps; in ſuch ſort that they ſerved the Chriſtians inſtead of Bulwarks. But whileſt *Bohemund* thus prevaileth in the battel, certain of the Turks horſemen wheeling about, brake into *Bohemunds* Camp (not as then altogether fortified, and but ſlenderly manned) where among the Women, and other weak perſons there left, they raiſed a great tumult and outcry, to the great appaling of them that were fighting in the battle: which *Bohemund* perceiving, withdrew himſelf with certain companies unto the Camp, from whence he with great ſlaughter repulſed the Enemy. But returning again into the battle, he found there a great alteration: for his Souldiers whom before he had left as it were in poſſeſſion of a moſt glorious victory, were now ſo hardly laid on by the Turks, as that they were ready to have turned their backs and fled. Nevertheleſs by his coming in, the battel was notably reſtored, and again made doubtful; when the Enemy perceiving how much the aſſaulting of the Camp had troubled the Chriſtians in battel, ſent out certain Troops of Horſemen again to aſſault the ſame; and had not failed undoubtedly to have taken it, being as aforeſaid not yet fortified, had not *Hugh* the French Kings Brother come in good time to the reſcue: who coming in with 30000 Horſemen, after he had relieved the Camp, entring directly into the battel, was notably incountred by a Squadron of freſh Souldiers of the Turks, by them of purpoſe reſerved for ſuch event. There began a battel more terrible than the firſt, with moſt doubtful victory: But at the length the Turks weary of the long and cruel fight, and ſeeing moſt of their fellows ſlain, began by little and little to give ground, and ſo retired into the Mountains, which were not far off. In this battel, which continued a great part of the day, were ſlain of the Turks 40000, and of the Chriſtians about 2000. The next morning *Bohemund*, with the French Kings Brother, came again into the field, in ſuch order as if they ſhould preſently have given or received battel; where after they had ſtayed a great while, and ſaw no Enemy to appear, they fell to the honeſt burial of their dead; which were eaſily known from the Turks, by the red croſſes upon their garments, the cogniſance of their ſacred warfare. *Solyman* flying with the remainder of his Army, notably diſſembled his loſs, giving it out that he had got the victory: yet by the way as he went he burnt up the Country Villages, and deſtroyed or carried away whatſoever elſe he thought might ſtand the Chriſtians in any ſtead, if they ſhould further follow after him, leaving nothing for them but the bare ground.

Solyman *flyeth.*

Antioch *in* Piſidia *taken by the Chriſtians.*

Heraclea *yielded.*

After this victory, *Bohemund* and the Chriſtian Princes, without reſiſtance marching through the hot and dry Countries of the leſſer *Aſia*, came to *Antiochia* a City of *Piſidia*, which they took with ſmall labour: and ſo marching unto *Iconium* the principal City of *Cilicia*, neer unto the Mountain *Taurus*, were there alſo of the Citzens courteouſly received, where they ſtayed certain days for the refreſhing of the Army. From thence they ſet forward toward *Heraclea*, where a great power of the Turks were reported to be aſſembled. But they together with the garriſon Souldiers, upon the approach of the victorious Army of the Chriſtians, forſook the City and fled: the Citizens being Chriſtians (as they were yet generally in all the Provinces of the leſſer *Aſia*, but in great ſubjection to the Turks) and now rid of their cruel maſters the Turkiſh garriſons, came forth, and meeting the Princes, gladly yeilded themſelves with their City unto them, as unto their deliverers. Here the Chriſtian Princes fully inſtructed of the great fear and deſperation of the Turks, who now in no place durſt abide their coming; for the more ſpeedy taking in of thoſe Countries but lately oppreſſed by the Turks, divided their Army into two parts, leaving the one part thereof with *Baldwin* and *Tancred* in *Cilicia*, for the full ſubduing thereof, (who in ſhort time took the Cities of *Tarſus*, *Edeſſa*, and *Manuſſa*, with all the reſt of the Country, the Turks not daring any where to abide their coming:) the other part of the Army in the mean time entring into the leſſer *Armenia*, took the ſame from the Turks, which the Princes gave to one *Palmurus* an Armenian, who had in that expedition done them great ſervice. From thence they took their way into *Capadocia*, which they alſo ſubdued, driving out the Turks in every place, and took the Cities of *Cæſarea* and *Socor*, where they ſtaied a few days for the refreſhing of the Army: with like ſucceſs they paſſed through the reſt of the Provinces of the leſſer *Aſia*, of late poſſeſſed by the Turks, ſtill chaſing them out before them, and ſetting at liberty the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians of thoſe Countries. Whereof *Solyman* (craving aid of *Axan* the Perſian Sultan his couſin) grievouſly complained by his Letters to him directed in this ſort: *The famous City of* Nice *with the Country of* Romania, *which we by your aid and power have gotten from the kingdom of the Greeks, and of your bounty poſſeſſed, the Chriſtians of the kingdom of* France *have again taken from us.* Thus was the late erected Kingdom of the Turks in the leſſer *Aſia*, by theſe valiant Chriſtian Champions again brought low, and they glad to retire themſelves further off into the Mountains and more Eaſtern Countries, until this heat was overpaſt; and that they, taking the benefit of the troubled ſtate of the Greek Empire (afterwards rent in ſunder by ambition and civil diſcord, the ruine of the greateſt Monarchies) recovered not only their former ſtate, but became alſo dreadful unto the Greek Emperors themſelves; upon whom they daily gained in one corner or other, ſtill maintaining the honour of their eſtate until the riſing of the *Othoman* Family, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall, God willing, be declared.

Sultan Solyman *his letters unto the Perſian Sultan* Axan.

The Chriſtians bind themſelves by Oath, never to return until they had won the Holy City.

Theſe victorious Princes (then, and to the worlds end famous) not contented, to their immortal praiſe, to have thus driven the Turks out of the leſſer *Aſia*, and recovered ſo many Countries; bound themſelves, as well the Princes as the common Souldiers, by ſolemn oath, never to return again into their Countries, until they had accompliſhed that ſacred War with the conqueſt of the Holy City. So mounting together the high mountain *Taurus*, and deſcending thence as into another world, they came to the City *Mareſia*, which they took without reſiſtance, the Turks there in garriſon being by night before for fear fled: where the Chriſtians for the refreſhing of themſelves certain days ſtaid. In the mean time *Robert* Earl of *Flanders* with a thouſand men at arms, was ſent out to give ſummons unto a City called *Artaſia*, about fifteen miles diſtant from *Antioch*: when as the Citizens beholding the Enſigns of the Chriſtians, ſuddenly took up Arms againſt the Turks there in Garriſon, which had of long holden them in Subjection, and prevailing upon them, ſlew them every Mothers Son: whoſe heads they preſented unto the Earl, and received him into their City. The Turks to revenge the death of their Friends, and to recover again the City before the coming of the reſt of the Army, ſent out about 10000 men out of *Antioch*; for thither was aſſembled a great Power of them to have hindred the further proceedings of the Chriſtians: and being come near to *Artaſia*, they ſent before certain ſtragling Companies, of purpoſe to draw the new come Chriſtians out of the City, lying in the mean time in ambuſh with the reſt, of purpoſe to intrap them. With theſe ſtragling Companies the Flemings ſallying out, luſtily encountred, and eaſily put them to flight, the Turks indeed flying of purpoſe to bring them within the danger of the other, lying in ambuſh. After whom the Flemings eagerly following, were before they were aware encloſed round with their Enemies, and there had undoubtedly periſhed, had not the Citizens (being Chriſtians) preſently ſallied out and right worthily relieved them.

Antioch *in Syria beſieged by the Chriſtians.*

The deſcription of the famous City of **Antioch**

Shortly after, the Chriſtian Princes marching forward with their Army, were incountred by the Turk at the River *Orontes*, who had there thought to have ſtaid their further paſſage: with whom *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who had the Leading of the Vantguard, had a hard conflict, until that the Turks, diſcouraged with the ſight of the Army ſtill coming on, forſook the bridge, and betook themſelves to flight. So the Chriſtians paſſing the River, came and incamped with their Army before the famous City of *Antioch*, the one and twentieth day of *October*, in the year 1097, the Governor whereof under the Perſian Sultan was one *Caſſianus*, (of ſome alſo honoured with the name of a King) who at the coming of the Chriſtians, had with him in the City ſeven thouſand Horſemen, and twenty thouſand Foot of the Turks, with great ſtore of Victuals, and all manner of other Proviſions neceſſary for the defence thereof. This City, called in ancient time *Epidaphane*, or *Epiphane*, and of the Hebrews, *Reblatha*, ſometime the Seat of the Syrian Kings, and afterwards the Metropolitical City of *Syria*, having under it an hundred and fifty Biſhops, (famous for many things, and amongſt others, for that it was the Seat of the bleſſed Apoſtle St. *Peter*, and firſt place wherein the Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion took the name of Chriſtians.) is ſituate upon the River *Orontes*, about twelve miles from the Sea, and was then ſtrongly fortified both by Nature and Art, being compaſſed about with a double Wall; the uttermoſt whereof was of hard ſtone, and the other of brick, with 460 Towers in the ſame, and an impregnable Caſtle at the Eaſt end thereof, whereunto was joyning a deep Lake, coming out of the great River, which watered the South ſide of the City. Round about this ſtrong City (one of the moſt aſſured Refuges of the Turks) although it were in circuit great, lay the Chriſtian Princes encamped, except on that ſide which being defended with the high broken Mountains, is not there to be beſieged. Upon whom the Turks out of the City, during the time of the ſiege made many a fierce and deſperate ſally, being ſtill by the Chriſtians moſt valiantly repulſed: eſpecially at the bridge which the Chriſtians had made of Boats for their commodious paſſage too and fro over the River. In this ſort was the ſiege continued until the beginning of *February*, with many a bloody Skirmiſh. At which time ſuch abundance of Rain fell, as that hardly could a man find any place to lie dry in; and the ſcarcity of Victual grew ſo great in the Camp, that many (horrible it is to ſay) to aſſwage their hunger, were glad to eat the dead bodies of their ſlain Enemies. In theſe extremities many died of hunger and cold; yea their horſes alſo periſhed for want of meat, ſo that in the whole Camp were ſcarcely left two thouſand horſes fit for Service, the reſt being either all dead, or brought ſo low, as that they were altogether unſerviceable. Theſe miſeries daily increaſing, divers men of great account, whom no terrour of the Enemy could have diſmaid; began ſecretly to withdraw themſelves out of the Camp, with purpoſe to have ſtoln home; among whom were *Peter* the Hermit Author of this War, and *Tancred* the Nephew of *Bohemund*, who taken by the way, and brought back with the reſt as Fugitives, were ſharply reprehended by *Hugh* the French Kings Brother, as Cowards, and Traytors to their Brethren and fellow Souldiers, and ſo inforced to take a new Oath for their Fidelity and Perſeverance. *Bohemund* in the mean time going to *Arthuſia* a Town not far off, by good Fortune cut off a great part of the Turks there in Garriſon; who after their uſual manner ſallying out to have cut off the Forragers of the Chriſtians, were now themſelves caught tardy: whereby the Country for a time was more open for the diſtreſſed Chriſtian Souldiers to ſeek abroad for relief. But this liberty ſo lately gained laſted not long, when news was brought unto the Camp, That the Turks in great number, out of the Provinces about *Aleppo* and *Damaſco*, were coming unto the relief of their beſieged Friends in *Antioch*. Nevertheleſs the Chriſtians truſting to their own ſtrength, and the ſtrength of the place wherein they were incamped, lay ſtill, and at their coming ſo incountred them, that they ſlew 2000 of them, and put the reſt to flight. In which conflict the Chriſtians got great ſtore of Proviſion and Victuals which the Turks had thought to have put into the City. The heads of the ſlain Turks the Chriſtians ſet upon ſtakes before the City, to the more terrour of the Defendants. This overthrow of the Turks, wherein *Caſſianus* had loſt his eldeſt ſon, with others of his beſt Captains, ſo daunted the beſieged, that they requeſted a Truce for a time of the Chriſtian Princes: which granted, they of the City came oftentimes into the Camp, and they of the Camp likewiſe into the City: *Caſſianus* ſtill expecting relief from the Perſian Sultan. Whilſt the Chriſtians Princes were thus buſie in *Aſia*, the Venetians with a great Fleet of two hundred Gallies ſcouring the Seas, under the conduct of *Henry Contarenus* the Biſhop, and of *Vitalis* the Dukes ſon, meeting with the Gallies of *Piſa* at the *Rhodes*, and falling out with them, had with them a great fight, wherein the Venetians having the upper hand, took eighteen of their Gallies, and in them five thouſand Souldiers: whom they ſeeing to be marked with the red croſs, the cogniſance of the ſacred War, they preſently ſet at liberty, together with the Gallies, detaining only thirty of the better ſort as Hoſtages. After that, the Venetians ſailing into *Ionia*, took the City of *Smyrna*, and ſpoiled all along the coaſts of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Cilicia*, before for fear abandoned by the Turks.

The Truce before taken between the Turks and the Chriſtians at the ſiege of *Antioch*, being in ſhort time after broken by the death of one *Vollo* a French-man, ſlain by the Turks; the War was again begun, and the City more hardly laid unto than before. At which time the Governor, who in the time of this long ſiege, which had now continued nine months, had loſt moſt part of his beſt Souldiers, was glad for the defence of ſo great a City, to uſe the Service of divers Chriſtians, then dwelling in the City. Among whom was one *Pyrrhus*, a Citizen of great Reputation, unto whom he had committed the guarding of a Tower, called the two Siſters; but afterward St. *Georges* Tower. This *Pyrrhus* had ſecret Intelligence with *Bohemund* Prince of *Tarentum*, with whom he agreed to give him there entrance into the City, upon condition, that he ſhould of the other Chriſtian Princes procure the Government of the City to himſelf; and that he, with the reſt of the Chriſtian Citizens in the City, might be at his hands well uſed: which thing being eaſily obtained, all things agreed upon, *Bohemund* with his Souldiers were by night by *Pyrrhus* let into the City, who made way for the reſt of the Army to enter. The City thus taken, many of the Turks fled into the Caſtle, the reſt were put to the Sword, Man, Woman, and Child; and among them alſo many of the Chriſtians, the furious Souldiers taking of them no knowledge. Great wealth was there found, but ſmall ſtore of Victuals. *Caſſianus* the late Governor flying out of the City to ſave himſelf, in wandring through the Mountains, fell into the hands of the Chriſtian Armenians, who lately thruſt out of *Jeruſalem*, were fled thither for Refuge, by whom he was there ſlain. In the City were ſlain about ten thouſand perſons. Thus was the famous City of *Antioch*, which the Turks had long before by Famine taken from the Chriſtians, again recovered the third day of *June*, in the year of our Lord God, 1098. The poor oppreſſed Chriſtians in *Jeruſalem* hearing of this ſo notable a Victory, gave ſecret Thanks unto God therefore, and began to lift up their heads in hope that their Delivery was now at hand. Of this Victory, the Princes of the Army by ſpeedy Meſſengers and Letters certified their Friends in all Countries, ſo that in ſhort time, the fame thereof had filled a great part of the World. Among others, *Bohemund* Prince of *Tarentum*, unto whom the City was delivered, ſent the joyful News thereof unto *Roger* his Brother Prince of *Apulia*; whoſe Letters as the moſt certain Witneſſes of the Hiſtory before reported, I thought it not amiſs here to ſet down.

Antioch *betrayed to the Chriſtians.*

Caſſianus *Governor of* Antioch *in flying ſlain.*

1098.

The Letters of Bohemund Prince of Tarentum, *to his Brother* Roger *Prince of* Apulia, *concerning the winning of* Antioch.

I ſuppoſe you to have underſtood by the Letters of your Son Tancred, *both of the great fear of ſome of us, and the battels which we have of late with our great Glory fought. But concerning the Truce, and the proceeding of the whole Action, I had rather you ſhould be certified by my Letters, than the Letters of others. King* Caſſianus *had required a time of Truce: during which, our Souldiers had free Recourſe into the City without danger, until that by the death of* Vollo *a Frenchman, ſlain by the Enemy, the Truce was broken. But whilſt it yet ſeemed an hard matter to win the City, one* Pyrrhus *a Citizen of* Antioch, *of great Authority and much devoted unto me, had Conference with me concerning the yielding up of the City; yet upon condition, That the Government thereof ſhould be committed to me, in whom he had repoſed an eſpecial Truſt. I conferred of the whole matter with the Princes and great Commanders of the Army, and eaſily obtained that the Government of the City was by their general conſent allotted unto me. So our Army entring by a Gate opened by* Pyrrhus, *took the City. Within a few days after, the Town* Aretum *was by us aſſaulted, but not without ſome loſs and danger to our Perſon, by reaſon of a Wound I there received. I aſſure you much of the valour of your Son* Tancred, *of whom I and the whole Army make ſuch account and reckoning, as is to be made of a moſt valiant and reſolute General. Farewel. From* Antioch.

Edeſſa *in vain beſieged by the Turks.*

Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of *Antioch*, *Corbanas* (the Perſian Sultan his Lieutenant) with a great Army beſieged *Edeſſa*, with purpoſe after the taking thereof, to have relieved the City of *Antioch*. But this being notably defended by *Baldwin* left there of purpoſe with a ſtrong Garriſon for the defence thereof; the Turk fearing in the mean time to loſe *Antioch*, the ſafeſt Refuge of the Turks in all thoſe parts, roſe with his Army, and ſet forward againſt the Chriſtians: where by the way, it was his fortune to meet with *Sanſadolus*, *Caſſianus* his Son, but lately fled from *Antioch*, by whom he underſtood of the loſs of the City, and by what means the ſame was moſt like again to be recovered: upon which hope, *Corbanas* with his mighty Army kept on his way, with a full reſolution to ſet all upon the fortune of a battel. Whoſe coming much troubled the Chriſtians: for that although they were poſſeſſed of the City, yet was the Caſtle ſtill holden by the Turks. Nevertheleſs leaving the Earl of *Tholcus* in the City, with a competent Power for the keeping in of them in the Caſtle, they took the field with the whole ſtrength of the Army, and ſo in order of battel expected the coming of their Enemies; who couragiouſly coming on, as men before reſolved to fight, joyned with them a moſt terrible and bloody battel. Neither were they in the City in the mean time idle, for that the Turks in the Caſtle having received in unto them certain Supplies from *Corbanas*, ſallied out upon them that were left for the ſafeguard of the City, and had with them a cruel conflict. Thus both within the City and without, was to be ſeen a moſt dreadful fight of reſolute men, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; yet after long fight and much effuſion of blood, the fortune of the Chriſtians prevailing, the Turks began to give ground, and afterwards betook themſelves to plain flight, whom the Chriſtians hardly purſuing, made of them a wonderful ſlaughter. In this battel were ſlain of the Turks above an hundred thouſand, and of the Chriſtians about four thouſand two hundred. There was alſo taken a great Prey; for beſides Horſes and other Beaſts for burden, were taken alſo five thouſand Camels with their lading. The next day, being the *28th* of *June*, the Caſtle was by the Turks (now diſpairing of relief) yielded up unto the Chriſtians.

Corbanas *the Sultans Lieutenant, with a great Army cometh to recover again the City of* Antioch.

Antioch thus taken, *Hugh* the French Kings Brother, ſirnamed the Great, was ſent from the reſt of the Princes to *Conſtantinople*, to have delivered the City unto *Alexius* the Emperor according to the agreement before made. But he, guilty in conſcience of his own foul dealing with them, unto whom he had ſent no relief at all during the long and hard ſiege of *Antioch*; neither performed any thing of that he had further promiſed, and therefore knowing himſelf hated of them; had in diſtruſt ſo great an offer of the Princes, ſo evil deſerved, and therefore refuſed to accept thereof. Whereupon *Bohemund* by the general conſent of the whole Army was choſen Prince, or (as ſome call him) King of *Antioch*.

Bohemund *choſen Prince of* Antioch.

The Plague in the Chriſtian Army.

After this long ſiege and want of Victuals, enſued a great Plague in the Army of the Chriſtians, the Autumn following, whereof it is reported fifty thouſand men to have died, and amongſt them many of great Account. But the mortality ceaſing, the Chriſtians in *November* following, *Diſcord ariſing upon emulation betwixt* Bohemund *and* Raimund.

The exceeding joy of the Chriſtians upon the firſt deſcrying of the holy City.

following, by force took *Rugia* and *Albaria*, two Cities about two days journey from *Antioch*; where diſſention ariſing betwixt *Bohemund* and *Raimund*, who of all others only envied at his Preferment unto the Principality of *Antioch*: *Bohemund* for the common cauſes ſake, gave way unto his Adverſary, and retired with his Souldiers back again to *Antioch*; after whom followed the Duke *Godfrey*, and the Earl of *Flanders* with their Regiments. The reſt of the Princes wintred ſome at *Rugia*, ſome at *Albaria*, from whence *Raimund* made ſundry light Expeditions further into the Enemies Country: but the Spring approaching, the Chriſtian Princes with all their Power took the field again. *Bohemund* with them remained with him, departing from *Antioch*, beſieged *Tortoſa*. *Raimund* in the mean time with the reſt, beſieging the City of *Tripolis*; who become much more inſolent than before, by reaſon of ſome fortunate Roads he had made upon the Enemies the laſt Winter, ceaſed not ſtill to malign *Bohemund* and his proceedings: matter enough to have divided the whole Power of the Chriſtians, and to have turned their weapons upon themſelves; which *Bohemund* well conſidering, roſe with his Army; and becauſe he would not with his preſence trouble the proceeding of the religious War, retired himſelf to *Antioch*. After whoſe departure, *Godfrey* and the Earl of *Flanders* took *Gabella*, a City about twelve miles from *Laodicea*, and from thence returned again to the ſiege of *Tortoſa*, whether *Raimund* came alſo with his Army, having before driven the Governor of *Tripolis* to ſuch compoſition as pleaſed himſelf, and to furniſh him with things as he wanted. Thus was *Tortoſa* hardly on three ſides beſieged by the Chriſtians, but ſo notably defended by the Turks, that after three months hard ſiege, the Chriſtians were glad to depart thence; and marching along the Sea-ſide, ſpoiled the Country about *Sidon*. But foraſmuch as that City was not eaſily to be won, they left it, and encamped before *Ptolemais*, which they alſo paſſed by; the Governor thereof ſending them out Victuals, with ſuch other things as they wanted; and upon Summons given, promiſing to yield the City after they had once won the City of *Jeruſalem*. From thence they came to *Ceſarea* in *Paleſtine*, where they ſolemnly kept the Feaſt of *Whitſontide*; and ſo to *Rama*, which they found for fear forſaken of the Infidels. Marching from *Rama*, and drawing near to *Jeruſalem*, they in the Vantgard of the Army, upon the firſt deſcrying of the Holy City, gave for joy divers great Shouts and Outcries, which with the like applauſe of the whole Army was ſo doubled and redoubled, as if therewith they would have rent the very Mountains, and pierced the higheſt Heavens. There might a man have ſeen the devout paſſions of theſe moſt worthy and zealous Chriſtians, uttered in right divers manners: ſome, with their Eyes and Hands caſt up towards Heaven, called aloud upon the name and help of Chriſt Jeſus; ſome, proſtrate upon their faces, kiſſed the ground, as that whereon the Redeemer of the World ſometime walked; others joyfully ſaluted thoſe holy places which they had heard ſo much of, and then firſt beheld: in brief, every man in ſome ſort expreſſed the joy he had conceived of the ſight of the Holy City, as the end of their long travel.

Jeruſalem *re-edified by the great Emperor* Ælius Adrianus.

A brief diſcourſe of the ſtate and fortune of the Holy City of Jeruſalem, *from the deſtruction thereof, under* Veſpaſianus *the Emperor, and* Titus *his ſon, until it was now again recovered out of the hands of the Infidels by* Godfrey *of* Buillon *and the other Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt.*

This moſt ancient and famous City, ſo much renowned in holy Writ, is ſituate in an hilly Country; not watred with any River or freſh Springs, as other famous Cities for moſt part be; neither yet was it well ſeated for Wood or Paſture ground: but what wanted in theſe, and ſuch other benefits of Nature, was by the extraordinary bleſſings of the moſt High ſo ſupplied, as that the Jews there dwelling, ſo long as they kept the Ordinances of the Lord, were of all other people in the World juſtly accounted the moſt happy and fortunate. Yet in thoſe ſo bleſſed times, was this City for the ſin of the people oftentimes delivered into the Enemies hand, and the glory thereof defaced; as well appeareth by the whole courſe of the Hiſtory of holy Scripture, as alſo by the ancient and approved Hiſtories, as well of the Jews themſelves, as others. Nevertheleſs it ſtill roſe again (though not in like glory as before in the time of King *David*, *Solomon*, and the other next ſucceeding Kings) and ſo was ſtill repeopled by the Jews, until that at laſt according to the foretelling of our Saviour Chriſt, it was with a great, and of all others moſt lamentable deſtruction, utterly raſed and deſtroyed by the Romans, under the leading of *Veſpaſian* the Emperor, and his noble Son *Titus*, forty years after our Saviour his precious Death and Paſſion. Since which time, it was never until this day again repaired, or yet well inhabited by the Jews; but lying buried in the ruines of it ſelf, all the Reign of *Domitian*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan*, until the time of the great Emperor *Ælius Adrianus*, it was again by him re-edified about the year 136, and after the name of him called *Ælia*; who together with the name changed alſo in ſome part the ancient ſituation of the City. For whereas before it was ſeated upon the ſteep riſing of an hill, in ſuch ſort that towards the Eaſt, and the South it overlooked the whole ground, having only the Temple and the Caſtle called *Antonia*, in the higheſt part of the City; *Adrian* tranſlated the whole City unto the very top of the hill, ſo that the place where our bleſſed Saviour ſuffered his moſt bitter Paſſion, with the Sepulchre wherein he was alſo laid, and from whence he in Glory roſe again, before without the City, were then incloſed within the Walls thereof, as they are at this day to be ſeen. Yet for all that, the Emperor being dead, in proceſs of time this new built City recovered again the ancient name of *Jeruſalem*, whereby it hath ever ſince, and is at this day yet known. This City ſo re-edified, the Emperor firſt gave unto the Jews, whom he afterwards thruſt out again for their Rebellion, and gave it to the Chriſtians to inhabit; over whom, one *Mark*, firſt Biſhop of the Gentiles there, had the charge. But foraſmuch as the Roman Emperors were at that time altogether Idolaters and Perſecutors of the poor Chriſtians, the Church alſo at *Jeruſalem*, with others, endured ſundry and many grievous Perſecutions under the Emperors *Antonius*, *Commodus*, *Severus*, *Maximinus*, *Valerianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Diocleſianus*, and *Maxentius*, until that at length *Conſtantine* the Great, converted unto the Faith of Chriſt about the year of Grace 320, ſuppreſſing the Pagan Idolatry, gave general Peace to the afflicted Church: whereby the Chriſtian Church at *Jeruſalem*, for the ſpace of three hundred years after, happily flouriſhed under the Greek Emperors, until the time of the Emperor *Phocas*; who having moſt cruelly ſlain the good Emperor *Maurice* with his Children, and ſo poſſeſſed himſelf of the Empire, gave occaſion thereby unto *Choſroe* the Perſian King, in revenge of the death of *Maurice* his Father in law, with all his Power to invade *Syria*: who as a tempeſt bearing down all before him, took alſo by force the City of *Jeruſalem*, having that year, which was about the year Six hundred and ten, ſlain almoſt an hundred thouſand Chriſtians. But *Phocas* the Uſurper being by them of his Guard moſt cruelly ſlain, and *Heraclius* ſucceeding in his ſtead, *Choſroe* was by him again driven out of *Syria*, and the Holy City again recovered, about the year 624. In theſe great Wars againſt the Perſians, *Heraclius* had uſed the help of the Arabians, called *Scenitæ*, a warlike people of *Arabia Deſerta*, altogether given to the Spoil: who, the Wars now ended, expecting to have received their pay, were contrary to their expectation, and without all reaſon rejected by them that ſhould have paid them, with very foul and contumelious words; as, that there was not mony enough to pay the Chriſtian Souldiers of the Latines and the Greeks, much leſs thoſe vile dogs (whom they ſo called, for that they had but a little before received the damnable Doctrin of the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, the great Seducer of the World, who even in that time flouriſhed.) Upon which diſcontentment they at their return revolted from the Empire, and joyned themſelves unto their great Prophet, and ſo afterwards unto the Caliphs his Succeſſors, extending his Doctrin, together with his Soveraignty, to the utmoſt of their power: and that with ſo good ſucceſs, that in ſhort time they had overrun all *Ægypt*, *Syria*, the Land of Promiſe, and taken the Holy City. With theſe (the Diſciples of *Mahomet* and his Succeſſors, the Saraſins, for ſo now they would be called) the Greek Emperors enſuing had for certain years divers conflicts, with diverſe fortune, for the poſſeſſion of *Syria*. But at length wearied out, and by them overcome, they left the aforeſaid Countries wholly to their Devotion. Hereby it came to paſs, that the Saraſins for the ſpace of 370 years following held theſe Countries, with many others in great ſubjection, oppreſſing ſtill the poor Chriſtians in *Jeruſalem* with moſt grievous Tributes and exactions: unto whom they yet left a third part of the City for them to dwell in, with the Temple of the Sepulchre of our Saviour, and Mount *Sion*; not for any devotion, either unto them, or thoſe places, but for that it yielded them a great profit by the recourſe of devout Chriſtians travelling thither: reſerving in the mean time unto themſelves, the other two parts of the City, with the Temple of *Solomon*, before reedified by the Chriſtians. Now whilſt the Saraſins thus triumph it in the Eaſt, and not in the Eaſt only, but over a great part of the Weſt alſo; contenting themſelves with ſuch Tributes as they had impoſed upon the ſubdued Nations and Countries; up ſtart the Turks, a vagrant, fierce, and cruel people; who firſt breaking into *Aſia* (as is before declared) and by rare fortune aſpiring unto the Kingdom of *Perſia*, ſubdued the Countries of *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, with the greateſt part of the leſſer *Aſia*, and *Judæa*, together with the Holy City: who both there and in all other places, held the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians in ſuch Subjection and Thraldom, as that the former government of the Saraſins ſeemed in compariſon of this to have been but light and eaſie. Neither was there any end or releaſe of theſe ſo great miſeries to have been expected, had not God in mercy by the weak means of a poor Hermit, ſtirred up theſe moſt worthy Princes of the Weſt to take up Arms in their defence, who having with their victorious Armies recovered the leſſer *Aſia*, with a great part of *Syria*, were now come unto this Holy City.

Jeruſalem *beſieged by the Chriſtians.*

The Governour of *Jeruſalem* underſtanding by his Eſpials, of the proceedings of the Chriſtians, had before their approach, got into the City a great garriſon of right valiant Souldiers, with good ſtore of all things neceſſary for the holding out of a long Siege. The Chrſtians with their Army approaching the City, encamped before it on the North; for that toward the Eaſt, and the South, it was not well to be beſieged, by reaſon of the broken Rocks and Mountains. Next unto the City lay *Godfrey* the Duke, with the Germans and Lorains: near unto him lay the Earl of *Flanders*, and *Robert* the Norman: before the Weſt gate lay *Tancred* and the Earl of *Tholouſe*: *Bohemund* and *Baldwin* were both abſent; the one at *Antioch*, the other at *Ediſſa*. The Chriſtians thus ſtrongly encamped, the fifth day after gave unto the City a fierce aſſault, with ſuch chearfulneſs, as that it was verily ſuppoſed, it might have been even then woon, had they been ſufficiently furniſhed with ſcaling ladders; for want whereof, they were glad to give over the aſſault and retire. But within a few days after, having ſupplied that defect,and provided all things neceſſary, they came on again afreſh, and with all their power gave unto the City a moſt terrible aſſault, wherein was on both ſides ſeen great valour, policy, and cunning, with much ſlaughter, until that at length the Chriſtians weary of the long Fight, and in that hot Country, and moſt fervent time of the year, fainting for lack of Water, were glad again to forſake the aſſault, and to retire into their Trenches: only the Well of *Siloe* yielded them water, and that not ſufficient for the whole Camp; the reſt of the Wells which, were but few, being before by the Enemy either filled up, or elſe poyſoned.

The Genowaies come to the Siege.

Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, a Fleet of the Genowaies arrived at *Joppa*; at which time alſo a great Fleet of the Ægyptian Sultans lay at *Aſcalon*, to have brought relief to the beſieged. Turks in *Jeruſalem*, whereof the Genowaies underſtanding, and knowing themſelves too weak to encounter them at Sea,took all ſuch things out of their Ships as they thought good, and ſo ſinking them, marched by Land unto the Camp. There was amongſt theſe Genowaies divers Engineers, men (after the manner of that time) cunning in making of all manner of Engines fit for the beſieging of Cities; by whoſe device, a great moving Tower was framed of timber and thick planks, covered over with raw Hides, to ſave the ſame from fire; out of which the Chriſtians might in ſafety greatly annoy the Defendants. This Tower being by night brought cloſe to the Wall, ſerved the Chriſtians inſtead of a moſt ſure fortreſs in the aſſault the next day; where whilſt they ſtrive with warlike Valour and doubtful Victory on both ſides, from morning until midday, by chance the wind favouring the Chriſtians, carried the flame of the fire into the face of the Turks, wherewith they had thought to have burnt the Tower, with ſuch violence, that the Chriſtians taking the benefit thereof, and holpen by the Tower, gained the top of the Wall; which was firſt footed by the Duke *Godfrey*, and his Brother *Euſtace*, with their followers, and the Enſigns of the Duke there firſt ſet up, to the great encouraging of the Chriſtians, who now preſſing in on every ſide, like a violent River that had broken over the Banks, bare down all before them. All were ſlain that came to hand, Men, Women, and Children, without reſpect of Age, Sex, or Condition: the Slaughter was great, and the ſight lamentable, all the Streets were filled with blood and the bodies of the dead, Death triumphing in every place. Yet in this confuſion, a wonderful number of the better ſort of the Turks, retiring to *Solomons* Temple, there to do their laſt Devoir, made there a great and terrible Fight, armed with diſpair to endure any thing; and the victorious Chriſtians no leſs diſdaining, after the winning

A moſt cruel and bloody fight, betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks in the Temple of Jeruſalem.

winning of the City, to find there ſo great reſiſtance. In this deſperate conflict, fought with wonderful obſtinacy of mind, many fell on both ſides: but the Chriſtians came on ſo fiercely, with deſire of blood, that breaking into the Temple, the foremoſt of them were by the preſs of them that followed after, violently thruſt upon the weapons of their Enemies, and ſo miſerably ſlain. Neither did the Turks thus oppreſſed, give it over, but as men reſolved to dy, deſperately fought it out with invincible courage, not at the gates of the Temple only, but even in the midſt thereof alſo, where was to be ſeen great heaps, both of the Victors and the vanquiſhed; ſlain indifferently together. All the Pavement of the Temple ſwam with blood, in ſuch ſort, that a man could not ſet his foot, but either upon ſome dead man, or over the ſhooes in blood: Yet for all that, the obſtinate Enemy ſtill held the Vaults and top of the Temple, when as the darkneſs of the night came ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians were glad to make an end of the Slaughter, and to ſound a Retreat. The next day (for Proclamation was made, for mercy to be ſhewed unto all ſuch as ſhould lay down their weapons) the Turks that yet held the upper part of the Temple, came down and yielded themſelves. Thus was the famous City of *Jeruſalem* with great bloodſhed, but far greater honour, recovered by theſe worthy
1099. Chriſtians, in the year 1099, after it had been in the hands of the Infidels above four hundred years.

The next day after, having buried the dead, and cleanſed the City, they gave thanks to God with publick Prayers and great rejoycing. The poor Chriſtians before oppreſſed, now overcome with unexpected joy, welcomed their victorious Brethren with great joy and praiſe; and the Souldiers embracing one another, ſparing to ſpeak of themſelves, freely commended each others valour. Eight days after, the Princes of the Army meeting together, began to conſult about the choice of their King; among whom was no ſuch difference, as might well ſhew which was to be preferred before the others. And although every one of them for proweſs and deſert, ſeemed worthy of ſo great an honour, yet by the general conſent of all, it was given to *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*; who about the ſame time hearing of the death of the Conqueror his Father, and more in love with his Fathers new gotten Kingdom in *England*, in hope thereof, refuſed the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, then offered unto him; which at his return he found poſſeſſed by *William Rufus* his younger Brother, and ſo in hope of a better, refuſing the worſe, upon the matter loſt both.

Godfrey *Duke of* Buillon *by the general conſent of the Chriſtian Army choſen firſt King of* Jeruſalem.

After whoſe departure, *Godfrey* of *Buillon* Duke of *Lorain* (whoſe Enſign was firſt diſplayed upon the Walls) was by the general conſent both of the Princes and the Army, ſaluted King: He was a great Souldier, and indued with many Heroical Virtues, brought up in the Court of the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth, and by him much employed. At the time of his inauguration, he refuſed to be crowned with a Crown of Gold: ſaying, *That it became not a Chriſtian man there to wear a Crown of Gold, where Chriſt the Son of God had for the ſalvation of mankind, ſometime worn a Crown of Thorn.* Of the greateſt part of theſe proceedings of the Chriſtians, from the time of their departure from *Antioch*, until the winning of the Holy City, *Godfrey* by Letters briefly certified *Bohemund*, as followeth:

Godfrey *of* Buillon, *to* Bohemund *King of* Antioch, *Greeting.*

After long travel, having firſt taken certain Towns, we came to Jeruſalem; *which City is invironed with high Hills, without Rivers or Fountains, excepting only that of* Solomons, *and that a very little one. In it are many Ciſterns, wherein water is kept, both in the City and the Country thereabout. On the Eaſt, are the* Arabians, *the* Moabites *and* Ammonites. *On the South, the* Idumæans, Ægyptians *and* Philiſtians: *Weſtward along the Sea-coaſt, lie the Cities of* Ptolemais, Tyrus, *and* Tripolis: *and Northward,* Tiberias, Cæſarea, Philippi, *with the Country* Decapolis *and* Damaſco. *In the aſſault of the City, I firſt gained that part of the Wall that fell to my lot to aſſail, and commanded* Baldwin *to enter the City; who having ſlain certain Companies of the Enemies, broke open one of the Gates for the Chriſtians to enter.* Raymond *had the City of* David, *with much rich Spoil yielded unto him. But when we came unto the Temple of* Solomon, *there we had a great conflict, with ſo great Slaughter of the Enemy, that our men ſtood in blood above the ancles: The night approaching, we could not take the upper part of the Temple, which the next day was yielded, the Turks pitifully crying out for mercy: and ſo the City of* Jeruſalem *was by us taken, the fifteenth of* July, *in the year of our Redemption* 1099, *thirty nine days after the beginning of the Siege, four hundred and nine years after it fell into the hands of the* Saraſins *in the time of* Heraclius *the Emperor. Beſides this, the Princes with one conſent ſaluted me (againſt my Will) King of* Jeruſalem; *who although I fear to take upon me ſo great a Kingdom, yet I will do my devoir, that they ſhall eaſily know me for a Chriſtian King, and well deſerving of the Univerſal Faith; but love you me as you do, and ſo farewell. From* Jeruſalem.

An hundred thouſand Turks and Saraſins ſlain.

Godfrey *of* Buillon *firſt Chriſtian King of* Jeruſalem, *dieth of the Plague.*

Whilſt theſe things were in doing at *Jeruſalem*, ſuch a multitude of the Turks and Saraſins their Confederates (now in their common calamity all as one) were aſſembled at *Aſcalon* (a City about five and twenty miles from *Jeruſalem*) to revenge the injuries they had before received, as had not before met together in all the time of this ſacred War. Againſt whom, *Godfrey* (the late Duke, and now King) aſſembled the whole Forces of the Chriſtians in thoſe Countries, and leaving a ſtrong Garriſon in the new won City, ſet forward, and meeting with them, joyned a moſt dreadful and cruel battel; wherein (as moſt report) were ſlain of the Infidels, an hundred thouſand men, and the reſt put to flight. The Spoil there taken, far exceeded all that the Chriſtians had before taken in this long Expedition. *Godfrey* after ſo great a Victory, returning to *Jeruſalem*, gave unto God moſt humble thanks. The reſt of the Princes returned either to their Charge, as did *Bohemund* to *Antioch*, *Baldwin* to *Edeſſa*, *Tancred* into *Galilee*, whereof he was created Prince; or elſe having now performed the uttermoſt of their Vows, returned with honour into their own Countries. This was of all others the moſt honourable Expedition that ever the Chriſtians took in hand againſt the Infidels, and with the greateſt reſolution performed; for the moſt part, by ſuch voluntary men, as moved with a devout Zeal to their immortal praiſe, ſpared neither life nor living in defence of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion; all Men worthy eternal Fame and Memory. Not long after enſued a great Peſtilence (the ready attendant of long war and want) whereof infinite numbers of People died, and among the reſt *Godfrey*, the firſt Chriſtian King of *Jeruſalem*, never to be ſufficiently commended: who with the general lamentation of all good Chriſtians, was honourably buried in the Church of the Sepulchre of our Saviour, on the Mount *Calvary*, where our Saviour ſuffered his Paſſion; in which the Chriſtian Kings ſucceeding him were alſo afterwards buried. He departed this life the eighteenth of *July*, in the year of our Lord, 1100. when he had yet ſcarce reigned a full year. Whoſe Tomb is yet at this day there to be ſeen, with an honourable Inſcription thereupon. 1100.

Baldwin *Count of* **Edeſſa**, *and Brother to* **Godfrey**, *Second King of* **Jeruſalem.** 1101.

After the death of *Godfrey*, the Chriſtians made choice of *Baldwin* his Brother, Count of *Edeſſa*, who leaving his former Government to *Baldwin* ſirnamed *Burgenſis*, his near Kinſman, came to *Jeruſalem* honourably accompanied, and was there by the Patriarch on *Chriſtmas-day* with all Solemnity crowned King, in the year 1101. He aided by the Venetians and Genoways at Sea, and by *Bohemund* King of *Antioch* by Land, took from the Infidels the City of *Ceſarea Stratonis*, ſtanding upon the Sea-ſide, and overthrew certain Companies of the Ægyptian Sultans at *Rama*. But underſtanding that the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt were coming to his aid with a new Power, he glad thereof, went to meet them, and ſafely conducted them to *Jeruſalem* alongſt the Sea-coaſt, by the Cities of *Berythus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Ptolemais*, all yet holden by the Enemy. At which time the Turks at *Aſcalon* having received great aid from the Arabians and Ægyptians, invaded the Country about *Rama*, where betwixt them and the Chriſtians was fought a moſt cruel battel, wherein the Chriſtians received a moſt notable overthrow, many of their great Commanders being there ſlain; and among the reſt, *Stephen* Earl of *Charters*, (but lately returned home from the former Expedition, and now come back again) and *Stephen* Earl of *Burgundy* and *Tholous:* yea, the King himſelf hardly eſcaped the Enemies hands, and after many dangers came at length to *Joppa*, after it had been conſtantly before reported him to have been in that battel alſo ſlain. Who having there in haſt repaired his Army, came again ſpeedily upon his Enemies, fearing as then nothing leſs; and overthrew them with ſuch a ſlaughter, as that they had ſmall cauſe to rejoyce of their former Victory. Neither were the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes in the other parts of *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, in the mean time idle, but ſought by all means to inlarge their Territories. *Tancred* Prince of *Galilee* having raiſed a great Power, took *Apamea* the Metropolitical City of *Cœloſyria*, and after much toil won alſo the City of *Laodicea*. *Baldwin* alſo the Governor of *Edeſſa*, beſieging the City of *Carras*, had brought the beſieged Turks to ſuch extremity, that they were about to have yielded the City; when ſuddenly he was ſet upon by a great Army of the Turks ſent from the Perſian Sultan for the relief of the beſieged; and being there overthrown, was himſelf there taken, with *Benedict* the Biſhop, and one *Joſcelin* his Kinſman: who after five years Captivity, found means with the Turk that had taken them, to redeem themſelves, to the great offence of the Perſian Sultan, and of the Sultan *Solyman*.

King *Baldwin* after the late Victory, lived for a ſeaſon at ſome good reſt in *Jeruſalem*, unmoleſted of his Enemies: but knowing his greateſt ſafety among ſuch War-like people, to conſiſt in Arms, he upon the ſudden raiſed the whole ſtrength of his Kingdom, and laid ſiege to *Ptolemais*, otherwiſe called *Acon*, a City of *Phœnicia*, ſtanding upon the rivage of the Sea; where he found ſuch reſiſtance, that he was glad to raiſe his ſiege and depart, having done nothing more than ſpoiled the pleaſant places about the City: By the way in his return back again it fortuned him to meet with certain Companies of the Enemies Adventurers, by whom he was in a Skirmiſh mortally wounded, although he died not thereof in long time after: for albeit that the Wound was by his Surgeons healed up, yet was the grief thereof ſo great, that at length it brought him to his end. Yet he notwithſtanding the former repulſe, the next year incouraged by the coming of the *Genoa* Fleet, laid hard ſiege again to *Ptolemais* both by Sea and Land, which after twenty days ſiege was by Compoſition yielded unto him.

King **Baldwin** *mortally wounded.*

Ptolemais *won by King* **Baldwin.**

Shortly after, the Governor of *Aleppo*, with certain other of the Turks great Captains in thoſe Quarters, having joyned their Forces together, and ſo invaded the Country about *Antioch*, were by *Tancred* (whom *Bohemund* at his departure into *Italy* had left Governor of that City) notably incountred and put to flight. At which time alſo the Chaliph of *Ægypt* ſending great Forces both by Sea and Land againſt the King of *Jeruſalem*, was in both places diſcomfited, at Land by the Chriſtians, and at Sea by Tempeſt.

Bohemund in the mean time, with a great Army of voluntary men and others (wherein he is reported to have had five thouſand Horſe, and forty thouſand Foot) returning towards the Holy Land, in revenge of many Injuries done by *Alexius* the Emperor, unto the Souldiers of this ſacred War, contrary to his Faith and Promiſe to them before given; by the way landed his men in *Epirus*, and grievouſly ſpoiled the Country about *Dirrachium*, part of the Emperors Dominion. Neither made he an end of ſpoiling, until he had inforced the Emperor for redreſs of ſo great harms, to make peace with him, and again by ſolemn Oath to promiſe all ſecurity and kindneſs unto all ſuch Chriſtian Souldiers as ſhould have occaſion to travel too or fro through his Countries, during the time of this Religious War. After which agreement he put to Sea again, and ſo returned for *Jeruſalem*; but whilſt he ſtayed at *Antioch*, he ſhortly after there died in the year 1108. leaving the Principality thereof unto his young Son *Bohemund* a Child, under the tuition of his Nephew *Tancred*.

Bohemund *dieth at* **Antioch.**

Yet were the Cities of *Berytus*, *Sidon*, and *Tyre*, alongſt the Sea-coaſt, in the Enemies poſſeſſion; for the gaining whereof *Baldwin* the King raiſed a great Army, and ſo came and laid ſiege to *Berytus*, which after many ſharp Aſſaults he at length won, the 23. day of *April*, in the year 1111. and put to Sword moſt part of them that he found therein. The ſame year alſo he, aſſiſted by a Fleet ſent unto him out of *Norway*, beſieged the City of *Sydon*; which the Citizens (ſeeing themſelves now beſet both by Sea and Land) at length yielded unto him by compoſition the 19*th* day of *December*. After which Victory he diſmiſſed the Fleet, and returned himſelf in Triumph to *Jeruſalem*. Now of all the famous Cities alongſt the Sea-coaſt of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtine*, from *Laodicea* to *Aſcalon*, was only the City of *Tyre* that remained in the Enemies hands; which City *Baldwin* alſo hardly beſieged; nevertheleſs it was ſo well defended by the Turks, that after he had all in vain lien before it by the ſpace of four months, he was glad to riſe with his Army and depart.

1111. **Sidon** *won*

It fortuned that within two years after, the Turks with a mighty Army ſent from the Perſian

Sultan, invaded the Country of *Cœloſyria*, where ſpoiling all before them as they went, they came and incamped upon the Sea-coaſt near unto *Tyberias.* Againſt whom *Baldwin* gathered the whole ſtrength of his Kingdom; with whom alſo *Tancred* (who now reigned in *Antioch*, the young *Bohemund* being dead) with the Count of *Tripolis*, and the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, joyned their Forces: who all together marching forward, came and incamped not far from the Enemy, being in number far more than they. *Mendus*, General of the Turks Army (for ſo I find him called) underſtanding of their approach, ſent out certain Companies of his Men to skirmiſh with them; againſt whom the Chriſtians alſo ſent out others, who incountring them, eaſily put them to flight, being before commanded ſo to do, of purpoſe to draw the Chriſtians into the danger of a great ſtrength, lying in ambuſh to intrap them; which according to the Turks deſire fell out; for the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing the flying Enemy, fell into the ambuſh, and ſo before they were well aware, were beſet on every ſide with their Enemies; unto the reſcue of whom other Companies of Chriſtians coming in, and others likewiſe from the Turks, both the great Armies were at length drawn into the field, where betwixt them was joyned a moſt fierce and terrible battel, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; but at length the multitude of the Turks prevailing, the Chriſtians were put to the worſe, and ſo glad to fly; after whom the fierce Enemy hardly followed, not without great ſlaughter. In which flight the King himſelf hardly eſcaped, with *Arnolphus* the Patriarch. Whilſt *Baldwin* was thus buſied abroad, the Turks and Saraſins from *Aſcalon* came and beſieged *Jeruſalem*, being then but weakly manned; but hearing of the Kings coming, and that the Army of the Chriſtians daily increaſed with new Supplies out of the Weſt by Sea, they retired home again, having burnt certain ſtore-houſes full of Corn, and ſpoiled ſuch things as were ſubject to their fury.

Long it were to recount all the hard Conflicts and Combats this King had with the Saraſins and Turks, which for brevity I paſs over, contented to have briefly touched the greateſt. In the laſt year of his Reign, having for certain years before lived in ſome reaſonable Peace, he made an Expedition into *Ægypt*, where he with much difficulty won *Pharamia*, a ſtrong City upon the Sea-coaſt, which he joyned unto his own Kingdom. After that, he went to the Mouth of the River *Nilus*, and with great admiration learned the nature of that ſtrange River; and having therein taken abundance of Fiſh, returned into the City, and there with the ſame feaſted himſelf with his Friends. But after dinner he began to feel the grief of his old Wound, and growing thereof ſicker and ſicker, returned with his Army toward *Jeruſalem*, where by the way near unto a City called *Laris*, he died (to the great grief
1118. of all the Chriſtians) in the year 1118. His dead body being brought back unto *Jeruſalem*, was there Royally buried, near unto his Brother *Godfrey*, after he had reigned eighteen years, whoſe Sepulchre is yet there alſo to be ſeen, faſt by the Sepulchre of his Brother.

Baldwin Brugenſis *choſen King of* **Jeruſalem.** 1118.

The late King thus dead and buried, the Chriſtians with one conſent made choice of his Couſin *Baldwin*, ſurnamed *Brugenſis*, Governor of *Edeſſa*; who by the name of *Baldwin* the Second, was the ſecond of *April*, in the year 1118, ſolemnly Crowned King of *Jeruſalem*. He was of ſtature tall and well proportioned, of countenance comely and gracious, having his Hair thin and yellow, his Beard mingled with ſome gray hairs hanging down to his breaſt; his colour freſh and lively for one of his years. He was a man of great courage, and therefore no leſs redoubted of his Enemies, than beloved of his Subjects, who had in him repoſed great hope both for the defence and inlarging of that new gained Kingdom. Againſt him the ſame Summer the Chaliph of *Ægypt*, aided by the King of *Damaſco* and the Turks, in revenge of the loſs he had in the Expedition the year before received, raiſed a great Power to invade him both by Sea and Land. Againſt whom *Baldwin* alſo oppoſed himſelf with his whole ſtrength, and ſo came and incamped within the ſight of his Enemies. In which ſort, when both Armies had lien the one facing the other by the ſpace of three months, they both roſe; the Chriſtians fearing the multitude of the Turks, and the Turks the valour of the Chriſtians, and ſo retired without any notable thing doing.

This year died *Alexius* the Greek Emperor, who even from the beginning of this Sacred War ſecretly repined at the good ſucceſs of the Chriſtians in *Syria*, although his Empire were thereby greatly inlarged; after whom ſucceeded *Calo Joannes* his Son, who all the time of his Reign right worthily defended his Territories in the leſſer *Aſia*, againſt the invaſion of the Turks.

Not long after, *Gazi* one of the greateſt Princes of the Turks in the leſſer *Aſia*, with the King of *Damaſco*, and *Debeis* King of *Arabia*, joyning their Forces together, with a great Army invading the Country about *Antioch*, came and incamped not far from *Aleppo*; againſt whom *Roger* Prince of *Antioch*, not expecting the coming of *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian Princes his Confederates, but preſuming of his own ſtrength, went forth with greater courage than diſcretion, whereunto his Succeſs was anſwerable; for incountring with them at too much odds, he was by them in a great battel overthrown, wherein himſelf was ſlain, with moſt part of his Army. Of which ſo great a ſlaughter, the place wherein this battel was fought was afterward called *The field of blood.* But whilſt the Turks after ſo great a Victory, careſly and at pleaſure roam up and down the Country, *Baldwin* ſetting upon them, overthrew them with a great ſlaughter, and ſo put them to flight. After this Victory gained by the Chriſtians the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, in the year 1120. King *Baldwin* in great Triumph entred into *Antioch*, and ſo joyned that Principality unto his own Kingdom.

The year following, the Turks with another Army invaded the ſame Country again; for repreſſing of whom, whilſt *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian Princes were making their Preparations, it fortuned that *Gazi* their great Commander ſuddenly died of an Apoplexy, upon whoſe death they retired without any further harm doing. Neverthleſs the next Spring, the King of *Damaſco*, aided by the *Arabians*, entred again with a great Power into the Country about *Antioch*, and there did ſome harm; for the Antiochians now deſtitute of their own Prince, and *Baldwin* (who had taken upon him their Protection) being far off, and otherwiſe buſied at *Jeruſalem*, were much more ſubject unto the inrodes of their Enemies (ſtill at hand) than before when they had a Prince of their own ſtill preſent amongſt them. But *Baldwin* advertiſed thereof, was making toward them with a moſt puiſſant Army, ſooner than they had thought it could have been poſſible. Of whoſe approach the Turks underſtanding, retired again out of the Country; after whom the King thinking it not good to make further purſuit, turned a little out of the way, and took *Garaze*, one of the ſtrongeſt Caſtles of the Kings of *Damaſco*, built but a year before, which becauſe it was not without great charge and danger to be holden, he raſed down to the ground.

Baldwin notwithſtanding that he had many times thus honourably repulſed his Enemies, wiſely conſidering how he was on the one ſide beſet with the Turks, and on the other ſide with the Saraſins (which yet reigned in *Ægypt*, the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* lying as it were in the mouth of them both) thought it good betime to crave aid of the Chriſtian Princes of *Europe*; and to that purpoſe had ſent his Embaſſadors unto divers of them, but eſpecially unto the Venetians, whom of all others he thought fitteſt at his need to yield him relief by Sea. It fortuned in the mean time, that *Balac* the Perſian Sultan with a great Army of the Turks invaded the Country about *Antioch*; whereof *Baldwin* underſtanding (although he certainly knew he ſhould ere long receive Aid from the other Chriſtian Princes his Friends, but eſpecially from the Venetians, and might therefore with great reaſon have protracted the War until their coming, yet being therewith much moved, or elſe his deſtiny ſo requiring) raiſed ſuch Forces as he had of his own, and without longer ſtaying for his Friends, with greater courage than good ſpeed ſet forward; and ſo joyning battel with the Enemy, was therein overthrown, with the greateſt part of his Army, and himſelf taken Priſoner in the fight, with certain other of his beſt Commanders; who all together were carried away Captives unto *Carras*.

Joppa *beſieged by the* Saraſins.

Upon the report of this overthrow, and taking of the King, the Chaliph of *Ægypt* on the other ſide took occaſion with all his Power to invade the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; and having in himſelf purpoſed the utter ruine thereof, beſide the great Army which he ſent thither by Land (which lay incamped not far from *Aſcalon*) he put to Sea an huge Fleet alſo of 700 Sail, for the diſtreſſing of the Sea-Towns, which he well knew were not otherwiſe to be won. This Fleet of the Saraſin Kings (for *Ægypt* with the Kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Morocco* were yet in poſſeſſion of the Saraſins) arriving at *Joppa*, there put aſhore their Land Forces, and hardly beſieged the Town both by Sea and Land. But whilſt they thus lay in great hope to have won the Town, *Dominicus Michael* Duke of *Venice*, ſtirred up by *Calixtus* then Biſhop of *Rome*, was come to *Cyprus* with a Fleet of two hundred Sail, for the Relief of the Chriſtians in *Syria* and the Holy Land; and hearing of the diſtreſs of *Joppa*, nothing diſmaid with the number of the Enemies Fleet, haſted thither, and came ſo ſuddenly upon them, that he had (as ſome report) overthrown them before they could put themſelves in order, or be in readineſs to fight. or as ſome others ſay, after a great and doubtful fight, having ſunk or taken a great number of them, and put the reſt to flight, he obtained of them a moſt glorious Victory. With like good Fortune alſo were the Saraſins overthrown in a notable battel at Land, near unto *Aſcalon*, by the Lord *Euſtace*, unto whom the defence of the Kingdom was committed after the taking of the King, who not long after ſo great a Victory died.

Tyre *beſieged by the Chriſtians,*

Joppa relieved (as is aforeſaid) the Duke of *Venice* travelled by Land to *Jeruſalem*, where he was honourably received by *Guarimund* the Patriarch, and the Confederation before made betwixt King *Baldwin* and the *Venetians*, upon the ſame conditions ſolemnly again renewed.

The Saraſins thus notably diſcomfited both by Sea and Land, and the Chriſtians thereby not a little incouraged, and joyning their forces together with the Venetians, came, and the firſt of *March* laid Siege unto the ancient and ſtrong City of *Tyre*: which they having beſet both by Sea and Land, gave thereunto many a ſharp aſſault; which the Turks as Men fighting for their Lives and Wives, right valiantly repulſed. In which ſort the Siege was continued longer than the Chriſtians had at the firſt thought ſhould have needed; yet at length after four Months ſiege, the Turks ſore weakened with often aſſaults, and hardly pinched with want of Food, all their ſtore being ſpent, yielded the City by compoſition. Thus was the City of *Tyre* (the moſt famous Port of *Phœnicia*) yielded unto the Chriſtians the nine and twentieth of *June*, in the year 1124. The third part of this City was given to the *Venetians*, according to the Compoſition made betwixt them and the Kings of *Jeruſalem*, That of all ſuch Cities as were by their help won from the Infidels in *Syria*, they ſhould have a third part, with one ſtreet, and free Traffique in all the reſt of the Cities of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*. Shortly after was King *Baldwin* ſet at liberty for the Ranſome of an hundred thouſand Ducats, after he had been eighteen months Priſoner among the Turks.

1124.

The Duke of *Venice* having now ſpent almoſt three years in this Sacred Expedition, and well confirmed the ſtate of the Chriſtians in *Syria*, returning home, by the way took the Iſlands of *Chios*, *Rhodus*, *Samos*, *Mitylen*, and *Andrus*, with the City of *Modon* in *Peloponeſus*; all, places belonging unto the Greek Empire. Which he did in revenge of the Injuries done by the Emperor in the time of his abſence, who envying at the ſucceſs of the Chriſtians in *Syria*, as had his Father *Alexius* before him, had in the abſence of the Duke infeſted the Territories of the Venetians, for the which he was now juſtly requited, with the loſs of a good part of his own.

Baldwin alſo not unmindful of the Injuries unto him before done by the Turks, in requital thereof, invaded the Country about *Damaſco*, and there in three notable battels overthrew the King, and ſpoiled the Country; wherein he took ſo great a Prey, that therewith he redeemed his Daughter, whom he had at the time of his deliverance left in Hoſtage with the Turks for the payment of his Ranſome. He alſo overthrew the Saraſins at *Aſcalon*, who aided by the Chaliph of *Ægypt*, had ſundry times invaded the Country about *Jeruſalem*. And ſo having well repreſſed his Enemies, for a ſpace lived in peace.

Damaſco *in vain beſieged by the Chriſtians.*

Not long after, *Hugh Paganus* firſt Maſter of the Templars (an Order of Knights firſt begun in the Reign of this *Baldwin*) before ſent to crave Aid of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, againſt the Turks and Saraſins, returned with a great number of zealous Chriſtians, ready to lay down their Lives for defence of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion: with whom *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian Princes of *Syria* joyning their Forces, ſet forward and beſieged *Damaſco*, the Regal Seat of the Turks in thoſe quarters. But ſuch was the ſtrength of this City, with the valour of the Defendants, and contagiouſneſs of the Air, that the Chriſtians (the Heavens as it were then fighting againſt them) were glad to raiſe their Siege, in vain begun, and ſo to retire.

Whilſt things thus paſſed in *Syria*, *Fulke* Count of *Turin*, *Mayn*, and *Anjou*, a man almoſt of threeſcore years, having as he thought beſt diſpoſed of his things at home, had for devotion ſake taken upon him an expedition into the Holy Land. In the time of which his preparations, Embaſſadors came unto him from King *Baldwin*, offering him in Marriage *Meliſenda* (or as ſome call her, *Margaret*) his eldeſt Daughter, with the Succeſſion of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* in dowry, if he ſhould ſurvive the King; and in the mean time to content himſelf with the Cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*; of which offer he accepted, and ſo held on his journey before intended. It fortuned about three years after, that the King fell dangerouſly ſick, and feeling his death drawing on, having laid aſide all Regal Dignity, cauſed himſelf to be removed out of his own Palace, into the Patriarchs houſe, which was neerer unto the Temple of the Sepulchre: and there calling unto him *Fulk* the Count, his Son-in-Law, with his Daughter and his Son *Baldwin*, then but two years old, in the preſence of the Patriarch, and divers other Princes and great Commanders, commended unto them the Government and Defence of the Kingdom, appointing *Fulk* to ſucceed him. And taking unto himſelf the habit and Profeſſion of a Monk (if he ſhould have longer lived) preſently after gave up the ghoſt the two and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, in the year 1131. whereof he reigned with much trouble thirteen years, and was ſolemnly buried in the Temple upon Mount *Calvary*, with the other two Kings *Godfrey* and *Baldwin* his Predeceſſors.

The death of Baldwin *the ſecond, the third King of* Jeruſalem.
1131.

The Kings Funeral ended, the Princes of the Kingdom with one accord made choice of *Fulk* the old Count, Earl of *Anjou*, for their King; who the 16 day of *September*, was with all ſolemnity by *William* the Patriarch crowned in *Jeruſalem*. This man in the beginning of his Reign, beſides his troubles abroad, was alſo vext with domeſtical and inteſtine diſcord: *Pontius* Count of *Tripolis*, ſeeking by force of Arms to have rent the Dukedom of *Antioch* from the Kingdom: and *Hugh* Count of *Joppa*, for fear of due puniſhment for his Treaſon, joyning himſelf with the Saraſins of *Aſcalon*, and ſo with them infeſting the Territories of *Jeruſalem*, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian State, and advantage of the Infidels. Which troubleſome broyls were yet afterwards by the King, partly by force, partly by the mediation of the Patriarch and other Princes (who ſeeing the danger thereof like to enſue, had interpoſed themſelves) well again appeaſed. Vengeance yet neverthleſs ſtill following both the aforeſaid Traitors: *Pontius* being ſhortly after ſlain by the Turks, and *Hugh* dying in exile.

Beſides theſe domeſtical troubles, the Turks alſo invaded the Country about *Antioch*, where they were by the ſudden coming of the King overthrown, with the loſs of their Tents and exceeding great Riches. And that nothing might be wanting unto the diſquieting of the State of that new erected Kingdom, not long after, *John* the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor, (together with the Empire, Inheritor alſo of his Fathers malice, againſt the proceeding of the Chriſtians in *Syria*) with a puiſſant Army paſſing through the leſſer *Aſia*, and by the way taking by force *Tarſus* the Metropolitical City of *Cilicia*, with the whole Province thereunto belonging, came and beſieged *Antioch*; which *Fulk* but a little before had, together with *Conſtance* the Daughter and Heir of the late Duke of *Antioch*, given in marriage to *Raymund* Count of *Poitou*, for that purpoſe ſent out of *France*. But in this ſo dangerous a ſtate of that Chriſtian Kingdom, the other zealous Chriſtian Princes interpoſed themſelves as Mediators betwixt the Emperor (pretending the ſame to belong unto his Empire) and *Raymund* that was in poſſeſſion thereof. And in fine brought it to this end, that *Raymund* for the preſent ſubmitting himſelf unto the Emperor, ſhould from thenceforth hold his Dukedom of him as of his Lord and Sovereign; upon which agreement the Emperor returned unto *Tarſus*, where he wintered, and ſo afterwards unto *Conſtantinople*.

Much about the ſame time, *Sanguin* one of the Turks great Princes, invading the Country about *Tripolis*, beſieged the Caſtle of *Mont-Ferrand*, unto the relief whereof *Fulk* coming with his Army, was by the Turks overthrown, and for the ſafeguard of his life, glad to take the refuge of the Caſtle, the Count himſelf being in that battel taken Priſoner. After which Victory, the Turks laid harder Siege unto the Caſtle than before; the beſieged in the mean time being no leſs pinched within with Famine, than pinched without by the Enemy. In this the Kings hard diſtreſs, the other Princes having raiſed the whole power of the Kingdom, were coming to his relief; whereof the Turk underſtanding, offered of himſelf to give them all leave freely to depart, and to ſet the Count at liberty, ſo that they would deliver unto him the Caſtle; of which his offer they gladly accepting, yielded up the ſtrong Hold, and ſo departed. The King by the way meeting with the Army, thanked his Friends for their forwardneſs, and ſo returned to *Jeruſalem*.

Calo Joannes *the Greek Emperor ſeeketh in vain to have ſurpriſed the City of* Antioch.

About four years after, *John* the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor with a great Army came again into *Syria*, with purpoſe to have united the famous City of *Antioch* unto his Empire, and ſo to have made a way into the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, whereafter he had now a good while longed. But coming thither in hope to have found the Cilicians and Syrians ready to have received him, he was deceived of his expectation, being ſhut out by the Latines, and not ſuffered to enter but upon his Oath, and that with ſome few of his followers; and ſo after due reverence done unto him, quietly to depart without any ſtir or innovation in the City. In revenge of which diſgrace, at his departure he gave the Suburbs of the City as a prey to his greedy Souldiers, pretending the ſame to be done for want of Victuals; who made havock of whatſoever came to hand, not ſparing the very Fruit Trees, but cutting them down to dreſs their meat withall. Having thus under colour of neceſſity revenged the diſgrace received, he returned into *Cilicia*, and there wintered: where one day for his diſport hunting of the wild Boar, and having wounded him with his Boar-Spear, the wild beaſt therewith enraged, and with all his force bearing forward upon the weapon, forced the Emperors hand backward upon the poynt of a poyſoned Arrow that was hanging in a quiver at his back, and ſo was therewith lightly wounded. Neverthleſs as light as the wound was, ſuch was the ſtrength of the Poyſon, that the grief thereof ſtill encreaſing, and his hand and Arm more and more ſwelling, there was no remedie to be found, but that his Arm muſt be cut off; which deſperate and uncertain cure he abhorring, in the extremity of his pain oftentimes pleaſantly ſaying, *That the Greek Empire was not to be governed with one hand*; overcome with the ſtrength of the Poyſon, died. In whoſe place ſucceded his youngeſt Son *Emanuel*, *Alexius* and *Andronicus* his two Elder Sons being both dead at his ſetting forth unto this ſo unhappy an expedition.

The death of Calo Johannes *the Greek Emperor.*

It fortuned about this time alſo, that

The miſerable death of Fulk, *fourth King of* Jeruſalem.

Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* being now at peace, that *Fulk* the King, with the Queen his Wife, lying at the City of *Ptolemais* in the time of Autumn, it pleaſed the Queen for her diſport to walk out of the City, unto certain pleaſant Fountains there by in the Country; for whoſe company the King would needs go alſo, with certain of his Courtiers; where by the way it chanced that certain Boys running along the field, put up an Hare that was ſitting in a furrow; after which all the Courtiers on horſeback galloped amain, with notable outcry and hollowing. Amongſt the reſt, the King to be partaker of the Sport, forcing his horſe to the uttermoſt of his power, in the midſt of his courſe fell, together with his horſe foundring under him, and in falling, chanced to fall his head under the horſe, with whoſe weight, and the hardneſs of his ſaddle, he was ſo cruſhed, that his Brains came out both at his noſe and ears. In this pitiful caſe being taken up for dead, and with great heavineſs being carried back, he yet breathing lay ſpeechleſs three days, and ſo died the thirteenth of *November*, in the year of Grace 1142. His dead body afterwards brought to *Jeruſalem*, was there with great magnificence, and the general lamentation of all his Subjects, buried with the other Kings his Predeceſſors.

Baldwin *the third of that name fifth King of* **Jeruſalem.**

Now had the late King left behind him two Sons, *Baldwin* about the age of thirteen years, and *Almerick* about the age of ſeven. Of the Elder of theſe two, the Chriſtian Princes made choice, who by the name of *Baldwin* the Third, was together with *Meleſinda* his Mother, Partner with him in the Kingdom, upon *Chriſtmas* day with great Solemnity crowned King of *Jeruſalem*, in the year 1142. About which time, *Sanguin* the Turk, taking hold of the diſcord betwixt *Raymund* Prince of *Antioch*, and *Joſcelin* Count of *Edeſſa*, came and with a great power beſieged *Edeſſa*, the Count being at the ſame time abſent; and did ſo much, that at length he took the City by undermining of it, where the bloody Turk exerciſed all manner of cruelty upon the poor Chriſtians in the City. By the loſs of this famous City, ſo large a Territory fell again into the hands of the Turks, as that three Archbiſhopricks were thereby drawn from the Church of *Antioch*. The Turk encouraged with this Victory, ſtraightwaies after beſieged *Cologenbar*, another ſtrong Town of the Chriſtians: One night drinking liberally with his Friends, he was by one of them in his drunkenneſs ſtabbed, and ſo ſlain, and the Siege raiſed. In whoſe ſtead *Noradin* his Son ſucceeded.

Baldwin, in the firſt year of his Reign, recovered from the Turks the Caſtle of *Sobal*, a ſtrong hold beyond *Jordan*, which he notably fortified, for the defence of that ſide of his Kingdom againſt the incurſions of the Turks. But the next year undertaking an expedition againſt the King of *Damaſco*, he was by *Noradin* the Turk, the Kings Son-in-Law, ſo hardly beſet in his return, as that it was accounted a thing miraculous, how he with his Army eſcaped his hands.

Conrade *third Emperor of* **Germany** *taketh upon him an expedition into the Holy Land.*

The Report of the loſs of *Edeſſa* with the miſeries there endured by the Chriſtians, being bruited through all parts of Chriſtendom, greatly moved the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt. Whom *Eugenius* the Third, then Biſhop of *Rome*, ceaſed not both by himſelf and by his Legates to ſtir up to take that ſacred War in hand. And therein wrought ſo effectually, that almoſt in every Province of Chriſtendom preparation was made for the relief of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in *Syria*. Of all others, *Conrade* the Third then Emperor of *Germany*, was moſt forward, who aided by the German Princes and others, with an incredible number of Voluntary Men out of all parts of Chriſtendom, had raiſed a moſt puiſſant Army, and therewith ſet forward on this ſacred Expedition. Of this his devout purpoſe he had before certified *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor, through whoſe Countries he was to paſs, craving that he might by his good Favour ſo do, and for his Mony to be relieved with Victuals, and other ſuch things as he ſhould have need of for himſelf or his people; promiſing in moſt quiet and peaceable manner to paſs, without any harm doing unto his Territories or Subjects. All which the Greek Emperor, commending his zeal, ſeemed in moſt large terms willingly to condeſcend unto. Nevertheleſs he inwardly repined thereat, wiſhing indeed no better ſucceſs to the Chriſtians in this ſo honourable an Expedition, than did the Infidels themſelves, as by the ſequel of his doings well appeared. For *Conrade* with his populous Army, indeed a terror unto the Greeks, entring into the Frontiers of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, found all things in ſhew friendly (for why, *Emanuel* had before given out ſtrait command, that good ſtore of Victuals and all other neceſſaries ſhould be ready at all places to be ſold as the Army was to paſs:) but they were not far come into the Country, but that in the tail of the Army ſtill followed certain ſtrong Companies of the Greeks, to keep the Souldiers from ſtragling from their Enſigns, roaming about in the Country, now and then cutting them ſhort, as they took them at advantage. And ſtill the further that they travelled, the more it was to be ſeen in the countenances of the diſcontented Greeks, how unwelcome Gueſts they were. Yet ſtill on they went through the Countries of their diſſembling Friends, little differing from open Enemies, until they came to *Philipolis*; in departing from whence, ſuch diſcord roſe between them that were in the Rereward of the Army, and the Greeks that followed them, that it was like to have come to plain battel, had not thoſe broyls, by the diſcretion of ſome of the wiſer ſort, been in good time appeaſed. So marching on they came to *Adrianople*, and in few days after to the Plain called *Cherobachi*, through which the River *Melas* hath his courſe; which in Summer being almoſt dry, in Winter or any other great downfall of Water, right ſuddenly overfloweth his banks, and ſo drowneth the whole Country; that then it ſeemeth no more a River, but a Sea; and ſwelling with the Wind, is not to be paſſed over but by great Boats. This River then ſuddenly riſing by night, by reaſon of the great rain that then fell, in ſuch abundance, as if the Flood-Gates of Heaven had been opened, ſo overflowed the place wherein the Army lay encamped on the ſide thereof, that with the violence of the Water were carried away not only many Weapons, Saddels, Garments, and ſuch other the Souldiers neceſſaries, but even the Horſes and Mules, with their burthens; yea, and great numbers of armed Men themſelves alſo; a moſt miſerable and lamentable thing to behold. Many valiant Men there fell without Fight, and died, no men killing them: to be tall, helped not; neither did valour ſtand them in any ſtead; they periſhed like hay, and were carried away like chaff, with ſuch outcries and lamentation, that they which ſaw it, verily ſaid, That the wrath of God was broke into the Camp: ſuch a ſuddain inundation had overwhelmed all, that happy was he who could make ſhift for himſelf, without regarding one another. This miſfortune ſore troubled the Emperor with his whole Army. Nevertheleſs, the Water being again fallen, and all put in ſo good order, as in ſuch a confuſion was poſſible, he marched on to the Imperial City; which the ſuſpitious and malitious Greek had before notably fortified and ſo ſtrongly manned with armed Men gliſtering upon the Walls, in ſuch ſort as if it ſhould have preſently been aſſaulted.

Conrade *the Emperor not ſuffered to enter into* Conſtantinople.

Conrade approaching the City, was not ſuffered to enter, but perſwaded by the Greek Emperor forthwith to tranſport his Army over the Strait, with promiſe to ſupplie his wants with whatſoever he ſhould require. Which was done with ſuch haſte, as if nothing had been farther to have been regarded, but only to have them ſhipped over; in which ſervice the Greeks ſpared no labour, or kind of Veſſel, that might ſerve to tranſport them. The Greek Emperor in the mean time, by men ſecretly appointed for that purpoſe, keeping account of the number that paſſed, until that they wearied with the multitude, ceaſed further to number them. But when they were once ſhipt over, then began the covert malice of the Greek Emperor forthwith to appear. For, beſides, that they truſting unto his promiſes, had brought little or no Proviſions over with them, the Country People by his appointment brought nothing unto them to ſell, as before; and they of the Towns and Cities ſhut their gates againſt them as they marched, not affording them any thing, but at an extream rate, for which they would firſt receive their Mony by Ropes caſt down from the Walls, and then deliver them what they pleaſed therefore, yea, and oftentimes nought at all. Among many other vile practiſes, not beſeeming Chriſtians, the miſchievous Greeks, to poyſon the Soldiers, mingled Lime with the Meal which they ſold unto the Army, whereof many of the hungry Souldiers greedily feeding, died. Whether the Greek Emperor were privy thereunto, or no, is not certainly known; but certain it is, that he cauſed counterfeit Mony to by coined, of purpoſe to deceive them; and in brief, there was no kind of miſchief to be practiſed againſt them, which either he himſelf deviſed not, or ſet not others to deviſe; to the intent that their Poſterity terrified by this ſo unfortunate an expedition, might for ever be afraid to take the like in hand again. And that nothing might be wanting that malice could deviſe, he had ſecret intelligence with the Turks themſelves, concerning the ſtrength of the Army, plotting unto them the means how the ſame might beſt be defeated; whereby it came to paſs, that ſome part thereof was by *Pamplano*, a Captain of the Turks, overthrown near *Bathis*, and many ſlain. But attempting to have done the like unto that part of the Army that paſſed through *Phrygia*, they were themſelves overtaken in their own device, and overthrown with a great Slaughter.

The Turks with a great Army ſeek to ſtay Conrade *his farther paſſage at the River* Mæander.

After which, the Turks in great number, to ſtay the Chriſtians further paſſage, kept the River *Mæander*, encamping upon the farther Bank of that winding River, with a moſt huge Army. There theſe worthy Chriſtians right well declared, that it was but their Patience, that the Grecian Legions that had before ſo long followed them, with their Countries and Cities they had paſſed by, were not to them become a Prey. For the Emperor coming unto the River ſide, where was neither Bridge nor Boat to paſs over, and finding the great Army of the Turks on the other ſide, ready to give him battel if he ſhould adventure the River, with their Archers ſtanding upon the very Bank Side; he retired a little out of the danger of the Shot, and there encamping, commanded his Souldiers to refreſh themſelves and their Horſes that night, and to be ready againſt the next morning to joyn battel with their Enemies they were ſo far come to ſeek for. Little reſt ſerved him that night; early in the morning before day he aroſe, and arming himſelf, put his whole Army in order of battel; as did alſo the Enemy on the other ſide of the River, with their Battalions orderly placed, and their Archers upon the Bank ſide, ready to give the firſt Charge on the Chriſtians, if they ſhould adventure to come over. Both Armies thus ſtanding in readineſs the one in ſight of the other, and nothing but the winding River betwixt them, the Emperor before reſolved to fight, with cheerful Countenance and Speech encouraged his Men as followeth.

A notable ſpeech of Conrade *the Emperor, to encourage his Souldiers to adventure the River* Mæander.

That this expedition was of us taken in hand, for Chriſt his ſake, and for the glory of God, and not of man, you know right well, fellow Souldiers. For, for this cauſe having contemned a pleaſant life at home, voluntarily ſeparated from our neareſt and deareſt Friends, we indure miſeries in forreign Countries; we are expoſed unto dangers, we pine with hunger, we quake with cold, we languiſh with heat; we have the earth our bed, the heaven our covering; and although we be noble, famous, renowned, rich, ruling over Nations; yet wear we always our gorgets as neceſſary bonds, and are with them and our armour loaded, as was the greateſt Servant of Chriſt, Peter, *ſurcharged with two chains, and kept with four quaternions of Souldiers. But theſe Barbarians (divided from us by this River) to be the Enemies of the croſs of Chriſt, whom we of long have deſired to encounter withall, in whoſe blood (as* David *ſaith) we have vowed to waſh our ſelves: Who is there that knoweth not, except he be altogether blockiſh and will not with open eyes ſee, nor open ears hear? If we wiſh to aſcend ſtraight way into Heaven, (for neither is God unjuſt, that he knoweth not the cauſe of this our journey, or will not in recompence give unto us the immortal Fields, and ſhady dwellings of Paradice, which having forſaken our own dwellings, have choſe rather for his ſake to die than to live) if we call to remembrance what things theſe men of uncircumciſed hearts do commit againſt our Friends and Countrymen, if we remember what grievous tortures they inflict upon them, or if we be any thing touched with the compaſſion of their innocent blood, unworthily ſpilt; ſtand now couragiouſly, and fight valiantly, and let not any fear or terror daunt us. Let theſe Barbarians know, that by how much Chriſt our Maſter and Inſtructer doth excel their falſe Prophet and Seducer, author of their vain impiety; ſo much are we ſuperiors unto them in all things. Seeing therefore we are an holy Camp, and an Army gathered by the power of God, let us not cowardly loſe our ſelves, or fear for Chriſt his ſake honourably to adventure our lives. For if Chriſt died for us, how much more right is it that we for him ſhould die alſo? Unto this ſo honourable Expedition let us alſo give an honourable end; Let us fight in Chriſts name, with a moſt aſſured hope of an eaſie Victory. For none of them (I truſt) ſhall be able to abide our force, but ſhall all give way, even to our firſt Charge. But if we ſhall die (which God forbid) there ſhall be an honourable place of our burial, whereſoever we ſhall for Chriſt fall. Let the Perſian Archer for Chriſt his ſake, ſtrike me, I will die in aſſured hope, and with that Arrow, as with a Chariot, I will come unto that reſt, which ſhall be to me dearer than if I ſhould with a baſe ordinary kind of death in my ſins end my days in a bed. Now at length let us take revenge of them, with whoſe impure feet our Kinſmen and Chriſtian Brethren trodden down, are gone into that common Sanctuary, in which Chriſt our Saviour, Equal and Aſſociate to his Father, is become a Companion of the Dead. We are thoſe mighty men, we all have drawn our Swords, which ſtand about the lively and divine*

Sepulchre, as about Solomons *bed. Wherefore we that be free born, let us take out of the way theſe* Hagarens, *the Children of the Bondwoman; and let us remove them as ſtones of offence out of the way of Chriſt; whom (I know not why) the* Grecians *feed up as greedy Wolves to their own deſtruction, and with ſhame fat them with their blood; when as with couragious minds and thoughts beſeeming wiſe men, they ought ſo to have been driven from their Provinces and Cities, as ravening wild Beaſts from their Flocks. Now for as much as this River, as it ſeemeth, is not, but by ſome adventure to be paſſed over, I my ſelf will ſhew you the way, and be the firſt that ſhall take it. Let us, ſerred together, forcibly break into the River, and we ſhall well enough ride through it. I know that the water beaten back by our force, will be at a ſtand, and break the Courſe, returning as it were backward. By not unlike means the* Iſraelites *in ancient time on foot paſſed over* Jordan, *the courſe of the River being ſtaid. This Attempt ſhall be ſpoken of in all Poſterity, it ſhall by no tract of time be worn out or forgotten, but ſtill remain in freſh Remembrance, to the great diſhonour of the Turks, whoſe dead bodies overthrown at this River, ſhall lie like a Mountain, and be ſeen as a Trophy of our Victory, unto the Worlds end, and our immortal Praiſe and Glory.*

The Turks overthrown by the Chriſtians with a wonderful ſlaughter.

Nicetas Choniates Annali primo rerum a Manuele Comneno Imperatore geſtar. fol. 139.

Having thus ſaid, and the ſignal of battel given, every man having before by devout prayer commended himſelf unto Almighty God, he was the firſt that put Spurs to his Horſe, and took the River; after whom followed the reſt, ſo cloſe and ſo forcibly, with ſuch a terrible Out-cry, that the courſe of the water, being by the force of their Horſes ſtaid, and as it were beaten back towards the Fountain, the whole Army paſſed over with leſs trouble than was feared. And then charging the Turks, already diſcouraged to have ſeen them ſo deſperately, and contrary to their expectation, to have paſſed the River; after ſome ſmall reſiſtance put them to flight, wherein ſuch infinite numbers of them fell, the Chriſtians like fierce Lions purſuing the Chaſe, that all the Vallies ran with blood, and the fields were covered with the bodies of the dead. Many of the Italians were wounded with the Turks Arrows, and but few or none ſlain. But what a multitude of the Enemies there fell, the ſundry and huge heaps of bones, to be compared unto great hills, did long time after well declare; whereat every man that travelled that way did worthily wonder, as did I my ſelf (ſaith *Nicetas Choniates*) in reporting this Hiſtory. Not much unlike that, is reported of the Cimbers, ſlain by *Marius* in ſuch number, that of their bones the Country people about *Marcellis* where the battel was fought, long time after made Walls for the defence of their Vineyards.

Iconium *in vain beſieged by the Chriſtians.*

After this ſo great a Victory, the Chriſtians without reſiſtance came to *Iconium*, the chief Seat of the Turkiſh Kings in the leſſer *Aſia*, which they hardly beſieged. Nevertheleſs, ſuch was the ſtrength of the City, being ſtrongly fortified both by Nature and Art, together with the valour of the Defendants, that lying there long, they little prevailed, preſſed in the mean time with greater extremities and wants in the Camp, than were the beſieged in the City; whereupon enſued ſuch a Mortality, people daily without number dying in the Army, that the Emperor was glad to raiſe his ſiege and to return into his Country. The chief cauſe as well of this ſo great a Mortality, as of the overthrow of ſo notable an Action, moſt men aſcribe unto the malice of the Greeks; who not without the privity of their Emperor (as it was commonly bruited) mingled Lime with the Meal which they brought to ſell into the Army; whereof the hungry Souldiers deſirouſly feeding, were therewith poiſoned, and ſo miſerably died. Of the certain time of this Journey of the Emperors into *Aſia*, Authors agree not; howbeit I muſt refer it unto the year 1146.

1146.

This Expedition, though not ſo fortunate as it was at the firſt well hoped of, yet profited the Chriſtian Common-weal in this, That the Turks therewith throughly buſied, and doubtful of the event thereof, *Baldwin* in the mean time fortified *Gaza* (ſometimes a famous City of the Philiſtines, but as then ruinous) which ſerved as a moſt ſure Bulwark for the defence of that part of his Kingdom towards *Ægypt*; and alſo for the diſtreſſing of *Aſcalon*, the only Refuge of the *Ægyptians*, then left in that Country; which ſtrong City ſtanding upon the Sea-ſide, he with all the Power of his Kingdom afterward beſieged both by Sea and Land; unto the Relief whereof, the Chaliph of *Ægypt*, after it had been five months by the Chriſtians beſieged, ſent a ſtrong Fleet of threeſcore and ten Gallies. At which time alſo on the other ſide *Noradin* the Turk, who had now got into his hand all the Kingdom of *Damaſco*, to withdraw the Chriſtians from the ſiege of *Aſcalon*, beſieged *Paneada*, from whence he was by the valour of the Citizens repulſed, as was alſo the Chaliphs Fleet at Sea, and the ſiege at *Aſcalon* continued. Where at length the Chriſtians after long battery had made a breach in the Wall, but giving thereunto an aſſault, they were with great loſs of their men repulſed, and the breach again by the Enemy repaired; who to the greater deſpight of the Chriſtians, hanged over the Walls in Ropes the dead bodies of their ſlain; with which Spectacle the chief Commanders of the Army were ſo moved, that they with all their Power returned again to the Aſſault, with a full Reſolution to engage thereon their whole Forces; which they ſo couragiouſly performed, that the beſieged diſcouraged with the great ſlaughter of their men, and now with true valour overcome, craved Parley; and ſo covenanting that they might with their Lives in ſafety depart, agreed to yield up the City, which they accordingly performed. The ſpoil of the City was given to the Souldiers, and the Government thereof unto *Almerick* the Kings Brother, Earl of *Joppa*. By this Victory, great ſecurity was gained unto that ſide of the Kingdom, the Enemy having now no place left in thoſe Parts whereon to ſet his foot.

The honourable Expedition of Lewis *the French King, by the malice of the Greeks, and envy of other Chriſtian Princes of* Syria *fruſtrated and brought to nought.*

About the ſame time alſo (or as ſome write, even at the ſame time together with the Emperor) *Lewis* the French King, the Eighth of that name, took upon him the like Expedition for the relief of the Chriſtians in the Holy Land; who ſetting forward with all the Chivalry of *France*, and accompanied with divers other great Princes, with a right puiſſant Army came to *Conſtantinople*, where he was by *Emanuel* the Emperor honourably received, with all the outward ſhews of feigned courteſie that could be deviſed. But having paſſed the Strait, and landed in *Aſia*, he found nothing anſwerable to that the diſſembling Greek had before moſt largely promiſed. And to diſtreſs him the more, was by falſe Guides before corrupted by the Emperor, conducted through the moſt deſolate and barren Countries, where by the way a wonderful number of his Souldiers periſhed of hunger and thirſt; many of them alſo being cut off in the ſtrait and difficult paſſages, or as they ſtrayed from the Army by the Greeks themſelves, appointed by the malicious Emperor for that purpoſe. Yet after many dangers paſſed, and his Army ſore waſted, he came

at

Damaſco in vain beſieged by Lewis the French King.

at length into *Syria*, and laid ſiege unto *Damaſco*, the Royal Seat of *Noradin* the Turkiſh King; which he ſo notably impugned, that the Defendants were almoſt out of hope to be able for any long time to hold out. Neither had it otherwiſe happened, had not Envy, the inſeparable Attendant of all honourable Actions, fruſtrated ſo great an hope; for the beſieged Turks being brought to great extremity, and now even at the point to have yielded the City, certain of the Chriſtian Princes of that Country, underſtanding that the King had promiſed the Government of that ſo famous a City, unto *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, if it ſhould be won; and ſecretly grudging to have a ſtranger preferred before themſelves, corrupted alſo (as ſome ſay) with the Turks gold, fraudulently perſwaded the King to remove from that part of the City where he lay, and might in fine have taken the ſame, unto another far ſtronger; where, after he had lien a great while, ſtriving with no ſmall extremities, he was enforced for want of Victuals to raiſe his ſiege and to depart. And ſo without any thing done worth the Remembrance, returned again into *France*, deteſting the very name of *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor; by whoſe ſiniſter dealing, ſo notable an Expedition was brought to be of none effect, to the great 1147. diſcouraging of all other Chriſtian Princes for taking the like again in hand.

Paneada taken and ſacked by the Turks.

Now had the ſtate of the Chriſtians in *Syria*, for certain years after the aforeſaid Expeditions, reſted in good peace; when *Noradin* the Turk (moved with ſome injuries done by the Chriſtians unto the Turks and Arabians, who by the leave of King *Baldwin* dwelt in the Foreſt of *Lybanus*) came and ſtraitly beſieged *Paneada*, a City of the Chriſtians there by; upon whom the Chriſtians in the City, now brought unto great extremity, made a moſt deſperate Sally, and had with the Turks a ſharp and cruel fight; but oppreſſed with the multitude, and inforced to retire, they were ſo hardly purſued, that the Turks together with them entred the City, and put to Sword all that came in their way. Nevertheleſs, the greater part of the Citizens (by good fortune) had in good time before retired themſelves into the Caſtle, which was of great ſtrength, and there ſtood upon their guard. Of whoſe diſtreſs, with the taking of the City, *Baldwin* hearing, raiſed a great Army, and ſo ſet forward to relieve them. But *Noradin* hearing of his coming, and doubtful of his own ſtrength, after he had taken the ſpoil of what he could, ſet fire on the City, and ſo departed.

Paneada again repaired by the Chriſtians.

The Citizens thus delivered, repaired again the Walls of the City, the Kings Power ſtill defending them. *Noradin* with his Power all the while lying cloſe in the Woods not far off, ſtill awaiting the offer of ſome good opportunity to take the Chriſtians at advantage, which ſhortly after fell out according to his own deſire; for the King doubting no ſuch matter, but ſuppoſing him to have been quite gone, having at his return ſent away all his Footmen, followed after himſelf, accompanied only with his Horſemen, and they alſo not very ſtrong; but as he was paſſing the River *Jordan*, he was ſuddenly ſet upon by *Noradin* and the Turks, and after a ſharp Conflict overthrown; the King himſelf with ſome few hardly eſcaped to *Saphet*, a Town there by; moſt part of his Nobility being there either ſlain or taken Priſoners; amongſt the reſt, *Bertrund* of *Blanquefort*, Maſter of the Templars, with divers others of great Name, fell at that time into the Enemies hands, and ſo were carried away Priſoners.

After this Victory, *Noradin* ſtrengthened with new Supplies from *Damaſco*, came again and beſieged *Paneade*, in good hope, that the Citizens diſcouraged with ſo great an Overthrow of the King, and out of hope to be by them relieved, would now either yield the City, or elſe not be able long to hold it out. But the King, contrary to his expectation, had in ſhorter time than was thought poſſible, raiſed a great Power; and aided by the Prince of *Antioch*, and the Count of *Tripolis*, was marching to the relief of his City; of which approach *Noradin* underſtanding, although he had made divers breaches in the Walls, and brought the Citizens almoſt unto utter deſpair, roſe with his Army and departed. And ſo *Baldwin* having now twice relieved the beſieged City, returned alſo to *Jeruſalem*.

Many an hard Conflict with the Turks had this young King afterwards, during the fortunate time of his Reign; wherein that troubleſome Kingdom happily flouriſhed amidſt the Miſcreants; all which to recount, were long and tedious. Yet among other things, it is worth the remembrance, how that *Noradin* the Turk, then King of *Damaſco*, beſieging *Sueta*, a Caſtle belonging to the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, was in a ſet battel by *Baldwin* overthrown and put to flight, with the loſs of the greateſt part of his Army. King *Baldwin* had before married *Emanuel* the Greek Emperors Neece; and now the ſame Emperor by *Guido Stephanus*, and *Triſillus* his Embaſſadors, requeſted to have given him again in marriage one of the Kings nigh Kinſwomen. Unto whom the King, after mature deliberation had concerning the matter, offered him *Matilde*, an honourable Lady, the Siſter of the Count of *Tripolis*, whom the Emperor refuſed; and afterward by the conſent of the King, made choice of *Mary* the Daughter of *Raimund* Prince of *Antioch* lately dead. Which the Count of *Tripolis* taking in evil part, in revenge thereof, by certain Men of War whom he put to Sea, grievouſly infeſted the Frontiers of the Emperors Dominions. Now during the time that the Marriage was ſolemnizing, the King made his abode at *Antioch*, at which time he fortified the Caſtle of *Pontiſfer* upon the River *Orantes*, againſt the Incurſions of the Enemies. But lying there, he according to his wonted manner, to prevent ſickneſs, upon the approach of Winter took Phyſick of *Barac* a Jew, the Count of *Tripolis* his Phyſitian. After the taking whereof, he fell preſently into the Bloody-Flux, and afterward into a Conſumption; whereby it was verily ſuppoſed, that he was poyſoned by the Jew; and the rather, for that ſome little part of the ſame Medicine that was left, being given to a Dog, he thereof in ſhort time died. The King thus languiſhing in pain, to change the Air, removed firſt to *Tripolis*, and afterward to *Berytus*, where he departed this troubleſome life, to live with his Saviour Chriſt in bliſs for ever. His dead Body was afterward with general Mourning of his Subjects conveyed to *Jeruſalem*, and there ſolemnly enterred by the body of his Father. He departed the 13th of *February*, in the year of Grace, 1163. when he had reigned 21 years. He was a man ſo gracious, that not only his Friends, but even the Infidels themſelves (as it is reported) lamented his death. Inſomuch that *Noradin* King of *Damaſco*, his antient Enemy, being invited by ſome of his Captains to invade his Kingdom at ſuch time as his Funerals were in ſolemnizing, refuſed ſo to do, anſwering, That compaſſion and regard was to be had of the juſt ſorrow of the Chriſtians his Subjects; for that they had loſt ſuch a King, the like was hardly again to be found in the World.

The death of King Baldwin *lamented by his Enemies.*

1163.

But leaving the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, with

Diſcord among the Turks in the leſſer Aſia.

Maſut *the Sultan divideth his Kingdom amongſt his three Sons.*

the greater part of *Servia*, thus victoriouſly gained from the Infidels; let us for the orderly continuation of our Hiſtory, again return to ſee the proceedings of the Turks at the ſame time in the leſſer *Aſia* alſo; wherein they yet held the ſtate of a Kingdom, though not ſo great as before the coming of the Princes of the Weſt into thoſe Countries. After the death of Sultan *Solyman* (with whom Duke *Godfrey* and the other Chriſtian Princes had much to do as they paſſed into *Syria*) as is aforeſaid, one *Muhamet* ſucceeded him; betwixt whom and *Maſut*, Sultan of *Iconium*, great diſcord aroſe, which at length broke out into open War, to the further weakning of that late ſhaken Kingdom. For the maintenance of which Quarel, as profitable for his State, *John Commenus* the Greek Emperor, gave Aid to *Maſut*, againſt his Enemy *Muhamet*. Nevertheleſs in ſhort time the two Infidels (profeſſing both one Superſtition) became Friends, and joyning their Forces, overthrew the Emperor with his whole Army, as he lay at the ſiege of *Iconium*, at which time he himſelf with much ado eſcaped by flight. *Maſut* afterwards having got into his hands the whole Kingdom of the Turks, at the time of his death divided the ſame among his three Sons; unto *Clizaſthlan* his eldeſt Son he gave *Iconium* his chief City, with the Towns and Provinces ſubject thereunto: unto *Jagupaſan* his other Son (or rather as ſome will have it, his Son in law) he allotted *Amaſia* and *Ancyra*, with the fruitful Country of *Cappadocia*, and the places adjoyning; but unto *Dadune* his other Son (or Son in law) he gave the great Cities of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſtia*, with the large Countries thereabouts, all ſometime a part of the Greek Empire, but then the portions of the Turks. Long it was not after this diviſion of the Kingdom, but that theſe Brethren after the manner of ambitious men, forgetful of the bonds both of Love and Nature, fell at diſcord among themſelves; the Sultan ſeeking the deſtruction of *Jagupaſan*, and he likewiſe of him, and that not by ſecret means, but even by open force of Arms. *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor in the mean time wiſhing the deſtruction of them both, heartily rejoycing thereat, and by his Embaſſadors ſecretly animating the one againſt the other, yet in open ſhew more favouring of the part of *Jagupaſan* than of the Sultan, by whoſe Aid he obtained againſt him many notable and bloody Victories; inſomuch that the Sultan weary of the Quarrel, was glad not only by his Embaſſadors to ſeek the Emperors favour, but even in perſon Himſelf to go and meet him, as he came with his Army out of *Syria*, and ſo to accompany him unto *Conſtantinople*, where he was together with the Emperor moſt honourably received, with all the ſigns of Joy and Triumph that could poſſibly be deviſed. The Emperor no leſs rejoycing to be ſued unto by ſo great a Prince, than did the Sultan at his ſo honourable entertainment.

Another fooliſh Icarus.
Nicetas Choniates, rerum ab Imper. Manuele Comneno, geſtar. li. 3. fol. 143.

Among other queint devices of many, for the ſolemnizing of ſo great a Triumph, there was an active Turk who had openly given it out, That againſt an appointed time he would from the top of an high Tower in the Tilt-yard fly by the ſpace of a furlong; the report whereof had filled the City with a wonderful expectation of ſo ſtrange a novelty. The time prefixed being come, and the people without number aſſembled, the Turk according to his promiſe, upon the top of an high Tower ſhewed himſelf, girt in a long and large white Garment, gathered into many pleits and foldings, made of purpoſe for the gathering of the Wind; wherewith the fooliſh man had vainly perſwaded himſelf to have hovered in the Air, as do Birds upon their Wings, or to have guided himſelf as are Ships with their Sails. Standing thus hovering a great while, as ready to take his flight; the beholders ſtill laughing, and crying out, Fly Turk, fly, how long ſhall we expect thy flight? The Emperor in the mean time ſtill diſſwading him from ſo deſperate an Attempt; and the Sultan betwixt fear and hope hanging in doubtful ſuſpence what might happen to his Country-man. The Turk, after he had a great while hovered with his Arms abroad, (the better to have gathered the wind, as Birds do with their Wings) and long deluded the expectation of the Beholders, at length finding the Wind fit, as he thought, for his purpoſe, committed himſelf with his vain hope unto the Air; but in ſtead of mounting aloft, this fooliſh *Icarus* came tumbling down with ſuch violence, that he brake his Neck, his Arms, his Legs, with almoſt all the bones of his Body. This fooliſh flight of the Turk gave ſuch occaſion of ſport and laughter unto the vulgar people (always ready to ſcoff and jeſt at ſuch ridiculous matters) that the Turks attending upon the Sultan could not walk in the ſtreets underided; the Artificers in their ſhops ſhaking their Arms, with their Tools in their Hands, as did the Turk, and ſtill crying out, Fly Turk, fly; whereof the Emperor hearing, although he could not chuſe but thereat ſmile Himſelf, as not ignorant of the ſcoffs and taunts of the vulgar people; yet in Favour of the Sultan, who was not a little grieved therewith, he commanded ſuch their Inſolency to be reſtrained.

The Solemnity of the Triumph overpaſſed (which by an ominous Earthquake at the ſame time hapning, was ſomewhat obſcured) the Emperor to ſhew his Wealth, and to gratifie the Sultan, gave unto him many rich and Royal Preſents, with ſuch a Maſs of Treaſure, as that he much wondred thereat. In requital whereof, and in token of his Thankfulneſs, he again honoured the Emperor with the name of his Father, and terming himſelf by the name of his Son, promiſed to reſtore unto him the City of *Sebaſtia*, with the Territory thereunto belonging, then part of *Dadune* his Inheritance. Nevertheleſs all this was nothing elſe but meer diſſimulation, as afterward by proof appeared; for returning home, he thruſt *Dadune* indeed out of *Sebaſtia*, which he ſpoiled, with the Country thereabout; but forgetful of his promiſe, kept it wholly to himſelf; and by force took alſo from him the City of *Cæſarea*, with the Country of *Amaſia*, by him before but lately poſſeſſed. In like manner he bent his Forces alſo upon *Jagupaſan* his other Brother, who in the very preparation of thoſe Wars died; by whoſe untimely death the City of *Ancyra*, with all his Dominions in *Cappadocia*, fell into the Sultans hands. Who now poſſeſſed of all his Fathers Kingdom, and ſwelling with Pride, forgetting all former courteſies, invaded the Emperors Territories, and took from him the City of *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, where he did great harm, as alſo in the Country thereabouts, killing the people as he went, or elſe carrying them away with him Captives. For the repreſſing of which Outrages, the Emperor with a ſtrong Army paſſed over into *Aſia*, and there in the Frontiers of his Territories fortified *Dorileum* againſt the Incurſions of the Turks. In performing whereof, he, to the example and ſtirring up of others, carried the firſt Basket of ſtones himſelf upon his ſhoulders; and uſed ſuch further diligence, that in ſhort time the City was compaſſed about with ſtrong Walls, and deep Ditches,

maugre

Unkindneſs betwixt the Emperor and the Sultan.

maugre the Turks, who ceaſed not with continual Alarms and Skirmiſhes to have hindred the Work. With like care, and for like purpoſe he alſo fortified *Subleum*, another ſtrong Hold; and leaving in either place a ſtrong Garriſon, returned again to *Conſtantinople*. Nevertheleſs the Turks ceaſed not with continual Inrodes to do what harms they might upon the Frontiers of the Empire, although not altogether with ſo good Succeſs as before, being many times cut off by the Garriſons of the late fortified Towns; which grievances ſtill increaſing, cauſed the Emperor to expoſtulate with the Sultan, as with an unthankful man, and forgetful of ſo great kindneſs before done unto him, as the eſtabliſhment of him in his Kingdom came unto; who with no leſs vehemency upbraided him again with Inconſtancy and breach of Promiſe, as well for fortifying the aforeſaid Places, contrary to the League betwixt them, as for that having promiſed much more, he had thereof performed nothing. Thus unkindneſs daily growing upon every trifle (as it commonly falleth out among men of great Spirit, and jealous of their own Honours) it was daily expected, when the matter ſhould fall out into open and bloody War; both of them being men of great valour, and apt to revenge the leaſt Injury to them offered. Yet was it the Sultans manner, warily to manage his Wars by his politique and expert Captains; whereas the Emperor being of an hotter nature, and couragious above meaſure, commonly in all his great Expeditions adventured his own Perſon, without reſpect what danger might thereof inſue unto himſelf or his State. Long it was not but that the Emperor, fully reſolved to be revenged of ſo many wrongs done unto him and his Subjects by the Turks, raiſed the whole Power of his Empire, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, in ſuch ſort as if he had therewith purpoſed, not only to have raſed to the ground *Iconium* the Regal Seat of the Turkiſh Sultan, but even utterly to have deſtroyed the whole Nation of the Turks. Thus with a moſt puiſſant and populous Army, well appointed of all things neceſſary, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, and ſo in good Order marching through *Phrygia*, *Laodicea*, *Chonas*, (called in ancient time *Paſſas*) St. *Archangel*, *Lampis*, *Cælænas*, (where the head of the great and famous River *Mæander* riſeth, whereinto the River *Marſyas* falleth) and from thence to *Chonia*, he with evil Luck, and worſe Speed, paſſed by *Myriocephalon*, an old ruinous Caſtle, ominous by the name thereof, as by the event in ſhort time after it proved. And albeit that he marched very circumſpectly, ſtill intrenching his Army in every place where he lodged; yet could he make but ſmall ſpeed, by reaſon of the multitude of his Carriages, and of the baſe people that attended the ſame. The Turks in the mean while oftentimes ſhewing themſelves in Troops, and in places of advantage skirmiſhing ſometime with one part of the Army, and ſometime with another, but never daring to adventure the fortune of a juſt battel; yet by ſuch means were the Victuallers of the Army oftentimes cut off, and the paſſages for the Emperor made very dangerous. And the more to diſtreſs the Chriſtians in their long travel, they found the Country before them of purpoſe deſtroyed by the Turks, and the water in many places poiſoned, whereof the Chriſtians unadviſedly drinking, fell into many grievous Diſeaſes, eſpecially the Flux, and thereof died in great number. The Sultan in the mean time, although he had in readineſs a right puiſſant Army of his own, and had procured great Aid from the Perſian Sultan his Kinſman and chief Supporter; yet fearing the doubtful event of War, and loath to adventure his whole Eſtate upon the fortune of a battel, ſought by his Embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe, to come to ſome peace with the Emperor, and that upon ſuch honourable Conditions, as by the wiſer ſort were thought not to be at any hand refuſed; which large offers, the Sultan as deſirous of Peace, made unto him not once, but again and again; which the Emperor nevertheleſs (repoſing great confidence in his own Power, and prickt forward by the Gallants of the Court, better acquainted with the brave Triumphs of Peace, than the hard Wars of the Turks) proudly rejected, and ſo diſmiſſing the Embaſſadors, ſcornfully willed them to tell their Maſter, That he would give him anſwer unto his Requeſts under the Walls of *Iconium*. Which cauſed the Sultan, now out of all hope of any Reconciliation to be made betwixt the Emperor and him, with all his Power to take the Straits of *Zibrica*, whereby the Army of the Chriſtians, departing from *Myriocephalon*, muſt of neceſſity paſs. The entrance into theſe Straits was by a long Valley, on either ſide incloſed with high Mountains, which towards the North riſing and falling according as the Hills gave leave, opened into divers large Vallies, which by little and little growing again ſtraiter and ſtraiter, with high and craggy Rocks hanging over on either ſide, and almoſt touching one another, gave unto the painful Traveller a moſt hard and difficult paſſage.

A great overſight of the Emperor.

Into this ſo dangerous a Valley the Emperor, not fearing the Enemies force, deſperately entred with his Army, having neither provided for the clearing of the Paſſages, or ſafety of his Carriages, in no other order than as if he had marched through the Plain and Champain Country, although it were before told him (that which he ſhortly after, but too late ſaw) that the Enemy had ſtrongly poſſeſſed both the Straits and Mountains, to hinder his farther paſſage. The Vauward of his Army was conducted by *John* and *Andronicus* the Sons of *Angelus Conſtantine*, accompanied with *Macroducas Conſtantine* and *Lapardas Andronicus*; in the right Wing was *Baldwin* the Emperors Brother in law; and in the left *Maurozomes Theodorus*: after them followed the Drudges and Scullions, with an infinite number of Carters and other baſe people, attending upon the Carriages, with the Baggage of the whole Army; next unto theſe came the Emperor with the main Battel, conſiſting for the moſt part of right valiant and worthy Souldiers; the Rereward was ſhut up by *Andronicus Contoſtephanus*, with a number of moſt reſolute men. They were not far entred into theſe Straits, but that the Turks from the Mountains and broken Cliffs ſhewed themſelves on every ſide, delivering their deadly ſhot from the upper ground, upon the Chriſtians below, as thick as hail; nevertheleſs the Sons of *Angelus*, with *Macroducas* and *Lapardas*, and the Vantguard, caſting themſelves into a three-ſquare battel in form of a wedge, with their Targets in manner of a Penthouſe caſt cloſe together over their heads, and their Archers on every ſide luſtily beſtowing their ſhot among the thickeſt of their Enemies, by plain force drove them out of the Straits they had before poſſeſſed, and cauſed them to retire farther off into the Mountains, and ſo having made themſelves way, with little or no loſs paſſed thoſe dangerous Straits; until that at length having recovered the top of a Hill very commodious for their purpoſe, as the caſe ſtood, they there ſtayed, and preſently encamped themſelves. And haply with like good fortune might the reſt of the Army have paſſed alſo, had they in like order, and with like courage preſently followed after; but failing ſo to do, and troubled with the multitude of their Carriages, which could not poſſibly make any way through thoſe ſtrait and rough paſſages, (but troubled themſelves one with another, as alſo the whole Army) they were from the upper ground miſerably overwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh Archers, whoſe Arrows fell as thick upon them from the Mountains, as if it had been a perpetual Tempeſt or ſhower of Hail, to the great diſordering and diſmaying of the whole Army; which the Turks quickly perceiving, and therewith encouraged, in great numbers came down from the Mountains, where they had before hovered over the heads of the Chriſtians, and forcibly entring the plain ground, and coming to handy blows, firſt overthrew the right Wing; where *Baldwin* himſelf ſeeking to reſtore his diſordered Companies, and to ſtay the fury of the Enemy (now raging in the blood of the Chriſtians) with a Troop of valiant Horſemen breaking into the thickeſt of them, as became a worthy Captain, was there compaſſed in with the multitude of his Enemies, and ſlain, together with all his Followers, and the greateſt part of the whole Wing by him commanded. With this Victory the Turks were ſo encouraged, that coming down with all their Power, they ſtopped all the ways whereby the Chriſtians were to paſs, who as men couped up in thoſe dangerous ſtraits, were not able either to defend themſelves, or to help one another: but incloſed as Deer in a toyl, and one troubling another, were the cauſe both of the deſtruction of themſelves and others. For by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of the place, neither could they that were before, retire, neither they that were behind in the rereward, come forward to relieve the one the other, as need required; the Carriages alſo which were many, and in the midſt of the Army, ſerving them to no other purpoſe, than to the hurt of themſelves. There were the Beaſts that ſerved for burden, together with the Souldiers, overwhelmed with the Turks ſhot, the Vallies lay full of dead Bodies, the Rivers ran mingled with the blood of Men and Beaſts, in ſuch terrible manner as is not by Pen to be expreſſed. For the Chriſtians not able either to go forward or retire, were there in thoſe ſtraits ſlain like ſheep; if any courage or ſpark of valour were by any ſhewed againſt the Enemy, fighting at ſo great advantage, it was but loſt, ſerving to little or no purpoſe. And to increaſe their miſeries, the Turks in ſcorn ſhewed upon the point of a Lance the head of *Andronicus Bataza*, the Emperors Nephew, who coming with an Army out of *Paphlagonia*, and *Heraclea Pontica*, againſt the Turks of *Amaſia*, was now by the way by them overthrown and ſlain. The report whereof, confirmed by the ſight of his head, and the conſideration of the deſperate danger wherein the whole Army preſently ſtood, ſo troubled the Emperor, that he was at his wits end; and with dry tears (if it may be ſo ſaid) diſſembling his inward grief, as one out of comfort, ſtood doubtful which way to turn himſelf. For the Turks having ſuffered the Vantguard to paſs, with all their Power charged the Emperors main battel, as his chief ſtrength, nothing doubting, but that having once overthrown it, they ſhould eaſily and at pleaſure overthrow the reſt. Oftentimes had the Emperor attempted to have driven the Enemy out of thoſe ſtraits, and ſo to have opened a way for his Army to have paſſed, but all in vain, the Power of the Turks ſtill increaſing, and they at great advantage notably maintaining the paſſages before by them taken. Nevertheleſs ſeeing no leſs danger in ſtaying ſtill, than in going forward, he with a few of his beſt Souldiers, armed with deſpair, and reſolved to die, (unto which kind of men nothing is terrible) ſet forward directly upon his Enemies, willing the reſt with like reſolution every man to make for himſelf the beſt ſhift he could. And ſo with many wounds and ſturdy blows both given and received, he by plain force and might of Hand brake through the thickeſt of his Enemies, and ſo eſcaped out of thoſe ſtraits as out of a trap; but yet not without many wounds received in his Perſon, and himſelf ſo wearied as that he was not able to lift up his Helmet, being beaten cloſe to his head, and in his Target were found ſticking thirty of the Turks Arrows, or thereabouts, the manifeſt tokens of his danger. The other Legions ſeeking to follow the Emperor, (for other way they had none) were on every ſide hardly aſſailed by the Turks, and infinite numbers of them ſlain, beſide many others that periſhed in thoſe ſtraits, overborn and trodden to death by their own Fellows. Yea ſuch as had the fortune to eſcape out of one of theſe perilous ſtraits, were forthwith ſlain in the next; for this ſo dangerous a paſſage through the Mountains, was divided (as is aforeſaid) into ſeven Vallies, which giving fair and broad entrances, the farther a man went, grew ſtill ſtraiter and ſtraiter, all which ſtraits the Turks had before ſtrongly poſſeſſed. At which time alſo, the more to increaſe the terror of the day, the light ſand raiſed with the feet of the Men and Horſes, was with the violence of a moſt tempeſtuous Wind which then blew, carried ſo forcibly and thick, that both the Armies grapling together, as if it had been in the darkneſs of the night, killed whomſoever they met withall, without reſpect of Friend or Foe; by which errour many were even of their own Friends ſlain. In every place lay great heaps of Turks ſlain together with the Chriſtians, and with them great number of Horſes and other Beaſts for carriage; ſo that thoſe Vallies where this bloody Conflict was, ſeemed to be nothing elſe but a large burying-place of the Turks and Chriſtians with their Horſes; but the greater number was of the Chriſtians that periſhed, and they not altogether of the common ſort, but even of the braveſt Captains, and the Emperors neareſt Kinſmen. The violence of the Wind ceaſing, and the day clearing up, there was of all others to be ſeen (a moſt woful Spectacle) men yet alive, ſome wounded, ſome whole, covered ſome to the middle, ſome to the neck, with dead Carkaſſes, in ſuch ſort as that they were not able with any ſtrugling to get out; who with their hands caſt up towards Heaven, with ruthful Voices cried out for help to ſuch as paſſed by; but all in vain, for every man poſſeſſed with the common fear, and by their danger meaſuring their own, paſſed by them without compaſſion, as more careful of their own ſafety, leaving them yet living, as men to be numbered among the dead.

Baldwin *ſlain.*

The miſery of the Chriſtians by the Turks incloſed in the ſtraits.

The Emperor in great perplexity.

The deſperate reſolution of the Emperor.

A moſt miſerable Spectacle.

The Emperor himſelf, as a man now almoſt ſpent, being got out of the danger, ſtood a while to breath himſelf under the ſhadow of a wild Pear-Tree, without any Page or Man to attend him; whom a poor Common Souldier eſpying, and moved with compaſſion, came unto him, and offering him the beſt Service he could, helped him up with his Helmet, and buckled up his Armor, which before hung dangling here and there about him: when in the mean while a Turk coming in upon him, had taken his Horſe by the bridle, in hope to have led him away Priſoner; whom for all that, the Emperor as weary as he was, with the truncheon of his broken Lance, which he had yet in his hand, ſtruck down to the ground, and

The Emperor in danger to have been taken, valiantly defendeth himſelf.

and ſo cleared himſelf of him. Preſently after came alſo another ſort of the ſtragling Turks, ready alſo to have ſeiſed upon him, and to have taken him Priſoner; of whom he ſlew one with the aforeſaid horſemans Staff, and with his Sword ſtruck off the head of another of them, and ſo kept them off, until that by the coming in of ten of his own Souldiers he was relieved. Departing thence with purpoſe to have joyned himſelf unto the Legions that were gone before in the Vauward, he had not gone far, but that he was troubled by other Turks that he met, and the heaps of the dead bodies that lay in his way; yet at laſt, having with much labour and more danger paſſed the Straights, and a River running thereby, being glad in many places to ride over the dead bodies of his own people, and ſome other of his own Souldiers now reſorting unto him, he there ſaw *John Catacuzene*, a noble and right valiant Gentleman that had married his Niece, fighting alone againſt a great number of the Turks, to be compaſſed in and ſlain; whom he was no way able to relieve. Which Turks alſo ſeeing him paſs by, followed after him, as after a moſt rich Prey, in hope to have either preſently taken or ſlain him; whom nevertheleſs he (encouraging the ſmall Company he had about him) notably repulſed, and ſo ſometime marching forward, and again as occaſion required making a ſtand, came at length long looked for, but moſt welcome, unto the Legions that were gone before, not ſo ſorry for their own hard eſtate, as careful of his danger.

The malapert ſpeech of an inſolent Souldier, to the Emperor.

The great patience of the Emperor.

The fearful reſolution of the Emperor.

A ſharp reprehenſion of a common Souldier, unto the Emperor.

But before he could come to thoſe his Legions, he ready to faint for thirſt, commanded water to be brought unto him out of the River that ran faſt by; which after he had taſted, and by the unpleaſant taſte thereof percived the ſame to be infected, he fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid, *O how unfortunately have I taſted Chriſtian Blood!* whereunto an audacious and malapert Souldier there preſent, and more bitter than the cruel time it ſelf, replied, *Emperor, thou didſt not now, thou didſt not now, I ſay, firſt, but long ſince, and oftentime drink the blood of the Chriſtians, even until thou waſt drunk again, at ſuch time as thou didſt with moſt grievous exaction vex and devour thy poor Subjects.* Which reproachful Speech the Emperor put up in ſilence, making as if he had not heard it. With like patience he alſo forbear the ſame railling Companion, at ſuch a time as he ſeeing his Treaſures hardly beſet, and in danger to be taken by the Turks, to animate his Souldiers, willed them to do what they could to reſcue the ſame, and to take it for their labour: *This Treaſure* (ſaid this impudent Fellow) *ſhould before have been given to thy Souldiers, rather than now, when as it cannot be recovered but with great danger and bloodſhed; and therefore if thou be a man of valour, as thou wouldſt be accounted, and as the preſent caſe requireth, valiantly charge the Turks (now ready to carry it away) thy ſelf, and ſo recover thine evill gotten goods.* Whereunto the Emperor anſwered no more but, *Good words Souldier*, and ſo put it up, as did *David* the railings of *Shimei.* Shortly after the coming of the Emperor unto thoſe Legions of his Vantguard (the only remainder of his Army that was left whole and unbroken) came alſo *Andronicus Contoſtephanus*, who had the leading of the Rereward, with divers other of great place, who had by good fortune eſcaped the fury of the Turks. The miſeries of that day (not well to be expreſſed) being ended by the coming on of the night, the Chriſtians ſate in the Camp, oppreſſed with a general heavineſs, leaning their heads on their Elbows, and conſidering the preſent danger wherein they were, ſcarcely accounted themſelves among the living: the Turks in the mean time to increaſe their fear, all the night running about the Camp, and crying aloud unto ſuch of their Countrymen in the Camp, as had abjured their Religion, or for other reſpects had taken part with the Imperials, that they ſhould that night get them out of the Camp, whereas otherwiſe if they ſtayed unto the morning, they ſhould be all but loſt men. In this ſo great an extremity the Emperor not knowing what to do, calling together his chief Commanders, declared unto them the deſperate danger they were in, together with his reſolution; which was, ſecretly himſelf to fly, and to leave the reſt, every man to make what ſhift he could for himſelf. Which his baſe determination, ſo foul as fouler could not be, they all wondering at, as proceeding from a diſtraughted mind; and by chance overheard by one of the Common Souldiers that ſtood without the Tent, the ſame Souldier fetching a deep Sigh, in deteſtation thereof cried out with a loud voice, *What means the Emperor?* And ſo turning himſelf unto him, ſaid, *Art not thou he that haſt thruſt us into this deſolate and ſtraight way, and caſt us into deſtruction? and haſt as it were in a mortar incloſed us in theſe Rocks and Mountains, ready as it were to overwhelm us? What had we to do with this vail of mourning, and mouth of hell? Wherefore came we into theſe miſchievous and rough Straights? What can we particularly complain of the Barbarians, which in theſe inextricable windings, and ſtraights have thus intangled and beſet us? Was it not thou that broughtſt us hither? And wilt thou now, as Sheep appointed to the ſlaughter, thy ſelf betray us?* With which ſo ſharp a reprehenſion the Emperor throughly peirced, changed his former determination for flight, reſolving now to ſtand by it, whatſoever hapned. But what ſhould he now do, beſet with his Enemies ſtill ready to devour him? Help he ſaw none, either in himſelf, or to be expected from others, nought remained but death and deſpair. In this extremity, all mans help now failing, it pleaſed the moſt Mighty (which chaſtiſeth and healeth again, which ſtriketh, and yet giveth life, and ſuffereth not the ſtaff of the Sinners always to rage into the portion of the Juſt) with merciful eye to look down upon theſe diſtreſſed men, and with an unwonted kind of clemency to touch the Sultans heart, in ſuch ſort, as that he which but the other day ſtood in dread of the Emperor, and now having him as it were in his power, was overcome with his miſery: or as in times paſt he by *Huſai* overthrew the councel of *Achitophel*, and changed the mind of *Abſalom* to follow ſuch advice as ſhould bring him to deſtruction; ſo then alſo he turned the mind of the Turkiſh Sultan, that (perſwaded by certain of the chief men about him, who in time of peace had uſed to receive great Gifts and Preſents from the Emperor) he of his own accord by his Embaſſadors offered Peace unto the Emperor, before that he in ſo great diſtreſs ſued unto him for any; and that upon the ſelf ſame conditions they had made their Leagues before. The Turks in the mean time ignorant of the Sultans reſolution, early in the morning were ready to aſſault the Emperors Camp, in hope at once to have overthrown his whole power; and with a barbarous outcry ſtill riding about it, came ſo nigh, that with their Arrows they ſlew divers of the Chriſtians within their own Trenches; againſt whom the Emperor ſent out *John* the Son of *Conſtantinus Angelus*; and after him, *Macroducas Conſtantinus*, but to little or no purpoſe. In the mean time came one *Gabrus*, a man of greateſt reputation among the Turks, Embaſſador from the Sultan;

by whoſe commandment the Turks ceaſed further to aſſault the Camp. This *Gabras* coming unto the Emperor, and after the manner of the Barbarians, honouring him with reverence done even down to the ground; firſt preſented him with a goodly Horſe, whoſe furniture was all of Silver, as if it had been for triumph, and a rare two edged Sword. Afterwards falling into a large diſcourſe concerning a Peace to be made, and with many kind words as with an Inchantment appeaſing the Emperors heavineſs conceived of his late loſs; he among other pleaſant conceits then uttered, ſeeing the Emperor in a rich Robe of yellow over his Armor, told him, that the colour was not fit for War, as ominous, and portending evil luck; whereat the Emperor a little ſmiling, gave it him, with the fortune thereof; and receiving the Horſe and Sword ſent him from the Sultan, ſigned the Peace. Amongſt other conditions of the Peace (which the dangerouſneſs of the time ſuffered not the Emperor curiouſly to examine) one was, That *Dorileum* and *Subleum*, before by him fortified, and the ground of this unfortunate War, ſhould be again raſed.

The Emperor returneth.

Peace thus beyond all hope being concluded, and the Emperor delivered of a great fear, purpoſed another way to return home, to avoid the ſight of the Slain: yet was he by his Guides, even of purpoſe as it was thought, led back the ſame way, to behold with his eyes thoſe miſerable ſpectacles of the Slain, which could not with any tears be ſufficiently lamented; for the Straights were made plain, the Vallies were raiſed into Hills, and the Forreſts lay covered with the Carcaſſes of the Slain; no man paſſed by, but with heavineſs and grief, calling by name upon their Friends and Familiars there loſt. Having again paſſed thoſe doleful Straights, the Turks were again in the tail of the Army; for it was reported, That the Sultan repenting himſelf to have ſuffered his Enemies ſo to eſcape out of his hand, had given leave to ſuch as would, to purſue them, but followed not himſelf with his whole Power, as before; for moſt of the better ſort of his Souldiers loaded with the Spoil, were now returned home. Yet theſe that followed after the Army, ſlew many, eſpecially ſuch as were weak or wounded, and ſo unable to follow the reſt; although the Emperor to help the matter, had for the repreſſing of them placed the beſt of his Captains and Souldiers in the Rereward. Being come to *Chonas*, and now out of fear of his Enemies, he gave unto every one of his hurt Souldiers mony to pay for the curing of their wounds, and to bring them into their Countries; and coming to *Philadelphia*, there ſtaied for the refreſhing of himſelf after ſo great miſeries.

The Emperor altogether performs not what he had promiſed to the Sultan.

In his return he raſed *Subleum*, according to his promiſe, but not *Dorileum*; whereof the Sultan by his Embaſſadors complaining; he anſwered, That what he had promiſed, inforced thereunto by neceſſity, he greatly forced not to perform. In revenge whereof, the Sultan ſent out one of his moſt valiant Captains, called *Atapack*, with 24000 good Souldiers choſen out of his whole Army, with ſtraight charge to waſte and deſtroy all the Emperors Provinces and Towns even unto the Sea-ſide, without ſparing Man, Woman, or Child; and in token thereof, to bring with him ſome of the Sea-Water, an Oar, and ſome of the Sea-Sand: who according to his Charge ſpoiled *Phrygia*, with the Cities along the River *Mæander*, even unto the Sea ſide; and ſo returning with a rich Prey, by the way ſpoyled what before he had left untouched. But in paſſing the River *Mæander*, when he feared leaſt, he fell into the hands of *John Bataza* the Emperors Nephew, and of *Ducas Conſtantine* a moſt valiant Captain, of purpoſe ſent againſt him by the Emperor with a great Power: where he was by them ſlain, together with all his Army, and the rich booty he had taken, all again recovered.

Atapack *with all his Army ſlain.*

Many other hard conflicts paſſed after this, betwixt the Imperials and the Turks, the one continually ſeeking to annoy the other; all which, for that therein nothing fell out much worth the remembrance, I for brevity willingly paſs over. In theſe endleſs troubles died *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor, when he had by the ſpace of eight and thirty years worthily governed that great Empire, having in the time of his ſickneſs but a little before his death taken upon him the habit of a Monk, in token he had forſaken the World. All the time of his Reign he was no leſs jealous of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, than of the Turks in the Eaſt; and therefore ever dealt with them unkindly. In time of War he was ſo laborious, as if he had never taken felicity but in pain; and again in Peace ſo given over to his pleaſure, as if he had never thought of any thing elſe. After whoſe death the Turkiſh Sultan, without reſiſtance invading the Frontiers of the Empire, took *Sozopolis*, with divers Towns thereabout in *Phrygia*, and long beſieged the famous City of *Attalia*, and ſo daily encroached more and more upon the Provinces of the Empire, joyning the ſame unto his own; which was no great matter for him to do, the Greek Empire being then no better governed than was the Chariot of the Sun (as the Poets feign) by *Phaeton*, far unfit for ſo great a charge: for *Alexius Comnenus*, otherwiſe called *Porphyrogenitus*, being then but a Child of about twelve years old, ſucceeding his grave Father in the Empire, after the manner of Children altogether following his pleaſure; his Mother with his Fathers Kinſmen and Friends, who above all things ought to have had an eſpecial care of his Education, neglecting the old Emperors truſt in them repoſed, followed alſo their own Delights, without the regard of the Ruine of the Commonweal. Some enamoured with the Beauty of the young Empreſs, gave themſelves all to bravery, and the courting of her; otherſome in great authority, with no leſs deſire in the mean time, with the common Treaſures filled their empty Cofers; and a third ſort there was (of all the reſt moſt dangerous) who neither reſpecting their ſenſual pleaſure, nor the heaping up of wealth, looked not ſo low, aiming at the very Empire it ſelf. As for the common good, that was of all other things of them all leaſt regarded.

Andronicus *aſpireth.*

Among theſe third ſort of the ambitious, was old *Andronicus*, the Couſin of the late Emperor *Emanuel*, a man of an haughty and troubleſom Spirit, whom he the ſaid Emperor *Emanuel* had for his aſpiring, moſt part of the time of his Reign kept in priſon, or elſe in Exile, as he now was, being by him not long before, for fear of raiſing new troubles, confined to live far off from the Court at *Oenum*; who now hearing of the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, of the Factions in Court, of the Childiſhneſs of the young Emperor *Alexius*, given wholly to his Sports; and the great men put in truſt to have ſeen to his bringing up, and to the Government of the Empire, ſome like Bees to fly abroad into the Country, ſeeking after Mony as the Bees do for Hony; ſome others in the mean time like Hogs, lying ſtill and fatting themſelves with great and gainful Offices, wallowing in all Exceſs and Pleaſure, to have no regard of the Honour or Profit of the Common-weal; thought it now a fit time (in ſuch diſorder of the State) for him to aſpire unto the Empire after which he had all

his

Ambition covered with the zeal of the Common-weal.

Androni-cus *deperteth from* Oenum *toward* Conſtan-tinople.

his life-time longed. That he was generally beloved of the Conſtantinopolitans, yea, and of ſome of the Nobility alſo, he doubted not; for them he had long before by his popular behavior gained, together with the diſtruſt of the late Emperor, jealous of his Eſtate; which as it coſt him his Liberty, ſo miſſed it not much but that it had coſt him his Life alſo; but now that he was dead, wanted nothing more than ſome fair colour for the ſhadowing of his foul purpoſe. Among many and right divers things by him thought upon, was a clauſe in the Oath of Obedience which he had given to the Emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his Son, (which Oath he had delivered unto him in Writing) *That if he ſhould ſee, hear or underſtand of any thing dangerous or hurtful to their Honor, Empire, or Perſons, he ſhould forthwith bewray it, and to the utmoſt of his power withſtand it*; which words (not ſo to have been wreſted) as beſt ſerving for his purpoſe, he took firſt occaſion to work upon. And as he was a ſtout and imperious man, thereupon writ divers Letters unto the young Emperor his Couſin, unto *Theodoſius* the Patriarch, and other ſuch as he knew well affected unto the late Emperor *Emanuel*; wherein among other things which he wiſhed to be amended in the preſent Government, he ſeemed moſt to complain of the immoderate power and authority of *Alexius*, then Preſident of the Council; who in great favour with the young Emperor, and more inward with the Empreſs his Mother than was ſuppoſed to ſtand with her honour, ruled all things at his pleaſure, inſomuch, as that nothing done by any the great Officers of the Empire, or by the Emperor himſelf was accounted of any force, except his approbation were thereunto annexed: whereby he was grown unto ſuch an exceſſive pride, having all things in his power, as that no man could without danger, as upon the venemous Baſiliſk, look upon him. Of which his ſo exceſſive and inſolent power *Andronicus* by his Letters now greatly complained, moved thereunto (as he would have it believed) with the care he had of the young Emperors ſafety, which could not (as he ſaid) long ſtand with the others ſo great power, which he therefore (as in duty bound) wiſhed to be abridged; aggravating withall the infamous report of *Alexius* his too much familiarity with the Empreſs; which firſt muttered in Court, afterwards flew (as he ſaid) throughout the whole World. The reformation of which things, as tending to the danger of the Perſon of the Emperor, and Diſhonour of the State, he forſooth as one in conſcience bound, with great Gravity and Eloquence (being a very learned man) both in open Speech and Writing moſt earneſtly deſired: and thereby ſo wrought, as that he was generally accounted for a man of great experience (as indeed he was) and a faithfull Counſellor to the State, a thing much to have been wiſhed. Wherefore leaving *Oenum*, the place whereunto he was by the Emperor *Emanuel* in a ſort baniſhed, travelling towards *Conſtantinople*, he gave it out in every place where he came, what he had ſworn, and what he would for his Oaths ſake do; unto whom men deſirous of the change of the State, and ſuch as gave credit unto the report long before given out, That he at length ſhould become Emperor, flockt in great numbers, as Birds about an Owl, to ſee him, and with vain praiſes to chatter about him. In this ſort he came as far as *Paphlagonia*; in every place honourably received, as if he had been a deliverer of his Country ſent from God. And in the Imperial City he was not longed for of the Vulgar People only, as their Light and Load-Star, but divers of the Nobility alſo by ſecret Meſſengers and Letters, perſwaded him to haſten his coming, and to take upon him the Government; aſſuring him, that there would be none to reſiſt him, or to oppoſe themſelves againſt his ſhadow, but all ready to receive him; eſpecially *Mary* the young Emperors Siſter by the Fathers ſide, with her Husband *Cæſar* (who being a Woman of great ſpirit, and grieving much to ſee her Fathers Empire made a prey unto *Alexius* the Preſident, and the Empreſs her Step-Mother, whom ſhe naturally hated) had raiſed a great and dangerous tumult in the City againſt them both, which was not without much blood-ſhed appeaſed; and now ceaſed not by often and moſt earneſt Letters (to her own deſtruction and her Husbands, as it afterwards fell out) to prick forward *Andronicus* and to haſten his coming; who by Letters and Meſſengers daily coming unto him from the Court ſtill more and more encouraged, leaving behind him the Country of *Paphlagonia*, came to *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, and ſtill on towards the Imperial City, with great cunning and diſſimulation winning the hearts of the People as he went. For who was ſo ſtonie hearted, whom his ſweet words and abundant tears flowing from his gracious eyes, as from two plentiful Fountains down by his hoary Cheeks, might not have moved? All that he did or deſired, was (as he ſaid) for the common good and liberty of the Emperor. By which means he had drawn unto him a wonderful number of the rude Country People by the way as he came. But coming into *Bythinia*, he was by *John Ducas* Governour of the great City of *Nice*, ſhut out as an Enemy to the State, and ſo at *Nicomedia* alſo. Nevertheleſs, paſſing by thoſe Cities, he held ſtill on his way, until at length he was near unto a Caſtel called *Charace*, encountred by *Andronicus Angelus*, ſent with a great power againſt him, by the great Preſident *Alexius*; who otherwiſe as an effeminate man, given over to his pleaſure, ſpending the greateſt part of the night in rioting by candle light, and moſt part of the day in his bed, with curtains cloſe drawn as if it had been night; yet doubtful now of the coming of his Enemy, left nothing undone which he thought might help for the aſſuring of his State. Many of the Nobility of whom he ſtood in doubt, he gained unto him by means of the Emperors Mother; who by her rare Beauty, ſweet Words, and gracious Behaviour, as with a Line drew all men to her. Other ſome he overcame with Gifts and great ſums of Mony, whereof he now made no ſpare; And ſo wrought the matter, that no man of any account or mark went over to *Andronicus*. Who nevertheleſs with ſuch followers as he had, joyning battel with *Angelus* (ſent againſt him, as is before ſaid) overthrew him and put him to flight. Wherewith *Alexius* much troubled, in great diſpleaſure and without reaſon, called *Angelus* (now fled to *Conſtantinople*) to an account for the Mony delivered unto him for the defraying of the Charges of that unfortunate War; who ſeeing his misfortune to be ſo taken as if he had framed it himſelf, and of purpoſe betrayed the Army committed to his charge; by the Counſel of his ſix Sons, being all men of great Valour and Wiſdom, firſt took the refuge of his own houſe; but finding himſelf there in no ſafety, with his Wife and his ſaid Sons (two of which came afterwards to be Emperors) preſently fled over the Straight to *Andronicus*; who ſeeing of him coming towards him, is reported to have uſed this Text of Scripture, *Behold I will ſend mine Angel before thy face, to prepare thy ways*, alluding to his name of *Angelus*, as the Preſage of his good Succeſs.

Wherefore

Andronicus *encampeth in ſight over againſt* **Conſtantinople.**

Wherefore incouraged with the coming of theſe Noblemen his Kinſmen, he without longer ſtay marched directly unto the Sea-ſide, and there a little above *Chalcedon* encamped almoſt right over againſt *Conſtantinople*; cauſing many great fires (more than needed) to be made in his Army, to make it ſeem unto them of the City greater than indeed it was; and with the ſight thereof to keep the Citizens in ſuſpence, with the doubtfull expectation of ſome great matter to enſue. Wherein he was no whit deceived; for they having him now as it were in ſight, leaving their work, ran ſome to the Sea-ſide, ſome up to the Hills and high Towers to behold his Army a far off, willing with their friendly looks, if it had been poſſible, to have drawn him over the Straight into the City. *Alexius* knowing himſelf not able by Land to encounter with ſo ſtrong an Enemy, (for now ſome which on foot could not go over to *Andronicus*, were ſecretly in heart already with him; otherſome thought themſelves ſufficiently to ſhew their fidelity to the Emperor, if ſitting ſtill at home, they ſhould take part with neither; for ſo have ſubtil heads and aſpiring minds, for the furtherance of their deſires, taught the common people both to ſay and think) thought it beſt by Sea to avert the preſent danger; and therefore comanded all the Emperors Gallies (being before rigged up and ready) to be ſtrongly manned and put to Sea, for the keeping of *Propontis* and the Straight of *Boſphorus*, that *Andronicus* ſhould not that way paſs. Now had he determined to have made eſpecial choice of ſome aſſured Friend of his own to be General of this Fleet, as he had done of the Captains and Maſters, being all of his own Kinſmen and Domeſtical Servants; but as he was about to have ſo done, *Contoſtephanus* (ſirnamed the great Captain) oppoſed himſelf againſt it, challenging that place as due to himſelf, before all others; ſo that overcome by his Authority (which it was no time for *Alexius* now to diſpute) he was glad to commit the charge and truſt of the whole Fleet unto him, as General.

Xiphilinus *ſent over to* **Andronicus,** *dealeth unfaithfully in doing his meſſage.*

Thus having (as he thought) made the Sea ſure, he ſent over unto *Andronicus*, as from the Emperor, (for all was done in his name) one *George Xiphilinus*, with Letters and other Inſtructions, whereof the effect was, To command him forthwith in peace to return to the place from whence he came, and not farther to trouble the State; promiſing him in ſo doing, the Emperors Favour, with many great Honours and Preferments to be afterwards beſtowed upon him; which otherwiſe might turn to his utter deſtruction. Which Letters *Xiphilinus* having delivered, and done his Meſſage, is reported to have ſecretly adviſed *Andronicus* to proceed in his purpoſe, and not in any caſe to yield to that which was of him required:

The proud anſwer of **Andronicus.**

wherewith *Andronicus* encouraged, proudly rejected the graces offered, and willed the Meſſenger to tell them that ſent him, that if they would have him to return unto the place from whence he came, they ſhould firſt diſplace the proud Preſident *Alexius*; and call him to an account for the Villanies he had done; then the Emperors Mother they ſhould deprive of her honours, and ſhut her up as a Nun into ſome Cloyſter, there to learn to amend her life; and laſt of all, that the Emperor according to his Fathers Will, ſhould take upon himſelf the Government, and not be overtopt by others, by whoſe too much Authority, his Majeſty and Honour was (as he ſaid) too much impaired.

Contoſtephanus *revolteth to* **Andronicus.**

But within a few days after, *Contoſtephanus*, the great Captain and General, carried over all the Gallies to *Andronicus*, leaving nothing but their names for the Preſident in his Rolls to look upon; whoſe revolt above all other things encouraged *Andronicus*, and caſt *Alexius* even into the bottom of deſpair.

Alexius *in deſpair.*

For now *Andronicus* his Friends flockt together in the City, not ſecretly as before, but openly in all places; and ſuch as wiſht a change in the State, impudently ſcoffing at *Alexius*, paſſed over the Straight to *Chalcedon* in great numbers to *Andronicus*, where having filled their Eyes with beholding of his goodly Perſon, his chearful Countenance, and reverent Age; and their Ears with his ſweet words and great Promiſes, returned home merry and joyful, as if they had been in ſome terreſtrial Paradice, filling the City with his praiſes. After that, *Andronicus* his two Sons, *John* and *Manuel*, with divers others, whom the Preſident had caſt in priſon, were ſet a liberty, and other of his chief Favourites laid faſt in their rooms.

Alexius *and his Friends apprehended.*

As for *Alexius* the Preſident himſelf, with all his Friends and Faction in the Court, they were taken and committed to the keeping of the Guard; a right ſtrange alteration.

A ſtrange alteration.

But about midnight, *Alexius* himſelf was ſecretly conveyed out of the Court to the Patriarchs Houſe, and there kept with a ſtronger guard than before. A wonderful change and worth marking, a man ſo honourably born, but yeſterday in greateſt honour, attended upon with many thouſands, all at his command, having the power to ſpill or ſave; to day in bonds, in diſgrace, in miſery and deſpair, and not ſo much as a Page to wait upon him. Which he taking very grievouſly, yet complained of nothing more, than that they which had the keeping of him, would not ſuffer him to ſleep or take any reſt. Of whoſe miſery, the Patriarch taking pity (although he had of him very evil deſerved) yet cheered him up with comfortable words, perſwading him with patience to endure his hard fortune, and not with ſuch ſpeeches as fitted not his preſent ſtate, to provoke his Keepers to uſe him evilly. Within a few days after early in the Morning, he was brought out of the Patriarchs Houſe, and ſet upon a very little bad Jade, and ſo with a ragged clout put upon the top of a Reed in manner of an Enſign, carried before him in deriſion, was brought to the Sea-ſide, and there caſt into a little Boat, was ſo brought to *Andronicus*, by whoſe commandment, with the general conſent of the Nobility, he for his evil Government ſhortly after had his Eyes put out.

Alexius *brought to* **Andronicus,** *hath his eyes put out.*

This was the miſerable end of the immoderate power, or rather of the inſolent Soveraignty of *Alexius*; who, had he with more moderation and vigilancy governed, might both have kept *Andronicus* out of the City, and himſelf from ſo great miſery; having at his command all the Emperors Treaſure, his Gallies, with moſt part of the ſtrength of the Empire.

The meeting of the Patriarch and **Andronicus.**

Now came the Noblemen over apace to *Andronicus*; the laſt that came, was the reverend Patriarch *Theodoſius*, with the chief of the Clergy; of whoſe approach, *Andronicus* hearing, went out of his Tent to meet him, and falling down (as great as he was) flat at his Horſes feet, and in a while after ariſing again, kiſſed the Patriarchs foot, calling him the Emperors Saviour, the Lover of Virtue, the Defender of the Truth; and comparing him with the famous Father *John Chryſoſtome*, omitted not any honourable Title he could poſſibly deviſe to give him. But the devout Patriarch, that had never ſeen *Andronicus* before, having now well viewed him, and marked his ſtern Countenance, his ſubtil Nature, his crafty and diſſembling Manners, his exceeding Stature, being almoſt ten foot high, his ſtately Gate, his proud Look, his continual Severity, and melancholy Silence; as if it were pitying them that to their own deſtruction had called ſuch a man in, ſaid, *Hitherto I have heard, but now I have alſo ſeen, and plainly known*; and fetching a deep ſigh, adjoyned thereunto that ſaying of the Prophet *David*; *As we have heard ſo have we alſo ſeen.* In which words, he covertly quipped the diſſembled meeting and ſubmiſſion of *Andronicus*; and withall called to remembrance the words of the Emperor *Emanuel*, wherewith he had many times ſo painted forth *Andronicus* unto the Patriarch, as if he would moſt lively have repreſented him unto his view.

Andronicus *paſſeth over the Strait.*

All things in the City and in the Palace ſet in order according to *Andronicus* his mind, by his two Sons, and leave given unto the Emperors Friends to come over unto him, and to be acquainted with him; at length *Andronicus* himſelf departing from *Damalum*, in a Gally croſſed the Strait, oftentimes by the way merrily ſinging that ſaying of the heavenly Pſalmiſt; *Return my Soul into thy reſt, becauſe the Lord hath done well unto thee, having delivered my life from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling.* The Emperor with his Mother *Xene*, then lay not in the Palace at *Conſtantinople*, but at another Princely Houſe of his in the Country near unto *Philopatium*, as *Andronicus* had appointed; whither *Andronicus* firſt went, and coming unto his preſence, moſt humbly proſtrate before him, with ſobbing and tears, as his deceitful manner was, kiſſed his feet. As for the Empreſs his Mother, he lightly ſaluted her, and as it were but for faſhion ſake, not diſſembling in his countenance the old grudge he bare againſt her. And ſo without longer ſtay went unto his Tent provided for him not far off; round about which, all the great Noblemen had pitched their Tents alſo, flocking unto him as Chickens ſeeking for Refuge under the Hens wings. Having there ſtayed with the Emperor a good while, he was deſirous to go unto the Imperial City, and to ſee the late Emperor *Emanuel* his Couſins grave. Where entring into the Monaſtery of our Lady, where he was buried, and coming to his Tomb, he wept bitterly, and roared as it were mainly out. So that divers of the ſtanders by, ignorant of his diſſembling nature, by way of admiration ſaid; *O what a wonderful thing is this! O how he loved the Emperor, his Couſin, although his fierce and cruel Perſecutor!* And when one of his Kinſmen would have pulled him from the Tomb, ſaying, *That he had ſorrowed for him enough*; he would not be removed, but requeſted them to ſuffer him yet a little to tarry by the Tomb, for that he had ſomething in ſecret to ſay unto the dead; and ſo with his hands caſt up and cloſe together, as if he had prayed, and his eyes faſt fixed upon the Tomb, he moved his lips, and ſecretly ſaid ſomething, but what, no man could tell. Some ſaid it was ſome charm or incantion. But others more pleaſantly conceited, ſaid, and (as it afterward appeared) more truly, that *Andronicus* did triumph over the dead Emperor *Emanuel*, and revel with his ghoſt, with theſe or the like words; *I have thee now faſt, my cruel Perſecutor, by whom I have been driven to many great Extremities; and having wandred almoſt all the World over, have thereunto been made by thee a common by-word. But now this Tomb riſing up with ſeven tops, and priſon, out of which thou canſt not ſtart, holdeth thee oppreſſed with a dead ſleep, out of which thou ſhalt not be awaked, but by the ſounding of the laſt Trump. And now will I be revenged of thy Poſterity, and ſatisfie my ſelf as a Lion with a fat Prey; and take ſharp Revenge of all the Wrongs thou haſt done me, when I have once poſſeſſed my ſelf of this Royal City.*

Andronicus *taketh upon him the Government.*

After that, viſiting all the Emperors ſtately Houſes, but ſtaying in no place long, he diſpoſed of all Matters of State, according to his own pleaſure. Unto the young Emperor he allowed Hunting, and other his vain delights, with Keepers joyned unto him, to watch not only his going in and out, but alſo that no man ſhould talk with him of any matter of Importance; for all the Government of the State he took unto himſelf: not for that he wiſhed ſo well thereunto, above others, but ſo to drive from the Court all them of the contrary Faction to himſelf, that were able to do any thing, and had before born ſome Sway. The Souldiers, whoſe help he had uſed in aſpiring to the Government, he rewarded with great bounty; all their Offices and Preferments he beſtowed either upon his own Children, or other his great Favorites; divers of the Nobility of whom he liked not, were by him in ſhort time driven into exile; ſome were by him deprived of their ſight, and ſome others caſt into priſon, not knowing any cauſe why, more than that they were by him ſecretly condemned, for that they were of the Nobility, or had done ſome good Service for the State, or exiled for their Perſonage, or ſome other thing that grieved *Andronicus*, or elſe for the ſpark of ſome old diſpleaſure which yet lay hid as fire raked up in the aſhes. So that the State of that time began to grow moſt miſerable; and the treachery even of men neareſt in blood, ſeeking the deſtruction one of another, for to ſerve their own turns, or to gratifie *Andronicus*, moſt horrible; not only one Brother betray'd another, but even the Father his Son, and the Son his Father, if *Andronicus* would have it ſo. Some accuſed their neareſt Kinſmen, that they derided *Andronicus* his proceedings; or that without regard of him, they more favoured *Alexius* the young Emperor, then, a great offence. Yea, ſuch was the miſchief of the time, that many in accuſing others, were themſelves accuſed; and charging others of Treaſon againſt *Andronicus*, were themſelves charged by them whom they accuſed, and ſo clapt up both together in one priſon. Neither were they of the Nobility only, which were Enemies to *Andronicus*, thus hardly dealt withall, but even ſome of his great Favorites and Followers alſo; for ſome whom but yeſterday he had uſed moſt kindly, and enrolled among his beſt Friends, upon them to day he frowned and tyrannized moſt cruelly; ſo that you might have ſeen the ſame man the ſame to day (as it is reported of *Xerxes* his Admiral) to be crowned and beheaded, to be graced and diſgraced; inſomuch that the wiſer ſort deemed *Andronicus* his praiſings, the beginning of a mans diſgrace; his bounty, his undoing; and his kindneſs, his death. The firſt that taſted of his Tyranny, was *Mary* the Daughter of *Emanuel* the Emperor, who for the hate ſhe bare to *Alexius* the late Preſident, and the Empreſs her Mother in law had (as is aforeſaid) above all other, wiſht for his coming; but was now by one *Pterigionites* (ſometime an Eunuch of her Fathers, corrupted by *Andronicus*, having in his aſpiring mind purpoſed the utter deſtruction of all *Emanuels* Poſterity) cunningly poyſoned; as was her Husband *Cæſar*, who lived not long after her, poyſoned alſo (as was ſuppoſed) with the ſame Cup that his Wife was. Now among others of the late Emperors Houſe, none had ever ſtood more in his light, than had the fair Empreſs *Xene*, the young Emperors Mother, whom now he ceaſed not moſt bitterly (though wrongfully) to accuſe, as an utter Enemy both to the Emperor and the State, making as if he would leave all, and again depart, if ſhe were not removed from the Emperor her Son; and by his cunning ſo incenſed the giddy headed vulgar people againſt her, that they came flocking to *Theodoſius* the good Patri-

Andronicus *tyrannizeth.*

A miſerable State of a Commonweal.

Mary *the Daughter of* Emanuel, *with her Husband* Cæſar *poyſoned by* Andronicus.

Xene the Empreſs accuſed of Treaſon, and condemned.

Dangerous to ſpeak the truth to a Tyrant.

A wicked Council.

arch, ready to tear him out of his Cloaths, if he conſented not to the removing of the Empreſs, as *Andronicus* had deſired. So a Council being called of ſuch his Favorites and others, as were not like indifferently to hear her Cauſe, but aſſuredly to condemn her, the Guiltleſs Empreſs after many things falſly laid to her Charge, was accuſed of Treaſon; as that ſhe ſhould by her Letters have ſolicited *Bela* King of *Hungary*, her Brother in law, to invade *Brantizoba* and *Belligrade*, two ſtrong places belonging to the Empire. Whereupon ſhe was condemned, and ſhamefully caſt into a moſt filthy Priſon near unto the Monaſtery of St. *Diomede*. Amongſt other Noblemen called unto this wicked Council, were *Leo Monaſteriotes*, *Demetrius*, *Tornicius*, and *Conſtantius Petrenus*; who not yet altogether devoted to *Andronicus*, being asked their Opinions concerning the Empreſs, ſaid, They would be glad firſt to know, Whether that Council againſt his Mother, were called by the Emperors conſent or not? With which Speech, *Andronicus* pierced to the heart as with a Sword, in great rage ſtarted up and ſaid, Theſe are they which encouraged the wicked Preſident to all his Villanies, lay hands upon them. Whereupon they of his Guard in threatning manner ſhook their Weapons and Swords at them, as if they would even preſently have ſlain them; and the tumultuous common people, catching them by their Cloaks as they came out, pulling them ſome one way, ſome another, were ſo fierce upon them, as that they had much ado to eſcape out of their hands with life. Now lay the fair Empreſs (but the other day one of the greateſt Princes of the Eaſt, and honoured of all her Subjects) in great miſery and deſpair, ſcorned even of her baſe Keepers, every hour expecting the deadly blow of the Hangman. Yet was not the cruelty of *Andronicus* againſt her, any thing aſſwaged, but grieving that ſhe yet breathed, ſhortly after aſſembled the former Council, the Miniſters of his Wrath, demanding of them, What puniſhment was by Law appointed for ſuch as betrayed any Town or Province of the Empire? whereunto anſwer being given in Writing, That it was by the Law, death; he could no longer hold, but that he muſt in great choler break out againſt the poor Empreſs, as if it had been ſhe that had done it; and thereupon the wicked Counſellors crying out with one voice, That ſhe was to be taken out of the way, as they had before agreed; by and by without longer ſtay, a damned Writing was ſubſcribed by the young Emperor her Son, as if it had been with the blood of his own Mother, whereby ſhe was (I abhor to write it) moſt unworthily condemned to die. The men appointed to ſee this moſt horrible and cruel Execution done, were *Manuel*, *Andronicus* his eldeſt Son, and *Georgius Auguſtus*, his near Kinſman; who both diſmaid at the very mentioning of the matter, not regarding the Emperors Command, ſaid plainly, that they never before conſented to the death of the Empreſs, but had clean hands of ſo hainous an offence, and therefore would now much leſs ſee her innocent Body diſmembred in their ſight. At which unexpected anſwer *Andronicus* much troubled, with his Fingers oftentimes pluckt himſelf by the hoary Beard, and with burning eyes caſting ſometime up his head, and ſometimes down, ſighed at his own moſt miſerable tyrannical eſtate, freting inwardly, that they which were neareſt unto him, whom he thought he might even with a beck have commanded to have done any miſchief, abhorring his cruelty, ſhould refuſe to do the thing he ſo much deſired to have done; yet repreſſing his anger for a while, within a few days after, he again commanded her to be ſtrangled; which was accordingly done by *Conſtantinus Tripſicus*, and *Pterigionites* the ungracious Eunuch, by whoſe help he had before poyſoned *Mary* the Emperors Daughter, with *Cæſar* her Husband, as is before declared. Thus periſhed this great Empreſs, cruelly ſtrangled in priſon, by theſe two wicked men, the mercileſs Executioners of *Andronicus* his wrath. Her dead Body lately adorned with all the Graces of Nature, even to the admiration of the Beholders, was without more ado ſecretly raked up in the Sand faſt by the Sea-ſide; a poor Sepulchre for ſo great a Perſon.

The miſerable death of the Empreſs.

The ſlie practiſe of Andronicus in aſpiring to the Empire.

What might not *Andronicus* now do to others, that durſt thus cruelly deal with the young Emperors own Mother, and neareſt Friends? yet was all covered under the pretence of the common good, and ſafety of the State and Empire. And the more to ſhadow *Andronicus* his ſecret purpoſes, as not proceeding of any private or hidden malice, or aſpiring humor, from which he of all men would ſeem moſt free; and the more to manifeſt his Devotion and Loyalty to the young Emperor his Couſin, he was the only Perſwader unto the reſt of the Nobility, to have him ſolemnly Crowned (which as yet by reaſon of his tender Age he was not;) and at the time of his Coronation, with his own ſhoulders ſupported him up, as he was (after the manner of that Solemnity) carried unto the great Church, and ſo back again; the Crocodiles tears ſtill plenteouſly running down his aged face, as if it had been for exceeding joy; which many of the meaner ſort beholding, and deeming thereof the beſt, highly commended his kindneſs, accounting the young Emperor thrice happy, in ſo grave a Governor, and faithful Counſellor; who in love and kind affection towards him, ſeemed not inferior to his natural Father; ſo cunningly had he under the Vail of Piety, ſhadowed his moſt execrable Treachery; as that in the very plotting thereof, he was accounted moſt loving and kind. But hidden Treaſon, be it never ſo well diſſembled, muſt at length ſhew it ſelf. So *Andronicus* having got into his Power both the Emperor and the Empire, and the chief Friends of the late Emperor *Emanuel* being taken out of the way, or elſe driven into exile, thought it now high time for himſelf to aſpire unto that high Soveraignty, after which he had ſo many years longed. Wherefore calling together a Council of his Flatterers and Favorites, whom he had for ſuch purpoſe promoted unto the higheſt Places of State (all or the moſt part of the grave Counſellors and friends of the late Emperor *Emanuel* being now diſplaced, or otherwiſe taken out of the way) he as a man only careful of the common good, declared unto them the dangerous State of the Empire, by reaſon of a Rebellion raiſed in *Bythinia* at *Nice*, by *Iſaac Angelus*, and *Theodorus Cataeuzenus*; and another at *Pruſa*, by *Theodorus Angelus*; requiring their grave advice for the ſuppreſſing thereof; who not ignorant of their Lords purpoſe (as thereof before ſufficiently inſtructed) anſwered with one conſent, That of ſuch great Miſchiefs there would be no end, except he were joyned in Fellowſhip of the Empire together with *Alexius*, by his Gravity and deep Wiſdom to ſupply what wanted for the good Government of the State in the young Emperor his Couſin. At which Speech the ſtanders-by (being in number many, and for the moſt part the Followers of *Andronicus* his Flatterers) gave a great ſhout, and as if it had been already granted, with one Applauſe cried out, *Long live* Alexius *and* Andronicus *the Greek Emperors*; and that with ſuch a vehemency, as if they would therwith have rent the very Heavens. The bruit thereof flying abroad into the City, forthwith you might have ſeen every ſtreet and corner of the City full of the vulgar people, with ſome alſo of better ſort, ſwarming together like Bees, and ſounding the Praiſes of *Andronicus* (who now was come out of his Houſe into the Court, with a world of people following him) and crying out, *Long live the Emperors* Alexius *and* Andronicus. With which loud acclamation, mixt with the heavy ſighings of many good men, (for all were not mad of that Frenzy) the young Emperor awaked, and ſeeing the Court full of people, and *Andronicus* by them ſaluted his Fellow in the Empire; knowing now no other remedy, thought it beſt to yield unto the time, and ſo with the reſt flattering the old Tyrant, welcomed him full ſore againſt his will, by the name of his Friend and Companion in the Empire; which he now in diſſembling manner ſeeming unwilling to take upon him, and refuſing the place offered, was by the rout of his flattering Favorites enforced to his own great contentment, to yield to their requeſt; ſome of them with both their hands carrying him up, until they had as it were againſt his will placed him in the Imperial Seat, prepared for him faſt by the young Emperor; others in the mean time no leſs buſied in pulling off his private Attire, and puting upon him the Imperial Robes.

The next day, when this Participation of the Empire ſhould be publiſhed, and they both proclaimed Emperors, the name of *Andronicus* was ſet before the name of *Alexius*; whereof his Favorites (though ſome others interpreted it otherwiſe) gave this reaſon, That it fitted not with the Majeſty of the Empire, that the name of a Boy ſhould be ſet before the name of ſo reverend, grave, wiſe, and excellent a man as was *Andronicus* his Companion in the Empire. Shortly after, *Andronicus* being brought into the great Temple to be Crowned, then firſt began to ſhew to the people a chearful Countenance, and ſetting aſide his ſtern Look, after his long devotion done, filled the vain peoples heads with many large Promiſes of a more happy form of Government than before. All which proved nothing but meer diſſimulation and deep deceit, that chearfulneſs of Countenance and Speech ſerving but for a while to cover his inward, ſecret, and moſt inhumane Cruelty. And the more to deceive the World, the Ceremonies of his Coronation paſt, at ſuch time as he ſhould for Conſummation and Confirmation of all, receive the ſacred and dreadful Myſtery, the pledge of our Redemption, not without due reverence to be named, much leſs with impure hands touched; after he had received the Bread, and taken the Cup in his hand, he with a moſt devout Countenance framed of purpoſe to deceive, and his eyes caſt up to Heaven, as if his Soul had there already been (the faireſt Mask of Hypocriſie) ſwore by thoſe dreadful Myſteries, and moſt deeply proteſted in the hearing of the people ſtanding by, that he had taken upon him the Fellowſhip of the Empire for no other end or purpoſe but to aſſiſt *Alexius* his Couſin in the Government, and to ſtrengthen his Power; whereas his ſecret meaning was nothing leſs, as ſhortly after appeared. For after a few days ſpent in feigned Devotions for the proſperous beginning of his Empire, he forthwith turned his mind unto other his more ſecret, but moſt wicked and execrable Deſigns. And having above all things purpoſed the death of the young Emperor, he called together them of the Council, his own Creatures and corrupt Miniſters of his Wickedneſs, who had now oftentimes in their mouths that ſaying of the Poet,

Eſt mala res multos dominarier; unicus eſto
——Rex Dominuſque.

An evil thing it is to be ruled by many;
One King and one Lord, if there be any.

Alexius *deprived of of the Empire.*

And that the old age of an Eagle was better than the youth of a Lark. So by the general conſent of that wicked Aſſembly (unworthy the name of a grave Council) a Decree was made, That *Alexius* ſhould (as a man unfit to Govern the State) be deprived of all Imperial Dignity, and commanded to live a private life. Which diſloyal Decree of the Conſpirators was yet ſcarcely publiſhed, but that another more cruel came out of the ſame Forge, That he ſhould forthwith be put to death, as one unworthy longer to live.

Alexius *condemned.*

For the execution of which ſo horrible a Sentence *Stephanus Hagiochriſtophorites* (one of the chief Miniſters of *Andronicus* his Villanies, and by him promoted even unto the higheſt Degrees of the Honours of the Court) with *Conſtantinus Trypſicus*, and one *Theodorus Badibrenus*, Captain of the Tormentors) were ſent out; who entring his Chamber by night, without compaſſion of his tender age, or regard of his Honour or Innocency, cruelly ſtrangled him with a Bow ſtring; which deteſtable murther ſo performed, *Andronicus* ſhortly after coming in, ſpurned the dead body with his foot, railing at his Father, the late Emperor *Emanuel*, as a forſworn and injurious man; and at his Mother, as a common Whore.

Alexius *the Emperor cruelly ſtrangled.*

The head was forthwith ſtruck off from this miſerable Carkaſs (the mirror of Honours unſtability) and left for the monſtrous Tyrant to feed his eyes upon; the body wrapped up in Lead, was in a Boat carried to Sea by *Jo. Camaterius*, and *Theodoſius Chumenus*, two of *Andronicus* his noble Favorites; who with great joy and glee returned with the ſame Boat to the Court, as if they had done ſome notable Exploit. But long continueth not the joy of the Miſchievous, Vengeance ſtill following them at the heels; as it did theſe two, who not long after, with the reſt that conſpired the innocent Emperors death, all or moſt part of them came to ſhameful or miſerable ends. Thus periſhed *Alexius* the Emperor, not yet full fifteen years old, in the third year of his Reign; which time he lived more like a Servant than an Emperor, firſt under the command of his Mother, and afterwards of the Tyrant which brought him to his end.

An unequal Marriage.

Who joyeth now but old *Andronicus*, made young again, as ſhould ſeem, by his new gained Honours? for ſhortly after the murder committed, he married *Anne* the French Kings Daughter (as ſome report) before betrothed to young *Alexius*; a tender and moſt beautiful Lady, not yet full eleven years old, an unfit Match for three ſcore and ten. And in ſome ſort as it were to purge himſelf and his Partakers of the ſhameful murther by them committed, and to ſtop the mouths of the people, he by much flattery and large promiſes procured of the Biſhops a general Abſolution for them all, from the Oath of Obedience which they had before given unto the Emperor *Emanuel*, and *Alexius* his Son: Which obtained, he for a while had the ſame Biſhops in great Honour, and ſhortly after in greater Contempt, as men forgetful of their Duties and Calling.

Andronicus *ſeeketh by tyranny to eſtabliſh his Eſtate.*

After that he gave himſelf wholly unto the eſtabliſhing of his Eſtate, never reckoning himſelf thereof aſſured, ſo long as he ſaw any of the Nobility or famous Captains alive, that favoured *Emanuel* the late Emperor, or *Alexius* his Son; of whom ſome he ſecretly poyſoned, as *Mary* the Emperor *Emanuels* Daughter, with her Husband *Cæſar*; ſome for light occaſions he deprived of their ſight, as he did *Emanuel* and *Alexius* the Sons of that noble Captain *John Commenus*; *Andronicus Lapardus*, whoſe good Service he had oftentimes uſed; *Theodorus Angelus*, *Alexius Comnenus* the Emperor *Emanuels* baſe Son; ſome he hanged, as *Leo Syneſius*, *Manuel Lachanas*, with divers others; ſome he burnt, as *Mamalus* one of the Emperor *Alexius* his chief Secretaries; all men of great Honour and place. For colour whereof he pretended himſelf to be ſorry for them, deeply proteſting, that they died by the ſeverity of the Law, not by his will, and by the juſt doom of the Judges, whereunto he was himſelf (as he ſaid) to give place; and that with tears plentifully running down his aged Cheeks, as if he had been the moſt ſorrowful man alive. O deep diſſimulation, and Crocodiles tears, by nature ordained to expreſs the heavineſs of the heart, flowing from the eyes as ſhowers of rain out of the Clouds; in good men the moſt certain ſigns of greateſt grief, and ſureſt teſtimonies of inward torment; but in *Andronicus* you are not ſo, you are far of another nature, you proceed of joy, you promiſe not unto the diſtreſſed pity or compaſſion, but death and deſtruction! how many mens eyes have you put out? how many have you drowned? how many have you devoured? Moſt of the Nobility that favoured the late Emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his Son, thus taken out of the way by *Andronicus*, ſtruck ſuch a fear into the reſt, that for ſafeguard of their lives they betook themſelves to flight, ſome one way, ſome another, never thinking themſelves in ſafety ſo long as they were within the greedy Tyrants reach; whereof ſhortly after enſued no ſmall Troubles, to the ſhaking of the State of the whole Empire. *Iſaac Commenus* the Emperor *Emanuels* nigh Kinſman, took his Refuge into *Cyprus*, and kept that Iſland to himſelf. *Alexius Commenus*, *Emanuels* Brothers Son, fled into *Silicia*, and there ſtir'd up *William* King of that Iſland, againſt *Andronicus*, who with a great Army landed at *Dyrrachium*, took the City, and ſo from thence without reſiſtance paſſing through the heart of *Macedonia*, ſpoiling the Country before him as he went, met his Fleet at *Theſſalonica*, which famous City he alſo took by force, and moſt miſerably ſpoiled it, with all the Country thereabout, ſo that he brought a great fear upon the Imperial City it ſelf. Unto which ſo great evils *Andronicus* (intangled with domeſtick Troubles, and not knowing whom to truſt) was not able to give remedy, although for ſhew he had (to no purpoſe) ſent out certain of his moſt truſty Miniſters with ſuch Forces as he could well ſpare. For the Majeſty of his Authority growing ſtill leſs and leſs, and the number of his Enemies both at home and abroad daily increaſing, and the favour of the unconſtant people (who now began to ſpeak hardly of him) declining; he uncertain which way to turn himſelf, reſted wholly upon Tyranny, proſcribing in his fear, not only the Friends of ſuch as were fled, and whom he diſtruſted, but ſometimes whole Families together, yea and that for light occaſions, ſometime thoſe who were his beſt Favorites, whoſe Service he had many times uſed in the execution of his Cruelty; ſo that now no day paſſed wherein he did not put to death, impriſon, or torture one great Man or other. Whereby it hapned that the Imperial City was filled with ſorrow and heavineſs, every man hanging the head, and with ſilence covering his inward grief, not without danger to have been then uttered. Among many others appointed to this ſlaughter, was one *Iſaac Angelus* a man of great Nobility, whom *Hagiochriſtophorites* (the chief Miniſter of *Andronicus* his Tyranny, and for the ſame by him higly promoted) ſuſpecting, as one that bare no good will to the Emperor (cauſe enough of death) came to his houſe to apprehend him; and finding him at home, after a few hot words commanded him to follow him; whereat the Nobleman making ſome ſtay, and abhorring the very ſight of the Wretch, as unto him ominous and fatal, *Hagiochriſtophorites* himſelf began to lay hands on him, reviling his Followers, that they had not forthwith drawn him out of his houſe by the hair of his head, unto the Priſon by him appointed. For they, touched with the honour of the Man, and moved with pity, forced him not, but ſtood ſtill as beholders. *Iſaac* ſeeing himſelf thus beſet, and no way now left for him to eſcape, reſolving rather there preſently to die, than ſhortly after to be murdred in Priſon, drew his Sword as the reſt were laying hands upon him, and at the firſt blow cleft the wicked head of *Hagiochriſtophorites* down to his ſhoulders; and ſo leaving him wallowing in his own blood, and like a deſperate man laying about him amongſt the reſt, made himſelf way through the midſt of them. And ſo imbrued with blood, with his bloody Sword yet in his hand, running through the midſt of the City, told the people what he had done, and crying unto them for help in defence of his Innocency, fled into the great Temple, there to take the Refuge of the Sanctuary; where he had not long ſat (in the place where the guilty flying thither for Refuge uſed to ſit, and confeſſing their Offence, crave Pardon of ſuch as go in and out) but that the Temple was filled with the multitude of people flocking thither out of all parts of the City, ſome to ſee the Nobleman, ſome to behold what ſhould become of him; for all men thought that he would before Sun-ſet (notwithſtanding the reverence of the place) be drawn thence by *Andronicus*, and put to ſome ſhameful death. Thither came alſo *John Ducas*, *Iſaacs* Uncle, and his Son *Iſaac*, to increaſe the tumult; not for that they were any thing guilty of the death of *Hagiochriſtophorites*, but for that they had before become Sureties unto the ſuſpitious Tyrant, for their Kinſman *Iſaac*, and he likewiſe for them; by whoſe treſpaſs they well knew themſelves now brought into no leſs danger than if they had been Abettors thereunto. And beſide them alſo, many other there were, which doubting of their own eſtate, and fearing the like might happen to themſelves, pricked forward with hard Speeches, the common people flocking thither, inſtantly requeſting them to ſtay there, and to ſtand by them now at their need, being ſo injuriouſly wronged; whoſe pitiful complaints moved many to take part with them. At which time alſo, no man yet coming from the Emperor (being as then out of the City) to repreſs the Sedition, nor any of the Nobility oppoſing themſelves, no Friend of *Andronicus* appearing, none of his bloody Miniſters or Officers ſhewing themſelves, nor any that did ſo much as ſpeak a good word in his behalf, or in diſlike of the tumult, the boldneſs of the ſeditious people increaſed, every man in ſo great liberty ſaying what he liſt, and after their rude manner one incouraging another. So ſpent *Iſaac* that long night, not thinking (God wot) of an Empire, but ſtill expecting the deadly ſtroke of *Andronicus*. Yet had he with great intreating ſo prevailed, that divers of the Aſſembly ſhutting the Church doors, and bringing Lights into the Church, ſtayed there with him all night, and by their example cauſed ſome others to ſtay alſo. The next morning by break of day were all the Citizens flockt again unto the Temple, curſing the Tyrant to the Devil, as the common Enemy of

Exceeding Cruelty.

Iſaac Angelus taketh Sanctuary.

The people in a tumult reſort unto Angelus.

of mankind, wiſhing unto him a ſhameful death, and the honour of the Empire unto *Iſaac.* At that time by fortune, or rather God ſo appointing it, *Andronicus* was out of the City at his Palace of *Meludinum*, on the Eaſt ſide of *Propontis,* where he was by nine a clock at night certified of the death of *Hagiochriſtophorites*, and of the tumult of the people: yet that night ſtirred he not, neither did any thing more, but by ſhort Letters adviſed the people to pacifie themſelves, and not by fooliſh Rebellion to caſt themſelves into further danger.

Andronicus *in vain ſeeketh to appeaſe the tumultuous People.*

In the Morning *Andronicus* his Favourites began to ſhew themſelves, and to do what they might to have appeaſed the tumultuous Multitude; yea and preſently after came *Andronicus* himſelf,and landed with his Imperial Gally at the great Palace in the City.But with the inraged People nought prevailed either the perſuaſions of the one, or report of the preſence of the other; for they all, as upon a ſignal given, and as men inſpired with one ſpirit, or ſtirred up with the ſame fury, flocked together into the Temple of S. *Sophia,* one encouraging another, and ſcoffing at ſuch as ſtood by as idle lookers on, without Weapons in their hands, reviling them and calling them rotten Limbs that had no feeling of the common harm. After that, they broke open the Priſons and ſet at liberty the Priſoners, as fitteſt inſtruments to increaſe the Tumult, who were not all notable Offenders of the Dregs of the People, but many of them born of good Houſes, and for ſome light Fault, or inconſiderate Word (whereof every man was in thoſe times bound to give an account) or for ſome Friends Offence againſt *Andronicus*, there laid faſt. Theſe of all others moſt animated the people, in ſuch ſort, as they which before for fear of the danger did but ſoftly murmure to themſelves againſt *Andronicus,* did now openly joyn with the reſt of the baſe ſeditious. Then might you have ſeen ſome with their Swords and Targets, ſome alſo in their Armour, but the greateſt part armed but with Clubs and Staves, and other ſuch like rude Weapons, Arms of Fury, haſtily taken up in their Shops as by chance they came firſt to hand, running forth in every place.

Iſaac Angelus *by the people in a tumult ſaluted Emperor.*

By this Aſſembly of the moſt furious and promiſcuous People was *Iſaac* hoiſed up, and with a general applauſe ſaluted Emperor. At which time one of the Sextons of the Church, with a ladder took down *Conſtantine* the Great his Crown of Gold, (which for a Monument hung over the holy Altar) and ſet it on *Iſaacs* Head; which he at the firſt ſeemed unwilling to wear, not for that he was not deſirous enough of the Empire, but for that he feared the extream danger of the matter, and thought thoſe things that were then done to be but as it were a ſick mans dream, like enough ſtraightway to vaniſh; beſide that, he feared in ſo doing,the more to exaſperate *Andronicus*. Which his Uncle *John Ducas* (as is ſaid before, ſtanding by him) perceiving, plucking off his own Cap, and ſhewing his old bald Head, requeſted the People, That if his Nephew did refuſe it, they would ſet it upon his; whereunto they with a great outcry anſwered, That they would no more yield their obedience to an old bald Man, as having received many harms from the hoary hairs of old *Andronicus*; and therefore for his ſake hated every old Man, more fit for *Charons* Boat, and his Coffin, than for an Empire, and eſpecially if he had a forken Beard, and bald Head, as had *Andronicus* and this *Ducas*. Thus was *Iſaac* by the tumultuous Multitude inveſted in the Empire; and ſo royally mounted upon one of the Emperors Horſes, richly furniſhed with a Saddle and Trappings of Gold,which they had by chance gotten, was by them brought from the Temple unto the Court; *Baſilius Camaterus* the Patriarch waiting upon him, whom the headſtrong People had inforced againſt his Will to confirm with his Authority what was by them done for the eſtabliſhing of *Iſaac* in the Empire.

Andronicus *forſaken of his flattering Favourites*

Andronicus at his coming to the Palace perceiving firſt by the confuſed cry of the tumultuous Multitude, and afterward by that which he ſaw with his Eyes, how the world went; calling upon his old Friends and flattering Favourites, thought firſt by their help to have repreſſed the Fury of the Rebellious; who as Friends of his better Fortune, and not of himſelf, were now for the moſt part ſhrunk from him; and thoſe that were left, ſo feintly coming on, as if in his quarrel they had had no mind to ſpend their lives; with which heartleſs Company *Andronicus* fearing to oppoſe himſelf againſt the Fury of the Multitude, with his Bow and Arrows in his hand got him up into the higheſt Tower of the Palace, called *Centenaria,* and from thence beſtowed certain ſhot among the People. But ſeeing that to be to no purpoſe, and better perſuaded to do more with them by fair words, than ſuch vain force, he from the top of the Tower cried aloud unto them, That if they would be quiet and depart, he would by their conſent reſign the Empire unto his Son *Manuel*; whereat the People more inraged, ſpared not to pour forth moſt reproachful words in contempt both of himſelf and his Son; and ſo furiouſly brake into the Court by one of the Gates called *Carea.* Which *Andronicus* beholding, and now out of all hope, caſting from him all his Habiliments of Honour, and diſguiſing himſelf fled again to his Gally, accompanied only with *Anna* his Wife, and *Maraptica* his Minion, and ſo returned to *Meludinum*, his place from whence he came.

A ſtrange change.

Iſaac but yeſterday in the bottom of deſpair, and ſhadowed as it were with the hand of Death, by the ſtrange change of Fortune to day mounted unto the higheſt Type of worldly Honour, entring the Palace, was there again with the greateſt applauſe of the People that might be, ſaluted Emperor. From whence he forthwith ſent out certain Companies of his moſt aſſured Friends and Followers, to apprehend *Andronicus*; who now as a man at once forſaken both of his Friends and of his better Fortune, ſecretly fled with his Wife and his Paragon, before remembred, to *Chele;* attended upon only with a few of his truſty Servants, which had of long time ſerved him before he was Emperor. There taking Ship, with purpoſe to have fled unto the *Tauroſcythes,* (as not thinking himſelf ſafe in any Province of the Empire) he was twice or thrice by foul Weather put back again, the rough Sea abhorring (as it ſeemed) to carry him that had ſo polluted it with the dead bodies of the Innocent by him ſlain, and ſtill threatning (as it were) to devour him.

Andronicus *the Emperor taken, and brought in bonds to* **Angelus,**

Thus ſtrangely ſtayed by foul Weather, or more truly to ſay, by the revenging hand of the Higheſt, he was found by ſuch as were ſent out to ſeek after him, and being by them apprehended, was with two great Iron Chains faſt lockt about his proud Neck, and heavy Gyves upon his legs,caſt into the Caſtle of *Amena*; and in that miſerable Habit ſhortly after preſented to the Emperor *Iſaac,* yet buſied in appeaſing and reforming of the diſordered City; where by the way as he went, he was by the People moſt ſhamefully reviled, and injuriouſly uſed; ſome plucking him by the Beard, ſome by the Hair of the Head, ſome other in the mean time playing with his noſe,and bobbing him in the face, with a thouſand other deſpights done unto him; eſpecially by ſuch Women, as whoſe Husbands he had before murdred or deprived of their ſight. Afterward being commited to the hateful Fury of the People, he had his right Hand cut off, and was again committed to the ſame Caſtle, without Meat, Drink, or any other comfort; where after he had lien a few days, having one of his Eyes put out, he was ſet upon a foul lean Camel, with his Face towards the tail thereof, and ſo (as it were in Triumph) led through the Market place, his bald Head all bare, as if it had been a dead mans Skull taken out of a Charnel Houſe, in a ſhort old Coat; ſo miſerable a Spectacle, as might have expreſſed a fountain of tears out of the Eyes of a right hard hearted man. But the Bedlam and moſt inſolent Citizens, eſpecially they of the baſer ſort, as Cooks, Coblers, Curriers, and ſuch like, flocking about him like Bees (without regard that he had but the other day worn upon his Head the Imperial Crown, then honoured by them as a God, and extolled unto the Heavens; that they had not long before ſolemnly ſworn unto him Obedience and Loyalty) ran now as men out of their Wits, omitting no kind of Villany they could deviſe to do unto him; ſome thruſt nails into his Head, ſome caſt dirt in his Face, ſome the dung both of Men and Beaſts, ſome prickt him in the Sides with ſpits, ſome caſt Stones at him as at a mad Dog, and other ſome opprobrious and deſpiteful words, no leſs grievous unto him than the reſt; amongſt others, an impudent Drab coming out of the Kitchen, caſt a pot of ſcalding water in his Face; and in brief, their outrage ſo exceeded, as if they had ſtriven among themſelves, who ſhould do him the greateſt Villany. Having thus ſhamefully, as in a ridiculous triumph brought him into the Theater, they there betwixt two Pillars hanged him up by the Heels; where having ſuffered all theſe deſpightful Indignities, with many more, not without offence to be named, he with an invincible Courage yet ſtill held his patience, not giving one evil word, but ſometimes ſaying, *Lord have mercy upon me*; and otherwhiles, *Why do you break a bruiſed Reed?* Yet the furious People nothing moved with the Calamity of ſo great a man, (of all others now the moſt miſerable) ſtript him of his bad Cloaths as he hung, and cut off his Privities. One among the reſt, to make an end of him, thruſt his Sword in at his Throat up to the twiſt as he hung; other two with their long Swords proved their Strength, who could ſtrike furtheſt into his Buttocks. Thus miſerably periſhed this famous Emperor, after he had reigned two years. That which was left of his Body (for many had carried away ſome pieces thereof) being taken down from the place where he hung, was caſt into a baſe Vault in the Theater, where it for a ſpace lay, as the loathſome Carkaſs of ſome wild Beaſt, and the miſerable Spectacle of Mans Fragility; for *Iſaac* the Emperor would not ſuffer it to be buried. Howbeit afterwards (the Fury of the People overpaſſed) it was by ſome more charitable men removed thence, and laid in a low Vault near unto the Monaſtery of the *Ephori*; which as *Nicetas Choniates* (Author of this Hiſtory ſpeaking of the time wherein he lived) ſaith, is yet there undiſſolved to be ſeen. He was a man moſt honourably deſcended, of Stature tall, and well proportioned; in his Countenance ſate a certain reverend Majeſty, adorned with ſuch notable Vertues, as might have made him worthily to have been compared unto the greateſt Emperors of his Stock and Family, had he not obſcured the ſame with too much Ambition and Cruelty; whereof the one cauſed him to lead the greateſt part of his Life in Priſon or Exile; the other brought unto him a moſt ſhameful End.

Andronicus *the Emperor hanged up by the Heels.*

Nicetas Choniates Annal.lib. 1.fol.161. col. 4.

Iſaac Angelus his Succeſſor, by the Favour of the People thus exalted unto the Empire, at the firſt governed the ſame with great Lenity and Moderation, as if he had altogether abhorred from the Effuſion of his Subjects Blood; but afterwards not a little troubled both with Foreign Enemies, and Domeſtical Rebellion, beſieged in the Imperial City by ſuch of the Nobility as thought themſelves no leſs worthy of the Empire than himſelf; for repreſſing of which Inſolencies, and the aſſuring of his State, he became ſo ſevere in chaſtiſing the Offendors, and ſuch others as he had in diſtruſt, that he was counted of moſt men not inferior in Cruelty to *Andronicus* his Predeceſſor; few days paſſing without the condemnation or execution of one great Man or other, beſides them of the meaner ſort, of whom he ſeemed to make no great reckoning; whereby he in few years loſt the Love and Favour of his Subjects, who before had him in great honour; and became unto them no leſs odious than was before *Andronicus*. Upon which general diſlike of the People, his ingrateful younger Brother *Alexius* (by him before for a great ſum of Mony redeemed from the Turks) took occaſion to riſe up againſt him, and by the Favour of the Souldiers deprived him together both of the Empire and his Sight; and having put out his Eyes, thruſt him into a Monaſtery, there to live as it were out of the World, as a man condemned to perpetual darkneſs, after he had reigned nine years and eight months, being not yet full forty years old. Whither it were the revenging hand of God, for the hard meaſure uſed to *Andronicus*, or not, I leave it to the wiſer to conſider, who in his deep Providence, wherewith he beſt governeth all things, would have a moderation uſed in puniſhment of our moſt Capital Enemies, as having always before our Eyes the ſlippery State of Power and Authority; and that as all worldly things are ſubject to change, ſo by the juſt Judgment of God it oftentimes falleth out, that what hurt we do unto others, the ſame we may receive again from others. In theſe ſo great and ſtrange mutations of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire (which I have ſomewhat more at large proſecuted, not ſo much for the novelty of the matter, although it were right ſtrange, as for that out of the Loſſes and Ruin thereof, the greatneſs of the Turks for the moſt part grew) *Clizaſthlan* Sultan of *Iconium*, after the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, found means to take from the Empire divers ſtrong Towns and Caſtels in the leſſer *Aſia*, together with a great part of the Country of *Phrygia*; *Alexius*, *Andronicus* and *Iſaac* the ſucceeding Emperors, troubled with dangers nearer home, having nothing to oppoſe againſt him, but fair Intreaty and rich Preſents, ſo redeeming for a while an unſure Peace, with no leſs charge in ſhort time to be renewed again. This victorious Sultan (for ſo he may of right be called) holding in his Subjection a great part of the leſſer *Aſia*, now a Man of great years, dying, left behind him four Sons, *Maſut*, *Coppatine*, *Reucratine*, and *Caicboſores*, all men grown. Amongſt whom he divided his Kingdom. Unto *Maſut* he bequeathed *Amaſia*, *Ancyra*, *Doryleum*, with divers other pleaſant Cities of *Pontus*; unto *Coppatine*, he aſſigned *Melytene*, *Ceſarea*, and the Colony now called *Taxara*: unto *Reucratine* he allotted *Aminſum*, *Docea*, with ſome other Cities upon the Sea Coaſt; but unto *Caichoſroes*, he left *Iconium* his Regal Seat, and with it *Lycaonia*, *Pamphilia*, and all the Countries thereabouts as far as *Cotianyum*. Of theſe four, *Coppatine* long lived not after his Father; for whoſe Inheritance *Reucratine* Prince of

Iſaac Angelus *the Emperor tyranniſeth.*

Iſaac *the Emperor thruſt from the Empire and deprived of his ſight by his Brother* **Alexius.**

Clizaſthlan *the Turks Sultan incroacheth upon the Greek Empire in the leſſer* **Aſia.**

Clizaſthlan *divideth his Kingdom amongſt his four Sons.*

The Sons of Clizaſthlan *at variance among themſelves.*

of *Docea*, and *Maſut* Prince of *Ancyra* (his two Brethren) fell at variance, and ſo at laſt into an open War. But *Maſut* finding himſelf too weak for his warlike Brother *Reucratine*, yielded unto him the Territories which he ſaw he muſt needs forego; and glad now to keep his own, ſo made peace with him. *Reucratine* being a man of an ambitious and haughty Spirit, with his Forces thus doubled, denounced War unto his Brother *Caichoſroes*; who doubting his own Strength, fled unto the Emperor *Alexius Angelus* for aid, as had his Father done before him unto the Emperor *Manuel*, although not with like good Fortune. For the Emperor but of late having obtained the Empire by the depoſing of his Brother; and altogether given to pleaſure, reputing alſo thoſe Domeſtical Wars of the Turks, ſome part of his own ſafety; ſent him home without Comfort, as one ſtrong enough of himſelf to defend his own quarrel againſt his Brother.

Howbeit, he was ſcarcely come to *Iconium*, but he was by *Reucratine* expulſed thence, and driven to fly into *Armenia*, where he was by *Zebune* King of that Country, a Turk alſo, honourably received and courteouſly uſed, but yet denied of the aid he requeſted; the King pretending that he was already in League with *Reucratine*, and therefore could not; or as ſome thought, fearing the dangerouſneſs of the matter, would not intermeddle therein. Wherewith the poor Sultan utterly diſcouraged, returned again to *Conſtantinople*, and there in poor Eſtate, as a man forlorne, paſſed out the reſt of his days.

Now having thus paſſed through the Turkiſh affairs in the leſſer *Aſia*, together with the troubled Eſtate of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, no ſmall cauſe of the Turkiſh greatneſs; the courſe of time calleth us back again before we paſs any farther, to remember their proceedings alſo at the ſame time, and ſhortly after, in *Syria*, *Judæa*, *Ægypt*, and thoſe more Southerly Countries, where theſe reſtleſs People ceaſed not by all means to enlarge their Empire, until they had brought all thoſe great Kingdoms under their Obeyſance.

Almericus *ſixth King of* Jeruſalem

After the death of *Baldwin* King of *Jeruſalem*, of whom we have before ſpoken, *Almericus* his younger Brother, Earl of *Joppa* and *Aſcalon*, being then about ſeven and twenty years old, was by the better good liking of the Clergy and People, then of the Nobility, elected King: not for that there wanted in him any good parts worthy of a Kingdom, but for that ſome of them envied unto him ſo great an honour. Nevertheleſs he was (as we ſaid) by the general conſent of the People, Elected, Proclaimed, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch with all Solemnity crowned, the ſeventeenth day of *February*, in the year of Grace, 1163. To begin whoſe troubled Reign, the Egyptians firſt of all denyed to pay unto him their wonted Tribute. In revenge whereof, he in perſon himſelf with a puiſſant Army entred into *Egypt*; and meeting with *Dargan* the Sultan, overthrew him in plain Battel, and put him to flight; who to ſtay the further purſuit and paſſage of the Chriſtians, cut the Banks of the River *Nilus*, and ſo drowned the Country, that the King was glad to content himſelf with the Victory he had already gotten, and ſo to return to *Hieruſalem*.

The next year *Almericus* was again drawn down with his power into *Egypt*, by *Dargan* the Sultan, to aid him againſt *Saracon*; whom *Noradin* the Turk, King of *Damaſco*, had ſent as General with an Army, to reſtore *Sanar* the Sultan before expulſed, and to depoſe *Dargan*. In which Expedition *Dargan* being ſlain, and *Saracon* having won certain Towns, kept them to himſelf; *Sanar* doubtfull of his good meaning, joyned his Forces with *Almericus*, and by his help expulſed *Saracon* out of *Egypt*. But whilſt *Almericus* was thus buſied in *Egypt*, *Noradin* the Turk making an inroad into the Frontiers of the Chriſtians near unto *Tripolis*, was by *Gilbert Lacy*, Maſter of the Templars in thoſe quarters, and the other Chriſtians, when he leaſt feared, ſo ſuddenly ſet upon, that he had much ado by flight to ſave himſelf, half naked for haſte, moſt of his followers being at the ſame time ſlain. In revenge of which diſgrace, he not long after with a great power came and beſieged *Arethuſa*; for relief whereof, *Bohemund* Prince of *Antioch*, *Raymond* the younger, Earl of *Tripolis*, *Calamon* Governour of *Cilicia*, and *Toros* Prince of *Armenia*, came with their power. Of whoſe coming the Turk hearing, raiſed his Siege and departed. After whom theſe Chriſtian Princes eagerly following, were by the Turks ſhut up in certain deep and rotten Fenns (whereinto they had unadviſedly too far entred) and there with a great Slaughter overthrown. In which conflict, all the chief Commanders of the Army were taken, except the Prince of *Armenia*, who forecaſting the danger, had retired, after he had in vain diſſwaded the reſt from the further purſuit of the flying Enemy. The Prince of *Antioch* there taken, was about a year after for a great ſum of Mony redeemed; but the Count of *Tripolis* was after eight years ſtraight Captivity hardly delivered. *Noradin* after this Victory returning again to the Siege of *Arethuſa*, in few days won the Town; and encouraged with ſuch good ſucceſs, and the abſence of the King, laid Siege to the City of *Paneade*, which was alſo delivered unto him, upon condition that the Citizens might at their pleaſure in ſafety depart.

Noradin *the Turk diſcomfited by the Chriſtians.*

At the ſame time *Saracon* General of *Noradin* his Forces, took from the Chriſtians two Caſtles, the one in the Country of *Sidon*, the other beyond *Jordan* upon the Borders of *Arabia*, both in the Cuſtody of the Templars; twelve of whom the King at his return hanged up for Treaſon.

Shortly after *Saracon*, King *Noradin* his great Man of War, with all the power of the Turks, came down again into *Egypt*, with purpoſe to have fully ſubdued all that notable Kingdom unto his Lord and Maſter. Of whoſe power, *Sanar* the Sultan ſtanding in dread, prayed aid of *Almericus*, promiſing unto him beſide his yearly Tribute, the ſum of forty thouſand Ducats for his pains. The matter fully agreed upon, and all things now in readineſs, *Almericus* ſet forward with his Army, and encountring with *Saracon* and his Turks at the River *Nilus*, overthrew him in a great Battel, yet not without ſome loſs, for the Turks in their Flight lighting upon the Kings Carriages with the whole Baggage of the Army, and overrunning them that had the charge thereof, carried away with them a moſt rich Prey, whereby it came to paſs that as the Chriſtians had the Victory, ſo the Turks injoyed the Spoil.

Saracon after this overthrow having again gathered together his diſperſed Souldiers, took his way to *Alexandria*, where he was by the Citizens received; after whom the King following, gave no attempt unto the City, for that he knew to be but vain, but incamped cloſe by the ſide of the River *Nilus*, from whence the City was chiefly to be victualled. Whoſe purpoſe *Saracon* perceiving, and betime foreſeeing the diſtreſs of his whole

Army

Saladin *left in* Alexandria *by* Saracon, *craveth aid.*

Alexandria *yielded to* Almericus.

1167.

Army for want of Victuals, if he ſhould there long ſtay; leaving there his Son *Saladin* (or as ſome call him his Nephew) with a thouſand Horſemen for the keeping of the City, ſecretly by night departed thence himſelf with the reſt of his Army; and paſſing through the Deſarts, did great harm in the upper parts of *Egypt.* Of whoſe departure *Almericus* underſtanding, was about to have followed him, but that he was otherwiſe perſuaded by the Egyptian Captains to continue his former purpoſe for the gaining of the City; wherefore now after the departure of *Saracon* he began to approach the Walls, and with divers Engines of War to diſturb the Defendants; wherewith the Citizens (better acquainted with the Trade of Merchandize, than the Feats of War) diſcouraged, began now to conſult among themſelves for the turning out of thoſe troubleſome Gueſts whom they had ſo lately received; which *Saladin* perceiving, certified *Saracon* his Uncle thereof, requeſting his ſpeedy relief in that his ſo dangerous Eſtate, and with much intreaty perſuaded the Citizens for a while to hold it out, until he might from him receive an anſwer; of all which the Chriſtians and Egyptians without, having intelligence, laid ſo much the harder unto the City. Gladly would *Saracon* have done what he was by his Nephew requeſted; but perceiving it to be a matter of no leſs danger than difficulty, he by the means of *Hugh*, Count of *Ceſarea*, and one *Arnolphus* another noble Chriſtian, both then Priſoners with him, concluded a peace with the King; whereupon the City was forthwith yielded up, and *Saladin* with his Turks ſuffered in ſafety to depart. At which time alſo all Priſoners were on both ſides freely and without ranſome ſet at liberty. Thus *Saracon* for this time diſappointed of this his purpoſe for the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, returned back again to *Damaſco*; and *Almericus* with great glory to *Aſcalon*, where he arrived with his Army the one and twentieth day of *September* in the year 1167.

Peluſium *taken by* Almericus.

In this late expedition, King *Almericus* on the one ſide enflamed with the Wealth of *Egypt*, and on the other encouraged with the Weakneſs of that effeminate People, reſting for the moſt part upon forraign Strength; had purpoſed himſelf to invade the Kingdom, and ſo if poſſible he might, to joyn it to his own. For colour whereof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrary to his faith before given, had ſecretly ſought to joyn in League and Amity with *Noradin* the Turk, King of *Damaſco.* The chief ſtirrer up of the King unto this War, was one *Gerbert* Maſter of the Templars; who in reſpect of the aid by them of his order to be given, had obtained of the King, after the Victory gained, to have the City of *Peluſium* with all the rich Country about the ſame, given unto him and his Brethren the Knights of the Order for ever; upon which hope, he contrary to the mind of many of the Knights, for the furtherance of that War, gaged his whole Wealth and Credit, with all the Treaſure of his Houſe. So all things now in readyneſs for ſo great an Enterpriſe, *Almericus* with his Army ſet forward in *October*, and having in ten days paſſed the ſandy Deſert, came to *Peluſium*; which City he (after three days Siege) took by force, and put to the Sword all them that were therein, without reſpect of Age, Sex, or Condition; which City, he according to his promiſe before made, gave unto the Templars. After that, he began alſo to beſiege *Caire*, at which time his Fleet ſacked the City of *Tapium.* In the mean time, *Sanar* the Egyptian Sultan, conſidering the danger he was in, to ſatisfie *Almericus* his greedy deſire, offered to pay him twenty hundred thouſand Ducats to withdraw his Forces; and forthwith ſent him one hundred thouſand, for the ranſom of his Son and his Nephew taken Priſoners at *Peluſium*; and for the reſt to be paid within five days after, he gave two of his Nephews Hoſtages. Nevertheleſs the payment he deferred from day to day, of purpoſe in the mean time to raiſe the whole power of *Egypt*, alſo to receive aid from the Turks by *Saracon*, which he daily expected; of whoſe ſpeedy coming, *Almericus* underſtanding, left part of his Army at *Peluſium*, and with the reſt went to have met him; but miſſing him by the way, *Saracon* with his Turks came in ſafety to *Caire* unto the Sultan, as he had deſired. Wherefore *Almericus* diſmaid with the multitude of two ſo great Armies now joyned together, retired back again to *Peluſium*, and there taking with him the Gariſon before left, returned home to *Hieruſalem*; having in that expedition (begun with the breach of Faith) laid the foundation of the ruin of his Kingdom, as in few years after, it by proof appeared, by the evil Neighbourhood of the Turks, by that means brought down into *Egypt.*

The Sultan of Egypt *under the colour of Friendſhip ſlain by* Saracon.

Saracon the Turk after the departure of *Almericus*, eaſily perceiving a moſt fit time and opportunity to be offered for him now to obtain that, which he had in vain before both ſought and fought for, encamped with his Army near unto *Caire*, and notably counterfeited himſelf of all others the moſt devoted Friend of the Sultans; ſo that betwixt them two paſſed all the kind tokens of Love and Friendſhip, that could poſſibly be deviſed; the Sultan oftentimes feaſting the Turk, and in kindneſs likewiſe being feaſted of him; but at length going as his manner was, unto the Camp to viſit him, he was by the Turks ſlain. So *Saracon* having brought to paſs what he deſired, and entring the City with his Army, was by the great Caliph (from whom the Egyptian Sultans, as from their Superiors, the true Succeſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, took their Authority) appointed Sultan, the firſt of the Turks that ever enjoyed the ſame; which Royal Dignity he had not poſſeſſed fully a year, but that he was taken away by death. In whoſe ſtead *Saladin* his Brothers Son, by and by ſtept up; who altogether a Martial Man, not regarding the reverend Majeſty of the Caliph (as had his Uncle *Saracon*, and all the Egyptian Sultans before him) with his Horſemans Mace ſtruck out his Brains; and not ſo contented, utterly rooted out all his Poſterity, the better to aſſure himſelf and his Succeſſors the Turks in the poſſeſſion of his new begotten Kingdom; and after that divided the great Treaſures of the Egyptians among his Turks, to encourage them the more to follow him in his Wars againſt the Chriſtians.

How the Kingdom of Egypt *firſt fell into the hands of the Saraſins, with the notable alterations thereof.*

This glorious Kingdom ſo much ſpoken of in Holy Scripture, and renowned of the Learned Hiſtoriographers of all Ages, after the Ruine of the Roman Empire, was ſometime part of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, and a notable Member of the Chriſtian Common Weal; until that about the year of our Lord 704, the Egyptians weary of the Pride and Covetouſneſs of the Grecians, revolted from them unto the Saraſins, whoſe Superſtition they alſo received; and ſo under the Government of the Saraſin Caliphs, the Succeſſors of the falſe Prophet *Mahomet* lived about 464 years, until that now being invaded by *Almericus*, they prayed aid of *Noradin* the Turk, Sultan of *Damaſco*; who to their relief ſending *Saracon* with an Army, repulſed indeed the Chriſtians, but oppreſſing their liberty, took to himſelf the Kingdom, which he left unto his Nephew *Saladin*, in whoſe Poſterity it remained until it was from them again taken by the *Circaſſian* Slaves the *Mamalukes*; under whoſe ſervile Government it was holden of long time, till that by the great Emperor of the Turks *Selimus* the firſt, it was again conquered and the *Mamalukes* utterly deſtroyed: In the Government of whoſe Proſperity, the mighty Emperors of the Turks, it hath ever ſince remained as part of their Empire, until this day, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory God willing ſhall appear.

1170. *Saladin* thus poſſeſſed of the great Kingdom of *Egypt*, and all things ſet in ſuch order as he thought beſt for the Newneſs of his Eſtate, with a great Army entred into the Land of *Paleſtine*, in the year, 1170. and there beſieged *Daron*; which Town he won, and overthrew ſuch as were ſent by King *Almericus* to have relieved the ſame; with which ſmall Victory contenting himſelf, as with the good beginning of his riſing Fortune, he returned back again into his Kingdom; yet was his Army ſo great and populous, as that the like Army of the Turks had never before been ſeen in the Holy Land. Wherefore *Almericus* conſidering in what great danger he ſtood, his Kingdom now being on both ſides beſet by the Turks, ſent out his Embaſſadors unto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to crave their Aid for the defence of that Kingdom which their Fathers had won; and for the ſame purpoſe went himſelf in Perſon unto the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, of whom he was Royally entertained, and afterward ſent back loaded with the promiſes of great matters, as were alſo his Embaſſadors from the Princes of the Weſt. All which for all that ſorted unto nothing, but vaniſhed into ſmoke.

1171. The year following, *viz.* 1171. *Saladin* beſieged *Petrea*, the Metropolitical City of *Arabia*; but hearing that *Almericus* with a great Power was coming to the Relief thereof, he raiſed his Siege, and retired; as he did alſo next year after, having in vain attempted the ſtrong Caſtle of *Mont-Royal*, on the further ſide of *Jordan*. In like manner alſo the third year he came again into the Holy Land, and ſpoiled the Country beyond *Jordan*; but hearing of the Kings coming againſt him, he forthwith returned again into *Egypt*. All theſe light Expeditions, this politique Prince made not ſo much for hope of Victory, or to prove his Enemies ſtrength, as to train his Souldiers, eſpecially the effeminate *Egyptians*, and to make them fitter to ſerve him in his greater deſigns.

1173. Shortly after died *Noradin* Sultan of *Damaſco*, and in his time a moſt notable Champion of the Turks, after he had reigned nine and twenty years. Upon whoſe death, *Almericus* forthwith beſieged the City of *Paneade*, in hope to have again recovered the ſame; but he was by the Widow of the late dead Sultan, for a great ſum of money and the delivery of certain noble Priſoners, intreated to raiſe his Siege and depart. So having ſent away his Army, and traveling with his ordinary Retinue to *Tyberias*, where he had the Summer before been ſick of the Flux, feeling himſelf not well, he returned on Horſe-back by *Nazareth* and *Neapolis* to *Jeruſalem*, where his old Diſeaſe increaſing upon him, he was alſo taken with a Fever; wherewith after he had been ſome few days grievouſly tormented, he requeſted his Phyſitians, with ſome gentle potion to looſe his Belly, which was now ſomewhat ſtayed; which they refuſing to do, he commanded the potion to be given him upon his own peril, hap thereon what hap ſhould; which being given him, and his Belly again looſed, he ſeemed therewith to have been at the firſt well eaſed; but his wonted Fever with great vehemency returning, before his weak and ſpent Body could be with convenient meats refreſhed, he ſuddenly died the tenth of *July*, in the year, 1173. when he had reigned about ten years. His dead Body was with the great lamentation of all his Subjects, ſolemnly buried by his Brothers. He was a moſt wiſe Prince, and withall right valiant, amongſt many moſt fit for the Government and Defence of that troubleſome Kingdom, ſo hardly beſet with the Infidels, if it had pleaſed God to have given him longer life.

Four days after the death of *Almericus*, was *Baldwin* his Son, then a Youth about thirteen years old, by the general conſent of the Nobility choſen King, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch in the Temple with great Solemnity Crowned in the year, 1173. unto whom as not yet by reaſon of his tender age, fit himſelf to manage the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom, *Raymond* Count of *Tripolis* was by the whole conſent of the Nobility appointed Tutor to ſupply what was wanting in the young King.

Baldwin *the Fourth of that Name, ſeventh King of* Hieruſalem;

Noradin Sultan of *Damaſco* (dead as is aforeſaid) left behind him *Melechſala* his Son, yet but a Youth, to ſucceed him in his Kingdom. Whoſe Government the Nobility diſdaining, ſent ſecretly for *Saladin* Sultan of *Egypt*, unto whom at his coming they betrayed the City of *Damaſco*, the Regal Seat of the Turks in *Syria*. Whereof *Saladin* poſſeſſed, and entring into *Cæloſiria* without Reſiſtance, took *Heliopolis*, *Emiſſa*, with the great City of *Cæſarea*; and in fine, all the whole Kingdom of *Damaſco*, the City of *Arethuſa* only excepted. But thus to ſuffer *Melechſala* the young Prince to be wronged, and the Kingdom of *Damaſco* to be joyned to the Kingdom of *Egypt*, was of the wiſer ſort thought not to ſtand with the ſafety of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, lying in the middle betwixt them both. Wherefore the Count of *Tripolis*, Governor of that Kingdom, made out certain Forces to have hindred his proceedings. At which time alſo, *Cotobed* Prince of *Parthia*, and *Melechſala* Uncle, ſent certain Troops of *Parthian* Horſe-men to have aided his diſtreſſed Nephew, who were by *Saladin* overthrown and almoſt all ſlain, near unto *Aleppo* where *Melechſala* lay. As for the Count of *Tripolis* and the other Chriſtian Princes, with whom *Saladin* in the newneſs of his Kingdom had no deſire to fall out; he appeaſed them with fair Intreaty and Rewards; unto the Count he ſent freely the Hoſtages, which yet lay for his Ranſome at *Emiſſa*; unto the other Princes he ſent rich Preſents; and therewith ſo contented them all, that they returned without any thing doing againſt him. After which time, three or four years paſſed in great quietneſs, to the great ſtrengthening of him in thoſe new gotten Kingdoms. At length upon the coming over of *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, the Chriſtian Princes of *Syria* encouraged, conſulted of an Expedition to be made into *Egypt*, whereof *Saladin* having Intelligence, drew down into that Country the greateſt part of his ſtrength. But *Philip* diſliking of that Expedition, and the rather for that he ſaw no great chearfulneſs in the Count of *Tripolis* and the reſt thereunto; they with one conſent changed their Purpoſe for *Egypt*, and turning their Forces a quite contrary way, miſerably and without reſiſtance waſted the Country about *Emiſſa* and *Cæſarea*.

Whilſt the Chriſtians were thus buſied in *Cæloſiria*, *Saladin* on the other ſide took occaſion out of *Egypt* to invade the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; of whoſe coming, King *Baldwin* having intelligence, with ſuch ſmall Forces as he had left,

Saladin *overthrown by King* Baldwin.

haſtned himſelf to *Aſcalon*. In the mean time *Saladin* with a great Army was entred into the Holy Land, where burning the Country before him, and raging in the blood of the poor Chriſtians, he came and encamped not far from *Aſcalon*; and ſtruck ſuch a fear upon the whole Country, that they which dwelt in *Jeruſalem*, were about to have forſaken the City; as for the King himſelf, he lay cloſe within the City of *Aſcalon*, not daring to adventure upon ſo ſtrong an Enemy. Wherewith *Saladin* encouraged, and out of fear of his Enemies, diſperſed his Army, ſome one way, ſome another, to forrage the Country. Which the King perceiving, ſecretly with all his Power iſſued out of the City, if happily ſo he might overtake the Sultan unawares; neither was he deceived in his expectation; for coming ſuddenly upon him, and ſecretly charging him, he had with him for a good ſpace an hard and doubtful battel, until that the Victory by the Power of God, at length inclining to the Chriſtians, *Saladin* with his Turks fled, overthrown with a great ſlaughter, moſt part of his great Army being either there ſlain, or loſt afterward with hunger and cold. This Victory fell unto the Chriſtians the 25*th* day of *November*, in the year, 1177. not without the Almighty Hand of God, the Turk having in his Army above ſix and twenty thouſand Horſe-men, and the King not paſt four hundred Horſe, with ſome few Foot-men. After which Victory, *Baldwin* in great Triumph returned to *Jeruſalem*, and there ſhortly after with great care and diligence repaired the decayed Walls of the City. *Saladin* in revenge of this Overthrow, made divers Incurſions into the Frontiers of the Chriſtians, and did great harm, ſpecially in the Country about *Sidon*. For the repreſſing whereof, the King put himſelf in Arms, and going againſt him, overthrew part of his Army, as they were carrying away a great Booty. Of which overthrow *Saladin* underſtanding, came in ſuch haſt with the reſt of his Army, as if it had been a ſudden Tempeſt, upon the Chriſtians, then in great ſecurity dividing the Spoil; of whom they ſlew a great number, and put the reſt to flight: In which ſo ſudden a Confuſion, *Otto*, grand Maſter of the Templars, and *Hugh* the Earl of *Tripolis* his Son in law, were both taken Priſoners. The Earl himſelf with a few fled to *Tyre*; the King alſo at the ſame time was glad to ſhift for Himſelf, and by flight to ſave himſelf as he might; after which Victory, *Saladin* beſieged a ſtrong Caſtle which the King but the year before had built upon the bank of the River *Jordan*, and given it to the Templars, with the Country round about; which Caſtle *Saladin* took by force, and put to Sword all that were therein, except ſome few whom he carried away Priſoners. By this Victory *Saladin* became dreadful unto the Chriſtians in *Syria*, which cauſed them, eſpecially ſuch as had any charge, with more vigilancy to look about them. Yet ſhortly after, a Peace was for a time concluded betwixt the Sultan and the King; whereby their troubled Eſtates breathed themſelves almoſt the ſpace of two years.

1177.

The Chriſtians dividing the Spoil overthrown by the Turks.

But this ſo welcome a Calm was by domeſtical troubles again by the Kings Friends ſuddenly troubled; for the Count of *Tripolis*, to whom the Government of the Kingdom was committed, coming towards *Jeruſalem*, being by the ſuggeſtion of his Enemies brought into ſuſpition with the King, as if he had affected the Kingdom, was to his great diſgrace by the way commanded to ſtay. The chief Authors of which diſcontentment, were the Kings Mother, a Woman of a turbulent nature, and her Brother the Kings Steward; who in the abſence of the Earl, had wrought the Kings ſick mind according to their own appetites. But the reſt of the Nobility wiſely foreſeeing unto what great danger that diſcord might tend; in deſpight of them, with much labour, cauſed him to be ſent for again, and ſo reconciled unto the King; by which means, that dangerous fire of diſſention was for that time appeaſed, which afterwards brake out again, to the utter ruine of that Kingdom.

Saladin *goeth out* **of Ægypt** *to* **Damaſco.**

Saladin now weary of the League he had before made with King *Baldwin*, as no longer ſtanding with his haughty Deſigns, renounced the ſame, and raiſing a great Power in *Ægypt*, ſet forward toward *Damaſco*. Of whoſe coming, King *Baldwin* having knowledge, with the whole Power of his Kingdom went to have met him, not far from the dead Sea, and there encamped at an old Town called *Petra*. But *Saladin* turning out of the way, into the Kings Territory, came and encamped before *Mount-Royal*, a Caſtle which *Baldwin* had given unto the Templars, about three days march from the place where the King lay.

Galilee *ſpoiled, and the Caſtle* **of Burie** *taken by the Turks.*

There *Saladin* with the Spoil of the Country refreſhing his Army, now weary of long travel, ſet forward again, and ſo without reſiſtance arrived with his Army at *Damaſco*. At the ſame time, the Turks Captains about *Damaſco*, *Boſtrum*, and *Emiſſa*, perceiving the Frontiers of the Chriſtians thereabout to be kept with ſmall ſtrength, paſſed over *Jordan*, and ſpoiling a great part of *Galilee*, beſieged the Caſtle of *Burie*, at the foot of Mount *Tabor*, not far from the City of *Naim*; which Caſtle they in few days took, and having there made a great ſlaughter, carried away with them about five hundred Priſoners. *Saladin* being come to *Damaſco*, called together all the Garriſons of that Kingdom, and joyning them unto the Forces he brought out of *Ægypt*, entred into the Holy Land; at which time the Count of *Tripolis*, Governor of the Kingdom, lay ſick of a burning Fever. Nevertheleſs the King encouraged by the Knights of the Order, went out with his Army againſt him; and encountring with him near unto a Village called *Froboles*, overthrew him in a great battel; wherein, afterward in the flight, moſt part of the Sultans Army periſhed; *Saladin* himſelf being glad by ſpeedy flight to eſcape the danger, and ſo by long marches to get him again to *Damaſco*.

Beritus *in vain beſieged by the Turks.*

In revenge of this overthrow, *Saladin* having repaired his Army, and ſent for his Fleet out of *Egypt*, came and beſieged *Beritus* both by Sea and Land; at which time alſo his Brother, whom he had left Governor in *Egypt*, beſieged *Darum*, a ſtrong Town in the uttermoſt bounds of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* towards *Egypt*; both whoſe Forces *Baldwin* being not able at once to repreſs, by the Council of his Nobility, thought it beſt firſt to relieve *Beritus*, as the place of greateſt Importance. And for that purpoſe ſet forward with his Army by Land, having alſo rigged up three and thirty Gallies at *Tyre*, for the Relief thereof by Sea. Of which preparation *Saladin* underſtanding, as alſo of the Kings coming (by Letters intercepted by his Scouts, directed to the beſieged, for the holding out of the ſiege, with promiſe of ſpeedy Relief) he preſently roſe with his Army, and departed; whereof the King being advertiſed, retired to *Sephor*.

Saladin *invading* **Meſopotamia,** *is himſelf invaded by the* **King** *of* **Jeruſalem.**

Not long after, *Saladin* according to his ambitious nature, deſirous above meaſure to extend the bounds of his Kingdom, and ſeeing the ſucceſs of his Attempts againſt the King of *Jeruſalem* not anſwerable to his deſire, converted his Forces unto the Countries more Eaſtward; and paſſing the River *Euphrates*, and entring into *Meſopotamia*, partly by force, partly by corruption, got into his hands the Cities of *Edeſſa*, *Carras*, and divers others. In which time the King of *Jeruſalem* took occaſion firſt to ſpoil the Country about *Damaſco*, and after that divers other places of the Sultans Kingdom, making havock of whatſoever came in his way, and ſo laded with the ſpoil of the Turks, retired to *Jeruſalem*.

Aleppo *betrayed unto the Turks.*

Saladin with Victory returning out of *Meſopotamia*, in revenge of the injuries done unto him in his abſence, marched directly to *Aleppo*, the ſtrongeſt City of the Chriſtians in that part of *Syria*, which above all other he longed after; where he had not long lien, but that it was by the treaſon of the Governor delivered into his hands, with all the Country thereabouts; wherewith the Chriſtian Princes were ſo diſcouraged, that they even then began to fear greater matters to enſue. The Prince of *Antioch* ſold *Tarſus* the Metropolitical City of *Cilicia*, to *Rupinus* Prince of *Armenia*; for that he ſaw it was not without great charge and danger to be by him defended, being ſo far from him, and *Saladin* as it were now ſtept in betwixt him and it.

At the ſame time, King *Baldwin* at *Nazareth* fell ſick of a Fever, the Leproſie alſo his old Diſeaſe growing daily more and more upon him; inſomuch as deſpairing of his life, he called unto him *Guy Luſignan* Count of *Joppa* and *Aſcalon*, unto whom he had before eſpouſed *Sybil* his eldeſt Siſter, and in the preſence of his Mother, the Patriarch, and all the chief Commanders of the Souldiers of the Sacred War, appointed him Governor of the Kingdom, reſerving unto himſelf only the Title of a King, with the City of *Jeruſalem*, and a yearly Penſion of ten thouſand Ducats; all which was done, to the great diſgrace and diſcontentment of the Count of *Tripolis* the old Governor.

It was not long, but that *Saladin* having breathed himſelf a little, after ſo great Labours came again into the Holy Land, where he took many Caſtles, and did infinite harm; inſomuch that the Country people were glad for fear to forſake their Houſes, and to fly into Cities. The Chriſtian Army in the mean time lying faſt by at *Sephor*, not once moving, although many a fair occaſion were offered; for the chief Commanders affectionated unto the Count of *Tripolis*, and envying the Preferment of *Guy* the new Governor, were unwilling to fight, but finding one excuſe or other, ſuffered the Enemy at his pleaſure to ſpoil the Country, and ſo in ſafety to depart, which he had never before done in thoſe Quarters.

Petra *in vain beſieged by the Turks.*

Within leſs than a month after, *Saladin* with a great Army well appointed with all the Habillments of War needful for the beſieging of a City or ſtrong Caſtle, came again into the Land of *Paleſtine*, and paſſing through the Country beyond *Jordan*, ſate down at laſt before *Petra*, in hope by the taking thereof to have made his paſſage between *Egypt* and *Damaſco* more ſafe. Of which his purpoſe King *Baldwin* having knowledge, and taught by the evil ſucceſs of late, to what ſmall purpoſe it was to commit the managing of his Wars unto a General ſo evil beloved, and leſs regarded, as way *Guy* his Brother in law; ſent againſt him with his Army, *Raymund* the Count of *Tripolis*, the old Governor, whom he had again reſtored unto the Government, and diſplaced *Guy*. Of whoſe coming *Saladin* hearing, raiſed his Siege after he had lien there a month, and ſo departed.

A little before this Expedition, the King ſtill growing ſicker and ſicker, his foul Diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, by the common conſent of the Nobility, appointed *Baldwin* his Nephew by his Siſter *Sybilla*, a Child but of five years old, to ſucceed him in the Kingdom; and the Count of *Tripolis* to have the Government of the State during the time of his Minority. This *Sybilla* the Kings Siſter was firſt married to *William* the younger, Marquiſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, who dying within three months after, left her with child with this his Poſthumus Son *Baldwin*, now by his Uncle deputed unto the hope of the Kingdom. After whoſe death ſhe was married to *Guy Luſignan* Count of *Joppa* and *Aſcalon*, the late Governor; who taking in evil part this the Kings deſignment, eſpecially for the Government of the Kingdom by the Count of *Tripolis*, departed from the Court as a man diſcontented, unto his City of *Aſcalon*; whereof the Patriarch and the Princes of the Sacred War, fearing (and that not without cauſe) great danger to enſue, came to the King, then holding a Parliament in the City of *Acon*, moſt humbly requeſting him for avoiding of further danger, and the ſafety of his Kingdom, to receive again into his Favour the Count *Guy* his Brother in law, and to make an atonement betwixt him and the Count of *Tripolis*. But this their requeſt ſorted to no purpoſe, ſo that the Parliament was diſſolved without any thing for the good of the Common-weal in that point concluded.

Diſſention in the Court of Jeruſalem.

After that time the Kindgom of *Jeruſalem* began ſtill more and more to decline. In the old King *Baldwin* (ſick both in body and mind) was almoſt no hope; in the young King (yet unfit for ſo great a burthen) much leſs; and the diſſention betwixt the two Counts *Guy* and *Raymund* with their Favorites, was like enough to bring great harm unto the State. Beſides that, the Count of *Tripolis* fearing the Power of *Guy* his Enemy, was thought to have ſecret Intelligence with *Saladin* the Turk, inſomuch as the King was almoſt in purpoſe to have proclaimed him Traytor. Wherefore the King now reſted only upon the Counſel of *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, and the Maſters of the Knights of the Sacred War; by whoſe advice he ſent *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, *Roger Molins* Maſter of the Knights of St. *Johns*, and *Arnold* Maſter of the Templars, Embaſſadors unto *Lucius* the Third, then Pope, unto *Frederick* the Emperor, *Philip* the French King, and *Henry* the Second, King of *England*, to declare unto them the dangerous State of that Chriſtian Kingdom, and to crave their Aid againſt the Infidels. Theſe Embaſſadors coming to the Council then holden at *Verona*, with great gravity and diligence, in the preſence of the Pope and of the Emperor, declared the hard eſtate of the Chriſtians of the Eaſt, with their humble Requeſt unto them for Aid; in ſuch ſort that they moved them, with all the Princes there preſent, to Compaſſion. From thence they were by the Pope directed unto *Philip* the French King, with whom having diſpatched their Affairs, they from him paſſed over into *England*, and afterward into *Germany*; and had at length brought their Negotiation to ſo good paſs, that in every place great preparation was made for a great Expedition to be made againſt the Turks, for the Relief of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt; with which good News the Embaſſadors returning to *Jeruſalem*, filled the ſick King with the hope of great matters. But greater Quarrels ſhortly after ariſing betwixt the Pope and the Emperor, and ſharp War likewiſe betwixt the French King and the King of *England*, and the other Chriſtian Princes alſo being at no better quiet, the notable Expedition that had with the expectation thereof ſo filled the

King Baldwin *ſendeth Embaſſadors unto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt for Aid.*

World; was again laid aſide and quite daſhed. Whereof King *Baldwin* underſtanding, both by Meſſengers and Letters from his Friends, oppreſſed with grief and heavineſs more than with the force of his Diſeaſe, (a man for his proweſs and painfulneſs not inferiour to any his Predeceſſors) died without Iſſue the 16*th* day of *May*, *Anno* 1185. being but five and twenty years old, whereof he had reigned twelve. His Body was afterward with the general mourning of his Subjects, ſolemnly buried in the Temple near unto the Mount *Calvary*, together with his Predeceſſors the Kings of *Jeruſalem*. 1185.

King *Baldwin* thus buried, *Baldwin* the Fifth of that name, yet but a Boy, was Crowned King. But then began the Sparks, which had of long lien raked up and hidden in the aſhes, to break out into a great fire; for *Raymund* Count of *Tripolis* contended the whole Government of the Kingdom, and tuition of the King to be due unto him, by the appointment of the late King, and conſent of the Nobility; and did ſo much, that he had almoſt obtained it to have been confirmed unto him in open Parliament. But *Sybilla* a woman of a moſt haughty ſpirit (Siſter unto the late King, and Mother unto the young King yet living) prickt forward her Husband *Guy*, in no caſe to give place unto his Competitor *Raymund*; and ſo animated him, that by the help of his own Favorites, and the countenance of *Boniface* Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, (who even then was come with a great Power into *Syria*) he extorted from the Nobility whatſoever he deſired. But ſeven months were ſcarce well paſſed, but that this young King *Baldwin* was dead and buried; poyſoned (as was reported) by his Mother, for the deſire ſhe had of the Kingdom her ſelf; whoſe death ſhe with all ſecrecy concealed, until ſhe had obtained of the Patriarch and other Princes of the Kingdom, that *Guy* her Husband might be proclaimed King. So by her means it was ſo wrought, that upon one and the ſelf ſame day the young King *Baldwin* was buried by his Uncle, and *Guy* the Count Crowned. This young King *Baldwin*, by reaſon of his tender years and ſhort Reign, is of ſome not reckoned amongſt the Kings of *Jeruſalem*; howbeit, ſeeing he was by his Uncle and the Princes of that time thought worthy of the Kingdom, let him alſo have his place amongſt the reſt as the Eighth King of *Jeruſalem*.

Guy *the Ninth, and laſt King of* Jeruſalem.

When *Guy* was thus poſſeſſed of the Kingdom, the Count of *Tripolis* ſeeing himſelf out of all hope of the Government, and highly therewith diſcontented, did what he might by all means to croſs the doings of the King; whoſe ſick and aſpiring mind *Saladin* prickt daily more and more forward, promiſing him his helping hand whenſoever he ſhould need; which courteſie the Count deſirouſly embraced. For now the fatal period of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* grew faſt on, and all things tended to deſtruction, diſcord reigning in every place; which *Saladin* well perceiving (after that he had compacted with the Count) by Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, invited the Turks, Saraſins, and Ægyptians, as men agreeing in one and the ſame Religion, generally to take up Arms in ſo fit an opportunity of the diſcord of the Chriſtians, aſſuring them of great prey and ſpoil, beſides the Honour of the Conqueſt. The City of *Ptolemais* was the place by him appointed, where all this Power ſhould meet; whether ſuch a multitude of the barbarous Mahometans (partly for the hatred of the Chriſtian Religion, partly for the hope of the rich ſpoil which *Saladin* had promiſed them) came flocking out of all places, that in ſhort time there was met together about fifty thouſand Horſemen, beſides an infinite number of Foot; and unto ſuch as could not ſafely paſs by the borders of *Jeruſalem*, to them the falſe Count gave ſafe conduct, by the Countries of *Tiberias*, *Nazareth*, and *Galilee*.

Saladin *upon the diſcord of the Chriſtians taketh occaſion to invade the Holy Land.*

All the Power of the Infidels thus aſſembled, *Saladin* laid ſiege unto the City of *Ptolemais*; which the Templars and the Knights Hoſpitallers had notably fortified, and ſtrongly manned (as before unto them given by the Kings of *Jeruſalem*, to defend againſt the Infidel) and therein now were both the Maſters of both thoſe honourable Orders, with the whole flower of the Knights of their Profeſſion. Unto this City *Saladin* gave a moſt terrible Aſſault upon *May-day* in the morning, in the year, 1187. which was by the Chriſtians notably defended, and the Enemy with great ſlaughter ſtill beaten down. In the heat of this Aſſault, the two great Maſters ſallied with certain Troops of their moſt ready Horſemen, aſſailed the Enemies Camp, and bearing down all before them, raiſed there a great tumult; and by and by turning upon the backs of them that were aſſaulting the City, made there an exceeding great ſlaughter. Inſomuch that *Saladin* diſmaid, firſt with the confuſion in his Camp, and now with the ſudden danger behind him, was glad to give over the Aſſault, and to turn his whole Forces upon them, where was fought a moſt bloody and terrible battel. Amongſt others that there fought, the Count of *Tripolis*, now an Enemy unto God and his Country, diſguiſed in the habit of a Turk notably helped the Infidels, and meeting with the great Maſter of the Knights Hoſpitalers, unhorſed him; who ſurcharged with the weight of his Armor, and oppreſſed with the multitude of his Enemies, there died. Nevertheleſs, ſuch was the valour of theſe worthy men, and new Succour ſtill coming out of the City, that *Saladin* having in that battel, and at the Aſſault loſt fifteen thouſand of his Turks, was glad with the reſt to betake himſelf to flight. Neither was this ſo notable a Victory gained by the Chriſtians without blood, moſt part of the worthy Knights Hoſpitalers being together with their grand Maſter there ſlain.

Ptolomais *beſieged by* Saladin.

1187.

Saladin by this Overthrow perceiving, that by open Force he ſhould not be able to do much againſt the Chriſtians, thought it good unto his Forces to joyn alſo Policy. Wherein the falſe Count of *Tripolis* was the man he thought beſt to make choice of, as his fitteſt Inſtrument to work by. Him he compacted withall, to ſeek for grace at the King of *Jeruſalems* hands, as of his dread Soveraign, and after ſo long diſcord, to ſue to be reconciled unto him, as now weary of the Turks Amity, with whom he ſhould make ſhew to be utterly fallen out. At which time alſo, to give the matter the better grace, *Saladin* of purpoſe with a great Army came and beſieged *Tiberias*, a City of the Counts Juriſdiction; for the relief whereof, the traiterous Count craved Aid of the King and the other Princes of the Sacred War. Who with an Army, though not great, yet very well appointed, came according to his deſire, and encamped near unto the Fountain of *Sophor*; where they had not long ſtayed, but that they met with the huge Army of the Turks, being in number one hundred and twenty thouſand horſe, and one hundred and ſixty thouſand Foot; with whom they joyned a moſt ſharp and terrible battel, which by reaſon of the extremity of the heat of the weather (it then being the twelfth of *July*) and the approach of the night, was again given over, both Armies (as if it had been by conſent) retiring. The next day the battel was again begun, wherein the Turks, by the treaſon and ſhameful flight of the falſe Count of *Tripolis*, gained the Victory. In this Battel *Guy* the King himſelf, with *Gerard* Maſter of the Templars, *Boniface* Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, and divers others, Men of great mark, were taken Priſoners. And to ſay the truth, in this Battel was broken the whole Strength of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt.

Guy *King of* Jeruſalem *taken priſoner.*

Jeruſalem *beſieged.*

Jeruſalem *taken by* Saladin.

The Chriſtian Commonweal by the Treaſon of the falſe Count thus betrayed unto the Infidels, *Saladin* without any great reſiſtance had the Cities of *Ptolemais*, *Biblis*, and *Berithus* delivered unto him; in all which places he uſed his Victory with great moderation; not enforcing any Chriſtian (more than the Latines) to depart thence, but ſuffering them there ſtill to remain as before, yielding unto him their obedience, with ſuch Tribute as he had impoſed upon them. With like good fortune he within the ſpace of one Month took all the Port-towns betwixt *Sidon* and *Aſcalon* alongſt the Sea-coaſt, excepting only the ancient City of *Tyre*; unto the City of *Aſcalon* alſo he laid Siege by the ſpace of nine days; but loath to ſtay the courſe of his Victory, by the Valour of the Defendants reſolved there to ſpend their lives, he departed thence, and marched directly unto *Jeruſalem* the chief City of that Kingdom; and approaching the ſame, gave ſummons thereunto, perſwading the Citizens yet whiles they had time, to yield themſelves, together with the City, unto his mercy. Which they refuſing to do, he incloſed the ſame with his Army, and by the ſpace of fourteen days laid hard Siege unto it, leaving nothing undone or attempted, that might help for the gaining thereof. At which time the Citzens conſidering the danger they were in, and that the Strength of the Kingdom, with the Flower of their Chivalry, were in the late Battel loſt, and that they were not now to expect any forreign aid, agreed upon certain conditions to yield up the City; which were, That ſuch Chriſtians as would, might remain ſtill with their Liberty and Goods; and that ſuch as would not, might in ſafety depart with ſo much of their Goods as they could carry upon their Backs. Theſe Conditions being by *Saladin* granted, the Holy City was unto him delivered the ſecond of *October*, in the year 1187. after that it had been by the Chriſtians holden from the time that it was by *Godfrey* of *Bulloin* and other Chriſtians won, about 89 years. *Saladin* entring into the City, prophaned firſt the Temple of the Lord, converting it unto the uſe of his Mahometan Superſtition; the other Churches he uſed as Stables for his Horſes, only the Temple of the Sepulchre was by the Chriſtians for a great ſum of Mony redeemed, and ſo kept undefiled. The Latine Chriſtians he thruſt out of the City, yet with leave to carry with them ſuch things as they were able themſelves to bear; who travelling with heavy Burthens, but much more heavy Hearts, ſome to *Tripolis*, ſome to *Tyre*, ſome to *Antioch*, (for only theſe three Cities were now left unto the Chriſtians in *Syria*) were by the falſe Count of *Tripolis* by the way lightened of their Burthens, to the increaſing of the heavyneſs of their Hearts, moſt of them being by him and his Followers ſpoyled of that little they had by the mercy of their Enemies ſaved in the ruin of their State.

Unto the other Chriſtians that were natural Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and ſuch like, *Saladin* appointed certain places of the City for them to dwell in, where ſome of their Poſterity were long time after to be found. All the Monuments of the Chriſtians were by the barbarous Mahometans and Turks defaced, only the Sepulchre of our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt, with the Monument of *Godfrey* of *Bulloin*, and his Brother *Baldwin*, for the reverence of the men, were by them ſpared. In theſe ſo great troubles above twenty Thouſand of the Chriſtians periſhed; amongſt the reſt, the Count of *Tripolis* was ſhortly after found dead in his bed, and (as ſome ſay) circumciſed; a manifeſt token of his Revolt, not from the King only, but from the Chriſtian Faith alſo.

The death of Raymund *the traiterous Count of* Tripolis.

Jeruſalem thus won, *Saladin* returned again to the Siege of *Aſcalon*, which after he had by the ſpace of ten days moſt ſtraightly beſieged, was unto him by compoſition delivered; wherein amongſt other things agreed upon for the ſafe departure of the Citizens, was compriſed alſo, that he ſhould freely ſet at liberty *Guy* the King, and *Gerard* Maſter of the Templars, both before taken Priſoners, as is before declared; which he afterward performed.

Thus the victorious Turk ſtill urging his good fortune, departing thence attempted to have taken *Tripolis*; but having made ſome proof of his own Forces, and the Valor of the Defendants, he was glad to give over the Siege, and to depart as he came. Marching thence with his Army, becauſe he would leave no place unattempted, he laid Siege unto the City of *Tyre*, where *Conrade* Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat* was a little before arrived with *Iſaac Angelus* the Greek Emperors Fleet, and a ſupply of certain Companies of good Souldiers. Unto which place were come great numbers of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians, fled from *Jeruſalem* and other places, ſo that the City was full of Men.

This City *Saladin* moſt furiouſly aſſaulted, but was by the Chriſtians notably repulſed, not without the great loſs of his beſt Souldiers. At which time alſo the Admiral of *Sicilia* diſcomfited his Fleet at Sea, and landing his Forces, came unlookt for upon the back of him; ſo that having his Hands full before by them of the Town, and charged behind by theſe new come Enemies, he was glad to retire in ſuch haſt, as that he left his Tents, with all that therein was, unto the Spoyl of the Chriſtians.

The famous City of Antioch *betrayed unto the Turks.*

Within a few days after, *Saladin* having again repaired his Army, invaded the Country about *Antioch*; with Fire and Sword deſtroying whatſoever was ſubject to his Fury, even to the gates of the City; but knowing that ſo ſtrong a City was not without great charge and long Siege to be won, he thought it good to make proof if it might by policy or corruption be gained. Wherein he ſo cunningly dealt with the Patriarch that he had by his means the Caſtle (otherwiſe almoſt impregnable) for Gold betrayed unto him. By means whereof he in ſhort time became Lord and Maſter of that famous City (about nineteen years before hardly gained by the whole power of the Chriſtians, after eleven months Siege) and with it five and twenty Cities more, that depended on the fortune thereof, with all the Provinces belonging thereunto, always deemed to have been the third part of the Kindom of *Jeruſalem*.

The loſs of ſo great a City, together with the Ruin of the whole Kingdom, had in a ſhort ſpace filled every corner of Chriſtendom with the heavy Report thereof. Wherewith the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt (namely *Frederick* the German Emperor, with *Frederick* his Son Duke of *Suevia*, *Philip* the French King, *Henry* the Second, King of *England*, *Otto* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria*, with many other great Princes and Prelates of *Germany*, *Italy*, and other places) not a little moved, as alſo with the pitiful complaints of the Embaſſadors at the ſame time ſent from the diſtreſſed Chriſtians, and the effectual perſwaſions of *Clement* the Third, then Pope; promiſed, and all, or moſt part indeed, made great preparations; which they afterwards, though not all at once (as letted by other occaſions) but at divers times imployed, for the moſt part with the danger of their own Perſons, againſt the Turks, for the relief of the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians, and recovery of the Holy Land; but with what ſucceſs ſhall hereafter (God willing) be declared.

Of which ſo great preparations made againſt him, *Saladin* not ignorant, ſet at liberty *Guy* the King of *Jeruſalem*, who contrary to his promiſe made at *Aſcalon*, he had now detained a year in Priſon; yet before his inlargement exacting of him an Oath, Never by force of Arms afterwards to ſeek to recover his Kingdom, or to revenge the wrongs he had ſuſtained; hoping thereby to ſtay the coming of the other Princes in his quarrel. Which Oath for all that, the Pope diſpenſed withall, as extorted by conſtraint from him, at ſuch time as *Saladin* had longer detained him in Priſon, than of right he ſhould.

Guy now at liberty, and yet in mind a King, came to *Tyre*, but could not be there received, the Citizens having before ſworn their Obedience unto *Conrade* Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, by whom they had been notably defended againſt the Fury of *Saladin*. Wherefore departing thence with ſuch power as he had, and the diſperſed Chriſtians dayly repairing unto him out of all parts of *Syria*, he came and beſieged *Ptolemais*; where he had not long lien, but firſt came unto him the Venetian Fleet, with them alſo of *Piſa*, and after them the Flemings with a Fleet of fifty Sail, who all joyned their Forces together for the winning of the City. But whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the Siege of *Ptolemais*, came *Saladin* with a great Army to the relief of the beſieged; where betwixt him and the Chriſtians was fought a great Battel, wherein the Chriſtians at the firſt had the better; but afterward fainting, and ready to flie, had there undoubtedly received a notable overthrow, had not *Geffrey Lyſignan* the Kings Brother (left for the guarding of the Camp) in good time come in with new Supplies; and not only ſtaied their Flight, but alſo repreſſed the further purſuit of the fierce Enemy, now allmoſt in poſſeſſion of the deſired Victory. Nevertheleſs there were 2000 Chriſtians there ſlain, and among them *Gerard* Maſter of the Templars. *Saladin* by that which was now done, perceiving how hard a matter it would be for him by Land to relieve his City, ſent for the Fleet which he had ſtrongly rigged up at *Alexandria*, and ſo by force put new ſupplies both of Men and Victuals into the beſieged City. Wherewith the Turks encouraged, made often ſallies upon the Chriſtians; and in deſpight of the Chriſtian Religion, whipped the Image of Chriſt crucified, which they had for that purpoſe in the ſight of the Chriſtians ſet up on the top of the Wall. With the ſame Fleet alſo he ſo ſcoured the Seas, that no Victuals or new Supplies of Men could that way without great danger be brought unto the Camp; whereby ſuch Scarcity and Want of all things began ſhortly after to ariſe among the Chriſtians, that ſome of them not able longer to indure the Famine, fled unto the Turks Camp, then lying not far off, crying out for Bread. Of which diſtreſs in the Camp of the Chriſtians, *Saladin* knowing right well, both by ſuch Fugitives as dayly came over unto him, and by his own Eſpials, yet made ſhew as if he underſtood nothing thereof; but ſuddenly riſing with his Army (as doubtful of his own Strength) departed, leaving his Camp full of all manner of Victuals. Whereof the Chriſtians underſtanding, and ſuppoſing him to have for fear been gone indeed, in great numbers haſted unto the forſaken Camp, as unto a moſt deſired Prey: where whilſt they were gorging themſelves, *Saladin* ſuddenly returning, and getting betwixt them and home, made of them a great Slaughter. Nevertheleſs the Chriſtians having now lien before the City ſix months, continued the Siege all the Winter, overcoming with patience the hardeſt difficulties, in hope of aid from the other Chriſtian Princes, whoſe coming they expected with the firſt of the next Spring; during which time many an hot skirmiſh paſſed betwixt them and the Turks both by Sea and Land.

1160. **Frederick** *the Emperor ſetteth forward towards the Holy Land.*

Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the Siege of *Ptolemais*, *Frederick* the Emperor, with divers of the great German Princes and others, before reſolved upon an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land, and the relief of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in *Syria*; having now raiſed a great Army, furniſhed with all things neceſſary for ſo long a journey, ſet forward from *Ratisbon*, and ſo coming to *Vienna*, and paſſing through *Hungaria*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, arrived at length at *Conſtantinople*; where he was by *Iſaac Angelus* the Emperor that then reigned, honourably entertained; but indeed more for Fear and Faſhion ſake, than for any Love or good Will; for that he after the ſuſpicious manner of the Greeks, having in diſtruſt ſo great a power of the Latine Emperors, wiſhed rather for his abſence than his preſence. And therefore ceaſed not in what he might, to haſten his paſſage over into *Aſia*, pretending for colour thereof, the neceſſity the Chriſtians had of his preſent aid. So the Emperor with his Army paſſing over the Straight, and without reſiſtance marching through the greateſt part of the leſſer *Aſia*, entred into *Lycaonia*, where meeting with a great power of the Turks, that were come from the Sultan of *Iconium* to ſtay his further paſſage, he overthrew them in a great Battel, and ſo marching directly on to *Iconium*, took it by force, and gave the Spoil thereof unto his Souldiers, in revenge of the injuries before done unto his Uncle the Emperor *Conrade*, by the Sultan of that City. Departing thence, and marching through *Cilicia*, he in another Battel overthrew the Turks, that having taken the Straights of the Mountains, had thought to have ſtaied his further paſſage into *Syria*. After that he took the City *Philomela*, which the Sultan had ſtrongly fortified, which he raſed to the ground, and put to the Sword all the People therein, for that they contrary to the Law of Nations, had ſlain ſuch Meſſengers as he had ſent unto them for the ſummoning of the City. In like manner he entred into the leſſer *Armenia*, where he took the City *Melitene*, and ſubdued all the Country thereabouts; unto the relief whereof the Turks coming with a moſt huge Army, were by him with an exceeding great Slaughter overthrown and put to Flight. After that, entring into *Comagena*, and meeting with *Saphadin*, *Saladin* his Son, with a great Army of the Turks, he overthrew him in the plain Field, and diſcomfited his whole Army; but whilſt he too eagerly purſueth the Enemy he had then in chaſe, his Horſe foundring under him as he paſſed the River *Saleph*, he was ſo overthrown, and his Foot hanging faſt in his Stirrup, drawn through the deep River, and almoſt drowned; and at the farther ſide of the River was ſo plunged by his Horſe, at his landing, that he was taken up for dead; yet breathing a little, and caſting his Eyes up to Heaven, with much ado he uttered theſe few words, *Lord receive my Soul*; and ſo in the

Hands of them that took him up gave up the ghoſt, unto the great grief and hindrance of the Chriſtian Common-weal; for *Saladin* hearing of his approach, was ſo afraid of him, as that he began to doubt, not how to keep that he had before won in *Syria*, but how to defend himſelf in *Egypt*. Thus miſerably periſhed this worthy Emperor, the tenth of *June*, in the year of Grace, 1190. being then of the age of ſeventy years, whereof he had with much trouble reigned eight and thirty. His dead Body was carried along with the Army, and afterward with all funeral Pomp buried in the Cathedral Church at *Tyre*.

Frederick *the Emperors Son choſen General of the Chriſtian Army.*

Frederick the Emperor thus dead, *Frederick* his Son Duke of *Suevia*, was by the general conſent of the Princes in the Army choſen General in his ſtead; upon whom, with the reſt of the Army, yet mourning for the death of the Emperor, the Turks gave a ſudden and fierce Charge, in hope ſo to have overthrown them; but finding greater reſiſtance than they had before ſuppoſed, and having loſt ſome of their men, they with like ſpeed that they came, retired again. Now began Famine (one of the ordinary Attendants of great Armies) to increaſe in the Camp; for why, the Turks for that purpoſe had before deſtroyed or carried away all that was in the Country, leaving nothing for the Chriſtians more than the bare ground. Wherefore *Frederick* turning a little out of the way, came to *Antioch*, which was eaſily delivered unto him, and his hungry Souldiers well refreſhed by the Citizens, being as yet for the moſt part Chriſtians. But he had not there ſtayed paſt fifteen days for the refreſhing of his Army, but that the Plague (the Hand-Maid of Famine, and another Scourge of the greateſt multitudes) began to rage among his Souldiers, in ſuch ſort, that he was glad with his Army to forſake the City, and to get him abroad again into the open field; where forthwith News was brought unto him, that *Dodequin* General of ſuch Forces as *Saladin* had ſent for out of *Egypt* (which were not ſmall) was by great Journeys coming towards him; againſt whom he in good order ſet forward, with his Fathers Corſe ſtill carried in the midſt of his Army. Theſe two Armies meeting together, and both willing to fight, joyned a great and doubtful battel, fortune now inclining to the one ſide, and by and by to the other; the Chriſtians exceeding their Enemies in valour, and they them again in number. At length the Chriſtians in the Vantguard began to retire, and they that ſeconded them were alſo hardly charged; when *Frederick* mindful of his Fathers valour, with a Troop of valiant Horſemen brake into the Enemies battel with ſuch force, that the Turks were glad to give ground; after whom *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria* coming preſently on with his Footmen, brought ſuch a fear upon the whole Army of the Turks, that they betook themſelves to ſpeedy flight. In this battel were four thouſand of the Enemies ſlain, with ſmall loſs of the Chriſtians; and about one thouſand more taken Priſoners, with fifteen of their Enſigns. After which Victory, *Frederick* marching further in *Cœlo-Syria*, pacified *Laodicea* then in mutiny, and like to have been delivered unto the Turks. He alſo with a little labour took *Berythus*, with divers other Cities of *Syria*, which before belonging unto the Kings of *Jeruſalem*, were now revolted unto the Turks. So afterward coming to *Tyre*, he there ſolemnly buried his Father, (dead, as is before ſaid;) and from thence certified *Guy* the King (ſtill lying with the other Chriſtian Princes at the Siege of *Ptolemais*) of his coming; who forthwith ſent the Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, with part of the Fleet, to tranſport him with his people that were left, by Sea; for that by Land he could not ſo ſafely have come, being now but weak, for meeting with *Saladin*; who with a great Army lay ſtill hovering about his beſieged City, intentive to all opportunity. So was Duke *Frederick*, with his Souldiers yet left, ſafely by Sea conducted from *Tyre* to the Camp at *Ptolemais*, and there joyfully received by the King and the other Princes, with the general Applauſe of the whole Camp.

A great battel betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

Ptolemais *aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.*

In the mean time the Turks ſallying out of the City of *Ptolemais*, had done great harm among the Chriſtians, by whom they were not without ſome loſs again repulſed. But after the coming of Duke of *Frederick* and his Germans, it was thought good by the general conſent of all the great Commanders in the Army, that the City ſhould be aſſaulted round; and to that purpoſe was every mans Regiment appointed what place to aſſail. The King himſelf with the Templars and the Italians from *Piſa*, undertook that part of the City which was toward the Sea; unto Duke *Frederick* and his Germans, was allotted all betwixt the Bridge over the River *Bele*, and the Biſhops Palace; the *Venetians*, *Genoways*, and Knights Hoſpitalers, were appointed unto the reſt of the Wall as far as the Court of *Raymund*; the *Frieſlanders*, *Flemings*, and *Hollanders*, took up all the reſt of the Wall unto the Sea-ſide: Thus was the City at once on every ſide aſſailed by the Chriſtians, with ſuch fury, as if they had thereon purpoſed to engage their whole Forces; ſeeking by a thouſand Wounds, and a thouſand kinds of death to have by their ſcaling-Ladders gained the top of the Walls; the Turks with no leſs courage ſtill beating them down again. But in the heat of this ſo dreadful and deſperate an Aſſault, *Saladin* ſtill hovering aloof, came now upon the ſudden and aſſailed the Camp of the Chriſtians, filling the ſame with fear and tumult; whoſe charge they that were left for the defence of the ſame, at the firſt notably received, but finding themſelves too weak, began to give ground; by which means the Turks took certain Tents with ſome Enſigns, and fired ſome other of the Pavillions of the Chriſtians, having ſlain ſomewhat more than an hundred of the Defendants.

The Chriſtians in the mean time little prevailing in the Aſſault, and troubled with the danger of their Camp, retired to the Relief thereof. But the Turk perceiving himſelf too weak for the whole Power of the Chriſtians, retired alſo; yet not with ſuch haſt, but that he had there almoſt loſt himſelf. This notable Aſſault was given the fourteenth of *October*; after which, many light skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, but more for booty, than for any other great purpoſe.

In the mean time, divers great Princes of the Weſt that had vowed themſelves unto this Sacred War, came thither, whoſe number rather increaſed the want of Victuals, than furthered the Service. At which time alſo the diſcord betwixt *Guy* the King (whoſe Wife and Children were now dead) and *Conrade* Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat* (who had married *Iſabel* the late Queens Siſter, by whom he pretended a Claim unto the Title of the imaginary Kingdom) did much harm unto the proceedings of the Chriſtians; ſo pleaſing a thing theſe haughty ſtyles be unto the lofty minds of the ambitious. Shortly after the Chriſtians yet lying at the Siege, the Contagion and Famine ſtill increaſing, it fortuned that Duke *Frederick* fell ſick of the Plague, whereof he died; and with the great mourning of the whole

Army, was afterward ſolemnly buried faſt by his Father in the Cathedral Church at *Tyre*; after whoſe death the Chriſtians attempted no great matter againſt the City, although they were oftentimes by the Turks provoked, but lay ſtill ſtrongly intrenched, expecting ſome greater Aid from the Princes of the Weſt.

Now all the hope of the Chriſtian Affairs in *Syria*, and in the Land of *Paleſtine*, reſted upon the coming of the two mighty Princes, *Philip* the Second of that name, King of *France*, and *Richard* the Firſt, King of *England*; who having agreed betwixt themſelves, with their combined Forces to relieve the diſtreſſed Chriſtians of the Eaſt; and again (if it were poſſible) to repair the broken State of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, were now met together at *Marſeilles* in *Provence*. From whence the French King firſt departing with his Fleet for *Cicilia*, and with a proſperous gale for certain days holding on his courſe, and now come nigh unto the Iſland, was by force of a furious tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing, ſo toſſed and tumbled in the deep, that many of his Ships there periſhed, eaten up of the Sea; others by force of Weather driven upon the Sands and Rocks, were there broken all to pieces; and the reſt, ſome with their Maſts broken, ſome with their Tacklings and Sails rent, and all in general ſore Weather-beaten, with much ado arrived at *Meſſana*, the deſired Port. At which place King *Richard* afterwards (but with better fortune) arrived with his Fleet alſo. Both the Kings now met together, reſolved there to winter; the French King enforced by neceſſity ſo to do, for the repairing of the late Loſſes he had received, as well in his People and Proviſion, as in his Shipping; all which was to be relieved by new Supplies out of *France*; and the King of *England* ſtaying to take Order for the Dowry of his Siſter *Joan* (Widow of *William* the late King of *Cicilia*) with *Tancred* the baſe Son of *Roger*, that had now aſpired unto the Kingdom of that Iſland. About which matter great Stirs aroſe betwixt King *Richard* the Queens Brother, and *Tancred* the new King, inſomuch that it was like to have broken out into open War, had it not to the good contentment of King *Richard* been otherwiſe taken up, and ſo the Controverſie ended. But whilſt theſe two great Kings thus wintred in this fruitful Iſland, and oftentimes as good Friends met together, ſometime for their diſport, and ſometime to confer of their ſo weighty Affairs; the way (as was thought) to have appeaſed all former diſpleaſure, and to have increaſed love; it fell out clean contrary, jealouſie and diſtruſt, not only reviving the old, but alſo ſtill raiſing new Quarrels betwixt them, to the great hindrance of the common good by them intended; which may ſerve for a warning to all great Princes, willing to continue in Amity, and to hold a good Opinion one of another, never to ſee one the other; or coming ſo to an interview, not to converſe or ſtay long together; which as it is not often done without the danger of their perſons, ſo can it not poſſibly be long continued, but that it will engender in themſelves as well as in their Followers, Jealouſie, envy, hatred, and miſtruſt, as we have before ſaid and hereafter in the courſe of this Hiſtory may appear.

An old grudge betwixt Philip *the French King, and* Richard *King of* England.

There was an old Q[illegible]el betwixt theſe two great Kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, about *Adela* the French Kings Siſter; whom *Richard* having before (his Father yet living) affianced, had now rejected, as her whom his aged Father *Henry* the Second had too familiarly uſed; and in ſtead of her, to the great diſgrace of the French, eſpouſed the Lady *Berengaria*, Daughter to the King of *Navar*; which Indignity with divers others, then ariſing betwixt the French and the Engliſh, as then with great heart-burning ſmouldred up in reſpect of the common Cauſe then in Hand, afterwards brake out again, to the ſhameful overthrow of this moſt honourable Expedition, and lamentable diſturbance of both Realms.

Winter paſt, and the Spring now come, the French King not altogether the beſt pleaſed, firſt looſed from *Meſſana*, and with his Fleet in ſafety arrived at *Ptolemais*, where he was by the Chriſtians, now the third year lying at the Siege, ſo joyfully received, as if he had been to them ſent with Succours from Heaven. After whom, ſhortly after followed alſo King *Richard*; of whoſe Fleet (by force of Weather ſore beaten and diſperſed) two Ships by the rage of the Tempeſt driven aground upon the coaſt of *Cyprus*, were by the Iſland people ſpoiled, and the Men that in them had hardly eſcaped the danger of the Sea, with moſt barbarous Inhumanity, ſome ſlain and ſome taken Priſoners; the reſt of the Fleet arriving there alſo, were with like Incivility forbidden to land; the *Cipriots* ready at hand in all places to keep them off. With which ſo great an Indignity the King juſtly moved, and by force landing his people, with incredible Celerity and Succeſs over-ran the whole Iſland, never ceaſing, until he had made a full Conqueſt thereof, and taken *Iſaac Comnenus*, commonly called *The King of that Iſland*, and of ſome (for what reaſon I know not) *Emperor of the Griffons*, Priſoner; yet was he indeed neither King nor Emperor, but being a man of great Nobility and Power, and of the honourable Stock of the *Comneni*, had in the troubleſome Reign of *Andronicus Comnenus* the Emperor, his Couſin, laid hold upon that fruitful Iſland, and there tyrannized as a reputed King; until that now he was by King *Richard* taken Priſoner, and for his unfaithful dealing ſent faſt bound in Chains of Silver into *Syria*. The King thus poſſeſſed of the whole Iſland, there at *Limozin* married the Lady *Berengaria* the King of *Navars* Daughter, brought thither by *Joan* late Queen of *Cicilia*, the Kings Siſter. And ſo diſpoſing as he thought beſt of all things for the ſafe keeping of the Iſland, ſet forward again with his Fleet towards *Syria*. Where by the way he light upon a great Ship of the Sultans, laded with Victuals and other War-like Proviſions for the relief of the beſieged; all which became a Prey unto him. So holding on his courſe, he at length arrived at *Ptolemais*, where he was by the French King, and the reſt of the Chriſtians there lying, moſt honourably reived.

King Richard *revengeth the injury done to his people by the* Cipriots.

King Richard *arriveth at* Ptolemais.

Now had the City of *Ptolemais* been three years beſieged by the Chriſtians, and notably defended by the Turks; during which time many an hot Aſſault and bloody Skirmiſh had paſſed betwixt them. And now the eyes of all men were fixed upon the two Kings of *England* and *France*, unto whom all the reſt offered their Obedience and Service. The Chriſtian Camp was great, compoſed eſpecially of *Engliſhmen*, *Frenchmen*, *Italians*, and *Almains*; not them that were left of the Emperor *Frederick* his Army (for they were for the moſt part dead, or elſe returned home again into their Countries) but of ſuch as (moved with the Zeal they bare unto this Religious War) came daily in great numbers thither; as did alſo many others of divers Nations, deſirous in ſome meaſure to be partakers of ſo honourable a War.

Theſe Religious and Venerous Chriſtians thus lying at the Siege, had with much painful labour undermined one of the greateſt Towers of the City, called the accurſed Tower, with ſome part of the Wall alſo, by means whereof they were in hope to find a way into the City. Wherefore all things being now in a readineſs for the firing of the Mine, it was thought good by general conſent, that an aſſault ſhould alſo at the ſame time be given unto the City: and thereupon every Regiment was by lot appointed which part of the Wall to aſſail, which they all with great courage undertook. In the heat of which Aſſault, the aforeſaid undermined Tower, with ſome part of the Wall (the Timber whereon it ſtaied, now burnt) fell down with a great fall, laying open a fair Breach for the Chriſtians to enter: wherewith the Turks diſmaied, forthwith craved to come to parl; which granted, they for ſafeguard of their lives yielded forthwith to give up the City, and to reſtore to the Chriſtians the Holy Croſs, with two thouſand Captives, and two hundred Horſemen, ſuch as they ſhould require of all them that were in the power of *Saladin*; beſides 200000 Conſtantinopolitan Ducats, to be by him given to the two Kings, for the coſt by them beſtowed in the Siege. For payment whereof the Turks in the City were to remain as hoſtages under the ſafe keeping of the Chriſtians, ſo that if all the Covenants aforeſaid were not within forty days performed by *Saladin*, they ſhould all for their lives be at the Kings mercy. So was this ſtrong City, after it had been almoſt three years beſieged, delivered up unto the Chriſtians the 12 of *July*, in the year 1191. The firſt that entred were the Germans of *Auſtria*, who as if they had been the only men by whoſe Valour the City had been won, at their firſt entry preſumptuouſly advanced their Enſigns upon the top of the Walls, to the great Offence of all the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, but eſpecially of King *Richard*, who (not unworthily for his Princely Courage was commonly called *Richard Cueur de Lyon*) not brooking ſo proud an indignity, cauſed the Enſigns of *Leopold* their Duke to be pulled down, and foiled under foot; which ſhortly after gave him occaſion of Repentance, as ſhall hereafter be ſeen.

1191.

The two Kings poſſeſſed of the City, divided the ſame, with all the People and Spoil thereof betwixt them, without regard of the reſt of the other noble Chriſtians, that had ſuſtained the whole travel of that long Siege; for which cauſe moſt part of them, ſeeing themſelves ſo deluded, withdrew themſelves from them, and with one conſent ſent them word, That they would forſake them, except they were made partakers of the gains, as they had been of the pains. Which the two Kings to content them, promiſed they ſhould; howbeit, they delayed ſo long their promiſes, that many worthy men, conſtrained by Poverty, departed diſcontented from them into their Countries.

But long it was not, that this one City, ſo lately gained, could contain theſe two great Kings; whom two large Kingdoms could not retain in peace. For albeit that they were in body together preſent, and in one, and that a moſt honourable action, combined, yet were they in hearts far aſunder, and their ſecret deſigns much different; envy and diſtruſt ſtill reviving unkindneſs paſt, and miniſtring new matter of greater diſcontentments. King *Richard*, according to his noble nature, was of nothing more deſirous, than to have the War continued until they had made a full Conqueſt of *Syria* and the Land of *Paleſtine*; and for that cauſe requeſted the French King to bind himſelf together with him by ſolemn Oath, there to ſtay yet three years, for the regaining of thoſe Countries. But he in mind long before eſtranged from King *Richard*, and in his deep conceit plotting matters nearer home better fitting his purpoſe, would by no means be perſwaded ſo to do, but ſtill found one occaſion or other for to colour his departure. And ſhortly after (as the French Chronicles report) falling extreamly ſick, he requeſted King *Richard* and the other Chriſtian Princes to come unto him; unto whom being come, he in few words declared his purpoſe of return, as followeth:

I cannot, my Lords, longer endure the inclemency and intemperature of the Air in this extream hot ſeaſon. If my death might profit the Chriſtian Religion, or any one of you, or the Chriſtian Commonweal; there ſhould be no diſtemperature whatſoever, that could ſeparate me from you, or withdraw me from hence. But more may the life of one abſent, ſerve and profit you, than the death of him preſent. I muſt of neceſſity depart, yet at my departure I will leave you five hundred men at Arms, and ten thouſand Footmen, the Flower and Choice of all the Forces of France, *under the conduct of my Couſin* Odo, *Duke of* Burgundy, *unto whom I will give Pay and Entertainment, with a continual ſupply of all things for them neceſſary.*

This excuſe of the French Kings, King *Richard* could not take in good part; but ſaid, That it was apparent to all men, that he abandoned the Wars in *Syria*, to return into *France*, for no other end or purpoſe, but the more eaſily to invade the Provinces of *Guien* and *Normandy*, now diſfurniſhed of their Garriſons, and ſo ſubject to his malice. Which point he ſo urged, that the French King could have no leave with his Honour to depart, until ſuch time as he had by ſolemn Oath bound himſelf unto King *Richard*, not to attempt any thing either by force or fraud againſt him, or any thing of his, until fifty days were expired after King *Richard* his return home; which how well it was by the French King obſerved, I leave it to the report of the Hiſtories of that time. And ſo the French King, not to be intreated longer to ſtay, leaving behind him the aforeſaid number of men he had promiſed, embarking the reſt of his Army, and accompanied with three tall Ships of the *Genowaies* his Friends, and *Ruffin Volta* their Admiral, departed from *Ptolemais* to *Tyre*, the firſt of *Auguſt*, and two days after, looſing thence, ſailed alongſt the Sea-coaſt of *Aſia*, and cutting through the *Mediterranean*, arrived at length in the mouth of the River of *Tiber*, and from thence went to *Rome*: where after he had viſited Pope *Celeſtine*, and the famous places of that moſt Renowned City, he returned again to his Fleet, and ſo by Sea arrived in ſafety in *France*; having in that great expedition, ſo honourably by him entertained, performed nothing anſwerable to that the World looked for.

The French King ſweareth to King Richard *in his abſence not to invade his Territories in* France.

After the French King, followed *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria*, with his Germans; and not long after him the Venetians alſo, with them of *Piſa* and *Genoa*. Of whoſe departure *Saladin* underſtanding, and that the Chriſtian Forces were thereby much empaired, refuſed either to pay the Mony, or to reſtore the Priſoners, as was promiſed at the giving up of *Ptolemais*; threatning moreover to chop off the Heads of all ſuch Chriſtian Captives as he had in his power, if the King ſhould ſhew any extremity unto the pledges in the City. Nevertheleſs, ſhortly after he ſent his Embaſſadors with great Preſents unto the King, requeſting a longer time for the ſparing of his pledges;

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which his requeſt, together with his Gifts, the King refuſed to grant or accept. Whereupon *Saladin* forthwith cauſed ſuch Chriſtian Captives as were in his power, to be beheaded; which albeit King *Richard* underſtood, yet would he not prevent the time before agreed upon for the execution of his Priſoners, being the twentieth day of *Auguſt*; upon which day he cauſed the Turks Priſoners, to the number of 2500. (or as the French and Germans write, to the number of 7000) in the ſight of *Saladins* Army to be executed.

The loſs of the ſtrong Town of *Ptolemais*, much empaired the reputation of *Saladin*, even among his own People; as it commonly falleth out, that the evil ſucceſs of a great Commander in his affairs, altereth the good Will, Affection, and Opinion, eſpecially of the Vulgar Sort, which judge of all things by the Event. And albeit that his loſſes were great, and ſuch as much daunted him; yet he thought it beſt as the caſe then ſtood, to make them greater, and with his own hands (as it were) to ruinate and overthrow ſuch Towns and Cities as he ſaw he could not keep, rather than to ſuffer them whole and undefaced to fall into the Enemies Hand. So carried headlong with deſpair, he cauſed all the Towns he had along the Sea coaſt in *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, to be ſacked and ruinated, and their Walls overthrown; eſpecially ſuch as were of moſt importance, and like to ſtand the Chriſtians in ſtead, namely, *Porphiria*, *Ceſarea*, *Joppa*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, and *Elam*, with divers other Caſtles and Citadels in the Countries thereabouts; moſt part whereof were again by King *Richard* and the Templars fortified and repeopled, although *Saladin* in the mean time did what he might to have letted the ſame.

Nothing more hindred the good proceeding of the Chriſtian Princes, in this and other their moſt honourable expeditions againſt the Infidels, than the diſcord among themſelves; one ſtill envying at anothers Honour, and every one jealous of his own. Great ſtrife and heartburning there had been between the two Kings of *France* and *England*, during the time they were together in this ſacred Expedition, to the great hindrance of the ſame. No leſs contention had there been betwixt *Guy* the late King of *Jeruſalem*, and *Conrade* Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, about the Title of that loſt Kingdom; whereby the whole power of the Chriſtians in *Syria* was divided into two Factions. *Richard* King of *England*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Henry* Earl of *Champaine*, the Knights Hoſpitalers of St. *John*, the Venetians and Piſans, taking part with *Guy*; And *Philip* the French King, *Odo* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Rodolph* Earl of *Claremont*, the Templars, the Genoways, the Lantgrave of *Thurin*, *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria*, and *Robert* Count of *Naſſau*, taking part with *Conrade* the Marqueſs. But *Conrade* ſhortly after the taking of *Ptolemais* being ſlain, by two of the deſperate Aſſaſſins, or (as ſome others ſay) by two deſperate Ruffians, (ſuborned thereunto by the Prince of *Torone*, in revenge of the deſpight done unto him by the ſaid Marqueſs, by taking from him *Iſabel* his Eſpouſed Wife) as he was walking in his City of *Tyre*, and doubting no ſuch Treaſon; King *Richard* ſeeing now a fit occaſion offered for the utter extinguiſhing of that claim, and how to entitle himſelf unto that Kingdom; perſwaded the aforeſaid *Iſabel* (the Widdow of the late Marqueſs, and in whoſe right he had laid claim unto the Kingdom) to relinquiſh that ſo troubleſom a Title, and to take to her Huſband *Henry* Earl of *Champain*, his Nephew, unto whom he gave the City *Tyre*: *Guy* the King exclaming to the contrary, as of a wrong done unto himſelf. Shortly after he began alſo to tamper with *Guy*, perſwading him to reſign unto him that little right and intereſt he had in the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and in lieu thereof to receive at his Hands the Kingdom of *Cyprus*; which his offer the poor King was glad to accept. By which exchange, *Guy* became King of *Cyprus*, and *Richard* King of *Jeruſalem*; which honourable Title he afterwards (as ſome report) uſed in his Stile, as did ſome others his Succeſſors the Kings of *England* after him. So *Guy* with all his Wealth paſſing over into *Cyprus*, took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, where he long lived not. Nevertheleſs that pleaſant Kingdom continued in his Family of the Luſignans, by the ſpace of about 283 years afterwards; untill that at length that Family failing in the Poſthumus Son of *James* the Baſtard, laſt King of that Iſland, it fell into the Hands of the Venetians; by whom it was holden as a part of their Seigniory almoſt an hundred years, until that it was in our freſh remembrance again from them taken by *Selymus* the Second, great Emperor of the Turks, in the year 1571. as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall in due place (God willing) be declared.

King Richard *marcheth with his Army towards* Jeruſalem.

Now was King *Richard*, for the increaſe of his honour, more deſirous than before of the City of *Jeruſalem*, as the moſt precious and honourable prize of all that religious War. And thereupon with all the power of the Chriſtians then at his command, ſet forward from *Ptolemais*, and was come on his way as far as *Arſus*, a Town ſituated betwixt *Ceſarea* and *Joppa*. In the Vauward was King *Richard* himſelf, with the Engliſhmen; after whom followed *Odo*, Duke of *Burgundy*, with his French, and in the Rereward *Jaques de Avenes*, with the Flemings, Brabanders, and Wallons, who after the death of their Count *Philip* at the Siege of *Ptolemais*, had put themſelves all under his Regiment. *Saladin* with a great Army ſtill at hand, and as it were tending upon them, firſt with certain Embuſcadoes charged the Rereward, and ſo afterwards came on with his whole power; upon whom *Jaques* turning himſelf with his Flemings, received the charge with great aſſurance, and ſo long themſelves endured the ſame, until the French came in to their ſuccors, and after them the Engliſh alſo. There was fought a notable Battel, and great Valour ſhewed both on the one ſide and on the other, but eſpecially by them of the Turks part, who knew well the purpoſe of the Chriſtians for the beſieging of *Jeruſalem*, and that thereupon depended their only hope, and that he that could hold the ſame, might almoſt aſſure himſelf to carry away the glory of that War. The French and the Engliſh in that Battel honourably ſtrove who might ſhew the greateſt Valour; neither would the low Countrymen under *Jaques* their General, ſeem to be any thing behind them. This ſharp conflict began about Noon, and continued until the going down of the Sun. King *Richard* (as ſome write) was there wounded with an Arrow; and *Jaques* valiantly there fighting was ſlain, having ſold his life dear, to the great admiration of the Infidels, and dying left the Victory unto the Chriſtians. It is reported, that in this Battel was ſlain more Turks and Saraſins, than in any one Battel within the memory of man before; of the Chriſtians were not loſt any great number, either any man of name, more than the aforeſaid *Jaques*, the valiant General of the Flemings.

A notable Battel fought betwixt King Richard *and* Saladin.

The next day the Chriſtians removed to *Bethlem*, a Town about the mid way betwixt *Joppa* and *Jeruſalem.* But Winter now coming faſt on, and want of Victuals like enough to increaſe, the King changing his mind for the Siege, returned with the greateſt part of the Army to *Aſcalon*, which he that Winter new fortified, the Walls thereof being before by *Saladin* in his diſpair demoliſhed; the Duke of *Burgundy*, with his Frenchmen, all that while quietly wintring at *Tyre.* In the mean time the power of the Chriſtians was thus greatly diminiſhed, ſome one way departing from the Camp, and ſome another. The Italians for the moſt part, with them of *Piſa* (who in theſe three years Wars had ſtriven with the Venetians for the Honour of their Service) were now returned home, as were the Venetians themſelves alſo. Neverthleſs, Winter now paſt, and the Spring time come, King *Richard* took the Field again, and came to *Bethlem*; where by the way he met with an exceeding great number of Camels, charged with great ſtore of Victuals and Munition, ſent by *Saladin* out of *Egypt* to *Jeruſalem*, all which he took; but purpoſing to have gone on to the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, he was by the backwardneſs of the *French* glad to change his purpoſe, and to return to *Ptolemais*; for the Frenchmen, perſwaded by the Duke their General (who well knew the French Kings mind) that if any thing worth remembrance were done, it was to be done by them, and that the glory thereof ſhould wholly redound unto the King of *England*, as there in perſon preſent, and to his Engliſhmen; ſhewed themſelves ſo unwilling to the Siege, as that therein was nothing done, to the great grief of that worthy Prince. At which time alſo news was brought unto King *Richard*, how that *Philip* the French King (forgetful of his ſolemn promiſe made before his departure out of *Syria*) had now invaded the Country of *Normandy*, and excited Earl *John* (the Kings Brother, a man of an haughty and aſpiring nature) to take upon him the Kingdom of *England* in his abſence; as had before in like caſe *William* the younger Brother, ſerved Duke *Robert* his eldeſt Brother, then abſent at his Father the Conquerors death, in the firſt ſacred expedition under *Godfrey* of *Bulloin*. Wherefore King *Richard* beſide the preſent difficulties, fearing leſt while he was ſo far off in Wars for defence of the Chriſtian Commonweal,he might loſe his Kingdom at home; thought it beſt to grow to ſome good end with *Saladin*, and ſo to make his return; but the politick and wary Sultan, not ignorant of the diſcord of the Chriſtians, and that their Forces daily decayed in *Syria*; either of the troubled Eſtate of the Kings affairs at home in his Kingdom, or of his deſire to return; would not hearken to any other conditions of Peace, but ſuch as might both for the preſent, weaken the Forces of the Chriſtians in *Syria*, and diſcourage others that had a mind to come thither afterward,when they ſhould ſee that for nought they ſhould travel to conquer that, which they muſt of neceſſity reſtore again. The conditions he offered, were, That the Chriſtians ſhould forthwith reſtore whatſoever they had won in thoſe three years Wars, *Ptolemais* only excepted; and from thenceforth for the ſpace of five years, the Turks ſhould not in any thing moleſt the Chriſtians, but to ſuffer them in peace to live by them;. which hard conditions (for that no better could be had) the King was glad to accept, and ſo concluded a Peace. Whereby the labour and travel of the two great Kings and ſo many Nations with them, were all become fruſtrate and vain; having now to no purpoſe loſt their Men, their Mony, their Time, their Hope, their Blood, their long Travel, to gain that they muſt now in one hour forego; nothing more left unto the poor Chriſtians in *Syria*, than the Cities of *Antioch*, *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*.

King Richard *purpoſing to have beſieged* **Jeruſalem**, *is by the backwardneſs of the French inforced to retire.*

King Richard *glad upon hard conditions to conclude a peace with* **Saladin**.

King Richard *returning out of the Holy Land taken Priſoner by* **Leopold** *Duke of* **Auſtria**.

This done, King *Richard* leaving the affairs of *Aſia* unto the charge of *Henry* Count of *Champagne* his Nephew, ſhipping the greateſt part of his People, with his Wife *Berengaria*, firſt for *Cicilia*, and from thence for *England*, (where they in ſafety at length arrived) followed ſhortly after with ſome few himſelf; where by the way, by extremity of Weather he was in the Adriatique driven to land upon the Coaſt of *Hiſtria*; where travelling with a ſmall retinue homewards in the Habit of a Templar, he was diſcovered and taken Priſoner by *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria*, whom he had before diſgraced at the winning of *Ptolemais*, as is before declared: who now glad to have him in his power, made priſe of him, and ſold him to *Henry* the Emperor, for forty thouſand pounds; by whom he was kept Priſoner by the ſpace of a year and three months, and then ranſomed for the Sum of an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.

About this time died the great Sultan *Saladin*, the greateſt terror of the Chriſtians; who mindfull of mans fragility, and the vanity of worldly honours, commanded at the time of his death no Solemnity to be uſed at his burial, but only his Shirt in manner of an Enſign, made faſt unto the point of a Lance, to be carried before his dead body as an Enſign, a plain Prieſt going before, and crying aloud to the People in this ſort; Saladin *Conqueror of the Eaſt, of all the greatneſs and riches he had in his life, carrieth not with him after his death any thing more than his ſhirt.* A ſight worthy ſo great a King, which wanted nothing to his eternal commendation, more than the true knowledge of his Salvation in Chriſt Jeſus. He reigned about ſixteen years with great honour, and dying left nine Sons, which were all murthered by *Sephradin* their Uncle, excepting one called alſo *Sephradin* Sultan of *Aleppo*, who by the Favour and Support of his Fathers good Friends, ſaved himſelf from the treacherous practiſes of his Uncle. Of this *Sephradin* the Uncle, deſcended *Meludin* Sultan of *Egypt*, and *Coradin* Sultan of *Damaſco* and *Jeruſalem*, *Saladin* his great Kingdom being by them now again rent in pieces.

The death of *Saladin* in ſhort time bruited abroad, with the diſcord among the Turks and Saraſins about his Dominions, put *Celeſtinus* (then Pope) in good hope, that the City of *Jeruſalem* might in that change and hurly be eaſily again recovered, and that Kingdom eſtabliſhed. But when he had in vain dealt to that purpoſe with the Kings of *France* and *England*, (then altogether buſied in their Wars the one againſt the other) he perſwaded *Henry* the Sixth, then Emperor, to take the matter in hand; who (for that he well could not, or elſe would not himſelf in perſon undertake that long expedition) ſent *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* his Lieutenant, with a great Army into *Aſia*, unto whom were joyned two Legats, *Conradus* Archbiſhop of *Moguntia* another of the Electors, and *Conradus* the Biſhop of *Herbipolis*. At which time alſo many other great Princes took upon them that holy War; namely *Herman Lantgrave* of *Thurin*, *Henry* Palatine of *Rhine*, *Henry* Duke of *Brabant*, *Conrade* Marqueſs of *Moravia*, *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria*, and *Albertus Haſpurgenſis*, with ſome others; unto whom alſo joyned themſelves the Biſhops of *Rheme*, *Halberſtat*, and *Ratisbone*, with divers other great Prelats. Who having paſſed through *Hungary* and *Thracia*, and by the Greek Emperor *Alexius Angelus* relieved with all things neceſſarie, were by the Grecian Ships tranſported unto *Antioch*, and ſo by Land came to *Tyre*, and from thence to *Ptolemais*, with purpoſe to have gone to relieve the Germans beſieged in *Joppa*; who before their coming were all by treaſon ſlain, and the City raſed; wherefore being come to the ruines thereof, they departed thence to *Sidon*, which they found alſo abandoned by the Turks. After that, they took *Berithus*, which City they fortified, and ſo went to beſiege *Torone*; which City when they had brought to the extremity, as that it muſt needs (as it was thought) either yield or be taken, the Turks came on ſo faſt to the relief thereof, that the Chriſtians were glad to raiſe their Siege and to be gone; which they in garriſon at *Berithus* perceiving, and ſeeing the Enemy to approach them, they abandoned the City, and joyning themſelves unto the reſt of the Army, marched all together to *Joppa*, a little before ruinated, which they now again fortified. But the Enemy coming to *Berithus*, and finding it forſaken, raſed it down to the ground, and ſo in few months ſpace was *Berithus* both repaired and raſed, in the year 1197.

1197.

The Turks overthrown by the Chriſtians

But whilſt the Chriſtians were repairing the City of *Joppa*, the Turks proud of that they had done at *Berithus*, came now to diſturb alſo the fortifying of that place. Of whoſe coming the Chriſtians underſtanding, removed by night about five miles from the City, of purpoſe to draw the Turks unto a convenient place for Battle. The Turks thinking them to have been fled for fear, ſent part of their Army to aſſail the City; and with the other followed after them diſorderly, as if it had been after men they had had in chaſe. Upon whom the Chriſtians turning, had with them at the firſt a ſharp encounter, but afterwards put them to flight; in which conflict certain thouſands of the Turks fell; of whom the Chriſtians taking the Spoil, and having put the reſt to flight, returned again to the fortifying of the City. But the joy of this Victory was by the ſudden death of two of the greateſt Princes in the Army greatly diminſhed: for the Duke of *Saxony* having in the Battle taken great pains in performing the parts both of a worthy General and valiant Souldier, had over-heated himſelf, and thereupon without regard of his health taking cold, died of a Fever the fourth day after. The Duke of *Auſtria* mortally wounded in the Battel, died alſo the night following.

Joppa repaired by the Chriſtians.

The German Princes return home.

About this time, or not long after, died *Celeſtinus* the Pope, Author of this Expedition, and *Henry* alſo the German Emperor; after whoſe death great troubles began to ariſe in *Germany* about the chooſing of a new Emperor. Whereof the Biſhop of *Moguntia* (then chief Commander of the Army of the Chriſtians in *Syria*) one of the Electors, and the other German Princes with him, having intelligence, could not by any entreaty of the poor Chriſtians (in whoſe quarrel they were come) be perſwaded longer to ſtay, but that needs home they would; and indeed home they went the ſame way that they came. After whoſe departure the Turks took *Joppa*, having one of the Ports beerayed unto them by one of the City, at ſuch time as the Germans there in Garriſon, after the manner of their Country, upon St. *Martyns* day were careleſly making merry together in their Pots; upon whom ſo ſurcharged with Wine, the Turks entring by the Port given unto them, put them all with the reſt of the Chriſtians to the Sword, and ſo afterward raſed the City down to the ground. Of which Victory they became ſo proud, that they had thought without ſtop to have driven the Chriſtians quite out of *Syria*; but by the coming of *Simon* Count of *Mont-Fort* (a moſt valiant and expert Captain, ſent thither by *Philip* the French King, with a Regiment of tall Souldiers, at the inſtance of *Innocentius* the Third, that ſucceeded *Celeſtinus* in the Papacy) and by civil diſcord then reigning amongſt the Turks themſelves for Soveraignity, their fury was repreſſed, and a peace betwixt them and the Chriſtians concluded for the ſpace of ten years; during which time the Turks promiſed not to moleſt the Chriſtians in *Tyre* or *Ptolemais*; which happened in the year 1199, or as ſome others ſay, 1198. After which peace ſo concluded, the worthy Count returned again with his Souldiers into *France*; with whom we alſo will repair into the leſſer *Aſia* (whither the courſe both of the time and of the Hiſtory now calleth us) to ſee the other great affairs of the Turks in thoſe Eaſtern Countries; leaving for a ſeaſon theſe poor remainders of ſo many Chriſtians in *Tyre* and *Ptolemais* now for a while in peace, but to be ere long devoured of the Infidels their Enemies, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall in due time and place appear.

1199.

The

The Ruine of the TURKS firſt Empire in PERSIA; with the Succeſs of their Second Kingdom in the leſſer *Aſia*, under the *Aladin* Kings.

Kingdoms after the manner of other things, have but their time to flouriſh in, and ſo again decay.

AS no Kingdom or Empire upon Earth (were it never ſo flouriſhing or great) was ever yet ſo aſſured, but that in the Revolution of time, after the manner of other worldly things, it hath as a ſick Body been ſubject unto many ſtrange Innovations and Changes, and at length come to nothing; ſo fared it now with the Turkiſh Empire, which firſt planted by *Tangrolipix* in *Perſia*, and the other far Eaſtern Countries, increaſed by *Axan* his Son, and ſo by the Turkiſh Sultans their Succeſſors (although their names and doings, as too far off, be not unto us all known) for the ſpace of one hundred and ſeventy years continued, muſt now (I ſay) give place unto a greater Power, and ſettle it ſelf elſe-where, the inevitable deſtiny thereof ſo requiring. It fortuned, that about this time (when in the ſpace of a few years ſuch Mutations as had not before of long been ſeen, chanced in divers great Monarchies and States) that the *Tartars*, or rather *Tattars*, inhabiting the large, cold, and bare Countries in the North-ſide of *Aſia*, (of all others a moſt barbarous, fierce, and needy Nation) ſtirred up by their own wants, and the perſwaſion of one *Zingis* (or as ſome call him, *Cangis*) holden amongſt them for a great Prophet, and now by them made their Leader, and honoured by the name of *Ulu-Chan*; that is to ſay, The mighty King, (commonly called *The Great Cham*) flocking together in number like the Sand of the Sea, and conquering firſt their poor Neighbours, of condition and quality like themſelves, and eaſie enough to be entreated with them to ſeek their better Fortune, like ſwarms of Graſhoppers ſent out to devour the World, paſſed the high Mountain *Caucaſus*, part of the Mountain *Taurus*, of all the Mountains in the World the greateſt; which beginning near unto the *Archipelago*, and ending upon the Oriental Ocean, and running through many great and famous Kingdoms, divideth *Aſia* into two parts; over which great Mountain, one of the moſt aſſured bounders of nature, that had ſo many Worlds of years ſhut up this rough and ſavage people, they now paſſing without number, and coming down as it were into another World, full of Natures pleaſant delights, ſuch as never were to them before ſeen, bare down all before them as they went, nothing being now able to ſtand in their way. Old *Zingis* their fortunate Leader dead in this ſo great an Expedition, *Hoccata* his Son, eldeſt of his twelve Brethren, a man of great Wiſdom and Courage, took upon him his Fathers Place; who ſending part of his great Army for the ſubduing of the Countries Weſtward, turned himſelf with a world of people towards the Eaſt; where having ſubdued the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*, with divers others, he entred into *India*, and ſubduing that rich Country on both ſides the River *Indus*, even to the Eaſt Ocean, there in the Country of *Cathai* built the famous City of *Cambalu*, in circuit eight and twenty miles about; for pleaſure and plenty of all things neceſſary for the life of man, of all the Cities of *Aſia* the chief; where the great *Cham* of *Tartary* ſtill Reſiant, as in his Imperial City, commandeth over one of the greateſt and ſtrongeſt Empires of the World. In whoſe Kingdom alſo, in the Province *Mangy* more towards the Eaſt, he hath another moſt famous City called *Quinſay*, of all the Cities in the World the greateſt, in circuit an hundred miles about, as *M. Paulus Venetus* writeth, who himſelf dwelt therein about the year, 1260. It is ſituate in a Lake of freſh-water, and hath in it twelve thouſand Bridges; of which ſome are of ſuch an height, that tall Ships with their Sails up may eaſily paſs under them. In this populous City the great *Cham* hath for the keeping thereof always thirty thouſand men in Garriſon. The *Tartar* Kingdom thus planted in *Cambalu*, *Hoccata* contenting himſelf with the rich pleaſures of *India*, afterward managed his Wars by his Lieutenants, being for the moſt part his Brethren, or other his nigh Kinſmen; of whom he ſent out with his Armies ſome Northward, ſome Weſtward, and ſome toward the South; by whom he ſubdued the *Arachoſians*, *Margians*, and divers other great Nations; and entring into *Perſia*, ſubdued the Country, with all *Parthia*, *Aſſyria*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Media*. At this time in the City *Balch* or *Belch* in the Country of *Choraſan* in the fartheſt part of *Perſia*, reigned over the Turks one *Curſumes*, of the Greeks called *Corſantes*; who finding himſelf far too weak to ſtand before the *Tartarians*, fled with all his people, leaving unto them both the City and the Country which he and the Turks his Predeceſſors had ever ſince the time of *Tangrolipix* poſſeſſed; which City the *Tartars* raſed, and took the Country unto themſelves. In this general flight of the Turks, when as every man was glad to make what ſhift he might for himſelf, *Curſumes* their Sultan died, the laſt of the Kings of the *Selzuccian* Family that reigned over the Turks in *Perſia*; whoſe Son *Ugnan-Chan* taking upon him the leading of ſuch multitudes of Turks as followed his Father, ſeiſed upon the great City of *Babylon*, now called *Bagadat*, near unto the ruines of the old *Babylon*; where having put to the Sword all the Inhabitants thereof, he there and in the Country thereabout ſeated himſelf with the Turks his Followers; but long he had not there reſted, but that the *Tartars* hearing thereof, purſued him, took him Priſoner, and expulſed thence all his people. There was at the ſame time alſo another Kingdom of the Turks at *Nachan* a City in *Perſia*, giving name unto the Country wherein it ſtood, not far from *Choraſan*; wherein then reigned one *Solyman*, of the *Oguzian* Family, as had divers other of his Progenitors before him; who terrified with this dreadful Storm ſo ſuddenly riſen out of the North, and warned by the ſudden fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultan and his Kingdom, of far greater Fame and Power than himſelf or his, fled alſo with ſuch his Subjects as would follow him, into the leſſer *Aſia*. But of him and his proceedings more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the riſing of the Victorious *Othoman* Family, as deſcended from him. After this, the *Tartars* together with their good fortune ſtill extending the bounds of their Empire, conquered *Armenia* the greater, with the Countries of *Colchis* and *Iberia*; ſo that now their Empire was become of all

others

The Turks driven out of Perſia *by the* Tartars.

others the greateſt and moſt flouriſhing. This great Conqueror the *Tartar*, had in his proud conceit purpoſed to have ſubdued all *Aſia*, and to have made the Sea the only bounder of his Empire; but overcome with the delicacies of *India*, having divided amongſt his people thoſe great Provinces and fruitful Countries, with the rich Cities and pleaſant Fields, he ſo reſted, embracing the Manners and Superſtition of the people he had overcome. Long it were, and far from our purpoſe, to recount all the famous Victories and Conqueſts of this bare Northern people; ſufficeth it to the Hiſtory we have in hand, that the Turks were by them then driven out of *Perſia*, with the Countries thereabout, and their *Togran* Kingdom (as they call it) firſt founded by *Tangrolipix*, there extinguiſhed, about the year of our Lord, 1202. The Turks thus driven out of *Perſia*, and their Kingdom overthrown, retired themſelves into the leſſer *Aſia*, poſſeſſed by the Turks their Country-men, long before brought thither by *Cutlu-Muſes* and his Sons, (as is before declared) and by them ever ſince in ſome part, though with divers Fortune holden. Where theſe Turks now arrived out of *Perſia* under the leading of *Aladin* the Son of *Kei Huſren*, deſcended alſo of the *Selzuccian* Family in *Perſia*, and taking the opportunity offered them by the mortal diſcord of the Latines with the Greeks, and the Greeks among themſelves, ſeiſed upon *Cilicia* with the Countries thereabouts, and there firſt at *Sebaſtia*, and afterward at *Iconium*, erected their new Kingdom; which of this *Aladin* is by the Turks called the Kingdom of the *Aladin* Kings, although their names were not all ſo.

1202.

The beginning of the Aladinian *Kingdom in the leſſer* Aſia, *at* Sebaſtia *and* Iconium.

Now about this time, and within the courſe of ſome few years after, ſuch great and ſtrange mutations happened in the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, as had not therein at any time before been ſeen; whereby the whole Eſtate of that great Empire, which ſometime commanded over a great part of the World, was almoſt utterly ſubverted, and a fit opportunity given unto the Turks and Infidels for the ſure ſetling of themſelves, and eſtabliſhing of their Kingdoms both in *Syria* and the leſſer *Aſia*; which briefly to run through ſhall not be from our purpoſe; their Affairs proſpering by theſe Troubles, and their proud and ſtately Empire that now braveth all the reſt of the World, being raiſed out of the ruines of that Chriſtian Empire; and at this preſent triumphing even in ſome Imperial City wherein theſe ſo great Innovations happened through the working of ambitious heads, to the lamentable ruine and deſtruction of a great part of the Chriſtian Common-weal.

Alexius *the young Prince craveth aid of* Philip *the Emperor and the Latine Princes, againſt his uncle the uſurper.*

Alexius the Uſurper, but now Emperor, not contented (as is before declared) traiterouſly to have deprived *Iſaac* his elder Brother of his Empire and ſight together, ſought alſo after the life of the young Prince *Alexius* his Brothers Son, and Heir apparent of the Empire; who ſeeing the Villany committed in the Perſon of his Father, ſaved himſelf by flight from the fury of his Uncle, and ſo accompanied with certain great Lords of the Greeks, his Fathers Friends, fled to crave Aid of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, whom the Grecians commonly call the Latines. And firſt he took his way to *Philip* the German Emperor, who had married *Irene* his Siſter, the Emperor *Iſaacs* Daughter, by whom he was moſt honourably received and entertained. This great Lady not a little moved with the Miſeries of her Father, and the flight of her Brother, ceaſed not moſt inſtantly to ſolicite the Emperor her Husband, not to leave unrevenged ſo great a Villany, by the example thereof dangerous unto himſelf and others of like Majeſty and State. She declared unto him, what an execrable Indignity it was, to ſee her Father the Emperor unworthily impriſoned, deprived of his Empire and ſight, and of the ſociety of men, by his Brother that had by him received and recovered his Life, his Light, and his Liberty; and to ſee the Heir apparent of the Empire baniſhed by the wickedneſs of his Uncle, to wander up and down here and there like a Beggar; a great part of which diſgrace, as ſhe ſaid, redounded unto her ſelf the Daughter of *Iſaac*, and Siſter to the young wandring Prince, and to himſelf alſo, the Son in law unto the unfortunate Emperor her Father. Moreover ſhe ſaid, that the Murderer *Alexius* durſt never have been ſo hardy as to commit ſo great and deteſtable a Villany, if he had not lightly regarded and contemned the Majeſty of the ſaid *Philip*; whom if he had had in any Reverence or Honour, or at all feared, he durſt not have attempted ſo Villanous an act. This Greek Lady, moved with juſt grief, with theſe and ſuch like Complaints ſo prevailed with her Husband, that he promiſed her to be in ſome part thereof revenged; which he could not for the preſent perform, letted by the Wars he then had with *Otho* his Competitor of the Empire. At the ſame time it fortuned, that great Preparations were making in *France* and *Italy*, and divers other places of Chriſtendom, for an Expedition to be made againſt the Turks into the Holy Land. The chief men wherein were *Theobald* Count of *Champagne*, (a man of great fame, and General of the Chriſtian Army) *Boniface* Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* and *Hainault*, and *Henry* his Brother Earl of St. *Paul*, *Henry* Duke of *Lovain*, *Gualter* Earl of *Breame*, with divers other noble Gentlemen, which to name were tedious; unto whom reſorted alſo many valiant and devout Chriſtians out of divers parts of Chriſtendom, ready to have ſpent their lives in that ſo Religious a War; ſo that now the number of them was great, and the Army right populous. But being thus aſſembled together, they thought it not beſt, to take their way to *Conſtantinople*, through *Hungary* and *Thrace*, and ſo to paſs over into *Bythinia*, for that the Greeks had ſtill in all former times ſhewed great diſcourteſie unto the Latines, in paſſing with their Armies that way; and therefore they thought it much better now by the way of *Italy* to take their Journey by Sea into the Holy Land; and for their Tranſportation, eſpecially to uſe the help of the *Venetians*, whom they found much the eaſier to be intreated, for that by the means of ſo great an Army, they were in hope to ſcoure the *Adriatick* (then much infeſted by the *Dalmatians*) as alſo to recover *Jadera*, with ſome other Cities upon the Coaſt of *Sclavonia*, before revolted from their State to the *Hungarians*, as indeed they afterward did. But by the way as this Army was marching out of *France*, and come into *Piemont*, the noble Count of *Champagne* General thereof, there fell ſick and died, to the exceeding grief and ſorrow of the whole Army; in whoſe ſtead, the Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, a man of great Nobility, and well acquainted with the Wars of the Eaſt, was choſen General. This great Army, tranſported by the *Venetians* into *Sclavonia*, took *Jadera*, with divers other Port Towns along the Sea coaſt, and having there done what the *Venetians* moſt deſired, was about again to have been imbarkt for *Syria*, and ſo into the Holy Land. But the young Prince *Alexius* in the mean time had, by himſelf and the noble *Grecians* (fled with him for fear of the Tyrant) ſo wrought the matter with the Latine Princes

Great preparations made by the Chriſtians, for an Expedition into the Holy Land.

of

Alexius *cometh unto the Army.*

of the Weſt, eſpecially with *Innocentius tertius* the Pope, with *Philip* the Emperor his Brother in law, and *Philip* the French King, that they pittying his Eſtate, and induced alſo with ſome other Conſiderations more proper to themſelves, took him as it were into their Protection, commending by Letters and Meſſengers for that purpoſe ſent unto the Army, (which they might command) the defence both of himſelf and his Cauſe; who with the Commendation of three ſo great Princes, coming to the Army yet lying at *Jadera* (expecting but a fair Wind to have paſſed into *Syria*) was there of them all moſt honourably received, as the Son of an Emperor, and as became one to them ſo highly commended. And he himſelf alſo, as one knowing his good, was not wanting unto himſelf, but recommended his perſon to their Protection, as a poor exiled Prince in Diſtreſs; yet was he of a lively Spirit, gracious in Speech, beautiful to behold, and very young, and withall fully inſtructed by the noble *Grecians* that were with him, in all things that might ſerve to further his purpoſe. And foraſmuch as this great Army conſiſted of divers Nations, eſpecially of the *French*, *Italians*, and *Venetians*, not all to be by one mean moved; he fitted every one with ſuch motives as he thought might beſt prevail with them: Unto the *French* he promiſed to pay the great ſums of money they had borrowed of the *Venetians* for the furniſhing of themſelves in this War: Unto the *Venetians* he promiſed Recompence for all the Injuries they had ſuſtained by the late Conſtantinopolitan Emperors, eſpecially by the Emperor *Emanuel* (who for that they refuſed to Aid him in his Wars againſt *William* King of *Sicily*, did in one day conſiſcate all the Goods of the *Venetian* Merchants within his Empire, of a great value; and afterwards contrary to the Law of Nations, ſhamefully entreated their Embaſſadors ſent unto him, amongſt whom was *Henry Dandulus*, now by fortune General for the *Venetians* in the Army; who moved as well with the wrong in particular done unto Himſelf, as with the Common, deſired to be revenged both of the one and the other; which although he could not have of *Emanuel* himſelf, being long before dead, yet was he ſtill deſirous to have it of ſome one of the Greek Emperors, whoſoever he were;) Unto the Pope and the *Italians*, both he and the Noblemen with him, had before promiſed, that the Greek Church ſhould ever acknowledge the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, and from thenceforth ſubmit it ſelf thereunto, as unto the Soveraign Judge of all the Chriſtian Churches; which cauſed the Pope *Innocentius*, by Letters, by Legates, by Embaſſadors, and by all other means poſſible, to further the Cauſe of the young Prince *Alexius*, ſo combined with his own; alledging the diverſity of Opinions in matters of Religion, betwixt the Greeks and the Latines, to have been the chief cauſe that the Mahometans had not been long ago by their United Forces ſubdued, or utterly rooted out. In brief, the young Prince ſpared not to promiſe moſt bountiful Rewards in general, to all that ſhould take his part againſt his Uncle the uſurping Emperor.

By this means, the devout War taken in hand for the Relief of the poor Chriſtians in *Syria*, was laid aſide, and the ſame Forces that ſhould have been therein imploy'd, now converted againſt the Greek Empire, to the great weakning of that ſide of the Chriſtian Common-weal, and advantage of the Common Enemy; who might then eaſily have been oppreſſed, had he with the United Forces of the Chriſtians been on this ſide charged home, as he was on the farther by the *Tartars*. The *Grecian* War thus reſolved upon, it ſeemed beſt unto the great Commanders of the Army, to march directly to *Conſtantinople*, as to the head of the *Grecian* State, and place where the Tyrant whom they ſought after was reſiant. In the mean time it was by them given out through all the Greek Cities which the Emperor had ſtrongly manned and fortified for the ſtaying of their paſſage, that their purpoſe was not to make War againſt the *Grecians* their Friends, but only to reſtore their lawful Emperor unto his former State and Honour: And that foraſmuch as every City and Town in ancient *Greece* had appointed Rewards, and almoſt divine Honours unto ſuch as had delivered them from Tyrants, they ſhould now more favourably receive and intreat them that came to reſtore unto every City, and to every man in general, their former Liberty and Honour. And ſo upon the Reſolution for *Conſtantinople* imbarking their Army, and paſſing through the *Ionian*-Sea into the *Ægeum*, and ſo without let through the Straits of *Heleſpontus* into *Propontis*, and entring the Straits of *Boſphorus Thracius*, which divide *Europe* from *Aſia*, they came to an Anchor even in the face of the City. In this Fleet were two hundred and forty Sail of tall Ships, ſixty Gallies, ſeventy Ships for burden, and one hundred and twenty Sail of Victuallers; which all together made a moſt brave ſhew, covering that Strait in ſuch ſort, as that it ſeemed rather a Wood than a part of the Sea. Thus for a ſpace they lay facing the City, attending if happily upon the coming and ſight of ſo great a Fleet, and the report of ſo puiſſant an Army as the young Prince *Alexius* had brought with him, any Tumult or Sedition might ariſe in the City. But the wary Tyrant had ſo well provided therefore before hand, that the Citizens, although they in heart favoured the young Prince, and wiſhed him well, yet durſt they not once move or ſtir in his Quarrel. Whilſt the Fleet thus lay, Embaſſadors came from the Iſle of *Creet*, in two great Gallies, with three banks of Oars, yielding unto the young Prince that goodly Iſland, with all the Towns and Cities therein; which he forthwith gave unto the Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, General of the Army, thereby to encourage the other great Commanders of the Army to do the uttermoſt of their devoir, in hope of Recompence and Rewards anſwerable to their deſerts and valour.

A great Fleet of the Latines before Conſtantinople.

The Latines *by force enter the Haven of* Conſtantinople.

A hot skirmiſh betwixt the Greeks and the Latines at their landing.

Before the arrival of this Fleet, *Alexius* the Emperor had with a great Chain made faſt the entrance of the Haven betwixt *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*, and appointed twenty great Gallies well manned for the keeping thereof; but a great gale of Wind ariſing, the General ſent out the greateſt and ſtrongeſt Ship in the Fleet (for her greatneſs and ſwiftneſs called *the Eagle*) which with all her Sails up, carried with a full gale of Wind, by main force brake the Chain, and made a way for the reſt of the Fleet to enter; which the Greeks in the Gallies ſeeing, for fear fled, leaving the Gallies for a ſpoil unto the *Venetians*, by whom they were all taken, but not a man found in them. The Haven thus gained, *Theodorus Laſcaris* the Emperors Son in law, was preſently ready upon the ſhore with a ſelect Company of the braveſt Gallants of the City and of the Court, to have hindred the Latines from landing; who running their Ships aground, landed with ſuch chearfulneſs and courage, and with ſuch haſt, that in one moment you might have ſeen them leap out of their Ships, take land, enter into the battel, and lay about them like mad men. This hot skirmiſh endured a great while, for that they were only Foot-men that ſuſtained this brunt, for the Horſes could not ſo ſoon be landed, and the Greeks were bravely mounted. All this great fight the Conſtantinopolitans beheld, with doubtful hearts, expecting what ſhould be the event thereof. There were in the City ſix thouſand of the Flower of Greece, which bravely ſallying out, made the battel much more doubtful; yet ſuch was the valour and reſolution of the Latines, that in fine the Greeks diſcomfited, were glad to retire themſelves again into the City, but with what loſs, was not certainly known; eaſie it were to gueſs, that it was right great, for that the old Tyrant *Alexius* diſcouraged therewith, and doubtful of his own eſtate, with *Theodorus Laſcaris* his Son in law, and ſome few others of his truſty Friends (hard to be found in ſo dangerous a caſe) the next night following ſecretly fled out of the City, carrying away with him a wonderful maſs of Treaſure (which he againſt all ſuch events had cauſed to be ſecretly hidden by his Daughter *Irene*, in a Monaſtery of Nuns within the City, whereof ſhe was the Abbeſs) and ſo ſaved himſelf.

Iſaac the old Emperor taken out of priſon, and again ſaluted Emperor, together with young Alexius *his ſon.*

The flight of the Tyrant once bruted, the next morning the Conſtantinopolitans taking the old Emperor *Iſaac* out of Priſon, ſaluted him again for their Emperor, rejoycing greatly for his deliverance and the ſafeguard of his life; and after that opened the Gates of the City to the Latines, calling and ſaluting them by the names of the Revengers and Saviours of the Liberty of the Greeks, as alſo of the Life and Majeſty of their Emperor; they requeſted them that they might ſee and ſalute *Alexius* their young Prince, whom they had ſo long deſired; and ſo was the City of *Conſtantinople*, by the ſubmiſſion of the Citizens, for that time ſaved from ſaccage and ſpoil. The old Emperor thus delivered, and together with his Son *Alexius* again placed in the Imperial Seat, gave the moſt hearty thanks that poſſibly he could unto the Latine Princes, for that by their Bounty, Charity, and Valour, the Greek Empire had been delivered out of a long and miſerable Servitude; and for his own particular, that he had received of them ſo great good, that albeit his ſight could not be reſtored to him again, nevertheleſs he acknowledged his Life, his Liberty, his Empire, his Country, his Son, to have been unto him by them reſtored, and he likewiſe to them; for which their ſo great Deſerts he could not (as he ſaid) render them condign Thanks, or deviſe Rewards or Honours anſwerable to their Demerits and Valour; and that therefore he did ratifie and confirm whatſoever his Son had before promiſed unto them for his deliverance; and not only that, but further promiſed, That if they were not therewith contented, he would of his own bounty give them better contentment, not meaning they ſhould go diſcontented, that had ſaved his life, and otherwiſe ſo highly pleaſured him. Hereupon this good old Emperor began to conſult with his Friends about the means whereby he might ſatisfie and content the Latines in ſuch things as the young Prince his Son had unto them promiſed. And to the intent that the Citizens of *Conſtantinople* might the more willingly do that he was to command them, and the more chearfully pay ſuch Impoſitions as he was to lay upon them, he intreated all the Latines to retire themſelves out of the City into their Camp, or about their Ships, which they accordingly did. But the Impoſition being ſet down, and what every man was to pay, ſeemed unto the Greeks (as men of long accuſtomed to receive Tribute of others, and not to pay Tribute to others) a matter moſt heavy and intollerable. In this very inſtant that this Exaction was required, died the old Emperor *Iſaac*, who having of long been kept in a dark and ſtinking Priſon in continual fear of death, and now delivered and reſtored to his Empire, could not indure ſo ſudden and unexpected a change, both of the Air and of his manner of living, but ſo ſuddenly died.

At this Exaction impoſed for the contentment of the Latines, the light Conſtantinopolitans grievouſly murmured, and exclaimed, ſaying, That it was a villanous thing to ſee the Greek Empire ingaged and bound (by a young Boy) unto a covetous and proud Nation, and ſo to be ſpoiled and made bare of Coin: That the great and rich Iſland of *Crete* lying in the midſt of the Sea, was by him given as a Gift unto the Latines: That the City of *Conſtantinople* and the Greek Church, had by him been enforced and conſtrained to yield unto the See of *Rome*, to receive the Opinions of the Latine Church, to ſubmit it ſelf unto the Obeyſance of old *Rome*, from whence it had once happily departed ever ſince the time that the Empire was by *Conſtantine* the Great tranſlated thence to them. Thus every one ſaid for himſelf in particular; thus all men ſaid in general. And thereof the Noblemen in their Aſſemblies, and the vulgar people in their meetings, grievouſly complained; whereupon a Sedition and Tumult was raiſed in the City. Some preſently took up Arms, and the common people all enraged ran furiouſly diſordered unto the Palace, with a purpoſe to have committed ſome great Outrage upon the Perſon of the young Emperor *Alexius*; who in that ſo ſudden an Inſurrection, as might well have troubled a right conſtant man, without longer delay reſolved upon a moſt wholſome and neceſſary point for the appeaſing of the peoples fury; unto whom (aſſembled in a wonderful multitude) he ſhewed himſelf from above in his Palace, promiſing them to remain in their Power, and not from thenceforth to do any thing without their advice and liking, but wholly to depend upon them; with which good words the people held themſelves well content, and ſo was the tumult for that time appeaſed. But forthwith the young Emperor conſidering the injury done unto him, began to burn with the deſire of Revenge, and to change his purpoſe. He could not together ſatisfie the Citizens and the Latines; for if he would keep his promiſe with the Latines, he muſt of neceſſity offend his own people; neither was there any means to be found to ſatisfie both the one and the other. But thinking himſelf more bound to keep his promiſe with the Latines, whoſe Forces he knew not how to withſtand, he ſent ſecretly to requeſt the Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, General of the Army, to ſend him about mid-night certain Companies of Souldiers unto the City, aſſuring him to receive them in by a Gate near unto the Palace, which ſhould be opened unto them by certain of his truſty Servants there left for that purpoſe. Of this Plot *Alexius Ducas* (of his bittle brows ſirnamed *Murzufle*, whom of a baſe Fellow the Emperor *Iſaac* had promoted unto the greateſt Honours of the Court) was not ignorant, who being a man of an aſpiring mind, and in thoſe troubleſome times having long thirſted after the Empire, took now this occaſion to work upon.

Alexius *ſeeketh to bring the Latines again into the City.*

The Conſtantinopolitans again in an uproar.

The night following, he by his Agents, men inſtructed for the purpoſe, raiſed a tumult in the City, not inferior unto that which had hapned the day before; and at the ſame inſtant, as if he had had nothing to do in the matter, came ſuddenly to the young Emperor in the dead time of the night (which he might at all time do, by reaſon of the great confidence the Emperor had in him) and with a ſad countenance told him, That the People were up again in an uprore, and eſpecially they of his Guard, and that they were coming toward him to do him ſome violence for the love he bare unto the Latines. With which unexpected news the young Emperor terrified, demanded of him as of his moſt faithful Counſellor, What were beſt in that caſe for him to do? Who preſently embracing him in his Night-gown, led him out by a ſecret door into a Tent he had of his own in the Court, as if he would there have kept him ſafe; but far was that from his traiterous thoughts; who departing from him, as if he had gone to appeaſe the Tumult, had before taken order, that he ſhould preſently after his departure, be caſt into Bonds, and ſo be clapt up into a cloſe ſtinking Priſon: which done, the falſe Traitor openly ſhewing himſelf, made an Oration to the People, wherein he ſhewed himſelf to have great compaſſion of the Greek Empire, and of the Greeks his Country men themſelves, eſpecially in that they were governed by a youth unfit for the government, who ſuffred himſelf to be miſled according to the pleaſure of the Latines. And that it was high time for the City of *Conſtantinople*, the ſeat of the Greek Empire, to look about it, and to have an Eye unto it ſelf, ſith it was betrayed and ſold by them which ought to preſerve and keep the ſame; that they had now need of a man that loved his Country and Country-men, before that which yet remained of the Græcian name were utterly extinguiſhed by the Latines.

This his Speech, fitted of purpoſe unto the humour of the Seditious, was received with the great outcry and applauſe of the windy headed People. Some cryed out, that he, and none but he, was to be made chief of the Common-weal that was by them to be eſtabliſhed; otherſome cried as loud to have him made General of the Armies and Forces of the State; but the greateſt cry was to have him choſen and created Emperor; whereunto the reſt giving place, he was by the general conſent of the tumultuous People, without longer ſtay, choſen and proclaimed Emperor.

Murzufle *attempteth to burn the Venetian Fleet.*

Alexius the Traitor, by no lawful Election or rightful Succeſſion, but only by the fury of the tumultuous People, thus created Emperor; was of nothing more careful than how to break the Forces of the Latines, of whom only he now ſtood in dread. And therefore to begin withal, he firſt attempted by certain Gallies filled with Pitch, Flax, Brimſtone, and ſuch like matter apt to take fire, to have burnt the Venetian Fleet; which Gallies ſo ſet on fire and carried with a fare gale of Wind among the Fleet, had been like enough to have done great harm, had it not by the warineſs of the Venetians been prevented; who being good Sea men, and not unacquainted with ſuch deviſes, eaſily and without danger avoided the ſame, by keeping themſelves aloof one from another in the Sea. This fineneſs ſorting to no purpoſe, he to colour the matter ſent certain Meſſengers to the General, and other Commanders of the Army, to give them to underſtand that that which was done for the firing of the Fleet, had been done without his privity, by the malice of the tumultuous People, and that for his part he would be glad of their Favour and Friendſhip, aſſuring them likewiſe of his, and promiſing them to aid them both with men and mony, and whatſoever elſe they ſhould have need of in their Wars againſt the Infidels. Whereunto an anſwer was given by *Dandulus* the Venetian General, that he would believe it, when *Alexis* the Son of the Emperor *Iſaac*, whom the Latines had placed in the Empire, ſhould aſſure them thereof, and intreat for the People, upon whom the fault of that outrage was laid; which anſwer the more moved the traiterous Tyrant to rid himſelf clean of the fear of the young Prince, by taking him out of the way; to the intent to hinder the People of the hope and great deſire they had to grow to ſome peace with the Latines, by taking him out of Priſon, and receiving him again for their Emperor; For the People (by nature mutable, and not deſirous of the good of themſelves, but according to the occurrents preſent, without any great regard of that they had already done, or ought to have done) begun now to repent themſelves of that they had done againſt the young Emperor *Alexis* in Favour of the Tyrant, and commonly ſaid, That they muſt find ſome means, whatſoever it were, to remedy their fault together with their troubles. Wherefore *Murzufle* fearing the ſudden mutation of the People, with his own Hands moſt villanouſly ſtrangled the young Prince *Alexis* in Priſon, having as yet not raigned much above ſix months, and immediately after cauſed it to be bruited abroad, That the ſaid young Prince deſpairing or his Eſtate, had as a man deſperate, hanged himſelf.

Murzufle *encourageth his Souldiers.*

The Tyrant in vain having thus attempted the burning of the Fleet, and ſtill fearing the revenging Sword of the Latines, reſolved now by plain force to meet them in the field, and there to dare them to battel. So having made ready and armed the whole Strength of the Imperial City, he with chearful ſpeech encouraged his Souldiers, requeſting them valiantly to maintain and defend their Country of *Greece*, the Monuments of their Fathers, the Glory of their Anceſtors, their preſent Honour, and the future Hope of their Poſterity; that having before their Eyes the Walls of their City, within which they were born, nouriſhed, and brought up in hope of great matters, they would have pity and compaſſion of their Temples, their Wives, their Children, and in no caſe to ſuffer them to fall again into ſo miſerable and wretched a Servitude, but rather to die a thouſand deaths. And the more to grace this his enterpriſe taken in hand for the defence of his Country (as he would have the world to believe it) with the colour of a ſuperſtitious Devotion alſo, he cauſed the Prieſts in their Eccleſiaſtical Attire and Ornaments, to march forth in the Army, with an Enſign, having in it diſplayed the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*. So couragiouſly marching forward, he firſt charged that quarter of the Camp where *Baldwin* the Count of *Flanders* lay, where at the firſt was fought a right fierce and doubtful Battel. But afterward the Alarm running throughout all the Camp of the Latines, and new ſupplies coming in on every ſide, the Greeks were put to the worſe, and inforced again to retire into the City, having loſt a great number of men, together with their ſuperſtitious Enſign. It was a wonderful thing to ſee, with what rare agreement the Latines, being of divers Nations, continued this expedition undertaken againſt the Greeks. Seventy two days was this City of *Conſtantinople* ſtraightly beſieged by the Latines both by Sea and Land, without giving any time of reſt or repoſe day or night to the beſieged, freſh men coming ſtill on to the Aſſault, as the other fell off, and in ſuch ſort troubled the Greeks in the City, that they knew not well what to do, or which way to turn themſelves. The Venetians unto whom was committed the charge to aſſault that ſide of the City which was toward the Haven, upon two great Gallies made faſt together, built a ſtrong Tower of Wood, higher than the Walls and

Conſtantinople *hardly beſieged.*

Rampiers of the Town, out of which they both with Shot and Fire-works much troubled the Defendants, wherewith they in the time of the aſſault approaching the Wall, by their fine devices fired that ſide of the City; by the rage whereof, a great number of Houſes were burnt, with many other ſtately Buildings and ancient Monuments of that famous City; and had at that preſent gained a great Tower near unto the Port, deſtitute of defenders, had not the Tyrant himſelf in good time come with new Supplies to the reſcue thereof. In like manner, the French, with the reſt, aſſayled the other ſide of the City by Land, where they were to fight not againſt the Defendants only, but againſt deep Ditches, high and ſtrong Walls, and Bulwarks alſo; nevertheleſs, ſuch was the Valour and Fury of the Latines, with the deſire of Victory; as that they were not with any difficulties to be diſmayed; but preſſing ſtill on, by a thouſand dangers, at length after a moſt ſharp Aſſault, they gained one of the greateſt Baſtions on that ſide of the City, called the Angels Tower, and ſo by plain force opened a way both for themſelves and the reſt into the City: Whereof *Alexius* underſtanding, and ſtruck with preſent deſpair both of his State and Life, the night now coming on, fled with *Euphroſina* the Emperor *Alexius* his Wife, and *Eudocia* her Daughter, whom he had married when he had reigned about a month and ſixteen days.

Conſtantinople *ſet on fire.*

The Tyrant, Author of all this miſchief, and of the calamities enſuing, thus fled, and the Latines furiouſly entring; the Prieſts and Religious Men in their Surplices, and other Eccleſiaſtick Ornaments with their Croſſes and Banners (as in ſolemn proceſſion) met the Latines, and falling down at the Souldiers Feet, with Floods of tears abundantly running down their heavy countenances, beſought them, but eſpecially the Captains and Commanders to remember the condition of wordly things, and contenting themſelves with the Victory, the Glory, the Honour, the Empire, the Immortality of their Name, to abſtain from Slaughter, from burning, from ſpoiling and ranſaking of ſo beautiful a City; and that ſeeing they were themſelves men, they would alſo have pity of men; and being themſelves Captains and Souldiers, they ſhould alſo have compaſſion upon Captains and Souldiers; who although they were not ſo valiant and fortunate as they were, yet nevertheleſs were both Captains and Souldiers; and that they would keep and preſerve their City, whereof (if they ruinated it not) they might have much more pleaſure and commodity, than if they ſhould deſtroy the ſame, which as it had been the principal ſeat of the Greek Empire, ſo might it now be of the Latines; That ſeeing they had thereof a careful regard, as then belonging to another man, they ought now upon better reaſon to have more care thereof, being their own: That the Authors of all theſe troubles and miſchiefs, *Alexius* the Elder, and *Murzufle*, had already received a reward anſwerable to their follies, in that they were driven into Exile; That they would have pity and compaſſion of an innocent and unfortunate Multitude of poor People, oppreſſed and grievouſly tormented with the often tyrannies of their murderous Lords and Governours; That in ſo doing, God the Lord of Hoſts, the giver and guider of Battels, the God of mercy, would therefore reward them. To conclude, they humbly beſought them to pardon their Citizens, to put on the hearts of gracious and merciful Lords and Fathers, not of Enemies and rough Maſters; of Forgivers, not of Revengers; and to underſtand by their Tears, their miſerable Eſtate and Woes paſſed. With this ſo humble a Submiſſion and Complaint of the Religious, ſome of the better) ſort were happily moved; but with the common Souldiers, breathing nothing but Victory, with their Weapons in their Hands, and the Spoil of an Empire in their Power, what availed Prayers or Tears? Every man fell to the Spoil, and in ſo great choice and liberty of all things, fitted his own diſordered appetite, without reſpect of the wrong or injury done to others; only from the effuſion of innocent blood they abſtained; they whoſe lives they ſought after, being already fled, together with the Tyrant. Other injuries and outrages (ſo great as that greater none could be) were in every place ſo rife, that every Street, every Lane, every Corner of the City was filled with Mourning and Heavineſs. There might a man have ſeen Noble Men earſt of great Honour, and reverend for their hoary Hairs, with other Citizens of great Wealth, thruſt out of all they had, walking up and down the City weeping and wringing their hands, as men forlorn, knowing not where to ſhroud their Heads. Neither ſtayed the greedy rage of the inſolent Souldiers within the Walls of mens private Houſes, but brake out into the ſtately Palaces, Temples and Churches of the Greeks alſo, where all was good prize, and nothing dedicated to the Service of God, left unpolluted and defaced, no place unſought, nor corner unrifled; right lamentable and almoſt incredible it were to report all the miſeries of that time. Some of the Greek Hiſtoriographers, men of great mark and place, and themſelves Eye-witneſſes and Partakers of thoſe evils, have by their Writings complained to all Poſterity, of the inſolency of the Latines at the winning of the City, to their eternal diſhonour; but that diſordered Souldiers in all Ages in the liberty of their inſolent Victory, have done ſuch outrages, as honeſt minds abhor to think upon. Thus *Conſtantinople* the moſt famous City of the Eaſt, the ſeat and glory of the Greek Empire, by the miſerable ambition and diſſention of the Greeks for Sovereignty, fell into the Hands of the Latines, the twelfth of *April*, in the year 1204, or after the account of others, 1200.

Nicetas Choniates, annalium, fol. 180.

1204.

Conſtantinople thus taken, and the Tyrants put to flight, the Princes and great Commanders of the Army held a Council, to conſider what were beſt to be done concerning the City and the new gained Empire; for after ſo great a Victory, they thought it not good to raſe ſo antient and important a City, ſeated as it were a Watch-Tower upon the Theatre of the World, overlooking both *Aſia* and *Europe* from the one to the other, as an eye of the Univerſal, and ſo commodiouſly planted, as was no other City of the World, for the keeping under of the Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion; but that it were much better to place there a Latine Governour, to eſtabliſh there the Latine Laws and Cuſtoms, and to unite the Greek Church as a Member unto the Church of *Rome*. In which conſultation, ſome were of opinion, not to have any more Emperors in Chriſtendom but one, and therefore to make choice of *Philip* the German Emperor, Author of this War, whoſe Wife *Irene* was the only Daughter and Heir of the late Emperor *Iſaac Angelus*, unto whom by all right the Inheritance of her Fathers Empire belonged. But the greater part, conſidering that the troubled affairs of *Greece*, in ſo great a change and newneſs of the Empire, had need of the perſonal preſence of a Prince, thought it better to make choice of one among themſelves, who there ſtill reſiant in that place, might at all times give aid unto the Latines in their ſacred Wars, taken in hand againſt the Infidels; which opinion as the better, was approved of them all.

The chief men in this Election of the new Emperor, were *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders* and *Hainault*, *Henry* his Brother, *Lewis* Count of *Bloys*, *Simon de Montfort*, *John de Dammartin*, *Gualter de Brienne*, *Hugh* Count of St. *Paul*, *John* Count of *Brennie*, *Boniface* Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, *Stephen* Count of *Perch*, and five Gentlemen of *Venice*; unto whom alſo were joyned two Biſhops of *Syria*, the one of *Bethlem*, the other of *Ptolemais*, who had oftentimes come to the Camp of the Latines, to ſtir them up for the taking in hand the ſacred War in *Syria*; with two Biſhops of *France* alſo, namely of *Soiſſon* and *Troy* in *Champagne*, and the Abbot of *Lemely*. Theſe great Lords and Prelates aſſembled into the Church of the holy Apoſtles, after they had there with great devotion craved of God to inſpire them with his Spirit for the choice of a good and juſt Prince fit for ſo great a charge; with one conſent made choice of *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders* and *Haynault*, for Emperor of *Greece*; a brave and valiant Prince, about two and thirty years old, who was afterward the ſixteenth day of *May*, in the year 1204. (or after the computation of others, in the year 1205.) in the great Temple of S. *Sophia* ſolemnly crowned by *Thomas Maurocenus* a Venetian, firſt Patriarch of the Latines in *Conſtantinople*. From which time the Greek Church in *Conſtantinople* began to receive the Rites and Ceremonies of the Latines, and to acknowledge the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*.

The Greek Empire divided amongſt the Latines.

It was not long after that *Conſtantinople* was thus taken by the Latines, but that they dividing their Forces without any reſiſtance, took in the moſt part of the great Countries and Provinces on *Europe* ſide, belonging to the Greek Empire in the time of *Iſaac Angelus* the late Emperor; the fortune of the whole Empire, as it were following the fortune of the Imperial City. Which large Countries ſo gained from the Greeks, the Latines divided amongſt themſelves, as good prize taken from their Enemies. Unto *Baldwin* the Emperor and his Suceſſors in the Empire, was aſſigned the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, and the Country of *Thracia*, with a limited Soveraignty over all the reſt of the Provinces by the Latines already or afterwards to be gained. Unto the Venetians in this diviſion of the Empire, was allotted for their ſhare all the rich Iſlands of the *Ægeum*, and *Ionian*, with the famous Iſland of *Candy* alſo; which although it were before by the young Emperor *Alexius* in the beginning of theſe Wars, given unto the Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, yet in this diviſion of the Empire, it was taken from him (not without his good liking) and given to the Venetians, as for them more fit; inſtead and lieu whereof, the Marqueſs had the City of *Theſſalonica* with all the Kingdom of *Theſſaly*, and a great part of *Peloponeſus* aſſigned unto him, with the Royal Title of a King. Of the aforeſaid Iſlands (in number many and exceeding rich) the Venetians in the name of the State, fortified ſome few of the greateſt with convenient Garriſons, the reſt they left to be poſſeſſed and defended by the better ſort of the Citizens at their private coſt and charges; who according to their ability, took into their poſſeſſion, ſome one Iſland, ſome another, and ſome two or three, as they were able to ſet out their Gallies, one, two, or more, for the keeping of the ſame; over all which, the Seigniory nevertheleſs had a general care, ſtill keeping a Fleet with one of their Admirals at Sea; by whom they not only repreſſed the *Genoa* Pirates then buſie in thoſe Seas, but alſo took in certain ſtrong Towns in the Main upon the coaſt of *Peloponeſus*, namely *Modon* and *Corone*; all which they of long time after held as a part of their Seigniory. Some other particular places, yet parts of the Empire, were given unto particular men; as the Dukedom of *Athens* unto one *Geffrey* of *Troy* in *Champaigne*, a Frenchman, a valiant Captain, whom they alſo made Prince of *Achaia*; another Dukedom was alſo given to the Count of *Bloys*; as were divers other Countries and Towns alſo unto other more private men; who nevertheleſs were bound to hold the ſame of the Emperor, as of their Lord, and to pay him yearly a fourth part of the Revenue ariſing thereof, towards the maintenance of his State. Yea the Greeks themſelves in this ſhipwrack of their State and Empire, although they diſdained nothing more than the ſtrange Government of the Latines, yet could they not be perſwaded to joyn together in ſo common a calamity, but after their wonted manner ſought every man how to ſhare out ſomething for himſelf, without regard of the common good; one ſeized upon one ſtrong Town or City, and ſo likewiſe another; which for all that they held not long, driven thence for the moſt part by a greater power, either of the Latines, or of their own Countrymen.

The man whom the diſcontented Greeks moſt looked after, was *Theodorus Laſcaris*, the Emperor *Alexius Angelus* his Son-in-Law; who at the taking of the City, fled to *Adrianople*, and afterward into *Bythinia*, where he was of the People, not of that Country only, but of others alſo farther off, joyfully received and honoured as their Emperor. So taking into his hands the Countries of *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, *Miſſia*, *Ionia*, and *Lydia*, even from the windings of the famous River *Mæander* Southward, unto the Euxine Sea Northward; he with the general good liking of the People, took upon him the Eſtate of an Emperor, and ſo in the renowned City of *Nice* made the ſeat of his Empire. At the ſame time alſo *David*, and *Alexius Comneni*, the Nephews of the Tyrant *Andronicus* (ſometime Emperor of *Conſtantinople*) by his Son *Manuel*, poſſeſſing the more Eaſtern Countries of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Capadocia*, erected unto themſelves another Empire in *Trapezond*, where their Poſterity of the honourable houſe of the *Comneni* reigned in great glory many years after, until their Empire, together with the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, was by the great Emperor of the Turks, *Mahomet* the Second, ſubverted and brought to nought, as ſhall afterward in due time and place be declared. Thus the Greek Empire expoſed (as it were) to the general Spoil, was no longer one, but many Empires; *Baldwin* reigning in *Conſtantinople*, the Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat* in *Theſſaly*, *Theodorus Laſcaris* at *Nice*, *Alexius Commenus* in *Trapezond*, and the Venetians in the Iſlands, all in Royal Dignity. Beſides whom were many other leſſer Princes, which had here and there according to their ability ſeized upon ſome one or other part of the Empire, and there erected their Toparchies, reigning therein as petty Kings; as did *Aldebrandinus* in *Attalia*, *Michael Angelus* in *Epirus*, with divers others too long to rehearſe.

The beginning of the Empire of Trapezond *by the* Comneni.

Hadrianople *beſieged by the Emperor* Baldwin.

Baldwin (as is aforeſaid) created Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, by the help of the Venetian Admiral *Dandulus*, and other great Commanders of the Army in ſhort time brought under his obeiſance all the Cities of *Thracia*, excepting the City of *Adrianople*, whereunto the better ſort of the diſcontented Greeks, together with *Theodorus Laſcaris* (diſdaining the Government of the Latines) were fled, as unto a moſt ſafe Sanctuary; which *Baldwin* knowing, and withal deſiring whilſt yet he had his Friends about him, to ſet his new Empire in ſome good ſtay, without farther delay came and laid hard Siege to the ſame. Now the Greeks generally evil entreated by the Latines, and grieved to be governed by them, were ſome of them fled into other their Neighbour Princes Countries, but eſpecially into *Bulgaria*, otherwiſe called *Miſia*, a large Kingdom lying betwixt the great Mountain *Æmus* and *Danubius*; by whoſe perſwaſion, *John* King of that Country, aided by the Scythians, (a fierce Northern People, but lately come into thoſe quarters) and by the fugitive Greeks themſelves, took upon him to relieve the beſieged City; and ſo with a great Army approaching the ſame, ſent before certain Troops of the Scythian Archers on horſeback, to fetch in ſuch booty of Horſes or Cattel as they ſhould find near unto the Emperors Camp; and withal commanded them, that being charged by the Imperials, they ſhould forthwith retire, ſo to draw them out of their Trenches, into the place where the King with the greateſt part of his Army lay covertly to intrap them. Which the Scythians (well acquainted with ſuch ſervice) ſo well performed under the leading of one *Cozus* their General, that having once or twice drawn their Enemies unto ſome light skirmiſhes, and ſo retyring, and ere long again with a greater number returning, they at length cunningly drew the Emperor with all his Army, in hope to do ſome great matter upon them, even as they wiſhed, into the place where the King with his Army lay in wait among the Woods and Mountains for them; where they, wearied and out of breath with the former purſuit, and now on every ſide beſet with freſh Enemies, were overthrown with a great ſlaughter. In which conflict to increaſe the loſs, *Baldwin* the Emperor himſelf was taken and ſent Priſoner in bonds to *Ternoua*; where afterwards by the commandment of the barbarous King he was moſt cruelly put to death, having his Hands and Feet cut off, and ſo diſmembred was caſt out into a deep Vally, where he yet lay miſerably breathing three days after, and ſo died; leaving his body as fortunes ſcorn, for a Prey unto the wild Beaſts and Birds of the Air, no Man vouchſafing to bury it. Thus periſhed this worthy Prince, for his Virtues commended even of the Greeks themſelves, being about the age of three and thirty years, and not having reigned yet a full year, in the year of our Lord 1206. 1206.

The Victory thus gained, and the City relieved, the barbarous King with his ſavage Souldiers having taſted the wealth of the Latines overthrown in the late Battel, and the pleaſures of *Thracia* now ſubject to their Luſt; greedily purſued their good fortune, without reſpect of all humanity; the open Country they overran, ſpoyling whatſoever came to hand, the rich and famous Cities they rifled, and afterward raſed them down to the ground; namely *Serra*, *Philipolis*, *Apri*, *Rhedeſtum*, *Perinthus*, *Daonium*, *Arcadiopolis*, *Meſena*, *Zurulus*, and *Athyra*; the Citizens and Country People fled into the Cities for refuge, they put all to the Sword, without reſpect of Age, Sex, or Condition, except ſome few, whom they carried away with them Priſoners; ſo that of all the Provinces of that rent and ruinated Empire, the Country of *Thrace* was moſt miſerable, as firſt ſpoyled by the Latines, and now laid deſolate by the Bulgarians and Scythians. Only ſome few of the ſtrongeſt Cities, as *Didimotichum* and *Adrianople* (valiantly defended by the Greeks and Latines) eſcaped this fury of the Barbarians, all the reſt that fell into their hands being laid waſt and deſolate.

Henry *ſecond Emperor of the Latines in* Conſtantinople.

In this ſo troubled a State of the new erected Empire of the Latines in *Conſtantinople*, the Latines made choice of *Henry* the late Emperor *Baldwins* Brother, as of all others the fitteſt to ſucceed him in the Empire; who aided by the Marqueſs, now King of *Theſſaly*, and the other Latine Princes, notably repulſed the Barbarians, and left them not until that at length he had recovered from them all ſuch Towns and Cities as they had before taken, and driven them quite out of the Country, and ſo well eſtabliſhed himſelf in his new Empire.

But to leave this diſmembred Empire, now in the hands of many, and to come nearer to our purpoſe; *Alexius Angelus* the Uſurper, driven out of the Imperial City by the Latines, to ſave himſelf fled into *Theſſaly*, and from thence unto *Leo Scurus* (then a man of great Fame among the Greeks) who tyranniſing at *Nauplus*, as had his Father before him, was in theſe troubleſome times grown greater, by ſurpriſing of the two famous Cities of *Argos* and *Corinth*; by whoſe means he cunningly entrapped *Alexius Ducas*, ſirnamed *Murzufle*, the Traitor, and for a ſecret grudg not commonly known, put out his Eyes; himſelf an exiled man, being a moſt heavy Enemy unto the other alſo exiled; and himſelf thruſt out of the Empire, a deadly Foe unto the other, oppreſſed with the like calamity. Shortly after which loſs of his Sight he was by chance taken by the Latines, and ſo brought back to *Conſtantinople*, where he was for murdring the young Emperor *Alexius*, worthily condemned unto a ſtrange and horrible kind of death; for, caſt off from an high Tower, and tumbling Heels over Head downward, he was with the weight of himſelf, and violence of the Fall, cruſhed all to pieces, and ſo miſerably died; a death too good for ſuch a Traitor. Not long after it fortuned alſo, that *Alexius* himſelf wandering up and down in *Thracia*, was by the Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, going againſt *Scurus*, taken and ſtript of his great Treaſure, and whatſoever elſe he had; and ſo ſent away naked, long time after in beggars Eſtate wandred about in *Achaia* and *Peloponeſus*, now far unlike that *Alexius* which ſometime proudly reigned in *Conſtantinople*; but ſuch is the aſſurance of evil gotten Honour. He hearing that *Theodorus Laſcaris* his Son-in-Law reigned in *Aſia*, and there held the State of an Emperor, rejoyced not thereat as a kind Father-in-Law, but inwardly grieved thereat as an Enemy, ſorry that any other but himſelf ſhould be honoured with the Title of the Greek Emperor; in which malicious humor he ſailing out of *Greece* into *Aſia* over the *Ægeum*, came ſecretly unto the Turks Sultan *Jathatines* his old acquaintance, then lying at *Attalia*, (which famous City he had not long before taken from the Chriſtians) unto whom he declared his heavy Eſtate, and how his Empire had been rent from him, as well by the Greeks as the Latines; requeſting, that by his means he might be reſtored again into ſome part thereof, eſpecially that in the leſſer *Aſia*, which was by *Theodorus Laſcaris*, together with the honour of the Greek Emperor, unjuſtly (as he ſaid) detained from him. This *Jathatines*, now Sultan of *Iconium*; was the younger Son of Sultan *Aladin*; who not long ſurviving his Brother *Cai-Choſroes*, left his Kingdom unto his two Sons *Azadin* and *Jaſſadin*, of the Greeks called *Azatines* and *Jathatines*; where long it was not, but that theſe two Brethren falling out for the Soveraignty, (which admitteth no Equality) *Jathatines* was by *Azatines* his Elder Brother driven into Exile, and for the ſafeguard of his life glad to flie unto this *Alexius*, then reigning at *Conſtantinople*, by whom he was honourably entertained, and as ſome write, converted and baptiſed. But *Azatines* the Sultan ſhortly after dying, this *Jathatines* returning home again, and renouncing the Chriſtian Religion, was by the Turks received for their Sultan; of whom the Emperor *Alexius* in like extremity now craveth Aid. The Sultan not forgetful of his own Troubles before paſſed, or of the kindneſs he had received, and moved with the pitiful Complaint of his old Friend, together with his large Offers, beſides that he was in hope to ſhare out ſome good part of whatſoever he got, for himſelf; took him into his Protection, and forthwith ſent Embaſſadors to *Laſcaris*, threatning unto him all extremities, except he did forthwith give place unto *Alexius* his Father in law, unto whom, as unto the Greek Emperor, thoſe Countries which were by him poſſeſſed, of right (as he ſaid) appertained. With which unexpected Meſſage *Theodorus* was not a little troubled, as fearing both the Sultans Power, and the inclination of the people to their old Emperor. Nevertheleſs, having propounded the matter in Council, and finding the minds of his Subjects well affected towards him, and a readineſs in them in his quarrel to adventure their lives; he encouraged therewith, accompanied only with two thouſand choice Horſe-men, together with the Sultans Embaſſador, without farther ſtay ſet forward to *Philadelphia*; the Sultan at the ſame time with *Alexius*, (whom he carried with him as a bait to deceive the people withall) and twenty thouſand Turks, beſieging the City of *Antioch*, ſituate upon the winding banks of the River *Meander*. Which the Emperor *Theodorus* well underſtanding, and that the Sultan by gaining that ſtrong City (ſtanding upon the paſſage of the great River, the bounder of his Empire) ſhould open a fair way for himſelf into the heart of *Romania Aſiatica*, to the great hazard of his whole Empire, reſolved with thoſe few he had, to do what he might to relieve his City. And ſo ſetting forward upon the Spur, carrying nothing with him more than a little Victual; and now come near unto the City, ſent before the Sultans Embaſſor, following him at the heels. Who coming to the Sultan, and telling him of the Emperors approach with ſo ſmall a Power, could hardly perſwade him that it was ſo, although he bound it with many Oaths; yet at length perſwaded of the truth of the matter, and that indeed it was ſo, he in all haſt put his Army in the beſt Order he could upon ſuch a ſudden, but not to his beſt advantage, being hindred ſo to do by the ſtraitneſs of the place wherein he lay. Of the two thouſand ſelect Horſe-men in the Emperors Army, were eight hundred Italians, all moſt reſolute men, who giving the firſt charge, brake through the midſt of the Sultans Army, diſordering his whole battel as they went; after whom followed alſo the Greeks, though not with like courage; but thoſe Italian Horſe-men now divided from the reſt, and in number but few, in coming back again, were by the diſordered Turks, ſome on Horſeback, ſome on Foot, ſo beſet on every ſide, as that there was no way left for them to paſs, but there valiantly fighting, were altogether ſlain, having both before and at the time of their death made ſuch a ſlaughter of the Turks, as is hardly to be believed to have been poſſible for ſo few men to have made. The Greeks alſo hardly laid to by the Turks, and diſcouraged by the ſlaughter of the Latines, were even upon the point to have fled; when as the Sultan, now almoſt in poſſeſſion of a certain Victory, deſcrying the Greek Emperor, and truſting to his own great ſtrength, ſingled him out; being as ready as himſelf to meet him; when as at the firſt encounter, the Sultan with his Horſemans Mace gave him ſuch a blow upon his head, as might have killed a Bull, ſo that the Emperor therewith aſtoniſed, fell down from his Horſe; who yet even in the fall coming ſomething again unto himſelf, and although diſmounted, yet quickly recovering his feet, with his Faulchion hoxed the hinder legs of the Mare whereon the Sultan rid, being a moſt beautiful Beaſt, and of a wonderful height; which now ſuddenly faultring under him, and ſo the Sultan tumbling down as from an high Tower, before he could recover himſelf, had his head cut off by the Emperor, which by and by put upon a Launce, and ſo holden up, with the ſight thereof ſo diſmayed the Turks, that ſtrucken with a ſudden fear, they preſently fled, leaving the Victory unto the Emperor, before more than half overcome; who for all that, conſidering his ſmall number, durſt no further purſue them, but entring the City, gave thanks to God for ſo great a Victory. Unto whom the Turks ſhortly after ſent their Embaſſadors, and ſo upon ſuch reaſonable conditions as it pleaſed him to ſet down, concluded with him a Peace. *Alexius* himſelf Author of theſe Troubles, taken in this battel and carried to *Nice*, was by the Emperor his Son in law, notwithſtanding his evil deſerts, well intreated and uſed.

Antioch *beſieged by* Jathatines

Jathatines *the Sultan ſlain by* Theodorus Laſcaris *the Greek Emperor.*

Whilſt the Latines thus ſpend thoſe Forces in ſubverting of the Greek Empire, which ſhould have been imployed for the Relief of the Chriſtians in *Syria*, and that the Greek Emperor *Laſcaris* was thus troubled with the Turks, the Affairs of the Chriſtians in *Syria* and the Holy Land grew ſtill worſe and worſe. Whereof the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templars (the chief Champions of the Chriſtian Religion in thoſe Countries) greatly blamed *Almericus* the King of *Cyprus*, for that he being ſo near at hand, and having married *Iſabella* the Heir of that Kingdom, and ſo in her Right taken upon him the Title of the King of *Jeruſalem*, gave himſelf wholly to pleaſure, doing nothing for the Defence or Relief of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians, or repreſſing of the Turks; who although they were yet in League with the Chriſtians there, and at ſome diſcord alſo among themſelves, yet ſpared not as occaſion ſerved, ſtill more and more to encroach upon them, and by building of new Caſtles and Fortreſſes to cut them ſhort. Of all which things, the aforeſaid Knights by their Embaſſadors certified Pope *Innocentius*, requeſting his fatherly care for the remedy thereof; certifying him withall, that there was yet living one *Mary*, the Daughter of the Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat*, a Lady of rare beauty, whom they as her Tutors had brought up in hope of the Kingdom, and now were ready to beſtow her upon ſome ſuch man as he ſhould think worthy of her, together with the right ſhe had unto the Kingdom. Hereupon *Innocentius* diſcharging *Almericus* of the Title of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, gave it to *John* Count *de Brenne* of Daulphine in *France*, a man of great fame and valour, then in Arms with the other Latine Princes againſt the Greeks. Who now returning home, commended his Earldom to his Brother, and with ſuch Power as he was able to make, ſetting forward, came firſt to *Venice*, where he was royally entertained; and from thence ſailing to *Conſtantinople*, was with like Honour received by the Emperor *Henry*, and ſo at length the fifth of *September* arrived at *Ptolemais* in *Syria*, where he was with the great rejoycing and applauſe of the people received as their King: And the laſt of the ſame month marrying the aforeſaid Lady *Mary* at *Tyre*, was there together with her

John Brenne *by* Innocentius *the Pope appointed King of* Jeruſalem.

1209. with a great Solemnity Crowned King, in the year, 1209. Which *Almericus* the old King of *Cyprus* hearing, ſhortly after died for grief. Neither wanted this noble Gentleman, thus honoured with the Title of a Kingdom, ſome that envied at his Promotion, and therefore commonly called him in deriſion, a King, but ſtill with this addition, *Sans Ville*, that is to ſay, Without a Town.

Now was the ten years Peace, before taken betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians in *Syria*, at the coming over of *Simon* Marqueſs of *Mont-Ferrat* (as is before declared) almoſt expired; which had not ſo much given to thoſe poor remnants of the Chriſtians ſome time of reſt and breathing, as had the diſcord of the Turks among themſelves; which having for the ſpace of nine years continued betwixt *Noradin* and *Saphadin* for the Soveraignty, was now by the death of *Saphadin* ended. *Noradin* contenting himſelf with the Government of *Aleppo*, and *Corradin* and *Meledin* the two Sons of *Saphadin*, dividing their Fathers Kingdom betwixt them, the one taking unto himſelf *Damaſco* and *Syria*, and the other the great Kingdom of *Egypt*, but all Enemies unto the Chriſtians.

Corradin *and* **Meledin** *divide their Fathers Kingdom betwixt them.*

About this time alſo, or not long after, *Innocentius tertius* yet Pope, ſummoned a general Council at *Lateran*, whereunto, beſides a multitude of great Biſhops, and other reverend Prelates, repaired alſo the honourable Embaſſadors of moſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom; unto whom ſo aſſembled, among other things was propounded the dangerous eſtate of the Chriſtians in *Syria*, and how the ſame was by the help of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt to be relieved. Whereunto all the Fathers and Princes there aſſemblad eaſily gave their conſent; and thereupon were ſome appointed in every Country and Province, to publiſh this Decree of the Council, for the Relief of the oppreſſed Chriſtians, and to ſtir up the devout people for the undertaking of ſo religious a War. The chief Furtherers of this ſacred Expedition, to be thus taken in hand againſt the Infidels, were the Biſhops of *Germany*, eſpecially the three great Biſhops of *Mets*, *Cullen*, and *Triers*, whoſe example moved alſo many others, all which to rehearſe were tedious. Out of *France* alſo were ſent *Henry* the Count of *Nevers*, and one *Gualter* the Kings great Chamberlain, with a great number of the gallant Youths of *France*, and ſo out of divers other places; ſo that at length ſuch a number of men were met together at divers Ports of the *Adriatick*, as made up a Fleet of two hundred Sail; which with a proſperous Wind carried over into *Syria*, arrived in ſafety at *Ptolemais* the chief City of the Chriſtians, now that *Jeruſalem* was loſt. After whom followed alſo *Andrew* King of *Hungary*, long before bound both by his Fathers commandment and his own promiſe, for the undertaking of that ſacred Expedition; with whom came alſo *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria*, with their Forces all well appointed; unto whom alſo *John* King of *Jeruſalem* joyned himſelf with his Power. Great hope and expectation there was for ſome great matter to have been done, now that ſo great Forces of the Chriſtians were thus met together. Who ſetting forward from *Ptolemais*, and the firſt day marching into *Galilee*, by the way met with certain Companies of the Turks, whom they eaſily overthrew and put to flight. The next day they came to the River of *Jordan*, where they alſo diſtreſſed certain of the Turks Garriſons. There the King of *Hungary* bathing himſelf in the River, forthwith (as one diſcharged of his Vow and Promiſe) returned with all his Power unto *Ptolemais*, and ſo from thence back again into his Country, all the reſt of the Army of the Chriſtians crying out to him to the contrary; who after the Kings departure ſtill marching on, came to the Mount *Thabor*. But ſhortly after, Winter now coming on, and many of their Cattel dying for cold and want of meat, they returned ſome to *Ptolemais*, ſome to *Tyre*, and there wintred. King *John* and the Duke of *Auſtria* in the mean time took a Caſtle betwixt *Caeſarea* and *Caipha*, called *The Caſtle of Pilgrims*, from whence they much troubled the *Barbarians* thereabouts all that Winter. Upon the appearance of the Spring, and the Army again met together, it was thought beſt by all the great Commanders, that for ſo much as the Kingdom of *Egypt* was the chief Maintenance of the Mahometan Superſtition, againſt the Chriſtians in thoſe parts, and that ſo long as it ſtood upright, they ſhould not be able to do any great matter in *Syria*, to attempt the Conqueſt thereof, as an exploit beſt beſeeming their Valour, and ſo great preparation; for that Kingdom being once ſubdued, the City of *Jeruſalem*, with all the Land of *Paleſtine*, would of themſelves without more ado ſtraightway yield unto them. And for as much as the famous City of *Damiata*, called in ancient time *Peluſium*, not much inferior unto *Alexandria*, was the firſt and moſt commodious Port for that purpoſe, as neareſt unto *Syria*; and that by the taking thereof they ſhould have a fair entrance into the great River *Nilus*, with the command of a moſt rich and pleaſant Country about it. They reſolved there to begin the War; and thereupon embarking themſelves with all things neceſſary for ſo great an Enterpriſe at *Ptolemais*, and carried with a fair Wind, they in ſhort time arrived at the deſired Port. Now that rich and ancient City, the Key of that ſide of the Kingdom, ſtood about a mile from the Sea, and ſomewhat diſtant alſo from the great River, environed with a Navigable Ditch or Cut, drawn out of *Nile*, in manner of an Iſland, as a man cometh from *Syria* by Land; and compaſſed about with three ſtrong ſtone Walls, the work of the good Emperor *Ælius Pertinax*, and of him (as ſome affirm) called alſo *Æliopolis*. At the mouth of this Cut, as you ſhould enter into the City, ſtood a ſtrong Watch-Tower for the defence thereof, and round about it a number of fair Houſes, in manner of a pretty Town entrenched. Beſides that, for the more ſafety thereof, the ſame Cut was barred with a great ſtrong iron Chain, in ſuch ſort, as that it was not poſſible for any Ship, without breaking of the ſame to enter. The Chriſtians with their Fleet entring the mouth of the River, and coming to this Cut, by great ſtrength brake the Chain; but thinking ſo to have made their paſſage unto the City, they found a greater ſtay at the Watch-Tower, which ſtrongly built of ſquare Stone, and well ſtored with War-like Engins of all ſorts, and a good Garriſon of valiant Souldiers, ſtayed their further paſſage, overwhelming them as they approached, with ſhot, fire, ſtones, timber, and ſuch like, before provided for that purpoſe.

The ſituation of **Damiata** *in* **Egypt.**

The Chriſtians (after the manner of the fight of that time) had upon certain flat Veſſels built certain high Towers of Wood for the aſſailing of the Watch-Tower; in the approaching whereof, they were not only troubled with the Enemy, but with the tumult and ſtir of their own people alſo; ſome crying that they ſhould yet draw nearer unto the Tower; otherſome crying out as faſt, to have the Bridges caſt out, thereby to enter; and the Enemy likewiſe with much clamour encouraging one another for the repulſing of the Chriſtians. So the Souldiers hindred the Mariners to do their buſineſs, and the Mariners the Souldiers. In the midſt of this hurly-burly and tumult, one of the wooden Towers ſurmounting the reſt in height, overcharged with the preſs of men, fell, and in falling made ſuch a noiſe, as if Heaven it ſelf had fallen; where in a moment (as it were) was preſently to be ſeen a moſt heavy Spectacle; many overwhelmed with the falling of the Tower, lay there cruſhed to death; ſome grievouſly hurt, and yet not dead, lay oppreſſed with the timber, crying out for help; others bruiſed or hurt, but not overwhelmed, for fear of further harm, leapt ſome into the *Nile*, ſome aboard the other Ships near by, ſome crying out of his Arm, ſome of his Leg, ſome of his Head or other part of his body, to the great diſcomfiture of the reſt, in ſo much that the Aſſault was for that time given over.

King *John* (as well for his Valour, as for the Title of the King of *Jeruſalem*, choſen General of the Army) after he had appeaſed this tumult, and given the charge of them that were maimed or hurt, unto skilful Surgeons, and buried the bodies of ſuch as were found drowned or overwhelmed; with chearful Speech encouraged the reſt of his Souldiers, perſwading them not to be diſcouraged with the accident of the fall of a Tower, which was neither to be imputed to their Cowardiſe, or the Valour of the Enemy, but only to the chance of War.

In the mean time *Meledin* the *Egyptian* Sultan, had with a great Army encamped himſelf within the ſight of *Damiata*, thereby to encourage the beſieged, and to fill them with hope of relief; ſending them oftentimes by the River, News, Meſſages, Victuals, Souldiers, Armor, and whatſoever elſe they wanted. The chief cauſe of his ſtaying there, was to take occaſion for the ſurpriſing of the Chriſtians, if any ſhould be offered, either by chance, or their own negligence. Every day ſome skirmiſh or other paſſed betwixt our men and the *Barbarians*, ours ſtill carrying away the Victory; yet could theſe *Barbarians* neither be drawn forth to battel, neither could our men keep them from Victuals, for as much as they had the River of *Nile* at command, whereby Victuals were out of the upper part of *Egypt* in great abundance conveyed into the Sultans Camp; whereas on the contrary part, the ſame River dividing it ſelf into many Arms, in ſome places here and there overflowing, in another cut into many Ditches and Channels, and in ſome other pent up by Walls and Cauſies, gave unto our men a thouſand diſpleaſures. And therefore ſeeing that the Sultan would neither give nor accept of battel, they reſolved again to lay ſiege to the Tower. Wherefore having with great cunning, upon two Ships made faſt together, framed a Tower of moſt ſtrong Timber, equal in height unto the Watch-Tower, they brought the ſame near unto the Turks Tower, and the Suburbs adjoyning thereunto, after which followed alſo the reſt of the Fleet well appointed for the Aſſault. At which time all the reſt of the Army at Land ſtood in battel ready ranged, as well to diſcourage them of the Town, as that the Sultan ſhould not be able to help them without the hazarding of battel. There began a fierce and cruel Aſſault; they of the Suburbs right valiantly defending themſelves againſt their Enemies. Within theſe Suburbs, the Tower, and the Trenches, dwelt not only *Egyptians*, (the natural Inhabitants of the Country) but alſo *Arabians*, *Perſians*, *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Moors*, and *Æthiopians*, who were there reſiant; for that, that City was a publique Mart whereunto all kind of Merchandiſes were brought from far out of the remoteſt parts of the World, and ſo from thence in like manner tranſported alſo; which encouraged them the more to fight for the defence of their Lives and Goods, the two things which men hold moſt dear; and in like ſort animated our men unto the Aſſault, as well in the quarrel of the Chriſtian Religion, as to inrich themſelves with the ſpoil of thoſe rich Nations. The Chriſtians with their Ships drew as near as poſſibly they could unto the Land, to the intent that upon the bank of the River they might come to fight hand to hand, and man to man, and ſo come cloſe unto their Enemies. But the *Barbarians* on the other ſide fought by ſhot and all other means they could, to keep them further off, and ſo from landing.

A deſperate act of a Chriſtian.

That which moſt feared the *Egyptians*, was, that as one of our Ships by chance ran aground upon that ſide of the River where the Enemy lay, and being boarded by the Enemy, thronging in as faſt as he could, and there making a cruel ſlaughter, one of the Chriſtian Souldiers going down under the Hatches, made there a great hole, whereby the water abundantly coming in, ſunk the Ship before the Enemy was aware, and ſo drowned a great number of the *Egyptians* together with the Chriſtians. At which time alſo the high Tower built upon the two Ships, joyning now cloſe unto the Watch-Tower, and mating the ſame, diſmayed the Defendants with the ſtrangeneſs thereof, as with a Miracle, in ſuch ſort, that they ſtrucken with a great fear, as now being to fight with a ſtrange, hardy, and cruel kind of men, without any great reſiſtance forſook the Tower and fled. The Watch-Tower thus taken, and they that ſhould have defended the ſame, ſome ſlain, and ſome fled; they in the Suburbs diſcouraged, and flying away, were many of them wounded from above, out of the Watch-Tower but now gained by the Chriſtians. At which time alſo the other Ships landed the Souldiers, who entring the Suburbs, put all they found there to the Sword, even unto the laſt man. There was found great abundance of Victuals, but far greater ſtore of Riches, in ſo much that it ſeemed to have been the ſpoil of *Arabia*, *Perſia*, and the rich Indies.

Damiata in vain aſſaulted.

Now yet remained the ſtrong Town of *Damiata*, which was forthwith aſſaulted by the Chriſtians, more to prove if in that heat and ſudden fear it would be yielded, than for any hope they had by force to win it. But having done what they could both by ſcaling, and by other Engins, they gained nothing but hard blows and wounds, and ſo retired. Nevertheleſs they lodged themſelves in the Suburbs, and laid a great part of the Army betwixt the Sultan and the beſieged City, to the intent that no ſupply of Victuals ſhould be brought unto it; yet both the Enemy oftentimes attempted to have entred the City, and the beſieged to have ſallied out, but both the one and the other were letted to do what they would have done, and that not without the great loſs of their men; for why, the Town was now on every ſide ſo incloſed by the Chriſtians, as that no man could enter in or out thereof. Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the Siege, it fortuned that the River of *Nile* ſwelling with a great Eaſtern Wind, riſe above the banks, and ſo overflowed the places wherein the Chriſtians lay, that they could keep nothing dry, and that moſt part of their Victuals were therewith ſpoiled. With which unſeaſonable riſing of the River, the Chriſtians not a little troubled, by commandment of *Pelagius* the Popes Legate, gave themſelves to faſting and prayer by the ſpace of three days. But the Wind falling the fourth day, and the River again decreaſing, they gave themſelves more earneſtly to prayer than before, thanking the Almighty, that as he had put them in a great fear, ſo he had in mercy again comforted them.

Now with long lying began Victuals to grow ſcant in the Sultans Camp, ſo that he was glad to ſend away half of his Army up again into the Country of *Caire.* At which time alſo it chanced (as if it had been in an extream and common danger of the Mahometan Superſtition) that Embaſſadors ſent from *Corradin* Sultan of *Damaſco* and *Jeruſalem,* unto the Princes of the Chriſtian Army, came to ſue for Peace, both for Himſelf and his Brother the *Egyptian* Sultan; promiſing in regard thereof again to reſtore unto them the Holy Croſs, and whatſoever elſe himſelf, his Father, or Sultan *Saladin* had before taken from them; of which their Offer, moſt part of the Army liked well, ſaying, That they had therefore taken up Arms for the recovery of that which had been before gotten, and gained by the Valour of the worthy Chriſtian Captains, and had of late been taken from them; and to blot out the Ignominy of the loſs thereof, to the end it ſhould not be ſaid, that they could not leave whole and entire unto their Children, what their Fathers had got, when they had the keeping thereof; neither having loſt it, be able again to recover it; that all theſe things being reſtored, there reſted not any further occaſion of War, or let to ſtay them as moſt victorious Conquerors to return home. Nevertheleſs *Pelagius,* Pope *Honorius* his Legate (for *Innocentius* in the preparation of the Wars was before dead at *Peluſium*) with King *John,* the Maſters of the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templars, the Duke of *Auſtria,* and the *Germans,* were of opinion to the contrary; alledging, That this Sacred War was undertaken generally againſt the Infidels, and for Religions ſake againſt the Mahometan Superſtition, whereof the Kingdom of *Egypt* was the chief Seat and ſtay; and that therefore they ought eſpecially to impugn that. Which perſwaſion, together with the Authority of the Perſwaders, ſo prevailed, that the Sultans large Offers were rejected, and ſo the Embaſſadors diſpatched without any thing obtained of that they came for. Whereupon *Corradin* fearing that the Chriſtians would at length come to *Jeruſalem,* as the place they moſt deſired; and doubting how he ſhould be able to defend the ſame, forthwith raſed the Walls thereof, and the more to deface it, overthrew and pluckt down moſt of the goodly Houſes, and other ſtately Buildings therein, ſparing yet the Tower of *David,* and the holy Sepulchre; which he is ſaid to have done at the humble Requeſt and Interceſſion of the Chriſtians of divers Countries, which yet dwelt there mixt with the Turks and Saraſins.

A fair Offer evilly refuſed.

Succours ſent unto the beſieged.

Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the Siege of *Damiata,* the Plague began to rage in the Camp, whereof ſo many died, that it began to repent the great Commanders of the Army that they had ſo much hearkned to the perſwaſion of the Legate (a man making no profeſſion of Arms) rather than to the ſound Advice of others, who by long experience taught the ſudden alteration of matters of War, would willingly have accepted of the Sultans large Offers; ſo began *Pelagius* the Legate to be generally evil ſpoken of. There were now already ſix months paſt ſince the beginning of the Siege, and the Sultan lying in ſight had not with him ſo great an Army as before, but only the flower and choice of his people, having (as we have before ſaid) for want of Victuals ſent away the reſt up again into the Country; now it fortuned that the Chriſtians, as men weary of the long Siege, ſtood not ſo carefully upon their Guard, with Watch and Ward, as before, but gave themſelves more to eaſe; which the Sultan perceiving, drew nearer to the Town, in hope under the covert of the ſilent night, to ſend new Supplies unto the beſieged; which Companies by him appointed for that Service, couragiouſly ſet forward, in hope to have deceived the Chriſtian Sentinels, and ſo indeed came near unto the Town unſeen or diſcovered; and now the foremoſt of thoſe Companies were already entred the Town; when the Chriſtians perceiving them, and raiſing an Alarm, put themſelves in Arms, and ſo furiouſly aſſailed the hindermoſt of them, and in ſuch ſort, that they which were before within, and thoſe that were but now entred, fearing leſt the Enemy in that hurly burly ſhould pell mell enter in with the reſt, ſhut them out of the Gates, expoſed to the butchery, where all were preſently cut in pieces.

The Chriſtians encouraged with this Victory, the next day leaving a great part of the Army before the Town to continue the Siege, preſented themſelves before the Sultans Camp to give him battel; who for all that well conſidering that the loſs of a battel might endanger the whole State of his Kingdom, would by no means be drawn out of his Trenches, but lay ſtill; wherewith the Chriſtians, eſpecially the French-men (in the firſt charge naturally furious) greatly encouraged, attempted to have forcibly entred their Rampiers, but not with ſucceſs anſwerable to their courage. For the *Egyptians* perceiving the ſmall number of their Enemies, notably repulſed them, and in fine inforced them to retire, having loſt *Gualter,* one of their chief Commanders, with divers others; yea King *John* in aſſailing the Camp, loſt many of his men, and grievouſly burnt in his face, hardly eſcaping himſelf with life. After which diſcomfiture, they reſolved, not to think of any thing elſe but of the Siege, and above all things to provide that no Succours ſhould be brought into the Town. They in the City more ſtraitly beſet and beſieged than before, and now brought unto extream neceſſity and famine, and out of all hope of Relief, aſſembled themſelves to conſult of their Affairs, and what were beſt for them to do in ſo dangerous a ſtate; ſome one or other of them by night or otherwiſe ſecretly flying into the Camp. And that more was, the City had undoubtedly been yielded by the greater part, had not the chief Commanders within mured up the Gates, and commanded that none of the Inhabitants upon pain of death ſhould come upon the Walls or Rampiers, to the intent they ſhould not get out, or caſt themſelves from above the Walls into the Ditches. The chief Commanders and Captains went here and there up and down the City, to ſearch and view all things, eſpecially the ſhops and ſtore-houſes, where finding ſmall ſtore of Wheat, they divided it in ſmall portions among themſelves; the common people enforced with want, eat whatſoever came to hand, were it lawful or unlawful, or forbidden by their Superſtition, wholſome or unwholſome, good or bad, ſalt or freſh, roaſted or raw; and ſo prolonged their lives with ſuch things as they could find. Now the beſieged, not able to indure theſe extremities of the Famine (being the paſſion that moſt grievouſly and often troubleth Mankind) they were alſo attached with the Wrath of God; for the Plague (the fury whereof had before attainted the Camp of the Chriſtians, and afterward quite ceaſed) was now got into the City, where it made a great Slaughter; which mortality day by day in ſuch ſort increaſed, that men were not only now no more to be found, to viſit, comfort, ſuccor, ſerve and help the Sick; but were wanting alſo to bury them, to draw them out of their Beds and Houſes, and to ſeparate the Living from the Dead; the Streets and Houſes full of dead Bodies, gave forth a moſt horrible ſtink, with a moſt grievous and infectious Air; there was not any place clear from the Plague, or any man that could boaſt he had not been attainted therewith, or the fear thereof; and remedy there was none. The rage and fury of theſe two Devourers, the Famine, and Plague, devoured them without number, chooſing rather ſo to die, than to ſubmit themſelves to their Enemies; or to humble themſelves ſo low, as to crave their Favour. That they within were thus pinched with Famine, the Chriſtians knew; but that the Plague ſo raged amongſt them, they knew not. Now the Chriſtians had of purpoſe caſt up certain Trenches and Baricadoes, for the keeping in of ſuch as the Famine ſhould enforce to come out of the Town; thinking that the beſieged, to eaſe their wants, would thruſt the baſer ſort of the people and unprofitable mouths out of the City; unto whom the Chriſtians meant not to give any paſſage; for they having long before ſo ſtraightly environed the City, as that no relief could be brought unto it, lay now ſtill expecting when the beſieged, enforc'd by neceſſity, ſhould yield themſelves; and ſo without loſs of any man, to become Maſters of ſo ſtrong and rich a Town. It was now more than a year that the Chriſtians had thus lien at the Siege of *Damiata*, when as certain of the Souldiers upon a bravery adventured with a few ſcaling Ladders to mount the Wall; in which doing, finding no reſiſtance, and withall hearing ſo great ſilence, as if there had been no body within the City, they ſtood ſtill a great while hearkening, but ſeeing that dumb ſilence ſtill to continue, they returned unto the Camp, giving the Captains to underſtand how the matter ſtood; who at the firſt thought it to be ſome policy and fineneſs of the deceitful Enemy; yet afterward they thought it good to adventure certain men, to prove their fortune, and to cauſe certain companies well appointed to ſcale one of the Bulwarks of the City, in ſuch ſort, as if they ſhould have gon againſt a puiſſant Enemy, that had had the power to reſiſt them. And hereupon were ſcaling Ladders brought forth, and all things made ready, as for a great Aſſault. So the Chriſtians couragiouſly mounting the Ladders, without reſiſtance took the Bulwak. But as they were entring farther into the Town, a ſmall Company of the Turks and Barbarians (all the Souldiers that the Fury of the Plague had left, and they alſo with the Famine and Infection of the Air very weak and feeble) met them, and began to make ſome ſmall reſiſtance, but to no purpoſe, being forthwith all cut in pieces. Which done, the matter wherewith the Gates of the City were mured, was preſently removed, the Gates ſet open, and the Chriſtians with Enſigns diſplaied let in. But even at the very entring in at the Gates, they were attainted with a moſt grievous and horrible ſtink, they ſaw a fair City diſpeopled, and that which was moſt fearful to behold, the Streets covered with bodies of the dead, and ſuch a dreadful deſolation, as might move even the Enemy himſelf to compaſſion. The Chriſtians were entred, as men appointed to have done a great execution, and to have made the Channels run with blood, as men juſtly provoked with the long Siege, and the pains they had endured; they had their Swords and Weapons in their Hands, but found none againſt whom to uſe them; for a man could not enter into any Houſe, or go into any Street, but he muſt paſs over the dead, or others, which being not yet altogether dead, were miſerably drawing toward their end. Of ſeventy thouſand perſons in the City, were not found above three thouſand alive, and thoſe for the moſt part yet young Children; for all the reſt were dead, taken away either with the Sword, Famine or the Plague; the greateſt part whereof lay yet ſtinking above the ground unburied. Theſe three thouſand that were left, were ſo maigre and poor, that pity it was to behold them; unto whom their lives were granted upon condition that they would make clean the City, and bury the dead, which they were three months in doing.

Damiata without reſiſtance taken by the Chriſtians.

Damiata unpeopled by the Plague.

1221. Thus was *Damiata* taken by the Chriſtians the fifth day of *November*, in the year 1221, after it had been more than a year by them beſieged. The Spoil there taken was great, for beſides the rich Merchandize brought thither from far, was found great ſtore of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. The Chriſtians thus enriched, and the City made clean, ſtaied there more than a year after, as in a Colony wherein they had been willing to dwell, forgetful of their own Country. In the beginning of theſe Wars, the Princes of the Army had with one conſent agreed, That whatſoever City or Territory ſhould by them be taken from the Turks or Infidels, ſhould be given unto the King of *Jeruſalem*, whom after the departure of the King of *Hungary*, they had made General of the whole Army. But now that the City was taken, *Pelagius* the Legate, pretending, That by the vertue of his Legation, it belonged unto him to diſpoſe of all things taken in that ſacred War, (as a man not unmindful of his Maſter) adjudged the City from thenceforth to belong unto the See of *Rome*. With which indignity and wrong, the King inwardly diſcontented, (and yet for the Authority of the Legate, diſſembling the matter) withdrew himſelf, and ſo retired to *Ptolemais*.

1222. The year following, *Pelagius* weary to ſee the Arms of the Chriſtians to corrupt with ruſt, and nothing doing, conſidering the deſire and hope he had utterly to have ruinated the Infidels, together with their Superſtition, commanded, That every man ſhould again take up Arms for the proſecuting of this War againſt the Sultan, and the beſieging of *Caire*. But for all that, when he had commanded what he would, or could, the Souldiers little regarding his command with one voice cryed out, that they would not be commanded by any, but by the King of *Jeruſalem* only. So that the Legate, enforced by the Souldiers, was glad to ſend unto the King, to requeſt him again to return to *Damiata*, and to take upon him the charge for the managing of that War, taken in hand for the defence of the Chriſtian Religion; who for all that excuſed himſelf from ſo doing, one while by his own particular Affairs, another while by his own indiſpoſition; yet in fine, preſſed and overcome with the prayers and requeſts of the other Latine Princes, he returned to *Damiata*, at the ſelf ſame time, that the Duke of *Bavaria* arrived there with a goodly company of brave men, brought thither out of his own Country, after he had been now from thence ten months abſent.

Pelagius *the Legate perſwadeth the Princes of the Chriſtian Army to proceed for the conqueſt of E*gypt.

The Legate deſirous of the proſecution of this War, requeſted and urged the King, with the reſt of the Princes and great Commanders, without delay to take the Field, telling them, that the Enterpriſe of the holy War was grown old, and cold, by thoſe long delaies and protracting of the time; and that they which kept Wars ſo far from home, ought to make haſt to force the Enemy, to take all occaſions, to loſe no time, but ever to be doing; and to prove all things for the annoying of the Enemy; and that that was the way, whereby the Worthies of ancient times, both Kings and Emperors, had gained unto themſelves Empires, Glory, Greatneſs, and Wealth; That it was for them that were invaded and aſſailed, upon whoſe lives depended the ſafety of their Country, their Wives, their Children, and Goods, to delay and prolong the time as they might to delude the Enemy, to fruſtrate his deſigns, to defeat his Attempts, and with delaies to dally him off, until that having thereby weakned his Forces, he ſhould together with his courage loſe alſo his hope; *Caire* (he ſaid) to be indeed a great City, but yet that the greateſt Cities that ever were, had by the Wars become great Deſarts, forced by the power of their puiſſant and ſpeedy Enemies; and that great Empires, as were thoſe of the Sultans, ought not to be invaded or aſſailed by any forreign force, if they were not at the firſt onſet, overthrown, or at leaſt ſo weakned, as that they could not afterwards lift up their Heads or recover themſelves; for otherwiſe, that they which had prepared a deſtruction for others, ſhould fall into the ſame themſelves; That it behooved either not to have attempted or aſſailed *Egypt* at all; or elſe now, after it had been once aſſailed, not ſo to give it over before it were conquered. The King of *Jeruſalem*, whether it were that he were pricked with the grief, that being called the King of the Holy Land, he could not have the City of *Damiata* (under the leading and conduct won by the Chriſtians come to the ſacred War) given unto him by the Legate; or that he had before proved that the higher Country of *Egypt* was not without great and manifeſt danger to be attempted; ſaid, that he would not in any caſe go; alleadging that honourable and ſacred War to have been taken in hand, only for the recovery of the Holy Land, and not for the winning of *Memphis*, *Babylon*, or *Thebes* in *Egypt*; which after they were taken, would not for any long time continue in their Fidelity or Allegeance, and could not poſſibly be kept by force; whereas *Syria*, by *Godfrey* Duke of *Bulloin* and the other great Princes his Aſſociates, entred into, conquered and poſſeſſed; and ſince his time, by divers other Chriſtian Kings and Princes holden, was in right their own; and that therefore he greatly commended the forwardneſs, the diligence, the courage, the deſire, and whatſoever thing elſe *Pelagius* commended; but that he ought to employ the ſame in *Syria*, and not there where no need was, or from whence no profit was to be drawn or expected. Nevertheleſs the Legate wedded to his own opinion, by the power of his Authority, commanded the King of *Jeruſalem*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, with the reſt of the great Commanders and Captains, to take up their Arms, to get them into the Field upon the Expedition by him appointed againſt the Sultan; threatning the pain of the high ſentence of Excommunication againſt him or them, that would ſhew themſelves backward or unwilling to do what he had commanded. So as it were enforced by the Legate, they began with evil Will and worſe Speed, to ſet forward in *Auguſt*, in the very hotteſt time of the year. At which time the Sultan beholding the great Army of the Chriſtians, in number about ſeventy thouſand, retired as a man afraid, into ſuch places as he thought beſt, farther off; which the Legate ſeeing (as one not acquainted with the feats of War) rejoyced greatly, as if the Victory had been already more than half gained; commending to the Heavens them that he ſaw couragiouſly marching forward, ſaying, That fortune always favoured the Valiant, and that unto Cowards all things fell ſtill out to the worſt. By the way the Chriſtians ſeized upon a Bridge, which the Enemy had made over the *Nile*, and cut in pieces ſuch Companies as were left for the keeping thereof; ſo marching on they drew neer unto *Caire*, and there in the ſight of that great and rich City encamped; where, running up and down, the more to terrifie them of the City, provoked them to Battel, upbraiding unto them their Lazineſs, their Cowardiſe and Sloth, braving them, (if they were men) to come out; Yet for all that they would not ſo do, but keeping themſelves cloſe and covert within the City, let them alone to brag and boaſt at their own pleaſure. This Siege continued long, of purpoſe protracted ſtill from day to day by them of the City; and the great opinion the Chriſtians had of their own valour, with the ſmall regard they had of their Enemies, made them ſo proud and careleſs, that they remembred no more to take good care of the War, of their Duty, their Watch, or their Sentinels; their confidence was in their own Valour and good Fortune, not conſidering or remembring that they were come into *Egypt*, and that they had put themſelves within the Trenches, Sallies, Channels and Cuts of a deceitful River, which not only brought Victuals unto their Enemies, but alſo fortified them; who by how much they were the leſs valiant, and leſs underſtood of the Art of War, the more they uſed of Craft and Subtilty for the preſerving of themſelves; ſo the crafty Enemies drew the Chriſtians out at length, abuſing them with many delaies and deceits; making ſemblance of great Fear, to make themſelves the leſs to be feared; and more contemptible in their doings, to the end that they knowing the Paſſages and Straights of the Country, and reſerving themſelves unto the occaſions and advantages both of the time, and of their Enemies, might circumvent them and entrap them at ſuch time as they leaſt feared any ſuch matter. The Chriſtians, at all adventure had encamped themſelves in a low ground, within the Banks and Cauſies of that Fenny Country, under the covert thereof, thinking themſelves ſafe as in their Trenches, againſt all ſudden Sallies or Attempts of their Enemies; but theſe places wherein they lay were ſoft and dirty, for ſo much as the Country People uſed at their pleaſure to water them by Channels and Sluces out of the River of *Nile*; which now pluckt up and opened, the River began to riſe and overflow all. Then too late they perceived themſelves taken as in a Grin, without power to defend themſelves, or to make any reſiſtance, or by any other means to ſhew their Valour. So the River ſtill ariſing and overflowing gave unto the Turks and Egyptians good hope of their Wars, and of a Victory more deſired than hoped for over a warlike and victorious People. All the ground where the Chriſtians lay encamped, was covered with Water, ſo high that the Victuals were corrupted, and no place left for a man to ſtand or lie dry in.

The Chriſtians entrapped within the Sluces of the River Nile.

Now at the ſame time the Egyptians had taken the high places, with the paſſages upon the Walls and Banks in that drowned Country, to the intent that the Chriſtians ſhould not be able to retire or to ſave themſelves out of the Bogs and Mariſhes covered over with Water. So was their raſh Valour and preſumptuous Confidence in themſelves, expoſed unto the Enemies Shot and Fury; and when they would by force have defended themſelves, their hardineſs was overcome by the crafty Subtility of the weak Enemy. Then began every man to cry out againſt *Pelagius* the Legat, accuſing, condemning, and rayling at him; the King himſelf they blamed not, for that he had done his duty, in diſſwading of this expedition, and was contrary to his good liking himſelf drawn into this War, the charge whereof he

The miſery of the Chriſtians in the drowned Land.

he had not without great intreaty taken upon him; neither might he with his credit well complain of this misfortune, left in ſo doing, he might ſeem to have had no comfort in himſelf. But as for the Legate, what Counſel could he then give, what Counſel could he then take for himſelf? They of *Venice*, *Piſa*, and *Genoa*, left at *Damiata*, were indeed ſtrong at Sea, but how could they come to relieve him at *Caire*? And how, or by what Forces could the Chriſtians break out of the Banks and Sluces of the Cuts and Channels; which winding in and out with a thouſand inextricable turnings incloſed them, beſet alſo on every ſide with the victorious Enemy? After they had been thus coupt up, and environed with the Waters three days, you might have ſeen the poor Souldiers in every place fall down dead for want of Food and Sleep, and ſo periſh in the Water; the like miſerable kind of death, the reſt were alſo in ſhort time after to expect; other help there was none, but to yield unto neceſſity, and to accept of ſuch conditions as it ſhould pleaſe the proud Enemy to propound. Now the Sultan deſired not ſo much their lives, as the Liberty of his Country; and therefore required to have the City *Damiata* again reſtored unto him, and all things elſe in ſuch ſort as were before the beſieging thereof; and ſo the Chriſtians without more ado to depart his Country. Hard Conditions if a man reſpect the hope whereupon the Chriſtians had undertaken this War, and were ſo come into *Egypt*, with the toil there by them endured; but unto him that will but enter into conſideration of mens affairs, and eſpecially in Martial matters, it will ſeem but an accident to be yielded unto, the like whereof hath oftentimes happened unto the greateſt men in the World. Theſe Conditions (ſuch as they were) were by the diſtreſſed Chriſtians accepted of. But when they were brought to *Damiata*, and there propounded to the Chriſtians there left, a great contention began to ariſe among them; ſome ſaid they would not accept of them, or ſurrender the Town, which being kept would be a ſtay for all the affairs of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, and a moſt commodious place for them to have recourſe unto; but being reſtored and loſt, carried away with it all the hope of the Chriſtians, and that therefore it were better to endure all extremities, than to receive ſuch diſhonourable and hurtful a peace. Others of the contrary opinion ſaid, That they ought not to forſake them that were in danger before *Caire*, nor to expoſe them to the butchery, but to have a Chriſtian compaſſion of ſo many thouſands of Souls as there lay diſtreſſed, ſeeing they might be ſaved by the ſurrender of that one Town; Towns (they ſaid) conſiſted of the number of men, and not Men of the Incloſures of Walls and Ditches. They that were of this opinion, for the delivering up of the Town, ſeeing the other obſtinately ſet down to the contrary, withdrawing themſelves from the Council, preſently took up Arms, and by force entred the Houſes of them that were of the contrary opinion, and took from them their Weapons, by that means and perforce to conſtrain them to yield to their deſire. As ſoon as they that lay before *Caire* (almoſt drowned in the Waters) underſtood of this diſſention at *Damiata* about the delivery of the Town, they ſent them word, that if they would not yield the Town to the Sultan, they would forthwith ſend to *Ptolemais*, which would not fail to do what ſhould be commanded, to have it inſtead of *Damiata* ſurrendred to the *Egyptians*. So was *Damiata* again yielded to the Infidels, and ſo great labours of the Chriſtians taken at the Siege and winning thereof, all loſt. That which made this indignity more tolerable, was that Sultan *Meladin*, having without bloodſhed gained ſo great a Victory, did neither by word or deed any thing in deſpight or reproach of the Chriſtians, but uſed them with all courteſie, relieving them alſo with Victual and ſuch other things as they wanted, and by faithful Guids conducting them in ſafety out of the Country.

In like manner alſo, *Coradin* his Brother, Sultan of *Damaſco*, made truce with the Latines for eight years. Whereupon the King of *Jeruſalem* went over into *Italy*, and there by the perſwaſion of *Honorius* the Pope, his Wife being now dead, gave his Daughter *Yoland* (now crowned Queen of *Jeruſalem* in the right of her Mother) in marriage to *Frederick* King of *Sicilia*, and Emperor of the Latines, the rather thereby to ſtir him up for the taking in hand of the ſacred War. Ever ſince which time, he and the Kings of *Sicilia* his Succeſſors have been called Kings of *Jeruſalem*, albeit that they have evil proſecuted that their pretended Right and Title, as ſtill buſied in more prophane Wars againſt other Chriſtian Princes. King *John* afterwards departing from *Rome* for *France*, was by the way honourably entertained at *Piſa*; but arriving at the French Court, he found *Philip* the French King deſperately ſick, who by his laſt Will and Teſtament gave unto the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templars, ſixty thouſand Crowns for the maintenance of their Wars againſt the Infidels; which Mony was to their uſe afterward paid unto King *John*. Who ſhortly to diſcharge himſelf of a Vow he had made, to viſit the Pilgrimage at *Compoſtella*, going into *Spain*, by the way married *Berengaria*, the King of *Caſtile* his Daughter; and there ſtaying a great while, returned again into *France*, where he lay long expecting the ſetting forward of the Emperor *Fredericks* Son-in-Law for the recovery of his Wives Right to the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; which although he ſolemnly vowed at ſuch time as he with all Princely Magnificence married the ſaid Lady at *Rome*, yet otherwiſe letted with troubles nearer home, performed not the ſame, untill almoſt ſeven years after; all which time the Chriſtians in *Syria* enjoying the fruit of the late concluded Peace for eight years, lived in great reſt and quietneſs; where ſo leaving them, until the ariſing of new troubles, let us in the mean time return again unto the troubled affairs of the Turks, Greeks, and Latines, at *Conſtantinople*, and in the leſſer *Aſia*.

The death of Henry *Emperor of* Conſtantinople. Peter *Emperor.*

Henry the Second Emperor of the Latines at *Conſtantinople*, after he had (as is aforeſaid) with much ado repreſſed the Fury of the Bulgarians and Scythes, his barbarous Enemies, and ſo given peace to the miſerable Country of *Thracia*, died, having reigned a moſt troubleſome Reign, about the ſpace of eleven years. After whom ſucceeded *Peter*, Count of *Auſſerre*, his Son-in-Law, third Emperor of the Latines in *Conſtantinople*; who in the beginning of his Empire, willing to gratifie the Venetians, and to revenge himſelf of *Theodorus Angelus*, a great Prince of *Epirus*, Competitor of his Empire, beſieged him in *Dirrachium*; which ſtrong City, the ſaid *Theodorus* had but a little before ſurpriſed, belonging unto the Venetian Seigniory. At which Siege, *Peter* the Emperor lying, was ſo cunningly by the wilie Greek uſed, that a Peace was upon moſt honourable conditions betwixt them concluded, and a familiar kind of Friendſhip joyned. Inſomuch that the Emperor at his requeſt, not well adviſed, came unto him as his Gueſt; who now of his Enemy became his

Hoſt, entertaining him with all the formalities that feigned Friendſhip could deviſe. But having him now in his power, and fearing no harm, regarding neither the Laws of Fidelity or Hoſpitality, he moſt traiterouſly ſlew him, as he was yet in the midſt of his Banquet. Of whoſe end, ſome others yet otherwiſe report, as that he ſhould by the ſame *Theodorus* have been intercepted about the pleaſant Woods of *Tempe* in *Theſſalia*, as he was travelling from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo afterwards to have been by him cruelly put to death. Of whoſe misfortune, *Tepulus* Governour of *Conſtantinople* underſtanding, for the more ſafety of the State in that vacancy of the Greek Empire, made peace with *Theodorus* for five years, and the Turks for two.

Robert *Emperor of* **Conſtantinople.**

Shortly after came *Robert* (the Son of the aforeſaid unfortunate Emperor *Peter*) with his Mother to *Conſtantinople*, and there in his Fathers ſtead was ſolemnly ſaluted Emperor; but not with much better luck than was his Father before him; for ſhortly after his coming he took to Wife a fair young Lady, the Daughter of a great rich and noble Matron of the City, but before betrothed unto a gallant Gentleman, a Burgundian born; with whom the old Lady broke her promiſe, and more careful of her Daughters preferment, than fidelity, gave her in marriage unto the new Emperor. The joy of which ſo great an Honour was in ſhort time converted not into a deadly heavineſs, but even into death it ſelf; for the young Burgundian, more enraged with the wrong done him than diſcouraged with the greatneſs and power of the Emperor, conſorted himſelf with a company of luſty tall Souldiers, acquainted with his purpoſe, and awating his time when the Emperor was abſent, by night entred the Court with his deſperate Followers, and firſt meeting with the beautiful young Empreſs, cut off her Noſe and her Ears, and afterward threw her old Mother into the Sea, and ſo fled out of the City into the Woods and Mountains, with thoſe deſperate cut-throats the miniſters of his barbarous cruelty.

An horrible outrage committed upon the perſon of an Empreſs.

The Emperor pierced to the heart with this ſo great a diſgrace, ſhortly after went to *Rome*, to what purpoſe was not certainly known; but in returning back again through *Achaia*, he there died, leaving behind him his young Son *Baldwin*, yet but a Child, begotten by his firſt Wife, to ſucceed him in the Empire; who by the name of *Baldwin* the Second, was crowned the fifth and laſt Emperor of the Latines in *Conſtantinople*.

Baldwin *the laſt Emperor of the Latines in* **Conſtantinople.**

And for becauſe he was as yet but young and unfit for the Government, he was by the conſent of the Nobility affianced, and afterward married unto *Martha* the younger Daughter of *John Brenne* King of *Jeruſalem*, a worthy old Captain, (but as then Governour of *Ravenna*, which City, he being certain years before ſent for out of *France* for that purpoſe, by *Honorius* the Pope, he notably defended againſt the Emperor *Frederick* his Son-in-Law, but that affinity was before broken off by the death of the ſaid Emperors Wife) who now ſent for out of *Italy* unto *Conſtantinople*, had committed to his charge and protection, both the Perſon and Empire of the young Emperor *Baldwin*, now his Son-in-Law. Which great and heavy charge he for certain years after worthily and faithfully diſcharged, until ſuch time as that *Baldwin* was himſelf grown able to take upon him the government. Now although the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, with the Countries of *Thracia*, *Theſſalia*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, *Peloponeſus*, and the reſt of the Provinces of *Greece*, were all or for the moſt part under the Government of *Baldwin* the Emperor, the Venetians, or other the inferior Latine Princes; yet were the oppreſſed Greeks, the natural Inhabitants thereof, in heart not theirs, as abhorring nothing more than that their forreign government; but wholly devoted to their own natural Princes, *Theodorus Laſcaris* and *Alexius Comnenus*, the one reigning at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, the other at *Trapezond* in *Pontus*, both called by the Greeks, Emperors, and ſo of them generally reputed. *Laſcaris* of the two the better beloved, and by far of greateſt power, had during the time of his Government fought many an hard Battel, (as is in part before declared) and ſtrongly fortified his chief Cities againſt the invaſion of his Enemies, as well the Turks as the Latines; and ſo having as it were erected a new Empire in *Aſia*, and there reigned eighteen years, died, leaving behind him one *John Ducas Batazes*, that had married the fair Lady *Irene* his Daughter and Heir, to ſucced him in the Greek Empire in *Aſia*.

John Batazes *made Emperor of the Greeks in* **Aſia.**

This *John* was a man of a great Wit and Spirit, and of more gravity for his years, than was *Theodorus* his Father-in-Law, never undertaking any thing before he had thereof well conſidered; and once reſolved, not omitting or neglecting any thing for the performance thereof. So that it was not unfitly ſaid of the Greeks, The planting of this new Empire to have required the celerity of *Laſcaris*, but the ſtay thereof to have been the gravity of *Ducas*. He in the beginning of his Reign in very ſhort time having ſet all things in good order, greatly augmented his Legions, and ſhooting at a fairer mark than the Empire he held, even the Imperial City it ſelf, and the recovery of all *Thracia* and *Grecia* out of the hands of the Latines, which could not be done without a Fleet at Sea, built a great number of Gallies in the Ports of the leſſer *Aſia*. And ſo having rigged up and manned a ſtrong Fleet, and ſcouring the Seas, in one Summer took in moſt of the Iſlands of the *Ægeum*, namely *Lesbos*, *Chios*, *Samos*, *Icaria*, *Coos*, with the famous Iſland of the *Rhodes*, and many others alſo. And not ſo contented, to have increaſed his Empire, the next Spring croſſing the *Helleſpont*, and landing his Forces, firſt invaded *Cherſoneſus*; and afterward to terrifie the Latines, forrageing the Country far and near, even to the Gates of *Conſtantinople*, no man daring to oppoſe himſelf againſt him. At which time alſo he took many Cities and ſtrong Towns alongſt the Sea-coaſt, as *Calliopolis*, *Seſtus*, and *Cardia*, with divers others thereabout, ſome by force, ſome by compoſition, the Greeks almoſt in every place yielding themſelves, where they were not ſo oppreſſed by the Latines, as that they could not help him. Now by theſe proceedings of the Greek Emperor in *Europe*, was plainly to be ſeen again the ruine of the Latine Empire in the Eaſt, all things proſpering in his hand according to his hearts deſire. *Aſſan* the Bulgarian King (no ſmall terror both unto the Latines and the Greeks) moved with the fame hereof, by his Embaſſadors ſent of purpoſe unto *John* the Greek Emperor, offered his Daughter *Helena* in marriage with young *Theodore* his Son; of which offer the Emperor gladly accepted. For being buſied in his great Affairs, he was loath to have ſo great a King as was *Aſſan*, his Enemy, able at his pleaſure to call in the Scythes; who with their multitude, as a great flood breaking over the Banks, had oftentimes carried away whole Countries before them. Wherfore the match agreed upon, the two great Princes by appointment met together about *Cherſoneſum*, where *Helena* King *Aſſans* Daughter, being then about ten years old, was with great Joy and Triumph ſolemnly married unto young *Theodor* the Emperors Son, much of the ſame age. Not long after, Embaſſadors were alſo ſent unto the Emperor from the Sultan of *Iconium*, to confirm and prolong the League betwixt them; for the *Tartars* not contented to have driven the Turks out of *Perſia* and the far Eaſtern-Countries, began now alſo to cut them ſhort in their Provinces in the leſſer *Aſia*. Wherefore the Sultan of *Iconium*, fearing leſt whiles he had his hands full of thoſe his moſt dreadful Enemies, of themſelves too ſtrong for him, he ſhould behind be ſet upon by the Greek Emperor, and ſo thruſt out of all; ſent theſe his Embaſſadors unto him for Peace; which he for many cauſes eaſily granted. Firſt, for that he foreſaw what an hard matter it would be for him to maintain War at once both in *Aſia* againſt the Turks, and in *Europe* againſt the Latines; then by this War-like Nation, as by a moſt ſure Bulwark, to keep his own Countries ſafe from the Invaſion of the barbarous *Tartars*, unto whoſe fury he ſhould himſelf lie open, if the Turks were once taken out of their way. Both ſufficient Reaſons for the Emperor to yield unto the Sultan, which he did; ſo was the Peace concluded, and the Embaſſadors diſpatched. This Peace exceedingly comforted, and afterwards inriched the Emperors Countries; for now the people generally delivered of the fear and miſery of continual War, began on all hands to fall to their fruitful Labours of Peace. Yea the Emperor himſelf, to the ſtirring up of others to the like good Husbandry, cauſed ſo much Land to be ploughed up for Corn, and ſo many Vineyards to be planted, as might plentifully ſuffice his own houſe, and ſuch poor as he daily relieved; with a great overplus, which he cauſed to be carefully laid up in ſtore; he kept alſo great Herds of Cattel, Flocks of Sheep, and Fowls of all ſorts without number. The like he cauſed his Kinſmen and other of the Nobility to do, to the intent that every great Man having ſufficient for his own ſpending at home, ſhould not take any thing from the poor Country men, that ſo every man contenting himſelf with his own, might live in peace without the grievance of others. By which means in a few years every Barn and Granary was full of Corn, every Cellar full of Wines, every Stable full of Cattel, every Store-houſe full of Victuals; the Fields were covered with Corn and Cattel, and in every mans Yard were to be ſeen all kinds of tame Fowls, without number. About which time alſo there fortuned a great Famine among the Turks, inſomuch as that they were enforced to fetch their greateſt Relief from out of the Chriſtian Countries. Then might you have ſeen every way full of Turks, Men, Women, and Children, travelling to and fro into the Emperors Countries for Victuals; their Gold, their Silver, their other rich Commodities, they gave unto the Chriſtians for Food; a little Corn was worth a good Commodity, every Bird, Sheep, and Kid, was ſold at a great rate; by which means the Country-mens houſes were full of the Turks wealth, and the Emperors Coffers ſtored with their Treaſure. The greatneſs of the profit ariſing of this plenty of the Chriſtians, and penury of the Turks, may hereby eaſily be gathered, for that of Eggs daily ſold, ſo much Money was in ſhort time gathered, as made the Empreſs an Imperial Crown of Gold, richly ſet with moſt orient Pearl and precious Stones of great price; which the Emperor called *Ovata*, for that it was bought with Egg-money. Thus flouriſhed the Greek Empire in the leſſer *Aſia*, under the good Emperor *John Ducas*; the Turks at the ſame time declining as faſt, daily pilled in one corner or another by the *Tartars*, and conſumed with Famine at home.

Plenty enſuing of peace.

An Imperial Crown bought with Egg-money.

Frederick the German Emperor had of long time vowed to take upon him an Expedition into the Holy Land; for performance whereof he was hardly called upon, firſt by *Honorius quartus* the Pope, and afterward for his long delay excommunicated by *Gregory* the Ninth; not ſo much for the Zeal they had unto the Sacred War, as to buſie the Emperor afar off in Wars abroad; whilſt they in the mean time, to increaſe their own power, drew from him ſome one part or other of his Empire; which he not without cauſe fearing, from day to day, and year to year, delayed the performance of his Vow, ſo much urged by the Pope; by his Preſence and Power ſtill diſappointing all the ſly deſigns of the Popes, conceived or put in practiſe againſt him. But now at length moved, or more truly to ſay, inforced with the Thundering and Lightning of Pope *Gregory*, he reſolved to ſet forward, in the year, 1227. About which time, *Jolenta*, or *Yoland* his Wife, the King of *Jeruſalem* his Daughter, died in Child-bed, being before delivered of a fair Son. Now were met together at *Brunduſium* an exceeding great number of couragious and devout Souldiers out of all parts of Chriſtendom, eſpecially out of *Germany*, under the Leading of *Lodwick* Lantgrave of *Thuring*, and *Sigefride* Biſhop of *Auguſta*; all ſtirred up with the fame of ſo notable an Expedition. But whilſt they there ſtayed ſomewhat long, the Plague aroſe among the Germans, whereof in ſhort time after, both the Lantgrave and the Biſhop died, with many of the other beſt Souldiers. The Emperor himſelf was upon his way as far *Malea*, upon the further ſide of *Peleponneſus*, where falling deſperately ſick of a Burning-Fever, and put back with contrary Winds, he returned again to *Brunduſium*, and there ſtayed a great while after. Then began the Pope again to fret and fume, and to caſt out his Excommunications againſt the Emperor, as if it had been Thunder and Lightning, accuſing him of Perjury, Infidelity, and many other grievous Crimes; of all which the Emperor was ready to have cleared himſelf in an open Aſſembly of the Princes of *Germany* to have been holden at *Ravenna*, had it not been by the Pope and the Troubles of *Lombardy* diſturbed. Nevertheleſs, he by open Proteſtations and Writings, fully anſwered all the Popes unjuſt Accuſations, wherewith he had been ſo hardly charged; and yet deſirous to perform the Expedition by him taken in hand, having ſet all things in good Order, and put himſelf again in a readineſs, he ſet forward from *Brunduſium* in *Auguſt*, in the year, 1228. leaving the Charge of his Territories in *Italy* under the care of *Reynold* Duke of *Spaleto*. The Pope diſpleaſed, for that the Emperor at his departure had neither reconciled himſelf, nor taken his leave of him, and deeming therein his Excommunications and Fulminations to be contemned and ſet at naught, fell into ſuch a rage and choler, that he forbad all the Chriſtian Forces that were in *Syria*, to follow him, or to yield to him their Obedience; and writ Letters alſo unto the Sultan, not to come to any agreement with the Emperor, or to yield unto him any part of the Holy Land, which Letters the Sultan afterwards ſent unto the Emperor. Neither yet ſo contented, immediately after his departure, ran upon his Kingdom of *Naples*, and ſo filled all *Italy* with Troubles. Nevertheleſs the Emperor happily arriving at *Ptolemais*, was there honourably received of the Chriſtian Forces, notwithſtanding the Popes Threats and Curſings. Of whoſe arrival Sultan *Meledin* having Intelligence, and loth to draw ſo mighty an Enemy as was the Emperor, upon him, by his Embaſſadors offered him

1227.

1228.

him moſt honourable Conditions of Peace; which before he would accept of, he by convenient Meſſengers ſent unto the Pope, to have his conſent and approbation. But ſuch was his rage, as that he would not ſuffer the Meſſengers to come into his preſence, or vouchſafe to read the Emperors Letters, being brought unto him, but like a mad man preſently rent them in pieces. All which Indignities the Emperor nevertheleſs took in good part, and concluded a Peace with the Turks for ten years, upon theſe conditions: Firſt, That he ſhould be anointed and accounted King of *Jeruſalem*; then, That the holy City, with all the Land of *Paleſtine* ſhould be delivered unto him; thirdly, That he might at his pleaſure fortifie the Cities of *Nazareth* and *Joppa*; fourthly, That all ſuch places as were ſometime in the Power of *Baldwin* the fourth King of *Jeruſalem*, and taken from him by Sultan *Saladin*, ſhould be reſtored; and laſt of all, That all Priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty without Ranſome. So the Peace concluded, the Emperor with his Army came to the deſolate City of *Jeruſalem*, and there upon *Eaſter-day* with great Solemnity was Crowned King thereof, in the year, 1229. And ſo having repaired the Walls of the City, with certain Churches, fortified *Nazareth* and *Joppa*, and furniſhed them with ſtrong Garriſons, and appointed *Raynold* Duke of *Bavaria*, his Lieutenant in *Syria*, he with two Gallies only returned into *Italy*. Ever ſince which time the Kings of *Sicilia* have been alſo called Kings of *Jeruſalem*, and have oftentimes born the Arms of both Kingdoms.

1229. Frederick *the Emperor Crowned King of* Jeruſalem.

1230. *The unfortunate Expedition of the King of* Navar *into the Holy Land.*

The next year Pope *Gregory*, in deſpight of the Emperor *Frederick*, more than for any Zeal to the Chriſtian Religion, did by the Dominicans and Franciſcans (two Orders of Friers but then lately erected) as by his Trumpeters, ſtir up a wonderful number of zealous and devout Chriſtians, almoſt in every part of Chriſtendom, to take upon them the Croſs (as they termed it) the cogniſance of ſuch as had by Vow bound themſelves to take up Arms againſt the Turks and Saraſins, for the Recovery or Defence of the Holy Land. Theſe devout men met together in great number, under the leading of *Theobald* King of *Navar*, *Almericus*, Count of *Montfort*, *Henry* Count of *Champaigne*, and others too long to rehearſe, (of purpoſe ſtirred up to trouble the ten years Peace before concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Turks in *Syria*) ſet forward, and after long travel paſſing the Strait of *Boſphorus*, not far from *Conſtantinople* into *Bithynia*, came to the River *Sangarius*, and there ſtayed a while to refreſh themſelves. Afterwards paſſing through *Galatia*, and ſo from Country to Country through the leſſer *Aſia*, they came at length unto the Straits of the Mountain *Amanus* (a part of the Mountain *Taurus*) which they found before taken by the Turks, and the Sultan of *Iconium* Himſelf not far off incamped with a ſtrong Army. Nevertheleſs the valiant Count of *Montfort*, which had the leading of the Vantguard, couragiouſly marching forward, by plain force opened the paſſage of the Mountain, having ſlain or put to flight the Turks appointed for the keeping thereof; the King of *Navar* in the mean time (though in vain) aſſailing the Sultan in his Camp; who fearing the great Power of the Chriſtians, kept himſelf within his own ſtrength, and would not ſtir. Wherefore the King ſeeing it to no purpoſe there longer to ſtay, dividing his his Army into three parts, left the Sultan, and followed after the Count, placing his Baggage in the midſt, and the beſt of his Souldiers in the rereward. But whilſt they thus march up the great Mountain, the Turks better acquainted with theſe paſſages, were ſtill at hand, aſſailing them ſometime behind, ſometime on the one ſide, ſometime on the other, as they ſaw occaſion; and at length taking them at an advantage in a great Plain, ſet upon them, now before almoſt ſpent with hunger and travel, and there ſlew of them an exceeding great number. But by the coming on of the night the battel was broken off, and the Chriſtians repairing unto their Enſigns, paſſed the Straits, and ſo at length arrived at *Antioch*, having loſt by the way the greateſt part of the Army, with all their Wealth, their Victuals, and moſt part of their Horſes; the remnant yet left, having a little refreſhed themſelves, were by Sea tranſported to *Ptolemais*; from whence they were afterward by the Templars conducted to *Gaza*, where they lay, and of the ſpoil of the Country greatly enriched themſelves. As for any other great matters they were not able of themſelves to take in hand; and help of ſuch Forces as the Emperor had before left at *Jeruſalem*, and other places, they could have none; having expreſs charge from the Emperor himſelf, not to do any thing againſt the Enemy, tending to the breach of the ten years League; which the Turks well perceiving, and that they had to do but with theſe new come Gueſts, and ſome few others their partakers; having gathered together their Forces, lay in ambuſh for them in every corner, to cut them off. Neither was it long, but that theſe of *Gaza* going far into the Country, and returning laded with ſpoil, were ſet upon by the Turks; whom they (caſting away the ſpoil they had before taken) notably repulſed and put to flight, the day now drawing to an end. But early the next morning appeared a far greater number of Turks than before; which now putting on, charged the Chriſtians, who all that night had ſtood watching in their Armor, and ſo joyned with them a moſt cruel battel; wherein the Chriſtians ſhewed ſo much valour as was poſſible for men to do; but wearied with the long fight, and oppreſſed with the multitudes of their Enemies, they were overcome and ſlain almoſt every Mothers Son. Amongſt the reſt, the two Counts, *Almericus* and *Henry* fell; the King of *Navar* Himſelf hardly eſcaped by the exceeding ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, and by uncertain ways wandring up and down the Country, not knowing well which way to take, after two days came by good fortune to *Joppa*; ſome few others eſcaped by flight to *Ptolemais*, the heavy Meſſengers of the misfortune of their Fellows. The King afterwards viſiting the holy places at *Jeruſalem*, returned home into his Country, with ſome few of his Followers, having performed nothing of that the World expected.

The Chriſtians by perſwaſion of the Templars, break their league with the Turks.

About four years after, *Raynold* Duke of *Bavaria*, whom *Frederick* the Emperor had left his Lieutenant in *Jeruſalem*, died; having by the ſpace of five years peaceably governed that bruiſed Kingdom. After whoſe death, the Templars (who, he yet living, would oftentimes have broken the League, but that they were by his wiſdom reſtrained) now took occaſion to ſtir up the people to take Arms againſt the Turks, without reſpect unto the League yet in force, or of the dangers like thereof to enſue. Whereof the *Egyptian* Sultan hearing, raiſed a great Army, ſending alſo for the *Choraſines*, a War-like Nation then lying near unto *Babylon*, to come unto his Aid. Thus become very ſtrong, he firſt laid ſiege to *Gaza*, but a little before repaired and fortified by the King of *Navar* and the Templars, which he at length took by force, and put to Sword all that were therein, as well the

Citizens, as the Garriſon Souldiers; in like manner he dealt alſo with them of *Aſcalon* and other places as he went. To repreſs this his fury, the Templars and Hoſpitallers had aſſembled the whole ſtrength of that weak Kingdom, and near unto *Tyberias* came to have given him battel. Who upon their approach haſtily retired, as if he had for fear ſhunned battel. But whiles the Chriſtians as Victors the night following lay negligently incamped along the River ſide, he returning back again with his Army, came upon them before they were well aware, half-ſleeping, half-waking, but altogether unarmed, with a moſt horrible Out-cry. The Chriſtians now altogether awaked, and not a little troubled with the ſuddenneſs of the matter, haſtily and diſorderly (as muſt needs in ſo great a confuſion) took up their Weapons, ſuch as came firſt to hand, and ſo couragiouſly oppoſed themſelves againſt their Enemies. There was fought a moſt terrible and doubtfil battel, and that alſo for a long ſpace, the Chriſtians ſtill encouraging one another to do their laſt devoir; but the Turks ſtill keeping their Order againſt the diſordered Chriſtians, and far more alſo than they in number, prevailed, and there overthrew them with a great ſlaughter, but not without the loſs of many thouſands alſo of their own men, which there lay dead upon the ground. Moſt part of the beſt Commanders, both of the Templars and Hoſpitalers were there ſlain, ſuch as eſcaped fled to *Tyre*.

1234. Jeruſalem *taken and raſed by the Turks.*

The Sultan incouraged with ſo great a Victory, marched forthwith to *Jeruſalem*, which he took without reſiſtance, and there put to Sword all that he found therein, Men, Women, and Children, without reſpect of Sex or Age; and afterwards having rifled the ſame, raſed it down to the ground, burning the Buildings, and overthrowing the Walls, not long before repaired by the Emperor *Frederick*, and much beautified by his Lieutenant *Raynold*. And carried with an infernal fury, defaced and moſt ſhamefully polluted the Sepulchre of our bleſſed Saviour, never before then violated or defiled, but of all Nations untouched and reverenced; which for all that may ſeem to have been done not ſo much for the hatred unto the Chriſtian Religion, as for that it was the place of all others moſt deſired of the Chriſtians; and for the gaining whereof they had undertaken ſo many hard Adventures, and ſo much troubled the Saraſins and Turks.

Thus by the unfaithful breaking of the League, the moſt ancient and famous City of *Jeruſalem*, ſometime the terreſtrial Seat of the moſt High, and glory of the World, fell again into the Power of the Turks and Infidels, in the year, 1234. in whoſe hands it hath ever ſince remained even until this day; now a poor ruinous City, governed by one of the Turks Sanzacks, and for nothing now more famous, than for the Sepulchre of our bleſſed Saviour, again repaired and much viſited by the devout Chriſtians, and not unreverenced by the Turks themſelves.

The loſs of this ſo famous a City, together with the dangerous State of the Chriſtians in *Syria*, much grieved the other Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, eſpecially *Frederick* the Emperor, by whom it had been but a few years before gained. Howbeit he could not now remedy the matter according to his deſire, being himſelf grievouſly entangled with the endleſs Troubles which Pope *Gregory* had as it were by tradition left unto the other Popes his Succeſſors, for the troubling of his State, until at length they had deprived him of his Empire, and not long after of his life alſo. Among other the great Princes, careful for the poor Chriſtians in *Syria*, was *Lewis* the Ninth, the French King, a Prince of great Power, but of all others of that time moſt famous for his Zeal unto the Chriſtian Religion, and for his devout manner of life; who abounding in wealth, and all things elſe of a great Prince to be deſired, and withall oftentimes conſidering the notable Expeditions many Chriſtian Princes had (to their Immortal Glory) made, ſome into *Syria*, ſome into *Egypt*, againſt the Enemies of Chriſt, and for the Relief of the oppreſſed Chriſtians, was many times about to have taken upon himſelf the like. But in theſe his devout motions, before he could reſolve upon ſo great an Enterpriſe, he fell dangerouſly ſick, inſomuch that for certain days he lay ſpeechleſs, devoid of ſenſe and motion, without any ſign of life, but that he did a little faintly breath; when coming a little unto himſelf, (whither moved by devotion, or troubled with his former conceits then running in his weak brain, is uncertain) the firſt thing he asked for was the Croſs (the Cognizance of ſuch as vowed themſelves unto the Sacred War) which he ſolemnly received at the hands of the Biſhop of *Paris*. At which time alſo his three Brethren, *Alphonſus* Count of *Poitiers*, *Charles* Count of *Anjou*, and *Robert* Count of *Arthois*, with *Hugh* Duke of *Burgundy*, *William* Earl of *Flanders*, *Hugh* Count of Saint *Paul*, and afterwards moſt of the Nobility of *France*, to accompany the King, took upon them the ſame charge. Nevertheleſs it was not by and by taken in hand, but ſome few years let paſs in the conſultation and preparation for ſo great an Enterpriſe; many in the mean time diſcharging their Vow, by dying before at home in peace in their own Countries. At length the devout King ſtill reſolute in his former determination, having taken order with *Blanch* his Mother for his affairs at home, and put all things in readineſs for his Journey, came to *Lions* to take his leave of Pope *Innocentius* the Fourth, (who for fear of the Emperor *Frederick*, then lay there for his more ſafety) and from thence to *Marſeilles*; where imbarking himſelf with his Army the five and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, in the year, 1248. he the twentieth day of *September* following arrived in ſafety in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and was there royally entertained by *Guy Luſignan* then King of that Country.

King Lewis *ſetteth forward toward the Holy Land.*

1248.

Now was the French King deſirous to have gone directly for *Egypt*, without longer ſtay in *Cyprus*, had he not been otherwiſe perſwaded, both for that his whole Fleet was not yet come, and the time of the year began to grow unſeaſonable, and the Weather tempeſtuous. But whilſt he there ſtayed, paſſing the Winter, the Plague (one of the ready Attendants of great Armies) began to ariſe in the Camp, which daily increaſing, had in ſhort time taken away a great number of men, and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort. Amongſt whom were *Robert* Biſhop of *Beauvais*, *John* Count of *Montfort*, the Counts of *Vendoſme* and *Dreux*, *Archambaut* Lord of *Burbon*, with divers other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of 240. ſo that by force of the infectious Contagion, the King was conſtrained to divide his Army into divers places of the Iſland, attending until the Infection ſhould ceaſe. In the mean time the Templars having in ſuſpect both the French and the Turks, (the Turks, for fear they ſhould overrun all; the French, leſt having gotten the Victory, they ſhould take all into their own hands, and ſo diminiſh their Power and Authority wherewith they tyrannized over the other poor Chriſtians) ſent Embaſſadors ſecretly unto *Meledin* Sultan of *Egypt*, [illegible] perſwade him betimes to come to ſome good agreement for peace, ſo to avert the Power of the French King from doing him further harm, or proceeding further in that War. Of which motion the Sultan well liking, ſent one of his Noblemen to intreat with the Maſter of the Templars concerning a Peace, ſo that it might be by conſent of the French. The Templars glad of ſo honourable a Meſſage, writ unto the French King out of *Syria*, how the matter ſtood; perſwading him to accept of the Peace offered, ſetting out in great words, the Sultans great Preparations and Power. And ſo indeed had abuſed the King, had not the King of *Cyprus* acquainted with his doings, perſwaded him that it was but a fineneſs of the great Maſter, and that he had firſt ſent unto the Sultan, and procured that Nobleman to be ſent; which the King upon conſideration perceiving to be true, fed the Turks Embaſſador with hope of peace, but writ unto the Maſter of the Templars, upon the price of his Head, from thenceforth not to receive any Embaſſy from the Enemy, or have any further Intelligence with him.

Winter now paſt, and the Plague well ceaſed, divers noble Gentlemen and great Commanders which following the King, and ſetting forth ſomewhat late, or for fear of the Plague had ſtayed by the way, and wintred ſome in one place ſome in another, began to repair unto *Cyprus*; as *Robert* Duke of *Burgundy*, who having wintred in *Achaia*, came now in the beginning of the Spring unto the King, with a number of good Horſemen; and with him, *William* Prince of *Achaia*, with a great Fleet out of *Peloponneſus*, which Country, with moſt part of *Grecia*, was then under the Command of the Latines; amongſt others came alſo *William* ſirnamed *Longeſpy*, Earl of *Salisbury*, with a Band of luſty tall Souldiers. So the Army being met together, and all things again in readineſs, King *Lewis* departing from *Cyprus*, and toſſed at Sea with contrary Winds, about five days after fell on the coaſt of *Egypt*, and there with all his Fleet came before the ſtrong Town of *Damiata*, being (as we have ſaid) the Key of that Kingdom. The Sultan long before underſtanding of the French Kings purpoſe for the Invaſion of his Country, had ſtrongly fortified his frontier Towns, and put into them ſtrong Garriſons, beſide the great Power he kept with himſelf in readineſs at all aſſays, as occaſion ſhould require. Upon the approach of the Chriſtians, the Governor of *Damiata* was ready upon the ſhore, with a number of brave Souldiers to keep them from landing; who nevertheleſs reſolutely before ſet down for the performing of that they came for, manning forth their long Boats with their Archers and Croſs-bows to beat the Enemy from the ſhore, ran aground with their other ſmall Boats, made of purpoſe for the landing of men; and ſo without longer ſtay came to handy-blows; where for a while was fought a moſt ſharp and cruel battel, the Chriſtians ſtriving to land, and the Turks to keep them off, many falling on both ſides. But what ſhould an handful do againſt ſo many? The Turks oppreſſed with the multitude ſtill landing more and more, and having done what was poſſible for them to do, fled into the Town, leaving behind them their Governor, with five hundred of their beſt Souldiers dead on the ſhore.

1249. This City of *Damiata* was exceeding rich and populous, and had in the former Wars not been taken but by more than a years Siege, (as is before declared) and that not ſo much by the valour of the Chriſtians, as by the extremity of the Plague and Famine; ſince which time it had been ſtrongly fortified by the Turks, with deep Ditches, High Walls, and ſtrong Bulwarks, and was at that time well ſtored with Victuals alſo, and all things elſe for the induring of a long Siege. Nevertheleſs, the Souldiers that were left, and the Citizens (diſcouraged with the loſs of their Governor, and remembrance of the miſeries before indured in the former Siege, and ſeeing the Chriſtians now ready again to beſiege the ſame) the night following, a little before the break of day, ſet fire every man upon his own houſe, and ſo by a Bridge which they had made of Boats fled over the great River, breaking the Bridge when they were over, for fear their Enemies ſhould thereby have followed after them. The Chriſtians perceiving their flight, without reſiſtance entred the City, and being ſtrangers, did what they could to quench the fire, and to ſave that which the Inhabitants themſelves would fain have with fire deſtroyed; and ſo afterwards found great abundance of Riches, with plentiful ſtore of all manner of Victuals, wherewith the Souldiers both inriched and refreſhed themſelves. This ſo happy and unexpected a Victory happened unto the Chriſtians about the beginning of *October*, in the year, 1249. Sultan *Meledin* himſelf, diſcouraged with the loſs of ſo ſtrong a City, offered unto the French King for the redeeming thereof, and to have peace at his hands, more Territory in *Syria* and the Land of *Paleſtine*, than the Chriſtians had of long time before; which large Offer was by the French, eſpecially by the Earl of *Arthois* the Kings Brother, proudly rejected, and *Alexandria* the moſt famous Port and Metropolitical City of *Egypt*, further demanded, to the great diſcontentment of the Turks and Saraſins. In theſe troubles died *Meledin* the old Sultan, a man not much beloved of his people; in whoſe ſtead *Melech-ſala* (or *Melexala*, as ſome call him) a valiant and couragious Prince, well beloved of his Subjects, and but even then returned out of *Syria* and *Arabia*, where he had been to crave Aid of the other Mahometan Princes, was choſen Sultan. Which Princes, eſpecially the Sultan of *Damaſco*, although they had not of long been at any good accord amongſt themſelves, or with the *Egyptians*; yet in this common danger of their Superſtition, which by the loſs of *Egypt* was like to be greatly weakned, they joyned hands together, and ſo ſent him great Aid.

The Citizens of Damiata ſet fire upon the City, and ran away by the light.

The new Sultan thus ſtrengthened, drew nearer unto the Chriſtians, which then lay encamped not far from *Damiata*, and had with them a hot skirmiſh, wherein he was put to the worſe, and ſo with ſome loſs glad to retire. But the Chriſtians the next day, in hope of like ſucceſs, ſallying out again were overthrown, with ten times more loſs than was he the day before, and ſo fain to fly unto the Camp. By which Victory the Sultan encouraged, began now to conceive better hope of the ſucceſs of his Wars; and by ſtopping the paſſages both by Water and Land, to provide, that no Victuals could without great peril be brought either unto the City or the Camp, inſomuch that at length Victuals began to grow ſcarce in both; whereof the Sultan was not ignorant, as being thereof throughly informed by ſuch Fugitives, as for want or other cauſes, oftentimes fled out of the French Camp into his.

Winter thus paſſing, and want ſtill increaſing, it fortuned that the Governor of the great City of *Caire* (upon the fortune whereof depended the State of the whole Kingdom) a man not evil affected unto the Chriſtian Religion, and in his heart highly offended with the Sultan, for the

A fair Offer fondly refuſed.

the death of his Brother by him wrongfully executed; by ſecret Meſſengers perſwaded the French King to come on with his Army to the City, the Regal ſeat of the Sultan, promiſing him to deliver it into his power, with full inſtructions what he had in all points to do for the gaining thereof. Whereupon the King, who had before of himſelf purpoſed the ſame exploit, but now filled with a greater hope, aſſembled together the greateſt Forces he was able to make. At which time alſo he ſent for the Earl of *Salisbury*, with the reſt of the Engliſhmen, who for many proud indignities offered them by the *French* (eſpecially by the Earl of *Artois* the Kings Brother) whereof they could have no redreſs, were gone to *Ptolemais*, without purpoſe to have any more ſerved in thoſe Wars, but now being ſent for by the King, with promiſe of better uſage and honourable recompence for the wrongs paſt, returned again into *Egypt*, there to do their laſt endeavour. With whoſe coming the King ſtrengthned, but more by the new ſupplies brought unto him by his Brother *Alphonſus* out of *France*, leaving the Duke of *Burgundy* with a convenient Garriſon, with the Queen his Wife, *Odo* the Popes Legate, and divers other great Ladies in *Damiata*, he himſelf ſet forward with his Army towards *Caire*. Of whoſe coming the Sultan hearing, and loath upon the Fortune of one Battel to adventure his whole Eſtate, offered by his Embaſſadors to reſtore unto him all the Land of *Paleſtine*, with a great ſumm of Mony for the defraying of the charges of thoſe Wars, and all the Priſoners he had taken, ſo that he would redeliver unto him the City of *Damiata*, and joyn with him in League and Amity. Which fair offer for all that, the French King, by the perſwaſion of the Legate and others, refuſed. So the King marching ſtill on, was to paſs an Arm of the great River *Nilus* (the Sultan on the other ſide ſtill ready with his Army to ſtay his paſſage) which he had thought to have made by a Bridge of Boats, prepared for the ſame purpoſe; but better conducted by a Fugitive Saraſin unto a Foord, before to him unknown, ſent his Brother *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, with the third part of the Army before him, accompanied with the Maſter of the Templars and the Earl of *Salisbury*, with their Followers. Who paſſing the River at the aforeſaid Foord, ſuddenly aſſailed the Turks in their Tents (the Sultan being then abſent in ſolemniſing one of their prophane Feaſts) and put them to flight. With which Victory the French Earl above meaſure encouraged, would needs on forwards, as if he would himſelf alone have carried away the glory of the whole Conqueſt. Whom for all that certain of the ancient Templars, better acquainted with the manners of that deceitful Nation than he, and better conſidering alſo of their own Ability and Strength, perſwaded him to content himſelf with the Honour he had already got, and not to proceed any further in proſecuting of the Enemy, until the coming of the reſt of the Army, eſpecially in that deſperate eſtate of the Enemy, wherein he was to win or loſe all. Unto whom the proud Earl in great deſpight replyed, that he would proſecute his Victory, and follow his good fortune; calling them Daſtards and Cowards, opprobriouſly objecting unto them the common Fame, whereby it was commonly reported, That the Holy Land might long ſince have been again united unto the body of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, but for the foul colluſion of the falſe Templars and Hoſpitalers with the Turks and Infidels. With which reproachful Speech the Maſter of the Templars not without cauſe moved, anſwered for himſelf and his Fellows, That he ſhould, when he would and where he durſt, diſplay his Enſigns, and he ſhould find them as ready to follow as he was to go before them. The Earl of *Salisbury* alſo willing to ſtint this ſtriſe, perſwaded Earl *Robert* not to be ſo wedded to his own opinion, but to liſten to the grave and wholſome Counſel of the Templars, being men of great experience; and ſo turning unto the Maſter of the Templars began likewiſe with gentle words to pacifie him alſo. But whilſt he was yet ſpeaking, the Earl interrupting him with many opprobrious words, called him Daſtard and Coward, and wiſhed that the Army were rid of him, and the fearful Cowards his Country-men; Whereunto the Earl of *Salisbury* anſwered, *Well General, on in Gods name, and whereſoever you dare ſet your Foot, mine ſhall be as far as yours; and I believe we go this day, where you ſhall not dare to come nigh my Horſes Tail*; as afterwards indeed it proved. Howbeit the Earl ſo ſaid, for that Earl *Robert* and the Frenchmen had many times in reproach and diſdain, after their manner, called him and his Followers Engliſh Tails.

Earl Robert *in flying drowned.*

The Earl of Salisbury *valiantly fighting ſlain.*

The proud Earl conſtant in his former purpoſe, and not to be otherwiſe perſwaded, ſet forward; and firſt aſſaulted a little Town or Caſtle, not far off, called *Manſor*, whereunto he inconſiderately approaching, was notably repulſed; and having loſt a number of his men, was as a man diſcouraged, about to have retired. When ſuddenly the Sultan, neerer at hand than the Earl had thought, ſtirred up with the noiſe of the Alarm, came on with his whole power; and finding the Army of the Chriſtians now divided (as he had long wiſhed) with the multitude of his People encloſed them round, and had with them a great and mortal Fight; wherein though the Chriſtians right worthily behaved themſelves, for the ſmall number they were, yet oppreſſed with the multitude, and on every ſide beſet, they were ſlain down right. Then, but all too late, it repented the Earl of his fooliſh raſhneſs, and that he had not hearkned unto better Counſel, and ſeeing the Earl of *Salisbury* valiantly fighting, cried out unto him to flie, ſeeing God as he ſaid fought againſt them. Whereunto the Noble Earl anſwered no more, but *God forbid that my Fathers Son ſhould run away from the face of a Saraſin.* The French Earl thinking by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe to have ſaved his life, flying out of the Battle, and taking the River of *Thafnes*, overladed with his Armour, was there drowned. The Earl of *Salisbury* couragiouſly enduring the Enemies charge, with his own Hand manfully ſlew many a Turk and Saraſin that day, until that at length having his Horſe ſlain under him, and himſelf ſo wounded in the Legs, as that he was not able longer to ſtand, yet upon his Knees laying about him like a deſperate man, and ſelling his life as dear as he could, was there ſlain, but not vanquiſhed. With him periſhed the whole Army, ſo encloſed by the Sultan, that ſcarce any one eſcaped alive, more than two Templars, one Hoſpitaler, and one Common Souldier, the Meſſengers of this heavy news.

About the ſame time alſo ſickneſs daily increaſing in the French Camp, the King purpoſing to march forward to *Caire*, ſent a great number of Sick and Weak People down the River of *Nilus* to *Damiata*; of whoſe going the Sultan underſtanding, cauſed a great number of ſmall Boats to be carried in Carts by Land unto the River ſide, which well manned, and meeting them by the way, ſet upon them, and burnt or drowned them every Mothers Son, ſaving only one Engliſhman, called *Alexander Giffard*, who wounded in five places of his body, eſcaped yet into the French Camp, reporting there what had happened unto the reſt.

The Governour of Caire *apprehended.*

Now had the Sultan alſo got intelligence of the compact betwixt the Governour of *Caire* and the King, for the betraying of the City; and thereupon had cauſed him to be ſuddenly apprehended and put in ſafe keeping, until he were at better leiſure to underſtand farther of the matter: which no leſs troubled the French King, than did the former misfortune; all his hope for the yielding up of the City, being thereby cut off. Thus his hopes together with his ſtrength dayly decreaſing, he would have gladly accepted of the Conditions which he before refuſed, which the Sultan, now grown very ſtrong, would by no means hear of, but in ſtead thereof, by way of deriſion, ſent to know of him, what was become of all his Mattocks, Forks, Rakes, Sythes, Plows, and Harrows, which he had brought over with him? and why he ſet them not to work, but ſuffered them like an evil husband to rot and ruſt beſide him? All which, with much more, the good King was glad to put up; for now his Forces greatly diminiſhed, as well by ſickneſs, as by the former loſſes, finding himſelf far too weak, he would fain have retired back again to *Damiata*; which the Sultan foreſeeing, got ſo betwixt him and home, that now there was no remedy, but either to fight it out, or yield. The King himſelf had been often before intreated by his Nobility, whilſt the River was yet unpoſſeſſed by the Enemy, to have conveyed himſelf by Water to *Damiata*, for that in the ſafety of his Perſon conſiſted (as they ſaid) the ſafety of his Kingdom, whatſoever became of them; whereunto he could never be perſwaded, ſaying, that he would never forſake his People, becauſe he would not be forſaken of them, but was reſolved to indure with them whatſoever it ſhould pleaſe God to lay upon him; ſo paſſing the River by the ſame Foord whereby his Brother had not long before unfortunately paſſed, and coming to the place where the Battel was fought, he might ſee the dead bodies of the Chriſtians pitifully mangled, with their Heads and Hands cut off; for the Sultan, the more to encourage his Souldiers, had before the Battle proclaimed, that whoſoever ſhould bring him the Head or Hand of a Chriſtian, ſhould have a great reward for his labour; in hope whereof, they had ſo diſmembred them. But long he had not there ſtaied, but that the Sultan began ſuddenly to appear, with a moſt huge great Army, as if he would even with the ſight thereof have diſcouraged the Chriſtians; againſt whom for all that, the Frenchmen in good order oppoſed themſelves, and for the ſpace of three hours made great reſiſtance; but what could one do againſt ten, and he alſo fainting for ſickneſs and food? the hard plight wherein the greateſt part of the French army then was. In concluſion, oppreſſed with the multitude of their Enemies, and no way left to flie, they were all overthrown and ſlain, except ſome few, ſaved in hope of great ranſome. The King himſelf, with his two Brethren, *Alphonſus* and *Charles*, and ſome few others, were taken priſoners, and brought unto the Sultan; who demanding of him, what had moved him ſo to make War againſt him? was anſwered by the King, that it was for Religion, and the defence of the name of his God. In this unfortunate Battel, fought the fifth of *April*, in the year 1250, beſides the Common Souldiers, were ſlain moſt of the Nobility of *France*, and all their Tents taken.

The Sultan preſently upon this overthrow, ſent of his own Souldiers the like number that the French were of, with French Enſigns, and diſguiſed in the Attire of the ſlain Frenchmen, to *Damiata*, where the Duke of *Burgundy*, the French Queen, and the Popes Legate lay; in hope to have been ſo let in for Frenchmen; but they were not ſo well masked, but that they were by them of the City diſcovered for Enemies, and ſo kept out and deceived of their purpoſe.

The Chriſtians thus overthrown, and the French King taken Priſoner, *Melech-ſala* the Sultan taking compaſſion upon him, and yet minding of his life to make his own gain; cheering him up with comfortable ſpeeches, began to talk with him of his deliverance, and of a good attonement to be made betwixt them. The Conditions whereof propounded by the Sultan were, That the King ſhould forthwith deliver again unto him the City of *Damiata*, and moreover pay unto him for the ranſom of himſelf and his, and for the charges of the War, eight thouſand pound of Gold; That all Priſoners ſhould on both ſides be frankly ſet at liberty, and ſo a Peace to be taken for ten years. For the more aſſurance whereof, the Sultan offered to ſwear, That if he failed in the performance thereof, to renounce his Mahomet; requiring alſo of the King to ſwear, If he failed in any thing that he had promiſed, to deny his Chriſt to be God; which prophane Oath the King deteſted, wiſhing rather to die than to give the ſame; the Sultan wondring at his conſtancy, took his word without any Oath at all, and ſo publiſhed the League. But whilſt they were coming together to *Damiata*, *Melech-ſala* now in the pride of this Victory, fearing nothing leſs than the ſudden change of Fortune, or the miſchief hanging over his head, was in the preſence of a number of his Noblemen ſuddenly ſlain by two deſperate Mamalukes; and one *Turquiminus* a ſturdy Slave of their own order and vocation (by whoſe procurement it was ſuppoſed to have been done) by the conſent of the whole Army created Sultan in his ſtead; who revoking the League before concluded by *Melech-ſala*, made another in his one name with the King, much upon the ſame Conditions that the other was; which after he had received *Damiata*, he cauſed openly to be proclaimed. Nevertheleſs after that King *Lewis* had paid his ranſom, and was with the remnant of his Army by the Genowaies tranſported from *Damiata* to *Ptolemais*, the falſe miſcreant performed not the half of that he had promiſed, of twelve thouſand Chriſtian Captives that ſhould have been ſet free, ſcarce enlarging four thouſand; and killing all the ſick Souldiers whom by his promiſe he ought to have relieved, neither ſuffering any Chriſtian to carry any of his goods with him out of *Egypt*, which by the League he ought to have done alſo.

The French King coming to *Ptolemais*, and purpoſing to have returned home, was intreated by the Maſter of the Templars and Hoſpitalers, and other the Nobility of the Chriſtians, to ſtay, which he did almoſt by the ſpace of four years; in which time he repaired the Cities of *Ceſarea* and *Joppa*, and fortified many ſtrong places for the Defence of the Chriſtians againſt the Infidels; and ſo commending the protection thereof unto the Knights of the ſacred War, and ſending his Brethren away before him, followed after himſelf, greatly lamented for by all the Chriſtians in *Syria*, and ſo arrived in *France* the ſixth year from the time of his departing thence. This was the end of this long and unfortunate expedition of *Lewis* the French King, wherein as ſome write, were eighty thouſand Chriſtians loſt: Howbeit the French Chronicles extenuating their loſs, report, of two and thirty thouſand French, ſix thouſand to have returned again into *France*. The City of *Damiata* in the ſpace of a few years twice won, and twice loſt by the Chriſtians, was ſhortly after the delivering up thereof, by the Sultan raſed down to the ground, becauſe it ſhould no more ſerve the Chriſtians for an entrance into his Kingdom.

The beginning of the Mamalukes and their Kingdom.

The late Egyptian Sultans thus oftentimes invaded by the Chriſtian Princes, and repoſing no great aſſurance in the Proweſs of the effeminate Egyptians, a People fitter for Merchandize and other baſe occupations than for Chivalry and War, had for the ſtrengthning of their Kingdom, bought an infinite number of Slaves, eſpecially of the poor and hardy Circaſſians, called in antient time *Getæ* and *Zinchi*, near unto *Colchis* and the Euxine Sea, brought unto *Alexandria* and other Ports of *Egypt* out of thoſe bare cold Countries, by Merchants, and from thence tranſported to *Caire* and other Cities of *Egypt*; of which poor Slaves, the late Egyptian Sultans taking their choice, and culling out from the reſt ſuch as were like to be of the greateſt Spirit and Ability of Body, delivered them unto moſt skiful and expert Teachers; by whom they were carefully taught to run, to leap, to vault, to ſhoot, to ride, with all other feats of activity, and withal cunningly to handle all manner of Weapons, as well on horſeback as on foot, and ſo inſtructed, and become cunning, were taken out of their Schools into pay, and inrolled together as the Sultans choice Horſemen, were commonly by the name of *Mamalukes*. In whoſe good ſervice the late Sultans finding great uſe, ſpared for no coſt, both for their maintenance and increaſing of their number; dayly erecting new Nurſeries ſtored with the young Fry, which growing up and ready, was ſtill joyned to the other. It is wonderful to tell, unto what a Strength and Glory this order of the Mamalukes was in ſhort time grown, by the care of the Egyptian Kings; by them they managed their greateſt affairs, eſpecially in time of Wars; and by their Valour, not only defended their Country, but gained many a fair Victory againſt their Enemies, as they did now againſt the French; but as too much power in ſuch mens hands, ſeldome or never wanteth danger, ſo fell it out now betwixt the late Sultan *Melech-ſala*, and thoſe Maſterful Mamaluke Slaves; who proud of their Preferment, and forgetful of their Duty, and ſeeing the greateſt Strength of the Kingdom in their Hands, traiterouſly ſlew *Melech-ſala* their chief Founder, ſetting up in his place (as aforeſaid) one *Turquiminus*, a baſe Slave, one of their own order and ſervile vocation, but indeed otherwiſe a man of a great Spirit and Valour. This *Melech-ſala* murthered by the Mamalukes, was the laſt of the freeborn Kings of *Egypt*; in whom the Turks Kingdom in *Egypt*, erected by *Saracon* and the great Sultan *Saladin* (as is before ſaid) and in his Stock and Family ever ſince continued, took end, as did alſo all the power of the Turks in that great and rich Kingdom. For, the proud Mamalukes having now got the Sovereignty into their Hands, and exalted a Sultan out of themſelves, imperiouſly commanded as great Lords over the reſt of the People, not ſuffering them to have the uſe either of Horſe or Armor, or to bear any ſway in the Common-Weal; but keeping them under with moſt heavy impoſitions, and ſtill preferring their own Slaves (wherewith the Country of *Egypt* now ſwarmed) made the natural Country People, of all others moſt miſerable, not daring to meddle with any thing more than Merchandize, their Husbandry, or other their baſe Mechanical Occupations; whereof the greateſt profit ſtill came unto the Mamalukes, who as Lords of all, with great inſolency, at their pleaſure took it from them as their own. As for the great Sultan, they ſtill choſe him from among themſelves, not ſuffering any the Sultans Children to ſucceed their Fathers in the Kingdom; for fear leſt they in proceſs of time, proud of their Anceſtors and Parentage, ſhould reckon of them as of their Slaves (as indeed they were) and ſo at length bring in another more free kind of Government.

The ruine of the Turks Kingdom in Egypt.

Againſt which they provided alſo, not only by this reſtraint of their Sultans Children, but of their own alſo; taking order and eſtabliſhing it as an immutable Law, That though the Sons of the Mamalukes might enjoy their Fathers Lands and Wealth after their death, yet that it ſhould not be lawful for them in any caſe to take upon them the name or honour of a Mamaluke; ſo debarring them from all government in the Common-Wealth, to the intent it might ſtill reſt with the Mamalukes. Neither was it lawful for any born of Mahometan Parents (which could not be Slaves) or of the race of the Jews, to be admitted into that order; but only ſuch as being born Chriſtians and become Slaves, had from the time of their Captivity been inſtructed in the Mahometan Superſtition; or elſe being men grown, and coming thither, had abjured the Chriſtian Religion (as many Reprobates did in hope of preferment.) Right ſtrange it is to conſider, unto what Honour and Glory this ſlaviſh Empire in ſhort time grew; many of theſe poor Slaves by rare Fortune or ſecret divine Power, exalted out of the duſt unto the higheſt degree of Honour, proving moſt excellent and renowned Princes, of ſuch ſtrength and power, as was dreadful even unto the greateſt Princes of the World. In which great glory, this ſervile Empire (to the Worlds wonder) flouriſhed from this time amongſt the greateſt by the ſpace of 267 years; until that having run the appointed race, it was with a great deſtruction by *Selymus* the victorious Emperor of the Turks, overthrown in the year 1517, and the Kingdom of *Egypt*, with all *Syria* and the Land of *Paleſtine*, brought into the form of Provinces, united unto the Turks Empire, as they are at this day, and as in the courſe of this Hiſtory ſhall in due time and place (God willing) at large appear.

But leaving the Kingdom of the Turks thus overthrown in *Egypt*, and the Mamalukes there triumphing, the French King returned into *France*, and the Chriſtians in peace into *Syria*; let us again return into the leſſer *Aſia*, and to the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, whither the affairs both of the Turks and of the Chriſtians now call us. All this while the Greek Empire (for ſo the Greeks will have it called) flouriſhed both in peace and plenty in the leſſer *Aſia*, under their Emperor *John Batazes*; the power of the Latines in the mean time declining as faſt at *Conſtantinople*, under the Government of the Latine Emperor *Baldwin* the Second. As for the Turks whom we left grievouſly troubled both with Famine and the often incurſions of the Tartars, they had all this while, and yet alſo, enough and more than enough to do to withſtand the ſame Enemy. At length it fortuned that *John Ducas* the Greek Emperor died, being at the time of his death about threeſcore years old, whereof he had happily reigned three and thirty; by whoſe good and diſcreet Government, the Greek Empire before brought low and almoſt to nought by the Latines, began again to gather ſtrength and to flouriſh both in *Aſia* and ſome little part of *Europe* alſo. Of him are reported many notable matters, which as impertinent to our purpoſe I could willingly paſs over, were I not by the worthy remembrance of one of them ſtaied a while by the way.

The Emperor in love with Marceſina.

This noble and famous Emperor having long lamented the death of the fair Empreſs *Irene* his firſt Wife, at laſt married another young Lady, the Siſter of *Manfred* King of *Sicily*, called *Anne*, with whom amongſt other honourable and beautiful Dames, ſent by the King her Brother for the accompanying of her to *Conſtantinople*, was one *Marceſina*, a rare Paragon, of ſuch a Feature as if Nature had in her meant to beſtow her greateſt ſkill: From whoſe Mouth always flowed a fountain of moſt ſugred Words, and out of her Eyes iſſued (as it were) Nets to intangle the Amarous in. Upon this ſo fair an object, the Emperor not fearing farther harm, took pleaſure oftentimes to feed his Eyes, until that at length caught with her Looks, he had loſt his liberty, and was of a great Emperor become her thrall, in ſuch ſort, as that in compariſon of her he ſeemed little or nothing to regard the young Empreſs his Wife; but ſo far doated upon her, that he ſuffered her to be attired and honoured with the ſame Attire and Honour that the Empreſs was her ſelf; whom ſhe now ſo far exceeded both in Grace and Favour with the Emperor, and Honour of the People, as that ſhe almoſt alone enjoyed the ſame without regard of her unto whom it was of more right due. Whilſt ſhe thus alone triumpheth, at length it fortuned that ſhe in all her glory, attended upon with moſt of the Gallants of the Court, and ſome of the Emperors Guard, would needs go (whether for her Devotion or for her Recreation, I know not) to viſit the Monaſtery and fair Church, which *Blemmydes* (a Noble Man of great Renown, both for his Integrity of Life, and Learning) had of his own coſts and charges but lately built in the Country, where he together with his Monks, as men weary of the World, lived a devout and ſolitary contemplative life, after the manner of that time, with the great good opinion of the People in general. This *Blemmydes* was afterward for his upright life and profound Learning, choſen Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; which great honour, next unto the Emperor himſelf, he refuſed, contenting himſelf with his Cell.

Marceſina *the Emperors Concubine ſhut out of the Church.*

Marceſina coming thither in great Pomp, and thinking to have entred the Church, had the doors ſhut againſt her by the Monks, before commanded ſo to do by *Blemmydes* their Founder; and ſo was to her great diſgrace kept out. For that devout man deemed it a great Impiety, to ſuffer that ſo wicked and ſhameleſs a Woman, againſt whom he had moſt ſharply both ſpoken and written, with her prophane and wicked feet ſhould tread upon the ſacred pavement of his Church. She enraged with this indignity, hardly by ſo proud a Woman to be with patience diſgeſted, and prickt forward by her flattering Followers alſo, returning to the Court, grievouſly complained thereof unto the Emperor, ſtirring him up by all means ſhe could to revenge the ſame, perſwading him to have been therein himſelf diſgraced. Whereunto were joined alſo the hard ſpeeches of her pickthank Favourites, who to curry Favour, ſpared not as it were to put oyl unto the fire, for the ſtirring up of the Emperor to Revenge. Who with ſo great a complaint nothing moved unto Wrath, but ſtruck as it were to the heart with a remorſe of Conſcience, and oppreſſed with heavineſs, with tears running down his Cheeks, and fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid, *Why provoke you me to puniſh ſo juſt a man? Whereas if I would my ſelf have lived without reproach and infamy, I ſhould have kept my Imperial Majeſty unpolluted or ſtained. But now ſith I my ſelf have been the cauſe both of mine own diſgrace and of the Empire; I may thank mine own deſerts, if of ſuch evil ſeed as I have ſown, I now reap alſo an evil harveſt.*

Theodorus Laſcaris *choſen Emperor.*

After the death of this good Emperor, *Theodorus* his Son, born the firſt year of his Fathers Reign, being then about three and thirty years old, was by the general conſent of the People ſaluted Emperor in his ſtead; who in the beginning of his Empire renewed the League which his Father had made with *Jathatines* the Turkiſh Sultan. And ſo having provided for the ſecurity of his affairs in *Aſia*, he with a puiſſant Army paſſed over the Straight of *Helleſpontus* into *Europe*, to appeaſe the troubles there raiſed in *Macedonia* and *Thracia*, by the King of *Bulgaria* his Brother-in-Law, and *Michael Angelus* the Deſpot of *Theſſalia*; who upon the death of the old Emperor began to ſpoil thoſe Countries, not without hope at length to have joyned them unto their own; by whoſe coming they were for all that diſappointed of their purpoſe, and glad to ſue to him for peace. But whilſt he was there buſied, he was advertiſed by Letters from *Nice*, that *Michael Paleologus*, whom he had left there Governour in his abſence, was ſecretly fled unto the Turks; with which news he was not a little troubled. The cauſe of whoſe flight, as *Paleologus* himſelf gave it out, was, for that he perceived himſelf divers ways by many of his Enemies brought into diſgrace, and the Emperors Ears ſo filled with their odious complaints, ſo cunningly framed againſt him, as that they were not eaſily or in ſhort time to be refelled; and therefore fearing in the Emperors heavy diſpleaſure to be ſuddenly taken away, to have willingly gone into exile, if ſo happily he might ſave his life from the malice of them that ſought after it.

At his coming to *Iconium*, he found *Jathatines* the Sultan making great preparation againſt the Tartars; who having driven the Turks out of *Perſia* and other the far Eaſtern Countries, (as is before declared) and running ſtill on, did with their continual incurſions ſpoyl a great part of their Territories in the leſſer *Aſia* alſo; and now lay at *Axara*, a Town not far off from *Iconium*; againſt whom the Sultan now making the greateſt preparation he could, gladly welcomed *Paleologus*, whom he knew to be a right valiant and worthy Captain, commending to his charge the leading of certain Bands of Greeks, whom he had retained to ſerve him in thoſe Wars, as he had others of the Latines, under the conduct of *Boniface Moline* a Nobleman of *Venice*; and ſo having put all things in readineſs, and ſtrengthened with theſe forreign Supplies of the Greeks and Latines, ſet forward againſt his Enemies the Tartars; who at the firſt ſight of the ſtrange Enſigns and Souldiers were much diſmaied, fearing ſome greater force had been come to the aid of the Turks; nevertheleſs, joyning with them in Battel, had with them, at the firſt a moſt terrible and bloody conflict, wherein that part of the Army that ſtood againſt *Paleologus* and his Greeks, was put to the worſe, to the great diſcomfiture of the Tartars, being even upon the point to have fled, had not one of the greateſt Commanders in the Turks Army, and a nigh Kinſman of the Sultans, for an old grudge that he bare unto the Sultan, with all his Regiment, in the heat of the Battel revolted unto the Tartars; whereby the fortune of the Battel was in a moment as it were quite altered, they which but now were about to have fled, fighting like Lions; and they that were Victors now glad to turn their Backs and flie; in which Flight a great number of Turks fell, the fierce Tartars moſt eagerly purſuing them. *Paleologus*, with the

General of the Turks, hardly chaſed by the Tartars, and glad every hour to make a ſtand, and to fight for their lives, with much ado, after many days flight recovered a Caſtle of the Generals, neer unto *Caſtamona*, and ſo ſaved themſelves. The Tartars after this ſo great a Victory (wherein they had broken the whole Strength of the Turks, and brought in hazard the whole State of their Kingdom) without reſiſtance forraged all the Countries and Provinces ſubject unto the Turkiſh Sultan, making Spoil of whatſoever they light upon; inſomuch that the Sultan diſcouraged, and having now no Strength left to oppoſe againſt them, fled unto the Greek Emperor *Theodorus* for aid; who moſt honourably entertained him, with all his Train, and comforted him with ſuch ſmall aid as he thought good then to ſpare him; which for his more ſafety he ſent home with him, under the leading of *Iſaacius Ducas*, ſirnamed *Murtzuſle*, a man in great credit with him. In recompence of which kindneſs, the Sultan gave unto the Emperor the City of *Laodicea*, whereinto he preſently put a ſtrong Garriſon; Neverthelеſs, it was not long before it fell again into the Hands of the Turks, being a place not to be holden by the Greeks. Yet for all this, the Sultan finding himſelf ſtill to weak to withſtand the continual invaſions of the Tartars, and weary of the harms he dayly ſtuſtained, by the advice of his chief Councellors made a League with them, yielding to pay them a certain yearly Tribute, thereby to redeem his peace. From which time the Tartars accounted of the Turks as of their Tributaries and Vaſſals.

Not long after this, *Michael Paleologus* was by the Emperors kind and gracious Letters called home, with his faithful promiſe alſo before given for his ſecurity; who before his return bound himſelf alſo by ſolemn Oath, to be unto the Emperor and his Son always loyal, and from thenceforth never to ſeek after the Empire, or give cauſe of new ſuſpect for ſuch matters as he had been before charged with; but for ever to yield unto the Emperor, his Son, or other his Succeſſors in the Empire, his dutiful Obedience and Fidelity. Upon which conditions he was again made great Conſtable, and ſo received into the Emperors Favour, and lived the reſt of his Reign in great honour and credit with him.

The death of Theodorus *the Greek Emperor.*

Envy in Court.

Now *Theodorus* the Emperor having reigned three years, fell ſick and died, leaving behind him his Son *John*, then but a Child of ſix years old, to ſucceed him in the Empire; whom he upon his death bed, together with the Empire, commended to *Arſenius* the Patriarch, and one *George Muzalo* his faithful Councellor, as to his truſty Tutors, to ſee him ſafely brought up, and the Empire well and peaceably governed. This *Muzalo* was a man of mean Parentage, but for his familiar Acquaintance and civil Behaviour, of a Child brought up in the Court with the Emperor as his play fellow; with whom he growing up, ſo framed himſelf to his manners and diſpoſition, that he alone was unto him inſtead of all, ſtill at hand, ready to ſay or do whatſoever might be unto the Emperor gracious or pleaſing. And the elder they grew, ſo increaſed this their mutual affection and love alſo; in ſuch ſort, that with him now Emperor, he was of all others in greateſt Favour and Authority; a wary obſerver of his delights, a ready miniſter of his Affairs, and faithful partaker of his Secrets; for which he was in ſhort time promoted unto the greateſt honours of the Court, and honourably married unto one of the Emperors nigh Kinſwomen; and now at his death, by his laſt Will, with the reverend Patriarch appointed Tutor to the young Emperor and his two young Siſters. And for the more aſſurance thereof, a ſolemn Oath of Obedience to the young Prince, as Emperor, and unto them as his Tutors, was exacted of all ſorts of men, both high and low, of what vocation ſoever; and that not once, but firſt a little before the Emperors death, and again after he was now dead; for many of the Nobility honourably deſcended, ſeeing the ſudden change of *Muzalo*'s fortune, among themſelves murmured thereat, as grieving at his preferment, ſeeing there were many among them, unto whom both the tuition of the young Emperor, and adminiſtration of the Empire, of better right appertained; inſomuch as they were both neerer of kin unto the Emperor, and fitter (as they thought) for ſo great a charge than was *Muzalo*; whom (as they ſaid) they had many cauſes both to contemn and hate: For, beſide that he was not honourably born, and had ſerved the late Emperor *Theodore*, as the miniſter of his wrath againſt ſome of the Nobility, cauſes ſufficient of the Peoples hatred; if he ſhould now alſo in ſo great Authority affect the Empire, it was by his malicious Enemies vainly doubted, that he would not ſpare to commit any manner of Villany for the effecting of his inordinate deſire. Of all which *Muzalo* was not ignorant, a man at all other times of a moſt quick apprehenſion for ſuch matters, but as then eſpecially, his Wits being awaked with theſe ſo great motives and dangers. Wherefore ſpeedily calling together all the Nobility into the Court, he welcomed them one by one, and curteouſly diſcourſing with them, offered to diſcharge himſelf both of the adminiſtration of the Empire, and tuition of the young Emperor, and willingly to yield the ſame to any one of them, whom the reſt ſhould think fitteſt for ſo great a charge; which though they all with one conſent as it were refuſed, ſaying, That he was of all others to be preferred, unto whom the Emperor, Lord both of the Empire and the Child, had commited the ſame; yet *Muzalo* earneſtly requeſted them to the contrary, and ſtifly withſtood their deſire, wiſhing indeed rather to have led a quiet private life in ſecurity, than to have been ſo overcharged; not ſo much for doubt of the Envy then ariſing, as for fear of ſome great danger thereof to enſue. But would he, would he not, remedy there was none, but that as the late Emperor had appointed, ſo muſt he take the charge upon him. And now was every one, as well of the Nobility, as of the inferior ſort, again with greater ſolemnity than before, the third time ſworn, to the utmoſt of their power to defend the young Emperor in his Empire, and *Muzalo* in the tuition of him, and adminiſtration of the affairs of the State, and faithfully to yield unto them both all due honour and obedience; which if they ſhould fail religiouſly to perform, they wiſhed to themſelves every man, and to all theirs, a ſhameful end and deſtruction. Yet notwithſtanding all this ſolemn ſwearing, mixt moſt times with much forſwearing, there was not fully nine days paſt, but that certain of the chief Nobility, forgetful, or elſe careleſs of their Oath, and full of Envy, ſeldom ſatisfied but with blood, conſpired the unworthy death of *Muzalo* the Protector both of the Emperor and the Empire. The ninth day appointed for the funeral of the Emperor, was now come; at which time were met together at *Soſandra* (an Abbey by himſelf built in the honour of the Virgin *Mary* at *Magneſia*) many great Ladies and grave Matrons, to mourn as the manner was; all the great Princes of the Nobility, and among them the Conſpirators alſo; thither repaired alſo a number of Souldiers prepared for

the

Muzalo traiterouſly murdred in the Church.

the ſlaughter, with an infinite number of the Common People, as at ſuch Solemnities is uſual. But what needs many words? while the Hymns were yet in ſinging, and the Obſequies performing, the Souldiers as they were before inſtructed, ſuddenly breaking into the Church with their drawn Swords in their Hands, ſlew *Muzalo* (then fled to the Altar for refuge) with his two Brethren *Andronicus* and *Theodorus*, both men of great account, and divers others appointed to the Maſſacre. So the Matrons and the reſt of the multitude breaking off their Mourning, and for fear thronging on one anothers Neck, fled as faſt as they could, ſome one way, ſome another, as they thought for their beſt ſafety; but the Prieſts and Monks thinking to have done the like, were by the imperious Souldiers, whether they would or not, again inforced into the Church; where tumbling one over another, as thronging in with great force and violence, and ſcarce able to ſtand by reaſon of the ſlipperyneſs of the blood there ſhed upon the pavement, they in great fear made an end of thoſe bloody Obſequies. This outrage appeaſed, *Arſenius* the Patriarch, and only Tutor of the young Emperor now left, was therewith yet much troubled, as with a thing dangerous both to the perſon of the young Prince, and quietneſs of the State; but what good courſe to take therein he could not tell; for as he was a man for his Learning and Integrity of Life not inferior to the beſt, ſo in matters of State he was as far to ſeek; as it commonly hapneth, the contemplative man buried in his meditations, to be unfit for temporal Government; whereas he that ſhould perform both, muſt to his rare vertues and great learning joyn a civil converſation, with great experience in worldly affairs, not to be learned but by great and long practiſe. This reverend Father (of no great reach, yet wiſhing all well) calling together the Nobility, conſulted with them what were beſt to be done for the Government both of the young Emperor and the Empire, now that *Muzalo* was dead; not conſidering in the mean time, who they were with whom he conſulted, or, that Counſel grounded upon no wiſe foreſight, or approved experience, was more dangerous unto him whom he would have provided for, than all the Enemies murthering Swords, as ſhortly after appeared.

Michael Paleologus *aſpireth.*

Amongſt others of the Nobility called to Counſel, was *Michael Paleologus* (of whom we have before ſpoken) much ſuperior to the reſt, as deſcended of the Imperial Houſe of the *Comneni*, a man of a chearful countenance, gratious and curteous, and withall exceeding bountiful and liberal, whereby he eaſily won the Hearts of all men in general, but eſpecially of the Colonels, Captains, and other Martial Men, Commanders in the Army; of whoſe aſpiring to the Empire, many preſages and common rumors (not always vain) had in former time paſſed alſo, to the moving of many; yea the Patriarch himſelf not conſidering his haughty and aſpiring nature, made no leſs account of him than did the reſt, but upon an eſpecial favour, committed to his only truſt the keys of the common Treaſure, at ſuch time as Mony was to be delivered out for the payment of the Armies, or other like great occaſions of the State; the moſt effectual means for the furtherance of his ſecret practiſes, and the readieſt way for the effecting of that he had ſo long before plotted; for having in his fingring ſuch a maſs of Treaſure, as he might well have wiſhed, but never reaſonably hoped for, he poured it out as it were by buſhels, amongſt the Nobility and Martial Men, and ſuch others as he thought were able to do moſt with the People; amongſt whom were many of the Clergy alſo; of which his Favourites were made many meetings, and by them was the Patriarch continually ſollicited, but yet in general terms, without delay (according to the neceſſity of the time) to take order for the good Government of the State, which now as a great Ship in the midſt of the Sea without a Maſter, was (as they ſaid) in danger to periſh, and being once loſt, was not to be again recovered. At which time alſo the name of *Paleologus* was in every mans mouth, as the only man for his Wiſdom and experience fit to take upon him the charge and government of the Empire, until the young Emperor were come to age. Unto which common good liking, the Patriarch alſo (ſeeing no more, or peradventure not ſo much as the reſt) gave his conſent; and ſo without longer ſtay, to the great contentment both of the Nobility and People in general, made him Governor of the Empire, and Tutor to the young Emperor, wanting now nothing of an Emperor himſelf, more than the Title and Imperial Ornaments. This was the firſt ſtep whereby the aſpiring man (twice before in diſgrace with the two late Emperors, *John Ducas*, and his Son *Theodorus*) mounted at laſt unto the Empire.

It was not many days after, but that his Favourites held another Counſel, wherein it was alledged, That it was not ſeemly for him that was Tutor unto the Emperor, Governour of the State and Empire, and to give audience unto the Embaſſadors of forreign Nations, to want the honour next unto the Emperor, as well for the magnificence of the State, as for the credit of his place; whereupon he was both by the Patriarch and the young Emperor honoured with the title of the Deſpot, another ſtep unto the Empire. But what contentment find the ambitious even in the greateſt honours, ſo long as there is one above them? Little ſure, or none at all more than that it ſerveth them to ſtep at next up to the higheſt; as did this new made Deſpot, who ſhortly after, was by certain of the Nobility his great Favourites, near unto *Magneſia*, with the great applauſe of the People, hoyſed up and ſaluted Emperor. Whereof *Arſenius* the Patriarch hearing, was therewith much troubled, as fearing what would become of the young Child, the right Heir of the Empire. And firſt he was about to have excommunicated as well him that was made Emperor, as them that had ſo made him; but afterward changing his purpoſe, for fear of greater troubles, he thought it better by ſolemn Oath to bind both him and the reſt, that they ſhould not ſeek after the life of the Child, or by any force or colour go about to deprive him of the Empire; which was ſo done. Yet it was not full a month after, but that even he that had ſo great a care of the young Child, and ſo provided for his ſafety, (perſwaded by them of the Nobility and Clergy) with his own Hands, and all the accuſtomed Ceremonies, ſet the Imperial Crown upon this Uſurpers Head; yet not as upon him that ſhould ſtill enjoy the Empire, but as upon a man according to the preſent neceſſity of the time and State, thought fitteſt for ſo great a charge, until the young Child came to age; unto whom then he was to give place, and to reſign to him the Empire. All which being by more ſolemn Oath than before, confirmed, good news (as the certain ſigns of his fortunate Government) were brought unto him of a great Victory obtained by his Captains, againſt *Michael Angelus* Deſpot of *Ætolia* and *Epirus*; who having married the late Emperors Daughter, and hearing of his death, with the troubles in *Aſia*, aided by the King of *Sicilia*, and the Princes of *Peloponeſus* and *Achaia*,

Michael Paleologus *crowned Emperor by* Arſenius *the Patriarch.*

his Sons in Law, had thought in that hurle and perturbation of the State, to have taken to himſelf the greateſt part of the Emperors Territories in *Macedonia* and *Thracia*; and for the ſame purpoſe was with a great Army entred into them, burning and ſpoiling the Country before him; whereof *Michael Paleologus* (then but newly made Deſpot) having intelligence, ſent his Brother *John*, and ſome other his beſt Captains, with a great Army againſt him, by whom he with his complices were put to the worſe, and not without great loſs enforced to retire; the joyful news whereof he received even as he was crowned. Which was ſhortly after confirmed by the coming of the great Commanders themſelves, bringing with them the Prince of *Peloponeſus* and *Achaia*, by them taken Priſoner; who for his Ranſome was afterward glad to give unto the Emperor *Paleologus*, *Monembaſia*, *Maine* and *Sparta*, three of the beſt Cities of *Peloponeſus*; whereinto he put ſtrong Garriſons under the command of *Conſtantinus* his Brother by the Mothers ſide, a right valiant Captain. By whoſe good ſervice and the commodious ſituation of the places, he gained divers other Towns and Cities, and at length the greateſt part of *Peloponeſus*, out of the hands of the Latines; for the utter rooting out of whom, he ſhortly after with a great Army paſſed over into *Thracia*, with purpoſe (as was thought) to have beſieged *Conſtantinople*; but finding it to be a matter of more difficulty than was before ſuppoſed, he left that, and laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Pera* over againſt it on the other ſide of the Haven, in hope by winning of that Caſtle, to have become Maſter alſo of the Town; where he was notably repulſed, and enforced with loſs to retire. So riſing with his Army, he fortified divers Caſtles and ſtrong Holds in the Country about *Conſtantinople*, and putting into them ſtrong Garriſons, charging them with continual incurſions to trouble the Conſtantinopolitans, and to cut them ſo ſhort, if it were poſſible, as that they ſhould not dare to look out at the Gates of their City. Which they ſo well performed, that in ſhort time the Latines in the City were driven to ſuch extremity, that for want of Wood they were fain to burn many of the faireſt Houſes in the City, in ſtead of Fewel. Which done, he returned again to *Nice*, the chief ſeat of the Greek Emperors, ever ſince that *Conſtantinople* was taken by the Latines.

Now reigned in *Conſtantinople* the Latine Emperor *Baldwin* the Second (as is before declared) a man of ſmall courage, and leſs power, and therefore not much regarded either of the Greeks or Latines; who for the maintenance of his State, was glad to ſell away the publick Ornaments of the City, and to pawn his Son unto the *Bruges* Merchants for mony; by whom he was left at *Venice* to be brought up; which gave occaſion for ſome Writers to report, That he was pawned unto the Venetians.

1260. Haalon *the Tartar ſent with a great Army againſt the Turks.*

About this time *Mango*, the great Cham of *Tartary*, ſtirred by *Aitonius* the Armenian King, by whoſe perſwaſion he had alſo received the Chriſtian Religion, ſent his Brother *Haalon* with an exceeding great Army againſt the Turks and Saraſins in *Syria* and the Land of *Paleſtine*. This *Haalon* (converted alſo unto the Chriſtian Faith by his Wife) ſetting forward with a world of People following him, in the ſpace of ſix months overran all *Perſia*, with the Countries adjoyning, excepting one ſtrong place in the Mountains, (which ſome ſay was *Samarchand*, afterward the Royal Seat of the great terror of the world, the mighty *Tamerlane*) which beſieged by ten thouſand Horſemen, by him appointed for that purpoſe, and ſo continued by the ſpace of ſeven and twenty years after, was then at length (as *Aiton* himſelf writeth) yielded by the Defendants, only for want of Cloaths to cover their nakedneſs. *Haalon* (in whoſe Army thoſe ten thouſand left behind were not miſſed) marching on, and as a violent Tempeſt bearing all down before him, entred at length into *Aſſyria*, and there laid Siege unto the great City of *Babylon*, then the Seat of the great Caliph; whom all the Mahometan Princes honoured above all others, as the true Succeſſor of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, and received from his mouth the interpretation of their Law as moſt divine Oracles. Which great City *Haalon* won, and putting to the ſword all he found therein, Men, Women, and Children, with the Spoil thereof, and the rich Treaſures of the Caliph, inriched his Souldiers. The Caliph himſelf (reſerved for that purpoſe) he commanded to be ſet in the midſt of the infinite Treaſure which he and his Predeceſſors had moſt covetouſly heaped up together, and that he ſhould of that Gold, Silver, and precious Stones take what it pleaſed him to eat, ſaying (by way of deriſion) That ſo gainful a Gueſt ſhould by good reaſon be fed with nothing but things of greateſt price, whereof he willed him to make no ſpare; in which order the covetous Wretch kept for certain days, miſerably died with hunger, in the midſt of thoſe things whereof he thought he ſhould never have had enough; which though they were in value great, and with great care laid together, yet ſerved they him not now to ſuffice Nature, beſt contented with a little. *Babylon* thus ſacked, and almoſt raſed, the Tartar marching on through *Meſopotamia*, by the way took the City *Rhoais*, where *Aiton* the Armenian King, and Author of this the Tartars expedition, came to him with twelve thouſand Horſemen, and forty thouſand Foot, as reporteth *Aiton* the Armenian Kings Nephew, then there preſent. So entring into *Syria*, in a few days took *Aleppo*, which he ſacked and raſed in the year of our Lord 1260. with divers other ſtrong Towns ſometime belonging unto the Kingdom of *Antioch*. Then was one *Malacneſar* Sultan of *Damaſco*, commanding over all *Syria* and the Land of *Paleſtine*; who terrified with the loſs of his Cities, and the fear of farther danger, with his Wife and Children came and humbled himſelf before the Tartar Prince, in hope ſo to have ſaved unto himſelf ſome good part of his Kingdom. Wherein he was much deceived, being (as ſome ſay) carried away afar off into exile, becauſe he ſhould not hinder the Tartars proceedings; or as others report, (and haply with more probability) being by him detained as his Priſoner, and afterwards to the terror of his Son, cut in pieces in his ſight under the Walls of *Damaſco*, after that it had in vain been twice aſſaulted by the Tartars; which ſtrong City for all that he afterwards took by ſtrong hand, and ſacked it, and by the perſwaſion of his Wife overthrew all the Mahometan Temples, as he had before in every place where he came. But purpoſing to have gone on forward to *Jeruſalem*, and to have conquered the whole Land of *Paleſtine*, news was brought him of the death of his Brother *Mango*, the great Cham; whereupon he ſtaid his journey, and returned back again, in hope of that great Empire; having in this expedition ſpent almoſt ſix years.

Aleppo *raſed by the Tartars.*

Damaſco *won.*

Thus by the Tartars was the Kingdom of the Turks at *Damaſco* overthrown. At which time, the broken affairs of the Chriſtians in *Syria* and the Land of *Paleſtine*, might eaſily have been repaired and thoſe two goodly Kingdoms again reſtored to the Chriſtian Common-Weal, had the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt then in time put to their helping hand on the one ſide, as did the Tartars on the other; but they then at fatal diſcord among themſelves, and buſied with their Wars at home, let ſlip that ſo fair an opportunity, the like whereof they ſeldom or never had ſince. *Haalon* the Tartar Prince, in token of his good Will toward the Chriſtians and their Affairs, at his departure from *Damaſco* left his Son *Abaga*, there with twenty thouſand Horſemen to aid them in their Wars, if they ſhould come (as was expected) for the recovery of the Holy Land; who having there ſtaied ſome while, and hearing of his Fathers troubles at home, followed himſelf after him; but yet left behind him *Guirboca* a valiant Captain, with ten thouſand of his Horſemen, to like purpoſe that his Father had him; who by the inſolency of certain Chriſtian Souldiers in Garriſon about *Sidon*, was of a Friend, together with his Tartars made a Foe. Theſe Garriſon Souldiers having by chance ſet in ſome booty out of the Tartars Territory, not only refuſed to reſtore the ſame again, but alſo foully entreated ſuch as the Tartar had ſent for the demanding thereof. Whereupon further quarrels ariſing, it fortuned a Nephew of *Guirboca's*, a valiant young Gentleman, to be ſlain; in revenge whereof he beſieged *Sidon*, and having taken it, ſacked it, and burnt it down to the ground. After which time, he and his Tartars became utter Enemies unto the Chriſtians, doing them all the harm they could deviſe.

The Egyptian Sultan invaded Syria.

This diſcord betwixt the Tartars and the Chriſtians, gave occaſion unto *Melech* the Egyptian Sultan, now jealous of the Tartars nearneſs, with a great Army of his Mamalukes and others to enter into *Syria*, and to ſpoil the Country of *Damaſco*; againſt whom *Guirboca* with his Tartars, although both in Strength and Number far inferiour, went out. But joyning Battel with him at too much odds, and the Victory inclining unto that ſide where moſt Strength was, he there valiantly fighting was ſlain, with moſt part of his Tartars; ſuch as eſcaped fled into *Armenia* unto the friendly King. By this Victory, all *Syria*, with the Land of *Paleſtine*, excepting ſome few places holden by the Chriſtians, fell again into the hands of the Egyptian Sultans; as did ſome of them ſhortly after alſo; for *Bandocader* ſucceeding *Melech* in the Mamaluke Kingdom, coming into *Syria* with a great Army, took *Antioch* from the Chriſtians, and with it moſt of the places, before by them defended. The City he burnt, and raſed the Caſtle down to the ground, and afterward entring into *Armenia*, did there great harm alſo.

Antioch *taken from the Chriſtians.*

Whilſt the Turks Kingdom thus goeth to wrack in *Syria*, ruinated by the Tartars, but poſſeſſed by the Mamalukes; their affairs in the leſſer *Aſia*, now the whole hope of that Nation, went not at that time much better; for *Jathatines* the Turks Sultan, there alſo invaded by the Tartars, and having loſt *Iconium* his Regal City, fled with his Brother *Melech* to the Greek Emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in hope to be of him relieved, for the kindneſs he had not long before ſhewed him in like caſe, when as he fled from the late Emperor *Theodore*; whereof now putting him in remembrance, he requeſted him either with ſome convenient force to aid him, or elſe to aſſign him ſome corner in his large Empire, where he might in ſafety reſt with his Wife and Children, and other Followers, whom with much Wealth he had brought with him in great number. The Emperor on every ſide himſelf incumbred with Wars, thought it not good in ſo great newneſs of his Empire, to diminiſh his own Forces; and to aſſign unto him any place to inhabit, ſeemed no leſs dangerous; for that he having been a great Prince, and commanding over many great Countries, and brought up in all Princely Royalty, was not like to content himſelf with a little; beſide that, his Nobility, then diſperſed by the Tartars, were like enough in great numbers to reſort unto him, as unto their Head, ſo ſoon as they ſhould once hear that he were ſeated in any place; and unkindly to caſt him off, that had ſo nobly uſed him in like extremity, the Emperor was loath. And therefore feeding him up with fair Words, and foording him on from time to time with delaies, he held him a great while as a man in ſuſpence, betwixt hope and deſpair. At length in the abſence of the Emperor (though happily not without his Privity) he was commanded with all his Train, in number about twelve hundred, to get him to *Ænus* a City of *Thracia*, ſtanding upon the Sea-coaſt; where he much diſcontented, lived like an honourable Priſoner at large; but with the watchful Eyes of ſo many upon him, as that he could by no means (as he deſired) eſcape. In which caſe we will for a while leave him, to feed upon his own melancholy thoughts.

1261. Now had *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor reigned at *Nice* two years, when new troubles began again to ariſe in the Weſt part of his Empire in *Europe* ſide, by the treachery of *Michael Angelus* Deſpot of *Epirus*. For the ſpeedy repreſſing whereof, he ſent one *Alexius Strategopulus*, a worthy Captain, and a man of great Nobility (whom for his good ſervice againſt the ſaid Deſpot, he had in the beginning of his Reign made *Cæſar*) with little above eight hundred Bythinian Souldiers; and Commiſſion for the taking up of ſo many more as he ſhould for that ſervice need, in *Macedonia* and *Thracia*; commanding him when he had paſſed the Streight, with thoſe Souldiers to take his ways through the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, to terrifie the Latines, whom he was loath to ſuffer too long to live in reſt and quiet, or to ſtir too far out of the Gates, but to keep them as Priſoners coupt up within the Walls of the City. This warlike Captain with this handful of men, paſſing over *Propontis*, encamped at *Regium*, not far from *Conſtantinople*; where by chance lighting upon certain poor labouring men, Greeks born in the City, and there dwelling, he diligently inquired of them the ſtate thereof, and of what Strength the Latines were, with many other things ſuch as he was deſirous to know; who not only told him that the Strength of the Latines was but ſmall, but alſo that the greateſt part thereof was gone to the Siege of *Daphnuſia*, a Town not far off, upon the ſide of the *Euxine* Sea; and withall (as Greeks evil affected to the Government of the Latines, and deſirous of the liberty of their Country) offered of themſelves to ſhew him a means how to give him entrance into the City. Theſe poor men dwelt within the City, cloſe by one of the Gates, near whereunto by an old ruinous Mine almoſt ſwarved up, was a ſecret unſuſpected way into the City, not known to any but to themſelves; by this blind hole they promiſed him by night to receive in fifty of his beſt Souldiers; which ſuddenly ſetting upon the Watch faſt by, and diſpatching them out of the way, might preſently break open the Gate, and ſo let in the reſt of the Army; whereunto they promiſed themſelves with their Friends to put to their helping hands, aſſuring him of the good ſucceſs thereof. This Plot for the betraying of the City thus laid and agreed upon, *Alexius* and *Cæſar* well rewarding the men, and filling them with greater promiſes ſent them away; who as if they had been about their Country work, were after their wonted manner received into the City, without ſuſpition at all. And within a few days after according to their promiſe, at an appointed hour received in by night the aforeſaid fifty Souldiers; who aided by them, preſently ſlew the Watch, and brake open the Gate, whereby *Alexius* entring a little before day, in convenient place put his men in order of Battel, and afterward to the greater terror of the Latines, cauſed the City to be ſet on fire in four places, which increaſing with the Wind, burnt in moſt terrible manner, and was in ſhort time come almoſt unto the Emperors Palace. Who ſcarce well awaked, and ſeeing the City all on a fire about his Ears, and the Enemy coming on, was about at the firſt with thoſe few Latines that he had (for Greeks he had none) to have made head againſt them. But better adviſed, and perceiving it to be now to no purpoſe, he (the laſt of the Latine Emperors that ever reigned in *Conſtantinople*) with *Juſtinian* the Latine Patriarch, and ſome other of his Friends, fled by Sea into *Eubœa*, and ſo from thence afterwards to *Venice*, and afterwards to *Lewis* the French King, in hope to have been by him and the Venetians relieved. After whom fled alſo all the reſt of the Latines. Thus the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople* by great fortune fell again into the hands of the Greeks, in the year 1261. after that it had been in poſſeſſion of the Latines about 58 years.

The joyful news of the recovery of the Imperial City, was in ſhort time carried unto *Michael Paleologus* the Greek Emperor at *Nice*; who at the firſt believed it not, as thinking it ſcarce poſſible, ſo ſtrong a City to have been by ſo weak a power ſurpriſed, whereas he himſelf not long before was not able with a right puiſſant Army, and much other like proviſion, to win the Caſtle of *Galata* over againſt it. But afterwards aſſured of the truth thereof, with his Hands and Eyes caſt up towards Heaven, gave moſt hearty thanks to God therefore, cauſing Hymns and Pſalms of Thankſgiving to be ſolemnly ſung in every Church, with all the other ſigns of Joy and Triumph that could be deviſed. So ſetting all other things apart, he wholly buſied himſelf in making preparation for his going unto *Conſtantinople*, now once again the ſeat of the Greek Empire; wherein, and in travelling having ſpent many days, he at length with the Empreſs his Wife and *Andronicus* his Son, then but two years old, as if it had been in ſolemn Proceſſion, on foot entred into the City, by the Gate called *the Golden Gate*; and ſo after Prayers and Thanks given, went to the Palace prepared for him near unto the Tilt-yard; for the other Imperial Palaces of greater beauty (ſometime the ſtately dwellings of the greateſt Emperors of the Greeks) had now of long, during the Reign of the Latines, lien ruinous, or altogether defaced. And ſhortly after, becauſe vertue and true deſert ſhould not want their due honour, he cauſed *Alexius Cæſar* (by whoſe means the City was recovered) in ſolemn Triumph in his Robes of Honour, with a Crown upon his Head, not much inferior unto the Imperial Crown, with great Pomp to be carried through all the City; and farther commanded, that his name for one year next following, in all ſolemn Prayers and Hymns of Thankſgiving, ſhould be joyned with the name of the Emperor himſelf. And yet not thinking to have done him honour enough, cauſed his lively Image afterward to be moſt curiouſly made, and as a Trophie to be ſet upon a fair marble Pillar, before the great Church of the Holy Apoſtles, in perpetual remembrance of him, and what he had done for the delivery of his Country; which ſhortly after overthrown by an Earthquake, was by his Son again reſtored. Now was this great and famous City, ſometime the Beauty of the World, by theſe ſtrange and fatal mutations, wonderfully defaced, and brought to great deſolation; in every place was to be ſeen great Heaps, or rather (to ſay the truth) great Hills of Rubbidge, the eternal Witneſſes of the ruin thereof; the Houſes ſtood ſome quite fallen down, ſome ready to follow after, and ſome other great and ſtately buildings, now the ſmall reliques of great Fires; for the great beauty thereof was before, at ſuch time as the Latines took it, moſt defaced by Fire; who all the time that they had it, ceaſed not night and day to deſtroy ſome part or other of it, as if they had known they ſhould not long keep it; neither did this laſt Fire raiſed by the Greeks themſelves to terrifie the Latines, a little deform it; for which cauſe the Emperors chief care now was to cleanſe the City, and in the beſt ſort he could to reform ſo great a confuſion of things not to be all at once amended; firſt beginning with the Churches, which ruinous or ready to fall, he repaired; and next to that filled the empty houſes with new Inhabitants. And albeit that the chief of the Latines were together with the Emperor fled and gone, yet was moſt part of the Artificers and Tradeſmen of the City, Venetians, and of them of *Piſa*, mingled together; unto whom alſo to joyn the Genowaies, and ſo to fill the City with Latines, he thought it not altogether ſafe, although that by them he reaped great profit; wherefore he aſſigned unto them the City of *Galatia* now called *Pera*, on the other ſide of the Haven, for them to inhabit; granting them great Privileges, and every of thoſe Companies to be governed by a Conſul or Poteſtate of their own. As for the Imperial City it ſelf, he ſtored it, (as near as he could) with Natural Greeks born.

Paleologus *the Greek Emperor taketh poſſeſſion of the City of* **Conſtantinople.**

Paleologus *jealous of his State.*

Now although all things went as *Paleologus* the Emperor could himſelf have wiſhed; yet could he not reſt ſo contented, for fear leſt thoſe which now did eat their own Hearts, and with great grief ſmouldred their anger, ſhould at length as the rightful Heirs of the Empire by him uſurped, break out into open force, and ſo breed him great troubles, yea and perhaps work his confuſion. For ſuch is the tormenting ſtate of uſurping Tyrants, never to think themſelves ſafe ſo long as any one liveth, whom they may ſuſpect. Wherefore at once to rid himſelf of this fear, he thought it beſt ſo to diſpoſe of the Children of the late Emperor *Theodorus Laſcarus*, as that he ſhould not need of them to ſtand in doubt; to take them out of the way, beſides that it was a thing odious, he ſaw it like to be unto him dangerous; *Mary* and *Theodora* (two of the Eldeſt Daughters) being before by their Father married unto two great Princes, (one the Deſpot of *Epirus*, and the other Prince of *Bulgaria*) with whom he had much before to do, and of them yet ſtood in ſome doubt; but theſe were ſafe enough out of his reach. Other two young Siſters there were in his cuſtody, *Theodora* and *Irene*, with their Brother *John*, the only Heir of the Empire; *Theodora* he married unto one *Beliscurt* a Gentleman of *Peloponeſus*; and *Irene* to one *Vigintimilio* of *Genoa*; both Latines, men of no great Birth or Power, ſuch as he needed not to ſtand in doubt of. Theſe two Ladies, the Daughters of ſo great an Emperor as was *Theodorus*, thus baſely beſtowed; remained only their Brother *John*, the only Heir of the Empire, then but ten years old, whom *Paleologus* long before even in the beginning of his Reign, had ſent unto *Magneſia*, there to be ſafely kept far off from the Court, for fear leſt in his right and quarrel ſome diſcontented perſons deſirous of innovation, ſhould now begin ſome new ſtirs dangerous unto his Eſtate. Which indignity done unto the young Prince, *Arſenius* the Patriarch (put in truſt by his Father for the bringing of him up) took in ſo evil part, that he forſook the Court with all his Eccleſiaſtical dignity, and as a man weary of the World, retired himſelf unto a little Monaſtery of *Paſcaſins* in the Country, there to ſpend the reſt of his days. From whence for all that he was after the taking of *Conſtantinople* from the Latines, almoſt againſt his Will drawn thither by *Paleologus* the Emperor, and made Patriarch thereof, there together with ſo great an honour to find his greater diſcontent. For *Paleologus* the Uſurper, altogether unmindful of his Faith ſo ſolemnly before given, for the ſafety of the young Prince, and the reſtoring unto him of his Empire; and now fully reſolved to eſtabliſh unto him and his Poſterity the Soveraignty of ſo great an Empire, howſoever it was got, cauſed the young Princes Eyes to be moſt cruelly put out; the uſual practiſe of the Tyrants of the Eaſt, upon ſuch as they are loath or fear to kill, and yet would make them unfit for Government. Of which barbarous cruelty, his Siſter *Theodora* (married to *Conſtantinus* Prince of *Bulgaria*) hearing, ceaſed not with tears and prayers and all other womanly perſwaſions, to ſtir up her Huſband in revenge thereof; whereunto alſo *Jathatines* the Turks Sultan, gave no ſmall furtherance; who weary of Exile, and to be ſo in a corner confined as into a Priſon from whence he might not ſtart, by ſecret Meſſengers intreated the Bulgarian Prince to make War upon the uſurping Emperor; promiſing him a great ſumm of Mony, if by his help he might recover his former Liberty. Wherewith he the rather moved, with a great power of his own, and above twenty thouſand Tartars which then lay by the River *Iſther*, ſuddenly brake into the Emperors Territories, and in ſhorter time than was to have been thought, overran all the Country of *Thracia*, even unto the Sea ſide, leaving neither man nor beaſt in all that Country as he went; in good hope alſo to have by the way ſurpriſed the Emperor himſelf, even then returning from his Wars againſt the Deſpot in *Theſſaly*; who hearing of his ſpeedy coming, being got unto the Sea ſide, and (having no way left to have eſcaped by Land) ſhipped himſelf into a Gally of the Latines, which with another, her conſort bound for *Conſtantinople*, by good hap put in there for to water, and ſo in two days arrived ſafe at the Imperial City. Thus diſappointed of the Emperor, all his care was for the delivery of the Turks Sultan. Wherefore marching in haſt to *Ænum*, he ſo terrified the Citizens with his coming, that they without farther delay delivered him into his hands, ſo to redeem their own Peace. In his return you might have ſeen the Souldiers, eſpecially the Tartars, driving before them infinite numbers both of Men and Cattel, in ſuch ſort, as that in the open Country of *Thracia* for a ſpace, was hardly to be ſeen either Countryman or Beaſt, it was ſo clean ſwept both of Inhabitants, and likewiſe of Cattel.

Paleologus *cauſeth the young Emperors Eyes to be put out.*

Jathatines the Sultan by the Tartars carried over *Iſter*, and ſo by them ſet at liberty, ſhortly after died. In whoſe Kingdom ſucceeded not his Son *Melioke* (as ſome write) but two others (as the Turks themſelves report) the one called *Meſoot*, the Son of *Kei-Cubades*, and the other *Kei-Cubades*, the Son of *Feramcinz*, born alſo of the *Selzuccian* Family, as were all the other Turks Sultans, but how near of blood unto the late Sultan *Jathatines*, they ſay not. Betwixt which two, as his Vaſſals, *Gaza* the great Tartar Cham (by whom they were ſo preferred) for the payment of a yearly Tribute divided the Turks Kingdom; apportioning unto *Meſoot* the Cities of *Amida* (in antient time called *Amiſus*,) and *Aminſus* in *Galatia*, *Melatia* otherwiſe called *Meleteme* in the leſſer *Armenia*, *Siwaſte*, in antient time *Sebaſtia*, and *Haribarie*, before *Satabrea*, both in *Cappadocia*, with all the Country about them. And unto *Kei-Cubades*, *Iconium*, the antient ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultans, with all *Rumilia*, *Aſiatica*, or the Countries of the leſſer *Aſia* alongſt the Sea-coaſt; which theſe two Princes held as the Tartars Tributaries, as had the late Sultan *Jathatines* before them, until ſuch time as he was by the ſame Tartars again expulſed. So that the Turks Kingdom, which had of long time flouriſhed in the *Selzuccian* Family in *Perſia*, in *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and *Egypt*, there quite overthrown by the Mamalukes and Tartars (as is before declared) and now brought underfoot in the leſſer *Aſia* alſo, where only reſted all the hope of that Nation, was now at a low Ebb, divided betwixt two weak Princes, reigning but at the devotion of the Tartar. In which confuſion of the Turkiſh Empire, ſo rent, not only divers men of greater Power and Authority amongſt them, ſhared unto themſelves, ſome one corner of the declining Kingdom, and ſome another; but many of the obſcure and baſeſt People alſo, bearing with them nothing but their Bows and Arrows, took the ſtraight paſſages of the Mountains, and from thence with their dayly Incurſions, did much harm in the Countries of the Chriſtians joyning upon them: which was no great matter for them to do, the Garriſons which were wont to defend the ſame, being for want of pay quite diſbanded, and the Caſtles upon the Frontiers by them abandoned; which at the firſt, as a thing of ſmall importance neglected, was at length unto the Greeks a great cauſe of the ruin and decay of the greateſt part of their eſtate in *Aſia*. Theſe miſchiefs unregarded, grew dayly more and more, the Turks ſtill gaining upon the Greeks what they loſt unto the Tartars. Whoſe invaſions (the Glory of their Kingdom only excepted) was not ſo hurtful unto them, as the cauſe of their much greater felicity afterwards. At length it fortuned, that a great power of theſe adventurous Turks meeting together in *Paphlagonia*, were about to have invaded the Territories of the Chriſtians; againſt whom *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor ſent out a ſtrong and puiſſant Army to ſtay their further coming on, leſt breaking in that way, they ſhould without reſiſtance at their pleaſure forrage the Country before them. Which Army conducted by unskilful Captains, encountring with the Turks, was by them in a great Battel overthrown and utterly defeated, few or none of all that great multitude eſcaping; for whilſt the Greeks unadviſedly purſued the Turks, retiring of purpoſe before them, they were by them drawn into the danger of a greater Power lying in ambuſh for them, and ſo entrapped, were ſlain with an exceeding great Slaughter. After which ſo great a Victory (the beginning of the miſery of the Chriſtians in the leſſer *Aſia*) the Turks without let or ſtay overran all the Country, unto the River *Sangarius*; upon the Banks whereof the Greek Emperor was glad to fortifie divers Towns and Forts to keep them out of *Bithynia*. Nevertheleſs, they in that time

Jathatines *died in Exile.*

after ſubdued all the Countries, from *Pontus* and *Galatia*, unto the Lycian and Carian Sea, and the River *Eurymedon*, which they divided amongſt them into divers Toparchies; little or nothing acknowledging the Soveraignty either of *Meſoot*, or *Kei-Cubades*.

1270.

Carthage beſieged by King Lewis.

Carthage won.

Whilſt the Turks in the leſſer *Aſia* thus win from the Chriſtians on the one ſide, and loſe to the Tartars on the other, many an hard conflict in the mean time paſſed betwixt the Egyptian Sultans with their Mamalukes, and the Tartars, for the Soveraignty of *Syria*. The poor remainder of the Chriſtians all that while there, in doubt both of the one and of the other; from whom and from the Armenians (then alſo much infeſted with the Mamalukes) divers Embaſſadors were ſent unto the Pope and the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to crave their aid and help in that their hard Eſtate; whoſe prayers little prevailing with the reſt, yet ſo moved *Lewis* the French King, and *Henry* the Third, then reigning in *England*, that they both promiſed them aid. Whereupon *Lewis* a man of a great devotion, and always forward in that ſervice againſt the Infidels, took upon him the Croſs, the cogniſance of the ſacred War; cauſing his three Sons, *Philip* that ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, ſirnamed the Fair, *Peter* Count of *Alangon*, and *John* Count of *Nevers* (ſirnamed *Triſtan*, for that his Mother was in her greateſt heavineſs for the taking of her Husband, delivered of him in *Egypt*) and moſt of the Nobility of *France* to do the like; unto whom alſo *Theobald* King of *Navar* his Son-in-Law, *Alphonſus* his Brother, and *Guydo* Earl of *Flanders*, joyned themſelves. And ſo having put all things in readineſs, took his way to *Marſelleis*, and from thence embarking himſelf with his Army in the *Genoway* Ships, hired for that purpoſe, ſet forward the firſt of *March*, in the year 1270. But being at Sea, he was by force of Weather conſtrained to land in *Sardinia*, and there to ſtay a while; departing thence, he at length arrived at *Carthage*, the place by him deſired; where in the entrance of the Haven he ſurpriſed certain of the Enemies Ships; but landing his men, and aſſaulting the Town, he was there notably repulſed. This is not that antient, great, and famous City, which ſometime mightily ſtrove with the proud Miſtreſs of the World for Soveraignty, but another built long after in the ruins, or at leaſt not far from the ruins of the ſame. In the beſieging whereof, the Frenchmen found ſuch reſiſtance, as well put them in remembrance of the antient glory of the Carthaginians. One day it fortuned as the King thus lay at the Siege, that the Defendants made a great and fierce Sally out upon the Frenchmen, who before commanded ſo to do, by little and little retired, to draw their Enemies further on; betwixt whom and the City, the Conſtable with a great power coming in and charging them behind, and they which before retired, now ſtanding cloſe unto them, they were on both ſides hardly beſet; who for all that, as became valiant men, worthily defended themſelves, and made there a great fight, though not without extreme peril; which they in the City beholding, gave out a moſt hideous and piteous cry, a certain ſign of their hard eſtate within; aſtonying with the ſuddenneſs thereof, both their Friends and Enemies. But whilſt they of the Town betwixt hope and deſpair ſtood thus beholding the fight at Land, the Frenchmen by Sea approaching a Bulwark on that ſide of the Town, took it without reſiſtance; which ſo diſmaied them without, that they began forthwith to flie, of whom the greateſt part caſting away their Weapons, were by the Kings commandment taken to mercy; and they likewiſe of the Town upon promiſe of their lives, yielded the ſame unto the King. *Carthage* thus won, the King laid Siege to *Tunes*, the chief City of that Kingdom, being not far off; where by the way he was encountred by the King of the Countrey, who having there loſt ten thouſand of his Moors, betook himſelf to flight with the reſt. Who thus overthrown, reſolved no more to tempt Fortune, but to keep himſelf ſafe within the Walls of the City, if happily ſo he might (as it oftentimes falleth out) more weaken his Enemies by lying ſtill and protracting the time, than by open Force and Valour. Which their purpoſe King *Lewis* perceiving, reſolved not to ſtir from thence until that he were become Maſter of the City; which as it ſeemed, could not hold out for want of Victuals, conſidering the multitude of People that were got into it. Nevertheleſs thus beſieged both by Sea and Land, and ſo ſtraightly hemmed in on every ſide, as that no relief could poſſibly be brought unto it; yet held it out by the ſpace of ſix Months. After which time Wants daily more and more increaſing amongſt the beſieged, Embaſſadors were ſent out to the King, to intreat with him of peace. But whilſt theſe Embaſſadors go to and fro, and reaſon upon the capitulations of the deſired peace, behold a great and furious Plague aroſe in the French Camp, which began to cut them down by heaps; there dyed *John Triſtan* Count of *Nevers*, the Kings youngeſt Son, born in the firſt expedition that the ſaid King his Father made into the Holy Land, even at ſuch time as he was taken Priſoner; which *Triſtan* died the five and twentieth day of *Auguſt* in the year of our Lord 1270. The good King having yet ſcarcely performed the Obſequies of his Son, fell ſick of the bloody Flix, whereof he there ſhortly after died alſo. About which time arrived there *Charles* King of *Sicily*, the French Kings Brother, with a great number of freſh Souldiers; whoſe coming lightned ſomewhat the Frenchmens hearts (heavy for the death of their King) and daunted the Moors, before brag of the ſame. Shortly after whom arrived there alſo Prince *Edward*, King *Henry* the Third his Eldeſt Son, who travelling through *France*, and taking ſhipping at *Aqueſmort*, not far from *Marſeilles*, was now in ten days with a brave Company of Engliſhmen come to *Tunes*; and thereof the other Chriſtian Princes, namely of *Philip* the French King (his Father *Lewis* being now dead) of *Charles* King of *Sicily*, and of the two Kings of *Navar* and *Aragon*, joyfully received. But theſe Princes had a little before his arrival concluded a Peace with the Moors King, and the Infidels, upon condition that he ſhould pay a yearly Tribute of forty thouſand Crowns unto the King of *Sicilia*; and to ſuffer the Chriſtian Religion to be freely preached in his Dominions, by ſuch devout perſons as ſhould be there left for that purpoſe; and that unto ſuch as ſhould by their preaching be converted unto the Faith in Chriſt Jeſus, it ſhould be lawful for them to be baptized, and to profeſs the Chriſtian Religion. Of which Peace, Prince *Edward* underſtanding, did what he might to have diſſwaded them from the ſame; ſaying, that the War was by them all taken in hand againſt the Infidels, as Enemies to the Croſs of Chriſt, with whom they were not to have Peace; and for the recovery of the Holy City. But ſay what he would, and do what he could, the Peace (to his great diſcontentment) was now concluded, which they might not (as they ſaid) again break; and thereupon with the firſt

The Chriſtian Princes returning from Tunes *ſuffer ſhipwrack upon the coaſt of* Sicilia.

1271. *Prince* Edward *arrived at* Ptolemais.

Prince Edward *wounded.*

fair Wind hoiſed ſail, and returned towards *Sicilia*, with purpoſe the next Spring to have gone into *Syria*; which their determination was ſhortly after by the hand of God diſappointed. For being come upon the Coaſt of the Iſland not far from *Drepanum*, moſt of the great Princes and other Nobility, in their long Boats went on Land, the reſt of the Fleet lying at Anker about a League off; for that being for the moſt part Ships of great burthen they were not able to put into the Harbor: But as they ſo lay, by force of a ſudden and violent Tempeſt then ariſing, ſome were eaten up with the rough Sea; ſome falling foul one on another, there periſhed together: others driven upon the Main, were there beaten in pieces: ſo that of that great Fleet before the Storm ceaſed, periſhed about an hundred and twenty Sail, with all the People, as well Mariners as Souldiers left in them, and great ſtore both of Armor and Munition: In ſuch ſort that moſt of the common Souldiers and Mariners which had eſcaped the Plague at *Tunes*, there upon the Coaſt of *Sicilia* periſhed by Shipwrack. Only Prince *Edwards* Fleet, being in number but thirteen Ships, eſcaped free without loſs either of Ship or Man. Neither were they that were got to Land at *Drepanum* in much better caſe, the Plague ſtill following them; whereof died *Theobald* King of *Navar*, and *Iſabel* his Wife, King *Lewis* his Daughter, *Elizabeth* the French Queen, with a wonderful number of noble Gentlemen, and other common Souldiers; in ſuch ſort that *Philip* the French King diſcouraged with the greatneſs of the mortality, and the miſerable loſs at Sea, reſolved there to make an end of the intended War, and ſo returned into France, as did the reſt that were left, every Man into his own Country. Only Prince *Edward* having paſſed that Winter in *Sicilia*, with the firſt of the next Spring ſet forward again on his Voyage, and in 15 days after arrived with his Fleet at *Ptolemais*: where after he had by the ſpace of a Month reſted Himſelf and his Souldiers after their long travel, and fully inquired of the State of the Country, he with ſix or ſeven thouſand Souldiers marching from *Ptolemais* about twenty Miles into the Land, took *Nazareth*, and put to Sword all them he found therein, and ſo again returned. After whom the Enemies following, in hope to have taken him at ſome advantage, he underſtanding thereof, turned back upon them, and killing a great number of them, put the reſt to flight. And after that about *Midſummer*, underſtanding that the Saraſins were again making Head at a place called *Cakbow*, about forty Miles off, he ſet forwards towards them; and coming upon them early in the Morning before they were aware, ſlew about a Thouſand of them, and diſperſed the reſt. Aided alſo by the Nobility of *Cyprus*, he with like ſucceſs as before, made a third Expedition againſt the Turks and Infidels: inſomuch that his Fame began to grow great amongſt them, and they to ſtand of him in no little dread. But whilſt he thus prevailed, he was by foul Treachery almoſt taken out of the way. The Admiral of *Joppa* feigning himſelf deſirous to become a Chriſtian, and willing to further the Princes proceedings, had by a ſecret Meſſenger and Letters ſundry times Intelligence with him, as well concerning his own good Entertainment, as the effecting of that which he had promiſed. This Meſſenger by the Admiral thus employed, was (though to the Prince unknown) one of the *Aſſaſines*, a company of moſt deſperate and dangerous Men among the Mahometans, who ſtrongly deluded with the blind zeal of their Superſtition, and accounting it meritorious, by any means to kill any great Enemy of their Religion; for the performance thereof, as Men prodigal of their Lives, deſperatly adventure themſelves unto all kind of dangers. So now this Meſſenger, being reſolved to die, coming the fifth time unto the Prince, and being ſearched for having any Weapon about him, as the manner was, had acceſs unto him, then lying in his Chamber upon his Bed, in his Jerkin, bare Headed, becauſe of the heat of the Weather, where after due reverence done, he pulled out certain Letters from his Lord unto the Prince, which he read with great delight, as penned of purpoſe for to pleaſe. But as he was further queſtioning with him of many matters, and all the company voided, the deſperate Meſſenger making as though he would have pulled out ſome other ſecret Letters, ſuddenly pluckt out an envenomed Knife, which he had ſecretly hidden about him, thinking to have ſtruck him into the belly as he lay; for the avoiding of which ſtroke, the Prince lifting up his Arm, was therein grievouſly wounded. But as the Villain was about to have doubled the ſtroak the Prince with his Foot gave him ſuch a blow, that he felled him to the ground, and with that ſtarting up, caught him by the hand, where in ſtrugling with him for the knife, and wreſting it out of his hand, he hurt himſelf therewith in the Forehead; but getting it from him, preſently thruſt it into the Murtherers Belly and ſo ſlew him. The Princes Servants being not far off, and hearing the buſtling, came running in; where finding the Meſſenger dead on the floor, one of them with a ſtool beat out his brains; whereat the Prince took ſome diſpleaſure, for ſo ſtriking a dead man. This danger of the Princes much troubled and grieved all the Chriſtians in *Syria*; and the more, for that the wound in his Arm, after it had been certain days well dreſſed by the skilful Surgeons and Phyſitians, began to mortifie and grow black, inſomuch, that they and others about him began to mutter among themſelves, and to look heavily upon the matter, as not without danger. Which he perceiving, ſaid unto them, Why whiſper you thus amongſt your ſelves? What ſee you in me? Can I not be healed? Tell me the truth and fear not. Whereunto one of them anſwered; And like your Highneſs, we doubt not of your healing, but that it will be painful for you to ſuffer. If ſuffering (ſaid he) may again reſtore my health, I commit my ſelf unto you, work on me your skill, and ſpare not. So the next day they cut out all the dead and poyſoned fleſh out of his Arm, and in fifteen days after perfectly cured his wound, to the great rejoycing of all his People. The great Sultan to clear himſelf of this ſo diſhonourable a treachery, ſent three of his Noble men unto the Prince, calling to witneſs his falſe Prophet, That the ſame was done neither by him nor his conſent. Which Embaſſadors the Prince honourably uſed, but ſuffered them not to come nigh him. So having tarried eighteen Months at *Ptolemais*, and no ayd coming from the other Chriſtian Princes, as was expected, he took ſhipping, and returning homeward, landed firſt in *Sicilia*, and from thence croſſing over into *Apulia*, and ſo travelling to *Rome*, was there honourably entertained by *Gregory* the Tenth, then Pope; and from thence by the way of *France* arrived in *England*, where he was ſhortly after crowned King, in the year 1272. his Father the old King, *Henry* the Third, being a little before his return dead.

The

1273. Rodulph *the Emperor taketh upon him the Croſs.*

The year following, *Gregory* the Tenth, not ignorant of the hard eſtate of the Chriſtians in *Syria*, (as having there been of late himſelf with Prince *Edward*, at which time he was in his abſence elected Pope) and now deſirous to procure them ſome relief, ratified the election of *Rodulphus* of *Hapſpurge* unto the Empire, upon condition, That he ſhould promiſe to take upon himſelf the Croſs, and to give them relief; for the performance whereof he offered unto the Emperor two hundred thouſand Crowns, with the Tenths both of the Clergy and Temporalty for ſix years; and many goodly bleſſings were in his name alſo, by the Preachers of that time, promiſed unto all ſuch as ſhould with him take upon them that ſacred War. Whereupon the Emperor, with all his Family took upon them the Croſs, the ſign of the ſacred expedition intended; as did alſo the Duke of *Lorain* ſhortly after, with ſome others. Nevertheleſs the Emperor, otherwiſe buſied in Wars againſt the *Bohemians* and *Bavarians*, and delaying ſtill the time, as not greatly willing to take upon him ſo long and dangerous a journey, and the Pope ſtill threatning his high ſentence of Excomunication, the time paſſed, the Pope died, and nothing was as yet done. Until that at length the Emperor having happily finiſhed his Wars in *Bohemia*, and finding himſelf at ſome good leiſure in ſome part to diſcharge his Vow, and to ſatisfie the expectation the World had long conceived of him, ſent *Henry* Prince of *Megapolis*, or as the Germans call it, *Meckelbourg*, with a ſtrong Power into *Syria*, to perform what himſelf had promiſed. Who coming to *Ptolemais*, made many notable incurſions into the Country about *Damaſco*, with Fire and Sword deſtroying all before him as he went, and carrying thence many great and rich booties; until that at length he was by the Mamalukes circumvented and taken Priſoner, and ſo carried unto the Sultan at *Caire*, where he remained in ſtrait priſon ſix and twenty years after; until that by chance one of the Mamalukes (a renegate German) being choſen Sultan, cauſed him to be brought before him, and at his coming demanded of him, If it would not do him good to celebrate the remembrance of the Nativity of his Chriſt with his Friends in *Germany*? (for now that time of the year was at hand) And I know (ſaid the Sultan) that thou art ſo addicted unto thy Superſtition, that thou reſpecteſt the ſame more than thy Liberty. Truth (ſaid *Henry*) mighty Prince; for Liberty would avail me nothing, if Chriſt by his moſt mild Incarnation had not taken away our Captivity; and therefore how much all men owe unto the reverend remembrance thereof, I would to God thou, O King, didſt alſo underſtand; which as I moſt heartily wiſh, ſo I would I could thereof perſwade thee. God forbid (ſaid the Sultan) for I remember that when as I was chief Engineer unto thy Father at *Kneſe-Fenicke* in *Livonia*, and there did him good ſervice, I was altogether of the Chriſtian perſwaſion; but now having left that common Error, have therewith alſo changed my private Fortune. But as for thy Religion I have nothing to ſay, my talk is only concerning thy Liberty; wouldſt thou therefore gladly be free, and ſo return home to thy Friends? That, Nature craveth (ſaid *Henry*) although my fortune gainſayeth, which yet dependeth on your pleaſure; I deſire indeed to return home, which if you ſhould deny me, I muſt as I have done take it in good part; aſſuring my ſelf, that my Wife *Anaſtaſia*, with my beloved Sons, *Henry*, *Leo* and *John*, having long ſince celebrated my Funerals, and ended their mourning. Thou art deceived, (ſaid the Sultan) for I am ſure that they know thou yet liveſt, and pray moſt heartily for thy return. Truly I owe much unto the remembrance of thy Father, and therefore this day give thee thy Liberty. And having ſo ſaid, furniſhed him with all things neceſſary, and gave him leave to depart with one *Martin* his Servant, who taken with him, had born him company all the long time of his Captivity. So taking his leave of the Sultan, he came to *Ptolemais*; but ſhipping himſelf for *Cyprus*, he was by the way by certain Pyrates taken at Sea, and as a Fugitive Captive brought back again unto the Sultan; who pitying his hard fortune, ſet him again at liberty, and by a ſhip ſet out for that purpoſe, tranſported him into *Cyprus*; where he was by the Queen of that Iſland his Aunt (as ſome ſay) honourably entertained, and ſo furniſhed of all things fit for his Eſtate. Departing thence he came to *Marſeilles*, where after he had ſome few days refreſhed himſelf, he from thence travelled by Land home into his own Country; where at the firſt he was not known of his own Children and Friends, as being grown old in priſon, and by them long before accounted among the dead; but now at laſt found again, and by them known, he was of his Children joyfully received as their Father, and of his Subjects as their Prince. Howbeit he ſhortly after died, and was honourably buried in the Monaſtery of *Dobran*.

Henry *the Prince taken priſoner, and ſent to* **Caire.**

Thus in the whole courſe of this Hiſtory it appears, by that which is already written, what notable expeditions even the greateſt Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to their immortal glory, from time to time undertook againſt the Enemies of Chriſt, and his moſt ſacred Word, and for the relief of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians in *Syria* and in the Land of *Paleſtine*; whereof as divers of them had right glorious ſucceſs, unto the great profit of the Chriſtian Common-weal; ſo ſome of them anſwered not with like Event, as undertaken with too ſmall ſtrength, or otherwiſe overthrown by the diſcord or malice of the Chriſtians themſelves, rather than by the Enemies Force. Which nevertheleſs how unfortunately ſoever they fell out in the hands of ſuch worthy men as undertook them, yet have they this glory, commendation, and comfort, That they were taken in hand for the honour of the Son of God, Chriſt Jeſus, and the defence of his Verity, againſt the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, and his moſt blaſphemous Doctrin; ſo honourable and juſt a quarrel as might well beſeem the greatneſs of the greateſt Prince, yea of all the Princes of Chriſtendom. Yet could not the worthineſs thereof, even in thoſe more zealous times, or the dangerous Eſtate of that part of the Chriſtian Common-Weal, even then like to periſh, (as ſome others be now) or the lamentable complaints of the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians, crying out unto their Chriſtian Brethren for aid, any whit move the Chriſtian Princes of that time, with their combined Forces to reach unto them their helping hands, or to yield unto them any ſuccor or relief; for they little feeling thoſe harms ſo far off, and more regarding their own hereditary quarrels, employed thoſe Forces one againſt another, unto the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian blood, as might have ſufficed not for relief of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in *Syria* only, but alſo to have regained whatſoever had been before from them taken by the Turks or Saraſins. The German Princes were ſtill at a jar about the choice of their Emperors; the French agreed not with the Engliſh, or them of the Low-Countries; neither the Engliſh with the Scots; the Arragonians were at odds with the French; and in *Italy* were almoſt as many deadly Factions as Provinces. Of which diſcord of the Chriſtians (the greateſt occaſion of their ruin and decay) *Melechſares* the Egyptian Sultan underſtanding by his Eſpials, raiſed a great Army of the Mamalukes and others, with a full purpoſe to have utterly rooted out all the remainders of the Chriſtians in *Syria* and the Land of *Paleſtine*, and ſo to have entirely joyned thoſe two great Countries unto his own Kingdom. But what he had ſo miſchievouſly deviſed, he lived not to bring to paſs, being in the midſt of thoſe his great deſigns taken away by ſudden death. After whom *Alphix* (or as ſome call him, *Elpus*) ſucceeding him in the Kingdom, and with a puiſſant Army entring into *Syria*, laid Siege to *Tripolis*, which he at length took by undermining of it, and put to the Sword all the Chriſtians therein (except ſuch as by ſpeedy flight had in time got themſelves out of the danger) and raſed the City down to the ground; which calamity betided unto the Chriſtians the ninth of *April*, in the year 1289. Preſently after, he had the ſtrong Caſtle of *Neleſine* yielded unto him, whereinto he put a ſtrong Garriſon, to hinder the Chriſtians from building again the late deſtroyed City. In like manner alſo he took the Cities of *Sidon* and *Berythus*, which he ſacked, and laid them flat with the ground. And after that, he removed to *Tyre*, which after three months ſtraight Siege, was by the Citizens (now out of all hope of relief) yielded unto him, upon condition, That they might with bag and baggage in ſafety depart. With like good Fortune he in good time, and as it were without reſiſtance, took all the reſt of the ſtrong Towns and Caſtles which the Chriſtians yet held in *Syria* and the Land of *Paleſtine*, excepting only the City of *Ptolemais*; whereunto all the poor Chriſtians fled as unto a Sanctuary, to be there defended by the honourable Knights Templars and Hoſpitalers. Nothing now left unto them more than that ſtrong City, the Sultan of his own accord made a Peace with them for the ſpace of five years, fearing (as was ſuppoſed) to have drawn upon him all the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, if he ſhould at once have then utterly rooted out all the Chriſtians in thoſe Countries together.

Tripolis *won and raſed by* Elpis *the Egyptian Sultan.*

1289.

Sidon *and* Berythus *raſed.*

Tyre *yielded.*

The miſerable eſtate of a City about to periſh.

The Chriſtians affairs thus brought to the laſt caſt in *Syria*, and yet faintly as it were breathing, by the benefit of the late obtained Peace; *Peter Beluiſe* Maſter of the Templars, with the grand Maſter of the Knights Hoſpitalers, ſuddenly paſſed over (as Embaſſadors from the reſt) into *Europe*, unto *Nicholaus quartus* then Pope, craving his fatherly aid. Who moved with ſo great miſeries of the poor afflicted Chriſtians, ſolicited the other Chriſtian Princes to have ſent them relief; eſpecially *Rodolph* the German Emperor, who then buſied with the affairs of the Empire, and his Troubles nearer home, (as were the other Chriſtian Princes alſo) gave good words, but no help at all. Yet ſome of them under the colour thereof, got from their Subjects great ſums of Mony, which they imployed to other worſe uſes; only the Pope ſent fifteen hundred men at Arms, whom with devout perſwaſion, and much earneſt Preaching, he had induced to take upon them that ſacred Expedition, and entertained them of his own charge; unto whom alſo many others out of divers Countries, upon a Religious Zeal, joyned themſelves as voluntary men; who meeting together at *Brunduſium*, and there embarked with the two grand Maſters of the Templars and Hoſpitalers, in ſafety at length arrived at *Ptolemais*. There was then in the City a great number of People of all ſorts; of able men there was about fifty thouſand, and about forty thouſand of the weaker ſort; amongſt whom, divers Murders, Felonies, Rapes, and ſuch other ſhameful Outrages, (all haſtning the dreadful judgments of God) were dayly committed, and let paſs unregarded, more than of them that were injured. For all the chief Commanders were then at variance among themſelves, every one of them laying claim (not worth a ruſh) unto the vain Title of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*. *Henry* King of *Cyprus* coming thither with a great Fleet, charged the Templars to deliver him the Crown of that Kingdom, which they had (as he ſaid) wrongfully taken from *Almericus* and *Guy* his Anceſtors. And *Charles* King of *Sicilia* by his Embaſſadors laid claim unto the Title of that Kingdom, as due unto the Kings of that Iſland; and underſtanding it to be given unto *Henry* King of *Cyprus*, cauſed all the Revenues of the Templars within his Dominion, to be brought into his Treaſuries, and their Lands and Houſes to be ſpoyled. *Hugh* alſo, Prince of *Antioch*, laboured with tooth and nail, to defend the overworn Right that his Father and Grandfather had unto that loſt Kingdom. And the Count of *Tripolis* laid in for himſelf, That he was deſcended from *Raymund* of *Tholous*; and that beſide himſelf, remained no Prince of the antient Nobility, which had won that Kingdom out of the hands of the Saraſins, and that therefore that regal Dignity did not of better right appertain unto any other than unto himſelf. Neither did theſe four Princes more ſtrive for the Title of the loſt Kingdom, than for the preſent Government of the City, ſtraightway about to periſh. The Popes Legate pretending thereunto a right alſo; for that King *John Brenne* had before ſubjected it unto the See of *Rome*. As for the claim unto the City of *Ptolemais*, the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* challenged unto himſelf the Preheminence, for that the Metropolitical City of *Tyre* (under which the City of *Ptolemais* was the third Epiſcopal Seat) was under his juriſdiction, even by the Decree of the Weſt Church. The Templars alſo, and the Knights Hoſpitalers, whoſe power in the City was at that time far the greateſt, pretended the Government thereof of beſt right to belong unto them, as the juſt reward of their blood, already and afterward to be ſpent in the defence thereof; promiſing great matters if it might be wholly referred unto them. Neither ſpared the French King, or the King of *England*, by their Meſſengers to claim the Soveraignty of the City, by their Predeceſſors ſometimes won. And they of *Piſa* having ſtill a Conſul therein, and by often Marriages with the natural Inhabitants, grown into great affinity with them, did what they might to get the Government into their Hands. The Venetians alſo by their Authority and great Wealth, laboured to gain the good Will of the People, ſparing therein no Coſt. And they of *Genoa*, no leſs cunning than the reſt, ſupplanted the ſtrongeſt Factions, by giving aid both apertly and covertly unto the weaker; that ſo having weakned the Faction they moſt doubted and hated, they might by the joynt favour of the weaker, aſpire unto the Government of the ſtronger, and ſo conſequently of the City it ſelf. The Florentines alſo by their continual Traffique thither, were not out of hope, by one fineneſs or other, amongſt ſo many Competitors, to find a mean to ſtep up above the reſt. But the greateſt part of the People for all that were moſt inclined unto the Armenians and Tartars, as both for their nearneſs and power moſt like of all other to ſtand them in ſtead. All theſe aimed at one mark, which was the Government and Command of the City; and moſt of them had in the ſame their own proper Laws and Courts, to decide their Cauſes and Controverſies in. Whereby it came to paſs, that every man might without check or controlement

ment almoſt do what he liſt, the offenders from one Court to another, removing their ſuits as beſt ſerved their turns. Thus were murders (as is before ſaid) dayly committed in the Streets, men abuſed, houſes robbed, ſhops broken up, and many other outrages done, to the haſtning of the wrath of God, and grief of all good men.

1291.

Diviſion and diſſention (the ruin of all Common-Weals) thus reigning in the City, the Souldiers of late ſent thither, or in zeal come of themſelves, for the defence thereof, gave occaſion for the more ſpeedy deſtruction of the ſame; Such is the power of the Almighty, in his wrath and judgments for ſin, even by thoſe things wherein we moſt truſt and joy, to work our utter ruine and deſtruction. Theſe Souldiers, for want of ſuch pay as was promiſed them, were enforced to ſeek abroad; and therefore contrary to the League before made with the Egyptian Sultan, oftentimes went out in great parties into the Frontiers of his Territories, taking the ſpoil of ſuch things as they light upon. Whereof the Sultan underſtanding, demanded by his Embaſſadors, That reſtitution might be made, and the offendors delivered unto him to be puniſhed, according unto the League. But in that ſo ſick a ſtate of a dying Common-Weal, neither was reſtitution made as reaſon would, or yet the Embaſſadors courteouſly heard. With which Inſolency the Sultan provoked, ſent *Emilech Araphus* a notable Captain, (and as ſome ſay, his Son) with an hundred and fifty thouſand men, to beſiege the City; who coming thither, and having made his approaches, had by a Mine in ſhort time overthrown a piece of the Wall; but in ſeeking to have entred by the breach, he found ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, that he was glad with loſs to retire. Whilſt *Araphus* thus lay at the Siege of *Ptolemais*, *Alphir* the Sultan died at *Damaſco*; in whoſe ſtead the Mamalukes made choice of this *Araphus* for their Sultan; who more deſirous of nothing, than of the glory of the utter rooting up of the Chriſtians in *Syria*, was ſo far from raiſing of his Siege, (either for the death of the Sultan, or the news of his Kingdom) that he more ſtraightly beſet the City than he had in the three months ſpace that he had there lien before. Now had they in the City choſen *Peter* the Maſter of the Templars, their Governor; a man of great experience and valour; unto whom, and the reſt of the Nobility, the Sultan offered great rewards, and unto the Souldiers their pay, with free liberty to depart, ſo that they would without more ado yield unto him the City, which they could not long hold. Which his offer the Maſter rejected, and flatly told him, That he had not learned of his Anceſtors, to ſell for Mony unto the Infidels a City bought with ſo much Chriſtian blood; either did ſo much regard his vain threats, as therefore to forget his ſervice due unto his Saviour Chriſt and the Chriſtian Common-Weal. With which anſwer the Tyrant inraged, the next day with all his Forces aſſaulted the City, and that in ſuch deſperate and furious manner, as if he would even then have carried it; having before filled the ditches, and promiſed the Spoil unto his Souldiers, the more to encourage them. Yet having done what he could, and loſt a number of his men, ſlain both in the aſſault, and in a Sally which the Chriſtians made out at the ſame time, he was enforced to retire back again into his Trenches. In this ſo terrible an aſſault, not repulſed without ſome loſs alſo of the Chriſtians, the grand Maſter and Governour of the City was wounded with a poyſoned Dart, whereof he in three days after died: with whom the courage of the Defendants fainted alſo, no man being left like unto him to undertake ſo great a charge, although many there were, that overweening themſelves deſired the ſame. In the beginning of this Siege the Chriſtians had ſent away all their aged and weak People, unfit for ſervice, into *Cyprus*, where they in ſafety arrived. But now many of the better ſort, both Captains and others, diſcouraged, one after another conveighed themſelves away out of the City; of whom a great number in paſſing thence to *Cyprus*, were upon the coaſt of the Iſland, together with the Patriarch drowned. In the City remained only twelve thouſand, which were thought ſufficient for the defence thereof; who afterwards (as ſome report) fled alſo by Sea after their Fellows; and ſo left the City empty unto the barbarous Enemy; ſome others reporting of them more honourably, as that they ſhould right valiantly defend the City againſt the Aſſault of their Enemies, until ſuch time as that moſt of them being ſlain or wounded, and the reſt by force driven from the Walls into the Market place, and there for a while notably defending themſelves, in flying thence unto the Ships, were by the way all cut in ſunder, or elſe drowned. But howſoever it was, the Sultan entring the City (by the Chriſtians abandoned, or by force taken) gave the ſpoil thereof unto his Souldiers; who after they had rifled every Corner thereof, by his Commandment ſet it on fire and burnt it down to the ground; and digging up the very foundations of the Walls, Churches, and other publick or private buildings, which the fire had not burnt, left there no ſign of any City at all; but purging the place even of the very heaps of the ſtones and rubbidge left of the raſed City, made it a fit place for Husbandmen to plow and ſow Corn in; which he did both there, at *Sidon*, *Beritus*, and other Towns alongſt the Sea-coaſt, becauſe they ſhould never more ſerve for a refuge unto the Chriſtians, or give them footing again into thoſe Countries. Thus together with *Ptolemais* was the name of the Chriſtians utterly rooted out of *Syria*, and the Land of *Paleſtine*, in the year 1291, about 192 years after the winning of *Jeruſalem* by *Godfrey* of *Bulloin* and the other Chriſtian Princes his Confederates.

Ptolemais *beſieged.*

Ptolemais *in vain aſſaulted by the Sultan.*

Caſſanes *the Emperor invadeth* Syria

This loſs, aſtending to the great diſgrace of the Chriſtians in general, moved not a little even the greateſt of the Chriſtian Princes; wronged all or moſt part of them in the perſons of the Templars or Knights Hoſpitalers, their Subjects, ſo ſhamefully now quite caſt out of *Syria* and the Land of Promiſe; howbeit, troubled with their own turbulent Affairs at home or with their neighbour Princes not far off, none of them once ſtirred for the redreſs or revenge thereof. Only *Caſſanes* the great Tartar Prince, having of late ſubdued the Perſians, and married the Daughter of the Armenian King (a Lady of great perfection, and of a Mahometan become a Chriſtian) at the requeſt of his Wife and his Father-in-Law, took the matter in hand. And for that purpoſe having raiſed a moſt puiſſant Army of two hundred thouſand fighting men, and aided by the Armenians and Georgians, paſſing over the Mountain *Amanus* into *Syria*, not far from the City *Hama* met with *Melcenaſar*, the Egyptian Sultans Lieutenant, with a mighty Army, whom he overthrew in a great and mortal Battel, wherein forty thouſand of the Egyptians are reported to have been ſlain, and ſo drave him quite out of *Syria*; ſending *Molais*, one of his Captains, with part of his Army to purſue him, who never left him until he had chaſed him over the deſart Sands into *Egypt*. The victorious Tartar after this Battel took the City of *Hama*, where lighting upon the great Treaſures of the

Sultan,

Jeruſalem *taken and repaired by* **Caſſanes.**

The deſcription of **Caſſanes.**

The City of Jeruſalem *with all* **Syria** *again recovered by the Egyptian Sultan.*

Sultan, he bountifully divided it, together with the Spoil, amongſt his Souldiers, reſerving nothing thereof unto himſelf, more than a Sword and a Casket full of ſecret Letters. The Egyptians thus put to flight; he without reſiſtance took in moſt of the Cities of *Syria*, with the City of *Jeruſalem* alſo; which in many places by the Turks and Egyptians defaced, he again repaired; and together with the Temple of our Saviour gave it to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Chriſtians, repairing thither out of *Cyprus*, *Crete*, and other places, to inhabit. And having himſelf honoured the holy places with great gifts, returned with his Army to *Damaſco*, which was forthwith delivered unto him. But lying there, with purpoſe in Autumn following to have gon into *Egypt*, and to have utterly deſtroyed that Kingdom, he was certified of new troubles ariſing in *Perſia*, and ſome other parts of his Empire; for repreſſing whereof, he with the greateſt part of his Army returned himſelf into *Perſia*, leaving one *Capcapus* Governour of *Damaſco*; who after the overthrow of the Sultans Army had revolted unto him; and *Molais* (of whom we have before ſpoken) Governour of *Jeruſalem*; commanding them at his departure to re-edifie the City of *Tyre*, and to ſend Embaſſadors unto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to joyn in League with them, for the more ſure holding of thoſe new gained Countries. And ſo *Tyre* was indeed repaired as he had commanded, and delivered to the Chriſtians, with a convenient Garriſon for the keeping thereof; but the Embaſſadors coming to the proud Biſhop *Boniface* the Eighth, then Pope, whom of all others it beſeemed to have furthered their buiſineſs, they could of him obtain nothing, but returned as they came. For he at the ſame time fallen out with *Philip* the French King, thundering out his Excommunications, diſcharging his Subjects of their Loyalty, and ſo much as in him was, depriving him of his Kingdom, had given the ſame unto *Albertus* Duke of *Auſtria*, whom he had declared Emperor; whereof aroſe great troubles. Beſides that, he being of the *Guelphes* Faction was not in any thing more careful, than of the utter extinguiſhing of the contrary Faction of the *Gibellines*, eſpecially of the moſt honourable Family of the *Columnij*, of whom ſome he had ſlain, ſome he had deprived of their honours, ſome he had impriſoned, and driven other ſome into Exile; ſo that thus wickedly buſied for the maintenance of his own proud Eſtate, he had no leiſure to further the good of the Chriſtian Common-Weal; which his intollerable pride, and forgetfulneſs of duty long eſcaped not the revenging hand of God; being when he thought leaſt, ſuddenly taken priſoner at his Fathers houſe in the City of *Anagnia* (where he was born) by *Sara Columnius* his mortal Enemy; whom but lately before redeemed out of a Pirats Gally, the French King had ſent for that purpoſe, with one *Longaret* (or as ſome call him, *Nogaret*) a French Knight; by whom the proud Prelat brought to *Rome*, in the Caſtle of S. *Angelo* within five and thirty days after moſt miſerably died in his madneſs (as ſome report) renting himſelf with his Teeth, and devouring his own Fingers. This worthy Tartar Prince *Caſſanes* (by whom the Chriſtian Common-Weal might have again riſen in *Syria* and the Land of *Paleſtine*, had not the pride of the great Biſhop, and the diſſention of the Chriſtian Princes hindred the ſame) was (as *Aitonus* writeth, who was preſent in this War, following his Uncle the Armenian King) a man of a very ſhort Stature, and exceeding hard Favour; but with Valour, Bounty, and other Vertues of the Mind, plentifully recompencing what wanted in the Feature of his Body. After whoſe departure into *Perſia*, *Capcapus* Governour of *Damaſco*, conſidering that the power of the Tartars there left was not great, and that no aid was to be expected from the other Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt; to recompence his former Treaſon of revolting from the Sultan, with a new revolt from the Tartar, roſe up into open Rebellion, drawing after him not only the City of *Damaſco*, but the greateſt part of *Syria* alſo. Whereof *Molais* Governour of *Jeruſalem* underſtanding, was about to have gone againſt him with his Tartars; but advertiſed by his Eſpials, that *Capcapus* in this his Conſpiracy had compacted with the Egyptian Sultan, alſo perceiving himſelf too weak to withſtand ſo great a power, retired with his Tartars into *Meſopotamia*, there expecting new Supplies both from *Caſſanes* and the King of *Armenia*. Of whoſe departure out of *Syria* the Egyptian Sultan underſtanding, came directly with his Army to *Jeruſalem*, which he took (being forſaken of the Inhabitants) and prophaned the Temple, ſparing only the Sepulchre of our Saviour, at the humble ſuit of the Religious, making there a greater ſhew of Devotion, than of Cruelty. After that, he won all the other leſſer Towns, which the Tartars had either kept for themſelves, or given to the other Chriſtians, and utterly raſed all the Forts of the Hoſpitalers and Templars, which valiant men, without other help, for the ſpace of almoſt a year, held out againſt the Tyrant, in which time moſt of them were honourably ſlain; the reſt that were left alive being taken by the Enemy, had nevertheleſs leave given with bag and baggage in ſafety to depart, having before by ſolemn Oath for ever abjured the Country of *Syria*; and ſo theſe worthy men, the great ornaments of the Chriſtian Common-Weal, the Hoſpitalers and Templars, which to the utmoſt of their power had by the ſpace of three hundred years right worthily defended both the Chriſtians and the Chriſtian Religion, againſt the Infidels in *Syria*, and the Holy Land, were now for ever driven out thence about the year of our Lord 1300, to the great diſhonour of all Chriſtendom.

1300.

Wherefore with them now taking our leave of *Syria*, and the Holy Land, leaving the ſame in the poſſeſſion of the Egyptian Sultan and the Mamalukes, although it were ſhortly after like enough to have been again recovered from them by the Tartars, had not the death of the great Tartar Prince *Caſſanes*, and their domeſtical troubles letted; we will again return to the troubled Affairs of the Turks in the leſſer *Aſia*, whither the courſe of the time had ſomewhat before called us, with the occurents thereof, more proper to our purpoſe and the argument we have in hand, but that all cannot be at once told; and for the better underſtanding of the deſirous Reader, I thought it not good abruptly to break off the courſe of the aforeſaid Hiſtory, drawing ſo near to an end, but to make him partaker of the heavineſs thereof.

The death of **Meſoot** *and* **Cei-cubades.**

Now had the Turks no Kingdom left in the leſſer *Aſia*, and that alſo at the pleaſure of *Gazan* the great Tartar *Cham* divided betwixt *Meſoot* and *Cei-Cubades*, as his Vaſſals, bound unto him by a yearly Tribute, as is aforeſaid; who both kept in awe by the greatneſs of the Tartar, did nothing worth the remembrance; but as they lived, ſo alſo died, almoſt buried in obſcurity. Of theſe two, *Meſoot* died without iſſue; but *Cei-Cubades* departing left behind him his Son *Aladin*, who by the name of *Aladin* the Second ſucceeding in the Kingdom, united again the ſame before divided, yet paying ſtill Tribute unto the Tartar his Soveraign, as had his Father with the other late Sultans of the Turks before him. Much it was not that this

Aladin did, albeit that the power of the Tartars in his time began to decline, and not to lie ſo heavy upon the Turks as before. He was a man of a quiet Spirit, and therefore much delighted in Peace; a great Friend to *Othoman* the firſt founder of the glorious and mighty *Othoman* Empire, as in his life ſhall appear. But this *Aladin*, the laſt of the Turks Sultans of the *Selzuccian* Family, dying without iſſue; one *Sabib* his Viſier-Azemes or chief Counſellor, and then a man of greateſt Authority, aſpired unto the Kingdom, which he had for the moſt part himſelf ſwayed all the Reign of the late Sultan his Maſter; which uſurped Soveraignty, no way unto him due, he could neither himſelf long hold, or deliver unto his Poſterity; for that many others of the Nobility, men of great Power, and born of greater Families than he, envying at his honour, and diſdaining to be governed by him, or any other no greater than themſelves, laid hold, ſome upon one Country or Province, ſome upon another, where they were able to do moſt, erecting unto themſelves greater or leſſer Satrapies, according to the meaſure of their own Strength and Power, without reſpect of any Superiority one ſhould have over another, but every one of them abſolutely commanding over ſo much as he was able by ſtrong hand to hold. So that as it had oftentimes before chanced, that the great Monarchies deſtitute of their lawful Heirs, had in part, or all, become rich Preys unto ſuch as could firſt lay ſtrong hand upon them; even ſo fell it now out in the great Kingdom of the Turks, every one of their great Princes, meaſuring the greatneſs of his Territory, not by the meaſure of his right, but by the ſtrength of his own power. Wherein they ſhared ſo well for themſelves, that *Sabib* at firſt in poſſeſſion of all, was in ſhort time thruſt quite out of all; and ſo the great Kingdom of the Turks in the leſſer *Aſia*, brought unto a meer Anarchie; no King now left among them, the whole Kingdom being divided into divers Satrapies, or other leſſer Toparchies. The greateſt of thoſe Princes that thus ſhared the Turks Kingdom amongſt them, was one *Caraman Aluſirius*; who as ſtrongeſt, took unto him the City of *Iconium*, the Regal ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultans, with all the great Country of *Cilicia*, and ſome part of the Frontiers of the Countries of *Lycaonia*, *Pamphilia*, *Caria*, and the greater *Phrygia*, as far as *Philadelphia*, and the City of *Antioch* upon the River *Meander*; All which large Territory, was of him afterward called *Caramania*, and by the ſame name is commonly at this day known, and by our late Geographers deſcribed. Of this *Caraman* alſo deſcended the Caramanian Kings, who of long time after unfortunately ſtrove with the *Othoman* Sultans for the Soveraignty of their Empires; until that at length they with their Kingdom, and all the reſt of theſe Turkiſh Satrapies, were in the fatal greatneſs of the *Othoman* Empire, ſwallowed up and devoured, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall (if God ſo will) in due time and place be declared. Next Neighbour unto him was *Saruchan*, of the Greeks called *Sarchan*, of whom the Country of *Ionia-Maritima* was and yet is called *Saru-Chan-Ili*, and *Saruchania*, that is to ſay, *Saruchans* Country. The greateſt part of *Lydia*, with ſome part alſo of the greater *Miſia*, *Troas*, and *Phrygia*, fell to *Calamus* and his Son *Caraſius*, of whom it is called *Caraſia*, or *Caraſi-Ili*; (or as we might ſay) *Caraſius* his Country. The greateſt part of the antient *Miſia*, with ſome part of *Lydia*, was poſſeſſed by *Aidin*, and was of him called *Aidinia*, or *Aidin-Ili*, as his Country. Some part of the great Country of *Pontus*, with the Cities of *Heraclea-Pontica*, *Caſtamona*, *Synope*, and others neer unto the *Euxine*, and the Country of *Paphlagonia*, fell into the hands of the Sons of *Omer*, or as the Greeks call him, *Amur*; of whom that Country took not its name, as did the others, of ſuch Princes as poſſeſſed them, but is commonly called *Bolli*, of a City in that Country by the Turks ſo named. As was alſo *Mendeſia*, or as ſome call it *Menteſia*, a Country in the leſſer *Aſia*, ſo by the Turks called of *Mendos* or *Myndus*, a City in *Caria*. There were beſide theſe, divers other places and Toparchies in the leſſer *Aſia*, which in the renting of this great Kingdom, from the Turks received names, before unto the world unknown; all which to proſecute were tedious. Let it ſuffice us, for the manifeſting of the Turks Anarchie, and the ruin of their Kingdom in the leſſer *Aſia*, as in part alſo for the more evidence of the heavy Hiſtory following, to have remembred theſe as the chiefeſt; eſpecially ſuch as took their names of ſuch great Princes or Captains as in that ſo great a confuſion of the Turks Kingdom, by ſtrong hand firſt ſeized upon them, and ſo left them to their poſterity, of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter. Theſe Princes one and all that thus ſhared the late *Aladinian* Kingdom, were deſcended of the better ſort of the Turks, which with the *Selzuccian* and *Aladinian* Sultans driven out of *Perſia* by the Tartars, had under them ſeated themſelves in the leſſer *Aſia*, as is before at large declared. Now amongſt theſe great men that thus divided the Turks Kingdom, moſt of them that write of the Turks Affairs, both Greeks and Latines, reckon up *Othoman* (the raiſer of his Houſe and Family) for one, who indeed in the later time of the late Sultan *Aladin* began to flouriſh, and was of him for his Valour extraordinarily favoured (as in this Hiſtory ſhall appear,) but of his Kingdom held no more than one poor Lordſhip, called *Suguta* in *Bithynia*, not far from the Mountain *Olympus*, (long before given unto his Father *Erthogrul*, for his good ſervice) with ſuch other ſmall holds thereabout, as he had himſelf gained from the weak Chriſtians his Neighbours. For although he were a Turk born, yet was he not of the *Selzuccian* Family, as were the reſt, but of another Houſe and Tribe, and therefore not of them favoured or thought to have ſo good right to any of the late Sultans Provinces or Territories, as they had, who being of his Houſe, and holpen with the preſcription of time, envied at the ſudden riſing of the *Oguzian* Turk, being to them as it were a meer ſtranger; whoſe fortune for all that (I know not by what ſecret foreknowledg) they ſeemed to fear, as in time to grow dangerous unto them and their Poſterity; wherein they were no whit deceived. But of him and his proceedings much more is to be ſaid hereafter; leave we him now therefore with the reſt unto their fortunes in this the Turks Anarchie, and ſo conclude this part of our General Hiſtory: Glad when I look back to have waded thus far, yet fearing to be drowned before I get over; ſuch a Sea of Matter and World of Troubles yet remaining, not without much labour and toil, and that in long time to be paſſed through.

The Turks Kingdom rent in ſunder by themſelves.

The Turks Anarchie.

Caramania.

Saruchania.

Caraſia.

Aidinia.

Bolli.

Mendeſia.

Othoman *none of the* **Selzuccian** *Family.*

Aladin did, albeit that the power of the Turks was in his time ſo much declining, and but as it ſo were [illegible] ty upon the Turks as before. He was a man of greater ſpirit, and therefore much diſdained the Peace ; a great Friend to Othoman the firſt Founder of the Othoman and preſent Turkiſh Empire, in his life [illegible] before. But this Aladin, the laſt of the Turks Sultans of the Selzuccian Family, dying without Iſſue, one called his Viſir-Aronies or chief Counſellor, and then a great man of Authority, aſpired unto the Kingdom, which he had for the moſt part (which was all the Kings of the late Sultans Maſters, which in great Soveraignty, no way liked him [illegible], [illegible] could not hinder long hold, or deliver by his contrary ; for that many Princes of the [illegible] of great Power, and born of good Families [illegible] that, [illegible] envying at his honour, and [illegible] to be governed by him, or any other [illegible] than themſelves, laid hold, ſome of one [illegible] Province, ſome upon another, [illegible] goſe to do itſelf, [illegible] greater or leſſer Satrapies, according [illegible] their own ſtrength and [illegible] any ſuperiority [illegible] but every one of theſe [illegible] commanding over [illegible] he was able [illegible] to hold. So that [illegible] had ſometime [illegible] that the great Monarchie [illegible] each lawful Heirs, had in pieces [illegible] but [illegible] ſuch as could [illegible] lay ſtrong hold upon them ; even ſo fell it now out in the great Kingdom of the Turks, every one of thoſe great Princes, meaſuring the greatneſs of his Territory, not by the meaſure of his right, but by the ſtrength of his own power. Wherein they ſhared ſo well for themſelves, that Aladin at firſt in poſſeſſion of all, was in ſhort time thruſt quite out of all ; and ſo the great Kingdom of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, brought unto a great Anarchie ; no King now left among them, the whole Kingdom being divided into divers Satrapies, or other leſſer Toparchies. The greateſt of thoſe Princes that thus ſhared the Turks Kingdom amongſt them, was one Caraman Aliſhir ; who as ſtrongeſt, took unto him the City of Iconium, the Regal ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultans, with all the great Country of Cilicia, and ſome part of the Frontiers of the Countries of Lycaonia, Pamphilia, Caria, and the greater Phrygia, as far as Philadelphia, and the City of Antioch upon the River Meander. All which large Territory, was of him afterward called Caramania, and by the ſame name is commonly at this day known, and by our late Geographers deſcribed. Of this Caraman alſo deſcended the Caramanian Kings, who of long time after unfortunately ſtrove with the Othoman Sultans for the Soveraignty of their Empires ; until that at length they with their Kingdom, and all the reſt of theſe Turkiſh Satrapies, were in the fatal gutmels of the Othoman Empire, ſwallowed up and devoured, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall (if God ſo will) in due time and place be declared. Next Neighbour unto him was Saruchan, of the Greeks called Sarchanes, of whom the Country of Ionia Maritima was and yet is called Saru-Chan-Ili, and Sarucheneli, that is to ſay, Saruchan Country. The greateſt part of Lydia, with ſome part alſo of the greater Myſia, Troas, and Phrygia, fell to Calamus and his Son Caraſias, of whom it is called Caraſia, or Caraſ-Ili ; (or as we might ſay) Caraſias his Country. The greateſt part of the ancient [illegible] with ſome part of Lydia, was poſſeſſed by [illegible] and was of him called [illegible] Country. Some part of the great Country of Phrygia, with the Cities of [illegible] [illegible] and others near [illegible] the Country of Paphlagonia, fell into the hands of the Son of Omar, or as the Greeks call him [illegible] of whom the Country took his name ; [illegible] the other [illegible] Princes poſſeſſed them [illegible] a commonly called [illegible], of a City in that Country by the Turks ſo named. It was alſo [illegible], or as ſome call it Alemyra, a Country [illegible] by the Turks called [illegible] a City [illegible]. There were beſide divers other places and Toparchies in the [illegible] Aſia, which in the renting of the great Kingdom [illegible] the Turks, received names before unto the world unknown : all which to proſecute [illegible] tedious : it ſufficeth for the manifeſting of the Turks [illegible] and the ruin of their Kingdom [illegible] [illegible] Hiſtory [illegible] the Chief [illegible] names of ſuch great Princes or [illegible] as in the great [illegible] common of the Turks Kingdom, long and [illegible] upon them, [illegible] to be [illegible] Satrapies. Their [illegible] that [illegible] the late Aladin [illegible] were deſcended of the better ſort of [illegible] which with the Saracens and [illegible] driven out of Perſia by the [illegible] then ſeated themſelves in the [illegible] fore at large declared. Now [illegible] ment that [illegible] the Turks [illegible] of them that write of the Turks [illegible] Greeks and Latins, reckon up [illegible] maſter of his [illegible] and [illegible] dead in the [illegible] began to mount [illegible] and was of [illegible] exceedingly favoured (as [illegible] ſay,) out of his Kingdom [illegible] one poor Lordſhip, called Sogut [illegible] far from the Mountain Olympus [illegible] given unto his Father Ertogrul [illegible] vice) with ſuch other ſmall [illegible] had himſelf gained from [illegible] his Neighbours. For although [illegible] born, yet was he not of the [illegible] the reſt, but of another [illegible] and therefore not ſo of them [illegible] to have ſo good right to any [illegible] Provinces or Territories, as [illegible] of his Houſe, and honour with [illegible] of time, envied at [illegible] ſudden [illegible] Turk, being to them as it were [illegible] whole fortune [illegible] (as [illegible] ſecret foreknowledge) they ſaw [illegible] time to grow dangerous unto [illegible] Poſterity ; whereas they were [illegible] fear of him and his [illegible] be laid hereafter [illegible] with the reſt into their [illegible] Anarchie, and ſo conclude [illegible] ment Hiſtory : (God when I [illegible] waded thus far, [illegible] before I [illegible] World of Troubles [illegible] much labour and [illegible] paſſed through.

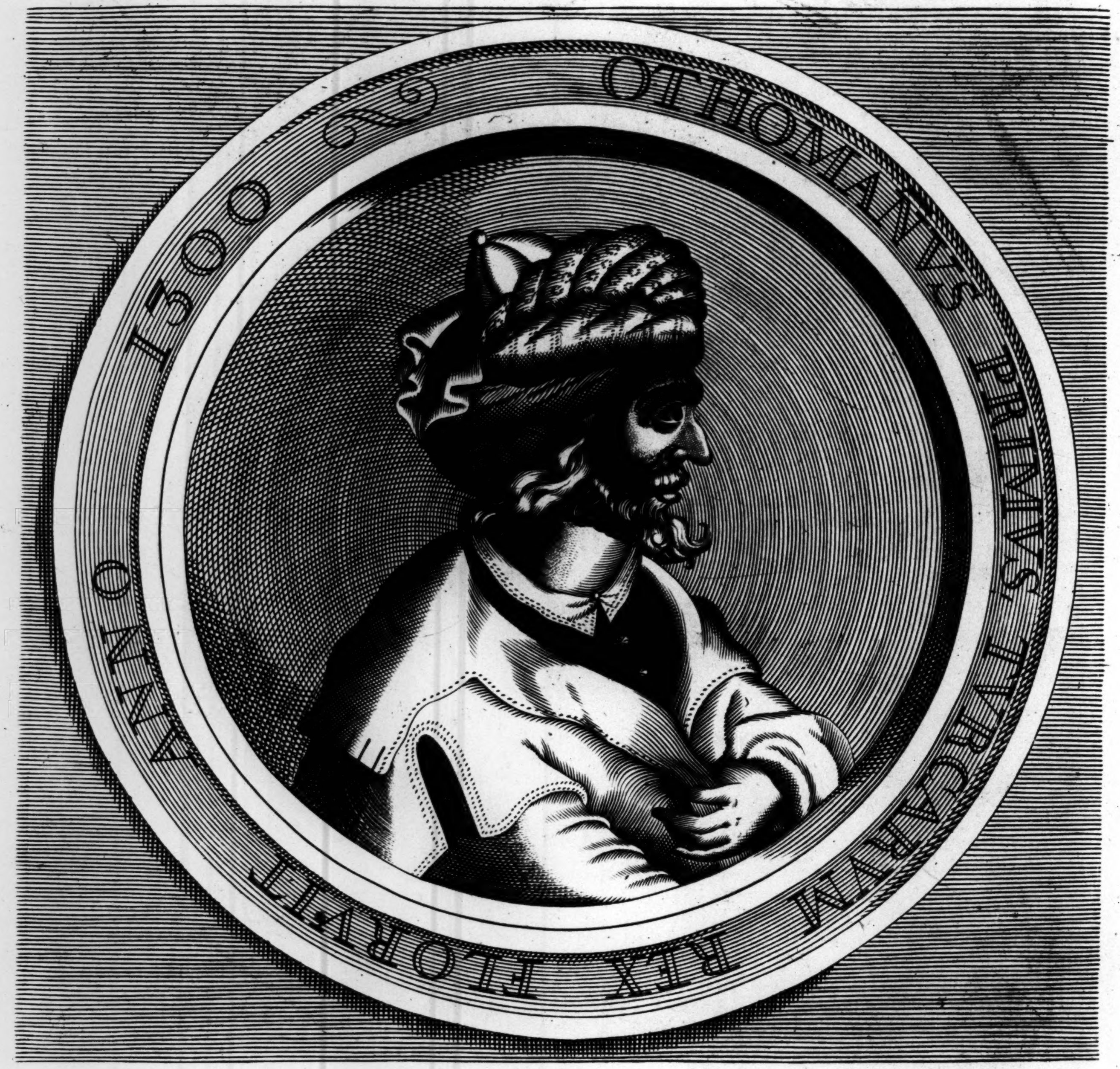
The Turks Kingdom rent, in pieces by [illegible].

The Turks Anarchie.

Caramania.

Saruchania.

Caraſia.


OTHOMANUS PRIMUS TURCARUM REX FLORUIT ANNO 1300

Multiplici laſsatæ Asiæ res clade premuntur,
Hinc Sarracenus, Tartarus inde ruit.
Mutua Christicolæ gladios in vulnera stringunt:
Græcia funesta Seditione perit.
Impiger interea nova concipit Ottomanus
Concilia, et valida surgit in arma manu,
Et vastatricis regno fundamina turbæ
Ponit, et in multo sanguine Sceptra lavat.

Whilest weltring in it's gore proud Asia lay,
To Saracens, and Tartars made a Prey.
While Christian Swords wounded each other's breast,
And Greece with mad Sedition was distrest.
Bold Ottoman *the dire Advantage takes,*
And a new road for Desolation makes.
A barbarous Empire his Ambition founds,
His cruel scepter staind with bloud, and wounds.

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The RISING of the
Great and Mighty Empire
OF THE
TURKS
UNDER
OTHOMAN,
Firſt FOUNDER thereof;
WITH HIS
LIFE & DOINGS.

All worldly things ſubject to change

The greateſt Kingdoms have in time taken end, and ſo come to nought.

WHAT ſmall aſſurance there is in mens Affairs, and how ſubject unto change even thoſe things are wherein we for the moſt part repoſe our greateſt felicity and bliſs, (beſide that the whole courſe of mans frail life, by many notable Examples well declareth) nothing doth more plainly manifeſt the ſame, than the heavy Events and woful Deſtructions of the greateſt Kingdoms and Empires; which founded upon great Fortunes, increaſed with perpetual Succeſs, exalted by exceeding Power, eſtabliſhed with moſt puiſſant Armies, wholeſom Laws, and deep Counſels; have yet grown old, and in time come to nought: So that even as men, all things elſe belonging unto man, are ſubject unto the inevitable courſe of Deſtiny, or more truly to ſay, unto the fatal doom of the moſt High, prefixing unto every thing that in time begun, a time alſo wherein to take end, being himſelf without time the great Commander thereof, and of all things elſe done therein. The Fame of the firſt *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, is very ancient, and was no doubt both great and long, yet hath it nevertheleſs found an end; and the more to put us in remembrance of our infirmity, was never with ſo much glory and valour by *Ninus* erected, as it was with ſhame and cowardiſe by *Sardanapulus* ſubverted. With like neceſſity fell the great Empire of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, the time thereof being come: And after them the *Macedonians* alſo. Neither hath the great Roman Empire, or the proud City of *Rome* it ſelf (ſometime the Miſtreſs of the World) herein found any exemption, but run the ſame courſe with the reſt; which grown great with continual Triumphs, and ſo ſtrong as that it was not with forreign Power to be ſhaken; converted the Forces of it ſelf upon it ſelf, to the overthrow of the antient liberty thereof, together with the utter ſubverſion of the State. After which time that mighty Monarchy (of all that ever yet were, the greateſt) under the Roman Emperors felt many an hard and perilous ſtorm, and by little and little ſtill declining (though ſometime like a ſick aged body, by the valour or vertue of ſome one or other her worthy Emperors, a little relieved, and by and by again caſt down by the folly or negligence of ſome others ſucceeding) it became at length a Prey unto a fooliſh rude and barbarous Nation, which it had before oftentimes overcome, and over which many the Roman Captains had triumphed, and thereof taken their glorious Sirnames; which now again without compaſſion, burning and ſacking it, cauſed it to ſtoop, and to yield unto the ſervile yoke which it had in former time proudly impoſed upon the Necks of others; wherein if any thing be to be blamed, it is not the fortune or folly of this or that man, then ſitting at the Helm (although that may alſo much help the matter as a mean) but the inſtability of worldly things, never permanent, but always changeable, and the ſooner for their height; and that ſo forcibly, as that no man knoweth how to remedy the ſame; or if he did, were able to perform it; the greateſt means that men could poſſibly deviſe for the ſtay thereof, being oftentimes by a greater Power from above, converted unto the more ſpeedy effecting of that, againſt the which they were by mans wiſdom provided. The like might be ſaid of the

Athenians, the Lacedemonians, the Thebanes, and of whom not? What marvel then, if the ancient Kingdoms of the Turks likewiſe in *Perſia*, and the leſſer *Aſia*, in *Syria*, *Paleſtina*, and *Egypt*, having run their appointed times, mightily impugned by the Chriſtians, oppreſſed on the one ſide by the Tartars, and on the other by the Mamalukes, and at length by themſelves rent in ſunder (their Deſtiny ſo requiring) loſt at laſt their wonted Majeſty, and ſo fell into a meer Anarchie, as in the former part of this Hiſtory is at large declared? Yet in this far more than any other People fortunate, That after the ruin of their former Kingdoms, ſtraight way out of themſelves ariſe another, namely this *Othoman* Monarchy, the chief object of this Hiſtory; which at the firſt ſcarce of the World perceived, or of themſelves regarded, in ſhort time ſo proſpered, as that the Power and Glory thereof obſcured not their former Kingdoms only (nothing in compariſon of this) but even the greateſt Monarchies of the World; over a great part of which, it now ſo proudly triumpheth, as if it ſhould never have end; at the Beauty whereof the World wondreth, and at the Power thereof quaketh; within the greatneſs whereof are contained no ſmall portions of *Aſia*, *Europe* and *Africk*, but even the moſt famous and fruitful Kingdoms thereof; no part of the World left untouched but *America* only; not more fortunate with her rich Mines, than in that ſhe is ſo far from ſo great and dangerous an Enemy. The foundation of this ſo great a Kingdom (and now ſo mighty an Empire, as holdeth the World in awe) was firſt laid by the valiant *Othoman*, or as the Turks call him, *Oſman*; not deſcended of the *Selzuccian* Family, as were all the former Turks Sultans, but of the *Oguzian* Tribe and Kindred; in whoſe line this glorious Empire hath ever ſince, to the aſtoniſhment of the World, wonderfully flouriſhed. But foraſmuch as both his greatneſs, and the greatneſs of the reſt of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors his Progenitors, took their beginning from this worthy and warlike *Othoman*, with whoſe Life and Doings we purpoſe to begin this part of our Hiſtory, it ſhall not be amiſs both for the continuation of that we have in hand, with that we have already written, and for the more manifeſting of that which hereafter followeth, a little farther to fetch his Race and Deſcent alſo; not meaning with a long and feigned Pedegree to ſet him out of *Noah* his Ark, (which continual Succeſſion of Princes, no Nation of the World, be it never ſo ancient, the Jews only excepted, and they alſo by Writings and Hiſtories as much as was poſſible eternized, could truly and juſtly challenge) but only ſo far as it ſhall be pertinent unto our purpoſe, and by the authority of good Hiſtories to be averred.

At ſuch time as the Turks Kingdom founded by *Tangrolipix* in *Perſia*, flouriſhed in the *Selzuccian* Princes his Succeſſors, there was alſo another Kingdom of theirs at the City of *Machan*, as is before declared, but nothing comparable to the other, either in Glory or Power. In this City, and over this ſmall Kingdom, reigned one *Solyman*, by his Subjects honoured alſo with the name of a Sultan or King; at the ſame time that the Tartars under the leading of old *Zingus* their great Captain, leaving their own Country, and bearing down the World before them, having conquered the fartheſt parts of the Eaſt, and there ſeated their Kingdom, turned their Forces into *Perſia*, and there overthrew the Turks Kingdom at *Balch* in *Coraſan*, and drave the Turks with *Curſumes* their laſt King, out of the Country; after that they had there from the time of *Tangrolipix* reigned about an hundred and ſeventy two years.

Solyman, *Sultan of* Machan *forſaketh his Kingdom for fear of the Tartars.*

This *Solyman* of whom we ſpeak, then reigning at *Machan*, was not of the *Selzuccian* Family (as were all the other Turks Sultans, the Succeſſors of *Tangrolipix*, but of the *Oguzian* Tribe, a Family famous alſo amongſt the Turks; who ſeeing the *Selzuccian* Sultan *Curſumes* (or as ſome call him, *Cuſſumes*) his Countryman, beaten out of his Kingdom by the Tartar, and his Country over-run, and the great Caliph of *Babylon* alſo overthrown; thought it not good longer to ſtay in that Country which he could not hold, but by ſpeedy flight betimes to provide for the ſafety of himſelf and of ſuch his Subjects as would follow him; and hearing that *Aladin* the Son *Kei-Huſreu*, or as the Greeks call him, *Cai-Coſme* (a great man of the *Selzuccian* Family, and near of kin unto the late Sultan *Curſumes*) who for fear of the Tartars but lately come into *Romania-Aſiatica*, had there by force of Arms moſt honourably ſeated himſelf and the Turks his followers, amongſt the Chriſtians; in hope of like good fortune, and for the zeal towards his Superſtition (accounting all well gotten that was gained from the Chriſtians) took his way after him, with ſuch of his Kinſmen and Subjects as would accompany him in his new adventures. And coming to *Artezerum*, a City in the borders of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, thereabout in the Country according to the ſeaſon of the year ſeated himſelf with his followers, being in number many; who with their Wives and Children, after the manner of the Tartar *Nomades* their Anceſtors, in poor Tents and Carts covered with a courſe kind of Cloth, had followed him; being indeed nothing elſe but a very rude and rough kind of ſturdy Herdſmen, not wedded to any place, but ſtill removing with their Tents and Carts up and down, as beſt ſerved for their purpoſe and the feeding of their Cattle, as do the *Turcoman* Nation, the true deſcent of the Turks, in many places of *Aſia* at this day; and were thereof not only called *Nomades*, that is to ſay, Herdſmen, (by which name the proud *Janizaries* will oftentimes in contempt call even the greateſt of the natural Turks) but *Hamaxophoreti*, and *Hamaxobij*, that is to ſay, people carried or living in Carts. *Solyman* having ſtaid a while about *Erzerum*, removing thence came to *Amaſia*; and there ſpoyling the Country, then inhabited by the Chriſtians, did them much harm, oftentimes encountring them in the plain field, and ſometimes ſeiſing upon their Towns and Cities, until he had ſubdued unto himſelf a right large Territory; yea at length having in ſo many Battles by him fought, and Cities by him beſieged, loſt a great number of his People, and ſo wearied the reſt as that they were not willing farther to follow him; and fearing alſo with ſuch ſmall power as he had left, to be able to defend and keep the Country by him already gotten, in the midſt of ſo many Enemies, thought it beſt to depart thence, and to ſeek his better fortune elſewhere. At the ſame time it was riſely reported, that the affairs of *Perſia*, after ſo long trouble (for all this was not a while in doing) began to grow again to ſome good quiet, the fury of the Tartars being now well abated, and that ſtorm overblown; wherefore *Solyman* reſolved now to return home again, and to viſit his Native Country, of him and his people above all others deſired. So paſſing thorow *Syria*, (for that was now his way) near *Aleppo* he ſeiſed upon a Caſtle called *Ziaber-Cala*, and there ſtaid a ſpace for the refreſhing of his People. Afterward ſetting forward again, he came at length to the great and famous River *Euphrates*, over which he muſt needs paſs; but finding there neither Bridge nor Foord, or other means to get over, he ſtood ſtill as a man diſmaid, not knowing what to do. Stay there he would not, and go further he could not; his deſire bid him go, but the great River ſaid not ſo. In this perplexity *Solyman* himſelf with his Horſe oftentimes taking the River, in hope to have found ſome paſſage; but finding none, adventuring too far, was with the force of the ſtream carried away, and ſo together with his Horſe drowned. His body after long ſeeking being at length found, was with the great lamentation of his People buried near unto the Caſtle *Ziaben*, not long before by him taken; whereof they ſay the place is now in their Tongue called *Maſari-Zuruc*, (*viz.*) the Turks Grave. Some of theſe *Oguzian* Turks, after the death of their Sultan, weary of their long travel, ſeated themſelves in the Country thereabouts, unto whom the Turks that now do hold that Caſtle do refer their beginning. The reſt of that great Tribe and Family diverſly divided, went unto divers places as their fortunes led them; ſome of them into the waſt ground and deſarts of *Arabia* and *Syria*, and are at this day called the *Damaſcene Turcomans*; other ſome returned back again into *Romania*, the ſame way that they came; of whom are deſcended the *Turcomans* of *Iconium*, and *Anatolia*; who yet with their Wives and Children, as Herdſmen in great companies wander up and down the Country, after the manner of their Anceſtors.

• Romania Aſiataca.

The Sons of Solyman, *and their firſt adventures.*

Solyman thus loſt, left four Sons, *Sencur-Teken*, *Jundogdis*, *Ertogrul*, of ſome called *Orthobules* (the Father of this *Othoman* Founder of the Turks Empire that now is) and *Dunder*. With theſe four Brethren, moſt part of theſe *Oguzian* Turks that were left, returning into *Romania* (as is aforeſaid) after they had there reſted themſelves a while, marching up along the River *Euphrates*, came to a place called *Paſin-Owaſi*, about ten miles above *Anterum*, where *Ertogrul* and his Brother *Dunder*, with four hundred Families, not willing to go any farther, ſtayed with their Tents and Carts, their beſt Dwellings. *Sencur* and *Jungdogdis* their other two Brethren, in the mean time paſſing the River, returned with the reſt into *Perſia*; whom we there leave unto their unknown fortunes. In this place *Ertogrul* with his Brother and his three Sons ſtaid a while, and had divers conflicts with the Country People thereabout, until that at length he thought it beſt to return again into *Romania*. So ſetting forward he came to *Ancyra*, and from thence unto the black Mountains, and ſo to a plain called of the Turks *Sultan Ungi*, about 75 miles Eaſtward from the City of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, where he had many skirmiſhes with the Chriſtians.

Now a great while before this, *Aladin* the Elder (of whom we have before ſpoken in the former part of this Hiſtory) fled out of *Perſia*, had ſubdued divers great Provinces and Countries in *Romania Aſiatica*, or the leſſer *Aſia*, for ſo it is more truly called; ſo that he was of all the People thereabouts accounted for a great Prince, and of the Turks themſelves honoured with the name of their *Ulu Padiſchach*, that is to ſay, their great King or Emperor. Having placed his Regal Seat firſt at *Sebaſtia*, and afterward at *Iconium*; which two Cities before ruinous, he repaired, and therein reigned, as did ſome few of his Poſterity after him, as is before declared. Neither was *Ertogrul* ignorant of the Honour, Glory and Power of this great Sultan; but having three Sons, namely, *Jundus*, *Serugatin*, and *Othoman*, ſent *Serugatin* his ſecond Son (a bold well ſpoken man) unto him, to requeſt him in that his ſo large a Kingdom, as yet not well peopled by the Turks, to grant unto them his poor exiled Countrymen, of long time oppreſſed with divers fortunes, ſome ſmall corner for them, with their Families and Cattle to reſt in. Which his requeſt, the Sultan not forgetful of his own diſtreſs ſometime in like caſe, graciouſly heard, and with great curteſie uſed the Meſſenger. Now for the furtherance of his ſuit it fortuned, that this Sultan before driven out of *Perſia* by the Tartars, and by them alſo much troubled in theſe his new gotten Countries in the leſſer *Aſia*, had with them divers hot skirmiſhes and ſharp conflicts; in one of which it fortuned the Sultan himſelf, with all the power he then had, to be hardly beſet by his Enemies, and in danger to have loſt the day; when as *Ertogrul*, but newly come into the Country, and willing to do the Sultan ſervice, and awaiting all opportunities for the commending of himſelf and his followers; upon the ſudden unlooked for, with four hundred men came upon the backs of the Tartars, then almoſt in poſſeſſion of a great Victory, and ſo forcibly charged them, that unable to endure the charge, and to maintain the fight againſt the Sultan, (whoſe men encouraged by this unexpected aid, as by ſuccor ſent from Heaven, began now to fight with greater courage) being both before and behind hardly beſet, they as men in deſpair of the Victory they had before aſſured themſelves of, turned their backs and fled. After which good ſervice, the Sultan honourably welcomed this new come Turk, giving him his Hand to kiſs, as the manner of the Nation is; and highly commending his Valour, commanded a rich Cloak to be caſt upon him (amongſt thoſe Eaſtern Nations a great honour) and all his Souldiers to be bountifully rewarded; and preſently after gave unto *Ertogrul* and his Turks a Country Village called *Suguta*, betwixt the Caſtle *Bilezuga* and the Mountain *Tmolus* in the greater *Phrygia*; in which Village they might live in Winter, and upon the aforeſaid Mountain, and the Mountain *Ormenius*, betwixt the Rivers *Sangarius* and *Licus*, feed their Cattel in Summer. And yet not ſo contented thus to have honoured him, in whom he ſaw ſuch approved Valour, committed to his protection that ſide of the Country wherein he dwelt, being in the very frontiers of his Kingdom; which his charge he ſo well looked unto, that all the Country thereabout, before much infeſted with the often incurſions of the Enemy, was by his vigilant care and proweſs well ſecured.

Thus is *Ertogrul* the *Oguzian* Turk, with his homely Herdſmen, become a petty Lord of a Country Village, and in good favour with the Sultan; whoſe followers, as ſturdy Herdſmen with their Families, lived in Winter with him in *Suguta*; but in Summer in Tents, with their Cattle upon the Mountains. Having thus lived certain years, and brought great Peace unto his Neighbours, as well the Chriſtians as the Turks, before much troubled with the invaſion of the Tartars, it fortuned that the Chriſtians of *Cara-Chiſar* (a Caſtle thereby, called by the ancient Greeks, *Melanopyrgon*, and of later time, *Maurocaſtron*, that is to ſay, the black Tower or Caſtle) weary of their own eaſe, and of the Peace they had by his care enjoyed, fell out with him, and evil entreated both him and his People. Which their ingratitude he taking in evil part, thereof, and of the wrongs by them done unto the Turks, ſo grievouſly complained unto the Sultan, that he therewith moved, raiſed a great Army, and ſo himſelf in perſon came and beſieged the Caſtle. But lying there at the Siege, news was brought him,

The Chriſtians of Cara-Chiſar *fall out with the Turks.*

him, that the Tartars with a great Army under the leading of one *Baintzar*, were entred into *Caria*, and there ſpoiling the Country, had taken *Heraclea*. For the repreſſing of whom, the Sultan was glad to riſe with his Army; yet leaving a ſufficient ſtrength behind him for the continuing of the Siege, under the charge of *Ertogrul Beg*, for ſo the Turks now called him. The Sultan afterwards encountring with the Tartars at *Baga*, overthrew them in a great Battel. Whilſt *Ertogrul* in the mean ſpace hardly beſieged *Cara-Chiſar*, wherein fortune ſo much favoured him, that at length he took the Caſtle, the Spoil whereof he gave unto the Souldiers, reſerving only the fifth part thereof, as due unto the Sultan; which he ſent him for a Preſent, together with the Captain of the Caſtle, who he had taken alive; which Captain the Sultan afterward inlarged, and reſtored again to him his Caſtle, for the payment of a yearly Tribute, which he truly paid during the life of the Sultan; but he dying about two years after, he refuſed any more to pay it, and ſo revolted from the Turks.

Sultan *Aladin*, Founder of the Aladinian Kingdom (for ſo the Turks call it) being dead at *Iconium*, after him ſucceeded *Azatines* his Eldeſt Son; and after him *Jathatines* his younger Brother; who ſlain by *Theodorus Laſcaris* the Greek Emperor, (as is before declared) after him ſucceeded in that Kingdom another *Jathatines*, the Son of *Azatines*, who was by the Tartars expulſed, and his Kingdom ſubdued, as in the former part of this Hiſtory it appeareth. After which time the *Selzuccian* Family there alſo by the Tartars in the leſſer *Aſia* depreſſed, retained ſcarce the name and ſhadow of their former Majeſty and Glory. In which troubleſom times, and confuſion of the State, *Ertogrul* well beaten and wearied in the World, kept himſelf cloſe in his houſe at *Suguta*, as well contented therewith as with a Kingdom; ſeeking by all means to keep Peace on every ſide with his Neighbours, as well Chriſtians as others. In which quiet kind of life he ſweetly paſſed over the troubleſome times of *Meſoot* the Son of *Kei-Cubades*, and of *Kei-Cubades* the Son of *Feramuzin*, both Sultans, but the great Tartars Tributaries, and reigning but at their pleaſure, until the time of the Second *Aladin*, the ſole and laſt Heir of the *Iconian* Kingdom, before by the Tartars divided, which was no few years. All which time *Ertogrul* lived quiet at *Suguta*, as one amongſt many other of the Iconian Sultans Subjects, wiſely conſidering the fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultans, both in *Perſia* and at *Iconium*; as alſo the ruin of his own Houſe and Family, both from Royal State brought almoſt unto nothing; and therefore with patience taking the World as it came, and making a vertue of neceſſeſſity, contenting himſelf with a little, bare himſelf kindly towards all men. In which contented kind of life he grew to great years, with his three Sons, greatly beloved and honoured of their Neighbours, as well Chriſtians as Turks; and no leſs favoured by the ſecond *Aladin* then Sultan, than he had been of all the Sultans before him; whom the young men his Sons after the manner of their Nation (forbidding them with empty hands to ſalute their Princes) oftentimes viſited with one Preſent or other. In all which his Sons were many good parts to be ſeen, yet ſo, as that in *Othoman* was eaſily to be ſeen a greater Courage and Spirit than in the other two his Brethren; which was the cauſe that he was the more by them of his Tribe regarded, but eſpecially of the youthful and warlike ſort, which commonly reſorted unto him when he went to hawk or hunt, or to other delights of the Field (the counterfeits of War) and was of them commonly called *Oſman Gazi*, that is to ſay, *Oſman* the Warlike.

Small things in time of trouble yield unto the wiſe great content.

In this frontier Country near unto *Suguta*, the dwelling place of old *Ertogrul*, had Sultan *Aladin* divers Lieutenants and Captains, Governours of his Caſtles and ſtrong Holds upon thoſe frontiers, with whom *Othoman* was well acquainted, and unto whom he for Friendſhip ſake oftentimes reſorted; but eſpecially unto the Captain of *In-Ungi*, for that he knew himſelf to be of him well beloved, and therefore unto him very welcome. So it fortuned upon a time, that as *Othoman*, being yet but young, was going to make merry with the Governour of *Eski-Chiſar* (a Caſtle about four and twenty miles off, called of the Greeks, *Palæocaſtron*) by the way as he went, at a place called *Itburne* (a Town in *Phrygia*) chanced there to ſee, and afterwards to fall in liking of a fair maiden called *Malhatun*; unto whom his affection dayly increaſing, he without his Fathers knowledge ſent a ſecret Friend of his to intreat with her of Marriage. Which after long diſcourſe to her made concerning *Othomans* affection and requeſt, gave him anſwer, that betwixt *Othoman* and her was great inequality, a thing eſpecially to be regarded and eſchewed of ſuch as wiſhed to live a happy life in wedlock bands; ſhe was (as ſhe ſaid) but meanly born, and therefore was not to expect ſo great a match; whereas he could not want choice of other Maids of more worth, and in all reſpects more anſwerable unto himſelf. But among other cauſes why ſhe gave him this anſwer, one was, for that ſome that wiſhed her well, and put into her head, that *Othoman* meant not indeed to marry her, but under that colour to obtain of her ſome few days pleaſure, had ſo having diſhonoured her, afterward again to caſt her off; which was indeed far from his thoughts; for he the more inflamed with her modeſt denial, the more deſired her for his Wife. In the mean time *Othoman* going again unto the Governour of *Eski-Chiſar*, and courteouſly by him entertained, chanced (as it oftentimes doth among familiar Friends in their merriments) to fall in ſpeech of his Love, with greater affection than diſcretion, commending her Beauty, her Feature, and gracious Perfections, not diſſembling alſo, to her greater praiſe, the repulſe by him received at her hands. Which the Governour hearing, ſeemed greatly to like of his choice, ſaying, that ſhe was by the Divine providence (for ſo the Turks religiouſly uſe to ſpeak) appointed only for him to have. But in the mean time ſecretly inflamed with the immoderate commendation of *Othoman*, without reſpect of Friendſhip, he began to grow amorous of her himſelf, whom he had never ſeen; ſo light is that fooliſh affection; and that ſo far, as that being otherwiſe a man of good diſcretion, he was not able to conceal or cover theſe new conceived flames, but that *Othoman* by certain conjectures and tokens perceived the ſame. And yet diſſembling the matter as if he had ſuſpected nothing, being riſen from the Banquet, calling unto him one of his truſty Servants, ſecretly ſent him away unto certain of the Maids Friends, willing them in his name, as they tendred her honour, preſently to ſend her away unto ſome ſafe place further off, for fear ſhe were not ere long taken from them by a great man more amorous of her perſon, than reſpective of her honour. And by and by after taking leave of his unfaithful Friend and bidding him farewel, took his way to the Captain of *In-Ungi*, whom he knew to be his dear Friend. But whilſt he there ſtayed certain days, paſſing the time in hawking, hunting,

Othoman *amorous of* Malhatun *a Country Maid.*

A folly common unto Lovers.

No friendſhip in love.

and

Othoman *beſieged, and in danger for his Love.*

and other youthful diſports, with the Captain his Friend; the Governour of *Eski-Chiſar*, who commanded all the Country thereabout called *Sultan-Ungi*, ſent one of his truſty Servants to *Iburne*, to ſee fair *Malbatun*, and how all things went there. Who coming thither, and underſtanding of her ſecret departure, and that by the advertiſement from *Othoman* ſhe was conveyed to certain of her Friends afar off, at his return from point to point certified his Maſter thereof; who exceedingly grieved with the report, and fretting above meaſure to ſee himſelf ſo deluded by *Othoman*, preſently ſent unto the Captain of *In-Ungi*, (being within his juriſdiction) to command him without delay to deliver *Othoman* unto him. But he loving of him well, as a faithful man unto his Friend, could with no threats or intreaty be perſwaded ſo to do. Wherefore the Governour in a great rage preſently raiſing the greateſt Power he was able to make, came to the Caſtle of *In-Ungi*, requiring to have *Othoman* forthwith delivered unto him. Where among the Souldiers there in Garriſon with the Captain, began to ariſe divers opinions; ſome wiſhing, for the averting of the preſent danger for which they were now unprovided, to have him delivered; and other ſome abhorring ſo treacherous a fact, willing rather to endure all extremities. In the end after much conſultation honeſty prevailed, and it was generally reſolved, that he ſhould be defended, who could not without their great infamy be delivered. But *Othoman* terrified with that diverſity of opinions, which had even at firſt ſhewed it ſelf; and thinking it not for his ſafety, to commit himſelf unto the truſt of ſuch wavering men, entred into a deep conceit of a matter of great adventure, which was, by a ſudden ſally to make himſelf way through the midſt of his Enemies. Wherewith having made his Brother *Jundus* and thoſe few his followers there preſent acquainted, and thereupon reſolved; he fiercely ſallied out, and by plain force brake through the midſt of them, and ſo took his way towards *Suguta*, ſtill notably repulſing them that were ſent to purſue him. But being come into the Frontiers of his Fathers Territory, and the report of his dangers known, and that being but weakly accompanied, he was by a great number of his Enemies purſued; preſently all the luſty youths and ſuch as loved him well, took horſe to come to his reſcue; who meeting with the Governours Souldiers, that had *Othoman* in chace, in a ſharp conflict ſlew divers of them, and put the reſt to flight. Of whom ſome were alſo taken Priſoners, and amongſt the reſt one *Michael Coſſe* a Chriſtian, Captain of a little Caſtle in that Country, called *Hirmen-Caia*, or the Rock of *Ormeni*; Of whom *Othoman* taking compaſſion, freely pardoned him that offence. With which unexpected curteſie he was ſo moved, that ever after he took part with him, and did him great ſervice in his Wars; whoſe Poſterity hath ever ſince even until this our age continued, next unto the *Othoman* Family, moſt honourable and famous amongſt the Turks, by the name of *Michael Oglies*, that is to ſay, the Sons or Poſterity of *Michael*.

Ertogrul now ſpent with age, ſhortly after died, in the year of our Lord 1289. having lived 93 years, and thereof governed the *Oguzian* Family after the death of his Father *Solyman*, 52. His death was of all his Tribe and Kindred generally lamented, and his body after the Turkiſh manner honourably buried at *Suguta*, where he had of long time lived.

The Oguzian Turks in doubt of whom to make choice for their Governor.

After whoſe death, theſe plain *Oguzian* Turks, in a general Aſſembly conſulting whom they might chuſe for their Lord and Governour in ſtead of old *Ertogrul*; caſting their eyes eſpecially upon two, ſtood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although moſt men were of opinion, that *Othoman* for the rare gifts and vertues as well of body as of mind, was to be preferred before the reſt of his Brethren the Sons of *Ertogrul*; yet were there ſome, and they alſo men of great gravity and experience, who had in ſuſpect the young mans age, as of it ſelf ſlippery, and for the moſt part prone to vice, eſpecially in the liberty of great power; and therefore thought it better to make choice of *Dunder* (*Ertogruls* Brother and *Othomans* Uncle) a man of far greater gravity, judgment, and experience. But *Dunder* himſelf being indeed a wiſe man, and far from all ambition, perſwaded them in that choice not to have any regard at all unto his honour or preferment, but to conſider what were beſt for their State and Welfare in general. For he providently foreſaw in what danger the *Oguzian* State ſtood, expoſed on the one ſide to the mortal hatred and treacheries of the Greeks, grieved to ſee themſelves ſpoyled by the Turks, and naturally hating them for the *Mahometan* Religion; and on the other ſide not ſurely backt by the Sultans of *Iconium*, brought in thraldom to the Tartars, and dayly grown weaker and weaker. Unto which inconveniences and dangers (he ſaid) an old, weak and overgrown body (as his was) could give no help or remedy at all, but required the help of a wiſe, politick, vigilant, ſtirring and valiant man, ſuch as they all well knew was *Othoman* his Brothers Son. Thus before he came unto the election, he in privat declared his mind unto the chief of the *Oguzian* Family; and afterward at their requeſt coming to the general Aſſembly, all mens minds and eyes now fixed upon *Othoman*, he firſt of all (by his example to encourage the reſt) for the good of the *Oguzian* Tribe, his ancient Houſe and Family, ſaluted him their great Lord and Governor, promiſing unto him all Loyalty, with the utmoſt of his ſervice; whereunto by and by enſued the great applauſe of the reſt of the People, as unto a Governour ſent unto them by God; unto whom they joyfully wiſhed all happy ſucceſs, with long life and a proſperous Government. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great Governor of the *Oguzian* Turks, and ſo become among them a great Commander, and honoured with the Title of OEſ*man-Beg*, or the Lord *Oſman*. Yet was this his honour included in a ſmall circuit, plain and homely, without any great Pomp or Shew, as commanding amongſt rough and rude Heardſmen and Shepheards, not acquainted with the curteſie of other more civil Nations; for as yet they were the ſame homely *Scythian Nomades* that they were before, and could not as yet be perſwaded to forſake their wonted rude and uncivil manners, by long tradition received from their Anceſtors, and ſo beſt agreeing with their Nature and Calling. Amongſt which rude Heardſmen, this new Governor himſelf, not too far exceeding the reſt in civility, commanded much like unto another *Romulus*; of whom alſo the Turks report many ſuch things as do the Romans of their Founder, which for brevity I thought good to paſs over.

Now it fortuned that *Othoman*, even in the beginning of his Government fell firſt at odds with one *Hagionicholaus*, or S. *Nicholas* (Captain of *Einegiol*, a Caſtle there by) for that he had oftentimes of purpoſe troubled and moleſted theſe *Oguzian* Heardſmen, in paſſing to and fro with their Cattel by his Caſtle. For which cauſe *Othoman* was inforced to requeſt the Captain of *Bilezuga* (another Caſtle there by, alſo his Neighbour and Friend) that his people in paſſing that way to the Mountains, might with their Goods and Cattle, as occaſion ſhould require, take the refuge of his Caſtle; which the courteous Captain (well acquainted with old *Ertogrül*, *Othomans* Father) eaſily granted; yet with this proviſo, that none ſhould with ſuch Goods or Cattle have acceſs into his Caſtle, but the Turks Women only; which his courteſie *Othoman* refuſed not. So was the Caſtle of *Bilezuga* from that time forward a refuge unto the Turks Women, who paſſing that way, and there ſhrouded with their Goods and Cattle, uſually preſented the Captain with ſome one homely Country Preſent or other, which afterwards was the loſs of the Caſtle.

Yet was not *Othoman* unmindful of the wrong done unto his people, by his evil Neighbour the Captain of *Einegiol*; but purpoſing to be thereof revenged, made choice of Seventy of his beſt and moſt able men, whom he appointed ſecretly to paſs the Mountain *Ormenius*, and ſo if it were poſſible, to ſurpriſe or ſet on fire his Enemies Caſtle. Of which his deſignment the wary Captain having intelligence by one of his Eſpials, in place convenient upon the Mountain laid a ſtrong ambuſh for the cutting off of ſuch as were by *Othoman* ſent to have ſurpriſed his Caſtle; whereof *Othoman* (no leſs wary than he) before warned by his Scouts, and augmenting the number of his men, marched directly to the place where the Enemy lay. Where betwixt them (for ſo ſmall a number) was fought a right bloody and cruel Battel, and many ſlain on both ſides; amongſt whom *Hozza*, *Othomans* Nephew was one. The Victory nevertheleſs fell unto *Othoman*; after which time his People in much more ſafety fed their Cattle in the Summer time on the Mountains, as the manner was, and ſo in quiet paſſed to and fro.

The Caſtle of Chalce *ſurpriſed by* Othoman.

The Chriſtians complain of the wrong done unto them by the Turks.

Shortly after, *Othoman* by night ſurpriſed the little Caſtle *Chalce*, not far from *Einegiol*; and there without mercy he put to the Sword all the Chriſtians he found therein, and ſo afterwards burnt the Caſtle. Which outrage was the beginning, and occaſion of great troubles thereof enſuing; for the Chriſtians of the Countries adjoyning, much grieved therewith, and aſſembling themſelves together, complained unto the Captain of *Cara-Chiſar* the greateſt Commander thereabout, That theſe Turks, which not many years before were of meer pity received as poor Herdſmen into that Country, began now in warlike manner to lay violent hands upon the ancient Lands and Poſſeſſions of the Chriſtians; which inſolency (as they ſaid) if it were longer winked at and ſuffered by him, and other ſuch men of account and authority as were to reform the ſame; they would no doubt in ſhort time drive both them and all the reſt of the Chriſtians out of their native Countries; wherefore it were now high time, and more than neceſſary for him, and all the reſt, to awake (as it were) out of the dead ſleep wherein they had long time drowſily ſlept; and joyning their Forces together, to expulſe thoſe unthankful, incroaching, and mercileſs ſtrangers out of their Countries; the miſchief (they ſaid) being now ſpred far, therefore needed ſpeedy remedy; and that repentance would come too late when it was paſt cure. The Captain moved with the indignity of the late fact, and juſt complaint of the poor Country People, ſent with all ſpeed a ſtrong company of Souldiers, under the leading of *Calanus* his Brother; with commandment that they ſhould march unto the Caſtle of *Einegiol*, and there to joyn with the reſt of the Chriſtian Forces.

Othoman underſtanding of this preparation made againſt him, gathering his Souldiers together, marched to a place called *Opſicium*, near unto Mount *Tmolus* in *Phrygia*; where between him and the Chriſtians was fought a ſharp Battle, wherein he loſt his Brother *Sarugatin* (whom the Turks account for a Saint or Martyr at this day) with many other of his Souldiers. In this Battle was alſo *Calanus* ſlain, whoſe Belly *Othoman* cauſed to be ripped, and his Entrals to be pulled out, naming the place where he was buried, *Meſari-Repec*, that is to ſay, The Dog-Grave, by which name the place is at this day known. The Body of his Brother *Sarugatin* he carried to *Suguta*, and there honourably buried it near to the Body of his Father *Ertogrul*. *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium* underſtanding of this conflict, was very ſorry for the loſs hapened unto *Othoman*, being a Mahometan of his own Religion; wherefore in token of his good Will and Favour, he gave unto him the City of *Paleupolis*, with all the Territory thereunto belonging, giving unto him alſo leave to beſiege, take or ſpoil the Seigniory and Caſtle of *Cara-Chiſar*; for accompliſhment whereof he ſent unto him both Souldiers and Munition. *Othoman* incouraged with this great bounty of the Sultans, ſtraightly beſieged the Caſtle of *Cara-Chiſar*, which at laſt he won, and ſlew all the Chriſtians therein; the Captain he took alive, whom he cruelly executed; the Spoil of the Caſtle he gave unto his Souldiers, reſerving only the fifth part thereof, which he ſent for a Preſent to the Sultan. All this happened in the year of our Lord 1290. This Caſtle of *Cara-Chiſar*, with the reſt of *Einegiol*, *Bilezuga*, *Chalce*, and others before and hereafter in the life of *Othoman* to be mentioned, were all ſituate in the borders of the greater *Phrygia*, or elſe near thereunto in the Confines of *Bithynia* and *Myſia*; In which pleaſant Countries (but lately part of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire) the Chriſtians the ancient inhabitants thereof, as yet dwelt, intermingled with the Turks at the riſing of the *Othoman* Empire; with whom they lived at continual jars, until that at length they were by them altogether utterly oppreſſed and extinguiſhed.

Othoman *conſulteth with his Brother* Jundus *what courſe to take for the oppreſſing of the Chriſtians his Neighbours.*

Othoman encouraged with this good ſucceſs, and ſupported by the great Sultan of *Iconium*, began now after his ambitious nature to conceit greater matters, for the further increaſe of his Honour and Territory; yet not truſting altogether to his own device, he entred into conſultation with his Brother *Jundus*, which way was beſt to take to diſtreſs and bring in ſubjection his Neighbours the Chriſtians. In which caſe, *Jundus* a man of greater courage than diſcretion, adviſed him with all celerity to urge his good fortune, and preſently to invade the Chriſtians already diſcouraged with the loſs of *Cara-Chiſar*. But this counſel altogether pleaſed not *Othoman*; for (ſaid he) the Caſtles and Forts by us gained, muſt be kept with ſtrong Garriſons, otherwiſe they will again be recovered by the Enemy; which Garriſons cannot be maintained and kept, if we ſpoyl or diſpeople the Countries adjoyning upon us; for in ſo doing we ſhall (as it were) with our own hands cut our own Throats; wherefore I think it better, that we enter into a League of Amity and Friendſhip with the Chriſtians round about us; which League we will keep with ſome and break with others, as ſhall ſerve beſt for our purpoſe. And according to this reſolution, he made Peace indeed with all the Chriſtians, but eſpecially with *Michael Coſſi*, Captain of *Hirmencaia* Caſtle, of whom we have before ſpoken, who afterward ſerved him to great uſe in the managing of his Wars, and became alſo a Renegat of the Mahometan Religion. All this *Othoman* did the rather, becauſe he was then at great variance with one *Germean-Ogli* (a great man among the Turks, but one of the *Selzuccian* Family) who envying at the riſing of *Othoman*, ſought by all means poſſible to hinder his greatneſs, as did alſo the others, his quietneſs; which diſcord the Chriſtians liked well, as a mean for them to live in more reſt by.

In the mean time, *Othoman* deviſed with all carefulneſs to beautifie and ſtrengthen his new Common-weal; and for the greater concourſe of People, built a fair Temple in *Cara-Chiſar* for the exerciſe of the Mahometan Religion; appointed Markets to be kept in all peaceable manner, in his great Towns, granting great priviledges to ſuch as reſorted thither, as well Chriſtians as Turks; uſing therein ſuch Juſtice, that, all ſorts of People without fear, in hope of gain reſorting thither, furniſhed his Country and Towns with all things neceſſary; yet this care of civil policy and government, could not ſo withdraw him, but that according to his aſpiring mind, he had always a greater deſire and care to inlarge his Poſſeſſions and Territory. Wherefore intending to make a rode into *Bithynia*, he requeſted *Michael Coſſi*, the Chriſtian Captain before mentioned, to deliver his opinion what was beſt to be done; who ſo politickly directed him in that exploit, that he returned victorious, enriched with great Spoil and more Honour. This road ſo terrified moſt of the Chriſtians thereabouts, that they were loath to give *Othoman* any cauſe of offence, for fear leſt they ſhould by him be ſpoiled.

Othoman *ſetteth in order his little Commonweal.*

It fortuned about this time, that the Captains of *Bilezuga* and *Cupri-Chiſar* falling at odds, he of *Cupri-Chiſar* firſt taking up Arms fiercely invaded the Captain of *Bilezuga*; who thereupon ſent unto *Othoman*, to pray his aid, which he eaſily granted, and ſo without further delay preſently came unto him with certain Companies of luſty tall Souldiers. By whoſe coming, the Captain of *Bilezuga* not a little encouraged and ſtrengthned, ſet upon his Enemy; where betwixt them was made a ſharp conflict, and divers on both ſides ſlain; but the Victory by the help of *Othoman* the Turk, at length inclining to the Bilezugian, the other vanquiſhed Captain in all haſt fled unto his own Caſtle. After whom *Othoman* following, laid ſiege unto the Caſtle, which at length he took together with the Captain, whom he cauſed to be preſently ſlain. It is ſtrange to tell, how proud the Lord of *Bilezuga* was, to have ſo revenged himſelf of his Enemy, and to have gained the Victory; although it were indeed gotten, not ſo much by his own Valour as by the Proweſs of the Turk; for whom and his followers in token of his thankfulneſs, he cauſed a great Feaſt to be provided in the Country there, whereby he honourably entertained them; and in the end of the Feaſt, cauſed Garments of great price (according to the manner of the Eaſtern Nations) to be given to *Othoman*, in token of his favour, and his Souldiers to be alſo bountifully rewarded; but this was done with ſuch a preſumptuous ſtate and grace, as if he had been ſome great Prince, offering unto the common Souldiers of the Turks, in paſſing by them, his hand to kiſs, as a great favour. With which exceeding inſolency, *Othoman* was ſo much offended, that he had much ado to hold his hands from him; yet repreſſing his anger, he in ſecret imparted his diſcontentment unto his Couſin *Dunder*, his Uncle *Dunders* Son, grievouſly complaining of the intollerable pride of the Chriſtian Captain, and of the diſgrace by him done unto the Turks, in offering them his hand to kiſs; requiring his opinion how he were for the ſame to be corrected; who but a little before, being by the ſaid Captain made Lieutenant, frankly told his Kinſman, That as then nothing was to be attempted againſt him; firſt, for that on the one ſide they had *Germean-Ogli* (a great man amongſt the *Selzuccian* Turks) their Enemy, and round about them beſides they were environed with the Chriſtians, whom he ſhould have all in his neck at once if he ſhould offer the Bilezugian Captain any wrong. By which anſwer, *Othoman* perceiving his Coſins great affection towards the Chriſtian Captain, and doubting to have the miſchief he had imagined againſt him, by him revealed, or at leaſtwiſe hindred; without more ado ſuddenly taking up his Bow in his hand, with an Arrow ſhot him quite through, and ſo ſlew him.

Michael Coſſi *inviteth* Othoman *to the marriage of his Daughter.*

Not long after, *Michael Coſſi* the Captain of *Hirmen-Caia*, *Othomans* great Friend, having concluded a marriage between a Gentleman of that Country and his Daughter, invited all the Chriſtian Captains of the Caſtles thereabouts, requeſting them to come to the marriage; and the rather, that ſo they might grow into acquaintance with *Othoman*, whoſe power began now to grow dreadful unto them; hoping that ſuch means might be found at that merry meeting, that all being made Friends, every man might in more ſecurity poſſeſs his own without fear of being ſpoiled by him. Unto this marriage came all theſe bidden Gueſts, bringing with them ſuch Preſents as they thought good to beſtow upon the new married Folks, according to the manner of the Country; but *Othomans* Gifts far exceeded all the reſt, who beſides many other rich things, gave unto them whole Flocks and Droves of Sheep and Cattel; which thing drew all the Chriſtian Captains into no little admiration of his bounty; inſomuch that they began to ſay among themſelves, that *Othomans* Wealth and good Fortune did portend ſome greater matter, to their utter ruin and fall; which to prevent, they thought it beſt by ſecret means to compaſs his death. The execution of which device they referred to the Captain of *Bilezuga*, as unto one with him beſt acquainted. This Captain was of great Wealth, Credit, and Authority amongſt the Chriſtian Rulers thereabouts, but very full of Craft and Diſſimulation; which his evil diſpoſition, *Othoman* of long time well perceived; yet having occaſion to uſe him, in ſubtil manner gave him (in outward ſhew) all the honour he could, magnifying him in words, and debaſing himſelf as plain and poor in compariſon of him. But to give a beginning to this treacherous device; the Captain meeting with *Othoman*, in a friendly manner told him, how that he intended ſhortly to marry the Daughter of the Captain of *Jar-Chiſer*, earneſtly requeſting him to honour that his marriage with his preſence, of the time whereof, he ſaid he would give him farther knowledge afterwards; and all was but a colour, to bring *Othoman* within his danger, not fearing any ſuch Treaſon. *Othoman* underſtanding that the time of the marriage drew nigh, ſent thither a Preſent of certain fat Oxen and Sheep, in the name of his Brother *Jundus*, for the Captains proviſion againſt the marriage; certifying him, that *Othoman* himſelf, with his ſimple Retinue, would be preſent at the marriage, and then preſent him, not with ſuch Preſents as were agreeable with his Honour, yet ſuch as his poor ability could afford. This meſſage with the Preſents, were wonderful welcome to the Captain, hoping aſſuredly that his deviſed Treachery would take ſuch effect as he wiſhed; and therefore calling unto him *Michael Coſſi*, in whom he had repoſed an eſpecial truſt, declared to him his whole device (whereof he was not before altogether ignorant) requeſting him to take the pains to go unto *Othoman* to bring him to the marriage, the time being now certainly appointed and at hand; which he knew *Coſſi* might eaſily do, being of his familiar acquaintance; and in token of great Friendſhip, he ſent unto *Othoman* by the ſame Meſſenger, a Preſent of gilt Plate. *Coſſi* took upon him this Meſſage, which when he had delivered to *Othoman*, he found him very willing to go, as a man not doubting any harm. But *Coſſi* inwardly grieving to ſee ſo brave a man, and his kind Friend, by ſuch treacherous manner to be brought to his end, moved with compaſſion, diſcovered unto him the whole Conſpiracy of the Captain againſt him, and of the Plot laid for his deſtruction, willing him to take heed unto himſelf; for which vertue, *Othoman* gave *Coſſi* great thanks as to his Friend, for ſaving his life; and withall richly rewarded him, promiſing him greater matters if he would continue that his faithful Friendſhip. Now concerning the Captain of *Bilezuga* (ſaith he) at your return recommend me unto him, and tell him, That I think my ſelf much bound unto him for many curteſies, but eſpecially for that he hath heretofore divers times in moſt friendly manner protected my Goods and Cattel, within the ſafeguard of his Caſtle; which his Friendſhip I moſt humbly requeſt him to continue for one year more, enforced thereunto by reaſon of the dangerous Wars betwixt me and the Prince *Germean-Ogli*, as he well knoweth; wherefore if it might ſo ſtand with his good pleaſure, I would preſently ſend unto his Caſtle ſuch things as I make moſt reckoning of, requeſting him once more to be the faithful keeper thereof, as he hath been before; and tell him further, that my Mother-in-Law, with her Daughter my Wife, deſire nothing more than to find opportunity to be acquainted with the honorable Lady his Mother; for which cauſe (if it pleaſe him) I will bring them both with me to the marriage. This *Othomans* requeſt, when the Captain of *Bilezuga* underſtood by *Michael Coſſi*, he ſent the ſame *Coſſi* back again to haſten his coming, willing him to bring with him what gueſts he pleaſed; appointing certain time and place when and where the marriage ſhould be ſolemnized. And becauſe the Caſtle of *Bilezuga* was thought to be too little conveniently to receive the multitude of People which were expected at the marriage, there was another open place of greater receipt appointed in the Country for that purpoſe, about three miles diſtant from the Caſtle. The marriage day drew nigh, whereunto *Othoman* muſt repair for his promiſe ſake; and therefore prepared with all diligence to ſet forward, and to put in execution what he had deviſed for the ſafety of himſelf, and deſtruction of his Enemy. *Othoman* had of long accuſtomed in dangerous times, to ſend by carriage the beſt of his things, made up in packs, to be kept in ſafety in the Caſtle of *Bilezuga*; under the colour whereof he now made great packs in form as he was wont; but inſtead of his rich Houſhold ſtuff, and ſuch other things of price, he thruſt in armed men, covering thoſe packs with homley coverings, ſending them by Carriages to the Caſtle of *Bilezuga*, giving charge that they ſhould not come thither before twilight. After that, he apparelled certain of his beſt Souldiers in Womens apparel, as if it had been his Wife and Mother-in-Law, with their Women; ſo caſting his journey, that he with theſe diſguiſed Souldiers, and the other ſent in packs, might at one inſtant meet at the Caſtle aforeſaid. The Captain being now in the Country, and underſtanding that *Othoman* was coming in the Evening with a great train of Gentlewomen; thought the cauſe of his late coming to be, for that the Turkiſh Women uſe to ſhun the ſight of Chriſtian men by all means they can. *Othoman* being now come to the place in the Country where the marriage was next day to be ſolemnized, having done his humble reverence to the Captain, requeſted him to do him the honour, that his Gentlewomen which were nigh at hand, might by his appointment be ſent to his Caſtle, there to have ſome convenient lodging where they might alight and beſtow themſelves apart from others, according to the homely faſhion of their Nation; leſt peradventure the preſence of ſo honorable a company of Noblemen and Gallants, might put them out of countenance: which the Captain granted, and having ſaluted them a far off after the Turkiſh manner, commanded them to be conveyed to his Caſtle, making reckoning of them all as of a rich prey. At the ſame time that theſe diſguiſed Souldiers arrived at the Caſtle, came thither alſo the other Souldiers covered in packs in the carriages: which ſo ſoon as they came into the Caſtle, ſuddenly leapt out of the packs, and drawing their ſhort Swords, with the help of their diſguiſed Fellows ſlew the Warders of the Caſtle, and without more ado poſſeſſed the ſame; the greateſt part of the Captains people being before gone out of the Caſtle to the place of the marriage. *Othoman* having tarried ſo long with the Captain, as he ſuppoſed the Caſtle at that time by his men ſurpriſed; ſo ſoon as the Captain had taken his Chamber, ſuddenly took horſe, with all his Followers, accompanied alſo with *Coſſi*, taking his way directly to the Caſtle of *Bilezuga*; of whoſe ſudden departure the Captain underſtanding, preſently took horſe and purſued him with all his Train, which were for the moſt part drunk, and overtaking him before he came to the Caſtle ſet upon him; in which conflict, he was by *Othoman* ſlain, and the reſt put to flight.

The Captain of Bilezuga *treacherouſly ſeeking the death of* Othoman, *is by him himſelf ſlain.*

The ſame night *Othoman* uſing great celerity, early in the Morning ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Jarchiſar*, alſo where he took Priſoners the Captain thereof, with his fair Daughter *Lulufer*, (which ſhould have been married to the Captain of *Bilezuga* the next day) with all her Friends, as they were ready to have gon unto the marriage, which fair Lady he ſhortly after married unto his eldeſt Son *Orchanes*; who had by her *Amurath*, third King of the Turks, and *Solyman Baſſa*.

Othoman omitting no opportunity, preſently ſent one of his Captains called *Durgut-Alpes*, a man of great eſteem and valour, to beſiege the Caſtle of *Einegiol*; wherein he uſed ſuch celerity, that preventing the fame of that was done at *Bilezuga*, he ſuddenly environed the Caſtle, in ſuch ſort that none could paſs in or out; until ſuch time, as that *Othoman* having brought his Priſoners and Prey to the Caſtle of *Bilezuga*, and there having ſet all things in good order, came with the reſt of his men of War to *Einegiol*; which he preſently by force took, promiſing the Spoil thereof unto his Souldiers. The Captain called *Hagio Nicholaus* his ancient Enemy, he cauſed to be cut in ſmall pieces, and all the men to be ſlain; which cruelty he uſed, becauſe they a little before had uſed the like tyranny againſt his Turks.

When *Othoman* had thus got into his ſubjection a

great

Othoman *by adminiſtration of juſtice ſtrengtheneth his government.*

great part of the ſtrong Caſtles and Forces of the greater *Phrygia*, with the Territory to them belonging, he began with all carefulneſs to make good Laws, and to execute juſtice to all his Subjects, as well Chriſtians as Turks; with great indifferency ſtudying by all means to keep his Country in peace and quietneſs, and to protect his Subjects from the Spoil of others, as well Chriſtians as Turks; whereby it came to paſs, that the old Inhabitants which had for the moſt part forſaken the Country, by reaſon of the great troubles therein, repaired now again to their ancient dwellings; and not only they, but many other Strangers alſo, ſupplying the places of them whom the late Wars had conſumed. So that by his good Government, that waſted Country in ſhort time grew to be again very populous.

The City of **Nice** *beſieged by* **Othoman.**

The civil Government of his Country well eſtabliſhed, he beſieged the City of *Iſnica*, in ancient time called *Nice*, a City of *Bithynia*, famous for the general Council there holden againſt *Arius* in the time of *Conſtantine* the Great. This City he brought into great diſtreſs, by placing his men of War in Forts new built upon every paſſage and way leading unto the ſame, ſo that nothing could be brought out of the Country for the relief of the poor Citizens. They in this extremity, by a ſecret Meſſenger certified the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* (under whoſe obedience they were) in what diſtreſs the City ſtood; and that except he ſent them preſent relief, they muſt of neceſſity either periſh with Famine, or yield themſelves into the hands of their Enemies the Turks. The Emperor moved with the pitiful complaint of this Meſſenger, with all expedition embarked certain companies of Souldiers from *Conſtantinople* to relieve his beſieged City. But *Othoman* underſtanding by his Eſpials, where theſe Souldiers were appointed to land, in ſecret manner withdrawing moſt of his Forces from the Siege, lay in ambuſh near to the ſame place where the Emperors Souldiers (caſting no peril) landed; who before they could put themſelves in order of Battel were by *Othoman* and his Turks in ſuch ſort charged, that moſt part of them were there ſlain, and the reſt driven into the Sea, where they miſerably periſhed. *Othoman* having thus politickly overthrown the Conſtantinopolitan Souldiers, returning to the Siege, continued the ſame in ſtraighter manner than before. The beſieged Citizens driven into great penury, and now deſpairing of all help, yielded themſelves with the great and rich City of *Nice* into the hands of *Othoman*, with the Spoil whereof he greatly enriched his men of War.

Aladin the great Sultan of *Iconium*, glad to hear of this good ſucceſs of *Othoman* againſt the Chriſtians, in token of his Favour and Love, ſent unto him a fair Enſign, with certain Drums, and Trumpets, a Sword and Princely Robe, with large Charters, That whatſoever he took from the Chriſtians ſhould be all his own; and alſo that publick Prayers ſhould be ſaid in all the Turks Temples, in the name of *Othoman*, for his health and proſperous eſtate; which two things properly belonged to the dignity of the Sultan. Theſe extraordinary favours gave occaſion for many to think, that Sultan *Aladin* (having no Children) intended to make *Othoman* his adoptive Son and Succeſſor in his Kingdom.

The Preſents and Charters ſent him, *Othoman* humbly accepted, ſending unto *Aladin* the fifth part of the Spoil of *Nice*, taken from the Chriſtians; but the Princely Honours due to the Sultan only, he uſed not during the life of *Aladin*, intending not long after to have gone himſelf in perſon to viſit the Sultan, and ſo to have grown into his further Favour. But having prepared all things for ſo honourable a journey, at what time as he was about to ſet forward, he was certainly informed of the death of *Aladin*; and that *Sabib* (one of his great Counſellors) had taken upon him the dignity of the Sultan (as is before declared;) which news much diſcontented the aſpiring mind of this *Oguzian* Turk, in good hope to have ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, or at leaſtwiſe to have ſhared the greateſt part thereof unto himſelf, whereof he was now altogether diſappointed. Yet immediately after the death of *Aladin*, he thought it now fit time to take upon him the Princely Honours before granted unto him by the Sultan in his life time, which he for modeſty ſake had forborn, *Aladin* yet living; wherefore he made one *Druſu* ſirnamed *Fakitche* (that is to ſay, a man learned in the Turkiſh Law) Biſhop and Judge of *Cara-Chiſar*, commanding the publick Prayers which were wont to be made for the health and proſperous Reign of the great Sultan, to be now made in his own name; which was firſt openly done by the ſaid Biſhop in the Pulpit of *Cara-Chiſar*. At the ſame time alſo he began to coin Mony in his own name, and to take upon him all other Honours belonging unto a Sultan or King; which was about ten years after the death of his Father *Ertogrol*, and in the year of our Lord 1300. 1300. unto which time the beginning of the great Empire of the Turks is under the fortune of this *Othoman*, to be of right referred, as then by him thus begun.

Neapolis *the firſt Regal City of the* **Othoman** *Kings.*

When *Othoman* had thus taken upon him the Majeſty of a King, he made his Son *Orchanes* Prince and Governor of *Cara-Chiſar*; promoting his principal Followers, to be Governors of other ſtrong Caſtles and Forts, divers of which places retain the name of thoſe Captains at this day. He himſelf made choice of the City *Neapolis*, about twenty miles from *Nice*, to ſeat his Regal Palace in, where alſo divers of his Nobility built them Houſes, and changed the name of the City, calling it *Deſpotopolis*, as who ſhould ſay, the City of the Lord or Prince. For all this, *Othoman* ceaſed not to deviſe by all means he could, to augment his Kingdom; and for that cauſe being accompanied with his Son *Orchanes*, made many rodes into the Countries adjoyning upon him, ſurprizing ſuch places as might beſt ſerve his purpoſe, for the enlargement of his Kingdom, all which in particular to rehearſe were tedious.

Pruſa *beſieged by* **Othoman.**

The Chriſtian Princes, rulers of the Countries bordering upon this new Kingdom, fearing leſt the greatneſs of *Othoman* might in ſhort time be their utter confuſion, agreed to joyn all their Forces together, and ſo to commit to the Fortune of one great Battel their own Eſtates with his; according to which reſolution, the Chriſtian confederate Princes, which were for the moſt part of *Myſia*, and *Bithynia*, levying the greateſt Forces they were able to make, with Fire and Sword invaded *Othomans* Kingdom. Who having knowledge beforehand of this great preparation made againſt him, had in readineſs all his Captains and Men of War; and hearing that his Enemies had entred his Dominion, in warlike manner marched directly towards them; and meeting with them in the Confines of *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, fought with them a great and mortal Battel, wherein many were ſlain on both ſides, as well Turks as Chriſtians; and after a long Fight, obtained of them a right bloody Victory. In this Battel *Caſteleanus*, one of the greateſt Chriſtian Captains was ſlain; another called

Tekenſis of the Country which he governed in *Phrygia*, chaſed by *Othoman* unto the Caſtle of *Ulubad*, not far diſtant from the place where the Battel was fought, was for fear delivered unto him by the Captain of the ſame Caſtle, and was afterward by *Othomans* commandment moſt cruelly cut in pieces, within the view of his chief Caſtle; which *Othoman* afterwards ſubdued, with all the Country thereabouts. The other Chriſtian Princes and Captains ſaved themſelves by flying into ſtrong Holds farther off. The Prince of *Bithynia* the chief Author of this War, fled into the ſtrong City of *Pruſa*, which the Turks now call *Buruſa*, whither *Othoman* not long after led his Army, in hope to have won the ſame; but finding it not poſſible to be taken by force, began preſently at one time to build two great and ſtrong Caſtles upon the chief paſſages leading to the City, which Caſtles he with great induſtry finiſhed in one year; and in the one, placed as Captain *Actemeur* his Nephew; in the other one *Balabanzuck*, both men of great courage and skilful in feats of War; and in this ſort having blocked up the City of *Pruſa*, ſo that little or nothing could without great danger be brought into it, he ſubdued the moſt part of *Bithynia*; and ſo returned home, leaving the two Caſtles well manned with ſtrong Garriſons, under the charge of the Captains before named.

Othoman returning home to *Neapolis*, honourably rewarded his Souldiers, according to their deſerts, eſtabliſhing ſuch a quiet and pleaſing Government in his Kingdom, that People in great number reſorted from far into his Dominions, there to ſeat themſelves; whereby his Kingdom became in few years exceeding populous, and he for his politick Government moſt famous. And ſo living in great quietneſs certain years, being now become aged and much troubled with the Gout; his old Souldiers accuſtomed to live by the Wars, abhorring Peace, came to him, requeſting him as it were with one voice, to take ſome honourable War in hand for the inlargement of his Kingdom, with great chearfulneſs offering to ſpend their lives in his ſervice rather than to grow old in idleneſs; which forwardneſs of his men of War greatly pleaſed him, and ſo giving them thanks, for that time diſmiſt them, promiſing that he would not be long unmindful of their requeſt. But yet thinking it good to make all things ſafe at home before he took any great Wars in hand abroad, thought it expedient to call unto him *Michael Coſſi*, the only Chriſtian Captain whom for his great deſerts he had at all times ſuffered to live in quiet with his Poſſeſſions, as it were in the heart of his Kingdom; and by fair means (if it might be) to perſwade him to forſake the Chriſtian Religion, and become a follower of *Mahomet*, and ſo to take away all occaſion of miſtruſt; which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then forgetting all former Friendſhip, to make War upon him as his utter Enemy. Whereupon *Coſſi* was ſent for, being perſwaded by the Meſſenger, that *Othoman* had ſent for him, becauſe he had occaſion to uſe his wonted faithful Counſel and Service in a great exploit which he had intended, as he had oftentimes before. *Coſſi* thinking of nothing leſs than of that which enſued, came accompanied with ſuch Souldiers as he thought to uſe in that ſervice; But coming unto *Othoman*, and underſtanding the very cauſe why he was ſent for, and ſeeing danger eminent on every ſide, kiſſing *Othomans* Hand, after the manner of the Turks, requeſted him in courteous manner to enter him in the Principles of the Mahometan Religion, which he promiſed ever after to embrace; And ſo ſaying certain words after *Othoman*, he turned Turk, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the contentment of *Othoman* and his Nobility. For which his revolting, *Othoman* preſently gave him an Enſign and a rich Robe, tokens whereby the Mahometan Sultans aſſure their Vaſſals of their Favour and the undoubted poſſeſſion of ſuch Land and Living as they then hold.

Michael Coſſi *turneth Turk.*

Oftentimes after this, *Othoman* for the contenting of his Souldiers, invaded the Countries bordering upon him, took many ſtrong Caſtles and Forts, ſubdued the moſt part of *Phrygia*, *Miſia*, and *Bithynia*, and other great Regions, unto the *Euxine* Sea; and being now very aged and diſeaſed as is aforeſaid with the Gout, and thereby unable to go into the field in perſon himſelf, oftentimes ſent his Son *Orchanes* againſt his Enemies; who to the imitation of his Father atchieved many great enterpriſes, *Othoman* his Father yet living.

Now happily might the conſiderate Reader (and not without juſt cauſe) marvel, what dead ſleep had overwhelmed the Greek Emperors of thoſe times; firſt *Michael Paleologus*, and afterwards his Son *Andronicus*, both men of great Valour, and ſtill reſiant at *Conſtantinople*, thus to ſuffer the Turks (not *Othoman*, for he as yet bare no ſway; but others the ſharers of Sultan *Aladins* Kingdom) to take their Cities, ſpoil their Countries, kill their Subjects, and dayly to incroach upon them in the leſſer *Aſia*, and eſpecially in *Bithynia*, ſo near unto them, and as it were even under their Noſes: But let him with me, here as in a moſt convenient place but breath a little, and conſider the troubled State of that declining Empire, now haſting to an end; and he ſhall plainly ſee the cauſes of the decay thereof, and how like an old diſeaſed body quite overthrown and ſick to death, it became at length a Prey unto the aſpiring Turks. *Michael Paleologus* having by great treachery obtained the Greek Empire, and by rare fortune recovered alſo the City of *Conſtantinople* from *Baldwin* the Emperor (as is in the former part of this Hiſtory declared) fearing the power of the Princes of the Weſt, but eſpecially of *Charles* King of *Sicilia*, then a Prince of great Fame and Power, whom he knew *Baldwin* (the late Emperor) ceaſed not to ſolicite for the reſtitution of him again into his Empire, and to have alſo joyned with him a near bond of Affinity, by marrying his Daughter unto *Charles* his Son; to avert this danger, and to intangle *Charles* with troubles near home, by his Embaſſadors offred unto *Gregory* the Tenth, then Biſhop of *Rome*, to unite and conform the Greek Church unto the Latine, and to acknowledg the Biſhops Supremacy in ſuch ſort as that it ſhould be lawful for any man to appeal unto the Court of *Rome*, as unto the higher and moſt excellent Court; of which his offer the Pope gladly accepted, promiſing to perform what he had before requeſted, for the keeping of *Charles* otherwiſe buſied. But when it came to the point, that this reformation and alteration of Religion in the Greek Church ſhould be made, *Joſeph* the Patriarch, to begin withall, gave up his place, and ſhortly after forſaking the City, retired himſelf into a Monaſtery near unto the Straight of *Boſphorus*, where he at quiet devoutly ſpent the reſt of his life. The reſt of the Clergy alſo diſcontented with this innovation, in their Sermons openly inveighed againſt it, perſwading the People not to receive it; crying out, That now was come the time of their trial, the time of their Martyrdom, and the time wherein they were to receive the glorious Crown of their painful

Alteration of Religion in the Greek Church.

ſufferings; inſomuch, that great tumults were thereupon raiſed, and all the City and the Country in an uprore; for it was not the Clergy only, and the vulgar People by them moved, which diſliked and abhorred theſe the Emperors proceedings, and made theſe ſtirs, but many of the better ſort, yea, of the chief Magiſtrates themſelves alſo. So that *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor leaving all other forreign buſineſs, was enforced to convert all his Power and Study unto the appeaſing of theſe domeſtick Troubles, as deeming them of greater danger than thoſe abroad. And firſt to perſwade his diſcontented Subjects, he told them, That this alteration was made not for any good liking he had thereunto, but in reſpect of the dangerouſneſs of the time; and that it was a point of wiſdom, to foreſee dangers hanging over our heads, and not to delay, if any thing were to be altered, for the averting thereof; for if the Enemies (as he ſaid) ſhould come, the City yet in many places rent, or but lately repaired, and as it were but newly raiſed from death to life, the preſent miſchiefs would be far greater than thoſe forepaſſed, and that then their Enemies would become Lords, not of their Religion and Ceremonies only, but of all at once, their Wives, their Children, and whatſoever elſe they had, where their Liberty changed into Bondage, they ſhould be conſtrained to conform themſelves not with their bodily ſervice only, but even with their minds alſo, unto the Wills of the Latines their Enemies. And that ſo it would come to paſs, that no man ſhould be able to keep the old Cuſtoms and Manners of their Anceſtors, but ſhould ſee even their moſt ſacred Rites and Ceremonies changed and quite overthrown. Which he carefully foreſeeing, had not (as he ſaid) refuſed to yield unto neceſſity, and as Wiſdom would, neglected a little harm in reſpect of a greater benefit; and in the leſs to have yielded unto his Enemies, to enjoy the benefit of the greater. With which the Emperors perſwaſion ſome were moved, and ſo held themſelves contented; and ſome others not; againſt whom he was inforced to uſe other more ſevere remedies, as againſt his rebellious Subjects; of whom ſome he impriſoned, ſome he baniſhed, ſome he tormented, ſome he diſmembred, ſome he bereft of their Sight, or confiſcated their Goods, uſing (in brief) all the means whereby the Minds of the Reſolute or the Weak were to be moved. All which things, they whoſe zeal was grounded upon knowledge (in number feweſt) with patience indured; but the greater part void of judgment, and the refuſe of the People in ſimple Attire, ran roving abroad, ſome into *Peloponeſus*, ſome into *Thracia*, ſome into *Achaia*, and ſome as far as *Colchos*, as men perſecuted for their conſcience, not regarding greatly whether, ſo it were out of the Emperors juriſdiction, and ſomething fitting their own Humors; neither conforming themſelves unto the Religion then commonly by the Emperor eſtabliſht, neither yet agreeing among themſelves, but taking unto them divers names, ſome as the Diſciples of *Arſenius*, ſome of *Joſeph*, and ſome of others; ſome of them, themſelves deceived, and deceiving others alſo. Thus for the avoiding of forreign danger out of the Weſt, was the Empire at home no little indangered, and the State thereof ſhaken. Wherewith the Emperor was ſo encumbred, as that he had no leiſure to provide for the tempeſt ariſing by the Turks out of the Eaſt, but was inforced wholly to imploy himſelf and all his endeavours to the keeping of his People and Subjects in their due obedience at home. All whoſe deep devices, firſt in aſpiring to the Empire, no way unto him due, and great travels afterwards for the aſſuring of the ſame to himſelf and his Poſterity, againſt all right even with the alteration of the Religion of his Fathers, yielded him in the winding up of all, not ſo much as credit of an honourable Sepulture; but dying in theſe troubles not far from *Liſymachia*, as he was making preparation againſt the Prince of *Theſſaly*, was there by his Son *Andronicus* his commandment (for whoſe advancement he had ſtrained both his Faith and Honour) obſcurely buried in the Field, a good way from his Camp, as unworthy of a better Sepulture, for revolting from the ancient Religion of his Anceſtors, although his Obſequies were for faſhion ſake afterward with ſome ſolemnity celebrated. This was the end of the great Emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in whoſe time the Turks, the Succeſſors of *Aladin*, greatly incroached upon him in the leſſer *Aſia*, as is in part before declared; a man greatly adorned with the good gifts both of body and mind, had he not for the advancement of himſelf and his Poſterity, ſtained the ſame with foul Treachery and Apoſtacy; for which (as ſome ſay) he ever after lived in conſcience troubled, and dying, was even by his own Son not thought worthy of an honourable funeral. *A notable example unto all ſuch as with greedineſs ſeek after vain glory, and fooliſhly expoſe themſelves unto ſuch adventures, as oftentimes overwhelm their deepeſt devices, having in themſelves no certainty, preferring their inordinate deſires (either for themſelves or their Poſterity) before that which is good and vertuous. Twice wretched in ſo doing; firſt in their folly, and then in their indeavours; who beſide that they find God himſelf againſt their deſigns and purpoſes, they by and by alſo evidently meet with other things than what they had forecaſted, contrary unto them; and ſo themſelves oftentimes, contrary to their expectation, caſt headlong into extreme miſery; for lo, even he of whom we now ſpeak, otherwiſe a man of great Wiſdom, and happy in his doings, overcome with his affection towards his Children, in deſiring to leave unto them the Empire, when as he ought to have caſt all the care, both of himſelf and of them, eſpecially upon the Providence of God; he like a blind man following his own deep conceits, not grounded upon the fear of God, but upon Mans Wiſdom only, caſt himſelf before he was aware into miſerable troubles, and became odious even unto his Subjects, and them alſo for whom he had ſo forgot himſelf. For whereas God had even from his Childhood allotted unto him the Empire (as was by many evident ſigns and tokens to have been gathered) if he could have moderated his untimely deſires, kept his tongue from Perjury, and his hands from blood, and not turned out of the way after ſtrange Doctrine; he had by many degrees excelled even the beſt Emperors his Predeceſſors; whereas now he lieth obſcurely buried, ſhrouded in the ſheet of Defame, the report of his foul and faithleſs dealings far exceeding all his other worthy vertues.*

Perſecution in the Greek Church for matters of Religion.

Andronicus Paleologus ſucceeding his Father in the Empire, and thinking by reſtoring again the government of the Church, together with the Rites and Cuſtoms of the Greeks, to have appeaſed all ſuch troubles as were before by his Father raiſed, by bringing in thoſe of the Latines; found himſelf therein much deceived, and his troubles no leſs than his Fathers; they which had before received the Latine Cuſtoms, and well liking of them, with great obſtinacy defending the ſame; and the other of the contrary Faction now countenanced by the Emperor, without modeſty or meaſure inſulting upon them; whereof aroſe exceeding great ſtirs and troubles, eſpecially in the beginning of his Reign; to the great

benefit

Andronicus ſparing to maintain his Navy, weakneth his Empire.

benefit of the incroaching Turks, who in the mean time ceaſed not by all means to increaſe their Territories in *Aſia*; and not only there, but in the Iſlands of the Miditerranean Sea alſo. For *Andronicus* by the death of *Charles* King of *Sicily*, delivered of the greateſt fear for which both he and his Father before him had to their great coſt and charge both built and maintained a ſtrong Fleet of Gallies; now perſwaded by ſome, whoſe actions and ſpeeches were after the manner of the Court, all framed unto the Princes Appetite, (as the readieſt way to thrive, without reſpect of the common good) to ſpare that needleſs charge (as they termed it) which yearly coſt him more than any thing elſe; had diſcharged all his Mariners and Sea-men, and commanded all the Gallies to be laid up, ſome in one Creek, ſome in another; where neglected and not looked unto, they in time for the moſt part rotted and periſhed. As for the Mariners, they went ſome one way, ſome another, as their Fortunes led them, to ſeek for their Livings in forreign Countries, even with the Emperors Enemies; and ſome gave themſelves to Husbandry, thinking it better by doing ſomething to live, than by ſitting ſtill to periſh. Which good Husbandry at the firſt ſeemed to be very profitable unto the Emperor, but eſpecially unto ſuch as being near unto him, and courteouſly given, made ſmall reckoning of all other the moſt neceſſary defences of the Empire, in compariſon of hoording up of mony, until that it was afterward too late by experience found hereof to have ſprung many great miſchiefs, unto the great weakning of the Greek Empire. For beſides that the Turks without let did great harm on the Sea; the Pirats now out of fear of the Emperors Gallies, at their pleaſure took the Spoyl of the rich Iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, and robbed the Towns all along the Sea-coaſt, to the unſpeakable grief of the poor Country People; and yet not ſo contented, came with their Gallies, ſometime two, ſometime three, ſometime more, as it were in contempt, even cloſe unto the imperial City. Yea the *Venetians* were ſo bold, as upon a right ſmall diſpleaſure to rifle and afterward to ſet fire upon the Suburbs thereof, which they would hardly have adventured, had the Emperors Fleet been preſerved and maintained in the wonted Strength.

At the ſame time alſo *Andronicus* the Emperor (to the great hindrance of the Affairs of the Empire, and advantage of the forreign Enemy) was not a little troubled with a jealous Suſpition of his Brother *Conſtantine* (commonly called *Porphyrogenitus*) as if he had ſought to have aſpired unto the Empire; ſeeking by all means to win unto himſelf the love and favour of all men, but eſpecially of the Nobility both at home and abroad, and ſo by that means to mount unto the height of his deſires; All which (as moſt men thought) were but meer Slanders, maliciouſly deviſed by ſuch as envying at his Honour, and taking occaſion by the Emperors Suſpition, ceaſed not to increaſe the ſame, until they had wrought his unworthy deſtruction. The firſt ground of this falſe Suſpition in the Emperors head, was, for that this *Conſtantine* even from his Childhood, was for many cauſes, better beloved of the old Emperor his Father, than *Andronicus*, as better furniſhed with thoſe gifts of Nature which beautifie a Prince, and of a more courteous Behaviour than was his Brother; inſomuch that had he not been the younger Brother, his Father could willingly have left him his Succeſſor in the Empire. This was one and the chiefeſt cauſe of the Emperors grudge, and the ground of his Suſpition. Yet was there another alſo, and that not much leſs than this; for that his Father in his life time had of long thought to have ſeparated from the Empire a great part of *Theſſalia* and *Macedonia*, and to have made him abſolute Prince thereof; and had haply ſo done, had he not been by death prevented; which thing alſo much grieved *Andronicus*, and the more incenſed him againſt his Brother. Which his ſecret hatred he for all that according to his Wiſdom, cunningly diſſembled, not only during the time that his Father lived, but three years after his death alſo, making ſhew of the great love and kindneſs towards him that was poſſible. *Conſtantine* in the mean time, of ſuch greateſt revenues as were by his Father aſſigned unto him, reaping great profit, moſt bountifully beſtowed the ſame upon his Followers and Favourites, and others that made ſute unto him, as well the meaner ſort as the greater, and with his ſweet Behaviour won unto him the Hearts of all men; for Affability and Courteſie in high degree eaſily allureth mens minds, as do fair flowers in the Spring the Paſſengers Eyes. This was that precept of the wiſe *Indians*, That the higher a Prince was in Dignity, and the more courteous he ſhewed himſelf unto his Inferiors, the better he ſhould be of them beloved. He therefore that ſhould for the two firſt cauſes blame *Conſtantine*, ſhould do him wrong; as both proceeding not of himſelf, but of his Fathers too much love; but in the third he was not altogether blameleſs; for if for want of experience he prodigally gave ſuch gifts, as for the moſt part might have beſeemed the Emperor himſelf, he ignorantly erred, yet did he not little offend; but if he knew, that for his profuſe bounty he could not be unſuſpected of his Brother, and yet without regard held on that courſe, he was greatly to be blamed therein. For if nothing elſe might have moved him, yet he ſhould have conſidered, to what end the like doings of others in former times had ſorted, and how many it had brought to untimely end. So although perhaps that *Conſtantine* meant no harm unto his Brother, or any way to ſupplant him, yet did theſe things not a little increaſe and aggravate the former Suſpitions, and open the Ears of the Emperor his Brother unto ſuch calumniation as commonly attendeth upon immoderate bounty. But to return to our purpoſe, this honourable *Conſtantine* then lived in *Lydia*, but lately married, and in good hope long to live, being not paſt thirty years old; but pleaſantly ſpending the time with his Wife at *Nymphea* in *Lydia*, at ſuch time as he was thus ſecretly accuſed unto his Brother, the Emperor thought it good, as upon other occaſions of buſineſs, to paſs over into *Aſia* himſelf, but indeed with a ſecret reſolution, upon the ſudden to oppreſs his Brother unawars, as by proof it fell out. For at his coming over, *Conſtantine* fearing nothing leſs, was forthwith apprehended, with all his greateſt Favourites, of whom one *Michael Strategopulus* (ſometime a man in great Authority with the Emperor his Father, and of all other, for wealth, honour, and noble acts moſt famous) was chief; who together with *Conſtantine* were faſt clapt into priſon, where we will leave them every hour looking to die, their Lands and Goods being before confiſcated. But theſe worthy men, eſpecially *Canſtantine* and *Strategopulus*, thus laid faſt; who many times in great Battels diſcomfited the Turks, and notably defended the frontiers of the Empire along the Eaſt ſide of the River *Meander*; they now finding none to withſtand them, forraged not

Immoderate bounty in great men dangerous.

only all the rich Country beyond the River, but with an infinite multitude paſſing the ſame, did there great harm alſo; ſo that there was no remedy, but that the Emperor muſt of neceſſity make choice of ſome other worthy Captain for the defence of thoſe his Cities and Countries, by the Incurſion of the Turks then in danger in that part of *Aſia*.

Alexius Philanthropenus *aſpireth.*

Libadarius oppoſeth himſelf againſt the proceedings of Philanthropenus.

There was then in the Emperors Court one *Alexius Philanthropenus*, a right valiant and renowed Captain, and then in the flower of his youth; of him the Emperor thought good to make choice for defence of thoſe Frontiers of his Empire in the leſſer *Aſia* (againſt the Turks) which were before, the charge of his Brother *Conſtantine* and *Strategopulus*; joyning to him one *Libadarius*, an old famous Captain, and a man of great experience alſo; appointing unto him the Government of the Cities of *Ionia*; and unto the other the Frontiers along the winding banks of *Meander*. Where *Alexius* having now gotten a Charge worthy his valour, and in many great Conflicts with the Turks ſtill carrying away the Victory, became in ſhort time of great fame; beſides that, he was exceeding bountiful and courteous unto all men; a coſtly, but a ready way unto dangerous Credit and Renown. Thus at the firſt all things proſpered in his hand according to his hearts deſire; yea the Turks themſelves, bordering upon him, hardly beſet on the one ſide by the *Tartars*, and on the other by himſelf; and yet not ſo much feared with their Enemies behind them, as moved with his courteſie, came over to him with their Wives and Children, and ſerved themſelves (many of them) in his Camp: But as they ſay, That in *Jupiters* Court no man might drink of the Tun of Bliſs, but that he muſt taſte alſo of the Tun of Woe; ſo fell it out with this great Captain, who having but taſted of the better Tun, had the worſe all poured full upon his head. For *Libadarius* ſeeing all to proſper with him, and ſomewhat envying thereat, began to fear and ſuſpect, leſt he proud of his good Fortune, and now grown very ſtrong, caſting off his allegiance ſhould aſpire unto the Empire, and ſo firſt begin with him, as the neareſt unto him; which thing many of the Nobility ſecretly ſurmiſed alſo, but how truly many doubt. But this envious Plot was not yet ripe, but lay as fire raked up in the aſhes. Now there was with *Alexius Philanthropenus*, certain Companies of *Cretenſians*, whom for their good Service and Fidelity he both honoured and truſted above others, uſing them all for the Guard of his own Perſon. Theſe men proud of their Credit, hearing of the ſurmiſed aſpiring of their General, and in hope by his advancement to raiſe their own Fortunes alſo, ceaſed not continually to ſuggeſt unto him high conceits of himſelf, and to perſwade, with all ſpeed to take the matter upon him; the very conceit whereof (as they ſaid) would be unto him no leſs danger, than if he ſhould enter into the Action it ſelf, as he might well ſee by the woful Examples of the noble *Conſtantine* and *Stratigopulus*, both in extream peril but for the jealous conceit ſurmiſed againſt them. Which quick Suggeſtions wrought in his great mind divers, and thoſe moſt contrary motions, ſo that he ſcarce knew himſelf what he would or would not. *For they which are unto themſelves in conſcience guilty of any grievous Crime, if any miſchief hang over their heads therefore, it happeneth unto them as foreknowing and expecting the ſame even from the time that they offended; unto whom, if nothing elſe, yet that ſame very foreknowledge eaſeth not a little the grief and miſery; whereas contrariwiſe, they which are with ſudden miſchiefs, and unlooked for, overwhelmed, not knowing any juſt cauſe why, muſt needs ſtand as men diſmaid, and almoſt beſide themſelves.* But at length after divers great Conflicts with himſelf, the evil Perſwaders of Rebellion prevailed with him. Yet did he at the firſt forbid any mention to be made of him in the Army as Emperor; which cauſed the *Cretenſians*, the chief Authors of his Rebellion, almoſt to force him forthwith to take upon him the Imperial Ornaments, thereby to confirm the minds of his Followers and Favorites; for that ſuch Reſolutions were (as they ſaid) forthwith to be put into execution; neither that any thing required ſo joynt celerity and dexterity both of the mind and the hand; and for that longer delay would but fill his Souldiers heads with doubts, and diſcourage them with the fear of the uncertainty of the event; all which for all that moved him not ſo to do; but whether for fear of the greatneſs of the danger, or for that he ſecretly thought how firſt to circumvent *Libadarius*, of whom he ſtood moſt in doubt, is uncertain. The report of all which his doings and deſigns were in ſhort time carried firſt unto *Libadarius*, as the neareſt, and ſo in Poſt unto the Emperor; who were therewith not a little both diſquieted. And had *Alexius* (as ſome perſwaded him) at the firſt ſet upon *Libadarius*, then unprovided, no doubt but he had done much; but God, by whom all Princes Reign, and whoſe Power confoundeth the devices of the proud, turned him from *Libadarius*, by whom he was to be oppreſſed, to follow after *Theodorus* the Emperors Brother, of whom he was to have feared no harm. This *Theodorus*, the firſt man that *Alexius* ſhot at, warned by his Brother *Conſtantines* harms, lived a pleaſant private life in *Lydia*, far from the ambition of the Court, and therefore ſo much the more beloved of the Emperor; but *Alexius* fearing leſt in that hurle many ſhould reſort unto him, as unto the Emperors Brother, and ſo hinder his proceedings, thought beſt firſt to make him ſure, and afterward to oppreſs *Libadarius*, not aware that in ſtead of the body, he followed but after the ſhadow. But *Libadarius*, as a man of great experience, taking the benefit of this his overſight, and knowing money to be the ſinews of War, gathered together all the Coin he poſſibly could, both of his own and his friends, ſending alſo for the Emperors Treaſures of *Philadelphia*, and with all ſpeed raiſed the greateſt Power that poſſibly he could out of *Ionia*, which he furniſhed with all things neceſſary, promiſing unto his Souldiers great matters, and filling them with greater hopes, and that within ten days he would with a great Army meet the Rebel in the heart of *Lydia*, and there dare him battel. But withall conſidering that the *Cretenſians*, men but of a mercenary Faith, had always the Guard of *Alexius* his Perſon, he thought good to make proof if they might with Gold be won to betray him; and ſo well wrought the matter by great ſums of money preſently given, and promiſes of greater Preferments with the Emperor, that they (ſomewhat before diſcontented with *Alexius* his ſlackneſs, and now doubting alſo his ſucceſs) yielded unto his deſire, promiſing in the beginning of the battel to deliver him into his hands; which they ſhortly after in the very joyning of the battel accordingly performed, delivering him faſt bound unto *Libadarius* his Enemy. Who not a little proud thereof, uſed him with great Inſoloney, and within three days after put out his eyes, for fear the Emperor according to his courteous nature ſhould have given him his Pardon; and ſo kept him in priſon until the Emperors pleaſure were further known. Thus through falſe ſuſpition and ambition were the greateſt Champions of the Greek Empire brought to confuſion.

Andronicus the Greek Emperor repoſing more truſt in foreign aid, than in his own Subjects, greatly hurteth his State.

Now after this Rebellion of *Philanthropenus*, *Andronicus* became ſo jealous of his own people, as that he wiſt not whom to truſt, repoſing greater confidence in ſtrangers, than in his own Subjects; to the great hurt of his Eſtate. At the ſame time it fortuned, that the *Maſſagets* (commonly called *Alani*) which then dwelt beyond *Iſter*, being Chriſtians, but oppreſſed by the *European Tartars*, weary of their ſlavery, ſent ſecretly unto the Greek Emperor *Andronicus*, offering that if he would aſſign unto them a convenient place for them to dwell in, they would come over unto him with ten thouſand of their Families, and faithfully ſerve him in his Wars againſt the Turks (who then grievouſly waſted his Countries in *Aſia*, deſtitute of good Captains and Commanders;) which their offer he gladly accepted, as ſtanding then in need of Aid, and not greatly truſting his own people. But when theſe *Maſſagets*, in number above 10000, coming over with their Wives and Children, were to be furniſhed with all things, and eſpecially the Men with Horſes, Armor, and Pay, (all which the Emperor could not of himſelf do) the Subjects were therewith hardly charged, and Commiſſion ſent out into every Country and Province, for the taking up of Horſes and Armor; every City, every Country-Town and Village, every Gentlemans Houſe and poor mans Cottage, was ſearched and ranſacked, and all things taken from them, that were there found fit for Service, to their great diſcontentment, every man murmuring and grudging to have his Arms taken from him, and given to ſtrangers; but when they were alſo to be Contributers unto their pay, they then openly curſed and banned them even unto their faces. Yet at length (though with much ado) theſe ſtrangers well furniſhed with all things neceſſary, were with ſome other Forces alſo, ſhipped over into *Aſia*, under the leading of *Michael Paleologus* the Emperors eldeſt Son, and then his Companion in the Empire. Who marching alongſt the Country, came and incamped about *Magneſia*. Where the Turks at the firſt, after their wonted manner retired themſelves into the high Mountains and thick Woods, that from thence they might more ſafely learn what ſtrength their new come Enemies were of, and what diſcipline of War they kept; for they knew, that upon the coming of great Armies many falſe Reports did run, and that things were made far greater than indeed they were, as they did of theſe alſo, as of a people invincible; and therefore they thought it beſt ſo to protract the time, until they might ſee in what ſort beſt to deal with them. But thus hovering over their heads, and perceiving them oftentimes without order to roam abroad into the Country ſeeking after prey, (for why, they after the manner of mercenary men ſpoiled their Friends no leſs than if they had been their Enemies) they came down in good order from the Mountains, from whence at the firſt they adventured but a little; but afterwards they came on further, and with greater confidence, in ſuch ſort, as that it ſeemed they would ere long aſſault the young Emperor in his Camp. Wherewith he with the reſt diſcouraged, without any ſtroke given retired; the Turks ſtill following him at the heels. For neither he, neither the reſt, any thing conſidered the ſmall number of their Enemies; but as drunken men, whoſe heads filled with groſs vapors, are deceived in the greatneſs of the object that they ſee, and oftentimes think one thing to be two; ſo were they alſo in like manner with their own fear blinded. Beſide that, moſt commonly it falleth out, that the Army which Inſolency and Injury forerunneth, is appointed to deſtruction, and by the fearfulneſs of it ſelf overthrown before the Enemy ſet upon it, they themſelves becoming Enemies to themſelves, and Gods juſt Vengeance appointing unto them ſuch an end as their deeds have deſerved; neither was it like that they ſhould do any great good, that at their firſt ſetting forth, in ſtead of proviſion, carried out with them the bitter Curſes and Execrations of their Friends. *Michael* the Emperor ſeeing the *Maſſagets* fly, and not daring with thoſe few he had left, to oppoſe himſelf againſt his Enemies, retired himſelf into the ſtrong Caſtle of *Magneſia*, there to expect what would become of theſe miſchiefs. But the *Maſſagets* ſpoiling the Country of the poor Chriſtians as they went, marched directly unto the ſtrait of *Helleſpontus*, and there again paſſed over into *Europe*, as if they had been therefore only ſent for over the River *Iſter*, to ſhew the Turks the ſooner the way unto the Sea in *Aſia*. For it was not many days after, but that *Michael* the Emperor being returned to *Conſtantinople*, the Turks coming down, with a great Power, ſubdued all the Countries, even unto the Coaſt of *Lesbos*, to the great ruine and weakning of the Greek Empire.

Ronzerius what he was.

It was not long after theſe great ſtirs made by the *Maſſagets*, but that one *Ronzerius* (ſometime a notable Pirate, but as then a moſt famous Captain) hearing of the great entertainment that the Greek Emperor gave unto ſtrangers, by Meſſengers ſent for that purpoſe offered unto him his Service in his Wars againſt the Turks, as had before the *Maſſagets*. This *Ronzerius* of whom we ſpeak, had out of *Catalonia* a Province of *Spain*, and out of that part of *France* which is called *Narbonenſis*, and ſome other places alſo, gathered together a great number of baſe needy naked men, yet luſty able bodies, and fit for Service either by Sea or Land; with whom he manned four tall Gallies, and ſo as a notable Pirate long time robbed, not only the Merchants trading to and fro in the Mediterranean, but landing his men oftentimes in the rich Iſlands, carried away thence much rich Spoil alſo; until at length by the miſchief he did being become famous, and great Wars then ariſing betwixt *Charles* King of *Naples*, and *Theodorus* King of *Sicilia*, he was by *Theodorus* ſent for and requeſted for aid; which he (living of the ſpoil) eaſily granted, and ſo came unto him with a thouſand Horſe and as many Foot, all old expert Souldiers, whoſe good Service ſtood the King in thoſe Wars in great ſtead. But as the end of War is Peace, ſo at length upon the evil ſucceſs of *Charles*, a Peace being concluded betwixt the two Kings, and confirmed by a Marriage betwixt their Children; *Ronzerius* living altogether by his Fortunes, was to ſeek for new Entertainment, both for himſelf and his men, as having neither houſe nor certain dwelling place to repair to; but being as needy men met together, ſome out of one place, ſome out of another, in hope of booty as their Fortune led them. In which caſe *Ronzerius* their General thought it beſt to offer his Service to the Greek Emperor in his Wars againſt the Turks; whereof he gladly accepted, and ſo ſent for him; unto whom he ſhortly after came with two thouſand good Souldiers, called (after the proud *Spaniſh* manner) by the name of *Catalonians*, for that they were for the moſt part *Spaniards* of the Country of *Catalonia*. Of whoſe coming the Emperor rejoycing more than he had cauſe (as afterward by proof it fell out) in token of his great favour, honoured him with the name of the Great Captain, and afterwards gave him his Neece *Mary* in marriage. But within a while after, when as one *Tenza* another *Catalonian* Captain ſent for by *Ronzerius*, was come thither alſo with more aid, the Emperor to gratifie them both, gave unto *Ronzerius* the name of *Cæſar*, and unto the other the name of the Great Captain. But when theſe new Captains with their Followers were to be tranſported into *Aſia*, it is not to be ſpoken what harm they did by the way unto the Country people, and in the Villages alongſt the Sea-coaſt; abuſing the men and women as their Slaves, and ſpending their ſubſtance at their pleaſure, for which they had many a bitter curſe; and this was their firſt years entertainment. The next Spring they ſet forward to relieve the great City of *Philadelphia*, being as then long beſieged by the Turks, and hardly beſtead without with the Enemy; and within, with extream Penury and Famine; which good Service they moſt valiantly performed, and raiſed the Siege. For the Turks beholding the good order of theſe Latine Souldiers, their bright Armor, and couragious coming on, roſe preſently and departed, not only from the City, but quite out of the Emperors Territory. Beſides that, in this Army were joyned unto theſe *Catalonians* great numbers of the beſt Souldiers of the Greeks, and all the Power of the *Maſſagets*; ſo that had not the Emperor expreſly before commanded, not to purſue them too far, it was by many thought, all thoſe Cities and Countries might then again have been in ſhort time recovered from the Turks, which they had before taken from him. But in Kingdoms appointed unto ruine, fair occaſions help not for the ſtay thereof; yea the greateſt helps provided by the worldly wiſe, by a ſecret commanding Power above, being oftentimes converted to the deſtruction of that they were provided for the ſafeguard of; as it now fell out with the Emperor and theſe *Spaniſh* Souldiers; for this Service done, the Greeks returned home, as did the *Maſſagets* alſo. But theſe *Catalonians* with *Ronzerius* their General, roaming up and down the Emperors Territories in *Aſia*, did there great harm, turning their Forces (as Enemies) upon them whom they were ſent for to relieve; alledging that they had not their pay according to the Emperors promiſe; and that therefore they muſt live upon them that had ſent for them and deceived them. So were the poor people in every place ſpoiled, their Wives and Daughters raviſhed, their Prieſts and aged Fathers tortured to confeſs ſuch ſecret ſtore as they had; all was ſubject unto theſe diſſolute Souldiers rage and luſt; yea many of them that had nothing to redeem themſelves, upon the greedy Souldiers imagination, having their hands or feet, or ſome other part of their bodies cut off, lay by the high-ways ſide begging an halfpeny or a piece of bread, having nothing left to comfort themſelves with, more than their miſerable voice and fountains of Tears; with which their Wrongs and Miſeries, worſe than thoſe they had ſuſtained by the Turks, the Emperor much grieved, and well the more, for that they were done by him whom he had entertained to relieve them; but what remedy, his Coffers were ſo bare as that he was not able to do any thing for the redreſs thereof. *Ronzerius* having thus ſpoiled the Emperors Country in *Aſia*, and left nothing that pleaſed either him or his, with all his Power paſſed over into *Europe*; and leaving all the reſt of his Army at *Calipolis*, with two hundred of his men went unto the young Emperor *Michael* (then lying with a ſmall Power at *Oreſtias* in *Thracia*) to demand of him his pay, or if need were to extort it from him with threats; with whoſe Inſolency at his coming, the Emperor more offended than before, his Souldiers there preſent perceiving the ſame, with their drawn Swords compaſſing him in, faſt by the Court, ſlew him, with certain of his Followers; the reſt fled in all haſt to *Calipolis* to certifie their Fellows what had happened.

Ronzerius *for want of pay ſpoileth the Emperors Subjects.*

Ronzerius *ſlain.*

Thus by the death of *Ronzerius*, the young Emperor had thought to have diſcouraged the *Catalonians*, and abated their pride, as like enough it was to have done; yet in proof it fell not out ſo, but was the cauſe of far greater evils. So when God proſpers not mens actions, the beſt falleth out unto the worſt, and their wiſeſt devices turn to meer follies; for the *Catalonians* at *Calipolis* hearing of the death of *Ronzerius* their General, firſt ſlew all the Citizens in the City, and notably fortified the ſame, took that as their Refuge. Then dividing their Souldiers into two parts, with one part of them manned out eight Gallies, which under the leading of the great Captain *Tenza*, robbed and ſpoiled all the Merchants Ships, paſſing the ſtraits of *Helleſpontus*, to or from *Conſtantinople*; the other part left in the City, in the mean time foraging the Country all about them. But *Tenza* ſhortly after encountring with a Fleet of the *Genowayes*, well provided for him, was by them overthrown, and moſt of his Gallies ſunk, and himſelf taken; but yet afterwards redeemed by his Fellows, and ſo again inlarged. Now the *Catalonians* at *Calipolis* ſomewhat diſcouraged with the loſs of their Fleet and ſo many of their men, for certain days kept themſelves quiet within their Walls, not knowing well what courſe to take, for they feared both the *Maſſagets* and *Thracians*; them, for that they had upon light cauſes abuſed them, and ſlain divers of them in the late *Aſian* War; and theſe, for that they had but even the other day burnt their Houſes and ſpoiled their Labors in the Country there by; for which and other their Outrages, they utterly deſpaired of the Emperors Favor, whom they had ſo highly offended. But that which moſt of all terrified them, was, for that they looked for every day, when *Michael* the young Emperor, who as then lay not far off, ſhould with a great Power come to aſſault them; for fear of whom they caſt a deep Ditch about the City, with a ſtrong Counterſcarp; ſo preparing themſelves, as if they ſhould have been even preſently beſieged. But the time ſo paſſing, and the Emperor delaying his coming, they began to think of other matters; for being brought to that ſtrait, that they could not well tell which way to turn them, but that they were on every ſide beſet with danger, they upon a malicious Reſolution, and unto the Greeks moſt fatal, by Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, craved Aid of the Turks that dwelt on the other ſide of the ſtrait over againſt them, in *Aſia*; who preſently ſent them five hundred good Souldiers, after whom followed alſo many other Fugitives and looſe Companions, in hope of ſpoil; with whom the *Catalonians* for the preſent ſtrengthned, and being themſelves three thouſand ſtrong, iſſued out of the City, and foraged the Country thereabouts, bringing in with them great Herds and Flocks of Sheep and other Cattel, together with their Keepers; wherewith both the Emperors and their Subjects incenſed, prepared themſelves for Revenge. This was the firſt calling in of the Turks into *Europe* (that I read of) and the beginning of thoſe endleſs miſeries

The Turks firſt called into Europe *by the* Catalonians.

wherewith the Chriſtian Commonweal hath been ever ſince moſt grievouſly afflicted, and a great part thereof overwhelmed; few or none grieving thereat, but ſuch as themſelves feel the heavineſs thereof, whom God in his mercy comfort.

The Turcopuli.

The unfortunate battel of Michael *the Emperor againſt the* Catalonians *and Turks.*

The *Catalonians* and Turks now lying about *Cypſella* and *Apri* in *Thrace*, *Michael* the Emperor with his *Macedonian* and *Thracian* Souldiers, the *Magaſſets* and the *Turcopuli*, encamped at *Apri*. Theſe *Turcopuli* were Turks alſo, in number a thouſand (who as is in the former part of this Hiſtory declared) being fled with their Sultan *Jathatines* unto the Greek Emperor, and left behind him at ſuch time as he was by the *European Tartars* delivered, had forſaken their Mahometan Superſtition, and ſo being become Chriſtians, were inrolled amongſt the Greek Souldiers. Shortly after the Emperor (advertiſed by his Scouts of the approach of his Enemies) commanded every man to be in a readineſs, and his Captains to put his Army in order of battel; who ſeeing the Enemies battel divided into three parts, put theirs alſo in like order, placing the *Turcopuli* and *Maſſagets* in the left Wing, the *Macedonian* and *Thracian* choice Horſemen in the right Wing, and the reſt with the Footmen in the main battel. At which time the Emperor himſelf riding from place to place, with comfortable Speeches encouraged his men to fight valiantly againſt their Enemies. The Sun riſing, the Enemies battel began to come on, in number much inferiour unto the Emperors, yet in like order; the Turks being placed in both Wings, and the *Catalonians* well armed in the midſt. But the ſignal of battel being given on both ſides, the *Maſſagets*, whether it were by agreement ſo before made with the Enemy, or upon a ſudden conceived Treaſon, preſently withdrew themſelves aloof off, and ſo ſtood as idle beholders, giving Aid neither to the one nor to the other, as did alſo the *Turcopuli* their Companions; which greatly diſmayed the *Grecians*, and encouraged their Enemies; for the Greeks diſmayed with that ſudden defection of their Fellows, were even in the joyning of the battel diſcouraged. Which the Emperor perceiving, with great inſtancy intreated the Captains and Commanders of his Army, calling them oftentimes by name, not to be ſo ſuddenly diſcouraged; but they in ſo great a danger little regarding his words, and ſtill ſhrinking from him, when as the greateſt part of his Footmen were troden under foot and ſlain, turning himſelf unto them that were left, which were but few, he ſaid, *Now worthy men is the time wherein death is better than life, and life more bitter than death.* And having ſo ſaid, valiantly charged the Enemy; in which Charge his Horſe was ſlain under him, and he in danger to have been taken, had not one of his faithful Followers remounted him upon his own Horſe, and ſo ſaved his life with the loſs of his own. The Emperor flying to *Dydimotichum*, where *Andronicus* his Father then lay, was of him joyfully received, but ſharply reproved for adventuring his perſon ſo far. The Enemies purſuing the Chace, ſlew ſome, took others, until that by the coming on of the night, and weary with the long fight, they retired; and the next day dividing the ſpoil, afterwards at their pleaſures forraged the Country. The Renegat Turks, called *Turcopuli*, within a few days after revolting to the *Catalonians*, were of them joyfully entertained, and inrolled into the Regiment of *Chalel*, the Turks General.

Shortly after this Victory, the *Catalonians* began to mutiny among themſelves, the great Captain *Tenza*, and *Pharenza* his Companion, diſdained to be commanded by *Recafort* their General; in which tumult, the matter coming to blows, *Tenza* was ſlain, and *Pharenza* for ſafeguard of his life glad to fly unto the Emperor *Andronicus*; of whom he was, contrary to his expectation, right honourably entertained. About this time alſo the *Maſſagets* having done the Greeks more harm, than the Turks againſt whom they were entertained, and enriched themſelves with the ſpoil of their Friends both in *Aſia* and *Europe*, were about with their Wives and Children, and Wealth, to return again unto their old dwellings beyond *Iſter*. Which the *Turcopuli*, with the *Catalonians* underſtanding, and bearing unto them a ſecret grudge, for that they (as the weaker) had by them oftentimes bin wronged in the diviſion of the ſpoil of the Greeks, lay now ſecretly in wait for them, as they ſhould paſs the ſtraits of the great Mountain *Hemus*, which bounded the Greek Empire from the *Bulgarians*; where ſetting upon them, fearing no ſuch danger, they ſlew them almoſt all; and with the ſpoil of them recompenced themſelves for all the wrongs they had from them before received.

Caſſandria.

The Catalonians *ſhut out of* Macedonia.

The *Catalonians* proud of their Victory at *Apri*, and well ſtrengthened by the revolt of the *Turcopuli* with continual Rodes ſpoiled not only all alongſt the Sea-coaſt of *Thracia*, but all the in-land Country alſo, as far as *Maronea*, *Rhodope*, and *Bizia*, laying all waſt before them. And having forraged moſt part of *Thracia*, brake into *Macedonia*, and there wintred about *Caſſandria*, ſometime a famous City, but as then all deſolate and ruinous. But the Spring being come, they removed thence, with purpoſe to have ſpoiled the Cities of *Macedonia*, and eſpecially the rich City of *Theſſalonica*, where the Empreſs *Irene* then lay; wherein they were by the Emperors good care and foreſight prevented; who doubting ſuch a matter, had fortified his Cities in that Country, and furniſhed them with ſtrong Garriſons, and all other things needful for their defence; which they quickly perceiving, and finding the Country all deſolate, and forſaken by the Inhabitants, were about to have again returned into *Thracia*; but as they were thereupon reſolving, they were informed by one that was with them Captive, how that the Emperor by a mighty ſtrong Wall built at a place called *Chriſtopolis*, from the Sea-ſide even unto the top of the Mountains, had ſo ſhut up the paſſage, as that it was not poſſible for them that way to enter. With which unexpected news they were at the firſt exceedingly troubled, as foreſeeing, That if they ſhould there long ſtay in that ſpoiled Country, they ſhould in ſhort time be driven to exceeding wants (for they were now in number above 8000 fighting men) and afraid alſo by a general Conſpiracy of the people about them, to be oppreſſed. Thus beſet, and not well knowing what to do, or which way to turn themſelves, they deſperately reſolved, no longer there to ſtay, but forthwith to ſet forward, and to break into *Theſſaly*, with the plentifulneſs thereof to relieve their wants, or into ſome other Country further off, towards *Peloponneſus*, and there to ſeat themſelves, and to end their long travels; or at leaſtwiſe, if they could not ſo do, to enter into League with ſome that dwelt upon the Sea-coaſt, and ſo return again into their own Country. Wherefore leaving *Theſſalonica*, and delivering the Emperor of a great fear, they in three days came to the *Theſſalian* Mountains, *Olympus*, *Oſſa*, and *Pelius*; where they at the foot of them found ſuch plenty of all things neceſſary for their relief, that they there wintred. But Winter paſt, and the Spring being come, they paſſed over thoſe high Mountains and the pleaſant Vallies called *Tempe*, and ſo at laſt came down into the fruitful Plains of *Theſſaly*, where they ſpent that year at their pleaſure, without reſiſtance, devouring the Labours of the poor Country people, and making havock of whatſoever thing came in their way; for as then the ſtate of that Country was but weak, the Prince thereof being but young, and withall very ſick and like to die, and the Succeſſion ſo ending in him, as that it was feared, who after his death ſhould lay hand thereon; and every man therefore more careful of his own private than of the common good. Yet to avert theſe foreign Enemies, who like a conſuming fire devoured the Country before them, the Nobility thought it good, with great Gifts to overcome their Captains and Commanders, and then to offer them Guides to conduct them into *Achaia* and *Boetia*, Countries more pleaſant and fruitful than was theirs, and more commodious for them to dwell in; promiſing alſo to give them Aid for the ſeating of them there, if they ſhould ſo need. Of which their Offers the *Catalonians* accepted, as thinking it better with their hands full of Gold ſo eaſily gotten, to ſeek their better Fortunes, with their Power yet whole and ſtrong, and help alſo if need were, than to hazard all upon the ſucceſs of a doubtful Victory, and ſo fooliſhly to prefer an uncertain hope before a moſt certain benefit. So making Peace with the *Theſſalians*, and the Spring being come, receiving of them their promiſed Rewards, and Guides to conduct them, paſſing over the Mountains beyond *Theſſaly*, and the Straits of *Thermopile*, they encamped near unto *Locris* and the River *Cephiſus*; which riſing out of the Mountain *Parnaſſus*, and running towards the Eaſt, hath on the North-ſide of them *Locris* and *Opus*; and on the South the inland Country of *Achaia* and *Boetia*; and being a great River until it come to *Lebadia* and *Haliartes*, is there divided into two Rivers; the one called *Æſopus*, and the other *Iſmenus*; whereof the former runneth through the Country of *Attica*, until it come into the Sea; and the other near unto *Aulis* (where the noble *Grecians*, as they ſay, being about to go unto *Troy*, met, and there ſtayed) falleth into the *Eubœan* Sea. But the Duke of *Thebes* and *Athens*, and of all that Country, hearing of their coming, and (as he thought well) provided alſo for them (as having all the Winter and Spring time before put his Forces in readineſs) with great pride and contempt denied them paſſage through his Country, at ſuch time as they asked the ſame; making no more reckoning of them, than as of a ſort of looſe wandring Rogues that could find no place to reſt or thrive in; wherewith they inraged, reſolved among themſelves, either there to ſeat themſelves in his Country, or to die therefore. And ſo paſſing the River into *Boetia*, not far from the ſame encamped themſelves, being in number about 3500 Horſe, and 4000 Foot. But ſo lying and expecting the coming of their Enemies, they cauſed all the plain ground about where they lay and meant to fight, to be plowed up, which they with certain ſmall cuts out of the River ſo watered, as that it differed but a little from a deep Mariſh or Bog. Hither about the middle of the Spring, cometh the Prince of the Country, with a gallant Army raiſed out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, *Platea*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, and *Megara*, in number about 6400 Horſe, and 4000 Foot, an Army too ſtrong he thought for ſo contemptible an Enemy. But the weakeſt Enemy not feared, doth oftentimes the greateſt harm, as here by proof was to be ſeen; for the Prince coming unto the aforeſaid Plain, now grown green with graſs, and caſting no peril, encouraging his men, came bravely on with all his Horſemen to have charged his Enemies; who ſtood faſt upon the firm ground, a little without their Trenches, as ready to encounter him. But before he was come to the middle of the Plain, his Horſes ſinking deep into the rotten and new ploughed ground, and there intangled as in a Mariſh, lay for the moſt part tumbling in the mire, together with their Riders; or elſe plunging in the Deep, and having caſt them, ran up and down the Plain, as Fortune led them; otherſome ſticking faſt, ſtood with their Riders upon their backs, as if they had been very Images, not able for to move. Which the *Catalonians* beholding, and therewith encouraged, overwhelmed them with all manner of ſhot, and ſlew them at their pleaſure, until they had almoſt made an end of them; and with their Horſemen ſo ſpeedily purſued the reſt in chaſe, even unto the Cities of *Thebes* and *Athens*, that they without more ado even at that inſtant ſurpriſed them both, with all that was in them. So the *Catalonians* having as it were at a caſt at Dice won a moſt goodly Country, garniſhed with fair Towns and Cities, which they never built; and ſtored with all manner of wealth, which they never ſweat for, there ended their long travels, and ſeated themſelves; not ceaſing (as ſaith *Nicephorus Gregorias*, the reporter of this Hiſtory, ſpeaking of the time wherein theſe things were done, and wherein he himſelf lived in *Conſtantinople*) unto this preſent day, by little and little to extend the bounds of their Territory. Where leaving them, with whom we happily have too long ſtrayed from our purpoſe, let us again return unto the Turks and *Turcopuli* their Companions.

A notable ſtratagem of the Catalonians.

In the Army of the *Catalonians*, at ſuch time as they were about to have beſieged *Theſſalonica*, were three thouſand Turks, of whom eleven hundred were of them (as we ſaid) which remained with *Melech* at *Ænum*, after the flight of *Jathatines* their Sultan unto the *Tartars*, and renouncing their Superſtition, became Chriſtians; and ſo being baptized, and having Wives and Children, were enrolled among the Emperors Souldiers; but at the battel of *Apri* revolted unto the *Catalonians*, and were commonly known by the name of *Turcopuli*; the other being the greater part, were ſuch Turks, as with *Chalel* their Captain came out of *Aſia*, being ſent for by the *Catalonians*. Now all theſe Turks, as well the one as the other, at ſuch time as the *Catalonians* were about to invade *Theſſalia*, and to ſeek their new Fortunes in the Countries more Weſtward, and ſo farther off from *Aſia*; partly diſtruſting the ſociety of them, as dangerous unto them; and loath alſo further to follow their uncertain Fortunes into Countries further off, amongſt people to them unknown, began to riſe in mutiny, and to refuſe to go. Whereupon their Captains *Melech* and *Chalel* requeſted of the General of the *Catalonians* to give them leave with quietneſs to return; which their requeſt he eaſily granted, (as now not greatly needing their help, after that he was departing out of the Emperors Dominion) and ſo they gladly departed; proportionally dividing all the Captives and Spoils they had taken in that long War, according to the number of both parts.

The Turks divided into two Factions.

Theſe Turks after their departure from the *Catalonians*, divided themſelves into two parts, the *Turcopuli* or renegate Turks following *Melech*, and the reſt *Chalel* their General. But *Melech* being before become a Chriſtian, as were his Followers alſo; and after that having received moſt honourable Entertainment at the Emperors hands, and yet again moſt ſhamefully breaking his Faith before given, and violating his Religion, had revolted to his Enemies; deſpairing of the Emperors further friendſhip, which he had ſo evilly deſerved, made choice rather to go unto *Charles* Prince of *Servia*, by whom he was ſent for, than to come again into the ſight of *Andronicus* the Greek Emperor. And ſo going unto him with a thouſand Horſe, and five hundred Foot, was there of him well entertained himſelf; but his Souldiers all commanded to deliver unto the Prince both their Horſes and Armor, and to fall to other Trades, and not to bear Arms but at ſuch time, and ſo many of them as ſhould ſeem good unto the Prince, that had received them into his Country.

But *Chalel* with the Turks his Followers, in number about thirteen hundred Horſe and eight hundred Foot, ſtaying at *Macedonia*, offered unto the Greek Emperor quietly to depart his Country, ſo that he would give him paſſage by the Straits of *Chriſtopolis*, by him fortified; and in ſafety tranſport him and his Souldiers with all their ſubſtance, over the Strait of *Helleſpontus* into *Aſia*; unto which his requeſt, the Emperor conſidering the great harm done in his Provinces, and deſirous alſo to be diſcharged of ſo great a burthen, eaſily granted; and ſo ſent *Sennacherib*, one of his moſt valiant Captains, to conduct them out of *Macedonia* into *Thracia*, unto the Straits of *Helleſpontus*. Where the Greek Captains and Souldiers ſeeing the great multitude of Horſes, and abundance of Money and other Spoils, which they having taken from the *Greeks*, were now about to carry away with them into *Aſia*, they thought it a great indignity to ſuffer them ſo to do; and allured alſo with the hope of ſo rich a Prey, as had been of long in gathering, they entred into a device far different from that which was unto the Turks before promiſed; neither providing them of ſhipping, neither careful of their ſafety, but purpoſing upon the ſudden by night to deſtroy them. Whereof the Turks having got underſtanding, ſuddenly riſing, ſurpriſed a Caſtle in the Country there by, which they notably fortified for the defence of themſelves, to the great aſtoniſhment of them that had purpoſed their deſtruction; who now not able to force them, were glad to get them farther off, and to certifie the Emperor what had happened; who (after I wot not what received Cuſtom of the *Greek* Emperors his Predeceſſors) ſlowly diſpatching things requiring greateſt haſt, careleſly delaied the time, to the great trouble of his State, and advantage of his Enemies. For they wiſely conſidering the danger and diſtreſs they were in, by ſpeedy Meſſengers ſent over the Strait, craved Aid of the Turks their Country-men in *Aſia*, which they preſently ſent them; wherewith they not a little both encouraged and ſtrengthned, with their often and ſudden Incurſions grievouſly waſted the Country round about them, to the great diſcontentment of the *Greek* Captains, not able without greater help to remedy the ſame. Who thereof certified the young Emperor *Michael Paleologus*, requeſting him with all the Power he could make, to come and beſiege the Caſtle, and to ſuppreſs theſe ſo dangerous Enemies. For the performance whereof, not only the Captains with their Souldiers, but the Country people in general with their Spades and Mattocks came flocking unto the Emperor; not as if they would have beſieged the Caſtle, but have digged it down and overthrown it together with the Turks their Enemies.

The unfortunate battel of the Emperor Michael Paleologus *with the Turks in* Cherſoneſus.

Now the Emperor with his Captains and Souldiers, and a multitude of thoſe Country people, being come thither, who all gladly followed him, moſt part of them fooliſh, thinking of nothing, but of the ſpoil of their Enemies, not conſidering with what danger the ſame was to be gained; ſo that the more the Enemies provided for the neceſſary defence of themſelves, as in number but few, and ſhut up in their Enemies Country, the more careleſly and negligently, and without all order, the *Greeks* proceeded in their Siege, for that they were in number far more, and better provided of all things than their Enemies; reputing with themſelves, nothing in this World to be firm and ſure; and all worldly things (as ſaith the divine Philoſopher) to be but the mockery of God, and to be haſtily turned up-ſide-down, and with moſt uncertain courſe this and that way to wander. But their Enemies, who before feared even the very fame of their coming, accounting themſelves rather among the dead than the living, ſeeing their confuſed and diſordered raſhneſs; therewith much more than before encouraged, beſtowed all their Wealth, their Women, and other things unneceſſary for battel, in good ſafety within their trenches; but themſelves, with eight hundred choſen Horſemen only, and they very well armed, ſallied out, even to the place where the Imperial Enſign ſtood; being neither of any great ſafety, neither guarded with any ſuch ſtrength or carefulneſs as beſeemed; with which ſudden and deſperate eruption of the Enemies, the *Grecians* terrified, eſpecially that ruſtical and uplandiſh Company, began to fly; after whom by little and little others followed, until at length all the reſt without further reſiſtance fled alſo; which the Emperor ſeeing, did what he might to have ſtaid their flight; but in ſo general a confuſion and fear, when every man was to ſhift for one, who regarded him? wherefore wearied and ſeeing no other remedy, he was glad to take the ſame courſe, and to fly with the reſt; yet many of the more expert Captains, aſhamed of ſo foul a flight, made divers ſtands; and ſo ſtaied the barbarous Enemy from further purſuit of the Emperor and the other flying *Greeks.* In which doing, many of them incloſed by the Turks, were of them taken Priſoners; unto whom all the Emperors Treaſure became a Prey alſo, and whatſoever honourable Enſigns of the Empire elſe that were found in the Emperors Tent; yea the Imperial Crown it ſelf, richly ſet with Pearl and precious ſtones, was there taken alſo, which (they ſay) *Chalel* putting upon his head, pleaſantly ſcoffed at the *Greek* Emperor that but late before wore it.

Thracia *ſpoiled by the Turks.*

After this Victory, the Turks with great pride ſpoiled almoſt all *Thracia*, in ſuch ſort as that the people for two years together durſt ſcarcely go out of their ſtrong walled-Towns to plough and ſow their Land; which exceedingly grieved both the Emperors, the Father and the Son; for in their own Power they had no great confidence. God having (as it were) taken from their people, both their hearts and courage, ſo that all their hope was to entertain foreign Aid (the miſerable ſhift of the great diſtreſſed Ones) wherein alſo they found many difficulties and lets, whilſt they conſidered the greatneſs of their Charge, their Coffers being then, if ever, empty

by

Philes Paleologus *requeſteth of the Emperor that he might go againſt the Turks.*

by reaſon their Territories were ſo long and grievouſly by their Enemies waſted; yet need admitting no Law, *Andronicus* the old Emperor was glad to ſend to *Crales* Prince of *Servia*, his Son-in-Law, to pray his aid. But in the mean time he making no haſt (as men in relieving others commonly do) and the miſery more and more increaſing, it pleaſed God to ſtir up the heart of one *Philes Paleologus* the Emperors near Kinſman, to undertake the protection and deliverance of his Prince and Country; and was afterward for his great valour by the Emperor worthily made Lord great Martial of the Empire. This *Philes* of whom we now ſpeak, had all his life time been brought up in the Court, and was for his upright dealing and integrity of life beloved of all men, but ſpecially of the old Emperor his Kinſman, whom he with like affection honoured; but was a man altogether unskilful of the Wars, as being by nature of a weak conſtitution of body, and ſo very ſickly; and withall more given to devotion and the ſervice of God than the Affairs of the World, oftentimes ſpending moſt part of the day at his Prayers in the Church. He now grieved to ſee the perplexed Emperor, and the miſery of his Country, requeſted of him that he might with ſome ſmall power, and ſom few Captains of his own choice, go out againſt theſe proud Turks; hoping (as he ſaid) by Gods grace to revenge the wrong by them done, and to return to him again with Victory. Unto which his requeſt, the Emperor eaſily yielded; ſaying, that God was juſt, which delighted not in many legs, neither in the greatneſs of any mans ſtrength, but in a contrite heart and humble mind; not ſo giving his help unto *Michael* the Emperor, his Son, for the offences of his Parents; as happily he might unto this ſo upright and devout a man, regarding more his integrity of life, than his skill in Arms; for turning me about, I have ſeen in this World (ſaid he) I have ſeen, the ſwift not to gain the prize, neither the valiant the victory; wiſe men to want bread, and men of underſtanding, wealth; the ſimple to gain favour, and the ſubtil to fall into diſgrace; ſuch alteration worldly things in time find. So the Emperor (as is aforeſaid) yielding to his requeſt, furniſhed him with Mony, Horſes, and Armour, and ſuch a convenient Power, as he himſelf deſired. Which he having received, firſt of all incouraged his Captains and Souldiers with all manner of courteſie and kindneſs, giving unto them Mony, Horſes, Armor, Jewels; yea ſometime he gave unto one his Purſe, unto another his Cloke, his Rapier, or ſome other ſuch thing, as he had about him, to encourage them in their forwardneſs; after that, he perſwaded them to an honeſt and temperate courſe of life, and valiantly to play the men, promiſing according to their deſerts to reward every one of them, the War once happily ended; and before his ſetting forth, underſtanding by his Eſpials, that *Chalel* with a thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe was forraging the Country about *Bizia*, he haſted his departure, that ſo he might by the way encounter them, laded with the Spoil of the Country; and ſo ſetting forward, came the third day to a little River, which the Inhabitants call *Xerogipſum*, and there in a great Plain near unto the ſame, encamped. Where after he had ſet all things in order fit for Battel, he with chearful Speeches as a great Commander, encouraged his Captains and Souldiers; leaving nothing unſaid or undone, that might ſerve for the animating of them to fight. But he had not ſo lien two days, but that his Scouts about midnight coming in, brought him tidings, that the Enemy laden with Spoil, was even faſt by at hand; who by the riſing of the Sun were come within ſight, and had themſelves a far off alſo diſcovered the Chriſtian Army, all gliſtering in bright Armor. Wherefore ſtaying a while to prepare themſelves for Battel; and firſt of all, compaſſing themſelves round with their Waggons and other carriages, they beſtowed in them all their Captives faſt bound together, with the Booty they had taken; and afterwards as the manner was, caſting duſt upon their Heads, and their Hands up towards Heaven, they came on. And now the Chriſtian Army came on forward alſo, *Philes* ſtill encouraging both the Horſemen and Footmen, and right well conducting them, as the time and place required. So it fortuned, that he that had the leading of the right Wing of the Army, gave the firſt charge upon a Squadron of the Enemies, and at the firſt onſet unhorſed one of the Enemies, and by and by after him another; But having his Horſe ſore wounded under him, he haſtily retired out of the Battel; which ſomewhat troubled the Chriſtians, and encouraged the Turks, who now with a barbarous outcry began moſt fiercely to preſs upon the retyring Chriſtians. *Philes* in the mean time with many cheerful words and comfortable perſwaſions ſtill encouraging them to play the men; and with his Eyes oftentimes caſt up to Heaven, with tears running down his face, moſt heartily beſought God, the giver of all Victory, no longer to ſuffer thoſe his Enemies, and the Miniſters of his Wrath, to triumph over his People; as did alſo the poor Captives that lay bound, doubtfully betwixt fear and hope expecting the event of the Battel. The Chriſtian Footmen at the ſame time encountring hand to hand with the *Barbarians*, aſſailed them, and were aſſailed, ſlew of them, and were themſelves of them ſlain; ſo that there was a cruel Fight made on both ſides. But *Philes* with the multitude of his men having almoſt incompaſſed the *Barbarian* Horſemen, with a Company of his moſt valiant Souldiers broke in upon the ſide of the Enemies Battel, and ſo made way through the midſt of it; and ſo troubled the Turks, as that they well knew not how to ſtay, or what to do. So being on every ſide circumvented and hardly charged, moſt of them there fell, excepting ſome few Horſemen, whom the Greek Horſemen purſued unto the entrance of *Cherſoneſus*, with purpoſe there to ſhut them up. *Philes* coming thither alſo, there upon thoſe Straits encamped; at which time the Emperor preſently ſent out five Gallies to keep the Straits of *Helleſpont*, ſo that no aid might be brought unto thoſe Turks out of *Aſia*. Whilſt theſe things thus went, two thouſand choice Horſemen came to the aid of *Philes* out of *Servia*, and the Poteſtate of *Pera* came by Sea alſo with eight Gallies more into *Helleſpontus*, to the aid of the Chriſtians; wherefore when the *Grecians* and the *Servians* had thus on the one ſide ſhut them up by Land, and they that were in the Gallies on the other by Sea, *Philes* with all his Power came and incamped about the Town and the Trenches wherein the Turks lay, planting his battery againſt the Caſtle, wherewith he greatly ſhook the ſame, and made great Slaughter of the Turks and of their Horſes, and that not only by day but by night alſo. But the Turks ſeeing death now preſent before their Eyes, and no way left for them to eſcape, for that they were ſo on every ſide both by Sea and Land incloſed, thought good thus to adventure their lives, reſolving by night to ſet upon the *Grecians* rather than upon the *Servians*, whom they had hitherto accuſtomed to overcome, and whom they had with often

The Battel betwixt Philes *and the Turks.*

The Turks overthrown.

Slaughters terrified; that ſo the reſt by them alſo happily diſcouraged, they might ſo delay the aſſault; but in attempting the ſame they perceived themſelves much deceived, finding them even at their firſt ſallying out ready in Arms to receive them; wherefore having in vain given the attempt (as againſt a ſtrong Fortreſs) they were ſhamefully enforced to retire. Yet were they not therewith ſo diſcouraged, but that the ſtraight Siege ſtill continuing, they gave the like attempt upon the *Servians*; but being alſo by them in a like manner with loſs repulſed, they began now utterly to deſpair. Whereſore the next day about midnight caſting away their Arms, they with their boſoms and pockets full of Coyn ran down unto the Sea-ſide, towards the Gallies, with purpoſe to yield themſelves unto the *Genowaies* that were therein; as fearing of them leſs harm, as of men whom they had never hurt. But the night being dark and miſty, and the Moon giving no light, many of them unawares came unto the Greek Gallies, and there flying the ſmoke, fell into the fire; for being lightned of their Mony, they were by them forthwith without any pity ſlain alſo. But the *Genowaies* ſlew not all their Priſoners, but only ſuch as had brought with them the moſt Coyn; leſt afterwards bewraying the ſame, it ſhould have been ſought after by the Greeks; the reſt they caſt into bonds, of whom ſome they ſent unto the Emperor, otherſome they kept to themſelves as their own Priſoners. Thus by the valour and good conduct of this worthy devout Captain, the Turks were for that time again chaſed out of *Europe*, and the Country of *Thracia* delivered of a great fear.

The cauſes of the decay of the Greek Empire.

Now by that we have already written, is eaſily to be ſeen the chief cauſes of the decay and ruin of the Greek Empire, to have been, Firſt, the Innovation and change of their ancient Religion and Ceremonies, by *Michael Paleologus*, whereof enſued a world of Wo: then, by Covetouſnes, covered with the name of good Huſbandry, the utter deſtruction of the chief Strength of the Empire; next unto that, by Envy, the ruin of the Great; falſe Suſpition, the loſer of Friends; Ambition, Honors overthrow; Diſtruſt, the great minds torment; and foreign Aid, the Empires faithleſs Porter, opening the gate even unto the Enemy himſelf; whereunto foul Diſcord joyned (as ſhall be forthwith declared) what wanted that the barbarous Enemy could deſire, for the helping of them in the ſupplanting of ſo great an Empire? But again to our purpoſe, *Michael* Companion with his Father *Andronicus* in the Empire, had by his Wife *Mary* two Sons, *Andronicus* who was afterward Emperor, and *Manuel* ſirnamed the Deſpot; and two Daughters, *Ann* married unto *Thomas* Prince of *Epirus*, and *Theodora* married to the Prince of *Bulgaria*; of all theſe, the old Emperor *Andronicus* their Grandfather ſo entirely loved *Andronicus* his Nephew, as that in compariſon of him he ſeemed little to regard either his own Children, or the reſt of his Nephews, wiſhing them all rather to periſh than him; which many ſuppoſed him to do, as purpoſing by him the better to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the Empire in his Houſe; as alſo for his excellency of Wit, and comlineſs of Perſon; the likeneſs of name alſo happily furthering his kind affection. For which reaſons, he cauſed him to be honorably brought up in his Court, as not willing to ſpare him out of his ſight either day or night. But when he was out of his Childhood, and grown to be a luſty Youth (at which time mens hot deſires are commonly moſt vehement) he began to contemn all chaſtiſement and government; eſpecially in ſo high a calling, and in the prime of his youth. Beſides that, his Companions became unto him the Miniſters and Perſwaders of all thoſe vain Delights which unſtaid youth moſt deſireth; and at the firſt began to lead him forth to walk the Streets, to hawk, to hunt, and to haunt Plays, and afterwards to night-walks alſo, not well beſeeming his State; which riotous courſe of life, when as it required great expence, and his aged Grandfather gave him but a certain ſpare allowance for his convenient maintenance; he acquainted himſelf with the rich Merchants of *Genoway* which dwelt at *Pera*. Hereof aroſe hard taking up of Mony, great Debts, fine devices how to come by Coyn, with ſecret conſultations and purpoſes of Flight. For when he ſaw his Grandfather old *Andronicus* long to live, and his Father *Michael* like to ſucceed him, he had no hope of aſpiring unto the Empire; whereupon his ambitious thoughts and impotent deſires long time tormenting his haughty Heart, ſuggeſted unto himſelf ſuch purpoſes. For when as he would not obey his Grandfather as his Tutor, nor follow other mens Councils, as a Child, he ſought after the Imperial Liberty, and abundance of Wealth, that he might have that was ſufficient for himſelf, and wherewith to reward others, as the Followers of an Emperor. Which ſeeing he could not do, his Grandfather yet living, and his Father reigning; he ſought after the Soveraignty of other Principalities and Countries; one while after *Armenia*, as belonging unto him in the right of his Mother the King of *Armenia*'s Daughter; another while after *Peloponeſus*, and ſometime he dreamed of *Lesbos* and *Lemnus*, and other the fruitful Iſlands of the *Ægean* Sea; which when it was ſecretly told, ſometime to his Father, and ſometime to his Grandfather, he was now croſſed and reproved of the one, and afterwards of the other. And to paſs over many other his youthful pranks, he uſed in his night-walks ſecretly to repair unto a certain Gentlewomans Houſe, more honourably born, than honeſtly qualified; which Woman, a certain Gallant (and another *Adonis*) no leſs affected than himſelf; wherewith he highly offended, as with his Rival, appointed certain Ruffians and Fencers to watch her Houſe. But upon a certain time about Midnight, *Manuel* the Deſpot (his younger Brother) ſeeking after him, chanced to paſs that way where theſe Watchmen lay; who ſeeing him haſten by, and not knowing him in the dark, and ſuppoſing him to have been the man they looked for, (the Gentlewomans beſt Beloved) ſet upon him, and ſo wounded him, that he ſell down for dead from his Horſe; but being by and by after known by others coming in, he was taken up, and half dead carried unto the Court. Which outrage in the Morning being known unto the Emperor, caſt him into a great heavineſs, as beholding not the time preſent only, but wiſely conſidering what was like to enſue in the time to come alſo. But *Manuel* the Deſpot being dead of the wounds there received, and the report thereof brought unto *Michael* the young Emperor his Father, then lying at *Theſſalonica*, ſtruck him to the heart with ſo great a grief, that falling ſick with the conceit thereof, he ſhortly after died.

Andronicus the unſtaied Youth nevertheleſs holding on his wonted courſe, with a ſecret purpoſe to have fled, became thereby ſtill more and more ſuſpicious to his aged Grandfather, not a little careful unto what end thoſe his violent paſſions would at length tend. And therefore

fore appointed one *Syrgiannes* (a man of great Credit and Authority in the Court, in whom, as in a reconciled Enemy, he had moſt unadviſedly repoſed too much truſt) to inſinuate himſelf into the youthful Princes acquaintance and favour; that ſo ſounding him and his ſecret Deſigns, he ſhould not poſſibly be able without his knowledge to ſtep aſide; which of all things the old Emperor feared moſt, as the beginning of greater troubles. This *Syrgiannes* being a man of great Place, and of a ſubtil Wit, was ſometime himſelf ſuſpected of aſpiring, and therefore as upon the Miſpriſion of Treaſon, was by the old Emperor impriſoned; but afterwards by him again inlarged and received into favour, was now put in truſt warily to obſerve the doings of the young Prince. But he not unmindful of the wrong before done unto him, and in hope by troubling the State, either to aſpire unto the Empire himſelf, or at leaſtwiſe to ſome good part thereof; thought now a fit occaſion to be miniſtred unto him for him to work upon, both for the one and the other, by ſetting the old Emperor and his ambitious Nephew together by the ears; which opportunity he not minding to let ſlip, taking the young Prince one day aſide, diſcovered unto him all his Grandfathers device, in brief, as followeth:

Syrgiannes *his crafty Seditious Speech unto young* **Andronicus.**

Your Grandfather, noble Prince (ſaid he) *hath ſet me as a Watch over your actions, or more truly to ſay, as a Blood-hound, to ſeek after not your doings only, but if it were poſſible, even after your moſt ſecret thoughts alſo; and ſo whilſt he malitiouſly prepareth for you Snares and Fetters, you not aware thereof, fooliſhly follow your ſhallow and childiſh Conceits. For what ſhall it avail you ſecretly to fly away? whereas, if the beſt chance, yet muſt you (as the common ſaying is) put your feet under another man Table, and live of his Charge; if it fall not out worſe, that you be ſlain or made away by them you fly unto for relief, or elſe fall into the Snares by your Grandfather laid for you. But if ſo be that caſting behind you theſe your fond Devices, you will hearken unto my Counſel, I will ſhew you a ready way, how you ſhall in ſhort time, and without any danger, aſpire unto the Imperial Seat and Dignity; the only way whereunto is this, if you leaving the City of* Conſtantinople, *ſhall fly out into the Cities and Provinces of* Thracia. *For ſeeing men are moſt commonly by nature deſirous of change, and the miſerable* Thracians *are with often exactions grievouſly vexed; if you ſhall but once proclaim a Redreſs of their Grievances, with Immunity for ever, they will all with one accord follow you whetherſoever you will, your Grandfathers long and heavy Yoke being caſt off, as if it were* Siſiphus *his heavy ſtone, which they had long rolled, and never the near. If you like of this advice, I will be unto you both the Author and the Leader of this Exploit, and will eaſily bring to good effect the whole matter; ſo that you again on the other ſide promiſe unto me upon your Faith, to reward this my travel according to my deſert therein. But what Rewards ſhall theſe be? Honourable Preferments, large Poſſeſſions, great Revenews, the firſt place in your favour, and that no great matter be done or concluded without my conſent and knowledge. For you ſee how willingly I make my ſelf partaker of your Calamity, and Companion of your dangers, no neceſſity enforcing me thereunto; forgetting even my very Faith, in compariſion of the love and zeal I bear towards you; wherein if any miſhap ſhall by the mutability of Fortune betide me, I have ſet down my ſelf with patience to endure it. All which conſidered, you need not to grudge to yield unto my Requeſts, if you tender your own ſafety. And foraſmuch as the ſhortneſs of the time will ſuffer no long Conſultations, and that delay bringeth extream danger, let us without longer ſtay impart the matter unto ſuch others, as for the hatred of the Emperor are like to keep our Counſel, and may yet much further our Deſigns.*

The young Prince moved with this Speech as if it had been with a Charm, eaſily granted to his deſire, confirming the ſame by his Oath conceived in writing; at which time were preſent ſuch as were eſpecially to be acquainted with the Plot of the Conſpiracy, namely *John Catacuzenus*, and *Theodorus Synadenus* (both men of great Honour, and the old Emperors ancient ſuppoſed Friends, and of him beloved, much of like age unto himſelf) and *Alexius Apocaucus* the third (not of like honour with the other, yet a man of great Place, and of a moſt ſubtil and deep wit;) who all underſtanding the matter, ſhewed themſelves not as Miniſters, but as Ringleaders and Captains of the intended Rebellion. This Conſpiracy with moſt ſolemn Oaths and Promiſes on every part confirmed, they began right cunningly to attempt the matter; and to begin withall, *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus*, by corrupting divers of the great and moſt gracious Courtiers, procured to themſelves the Government of ſuch Cities and Provinces in *Thracia*, as they thought fitteſt for them to begin their Rebellion in. *Syrgiannes* having the Government of the Sea-coaſt, and the in-land Country, even from the Sea-ſide to the top of Mount *Rhodope*; and *Catacuzenus* the Government of the Country about *Oreſtias*. In all which places they muſtred Souldiers, provided Armor, entertaining alſo ſtrangers, and other vagrant and maſterleſs men, as for ſome great War; beſides that, in the Cities for the Government thereof, they placed their truſtieſt friends, removing ſuch others as they had in ſuſpition: All which they coloured by rumors falſly raiſed, one while of the coming of the *European Tartars* from *Danubius*, and another while by the coming of the Turks out of *Aſia*; againſt whoſe Invaſions theſe preparations were given out to be made, for avoiding of ſuſpition; and the Traitors for their provident care highly commended even by the Emperor himſelf, againſt whom they were intended. All which things *Syrgiannes* notably diſſembled, oftentimes withall certifying the young Prince what he had done, and what was likewiſe of him to be performed.

But the old Emperor ſeeing his youthful Nephew not to hearken to his grave advice, but ſtill to proceed in his diſſolute kind of life, was about ſolemnly to have reproved him before the Patriarch and ſome others of the chief Nobility; if happily ſuch open reproof might have wrought in him ſome change of Manners; if not, then to have committed him to priſon; and like enough he was to have ſo done, had he not been otherwiſe perſwaded by *Theodorus Mitochita*, (who of all others was able to do moſt with him) by reaſon of the liberty of the time; for then it was almoſt *Shrovetide*, when as the people diſtempred with exceſs of meat and drink, were of all other times moſt fit, upon any light occaſion to be drawn into a tumult or uproar; for fear whereof, he was contented for that time to let him alone. But *Shrovetide* paſt, and a good part of *Lent* alſo, the old Emperor ſeeing no amendment in his Nephew, calling unto him *Geraſimus* the Patriarch, and the reſt of the reverend Biſhops then preſent in the City, ſent for his Nephew, openly before them all to chide him, and to ſchool him for his diſordered life; but eſpecially for his purpoſed flight; that aſhamed of ſuch open reproof before ſuch reverend Fathers, he might either amend his life, or

at

Young Andronicus *cometh ſecretly armed to his Grandfather.*

at leaſtwiſe of all men be thought juſtly puniſht for the ſame, if he ſhould ſtill proceed therein. So the young Prince being ſent for, came, accompanied with many of his Favorites and Followers, moſt of them being ſecretly armed, and he himſelf not altogether unprovided; for it was agreed amongſt them, that if the Emperor ſhould uſe gentle and fatherly admonition towards him, that then they ſhould be quiet, without any ſhew of inſolency or diſcontentment; but if he ſhould in anger reprove him, or threaten to puniſh him, then upon a ſign given, forcibly with their Swords drawn to break in upon him, and to kill him in the Imperial Seat, and without more ado to place young *Andronicus* his Nephew in his ſtead. But coming in, and (as his manner was) taking his place next unto his aged Grandfather, his deſperate Followers attending without, he was indeed of him grievouſly blamed and reproved for all his former follies and evil courſe of life; yet with ſuch moderation and gravity, as that all ſeemed (as it did) to come of a moſt fatherly care and regard; ſo that at that time no ſuch Outrage was committed, as was by divers his Followers wiſhed, but the Aſſembly quietly diſmiſſed, and a ſolemn Oath taken on both ſides; of the Grandfather, That he ſhould not appoint any but his Nephew to ſucceed him in the Empire; and of the young Prince, That he ſhould never go about to attempt any thing to the ſhortening or hurt of his Grandfathers life or Empire. But the Conſpirators thronging about him at his coming out, fretted and fumed at him, as if he had broken his Faith and Oath before given them; ſaying, *What greater wrong couldſt thou do us, than being by us made ſtrong, and become dreadful unto thine Enemies, to diſpoſe of thine affairs at thy pleaſure to thine own ſafety, and to leave us thy moſt faithful Friends and Servants in the Devils mouth to be devoured?* For now they both doubted and feared, leſt their Conſpiracy was diſcovered. With which Speeches he both diſcouraged and aſhamed, ſent for *Theodorus Metochita* his Grandfathers chief Councellor, requeſting him to deal with his Grandfather for the pardoning of all his Followers, as he had done for himſelf; of which motion he diſliking, told him, That he was to give God thanks, that he had himſelf eſcaped ſo great a danger, and to him alſo, as a mean for the ſafeguard of his life, although he treated not for ſuch traiterous perſons, with whom, if he were well adviſed, he would have nothing to do, either think that they would ever be faithful unto him, that reſpecting neither God nor man, had ſo fouly broken their Faith before given unto the Emperor his Grandfather. With which unexpected Anſwer of ſo great and grave a Counſellor, the Prince not a little troubled, and withall diſcontented, ſtood a while as in a muſe all ſilent, reaſoning as it were with his own paſſions; but afterwards commanding him without further reply to depart, and the old Companions of his follies reſorting unto him, he by their perſwaſions entertained again his former diſloyal thoughts and deſignments; which his Grandfather vehemently ſuſpecting, and therewith not a little grieved, would (as if it had been by Inſpiration) oftentimes in his heavineſs ſay unto them that were about him, *In our time is loſt the Majeſty of our Empire, and the devotion of the Church.* Yet to prevent the worſt, he thought it good betime to lay hands upon his ſuſpected Nephew, and ſo to detain him in ſafe keeping; acquainting none therewith but *Geraſimus* the Patriarch and his ghoſtly Father; who preſently acquainted the Prince therewith, and was the cauſe that he haſtned his flight, flying himſelf before. For he now certainly underſtanding the danger he was in, the night before he ſhould have been apprehended, with all the reſt of the Conſpirators his Complices, in the dead time of the night fled out of the City, by the Gate called *Gyrolimnia*; which Gate (all the reſt being ſhut) was ſtill at his Command, for that he uſed commonly thereby at his pleaſure very early to go out on hunting, as he now pretended to do; but the next day after came to *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus* Camp, who then both lay with a great Power at *Hadrianople*, expecting his coming. The old Emperor, before the riſing of the Sun advertiſed of the flight of his Nephew, the ſame day commanded him to be proclaimed Traytor and proſcribed, with all his Conſpirators, and whoſoever elſe ſhould take his part. And for the more ſurety, every man in the City was ſworn to be loyal and faithful unto the old Emperor, and Enemies unto his Nephew and his Adherents. But he on the other ſide, proclaiming Liberty and Immunity abroad in all the Cities and Villages in *Thracia*, ſo won the hearts of the Country people in general, that they reſorted unto him from all places in great numbers, ready armed to do whatſoever he ſhould command them. And to begin withall, they firſt laid hands upon the Collectors of the Emperors money (then abroad in the Country) whom they ill intreated, taking from them their money. After that, and yet ſeven days not expired, almoſt an incredible number of Horſemen, Footmen, Archers, and others, departed from *Hadrianople* toward *Conſtantinople*, under the leading of *Syrgiannes*, in good hope at their firſt coming to take the City, being at diſcord in it ſelf, and moſt part of the meaner ſort, in hope of gain, favouring their rebellious proceedings, ſuch as the ſeditious find in ſuch rebellious tumults. So having marched four days, they came and incamped at *Selyrbia*; but as they were about to have gone on farther, the old Emperor doubting leſt the Citizens, ſeeing ſo great an Army before the City, ſhould therein raiſe ſome tumult or ſtir, to the indangering thereof; thought good before to ſend Embaſſadors unto his Nephew, to prove if happily theſe ſo dangerous troubles, might by their means in ſome good ſort be appeaſed. The chief of theſe Embaſſadors was one *Theoleptus* Biſhop of *Philadelphia*, a man no leſs famous for his Vertue than his Wiſdom, and yet for both of all men honoured; and with him alſo was ſent *Syrgiannes* his Mother, as of all others moſt fit to appeaſe her Son, and to perſwade him not to approach the City, for that thereof might enſue much bloodſhed, and the deſtruction of the City, or at leaſtwiſe the utter undoing of many; whereof if he ſhould be the Author, how could he ever after live in conſcience quiet, but that the torment thereof would follow him even into his Grave; and therefore to requeſt him to retire a little, and ſo to come to talk, and to demand what he pleaſed. *Syrgiannes* moved as well with the preſence of the reverend Biſhop, as the prayers of his Mother, retired to the young Prince, which lay then about *Oreſtias*; whither the Emperors Embaſſadors came alſo; with whom (after long debating) it was agreed, That the young Prince ſhould in all Royal manner hold all *Thracia*, from *Criſtopolis* unto *Rhegium*, and the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; and withall, That ſuch Lands as the young Prince had already given unto his Followers, in *Macedonia*, ſhould ſtill remain unto them (which were ſuch as yearly yielded unto them a right great Revenew;) And that the old Emperor ſhould hold unto himſelf

Thracia, *revolteth unto* Andronicus.

Articles of agreement betwixt the old Emperor and his Nephew.

ſelf the Imperial City, with all the Cities and Provinces of *Macedonia* beyond *Criſtopolis*; and that he alone ſhould have the honour to hear the Embaſſadors ſent from forreign Princes; and to give them their diſpatch; for that the young Prince took no pleaſure in thoſe weighty Affairs, as by nature more delighted in Hawking, Hunting, and his other youthful Pleaſures. Upon which conditions a Peace was concluded, better liked of the young Prince than of the old Emperor; who although he was deſirous otherwiſe to have redreſt ſo great wrongs, yet wanting Power, was glad to yield to what his Nephew would requeſt. Thus was the Greek Empire in *Europe* (as then all or the moſt part incloſed within the bounds of *Macedonia* and *Thracia*) now divided betwixt the Grandfather and his Nephew; *Aſia* in the mean time (wherein the Greek Emperors their Predeceſſors ſometime held great Kingdoms) being left for a Prey to the greedy Turks. *Othoman* on the one ſide even in the heat of theſe troubles laying the foundation of his Empire in *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*; and the other the Turks Princes the Succeſſors of Sultan *Aladin*, encroaching as faſt upon the Emperors Territories and Countries on this ſide the River *Meander*. And not ſo contented, at the ſame time alſo built great ſtore of Gallies, wherewith they robbed the Chriſtian Merchants trading to *Conſtantinople*, and ſpoiled the Coaſts of *Macedonia* and *Thracia*, and the Iſlands of the *Ægeum*, and among others took the famous Iſland of the *Rhodes*; which they held not long before they were again driven out of the ſame by the Knights Hoſpitalers, under the conduct of *William Willaret*, aided by the *Genowaies* and the King of *Sicilia*, which they from that time held (to the great honour and benefit of the Chriſtian Commonweal) by the ſpace of 214 years, known by the name of the Knights of the *Rhodes*; until that in the memory of our Fathers it was (I ſay no more, but grieve therefore) ſhamefully loſt unto the Turk, for want of relief; never place being more honourably defended, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall appear; ever ſince which time thoſe honourable men (the flower of Chivalry) have ſeated themſelves in the Iſle of *Malta*, which they to their immortal glory and the comfort of all good Chriſtians, have moſt notably defended againſt the mighty Sultan *Solyman*, and all the Fury of the Turks, as ſhall be alſo in due place declared.

The Greek Empire in Europe *divided.*

Whilſt the Grecians *are at diſcord amongſt themſelves,* Othoman *layeth the foundation of the Turks Empire, and the other other Turks incroach upon them alſo.*

The Iſland of the Rhodes *was by the Knights Hoſpitalers recovered from the Turks in the year* 1308.

But to return again unto the troubled eſtate of the Greek Empire. *Syrgiannes* the Greek Captain, and Author of all the aforeſaid ſtirs betwixt the old Emperor and his Nephew, had even from the beginning thought, as a Companion to the young Prince, to have ruled all with him at his pleaſure, and that nothing either great or little ſhould have been done without him; but ſeeing it now to fall out far otherwiſe than he had before expected, and the Prince to be wholly ruled by *Catucuzenus*, and himſelf of all others leaſt regarded, and not ſo much as called to any Council; inwardly tormented with grief and envy, he began ſecretly with himſelf to deviſe how he might be revenged of the ungrateful Prince, which unmindful of his former promiſes, had ſo unthankfully caſt him off. Wherefore he reſolved again to revolt to the old Emperor, not doubting but ſo in ſhort time to overthrow all the Councils and Devices of the young Prince, together with his State alſo, by himſelf before raiſed. For he, as worldy wiſe, excluding God from his Councils, had ſuch an opinion of himſelf, that which way ſoever he went, thither muſt all things follow alſo. Wherefore by one of his truſtieſt Friends he ſecretly made the old Emperor acquainted with his purpoſed revolt, and how all things ſtood; for the greater Credit thereof alledging, That he could not abide the ſight of him that ſought to corrupt his Wife, meaning the young Prince. This news from *Syrgiannes* was unto the old Emperor moſt wellcome; for it grieved him (as an old man of a great Spirit) to ſee himſelf ſo contemned and deluded by his Nephew, his Empire rent, and his old Servitors of all ſorts, by him ſpoyled of their Lands and Poſſeſſions in *Macedonia* and *Thracia*. So a ſolemn Oath in ſecret paſſed from the one to the other, *Syrgiannes* without longer ſtay ſecretly fled to *Conſtantinople*; which there bruted abroad, rejoyced many, now well hoping the whole Government would again come unto the old Emperor, and that ſo they ſhould again recover their Poſſeſſions wrongfully taken from them by his Nephew. But God not ſeeing it ſo good, all this hope was but in vain, as ere long it appeared; for the young Prince, who of long knew how much he was beloved of the Conſtantinopolitans, and by them ſecretly ſent for; taking occaſion upon the flight of *Syrgiannes*, with all the power he could make, marched towards the City; and being come within ſight thereof, encamped, laying ambuſhes upon every way and paſſage thereabout, for to have intercepted *Syrgiannes*; who was then at *Perinthus*, and the third night after, with three hundred ſelect Souldiers, deceiving them that lay in wait for him as if they had been all aſleep, before the riſing of the Sun came to *Conſtantinople*; and if the old Emperor would have given him leave, he had ſuddenly charged them that did lie in wait for him, before they were aware of his coming. But as ſoon as it was day, the Prince hearing of the eſcape of *Syrgiannes*, and no ſuch tumult in the City as he had expected, preſently without more ado retired with his Army the ſame way he came, back again into *Thracia*.

By and by after, *Conſtantine* the Deſpot was by the old Emperor his Brother ſent by Sea to *Theſſalonica*, to take upon him the Government of *Macedonia*, and by the way to apprehend *Xene* the Empreſs, the young Princes Mother; and after with all the power he could make to invade the young Prince in *Thracia*; that ſo ſetting on him on the one ſide out of *Macedonia*, and *Syrgiannes* with the Turks (for the Emperor in this civil Diſcord was glad to uſe their help alſo) and the *Bithynian* Souldiers on the other, they might ſo ſhut him up betwixt them and take him. According to which reſolution, the Deſpot coming to *Theſſalonica*, there took the Empreſs, whom with all her Family he thruſt into a Gally, and ſo ſent her to *Conſtantinople*, where ſhe was in the Palace kept cloſe, as too much favouring the proceedings of the Prince. And afterward raiſing all the power he could in *Macedonia*, invaded the Prince in *Thracia*, breaking by force through the Wall of *Criſtopolis*.

The young Prince ſeeing himſelf by this means, now like to be driven to a great ſtrait, ſent *Synadenus* with his *Thracian* Army, to defend the Frontiers of his Empire towards *Conſtantinople*, againſt *Syrgiannes* with his Turks and *Bithynians*; in hope himſelf by many ſubtle devices and ſlights, to be able to encounter his Uncle the Deſpot. And firſt he cauſed divers edicts and proſcriptions to be written in haſt, wherein great rewards and preferments were with great ſolemnity of words promiſed to whomſoever could bring unto him the Deſpot either quick or dead; which were of purpoſe given to the Country People paſſing to and fro, to be diſperſed abroad in the high Ways, and about in the Country near unto the Deſpots Camp. And after that, he cauſed the death of the Emperor his Grandfather to be every where proclaimed; and how that he was by the Conſtantinopolitans in a tumult ſlain; which the deviſers thereof, in every place reported. Yea ſome there were, that ſwore they were themſelves preſent at his woful death, and ſaw it with their Eyes; otherſome more certainly to perſwade the matter, ſhewed long white Goats hair, or ſuch like gathered out of white Wool, as if they had been by the furious People pluckt from the old Emperors Head or Beard, at ſuch time as he was ſlain. Which things being commonly reported in every Town and Village, but eſpecially in the Deſpots Camp, wonderfully filled Mens Heads with divers ſtrange and doubtful thoughts; then divers alſo of the diſperſed Edicts being found, and brought to the Deſpot, ſtruck him (and not without cauſe) into a great fear; inſomuch, that by the perſwaſions of his beſt Friends, he without longer ſtay retired in haſt to *Theſſalonica*. Whither ſhortly after came a Gally from *Conſtantinople*, with ſecret letters from the Emperor to the Deſpot, for the apprehenſion of five and twenty of the chief Citizens, vehemently ſuſpected for the ſtirring up of the People to Rebellion, and ſo to have delivered the City to the Prince, all whom the Deſpot ſhould have ſent bound in that Gally to *Conſtantinople*; but they in good time perceiving the danger they were in, ſecretly ſtirring up the People, and by and by after ringing out the Bells (the ſignal appointed for the beginning of the Rebellion) had in a very ſhort time raiſed a wonderful tumult in the City; inſomuch, that all the Citizens were up in Arms, who running headlong unto the Houſe of the Deſpot, found not him (for he forewarned of their coming, was fled into the Caſtle) but ſlew all they met of his, or elſe robbing them, caſt them in Priſon. As for the Deſpots Houſe, they took what they found therein, and afterwards pulled it down to the ground. Then coming to the Caſtle, they fired the Gates; which the Deſpot ſeeing, and not able to defend the place, took horſe and fled to a Monaſtery not far off, where being taken by them that purſued him, he full ſore againſt his Will, for the ſafeguard of his life, took upon him the habit of a Monk; nevertheleſs, he was from thence carried Priſoner to the young Prince his Nephew, who ſhewed himſelf much more courteous to him, than all the reſt of his Nobility and Waiters; for they, as if they would have eaten him up, were even forthwith ready to have torn him in pieces, had not the Prince embracing him in his arms, ſaved his life. Yet the next day after, by the perſwaſion of his Council, he ſent him to *Didimotichum*, where he was caſt into a moſt loathſom Priſon, being very deep and ſtrait, in manner of a Well, no body to attend upon him but one Boy, where he lay in miſerable darkneſs and ſtink; they which drew up his Ordure from him and the Boy, whether by chance or of purpoſe, pouring it oftentimes upon his Head. Where after he had lien a great while in moſt extreme miſery, wiſhing to die and could not; he was at length by the Princes commandment (entreated thereunto by certain religious men) removed into a more eaſie Priſon, where we will for ever leave him.

Things falling out croſs with the old Emperor, and although they were never ſo well deviſed, ſtill ſorting out unto the worſt, he became very penſive and doubtful what to do. So it fortuned, that one day in his melancholy mood, having a Pſalter in his hand, to reſolve his doubtful mind, he opened the ſame, as if it were of that heavenly Oracle to ask Counſel; wherein the firſt verſe that he light upon was, *Dum cæleſtis diſſociat Reges, nive conſpergentur in Salmon*; *When the Almighty ſcattered Kings (for their ſakes) then were they as white as ſnow in* Salmon. Which he applying to himſelf, as if all thoſe troubles, and whatſoever elſe had happened in them, proceeded from the Will of God, although for cauſes to him unknown; he by and by ſought to reconcile himſelf unto his Nephew; contrary to the mind of *Syrgiannes*, deſiring nothing but trouble. For (as we have before ſaid) the young Prince although he was deſirous of the Power and Liberty of an Emperor, yet he left the Ornaments and Care thereof unto his Grandfather; and had not he oftentimes and earneſtly been egged forward by his Companions to affect the whole Empire, happily could and would have contented himſelf with the former pacification; for being now ſent for, he came firſt to *Rhegium*, and there viſited his Mother (now ſet at liberty, and ſent thither for the furtherance of the deſired pacification) where he with her and by her Counſel did whatſoever was there done. So within a few days the matter was brought into ſo good terms, that an Attonement was made, and he himſelf went and met the Emperor his Grandfather before the Gates of the City; the old Emperor ſitting then upon his Horſe, and the Prince lighting from his, a good furlong before he came at him; and although his Grandfather was very unwilling, and forbad him ſo to do, yet he came to him on foot, and kiſſed his Hand and Foot as he ſate on horſeback; and afterward taking horſe, embraced him, and there kiſſed one another, to the great contentment of the Beholders; and ſo having talked ſome few words, departed; the old man into the City, and the young man into his Camp, which then lay near unto *Pega*; where ſtaying certain days, he came divers times into *Conſtantinople*, and ſo went out again; for as then his Mother, partly for her health, partly for the love of her Son, lay at *Pega*.

Andronicus *the old Emperor ſeeketh for Counſel of the Pſalter as of an heavenly Oracle, and ſo ſeeketh to make peace with his Nephew* Pſal. 68. verſ. 14.

But *Syrgiannes* nothing glad of the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and his Nephew, walked up and down ſick in mind, with a heavy countenance, eſpecially for that in time of Peace his buſie head ſtood the Common-weal in no ſtead. Wherefore in all Meetings and Aſſemblies, he willingly converſed with them which moſt diſliked of the preſent State, and ſpake hardly as well of the Emperor as of his Nephew, wronged as he thought by them both; whereas in the time of their greateſt diſtreſs he had (as he ſaid) ſtood them in good ſtead. But ſeeing one *Aſanes Andronicus* walking melancholy up and down, as a man with heavineſs oppreſſed; who having done good ſervice for the young Prince, and not of him regarded, had fled to the old Emperor, and there found no ſuch thing as he expected for the eaſe of his grief, although he were a man honourably born, and otherwaies endued with many good parts; with him *Syrgiannes* acquainted himſelf, as grieved with the like grief that he himſelf was; with whom as with his Friend, without any diſſimulation he plainly diſcourſed of all ſuch things as his grief deſired. But *Aſanes* handling him with great wiſdom, did himſelf with like words ſpeak hardly both of the Emperor and his Nephew; but yet curiouſly noted whatſoever *Syrgiannes* ſaid, for he had before hated him for his Ambition, and as then, took it in diſpleaſure, that he was Enemy unto *Catacuzanus*, his Son-in-Law, who was all in all with the young Prince, and did oftentimes comfort him. But the ſong being throughly ſet, *Aſanes* came ſecretly unto the old Emperor, and told him the whole matter; and in fine, that except he betime laid hold on *Syrgiannes*, affecting the Empire, he ſhould in ſhort time be by him brought to his end. Whereupon *Syrgiannes* was forthwith clapt faſt in Priſon; whoſe Houſe with all his Wealth, the common People took the Spoil of; and not contented to have raſed it down to the ground, converted the Site thereof, together with the pleaſant Vineyards adjoyning unto the ſame, into a place to feed Goats and Sheep in; a worthy reward for his manifold Treacheries. The young Prince ſhortly after going to *Conſtantinople*, was there crowned Emperor, as fellow in the Empire with his Grandfather; unto which ſolemnity in the great Temple of *Sophia*, both the Emperors riding, it fortuned the old Emperor by the ſtumbling of his Horſe to be overthrown, and fouly beraied in the mire, the Streets being then very foul by reaſon of much rain but a little before fallen; which many took as ominous, and portending the evil fortune which ſhortly after befel him. During the time of this Peace, it fortuned that as the young Prince was a hunting in *Cherſoneſus*, ſeventy Turks adventurers, were by force of weather driven on ſhore; who before they would yield themſelves Priſoners, made a great Fight with the Emperors men, and ſlew divers of them; in which conflict the young Emperor himſelf was wounded in the Foot, wherewith he was a great while after exceedingly tormented.

Andronicus the late Prince, and now Fellow in the Empire with his aged Grandfather, held not himſelf long ſo contented, but after the manner of ambitious Men (and continually prickt forward by his aſpiring Favourites) longed to have the whole Government to himſelf, which hardly brooketh any Partner; and therefore weary to ſee his Grandfather live ſo long, reſolved no longer to expect his natural death, (although it could not by courſe of Nature be far off) but by one device or other to thruſt him from the Government; or if that might not be wrought, at once to diſpatch him both of life and ſtate together. And the ſurer to lay the Plot whereon ſo foul and horrible a Treaſon was to be built, he by the Council of his Mother and others, by whom he was moſt directed, ſent for *Michael* the Prince of *Bulgaria*, his Brother-in-Law (though before to him unknown, as was his Wife his Siſter alſo) to make with him a firm League, to the intent by him to provide, that if the Prince of *Servia* (who had but lately married the old Emperors nigh Kinſwoman, and ſo to him much devoted) ſhould take part with him, he ſhould by the *Bulgarian* his Neighbour be intangled, Who ſo ſent for, with his Wife, the old Emperors Daughter, came to *Dydymotichum*, where they were many days moſt honourably entertained both by the young Emperor and his Mother; for why, this meeting plotted upon great Treaſon, was finely coloured, with the deſire the young Emperor had to ſee his Siſter and her Husband, as before unto him unknown; and the Empreſs her Daughter, whom ſhe had not ſeen in three and twenty years before. But the ſecret concluſion betwixt them was, that the *Bulgarian* Prince ſhould to the uttermoſt of his power aid the young Emperor againſt his Grandfather, and he likewiſe him againſt the *Servian*, as he ſhould have need; and further, that if his Grandfather being depoſed, he ſhould recover the whole Empire, then to give him a great ſum of Mony, with certain ſpecial Cities and Provinces confining upon him, as in Dowry to his kind Brother-in-law, and Companion in his labours. So *Michael* the *Bulgarian* Prince honourably entertained by the young Emperor and the old Empreſs his Mother-in-Law, loaded with rewards, and promiſes of greater, returned home into his Country.

A treacherous meeting.

This matter thus diſpatched, the young Emperor therewith encouraged, and knowing alſo the Conſtantinopolitans, beſides the other Cities of *Thracia*, exceedingly to favour him and his proceedings; by whom alſo he was ſecretly invited to haſten his coming thither (as weary of the long life and lazineſs, as he termed it, of his Grandfather) thought it beſt cunningly to go about the matter; that ſo his Grandfather being with as little ſtir as might be depoſed, he himſelf might alone injoy the Empire. But needing Mony for the effecting of ſo great matters, he by force took all the Mony from the Collectors, whom the old Emperor had ſent into *Thracia* for the taking up of Mony there, telling them that he was an Emperor alſo, and in need of Mony, and that the common charge was likewiſe by the common Purſe to be diſcharged. After that he took his way towards *Conſtantinople*, pretending that upon ſpecial cauſes he had occaſion to ſend Embaſſadors unto the Sultan of *Egypt*; for the tranſporting of whom he was there to take order for the ſetting forth of a great Ship, and other things neceſſary for the journey. Neither went he ſlenderly appointed, but with a great Power; and the Cities of *Thracia* before well aſſured unto him, ſuch as he ſuſpected being thruſt out of Office, and others more aſſured unto him placed in their ſteads. But whilſt he thus beſtirreth himſelf, one of thoſe that were moſt inward with him, deteſting ſo foul a Treaſon, ſecretly fled from him unto his Grandfather, from point to point diſcovering unto him all the intended Treacheries; and withal, how that his Nephew had determined to depoſe him from his Empire, or otherwiſe to bereave him of his life if he ſhould ſtand upon his Guard; but if in the attempt he ſhould find eaſie ſucceſs, then to ſpare his life; and depriving him of the Imperial Dignity, to thruſt him as a Monk into a Monaſtery; and therefore adviſed him to beware how he ſuffered him after his wonted manner to come into the City, for fear of a general revolt, but rather by force to keep him out. Which the Emperor hearing, and comparing with other things which he had heard of others, yet ſounding in his Ears, deeming it to be true, ſtood up, and in the anguiſh of his Soul thus complained unto God; *Revenge my quarrel O God, upon them that do me wrong, and let them be aſhamed that riſe up againſt me; and preſerve thou unto me the Imperial Power, which by thee given unto me, he cometh to take from me whom I my ſelf begot and advanced.* After, he began to conſider what courſe to take for the aſſurance of himſelf and his State in ſo great a danger. And firſt he ſent unto his Nephew (come half way) to forbid him from entring the City, and to tell him, that it was a great folly for him, being ſo manifeſt a Traitor, both unto his Grandfather and the State, to think his traiterous purpoſes to be unknown unto the World. And beſide in way of reproof to rehearſe unto him, how many occaſions he had given for the breaking of the League with his Grandfather; firſt in taking away the Mony from the Collectors, whereof the State never ſtood in more need, by reaſon of the diviſion of the Empire, which required double charge; then in that he had in the City every where diſplaced ſuch Governors and Magiſtrates as his Grandfather had ſent thither, and placed others at his pleaſure, with many other like facts, declaring his treacherous aſpiring mind, for which he was not without cauſe by his Grandfather forbidden to enter the City. After that, the old Emperor by ſecret Letters craved aid of *Crales* Prince of *Servia*, and *Demetrius* the Deſpot his Son, who was then Governor of *Theſſalonica* and the Countries adjoyning; commanding him with *Andronicus* and *Michael* his Nephews (Governors of *Macedonia*) with all the Forces they were able to raiſe, and ſuch aid as ſhould be ſent unto them out of *Syria*, with all ſpeed to joyn together and to go againſt the young Emperor. But theſe Letters thus written unto the Prince of *Servia*, the Deſpot, and others, (as is before ſaid) were for the moſt part intercepted, by ſuch as the young Emperor had for that purpoſe placed upon the Straits of *Criſtopolis*, and the other paſſages; eſpecially ſuch as were written in Paper, yet ſome others in fine white linnen Cloth, and ſecretly ſowed in the Garments of ſuch as carried them, eſcaped for all their ſtrait ſearch, and ſo were delivered. And in truth nothing was done, or about to be done in *Conſtantinople*, but that the youg Emperor was by one or other advertiſed thereof; whereas the old Emperor on the other ſide, underſtood nothing what his Nephew did abroad, or intended. For all men of their own accord inclined to him; ſome openly both Body and Soul (as they ſay) and ſuch as could not be with him in perſon, yet in Mind and good Will were even preſent with him; and that not only the common ſort of the Citizens of *Conſtantinople*, but the chief Senators, the great Courtiers, yea and many other of the Emperors neareſt Kinſmen alſo; who curiouſly obſerving whatſoever was done in the City, forthwith certified him thereof. Amongſt whom was alſo *Theodorus* the Marqueſs, one of the old Emperors own Sons; who many years before by the Empreſs his Mother ſent into *Italy*, and there honourably married, was by his prodigal courſe of life there, grown far in debt; ſo that leaving his Wife and Children behind him, he was glad after the deceaſe of his Mother; to flie unto his Father at *Conſtantinople*, and there now lived; who beſide that he moſt honourably maintained him in the Court, and beſtowed many great things upon him, paid alſo all his Debts, which were very great. All which Fatherly kindneſs he forgetting went about moſt *Judas* like to have betrayed his aged Father. For he alſo dreaming after the Empire, and for many cauſes (but eſpecially for that he was in Mind, Religion, Manners, and Habit, become a Latine) by him rejected, thought he could not do him a greater deſpight than by revolting unto the young Emperor; ſo that the nearer he was in blood, the more he was his Fathers unnatural Enemy. Shortly after, *Demetrius* the Deſpot, having received the Emperors Letters at *Theſſalonica*, called unto him *Andronicus* and *Michael* his Nephews, the Governors of *Macedonia*; with whom joyning all his Force, and dayly expecting more aid out of *Servia*, he firſt ſpoiled the young Emperors Friends and Favourites in *Macedonia*, giving the Spoil of them in all the Cities and Towns of *Macedonia*, unto their Souldiers, who made havock of whatſoever they light upon; and whoſoever ſeemed any way to withſtand them or diſlike of their Proceedings, their Goods and Lands they confiſcated, and drave the men themſelves into exile. Neither was the young Emperor *Andronicus* in the mean time idle, but ſecretly ſent out his Edicts, into all parts of the Empire, yea into the very Cities of *Conſtantinople* and *Theſſalonica*, and over all *Macedonia*; whereby he proclaimed unto the People in general, a releaſement of them from all Tributes, Impoſitions, and Payments; and frankly promiſed unto the Souldiers and Men of War, the augmenting of their Penſions and Pay; which were no ſooner bruited, but that moſt men were therewith moved both in Word and Deed to favour his proceedings, doing what they could to further the ſame, and by ſecret Letters inviting him to haſten his coming into the City; who thereupon coming to *Rhegium*, by his Embaſſadors ſent from thence, requeſted the old Emperor, either to give him leave according to the League betwixt them, to come into the City, or elſe to ſend him certain of the chief of the Nobility and Clergy, with ſome of the better and more underſtanding ſort of the Burgers and Citizens alſo, unto whom he might frankly ſpeak his mind, for them faithfully to deliver the ſame again unto the Emperor his Grandfather, and the People. Which requeſt the old Emperor perceiving to be full of Deceit and Treachery, for a good ſpace anſwered thereunto nothing at all, but ſtood all ſilent, as doubting which to grant; for, to ſuffer his Nephew to come into the City, he ſaw was dangerous, the Citizens (as he well knew) being for the moſt part inclined to revolt to him ſo ſoon as they ſhould once ſee him within the Gates; and to ſend any forth unto him, as he deſired, might be (as he feared) an occaſion of ſome tumult to be after raiſed in the City; for he knew that his Nephews drift therein was, openly by fair words, and ſecretly with great gifts and large promiſes, firſt to gain them, and by them the reſt of the Citizens. Both which things being dangerous, he made choice of the eaſier, and ſent forth unto him two of the moſt noble Senators, two of the moſt reverend Biſhops, two other grave Prelates, and four of the chief Burgeſſes of the City; unto whom at their coming unto him, he in the open hearing of all men delivered this premeditated and crafty Speech.

The young Emperor ſendeth Embaſſadors unto his Grandfather.

The Speech of the young Emperor to his Grandfathers Embaſſadors.

It is not unknown unto the World, you my Subjects, to have alwaies been unto me more dear than I have been unto my ſelf; and how that I have not upon any ambitious conceit, or deſire of the ſole Government, againſt my Grandfathers good Will, gon out. For you ſee how that I neither ſpare mine own life, or attend my pleaſure, for the care I have of you; I come not unto you compaſſed about with a Guard of armed men, as is the manner not of Kings only, for the envy of their high place, but of others alſo of far meaner calling, whom diſaſter fortune, baniſhed from their Parents and Kindred, hath enforced to wander here and there, with death alſo before their Eyes. Let any man tell me how I came by theſe wounds which I yet bear in my body, but in fight with the Enemies of my Country which paſs over out of Aſia *into* Thracia; *or elſe dwelling near unto* Iſther, *do with their incurſions from thence miſerably waſte that ſide of* Thracia *which is next unto them? For I (to tell you the very truth) ſeeing the old Emperor by reaſon of his great years to become ſlothful and blockiſh, and not poſſible to be awaked out of his drowſie ſleep, neither any whit to grieve, when as the poor Chriſtians his Subjects were both by day and night, ſome as Sacrifices ſlain by the barbarous Enemies, ſome carried away into moſt miſerable Captivity, and the reſt poor and naked to be driven out of their Houſes and Cities; not to ſpeak in the mean time of the greater miſchiefs in* Aſia, *and how many Cities have been there loſt through the old Emperors* *ſloth and neglience; when I ſaw theſe things (I ſay) ſtrucken with a piercing grief, which my heart could not indure, I went out for two cauſes, either by ſome kind of honourable death to end my grief together with my life, or elſe to the uttermoſt of my power to ſtand my Country in ſome ſtead. For by no means it can come to paſs, but that a man, and he that hath of long time reigned, muſt at length become loathſome unto his Subjects, and encur their deadly hatred. For why, God hath made nothing in this life immutable and firm; whereby it cometh to paſs, as we ſee, that all worldly things joy and delight in change. But if a man will as it were force Fortune to his deſire, and ſtrive to bind things unto a certain firm and conſtant courſe, he ſhall but loſe his labour, and in vain ſtrive againſt nature. But whatſoever is contrary unto nature, or exceedeth the juſt bounds thereof, hath in it neither comfort nor delight. This was it that cauſed the wiſe men to ſay, and to leave to us as Rules, Not to dwell too long upon any thing; and a meaſure to be the faireſt vertue. For you ſee how that my Grandfather being grown to great years, and having reigned ſo long (I may almoſt ſay) as never did any but he, is become hateful unto all his people; and yet regardeth not either how to diſcharge himſelf of ſo great a burthen, or how to relieve the declining State of the Empire, or ſo much as grieveth to ſee the Succeſſors of the Empire to die before him: For my Father is dead without any fruit of the Empire, except the bare Title only; and others alſo neareſt to him of blood, and far younger than he, are dead likewiſe; and happily I my ſelf may die alſo before I ſhall receive any profit thereof; for what can more eaſily happen, eſpecially unto a man that ſhunneth no danger, and regardeth not his life? But ſome perhaps will ſuſpect me of Ambition, for departing from the Emperor my Grandfather, and for refuſing to be ruled by him. Which thing I neither flatly deny, or altogether confeſs: For might I ſee the Empire increaſe, and the bounds thereof inlarged, I could willingly content my ſelf, and at my eaſe take my reſt; chearing my ſelf up with ſuch hope as do they that bear with their Cooks, making them to ſtay long for their dinner, in hope thereby to fare the better. But ſeeing the State of the Empire daily to decline from evil to worſe, and the miſerable people carried away Captives, or ſlain by their Enemies even at the Gates and under the Walls of the Imperial City; what deem you me then to think? For moſt men eaſe their preſent grief, with the hope of future good, although the ſame be but vain: But unto me is not left even ſuch vain hope unto my falſe comfort. And can you marvel at the impotent affection of the Great* Alexander *of* Macedon, *grieved and diſpleaſed to ſee his Father to heap Victory upon Victory, and to cut off all the hope of his Sons glory, by leaving him ſo few occaſions of War; and not think me (to whom you ſee the quite contrary is chanced, and from whom not only the hope of the Empire is cut off, for the waſting thereof, but even the courſe of a quiet life) to fret and grieve thereat? Moved herewith, and not able longer to indure it, at length I riſe up, and requeſted of the Emperor my Grandfather, but a thouſand men at Arms, promiſing him by the Power of God with them to preſerve the Cities in* Bithynia, *and to drive his Enemies further off, (before that having them) they ſhould paſs over the ſtrait, and beſiege the Imperial City of* Conſtantinople; *which ſo ſmall a requeſt he not only denied me, but hath ever ſince taken me for his mortal Enemy. But this and many other things elſe let paſs: I have now another requeſt unto him by you, which is, That he would give me eight thouſand Duckats to content my Souldiers withall, who of long have from place to place roamed up and down with me, following mine uncertain Fortune: Which granted, I will no more be unto my Grandfather troubleſome, but diſmiſſing my Forces, hold my ſelf right well contented.*

Having thus ſaid, he roſe out of his Seat, and taking them apart one after another, courteouſly diſcourſed with them, and ſo filling them with great hopes, ſent them away; who departing from him and coming into the City, became as it were the open Proclaimers of his Praiſes, enflaming the people with a greater deſire of him than before. Which the old Emperor hearing, and perceiving almoſt all his Friends in the City to be in heart revolted from him; and withall fearing to be of them in ſome ſudden concourſe ſlain, was therewith exceedingly vexed. Yet he thought it beſt before any ſuch thing ſhould happen, to prove their minds, and to hear the Counſel of the Patriarch, and *Aſanes*, and the other Biſhops alſo; unto whom, being by one of the Senators called together, he declared his mind, as followeth:

The Speech of the old Emperor unto the Patriarch and the reſt of the Biſhops and Nobility, concerning the young Emperor his Nephew.

Were I aſſured, that having depoſed my ſelf of the Imperial Dignity, I ſhould my ſelf live in ſafety, and ſee my people well governed, I would I ſhould never be of the Company of the Faithful, if I did not by much prefer a pleaſant quiet contented life before an Empire. For if a man would ſeek for the pleaſure of the mind, what can be more pleaſant, than to be disburdened of all Cares, and free from ſuch dangers as attend high Eſtates? But if for my ſin and the ſins of my people, as alſo for the ſin of mine Anceſtors, the Vengeance of God in manner of a violent Tempeſt raging againſt us, ſubverteth our Empire; and I yet but a Youth, by the help of God reformed and quieted the State of the Empire, grievouſly troubled with Diſcord in the Church, and the often invaſion of the Enemy; and taught by long experience know not how in ſo great hurle and tempeſt which way to turn my ſelf: How can I with ſafety commit unto my Nephew ſo great a Charge, who as yet is both an unſtayed Youth, and ſo careleſs of his own good, as that he knoweth not how well to govern his own private affairs? For giving over his Power to young unskilful men, and having flung away his Imperial Poſſeſſions amongſt them, he himſelf liveth in penury and want; neither regardeth any thing more than his Dogs and Kites, of whom he keepeth few leſs than a thouſand Currs, and as many Hawks, and not much fewer men to look unto them. Wherefore unto ſuch a man, how may I ſafely commit either my life, or the adminiſtration of mine Empire, by God committed unto me? But I will never witting and willingly caſt away either my Subjects or my Self. For my Nephew I have loved, not only more than my Wife and Children, but (to ſay the truth) more than my ſelf alſo; as you well know how tenderly I have brought him up, how carefully I have inſtructed and adviſed him, as purpoſing to have left him the Heir and Succeſſor both of my Wiſdom and mine Empire, that ſo he might the better pleaſe both God and man. But he, contemning my good counſel, hath ſpent whole nights in Banqueting, and Riot, and Brothelhouſes; where he hath alſo ſlain his own Brother; and to be brief, he hath riſen and lifted up his hand againſt me his Grandfather, and a Grandfather that had of him ſo well deſerved, attempting ſuch a Villany as the Sun never ſaw. Wherefore you ought alſo to hate and deteſt his wickedneſs, and to riſe up to reſtrain his impudent Diſloyalty, and by your Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure to denounce him unworthy of the Empire and the Communion of the Faithful, as one ſeparated from God; that ſo aſhamed and corrected, he may lovingly thither return from whence he is ſhamefully departed, and again be made Heir both of mine Empire and ſtaidneſs; for there is no man alive whom I had rather have promoted unto the Empire, ſo that he would hear my Precepts, and obey my Counſel. As for the concluſion he uſed in his former Speech, it was altogether feigned, crafty, and malitious; for you have heard how many

Reproaches he hath given me in all that Speech, wherewith his concluſion agreeth not; but the more to ſtir up the hearers thereof againſt me, did of purpoſe ſo conclude his Speech.

The Patriarch with divers of the Biſhops conſpire againſt the Emperor.

Upon this, moſt of the foreſaid grave and learned Biſhops agreed, that the young Emperor ſhould no more be named in the Prayers of the Church, until he had better conformed himſelf. Howbeit the Patriarch and ſome others ſecretly favouring both him and his proceedings, liked not thereof, and therefore ſaying nothing thereunto, returned home unto their own houſes. But meeting once or twice afterwards in the Patriarchs houſe, they there conſpired together againſt the old Emperor; with whom alſo divers of the Nobility conſented; and thereupon an Oath was conceived in writing, whereby they bound themſelves to continue conſtant in that their wicked Reſolution. Whereupon, about three days after, the Patriarch cauſing the Bells to be rung, and a great number of the common people flocking together, pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhould in their publick Prayers omit the name of the young Emperor, or refuſe to do him all Honour due unto an Emperor. Which thing not a little grieved the old Emperor, as appeared by his Speech, in ſaying, *If the Doctor of Peace be ſo mad againſt us, in hope of Reward promiſed by my Nephew, that caſting off all ſhame and gravity, he doubts not to be the Author of Sedition; who ſhall repreſs the raſh attempts of the vulgar people againſt us, if we reſpect but mans help? for the Patriarch ſo much as in him lieth is, I ſee, the murderer of us.* So the Biſhops of the contrary Faction, moved with the notable impudency of the Patriarch, excommunicated him likewiſe, as he had done them, with his mad Followers, as the Authors of Sedition and Faction, and incited with Bribes to the troubling of the State; for which cauſe alſo he was by the Emperors Commandment committed unto ſafe keeping in the Monaſtery called *Manganium.* But about two days after, the young Emperor came to the Walls of *Conſtantinople,* to know how his Grandfather had accepted the Meſſengers ſent unto him; earneſtly requeſting, that it might be lawful for him alone to enter into the City, to do his duty to his Grandfather. But neither he, neither his words were any whit at all regarded, but was by ſuch as ſtood upon the Walls himſelf with ſtones driven away; who could not abide to hear him ſpeak, but ſhamefully railed at him, ſaying, All his talk to be nothing elſe but deceit and fraud; and ſo for that time he retired a little from the Walls. But night being come, certain buſie heads among the common people (and they not a few) ſecretly meeting together gave him knowledge, that about midnight, when as all the Citizens were aſleep, and the Watchmen in ſecurity, he ſhould come unto the Walls, where they would be ready with Ropes to draw him up unto the top of the Bulwarks; which done, the matter (as they ſaid) was as good as diſpatched; for that they were perſwaded, that the Citizens ſo ſoon as they ſhould once ſee him in the midſt of the City amongſt them, would forthwith all revolt unto him. So he according to this appointment, about midnight approaching the Walls, found there no ſuch matter as he had well hoped, for the receiving of him into the City; But contrariwiſe the Watchmen carefully watching all alongſt the Wall, and calling one unto another. Wherefore finding there no hope, he with *Catacuzenus* and *Synadenus,* his chief Counſellors, leaving the South ſide of the City, in a little Boat rowed ſoftly all along the Wall that is toward the Sea, if happily they might there find their Friends, and ſo be received in; but there the Watchmen alſo deſcrying them from the Walls, and calling unto them, but receiving no anſwer, began to caſt ſtones at them, and to make a noiſe, ſo that deceived of their purpoſe, and out of hope, they were glad to get them further off, and to depart as they came.

Theſſalonica yielded unto the young Emperor.

But the evil ſucceſs of this Exploit was ſhortly after with his better Fortune recompenced; for by and by after, ſecret Letters were ſent unto him from *Theſſalonica,* requeſting him with all ſpeed to come thither, aſſuring him in the name of the Biſhop, with divers of the Nobility, and the good liking of the people in general at his coming to open the Gates of the City unto him: Whereupon he leaving a great part of his Army with *Synadenus,* to keep ſhort the Conſtantinopolitans, he himſelf with the reſt of his Power ſet forward towards *Theſſalonica,* where he in the habit of a plain Country man entred the City unſuſpected; but being got within the Gate, and there caſting off that ſimple attire wherewith he had covered his Rich and Royal Garments, and preſently known to be the young Emperor, the people came flocking about him, and with many joyful Acclamations received him as their Lord and Soveraign; yet ſome few, more favouring the old Emperor, fled into the Caſtle, and there ſtood upon their Guard; which after they had for a ſpace notably defended, was at length taken from them.

Theſſalonica thus yielded, *Demetrius, Andronicus,* and *Aſan Michael,* the old Emperors chief Captains, then lying with their Army not far off, and not well truſting one another, fled; moſt of whoſe Souldiers preſently went over unto the young Emperor; who departing from *Theſſalonica,* came to *Serre,* which by compoſition was delivered unto him alſo, but not the Caſtle; for that was by *Baſilicus Nicephorus* (the Captain thereof) ſtill holden for the old Emperor. This *Baſilicus* was a man honourably deſcended, but of no great Capacity or Wit, as the finer ſort ſuppoſed, and therefore not of them much regarded, or thought fit for the taking in hand of any great matter; whom yet the old Emperor for his plain ſincerity, more than for any thing elſe, had made Captain of that Caſtle, and Governor of the Country thereabouts; which he yet ſtill held, and in theſe moſt troubleſome times ſhewed himſelf wiſer than all that had ſo thought of him; of whom ſome died in deſpair, ſome fled, ſome were taken Priſoners, and ſo ſuffered a thouſand evils; the reſt with the loſs of their Honour, traiterouſly revolting from the old Emperor to the young; whereas he alone, looking but even forward upon his Allegiance, with his truſt in God, ſo long as the old Emperor lived, oppoſed himſelf againſt theſe troubles, and ſtood faſt for him, and was not to be moved with any fair Promiſes or cruel Threats of the young aſpiring Emperor, whereof he lacked none. But having ſtrongly fortified the Caſtle committed to his Charge, there kept himſelf, until that hearing of the death of the old Emperor, he then reconciling himſelf to the young, as unto his right Soveraign, delivered up unto him the Caſtle; who in reward of his Fidelity, gave it him again to hold for him, in as ample manner as he had before held it for his Grandfather. For wiſe men honour Vertue even in their Enemies, as did King *Philip* in *Demoſthenes,* when as he ſaid, *If any* Athenian *living in* Athens, *doth ſay that he preferreth me before his Country, him verily would I buy with much money, but not think him worthy* *my friendſhip; but if any for his Countries-ſake ſhall hate me, him will I impugne as a Caſtle, a ſtrong Wall, or a Bulwark; and yet admire his vertue, and reckon the City happy in having ſuch a man.* And ſo in few words to conclude a long diſcourſe, the young Emperor in ſhort time having roamed through all *Macedonia*, and without reſiſtance taken all the ſtrong Towns and Cities therein, he there took alſo *Demetrius* the Deſpots Wife and Children, with all his Treaſure, as alſo the Wives of *Andronicus* and *Aſanes*, and of all the Senators that followed them; after whom the great Commanders their Husbands were alſo for the moſt part taken and caſt into priſon, ſome at *Theſſalonica*, ſome at *Didimotichum*, ſome of the reſt afterward moſt miſerably periſhing in exile. Wherewith the old Emperor diſcouraged, was about to have ſent his Embaſſadors unto his Nephew for Peace, whilſt he was yet thus buſied in *Macedonia*; and had indeed ſo done, had not another hope ariſing in the mean time, quite altered that his better purpoſe. It fortuned at the ſame time, whilſt the old Emperor was thus thinking of Peace, that *Michael* the *Bulgarian* Prince, in hope of great profit thereof to ariſe, ſecretly offered his Aid unto him againſt the young Emperor his Nephew; of which his Offer the old Emperor gladly accepted, and Embaſſadors were ſent to and fro, about the full concluſion of the matter, no man being acquainted therewith, more than two or three of the Emperor his moſt ſecret friends and truſty Counſellors. Yet in the mean time diſdaining to be ſo coupt up as he was, by *Synadenus* one of his Nephews Captains, even in the Imperial City; ſent out one *Conſtantinus Aſſan*, with the greateſt part of his ſtrength againſt him; who encountering him at the River *Maurus*, was there by him in plain battel overthrown and taken Priſoner, the reſt of his diſcomfited Army flying headlong back again to *Conſtantinople*. All things thus proſperouſly proceeding with the young Emperor, and the Countries of *Macedonia* and *Thracia* now almoſt all at his Command, he returned in haſt with all his Power unto *Conſtantinople*, to prevent the coming of the *Bulgarians* thither; as fearing leſt that they finding the City weakly manned, ſhould treacherouſly kill the old Emperor, with ſuch as were about him, and ſo ſeize upon the City themſelves; or at leaſtwiſe give him ſuch Aid as might keep him out, and ſo cut off all his hope for obtaining of the ſame. At which alſo there was great want of Victual in the City, he with his Army having ſhut it up on the one ſide by Land, and the *Venetians* with their Gallies on the other ſide by Sea; who then at odds with the *Genoways* dwelling at *Pera*, kept all that ſtrait Sea betwixt *Europe* and *Aſia*, in ſuch ſort, as that neither Victuals nor Merchandize could be brought that way, either to *Conſtantinople* or *Pera*. The young Emperor coming to *Conſtantinople*, attempted at his firſt coming to have entred the City, in hope without any great reſiſtance to have been received; but repulſed by the Defendants, was glad to get him further off. About this time came alſo unto the City three thouſand Horſemen, the appointed Aid of the *Bulgarian* Prince, unto the old Emperor; who although he wanted men, and was right glad of their coming, yet remembring the harms he had before received by foreign Aid, and not now daring to truſt them too far, ſuffered not them to come into the City, more than their General and ſome few others of their Commanders with him. Now the young Emperor upon the coming of this Aid, leſt ſome great harm might betide either the old Emperor or himſelf, to the utter ſubverſion of their State; ſecretly ſent unto his Grandfather, requeſting him to be well adviſed how he truſted thoſe foreign people too far; offering himſelf to do whatſoever he ſhould Command, rather than ſo great a harm ſhould happen unto either of them, as was from them to be feared. But the truſt the old Emperor had conceived of this *Bulgarian* Aid, had ſo confirmed his mind, as that he little liſtned unto his Nephews requeſt; beſides that, how could he well truſt him that had ſo oftentimes deceived him? Wherewith the young Emperor much grieved, and now again almoſt deſpairing of his further Succeſs, diſlodged, and drew near unto the place where theſe *Bulgarian* Horſemen lay encamped; from whence he ſent certain Embaſſadors with great Gifts and Preſents unto the General, and the reſt of the chief Commanders; promiſing them far greater, if they would without further troubſing themſelves return home again; whereunto they willingly granted, and ſo were of him honourably feaſted, and the next day after conducted upon their way homewards.

Conſtantinople *betrayed unto the young Emperor.*

It fortuned, that the young Emperor returning back again from the *Bulgarians*, and incamped in the place where he before lay; two of the Watchmen of the City, the one called *Camaris*, and the other *Caſtellanus*, both Smiths, fled ſecretly unto him; who admitted to his Preſence, and all others commanded to depart, excepting *Catacuzenus*, offered to betray the City unto him, ſo that he would under his hand writing aſſure them of ſuch a ſum of Money, and ſuch Poſſeſſions as they required; which he eaſily granting, and the hour and manner of performing of the ſame, being by them declared and agreed upon, they by and by without longer ſtay, for fear of ſuſpition, returned again into the City. But the Emperor ſtaying four days in the ſame place, cauſed certain Ladders to be made of great Ropes, ſuch as they uſe in great Ships; But the appointed night being come, the two Traytors having before provided great ſtore of good Wine, liberally gave the ſame by way of courteſie unto the Watchmen their Companions near unto them; who drank ſo plentifully thereof, that not able any longer to hold up their heads, they fell into ſo ſound a ſleep, as that but for breathing they differed not much from dead men. About midnight came certain Souldiers of the young Emperors, with the foreſaid Ladders; which the Traytors by and by drawing unto them by a Rope caſt down, and making them faſt unto the top of the Wall, received by the ſame eighteen armed men; who being got into the City, without more ado brake open the *Roman* Gate, whereby the young Emperor with his Army preſently entred, no man letting him. But it is worth marking, how things appointed to befal us, are by no means to be avoided, although we be thereof before never ſo plainly forewarned: For the ſame night the City was ſurpriſed, immediately after the ſetting of the Sun, the Gates being ſhut, a certain Country man came running in all haſt from out of a Village there by, and knocking hard at the Gate called *Girolimna*, required to ſpeak with ſome of the Souldiers; who being come, he told them, how that a little before he had ſeen a great number of the young Emperors men marching towards the City, by the way that leadeth unto the *Roman* Gate; which being told unto the old Emperor, did not a little trouble him. And therefore thought it good to ſend out certain Scouts, to ſee if all were clear along the

Walls toward the Land, from Sea to Sea; which his purpoſe *Metochita* his chief Counſellor letted, ſaying, It did not beſeem a courageous mind to be upon ſo light an occaſion ſo much moved; for that either the rumor was falſe, or the endeavour of ſo few vain, the Walls and Gates of the City being ſo filled with armed men; which happily he ſaid not ſo much upon ignorance of Martial Affairs, as blinded by a certain commanding Power, that the ſupernal Decree given by God himſelf againſt the old Emperor, might at length take place. And again, the third part of that night yet ſcant paſt, divers other Countrymen came running unto the ſaid Gate *Girolimna*, and told the Watchmen upon the Walls, that a great number of men were met together at the Roman Gate; whereof the Emperor hearing, was therewith much more troubled than before, inſomuch that ſharply rebuking *Metochita*, he ſaid unto him, Thou ſeemeſt to be ſtrangely metamorphoſed into a man of Iron, which art become ſo ſecure, as not to have any feeling of the danger wherewith we are incloſed: Seeſt thou not that the matter requireth, not that we ſhould thus ſit ſtill and take our reſt? For the noiſe of my Nephew ſoundeth in mine Ears as the ſound of a great Drum, and diſquieteth my mind. I feel a Sea of Calamity broken out againſt me, which overwhelmeth and drowneth my heart and courage. Nevertheleſs he, firm in his former Opinion, made no reckoning of thoſe Reports; and therefore roſe to go to bed, to ſhew indeed that he accounted nothing of them, but as falſe alarms. But the Emperor left alone, and no body with him unto whom he might break his grief, laid him down upon a Pallet, not putting off his Clothes; but as if he had together with them put on extream deſperation, lay tumbling too and fro as a man in mind troubled with divers many and heavy thoughts. In the mean time he heard a great noiſe at the Court-Gate, and the report of the entring of the young Emperor his Nephew, with a great clattering of Armor; for there were above eight hundred Souldiers entred with him, and withall they of the City on every ſide ſaluted him with moſt joyful Acclamations. But the old Emperor hearing the great Tumult and Out-cry, roſe from his Pallet, exceedingly troubled; and deſtitute of all the help of his Captains and Souldiers, (for why, his Palace was altogether deſolate, except of ſuch as were his ordinary Waiters) betook himſelf unto his Prayers, beſeeching God not to forſake him in ſo great a danger, but in his mercy to defend him from the fury of thoſe wicked men. Who preſently heard him, and ſent him preſent relief; for whilſt he was thus praying in the Palace, the young Emperor without, calling together all his Captains and Lieutenants, ſtraitly charged them upon pain of death, neither by word nor deed to violate the Majeſty of the old Emperor his Grandfather, nor any other about him; for this Victory (ſaid he) God hath given us, and not we our ſelves; his Will ordereth all things, whereunto all things obey; the Stars, the Air, the Sea, the Earth, Men, Floods, Tempeſts, Plagues, Earthquakes, Showers, Dearth, and ſuch like; ſometime to our Bliſs, and ſometime to our Correction and Deſtruction; wherefore uſing us as the Inſtruments of his Chaſtiſement, he hath given unto us this preſent Victory, which peradventure to morrow he will give to others to uſe againſt us, and then as we have been unto them we have overcome, ſuch will they alſo ſhew themſelves unto us again; wherefore if neither nighneſs of blood, neither that we be all of one Country, may move us, yet in reſpect of our ſelves let us uſe mercy, that we feel not the Hand of God upon us in like caſe. In the mean time a Courtier opened a Wicket unto the young Emperor, with this Meſſage from his Grandfather.

The pitiful Supplication of the old Emperor to his Nephew.

Foraſmuch as God this day (my Son) hath given unto thee the Imperial Scepter, taken from me, I requeſt of thee this one good turn, for many which I have even from my birth beſtowed upon thee, (for in this my hard eſtate I let paſs, that I next unto God have been the Author of thy Nativity and Increaſe) give me my life, ſpare thy Fathers head, and with violent Weapon ſpill not that blood from which thou thy ſelf haſt taken the Fountain of life. Man truly beholdeth Heaven and Earth, and Heaven and Earth behold mens Actions; wherefore make not the Heavens and the Earth beholders of ſo wicked an Outrage as never man ever committed: If Brothers blood long ago cried out unto the Lord againſt Cain, *how much louder ſhall the Fathers Blood cry unto the Lord, and declare ſo great a wickedneſs unto the Earth, the Sun, and Stars, and make it abhorred of all the Princes of the World? Regard my miſerable old age, which of it ſelf promiſeth unto me ſhortly death, but unto thee a Reſt after long Cares. Reverence the hands which have oftentimes moſt lovingly embraced thee, yet crying in thy ſwathing-Clouts. Reverence thoſe Lips which have oftentimes moſt lovingly kiſſed thee, and called thee my other Soul: Have pity upon a bruiſed Reed, caſt down by Fortune, and do not thou again tread upon it. And ſeeing thou art thy ſelf a man, be not too proud of thy preſent Fortune, but conſider the uncertainty and variety of worldly things, taking by me Example; ſee in me the end of long life, and marvail, how one night having received me an Emperor of many years, leaveth me now ſubject unto another mans power for ever.*

The young Emperor *Andronicus* moved with this Speech, and taking great care of his Grandfathers ſafety, ſcarce abſtaining from tears, entred the place, and coming to his Grandfather, humbly ſaluted him, embraced him, and with chearful words comforted him. Straightway after he went unto the Monaſtery *Manganium*, where (as is aforeſaid) the Patriarch *Eſaias* was by the old Emperors Commandment kept in ſafe keeping; whom the young Emperor now took from thence, and carrying him away in one of the Emperors richeſt Chariots, reſtored him again unto his Patriarchal Dignity; wherein he afterwards ſpared not to revenge himſelf to the full, and moſt cruelly to perſecute the old Emperors Friends. That day from morning unto night, a man might have ſeen all the riches and wealth of ſuch Noblemen as had taken part with the old Emperor, carried away, and their goodly Houſes overthrown and made the ſcorn of the baſe common people; but eſpecially the Houſe and Wealth of *Theodorus Metochita*, a man but the day before in greateſt favour with his Prince, and of all others next unto the Emperor himſelf, of greateſt Authority and Credit, whoſe whole Wealth (not that only which was found in his houſe, but that alſo which he had laid up in truſt with his Friends, diſcovered by Notes found in his Study) became moſt part a prey unto the common people, and the reſt confiſcated unto the Prince. Thus he which earſt of all others next unto the Emperor was accounted moſt fortunate, was now upon the ſudden, with his Wife and Children brought unto extream beggery; and after many years Felicity, in one day caſt into the bottom of deſpair and miſery; where a man might have heard many complaining, ſay, All that Wealth and Treaſure to have been the blood and tears of the poor oppreſſed Subjects, brought unto him by them whom he had made Rulers and Governors of the Provinces and Cities of the Empire; to the intent that when they had dealt cruelly with the people, as with their Slaves, he might ſtop them for coming to complain of their griefs unto the Emperor; and that the eye of the Revenger had not always ſlept, but was now at length awaked, and had of him yet ſcarcely taken ſufficient puniſhment; which every where to hear, increaſed not a little his grief. As for himſelf, he was confined unto *Didymotichum*, as the place of his exile and baniſhment; where after he had a certain time poorly lived, he was ſent for back again to *Conſtantinople*; where having nothing left to relieve himſelf (for his houſe at the coming of the young Emperor, was in the fury of the people pluckt down to the ground, and the very pavement thereof digged up) he went unto the Monaſtery of *Chora* there by, which long before built by the Emperor *Juſtinian*, and become ruinous, he in the time of his Proſperity had with great charge repaired, and therein now (having made ſhipwrack of all that he had) quietly ſhrouded himſelf, to the great comfort both of his Body and afflicted Mind, where he not long after died.

Niphon *incenſeth the young Emperor againſt his Grandfather.*

But to return again unto the old Emperor, as yet in doubt what ſhould become of himſelf; it fortuned that the ſame day that the City was taken, the young Emperor at night returning to the Palace, by the way met with *Niphon* ſometime Patriarch, who asked him how they meant to deal with his Grandfather. Whereunto the young Emperor anſwering, That he would deal with him honourably and Emperor like; he was by him therefore blamed and reproved. For this *Niphon* being of a crafty ſubtil Wit and malicious Nature, beſides that he ſecretly hated all them upon whom Fortune greatly either fawned or frowned, bare an eſpecial grudge againſt the old Emperor; Firſt, for that at ſuch time as he was right worthily for his ſhameful covetouſneſs and extortion, by the reſt of the Biſhops and Clergy thruſt out of the Patriarchſhip, he was not by him (as he looked for) defended; and ſecondly, for that dreaming again after the Patriarchal Dignity, he thought it one good ſtep thereunto, to have him (as his greateſt Enemy) taken out of the way. Wherefore he ſaid now unto the young Emperor, *If thou deſire to Reign without fear, give not thine Honour unto another; but taking all the Ornaments of the Empire from the old man, caſt Hair-cloath upon him, and ſo clap him faſt in priſon, or thruſt him out into exile.* This miſchievous counſel this wicked man gave againſt the poor old diſtreſſed Emperor, not remembring how unworthily he had by him been before preferred unto the higheſt degrees both of Honour and Wealth, if he could there have kept himſelf; unto which ungracious counſel, divers others of the Nobility alſo conſenting, ſo wrought the matter amongſt them, that although they could not quite draw the young Emperors mind from his Grandfather, yet they much changed the ſame, ſo that he could no longer indure to take him for his Companion in the Empire. Whereupon after many Meetings and Conſultations had, it was decreed, That the old man ſhould ſtill retain the Name and Ornaments of an Emperor, as before, but not to meddle in any matters, nor to come abroad, but to ſit ſtill quietly in his Chamber, with the yearly maintenance of 10000 Ducats, for the maintenance of himſelf and ſuch as tended upon him; to be raiſed of the fiſhing before the City of *Conſtantinople*; a poor Penſion for the maintenance of ſo great an Emperor. Of which ſo ſhameful a Decree, *Eſæius* the Patriarch was alſo a furtherer, who ſeeing an Emperor that had raigned ſo long, caſt down, and ſhut up as it were in priſon, was ſo far from grieving thereat, that fooliſhly rejoycing, he in token thereof abſurdly wreſted this Text of Scripture, ſaying in his merriment, *Lætabitur juſtus, cum viderit ultionem*; The Juſt ſhall rejoyce when he ſeeth the Revenge; calling himſelf, Juſt, and the Emperor, Revenge. But the old Emperor thus ſhut up in his Chamber (differing in nothing but in Name, from a Priſon) not long after the ſtate of his body overthrown with grief and corrupt humors diſtilling out of his head, firſt loſt one of his Eyes, and ſhortly after the other alſo; and ſo oppreſſed with eternal darkneſs, mingled (as ſaith the Scripture) his drink with tears, and ate the bread of ſorrow, being oftentimes (to his great grief) moſt bitterly mocked and derided, not of them only which were by his Enemies ſet to guard him, but of his own Servants alſo. Not long after, the young Emperor falling ſick, in ſuch ſort as that it was thought he would not recover, *Catacuzenus*, and the reſt of his greateſt Favorites and Followers careful of their own eſtate, and yet doubtful of the old blind Emperor, deviſed many things againſt him, but all tending to one purpoſe, for the ſhortning of his days. But in the end all other devices ſet apart, they put him to his choice, either to put on the habit of a Religious, and ſo for ever to bid the World Farewel, or elſe to take what ſhould otherwiſe enſue; the beſt whereof was either Death, Exile, or perpetual Impriſonment in the loathſome Caſtle of Forgetfulneſs: For the putting whereof in execution, *Synadenus* (of all others to him moſt hateful) was appointed. At which hard choice, the old Emperor as with a world of woes ſuddenly oppreſſed, lay a great while upon his bed as a man ſpeechleſs; for what could he do elſe, except he had an heart of Steel or Adamant? being then compaſſed about with many barbarous and mercileſs Souldiers, and his domeſtical Servants kept from him, and no man left that would vouchſafe to direct him (being blind) whither to go, or where to ſtand. But to make the matter ſhort, would he, would he not, they made choice for him themſelves, polling and ſhaving him, and caſting a Monks habit upon him, changed his name, after the name of the religious, and called him by the name of *Anthony* the Monk. Glad was *Eſæius* the falſe Patriach, of this the hard eſtate of the old Emperor; for that now that he was profeſſed a Religious, there was left no hope for him to recover again the Empire, either cauſe for himſelf to fear. Yet he thought it good to be adviſed, in what ſort remembrance ſhould be made of him in the Church-prayers, if any were at all from thenceforth to be made. Whereof to be by the old Emperor himſelf reſolved, he (ſeeming to be very ſorry for that which was done, but purpoſing indeed therein to deride him) ſent unto him two Biſhops, to know what his pleaſure was to have done therein. Unto which their demand, he oppreſſed with heavineſs, and fetching a deep ſigh even from the bottom of his heart, anſwered:

The old Emperor becometh blind.

Andronicus *the old Emperor againſt his will made a Monk, and called* Anthony.

As in poor Lazarus *appeared a double miracle, that being dead, he roſe; and being bound, walked;*

The notable anſwer of the old Emperor, to the catching queſtion of the proud Patriarch.

even ſo was it to be done in me, though in quite contrary manner; for loe, being alive, I am dead, as overwhelmed with the Waves of Calamity and Woe; and being looſe, I am bound, not my Hands and Feet only, but my Tongue alſo; wherewith unable to do any thing elſe, I might yet at leaſt bewail my Woes and Wrongs unto the Air, and ſuch as by chance ſhould hear me, and unto this moſt woful darkneſs wherein I muſt for ever ſit. But ſhame hath cloſed my mouth, my Brethren abhor me, and my Mothers Sons account me for a ſtranger unto them; and the very light of mine Eyes is not with him, my Friends and Neighbors ſtood up againſt me, and all that ſaw me, laughed me to ſcorn; my Feet had almoſt ſlipped, and my Footſteps were almoſt overthrown; for I fretted againſt the wicked, when I ſaw the peace of the Ungodly. The Emperors long ago gave great Priviledges unto the Church, even thoſe which it at this day injoyeth; and the Church gave to them again Power, to chooſe whom they would to be Patriarchs. Now concerning him that ſent you, I not only nominated him unto the Patriarchſhip, but I my ſelf made choice of him, and preferred him before many other right worthy and moſt famous men, being himſelf a man grown old in a more private life, never before preferred, or for any other thing famous; I will not ſay how often I have holpen him and done him good. But now when he ſhould again have relieved me in my Calamity, he joyneth hands with mine Enemies againſt me, more cruel upon me than any other bloody-handed Executioner; not aſhamed to ask me how I would be remembred in the Church; feigning himſelf to be ignorant and ſorry for mine eſtate, much like unto the Egyptian *Crocodile of* Nile, *which having killed ſome living Beaſt, lieth upon the dead body and waſheth the head thereof with her warm tears, which ſhe afterwards devoureth together with the body. But what to anſwer him unto this his catching queſtion, I know not; for if I ſhall ſay, As an Emperor, I ſhall forthwith be ſlain by them which for that purpoſe have me in hold; but if I ſay, As* Anthony *the Monk, it ſhall be taken as the frank confeſſion of mine eſtate, by them which have craftily contrived mine Overthrow; as if I had not by compulſion, but even of mine own free will put on this monaſtical habit, which God knoweth was never in my thoughts.*

The death of the old Emperor.

Having thus ſaid, he ſent them away without any other anſwer unto their demand; but ſitting down upon his bed-ſide, ſaid, *My ſoul return again into thy reſt, for the Lord hath dealt well with thee*; neither ſpoke any one word more in declaration of his grief, his Tongue there ſtaid by his ſingular Wiſdom, or elſe with the greatneſs of his grief; and ſo againſt his will in ſilence paſſing over his ſorrow, his mind with the greatneſs of his Woes overcome; and as it were aſtoniſhed, before the humors gathered into the brain could be diſſolved into tears; for as the Sun ſending forth his moderate beams, draweth unto it many exhalations and vapors, but caſting the ſame forth more plentifully, doth with his immoderate heat conſume the ſame before they can be drawn up, ſo the moderate affections of the mind may have their griefs by words and tears expreſſed; but ſuch as exceed all meaſure, and with their vehemency as it were overthrow the mind, commonly make men to ſtand ſtill, mute and ſilent, or if they ſpeak at all, to ſpeak idly, and nothing to the purpoſe, as men beſide themſelves, or in an extaſie; but for the reſolution of the queſtion by the Biſhops demanded, the devout Patriarch decreed, That in the Church-Prayers he ſhould be remembred before the Emperor his Nephew, by the name of the moſt religious and zealous Monk *Anthony*; which was done (God wot) for no good zeal to the poor blind man, but the better to colour the matter with the common people, as if he weary of the World, had voluntarily taken upon him that ſilly profeſſion. Nevertheleſs, within four days after, *Synadenus*, underſtanding them in every place to whiſper among themſelves, and ſecretly to mutter againſt the hard dealing with the old Emperor, who had long reigned over them, and ſo by right was again to do, if his Nephew ſhould chance to die, and that the Eccleſiaſtical Laws enforced no man againſt his will to enter into religious Orders; he therewith enraged, ſent to him certain of his own Confederacy, to exact of him an Oath in writing, That he ſhould never more after that time, ſeek after the Empire, or yet accept of the ſame if it were offered him, neither to ſubſtitute any other; which if he refuſed to do, to put him in fear of his life; and the more to terrifie him, ſet a guard of inſolent barbarous Souldiers over him; for fear of whom, he yielded to do whatſoever they required; and ſo his Oath being ſolemnly conceived into writing (another man leading his hand, becauſe he was blind) he ſigned the ſame with a red Croſs above, and a black Croſs beneath, after the manner of the religious. Having thus lived in darkneſs diſgraced, ſhut up in his Chamber as a man forſaken of the World, with an unſure guard ever to attend him, by the ſpace of two years, it fortuned that the *12th* of *February* towards night (a day in the Greek-Church dedicated to the Vigil of St. *Anthony*, whoſe name they had given him) certain of his Friends that were ſuffered to have acceſs unto him, going as their manner was, once in three or four days to viſit him (among whom was his Daughter, ſometime the Prince of *Servia* his Wife, but as then a Widow, and *Nicephorus Gregoras*, Author of this Hiſtory) he entred with them, as with his Friends, into a familiar diſcourſe of many matters, wherein he ſo deceived the time, that it was paſt midnight before they perceived how the time paſſed. But the Cocks crowing, he brake off the talk, and bidding them farewel, gave them leave to depart, pleaſantly ſaying, That to morrow they would make an end of their diſcourſe: who all thereupon took their leave and departed, no ſign of any ſickneſs as then appearing upon him; and after they were gone, called for meat and did eat; the meat he eat, was certain ſhell-fiſh, for it was with them a faſting-day, and he had not eat any thing; after which, when as he ſhould have drunk a cup of Wine, for the comforting of his old ſtomach, and digeſting of that ſo hard meat, he drank cold water, as his manner was, when he felt any inward heat, to drink the ſame immoderaly; which hurtful manner of diet he then uſing alſo, began by and by to feel a great pain in his ſtomach, and ſo preſently after became very ſick, falling withall into a great looſeneſs of body, ſo that in the ſpace of one quarter of an hour he was glad oftentimes to ariſe, and to go unto an homely Houſe of Office in an inner-Chamber thereby to diſcharge natures burden; where after many Evacuations, ſitting down upon an homely bed faſt by, and not able to recover his own Bed, having as then none to help him, there before it was day, died, after he had reigned 43 years. His death was by many ſtrange ſigns and accidents as it were foretold; firſt a great Eclipſe of the Sun appeared, juſt ſo many days before his death as he had lived years; and after that, another Eclipſe of the Moon; and with it an Earthquake; the days before he died at night, being St. *Anthony* his even, whoſe name his Enemies had thruſt upon him; at which time alſo, the Sea with a great Tempeſt riſing above the wonted Bounds, made divers breaches in the Walls of the City towards the Sea, as if it had been ſome violent Enemy, and overflowed alſo divers Houſes in the City. Many Croſſes and Pinacles were then alſo from the tops of Churches and other high Buildings overthrown; and with them a great Pillar, ſometime one of the Ornaments of the City, ſtanding before the Church, commonly called *the Church of the forty Martyrs*; which being very high, and below burnt and worn away with time, had put many in fear as they paſſed by it, leſt it ſhould have fallen upon them; inſomuch that the Emperor upon a time paſſing that way, was requeſted by ſome of the Nobility there preſent, to ride farther off from it, for fear of falling upon him; who ſmiling at their vain fear, by chance anſwered, *O would to God I might live ſo long as this Pillar will ſtand*; which now falling out according to his Speech gave many of them that had heard him ſo ſay, occaſion to marvel. His dead body was honourably buried in the Monaſtery of *Libe*, which his Mother *Theodora* the Empreſs had not long before new built, and his Obſequies there (after the manner of that time) yearly ſolemnly kept by the ſpace of nine days.

The Turks Kingdom founded by Othoman *in* Aſia, *at ſuch time as the Greek Emperors were at variance betwixt themſelves in* Europe

Thus at length having paſſed through the troubled State of the Greek Empire, during the long Reign of the old Emperor *Andronicus*, the conſiderate Reader may eaſily ſee the cauſes of the declining and ruine alſo of this famous Empire; and how that the Greek Emperors, troubled with their tempeſtuous Affairs nearer home in *Europe*, yea in the very Imperial City it ſelf, and in their own Palaces, were not at leiſure to look over the Strait into *Aſia*, but glad to leave their Territories there unto the weak defence of themſelves. At which time, and even in the midſt of the aforeſaid trouble, *Othoman* on the one ſide, with great induſtry laid the Foundation of his Empire in *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, now the greateſt terror of the World; and then did thoſe things which we now have of him written. The other Princes of the Turks alſo, the Succeſſors of Sultan *Aladin*, at the ſame time on the other ſide, alongſt the River *Meander* encroaching on as faſt; until that at laſt amongſt them they had thruſt the *Greek* Emperors quite out of *Aſia*, and in fine became themſelves, together with the Greek Empire, a Prey unto the *Othoman* Kings, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall more at large appear.

Pruſa *yielded unto the Turks.*

But again to return unto *Othoman* himſelf, who all this while (that old *Andronicus* the Greek Emperor was thus troubled) had with his Son *Orchanes* ſought by all means on every ſide to inlarge his Kingdom; the Garriſons by him left in the two late built Caſtles near unto the great City of *Pruſa*, under the Charge of the two valiant Captains *Actemur* and *Balabanzuck* (as is before declared) having now continued there certain years, had by ſhutting up the paſſages, and ſpoiling of the Country, brought the City into ſuch diſtreſs and penury, that many of the Citizens and other the poor Chriſtians fled into the City, there died of Famine. The reſt now out of all hope to be relieved by the Greek Emperor, not then able to relieve himſelf, came to Compoſition with *Orchanes* (for *Othoman* was then ſick of his old Diſeaſe the Gout) covenanting with him, that they might in ſafety with life and liberty depart, and ſo much of their Goods as they themſelves could carry; and ſo yielded to him the City. Which conditions (as moſt write) were on the Turks behalf well and faithfully performed; yet ſome there be that report them to have been in moſt part by *Orchanes* broken. Thus was *Pruſa*, one of the greateſt Cities of that part of *Aſia*, yielded unto the Turks, in the year of our Lord, 1327. and was afterwards by *Orchanes* made the Royal Seat of the *Othoman* Kings.

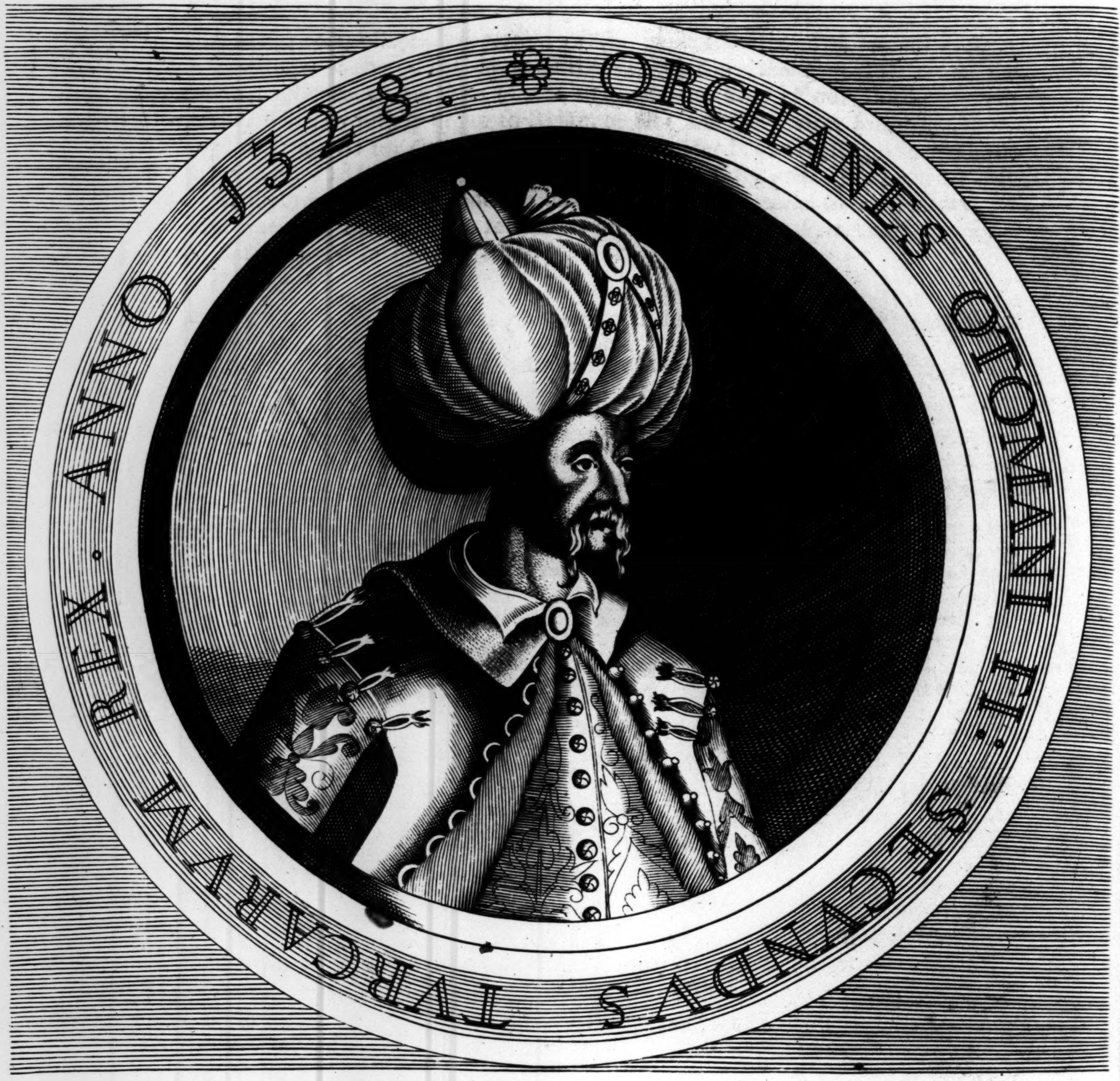
The death of Othoman. Othoman *buried at* Pruſa.

About this time, or very ſhortly after, *Othoman* in the eight and twentieth year of his Reign died, at the age of 69, in the year of our Lord, 1328. and lieth buried at *Pruſa*, where his Tomb is yet at this day to be ſeen, in a certain Chappel of an old Monaſtery in the Caſtle, ſtanding in the midſt of the City, covered with a Mantle of green Chamlet, and a little Tulipant or Turkiſh Hat (ſuch as he uſed to wear) lying over his head, differing from thoſe which the Turks now wear, eſpecially the better ſort of them, ſo great that they can therewith ſcarcely come in at a door. There is alſo another Monument of him to be ſeen at *Suguta*, faſt by the Sepulchre of his Father *Ertogrul*, there made by his Sons in remembrance of him; whereof ſome have reported him to have been there buried. Howbeit the Turks themſelves generally ſuppoſe the true Monument wherein he is interred, to be at *Pruſa*, as is aforeſaid. He was wiſe, politick, valiant, and fortunate, but full of diſſimulation, and ambitious above meaſure; not raſh in his Attempts, and yet very reſolute; what he took in hand, he commonly brought to good effect; to all men he was bountiful and liberal, but eſpecially to his Men of War, and the poor, whom he would many times feed and cloth with his own hands. Of a poor Lordſhip he left a great Kingdom, having ſubdued a great part of the leſſer *Aſia*; and is worthily accounted the firſt Founder of the Turks great Kingdom and Empire. Of him, the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors ever ſince have been called the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, as lineally of him deſcended; and the Turks themſelves *Oſmanidæ*, as the People or Subjects of *Othoman*, or *Oſman*, for ſo he is of the Turks commonly called.

NOte, That in the reckoning up of certain of the great Chriſtian Princes and Prelates of the ſame time, at the end of every of the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors Lives, the firſt and greateſt number following their Names, ſheweth the Year of our Lord, wherein ſuch an Emperor, King, or Biſhop began to Reign, or Sit; and the number following, how long he reigned or ſate; As for example, *Andronicus* the elder began to Reign in the Eaſt, in the Year of Grace, 1282. and reigned 43 years; and ſo of the reſt. Wherein we ſeek not the exact Computation unto a month or day (as not much material to our Hiſtory, or any part of our purpoſe) but only the reaſonable view of the great Princes of the forepaſſed Times, as they lived in Ages together.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Othoman.	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	Andronicus Paleologus *the elder.*	1282.	43.
			Andronicus Paleologus *the younger.*	1325.	29.
		Of the Weſt	Albertus *of* Auſtria.	1298.	10.
			Henry *of* Lucelbourg.	1308.	6.
			Lewis *the Fourth, of* Bavaria.	1314.	32.
	Kings,	*Of* England	Edward *the Firſt.*	1272.	34.
			Edward *the Second.*	1307.	20.
			Edward *the Third.*	1327.	50.
		Of France	Philip *the Faire.*	1286.	28.
			Lewis.	1314.	2.
			Philip *the Long.*	1316.	5.
			Charle *the Faire:*	1321.	7.
		Of Scotland	John Baliol.	1292.	
			Robert Bruce.	1306,	24.
	Biſhops of Rome,		Boniface *the* VIII.	1295.	8.
			Benedict *the* XI.	1304.	2.
			Clement *the* V.	1306.	11.
			John *the* XXII.	1317.	18.

The


ORCHANES OTOMANI FI · SECVNDVS TVRCARVM REX · ANNO 1328 ·

Suscipit Orchanes *defuncti Sceptra Parentis:*
Major ut ingenio, sic magis Arte valens.
Bithynos, Phrygiamq domat, Prusamq, Superbam:
Et populos late (Marte favente) premit.
Sic lætus tantis Asiam turbaſse ruinis;
Transit in Europam, Callipolimque capit.
Rident interea Græci sua damna: sed ecce
Dum sua contemnunt, in sua fata ruunt:

His Fathers glorious Race now being run,
The politick Orchanes *mounts the Throne:*
Bithynia, Phrygia, Prusa, farr and neare,
All by his prosperous Armes subjected were:
Proud of his Asian spoiles, his Banners spread
To Europe, ore the beauteous Nicomede;
Meanwhile the Greeks th' impending Tempest scorne,
And are by th' mighty Torrent overborne.

The LIFE of
ORCHANES or URCHAN,
Second King of the Turks.

AFTER the death of *Othoman*, his two Sons, *Orchanes* (whom the Turks call *Urchan*) and *Aladin* his Brother, having with great Solemnity enterred their Father at *Pruſa*, immediately ſummoned a Parliament, whereunto both the Brethren came accompanied with the chief of their Nobility. This Parliament was called eſpecially, for the eſtabliſhing of the Succeſſion in this new Kingdom, and for the diviſion of *Othomans* Treaſure and Goods, betwixt them two, his Sons. But upon view taken, there was no Mony, Plate, or Jewels found in the Kings Coffers, for that he had in his life time moſt bountifully beſtowed it upon his men of War; ſo that all the Wealth he left unto them his Sons, was, the honourable remembrance of his Life for them to imitate, large Dominions for their Poſſeſſions, ſtore of ready Horſes and Armor fit for ſervice; with great Herds of Beaſts and Cattel for Houſhold Proviſion. Whereupon *Orchanes* demanded of his Brother *Aladin*, what order he thought was beſt to be taken with thoſe things by their Father ſo left? To whom *Aladin* anſwered, That it was moſt requiſite, firſt to eſtabliſh a King in their Fathers Kingdom; which like a good Shepherd might govern and defend his Subjects, rule and maintain his men of War, providing all things meet for defence of his Kingdom; And that unto him of right belonged all theſe other things by their Father left, as the Patrimony of his Succeſſor, for the common good and maintenance of his Eſtate. As for mine own part (ſaid *Aladin*) I claim no intereſt therein, you being my elder Brother, and ſo unto me inſtead of a Father; by whom alſo you have been theſe two years, as it were already put in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, all things being committed to your Government, during the time of his late ſickneſs. This modeſty of *Aladin* was greatly commended of all the ancient Counſellors; by means whereof, the Kingdom in all peaceable manner deſcended to *Orchanes*. In regard of which courteſie, *Orchanes* would gladly have made *Aladin* his Brother Preſident of his Council; which Honour he would in no wiſe accept, but requeſted rather that he would give him the Lordſhip of *Fodore* in *Tekences* Country; which *Orchanes* frankly granted. In which Lordſhip of *Fodore*, *Aladin* moſt part lived a private and quiet life, and afterwards built two *Mahometan* Churches, and an Abbey at *Pruſa*, there yet at this day to be ſeen.

The wealth that Othoman *left unto his two Sons* Orchanes *and* Aladin.

Some Latine Hiſtoriographers otherwiſe report this beginning of *Orchanes* his Reign; as that *Othoman* ſhould have three Sons, and that *Orchanes* the youngeſt obtained the Kingdom by murthering of his other Brethren. A practice of late much uſed amongſt the Turkiſh Princes, but not before the time of *Bajazet* the firſt of that name, who firſt of the Turkiſh Monarchs embrued his hands with his Brothers Blood; where before, they uſed all brotherly love one to another, as the moſt probable Hiſtories collected out of the Turks own Chronicles affirm.

When that barbarous manner of murthering their Brethren firſt began among the Turkiſh Sultans.

The Chriſtian Princes and Captains, preſently upon the death of *Othoman* recovered the City of *Nice*, with divers other Caſtles and Forts, out of the hands of the Turks; as it commonly chanceth, that Dominions lately won with great peril, are ſoon again loſt, the Conqueror dying before there be a firm Government eſtabliſhed. Amongſt other ſorts by the Chriſtians repoſſeſſed, the Caſtle of *Tzuprichiſer*, ſituate upon the paſſages of the River *Sangarius*, moſt grieved the Turks, for thereby their paſſage into that part of *Bithynia* was much impeached. Wherefore *Orchanes* deſirous to recover this Caſtle, diſguiſed himſelf with a few other of his beſt Souldiers, in the apparel of Chriſtian Merchants, and came to the Caſtle, craving leave to paſs as Merchants; the Warders of the Caſtle verily ſuppoſing them by their Attire to be Merchants, opened the Gates, and let them into the Caſtle; who preſently drew their Swords, ſlew the Warders, and ſo by force poſſeſſed the Caſtle, to the great benefit of the Turks, and the hurt of the poor Chriſtians yet left in the Country of *Bithynia*. For they now having opened a way over the River *Sangarius*, and as it were broken down the ſtrongeſt defence of that ſide of the Greek Empire, at their pleaſure forraged the Country in ſuch ſort, as that the great City of *Nice* (for want of Victuals to relieve ſo great a multitude as for fear of the Turks was fled out of the Country into it) was brought to great extremity and want. For the relief whereof, and for the repulſing again of the Turks, *Andronicus* the young Emperor, who then commanded, with ſuch an Army as he was then able to raiſe, paſſed himſelf in perſon over the Strait of *Conſtantinople*, into *Aſia*; the greateſt Strength of his Army conſiſting in two thouſand choice Horſemen; the reſt as well Horſe as Foot, being for the moſt part Artificers taken up in the City, men altogether unacquainted with Arms (who in token of their cowardiſe, and that they were more mindful of Flight than of Fight, carried over with them almoſt as many long Boats and ſuch other ſmall Veſſels, as they were men, to be ready to receive them at ſuch time as they ſhould flie) or elſe abject Raſcals, taken up here and there, men of whom no great thing was to be expected, and of all others moſt unfit for ſo great a Prince (as was the Emperor) to commit the defence of his Perſon and Honour unto. But *Orchanes* hearing of his coming, ſent certain of his moſt expert Captains, to forelay the ſtrait paſſages of the Country whereby the Emperor was to paſs; following alſo himſelf after with his Army, of purpoſe to encounter the Emperor. Who in three days march after his landing in *Aſia*, being come to *Philochrene*, a little Town in *Bithynia*, and underſtanding that *Orchanes* having before taken the Straits, lay not far off encamped with his Army; he there at *Philochrene* pitched his Tents, and ſtaied that night alſo. But the next morning, the Sun as yet ſcarcely riſen, he ſeeing divers Companies of the Turks coming downg from the Mountains

The City of Nice *with divers other Caſtles recovered from the Turks after the death of* Othoman.

faſt by, put his Army into order of Battle, and ſo ſet forward to meet them; where to begin the Fight, the Turks Archers freely beſtowed their piercing ſhot amongſt the Chriſtians, ſtill keeping themſelves aloof off, ſo to do the more harm. Which the Emperor miſtaking, and ſuppoſing that their keeping off to have proceeded of fear, encouraged therewith, commanded certain looſe Companies diſorderly to march forward, and to skirmiſh with them, which his more expert Captains not liking, would have otherwiſe perſwaded him, as to have kept his Strength together againſt the danger of the Battel. Nevertheleſs, ſuch was his youthful heat, as that he could by no means be otherwiſe intreated, but that forward needs they muſt. But all the forenoon ſpent in this light and tumultuary kind of skirmiſhing, and the Sun at the higheſt now ſhining very hot, *Orchanes* from the top of the Mountains perceiving the Chriſtians well wearied with the heat of the day and long skirmiſhing, came down from the Hills with a world of men following him; who with a moſt hideous cry, charged the Chriſtians on every ſide, ſome a far off with their Arrows, and ſome hand to hand with their Swords and other Weapons; whoſe aſſault the Chriſtians at the firſt moſt valiantly received and a great while right worthily defended themſelves, having wounded and ſlain a number of their Enemies. Which hard Fight was on both ſides couragiouſly maintained, until the approaching of the night, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; at which time, the Chriſtians weary of the long Fight, and oppreſſed with the multitude of their Enemies, diſorderly retiring toward their Trenches, and hardly purſued by the Turks, received there a great loſs, as well of their Horſemen, as of their Foot; but by the coming on of the night, the Battle was at length ended with uncertain Victory. Among others there hurt, the Emperor himſelf was wounded in the Foot with an Arrow. That night happened a woful miſhap, and a manifeſt token of God his Wrath; for *Orchanes* having to his coſt made proof of the Strength and Valour of the Chriſtians, and doubting they would the next day come on further into the Country, left three hundred Horſemen as Scouts, to attend the Enemies removing; and himſelf with his Army retired before hand to take advantage of ſuch places as the Chriſtians were to paſs by. But the Emperor in the Evening leaving his Camp, and going to *Philochrene*, a little Town faſt by, the better to have his Wound dreſſed; the reſt of the Army underſtanding of his departure, and ſuppoſing him to have fled for fear (as if *Orchanes* with a great Army would that night have ſlain them all) fled themſelves alſo out of the Camp, every Mothers Son, ſome to their long Boats and other little Veſſels they had for that purpoſe brought over the Strait; ſome haſting toward the Town Gates, were by the multitude of others runing headlong after them, overborn and trodden to death; otherſome hanging at one anothers Tail, like a Chain, got ſome part of them up to the top of the Rampiers of the Town; otherſome drawn back by them that hung upon them, falling down together by heaps, and trod upon by other, there periſhed; ſome (as is reported) died there for very fear, no man either chaſing or hurting them, ſo weak is mans Courage, when God withdraweth from him his Strength. But in the morning the Sun ariſing, the three hundred Turks left for Scouts, perceiving the Flight of the Chriſtians, entred the forſaken Camp, where they found Horſes, Armor, and empty Tents, yea the Emperors own Furniture, and his Horſes ready ſadled; of all which, two hundred of theſe Turks took the Spoil at their pleaſure, and the other hundred purſuing the diſperſed Chriſtians, like heartleſs men wandring here and there, ſlew a great number of them. The Emperor himſelf ſeeing his Army thus (as it were by the hand of God) overthrown and diſperſed, took ſhipping alſo, and ſo returned to *Conſtantinople*. After whoſe departure, the Turks ſeiſing upon many Sea Towns alongſt the Coaſt of *Bithynia*, and there ſeating themſelves, laid heavy Tributes upon the other Country Towns and Villages; for the benefit whereof they ſpared to deſtroy them, together with the Inhabitants, which they might at their pleaſure full eaſily have done.

The Emperor wounded.

Now lay the great City of *Nice* in the Suds, the Enemy commanding all the Country about it, living as ſick men do by hope, and holding out only upon hope of a thouſand Horſemen which the Emperor (notwithſtanding his late diſcomfiture) had promiſed forthwith to ſend, there to lie in Garriſon for the ſuppreſſing of the Turks. Of which aid ſo promiſed *Orchanes* underſtanding, furniſhed eight hundred of his Horſemen after the manner of the Chriſtians; and fetching a great compaſs about, came at length into the high way that leadeth from *Conſtantinople* to *Nice*, and ſo trooped directly towards the City, as if they had come from *Conſtantinople*. At the ſame time he ſent three hundred of his other Horſemen in the habit of Turks, to forrage and ſpoil the Country as much as they could within the view of the City, now for want of Victuals brought into great extremity; which whilſt they were a doing, the other eight hundred Horſemen in the Attire of Chriſtians, following upon them, as if it had been by chance, charged them, and in the ſight of the Citizens put them to Flight; which done, theſe Counterfeit Horſemen returned directly again towards *Nice*. The Citizens, which with great pleaſure had in the mean time from the Walls ſeen the moſt part of the skirmiſh, and how they had put the Turks to Flight, ſuppoſing them to be the Conſtantinopolitan Horſemen, whom they dayly expected, with great joy opened the Gates of the City to receive them as their Friends. But they being entred the Gates, preſently ſet upon the Chriſtians, fearing no ſuch matter; and being ſeconded with the other three hundred, which in diſſembling manner had fled before, and were now ſpeedily returned, bringing alſo with them other Companies of Turks, before laid in ſecret ambuſh not far off, they won the great and famous City of *Nice*, which they have ever ſince until this day poſſeſſed; the Spoil whereof was given unto the Souldiers for a Prey, and the Citizens all lead away into miſerable Captivity and Thraldom. Whilſt *Orchanes* was thus buſied, his other Captains did with great Courage and Succeſs inlarge his Dominions on all ſides, dayly incroaching upon their weak Neighbors the Chriſtians. *Cunger-Alpes* one of his valiant Captains, ſubdued the Country of *Mudrun*, or *Modrin*, in *Phrygia*; and *Bolli* in *Paphlagonia*; appointing one *Abdurachman* a man of great Valour, to govern the Country. And at the ſame time another of his old Captains called *Accecozza*, brought *Candara* in *Paphlagonia*, and *Ermeni*, a Country near unto the Mountain *Horminius*, into the Turkiſh Subjection; placing Garriſons in all the Caſtles and Forts which he had won, of whom ſome part of thoſe Countries was after called *Cozza Ilini*, that is to ſay, *The old mans Country*. So that *Orchanes* his Kingdom grew dayly greater and greater, as well by the induſtry of his Chieftains, as of himſelf.

The City of Nice *ſurpriſed by the Turks.*

About this time it fortuned, the Captains Son of *Scamandria* (a Town not far from the ruines of the ancient City of *Troy*, and about a days journy from the renowned Caſtle of *Abydus* to depart out of this World; unto whoſe Funerals, being kept in the Country, whilſt his woful Father the Captain with his Friends out of *Scamandria* reſorted, the old crafty Turk *Accecozza* lying always in wait, as a Fox for his Prey, ſuddenly ſet upon thoſe heavy Chriſtians, whereof he ſlew the moſt part, and took the reſt Priſoners. Amongſt whom he alſo took the Captain of *Scamandria*, with his Caſtle and Country; whom he afterwards led Priſoner unto the Caſtle of *Abydus*, which is one of the moſt famous Caſtles ſituate upon the Sea Coaſt of *Aſia*, over againſt *Seſtus* in *Europe*; where the Sea of *Helleſpontus* by the narrow Strait falleth into the Sea of *Ægeum*; two Caſtles much renowned by reaſon of their nigh Situation, and yet placed in divers parts of the World; eternized alſo by the ever living Wits of Poets, for the adventurous paſſage of *Leander* over the fret of the Sea, to his Love *Hero*; which Caſtles are now called *Dardanelly*. *Accecozza* having brought the Captive Captain of *Scamandria* (lately a man of great account in that Country) ſo near as he could unto the Caſtle of *Abydus*, offered to ſet him at liberty if they would ſurrender their Caſtle, otherwiſe they ſhould ſee him cruelly ſlain before their Faces. Theſe Turkiſh threats nothing moved them of *Abydus*, more than to ſay, That they might if they would cut off his Head, ſeeth him and eat him, but the Caſtle they intended not to deliver. The ſame Captain was afterward by the commandment of *Orchanes* profered to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* to be redeemed, which he refuſed; yet at the laſt he was ranſomed by the Governor of *Nicomedia*, and again ſet at liberty. *Accecozza* of long time held the Caſtle of *Scamandria*; yet ſo continually moleſted with the Garriſon of *Abydus*, and men of War ſent from *Conſtantinople*, that he with his Followers were glad for the moſt part to live on horſeback, to be alwaies in more readineſs againſt the attempt of their Enemies. The Captain of the Caſtle of *Abydus* had at that time a fair young Gentlewoman to his Daughter, who (as ſhe ſaid) chanced to dream (what ſhe had happily waking for the moſt part wiſhed) That being fallen into a deep myrie Ditch, out of which ſhe could by no means help her ſelf, a luſty young Gallant coming by, did not only help her out, but alſo in friendly made her clean, and afterwards apparelled her in rich and coſtly Attire. The danger of this dream much troubled the tender Gentlewoman, but the image of the young Gentleman was ſo well phantaſied in her brain, that waking, ſhe thought ſhe ſtill ſaw him, and ſleeping longed ſore for what ſhe ſaw not. Thus whilſt this young Gentlewoman with great devotion entertained this imaginary man, the old grayheaded Turk *Accecozza* came, and with a ſtrong Company beſieged her Fathers Caſtle of *Abydus*. During which Siege, this Gentlewoman oftentimes went up into the high Turret of the Caſtle, from whence ſhe might at pleaſure ſee the Martial Deeds on both ſides, and take full view of all the Enemies Camp. But ſee the chance, as *Abdurachman* with great Courage and no leſs Bravery, approached near to the Siege of the Caſtle, ſhe thought (upon the firſt ſight of him) that he was the very man whom ſhe had before dreamed of, and whoſe Idea was in her Heart ſo deeply imprinted; wherefore ſhe fully reſolved to perform what ſhe had without witneſs with her ſelf determined. And waiting another time when *Abdurachman* approached the Caſtle, ſhe caſt down to his Feet a Letter written in Greek, and made faſt unto a Stone; which Letter he taking up, delivered the ſame to the General *Accecozza*. Wherein after ſhe had diſcovered her paſſionate affection, ſhe promiſed to deliver the Caſtle into *Abdurachmans* Power, if the Turks would raiſe their Siege, and *Abdurachman* himſelf with ſome few would ſecretly return to the Caſtle in the dead time of the night, and then follow her direction. *Accecozza* like an old Fox, which is ſeldom taken in the trap, gave ſmall credit to thoſe loving lines, for fear of Treaſon; yet for ſo much as you are the man (ſaid he to *Abdurachman*) whom ſhe upon ſpecial liking hath made choice of for the purpoſe, will you adventure your Perſon? And he armed with a manly Courage, a ſurer defence than any Armor of proof, incited alſo with hope of Honour, Riches, and Beauty, all worthy prizes for Martial minds; ſaid he would undertake the Atchievement of that Exploit, if it were his pleaſure ſo. Whereupon *Accecozza*, becauſe nothing ſhould be ſuſpected by his ſudden departure, gave a ſharp Aſſault to the Caſtle, as if he would have taken it by fine force, yet in the end retired, and preſently brake up his Siege, as deſpairing of the winning thereof. The Defendants of the Caſtle thinking themſelves delivered of a great danger, greatly rejoyced; and as in the like caſe it oftentimes falleth out, in their great jollity ſurcharged themſelves that night with exceſs both of Meat and Drink. But *Abdurachman* at the time in the Letter appointed, put himſelf upon the way with certain ſelect Souldiers, and about Midnight came to the appointed place of the Caſtle, where the young Gentlewoman was attending his coming; and he by her means was conveyed into the Caſtle, and ſo by her directed to the Porters Lodge; where he ſlew the Porter being faſt aſleep, and opening the Gates, let in his Followers; which went directly to the Captains Lodging, and there took him Priſoner, being before their coming overtaken with Wine, and faſt aſleep. Thus was the Caſtle of *Abydus* ſurpriſed by the Turks, from whence they had a fair proſpect out of *Aſia* into *Europe*. The Captain with his fair Daughter, and the greateſt part of the rich Spoil of the Caſtle, was delivered to *Abdurachman*, to be preſented to *Orchanes* at his Court, then lying at *Neapolis*. Who wonderful glad of ſo good news, gave the fair Gentlewoman, with the greateſt part of the Prey to *Abdurachman*. The Poſterity of this man (as they ſay) yet remains among the Turks. Amongſt others of the Warlike Captains there was alſo one *Cararachman*, whoſe name was ſo dreadful to them of *Conſtantinople*, that when their Children cried, they would terrifie them to make them hold their peace, by ſaying, *Cararachman* comes. Not long after, the two valiant aforenamed worthy Captains, *Cunger-Alpes* and *Accecozza* died. After whoſe death, *Orchanes* made his Sons, *Solyman* and *Amurath*, Lords and Governors of thoſe Countries and Provinces. And intending (by the perſwaſion of *Abdurachman*) to beſiege *Nicomedia*, he levied a great Army, wherewith he took divers ſmall Caſtles and Forts as he marched towards the City. *Nicomedia* was at that time governed by an honourable Lady, Kinſwoman unto *Andronicus* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*; but ſhe ſeeing her City beſieged by the Turks, and doubting her own Forces not to be able to hold out the Siege, by a truſty Meſſenger offered to yield the City unto *Orchanes*, upon condition, That ſhe with ſo many Citizens as would, might in ſafety depart with their Lives, Liberty, and Goods; which being granted, ſhe with ſo many as would follow her, departed out of the City by night, taking ſhipping for *Conſtantinople*.

Abydus *beſieged by the Turks.*

Nicomedia *yielded unto Orchanes.*

Orchanes having taken *Nicomedia*, made his Son

Solyman Governor of the ſame. The Churches of the Chriſtians he converted unto Turkiſh Meſchitas or Temples. The greateſt Church (being of wonderful Beauty) he converted into a Colledge or School, for the learned Profeſſors and Students of *Mahomets* Law, which is yet called in *Nicomedia*, *Orchanes* his School or Colledge. And becauſe the Country near unto *Nicomedia*, lying upon the Sea, was ever in danger to be ſpoiled by the Gallies of *Conſtantinople*, he placed in thoſe Countries divers of his moſt experienced Souldiers to defend the ſame, appointing to every of them Poſſeſſions and Penſions, according to their degrees and merit. After this *Orchanes* by the counſel of his Brother *Aladin*, commanded all his men of War to wear white Caps, thereby to be known from others, which commonly wore red. Such manner of Caps the *Janizaries* uſe at this day. The Turks alſo in *Orchanes* Reign, and long time after, uſed not to cut or ſhave their Beards, but did wear them long; ſo that if the King would diſgrace any man, he would in his diſpleaſure command his Beard to be cut or ſhaven. The manner of cutting and ſhaving their Beards which they now uſe, they learned of the *Italians*; of whom they have alſo borrowed many other faſhions, not only differing, but quite contrary to their ancient Manners and Cuſtoms. *Orchanes* about this time removed his Court to *Nice*, where he lay a long time after. There he built a ſumptuous Church, appointing a Preacher to preach to the People every Friday; he erected in *Nice* alſo two fair Abbies, in the one of which, he with his own hands ſerved the Strangers and Poor the firſt dinner. He was the firſt that builded Abbies or Monaſteries among the Turks; whoſe example moſt of his Succeſſors have imitated, and is amongſt them uſed unto this day.

Orchanes *removeth his Court to* **Nice.**

The Government of *Nicomedia Orchanes* committed to his eldeſt Son *Solyman* (as is before ſaid) a Prince of great towardlineſs; giving him in great charge to have a vigilant Eye to the Towns of *Taraxa*, *Govinuca* and *Mudurne*, which were nigh unto *Nicomedia*, yet in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians; all which Towns, with the Countries adjoyning, *Solyman* in ſhort time got without force, by compoſition. This *Solyman* was of a Princely Diſpoſition, ſo tempering Juſtice with Clemency in his Government, that many Chriſtians allured with his Vertues, became of his Religion, and gladly put themſelves under his Subjection; the politick Laws of the Country he neither abrogated nor changed, but maintained as they had been of ancient time accuſtomed, whereby he greatly won the Hearts of the People. *Amurath* his younger Son, *Orchanes* made Lord and Governor of *Pruſa*, after he had removed his Court to *Nice*. And the Caſtle of *Chara-chiſar*, with the Seigniory thereto belonging, he gave to his Couſin *Artemure*, the Son of his Uncle *Jundus*.

Orchanes *invadeth the Country of* **Carasina.**

There was at this time in *Orchanes* Court a Noble young Gentleman called *Turſon-Beg*, the Son of *Dharaſis* King of *Charaſia*; by whoſe perſwaſion *Orchanes* in Perſon himſelf with a ſtrong Army, made an Expedition into that Country; for that his Fathers Subjects after the death of the King his Father, denied their Obedience to his elder Brother, wiſhing rather to have *Turſon* for their Soveraign. In whoſe behalf *Orchanes* taking that journy, ſurpriſed by the way many Caſtles and Towns to his own uſe. *Orchanes* was no ſooner entred the Country of *Charaſia*, but *Turſons* elder Brother fled to *Pergamum*, whither the Turks ſhortly purſued him; where *Turſon* deſirous to ſpeak with his Brother, unwarily approaching the City, was wounded with an Arrow ſhot from the Walls, and there ſlain. With whoſe death *Orchanes* was ſo greatly offended, that he threatned to deſtroy the whole Country with Fire and Sword, if they did not by a day prefixed, generally ſubmit themſelves to his mercy. The People terrified with this proclamation of ſo great a Prince already in Arms, yielded themſelves unto his Subjection. The Kings Son alſo that was fled into *Pergamum*, upon reaſonable conditions yielded himſelf unto *Orchanes*, who ſent him to *Pruſa*, where after he had there lived two years, he died of the Plague; after whoſe death *Orchanes* made his Son *Solyman* Prince of *Caraſina*. Neither is this taking in of the Country of *Caraſina* to be accounted a ſmall Conqueſt; one of the greateſt Houſes of the Turks the Succeſſors of the *Iconian* Sultan *Aladin*, now thereby taking end, and their Dominions (which were not ſmall, as containing almoſt *Lydia*, with ſome good parts of *Miſia*, *Troas*, and the leſſer *Phrygia*) now united unto the *Othoman* Kingdom. *Orchanes* upon his return, for the good ſucceſs of this journy, built a Church and Monaſtery at *Pruſa*, placing therein religious men, with all diligence ſought for out of all his Kingdom; of which Religious the Turks write many Fables, better worth the ſmiling at, than the ſerious reporting. Hitherto the Kingdom of *Othoman* and *Orchanes* his Son, was contained within the bounds of the leſſer *Aſia*, which the Turks call *Anatolia*.

The Country of **Caraſina** *yielded unto* **Orchanes.**

Now it reſteth to be ſhewed, upon what occaſion *Orchanes* or rather his Son *Solyman Baſſa*, as it were fatally, with a ſmall power firſt paſſed over *Helleſpontus* into *Europe*; where they and their Succeſſors have by little and little ſo enlarged their Dominions, that they have now long ago quite overthrown the *Grecian* Empire, with many other great Kingdoms, and are at this preſent a terror to all Chriſtian Princes bordering upon them; to the perpetual Infamy of the Greeks, who for want of courage, and buſied with civil diſcord, never ſought in time to impeach their greatneſs.

Orchanes having now ſo augmented his Kingdom, that he might from many parts thereof out of *Aſia* take view of the pleaſant borders of *Europe*, from whence he was excluded only by the narrow Sea of *Helleſpontus*; and continually incited with the inſatiable and reſtleſs deſire of Soveraignty, began to deviſe how he might poſſibly paſs that ſtrait Sea, and ſet foot in *Europe* another part of the World. Which his conceit one day he imparted to his Son *Solyman*; who preſently anſwered his Father, That if it would pleaſe him to give him leave, he would not doubt to paſs the Strait of *Helleſpontus*; and in time to plant the *Mahometan* Religion in thoſe Countries of *Europe* poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians. Which anſwer of *Solyman* much pleaſed his Father, who gave him leave to depart into his Country, and in that matter to proceed further, as he thought beſt, and as occaſion ſhould beſt ſerve. *Solyman* taking leave of his Father, took his journey into *Caraſina*, where riding up and down the Country, as it had been for his pleaſure only, he made his way to the place where it is thought the famous City of *Troy* ſometime ſtood; where yet (as the Turks and ſome others ſay) are to be ſeen the wonderful ruins of that unfortunate City by the Sea ſide. In this place *Solyman* ſtood ſtill a great while, as it were in a ſtudy, forecaſting (as it ſeemed) ſome great matter, without ſpeaking one word to any of his Followers. When one of his Chieftains called *Ezes-Beg*, to put him out of his deep thoughts, boldly ſaid unto him, My Lord and great Soveraign, what ſtrange thing is this, that you are ſo deeply drowned in theſe your melancholy thoughts? undoubtedly it is ſome great matter that you are ſtudying upon. Truth it is, (ſaid *Solyman*) for I was thinking how it were poſſible to paſs over this

Sea of *Helleſpontus* into the borders of *Europe*, and to take view of that Country, and ſo to return undiſcovered. If this be the matter, (ſaid *Ezes-Beg* joyning unto him one *Fazil-Beg*, a man of no leſs valour than himſelf) we two will by the power of God perform unto you this Enterpriſe. Then was *Solyman* deſirous to know of them, about what place they would paſs over; which they well knowing the Sea coaſt, ſhewed him not far off. Wherefore *Solyman* giving them leave, they departed; and ſhortly after making a little Boat, or rather as ſome ſuppoſe a Raffe, paſſed over *Helleſpontus* by night, and arrived in *Europe* ſide, near unto a Caſtle of the Turks, called *Zemenic* or *Zembenic*, but of the Greeks *Coiridocaſtron*, that is to ſay, *The Hogs Caſtle*, not far from *Seſtus*; where going aſhore, they took Priſoner a Greek in a Vineyard near unto the Caſtle, whom they finding to be a good ſenſible Fellow, without delay put him into their Boat or Raffe, and returning back again, preſented him to *Solyman*. This Chriſtian Captive *Solyman* entertained courteouſly, giving him great Gifts, and rich Apparel, to diſcover unto him the Eſtate of his Country; and in fine, learned of him a means to take the Caſtle *Zembenic*, before the Chriſtians ſhould thereof be awar. For atchievement whereof, certain Boats were ſpeedily made ready by *Solymans* Commandment, and he with eighty choſen Souldiers eaſily paſſed over in them by night, with their Chriſtian Guide the Greek; for in that place, the Strait betwixt *Aſia* and *Europe* is not paſt an *Italian* mile over. This Guide brought *Solyman* directly to the aforeſaid Caſtle, where was a great Dunghil, ſo high, that from the top thereof *Solyman* with his Souldiers eaſily got into the Caſtle, which they won without any great reſiſtance; for it was then Harveſt time, and moſt part of the People were in the Vineyards, or treading out of their Corn all night, as the uſe of thoſe Countries is. *Solyman* thus poſſeſſed of the Caſtle of *Zembenic*, uſed no extremity againſt the Inhabitants thereof, ſeeking rather by courteſie to gain their good Wills, than by extremity to force them to his; yet ſuch Gentlemen as he took, with ſome others alſo of the better ſort, he ſent by ſhipping into *Aſia*, and by the ſame Ships returned Souldiers as faſt as he could into *Europe*; ſo that he had in one day two hundred Souldiers more brought over unto him; and manning ſuch ſmall Veſſels as he had left about the Caſtle, ſent *Ezes-Beg* alongſt the coaſt on *Europe* ſide, to burn ſuch ſhipping or Veſſels as he could find, leſt the Chriſtians ſhould by them hinder his paſſage upon the Strait of *Helleſpontus*. So in a few days *Solyman* had tranſported into *Europe* two thouſand good Souldiers of the Turks, whom he ſo governed, that they did not in any violent ſort injury to the vulgar Chriſtians, by reaſon whereof the common People began to like reaſonable well of the Turks, and to converſe with them without fear. This was the firſt coming over of the Turks into *Europe*, with purpoſe there to conquer and inhabit, under the fortune of the *Othoman* Kings. For albeit that ſome of that Nation had at ſundry times before come over, as men ſeeking after Spoil, or otherwiſe ſent for, yea ſometimes by the Greek Emperors themſelves; yet never ſtaid they long, but having done what they came for, or elſe loſt themſelves, returned back again into *Aſia*; until that now conducted by *Solyman*, and poſſeſſed of the little Caſtle of *Zembenic* (as is aforeſaid) they there took ſo faſt footing, as that they and their Poſterity after them, were never thence to be ſince that time removed; but ſtill more and more encroaching upon the Chriſtians, have unto their *Aſian* Kingdom joyned a great part of *Europe* alſo, to the terror of the reſt, that yet remaineth, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall (if God will) at large appear.

The Caſtle of Maditus taken by the Turks.

About two miles from *Zembenic* in *Cherſoneſus* was another Caſtle called *Maito*, or more truly *Maditus*, which *Solyman* alſo took; ſo that now he had gotten two Caſtles in *Europe*, both which he ſtrongly manned. After which time, the Turks in great numbers came out of *Aſia* into *Europe* over that narrow Strait of *Helleſpontus*, to dwell in *Cherſoneſus*; and *Solyman* inſtead of them, to make room for his Turks, ſent Chriſtians out of *Europe* to be placed amongſt the Turks in *Aſia*. The report of this coming over of the Turks into *Cherſoneſus*, and of the taking of the Caſtle of *Zembenic*, carried in poſt to *Conſtantinople*, was ſufficient to have ſtirred up any provident or careful men, preſently to have taken up Arms for the recovery of the loſt Caſtle, and the driving out again of the barbarous Enemies out of *Europe*, before they had gathered any greater Strength, or ſetled themſelves in thoſe places; but ſuch was the careleſs negligence and great ſecurity of the proud Greeks, that inſtead thereof, they to extenuate the greatneſs of the loſs, commonly ſaid, That there was but a Hogſty loſt; alluding unto the name of the Caſtle; and vainly (as ſaid a grave Father of their own) jeſting at that was not to be jeſted at, and laughing at that was not to be laughed at, but lamented for, as in few years it proved; their fooliſh laughter being not without good cauſe converted into moſt bitter tears.

Callipolis taken by the Turks.

Solymans Strength ſo ſtill increaſing by the dayly coming over of the Turks, he proceeded further to ſpoil the Country of *Cherſoneſus*, almoſt as far as *Callipolis*, diſtant from the Caſtle *Zembenic* about two and twenty miles; after which pleaſant City the proud Turk began now to long. Which the Governor thereof perceiving by the Turks continual incroaching upon him, raiſed what power he was able to make, and ſo went out againſt them; all the reſt of the Greeks in the mean time lying ſtill, as if they had been aſleep, or that the matter had not concerned them; but meeting the Turks, he was by them (after a great conflict) overthrown, and for ſafeguard of his life glad to flie into his City; after whom the Turks following, ſpoiled the Country round about, and in their return, by plain force took the City, together with the Caſtle alſo; which happened in the year of our Lord 1358. Where the madneſs of the Greeks was again more than before to be wondred at; for the news of the loſs of *Callipolis* being brought to *Conſtantinople*, the People there made ſmall account thereof, although it was indeed a right great loſs, and much concerned the State; but to extenuate the matter, when they had any talk thereof, in jeſting wiſe commonly ſaid, That the Turks had but taken from them a Pottle of Wine. But by taking of ſuch Hogſties and Pottles of Wine (as they termed it) the Turks in a few years after had gone ſo far in *Thracia*, that *Amurath* (the ſame *Solymans* Nephew which now took from the Greeks the City of *Callipolis*) even in the heart as it were of the Greek Empire, placed his Royal Seat at *Hadrianople*; and immediately after him, *Bajazet* his Son (having ſubdued all the Country even to the Walls of *Conſtantinople*) for certain years laid hard Siege unto the Imperial City it ſelf; and had no doubt then carried it, had not the great expedition of the mighty Tartar Prince *Tamerlane* (unto *Bajazet* fatal) in the mean time happened; whereby (God ſo appointing it) the proſperous ſucceedings of the Turks were for a ſpace well ſtaied, that they ſhould not before the time by him prefixed, devour the Reliques of the Greek Empire. And it were to be wiſhed, that the Chriſtians of our time alſo (by their example warned) would

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at length awake out of their dead ſleep; who of late hath loſt unto the ſame Enemy, not the Caſtle of *Zembenic*, or the City of *Callipolis*, but whole Kingdoms, as *Hungary* and *Cyprus*, and are ſtill fair in the way; I ſay no more for grief, and foreboding of evil fortune. But again to our purpoſe; *Solyman* having made this proſperous entrance into *Europe*, and there got ſtrong footing, by ſpeedy Meſſengers certified his Father what he had done, and that it was expedient for him with all ſpeed to ſend unto him a great ſupply of men of War, as well for the ſure defence and keeping of thoſe Caſtles and Forts by him already gotten, as for the further invaſion of the Country. This meſſage was wonderful welcome unto *Orchanes*, and whereas many Families of the *Saraſins* at that preſent were come into the Country of *Caraſina*, to poſſeſs the Dwellings and Places of them, which in hope to better their Eſtate were before gon over into *Europe*; all theſe *Saraſins* he commanded to paſs over into *Europe* likewiſe; which they did accordingly, ſeating themſelves for a time in the Country near to *Callipolus*. In the mean time *Solyman* omitted no opportunity to enter further into the Country, winning ſmall Forts and Holds, and ſtill peopling the ſame with his Turks. And on the other ſide, they of *Caraſina* paſſed over into *Europe*, placing themſelves as it were in a new World. For which cauſe, and for the great deſire they had to extend the Turkiſh Dominion and Religion, they refuſed no pains of War; ſo that all things at that time proſpered with the Turks, and went backward with the Chriſtians.

In the time of theſe Wars, not far from *Callipolis* was a little Caſtle called *Congere*, the Captain whereof was by a Greek name called *Calo Johannes*, a valiant and painful man; this Captain continually moleſted and troubled the Turks which lay on that ſide of *Callipolis*, under the leading of *Ezes-Beg*, many of whom he ſlew and took Priſoners, as he could find them at any advantage. *Solyman* much angred herewith, by crafty and ſecret Eſpials learned a certain time when he was gone out of his Caſtle to do ſome exploit upon the Turks. Whereupon he preſently ſo beſet the Caſtle with Souldiers, that he could by no means return thither, but he muſt firſt fall into their hands; and for more aſſurance placed others alſo in by-ways, leſt he ſhould by any ways eſcape. The Captain ignorant of all this, proſecuted his enterpriſe, and having taken a Turk Priſoner, thinking to return to his Caſtle, was haſtily purſued by *Fazil-Beg*; for which cauſe making the more haſte, he ſuddenly fell into the danger of the Turks laid in ambuſh; where his men were all ſlain, and himſelf taken and brought before his own Caſtle, and had there his head preſently ſtruck off; whereupon the Caſtle was forthwith by them that were therein (having now loſt their Captain) ſurrendred, and *Chazi Ili-Beg*, a valiant Captain of the Turks, placed therein; who from thence never ceaſed to trouble the Country, even to the Walls of *Dydimotichum*, as did *Solyman* alſo out of *Callipolis*.

Thus in the ſpace of one year the Turks got ſtrong footing in *Europe*, poſſeſſing divers Caſtles and Towns, with the Country about them, which *Solyman* gave in reward unto his Captains and Souldiers, as appeareth by the Graves and Tombs of *Ezes-Beg* and *Fazil-Beg*, the two which firſt came over into *Europe*, which are there yet well known.

The death of Solyman Baſſa Orchanes *his eldeſt Son.*

The death of Orchanes.

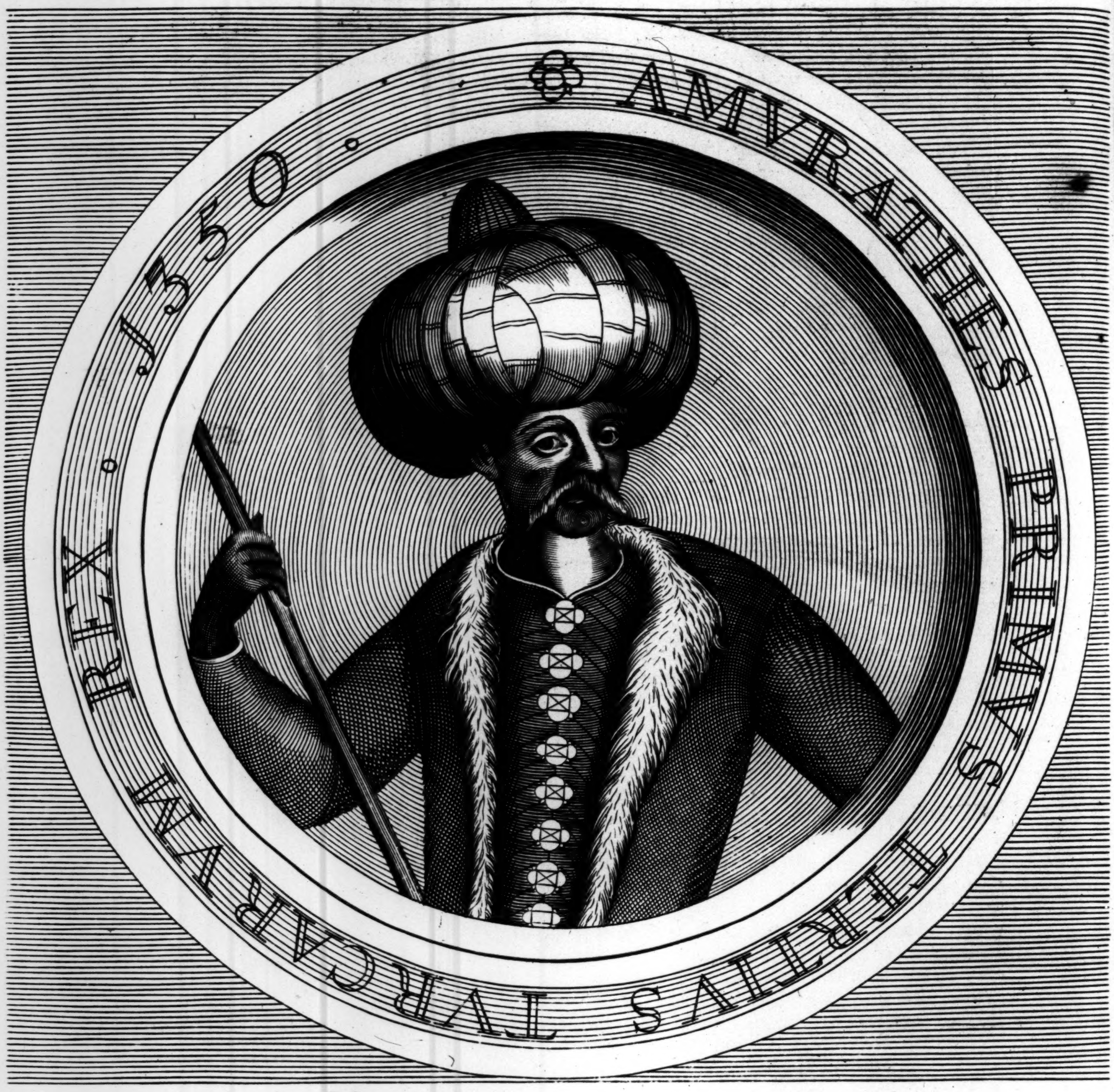
About this time it fortuned, that as this Martial Prince *Solyman* was for his diſport hawking in the Fields of *Bolayre* on *Europe* ſide, galloping in to his Falcon, was with his Horſe overthrown in a ditch, of which Fall he being ſore bruiſed, ſhortly after died. The news of his death being brought to *Orchanes* his Father, gave unto him (then being ſick) juſt occaſion of great ſorrow; ſo that within two months after he died alſo, being fourſcore years old, when he had raigned thereof 31 years; and died about the year of our Lord 1359. Some Hiſtories report otherwiſe, both of his death, and of the time wherein he lived; as that he ſhould be ſlain in a Battel againſt the Tartars; or as others write, with an Arrow at the Siege of *Pruſa*, in the year of our Lord 1349. But *Joannes Leunclavius* in his Hiſtory collected out of the Turks own Chronicles (whom we follow as moſt probable) reporteth it as before.

This *Orchanes* was wiſe, courteous, and bountiful, more ingenious than his Father in deviſing warlike Engins. He built divers Princely Churches, Abbies, Colledges, and Cells, and was in his ſuperſtitious Religion very zealous; in ſo much that he appointed Penſions to all ſuch as could in the Church ſay the Book of *Mahomets* Law by heart; and appointed competent maintenance for all Judges of his Courts, becauſe they ſhould not take any thing in reward of his Subjects, for the perverting of Juſtice. He greatly inlarged his Kingdom in *Aſia*, and not content to be incloſed with the Seas of *Euxinum* and *Helleſpontus*, ſet faſt footing in *Europe*, which ſome attribute to his Son *Amurath*. He was to the Chriſtians always a moſt mortal Enemy, and ſo died.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Orchanes.	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	Andronicus Paleologus *the younger.*	1325. 29.
			John Paleologus.	1354. 30.
		Of the Weſt	Lewis *the Fourth, of* Bavaria.	1314. 32.
			Charles *the Fourth, Son to* John *King of* Bohemia.	1346. 10
	Kings,	*Of* England	Edward *the Third.*	1327. 50.
		Of France	Philip Valois.	1328. 22.
			John Valois.	1350. 14.
		Of Scotland	Robert Bruce.	1306, 24.
			David Bruce.	1341.
	Biſhops of Rome,		John *the* XXII.	1317. 18.
			Benedict *the* XII.	1335. 7.
			Clement *the* VI.	1342. 12.
			Innocent *the* VI.	1354. 10.

The


AMVRATHES PRIMVS TERTIVS TVRCARVM REX. 1350.

Sævus Amurathes, *animo dum maxima verſat:*
Discordes Græcos sternere marte parat.
Totus et intentus fines extendere Regni:
Europam penitrans, obvia quæque rapit.
Attoniti trepidant, nimia formidine Thraces:
In medio quorum, Sceptra superba locat.
Hinc Mæsos premit ille feros, miserumq; Dynasten
Coſsovi in Campis, obruit atque necat.
Sed non longa fuit sceleris tam dira voluptas:
A Servo cæsus, condidit ense ferox.

Sterne Amurath *new thoughts resolves upon,*
With armes divided Greece to overrun;
And wholly bent to'enlarge his narrow bounds,
Europe invades, and all he meets confounds:
The too too timorous Thracians stand amaz'd,
To find his Scepter in their bowells plac'd.
The fierce Bulgarians, did his fury quell,
And at his feet their noble Despot fell:
At last the ponyard of a little Slave
Taught him, what Short liv'd pleasures Tyrants have.

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4

The LIFE of

AMURATH,

The Firſt of that NAME,

Third King of the Turks,

And the great AUGMENTOR of their Kingdom.

Amurath ſucceedeth his Father **Orchanes** *in the Turkiſh Kingdom.*

AMurath the younger Son of *Orchanes* ſucceeded his Father in the Turkiſh Kingdom, his elder Brother *Solyman* being dead a little before his Father. This *Amurath* with greater zeal than any one of the Turkiſh Kings, advanced the Mahometan Religion, and had therein wonderful Succeſs. In the beginning of his Reign, he gathered a great Army out of all parts of his Kingdom, to *Pruſa*; purpoſing to paſs over *Helleſpontus*, to invade the Chriſtians in *Thracia*. But underſtanding, that the other Mahometan Princes in *Aſia* had combined themſelves againſt him, he was thereby inforced to leave his former determination for *Europe*, and to turn his Forces upon them. In which Wars he mightily prevailed againſt them, and returned with Victory to *Pruſa*. But having ſo ſubdued thoſe Confederate Princes, he the next year after proſecuted his Wars before intended againſt the Chriſtians in *Europe*. For which purpoſe having levied a ſtrong Army in *Aſia*, he paſſed over to *Callipolis*, accompanied with his Tutor, whom the Turks call *Lala Schabin*; whoſe grave advice and counſel he moſt followed in all his weighty Affairs, being at that time one of his chief Counſellors. From *Callipolis* he marched to the Caſtle of *Benutum*, which was by compoſition yielded unto him. From thence he went to *Tzurulus*, where the Chriſtians gave him a ſharp encounter; but in the end he won the Town, and carried away the Victory. And ſo proceeding farther, took divers other ſmall Caſtles and Towns in that part of *Thracia*, which of the ancient Roman Colonies was then called *Romania*, and now of the Turks *Rumilia*, namely *Meſine*, *Burgos*, and others; whereof ſome he utterly raſed, and into the reſt put ſtrong Garriſons. At this time alſo, *Chaſi-Ilbeg* and *Eurenoſes*, two of his moſt valiant Captains, took certain Forts ſtanding upon the River *Meritza*, in ancient time called *Hebrus*; whereby they much troubled the Inhabitants of the Country thereabouts. Wherewith the Captain of *Didymotichum* offended, gathered his Souldiers together, intending to have intercepted the great Captain *Chaſi-Ilbeg*; in which Attempt he loſt moſt of his Followers, and was himſelf there taken Priſoner. For whoſe Ranſom and certain other Conditions, the Citizens of *Didymotichum* yielded the City unto the Turks.

Didymotichum *yielded unto the Turks.*

Shortly after, *Amurath* ſent his Tutor *Lala Schabin* to beſiege *Hadrianople*, now called *Adrianople*, but in ancient time *Oreſtias*; of whoſe coming the Chriſtians hearing, encountred him upon the way, and fought with him a great battel, wherein many were on both ſides loſt; but in the end the Chriſtians being put to the worſt, retired again to the City. Of this Victory *Schabin* ſent News unto *Amurath*, with certain of the heads of the ſlain Chriſtians; who thereupon ſending *Chaſis* and *Eurenoſes* before, he himſelf with a great Army followed after to the Siege of *Hadrianople*; of whoſe coming, the Governor of *Hadrianople* underſtanding, fled ſecretly out of the City by night to *Ænus*. The Citizens ſeeing themſelves ſo forſaken of their Governor, yielded their City unto *Amurath*, in the year of our Lord, 1362.

Hadrianople *yielded unto the Turks.*

The taking of theſe ſtrong Cities in *Thracia*, eſpecially of *Didymotichum* and *Hadrianople*, is (by ſome of the Turks own Hiſtories) otherwiſe reported; which, becauſe it is neither improbable nor diſagreeing from the ſubtil dealings of the Turks, and of themſelves alſo received, I have thought good to ſet down as their own Hiſtoriographers report the ſame.

The Turkiſh King *Amurath* had (as they ſay, and as truth was) in the beginning of his Reign concluded a Peace with the Chriſtians of *Thracia*; during which Peace, the Governor of *Didymotichum* intending to fortifie his City with new and ſtronger Fortifications againſt the Aſſaults of the Turks, entertained all the Maſons, Carpenters, and other Workmen he could by any means get; which *Amurath* underſtanding, ſecretly cauſed two hundred good and luſty Workmen and Labourers to come out of *Aſia*, to offer their Service unto the Governor; who gladly entertained them, uſing their help in that his great and haſty Work. Which thing ſome of the wiſer ſort of the Citizens diſliking, wiſhed the Governor to beware of thoſe *Aſian* Workmen, as by them ſuſpected. But he preſuming upon the Peace made with *Amurath*, and conſidering they were but baſe Workmen and no Souldiers, had the leſs care of them; nevertheleſs (uſing their work all day) he commanded them to lodge without the Walls of the City every night. *Amurath* underſtanding that theſe Workmen were thus by the Governor entertained, ſent for the valiant Captain *Chaſis-Ilbeg*, and requeſted him with thirty other good Souldiers diſguiſed as poor Labourers, to go to *Didymotichum* to ſeek for Work, and in doing thereof to eſpy if any opportunity might be found for the ſurpriſing of the City. *Chaſis* with theſe thirty according to *Amurath* his direction, coming as poor men lacking Work, found entertainment at *Didymotichum*, where they carried ſtones, morter, and ſuch like things, ever ſhewing themſelves very diligent in their work; *Chaſis* with vigilant eye ſtill awaiting what might beſt ſerve his turn for the ſurpriſing of the City. When night was come, the Turkiſh Workmen and Labourers after their accuſtomed manner, and as they were by the Governor appointed, went out of the City into the Suburbs to their Lodgings; from whence *Chaſis* ſecretly departing in the night, came to *Amurath* and ſhewed him how one of the gates of the City might upon the ſudden be taken, if it would pleaſe him to place a ſufficient number of Turks in ambuſh near unto the City, to joyn with him and the other Turkiſh Labourers when occaſion ſhould ſerve. Which being reſolved upon, *Amurath* ſent him back again to put this his device in execution: So *Chaſis* returning to *Didymotichum*, brake the matter to ſo many of the *Aſian* Workmen as he thought convenient, fully inſtructing them what was to be done. The next day (according to his appointment) the Chriſtians being then at dinner, theſe Turkiſh Workmen and Labourers fell at words among themſelves, and from words to fained blows; in which counterfeit Brawl and Tumult, they ſuddenly ran to one of the Gates of the City faſt by (as was before appointed) and there laying hands upon the Warders Weapons, as if it had been to defend themſelves againſt their Fellows, ſuddenly ſet upon thoſe Warders, being in number but few, and then at dinner alſo, and ſo preſently ſlew them; which done, they opened the Gate of the City, and let in the other Turks which lay in wait not far off; who with great celerity entring the City, preſently took the ſame, and there put the chiefeſt of their Citizens to the Sword, ſparing the reſt of the meaner ſort.

Rhodeſtum *ſurpriſed by the Turks.*

The City of *Rhodeſtum* (of the old Writers called *Rhœdeſtum*) was by *Amurath* his commandment, in this time of peace, by ſudden aſſault given in the night by the Lord *Eurenoſes*, taken alſo.

With this foul dealing and breach of League, yet in force, the Chriſtians hardly charged *Amurath*; who turned it over to the unrulineſs of his Captains and Men of War, whom he threatned with great ſeverity to puniſh; and to give the better colour that it was done without his privity, he had fained himſelf ſick all the while theſe things were in doing; but being requeſted to reſtore thoſe Cities ſo wrongfully taken from the Chriſtians, he utterly refuſed ſo to do, ſaying, That it was againſt the Law of his great Prophet *Mahomet*, to deliver again to the Chriſtians, any Town or City wherein the Mahometan Religion had been once openly taught. Whereupon Wars began again to ariſe on freſh betwixt the Chriſtians and him, wherein ſometime the one prevailed, and ſometime the other; in ſuch ſort, as thoſe Wars at length became unto them both very tedious. Wherefore *Amurath* made peace again with the Chriſtians of *Hadrianople*, *Selybria*, and *Conſtantinople*; yet deſiring nothing more in heart, than to take the City of *Hadrianople*; which the better to bring to paſs, he cauſed *Chaſis-Ilbeg* as a diſcontented Captain to fly to *Hadrianople*, pretending himſelf to have been hardly uſed by the Tyrant his Maſter; where having in his Company other ſuch diſſembling Fugitives as was himſelf, he oftentimes iſſued out of the City and valiantly skirmiſhed with the Turks; which ſo greatly pleaſed the Governor of *Hadrianople*, that he thereby grew into his great favour.

Many other Turks alſo under pretence of like diſcontentment, reſorted unto *Chaſis*; wherewith finding himſelf well ſtrengthned, he writ Letters ſecretly unto *Amurath*, That he would deliver one of the Gates of *Hadrianople* unto him at a certain appointed time, if he would againſt the ſame time be ready to ſend him preſent Succors. All things being agreed upon, *Chaſis* at the appointed time came in the dawning of the day to one of the Gates of the City, accompanied but with ten of his Followers, as if he would have gone forth to hunt, as he had before accuſtomed. But ſo ſoon as the Gates were opened, he with the other ten well appointed for the purpoſe, furiouſly ſet upon the Warders, whom they ſlew; and being aided by the reſt of the Fugitive Turks (which with all ſpeed by appointment before made, reſorted unto them) they poſſeſſed the Gate; until a great power of the Turks, whom *Amurath* the night before had placed in ambuſh near unto the City, having knowledge what was done, and hearing the alarm, ſpeedily came on, and by that Gate entred the City; where was fought a cruel fight all that day, even from morning until night. But in the end the Turks prevailing, took the City, which they have ever ſince poſſeſſed unto this day.

Hadrianople *the Royal Seat of the Turkiſh Kings in* Europe

Theſe great Cities of *Thracia* thus taken, or otherwiſe as aforeſaid (for that I leave for the Reader to think of as he pleaſeth) *Amurath* appointed the Seat of his Royal Court at *Hadrianople*, as a place of all others moſt fit for the further invaſion of the Chriſtians, and inlarging of his Kingdom in *Europe*; from whence ſuch a world of Miſchiefs and Woe hath ſince that time overflowed a great part of Chriſtendom, and drowned ſo many goodly Kingdoms in *Europe*, as that both they, and moſt part of the reſt that yet remain (daily in dread of like deſtruction) might juſtly accurſe and deteſt the woful careleſneſs and degenerate cowardiſe of the Greeks, were not they themſelves together with the glory of their Church and Empire, ſwallowed up in the ſame gulf of Calamity and Woe, and ſo become of all others moſt miſerable; but what avail vain Complaints, but to increaſe old griefs? wherefore again to that we have in hand.

The proud Sultan *Amurath* (having to his great content thus ſeated himſelf at *Hadrianople*, in the midſt of *Thracia*) preſently ſent out his Tutor *Lala Schabin* with a great Power to invade the Country about *Philippopolis* with the Country of *Zagora*, which lieth towards the great Mountain *Hæmus*, where the beſt Turkiſh Scimitars were made, giving like charge unto *Eurenoſes*, for the ſubduing of the Territory of *Ipſala*; who both notably performed what he had commanded, and in ſhort time brought all thoſe Countries under his Subjection, wherein he ſhortly after placed divers Sanzacks or Governors, for the better aſſurance thereof, being ſo lately gained.

About this time (by the ſuggeſtion of *Cara Ruſtemes* a Doctor of the Mahometan Law) *Zinderlu Chelil*, then *Cadeleſher* or chief Juſtice among the Turks, but afterwards better known by the name of *Catradin Baſſa*, by the Commandment of *Amurath*, took order, that every fifth Captive of the Chriſtians, being above fifteen years old, ſhould be taken up for the King, as by Law due unto him; and if the number were under five, then to pay to the King for every Head 25 Aſpers, by way of Tribute; appointing Officers for collecting both of ſuch Captives and Tribute money, of whom the aforeſaid *Cara Ruſtemes* himſelf was chief, as firſt deviſer of the matter. By which means great numbers of Chriſtian Youths were brought to the Court as the Kings Captives, which by the counſel of the ſame. *Zinderlu Chelil*, were diſtributed among the Turkiſh Husbandmen in *Aſia*, there to learn the Turkiſh Language, Religion, and Manners; where after they had been brought up in all painful labour and travel by the ſpace of two or three years, they were called unto the Court, and choice made of the better ſort of them to attend upon the Perſon of the Prince, or to ſerve him in his Wars; where they daily practiſing all feats of activity, are called by the name of *Janizars* (that is to ſay, new Souldiers.) This was the firſt beginning of the *Janizars* under this Sultan *Amurath* the Firſt, but had great increaſe under *Amurath* the Second, inſomuch that *Jovius* with ſome other Hiſtoriographers, attribute the beginning of this Order to him; which nevertheleſs (as appeareth by the Turks own Hiſtories) had the beginning as is aforeſaid; and hath ever ſince been continued by the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors, by the ſame and ſome other greater means, ſo that in proceſs or time they be grown to that greatneſs as that they are oftentimes right dreadful to the great Turk himſelf; after whoſe death they have ſometimes preferred to the Empire ſuch of the Emperors Sons as they beſt liked, without reſpect of prerogative or age, contrary to the will of the great Sultan himſelf; and are at this day the greateſt ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire, and not unlike in time to be the greateſt cauſe of the ruine thereof; the finger of the Higheſt oftentimes (as we have before ſaid) turning even thoſe helps which were by mans wiſdom provided for the eſtabliſhing of Kingdoms, unto their more ſpeedy deſtruction; and eſpecially theſe continual Garriſons of martial men, no leſs to be feared than truſted, as in the courſe of this Hiſtory may appear.

When *Amurath* had thus a great while continued at *Hadrianople*, determining now to return unto *Aſia*, he made *Schabin* his Tutor *Beg-Lerbeg* or Vice-Roy of *Romania*; and *Eurenoſes* Lord Governor of the Marches; *Zinderlu Chelil* he made Vezir Azemes or Lord Preſident of his Counſel, and changing his name, called him *Cairadin Baſſa*, that is to ſay, The *Baſſa* that had well deſerved, his name witneſſing his good deſert. After this he returned into *Aſia*, where he ſpent that Winter at *Pruſa*. Theſe two great men *Cairadin Baſſa* and *Cara Ruſtemes* before named, ſometimes two Doctors of the Mahometan Law, were (as the Turkiſh Hiſtories report) the firſt that corrupted the Turkiſh Court with Covetouſneſs and Bribery, and are therefore of them even yet much blamed.

Whilſt *Amurath* thus wintred in *Aſia*, News was brought unto him, That the Chriſtians of *Servia* and *Bulgaria* had gathered a great Army for the beſieging of *Hadrianople*; which cauſed him to prepare great Forces in *Aſia*, to aid his Captains in *Europe*. But in returning out of *Aſia*, he by the way took the Town of *Boga*; where he put to the Sword all the Chriſtians that were therein able to bear Arms, leading the reſt into Captivity, and with the ſpoil rewarded his Souldiers. This ſtrong Town was not long after again recovered by the Chriſtians, who requited the Turks with like meaſure, and doubting the keeping thereof, raſed it down to the ground; yet was it afterwards reedified by the Turks, as it is at this preſent to be ſeen; which was done in the year of our Lord, 1365.

Boga *taken by* Amurath *and recovered again and raſed by the Chriſtians.*

Boga *new built by the Turks.*

In the mean time, the Chriſtian Army of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, in number betwixt forty and fifty thouſand, marching towards *Hadrianople*, and now come very near the ſame, fell in mutiny among themſelves. Whereof the Turks by their Eſpials having intelligence, ſuddenly in the night ſet upon them; who blinded with inward hatred, and no leſs fearing one another, than their Enemies, neglected to joyn their Forces againſt them, but were ready to turn their Weapons one upon another; and ſo by their own diſcord, more than by the Enemies force, were made a prey to the Turks, by whom they were put to flight, and ſlain with ſo great a ſlaughter, that the place wherein they fell, not far from *Germia*, is thereof at this day called *Zirf-Zindugi*; that is to ſay, the place wherein the *Servians* were overthrown. The news of this ſo notable a Victory, with the fith part of the Spoil, and a great number of the heads of the ſlain Chriſtians, were (after the barbarous manner of the Turks) ſent to *Amurath* into *Aſia*, being now ready with a great Power to have come over to *Callipolis*; who joyful thereof, and glad to ſee ſuch a Preſent, the aſſured witneſs of the Victory, returned again to *Pruſa*. This was done in the year, 1366. In which year alſo *Amurath* with wonderful Triumph circumciſed his two Sons, *Bajazet* and *Jacup*. At which time he alſo built a Temple, with a Monaſtry and a Colledge, at *Bilezuga*; and another fair Church at *Neapolis*: At *Pruſa* he alſo built a ſtately Palace in the Caſtle, with a great Church at the Gates thereof; in which City he alſo founded an Abbey and a Colledge. *Germean Ogli*, a great Mahometan Prince in *Aſia* (whoſe Territory for the moſt part lay in the greater *Phrygia*, and the Countries thereabout, bordering upon the *Othoman* Kingdom) having always envyed at the riſing of the *Othoman* Kings (as did all the reſt of the Mahometan Princes of the *Selzuccian* Family) and fearing that their Greatneſs might after his death grow dangerous to his ſon *Jacup*, being now himſelf very aged, thought good for the more ſafety of his State to joyn in Alliance with *Amurath*. And for that purpoſe ſent *Iſaac* (a learned Doctor of the Mahometan Law) Embaſſador to him, with many rich Preſents, and to offer his Daughter, the Lady *Hatun*, in marriage unto his Son *Bajazet*; promiſing with her in Dowry divers great Cities and Towns, with their Territories in *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, adjoyning upon the *Othoman* Kingdom; namely *Cutaie*, *Simau*, *Egregios*, *Tauſanle*, and others. Neither was this a ſmall Dowry, but well beſeeming ſo great a Prince; the City of *Cutaie* being at this day the place whereat the Turkiſh Emperors great Lieutenant or Vice-Roy in *Aſia* is always reſiant, as in the heart of his Kingdom in the leſſer *Aſia*. Of which Match ſo offered, *Amurath* liking well, contracted his Son *Bajazet* unto the ſaid Lady; and for Solemnization of the Marriage, prepared all things with great Magnificence, ſending his Embaſſadors to moſt of the Mahometan Kings and Princes both far and near, to invite thereunto; commanding alſo moſt of the Nobility of his Kingdom, to honour the ſame with their preſence. The time of this Marriage drawing near, Embaſſadors came to *Amuraths* Court, from all the Princes before invited; amongſt whom, the Embaſſador from the Egyptian Sultan had the higheſt place. Theſe Embaſſadors brought with them many great and rich Gifts, ſuch as well beſeemed the great Princes their Maſters, which they with all Reverence preſented unto *Amurath*. At length amongſt the reſt of his own Nobility came the Lord *Eurenoſes*, whom he had before left Governor of the Frontiers of his Kingdom in *Europe*; who beſides many other rich Gifts not eaſily to be valued, preſented unto *Amurath* an hundred goodly Boys, with as many beautiful young Maidens, all Chriſtian Captives, ſutably attired in Garments richly embroidred with Gold and Silver, every one of them carrying a Cup of Gold in the one hand, and a Cup of Silver in the other; the Cups of Gold having in them divers precious Stones of great value, and the Cups of Silver being filled with Gold. The richneſs of this Preſent was ſo great, that all the Embaſſadors of the foreign Princes much wondred thereat. All which rich Gift *Amurath* moſt bountifully beſtowed upon the ſtrange

Embaſſadors; and the Preſents which were ſent unto him from other Princes, he liberally gave to *Eurenoſes*. The Learned and Religious which came to that Marriage he ſo bountifully rewarded alſo, that none came to the ſame poor, but he went away rich. He had before ſent divers of his Nobility, with an hundred Ladies and Gentlemen, and a Guard of three thouſand Horſemen, to attend the coming of the Bride. On the other ſide, the old Prince *Germean-Ogli* meeting this honourable Company upon the way, ſaluted every man of Account according to his Degree; and bringing them to one of his Cities, in moſt Royal manner feaſted them, beſtowing upon them many rich and princely Gifts; all which things with great Solemnity performed, he delivered his Daughter the Bride to two of the moſt ancient Ladies, whereof the one had been *Bajazets* Nurſe; and ſo taking leave of his Daughter, ſent her away, accompanied with his Wife *Jenſes*, and other of his Courtiers, who conveying her to *Pruſa*, ſhe was there in moſt Royal manner married to *Bajazet*. The Cities and Towns promiſed in Dowry, were accordingly delivered into the Poſſeſſion of *Amurath*, who ſhortly after took Poſſeſſion of the ſame, and furniſhed them with his own Garriſons.

At this Marriage *Chuſen-Beg* Prince of *Amiſum* in *Galatia*, by his Embaſſador ſold his Territory of *Amiſum* unto *Amurath*, with many fair Cities and Towns; doubting, as it was thought, how to be able to keep them, now that *Amurath* was come ſo near him, whom he ſaw not to let ſlip any occaſion offered unto him for the inlarging of his Kingdom. When *Amurath* had in this ſort ſpent great time in *Aſia*, he gathered a ſtrong Army to return into *Europe*; but before his departure, he committed the Government of his Kingdom in *Aſia* (which the Turks call *Anatolia*) unto his Son *Bajazet*, joyning with him *Temurtaſes* a valiant man of great experience; and having ſet all things in order in *Aſia*, paſſed over *Helleſpontus*, to *Calipolis*, from whence he marched towards *Hadrianople*; and becauſe he would take ſomething in his way, he beſieged *Magalgara*, which he in ſhort time won; where *Lala Schahin* and *Eurenoſes* with all their Forces came to him; which two Captains he ſent to beſiege the City *Pheræ*, which was by them after a few days ſiege taken. But he himſelf to be revenged upon *Lazarus* the Deſpot, led his Army into *Servia*; where after he had without reſiſtance forraged the Country fourteen days, underſtanding by his Captains, That the ſtrong City of *Niſſa*, being the Metropolitical City of *Servia*, was as it were the Key of that Kingdom, he preſently marched thither, and laid ſiege to the ſame; and by the advice of *Jaxis-Beg* the Son of *Temurtaſes*, in ſhort time won it. Which thing ſo daunted *Lazarus* Deſpot or Lord of *Servia*, that he deſpairing in his own Forces, having ſo ſoon loſt one of his ſtrongeſt Cities, forthwith ſent Embaſſadors to *Amurath* to intreat a Peace; offering to pay him a yearly Tribute of fifty thouſand pounds, and to aid him with a thouſand men in his Wars, whenſoever he ſhould require; upon which conditions *Amurath* granted him Peace, and ſo departed out of *Servia*. In this Expedition he alſo with much ado won the great City of *Appolonia*, near unto the Mount *Athos*, and gave leave unto moſt of the Chriſtians, with their Wives and Children to depart, and ſuch part of their goods as was not in the taking thereof ſpoiled by the Souldiers. This done, he returned back to *Hadrianople*, leaving *Eurenoſes* upon the Marches, who ſhortly after took *Berrhea*, with divers other Towns. At which time alſo *Lala Schahin* won *Zichne* and *Seres*, in the Confines of *Macedonia*, with many other ſtrong Towns upon the Frontiers of *Theſſalia* and *Thrace*. In the City *Seres Eurenoſes* made his abode, as in a chief Frontier Town; and becauſe the Chriſtians for fear of the Turks were all fled out of the Country about *Seres*, great numbers of people were ſent for out of *Aſia*, to inhabit that Country by the Chriſtians forſaken in the Confines of *Macedonia*. *Amurath* had not long continued at *Hadrianople*, but that he was advertiſed out of *Aſia*, That *Aladin* his Son in law King of *Caramania*, did with Fire and Sword invade his Dominions in *Aſia*; with which News he was exceedingly troubled. And for that cauſe ſending for his Counſellors and Nobility to the Court, told them, how that *Aladin* forgetting all the bonds of Religion, Faith, Peace, and Alliance, with all Hoſtility invaded his Provinces in *Aſia*, whilſt he with great danger of his Perſon, and greater terror of his Enemies, ſought with honour to increaſe the Mahometan ſincere Religion (as he termed it) in *Europe*; from which godly War (ſaid he) I am againſt my will enforced to turn my Sword, in juſt defence of my ſelf, againſt men joyned with us both in Religion and Alliance. And having thus declared his mind, he appointed *Chairadin Baſſa* his Lieutenant-General in *Europe*, and alſo made his Son *Alis Baſſa* one of his Council, although he were by ſome thought too young for ſo great a place. And ſo having ſet all things in order according to his mind in *Europe*, took paſſage from *Callipolis* into *Aſia*, and ſo to his Court at *Pruſa*, where he ſpent that Winter. In which time Embaſſadors came unto him from the Sultan of *Egypt*, for the renewing of their former Amity and Friendſhip; which *Amurath* took very thankfully, and ſent them back again loaden with kind Letters and princely Rewards.

Amurath *invadeth* Servia.

Niſſa *taken by the Turks*.

Appolonia *won by the Turks*.

Amurath *and* Aladin *prepare themſelves for war*.

When the Spring was come, in the year, 1387. he levied a mighty Army to make War upon the *Caramanian* King his Son in Law. Whereof *Aladin* certainly informed, prepared no leſs Power to meet him, aſſociating unto him all the leſs Mahometan Princes of *Aſia*, which were not under *Amuraths* Obeyſance, to whom the *Othoman* Kings were now grown terrible; which Princes brought with them great Supplies to joyn with *Aladin*.

Aladin thus aided by his Friends, thinking himſelf now ſtrong enough for *Amurath* his Father in law, ſent an Embaſſador unto him, certifying him, That he was nothing in Power inferior to him, and therefore nothing feared him; yet if it pleaſed him to have Peace, that he could for his part be content to hearken unto the ſame upon reaſonable conditions; but if he had rather have War, he ſhould find him ready to dare him battel in the Field, whenſoever he ſhould come. For anſwer of which Embaſſage, *Amurath* willed the Embaſſador to tell the perjured King his Maſter, That he had of late, contrary to his Faith before given, in moſt cruel manner invaded his Dominions, whilſt he was buſied in moſt godly Wars (as he termed it) againſt the misbelieving Chriſtians; from proſecuting whereof, he was by his violence (as he ſaid) withdrawn, contrary to the Law of their great Prophet; for which Outrages and Wrongs he would ſhortly come and take of him ſharp Revenge; and that therefore he was to expect nothing at his hands but War, for which he willed him ſo to provide, as that at his coming he might not find him wanting to himſelf. *Aladin* by his Embaſſor having received this anſwer from *Amurath*, aſſembled all the Confederate Princes his Allies, with great Perſwaſions and greater Promiſes encouraging them to this War; and they again kiſſing the ground at his Feet, as the manner of that Nation is before great Princes, promiſed with ſolemn Oaths never to forſake him, but to do all things which Princes deſirous of Honour or Fame, ought by their Oath to do for their Soveraign, to whom they ought Homage and Duty.

The death of Chairadin Baſſa.

In this great preparation for Wars in *Aſia*, *Chairadin Baſſa* general Governor in *Europe* died; which *Amurath* underſtanding, appointed *Alis Baſſa* his Son to go into *Europe*, there to be Governor in his Fathers ſtead. But he was ſtayed in his Journey by urgent occaſions; which *Amurath* underſtanding, ſent for him back again in poſt.

Aladin forecaſting the great dangers like to enſue of this War, ſent another Embaſſador to *Amurath*, with reaſonable conditions of Peace; to whom *Amurath* anſwered, That if *Aladin* had made that Offer one month before, he would perhaps have accepted thereof; but for ſo much as he had done him great wrong, and that he had now to his infinite Charge drawn him into the field ſo far from home, he would not make any other end than ſuch as the chance of War ſhould appoint. And whereas he in diſgrace had called me a Herdſman or Shepherd (ſaid he) if he be not ſuch an one himſelf, as he ſaith me to be, let him meet me in the field and there try his valor. Hereunto the Embaſſador replied, ſaying, That the King his Maſter made this Offer of Peace not for any fear, but to ſave the effuſion of innocent blood; which conſideration ſet apart, he ſhould find him not inferior to himſelf, either in number of moſt expert Souldiers, or other War-like Proviſion; and that therefore if he rejected this Offer of Peace, he needed not to doubt but to meet with men of courage, which would bear themſelves ſo valiantly in the field againſt his Turks, as that he ſhould have no great cauſe to rejoyce of his coming thither. Which words of the Embaſſador ſo netled *Amurath*, that in great rage he commanded him to depart, and to will his Maſter, if he were a man of ſuch courage and valour as he ſaid, to ſhew himſelf in the field with all his Forces, there to make an end of all quarrels; where he doubted not but in ſhort time to chaſtiſe him according to his due deſerts. So after the Embaſſador was departed, marching forward three days, *Alis Beg* came unto him; of whoſe coming he not a little rejoyced; for why, he loved him dearly, and although he was yet of years but young, relied much upon his Council.

The Embaſſador returning, recounted unto *Aladin* all that *Amurath* had ſaid, not omitting his hard Speeches and proud Threats, and how that he hoped ſhortly to take from him *Iconium* and *Larenda* (the principal Cities of *Caramania*) with many things more, leaving nothing untold. Which *Aladin* hearing, ſaid unto the Confederate Princes that were with him, Verily *Amurath* threatneth to take from us the Cities of *Iconium* and *Larenda*; but let him take heed that we take not from him his fair City of *Pruſa*. Then demanding of the Embaſſador, of what ſtrength *Amurath* might be; it was anſwered by him, that he deemed him to be about ſeventy thouſand ſtrong. Whereat *Aladin* not a little rejoycing, ſaid, Aſſuredly when he ſhall ſee our Army, he will not dare to give us battel; or if he do, he ſhall fight upon great diſadvantage, his men being both fewer in number than we, and ſore wearied with long and painful travel.

In the mean time *Amurath* held on his way towards *Caramania*, daily encouraging his Souldiers with Perſwaſions and Gifts bountifully beſtowed upon them, filling their heads with promiſes of greater, the War once happily ended. At length he came to the great Plains in *Caramania*, called *the French Plains*, becauſe in former time the Chriſtians (whom the Turks for moſt part call *Franks*) in thoſe places incamped their great Armies, as they went to the winning of *Jeruſalem* (as in the former part of this Hiſtory is declared.) Into theſe Plains alſo came *Aladin* with his Army, and was now incamped within one days march of *Amurath*, and ſo reſted that night.

The next morning *Amurath* put his Army in order of battel, appointing the leading of the right Wing to his youngeſt Son *Jacup*, with whom he joyned *Cutluzes Beg*, *Ein Beg Subbaſſa*, *Egridum Subbaſſa*, *Seraze*, and *Cuſtendil*, two Chriſtian Princes, all Captains of great experience. The left Wing was led by *Bajazet* his eldeſt Son, with *Ferize* and *Hozze*, both valiant Captains; in which Wings were alſo placed the Chriſtian Souldiers ſent by *Lazarus* out of *Servia*, according to the late convention of peace; in the main battel he ſtood himſelf; the Vauntguard was conducted by *Temurtaſes*; and the rereward by the *Subbaſſa* of Oxyllithus (called alſo *Temurtaſes*) and *Achmetes*. *Aladin* on the other ſide, with no leſs care and diligence ſet his men likewiſe in order of battel, placing himſelf in the main battel, as did *Amurath*; and the Princes his Allies, with his other expert Captains, ſome in the right Wing, and ſome in the left, as he thought moſt convenient; in ſuch ſort, as that in all mens judgment he was in Force nothing inferior to his Father in Law.

The great battel in the plains of Caramania, *betwixt* Amurath *and* Aladin.

Theſe great Enemies thus ranged, with Enſigns diſplaid came on couragiouſly, one directly upon the other; where approaching together, the confuſed noiſe of Trumpets, Drums, Fifes, with other Inſtruments of War, the neighing of Horſes, and clattering of Armor, was ſo great, that whilſt War-like minds thereat rejoyced, Cowards thought Heaven fell. But the ſign of battel on both ſides given, *Samagazes* one of the Confederate Princes, with exceeding courage firſt charged *Temurtaſes* in the Vantguard, and broke his Ranks; at which time *Teberruſes* a *Tartar* Prince, and *Varſacides* another of the Confederates, delivered their Arrows alſo upon the Vantguard, as if it had been a ſhower of Hail. Which *Bajazet* ſeeing, and how hardly *Temurtaſes* was charged, having before obtained leave of his Father, brake in upon the Enemy with ſuch violence, as if it had been the lightning; whereof he was ever after firnamed *Gilderun*, which is to ſay, The lightning. *Ferizes* and *Hozze*, with the other valiant Captains in that Wing, following *Bajazet*, with invincible courage entred the battel; where for a great ſpace was made a moſt dreadful and doubtful fight. A man would have thought two rough Seas had met together, ſwaying one againſt the other, doubtful which way the current would at length fall. In this conflict many thouſands were on both ſides ſlain, ſo that the field lay covered with the dead bodies of worthy Men and valiant Souldiers; yet at length theſe Confederate Princes, finding themſelves overmatched by *Bajazet* and his Souldiers, reſerving themſelves to their better Fortunes, turned their backs and fled; when *Aladin* ſeeing a great part of his Army thus overthrown, and himſelf now ready to be charged with *Amurath* his whole Power, deſpairing of Victory, ſped himſelf in all haſt to *Iconium*, his ſtrong City. The ſpoil which *Amurath* got in this battel was great, moſt part whereof he gave in reward to *Temurtaſes* and his Souldiers, which had indured the greateſt fury of the battel. *Amurath* after this Victory with all ſpeed marched to *Iconium*, and there beſieged *Aladin* the *Caramanian* King, in his ſtrongeſt City, giving out Proclamation in the mean time, That none of his Souldiers upon pain of death ſhould uſe any violence to any of the Country-people, or take any thing from them; to the intent it might appear unto the World, that he made that War againſt that Mahometan King, rather to propulſe Injury and Wrong, than for deſire of Soveraignty or Spoil. Which his

Aladin *flieth to* Iconium. Iconium *beſieged by* Amurath.

his ſo ſtrait a Proclamation, the Chriſtians ſent by *Lazarus*, amongſt others, tranſgreſſed; and therefore by his commandment ſuffered (many of them) exemplary puniſhment; which was the cauſe of the *Servian* War which not long after enſued,fatal both unto *Amurath* and *Lazarus* the Deſpot, as hereafter ſhall appear.

Aladin now on every ſide beſieged in *Iconium*, and without all hope of eſcape, ſent to the Queen his Wife, *Amuraths* Daughter, bewailing unto her his deſperate eſtate, and requeſting her by all the love that ſo honourable a minded Lady might bear unto her miſerable Husband,to adventure her ſelf to go to her angry Father,and to crave pardon for his great Treſpaſs and Offence. The Queen forthwith attiring her ſelf, as was fitteſt for her Husbands preſent eſtate, came to her Father; where falling down at his Feet upon her knees, with words wiſely placed,and tears diſtilling down her fair Cheeks from her fairer Eyes, as if it had been from two Fountains, in moſt ſorrowful manner, craved her Husbands Pardon, imputing to the heat of Youth whatſoever he had done; and would not be comforted or taken up,until ſhe had obtained Grace. *Amurath* moſt entirely loved this his Daughter, and therefore for her ſake not only granted unto her,her Husbands life (which in ſhort time was like to have been in his power to have ſpilt) but alſo his Kingdom, which he as a Victorious Conqueror might by Law of Arms have of right detained. She now aſſured of her Fathers promiſe, ſent unto her Husband *Aladin*, wiſhing him the next day without fear to come out of the City, and in humble ſort to acknowledge his fault before her Father. Who the next morning accordingly came out, and proſtrating himſelf before *Amurath*, acknowledged his undutifulneſs; of whom (for his Wives ſake) he obtained Pardon, and Reſtitution to his Kingdom, with many other great Gifts,contrary to his evil deſert. The Latine Hiſtories miſtaking the man, report this *Caramanian* War, to have been fought againſt the King of *Caramania*, *Amurath* his own Grandfather by the Mother ſide; and that he was by *Amurath* then ſpoiled of a great part of his Kingdom; but it agreeth not with the Turkiſh Hiſtories, which make *Amurath* to be the Son of *Orchanes* and *Lulufer*, the Daughter of the Governor of the Caſtle of *Jarchiſer*, as is before declared in the life of *Othoman*; which *Lulufer* lieth buried by her Husband *Orchanes* in *Pruſa*.

This great Victory gotten by *Amurath* againſt the *Caramanian* King, and the other Confederate Princes,was the true beginning of the greatneſs of the *Othoman* Kingdom in *Aſia*; wherewith the other Mahometan Princes of the *Selzuccian* Family were ſo diſcouraged,that they were glad to ſubmit themſelves thus firſt unto *Amurath*, and after that unto his Son *Bajazet*; until that *Tamerlane* the great *Tartarian* Prince,ſome few years after,taking *Bajazet* Priſoner in a great battel at Mount *Stella*, abated the *Othoman* Pride, and reſtored the other oppreſſed Mahometan Princes to their old Poſſeſſions and Kingdoms.

Amurath returning homewards,by the way took the City of *Deſpotopolis*, and coming to *Cutaie*, brake up his Army, and ſo in triumph returned to his Court at *Pruſa*.

Lazarus, Deſpot of *Servia* (in old time called *Myſia*) had ſent a thouſand armed men to *Amurath* in this the late *Caramanian* War, according to the convention of the Peace not long before made betwixt them; ſome of which Souldiers, were with great ſeverity (to the terror of others) executed in *Caramania*, for tranſgreſſing *Amurath* his commandment. This great War being ended, and the Army broken up at *Cutaie*, they with others were licenſed to depart into their own Country. Whoſe General (whom they call the Vayvod) returning home, reported unto *Lazarus* the Deſpot, the ſucceſs of that War, and withall in what cruel and tyrannical manner the men he had ſent were in that Service uſed by the commandment of *Amurath*. With whom (ſaid this General) you without cauſe have made a moſt diſhonourable Peace; firſt, by giving your Faith to ſuch a Miſcreant, and then in ſending your loyal Subjects, in recompence of their good Service, to be ſo butchered at his pleaſure; beſide the ſhameful Tribute which you yearly pay unto him. Whereas if it would pleaſe you in the depth of your wiſdom but to know your own ſtrength, you ſhould find your ſelf in War-like force and power nothing inferior to the Tyrant; for we your Servants, being in number but a handful, were in theſe his late Wars a terror unto his Enemies, and by our valour, and not his own, he got the Victory over them. What cauſe is there then, that you ſhould ſubject your ſelf unto your Inferior? I know he cannot of himſelf bring into the field above fifty thouſand fighting men; but admit he were able to bring a hundred thouſand, are not you, (if you ſo pleaſe) able to levy a far greater Power? and for all other War-like proviſion you are ten-fold better provided than he. Beſides that, the mighty Chriſtian Princes will ſend you ſuch Aid againſt this hateful and common Enemy,that being united with yours,his Barbarian Forces will be nothing in compariſon of thoſe which you ſhall then be able to bring into the field againſt him; which no doubt the Chriſtian Princes will the rather do, as men deſirous to quench this devouring fire in another mans houſe, rather than in their own.

Theſe words of the Vayvod ſo much moved *Lazarus*, that he determined in himſelf to break that ſervile League which he before had made with *Amurath*. And for that cauſe ſent his Embaſſador with ſecret Inſtructions to the King of *Boſna* (in time paſt called *Illyria*) his Neighbour; whereof the chief point was, to crave his Aid againſt the Turk their common Enemy. By whom the King of *Boſna* returned this anſwer, That it had been much better ſuch conſideration had been thought upon before the foul contract (full of diſgrace both to himſelf and all other Chriſtian Princes) was upon a vain fear by him raſhly made with the Turkiſh Tyrant; yet for ſo much as things done could not be undone, letting that paſs which was remedileſs; he promiſed to joyn with him his whole Forces againſt ſo dangerous an Enemy. And thereupon appointing a place for an Interview, met accordingly, and there fully concluded all the Articles of their Confederation.

Lazarus *the Deſpot by his Embaſſador craveth aid of the King of* **Boſna.**

There was in the Confines of *Boſna* a Caſtle called *Alexandria*, the Captain whereof being a Chriſtian, was yet Tributary unto the Turk; wiſhing unto him ſuch good, as men oppreſſed uſe to do to them by whom they are ſo wronged. This Captain under the colour of Friendſhip went to *Amurath*, and in great ſecrecy opened to him the whole State of the Kingdom of *Boſna*; and withall, that the King thereof intended ſome great matter againſt him; for the preventing whereof he offered his own Service, and ſhewed ſome probable means how that Kingdom might be brought into his Subjection, if he would but ſend ſome worthy General with a convenient Power for the undertaking thereof. This wonderfully pleaſed the ambitious old Tyrant, who therefore commanded a rich Garment to be caſt upon the Captain (which amongſt the Turks is taken for a ſure token of the Kings great Favour) and forthwith appointed his Tutor *Lala Schabin*, according to this Captains direction, to invade the Kingdom of *Boſna*. Who joyning himſelf with this deceitful Captain of *Alexandria*, with an Army of twenty thouſand men entred into *Boſna*; where overrunning a ſide of the Country, he without reſiſtance took great Booties; and ſeeing no apparent cauſe of fear, to do the more harm, by the advice of the ſame Captain divided his Army, which he ſent into divers parts of the Country, the more to burn and ſpoil the ſame. Of all whoſe proceedings the King of *Boſna* by ſecret Meſſengers from the Captain advertiſed, had in convenient places laid ſtrong Ambuſhes for the intercepting of his Enemies. So that as *Schabin* was returning homeward with a rich booty, having then with him but a thouſand men, ſuddenly appeared in his way thirty thouſand Chriſtians well armed; which *Schabin* ſeeing, thinking it folly to oppoſe ſo few againſt ſo many, would have preſently fled; but the reſt of the Gallants that were with him, preſuming of their good Fortune, and loth to loſe their rich Prey, would needs firſt Skirmiſh with the Chriſtians; in which deſperate Conflict they were almoſt all ſlain, and the ſpoil they had taken, all recovered by the Chriſtians. As for *Schabin*, he was glad by ſhameful flight to ſave himſelf. The like miſhap befel the other Turks in the other parts of *Boſna*, who for the moſt part were likewiſe intercepted and ſlain; ſo that of twenty thouſand, ſcarce five thouſand returned home.

Amurath *marrieth the Emperor of* **Conſtantinoples** *daughter.*

Whilſt theſe things were doing in *Europe*, *Amurath* in great Triumph at *Neapolis* married the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* his Daughter; whoſe two Siſters were alſo given in marriage to his two Sons; at which time he with great Solemnity circumciſed three of *Bajazets* Sons. At this time alſo returned *Jazigi Ogli*, whom he had before ſent Embaſſador to the Sultan of *Egypt* in requital of the honourable Embaſſage before to him ſent from the ſaid Sultan. Now *Amurath* underſtanding of the loſs of his men in *Boſna*, with the revolt of *Lazarus* Deſpot of *Servia*, was therewith much diſquieted. Wherefore he commanded *Alis Baſſa* his chief Counſellor, with all ſpeed to ſend forth Commiſſions into all parts of his Kingdom, for the levying of a Royal Army; which was done in ſuch poſt haſt, that it was thought he would have taken the Field before the beginning of the Spring. At which time alſo the other Mahometan Kings and Princes of *Aſia*, *Caraman Ogli*, *Teke Ogli* and the reſt, bound unto him by Homage, with divers others of ſmaller Power, were ſent for, to Aid him in his War; who partly for fear, and partly moved with the zeal of their Mahometan Superſtition, brought their Forces with great devotion. Unto this War againſt the Chriſtians, came alſo great numbers of the Mahometans from far Countries, as voluntary Souldiers. *Bajazet* his Son alſo, then Governor of *Cutaie*, with a great part of *Galatia*, gathering all his Forces, came to aid his Father in this religious War (as it was by them termed.) The Chriſtian Tributary Princes were not then forgotten; of whom two came, namely *Cuſtendil* and *Seratzil*; other two forſaking *Amurath*, came not, which was *Saſmenos* Prince of *Bulgaria*, and the Prince of *Varna* and *Dobritza*; with whom *Amurath* was highly offended. In the time of this ſo great Preparation, old *Lala Schabin*, *Amuraths* Tutor and faithful Servitor, died, being a man of great years; and *Temurtaſes* was appointed Governor in his place.

The revolting of the two Chriſtian Princes, *Saſmenos* and the Prince of *Varna*, much grieved *Amurath*; Wherefore he commanded *Alis Baſſa*, with an Army of thirty thouſand to invade and ſpoil *Saſmenos* his Country, now called *Bulgaria*, and in ancient time the lower *Myſia*. *Alis Baſſa* according to that was given him in charge, calling unto him *Jaxis Beg* the Son of *Temurtaſes*, *Ulu Beg*, *Suratna Baſſa*, with other Captains and Commanders of the Turks Provinces in *Europe*, aſſembled an Army of thirty thouſand for the Invaſion of *Bulgaria*. With this Army the *Baſſa* took many ſtrong Towns and Caſtles in *Bulgaria*, as *Piravade*, *Venuzina*, *Madra*, *Suni*, and others.

In the mean time, whilſt *Alis Baſſa* had thus begun the War againſt the Chriſtians in *Bulgaria*, *Amurath* having gathered a great Army in *Aſia*, determined in the beginning of the Spring to paſs over with the ſame into *Europe*; commending the Government of his Countries in *Aſia*, to *Temurtaſes Baſſa*, *Ferices Beg*, *Temurtaſes Subbaſſa*, *Cutlu Beg*, and *Haza Beg*; and ſo all things ſet in order in *Aſia*, he drew down his *Aſian* Forces toward *Helleſpontus*, where he was a while ſtayed with contrary Winds, but was afterwards tranſported to *Callipolis*, by *Jenitze Beg* Sanzack there. This was the third time that *Amurath* brought his Army out of *Aſia* into *Europe*. But whilſt he ſtayed at *Callipolis*, *Bajazet* his Son with a great Power came unto him thither: *Alis Baſſa* alſo underſtanding of *Amuraths* arrival in *Europe*, retired out of *Bulgaria*, and came to him at *Alcide*, recounting unto him the whole Succeſs of his Expedition into *Bulgaria*.

Saſmenos Prince of *Bulgaria*, ſeeing his Country ſpoiled, his ſtrong Cities and Caſtles taken by the Turks, and withall hearing of their great Preparations for War; by the advice of his Nobility thought it beſt betimes again to ſubmit himſelf unto *Amurath*; wherefore tying a Winding-ſheet about his Neck, in token that he had deſerved death (after the manner of the *Barbarians*) he came to *Amurath* at *Calcide*, where falling flat upon the ground, at the Horſes feet whereon *Amurath* ſate, he in moſt humble wiſe craved pardon; offering by a certain day to deliver *Siliſtria* the chief City of his Dominion, into *Amuraths* Poſſeſſion, as a pledge of his Fidelity; who thereupon granted him pardon, and to aſſure him of his Favour, commanded a rich Garment to be caſt upon him, after the manner of the Turks, ſending *Alis Baſſa* at the time appointed, to take poſſeſſion of *Siliſtria*. But *Saſmenos* repenting himſelf of that he had ſo largely promiſed, would not deliver his City, but in ſtrongeſt manner he could preſently fortified the ſame. Wherewith *Amurath* more offended than before, commanded the Baſſa with Fire and Sword again to ſpoil and waſt his Country; who according to his commandment entred again into *Bulgaria*, and ſtruck ſuch a terror of his coming into the hearts of the people, that many ſtrong places were voluntarily yielded into his Power, namely *Diritze*, *Coſſova*, with the City of *Ternova*, the Seat of the Princes Court; *Tzernevi*, *Novakeſtri*, *Ziſtova*, with divers others; and proceeding farther, he laid ſiege to *Nicopolis*, the ſtrongeſt City of *Bulgaria*, upon the ſide of the great River *Danubius*, whether *Saſmenos* was for fear himſelf fled. Who finding himſelf unable to hold out the Siege, once again (with ſhame enough) tying a Winding-ſheet about his Neck, as he had done before, and taking his Son with him, went out of the City, and in moſt abject manner falling down at the Baſſa his Feet, craved pardon; which the Baſſa, moved with compaſſion to ſee the miſery of ſo great a man, and having already taken from him the greateſt part of his Dominion, and now out of fear of further reſiſtance, eaſily granted. And having thus ended the *Bulgarian* War, returned to *Amurath*, of whom he was right joyfully received.

Amurath had now made great Preparation for the invading of *Servia*, for which purpoſe he had drawn over into *Europe* the greateſt Forces he poſſibly could out of *Aſia*; ſending alſo for his youngeſt Son *Jacup*, Governor of *Caraſia*, who underſtanding his Fathers pleaſure, repaired unto him with all the Power he could make. This Army by *Amurath* thus aſſembled, was the greateſt that ever was before that, brought by the Turks into *Europe*. *Lazarus* not ignorant of this great Preparation made by *Amurath*, had drawn into the ſociety of this War, the King of *Boſna* (as is aforeſaid) with *Vulcus* Prince of *Macedonia*, his Son in law, who both brought unto him great Aid; he had alſo by his Embaſſadors procured great Supplies from other Chriſtian Kings and Princes, out of *Valachia*, *Hungaria*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Albania*, *Bulgaria*, and *Italy*, beſides great numbers of other voluntary devout Chriſtians, which all aſſembled and met together, did in number far exceed the great Army of the Turks.

The Caſtle of Sarkive *with the City joyning unto it, taken by the Chriſtians and raſed.*

With this Army *Lazarus* the Deſpot encamped upon the ſide of the River *Morova* the greater, not far from whence ſtood the ſtrong Caſtle of *Sarkive*, which *Alis Baſſa* had of late taken from *Saſmenos* the *Bulgarian* Prince, ſtanding as it were betwixt *Bulgaria* and *Servia*; this Caſtle being now poſſeſſed of the Turks, was thought by *Lazarus* dangerous to his Country, who therefore ſent one *Demetrius*, a right valiant Captain, with certain Companies of ſelect Men to take in the ſame. The name of this Captain *Demetrius*, was a general terror unto the Turks, for the harm he had done them; ſo that they in the Caſtle hearing that he was come, without further reſiſtance yielded the ſame unto him. Whereof *Amurath* underſtanding, ſent *Eine*, and *Sarutze* Baſſa to recover the ſame; but *Lazarus* doubting that the Caſtle would hardly be kept in that dangerous War, ſent *Vulcus* his Son in law with twenty thouſand Men, to bring away all that was therein, and in the City near unto it, leſt it ſhould become a prey unto the greedy Turks; which he accordingly did, and at the ſame time raſed both the Caſtle and the City, before the coming of *Jaxis Beg*, ſent from *Amurath* to have done the ſame exploit; which he coming thither, found already done to his hand by *Vulcus*.

As *Amurath* was marching towards *Servia*, *Seratze* and *Cuſtendil*, two Chriſtian Princes his Tributaries, met him with their Forces, whom he cauſed to march before him, as his Guids; and paſſing through *Cuſtendil* his Country, was there refreſhed with plenty of all things neceſſary; until at length paſſing the River of *Morova* the leſs, he drew ſo near to the Plains of *Coſſova* (where the Chriſtian Army lay) that he with his Son *Bajazet* from a little Hill took full view of the Chriſtian Camp, which was ſo great, that it covered all thoſe large Plains from ſide to ſide, and ſo daunted *Amurath*, as that returning to his Army, he preſently entred into a great conſultation with his greateſt Captains and Commanders, what courſe to take againſt ſuch a puiſſant Enemy.

Theſe great Armies being now come ſo nigh together, as that they might the one well deſcry the other, *Amurath* had purpoſed the ſame day to have given the Chriſtians battel; but being diſſwaded by *Eurenoſes*, both for that it was extream hot, and his Souldiers wearied with travel, he reſted that night. The next morning as ſoon as it was day, he put his Army in order of battel, placing his Son *Bajazet* with *Eurenoſes* and *Eine Beg Subbaſſa*, in the right Wing; his youngeſt Son *Jacup*, with *Sarutze Baſſa* in the left Wing; the main battel he led himſelf. *Lazarus* in the mean time had alſo ſet his Army in good order; giving the charge of the right Wing to *Vulcus* his Son in law; the left Wing was led by the King of *Boſna*, and his Sons; in the main battel ſtood *Lazarus* himſelf; the *Italians*, *Valachians*, *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and *Bulgarians*, he placed in both Wings. It is thought, greater Armies than thoſe two had ſeldem before met in *Europe*. *Lazarus* as the Turkiſh Hiſtories report (but how truly I know not) having in his Army five hundred thouſand men; and *Amurath* ſcarce half ſo many.

To begin the battel, *Amurath* had drawn a thouſand of his beſt Archers, under the leading of *Malcozzeus*, out of the right Wing of his Army; and the like number of Archers out of the left, under the conduct of one *Muſtapha*; which ſo placed on both ſides of the Army, as he thought beſt, *Eurenoſes* a man of great experience, told *Amurath*, That the Chriſtians were for the moſt part well and ſtrongly armed, and ſhouldring cloſe together in their charge, would be like a Rock of Iron, unable to be pierced; but if in joyning the battel, he would a little retire, the Chriſtians following upon good hope, would ſo looſe their cloſe ſtanding (the chief part of their ſtrength) and leave an entrance for his Men. Upon which reſolution, *Amurath* commanded the Archers to give the firſt charge; which they couragiouſly performed. At which time, the Turks Army gave ground a little; which the Chriſtians perceiving, with great force aſſailed the left Wing of their Army, and after a hard and cruel fight put the ſame to flight; which *Bajazet* ſeeing, with ſuch fury renewed the battel, that the Turks which before as men diſcouraged fled in the left Wing, began now to turn again upon their Enemies; and the Chriſtians, having as they thought already got the Victory, were to begin a great battel. In which bloody fight many thouſands fell on both ſides; the brightneſs of the Armor and Weapons, was as it had been the Lightning; the multitude of Launces and other Horſemens Staves, ſhadowed the light of the Sun; Arrows and Darts fell ſo faſt, that a man would have thought they had poured down from Heaven; the noiſe of the Inſtruments of War, with the neighing of Horſes, and out-cries of Men was ſo terrible and great, that the wild Beaſts of the Mountains ſtood aſtonied therewith; and the Turkiſh Hiſtories, to expreſs the terror of the day (vainly ſay) that the Angels in Heaven amazed with that hideous noiſe, for that time forgot the heavenly Hymns wherewith they always glorifie God. About noon time of the day, the fortune of the Turks prevailing, the Chriſtians began to give ground, and at length betook themſelves to plain flight; whom the Turks with all their force purſued and ſlew them down right, without number or mercy. In which battel *Lazarus* the Deſpot himſelf was alſo ſlain. Howbeit ſome Hiſtories report otherwiſe, as that he with his Son were taken Priſoners, and by and by afterwards (in revenge of *Amurath* his death) cruelly ſlain; otherſome alſo reporting that he died in Priſon. *Amurath* after this great Victory, with ſome few of his chief Captains taking view of the dead bodies, which without number lay on heaps in the field like Mountains; a Chriſtian Souldier, ſore wounded and all bloody, ſeeing him, in ſtaggering manner aroſe (as if it had been from death) out of a heap of ſlain men, and making towards him, for want of ſtrength fell down divers times by the way as he came, as if he had been a drunken man; at length drawing nigh unto him, when they which guarded the Kings Perſon would have ſtayed him, he was by *Amurath* himſelf commanded to come nearer, ſuppoſing that he would have craved his life of him. Thus the half-dead Chriſtian preſſing near unto him, as if he would for honour ſake have kiſſed his Feet, ſuddenly ſtabbed him

Lazarus *ſlain.*

in

Amurath ſlain.

in the bottom of his belly with a ſhort Dagger, which he had under his Souldiers Coat; of which Wound that great King and Conqueror preſently died. The name of this man, (for his courage worthy of eternal memory) was *Miles Cobelitz*; who before ſore wounded, was ſhortly after in the preſence of *Bajazet* cut into ſmall pieces. The Turks in their Annals ſomewhat otherwiſe report of the death of *Amurath*; as that this *Cobelitz*, one of the Deſpot his Servants, in time of the Battel, coming to *Amurath* as a Fugitive, offering him his Service, and admitted to his preſence, in humbling himſelf to have kiſſed his Feet (as the barbarous manner of the Turks is) ſtabbed him into the belly and ſo ſlew him; being himſelf therefore ſhortly after (as is aforeſaid) in the preſence of *Bajazet* moſt cruelly hewen into ſmall pieces. Whereupon ever ſince that time, the manner of the Turks hath been, and yet is, that when any Embaſſador or Stranger is come to kiſs the Sultan his hand, or otherwiſe to approach his Perſon, he is as it were for honours ſake, led by the Arms unto his preſence, betwixt two of the great Courtiers; but indeed by ſo intangling him, to be ſure that he ſhall not offer him the like violence, that did this *Cobelitz* unto *Amurath*.

The dead body of *Amurath* was preſently with all ſecrecy conveyed into his Tent by the Baſſaes and Captains preſent at his death; whether *Bajazet* was alſo brought with an Enſign before him, as the Succeſſor in his Fathers Kingdom. His younger Brother *Jacup*, ſirnamed *Zelebi* (or the Noble) yet ignorant of that had hapned, was by the great Baſſaes ſent for, as from his Father; who caſting no peril, but coming into his Fathers Tent, was there preſently by them ſtrangled, by the commandment of *Bajazet*, as moſt Hiſtories report; howbeit the Turks Annals charge him not therewith. This was the beginning of the moſt unnatural and inhumane cuſtom, ever ſince holden for a moſt wholſome and good policy among the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors, in the beginning of their Reign moſt cruelly to Maſſacre their Brethren and neareſt Kinſmen, ſo at once to rid themſelves of all fear of their Competitors.

This *Amurath* was in his Superſtition more zealous than any other of the Turkiſh Kings; a man of great courage, and in all his Attempts fortunate; he made greater ſlaughter of his Enemies, than both his Father and Grandfather; his Kingdom in *Aſia* he greatly inlarged by the Sword, Marriage, and Purchaſe; and uſing the Diſcord and Cowardiſe of the *Grecian* Princes, to his profit, ſubdued a great part of *Thracia*, called *Romania*, with the Territories thereto adjoyning, leaving unto the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, little or nothing more in *Thracia*, than the Imperial City it ſelf, with the bare name of an Emperor, almoſt without an Empire; he won a great part of *Bulgaria*, and entred into *Servia*, *Boſna*, and *Macedonia*; he was liberal, and withall ſevere; of his Subjects both beloved and feared; a man of very few words, and one that could diſſemble deeply. He was ſlain when he was threeſcore and eight years old, and had thereof reigned thirty one, in the year of our Lord, 1390. His dead body was by *Bajazet* conveyed into *Aſia*, and there Royally buried at *Pruſa*, in a fair Chappel at the Weſt end of the City, near unto the Baths there; where, upon his Tomb lieth his Souldiers Cloke, with a little Turkiſh Tulipant, much differing from thoſe great Turbants which the Turks now wear. Near unto the ſame Tomb are placed three Launces, with three Horſe-tails faſtned at the upper end of them, which he uſed as Guidons in his Wars; a thing in ancient time not ſtrange. There ſtandeth a Caſtle with a Tomb, made in remembrance of him, in the Plains of *Coſſova*, where he was ſlain and his Entrails buried; which giveth occaſion for ſome to report that he was there alſo himſelf enterred.

Amurath buried at Pruſa.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Amurath *the Firſt.*	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	John Paleologus.	1354. 30.
			Andronicus Paleologus.	1384. 3.
			Emanuel Paleologus.	1387. 30.
		Of the Weſt	Charles *the Fourth.*	1346. 32.
			Wenceſlaus, *Son to* Charles, *King of* Bohemia.	1378. 22.
	Kings,	Of England	Edward *the Third.*	1327. 50.
			Richard *the Second.*	1377. 23.
		Of France	John Valois.	1350. 14.
			Charles *the Fifth.*	1364. 16.
			Charles *the Sixth, ſirnamed, The welbeloved.*	1381. 42.
		Of Scotland	David Bruce.	1341. 29.
			Robert Stewart.	1370.
	Biſhops of Rome,		Innocent *the* VI.	1354. 10.
			Urban *the* V.	1364. 8.
			Gregory *the* II.	1372. 7.
			Urban *the* VI.	1378. 11.

The LIFE of
BAJAZET,
The Firſt of that NAME,
The FOURTH and moſt UNFORTUNATE
King of the Turks.

BAjazet, or as the Turks call him, *Baiaſit*, of his violent and fierce Nature ſirnamed *Gilderun*, or Lightning, ſucceeded his Father *Amurath* in the Turkiſh Kingdom, his younger Brother *Jacup* being ſtrangled immediatly after his Fathers death, as is before declared. He in the firſt year of his Reign invaded *Servia*, and there beſieged *Cratova*, a City of the Deſpots; whereunto the Silver Mines of *Servia* (not the leaſt cauſe of that War) belonged. Which City was yielded unto him, upon condition, That the Chriſtian Inhabitants might with Life and Liberty depart. Who were no ſooner gon out of the City, but that by his commandment they were all moſt cruelly ſlain by his men of War, for that purpoſe ſent out after them. At this time he alſo won *Uſcupia*, with divers other Caſtles in the Country near unto *Cratova*.

Bajazet *invadeth* Servia.

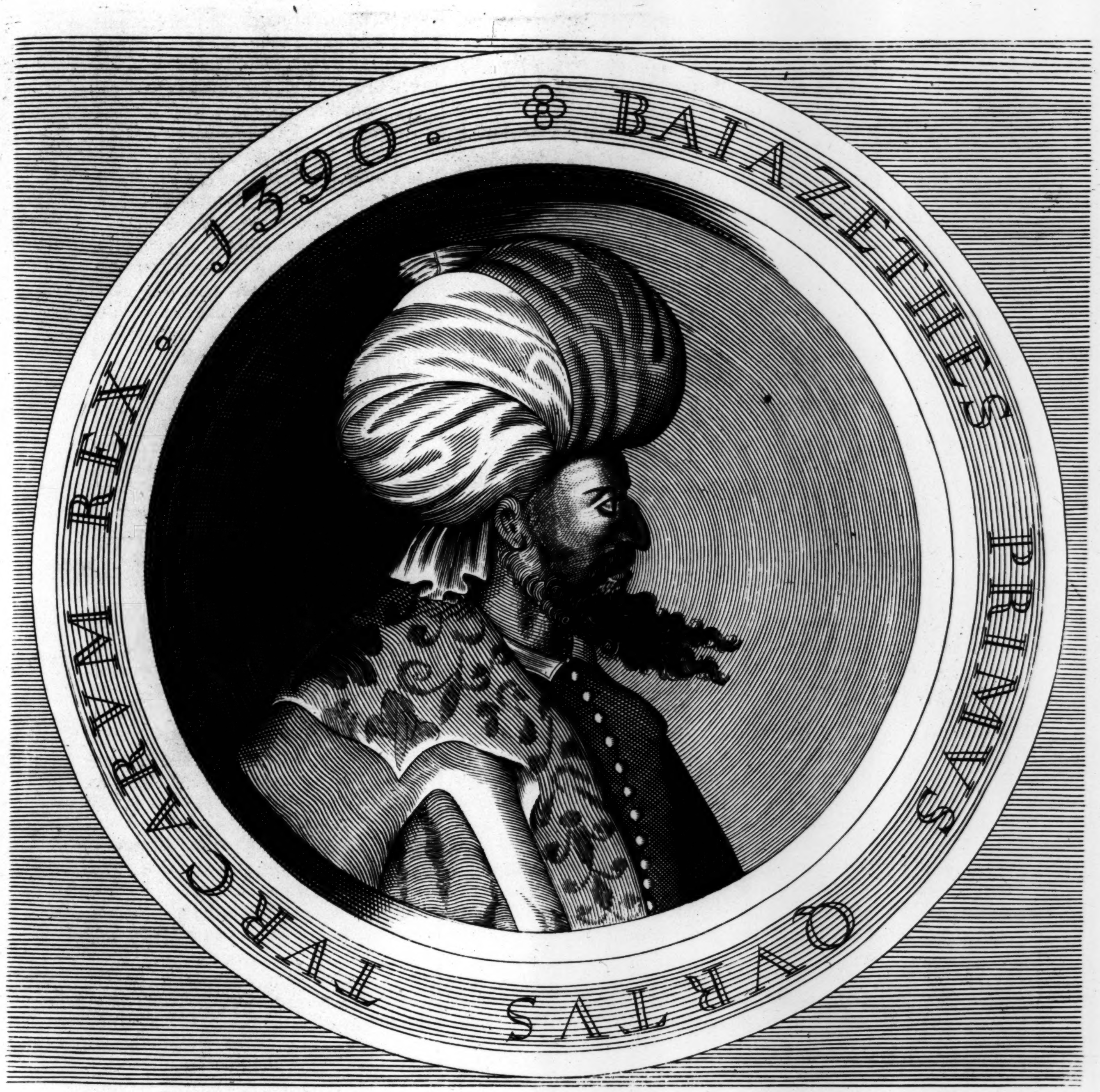
Sigiſmund at the ſame time King of *Hungary* (a young Prince of great hope, and Brother to *Wenceſlaus*, then Emperor of the Weſt) advertiſed from the *Servians* his Allies and Confederates, of theſe proud proceedings of *Bajazet*; by his Embaſſadors ſent of purpoſe, requeſted him, That as he was a juſt Prince, and wiſhed to live in quiet with his own, to deſiſt from doing of ſuch open wrong, and from invading of ſuch Countries of his Friends and Confederates, as he had no right in. Which Embaſſadors ſo ſent, *Bajazet* detained without anſwer, until ſuch time as he had overrun a great part of the Deſpot his Country, and therein done what he thought good. Then calling the ſaid Embaſſadors unto him into one of the ſtrong Towns which he had in every corner filled with his own Souldiers, told them that they might there ſee, that his Right both unto that Town and the reſt by him taken, was good enough, for as much as the very Walls acknowledged the ſame; And ſo giving them leave to depart, willed them ſo to tell their Maſter. Which his proud anſwer, by the ſame Embaſſadors reported unto the young King, no leſs troubled him, than if open War had by them been denounced unto him, ſeeing the Tyrant (as it ſhould ſeem) pretended Right unto whatſoever he could by force get; nevertheleſs, being himſelf not yet well ſetled in his Kingdom, and in doubt of the contrary Faction (that altogether liked not of his Election into *Hungary* for their King) he was glad at that time to put it up, and ſo to hold himſelf content.

Servia *the ſecond time invaded by* Bajazet.

The next year, *Bajazet* by *Feriſes-Beg*, took the City of *Vidina*, with many other ſtrong Towns and Caſtles in *Servia*, and afterwards returned to *Hadrianople*. But whilſt that he thus raged in *Europe*, the *Caramanian* King invaded and ſpoiled the Frontiers of his Countries in *Aſia*; which although he was not then at leiſure, he forgot not afterwards to revenge to the full. At the ſame time *Eurenoſes*, Lord Governor of the Marches of his Kingdom in *Europe* towards *Grecia*, departing from *Seres* (where he then lay) took the City of *Sitros* in *Theſſalia*. And *Feriſes-Beg*, not content to have taken *Vidina* (as is aforeſaid) paſſed over the great River of *Danubius*, and grievouſly ſpoiled *Valachia*; from whence he returned loden with a great Prey. This was the firſt time (that I read of) that the Turks ever paſſed over the River *Danubius*. At this time alſo *Jegides Baſſa* entred the Kingdom of *Boſna*, from whence he carried a great number of Captives to *Hadrianople*, where *Bajazet* ſpent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring *Bajazet* paſſed over *Helleſpontus* to *Pruſa*, where he built a fair *Mahometan* Temple, with a Colledge, and an Alms-Houſe; which works finiſhed, he returned again into *Europe*, and built a Monaſtery at *Hadrianople*; and ſo returned again into *Aſia*, leaving *Temurtuſes*, *Begler-Beg* (or his Viceroy) in *Hadrianople*. After he was come into *Aſia*, he laid Siege to the ſtrong City of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia*, which was at that time the only City in the leſſer *Aſia*, yet holden by the Chriſtians in the midſt of the *Mahometan* Princes; for now was the Greek Emperor by the *Othoman* Kings and the other Turks quite driven out of the leſſer *Aſia*. In the beginning of this Siege, *Bajazet* gave ſtrait commandment to his Souldiers, That they ſhall not ſpoil or hurt any thing in the Country belonging to the Citizens; hoping by ſuch feigned courteſie to make them the more willing to yield themſelves unto his Obedience. But diſappointed of his expectation, and finding them reſolved to hold it out unto the laſt, he forthwith gave out contrary commandment, not to ſpare any thing they could waſt or deſtroy; which was accordingly by his greedy Souldiers performed.

Philadelphia *beſieged by* Bajazet.


BAIAZETHES PRIMVS QVRTVS TVRCARVM REX. 1390.

Fulminis in morem celeri rapit agmina motu
Bajazethes, fidei pacis et impatiens.
Regni Hadrianopolim Sedes sibi legit ut eſset,
Poſset ut Europæ jungere regna suis.
Constantinopolim gemina obsidione fatigat:
Iam Græcas vana spe sibi spondet opes.
Cum Tamerlano præbet sua terga, catenis
Victus, et in cavea probra pudenda subit.

Faithleſs, and furious Bajazet's Armes now fly,
As swift as Thunderbolts dart through the sky;
In Adrianople plants his haughty Throne,
To make all European Crownes his owne.
Constantinople twice with sieges tires,
And twice he takes it only in desires.
Till Tamerlane, for all his bloudy paines,
Rewards the Monster with a Cage, and Chaines.

performed. After long Siege, the Citizens ſeeing the Country about them utterly waſted, and themſelves unable longer to indure, and out of all hope of relief, yielded their City unto the pleaſure of *Bajazet*. It is written by ſome, that this famous City was not beſieged without the conſent of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*; and that the Greeks themſelves, moved with envy to ſee that City ſo long hold out, did help the Turks in the winning thereof.

In the time of this Siege *Aidin Ogli* Prince of *Caria*, a Mahometan, came to *Bajazet*, and yielded himſelf into his power as his Vaſſal; unto whom *Bajazet* reſtored certain places which he had in this expedition a little before taken from him; yet upon ſuch condition, as that he ſhould not from that time coin any Mony in his own name, either be remembred in publick Prayers as a Prince in their Mahometan Temples, as he had before been; but that all ſuch things ſhould be done in the name of *Bajazet*, as his dread Lord and Soveraign. With which diſgrace the poor Prince was glad to content himſelf, and to live as his Vaſſal. From *Philadelphia* he led his Army into the Country of *Saruchania*, in ancient time called *Ionia Maritima*, which he ſubdued unto himſelf upon like conditions. After that, he paſſed farther to *Menteſia*, or *Mentz*, ſometime called *Myndos* in *Caria*; the Prince whereof for fear fled to *Cutrun Bajazet*, Prince of *Caſtamona* and part of *Pontus*, leaving his Country to the pleaſure of the Tyrant. And foraſmuch as the young King of *Caramania* had invaded his Countries whilſt he was buſied in *Europe*, *Bajazet* in revenge thereof entred with his Army into *Caramania*, and took *Ceſaria*, with divers other places there; ſo that the young King diſcouraged with the loſs of his Towns, and fearing *Bajazet* his greatneſs, was glad to hold himſelf contented with his loſs, and to make Peace with him as it pleaſed him to grant it. As *Bajazet* was making this expedition into *Caramania*, another young Mahometan Prince, the Son of Prince *Germian*, came unto him with one of his chief Counſellors, and were both by him ſent Priſoners over the Strait to the Caſtle of *Ipſala*, where they lay in durance many years after. Thus *Bajazet* having oppreſſed and wronged moſt of the Mahometan Princes, the Succeſſors of Sultan *Aladin* in the leſſer *Aſia*, at laſt returned again himſelf in triumph to *Pruſa*.

The Prince of *Menteſia*, who for fear of *Bajazet* was fled out of his Country, as is aforeſaid, had now incited *Cutrun Bajazet*, Prince of *Caſtamona*, with a great power to invade that ſide of *Bajazet* his Kingdom which bordered upon him. Which *Bajazet* underſtanding, gathered a great Army to go againſt this Mahometan Prince. At which very time the Vayvod of *Valachia*, hearing of *Bajazet* his troubles in *Aſia*, with a ſtrong Army paſſed over *Danubius* into thoſe parts of *Servia* and *Bulgaria* that were by the Turks as then poſſeſſed; where he ſpoiled the Country, and ſlew great numbers of the Turks, making Mahometan Saints and Martyrs by heaps; for ſo the Turks account all them whom the Chriſtians kill in their War; which done, he retired back again into *Valachia*, carrying with him alſo many of the Turks Priſoners. *Bajazet* thus at once invaded both in *Aſia* and *Europe*; deferred his Wars purpoſed againſt the Prince of *Pontus*, until a more convenient time, converting his Forces againſt the *Valachians*. Wherefore paſſing over the Strait to *Hadrianople*, he ſent his Army from thence to *Nicopolis*, and there paſſing the River of *Danubius*, entred into *Valachia*, burning and ſpoiling the Country before him as he went. Where the Vayvod to repreſs his Fury, met him in the Field and gave him Battel, but was therein overthrown, and many of his People ſlain; ſo that at laſt he was glad to ſue for Peace, which he obtained, by ſubmitting himſelf to *Bajazet*, and yielding to pay him a yearly Tribute.

Theſſalia *invaded by* Bajazet.

Whilſt *Bajazet* was thus buſied in *Valachia*, news was brought unto him, That the Chriſtians of the Weſt with a Fleet of Gallies did great harm alongſt the Coaſts of his Dominions in *Aſia*. In revenge whereof, he entred with his Army into *Theſſaly*, deſtroying all the Country unto *Theſſalonica*; in which expedition he took the City of *Neapolis* in *Greece*, and *Joannina* in *Ætolia*, and after that returned into *Aſia*, where he ſpent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring, he with a great Power paſſed the Strait of *Callipolis* to *Hadrianople*, intending to have invaded *Hungary*. But as he was upon the way, it chanced that a Conſtantinopolitan Spy was by the Turks intercepted, with Letters from the Greek Emperor to the King of *Hungary*, giving him warning both of the Turks preparation and coming. By which Spy *Bajazet* alſo underſtood of another Meſſenger before ſent into *Hungary* for like purpoſe. Whereupon *Temurtaſes* (then his great Lieutenant in *Europe*) perſwaded him to deſiſt from his intended Wars in *Hungary*, and to beſiege the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, as a thing of more honour, and leſs danger; the City being already (as he ſaid, and as in truth it was) ſurrounded with the Turkiſh Provinces; bringing in *Philadelphia* (but a few years before won) for example of the like exploit. Of whoſe Counſel *Bajazet* liking well, returned with his Army, and ſhortly after came and ſate down therewith before *Conſtantinople*, laying hard Siege thereunto, firſt by Land, and after by Sea, with his Gallies ſent from *Callipolis*. Which hard Siege continued (as moſt Hiſtories report) the ſpace of eight years; in which long time he drave the Emperor *Emanuel Paleologus* to that Strait, that he was glad to leave his City, and himſelf in perſon to crave Aid of *Wenceſlaus* the German Emperor, and *Charles* the Sixth the French King, and other Chriſtian Princes alſo. At which time the Citizens were at length brought to ſuch extremity, that they were even at the point to have yielded up the City; and happily had ſo done, had not *Sigiſmund* King of *Hungary* (aſſiſted with a great Army of the French, and other voluntary Chriſtians almoſt out of every part of Chriſtendom, to the number of an hundred and thirty thouſand, under the leading of *John* Count of *Nivers*, and after Duke of *Burgundy*) for the relief of the beſieged Emperor, paſſed over *Danubius* into the Turkiſh Dominions; and there having recovered *Vidina*, with certain other ſtrong Holds in *Bulgaria*, laid Siege to *Nicopolis*; out of which City the Turks oftentimes ſallied, and gave him many an hot skirmiſh. It is reported, That the young King *Sigiſmund* beholding the greatneſs of his Army, in his great jollity hearing of the coming of the Turks Army, ſhould proudly ſay, *What need we to fear the Turk, who need not at all to fear the falling of the Heavens? which if they ſhould fall, yet were we able with our Spears and Haldberts to hold them up from falling upon us.* But *Bajazet* underſtanding what Spoil the *Hungarian* King had made in his late gained Countries, and of the

Conſtantinople *eight years beſieged by* Bajazet.

Siege of *Nicopolis*; commanded the Ladders and other great proviſion now in readineſs for the ſcaling and aſſaulting of the City of *Conſtantinople*, to be burnt, becauſe they ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians; and ſo raiſing his Siege, marched with a right puiſſant Army to *Nicopolis*, ſending *Eurenoſes* before, of purpoſe to intercept ſome of the Chriſtians, thereby to learn the State of their Camp and Army. But they hearing of his coming, ſo well looked to themſelves, that he with ſhame returned to his Maſter as he came, without any one Priſoner taken. Which thing much troubled *Bajazet*, as fearing he ſhould have to do with a wary Enemy. *Sigiſmund* underſtanding of the approach of *Bajazet*, leaving a ſufficient Power for the continuing of the Siege, roſe himſelf, and with the reſt of his Army went to meet his proud Enemy. Of whoſe coming and approach *Bajazet* underſtanding, divided his Army into two parts; and being now come within the ſight of the Chriſtian Army, made ſhew but of the one half, keeping himſelf cloſe in ſecret ambuſh not far off with the other. The Chriſtians deeming themſelves (as they were) far more in number than the Turks which they ſaw, divided their Army alſo into two parts, purpoſing betwixt them to have incloſed the Turks. Of all the Chriſtians that were there preſent, the French deſired to have the honour of the firſt charge to be given upon the Turks, and in their heat upon good hope ſet forward (the *Hungarians*, with a great part of the Army, not yet ſet in order) and ſo began the Battel; where betwixt them and the Turks was fought a right cruel Fight, and in a little time many thouſands ſlain. But this Fight had not long endured, when *Bajazet* with the other half of his Army ſuddenly ariſing, came on with ſuch violence, as well became his ſirname of *Gilderun* or Lightning; and ſo hardly charged the French, that they amazed at the ſuddaineſs of the danger, and oppreſſed with the fury and multitude of the unexpected Enemy, ſtood at the firſt as men diſmaid; but ſeeing no remedy, encouraging one another, valiantly fought it out until they were almoſt all either ſlain or taken Priſoners; ſtill in hope to have been relieved by the *Hungarians* and the reſt. In this hard conflict divers of the French Horſemen having forſaken their Horſes, fought on Foot, as their manner was; which Horſes running back without their Riders, upon the *Hungarians*, cauſed them to doubt that the French were quite overthrown; wherewith diſmaied, they without further coming on, all turned their backs and fled, in ſo great haſt, as that it booted not the King or any other great Commander to go about to ſtay their Flight. The French thus by their too much haſt overthrown, the Turks purſuing the *Hungarians* and the reſt of the Chriſtians, made of them a great ſlaughter; of whom alſo many were drowned in the great River *Danubius*. At which time alſo the Turks took ſo many Priſoners, that it was thought every ſeveral Turk had his Priſoner. King *Sigiſmund* himſelf, who but a little before had deſpiſed even the falling of the Heavens, had then alſo undoubtedly fallen into his Enemies hands, had he not in a little Boat by good hap got over *Danubius*; not unlike another *Xerxes*, who having covered the Seas with his Ships, and with a world of men paſſed over into *Grecia*, was afterwards by the ſtrange change of Fortune, himſelf alone in a ſmall Fiſher-Boat glad to get back again into *Aſia*. *Sigiſmund* being thus got over *Danubius*, and fearing the violence of the *Hungarians* for the loſs of the Battel, fled by Sea into *Thracia* unto *Conſtantinople*, from whence he ſailed unto the Iſland of the *Rhodes*; and from thence ſailing through the *Ægean* and *Ionian* Sea, landed at length at *Dalmatia*; and ſo having wandred from place to place, toſſed with many Fortunes, after eighteen Months long and painful travel returned again into *Hungary*. Where he found the State of his Kingdom in his abſence much troubled, the contrary Faction in the mean time having made choice of *Ladiſlaus* King of *Naples* for their King; who was even then with a great Army going to have taken poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, had not *Sigiſmund* in good time by the help of certain of the chief of the *Hungarian* Nobility prevented him. In this Battel, called the Battel of *Nicopolis*, were of the Chriſtians twenty thouſand ſlain, and of the Turks threeſcore thouſand. The Count of *Nivers* the French Kings near Kinſman, was there taken Priſoner, with three hundred great Commanders more; where after he had endured great contumely and reproach in the preſence of *Bajazet*, he was commanded to make choice of five other of the Captains, ſuch as he liked beſt, all the reſt being cut in pieces before his Face, and he with the other five left alive, ſent Priſoners to *Pruſa*, from whence they were afterwards ranſomed for two hundred thouſand Ducats. This bloody Battel of *Nicopolis* was fought in the year of our Lord 1396.

Conſtantinople *the ſecond time beſieged by* **Bajazet.**

Bajazet after this great Victory, having worthily relieved his beſieged City, returned again to the Siege of *Conſtantinople*, laying more hardly unto it than before, building Forts and Bulwarks againſt it on the one ſide towards the Land; and paſſing over the Strait of *Boſphorus*, built a ſtrong Caſtle upon that Strait over againſt *Conſtantinople*, to impeach ſo much as was poſſible, all paſſage thereunto by Sea. This ſtrait Siege (as moſt write) continued alſo two years, which I ſuppoſe by the circumſtance of the Hiſtory, to have been part of the aforeſaid eight years. *Emanuel* the beſieged Emperor wearied with theſe long Wars, ſent an Embaſſador to *Bajazet* to intreat with him a Peace; which *Bajazet* was the more willing to hearken unto, for that he heard news, that *Tamerlane* the great *Tartarian* Prince intended ſhortly to war upon him. Yet could this Peace not be obtained, but upon condition, that the Emperor ſhould grant free Liberty for the Turks to dwell together in one Street of *Conſtantinople*, with free exerciſe of their own Religion and Laws, under a Judge of their own Nation; and further, to pay unto the Turkiſh King a yearly Tribute of ten thouſand Ducats. Which diſhonourable Conditions the diſtreſſed Emperor was glad to accept of. So was this long Siege broken up, and preſently a great ſort of Turks with their Families were ſent out of *Bithynia*, to dwell in *Conſtantinople*, and a Church there built for them; which not long after was by the Emperor pulled down to the ground, and the Turks again driven out of the City, at ſuch time as *Bajazet* was by the mighty *Tamerlane* overthrown and taken Priſoner.

Bajazet in the beginning of his Reign, preſently after the death of *Lazarus* the Deſpot, ſlain in the Battel of *Coſſova*, won part of *Servia*, (as is aforeſaid) the other part being ſtill holden by *Lazarus* his Son, called *Stephen* the Deſpot; who about this time ſent an honourable Embaſſador to *Bajazet* with loving Letters, and Royal Preſents; by which Embaſſador alſo the old Princeſs *Lazarus* his Widow, offered her fair Daughter *Deſpina, Stephens* Siſter, a Lady of incomparable Beauty, in marriag to him, if it ſhould pleaſe him to vouchſafe his Handmaid (as ſhe termed her) ſo high a place. This Lady was long before promiſed him, whilſt his Father *Amurath* yet lived. Of this Embaſſador *Bajazet* was very glad, but eſpecially for the fair Ladies ſake; which being known to the Princeſs her Mother, and the Deſpot her Brother, ſhe was forthwith honourably ſent to *Bajazet*, and ſo to him with great Solemnity and Triumph ſhortly after married. Of all his Wives he held her deareſt, and for her ſake reſtored to her Brother *Stephen* the City and Caſtle of *Semendre* (otherwiſe called S. *Andrew*) and *Columbarium* in *Servia*; ſhe allured him to drink Wine, forbidden the Turks by their Law; and cauſed him to delight in ſumptuous Banquets, which his Predeceſſors, *Othoman, Orchanes*, and *Amurath*, never uſed.

Bajazet *marrieth* Deſpina *the fair Daughter of* Lazarus *the Deſpot.*

As the Turkiſh Kingdom grew in greatneſs, ſo Corruption, the Canker of great States and Commonweals, increaſed likewiſe; but eſpecially in the Men of Law, and Judges of his Courts. Wherewith *Bajazet* grievouſly offended, commanded divers of the ſame Judges to be apprehended, determining (to the terror of others) to have executed them; whoſe dangerous Eſtate was much pitied, and alſo favoured of *Alis Baſſa*, and other the Kings great Counſellors; yet for ſo much as *Bajazet* was of a furious Nature, and in his anger dangerous to be ſpoken unto, none of them durſt adventure to intreat him in their behalf; no not *Alis Baſſa, Charadyn Baſſa* his Son, ſometime Judge of *Pruſa*, although he were a man in ſuch ſpecial Favour with him, that he was therefore of the Common People not only reverenced, but as the King himſelf honoured.

There was at that time in the Court an *Æthiopian* Jeſter, who under ſome covert pleaſant Jeſt, would many times bolt out that to the King in his greateſt heat, which his graveſt Counſellors durſt not once ſpeak to him of in ſecret; this Jeſter, *Alis Baſſa*, requeſted to deviſe ſome means to intreat with the angry King in the behalf of theſe Judges; promiſing to give him what he would reaſonably deſire, if he could appeaſe the Kings Diſpleaſure. The *Æthiopian* without fear undertook the matter, and preſently putting upon his Head a rich Hat all wrought over with Gold, after the manner of the Turks Embaſſadors, and fitting himſelf with other Apparel better beſeeming an Embaſſador than a Jeſter; thus attired preſented himſelf before the King, with a great counterfeit gravity. Whereat *Bajazet* marvelling, asked him the cauſe why he was ſo gay. I have a requeſt unto your Majeſty (ſaid he) and wiſh to find Favour in your ſight. *Bajazet* more deſirous than before to know the matter, asked what his requeſt was. If it ſtand with your pleaſure (ſaid the Jeſter) I would feign go as your Embaſſador to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, In hope whereof I have put my ſelf in this readineſs. To what purpoſe wouldſt thou go? (ſaid *Bajazet*) To crave of the Emperor (ſaid he) ſome forty or fifty of his old grave Monks and Fryers to bring with me hither to the Court. And what ſhall they do here? (ſaid *Bajazet*) I would have them placed (ſaid the Jeſter) in the rooms of the old doting Judges, whom you intend (as I hear) to put to death. Why (ſaid *Bajazet*) I can place others of my own People in their rooms. True (ſaid the *Æthiopian*) for gravity of look and countenance, and ſo would the old Monks and Friers ſerve as well; but not ſo learned in your Laws and Cuſtoms of your Kingdom, as are thoſe in your Diſpleaſure. If they be learned (ſaid *Bajazet*) why do they then contrary to their Learning, pervert Juſtice, and take Bribes? There is a good reaſon for that too (ſaid the Jeſter.) What reaſon? (ſaid the King.) That can he that there ſtandeth by better tell than I, (ſaid the Jeſter, pointing to *Alis Baſſa*) who forthwith commanded by *Bajazet* to give the reaſon; with great reverence before done, ſhewed, That thoſe Judges ſo in diſpleaſure, were not conveniently provided for, and were therefore inforced many times for their neceſſary maintenance to take rewards, to the ſtaying of the due courſe of Juſtice. Which, *Bajazet* underſtanding to be true, commanded *Alis Baſſa* to appoint them covenient Stipends for their maintenance, and forthwith granted their pardon. Whereupon the *Baſſa* ſet down order, That of every matter in ſuit exceeding one thouſand Aſpers, the Judge ſhould have twenty Aſpers Fee for Judgment; and for every Writing and Inſtrument out of the Court, twelve Aſpers; which Fee they yet take in thoſe Courts at this day.

Not long after, *Bajazet* in his fury ſent for certain of his Captains and Commanders of his Men of War, with whom he was for ſome ſmall occaſion grievouſly offended, intending in his rage to have put them all to death, which was with him no great matter. Theſe Captains being brought before him, the Counſellors ſeeing him all in Choler, ſat looking on the ground, hanging down their Heads, as the manner of the Turks is, not daring to look him in the Face, nor to ſpeak a good word for them. When ſuddainly the aforeſaid *Æthiopian* Jeſter ſtept forth, earneſtly requeſting the King, not to ſhew them any favour, but to execute them preſently, as Villains and Traitors; railing upon them, as if he had known ſome great Fault by them. *Bajazet* thinking he could have accuſed them of ſome great Crime, becauſe of his earneſtneſs, asked what reaſon he had ſo to exclaim againſt them. Reaſon (quoth the Jeſter) becauſe the Knaves be good for nothing; and they ſay that *Tamerlane* is with a great Army coming againſt us; if you will but take up an Enſign in your Hand, and I go before you with a Drum, I will ſtrike up ſuch a terrible march, and you make ſuch a dreadful ſhew, that we ſhall need none of theſe bad Fellows or their Souldiers in the Field to get the Victory over our Enemies. This conceit of the Jeſter ſtruck ſuch a melancholy imagination into *Bajazet* his Head, that he ſtood muſing a great while as it were in a deep ſtudy; at laſt having well conſidered the drift of the Jeſters Speech, and his fury now ſomewhat aſſwaged, granted them pardon, which they looked not for.

This *Æthiopian* Jeſter, *Bajazet* upon a time ſent unto the old Queen his Mother, to bring her news of the good ſucceſs of his Wars againſt the Chriſtians, for that ſhe had ſo deſired; who coming unto her, was by her commanded to ſit down, ſhe began to demand of him, how the King her Son did, and of the ſucceſs of his Wars. Whereunto he anſwered, That he did very well, and had won from the Chriſtians a great Country, and greatly inriched his Souldiers. But after a little more talk, the Queen Mother deſirous to hear again the good news, (or elſe after the manner of ſome, which think nothing ſufficiently told, except it be told an hundred times) asked him again, how the King her Son did, and how he ſped in his Wars. Whereunto he anſwered every word as before; but asking him the third time the very ſame queſtion, how her Son did? Doſt thou ask me ſo often (ſaid the *Æthiopian*) how he doth? *Bre Cachpe* (O Whore, ſaid he) thou haſt brought forth a Son like a Divel, who roaming up and down, doth nothing but burn and deſtroy the World where he cometh. Whereat the Queen crying out, up ſtarted the *Æthiopian*, and betaking himſelf to his Heels, was never more afterwards ſeen.

Temurtaſes, Bajazet *his great Lieutenant in* Aſia, *taken Priſoner by* Aladin *the young King of* Caramania.

In the Wars which *Bajazet* had againſt *Sigiſmund*, the Vayvod of *Valachia* had given aid to the *Hungarian* King; wherewith *Bajazet* being offended, determined now at length to be revenged; and therefore intending to make War upon the *Valachian* Prince, left *Temurtaſes* his great Lieutenant at *Ancyra* in *Aſia*, and ſo paſſed over *Helleſpontus* himſelf againſt the *Valachians*. Upon whoſe departure, *Aladin* his Siſters Son the young King of *Caramania*, with a great Power came ſuddainly in the night to *Ancyra*, and took *Temurtaſes* Priſoner; who then feared nothing leſs, than in time of Peace to be ſo ſurpriſed, and carried away in bonds into *Caramania*. But when he underſtood that *Bajazet* had ended his Wars in *Valachia*, and was with Victory returned to *Pruſa*, he fearing his heavy indignation for ſo great an outrage, preſently releaſed *Temurtaſes* out of Priſon, apparelled him richly after the manner of that Nation, craved pardon for the wrong he had done him, and ſet him at liberty to go whither he would, and withal ſent one of his Noblemen with great Gifts and Preſents to *Bajazet*, to make his excuſe in the beſt manner he could; unto which Embaſſador *Bajazet* (yet in choler) would not give audience, or ſuffer him to come in his ſight; but at the ſame time levied a great Army to invade *Caramania*. Which *Aladin* underſtanding, and now out of all hope to appeaſe this mighty Enemy, levied all the Forces he could in his own Kingdom, and withal entertained all the Mercenary Souldiers he could get, intending to try his Fortune in the Field, as a man of Valour, rather than to be thruſt out of his Kingdom like a Coward; and ſo in readineſs, hearing of the coming of *Bajazet*, met him upon the way, and at a place called *Aczac* gave him Battel; but being too weak, he was overcome and put to Flight; in which Flight his Horſe ſtumbling, and he falling to the ground, was there before he could recover himſelf, taken by his Enemies which had him in chaſe, and ſo brought bound to *Bajazet*; his two Sons *Muhamet Beg* and *Alis Beg*, being taken in that Battel alſo, were ſent Priſoners to *Pruſa*. *Aladin* himſelf was by *Bajazets* command delivered to his Enemy *Temurtaſes*; who in revenge of the wrong he had before done him, preſently cauſed him to be hanged; which when *Bajazet* underſtood, he ſeemed very ſorry that he had ſo put him to death; for that he was his own Siſters Son. *Bajazet* following the courſe of his Victory, won *Iconium*, *Larenda*, *Nigde*, with all the reſt of *Aladin* his Kingdom. About this time alſo, *Amaſia* the great Metropolitical City of *Capadocia*, was by the Prince thereof delivered unto *Bajazet*, being too weak himſelf to defend the ſame againſt the force of *Caſi-Burchanidin*, Prince of the great and ſtrong City of *Sebaſtia*, his Enemy; now grown to be a man of great Power in that part of *Aſia*, and had ſollicited the Sultan of *Egypt* to aid him againſt *Bajazet*. Whereupon *Bajazet* returning from the Conqueſt of *Caramania*, led his Army towards *Sebaſtia*, where the Citizens had a little before deprived *Caſi-Burchanidin* of his Government, for his Cruelty, and placed his Son in his ſtead; but in ſhort time no leſs weary of the Son, than before of the Father, they with like inconſtancy ſent word to *Bajazet*, That if he would come that way, they would yield unto him the City; upon whoſe approach, *Caſis* (his Son) for fear fled out of the City, to Prince *Naſradin* his Brother-in-Law. After whoſe departure, the Citizens according to their promiſe, delivered the City unto *Bajazet* at his coming, wherein he left *Solyman* his eldeſt Son Governor. And ſo having in this notable expedition conquered the Kingdom of *Caramania*, and taken the great Cities of *Amaſia* and *Sebaſtia*, with moſt part of *Capadocia*, and all that part of *Aſia* which the Turks call *Rumilia Aſiatica*, he returned to *Pruſa* and there wintered.

Amaſia *yielded unto* Bajazet.

Sebaſtia *delivered to* Bajazet.

Bajazet *invadeth* Iſendiar *Prince of* Caſtamona.

The next Spring, *Bajazet* hearing that his old Enemy *Cutrun Bajazet* Prince of *Caſtamona* and *Pontus*, was dead, came to *Caſtamona* with a great Army; which *Iſendiar* (*Cutrun Bajazets* Son, and then Prince of that Country) hearing, fled out of the City of *Synope*, a little City upon the coaſt of the *Euxine*; from whence he ſent an Embaſſador to *Bajazet*, humbly requeſting him, to ſuffer him to have that little City, as his Servant to live in, (which he was ſure he would otherwiſe beſtow upon ſome other of his Servants) and not to ſeek the innocent blood of the Son for the Fathers offence. Which his requeſt *Bajazet*, moved with pity, eaſily granted; yet nevertheleſs took from him *Caſtamona*, with the greateſt part of his Dominion in *Pontus*, which he gave to his Son *Solyman*. At the ſame time he violently oppreſſed the Prince *Germean*, and took from him the Cities of *Deſpotopolis* and *Hierapolis*, with all the reſt of his Dominion.

The Prince of *Menteſia*, long before driven out of his Country by *Bajazet*, (as is before declared) and having all this while made his abode at *Caſtamona*, doubting now of his own ſafety, after the death of his good Friend *Cutrun Bajazet*, in the Habit of an Hermit fled to the great *Tartarian* Prince *Tamerlane*.

Bajazet returning to *Pruſa*, there built a magnificent *Mahometan* Temple; during which work he with great Superſtition forbore drinking of Wine, repoſing himſelf with the Company of grave and learned men, and the adminiſtration of Juſtice; whereby he greatly won the Hearts of his Subjects, and had now ſo inlarged his Kingdom, that all Kings and Princes bordering upon him ſtood in great fear of him.

It fortuned about this time, that *Achmetes* King of *Bagdat* (or New *Babylon*) and *Eiracum*, with *Joſephus Niger* King of *Colchis*, inforced with the violent incurſions of *Tamerlane* and his *Tartars*, for ſafeguard of their Lives were glad to flie into *Syria*: where they being diſcovered, were both caſt in Priſon by the commandment of the *Egyptian* Sultan, who then commanded over *Syria*: from whence they afterwards hardly eſcaping, fled to *Bajazets* Court. Where after *Achmetes* had ſtaid two months, he by the aid of *Bajazet* recovered the poſſeſſion of *Eiracum* part of his own Inheritance. *Joſephus* the other *Mahometan* King having tarried in *Bajazets* Court eight Months, at length procured him to invade the Dominions of the *Egyptian* Sultan; in which expedition he mightily prevailed, and having ſlain the *Egyptian* Sultans General, and diſcomfited his Forces, took the City of *Malaty* or *Meletine* in *Armenia*, with *Diorige*, *Derende*, and *Bexene*, taken from the *Turcomans*, and ſpoiled all the Country thereabouts. From thence marching with his Army toward *Erznitzane*, the Prince thereof called *Tacbretin* met him upon the way, yielding his City and Country into his Power; which *Bajazet* preſently gave to *Joſephus Niger*; who after he had ſix days enjoyed this new Government, finding the People unwilling to be governed by him a Stranger, ſurrendred the ſame again into the Hands of him that gave it. Whereupon the Citizens of *Erznitzane* humbly requeſted of *Bajazet*, That they might be again governed by their old Prince *Tacbretin*, now his Vaſſal. Which thing he at their earneſt requeſt granted; but taking his Wife and Children as a Pledg of Loyalty, ſent them away to *Pruſa*, where they were all not long after made away.

The Mahometan Princes of Aſia *oppreſſed by* Bajazet, *diſguiſed flie unto* Tamerlane *for aid.*

When *Bajazet* had now many years thus mightily prevailed againſt the Chriſtian Princes in *Romania*, *Bulgaria*, *Boſna*, *Theſſalia*, *Valachia*, and other places of *Europe*, as is before declared, and inflamed with inſatiable Ambition, had in worſe manner oppreſſed the *Mahometan* Kings and Princes of *Aſia* (of whom ſome were by him ſlain, ſome driven into exile, ſome impriſoned, and otherſome brought into ſuch ſubjection, that they lived as it were but at his Devotion) and was now grown to that greatneſs, that in the Pride of his Heart he ſtood in fear of no man, but was (as he thought) a terror unto the World, having under his obeiſance great and large Dominions in *Europe*, but far greater in *Aſia*; it fortuned that divers of theſe miſerable and diſcontented *Mahotan* Princes, by great fortune, as if it had been by appointment, to meet together at the Court of the great *Tartarian* Prince *Tamerlane*, whether they were fled for Relief and Succor. The Prince *Germian Ogli*, after long impriſonment in the Caſtle of *Ipſala* in *Europe*, brake Priſon, and with *Hiſſar-Beg* his great Counſellor and Priſon-Fellow, conſorted themſelves with a Company of loytring Companions, roaming from place to place, delighting the Country People with their Apiſh Toys; in which Company he paſſed *Helleſpontus*, as a Bearward, and at length with much ado came to *Tamerlane* his Court; whither the Prince of *Menteſia* was come before in the habit of an Hermit (as is aforeſaid) with his Head and Beard ſhaven; *Aidin Ogli* paſſing through the Country as a Pedlar, with a Pack at his Back, came thither alſo; the Prince *Tacbretin* as a Servingman, came attending upon the Prince *Iſfendiar*; who came alſo, but in ſome better faſhion than the reſt, as an Embaſſador from ſome other Prince. All theſe poor Princes, with divers others in like miſery, in ſhort time arrived at *Samarcand* (Great *Tamerlane* his Court) every one particularly complaining of his own Private grief, and altogether earneſtly requeſting that mighty Prince to take upon him their defence, and to revenge the wrong done unto them by the Turkiſh Tyrant *Bajazet*. Whoſe pitiful complaints much moved the Noble *Tartarian*; but eſpecially the long and wrongful impriſonment of *Germian Ogli*; and the pitiful complaint and moan of *Tacbretin*, who had of late loſt his Wife and Children by the Cruelty of *Bajazet*. Yet in this matter of ſo great and important conſequence, *Tamerlane* made no great ſhew of his forwardneſs, (although he was by Nature in nothing more delighted, than in relieving of the diſtreſſed, and chaſtiſing of the proud) but coldly anſwered theſe Princes, That he could not tell whether all were ſo as they had reported of *Bajazet*, or not, but that he well knew him to be a very zealous King in ſetting forth of the *Mahometan* Religion, and that he had therefore made great Wars upon the Chriſtians, in which godly cauſe (he ſaid) perhaps they had refuſed to aſſiſt him, or elſe had given him ſome other greater occaſion of offence, to him unknown; For I can hardly believe (ſaid he) that ſo great and religious a Prince as he, would without juſt and ſufficient cauſe, offer ſuch violence as you complain of, eſpecially unto you his Neighbour Princes, and of the ſame Religion with himſelf; nevertheleſs, whatſoever I intend concerning your requeſt (ſaid *Tamerlane*) I will ſend firſt an Embaſſador unto him, to underſtand more of him and his proceedings, before I reſolve upon any thing; with which anſwer he willed them until then to hold themſelves contented. But as *Tamerlane* was about to have diſpatched his Embaſſador to *Bajazet*, he was advertiſed, that *Achmetes* late King of New *Babylon*, and *Joſephus* King of *Colchis*, both by him driven out of their Kingdoms, having broken out of Priſon from the Sultan of *Egypt*, were now come to *Bajazet* his Court, to crave his aid and aſſiſtance; wherefore he deferred to ſend his Embaſſador, ſuſpecting that *Bajazet* incited by theſe two exiled Kings, would firſt in their quarrel begin to make War upon him. But not long after, underſtanding that they were both again departed from his Court, as is before declared; he then diſpatcht his Embaſſador to *Bajazet*, with many rich Gifts and Preſents; courteouſly requeſting him, the rather for his ſake to deal kindly with theſe poor *Mahometan* Princes, his Friends; as alſo with the Greek Emperor *Emanuel* his Ally, for whom he was now become an Interceſſor unto him. Some report alſo, that he beſides this, requeſted to have the two aforeſaid *Mahometan* Kings of *Bagdat* and *Colchis* delivered unto him; and withal ſeemed not a little to diſlike of *Bajazet* his proceedings againſt the *Turcomans* his Friends. But *Bajazet* being a Prince of a great and haughty Spirit, and unaccuſtomed to hear of any thing that fitted not his humor, highly offended with this Embaſſage, in great ſcorn rejected the Preſents by *Tamerlane* ſent unto him, and ſpecially certain Garments which *Tamerlane* after the manner of thoſe Eaſtern Nations, had in kindneſs amongſt other things ſent him; willing the Embaſſador to bid his Maſter meddle with his own matters, and to preſcribe Laws unto his own Subjects, and not unto him, with whom he had nought to do; and to ſend his Rags for Preſents unto his Inferiors, and not to Princes of greater Power and State than himſelf. Adding thereunto many other words full of deſpight and diſdain, affording him no better Stile than the plain name of *Tamerlane*; calling him the Huſband of a Whore, if he met him not in the Field; and wiſhing unto himſelf again, to take unto him his thrice divorced Wife, after ſhe had been polluted by another man (as the greateſt diſhonor that might be) if he failed to meet him whereſoever he durſt to dare him Battel. Which proud anſwer of the Turk, by the Embaſſador reported unto *Tamerlane*, and aggravated by *Axalla* (a Chriſtian of the Race of the *Genowaies*, born at *Capha*, and then one of the greateſt Counſellors about him, and the Greek Emperors great Friend) was ſo evil taken by him, that all other things ſet apart, he reſolved to go againſt the Turk, and to take in hand that War, as of all other the fitteſt for the increaſe of his Honour and Glory. Beſides that, he thought it not in reaſon fit for the Greatneſs of the *Tartarian* Empire, to ſuffer ſuch an unquiet Neighbour to grow great; as ſtill encroaching upon other the weak Princes confining to him, and adding Conqueſts unto Conqueſts; and yet never the more contented, might in the end prove dangerous unto his own Eſtate and Soveraignty; a common care to ſuch as be themſelves great, and mounted up unto the higheſt degrees of Worldly Honor, to have in Jealouſie and Diſtruſt the ſuddain riſing of others near or farther off, as perilous or diſgraceful to themſelves, or their Eſtate; whoſe growing Greatneſs they therefore ſeek by all means to hinder; as did now the mighty *Tamerlane* the proceedings and increaſing of the great *Othoman* King, *Bajazet*; and the rather being continually prickt forward ſo to do, by the ſollicitation of the Greek Emperor *Emanuel*, the other oppreſſed *Mahometan* Princes, and by the great Captain *Axalla* (as is aforeſaid) a Chriſtian; of whom for all that *Tamerlane* himſelf, a *Mahometan*, for the great Fidelity, Valor and Vertue he found in him, made no ſmall reckoning, but was contented even in his greateſt and moſt weighty Affairs to be by him adviſed; diſliking of no man for his Religion whatſoever, ſo as he did worſhip but one only God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, and of all that therein is; being himſelf of opinion, That God in Eſſence one, and in himſelf immutable, without change or diverſity; yet for the manifeſting of his Omnipotency and Power, as he had created in the World ſundry kinds of People, much differing both in Nature, Manners and Condidition, and yet all framed to the Image of himſelf; ſo was he alſo contented to be of them diverſly ſerved, according to the diverſity of their Natures and Manners; ſo that they worſhipt none other ſtrange Gods, but him alone, the Maker and Creator of all things; which was the cauſe that he ſuffered the uſe of all Religions within the Countries ſubject to his Obedience, were they not meer Atheiſts, Idolaters, or Worſhippers of ſtrange and vain gods.

Tamerlane his opinion concerning the diverſity of Religions.

Neither was proud *Bajazet* as one ignorant of the Power or Purpoſe of *Tamerlane*, in the mean time idle, but ſtill proſecuted his good Fortune for the inlarging of his Empire, and increaſing of his Strength; wiſely deeming (as the truth was) whatſoever Meſſages were ſent to him from *Tamerlane*, to be no other than meer Threatnings and Forewarnings of his more dangerous Purpoſes and Deſigns againſt him and his State; which he was ſo far from fearing as that to provoke him the more, he ſpared no intemperate Speech, which might move him to Wrath; wiſhing (as it ſhould ſeem) for nothing more, than to meet him in the Field, there to try the fortune of a Battel with him. So weak is our foreſight of our Fortunes to come, and the reach of our Underſtanding for the apprehenſion or declining of the fatal doom even preſently hanging over our Heads; as that we oftentimes through ignorance moſt deſirouſly wiſh for thoſe things which are unto us the chief occaſions of our utter ruin and overthrow.

But here before we enter into farther Diſcourſe of the mortal War betwixt theſe two ſo puiſſant Princes, it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe to ſtep a little out of the way, to ſee what this mighty *Tamerlane* (of whom ſo many Princes craved Aid) was, who living, held the Eaſt in ſuch awe, as that he was commonly called, *The Wrath of God*, and *Terror of the World*; which he then filled with the glory of his Name. Moſt Hiſtoriographers report him to have been poorly born, of baſe and obſcure Parents; and ſo himſelf alſo in his Youth to have lived as a poor Shepherd or Herdſman in the Mountains; where conſorting himſelf with other ſturdy Companions of like quality and diſpoſition, ſuch as there lived by robbing of Merchants and other Paſſengers, he became a maſterful Thief amongſt them; unto whom other ſuch leud Mates dayly ſtill more and more reſorting, he in ſhort time grew (as they ſay) to that greatneſs, that he is reported to have been of ſuch power, as never man but he ever yet came unto. A matter almoſt incredible; for albeit that the *Roman* Empire, yea and this great Empire of the Turks alſo, with ſome others, had their beginnings not much better or greater, the one under *Romulus*, and the other under *Othoman*; yet grew they not as on the ſuddain, in their times to any great luſtre (neither was it poſſible for them of ſo ſmall beginnings ſo to do) but by many degrees, and that in long time; every of the ſucceeding Princes, according to their Fortunes, adding ſomething to their State, before it could be made great; whereas he (by their report) contrary to the courſe of things both natural and civil (which from their ſmall beginnings grow to no notable perfection or greatneſs, but by degrees, and that in the long revolution of time) taking his beginning of nothing, grew upon the ſuddain to be a burthen and terror unto the World. Wherein our late Hiſtoriographers ſeem too much to have followed the report of the Turks, who by him brought low, and their Kingdom almoſt in one Battel ſubverted, report nothing ſimply of him; but in what they may, detracting from his worthy praiſes, wrongfully charge him with many untruths, not concerning his Parentage only, but even in the courſe of his whole life alſo, making him (as they would have the World to believe) firſt to have been a very abject among men; and then for his inhumane Cruelty a very Monſter in Nature, or (as it was long before, but more truly ſaid of another great one much like himſelf) a Lump of Earth tempered with Blood. Which incredible Reports concerning ſo great a Monarch, I liſt not to follow, as too full of diſhonour, eſpecially whereas others of no leſs credit than they, with far more modeſty and greater probability report of him the greateſt honour that may be. He was (as they and the others alſo ſay) born at *Samarchand*, the chief City of the *Zagataian Tartars*, pleaſantly ſituated upon the River *Jaxartes*; his Father was called *Zain Cham*, or as ſome others will, *Og*, Prince of the *Zagataian Tartars*, and of the Country of *Sachetay* (ſometime part of the famous Kingdom of *Parthia*) third in deſcent from *Zingis*, the great and fortunate Leader of the *Tartars*, before in the former part of this Hiſtory remembred. Which *Og*, as a Prince of a peaceable Nature (accounting it no leſs honour quietly to keep the Countries left him by his Father, than with much trouble and no leſs danger to ſeek how to enlarge the ſame) long lived in moſt happy reſt with his Subjects no leſs happy than himſelf; not ſo much ſeeking after the hoording up of Gold and Silver (things of that Nation not regarded) as contenting himſelf with the increaſe and profit of his Flocks of Sheep, and Herds of Cattle; then, and yet alſo, the principal revenues of the *Tartar* Kings and Princes; which happily gave occaſion to ſome, ignorant of the manner and cuſtom

The baſe opinion ſome have, concerning the Birth and Riſing of Tamerlane.

Tamerlane honourably deſcended.

The cauſe why ſome have reported him to have been a Shepherd or Herdſman.

cuſtom of thoſe Nothern Nations and Countries, to account them all for Shepherds and Herdſmen; and ſo alſo to have reported of this mighty Prince, as of a Shepherds Son, or Herdſman himſelf; vainly meaſuring his Nobility by the homely manner of his People and Subjects, and not by the Honour of his Houſe, and Heroical Vertues, ſuch as were hardly to be found greater in any Prince of that or other former Ages. His peaceable Father now well ſtricken in years and weary of the World, delivered up unto him (not yet paſt fifteen years old) the Government of his Kingdom, joyning unto him two of his moſt faithful Counſellors, *Odmar* and *Ali*, to aſſiſt him in the Government of his State (retiring himſelf unto a ſolitary life, the more at quiet to ſerve God, and ſo to end his days in Peace;) which two his truſty Servants and grave Counſellors he dearly loved whilſt they lived, and much honoured the remembrance of them being dead. The firſt proof of his Fortune and Valour, was againſt the *Muſcovite*, for ſpoiling of a City which had put it ſelf under his protection; and for entring of his Country; and for proclaiming of War againſt him; whom he in a great Battel overthrew, having ſlain five and twenty thouſand of the *Muſcovites* Footmen, and between fifteen and ſixteen thouſand Horſemen, with the loſs of ſcarce eight thouſand Horſemen, and four thouſand Footmen of his own. After which Battel he beholding ſo many thouſands of men there dead upon the ground, was ſo far from rejoycing thereat, that turning himſelf to one of his Familiars, he lamented the condition of ſuch as commanded over great Armies, commending his Fathers quiet courſe of life; accounting him happy in ſeeking for reſt, and the other moſt unhappy, which by the deſtruction of their own kind, ſought to procure their own glory; proteſting himſelf even from his Heart to be grieved to ſee ſuch ſad tokens of his Victory. With this overthrow the *Muſcovite* diſcouraged, ſent Embaſſadors to him for peace, which upon ſuch honorable Conditions as pleaſed him to ſet down, was by him granted, and ſo the Peace concluded. Now the great Cham of *Tartaria* (his Fathers Brother) being grown old, and out of hope of any more Children, moved with the Fame of his Nephew, after this Victory ſent him divers Preſents, and withal offering him his only Daughter in marriage, and with her to proclaim him Heir apparent unto his Empire; as in right he was; being his Brothers Son, and the Daughters not at all ſucceeding in thoſe Empires. Which ſo great an offer *Tamerlane* gladly accepted, and ſo the marriage was afterwards with great Triumph at the old Emperors Court ſolemnized; and he proclaimed Heir apparent unto that great Empire. Thus was *Tamerlane* indeed made great, being ever after this marriage by the old Emperor his Uncle, and now his Father-in-Law, ſo long as he lived, notably ſupported, and after his death ſucceeding him alſo in that ſo mighty an Empire. Yet in the mean time wanted not this worthy Prince the envious Competitors of theſe his ſo great Honours; inſomuch, that whilſt by the advice and perſwaſion of the old Emperor, he was taking in hand to make War againſt the great King of *China* (who had as then gon far beyond his bounds) and ſo was now well onwards on his way, he was by the Conſpiracy of *Calix* (a man of greateſt Power and Authority in the great Cham his Court) almoſt thruſt out of his new Empire; *Calix* with a right puiſſant Army having already ſeized upon the great City of *Cambalu*, and the Citizens alſo generally favouring thoſe his traiterous proceedings, as diſdaining to be governed by the *Zagatian Tartar*. For redreſs whereof, *Tamerlane* was enforced with the greateſt part of his Army to return, and meeting with the Rebel (who then had in his Army fourſcore thouſand Horſe, and an hundred thouſand Foot) in a great and mortal Battel (wherein of the one ſide and of the other were more than fifty thouſand men ſlain) overthrew him (though not without the great danger of his own Perſon, as being there himſelf beaten down to the ground) took him Priſoner, and afterwards beheaded him. Which ſo dangerous a Rebellion, with the death of the Traitor, and the chief of the Conſpirators repreſſed, and his State in the newneſs thereof by this Victory well confirmed, he proceeded in his intended War againſt the great King of *China*; brake down the ſtrong Wall, which the *Chinoies* had made four hundred Leagues long betwixt the Mountains, for the repreſſing of the incurſions of the *Tartars*, entred their Country, and meeting with the King, leading after him three hundred and fifty thouſand Men (whereof there were an hundred and fifty thouſand Horſemen, and the reſt on Foot) in a great and dreadful Battel, with the ſlaughter of ſixty thouſand of his Men, overcame him, and took him Priſoner; whom for all that he (in the courſe of ſo great a Victory wiſely moderating his fortune) ſhortly after ſet again at liberty; yet ſo, as that having before taken from him the one half of his Kingdom, and therein left *Odmar* his truſty Lieutenant, with a ſufficient Power for the reſtraining of the proud King, if he ſhould again begin to raiſe any new ſtirs; and withal impoſed ſuch other conditions as pleaſed himſelf, with the yearly Tribute of three hundred thouſand Crowns, he well provided for the aſſuring of thoſe his new Conqueſts; and ſo in Triumph returned with Victory unto the old Emperor his Father-in-Law at *Cambalu*, not a little glad to ſee both him and his Daughter, who had in all thoſe Wars ſtill accompanied him. But leaving him, now thus by Birth great, by his Fortune greater, but by his Vertue greateſt of all, (as able now to draw after him almoſt the whole Power of the Eaſt) let us again return thither from whence we have for the better knowledge of him, thus with him digreſſed.

Tamerlane *marrieth the Daughter and Heir of the great Cham of* **Tartary.**

The War againſt the Turkiſh Sultan *Bajazet* (as is aforeſaid) by *Tamerlane* reſolved upon, he ſent *Axalla* the great Captain to his Country of *Sachetay* (called of ſome *Zagatay*) to give beginning to the aſſembling of his Forces from all parts; to the end, that with the firſt of the Spring he might ſet forward for the relief of ſo many diſtreſſed Princes, and the abating of the Pride of ſo great and mighty a Tyrant as was *Bajazet*. Now had *Tamerlane* procured from the great *Tartarian* Emperor, his Uncle and Father-in-Law, an hundred thouſand Footmen, and fourſcore thouſand Horſemen, hoping to have as many more from *Sachetay* his own Country, beſides the Lords that for his honours ſake would accompany him in that his ſo honourable an expedition, from whom he made account alſo of fifty thouſand men more which they would bring unto him, and divers other great ſupplies which he expected from other places alſo; wherewith he doubted not well to perform what he had ſo honourably determined to take in hand, for the abating of the *Othoman* Pride; for which and other ſuch like, he was (as he would oftentimes ſay) by God himſelf appointed; ſo taking

Prince Axalla *in great credit with* Tamerlane.

his leave of the old Emperor his Father-in-Law, and of the Princeſs his Wife (then left behind him for the comfort of her aged Father) he departed from *Cambalu* towards *Samarcand*, the place of his Birth and Seat of his Empire; leaving behind him the Forces brought from the great Emperor his Uncle, to come after him to *Ozara*, where he had appointed the general meeting of his Army. At which time amongſt other Princes that thither brought or ſent their Supplies, the great *Muſcovite* being requeſted ſo to do, promiſed to ſend him fifteen thouſand Horſe, with a certain ſum of Mony, and leave for his Army to paſs through ſo much of his Territories as ſhould be neceſſary; all which he afterwards performed unto *Tamerlane*, being glad that he did ſet upon others, rather than on himſelf; and that ſo great a preparation ſhould fall upon them, whoſe greatneſs was as dreadful and dangerous unto him as unto any other. All the Earth almoſt at that time being aſtoniſhed at the ſuddain greatneſs of this *Othoman* King, and the happy ſucceſs he had in all his Wars; not the leaſt cauſe that moved *Tamerlane* to oppoſe himſelf againſt him, deeming it much better to go and ſet upon him in his new Conqueſts, than to ſtay until he therein ſetled, were come nearer to him, and ſo ſhould debate the quarrel within his own Empire, to his dammage. A good and ſound reſolution; firſt in that it tended to the deſtruction of the Enemies Country; and then, that if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe with him than well, his Country ſhould not thereby receive any ſuch aſtoniſhment as if the danger were nearer or within the Bowels of the ſame. Now in the mean time that *Tamerlane* lay at *Samarcand*, *Axalla* the great Captain and *Tamerlane* his Lieutenant General, had aſſembled all the Army at *Ozara*. Whereof *Tamerlane* underſtanding, ſent for him to *Samarcand*, to confer with him about the ſetting forward of his Army. For although he were ſtill accompanied with great renowned Princes, yet were they no body in compariſon of *Axalla*, whoſe ſound Counſel had won him ſuch credit with his Lord and Maſter, as by his advice he did all things, and without him nothing; which his ſo great Authority and Favour with his Prince, wanted not the envy of the Court, but that his great Vertues, and rare found Courteſie (in ſo great Fortune) together with ſo many worthy ſervices as he had done, ſupported him againſt the malice of the ſame. He by the commandment of *Tamerlane*, leaving the charge of the Army at *Ozara*, with the Prince of *Thanais*, another of *Tamerlanes* great Captains, came himſelf to *Samarcand*, and there at large diſcourſed with him, about the eſtate and order of his Army. And ſhortly after, departing with *Axalla* and the reſt from *Samarcand*, for to go to *Ozara* the place where all his Army met; being come thither, entred into a great conſultation with his moſt expert Captains, about the taking of his journy and conducting of his Army; as whether it were better to lead the ſame by the Coaſts of the *Muſcovite* directly towards *Capha*, or elſe on the other ſide of the *Caſpian* Sea by the skirts of *Perſia*; where after long diſcourſe and ſundry opinions with their reaſons delivered, it was at laſt reſolved (although the way were the longer) to paſs by the *Muſcovite*, ſo to come to the *Georgians*, and to *Trebizonda*, and from thence to enter into the *Othoman* King his Country. And ſo ſetting forward from *Ozara*, he came at length to *Maranis*, where he ſtaied three days looking for the Forces which Prince *Odmar* ſhould ſend him from *China*, not long before by him conquered; whereof he there received news, and there cauſed his Army to be paid, and a general Muſter thereof to be taken. He had alſo there news of the aid the *Muſcovite* did ſend him; and cauſed an infinite quantity of Victuals, and moſt part of his Furniture to be conveighed by the *Caſpian* Sea, being a great commodity and eaſe to his Army, which marching by Land, was of neceſſity to paſs ſome twenty Leagues through places deſtitute both of Victuals and Water. *Tamerlane* all the way coaſting along the Sea ſhore, paſſed the time in hunting, his Army not coming near him by ten Leagues, which was ſo great, that it extended it ſelf full twenty Leagues. Coming to the River of *Edel*, he ſtaid at *Zarazich* whilſt his Army paſſed the River at *Mechet*, and two other Bridges which he had cauſed to be made for that purpoſe. Now the *Circaſſians*, and *Georgians*, hearing of the approach of *Tamerlane* with his huge Army, by their Embaſſadors offered him all the help and aſſiſtance they could in his journey as he paſſed that way. Theſe *Georgians* were and yet are Chriſtians, a great and warlike People, of long time Tributaries unto the Greek Emperors; and afterwards ſometimes Tributaries, and ſometimes Confederates unto the *Perſians*; but always Enemies unto the Turks, by whom of late (and in our remembrance) but eſpecially by *Amurath* the Third, they together with ſome part of the *Perſian* Kingdom, have been grievouſly oppreſſed, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory may appear. Of theſe warlike People, glad of *Tamerlane* his coming for the repreſſing of the Turks, *Axalla* drew great numbers unto the ſervice of his Prince, who not a little eſteemed of them, being all tall men, very beautiful, of great Strength and Courage, and withal moſt expert Souldiers; as having oftentimes reſiſted the Power of the *Othoman* Kings, by reaſon of the advantage their Country affordeth them, being very rough and hard to come into. By theſe kind People, *Tamerlane* was in every place honourably entertained, and his great Army with all neceſſaries plentifully relieved. In paſſing through which Country and the reſt as he marched, he took ſuch order with his Souldiers, that none of the People whereby he paſſed, were any thing by them injured; inſomuch that if a Souldier had taken but an Apple, or other thing of like value from any man, he died therefore, ſo ſevere were his Commands. It is reported that one of his Souldiers, having taken a little Milk from a Country Woman, and ſhe thereof complaining, he cauſed the ſaid Souldier to be preſently killed, and his Stomach to be ript; where the Milk that he had of late drunk being found, he contented the Woman, and ſo ſent her away; who had otherwiſe undoubtedly died for her falſe accuſation, had it not ſo appeared. Which his ſo great ſeverity, and in other like caſes, was of many accounted for extream Cruelty; yet was it indeed the wholeſom preſervation of his Army, being ſo great, as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to have found ſufficient Victuals for the relief thereof; whereof for all that, there was no want, either of any thing elſe neceſſary for the uſe of man, his Camp being ſtill as a moſt populous and well governed City, ſtored with all manner of things; whereunto both Artificers and Merchants, from far Countries reſorted with their Commodities and Merchandiſe, as to ſome famous Mart; and the Country People, without fear from every place brought in their Country Commodities, for which they received preſent Mony, and ſo in ſafety again departed.

The number of Tamerlanes *great Army.*

departed. So marching on, he at length came to *Baebichioh* where he ſtaid to refreſh his Army eight days, and there again took a general muſter thereof, wherein were found (as moſt write) four hundred thouſand Horſe, and ſix hundred thouſand Foot; or as ſome others that were there preſent affirm, three hundred thouſand Horſemen, and five hundred thouſand Foot of all Nations. Unto whom he gave there a general Pay, and as his manner was, made unto them an Oration, informing them of ſuch orders as he would have kept, to the end they might the better obſerve the ſame; with much other Military Diſcipline, whereof he was very curious with his Captains. At which time alſo, it was lawful for every common Souldier to behold him with more boldneſs than on other days, foraſmuch as he did for that time, and ſuch like, lay aſide his Imperial Majeſty, and ſhew himſelf more familiar unto them.

Now could he hardly be perſwaded, that *Bajazet* having ſubdued the moſt part of *Grecia*, diſtreſſed the Greek Emperor, and ſo a great means to recover whatſoever he ſhould loſe in *Aſia*, would be ſo adventurous as to come over the Straits out of *Europe*, to try the Fortune of a Battel with him; but rather warily protract the time, to weary him at length with Wants, that in a ſtrange Country drew ſuch a world of People after him. Wherein he found himſelf much deceived; for having paſſed the *Georgian* Country, and being come to *Buyſabuich*, *Axalla* (whom he had not ſeen in eight days before, becauſe he led the Head of the Army) came unto him with ſuch News as he knew would be right welcome unto him; which was, that *Bajazet* had raiſed his Siege of *Conſtantinople* (as indeed he had) for to come and defend his new Conqueſts in *Aſia*; and that he was certainly reſolved, to come to a day of Battel, not ſo much truſting unto the multitude of his Army, as to the Valour and Experience of his Souldiers, being all men of long time well trained up in the Wars. At which unexpected news, *Tamerlane* greatly rejoyced; yet without inſolence or vaunting, but rather with the countenance of ſuch an one as judged the events of Battels to be (as they are) always doubtful; ſaying ſometimes, that a ſmall number well conducted, did oftentime carry away the Victory from the confuſed multitude. Three days he ſtaied at *Buyſabuich*, and cauſed his Souldiers continually to march forward, which at *Garga* and *Chiuſerig* paſſed over the River *Euphrates*; which he did the rather to maintain his Army upon the Spoil of the Enemy, in attending his coming, than upon himſelf, or his Allies. All the Cities that yielded unto him by the way as he marched, he favourably received; the other that refuſed to ſubmit themſelves unto his Obedience, he uſed with all extremity; eſpecially the great and ſtrong City of *Sebaſtia*, where certain of the Forerunners of his Army were by the Turks there in Garriſon cut off and ſlain, and the Gates of the City as it were in contempt of him, ſet wide open; wherewith *Tamerlane* offended, ſent out certain of his *Tartarian* Horſemen, commanding them on pain of his Diſpleaſure, ſo to bear themſelves againſt their Enemies, as that he might at his coming either find the City taken, or the Gates thereof ſhut againſt him; for he had his men at ſo great command, that no danger was unto them more dreadful than his Diſpleaſure, neither did he puniſh any thing ſo ſeverely as Cowardiſe; inſomuch, that if in his diſport of hunting the wild Beaſt, any did for fear give way to the Lyon or Bear, and ſlew him not, was ſure to die therefore himſelf; and to turn his Back upon the Enemy, was no leſs danger than to run upon his own death. Now the Turks in Garriſon at *Sebaſtia*, ſeeing theſe *Tartarian* Horſemen marching towards the City, making little account of them, for that they were not in number many, iſſued out for to meet them; where they were ſo furiouſly charged by theſe few Horſemen, that they were glad to retire, and for haſt to ſhut part of their own men out of the City, leſt the Enemy following them at their Heels, ſhould have entred the Gates together with them. Which Turks ſo ſhut out, were by the *Tartarians* ſlain at the Gates of the City. Shortly after came *Tamerlane* with all his Army, and ſate down before the City, where he lay ſtill ſeven days, not making ſhew of any violence at all; the Defendants becauſe the City was of great Strength, all that while thinking that he had intended by long Siege to diſtreſs the ſame, and the more becauſe of his long lying ſtill. But about the eighth day, the Walls and Towers of the City in many places undermined, were ſuddainly overthrown, leaving large breaches for the Enemy to enter. Wherewith the Turks in the City diſmaied, forthwith yielded the City to *Tamerlane*, in hope ſo to have ſaved their lives; but he (as the Turks report) being entred the City, commanded a great number of deep Pits to be digged, and all the People of the City, without reſpect of Age, Sex, or Condition, to be thrown into the ſame, and there buried quick. Which done, the City was by his commandment utterly raſed alſo. After that, calling unto him *Malcozzius*, the Governor of the City, whom he had for that purpoſe only ſpared, he commanded him to go and tell his Maſter what was happened to his ſtrong City of *Sebaſtia*, and what he had there himſelf ſeen. Of which tragical action, *Malcozzius* having made true relation unto *Bajazet*, was by him demanded, whether of the two Armies he thought bigger or ſtronger; for now *Bajazet* had aſſembled a mighty Army of three hundred thouſand men, or as ſome report of three hundred thouſand Horſmen, and two hundred thouſand Foot. Whereunto *Malcozzius* having before craved pardon, anſwered, that it could not be, but that *Tamerlane* might in reaſon have the greater number, for that he was a Commander of far greater Countries. Wherewith proud *Bajazet* offended, in great choler replied, Out of doubt, the ſight of the *Tartarian* hath made this Coward ſo afraid, that he thinketh every Enemy to be two.

Sebaſtia *beſieged by* Tamerlane.

Sebaſtia *yielded to* Tamerlane.

Moſt of the Latine Hiſtories report, that when *Tamerlane* had taken *Sebaſtia*, he put all the men to the Sword, and bringing the Women and Children into the Fields, without the City, there over-ran them with his Horſemen, excepting ſome few which were reſerved for Priſoners. As alſo that *Bajazet* there loſt his eldeſt Son *Ertbogrul* (of ſome called *Orthobules*) whoſe death with the loſs of the City, ſo much grieved him (as it is reported) that marching with his great Army againſt *Tamerlane*, and by the way hearing a Country Shepherd merrily repoſing himſelf with his homely Pipe, as he ſate upon the ſide of a Mountain feeding his poor Flock; ſtanding ſtill a great while liſtening unto him, to the great admiration of many, at laſt fetching a deep ſigh, brake forth into theſe words; O happy Shepherd, which haddeſt neither *Orthobules* nor *Sebaſtia* to loſe; bewraying therein his own diſcontentment; and yet withal ſhewing, That worldly Bliſs conſiſteth not ſo much in poſſeſſing

A Shepherd more happy than Bajazet.

of much, ſubject unto danger, as joyning in a little, contentment devoid of fear. Howbeit the Turks themſelves reporting the taking of *Sebaſtia*, ſpeak not of *Orthobules* at all, but give him loſt ſix years before, in the Wars againſt *Caſi Burchaniden*, and lieth buried by his Father at *Pruſa*. In this City of *Sebaſtia* was loſt twelve thouſand Turks, Men, Women and Children, as their Hiſtories report. The reſt of the Cities all the way as *Tamerlane* marched, warned by the deſtruction of *Sebaſtia*, yielded themſelves for fear of like danger; the Citizens whereof he courteouſly uſed, eſpecially the Chriſtians, whom he ſet at liberty, in reſpect of *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor, whom he ſeemed wholly therein to gratifie. But he had not gon far into the Turks Dominion, but that he was certainly advertiſed, how that *Bajazet*, with a great Army was coming againſt him, and now within thirty Leagues of him; which cauſed him after that time, to march with his Army more cloſely. *Axalla* leading the Vantguard, ſent forth *Chianſon* Prince of *Ciarcan*, with four thouſand *Parthian* Horſemen, to get knowledge of the Turks Army, and where *Bajazet* lay, as alſo what Country that was beyond *Sennas*, and if he could learn any thing thereof, to make relation of it unto him. This Prince of *Ciarcan* was *Tamerlanes* near Kinſman, a man of great reputation, and next unto *Axalla*, in whoſe abſence he had the commanding of the Avantguard, his charge; who alſo ſent before him another *Parthian* Captain with five hundred Horſemen. So he had not ridden ten Leagues but that he heard news of *Bajazets* coming, and having ſurpriſed *Sennas*, underſtood there the certain eſtate of the Turks Army, which was then at *Tataia*, and ſo marching forward. Whereof *Tamerlane* certified, commanded him not to retire from that place, until he did ſee the arrival of the Enemy, and thereof to give him advertiſement every hour; being himſelf reſolved to paſs on no further, as come to a fair large Plain, and a Country of advantage for the order of his Battel; for he knew that his Army was far greater than *Bajazets*, and therefore he made choice of thoſe great Plains. Yet for that his Army conſiſted of divers Nations, and withal conſidering that he was not to fight againſt the *Chinois*, a ſoft effeminate People, (as of late) but againſt the Turks, a moſt warlike Nation, and well acquainted with all manner of Fights and Martial Stratagems, he thought it good to be well adviſed how he proceeded againſt them. Wherefore he preſently ſent for *Axalla*, with him to view the ſaid place, and to have his opinion, Whether it would be for his advantage or not, there to ſtay? who not miſliking of the choice of the place, yet adviſed him alſo to keep *Sennas* ſo long as he poſſibly could; and ſo ſent word unto them that were therein, upon the approach of the Enemy to ſet fire upon the ſame, and ſo to withdraw themſelves from thence, to the end that the Enemy ſhould not have any deſire to incamp there, but come ſtill forward near to thoſe Plains where *Tamerlane* deſired to fight, eſpecially for that he was ſtronger in Horſe than *Bajazet*. Thus the Turks ſtill marching on, thought to have ſurpriſed ſome of their Enemies in *Sennas*; who as ſoon as they drew near, retired all, excepting ſome hundred left of purpoſe to fire the Town; who having performed the ſame, retired of purpoſe in great diſorder. Now the Prince of *Ciarcan* had divided his Forces into two parts, and given commandment to the firſt, that as ſoon as they perceived the Enemies to purſue the hundred Horſe that ſo diſorderly of purpoſe fled, they ſhould receive them, and ſo retire all together. He in the mean time with the reſt of his Power ſtood cloſe in a Valley, near to a Wood ſide, unſeen at all. Where having ſuffered two thouſand of the Enemies Horſe (the Vantcurriers of the Turks Army) to paſs by him, he following them in the tail, charged them home, the other which before retired, now turning upon them alſo; ſo that the Turks ſeeing themſelves thus beſet, and hardly laid unto both before and behind, as men diſcouraged, fled; in which Flight moſt of them were ſlain, and the reſt taken Priſoners. This was the firſt incounter betwixt the Turks and the *Parthians*; all the Priſoners there taken, were by the Prince as a Preſent ſent to *Tamerlane*, and among the reſt the *Baſſa* of *Natolia* who led theſe Troops; of whom *Tamerlane* earneſtly demanded, what cauſed *Bajazet* ſo little to eſteem of him, as to ſhew ſo great contempt of his Army, which he ſhould find ſtrong enough to abate his Pride. Whereunto the *Baſſa* anſwered, That his Lord was the Sun upon Earth, which could not endure any equal; and that he rather was aſtoniſhed to ſee, how he from ſo far had enterpriſed ſo dangerous a journy, to hinder the fortune of his Lord, in whoſe favour the Heavens (as he ſaid) did bend themſelves to further his greatneſs, and unto whom all the world ſubjected it ſelf; and that he committed great folly in going about to reſiſt the ſame. Unto which ſo proud a Speech *Tamerlane* replied, That he was ſent from Heaven to puniſh his raſhneſs, and to teach him, *That the Proud are hated of God, whoſe promiſe is to pluck down the mighty, and raiſe up the lowly.* As for thy ſelf (ſaid he) thou haſt already felt (although I pity thy miſhap) what the Valor of my *Parthian* Horſe is againſt thy *Turkiſh*; and thy Maſter I have already cauſed to raiſe his Siege of *Conſtantinople*, and to look to his own things here in *Aſia*. Furthermore, *Tamerlane* changing his Speech demanded, If his Maſter did come reſolved to bid him Battel? Aſſure your ſelf (ſaid he) there is nothing he more deſireth; and would to God I might acknowledge your greatneſs, in giving me leave to aſſiſt my Lord at that Battel. Good leave have thou, (ſaid *Tamerlane*) go thy ways and tell thy Lord that thou haſt ſeen me, and that he ſhall in the Battel find me on horſeback, where he ſhall ſee a green Enſign diſplayed. The *Baſſa* thanking him, ſwore, that next unto his Lord he vowed unto him his Service. And ſo returning, declared unto *Bajazet*, how that he had ſeen *Tamerlane* and truly reported unto him all that he had willed him to ſay; not forgetting over all, to publiſh his Courteſie and Bounty; who beſides that he had frankly ſet him at liberty, had alſo given him a very fair Horſe well furniſhed, although he well knew he was to ſerve againſt himſelf. Whereunto *Bajazet* anſwered no more, but that he would ſhortly make trial of him, and that he well hoped before the march were ended, to make him acknowledg his own folly. The next day the two Armies drew near together, and incamped within a League the one of the other; where all the night long you might have heard ſuch noiſe of Horſes, as that it ſeemed the Heavens were full of Voices, the Air did ſo reſound, and every man thought the Night long, to come to the trial of his Valour, and the gaining of his deſires. The *Scythians* (a People no leſs greedy than needy) talked of nothing but the Spoil; the proud *Parthians*, of their Honour; and the poor Chriſtians, of their deliverance, all to be gained by the next Days Victory; every man during the Night time ſpeaking

The Prince of Ciarcan *dealeth politickly with the Forerunners of the Turks Army.*

ſpeaking according to his own humour. All which *Tamerlane* walking this Night up and down in his Camp heard, and much rejoiced to ſee the hope that his Souldiers had already in general conceived of the Victory. Who after the ſecond watch returning unto his Pavillion, and there caſting himſelf upon a Carpet, had thought to have ſlept a while; but his Cares not ſuffering him ſo to do, he then as his manner was, called for a Book, wherein was contained the lives of his Fathers and Anceſtors, and of other valiant Worthies, the which he uſed ordinarily to read, as he then did; not as therewith vainly to deceive the time, but to make uſe thereof, by the imitation of that which was by them worthily done, and declining of ſuch dangers as they by their Raſhneſs or Overſight fell into. And afterwards having a little ſlumbred, he commanded *Axalla* to be ſent for, who forthwith came unto him, with divers other great Lords and Captains the chief Commanders of his Army; with whom after he had a while conſulted of the order of the Battel, he mounted on Horſeback himſelf, and ſent every one of them to their own Charges, to put the ſame in readineſs. At which very inſtant he received News, that the Enemy marched forward, and came to take his ground for the Battel; whoſe order of march *Tamerlane* was deſirous to ſee, that ſo accordingly he might marſhal his own. And having cauſed three thouſand Horſemen to advance forward, with charge to begin the skirmiſh, himſelf followed after to lodge every part of his Forces in ſuch places as he had foreſeen to be fitteſt for his advantage. Now ſeeing the *Janizaries* march in a ſquare Battel in the midſt, and upon the two Fronts two great Squadrons of Horſemen, which ſeemed to be thirty thouſand Horſe; and another which advanced and covered the Battalion of the *Janizaries*; he thought this their order to be very good, and hard to be broken; and thereupon turning himſelf to *Axalla*, who was near unto him, ſaid, I had thought this Day to have fought on Foot, but I ſee that it behoveth me now to fight on Horſeback, to give Courage unto my Souldiers, to open the great Battalion of our Enemies. And my Will is, That my men come forward unto me as ſoon as they may, for I will advance forward with an hundred thouſand Footmen, fifty thouſand upon each of my two Wings, and in the midſt of them forty thouſand of my beſt Horſemen. My Pleaſure is, that after they have tried the force of theſe men, that they come unto my Avauntguard, of whom I will diſpoſe, and fifty thouſand Horſe more in three Bodies, whom thou ſhalt command; which I will aſſiſt with eighty thouſand Horſe, wherein ſhall be mine own Perſon; having an hundred thouſand Footmen behind me, who ſhall march in two Squadrons; and for my Rereward I appoint forty thouſand Horſe, and fifty thouſand Footmen, who ſhall not march but to my aid. And I will make choice of ten thouſand of my beſt Horſe, whom I will ſend into every place where I ſhall think needful within my Army, for to impart my Commands. Over the firſt forty thouſand Horſe the Prince *Ciarcan* commanded; over the foremoſt Footmen was the Lord *Synopes* a *Genoeſe*, Kinſman to *Axalla*, and his Lieutenant over the Footmen, a Captain of great eſtimation; the Prince *Axalla* his own charge conſiſted of five Squadrons of Horſemen. *Bajazet* his Army being alſo both fair and great, came bravely ſtill on forward towards their Enemies, who ſtirred not one whit from the place they had taken for the Battel; except certain light Horſemen, *Scithians*, *Parthians* and *Muſcovites*, who ſent out as looſe men, hotly skirmiſhed betwixt the two Armies. Now was *Tamerlane* by an Eſpy advertiſed, that *Bajazet* having before given order for the diſpoſing of his Army, was on foot in the midſt of thirty thouſand *Janizaries*, his principal men of War, and greateſt Strength; wherein he meant that day to fight, and in whom he had repoſed his greateſt hope. His Battel of Horſe was very fair, amounting to the number of an hundred and forty thouſand Horſe, all old Souldiers. The Sultan of *Egypt* having alſo ſent unto his Aid thirty thouſand Mamalukes, all very good Horſemen, with thirty thouſand Foot. So that his Army marching all in one Front, in form of an Half-Moon (but not ſo well knit together as was *Tamerlanes*, whoſe Squadrons directly followed one another) ſeemed almoſt as great as his; and ſo with infinite numbers of moſt horrible Outcries ſtill advanced forward; *Tamerlane* his Souldiers all the while ſtanding faſt, with great ſilence.

The great and mortal Battle betwixt Bajazet and Tamerlane.

There was not poſſible to be ſeen a more furious charge, than was by the Turks given upon the Prince of *Ciarcan*, who had commandment not to fight before the Enemy came unto him; neither could have been choſen a fairer Plain, and where the skilful choice of the place was of leſs advantage for the one or the other; but that *Tamerlane* had the River on the left hand of his Army, ſerving him to ſome ſmall advantage. Now this young Prince of *Ciarcan* with his forty thouſand Horſe, was in this firſt encounter almoſt wholly overthrown; yet having fought right valiantly, and entred even into the midſt of the *Janizaries*, (where the Perſon of *Bajazet* was) putting them in diſorder, was himſelf there ſlain. About which time *Axalla* ſet upon them with the Avantguard, but not with like danger; for having overthrown one of the Enemies Wings, and cut it all to pieces, and his Footmen coming to joyn with him, as they had been commanded, he faced the Battalion of the *Janizaries*, who right valiantly behaved themſelves for the ſafety of their Prince. This hard fight continued one hour, and yet you could not have ſeen any ſcattered, but the one ſtill reſolutely fighting againſt the other. You might there have ſeen the Horſemen like Mountains ruſh together, and infinite numbers of Men die, cry, lament and threaten all at one inſtant. *Tamerlane* had patience all this while, to ſee the event of this ſo mortal a Fight; but perceiving his men at length to give ground, he ſent ten thouſand of his Horſe to join again with the ten thouſand appointed for the Rereward, and commanded them to aſſiſt him at ſuch time as he ſhould have need of them; and at the very ſame time charged himſelf, and made them to give him room; cauſing the Footmen to charge alſo, over whom the Prince of *Thanais* commanded, who gave a furious onſet upon the Battalion of the *Janizaries*, wherein was yet the Perſon of *Bajazet*, who had ſuſtained a great burden. Now *Bajazet* had in his Army a great number of Mercenary *Tartars*, called *Deſtenſes*, with many thouſands of other Souldiers taken up in the Countries of the poor exiled *Mahometan* Princes; in whoſe juſt quarrel, and the Greek Emperors, *Tamerlane* had chiefly undertaken that War; theſe *Tartarians* and other Souldiers, ſeeing ſome their Friends, and otherſome their natural and loving Princes in the Army of *Tamerlane*; ſtricken with the terror of Diſloialty, and abhorring the Cruelty of the proud Tyrant, in the heat of the Battel revolted from *Bajazet* to their own Princes;

The Prince of Ciarcan *ſlain.*

which their revolt much weakned *Bajazets* Forces. Who nevertheleſs with his own men of War, eſpecially the *Janizaries*, and the help of the Chriſtian Souldiers brought to his aid from *Servia* and other places of *Europe*, with great Courage maintained the Fight; but the Multitude, and not true Valour, prevailed; for, as much as might be done by valiant and couragious men, was by the *Janizaries* and the reſt performed, both for the preſervation of the Perſon of their Prince, and the gaining of the Victory. But in the end, the Horſemen with whom *Tamerlane* himſelf was, giving a freſh Charge, and his Avantgard wholly knit again unto him, reinforcing the Charge, he with much ado obtained the Victory.

The Turks overthrown.

Bajazet himſelf wounded, and now mounted on Horſeback, thinking to have eſcaped by Flight, fell into the hands of *Axalla*; unto whom he yielded himſelf, thinking it had been *Tamerlane*; who for a ſpace knew him not, but took him for ſome other great Commander of the Turks.

Bajazet *and his Son* Muſa *taken Priſoners.*

Muſa (ſirnamed *Zelebi*, or, *the Noble*) one of *Bajazet* his Sons, with divers others of *Bajazet* his great Captains, were there taken alſo; and amongſt the reſt, *George* the Deſpot of *Servia*, who notwithſtanding this misfortune, had that day gained unto himſelf the reputation of a great and worthy Captain; inſomuch that *Tamerlane* even in the very heat of the Battel marvelling to ſee him and the *Servians*, with the other Chriſtians which he had brought to the aid of *Bajazet*, ſo valiantly to fight, ſaid unto ſome of the Captains that were near unto him, See how couragiouſly yonder Religious fight; ſuppoſing them by their ſtrange Attire to have been ſome of the Turks ſuperſtitious Votaries.. But being now taken, and afterwards brought to *Tamerlane*, he was by him courteouſly welcomed; but yet withal reproved, for that he had fought for *Bajazet* againſt him, who was come in favour of the Chriſtian Emperor, and the other poor oppreſſed Princes, ſuch as the Deſpot himſelf was. Who thereunto boldly anſwered, That indeed it was not according to his duty, but according to the proſperity of *Bajazet*, unto whom it ſeemed that all the World did bend; and that his own ſafety had cauſed him, though againſt his Will, to take part with him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* held him excuſed; and ſo without more ado gave him leave at his own pleaſure to depart.

Bajazet *brought before* Tamerlane, *with his Pride.*

Bajazet alſo himſelf being afterwards brought unto *Tamerlane* as a Priſoner, and by him courteouſly entertained, never ſhewed any token of Submiſſion at all, but according to his proud Nature, without reſpect of his preſent ſtate, preſumptuouſly anſwered him unto whatſoever he demanded. Wherewith *Tamerlane* moved, told him, That it was now in his power to make him to loſe his life. Whereunto he anſwered no more, but, Do it; for that, that loſs ſhould be his greateſt happineſs. *Tamerlane* afterwards demanding of him, What made him ſo proud, as to enterpriſe to bring into his Subjection ſo Noble a Prince as was the Greek Emperor? he anſwered, Even the ſame thing that hath moved thee to invade me, namely the deſire of Glory and Soveraignty. But wherefore then (ſaid *Tamerlane*) doſt thou uſe ſo great cruelty towards them thou haſt overcome, without reſpect of Age or Sex? That did I (ſaid he) to give the greater terror unto my Enemies. And what wouldſt thou have done with me (ſaid *Tamerlane*) had it been my fortune to have fallen into thy Hands, as thou art now in mine? I would (ſaid *Bajazet*) have incloſed thee in a Cage of Iron, and ſo in triumph have carried thee up and down my Kingdom. Even ſo (ſaid *Tamerlane*) ſhalt thou be ſerved. And ſo cauſing him to be taken out of his preſence, turning unto his Followers, ſaid, Behold a proud and cruel Man, he deſerveth to be chaſtiſed accordingly, and to be made an Example unto all the proud and cruel of the World, of the juſt Wrath of God againſt them. I acknowledge, that God hath this day delivered into my Hands a great Enemy; to whom we muſt therefore give thanks. Which he performed the ſame day; for the Battel was won at four of the Clock, and there was yet five hours of day-light. The next day *Tamerlane* commanded the dead to be buried; where among the reſt they found the body of the Prince of *Ciarcan*, dead in the midſt of the *Janizaries*, where he lay incloſed with their dead bodies, in token he died not unrevenged; whoſe untimely death *Tamerlane* for all that greatly lamented, for he was his Kinſman, and like enough one day to have done great ſervice. Whoſe dead Body *Tamerlane* cauſed to be embalmed, and with two thouſand Horſe (and divers of the Turks Priſoners chained and tied together) to be conveyed to *Samercand*, until his coming thither. All the other dead Bodies were with all honour that might be, buried at *Sennas*.

This great and bloody Battel fought in the year of our Lord 1397. not far from the Mount *Stella*, (where ſometime the great King *Mithrydates* was by *Pompy* the Great in a great Battel overthrown) was fought from ſeven a Clock in the Morning, until four in the Afternoon; Victory all that while, as it were with doubtful Wings, hovering over both Armies, as uncertain where to light; until at length the fortune of *Tamerlane* prevailed. Whoſe Wiſedom, next unto God, gave that days Victory unto his Souldiers; for that the politick tyring of the ſtrong Forces of *Bajazet*, was the ſafeguard of his own; whereas if he had gone unto the Battel in one Front, aſſuredly the multitude finding ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, had put it ſelf into confuſion; whereas this ſucceſſive manner of aiding of his men, made them all unto him profitable. The number of them that were in this Battel ſlain, is of divers diverſly reported; the Turks themſelves reporting, That *Bajazet* there loſt the Noble *Muſtapha* his Son, with two hundred thouſand of his men, and *Tamerlane* not many fewer; and ſome other ſpeaking of a far leſs number, as that there ſhould be ſlain of the Turks about threeſcore thouſand, and of *Tamerlane* his Army not paſt twenty thouſand. But leaving the certainty of the number unto the credit of the Reporters, like enough it is, that the Slaughter was exceeding great in ſo long a Fight, betwixt two ſuch Armies as never before (as I ſuppoſe) met in Field together.

By this one days event is plainly to be ſeen the uncertainty of worldly things, and what ſmall aſſurance even the greateſt have in them. Behold, *Bajazet* the terror of the World, and as he thought, ſuperior to Fortune, in an inſtant with his ſtate in one Battel overthrown into the bottom of miſery and deſpair; and that at ſuch time as he thought leaſt, even in the midſt of his greateſt Strength. It was three days (as they report) before he could be pacified, but as a deſperate man ſtill ſeeking after death, and calling for it; neither did *Tamerlane* after he had once ſpoken with him, at all afterwards courteouſly uſe him, but as of a proud man cauſed ſmall account to be made of him; And to manifeſt that he knew how to puniſh the haughty, made him to be ſhackled in Fetters and Chains of Gold, and ſo to be ſhut up in an Iron Cage made like a Grate, in ſuch ſort as that he might on every

Bajazet *like a Beaſt ſhut up in an Iron Cage.*

ſide be ſeen; and ſo carried him up and down as he paſſed through *Aſia*; to be of his own People ſcorned and derided. And to his further diſgrace, upon Feſtival days uſed him for a Footſtool to tread upon, when he mounted to Horſe; and at other times ſcornfully fed him like a Dog, with crums fallen from his Table. A rare Example of the uncertainty of worldly Honour, that he unto whoſe ambitious mind *Aſia* and *Europe*, two great parts of the World, were too little, ſhould be now carried up and down cooped up in a little Iron Cage, like ſome perilous wild Beaſt. All which *Tamerlane* did not ſo much for hatred to the man, as to manifeſt the juſt judgment of God againſt the arrogant Folly of the Proud. It is reported, That *Tamerlane* being requeſted by one of his Noblemen that might be bold to ſpeak unto him, to remit ſome part of his Severity againſt the perſon of ſo great a Prince; anſwered, That he did not uſe that Rigor againſt him as a King, but rather did puniſh him as a proud ambitious Tyrant, polluted with the blood of his own Brother.

Now this ſo great an overthrow brought ſuch a fear upon all the Countries poſſeſſed by *Bajazet* in *Aſia*, that *Axalla* ſent before by *Tamerlane* with forty thouſand Horſe, and an hundred thouſand Foot, without Carriages, to proſecute the Victory came without reſiſtance to *Pruſa*, whither all the remainder of *Bajazet* his Army retired, with the *Baſſa Muſtapha*; the Country as he went ſtill yielding unto him. Yea, the great *Baſſa* with the reſt hearing of his coming, and thinking themſelves not now in any ſafety in *Aſia*, fled over the Strait of *Helleſpontus* to *Callipolis*, and ſo to *Hadrianople*; carrying with them out of the Battel, *Solyman*, *Bajazet* his eldeſt Son, whom they ſet up in his Fathers place; *Mahomet* his younger Brother preſently upon the overthrow being fled to *Amaſia*; of whom, and the reſt of *Bajazet* his Children, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter. *Axalla* coming to *Pruſa*, had the City without reſiſtance yielded unto him, which he rifled; and there with other of *Bajazet* his Wives and Concubines, took Priſoner the fair *Deſpina*, *Bajazet* his beſt beloved Wife, to the doubling of his grief.

Solyman *ſet up in his Fathers ſtead.*

Pruſa *taken by* **Axalla.**

Emanuel the Greek Emperor now hearing of *Tamerlane* his coming to *Pruſa*, ſent his Embaſſadors (the moſt honorable of his Court) thither before to *Axalla*; by whom they were there ſtaid until the coming of *Tamerlane*; who received them with all the Honour that might be, ſhewing unto them all his magnificence, and the order of his Camp, to their great admiration; For it reſembled a moſt populous and well governed City, for the order that was therein, which brought unto it plenty of all kind of Victuals and other Merchandiſe, as well for pleaſure as for uſe. By theſe Embaſſadors the Greek Emperor ſubmitted all his Empire, together with his Perſon, unto *Tamerlane* the great Conqueror, as his moſt faithful Subject and Vaſſal; which he was bound (as he ſaid) to do, for that he was by him delivered from the moſt cruel Tyrant of the World; as alſo for that the long journy he had paſſed, and the diſcommodities he had indured, with the loſs of his People, and the danger of his Perſon, could not be recompenced but by the offer of his own Life and his Subjects; which he did for ever dedicate unto his Service, with all the Fidelity and Loyalty that ſo great a benefit might deſerve; beſides that, his ſo many Vertues and rare Accompliſhments, which made him famous through the World, did bind him ſo to do. And that therefore he would attend him in his chief City to deliver it into his Hands as his own, with all the Empire of *Greece*. Now the Greek Embaſſadors looked for no leſs than to fall into bondage to *Tamerlane*; thinking that which they offered to be ſo great and delicate a Morſel, as that it would not be refuſed, eſpecially of ſuch a conquering Prince as was *Tamerlane*; and that the acceptance thereof in kindneſs and friendſhip, was the beſt bargain they could make therein. But they received anſwer from this worthy Prince, far beyond their expectation; for he with a mild countenance beholding them, anſwered them, That he was not come from ſo far a Country, or undertaken ſo much pains, for the inlargement of his Dominions, already large enough, (too baſe a thing for him to put himſelf into ſo great danger and travel for) but rather to win Honour, and thereby to make his name famous unto all Poſterity for ever; And that therefore it ſhould well appear unto the World, that he was come to aid him, being requeſted as his Friend and Allie; and that his upright meaning therein was the greateſt cauſe, that God from above had beheld his power, and thereby bruiſed the Head of the greateſt and fierceſt Enemy of mankind that was under Heaven; and now to get him an immortal name, would make free ſo great and flouriſhing a City as was *Conſtantinople*, governed by ſo noble and ancient an Houſe as the Emperors; That unto his Courage he had always Faith joyned, ſuch as ſhould never ſuffer him to make ſo great a breach in his reputation, as that it ſhould be reported of him, That in the colour of a Friend he came to invade the Dominions of his Allies; That he deſired no more, but that the ſervice he had done for the Greek Emperor, might for ever be ingraven in the Memory of his Poſterity, to the end they might for ever wiſh well unto him and his Succeſſors, by remembring the good he had done them; That long might the noble Emperor live, happily to govern his Eſtate; and that before his return he would ſo well conſider for the eſtabliſhing of the ſame, as that he ſhould not lightly fall again into the like jeopardy, alwaies aſſuring himſelf of his good Will and Favour towards him. Eaſie it is to judge what Joy theſe Greek Embaſſadors received, to hear this ſo kind an anſwer from the mouth of *Tamerlane* himſelf; who rather than he would ſeem to break his Faith, refuſed an Empire offered unto him, with one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent Cities of the World. Few Princes (I ſuppoſe) would perform ſuch a part; but ſo there be likewiſe but few *Tamerlanes* in the World. Theſe Embaſſadors by the commandment of *Tamerlane*, were by *Axalla* Royally feaſted, and all the Honour done them that might be. One of them being ſent back to carry theſe unexpected news unto the Greek Emperor, filled both him and all the City of *Conſtantinople* with exceeding joy and gladneſs, which both he and his Subjects in general ſpared not with Bonfires and all other ſigns of Joy and Pleaſure to manifeſt. And the more to ſhew his thankfulneſs, ſhortly after by the advice of his grave Counſellors, paſſed over the Strait into *Aſia*, to ſee *Tamerlane* at *Pruſa*, and in Perſon himſelf to give him thanks; who hearing of his coming, and very glad thereof, preſently upon the firſt days journy ſent the Prince *Axalla* to meet him, and to certifie him of the Joy that he conceived, to have the good hap for to ſee him, as alſo to conduct him to *Pruſa*; where thoſe two great Princes, with the greateſt magnificence that might be, met, and ſo ſpent one whole day together. The Greek Emperor the next day taking his leave, was by *Tamerlane* with much Honour conducted out of the City. Now had *Tamerlane* himſelf conceived a ſecret deſire to ſee this ſo

Tamerlane *goeth to* **Conſtantinople.**

famous a City as was *Conſtantinople*, from which he was not now far, yet would he not go thither as a Conqueror, but as a private perſon; which by the means of *Axalla* was accompliſhed, and he thereinto by the Greek Emperor privately received, and with all Familiarity poſſible entertained; the Emperor ſhewing unto him all the rare and excellent things that were therein to be ſeen; and the other Greek Princes deviſing all the means they could to do him pleaſure, and them which did accompanie him; who were in a manner all apparelled after the Greek Faſhion. At which time the Greek Emperor himſelf was curious to ſhew unto him all the fair Gardens alongſt the Sea Coaſt, a League or two from *Conſtantinople*, and ſo privately conducting him, ſpent five or ſix days with all the Mirth that might be poſſible; *Tamerlane* by the way oftentimes ſaying, That he had never ſeen a fairer City, and that it was indeed the City (conſidering the fair and rich Situation thereof) of right, worthy to command all the World. He wondred at the coſtly Buildings of the Temples, the fair ingraven Pillars, the high Piramides, and the making of the fair Gardens; and oftentimes afterwards ſaid, That he nothing repented him of his ſo long and dangerous a voiage, if it had been only but to have preſerved from Fire and Sword ſo noble a City as that was. In the Greek Emperor he commended greatly his mild Nature and Courteſie; who knowing him above all things to take pleaſure in fair ſerviceable Horſes, gave unto him thirty of the faireſt, ſtrongeſt, and readieſt, that were poſſible to be gotten, all moſt richly furniſhed; and ſent likewiſe fair Preſents unto all the Princes and great Commanders of the Army, and bountifully cauſed to be delivered unto them all things which he thought to be neceſſary for the Army. So after many great kindneſſes in ſhort time paſſed, and a ſtrait bond of Friendſhip made, and by ſolemn Oath confirmed betwixt the two great Princes, *Tamerlane* with great contentment took his leave of the Emperor, and returned again to his Army at *Pruſa*. Wherewith he now at his pleaſure without reſiſtance waſted and ſpoyled all *Bajazet* his Dominion in *Aſia*, no man daring to make head againſt him.

Tamerlane *much delighted with the pleaſures of* **Conſtantinople.**

The year being now well ſpent, and Winter drawing on, *Tamerlane* diſperſed his Army into divers of the Provinces of the leſſer *Aſia*, expecting ſtill when ſome of *Bajazet* his Sons or other Friends ſhould make ſuit or means unto him for his deliverance, but none came; ſome fearing *Tamerlane* his heavy indignation, and others no leſs dreading the fierce Nature of *Bajazet* himſelf, who if he had been delivered, was like enough (as was thought) to have taken ſharp revenge upon all them which forſook him in the late Battel; and therefore never made interceſſion for him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* one day paſſing by him, ſaid unto him, I marvel that none of thy Sons or Friends either come to ſee thee, or to intreat for thee, it muſt needs be that thou haſt evilly deſerved of them, as thou haſt of others; yet how thinkeſt thou, if I ſhould ſet thee at liberty, would they again receive thee as their Lord and Soveraign, or not? To whom *Bajazet* boldly anſwered; Were I at liberty, thou ſhouldſt well ſee, how that I want neither Courage nor means to revenge all my Wrongs and to make thoſe diſobedient and forgetful to know their Duties better. Which his proud anſwer, made *Tamerlane* to keep a ſtraighter hand over him.

In this great and bloody War, wherein the *Othoman* Empire had almoſt taken end, the Sultan of *Egypt* had (as is aforeſaid) given aid unto *Bajazet*; which *Tamerlane* took in ſo evil part, as that he reſolved to be thereof revenged; for as he was unto his Friends of all others moſt kind and courteous, ſo was he to his Enemies no leſs terrible and dreadful. Yet thinking it good before his departure out of the leſſer *Aſia*, to take ſome good order with theſe his new Conqueſts; and finding nothing more honourable to reſolve upon, he reſtored unto the poor Mahometan Princes (*Tacbretin*, *Iſfendiar*, *Germian*, and the reſt before fled unto him for refuge) all their ancient Inheritance, with ſomething more; as he did alſo divers Cities and Countries of *Natolia* unto the Greek Emperor, for the yearly Tribute of four hundred thouſand Ducats of Gold, and eight hundred thouſand Franks of Silver, which the Emperor promiſed to pay unto him yearly. And ſo having enriched his Army with the Spoils of the *Othoman* Empire in *Aſia*, he turned his Forces againſt the *Egyptian* Sultan, and ſo paſſing through *Caramania*, entred into *Syria*, then part of the Sultans Kingdom; where near unto *Aleppo* (being before yielded unto him) was fought betwixt them a great and mortal Battel, the Sultan having in his Army an hundred thouſand Foot, and ſeventy four thouſand Horſe; whereof there were thirty thouſand *Mamalukes*, accounted the beſt Horſemen in the World. In which Battel *Axalla* the great Captain, with the Vantguard of *Tamerlane* his Army, was hardly diſtreſſed, and *Axalla* himſelf taken; but forthwith again reſcued by *Tamerlane*; who had he not by his coming on with new Forces, ſpeedily reſtored the Battel, cunningly protracted by *Axalla*, that day was like enough to have made an end of his good Fortune. But the Victory after a long and cruel Fight (wherein were fourſcore thouſand men on both ſides ſlain) inclining to *Tamerlane*, the Sultan fled, *Tamerlane* purſuing him by the ſpace of three Leagues. After which Victory, *Tamerlane* dividing his Army, ſent *Axalla* with forty thouſand Horſe and fifty thouſand Foot to purſue the Sultan alongſt the Coaſt of *Arabia*; who oftentimes ſhewed himſelf with ſome four thouſand Horſe to have hindred *Axalla*, who having the ſmalleſt Forces, followed him the neareſt. *Tamerlane* himſelf in the mean time, with threeſcore thouſand Horſe, and an hundred thouſand Foot, marching alongſt the Sea Coaſt, had all the Cities as he went yielded unto him; as *Magata*, *Aman*, otherwiſe called *Apamea*, *Tortoſa*, *Barruto*, and *Nephthalin*; only the ſtrong City of *Damaſco* refuſed to receive him, whereinto the Sultan had put the Prince *Zamadzen*, with a ſtrong Garriſon, who did what he might to have defended the ſame; But all in vain, for *Tamerlane* having by Battery overthrown a great part of the Wall, by Aſſault won the City, only the Caſtle yet remaining, as being of a wondeful Strength, and almoſt impregnable; whereinto ſuch a multitude had at the taking of the City retired themſelves, as was not poſſible therein long to live; who in ſhort time pinched with Hunger, and many of them dead, the reſt upon ſafeguard of their Lives offered to yield; whom for all that *Tamerlane* would not receive to mercy, to make them feel what it was to hold out againſt him; ſo that moſt of them dying of Famine, the reſt yielded without Condition, and were for their Obſtinacy almoſt all ſlain. Which his Severity towards them of *Damaſco*, cauſed, that thirty Leagues off they brought the Keys of their Cities unto him, in token of their Submiſſion; whom he no way moleſted, more than in contributing unto the charge of his Army. From *Damaſco*, he turned directly towards *Jeruſalem*, at which time

A great Battel fought betwixt the Sultan of **Egypt** *and* **Tamerlane.**

Damaſco *won by* **Tamerlane.**

time they of the City had driven out the Sultans Garriſon, as had almoſt all they of *Judea*, ſubmitting themſelves unto *Tamerlane*. At *Chorazin* the Sultan had left ſix thouſand men in Garriſon for the defence of the place, who at the firſt ſeemed to ſtand upon their Guard; but afterwards diſmaied to ſee ſo great an Army before it, and that *Tamerlane* having approached the Walls, was ſet down to have it, they ſubmitted themſelves and found mercy. In which City *Tamerlane* left certain of his men in Garriſon, for the better repreſſing of the *Mamalukes*, who with often incurſions troubled his Army.

Tamerlane *cometh to* Jeruſalem

So marching on, he himſelf with certain Horſemen for his Guard, rode to *Jeruſalem* to viſit the Sepulchre ſo much reverenced of all Nations, and there to make his Oblations; where he was of the Inhabitants joyfully received, and having ſought out all the Antiquities of the ancient City, would be conducted unto all the places thereabouts, where Jeſus Chriſt had preached, even as the Pilgrims do; and coming to the Sepulchre, gave thereunto, and the devout there, many rich and precious Gifts, to the great contentment of all men (to ſee him honour thoſe holy places) but of the Jews only, who greatly blamed him for ſo doing; of whom of all others, *Tamerlane* made no reckoning, but called them the accurſed of God. There had he news that the Sultan had gathered all his Forces, and being come into *Egypt*, was there fortifying of his Cities, eſpecially the great Cities of *Alexandria* and *Caier*. *Tamerlane* his Army in the mean time by his commandment came towards *Egypt* to *Damiata*; which ſtrong City he thought not good to leave behind him, although he was by ſome perſwaded ſo to do, for that it was thought impregnable, as well in reſpect of the Caſtle, as of the ſtrong Garriſon that the Sultan had put thereinto; but he, whoſe Fortune nothing could hinder, would needs go thither; and ſo having commanded *Axalla* to ſet upon it, followed himſelf after with the reſt of his Army.

Damiata *taken by* Axalla.

Now *Axalla* having ſummoned the City, and declared unto the Inhabitants (who were moſt of them Chriſtians) the mildneſs and courteſie of *Tamerlane*, as alſo who himſelf was, and what Religion he held; cauſing many of the Greek Captains to ſpeak unto them, and to tell them of the miſery they indured under the *Moors* and *Mamalukes*; ſo far prevailed with them, that they all determined to adventure their Lives, to put the *Mamalukes* out of the City, with all them that favoured the Sultan. And ſo in the night taking up Arms, made themſelves Maſters of one quarter of the City, and delivered one of the Gates to *Axalla*; whereby he entring put all the *Mamalukes* to the Sword, or took them Priſoners, and ſo gained the City. Whereof *Tamerlane* hearing, being as yet upon his march, was in good hope of ſo proſperous a beginning, to find an happy end alſo of his Deſigns in *Egypt*. For beſides the good Fortune thereof, he knew that this Haven of *Damiata* might ſerve him with Victuals out of all the parts of *Greece*, as the Emperor *Emanuel* had promiſed him, and wherein he nothing failed him. Into which Port *Tamerlane* having made his entrie, left there in Garriſon two thouſand of the Emperor *Emanuel* his Souldiers, with a Governor, of whom he took an Oath for their Obedience. So having ſtaied a ſpace at *Damiata*, he cauſed his Vauntguard to march towards *Alexandria*; and having paſſed over the River, even in an inſtant turned directly unto *Caier*, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Sultan, who made proviſion for the defence of *Alexandria*, as the neareſt unto danger.

Tamerlane *marcheth towards* Caier.

But underſtanding of theſe news, uſed ſuch diligence, that he entred into the City with forty thouſand Horſe, and threeſcore thouſand Foot, even as *Tamerlane* his Army approached, purpoſing in Perſon himſelf to defend it. By whoſe coming the great City ready before to have revolted, was again in his obedience confirmed, to the great hindrance of *Tamerlane* his Affairs; for to remain long before it, was impoſſible, for want of Victuals for ſo great an Army in the Enemies Country.

Caier *beſieged by* Tamerlane.

Yet notwithſtanding all this, did not *Tamerlane* forbear to draw near unto it, and with all his Army to encamp near unto the ſame, having cauſed a great Trench to be made for to cover his Horſemen, and thereby to lodge his Army more ſafely; during which time he cauſed divers onſets to be given, as well to try what confidence the Enemy had in himſelf, as to ſee how the People of the City, eſpecially the Slaves (which in that populous City are infinite) were affected towards him; who certainly informed him of the ſtate of the City, and the Army; as glad to ſee the ſame by him ſhut up, and the proud *Mamalukes* ſtill put to the worſt. But thus lying ſtill at the Siege, one day he thought it good to ſhew his Army before the City, to try whether the Enemy had a deſire to come to a day of Battel or not; as alſo to view what Forces he had, and ſo indeed to ſeek occaſion to fight; in hope alſo, that if the Sultan did come forth with all his Army into the Field, ſome revolt might happen within the City, as well by the Slaves (unto whom Liberty was by him promiſed) as by the Citizens themſelves (diſcontented with the inſolency of the *Mamalukes* entred of late into the City with the Sultan) unto whom he had made it known by certain Slaves (for that purpoſe fled as Fugitives out of his Army into the City) how that he was not come to hurt them, but only for the deſtruction of the *Mamalukes*, both his and their Enemies. But betimes ſtanding ſo in Battel array, no man came forth, neither was there any tumult or ſtir raiſed in the City, as he had expected. For the Sultan in ſo great a City well provided of all things, was reſolved to weary him out with lying ſtill, and not to put all to the hazard of a Battel. Which *Tamerlane* perceiving, and ſet down not to depart from thence, but victorious, reſolved likewiſe to force him even in his greateſt Strength, in the Heart of his greateſt City; although it were not to be done, but with great adventure; ſuch confidence he had in the Strength and Multitude of his Army. Now his purpoſe was, firſt to take one of the Cities (for *Caire* is divided into three) and therein incamping himſelf by little and little to advance forward as he might, ſtill fighting with the Enemy.

Caier *aſſaulted by* Tamerlane.

Upon which reſolution, he commanded an Aſſault to be given, and having brought his Footmen to the place where he would have them to give the onſet (for the City was not walled, but only fortified with Ditches and Trenches) he commanded the Prince of *Thanais* with fifty thouſand Footmen to begin the Aſſault, even in the Face of the Enemy; which he moſt valiantly performed, and there began a moſt terrible and cruel Fight. *Axalla* in the mean time, deeming (as the truth was) that the Sultan had drawn his greateſt Forces to the place where the Prince of *Thanais* ſought to enter, as unto a place of greateſt danger; ſet a compaſs about, and upon another quarter of the City, with ſmall reſiſtance paſſed the Trenches; where he preſently left thirty thouſand men to fill up the Ditches, and to make way for the Horſemen to enter; advancing forward himſelf, againſt twenty thouſand ſent by the Sultan to have ſtopt his further paſſage; the Prince of *Thanais* being at that ſame time almoſt beaten back by the *Mamalukes.* But the way being made plain, by them that were for that purpoſe left by *Axalla*, and ten thouſand Horſe entred, which charged upon the Backs of the *Mamalukes*, where the Sultan himſelf was; and they ſeconded by ten thouſand more ſent in by *Tamerlane*, following himſelf after, with all his Power; the Sultan retired unto a ſecond Strength, which he had made in the next City. The Fight indured full the ſpace of ſeven hours; wherein were ſlain of the Sultan his men above ſixteen thouſand; and of *Tamerlanes* betwixt ſeven and eight thouſand. Who contented to have diſlodged the Enemy, and gained a third part of the City, cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded,in hope the next day to win all the reſt, as indeed he did. For the Prince of *Thanais* the next day forcing the Enemies Trenches in one place, and *Axalla* in another, the Sultan after a great Fight finding himſelf hardly preſſed by the obſtinate Enemy, and too weak long to hold out, retired, and ſo forthwith abandoned the City, and encamped himſelf along the ſide of the River *Nilus*, with purpoſe to paſs the ſame, and to flie to *Alexandria* his ſecond Strength and Refuge. Which *Tamerlane* ſuſpecting, followed after him with his Horſemen (who only were in order) and ſome few Foot, hardly drawn from the City, which their Fellows were in ſpoiling; ſo as he was glad to promiſe them eſpecially, to regard and reward their good ſervice. Againſt whom the Sultan upon a narrow Cauſey, had oppoſed twelve or fifteen thouſand men, whom he called his Slaves (to favour his paſſage) but were indeed his beſt Souldiers, and ſtood faſt, the place ſerving greatly for their advantage; who for all that at length forced by their Enemies, ſtill increaſing upon them, (though not without great loſs) caſt themſelves into the great River, and made a moſt honourable Retreat; every man having his Weapon in the one Hand, and ſwimming with the other to the further Bank. The Sultan flying with ſome eighteen thouſand Horſe (for the reſt were ſundry waies fled or elſe drowned) is reported in his Flight to have comforted his men, by telling of them, that they were not men that had vanquiſhed them, but gods, there appeared in them ſo great Wiſdom, Force, and Valour; divers of the *Mamalukes* taken in the late Fight, being brought before *Tamerlane*, and by him courteouſly uſed, were of him demanded, if they could be content to ſerve him, now that their Maſter was fled and gon? which they all utterly refuſed; whom notwithſtanding for their Fidelity, *Tamerlane* ſet at liberty to go again to the Sultan; as no leſs deſirous to be admired of his Enemies for his Bounty and Courteſie,than feared for his Force and Valour. The wonderful Wealth of this ſo great and famous a City became a Prey unto his Souldiers; who for the ſpace of four and twenty hours had the Spoil thereof, every man being then by open Proclamation commanded to repair to his Quarter. The Citizens he ſet at liberty, not ſuffering any of them to be taken Priſoners; and ſo leaving ten thouſand good Souldiers, with a great number of others (whereof he carried a great multitude in his Army, planting every where as he paſſed as it were new Colonies) and carrying away with him ſuch of the Inhabitants as he thought might hurt him, and taking order for all things neceſſary for the keeping of ſuch a City, he cauſed his Army to paſs over the River for to follow the Sultan to *Alexandria*, to the end not to leave his Victory unperfect; *Axalla* haſting before with the Avantgard, for to hinder the Sultan for joyning his Forces again together; and the reſt of his Army conducted by the Prince of *Thanais*; he himſelf with an infinite number of Boats and Souldiers to attend upon him, going by Water, taking great pleaſure to behold the fair River, and his ſwift courſe ſometimes, and in an inſtant to become ſo calm as if it ſcarce moved. The Citizens of *Alexandria* hearing of his coming, and fearing what might betide them, beſought the Sultan to have compaſſion of their Eſtate, and to withdraw himſelf into *Lybia*, whither *Tamerlane* for the Barrenneſs of the Country could not with any great Power follow him; reſolved for their parts to give place unto Fortune, and to do as the time required, and no more to reſiſt ſo great a force, whereof they had already made ſufficient trial; promiſing yet to remain in Heart ſtill his, and upon the firſt occaſion offered, to make the ſame to him appear. Whereupon the Sultan ſeeing all things deſperate, determined for a time to retire, in hope, that time would bring ſome change; as alſo that *Tamerlane* his populous Army would not long remain there. And ſo departing out of *Alexandria* with tears ſtanding in his Eyes, oftentimes ſaid, That God was angry with him and his People, and that he muſt of neceſſity ſuffer the fatal overthow of his Eſtate, himſelf having done as much as in him lay, according to his Charge and the Expectation the World had of him; and yet that he hoped at length to return again, and deliver his People from the Bondage, whereunto they muſt now needs ſubmit themſelves. *Tamerlane* coming to *Alexandria* (before yielded to *Axalla*) there ſtaid a great while, ſending *Axalla* to purſue the Sultan, exceedingly grieved that he could not get him into his Hands; and therefore ſtill fearing ſome innovation to be by him raiſed, which cauſed him to deal the more hardly with them whom he ſuſpected to favour him. Now the bruit of theſe Victories having with *Axalla* paſſed beyond *Alexandria* into *Lybia*, had brought ſuch a fear, not only upon the People adjoyning unto theſe Conqueſts, but alſo upon all *Africa* (they ſuppoſing that *Tamerlane* did follow) that two and twenty of the *Moor* Kings ſent their Embaſſadors unto him, to offer unto him their Obedience; the Sultan as a man forſaken of Fortune, ſtill flying before him. Of the neareſt of which Kings *Tamerlane* took Hoſtages; as for the other farther off, he contented himſelf with their Faith given, and with the other outward ſigns of their good Wills.

The Sultan flieth from Alexandria.

Now after this long travel and pains taken, was *Tamerlane* more deſirous than he had before uſed, to ſee the pleaſures of his own Native Country; the rather thereunto moved by the requeſt of his Wife, then longing for his return; and the News he heard of the Sickneſs of the old *Tartarian* Emperor his Father-in-Law; beſides that, Age it ſelf began to bring unto him a deſire of reſt; with whom alſo, the deſires of his Souldiers well agreed, as men now weary to have run ſo many and divers Fortunes. The only ſtay was, that he expected the coming of *Calibes*, an old and faithful Servant of his, whom he for his good deſert had of his own accord appointed Governor of all his new Conqueſts in *Egypt* and *Syria*, a great Honour no doubt, but not too great for him that had ſo well deſerved. So mindful was he of the good deſerts of his faithful Servants, as that he needed not by others to be of them put in remembrance,

Tamerlane *deſirous to return into his Country.*

brance, were they never ſo far off, as was now *Calibes*, who at this time was with the third part of his Army making way for him along the great River *Euphrates*, for the Conqueſt of *Meſopotamia*, and *Perſia*; whoſe coming was now with great devotion looked for of the whole Army, deſirous to return. Which their expectation he long delaied not, but being ſent for, came to *Alexandria*, whither the whole Army was now by the commandment of *Tamerlane* again aſſembled. Upon whoſe coming, *Tamerlane* departed from *Alexandria*, having there left the Prince *Zamalzan* (a man of great reputation) with ſix thouſand Horſemen and ten thouſand Foot, as Governor of that place, and Lieutenant General under *Calibes*; whom *Tamerlane* (as I have ſaid) had now appointed to command over all *Egypt* and *Syria*, together with the Countries newly conquered in *Lybia* and *Barbary*; and now conducting him unto the great City of *Caire*, and there taking the beſt order he could for the preſervation of his new Conqueſt, left him with forty thouſand Horſe and fifty thouſand Foot. And ſo having ſufficiently inſtructed him how he would have thoſe Kingdoms governed, diſmiſſed him, not like a Maſter, but as a Companion, ſeeming very ſorry to leave him deſtitute of his preſence. So ſetting forward with his Army, conducted by the Prince of *Thanais*, *Tamerlane* himſelf, with a few to guard him, by the way turned aſide unto *Jeruſalem*; Where he remained eleven days, dayly viſiting the Sepulchre of Chriſt Jeſus (whom he called the God of the Chriſtians) and the ruins of *Solomon* his Temple; much wondering thereat, and at *Jeruſalem*, the Seat of *Davids* Kingdom, and of that great *Solomon*; but grieved that he could not ſee them fully in their former Beauty. He only deſpiſed the Jews, which had committed ſo cruel a Murder againſt him that came to ſave them. And to ſhew his devotion towards the Holy City, commanded it to be free from all Subſidies and Garriſons of men of War; and gave great Gifts unto the Monaſteries, and honoured them ſo long as he remained there. Departing from *Jeruſalem*, he came to *Damaſco*; which great City, as well for that it was infected with the opinion of *Jezides* (accounted an arch Heretick among the *Mahometans*) as alſo evil affected to his proceedings, he cauſed to be raſed, and the Bones of *Jezides* the falſe Prophet to be digged up and burnt, and his Grave before much honoured, in deſpight to be filled with Dung. So marching on, and blaſting the World before him as he went (for long it were and from our purpoſe, to recount all his Victories) he paſſed over the River *Euphrates*, and having conquered *Meſopotamia*, with the great City of *Babylon*, and all the Kingdom of *Perſia*, laded with the Spoil of the World, and eternized for ever, he returned at length to *Samarcand*, the famous place of his Birth, and glorious Seat of his Empire.

The miſerable death of Bajazet.

Now had *Bajazet* (but a little before one of the greateſt Princes on Earth, and now the ſcorn of Fortune, and a By-word to the World) with great impatience lain two years in moſt miſerable Thraldom, for moſt part ſhut up in an Iron Cage, as ſome dangerous Wild Beaſt; and having no better means to end his loathed Life, did violently beat out his Brains againſt the Bars of the Iron Grate wherein he was incloſed, and ſo died about the year of our Lord 1399. Yet of his Death are divers other Reports; ſome ſaying, that he died of an Ague, proceeding of Sorrow and Grief; others, that he poiſoned himſelf; and the Turks affirming, that he was ſet at Liberty by *Tamerlane*, being by him before-hand poiſoned, whereof he dyed three days after he was inlarged (a Report not like to be true;) but howſoever it was, his end appeareth to have been right miſerable. His dead Body at the requeſt of his Son *Mahomet*, was by *Tamerlane* ſent to *Aſprapolis*, from whence it was afterwards conveighed to *Pruſa*, and there lieth buried in a Chappel near unto the great Mahometan Temple without the City Eaſtward; where alſo lieth his beloved Wife *Deſpina*, with his eldeſt Son *Erthrogul*. And faſt by in a little Chappel lieth buried his Brother *Jacup*, whom he in the beginning of his Reign murthered.

A compariſon betwixt Bajazet *and* Tamerlane.

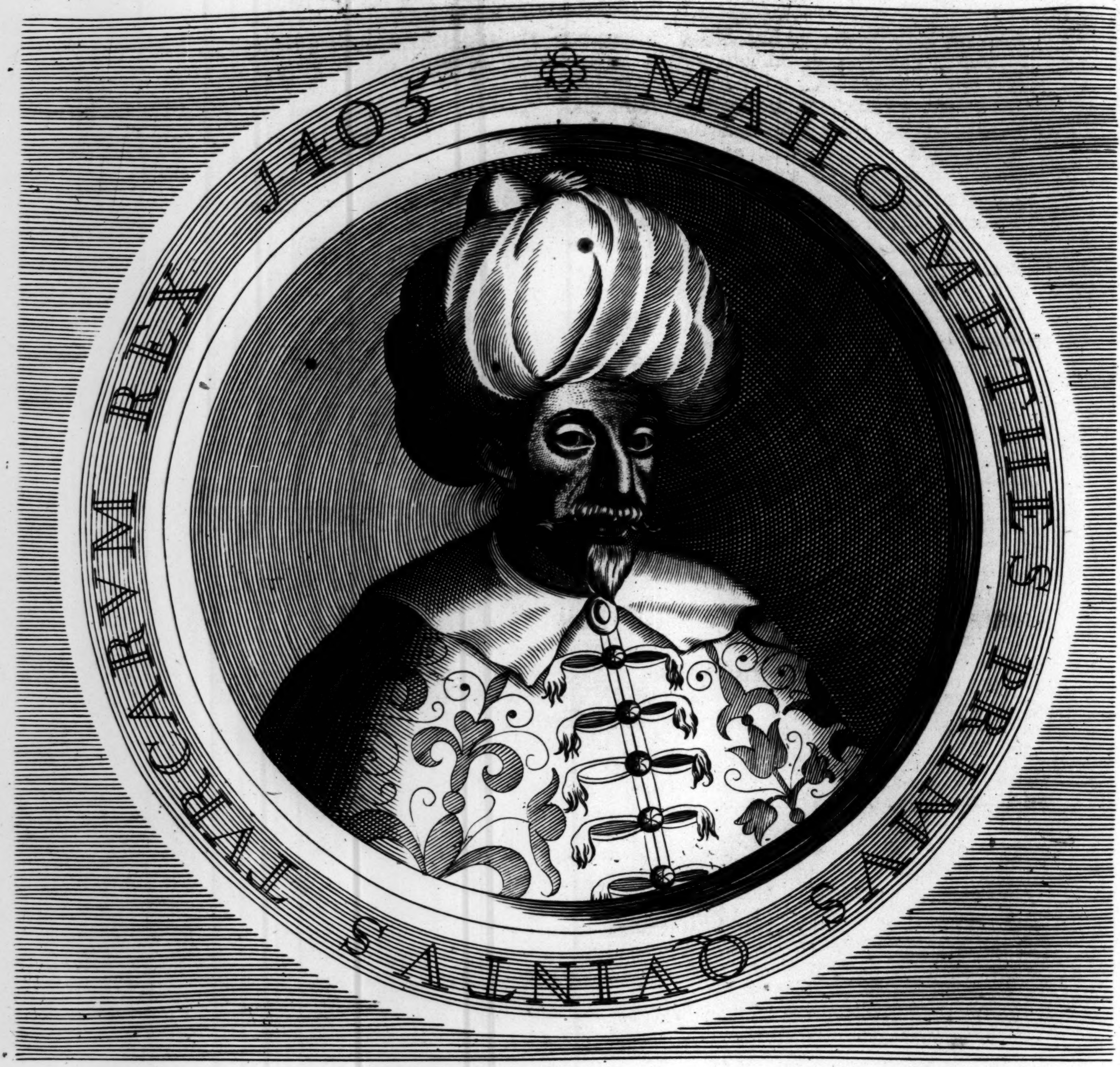
Theſe two great and mighty Princes, *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet*, (both of them whilſt they lived, a burthen to the World) as they took their beginning from the *Scythes* or *Tartars*, ſo were they of like honourable Progenitors deſcended; *Bajazet* being the fourth in deſcent from the Warlike *Othoman*, the raiſer of his Family; and *Tamerlane* in like degree from the great *Zingis*, the firſt and moſt fortunate Leader of the *Tartars* (his Countrymen) unto the pleaſures of the Eaſt; both Princes of great Power and like Spirit; wiſe, hardy, painful, reſolute, and moſt skilful in Martial Affairs; but ambitious above meaſure, the ground of all the former troubles by them raiſed, to the aſtoniſhment of the World. Howbeit, the great Vertues and other the honourable qualities of *Bajazet*, were in him by his cholerick and waiward Nature much obſcured; which made him to exceed both in Cruelty and Pride; being alſo much more hand-faſt than were his honourable Predeceſſors. For which cauſes he was much feared and leſs beloved of his Souldiers and Men of War in general, and of them at his moſt need forſaken; He uſed commonly to ſay, That his Treaſures were his Childrens Meat, and not his Souldiers Pay; which by way of reproach was by a Common Souldier caſt in his Teeth, when he raged to ſee himſelf by them forſaken in the great Battel againſt *Tamerlane*; telling him as he fled, that he ran not away, but went to ſeek his Pay, wherewith to provide his Children Bread. Whereas all the aforeſaid Vertues in *Tamerlane* were graced with divers other of like Nature, no man being to his Friends more courteous or kind, either unto his Enemies more dreadful or terrible. The good ſervice of his Servants he never forgot, either left the ſame long unrewarded; being thereof ſo mindful, as that he needed not by them or others in their behalf, to be put in remembrance thereof, having always by him a Catalogue both of their Names and good Deſerts, which he daily peruſed. Oftentimes ſaying that day to be loſt, wherein he had not given them ſomething; and yet never beſtowing his Preferments on ſuch as ambitiouſly ſought the ſame (as deeming them in ſo doing unworthy thereof) but upon ſuch as whoſe Modeſty or Deſert he thought worthy thoſe his great Favours; ſo tempering the Severity of his Commands with the Greatneſs of his Bounty, as that it is hard to ſay, whither he was of his Nobility and Men of War, for the one more feared, or for the other beloved; both, the great Staies of Princes States; Fear keeping the Obſtinate in Obedience; and Love, the Dutiful in Devotion. But

with

Bajazet in his Poſterity more fortunate than Tamerlane.

with *Bajazet* it was not ſo, who deeming all done for him but Duty, and by Nature cholerick and proud (after the manner of Tyrants) deſired above all to be of his Subjects feared, not much regarding how little he was of them beloved; not the leaſt cauſe of his great fall and miſery, and that therein he was of his own ſo ſmally regarded; wherein for all that he is to be accounted more fortunate than the other great Conqueror his Enemy, having ever ſince in the lineal deſcent of himſelf, had one of the greateſt Monarchs of the World to ſucceed ſtill in his Kingdom and Empire; as he hath even at this day. Whereas the glory of *Tamerlane* his Empire, even in his own time grown to the height thereof, and labouring with the greatneſs of it ſelf, and by him divided amongſt his Sons, ſhortly after his death decaied, rent in ſunder by Ambition and Civil Diſcord; and not long after, together with his Poſterity, rooted out by *Uſum-Caſſanes* the *Perſian* King, to the Worlds wonder, took end; nothing of the huge greatneſs thereof now or ſince then remaining, more than the fame thereof; as doth alſo the miſery of the other ſo brought low. But leaving this mirror of miſhap (*Bajazet*) unto his reſt, and *Tamerlane* for a while to triumph in *Samarcand*; let us now proceed in the courſe of our Hiſtory, yet not forgetting by the way to remember ſuch Chriſtian Princes as then lived together with theſe two great Monarchs:

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Bajazet *the Firſt.*	*Emperours*	*Of the Eaſt*	Emanuel Paleologus.	1387. 30
		Of the Weſt	Wenceſlaus, *Son to* Charles *King of* Bohemia.	1378. 22
			Rupertus *Duke of* Bavaria.	1400. 10.
	Kings	*Of* England	Richard *the Second.*	1377. 23
			Henry *the Fourth.*	1399. 12.
		Of France	Charles *the Sixth, ſirnamed, The welbeloved.*	1381. 42
		Of Scotland	John Stuart, *otherwiſe called* Robert *the Third.*	1390. 16
	Biſhops of Rome		Urban *the VI.*	1380. 11
			Boniface *the IX.*	1390. 14


MAHOMETES PRIMVS QVINTVS TVRCARVM REX 1405

Vindicibus Mahomet patrium sibi vindicat armis
Imperium, et fractas fervidus auget opes.
Quod patri abstulerat violentia Tamberlani,
Imperio reddit Marte favente suo.
Ille sagittiferosque Dacas, validosque Triballos
Contudit, et populos Ister amœne tuos.
Turcica sic rursus sublata potentia stragem
Attulit imperio Romule magne tuo.

His Fathers Throne by chance, of Warr impair'd,
Bold Mahomet, with gallantry repair'd,
What from the Father Tamberlane had wonne,
Was wrested from him by the valiant Sonne.
The Dacians, and the Servians strength he broke,
And thou (fair Ister) feltst the dreadfull Stroke:
Prosperity to the Turkish State is come,
And now great Romulus attend thy doome.

159 6

The LIFE of
MAHOMET,
The Firſt of that NAME,
Fifth King of the Turks,
And RESTORER of their ſore ſhaken Kingdom.

Divers opinions concerning the Succeſſors of Bajazet.

HOw wonderfully the Turkiſh Kingdom was by the Violence of *Tamerlane* ſhaken, and the Majeſty thereof defaced, it well appeareth, in that the Hiſtories of that time, as well thoſe of the Greeks, as of the Turks, in nothing more differ, than in the Succeſſors of *Bajazet*, their late unfortunate King. Some writing, that he had two Sons, *Orchanes* (otherwiſe called *Calepinus*) and *Mahomet*; and that *Calepinus* in the ſecond year of his Reign was ſlain, and his Kingdom poſſeſſed by *Mahomet* his Brother. Others reporting, that *Bajazet* had two Sons,namely, *Calepinus* and *Muſtapha*; and that *Calepinus* ſucceeding his Father in the Turkiſh Kingdom, when he had reigned ſix years, died, leaving behind him two Sons *Orchanes* and *Mahomet*; and that *Orchanes* being young, was ſlain by his Uncle; whom *Mahomet* in revenge of his Brothers death, afterwards ſlew, and poſſeſſed the Kingdom himſelf. Others reckon up ſeven Sons of *Bajazet*; *Joſua*, *Muſulmanes*, *Moſes*, *Calepinus*, *Joſua* the younger, *Muſtapha* and *Halis*; with an uncertain Succeſſion amongſt them alſo. This diverſity of Opinions, full of no leſs uncertainty; as I mean not to follow in report of this Hiſtory, ſo will I not ſpend any time in refuting the ſame, (although much might be ſaid in the matter) but leave theſe Reports, together with the Hiſtory following, to ſuch credit as they ſhall hap to find with the conſiderate Readers.

The Greek Hiſtoriographers (beſt like to know the Turkiſh Succeſſion, as well by reaſon of their nearneſs, as in that they were by them as their bad Neighbours, ſo much troubled) make no mention at all either of *Calepinus* or of *Orchanes*: In like manner, *Hiſtoriæ Muſulmanæ Turcorum*, diligently gathered out of the Turks own Hiſtories by *Jo. Leunclavius* (a learned Phyſitian, and himſelf a great Traveller amongſt them, and therefore deſerving the more credit) do not ſo much as name the Succeſſion of *Calepinus* or *Orchanes*, after the Captivity of *Bajazet*, but rejecteth them both as Counterfeits. But in my opinion (without prejudice to any, that upon better reaſon may deem otherwiſe) the great confuſion of the Turkiſh Kingdom,in ſhort time wrought by the mighty *Tamerlane* and his *Tartars*,with the civil Diſcord and War afterwards ariſing among the Sons of *Bajazet*, ſtriving all as it were at once, for the reſtleſs room of Soveraignty, which ſuffereth no Partners; and every one of them,according to his hap or power, laying hand upon ſome one part or other thereof, and bearing himſelf therein for a time as King, in Countries ſo far diſtant; never leaving, until they had like the Earth-born Brethren, wrought one anothers deſtruction; might give juſt occaſion of ſuch diverſity of Reports as is before ſpoken of, concerning the Succeſſion of that time, in that troubled and rent Kingdom; ſome reckoning one, ſome another; and ſome, ſuch as never were, to have ſucceeded in the Government, and ſo untruly augmenting the number of the Turkiſh Kings. Wherefore leaving *Calepinus* and *Orchanes* unto them that firſt found them,with that little, which without any good ground and leſs probability is written of their ſuppoſed Reign; I (following the authority of the Turkiſh Hiſtory) reckon this *Mahomet* one of the youngeſt Sons of *Bajazet* (of whom we are now to intreat) Fifth King of the Turks; who after great and dangerous Wars as well againſt his own Brethren, as his foreign Enemies; was at length ſolely inveſted in the Turkiſh Kingdom, about ten years after the Captivity of his Father *Bajazet*, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

The true Poſterity of Bajazet.

Bajazet after the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, having laid up the hope of his Poſterity in the common Treaſure-houſe of Nature, rather than in the body of one lawful Wife, had by divers Wives and Concubins ſeven Sons, *Erthogrul*,otherwiſe called *Orthobules*, *Emer-Solyman*, *Muſtapha-Zelebi*, (that is to ſay, the Noble) *Iſa-Zelebi*, *Muſa-Zelebi*, *Sultan Mahomet*,and *Caſan-Zelebi*. Of whom *Erthogrul* the eldeſt was loſt in the Wars againſt *Caſi Burchaniden*, as is before ſaid in the life of *Bajazet*. *Muſtapha* was ſlain in the great battel againſt *Tamerlane*, and there buried in the Bed of Fame. *Caſan* the youngeſt was a Child in *Bajazet* his Court, when his Father was taken, and afterwards with his Siſter *Fatime* delivered as Hoſtages, by their Brother *Solyman*, unto *Emanuel* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*,where they both happily became Chriſtians, and ſo ſhortly after died.

Solyman was by *Alis Baſſa* Preſident of *Bajazet* his Council, and other great Captains, conveyed out of the battel againſt *Tamerlane*, into *Europe*, and ſo by them at *Hadrianople* ſaluted Sultan. *Mahomet* fled out of the ſame battel to *Amaſia* in *Capadocia*, where he was in his Fathers time Governor. *Iſa* hearing of his Fathers Captivity, after the departing of *Tamerlane* with his *Tartars*, ſeiſed upon *Pruſa* a City of *Bithynia*, the ancient Seat of the Turkiſh Kings, with the Country adjoyning, and there reigned as King. *Muſa-Zelebi* was taken Priſoner with *Bajazet* his Father, and afterwards ſet at liberty by *Tamerlane*. But of their Fortunes more ſhall be ſaid in this Hiſtory following.

Mahomet *Governor of* Amaſia.

Mahomet was but fifteen years old when his Father *Bajazet* in the unfortunate battel of Mount *Stella* was taken Priſoner, and was at the ſame time by his appointment Governor of *Amaſia*, with a great part of *Capadocia* adjoyning; which places became ſo troubleſome after the great Victory of *Tamerlane*; that the Turks in that Country were glad day and night for the ſafeguard of themſelves, their Wives, and Children, to keep continual Watch and Ward; inſomuch that many of them wearied with thoſe Troubles, and deſpairing of better Times, went into voluntary Exile, becauſe they would not ſee ſo great Miſeries; which thing much griev'd young *Mahomet*. Wherefore calling unto him his moſt faithful Counſellors, to conſult what courſe to take in the midſt of ſo many dangers, it was by general conſent thought beſt (for ſo much as they could not without apparent danger continue near unto *Tamerlanes* Forces) to get themſelves further off into places of more ſtrength, and from thence to expect the departure of their Enemies, and in the mean time to content themſelves with ſuch advantages as occaſion and chance of War might miniſter; cutting them ſhort by policy, whom they were not able to meet in the plain Field, and ſo by little and little to weaken or weary their mighty ſtragling Enemies. For albeit that *Tamerlane* himſelf was not near him, as then lying in *Caria*; yet did the Captains of his great and victorious Army, at their pleaſure ſpoil and forrage the Countries far and near all over the leſſer *Aſia*. Upon this Reſolution he with all his Forces departed from *Amaſia*, to *Derby* in *Paphlagonia*; where by the way he incountred with *Cara Jabia* a nigh Kinſman to the Prince *Iſfendiar* of *Caſtamona*, his Enemy; whom he put to flight with great ſlaughter of his Men. This was the beginning of *Mahomets* good Fortune. From thence he went to *Kereden*, and there ſtaying certain days, ſent a Spy into *Tamerlanes* Camp, to ſee how all things went there; and afterwards entred again into Council with his Captains, concerning his further proceedings. In which Conſultation ſome were of opinion, That it was beſt for him to withdraw himſelf into the Mountains of the leſſer *Aſia*, as a place of good ſafety, until the departure of *Tamerlane*, which was ſhortly hoped for; for that it was not to be thought, that *Tamerlane* would with his huge Army purſue him in that Mountain-Country, flying from Hill to Hill, and as it were from ſtrength to ſtrength. Others better adviſed, thought thoſe Mountains to be no places to truſt unto, and therefore that it were more honourable, and as free from danger, for him to return again to *Amaſia*, there to live amongſt his Subjects, protecting them in ſuch ſort as he might, and not to leave them for a Prey to every ſtragling Company of the rude *Tartarians*; which counſel he followed, as moſt reaſonable; and being ready to ſet forward, the Spy before by him ſent into *Tamerlanes* Camp, returned, certifying him that he had ſeen his Father *Bajazet* in good health in the *Tartars* Camp, but could not by any means ſpeak with him, by reaſon of the ſtraight Guard ſet over him; and that all that part of *Aſia* was by *Tamerlane* poſſeſſed, who then with his Army wintred in *Caria* and *Lyſia*; whereupon *Mahomet* returned back again into *Amaſia*; where he had not long ſtayed, but that News was brought unto him, That one of the *Tartarian* Princes called *Cara Duletſchach* (that is to ſay, the fortunate black King) was with an Army of twenty thouſand coming to ſpoil his Country, being given him by *Tamerlane*. With which News he was exceedingly troubled; whereſore with all ſpeed calling together his Forces for the ſafeguard of his Country, ſent before a Spy to diſcover the Enemies doings. This diligent Spy returning in all haſt, told *Mahomet*, That *Cara Dulet* lay at the Town of *Ægiolus* in *Galatia*, in great ſecurity, having about him but a ſmall Power; for that he fearing no danger, had at that time diſperſed his Army, to ſeek after Pillage abroad in the Country. *Mahomet* taking hold of this opportunity, marched thither with great celerity, and ſuddenly ſetting upon *Cara Dulet*, overcame him. In which Conflict *Cara Dulet* himſelf was ſhot through the Head with an Arrow and ſlain, and his Army utterly diſcomfited. *Mahomet* returning back to *Amaſia* with Victory, refreſhed and rewarded his Souldiers, yet no leſs careful for the ſafety of his Kingdom than before.

Mahomet *ſend th Spies into* Tamerlane *his Camp.*

Cara Dulet *ſlain.*

Shortly after, he was advertiſed that *Cubad Ogli* with a great Army laid hard Siege to the City of *Cæſaria* in *Capadocia*, and was like in ſhort time to take it, if it were not ſpeedily relieved. By taking of which City, that *Tartar* Prince was like to make a great Entrance, to the hazarding of the whole Country. Wherefore *Mahomet* having his Army always in readineſs, marched day and night with ſuch ſpeed to *Cæſaria*, as that he was upon *Cubad Ogli* before he was aware of his coming, and there ſlew moſt of his Souldiers, and put him with the reſt to flight. After that, he returned into *Cubad Ogli* his Country in *Pontus*, and grievouſly ſpoiled and deſtroyed the ſame; at which time he alſo by force won the ſtrong Caſtle *Peltæ* in the Confines of *Phrygia*.

Immediately after that, *Inal Ogli* another of *Tamerlanes* Captains (which at their pleaſure without let forraged all the Countries of the leſſer *Aſia*, during the time that *Tamerlane* made his abode within the Turks Dominions) upon the ſudden entred into *Capadocia* with an Army of twenty thouſand fighting men, killing the Inhabitants, and ſpoiling the Country before him; ſo that the people for fear left their dwellings, and fled into the Woods and Mountains to hide themſelves from his fury. Whereof *Mahomet* hearing, was therewith exceedingly grieved, and wrote unto him as followeth:

Sultan *Mahomet*, unto the Prince *Inall Ogli*.

Mahomet *his Letters to* Inall Ogli *the* Tartar Prince.

Whereas without any juſt or lawful Cauſe, or any War proclaimed, you have invaded Our Kingdom, and ceaſe not cruelly to kill Our Subjects, by God committed to Our Protection; and to ſpoil their Wealth and Labours, to the great diſturbance of the Mahometan Commonweal; and make no end of your malice and cruelty; you do therein quite digreſs from the Manners and Laws of the true Mahometans, or right Believers. For if thou wouldſt not only be accounted, but indeed be a true Muſul-man, thou ſhouldſt forthwith depart out of my Kingdom with thine Army; thou ſhouldſt not thus ſhed the innocent blood, or without cauſe thus wrong my people; but foraſmuch as thou knoweſt not what beſeemeth thee, neither wilt liſten unto good Counſel, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpoſe, falſly perſwading thy ſelf, this my Kingdom to be deſtitute of a lawful Inheritor, and therefore doſt ſo great Wrong and Injury unto the Defenders of the true Mahometan Religion; I would thou ſhouldſt know, that I with my ſo often Victorious Army will ſhortly by the Power of God come againſt thee, and in plain Field, according to thy deſerts, chaſtiſe thee. Therefore whilſt thou yet maiſt, reclaim thy Self, and proceed not too far in thine obſtinacy;

obſtinacy; too late Repentance did never man yet good. Thus much We thought good to adviſe thee, that thou ſhouldſt not be ignorant of Our purpoſe, but mightaſt ſo better conſider and diſpoſe both of thy ſelf and thine affairs. In the year after the departure of the great Prophet Mahomet 806.

Unto which Letters *Inall Ogli* returned this Anſwer in writing:

Prince *Inall Ogli*, to *Mahomet*.

Inall Ogli *his anſwer to* **Mahomet.**

WHy *doſt thou* Mahomet *with ſuch Letters provoke me? why doſt thou ſo uncivilly taunt me, being thy ſelf but a Boy, and in truth a very Child? It beſeemeth thee not to have entred into theſe Countries, or to lay hands thereon, wrongfully gracing thy ſelf with the Title of a Sultan. Neither is there any cauſe why thou ſhouldſt complain, that I ſhould lie in wait or ſeek after thy Life, thy Kingdom, or any thing that thine is. I challenge unto my ſelf this Kingdom, but none of thine; out of which it is reaſon for thee, as a wrongful intruder of thy ſelf, to depart; whom otherwiſe I will forthwith thruſt out, and joyn the ſame unto the reſt of my Territories. Wherefore except thou without delay get thee packing, and ceaſe to oppoſe thy ſelf againſt my deſigns, I denounce unto thee all the Calamities of War, and wiſh thee with ſpeed to prepare thy ſelf to battel, for that I mean ſhortly to meet with thee. This year of our great Prophet,* 806.

Inall Ogli *overthrown by* **Mahomet.**

Shortly after, *Mahomet* according to his promiſe meeting with this *Tartar* Prince, by plain force overthrew him, and had of him a notable Victory.

The like good hap he had alſo not long after, againſt *Coſter Ogli* and *Kiupeck Ogli*, two other *Tartarian* Captains, at the Caſtle of *Chara-chizar* and the Plain of *Artuck-Ova*. And hearing that one *Meſites* a Turk, had fortified himſelf in the Ruins of *Sebaſtia*, and from thence ſpoiled the Country round about, he ſent *Bajazet* one of his Baſſaes againſt him; who in ſhort time took him, and brought him bound unto him; by whom he was adjudged to die. But ſeeing in the man an invincible courage, and contempt of death at ſuch time as he ſhould have been executed, moved therewith, he gave him his pardon; for which he ever after continued unto him faithful, and did him great Service.

Mahomet having many times thus vanquiſhed the ſtragling *Tartarian* Princes, which had ſought the ſpoil of his Country, became thereby famous amongſt the great Commanders of *Tamerlane* his Army; inſomuch that the bruit of his name came at length to *Tamerlanes* Ear, yet lying in the leſſer *Aſia*; who as he thought it not worth his Greatneſs and Labour, himſelf in Perſon to go againſt ſo great an Enemy; ſo he thought it not good or convenient quite to neglect him, but by ſome other means (if he could) to overtake him. For which purpoſe he began to ſpeak many times very honourably of him, highly commending his great valour and forwardneſs in ſo tender years. And calling for *Bajazet*, told him what great commendation he had heard of his Son *Mahomet*, and that he was therefore very deſirous to ſee him; where if he found that true which was reported of his great Vertues, he would beſtow one of his Daughters upon him in Marriage, with many other great Preferments; and therefore willed *Bajazet* to write unto him, Not to doubt to come unto him, to the great good both of himſelf and his Father. Which thing *Bajazet* at the firſt doubting the worſt, requeſted *Tamerlane* not to believe that of his Son, being yet very young, and not worthy of ſo great a Favour. Nevertheleſs partly perſwaded by *Tamerlane* his Proteſtations, and importuned by him that might now command him; he with an evil will wrote to his Son *Mahomet* to ſuch effect as *Tamerlane* required. With which Letters, and others of like purport from himſelf, with many rich Preſents, *Tamerlane* ſent *Hozza Mahomet* (one of his ſecret Counſellors) Embaſſador to *Mahomet*, of whom he was right honourably received, and likewiſe entertained. But having read the aforeſaid Letters, and thereby underſtood the cauſe of his coming, he entred into Council with the great Baſſaes about him, whether he were beſt to go to *Tamerlane* or not. Where his Counſellors were all clear of one Opinion, that it was not good for him to adventure his Perſon to the danger of ſuch a Journey, or the mercy of ſo mighty an Enemy, of whoſe Faith he had no aſſurance. And if ſo be (ſaid they) he therewith offended, will by force ſeek to have you, we at his coming will take the refuge of the Woods and Mountains, and there ſhroud our ſelves until he be departed again; for that he with his huge Army cannot here long ſtay in this bare Country, for want of Neceſſaries. Nevertheleſs *Mahomet* hoping that his Journey might be both for the good of his Father, and his own Advancement; contrary to the mind of all his Counſellors, reſolved to go; and ſo having prepared all things needfull for the honour and ſafety of his Journey, ſet forward. But as he was upon the way in the Marches of *Pontus*, *Cara Jahia* whom he had before overthrown, underſtanding of his coming that way, thinking now to be revenged, and having got unto ſome of the Prince *Iſfendiars* Forces, ſet upon him by the way; but with as evil Succeſs as before, moſt of his Men being there by *Mahomet* ſlain, and himſelf glad ſhamefully to fly. So travelling on further, he underſtood that *Alis Beg*, a great Lord in thoſe Countries, went about to intercept him alſo; which cauſed him in ſuch haſt to go on, that he was upon *Alis* before he was aware of his coming, or well provided for him; ſo that for fear he was glad to betake himſelf to flight. *Mahomet* conſidering the danger he had eſcaped in that Journey, and that the nearer he came to *Tamerlane*, the more like he was to fall into greater, although happily without *Tamerlane* his knowledge; by the advice of his grave and faithful Counſellors, reſolved to go no further. Wherefore calling unto him *Tamerlanes* Embaſſador, he thus ſpake unto him:

Mahomet *his Speech to* **Tamerlanes** *Embaſſador.*

You ſee the Dangers and Injuries I indure in this my Journey, and my mind forbodeth greater to enſue; for which cauſes I may not go any further, but here return: Commend me therefore I pray you unto the moſt mighty Tamerlane, *with my Father; and tell them what dangers have happened unto me upon the way; which conſidered, I hope they will have me excuſed. For which purpoſe I will alſo ſend in your company an Embaſſador of mine own.*

Mahomet at that time had with him a grave, wiſe, and learned Man, called *Sophis Bajazet*, ſometime his School-Maſter; whom he ſent Embaſſador to *Tamerlane* and his Father, to have him unto them both excuſed; and ſo departed he homewards, leaving the way he came (for fear of further danger) and they towards *Tamerlane*, who honourably received *Mahomets* Embaſſador and Letters. But taking pleaſure in the man ſent unto him, gave him honourable Entertainment, but would never after ſuffer him to return again unto his Maſter.

It was not long after, but that old *Bajazet* died of impatiency (as is aforeſaid :) whoſe dead body *Tamerlane* left at *Apropolis* with the Prince *Germean*, to be delivered unto his Son *Mahomet*; with *Muſa* his elder Brother (who all this while had been kept Priſoner with *Tamerlane*) if *Mahomet* ſhould require them. And ſo the mighty Prince *Tamerlane*, after he had long time waſted *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Lydia*, with the moſt part of the leſſer *Aſia*; and conquered all *Syria*, *Judea*, *Egypt*, and *Perſia*, with many other great Countries and Provinces; returned at laſt into his own Kingdom, unto the great City of *Samercand*, which he wonderfully inlarged, and beautified with the Spoils of a great part of the World, before by him waſted; where he afterwards in great Peace and Glory reigned, no leſs honoured than feared of all the Princes of the Eaſt. To the terror of whom, and for the aſſuring of his Eſtate, he kept always a ſtanding Army of forty thouſand Horſe, and threeſcore thouſand Foot ready at all aſſays; beſide other his great Garriſons which he kept in *Syria*, *Egypt*, *China*, and *Cambalu*; as alſo againſt the *Muſcovite*, and Turks; being commonly in every place threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, though not ſtill in field, but as occaſion required. Until that at length hearing of the riſing again of the Turkiſh Kingdom, under the *Othoman* Princes, the Sons of *Bajazet*, with whom the oppreſſed *Mamelukes* of *Egypt*, and the Greek Emperor (as doubtful of his eſtate) had now alſo for fear of him combined themſelves; he by the perſwaſion of *Axalla* (then General of his Imperial Army) made great preparation for a ſecond Expedition to be made for the utter rooting out of the *Othoman* Family, and the Conqueſt of the Greek Empire. But having now all things in readineſs, and alſo given a good beginning unto theſe his intended Conqueſts, (one of the great Turks Baſſaes being by *Axalla* his Lieutenant in a great battel overthrown, and thirty thouſand of the Turks ſlain) he in the midſt of theſe his great hopes, as alſo of his greateſt Power, died of an Ague the 27*th* day of *January*, in the year of our Lord, 1402. A little before whoſe death, appeared a great and terrible *Blazing-Star*, portending as it were to the World the death of ſo great a Prince. He was a man of a middle ſtature, ſomewhat narrow in the ſhoulders, otherwiſe well limmed, and of a great ſtrength. In his eyes ſate ſuch a rare Majeſty, as a man could hardly indure to behold them without cloſing of his own; and many in talking with him, and often beholding of him became dumb; which cauſed him oftentimes with a comely modeſty to abſtain from looking too earneſtly upon ſuch as ſpake unto him, or diſcourſed with him. All the reſt of his Viſage was amiable and well proportioned; he had but little hair on his Chin; and ware the hair of his Head long and curled, contrary to the manner of the *Tartars*, who ſhave their Heads, having the ſame always covered; whereas he contrariwiſe was for the moſt part bare headed, commanding his Son alſo to be ſo by his Tutors brought up; his hair was of a dark colour; ſomewhat drawing toward a Violet, right beautiful to behold; which his Mother coming of the Race of *Sampſon* (as he gave it out) willed him to nouriſh, in token of his deſcent; the cauſe that made him to be the more reſpected of his Men of War; moſt part of them believing that in thoſe hairs was ſome rare vertue, or rather ſome fatal deſtiny; an old practiſe of many great Commanders of former Ages, to fill the heads of their Souldiers with ſome ſtrange Opinion conceived of them, to be the more of them honoured; as if in them had been ſome one thing or other more than in other men.

The great power Tamerlane *continually kept.*

The death of Tamerlane.

The deſcription of Tamerlane.

Mahomet *goeth againſt his Brother.*

His great Empire by himſelf divided betwixt his Sons, was by their diſcord, and the ambition of ſome of their diſloyal Subjects, in ſhort time after brought to great confuſion, and his Poſterity utterly rooted out by *Uſun-Caſſanes*, the *Armenian* Prince, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory may appear. But to return again to our purpoſe; *Mahomet* delivered of his greateſt fear, by the departure of *Tamerlane* out of thoſe Countries, determined to go to *Pruſa* in *Bithynia*, where his Brother *Iſa* as then reigned; but underſtanding that *Iſa* had before taken the Straits whereby he ſhould paſs the Mount *Horminius*, he took another way about, and came to *Palæo-Caſtron*, where the valiant Captain *Eine-beg Sub-baſſa* then remained; who with all honour and gladneſs received him, and there for certain days refreſhed both him and his Army. Afterwards greater Forces ſtill repairing unto him, he marched thence to *Ulabad*, called in ancient time *Lopadium*. Of whoſe coming *Iſa* before underſtanding, and having aſſembled his Army, marched thither alſo, and encamped on the other ſide of the Town towards *Pruſa*, ready to give him battel. But *Mahomet* ſeeing his Brother ſo forward, conſulted with his Captains what were beſt to be done; where *Eine Sub-baſſa* a man of great experience, and of late one of *Bajazet* his great Counſellors and Captains, told him, That it was not for their Honours, being Brethren, to pollute their hands one in the others blood; but to aſſay if the quarrel might by ſome other good means be compoſed, and they made Friends. For which purpoſe, *Mahomet* preſently ſent Letters unto his Brother *Iſa*, concerning the partition of their Fathers Kingdom in *Aſia* betwixt them: offering unto him the Provinces of *Aidinia*, *Saruchania*, *Germeania*, *Charaſia*, *Charamania*, with other Countries to them belonging; ſo that he might have *Pruſa* with all other Provinces about the ſame. Which Letters, when *Iſa* had read, and ſaw that *Mahomet* offered him but Titles for Kingdoms, and ſuch Countries as were rather ſometimes Tributaries unto their Father *Bajazet*, than any part of his Kingdom, and now of late by *Tamerlane* again reſtored unto their ancient Liberty and Governors, ſharing out the beſt and ſtrongeſt part thereof unto himſelf, he brake forth into choler and ſaid:

The anſwer of Iſa *to* Mahomet *his Offers.*

What, doth not my Fathers Kingdom of right belong unto me being the elder Brother? Mahomet *is yet but a Youth, and ſcarce crept out of the ſhell; by what right then can he claim my Fathers Kingdom as his Inheritance? If he can by the Sword win it, let him take it, and ſo hold it.*

Mahomet having received his Anſwer, prepared himſelf to the field, where his Brother as ready as himſelf, ſtood expecting his coming; and having ſet Army in order of battel, gave the firſt Charge; which was the beginning of a moſt cruel and bloody fight, wherein, as it commonly falleth out in doubtful Battels, many were on both ſides ſlain. At laſt the fortune of *Mahomet* prevailing, *Iſa* his Army began to retire; which he ſeeing, left nothing undone for the encouraging of his fainting Souldiers, which belonged to a politick General, or valiant Souldier to do; but preſſing into the thickeſt of his Enemies, there with his own hand ſlew the ancient and valiant Captain *Eine Sub-baſſa*, who had many times been General of the Footmen in old *Bajazet* his Wars. But what prevaileth courage againſt evil fortune? *Iſa* muſt either fly or die. And therefore having done what he could in ſo deſperate a caſe, being himſelf on every ſide forſaken, in the end was glad himſelf to fly to the Sea-ſide; where finding a Ship ready bound for *Conſtantinople*, he paſſed over thither in ſafety, and there yielded himſelf unto the Protection of the Greek Emperor *Emanuel*. In this chaſe *Mahomet* his Souldiers took the valiant Captain *Temurtaſes* Priſoner, another of *Bajazet* his great Commanders, and brought him to *Mahomet*; who in revenge of the death of *Eine*, commanded his Head preſently to be ſmitten off, and his Body to be hanged upon a Tree by the High-way ſide. Of this Victory, *Mahomet* certified his Brother *Solyman* at *Hadrianople*, and in token thereof ſent him *Temurtaſes* his Head. This battel was much ſpoken of, both for that it was fought betwixt two Brethren; and alſo for the death of the two famous and old Captains *Eine* and *Temurtaſes*, who both together as loving Friends, had fortunately fought many great battels under *Bajazet* his Enſigns; and now as it were by deſtiny, and againſt their wills, without any private grudge, were both drawn into contrary Factions and ſlain; both whilſt they lived wiſhing a good Peace betwixt the ambitious Brethren. But as the Turks uſe to ſay, *What is by God written in a mans forehead before his Birth, cannot in his life be avoided.*

After this Victory, *Mahomet* thinking himſelf now in ſure poſſeſſion of all his Fathers Dominions in *Aſia*, led his Army to *Pruſa*, where he was of the Citizens joyfully received as their Sultan; and for his great bounty, of all men highly commended and honoured. From thence he went to *Nice*, and ſo to *Neapolis*, and there in both places was likewiſe received. Thither reſorted unto him all the Garriſons of *Caraſina*, *Saruchania*, and *Aidinia*, with other the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries, with all Loyalty ſubmitting themſelves unto him, with ſuch Honour and Reverence as belonged to their King.

The body of Bajazet *honourably buried at* Pruſa.

All things thus ſorting according to his deſire in *Aſia*, he ſent to the Prince *Germean* for the Body of his Father *Bajazet*, and for his Brother *Muſa*, which were there left by *Tamerlane*, as is before declared. This Body was by the ſame Prince at the requeſt of *Mahomet*, with great Solemnity ſent to *Pruſa*, and there ſumptuouſly buried, with all the Turkiſh Obſequies and Ceremonies; the Turkiſh Alcoran or Book of their Law, being read ſeven days upon his Tomb. All which time great chear was kept for all Commers, and much given to the Poor (upon the Turkiſh devotion) for *Bajazet* his Soul; but above all others, exceeding bounty was extended to the Poſterity of their Prophet *Mahomet*, which are known from others amongſt the Mahometans, by the colour of their Apparel, which is all green, and not lawful to be worn of any but of them; ſo that they were by the bounty of *Mahomet*, at that time greatly enriched. He alſo endowed the Abbey which his Father had there lately built, with great Lands and Poſſeſſions for the maintenance thereof. All which things done, and the Solemnity paſt, he went in Progreſs to all parts of his Kingdom, and was in every place joyfully received; and ſo afterward returned to *Amaſia*; and there in great pleaſure ſpent that Summer. Where we will for a while leave him, to ſee what *Solyman* his eldeſt Brother in the mean time doth at *Hadrianople*.

Solyman the eldeſt Son of *Bajazet* (who kept his Court at *Hadrianople*, there peaceably Reigning all this while over the Countries which his Father *Bajazet* ſometime poſſeſſed in *Europe*) hearing what his Brother *Mahomet* had done, and how violently againſt all Right he had driven *Iſa* out of *Pruſa*, and made him glad to fly to *Conſtantinople*; was with this his outragious dealing much offended, and thereupon calling unto him his Baſſaes and faithful Counſellers, declared unto them the unnatural proceedings of *Mahomet* againſt his Brother *Iſa*. *Wherein* (ſaid he) *he doth me alſo great wrong in taking upon him the Soveraignty over thoſe great Dominions and Countries in* Aſia, *which of right belong to me his elder Brother, and not to him the youngeſt of ſix. In revenge of which Injury and Wrong, I intend in mine own Right, to paſs over into* Aſia *with a ſtrong Army, and by force of Arms to recover mine Inheritance there, if I may not otherwiſe come by it.* Unto which Speech one of his grave Counſellors replied, *That in his opinion it was not the beſt courſe for himſelf to go in Perſon into thoſe Wars. For although* (ſaid he) *your Brother* Mahomet *be but young, and therefore by your greatneſs leſs accounted of, yet is his Fortune great, and his experience above his years. None have yet had to do with him, but they have had enough of him; yea it is worth the noting, how politickly he hath born himſelf for his own ſafety, and the ſafeguard of the Countries which he governed all the while that the great and mighty* Tamerlane *with his innumerable Forces covered the face of the Countries faſt by him; moſt part whereof,* Mahomet *hath now ſince his departure, again recovered. Wherefore it were beſt for you to ſend for your angry Brother* Iſa, *to* Conſtantinople, *and to make him General of the Army you intend to ſend into* Aſia *againſt* Mahomet. *In which Wars, it is not unlike, but that one of your Brethren will be loſt, whereby you ſhall have one Competitor of your Kingdom the leſs. So ſhall you afterwards with leſs trouble ſubdue him that is left, or at leaſtwiſe pleaſe him with ſome part of that which they have ſo mightily ſtriven for.* This Counſel was of *Solyman* and all the reſt well liked of, and approved. So was *Iſa* preſently ſent for unto *Conſtantinople*, and a great Army levied. Who being come to *Hadrianople*, was by *Solyman* courteouſly welcomed, and made General of his Army; and therewith ſhipped over the Strait of *Helleſpontus* into *Aſia*. Where at his firſt coming, he poſſeſſed the whole Countrey of *Caraſia* or *Lydia*; and paſſing further, in all places where he came, was received of the people with great Reverence, they all promiſing him their Obedience, if it were his fortune to prevail againſt his younger Brother *Mahomet*; wherewith he held himſelf well contented. So coming to the City of *Beg-Bazer*, otherwiſe called *Deſpotopolis*, he there wintered with his Army. In which time, he with many kind and loving Letters ſtill directed to *Mahomet* as his younger Brother, ſeemed to be glad that he was ſo well obeyed and liked of by his Subjects; and that preſuming of his Love and Favour, he was as his loving Brother, and not as an Enemy come into *Aſia*, to intreat with him of ſuch matters as much concerned the good of them both. Whereunto *Mahomet* with like diſſimulation anſwered, That he was right glad of his coming; for which he needed not (as he ſaid) to make any excuſe, for that he was entred into a Kingdom, in part his own, and the reſt open before him; in token whereof he commanded a rich Garment to be caſt upon the Meſſenger as a favour, ſending alſo divers rich Preſents unto his Brother, with great Proviſion of Victuals, and other neceſſaries for his Souldiers.

Good counſel.

Iſa with a great army ſent by his Brother Solyman *into* Aſia *againſt* Mahomet.

But Winter paſt, and the Spring come, *Iſa* marched with his Army to *Pruſa*, and there ſhewed unto the Citizens the loving Letters he had at ſundry times before received from *Mahomet*; and telling them that he was in good hope that they ſhould in ſhort time right well agree; requeſted to have the Caſtle deliverd unto him, ſometime their Soveraign; whereinto the better ſort of the Citizens had retired themſelves, and made faſt the Gates againſt him; but when he ſaw that he could by no fair words or policy gain the poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, enraged with that repulſe, he ſet fire upon that goodly City, and burnt it down to the ground. *Mahomet* not ignorant how his Brother *Iſa* roamed up and down his Kingdom, uſing all kindneſs to ſuch as yielded unto him; and exerciſing no leſs cruelty upon ſuch as refuſed his Obedience; and how that he had raſed the Royal City of *Pruſa*; having gathered a ſtrong Army, marched in ten days from *Amaſia* to *Pruſa*, and by the way meeting with his Brother *Iſa*, in a great battel overthrew him with all his Forces. *Iſa* himſelf accompanied with no more but ten perſons, fled unto *Caſtamona*, Prince *Iſfendiar* his City; who hearing of his arrival there, entertained him with all the Honor he could, in recompence of the great Friendſhip he had before found at his hands, at what time he was an humble Suiter in his Father *Bajazet* his Court.

Pruſa *burnt by* Iſa.

Mahomet coming to *Pruſa*, grieved exceedingly to ſee that fair City ſo deſtroyed; yet to comfort the poor Citizens, he gave exceeding Sums of Money to be beſtowed amongſt them, and took order for the new building of the City, and there continued certain days himſelf to ſee the Work begun.

Iſa in the mean time having incited the Prince *Iſfendiar* in his quarrel to invade his Brother *Mahomet*, and going thither himſelf in Perſon, was by him now the third time overthrown and put to flight. Nevertheleſs he with ſome ſmall Forces twice afterwards entred into *Mahomets* Dominion, but finding few or none willing to follow his evil Fortune, was glad at laſt to fly to the Prince of *Smyrna*, by whom he was both honourably entertained, and comforted.

This Prince of *Smyrna* moved with *Iſa* his pitiful Complaints in ſo manifeſt a wrong, did not only promiſe him what help he could of himſelf, but alſo by his Embaſſadors ſolicited the Princes of *Aidinia*, *Saruchania*, and *Menteſia*, to give him Aid in ſo juſt a quarrel, for the relief of *Iſa*, againſt his uſurping Brother. Theſe Princes pitying the caſe of the diſtreſſed Prince, and moved with the Requeſt of the Prince of *Smyrna*, and fearing alſo the ambitious ſpirit of *Mahomet*; amongſt them ſent ſuch Aid, that being all aſſembled together, *Iſa* had now twenty thouſand men in Arms. *Mahomet* underſtanding of this great Preparation made againſt him, and having raiſed a ſtrong Army, thought it not beſt to expect his Brothers coming into his Country (where perhaps many might joyn themſelves unto him, being ſo ſtrong in the field) but entred the Prince of *Smyrna* his Country, with ſuch ſpeed, that he was upon him and the reſt of his Enemies before he was looked for; where after a great and bloody Fight he obtained of them a notable Victory. *Iſa* having loſt the battel, and therewith his hope alſo, fled into *Caramania*, and there in ſuch obſcurity ended his days, that no man can tell where nor how he died. This was the end of this noble Prince, always of greater courage than fortune. The Prince of *Smyrna* the chief Author of this War, humbling himſelf to *Mahomet*, obtained his Favour. The other Confederate Princes which gave Aid to *Iſa*, were ſhortly after by *Mahomet* for moſt part ſpoiled of their Dominions. Which done, he returned with Victory to the building of *Pruſa*, hoping now to live more at quiet.

Iſa *flieth into* Caramania, *and there dieth in obſcurity.*

But whilſt *Mahomet* after this Victory dreading no danger, was in the midſt of his Pleaſures at *Pruſa*, he was certainly advertiſed, That his Brother *Solyman* had raiſed a great Army in *Europe*, to invade him in *Aſia*. Upon which advertiſement he furniſhed the Caſtle of *Pruſa* with a ſtrong Garriſon, and all things needful for the induring of a long Siege, and placed *Jacup-Beg* the Son of *Firoſes*, Captain therein; and afterwards departed himſelf, becauſe that City (lately before burnt by *Iſa*) was not as yet to be defended, much leſs to be accounted of as a place to retire unto if need ſhould ſo require. From *Pruſa* he came to *Ancyra*, and from thence directed Commiſſions for the taking up of Souldiers in all parts of his Kingdom. At which time he wrote Letters alſo to *Doioran* a *Tartar* Prince (whom he had many times greatly pleaſured) for Aid; who preſently came unto him with certain Troops of brave Horſe, promiſing him his faithful Service.

Not long after, hearing that his Brother *Solyman* was with a puiſſant Army now come over *Helleſpontus*, he conſulted with his beſt Leaders, what courſe firſt to take; being himſelf of opinion, without delay to meet his Brother in the Field, deeming it great ſhame, not to offer him preſent battel. But he was by his more expert Captains adviſed, to conſider that he was to fight againſt his eldeſt Brother, of whoſe good or bad Fortune he had as yet no experience; and that many ſecretly favoured his Quarrel and Claim, as the eldeſt Son and right Heir of his Father *Bajazet*; and therefore it were better for him to retire further off into the ſtrength of his Kingdom; and ſo temporizing, to await all good opportunities that might chance, as it doth in nothing more than in Martial Affairs; rather than to commit all to the hazard of one battel, wherein if Fortune failed him, all were then utterly loſt. Upon which Reſolution he retired from *Ancyra* towards *Amaſia*. At which time *Doioran* the falſe *Tartarian*, marching out at the other ſide of the City, fell to robbing and ſpoiling of *Mahomets* Subjects as an Enemy, burning the Country-Villages as they went; which thing when *Mahomet* underſtood, he with his Horſemen purſued him, and overtaking him before he was looked for, ſlew moſt part of his men, and recovered all the ſpoil which he had before taken; all which *Mahomet* gave to his Souldiers: *Doioran* himſelf hardly eſcaping by flight. And ſo *Mahomet* having revenged himſelf upon his diſſembling Friend, held on his way towards *Amaſia*.

Solyman being come into *Aſia*, led his Army towards *Pruſa*; where the Citizens underſtanding of his coming, went out of the City to meet him, and having done unto him ſuch Honour and Reverence as belonged to their Sultan, brought him peaceably into the City. But *Jacup-Beg* ſtood upon his guard, and would by no means deliver unto him the Caſtle, which was before by *Mahomet* committed to his charge; for which cauſe *Solyman* laid hard ſiege unto it, and gave thereunto divers ſharp Aſſaults, whereby the Defendants were greatly weakned, many of them being ſlain, and the reſt for the moſt part wounded. Whereupon *Jacup* by Letters ſent by one *Eine Hovze*, certified *Mahomet* how things ſtood, and that the Caſtle could not long be holden againſt the furious Aſſaults of *Solyman*, except it were with ſpeed relieved; upon which News he in all haſt made towards *Pruſa*, returning the ſame Meſſenger before him, with Letters to the Captain of the Caſtle, if happily he could find means to deliver the ſame; wherein he highly commended him for faithful Service, and

The Caſtle of Pruſa *beſieged by* Solyman.

and promiſed him ſpeedy relief. This Meſſenger with his Letters chanced by *Solyman* his Souldiers to be intercepted, and brought to *Alis Baſſa*, *Solyman* his chief Counſellor, a man of a ſharp conceit, who of nothing could make ſomething, but having any thing to work upon could do wonders; he having ſtraitly examined the Meſſenger, and peruſed the Letters, ſuppreſſed the ſame, and preſently writ others in the name of *Mahomet*, commending the Captain for that he had already done in his Service; but yet foraſmuch as he could not poſſibly in time relieve him, he willed him therefore to deliver up the Caſtle, and to provide for the ſafeguard of himſelf and his Garriſon, by ſuch conditions as he could beſt obtain. Theſe counterfeit Letters *Alis Baſſa* found means to be as cunningly delivered unto the Captain, as they were craftily indited; who having read the ſame, and now out of all hope of relief, expecting alſo every hour to be aſſaulted by the furious Enemy; upon reaſonable conditions yielded the Caſtle to *Solyman*. The news whereof being brought unto *Mahomet*, now come within one days march of *Pruſa*, exceedingly grieved him; but ſeeing no remedy, he returned back again to *Amaſia*; whither *Solyman* (now poſſeſſed of the City and Caſtle of *Pruſa*, and having thereby got a great Name in *Aſia*) ſhortly after came with his Army, and hardly beſieged his Brother in *Amaſia*, but ſeeing no hope to win the City, he retired back again to *Pruſa*, and there after his wonted manner ſpent his time in riot and exceſs, whereunto he was exceedingly given. *Jacup-Beg* for yielding of the Caſtle, was afterward by *Mahomet* ſtraitly impriſoned, and in danger to have been put to death, had not the great Baſſaes become earneſt Interceſſors for him.

Mahomet lying at *Amaſia*, was by his ſecret Eſpials advertiſed, That his Brother *Solyman* having diſperſed his Army, lay in great ſecurity at *Pruſa*, guarded but with a ſmall Power, paſſing his time in all voluptuous pleaſure, his common Exerciſe. Whereupon he in all haſt marched with his Army thitherwards, to have ſurpriſed him before he ſhould be able to call together his diſperſed Forces. But when he was come to the River *Sangarius*, he was diſcovered by *Solyman Subbaſſa* a great Captain, whom Sultan *Solyman* had ſent for the taking up of men in that ſide of the Country. Who returning in all haſt, gave *Solyman* knowledge of his Brothers coming; with which ſudden news he was ſo diſmayed, being now of ſmall ſtrength, that for the avoiding of the imminent danger, he would preſently have fled into *Europe*, had not *Alis Baſſa* otherwiſe perſwaded him; telling him, That if he ſhould ſo cowardly fly away, it would not only blemiſh and defame his Honour, but diſcourage his Friends alſo in *Aſia*, and incourage his Enemies to purſue him perhaps unto the Gates of *Hadrianople*; and that therefore it were better with ſuch Forces as he had to take the Straits of *Neapolis*, and ſo to ſtay his Brothers further paſſage into that Country, until ſuch time as he might aſſemble the reſt of his Army. According to which good Counſel he firſt took the beforenamed Straits and Paſſages, whereby *Mahomet* was of neceſſity to paſs, and there ſtrongly fortified himſelf. *Mahomet* coming thither, with great force entred thoſe Straits, but was ſtill valiantly by *Solyman* repulſed. The like attempt he many times valiantly gave, for that he knew himſelf to be at that time too ſtrong for his Brother; but *Solyman* having the advantage of the place, with little danger or loſs fruſtrated thoſe his Brothers brave Attempts, although the were then a great deal the weaker. *Alis Baſſa*, whoſe wily head, fraught with long experience, could (with nothing) effect great matters, in the mean time was not idle, but (making *Solyman* before acquainted with his doings) ſent a ſecret Meſſenger (one of his own truſty Servants) to *Mahomet* with Letters; certifying him, That moſt of his Nobility and great Captains had ſecretly conſpired to betray him into the hands of his elder Brother *Solyman*, as the undoubted Heir of his Father *Bajazet*; and ſo with the price of his Head, to make their own Peace and Atonement with him; and that for the performance thereof they had bound themſelves firſt unto *Solyman*, and afterwards one to another, by ſolemn Oath. Which Treaſon he diſcovered unto him, with great proteſtation of his love and good will, as he that had a long time eaten Bread and Salt (as the Turks uſe to ſay) in his Fathers Court, and therefore could not but wiſh well unto him, being one of his Lord and Maſters Sons. Theſe Letters ſomething troubled *Mahomet*, breeding in his head many a jealous conceit; for all that, he ceaſed not for ſix or ſeven days ſpace, to give many a hot Skirmiſh for the gaining of thoſe ſtrait paſſages, but all in vain. In which time it chanced, one of his Servants near about his Perſon, to fly unto the Enemy; which cauſed him the more to ſuſpect all that to be true, whereof *Alis Baſſa* had forewarned him. Which conſidered, and that by lying there he prevailed nothing, but loſt and wearied his Men, (for it was all that while exceeding foul Weather) and withall doubting to be betrayed, returned as he came, to *Amaſia*. And *Solyman* glad alſo of his departure, retired to *Pruſa*, giving order into all parts of his Kingdom, for the aſſembling of a great Army; but underſtanding that the King of *Caramania* had made a League with his Brother *Mahomet*, and that they were agreed to joyn their Forces againſt him, for the driving of him out of *Aſia*, he forthwith drew all his Forces to *Ancyra*, as a place of more ſafety.

Whilſt *Solyman* thus lay at *Ancyra*, it fortuned that *Muſa* (which had all this while remained with his Brother *Mahomet*, ſince he was ſet at Liberty by *Tamerlane*, though not altogether well pleaſed with his own eſtate) one day by way of talk, thus ſpake unto his Brother; *You ſee* (ſaid he) *how our elder Brother* Solyman *ceaſeth not to vex and moleſt us daily, and is not unlike in the end to prevail againſt us, to our utter deſtruction: Now if it might pleaſe you to give me leave, I would go to* Iſfendiar *Prince of* Caſtamona *and* Pontus, *our Brothers Enemy, and of him procure ſhipping to paſs over the* Euxine *Sea into* Europe; *where I doubt not to find opportunity to make ſome great Innovation in that Kingdom, now in my Brothers abſence; by reaſon whereof* Solyman *ſhall of neceſſity be driven to leave* Aſia, *to be again by you ſolely poſſeſſed; or elſe be brought in danger there to loſe his Kingdom in* Europe. *Which if it ſhall be my good hap to gain out of his hands by your ſupportation, I promiſe you faithfully to hold the ſame of you as of my Lord and Soveraign.* This greatly pleaſed *Mahomet*, and thereupon not long after they concluded betwixt themſelves, one to ſtand faſt unto another, and the one to help the other in what they could, during life; confirming the ſame with great Solemnity of their Turkiſh Faith given and taken. Whereupon *Mahomet* furniſhed his Brother *Muſa* with great Sums of Money and other needful things for the taking in hand of ſo great an Enterpriſe.

Muſa thus furniſhed, taking his leave of his Brother, ſet forwards towards the Prince *Iſfendiar*; who hearing of his coming, met him on the way, and entertained him as a great Prince. But after that *Muſa* had made him acquainted with his purpoſe for paſſing into *Europe*, and had obtained grant of his help therein, he took his leave of him for a time, and went to viſit the King of *Caramania*; who alſo moſt honourably entertained him, and the rather in deſpight of *Solyman*. But whilſt *Muſa* was thus paſſing the time in *Caramania*, it fortuned that *Mark* (of ſome called *Merxes*) Prince of *Valachia*, having his Country much ſpoiled by *Solyman* his Garriſons; and hearing that *Muſa* one of *Bajazet* his Sons was with the Prince *Iſfendiar*, he writ unto him, promiſing to beſtow his Daughter and Heir in marriage upon *Muſa*, if he would come over into *Europe*, and revenge the wrong done unto him by *Solyman*. Whereof *Muſa* advertiſed by the Prince *Iſfendiar*, gladly returned out of *Caramania*, and was by him tranſported over the Euxine or Black-Sea, into *Europe*; where the Prince of *Valachia* glad of his coming, received him with great Honour, and according to his promiſe gave him his Daughter in marriage.

Muſa *marrieth the Prince of* Valachia *his daughter.*

The fame of *Muſa* his coming into *Europe* and of his Marriage, was in ſhort time bruted through all *Solyman* his Kingdom in *Europe*, and wrought ſuch effect in the minds of the mutable vulgar people (always deſirous of Novelty) that they all as it were with one conſent ſubmitted themſelves unto him, as unto their Lord and Soveraign; in ſo much that coming to the Royal City of *Hadrianople*, in the abſence of his Brother *Solyman* he was there received as their King.

Muſa *in the abſence of* Solyman *received at* Hadrianople *as King.*

Solyman now lying at *Ancyra* in *Aſia*, underſtanding of theſe proceedings of *Muſa* in *Europe*, and that he was poſſeſſed of a great part of his Kingdom there, was therewith exceedingly troubled. Wherefore leaving his Deputy in *Ancyra*, he with all his Army came to the Strait of *Boſphorus*, and there of *Emanuel* the *Greek* Emperor obtained paſſage, promiſing for the ſame to reſtore unto him certain places before taken from him in *Aſia*; for *Muſa* had ſo provided, that he could have no help of the Turkiſh ſhipping, which was by his Commandment all before brought over unto *Europe* ſide. *Muſa* hearing of *Solyman* his arrival in *Europe*, made towards him with a great Power; but after that both their Armies were come the one within view of the other, and now ready to joyn battel, many of *Muſa* his Captains forſook him, and fled to *Solyman* the elder Brother, and their undoubted King; which *Muſa* beholding, was glad to fly, and to take the ſafeguard of the Woods and Mountains for his Refuge. After which Victory, *Solyman* returning to *Hadrianople*, took again poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, and there without meaſure gave himſelf to riot and exceſs, according to his wonted manner.

After the departure of *Solyman* out of *Aſia* *Jacup-Beg* (but lately before again received into *Mahomet* his Favour, and now left as *Solyman* his Deputy) delivered *Ancyra*, with the Caſtle of *Pruſa*, and all the reſt that *Solyman* had gained in *Aſia*, to *Mahomet*; who ſhortly after led his Army through the Countries of *Caraſia*, *Aydinia*, *Sarucania*, *Tekenſis*, and *Germeania*, reducing them once again unto his Obeyſance; and afterwards returned to *Pruſa*, where he now the ſecond time took poſſeſſion of his Fathers Kingdom in *Aſia*.

Muſa *goeth againſt* Solyman.

Muſa ſtill aided by the *Valachian* Prince his Father in law, gave many great Attempts againſt his Brother *Solyman*, but was ſtill put to the worſe. At length having gathered ſome good ſtrength, and diligently attending the leaſt ſmile of better Fortune, drew near unto the place where *Solyman* lay; who at that time was (as his manner was) banquetting with great pleaſure in his Camp, and full of Wine. Inſomuch that when News was brought unto him, that his Brother *Muſa* was at hand with a great Power, he in his Drunkenneſs cauſed the Meſſenger that brought the News, to be beaten; and when he had with greater earneſtneſs than was to his liking, affirmed that his Report to be true, he commanded him to be ſlain for troubling his Mirth. But ſhortly after, *Muſa* was come ſo near, that the Vantcourriers of his Army did Skirmiſh with ſome of *Solyman* his Souldiers; when as *Chaſis Eurenoſes* one of his Fathers old Captains, preſſing in, told him that *Muſa* was at hand, and had ſkirmiſhed with part of his Army. Whereof *Solyman* (now far in Wine) had no regard, but ſaid, *Good Tutor do not trouble me no more; my Brother* Muſa *dares not come ſo nigh me; if I do but hold up my Cap, he is gone.* With which anſwer the old Captain going out diſcontended, ſent in *Chaſan*, *Aga* of the *Janizaries*; who boldly coming unto him, told him plainly of the imminent danger, and ſharply reproved him for his Intemperance and Security. With whoſe free Speech *Solyman* moved, in great rage commanded his Beard to be cut off, then no ſmall diſgrace amongſt the Turks. *Chaſan* preſently coming forth thus diſgraced, ſaid to them that ſtood waiting without, *This is the Honour wherewith Sultan* Solyman *in his Exceſs rewards his moſt faithful Servants. Wherefore be it known to you all, I will from henceforth (and not without cauſe) ſerve* Muſa, *a Prince of greater Temperance and Diſcretion; who ſo will follow me, come and welcome.* So mounting to Horſe, and accompanied with a number of his Janizaries (of whom he was greatly beloved) went over to *Muſa*; as did many other great Captains alſo with their Companies, moved by his Example ſo to do. But when *Solyman* underſtood that *Chaſan* with moſt part of the Janizaries, and many other worthy Captains, with the greateſt ſtrength of his Army, were revolted to *Muſa*, then faſt by, and ready to ſet upon him; it then repented him too late of his diſſolute folly; and finding no other remedy now to eſcape, hid himſelf until it was dark night; then taking Horſe, accompanied only with *Caratze-Beg* and *Cara Muchil*, two of his Noblemen, and one Country Turk whom they had retained for their Guid, thought to have fled to *Conſtantinople*. This malicious Clown having of purpoſe led them by unknown ways all that night to and fro, as it were in a maze, (oftentimes miſnaming unto them the places they paſſed by, as if they had been in the right way) brought them in the morning to a Village not far from the place from whence they departed the evening before; and there riding a little before them of purpoſe, gave warning to a ſturdy Peaſant or two of his Acquaintance, that *Solyman* was coming after; willing them to make ſtay of him. Theſe rude Country Churls, with ſome others of like breed, running out with Bats and Staves, and ſuch other homely Tools as firſt came to hand, ſlew *Caratze* and *Cara Muchil*, which would not yield unto them, but ſtood upon their Guard, and took *Solyman* alive; where, as it commonly falleth out in the vulgar peoples fury, ſome cried out to kill him, and ſo to end [illegible] Wars; ſome likewiſe to burn him; and ſome to hang him; and ſome few to ſave him; every one as his rude affection led him. In the heat of this Country uproar came *Muſa*; who glad to find his Brother *Solyman* ſo hardly beſet, cauſed him preſently to be there ſtrangled, when he had reigned in *Hadrianople* ſix years and ten months.

Solyman *flieth.*

Solyman *ſtrangled by his Brother* Muſa.

This Solyman *is that ſame whom ſome call* Celebinus, *and other ſome,* Calepinus, *and reckon him for the fifth King of the Turks.*

This was the miſerable end of *Solyman*, the eldeſt Son that *Bajazet* left alive. A man much given to Exceſs, otherwiſe indued with many great Vertues, being both of great valour, and exceeding bountiful. In his time lived the learned Doctor *Achmetes*, which wrote the Hiſtory of *Alexander the Great* in Turkiſh Verſe, and publiſhed it in the name of *Solyman* himſelf; for which he was by him bounteouſly rewarded. The dead body of *Solyman* himſelf, was by the commandment of *Muſa* conveyed to *Pruſa*, and there lieth buried faſt by the body of his Grandfather *Amurath*. So now of theſe *Cadmeian* Brethren remained none but *Mahomet* and *Muſa*, the one reigning in *Aſia*, and the other in *Europe*, divers parts of the World, and well bounded with the ſureſt bounds of Nature; yet not ſufficient to content or contain their ambitious minds, until that the younger had moſt unnaturally devoured the elder.

Muſa preſently after the death of his Brother *Solyman*, took upon him the Turkiſh Kingdom in *Europe*; who in the beginning of his Reign diſplaced moſt of them which had born great Offices before in the time of his Brother *Solyman*, and had now of late revolted to him; fearing to be by them betrayed or forſaken, as his Brother was; and in their rooms placed other his own Creatures. And not ſo content, proceeded further, upon ſmall cauſes moſt unkindly to impriſon and put to death many of them who had of him well deſerved. Which cruel dealing ſo alienated the minds of his Nobility, that many of them kept themſelves out of the way, doubtfully expecting the event of ſuch his Tyrannical Government: *Chaſis Eurenoſes* that old and renowned Captain, to eſcape his hands, was glad to feign himſelf blind, ſo to abſent himſelf from Court. At this time he alſo by his Embaſſadors demanded of divers Chriſtian Princes his Neighbours, ſuch Tribute as they had in times paſt either payed or promiſed to pay unto his Father *Bajazet*; and in that Quarrel invaded many of them, namely the Princes of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*. Amongſt other he ſent *Ibrahim Baſſa* (a learned man of great experience, and ſometimes one of his Fathers grave Counſellors) unto *Emanuel Palæologus* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, to demand the like Tribute of him. Who ſo ſoon as he was come to *Conſtantinople*, from thence by Letters advertiſed *Mahomet* of the undiſcreet Government of his Brother *Muſa* in his new gotten Kingdom; and what untimely ſtirs he began to make before he was therein well ſetled, loſing the love both of his Subjects and Neighbour Princes; with much other matter concerning his miſgovernment. Which things when *Mahomet* underſtood, he ſent a Meſſenger with Letters back again to *Conſtantinople*, requeſting the Baſſa to come over unto him into *Aſia*, and in token of his great Favour ſent him divers rich Garments, with many great and princely Promiſes; wherewith the Baſſa moved, and deteſting the cruel Government of *Muſa*, went over unto him to *Pruſa*, and there was of him honourably entertained, and ſworn one of his Privy-Council; in which Place of Honour he long time afterwards ſerved him faithfully; and after him, his Son *Amurath* alſo.

Mahomet thinking, upon the advantage of his Brothers evil Government, to find means to thruſt him out of his Kingdom, and ſo to draw the whole Government of the Turkiſh Empire unto himſelf, as well in *Europe* as in *Aſia*; aſſembled an Army of fifteen thouſand choice Souldiers to invade his Brother in *Europe*, before he were there well eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom. And ſo ſhocking down towards the Straits of *Boſphorus*, by his Embaſſador concluded a League with *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor, That one of them ſhould never wrong or damnifie the other; and that if *Mahomet* ſhould hap to obtain the Turkiſh Kingdom in *Europe*, he ſhould always Honour and Reverence the Emperor as his ſpecial good Friend; but if it ſhould chance him to be diſtreſſed or overthrown by his Brother *Muſa*, that then the Emperor ſhould preſently tranſport him and his Army back again into *Aſia*. This League was with great Solemnity of words on both parts confirmed. And ſhortly after, *Mahomet* with all his Army was by the Emperors ſhipping at the Strait of *Boſphorus* near unto *Conſtantinople*, tranſported over into *Europe*; for *Muſa* poſſeſſed of *Callipolis*, had ſtopped all the other paſſages.

The battel betwixt the two Brethren, Mahomet *and* Muſa.

Muſa having before knowledge of his Brothers coming, was forthwith in readineſs to meet him with a ſtrong Army. So that *Mahomet* had not marched far from the Sea-ſide, but that the Vantcourriers of his Army met with his Brothers, at a place called *Intzuge*, and there began a light Skirmiſh; wherein *Muſa* his Forerunners were by *Mahomets* put to flight, and chaſed unto *Muſa* his Camp. Whereof ſuch a ſudden fear aroſe in the Army, that they were almoſt ready to fly, thinking *Mahomet* had been upon them with all his Power; but underſtanding the truth of the matter, both Armies reſted that night, which as then drew faſt on. The next day theſe two Brethren, armed with equal hope, brought their Armies into the Field, and gave the ſignal of the battel, whereupon began a mortal and bloody Fight; in the Fury whereof *Michael Ogli* Baſſa of *Romania*, and certain other of *Muſa*'s great Captains, upon ſecret diſcontentment revolted to *Mahomet*; wherewith many of *Muſa* his Souldiers diſcouraged, fled. Which *Mahomet* his Souldiers ſeeing, purſued the chaſe with ſuch earneſtneſs and fury, that few were left with himſelf; yet with ſuch as were left, in hope of good hap, he ſet upon his Brother; who although he was half diſcomfited with the flight of the greater part of his Army, whom the Enemies had yet in chace, yet ſtood he faſt himſelf with 7000 Janizaries, his beſt Souldiers; ſo taking the unexpected good hap, preſented unto him by his Brothers forwardneſs, valiantly received his Charge. But *Mahomet* finding there a greater ſtrength than he had before ſuppoſed, and himſelf too weak to withſtand the fury of the Janizaries, becauſe moſt of his men alſo were following the Chace, was now for ſafeguard of his life glad to fly himſelf to *Conſtantinople*; whither he came accompanied ſcarcely with two hundred men; and was from thence, according to the agreement before made betwixt him and the Emperor, ſpeedily ſhipped over into *Aſia*. *Muſa* having thus put his Brother to flight, with great ſlaughter of his men, preſently took his Tents with all that was therein, and there encamped himſelf. They of *Mahomets* Army, which followed the Chace of ſuch as had fled in the beginning of the battel, not knowing what had happened to *Mahomet*, returning to the Camp, doubting no peril, and finding it at their return poſſeſſed by their Enemies, ſtood as men amazed, and utterly diſcouraged; at which time *Muſa* would not ſuffer his Souldiers to put them to the Sword, as they would fain have done, but commanded them to be diſpoiled of their Arms and ſuch other things as they had, and ſo with life ſuffered them to depart.

After this Overthrow, whilſt *Mahomet* lay ſtill at *Pruſa*, the Prince of *Smyrna* forcibly entred into

Aidinia, purpoſing to paſs through into *Saracania*; which thing *Mahomet* hearing, gathered a great Army, and entring into the Princes Country, made ſuch ſpoil as he went, and ſo diſtreſſed the Prince himſelf, that he was glad to ſubmit himſelf unto him; and from thenceforth to hold his Dominion of him, as of his Lord and Soveraign, and ſo returned unto *Amaſia*.

Mahomet could not well digeſt the loſs he had ſo lately received in *Europe*, and therefore levied an Army of choice Souldiers out of all parts of his Kingdom, once again to try his fortune againſt his elder Brother *Muſa*. For the better Succeſs wherein, he by his Letters craved Aid of the Prince *Dulgader Ogli*, written to this effect:

Sultan *Mahomet* unto the Prince *Dulgader Ogli*, his Father in Law.

Mahomet *his Letters unto the Prince* Dulgader Ogli, *his Father in law.*

MY purpoſe is to lead mine Army into Romania *in* Europe, *and there again to try my quarrel with my Brother* Muſa. *My hope is, that you will not with your Aid be wanting unto me your Son in law, in my ſo great Affairs, neither for want of good will to hinder this my purpoſe. Fare you well. In the year of our great Prophet* Mahomet, 814. *From* Amaſia.

Whereunto the Prince returned this kind Anſwer:

Prince *Dulgader Ogli* unto the great Sultan *Mahomet*.

The anſwer of Prince Dulgader Ogli *to* Mahomet.

I Doubt not moſt mighty Monarch, but that whitherſoever your deſires ſhall draw you for the undertaking of any great Exploit, he that ruleth above in Heaven, will be always your Aid, proſper your Attempts, miniſter unto you fit Occaſions, and bring all your Actions unto a moſt happy end, with moſt aſſured Victory. Wherefore ſeeing (God ſo diposing our Affairs) I cannot my ſelf in Perſon come unto you with my Power, and give you my truſty help in this your intended War; yet will I in no caſe fail with all ſpeed to ſend my Son your Servant, to Aid you with our Forces, in this War. Fare you well. This ſame Year of our Prophet, 814.

And ſo ſhortly after, the Prince ſent unto him his Son, according to his Promiſe, with a Company of brave Souldiers, excellently furniſhed; for the welcoming of whom, *Mahomet* his Brother in law made a great and royal Feaſt; and there in his mirth gave unto the young Prince the rich Apparel he wore himſelf, with the Horſe he rode upon, and all the rich Plate of Gold and Silver wherein they were ſerved at that Feaſt, a matter of great value. And to every one of his Noblemen he gave a rich Garment, made for that purpoſe, with ſome other Gift, as a Favour; and afterwards gave them all to underſtand, That he intended forthwith to paſs over into *Europe*, and there to recover all his Fathers Kingdom, or elſe there to end his days; as for the ſpoil and prey (ſaid he) it ſhall be theirs that can win it; one Horſe, one Sword, one Horſemans Mace ſhall content my ſelf. So having furniſhed his Army with all things needful for ſo great an Enterpriſe, he ſet forward and came to the Strait of *Boſphorus*; and from thence gave knowledge of his coming to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*; who glad thereof (for the diſpleaſure he bare to *Muſa*) tranſported him and all his Army over that Strait into *Europe*, and there in one of his Country-Palaces royally feaſted him. At which time *Mahomet* requeſted the Emperor to joyn with him in that War againſt their common Enemy; but he excuſed himſelf by reaſon of his great age; yet nevertheleſs, aſſiſted him with certain Companies of valiant Chriſtians, whoſe Service afterward ſtood the Turk in great ſtead.

So *Mahomet* taking his leave of the Emperor, marched with his Army to the River *Wyzen* in *Thracia*, where by the way he received Letters from the ancient Captain *Chaſis Eurenoſes*, adviſing him to be very circumſpect in his marching, and not to make too much haſt to joyn battel with his Brother; counſelling him alſo (if he could by any means) to allure *Jegides Baſſa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, to forſake his Brother, and to follow his Enſigns; for that in thoſe men conſiſted *Muſa* his greateſt ſtrength; and promiſed in good time to come unto him himſelf alſo, if he were not too haſty. This Meſſenger that brought this News, *Mahomet* bountifully rewarded, and ſo ſent him away. Shortly after, as he was marching towards *Hadrianople*, part of the Enemies Army began to ſhew it ſelf under the leading of *Cara Calile*, and was preſently charged by *Michael Ogli*, and put to flight. So holding on his way to *Hadrianople*, he laid ſiege to the City; where the Citizens ſent out to him certain of their graveſt and moſt ſubſtantial Burgeſſes, to certifie him, That by reaſon of the Garriſon there left by *Muſa*, they could not as then deliver the City unto him; but if it ſhould pleaſe him to go and try his Fortune in the Field againſt his Brother, who ſhould be the Commander thereof, he ſhould find them ready to follow his good Fortune, and to yield themſelves, the City, and all therein, to his pleaſure, if it were his good hap to carry away the Victory. With which anſwer *Mahomet* contenting himſelf, raiſed his Siege, and took the way towards *Zagora*. In that place *Muſa* is reported to have come ſecretly diſguiſed into *Mahomet* his Camp, and to have taken full view thereof; but perceiving himſelf too weak to encounter his Brother, withdrew his Army into the ſafeguard of the great Woods and ſtrong Places; and ſo from thence retired with his Army towards *Philippolis*, and ſo marched along the River *Meritze*, called in ancient time *Hebrus*; where *Jegides Baſſa*, with *Hamza Beg*, and *Iſmir Ogli* (three of *Muſa* his great Captains) ſet upon the rereward of *Mahomets* Army, and were by *Michael Ogli* repulſed. *Mahomet* holding on his way, came to *Sophia*; where as he went, *Muſa* divers times from the Mountains made ſhew of his Army, but durſt not come down into the Plain to give him battle. *Mahomet* having refreſhed his Army at *Sophia*, marched to *Sarkive*, where he received Letters from *Jegides Baſſa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, all ſecretly perſwaded by old *Eurenoſes* to revolt unto him; the tenor whereof in brief was this:

Hadrianople *beſieged by* Mahomet.

Jegides Baſſa, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, unto the great Sultan *Mahomet*.

WE are three young men (moſt mighty Monarch) and have with us three thouſand choice Souldiers, men of incomparable valour, ſuch as the World hath ſcarce the like; draw your Forces near unto us with as much ſpeed as you can, and you ſhall find us ready to come over unto you. Fare you well.

Where-

Muſa his chief Captains revolt to Mahomet.

Whereupon he marched all the next night after, untill he came to the River *Morava*, and there encamped; where the three aforenamed Captains, according to their promiſe joyned themſelves unto him with all their Souldiers. Thither came alſo old *Eurenoſes*, of all others the moſt famous Captain amongſt the Turks, and now no longer blind, bringing with him a great company of moſt expert Souldiers. *Mark* the Deſpot of *Servia* (for the diſpleaſure he bare unto *Muſa*) ſent him Aid thither alſo. By which Supplies, *Mahomets* Army was greatly increaſed; who after he had courteouſly welcomed all theſe new come Captains, he began again to march farther until he came to *Coſſova*, the unfortunate Plain; where *Hamza Beg* the Prince of *Smyrna* his Son, having forſaken *Muſa*, came unto him with five hundred Horſe, certifying him, that all the Nobility had forſaken his Father; ſo, as he marcht from place to place, his Forces ſtill increaſed, by the revolt of his Brothers. *Muſa* ſeeing his Souldiers thus daily fall from him, inſomuch that he had almoſt none now left, but the Souldiers of the Court (which were indeed his beſt men of War, and always unto him faithful, becauſe he had been ever unto them exceeding bountiful) thought it beſt to attempt ſomething, before he were left himſelf alone. Wherefore having yet with him ſeven thouſand of thoſe expert Souldiers, he drew nearer unto his Brother, ſeeking to have taken him at ſome advantage. But *Mahomet* having knowledge of his purpoſe, and contented to be adviſed by his old expert Captains, had ever a vigilant eye unto him. Yet at laſt, whether it were upon good hope, or elſe prickt forward with deſpair, *Muſa* upon the ſudden, valiantly ſet upon his Brothers Army; but his Souldiers oppreſſed with multitude, rather than overcome with true valour, after a hard and bloody Fight were put to the worſt; which he ſeeing, deſperately brake into the midſt of his Enemies, ſeeking there for death amongſt the thickeſt of them. But being known by *Bajazet Baſſa*, *Mahomet* his Lieutenant General, deſirous to take him alive, he was beſet on every ſide; where ſeeing himſelf in more danger to be taken than ſlain, he with great courage brake from amongſt the midſt of them, and fled. In which flight his Horſe falling into a deep muddy Ditch (or as ſome others ſay) hoxed by *Sarutzes* his own Servant, and himſelf wounded) overthrew him, and there before he could again recover himſelf, was taken by *Bajazet Baſſa* (the great Lieutenant) *Michael Ogli* and *Barac Beg*, which had hardly purſued him out of the battel; and ſo with his hands bound, by them brought through the midſt of the Army. Which pitiful ſight, grieved not a little the hearts of many; to ſee him but even now ſo great a King, and one of the Sons of great *Bajazet*, by the ſtrange change of Fortune, bound like a Captive Slave led forth to Execution; yet were moſt part glad thereof, hoping theſe long Civil Wars would now in him take end. Shortly after came unto him a Nobleman called *Balta Ogli*, ſent (as they thought) from *Mahomet* himſelf; who after he had in few words bitterly reproved him, for the cruelty by him before ſhewed unto his Brother *Solyman*, in like caſe, cauſed him preſently to be ſtrangled with a Bow-ſtring. His dead body was by and by after preſented to his Brother *Mahomet*; who ſeeing it, ſhed a few Crocodils tears over it. He reigned three years end ſeven months, and was afterwards conveyed to *Pruſa*, and there lieth buried by the body of his Brother *Solyman*, in the ſame Chappel with his Grandfather *Amurath*.

Muſa taken.

Muſa ſtrangled.

Mahomet after the death of *Muſa*, now free from all Competitors, took upon him the ſole Government of the Turkiſh Kingdom, as well in *Europe* as in *Aſia*. And here the Turkiſh Hiſtories begin the Reign of this *Mahomet* fifth King of the Turks; accounting the troubleſome time from the Captivity of *Bajazet*, unto the death of *Muſa*, as a time of vacancy or Anarchy, wherein the Turkiſh Kingdom was not at any time wholly poſſeſſed by any one of *Bajazet* his Sons; *Iſa* poſſeſſing one part, whereof he was by *Mahomet* diſpoſſeſſed; who afterwards uſurped all that part of the Turkiſh Kingdom in *Aſia*, being the right of his elder Brother *Solyman*; who at that time reigning in *Europe*, was depoſed and ſtrangled by his Brother *Muſa*; who was in like manner ſerved by his youngeſt Brother *Mahomet*, the only Son of *Bajazet* then left, as is before declared. Which divers Mutations, and interrupted Succeſſions, was the cauſe that the Hiſtoriographers do ſo greatly diſſent upon the Succeſſor of *Bajazet*; ſome reckoning one, ſome another; and ſome more, ſome fewer; and ſome, ſuch as never were. But foraſmuch as *Mahomet* held all or moſt part of the Turkiſh Kingdom in *Aſia*, during his troubleſome time, and in the end poſſeſſed the other part thereof in *Europe* alſo, I reckon him for the fifth King of the Turks, and Succeſſor to his Father *Bajazet*; including alſo in this Hiſtory of his life, all that Inteſtine and Serpentine-like Tragedy, wherein he himſelf was the principal Actor.

Pruſa burnt by the Caramanian King.

Whilſt *Mahomet* was (as is aforeſaid) thus buſied in his Wars in *Europe*, againſt his Brother *Muſa*, 1415.
the King of *Caramania* taking the advantage of his Troubles there, with a great Army invaded his Kingdom joyning upon him in *Aſia*, burning and ſpoling all before him as he went; *Eivaſes Baſſa*, *Mahomet* his Lieutenant, then lying at *Pruſa*, not able to withſtand him; and fearing his coming thither, becauſe it was the Seat of the *Othoman* Kings in *Aſia*, cauſed the Citizens to bring the greateſt part of their Wealth into the Caſtle; whereinto he alſo received ſo many of the Citizens as he conveniently could, willing the reſt to ſhift for themſelves as they might, in ſuch caſe of extremity. Shortly after, the King of *Caramania* (according to his expectation) came to *Pruſa*, and without reſiſtance took the City, not as yet fully fortified; which he, without delay cauſed the ſecond time to be burnt down to the ground; and afterwards laid ſiege to the Caſtle, giving many great Aſſaults thereto by the ſpace of thirty days, but was always valiantly repulſed by *Eivaſes* the Baſſa, who ceaſed not continually to encourage his Souldiers, ſtill putting them in comfort, that *Mahomet* having now overcome his Enemies in *Europe*, would in few days undoubtedly come to their Relief. It chanced at the ſame time that the dead body of *Muſa*, ſent to *Pruſa* to be buried, was honourably conveyed upon the way, with much people following it. The *Caramanian* King hearing of the coming of ſuch a multitude, and fearing it to have been *Mahomet* with his Power, raiſed his Siege, and with ſpeed departed; whereat the Turks long time after jeſted, ſaying, If the *Caramanian* King run away for fear of the dead body of the *Othoman* King, what would he do if he had come againſt him alive? But the truth was, he feared *Mahomet* and his Power.

Orchanes the Son of *Solyman* (yet a Boy) having lived at *Conſtantinople* ever ſince the death of his Father, about this time departed thence, becauſe of the League lately made between the Emperor and his Uncle *Mahomet*, purpoſing to have gone into *Valachia* ; but by the way as he was travelling, the Turkiſh voluntary Souldiers underſtanding that he was the Son of their late King *Solyman*, reſorted unto him in great numbers, offering in his Quarrel to ſpend their lives. Of which Inſurrection *Mahomet* hearing, marched thither in all haſt, with a great Power to ſuppreſs the ſame ; of whoſe coming the Souldiers with *Orchanes* underſtanding, diſperſed themſelves and fled. As for *Orchanes* himſelf, he was by his unlawful Tutor *Zaganos* betrayed unto his Uncle *Mahomet* ; who preſently cauſed his Eyes to be put out, and ſo ſent him to *Pruſa* ; allowing him great Revenues to live upon, and ever after uſed him with great Honour. The Siſter of this *Orchanes* he gave in marriage to one of his Noblemen, with a great Dowry. This is that *Orchanes*, whom ſome Hiſtoriographers reckon up among the Turkiſh Kings, as one of the Succeſſors of *Bajazet* ; and that he was betrayed to his Uncle *Moſes* ; erring as I ſuppoſe, both in Succeſſion and the Name, miſtaking *Moſes* for *Mahomet*.

1416. Mahomet *invadeth the* Caramanian *King.*

Now *Mahomet* calling to remembrance the Injury which the *Caramanian* King had done to him in his abſence, returning to *Pruſa*, aſſembled a great Army to revenge himſelf of that wrong. At which time, he ſent to the Prince *Isfendiar* for Aid, who ſent him his Son *Caſſumes*. He commanded alſo the Prince *Germean Ogli*, to make proviſion for the Victualling of his Camp, as he ſhould paſs by his Country ; which was accordingly done. And ſo provided of all things neceſſary, he with his Army entred into the *Caramanian* Country ; where he took the Cities *Aſpropolis*, *Deſpotopolis*, *Hierapolis*, and beſieged *Iconium* ; but by reaſon of the immoderate rain which at that time fell, he was glad to make Peace with the *Caramanian* King, called alſo *Mahomet*. And ſo raiſing his Siege, departed towards *Pontus*, where he had not long ſtayed, but that News was brought unto him, That the *Caramanian* King renouncing his League, was again up in Arms. Wherefore returning into *Caramania*, and ſo to *Iconium*, he there overthrew the King in battel, and took both him and his Son *Muſtapha* Priſoners ; who redeemed themſelves by delivering many of their ſtrong Cities and Caſtles into his hands ; and afterward concluded a Peace, they receiving from him an Enſign (as the Turkiſh manner is) in token they were now become his Vaſſals.

1417. Valachia *Tributary to the Turk.*

The *Caramanian* War thus happily ended, he went over into *Europe*, and paſſing over *Danubius*, foraged the Country of *Valachia Tranſalpina*, making there great ſpoil ; for redreſs whereof, the *Valachian* Prince by his Embaſſadors ſent him ſuch Tribute as he demanded, and his Son alſo to ſerve him in his Court. About which time hapned a great Earthquake in *Pruſa*, and other places of *Aſia* ; whereby many Houſes and Towns were overthrown ; after which, enſued great troubles in moſt parts of *Aſia* ; howbeit *Mahomet* going thither, by his preſence kept all his Dominions in peace and quietneſs.

Isfendiar Prince of *Caſtamona* and part of *Pontus*, reſerving unto himſelf *Caſtamona*, with a little part more of his Dominion, gave the reſt unto *Mahomet*, upon condition, that he ſhould reſtore no part thereof again unto his Son *Caſſumes* ; who having long time ſerved in *Mahomet* his Court and Wars, could not be perſwaded to return again unto his Father ; and therefore was by him thus diſinherited. Which great Gift, *Mahomet* thankfully accepted, and in lieu thereof aſſigned unto *Caſſumes* other great and large Poſſeſſions within his own Kingdom.

Mahomet, after the death of his Brother *Muſa*, had ſent *Scheiches Bedredin* (his Brothers *Cadeleſcher*) to *Nice* in *Aſia*, as unto a place of exile; allowing him nevertheleſs a great Penſion whereon to live. This *Bedredin* had in his houſe one *Burgluzes*, *Muſtapha* his Steward ; theſe two conſulted together, how to raiſe ſome Tumult or Rebellion to trouble the peaceable Government of *Mahomet*. For which purpoſe, *Burgluzes* (according to the Plot by them laid) took this way into *Aidinia* (ſometime called *Caria*) and there pretending great Zeal of Reformed Religion, with a wonderful Gravity began to broach divers new and ſtrange Opinions, far differing from the Turkiſh ancient Superſtition, yet very plauſible and well fitting the humour of the vulgar people. By which means he was in ſhort time reputed for a famous learned devout Man, and had many Followers, drawing after him much people, fit to begin ſome great Innovation. *Bedredin* glad of his mans ſucceſs, fled from *Nice* into the Prince *Isfendiar* his Country, from whence he took ſhipping over the *Euxine* into *Valachia*, and there withdrawing himſelf into a great Foreſt, as if he had been ſome devout and religious Man, allured unto him a great number of Outlaws and Theeves which there lived. Whom when he had ſufficiently inſtructed and framed to his purpoſe, he ſent them in the habit of Religious Men into the Country of *Zagora*, and other places in the Frontiers of *Mahomet* his Dominions, near unto him, as his Diſciples ; who with great boldneſs and confidence, publiſhed *Bedredin* his Doctrine and Authority ; and how that he was by God appointed to be the King of Juſtice, and Commander of all the World; whoſe Doctrine and manner of Government was (as they ſaid) already received (as they gave it out) in *Aſia*, being ſet forth but by one of his Scholars, *Burgluzes* ; whoſe Fame was now diſperſed throughout all the Turks Dominion ; and that therefore if any were deſirous of Preferment, they ſhould repair to *Bedredin*, who would in ſhort time ſhew himſelf to the World, and promote his Followers according to their Deſerts. Many of the Country people deluded with this phantaſie and practiſe of theſe ſeditious Seed-Men, reſorted to *Bedredin* in hope of Preferment; and with them ſome of good Calling alſo. At laſt, out of the Foreſt cometh this great Prophet with Banner diſplayed, attended upon with a great multitude of the ſeditious vulgar people, which daily reſorted unto him more and more. *Mahomet* for the repreſſing of theſe dangerous Tumults, ſent his Son *Amurath*, and *Bajazet* the great Baſſa, with two thouſand Men to apprehend *Burgluzes* in *Aidinia* ; but when they came thither, they found him guarded with three thouſand Men well appointed, ready to adventure their Lives in defence of their fooliſh Prophet. Nevertheleſs, *Amurath* and *Bajazet* not diſmayed with the multitude of thoſe uplandiſh people, ſet upon them ; where was fought a right bloody Battel, for the number, and many ſlain on both ſides ; yet at laſt the Rebels fled ; in which flight *Burgluſes* himſelf was ſlain, and hewen all to pieces. After which Victory *Bajazet* from thence haſted to *Magneſia*, and there executed *Torlac Kemal*, another ſeditious Turkiſh Monk, which with two thouſand, by him ſeduced, did much harm in the Country thereabout. At the ſame time alſo, *Mahomet* ſent another Power againſt *Bedredin* ; but moſt of his Followers ſeeing in him no ſuch matter, as was by his Diſciples and himſelf promiſed, and as they hoped for, were already fallen from him, ſo that of that great multitude which before followed him,

Burgluzes *ſlain.*

him, few or none were left with him, whereby he was eaſily apprehended by them that *Mahomet* had ſent againſt him; and ſo being brought to *Mahomet* to *Serras*, was there in the Market-place before a Tavern-door, fairly hanged, without any further harm.

Bedredin *hanged.*

Mahomet in the ſhort time of his Reign finiſhed the great *Mahometan* Temple at *Hadrianople*, before begun by his Brethren *Solyman* and *Muſa.* Where he alſo built a Princely Palace, the Seat of the Turkiſh Kings in *Europe*, until the taking of *Conſtantinople.* He alſo built another Temple, with a moſt ſumptuous Abbey, and a publick School thereto adjoyning; endowing the ſame with great Revenews, ſuch as had by him and thoſe his Brethren of late been taken from the Chriſtians. He gave alſo great Sums of Money, yearly to be paid at *Medina* and *Mecha*, for the relief of poor Pilgrims travelling from far to the Sepulchre of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, at *Medina*, or his Temple at *Mecha*.

Mahomet *dieth at* **Hadrianople.**

Shortly after *Mahomet* fell ſick at *Hadrianople*, and perceiving himſelf in danger of death, by his laſt Will appointed his eldeſt Son *Amurath* to Succeed him in his Kingdom, and ſent *Elvan-Beg* (a man in great Favour with him) in poſt to *Amaſia*, to will him with all ſpeed to repair to the Court at *Hadrianople.* But feeling death to approach, and that he could not poſſibly live until the coming of his Son, he ſtraightly charged his Baſſaes with all ſecrecy to conceal his death, until his coming, for fear leſt any Trouble ſhould riſe upon the bruit thereof, before his coming thither; and ſo having ſet all things in Oder, he departed out of this World unto his Prophet *Mahomet*, about the year of our Saviour Chriſt, 1422. when he had reigned Seventeen years; accounting in his Reign that troubleſome ten years next after the Captivity of *Bajazet*, in which time the Turks Kingdom was by his ambitious Sons rent in ſunder, (as is aforeſaid) until it was at length again by this *Mahomet* reſtored to the former Integrity, about ſeven years before his death, which the Turks account for the whole time of his Reign; and the other troubleſome ten years as a vacancy or Anarehy of their Kingdom, as is aforeſaid.

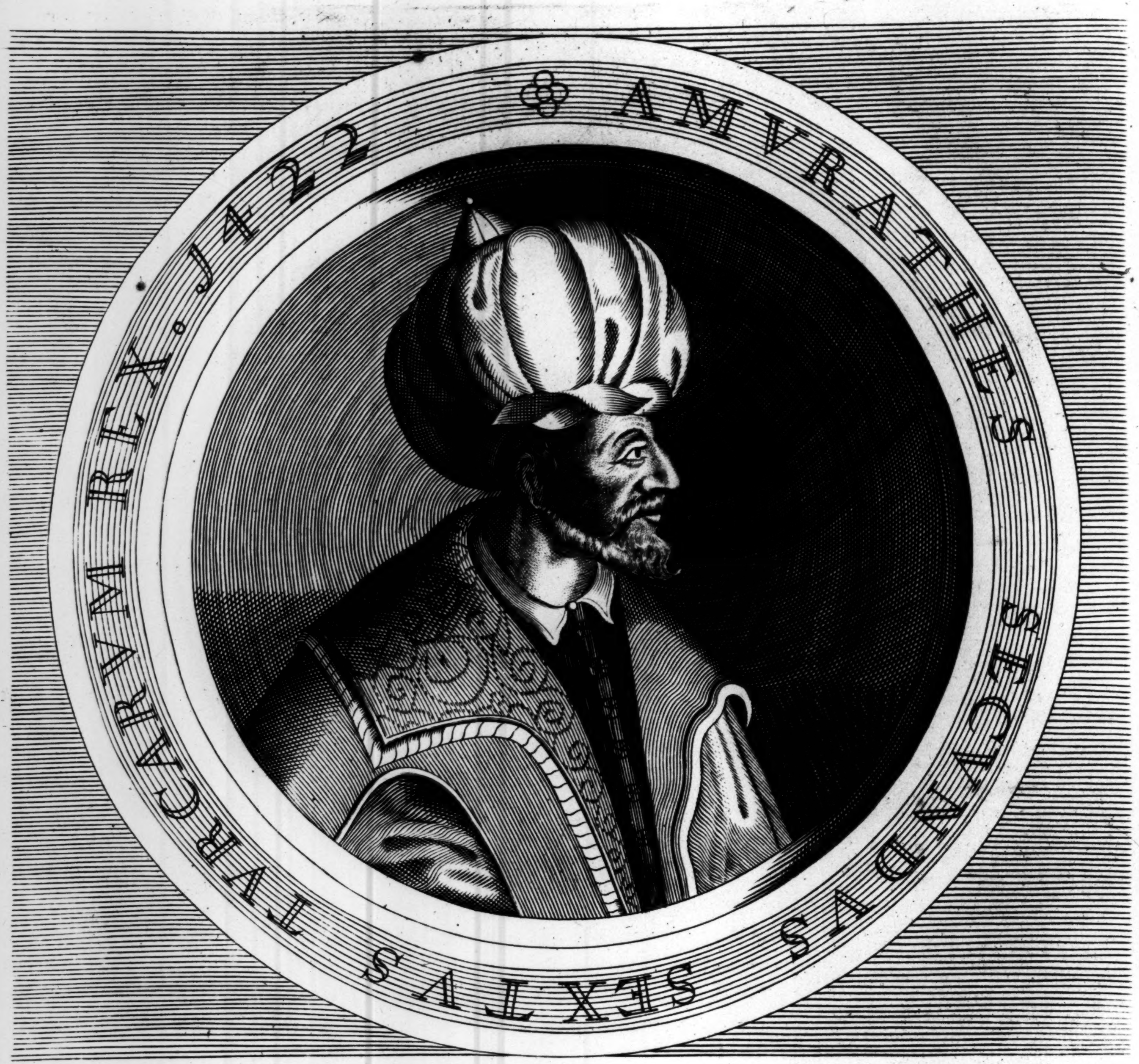
The death of Mahomet *cunningly concealed from the Janizaries, by the three great Baſſaes.*

Mahomet being dead, the three great Baſſaes, *Eivaſes*, *Bajazet*, and *Ibrahim* (to rid themſelves of the fear they had of the Janizaries, and other Souldiers of the Court) called a Divano or Council for the Wars, as if the King had been alive; wherein it was pretended, That *Mahomet* had determined to make War upon the Prince of *Smyrna*; and that for that Service, it was his pleaſure, That the Janizaries ſhould forthwith paſs over into *Aſia*, to the Caſtle of *Baga*. Whereupon Preſs-money was preſently given them, and they ſent over with Letters directed to the Vice-Roy of *Anatolia*, for the aſſembling of an Army for *Baga*. In the mean time, the great Baſſaes of the Court ſate daily in Council, placing and diſplacing, promoting and diſgracing whom they thought good, as if the King had ſo commanded; the Kings Phyſitians alſo, to countenance the matter, were commanded continually to go to and fro with their Potions and Receits, after their wonted manner, as if they had had the King ſtill in Cure; and Letters were ſent in poſt to *Elvan Beg*, for ſpeedy diſpatch of the buſineſs for which he was ſent into *Aſia*. Yet for all this cunning diſſimulation, the Pentioners and other Souldiers of the Court, wont to be near unto the Kings Perſon, and ſome of them always of the Privy-Chamber, began to ſuſpect the matter; and coming to the Baſſaes, ſaid they marvelled that the King in ſo long time did never ſhew himſelf, as he had always before done. Whereunto the Baſſaes anſwered, That he had been dangerouſly ſick, and was as yet but a little recovered, and that therefore the Phyſitians would not ſuffer him to look abroad, or take the Air, for fear of caſting him down again. Then will we our ſelves, ſaid the Pentioners, go and ſee his Majeſty; and with that were ready to force in upon the Baſſaes. *Eivaſes* ſeeing their importunity, deſired them to hold themſelves contented, and not as then to trouble the King, for that he had that day, as he ſaid, taken Phyſick; but to morrow (ſaid he) we will requeſt his Majeſty, if he ſo pleaſe to ſhew himſelf, that you may ſee him; wherewith they for that time held themſelves content. Now among the Kings Phyſitians there was one *Geordiron*, a *Perſian*, a man of a quick ſpirit and ſubtile device, which found means to deceive the Pentioners; he deviſed, that the dead body of the King being apparelled in Royal large Robes, ſhould be brought betwixt two, as if he had been led into an high open Gallery, and being there ſet, to have a Boy ſo neatly placed behind him under his large Robes, as that he unperceived, might move the Kings hand up to his head, as if he ſhould ſtroke his Face or Beard, as his manner was. The next day the dead King being accordingly brought forth by the Baſſaes in his rich Robes, and wrapped with Clothes about his Head, as if it had been for fear of the Air, or of taking cold, and ſo placed in an high open Gallery, as was before deviſed, ſuddenly the Phyſitian came running in, fuming and raging as if he had been half mad, ready to tear his Clothes for anger; and in great choler caſting his Cap againſt the ground, asked the Baſſaes if they meant to kill the King, by bringing him into the open Air? We (ſaid he) have with great pains, in long time, a little recovered him, and will you thus fooliſhly caſt him down again? Pardon us good Doctor (ſaid *Eivaſes*) for theſe Gentlemen (pointing to the Pentioners) were ſo importunate to ſee his Majeſty, that to ſatisfie their deſires, he was content to be led forth of his Chamber; whereof we hope ſhall enſue no harm. The Pentioners ſeeing the King many times moving his hand to his face, and as it were ſtroking his Beard, held themſelves well contented, ſuppoſing him to have been alive, although but weak, and therefore not willing to ſpeak unto them. The Phyſitians taking him up amongſt them, carried him into his Lodging again, which was but faſt by, making as if they had carried an extream ſick man. Thus was his death cunningly concealed one and forty days, until the coming of *Amurath* his Son.

This *Mahomet* was both wiſe and valiant, and withall exceeding bountiful, but Ambitious above meaſure; and may of right be accounted the Reſtorer of the Turks Kingdom; for he recovered again all thoſe Countries in *Aſia*, which *Tamerlane* had taken away and given unto other *Mahometan* Princes, after the Overthrow of *Bajazet*. And when as the Kingdom of the Turks was rent in pieces, and almoſt brought to nought by Civil Wars, and the Ambition of himſelf and his Brethren; he at length got poſſeſſion of the whole, and ſo left it to his Son *Amurath* an entire Kingdom, in the former greatneſs, although not ſo much by him augmented. His body lieth buried in a fair Tomb made of artificial ſtone, very beautiful to behold, in a Chappel at the Eaſt ſide of *Pruſa*, where we leave him at his reſt.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet *the First.*	*Emperors*	*Of the East*	Emanuel Paleologus.	1387.	30.
		Of the West	Rupertus *Duke of* Bavaria.	1400.	10.
			Sigiſmund *King of* Hungary.	1411.	28.
	Kings	*Of* England	Henry *the Fourth.*	1399.	13.
			Henry *the Fifth.*	1413.	9.
		Of France	Charles *the Sixth, ſirnamed, The welbeloved.*	1381.	42.
		Of Scotland	John Stuart, *otherwiſe called* Robert.	1390.	16.
			James *the Firſt.*	1424.	13.
	Biſhops of Rome,		Boniface *the* IX.	1391.	14.
			Innocent *the* VIII.	1405.	2.
			Gregory *the* XII.	1407.	2.
			Alexander *the* V.	1410.	1.
			John *the* XXIII.	1411.	5.
			Martin *the* V.	1417.	13.

The


AMVRATHES SECVNDVS SEXTVS TVRCARVM REX. 1422

Europam luctu et funestis cladibus implens,
Sævus ***Amurathes*** *totus in arma ruit.*
Major at ***Huniades*** *virtute et fortibus ausis,*
Cogit eum trepida vertere terga fuga.
Consilia ***Eugenij*** *bellum furialia suadent,*
Sacrorum antistes Martia ad arma ruit:
(Arma viri tractent, curet sua templa Sacerdos)
Europæ exitium res tulit ista grave.

Fierce ***Amurath****, vers't in warr, do's next arise,*
And fills poore Europe with laments and cries,
Till by the brave ***Huniades*** *outdone,*
The dastard ***Sultan*** *was compell'd to run.*
The Priest ***Eugenius*** *dismall Warrs perswades,*
The privilege of Buff the Gowne invades:
Had the Priest prayd, and let alone the Drum,
Europe had not to such confusion come.

pag: 173.

The LIFE of
AMURATH,
The Second of that NAME,
Sixth King of the Turks,
And the great ESTABLISHER of their Kingdom.

Murat *is the ſame that we call* Deſiderius.

AFter that the death of *Mahomet* had been politickly concealed one and forty days, by the three great Baſſaes *Bajazet*, *Eivaſes*, and *Ibrahim*, *Amurath*, or *Murat* (as the Turks call him) his eldeſt Son, at that time coming to *Pruſa*, was by them placed in his Fathers Seat, and the death of *Mahomet* at the ſame time publiſhed; whereupon great Troubles began on every ſide to ariſe.

Muſtapha *the ſuppoſed Son of* Bajazet *raiſeth Rebellion againſt* Amurath.

The Princes of *Smyrna* and *Menteſia* roſe up in Arms; and at *Theſſalonica*, an obſcure Fellow crept as it were out of a Chimney-corner, took upon him the Name and Perſon of *Muſtapha* the Son of *Bajazet*, which was ſlain many years before, in the great battel againſt *Tamerlane* at Mount *Stella*, as is before declared in the life of the unfortunate Sultan *Bajazet*. This counterfeit *Muſtapha* animated by the *Grecian* Princes, and going from *Theſſalonica* to *Vardarium*, ſet ſo good a Countenance upon the matter, with ſuch a Grace and Majeſty, that not only the Country people (apt to believe any thing) but men of greater Place and Calling alſo, as *Tzunites Beg* the Prince of *Smyrna* his Son, with the Sons of old *Eurenoſes Baſſa*, perſwaded that he was the very Son of the great *Bajazet*, repaired unto him, as unto their natural Prince and Soveraign. From *Vardarium* he went to *Serræ*, and from thence to *Hadrianople*, (*Amurath* being as then at *Pruſa*) where he was received as if it had been that noble Prince *Muſtapha*, whom he feigned himſelf to be; ſo that in ſhort time he was honoured as a King in all parts of the Turkiſh Kingdom in *Europe*.

Amurath to repreſs this ſo great and dangerous a Rebellion, ſent *Bajazet Baſſa* a man of great Authority in his Court, with a ſtrong Army into *Europe*. This great Baſſa paſſing over *Helleſpontus*, found all the Country revolted unto their new found King *Muſtapha*; but marching towards *Hadrianople*, with purpoſe to have given him battel, he was firſt forſaken of the *European* Souldiers which he brought out of *Aſia*, and afterwards of all the reſt alſo; and being left alone, with his Brother *Hamze Beg*, was for ſafeguard of his life glad to yield himſelf to *Muſtapha*, of whom he was graciouſly entertained, and upon promiſe of his Loyalty, ſworn one of his Privy-Council.

Muſtapha thus now poſſeſſed of the Turkiſh Kingdom in *Europe*, and entertaining great thoughts, the better to maintain his credit, levied a great Army to make War upon *Amurath* in *Aſia*. And as he was upon his way, at a place which the Turks call *Saſlidere*, or the place of Willows, his other Counſellors repining at the great Honour he gave to *Bajazet Baſſa*, adviſed him to beware that he truſted him not too far, of whoſe ſmall Faith he had ſufficient trial already, and was like enough when occaſion ſhould ſerve, to revolt from him to *Amurath*, and to draw after him ſome great part of his Army, to the great peril both of himſelf and all them his faithful Servants and Followers. Upon which jealous conceit, this great Baſſa *Bajazet* was there forthwith as a Traytor apprehended, and without further trial executed; at which time his Brother *Hamze* was with much ado ſpared. This done, *Muſtapha* proceeded on his Journey, and paſſed over with his Army at *Callipolis* into *Aſia*. *Amurath* underſtanding of the proceedings of *Muſtapha* in *Europe*, and of his preparation made for his Invaſion of *Aſia*, created three new Baſſaes, *Omer*, *Uruge*, and *Alis*, all three the Sons of *Temurtaſes*; theſe he joyned with his old Baſſaes *Ibrahim* and *Eivaſes*. All theſe five he uſed as Counſellors for the Wars; by whoſe advice he ſent for *Mahomet Beg*, ſirnamed *Michael Ogli*, who in the time that *Muſa* reigned was Vice-Roy in *Europe*, and therefore a man well known to moſt principal men in *Muſtapha* his Army, but had been kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Ameſia*, from the time that *Muſa* was depoſed and put to death by his Brother *Mahomet*, until now that he was after eight years impriſonment, for this ſpecial purpoſe inlarged and received into Favour.

About the ſame time that *Muſtapha* ſet footing in *Aſia*, *Amurath* having gathered his Army, ſet forward from *Pruſa* to meet him; yet with ſuch diſtruſt in his Forces, which were thought to be much inferior to the *European* Souldiers that followed *Muſtapha*, that he was glad upon a ſuperſtitious opinion or zeal, to proſtrate himſelf at the feet of an Emir (one of the falſe Prophet *Mahomets* Poſterity) to receive at his hypocritical Hands a graceleſs Bleſſing for his better ſpeed; by whom he was made to believe, that after two Repulſes, he had with much ado at the third time obtained grant of the great Prophet *Mahomet*, that he ſhould prevail in that War; and thereupon had his Sword girt unto him with the Emir his holy hands, with many other vain and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies. Yet for all theſe Charms, he marched on with his Army in fear enough, until he came to the River of *Ulibad* (otherwiſe called *Rindacus*;) where having Intelligence of the approach of *Muſtapha*, he for fear cauſed the Bridge over the River there to be broken down, and incamped himſelf on that ſide the River. Not long after came *Muſtapha*, and finding the Bridge broken, incamped at the foot thereof on the other ſide ; ſo that nothing parted the two Armies, but the breadth of the River only. Whilſt they lay thus near incamped together, that the Souldiers might on both ſides take the full view one of another, and alſo talk together ; *Mahomet Beg*, ſirnamed *Michael Ogli*, but lately delivered out of his long Impriſonment (as is aforeſaid). came to the River ſide, and with a loud Voice called by name upon the great Captains and old Souldiers that were in *Muſtapha* his Army ; asking by name for many of his old Friends and Acquaintance ; many of them being there preſent, rejoycing to ſee that Honourable Man (whom they ſuppoſed to have been dead in priſon many years before) came gladly to the ſide of the River, to hear what he could ſay.

Then with a loud Voyce he began to perſwade them, that the man whom they followed was not the honourable *Muſtapha*, but ſome baſe high-minded fellow ſet up by the *Grecians*, abuſing the obſcurity of his Birth, as the Vail under the covert whereof he went craftily about to intrude himſelf into the honourable deſcent of *Bajazet* ; and ſo masking in the counterfeit Titles of ſtoln Honour, had miſled them from their Duty to their natural King and Soveraign, to follow him a meer Deceiver. And further aſſured them, that *Muſtapha*, *Bajazet* his Son, was dead and buried in the Bed of Fame 22 years before ; honourably ending his days in defence of his Country, in the great battel of Mount *Stella* againſt *Tamerlane* ; wherefore they ſhould do well to forſake that ſuppoſed *Muſtapha*, and again to yield their dutiful Obedience unto their undoubted Soveraign *Amurath*. Theſe words delivered unto them by *Mahomet*, whom they generally both reverenced and truſted, wrought ſuch effect in their minds, that ſome preſently adventured to ſwim over the River, and joyned themſelves unto him ; and many others that ſtayed ſtill, began now to doubt leſt they had worſhipped a wrong Saint. At the ſame time alſo, *Eivaſes Baſſa*, to terrifie *Muſtapha*, ſent unto him Letters as in great ſecret, advertiſing him, that *Amurath* had the next night purpoſed with his Army to paſs over the River above the broken Bridge; at which time the chief Captains of his Army being (as he ſaid) corrupted, had promiſed to deliver *Muſtapha* into his hands, and with his Head to pay the Ranſom of them all. This he coloured with ſuch fair gloſſes, that *Muſtapha* partly believed the ſame. So when the dead time of the night was come, *Eivaſes* with certain Troops of Horſemen paſſed over the River, at the very ſame place he had in his Letters named ; and that with ſuch a noiſe and tumult, as if *Amurath* with his whole Army had been coming. *Muſtapha* ſeeing things begin thus to work according as *Eivaſes Baſſa* had before written ; and with this, doubting alſo to be preſently betrayed, and carrying about him a guilty Conſcience (the Mother of Fear and Diſtruſt) took Horſe, (ſlenderly accompained but with ten perſons of his whole Army) and fled in haſt, no man purſuing them, until he came to the River of *Boga*, and there with a great Sum of Money obtained paſſage, by corrupting the Captain that dwelt in the Caſtle upon the paſſage of the River ; and the third day after paſſing over the Strait of *Helleſpontus*, landed at *Callipolis*. The flight of *Muſtapha* once known in his Army, they all yielded themſelves unto *Eivaſes Baſſa* ; who taking poſſeſſion of *Muſtapha* his Tent, cauſed the broken Bridge to be repaired ; whereby *Amurath* paſſing with his Army, joyned himſelf with *Eivaſes*. The other Baſſa *Ibrahim*, counſelled *Amurath* to put to the Sword all thoſe Rebels that had followed *Muſtapha* ; but by the mediation of *Eivaſes* (to whom they had yielded themſelves) they were generally pardoned.

Muſtapha *flieth.*

Amurath departing from *Ulibad* or *Lopadium*, came to *Boga*, and there hanged up the Captain that had given *Muſtapha* paſſage. From thence he held on his way to *Lampſacum*, intending to purſue *Muſtapha* into *Europe* ; but being come to the Sea ſide he could find no paſſage, for that *Muſtapha* had cauſed all the ſhipping on that ſide, to be brought over into *Europe*. Yet at laſt *Amurath* by good fortune chanced upon a great *Genoway* Ship, which he hired for four thouſand Ducats to tranſport his Army, and ſo with much ado at length landed in *Europe*. *Muſtapha* ſeeing that *Amurath* was now come over, fled to *Hadrianople*, where he found ſuch cold Entertainment, that fearing to be betrayed, he was glad to ſpeed himſelf thence, thinking all the World too little to hide himſelf in ; and ſo came to an obſcure place in the Country of the Turks, called *Kiſul-Agatze-Genitze* ; where the Souldiers ſent to purſue him, overtook him, and brought him bound to *Amurath*, then being at *Hadrianople* ; by whoſe Commandment he was ſhamefully hanged from the Battlements of one of the higheſt Towers of the City, and there left to the Worlds Wonder.

Muſtapha *hanged.*

This *Muſtapha* is of ſome Writers reported to have been in deed the Son of the great Sultan *Bajazet*, and that he was kept in priſon all that long time, and thus at length ſet up by the Greeks to trouble the State of the Turkiſh Kingdom ; but the Turkiſh Hiſtories report as before, calling him *Duſme* or counterfeit *Muſtapha*. And it is very likely, that if he had been one of the Sons of *Bajazet*, he would have found ſome means to have made ſome great ſtir long before that, as all the reſt of the unquiet Brood of *Bajazet* did, which never reſted until they had, like the Earth-born Brethren, one deſtroyed the other ; beſides that, their bloody Natures conſidered, it is very like, that *Mahomet* his younger Brother, who reigned in *Hadrianople* almoſt eight years, and was in League all that time with the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, would for his more ſafety have got him into his own Power, if he had been in priſon with the Emperor ; or elſe have diſpatched him, if he had been in priſon with himſelf. All which I am the rather perſwaded to think, for that *Orchanes* a Child, the Son of *Solyman*, could find no ſafe place of abode at *Conſtantinople* in the Reign of *Mahomet*, but flying, was apprehended, and his eyes put out, as is before declared in the life of *Mahomet* ; much leſs is it like, that *Muſtapha*, being a Warlike Prince, and his elder Brother, could have been ſo long preſerved and kept in priſon from his fury.

Two **Aſapi** *ſold by a Janizary for a ſheeps head.*

It fortuned in theſe late Broils (as oftentimes it doth with others in like caſe) divers of the Rebels *Aſapi*, or Common Souldiers (whom he for his greater Countenance had apparelled and armed like Janizaries) to fall into the hands of the true Janizaries. *Amurath* his faithful Guard ; whoſe lives indeed they ſpared, but uſing them with all the Deſpight and Indignities poſſible: Amongſt the reſt, one of the Janizaries being an hungred, brought two of theſe *Aſapi* his priſoners unto a Cooks Shop, offering to ſell them unto him for a little Victual ; which the Cook refuſed to give him, as having no uſe for ſuch unneceſſary Servants. Wherewith the proud *Janizary* intaged, ſwore many a great Oath, preſently to cut off their Heads, and to give them him for nought, if he would not for a thing of nought redeem them. And like enough he was to have ſo done, had not the Cook, moved with pity, offered him for them both a ſheeps head; which the *Janizary* took for them, ſwearing that the Cook had given for them more than indeed they were worth. Which diſgrace ſo long ſince done unto theſe *Aſapi*, is yet oftentimes by way of reproach in great contempt, by the maſterful and inſolent Janizaries, objected unto the whole body of the *Aſapi*, the greateſt part of the Turks huge Armies; of whom for all that the proud Janizaries make ſmall reckoning, accounting them ſcarcely for Men, and in their rage oftentimes telling them, That two of them are not worth a ſodden ſheeps head.

Conſtantinople *in vain beſieged by* **Amurath.**

Amurath having at length with much ado thus pacified the dangerous Rebellion raiſed by the counterfeit *Muſtapha* both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, was yet not a little grieved, to think how the ſame had, to the great hazard of his Eſtate, been firſt plotted by the Greeks, and afterwards countenanced by the Greek Emperor, of whom he thought now to be revenged. And therefore ſending before him *Michael Ogli*, his Lieutenant General in *Europe*, with his *Europeian* Souldiers to invade the Country about *Conſtantinople*, followed himſelf after with the Janizaries and his *Aſian* Forces; and incamping before the City, filled all that neck of land which lieth before it, from Sea to Sea. And ſo incamped, began right furiouſly to batter the Walls, in hope ſo to have made a breach, and by the ſame to have entred the City; but finding the Walls of greater ſtrength than he had before ſuppoſed, and the Defendants ſtill repairing whatſoever the fury of his Artillery had beaten down or ſhaken, he ceaſed his Battery, and coming on with all his Forces, deſperately attempted by Aſſault to have gained the City; wherein his Fortune was not anſwerable to his Deſire; for approaching the City, with Arrows as ſhowers falling upon the Defendants, and ſcaling-Ladders in the mean time clapt up to the Walls, and the Janizaries with other of his beſt Souldiers valiantly mounting the ſame, they were by the Defendants notably repulſed and beaten down, loſing ſome their hands, ſome their Arms, ſome their Heads, but moſt their Lives, no Shot falling in vain from the Walls. Which *Amurath* beholding, and grieved to ſee (though unwilling) commanded a Retreat to be ſounded, and the Aſſault given over; and ſhortly after ſeeing no hope to prevail, in great rage raiſed his Siege and departed. Unto whom for all that the Greek Emperor not long after ſent his Embaſſadors to intreat with him for Peace; whereof he would by no means hear, but proudly threatned to be ere long of all his Wrongs revenged; which cauſed the Greek Emperor to deviſe what he might for the troubling of his Eſtate, ſo to keep him otherwiſe buſied; as he did ſhortly after with the *Caramanian* King, by countenancing another *Muſtapha* (ſirnamed *Cutzug* or *the Little*) *Amuraths* younger Brother, againſt him, to the raiſing of new Stirs, and *Amurath* his no ſmall trouble.

Mahomet the late King had five Sons and ſeven Daughters, whereof *Amurath* was the eldeſt, and ſucceeded in his Fathers Kingdom; *Muſtapha* the ſecond, ſirnamed *the Little*; *Achmetes* the third, who died before his Father; the other two, *Joſephus* and *Machmutes*, both died of the Plague, being but Children, after the death of their Father. Three of their Siſters were married to the three Sons of the King of *Caramania*, *Ibrahim*, *Aladin*, and *Iſa*; other two were beſtowed upon the Sons of the Prince *Iſfendiar*, *Ibrahim*, and *Caſimes*; the ſixth was given in marriage to *Cozza-Beg* Vice-Roy of *Anatolia*; and the ſeventh, to the Son of *Ibrahim Baſſa*, who died at *Mecha*, whither ſhe went upon Superſtitious Devotion on Pilgrimage.

At ſuch time as *Amurath* was buſied in his Wars in *Europe*, againſt *Muſtapha* the ſuppoſed Son of *Bajazet*; the younger Son of *Mahomet* (called alſo *Muſtapha*) being but thirteen years old, and *Amurath* his Brother indeed, was ſet up to raiſe new Troubles, by the King of *Caramania* and other Princes, as well Mahometans, as the Chriſtian Princes of *Grecia*; who thought it good policy, by that means to impeach the greatneſs of *Amurath*. This young Prince *Muſtapha* ſtrengthned with the Forces of his Friends, entred into his Brothers Dominions in *Aſia*, and beſieged *Nice*, which was at length yielded unto him. *Amurath* advertiſed of this new Rebellion, by great Gifts and large Promiſes corrupted *Ilias Beg*, the young Princes Tutor, to betray the Prince into his hands. Whereupon *Amurath* with great celerity ſet forward with his Army from *Hadrianople*, and in nine days came to *Nice*, where he entred the City with ſmall reſiſtance, as was to him before promiſed, where *Muſtapha* was by his falſe Tutor to him preſented; who becauſe he would not ſpill one drop of the ſacred *Othoman* blood, (as the Turks call it) commanded the Executioner preſently to ſtrangle him with a Bow-ſtring; which was done accordingly, and his body afterwards buried by his Father at *Pruſa*.

Muſtapha *betrayed and ſtrangled.*

Amurath having ſuppreſſed theſe two Rebellions, and now out of all fear of any Competitor, thought his five Counſellors too many by three, and therefore removed the three Baſſaes, *Omure*, *Urutzi*, and *Alis* (the Sons of *Temurtaſes*) into honourable Places, retaining of his Council, only the two old Baſſaes, *Ibrahim* and *Eivaſes*. But ſhortly after, *Eivaſes* was ſecretly accuſed to *Amurath*, that he ſought by his Favorites, the Souldiers of the Court, to aſpire unto the Kingdom himſelf, and to depoſe the King; and that intending ſome ſuch matter, he did uſually wear a Privy-Coat. This ſuſpitious Report troubled the jealous Tyrant; wherefore on a time as he rid accompanied with *Eivaſes*, he caſt his Arm about him, as if it had been in kindneſs; but finding him ſecretly armed, would needs know the cauſe thereof; whereunto *Eivaſes* anſwered, That it was for fear of ſome Enemies he had in the Court; but this Excuſe could by no means ſerve his turn; wherefore he was forthwith apprehended by the Commandment of *Amurath*, and both his Eyes burnt out with a hot Steel glaſs.

Eivaſes Baſſa *his Eyes put out.*

Whilſt *Amurath* was thus buſied in ſubduing Rebellions at home, *Muhamethes*, the *Caramanian* King beſieged *Attalia*, a great City in *Pamphilia*, by the ſpace of ſix months, which was valiantly defended by *Hamza-beg*, *Amurath* his Lieutenant there; at which Siege the unfortunate King himſelf, as he was taking view of the City, was ſlain with a great ſhot out of the City; whereupon *Ibrahim*, which ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, brake up the Siege, and returned home to bury his Father. At this time alſo, *Dracula* Prince of *Valachia*, paſſing over *Danubius*, did the Turks much harm about *Siliſtra*, but was afterwards enforced to ſubmit himſelf to *Amurath*, and become his Tributary.

The King of **Caramania** *ſlain.*

About this time alſo *Tzunites*, the Prince of

Smyrna, which had before aided the Rebel *Muſtapha*, did by all means he could vex and moleſt *Jaxis-beg*, (*Amurath* his Lieutenant in *Aidinia*) and having by chance taken his Brother Priſoner, put him to death. This Prince of *Smyrna* was deſcended of the ancient Princes of *Aidinia*, and therefore pretended an intereſt in that Seigniory; which his Claim the people of the Country ſecretly favoured, ſo far as they durſt for fear of the Turks. *Amurath* hearing of the harms that this Prince of *Smyrna* did, commanded *Hamze-beg*, Vice-Roy of *Anatolia*, with all his Power to make War upon him. The Vice-Roy without delay aſſembled a great Army, and invaded the Princes Country; and the Prince being well provided for his coming, meeting him upon the way, gave him battel; wherein *Haſan* the Princes Son, leading a great part of his Fathers Army, had put one part of the Turks Army to flight; and purſuing them with too much fury, left his Father at the ſame time ſo hardly beſet by the Vice-Roy, that he was glad to fly to his Caſtle of *Hipſily* faſt by. *Haſan* returning from the chace of the Enemy, not knowing what had happened to his Father, was by the Turks in his return overcome and taken Priſoner. After which Victory the Vice-Roy preſently laid Siege to the Caſtle wherein the Prince was. This Siege continued a great while; at length the Prince brought to extremity, was content to yield himſelf unto the Vice-Roy, upon condition he ſhould uſe no violence againſt the Perſon of himſelf or his Son, but to ſend them Priſoners unto *Amurath*; which thing the Vice-Roy by ſolemn Oath promiſed, whereupon the Prince came out of the Caſtle, and yielded himſelf Priſoner to the Vice-Roy. *Jaxis-beg*, whoſe Brother the Prince had before put to death, attended the going of *Hamze* the Vice-Roy to his Tent, where finding *Haſan* the Princes Son ſitting upon the ground, as the manner of the Turks is, took him by the choler with great fury, and drawing him along to the Feet of the Prince his Father, there moſt cruelly ſtruck off his head; and in the ſame rage laying his bloody hands upon the aged Prince, ſtruck off his head alſo; to the great diſhonour of the Vice-Roy, who had before given his Faith for their ſafety. The heads of the Prince and his Son were ſet upon two Launces, within the ſight of the Caſtle; which the Defendants ſeeing, and now deſpairing of all reſcue, yielded themſelves with the Caſtle This infortunate *Tzunites* was the laſt Prince of *Smyrna*, after whoſe death all his Territory was united to the *Othoman* Kingdom. After all theſe Troubles, *Amurath* with great Triumph married the Daughter of the Prince *Iſendiar*.

Amurath having laid up in the depth of his thoughts the remembrance of that the *Grecian* Princes had done, in giving Aid to the Rebels aforeſaid, thought it now high time to take revenge of that wrong; and for that purpoſe gathered a great Army, wherewith he ranged at his pleaſure through *Macedonia*, until he came to *Theſſalonica*, ſurpriſing by the way divers Cities and Caſtles, at that time belonging to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire. This famous City of *Theſſalonica*, now called *Salonichi*, for beauty and wealth ſometime not inferior to any of the greateſt and moſt renowned Cities of *Græcia*, is ſituate upon the Borders of *Macedonia*, cloſe unto a Bay of the *Archipelago* or the Sea *Ægeum*; which Bay was in ancient time called *Thermaicus-Sinus*, and now the Bay of *Salonichi*. To the Chriſtian Congregation there dwelling, St. *Paul* wrote two Epiſtles, in the latter whereof, he forewarneth them of a great Defection to come before the latter day. Before this Chriſtian City, then in the Protection of the *Venetians*, *Amurath* encamped his great Army of misbelieving Turks; and laid hard Siege to it with moſt terrible Battery; at which time he by ſecret means corrupted certain of the wicked Citizens, to have betrayed the City by a ſecret Mine, and to have let him in, which Treaſon was by the *Venetian* Governors perceived, and the Plotters thereof for ſafeguard of their lives glad to leap over the Walls, and to fly into the Turks Camp.

Theſſalonica beſieged.

Amurath having greatly battered the Walls of the City, the more to encourage his Souldiers, promiſed to give them all the Spoil thereof, if they could by force win it. The greedy deſire of this rich Prey, wherein every common Souldier promiſed unto himſelf whatſoever his fooliſh fancy or unbrideled affection could deſire, ſo inflamed the minds of theſe barbarous Souldiers, and eſpecially of the Janizaries, that giving a moſt terrible Aſſault to the City, they by force entred the ſame, and won it. The *Venetian* Souldiers fled to their Gallies, lying at Anchor in the Haven, and ſo got to Sea; but the infinite miſeries which the poor Chriſtian Citizens endured in the fury of that barbarous Nation, no Tongue is able to expreſs, or Pen deſcribe; death was leſs pain than the ignominious Outrages and unſpeakable Villanies which many good Chriſtians there ſuffered, heartily wiſhing to die, and could not; and yet the furious Enemies Sword devoured all the people, without reſpect of Age or Sex, except ſuch as for ſtrength of body, or comelineſs of perſon, were reſerved for painful labour or beaſtly luſt; which poor Souls were afterwards diſperſed into moſt miſerable ſervitude and ſlavery, through all parts of the Turkiſh Kingdom. The infinite Riches of that famous City, became a ſpoil unto the barbarous Souldiers; the goodly Houſes were left deſolate, void of Inhabitants. Thus the beautiful City of *Theſſalonica*, ſometime one of the moſt glorious Ornaments of *Græcia*, the late pleaſant dwelling-place of many rich Chriſtians, was by the Tyrant given for an habitation to ſuch baſe Turks, as at their pleaſure repaired thither to ſeat themſelves, and ſo is by them at this day poſſeſſed. This Calamity happened to *Theſſalonica*, in the year of our Lord, 1432.

Theſſalonica taken by Amurath.

Theſſalonica being thus taken, *Amurath* returned to *Hadrianople* himſelf, and at the ſame time ſent *Caratze* with the greateſt part of his Army into *Ætolia*. *Charles* Prince of that Country dying a little before the coming of *Amurath* to *Theſſalonica*, and having no lawful Iſſue, had divided the Country of *Acharnania* amongſt his three baſe Sons, *Memnon*, *Turnus*, and *Hercules*, leaving all the reſt of his Dominion to his Brothers Son, called alſo *Charles*. But ſhortly after, ſuch diſcord fell among theſe Brethren, that *Amurath* ſending his Turks to Aid one of them againſt the other, as he was by them requeſted, in fine brought all that Country of *Ætolia* into Subjection to Himſelf, leaving nothing for the fooliſh Brethren to ſtrive for, more than the bare titles of imaginative Honour. The other *Grecian* Princes of *Athens*, *Phocis*, *Boetia*, and all the reſt of *Græcia*, unto the ſtrait of *Corinth*, terrified by their Neighbours harms, were glad to ſubmit themſelves to the barbarian Yoke, and to become Tributaries unto the Turkiſh Tyrant; under which ſlavery they of long time moſt miſerably lived, if intollerable ſlavery joyned with Infidelity may be accounted a life. Thus the *Grecians* loſt their Liberty, which their Anceſtors had many times before, to their immortal

Praiſe, worthily defended againſt the greateſt Monarchs of the World, and are now ſo degenerate, by the means of the Turkiſh Oppreſſion, that in all *Græcia* is hardly to be found any ſmall remembrance of the ancient Glory thereof; inſomuch that whereas they were wont to account all other Nations barbarous in compariſon of themſelves, they are now become no leſs barbarous, than thoſe rude Nations whom they before ſcorn'd. Which miſery with a thouſand more, they may juſtly impute to their own Ambition and Diſcord.

At this time, amongſt the diſtreſſed Princes of *Macedonia* and *Græcia*, one *John Caſtriot* reigned in *Epirus*; who ſeeing how mightily the Turk prevailed againſt the Princes his Neighbours, and conſidering that he was not able by any means to withſtand ſo puiſſant an Enemy; to obtain Peace, he was glad to deliver into *Amurath* his Poſſeſſion, his four Sons, *Staniſius*, *Repoſius*, *Conſtantine*, and *George*, for Hoſtages; whom *Amurath* faithfully promiſed, well and honourably to entreat. But aſſoon as he had got them within his reach, he falſified his Faith, and cauſed them to be circumciſed after the Turkiſh manner, and to be inſtructed in the Turkiſh Superſtition, to the great grief of their Chriſtian Parents; and afterwards, when he underſtood of the death of *John Caſtriot* their Father, he poiſoned all the three elder Brethren; and by *Sebaly* (one of his great Captains) ſeiſed upon *Croia*, his chief City, and all the reſt of his Territories, as if they had by good right devolved unto him. But *George* the youngeſt, whom the Turks named *Scander-beg*, or *Lord Alexander*, for his excellent Feature, and pregnant Wit, he always entirely loved, as ſome thought, more paſſionately than he ſhould have loved a Boy. Him he cauſed to be diligently inſtructed in all kind of activity and feats of War, wherein he excelled all other his Equals in *Amurath* his Court; and riſing by many degrees of Honour, came at laſt (being yet but very young) to be a great Sanzack or Governor of a Province, and was many times appointed by *Amurath* to be General of his Armies; in which Service he ſo behaved himſelf, that he got the love of all that knew him, and increaſed his credit with *Amurath*; until at laſt he found opportunity by great policy and courage, to deliver both himſelf and his native Country from the horrible ſlavery of the Turkiſh Tyranny, as ſhall be afterwards declared.

Shortly after that *Amurath* had thus danted the Princes of *Græcia*, he turned his Forces into *Servia*; but the Prince of *Servia* unable to withſtand ſo mighty an Enemy, to procure his Favour, ſent Embaſſadors, offering to pay him a yearly Tribute, and to do further what he ſhould reaſonably demand. *Amurath* beſide the yearly Tribute, required to have *Mary* (this Princes fair Daughter) in marriage; and that he ſhould not ſuffer the *Hungarians* to paſs through his Country to invade him; and further, not at any time to deny paſſage unto the Turkiſh Army, when he ſhould ſend forth the ſame for the Invaſion of the Kingdom of *Boſna*. All which unreaſonable conditions the Prince was glad to agree unto, and ſent his fair Daughter by *Sararze*, who was afterwards married to *Amurath*.

A Plague among the Turks.

About this time, *Joſephus* and *Machmutes*, *Amurath* his Brethren, and *Orchanes* the Son of *Solyman*, who had his Eyes put out by his Uncle *Mahomet*, with many other Men of great account among the Turks, died of the Plague at *Pruſa*.

Whilſt *Amurath* was thus buſied in his Wars in *Europe*, the King of *Caramania* his Brother in law, invaded his Dominions in *Aſia*; for ſo it was agreed between the Chriſtian Princes of *Europe*, and the Mahometan Princes of *Aſia*, to whom the greatneſs of the *Othoman* Kingdom was now become dreadful, That whenſoever he invaded the Chriſtians in *Europe*, the Mahometan Princes ſhould invade his Countries in *Aſia*; and that whenſoever he ſhould turn his Forces into *Aſia*, the Chriſtian Princes ſhould ſpoil his Countries in *Europe*.. Againſt this *Caramanian* King, *Amurath* tranſported his Army into *Aſia*; and as he went, ſeiſed upon the Countries of *Sarucania*, *Menteſia*, and other Provinces, which were before but Tributaries unto him, driving out the poor Princes before him; and ſo entred into *Caramania*, and inforced the King ſo far, that he was glad to agree to ſuch conditions of Peace as it pleaſed him to propound unto him, and to ſend his Son to wait at his Court. And at the ſame time picking a Quarrel with *Iſfendiar* Prince of *Caſtamona*, cauſed him to become his Tributary, and to ſend his Son to his Court alſo. By which means the name of *Amurath* became terrible to all the Mahometan Princes.

When *Amurath* had thus quieted all his Troubles in *Aſia*, he returned to *Hadrianople*; and underſtanding that the *Hungarians* paſſing over *Danubius*, had in his abſence made divers Incurſions into his Dominions, he was therewith greatly offended; and in Revenge thereof firſt ſent *Alis Baſſa* the Son of *Eurenoſes*, with an Army to invade *Hungaria*, which he performed accordingly by the ſpace of a month, and returned from thence with rich Booty. Not long after, he himſelf in Perſon made another Road into *Hungary*, commanding the Prince of *Servia* his Father in law, to give his Army free paſſage through his Country; and charging *Dracula* Prince of *Valachia* to aid him with his Forces in that Expedition; which his Commandment both the Chriſtian Princes (more for fear, than of good will) diligently performed. So *Amurath* having inriched his Souldiers with the ſpoil taken in *Hungary*, returned home and wintred at his Court at *Hadrianople*.

Hungary *ſpoiled by* Amurath.

The ſecret Confederation between the *Hungarians* and the Mahometan King of *Caramania*, was not unſuſpected of *Amurath*, which he was the rather induced to believe, for that whenſoever he invaded the one, he was preſently ſet upon by the other, either in *Europe* or in *Aſia*; of which Plot he doubted not but that *George* Prince of *Servia* (his Father in law) was chief Author, although in ſhew he was therein the leaſt Actor. Wherefore *Amurath* intending to ſpoil the Play, ſent for the Prince his Father in law to come to the Court of *Hadrianople*; but he doubting ſome Turkiſh Tragedy, pretended great occaſions that he could not come; and fearing that which afterwards fell out, fortified and manned all his ſtrong Cities and Caſtles by all means he could poſſibly, eſpecially his chief City *Semendre* (otherwiſe called *Spenderovia*) and left therein his Son *Gregory* (or as ſome call him, *George*) as Governor; for his other Son *Stephen* was long before in *Amurath* his Court, with the Queen his Siſter. The Prince of *Servia* himſelf went into *Hungary* to procure from thence ſome Aid, having there alſo himſelf certain Territories, which he had in exchange of *Sigiſmundus* (late Emperor and King of *Hungary*) for the City of *Belgrade*. It was not long after, but *Amurath* forgetting both the Affinity and League he had with the Prince his Father in law, entred with a great Army into *Servia*, deſtroying all before him, and hardly beſieged *Semendre*; where,

Amurath *contrary to his Faith invadeth* Servia *and ſubdueth it.*

after long Siege the young Governor (the Princes Son) doubting to fall into his Enemies hands by ſudden Aſſault, yielded himſelf, with the City; which thing ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the *Servians*, that in ſhort time, *Sophia*, *Novomont*, with all the reſt of the Cities of *Servia*, were yielded into the Power of *Amurath*. After which Conqueſt he returned to *Hadrianople*, and hearing that the Prince of *Servia* with the *Hungarians*, were making head againſt him, and that the two young *Servian* Princes, *Gregory* and *Stephen*, his Wives Brethren, had Intelligence with their Father, he commanded them both to be caſt in priſon at *Dydimoticum*, and their Eyes cruelly to be burnt out with a brazen Baſon made red hot; a common unmerciful practiſe among the Turks.

About this time, *Albertus* Duke of *Auſtria*, having before married *Elizabeth* the only Daughter of *Sigiſmund* the Emperor, and ſucceeding his Father in law both in the Empire and Kingdom of *Hungary* (unto which Type of higheſt Honour nothing more furthered him than the remembrance of *Sigiſmund*) in the ſecond year of his Reign, before he was well ſetled in thoſe new atchieved Honours, died of the Flux, as he was making great preparation againſt *Amurath* the Turkiſh King; who having lately driven *George* Prince of *Servia* and *Raſcia* out of his Dominions, had now extended the Turkiſh Kingdom even unto the borders of *Hungary*. This *Albertus* dying, left his Wife great with child. The *Hungarians*, in whoſe minds the remembrance of *Sigiſmund* was yet freſh, could have been contented to have lived under the Government of the Queen his Daughter, the Widow of *Albertus* (then great with child;) but that Turkiſh King was now grown ſo great, and come ſo nigh, that it was thought more than needful by *John Huniades*, and other of the *Hungarian* Nobility, for the defence of that Kingdom, not wholly to reſt upon the devotion of the people toward the Queen, and the expectation of her Iſſue, whereby they ſhould be nothing ſtrengthned; but to make choice of ſome great Prince, by whoſe Power they might the better defend themſelves and the Kingdom againſt their dangerous Enemies. Whereupon with conſent of the Queen, it was reſolved upon, to make choice of *Uladiſlaus*, the young King of *Polonia*, then a Prince of great Power, but of far greater Fame and Expectation; and by Embaſſadors to offer unto him the marriage of the Queen, and with her, the Kingdom alſo. This Embaſſage being ſent unto *Uladiſlaus*, the matter was to and fro debated in the *Polonian* Court, Whether it were to be accepted of or not? Some began to ſpeak of the inequality of the Match, conſidering that the King was but in the prime of his Youth, and the Queen well ſtept into years, urging farther, that nothing was offered in that Match but Wars; and that the *Hungarians* therein ſought for nothing more, than by the *Polonian* Forces to defend themſelves againſt the Turks. Others of the contrary opinion, ſaid, That the uniting of thoſe two mighty Kingdoms would be to the great good of them both, and to the great Honour of the King, whoſe very name would thereby become terrible unto the Turks; and that it were greater policy, by the Forces of both the Kingdoms, to keep the Turkiſh King from entring into *Hungary*, than to leave that Kingdom to him for a prey, and afterward be inforc'd to fight with the ſame Enemy in the heart of *Polonia*. And as for inequality of years betwixt the King and the Queen, it was not ſo great a matter, that in regard thereof ſo honourable and commodious Alliance ſhould be rejected; for as much as Princes do more regard the Vertues of their Choice, with the increaſe of their Honour and Wealth of their Kingdoms, than the Summer-Fruit of Youth and Beauty, which of it ſelf in ſhort time doth rot and periſh, although it be never ſo carefully kept and preſerved; and that for as much as there can be but one King in a Kingdom, ſuch choice was to be preferred of Kings as had not therein the greateſt hope of many Children. After long deliberation, *Uladiſlaus* gave anſwer to the Embaſſadors, That he would accept of the Offers by them made, whereupon ſome of them returned to make Relation to the Queen, and ſome of them ſtayed behind to haſten the King forward. But whilſt theſe things were a doing, the Queen in the mean time was delivered of a fair Son, whom ſhe cauſed to be baptized and named *Ladiſlaus*. After the birth of this Child, the Queen moved with a Motherly affection, began to repent her ſelf, that ſhe had given her conſent for the calling in of the *Polonian* King, to the prejudice of her. And being animated by ſome of the *Hungarian* Nobility (who preſuming of the good Grace they were in with the Queen, hoped to grow great themſelves, if they might firſt draw the Government of that Kingdom to the Queen and her young Son) determined now by all means to exclude the *Polonian* King; but the greater part of the Nobility better conſidering what was moſt expedient for the preſent Eſtate, and that they could neither with Honour or Safety fly from that which was before (for the common good) by the Embaſſadors concluded; continued firm in their former Reſolution for the bringing in of *Uladiſlaus*; ſo that by this means, ſome taking part with the Queen and her young Son, and others ſtanding faſt for *Uladiſlaus*, the Kingdom of *Hungary* was divided into two Factions, and as it were rent in pieces, and ſo grew to Civil Wars. The Queen with ſuch as favoured her Claim, the more to gain the minds of the common people (which are many times no leſs carried away with ſhews than matter) cauſed her Son *Ladiſlaus* (being then but three months old) ſolemnly to be Crowned King at *Alba-Regalis*, the uſual place for the Coronation of the *Hungarian* Kings. But after that the *Polonian* King had entred into *Hungary* with a goodly Army, and joyned his Forces with his Friends, moſt part of them which before followed the Queen and her Son, revolted unto *Uladiſlaus*. So that when ſhe had done what ſhe could, ſhe was glad at laſt to commit the tuition of her Son, together with the Crown of *Hungary*, unto *Frederick* the Third, then Emperor; never ceaſing for all that, to the uttermoſt of her Power, to trouble the Government of *Uladiſlaus*, continually ſtirring up great Wars againſt him both at home and abroad, until that at the laſt by her death her quarrel took end, together with her life.

Uladiſlaus *accepteth of the Kingdom offered.*

In the midſt of theſe Civil Wars, *Amurath* thought a fair opportunity preſented unto him, to make an Entrance unto the Conqueſt of *Hungary*, which Kingdom he had in his ambitious mind already devoured. And therefore gathering a great Army, he marched along the River *Danubius*, until he came to the ſtrong City of *Belgrade*, called in ancient time *Taurunum*, and of ſome *Alba Græca*, but now commonly *Grecis Weiſenburg*. This City is invironed on the Eaſt ſide with the famous River *Danubius*, and on the South with the great River of *Savus* or *Save*, which there falleth into *Danubius*; and on the other two ſides is defended with ſtrong Walls, with

Belgrade *beſieged of the Turks.*

deep

Belgrade *in vain aſſaulted.*

deep and large Ditches; and was then accounted the Gate or Entrance into *Hungary*. Unto this City *Amurath* at his firſt coming gave two terrible Aſſaults, and was in good hope ſo to have won the ſame, but yet was both times valiantly repulſed, with great ſlaughter of his men. Wherefore finding it to be a matter of more difficulty than was by him at the firſt ſuppoſed, he began to raiſe Mounts againſt the City, and high Towers of Wood to annoy the Defendants, and furiouſly battered the Walls. At this time alſo he cauſed great numbers of Gallies and ſmall Pinnaces to be brought into both the Rivers of *Danubius* and *Save*, to aſſault the City on thoſe parts where was leaſt feared, and by that means alſo to keep them of the City from all Succors to be ſent that way out of *Hungary*. Yet for all he could do or deviſe, the City was ſtill valiantly defended by the Chriſtian Souldiers, which under the leading and conduct of *Johannes Uranus* a *Florentine*, Governor thereof, with often Sallies and continual Shot ſlew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this Siege, *Uladiſlaus* King of *Polonia*, and lately Elect King of *Hungary*, was ſore troubled by the Queen and her Faction in *Hungary*; which thing the Turkiſh King knew right well, and thereupon continued his Siege, although Famine began greatly to increaſe in his Camp; hoping in nothing more, than that the Defendants deſpairing of help from the King, would in ſhort time yield up the City. *Uladiſlaus* being ſo intangled with Civil Wars, as is aforeſaid, that he could not poſſibly prepare ſuch Force as might relieve the beſieged City; yet foraſmuch as the Turkiſh King had not long before by his Embaſſador required to joyn with him in League and Amity, he thought good now to aſſay if he could raiſe the Siege, by ſending unto him the like Embaſſage. Whereupon he ſent *Dobrogoſius*, *Oſtrorogenus*, and *Lucas Gorſenſis*, three of the *Polonian* Nobility, Embaſſadors unto *Amurath*; declaring unto him, That for ſo much as he had offered by his Embaſſadors, to joyn with him in League before he came out of *Polonia*, the remembrance thereof had taken ſuch deep impreſſion in his mind, that he would not take up Arms againſt him, although it were in his own juſt defence, before he had offered him reaſonable Conditions of Peace; wherefore if he would deſiſt from invading of *Hungary* (whereof *Uladiſlaus* was now by God his permiſſion, and conſent of the people, choſen King) and ſo raiſe his Siege, that then they ſhould afterwards eaſily agree upon the deſired Peace; in concluding whereof, he ſhould not find *Uladiſlaus* inferior to himſelf in any manner of Princely courteſie; but if he had rather proceed in Arms, and to make proof of his ſtrength, he would then do the beſt that he could, to make him know that he was of ſufficient Power, in ſo juſt a quarrel to withſtand his greateſt Forces, and to revenge the Wrongs to him done. When *Amurath* had received this Embaſſage, he appointed the Embaſſadors to withdraw themſelves for a while to *Synderovia* (a City of *Servia*, not far off) until he might better conſider of their Demands; pretending, that he did it for their ſafety; but as appeared afterward, ſecretly reſolving with himſelf, preſently to do his uttermoſt devoir, for the gaining of the City, and upon the Succeſs thereof to ſhape them anſwer accordingly. Wherefore ſo ſoon as the Embaſſadors were departed to *Synderovia*, he firſt by his Meſſengers aſſayed the minds of the Citizens and Souldiers with magnifical Promiſes of large Liberties, and infinite Rewards and Preferments, if they would yield up the City; and many Arrows with Letters made faſt unto them, full of like Promiſes, were at the ſame time ſhot into the City. But when he ſaw no hope to prevail by that means, he called together the Captains and Commanders of his Army, and there in the preſence of them all, ſpake unto them as followeth:

The notable Speech of Amurath *to encourage his Souldiers to the aſſault of* Belgrade.

Although I know it is in mine own Power, to grant, or not to grant, the Peace whereof our Enemies have made a motion; yet it is my pleaſure (worthy Souldiers) to know your minds alſo. For ſo much as we have that War in hand, wherein with worldly Felicity, (whereof amongſt you I hold the chief Place) is alſo endangered our Religion, and purity of Life; the defence and care whereof equally belongeth unto us all; for although we differ much one from another in the manner of our Vocation, and living here, yet after death we all hope for one and the ſelf ſame Felicity. And therefore I would have you to underſtand all that I ſhall ſay, as proceeding not of any regard of mine own Private, but upon the conſideration of the Common Good of you all. For as concerning mine own Eſtate, I poſſeſs ſo large Countries in Aſia, *ſuch great Dominions in* Europe, *that either part thereof (in good time be it ſaid) might ſeem a ſufficient Kingdom; ſo that perhaps it might better ſtand with my Eſtate, to take more care, for keeping of that I have, than to travel for the gaining of more; but you are to conſider with your ſelves, whether you have every man ſufficient to ſuffice himſelf or not, and how long you think your ſelves aſſured of the ſame; and moreover, that together with theſe worldly things, we ſhall be driven at length to forſake our Profeſſion and Religion, if we ſhall now lay down Arms. For our Enemies require, that we ſhould firſt ceaſe from War, and then afterwards they think it meet to talk of Peace. I will not ſpeak of the Indignity, that men beſieged, and in evil plight, ſhould propound conditions of Peace to them that beſiege them, and are well furniſhed of all things; that feeble and cowardly men ſhould promiſe peace unto couragious and expert Souldiers; I omit what labour and pains we have taken in laying our Siege, in raiſing of Mounts, in making of Shipping; all which our Enemies command us to forſake, as if they had us already bound or couped up in hold, as we have them. All* Bulgaria, *and the greater part of* Raſcia *is now by us conquered, and moſt part of* Servia *is at our Command; all which places are by us either to be kept, or elſe all the reſt of that we poſſeſs in* Europe, *is with them to be quite loſt and forſaken. Whoſoever ſhall have in their Power this City which we beſiege (and that our Enemies know right well) ſhall have not only as it were a Fortreſs and Bulwark of defence for his own, but alſo a Caſtle and Entrance for the ſubduing of others. The Kingdom of* Hungary *is now divided in it ſelf, and full of domiſtical Sedition; neither is it ſo much ſtrengthned by the uniting of the Kingdom of* Polonia, *as it is by civil diſſention weakned. And in this motion of Peace nothing is ſought for, but to gain time for the pacifying of their private Quarrels, that they may afterward with their double Forces ſet upon us. For if we ſhall break up our Siege before we have won the City, they will eaſily find delays ſo long to protract the concluſion of Peace, until that either* Uladiſlaus *his good Fortune, or elſe the* Hungarians *being of themſelves better adviſed, ſhall make an end of their Civil Wars. What manner and conditions of Peace will they then require of us, when they are at Unity amongſt themſelves, and in Arms againſt us; ſeeing that now being in danger with mutual Diſcord, and almoſt by us vanquiſhed, they think it reaſonable (as if they had won the Field) that we ſhould firſt raiſe our Siege, and then intreat of Peace? Their proud Demands for the Reſtitution of* Bulgaria *and* Raſcia, *with other*

Countries and Cities won by our travel and danger, already ſound in mine ears; which if we ſhall refuſe to grant, not only the Hungarians *being then at Unity among themſelves, but alſo the* Polonians, *joyned unto them, will bring thoſe Wars home to our doors, which we now at great advantage make upon them, troubled with diſcord and civil broils. And if for deſire of Peace we could be content to yield unto ſuch ſhameful and miſerable Conditions, and reſtore unto them all they ſhould or in reaſon could deſire; do you think the Prince of* Servia *would reſt contented with his own, whoſe haughty mind (I am ſure) being inflate with the combining of two ſuch mighty Kingdoms, thinketh not only of the recovery of that he hath loſt, but even now gapeth at all that is Ours in* Europe. *He will not think himſelf ſatisfied, before he (having brought the* Hungarian *and* Polonian *Forces againſt us) ſhall ſee the ſame havock and ſpoil made in our Kingdom with Fire and Sword, which he hath before ſeen made by us in his own. Where if his Fortune ſhould anſwer his Deſigns (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) deſire all the miſerable and intolerable Outrages, which are to be feared of an angry Conqueror, it is accounted with them for a godly and religious Work, to uſe all cruel and unſpeakable Villanies againſt our Nation, except we will forſake the Faith and Religion delivered unto us by our Anceſtors, and follow their new and incredible Ceremonies. Neither do they think they can more eaſily and effectually procure the Favor of God with any kind of Sacrifice or Service, than by overthrowing and prophaning our Temples, by ſcoffing at our moſt ſacred and ſecret Rites and Ceremonies, by ſcorning our Religion and Prieſts; and that you may know all the Fury wherewith they rage againſt us and our Religion, they account all them for holy Saints which die in fight againſt us. There is no cauſe (valiant Souldiers) that upon the vain hope of Peace, we ſhould expect whilſt the Enemy doth gather and unite his Forces and Arms againſt us, eſpecially ſuch an Enemy as propoundeth not ſpoil and worldly Honours, but Immortality it ſelf, as a reward of his Victory. We have already taken much more labour than we have to take, we have filled the Ditches with reſtleſs labour, we have caſt up Bulwarks equal with the Walls, and part of the Walls we have beaten even with the ground, ſo that you ſee the Town half opened; and that Town, by gaining whereof, all that Ours is, may be made ſafe and quiet; and that which our Enemy poſſeſſeth, ſubject to our ſpoil and prey. If you will but a little enforce your ſelves, as men mindful of our good Fortune and forwardneſs, you ſhall find our Temples, our Sacrifices, our Religion, all worldly and heavenly felicity to be then aſſured unto us, when as you ſhall to morrow overthrow the very Foundation of the Enemies Wall. Then (couragious Souldiers) we may cry, Victory, not for the preſent, but for ever. If this War ſhould bring unto us nothing elſe but an aſſured ſecurity of our Eſtate, it were ſufficient reward; for which we ought chearfully to adventure our ſelves to all dangers, and to challenge in Combate even death it ſelf. But as this Victory doth defend all our things as with a deep Trench, or ſure Wall, ſo doth it lay open and expoſe all our Enemies Dominions unto danger and ſpoil. Hitherto we have ſtriven with Nature her ſelf in the rough and abrupt Mountains of* Bulgaria *and* Raſcia, *where we were to ſtrive with Hunger, Thirſt, Labour, and Deſperation; all them we have overcome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attain unto the Wealth of fruitful* Hungary, *from whence we muſt fetch the guerdon of our Victory, and the ground of out Glory. We are come to the Gates, which being laid open, we are not to paſs over inacceſſible Rocks, or uncoth Deſarts, but we ſhall go through moſt pleaſant places, decked both by Nature her ſelf, and the induſtry of man; where the temperateneſs of the Air, and lively Springs, with the fruitfulneſs of the Soil, doth every where yield plenty of all manner of food both for Man and Beaſt, not only to ſerve for Natures neceſſity, but even to glut our wanton deſires. What thing ſoever curious endeavour hardly bringeth forth in other places, that the fertility of the Soil yieldeth plentifully of it ſelf; ſo that it is to be thought, that Nature adorned* Hungary *with a certain extraordinary Care, when as ſhe would ſet forth a pattern of good Husbandry for other Countries to imitate. Neither hath ſhe in any place been more bountiful in beſtowing her rich Gifts; for Gold, which other men moſt painfully dig up, and that in few places, the* Hungarians *gather at their eaſe, as if it were a growing Plant. It is in your power (worthy Souldiers) whether you will to morrow open a way to all theſe good things for your ſelves for ever, or elſe leave the way open for your Enemies unto all that you hold. I would that you would remember when you go unto the Breach, that all the ſtore of happy Fortune is laid open unto you for a Prey, without any other defence, without any other Garriſon, without any other Keeper; and that behind you are your Wives, Children, your Houſes, your Temples, and Religion, together with the rewards of all your former Victories; over whom, except you win this City, the fury and inſolency of the victorious Enemy will moſt cruelly and ſhamefully inſult. I, according as I ſhall ſee you fight at the Breach to morrow, ſhall eaſily perceive how you are ſet down to Command as Conquerors, or elſe as Slaves to be commanded; and alſo what to anſwer to the moſt inſolent Demands of the proud Embaſſadors. In the mean time make much of your ſelves, and together with your Armor have all things in readineſs, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may aſſault the Breach.*

The Turkiſh Captains for that time joyfully departed, as if they had been already aſſured of the Victory, and of all thoſe good things which *Amurath* had ſo lively ſet before their eyes: The next morning very early, *Amurath* commanded the Aſſault to be given to a great Breach which he had made in the Wall with continual Battery; the Souldiers with great courage aſſailed the Breach, eſpecially the Janizaries, who under the leading of *Haly Baſſa* valiantly won the ſame, and were entring the City with aſſured hope of Victory. The Chriſtians ſeeing all in danger to be loſt, running to the Breach from all parts of the City, ſo forcibly charged the proud Janizaries on every ſide, that they were glad to retire with more haſt than they before entred; in which Retreat many of them were ſlain, and the reſt flying out at the Breach, were either ſlain, or burnt to death in the Town-Ditch with Wild-fire; whereof the Defendants had caſt great ſtore upon the Turks at the Breach, which having taken hold upon the Faggots, Hurdles, and other light matter, wherewith the Turks had upon the ſudden made their way over the Town-Ditch, did ſo terribly burn, that the Janizaries which had entred the Breach, being again repulſed, were in that fiery Lake conſumed, or elſe with ſmoke ſtrangled. In this Aſſault *Amurath* is reported to have loſt 8000 of his beſt Men, beſide 7000 others overwhelmed or ſtrangled in the Mines, by the Countermines of the Chriſtians. The other part of the Turks, which at the ſame time aſſaulted the City by Water, out of their Gallies and ſmall Ships, had as evil or rather worſe Succeſs; many of them were ſunk with great Shot, and ſome burnt by the fire caſt from the Walls, and ſo fired one another; and divers of them in that ſudden fear, for avoiding of that preſent danger, ran aground upon the ſhelfs in the River, and ſo ſplit. *Amurath* wonderfully diſcouraged with the

Belgrade *notably defended by the Chriſtians.*

ſlaughter of his men, and ſhamefully beaten from the Aſſault, returned to his Camp with his Turks, much like men which had lately eſcaped from ſome great ſhipwrack. And thus partly by Famine, and partly by the Defendants force, having loſt the greateſt part of his Army, he determined now after ſeven months Siege to return home. Yet becauſe he would not encourage his Enemies by ſhewing his fear, he ſent for the Embaſſadors into the Camp, and with ſtern Countenance anſwered them in this ſort:

Amurath *his anſwer to the Embaſſadors.*

We will (ſaid he) *then talk of Peace, when* Uladiſlaus *ſhall deliver unto us all that part of* Raſcia *which he yet holdeth, and alſo this City of* Belgrade *as a pledge of the League. And for this time I will raiſe my Siege, to give* Uladiſlaus *time to adviſe himſelf; yet I would wiſh him rather to accept of my friendſhip upon theſe Conditions, than by denying that little which is demanded, to hazard the State of both his Kingdoms. I ask but that which is mine own by Law of Arms, before* Uladiſlaus *was called into* Hungary; *and the* Hungarians *cannot transfer unto him that Right which they had not themſelves. Wherefore if he will proceed rather to ſtrive for that which is other mens, than quietly to poſſeſs his own, I will in good time repair hither again, with my God the Beholder and Revenger of Wrong.*

With this Anſwer he diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors, and forthwith roſe with his Army, ſore repenting his coming thither; yet becauſe he would take ſomething in his way, he left his Nephew *Iſa-Beg* with certain Troops of Horſemen at *Scopia* in *Servia*, who ſo troubled the King of *Boſna*, that he was glad to require Peace of *Amurath*, and to promiſe unto him a yearly Tribute of five and twenty thouſand Ducats.

Uladiſlaus newly elected King of *Hungary*, ſeeing that part of his Kingdom which is called *Tranſylvania* or *Pannodacia*, to be much ſubject to the Incurſion of the Turks, (who having got into their poſſeſſion all the Country of *Moldavia*, and grown inſolent by continual Victories, ceaſed not to invade and ſpoil the Country of *Tranſylvania*) for remedy of that daily miſchief, created *John Huniades* Vayvod, or his Vice-Gerent in *Tranſylvania*. This *Huniades* (as ſome write) was Earl of *Biſtrice*, born in *Valachia*; others ſay, that he was born but of mean Parents, and called *Huniades* of the Village wherein he was born, and grew to be great by his Vertue and Proweſs. Whatſoever his Parents were, he himſelf was a politique, valiant, fortunate, and famous Captain, his Victories ſo great, as the like was never before by any Chriſtian Prince obtained againſt the Turks; ſo that his Name became unto them ſo dreadful, that they uſed the ſame to fear their crying Children withall. This worthy Captain, according to the truſt repoſed in him, began to keep the Turks ſhort, by cutting them off, whenſoever they preſumed to enter into his Country; and alſo by ſhutting up the Paſſages whereby they were wont to forrage the Country of *Tranſylvania*; and when he had put his own Charge into good ſafety, he entred into *Moldavia*, and never reſted until he had won it quite out of the Turks hands. And not contented with this, paſſed many times over *Danubius* into the Turks Dominions, making havock of the Turks, and carrying away with him great Booty, with many Captives.

Now were two great and worthy Captains met together, in places nigh one to another; *Huniades* in *Tranſylvania* and the next part of *Hungary*, and *Iſa* in *Raſcia* and the upper part of *Servia*; the one lying at *Temeſwar*, and the other at *Sinderovia*; both Men of great ſpirit, and deſirous of Honour. Of theſe two, *Iſa* in great favour with *Amurath*, and by him highly preferred, to increaſe his credit with the Sultan his Uncle, and to inlarge the Bounds of the Turkiſh Kingdom committed to his Charge, continually forraged the Country about *Belgrade*, to the intent that having wearied the Inhabitants with the harms he daily did them, and brought the City into great wants, he might ſo at length gain the ſame, for the moſt part abandoned then of Citizens, which *Amurath* could not by force obtain, and ſo to open a way into *Hungary*. Thus was the Country by him ſpoiled, the Villages rifled and burnt, and great numbers both of Men and Cattel daily carried away; yea ſometimes not contented to have ſpoiled the open Country, he aſſailed the very Suburbs of the City, and was thence hardly repulſed; and finding *Huniades* the only man that hindred his further proceedings, to requite him, and provoke him the more, brake ſometimes into his Country, laying in every corner as he went, ſtrong Ambuſhes, ſo to have circumvented that wary Captain, if it had been poſſible. But he grieved to ſee the Country thus ſpoiled, and purpoſing thereof to be revenged, ſecretly raiſed a ſtrong Power both of Horſe and Foot, and with his Companion *Nicholas Vilach* a right valiant Captain, paſſing over *Danubius*, came and incamped betwixt *Belgrade* and *Sinderovia*, being about twenty miles diſtant. Of whoſe coming *Iſa-Beg* underſtanding, forthwith ſet forward with a great Army againſt him, leſt he ſhould by longer delay ſeem to ſtand in doubt of his Enemy, whom he had by many Injuries ſo often provoked. So marching on with his Army ranged in order of battel, he found *Huniades* as ready for battel as himſelf; who in both wings had placed his light Horſemen, and behind them his men at Arms, with certain Companies of Croſs-bows on Horſe-back; in the midſt ſtood his armed Men, with his Archers, and other Souldiers more lightly armed, ready at all aſſays, all ſtrongly guarded with Men at Arms; after whom in the rereward followed alſo a ſtrong Squadron of valiant Footmen. The ſignal of battel being given, there began a great and cruel Fight, as amongſt men deſirous either to overcome, or there honourably to end their days. At the firſt incounter, the Wings of *Huniades* his battel were by the Turks inforced to retire; but coming to the Men at Arms, their fury was there ſtaid, and a cruel battel fought, wherein many fell on both ſides, but of the Turks more, who truſting to their agility and nimbleneſs of body, were not able long to endure the ſhock and ſtrength of the Men at Arms, but were there by heaps overthrown,. and moſt miſerably ſlain. Which *Iſa-Beg* beholding, and perceiving the *Hungarians* couragiouſly to fight, as men almoſt in poſſeſſion of an aſſured Victory, to ſave himſelf, turned his back and fled to *Sinderovia*. The reſt beholding the flight of their General, betook themſelves to flight alſo; after whom the *Hungarians* fiercely followed, eſpecially *Huniades* himſelf, who by his example to animate the reſt, left not the chaſe until he was come almoſt to the Suburbs of *Sinderovia*; few of the Turks eſcaped, the reſt being either taken or ſlain. *Huniades* after ſo great a Victory, with a rich Prey and a multitude of Priſoners returned to *Belgrade*; having now ſufficiently revenged himſelf of the wrongs he had before received. After which time *Iſa* the Turk was more quiet, as having ſufficient proof of his valour. The ſame of this Victory increaſed not a little the fame of *Huniades*, the report whereof coming to *Buda*, filled the City with joy and gladneſs; but moſt of all King *Uladiſlaus*, who thereupon cauſed publique Prayers, with Thankſgiving to be made in every Church; and by his Letters Gratulatory, with many rich Preſents incouraged *Huniades* to the proſecution of the Religious War; wherein was propounded unto him not only the increaſe of his Wealth (a baſe regard in the honourable) but the immortality of his name, and hope of eternal bliſs.

1440.

Tranſylvania *invaded and ſpoiled by* Meſites Baſſa.

Not long after this Victory, *Huniades* obtained a far greater in *Tranſylvania*. For *Amurath* much grieved with the loſs he had firſt by himſelf, and after by his Lieutenant *Iſa*, received at *Belgrade*, and in the Country thereabout; leſt he ſhould ſeem to yield unto the *Hungarians*, repaired his broken Forces with new Supplies, with purpoſe again to renew his Wars in *Valachia*. And ſo having put all things in a readineſs, ſent one of his Baſſaes called *Meſites* (his Vice-Roy in *Aſia*, a man of great Wiſdom, Experience, and Valour) with a puiſſant Army upon the ſudden by the way of *Valachia Tranſalpina*, to invade *Tranſylvania*. This worthy Captain according to his charge departing out of *Servia*, and paſſing from *Danubius*, ſuddenly entred into *Huniades* his Country, burning and ſpoiling whatſoever came in his way, and killing all that he light upon, Man, Woman, and Child, without reſpect of Age, Sex, or Condition, filling all the Country as he went with tumult and terror. Whereof *Huniades* (but lately come into the Country) underſtanding, and having as then no ſufficient Forces to oppoſe againſt the Fury of ſo puiſſant an Enemy, either means to raiſe any in ſo great a confuſion and fear, was wonderfully grieved thereat, and perplexed in mind, as not well knowing which way to turn himſelf.

Huniades *flieth.*

At length he took his flight into *Alba Jula*, unto his old Friend *George Lepe*, Biſhop of that City, a man of great Vertue and Gravity; but whilſt he there ſtayeth with his Friend, about the raiſing of a tumultuary Army, the Enemy was now come near unto him; who having overrun the greateſt part of the Country, had ſcraped together ſuch a Booty, and taken ſuch a multitude of Priſoners, that ſurcharged as it were with the ſpoil, he was glad to march ſoftlier; yet ſtill burning the Country before him. Which *Huniades* and the good Biſhop beholding out of the City, ſo much grieved thereat, that albeit that they both well knew themſelves, with an handful of men taken up in haſt hand over head, too weak to encounter with their Enemies; yet thought it better, with ſuch Power as they had to go out, and ſo in defence of their Country honourably to die, than longer to behold the moſt miſerable deſtruction of the ſame. But whilſt they upon this Reſolution (carried forth with too hot a deſire of Revenge) march unadviſedly forward, without any Scouts or Eſpials ſent out before them, they fell before they were aware into ſuch ambuſhes both of Horſe and Foot, as the crafty Enemy had in the ſecret Woods and Vallies whereby they were to paſs, laid of purpoſe to intercept them; which now with great force and horrible Out-cries breaking out upon them on every ſide, diſmayed them with a great fear.

Huniades *and the Biſhop of* Alba Jula *entrapped by the* Turks.

Huniades and the Biſhop ſeeing themſelves ſo intrapped and beſet with the multitude of their Enemies, as that they muſt needs periſh if they ſhould longer ſtay, fled incontinently back again; after whom followed all the reſt of their Army, and at their heels the eager Turks, who ſpared none of the flying Chriſtians they could overtake, but put them all to the Sword; nevertheleſs moſt part of them eſcaped back again to *Alba Jula*. The Biſhop thinking to have ſaved himſelf by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, coming to a River, in taking the ſame was overthrown, and there by the Enemy ſlain. With whoſe death the Baſſa incouraged, as alſo with the preſent Victory, began now more at liberty to range abroad, and at his pleaſure with Fire and Sword to waſt that part of the Country which yet remained unſpoiled; leaving in the mean time (as a man out of fear) the rich Prey he had taken, together with his Baggage and Carriages, to be carried all together, as a notable Teſtimony of his Victory, unto his great Lord and Maſter. *Huniades* in the mean time with wonderful celerity running about the borders of his Country, and out of every Town and Village taking ſuch Souldiers as he could, perſwaded alſo the *Sicilians* (or people commonly called *Siculi*) in defence of their Wives and Children to take up Arms; who all in reſpect of the preſent neceſſity, chearfully did whatſoever he commanded. With this tumultuary Army he followed the Baſſa (who then in great pride was returning, laded with the ſpoil of the whole Country) with purpoſe to ſet upon him as time or place ſhould give him occaſion. In the mean time *Meſites* being told, that *Huniades* with a great Power was coming after him, and now even at hand; is reported to have made no reckoning thereof, but to have proudly anſwered unto him that brought the News, *Let him come, and with the ſpoil of himſelf inrich our Victory.* There was preſent when he thus ſaid, one *John*, one of *Huniades* his Eſpials; who diſcovered unto him many of the Turks deſigns concerning the joyning of battel with him; but eſpecially, that the Baſſa had commanded through his Army, That above all things, they ſhould in the beginning of the battel aſſail the Perſon of *Huniades* himſelf, for that he being once ſlain, the reſt would eaſily be put to flight, as all depending on his direction; and that for the performance thereof, he had appointed certain Companies of his beſt Souldiers, giving them certain Tokens whereby they might know both him and his Horſe. There was then in the Army one *Simon Kemene*, a right valiant and couragious Gentleman, not much unlike to *Huniades*, with whom he changed both his Horſe and Armour, appointing unto him a ſtrong Troop of his choice Horſemen to attend upon him; neither was this counterfeit *Huniades* unwilling to expoſe himſelf unto the danger, accounting it honour enough, if by his death he might ſave the life of his Friend, and preſerve ſo worthy a Defender of the Commonweal. *Huniades* following faſt after, the Baſſa marching before him, ſought by light Skirmiſhes, ſometimes on the one ſide, ſometimes on the other, and ſometimes in the rereward, to ſtay him, and at ſome advantage, if any ſuch were given, to fight with him before he ſhould get out of the Country. At length finding ſuch an opportunity as he thought good to lay hold upon, he with all his Forces, as if it had been a violent Tempeſt, came upon the Turks ſo ſuddenly, as that they had not time to put themſelves in order of battel, but were glad confuſedly to fight as they might, and without order; in which diſordered fight many fell on both ſides, but far more of the Turks. But whilſt both Armies with like obſtinacy incounter together, certain Troops of the moſt valiant Turks deſcrying *Simon* the counterfeit *Huniades*, and by the ſigns before delivered unto them, both of his Horſe and Armor, ſuppoſing him to have been *Huniades* indeed; with all their Power

made

A great battel betwixt Meſites *and* Huniades.

made towards him, to have ſlain him, according as they had in charge, where meeting with right valiant Men, of no leſs courage than themſelves, there was fought a moſt terrible and bloody battel, in ſuch ſort, as if in that very place ſhould have been tried the whole fortune of the day. But the Turks ſtill bending their Forces more and more thither; for the killing of him of whom they ſtood in more dread than of all the reſt; at length by plain force made a way unto him, and having ſlain them that were about him, though not without their own great loſs, furiouſly aſſailing him, ſlew him, vainly ſuppoſing it to have been the very General himſelf; who had he there periſhed (as like enough it was he ſhould, had he not been before warned of the Baſſaes purpoſe) no doubt but that the whole Country had been with him, or ſhortly after quite loſt. But *Huniades* in the mean time riding to and fro in the Army, encouraged his Souldiers not to forſake the Victory they were now as it were in poſſeſſion of; nor leave unrevenged ſo many ſlaughters and harms ſo lately committed by their Enemies, but to remember as they were fighting, that they carried in their hands their Wives and Children, and were in that one battel to revenge the wrong by them done both to God and Man. Sometime he with new Supplies encouraged ſuch as were overcharged, and even now ready to fly; otherſome he with chearful words ſtaid, that had already turned their backs; performing in every place all the parts both of a worthy Commander and valiant Souldier, as the neceſſity of the time and place required. In the heat of this battel (Fortune yet favouring neither part, but both fighting with all their Power) the *Tranſylvanian* Priſoners that in great number were kept in the Camp, wiſhing rather to die, than to be carried away into Captivity, and thinking it now or never time for them to attempt their deliverance; with one conſent brake aſunder their Bonds, and with ſuch Weapons as firſt came to hand, ſet upon their Keepers, of whom they ſlew a great number, and ſo deſperately iſſuing out into the battel, incouraged their Country-men, and diſcouraged their Enemies. Yet was the battel hardly fought, though not altogether with like courage, or for like cauſe; for why, the *Tranſylvanians* fought for their Country, their Wives, their Children, their Lives, their Liberty, their Religion, and Altars; but the Turks, for the rich Prey they had before taken, and that they were by Victory in hope of. But at length the Turks by the breaking out of the Priſoners (who laid about them like deſperate men) out of hope of the Victory, began by little and little to retire; and the other on the contrary part by this unexpected Aid encouraged, and quickly finding the Enemies fainting, fought more fiercely than before. *Meſites* ſeeing his Army thus in every part wavering, was therewith exceedingly troubled; but preſently after, beholding ſome of his men retiring as if they had fled, and other ſome flying outright, and no means to ſtay them, for ſafeguard of his life turned his Horſe and fled alſo; after whom the *Hungarians* followed with moſt terrible execution, as men deſirous of the blood of them that had done them ſo great harm. In this chaſe *Meſites* himſelf with his Son were both ſlain; the report of whoſe death in the purſuit, added ſwiftneſs unto the *Hungarians*, to the encreaſing of the ſlaughter of the Turks, whom for the deſire of Revenge they ceaſed not for certain days to purſue, unto the top of the Alps. In this battel were ſlain of the Turks 20000, and of the *Hungarians* about 3000. *Huniades* with this Victory recovered all the Prey the Turks had taken of the ſpoil of the Country, together with their Tents and Baggage; unto whom at his return into the Camp, a wonderful number of the poor Captives came, and falling at his feet, and kiſſing them, gave God thanks for their deliverance by him; ſome called him the Father, ſome the Defender of his Country; the Souldiers, their invincible General; the Captives, their Deliverer; the Women, their Protector; the young Men and Children, their moſt loving Father. In all which joyful Acclamations, no honourable Additions were heard, which in the judgment of all men, worthily agreed not with his deſerts. He again with tears ſtanding in his eyes, courteouſly embraced them, rejoycing at the publique good; and himſelf giving moſt hearty thanks unto God, commanded the like to be done in all Churches of that Province. Sometime he commended the Souldiers Valour, and in general, the peoples Loyalty. The Nobility and worthy Captains he extolled by name, according as their deſerts had been in that notable Battel, not detracting any thing from any mans worthy praiſes; part of the ſpoil of the Turks he appointed unto devout Uſes, and the other part he divided amongſt the Souldiers; and willing as it were with the firſt Fruits thereof to gratifie King *Uladiſlaus*, and the Deſpot of *Servia*, then preſent with him, he ſent a great Waggon, with ten Horſes which they could ſcarce draw, laded with the Turks Enſigns and the chief of their Heads, where the Heads of the Baſſa and his Son ſtood formoſt, and above them was placed an old Turk, ſometime well known unto the Deſpot; who in this order preſented unto them, is ſaid to have thus delivered his Meſſage, as followeth:

Great rejoycing for the victory

The Speech of an old Turk, in delivering the Preſent unto the King.

Huniades *your Majeſties moſt humble Servant, and the moſt honourable Deſpots Son, ſendeth unto you this part of the ſpoil gained by this late Victory, leſt he ſhould ſeem to defraud you of the honour of the battel, happily fought under your good Fortune. Theſe heads of the* Aſian *Nobility he ſendeth you for a Preſent, that you ſhould not want the aſſured Teſtimony of ſo notable a Victory; theſe are two Princes heads, the one of* Meſites Baſſa *the General, and the other of his Son; the reſt are the heads of the other great Commanders and Sanzacks. All theſe witneſs the greatneſs of the late ſlaughter, and exhort you to greater Atchievements. What your Royal Majeſty for the natural inſtinct of Piety and Religion ingrafted into you, may hope for, and what an occaſion of Immortality and Glory is offered unto you,* Huniades *wiſheth you hereby to conſider; and humbly requeſteth, that general Supplications may be commanded, and a great Army provided, foraſmuch as all men ſuppoſe, that the Turk will gage his whole Forces, and leave nothing unattempted, in revenge of ſo great a ſlaughter of his people.*

Having ended his Speech, he ſhewed unto them the griſely mortified heads; which the Nobility and others there preſent, earneſtly beheld, and wondred at, eſpecially the King and the Deſpot; who by Letters further underſtanding the whole proceeding of the War, and fortune of the Battel, highly commended the diſcreet valour of *Huniades*, together with the glorious Victory, worthy (as they ſaid) of a *Roman* Triumph; for which, *Uladiſlaus* commanded publick Supplications to be made in all Churches through *Hungary*, and by honourable Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to *Huniades*, gave him great thanks, according to his Deſerts, with many rich Preſents alſo, commending his faithful and worthy Service;

and requeſting him, with like courage and care, to proſecute the War, ſo happily begun; promiſing him, That he ſhould neither want Men nor Money, or any thing elſe needful thereunto. Upon this Victory, the Countries of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, before Tributaries unto the Turks, now revolted again unto the *Hungarians*, to the great grief of *Amurath*; and the fame of *Huniades* was in ſhort time diſperſed through all *Europe*, and a general hope conceived of him, as of one moſt like to be one of the greateſt Champions of the Chriſtian Commonweal, as in his time undoubtedly he was.

The report of this late Overthrow, with the death of the Baſſa *Meſites*, and the loſs of his Army, being brought to *Hadrianople*, much troubled the Turiſh Tyrant; but moſt of all, the Revolt of the two Countries, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*. So that full of wrathful Indignation, and deſire of Revenge, he commanded a great Army to be raiſed againſt the next Spring, with intent to have gone therewith himſelf; but afterward upon better advice changing his purpoſe, he committed the leading thereof unto one *Shech Abedin Baſſa* (corruptly called *Sciabedin Baſſa*) an Eunuch, and yet nevertheleſs a right valiant and expert Captain, and his Vice-Roy in *Europe*; with Charge firſt to enter into *Valachia*, and there having done what harm he could with Fire and Sword, to do the like in *Moldavia*; and after that, with all his Power to break into *Tranſylvania*, there to Revenge unto the full, the Loſſes before received, and with the ſlaughter of the *Hungarians* to Sacrifice unto the Ghoſts of their dead Friends and Companions. The Baſſa according to his Charge, departing out of *Macedonia*, and marching through *Myſia*, and ſo paſſing over *Danubius*, with an Army of fourſcore thouſand fighting Men, whereof four thouſand were of the beſt Janizaries, entred into *Valachia*, filling the Country with fear and tumult; the *Valachians* now altogether in deſpair to be able to defend themſelves againſt the fury of the Turks, and ſore repenting them of their revolt from them, unto the *Hungarians*. Whom for all that, *Huniades* comforted with chearful words, willing them betime to retire themſelves unto the ſafeſt places of the Country, and not to expoſe themſelves with their too weak Forces againſt the fury of the *Barbarians*; promiſing in good time to come himſelf to their Relief, not doubting by the Power of Jeſus Chriſt, to dare them battel in the plain Field, and to have of them a glorious Victory, although they were in number far more than they were reported to be. The Baſſa dividing his Army into two parts, forraged the Country far and near, burning the Country Towns and Villages before them, ſpoiling whatſoever came in their way, and killing whoſoever they light upon, Men, Women, or Children, without reſpect of Age, Sex, or Condition. But the *Valachians* for the moſt part had retired themſelves, ſome into the Mountains, ſome into the ſtrong Towns, and ſome into places further off, ſo that few fell into the Enemies hands, but ſuch as were not able to fly, or not regarding the danger, had negligently ſtaid the Enemies coming, and ſo periſhed. *Valachia* thus ſpoiled, the Turks paſſing over the Mountains, deſcended into *Tranſylvania*, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpoſe there to have done the like or greater harm if poſſible it had been to have ſo done; but there was *Huniades* with 15000 choſen Souldiers ready to encounter them. A ſmall Power indeed, in compariſon of the multitude the Baſſa led; but all men of great Experience and Reſolution, in valour countervailing the great number of their Enemies; Men reſolved rather to die than to fly. Of whoſe approach the Baſſa (unto whom the name and fortune of the Man was dreadful) by his Eſpials underſtanding, ſtayed his intended fury, and as one well aware with whom he had to do, without farther proceeding, encamped himſelf with his Army, to ſee what power and courage the Enemy had. But certainly informed by his Scouts, for that purpoſe ſent out, That he was not in number a quarter ſo many as the Turks, but lay ſtrongly encamped with his Waggons and Carriages, as in a ſure Fort, in ſuch order, as that he could not without great danger be aſſailed, and yet might at his pleaſure come forth, and ſo if need were retire again, as into a ſtrong Hold; he wondred at his courage and skilful manner of encamping; yet preſuming of his own multitude and ſtrength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battel. Being come within half a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither ſide unwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great Victory, they thought it not beſt to attempt any thing raſhly, but betook themſelves both unto the higheſt of their wits, as willing in ſo great a Conflict, as well to ſhew the utmoſt of their policy and skill, as of their courage and valour. The Turk thought it beſt not to joyn battel with his Enemies in one front, for fear of confounding ſo great a multitude, but to divide his Army into certain Battalions, and ſo to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make all his men profitable; or if he could not do ſo, then with his multitude to encloſe the Chriſtians round, and ſo to overwhelm them. On the other ſide, *Huniades* charged his Souldiers, above all things to keep their order, and in no caſe to ſuffer themſelves to be divided by their Enemies. The next day, being come unto a place which they call *Vaſcape*, both the Armies by the break of day began to diſlodge; at which time the Baſſa ſpent a good ſpace in the martialling of his great Army, as did alſo *Huniades*, ſeeking by provident foreſight and policy to match the multitude of his Enemies. And ſo having ſet all things in order, calling unto him the chief Captains and Commanders of his Army, with chearful countenance encouraged them as followeth:

Valachia *grievouſly ſpoiled by the Turks.*

The moſt Chriſtian Speech of Huniades *to encourage his Souldiers againſt the Turks.*

No courage (believe me) worthy Companions, and Fellows in Arms, could have induced me to encounter ſo great a multitude, did not neceſſity it ſelf enforce me, your approved Valour perſwade, and the aſſured hope I have in Chriſt Jeſus above all things confirm me; having made choice of us to fight this his ſacred battel, and by our right hands to revenge the diſhonour of his holy Name. In which his eſpecial choice we are to conſider how much he hath loved us; and for the ſame to praiſe his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy. Three ſuch Commodities hath God thereby even this day propounded unto us, if we will be the ſame men we have been in times paſt, as that the leaſt thereof were ſufficient to encourage men of worth, for the ſame to lay down their Lives, held they them never ſo dear. Firſt, you are to fight for the health and welfare of your Children, Wives, and Country, joyned with your whole Eſtate; then, for eternal Glory and Renown in this World; and laſt of all, for Immortality and a Crown that ſhall never be taken from you, in the World to come. How many Miſeries and Calamities we have in former times, and of late received from the Turks, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report, than ſeen the ſame with your eyes, and indured them in your ſelves. You had long ſince been bereft *of your beloved Wives and Children, whom moſt miſerable Servitude had overwhelmed; you had had neither Houſe nor Church, wherein to dwell or to ſerve God, had not the Divine Power of God, and your rare Proweſs been at hand for preſent reſcue; your Country, your Goods, your Honour, your Liberty, you could not have kept, had not your Valour, confirmed by aſſured confidence in the Higheſt, preſerved all theſe things unto your ſelves; The horrible fury of the Turk had now brought all theſe things into the power of it ſelf, had they not been by your Arms defended, and he by ſo many bloody overthrows repreſſed. He could not before be ſtaied; the* Grecians, *the* Macedonians *(both ſometimes the greateſt Commanders) the old* Thracians, *the ſtrong* Bulgarians, *the valiant* Epirots, *and* Dalmatians, *could not abide their Force; The* Athenians, *the* Thebans, *the* Lacedemonians, *Authors and Maſters of the antient Diſcipline of War, willingly gave place unto theſe. Unto us, is the Praiſe and great Glory of this Victory by God aſſigned, who oftentimes with a ſmall Power, yea and that ſometime againſt all hope, have with a notable Slaughter overthrown them, vanquiſhed them, and put them to Flight. Neither is there any men in the World whom they more fear and ſtand in dread of, than you, whom though in number but few, they have by their dayly Slaughter and Loſſes, learned no leſs to fear, than if you were many. And now to trie the uttermoſt of their power, they are come with their innumerable Legions; but are not for that of you any thing the more to be feared than before; ſeeing that we all bear Arms under the conduct of the moſt mighty God; and are by dayly Victory, long Experience, and approved Valour taught, what we are to dare; beſides that the greateſt part of their Army is of common Souldiers, Slaves, or rude Country Peſants, or men by force by them compelled; more than the* Janizaries, *are no good Souldiers among them, the reſt as men enforced, ſerve them for fear, and againſt their Wills, and they by their Cowardiſe brought into that Bondage and Slavery. What* Greeks, Macedonians, *or* Sclavonians *ſoever are ſent to their Aid, for aſmuch as they are not yet revolted from the Chriſtian Faith, deem them not to ſtand for them, but for us; they long for us the Revengers of their Wrongs, and for you as victorious Conquerors; in this War they have given unto the Turks their Names, but unto us their Hearts and Power; and pray heartily for our Victory; wherefore you ought ſo much the more valiantly and couragiouſly to fight, by how much greater you ſee the Victory, the Honour, the Prey before your Eyes. We are not to fight for other Mens Houſes and Altars, but for our own; ſo our preſent neceſſity requireth, in ſuch ſort, that if we our ſelves deliver not our ſelves, and bear our ſelves upon our wonted hope and valour, we ſhall this day be enforced to endure the greateſt miſery that men may poſſibly. Firſt, the loſs of our Goods and Subſtance, the Captivity of our Children, the deflowring of our Daughters, the raviſhing of our Wives, the ſlaughter of our Parents, the burning of our Houſes and Churches; and that which worſe is than all this, the ſcorn of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, and his Saints; whoſe images you ſhall ſee in deſpight broken, or dragged in the dirt, or moulten and converted into other prophane uſes; all Religion trodden down, and God himſelf (if it were poſſible) with violence and deſpair driven out of our Hearts, if we ſtand not manfully unto it as becometh worthy Champions. God is able with his little Finger, if he ſo will forthwith, to deſtroy all the Turks in the World; but ſeeing he hath committed unto our right Hands the defence of his name, he firſt maketh proof of our Courage and Valour, that finding the ſame faithful and ready, he may ſtrengthen and defend it with his own right Hand. He never yet forſook any faithful or devout man, neither will our Saviour Chriſt be wanting unto you, if you be not wanting to your ſelves; in the power of his Name which is above all Names, he ſhall tread down his rebellious Enemies, and exalt the Righteous that put their truſt in him. Moreover, the cauſes that they and we combat for, are divers, and our hopes much ſtronger; They fight for their Prophet, a moſt prophane man, Author of all Impiety, for Spoil and Prey, for the deſtruction of Nations and Countries, for other Mens Kingdoms, for the inlarging of their Dominions and Territories, for worldly Praiſe and Glory; But we contrariwiſe bear Arms for the Saviour of the World, for our Faith and Religion, for the Chriſtian Common-Wealth, for our Native Country, for our Wives and Children, for our Fortune and State; than which nothing can be more excellent, more commendable, or honourable. What reward is laid up for them in Heaven which have worthily protected or delivered their Country, or laid down their Lives in defence of their Faith and Religion? Neither, having often proved, are we ignorant, that God will never forſake them that honour, fear, and ſerve him. Whereby (fellow Souldiers) you may plainly perceive, how far your hopes are beyond theirs. Believe our Saviour, promiſing unto you an eternal reward; and ſhew your Fidelity and Valour unto God and your Country together. Wherefore, ſeeing without the power of God we can do nothing, before the ſignal of Battel be given, I beſeech you Collonels, Captains, and Lieutenants, by your effectual and Chriſtian Exhortations in your Regiments and Companies, to encourage your Souldiers, valiantly to fight the Lords Battel; and for the preſent, every man by taking a little Earth in his Mouth, to prepare himſelf according to the neceſſity of the time, as it were to the receiving of the Lords Supper; ſo having cleanſed your Souls, embrace you one another, plight your mutual Faith with your right Hand and a Kiſs; and make a perpetual Covenant among your ſelves, none of you to forſake one another in this holy Battel, but for your Religion and Country valiantly to fight it out, even to the laſt man. And a little refreſhing your ſelves with a ſhort repaſt as you ſtand, upon the ſignal given, thrice calling aloud upon the mighty name of Chriſt Jeſus, fight with the like Valour and Courage ſo near as you can, that he in the Agonie of Death fought for your Redemption and Liberty which that you will willingly do, I requeſt and charge you this for our Saviours ſake, for the Love of our Country, and for the Faith you owe both to God and Man. I alſo pray and beſeech you, ſo to fight, as men reſolved either to gain a moſt glorious Victory, (whereof I doubt not) or elſe if it ſhould otherwiſe chance, this day to purchaſe unto your ſelves a bleſſed life in the Kingdom of Heaven; not to ſup in Hell with the Turks, but with the bleſſed Wights in Heaven; for Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour will be alwaies preſent with us, who (believe me, and ſo hope) will this day not only deliver us out of the Hands of the Turks, but to our immortal Glory lode us with the rich Spoils of our Enemies, and ſo in ſafety bring all home again with much Joy and Triumph.*

The *Baſſa* on the other ſide likewiſe encouraged his Souldiers, putting them in remembrance of their former Victories, exhorting them not to degenerate from their worthy Anceſtors and themſelves, by whoſe great Valor the Glory and Empire of the Turks had been ſo mightily increaſed; and unto whom their great Prophet *Mahomet*, the Interpreter of the gods, had foretold the Empire of the whole World to be by all the gods allotted; and had by divine inſpiration prophecied, that antient and ſtately Nation in time to become the terror of the World, the ſcourge of the Wicked, and Commander of all Nations. He farther declared unto them, what an increaſe of Kingdoms they had got in that ſhort time, ſince which they firſt paſſed over into *Europe*, and filled them with the hope of a great Spoil; promiſing unto them that ſhould in the Battel valiantly behave themſelves, not only the Spoil and Prey, but whole Villages, Towns, and Cities, and other great Preferments, according as they ſhould deſerve. As for the Victory, conſidering the weak Power of their Enemies, and the great number of themſelves, he aſſured them thereof, if they would but a while valiantly fight it out like men. In concluſion, he told them, that having overcome *Huniades* (whom only, as he confeſſed, he had found to be the moſt valiant and skilful Captain of the Chriſtians) nothing ſhould afterward be able to ſtand in their way, or to hinder their further Conqueſts; and that if this day they ſhould utterly overthrow him, they ſhould gain the moſt honourable Victory that was ever yet got in *Europe*. Wherefore he willed them above all things, in the Battel to ſeek after him; promiſing unto him that ſhould kill him, a great Reward, with moſt honourable Preferments. Having thus ſufficiently, as he thought encouraged his Turks, he ſet forward with his Army in order of Battel. His Horſemen and Footmen he divided into two great Wings, betwixt which marched the *Janizaries* in a ſquare Battel, all men of approved Valour; after whom followed the Rereward; unto the Wings he had alſo joyned certain looſe Companies of light Horſemen to begin the Battel, and to flie about the Enemies, and ſo as occaſion ſhould ſerve, either to charge or retire. *Huniades* likewiſe had placed in both Wings two ſquare Battalions of men at Arms, and with them certain Horſemen with Croſs-bows; before theſe Wings he had alſo placed certain Troops of light Horſemen, to encounter the Enemies; in the midſt ſtood two ſquare Battels of men at Arms; and betwixt them a ſtrong Squadron of armed men, guarded behind with a convenient number of Pikemen and Archers; both the Wings he had compaſſed about with a multitude of Carts and Waggons, and they alſo well manned. So marching forward, and both Armies being come within a quarter of a mile together, the ſignal of Battel was on both ſides given, and the Battel begun.

A cruel Battel betwixt Huniades *and* Abedin Baſſa.

Huniades ſeeing the multitude of his Enemies, caſt his firſt Battel into the form of a Wedge, the more eaſily to divide them; and they on the other ſide in the form of a pair of Shears, were ready to receive him; where on both ſides they encountred together with ſuch Fury and Outcry, as never was thing more terrible to be heard or ſeen. The Turks truſting unto the multitude of their nimble light Horſemen, firſt with their light Staves, and afterwards with their crooked Scimeters fiercely aſſaulted the Chriſtians light Horſemen, in which firſt incounter many fell on both ſides: But the Wedge Battel of the Chriſtians could not of the Turks be broken, as conſiſting all of valiant expert Souldiers, and they alſo ſtrongly armed; who, do the Turks what they could, with a great Slaughter cut their Army in ſunder, but not without a great Fight, and ſome loſs alſo unto themſelves. In the Wings alſo the light Horſemen for a while fought couragiouſly and with like hope; but the Turks with that kind of Fight better acquainted than the Chriſtians, and better appointed for that purpoſe, and exceeding in number alſo, put the Chriſtian light Horſemen to the worſt, and enforced them to retire to the men at Arms. Here began the Fortune of the Turks to ſtay, where both parts deſperately aſſailing the one the other, was made a moſt terrible Fight, wherein moſt part of the Turks light Horſemen were ſlain; for why, they were not able to abide the force of the men at Arms, although in compariſon of them, but few; but with their Lances and arming Swords overthrown and ſlain, no otherwiſe than if they had been naked men; ſo that in both Wings the Turks began now to faint. But the Battel in both the Wings yet wavering, and the Victory doubtful, in the main Battel was fought a moſt cruel Fight; the *Janizaries* with a ſtrong power of men at Arms, and certain Troops of light Horſemen, compaſſed about the men at Arms that ſtood (as we ſaid) in the main Battel of the Chriſtians, were the old *Janizaries* with their crooked Scimeters, with great Courage cut in ſunder the Legs of the Horſes of the Men at Arms; of whom many fell down, and lying along upon the ground, were made ſhorter by the Head; as likewiſe on the other ſide, the *Janizaries* whilſt they ſeek the deſtruction of the Men at Arms, were themſelves overborn and troden under Foot. Whereupon ſuch a Slaughter was made, that the blood ran like Rivers, whilſt they deſperately fight with furious rage both on the one ſide and the other. In this cruel Fight moſt part of the *Janizaries* were ſlain, and many of the Chriſtian Men at Arms alſo. The *Baſſa* now perceiving the *Hungarians* to have the better, both in the Wings, and in the main Battel, and yet in hope that with long Fight they would faint (although he ſaw great Slaughter of his Men in every place) came on with the Rereward, and a number of other freſh Souldiers which he had left for guarding of the Baggage, all yet ſound Men, in good hope ſo to overwhelm the wearied *Hungarians*. It was now four hours that this cruel Fight had endured, when as the *Baſſa* began it afreſh; neither was this by him done without reaſon; for why, he was afraid leſt if his Men ſhould turn their Backs and flie, the whole Army ſhould follow after; and therefore to make uſe of all the Men he had, he brought on his Rereward, in hope that his Enemies, now ſpent with long Fight, would not longer endure a freſh Charge. And the more to encourage his Men, he commanded them to compaſs in the *Hungarians* round, and to diſpatch their wearied Enemies, vainly boaſting, That it would be the laſt Battel that ever the *Hungarians* would fight. On the other ſide, *Huniades* perceiving the Enemies purpoſe, ſuffered his Men to be in part invironed, and by and by cauſed the Waggoners with the armed Carts and Waggons to thruſt in behind them, and ſo to compaſs them in, divided in part from the reſt, and afterward with freſh ſupplies renewed the Battel with the Enemy. The Fight was great, and in every place right terrible; and albeit that the Slaughter of the Turks was in many places great, yet by reaſon of their multitude they felt it not much, but fought yet ſtill moſt deſperately; until that they in the right Wing ſeeing themſelves compaſſed in behind with the Waggons, and ſo from them charged with Shot, Darts, and other ſuch miſſive Weapons; ſtanding in doubt which way to turn themſelves, and beſet with danger on every ſide, began to faint, and fearing the danger behind them, ſhrunk from the Fight. On the other ſide, the *Hungarians*, now in good hope of Victory, with great and chearful Outcries, as Men inſpired with freſh Spirits, more furiouſly aſſailed their fainting Enemies affront, than before; encouraging them alſo that aſſailed them behind in the Waggons, to approach them nearer; with which double danger the Turks hardly beſet fought diſorderly, and doubting to be all incloſed round, firſt retired, and preſently after betook themſelves to plain Fight.

The Turks flie.

But they which were already ſhut in betwixt the Waggons and them that fought before them, periſhed every Mothers Son. They which fought in the left

Wing alſo, diſcouraged with the Flight of their Fellows, fled likewiſe; after whom the *Hungarians* fiercely followed. The *Baſſa* himſelf ſeeing both the Wings of his Battel put to Flight, and his own Battel ſore broken alſo, ſtrucken with deſpair fled, with certain Companies of the *Janizaries*, which he had ſtill kept about him againſt all Events, for the ſafeguard of his Perſon; after whom followed alſo ſo many other of the Turks as could; the reſt diſperſedly flying through the Woods, Foreſts and Mountains, either there periſhed with Hunger, or falling into the Hands of the *Valachians*, were by them ſlain. Of ſo great an Army as the *Baſſa* brought into *Tranſilvania*, ſcarce the one half returned again over *Danubius*. It is reported by ſome that were in that Battel, that if *Huniades* having them in chace, had purſued them to *Danubius*, ſcarcely one of them had eſcaped over the River. But he contented with ſo great a Victory, and to have driven his Enemies out of the Field, purſued them not far; but entring into their Camp, with the Spoil thereof greatly inricht both himſelf and his Souldiers. Beſide the great multitude of the Turks here ſlain, five thouſand more were taken Priſoners, and an hundred of their Enſigns. Long it were to rehearſe and reckon up the rich Spoil there taken, the gilt Armor, and goodly Furniture, both of Men and Horſes, beſides the rich Pavilions and Tents there ſtanding. In brief, the Wealth there found, was ſo great, as that there was no man in *Huniades* Army, which was not thereby for ever enriched. *Huniades* for this ſo great a Victory, and for his Country, delivered from ſo great a fear, cauſed general Prayers with Thankſgiving, for the ſpace of three days, to be made in all Churches of thoſe three Provinces, unto whom that danger was threatned; and at *Vaſcape*, where the Battel was fought, hanged up certain of the Turks Enſigns, as Trophies of the Victory there gotten. This was the famous Battel of *Vaſcape*, wherein *Huniades* got the greateſt Victory that ever any Chriſtian Prince before that time obtained againſt the Turkiſh Kings. The Fields thereabouts lay covered with the dead bodies of the ſlain Turks, whoſe Carrion Carkaſſes ſo infected the Air, that many of the better ſort of the Inhabitants of the Country were glad for a ſeaſon to leave their Dwellings, and to get them further off, for fear of infection. Afterwards he in great Triumph came to *Buda*, and there preſented to King *Uladiſlaus* the Enemies Enſigns, with ſuch a part of the Spoil, as might both well declare the greatneſs of the Victory, and beſeem the greatneſs of ſo great a Prince; which the King thankfully received, highly commending his great Valour, the fame whereof had in ſhort time filled every corner of *Europe*.

Amurath, a little before this great overthrow of his Army in *Tranſilvania*, aſſuring himſelf of the Victory, had ſent a proud Embaſſage to King *Uladiſlaus* into *Hungary*, offering him Peace upon condition, That he ſhould deliver unto him the ſtrong City of *Belgrade*, or elſe yield to pay him a yearly Tribute; to which, upon the firſt report of the Victory, anſwer was given by the King, anſwerable to the proud demand, That according to the iſſue of matters in *Tranſilvania*, he would ſhortly in perſon himſelf come and give him farther anſwer. With which ſhort anſwer, the proud Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed and gone, a little before the coming of *Huniades* to *Buda*.

How much this late overthrow grieved the great King *Amurath*, *Uladiſlaus* was not ignorant; either of his power and deſire of revenge, as ſufficiently warned thereof by the worthy *Huniades*; for the withſtanding whereof, he thought it good not to be unprovided. Wherefore calling together the States of his Kingdom, and with them *Julian* the Cardinal of S. *Angel*, the Popes Legate; at ſuch time as they were all aſſembled, he propounded unto them the greatneſs of the danger threatned by the angry Turk, leaving unto their grave conſideration, to determin how the ſame were by ſtrong hand and plain force, or otherwiſe to be averted. In which moſt honourable Aſſembly, *Julian* the Cardinal, on purpoſe ſent thither by Pope *Urban* to ſtir up the *Hungarians* againſt the Turks, being requeſted by the King to deliver his opinion firſt, ſpake unto them as followeth:

The effectual Speech of Julian *the Popes Legate in the Parliament to perſwade the War.*

Since the time that the Turkiſh Peſtilence began to rage in Europe, *no news was ever more welcome unto the great Biſhop, unto the Apoſtolical Senate, and other Princes of* Italy (*moſt mighty King, and you other moſt worthy Princes*) *than when it was told them, That* Uladiſlaus, *King of* Polonia, *was by you alſo choſen King of* Hungary. *For a fitter Governor of the* Hungarian *State, and Leader of their Power, could not the* Hungarians *any where have found; As he in whom Juſtice, Religion, Wiſedom, Valour, and Martial Skill doth ſo abound, that he ſeemeth rather for the good of this Kingdom by God ſent from Heaven, than here in Earth choſen by Men. By this happy and fortunate choice, the minds alſo of all the* Italians, *which before lay heavy and diſcouraged, were lightned and revived; and therefore that this choice might be unto the Chriſtian Common-weal both glorious and fortunate, they made their ſolemn Vows and Prayers. At ſuch time as the moſt holy Senate underſtood of the civil Diſcord of this Kingdom, and the danger of the Turks faſt by, it ſent me hither to deal with you for the appeaſing of thoſe troubles, and repreſſing of that miſchief (as you have oftentimes heard me ſay.) The Kingdom is by your Force and Valour, by my Mediation, and the Death of the Queen, well pacified; but yet the other remaineth full of Honour, full of Profit, full of Safety, Glory, and Immortality, beſt fitting* Uladiſlaus *Conduct and Fortune, and the Valour of the* Hungarians. *The Turkiſh Tyranny and their proud Command (worthy Princes) is to be repreſſed; yea their ſervile yoke, hanging even now over our Necks, is to be ſhaken off, and to be driven away. What you are to dare to do, the Valour and Fortune of* Huniades, *foretelleth you; the Fortune ſaid I of* Huniades, *nay the Fortune of the Chriſtian Common-weal, and preſent Mercy of our Bleſſed Saviour, which ſuffereth his People to be up and down toſſed, but not quite drowned. If ſo great an Army of the Enemies was vanquiſhed and put to Flight by the power of one of thy Captains, and that but ſmall; what is to be hoped of thee (moſt mighty King) if thou ſhalt lead forth thine Armies thy ſelf in Perſon, under thine own Conduct, and the Protection of Chriſt Jeſus? The Eyes of all Chriſtian Princes are caſt upon thee, upon the* Hungarian *and* Polonian *Forces; upon thee have they repoſed all their hopes, they all expect that thou ſhouldſt be the revenger of the* Barbarian *Cruelty, the Defender of the Faith, and Protector of* Europe; *and that is it, for which the Pope doth with his Letters dayly ſolicite and importune you. And albeit that the common cauſe and quarrel of the Chriſtian Religion require it, yet doth the neceſſity of* Hungary *and* Polonia *no leſs enforce it; of which, the one is moſt miſerably and dayly vexed with the Turks Forces and Fury out of* Servia *and* Dalmatia; *and the other out of* Moldavia *and* Valachia. *Now if any there be, whom neither the zeal of Religion, the neceſſity of the cauſe, the hope of immortal Fame and Glory, can move, let their own Safety, the preſent Servitude of their Wives and Children, the Safeguard of their Wealth and Subſtance, the lawful Revenge* *of the Wrongs done them, ſtir them up to take in hand this ſacred Expedition. So fit an opportunity is now given unto you, that at one and the ſelf-ſame time you may ſet your bodies in perpetual Safety and Happineſs; your Souls in Quietneſs and Reſt, and unto both give Eternal Glory and Happineſs. You lack not (worthy Captains) Mony, the Sinews of the War, which ſhall be brought unto you from all parts of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, not luſty and couragious Souldiers, not Policy, not Fortune, not the propitious Hevenly Powers, which have made choice of you for the defence of the true Faith and Religion; you want nothing (worthy Princes) but Will. It is an Expedition neceſſary, religious, profitable and honourable; wherein are propounded moſt ample Rewards both in this Life, and in the Life to come. Wherefore (moſt mighty Prince, and you right worthy Princes all) I pray and beſeech you by the Faith of Chriſt Jeſus, by the Love of your Children, by the Health of your Kingdom, and deliverance from your preſent deſtruction, with valiant Courage, and one Conſent to take this ſacred War in hand, and ſo thereby to enrol your Names in the Eternal Book of Fame. And ſith that you are to go, not ſo much to a Worldly as a Spiritual War againſt the Enemies of Chriſt and his Truth, take up your Arms with ſuch Zeal, Courage, and Chearfulneſs, as the Expectation and Hope of Men, as your Valour, the preſent Danger, and the Mercies of God towards you, ſeem of right to require.*

The pitiful complaint of the Deſpot, of the cruelty of the Turks, perſwading the Hungarians to take the War againſt them in hand.

This Legate having made an end, forthwith enſued the miſerable Supplication and Tears of the Deſpot; perſwading them of the neceſſity of that Expedition to be taken in hand, declaring unto them the Cruelty of the Turks, their Torments and ſtrange Tortures, his Sons deprived of their Sight, and ſpoiled of their Genitories, many half mangled, and more cut in ſunder with Saws; ſome ſlain quick, and others buried alive, with many other ſtrange kinds of death, ſuch as would abhor any Chriſtian Ears to hear. And warning the *Hungarians*, by his example to beware how much they had need to look to themſelves, told them, That they were but by the River *Savus* divided from the Turks; which in Summer was oftentimes to be waded over, and in Winter hard frozen, and ſo to be paſſed; that the Country beyond *Danubius* lay all open upon them; and that he, ſometime the rich King of *Servia*, was now driven into exile by the power of the Turk, deprived of his Kingdom, of his Children, ſhamefully diſgraced, ſpoiled of his Wealth and Fortune, glad to flie from place to place, and yet not able to find any ſafe place to reſt in. Firſt he fled (as he ſaid) to *Raguſium*, where by and by he was ſought after, and endangered by the Turks; then into *Hungary*, which was alſo forthwith by them on every ſide infeſted; and whereof the *Barbarian* King now asked Tribute, to have ſome colour for the invaſion thereof; which dreadful Enemy was not far off from it, but ſtill hovered even over it; as well witneſſeth *Valachia* and *Tranſylvania*, two of the greateſt and richeſt Provinces of the *Hungarian* Kingdom; which had not the Valour of *Huniades*, the Fortune of the Common-Weal, and above all, the Mercy of God, delivered out of the Hands of this filthy Nation, the State of *Hungary* had now been utterly forlorn. The Events of War (he ſaid) were divers, Fortune uncertain, and that God would not every day be tempted. Wherefore with many Tears abundantly running down his aged Face, he beſought King *Uladiſlaus* and the reſt, not to let ſlip this fair occaſion, neither by Cowardiſe or Negligence to break off the courſe of their good Fortune and Victory; but to make choice rather to become Revengers of other mens harms, than of their own, and to ſatisfie the good opinion the World had conceived of them. He was (as he ſaid) a ſufficient Example to all Men. Beſides that, he offered a great ſum of Mony himſelf towards the defraying of the Charges of the War, aſſuring them alſo of great ſupplies both of Men and Mony from divers other Chriſtian Princes. Which opinion of the Legate and Deſpots being generally liked and approved, a Decree was made by a whole Court of Parliament there aſſembled, That the King ſhould himſelf in perſon, with all ſpeed poſſible entertain that honourable War. So that though it were now upon the approach of Winter, yet were Men taken up in every place, and Embaſſadors ſent unto the Emperor and the other Neighbour Princes, to pray of them Aid againſt the common Enemy. Who for the moſt part excuſed themſelves by their own particular Affairs, but ſent no Aid at all. Nevertheleſs many devout Chriſtians both out of *France* and *Germany*, for the Zeal they bare unto Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion, forſaking Wife and Children, and whatſoever they had elſe, came and worthily ſerved upon their own Charge. The Spring being come, and Supplications made in all places, for the proſperous ſucceſs of this Religious War, King *Uladiſlaus* the firſt of *May* ſet forward from *Buda*; where paſſing the River *Danubius*, and marching fair and ſoftly, and coming to the River *Tibiſcus*, he there ſtaied three days for the coming of his Army. Departing thence, and marching on alongſt the ſide of *Danubius*, until he came within the ſight of *Bulgaria*, he there at a place called *Cobis*, over againſt *Sinderovia*, paſſed over *Danubius* with his Army, which was now grown very great; and ſo marched directly to *Sophia*, ſituate about ſix days march from *Danubius*, in the Frontiers of *Bulgaria*, ſo called of a moſt ſumptuous and magnificent Temple there built by *Juſtinian* the great Emperor. Which City being then old and ruinous, and but badly fortified, was eaſily taken; and afterward for that it was not well to be holden, was by the Kings commandment burnt, as were all the other Country Towns and Villages thereabouts, to the terror of the reſt. Marching thence, he came unto the River *Morava*, and there incamped; where the plain Country eaſily riſeth and falleth in manner of the Sea, when it is moved with a little Wind. Here five hundred Horſemen being ſent over the River, not ſo much to ſeek after Prey, as to view the Country, which way the Army might moſt ſafely and eaſily paſs, happened upon the Turks Scouts, of whom they took four; and underſtanding by them, that two thouſand of the Turks were coming at hand, knowing themſelves too weak to encounter them, they retired back again with all ſpeed they could, unto the River; where many of them for fear leapt headlong from the high and broken Banks, and ſo periſhed in the deep; the reſt terrified with the miſfortune of their Fellows, ſtood ſtill, doubtfully expecting what ſhould become of themſelves. Beyond the River was another Hill, upon the top whereof the King with a great number of Horſemen were hunting; whom the Turks a far off deſcrying, and doubtful to fall into ſome ambuſh, of purpoſe laid for them betwixt them and the River, without coming on further, retired. Which they that before fearfully ſtaid on the further ſide of the River, perceiving, and now encouraged by the coming of the King down to the River, followed a while after, ſo to increaſe their fear; and ſo having well feared one another, retired on both ſides worſe afraid than

Sophia taken.

Huniades with ten thouſand Horſemen aſſaileth the Turks by night.

than hurt. The next day the King paſſed over the River, ſending out his Scouts to ſee if all were clear before him; by whom he was advertiſed, that the Turks were at hand, having placed certain Ambuſhes faſt by, expecting but a fit time to ſet upon him. Whereupon entring into Council with his beſt and moſt expert Captains, what were beſt to be done, it was reſolved upon, That *Huniades* the next night with ten thouſand choice Horſemen, ſhould upon the ſuddain ſet upon the Enemy, then fearing nothing leſs. Who conducted by the Eſpials, was in the firſt Watch of the Night brought very near unto them. The Moon by chance, as favouring his great attempt, did then ſhine out, ſo that he might well diſcern how the Enemy lay incamped, and which way for to charge them for his beſt advantage; which was by the ſame way they were moſt like to flie, if they ſhould be put to the worſt; unto which place he led his men, and there with a moſt hideous outcry entred the Camp, as then for moſt part buried in Sleep and Security; when as the Turks awaked with the ſuddain noiſe, as it were out of a dead ſleep, and diſmayed with the horror of the cry, began to betake them, ſome to their Weapons, ſome to their Heels. Of whom ſuch as fled, lighting upon the Enemies Troops ſtanding in their way, ran as faſt back again; the other ſcarce yet well awake, and overcome with fear, and now ſcarcely themſelves, had much ado to make themſelves ready to fight. *Huniades* in the mean time riding up and down amongſt his men, cheered them up, ſtill crying out and calling upon them, couragiouſly to aſſail their ſleepy, naked, and fearful Enemies, and not to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion, and ſo notable a Victory now already in their hands. At the firſt encounter the Turks rather made a ſtir, than fought; but after that they heard that *Huniades* was there, as men diſmayed with his Name, they turned their Backs and fled, finding, which way ſoever they took, their Fellows half dead or wounded; yea, ſuch a confuſion was raiſed amongſt them with the greatneſs of the ſuddain fear, that thruſting together, with an inconſiderate deſire of Flight, they trod one another under foot, and thruſt themſelves one upon anothers Weapons; the greateſt part of them driven headlong, into the Thickets and other Straits, and not able in time to get out thence, were there by the victorious Enemy, fiercely purſuing of them, ſlain. All that night the fearful Turks were with great ſlaughter held in chaſe; but as ſoon as it was day, the reſt that remained of them, ran alſo the ſame fortune with their Fellows. A far greater Slaughter was there made, than a man would think that ſo few men could have made, when as but with ten thouſand Horſe, thirty thouſand Turks were in one night ſlain, and four thouſand taken, with a number of their Enſigns. Of *Huniades* his men were not many loſt, for the greatneſs of the Slaughter; moſt report not above five hundred, for few of them found any Enemy to reſiſt them. There was taken all the Spoil of a moſt rich Camp, the Enemy having carried with them nothing out of it. *Huniades* having in ſo ſhort time gained ſo notable a Victory, and inriched his Army, returned to the King in great Triumph; neither was that day more joyful unto theſe victorious Souldiers, than unto the reſt of the Army, who moſt joyfully expected their return. The King and the Deſpot hearing of the approach of *Huniades* from the Slaughter of the Turks, with the great applauſe and joyful acclamation of the other Legions, went to meet him three miles; and at ſuch time as at their firſt meeting *Huniades* was about to have lighted to have done him honour, he would in no caſe ſuffer him ſo to do, but taking him by the right Hand, joyed with him for the Victory, thanking God in the hearing of the whole Army, that he of his mercy had given him ſuch a Captain, as, without Envy, in all mens judgments was worthy to rule the Roman Empire. In brief, he ſhewed how much his Country, his Kingdom, yea the Chriſtian Common-Weal, was bound and indebted unto him, gave him his due Praiſes, exhorting all others to imitate his glory; the like honour did alſo all the reſt of the Nobility unto him. As for the Common Souldiers, they could not be ſatisfied with beholding of him, but embracing one another, as if they would have died one in anothers Arms, welcomed their victorious Friends. So with Joy joyning their Forces together, and ſending the rich Spoil of the Enemy, with the Priſoners chained together in long ranks before them; the King and *Huniades* in great Triumph returned into the Camp, where they cauſed general Prayers, with Thankſgiving unto Almighty God for ſo great a Victory, to be made throughout the Army.

The meeting of Uladiſlaus *and* Huniades *after the Victory.*

The Legate *Julian*, General of the voluntary Chriſtians, which for Devotion ſake ſerved of their own Charge, after ſo great a Victory moſt earneſtly perſwaded the King and the reſt of the great Commanders of the Army, to proſecute their good Fortune, and in God his ſo great Favour not to loiter, but dayly to march forward, and to take in the reſt of *Bulgaria*. Now had *Huniades* by his Eſpials learned, that from *Sophia* it was but three days journey to *Philippolis*, a great City of *Thracia*; and the like diſtance from thence to *Hadrianople*, the chief ſeat of the Turkiſh Tyrant, and as much more to *Conſtantinople*. The only difficulty was how to paſs the great and rough Mountain *Hemus*, which running a marvellous way in length, even unto the *Euxine* Sea, and mating almoſt the Skie, divideth the Countries of *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, from *Macedonia* and *Thrace*; and for the great height and roughneſs thereof, is not to be paſſed over but in two places; the one made by the great Emperor *Trajan* and the Romans, where as yet is to be ſeen a mighty ſtrong Gate built of great ſquare Stone, whereby the paſſage that way was opened or ſhut at the pleaſure of them that had the keeping thereof; the other near unto a little River, which the *Bulgarians* now call *Saltiza*. By either of theſe ways, if he ſhould find them open, *Huniades*, unto whom the King had committed both the leading and conduct of the Army, purpoſed to enter. Wherefore marching forward, they took all ſuch Towns of *Bulgaria* as ſtood in their way; ſome by force, ſome by compoſition; wherein was no ſmall help, the conformity of the Chriſtian Religion, the horrible Cruelty of the Turks, the great Affinity of Language, the moſt effectual means to win the Love of Strangers; for the *Polonians* and the *Bulgarians* both deſcended of the *Sclavonians*, and uſing the ſame Language, the *Polonian* Horſemen came to no Town, but it preſently yielded. But being come unto the Mountain *Hemus*, to have entred into *Thracia*, the Winter weather being now very cold, they learned by their Eſpials, that the aforeſaid paſſages were both faſt ſhut up with great Stones, Timber and ſuch other like matter, ſo ſtrongly, as that they were very hardly to be forced. Wherefore *Huniades* leaving the ſtraiter way made by the hand of man (which beſide the former fortification at the great Gate, the Turks had in many places, with abundance of water poured down the ſteep Hill in the night, and hard frozen with the coldneſs of the Weather, made ſo ſlippery, as that it was not poſſible either for Man or Beaſt there to ſtand, or to get up that way) upon *Chriſtmas* Even came to the other, by which the River *Saltiza* runs, the which he found likewiſe ſhut. Here they met with many inconveniences; firſt, the difficulty of the paſſage, which old *Amurath* had (not without great reaſon) ſhut up, and there placed ſtrong Garriſons, ſo at eaſe, and without danger of Battel (ſo often by his *Baſſa's* unfortunately proved) to defend his Kingdom in *Macedonia* and *Thracia*, from the invaſion of the *Hungarians*, who now of all Nations he moſt dreaded. Beſide that, in the Army was ſuch want of all things, as that the Souldiers were ready to forſake their Enſigns, and to riſe up in a general mutiny; for the Country near unto the Mountain *Hemus*, riſing high, with broken Rocks, and inacceſſible places, was altogether barren; and Victuals failing in the Camp, they were glad to live with a little Wheat and Fleſh boiled together, and that ſo ſparingly, as that the Souldiers began now generally to grow weak and faint. Beſides that, the Winter was exceeding cold, and the Froſt ſo great, that many times they could not go out of their Tents to ſeek for Forrage or Water. So that the Army enforced with Hunger and Cold, and the difficulty of the paſſage, began to retire, and had undoubtedly been diſſolved, had it not been for the often and earneſt perſwaſions of *Huniades*; for he daily told them, that the greateſt difficulties were paſt, that that which remained, was with their wonted Valour and Courage to be indured, whereunto nothing was high or difficult; that they ſhould forthwith come into the borders of *Thracia*, where they ſhould find plenty of all things; that they were now come ſo far, that if they would go back again, they ſhould in thoſe waſt Countries through which they were to paſs, find greater difficulties and dangers, than in going forward; that theſe Straits once opened, remained no more travel, but chearfully to fall to the Spoil of a moſt rich and pleaſant Country. They were not (as he ſaid) to ſtay in the midſt of their Fortunes, for that it was not always permanent, and for that the contempt of Gods favors cauſed them to be oftentimes taken from us; all that was yet done (he ſaid) was nothing, if they proceeded not further; for that whatſoever they had already won, was eaſily by the Enemy to be recovered, except that thoſe which yet remained (for that moſt part of them, as he ſaid, were ſlain, with their Houſes burnt over their Heads) were driven out of *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, and ſo quite out of *Europe*. So whilſt the Souldiers heard *Huniades* ſpeak, every man was well incouraged; but when they remembred the miſeries wherewith they were invironed, they curſed all the raſh Attempts of ambitious Princes. In the mean time News was brought by the Scouts, that the Turks were coming after them; but then began they to rejoyce, as deeming it much more honour, manfully to die in Battel, than to ſtarve with Hunger and Cold. Againſt theſe Turks was *Huniades* ſent with certain Troops of Horſemen; who incountring with them, eaſily inforced them with loſs to retire. Eight times he incountred them (as the Souldiers there preſent reported) and as often put them to Flight. In retiring back from the impregnable Mountain, the King with the greateſt part of the Army went before; after whom followed *Huniades* and the Deſpot, a good days march; when the Turks that kept the paſſage upon the Mountain, underſtanding of their return, followed them down the Hill, in good hope to be of them well revenged, before they ſhould get out of *Bulgaria*. *Carambey* the *Baſſa* of *Romania*, and Brother to *Caly-Baſſa* (a man of all others in greateſt Favour with *Amurath*, and his Brother-in-Law, as having married his Siſter) was General of this Army, and by him appointed for the keeping of theſe Straits, with expreſs charge upon no occaſion whatſoever, although it made ſhew of never ſo aſſured a Victory, to fight with the Enemy; for he thought it Victory enough, without any loſs to have kept his Enemies out of *Thracia*. Which the old Kings Command, *Carambey* for all that neglected, in good hope by a notable Victory eaſily to anſwer the contempt of that he was commanded. The Chriſtian Army deſcending down the broken Mountains, was come to a great Mountain, which the *Bulgarians* call *Cunobiza*, and part of the Mountain *Hemus*; at whoſe Heels followed *Carambey*, with his Turks, ſtill hovering over their Heads, to take them at ſome advantage; whom the Chriſtians beholding, could not by their Captains be ſtayed, but that they would many times by Companies flie forth upon them, and deſperately fight with them in places of great advantage, ſaying, That they had rather die in fight like men, than to ſtarve with Hunger and Cold. Here *Carambey*, being himſelf a man of great Courage, and deſirous of Honour, and by the raſhneſs of his Enemies allured to fight; and withal, beſide the advantage of the ground, perceiving himſelf to exceed his Enemies both in Strength and Number of men, could not be ſtaied, but would needs give Battel, with ſuch a deſire, as if he had been already aſſured of the Victory. *Huniades* and the Deſpot had before perceived, that the Turks, provoked with the braving of their men, would aſſuredly fall upon them, and were therefore much troubled with the abſence of the King, who (as is before ſaid) was gone a days march before they ſaw they could neither ſhun Battel, neither if they could have ſo done, would their deſperate Souldiers be ſtaied, for the deſire they had to fight. Yet ſeeing *Carambey* coming down upon them, they put themſelves (though unwillingly) in beſt order they could to receive him; perſwading their Souldiers not raſhly in fury to run upon their Enemies, as deſperate men prodigal of their Lives, but to keep their ranks, and orderly to fight, and ſo like valiant men to carry away the Victory, or to leave unto their Enemies a bloody remembrance thereof. Now had *Carambey* ſent his Horſemen down the Hill, and the Battel was begun, where both the Armies met together with great fury, and a cruel Fight was made both at the foot of the Hill, and amongſt the Hills and Vallies alſo; in which hard incounter many were ſlain, as well on the one ſide as the other. The *Polonian* men at Arms (whom the King but a little before had left with *Huniades* againſt all Events) with the *Hungarian* light Horſemen (of whom the Deſpot had the leading) fought ſo that day, as if they had fought for nothing more, but how honourably to die; and the Turks for a ſpace ſtood hard to it, ſo that many were there ſlain; yet at length finding themſelves hardly laid to, as by deſperate men, reſolved to ſell their Lives dear, they began to faint and to give ground; when as *Carambey* coming in behind them with new ſupplies, rated the cowardly, ſtaid them that were flying, and ſometime with rough Speeches, ſometime with fair perſwaſion, incouraged the wavering, and reſtored the Battel, before almoſt quite loſt. Neither did *Huniades* and the Deſpot leſs beſtir them, but as ſoon as they perceived the Enemy a little to faint, by and by cried out, Victory;

The Hungarians *inforced with the difficulty of the paſſage of the Mountain* Hemus, *retire.*

A great Battel betwixt Huniades *and the* Baſſa Carambey

with

The Turks overthrown, and Carambey *taken Priſoner.*

with chearful Speech incouraging their men, ſtill calling upon them, to keep their Ranks ſtrong, and to urge their preſent good Fortune, aſſuring themſelves, that they fought againſt thoſe Infidels under the favour and protection of the Almighty; and forthwith ſent certain Companies of Footmen, who climbing up the Hill among the Buſhes, with their half Pikes and Boar-Spears panched the Turks Horſes as they paſſed by them. Theſe looſe Companies did the Turks Horſemen much harm, and here began their Battel to decline; they which were coming down, for fear of the danger retiring back again unto them that were left above for the keeping of the Straits; and the bolder ſort of them, which were come down into the Vallies, compaſſed about with the Men at Arms, hardly recovered the riſing of the Hill. *Carambey* in the mean time crying out behind them, one while calling back them that fled, another while relieved them that fainted, and to the uttermoſt of his power reſtoring the Battel, performed all the parts both of a valiant Souldier and worthy Captain, couragiouſly fighting himſelf in the thickeſt of his Enemies, and by his own Valour ſtaied for a time the loſt Battel. At length performing his laſt indeavour, deceived by the Snow, he fell into a Bog, where ſticking faſt with his Horſe, and not able to help himſelf, he was taken Priſoner by a common Souldier. The reſt that eſcaped out of this bloody Battel, retired themſelves unto them that were left above upon the Mountain, for the defence of the paſſage. After whom the Chriſtians followed, through the untract and rough places, until that hindred of their further purſuit by the approach of the night, and the abruptneſs of the way, they were glad to ſound a Retreat, and ſo retired unto the Camp. Many other great men were taken beſide *Carambey*, but many more ſlain in the Battel, and moſt of all in the Flight; few eſcaped, but ſuch as fled back again up into the Mountains. In the Retreat, *Huniades* ſeeing ſo gallant a man as was *Carambey* (though to him altogether unknown) unworthily bound, and led Priſoner by a common Souldier, asked the Souldier, if he would ſell his Priſoner? who ſaid, he would; and asked for him ten Ducats, (a poor price for ſo great a man;) unto whom *Huniades* commanded to be given four hundred, and ſo ſent him to his Tent, comforting of him up with chearful words, and willing that he ſhould be well uſed. The Deſpot the ſame Night coming to *Huniades* his Tent, to confer with him about the remainder of the War, and ſeeing ſo brave a man ſtanding among the reſt by the fire ſide, began to talk with him in the Turkiſh Language, whereof he had ſome knowledge, by reaſon of the nearneſs of the Nation, and ſuch matters as he had ſometime to do with them; and having ſome gueſs by his talk, what he was, and pitying his Eſtate, asked *Huniades*, how he would ranſome him? who ſaid, that he coſt him four hundred Ducats but that he valued him at forty thouſand; which the Deſpot offered to pay him. Thus by the ſtrange change of Fortune, was *Carambey*, of late ſo great a Commander, and ſo near allied unto the great Turk, valued and prized twice in one day by his Enemies, as a mirror of the uncertainty of Worldly Bliſs and Felicity. The *Polonians* report ſomewhat otherwiſe of this Battel; as that *Uladiſlaus* ſhould himſelf therein be preſent, and the chief that therein commanded; howbeit the *Hungarian* Writers, whoſe credit herein we follow, report it as before, not to have been fought under the good Fortune of the King then abſent, but under the leading of *Huniades* and the Deſpot.

Scanderbeg *revolteth from the Turks.*

Out of this Battel (or as ſome others report, a little before, out of the Battel of *Morava*) fled the great Captain *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*, now ſeeking to deliver both himſelf, and his Native Country of *Epirus*, out of the Thraldom of the Turks, as preſently after he did; whoſe unwonted Flight not a little terrified the reſt of the Turks Army, and much furthered the Chriſtians Victory, whoſe proceedings he always ſecretly favoured; having (as it was thought) ſecret intelligence with the great Captain *Huniades*, who not without inſtructions from him (as ſome ſay) gave that great overthrow unto the Turks at *Morava*. But of him and his worthy Acts done for the deliverance and defence of his Country, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

Uladiſlaus *ſeeketh in vain to open the paſſage of the Mountain* Hemus.

Shortly after this great overthrow and diſcomfiture of the Turks, the two great Captains, *Huniades* and the Deſpot, together with the King, conſulted for the removing of the Turks Garriſons, left above for the keeping of the ſtrait paſſages of the Mountain, and the proſecution of the War. Which *Uladiſlaus* (conſidering the difficulty of the matter, and his Souldiers neceſſity) thought it not good further to proſecute, but forthwith to return. But *Huniades* and the Deſpot, the one thirſting after Honour, and the other in no leſs hope, by the good ſucceſs of this War, to recover again his loſt Kingdom, ſaid, That the Turks were in any caſe to be removed, the paſſage opened, and the ſparks that yet remained, for fear of raiſing a greater Fire, extinguiſhed; oppoſing againſt the difficulty by the King alledged, the invincible Courage of his Souldiers, whereunto (they ſaid) nothing was impoſſible or difficult. To which opinion the King alſo (leſt he ſhould ſeem to diſtruſt the Valour of his Captains or Souldiers) eaſily yielded, and ſo commanded on Gods name to ſet forward. The firſt that mounted the Hill was the Kings Battalion, which by the roughneſs and abruptneſs of the Mountain hindered, oftentimes ſtaid. But *Huniades* ſtill carried with an earneſt deſire to proſecute the Victory, and leaving nothing unattempted, in ſearching about found a crooked turning way, whereby he with his men, more eaſily and readily got up to the top of the Mountain, even with their Enemies, undeſcried or moleſted, by reaſon of the broken covert of the place; from whence they were in good hope eaſily to have come unto their Enemies. But being come up to the place they deſired, they found ſuch a deep and wide gaping of the Rock betwixt them and the Enemy, as was neither to be paſſed, or filled up; yet being come very near, they attempted by Croſs-Bow ſhot, and great Stones caſt out of Slings, and other ſuch Engins, to have removed the Turks from their places; who were therewith, and with their unexpected approach, at the firſt ſo greatly both anoyed and dicomfited, that they were almoſt at the point to have forſaken the paſſage, had not *Alis Beg* (but the night before choſen for their General inſtead of *Carambey*) incouraged them and taught them how by ſhrouding themſelves under the broken Rocks and Parapets with tumultuary labour caſt up, to ſave themſelves from the ſhot of their Enemies. In the mean time alſo *Huniades*, by another more high and ſteep way, whereby the Enemy was alſo to be approached, had ſent up other Companies of Souldiers, who fighting at too much diſadvantage, were by the Turks eaſily rejected. So at length, ſeeing the vain attempt given by himſelf upon the top of the Hill; and the deſperate danger of the others in climbing the inacceſſible Mountain, where one might keep down an hundred; deſpairing to inforce the Enemy, he by the Kings Command cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and ſo again retired down the Mountain, to the great rejoycing of the Turks. The next day the Winter cold raging, and wants in the Army ſtill more and more increaſing, the King with the reſt of the great Commanders entred into conſultation for the haſtening of their return out of that rough and barren Country, into places of greater plenty, before the Army were brought into any greater extremity. Whereunto *Huniades* (giving place unto neceſſity, which always ſuffereth not to be regarded that is ſeemly) now eaſily yielded; only the Deſpot ſpake againſt it, blaming them, that having taken the General, and put their Enemies to Flight, and Victory now as it were in their hands, they would not proſecute the ſmall remainder of the War, but cowardly turn their Backs unto their vanquiſhed Enemies; promiſing that he himſelf would find Mony enough for the providing of all things needful for the relief of the Army. So ſaid the Popes Legate alſo. But foraſmuch as the Wants in the Army were great, and the Souldiers preſently pinched with Hunger and Cold, they could with no hope of any profit, were it never ſo great, be perſwaded to ſtay; openly crying out, that it was not their Captains and Lieutenants, which wanted nothing, but them the poor Souldiers that ſtarved for hunger; as for the Deſpot, that he in hope of recovering his Kingdom, perſwaded things impoſſible, and no way to be performed; neither to be any thing moved with the death of their Men or Cattel. Need (they ſaid) could not be vanquiſhed; but that when Winter was paſt, they would willingly return again unto the ſacred War. In the mean time, Winter raging, and Hunger commanding, let us give over (ſaid they) and depart into more fruitful places, there to refreſh our Bodies, ſpent with Labour, Cold and Hunger. For which reaſons, the King ſending before his Baggage, retired again by the ſame way he came. Which the Turks from above beholding, and ſtrengthned with new Supplies, followed after them, as after men that had fled; oftentimes aſſailing them in the Rereward, and ſetting upon them ſometimes on the one ſide, ſometimes on the other, with often skirmiſhes both did and received much harm. Whoſe manner of Fight was, to retire when they were themſelves charged, and preſently by great Troops to charge again their Enemies, their Backs once turned to them, and ſo troubled the Army, that it was conſtrained oftentimes to ſtay; beſides that, loded with the rich Spoil of the Enemy, and much Baggage, it could not of it ſelf make any great haſt. Now was he by the way come into a great thick Wood, full of deep Bogs and Water-courſes, hard to be paſſed through; where the reſt of the Army going before, in the Rereward, at the entrance of the Wood were left certain ſtrong Companies of Men at Arms, as a Wall againſt the purſuing Enemy; whom the Turks with their ready light Horſemen fiercely charged; where betwixt them, in the Wood was fought a great Fight, and a great Tumult raiſed; unto the noiſe whereof, they which marched before haſtily returning, in skirmiſhing, many of them fell into thoſe deep Bogs and queachy Places, out of which they could hardly rid themſelves again. Beſides that, there were many crooked and troubleſome turnings and windings, with ſuddain deſcents, ſo ſteep, as that in going down the ſame, their Horſes came tumbling heels over head, and there lay overthrown together with their Riders in ſuch ſort, as that to avoid theſe difficulties, they were oftentimes inforced to fight on foot. In which troubleſome skirmiſh about fourſcore Men at Arms were loſt; but of the Turks, beſide them which were ſlain, were taken an hundred and ſeventy, all whom *Huniades* cauſed preſently to be ſlain. In this Wood the Chriſtians were more troubled with the difficulties of the place, than the Enemies Aſſaults. Wherefore Wants dayly more and more increaſing in the Army, which by reaſon of the multitude of their Carriages, abundance of their Baggage, and often Aſſaults of the Turks, was able to make no way; the King for fear his Army ſhould in ſo long and ſlow march through thoſe troubleſome and barren Countries, be conſumed with Hunger and other Wants, cauſed all the Carriages and Baggage to be brought into the midſt of the Army, and of it, all ſuch things as ſerved rather for burthen than uſe, to be there burnt; and the Arms as well of ſuch Souldiers as he had there loſt, as of the Enemy, to be buried in the ground; and all the weak Beaſts that ſerved for burthen, to be killed. So the Army well diſcharged of ſuch unprofitable burthens, marched much more ſpeedily, neither was ſo much ſubject unto the Aſſaults of the Turks, as before. And ſo at length by long Journies, *Uladiſlaus* with his Army arrived at *Belgrade*, where he was of his Subjects honourably received. And having there ſtaid certain days, and well refreſhed his Army, departing thence, and paſſing the River *Savus*, came to the Royal City *Buda*, where he was of all his Subjects joyfully received alſo; the Legate and *Huniades* going on his right Hand, and the Deſpot on the left; after whom followed other Colonels, Captains, and Lieutenants with their Companies; who at their firſt meeting with the Citizens, more than a mile out of the City, in token of their mutual Joy, gave together ſuch joyful acclamations and outcries, as that the Heavens ſeemed to reſound, and the Earth to ſhake with the noiſe thereof. Before the King, at his coming unto the City, went a long Company of the notable Turks Captives; and next before him, *Carambey*, bound in Chains; upon whom all mens Eyes were fixed. With them were alſo carried the Enemies Enſigns, and ſuch Spoils as had been ſaved. Behind the King came *Huniades* in a triumphant Robe, in the midſt betwixt the Legate on the right Hand, and the Deſpot on the left, as he that next unto the King had beſt deſerved the Honour of the Triumph. Next unto them followed the devout Chriſtians, that for the Zeal of Religion had moſt honourably of their own Charges voluntarily ſerved in thoſe Wars; and on both ſides of them the Civil Magiſtrates and beſt of the Citizens; behind them came the reſt of the Legions, and about them both upon the right Hand and the left, the promiſcuous common People, doubling and redoubling the Praiſes of the King, and *Huniades*. Before all theſe went the Prelates and Prieſts in ſolemn Proceſſion, ſinging Hymns and Pſalms of Thankſgiving unto Almighty God. *Uladiſlaus* coming to the Gate of the City, acknowledging God to have been the Author of ſo great a Victory, alighting from his Horſe, on foot went firſt unto the Cathedral Church of our Lady; and there giving moſt hearty Thanks unto Almighty God, hanged up the Enemies Enſigns, and part of the Spoil, in perpetual remembrance of ſo notable a Victory; which he afterward cauſed to be moſt lively depainted in a fair Table of moſt curious work, and there in the ſame Church to be hanged up; as were alſo the Arms of all the notable Chriſtians that ſerved in that moſt famous Expedition, which there long time after remained. Which Solemnities ended, he went

The Hungarians *much troubled in paſſing a thick Wood.*

Uladiſlaus *honourably received at* **Buda.**

went to his Palace in his Caſtle, and there having given to every man, but eſpecially to *Huniades*, his due Commendation, gave them leave to depart. Thus the *Hungarians*, with whom alſo the *Polonians* in moſt part agree, report of this notable Expedition of their King *Uladiſlaus*; howbeit the Turks (notable diſſemblers of their own Loſſes) confeſſing the great Overthrow, call the Baſſa ſo overthrown, not by the name of *Carambey*, but of *Caſſanes*; and the noble Priſoner that was taken, by the name of *Mechmet Beg*, Sanzack of *Ancyra*, *Amurath* his Son in law, and Brother to *Cali-Baſſa*, *Amurath* his great Counſellor, of ſome called *Carambey* after the name of his Father.

Scanderbeg *wiſely diſſembleth his deſire for the delivery of himſelf and his Country.*

Out of this late ſlaughter of the Turks, where *Carambey* was taken, ſcaped that valiant Prince and famous Warrior *George Caſtriot* (of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*) as is before declared; whoſe noble mind had long time deſired to break out of the golden Fetters of the Turkiſh Thraldom, and to be revenged of the intollerable Injury by *Amurath* done to his Country, his Parents, his Brethren, and himſelf. Although he had always moſt warily diſſembled the ſame, for fear of the old Tyrant; being oftentimes ſolicited and animated thereunto by ſecret Letters and Meſſengers from his Friends in *Epirus*, knowing right well that the leaſt fortune thereof had been unto him preſent death. But finding no fit means for the accompliſhment thereof, wiſely diſſembled the ſame, with all the ſhews of Love and Loyalty to *Amurath* that might be; until that now in this great Overthrow of the Turks Army, under the leading of *Carambey*, and in ſo great a confuſion, he took occaſion to put in practiſe what he had long before in his deep conceit plotted, for the delivery both of himſelf and his Country from the Turkiſh Bondage and Slavery. At which time *Scanderbeg* (for ſo from henceforth we call him) having a little before imparted the matter unto ſome of his truſty Friends and Country-men, no leſs deſirous of liberty than himſelf, but eſpecially unto his Nephew *Ameſa*, the Son of his Brother *Repoſius*, a young man of great courage (in great confuſion of the Turkiſh Army, when every man was glad to ſhift for himſelf) had ever in his flight a vigilant eye upon the Baſſaes Principal Secretary; whom accompanied with a few Turks, he with his Nephew *Ameſa*, and other of his faithful Friends cloſely followed, as he fled from the ſlaughter; but when he had got the Secretary with his few Followers in place moſt convenient for his purpoſe, he ſet upon the Turks and ſlew them every one; and carrying the Secretary away with him faſt bound, when he had brought him whither he thought good, with great Threats, compelled him (ſore againſt his will) to write counterfeit Letters, as from the Baſſa his Maſter, unto the Governor of *Croia*, commanding him in *Amuraths* name, Forthwith to deliver unto *Scanderbeg*, the new choſen Governor, the Charge of the City with the Garriſon there; cunningly enterlacing many other things in the ſame Letters, whereby the matter might ſeem more probable. Which Letters ſo extorted, he preſently ſlew the Secretary, and as many more of the Turks as came in his way, of purpoſe that his doings might be the longer kept from the knowledge of *Amurath*, who not hearing what was become of him, might reaſonably conjecture that he was ſlain by the *Hungarians* among the reſt of the Turks.

Whilſt the fame of this great Overthrow is going to *Hadrianople*, and there filleth the Turks Court with ſorrow and heavineſs, in the mean time *Scanderbeg* having with him three thouſand *Epirot* Souldiers which followed him out of the battel, as men deſirous rather to fight for the liberty of themſelves and of their Country, than in the quarrel of the Turk, was with incredible celerity come into the upper Country of *Dibra*, in the Borders of *Epirus*, about ſeventy miles from *Croia*; into which Country he was moſt joyfully received, where he ſtayed but one day, and choſe a few of thoſe three hundred which he brought with him, to wait upon him when he went to *Croia*, as if they had been his domeſtical Servants; the reſt, with other three hundred luſty Souldiers, which were then come unto him out of *Dibra*, he appointed to be led by ſecret by-ways through the Woods and Mountains by perfect Guids, until they came ſo nigh *Croia* as was poſſible for them to come, unperceived; and there to ſtay until he might find opportunity to convey them into the City to oppreſs the Turkiſh Garriſon. So he with a ſmall Company of his Followers, as if they had been his private Retinue, took the way towards *Croia*. But when he began to draw near to the City, he ſent *Ameſa* before with two Servitors attending upon him, as if he had been his Secretary, to certifie the Governor of his coming. This young Gentleman, as he was of a moſt ſharp wit, and well ſpoken, ſo had he framed his Countenance and Attire, that he ſeemed to be a natural Turk; who aſſoon as he was come into the City, he went unto the Governor, whom after he had ſaluted according to the Turkiſh manner, he delivered his Meſſage as from *Scanderbeg* his Maſter, with ſo good Grace, and words ſo well placed, that all he ſaid was verily believed for truth. But when *Scanderbeg* himſelf came, and had delivered the great Commanders Letters, the Governor made no further queſtion of the matter, but preſently delivered unto him the Government of the City, and the next day departed out of *Croia* with all his Houſhold towards *Hadrianople*. *Scanderbeg* having by this policy got the Government of the chief City of *Epirus*, the night following found means in the dead time of the night, to receive into the City the Souldiers of *Dibra*, who were by this time come, according as he had before appointed; moſt part of them he placed in moſt convenient places of the City, and for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the Turkiſh Garriſon, he with the reſt, firſt ſet upon the Turks which kept the Watch upon the Wall, and ſlew them; and afterwards breaking into their private houſes, ſlew many of them in their Beds; the Chriſtian Citizens alſo taking up Arms at the ſame time, helped to increaſe the ſlaughter of the Turks, ſo that in the ſpace of a few hours, there was none of the Turkiſh Garriſon left alive, except ſome few, which were content to forſake their Mahometan Superſtition, and to become Chriſtians. Many of the Turks might ſo have ſaved their lives, and would not, chuſing rather to die, and (as it is reported) alſo to kill themſelves, than to forſake their damnable Superſtition; ſo ſmall is the regard of life unto reſolute Minds, in what quarrel ſoever.

The City of *Croia* being thus happily by *Scanderbeg* recovered, wherein appeared both the greateſt difficulty, and hope of his good or bad Succeſs in ſo great an Attempt, he preſently ſent *Ameſa* back again into *Dibra*, and other ſpeedy Meſſengers likewiſe into all the parts of *Epirus*, to diſperſe the News, and to ſtir up the people to take up Arms for the recovery of their loſt Liberty; but flying Fame, the ſpeedy Poſt, had prevented the Meſſengers by him ſent, and already filled every corner of *Epirus* with report of *Scanderbeg* his coming, and of all that was done at *Croia*. And the oppreſſed *Epirots* which had long wiſhed to ſee that happy day, were now up in Arms in every place, wanting nothing but Leaders, whoſe coming although they greatly deſired, yet they ſtayed not thereupon, but running together by heaps (as the manner of the common people is in all great Tumults) they ſet upon the Turks Garriſons which lay abroad in the Country, and ſlew moſt part of them; whereby it came to paſs, that no Turk could ſtir in the Country, but that he was ſnatched up and ſlain, ſo that in few days there was not a Turk to be found in *Epirus*, but ſuch as lay in Garriſons in ſtrong Towns. In this fury of the people, the Governor of *Croia*, with all his Retinue, was by the Country people by the way as he went, ſet upon and ſlain, and all his Goods taken as a Prey.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus recovered *Croia*, and ſcoured the Countrey, yet to remove the Garriſons, which *Amurath* had put in every ſtrong City, was thought to be a matter of great importance, and more difficulty. For which purpoſe he commanded thoſe whom he had appointed for Captains, ſpeedily to repair unto *Croia* with all the Power they could make. At which time alſo, divers Noblemen his nigh Kinſmen, reſorted to him with their Followers; ſo that within a few days, he had together at *Croia* twelve thouſand Souldiers well appointed. With this Army he marched from *Croia* to *Petrella*, a ſtrong City 25 miles diſtant from *Croia*, and encamped before it. This City is ſtrongly ſituate upon the top of a ſteep rocky Mountain, as all the reſt of the Cities of *Epirus* be, and was by the Turks well furniſhed with Men, Munition, and other things needful; yet *Scanderbeg* was in good hope that the Turkiſh Garriſon there, terrified with the fortune of the Garriſon of *Croia*, and the ſlaughter of the Turks in the Country round about, would be glad to hearken unto reaſonable Conditions. Which to make proof of, aſſoon as he was encamped, he ſent one of thoſe Souldiers which had followed him out of *Hungary* (a faithful and wiſe Fellow) unto *Petrella*, to offer unto the Souldiers, That if they would yield up the City, it ſhould be at their choice, either to continue in Service with *Scanderbeg*, with whom they ſhould find moſt bountiful Entertainment, or elſe to depart in ſafety with Bag and Baggage at their pleaſure, with an honourable Reward to be divided among them. The ſubtil Meſſenger coming thither, and framing his Tale according to the preſent occaſion, and neceſſity of the time, firſt declared unto them, how that *Amurath* of late vanquiſhed by the *Hungarians* in a great Battel, and looking every day to be ſet upon by divers other Chriſtian Princes, was ſo buſied that he had no leiſure to look into *Epirus*, or to ſend them any Relief; after that, he in the name of *Scanderbeg* offered them the Conditions before rehearſed, ſetting the ſame forth with many great words; willing them oftentimes by the way, to conſider the dreadful miſery that but the other day befel to the Garriſon at *Croia*, and other their Fellows abroad in the Country, whoſe dead bodies as then lay in every Corner of *Epirus* for a prey to the hungry Dogs and greedy Wolves; which thing was eaſily believed of them of the Garriſon, for that divers of the Turks lately fled out of the Country into the City, had themſelves ſeen the ſame to be true. The Governor having a little conſidered of the matter, was content to give up the City, upon condition that he with the Souldiers might in ſafety depart with ſuch things as they had; not covenanting upon any further Reward, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid that he had ſold the City. Which when *Scanderbeg* had faithfully promiſed to perform, the Turkiſh Governor coming forth with all his Garriſon, yielded up the City; and *Scanderbeg* mindful of his promiſe, gave unto them both Meat and Money, and ſent them with a ſufficient Convoy of Horſemen in ſafety out of *Epirus*.

Scanderbeg *cometh with his Army to* Petrella.

Petrella *yielded unto* Scanderbeg.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus gained *Petrella*, he placed therein a convenient Garriſon, and ſet all things in order as he thought good; but ſuffered none to enter into the City, more than the appointed Garriſon, although it was then very cold and froſty Weather. This done, he preſently raiſed his Camp, and following his good fortune, marched towards *Petra-Alba* in ſuch haſt, as if the City had been running away from him; well knowing, that though Time be evermore precious, yet never more than in martial affairs, wherein the leaſt moment is oftentimes of ſuch power as to effect or fruſtrate mens greateſt deſigns. *Petra-Alba* is a City in the Country of *Æmathia*, diſtant from *Petrella* three miles, ſtrongly ſituate upon the top of a Mountain, near unto the River *Æmathus*. *Scanderbeg* had ſcarcely well encamped himſelf before this City, but that the Governor thereof, terrified with the fortune of *Croia*, and *Petrella*, offered to deliver up the City, on the ſame Conditions that were granted at *Petrella*; which being agreed upon, the City was forthwith delivered, and the Conditions by *Scanderbeg* faithfully performed.

Petra-Alba *yielded*.

Petra-Alba being thus taken, and all things ſet in order, *Scanderbeg* carried with the courſe of his Victory, without delay came to *Stelluſa*, which is alſo a ſtrong City of *Æmathia*, fifty miles diſtant from *Croia*, pleaſantly (as it were of purpoſe) built upon the top of an high Hill, ſtanding in the midſt of a pleaſant and fruitful Valley, with great Plains round about it. There *Scanderbeg* encamped a little before the going down of the Sun, and reſted that night. In the morning he ſent a Meſſenger to the City, with like conditions as were accepted at *Petrella* and *Petra-Alba*; which moſt part of the Garriſon-Souldiers of the Turks would gladly have accepted, but that *Deſdrot* the Governor of the City, with ſome few others earneſtly withſtood the reſt; whereupon a great Contention aroſe amongſt the Garriſon Souldiers. But the greater part deſirous to yield up the City, when they could by no means perſwade the Governor and thoſe few which took his part, to yield to their deſires, they violently ſet upon him, and delivered him with the reſt to *Scanderbeg*, faſt bound, and ſo yielded up the City. For which Fact, fearing to return to *Amurath*, ſome of them remained with *Scanderbeg*, and afterwards became Chriſtians; the reſt were either honeſtly provided for, or elſe well rewarded and ſuffered to depart whether they would. All the other weaker places of *Epirus* wherein any of the Turkiſh Garriſons lay, hearing that the ſtrongeſt Cities were already delivered unto *Scanderbeg*, in ſhort time yielded themſelves upon like conditions; only *Sfetigrade* (otherwiſe called *the holy City*) remained in the poſſeſſion of the Turks; which City is placed in the upper Country of *Dibra*, in the Frontiers of *Epirus*, upon the top of an high and ſteep Hill, as if it were an Eagles neſt. Unto this City came *Scanderbeg* with all his Army; and having placed his Tents, he began firſt to aſſay if he could gain it by Compoſition, as he had done the reſt; and the rather to move them by the examples of others, he cauſed his Embaſſadors to declare unto them all that had happened at *Croia*, *Petrella*, *Petra-Alba*, and *Stelluſa*, ſpecially how he had uſed the Garriſon

Stelluſa *yielded by the Garriſon.*

riſon of *Stelluſa*, which yielded unto him, with all bounty and courteſie; and how that on the contrary part he had the Governor in bands, with all his wilful Partakers, whom they ſhould preſently ſee executed before their faces, if they forthwith delivered not the City. This Meſſage troubled the minds of all the Garriſon, but eſpecially of the Governor, ſeeing before his eyes in the woful example of another man, what might by and by happen unto himſelf. Wherefore fearing to deliver his own opinion, and to give anſwer unto the Embaſſador, for offending the inconſtant multitude and unknown minds of the people, he firſt entertained the Embaſſadors honourably, and afterwards turning himſelf unto the Citizens and Souldiers, ſaid unto them, *Worthy men and moſt faithful Souldiers, what is your pleaſure, or what ſhall we anſwer to theſe our Enemies demands?* Then one of the Souldiers that ſtood by (a rough bold ſpirited Fellow) unwilling for his own part to give up the City, and deeming the Governor to be of the ſame mind, in that he had termed them worthy and faithful, and *Scanderbeg* by the name of an Enemy, drawing out his Sword, and with his right hand ſhaking it on high, anſwered:

A notable Speech of a Common Souldier to the reſt of his fellows for the holding out of the City againſt Scanderbeg.

Moſt valiant Governor, this ſame and the like, ſhall make anſwer for us. Nothing was to leſs purpoſe, than with premeditated words to ſeek to terrifie valiant minds, firſt with the divers Fortune of Croia, *and then of* Stelluſa; *for as the faces and countenances of men are divers, ſo alſo are their minds and diſpoſitions. Every man wiſely directeth his own actions, according to his own proper humor, and by the ſame plays the Fool or Bedlam. We preſcribe no Laws to them of* Petrella, *nor to them of* Stelluſa, *neither let them preſcribe any unto us. Let never ſo baſe examples of cowardly Slaves ever enter into the thoughts of couragious men; brave minds diſdain to imitate other men in their honeſt Actions, much leſs in their Cowardiſe. And why? for every man liveth after his own faſhion. Wherefore let* Scanderbeg *proceed, let him kill the Governor of* Stelluſa *before our faces, let him ſacrifice our fellow Souldiers, do you therefore think that we ſhall die in their Bodies? ſhall our living ſpirits be there extinguiſhed? ſhall our blood there be ſpilt? But O happy Bodies, O ghoſts of men ever to be revenced, which in worthy defence of your Liberty and Faith have indifferently contemned Gold, Silver, Death, and Torture, and whatſover elſe miſerable Worldlings hold dear or diſmal! Wherefore carry thou back again unto thy Maſter this Anſwer from a Common Souldier; If he ſeek to impoſe theſe conditions upon us, let him once more bare that arm of his, which men of courage fear not ſo much as he thinketh. He may peradventure inforce us to theſe conditions of his, if God forſake us; but aſſuredly perſwade us unto them, ſhall be never. And yet for all that, your Maſter* Scanderbeg *is not the man we have long ſince heard him reported to be, of an honourable mind, eaſie to forgive, and ſuch a one as will indifferently judge betwixt the Enemy and himſelf; for why then doth he hold in bonds the Governor of* Stelluſa, *for that he freely, juſtly, and honourably ſtood in defence of his King, his Faith and Liberty? Why doth he threaten him with death, whereas he hath not deſerved the ſame, although he hath reſolutely offered himſelf thereunto for defence of his liberty?*

All they which were preſent, liſtned with great attention to the Souldiers Speech, neither was he interrupted by any, until he had ſaid what he would. Then the Souldiers thronging about him, and beating their Swords and Targets together, withall gave a great ſhout, in token that they all approved his Speech for anſwer. So the Governor encouraged with the chearfulneſs of his Souldiers, returned the Embaſſador without other Anſwer than that of the Common Souldiers, and preſently appointed every man to his Charge, and with great carefulneſs ordered all things for the better defence of the City. But when *Scanderbeg* had heard the Anſwer that was ſent him from the City, delivered by the mouth of a Common Souldier, he ſmiled thereat, and ſaid, *He is undoubtedly a valiant Souldier, if his Deeds be anſwerable to his Speeches; but if my force fail me not, I will make him happy amongſt the happy ghoſts of them of* Stelluſa; and by and by commanded the Governor of *Stelluſa*, with the other Captives, to be brought before him, and there cauſed ſome of them which were content voluntarily to forſake their Mahometan Superſtition, to be preſently baptized, to the great grief of the other Turks. *Deſdrot* the Governor with the reſt, to the terrour of the Defendants, were in their ſight put to death; whereupon the Garriſon-Souldiers with great Indignation gave a ſhout from the Wall, and bitterly railed upon the Chriſtians.

Scanderbeg *his ſhort anſwer to the Souldiers Speech.*

Deſdrot *Governor of* Stelluſa *executed.*

Scanderbeg conſidering the ſtrength of the City, with the time of the year, unfit for Souldiers to keep the Field, for Winter was now grown on, left *Moſes Golemus*, a moſt valiant Captain, with a Garriſon of three thouſand Souldiers, to keep in the Turks Garriſon at *Sfetigrade*, and to defend the Borders of *Epirus*, until he might at more convenient time himſelf return again to the Siege; and ſo with the reſt of his Army repaired to *Croia*, when he had in the ſpace of little more than one month, to his immortal Praiſe, recovered his Kingdom, and driven the Turks out of every corner of *Epirus*, excepting only *Sfetigrade*; which City alſo not long after was by compoſition delivered unto him. During all this time, from his firſt coming into *Epirus*, he never ſlept above two hours in a night, but with reſtleſs labour proſecuted his affairs. He ever fought againſt the Turks with his Arm bare, and that with ſuch fierceneſs, that the blood did oftentimes burſt out of his lips. It is written, that he with his own hand ſlew three thouſand Turks in the time of his Wars againſt them. But of his great and worthy Victories obtained againſt the two mighty Turkiſh Kings, *Amurath*, and *Mahomet* his Son, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in due time and place.

Macedonia *ſpoiled by* Scanderbeg.

After that *Scanderbeg* had thus by great force and policy wrung his Inheritance out of *Amuraths* hands, and ſcoured the Turks out of every corner of *Epirus*; he proceeded further, and overran part of *Macedonia*, making ſundry Incurſions into the heart of that Country, being then in the Turks poſſeſſion; whereby he ſo enriched his Souldiers, that they deſired of him no better pay. Which was ſo uſual a thing with this reſtleſs Prince, as that it began to grow into a Proverb in moſt Princes Courts, That the ſpoil of *Amurath* his Dominions, was *Scanderbegs* Revenues. Complaint hereof came daily to *Amuraths* Court, which the crafty aged Sire (being then troubled with the *Hungarian* Wars) ſeemed at the firſt to make no great account of, but as of that he could eaſily and at his pleaſure remedy; although he was therewith inwardly grieved at the heart. But when the certain report of one miſchief as it were in the neck of another, continually ſounded in his ears, and that he ſaw no end to be expected of theſe miſeries, he ſent *Alis Baſſa*, one of his greateſt men of War, with an Army of forty thouſand ſelect Souldiers, at once to ſubdue the Country of *Epirus*, and to bring it again under his Obeiſance. The ſetting forth of this great

Alis Baſſa *with an Army of forty thouſand ſent againſt* Scanderbeg.

Army, under the Conduct of ſo famous a Captain, repleniſhed the minds of the Turks with ſuch an aſſured hope of Victory, that a man would have thought *Scanderbeg* had been already taken, and now brought to execution; yea the Common Souldiers before their ſetting forth, were oftentimes at vain contention for the diviſion of the ſpoil they were never like to have: *So ready are men to promiſe Wonders to themſelves, whilſt they confer but with their own deſires.* And on the other ſide, Fame, the forerunner of great attempts, had filled all the ſmall Country of *Epirus*, with great terror and fear of *Alis Baſſaes* coming. The Country-men with their Familes fled into the ſtrong Cities, and the Citizens within their Walls fell to fortifying the ſame, and kept continual Watch and Ward, as if the Enemy had even then lien faſt by them; the aged Men and Women commended themſelves and all theirs firſt to God by prayers, and then to the courage of the luſty Souldiers with tears, as in caſe of extream peril and danger. Only *Scanderbeg* was nothing moved either with the terrible report of the Baſſaes coming, or the vain fear of his Subjects; but always kept the ſame chearfulneſs both of countenance and ſpeech, as he was wont, being well acquainted with the tumult of the Turkiſh Wars, and having (as was ſuppoſed) certain Intelligence before from his ſecret Friends in the Turks Court, of all *Amuraths* deſigns. So that having ſet all things in order for the ſafety of his Country, he began to levy an Army at *Croia*; at which time moſt part of his Subjects of *Epirus*, which were able to bear Arms, repaired unto him; the Confederate Chriſtian Princes alſo, his Neighbours, and for moſt part his Kinſmen, ſent to him great Supplies; beſide other devout and War-like minded Chriſtians, which voluntarily reſorted unto him from far, in great numbers. Out of which multitude of people he choſe only 8000 Horſemen and ſeven thouſand Foot, when as he might have raiſed a far greater Army; and placing ſome few in Garriſons in the frontier Cities where he thought moſt convenient, all the reſt he ſent home again to their dwellings. At which his confidence, his Friends, yea and his Enemies alſo much marvelled, that when he might have had ſo many, he would take the field with ſo few; with which ſmall Army of fifteen thouſand, he marched from *Croia*, fourſcore miles to *Dibra*; where hearing by his Eſpials, of the approach of his Enemies, after he had with chearful Speech encouraged his Souldiers, he encamped with his Army in the lower Country of *Dibra*, near unto a Wood ſide, right in the way where the Baſſa muſt needs paſs. In which Wood, he placed *Gnee Muſachee*, and *Ameſa* in ambuſh with three thouſand men; commanding them to ſtand cloſe, until they ſaw he had throughly joyned battel with the Baſſa, and then with all their Force to break forth upon his rereward. The Baſſa marching forward, came and encamped near unto *Scanderbeg*, a little before the going down of the Sun, and there reſted that night, making great ſhew of mirth and joy, with great fires in every corner of the Camp, as the Turkiſh manner of encamping is. Whereas in *Scanderbegs* Camp, all things were ſilent, and no ſhew of any fire at all; for ſo *Scanderbeg* had commanded; which made the Turks the more careleſs, deeming thereby the Chriſtians as good as already diſcouraged. The next morning *Scanderbeg* ranged his Army in order of battel, placing *Tanuſius* in the left Wing, with fifteen hundred Horſemen, and as many Foot; and *Moſes* in the right with like number; and leading the main battel himſelf, the rereward was committed to *Uranacontes* a man renowned in thoſe days, both for his gravity in Counſel, and for his valour in Arms, fit to command or be commanded; but afterwards, amongſt the reſt moſt famous, for the worthy defending of *Croia* againſt *Amurath*, being then there himſelf in Perſon. *Alis Baſſa* contemning the ſmall number of *Scanderbegs* Army, ſeeing nothing therein to be feared more than the good order thereof, gave the firſt charge with a ſmall Troop of Horſemen; who at the firſt encounter retired, as if they had fled, of purpoſe that the Chriſtians haſtily purſuing their untimely hope, might diſorder their battel, and ſo give occaſion to their own overthrow. But by the commandment of *Scanderbeg* (who eaſily perceived the Baſſaes meaning) their dangerous forwardneſs was warily wayed, and all with ſafety kept in good order. So both Armies coming on, the Wings began the battel afreſh, and *Scanderbeg* with great courage bringing on his main Battel in the face of the Baſſa, valiantly charged him. But by that time that the Battels were throughly joyned, *Muſachee* and *Ameſa* ſuddenly iſſued out of the Wood, and fiercely ſet upon the rereward of the Turks Army, where they made great ſlaughter, and forced many of the Turks for fear to fly. Thus was the Baſſaes great Army driven to fight both before and behind, being hardly beſet and laid unto with a ſmall number. The Baſſa had placed his beſt Souldiers neareſt unto himſelf in the main Battel, as his moſt aſſured ſtrength and laſt refuge; theſe valiant men ſtood faſt, and renewed the battel, before almoſt loſt. And here *Scanderbegs* fortune was even at a ſtand; until that the well adviſed and valiant Captain *Uranacontes* having received the wearied Souldiers into the rereward, and ſetting all things there in ſafety, accompanied with certain Troops of freſh Souldiers which he brought out of the rereward, brake through the Baſſaes Army with ſuch ſlaughter of the Turks, that he made way for *Scanderbeg* and all the reſt of his Army. The Turks diſcomfited with the invincible courage of theſe old Souldiers, and the ſlaughter of their Fellows, which lay by heaps wallowing in their own blood, betook themſelves to flight; whom the Chriſtians fiercely purſued, and ſlew of them two and twenty thouſand; at which time were alſo two thouſand others taken Priſoners, with four and twenty of the Turks Enſigns; whereas of the Chriſtians were ſlain not paſt an hundred and twenty. The Enemies Tents with all their Carriages, were at the ſame time taken alſo. After this great Victory, when *Scanderbeg* had made all his ſeven thouſand Footmen, Horſemen, by giving unto them the Horſes of the ſlain Turks, he brake into the Enemies Country, and entred far into *Macedonia*, where he filled the deſires of his Souldiers with the wealth and ſpoil thereof, ſparing nothing that Fire and Sword could devour; and ſo with Victory returned to *Croia*, where he was of his Subjects joyfully received. *Alis Baſſa* with the remainder of his diſcomfited Army, returned to *Hadrianople*, and there by *Amurath* was hardly charged of cowardiſe and want of diſcretion, for that he had loſt ſo puiſſant an Army to ſo weak an Enemy. Whereof when he had cleared himſelf by the modeſt rehearſal of his former Victories, and the teſtimony of all the other Captains preſent with him in that battel, he was pardoned, and ſo again received into favour, and that great Overthrow imputed to the chance of War.

The battel betwixt Alis Baſſa *and* Scanderbeg.

A great ſlaughter of the Turks.

Amurath having received two ſo great Overthrows, firſt from *Huniades* and the *Hungarians*,

Amurath *in deſpair.*

and

Amurath *by the perſwaſion of* Caly Baſſa, *ſeeketh for Peace, of King* Uladiſlaus.

The Capitulations of the ten years peace concluded betwixt Uladiſlaus *and* Amurath.

and now from *Standerbeg*, and ſeeing himſelf elſewhere beſet with ſo many Miſchiefs, as that he could not tell which way to turn himſelf; tormented with Deſpair, and deſire of Revenge, whereof he ſaw ſmall poſſibility, fell into ſuch a Melancholy Paſſion, that overcome with the dark conceits thereof, he was about to have become the bloody Executioner of himſelf, had not *Caly Baſſa* by his grave advice comforted up his dying ſpirits; by whoſe perſwaſion (contrary to his haughty nature) he yielded by his Embaſſadors ſent for the ſame purpoſe, to deſire Peace of *Uladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*; uſing the exiled Deſpot of *Servia* (his Father in law) then preſent with the King, as a mean therein. Who at the firſt gave ſmall credit unto the Embaſſadors, or unto ſuch things as they told him; until that at length better perſwaded of the true meaning of the Turk, he ſo wrought the matter both with the King and the reſt of the Nobility, and eſpecially with *Huniades*, that there was an honourable Peace concluded. The Capitulations whereof were, firſt, That *Amurath* withdrawing all his Forces and Garriſons, ſhould clearly depart out of *Servia*, and reſtore the ſame unto the poſſeſſion of *George* the Deſpot, the right Lord and Owner thereof; delivering alſo freely unto him his two Sons, *Stephen* and *George*, who bereft of their ſight, he had long time kept in ſtrait priſon. Alſo, That from thenceforth he ſhould make no Claim unto the Kingdom of *Moldavia*, nor to that part of *Bulgaria* which he had in the laſt Wars loſt. And finally, That he ſhould not invade or moleſt the *Hungarians*, or any part of their Kingdom, during the whole time of that Peace; and to pay 40000 Ducats for the ranſom of *Carambey*. Unto which hard conditions, when the Turkiſh Tyrant had full ſore againſt his will condeſcended, a Peace for ten years was forthwith on both parts concluded, and the ſame by ſolemn Oath confirmed; King *Uladiſlaus* taking his Oath upon the holy Evangeliſts, and *Amurath* (by his Embaſſadors) upon their Turkiſh Alcoran. This was the moſt honourable Peace that ever Chriſtian Prince had before that time made with any of the Turkiſh Kings, and moſt profitable alſo, had it been with like ſincerity kept, as it was with Solemnity confirmed.

Amurath *invadeth* Caramania.

Amurath with this Peace delivered of his greateſt fear, converted all his Forces againſt the *Caramanian* King, in revenge of the Injuries by him done whilſt he was occupied in the *Hungarian* Wars. This King of *Caramania* knowing himſelf unable to withſtand ſo great an Enemy, durſt neither meet him in the field, nor truſt himſelf to the ſtrength of any his Cities or ſtrong Caſtles, but fled into the Mountains, there fortifying himſelf more ſure than in any other his ſtrong Holds. *Amurath* entring into *Caramania*, made great ſpoil in the Country as he went, and took great Booties. At laſt coming to *Iconium*, he laid hard ſiege to the ſame. The poor King ſeeing his Kingdom thus ſpoiled, and his chief City in danger to be loſt, ſent Embaſſadors, and with them his Wife alſo, which was *Amuraths* Siſter, to intreat for Peace; offering to pay unto him yearly the double Tribute which he before paid, and for the Performance thereof to give his Son in Hoſtage. Upon which conditions *Amurath* granted him Peace, and ſo returned. In this War, *Aladin*, *Amuraths* eldeſt Son, died, to the great grief of his aged Father, being ſlain with a fall from his Horſe as he was hunting.

Old *Amurath* throughly wearied with continual Wars and other Troubles incident unto reſtleſs rooms, reſolved now to retire himſelf to a more private and quiet kind of life; and therefore ſent for his Son, *Mahomet*, being then but fifteen years old, to whom he voluntarily reſigned his Kingdom, appointing *Caly Baſſa* his Tutor, with one *Choſroe* a learned Doctor of their Law, to be his truſty Counſellors and chief Directors. And ſo taking with him *Hamze-Beg* one of his Noblemen in whom he took greateſt pleaſure, departed to *Magneſia*, and there as a man weary of the World gave himſelf to a ſolitary and monaſtical kind of life, in the company of certain religious Turkiſh Monks, as they accounted of them.

Many great Kings and Princes, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, glad before of the *Hungarian* Victory, were now no leſs ſorry to hear of the late concluded Peace betwixt King *Uladiſlaus* and the old Sultan *Amurath*; as being of opinion, that the proſecution of this War ſo happily begun, would have been the utter ruine and deſtruction of the Turkiſh Kingdom. Wherefore they ſought by all poſſible means to induce the young King *Uladiſlaus* to break the League he had ſo lately and ſo ſolemnly made with the Turk; eſpecially *John Palæologus* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, did by Letters importune the King to remember the Confederation he had made with the other Chriſtian Princes, for the maintenance of the Wars againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtianity; which Princes were now preſt, and ready (as he ſaid) to aſſiſt him with their promiſed Aid; adding moreover, That whereas *Amurath* had divers times ſought to joyn with him in Amity and Friendſhip, he had utterly rejected that Offer of Peace, preferring the Univerſal profit (like to inſue to all Chriſtendom by that Religious War) before his own proper Security and Profit, being for his part in readineſs to joyn his Forces with the Kings, if he would preſently enter into Arms; which he could never do in better time than now, whilſt *Amurath*, terrified with his late Overthrow, and ſtill beſet with doubtful War, had drawn his greateſt Forces out of *Europe* into *Aſia*, in ſuch diſordered haſt, as that it ſhould ſeem he rather fled for fear of his Enemies in *Europe*, than marched to incounter his Enemies in *Aſia*, and now being weary of all, had betaken himſelf to a private kind of life. To conclude, he requeſted the King, not to leave him and the other Chriſtian Princes of ſmall Power, as a Prey to the Turk, who would aſſuredly with all Hoſtility invade them, ſo ſoon as he thought himſelf ſafe from the danger of the *Hungarians*. At the ſame time alſo, and upon the departure of the Turks Embaſſadors, for the performance of ſuch things as they had promiſed, Letters came from *Francis* the Cardinal of *Florence*, General of the Chriſtian Fleet, declaring how that *Amurath* having left almoſt none in *Europe*, was with all the Power he could make, gone over into *Aſia* againſt the *Caramanian* King, leaving a moſt fair occaſion for the Chriſtians, eaſily to recover whatſoever they had before loſt in *Europe*; and that he was in good time come with his Fleet unto the Straits of *Helleſpontus*, according to promiſe, and there lay ready to imbar the Turks paſſage back again out of *Aſia*. Both theſe Letters being read in the Council, ſo much moved the King, with all the reſt of the Nobility of *Hungary* there preſent, as that they were never more ſorry or aſhamed for any thing they had done in their lives, than for the League ſo lately with *Amurath* concluded; for why, they ſaw that all the Plot they had laid for their Immortal Glory, was now by this haſty Peace that they had made with the Turk, without the good liking and knowledge of their Confederates, brought to nought, and that they had thereby moſt ſhamefully deceived the general expectation that the Chriſtian Commonweal had conceived of them; and that they, of long time called the Protectors of the Chriſtian Faith, the Defenders of true Religion, the Revengers of Chriſts name, and Deliverers of the faithful Nations; ſhould now be accounted the Breakers of the Chriſtian League, men forgetful of their Confederation both with the Latines and the Greeks, Contemners of Immortality, and Lovers of their own profit only. In this doubtfulneſs of mind whilſt they ſtood yet thus wavering, *Julian* the Cardinal and Legate, always an Enemy to the Peace, and by reaſon of his place, a man in greateſt Authority next to the King, took occaſion to diſſwade the ſame as followeth:

The cunning Speech wherewith Julian *the Cardinal perſwadeth King* Uladiſlaus *to break the League he had before made with* Amurath.

If any of you, right Worthy (ſaid he) *ſhall haply marvel that I ſhould ſpeak of breaking the League, and violating our Faith, let him firſt underſtand, That I at this preſent am to perſwade you to nothing elſe but the faithful obſerving both of the one and the other; led with like repentance with you; repentance, I ſay, not ſorrow, when as I, as from a Watch-Tower foreſeeing all theſe things which were decreed againſt my will, to ſort alſo contrary to your expectation, am now for the duty of my Legation, and the zeal unto the Chriſtian Religion, inforced with you to doubt; and ſo much the rather, for that at this preſent the queſtion is of the loſs and hazard of all our Honours and Credit in common; which except we by common conſent, and wonted valour, endeavour to amend, O how much is it to be feared, leſt for ſhame neither may you go out of* Hungary, *or I return to* Rome, *where all things are with moſt deep judgment cenſured. Conſider, I pray you, into what miſeries this haſty Reſolution hath caſt us. We have entred into League with the Turk, an Infidel, to violate our Faith with the Chriſtians, and to break the holy League before made with the great Biſhop and the other Chriſtian Princes our Confederates. And that for what, for what profit I ſay? Forſooth, that ſo we might again recover* Servia, *long before deſtroyed. Verily a ſmall and woful profit, which may again in ſhort time be cut off, and depriveth us of others far greater, and of much longer continuance. For, what can be more fond and inconſiderate, than in our Conſultations to have regard to our private profit only, and not to the Publick, without reſpect of Religion, Honeſty, or Conſcience? It is not demanded of you at this preſent, (Right Honourable) what you owe unto the perjured Turk; but you are by me* Julian, *the great Biſhops and the Confederate Chriſtian Princes Legate, and Agent, before the Tribunal Seat of your own Conſciences, accuſed of breach of Faith, breach of League, and breach of Promiſe; and thereof even by your own judgment, rather than by the judgment of God, or other men, I will condemn you. Anſwer me, you noble Worthies: After you had happily ſix months made Wars againſt the Turks in* Bulgaria *and the Borders of* Thracia; *and after that, triumphantly returning into* Hungary, *received you not honourable Embaſſages from almoſt all* Italy, *and from the great Emperor, with common rejoycing for your ſo glorious a Victory, and Exhortations to continue the War? We received them. Did not you in my preſence, and I the Author thereof, willingly make a moſt holy League with the* Italians *and* Greeks; *That the one ſhould with their Aid and Power meet you out of* Thracia; *and the other with a great Fleet ſhould come into the* Helleſpontus? *We made it. If you made it, why breaking this, made you another with the Turks? or by what right can you keep the ſame, being made? Wherefore if the laſt year you made a League with the great Biſhop, (God his Vicar here on Earth) if you be men, if you be in your wits, if you be Chriſtians, this ſecond League is to be broken, leſt you ſhould violate the firſt; and that a moſt Chriſtian League; which except you do, I fear leſt that as* Judas *betrayed Chriſt, ſo you may ſeem to betray his Vicar; or that God, whom hitherto you have always found preſent, propitious, and favourable, you ſhall hereafter find him angry, and an Enemy to your proceedings. And now I pray you tell me, What will you anſwer unto the* Conſtantinopolitan *Emperor; who according to your appointment, hath now with the firſt taken the field, and in ſo great an opportunity expecteth but your coming? What will you anſwer the great Biſhop? What the* Venetians *and* Genoways, *who have their great Fleet ready, as was appointed? What the* Burgundians, *who for their zeal unto the Chriſtian Faith and Religion, have long ſince paſſed the Ocean, and ſo by many dangers of the Sea now flote in the* Helleſpont? *Deviſe (I pray you) if you can, ſome excuſe and colour, that we may not ſeem altogether unlike our ſelves; if out of your hidden skill you can coin any thing, ſhew it. You promiſed with the firſt of the Spring, that you would be in the Field; and now your Souldiers both the Spring and Summer, play; ſo great and ſo wholſome occaſion paſſing away, through your woful ſloth and negligence. O the great blindneſs of mens minds! O groſs cowardiſe! O deteſtable League, made to the deſtruction of the Commonweal! Some man happily will blame me, and ask, why I ſuffered it with the reſt? I was preſent, I muſt confeſs; but as much as in me was I intreated it might not be, I diſliked it; and (as many of you here preſent can teſtifie) I utterly condemned it. I was overcome by the Wiſdom and Authority of* Huniades, *and the compaſſion of the Deſpot, leſt (unhappy man) he ſhould by my Interceſſion ſeem longer to want his Kingdom; and leſt any man ſhould call me a Contemner or impugner of your good; I full of ſorrow, and unwillingly, gave way; not ignorant, the health of the Chriſtian Commonweal to be therein weakned, the hope of your Immortal Glory extinguiſhed, and us all (by your leave may I ſay it) accounted Breakers both of Divine and Humane Leagues, forſworn Men, and Traytors unto all good Chriſtians. Wherefore except before the report of our perfidiouſneſs be further bruted, we deliver our ſelves from this Infamy, nothing can be greater, or more miſerable, than our ſhame or villany. If we will ſo do, we may not ſo eaſily, as juſtly and religiouſly do it: Having made reſtitution of* Servia *and the Captives, what remaineth elſe for you to do, (Noble Worthies) but to repair your Army, to prepare what ſo is needful for War, and to keep your firſt League with the Chriſtian Princes? And to ſay, That King* Uladiſlaus, *after his League made with the Greek and Latine Princes, could not without the conſent of theſe his Confederates and Allies (under whoſe good fortune that common War was undertaken) conclude any thing, eſpecially with the Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion? And that therefore, if any thing were agreed upon betwixt him and the Turk, it was fruſtrate, and the firſt League to be ſtood upon. Who is ſo partial an eſteemer of mens actions, that would not eaſily judge, That in caſe Faith were given to both, it were rather to be kept with a Chriſtian, than with a Turk; with a Believer, than with an Infidel? Againſt a perfideous Enemy it is lawful (as they ſay) for a man to uſe all cunning, force, and deceit, deluding craft with craft, and fraud with fraud. By craft the Turk firſt paſſed over into* Europe, *by little and little he crept into that Kingdom, he never kept Faith with any, he grew to this height rather by cunning than by ſtrength; and are you become ſo blind, as to think it better to keep your Promiſe with the Turk, devoid of all Faith and Humanity, rather than with the faithful Chriſtians, and eſpecially the moſt holy Biſhop? All great things are done by device and policy; the* Romans *our Anceſtors uprightly and religiouſly* *always kept their Leagues with their Confederates, but deluded the deceitful with their cunning.* Cæſar *was of opinion, that for Soveraignty the Law was ſometimes to be broken. And* Philip *(the Father and Maſter of him that conquered* Aſia*) oftentimes uſed cunning and deceit for the deſire of Rule; yet were not theſe men called Traytors. It is ſometime lawful for the Commonweal-ſake, neither to ſtand to our Leagues, neither to keep our Faith with them that be themſelves faithleſs. Lawful it is to break unlawful Oaths, and eſpecially ſuch as are thought to be againſt Right, Reaſon, and Equity. Was it lawful for* Diomedes, *vowing for to ſacrifice unto the gods whomſoever he firſt met at his return into his Country, to kill his Son by that his Vow and Oath? Verily it was a great Impiety. Wherefore a juſt and lawful Oath is in the judgment of all men to be religiouſly kept; but ſuch an Oath as tendeth not only unto private, but publique deſtruction, that ought to be vain and fruſtrate. Wherefore before our faithleſs dealing be further ſpread abroad, I beſeech you, worthy men, and thee eſpecially, moſt glorious King, not in any point to violate your Faith, for the good of the Chriſtian Commonweal, given unto the moſt holy Father and the other Chriſtian Princes. The League you have made with the Greeks and the Latines, faithfully and religiouſly keep; the Expedition by common conſent taken in hand, by the example of your Confederates, proſecute; the foundation of Immortal Glory by you laid, build up. Deliver the Chriſtian Provinces, oppreſſed with the Turkiſh Servitude; ſatisfie the Hope conceived of you, and deceive not the expectation the World hath now conceived of you, than which, nothing can be more diſhonourable; make no Conſcience of the League you have made with the Infidel, but think it a great Impiety and Wickedneſs, to violate the holy League made with the great Biſhop and the other Chriſtian Princes; thinking, that if you ſhould do otherwiſe, God (which he of his mercy forbid) would become of that your falſified Faith a moſt ſevere and ſharp Revenger; and that you can do nothing more acceptable unto our Saviour Chriſt, or more glorious to your ſelves, than to deliver the oppreſſed Chriſtian Countries, from the cruel Slavery and Bondage of the Turk. Suffer not this ſo fit an occaſion to ſlip away, than which, a fitter can never be given.* Europe *is unfurniſhed of the Turks, buſied in the* Caramanian *War; their return is imbarred by the Chriſtians Fleet, now in the Sea of* Helleſpontus; *you need but to go ſee, and as it were to take a view of* Thracia, Macedonia, Grecia, *and* Epirus; *there is no Enemy there left to oppoſe himſelf againſt you. Wherefore for God his Cauſe, I requeſt you above all things to continue the Chriſtian League, and with your happy and victorious Forces, to march forward into* Macedonia *and* Thracia, *as is before by you with the other Chriſtian Princes your Confederates agreed.*

Julian *the Cardinal abſolveth King* Uladiſlaus *and the reſt, from their Oath before given to* Amurath.

In concluſion, having much ſpoken of the Authority and Power of the great Biſhop, he in his Name diſannulled the League whatſoever, by the King made with the Turk; and abſolved him, with the reſt whom it might concern, from the Oath they had given, and the Promiſe they had made. Which ſo well contented both the King and the reſt, that there was now no more queſtion of the Oath, or of the lawfulneſs of the War, but a Decree made for the continuation of the League with the other Chriſtian Princes their Confederates, and for the proſecution of the Wars againſt the Turks, as was with them before agreed; whom, they could now ſay, they were not to forſake, and to leave them as a Prey unto the Turk their greedy Enemy; now for nothing more in danger, than for that, at their requeſt they had taken up Arms in their quarrel. Unto which unfortunate Decree, both the Deſpot and *Huniades* (the chief Authors of the late Peace betwixt the King and *Amurath*) eaſily conſented; the Deſpot, induced with the great hope he had conceived of the good ſucceſs of the War; and *Huniades*, with the deſire of the Kingdom of *Bulgaria*, promiſed unto him by *Uladiſlaus*, and by fair Charter alſo (as ſome ſaid) aſſured unto him.

Of this the Kings Reſolution for the breach of the Peace with the Turks, notice was with all ſpeed given unto the *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperor, and *Francis* the *Florentine* Cardinal, then lying with a Fleet of ſeventy Gallies at the Straits of *Helleſpontus*; for fear leſt they hearing of the former concluded Peace, ſhould alter alſo, or elſe quite deſiſt from their former purpoſes. In the mean time, whilſt theſe things were yet in plotting, the Turk ignorant hereof, according to his promiſe had withdrawn all his Garriſons out of *Servia*, and other places before agreed upon in the late concluded Peace, reſtoring the ſame unto the Deſpot and others the lawful Owners, although it was not done at the very prefixed day at which it ſhould have been done. In which time alſo he ſet at liberty great numbers of Captives, and amongſt the reſt, the two blind Sons of the Prince of *Servia*; faithfully performing whatſoever he had before upon his Religion promiſed in the League with the Chriſtians before concluded, ſo deſirous he was of Peace with the *Hungarians*. Howbeit *Uladiſlaus*, by the Counſel of *Huniades*, detained to his own uſe certain of the ſtrong Holds in *Servia*; for which cauſe, *George* the Deſpot ever afterwards bore a ſecret grudge againſt *Huniades*.

Now as King *Uladiſlaus* (having by the perſwaſion of *Julian* the Cardinal, renounced the League betwixt him and *Amurath*) was preparing his Forces, the fame of the *Epirot* Prince *Scanderbeg* was alſo (by the recovery of his Fathers Kingdom of *Epirus* out of the Turks hands, and by the late Overthrow of *Alis Baſſa*) grown great, every one ſpeaking of him honour and praiſe. Wherewith *Uladiſlaus* moved, and reaſonably perſwaded what a furtherance it would be unto his haughty deſigns (aiming at no leſs than the utter overthrow of the Turks Kingdom in *Europe*) if he might unto his own great preparations joyn alſo the ſtrength of that ſo fortunate a Prince, by the conſent of his Nobility, with all ſpeed diſpatched away his Embaſſadors with Letters unto him, certifying him of his honourable purpoſe for the rooting out of rhe Turks; and in that common cauſe praying his Aid againſt ſuch a dangerous and dreadful enemy. The purport whereof here followeth:

Uladiſlaus King of *Hungary* and *Polonia*, unto the noble *Scanderbeg* Prince of *Epirus*, greeting.

The Letters of King Uladiſlaus *to* Scanderbeg.

It may be that ſome good hap hath deferred this our late Congratulation until this preſent, to the intent we might at this time, together with you, rejoyce in the double ſucceſs of your Proſperity; firſt, for the happy recovery of your Eſtate; and then, for that the ſame hath by your wiſdom and valour, of late been ſo notably defended. Wherefore in this we rejoyce, not only in your behalf, but in the behalf of all good Chriſtians, that it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſs, by your valour to have given ſo great an increaſe and comfort unto the Chriſtian Commonwealth; for as much as amongſt others our great Evils, the loſs of the Albanian *people hath not been to be accounted the leaſt, at ſuch time as* John Caſtriot, *a worthy Prince, your Father, oppreſſed by* Amurath, *and by the ungrateful Deſtinies taken out of this world,* *had neither the means to leave unto you his Kingdom and Scepter, (as unto his Son, then living in his Enemies Power) either was able yet otherwiſe to provide for his Affairs. And would to God this your Father, moſt happy in ſuch a Son, might have till now lived; whoſe felicity had in that ſurmounted all others, if he might have ſeen you before his death. For as you ſeem unto me above all other Princes in the World (without offence be it ſaid) moſt accompliſhed with all the good Graces and Perfections both of body and mind; ſo are you indowed alſo with a certain divine and wonderful Fortune; under the good Conduct whereof, not only the whole Kingdom of* Epirus *may think it ſelf in ſecurity, but all the reſt of the other Nations alſo, lately by the deteſtable fraud and violence of the* Othoman *Kings diſmembred from the Realm of* Macedon, *may alſo recover the former beauty of their ancient Laws and Liberties. For (to ſay nothing of thoſe things which even from your Childhood having continually made you envied, have heretofore purchaſed unto you an immortal Fame and Glory even amongſt the* Barbarians *themſelves) what can be more glorious than this Victory which (as we have heard, and believe) you, to your ſingular admiration, have obtained, by the overthrow and utter diſcomfiture of* Alis Baſſa, *with his ſo great and mighty a Power? But now O* Scanderbeg *(God ſo appointing it, who in his deep and ſecret Wiſdom hath reſerved you unto theſe ſo dangerous times, for the Publique Good, and Comfort of the Chriſtian Commonweal) there offers it ſelf unto you an object of far greater Glory, with a fair and fit occaſion for you to revenge your ſelf of all the Wrongs and Injuries both new and old, by* Amurath *the Turkiſh Sultan done, not in private to the perſon of your ſelf only, but unto the whole State and Kingdom of* Epirus *alſo; and not the domeſtical and civil Miſeries of your own Country only, but the Publique Calamities alſo, and thoſe opprobrious Diſgraces done againſt the Chriſtian Faith and Religion in general, now oppreſſed (I will not ſay extinguiſhed;) and that is, if you with your victorious Forces will ſuccour us in this extremity of our Affairs, not yet altogether deſperate. Hereunto do all the Princes of* Hungary *and* Polonia, *and all other men of courage invite you,* Julian *the Cardinal of* S. Angel *intreateth you; with all thoſe devout and couragious Chriſtians, which long ſince here with us, and ready in Arms, wiſh for nothing more than the preſence of your Victorious Enſigns. Which ſo fair an occaſion (by God himſelf now offered) if you refuſe not, will in all mens judgment be a ſure mean to vanquiſh and overthrow our Common Enemy the Turk, and to drive him quite out of* Europe, *wrongfully by him of ſo long time poſſeſſed. I need not therefore (as I ſuppoſe) to uſe any kind of perſwaſion unto you in this Cauſe and Quarrel, the defence whereof doth purchaſe unto us health, light, and liberty; but being neglected, I fear and abhor to forbode what may enſue thereof. We Chriſtians have been too too ſlack and backward in helping one another; the flame hath now well near conſumed us all, whilſt no man thought it would have come near himſelf. What do we ſee of the Greek Empire? What of the* Bulgarians *and* Servians? *yea, mine own Loſſes, and many Calamities already, and yet alſo to be endured, who is able to recount? The brave and moſt valiant Princes, the ſureſt Bulwarks and Defences of the Kingdom of* Hungary, *from time to time loſt; and the puiſſant Armies with one and the ſame fatal chance of War conſumed and brought to nothing, who is able to reckon up? Inſomuch that there is no Houſe, Wife, nor Matron, in all* Hungary, *which is not in ſome meaſure partaker of this heavineſs. All this do the Chriſtian Princes hear of, and yet the miſerable eſtate and condition of their Allies can nothing move any one of them, but ſuffer us thus as a Sacrifice for the reſt, to be on all parts expoſed to the rage and fury of the common and mercileſs Enemy. Only* Eugenius *the moſt holy Biſhop of* Rome, *and* Philip *Duke of* Burgundy, *have not refuſed to bear a part of the burthen of this our afflicted Fortune; the one hath ſent hither his Legate* Julian *the Cardinal, with notable and puiſſant Succours; and the other with his Fleet at Sea, and come as far as* Helleſpontus, *ſo much as in him lieth, doth notably hinder the Turks paſſage into* Europe. *And one other hope there is, not now far from us, and that is your help, whereof we are ſo deſirous; which we require of you, moved thereunto partly by your valour ſo well known, and partly in regard of the imminent peril and common danger of us all. And albeit we are not ignorant, how evil you may be at leiſure to take ſuch an Expedition in hand, for the late troubled eſtate of your Affairs, and your new recovered Kingdom, as yet ſcarcely well eſtabliſhed; yet notwithſtanding, let it not with-hold you, or keep you back; aſſuring you, that as this Expedition cannot be but unto you moſt honourable, even ſo this your preſent deſert ſhall not be beſtowed upon ungrateful and thankleſs men; but that which you ſhall now firſt begin and undertake for our Preſervation and Dignity, we will from henceforth and ever continue for your glory, and for the increaſe of your greatneſs. Fare you well. From our Regal City of* Buda *the fourth of July,* 1444.

Of this the Kings motion *Scanderbeg* liking well, and thinking it far better now in ſo fit a time, with his own Forces joyned unto the *Hungarians* his Friends, throughly to buſie *Amurath*, than in ſhort time after, himſelf alone to ſuſtain his whole Power; by the general conſent of the *Albanian* Princes his Confederates and Allies; yielded unto his requeſt; in liberal terms promiſing him by his Letters, in good time to be preſent with him with thirty thouſand good Souldiers. The Copy of which Letters I thought it not amiſs here to ſet down alſo.

Scanderbeg Prince of the *Epirots*, unto *Uladiſlaus* King of *Hungary* and *Polonia*, greeting.

Scanderbeg his *Anſwer by Letters unto King* Uladiſlaus.

YOur Letters, moſt invincible King, I have with like joy and contentment received; which I in the General Aſſembly of my Chieftanes having cauſed publiquely to be read, there was not any one of them which was not of opinion, but that ſo juſt an occaſion of War by you offered, was forthwith to be joyfully on our behalf alſo embraced. And ſo every man doth both publickly and privately affirm, That nothing could have hapned unto them more acceptable from God, than that they might by ſome notable Service teſtifie their grateful Minds, and bind unto them ſo excellent a Prince; as alſo to give ſo fit Succours unto the Chriſtian Commonweal. In which forwardneſs of my people I my ſelf took great contentment and pleaſure, both in regard of your ſelf, and in the behalf of the Publick and Common Cauſe; ſeeing my men of War, and all other my Subjects, of what ſtate or degree ſoever (without any perſwaſion uſed on my part) to be ſo chearfully and couragiouſly minded in defence of the Faith, and of the Chriſtian Religion; and ſo well affectioned towards your moſt Royal Majeſty. And to ſay the truth, Who is he (if he be not hateful unto God and man) albeit there were no queſtion of Religion, or of the common danger, that would refuſe ſo juſt and lawful a War? for ſuch a King, as unto whom alone we may and ought to attribute, That we Chriſtians do not only reign, but even live, breath, and enjoy the liberty of our Speech. Who would not willingly take up Arms, and adventure himſelf into moſt manifeſt *and certain danger for the People of* Hungary; *by whom in all Ages the Chriſtian Common-weal hath with their ſo many Travels, and ſo much of their Blood, been ſo mightily ſupported and defended? who even from the very cradle have been continual Enemies unto our Enemies, and have as it were even vowed themſelves for the Honour of the Chriſtian Religion and Name. Would God (moſt mighty and redoubted* Uladiſlaus) *it had been in my power to have brought unto you ſuch Forces to this honourable War, as were anſwerable to my Courage and Deſire; then happily* Europe *ſhould not longer lie in this ignominious Eſtate, oppreſſed by* Amurath; *neither ſhould the Fields of* Varna *or* Baſilia *ſo often ſmoke with the Blood of the* Hungarians; *nor every Corner of* Macedonia *with the Blood of the* Epirots; *both Nations being as it were become the Expiatorie Sacrifices of others Sins and Offences; we all now by turns periſh, whilſt every man thinketh himſelf born but for himſelf alone. But why do I unto my ſelf pour forth theſe vain Complaints? Truly, it neither repenteth me of my Forces, neither (as I ſuppoſe, if it ſhall pleaſe God that our Forces may once meet and joyn together in ſo happy a War) ſhall the Chriſtian Common-weal have any cauſe to ſorrow or be agrieved with the iſſue and event of our Fortune. For unto thoſe fifteen thouſand good Souldiers which lately diſcomfited* Alis Baſſa *on the Borders of* Macedonia, *my purpoſe is to joyn as many more unto them; with all which Strength as ſoon as conveniently they may, I will begin to ſet forward, ready to follow your Enſigns to all Events whatſoever. And ſo fare you well, From* Croia *the third of* Auguſt, 1444.

Theſe Letters being diſpatched away unto the King, *Scanderbeg* forthwith began to levy his Forces. And firſt of all he cauſed with new Supplies to be made ſtrong, all thoſe Companies wherewith he had overthrown *Alis Baſſa*; not ſuffering any one of them to abſent himſelf from this Expedition. Unto whom being in number fifteen thouſand, all men of approved Valour, he joyned other fifteen thouſand more, no leſs valiant than they; ſuch a Power as he never either before or after raiſed for the Recovery or Defence of his Kingdom. And ſo furniſhed with all things neceſſary for ſo honourable a War, chearfully ſet forward, accompanied with the Vows and Hope of all his moſt faithful and loving Subjects. But being come to the Borders of *Servia*, he found the ſtrait and difficult paſſages of that rough Country ſhut up by *George* the Deſpot, (Lord thereof, a man adorned with all the Graces of Nature, but otherwiſe a wicked damned Atheiſt, and a Chriſtian but in name only) who but lately before reſtored unto his Kingdom by the help of King *Uladiſlaus*, having changed his mind, did now mightily cleave unto the Turk his Son-in-Law (by whom he had been before himſelf exiled) and in favour of his quarrel, and deſpight of the *Hungarians*, but eſpecially of *Huniades*, had ſtopped up the waies and paſſages whereby *Scanderbeg* was with his Army to paſs; who by his Embaſſador ſent of purpoſe unto the Deſpot, complained to him of that wrong, putting him in mind of the perjurious dealing of *Amurath* with him, notwithſtanding he had married his Daughter; and of the great Pleaſures the *Hungarians* had done him; of both which he had good proof; requeſting him if it were but in regard of the common cauſe of Chriſtianity to give unto him (as unto his Friend by whom he was never in any thing wronged) paſſage; and not to ſtain himſelf with the perpetual note of Infamy, That he being a Chriſtian Prince, and of late ſo mightily oppreſſed by the Turk, ſhould now to the great hinderance of the Chriſtian Common-Weal take part with him, againſt his Friends and Deliverers. But what availeth Prayers or Requeſts, be they never ſo reaſonable, with a man ſet down to miſchief? *Scanderbeg* out of hope by any other means to open his way, but by plain force, reſolved ſo to do; although it much grieved him to ſpend thoſe Forces upon a Chriſtian Prince, which he had prepared againſt the capital Enemy both of himſelf and all good Chriſtians, old *Amurath* the Turkiſh Sultan.

King Uladiſlaus *ſetteth forward againſt the Turks.*

But whilſt he thus diſcontented, ſpendeth his time with his Army upon the Borders of *Servia*, beſet with many difficulties; *Uladiſlaus* prickt forward by the continual ſolicitation of *Julian* the Cardinal, or elſe drawn on by his own inevitable Deſtiny, having aſſembled a great Army of valiant and couragious Souldiers out of *Hungary* and *Polonia* (yet in number far inferior to that he had the year before, for that moſt of the voluntary Souldiers were returned home) ſet forward from *Segedinum*; and in the beginning of *November* (a time unfit for Wars) paſſed over *Danubius*, and entring into *Bulgaria*, came to *Nicopolis*, the Metropolitical City of that Kingdom (but then in poſſeſſion of the Turks) where he burnt the Suburbs thereof, and in that fruitful Country thereabouts refreſhed his People three or four days, where he alſo muſtered his Army, and took a view thereof; At which time *Dracula* Vayvod of *Valachia*, a man of great experience in Martial Affairs, being then preſent, and conſidering the ſmall number of the Kings Army, began to perſwade him to retire; ſaying, He had ſufficiently learned by his own harms, to deem aright of the Power of the Turkiſh Sultan; who (as he ſaid) was wont many times to carry more men with him into the Fields into his Diſport of Hawking and Hunting, than was there in the Kings Camp; wherefore he ſhould do well, not to expoſe thoſe his ſmall Forces unto ſo manifeſt peril, in ſuch unſeaſonable time of the year, but to reſerve them to a more fit opportunity, when he might with greater Power encounter his puiſſant Enemy. This his Counſel moſt men of greateſt Experience, and not carried away with other private reſpects, thought wholeſom; but the Cardinal, Author of this fatal War, extolling with great words the laſt years Victory obtained agaiſt the Turk, with glorious promiſes of great Aid, as well by Sea from the Pope, and the *Venetians*, as by Land from the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* and other Chriſtian Princes; augmenting alſo the great Troubles in *Aſia*, and promiſing an eaſie and happy ſucceſs unto theſe Wars in *Europe*; perſwaded the King that *Dracula* his ſpeech proceeded either of ignorance, upon a ſuperficial Judgment which he made of the Kings Power there preſent, without regard of further Strength from his Friends; or elſe of the private reſpect of his own ſecurity, in regard of a commodious League made a little before betwixt him and the Turk. So that the poor Prince ſeeing his Counſel mightily impugned by the Cardinal, and not ſo well taken, as it was meant by him, ſtood in doubt whether to leave him to his own Fortune, and himſelf to his quiet Peace, or caſting off the Turkiſh League, to joyn with the King in this chance of War; but at length reſolved as a Martial minded Man, preferring the uncertain Glory of the Field before his own aſſured reſt, ſaid unto the King;

Seeing that either your Princely Fortune, which hath even hitherto favoured your high Attempts; or elſe the hope of Friends help, which I pray God fail you not at your need; or the ſecret deſignment of your Deſtiny, unable to be avoyded, draws your Majeſty into a different opinion from me; that your reſolution, which I cannot by reaſonable perſwaſion alter, I will as the ſuddenneſs of time, and my ſmall ability will permit, moſt gladly further.

Dracula *aideth* Uladiſlaus *with his Son and four thouſand Horſe.*

And therewith preſented unto the King, his Son, with four thouſand Horſemen well appointed, to ſerve him in thoſe Wars; wiſhing unto him ſuch good ſucceſs as he himſelf deſired. Afterward when he was about to take his leave of the King, he preferred unto him two luſty young men, perfect Guides for that Country, with two Horſes of incredible ſwitneſs, and with tears ſtanding in his Eyes ſaid unto him:

His laſt farewel unto the King.

Take this ſmall Gift in good part, as a poor refuge to flie unto, if your Fortune hap to fail you, which I tremble to think upon; I pray God they be given in vain, and ſo they ſhall, if my Prayers may prevail. Yet if neceſſity ſhall inforce you to uſe them, you ſhall find them ſerviceable at your need.

And ſo taking his laſt Farewel of the King, returned into *Valachia*. *Uladiſlaus* marching on from *Nicopolis* toward *Thracia*, took many Towns and Forts by the way, which the Turks for fear yielded unto him; at laſt he came to *Sumium* and *Pezechium*, where the Turkiſh Garriſons truſting as much to the Strength of the places, as to their own Valour, ſtood upon their Guard; but the King laid Siege to both the ſaid places, and took them by aſſault; where he put to the Sword five thouſand of the Turks.

The Turks *Baſſa's* terrified with thoſe unexpected troubles, advertiſed *Amurath* thereof, requeſting him to leave his obſcure Life, and to levy the greateſt Power he could in *Aſia*, for the defence of the Turkiſh Kingdom in *Europe*, which otherwiſe was in ſhort time like to be loſt; blaming alſo his diſcretion, for committing the Government of ſo great a Kingdom to ſo young a Prince as was *Mahomet* his Son, unto whom many of the great Captains did half ſcorn to yield their due obedience. *Amurath* herewith awaked, as it had been out of a dead ſleep, left his Cloiſter, and with great ſpeed gathered a ſtrong Army in *Aſia*, and came to the Straits of *Helleſpontus*, where he found the paſſage ſtopped by the *Venetian* and Popes Gallies, and was therefore at his Wits end. But marching alongſt the Sea ſide unto the Straits of *Boſphorus*, he there found means to convey over his whole Army; uſing therein (as ſome write) the help of the *Genoway* Merchants Ships, paying unto the *Genowayes* for the paſſage of every Turk a Ducat, which amounted to the ſum of an hundred thouſand Ducats; or as ſome others affirm, corrupting with great Bribes them that were left for the defence of this paſſage. And being now got over, joyned his *Aſian* Army with ſuch other Forces as his *Baſſaes* had in readineſs in *Europe*; and ſo marching on ſeven days, encamped within four miles of *Varna*, a City pleaſantly ſtanding upon the *Euxine* Sea ſide in *Bulgaria*, where the Chriſtian Army lay; for *Uladiſlaus* hearing of *Amurath* his coming with ſo great an Army, had retired thither, having but a little before taken the ſame City of *Varna* from the Turks, with *Calacbrium*, *Galata*, *Macropolis*, and others upon the Sea Coaſt.

Upon the firſt report that *Amurath* was with ſuch a mighty Army come over the Strait of *Boſphorus*, *Uladiſlaus* who before was in good hope that he could not poſſibly have found any paſſage, entred into Counſel with the Commanders of his Army, what courſe he was now beſt to take; where many which before had been moſt forward in that action (preſuming that *Amurath* could by no means have tranſported his Army) were now ſo diſcouraged with the fame of his coming, that they adviſed the King in time to retire home, and not to oppoſe ſo ſmall an Army againſt ſuch a world of People as was reported to follow the Turk. But other Captains of greater Courage, and eſpecially *Huniades*, ſaid, It was not for the Kings honour firſt to invade his Enemies Dominions, and preſently to turn his Back upon the firſt report of their coming; wiſhing him rather to remember the good Fortune of his former Wars, and that he was to fight againſt the ſame Enemy whom he had victoriouſly overthrown the year before; as for the multitude of his Enemies, he had learned by experience (as he ſaid) not to be moved therewith, for that it was the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, more to terrifie their Enemies with the ſhew of a huge Army, than with the Valour of their Souldiers, which were nothing to be accounted of, but as effeminate, in compariſon of the *Hungarians*. Whereupon the King reſolved to trie the fortune of the Field.

Uladiſlaus underſtanding by his Eſpials, that *Amurath* the night before encamped within four miles, was now putting his Army in order of Battel; committed the ordering of all his Forces unto the valiant Captain *Huniades*; who with great care and induſtry diſpoſed the ſame, garding the one ſide of the Battel with a Fen or Mariſh, and the other ſide with Carriages, and the Rereward of his Army with a ſteep Hill. Therein politickly providing, that the Chriſtian Army being far leſs than the Turks in number, could not be compaſſed about with the multitude of their Enemies, neither any way charged but afront. The Turks Army approaching, began to skirmiſh with the Chriſtians, which manner of Fight was long time with great courage maintained and that with diverſe Fortune, ſometime one party prevailing, and ſometime the other; but with ſuch Slaughter on both ſides, that the ground was covered and ſtained with the dead Bodies and Blood of the ſlain. At length the Battel being more cloſely joyned, the Victory began to incline to the Chriſtians, for *Huniades* had moſt valiantly with his *Tranſilvanian* and *Valachian* Horſemen, put to Flight both the Wings of the Turkiſh Army, and made great Slaughter whereſoever he came. Inſomuch that *Amurath* diſmaied with the Flight of his Souldiers, was about to have fled himſelf out of the main Battel, had he not been ſtaied by a common Souldier, who laying Hands upon the Rains of his Bridle, ſtaid him by force, and ſharply reproved him of Cowardiſe. The Captains and Prelates about the King (whom it had better beſeemed to have been at devout Prayers in their Oratories, than in Arms at that bloody Battel) encouraged by the proſperous ſucceſs of *Huniades*, and deſirous to be Partakers of that Victory, fooliſhly left their ſafe Stations, where they were appointed by him to ſtand faſt, and diſorderly purſued the chaſe, leaving that ſide of the Battel where they ſtood, open unto the Turks; but they were not gon far, before they were hardly encountred by a great part of the Turks Army, for ſuch purpoſe placed in a Vally faſt by. In which Fight *Leſco* one of the moſt valiant Captains of the *Hungarians* was ſlain, and the Biſhop of *Verадium*, a better Church-man than Souldier, and the firſt man that diſordered the Battel, ſeeking to ſave himſelf by Flight through the Fen, was there ſtrangled in the deep Mud,

The great Battel of Varna, *fought between* Uladiſlaus *and* Amurath.

after he had with his Horſe therein ſtrugled a great while. The Biſhop of *Agria*, a man of greateſt Authority with the King, was at the ſame time alſo loſt, with many other Church-men more. The Cardinal with ſome other of the expert Captains retiring toward their former ſtandings, were hardly aſſailed by the Turks, who by the coming in of the King and *Huniades*, were with great ſlaughter forced to retire, and even ready to flie. *Amurath* ſeeing the great ſlaughter of his men, and all brought into extream danger, beholding the picture of the Crucifix in the diſplaied Enſigns of the voluntary Chriſtians, pluckt the Writing out of his Boſome, wherein the late League was compriſed, and holding it up in his Hand with his Eyes caſt up to Heaven, ſaid:

Amurath *prayeth unto Chriſt.*

Behold thou crucified Chriſt, this is the League thy Chriſtians in thy name made with me; which they have without cauſe violated. Now if thou be a God, as they ſay thou art, and as we dream, revenge the wrong now done unto thy Name, and me, and ſhew thy Power upon thy perjured People, who in their deeds deny thee their God.

A cruel Fight.

Amurath *in danger.*

King **Uladiſlaus** *ſlain.*

Huniades *flieth.*

The King with *Huniades* furiouſly purſued the chaſed Turks, with bloody execution a great ſpace; when as the King in his heat hardly perſwaded by *Huniades* to return again unto his Camp, at his coming thither found the Cardinal *Julian*, with *Frank*, one of his chief Captains, and others overcharged with the Turks, which had again made head againſt that part of the Chriſtian Army; and there yet fought couragiouſly, by reaſon of their multitude, being alſo backt by the *Janizaries*, which all this while had ſtood faſt with their old King, as his laſt and moſt aſſured refuge, but were now come in. There began a moſt cruel and fierce Fight; in the ſucceſs whereof, the Turks well ſaw the whole ſtate of their Kingdom in *Europe* to conſiſt, many were there ſlain on both ſides; the Turks feeling their loſs leſs than indeed it was, by reaſon of their Multitude; and the Chriſtians, by reaſon of their Courage. A great while the Victory ſtood doubtful, inſomuch, that at length the Turks began to ſhrink back, in that part of the Battel where the King and *Huniades* fought. But in the left ſide they prevailed ſo upon the Chriſtians, that they were even ready to have fled. Which when *Huniades* (having a vigilant Eye unto every part of the Army) perceived, he with ſpeed made thither, and there again with his preſence reſtored the Battel almoſt before loſt. Which done, he returned again towards the King, who in the mean time had moſt valiantly repulſed a great number of the Turks, and now was come unto the *Janizaries*, *Amurath* his laſt hope. There was to be ſeen a thouſand manners of death, whilſt both the Armies fought more like wild Beaſts in their rage and fury, than wary and politick Souldiers. In this confuſed medly the young King *Uladiſlaus* with greater Courage than Care of himſelf, brake into the Battel of the *Janizaries*; at which time, *Amurath* himſelf was by a valiant Frenchman a Knight of the *Rhodes*, firſt wounded with a Pike, and after aſſailed with his Sword, and had there ended his days, but that he was ſpeedily reſcued by his Guard, by whom this worthy Knight after great proof of his Valour was there ſlain in the midſt of his Enemies. *Uladiſlaus* being got alſo in among them valiantly performed all the parts of a worthy Souldier, till ſuch time as his Horſe being ſlain under him, he was forthwith oppreſſed by the multitude of his Enemies and ſlain; his Head being ſtruck off by *Ferizes*, one of the old *Janizaries*, was by him preſented unto *Amurath*, who commanded it preſently to be put upon the point of a Launce, and Proclamation to be made, that it was the Head of the Chriſtian King; which was afterwards ſo carried through the principal Cities of *Macedonia* and *Grecia*, as a Trophy of the Turks Victory. *Huniades* after he had in vain given divers brave attempts, to have reſcued the Kings Body, retired with a few *Valachian* Horſemen, and ſeeing no hope of better hap (for all the Chriſtians being diſcouraged with the death of the King, had now taken themſelves to flight) gave place to neceſſity, and reſerving himſelf to his future Fortune, fled over the Mountains, into the thick Woods, from whence with much difficulty he got over *Danubius* into *Valachia*, and was there (as ſome write) by *Dracula* Prince of that Country taken Priſoner; In revenge whereof, after he was inlarged by the *Hungarians*, he ſo aided *Danus* againſt *Dracula*, that in fine, *Dracula* and his Son were both ſlain, and *Danus* placed in his room. *Julian* the Cardinal flying out of the Battel, was found by that worthy man *Gregory Sanoſe*, lying in the deſart Forreſt by the way ſide, mortally wounded, and half ſtripped, by whom he was in few words ſharply reproved, as the wicked Author of that perfidious War, and there left giving up the Ghoſt. Many of the Chriſtians which fled out of that Battel, fell into the Enemies hands, and ſo were ſlain; but greater was the number of them which were drowned in the Fens, or that by Hunger and Cold periſhed in the Woods, or elſe after long and miſerable travel, finding no paſſage over *Danubius*, fell at length into the Turkiſh Slavery. This great and mortal Battel, as it was with diverſe fortune fought, ſo was alſo the preſent report thereof moſt uncertain; for the Turks that were at the firſt put to flight, reported in the Towns there by as they fled, that the Battel was loſt; and they which had all the day endured the Fight, not altogether aſſured of the Victory, and not knowing whether the *Hungarians* had retired themſelves, whilſt they ſuſpected ſome deceit in the Kings Camp, by reaſon of the great ſilence therein, ſtaid two days before they durſt adventure to take the Spoil thereof. The number of them that were ſlain in this Battel, as well on the one ſide as th'other, was great; as the Mounts and little Hills, raiſed of the Bones and Bodies of thoſe that were there buried, do yet at this day declare. Howbeit, the certain number was not known, ſome reporting more, ſome fewer. Yet in this moſt agree, that of the Chriſtian Army, being not great, ſcarce the third part eſcaped; and that the Turks bought this Victory with a far greater loſs, although it was of them leſs felt, by reaſon of their multitude; made leſs by that ſlaughter, as they that report leaſt thereof affirm, by thirty thouſand. Which may well ſeem rather to be ſo, for that *Amurath* after this Victory, neither farther proſecuted the ſame, nor ſhewed any tokens of Joy at all, but became very melancholy and ſad, and being of them about him demanded, Why after ſo great a Victory, he was no merrier; anſwered, That he wiſhed not at ſo great price, to gain many ſuch Victories. Yet in memorial thereof he erected a great Pillar, in the ſame place where the King was ſlain, with an inſcription of all that was then done; which, as they ſay, is yet there to be ſeen at this day. This bloody Battel was fought near unto *Varna* (in antient time called *Dioniſiopolis* (a place fatal unto many great Warriors, and therefore of them even yet abhorred) the tenth day of *November*, in the year of our Lord Chriſt, 1444.

Some maliciouſly impute the loſs of the Battel of *Varna*, and the death of the King, to *Huniades*, who (as they ſaid) fled out of this Battel with ten thouſand Horſemen; but this report agreeth not with the noble diſpoſition of that couragious and valiant Captain, but ſeemeth rather to have been deviſed, to excuſe the foul dealing of the Clergy; who as moſt Hiſtories bear witneſs, were the chief Authors both of the War, and of the lamentable calamity enſuing thereof.

Amurath *to perform his vow, reſigneth his Kingdom to his Son* Mahomet, *which he in ſhort time after taketh again upon him.*

From the Battel of *Varna Amurath* returned to *Hadrianople*, having loſt the greateſt part of his beſt Souldiers, and there with great Solemnity buried the body of *Carazia*, Vice-Roy of *Europe*, ſlain in that Battel; and then calling together all his Nobility, again reſigned up his Kingdom unto his Son *Mahomet*, retiring himſelf unto *Magneſia*, where he lived a ſolitary and private life, having before vowed ſo to do, in the great fear he was in, in the Battel againſt *Uladiſlaus*; but after he had a ſhort time performed theſe his Vows in that obſcure and melancholy Life, he weary thereof, as ſome ſuppoſe, as not a little revived with the late Victory, or elſe ſolicited by *Cali Baſſa* and other great Counſellors, returned again to *Hadrianople*, reſuming unto himſelf the Government of the Kingdom, to the great diſcontentment of his ambitious Son *Mahomet*.

Scanderbeg yet ſticking in the borders of *Servia*, and hearing what had happened unto King *Uladiſlaus* with the *Hungarians*, was therewith exceedingly grieved; and having now loſt the hope whereupon he had undertaken that ſo great an expedition, reſolved to return home again into *Epirus*. Nevertheleſs, to be in ſome part revenged of the wicked Deſpot, he with his Army forcibly brake into his Country, and there did exceeding great harm. In his returning homewards, great numbers of *Hungarians* and *Polonians*, lately eſcaped from the ſlaughter at *Varna*, repaired unto him, whom he (according to the extremity of their Fortune) courteouſly relieved; and furniſhing them with ſuch things as they wanted, provided them ſhipping to *Raguſa*, from whence they might in ſafety return into their own Countries. Thus by the Diſloyalty and Treachery of the faithleſs Deſpot of *Servia*, was *Scanderbeg* ſtaid from being preſent at the bloody Battel of *Varna*, to the unſpeakable loſs of the Chriſtian Common-weal; for it could not be, but that ſo many thouſands of moſt reſolute and expert Souldiers, under the leading of ſo worthy a Chieftain, muſt needs have done much for the gaining of the Victory. And what more glorious ſight could a man have wiſhed for, than to have ſeen ſo puiſſant an Army in the Field againſt the ſworn Enemy of Chriſtendom, directed by two ſuch valiant and renowned Chieftains, as never, either before or ſince their time, was ſeen the like in one Battel againſt the Enemy of Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion? They were both men of invincible Courage, of exceeding Strength and Agility of Body, wiſe, prudent and ſubtil; both of long time exerciſed in the Turks Wars, the greateſt terror of that Nation, and moſt worthy Champions of the Chriſtian Religion, being therein both very zealous. Of the two, *Huniades* was at that time accounted the better Commander, and the more politick, as a man in greater experience in Martial Affairs, by reaſon of his greater years; which was well countervailed by *Scanderbeg* his perpetual good Fortune, ſtill as it were attending upon him, and by his experience afterwards gotten, as in the courſe of his Hiſtory well appeareth.

The compariſon betwixt Huniades *and* Scanderbeg.

Amurath advertiſed of theſe proceedings of *Scanderbeg*, as alſo of the great harms by him done in *Macedonia*; and that the Frontiers of his Dominions bordering upon *Epirus*, were by his Fury utterly waſted and ſpoiled, and his People there for moſt part ſlain, and that the reſt had for fear forſaken their Dwellings, and left the Country deſolate and unpeopled; was therewith exceedingly moved. Yet for ſo much as he ſtill ſtood in dread of the *Hungarians*, and was now himſelf clogged with years, and therefore more deſirous of reſt; conſidering alſo the young years of his Eldeſt Son *Mahomet*, as yet unfit for the Government of ſo great and troubleſome a Kingdom; with the perpetual good Fortune of *Scanderbeg*, and Malice of *Huniades*; he thought it not beſt to convert all his Forces upon him, but to prove if he could cunningly draw him into ſome diſhonourable Peace for a time, that ſo he might afterwards at leiſure be the better revenged of him. For which cauſe he writ unto him Letters, mixt with grievous Threats, and ſome feigned Courteſies, as followeth:

Amurath Othoman King of the *Turks*, and Emperor of the Eaſt, to the moſt ingrateful *Scanderbeg*, wiſheth neither Health nor Welfare.

The ſullen and crafty Letters of **Amurath** *to* **Scanderbeg.**

I Never wanted honourable Preferments to beſtow upon thee all the while thou didſt live in my Court, of all others moſt unkind Scanderbeg, *but now I want Words wherewith to ſpeak unto thee; thou haſt ſo highly offended my Mind, and touched mine Honour, that I know not in diſcretion what Words to uſe unto thee, but of late one of my Domeſtical Servants. For neither will hard ſpeech mollifie the natural fierceneſs of thy proud diſpoſition, neither art thou worthy of better, which haſt far exceeded all Hoſtility. And becauſe thou wouldeſt omit no occaſion to provoke me, haſt of late proceeded to that point of Folly, that thou haſt had thine own Affairs, and the Welfare of thine own Subjects, in ſmall regard, by confederating thy ſelf in Arms with the* Hungarians *againſt me. It grieveth me to rehearſe other thy unkindneſs, and as it were to touch thoſe ſores, if my mind would ever ſuffer me to forget the ſame, or that thine ſo manifold and horrible Treaſons, and ſtrange examples of a moſt unthankful mind, were to be covered with ſilence. Yet I thought good to advertiſe thee (although perhaps too late) leſt that thy unſtaid heat do untimely overthrow thee, with thy unlucky Kingdom; and then thou wouldſt make humble confeſſion of thy long tranſgreſſion, when thou haſt loſt thy ſelf, and left no hope of refuge in thy deſperate Eſtate. We have hitherto ſufficiently ſuffered thy manifold injuries; thou haſt ſufficiently provoked the Majeſty of the* Othoman *Empire, with wrong and contumelious deſpight; and I with patience have born all theſe thy contempts. Thinkeſt thou that my Army by thee betrayed unto the* Hungarians *ſhall be unrevenged? Thinkeſt thou that ſo many Cities and Towns in* Epirus, *by thee rent from the body of my Empire, with my Garriſons there ſlain, ſhall be forgotten? Or thinkeſt thou with thy late committed Outrages to eſcape my revenging Hand? Remember the deſtruction of mine Army under* Alis Baſſa; *the waſting and burning of my Dominions; and lately, the* Hungarian *Wars, by thee ſo far as in thee was, countenanced; with the Territories of* George, *the Deſpot of* Servia, *my Father-in-Law by thee ſpoiled. At length amend, thou graceleſs man, and expect not further, whether my indignation will break out.*

out. Let not theſe trifling allurements of thy good Fortune, ſo puff up thy fooliſh deſires, and ſharpen thy conceits, that thy miſerable Fortunes afterwards may move even thy greateſt Enemies, or my ſelf to compaſſion. I would thou ſhouldſt at length remember my Courteſies (if any ſpark of humanity remain in thy ſavage Nature) and make me not longer ſorry, that I have ſo evil beſtowed the ſame. And although it is not the part of an honourable mind, to rehearſe thoſe things which we have in bounty beſtowed upon any man; yet is it the token of a moſt unthankful Nature, ſo eaſily to forget all kindneſs paſt, as to need to be put in remembrance thereof. Wherefore Scanderbeg, *I cannot bewail thy hap, and lament thine eſtate; For to let paſs the health of thy Soul (which thou a very Reprobate, eſteemeſt as nothing) not to ſpeak of the Laws of* Mahomet *by thee deſpiſed, and the holy Prophet by thee contemned, for the zeal thou haſt unto the Chriſtian Superſtition; what haſt thou (which now holdſt thy poor and baſe Kingdom in ſuch price) ever wanted at my hands of all theſe things which moſt delight the deſires of men? Didſt thou ever want Armor, Horſes, a great Train of Followers and Servants, Mony, or other Superfluities, the allurements of all Ages? Or didſt thou want matter to exerciſe thy Valor, for increaſe of thine Honour? Waſt thou ever denied Preferments, Dignities, and Honours of all ſorts fit for thine Age, both at home and abroad? Was any man in my Court dearer unto me, than thy ſelf? what growing Wit, not of Strangers only, but of them that were neareſt unto my ſelf, was better welcome unto me than thine? With what careful inſtruction did I cauſe thee to be brought up? When thou waſt delivered unto me almoſt a Child, I dayly cheriſhed and increaſed thy hoped towardlyneſs, with Learning and Nurture; I have at all times honoured thee with rich Rewards, magnifical Praiſes, and Honours of the Field (which of all worthy things is moſt glorious) ſo that in all Feats of Arms no Souldier was to me better known, or Captain of me more honoured. For all theſe great benefits,* Scanderbeg, *thou now ſheweſt thy ſelf ſuch an one, that I may be thought not to have brought up ſuch a man as I hoped for, but a very Serpent in mine one Boſome. But the love of thy Country did move thee; which if thou hadſt asked of me, would I have denied the ſame unto thee? which (if thou doſt well remember) I ſo oftentimes voluntarily profered unto thee? But thou hadſt rather to gain the ſame by Treachery, than to receive it at my Hands of Courteſie. So thine be it therefore on God his name, and that with my very good Will. And verily, according to my accuſtomed Clemency towards all them whom I have once well known, and been familiarly acquainted with, I now pardon thee all thou haſt offended me; not for any thy preſent deſerts, which are none, but becauſe in this publique enmity it pleaſeth me to remember my former kindneſs in private towards thee, and thy faithfulneſs ſometimes in my Affairs; eſpecially for that the time was much longer wherein thou ſerveſt me, than the time wherein thou haſt offended me.* Croia *and thy Fathers Kingdom (although thou haſt gained the ſame by foul Treachery) I give unto thee, upon condition thou willingly reſtore unto me the other Towns of* Epirus, *which by no right belong unto thee, but are mine by Law of Arms, by my ſelf honourably won. Whatſoever thou haſt taken from my Father-in-Law the Prince of* Servia, *thou ſhalt forthwith reſtore, and make him an honourable recompence for the other harms thou haſt done unto him; and for ever hereafter, thou ſhalt as well forbear to offer violence to any our Friends, as to aid any our Enemies. So ſhalt thou for ever avoid the diſpleaſure of the Turks, and ſtand in my good grace and favour, as thou haſt done before; except thou hadſt rather (being taught by thine own harms) than in vain cry for mercy, when thy furious outrage ſhall have me in Perſon an implacable Revenger. Thou knoweſt thy Forces, thou knoweſt the Strength of mine Arms; thou haſt before thine Eeys the freſh example of the* Hungarian *Fortune, ſo that thou needeſt no further admonitions. Yet I would thou ſhouldeſt write at large, what thou intendeſt to do. Thou maiſt alſo confer with* Ayradin *our Servant, our truſty and faithful Meſſenger, of whom thou ſhalt underſtand more than are in theſe Letters compriſed. Farewel if thou be wiſe. From* Hadrianople.

To theſe Letters *Scanderbeg* gave ſmall credit, and leſs to the Meſſenger, but leaſt of all to the old Fox himſelf, whom he well knew to have written nothing ſimply of good meaning, but only to gain a ceſſation from Wars, until he might at better leiſure ſet upon him with all his Forces. Wherefore calling *Ayradin* the Meſſenger unto him, whom he rather held for a crafty Spy, than an honourable Embaſſador, after he had many times both publiquely and privately diſcourſed with him, ſo far forth as was poſſible to ſound the depth of his coming, and had alſo further entertained him with all honourable Courteſies, he ſhewed him all his Camp, with the ſtrength thereof; which he did, becauſe he would not have the crafty Meſſenger to think, that he was any thing afraid of his Maſters greatneſs. And at laſt, greatly complaining of *Amurath* his cruel and perfideous dealing againſt his Father, his Brethren, and himſelf, he ſent him away with ſuch anſwer in writing, as followeth.

The Souldier of Chriſt Jeſus, *George Caſtriot*, ſirnamed *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epirus*, to *Amurath Othoman* King of the *Turks*, ſendeth greeting.

The reſolute anſwer of Scanderbeg *to* Amurath *his Letters*

THou *haſt in times paſt, as thou writeſt, exceeded me in many kinds of Courteſies; and at this preſent I will exceed thee in modeſt and temperate Speech; for I think there is no greater token of a baſe mind, than not to be able to forbear to give railing and opprobrious words, even unto our moſt mortal Enemies. Wherefore we have with patience received and ſeen both thy Letters and Meſſenger; and to confeſs a truth, they have miniſtred unto me greater occaſion of Smile than Choler; whilſt at the firſt thou ſhameſt not to accuſe me of much Ingratitude and Treaſon; and preſently following a milder paſſion, ſeemeſt careful of my Souls health, being ignorant of thine own Eſtate, as a ſtudious Defender of a moſt damnable error. And at laſt, keeping neither Law of Arms, nor orderly courſe anſwering to our Affairs, doſt moſt inſolently and unadviſedly, as a valiant Conqueror to his vanquiſhed Enemy, propound many Conditions of Peace, of ſuch quality and condition, that mine Ears ſcorn to hear the ſame. Truly* Amurath, *although thy immoderate railing might move a man of greateſt patience to intemperate Speech; yet I impue the ſame partly to thy great Age, and partly to the waiwardneſs of thy Nature; and the reſt, to thy conceived grief, which I know thou canſt hardly moderate; and the rather, for that I have not ſet down my ſelf to contend with thee in foul and unſeemly Language, but with Arms, and the juſt Fury of War. Yet I pray thee, wherefore do'ſt thou ſo exclaim againſt me before God and Man? as though thou hadſt firſt ſuffered wrong and injury from me and that thou hadſt not in truth firſt done the ſame. Doſt thou call my neceſſary departing, a perfideous Treachery? my native Country by my Policy and Valour recovered, doſt thou object to me as a Villany?*

object the ſame ſtill and ſpare not; charge me with ſuch crimes for ever, I cate not. The long Catalogue of thy kindneſs towards me, which thou rehearſeſt, I could willingly remember, if it drew not with it the woful remembrance of my greater miſeries; which if they were to be compared together, the greatneſs of thy good deſerts would be overwhelmed with the multitude of thy greater Tyrannies; which I had rather thou ſhouldſt count with thy ſelf, than bluſh whilſt I repeat them. Every man that knoweth them, may marvel how I had power to endure them, or that thou waſt not weary at laſt of thy Cruelty and ſecret Hatred. Thou tookeſt away my Fathers Kingdom by force; thou didſt murther my Brethren, and my ſelf thou didſt moſt wickedly vow to death, when I little feared any ſuch Cruelty; and doth it now ſeem ſtrange to thee, O Amurath, *that an invincible mind, deſirous of Liberty, ſhould ſeek to break out of the bonds of ſo great and inſolent Slavery? How long at length didſt thou think I would endure thy proud Bondage? which for all that, I many years endured, and refuſed not thy command. I expoſed my ſelf to publique and private dangers, both voluntarily, and by thy deſignment; ſpeeches were given out dayly by thy ſelf, and the admonition of my Friends concerning thy deep Treachery, was rife in mine Ears; Yet for all that, of long time I ſimply believed both thy words and deeds to have been devoid of all Fraud until thy cankered malice began too too apparently to ſhew it ſelf; then began I alſo to gloſe with thee, wholly metamorphoſed into thine own conceits, until I found occaſion to recover my Liberty. Wherefore there is no cauſe thou ſhouldſt now grieve, if thou be well beaten with thine own rod. But theſe are but Trifles,* Amurath, *in compariſon of thoſe things which I have laid up in hope and reſolution of mind. Therefore hereafter ſurceaſe thine angry threats, and tell not us of the* Hungarian *Fortune; every man hath his own reſolution, and every man a particular Governor of his actions; and ſo will we with patience endure ſuch Fortune as it ſhall pleaſe God to appoint us. In the mean time, for direction of our Affairs we will not requeſt Counſel of our Enemies, nor Peace of thee, but Victory by the help of God. Farewel. From our Camp.*

When *Amurath* had read theſe Letters, and further conferred with *Ayradin*, he was filled with wrath and indignation, wondering at the great reſolution of ſo ſmall a Prince, preſently caſting in his mind (as was thought) the difficulty of that War. Yet becauſe he would give no token of Fear, oftentimes ſtroaking his white Beard, as his manner was when he was throughly angry, with a diſſembled chearfulneſs of countenance ſaid,

Amurath
his paſſionate ſpeech
in his rage
againſt
Scanderbeg.

Thou deſireſt (wicked man) thou deſireſt the title of ſome honourable death; We will give it thee (believe us) we will give it thee; we our ſelves will be preſent at the burial of our foſter Child, and in perſon (though unbidden) honour the funeral Pomp of the great King of Epirus, *that thou ſhalt never complain among the damned Ghoſts, that thou didſt die a baſe or obſcure kind of death.*

And becauſe at that time, by reaſon of many great occurrents, he could not convert his whole Power into *Epirus*, he ſent *Feriſes* one of his beſt Captains, with nine thouſand choice Horſemen, to keep *Scanderbeg* in doing, and to ſpoil his Country ſo much as he could. Which was with ſuch ſpeed done, as it was thought *Feriſes* would have been in the heart of *Epirus*, before *Scanderbeg* could have had knowledge of his coming. But for all his haſt, he could not ſo prevent the flying fame, but that *Scanderbeg* hearing thereof, and having his men always in readineſs, placed fifteen hundred good Footmen in ambuſh upon the rough Mountains leading into the Valley of *Movea*, whereby the Turks muſt needs paſs into *Epirus*; placing alſo two thouſand Horſemen, as he thought moſt fit and convenient for his purpoſe. *Feriſes* deſcending from the high Mountains full of Woods and Buſhes, by the broken and ſtony ways leading into the Valley, was in that troubleſome and intricate paſſage fiercely ſet upon by *Scanderbegs* ready Footmen, ſuddenly ariſing out of ambuſh where the Turks having no uſe of their Horſes, but rather by them encumbred, were ſlain as Deer encloſed in a toyl. In this conflict ſeven hundred and ſixty Turks were taken Priſoners, and a great number ſlain, and *Feriſes* himſelf, with the reſt, enforced to flie, crying ſtill out as he fled, *Better ſome ſaved, than all loſt. Scanderbeg* having thus overthrown *Feriſes*, purſued him into *Macedonia*, and with the Spoil there taken, rewarded his Souldiers, as he had alſo many times before done.

Amurath grieved with the overthrow of *Feriſes*, preſently ſent *Muſtapha* a politick and hardy Captain with a new ſupply of ſix thouſand Souldiers, to take the charge from *Feriſes*; commanding him in no caſe, nor upon any occaſion to enter far into *Epirus*; but only to burn and ſpoil the frontiers thereof, ſaying, That he would account it for good ſervice, if he might but underſtand, that the Trees and Fruits of that Country had felt the force of his Anger. *Muſtapha* having received his Charge, when he began to draw near the Borders of *Epirus*, continually ſent out Scouts before his Army, to ſee if the paſſages were clear, and ſo warily entred the Vally of *Movea*, where *Ferizes* not long before was overthrown. In this fruitful Valley, being the Frontiers of *Scanderbegs* Dominion, *Muſtapha* intrenched his Army, upon the riſing of a Hill, and placed Eſpials upon the top of the high Mountains round about, by them to diſcover the coming of the Enemy, and to have notice thereof by ſigns into the Camp; then reſerving four thouſand Horſemen with himſelf, to keep his Camp, he ſent forth the reſt of his Army, about nine thouſand Horſemen, to forrage and ſpoil the Country; giving charge before, That every man upon pain of Death ſhould preſently retire to the Camp, upon ſign given from thence, as to a place of Safety and Refuge. The Turkiſh Army ranging over that rich and pleaſant Vally, burnt the Villages, cut down Trees, ſpoiled the Vineyards, and made havock of all things that Fire and Sword could deſtroy; in that point executing *Amuraths* command to the full. At length *Scanderbeg* drawing near to this Vally with four thouſand Horſemen and one thouſand Foot, was advertiſed of all the Enemies doings, by an *Epirot* Souldier, who grievouſly wounded, had hardly eſcaped from the Turks; of him he underſtood, what number of Turks were burning and deſtroying the Country, of the Camp alſo kept by *Muſtapha*, and how Eſpials were placed upon the Mountains. *Scanderbeg* having well conſidered *Muſtapha* his wary proceedings, and ſeeing no Policy to be uſed againſt ſo careful an Enemy, reſolved to vanquiſh him by plain force, by aſſaulting him ſuddainly in his Trenches, before his diſperſed Souldiers could repair to the Camp; and having to this purpoſe with effectual perſwaſions incouraged the minds of his valiant Souldiers, ready of themſelves to follow him through all dangers; when he had ſet all things in order for the aſſaulting of the Enemies Camp, ſpeedily entred the Vally, and was

Scanderbeg *his*
valiant
reſolution
for the aſ-
ſaulting of
Muſtapha
in his
Camp.

preſently diſcovered by the Enemies Eſpials, from the tops of the high Hills, and a ſign given to the Camp, from whence alſo the appointed ſign was given for the diſperſed Souldiers to retire; but moſt of them being ſtraied from the Camp, and buſied in taking the Spoil of the Country, heard not or ſaw not the ſign given. Thoſe which were within the hearing thereof, retired to the Camp, and at their Heels followed *Scanderbegs* Souldiers, terrifying them with calling upon the Name of *Scanderbeg*. Many of the Turks were by the Chriſtians ſlain in the entrance of the Camp, with their Booties in their Hands, and preſently the Turks Trenches were now by *Scanderbegs* Souldiers couragiouſly aſſaulted, and the Turks beaten from the top of them. They having won the Trenches, prevailed ſtill upon the Turks, filling all their Camp with fear and ſlaughter. There was no uſe of Shot in that medly, by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of the place, for they were now come to pell mell. *Muſtapha* ſeeing his Souldiers put to the worſt, and that the Camp was not long to be defended, took horſe and fled by the Port which was furtheſt from the Enemy. The reſt of the Souldiers fled alſo, making ſuch poor ſhift for themſelves as they could. In this Battel five thouſand Turks were ſlain, and but three hundred taken; for the Chriſtians inraged with the Spoil of the Country, revenged themſelves with the ſlaughter of the Turks. *Scanderbeg* loſt in this conflict but twenty Horſemen and fifty Footmen. The reſt of the Turks Army diſperſed in the Country, hearing the tumult in the Camp, miſdoubting the fortune of their Fellows, fled alſo; yet many of them were in that Flight purſued and ſlain.

After this overthrow, *Muſtapha* returning to *Amurath*, the better to excuſe the miſfortune of himſelf and the other Captains before ſent, greatly commended the invincible Courage of *Scanderbeg*, and his wonderful skill in feats of Arms; perſwading *Amurath*, either to ſend a greater Power againſt him, or elſe none at all; ſaying, That to ſend ſuch ſmall Armies, was but to miniſter matter to the increaſe of his Glory, and the Infamy of the Turks; and to uſe Policy againſt him, the Maſter of Policy, was but meer Folly. It grieved *Amurath* to hear the Praiſes of his Enemy, although he knew the ſame to be true, by the continual Fortune he had always againſt his great Captains, *Alis Baſſa*, *Ferizes* and *Muſtapha*; wherefore he determined for a time not to provoke him further, but to ſuffer him to live in Peace; yet commanded *Muſtapha* to renew his Army for defence of the borders of his Kingdom towards *Epirus*, againſt the innovation of *Scanderbeg*; but ſtraitly commanding him, in no caſe to invade any part of *Epirus*, neither upon any occaſion offered, or conceived hope of Victory, to join Battel with *Scanderbeg*; for fear of ſuch evil ſucceſs as before.

At this time alſo the *Grecians* of *Peloponeſus*, (now called *Morea*) having before fortified the Strait of *Corinth* from Sea to Sea, with a perpetual Wall which they called *Hexamylum*, and deep Trenches about ſix miles in length, had alſo built five ſtrong Caſtles in the ſame Wall, of purpoſe to take away all paſſage by Land into that rich Country, and began now not only to deny the yearly Tribute they were wont to pay unto the Turkiſh King, but alſo to invade ſuch Princes of *Achaia* their Neighbours, as were content to remain ſtill the Turks Tributaries; among whom *Neceus* Prince of *Athens*, and *Turacan* Governor of *Theſſalia* for *Amurath*, ceaſed not by continual Complaints to incenſe him againſt them of *Peloponeſus*. Who having his Army in readineſs, although it was now Winter, and he himſelf very aged, ſet forward from *Hadrianople*, and marching through *Theſſalia*, came into *Achaia*, where moſt of the *Grecians* were before fled for fear into *Peloponeſus*. So paſſing on with his Army, he came to the Strait commonly called *Iſtmus*, where the famous City of *Corinth* ſometime ſtood; and there incamped his Army near unto the ſtrong Wall and Caſtles, lately before built, hoping that the *Grecians* of *Peloponeſus*, terrified with the multitude of his Army, would without reſiſtance ſubmit themſelves; but when he perceived them to ſtand upon their guard, and to truſt to their Strength, he laid battery to the Wall four days, and having made it aſſaultable, brake through the ſame with his Army. The *Grecians* having loſt the Wall (their chief Strength) fled, ſome to one ſtrong Hold, and ſome to another, as their Fortune led them; the Turks at their pleaſure ſpoiling and deſtroying that rich and pleaſant Country, ſometime the Nurſe of worthy Wits, and famous Captains; where they found wonderful riches, and took Priſoners without number; in ſo much that they were ſold among the Turks at a moſt vile Price. There *Amurath* for his pleaſure cruelly ſacrificed ſix hundred Chriſtian Captives, to the helliſh Ghoſt of his dead Father *Mahomet*; and afterwards impoſing a yearly Tribute upon the *Peloponeſians*, and other *Grecian* Princes now yielding again unto him, as an induction to their further Slavery under the Turkiſh Tyranny, he returned, taking in his way the two famous Cities of *Patras* and *Sicyone*. Thus the rich Country of *Peloponeſus*, and all the reſt of *Grecia*, ſometime the Fountain of all Learning and Civility, became tributary to the barbarous and cruel Turks, in the year of our Lord 1445.

Peloponeſus *made tributary unto the Turks.*

Old *Amurath* now clogged with years, and wearied with long Wars, was content to take his reſt at *Hadrianople*; during which time, *Bajazet* the Son of *Mahomet* was born in the year 1446. who afterwards of long time with great Glory governed the Turkiſh Empire at *Conſtantinople*, as in his place ſhall appear.

Bajazet *born.*
1446.

The *Hungarians* after the Calamity of *Varna* (wherein they had together with *Uladiſlaus* their King, loſt moſt part of their Nobility alſo) in a general Aſſembly of their States, made choice of *Ladiſlaus* the Poſthumous Son of *Albertus* (and then in keeping of *Frederick* the Emperor) for their King. But foraſmuch as he being then but a Child of five years old, and choſen King more for the remembrance of the Emperor *Sigiſmund* his Grandfather, and *Albertus* his Father, and the good hope conceived of him, than for any other thing preſently to be expected; from him; it was thought more than neceſſary, to make choice of ſome notable and worthy man, unto whom they might, during the time of the Kings Minority, commit the Government and Protection of that ſo great and turbulent a Kingdom. Many there were in that honourable Aſſembly well thought of, both of themſelves and others; but ſuch was the Glory and Valour of *Huniades*, and ſo great the remembrance of his worthy deſerts, both of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and of the Chriſtian Common-weal in general, as without his ſeeking, procured unto him the general Favour and Suffrages of all; yea ſo far, that even they which moſt envied at his Honour (as overſhadowing their own) were glad to hold their Peace, for that without him, it was commonly thought the ſtate of that ſhaken Kingdom could not long ſtand; So by the general conſent of all the States there aſſembled, he

was

Huniades *in the minority of the King choſen Governor of all the Kingdom of* **Hungary.**

was with the great applauſe of the People choſen and proclaimed Governor, as of all others moſt fit for ſo great and heavy a charge; wherein he quietly ſpent ſome few years in deciding of civil Controverſies, in compoſing the quarrels of the Nobility; not forgetting in the mean time the indifferent adminiſtration of Juſtice to all men, ending many controverſies far from the place of Judgment, and that without all ſuſpition of corruption; uſing therein ſuch expedition and never wearied patience in hearing every mans cauſe, that ſitting, going, ſtanding, riding, he diſpatched many great and weighty matters; always ſhewing himſelf affable and courteous, as well unto them of poorer ſort, as others of greater calling, that had any ſuits to him. So that it was of him truly ſaid, That no man was than he unto his Friends more friendly, or unto his Enemies more croſs and contrary. In time of Peace he was always providing for War, heaping up great Treaſure, and ſuch other things, as without which the Wars could not be maintained. But above all things, he was careful of the good agreement of the Nobility, taking great pains in reconciling their diſpleaſures conceived one againſt another, and that with ſuch dexterity, as that he was both of them and others generally both beloved and feared.

1448.
Huniades *goeth againſt the Turks.*

In the mean time, whilſt he was thus buſied in diſpoſing of the Civil Affairs of the Common-Weal, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, he was advertiſed by his Eſpials, how that the old Sultan *Amurath* was raiſing great Forces both in *Aſia* and *Europe*, and that as the common fame went, for the invaſion of *Hungary.* For the withſtanding whereof, *Huniades* not unprovided, as never unmindful of ſo dangerous an Enemy, or of any thing more deſirous, than in ſome ſort to be revenged of the great loſs received at *Varna*; in the fourth year of his Government, and in the year of our Lord 1448. accompanied with moſt part of the Nobility of *Hungary*, and the Vayvod of *Valachia* his Friend and Confederate, ſet forward againſt the Turk with an Army of two and twenty thouſand choice Souldiers. So having paſſed the River *Tibiſcus*, or *Teiſe*, and travelling through *Valachia*, a little beneath where the River *Morava* running through *Servia*, falleth into *Danubius*, he with moſt part of his Army paſſed that great River; the reſt in the mean time taking paſſage over at a Town called *Severin. Huniades* with his Army being thus gotten over into *Servia*, by his Embaſſadors requeſted the Deſpot, as he had oftentimes before, to put himſelf into that moſt Chriſtian War, and remembring the great benefits he had received from the *Hungarians*, not to ſhew himſelf therefore ungrateful, than which nothing could be more diſhonourable; and to encourage him the more, certified him both of his own Strength, and of the Aid brought unto him by the Vayvod; and that for the good ſucceſs of the War there wanted nothing but his preſence and direction, with ſuch Troops of light Horſemen as he knew he had always in readineſs; wherewith he requeſted him with all ſpeed to follow him. But he being a man of no Religion, and better affected unto the Turk than *Huniades*, the more cleanly to withdraw himſelf from this War, pretended many excuſes; firſt, The League he had with *Amurath* his Son-in-Law, which he ſaid he might not break, for fear that if things chanced not well he might ſo fall again headlong into his old miſery; then, The unſeaſonableneſs of the time, Autumn being now paſt; which difficulties in thoſe cold Countries they had to their coſt too much felt in the late War: Theſe with many other ſuch like he alledged in excuſe that he came not; but the truth was, the malice of the man, grieved to ſee *Huniades* preferred before him in the Government of the Kingdom, and diſdaining to ſerve under his Enſigns, being himſelf Deſpot and King of *Servia*, deſcended of the Royal Race, was the cauſe of his backwardneſs; ſo that blinded with Envy, he could not there rightly judge of himſelf, or what was fit for him in this caſe to have done. But *Huniades* angry with his unkind anſwer, threatned him with his own hands to be revenged upon him, and to give away his Kingdom to one more worthy thereof than he, if he ſhould with Victory return. So paſſing through *Servia*, as through the Enemies Country, he came into *Bulgaria.* After whoſe departure, the falſe Deſpot by ſpeedy Meſſengers advertiſed *Amurath* both of the coming of the *Hungarians*, and of their Strength; yea he certified him of every days march, and how that *Huniades* was but with a ſmall Company of his own, and ſome weak ſupplies of the Vayvods, come over *Danubius*; whom if he ſhould not preſently meet, but ſuffer him to come on further, and ſo with his Army to get betwixt him and home, he might ſo ſhut him in, as that he ſhould be hardly able to eſcape his Hands. All which he did, partly for Envy, partly to gratifie the Turk, and the better to keep Friendſhip with him. So *Amurath* not contemning the Deſpots Counſel, ſuffered *Huniades* without reſiſtance to enter a great way into his Country, and coming two or three days march behind him, ſo ſtopped the paſſage, as that he could not poſſibly retire, but that he muſt needs fight. And now they were both come unto a great Plain in *Bulgaria*, which the *Hungarians* call *Rigomezu*; and the *Raſcians*, the Plain of *Coſſova*; through the midſt whereof the River *Schichniza* riſing out of the Mountains of *Illyria*, running, at length falleth into *Morava*, and ſo into *Danubius.* This Plain is about twenty miles in length, and in breadth five, environed on each ſide with pleaſant Mountains in manner of a Theatre, the River and low Vallies at the foot of the Mountains being garniſhed with many Country Villages and Towns. Into this fatal Plain, when as the *Hungarians* firſt, and after them the Turks, were as into a place of Combat deſcended; an old Woman dwelling in one of the Villages upon the River ſide faſt by, where both Armies of late paſſed, with a loud voice cried out, O, *how mutch I now fear the hard Fortune of the* Hungarians. When as their paſſage over by the Foord troubled the River but one day, and the Turks three; by the ſmall number of their Army, divining their enſuing overthrow. In the midſt almoſt of this Plain ariſeth a ſmall Hill, by the foot whereof the River *Schichniza* runneth; not far beyond which, toward the Head of the Plain, was a certain Tower built like a Pyramid, in memorial of *Amurath*, the firſt of that name, and third King of the Turks, there ſlain; which Tower *Amurath* fearing leſt *Huniades* marching before him, ſhould take, and ſo become unto him ominous, (for in ſuch matters the Turks are very ſuperſtitious) he made haſt, of purpoſe to joyn Battel with him before he ſhould come to the foreſaid Tower. *Huniades* being come unto the Hill, eaſily ariſing in the midſt of the Plain, there incamped, expecting the coming of *Scanderbg*; who was ſaid (according to appointment made betwixt him and *Huniades*) to be every hour coming. Wherefore *Amurath* fearing leſt the Tower faſt by ſhould be taken, and

The falſe Deſpot giveth **Amurath** *knowledge both of* **Huniades** *his coming and of his Strength.*

The ominous ſpeech of an old Woman.

and the Enemies Power ſtrengthned by the coming of the *Albanois*, provoked *Huniades* to battel; who ſtill refuſed the ſame in hope of his Friends coming; which made the Turk more fierce upon him, ſeeking by all means he could to draw him to battel, but eſpecially by cutting him off from Water and Forrage; for why, he much preſumed upon his multitude, having in his Army about fourſcore thouſand fighting men. At length *Huniades*, for want of Water and other neceſſaries enforced to fight, upon S. *Lukes-day*, being then *Thurſday*, commanded his Souldiers to make themſelves ready; and dividing his Army into two and thirty Battalions, in ſuch order as he meant to give battel, the more to encourage them, ſpake unto them as followeth:

The notable Speech of Huniades *to encourage his Souldiers againſt the Turks.*

At length (valiant Souldiers, and fellows in Arms) the day is come, wherein you may revenge that Diſhonour or Diſgrace, you received in the battel of Varna; *and recover your former Credit of Conſtancy and Praiſe, if you will play the Men. The Enemy oppoſeth againſt you but theſe Reliques of his Armies, by you ſo often broken and diſcomfited; who although they be in number more than you, yet are they in hope, Quarrel and Strength, far inferior. For what can they hope for, which fight not for their own, but for another mans Kingdom? and in conquering, procure unto themſelves nothing but bondage in this life, and torment in the life to come, and in both, perpetual and endleſs Miſery? Whereas you on the other ſide, howſoever the matter fall out, fighting for your own Kingdom, your Children, your Country, your Houſes, your Altars, may aſſuredly hope for in both, eternal and undoubted Bliſs. You have alſo far greater cauſe to fight, as they which if they do not valiantly overcome their Enemies, are in danger, with themſelves, to loſe alſo all that theirs is. The ſtrength of both is ſufficiently tried. Once we unfortunately joyned battel at* Varna, *where if we might make exchange of our Fortunes there found, haply the Turk would make choice of our flight, rather than of the great ſlaughter of his own men; who being not able to overtake us, was there notably beaten, with the loſs of a great part of his Army; whoſe great loſs there received, might countervail our Diſhonour; although the loſs, he ſuffered perforce, but we our flight by choice. But of that our Overthrow, the angry Powers from above (willing to revenge our breach of Faith) were, as I verily believe, the cauſe, rather than our Cowardiſe; for even there, all the Authors of that perfideous dealing, even there I ſay, every one received the juſt guerdon of their Treachery. Whereas we, againſt our wills drawn into that woful War, by the mercy of God yet live with you, preſerved for the defence of the Chriſtian Commonweal, and eſpecially of* Hungary, *that it ſhould not be over-run with the Turkiſh Power and Rage. The number of your Enemies is not of you to be feared, when as you with few, have oftentimes learned to fight with their multitudes, and carried away from them the Victory. Hitherto we have rather fought by the Power of God than man, and in the Name of Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour, have eaſily overthrown their prophane Battels. Which way ſoever we have turned our ſelves in his moſt mighty Name, we have with our victorious Arms opened our way, for that we fought under the Leading and Conduct of the Higheſt, whoſe help we have always felt at hand; neither ſhall we thereof this day fail, if we be mindful of his forepaſſed love towards us, and of our wonted valour. God is always preſent with them that in his juſt Quarrel fight couragiouſly. Hereunto is joyned the ſafe manner of our fight, by reaſon of our Men at Arms, and barbed Horſes, who like a ſtrong Caſtle cannot eaſily be overthrown. Our Battalions are ſuch as may eaſily be commanded, and yet ſtrong enough againſt our Enemies; whereas their great multitude breedeth but confuſion. We have many notable and forcible Engines of War, which they have not. Beſides that, every hour we look for the worthy* Scanderbeg *his coming. The danger is not ſo great, as that we ſhould fear it; or ſo little, as that we ſhould contemn it. Back again without Victory we may not go, for that our Army is hardly by the ſtraits of theſe Mountains to be led; and if the way were never ſo eaſie, yet without doing that we came for, and glory with Victory, we may not retire. Unto the Valiant, all difficulties are propounded. Wherefore ſith this your laſt Labour is at hand, wherein the whole ſtrength of the Turks may be for ever cut off, I pray and beſeech you (fellow Souldiers) by that God under whoſe Power and Protection we ſerve, and by the love you bear unto your Country, your Wives, your Children, and Wealth, upon the ſignal of battel given, ſo to ſhew your valour, as men reſolved to be fully revenged of the Injuries by that filthy and wicked Nation done both to God and man; and eſpecially of the loſs received at* Varna. *We loſt there a devout King, who for our ſafety, and for the breach of his Faith, ſacrificed himſelf; by which Royal Sacrifice, that Divine Anger is appeaſed; unto whoſe ghoſt I beſeech you, in this battel to make an honourable Sacrifice. Not forgetting withall, to revenge the death of other worthy Men in that battel ſlain. This fear of the Turks, is at once and even this day to be cut off; and ſo, as that it ſhould never grow again; and the Kingdom of* Hungary, *ſo to be delivered from the danger of moſt cruel ſlavery, as that it may by this days work gain perpetual Reſt and Glory, unto the enjoying of the pleaſures both of this life, and of the life to come. Wherefore (worthy Souldiers) we muſt fight with all our force, for that our Honour ſo requireth, our profit ſo perſwadeth, and neceſſity enforceth. As for our ſelves, howſoever the matter fall out, all ſhall be with us well: If Victory, perpetual Bliſs and Happineſs ſhall thereby be procured unto our Country, and Immortal Fame unto our ſelves; but if we ſhall be overcome, here we ſhall be moſt honourably buried in the bed of Fame, to live in Heaven with God and his Saints for ever. Wherefore I beſeech you ſo fight, as men reſolutely ſet down to overcome, or if it ſhould otherwiſe fall out, as Men reſolved honourably to die.*

With this the Generals Speech, all the minds of the Hearers were greatly enflamed, and they all by his words, and their own hot deſires, ſufficiently encouraged; neither did old *Amurath* on the other ſide with leſs care or diligence marſhal his Army, and incourage his Turks, ſparing neither chearful Speech, glorious Promiſes, or ſevere Command; whoſe Army being brought into the Plain, and ranged in order of battel, filled the ſame from the one ſide to the other, even unto the very Mountains, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Chriſtians; and ſo about nine a clock in the morning ſet forward. *Huniades* had from the Hill where he lay, ſent down both the wings of his Army, and had afront on both ſides before them, ſtretched out certain long Troops of light Horſemen to begin the Skirmiſh. In the midſt betwixt both he had placed *Zechel*, his Siſters Son, with a ſtrong ſquare battel of Men at Arms; and ſuch as he had kept aloft upon the Hill for Reſcues, he had compaſſed about with his Waggons, as with Trenches. The ſignal of the battel being given, the fierce and couragious Souldiers on both ſides, with chearful minds, began at firſt to Skirmiſh a far off; but afterwards Fortune as it were fawning upon both ſides, and their courage thereupon increaſing, they began with greater force to fight foot to foot, and

The great battel of Coſſova *ſought betwixt* Amurath *and* Huniades *three days together.*

hand to hand. Which hot fight continued about three hours; at length the Turks battel was put to the worſt, by *Benedict Loſonicus*, who had the leading of the right Wing; and ſo likewiſe in the left alſo by *Stephen Bamffi*, who with great ſlaughter had notably foiled the great Baſſa of *Europe*, ſtill preſſing hard and deſperately upon him. Which diſcomfiture of his Men in both Wings *Amurath* beholding, preſently ſent in ſtrong Supplies, and in both places renewed the battel; whereby the *Hungarian* and *Valachian* light Horſemen, before wearied, were enforced to retire unto the Men at Arms; who ſerred together, and ſtanding as a ſtrong Wall, eaſily repulſed the greateſt Aſſaults of the Turks. In which manner of fight many were on both ſides ſlain, but far more of the Turks, by reaſon they were neither ſo well horſed nor armed as were the Chriſtians. *Huniades* in the mean time with the Artillery from the Hill, did the Turks great harm; which *Amurath* perceiving, drew as cloſe unto the Hill as he could, by that mean ſaving his people (ſo much as was poſſible) out of the danger of the Artillery, mounted on high above them in ſuch ſort, as that it could little or nothing now hurt them; which *Huniades* from the Hill beholding, came down to the relief of his Men, ſending new Supplies to both Wings; ſometime encouraging them with chearful Speech, and ſometime with his own moſt valiant hand; unto the weary he ſent Relief, the fearful he encouraged, them that were flying he ſtayed, and where he ſaw the Enemies faſteſt coming on, there was he himſelf preſent to meet them, omitting nothing that was of a good General or worthy Souldier to be done. The valiant he commended, the coward he reproved, and as a careful General, was himſelf in every place preſent. Whereby the battel became ſo fierce and terrible, that in every place a man might have ſeen all fouly foiled with blood and the quarry of the dead. *Amurath* in like manner ſtill ſent in new Supplies, nothing diſcouraged with the great loſs of his Men, preſuming upon his multitude, as fully reſolved orderly to fight, and to make uſe of all his Forces, in hope at length by continual ſending in of freſh Supplies, to weary his Enemies, whom he ſaw he could not by force overcome. Wherein he was not deceived, for one Battalion of the *Hungarians* was oftentimes enforced to weary four or five of the Turks before they could be relieved, they came on ſo faſt. That day they dined and ſupt in the battel, refreſhing themſelves with ſuch ſhort repaſt as they could eat ſtanding, going, or riding. The Turks Army was that day in every place put to the worſt, and oftentimes with great ſlaughter enforced by the *Hungarians* to retire almoſt unto their Trenches; yet was the battel ſtill again renewed, and ſo fought on both ſides, as well appeared they were reſolved either to overcome, or there to die. This cruel fight maintained all the day, was by the coming on of the night ended, both the Armies retiring into their own Trenches, but with purpoſe the next day to renew the battel, and not to give over or turn their backs, till the Victory were by dint of Sword determined. So with little reſt, was that night ſpent, both Armies keeping moſt diligent watch, all carefully expecting the next day, as by battel therein to try whether they ſhould live or die.

The battel begun again the ſecond day.

It was yet ſcarce fair day, when both the Armies in good order ready ranged began again the battel; which at the firſt, was not by the *Hungarians* fought with ſuch force and courage as before, for there was none of them which had not the day before ſpent their whole ſtrength; whereas there was yet 40000 of the Turks which either had not fought at all, or but lightly ſkirmiſhed.

Huniades *encourageth his Souldiers.*

Yet *Huniades* exhorted his Souldiers, not by faint-hearted cowardiſe to break off the courſe of the Victory by them the day before ſo well begun, but couragiouſly to proſecute the ſame; beſeeching them not to be now wanting unto themſelves and their Country, but to remember how they had fought the day before, how many thouſands of their Enemies they had ſlain, and not now at laſt to give over, and ſo ſhamefully to fruſtrate all the pains and dangers by them before endured; for that they (as he ſaid) were to be thought worthy of Honour, not which began, but which ended honourable actions. He wiſht them to ſet before their eyes the Calamities like to enſue, if they ſhould as Cowards be overcome; firſt, the divers kinds of death and torture; then, the ſlavery of their Wives and Children; the Raviſhment of their Virgins and Matrons; and laſt of all, the utter deſtruction of their Kingdom, with the horrible confuſion of all things, as well Sacred as Prophane; all which were by that one days labour (ſaid he) to be avoided. And therefore he beſought them for the love both of God and man, with their wonted Valour, that day to ſet at liberty for ever, themſelves, their Country, their Wives and Children, and whatſoever elſe they held dear. In like manner alſo did *Amurath* encourage his Souldiers, with great Promiſes and Threats, perſwading them rather to endure any thing, than by that days overthrow to be driven out of *Europe*. He carefully viewed his Army, ordered his Battels, and with many great Reaſons perſwaded them to play the men. But after that ſome light Skirmiſhes being paſt, both the Armies were fully joyned, the battel was fought with no leſs force and fury than the day before. Of the Chriſtians many then wounded, came now again into the battel, there either by ſpeedy death or ſpeedy victory to cure their Wounds before received, and there did right good Service. Great was the ſlaughter in every place, neither could the force of the *Hungarians* be withſtood; whoſe furious impreſſion, when the Turks could not by plain force endure, they began with their freſh Horſemen, cunningly to delude their deſperate fierceneſs; at ſuch time at the *Hungarians* began moſt hardly to charge them, they by and by turned their backs, ſuffering them a while to follow after them, far ſcattered and diſperſed; who allured as it were with the hope of preſent Victory, eagerly purſued them, and in the purſuit ſlew divers of them, and they again upon a ſignal given, cloſing together, and turning back upon the diſperſed Troops, well revenged the death of their Fellows; and with their often charges and retreats, wonderfully wearied the *Hungarians*, notably deluding their furious Attempts with that uncertain kind of fight, all the day long. Many of the *Hungarians* were ſlain, and the Turks had that day the better, and ſo both Armies being wearied, night and wearineſs ended the fight; both retiring into their Trenches, there keeping moſt careful Watch.

The battel again began the third day.

The next morning by the dawning of the day, the battel was again begun. *Huniades* his Brother, General of the *Valachians*, with his light Horſemen ſetting firſt forward, after whom in ſeemly order followed the reſt of the Nobility, with their Companies. Where for certain hours, the battel was hardly fought with like hope on both ſides, and a great ſlaughter made, but eſpecially of the *Hungarians*; who wearied with the long fight, and moſt part of them wounded, were now all to endure this third days labour, *Zechel* (*Huniades* his Siſters Son) valiantly fighting in the front of the Battel, was the firſt of the Leaders there ſlain in the thickeſt of the Turks. *Emericus Marzalus* and *Stephen Bamffi*, both great Commanders, encloſed by the Turks, there died alſo. *Amurath* ſeeing the formoſt Enſigns of the Chriſtians, which ſtood in *Zechels* Regiment, taken, and his Souldiers (diſcomfited with the death of their Colonel) turning their backs, preſently commanded all the Companies, which were many (yet left in the Trenches, for freſh Supplies) to iſſue forth, and at once to overwhelm the Chriſtians, being (as he ſaid) but few and overwearied with three days continual fight. Upon which the Kings Command, they fiercely breaking out, preſently overthrew both the Wings of the Chriſtians, before wavering; and in a great battel (wherein moſt of the chief Commanders were ſlain, and their Enſigns taken) diſcomfited the reſt, and with a great ſlaughter put them to flight. *Huniades* ſeeing his Brother now ſlain, the Enſigns taken, and the Battel quite loſt, betook himſelf to flight alſo; leaving behind him his Tents and Baggage, all which ſhortly after became a Prey to the Turks; who from noon until night furiouſly followed the chace, with moſt cruel execution; but at length ſtaid by the coming on of the darkneſs, they returned again unto their Trenches. The reſt of the Turks Army that followed not the chace, compaſſing in the *Hungarian* Camp, were there by the wounded Souldiers, the Waggoners, and other Drudges of the Army, kept out ſo long as they had any ſhot left; but yet were in the end every Mothers Son ſlain, though not altogether unrevenged, two or three of the Turks in many places lying dead by the body of one *Hungarian*. *Amurath* to cover the greatneſs of the loſs he there received, commanded the bodies of his Captains there ſlain, to be forthwith buried; and the bodies of his common Souldiers, to be for the moſt part caſt into the River *Schichniza*; for which cauſe the Inhabitants of the Country there by, of long time after abſtained from eating of any Fiſh taken in that River. The Plain by this great battel made once again famous, lay nevertheleſs many years after covered with dead mens bones, as if it had been with ſtones; neither could be ploughed by the Country-people, but that long time after Armor and Weapons were there ſtill in many places turned up and found. Thus albeit that this bloody Victory fell unto the Turks, yet was their loſs far greater than the *Hungarians*; having loſt (as was reported by them that ſay leaſt) four and thirty thouſand of themſelves, for eight thouſand of their Enemies. Howbeit they themſelves report the loſs to have been on both ſides far greater; as that of the Chriſtians were ſlain ſeventeen thouſand, and of themſelves forty thouſand; which in ſo long and mortal a fight, is not unlike to have been true. In this unfortunate battel, fell moſt part of the *Hungarian* Nobility; all men worthy eternal Fame and Memory, whoſe Names we for brevity will paſs over. Many in the chace taken, and the next day brought to *Amurath*, were by the commandment of the angry Tyrant ſlain. Such as eſcaped out of the ſlaughter, by the way of *Illyria*, returned in ſafety; but ſuch as thought to ſave themſelves by returning back again through *Servia*, the Deſpots Country, found the ſame ſo troubleſome as that few of them eſcaped, but that they were by the way either ſlain, or quite ſtripped of all they had.

Huniades *flieth.*

The number of the Turks and Christians ſlain in the battel of Coſſova.

Neither was the Fortune of the Noble *Huniades* much better than the fortune of the reſt, who having on Horſeback all alone by uncouth and untract ways travelled three days without Meat or Drink, and the fourth day tired his Horſe and caſt him off, being on foot and diſarmed, fell into the hands of two notable Thieves, who in diſpoiling him of his Apparel, finding a fair Crucifix of Gold about his Neck, fell at ſtrife betwixt themſelves for the ſame; whereby he took occaſion to lay hand upon one of their Swords, and with the ſame preſently thruſt him through; and then ſuddenly aſſailing the other, put him to flight alſo. So delivered of this danger, travelling on, and almoſt ſpent with thirſt and hunger, the next day he light upon a Shepherd, a ſturdy rough Knave, who hearing of the Overthrow of the *Hungarians*, was (in hope of prey) roaming abroad in that deſolate Country; who at the firſt meeting, ſtrucken with the majeſty of the man, ſtood at gaze upon him; as alſo did *Huniades*, fearing in his ſo great weakneſs to have to do with him. Thus a while having the one well regarded the other, they began to enter talk, the Shepherd bluntly asking him of his Fortune; and he for God ſake craving of him ſomething to eat. When as the Shepherd hearing of his hard hap, moved with his eſtate, and hope of promiſed reward, brought him unto a poor Cottage not far off, cauſing to be ſet before him Bread and Water, with a few Onions. Who in the pleaſant remembrance of that paſſed miſery, would oftentimes after in his greateſt Banquets ſay, That he never in his life fared better, or more daintily, than when he ſupped with this Shepherd. So well can hunger ſeaſon homely Cates. Thus refreſhed, he was by the Shepherd conducted to *Sinderovia*; whereof the Deſpot having Intelligence (whoſe Country was all laid for the ſtaying of him) cauſed him by the Captain of the Caſtle to be apprehended, and impriſoned. But after certain days ſpent in talk about his deliverance, it was at length agreed, that all ſuch ſtrong Towns in *Raſcia* and *Servia*, as had by the *Hungarians* been detained from the Deſpot, at ſuch time as his Kingdom was by King *Uladiſlaus* reſtored unto him, ſhould now be again to him delivered; and that *Matthias*, *Huniades* his youngeſt Son, ſhould for the confirmation of further friendſhip, marry the Deſpots Daughter; with ſome other ſuch conditions as it pleaſed the ungrateful Prince for his own behoof to ſet down. For performance whereof, he required to have *Ladiſlaus*, *Huniades* his eldeſt Son, in Hoſtage. All which *Huniades* was glad forthwith to yield unto, for fear the falſe Deſpot ſhould have delivered him into the hands of *Amurath* his mortal Enemy. So the Hoſtage being given, *Huniades* was again ſet at liberty: Who upon *Chriſtmas-day* coming to *Segedinum*, was there by all the Nobility of *Hungary*, and great concourſe of the people, honourably received. This ingratitude of the Deſpots no leſs grieved this worthy man, than the diſhonour received from the Turk. Wherefore upon the ſudden raiſing a great Army, he invaded the Territory, long before given to the Deſpot by the Emperor *Sigiſmund* in *Hungary*, in exchange of the ſtrong Town of *Belgrade*, deſtroying the Country before him, and burning the Villages, never reſting, until he had got into his Power whatſoever the Deſpot had in *Hungary*; and not ſo contented, preſently entred into *Raſcia*, where the Deſpots Embaſſadors met him, bringing with them *Ladiſlaus* the Hoſtage, honourably rewarded, and humbly craving Peace at his hands; which he, at the requeſt of the Nobility eaſily granted, with forgiveneſs of all former Wrongs or Injuries; and ſo having with him concluded a Peace, returned back again into *Hungary*. But fortune

Huniades *taken Priſoner by the Deſpot.*

fortune never ſuffereth long the valiant man to reſt, but ſtill keepeth him buſied, leſt he ſhould at too much eaſe attain unto Honors glory.

The Deſpot invaded by Amurath, *craveth aid of* Huniades.

1449. The year following, *Amurath* certainly informed, That *George* the Deſpot having of late *Huniades* in his Power, had again ſet him at liberty; was therewith exceeding wroth, blaming him of great Ingratitude, That for a Kingdom which he had at his hands received, he had not delivered to him his Enemy, in full recompence thereof; whom of all others he moſt feared, and therefore likewiſe wiſht to have had him periſh. In revenge of which Injury (as he took it) the melancholy Tyrant, ſent *Fritze-beg* and *Joſe-beg*, two of his moſt expert Captains, with a ſtrong Power to invade *Raſcia*, the Deſpots Country; who accordingly entring thereinto, ſtrongly fortified *Chryſonicum*, a Town before ruinated, upon the ſide of the River *Morava*, and from thence with Fire and Sword deſtroyed the Country both far and near. The Deſpot diſmayed with this ſudden and unexpected Invaſion, wiſt not well which way to turn himſelf; the angry Turk he well knew, was not to be appeaſed without yielding unto ſome great inconvenience; and to pray Aid of *Huniades*, without which he was not able to withſtand the Turks, he thought but vain, for the wrong he had before done him. So that what to do he wiſt not; yet had he rather to endure any thing, than again to ſuffer the heavy Bondage of the Turk. In this extremity he thought beſt to make proof of *Huniades*, of whom he humbly, and not without great ſhame, craved Aid. Which the courteous Governor, according to his honourable Nature, forgetting all former Injuries, eaſily granted; and the rather, for that he deſired nothing more, than to be of the Turks in ſome part revenged of the Overthrow from them of late received in the Plains of *Coſſova*; as alſo for that he wiſely foreſaw, That the Deſpots Country being loſt, he ſhould have the Turks ſtill braving him even as it were in the Gates of *Hungary*. Wherefore having with great ſpeed raiſed a convenient Power, he forthwith in Perſon himſelf ſet forward, and at *Synderovia* paſſing over the River *Danubius* into *Raſcia*, there joyned his Power with the Deſpots, which he found there ready. And ſo marching forward with ſuch Expedition, that he prevented the fame of his coming; and the Weather alſo at the ſame time as it were favouring his purpoſe, and covering the Country with a thick miſt, he was the fourth day upon the Turks before they were aware of him. Who wonderfully diſmayed with the ſudden coming of the Chriſtians, and upon the breaking up of the miſt, diſcovering alſo *Huniades* his Enſigns (always unto them dreadful) thought now no more of reſiſtance, or of the ordering of their Battel, but as men diſcouraged, betook themſelves to ſpeedy flight. After whom followed the *Hungarian* and *Servian* light Horſemen, with moſt bloody Execution, having them in chaſe all that day; *Huniades* with his Men at Arms following ſtill after in good order, for fear the Turks ſhould again make head upon the light Horſemen that had them in chaſe. And had not the coming on of the night ended the ſlaughter, few of the Turks had there eſcaped; but by the approach thereof many of them got into the Woods, and ſo ſaved themſelves. *Fritze-beg* the General, with moſt part of the Turks beſt Commanders, were in that flight taken. *Huniades* after this Victory entring into *Bulgaria*, came to. *Budina*, the Metropolitical City of that Country, which (as the cauſe oftentimes of great Wars) he burnt down to the ground. And ſo having well revenged himſelf, and cleared the Country of the Turks, he returned back again into *Servia*, and there gave to the Deſpot for a Preſent all the Priſoners he had taken, and contenting himſelf with the honour of the Victory, returned with Triumph to *Buda*, there to find no leſs trouble with the *Bohemians*, and ſome of the diſcontented Nobility of *Hungary*, than he had with the Turks, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian Commonweal.

All this while that *Amurath* was thus troubled with *Huniades* and the *Hungarians*, *Muſtapha* lying ſtill upon the borders of *Macedonia*, as *Amurath* had commanded; it chanced that a great quarrel grew betwixt the *Venetians* and *Scanderbeg*, about the Inheritance of *Lech Zachary* (a Noble man of *Epirus*) then ſhamefully murdered by his unnatural Kinſman *Lech Duchagne*; part of whoſe Inheritance lying in the Frontiers of *Epirus*, the *Venetians* claimed, as belonging to their Seigniory; and having got poſſeſſion of the City of *Dayna*, part thereof, by force held the ſame againſt *Scanderbeg*; upon which quarrel great Wars aroſe betwixt the *Venetians* and him, who had before been very great Friends; inſomuch that in the end they joyned in battel at the River of *Drine*, where the *Venetians* were by him in a great battel overthrown. Of which troubles *Muſtapha* daily underſtood, and how that *Scanderbeg* ſo buſied, had left but a ſmall Garriſon upon the Borders of *Epirus*. Wherefore being deſirous to redeem his former diſgrace with ſome better hap; he would fain have taken the opportunity now preſented, but that his great Maſters command lay ſo heavy upon him, as that he durſt not without his leave attempt the ſame; knowing that the danger of his evil fortune, if it ſhould ſo fall out, would far exceed the uncertain glory of his better ſucceſs. Yet ceaſed he not from time to time to give *Amurath* Intelligence of theſe Troubles and Wars in *Epirus*, earneſtly requeſting him not to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity, but to give him leave to enter into the Country, in manner, aſſuring him before hand of the Victory. Yet the ſuſpitious old King was long in reſolving what to do, ſtill fearing the Fortune of his Enemy. At length diſcharged of the fear of the *Hungarians*, and commending *Muſtapha* his forwardneſs, he ſent unto him a Meſſenger with Letters of this purport, anſwerable to his deſire.

Amurath *his grave Letters of advertiſement to* Muſtapha, *concerning his going again into* Epirus.

The Wars thou ſo greatly deſireſt, behold Muſtapha *we grant unto thee; the glory thereof (if thoſe things be true which we hear of the* Venetian *War) thine own valour, and worthy right hand ſhall give thee; yet thou muſt warily deal with that Enemy, and not raſhly take up Arms, which thou mayſt be enforced ſhamefully to caſt away, when thou thinkeſt leaſt. Peradventure the counterfeit ſhew of War and feigned falling out among the Chriſtians, do too much allure thee; for the common ſaying is, There is no quarrel ſooner ended, than betwixt the Father and the Son; we in Perſon abſent, can neither adviſe thee as preſent, nor commend a fooliſh forwardneſs in Arms. Thou muſt before thou put on Arms, diſpoſe of all things, and conſider of every particular, which is to be put in execution when thou art in the field. Thou haſt a great Army of freſh and luſty Souldiers, thine Enemies are with continual Wars wearied and ſpent; in that remaineth, do as thou thinkeſt good; for I forbid thee the doing of nothing, which thou thinkeſt may be for the advancement of our Honour.*

Muſtapha having thus obtained leave, and well appointed, with all his Forces entred into *Epirus*, hoping in one battel to end that War; which he (preſuming upon the ſtrength of his Army) many times offered in the plain field. News hereof was brought to *Scanderbeg* (then lying at the Siege of *Dayna* againſt the *Venetians*) from his Garriſons lying upon the Frontiers of *Epirus*, to whom he addreſſed a ſpeedy Meſſenger; commanding them in no wiſe to encounter with the Enemy, but to keep themſelves within the ſafeguard of their ſtrong Holds, and to protract the time until his coming. Afterwards ſelecting out of his Army 500 Horſemen, and 1500 choſen Footmen, all old beaten Souldiers, he with that ſmall number marched to the place where he knew lay his Garriſons intrenched, in the upper Country of *Dibra*; leaving *Ameſa* his Nephew at the Siege of *Dayna*. *Muſtapha* having many times in vain ſought to draw the Garriſon Souldiers out of their Trenches by offering them many fair opportunities of advantage, and now out of hope that way to circumvent them, began to ſpoil and burn the Country round about. But when he underſtood by his Scouts of *Scanderbeg* his coming, he ſpeedily called together his Army, and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbegs* Camp, at a place called *Oronoche*, in the upper Country of *Dibra*. *Scanderbeg* had there in his Camp, of his Garriſon Souldiers and thoſe he brought with him, four thouſand Horſemen, and two thouſand Foot, all old expert Souldiers, where, after he had made his Trenches ſtrong, he left therein three hundred of them, and brought the reſt into the field in order of battel. *Muſtapha* on the other ſide likewiſe brought on in good order his Army alſo. But whilſt both Armies thus ſtood ranged one within the view of the other, expecting nothing but the ſignal of battel, ſuddenly a man at Arms, in gallant and rich Furniture, iſſued out of the Turks Army into the midſt of the Plain betwixt both Armies, and from thence with a loud Voice challenged to fight hand to hand with any one of the Chriſtian Army. This Turk was called *Caraguſa*. At the firſt *Scanderbeg* Souldiers upon this Challenge ſtood ſtill, one looking upon another; for as they were all aſhamed to refuſe ſo brave an Offer, ſo the danger ſo ſuddenly offered, ſtaid every mans forwardneſs for a while; until that one *Paul Maneſſi*, accounted the beſt Man at Arms in *Scanderbeg* his Army (upon whom every mans eye was now caſt, as if he had been the Man by name called out by the proud Challenger) not able longer to endure the Turks pride, with great courage and chearful countenance came to *Scanderbeg*, requeſting him that he might be the Man to accept that Challenge. Who greatly commended him, and willed him on God his Name to ſet forward, firſt to win Honour to himſelf, and then to give example of his Valour for all the reſt of the Army to follow. *Paul* ſtaying a while, until he had for that purpoſe moſt bravely armed himſelf, mounted preſently to Horſe, and riding forth into the Plain, called aloud unto the Turk, that he ſhould make himſelf ready to fight. Whom *Caraguſa* required to ſtay a while, that he might ſpeak unto him a few words, indifferently concerning them both.

The Speech of Caraguſa *the Turk, to* **Maneſſi.**

The Victory (ſaid he) *our force and fortune ſhall determine; but the conditions of the Victory, we are now to appoint our ſelves. If the Deſtinies have aſſigned unto thee the Honour of this day, I refuſe not, but that thou mayſt by Law of Arms, when I am overcome, carry away with thee my rich Spoils, and at thy pleaſure diſpoſe of my dead body. But if thou ſhalt fall under my hand, I require that I may have the ſame right and power over thy captive Body; and that the Generals will grant that no man ſhall move out of either Army, to better the fortune of either of us in the time of the Combat, or after.*

Maneſſi *his ſtout Anſwer to* **Caraguſa.**

Whereunto *Maneſſi* anſwered, *That he agreed to thoſe conditions of the Combat, which he upon a needleſs fear had ſo required to be kept, ſaying, That where the fierce Soul had yielded, there of good right all the reſt ought to be the Conquerors; and that therefore he ſhould fight without fear of any more Enemies than himſelf; whom ſo ſoon as he had deprived of life, he ſhould have free power to do with his dead body what he would. Which if thou wouldſt give* (ſaid he) *unto the tears of my fellow Souldiers, yet would not worthy* Scanderbeg *ſuffer the Carkaſs of a vanquiſhed Coward to be brought back again into his Camp.*

The battel betwixt **Scanderbeg** *and* **Muſtapha.**

Caraguſa marvelled to hear his ſo brave Reſolution, and as it was thought, repented him of his Challenge. But after that both the Generals had upon their Honours confirmed the Laws of the Combat before rehearſed, both the Champions were left alone in the midſt of the Plain between both Armies, with all mens eyes fixed upon them. Now both the Armies betwixt fear and hope, ſtood in great expectation of the event of the Combat, preſaging their own Fortunes in the fortune of their Champions. In which time they both having withdrawn themſelves one from the other a convenient diſtance, for the making of their courſe, and after with great violence running together, *Caraguſa* was by *Maneſſi*, at the firſt encounter ſtruck through the Head and ſlain. *Maneſſi* alighting, diſarmed the dead Body, and ſtruck off his Head; and ſo loaded with the Armor and Head of the proud Challenger, rereturned with Victory to the Army, where he was joyfully received and brough to *Scanderbeg*, of whom he was there preſently honourably both commended and rewarded. *Scanderbeg* ſeeing his Men by this good fortune of *Maneſſi*, greatly encouraged, and the Turks as men diſmayed with the death of their Champion, hanging their heads, like an invincible Captain, himſelf ſet firſt forward toward the Enemy, as it were in contempt of their multitude; and had charged them as they ſtood, before they had ſet one foot forward, had not *Muſtapha* to incourage his Souldiers, with certain diſordered Troops oppoſed himſelf againſt him, which the whole Army ſeeing, faintly followed; but as they ſet forward with ſmall courage, ſo were they at the firſt Incounter eaſily driven to retire. Which when *Muſtapha* ſaw, he called earneſtly upon them to follow him, and the more to encourage them by his own example, put Spurs to his Horſe, and fiercely charged the Front of *Scanderbegs* Army, as one reſolved either to gain the Victory, or there to die; after whom followed moſt of the principal Captains of his Army, which would not for ſhame forſake their General; thus by his Valour the battel was for a while renewed. But *Moſes* prevailing with great ſlaughter in one part of the Army, the Turks began to fly; in which flight *Muſtapha* the General, with twelve others of the chief Men in that Army, were taken Priſoners, but of the common Souldiers few were ſaved. There was ſlain of the Turks Army ten thouſand, and fifteen Enſigns taken; whereas of the Chriſtians were ſlain but three hundred. The Turks Tents and Camp, with all the Wealth thereof, became a Prey to *Scanderbegs* Souldiers; wherewith although he had ſatisfied the deſires of them all, yet to keep his old cuſtom, he entred into the Confines of *Macedonia*, and there burnt and ſpoiled all that he could. And afterwards leaving a Garriſon of two thouſand Horſemen and a thouſand Foot for defence of his Frontiers, returned again with the reſt of his Army to the Siege of *Dayna*.

Muſtapha ranſomed.

Not long after, the *Venetians* made Peace with *Scanderbeg*; and *Amurath* deſirous to redeem his Captains, about the ſame time ſent great Preſents unto *Scanderbeg*, with five and twenty thouſand Ducats for the Ranſom of *Muſtapha* and the other Chieftains; whom *Scanderbeg* ſo honourably uſed, as if there had never been any Hoſtility betwixt him and them; and ſo with a ſafe Convoy ſent them out of his Country. The Ranſom of *Muſtapha* and the other Turks he divided amongſt his Souldiers. When *Scanderbeg* had thus made Peace with the *Venetians*, he forthwith led his Army again into *Macedonia*, with the ſpoil of that Country to make his Souldiers better pay, as his uſual manner was. And to do the greater harm, he divided his Army into three parts, wherewith he over-running the Country, waſted and deſtroyed all before him, putting to the Sword all the Turks that came in his way. As for the Chriſtians that there lived amongſt them, he ſpared, but left them nothing more than their lives; the Buildings of the Country he utterly conſumed with fire, ſo that in all that part of *Macedonia* which bordereth upon *Epirus*, nothing was to be ſeen more than the bare ground, and the ſhews of the ſpoil by him there made. Which unmerciful havock of all things he made, to the end that the Turks ſhould find no Relief in thoſe Quarters, whenſoever they ſhould come thither to lie in Garriſon in that Country, or to invade *Epirus*. The ſpoil he made was ſo great, that it was thought he left not in all that Country, ſo much as might relieve the Turks Army for one day.

Of all theſe great harms by *Scanderbeg* done in *Macedonia*, *Amurath* was with all ſpeed advertiſed, and therewith exceedingly vexed; howbeit he reſolved with his great Counſellors, no more to ſend any of his Baſſaes or Captains, but to go himſelf in Perſon, with ſuch a Royal Army as ſhould be ſufficient, not to Conquer *Epirus*, but if need were, to fill every corner thereof. Wherefore he commanded Commiſſions to be ſpeedily directed into all parts of his Kingdoms and Provinces, for the levying of a great Army for *Hadrianople*; yet whither he intended to imploy the ſame, was not known to any in the Turks Court, more than to the Baſſaes of the Council. Which cauſed all the bordering Chriſtian Princes to make the beſt preparation they could for their own aſſurance, every one fearing leſt that growing Tempeſt ſhould break out againſt himſelf. But *Scanderbeg* of long acquainted with the Turkiſh policy, eaſily perceived all that great preparation to be made againſt him; which he was the rather induced to think, by reaſon of the unaccuſtomed quietneſs of *Amurath*, who all that while had neither ſent any Army to Revenge *Muſtapha*'s Overthrow, nor ſo much as a Garriſon for the defence of the Borders of his Kingdom, but had let all things negligently paſs, as if he had been in a dead ſleep. Beſides that, it was alſo thought that he had ſecret Intelligence from ſome of his old Friends and Acquaintance in *Amuraths* Court, who probably ſuſpected the matter. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* ſetting all other things apart, gave himſelf wholly to the preparing of things neceſſary for the defence of his ſmall Kingdom againſt ſo mighty an Enemy. Firſt, he by Letters and Meſſengers advertiſed all the Chriſtian Princes his Neighbours and Friends, of the greatneſs of the danger of that War; wherein *Amurath* (as he ſaid) ſought not only his deſtruction, but the utter ruine of them all; exhorting them therefore to conſider, how far the danger of ſo great an Army might extend, and therefore to ſtand faſt upon their Guard. Then he ſent *Moſes* and other his expert Captains into all parts of *Epirus*, to take up Souldiers, and all the Proviſion of Corn and Victuals that was poſſible to be had. Wherein he himſelf alſo buſily travelled day and night, not reſting until he had left nothing in the Country, whereupon the Enemy might ſhew his cruelty. Moſt part of the common people, with their Subſtance, were received into the ſtrong Cities; the reſt took the refuge of the *Venetian* and other Chriſtian Princes Towns and Countries farther off, until this fury were overpaſt; all ſuch as were able to bear Arms, were commanded to repair to *Croia*; where when they were all aſſembled, they were enough to have made a right puiſſant Army. But out of all this multitude, *Scanderbeg* made choice only of 10000 old expert Souldiers, whom he purpoſed to lead himſelf, to incounter with the Turks great Army, as he ſhould ſee occaſion, and placed 1300 in Garriſon in *Croia*. The Citizens alſo themſelves were throughly furniſhed with all manner of Weapons and other Proviſion meet for the defence of their City. Then Proclamation was made, That all the aged men unfit for Wars, with the Women and Children, ſhould depart the City, and none to be therein left, but the Garriſon-Souldiers, and ſuch Citizens as were willing to tarry, and able to bear Arms. This City of *Croia* was the chief City of *Epirus*, and of the fortune thereof ſeemed to depend the ſtate of all the other ſtrong Towns and Cities, and ſo conſequently of the whole Kingdom; for which cauſe, *Scanderbeg* had the greater care for the defence thereof. It was a miſerable ſight, to ſee the lamentable departure of this weak Company out of *Croia*; all was full of weeping and wailing; no Houſe, no Street, no part of the City was without mourning; but eſpecially in the Churches was to be ſeen the very face of common ſorrow and heavineſs; where all ſorts of people in great numbers flocking together, poured forth their devout Prayers, with fountains of Tears, ringing their hands; yea, and ſome in the impatiency of their grief forgetting themſelves, ſeemed to expoſtulate their grief with God. But when their ſorrow was with tears aſſwaged, and their Hearts ſomewhat eaſed, the aged Mothers kiſſing their Sons, gave them many a fearful commandment; ſometime rehearſing, how lovingly and tenderly they had brought them up, and otherſome times ſhewing unto them their feeble Limbs and hoary Hairs, willing them to be mindful of them. The Wives preſented their Children unto their Husbands, bewailing to leave them as childleſs Widowers, and their Houſes deſolate. The old Men mute with ſorrow, and careful of their Children, durſt neither incourage them, for fear of making them too forward; neither diſſwade them from adventuring themſelves, leſt they ſhould ſeem to love them more than their native Country. In the midſt of theſe Paſſions Commandment came from *Scanderbeg*, that they muſt now depart, that the Souldiers might take their places and charge. Then began their ſorrows afreſh, with piteous ſcriching and Tears; a man would have thought the City had even then been preſently taken by the Turks. They could hardly be drawn from the imbracing of their Friends, all now deſiring to remain ſtill with them in the City, partakers of their common dangers. But when they ſaw the Officers begin to be earneſt upon them, and to haſten their departure, then with heavy Hearts they took as it were their laſt farewel, and departed out of the City, ſetting their feet

The lamentable departing of the weak Citizens out of **Croia.**

many times they wiſt not where, for deſire they had to look back again upon the City. This great multitude was conveyed alſo into the *Venetian* Cities, and other places free from danger; whither all the Country-people which were not before received into the ſtrong Cities, reſorted alſo, with all their Subjects and Cattel; leaving nothing in all the Country of *Epirus*, but the bare ground for the Turks to prey upon. After this multitude was departed, and all well quieted, and none left in the City but Men fit for Service, *Scanderbeg* throughly ſtored it with all things needful for the defence thereof, and for the induring of a long Siege; beſides that, he gave to every Souldier convenient Armor, with ſome ſmall reward. Then he placed *Uranacontes* (a valiant and famous Captain, honourably deſcended) Governor of the City. And ſo having ſet all things in order for the ſafeguard thereof, after he had in few words exhorted them courageouſly to endure the Siege, and not to liſten to *Amuraths* flattering and deceitful Charms, he departed out of the City unto his Army, then lying within view, and began preſently to march towards *Dybra*. But he was not far gone, before he met *Moſes* with a gallant Troop of Horſemen coming from *Sfetigrade*, a ſtrong City of *Dybra*, ſituate in the Confines of *Epirus*, bordering upon *Macedonia*; which City was *Scanderbeg* his ſecond care, for that it was like to be the firſt that ſhould indure the angry Tyrants fury, ſtanding firſt in his way, as it were the Fortreſs of that Country. *Moſes* had there ſet all things in like order, as had *Scanderbeg* in *Croia*, and had there placed one *Peter Perlat* (a grave and politique Man) Governor, with a ſtrong Garriſon of Souldiers choſen out of all the Country of *Dybra*, which were always accounted the beſt Men of War in all *Epirus*, and was for ſo doing greatly commended of *Scanderbeg*. Who delivering unto him all the Forces he had prepared for the defence of the other Caſtles and Cities of *Epirus*, ſent him with divers other of his Nobility and Captains, to take order for the ſafety of thoſe places, appointing unto every man his charge. As for himſelf, he with a ſmall Troop of Horſemen went to *Sfetigrade*, careful of that City above meaſure, as it were before divining the inſuing danger. Being come thither, and all the Souldiers aſſembled by his commandment into the Market place, he there in open Audience ſpake unto them as followeth:

Scanderbeg *cometh to* Sfetigrade.

The effectual Speech of Scanderbeg *unto the Souldiers and Citizens of* Sfetigrade, *to encourage them againſt the coming of* Amurath.

Almighty God could not this day offer unto you (worthy Souldiers of Sfetigrade*) better matter, neither could a fairer occaſion be preſented unto brave Minds and Souldiers deſirous of Honour, than that which now hath cauſed you to take up moſt juſt Arms. Wherein you may for ever, by worthy example, make known your conſtant Faith and worthy Valour, both towards me in private, and the people of* Epirus *in general. Hitherto we have born Arms for the Honour of our Kingdom, but now we muſt fight for our Lives, our Liberty, and the Walls of our Country. You muſt now force your ſelves, that you do not by Reproach and Cowardiſe ſtain the worthy Praiſes you have already deſerved, by the great Victories by you obtained under my Conduct. The greateſt part of the fortune of this War dependeth upon you: For, the firſt paſſage of* Amurath *into* Epirus *(that I my ſelf may be unto you the firſt Meſſenger of that danger) will be this way; the firſt fury of the Turks will aſſail you, that having here as it were broken down the ſtrongeſt Fortreſs of* Epirus, *he may afterwards break into the Country, more ſubject to danger. The firſt fruits of this War is yours, you (if you bear the hearts of couragious Men, mindful of your Liberty) may beat down the proud ſtrength of the haughty Enemy, and diſcover his high Conceits. The* Othoman *King ſhall have the beginning both of his hope and fear, of you; if he ſhall find you ſo minded, as I now ſee you gallantly moved, and with joy hear your violent Indignation; he will in every place fear a great force of danger, and thereby learn to abſtain from the other Cities of* Epirus. *Neither will he lie here long at a vain Siege, except the wayward old man will fooliſhly hereupon gage all his whole Forces; for ſuch is the ſituation and ſtrength of this City, that it may eaſily ſet at nought an angry Enemy. Wherefore reſolve with your ſelves (worthy Souldiers and Citizens) only by conſtancy and faithfulneſs, without bloodſhed, to gain unto your ſelves an honourable Victory. Of your Valour (which I willingly ſpeak of) dependeth for the moſt part the faithfulneſs of all the reſt; they will look upon you, whom they may praiſe or accuſe, and whoſe Example they may follow in the fortune of theſe Wars. But to what purpoſe ſhould men of worth, in their actions pretend the neceſſity of Faith, or chance of Fortune? whereas by reaſon things are both beſt begun and accompliſhed. It ſeldom chanceth, that Fortune faileth the ſecond advice, or is not obedient to Vertue; and you have all things which moſt politique Care could provide for your ſafety. You want not Armor, you want not plentiful Proviſion of Victuals, you want not valiant ment; the ſuperfluous multitude of unneceſſary people, the pitiful lamentation of Women, and troubleſome crying of Children ſhall not withdraw you from your publique Charge, from your ſervice and defence of your Country; I have left you alone to your ſelves, for defence of your City, your Religion, and Dwellings, that you might be encouraged only with the provocations of Honour and Liberty, with the emulation of adventure and danger, and the very ſight one of another; and I my ſelf will not be far off with my couragious Souldiers, a ſilent Beholder and Encourager of your Vertue; where although I may not avert from you all the force of the cruel Enemy by raſh adventure, nor try the whole Fortune of this War in plain Field; yet will I turn a great part of your dangers upon my ſelf, and trouble the Enemies deſigns with many a hot Skirmiſh. For as much as there is no better manner of fight, nor ſafer kind of War for us, amongſt ſuch a multitude of men, and ſo many thouſands of Souldiers, than never to offer battel unto the Enemy in plain Field, neither to adventure all upon the Fortune of one Conflict, although a man did ſee apparent ſigns of Victory. He will of purpoſe at the firſt give us the opportunity of good hap; he will feed our hardineſs with the blood of his baſe Souldiers, the eaſilier to intrap and oppreſs our raſhneſs, allured with the ſweet baits of good Fortune; but the crafty Devices of the* Othoman *King are by great policy and conſideration to be fruſtrated; this mighty Enemy is by little and little to be cut off as time and place ſhall give occaſion. For truly that Victory ſhould be unto me lamentable, which I ſhould buy with the blood of my Souldiers; and believe me, it would be unto me a more ſorrowful than pleaſant ſight, to ſee eight or ten thouſand of my Enemies ſlain, with the loſs of a few of you. I praiſe and honour my Subjects of* Epirus *for valiant Conquerors, if they ſhall not ſuffer themſelves to be conquered of the Turkiſh King. The reſt I had rather you couragious Souldiers of* Dybra *ſhould conſider with your ſelves, than that I ſhould ſeem to diſtruſt of your aſſured Faith, by giving you a careful and tedious Admonition.*

When *Scanderbeg* had with chearful perſwaſion thus encouraged the Minds of them of *Sfetigrade*, he departed thence, and viſited divers other Cities of *Epirus*; where finding all things politiquely ordered by *Moſes* and the other Captains, whom he had put in truſt, he returned to his Army; then lying near unto *Croia*.

Whilſt *Scanderbeg* was with great carefulneſs yet thus providing for the ſafeguard of his Kingdom, in the mean time *Amurath* his Army was aſſembled at *Hadrianople*, to the number of a hundred and fifty thouſand men, whereof many were Pioneers, and men appointed for other baſe Services neceſſary at the Siege of Towns. Of this great Army *Amurath* ſent forty thouſand light Horſemen before him to *Sfetigrade*; who according to his command came and incamped before the City. The news of their coming, with a great deal more than truth, was forthwith brought to *Scanderbeg*, then lying with his ſmall Army near *Croia*; whereupon he with four thouſand Horſe, and a thouſand Foot, took the way toward *Sfetigrade*, and ſtrongly incamped his Army within ſeven miles of the City. Where having ſet all things in good order, he, accompanied with *Moſes* and *Tanuſius*, went by certain blind ways through the Mountains and Woods, until he came ſo near unto the City, that from the place where he ſtood, he might eaſily diſcover in what ſort the Enemy lay incamped; and ſo returning back again to his Camp, roſe with his Army in the night following, and drawing as near unto the Turks Army as he could, undiſcovered, placed all his Army in the covert of the Woods and ſecret Vallies, unperceived of his Enemies. After that, he ſent forth *Moſes* and *Muſachi* his Nephew, with thirty of his beſt Horeſemen, apparelled as if they had been but Common Souldiers, but paſſing well mounted, driving before them certain Horſes laden with Corn, by a by-way, as if they had ſecretly purpoſed to have got into the City. The day then breaking, they were diſcovered by the Turks Scouts, and ſet upon; where at the firſt *Moſes* and the reſt began of purpoſe to fly; but when he ſaw that they were purſued but with like number to themſelves, he turned back upon the Turks, and ſlew five of them, and chaſed the reſt unto the Camp. The General ſeeing what had happened, ſent forth four thouſand Horſemen to purſue theſe ſuppoſed Victuallers; whom they quickly recovered the ſight of, for that *Moſes* of purpoſe had made ſmall haſt to fly; but when the Turks began to draw nigh, *Moſes* left the Horſes laden with Corn, and fled; yet ſo, that he ſtill drew on the Turks with hope to overtake him, until he had brought them where *Scanderbeg* with his Army lay in wait; by whom they were ſuddenly aſſailed on every ſide, and with great ſlaughter put to flight. In this Conflict two thouſand of the Turks were ſlain, and a thouſand of their Horſes taken; of the Chriſtians were loſt but two and twenty. This was the firſt welcome of the Turks Army to *Sfetigrade*.

A notable ſtratagem of Scanderbeg *for the intrapping of his Enemies.*

About eight days after came *Amurath* with all his Army, in the beginning of *May*, *Anno Dom.* 1449. and having made the greateſt ſhew he could with his huge Army to terrifie the Defendants; he incamped the baſer ſort of his Footmen at the foot of the Hill whereon the City ſtood, and lay himſelf with his Janizaries, and other his moſt valiant Souldiers, about three quarters of a mile further off; where after he had lien ſtill one day, and well conſidered the ſtrength of the place, toward evening he ſent a Meſſenger to the City, who requeſted to ſpeak with the Governor *Perlat*. Whereof he hearing came to the Wall; of whom the Meſſenger requeſted, That he would command the Souldiers ſtanding by, to go further-off, foraſmuch as he had ſomething in ſecret to ſay unto him from his Maſter. Unto whom *Perlat* merrily anſwered; It is like indeed to be ſome great ſecret, that you would have kept not only from the hearing of my Souldiers, but from the very light of the day, and therefore have choſen the night; but I have not learned of mine Elders, to hear any Meſſage from mine Enemies by night, neither at any time elſe out of the hearing of the Garriſon Souldiers, to whom *Scanderbeg* hath committed the defence of this City, and I the ſafeguard of my Perſon; you muſt therefore at this time pardon me, and to morrow if your Maſter ſo pleaſe, I will hear you at large. And therefore commanded him to depart from the Walls. So he returned for that time without Audience as he came. It grieved *Amurath* not a little, to ſee his Meſſenger ſo lightly regarded; yet for as much as he had more hope to gain the City by large Offers, or ſome reaſonable Compoſition, than by all his great force, he diſſembled his wrath, and the next day ſent the Meſſenger again, with one of his Baſſaes, a grave and well ſpoken man, himſelf born in *Epirus*. This Baſſa, with three Souldiers and two Servitors, was by the Governors commandment, by one of the Ports received into the City, and brought into Saint *Maries* Church. Where after he had with great Eloquence ſought to inſinuate himſelf into the minds of the Governor and the hearers, and afterwards augmented the terrour of *Amuraths* Power beyond all meaſure, laying before them the great Victories by him obtained againſt the *Hungarians* and the other Chriſtian Princes; in fine, he exhorted them to yield the City unto him; in whoſe name he promiſed firſt, That the Citizens ſhould in all reſpects under his Government live as they had before done under *Scanderbeg*; then, That the Governor ſhould receive at *Amurath* his hands moſt honourable Preferments, with many rich and Princely Gifts; and, That it ſhould be lawful for the Garriſon Souldiers to depart in ſafety wither they would, and to have three hundred thouſand Aſpers divided amongſt them in reward. But when the Baſſa had ended his Speech, the Governor in this ſort replied:

1449. Amurath *cometh to* Sfetigrade *with his Army.*

The reſolute Anſwer of Perlat *the Governor, unto the Baſſa.*

If you had not delivered this Speech unto reſolute men, devoted unto the defence of their Liberty, it might perhaps have wrought ſome effect; and we (ſaid he) *might peradventure liſten unto your Offers, if we were either afraid of the* Othoman King, *and the vain Threats of our Enemies, or elſe were weary of the Government of the noble* Scanderbeg. *But foraſmuch as no evil deſert of his, nor good deſert of your Maſter, hath yet paſſed, for which we ſhould prefer a ſtranger before our natural Soveraign, an Enemy before a Friend, a Turk before a Chriſtian; let your Maſter proceed firſt in his action begun, let him prove his Fortune, let him by force terrifie us, beat down our Walls, make havock of our Men, and by ſtrong hand drive us to humble our ſelves at his Feet, and to ſue for Peace. But it were a great Diſhonour, yea a thing almoſt to be laughed at, if we ſhould cowardly accept of theſe Conditions by him offered, before any Aſſault given, before one drop of Blood ſpilt, before any Souldier did ſo much as once groan for any Wound received, before one Stone were ſhaken in the Wall, or any ſmall Breach made. But your Maſter ſhall do better to raiſe his Siege, and get him back again to* Hadrianople, *there to ſpend the ſmall remainder of his old years in quiet, and not to provoke us his fatal Enemies, whoſe courage in defence of our Liberties, and fidelity towards our Prince, he hath ſo oftentimes proved to his great Diſhonour, and loſs of his Armies. The Faith I have once given to my Soveraign, for the defence of this City, I will never*

never forget, until the effuſion of the laſt drop of my blood. It ſhall be unto me Reward and Honour enough, if I either living defend this City, or with loſs of my life ſhall leave my guiltleſs Soul at liberty, and my Carkaſs amongſt the dead Bodies of worthy Souldiers, when I ſhall find a way into a far better place.

The General having given this reſolute Anſwer unto the Baſſa, bountifully feaſted him that day at dinner, and afterwards led him through the midſt of the City; where he ſaw great ſtore of Victuals, by the Governor commanded of purpoſe to be ſet in ſhew, to put *Amurath* out of hope of winning the City by long Siege. And ſo ſent the Baſſa out by the ſame Port whereby he came in, much diſcontented with the Anſwer he was to return to his Maſter.

Sfetigrade *aſſaulted.*

When *Amurath* underſtood by the Baſſa, of the Governors Reſolution, he was therewith exceeding wrath, and thereupon with his great Ordnance battered the City three days without intermiſſion. And having by the fury of his Artillery made a ſmall Breach, he forthwith gave thereunto a moſt terrible Aſſault, labouring firſt to win the ſame by the force and multitude of his common Souldiers, which the Turks call *Aſapi*; whom he forced by great numbers to that Service. Of theſe Souldiers the Turk in his Wars maketh no great reckoning, but to blunt the Swords of his Enemies, or to abate their firſt fury, thereby to give the eaſier Victory to his Janizaries and other his better Souldiers; which the *Othoman* Kings hold for good policy. Whilſt theſe forlorn Souldiers, without reſpect of danger preſſing forward, are ſlain by heaps at the Breach, the Janizaries at the ſame time in another place attempted to have ſcaled the Walls of the City; but whilſt they with much labour and difficulty firſt crawl up the ſteep Rock whereon the City was built, and afterward deſperately mount up their Scaling-Ladders, they were by the Defendants, with huge Stones and weighty pieces of Timber caſt upon them, beaten down, wherewith they were driven headlong to the bottom of the Rock, and ſo miſerably ſlain. Many of them together with their Scaling-Ladders, were by the Chriſtians thruſt from the Wall, and tumbling from the Rock, violently carried with them others coming up behind them. Some few got to the top of the Ladders, and taking hold of the Battlements of the Walls, loſt ſome their Fingers, ſome their Hands, but moſt their Lives, being beaten down as the other were. Many of them which ſtood farther off, were then wounded alſo, and with Shot from the Walls ſlain. With this miſerable ſlaughter, and no hope to prevail, the Turks diſcouraged, began to withdraw themſelves from the Aſſault; but the Baſſaes and Captains ſtanding behind them, forced them again forward, exhorting ſome, threatning others, and beating the reſt forward with their Trunchions. By which means the Aſſault was again renewed, but not with ſuch courage as before, though with no leſs ſlaughter; which the Defendants ſeeing, gave from the Walls great tokens of Joy and Triumph. *Amurath* perceiving his diſcouraged Souldiers ready of themſelves to forſake the Aſſault, preſently ſent *Feri-Baſſa* (one of his moſt valiant Captains) with a new Supply of 3000 choſen Souldiers to renew the fight. The Chriſtians well aware of their coming, ceaſed not with continual Shot to beat them from the Walls; but ſuch was the forwardneſs of that fierce Captain, that without regard of danger, he brought his Men to the Walls, where the Defendants from above overwhelmed them with Stones, Timber, Wild-fire, and ſuch other things as are uſually prepared for the defence of Towns beſieged. For all that, *Feri-Baſſa* gave ſo great an Aſſault, that he ſlew divers of the Defendants upon the Walls, and had there forcibly entred, had not the Govenor, perceiving the danger, with a Company of freſh Souldiers come with ſpeed to the defence of that place; whereby the Enemy was preſently repulſed, and driven again from the Walls. *Amurath* ſeeing the great ſlaughter of his Men, and no hope of ſucceſs, cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and ſo leaving the Aſſault, retired again into his Camp. The great loſs and diſhonour at this Aſſault received, much troubled his wayward mind; who for all that yet ceaſed not to give the like vain Attempts. At length, the Captain of the Janizaries perceiving that part of the City which was fartheſt from the Camp, to be commonly but ſlenderly manned, by reaſon that it ſeemed a place impregnable, both for the height and ſteepneſs of the Rock; told *Amurath*, That he would aſſay (if it ſo pleaſed him) ſecretly in the night to attempt by that place to enter the City; whereas they thought nothing was more to be feared, than the height thereof, which they, ſupported with the wings of deſire, doubted not to mount unto. This his device exceedingly pleaſed the King, and was the next night with great ſilence put in execution. But ſuch was the carefulneſs of the Governor over every part of his charge, that nothing could be done againſt the ſame, but that it was forthwith by him diſcovered. The Governor advertiſed by the Watch, of the Turks Attempt, with great ſilence preſently repaired to the place with a great Company of the Garriſon Souldiers, and ſtanding cloſe, from the top of the Wall beheld the Turks, as it had been a ſwarm of *Emmets*, climing up the high Rocks, and one helping up another, by ſuch deſperate way, as was in reaſon to have been thought no man would have attempted. But when they were come to the top of the Rock, and now even ready to enter, they were from above ſuddenly overwhelmed, as it had been with a ſhower of Shot, and ſo violently forced down that high Rock, that moſt part of them which had got up to any height, were miſerably cruſhed to death, either with the weight of themſelves, or with others falling upon them, and many of the reſt ſlain with Shot from the top of the Rock; whereof *Amurath* preſently underſtanding, was therewith exceedingly grieved.

The Turks repulſed, retire.

The Janizaries deſperately attempt to ſurpriſe the City.

The Janizaries repulſed.

During the time of this Siege *Scanderbeg* never lay long ſtill in one place, but removed continually from place to place, as beſt ſerved his purpoſe, breaking ſometimes into one quarter of the Turks Camp, and ſometime into another, and ſtraightway ſo ſuddenly gone again, and as it were vaniſhed out of ſight, that *Amurath* many times wondred what was become of him. At this time, being the later end of *June*, he was come with his Army within eight miles of *Amuraths* Camp; and from thence ſent *Moſes* his greateſt Captain, in the attire of a common Souldier, with two other, to take view how the Enemy lay incamped. By which truſty Eſpials he was informed, That the Turks lay in great ſecurity, as men without fear, keeping but negligent Watch. Of which opportunity, *Scanderbeg* rejoycing, the night following ſuddenly aſſaulted one quarter of the Turks Camp. Whoſe coming, although it was a little before by the Turks Scouts diſcovered, yet his furious Aſſault was ſo ſudden and ſo forcible, that he ſlew two thouſand of the Turks, and filled every corner of that great Camp with fear and tumult, before they could well arm themſelves or make reſiſtance. After which ſlaughter he ſafely retired, carrying away with him two hundred and thirty Horſe, with ſeven of the Turks Enſigns, having in this Skirmiſh loſt of his Men but two and forty; whoſe dead bodies the Turks the next morning in revenge of their ſlain Friends hewed into ſmall pieces.

Upon theſe great Diſgraces one following in the neck of another, *Amurath* having no other Object but the City to ſhew his fury upon, gave three fierce Aſſaults unto the ſame, one after another, and was always with loſs both of his Men and Honour repulſed. But the more he loſt, the more he burnt with deſire of Revenge, perſwading his Souldiers, That as the ſtrongeſt Cities and Fortreſſes were built by Mens hands, ſo were they to be overthrown and laid even with the ground by reſolute and valiant men; incouraging them to a freſh Aſſault, with greater promiſes of Reward than ever he had done before in all his Wars, from the firſt beginning of his Reign. And becauſe he would with more ſafety give this his laſt and greateſt Aſſault, he appointed *Feri-Baſſa*, with twelve thouſand Horſemen and ſix thouſand Foot to attend upon *Scanderbeg*, if he ſhould hap to come (as he thought he would) to trouble the Aſſault, by aſſailing of his Camp. *Feri-Baſſa* glad of this charge, well hoping now to redeem his former Overthrow with ſome great Victory, and leading forth his Army a little from the Camp, as he was commanded, ſo lay; wiſhing for nothing more than the coming of *Scanderbeg*; vainly boaſting, That he would ſeek him in the Field, and there try his Force and Fortune with him hand to hand; which he did ſhortly after to his coſt. When *Amurath* had thus ſet in order all things requiſite, as well for the Siege, as for the ſafeguard of his Camp, the next morning he compaſſed the City round about with his Army, and covered the ground with his Men of War, purpoſing at that time to gage his whole Forces upon the taking thereof. The Walls he had before in ſome places battered, ſo much as was poſſible; and yet but ſo, as that they were not without Scaling-Ladders to be aſſaulted; partly for the natural ſtrength of the place, and partly for that the Defendants had with great diligence continually repaired and filled up with earth what the fury of the Canon had thrown down. This Aſſault *Amurath* began firſt with his Archers and ſmall Shot, which delivered their Arrows and Bullets upon the top of the Wall, and into the City, as if it had been a ſhower of Hail, thereby to trouble the ſtationary Souldiers. In this heat, Ladders were clapped to the Walls in every place where any could be poſſibly reared, and the Turks began deſperately to ſcale the Walls; but the Chriſtians nothing diſmaid thereat, with great courage reſiſted them, and with Shot from their ſafe ſtandings wounded and ſlew many of them; yet others ſtill preſſed up in the places of them that were ſlain, ſo that the Aſſault began moſt terribly in many places at once, but eſpecially near to the great Gate of the City; where the Turks had upon the ſudden with Ladders, Timber, and Planks clapt together, raiſed cloſe unto that Tower, as it had been a wooden Tower, equal in height to the Wall; from whence the Turks greatly diſtreſſed the Chriſtians in that place, fighting with them as if it had been upon even ground, ſtill ſending up freſh Souldiers in ſtead of them that were ſlain; and thereby prevailed ſo far, that they had ſet up certain of *Amuraths* Enſigns upon the Wall, to the great comfort of the Turks, and aſtoniſhment of the beſieged Chriſtians. The Governor ſeeing the eminent danger, haſted to the place with a Company of freſh and valiant Souldiers, by whoſe force the Turks were quickly repulſed from the Wall, their Enſigns taken and ſent into the Market place; the Tower of wood with many Ladders and much Timber by the Turks brought to that place, was quickly conſumed with Wild-fire caſt upon the ſame from the Walls. *Perlat* having delivered the City of this fear, preſently placed freſh Souldiers in ſtead of them which were ſlain or hurt, and ſo worthily defended the City.

Scanderbeg *cometh to trouble the Aſſault, and is met with by* Feri-Baſſa

Whilſt *Amurath* was giving this great Aſſault to *Sfetigrade*, *Scanderbeg* to withdraw him from the ſame, came with nine thouſand Souldiers to aſſail the Turks Camp, as *Amurath* had before ſuſpected, and was now come very near the ſame. *Feri-Baſſa* glad of his coming, oppoſed his Army againſt him; which *Scanderbeg* ſeeing, retired a little of purpoſe to draw the Baſſa farther from the Camp, and then forthwith began to joyn battel with him. The Baſſa conſidering the ſmall number of his Enemies, and his own greater Power, withdrew four thouſand Horſemen out of his Army to fetch a compaſs about, and to ſet upon the rereward of *Scanderbegs* Army; hoping ſo to encloſe him, that he ſhould never eſcape thence, but there either to be ſlain or taken alive, and his Army utterly defeated. But the expert Captain perceiving his purpoſe, to meet therewith, left *Moſes* to lead the main Battel, and he himſelf with two thouſand Horſemen, ſo valiantly charged thoſe four thouſand of his Enemies before they were well departed from the reſt of the Baſſaes Army, that they had now more cauſe to look to their own ſafety, than how to circumvent others. In this Conflict *Feri-Baſſa* hand to hand, as he had oft times before deſired, encountring with *Scanderbeg*, was by him there ſlain. All this while that *Scanderbeg* was in fight with *Feri-Baſſa* in the right Wing of the Army, and *Muſachy* in the left, *Moſes* ſtood faſt, receiving the Aſſault of the Enemy without moving any thing forward, expecting the ſucceſs of the Wings. But *Scanderbeg* having diſcomfited the right Wing, and ſlain the General, coming now in, he ſet forward with ſuch force and courage, that the Turks not able longer to abide his force, turned their backs and fled; of whom many were ſlain in this chaſe, though *Scanderbeg* doubting the great Power of his Enemy ſo nigh at hand, durſt not follow them far; but ſounding a Retreat, put his Army again in good order, for fear of ſome ſudden Attempt from the Camp, and after appointed ſome of the meaneſt of his Souldiers to take the ſpoil of the ſlain Turks. When *Amurath* had underſtood what had hapned to *Feri-Baſſa*, he was ſo overcome with anger and melancholy, that for a while he could not ſpeak one word; but after the heat was a little paſt, he commanded certain ſmall pieces of Ordnance, which he had before uſed againſt the City, to be removed into the Camp, and there placed upon that ſide which was moſt in danger to the Enemy. He alſo preſently ſent thither four thouſand Souldiers to joyn with the remainder of *Feri-Baſſaes* Army, for defence of the Camp, with ſtrait charge that they ſhould not iſſue out of the Trenches. Neverthelеſs he himſelf continued the Aſſault of the City all that day; but when night drew on, and no hope appeared for him to prevail, he cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded; and leaving the Aſſault, he returned again into his Camp. At this Aſſault *Amurath* loſt ſeven thouſand Men, beſide many that died afterwards of their wounds; but of the Garriſon Souldiers were ſlain but ſeventy, and ninety more hurt.

The terrour of the Turkiſh Army began now to grow in contempt throughout *Epirus*; and *Scanderbeg* was in good hope, that *Amurath* after ſo many Overthrows and ſhameful Repulſes, would at length raiſe his Siege and be gone; yet he ſent Spies continually to diſcover what was done in the Turks Camp, and he himſelf with two thouſand Souldiers would oftentimes ſhew himſelf upon the ſides of the Mountains near unto *Amurath* his Camp, of purpoſe to draw the Turks out, that he might take them at ſome advantage. But the old King had given Commandment upon pain of death, That no man ſhould go out of the Trenches without leave, or once to ſpeak of giving Battel or Aſſault; ſo that he lay certain days in his Camp, not like a King beſieging of a City, but more like a man beſieged himſelf; the which his ſtill lying, *Scanderbeg* had the more in diſtruſt, fearing greatly that he was hatching ſome miſchief, which ſo ſoon as it was ripe would violently break out.

Amurath *by great Promiſes ſeeketh to corrupt the Garriſon of* Sfetigrade

A Traytor corrupted with Amurath *his large promiſes, conſpires to betray the City.*

Amurath conſidering with what evil Succeſs he had many times aſſaulted the City, and holding it for a great diſhonour to raiſe his Siege and depart, having done nothing worth the remembrance; thought good once again to prove, if it were poſſible to overcome the minds of the Garriſon Souldiers with Gifts, whom he was not able to ſubdue by force. For which purpoſe he ſent an Embaſſador unto the City, offering unto the beſieged and Garriſon Souldiers eaſie Conditions of Peace, with ſuch large Gifts and Rewards as had not been heard offered to any Garriſon in former time. All which his magnifical Promiſes were lightly rejected by the common conſent of all the whole Garriſon, preferring their faithful Loyalty before all his golden Mountains. For all that, *Amurath* was in good hope, that amongſt ſo many, ſome would be found, into whoſe minds his large Offers might make ſome Impreſſion; wherein he was not deceived. For one baſe-minded Fellow amongſt the reſt, corrupted with the Turks great Promiſes, preferring his own private wealth, before the welfare of his Country, waiting his time had ſecret conference with the Turks Eſpials, promiſing upon aſſurance of ſuch Reward as was before by *Amurath* profered, to find means that in few days the City ſhould be yielded into his Power. This corrupted Traytor, had laid many miſchievous Plots for the effecting of this horrible Treaſon, but the firſt device he put in practiſe, which of all others a man would have thought to have been of leaſt moment, ſerved his wicked purpoſe in ſtead of all the reſt. All the Garriſon Souldiers of *Sfetigrade* were of the upper Country of *Dibra*, put into that City, by *Moſes*, for their approved Valour above all the other Souldiers of *Epirus*. But as they were men of great courage, ſo were they exceeding ſuperſtitious both in their Religion and manner of living, putting nice difference betwixt one kind of lawful Meat and other; accounting ſome clean, ſome unclean; abhorring from that, which they fondly deemed unclean, with more than a Jewiſh Superſtition, chooſing rather to die than to eat or drink thereof; ſuch is the ſtrong deluſion of blind Error, where it hath throughly poſſeſſed the minds of men. The City of *Sfetigrade* (as is aforeſaid) is ſituate upon the top of a great high Rock, as moſt of the Cities of *Epirus* now be, and was then watered but with one great Well in the midſt of the City, which ſunk deep into the Rock, plentifully ſerved both the publick and private uſe of the Inhabitants. Into this common Well the malicious Traytor in the night time caſt the foul ſtinking carrion Carkaſs of a dead Dog, knowing, that the conceited Garriſon Souldiers of *Dibra*, would rather indure the pains of death, and ſtarve, or elſe yield up the City, upon any condition, than to drink of that polluted water. In the morning when that ſtinking Carrion was eſpied, and drawn out of the Well, the report thereof was quickly bruted in every corner of the City, and that the Well was poyſoned; ſo that all the people were in manner in an uproar about the finding out of the Traytor. The Citizens were exceeding ſorry for that had hapned, but the Garriſon Souldiers deteſted that loathſome and unclean water (as they accounted it) more than the Turkiſh Servitude, proteſting, that they would rather periſh with thirſt, than drink thereof. Whereupon ſome of them deſired to ſet fire upon the City, and whilſt they had yet ſtrength, to break through the Enemies Camp or there manfully to die. And they which thought beſt of the matter, requeſted, that the City might be yielded up; for now, they diſcouraged with a Superſtitious Vanity, could be content to hearken to the former conditions of Peace, yea they were ready enough of themſelves to ſue to *Amurath* for Peace, though it had been upon harder terms. The Governor troubled with that had hapned, and aſtonied to ſee ſo great an alteration in the minds of his Souldiers upon ſo ſmall occaſion; could not tell whether he might think it to proceed of a ſuperſtitious conceit, or of ſome ſecret compact made with *Amurath*. But the better to pacifie the matter, he came into the Market place, and there in the hearing of all the Garriſon, with many effectual Reaſons, exhorted them to continue faithful unto their Prince and Country in that honourable Service; and in a matter of ſo great conſequence to make ſmall reckoning to uſe that water, which would eaſily in ſhort time be brought again to the wonted purity and cleanneſs; and to perſwade them the rather, he went preſently to the Well himſelf, and in the ſight of them all drunk a great Draught of the Water, whoſe example the Citizens following, drank likewiſe. But when it was offered to the Captains and Souldiers of the Garriſon, they all refuſed to taſt thereof, as if it had been a moſt loathſome thing, or rather ſome deadly poyſon, and with great inſtance cried unto the Governor, to give up the City; for which cauſe many thought they were corrupted by *Amuraths* great Promiſes. Howbeit none of the Garriſon (except that one Traytor) did ever afterwards revolt to the Turkiſh King, or yet appeared any thing the richer for any Gift received, whereby ſuch ſuſpition might be confirmed. When the Governor ſaw that the obſtinate minds of the Garriſon were not to be moved with any Perſwaſion or Reward (whereof he ſpared not to make large Promiſe) nor by any other means which he could deviſe; he called unto him his chief Captains, with the beſt ſort of the Citizens, and reſolved with them full ſore againſt his will to yield up the City to *Amurath*, on ſuch conditions as they themſelves there agreed upon; which were, That it ſhould be lawful for all the Captains and Souldiers to depart in ſafety with their Armor and all other things; and that ſo many of the Citizens as would ſtay, might there ſtill dwell in the City, in ſuch ſort, as they had done before, under the Government of *Scanderbeg*; the reſt that liſted not to remain there ſtill, might at their pleaſure with Bag and Baggage depart whether they would. Glad was *Amurath* when this Offer was made unto him, and granted them all that was deſired, ſaving that he would not conſent that the Citizens

The Carkaſs of a Dog caſt by the Traytor into the common Well that ſerved the City.

The Governor in vain ſeeketh to perſwade the Garriſon Souldiers to drink of the water of the well.

ſhould continue in the City, yet was he content that they ſhould live under him as they had done before, quietly enjoying all their Poſſeſſions, but to build their houſes without the Wall of the City; which condition ſome accepted, and ſome forſaking all, went to *Scanderbeg*. When all was throughly agreed upon, the Keys of the Gates were delivered to *Amurath*, and the Governor with the Captains, and all the Garriſon Souldiers ſuffered quietly to paſs through the Turkiſh Camp, as the King had promiſed. Howbeit, *Mahomet* the Son of *Amurath*, a Prince of a cruel diſpoſition, earneſtly perſwaded his Father, to have broken his Faith, and to have put them all to the Sword; ſaying, It was one of their Prophet *Mahomets* chief Commandments, to uſe all cruelty for the deſtruction of the Chriſtians. But the old King would not therein hearken unto his Son, ſaying, That he which was deſirous to be great among men, muſt either be indeed faithful of his Word and Promiſe, or at leaſtwiſe ſeem ſo to be, thereby to gain the minds of the people, who naturally abhor the Government of a faithleſs and cruel Prince. The Traytor which corrupted the Water, remained ſtill in the City, and was by *Amurath* rewarded with three rich Suits of Apparel, and fifty thouſand Aſpers, and had given unto him beſides a yearly Penſion of two thouſand Ducats. But ſhort was the joy the Traytor had of this evil gotten Goods; for after he had a few days vainly triumphed in the midſt of *Amurath* his Favours, he was ſuddenly gone, and never afterwards ſeen or heard of; being ſecretly made away (as was ſuppoſed) by the commandment of *Amurath*, whoſe noble heart could not but deteſt the Traytor, although the Treaſon ſerved well his purpoſe. *Amurath* entring into *Sfetigrade*, cauſed the Walls to be forthwith repaired, and placed one thouſand two hundred Janizaries in Garriſon there. And raiſing his Camp the firſt of *September*, departed out of *Epirus*, having loſt thirty thouſand of his Turks at the Siege of *Sfetigrade*; much grieved in mind for all that, that he could not vanquiſh the Enemy, whom he came of purpoſe to ſubdue. In his return, the Vice-Roy of *Aſia* marched before him with the *Aſian* Souldiers; in the rereward followed the Vice-Roy of *Europe* with his *European* Souldiers; in the midſt was *Amurath* himſelf, compaſſed about with his Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court. *Scanderbeg* underſtanding of *Amurath* his departure, followed ſpeedily with eight thouſand Horſemen, and three thouſand Foot, and taking the advantage of the thick Woods and Mountain ſtraits (to him well known) whereby that great Army was to paſs, oftentimes skirmiſhed with the Turks, charging them ſometime in the Vaward, and ſometime in the Rereward, ſometime on the one ſide, and ſometime on the other, and ſlew many of them; whereby he ſo troubled *Amurath* his paſſage, that he was glad to leave the Vice-Roy of *Romania*, with 30000 to attend upon *Scanderbeg*, that he himſelf might in the mean time with more ſafety march away with the reſt of his Army. *Scanderbeg* perceiving the ſtay of the Vice-Roy, ceaſed to follow *Amurath* further, fearing to be encloſed between thoſe two great Armies. The Vice-Roy ſeeing that *Scanderbeg* was retired, after he had ſtaid a few days, followed his Maſter to *Hadrianople*, and ſo *Scanderbeg* returned to *Croia*.

A Traytor worthily rewarded according to his Treaſon.

Shortly after the departure of *Amurath* out of *Epirus*, *Scanderbeg* left two thouſand Souldiers upon the Borders for defence of the Country againſt the Turks. Theſe Souldiers ſo ſtraightly kept in the Janizaries left in Garriſon at *Sfetigrade* that they could not look out of the City, but that they were intercepted and ſlain. And within a few days after came himſelf with an Army of eighteen thouſand, and laid ſiege to *Sfetigrade* the ſpace of a month, which was from the middle of *September* until the middle of *October*. In which time he gave two great Aſſaults to have recovered the City, but was both times repulſed, with the loſs of five hundred men. *Amurath* underſtanding that *Scanderbeg* lay at the ſiege of *Sfetigrade*, ſent with all ſpeed to recall his Army, but lately before diſperſed. Whereof *Scanderbeg* having Intelligence, conſidering alſo the difficulty of the Enterpriſe, with the approach of Winter, raiſed his Siege, and returned to *Croia*; where he ſet all things in the ſame order he had done before the coming of *Amurath* to the Siege of *Sfetigrade*, and put two thouſand of his beſt Souldiers there in Garriſon, under the charge of the famous Captain *Uranacontes*, and ſtored his City with ſufficient Victual for a years Siege, wherein he had great help from the *Venetians* and other Chriſtian Princes, for that there was then great ſcarcity of all things in *Epirus*, by reaſon of the late Wars. The like care he had alſo of all the reſt of his Cities, being continually advertiſed from his ſecret Friends in the Turks Court, of the great preparation intended againſt him by the Turkiſh King, againſt the beginning of the next Spring.

1450. **Amurath** *aſſembleth again his Army at* **Hadrianople.**

Amurath underſtanding that *Scanderbeg* was departed from *Sfetigrade*, changed his former determination for the calling back again of his Army, and appointed it to meet again at *Hadrianople*, in the beginning of *March* following; whether the Baſſaes, and other great Commanders, at the time appointed, aſſembled with their Companies, according as *Amurath* had before commanded. So that by the latter end of *March*, he had there in readineſs an Army of an hundred and threeſcore thouſand men ſtrong. Of which great multitude, he after the manner of the Turkiſh Wars, ſent forty thouſand Horſemen, under the leading of *Sebalyas* a politick Captain, as his Vauntcourriers into *Epirus*, in the beginning of *April*, in the year, 1450. The valiant Captain with great ſpeed and no reſiſtance entred into *Epirus*, as was given him in charge, and without let came to *Croia*; where, after he had adviſedly conſidered of the ſituation thereof, and of the places thereabouts, he ſtrongly encamped himſelf near thereunto in the pleaſant Plain called *Tyranna*; and there within his Trenches kept his Souldiers cloſe, attending nothing more, but that no new ſupply of Men, Munition, or Victuals, ſhould be conveyed into the City, more than was therein before his coming. For he was not able with his Horſemen to do any thing againſt the City; and *Scanderbeg* had left nothing abroad in the Country Subject to his fury. Beſides that, he was expreſly by *Amurath* forbidden to attempt any thing againſt *Scanderbeg* himſelf.

After *Sebalyas* had twenty days thus lien encamped before *Croia*, neither doing nor taking harm; *Amurath* by reaſon of his great age, having marched oftentimes but five miles a day, came thither alſo with his whole Army, wherewith he filled all the Country round about; the very ſight whereof, had been enough to have diſcouraged the ſame Garriſon in *Croia*, had they not been men both of great Experience and Reſolution. Where after he had ſpent four days in ſetling of his Camp, he ſent two Meſſengers unto the Governor (as the manner of the Turks is) offering him if he would yield up the City, that it ſhould be lawful for him with all his Souldiers in ſafety with Bag and Baggage to depart;

part; and the Governor himſelf to receive in Reward two hundred thouſand Aſpers, with an honourable Place amongſt the great Baſſaes of his. Court, if it would pleaſe him to accept thereof; and further, that the Citizens ſhould enjoy all their ancient Liberties as in former time, without any alteration; with promiſe alſo of greater. Theſe Meſſengers coming to the Gates of the City, could not be ſuffered to enter, but ſtanding without, were commanded there to deliver their Meſſage; which when the Governor had heard, he ſcornfully rejected their Offers, and returned the Meſſengers ſhamefully derided by the Souldiers which ſtood upon the Wall. *Amurath* more offended with this Contempt, than the refuſal of his Offers; and ſeeing no other means to gain the City, converted all his devices unto the Siege thereof. Wherefore he firſt commanded ten great pieces of Artillery to be forthwith caſt, for he had brought with him none ready made, becauſe of the difficult paſſage over the high Mountains into *Epirus*; whereby it ſeemed to be a matter of infinite trouble to have brought his great Ordnance; and therefore carried with him great ſtore of Metal in maſs, whereof at his pleaſure to make his great Artillery as he ſaw cauſe. In fifteen days this work was brought to perfection, and ten pieces of huge greatneſs were ready mounted upon Carriages. Six of them he placed againſt the Eaſt ſide of the City, towards the Plain of *Tyranna*, and the other four againſt the Gate; in which two places only, *Croia*, was ſubject to battery, being on all other parts naturally defended with impregnable Rocks, upon the tops whereof were built fair Battlements, more for beauty than needful defence. Theſe two places *Amurath* battered four days continually, and with the fury of his Artillery had in both places beaten down half the Wall, and ſore ſhaken the reſt. Wherewith the Turks were exceedingly encouraged, and with great chearfulneſs made all things ready to aſſault theſe Breaches, whenſoever *Amurath* ſhould command, ſtriving among themſelves who ſhould ſhew himſelf moſt forward in that dangerous Enterpriſe. And *Mahomet* the young Prince, the more to encourage the Souldiers, beſides the great Rewards by his Father propoſed; promiſed of himſelf to give an hundred thouſand Aſpers unto him that ſhould firſt ſet up an Enſign upon the Walls of the City. The Garriſon Souldiers on the other ſide, conſidering that the whole State and Welfare of *Epirus* was repoſed in their valour; and that the Eyes of moſt part of Chriſtendom were as it were fixed upon them, were nothing diſmayed with the Breaches made, but manfully comforted and encouraged one another to endure all manner of peril and danger that might poſſibly chance; but eſpecially the worthy Governor *Uranacontes*, who going through the midſt of his Souldiers, and ſhaking ſome of them by the hands, withall ſaid:

Crola *battered.*

The chearful Speech of Uranacontes *the Governor to encourage his Souldiers.*

Theſe, theſe are the Fortreſſes of our City, theſe are the invincible Bulwarks, theſe are the irremovable Stones and ſureſt Cement. What Honour? what Praiſe? what Triumph ſhould we hope for? if theſe Walls ſtanding whole and ſtrong, we ſhould lie ſhrouded under the defence of them, and not they defended by us? So can Cowards defend Cities, and Sheep fear not the Wolves rage, when they are ſafely ſhut up within the Walls of their Sheep-coats: But that is the praiſe of the Walls, and not of the Men. Worthy Caſtriot *our Prince hath commended this his City to be defended by us, and not us by it. Honour is attended upon with danger, and foſtered up amongſt perils; every baſe Mariner may be a Maſter in fair Weather; and firm things ſtand of themſelves, and need not our upholding. Wherefore, men of worth ſhun ſuch things, which being kept or loſt, yield like praiſe. Things ready to fall, need ſhoaring, and thither haſteth Honour, and there (worthy Souldiers) appeareth Courage and Valour. Wherefore let our valiant right hands defend theſe broken Breaches, and in ſtead of theſe dead Walls, couragiouſly oppoſe our luſty and lively armed Bodies againſt the Force of our Enemies. If theſe Walls ſtood ſtill firm, and unbattered, you ſhould then fight from the top of them like Women; but now that they are ſomething ſhaken, you ſhall as men ſtand upon ſomewhat more even ground, and encounter your Enemies hand to hand, the better to ſatisfie your furious deſire. Where I alſo in the thickeſt, ſhall eaſily view and judge of every mans private courage in particular, and of all your Valour in common. And yet if we well conſider of the matter, the place it ſelf doth yet notably make for us; and our former good hopes are little or nothing by theſe ſmall Breaches diminiſhed; for, this riſing of the Hill (not poſſible to be taken from us) although it be not ſo high as it is in other places, yet, doth it not ſerve us ſufficiently at great advantage to charge our Enemies, and hinder their Aſſault? The ſteepneſs whereof, as it will be troubleſome unto them, ſo will it keep us moſt freſh in ſtrength, and make our Shot more forcible. Wherefore this had been a thing of us to have been wiſhed for, if we deſire the ſlaughter of our Enemies at this Siege; or if we wiſh for perpetual Honour and Glory by this War. For this Breach of the Walls will encourage theſe Barbarians, and allure their armed men to clime up in greater multitude than if the Walls were whole; whereof ſo many ſhall on every ſide be eaſily ſlain, as we ſhall but aim at; except you had rather ſit ſtill, holding your hands together in your Boſomes as Cowards. Their dead bodies ſhall fill up the Breaches again, if you be men mindful of your Liberty. What is there (worthy Captains and Souldiers) that letteth our Victory? or memorable ſlaughter of our Enemies? by whom only theſe two places of the City can be aſſaulted; all the reſt is out of danger, and fears no Enemies force. Here only is the pains to be taken, this only is left for you to defend, and here ſhall you all be; the courage, force, and ſtrength of you all ſhall in this place appear. How will you ſo many worthy Captains, and valiant Souldiers, in ſo little room beſtow your ſelves? We are too many Defendants for ſo ſmall Breaches. Yet let us play the Men, and do our endeavour; let us in one Conflict weaken the Tyrants ſtrength; and burſt his proud heart; he will forſake this City, and raiſe his Siege unfortunately begun, ſo ſoon as he ſhall ſee his firſt Aſſault to coſt him the lives of ſo many thouſands of his Men.*

Crola *aſſaulted.*

When *Uranacontes* had with this comfortable Speech thus encouraged his Souldiers, againſt the Aſſault which he expected the next day; and had with great care and diligence ſet all things in order for the ſame, and repaired the Breaches as well as was poſſible in that caſe, he gave them leave for that night to take their reſt. In the morning *Amurath* commanded the Aſſault to be given to both the Breaches, which was forthwith by the Turks chearfully begun, and every man buſie to perform the Service he was appointed unto. But by that time that the Aſſault was well begun, a ſudden Alarum was raiſed throughout all the Turks Camp; for *Scanderbeg* with five thouſand valiant Souldiers, had ſuddenly broken in upon one ſide of the Turks great Camp, and at the firſt Encounter had ſlain ſix hundred of the Turks, and was now ſpoiling their Tents. The rumour whereof, troubled the whole Camp, and made the Turks with leſs courage to aſſault the Breaches, for fear of the danger behind them. *Amurath* although he had great confidence in them whom he had before left for ſafeguard of his Tents, yet for more ſurety ſent *Seremet* one of his greateſt Captains, with four thouſand Souldiers back into the Camp, for more ſurety; ſaying, That nothing could be too ſure, againſt that wild Beaſt: meaning the fury of *Scanderbeg*. *Mahomet* alſo the young Prince, haſted thither in great choler with his Guard, much againſt his Fathers will. But *Moſes*, *Scanderbegs* Lieutenant, knowing himſelf too weak to withſtand the multitude that was ſwarming thither (contenting himſelf with that which was already done) had before *Mahomets* coming, ſpeedily retired with all his Army into the ſafeguard of the Mountains, from whence he came; having done great harm in the Turks Camp, with the loſs but of ten men. *Scanderbeg* in the heat of this Skirmiſh, forgetting himſelf, had ſo far engaged himſelf among the Turks, that he was by them on every ſide encloſed, and in great danger to have been ſlain or taken; yet valiantly breaking through them, he eſcaped the danger, and recovered the Mountains, and with much ado came at length to his Camp, to the great joy and comfort of them all, being before in great fear he had been loſt. This was accounted the greateſt overſight of *Scanderbeg* in all his Wars; for ſo much as the Office of a good General conſiſteth not in adventuring of his Perſon to manifeſt danger, but in the politick Government of his charge. During the time that *Scanderbeg* thus aſſailed the Turks Camp, *Amurath* but faintly aſſaulted the Breaches, expecting the ſucceſs in the Camp; but when he underſtood that *Scanderbeg* was retired, and all quieted, he brought all his Forces to the Walls, and firſt with the multitude of his Archers and ſmall Shot laboured to drive the Defendants from the Walls, overwhelming them with Arrows falling as thick as Hail. And likewiſe at the ſame time other common Souldiers of baſer account, brought Scaling-Ladders and other things needful for the ſcaling of the Walls. After whom alſo followed the Janizaries and other choſen Souldiers, ready to mount the Ladders ſo ſoon as they ſhould be ſet to the Walls. But whilſt they climb up the high Hills in this order, the Garriſon Souldiers made ſuch ſlaughter of them with Shot from the Walls and out of the City, that they would have preſently retired, had they not been forced forward by their Captains, who ſpared neither ſtripes nor wounds, when words would not ſerve. By this tyrannical means, the Scaling-Ladders were with great ſlaughter of the common Souldiers ſet up againſt the Walls, and the Turks climing up, came to handy-blows with the Defendants at the Breaches; nothing was to be heard but the crying of People, the clattering of Armor, and the Inſtruments of War, which was terribly redoubled with the Ecchoes from the Mountains round about. The Turks doing what they might to win the Breaches, were by the Chriſtians worthily repulſed, and with their Ladders tumbled headlong down the Mountain, with ſuch horrible ſlaughter and diſcomfiture, eſpecially of the common Souldiers, that none of them would ſet one foot forward again toward the Walls, although they had ſmall hope to ſave themſelves by retiring back; for the fierce young Prince *Mahomet* even then making ſhew of his cruel diſpoſition, cauſed them that returned, to be ſlain, by the terrour thereof to drive others forward. Theſe common Souldiers, whom the Turks make ſmall reckoning of, are for the moſt part miſerable Chriſtians, which live in ſuch Countries as had ſometimes received the Faith of Chriſt, but are now under the Turkiſh ſlavery; of which ſort of wretched people the Turkiſh Tyrants draw with them great multitudes in their Wars, moſt commonly unarmed, becauſe they dare not well truſt them in Wars againſt the Chriſtians; theſe carry all the Baggage of the Camp; theſe ſerve to fetch Wood and Water for other Souldiers of better account; theſe ſerve in ſtead of Pioneers, to caſt Trenches and raiſe Bulwarks; and when battel is to be given, if it be in plain field, theſe have then Weapons put into their hands, and thruſt into the fore-front of the battel, to blunt the Enemies Swords; but if a City be to be beſieged, theſe ſerve as fit matter to fill up the Breaches with their dead Bodies, or to make Bridges for other Souldiers to paſs over upon; and if they ſhrink to attempt any thing they are commanded, then are they more cruelly uſed by their Commanders than by their Enemies. When *Amurath* ſaw his Souldiers ſo diſcouraged, he ſtood in doubt whether it were better for that time to ſound a Retreat, or to ſend a new Supply; but being inraged with the loſs of his Men, and deſirous to be in ſome part revenged, he ſent divers Companies of his better Souldiers, for the incouragement of them which were before diſcouraged, and ſo gave a freſh Aſſault; but with as evil or worſe ſucceſs than before; for *Uranacontes* had withdrawn from the Breaches all thoſe Souldiers which had indured the former Aſſault, and placed other freſh and luſty Men in their ſtead; who incouraged with the former Victory, and loth to be accounted inferior to their Fellows, repulſed the Turks with double ſlaughter; until that the aged King, not able longer to behold the endleſs loſs of his Men, cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded; which all his Souldiers were glad to hear, and ſo returned into his Camp, having loſt in thoſe two Aſſaults eight thouſand Men, without any notable harm done unto the Defendants worth the remembrance.

Scanderbeg *in danger.*

This ſhameful Repulſe much grieved all the Captains and Commanders of *Amuraths* Army, but eſpecially *Mahomet* the young Prince, whoſe violent nature unacquainted with miſhap, burnt impatiently with Revenge. Wherefore underſtanding that *Scanderbeg* lay intrenched upon the Mountain of *Tumeniſt*, not far from his Fathers Army, he drew moſt of the beſt and readieſt Souldiers of all the whole Camp, into that quarter which was neareſt unto *Scanderbeg*; of purpoſe that if he ſhould again aſſail the Camp in that place (as it was moſt like he would) he ſhould be incountred with ſo many brave and valiant Men there in readineſs, as that it ſhould be hard for him either to do any great harm, or for himſelf to eſcape. Of all which, *Scanderbeg* by certain Fugitives had Intelligence, as alſo in what order the Camp lay; whereupon he left *Moſes* with five hundred Souldiers in the place where he lay; taking order with him before his departure, that he at a certain appointed hour in the night following, ſhould aſſail the Turks Camp in the quarter next unto him where *Mahomet* lay; and having there raiſed ſome tumult, ſpeedily to retire again to his aſſured ſtrength in the Mountain. *Scanderbeg* himſelf with the whole ſtrength of his Army, in number about 8000, in the mean time took a compaſs, and by certain ſecret by-ways through the Woods and Mountains, came unto the farther ſide of the Turks Camp, to a place called *Mountecle*. The night following, *Moſes* at the appointed hour with his 500 Souldiers aſſailed that part of the Turks Camp next unto him, with ſuch noiſe and tumult as

Mahomet *thinking to deceive* Scanderbeg, *is himſelf by him deceived.*

as if it had been ſome great Army. By occaſion whereof, all the Turks Camp was in alarm, and drew in haſt to that place where they heard that great tumult, as was before by *Mahomet* commanded. When at the ſame inſtant, *Scanderbeg* with all his Army brake into the other ſide of the Turks Camp, where he was leaſt feared or looked for, and from whence the beſt Souldiers were before drawn by *Mahomet*; and there made ſuch ſlaughter and havock of the reſt (not knowing which way to turn themſelves) that the loſs a little before received under the Walls of *Croia*, was now forgot, as a ſmall thing in compariſon of this. *Moſes* having raiſed a great fear, and done little harm, returned in ſafety to his well known ſtrength; and *Scanderbeg* having made great ſpoil in the Camp, fearing to be oppreſſed with the multitude of his Enemies, if he ſhould there longer ſtay, returned in good time, having ſcarce loſt one Man.

Amurath after this great loſs and trouble of his Camp, withdrew moſt of his ſmall Ordnance which he had before bent againſt the City, into his Trenches, placing it as commodiouſly as he might, for the defence thereof againſt the ſudden Attempts of *Scanderbeg*. Yet for as much as he could not in that hot ſeaſon of the year ſo cloſely incamp his great Army, but that ſome part thereof would ſtill be in like danger as before; he therefore appointed *Sebalias* with 16000 Souldiers to attend upon *Scanderbeg*, that he ſhould no more trouble the Camp. After which order taken, he battered the Walls of *Croia* afreſh, and with his great Ordnance overthrew whatſoever the Citizens had repaired, making the Breaches greater, and more aſſaultable than before, intending once again by a new Aſſault to prove his Fortune, and the force of his Souldiers; which he appointed to be the next day. But when he perceived no ſign of courage or good hope in the heavy Countenances of them diſcouraged, and that they yielded to him their conſents, rather for fear and ſhame, than for hope of Victory; he called them Cowards, diſcouraged with the leaſt frown of Fortune; and ſaid,

Amurath *his comfortable Speech unto his wearied Souldiers.*

Every weak Caſtle is able to hold out one Aſſault; but if you will draw theſe wild Beaſts out of their Dens, you muſt arm your ſelves like reſolute Men of invincible Courage, to indure what thing ſoever ſhall happen. Great Captains with their puiſſant Armies have grown old under the Walls of their Enemies, upon light and ſmall diſpleaſures; and will you having received ſo many diſgraces of theſe perjured Epirots, *leave them all unrevenged? What great Victory was ever yet by any man gained without bloodſhed? Remember the moſt glorious Victory of* Varna. *It is hard without bloody hands to put the yoke upon the fierce Enemies Neck. All honourable things are brought to paſs with adventure and labour; and the end of this War dependeth of the taking of* Croia; *if it were once won, all this War were at an end; which if* Scanderbeg *loſe (being the ſtrength of his Kingdom,) he will not tarry one day longer in* Epirus. *Wherefore be of good chear, and couragiouſly ſet upon it; there is not more uncertainty in any thing, than in matters of War: Fortune is to be proved, and oftentimes provoked of him that will Wed her. And yet I will not deny, but that we muſt go more warily to work againſt this Enemy, and hazard our ſelves with better adviſement, and not without reaſon like wild Beaſts to run headlong upon our own death. At length we ſhall wear them out, if we kill but ten of them at an Aſſault; yet are they daily to be aſſailed, that they may have no leiſure to refreſh themſelves, and to make up their Breaches; and peradventure if Force may not prevail, Fortune may find ſome mean that we look not for, as it fell out at the Siege of* Sfetigrade, *beyond all our expectation. Treaſon is ingenious, and mens deſires great, where great Rewards are propounded.*

With theſe and like Speeches old *Amurath* encouraged his Captains and Souldiers, and the next day early in the morning began the Aſſault, which the Turks valiantly attempted; and without regard of danger came to the Gates of the City, aſſaying, but with vain and deſperate labour to have broken them open. In this Aſſault Wildfire was caſt into many places of the City, and the great Artillery oftentimes diſcharged into the Breaches; whereby many of the Turks themſelves were ſlain with their own great ſhot, together with the Chriſtians; for *Amurath* deſperately ſet, was content to buy the life of one Chriſtian with the loſs of twenty of his Turks. But the Chriſtians ſtill valiantly repulſed their Enemies, ſo that of them that came to the Gates, none eſcaped alive; and of them that aſſaulted the great Breach, they which were moſt forward, were firſt ſlain, and they which ſtood farther off, were ſore wounded with Shot. Yet for all that, *Amurath* ſtill maintained the Aſſault, by ſending in of new Supplies, delighting to ſee them go forward, but grieved at the heart to ſee them ſo ſlain; until at laſt weary with beholding the ſlaughter of his Men, he cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and ſo ended the Aſſault; perſwaded by his Baſſaes, not wilfully to caſt away his valiant Souldiers where there was no hope to prevail, but to reſerve them for his better Service.

The Turks retire.

Amurath *ſeeketh to undermine* **Croia.**

Amurath now out of hope to win the City by Aſſault, thought good to prove what might be done by undermining of the ſame; during which work he cauſed ſmall Alarms daily to be given unto the City, to the intent that the Defendants buſied therewith, ſhould not perceive the ſecret work of the Mine. About which time his Proviſion of Corn began to fail in his Camp; for which cauſe he ſent his Purveyors for Corn to *Liſia*, a City of the *Venetians*, with whom he was at that time in League, and bought of them great ſtore of Corn. But as his Officers were conveying it to his Camp, *Scanderbeg* having Intelligence thereof, ſlew the Convoy, and carried away with him all that Proviſion, dividing it among his own Souldiers. Howbeit, not long after, *Amurath* received great abundance of Corn and other Proviſion out of *Macedonia*; beſide that, the *Venetian* Merchants afterward furniſhed him with plenty of Corn, Oil, Honey, and other neceſſaries; which *Scanderbeg* might well have hindered, but that he would not in ſo doing offend the *Venetians*, which were alſo his ſecret Friends, conſidering that *Amurath* might have had all the ſame Proviſion out of the further part of *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Myſia*, and ſuch other places, if he had not otherwiſe had it from the *Venetians*.

Whilſt *Amurath* thus lay expecting the ſucceſs of his Mine, four hundred of the Garriſon Souldiers of *Croia* ſallying out of the City, chaſed divers of the Turks that were come forth back again unto the Camp; whereof *Amurath* was glad, hoping, that they encouraged with that good hap, would to their further loſs give the like attempt afterwards. But the ſtaid diſcretion of the Governor deceived that his expectation; who conſidering the danger, would not ſuffer his Souldiers any more to ſally out of the City. *Scanderbeg* alſo at this time having encreaſed his Army with a new Supply of two thouſand Souldiers, divided the ſame into three parts; delivering one part to *Moſes*, another to *Tanuſie*; and reſerving the third unto himſelf. With this Army of nine thouſand thus divided, he determined by night at one inſtant to aſſail the Turks great Camp in three divers places, appointing in which quarter every one ſhould charge. But as *Scanderbeg* in the night appointed, was coming towards the Turks Camp, he was diſcovered by their Scouts; whereupon a ſudden Alarum was raiſed in the Camp, and all mens minds turned that way, and Souldiers appointed with all diligence to guard that ſide of the Camp. But whilſt the Turks were all at gaze this way for fear of *Scanderbeg*, *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*, in the dead of the night, at one time aſſailed the Turks Camp in two divers quarters, as they were appointed, where they ſlew a number of the Turks, and made great ſpoil. At which time *Scanderbeg* did alſo what he might; but by reaſon he was before diſcovered, did not much harm. Upon the approach of the day *Scanderbeg* retired again to the Hills, and by that time it was fair day light, ſate down upon the ſide of a great Mountain, about twenty Furlongs off; in the open ſight of all the Turks Camp; which he did of purpoſe, that *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*, which were by night retired into the Mountains, might ſee which way to hold, to meet with him again. But the Turks thinking that he ſtood there to brave their whole Camp, and as it were to deface them to the great encouragement of the Defendants; divers of them earneſtly craved leave of *Amurath*, that they might go up to him, and at leaſtwiſe beat him out of ſight; which he granting, 12000 of his beſt Souldiers, whereof 7000 were Horſemen, and the reſt Foot, preſently ſet forward to encounter him. *Scanderbeg* ſeeing them all the way they came, upon their approach ſoftly retired a little farther up into the Mountains, ſtill expecting the coming of *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*. The Turks unacquainted with ſuch difficult ways, marched up the ſteep Hills after *Scanderbeg* with much labour and pain, well wearied of themſelves; but when they were come a great way into the Mountains, they perceived by the riſing of the duſt, that ſome greater Force was coming croſs thoſe Mountains; and not long after they might plainly ſee the foremoſt of their Enemies. Wherefore fearing to be encloſed, they began to retire, in which Retreat *Scanderbeg* hardly purſued them, and having the advantage of the ground, ſlew many of them, but eſpecially with his Archers. *Moſes* alſo coming afreſh on another ſide, cauſed them to fly down the Hill amain, and beſide the ſlaughter that he made, took divers Priſoners. After which Victory by *Scanderbeg* obtained in the ſight of *Amurath* and his whole Army, he retired again into the Mountains.

The late ſpoil of the Turks Camp, with this Overthrow of the Souldiers but now ſent againſt *Scanderbeg*, much grieved the old Tyrant; but the work of the Mine, wherein he had of long laid up his greateſt hope, ſorting now to no good purpoſe, being deemed as well an endleſs piece of work, for the natural hardneſs of the Rock, as alſo of ſmall importance, for that it was by the Defendants diſcovered, drave him to his wits end. His Forces he had to his great loſs ſufficiently proved, and ſtill found them too weak; and policy prevailed not. Nothing now remained, but to prove if by great Gifts and glorious Promiſes he could firſt corrupt the Faith of the Governor, and afterwards the Garriſon; wherein he determined to ſpare no coſt. Upon which Reſolution he ſent one of his Baſſaes (a man of great authority and dexterity of wit) unto *Uranacontes*, with ſuch rich Gifts and Preſents as might have moved a right conſtant mind; commanding the Baſſa (if it were poſſible) firſt to faſten the ſame upon the Governor, as Preſents ſent from *Amurath* of meer bounty, in the honour of his valiant mind; and afterwards to deliver his Meſſage, not ſparing to promiſe any thing for the giving up of the City, yea more than ſhould be deſired. The Baſſa attended on but with two Servants, came with this rich Preſent near to the Gates of the City, and there ſtayed until the Governors pleaſure were known; by whoſe command he was received into the City, and brought to his Preſence. Then the Baſſa with much Reverence, and many magnifical words, preſented unto *Uranacontes* the rich Gifts ſent from *Amurath*, and would forthwith have delivered them unto him, as the Rewards of his Valour. But *Uranacontes* willed him firſt to declare his Meſſage from *Amurath*, upon the hearing whereof he would (as he ſaid) as he ſaw cauſe, either receive or refuſe them; before which time he would not be beholden to his Enemy, by receiving from him the leaſt courteſie. With which Anſwer the ſubtil Baſſa nothing diſmayed, with great conſtancy thus began to deliver his Meſſage:

The crafty Speech of the Baſſa ſent from Amurath to corrupt the Governor, and to perſwade the Souldiers to yield up the City

Howſoever we agree (ſaid he) *upon other matters we come for, we brought not theſe Gifts of purpoſe to deceive any; for ſo men uſe to deal with their Children and Servants, and not with Men of Courage and Valour. And albeit that Enemies Gifts are ever to be ſuſpected, (as you have right wiſely ſaid, and we our ſelves know) yet we durſt not for ſhame come unto ſo worthy a Governor (as the common ſaying is) empty handed; neither ought you, if you be the man you ſeem to be, and whom men report your are, to refuſe our Courteſie. Take theſe Preſents in good part, which ſhall no way inforce or hinder you to determine or diſpoſe of your Affairs otherwiſe than ſhall ſeem unto you good; neither ſhall we once object unto you theſe Gifts, which we ſo frank and freely offer in the great Sultans Name, whether you reject or admit our Demands and Meſſage; wherein there is (perhaps) no leſs regard had of your good, than of ours. For there is no greater token of a baſe mind, than to give, in hope to receive again. We come unto you frankly, (worthy Governor) I ſpeak it from my heart; we go not about with filed Speech and rich Rewards to circumvent thee, whoſe invincible Mind we have ſo often in vain proved with our Forces and Power. That is it for which* Amurath *loveth thee; he doth wonderfully admire the Vertues of his Enemies, and if it were poſſible, deſireth to have them with himſelf. There verily with ſo mighty a Monarch might thy invincible Mind and pregnant find a better way unto the higheſt Type of Fortunes bliſs. Not that I condemn* Scanderbeg, *whom we his Enemies do highly commend, for his Country ſo well recovered, and ſo oftentimes worthily defended, yet chiefly by your help; but you are worthy of another manner of Soveraign, and of another manner of Calling, and not to ſpend all the days of your Life, and ſuch heroical Vertues, in obſcurity, and (without offence be it ſaid) in contemptible baſeneſs. Beſides that,* Scanderbeg *his Eſtate is but momentary, the Deſtinies have aſſigned unto him too too mighty an Enemy; his deſtruction may well be deferred, but not by any means avoided.* Amurath *hath conceived againſt him an implacable diſpleaſure, and prepared his Forces accordingly; he hath ſworn to ſpare no Coſt, no Labour, no Danger; and that he will never whilſt he liveth depart out of* Epirus, *before he have impoſed a deadly yoke on his Neck. And behold, the firſt of this miſery beginneth at this City, and upon your ſelves. We daily hear his Pavilions* *ſound with theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, That he will never depart out of this place before he have taken this City, and ſatisfied his angry mind with the torture of your bodies; no, not if he ſhould therefore loſe* Hadrianople; *yea, and that more is, his whole Kingdom. And verily he will do it, which I fear to divine or think upon; For although I with others bear againſt you the mind of an Enemy; yet I am a man, and moved with humane compaſſion; believe me (ye men of* Croia*) believe me, my Eyes would ſcarcely endure to behold the horrible ſpectacle of your miſerable Fortune. I tell you again, he will do it, except you change your purpoſe, and now receive Health, Life, Liberty and Peace, whilſt it is ſo freely offered. For albeit that this notable ſtrong place, theſe impregnable Walls, and eſpecially your own Valour, do yet defend you; how long will it hold out? Verily no longer than you have victual, no longer than you have meat to ſuſtain your bodies. Do you think that* Amurath *will raiſe his Siege in the middle of the heat of this War, and be gon? No, no, if force will not prevail, if all his attempts fail, yet ſhall you ſee and feel theſe Enemies continually to your hurt; you ſhall always have theſe Tents in your Eyes, and at your Gates, until long Famine, which maſtereth all things, tame your Courage alſo. I pray you, what hope have you left? from whence ariſeth in your reſolute minds ſuch deſperate contempt of danger? Can* Scanderbeg *victual you, being ſo ſtraitly beſieged? which hideth himſelf (poor man) in the Woods all the day, and flieth over the tops of the Mountains, loaden with travel and care, ſcarce able to relieve his own miſery. Or will the* Venetians *relieve you, which dayly bring unto us and ſtore us with too too great plenty of all things neceſſary for this War againſt you. Wherefore repent your too much hardineſs, and gather your Wits together; behold I your Enemie adviſe you; you long enough continued in your obſtinacy; your Country and Liberty is not ſo far to be defended, as that you ſhould therefore fight againſt God. But wherefore do I call this, Liberty? you muſt give place unto your Fortune, and learn to obey them that be too ſtrong for you. You ſhall find aſſured Liberty, rich Rewards, perpetual Reſt with* Amurath. *Provide for your ſelves, if you be wiſe, whilſt all things are yet whole for you to determin of; whilſt we your Enemies exhort and requeſt you, and had rather have you our voluntary Companions and Friends than our enforced Servants and Slaves.*

This the *Baſſa* ſpake with great gravity, and no leſs vehemency, expecting ſome great motions to have riſen in the minds of the Souldiers. But when he perceived that his Speech had rather filled them with indignation, than with fear; and that it was but a vain thing to go about to terrifie them with Words, whom all the Power of *Amurath* could not make afraid with Weapons, he requeſted to talk alone with the Governor in ſecret; which was alſo granted. For all men had no leſs good opinion of the worthy Governors Fidelity, than of his great Wiſdom and Valour. The crafty *Baſſa* having him by himſelf, began with great cunning to deliver his more ſecret meſſage; when *Uranacontes* perceiving by a little, what the whole tale meant, interrupted him in the middle of his Speech, and without more ado commanded him to depart; ſtraitly charging him, That neither he nor any other ſhould after that time preſume to come from his Maſter to the City, to ſpeak with him about any ſuch diſhonourable matter; for if he did, he would in deteſtation thereof cauſe their Hands, their Noſe, their Ears to be cut off, and ſo return them diſmembred, inſtead of anſwer. And ſo the *Baſſa* was with his Preſents again returned out of the City, and no man ſuffered to receive any thing of him in reward, although the Souldiers could have been well content to have eaſed him and his Servants of that carriage, if the Governor would but have winked thereat.

Uranacontes *rejecteth* **Amurath's** *Preſents, and threatneth the Baſſa.*

Great was the expectation in the Turks Camp, of the *Baſſa's* return; but when they ſaw the Preſents were not received, they eaſily gueſſed that all went not as they wiſhed. But when *Amurath* himſelf underſtood the Governors reſolute anſwer, he in great rage commanded all things to be made ready for a freſh Aſſault; which he did rather to ſatisfie his anger, than upon any hope he had to prevail therein. The next day he cauſed a furious Aſſault to be given to the City, but with greater loſs to himſelf than before; the Chriſtians ſtill valiantly defending the City againſt the Turkiſh Fury. In this Aſſault many of the Turks were ſlain at the breach with their own great Shot; for whilſt *Amurath* ſought therewith to drive the Chriſtians from the defence of the Breach, he ſlew a great number more of the forwardeſt of his own men, than he did of the Defendants. But wearied at length to behold the endleſs ſlaughter of his men, he gave over the Aſſault, and returned into his Camp, as if he had been a man half frantick or diſtract of his Wits; and there ſate down in his Tent, all that day full of melancholy Paſſions, ſometimes violently pulling his hoary Beard and white Locks, complaining of his hard and diaſter Fortune, that he had lived ſo long to ſee thoſe days of diſgrace, wherein all his former Glory and triumphant Victories were obſcured, by one baſe Town of *Epirus*. His Baſſaes and grave Counſellors labouring in the mean time with long diſcourſes to comfort him up; ſometimes recounting unto him his many and glorious Victories, and other whiles producing antient examples of like event. But dark and heavy conceits had ſo overwhelmed the melancholy old Tyrant, that nothing could content his waiward Mind, or revive his dying Spirits; ſo that the little remainder of natural heat which was left in his aged Body now oppreſſed and almoſt extinguiſhed with melancholy conceits, and his aged body dried up with ſorrow, he became ſick for grief. Whereupon by the Counſel of ſome of his Baſſaes, he ſent an Embaſſador to *Scanderbeg*, offering him Peace, if he would yield to pay him a yearly Tribute of ten thouſand Ducats; thinking by that means his Honour to be well ſaved, if before his departure out of *Epirus*, he could but make *Scanderbeg* his Tributary. This Embaſſador was by *Scanderbeg* honourably entertained in his Camp, but the offered Peace at the ſame time utterly refuſed. The Embaſſador returning to *Amurath*, declared unto him the evil ſucceſs of his Embaſſage, which greatly increaſed his melancholy Sickneſs. And *Scanderbeg* to grieve him the more, underſtanding that he was dangerouſly ſick, and that the great Baſſaes were more careful of the Kings health, than of the ſucceſs of his Wars, divers times aſſailed the Turks Camp. Which thing though the Baſſaes kept from his knowledge with all carefulneſs; yet he oftentimes ſuſpected the matter, by the often Alarms and Tumults in the Camp, and with the grief thereof languiſhed. So feeling his ſickneſs dayly to encreaſe, and that he could not longer live, lying upon a Pallet in his Pavilion, grievoſly complained to his Baſſaes, That the Deſtinies had ſo blemiſhed all the former courſe of his Life, with ſuch an obſcure Death, that he which had ſo often repreſſed the fury of the *Hungarians*, and almoſt brought to nought the pride of the *Grecians* together with their name, ſhould now be enforced to give up the Ghoſt, under the Walls of an obſcure Caſtle (as

Croia *again in vain aſſaulted.*

he termed it) and that in the ſight of his contemptible Enemy. After that, turning himſelf to his Son *Mahomet*, he earneſtly commended him to the faithfulneſs of his Baſſaes, and gave him many grave advertiſements, ſometimes in ſecret betwixt themſelves, and ſometimes in the hearing of others; want of ſtrength, and abundance of tears running down his aged Face (upon the ſight of his Son) oftentimes interrupting his Speech. Yet ſick unto death as he was, and drawing faſt unto his end, he forced himſelf, to warn his Son of ſuch things as now at his death grieved him moſt.

The laſt Speech and admonition of Amurath *to his Son* Mahomet *upon his death bed.*

Let mine example (quoth he) *be a warning unto thee my Son, never to contemn thine Enemy, be he never ſo weak; of which one thing above all others, I have repented my ſelf of long, and ſhall do after my death, if any feeling of humane things remain in the dead. And that I was ſo fooliſh, and inconſiderate, as to foſter as it were in my boſome this my domeſtical and neglected Enemy, whereby I have purchaſed unto my ſelf this calamity, and for ever blemiſhed the Honour of the* Othoman *Kings; whilſt I ſo baſely ending my days under the Walls of* Croia, *ſhall become a by-word unto the World, and all Poſterity for ever. This Traitor ſhould even then have been oppreſſed, when he by great Treachery, firſt recovered his wicked Kingdom; in that newneſs of his Eſtate, and before the minds of the People were aſſured unto him, then it had been an eaſie matter, without bloodſhed to have utterly extinguiſhed the wretch, together with his name.* Alis Baſſa, *whoſe evil Fortune was the firſt beginning of his good; Nor the other Generals, who by him ſlain or taken Priſoners, increaſed his ſtrength and credit unto his Subjects, ſhould not have been ſent againſt him; a thing which I have oftentimes thought upon, but could ſcarce have believed, that ever I ſhould have thereby received ſuch diſgrace, together with the ignominious renting of my Kingdom, if I had not been taught the ſame by mine own experience, to my great loſs and hearts grief. We entred into* Epirus, *and here encamped an hundred and threeſcore thouſand men ſtrong; now if leaſure ſerve you, take view of them, examine the matter, you ſhall find a great want of that number. The Fields could not contain our Regiments and the multitude of our men; but now, how many Tents ſtand empty? how many Horſes want Riders? You ſhall go to* Hadrianople *with our Forces much impaired. As for me, the Deſtinies have vowed my Spirits to this Country of* Epirus, *as unto me fatal. But wherefore do I impute unto my ſelf theſe impediments and chances of Fortune? For then firſt began this ſeed of miſchief in* Epirus, *when the* Hungarians *with other the Chriſtian Princes, roſe up in Arms againſt us; at which time we fought not with them for Soveraignty, but for the whole State of our Kingdom; as the bloody Battles of* Varna *and* Coſſova *ſtill witneſs unto the World. So whilſt I had neither leiſure nor ſufficient power to take order for all my important Affairs at once; in the mean time this Enemy grew as you ſee. But how, or in what order you are hereafter to wage War againſt him, you may not look for any directions from me, which have in all theſe matters ſo evil directed my ſelf; Fortune never deceived my endeavour more than in this. But happily thou* Mahomet *my Son, maiſt prove a more fortunate Warrior againſt him; and for ſo many Honours already given unto me, the Deſtinies have reſerved the triumph of* Epirus *for thee. Wherefore my Son, thou ſhalt receive from me this Scepter, and theſe Royal Enſigns; but above all things, I leave unto thee this Enemy; charging thee not to leave my death unrevenged. It is all I charge thee with, for ſo great and ſtately a Patrimony as thou art to receive from me; it is the only Sacrifice that my old departing Ghoſt deſireth of thee.*

Amurath *his death.*

Shortly after he became ſpeechleſs, and ſtriving with the Pangs of Death half a day, he then breathed out his gaſtly Ghoſt, to the great joy and contentment of the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians. He died about the midle of Autumn, in the year of our Lord 1450, when he had lived eighty five years, as moſt write; and thereof reigned eight and twenty years (or as ſome others report thirty;) about five months after the Siege laid before *Croia*.

Amurath *an example of the vanity of worldly honour.*

Thus lieth great *Amurath*, erſt not inferior unto the greateſt Monarchs of that Age, dead almoſt in deſpair; a worthy mirror of Honours frailty; yeilding unto the worldly man in the end, neither comfort nor relief. Who had fought greater Battels? who had gained greater Victories, or obtained more glorious Triumphs than had *Amurath*? who by the Spoils of ſo many mighty Kings and Princes, and by the conqueſt of ſo many proud and warlike Nations, again reſtored and eſtabliſhed the Turks Kingdom, before by *Tamerlane* and the *Tartars* in a manner clean defaced. He it was that burſt the heart of the proud *Grecians*, eſtabliſhing his Empire at *Hadrianople*, even in the Center of their Bowels; from whence have proceeded ſo many miſeries and calamities into the greateſt part of Chriſtendom, as no Tongue is able to expreſs. He it was that firſt brake down the *Hexamile* or Wall of ſeparation on the Strait of *Corinth*, and conquered the greateſt part of *Peloponeſus*. He it was that ſubdued unto the Turks ſo many great Countries and Provinces in *Aſia*; that in plain Feild and ſet Battel overthrew many puiſſant Kings and Princes, and brought them under his Subjection; who having ſlain *Uladiſlaus* the King of *Polonia* and *Hungary*, and more than once chaſed out of the Field *Huniades* that famous and redoubted Warrior; had in his proud and ambitious Heart, promiſed unto himſelf the Conqueſt of a great part of Chriſtendom. But O how far was he now changed from the man he then was! how far did theſe his laſt Speeches differ from the courſe of his fore paſſed life? full of ſuch baſe paſſionate complaints and lamentations, as beſeemed not a man of his place and ſpirit, but ſome vile wretch overtaken with deſpair; and yet afraid to die. Where were now thoſe haughty Thoughts, thoſe lofty Looks, thoſe thundering and commanding Speeches; whereat ſo many great Commanders, ſo many Troops and Legions, ſo many thouſands of armed Souldiers were wont to tremble and quake? Where is that Head, before adorned with ſo many Trophies and Triumphs? Where is that victorious Hand that ſwaied ſo many Scepters? Where is the Majeſty of his Power and Strength, that commanded over ſo many Nations and Kingdoms? O how is the caſe now altered; he lieth now dead, a gaſtly filthy ſtinking Carcaſs, a Clod of Clay unregarded, his Hands cloſed, his Eyes ſhut, and his Feet ſtretched out, which erſt proudly traced the Countries by him ſubdued and conquered. And now of ſuch infinite Riches, ſuch unmeaſurable Wealth, ſuch huge Treaſures, ſuch ſtately Honours and vain glorious Praiſes, as he in his life time enjoyed; his frail Body enjoyeth nothing but left all behind it. O the weak condition of Mans Nature! O the vain glory of mortal Creatures! O the blind and perverſe thoughts of fooliſh men! Why do we ſo magnifie our ſelves? why are we ſo puft up with Pride? why do we ſo much ſet our minds upon Riches, Authority, and other vanities of this Life? whereof never man had yet one days aſſurance, and at our moſt need, and when we leaſt think, quite forſake us; leaving even them that moſt ſought after them, and moſt abounded in them, ſhrowded oftentimes in the Sheet of Diſhonour and Shame.

That his death is otherwiſe by ſome reported, I am not ignorant; The Turks ſaying, that he died miraculouſly forewarned of his death at *Hadrianople*; and ſome others, That he died in *Aſia*, ſtrucken with an Apoplexy proceeding of a Surfeit taken of the immoderate drinking of Wine. But *Marinus Barleſius*, who lived in his time in *Scodra* faſt by *Epirus*, whoſe Authority, in report of the Wars betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* we follow, ſetteth it down in ſuch manner as is aforeſaid.

Preſently after his death, *Mahomet* his Son, for fear of ſome innovation to be made at home, raiſed the Siege and returned to *Hadrianople*; and afterward with great Solemnity buried his dead body at the Weſt ſide of *Pruſa*, in the Suburbs of the City, where he now lieth in a Chappel without any roof, his Grave nothing differing from the manner of the common Turks; which (they ſay) he commanded to be done in his laſt Will; that the Mercy and Bleſſing of God (as he termed it) might come unto him by the ſhining of the Sun and Moon, and falling of the Rain and Dew of Heaven upon his Grave.

Amurath *buried at* **Pruſa.**

He whilſt he lived, mightily enlarged the Turkiſh Kingdom, and with greater Wiſdom and Policy than his Predeceſſors, eſtabliſhed the ſame; inſomuch that ſome attribute unto him the firſt inſtitution of the *Janizaries*, and other Souldiers of the Court (the greateſt Strength of the Turkiſh Empire) before indeed begun in the time of *Amurath* the firſt, his great Grandfather (as is before declared) but by him greatly augmented; and the policy of that State, whereby it hath ever ſince in his Poſterity flouriſhed, even by himſelf plotted. For the better eſtabliſhing whereof in his own Houſe, and to cut off all occaſion of fear, as alſo to leave all ſuch as might have the heart to ariſe againſt him, naked and bare of Forces to reſiſt; but eſpecially the other ancient and noble Families of the Turks; ſtill ſecretly repining at the great honour of the *Othoman* Kings; he as a man of great Wiſdom and Judgment, to keep them under in the beginning of his Reign, by manifold favours began to bind unto himſelf men of ſtrange and forreign Countries, his Servants, and by ordering of his moſt weighty Affairs by their Authority, ſo by little and little to caſt off the ſervice of his natural Turks; they in the mean time little or nothing at all looking into this his practice. And whereas the *Othoman* Kings his Predeceſſors, had for the moſt part, or rather altogether raiſed their *Janizaries* and other Souldiers of the Court, of ſuch Children of the Chriſtians as were taken in the Wars; he, ſeeing by experience how ſerviceable thoſe new kind of Souldiers were, began forthwith to plot in his head, how to make himſelf an Army altogether of ſuch able perſons, his own Creatures, and ſo to bring in a new kind of Warfare, wholly depending of himſelf. And to that end, by his Officers appointed for that purpoſe, took from the Chriſtians throughout his Dominions, every fifth Child; the faireſt and apteſt of whom, he placed in his own Seraglio at *Hadrianople*, and the reſt in other like places by him built for ſuch purpoſe; where they were by ſufficient Teachers, firſt inſtructed in the Principles of the Mahometan Religion, and then in all manner of Activity and Feats of Arms. Of theſe, when they were grown to mans ſtate, he made Horſemen, gave them great Penſions, and ſorting them into divers orders, appointed them alſo to guard his Perſon; honouring the better ſort of them with the name of *Spahi-Oglami*, that is to ſay, his Sons the Knights; and of theſe he began to make his Baſſaes, his Generals of his Armies, and the Governors of his Provinces and Cities, with all the great Offices of the State. The reſt, and far the greateſt part of theſe Tribute Children, taken from their Chriſtian Parents, and not brought up in the Seraglios, he cauſed to be diſperſed into every City and Country of his Dominion in *Aſia*, there for certain years to be brought up in all hardneſs and painful labour, never taſting of eaſe or pleaſure; out of which hard brood ſo enured to pains, he made choice of ſo many of the moſt luſty and able bodies fitteſt for ſervice, as he thought good; who kept in continual exerciſe, and by skilful men taught to handle all manner of Weapons, but eſpecially the Bow, the Peece, and the Scimitar, were by him as occaſion ſerved added to the other *Janizaries*, and appointed for the guarding of his Perſon; calling them commonly by the names of his Sons. The remainder of theſe Tribute Children, as unfit for the Wars, he put unto other baſe Occupations and Miniſteries. But unto thoſe Martial Men of all ſorts, ſo by him ordained, he appointed a continual pay according, to their degrees and places; and by great benefits and liberties beſtowed upon them, bound them ſo faſt unto him, as that he might now account himſelf to have of them ſo many Sons, as he had Souldiers; For they together with the Chriſtian Religion, having forgot their Parents and Country, and knowing no other Lord and Maſter but him, and acknowledging all that they had to come and proceed of his free grace only, remained ever bound and faithful unto him; and ſo kept others alſo, as well the natural Turks themſelves, as the other oppreſſed Chriſtians within the bounds of Obedience and Loyalty. A great Policy proceeding from a deep Judgment, firſt to weaken the Chriſtians by taking from them their beſt Children, and of greateſt hope; and then by them depending wholly of himſelf, to keep in awe and dutiful Obedience his natural Subjects alſo; having them always as a ſcourge ready to chaſtiſe the Rebellious or Diſloyal. Now the other *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, the Succeſſors of *Amurath*, keeping this cuſtom, and alſo increaſing it one after another, have thereby not only kept the Empire ſtill in their Houſe and Family, where it was firſt gotten; but alſo ſo maintained the Majeſty of their State, as they are of their Subjects feared, obeyed, honoured, not as Kings, but as Gods. For the natural Turks their Subjects loſing courage continually, and daily growing more baſe and daſtardly, by reaſon they are not ſuffered to practiſe the knowledge of Arms; and the Souldiers in whoſe power all things are, knowing nothing of their own, but holding and acknowledging all that they have to come of their Lord, account them as Lords and Kings of all; ruling much after the manner of the *Pharaohs* the ancient Kings of *Egypt*; who were abſolute Lords and Maſters, both of the publick and private Wealth of their Subjects, whom they kept under as Slaves and Villains. And hereof cometh it to paſs, that the better part of them whom we call Turks, (but are indeed the Children of Chriſtians, and ſeduced by their falſe inſtructors) deſire to be called *Muſulmans* (that is to ſay, *Right Believers*) holding it a reproachful and diſhonourable thing to be called Turks, as it were peculiarly and above other People; For that they knowing right well, that there is not one natural Turk among all thoſe that bear Authority and Rule, and are had in

A great Policy.

greater Honour and Reputation than the reſt (ſuch as are the Men of War and Courtiers) but he is born a Chriſtian, either of Father, or at the leaſt of his Grandfather, avouch thoſe only to be Turks which live in *Natolia*, all of them either Merchants, or of baſe and mechanical Crafts, or poor Labourers with the Spade and Pickaxe, and ſuch like People unfit for the Wars, the reſt (as I ſay) holding it for a Title of Honour to be deſcended of Chriſtian Parents. Yea the Grand Seigniour himſelf, although by the Fathers ſide he be come of Progenitors ſuch as were natural Turks born, yet many of them had Chriſtian Mothers, which they accounted in the greateſt part of their Nobility and Honour. Thus by the Wiſdom of *Amurath* was the order of the *Janizaries*, and other Souldiers of the Court greatly advanced, though not by him begun, and the politick ſtate of the Turks Kingdom (to ſay the truth) quite altered; the natural Turks (more than the Sultan himſelf) now bearing therein no ſway; but only theſe new Souldiers, all of them deſcended from Chriſtian Parents and by adoption as it were become the Sons of the Turkiſh Sultans, and under them commanding all; by whom they have ever ſince managed their eſtate, and by their good ſervice wonderfully, even to the aſtoniſhment of the World, increaſed and extended their Empire. But of them more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

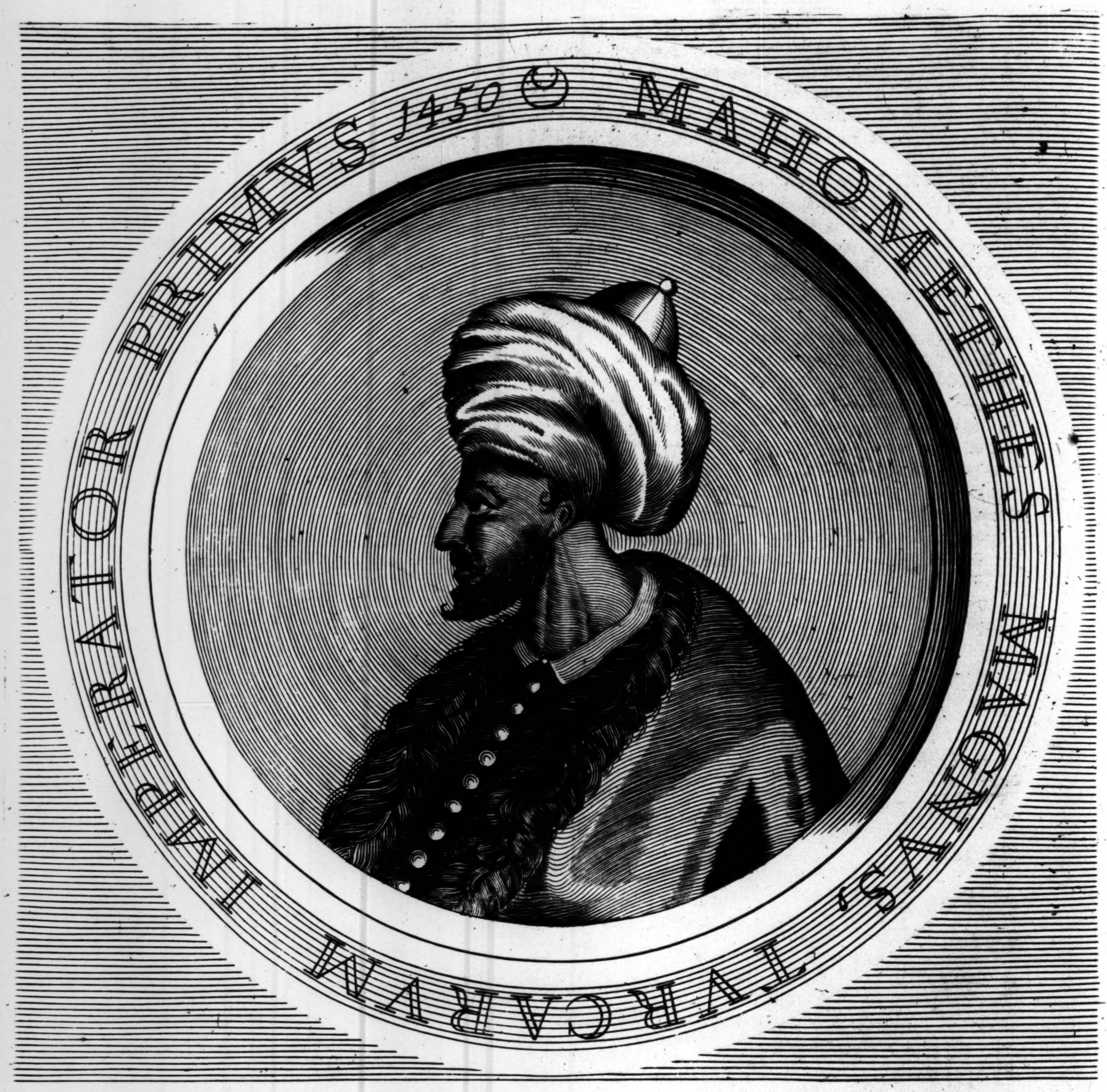
Amurath *his diſpoſition.*

This great King was whilſt he lived, of his Subjects wonderfully beloved, and no leſs of them after his death lamented. He was more faithful of his word than any of the Turkiſh Kings either before or after him; by Nature melancholy and ſad, and accounted rather politick than valiant; yet was indeed both; a great diſſembler, and painful in travel, but wayward and teſty above meaſure, which many imputed unto his great Age. He had iſſue ſix Sons, *Achmetes*, *Aladin*, *Mahomet*, *Haſan*, (otherwiſe called *Chaſan*) *Urchan*, and *Achmetes* the younger, of ſome called *Calepinus*; three of whom died before; but the two youngeſt were by their unnatural Brother *Mahomet*, who ſucceeded him in the Turkiſh Kingdom, even in their infancy, in the beginning of his Reign moſt cruelly murthered.

***The Sons of* Amurath.**

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Amurath *the Second.*	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	John Palæologus.	1421.	24.
			Conſtantinus Palæologus.	1444.	8.
		Of the Weſt	Sigiſmund *King of* Hungary.	1411.	28.
			Albert *the Second, King of* Hungary *and* Bohemia.	1438.	2.
			Frederick *the Third, Arch-Duke of* Auſtria.	1440.	54.
	Kings	*Of* England	Henry *the Fifth.*	1413.	9.
			Henry *the Sixth.*	1422.	39.
		Of France	Charles *the Sixth.*	1381.	42.
			Charles *the Seventh.*	1423.	38.
		Of Scotland	James *the Firſt.*	1424.	13.
			James *the Second.*	1436.	29.
	Biſhops of Rome		Martin *the* V.	1417.	13.
			Eugenius *the* IV.	1431.	16.
			Nicholas *the* V.	1447.	8.

The


MAHOMETHES MAGNVS, TVRCARVM IMPERATOR PRIMVS 1450

Qui vici iñuumeros populos, tot regna, tot urbes,
Solus et immensi qui timor orbis eram:
Me rapit quæcunque rapit mors improba, sed sum
Virtute excelsa, ductus ad aſtra tamen.
Major Alexander non me fuit, Anibal et non,
Fuderit Ausonios tot licet ille Duces.
Vici victores Danaos, domuique feroces
Caoniæ populos, Sauromatasque truces.
Pannonius Sensit, q antum surgebit in armis
Vis mea: quæ latio cognita nuper erat.
Arsacidæ sensere manus has, sensit Arabsque:
Et mea sunt Persæ cognita tela duci.
Mens fuerat bellare Rhodum, superare superbam
Italiam, sed non fata dedere modum.
Hei mihi, nam rapuit mors aspera, quæque sub alto
Pectore condideram, vertit et hora brevis.
Sic hominum fastus pereunt; sic Stemata, Sicque
Imperium, atque aurum, quicquid et Orbĩs habet.

I who to kingdomes, Cities, brought their fate,
The terrour of the trembling world, of late,
Yield to the greater Monarch Death, but am
Yet proud to think of my immortal fame.
Greater than Alexander, once was I,
Or him that Camps of Romans did destroy:
I vanquisht the victorious Greeks, and I
Destroyd Epyrus, and fierce Tartary.
From mighty Me th'Hungarians had their doome,
And the report reacht yᵉ proud walls of Rome.
Th'Aſsyrian, and Arabian felt my hand,
Nor could the Persian my dread power withstand.
Ore Rhodes, and Italy I designd to ride;
But fate the progreſs of my aimes denyd;
Ai me! grim Death, and one unlucky houre,
Has baffled all my thoughts, and boundleſs power.
So haughty man, and all his hopes decay,
And so all sublunary gloryes paſs away.

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8

The LIFE of

MAHOMET,

The Second of that NAME,

The Seventh KING and First EMPEROR of the TURKS,

For his many VICTORIES ſirnamed *The Great.*

THE report of the death of old *Amurath* the late King, was in ſhort time blown through moſt part of Chriſtendom, to the great joy of many; but eſpecially of the Greeks and other poor Chriſtians which bordered upon the Tyrants Kingdom; who were now in hope, together with the change of the Turkiſh King, to make exchange alſo of their bad Eſtate and Fortune; and the rather, for that it was thought, that his eldeſt Son *Mahomet*, after the death of his Father, would have imbraced the Chriſtian Religion, being in his Childhood inſtructed therein (as was ſuppoſed) by his Mother the Daughter of the Prince of *Servia*, a Chriſtian. But vain was this hope, and the joy thereof but ſhort, as afterward by proof appeared; For *Mahomet* being about the Age of one and twenty years, ſucceeding his Father in the Kingdom in the year of our Lord 1450. embraced in ſhew the Mahometan Religion, abhorring the Chriſtian; but indeed making no great reckoning either of the one or of the other, but as a meer Atheiſt, devoid of all Religion, and worſhiping no other God but good Fortune, derided the ſimplicity of all ſuch as thought that God had any care or regard of worldly men, or of their actions; which graceleſs reſolution ſo wrought in him, that he thought all things lawful that agreed with his luſt, and making conſcience of nothing, kept no League, Promiſe, or Oath, longer than ſtood with his Profit or Pleaſure.

1450. **Mahomet** *of no Religion.*

Now in the Court men ſtood diverſly affected towards the preſent State; the mighty Baſſaes, and others of great Authority, unto whom the old Kings Government was never grievous, inwardly lamented his death; doubting leſt the fierce Nature of the young King ſhould turn to the hurt of ſome of them in particular, and the ſhortning of their Authority in general, as indeed it ſhortly after fell out. But the luſty Gallants of the Court weary of the old King, who in hope of preferment had long wiſhed for the Government of the young Prince, were glad to ſee him ſet upon his Fathers Seat. And the vulgar People (never conſtant but in unconſtancy, and alwaies fawning upon the preſent) exceedingly rejoyced in their young King. The *Janizaries* alſo at the ſame time (according to their accuſtomed manner) took the Spoil of the Chriſtians and Jews that dwelt amongſt them, and eaſily obtained pardon for the ſame; whereupon he was by the ſame *Janizaries* and other Souldiers of the Court, with great Triumph ſaluted King. Which approbation of theſe men of War, is unto the Turkiſh Kings a greater aſſurance for the poſſeſſion of their Kingdom, than to be born the eldeſt Son of the King, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall appear; ſo great is the power of theſe maſterful Slaves, in promoting to the Kingdom whichſoever of the Kings Sons they moſt favour, without much regard whether they be the eldeſt or not.

This young Tyrant was no ſooner poſſeſſed of his Fathers Kingdom, but that he forgetting the Laws of Nature, was preſently in perſon himſelf about to have murthered with his own hands, his youngeſt Brother, then but eighteen Months old, begotten on the Daughter of *Sponderbius*. Which unnatural part, *Moſes* one of his Baſſaes, and a man greatly in his favour, perceiving, requeſted him, not to embrue his own hands in the blood of his Brother, but rather to commit the execution thereof to ſome other; which thing *Mahomet* commanded him the Author of that counſel forthwith to do. So *Moſes* taking the Child from the Nurſe, ſtrangled it, with pouring water down the throat thereof. The young Lady underſtanding of the death of her Child (as a Woman whom Fury had made paſt fear) came and in her rage reviled the Tyrant to his Face, ſhamefully upbraiding him for his inhuman cruelty. When *Mahomet* to appeaſe her Fury, requeſted her to be content, for that it ſtood with the Policy of his State; and willed her for her better contentment, to ask whatſoever ſhe pleaſed, and ſhe ſhould forthwith have it. But ſhe deſiring nothing more than in ſome ſort to be revenged, deſired to have *Moſes* (the Executioner of her Son) delivered unto her, bound; which when ſhe had obtained, ſhe preſently ſtruck him into the Breaſt with a knife (crying in vain upon his unthankful Maſter for help;) and proceeding in her cruel Execution, cut an hole in his right ſide, and by peecemeal cut out his Liver, and caſt it to the Dogs to eat. At the ſame time alſo he cauſed another of his Brethren, committed by his Father to the keeping of *Caly Baſſa*, and now by him betraied into his hands, to be likewiſe murthered.

Mahomet *murdereth his Brethren.*

A cruel revenge of an angry Woman.

Thus beginning his tyrannous Reign with the bloody execution of them that were in Blood neareſt unto him, and whom of all others he ought to have defended, he preſently after began to frame a new form of a Common-Weal, by abrogating and altering the old Laws and Cuſtoms, and publiſhing of new, better fitting his own humor, and more commodious for himſelf; impoſing

Mahomet *reformeth the Turkiſh Common-Weal.*

impoſing alſo new Taxes and Subſidies upon his Subjects, never before heard of; thereby to increaſe his Treaſures, and ſatisfie his avaritious deſire; which amongſt many other his Vices, ſo much reigned in him, as that he was thought over-ſparing unto himſelf, as well in his Apparrel as in his Diet. And proceeding further, he called unto ſtrait account all the great Officers of his Kingdom; of whom ſome he put to death, and confiſcated their Goods; others he put to great Fines, or quite removed them from their Offices. In like manner he dealt alſo with his great Baſſaes, admitting many falſe and ſurmiſed accuſations againſt them; whereby to bring them within his danger, where little mercy was to be looked for. By which means he became no leſs terrible unto his Subjects, than he was afterwards to his Enemies; and ſo was of them exceedingly feared, but more hated. Among other things, he much miſliked in his Court the exceſſive number of Faulconers and Huntſmen; which was grown ſo great by the immoderate delight which his Predeceſſors took in the pleaſures of the Field, that there were continually maintained of the Kings Charge, ſeven thouſand Faulconers, and not many fewer Huntſmen; ſaying, *That he would not be ſo much a Fool, as to maintain ſuch a multitude of men to attend upon ſo meer a vanity.* And therefore took order, that from thenceforth there ſhould be allowance made for five hundred Falconers, and one hundred Huntſmen; the reſt he appointed to ſerve as Souldiers in his Wars. At the ſame time alſo he entred into League with *Conſtantinus Palæologus* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and the other Princes of *Grecia*; as alſo with the Deſpot of *Servia*, his Grandfather by the Mothers ſide, as ſome will have it; howbeit ſome others write, that the Deſpot his Daughter, *Amurath* his Wife, was but his Mother-in-Law, whom he under the colour of Friendſhip ſent back again unto her Father, after the death of *Amurath*, ſtill allowing her a Princely Dowry. But if ſhe were not his Mother (as like enough it is that ſhe was not) much more happy was ſhe that ſhe never groaned for ſo graceleſs a Son.

1451. **Mahomet** *goeth against the King of* **Caramania.**

Whilſt *Mahomet* was thus occupied about his civil Affairs, *Ibrahim* King of *Caramania*, who long before had married *Amuraths* Siſter, and yet for all that, had (as his Anceſtors had before him) alwaies envied the proſperous ſucceſs of the *Othoman* Kings, took occaſion in the firſt year of *Mahomet* his Reign, with Fire and Sword to invade his Dominions in *Aſia*. Which thing when *Mahomet* underſtood, he diſplaced *Iſa* his Lieutenant in *Aſia*, as a man not ſufficient to mannage ſo great Wars, and appointed *Iſaac Baſſa* in his room, a moſt valiant man of War, upon whom not long before he had upon ſpecial favour beſtowed in marriage the fair Daughter of *Sponderbeius*, one of his Fathers Wives, of whom we have ſpoken before. This great *Baſſa* paſſing over into *Aſia*, raiſed a great Army. After whom followed *Mahomet* in perſon himſelf with a greater out of *Europe*; and having all his Forces together, entred with great Hoſtility into *Caramania*. But the *Caramanian* King perceiving himſelf unable to withſtand ſo puiſſant an Enemy, fled into the ſtrength of the great Mountains, and by his Embaſſadors offered unto *Mahomet* ſuch reaſonable Conditions of Peace, as that he was content to accept thereof. Which after they had by ſolemn Oath on both parts confirmed, *Mahomet* returned with his Army to *Pruſa*; but when he was come thither, the *Janizaries* preſuming that they might be bold with the young King; putting themſelves in order of Battel, came and with great inſolency demanded of him a donative or larges, as a reward of their good ſervice done. With which ſo great preſumption, *Mahomet* was inwardly chafed; but for ſo much as they were his beſt Souldiers, and already in Arms, he wiſely diſſembled his anger for the preſent, having a little before had warning thereof by *Abedin Baſſa*, and *Teurchan Beg*, two of his great Captains, who had got ſome ſuſpition of the matter; wherefore to content them, he cauſed ten great Bags of Aſpers to be ſcattered among them, and ſo pacified the matter. But within fews days after, he cauſed *Doganes* (the Aga or chief Captain of the *Janizaries*) to be brought before him, and to be ſhamefully whipt; and ſo preſently diſcharging him of his office, placed one *Muſtapha* in the ſame. The like ſeverity he uſed againſt the reſt of the under-Captains, cauſing them to be cruelly ſcourged and beaten like Slaves; which in that tyrannical Government is an uſual puniſhment, upon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the King to be inflicted upon any man, without reſpect of degree or calling, if he be not a Natural Turk born. Preſently after he ſent *Iſaac* his Lieutenant againſt *Elias* Prince of *Menteſia* or *Caria*, by whom the poor Prince was driven out of his Country; ever ſince which time it hath remained in ſubjection to the Turkiſh Kings, as part of their Kingdom and Empire.

Menteſia *ſubdued by the Turks.*

1452.

When *Mahomet* had thus ended the *Caramanian* War, and was determined with his Army to return to *Hadrianople*, he was advertiſed, That the Straits of *Helleſpontus* were ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the Chriſtian Fleet, that he could not there poſſibly paſs over but with moſt manifeſt danger; wherefore he took his way through that part of *Bithynia* which lieth above *Conſtantinople*, and came to the Caſtle which the Turks call *Acce-Chiſar*, and the Grecians ἀσπρόκαστρον, or *White Caſtle*, ſtanding upon the narrow Strait of *Boſphorus* on *Aſia* ſide, and there paſſed over into *Europe* at the ſame place where his Father *Amurath* had not many years before in like manner found paſſage. Where when he was ſafely got over with his Army, he by the advice of his Baſſaes encamped faſt by the Sea-ſide, and there preſently began to build a great ſtrong Caſtle cloſe unto the Straits of *Boſphorus*, near unto *Propontis*, on *Europe* ſide, directly over againſt the other Caſtle in *Aſia*. For the ſpeedy accompliſhment of which work, he aſſembled thither all the workmen he could poſſibly get out of *Europe* and *Aſia*, apportioning unto his Captains and Souldiers of his Army part of the work alſo; by whoſe induſtry and labour, that great building was in ſhorter time brought to perfection, than was by any man at the firſt expected. This Caſtle which for the greatneſs thereof is of moſt Writers reputed for a City, was by the Turks named *Genichiſar*, and of the Grecians *Neocaſtron* or *New Caſtle*, and alſo *Læmocaſtron*, or *Caſtle upon the Straits*; and was there by the Turks built, as well for the ſafety of their own paſſage too and fro, as for to hinder the paſſage of the Chriſtians through thoſe narrow Straits, they now poſſeſſing the ſtrong Forts on both ſides; and thereby alſo to diſtreſs the City of *Conſtantinople*, from whence this Caſtle was not above five miles diſtant. When *Mahomet* in the ſecond year of his Reign had finiſht this great Caſtle, with ſome other ſmall Forts about the ſame, and alſo repaired the other Caſtle in *Aſia* over againſt it, he placed therein ſtrong Garriſons, and furniſhed the ſame with Attillery; in ſuch ſort that no Ship could paſs through the Strait of *Boſphorus*, into the great

Exuine,

Euxine, or Black Sea, but ſhe was in danger to be ſunk; whereby the rich trade which the Marchants of *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Conſtantinople*, had to *Caffa*, and other places lying upon the *Euxine*, were almoſt quite cut off, to the great hinderance of thoſe Eſtates. Now *Mahomet* by Nature ambitious, and withal deſirous to do ſome ſuch thing as the glory whereof might far paſs the Fame of his Predeceſſors, thought nothing more anſwerable to his high conceipts, than to attempt the winning of *Conſtantinople*, and the utter ſubverſion of the Greek Empire, whereupon his Father *Amurath*, and his great Grandfather *Bajazet*, had before in vain ſpent their Forces. Beſides that, it grieved him to ſee that goodly City, the ancient Seat of the Chriſtian Empire, to be ſo commodiouſly ſituated, as it were in the midſt of his Kingdom, and not to be at his Command. Hereunto the ſmall power of the Greek Emperor himſelf, and the other Chriſtian Princes at the ſame time at mortal diſcord among themſelves, miniſtred unto his greedy deſire no ſmall hope of ſucceſs, and ſerved as Spurs to prick him forward unto ſo great an enterpriſe. Wherefore all the Winter he cauſed great preparation to be made of ſhipping and other warlike proviſion both for Sea and Land; and gave out Commiſſions for the levying of a mighty Army, to be in readineſs againſt the next Spring. But whither he would imploy the ſame, no man could certainly tell; ſome gueſſing one thing and ſome another, as the manner of men is, when ſuch extraordinary preparation is at hand. *Conſtantinus* the eighth of that name, then Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, a Prince of a mild and ſoft Spirit, fitter for the Church than for the Field, hearing of the great preparation made by the Turkiſh King, and fearing leſt that tempeſt then growing, ſhould upon the ſuddain break forth upon himſelf, firſt made ſuch preparation as his own ſmall ability would extend unto. And then ſent his Embaſſadors unto other Chriſtian Princes, earneſtly craving their Aid and Aſſiſtance in that his dangerous Eſtate. But that labour was loſt, and all his ſuit vain; for they being at variance one with another, and having more care of private revenge, than how to repulſe the common Enemy of Chriſtianity, could not, or would not afford him any help at all. *Nicholas* the fifth of that Name, then Biſhop of *Rome*, with *Alphonſus* King of *Naples*, and the State of *Venice*, promiſed to have ſent him thirty Gallies, but none for all that came.

Mahomet *maketh preparation for the beſieging of* Conſtantinople.

Conſtantius *the Emperor in vain craveth aid of the Chriſtian Princes.*

There were by chance at *Conſtantinople* certain Ships and Gallies of *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Crete* and *Chios*, of whom the Emperor made ſtay; at which time alſo it chanced, that *Johannes Juſtinianus*, an Adventurer of *Genoa*, who had been ſcouring thoſe Seas, came to *Conſtantinople* with two tall Ships, and four hundred Souldiers; where he was entertained by the Emperor. And foraſmuch as he was a man honourably deſcended, and ſuppoſed to be both of great Courage and Direction, was by the Emperor appointed General of all his Forces next unto himſelf. He alſo entertained ſix thouſand Greeks; which, with three thouſand *Venetians*, *Genowaies* and others, whom he had made ſtay of, joyned unto the Citizens, was all the weak Strength he had to relie upon, for the defence of his State and Empire.

Againſt the beginning of the Spring, the Turkiſh King had in readineſs a great and puiſſant Army of three hundred thouſand men, of whom, the greateſt part were taken out of *Bulgaria*, *Servia*, *Raſcia*, *Theſſalia*, *Macedonia*, and *Grecia*, which as yet were called the Chriſtian Countries, and were themſelves either indeed Chriſtians, or elſe ſuch Renegates as had not long before forſaken the Chriſtian Faith; unto theſe alſo were joyned divers other Chriſtians which came out of *Germany*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, to ſerve the Turk in his Wars. This hath been none of the leaſt means, whereby the Turkiſh Kings have grown ſo great, and their Kingdom ſo mightily inlarged, by inforcing and alluring Chriſtians to fight againſt Chriſtians, to the utter confuſion of themſelves. Among the great multitude of the *Europeian* Chriſtians, were mingled his effeminate Souldiers of *Aſia*, and his natural Turks and *Janizaries*, which were in number feweſt, and yet commanded all the reſt.

1453. Vide Leonardi Chienſis Archiepiſcopi

Mitylen. hiſt. de captivitate Conſtantinopolitana.

With this great Army, well appointed with all warlike proviſion, came *Mahomet* the Turkiſh King from *Hadrianople*; and the ninth day of *April*, in the year 1453, encamped before *Conſtantinople*, and with the multitude of his Army filled all the main Land before the City, from the Sea ſide of *Boſphorus*, unto the place where the ſame Sea compaſſing in the City on two parts, and running far into the Land betwixt *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*, maketh there a goodly Haven betwixt them.

Mahomet *encampeth before* Conſtantinople.

This City of *Conſtantinople* (called in ancient time *Bizantium*) is in form of a Triangle, ſituated in *Europe* in the pleaſant Country of *Thracia*, upon a point of the main Land ſhooting out towards *Aſia*, called of *Pliny* and *Solinus*, the Promontory *Chryſoceras*; where the Sea of *Propontis* joyneth unto that Strait of Sea, which divideth *Aſia* from *Europe*, called in ancient time *Boſphorus Thracius*; ſometime the Strait of *Pontus*; and the mouth of *Pontus*; and of the modern Writers, the Strait of *Conſtantinople*; and about two hundred years paſt, or more, S. *George* his Arm. This point of the main, whereon the City ſtandeth, lyeth about two *Italian* miles more Northward than doth the ancient City of *Calcedon*, on the other ſide of the Strait in *Aſia*; more than thirty miles diſtant from the *Euxine* or Black Sea, lying from it Northward; and two hundred miles from the Strait of *Helleſpontus* or *Calipolis*, from thence South. Which noble City (of all others moſt fitly ſeated for the Empire of the World, and with great Majeſty overlooking both *Europe* and *Aſia*) is by the Coſmographers accounted to ſtand in the height of 43 Degrees, upon ſeven little Hills, of no great, but eaſie aſcent; and was there firſt built by *Pauſanias* the *Lacedemonian* King, and called *Bizantium*, and ſo many years flouriſhed as a populous and rich City, until the civil Wars betwixt *Severus* the Emperor, and *Niger*; what time it indured the Siege of the *Romans* under *Severus*, three years, with ſuch obſtinacy, that it yielded not until it was brought to ſuch extremity, that the Citizens did eat one another; and then yielding, had the Walls overthrown by *Severus*, and the City it ſelf deſtroyed, and brought to the low eſtate of a poor Country Village; and ſo by him given to the *Perinthians*. In which baſe eſtate it continued until the time of *Conſtantine* the Great, the Son of *Helena* (whom ſome will needs have to have been an Engliſh Woman) by whom it was new built, and beautified with Buildings ſo ſtately and ſumptuous, that unto the ſtrange beholders it ſeemed a dwelling place for Heavenly Wights, rather than for Earthly Men. And to grace it the more, tranſlated his Imperial Seat thither, and called it *Nova Roma*, or *New Rome*; and all that pleaſant part of *Thracia* alongſt the Sea Coaſt of *Helleſpontus*, *Propontis*, and *Boſphorus*, by the name of

The ſituation of Conſtantinople.

Conſtantinople *built by* Pauſanias, *deſtroyed by* Severus, *re-edified by* Conſtantine *the Great, and now taken by* Mahomet *the Turk.*

of *Romania*, of the fair *Roman* Colonies there by him planted; which name it at this day retaineth, and is of the Turks, called *Rumilia* and *Rum-Ili*, that is to ſay, the *Roman* Country. But as for the City it ſelf, the glorious name of the Founder ſo prevailed, that the City was and yet is of him called *Conſtantinople*, or *Conſtantine* his City; and now of the barbarous Turks commonly, but corruptly, *Stamboli*. It is (as we ſaid) built in the form of a Triangle, whereof the longeſt ſide, which runneth from North-Eaſt to South-Weſt, is on the South-ſide waſhed with the *Propontis*; and towards the ending of the point, which is about the ſeven Towers, is ſomewhat indented; being commonly reputed to be eight miles long. The other ſide lieth Eaſt and Weſt five miles in length, being waſhed with the Haven, which is ſomewhat more than eight miles long before it meet with the freſh water, and about a quarter of a mile broad; on the futher ſide whereof ſtandeth the City of *Pera*, commonly called *Galata*, ſometime a Colony of the *Genowaies*. This Haven is very deep, and by that reaſon as commodious as deep, bearing Ships full fraught cloſe to the Shoar, ſo that they may diſcharge their Burthens with the leaſt trouble that may be; and is of *Strabo* called *Cornu Bizantij*, or the Horn of *Bizantium*. The third ſide of this City towards the Continent, lieth almoſt North and South five miles alſo in length; thoſe two ſides that lie upon the Sea, and the Haven, are environed and girt with a ſingle Wall, built after the antique manner, with many high Towers, which ſtrongly defend and flank the ſame. Without which Walls (eſpecially towards the Haven) there lieth a Street between them and the Shoar. But the other ſide, which is the third, and regardeth the main Land (beſide the Ditch, which is alſo fenced) is defended with three Walls; the firſt Wall ſtanding upon the Ditch being but low; and the ſecond not far diſtant from the firſt, raiſed ſomewhat higher; but the third overlooketh and commandeth both the other; from whence as from an high fortreſs both the other Walls and all the Ditch without may eaſily be defended. But the two utter Walls, with the whole ſpace betwixt them, are now by the Turks but ſlenderly maintained, lying full of Earth and other Rubbiſh, even as they were in the time of the *Grecians*; ſome cauſe why they with leſs heart and courage defended the ſame againſt the barbarous Enemies. In the Eaſt part of the City, on that point which in the Reign of the *Grecians* was called the Cape of S. *Demetria*, diſtant from *Aſia* not much more than half a mile, ſtands the *Seraglio* or Palace of the great Turk, containing in it ſelf a great part of an Hill, encloſed round with a Wall, as if it were it ſelf a City, in circuit more than two miles; wherein amongſt other ſtately Buildings, near unto the Sea ſtandeth a very fair and ſumptuous Gallery, built for pleaſure, with a private Gate well fortified and planted with great Ordnance and other Munition, whereby the great Turk at certain times paſſeth, when he is diſpoſed in his Gally to take his pleaſure upon the Sea, or to paſs over the Strait unto his Houſes or Gardens of Delight, on the other ſide in *Aſia*. In this great City are alſo many other moſt ſtately and ſumptuous Buildings, as well of late erected by the Turkiſh Sultans, ſince they became Lords thereof, as before by the Greek Emperors; amongſt all which the Temple of S. *Sophia* ſtanding on the Eaſt ſide of the City, not far from the *Seraglio* (now reduced unto the form of a Mahometan *Moſchie*, and whither the great Turk goeth oftentimes to hear Service, being indeed but the Sanctuary or Chancel only of the great, ſtately, and wonderful Church built by *Juſtinian* the Emperor) is moſt beautiful and admirable. That which ſtandeth of it now, is both round and very high, built after the faſhion of the *Pantheon* in *Rome*, but much greater, fairer, and not open in the top, as is that; the Walls thereof being of the fineſt Marble, and the Floor all paved with fair Marble alſo. In the midſt there is a very great and large Circle, compaſſed in with high and huge Pillars of moſt excellent Marble of divers ſorts; and theſe ſupport a mighty Vault that beareth up as many more Pillars above, ſtanding after the very ſame order, and in a down right line, almoſt of the like greatneſs and goodneſs of the Marble with the other below; upon which, above the ſecond Vault in manner of a Loovar, reſteth the great round Roof which coverth all that ſpace of the Church which is compaſſed with the aforeſaid Pillars; being all enameled and fillited with the Pictures of Saints, after the antient manner of ſome great Churches in Chriſtendom; but that the Turks, who like not to have any Pictures in their Churches, have put out their Eyes only, as loath to ſpoil ſuch a rare peece of work, and utterly to deface it. In like manner the Walls of the upper Vault are wrought, painted, or portraied after the ſame order, though in ſome part decaied, by reaſon of their long continuance and ſtanding. About this Church are eighteen or twenty Doors of Braſs, right fair and coſtly, well declaring the magnificence and greatneſs thereof in more antient times; when as it had (as is reported) more than two hundred Doors of like making and greatneſs; and beſides the hugeneſs of the Frame and Building it ſelf, had alſo divers fair Monaſteries and Houſes of Religion joyned unto it; whereunto belonged ſix thouſand Prieſts, whoſe Houſes and Lodgings extended almoſt all over the place where now the Turks Palace ſtandeth, and the other places adjoining to this great Church, which is now their chief Moſchie, and called by them by the proper name of S. *Sophia*, becauſe they hold even as we do, the Wiſedom of God to be incomprehenſible and infinite. The next in magnificence unto this, is the Moſchie of *Solyman*, wherein he lieth buried, and his well beloved Wife the fair *Roxolana*; a work well beſeeming the Majeſty of ſo mighty a Monarch. There are beſide theſe alſo many other fair Moſchies, Seraglioes for the Turk his Wives and Concubines, Bezaſtanes or Burſes for Merchants, Obelisks, Bathes, and other publick Edifices and Buildings of great Majeſty and State, all well worth the beholding; wherein conſiſteth all the Beauty of this ſo ancient and renowned a City; far unlike to that it was in the time of the firſt Greek Emperors, and before it was ſpoiled by the Latines. For the Turks private Houſes in this ſo great and imperial a City, ſo much renowned through the World, are for the moſt part low and baſe, after the Turkiſh faſhion, built ſome of Wood, ſome of Stone, and ſome of unburnt Brick, laid with Clay and Dirt, which quickly decaieth again; they after their homely manner (by long cuſtom received) never building any thing ſumptuouſly for their own private uſe, but contenting themſelves with their ſimple Cottages, how mean ſoever, commonly ſaying them to be good enough for the ſhort time of their Pilgrimage; and yet not ſparing for any coſt upon the publick Buildings and Ornaments of the Common-Weal, which they built with great Majeſty and Pomp; but eſpecially their Moſchies, wherein they excel. Nevertheleſs, there yet are in *Conſtantinople* ſome other

The magnificent Temple of S. Sophia.

The Frugality of the Turks in their private Buildings.

other Houſes alſo built high and comely enough; but theſe be few, and very old, all inhabited by the Chriſtians and Jews, and not by the Turks; but of this enough. And ſo again to our purpoſe.

The Turks Fleet.

Mahomet with his puiſſant Army thus encamped before the City, placing his *Aſian* Souldiers on the right hand towards the *Boſphorus*; his *European* Souldiers on the left hand, toward the Haven; lay himſelf with 15000 Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court, in the middle betwixt both, againſt the heart of the City. On the farther ſide of the Haven alſo by *Pera*, he placed *Zoganus*, one of his chief Counſellors, with another part of his Army. At which time alſo *Pantologes* his Admiral came to the Siege, with a Fleet of 30 Gallies, and 200 other ſmall Ships, and a number of other leſſer Veſſels, which were rowed with three, or five Oars apiece, full of Turkiſh Archers, fitter for ſhew than Service. But for defence of the Haven, and ſo of the City on that ſide, the Emperor had cauſed the Haven to be ſtrongly chain'd overthwart from the City to *Pera*; and within the Chain had orderly placed his ſtrong Fleet, the greateſt ſtrength whereof was ſeven great Ships of *Genoa*, with three Gallies, and two Galliots of *Venice*, three of *Creet*, and a few others of the Iſland of *Chios*; all which were there, rather by chance upon Merchants affairs, than that they were provided for any ſuch Service; yet by this means the Turks Fleet was ſhut out of the Haven, and ſo the City put in good ſafety on that ſide.

When *Mahomet* had thus conveniently encamped his Army, and ſurrounded the City both by Sea and Land; he firſt caſt up great Trenches as near as he poſſibly could unto the Walls of the City, and raiſed Mounts in divers places as high as the Walls themſelves, from whence the Turks with their Shot greatly annoyed the Defendants. After that, he placed his Battery againſt one of the Gates of the City called *Calegaria*, and terribly battered the ſame, ſpecially with one piece of Ordnance of a wonderful greatneſs, which with much difficulty was brought from *Hadrianople* with an hundred and fifty Yoke of Oxen, and carried a Bullet of an hundred pound weight, made (as his other ſhot was) of a kind of hard black Stone brought from the Euxin Sea; for as yet (as it ſeemeth) ſo ſoon after the invention of that fatal Engine, the uſe of Bullets of metal was unknown. There with continual Battery, he terribly ſhook the Walls, which although they were very ſtrong, yet were they not able to withſtand the fury of ſo great a Battery. The Chriſtians alſo out of the City diſcharged their great Artillery upon the Turks, but ſo ſparingly, as if they had been afraid to ſhake their own Walls, or loth for good Husbandry, to ſpend Shot and Powder, which was to the Canoneers very ſparingly allowed; yet that which was ſpent, was ſo well beſtowed, that the Turks were therewith grievouſly annoyed. The Breach alſo which they had made at the aforeſaid Gate, was by the Defendants with great and dangerous labour again repaired with Faggots and Earth, and ſuch like matter beſt ſerving for that purpoſe, and ſo made ſtronger than before. In which moſt dangerous work, they were altogether directed and greatly encouraged by *Juſtinianus* the *Genoway*, the Emperors Lieutenant-General for defence of the City.

Conſtantinople *undermined by the Turks.*

Yet for all this diligence of the Chriſtians, *Mahomet* continued his Battery with no leſs fury than before; but repoſing greater hope to find a way into the City, by the Spade and Mattock, than by Battery; he employed his Pioneers, whereof he had great ſtore, to dig a Mine; being altogether directed by Chriſtians skilful in that kind of work, whom he had for that purpoſe entertained. By whoſe cunning direction, with the induſtrious labour of the poor Pioneers, the Mine was brought to ſuch perfection, that part of the Wall, with one of ſtrong Towers in the ſame, was quite undermined, and ſtood ſupported, but with ſuch untruſty ſtays as the Pioneers had left for the bearing up thereof till ſuch time as it ſhould be by the Tyrants appointment blown up. This dangerous work was neither perceived, neither yet feared by the *Conſtantinopolitans*, as a thing not poſſible to have been done; foraſmuch as *Bajazet* and *Amurath* had both with great labour before in vain attempted the ſame, at ſuch time as they hardly beſieged the City. But that which thoſe great Kings had with much vain labour by unſkilful men made proof of, *Mahomet* had now by men of greater device, brought to paſs; although it took not ſuch effect as he wiſhed; for one *Jo. Grandis*, a *German* Captain, and a man of great experience, ſuſpecting the matter, had cauſed a Countermine to be made, whereby the labour of the Turks was in good time diſcovered, and they with Fire and Sword driven out of the Mine, and the ſame ſtrongly filled up again, and ſo the City for that time delivered of a great fear and danger. *Mahomet* perceiving that it availed him not to continue his Battery againſt that place, which was again ſo ſtrongly repaired, removed the ſame, and planted it againſt a Tower called *Bactatina*, near unto the Gate called *Porta Romana*, or, the *Roman-Gate*. Which Tower ſhaken with continual Battery, at length fell down, and filled the Ditch before the utter Wall, even with the ground. But this Breach was alſo ſpeedily and with great courage made up again by the Defendants, although the Turks did what they could, with continual ſhot, to have driven them from the ſame. At which time they alſo erected certain high Towers of Timber, covered with raw Hides to defend the ſame from fire, out of which they with their Shot ſlew many of the Chriſtians upon the Walls, and in making good the aforeſaid Breach; but *Mahomet* ſeeing this valiantneſs of the Defendants, openly ſaid, That it was neither the *Grecians* skill nor courage, but the *French-men* that defended the City; for the Turks commonly call all the Chriſtians of the Weſt by the Name of *Franks* or *French-men*.

Seventy of the Turks Galliots brought eight miles over land (by the device of a Chriſtian) into the Haven of **Conſtantinople.**

The chearfulneſs and induſtry of the Chriſtians in defending and repairing the aforeſaid Breach, was ſo great, that the Turkiſh King began almoſt to deſpair of winning the City; which he could no way Aſſault but on one ſide. When as a bad Chriſtian in his Camp, put him again in good hope, by ſhewing unto him a device how to bring a great part of his Fleet over Land into the Haven, and thereby to aſſault that part of the City by water, which the Citizens leaſt feared; by which ingenious device, and by the great ſtrength of men, *Zoganus Baſſa* (to whom that charge was committed) brought ſeventy of the leſſer Ships and Galliots, with all their Sails abroad (to the great admiration of all that ſaw them) up a great Hill, and ſo by dry land, out of the *Boſphorus* behind *Pera*, the ſpace of eight miles, into the Haven of *Conſtantinople*, which running in between the City and *Pera*, runneth into the main Land, (as we have ſaid) about eight miles. The Chriſtian that diſcovered this device unto the King, is ſuppoſed to have learned it of the *Venetians*, who not long before had done the like at the Lake of *Bennacus*. Glad was *Mahomet* to ſee ſo many of his Ships and Gallies in the Haven, and the Chriſtians with the ſight thereof no leſs diſcouraged. Nevertheleſs, they attempted to have burnt thoſe Veſſels as they were in launching, but the Turks had ſo commodiouſly placed certain pieces of great Ordnance for their defence, that the formoſt of the Gallies of the Chriſtians, approaching the Turks Fleet, was preſently ſunk; wherewith the reſt diſmayed, returned back from whence they came. Certain of the Chriſtians of the loſt Gally, whom the Turks took up ſwimming in the Haven, were the next day cruelly ſlain in the ſight of the Chriſtians; in revenge whereof, certain Turks before taken Priſoners into *Conſtantinople*, were forthwith brought to the top of the Walls, and there in the ſight of the Camp with like cruelty put to death.

A wonderful Bridge made by the Turks over the Haven of Conſtantinople.

Mahomet thus poſſeſſed of the Haven, ſhortly after cauſed a wonderful Bridge to be made quite over the Haven, from *Zoganus* his Camp which lay by *Pera*, unto the Walls of *Conſtantinople*; which Bridge was built with Timber and Planks, born up with ſmall Boats and empty Cask, after a moſt ſtrange manner, and was in length more than half a mile; by which Bridge his Army came over the Haven, to aſſault the City on that ſide alſo.

A notable fight between four of the Chriſtians Ships, and the Turks Fleet.

In the mean time, three tall *Genoway* Ships laded with Men and Munition from the Iſland of *Chios*, with one of the Emperors laded with Corn from *Sicilia*, came with a fair Wind for *Conſtantinople.* The Turks great Fleet then lying not far off, within the ſight of the Camp, ſet upon them, and after a great fight, wherein an exceeding number of the Turks were ſlain with Shot, the Gallies boarded the Ships; but being much lower, were ſo far from doing any good, as that the Turks could not well look out, but they were from above ſlain or wounded. *Mahomet* from the ſhore beholding the unequal fight, and ſlaughter of his Men, cried out aloud, ſwearing and blaſpheming God, and in great rage rid into the Sea as far as he durſt; and coming back again rent his Clothes, faring with himſelf like a mad man. The whole Army of the Turks beholding the ſame fight at Sea, was filled with like Indignation alſo, but could nothing remedy the matter. The great Fleet aſhamed in the ſight of their King to be overcome of ſo few Ships, did what they might deſperately to enter; but all in vain, being continually overwhelmed with Shot and Stones from above, and valiantly beaten down by the Chriſtian Souldiers. At length weary of their loſs, they were glad with diſhonour to fall off again, and to get them farther off. The report of the loſs the Turks ſuſtained in this fight, is almoſt incredible; ſome of the Turks Fugitives reported, almoſt ten thouſand Turks to have there periſhed; but certain it is, that ſuch was the loſs, as filled the whole Army with Indignation and Sorrow, many having loſt their Kinſmen or Friends. Three of theſe Ships that had made this fight, arrived in ſafety at *Conſtantinople*, the other was loſt. *Mahomet* upon this Overthrow conceived ſuch diſpleaſure againſt *Pantogles* his Admiral, who in that fight had loſt one of his Eyes, that he nevertheleſs thruſt him out of his Office, confiſcated his Goods, and was hardly by the great Baſſaes intreated to ſpare his life.

Whilſt *Mahomet* thus lay at the Siege of *Conſtantinople*, and had thereunto given many great Attempts, with more loſs unto himſelf than to the Defendants, a rumor was raiſed in his Camp, of great Aid that was coming out of *Italy* by Sea, and out of *Hungary* by Land, for the relief of the beſieged. This report (although indeed it was not true) with the due conſideration of the danger of the Siege, filled the Turks Camp with fear; ſo that the Souldiers commonly murmured amongſt themſelves, ſaying, That to ſatisfie the ambitious humour of their young King, they were led to fight againſt impregnable Walls and Fortreſſes, yea againſt the Bars of Nature it ſelf, without all reaſon: Whereupon *Mahomet* entred into Conſultation with the three great Baſſaes his Counſellors, Whether it were beſt for him to continue the Siege or not. When *Caly-Baſſa*, ſometime his Tutor, a man of greateſt Authority among the Turks, both for his long experience and high place, and withall ſecretly favouring the diſtreſſed Emperor; after he had with long and grave Diſcourſe declared the difficulty or rather impoſſibility of the wiſhed Succeſs in that preſent War; and confirmed the ſame, by producing the examples of *Bajazet* his great Grandfather, and of *Amurath* his Father, who had both in vain made proof of their ſtrength againſt that City; at length concluded, that in his mind it were beſt for him to raiſe his Siege, and to depart before he had ſuſtained any further loſs or diſgrace; but *Zoganus* the ſecond Baſſa, in great Favour alſo with *Mahomet*, and ſecretly envying the Greatneſs of *Caly-Baſſa*, perſwaded the King to proceed in his honourable Enterpriſe; aſſuring him of the good Succeſs thereof, and with all the reaſons he could deviſe, impugned that which *Caly-Baſſa* had ſaid. And of the ſame opinion with *Zoganus* was alſo the third Baſſa, rather of purpoſe to croſs *Caly-Baſſa*, and withall to fit the Kings humor, than for any great hope he had in the good Succeſs of that he ſo much deſired. Howbeit the Speech he and *Zoganus* delivered, ſo well agreed with the Kings affection, that he reſolved to continue the Siege; and thereupon gave full Authority to *Zoganus* to appoint a day for a great and general Aſſault to be given, reſolving at once to engage all his Forces upon the winning of the City. Which charge *Zoganus* glady took upon him, and with his good liking, appointed the *29th* day of *May* for the general Aſſault, being then the *Tueſday* next following. In the mean time he ſent one *Iſmael*, the Son of *Alexander* Prince of *Sinope*, Embaſſador unto the Emperor, to offer him Peace; but upon ſuch hard Conditions, as were no leſs to be refuſed than death it ſelf. Which thing he did, partly to ſatisfie the minds of his Turks (who are for moſt part of opinion, That God will not proſper them in their Aſſaults, except they firſt make unto their Enemies ſome offer of Peace, how unreaſonable ſoever it forceth not) and partly to make proof what confidence the Enemy yet had in himſelf, for the holding out of the Siege. But that diſhonourable Peace ſo offered, together with the intollerable Conditions, was by the Emperor honourably refuſed; who no leſs feared the Turks Faith (if he ſhould have accepted thereof) than he did the hardneſs of the Conditions. Three days before this fatal Aſſault was to be given, the Turks (according to their manner) kept their Solemn Faſt, eating nothing all the day until night; and then making the greateſt chear and joy they could deviſe, and in the winding up of the ſame, took their leave one of another, with ſuch kiſſing and imbracing as if they ſhould never have met again. At the ſame time *Mahomet* to encourage his Souldiers, cauſed Proclamation to be made through his Camp, That he would freely give all the ſpoil of the City for three days unto his Souldiers, if they could win it; and for confirmation thereof, ſolemnly ſwore the Turks great Oath, By the Immortal God, and by the four hundred Prophets, by *Mahomet*, by his Fathers Soul, by his own Children, and by the Sword wherewith he was girt, faithfully to perform whatſoever he had to them in his Proclamation promiſed.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Caly-Baſſa* diſdaining that his counſel was rejected, and the Opinion of his Adverſaries followed; by ſecret Letters advertiſed the Emperor of the day appointed for the general Aſſault, together with all the preparation made againſt him; peſwading him not to be afraid of them, who were themſelves no leſs afraid of him; but carefully to provide to have all things in readineſs for the defence of his City, and valiantly to withſtand the raſh and laſt Attempt of his Enemies.

The Citizens of Conſtantinople *without cauſe murmur againſt the Emperor.*

A bare ſhift for money.

This woful Emperor had already done what he could to the uttermoſt of his Power for defence of the City, all the time of the Siege; but ſuch was the diſloyalty of the Citizens his Subjects, that many times they could hardly be drawn from their private Trades and Occupations, unto the Walls to withſtand the Enemy; fooliſhly affirming, That it was to no purpoſe for them to fight againſt the Turks at the Breaches, and to ſtarve for Food at home in their houſes. For which cauſe, the Emperor commanded a View to be taken of all the Corn in the City (which then began to grow very ſcarce;) but upon diligent ſearch made, ſuch ſtore was found in many Mens hands, (which was by them either altogether kept in to ſell afterwards at unreaſonable prizes; or elſe ſo ſparingly uttered, as if they had none to ſpare) as that it appeared, the dearth and ſcarcity which then began to increaſe, to proceed rather of the covetouſneſs of men, than of any true want of Grain; this ſtore the Emperor cauſed to be proportionably divided unto every Family at reaſonable prizes, according to their ſpending; and ſo eaſed the great murmuring and grudging of the common people for Bread. The *Grecian* mercinary Souldiers alſo, regarding more their own private Profit than the Publick Service, refuſed any longer to go to the Walls, than they were ſure of their daily pay; which the poor Emperor, otherwiſe unable to give them, was glad to convert the Church-Plate and Jewels into Money, to content them. For he had many times before with tears, in vain requeſted to have borrowed money of his covetous Subjects, to have been employed in the defence of the City; but they would ſtill ſwear, that they had it not, as men grown poor for want of Trade; which in few days after, their Enemies found in ſuch abundance, that they wondred at their Wealth, and derided their folly, that poſſeſſing ſo much, they would beſtow ſo little in defence of themſelves and their Country. But this had been their uſual manner of dealing with their Emperors, in that declining State of the Empire; as well appeared in the time of the Emperor *Baldwin*, who for lack of money was glad firſt to ſell away many of the goodly Ornaments of the City, and afterwards to Pawn his own Son unto the *Venetian* Merchants, for Money to maintain his State, as in the former part of this Hiſtory is declared.

But to return again to the courſe of our Hiſtory. The Emperor certainly advertiſed of the Enemies purpoſe, for the general Aſſault ſhortly to be given, firſt commended the defence of himſelf and the City to the Protection of the Almighty, by general faſting and prayer; and afterwards appointed every Captain and Commander, to ſome certain place of the Wall for defence thereof; which was done by the direction of *Jo. Juſtinianus* his General, in whoſe valour the *Conſtantinopolitans* had repoſed their greateſt hope.

But the City being on every ſide now beſet with the Turks great Army, and the Defendants in number but few, for ſo great a City (in compaſs eight miles) the Walls could but ſlenderly in many places be manned, and eſpecially on both ſides toward the Sea, where indeed leaſt danger was. The greateſt ſtrength and beſt Souldiers, were placed for defence of the utter Wall, where the Breach was, and the Aſſault expected by Land. *Juſtinianus* the General himſelf, with three hundred *Genoways* well armed, and certain choſen Greeks undertook the defence of that part of the battered Wall, near unto the *Roman* Gate, where the fall the. Tower *Bactatina* had filled the Ditch as is aforeſaid; againſt which place *Mahomet* himſelf lay encamped, with his Janizaries and beſt Men of War. Near unto *Juſtinianus* lay the Emperor himſelf, for defence of another part of the Wall; and ſo other Captains orderly with their Companies, all alongſt the utter Wall; and becauſe the Defendants ſhould have no hope to ſave their Lives, more than their own Valour, the Emperor cauſed all the Gates of the inner Wall to be faſt ſhut up; and in this ſort they lay all the night, expecting continually when the Aſſault ſhould be given; all which time they might hear great hurly burly and noiſe in the Turks Camp, as they were putting things in readineſs for the Aſſault.

Conſtantinople *aſſaulted by the Turks.*

A little before day, the Turks approached the Walls, and begun the Aſſault, where Shot and Stones were delivered upon them from the Walls, as thick as Hail; whereof little fell in vain, by reaſon of the multitude of the Turks, who preſſing faſt unto the Walls, could not ſee in the dark how to defend themſelves, but were without number wounded or ſlain; but theſe were of the common and worſt Souldiers, of whom the Turkiſh King made no more reckoning than to abate the firſt force of the Defendants. Upon the firſt appearance of the day, *Mahomet* gave the ſign appointed for the general Aſſault, whereupon the City was in a moment and at one inſtant on every ſide moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by the Turks; for *Mahomet*, the more to diſtreſs the Defendants, and the better to ſee the forwardneſs of the Souldiers, had before appointed which part of the City every Colonel with his Regiment ſhould aſſail. Which they valiantly performed, delivering their Arrows and Shot upon the Defendants, ſo thick, that the light of the day was therewith darkned; other in the mean time couragiouſly mounting the Scaling-Ladders, and coming even to handy-ſtrokes with the Defendants upon the Wall; where the formoſt were for moſt part violently born forward by them which followed after. On the other ſide, the Chriſtians with no leſs courage withſtood the Turkiſh fury, beating them down again with great Stones and weighty pieces of Timber, and ſo overwhelmed them with Shot, Darts, and Arrows, and other hurtful devices from above; that the Turks diſmayed with the terrour thereof, were ready to retire.

Mahomet *reneweth the aſſault.*

Mahomet ſeeing the great ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of his Men, ſent in freſh Supplies of his Janizaries and beſt Men of War, whom he had for that purpoſe reſerved as his laſt Hope and Refuge; by whoſe coming on his fainting Souldiers were again encouraged, and the terrible Aſſault begun afreſh. At which time the barbarous King ceaſed not to uſe all poſſible means to maintain the Aſſault; by Name calling upon this and that Captain, promiſing unto ſome whom he ſaw forward, golden Mountains; and unto others in whom he ſaw any ſign of Cowardiſe, threatning moſt terrible death; by which means the Aſſault became moſt dreadful, death there raging in the midſt of many thouſands. And albeit that the Turks lay dead by heaps upon the ground, yet other freſh men preſſed on ſtill in their places, over their dead bodies, and with divers event either ſlew, or were ſlain by their Enemies.

In this ſo terrible a Conflict, it chanced *Juſtinianus* the General to be wounded in the Arm, who loſing much blood, cowardly withdrew himſelf from the place of his Charge, not leaving any to ſupply his room, and ſo got into the City by the Gate called *Romana*, which he had cauſed to be opened in the inner Wall; pretending the cauſe of his departure to be for the binding up of his Wound, but being indeed a man now altogether diſcouraged.

The Chriſtians forſake the walls.

The Souldiers there preſent, diſmayed with the departure of their General, and ſore charged by the Janizaries, forſook their ſtations, and in haſt fled to the ſame Gate whereby *Juſtinianus* was entred; with the ſight whereof, the other Souldiers diſmayed, ran thither by heaps alſo. But whilſt they violently ſtrive, all together to get in at once, they ſo wedged one another in the entrance of the Gate, that few of ſo great a multitude got in; in which ſo great a preſs and confuſion of minds, 800 perſons were there by them that followed, trodden under foot, or thruſt to death. The Emperor himſelf, for ſafeguard of his life flying with the reſt, in that preſs as a man not regarded, miſerably ended his days, together with the Greek Empire. His dead body was ſhortly after found by the Turks among the ſlain, and known by his rich Apparel, whoſe Head being cut off, was forthwith preſented to the Turkiſh Tyrant; by whoſe Commandment it was afterward thruſt upon the point of a Launce, and in great deriſion carried about as a Trophy of his Victory, firſt in the Camp, and afterwards up and down the City.

Conſtantinople won by the Turks.

The Turks encouraged with the flight of the Chriſtians, preſently advanced their Enſigns upon the top of the uttermoſt Wall, crying Victory; and by the Breach entred as if it had been a great Flood, which having once found a Breach in the Bank, overfloweth, and beareth down all before it; ſo the Turks when they had won the utter Wall, entred the City by the ſame Gate that was opened for *Juſtinianus*, and by a Breach which they had before made with their great Artillery, and without mercy cutting in pieces all that came in their way, without further reſiſtance became Lords of that moſt famous and Imperial City. Some few there were of the Chriſtians, who preferring death before the Turkiſh ſlavery, with their Swords in their hands ſold their lives dear unto their Enemies; amongſt whom, the two Brethren *Paulus* and *Troilus Bochiardi Italians*, with *Theophilus Palæologus* a *Greek*, and *Joannes Stiavus* a *Dalmatian*, for their great valour and courage, deſerve to be had in eternal Remembrance; who after they had like Lions made ſlaughter of their Enemies, died in the midſt of them, embrued with their blood, rather oppreſſed by multitude, than by true valour overcome. In this fury of the Barbarians, periſhed many thouſands of Men, Women, and Children, without reſpect of Age, Sex, or Condition. Many for ſafeguard of ther lives fled into the Temple of *Sophia*; where they were all without pity ſlain, except ſome few reſerved by the barbarous Victors, to purpoſes more grievous than death it ſelf. The rich and beautiful Ornaments and Jewels of that moſt ſumptuous and magnificent Church (the ſtately Building of *Juſtinianus* the Emperor) were in the turning of a hand, pluckt down and carried away by the Turks; and the Church it ſelf built for God to be honoured in, for the preſent converted into a Stable for their Horſes, or a place for the execution of their abominable and unſpeakable filthineſs; the Image of the Crucifix was alſo by them taken down, and a Turks Cap put upon the head thereof, and ſo ſet up and ſhot at with their Arrows, and afterwards in great deriſion carried about in their Camp, as it had been in Proceſſion, with Drums playing before it, railing and ſpitting at it, and calling it the God of the Chriſtians. Which I note not ſo much done in contempt of the Image, as in the deſpight of Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion.

But whilſt ſome were thus ſpoiling of the Churches, others were as buſie in ranſacking of private houſes, where the miſerable Chriſtians were enforced to endure in their perſons whatſoever pleaſed the inſolent Victors; unto whom all things were now lawful that ſtood with their luſt, every common Souldier having power of Life and Death, at his pleaſure to ſpare or ſpill. At which time Riches were no better than Poverty; and Beauty worſe than Deformity. What Tongue were able to expreſs the miſery of that time? or the proud Inſolency of thoſe barbarous Conquerors? where of ſo many thouſands, every man with greedineſs fitted his own unreaſonable deſire; all which the poor Chriſtians were inforced to indure. But to ſpeak of the hidden Treaſure, Money, Plate, Jewels, and other Riches there found, paſſeth credit; the Turks themſelves wondred thereat, and were therewith enriched, that it is a Proverb amongſt them at this day, if any of them grow ſuddenly rich, to ſay, *He hath been at the ſacking of Conſtantinople*; whereof if ſome reaſonable part had in time been beſtowed upon the defence of the City, the Turkiſh King had not ſo eaſily taken both it and the City. But every man was careful how to encreaſe his own private Wealth, few or none regarding the Publick State; until in fine, every man with his private abundance was wrapped up together with his needy Neighbour in the ſelfſame common miſery. Yea the ſecurity of the *Conſtantinopolitans* was ſuch, that being always environed with their mortal Enemies, yet had they no care of fortifying of ſo much as the inner Wall of the City (which for beauty and ſtrength was comparable with the Walls of any City in the World, if it had been kept well repaired) but ſuffered the Officers which had the charge to ſee to the fortifying of the City, to convert the greateſt part of the money into their own Purſes; as appeared by *Manuel Giagerus*, a little before a very poor man; and likewiſe by *Neophitus*, who then having that Office to ſee unto the Fortification of the City, had in ſhort time gathered together ſeventy thouſand Florens, which became all a worthy Prey unto the greedy Turks.

After that the barbarous common Souldier had thus by the ſpace of three days without controulment taken his pleaſure in the City (as *Mahomet* had before promiſed) and throughly ranſackt every corner thereof, they then returned into the Camp, with their rich ſpoils, driving the poor Chriſtian Captives before them, as if they had been droves of Cattel, or flocks of Sheep; a Spectacle no leſs lamentable, than was the ſacking of the City. It would have grieved any ſtony heart to have ſeen the noble Gentlewomen and great Ladies, with their beautiful Children, and many other fair Perſonages, who lately flowed in all wordly Wealth and Pleaſure, to be now become the poor and miſerable Bondſlaves of moſt baſe and contemptible Raſcals; who were ſo far from ſhewing them any pity, as that they delighted in nothing more than to heap more and more miſery upon them, making no more reckoning of them than of Dogs. There might the Parents ſee the woful miſery of their beloved Children, and the Children of the Parents; the Husband might ſee the ſhameful abuſe of his Wife, and the Wife of her Husband, and generally one Friend of another; and yet not able to mourn together (the leaſt part of heavy comfort) being in the Thraldom of divers cruel Maſters, by whom they were kept aſunder, like in few days to be diſperſed into divers far Countries, without hope that they ſhould ever find Releaſe, or one ſee another again.

Mahomet *ſolemniſeth his Feaſts in* Conſtantinople *with the blood of the* Grecian *Nobility.*

The Souldiers being all retired into the Camp, *Mahomet* as a proud Conqueror, with great Triumph entred into the City of *Conſtantinople*, then deſolate and void of all Chriſtian Inhabitants; and there after the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, made a ſumptuous and Royal Feaſt unto his Baſſaes and other great Captains; where after he had ſurcharged himſelf with exceſs of Meat and Drink, he cauſed divers of the chief Chriſtian Captives, both Men and Women (of whom many were of the late Emperors Line and Race) to be in his preſence put to death, as he with his Turks ſate Banquetting; deeming his Feaſt much more ſtately by ſuch effuſion of Chriſtian blood. Which manner of exceeding cruelty he daily uſed, until ſuch time as he had deſtroyed all the *Grecian* Nobility that was in his Power, with the chief of the late *Conſtantinopolitan* Citizens. At which time alſo divers of the *Venetian* Senators, with *Bajulus* their Governor, and many rich Merchants of *Genoa*, and other places of *Italy*, were in like manner murthered; ſo that of ſeven and forty Senators of *Venice* which were there taken (whereof moſt part came thither by chance, bound for other places, but there unluckily ſhut up) ſome few found the favour, with exceeding great Ranſoms to redeem themſelves.

Amongſt theſe Noblemen thus lamentably executed, was one *Lucas Leontares*, or *Notaras*, commonly called *Kyr-Lucas*, or Lord *Lucas*, but of late great Chancellor of *Conſtantinople*, a man of greateſt account next unto the Emperor himſelf; whom the Turkiſh Tyrant ſeemed greatly to blame, that he being a man in ſo great credit with the late Emperor, perſwaded him not in time to have ſought for Peace upon any condition, or elſe to have yielded up the City, rather than to have run that extream courſe of wilful miſery. He to excuſe the matter, ſaid, That the late Emperor his Maſter was encouraged to hold out the Seige, by the *Venetians* and Citizens of *Pera*, from whom he received Aid; as alſo by ſome of the greateſt Men about his own Perſon; for proof whereof, he drew out of his boſom the Letters which *Caly-Baſſa* had to that purpoſe written unto the Emperor, and delivered them to *Mahomet*, hoping thereby to have found ſome favour. But when he had ſaid what he could, the eldeſt of his Sons then living (for he had loſt two elder in the time of the Siege) was cruelly executed before his face, and the youngeſt reſerved for the Tyrants luſt; and after all this miſery, had his own head ſtruck off with the reſt appointed for that days Sacrifice. Out of this general Calamity eſcaped *Jo. Juſtinianus* the General, who with all ſpeed fled at firſt to *Pera*, and from thence to *Chios*, where in few days after he died, of grief of mind (as was thought) rather than of his Wound, being happy if he had honourably before ended his days upon the Walls of *Conſtantinople*. *Iſidorus* alſo the Cardinal and Legate from the Pope, diſguiſed in ſimple Apparel, and being of the Turks unknown, redeemed himſelf for a ſmall Ranſom, as if he had been a man of none account, and ſo eſcaped; whom if *Mahomet* had known, he had undoubtedly been made ſhorter by the head.

The glory of this famous City of *Conſtantinople* continued many hundred years, commanding a great part of the World, until that by civil diſcord and private gain, it was by little and little ſo weakned, that the Emperors of later times, for the maintenance of their Eſtate, were glad to rely ſometime upon one, and ſometime upon another, yet ſtill holding the Title and State of an Empire, by the ſpace of 1121 years, when as (God his judgment ſet apart, wonderful and ſhameful it is to conſider how) it was by this Turkiſh King *Mahomet* ſo quickly taken, and the Chriſtian Empire of the Eaſt there utterly overthrown; which happened on the nine and twentieth day of *May*, in the year of our Lord, 1453. *Conſtantinus Palæologus*, the Son of *Helena*, and laſt Chriſtian Emperor, being then ſlain, when he had reigned about eight years. Since which time it hath continued the Imperial Seat of the Turkiſh Emperors, and ſo remaineth at this day.

Pera *yielded to the Turk.*

The Poteſtates and Citizens of *Pera*, otherwiſe called *Galata*, a City ſtanding oppoſite againſt *Conſtantinople*, on the other ſide of the Haven, and then under the Government of the *Genoways*, doubting to run the ſame courſe of miſery with their Neighbours, ſent their Orators unto *Mahomet* (the ſame day that *Conſtantinople* was taken) offering to him the Keys of their Gates, and ſo to become his Subjects. Of which their Offer *Mahomet* accepted, and ſent *Zoganus* with his Regiment to take poſſeſſion of the City. Who coming thither, according to *Mahomet* his Commandment, there eſtabliſhed the Turkiſh Government, confiſcated the Goods of all ſuch as were fled, and uſed the reſt of the Citizens which ſtaid, with ſuch Inſolency and Oppreſſion, as that their miſery was not much leſs than theirs of *Conſtantinople*; and becauſe it was doubted, that the *Genoways* might by Sea give Aid unto the Citizens, if they ſhould at any time ſeek to revolt, he cauſed all the Walls and Fortreſſes of the City which were toward the Land, to be caſt down and laid even with the ground. Thus is the fatal period of the Greek Empire run, and *Mahomet* in one day become Lord of the two famous Cities of *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*; the one taken by Force, the other by Compoſition. At which time the miſery of *Pera* was great, but that of *Conſtantinople* juſtly to be accounted amongſt the greateſt Calamities that ever happened to any Chriſtian City in the World.

Mahomet *notably diſſembleth his hatred againſt* Caly-Baſſa.

Mahomet had of long time born a ſecret grudge againſt *Caly-Baſſa*, ſometimes his Tutor, for that by his means *Amurath* his Father, in the dangerous time of the *Hungarian* Wars, had again reſumed unto himſelf the Government of the Turkiſh Kingdom, which he had before reſigned unto him, then but young. But foraſmuch as he was the chief Baſſa, and had for many years ruled all things at his pleaſure, to the general good liking of the people, during the Reign of old *Amurath*, and was thereby grown to be of ſuch Wealth, Credit, and Authority, as no man had at any time obtained greater under any of the *Othoman* Kings; *Mahomet* in the beginning of his Reign, before he was eſtabliſhed in his

Kingdom, durſt not take Revenge of that Injury (as he deemed it) but yet ſtill kept it in remembrance, warily diſſembling his deep conceived hatred, as if he had quite forgot it. Nevertheleſs ſometime (for all his warineſs) words fell from him, whereby the wary Courtiers (which as curiouſly weigh their Princes words, as the cunning Goldſmith doth his fineſt Gold) eaſily perceived the ſecret grudge that ſtuck in his ſtomach againſt the Baſſa; and thereby divined his fall to be at hand. So it hapned one day that as *Mahomet* was walking in the Court, he ſaw a Fox of the Baſſaes tied in a chain, which after he had a while earneſtly looked upon, he ſuddenly brake into this Speech; *Alas poor Beaſt, haſt thou no money to give thy Maſter to ſet thee at liberty?* Out of which words, curious heads gathered much matter concerning the Kings diſpoſition towards the Baſſa. This ominous ſurmiſing of the Courtiers (which oft-times proveth too true) was not unknown unto the Baſſa himſelf, but troubled him much; wherefore to get himſelf out of the way for a ſeaſon, more than for any devotion, he took upon him to go in Pilgrimage to viſit the Temple of the great Prophet (as they term him) at *Mecha*, which amongſt the Turks is holden for a right Religious and Meritorious Work; hoping, that the young Kings diſpleaſure might in time be mittigated, and his malice aſſwaged. But *Mahomet* perceiving the diſtruſt of the Baſſa, and whereof it proceeded, ſeemed to take knowledge thereof, and with good words comforted him up, willing him to be of good chear, and not to miſdoubt any thing; neither to regard the vain Speech of fooliſh people, aſſuring him of his undoubted Favour; and the more to put him out of all ſuſpition, continually ſent him rich Gifts, and heaped upon him new Honours, as if of all others he had eſteemed him moſt. Until that now at the taking of *Conſtantinople*, it was diſcovered by *Lucas Leontares*, that he had Intelligence with the late Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and his Letters produced. For which cauſe, or as the common report went, for the old grudge that the Tyrant bare againſt him, as alſo for his great Wealth, he was by *Mahomets* commandment apprehended and carried in bonds to *Hadrianople*; where after he had with exquiſite torments been enforced to confeſs where all his Treaſures lay, he was moſt cruelly in his extream old age executed. After whoſe death, his Friends and Servants (which were many, for he was a man greatly beloved in Court) in token of their grief, put on Mourning Apparel; ſo that in the Court appeared a great ſhew of common ſorrow; wherewith *Mahomet* being offended, cauſed Proclamation to be made, That all ſuch as did wear ſuch Mourning Apparel, ſhould the next day appear before him; at which time there was not one to be ſeen about the Court in that heavy Attire, for fear of the Tyrants diſpleaſure.

Mahomet *placeth his Imperial Seat at* Conſtantinople, *and is worthily accounted firſt Emperor of the* Turks.

After that *Mahomet* was thus become Lord of the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, as is aforeſaid, and had fully reſolved there to place his Imperial Seat, he firſt repaired the Walls and other Buildings ſpoiled in the late Siege, and by Proclamations ſent forth into all parts of his Dominions, gave great Priviledges and Immunities to all ſuch as ſhould come to dwell at *Conſtantinople*, with free liberty to exerciſe what Religion or Trade they pleaſed. Whereby in ſhort time that great and deſolate City was again well peopled, with ſuch as out of divers Countries reſorted thither; but ſpecially with the Jewiſh Nation, which driven out of other places, came thither in great numbers, and were of the Turks glady received. So when he had there eſtabliſht all things according to his hearts deſire, he took upon him the Name and Title of an Emperor; and is from that time not unworthily reputed for the firſt Emperor of the Turks.

Now among many fair Virgins taken Priſoners by the Turks at the winning of *Conſtantinople*, was one *Irene* a Greek born of ſuch incomparable Beauty and rare Perfection, both of Body of Mind, as if Nature had in her, to the admiration of the World, laboured to have ſhewn her greateſt ſkill; ſo prodigally ſhe had beſtowed upon her, all the Graces that might beautifie or commend that her ſo curious a Work. This Paragon was by him that by chance had taken her, preſented unto the great Sultan. *Mahomet* himſelf, as a Jewel ſo fit for no mans wearing as his own; by the Beauty and ſecret Vertues whereof, he found himſelf even upon the firſt View not a little moved. Nevertheleſs, having as then his head full of Troubles, and above all things careful for the aſſuring of the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, by him but even then won, he for the preſent committed her to the charge of his Eunuch, and ſent her away, ſo to be in ſafety kept until his better leiſure. But thoſe his Troubles overblown, and his new Conqueſts well aſſured, he then began forthwith to think of the fair *Irene*; and for his pleaſure ſending for her, took in her Perfections ſuch delight and contentment, as that in ſhort time he had changed ſtate with her, ſhe being become the Miſtreſs and Commander of him ſo great a Conqueror; and he in nothing more delighted, than in doing her the greateſt Honour and Service he could. All the day he ſpent with her in diſcourſe, and the night in dalliance; all time ſpent in her company, ſeemed to him ſhort; and without her nothing pleaſed; his fierce Nature was now by her well tamed, and his wonted care of Arms quite neglected: *Mars* ſlept in *Venus* lap, and now the Souldiers might go play. Yea the very Government of his Eſtate and Empire ſeemed to be of him, in compariſon of her, little or not at all regarded; the care whereof being by him careleſly committed to others, that ſo he might wholly himſelf attend upon her, in whom more than in himſelf the people ſaid he delighted. Such is the power of diſordered affections, where reaſon ruleth not therein. But whilſt he thus forgetful of himſelf, ſpends in pleaſure not ſome few days or months, but even one whole year or two, to the lighting of his Credit, and the great diſcontentment of his Subjects in general; the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court (men deſirous of Imployment, and grieved to ſee him ſo given to his Affections, and to make no end thereof) began at firſt in ſecret to murmur thereat, and to ſpeak hardly of him; and at length (after their inſolent manner) ſpared not openly to ſay, That it were well done to deprive him of his Government and State, as unworthy thereof, and to ſet up one of his Sons in his ſtead. Which Speeches were now grown ſo rife, and the diſcontentment of the Men of War ſo great, that it was not without cauſe by ſome of the great Baſſaes feared, whereunto this their ſo great Inſolency would grow. But who ſhould tell the Tyrant thereof; whoſe frown was in it ſelf death? or who durſt take in hand to cure that his ſick Mind? which diſtraught with the ſweet, but poyſoned potions of love, was not like to liſten to any good counſel, were it never ſo wiſely given; but as a man metamorphoſed, to turn his fury upon him which ſhould preſume ſo wholſomely (but contrary to his good liking) to adviſe him. Unhappy man, whoſe great Eſtate and fierce Nature was not without danger to be medled or tempered with, no, not by them who of all others ought in ſo great a peril to have been thereof moſt careful; but were now for fear of all become ſilent and dumb. Now amongſt other great Men in the Court, was one *Muſtapha-Baſſa*, a man for his good Service (for that he was of a Child brought up with him) of *Mahomet* greatly favoured, and by him alſo highly promoted; and he again by him as his Soveraign no leſs honoured than feared; who no leſs than the reſt, grieved to ſee ſo great a change in the great Sultan, of whom they had conceived no ſmall hope of greater matters than were by him as yet performed; and moved alſo with the danger threatned unto him, by the diſcontented Janizaries and Men of War; eſpying him at convenient leiſure to be ſpoken unto, and preſuming of the former credit he had with him, adventured thus to break with him, and to give him warning thereof.

How dangerous a thing it is for a Subject or Vaſſal, without leave, preſumptuouſly to enter into the ſecrets of his dread Lord and Soveraign, the woful Examples of others (moſt mighty Mahomet*) have ſo ſufficiently warned me, as that were it not for the dutiful Loyalty I owe unto your Greatneſs, far dearer unto me than mine own life, I would not at this time adventure my ſelf unto the hazard of your doubtful acceptance of my faithful Speech and meaning, but with others keep ſilence, and in ſecret mourn together with my heavy thoughts; which if I ſhould in ſo great a danger both of your Life and Empire now do, without warning you thereof, I were not to be accounted unworthy only thoſe your great Favours and Honours, moſt bountifully on me beſtowed; but as a moſt vile Traytor both unto your State and Perſon, to be of all men deteſted and abhorred. The life you have of late led, ever ſince the taking of* Conſtantinople, *as a man careleſs of his Eſtate, and wholly wedded unto his own Pleaſure, hath given occaſion not unto the vulgar people only (always ready to ſay the worſt) and Souldiers of the Court, the Guarders of your Perſon, but even unto the greateſt Commanders of your Armies and Empire, to murmur and grudge, I dare not ſay, to Conſpire againſt you. Yet pardon me dread Soveraign, if I ſhould ſo ſay, for that there is no man which with great diſcontentment marvelleth not much to ſee ſo great an alteration in your Heroical Diſpoſition and Nature; whereby you are become far unlike that noble* Mahomet, *which having overthrown the Greek Empire, and taken the great City of* Conſtantinople, *promiſed both unto himſelf and others, the Conqueſt of* Italy, *and the ſacking of* Rome, *the ſtately Seat of the ancient* Roman *Conquerors. You have given your ſelf over (as they ſay) for a ſpoil and prey unto a poor ſimple Woman, your Slave and Vaſſal, who with her Beauty and Allurements hath ſo bewitched your Underſtanding and Reaſon, as that you can attend nothing but her Service, and the ſatiſfying of your moſt paſſionate and inordinate deſires; which how much the more you cheriſh them, ſo much the more they torment and vex you. Enter but a little into your ſelf (I pray you) and compare the life you now lead with the like time heretofore by you ſpent in treading Honours ſteps, and you ſhall find a notable difference betwixt the one and the other. Had the noble* Othoman, *the firſt raiſer of your Houſe and Family ſo given himſelf over unto Pleaſure, you had not now inhabited the Countries of* Bithynia *and* Galatia, *with others more alongſt the Euxine, by him conquered. Neither had his Son* Orchanes *(the lively Image of his Father, and Follower of his Vertues) by leading this kind of life, triumphed over* Licaonia, Phrygia, *and* Caria, *or extended the bounds of his Empire ſo far as unto the Straits of* Helleſpontus. *What ſhould I ſpeak of* Amurath *his Son, and Succeſſor in the Empire? who in Perſon himſelf, firſt of the* Othoman *Kings, paſſed over into Europe, placed his Imperial Seat at* Hadrianople, *conquered* Thracia, Bulgaria, *and* Raſcia. *Yea* Bajazet *your great Grandfather is in his misfortune to be more than you commended, as vanquiſhed in field by the mighty* Tamerlane *with four hundred thouſand Horſemen and ſix hundred thouſand Foot, and not by a ſilly Woman; comforting his miſhap with the Honour and Greatneſs of him by whom he was ſo overcome. Neither may I with ſilence paſs over your worthy Grandfather the Noble* Mahomet, *who not contented to have reſtored the ſhaking Empire, conquered alſo a great part of* Macedonia, *even to the* Iconian *Sea, and carrying the terrour of his Arms over into* Aſia, *did great matters againſt the* Caramanians *and others. As for your Father* Amurath *(of worthy Memory) I cannot but to my great grief and ſorrow ſpeak of him, who by the ſpace of thirty years made both the Sea and Earth to quake under his Feet, and with ſtrong hand more than once vanquiſhed the* Hungarians, *and brought under his ſubjection the Countries of* Phocis, Beotia, Ætolia, *with a great part of* Morea; *and to ſpeak of him truly, brake even the very heart and ſtrength of the* Grecians, *and other his fierce Enemies. Let all theſe famous Conqueſts of your noble Progenitors, whoſe worthy Praiſes (as eternal Trophies of their Honour) are diſperſed into every corner of the World, awake you out of this heavy Lethargy wherein you have too long ſlept, yea, let the remembrance of the Conqueſt of this Imperial City by you to your Immortal Glory won, ſtir you up to greater things; and let it never be ſaid of you, That you were able with your Sword to overcome your greateſt Enemies, and not with reaſon to ſubdue your inordinate affections: Think that your greateſt Conqueſt, and ſuffer not your ſelf, ſo great a Conqueror, to be led in Triumph by your Slave. What availeth it you to have won* Conſtantinople, *and to have loſt your Self? Shake off theſe golden Fetters wherein the wily Greek hath ſo faſt bound you; which at the firſt though it ſeem unto you hard and painful, yet ſhall time digeſt it, and make you to think it both good and neceſſary for your State. Wean your ſelf from your deſires, and give reſt unto your troubled thoughts; which if you cannot do at once, ſtrive by little and little to do it; pleaſure groweth greater by the ſeldom uſe thereof, and ſatiety bringeth loathſomneſs. Moderate your ſelf therefore, and again take up Arms. Your Souldiers if they be not employed abroad, will to your farther trouble ſet themſelves to work at home: Idleneſs maketh them Inſolent, and want of Martial Diſcipline corrupteth their Manners. Hereof proceedeth their intemperate and diſloyal Speeches, That if you will not lead them forth for the Honour and Inlargement of the* Othoman *Empire, as did all your moſt noble Progenitors, they will ſet up another that ſhall, even one of your own Children. And what the common Souldiers fooliſhly ſay, their great Commanders maliciouſly purpoſe; which, what a confuſion it would bring unto the whole State of your Empire, together with the danger of your Royal Perſon, I abhor to think. Wherefore it is time, it is now high time for you to ſhew your ſelf, and with the Majeſty of your Preſence to repreſs their tumultuous Inſolency, before it break farther out. Rebellions are by far, more eaſily prevented, than in their heat appeaſed. The diſcontented multitude is a wild Beaſt with many heads, which once enraged, is not a little to be feared, or without danger to be tamed; yet do you but ſhew your ſelf Maſter of your own Affections, and you ſhall eaſily Maſter them alſo. But what is fit for you to do, beſeemeth me not for to ſay; yea, pardon me I beſeech you, that I have thus much (contrary perhaps to your good liking) already ſaid,* *provoked (by what divine Inſpiration I know not) even half againſt my will, to diſcover unto you the ſecret of my heart, and to lay open unto you thoſe things, which others knowing as well as I, do yet for fear keep the ſame from you. And if I have gone too far, or in any thing that I have ſaid forgot my ſelf, impute the ſame (my dread Soveraign) unto the zeal of my Love and Loyalty towards you, or unto my fidelity ſo often by you tried, or to our ancient Education (the ground of your affection towards me) or to what elſe ſhall pleaſe you, rather than to my preſumption; from which, how far I have always been, I appeal even to your Majeſties own knowledge.*

Having thus ſaid, he fell down at his Feet, as there to receive his heavy doom of his ſo free Speech, if it ſhould be otherwiſe than well taken of the angry Sultan; who all this while with great attention and many a ſtern look had hearkned unto all that the Baſſa had ſaid; for well he knew it to be all true; and that in ſo ſaying, he had but diſcharged the part of a truſty and faithful Servant, careful of his Maſters Honour. But yet the beauty of the Greek was ſtill ſo fixed in his heart, and the pleaſure he took in her, ſo great, as that to think of the leaving of her, bred him many a troubled thought. He was at war with himſelf, as in his often changed countenance well appeared; Reaſon calling unto him, for his Honour; and his amarous affections, ſtill ſuggeſting unto him new delights. Thus toſſed to and fro (as a Ship with contrary winds) and withall conſidering the danger threatned to his Eſtate, if he ſhould longer follow thoſe his pleaſures, ſo much diſpleaſing to his Men of War, he reſolved upon a ſtrange point whereby at once to cut off all thoſe his troubled paſſions, and withall to ſtrike a terror even into the ſtouteſt of them that had before condemned him, as unable to govern his own ſo paſſionate affections. Whereupon with countenance well declaring his inward diſcontentment, he ſaid unto the Baſſa, yet proſtrate at his Feet.

Although thou haſt unreverently ſpoken, as a Slave preſuming to enter into the greateſt Secrets of thy Soveraign (not without offence to be of thee once thought upon) and therefore deſerveſt well to die; yet for that thou waſt a Child brought up together with me, and haſt ever been unto me faithful, I for this time pardon thee; and before to morrow the Sun go down, will make it known both to thee, and others of the ſame opinion with thee, whether I be able to bridle mine affections or not. Take order in the mean time that all the Baſſaes, and the chief Commanders of my Men of War be aſſembled together to morrow, there to know my farther pleaſure; whereof fail you not.

So the Baſſa being departed, he after his wonted manner went in unto the Greek, and ſolacing himſelf all that day and the night following with her, made more of her than ever before; and the more to pleaſe her, dined with her; commanding, that after dinner ſhe ſhould be attired with more ſumptuous Apparel than ever ſhe had before worn; and for the further gracing of her, to be deckt with many moſt precious Jewels of ineſtimable value. Whereunto the poor Soul gladly obeyed, little thinking that it was her Funeral Apparel. Now in the mean while, *Muſtapha* (altogether ignorant of the Sultans mind) had as he was commanded, cauſed all the Nobility, and Commanders of the Men of War, to be aſſembled into the great Hall; every man much marvelling, what ſhould be the Emperors meaning therein, who had not of long ſo publickly ſhewed himſelf. But being thus together aſſembled, and every man according as their minds gave them, talking diverſly of the matter; behold the Sultan entred into the Palace leading the fair Greek by the hand; who beſide her incomparable Beauty and other the greateſt graces of Nature, adorned alſo with all that curioſity could deviſe, ſeemed not now to the beholders a mortal Wight, but ſome of the ſtately Goddeſſes, whom Poets in their Extaſies deſcribe. Thus coming together into the midſt of the Hall, and due Reverence to them done by all them there preſent; he ſtood ſtill with the fair Lady in his left hand, and ſo furiouſly looking round about him, ſaid unto them; *I underſtand of your great diſcontentment, and that you all murmur and grudge, for that I, overcome with mine affection toward this ſo fair a Paragon, cannot withdraw my ſelf from her preſence; but I would fain know which of you is ſo temperate, that if he had in his poſſeſſion a thing ſo rare and precious, ſo lovely and ſo fair, would not be thrice adviſed before he would forego the ſame? Say what you think; in the word of a Prince I give you free liberty ſo to do.* But they all rapt with an incredible admiration to ſee ſo fair a thing, the like whereof they had never before beheld, ſaid all with one conſent, That he had with greater reaſon ſo paſſed the time with her, than any man had to find fault therewith; whereunto the barbarous Prince anſwered, *Well, but now I will make you to underſtand how far you have been deceived in me, and that there is no earthly thing that can ſo much blind my ſenſes, or bereave me of reaſon, as not to ſee and underſtand what beſeemeth my high Place and Calling; yea, I would you ſhould all know, that the Honour and Conqueſts of the* Othoman *Kings my noble Progenitors, is ſo fixed in my Breaſt, with ſuch a deſire in my ſelf to exceed the ſame, as that nothing but death is able to put it out of my remembrance.* And having ſo ſaid, preſently with one of his hands catching the fair Greek by the hair of her head, and drawing his Falchion with the other, at one blow ſtruck off her head, to the great terrour of them all; and having ſo done, ſaid unto them; *Now by this judge whether your Emperor is able to bridle his affections or not.* And within a while after, meaning to diſcharge the reſt of his choler, cauſed great preparation to be made for the Conqueſt of *Peloponneſus*, and the beſieging of *Belgrade*.

At the ſame time that the barbarous Turks took the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, *Thomas* and *Demetrius Palæologi*, Brethren to the late unfortunate Emperor *Conſtantinus*, governed a great part of *Peloponneſus*, one of the moſt famous Provinces of *Grecia*, which in form of a leafe of a Plane-Tree, is almoſt in manner of an Iſland, environed with the Seas *Ionium* and *Ægeum*, which running far into the Land on either ſide thereof, ſeparateth the ſame from the reſt of *Grecia*, by two great Bays, leaving but a ſtrait neck of Land, called of the Greeks *Iſtmos*, in breadth about five miles, which was ſometimes by the *Grecians*, and afterward by the *Venetians*, fortified by a ſtrong Wall, and five great Caſtles; near unto which place ſtood the great and famous City of *Corinth*. This Province is in length 175 miles, and almoſt as much in breadth; wherein are contained the Countries of *Achaia*, *Meſſenia*, *Lacedemonia*, *Argolica*, and *Archadia*; with many famous Cities and goodly Havens, wherein it far exceedeth all the other Provinces of *Grecia*. Theſe two Princes *Thomas* and *Demetrius*, diſmayed with their Brothers diſaſter Fortune, began now ſo far to deſpair of their own Eſtate, that upon the firſt bruit thereof, they were about preſently to have fled by Sea into *Italy*.

And as it commonly falleth out, That one evil happeneth not alone; ſo at the ſame time it fortuned, that the *Albanians* riſe in Arms againſt the ſaid two Princes their Soveraigns; and under the leading of their Rebellious Captain *Emanuel Catecuzenus*, grievouſly troubled both the poor Princes. Theſe *Albanians* were a rough and hardy kind of people, which living after the manner of the rude *Scithian* Herdſmen, by feeding of Cattel, had of long time planted themſelves in *Peloponneſus*; differing from the natural Greeks, both in their manner of living and Language; which diverſity was no ſmall cauſe that they oftentimes ſpurned, as now, againſt the Government of the *Grecian* Princes. In this extremity, the two diſtreſſed Princes (not well knowing 1454 which way to turn themſelves) ſought for Peace at *Mahomets* hands, offering to become his Tributaries. Of which their Offer he willingly accepted, as an induction to the full Conqueſt of that Country; and ſent *Turachan* Governor of *Theſſalia*, one of his greateſt Men of War, with an Army into *Peloponneſus*, to Aid thoſe Princes againſt the *Albanians*; by whoſe help the maſterful Rebels were in ſhort time diſcomfited, and the Country of *Peloponneſus* quieted; yet ſo, that it was now become Tributary to the Turkiſh King.

Thomas *and* Demetrius *rebel againſt* Mahomet, *and are by him ſpoiled of part of their Dominion.*

Theſe two Princes *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, the laſt of all the Chriſtian Princes that reigned in *Peleponneſus*, having thus loſt their Liberty, lived for a few years as the Turks Vaſſals; paying ſuch yearly Tribute as they had before promiſed. During which time many Diſpleaſures aroſe betwixt the two Brothers, being both jealous of their Eſtate, and deſirous by all plauſible means to win the hearts of their Subjects one from another; whereby it came ſo to paſs, that whiles they both deſired to become popular, they weakned their own Credit, and had not their Subjects at ſuch command as beſt ſtood with the ſafety of their Eſtate. Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as they underſtood that the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt were making great preparation againſt the Turk; and that *Calixtus* the Third of that Name (then the Biſhop of *Rome*) had already put a Fleet of Gallies to Sea, which did great ſpoil upon the Borders of the Turks Dominions, they vainly perſwading themſelves that the Turks would in ſhort time be again driven out of *Grecia*, refuſed to pay any more Tribute to the Turkiſh King, or to keep League any longer with him. Upon which occaſion, *Mahomet* with a puiſſant Army came down and firſt beſieged *Corinth*, and afterwards entring into *Peloponneſus*, took divers ſtrong Towns, and deſtroyed the Country before him; and forced the two Princes for ſafeguard of their lives to fly, the one to *Mantinia*, and the other into the ſtrong City of *Epidaurus*, now called *Raguſium*. The poor Princes deſtitute of ſuch Aid as they expected, and altogether unable to withſtand the Power of the mighty Tyrant, began again to ſue for Peace; which he having now ſpoiled their Country, granted upon condition, That all ſuch places as he had already taken, ſhould be ſtill his own; and alſo that the City of *Patras* with the Country adjoyning, ſhould be delivered unto him; and that for the reſt, the ſaid Princes ſhould pay unto him a yearly Tribute; which hard conditions the poor Princes, now in danger to loſe all, were glad to accept of; whereupon a Peace was for that time again concluded.

In his return he took the City of *Athens* in his way, which he not long before had taken from *Francus Acciavol* by Compoſition (by means of *Omares* the Son of *Turachan*, one of his great Captains) promiſing to give him the Country of *Boetia* with the City of *Thebes*, in lieu thereof. This *Francus* was Nephew to *Nerius*, ſometime Prince of *Athens*, and had of long time been brought up in the Turks Court, as one of *Mahomet* his Minions; and was of him (as was ſuppoſed) entirely beloved. But when he had received the Dukedom of *Thebes*, in exchange for his Princely State of *Athens*, he was ſhortly after, as if it had been in great Friendſhip ſent by *Mahomet* to *Zoganus*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponneſus*; by whom he was at firſt courteouſly entertained, but afterward being about to depart, he was (according as *Mahomet* had before commanded) ſuddenly ſtayed, and when he leaſt feared, cruelly murdered.

Mahomet *cometh again into* Peloponneſus.

About three years after the Peace before concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and the two Brethren, *Mahomet* underſtanding that the Chriſtian Kings and Princes had combined themſelves againſt him, with a purpoſe to drive him again out of *Grecia*; thought it now high time, and much for the aſſurance of his Eſtate, to root out the ſmall Reliques of the *Grecian* Empire, which yet remained in *Peloponneſus* in the two Princes of the Imperial Blood, *Thomas* and *Demetrius*; whereunto he ſaw a fair occaſion preſented. Foraſmuch as thoſe two Brethren were at that time at great Variance betwixt themſelves, neither payed him ſuch Tribute as they had before promiſed; hereupon he with a ſtrong Army came to *Corinth*, where *Arſanes* a Nobleman of great Authority and Power in that Country, whoſe Siſter *Demetrius* had married, came to him from the Prince his Brother in law, attended upon with many gallant Gentlemen his Followers, of purpoſe to Aid him againſt the other Prince *Thomas*, nothing fearing any harm to have been by the Turk intended againſt himſelf or his Brother in law *Demetrius*, whom they both reckoned of as of a Friend. But when *Mahomet* was entred into *Peloponneſus*, and come to *Tegea*, he cauſed the ſame *Arſanes*, with all his chief Followers, to be laid hold upon, and caſt into bonds; knowing (as it ſhould ſeem) no man for Friend, which might any way hinder his ambitious Deſigns.

Demetrius *ſubmitteth himſelf to* Mahomet.

Demetrius hearing what was hapned unto *Arſanes*, fled to *Sparta*, now called *Mizithra*; whither *Mahomet* in few days after came and laid Siege to the City. But the poor Prince conſidering, that he muſt needs at length fall into his hands, went out of the City, and humbly ſubmitted himſelf with all that he had into his Power. Which ſo well pleaſed the Turkiſh Tyrant, that he courteouſly received him, comforted him, and promiſed him in ſtead of *Sparta* to give him other Lands and Poſſeſſions of like value elſewhere; nevertheleſs he committed him to ſafe cuſtody, and carried him about with him as his Priſoner, until he had finiſhed thoſe Wars. After he had taken *Sparta*, he beſieged *Caſtria*, where he loſt divers of his Janizaries; for which cauſe, when he had taken the City, he put all the Souldiers therein to the Sword, and cut the Captains overthwart in two pieces. From thence he marched to *Leontarium*, called in ancient time *Megalopolis*, which he took; with another City called *Cardicea*, whither they of *Leontarium* had before conveyed their Wives and Children, as to a place of more ſafety: There he cruelly put to death all the Inhabitants of thoſe Cities, Men, Women, and Children, in number about ſix thouſand, of whom he left not one alive; and yet not ſo ſatisfied, commanded the very Beaſts and Cattel of thoſe places to be killed. Many Cities of *Peloponneſus* terrified with the dreadful Example of their

their Neighbours, forthwith yielded themſelves; and amongſt others, *Saluarium*, a great and ſtrong City of *Arcadia*; where he cauſed all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, to the number of ten thouſand to be caſt into bonds, looking for nothing but preſent death; all which afterwards he commanded to be ſent Captives to *Conſtantinople*, and with them peopled the Suburbs of that City. After that, he by the counſel of *Demetrius*, ſent one of his Captains called *Joſua*, with certain Companies of Greek Souldiers, unto the ſtrong City of *Epidaurus*, to command them in the Name of the Prince, to deliver unto him the City, with the Prince his Wife and Daughter, which lay there. But the Governor truſting unto the ſtrength of the City, refuſed to deliver the ſame; yet ſuffered the Princeſs with her Daughter to depart out of the City, being willing to go to her Husband; whom the Captain having received, returned, and preſented them to *Mahomet*. By whoſe Commandment they were preſently ſent into *Beotia*, there to attend his return to *Conſtantinople*, and an Eunuch appointed to take charge of the young Lady, who had ſo warmed *Mahomets* affection, that he took her afterwards to his Wife. At the ſame time he alſo ſubdued the moſt part of *Achaia* and *Elis*, by *Zoganus Baſſa* his Lieutenant; whither he came not long after himſelf, and laid Siege to the City of *Salmenica*, which for lack of Water was at length yielded unto him; but the Caſtle was by the ſpace of a whole year after valiantly defended againſt the Turks left to beſiege it, by *Thomas* the Prince; of whom *Mahomet* afterwards gave this commendation, That in the Country of *Peloponneſus* he had found many Slaves, but never a Man but him. This valiant Prince ſeeing the miſerable ruine of his Country, and the State thereof utterly forlorn, after he had moſt notably endured a years Siege in the Caſtle of *Salmenica*, got to Sea, and ſo arrived in *Italy*; where traveling to *Rome*, he was honourably received by *Pius Secundus*, then Biſhop there; who during his life, allowed him a large Penſion for the maintenance of his State. Thus *Mahomet* having thruſt both the *Grecian* Princes out of their Dominions, and ſubdued all *Peloponneſus* (excepting ſuch ſtrong Towns and Caſtles, as bordering upon the Sea coaſt were yet holden by the *Venetians*) left *Zoganus Baſſa* his Lieutenant to Govern that new conquered Province, and with great Triumph returned himſelf towards *Conſtantinople*, carrying away with him *Demetrius* the Prince, with his Wife and Daughter, and many other Noble Priſoners. But after he was come to *Hadrianople*, and placed in his Royal Seat, he removed the Eunuch from the fair young Lady, and took charge of her himſelf. As for *Demetrius* her Father, he gave to him the City *Ænum*, with the Cuſtom ariſing of the Salt there made, as a Penſion for him to live upon. Thus this moſt famous and populous Country of *Peloponneſus* fell into the Turkiſh Thraldom, about the year of our Lord, 1460. ſeven years after the taking of *Conſtantinople*. Which I have here together ſet down, as it is reported by them who lived in that time, and in the ſame Countries; omitting of purpoſe other great Occurrents of the ſame time (which ſhall in convenient place be hereafter declared) to the intent that the fall of that great Empire, with the common miſery of the delicate *Grecians*, might appear under one View; which otherwiſe being delivered by piece-meal, as it did concur with other great accidents according to the courſe of the time, would but breed confuſion, and require the Readers great attention.

Peloponneſus *ſubdued by the Turks.*

The Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially ſuch as bordered upon the Dominions of the Turkiſh Tyrant, were no leſs terrified than troubled with the ſubverſion of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire; for they ſaw by the continual preparation of the Turk, that his ambitious Deſires were rather increaſed than in any part ſatisfied with ſo great and late Victories. Wherefore they with all carefulneſs fortified their frontier Towns, and provided all things neceſſary for the defence of themſelves, and for the repulſing of ſo mighty an Enemy. Among the reſt, *George* the old Deſpot, or Prince of *Servia* (whoſe Dominions of all other lay moſt in danger of that Tempeſt) ſpeedily muſtred his Men of War, fortified his ſtrong Cities, placed his Garriſons, and left nothing undone that he thought needful for the defence of the Country; for he had many times before to his great loſs, indured the fury of the Turkiſh Kings, although he were joyned to them in the bonds of neareſt Alliance. And having thus politickly ſet all things in order at home, in Perſon himſelf took his Journey into *Hungary*, from thence to procure Aid againſt ſuch time as he ſhould have need. But the *Hungarians*, and eſpecially *Huniades* (who at that time bare greateſt ſway in that Kingdom) having before had ſufficient trial of the uncertainty and light Faith of that aged Prince, who had ſo often faſhioned himſelf according to the occurrents of the time, that he was counted neither right Turk nor good Chriſtian; refuſed to promiſe him any Aid, but left him to his own Fortunes; wherewith he returned diſcontented, and full of Indignation. But ſhortly after he was come home, he died of a hurt received in a Skirmiſh with *Michael Zilugo*, Governor of *Belgrade*; whoſe Brother *Ladiſlaus* he had but a little before treacherouſly murdered, as he was travelling by Waggon to *Belgrade* with his ſaid Brother *Michael*, who at the ſame time hardly eſcaped. This was the end of the Deſpot of *Servia*, when he had lived 90 years; in which time of his long life, he had plentifully taſted of both Fortunes. A man aſſuredly of great courage, but of a marvellous unquiet nature; by Profeſſion a Chriſtian, yet a great Friend unto the Turks, whom he many times ſtood in great ſtead; a deep diſſembler, and double in all his dealings; whereby he purchaſed unto himſelf that Credit, that he was not of any his Neighbour Princes whilſt he lived, either beloved or truſted; and after his death, of his Subjects ſo deteſted, that the people of that Country even at this day in their Country-Songs, ſtill term him the Faithleſs and Graceleſs Deſpot. *Lazarus* his youngeſt Son, after his death ſucceeded in his place (having deprived both his elder Brethren *Stephen* and *George*) of the Government; for *Amurath* the Turkiſh King had long time before put out their Eyes, of purpoſe to make them unfit for the Government of ſo great a Country; yet theſe blind Princes found means to fly away from him to *Mahomet*, carrying with them a great maſs of Money; and ſo incited him againſt *Lazarus* their younger Brother, that to keep Friendſhip with the Tyrant, he was glad to promiſe unto him a great yearly Tribute, and ſo to become his Tributary. But within few months after, *Lazarus* died, the laſt Chriſtian Prince that reigned in *Servia*; after whoſe death, great Troubles aroſe in *Servia* for the Soveraignty; the blind Brethren ſtill craving Aid of *Mahomet*, with whom they then lived; and the deſolate Widow of *Lazarus*, putting her ſelf with her three Sons, *John*, *Peter*, and *Martin*, into the Protection of the *Hungarians*; by which

The death of George *Deſpot of* Servia.

which means ſhe with much trouble, held her State for a ſeaſon. Until ſuch time as the *Servians*, ſeeing ſmall aſſurance in that manner of Government, and weary of the harms they daily received of the Turks, yielded themſelves with their Country, unto the Obedience of the Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet*, who for ever united the ſame unto his Empire as a Province thereof, and ſo it remaineth at this day.

Servia *yielded to the Turk.*

Now was *Mahomet* by the continual courſe of his Victories,grown to that height of mind, that he thought no Prince able to abide his Force; neither any Enterpriſe ſo great, which he was not of Power to bring to paſs; wherefore he ceaſed not on every ſide continually to vex and trouble the Princes, whoſe Countries bordered upon his. But above others, his heart was greateſt againſt the *Hungarians*; for that by them the Turkiſh Kings his Anceſtors, had been more troubled, and their State more endangered, than by any or all other the Chriſtian Princes. Wherefore he reſolved now to take them in hand; which thing he had from the beginning of his Reign greatly deſired. And becauſe the City of *Belgrade* ſtanding upon the great River of *Danubius*, was accounted the Key of that Country, he determined there to begin his Wars, and by taking thereof to make an entrance into the heart of *Hungary*. Hereupon he levied a great Army of an hundred and fifty thouſand of his beſt Souldiers, in whom he repoſed ſuch an aſſured truſt and confidence, that he accounted the City already as good as taken, and a fair way made into *Hungary*; ſo ready are we to promiſe unto our ſelves, the things we earneſtly deſire. For the better accompliſhment of theſe his Deſigns, he had provided in readineſs a Fleet of 200 Ships and Gallies, which he ſent up the River of *Danubius* from *Vidina* to *Belgrade*, to the intent that no Relief or Aid ſhould be brought unto the City out of *Hungary*, by the great Rivers of *Danubius* and *Savus*, whereupon the City of *Belgrade* ſtandeth. With this Fleet he kept both thoſe Rivers ſo ſtraitly, that nothing could be poſſibly conveyed into the City by water; and not ſo contented, ſent part of his ſaid Fleet farther up the River of *Danubius*, and ſo landing his Souldiers in many places, ſpoiled the Countries all alongſt the River ſide. Shortly after he came with all his Forces by Land, and encamped before the City; whereunto at his firſt coming he gave a moſt fierce Aſſault, thinking to have taken them unprovided; but finding greater reſiſtance than he had before imagined, and that the *Hungarians* were ready to Skirmiſh with them without the Walls, he began to proceed more warily, and entrenched his Army; and to provide for the ſafety thereof, by caſting up of deep Trenches and ſtrong Rampiers againſt the ſudden Sallies of his Enemies; and after, planting his Battery, began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the Walls with his great Artillery. By the fury whereof, he overthrew a part thereof, and laid it flat with the ground; which the Defendants with great induſtry and labour ſpeedily repaired, by caſting up of new Fortifications and Rampiers, in ſuch ſort, that it was rather ſtronger than before.

Belgrade *beſieged.*

In the mean time *Huniades* (not to be named without the addition of a moſt worthy Captain) being then General for the *Hungarians*, ſent a Fleet of Ships and Gallies, well appointed with all War-like Proviſion, down the River of *Danubius* from *Buda*; which encountring with the Turks Fleet, took twenty Sail of them, and ſo diſcomfited the reſt, that they were glad to run themſelves on ground near unto the Kings Camp. All which were by *Mahomets* Commandment preſently ſet on Fire, becauſe they ſhould not come into the Power of the *Hungarians*. By this means the Chriſtians became Maſters both of the Rivers of *Danubius* and *Savus*; and ſo at their pleaſure, by water conveyed into the City all things needful for the defence thereof. *Huniades* alſo himſelf, with five thouſand valiant Souldiers, and *Jo. Capiſtranus*, a Minorite Frier (by whoſe perſwaſion forty thouſand voluntary Chriſtians out of *Germany*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, were come to that War) entred into the City that way with their Souldiers and Followers.

The Turks Fleet overthrown by the Chriſtians.

Mahomet reſolutely ſet down for the winning of the City, had with continual Battery made the ſame at length aſſaultable; and ſo determined the next day to give a general Aſſault; appointing which part of the Wall every Colonel with his Regiment ſhould aſſail. But as they were with great diligence and greater ſtir, preparing all things needful for the next days Service, it fortuned, that *Carazias Baſſa*, *Mahomets* Lieutenant-General in *Europe*, and his beſt Man of War, was by chance ſlain with a great ſhot out of the Town. With whoſe death *Mahomet* was exceedingly troubled, as with an ominous token of the evil which afterwards enſued unto him and his whole Army. For all that, proſecuting his former determination, the next day early in the morning he commanded the Aſſault to be given; and with the dreadful ſound of Trumpets, Drums, Cornets, and other Inſtruments of War, brought on his Janizaries to the Breach; who as couragious Souldiers fiercely aſſailed the ſame, and without any great reſiſtance, entred both there and in divers others places of the City; reckoning the ſame to be now their own. For *Huniades* having before ſtored every corner of the City with his moſt valiant and expert Souldiers, had taken order that the Defendants, upon the firſt charge of the Janizaries, ſhould forſake their ſtations, and as men diſcouraged, retire towards the City, of purpoſe to draw the fierce Enemies faſter on, to their farther deſtruction; and upon a ſign given to ſet upon them on freſh, and to repair to their former places of defence; which was accordingly done; ſo that as ſoon as the Janizaries, with other of the Turks moſt forward Souldiers, were in great numbers entred, upon the retiring of the Defendants, and the ſign before appointed in the City given, the Defendants, as men quickly chang'd, turning again, fiercely charged the Turks which were entred, contrary to their expectation; and the valiant *Huniades*, at the ſame time iſſuing out on every ſide with his moſt reſolute Souldiers, ſo oppreſſed the Turks, that few of them that were entred eſcaped with life, but were there in the City either ſlain or taken Priſoners; and the reſt with exceeding ſlaughter beaten from the Walls. Preſently after, *Huniades* in this confuſion of the Turks, ſtrengthned with the Souldiers which came with *Capiſtranus* the Friar, made a Sally out of the Town, and ſet upon the Turks appointed for the defence of the great Ordnance; which was with ſuch reſolution performed, that the Turks were glad with great ſlaughter to forſake their charge, and to leave the Ordance to their Enemies.

Carazias Baſſa *ſlain.*

Belgrade *aſſaulted by the Turks.*

The Turks notable repulſe.

The Turkiſh Tyrant ſore troubled and throughly chaſed with the loſs of his great Ordnance, couragiouſly charged the *Hungarians* afreſh, to have recovered the ſame again; but was ſo valiantly repulſed by *Huniades*, and ſo beaten with the murthering ſhot out of the City, that he was glad when he had got him out the danger thereof into the Trenches. *Huniades* alſo retiring turned the Ordnance he had lately won, upon the Turks Camp, and with the ſame did them no ſmall harm.

In this hurle, a great part of the Chriſtian Army (which then lay on the other ſide of *Danubius*) was ſpeedily tranſported over the River; and making no ſtay in the City, joyned themſelves with *Huniades*, then lying without the Walls of the City. Who notably ſtrengthned with this new Supply, aſſailed the Turks Trenches, as if he would even preſently have entred their Camp; at which his preſumption, the proud Tyrant (never before ſo braved) diſdaining, went out of his Trenches, and valiantly encountring him, beat him back again to the great Ordnance; from whence he was again by the Chriſtians driven to his Trenches. Which manner of doubtful and dreadful fight, was on both ſides notably maintained, until the day was almoſt ſpent: Victory with indifferent Wings, hovering now over the one ſide, now over the other.

Mahomet *wounded, and carried away for dead.*

In theſe hot Skirmiſhes and Conflicts, *Chaſanes* Captain of the Janizaries, with many other valiant men were ſlain. And *Mahomet* himſelf performing the part as well of a couragious Souldier, as of a worthy Chieftain, was ſore wounded under his left Pap; ſo that he was taken up for dead, and ſo carried into his Pavillion, to the great diſcomfiture of his whole Army. But coming again unto himſelf, and conſidering that he had in that Siege loſt his whole Fleet, his great Ordnance, with moſt part of his beſt Souldiers, and yet in no poſſibility of the Town; ſecretly in the night aroſe with his Army, and with great ſilence ſhamefully departed; ſtill looking behind him when the *Hungarians* ſhould have purſued him into *Servia*, or have troubled him upon his way towards *Conſtantinople*. At this Siege (beſide many of his beſt Captains and chief Commanders) were ſlain forty thouſand of his beſt Souldiers. The loſs that he there ſuſtained was ſo great, and ſo ſtuck in his mind, that ever after during his life, when he had occaſion to ſpeak of that Siege, he would ſhake his head and ſigh deeply, and many times wiſh, That he had never ſeen that City, whereat both he and his Father had received ſo great diſhonour. Many were of opinion, that if *Huniades* had there had his Horſemen on that ſide of *Danubius* to have preſently purſued the fearful Enemy, that the whole Army of the Turks might have there been overthrown. This notable Victory was obtained againſt the Turk the ſixth of *Auguſt*, in the year of our Lord, 1456.

The death of the moſt famous Captain Huniades.

Shortly after, this moſt valiant and renowned Captain *Huniades*, worthy of Immortal Praiſe, died of a hurt taken in theſe Wars; or as ſome others write, of the Plague, which was then riſe in *Hungary*; who when he felt himſelf in danger of death, deſired to receive the Sacrament before his departure, and would in any caſe (ſick as he was) be carried to the Church to receive the ſame; ſaying, That it is not fit, that the Lord ſhould come to the houſe of his Servant, but the Servant rather to go to the Houſe of his Lord and Maſter. He was the firſt Chriſtian Captain that ſhewed the Turks were to be overcome; and obtained more great Victories againſt them than any one of the Chriſtian Princes before him. He was unto that barbarous people a great terror, and with the ſpoil of them beautified his Country; and now dying, was by the *Hungarians* honourably buried at *Alba Julia*, in St. *Stephens* Church; his death being greatly lamented of all good men of that Age.

Mahomet the Turkiſh Emperor, no leſs deſirous to extend his Empire with the glory of his Name, by Sea than by Land; ſhortly after the taking of *Conſtantinople*, put a great Fleet to Sea, wherein he ſurpriſed divers Iſlands in the *Ægeum*, and hardly beſieged the City of the *Rhodes*. At which time, *Calixtus* the Third, then Biſhop of *Rome*, aided by the *Genoways* (for the grudge they bare againſt the Turks for the taking of *Pera*) put to Sea a Fleet of ſixteen tall Ships and Gallies well appointed, under the Conduct of *Ludovicus*, Patriarch of *Aquilla*; who with that Fleet ſcoured the Seas, and recovered again from the Turks the Iſland of *Lemnos*, with divers other ſmall Iſlands thereabout; and encountring with the Turks Fleet near unto the Iſland of the *Rhodes*, at a place called *The Burrow of St.* Paul, diſcomfited them, ſunk and took divers of their Gallies, and forced them to forſake the *Rhodes*. After which Victory at Sea, he for the ſpace of three years, with his Gallies, at his pleaſure ſpoiled the Frontiers of the Turks Dominions all alongſt the Sea coaſt of the leſſer *Aſia*, and wonderfully terrified the effeminate people of thoſe Countries; and ſo at length returned home, carrying away with him many Priſoners and much rich ſpoil.

1461. Uſun-Caſſan *the* Perſian *King ſendeth Embaſſadors with Preſents to* Mahomet.

After that *Mahomet* was thus ſhamefully driven from the Siege of *Belgrade*, and his Fleet at Sea diſcomfited (as is before declared) he began with great diligence to make new preparation againſt the next Spring to ſubdue the Iſles of the *Ægeum*, ſpecially thoſe which lay near unto *Peloponneſus*. But whilſt he was buſie in thoſe Cogitations, in the mean time Embaſſadors from *Uſun-Caſſanes* the great *Perſian* King, arrived at *Conſtantinople*, with divers rich Preſents ſent to him from the ſaid King. Where among other things, they preſented unto him a pair of Playing-Tables, wherein the men and dice were of great and rich precious Stones of ineſtimable worth, and the Workmanſhip nothing inferior to the matter; which the Embaſſadors for Oſtentation ſaid, That *Uſun-Caſſanes* found in the Treaſures of the *Perſian* King, whom he had but a little before ſlain and bereft of his Kingdom, and had there been left long before by the mighty Conqueror *Tamerlane*. Together with theſe Preſents, they delivered their Embaſſage; the effect whereof was, That thoſe two mighty Princes might joyn and live together in Amity; and that whereas *David* the Emperor of *Trapezond*, had promiſed to pay unto *Mahomet* a yearly Tribute, enforced thereunto by *George* his Lieutenant in *Aſia*, he ſhould not now look for any ſuch thing; foraſmuch as that Empire after the death of the Emperor then living, ſhould of right belong unto *Uſun-Caſſanes*, in right of his Wife, who was the Daughter of *Calo-Joannes*, the elder Brother of *David* the Emperor, then living; and further required him, from that time not to trouble or moleſt the ſaid Emperor his Friend and near Alliance, ſo ſhould he find him his faithful and kind Confederate; otherwiſe it was (as they ſaid) in his choice to draw upon himſelf the heavy diſpleaſure of a moſt mighty Enemy. *Mahomet* before envying at the riſing of the *Perſian* King, and now diſdaining ſuch peremptory Requeſts, little differing from proud Commands, in great choler diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors, with this ſhort anſwer, That he would ere long be in *Aſia* himſelf in Perſon, to teach *Uſun-Caſſanes* what to requeſt of a greater than himſelf. This unkindneſs was the beginning and ground of the mortal Wars which afterwards enſued betwixt theſe two, then the greateſt Princes of the Eaſt, as ſhall be hereafter more at large declared. The Embaſſadors being departed, and *Mahomets* Fleet of an hundred and fifty Sail ready to put to Sea, he altered his former determination for the Iſlands of the *Ægeum* (which after the loſs of *Conſtanti-*

nople

Mahomet *invadeth* **Iſmael**, *Prince of* **Sinope.**

Trapezond *beſieged by* **Mahomet.**

nople had for the moſt part put themſelves under the Protection of the *Venetians*) and commanded his Admiral with that Fleet to take his courſe through the Straits of *Boſphorus* into the great Euxin Sea, (now called the *Black Sea*) and ſo ſailing along the coaſt to come to Anchor before *Sinope*, the chief City of *Paphlagonia*, and there to expect his coming thither with his Army by Land. This great City of *Sinope* ſtands pleaſantly on a point of the Main which runs a great way into the Euxin, ſometime the Metrapolitical City of that Province; but as then, with *Caſtamona* and all the Country thereabout, was under the Government of *Iſmael*, a Mahometan Prince; upon whom *Mahomet* had now bent his Forces, for no other cauſe than that he was in League with *Uſun-Caſſan*, the *Perſian* King. Now with great Expedition had *Mahomet* levied a ſtrong Army; and paſſing therewith over into *Aſia*, was come before he was looked for, to *Sinope*. *Iſmael* ſeeing himſelf ſo ſuddenly beſet both by Sea and Land in his ſtrongeſt City, although he wanted nothing needful for his defence, having in the City four hundred pieces of great Artillery, and ten thouſand Souldiers; yet doubting to be able with that ſtrength to indure the Siege, offered to yield up the City to *Mahomet*, with all the reſt of his Dominion, upon condition, That he ſhould freely give him in lieu thereof the city of *Philippopolis* in *Thracia*, with the Country thereto adjoyning. Of which Offer *Mahomet* accepted; and ſo taking poſſeſſion of *Sinope*, with the ſtrong City of *Caſtamona*, and all the reſt of the Princes Territory, ſent him away with all his things to *Philippopolis*, as he had promiſed. This *Iſmael* was the laſt of the Honourable Houſe of the *Iſfendiars*, who had long time reigned at *Heraclea* and *Caſtamona* in *Pontus*. From *Sinope* he marched on forward with his Army to *Trapezond*. This famous City ſtandeth alſo upon the ſide of the *Euxin* or *Black Sea* in the Country of *Pontus*, where the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* had always their Deputies, whilſt that Empire flouriſhed and commanded the Eaſt part of the World, as far as *Parthia*; but after it began again to decline (as all worldly things have but their time) one *Iſaac* (whoſe Father, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, the *Conſtantinopolitans* had for his evil Government ſlain) flying to *Trapezond*, took upon him the Government of that City, with the Countries of *Pontus* and *Capadocia*, and many other great Provinces, and was at firſt called the King of *Trapezond*; but after he was well eſtabliſhed in that Government, both he and his Succeſſors took upon them the Name and Title of Emperors; which they maintained equally, if not better, than the late *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperors, and therefore are of moſt accounted for Emperors. He that then reigned, was called *David Commenus*; which moſt Honourable Family of the *Commeni* had long time before reigned in *Conſtantinople*; and out of the ſame were many other great Princes deſcended, which ruled in divers places of *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, and *Græcia*. *Mahomet* coming to *Trapezond*, laid hard Siege unto the ſame by the ſpace of thirty days both by Sea and Land, and burnt the Suburbs thereof, as he had before at *Sinope*. The fearful Emperor diſmayed with the preſence of ſo mighty an Enemy, and the ſight of ſo puiſſant an Army, offered to yield unto him the City with his whole Empire, upon condition, That he ſhould take his Daughter to Wife, and deliver unto him ſome other Province, which might yield him ſuch yearly profit as might ſuffice for the honourable Maintenance of his State. *Mahomet* perceiving the weakneſs of his Enemy by his large Offers, refuſed to accept thereof, and attempted by force to have taken the City; which not ſorting to his deſire, the matter was again brought to parle; where after long debating to and fro, it was at laſt agreed upon, That the Emperor upon the Faith of the Turkiſh King for his ſafe return, ſhould in Perſon meet him without the City, if happily ſo ſome good Attonement might be made betwixt them. Whereupon the Emperor following the Turks Faith before ſolemnly given for his ſafe return, as was before agreed, went out of the City to meet him, in hope to have made ſome good agreement with him; but as ſoon as he was come out, *Mahomet* according to the damnable and Helliſh Doctrine of his falſe Prophet (That Faith is not to be kept with Chriſtians) preſently cauſed the Emperor to be caſt into bonds, and ſo to be detained as Priſoner. Which when it was bruted in the City, the Citizens utterly diſcouraged, without farther reſiſtance yielded themſelves with the City into his Power.

Trapezond *yielded unto the Turks.*

Mahomet now Lord of *Trapezond*, entring the City, took Priſoners the Emperors Daughter, with all the reſt of his Children and Kindred, and all ſuch of the Nobility as he found in the City; whom he cauſed forthwith, together with the Emperor, to be ſent by Sea as it were in Triumph to *Conſtantinople*. Of the reſt of the Citizens he choſe out ſo many as he pleaſed for his own Service, and appointed eight hundred of the Chriſtian Children, in whom appeared moſt towardlineſs, to be brought up for Janizaries, many alſo of the other Citizens were ſent into Captivity to *Conſtantinople*; the beautiful Women and Virgins he divided amongſt his Friends and Men of War, certain choſen Paragons of whom, he ſent as Preſents to his Sons. After he had thus taken his pleaſure in the City, and left none there but the baſeſt of the people, he put a ſtrong Garriſon of his Janizaries into the Caſtle, and a great Garriſon of common Souldiers into the City, appointing his Admiral to Govern the ſame. The reſt of the Emperors ſtrong Towns, diſcouraged with the taking of *Trapezond*, and the miſeries thereof, in ſhort time ſubmitted themſelves unto the Turkiſh Thraldom, wherein they have ever ſince moſt miſerably lived. So *Mahomet* in the ſpace of few months having reduced that Empire into the form of a Province, returned in great Triumph to *Conſtantinople*; when he had in this Expedition ſubdued *Paphlagonia*, *Pontus*, and a great part of *Capadocia*, with ſome other Provinces near unto the Euxin Sea. When he was come to *Conſtantinople*, he ſent the Emperor with his Children Priſoners to *Hadrianople*. But afterwards, underſtanding that the *Perſian* Queen, the Wife of *Uſun-Caſſan*, ſought means to get ſome one of her Uncles Children, whom by the Power of her Husband ſhe might, if it were poſſible, advance unto her Fathers Empire; he ſent for *David* the woful Emperor to *Conſtantinople*, and there cruelly cauſed him, with all his Sons and Kinſmen, to be put to death; and to the uttermoſt of his Power rooted out all that moſt honourable Family of the *Comneni*, excepting *George* the Emperors youngeſt Son, who at his firſt coming to *Hadrianople* turned Turk; whoſe Siſter (the Emperors Daughter) *Mahomet* afterwards took to be one of his Concubins. This Chriſtian Empire was by the Turkiſh Tyrant *Mahomet* thus miſerably ſubverted and brought to nought in the year of our Lord, 1461.

The ruine of the Empire of **Trapezond.**

1462. **Mahomet** *ſeeketh to entrap* **Wladus** *Prince of* **Valachia.**

The year following, which was the year, 1462. *Mahomet* having Intelligence, that *Wladus Dracula* Prince of *Valachia*, his Tributary, was reſolved to caſt from him his Obedience, and to joyn himſelf unto the *Hungarians*, his mortal Enemies; thought it beſt to prove if he could by policy circumvent him, before he were altogether fallen from him. For which purpoſe he ſent *Catabolinus* his

Principal Secretary unto him to bring him unto the Court, promiſing him greater Favours and Promotions from the Emperor, than he had as yet at any time injoyed. And by the ſame truſty Meſſenger, he commanded *Chamuzes Baſſa*, Governor of *Bidina* and the Country lying over againſt *Valachia*, on the other ſide of *Danubius*, to do their uttermoſt devoir for the entrapping of *Wladus*; promiſing him great Rewards if he could bring the matter to effect. Whereupon *Chamuzes* deviſed with the Secretary, that when he had done his Meſſage to the Prince, and with all his cunning perſwaded him to take that Journey upon him, he ſhould ſecretly before hand give notice unto him of the certain day of his return back again from the Prince; at which time it was like, that *Wladus* would in courteſie of himſelf bring the Secretary well on his way, being a man of ſo great Account in the Court, or at leaſtwiſe not refuſe ſo to do, being thereto requeſted by the Secretary; at which time the Baſſa ſecretly paſſing over *Danubius* with certain Troops of Horſemen, and lying cloſe in ambuſh upon the way, ſhould ſuddenly ſet upon the Prince, and ſo either take him, or elſe kill him. The Plot thus laid, and every circumſtance agreed upon, the Secretary held on his way; and coming to the Prince, forced his wit to perſwade him to go to the Court; ſometime cunningly extolling the great opinion that *Mahomet* had of his Fidelity and Valour; and otherwhiles feeding him with the hope of greater Honours and Princely Preferments he was to receive at the Emperors hands. But when he had ſaid what he could, he obtained no more of the wary Prince, but good words again, and that he would in courteſie conduct him on his way to the ſide of *Danubius*; whereof the Secretary by ſpeedy Meſſengers gave *Chamuzes* Intelligence; who ſecretly paſſing over *Danubius* with certain Troops of Horſemen, and riding a good way into the Country, lay in ambuſh upon the way whereby the Prince and the Secretary muſt needs paſs; according as was before appointed, the Secretary accompanied with the Prince, put himſelf upon the way, and at the very prefixed time came to the place where *Chamuzes* lay in ambuſh with his Horſemen; who ſuddenly ariſing, and on every ſide aſſailing the Prince, ſlew divers of his men before they were well aware of his coming. But *Wladus* being a man of great courage, and better appointed than the Baſſa had ſuppoſed (for he went always attended upon with a ſtrong Guard of valiant and ſtout men) ſo received *Chamuzes* and his Turks, that he ſlew many of them, and at length after a hard Conflict took him with the reſt Priſoners; whoſe Hands and Feet he cauſed to be cut off, and their Bodies afterwards to be thruſt upon ſharp Stakes ſet faſt in the ground, to the terror of all that ſaw them; and did the Baſſa ſo much honour, as to hang him and the Secretary upon a Gibbet a great deal higher than the other Turks. And not ſatisfied with this Revenge, preſently gathered his Forces, and paſſing over *Danubius* into the Turks Dominions, burnt all the Country before him along the Sea ſide, killing Man, Woman, and Child, without mercy; after which great ſpoil and ſlaughter made, he returned again to *Valachia*. The report of this News being brought to *Mahomet*, ſet him in ſuch a choler and rage, that he commanded the great Baſſa *Mahometes*, which firſt told him thereof, to be cruelly whipt; which ſervile puniſhment in that Tyrannical Government hath uſually been inflicted even upon the greateſt Princes of the Court, upon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the Tyrants, eſpecially if they be not natural Turks born; accounting the reſt in their anger but as their baſe and contemptible Slaves, as well appeareth by the woful end of many, even of the greateſt of them. But when he underſtood by moſt ſure advertiſements that all was as the Baſſa had before reported, or rather worſe, it is not to be in words expreſſed into what a rage he fell; the ſpoil of his Country grieved him much, but the ſhameful death of the Secretary his Embaſſador, and of *Chamuzes* the Baſſa, tormented his heart, and filled him with Indignation and deſire of Revenge. Wherefore with all ſpeed poſſible he aſſembled his Souldiers and Men of War, out of all parts of his Dominions to *Philippopolis*; and had in ſhort time raiſed ſuch an Army, as the like he had not at any time imployed ſince the winning of *Conſtantinople*. At the ſame time alſo, he ſent his Admiral with 25 Gallies, and 150 Sail of other ſmall Veſſels by the Euxin, to enter the River *Danubius*, and there landing his Men, to joyn his Forces with the Prince of *Podolia*; who for a grudge he bare againſt *Wladus*, had promiſed to Aid the Turk againſt him. When all things were now in readineſs, he marched with his Army from *Philippopolis*, and paſſing over *Danubius*, entred into *Valachia*; before which time, the Admiral had landed his Men, and with the help of the *Podolian*, had burnt the City of *Prailaba*, the greateſt Town of Trade in all *Valachia*; and was beſieging *Cebium*, called in ancient time *Lycoſtomos*; where after they had lien a while and received ſome loſs, they left the Siege and departed, the *Podolian* back again into his Country, and the Admiral to his Fleet.

Chamuzes Baſſa *and the Turks Secretary hanged.*

Mahomet *himſelf in Perſon invadeth* **Valachia.**

Mahomet being got over *Danubius*, burnt the Villages, drave away the Cattel, and made havock of all that came in his way: As for Priſoners, he took but few; for the *Valachies* before his coming, had retired their Wives and Children, and all that were unfit for Wars, either into their ſtrong Cities, or into the Refuge of great and thick Woods (whereof there is in that Country plenty) or elſe into the high and rough Mountains where they were in more ſafety than in any their ſtrongeſt Holds; and all ſuch as were able to bear Arms, followed the Prince, who ever kept the Woods and Mountains, ſtill following the Turks Army ſo near as he poſſibly could with ſafety; and many times cut off ſuch as ſtragled any thing far abroad from the Army, into the Country; yet never durſt ſhew himſelf in plain Field, being indeed but a handful, in compariſon of the Turks multitude. *Mahomet* to ſmall purpoſe roaming up and down the Country at his pleaſure, ſtaid never long in one place; and making no reckoning of ſuch a weak Enemy as durſt never ſhew himſelf, pitcht his Tents ſtill in the open Plains, and ſo lay with his Army in great ſecurity, not entrenched at all. *Wladus* by his Eſpials underſtanding of this the manner of *Mahomets* encamping, came in the dead time of the night, and with all his Power furiouſly aſſailed that quarter of the Turks Camp where the *Aſian* Souldiers lay, and ſlew many of them in their Tents; the reſt terrified with the ſuddenneſs of the Alarm, fled out of their Tents for Refuge unto the *European* Souldiers; the Prince following them at the heels, and entring into that quarter of the Camp alſo, did there great harm, and ſtruck ſuch a general terror and fear into all the Turks Army, that they were even upon the point to have wholly forſaken their Tents, and betaken themſelves to flight. Yea, *Mahomet* himſelf, diſmaid with the terror of the night and tumult of his Camp, and fearing leſt the *Hungarians* had joyned their Forces with the Prince, not knowing which way to turn himſelf, had undoubtedly fled, had not

Mahomet Baſſa, a man of great experience in Martial Affairs, perſwaded him otherwiſe, and by general Proclamation made through the Camp, That no man ſhould upon pain of death, forſake the place wherein he was encamped, ſtaid the flight; and with much ado enforced them to make head againſt the Prince. *Wladus* perceiving the Turks now to begin to ſtand upon their guard, and to make reſiſtance; after great ſlaughter made, returning, took the ſpoil of the Tents forſaken by the *Aſian* Souldiers, and upon the approach of the day, again retired with Victory into the Woods. As ſoon as it was day, *Mahomet* appointed *Haly-Beg* with certain Companies of ſelect Souldiers, to purſue the *Valachies*; who overtaking part of the Princes Army, took a thouſand of them Priſoners, and put the reſt to flight; all which Priſoners were by the Tyrants Command, preſently put to the Sword. From that time *Mahomet* every night entrenched his Army, and cauſed better Watch and Ward to be kept in every quarter of his Camp, than before.

A moſt horrible Spectacle.

As he marched along the Country, he came to the place where the Baſſa and the Secretary were hanging upon two high Gibbets, and the diſmembred Turks impailed upon Stakes about them; with which ſight he was grievouſly offended. And paſſing on farther, came to a Plain containing in breadth almoſt a mile, and in length two miles, ſet full of Gallows, Gibbets, Wheels, Stakes, and other Inſtruments of Terror, Death, and Torture; all hanging full of the dead Carkaſes of Men, Women, and Children, thereupon executed, in number (as was deemed) about twenty thouſand. There was to be ſeen the Father, with his Wife, Children, and whole Family, hanging together upon one Gallows; and the Bodies of ſucking Babes, ſticking upon ſharp Stakes; others withall their Limbs broken upon Wheels, with many other ſtrange and horrible kinds of death; ſo that a man would have thought, that all the Torments the Poets feign to be in Hell had been there put in execution. All theſe were ſuch as the notable, but cruel Prince, jealous of his Eſtate, had either for juſt deſert, or ſome probable ſuſpition, put to death; and with their Goods rewarded his Souldiers; whoſe cruel manner was, together with the Offender to execute the whole Family, yea ſometimes the whole Kindred. *Mahomet*, although he was by Nature of a fierce and cruel Diſpoſition, wondred to ſee ſo ſtrange a Spectacle of extream cruelty; yet ſaid no more but that *Wladus* knew how to have his Subjects at Command. After that, *Mahomet* ſent *Joſephus*, one of his great Captains, to skirmiſh with the *Valachies*; who was by them put to the worſe; but by the coming in of *Omares* the Son of *Turachan*, they were again in a great Skirmiſh overthrown, and two thouſand of their heads brought by the Turks upon their Launces into the Kings Camp; for which good Service *Omares* was by the King preferred to be Governor of *Theſſalia*.

Two thouſand of the Valachies *ſlain.*

When *Mahomet* had thus traced *Valachia*, and having done what harm he could, ſaw it to be to no purpoſe, with ſuch a multitude of men to hunt after his flying Enemy, which ſtill kept the thick Woods or rough Mountains; he returned again to *Conſtantinople*, leaving behind him *Haly-beg* with part of his Army, to proſecute that War; and with him *Dracula* the younger Brother of *Wladus*, who was alſo called *Wladus*, as a Stale to draw the *Valachies* into Rebellion againſt the Prince. This *Dracula* the younger, was of a little Youth brought up in *Mahomets* Court, and for his comely Feature of him moſt paſſionately affected; which inordinate perturbation, ſo prevailed in the intemperate Nature of the laſcivious Prince, that he ſought firſt by fair words and great Gifts to corrupt the Youth, and not ſo prevailing, attempted at laſt to have forced him; wherewith the Noble Youth being enraged, drew his Rapier, and ſtriking at him to have ſlain him, grievouſly wounded him in the Thigh, and thereupon fled. Nevertheleſs being drawn back again to the Court, and pardoned, he was afterwards reconciled to the King, and ſo became his *Ganimede*; and was of him long time wonderfully both beloved and honoured, and now ſet up for a Stale (as is before ſaid) for the *Valachies* his Country-men to gaze upon.

It fortuned, that after the departure of the King, divers *Valachies* came to *Haly-beg* the Turkiſh General, to Ranſome ſuch Friends of theirs as had been taken Priſoners in thoſe Wars, and were yet by him detained; to whom the younger *Dracula* by way of diſcourſe declaring the great Power of the Turkiſh Emperor, and as it were lamenting the manifold and endleſs Miſeries of his Native Country; cunningly imputed the ſame unto the diſordered Government of his cruel Brother, as the ground of all their Woes; aſſuring them of moſt happy and ſpeedy Redreſs, if the *Valachies*, forſaking his fierce Brother, would cleave unto him as their Soveraign, in ſpecial Favour with the great Emperor. Which Speech he delivered unto them with ſuch lively Reaſons, and in ſuch effectual Terms, that they there preſent, perſwaded by him, and others by them, in ſhort time all, as if it had been by a ſecret conſent, forſook *Wladus* the elder Brother, and choſe *Dracula* the younger Brother to be their Prince and Soveraign. Who joyning unto him the Turks Forces, by the conſent of *Mahomet* took upon him the Government of that War-like Country and People; yet holding the ſame as the Turkiſh Tyrants Vaſſal, the readieſt way to Infidelity. *Wladus* ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken of all his Subjects, and his younger Brother poſſeſſed of his Dominion, fled into *Tranſylvania*, where he was by the appointment of the *Hungarian* King, apprehended and laid faſt in ſtrait priſon at *Belgrade*, for that he had without juſt cauſe (as it was laid to his charge) moſt cruelly executed divers *Hungarians* in *Valachia*; yet ſuch was his fortune, after ten years hard impriſonment, to be again enlarged, and honourably to die in battel againſt his ancient Enemies the Turks.

The death of Wladus

Mahomet returning out of *Valachia* to *Conſtantinople*, ſent the ſame Fleet which he had uſed in his late Wars, into the *Ægeum*, to take in ſuch Iſlands as being before under the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire, had upon the loſs of the City put themſelves under the Protection of the *Venetians*; but eſpecially the Iſle of *Mitylene*, called in ancient time *Lesbos*; pretending that *Nicholaus Cateluſius* Prince thereof, did harbour the Pirats of *Italy*, and other places; and alſo bought of them ſuch Priſoners, and other Booty, as they continually took from the Turks at Sea, or alongſt the Sea coaſt, out of many places of his Dominions; pretending alſo the chaſtiſing of the ſaid Prince, for that he had by treachery ſlain his eldeſt Brother, and ſo unjuſtly taken upon him the Government. His Fleet thus ſet forward, he himſelf with a ſmall Army paſſed over into *Aſia*, and came by land to *Poſſidium* a City of *Ionia* over againſt *Mitylene*. From whence he embarked himſelf over the narrow Strait into the Iſland, where after he had once landed his Army, he in ſhort time overran the whole Iſland, and miſerably ſpoiled

Mitylene *beſieged.*

Mitylene *yielded to the Turks.*

the ſame, leading away all the Inhabitants thereof into Captivity; who ſhortly after were ſold at *Conſtantinople* like Flocks of Sheep, and from thence diſperſed into all parts of his Dominions. After he had thus harried the Country, and left nothing therein unſpoiled, he beſieged the Prince in the City of *Mitylene*, whereof the Iſland now taketh Name; and with his great Ordnance continually battered the ſame by the ſpace of 27 days (in which time many ſharp Aſſaults were alſo given by the Turks, whereby the Defendants were greatly diminiſhed and waſted. The Prince perceiving himſelf not able long to hold out, offered to yield up the City, with all the ſtrong Holds in the Iſle, upon condition that *Mahomet* ſhould therefore give unto him ſome other Province, or like value to the Iſland; which his Offer *Mahomet* accepted, and by ſolemn Oath bound himſelf for performance of that he had promiſed. Whereupon the Prince came out of the City, and humbled himſelf before him, excuſing himſelf for the receiving of the Men of War (wherewith he was charged) as done for no other purpoſe, but that they ſhould forbear to ſpoil his own Country, much ſubject to their fury; utterly denying that he had at any time bought, or ſhared any part of ſuch Prizes as had by thoſe Pirats by Sea or Land been taken from the Turks. With which his excuſe, *Mahomet* ſeemed to be reaſonably well contented, and with good words cheared him up; nevertheleſs as ſoon as the City, with all the other ſtrong Holds in the Iſle, were by the Princes means delivered into his hands, he no longer made reckoning of his Turkiſh Faith, but cruelly cauſed many of the chief Citizens of *Mitylene* to be put to death; and three hundred Pirats, whom he found in the City, to be cut in two pieces in the middle, ſo to die with more pain. And when he had placed convenient Garriſons in every ſtrong Hold in the Iſle, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, carrying away with him the Prince, and all the better ſort of the Inhabitans of *Mitylene*, that were left alive, together with all the Wealth of that moſt rich and pleaſant Iſland, leaving it almoſt deſolate, none remaining therein more than his own Garriſons, with a few of the pooreſt and baſeſt people. *Mahomet* after he was arrived at *Conſtantinople*, caſt the Prince *Nicholaus*, with *Lucius* his Coſin (whoſe help he had before uſed in killing of his elder Brother) into cloſe Priſon; where they ſeeing themſelves every hour in danger of their lives, to win Favour in the Tyrants ſight, wickedly offered to renounce the Chriſtian Religion, and to turn Turk. Which *Mahomet* underſtanding, cauſed them both to be richly apparelled, and with great Triumph to be circumciſed, and preſently ſet at liberty; yet ſtill bearing in mind his old grudge, he ſhortly after, when they leaſt feared any ſuch matter, clapt them both faſt again in Priſon, and there cauſed them to be moſt cruelly put to death. A juſt Reward for bloody Murtherers, and Apoſtacy, who to gain a little longer life, were content to forſake God.

1464. Shortly after it fortuned, that *Stephen* King of *Boſna* (in ancient time called *Mæſia Superior*) who ſupported by the Turkiſh Emperor, had wrongfully obtained that Kingdom againſt his own Brethren, refuſed now to pay ſuch yearly Tribute as he had before promiſed; for which cauſe *Mahomet* with a ſtrong Army entred into *Boſna*, and laid Siege unto the City of *Dorobiza*; which when he had with much ado taken, he divided the pleople thereof into three parts; one part whereof he gave as Slaves unto his Men of War, another part he ſent unto *Conſtantinople*, and the third he left to inhabit the City. From *Dorobiza* he marched to *Jaziga*, now called *Jaica*, the chief City of that Kingdom, which after four months Siege was delivered unto him by Compoſition; in this City he took the Kings Brother and Siſter Priſoners, with moſt of the Nobility of that Kingdom, whom he ſent as it were in Triumph unto *Conſtantinople*. The other leſſer Cities of *Boſna* following the Example of the greater, yielded themſelves alſo. But *Mahomet* underſtanding that the King of *Boſna* had retired himſelf into the fartheſt part of his Kingdom, ſent *Mahometes* his chief Baſſa with his *European* Souldiers to purſue him; wherein the Baſſa uſed ſuch diligence, that he had on every ſide ſo incloſed him before he was aware, that he could by no means eſcape, which was before thought a thing impoſſible. So the King for ſafeguard of his life was fain to take the City of *Clyſſa* for his Refuge; where he was ſo hardly laid to by the Baſſa, that ſeeing no other remedy, he offered to yield himſelf upon the Baſſaes faithful promiſe, by Oath confirmed, that he ſhould be honourably uſed, and not to receive in his Perſon any harm from the Turkiſh Emperor. Whereupon the Baſſaes Oath to the ſame purpoſe was with great Solemnity taken; and for the more aſſurance, conceived in writing, firmed by the Baſſa, and ſo delivered to the King; which done, the King came out of the City and yielded himſelf. The Baſſa having thus taken the King Priſoner, carried him about with him from place to place, and from City to City, until he had taken poſſeſſion of all the Kingdom of *Boſna*; and ſo returning unto his Maſter, preſented unto him the Captive King; who was not a little offended with him, for that he had unto him ſo far engaged his Turkiſh Faith. But when the poor King thought to have departed, not greatly fearing further harm, he was ſuddenly ſent for by *Mahomet*; at which time, he doubting the worſt, carried with him in his hand the writing wherein the Baſſaes Oath for his ſafety was compriſed; nevertheleſs, the faithleſs Tyrant without any regard thereof, or of his Faith therein given, cauſed him preſently to be moſt cruelly put to death, or as ſome write, to be ſlain quick. Thus was the Chriſtian Kingdom of *Boſna* ſubverted by *Mahomet*, in the year, 1464. who after he had at his pleaſure diſpoſed thereof, and reduced it to the form of a Province, to be (as it is at this day) governed by one of his Baſſaes; in great Triumph returned to *Conſtantinople*, carrying away with him many a woful Chriſtian Captive, and the whole Wealth of that Kingdom.

Mahomet following the Example of his Father *Amurath*, had from the beginning of his Reign by one or other of his great Baſſaes or expert Captains ſtill maintained Wars againſt *Scanderbeg* the moſt valiant and fortunate King of *Epirus*; the greateſt part whereof, although it did in the courſe of time concur with the things before declared, and might by piece-meal have been amongſt the ſame in their due time and place inſerted; yet I have of purpoſe for divers reaſons wholly reſerved them for this place; firſt, for that I would not interrupt the courſe of the Hiſtory before rehearſed, with the particular accidents of this War: And then, for that the greateſt heat of this Hereditary War, delivered as it were from hand to hand, from the Father to the Son, hapned not long after this time; when as *Mahomet* having conquered the Kingdom of *Boſna*, had ſurrounded a great part of *Scanderbegs* Dominion; wherein I had reſpect alſo

unto

The great Wars betwixt Mahomet *and* Scanderbeg, *are at large written by* Marinus Barletius, *in* 13 *Books*, De vita, & geſtis Scanderbegi, *from whence this Hiſtory is taken; and were done betwixt the years* 1450. *and* 1467.

unto the Readers eaſe, who may with greater pleaſure and content, and leſs pains alſo, view the ſame together, than if it had been diſperſedly ſcattered and intermedled with the other greater occurrents of the ſame time. In which diſcourſe I will but briefly touch many thing well worthy of a larger Treatiſe. And if forgetting my ſelf, I ſhall in ſome places happen to ſtay ſomething longer than the Readers haſt would require, yet I hope, that the zeal and love he bears unto the worthy memory of moſt famous Chriſtian Princes, together with the ſhortneſs of the Hiſtory, in compariſon of that which is thereof written in juſt Volumes by others, ſhall eaſily excuſe a lager diſcourſe than this: But again to our purpoſe.

Vide Marinum Barletium lib. de vita & geſtis Scanderbegi.

Mahomet in the beginning of his Reign ſent Embaſſadors to *Scanderbeg*, offering him Peace, ſo that he would grant to pay unto him ſuch yearly Tribute as his Father *Amurath* had in his life time demanded. Which embaſſage the crafty Tyrant ſent rather to prove what confidence *Scanderbeg* had in himſelf, than for any hope he had to have his demand granted. This diſhonourable offered peace *Scanderbeg* ſcornfully rejected, and ſo returned the Embaſſadors as they came; and preſently upon their departure entred with his Horſemen into that part of the Turks Dominion which bordereth upon *Epirus*; and when he had waſted the Country, returned home laded with the Spoil thereof. In revenge of which deſpight, *Mahomet* ſhortly after ſent *Ameſa* one of his beſt men of War, with twelve thouſand Horſemen into *Epirus*, to requite *Scanderbeg* with the like Spoil of his People and Country. But *Scanderbeg* underſtanding by his Eſpials of the Turks coming, lay cloſe in ambuſh with ſix thouſand Souldiers upon the great Mountain *Modriſſa*, over which the Turks muſt of neceſſity take their way; and as they were about by night to have paſſed over that rough and ſteep Mountain, and were with much difficulty almoſt got up to the top thereof, they were ſuddainly charged by *Scanderbeg* his Footmen, who having the advantage of the place, made great ſlaughter of the Turks, and drave them down the Mountain amain; at which time their Horſes ſtood them in no ſtead at all, but were rather unto them an hindrance in that uneven and troubleſome ground. Now when the Turks were come to the foot of the Mountain, they were in that great fear and diſorder, again fiercely aſſailed on the one ſide by *Scanderbeg*, and on the other ſide by his Nepew, called alſo *Ameſa*, who before the Turks coming had placed themſelves with their Horſemen in places of moſt advantage; ſo that the Turks hardly beſet and forced on every ſide, were in ſhort time overthrown and put to flight. In this conflict ſeven thouſand of the Turks were ſlain, and *Ameſa* General of the Turks Army with divers other Captains taken, whom *Scanderbeg* ſent Priſoners to *Croia*. For joy of this Victory at *Scanderbegs* return, great Triumph and Feaſting was made at *Croia*; during which time, *Scanderbeg* cauſed *Ameſa* the Turk, with the reſt of the Turkiſh Captains, to be enlarged, to be partakers of that joy, whereof they againſt their wills had given the occaſion; and afterwards uſed them with all kind of courteſie during the time of their aboad. This *Ameſa* requeſted of *Scanderbeg*, that he might ſend a Meſſenger to *Conſtantinople*, to certifie *Mahomet* how the caſe ſtood with him and the reſt, whom happily he might think to have been ſlain in the Battle; and to procure from him their ranſome. Which his requeſt *Scanderbeg* eaſily granted, and ſet down their ranſome at thirteen thouſand Ducats. The news of this overthrow ſore grieved the Turkiſh Tyrant, but afterwards when he ſaw the remainder of his Army without their General and Leaders, having for moſt part loſt their Enſigns and Armor, and alſo the Meſſenger that was ſent from *Ameſa*, he fell into ſuch a rage that he denied to give any thing at all for his ranſome; imputing all the loſs to his Treachery, Folly, or Cowardiſe. Howbeit he was afterwards perſwaded by his Baſſaes and other great Courtiers, *Ameſa* his Friends, to think better of the General, of whoſe Faithfulneſs and Valour he had of long time had great experience, and alſo to ſend his Ranſome; by denying whereof, he ſhould (as they ſaid) diſcourage his other Generals and Captains, who by chance of War might hap to fall into the like danger. By whoſe perſwaſion *Mahomet* ſent an Embaſſador to *Scanderbeg*, with the ranſome demanded, and other great Preſents alſo. Upon receit whereof, *Ameſa* with the other Captains were ſet at liberty, and ſent with ſafe convoy out of *Epirus*. All the mony ſent for the Turks ranſome, *Scanderbeg* divided amongſt his Captains and Souldiers.

This late received overthrow filled the proud Tyrant with deſire of revenge, ſo that he determined forthwith to ſend another Army into *Epirus*; the leading whereof, divers of his great and moſt expert Captains ambitiouſly ſought for. For *Mahomet* had promiſed great Rewards and moſt honourable Preferments to him whoſe hap it ſhould be to vanquiſh *Scanderbeg*. Among the reſt, one *Debreas* (a man for his Forwardneſs and Courage, in great favour with his Soveraign) by great ſuit obtained to have that charge; promiſing with exceeding confidence unto *Mahomet*, to make a beginning of better ſucceſs in his Wars of *Epirus*, than others thither by him before ſent; for the accompliſhment whereof, he required to have no greater power than was ſent the year before. But after that *Ameſa* was returned to the Court, and had with long diſcourſe ſet forth the Vertues and Valour of *Scanderbeg*, with the invincible courage of his Souldiers, *Debreas* became more temperate in his Speech, and was contented to receive a new Supply; ſo that he had under his Charge fourteen thouſand Souldiers; with which Army he marched towards *Epirus*, and was come to a place called *Pologus*, where he lay with his Army encamped in a Plain in great ſecurity, fearing no danger, for that he was not as yet in the Enemies Country, neither as he ſuppoſed, near the Enemy. Of all this preparation, and of the coming of *Debreas*, *Scanderbeg* had intelligence; and being reſolved not to expect the coming of the Turks into *Epirus*, made choice of Six thouſand of his beſt Horſemen; with whom he marched with as much ſpeed as was poſſible into the Enemies Country, and came by night unto the Plain where the Turks lay, hoping to have been upon them before they were aware, and ſo to have overthrown them; wherein he was much deceived; for by the light of the Moon (which then ſhined all night) he was by the Turks in time deſcried, yet the ſuddaineſs of his approach with the ſtrangeneſs of the attempt, exceedingly diſmaied the whole Army of the Turks. But *Debreas* mindful of the promiſe he had made unto his Lord and Maſter, with chearful words encouraged his Souldiers, and preſently ſent out certain Troops of light Horſemen, to receive the firſt Charge of the Enemy, until he might ſet his whole Army in order of Battel. Betwixt theſe Troops, and others ſent out by *Scanderbeg*, began a ſharp skirmiſh; both the

Debreas *ſent with fourteen thouſand Horſemen to invade* Epirus.

A skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

A Battel betwixt Scanderbeg *and* Debreas.

Debreas ſlain by Scanderbeg, *and his Army overthrown.*

A pleaſant contention betwixt Muſachius *and a Turk for his ranſome.*

Armies ſtanding faſt, as beholders, carefully expecting the event thereof. But *Scanderbeg* doubting, that if his Souldiers ſhould in his firſt encounter be put to the worſt, it might tend to the great diſcouraging of the reſt of his Army; ſeconded his men with other freſh Troops under the leading of *Moſes* and *Ameſa*; by whoſe coming in, the Turks were forthwith beaten back, and chaſed even to their main Battel. In the heat of which chaſe, *Moſes* forgetting himſelf, had with great danger in following on too faſt, been incloſed by the Turks, had not his Fury been in good time ſtaid by *Ameſa*; for which overſight, he was afterward blamed by *Scanderbeg*, that he could not with greater moderation uſe his good Fortune, commending ſuch forwardneſs in a private Souldier, but not in ſo great a Commander. When *Moſes* and *Ameſa* had thus put the Turks to flight, *Scanderbeg* brought on his whole Army, and fiercely aſſailed the Turks, yet troubled with the diſcomfiture of their Fellows. *Debreas* on the other ſide, with chearful Speech, and his own Valour, ſo encouraged his Souldiers, that *Scanderbeg* was there notably reſiſted, and his Fortune as it were at a ſtand; until that *Muſachius*, with certain Troops of reſolute men, drawn out of the left Wing of *Scanderbegs* Army, gave ſuch a fierce Charge upon the ſide of the Turks Army, that he brake their Ranks,and ſore diſordered that part of the Army; which when *Debreas* perceived, he withdrew himſelf out of the front of the Battel wherein he had valiantly ſtood againſt *Scanderbeg*, and came to the place where *Muſachius* had diſodered the Battel, and with ſuch Courage cheared up his troubled Souldiers, that his only Preſence and Valour ſeemed to be the very Life and Heart of his whole Army. Whilſt *Debreas* was thus buſied againſt *Muſachius*, *Scanderbeg* in the mean time with might and main ſtill charged the front of the Enemies Army; who now in the abſence of the General began to loſe their order and to give ground, making no ſuch reſiſtance as before. At which time, *Moſes* forcibly breaking into the thickeſt of them, took one of their Enſigns,which he threw back among his Followers; wherewith they encouraged, ſo preſſed upon their Enemies, without regard of danger, that the Turks being therewith diſcouraged, and their Battel diſordered, were almoſt ready to turn their Backs and to flie. *Debreas* ſeeing all in danger to be loſt, haſted with all ſpeed unto the place where he ſaw moſt peril, and did what was poſſible to have reſtored the Battel, and encouraged his Souldiers; where preſſing in among the foremoſt, he was by *Scanderbeg* himſelf encountered hand to hand, and ſo by him ſlain; with whoſe fall the whole Army diſcouraged, without further reſiſtance fled. *Moſes* purſuing them on the one ſide, and *Muſachius* on the other, with furious hand ſlew more in that chaſe than were ſlain in the Battel. Of the Turks were ſlain in this Battel four thouſand one hundred and twenty, and ſome Priſoners taken, but of the Chriſtians few or none; ſo that for the good fortune thereof, *Scanderbeg* accounted it a Victory given. All the Spoil taken from the Enemy, together with the Priſoners, was by *Scanderbeg* equally divided among the Souldiers. Unto *Moſes* he gave *Debreas* his Horſe and Armor; and unto *Muſachius* a Priſoner, which by his port and behaviour ſeemed to be a man of ſome account. This Turk agreed with *Muſachius* upon a ranſome of two hundred Ducats, and preſently upon agreement made, drew forth the Mony out of a little Bag which he had kept ſecretly about him, and offered it to *Muſachius* for his ranſome; who receiving the Mony, told the Turk, that he muſt provide another ranſome, foraſmuch as that Mony was his own before by Law of Arms, as taken with his perſon. The Turk on the other ſide alledged for himſelf the agreement already made, with the payment of the full ſum agreed upon. This controverſie was brought before *Scanderbeg*; who with great pleaſure heard them both what they could ſay; *Muſachius* laying in hard for another ranſome, and the Turk for his liberty urging the agreement. Who when they had both ſaid what they could for themſelves, *Scanderbeg* ſmiling, told them, that they both contended for that which was in right his, and neither of theirs; for the Priſoner with the Mony were both mine (ſaid he) at the firſt taking of him, ſince which time I have given to you *Muſachius* the Priſoner, which I knew, but not the Mony which I knew not of; neither doth the concealing thereof make it yours (ſaid he to the Turk) who had by Law of Arms loſt your ſelf, together with all that you had about you. After he had thus pleaſantly diſcourſed of the matter, and brought them both in doubt, he awarded to *Muſachius* the Mony he agreed for, and to the Turk his deſired liberty; who glad thereof, and having alſo received his Horſe and Armor of the gift of *Scanderbeg*, departed, ſpeaking all the honour he could of ſo noble a Conqueror. After this Victory *Scanderbeg* with great triumph returned again to *Croia*.

When *Mahomet* underſtood that *Debreas* was ſlain, and his Army overthrown, he became exceeding melancholy; but after he ſaw ſo many of his Souldiers returned as had been ſufficient to have reſtored a loſt battel, he was ſo highly diſpleaſed with that Cowardiſe, as that he could not endure the ſight of them. The death of *Debreas* grieved none more than the King himſelf; for the Captains generally either envied at his hardineſs, or elſe hated his inſolency. *Ameſa* among the reſt took no ſmall pleaſure, that his proud Succeſſor had taken part of his evil Fortune, and ſo in part eaſed his former infamy. The great Baſſaes and Men of War ſeeing their Soveraign ſo deſirous of revenge, offered to ſpend their lives in that ſervice, whoſe forwardneſs he ſeemed not to refuſe; howbeit he had in his mind already plotted another manner of revenge. He was not ignorant, what great matters his Father *Amurath* had brought to paſs, by ſowing diſcord among the Princes of *Grecia*; which foul practiſe he purpoſed now to put in practiſe himſelf. There were at that time many famous Chieftains in *Epirus*, of *Scanderbeg* both beloved and truſted; among whom, he was in hope to find ſome one who for deſire of Wealth or Promotion, might be allured to give ſome deſperate attempt againſt the Life or State of *Scanderbeg*. Of all others, *Moſes Golemus* of *Dibra* (a man honourably deſcended) was moſt inward with *Scanderbeg*, and for his proweſs and experience in Martial Affairs, of all men accounted the beſt Captain in all *Epirus*, next unto *Scanderbeg* himſelf; him, the crafty Tyrant moſt deſired to alienate from *Scanderbeg*, as one fitteſt to ſerve his purpoſe, and eaſieſt without ſuſpition to be dealt withal, becauſe he commonly lay with a ſtrong Garriſon in *Dibra*, upon the very frontiers of *Epirus*. Wherefore he directed his Letters unto the Governor of *Sfetigrade*, commanding him by all means he could poſſibly deviſe to withdraw *Moſes* from *Scanderbeg*; and not to ſpare for any Gold or golden Promiſes whereby to allure him; promiſing alſo unto the Governor himſelf great preferments, if he could win him. Upon receipt of which Letters, the Governor began forthwith carefully to deviſe, how he might beſt attempt the matter he had in charge; where after many devices, he at laſt thought upon a ſhrewd-headed Fellow, one of the Chriſtians which dwelt in *Sfetigrade*; whom for that he was a Chriſtian, he might without ſuſpect uſe as an inſtrument in ſo dangerous and important an action. This Chriſtian the Governor called unto him, and after he had with great Gifts and large Promiſes won him to undertake the matter, he ſent him away, fully before armed with plenteous inſtructions full of Treaſon and Deceit. When this ſubtil Meſſenger was come unto *Moſes*, and under pretence of great and ſecret matters of importance, had obtained to ſpeak with him in private; he after ſome diſcourſe had of matters well worth the hearing, began at length under the covert of fair glozing words, to utter his poyſon; ſhewing unto him (as a Meſſenger from the Governour) the great and good opinion the Turkiſh Emperor had of long time conceived of his Valour and Proweſs, for which cauſe his heroical Nature could not but honour him, although he were his Enemy; and therewith alſo marvel, that he being a man of that worth, could be contented to be commanded by *Scanderbeg*, whoſe ſtate was by him chiefly upholden, whereas if he would do wiſely, and changing his affection, follow *Mahomet*, an Emperor of greateſt magnificence and power, he ſhould quickly in his Court find ſuch honourable entertainment, as were to be preferred before the ſtate of *Scanderbeg*; or if the Soveraignty of *Epirus* his native Country did better pleaſe him, he might eaſily be thereunto advanced, by joining his own endeavour to *Mahomets* great power. It pleaſed *Moſes* well to hear his own Praiſes (a thing incident to haughty minds) and he liked well that he was ſo favoured of the Turkiſh Emperor; but the hope of the Kingdom of *Epirus*, began to work in him new conceits, and moved him more than all the reſt. Such is the force of ambitious thoughts, that they make a man forget all things, ſave themſelves; ſo glorious a thing it is, to ſtand in the higheſt place: For all that, *Moſes* neither in word or countenance made any ſemblance of liking, or diſliking the Meſſage. Which the wily Meſſenger taking for a ſecret conſent, and heartily glad that he had been ſo well heard; not deſiring as then any further anſwer, craved leave to depart, promiſing in ſhort time to return to him again. After the departure of this Meſſenger, many troubled thoughts began to ariſe in the mind of *Moſes*; his mirth was changed into melancholy, and the cheerfulneſs of his countenance was abated; his haughty thoughts were his ſolitary Companions, and the imagined Kingdom the Idol he in ſecret worſhipped; ſo that in ſhort time, he ſeemed to the wiſer ſort as a man altogether metamorphoſed. Some were ſo bold, as for to ask the cauſe of the Meſſengers coming; unto whom he anſwered, That he was one, from whom he received intelligence of matters concerning the good of the State; which his anſwer was holden for true; for who durſt once miſtruſt *Moſes*? Whilſt he thus was toſſed up and down with his own thoughts, as a Ship with the Billows of a rough Sea, the ſame ſlie Meſſenger, according to his promiſe came again; and for his more credit, in ſecret brought with him ſuch Preſents as well might ſeem to have been ſent from the Great Turk, with his Meſſage better framed than before. Of all which that was ſent, *Moſes* is reported to have received nothing but the worſt, which was, the very Treaſon it ſelf. And ſo returned the Meſſenger, with anſwer, that he could not but in good part accept of the Turkiſh Emperors great favours; and for the reſt of his requeſts, whatſoever he ſhould chance to do therein, he ſhould not from thenceforth find him any great Enemy; commanding the Meſſenger at his departure, no more to repair unto him about that matter, for fear of ſuſpition.

The crafty proceeding of the Turks Meſſenger.

Moſes *corrupted.*

After that, it chanced that *Scanderbeg* came into *Dibra*, to ſee how all things ſtood there, and to conſult with *Moſes* for the beſieging of *Sfetigrade*; which City it grieved him to ſee in the poſſeſſion of the Turks. *Moſes* to avert *Scanderbeg* from that enterpriſe, wherein he muſt of force be driven to ſhew himſelf, told him, That he underſtood of late by a certain Meſſenger which came to him out of *Sfetigrade*, that the City was ſo well ſtored by the Turks, of all things neceſſary for the defence thereof, that it were but loſt labour to attempt any thing againſt the ſame; wherefore he adviſed him rather to beſiege *Belgrade* (not that *Belgrade* which is ſituated upon the River of *Danubius*, but another of the ſame name) in the Confines of *Epirus*, then holden by the Turks, but diſtant from *Sfetigrade* about an hundred and forty miles; of the taking whereof, there ſeemed to be more hope. By this perſwaſion, *Scanderbeg* reſolved with himſelf to make proviſion for the beſieging of *Belgrade*. And foraſmuch as his Souldiers of *Epirus* alwaies uſed to the Field, were not ſo fit for the beſieging of Towns, he thought it good to pray aid out of *Italy*, from his old Friend *Alphonſus* King of *Naples*, with whom he had been of long time acquainted, and unto him much beholden. Wherefore he ſent two of his Noblemen Embaſſadors unto him, with certain rich Preſents, and familiar Letters of this purport.

Scanderbeg *craveth aid of* Alphonſus *King of* Naples.

Our Souldiers of Epirus, *know only how to fight with men, and them to vanquiſh; with Walls they know not how to deal. You* Italians *(as I underſtand) have skill in that kind of ſervice, and take pleaſure therein; wherefore now at this preſent, I have need of your help and cunning. There be certain Towns of our Enemies in* Epirus, *yea almoſt in the heart of our Kingdom, which eye-ſore I have of long deſired (if it pleaſed God) to take out of my ſight; but being occupied with continual Wars, had no leiſure until now, happily to attempt any thing againſt them. This time I have choſen as moſt fit, to ſatisfie my deſire, both for the ſeaſonableneſs of the time of the year, and for that* Mahomet *ſpareth me leiſure; whoſe fury I have twice calmed. You underſtand in few words, what I have need of; all other things are almoſt in readineſs, and we only look for your help. Lend me ſuch Souldiers as know how to fight a far off, I mean Harquebuſiers and Canoniers, for of others we have ſtore plenty. But happy is* Apulia, *my* Alphonſus, *under thy Government, from whence men fit for all ſervices may be drawn as out of a moſt plentiful treaſury. Whenſoever we have requeſted men fit for ſervice, either in Peace or War, you have beautified both our Court and Camp. By you the Kingdom of* Epirus *hath been ſupported with civil Policy, and warlike Strength; all ſort of People, of what condition ſoever; yea every corner of* Epirus *ſoundeth forth thy praiſe, both at home and abroad. But for mine own part, I do ſo lovingly embrace your kindneſs, and ſo firmly retain the remembrance of your deſerts towards me, that ſometime I wiſh you that fortune (although in ſo doing I may ſeem unkind) which (as the common ſaying is) proveth, but getteth not Friends; to the intent, that you might by ſome more certain proof know, how much I am to you devoted.*

When *Scanderbeg* had ſent away his Embaſſadors, he with all diligence began to provide things neceſſary for the Siege of *Belgrade*; wherein he had purpoſed alſo to have uſed the ſervice of *Moſes*. But he now in heart a Traitor both to his Prince and Country, and a Friend to *Mahomet*, found many excuſes to ſtay at home in *Dibra*; alledging firſt, that it was to be thought that ſo ſoon as the Turkiſh King ſhould hear of the Siege of *Belgrade*, he would invade ſome part of *Epirus*, thereby to withdraw his Enemies from the Siege; and then that no part of all *Epirus* lay nearer unto the Turks, or more in danger than *Dibra*; and that therefore he could not do any better ſervice, than to ſee unto the ſafety of that Country, long before committed to his charge, and in which alſo moſt part of his Living lay. Theſe his excuſes, proceeding indeed from deep Treaſon, were yet nevertheleſs thought reaſonable, and he for his provident care highly commended; and Authority given him with new ſupplies to augment the Garriſon under his command, as time and occaſion ſhould require.

Alphonſus *ſendeth aid unto* Scanderbeg.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had fully made his preparation for the intended Siege, the Embaſſadors before ſent to *Alphonſus*, were returned into *Epirus*, and with them ſuch aid as *Scanderbeg* had before requeſted, and a great deal more; For *Alphonſus* fearing the greatneſs of the Turkiſh Emperor, in what he could furthered *Scanderbeg* his actions, reckoning *Epirus* not above ſixty miles diſtant from his Dominions, to be the ſtrongeſt Walls of his Kingdom in *Apulia* (as not many years after, it by proof appeared, when as the Turks having taken *Otranto*, put all *Italy* in no ſmall fear.) With this aid he alſo wrote loving Letters unto *Scanderbeg*, thanking him for his Preſents, and for the good opinion he had of him, willing him to make as bold of all his things, as of his own. But when he came to make mention of the Souldiers he had ſent, *Alphonſus*, after the manner of his pleaſant nature, merrily wrote unto *Scanderbeg*, That he had ſent him *Italian* Souldiers which could according to his deſire, fight well both with Men and Walls, but better with Women; and that therefore the *Epirots* were beſt to take heed, that they whoſe help they required for fight afar off, proved not alſo good Warriors at hand at home in their Houſes. The great commendation *Scanderbeg* had given of the King, was by him referred unto the exceſs of his love, and by the King requited with the like.

Scanderbeg *beſiegeth and diſtreſſeth* Belgrade.

Scanderbeg now furniſhed with all things needful, ſet forward, and according to his former determination, came and encamped before *Belgrade*, with an Army of fourteen thouſand good Souldiers; and in ſhort time had ſo diſtreſſed the City, that the Turks were glad to take truce with him for ſixteen days, which time expired, they promiſed to deliver up the Town, if they were not before relieved. Upon concluſion of this truce *Scanderbeg* encamped himſelf upon an high Hill near unto the City, with three thouſand Horſe, and a thouſand Foot, and appointed *Muſachius* and *Tanuſius*, with the reſt of his Army, to remove farther off into a large Plain, where they might encamp themſelves in a more wholſome and freſh Air, in that hot ſeaſon of the year, during the time of the truce. At which time he appointed alſo five and twenty Scouts to keep continual Watch upon the top of the high Mountain, to diſcover afar off the coming of the Enemy, and to give warning thereof unto the Camp by making a fire upon the Mountain; by the negligence of which Watch, *Scanderbeg* received a great overthrow, as hereafter followeth.

The news of the Siege of *Belgrade* was brought unto *Mahomet*, at ſuch time as he was ready to have paſſed into *Aſia* againſt the Emperor of *Trapezond*; which great enterpriſe he was loath to give over, for the relief of *Belgrade*, and yet to loſe that City unto *Scanderbeg*, grieved him much; wherefore he reſolved with himſelf ſo to do the one, as that he would not altogether neglect the other. And ſo holding on his intended journey into *Aſia* himſelf, with ſuch fortune as is aforeſaid, he ſent *Sebalias* one of his great Baſſaes, with forty thouſand Horſemen to relieve *Belgrade*, promiſing him great rewards if he could bring him *Scanderbeg* either alive or dead. This Baſſa was of the Turks accounted for a wary Captain, but not ſo couragious, alwaies more politick than forward: He having received his charge, ſet forward with all ſpeed poſſible, no leſs careful of that he was commanded, than was *Mahomet* himſelf, and by great journies came on ſo faſt, that he ſtill prevented the fame of his coming; and by his Forerunners intercepted, or rather (as ſome write) corrupted the Watch which *Scanderbeg* had before placed upon the Mountains; ſo that no ſign was given unto the Camp, of the Enemies, as was expected. By means whereof, *Sebalias* with all his power were upon that part of *Scanderbegs* Army, which lay in the Plains, before they were well aware of his coming; ſo that moſt part of them had not ſo much leiſure as to bridle their Horſes, or to put on their Armor. In which ſo ſuddain a fear, *Muſachius* armed himſelf, and put his Souldiers in ſuch order, as the ſhortneſs of the time and the Enemies approach would permit; doubting much, whether it were better to fight or to flie; but ſeeing no leſs danger in Flight than in Fight, he reſolutely received the Enemies charge, as a man deſirous beforehand to revenge his own death. And at length (ſeeing his men ſlain about him by heaps, and that courage muſt needs give place unto fortune) fiercely attempted to have broken through the midſt of his Enemies, and ſo to have fled unto the Mountain where *Scanderbeg* lay; but he was ſo beſet, that no way was poſſible to be made; wherefore reſolving there to die, he deſperatly fought, to the great admiration of his Enemies, untill that he, with all there with him, were every man ſlain. *Tanuſius*, on the other ſide, after he had given divers brave attempts to have reſcued his couſin *Muſachius*, finding by proof, that he could do him no more good therein, but to become the wofull companion of his death, exhorted all the reſt yet left, for ſafegard of there lives to flie: in which doing, moſt of them were ſlain, for the Baſſaes great Army ſo filled all places thereabout, and ſo eagerly purſued the Victory, that it was almoſt impoſſible any way to eſcape. *Scanderbeg* lying upon the Mountain, and ſeeing the overthrow of moſt part of his Armie, was about many times to have deſcended from the Hill to have holpen them in what he might, or elſe to have there died with them: but yet ſtaied, being thereto earneſtly requeſted by his other moſt expert Captains; and perſwaded, not deſperatly to thruſt both himſelf and them all into the manifeſt peril of aſſured death.

Muſcachius *ſlain and the* Epirots *put to Flight.*

Scanderbeg *ſeeth his men ſlain, and is not able to relieve them.*

Sebalias having ſlain *Muſachius* and put *Tanuſius* to flight, followed the chaſe with the greateſt part of his Army, ſo that few were left in the great Plain, except ſuch as ſtaied to rifle the dead. *Scanderbeg* taking that opportunity, came down from the Hill whereon he ſtood, with his four thouſand Souldiers, and in a moment ſlew all ſuch Turks as he found in his way; and after following in the tail of the Turks Army, cut off a great number of them, and brought a general fear upon the whole Army; inſomuch, that *Sebalias* perceiving that he gained not ſo much in chaſing of *Tanuſius* but that he loſt more in the rereward of his Army, by the purſuit of *Scanderbeg*, left the chaſe, and turned upon his fierce Enemy; where after a ſharp ſkirmiſh begun, the wary Baſſa fearing in the maintaining of that diſordered Fight to have the Victory wrung out of his hands by *Scanderbeg*, cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, ſo to call together his diſperſed Souldiers, and in better order to encounter his dangerous Enemy. *Scanderbeg* in the mean time having aſſembled the remainder of his Army, valiantly again encountred the Turks, who thought in this battel to have made an end of the Wars in *Epirus*; and with his own Hand ſlew *Achmat* and *Barach*, two valiant Souldiers of the Turks; which like ſtout Champions had before ſworn unto *Mahomet* the death of *Scanderbeg*, if they ſhould chance to meet with him. In this laſt ſkirmiſh a great number of the Turks were ſlain; but Night drawing on, *Sebalias* retired with his Army to a Mountain near unto the City, and *Scanderbeg* likewiſe to another almoſt two miles off; and in the dead time of the night riſing with his Army, returned in ſafety into *Epirus*, leaving ſtrong Garriſons upon all the ſtrait paſſages as he went, for fear leſt the Baſſa proud of this Victory, ſhould forthwith break into *Epirus*. This was the only and greateſt overthrow that *Scanderbeg* had hitherto received of the Turks; wherein he loſt two thouſand Horſemen and three thouſand Foot (moſt part whereof were of the *Italians* ſent from King *Alphonſus*) together with his Tents and great Artillery, and about eighty of his Men taken Priſoners. And of the Turks were alſo ſlain three thouſand.

Scanderbeg *flieth by night into* **Epirus.**

The next day *Sebalias* perceiving that *Scanderbeg* was retired, commanded the bodies of the ſlain Turks to be ſought out and buried; but of ſuch Chriſtians as they yet found breathing, the Turks cut off their Hands and Feet, and ſo left them among the dead. The Head of *Muſachius* and of many other the ſlain Chriſtians, which by their Armor or Apparel were thought to be of the better ſort, were by the Commandment of *Sebalias* cut off; which becauſe he could not for the diſtance of the place, and heat of the weather, without great annoiance carry with him to *Conſtantinople*, as the barbarous manner of the Turks is, he cauſed them to be ſlain, and ſtuffed with Chaff, and ſo to be carried as the vain Trophies of his Victory. Afterwards, when he had repaired the battered Walls of *Belgrade*, and put a new ſupply of ſeven hundred freſh Souldiers into the City, beſide the old Garriſon therein before, and ſet all things in good order, he returned with great Triumph to *Conſtantinople*. And the more to ſet out the glory of his Victory, at ſuch time as he entred the City, he firſt cauſed the captive Chriſtians to be led in Chains before him; after whom were born the Enſigns taken from the Chriſtians, with the aforeſaid Heads, thruſt upon Launces, and after them all the Spoil; laſt of all came *Sebalias* himſelf with his Souldiers, as great Conquerors, and was of the People received with ſuch Applauſe and Joy, as if he had conquered ſome great Kingdom. No man was now ſpoken of but *Sebalias*, his praiſes were in every mans Mouth, he was the only man (as they ſaid) that did ſhew that *Scanderbeg* was to be overcome; no preferment was now thought too great for him, or Reward ſufficient to countervail his deſert. The poor Chriſtian Captives were afterwards for the moſt part ſold; of the reſt, ſome were alive thruſt upon ſharp Stakes, ſome hanged upon iron Hooks, ſome otherwiſe cruelly at the Victors pleaſure tortured to death.

Moſes lately before corrupted by the practiſe of the Governour of *Sfetigrade*, hearing of the great loſs *Scanderbeg* had received at *Belgrade*, thought it now a moſt fit time for his revolt. But foraſmuch as the Fact, in the nature of it ſelf foul, ſeemed even to himſelf the doer thereof, a great deal fouler and more diſhonourable, for that he had therein no complices; he thought it good, if it were poſſible, to allure ſome others into the Fellowſhip of his Treaſon, ſo to diminiſh the infamy of himſelf, in communicating the ſame with many, and to appear with greater credit before the Turkiſh Tyrant, than if he ſhould as a contemptible Fugitive come all alone. Wherefore upon the bad news from *Belgrade*, he ſeemed at the firſt very penſive, and much to lament the misfortune of *Scanderbeg*, and the common miſery of the Country of *Epirus*, with many words amplifying the ſame; and then on the contrary part, ſetting forth to the uttermoſt the Force and Power of the Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet*, thereby to ſtrike a greater terror and diſtruſt into the minds of them with whom he was converſant; but unto ſuch as were more ſecret and inward with him, he diſcovered the great affection and favour the great Emperor *Mahomet* had of long born him, with the large offer of his Gifts and Preferments, aſſuring them of the like alſo, if they would conform themſelves unto his appetite; ſeeking hereby ſo much as he could, to allure them into the participation of his moſt excreable Treaſon; yet when he had ſaid what he could, he found none but a few of the baſer ſort of the common Souldiers, which were willing to hearken unto him or to follow him. When *Moſes* ſaw how much he had laboured, and how little prevailed, fearing to be diſcovered, he fled by night to *Sfetigrade*, accompanied with a few baſe Fellows, and eaſily obtained the Governors paſs, with ſafe conduct to *Conſtantinople*; where he arrived a little before the return of *Sebalias* from *Belgrade*, and was of *Mahomet* both joyfully received and honourably entertained.

When *Scanderbeg* underſtood that *Moſes* was thus revolted, at the firſt report thereof he was ſo troubled with the ſtrangeneſs of the Fact, that he ſtood ſpeechleſs as a man aſtonied; but after he had pauſed a while, and upon further enquiry had found it out to be true, he according to his heroical diſpoſition, ſaid no more, but that he could eaſily have *Moſes* excuſed, for that he was carried away with the violence of ſuch Fortune as might have alienated the mind of a right conſtant man. And when divers of his Friends (according to the manner of the World) with hard ſpeeches ſeemed to aggravate his offence; he could not abide to hear the ſame, but commanded them to hold their peace, and no more to uſe ſuch ſpeeches; wiſhing that all Treaſon and evil Fortune were together with *Moſes* gon out of *Epirus*. Upon this news *Scanderbeg* accompanied with *Ameſa* his Nephew, and a Troop of Horſemen, preſently entred into the Country of *Dibra*, and there with all care cauſed moſt diligent inquiry to be made, if any could be found partakers of the Conſpiracy with *Moſes*. But finding none, he much rejoyced in the fidelity of his Subjects; and having ſet all things in good order in that Province, returned himſelf to *Croia*.

Moſes remaining in the Turks Court, ceaſed not to ſolicite *Mahomet* to proceed in his Wars againſt *Scanderbeg*, promiſing to do therein great matters, even to the ſpending of his life in that ſervice. But the crafty Tyrant thinking it not good to truſt him too far before he had further trial of him, delaied him off to the next Spring, pretending that the year was too far ſpent to begin Wars. In the mean time he cauſed all *Moſes* Talk, his Behaviour and Actions, to be diligently obſerved and noted; and oftentimes himſelf diſcourſed with him concerning the managing of that War; all which he did eſpecially to ſound the depth of *Moſes* his Thoughts. And finding nothing in him but the moſt aſſured and undoubted ſigns of a mind devoted to his ſervice, and altogether ſtranged from *Scanderbeg*; in the beginning of the Spring he committed to his charge the leading of fifteen thouſand Horſemen for the invading of *Epirus*, ſuch men as *Moſes* himſelf ſhould make choice of; for a greater number he required not for the vanquiſhing of *Scanderbeg*. Theſe Souldiers although they deteſted (ſo few in number) to enter that fatal Country of *Epirus*, as men fair warned by other mens harms, yet heartned on by the opinion they had conceived of their new General, and the hope they had by his means to find Friends in that Country to join with them, were the willinger to go. So *Moſes* furniſhed with a notable Army, and all warlike proviſion he could deſire for the deſtruction of his Country; and blinded with the imagination of a Kingdom, ſet forward, and marching through *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, forgetting the Loyalty due unto his Soveraign, and the love he ought to have born unto his native Country, came and entred into *Dibra*.

Mahomet *ſendeth* Moſes *with fifteen thouſand ſelect men to invade* Epirus.

Scanderbeg by his eſpials underſtanding of the coming of *Moſes*, as alſo what ſtrength he was of, ſtood not now upon any policy againſt him who had of long been privy to all his Stratagems, but was ready even at his firſt entrance with true Valour to encounter him. As both the Armies ſtood ranged in order of Battel, a Meſſenger came from the Turks Camp, to know of *Scanderbeg*, if any one of his Army durſt to prove his Fortune hand to hand againſt one of the Turks, before the beginning of the general Battel. By which Meſſenger anſwer was returned, That the Challenge ſhould be accepted. The name of the Turk which made this brave Challenge was *Ahemaze*, a man for his Valour and Courage of great name amongſt the Turks. Upon this proud Challenge, *Zacharias Groppa*, a Gentleman of no leſs reputation among the Chriſtians, haſtily ſtept forth before *Scanderbeg* (as if he had been afraid to have been prevented by ſome other) and requeſted, that he might be the man to abate the Turks Pride. *Scanderbeg* embracing him, commended his noble mind, and wiſhing him good Fortune, gave him leave to carry with him into the Field the firſt honour of the Chriſtian Army. As he was arming himſelf, his Companions and Fellows in Arms ſtanding about him, wiſhed unto him not more Courage or Strength than he had, but only the Fortune of *Maneſſi*. Upon his Armor he put on many rich Jewels and Ornaments, the Allurements or rather the Rewards of the Enemy, if he could vanquiſh him. The Turkiſh Champion was no ſooner come into the Plain betwixt both Armies, and made ſhew of himſelf in great bravery, as if his match had yet been ſcarcely found, but he ſaw *Zacharias* come forth bravely mounted, and ready to charge him; to whom *Ahemaze* calling aloud, ſaid there would be time enough for him to haſten to his death, and therefore requeſted to talk with him before. So when he had learned of him both his name and place, he propounded ſuch like Conditions of the Combat, as had been long before derided by *Maneſſi*; whereof *Zacharias* in no better ſort accepted. In few words it was agreed upon betwixt them, That each of them ſhould abide his own Fortune, without any help or aid of others; and that the Victor ſhould have full power over the Body and Spoil of the vanquiſhed. Thus agreed, they withdrew themſelves one a good diſtance from another, and with their Launces charged, ran together with ſuch force, that with the violence of the encounter they brake their Launces one upon the other, and were both Horſe and Man overthrown. But unhorſed, they nimbly recovered themſelves, and with their Scimitars fiercely aſſailed the one the other on foot. Fortune it ſhould ſeem had determined to beautifie that Combat with variety, ſtanding a great while indifferent to both. After many ſturdy ſtroaks given, without any hurt done, by reaſon they were ſo ſtrongly armed, it fortuned that both their Swords were beaten out of their Hands; then grapling together with their bare Hands, as if they had been two unarmed Wreſtlers, after long ſtrugling till they were both almoſt out of breath, *Zacharias* overthrew the Turk, and lying upon him, with his dagger, above the Gorget thruſt him into the Throat, and ſlew him; and ſo riſing up, with the Sword that firſt came to his Hands, cut off the Turks Head; at the ſight whereof the Chriſtian Army gave a great ſhout for joy, to the great diſcomfiture of the Turks. To be ſhort, *Zacharias* deſpoiling the Turk of his Armor, and what elſe he thought good, returned loaded with the Spoil of his Enemy, and preſented unto *Scanderbeg* the proud Turks Head; for which he was of him afterwards moſt honorably rewarded.

A Combat betwixt a Turk and a Chriſtan.

Into this place yet reeking with the Blood of the late ſlain Turk, came *Moſes*, and with a loud voice challenged *Scanderbeg* hand to hand; thinking indeed that he would not have adventured his Perſon; but when he ſaw him ready to come forth, he ſhamefully forſook the place, and returned with ſhame enough into his Army.

The Battle betwixt Scanderbeg *and* Moſes.

Preſently after both Armies upon ſignal given ſet forward, and ſo began to joyn Battel; where at the firſt onſet *Scanderbeg* ſo valiantly charged the Vauward of the Turks Army, that they were glad to give ground; which *Moſes* perceiving, relieved them with new ſupplies, and riding now here, now there, with his Preſence and Courage reſtored the Battel, in many places almoſt loſt. Howbeit, the *Epirots* encouraged with the beginning of their good Fortune, ſtill prevailed upon their Enemies, and after great ſlaughter made, came to the Strength of their Battel; where *Moſes* had placed moſt of his beſt Souldiers, as his moſt aſſured and laſt refuge; in this place the Turks fought with exceeding Courage, and *Moſes* warily obſerving in what part of the Battel *Scanderbeg* himſelf was, directed his moſt Forces againſt him on purpoſe, if poſſibly he might, to have ſlain him; whereof he miſſed but a little; for a couragious Souldier of the Turks by chance encountring with *Scanderbeg*, with his Horſemans Staff bare him quite backward upon his Horſe, in ſuch forcible manner, that the Turks for joy gave a great ſhout, thinking verily he had been ſlain; but *Scanderbeg* recovering himſelf again, and chaſed with ſuch an unwonted diſgrace, furiouſly aſſailed the ſame Turk with his Sword, and after a great Fight ſlew him. A great part of the Turks Army being already overthrown by them that had the leading of the Wings of *Scanderbegs* Army, divers of the common Souldiers thruſt the

Heads of the ſlain Turks upon the points of their Spears, in token of Victory, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Turks; and now joining themſelves with *Scanderbeg*, more fiercely charged the main Battel of the Turks than before. Nevertheleſs, *Moſes* encouraging his Souldiers, did what was poſſible for a man to do, and even with his own Valour a great while ſtaid the courſe of the Victory; until he ſeeing the ground about him covered with the dead bodies of his beſt Souldiers; and that there was no remedy but that he muſt either flie or there die, turned his Back and fled. In which Flight, many of the hindermoſt of the Turks were ſlain; as for *Moſes* himſelf, he eſcaped by ways to him well known, only with four thouſand men, the poor remainder of ſo great an Army; the reſt, to the number of about eleven thouſand, all choice men, were ſlain; whereas of the Chriſtians were not paſt an hundred loſt, and about eighty wounded. Of all the Turks that were taken, only one was ſaved; who being a man of good account, had yielded himſelf to *Zacharias*, and was afterward ranſomed; the reſt were all by the common Souldiers, without Pity tortured to death, in revenge of the Cruelty by them ſhewed at *Belgrade*; *Scanderbeg* himſelf either not knowing thereof, or winking thereat.

Moſes *contemned of the Turks.*

Moſes with the reſt of his diſcomfited Army, lay ſtill a while upon the Borders of *Epirus*, and would fain have perſwaded them, after the departure of *Scanderbeg*, to have followed him again into *Epirus*, to have ſurpriſed the Garriſon left in *Dibra*, in number not above two thouſand; promiſing to bring them upon the ſame Garriſon, before they ſhould be aware of their coming. But the Turks having him now in contempt, were about by general conſent to forſake him, and to return home. And ſo *Moſes* ſeeing no remedy, returned with them to *Conſtantinople*, with countenance as heavy as if he had been a condemned man now carried to the place of Execution; and the Turks which had not long before had him in great admiration, expecting that he ſhould have ended the Wars in *Epirus*, began now to diſgrace him as faſt, and to ſpeak all the evil of him they could deviſe. Yea the Tyrant himſelf (although he could blame nothing in the Man, but his Fortune) was ſo highly offended with him for the loſs of his Army, that he had undoubtedly put him to moſt cruel death, had not the great Baſſaes, and others near about him, perſwaded him otherwiſe, ſaying, That in ſo doing, he ſhould alienate the minds of all others from revolting unto him, or attempting any great thing for his ſervice. So was he by their mediation pardoned his life; but withal ſo diſgraced, that he had little or nothing allowed him afterwards for his neceſſary maintenance; all which deſpightful contumelies he outwardly ſeemed patiently to bear; but was inwardly ſo tormented with melancholy and grief, that he could neither eat nor drink; the remembrance of the foul Treaſon committed againſt his Prince and Country, was day and night before his Eyes; and the diſgraces of the Turks Court inwardly tormented him with intollerable grief; the ſight of the Tyrant (who meaſured all things by the event) filled his Heart with ſecret indignation; and to return again to his natural Prince, of whom he had ſo evil deſerved, he was aſhamed; ſometime the clemency and princely nature of *Scanderbeg*, whom he knew of old, ſlow to revenge, and eaſie to be intreated to forgive, heartned him on to think of return; and by and by, the conſideration of his foul Treaſon overwhelmed him with deſpair. Thus with contrary thoughts plunged too and fro, tormented with the unſpeakable griefs of a troubled conſcience, not knowing what to do, purpoſing now one thing, and by and by another; at laſt he reſolved to forſake the inſolent Tyrant, and to ſubmit himſelf to the mercy of *Scanderbeg*; wiſhing rather to die in his Country for his due deſert, than to live with infamy, derided in the Turks Court. Reſting himſelf upon this reſolution, one Evening he got ſecretly out of the Gates of *Conſtantinople*, and travelling all that night and the day following before he reſted, by long and weary journeys, came at laſt unto his native Country of *Dibra*. The Garriſon Souldiers beholding their old Governor all alone, full of heavineſs, as a man eaten up with cares; moved with compaſſion, forgetting the evils he had been the occaſion of, received him with many tears and friendly embracings, and brought him to *Scanderbeg*, who by chance then lay not far off. *Moſes* coming unto him with his girdle about his Neck, in token that he had deſerved death (as the manner of that Country was) found him walking before his Tent, and there with heavy cheer falling down upon his Knees at his Feet, ſubmitted himſelf unto his mercy, and with great humility and ſigns of repentance, craved his moſt gracious pardon. Which his requeſt *Scanderbeg* preſently granted, and taking him up by the Hand embraced and kiſſed him, in token he had from his Heart forgiven him; and within a few days after, cauſed all ſuch things of his as were before confiſcate, to be again reſtored unto him; with all ſuch Offices and Promotions as he had before enjoyed; and by open Proclamation commanded, That from thenceforth no man ſhould either publikely or privately ſpeak of that *Moſes* had treſpaſſed. *Mahomet* underſtanding that *Moſes* was returned again into *Epirus*, and honoured of *Scanderbeg* as in former time, was much grieved thereat, and fumed exceedingly; firſt, for that he had at all truſted him; and then, that he had ſo let him ſlip out of his Hands; being verily perſwaded, that all that *Moſes* had done, was but a fineneſs of *Scanderbeg* to deceive him.

Moſes *flyeth from* Conſtantinople.

Shortly after that *Moſes* was returned into *Epirus*, *Mahomet* by like practice allured unto him *Ameſa*, *Scanderbeg* his Nephew; promiſing to make him King of *Epirus* in his Uncles ſtead. For by that means, the crafty Tyrant thought it a more eaſie way to draw the minds of the people of *Epirus* from *Scanderbeg* unto him deſcended of the Princes Blood, than to *Moſes*, or to any other Stranger he ſhould ſet up. *Ameſa* upon this hope of a Kingdom, fled to *Conſtantinople*; and becauſe he would clear the mind of the Tyrant of all Suſpition and diſtruſt, he carried with him his Wife and Children, as the moſt ſure Pledges of his Fidelity. This *Ameſa* was of Stature low, and the Feature of his Body not ſo perfect as might ſufficiently expreſs the hidden Vertues of his Mind; he was of Courage haughty above meaſure, ſubtil and of a pregnant Wit; wonderful painful, and thereto courteous and bountiful (the chief means whereby aſpiring minds ſteal away the Hearts of Men) whatſoever he got of himſelf, or had by the gift of his Uncle, he divided it among his Souldiers or Friends; he was very affable, and could notably both cover and diſſemble his affections; for which things, he was above all others both beloved and honoured of all the People of *Epirus*, next to *Scanderbeg* himſelf. At his firſt coming to *Mahomet*, he filled not his Ears with great Promiſes and vain Praiſes of himſelf as had *Moſes*;

but only excuſing his own revolt, laboured to perſwade him, That he had for juſt cauſes left his Uncle, with a deſire now faithfully to ſerve him. And to that purpoſe ſpake unto him as followeth.

Ameſa *his firſt ſpeech unto* Mahomet.

If it ſhould pleaſe thee (moſt noble Mahomet) *to call to remembrance the old injuries, and antient diſpleaſures by us committed againſt thine imperial Majeſty, we might ſeem now rather to have come hither to receive the juſt guerdon of our evil deſerts, than upon any hope of honour or preferment. For what could have been done more in diſgrace of the* Othoman *Empire, than that you have ſeen long ſince done by us, in the moſt dangerous time of the* Hungarian *War; rather of a malicious and ſet purpoſe, than for that we were juſt Enemies? Whenas in the ſame perfideous courſe, I my ſelf being a helper and partaker therein (for now no excuſe is to be pretended for our doings, more than repentance) your Fathers Army was betrayed at* Morava, *and the Kingdom of* Epirus *by great Treachery wreſted out of your Fathers Hands; the only cauſe of ſo many Calamities, and of ſo much bloodſhed. But vain is this fear, and our ſuſpition needleſs, with ſo wiſe and merciful a Prince; eſpecially for that my years then green, and youth prone unto the harm of it ſelf, and a mind not reſting upon his own reſolutions, deceived me. I believed mine Uncle (for the ignorant believe many things) and allured with the deſire of Soveraignty (the proper diſeaſe of that age) and too much credulous, I forſook you and followed his promiſes, but diſcretion growing with years, I have by little and little perceived both the ſlie perfidecus dealing of mine Uncle, as alſo that my revolt from you was more hurtful unto my ſelf than to any other.* Scanderbeg *recovered, and alſo enlarged the Kingdom of* Epirus; *but not without my great labour and help. I expected long time, that he ſhould have given me, if not my Fathers whole Inheritance, yet at leaſt ſome part thereof, as a ſmall reward of my ſo great travel and danger. Not long after he married a Wife, and hath begot a young Heir, a new Succeſſor in his Kingdom; unto me for ſhame of the World, becauſe I ſhould not altogether lead a private life, he hath aſſigned a baſe corner of* Epirus; *where he enjoying the reſt, I might lead a poor and contemptible life. In this caſe I had much ado to bridle my affections, and could never digeſt that injury; yet the iniquity of the time, with the inſolent diſpoſition of the man, compelled me to ſmother up my thoughts, and to make fair weather, leſt finding ſome ſuſpition, he ſhould craftily have intrapped me, as he did of late* George Streſie *his Siſters Son; whom wrongfully charged with feigned ſurmiſes, he hath almoſt deprived of all his Poſſeſſions. I would willingly have fled unto the Feet of your Highneſs, I would gladly have forſaken my ingrateful Uncle with the ſtains of his infamous Kingdom; but that the remembrance of the old Rebellion, and many Injuries ſiththence done, did make me afraid, until that now (God I think ſo appointing it) I came moſt gladly, following your moſt Royal Faith and Promiſe. You had ſcarcely beckned unto me, you had ſcarcely invited me, having of long intentively waited every occaſion, but ſtraight way I came with ſuch ſpeed, as if I would have flown; I lingred not, I expected not either* Scanderbeg *or his evil hap, or your more proſperous ſucceſs, as of late did* Moſes; *leſt I might thereby juſtly ſeem either for fear or regard of ſome eminent danger, rather to have provided for mine own ſafety than to have embraced your magnificence. Neither have I left any thing for you in me to ſuſpect, nor any cauſe wherefore I ſhould deſire to return again into* Epirus; *here are preſent moſt ſure bonds of my love, and faithful* Pledges *of my Loialty. Behold (wortly* Mahomet) *you have whaſoever is dear unto me, yea whatſoever Nature could give, pleaſing unto men in the courſe of mans life. Theſe have I brought unto thee, which ſhould with violence have been taken from an Enemy; ſuch Pawns as might aſſure thee of the Faith of a moſt doubtful man. More than this, I have brought nothing; for in ſo great ſpeed and ſecret departure, I could not have regard of my Subſtance. And if I might have had time to have truſſed up my traſh at leiſure; yet I know not how, I ſhould have thought it a kind of baſeneſs, to have brought with me any part of the poor reliques of mine old Fortune; eſpecially unto thee, of all other the richeſt. Only my Fidelity I lay down before thee, for any thing greater I have not; and if thou deſire of me any other Bond for more aſſurance, I refuſe not whatſoever your Highneſs ſhall appoint; for I came not hither to ſet down Covenants and Agreements of my ſelf, but to receive them from you. I dare not promiſe to vanquiſh mine Uncle, and to ſubdue* Epirus *with an Army of fifteen thouſand men; the misfortune of* Haly-Baſſa *and other your Generals; yea and the late and rare Victory of* Sebalias, *with great bloodſhed gained, may ſerve for examples. In me you ſhall neither want diligence nor faithful ſervice; as for other things concerning the event of this War, and for the revenge of the injuries by you received; you being a Prince of power invincible, and of a moſt deep judgment, are not to be adviſed by me your unskilful Vaſſal.*

Ameſa *honourably entertained by* Mahomet.

This Speech of *Ameſa*, ſeemed unto *Mahomet* free from all diſſimulation, foraſmuch as he knew moſt part thereof to be true; and his Wife and Children brought unto his preſence, confirmed the reſt. Wherefore commending his good affection, he appointed him honourable entertainment, referring other matters unto a further time.

Upon the approach of the Spring, *Mahomet* deſiring nothing more than to be revenged upon *Scanderbeg*, entred into conſultation with his great Baſſaes, concerning the invaſion of *Epirus*; unto which Counſel *Ameſa* was by *Mahomet* admitted, and his wicked device for the deſtruction of his Country, of all others beſt liked. After the matter had been long too and fro debated, it was concluded, That *Iſaac* the great Baſſa of *Conſtantinople*, ſhould with an Army of fifteen thouſand be ſent againſt *Scanderbeg*, and *Ameſa* with him, having the charge of five thouſand Horſemen; and the Baſſa to proclaim *Ameſa* King of *Epirus*; thereby to perſwade the *Epirots*, that *Mahomet* invaded *Epirus* rather for the diſpleaſure he bare againſt *Scanderbeg*, and for the advancement of *Ameſa*, than for any ambitious deſire he had to take unto himſelf that Kingdom.

Great was the preparation for this War, and the expectation thereof greater. Flying Fame had in ſhort time filled every corner of *Epirus* with the report of theſe News; adding thereunto (as the manner is) a great deal more than was true. Whereupon *Scanderbeg* without delay, ſent for his great Captains and Men of War into *Dibra*, where that Tempeſt was firſt to be expected; and when they were all aſſembled, he declared unto them the greatneſs of the danger, and what he thought thereof himſelf, as followeth.

A notable ſpeech of Scanderbeg *unto his Captains how the Turks were to be withſtood at their coming to* Epirus.

Amongſt all other things which God hath left to vex and grieve the minds of men in ſo great variety of Worldly Affairs, we ſee (right worthy Souldiers) theſe two the greateſt, Hope, and Fear. The firſt a more comfortable thing, and proper to couragious minds (I may not ſay) of light belief; the other a thing of more diſcretion and ſafety, which although it uſe to defer the deſires of men, yet hath it power *at length excellently to cure and ſeaſon the ſame. Hereupon is it eaſily to be gathered, That the great Chieftains of former times have gained more Honour and greater Victories, by fearing all that was to be feared, than others in ſhew more hardy, which feared nothing. Hereupon the great* Charthaginentian *Captain uſed to call* Q. Fabius *(whom the* Romans *ever thought to ſlow and too fearful) his great Enemy: But* Terentius Varro *he called a greater Enemy unto his own Country and the people of* Rome, *than to himſelf. But wherefore do I wrongfully call that Fear, which might more truly be called Diſcretion, or wholſome Policy? Call it as you will, it is not much material; but this one thing no man can deny, That thereof hath riſen the ancient Diſcipline of War, and the old and ſevere Government of Martial Affairs. This adviſed carefulneſs cheriſheth and nouriſheth Hope it ſelf, it doth nothing raſhly; it hath Eyes before, behind, and on both ſides; it weigheth in indifferent ballance things paſt, preſent, and to come. You may now perceive to what end my Speech tendeth. I would firſt confer with you, and know your Opinions, before I determine any thing of the order of this War; that either I might yield unto your Opinion, or elſe (as you have always hitherto done) to mine. You hear now with your ears, what Preparation, what War-like Proviſion is daily made againſt us. Loe the great Baſſa of* Conſtantinople, *all the Flower of* Europe, *and whole ſtrength of the* Othoman *Kingdom knocketh at our Gates. I want not courage (neither ever did) to prove my Fortune againſt him, not without your Honour: But I think it better to uſe policy and wary heed againſt ſo great an Enemy, than our wonted force and courage. That notable Overthrow of* Haly-Baſſa, *ſo many great Victories by us atchieved, our minds by ſo many good haps confirmed, perſwade me to think that we have both courage and ſtrength to Encounter him in plain battel; but the uncertain events of War, and Fortune never ſufficiently known, maketh wiſe men to forget what is paſt, and to fear that is to come. It was never proper to any man, it was never given by Inheritance, always to overcome; new Occurrents require new Correſpondents; neither may you, for that you conquered yeſterday, preſume to aſſure your ſelf to divide the ſpoil of your Enemies to day. Victory is like a Traveller, and goeth hither and thither, not reſting long in a place; and although it be for moſt part both gotten and kept by courage and diſcretion, yet oftentimes, when you have moſt carefully and politiquely diſpoſed of all things, the fortune and chance of War have therein a great ſway. I was wont to require (I remember it well) only valour and courage in my Souldiers, contemning all external accidents and fortunes haps; if you did promiſe unto me couragious Minds, I aſſured you of all good hap and proſperous Succeſs; but that loſs we received at* Belgrade *(the remembrance whereof my mind feareth, and always abhorreth to think upon) hath much changed my former Cogitations, and made me to deem far otherwiſe of worldly matters, and the uncertainty of Fortune. What if that day had been longer? or* Sebalias *of more courage? might not the State of* Epirus *have that day been utterly overthrown? We were then rather by God preſerved, than by any thing that was in our ſelves: What remained more, but that we ſhould like Cowards have yielded our ſelves to have been bound of the Conquerors? The night defended us, yea even God himſelf defended us; who took from them both policy and force, and gave us time to breath and eſcape away. We were then but as a prey, expecting but the coming of the Victor: Howbeit he took nothing from us, he carried little or nothing away with him, being too much careful to keep the Honour he had already gained, and peradventure in fear of them of whom he was not without cauſe moſt feared. I ſpeak not this of purpoſe to terrifie any of you, but rather to admoniſh you, and to conſult with you, how ſo great Preparations may be fruſtrated and overthrown, and ſome notable Victory by us atchieved, without the price of our blood, or the loſs of ſuch things as we have. The number of our Enemies is great, and ſo great, as until this day we never ſaw in* Epirus *greater, except at ſuch times, as they came to beſiege our Cities, and to devour us all. Now if we ſhall meet them in the plain Fields in a ſet battel, the event thereof will be doubtful, many of us muſt needs fall, many of us muſt die (I would I might be a falſe Prophet) before ſo great an Army will either fly or be overcome, your Victory ſhall be mingled with tears, and the heavineſs of the Conqueror not much unlike the ſorrow of the conquered. Was it but a few that we loſt at* Belgrade? *is that loſs ſo to be recovered? What Flower of Chivalry, hardly to be in many years reſtored? How many worthy men were there ſlain?* Epirus *muſt needs in ſhort time be unpeopled, if we ſhall ſo deſperately only ſeek for ſuch glorious Victories. Wherefore if we will do well, we muſt ſo fight to day, as that we may fight to morrow alſo. Neither are our Enemies and we in like caſe. The loſs of forty or fifty thouſand is leſs unto the Turkiſh Tyrant, than the loſs of an hundred of you is to me. We are in all but a few, and therefore carefully to be kept; which if we regard not for our own ſakes, yet let us do it for our Wives and Childrens, whoſe welfare and liberty dependeth on our lives: I know the number of you, I know your Faces and Countenances, and almoſt every one of your Names, which maketh me alſo more careful of your health. And yet I would not refuſe to try the whole fortune of this battel in plain Field, if we might thereby end all the Wars againſt the Turks for ever; if I were in hope ſo to find an end of our labours and travels hereafter, I would gladly adventure my life with yours, for the perpetual quiet and peace of our Poſterity; but a new Enemy always ariſeth, and we muſt ſtill look for new Wars. When this* Iſaac *is gone, another* Iſaac *will ere long come in his place; we ſhall be always exerciſed with new Wars, and incloſed with new dangers: It is the deſtiny of* Epirus *(as far as I can ſee) and we our ſelves are born thereto. Wherefore we muſt gather our wits together, we muſt well husband our Forces, and ſo divide our Patrimony, as that we may always have ſomething to content our Creditors, when they ſhall chance to come upon us. Yet ſhall God (no doubt) give an end alſo unto theſe Troubles; for extremities cannot be of long continuance, and you your ſelves ſhall at length take reſt; yea the ſtrong and puiſſant Enemy, wearied with ſo many vain Attempts, will at laſt have enough thereof, and leave off his perpetual hatred againſt us; then ſhall it be to you no ſmall pleaſure to remember ſo many labours and dangers paſt. Thus have I declared unto you the commodities and incommodities enſuing the Victory in plain battel. But what if we be vanquiſhed? Where have we any hope of relief left? From whence may we expect help? Will the bloody Enemy, inflate with Victory, expect whilſt we again recover our ſtrength and encounter him again with new Forces? No, he will purſue us and chaſe us ſo long as any of us are left; and having overcome us, will pour out the reſt of his fury upon our Towns and Country, then ſubject to his injury. But ſome of you peradventure will ſay, that they are by policy to be overtaken, and not to be met in open Field; of which opinion I alſo am my ſelf; yet happily differ from you in the time of doing the ſame. Then I think it beſt to deceive them, when they think they cannot be deceived; when as they being as it were in poſſeſſion of a ſuppoſed Victory, like men overjoyed, ſhall caſt no peril. Now they come even from the Gates of* Conſtantinople, *full of diſtruſt, prying into every corner, as men before warned by others harms, and ſo many dreadful examples of their* *fellows: Beſides that, they have with them my graceleſs Nephew and domeſtical Foe* Ameſa, *who will teach them to foreſee and ſhun ſuch Snares as in times paſt he with us was wont to lay for them. Wherefore we muſt now tower up unto the height of ſome notable and ſtrange policy, whereby both our Country may be from danger preſerved, and alſo ſome great Victory, without our own bloodſhed (which ſeldom chanceth) obtained; which to the maintenance of our ancient Glory and Renown, we have to this day by many moſt notable Victories gained: But time and ſpace, and the ſight of the Enemy, ſhall furniſh us with this device. Now (that my Diſcourſe may come to the purpoſed end) firſt of all, all things ſubject either to the fury or victory of the Enemy, are to be removed out of the way; all people, of what Age, Sex, or Condition ſoever, are to be brought out of the Country into places of ſafety; and then, our Towns are to be furniſhed with ſtrong Garriſons and all other neceſſary Proviſion, againſt all the chances of Fortune. Beſides, who knoweth the ſecret deſigns of the Tyrant? or whether he himſelf (of long time deſirous of Revenge, and thirſting after our Blood) will follow the Baſſa at the heels, or no? Perhaps I may believe and fear more than is needful; but it is good to fear all that may be feared, that we may indeed fear nothing: If all things ſhall thus be ſet in order, if there ſhall nothing be left in the Fields or in the Villages, that may enrich, feed, or fear our Enemies, and which may withdraw our care and thoughts from our Enemies; undoubtedly we ſhall be Victors. And if you will be ruled by me, and follow my direction in theſe Wars, I will aſſuredly deliver your Enemies into your hands to be ſlain at your pleaſure; and (by the leave of God) will make the Name and Valour of the* Epirots *more terrible unto the Turk, than ever it hath been in the time of our Anceſtors. I flatter not my ſelf, I deceive you not; if any thing may be promiſed in worldly Actions, this I aſſure you of, and this will I take upon me. But theſe things are better done than ſaid. In the mean while, to ſpend no more time in longer talk and diſcourſe (than which, no greater loſs can be to Souldiers) let every one of us take a part in this Charge, for the good diſpoſing of all things, and how to withſtand the Enemy. I will not command any thing to others which I will not my ſelf do; I will refuſe nothing, or reckon any thing baſe, which may tend to the common Honour or Profit of us all.*

This Speech of *Scanderbeg* was well liked and joyfully received of all the Hearers, ſo that many beſought him to manifeſt to them how he purpoſed to proceed in thoſe Wars; whereunto he with chearful countenance anſwered, That it was enough for him, if they did but believe him, promiſing himſelf in Perſon to be in the moſt dangerous actions as far as any of them, wherewith they reſted contented. And preſently diſpatching his Lieutenants into divers parts of his Kingdom, as he thought moſt convenient, provided, that all things were in ſhort time conveyed out of the Country into the ſtrong Towns and other places of Refuge. No Corn, no Cattel, or other things of any worth was left in the Country; but all left deſolate, in like manner as was before at the coming of the great King *Amurath* to the Siege of *Croia.*

The Epirots *remove all their things out of the Country into the ſtrong Towns before the coming of the Turks.*

By this time *Iſaac* the great Baſſa was come into *Epirus,* accompanied with *Ameſa*; and as he marched, ſtill ſent before him his Scouts and Eſpials, carefully to view every corner of the Country, for fear to be entrapped as others before him had been; directed in his Journey for moſt part by *Ameſa. Scanderbeg* had in readineſs ſuch an Army as he had purpoſed to uſe againſt his mighty Enemy, but lay with ſix thouſand Horſemen only in ſhew, as if he had determined with them to have given them battel, but meaning indeed nothing leſs. For as ſoon as the Baſſa was come in ſight, he with thoſe Horſemen, according as he had before appointed, as if he had been diſcouraged with the very ſight of the Turks, turned his back and fled. And becauſe he would not give them any occaſion to ſuſpect it to be done for ſome policy or fineneſs, and ſo to make them more careful, he fled not into the Mountains or Woods, as his wonted manner was, but directly toward *Lyſſa*, a Town of the *Venetians* ſtanding upon the Sea coaſt, as if he had quite deſpaired of the keeping of *Epirus*, and fled thither for Refuge. The Baſſa ſeeing him fly, was glad thereof, and ſent certain Troops of Horſemen to purſue him, and diligently to mark which way he took; but encamped himſelf with his Army in the Plains of *Dibra*, near unto *Oronychium*, where *Scanderbeg* lay before; and there reſted his Army, weary of long travel, expecting the return of his Horſemen, ſent after *Scanderbeg*. But upon their return, when it was for a certainty reported by them, That *Scanderbeg* with an handful of men was fled out of *Epirus*, and not an Enemy to be ſeen, the Turks began to rejoyce, and proudly to triumph, that they had without any loſs driven the Enemy out of the Country; yet much grieved, that they could no where find any thing to ſatisfie their greedy deſires; for why, all things were ſo clean gone, as if the Country had been ſwept againſt their coming, which might have been a ſufficient cauſe for them to have diſtruſted ſome great matter; but they flattering themſelves, ſuppoſed all this to be done for fear of them, upon extream deſperation; ſuch is the frail condition of men, to loſe ſtrength of body, common ſenſe, yea, their reaſon and underſtanding, when ſome great miſchief is appointed for their Overthrow or Deſtruction. The Baſſa ſeeing the Enemy fled, and now no cauſe of fear, conſulted with his chief Captains, what were now beſt to be done? *Ameſa* ſtill perſwading him not to remove, but there to ſtay a time, and to expect the farther event of matters. But the greater number, whoſe opinion prevailed, ſaid it was better to go farther into the Country; and to take the ſpoil thereof before the Country people ſhould convey away all their Subſtance into places of ſafety, as they had done there in *Dibra*, and leave them nothing but the bare ground and empty Cottages. By this perſwaſion, the Baſſa early next morning in good order ſet forward; commanding by general Proclamation, That no man upon pain of death ſhould break his Array or ſtraggle from the Army. Yet before he ſet forward, he called *Ameſa* unto him; whom after he had highly commended, and with great vehemency inveighed againſt *Scanderbeg*, he with the great applauſe of the whole Army in the name of *Mahomet* created him King of *Epirus*. That day he marched not far, by reaſon of the great heat; for it was then about the midſt of *July*. Yet when he had well wearied himſelf with that days travel, finding neither Enemy nor any thing elſe worthy to be accounted in any part of a Victory, he encamped at night, keeping diligent Watch, and ſending forth his Scouts every way, but eſpecially towards *Lyſſa*. The next day, which was the third day after the Baſſaes coming into *Epirus*, he ſet forward again, and came at length into *Æmathia*, and there encamped that night.

Ameſa *is by the Baſſa created King of* Epirus.

When *Scanderbeg* (flying for fear, as the Turks ſuppoſed) was gone a great way out of their ſight towards *Lyſſa*, and come even to the Borders of his Kingdom, he there ſtaid all the reſt of that day. And a little before the going down of the Sun, he with a few ſelect Horſemen departed from the Army, and with painful travel got up to the top of the High Mountains, from whence a man might by day well diſcover all the Plains of *Æmathia*. There he appointed one *Peieus Emanuel*, a politick and valiant Gentleman, with certain Horſemen to mark diligently which way the Enemy held, and by certain ſecret and appointed waftings and ſigns, to give knowledge thereof to the Army. After ſuch Order taken, he returned himſelf, and came again to the Camp after midnight. And preſently riſing with his Army, and fetching a compaſs about, came undiſcovered, and ſecretly encamped himſelf as near as he could unto the Mountains where his Scouts lay, with Eagles eyes waiting for the leaſt moving of the Enemy. The Baſſa deſirous to get as far as he could into the Country, before the heat of the day, began early in the morning to ſet forward, and came to the Plains of *Pharſalia*, through the World ſpoken of for the great battel in them long time before fought, between the two moſt famous Chieftains *Cæſar* and *Pompeius*; and now once more to be made famous, by the ſlaughter of the Turks. Here the Enemy finding ſome ſtragling Cattel, and other ſmall things which the Country people had in their haſty flight left behind them, fell to ſeeking after Booty, and, as men without fear, ſpent that day in roaming up and down the Country, in hope to find ſomething; and at night encamped without any great Watch, but towards *Lyſſum*, from whence they (in great ſecurity) looked for the coming of *Scanderbeg*; and as it were in diſgrace of him, carried *Ameſa* in Triumph up and down the Camp, as if he had been already poſſeſſed of the Kingdom of *Epirus*. *Scanderbeg* lying on the other ſide of the Mountains, perceived by his Eſpials, which way the Enemy lay; and with great ſilence under the covert of the Mountains and Woods, ſecretly bent his courſe the ſame way, until he came to a Mountain called *Tumeniſt*, at the foot whereof he encamped that night. The next morning the Baſſa holding on his way, came and encamped not far from the ſame Mountain, and there ſtaid himſelf with half his Army, and ſent *Ameſa* with the other half to burn and ſpoil the Country; who about noon returned to the Camp with ſuch prey as he had got, with his Souldiers well wearied with travel, and the heat of the day. *Scanderbeg* like a careful Houſholder, who being about to entertain and feaſt ſome honourable Perſonages, truſteth not to his Wife and Servants, but looketh to the beſtowing of his Proviſion himſelf, carefully ordering and diſpoſing and ſetting forth all things, eſpecially if his Proviſion (for want of ability) be ſhort, to welcome ſo great Gueſts; and ſetting all things forth to the greateſt ſhew, ſeeketh at leaſt to fill the eyes of his Gueſts, although he doubt to ſatisfie their Appetites; ſo he carfully viewing all the Mountains and thick Woods thereabouts without reſting, ſet *Moſes* in one place, *Tanuſius* in another, and all the reſt in places moſt convenient. He appointeth every man what to do, and inſtructeth them, and conſiderth of every particular circumſtance himſelf; and ſo divideth his Forces, as might beſt ſerve his purpoſe, and make the moſt terrible ſhew to the Enemy; for which purpoſe he in every Company placed more Trumpets, Drums, and other Inſtruments of War, than he had before at any time uſed. When he had ſo to his moſt advantage beſtowed ſo many of his Captains and Souldiers as he thought good, and as the nature of the places would give leave, he with 4000 Horſemen and the like number of Foot, ſpeedily marching up the rough Mountain of *Tumeniſt*, from thence plainly beheld in what Order the Turks Camp lay in the Plains below. The Turks, eſpecially they which were lately returned with *Ameſa* from the ſpoil of the Country, lay ſcattered abroad in the fields, with their Horſes unbridled and unſadled, reſting their weary bodies; ſome got under the ſhadows of Trees were victualling themſelves; ſome having filled their Bellies, lay faſt aſleep on the green Graſs; the reſt were paſſing the time, ſome with one kind of ſport, ſome with another, as Souldiers do in field when they have little or nothing to do; for it was then the hotteſt time both of the year, and of the day, being about the midſt of *July*, and the noon-time of the day. The like negligence was alſo in that part of the Camp where the Baſſa himſelf lay; every man taking his eaſe and pleaſure, with ſmall regard of Horſe or Armor; for being out of fear of *Scanderbeg*, whom they thought to have been a great way off at *Lyſſum*, they lay as men without care wrapt up in ſecurity, the common deſtruction of great Armies and Commonwealths. *Ameſa* with the great Captains, were at the ſame time all together in the Baſſaes Pavilion, conſulting what courſe they were beſt to take, to do ſomething to the contentment of *Mahomet*, and their own commendation; ſome ſaid it were beſt with Fire and Sword to deſtroy all they could in *Epirus*; and ſo having laid the Country waſt, to return. Others thought it better to march directly to *Croia*, to prove if the Citizens could be perſwaded to yield themſelves and receive *Ameſa* for their King; otherſome to threaten them with a continual Siege, and utter ruine of the Country, if upon the vain expectation of help from *Scanderbeg* they ſhould refuſe to ſubmit themſelves. As for *Scanderbeg* himſelf, who then lay hovering over their heads, he was in all that Conſultation leaſt feared; who from the top of the Mountain, beholding the ſecurity and diſorder of the Turks Camp, and delighted with the ſight thereof; encouraged his Souldiers, and martialled them in ſuch order as they were to follow him, for the charging and terrifying of the Enemy. But firſt of all he determined to oppreſs the Turks Scouts, which lay at the foot of the Mountain; for which purpoſe he himſelf with a few Horſemen firſt ſecretly deſcended the Mountain, the reſt of his Army following ſhortly after, and ſo ſuddenly came on the Scouts, that he ſlew them all except one, who eſcaping by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, came running to the Camp as one half affrighted, crying out that *Scanderbeg* was coming. The Turks ſuſpecting nothing leſs than the coming of him that way, at the preſent inſtant hardly believed that he was ſo nigh; when as he following him at the heels as faſt as he could, with his Horſemen and his Footmen after them, was in a moment as if it had been a ſudden Tempeſt, broken in amongſt the unarmed Turks, and there making great ſlaughter of them, filled all the Camp with ſudden tumult and fear. *Ameſa* who at the firſt noiſe had ſpeedily got him to his Charge, with his Souldiers ſome half-armed, ſome on Foot, having no leiſure to bridle their Horſes, was the firſt that made head againſt *Scanderbeg*. The Baſſa alſo did what he might in that ſudden fear and ſhortneſs of time, to arm his Men, and to put them in order; but whilſt thoſe things were in doing, the Souldiers which lay in ambuſh in the Woods, came down the Mountain with ſuch horrible ſhouts and noiſe of Inſtruments of War, as if Heaven and Earth ſhould have preſently

The Turks Camp buried in ſecurity.

Scanderbeg *ſuddenly aſſaileth the Turks.*

gone together; the Hills and Vallies with their hollow Ecchoes, encreaſing the terrour of the Alarm. Inſomuch, that the Turks diſmayed, and fearing that all the Force of *Epirus*, with the Countries adjoyning, had come upon them, began to fly on every ſide, before that *Moſes* and the reſt that lay in ambuſh were come into the Plains. *Ameſa* acquainted with his Uncles Stratagems, as much as he could encouraged the Turks; crying aloud and telling them, That ſuch vain Tumults and Terrors were not to be feared, being but the bare ſhifts and devices of their Enemies to cover their own weakneſs; and by his own valour ſtayed many which before were about to have fled. In this while, the Baſſa having put his Men in beſt order he could, was coming to the Aid of *Ameſa*, hardly charged by *Scanderbeg*; but in his ſetting forward, he was ſo valiantly encountred on the one ſide by *Moſes* with his Horſemen, and on the other by *Tanuſius* and *Emanuel* with their Footmen, that he was enforced, not without great loſs, again to retire unto his Trenches.

All the hope of the battel depended upon *Ameſa*, who ſtill with great courage withſtood his Uncle; exhorting his Souldiers valiantly as men to endure that firſt Aſſault, which ſhould afterwards bring them moſt aſſured Victory; heartning them on with hope of ſpeedy help from their Fellows if they would but a while endure the fury of their Enemies, whoſe hearts (as he ſaid) would preſently be diſcouraged, if they prevailed not in that their firſt and deſperate Attempt, having nothing elſe to truſt unto. By which perſwaſion the Turks were again encouraged, accounting it a great diſhonour to fly and leave their Chieftain in the field. But when they ſaw *Scanderbeg* ſtill to prevail upon them, and that no help came as they hoped (for many were by *Scanderbegs* Horſemen ſlain as they were arming themſelves; many were by the way cut off as they were coming, and the reſt put to flight) they which before fought valiantly with *Ameſa*, turned their backs and fled alſo. *Scanderbegs* Horſemen purſued the chaſe, and made great ſlaughter of the Turks, and in the ſame chaſe took *Ameſa* Priſoner. *Scanderbeg*, having overthrown that part of the Turks battel, was coming with a thouſand Footmen and ſome Horſemen, to have aided *Moſes* againſt the Baſſa; but before his coming, *Moſes* to blot out his former Infamy, had with invincible courage put the great Baſſa with all his Army to flight; and *Scanderbeg* following the chaſe, gave him not leave to look behind him, until he was got out of *Epirus*. Many were in this chaſe taken Priſoners, and amongſt the reſt one *Meſites* a *Sanzack*, a man of great account amongſt the Turks. In this battel, beſide the Priſoners, were taken twenty of the Turks faireſt Enſigns. As for Horſes, Armor, and other ſpoils taken in the Field, and in the Camp, all which fell to the Souldiers ſhare, it is almoſt incredible to be told. The number of the ſlain Turks is of divers diverſly reported; they which write of the moſt, reckon up thirty thouſand; and they which ſpeak of the leaſt, account twenty thouſand. Of the Chriſtians were loſt but ſixty. Now if any account it ſtrange, that ſo great a Victory ſhould be gained with ſo little loſs; not to ſpeak of that is written in Holy Writ, let him but read the ancient Hiſtories of the *Romans*, or the Chronicles of our own Country, and he ſhall in them find Victories no leſs ſtrange. There was to be ſeen the ſudden and ſtrange alteration of theſe worldly things, no more indeed (whatſoever we account of them) to be reckoned of, than of things we have not. *Scanderbeg* poſſeſſeth the rich Pavilion, erſt belonging to the great Baſſa; and other of his Captains enjoy Tents, with much other rich Furniture never prepared for their uſe. *Ameſa*, which the ſame day as a Victorious Conqueror over-ran a great part of *Æmathia* with his Horſemen, and was carried in Triumph with the general Acclamation of many thouſands of valiant Souldiers, and honoured as a King, and of them ſo called; is now led through the Chriſtian Army to his Uncle, with his hands bound behind him as a Slave, ſpeechleſs and confounded, unable to hold up his head for ſhame; whoſe miſery moved moſt of the beholders to compaſſion, and forced tears out of the eyes of many.

A notable Victory of the Chriſtians.

The next day after this great Victory, *Scanderbeg* cauſed the bodies of the ſlain Turks to be buried, together with their Horſes; which he did not for any regard of them, but that their loathſome Carkaſes ſhould not infect the Country; and after that, returned in great Triumph to *Croia*. By the way as he went, the Country people, which were before for fear of the Turks fled into the Woods and Mountains in great multitudes met him, as he did others alſo out of the Cities, whoſe mouths were all full of his worthy Praiſes. Before him went the Captive Turks with their hands bound behind them, excepting ſuch as were enforced to carry the Turks Enſigns. Next unto them followed the great Baſſaes rich Pavilion, in ſuch manner ſupported by the Souldiers, as if it had been in the field. Then came *Scanderbeg* himſelf with the Turkiſh *Sanzack*, and *Ameſa* following him; for *Ameſa* had with great and humble Suit obtained of his Uncle, that he might not, as he well deſerved, be carried bound among the other Captives. Laſt of all came *Scanderbeg* his Victorious Souldiers in goodly order, every man leading a ſpare Horſe taken from the Enemy, and loaded with ſpoil. So when he was come to *Croia*, and there of his Subjects joyfully received, he brake up his Army; and gave every man leave at his pleaſure to depart. The *Sanzack* and *Ameſa*, were committed to ſafe keeping, until farther Order was taken for them. *Ameſa* afterwards was for his Treaſon worthily condemned to perpetual Priſon, and by an Embaſſador from *Scanderbeg* ſent unto King *Alphonſus* to *Naples*, there to be kept in durance; and with him was alſo ſent an honourable Preſent of part of the ſpoil taken from the Turks, in token of the Victory. What became afterward of this *Ameſa*, concerneth not much the courſe of our Hiſtory; yet to ſatisfie the deſirous, I think it not amiſs with him to ſtray a little out of the way.

When *Ameſa* had remained a year in Priſon at *Naples*, *Scanderbeg* underſtanding of the death of *Alphonſus*, by his Embaſſador requeſted of *Ferdinand* his Son, to have *Ameſa* reſtored to him again. But which means he was brought back again into *Epirus*, and caſt in Priſon at *Croia*; but not in ſuch ſtraight manner as before; for *Scanderbeg* according to his accuſtomed Clemency, began now to forget the injury to him before done; and at laſt overcome with the continual Supplication and Tears of his Nephew, pardoned him his life; and reſtoring him to his former liberty, received him alſo into his former favour. But *Ameſa* remembring what Pledges of his Loyalty he had left with *Mahomet* at *Conſtantinople*, and fearing what would become of his Wife and Children, if he ſhould haſtily uſe that his liberty, giving his Uncle moſt humble thanks, brake unto him his mind concerning that matter, as followeth,

Whereas

The Speech of Ameſa *to* Scanderbeg

Whereas you of your own gracious goodneſs only, without any deſert of mine, have regarded my Life and Welfare, it behoveth me alſo to be careful for the life of others; leſt whilſt I receive your exceeding bounty with too much deſire of mine own Health and Honour, I do at this preſent, by this ſame benefit of yours, caſt away them, whom I have long ſithence by mine own Treachery undone. Mine unfortunate and guiltleſs Wife is with Mahomet, *my little and innocent Children are with him alſo; theſe yet live, and ſhall live, ſo long as the Tyrant ſhall think, that I live in heart his; but when he ſhall once perceive by this your gracious dealing that I am fallen from him, the cruel Creditor will forthwith cut and rend in pieces the Pledges of my Faith, and their innocent blood ſhall pay the guilt of their Fathers offence. Wherefore the* Othoman *Tyrant is of me by ſome device to be deceived, that I may in the mean time preſerve thoſe Pledges, until I may by ſome fit occaſion afterwards redeem the ſame. I will by your leave this night take my flight out of* Croia, *as if I had broken Priſon, and eſcaped againſt your will, and ſo fly unto* Mahomet, *making the greateſt ſhew I can of my wonted Love and Loyalty towards him; not omitting to hear, or ſpeak unto that credulous King ſuch things concerning your Eſtate, as I was wont in my better Fortune; that having ſo cleared my ſelf of all ſuſpition, which he perhaps hath conceived by reaſon of my Captivity and long ſtay with you, I may at length, with my Wife and Children, ſo eſcape from him: Wherein you may help me much, if you ſhall openly make ſhew as if you were grieved with my eſcape, and ſeem to be highly offended with the Keepers of the Priſon for the ſame. In the mean time, whilſt I ſhall ſtay in the Tyrants Court expecting ſome fit time for my eſcape; I will ſtand you in ſtead of an Intelligencer, ſo that your Enemy ſhall not to my knowledge either attempt or go about any thing againſt you, which ſhall be kept from your hearing or knowledge.*

Scanderbeg refuſed not to grant whatſoever he had requeſted, but ſaid unto him:

The anſwer of Scanderbeg *to* Ameſa.

Ameſa, *ſithence we have granted you life, with all the good things thereunto belonging, we will not prohibit you to uſe that our Gift to your moſt good, and to the preſervation of them who for ever may moſt juſtly call upon you, as debtor unto them, for their welfare and liberty. Go thy ways, proceed, take thy time and occaſion as it ſeemeth unto thee beſt; and at length reform thy ſelf, whilſt thou yet haſt ſufficient time and ſpace. We now believe you in all things, and well like of this your device:* Ameſa *you ſhall herein deceive no man but your ſelf, if you ſhall longer follow the Faith and Court of the barbarous King, whereas like danger is both of Body and Soul both to thee and thine. Whenſoever thou ſhalt return unto us thou canſt not do us a greater pleaſure; and in what regard thou haſt heretofore been with us, in the ſame thou ſhalt be with us again.*

The ſame night *Ameſa* by ſecret Order from *Scanderbeg*, eſcaped both out of Priſon and out of *Croia*; and in the morning it was all over the City, that he was gone, and the Keepers ſharply rebuked for their negligence. He coming to *Conſtantinople*, eaſily perſwaded *Mahomet*, that he was by chance eſcaped, with all things elſe that he told him; yet was he not for all that, ſo well graced of him as before; not for any diſtruſt he had in the man, but for the evil ſucceſs he had in the former Wars. Now whether *Ameſa* neglected his promiſed return, or could find no opportunity to perform the ſame, is uncertain; but certain it is, that ſhortly after he died at *Conſtantinople*, poiſoned as was thought by the commandment of *Mahomet*, who could no longer endure the ſight of him, whom he reckoned the Author of the notable Overthrow received in *Æmathia*. This was the woful end of this noble and valiant Man, well worthy of remembrance, had not his haughty thoughts ſoared too high with the deſire of Soveraignty.

The death of Ameſa.

When *Mahomet* underſtood in what manner *Iſaac Baſſa* was overthrown, and his Army diſcomfited, he was therewith much grieved, and juſtly blamed the Baſſaes ſecurity; yet ſuch was his credit with his Soveraign, that the matter was in better ſort paſſed over than was ſuppoſed it would have been. Nevertheleſs, *Mahomet* in revenge thereof would willingly have imployed all his Forces upon *Scanderbeg*, if his more urgent Affairs would have ſo permitted. For at the ſame time, beſides that great Wars began to riſe betwixt him and the *Venetians* (which continued for many years after) he was certainly informed, That the Chriſtian Princes were making a ſtrong Confederation againſt him. At which time *Mahomet* diſdaining openly to ſue for a Peace at *Scanderbegs* hands, cunningly practiſed by ſuch as were ſent to redeem the Priſoners, and alſo by the *Sanzack* himſelf, to perſwade *Scanderbeg* to require Peace of him; aſſuring him, that if he did but ask it, it would for a long time be eaſily obtained. Which thing *Scanderbeg*, well acquainted with the Turkiſh Policy, utterly refuſed to do. Wherefore *Mahomet* for the defence of his Countries bordering upon *Epirus*, ſent two of his moſt expert Captains, *Sinam* and *Hamur*, with each of them 14000 Souldiers into *Macedonia*, expreſly charging them not to enter at any time or upon any occaſion, into *Epirus*, or by any means to provoke *Scanderbeg*; which his Commandment they ſo well obſerved, that the *Epirots* by the ſpace of almoſt two years enjoyed the fruits of Peace, although there was no Peace at all concluded. So that the remembrance of old Injuries wearing out with time, at length by the mediation of the ſame Captains, a Peace for a year was agreed on betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*. In which time he paſſed over into *Apulia*, and there notably aided King *Ferdinand* againſt the *French*, the proceeding wherein, as not pertinent to our Hiſtory, I of purpoſe paſs over.

A Peace for a year concluded betwixt Mahomet *and* Scanderbeg.

After that the time of the Peace before concluded was expired, all things now going well with *Mahomet* as he deſired, he reſolved according to his wonted manner to trouble the quiet Eſtate of *Scanderbeg*; and ſo ſending a new ſupply of Souldiers to *Sinam-beg*, who then lay with a ſtrong Garriſon upon the Frontiers of *Epirus*, commanded him with all his Power to make Wars upon *Scanderbeg*. *Sinam* accordingly, with an Army of 20000 Men, entred into *Epirus*, where he was forthwith encountred by *Scanderbeg*, and his Army utterly overthrown, ſo that but few eſcaped by flight with *Sinam* himſelf. Preſently after he ſent *Aſam-beg*, another of his Captains, into the ſame Service, with an Army of thirty thouſand, whom *Scanderbeg* alſo in plain battel vanquiſhed at *Ocrida*; in which battel *Aſam* himſelf was ſore wounded, and finding no way to eſcape, was glad to yield himſelf Priſoner to *Scanderbeg*, by whom he was courteouſly uſed, and afterwards ſet at liberty. *Juſſum-beg* following *Aſam* with eighteen thouſand into *Epirus*, was ſet upon by *Scanderbeg* alſo, and having loſt part of his Army, was glad by ſpeedy flight to ſave himſelf with the reſt. After all this, *Caraza-beg*, an old Captain and a man of great experience (who had been a great Commander, and a Companion with *Scanderbeg* in the time of old *Amurath*) requeſted of *Mahomet*, that he might prove his Fortune againſt his old acquaintance *Scanderbeg*; aſſuring him of better Succeſs than before. The long and approved experience of this old Leader put *Mahomet* in ſuch hope of good ſpeed, that he gave preſent Order for the levying of ſuch an Army as *Caraza* had requeſted, and for ten thouſand more than he had at the firſt required. With this ſtrong Army, in number almoſt forty thouſand, *Caraza* ſet forward, having before filled the minds of men with the expectation of ſome greater matter to have been by him done. *Scanderbeg* underſtanding certainly that *Caraza* was coming, ſtood more in doubt of the Man than of his Power; and therefore aſſembled greater Forces than he had uſually done before; and to welcome him, ſent two thouſand of his beſt and moſt expert Souldiers ſecretly into the Enemies Country; who lying in ambuſh amongſt the Woods and Mountains, whereby *Caraza* muſt needs paſs, ſuddenly ſet upon four thouſand Horſemen (the forerunners of *Caraza* his Army) who marching diſorderly, and fearing no ſuch matter, were in a trice overthrown, and moſt part of them ſlain; thoſe few that eſcaped fled back again to the Army, as if they had come in poſt to bring tidings of ſome haſty News to the General. With which ſo unfortunate a beginning, *Caraza* was ſo diſcomfited, that if he might for ſhame, he could have been content to have returned again and gone no farther; yet for his Honours ſake holding on his way, he came into *Epirus*; where whilſt he was (after the manner of old men) long in reſolving what courſe to take, he was upon the ſudden aſſailed by *Scanderbeg*, before he could well put his Men in order of battel. At which time there fell ſuch a vehement ſhower of Rain, that both the Armies were glad to retire before any great hurt was done. Three days together it rained continually (for it was about the later end of *Autumn*) all which time *Scanderbeg* ceaſed not in one place or other to trouble the Turks Camp; ſo that the old General, partly diſtempered with the extremity of the Weather, which for the violence thereof he took to be ominous; and more diſcouraged with the reſtleſs Attempts of *Scanderbeg*, roſe with his Army, and retiring back by the ſame way he came, returned to *Conſtantinople*. Where he was well derided of *Mahomet*, that having promiſed ſo much, had performed ſo little; yet afterwards was again by him in ſome ſort commended, for that he had with leſs loſs looked upon *Scanderbeg* than other his Generals before ſent againſt him.

Mahomet perceiving that *Scanderbeg* was not to be ſubdued but with ſuch Forces as he was not then at leiſure to imploy on him, thought it not amiſs to prove if he could by fair Speeches and glorious ſhews of Friendſhip get within him, and ſo bring him to confuſion; for which purpoſe he ſent unto him an Embaſſador with rich Preſents, and Letters of this Purport.

Sultan Mahomet, *Lord and Emperor of the Eaſt and of the Weſt*, and of all parts of the World, unto *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Albania* and *Epirus*, ſendeth greeting.

The Letters of Mahomet *to* Scanderbeg.

I Think Friend Scanderbeg, *that no Acquaintance can be greater, or Friendſhip more firm, than that which hath grown of long and mutual converſing and living together, and eſpecially if the ſame have taken beginning from Childhood and tender Years, as you know it hath done betwixt us Two; who have of long time, even from our Childhood, lived together in great Love and Friendſhip, when as you firſt lay as Hoſtage in my Fathers Court. Wherefore beloved* Scanderbeg, *when as I call to remembrance all thoſe things, with others, wherewith our Youthful years were then delighted; and being mindful alſo of all thoſe things which you have oftentimes done for the advancement of our Empire and Kingdom, and for the glory of the* Othoman *Family, I cannot chooſe but embrace thee with ſingular Zeal and Affection. For I take God to witneſs, that nothing could chance more welcome or pleaſing unto me in my life, than to have thee with me, and for a while to enjoy thy Company. Neither needſt thou to fear any thing to come unto me, for that my Souldiers without my Knowledge or Commandment have of late broken in and ſpoiled thy Kingdom; which thing as reaſon required, was unto me exceedingly diſpleaſing; neither did it any whit offend me, that they were by thy Forces vanquiſhed and overcome, and ſo received the juſt Reward of their evil deſerts, and that all things fell out with thee according to the equity of thy Cauſe, and as thy Heart could have deſired. But to let theſe things paſs, the remembrance of our old Love and Friendſhip perſwadeth me to come to agreement, and to joyn together with thee in a perpetual League of Amity; to the intent that our ancient Acquaintance and Familiarity, which by reaſon of long abſence is almoſt worn out, may again take life, increaſe, and be confirmed. Of which Peace, let theſe be the Capitulations, if they ſhall ſeem unto you reaſonable; for I know it belongeth unto him that requireth not the Peace, to appoint the Conditions of the ſame. Firſt, we require of you freely and peaceably to ſuffer our Armies to paſs through your Kingdom, for the beſieging of the Cities and invading of the Countries ſubject to the* Venetians *our Enemies: Then, to deliver unto us your Son* John *in Hoſtage, whom we will always uſe as one of our own natural Children: And afterwards, that our Merchants and Men of Trade, may peaceably come and travel into all parts of your Kingdom with their Merchandize, and there freely and ſafely uſe their Negotiation: Laſt of all, that your Self in Perſon may at your pleaſure ſafely and without all fear repair unto us, and in like manner return again. In which things if you will yield unto us, I promiſe in the Faith of a King, to grant unto you and your Kingdom ſincere Peace, with perpetual Tranquility; and that there ſhall not be any more dearer unto me than your Self; and will never to the uttermoſt of our Power permit your Kingdom to be infeſted or moleſted by any of our Subjects, or others. Whatſoever you ſhall further receive from us by the mouth of our Embaſſador* Muſtapha, *you may thereto give full Credence. Fare you well. From our Imperial Palace at* Conſtantinople *the* 10th *of* May, 1461.

Scanderbeg having received theſe Letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, returned him Anſwer by the ſame Meſſenger as followeth.

The Souldier of Chriſt Jeſus, *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the *Albanenſes* and *Epirots*, unto *Mahomet* Prince of the Turks, greeting.

The anſwer of Scanderbeg *to the former Letters of* Mahomet.

YOur Letters (moſt Magnificent) are delivered unto us, wherein you write of your exceeding Love and ſingular Affection towards us, confirmed as you ſay by old Acquaintance; which being grown up betwixt us, and by tract of time firmly rooted, and as it were into nature converted, ſhall always retain his force and ſtrength. But foraſmuch as it ſeemeth unto you good to awake the ſame, having of long time and many years lien as it were aſleep; and to make a motion that we ſhould enter into a certain new League and Confederation, whereof amongſt other Conditions *of the League by you propounded, this is one, That your Forces may freely paſs through my Kingdom, to invade the* Venetians; *Unto this your Requeſt, worthy* Mahomet, *it ſtandeth neither with Equity nor with mine Honour to conſent, for ſo much as the* Venetians *are my eſpecial good Friends and Confederates. As for that you deſire to have my Son* John *with you in Hoſtage for the better aſſurance of the Peace betwixt us, I ſhould peradventure do it (moſt noble* Mahomet) *if fatherly affection would give me leave; but ſithence I have no more but him, and he as yet a tender Child, it is not for the good either of him or us, to have him now taken from us, when as he ought of us to be moſt tenderly cheriſhed, and carefully inſtructed. As for that you requeſted concerning your Merchants, That they may freely and ſafely Traffique into my Kingdom at their pleaſure, I can be content thereunto, and wiſh heartily that there might be a free Entercourſe for our Merchants indifferently with their Commodities into both our Kingdoms. Further, whereas you earneſtly perſwade me boldly and without fear to come unto you, that by ſuch Enterview and Perſonal Preſence, our great deſire, grown of long abſence, might be the better ſatisfied; in this thing moſt excellent Prince, I cannot but praiſe your moſt Honourable Diſpoſition, and commend your good Nature; and would therefore boldly follow your perſwaſion, if my other urgent Affairs, with the Government of my Kingdom, would ſo permit. But what ſhall I do? My Son* John *(as I ſaid before) but little, and as yet unfit to Govern; and my people (as you know) love always to have ſomething to do, being by Nature a fierce and reſtleſs Nation, whom I my Self have much ado to Rule and Govern: For all that I will come unto you according to your deſire, expecting only a more commodious time. So fare you well, and love me ſtill. From our Camp the* 30th *of* May, 1461.

When *Mahomet* had received theſe Letters, and well peruſed the ſame, he writ to him again in manner following.

Sultan *Mahomet,* Emperor of all the parts of the World, unto *Scanderbeg* Prince of the *Albanenſes* and *Epirots,* greeting.

The Letters of Mahomet *to* Scanderbeg *for the concluding of a perpetual Peace betwixt them.*

Y*Our Letters we have received by our Embaſſador* Muſtapha, *wherein you give us to underſtand, that you like none of the Conditions of Peace by us propounded, but only that concerning our Merchants and men of Trade, that they might freely and at their pleaſure uſe their Traffique and Trades with their Merchandize to and fro, and upon this condition only you grant us Peace. This your Offer we accept of, and all the reſt of your excuſes we willingly admit; wherefore I promiſe unto thee (my loving* Scanderbeg) *and will perform all that thou doſt require, and upon that Reſolution reſt; and will ſo long as I live obſerve and keep a ſincere and inviolable Peace with thee for ever, except thou firſt give cauſe of violating the ſame. And for that purpoſe have we with our uſual and Imperial Seal ſigned theſe our Letters, which we by our Embaſſador* Muſtapha *have ſent unto thee, as thereby confirming unto thee this perpetual Peace. Wherefore you alſo (if you be ſo content) may ſubſcribe, and with your Seal confirm this of Ours, that I in like manner may have alſo your like Conſent and Agreement. And would farther, That you would Command knowledge thereof to be made by open Proclamation through all your Kingdom, as I will in like manner cauſe to be done through mine. And for the more manifeſtation of this my love towards you, I would alſo that you ſhould underſtand, That of mine own meer motion and bounty, I do freely give unto you all thoſe things, which you by force of Arms have taken from my Father in* Albania *and* Epirus, *ſo that you may poſſeſs and enjoy the ſame, as if they had always been yours and your Anceſtors: Wherefore I give, grant, and confirm unto thee and thy Heirs, all the Right, Title, or Intereſt, which I heretofore had therein, and from henceforth will always account and repute thee as Prince of* Albania *and* Epirus, *and ſo call thee. And as I have promiſed thee in the Faith of a King, will never hereafter with Wars moleſt thee or thine, except thou thy Self give cauſe thereof. Wherefore after you have with your Seal confirmed theſe things, you may commend them to our faithful Embaſſador* Muſtapha, *to be by him brought unto us; unto whom I would you ſhould in all things give full Credit. So fare you well, and render us love for love. From our Imperial Palace at* Conſtantinople, *the* 22. *of* June, 1461.

A Peace concluded betwixt Mahomet *and* Scanderbeg.

Upon receit of theſe Letters, a Peace was concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, and the ſame by publique Proclamations ſolemnly publiſhed through both their Kingdoms, to the great rejoycing of many. Which Peace was for a ſeaſon faithfully kept on both ſides, until that the Turks lying in Garriſon upon the Frontiers of *Epirus*, began after their wonted manner again to fetch Preys and Booties out of the Countrey. Of which Injuries, *Scanderbeg* by Letters complained to *Mahomet*; who anſwered that he was altogether ignorant thereof, and ſeemed in ſhew to be much offended with the Inſolency of the Doers thereof; and forthwith cauſed many things to be again reſtored. By which means the Peace before concluded, was ſtill as before continued.

A little before the concluſion of the aforeſaid Peace, great Wars began to ariſe betwixt the Turks and the *Venetians*, who all this while being in League with the Turk, peaceably followed their Traffique and Trades of Merchandize, little or nothing at all regarding their Neighbours Harms and Miſeries, until that now the flame and fire began to take hold upon their own houſes, and as it were to awaken them out of a dead ſleep. For *Mahomet* after he had ſubverted the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, and driven *Thomas* and *Demetrius* the Emperors Brethren out of *Peloponneſus* (now called *Morea*) reſted not ſo contented, but by his Lieutenants and other great Captains began to diſturb the quiet of the *Venetians*, who then held in their poſſeſſion *Methone, Corone, Neapolis, Argos*, with divers other ſtrong Towns in *Peloponneſus*, ſtanding upon the Sea coaſt. And now it chanced that about this time, *Joſue, Mahomet* his Lieutenant in *Peloponneſus*, had by the Treaſon of a Greek Prieſt, upon the ſudden ſurpriſed the City of *Argos*; and *Omares* another of his great Captains, having firſt ſpoiled the Country about *Naupactum* (now *Lepanto*) entred farther into the Territory of the *Venetians* about *Methone* and *Corone*, making havock of whatſoever came in his way. With which Injuries plainly tending to open War, the *Venetian* Senators being much troubled, ſate oftentimes in Counſel, deliberating with much care what courſe to take in a matter of ſo great importance. Some being of opinion, that it were beſt to ſend Embaſſadors to *Mahomet*, ſo to make proof if the matter might by fair means be redreſſed; others on the contrary part deeming it to be to no purpoſe ſo to do; foraſmuch as ſuch great and manifeſt Outrages, nothing differing from plain Hoſtility, could not poſſibly be done without the Tyrants knowledge and expreſs Command. After the Senators had oftentimes met together, and with many great Reaſons debated the matter too and fro, and yet for all that concluded nothing (as in conſultations of great matters with a multitude, it moſt commonly falleth out to be a harder matter, and to require longer time, to bring the multitude to ſome certain reſolution, than it is afterwards to perform the ſame in action.) In this ſo great a diverſity of opinions concerning ſo weighty a cauſe, at length one *Victor Capella*, a noble Gentleman and grave Senator, ſtept up in the midſt of the Senate, and there frankly delivered this notable Speech unto the reſt, concerning the matter propounded, as followeth:

The notable Speech of Victor Capella *to perſwade the* Venetians *to take up Arms againſt* Mahomet.

I have before this at other times by long experience often noted (moſt noble Senators) that in all our greateſt Conſultations of matters moſt concerning our Common State, ſome are always ſo addicted or rather wedded unto their own conceits, that they can hardly with patience endure to hear the reaſonable opinion of others contrary to their own, the chief cauſe of our ſlow Reſolutions. Wherefore I have thought it good, briefly at this time to call upon you for reſolution; foraſmuch as I ſee we muſt of neceſſity take up arms, be we never ſo loath or unwilling: For to my underſtanding, you do but betray the State, in delaying the time to make preſent War upon the barbarous Enemy. Yet many principal Men amongſt us, adviſe us to beware, that we do not raſhly or unadviſedly determine of matters of ſo great conſequence; and think it requiſite that we ſhould ſend Embaſſadors unto the Tyrant, to expoſtulate with him his unjuſt dealing in breaking his Faith and League; and withall to requeſt him to obſerve the Conditions of the Peace before agreed upon, if happily he may rather by perſwaſion than by Arms be moved to change his purpoſe; and if by this means nothing may be obtained, then at length they think it neceſſary to reſolve to make War upon him. They alledge further, That if we ſhall attempt War, our Cities in the Continent, bordering upon the Ionian *in* Peloponneſus, *with divers others of ours in the firm land, will not be able to hold out very long, but for want of neceſſaries muſt needs periſh with the firſt of the trouble; beſides that, if thoſe places ſhall be waſted and ſpoiled, great loſs (as they ſay) ſhall enſue thereby unto moſt of us in private: The greateſt motive (perhaps) wherefore they think it moſt convenient to defer the Wars, and for that purpoſe to ſend our Embaſſadors unto him. Of which Embaſſage, firſt by your leave a few words. At ſuch time as theſe our Embaſſadors, Men of great wiſdom and reach, not long ſince came unto him, he had them in no regard; but dallying off the time with fraudulent, deceitful, and gloſing Speeches, did indeed ſuch things to the contrary as we leaſt hoped; wherefore I cannot well deviſe (if we ſhould ſend them, or ſuch others again) what eſpecial thing of all that we then gave them in charge, they ſhould now propound unto him, having already ſaid what is to be ſaid; except they ſhould ſay, That whereas we are not of ſufficient ſtrength and power to wage War againſt him, we would be glad to decide the matter by talk, and by that ſimple means to redreſs our Injuries; and upon the matter, to ſhew our ſelves preſt and ready to fall to agreement with him, according as ſhall ſtand with his good pleaſure and liking. Truly this were good plain dealing, but it will not ſerve our turn.* Argos *is already taken from us, and he maketh open War upon us; wherein he doth but prove our courage, and try how long we will put up theſe Injuries. If we will quietly diſgeſt theſe, he will then confidently and without fear proceed further; but if we ſhall, as beſt beſeemeth us, valiantly reſiſt him, he ſhall be glad of ſuch reſt as we ſhall give him; and when he knoweth not well which way to turn himſelf, ſhall be as glad as we to lay down Arms, and to ſeek for Peace; whereas if we ſhall do otherwiſe, I fear we ſhall repent our ſelves when it will be too late. It is reported, that as ſoon as he was come into* Peloponneſus, *he went himſelf in Perſon unto* Eubœa, *to view the City of* Chalcis: *And going a ſecond time out of* Peloponneſus, *ſounded the depth of the paſſage, and came within the ſight of the City, of purpoſe to have aſſaulted it, if he had found opportunity; at which time he himſelf rid over that ſtrait of the Sea betwixt* Bœotia *and* Eubœa *with his Horſe, and curiouſly viewed in what place he might moſt conveniently paſs over with his Army to beſiege the City. Verily theſe are the moſt manifeſt ſigns of War, whereby any man may ſufficiently prove, that he hath long ſince reſolved (ſo ſoon as he is ready) to make War upon us. Whilſt we are yet dreaming in the midſt of our long Conſultations, he will proceed in the Wars he hath begun; and cutting us ſhort, augment his own Dominions. Then will he blame his Lieutenants and Captains, as Authors thereof; but ſtill be doing that beſt ſerveth his purpoſe. And whilſt no man oppoſeth himſelf againſt him, his Power daily increaſing, he will do the beſt he can, ſuddenly to ſwallow us up, being unprovided. For he may eaſily raiſe great Forces, that by ſufferance of others, maketh himſelf of great ſtrength there where he had before no footing. Shall we then ſay that we have no Wars with this encroaching Tyrant? Some I know feed themſelves and others alſo, with vain hopes, ſaying, That he will never turn his Forces upon us, nor ruinate our Eſtate, although he might at eaſe do it: Wherefore (ſay they) let us refrain from Wars, and uſe our peace and quietneſs; yet omitting nothing in the mean time that ſhall be needful for our ſafety. But foraſmuch as it plainly appeareth unto all men, by that which is before ſaid, That he hath already indeed proclaimed War againſt us, invading our Countries, ſurpriſing our Cities, and killing our people; Whether think you it more expedient or profitable for us, to ſit ſtill and ſuffer our Dominions to be taken from us, or rather by open War to make the barbarous King know the greatneſs of our Power and Strength? For if we ſhall enter into open War, we being in Arms ſufficiently provided for all Events, and with careful eye attending all his Attempts, ſhall eaſily avoid both himſelf and all his devices; who if he be ſuffered to run ſtill on forward with his proſperous ſucceſs, people will daily more and more fall unto him, in hope to live the better, as his Friends. For which cauſe, I think it better to prefer an Honourable War, before a doubtful Peace. As for delay, it hath hurt many great States, and our ſelves moſt of all; whereby we have in ſome ſort betrayed the Empire of* Grecia, *with the woful Emperor himſelf, when as this Tyrant battered the Walls of* Conſtantinople; *for our Traffique was much holpen by the* Grecians, *whom we then left to themſelves. After that, we deſpiſed and rejected the pitiful Complaints of the Princes of* Peloponneſus, *who with tears craved our Aid; and now we ſee that famous Country loſt, and fallen into his hands, through our ſloth and negligence. Of late, when as the King of* Boſna *humbly requeſted our Aid, and promiſed fully to requite our courteſie, and whatſoever elſe we ſhould do in his behalf; we ſuffered his Kingdom to be loſt, and himſelf to be cruelly murthered of the Turks. For all theſe things by us thus neglected, we cannot eſcape the infamous report of all the reſt of the Nations in* Europe, *but that they will ſay, That we for the greedy deſire of Trade and filthy Gain, have forſaken, and for our parts betrayed whole Kingdoms and Nations, agreeing with us both in Manners and Religion; and to have ſtood ſtill looking on, until they were ſubdued and brought into Thraldom by the Turks. Wherefore in few words to ſhut up the matter, If we ſhould joyn in League with the* Hungarians, *and enter into Arms, we ſhould ſo be able to keep our own; whereas if we ſhall uſe delays, and hunt after Peace, we ſhall in ſhort* *time ſee, that he will ſuddenly devour us being unprovided, and wreſt from us, all our Provinces and Territories which border upon him. And therefore it is (in my opinion) beſt to ſend our Embaſſadors into* Hungary, *with a great maſs of Mony, to ſtir up that warlike Nation into the fellowſhip of this War. And beſide the Navy we now have in readineſs, to put to Sea as many more Ships and Gallies as we are able. The great Biſhop alſo is not to be forgotten, but by all means to be drawn as a chief man into this War. Beſides all this, we muſt do what we can to raiſe up Rebellion againſt the Turk in* Peloponneſus; *which will be no hard matter to bring to paſs. For if the* Peloponneſians *riſe in Arms with one of their poor Princes which revolted from the Turkiſh King, and forſaking all that they had, adventured themſelves into all manner of peril and danger; what think you they will do, if they ſhall ſee ſo great Forces coming both by Sea and Land againſt the Turkiſh King? It were good alſo, that we ſhould ſend two thouſand* Italian *Horſemen into* Peloponneſus, *to animate the People; who when they ſhall ſee us thus to proceed, will undoubtedly preſently revolt from the Turks, and yield themſelves with their Country unto us, from whence we may moſt commodiouſly vex and moleſt this Tyrant; for there is no where better entrance into his Kingdom, than by the way of* Peloponneſus. *So that joyning in League with the* Hungarians, *we ſhall beſet him on every ſide; they all along the River* Danubius, *and we out of* Peloponneſus. *Let us not therefore ſit ſtill with our hands in our boſoms, ſuffering our Countries to be taken from us, and our Subjects made Bondſlaves to the Turks; but encouraging them by our example, animate them to take up Arms, and valiantly to reſiſt the cruel and barbarous Tyrant.*

The Venetians *take up Arms againſt the Turks.*

The greater part of the Senate moved with this grave Senators Speech, decreed without delay to make Wars, and to ſend their Embaſſadors to the Pope, the King of *Hungary*, and other the Chriſtian Princes their Neighbours, to pray aid of them in theſe Wars againſt the Turks. According to this Decree, the *Venetians* for defence of their Territory ſent one *Bentholdus Eſte*, a valiant Captain, with an Army into *Peloponneſus*; where at his firſt coming, he in ſhort time recovered the City of *Argos*, before loſt. And departing thence, marched through the Country with his Army of fifteen thouſand men, unto the Strait of *Corinth*, called *Iſthmus*. At which place *Alovíſus Lauretanus*, Admiral for the *Venetians* (by appointment before made) met him; and there joyning their Forces together, with great labour in the ſpace of fifteen days fortified all that Strait from the *Ionian* to the Sea *Ægeum*, with a continual Rampier and double ditch in length about five miles. In which work they uſed the help of thirty thouſand men; and in doing thereof were much furthered by the ruines of the old Wall before deſtroyed by *Amurath*. The *Venetian* Commanders having fortified this Strait, incamped before *Corinth*, and laid ſtrait Siege unto it; where at the ſecond aſſault, *Bartholdus* the General deſirous by his own forwardneſs to encourage his Souldiers, was in that aſſault grievouſly wounded with a Stone caſt down upon him from the Wall, of which hurt he ſhortly after died. Nevertheleſs the Siege was ſtill continued by *Betinus Calcinatius*, who ſucceeded in *Bartholdus* his place. But whilſt the *Venetians* lay thus at the Siege of *Corinth*, ſuddainly news was brought unto the Camp, That *Mahomet* was coming with a great Army himſelf in Perſon, to raiſe the Siege, and to deſtroy the new fortifications at *Iſthmus*. Whereupon the *Venetians* left the Siege, with purpoſe to have defended the late fortified Strait; but after that it was certainly known, that *Mahomet* was even now at hand with an Army of fourſcore thouſand Turks, *Betinus* diſtruſting with his ſmall number to be able to defend the Strait againſt ſo puiſſant an Army, left the place ſo lately before fortified, and with all his Army retired to *Neapolis* to keep the Sea coaſt.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* without any reſiſtance at all entred with a world of men by the Strait into *Peloponneſus*; and when he had with the great ſlaughter of the Country People roamed up and down about *Argos*, he came to *Neapolis*, and in moſt terrible manner aſſaulted the City twice; both which times he was notably repulſed by the *Venetians*, and many of his men ſlain. Departing thence, he deſtroyed and waſted the Country about *Methone* (now *Modon*) and *Corone*, and aſſaulted the City of *Juncum*, but with no better ſucceſs than he had before *Neapolis*. Wherefore Winter now drawing on, he returned with his Army to *Conſtantinople*.

After his departure the *Venetians* ſpoyled all that part of *Arcadia* which was ſubject to the Turks, requiting him with like injuries as he had done them before. Not long after, *Lauretanus* the *Venetian* Admiral had the Iſland of *Lemnos* delivered unto him by one *Cominius* a famous Pyrat, who had ſurpriſed the ſame, and taken it from the Turks; but diſtruſting how he ſhould be able to keep the ſame, delivered it over unto the *Venetians*. Shortly after, *Urſatus Juſtinianus*, a great Magnifico amongſt the *Venetians*, was ſent to ſucceed *Lauretanus* their Admiral; but whilſt he was ſcouring the *Ægeum* with a Fleet of two and thirty great Gallies, *Andreas Dandalus* General of their Forces at Land, inconſiderately encountring with the Turks Horſemen between *Mantynia* and *Pytheme*, was by them overthrown and ſlain, and with him divers other Gentlemen of great account; in which skirmiſh fifteen hundred of the *Venetians* were ſlain alſo with their General. And as Fortune is never more conſtant, than in miſchief, ſo at the ſame time *Urſatus* General at Sea, landing his men in the Iſland of *Lesbos*, beſieged the City of *Mitylene*, and gave thereunto two great aſſaults, wherein he loſt five thouſand men; and underſtanding that the Turks Fleet was coming to relieve the City, raiſed the Siege, and ſailed into *Eubœa*, and from thence paſſed over into *Peloponneſus*, where he ſhortly after died for ſorrow and grief of mind. In whoſe place the *Venetians* ſent another famous Captain called *Jacobus Lauretanus*.

The Venetians *enter into confederation with other Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turk.*

The *Venetians* well conſidering the great power of the Turkiſh Emperor, laboured by their Embaſſadors, to draw as many of the Chriſtian Princes as they could into the Fellowſhip of this War; but eſpecially the great Biſhop, by whoſe means they were in good hope to be greatly ſtrengthned. *Pius* the ſecond of that name was then the great Biſhop; who at firſt anſwered the *Venetian* Embaſſadors, That he muſt take away the little Turk, before he had any thing to do with the great; meaning thereby, *Sigiſmundus Maletaſta* Prince of *Ariminum*, whom he deadly hated, for that he took part with the *French* againſt the *Aragonians*. Howbeit, the Wars in *Italy* being well appeaſed, *Pius* ſtill ſolicited by the *Venetians*, made great preparation againſt the Turks; giving it out, That he would in Perſon himſelf go unto thoſe Wars; and by his Authority (then much regarded) procured great aid out of *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and other Countries alſo further off. At which time alſo voluntary men in great number reſorted out of all parts of Chriſtendom into *Italy*, ready to adventure their lives in thoſe religious Wars. At the ſame time alſo the *Venetians* had with much ado by the working of *Paulus Angelus* Archbiſhop of *Dirrachium*, perſwaded *Scanderbeg* to renounce the League which he had before made with the

Turk, and to enter into Arms again; which he preſently did, and ſpoyled the Borders of the Turks Dominions next unto him. Wherewith *Mahomet* was no leſs troubled, than with all the reſt of the great preparation of the Chriſtians againſt him; fearing that (as it was then reported) he ſhould be made General of the Chriſtian Army, which *Mahomet* feared might tend to the utter ruin of his Kingdom; ſo dreadful was the name of *Scanderbeg* amongſt the Turks. Wherefore thinking it moſt convenient for his Affairs, to reconcile him if it were poſſible, by his Embaſſador ſent for that purpoſe, wrote unto him as followeth:

Sultan Mahomet, *Emperor of the Eaſt and of the Weſt*, unto *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the *Albanenſes* and of the *Epirots*, greeting.

The Letters of Mahomet *to* Scanderbeg.

I *Have always had thy fidelity and upright dealing in great admiration, moſt noble Prince* Scanderbeg; *for which cauſe I thought it a thing incredible, that thou being a Prince of ſuch an heroical and Princely perfection, ſhouldſt ſo inconſiderately and without any occaſion break the Faith and League which thou not long ſince ſolemnly contractedſt with me. For as I am advertiſed, thou haſt entred into the Confines of our Dominion with a great Army, and with Fire and Sword deſtroying all that thou couldſt, haſt carried away with thee a great Booty. Of which thing I know right well, that the* Venetians *are the only cauſe, by whoſe Counſel and Perſwaſion thou haſt been ſet on to do this deed; and ſeduced by their allurements and ſubtil perſwaſions, haſt made War upon me, and art become the faithleſs breaker of thine own League, and of the ſacred Law of Nations. Yet do I little or nothing blame thee therefore, regarding more the cauſe of the ignominy, than the deſpight it ſelf, and lay the blame upon them who have alwaies been my Foes and capital Enemies, rather than upon thee. But alas, what is this unto me (*Scanderbeg*) that thou haſt done, which poſſeſs ſo many and ſo large Dominions? Didſt thou think to do ſo great hurt unto our Kingdom, by ſpoyling a little peece of our Country, and by ſtealing our Cattel, more like a Thief and Robber, than an open Enemy? Which thing I yet account not worth the name of an Injury. But if thou think it ſo good, proceed in theſe thy doings; for I make more account of thy Friendſhip and Love, than of whatſoever is to me deareſt; becauſe (as thou knoweſt) I have always born unto thee an eſpecial favour, and loved thee moſt entirely. And therefore as often as I call to remembrance our tender years and old familiarity whilſt we lived together in my Fathers Court at* Hadrianople, *I cannot but think my ſelf bound unto thee in all Courteſie. And therefore my good* Scanderbeg, *I moſt heartily requeſt and entreat thee, That we renewing the former concluſions of Peace, may of new confirm the ſame by ſolemn Oath; wherewith if the former Peace had been eſtabliſhed, thou wouldſt not have ſuffered thy ſelf to have been now of the* Venetians *ſo circumvented or ſeduced. It is therefore needful, that we now again for ever confirm a League and Peace betwixt us by ſolemn and ſacred Oath on both ſides; which if thou ſhalt do, (as I hope thou wilt, and in this be adviſed by me) thou with thy Poſterity ſhalt undoubtedly always reign in peace, and in ſafety poſſeſs whatſoever is yours. Whereas if thou ſhalt do otherwiſe, believe me it will repent thee, and that right quickly. Thou knoweſt already my force, which whether thou be able to withſtand or not, thou wert beſt to be well adviſed. The poor Princes thy Neighbours, the* Venetians *thy Seducers, cannot deliver thee from my Forces and Power. Doſt thou not ſee the* Grecians *almoſt all rooted out before thy Face? the Emperors of* Conſtantinople *and* Trapezond *by us deprived of their Empires? the Princes of* Servia *and* Raſcia *deſtroyed? the King of* Boſna *put to death and all the Kingdoms of* Aſia, *with many other Kings and Princes more, vanquiſhed, and overthrown, and made ſubject unto me? Wherefore* Scanderbeg, *I adviſe thee in this to follow my Counſel, keep thy Promiſe, and ſo believe me thou ſhalt not be deceived. Concerning theſe matters, we have given further Commandment to our Embaſſador and Servant* Muſtapha, *which cometh unto thee; unto whom doubt thou not to give credence in any thing. Farewel. From our Imperial City of* Conſtantinople, *the ſeventh of* May, 1463.

Scanderbeg having by the aforeſaid Meſſenger received theſe Letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, returned anſwer as followeth:

The Champion of Chriſt Jeſus, *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the *Albanenſes* and *Epirots*, to the moſt Excellent *Mahomet*, King of the Turks, greeting.

Scanderbeg *his Anſwer to the Letters of* Mahomet.

Y*OU marveel (moſt noble* Mahomet*) that my Souldiers (as you ſay) contrary to the League and the conditions of our Peace, have entred into your Confines, and from thence carried a great booty. Of which thing (you ſay) the* Venetians *are the Authors, whom you call your mortal Enemies; inferring afterward, that you are little therewith offended, for that you are a moſt mighty Prince, and can eaſily diſgeſt ſuch unkindneſs, for the great love you bear unto me; and the rather, for that I did it deceived (as it pleaſeth you to ſay) by others. All theſe things you can eaſily forgive and forget, ſo that I will by ſolemn oath confirm the ſame conditions of Peace that were in our former League betwixt us agreed upon. And thereunto you do greatly urge me, you admoniſh and counſel me to follow your adviſe, as tending to the great profit and ſecurity of me and my Poſterity, leſt happily whilſt I ſeek to pleaſe the* Venetians, *I incur your heavy diſpleaſure. Beſides this, the more to terrifie me, you reckon up as it were in a Catalogue, the People, Nations, Kings and Princes, by you overcome and ſubdued. But what is that which is ſo ſtrange (I pray you) and which you ſo much marvel at (moſt Noble* Mahomet*?) Is it not for that my Souldiers did that in the Confines of your Dominions, whereof they were (of right) ſorry; and had thereof to me complained, that your Souldiers had before done the like in their Goods and Poſſeſſions. Wherefore if they alſo upon a military bravery (as is your manner of phraſe) have made themſelves whole, and done one ſhrewd turn for another, revenging injury received, and not inferring any of new; there is no cauſe that you ſhould either think it ſtrange or blame me. I would my ſelf have reſtrained my Souldiers, although they were grievouſly injured (I will plainly confeſs unto you a troth) I would have appeaſed their angry minds, enflamed with deſire of Revenge; if you (a Prince of all others moſt rich and bountiful) would either have taken order, that full reſtitution might have been made unto them of all ſuch things as they had loſt, or elſe would with condign puniſhment have chaſtiſed the inſolency of your Souldiers; which you would ſeem to cover with the term of military wantonneſs or bravery; an excuſe ſcarce currant amongſt Children. For although offences are in all places grievous, yet ought they moſt of all ſo to be deemed in Martial Affairs. What I pray you, would you have me to take it for laſciviouſneſs in your men of War? eſpecially when I had received ſo great loſs, when as you might with a word firſt have reſtrained them from doing of it, and at your pleaſure* *corrected them after the deed was done. Wherefore (moſt excellent* Mahomet*) take you alſo in good part theſe our terms, which you have accuſtomed hitherto moſt gloriouſly to give and ſell unto us, whilſt you alwaies cover your reach with ſome excuſe or ſhew of Right. As for that in excuſing me, under colour of old acquaintance and friendſhip, you invey againſt the* Venetians, *verily you do them wrong; for why, theſe good, juſt, and vertuous Princes are not to be ſlandered by you, as ſeducers of me or others. Beſide, what need that invincible State to enter into Counſel with me, or (as it pleaſeth you to ſay) to allure me to fall at odds with you, or to proſecute you as their Enemy? Who of themſelves, yea, (I ſay) of themſelves alone, when occaſion ſhall require, are able to dare you in plain battel, and to abate your pride. Furthermore, whereas you adviſe me to reject their Friendſhip, your labour is therein but loſt; for what man is ſo deſperate, or hated of his Subjects, that would not chuſe rather to err with that moſt honourable Senate, than to be in the right with you? eſpecially I, who have of long time been confederate with them, and am of all others unto them moſt dear; which you for all that had no regard of, but (according unto your untruſty dealing) breaking in ſunder the bonds of Peace, ſpoiled and waſted their Territory in* Peloponneſus. *Neither can your great Threats terrify me, which you after the Turkiſh manner thunder and pour out againſt me, except I will be overruled by you: For it is the part of an* Albaneſe *both to endure when need ſhall require, and alſo to do ſuch things as beſeem a man of courage. You cannot make me afraid, being but a ſmall Prince, with my honourable Friends the* Venetians. *And what are you? ſo great an Emperor of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, and of all parts of the World; as you vainly term your ſelf? Truly you make me ſmile, and other Chriſtian Princes laugh you to ſcorn, in uſurping falſely to your ſelf the ſtately ſtile of the Emperor of the World. What poſſeſs you in* Aſia *the greater? verily nothing. Is all yours in* Aſia *the leſſer? not ſo. What have you in* Europe? *except* Thracia, Myſia, *part of* Grecia, *and* Peloponneſus, *with the Iſle of* Mytelene. *As for* Africk, *you never ſet your foot therein. Is this to be Emperor of the World? But ſuppoſe, ſuppoſe (I ſay) worthy* Mahomet, *that all from the fartheſt part of the Ocean were yours, you ought not therefore ſo to ſwell, as to contemn all others. Ceaſe to boaſt, and learn now (if you can) the ſpecial, but true examples of human fragility. Where are now the* Aſſyrians, *which ſometime ſwayed the World? Where be the* Medes? *Where be the* Perſians? *and to be ſhort, where are the* Romans, *the great Commanders of all? Verily* Tamerlane *the* Scythian *King (called* the Terror of the World*) was far greater than you; who in triumph, drew before his Chariot thy great Grandfather* Bajazet *in Chains; who had before won ſo many Victories, whom nevertheleſs he overthrew in the Plains of* Armenia, *with three hundred thouſand Turks, having in his Army (as is reported) twelve hundred thouſand men, greater than* Xerxes *or* Darius, *whoſe Armies covered the Seas, and dried up the Rivers before them as they went, yet for all this (Noble* Mahomet*) they are all caſt out by him that caſteth out all Nations, the Finger of the Higheſt hath brought them all to nought. Wherefore learn to know your ſelf to be a man alſo. Truſt not too much to the multitude of your Souldiers, and ſtrength of your Armies; for oftentimes great and puiſſant Armies have been overthrown with far leſs, as all Hiſtories bear witneſs; whereof it is commonly ſaid,* Thou ſhalt not praiſe the Valour of the General, before he be brought to the Triumph. *And do you not think,* Mahomet, *that God will favour the better cauſe? You know, you well know, that all your Kingdom is violently gotten, that it is wrongfully and unjuſtly poſſeſſed; for which cauſe I am not afraid, not only to withſtand you when you ſhall come, being ſo great a Prince; but alſo valiantly and couragiouſly to dare you into the Field, and by the Power of God, both to hope for, and have a notable Victory over you. We have Souldiers alſo, which know how to uſe their Weapons, to march before their Enemies, and how to bear themſelves in the heat of the Battel. Wherefore, to that you ſay unto me for the new confirming of the former League, you labour now but in vain to circumvent me with ſuch fair gloſſes, I have your Faith in ſuch diſtruſt, and your Friendſhip in deteſtation; foraſmuch as you cunningly and ſubtilly, after the manner of your Anceſtors, whatſoever you do, or whatſoever you promiſe unto me, it tendeth all to no other end than to thruſt me out of my Kingdom. Yet thus long I have by Gods help well eſcaped all your Policies, all your Crafts and Deceits. But I hope there will in ſhort time be an end of all theſe matters, when all your Slights and Devices ſhall not eaſe you, neither your working Head or Turkiſh Pride any thing profit you. It is not I alone that ſo much ſtomack you, there cometh after me a great number of Chriſtian Princes; behold, the whole Chivalry and Glory of the Chriſtian Common-weal is in Arms, and coming againſt thee with all their force: all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom have combined themſeves together, with the great Biſhop, againſt thy State, and will in ſhort time be preſent to deſtroy thee and thy Kingdom. Wherefore (worthy* Mahomet*) I have thought it good in regard of our old Friendſhip (although the ſame hath by you been greatly empaired and violated) to forewarn you of all theſe things, that you might gather your Wits together and in time provide for the ſafety of your ſelf and your Kingdom. You ſee the force and power of ſo many great Princes, from which whether you can eſcape or no, I know not; yet you may, if you will follow my advice, you may, I ſay, make both your Name and Empire, of great, greater; of famous, moſt renowned; of fortunate, moſt happy and bleſſed; if caſting off from you the groſs Errors of the* Mahometan *Superſtition, you will embrace the Faith and Truth of Chriſt Jeſus, and at length have regard of your Souls health. And you which excel all your Predeceſſors in highneſs of Spirit, and pregnancy of Wit, ſuffer not your ſelf and your Subjects as it were by Inheritace to be longer blinded in your wilful errors; but do that (as a wiſe Prince) of your own accord, which otherwiſe you will ſhortly of neceſſity be conſtrained to do. To ſay,* Had I wiſt, *hath ever been accounted a great diſgrace from the Mouth of an Emperor. At length amend and meaſure your ſelf. Behold, Almighty God doth offer you means, whereby you may quiet the whole ſtate of your Kingdom, and all our Kings and Princes love, honour and reverence you. Neither let the ambitious deſire of Soveraignty or immoderate care of thoſe things you poſſeſs, trouble you from ſo doing; For whatſoever you have unjuſtly and unlawfully uſurped, the Chriſtian Princes will grant, confirm, and eſtabliſh unto thee, as if they had been your own by ancient Inheritance. So ſhall you be a true Monarch indeed, and rule and reign lawfully, if you ſhall embrace this Faith, and worſhip God aright; which ſo ſoon as you ſhall feel the ſweetneſs of, you will be ſorry that you knew it no ſooner; you will grieve at the time you have loſt, and utterly deteſt and abhor all that filthy Superſtition which the moſt filthy falſe Prophet* Mahomet *hath left amongſt you. From our Camp the* 26 *of* May, 1463.

With theſe Letters *Scanderbeg* diſmiſſed the Turks Embaſſador. About which time he received Letters from the great Biſhop, that he accompanied with the Chriſtian Princes, would without delay come over into *Epirus* with a ſtrong Army of valiant Chriſtians to joyn their Forces with his, againſt the common Enemy of the

Chriſtian Religion; exhorting him in all their names to denounce War againſt the Turkiſh King. Which thing *Scanderbeg* moſt joyfully undertook; and without delay with all his Power brake into the Turks Dominion, burning and deſtroying the Country before him as he went; from whence he returned laden with the Spoil there gotten.

When *Mahomet* had peruſed *Scanderbegs* Letters, and certainly underſtood of the great preparation made againſt him in *Italy*, as alſo of the great Spoil of late made by *Scanderbeg*, he became exceeding melancholy, as a man much troubled in mind, which dayly more and more increaſed; for that he ſaw not the wonted chearfulneſs in his men of War, but all full of heavineſs and deſpair, as if they had been men already vanquiſhed. Nevertheleſs, he ſpeedily took order for the levying of a great Army; fortifying his Cities and ſtrong Holds, leaving nothing undone that was poſſible, for the aſſurance of his State. And to repreſs the fury of *Scanderbeg*, ſent *Seremet Baſſa* with fourteen thouſand Souldiers to lie upon the Borders of *Epirus*, with charge only to attend upon him. Who mindful of his charge, came into *Macedonia*, unto the City *Ocrida*, now called *Alchria*, in the very Confines of *Macedonia* towards *Epirus*, and there lay with his Army; ſome part thereof lodged in the City, and the reſt in places more convenient near about the ſame.

The coming of the Baſſa, as alſo the manner of his lying, was not unknown to *Scanderbeg*, who deſired nothing more than to be doing with him. Wherefore he ſecretly in the night marched towards *Ocrida* with twelve thouſand Souldiers, and being come within three miles of the Town, lay cloſe in ambuſh, and upon the breaking of the day ſent out five hundred Horſemen towards the Enemy, under the conduct of *Peicus Emanuel*, and *Petrus Angelus*, two valiant and expert Captains, to draw him if they could into the Field. But *Scanderbeg* had before commanded them, that if the Enemy did come forth to fight, they ſhould make but ſmall reſiſtance, but retire back as if they had fled, and ſo to train him on to the place where the Army lay. Which was ſo well performed by the two ſkilful Captains, that the Baſſa with all his Power was according as they could have wiſhed, drawn into the Field, and brought to the very place where *Scanderbeg* lay; who ſuddainly riſing up with all his Army, aſſailed the Turks on every ſide, and ſlew them as Deer encloſed in a toyl. In this Battel ten thouſand of the Turks were ſlain, the Treaſurer of the Army with twelve other of great mark were taken Priſoners, and brought bound to *Scanderbeg*, who were preſently ranſomed for forty thouſand Ducats.

Ten thouſand Turks ſlain.

Scanderbeg having obtained the Victory, returned with triumph into *Epirus*, daily expecting the coming of the great Army out of *Italy*; *But fatal Deſtiny, the mighty controller of mens higheſt deſigns, had not ſo appointed.* For when *Pius* the great Biſhop had out of all parts of Chriſtendom aſſembled a great Army (whereof the greateſt part were voluntary Souldiers) and all things were now in ſuch readineſs, that he had put himſelf upon the way, and was come to *Ancona*, a City upon the Sea-ſide (where *Chriſtophorus Maurus* Duke of *Venice* came unto him, with ten Gallies well appointed, to have accompanied him in thoſe Wars; and all men were now in expectation of ſome great matter to have been done) ſuddainly he fell ſick of a Fever, and died in the year 1464. Whereupon the Army was forthwith diſperſed, and all that great preparation fruſtrated, to the exceeding grief of many Chriſtian Princes; and no leſs joy of the Turks, who now rejoyced to ſee themſelves delivered of ſo great a fear.

About this ſame time, *Victor Capella* chief perſwader of this War betwixt the *Venetians* and the Turks, was by the Senate ſent General of their Forces at Sea, in ſtead of *Lauretanus*, whoſe year was then expired. He having received the charge from *Lauretanus*, and ſailing out of *Eubœa*, in ſhort time took from the Enemy the City of *Aulis* in *Peloponneſus* over-againſt *Chalcis*, and alſo the City of *Larſum* in the Gulf of *Theſſalonica*, with the Iſle of *Himber*. Afterwards landing his Men by night at *Pyræus*, he ſuddainly ſurpriſed the City of *Athens* (now called *Sethina*) ſometime the Mother of learning, and moſt noble City of *Grecia*; and from thence carried away with him into *Eubœa* all the People he there found, as his Priſoners, together with the rich Spoil of that City. Whilſt he lay in *Eubœa*, he was perſwaded that the City of *Patras* in *Peloponneſus* would be delivered unto him by the Chriſtians that dwelt therein, if he did but ſhew himſelf before it. Whereupon he departed from *Eubœa*, and coming into the Gulf of *Patras*, landed four thouſand Footmen under the leading of *Barbaricus*, and two hundred Horſemen, of whom one *Nicholaus Ragius* was Captain. *Barbaricus* marching towards *Patras*, was come within a mile of the City; when many of the Horſemen and of the unruly Mariners, diſorderly ſcattering abroad, neglected the intended ſervice, and ſought after pillage all about the Country. The Turks Garriſons taking this opportunity, ſet upon them with their Horſemen, and ſo, eaſily overthrew them, being ſcattered and out of order. At the firſt encounter, *Barbaricus* himſelf was ſlain; *Ragius* Captain of the Horſemen was taken, and alive empailed upon a ſharp ſtake. Of all them that were landed, ſcarce a thouſand were left, who ſaved their lives by flying unto the Gallies. With this overthrow *Victor* the *Venetian* Admiral was greatly diſcomforted, yet having conceived ſome hope of better ſucceſs, in few daies after attempted again to have taken *Patras*, but with like hap as before; for having loſt a thouſand of his Men about the City, and the reſt glad to take their refuge to the Fleet, he was conſtrained with great diſhonour to depart thence. And ſo full of Sorrow and Heavineſs returning into *Eubœa*, oppreſſed with Melancholy, there ſuddenly died.

The Venetians attempting to win Patras, *receive great loſs.*

The *Venetians* deceived of the great hope they had conceived of the general preparation made againſt the Turks, and much troubled with the hard proceeding of their Wars againſt ſo mighty an Enemy; by their Embaſſadors ſollicited *Mathias*, not long before choſen King of *Hungary*, to joyn in League with them, and to take up Arms againſt the common Enemy, offering preſently to furniſh him with a great ſum of Mony, beſide a large yearly penſion for the maintenance of thoſe Wars; for which he ſhould to his power by Land defend all their Territory betwixt the *Rhetian* Alpes, and the *Adriatique*, againſt the invaſion of the Turk.

This *Mathias* ſirnamed *Corvinus*, was the younger Son of the moſt famous Captain *Jo. Huniades*, whoſe elder Brother *Uladiſlaus*, a Gentelman of ſuch Courage as might well ſhew whoſe Son he was, being not able to digeſt the injuries and diſgraces done unto him and his Brother, by *Ulricus* Count of *Cilie*, and Uncle to *Ladiſlaus* the young King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; for the deſpite he alwaies bare unto their Father *Huniades*, ſlew the ſame *Ulricus* at *Alba Regalis*, even in the Kings Court. Which outrage the young King was glad for the preſent to wink at, and alſo to grant him pardon; as having taken away the man, whoſe immoderate power well ſtood not with the Kings ſafety; but indeed fearing the Citizens of *Alba*, and the Men of War, who exceedingly favoured the Sons of *Huniades* for their Fathers ſake. For all that, *Ladiſlaus* returning into *Bohemia*, cauſed both the Sons of *Huniades* upon the ſuddain to be apprehended, and moſt cruelly executed, *Uladiſlaus* being then about ſix and twenty years old. *Mathias* the younger Brother was kept in Priſon, expecting nothing elſe but to be partaker of his Brothers hard Fortune, as undoubtedly he had, had not *Ladiſlaus* the young King, upon the ſuddain, as he was upon the top of his marriage with *Magdalain* the French Kings Daughter, by untimely death been taken away. After whoſe death the *Hungarians* for the love they bare unto the remembrance of *Huniades*, by a military Election, choſe this *Mathias* his youngeſt Son, then in priſon at *Prague*, to be their King. Whereof *Pogebrach* (who after the death of *Ladiſlaus*, of an old Governor had made himſelf the young King of *Bohemia*) having ſpeedy intelligence as he was ſitting at Supper, ſent for *Mathias* his Priſoner, and when he was come, commanded him to ſit down at the upper end of the Table; whereat the young Gentleman, being then but about eighteen years of age, and ſore abaſhed, began to crave pardon. But when the King would needs have it ſo, and that he was ſet, the King to quiet his troubled thoughts, willed him to be of good chear, for that he had good news to tell him. Good news, ſaid he, if it would pleaſe your Majeſty to grant me liberty. Yea that, ſaid the King, and more too; and then ſaluting him by the name of the King of *Hungary*, brake unto him the whole matter, how that he was by the general conſent of the *Hungarians*, choſen their King. And ſo in few daies after, married to him his Daughter; which done, he furniſhed him with all things fit for his Eſtate, and Royally accompanied him into *Hungary*, where he was with great joy and triumph received of the *Hungarians*; over whom he afterwards gloriouſly reigned for the ſpace of eight and thirty years. In which time he notably enlarged the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and became a far greater terror unto the Turks, than ever was his Father *Huniades*. And therewithal (which is not to be accounted in the leaſt part of his praiſes) was alwaies a great favourer and furtherer of good Letters and ingenious Devices.

Mathias *of a Priſoner choſen King of* Hungary.

But to return again unto our purpoſe, *Mathias* having well conſidered of that the *Venetians* had requeſted, anſwered them, that they had many times before in like caſe refuſed to give aid unto the *Hungarian* Kings his Predeceſſors; yea, and that more was, thought it a thing not reaſonable, that any ſuch thing ſhould be requeſted at their hands, foraſmuch as they then received no harm from the Turk, but were in League and Amity with him; ſo that the *Hungarian* Kings wanting their help, had many times received greater loſs from the Turks, than otherwiſe they ſhould have done, if they had been by them aided. Yet for all that, he was content to forget all ſuch unkindneſs, and to grant them what they had requeſted; promiſing the next Spring to invade the Turks Dominion, and according to their requeſt, to take into his protection all their Territory betwixt the *Rhetian* Alpes, and the *Adriatique*; which thing he moſt honourably performed. For with the firſt of the Spring he paſſed over *Danubius* at *Belgrade* with a puiſſant Army, and raſed the Forts which the Turks had built thereabouts; and ſo entring into *Servia*, laid all the Country waſt before him; and afterwards laden with Spoil, returned home, carrying away with him twenty thouſand Captives. Neither ſo reſted, but with great good Fortune maintained great Wars againſt *Mahomet* during all the time of his reign; and afterwards againſt *Bajazet* his Son alſo, wherein he moſt commonly returned with Victory; ſo that it is of him as truly as briefly written, That no Chriſtian King or Chieftain, did more often or with greater fortune fight againſt the Turkiſh Nation, or had of them greater Victories.

Mahomet delivered of the great fear he had before conceived of the general preparation of the Chriſtian Princes againſt him, determined now to work his Will upon ſuch as were neareſt unto him, and afterward not to forget them that were farther off. The proceeding of *Scanderbeg*, with the late overthrow of *Seremet* with his Army in *Epirus*, ſtuck in his Stomach; in revenge whereof, he now ſent unto *Balabanus Badera*, a moſt valiant Captain, with fifteen thouſand Horſemen, and three thouſand Foot, to invade *Epirus*. This *Balabanus* was an *Epirot* born, a Churles Son of that Country; and being of a Boy taken Captive of the Turks, as he was keeping of his Fathers Cattel, and of long time brought up in ſervitude amongſt them, framing himſelf both to their Religion and Manners; after long ſervice got the credit of a good common Souldier. But when as at the taking of *Conſtantinople*, it was his fortune to be the firſt man of the Turks Army, that gained the Top of the Walls, and entred the City, he was for that piece of Service ever afterwards of *Mahomet* greatly eſteemed; and beſide his other great Preferment, now ſent General of his Army into *Epirus*. Who as ſoon as he was come to *Alchria* (a City upon the Frontiers of that Country) ſent many rich Preſents to *Scanderbeg*, making ſhew as if he had been deſirous peaceably to lie upon the Borders committed to his Charge, without farther purpoſe to trouble his Country; yet indeed waiting nothing more than ſome notable opportunity, ſuddainly to do him the greateſt miſchief he could. But *Scanderbeg* well ſeeing into the malice of the man, rejected his feigned Friendſhip and Gifts, and in deriſion ſent him a Spade, a Mattock, a Flail, with other ſuch Inſtruments belonging to Huſbandry; willing him to take in hand thoſe Tools, and to follow his Fathers trade of life, and to leave the conducting of Armies unto men of greater skill and better place. Which diſgrace *Balabanus* took in exceeding evil part; purpoſing in himſelf, if ever it lay in his power, to be thereof revenged. Wherefore knowing that *Scanderbeg* with a ſmall power lay not far off upon the frontiers of his Kingdom, he determined ſuddainly in the night to ſet upon him before he were a ware of his coming, and ſo if it were poſſible to overthrow him, but *Scanderbeg* having knowledge thereof by his Scouts, ſet forward in good order to have met him. When *Balabanus* perceiving that he was diſcovered, ſtaid upon the way, and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbeg*; who had then in his Army but four thouſand Horſemen, and one thouſand and five hundred Foot, but all choice men, and moſt expert Souldiers, and then lay in a large pleaſant Valley called *Valchal*; At the farther end whereof *Balabanus* lay alſo encamped, near unto a rough and woody Hill which encloſed that part of the Valley. Whilſt both Armies thus lay within view one of another, *Scanderbeg* well conſidering the ground the Enemy had taken, and that it

Mahomet *ſendeth* Balabanus *to invade* Epirus.

Balabanus *goeth againſt* Scanderbeg.

was

The Battel betwixt Balabanus *and* Scanderbeg.

was like he would offer him Battel, with chearful ſpeeches encouraged his Souldiers; ſtraitly charging them upon pain of his diſpleaſure, That if the Enemy upon the fortune of the Battel, ſhould chance to flie or to retire, they ſhould not in any caſe purſue them farther than the Straits of the Hill whereby the Enemy lay; gheſſing too truly, that he would in ſo convenient a place leave part of his Army in ambuſh, as a ſure refuge to truſt unto whatſoever ſhould befal. When he had thus encouraged and inſtructed his Souldiers, he roſe with his Army, and in good order retired unto the riſing of an Hill, which was a good way behind the place where he before lay; of purpoſe to have the advantage of the ground, if the Enemy ſhould follow to give him Battel. *Balabanus* ſeeing him retire, and the ſmall number of his Army, thought verily that he had fled for fear; and therefore to ſtay him who meant nothing leſs than to flie, ſet forward in great haſt. The Turks thinking upon ſo great advantage to have found no great reſiſtance followed after *Scanderbeg* as if they had had him in chaſe; and by that time they were come to the place where he ſtaied, were by their haſt greatly diſordered and out of array. *Scanderbeg* his old truſty Souldiers nothing diſmaied with the haſty coming and hideous clamour of the Turks, received them with great Courage; ſo that there began a fierce Battel, with much ſlaughter on both ſides, which for a great while ſtood doubtful. Yet ſuch was the invincible Courage of *Scanderbegs* reſolute Souldiers, that the Turks (who as then fought in great diſorder) were at laſt put to flight, and with much ſlaughter chaſed unto the Straits of the Mountain, where *Scanderbeg* had before commanded his men to ſtay. But certain of his beſt and principal Captains forgetting what he had ſaid unto them; and led on (whether with the heat and fury of the Battel, or rather with inevitable deſtiny, is hard to ſay) unadviſedly purſued the Enemy into thoſe Straits, whereof they were by *Scanderbeg* before warned, and charged that they ſhould not enter; where they were on every ſide beſet with their Enemies, ariſing out of ambuſh; and after they had a long time deſperately fought as Wild Beaſts incloſed with Hunters, at laſt oppreſſed with multitude, were together taken and brought to *Balabanus*, by whom they were forthwith ſent to *Mahomet* to *Conſtantinople*. Who as ſoon as he heard of their taking, is reported with great rejoycing to have ſaid, Now am I ſure that the Strength of *Scanderbeg* is broken. The names of the principal men which were there taken, was *Moſes Golemus* of *Dibra*, the greateſt Captain of *Epirus* next unto *Scanderbeg* himſelf; *Giuriza Uladerius*, *Scanderbeg* his Kinſman; *Muſachius*, *Scanderbeg* his Nephew by his Siſter *Angelina*; *Ginius Muſachius*; *Johannes Perlatus*, who valiantly defended *Sfetigrade* againſt *Amurath*; *Nicholaus Beriſius*, *Georgius Chucca*, and *Ginius Maneſius*: whereof every one of them was able to have conducted a great Army, and might worthily have been accounted amongſt the greateſt Captains of that Age. The taking of theſe worthy men brought ſuch a general ſorrow and heavineſs upon *Epirus*, that the Victory was nothing accounted of, every man lamenting the loſs of ſuch notable Leaders. *Scanderbeg* careful of their deliverance, preſently ſent an Embaſſador to *Mahomet*, requeſting that he might redeem his Priſoners, either by exchanging of others for them, or elſe for ſuch ranſome as it ſhould pleaſe him to ſet down. But he knowing them to be *Scanderbeg* his beſt Captains, would neither exchange them for others, nor grant that they ſhould be ranſomed for any Gold; But after he had uſed them with all the deſpight he could deviſe, cauſed them all by little and little, to be ſlain quick; in which miſerable torment they lived fifteen days, and ſo died. *Scanderbeg* hearing thereof, was therewith rather encouraged than diſcouraged; and in revenge thereof, with Fire and Sword entred into the Turks Dominion, ſparing nothing that he could either burn, or poſſibly by any other means deſtroy.

Moſes *and other worthy Captains cruelly executed by* Mahomet.

Mahomet glad of the taking of theſe notable men (although they were bought with the lives of many of his People) commended *Balabanus* highly, as the only man that knew how to fight againſt *Scanderbeg*; and in reward of his good ſervice, ſent him divers rich Gifts, with commandment to repair again his Army, and to proceed in his Wars ſo happily begun. Which thing *Balabanus* with all diligence performed. Yet truſting more unto his Policy, than his Strength, lying at *Alchria*, ſent again divers rich Preſents to *Scanderbeg*, as deſirous to live in peace by him; but ſeeking indeed to bring him into ſecurity, and ſo ſuddainly (if it were poſſible) to entrap him. Which things *Scanderbeg* well perceiving, rejected his feigned Friendſhip together with his Preſents, as ſent from a baſe Peaſant. Whereupon *Balabanus* entred into a new device, and by ſecret means, with great rewards corrupted *Scanderbeg* his Scouts, whereof ſome were *Balabanus* his Kinſmen, though it were to *Scanderbeg* unknown. By which practice, he had upon the ſuddain in the night oppreſſed *Scanderbeg*, lying encamped in *Oronycheum*, if *Scanderbeg* himſelf (who commonly ſpent moſt part of the night in careful watch) going about the Camp, had not in the ſilence of the night a far off perceived the coming of the Enemy by the noiſe of his Horſes; and thereupon with wonderful celerity putting his Army in ſuch order as he beſt could, was ready to receive him; and at laſt after a great Fight, put him to flight; and having him in chaſe, ſlew moſt part of his Army, *Balabanus* himſelf with a ſmall remnant hardly eſcaping.

Now when *Mahomet* underſtood that *Balabanus* was overthrown, and his Army loſt, he was in doubt, whether to ſend another General, or elſe again to prove the fortune of the old. But after he had well conſidered, that *Balabanus* was a right valiant Captain, and one that well knew the Country of *Epirus*, and withal a mortal Enemy to *Scanderbeg*; he reſolved to ſtay upon him, and not to ſend any other. So committing to his charge fourteen thouſand Horſemen and three thouſand Foot, ſent him again to invade *Epirus*; and the more to encourage him, promiſed to make him King of that Country, if he could ſubdue *Scanderbeg*. *Balabanus* with his Army coming to *Alchria*, and ſtill in vain plotting how he might circumvent his wary Enemy; after his wonted manner ſent divers Preſents to *Scanderbeg*; which he ſtill ſcornfully refuſed. Three months he lay ſtill at *Alchria*, with nothing more troubled than with his own thoughts; but finding nothing that pleaſed himſelf, he determined to adventure by plain force to ſubdue him. And upon that reſolution marched with all his Army into the great Plains near unto *Sfetigrade*, whither *Scanderbeg* came with his Army alſo, which then conſiſted of eight thouſand Horſemen and fifteen hundred Foot; with which ſmall power he refuſed not to joyn Battel with *Balabanus*, being in number two to one. But after they were come to handy blows, to have ſeen *Scanderbeg* his Men fight, a man would have thought them rather to have been raging Lyons than Men, they ſo

The Battel at Sfetigrade *betwixt* Balabanus *and* Scanderbeg.

furiouſly aſſailed their Enemies, without regard of peril or danger, as men nothing afraid to die. *Scanderbeg* with great skill governed that Battel, carefully providing for every danger; himſelf valiantly fighting in the head of this Battel, but not without care of the reſt, ſtill ſending ſpeedy relief where moſt need was, and bringing in freſh ſupplies inſtead of them that were wounded or ſlain, performed all the parts of a moſt worthy Chieftain and valiant Souldier; where moſt peril was, there was he ſtrait, and at his preſence danger fled, as if Victory had attended upon him. But whilſt he thus fought in the midſt of his Enemies, his Horſe fortuned to be ſlain under him, and falling down with him, ſore bruiſed one of his Arms, whereof he complained long time after. The Turks ſeeing him down, preſſed on fiercely to have ſlain him; but he was quickly reſcued by his own Souldiers and remounted. And forthwith encountring with one *Suliman*, a great Commander in the Turks Army, ſlew him in fight hand to hand; whereupon ſuch a terror fell upon the Turks, that they began to retire, and after a while to betake themſelves to plain Flight. *Scanderbeg* purſuing them with ſuch execution, that of that great Army few eſcaped with *Balabanus* to carry news home.

Balabanus now thrice vanquiſhed by *Scanderbeg*, and in the laſt Battel having loſt what he could loſe, except he ſhould have loſt himſelf, returned to *Mahomet* at *Conſtantinople*, of whom he was ſharply rebuked for the great overthrows he had ſo often received. At which time *Balabanus* at firſt gave place to the Kings Fury; but afterwards when the heat was over, he with a large diſcourſe cunningly excuſed himſelf, imputing all theſe miſhaps unto the appointment of God, and the fortune of War; and in the end told *Mahomet* plainly, That it was but in vain to ſend ſuch ſmall Armies into *Epirus*. But if it would pleaſe him at once to ſend two valiant Captains with a puiſſant and ſtrong Army, who dividing the ſame betwixt them, and entring at one time into divers parts of *Epirus*, might ſpoil the Country before them, and encloſe *Scanderbeg* betwixt them, if he ſhould adventure to give either of them Battel; being before reſolved neither of them to offer him Battel, or yet to accept of the ſame being by him offered, except the other were alſo at hand; and ſo by mutual conſent to undertake him, but never ſingle. By which courſe he promiſed unto him an eaſie and aſſured Victory; for as much as it were impoſſible for any man ſo beſet, and as it were on every ſide coupt up with his Enemies, either to eſcape, or yet to make any great reſiſtance. This perſwaſion of *Balabanus* ſo well fitted the Tyrants humor, that he appointed *Balabanus* himſelf to be the man to put his own device in execution; giving him Commiſſion to levy ſuch an Army as he ſhould think ſufficient for the performance of that ſervice; and withal to aſſociate unto himſelf for his Companion whichſoever of his Captains he pleaſed. *Balabanus* according to his Commiſſion, took muſters of the men of War, and made choice of forty thouſand good Souldiers, and choſe one *Jacup Arnauth* (otherwiſe called *James the Epirot*, becauſe he was alſo born in *Epirus*, a valiant Captain) to be his Companion; whom he ſent with ſixteen thouſand Souldiers by the way of *Theſſalia* and *Grecia* into *Epirus*, commanding him in no caſe to joyn Battel with *Scanderbeg*, until he himſelf were alſo come into the Country with the other part of the Army. And ſo ſetting both forward, *Balabanus* taking the nearer way through *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, came firſt into *Epirus* with twenty thouſand Horſemen and four thouſand Foot, and encamped in the Valley of *Valchal*. *Scanderbeg* both by his Eſpials and Letters from his ſecret Friends in the Turks Court, having certain intelligence of all *Balabanus* his intent and purpoſe, had in readineſs againſt his coming a ſtrong Army of eight thouſand Horſemen and four thouſand Foot, all choice Souldiers. And now hearing that he was come into *Epirus*, and incamped in *Valchal*, ſent out three Eſpials to diſcover in what order he lay; one of which Spies was *Balabanus* his Kinſman (but not ſo known to *Scanderbeg*) by whoſe perſwaſion the other two when they had taken full view of *Balabanus* his Army, and ſhould have returned to *Scanderbeg* to have given intelligence of that they had ſeen, like falſe Traitors went over to *Balabanus*, and diſcovered unto him all that they knew concerning *Scanderbeg*; hoping therefore to receive ſome great reward, as their Fellow had before born them in hand. *Scanderbeg* marvelling that his Eſpials returned not again as they were appointed, and doubting that they had been by the Enemy intercepted, and uſing many times in matters of ſuch importance to truſt himſelf beſt, preſently went out with five luſty Souldiers, and rid forth to diſcover the manner of the Enemies lying. *Balabanus* like a crafty Fox, miſtruſting that *Scanderbeg* deceived of his firſt Spies would for like purpoſe ſend forth others, laid certain Horſemen in ſecret ambuſh in divers places, to intercept them if it were poſſible. Theſe Horſemen lay not ſo covert, but that they were in good time deſcried by *Scanderbeg* and his Followers (who with *Argus* Eyes, pried into every Buſh and Thicket as they went) before he was altogether fallen into their danger; and yet but ſo that he came to handy ſtroaks, where *Scanderbeg* and his Followers oppreſſed with multitude, were glad to flie as faſt as they could into the next Wood, the Turks Horſemen following them at the Heels. It fortuned that as they were flying, a great old Tree was fallen croſs the way, which *Scanderbeg* putting Spurs to his Horſe, leapt over with one of his men after him; the other four not able to get over, turned back upon the Turks, and there fighting were ſlain. One of the Turks which ſo hardly purſued *Scanderbeg* being well mounted, forced his Horſe, to leap the Tree, and ſtill followed after *Scanderbeg*; who looking back and ſeeing but one, turned upon him and ſlew him: the other Turks having ſlain four of *Scanderbegs* men which could not get over the Tree, returned. And *Scanderbeg* accompanied but with one of his Followers, came back again to his Camp; and there with all ſpeed put his Army in readineſs to go againſt *Balabanus* before the coming of his Companion, with the other part of his Army. Upon which reſolution, after he had with chearful perſwaſions encouraged his Souldiers, and filled their minds with hope of Victory, he ſet forward, and came with great ſpeed into the Valley of *Valchal* where *Balabanus* lay. *Scanderbeg* had divided his Army into four Squadrons; whereof *Tanuſius* had the leading of one, *Zacharias Groppa* of another, the third was committed to *Peius Emanuel*, and *Scanderbeg* himſelf conducted the fourth. So ſetting forward, he ſent before certain Companies of Harquebuſiers and Archers, to provoke the Enemy and to draw him forth unto Battel. *Balabanus* alſo ſhewed himſelf with his Army in ſeemly order before his Tents, but there ſtood faſt and would not ſtir, expecting continually the coming of his Fellow. Which *Scanderbeg* perceiving, and that he ſought but to dally out the time, and as one unwilling to fight had again retired his Army into the ſafety of his

Scanderbeg *his Scouts traiterouſly flie to* Balabanus

Trenches; drew nearer and nearer unto him, continually ſkirmiſhing with ſuch as he ſent out, daring him to the Field, and braving him unto his Trenches, in ſuch ſort, as if he would have forced the ſame, and by ſtrong hand have ſet him out thence; whereat the Turks fretted and chafed exceedingly, inſomuch that they were ready to riſe againſt their General, becauſe he would not lead them forth to Battel, but ſuffer them to be ſo diſgraced. *Balabanus* mindful of that he had promiſed to *Mahomet* his great Lord and Maſter, did what he might to have deferred time; but when he ſaw that his Fellow came not, and that he could no longer delay the matter; being ſo continually aſſailed and braved by *Scanderbegs* Souldiers, that his Turks therewith provoked, were ready oftentimes to have iſſued out without his direction, and no remedy but that he muſt needs fight, placed his men in good order, and ſo went out of his Trenches to give Battel, himſelf leading the left Wing thereof; where betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* was made a fierce Fight, many falling on both ſides. But *Scanderbeg* ſtrengthened with the old Garriſon of *Croia*, and the moſt expert Souldiers of *Dibra*, prevailed upon the Turks and forced them to give ground, yet ſtill keeping their order. The Fight was ſo great in this part of the Battel, that in other places they ſtood almoſt ſtill as lookers on, expecting the doubtful fortune of their Generals; which thing *Scanderbeg* perceiving, drew certain Troops out of the right Wing, whereas he ſaw was leaſt danger, which ſpeedily fetching a compaſs about, charged the ſide of the Enemies Army; and again withdrawing themſelves, and with wonderful celerity wheeling about, ſet upon the back of them that fought in the left Wing; ſo that the Turks there fiercely charged both before and behind, by the Wing of *Scanderbeg* his Army, fell in other places with a great Slaughter. *Balabanus* with exceeding Courage gainſtood his Enemies, ſo long as there was any hope left; but when he ſaw the fortune of *Scanderbeg* to prevail, and all about him to become deſperate, he made ſhift for himſelf, and fled out of the Battel as faſt as he could. The reſt of the Army being in other places before troubled and diſordered fled alſo, ſome one way, ſome another, every man as his Fortune led him. Some few that followed *Balabanus* eſcaped; the reſt were for moſt part either ſlain or taken Priſoners.

Scanderbeg had ſcarcely well breathed himſelf after this Victory, and divided the Spoil amongſt his Souldiers, but that news was brought to him in Poſt from the Lady *Mamiza* his Siſter, then lying at *Petrella*, That *Jacuppe Arnauth* was by the way of *Belgrade* come into *Epirus* with an Army of ſixteen thouſand Horſemen, burning and deſtroying the Country before him, and then lay incamped in the Plains of *Tyranna* the leſs. When *Scanderbeg* to prove the minds of his Souldiers, had chearfully imparted unto them ſuch news, as was like to be the beginning of new labour and peril; they were therewith nothing diſmaied, but ready to follow him with ſuch chearfulneſs of countenance and mind, as if they ſhould have gone to ſome great Feaſt or Banquet; reckoning of them, but as of the remnant of a diſcomfited Army. This chearfulneſs of his Souldiers, *Scanderbeg* took as an aſſured token of his good ſucceſs; and having all things in readineſs, preſently ſet forward, and in ſhort time came to the place where the Enemy lay. *Jacuppe* hearing of his coming, removed his Camp into a corner of the Plain of *Tyranna*, near unto a little Hill, as a place of more ſafety for his Army to lie in. *Scanderbeg* having taken the Plain, incamped his Army in the ſame place from whence *Jacuppe* was but a little before departed, where he reſted one whole day. The next morning, to terrifie his Enemies (who as yet had not heard of the overthrow of *Balabanus*) he cauſed divers of the Turks Heads which were ſlain in the late Battel (which he had brought for that purpoſe) to be caſt before the Trenches of the Enemy; and withal, divers of them which were taken Priſoners, to be ſhewn; which *Jacuppe* beholding, in great deſpair ſaid, *I ſee the evil hap of* Mahomet. Immediately after *Scanderbeg* ſent forth five hundred Horſemen to skirmiſh with the Turks, commanding them, ſo ſoon as they were charged by the Enemy, to retire, if happily they might be ſo drawn into Battel. Which fell out accordingly; for *Jacuppe* now ſeeing his Fellow was not to be looked for, and willing alſo without further delay to try his Fortune, came readily into the Field, and began a fierce Battel; which endured not long; for *Scanderbeg* perceiving in what part of the Army *Jacuppe* was, bent his greateſt Force that way, and ſingling him out, with his own hand ſlew him. Wherewith the Turks being diſcouraged, forthwith betook themſelves to flight, and in flying were for moſt part ſlain or taken. Thoſe which eſcaped the preſent fury of the Sword, ſtragling through the Country by thick woods and blind ways, were by the Country People either ſlain or taken Priſoners. In theſe two Battels were ſlain of the Turks four and twenty thouſand, and ſix thouſand taken. And of *Scanderbeg* his men were loſt about a thouſand. *Scanderbeg* and his Souldiers were ſo weary of the ſlaughter of the Turks, that when it was told him the next day, That *Balabanus* was fled but with one Cornet of Horſemen, and might eaſily be ſurpriſed if he were well purſued; he ſaid, *O let ſome of our Enemies live to report their own Slaughter, and our Victory.* After that *Scanderbeg* had in this ſort vanquiſhed theſe great Captains, he preſently entred into the Frontiers of the Turks Dominions, and roaming up and down at his pleaſure without reſiſtance, made havock of all that came in his way; and after returning to *Croia* with Victory, brake up his Army, and gave his Souldiers leave to depart, every man to his own dwelling.

Jacuppe *ſlain by* Scanderbeg, *and his Army diſcomfited.*

1465. Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Mahomet* had with great rewards procured two Turks to undertake to kill *Scanderbeg*. Theſe Traitors came unto *Scanderbeg* as Fugitives, making ſuch ſhew of the deteſtation both of *Mahomet* his Tyrannical Government, and vain Superſtition, that they were both of *Scanderbeg* and others, reputed to be indeed the men, they deſired to be accounted; and ſo after they had learned the principles of the Chriſtian Religion, were by their own deſire baptized. But Treaſon againſt Princes whom God hath in his moſt mighty protection, cannot be long covered; much leſs, without his great ſufferance performed. So fortuned it, that theſe two falſe diſſembling Traitors, expecting nothing but opportunity to perform their diveliſh device, upon ſome occaſion fell at variance betwixt themſelves, and in their heat let ſome ſuch words fall, as being taken up by ſome there preſent, drew them both into ſuſpition; and thereupon being ſtraitly examined, it was at laſt by them confeſſed, That they were ſent by *Mahomet*, of purpoſe to have ſlain *Scanderbeg*; for which their Treaſon they were both preſently executed, as they had right well deſerved. When *Mahomet* underſtood that *Balabanus* was overcome, *Jacuppe* ſlain, and both their Armies almoſt quite deſtroyed, he after his impatient manner fell into a great rage, and became as a Man almoſt frantick; and afterwards calling together his great Baſſa's, reſolved by their advice, not to ſend any more Generals againſt *Scanderbeg*, but to go himſelf in perſon, with ſuch an Army as ſhould at once make an end of his Wars in *Epirus* for ever. Hereupon Commiſſions were directed through all his Kingdom, and an Army raiſed of two hundred thouſand men. Whereof *Scanderbeg* having certain advertiſement, fortified all his Cities and ſtrong holds, eſpecially the City of *Croia*, upon the fortune whereof depended the whole State of his Kingdom. Into this City he put a ſtrong Garriſon of his moſt valiant and faithful Souldiers, and throughly furniſht the ſame with all things neceſſary for the enduring a long Siege; and left one *Balthazar Perduci* (a grave and worthy Captain) Governor thereof. With like care he provided for the ſafety of his other Cities, and took order that the Country People were either received into the ſtrong Towns,or elſe conveyed into other places of refuge, and left nothing abroad in the Country for the Turks to prey upon; as he had in like caſe done long before, at the coming of old *Amurath* to the ſiege of *Croia*, as is before in his life declared.

Mahomet *cometh to the ſiege of* **Croia.**

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had ſet all things in order, his old Friend *Balabanus* with fourſcore thouſand Horſemen (the forerunners of *Mahomet* his Army) was entred into *Epirus*, and ranging over the Country two days, came and ſate down before *Croia*; upon whom the Governor at his firſt coming made many brave Sallies. In few days after came *Mahomet* with his huge Army, and there incamped alſo; who at his firſt coming ſummoned the City, requiring to have it delivered unto him, upon ſuch unreaſonable Conditions as it pleaſed himſelf, (as the manner of the Turk is;) whereunto the worthy Governor returned him no other anſwer, than by continual thundring Shot into his Camp. Whereupon *Mahomet* cauſed ſuch Ordnance as he had to be planted for battery; and commanded other new to be caſt, of ſuch mettal as he had for that purpoſe brought in maſs; all which, he did rather to ſtrike a terror into the minds of the Defendants,than for any great hope he had of taking the City by force; knowing by his own experience, that it was a place almoſt impregnable. Whilſt *Mahomet* was thus buſied, and little or nothing prevailed, *Scanderbeg* lying abroad in the Woods and Mountains, with a ſmall Army of moſt valiant and couragious Souldiers, continually cut off the forragers of *Mahomets* Army, and ſuch as brought in victual or neceſſaries for his Camp; and many times in the night ſuddainly brake into one quarter or other of the Turks great Camp with great ſlaughter, and with continual Alarms never ſuffered them to reſt in quiet. *Mahomet* ſeeing his Army to decreaſe dayly, and no hope of winning the City but by Famine, which would require a long Siege; and fearing alſo to make that ſame place again famous by ſome notable miſchance which might happen unto himſelf under the Walls of *Croia*, as had before unto his Father *Amurath*; determined to return himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, and to leave *Balabanus*, with a great part of his Army to continue the Siege. Upon which determination, he committed the charge and ordering of the whole matter for the continuing of the Siege, to *Balabanus*, joyning unto him eight of his moſt expert Captains; yet ſo, as that they ſhould be all at *Balabanus* his Command. And ſo leaving with him three and twenty thouſand of his beſt Souldiers,and with every one of the other eight Captains ſeven thouſand more, departed himſelf with the reſt of his Army from *Croia*, towards *Conſtantinople*. But by the way as he went he took from *Scanderbeg* certain ſmall Forts, and with fair promiſes corrupting the Governor of a place called *Chidna*, wherein eight thouſand of *Scanderbeg* his Souldiers lay, had the ſame delivered into his power, upon his Faith before given, That all the Souldiers with the reſt of the People ſhould in ſafety depart thence. But after the Tyrant had them in his power, without regard of Faith or Promiſe, he cauſed them all moſt cruelly to be cut in pieces, ſparing neither Man, Woman, nor Child, to the great grief and weakning of *Scanderbeg*, who had not at any time before received ſo great a loſs. And after he had ſo raged, he in great melancholy returned unto *Conſtantinople*.

Scanderbeg diſdaining to have his chief City beſieged by *Balabanus*, (ſometime one of the baſeſt of his Fathers Subjects) and yet finding himſelf unable to relieve the ſame, for as much as the Souldiers were with continual Wars ſore waſted, and his wary Enemies lay ſo encamped, as that they were not but by a ſtrong Army to be removed, ſent unto the *Venetians* and other the confederate Princes of *Albania*, *Illyria*, and *Dalmatia*, praying of them aid now at his need againſt that Enemy, which prevailing againſt him, would forthwith ſet upon them. All which Princes promiſed forthwith to ſend their Succors. At the ſame time alſo he paſſed over into *Italy* ſecretly, and diſguiſed in ſimple Attire, came to *Rome*, to crave aid of *Paulus* the Second of that name, then great Biſhop; by whom he was honourably entertained, but obtained nothing of that he came for; ſo cold was his Devotion; only at his departure he gave unto *Junetrio*, *Scanderbeg* his Treaſurer, a poor Alms of three thouſand Ducats.

Scanderbeg returning into *Epirus*, found all ſuch aid ready as was promiſed by the confederate Princes, but eſpecially from the *Venetians*, which was for moſt part drawn out of their Garriſons of *Scutari*, *Drivaſto*, *Alyſſa*, and *Dirrhachium*; ſo that he had in few days in his Army thirteen thouſand four hundred choice Souldiers. With this Strength he marched towards *Croia*; but underſtanding by the way, that *Ionima* was within a days journey, coming with a new ſupply to his Brother *Balabanus*, he drew out certain Troops of his beſt Horſemen; and coaſting over the Country in the night, ſuddainly came upon the Turks, and put them to flight; where amongſt others, *Ionima* himſelf, with his Son *Hedar*, were taken Priſoners; whom he ſhewed the next day in bonds to *Balabauus*. This exploit ſo happily performed, he with all ſpeed returned to his Army; and ſo marching to *Croia*, by plain force drove the Turks from the Mountain *Cruina*, their greateſt Strength, and neareſt to the City of *Croia*. Which thing when *Balabanus* ſaw, he with certain Troops of Horſemen rid even to the Gates of the City, perſwading the Defendants to yield the City, making them in the name of his Maſter ſuch Offers and Promiſes as he thought might moſt move them. But they nothing regarding his words, but rather incenſed with his preſumption, ſallied out upon him, and inforced him to retire; but he therewith enraged, and half mad for anger, came upon them with a freſh charge, thinking by plain force to have driven them back into the City. In which skirmiſh he was by one *Georgius Alexius*, with a Bullet, ſhot quite through the Throat; and feeling himſelf mortally wounded, ſetting ſpurs to his Horſe, ran as faſt as he could to his Camp, where he preſently fell down from his Horſe and died.

Scanderbeg *ſurpriſeth* **Ionima** *the Brother of* **Balabanus** *and* **Hedar** *his Son.*

The Turks diſcouraged with the death of their General, and the coming of *Scanderbeg*, roſe the ſame night, and with great ſilence retired themſelves unto the Plain of *Tiranna*, about eight miles from *Croia*. *Scanderbeg* the next morning entring the forſaken Tents of the Turks, found therein greatſtore of Corn and other Victuals; which he cauſed to be forthwith conveighed into the City, and in triumph followed after himſelf, to the great joy and comfort of his late beſieged Subjects; whom he highly commended for their Fidelity, and bountifully rewarded according to their deſerts. The ſame day he ſent certain companies of Souldiers to take the ſtrait paſſages whereby the Turks muſt needs paſs in their return out of *Epirus*; which when the Turks underſtood, they ſent two Meſſengers to *Scanderbeg* (who ſeemed to be men of good account in the Army) offering in the name of the reſt of the Captains and Commanders, to deliver unto him their Horſes and Arms, ſo that they might in ſafety depart with their lives. Which their requeſt *Scanderbeg* propounding to his Counſellors and Captains, was by them diverſly digeſted. In concluſion, they received this anſwer from *Scanderbeg* himſelf; That as they came into his Country without his Commandment, ſo ſhould they not by his leave depart thence. The Turks receiving this ſhort anſwer by their Meſſengers, and conſidering that they muſt needs in that bare Country in ſhort time periſh, either with Famine or with the Sword; the ſame night departed from *Tiranna*, and in the dead time of the night entring the aforeſaid Straits, by plain force deſperately brake through and eſcaped, but not without their great loſs; for whoſe eſcape the common Souldiers murmured grievouſly againſt *Scanderbeg*, and were not without much ado appeaſed. In ſhort time after, *Scanderbeg* recovered all ſuch places as *Mahomet* had before taken from him, and put to Sword the Souldiers he had left for the keeping of the ſame; which done, he brake up his Army, retaining only two thouſand Horſemen and a thouſand Foot for the defence of his Frontiers.

The Turkiſh Tyrant hearing of the evil ſucceſs of his Affairs in *Epirus*, as that his General was ſlain, *Croia* relieved, his Army diſcomfited, and all that he had done, brought to nought; fretted thereat exceedingly, and was therewith ſo much grieved, that he could not for a ſeaſon eat or drink,or take reſt,his diſcontented thoughts ſo much troubled him. In the end, to remedy the matter, he reſolved the next Spring to go again in perſon himſelf with a moſt puiſſant Army into *Epirus*, and ſo if it were poſſible, to make a full Conqueſt thereof; of which his purpoſe *Scanderbeg* underſtanding, provided for his coming, as he had in former time. The Spring being come, *Mahomet* according to his former reſolution, with a mighty Army entred into *Epirus*, and there with exceeding labour and charge, firſt repaired or rather re-edified the old ruines of the City of *Valmes*, wherein he left a ſtrong Garriſon, of purpoſe to trouble that part of the Country. From thence he marched to *Dirrachium* (now called *Durazzo*, but of old time *Epidamnum*) a City upon the Sea-coaſt, then in the poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*, famous for many things in the time of the *Roman* Empire, but eſpecially for the Flight of the *Roman* Senate thither, and their entertainment there in the time of the civil Wars betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*. This City *Mahomet* thought to have taken unprovided, and ſo upon the ſuddain to have carried it; but was therein much deceived, finding it ſtrongly fortified and manned both by the *Venetians* and *Scanderbeg*. Where when he had there ſpent ſome time, and to his great loſs in vain attempted the City, he roſe upon the ſuddain, and retiring into *Epirus*; came and ſate down again before *Croia*, of purpoſe by his ſuddain coming to have terrified the Citizens; and vainly perſwaded, that he had left *Scanderbeg* in *Dirrachium*, for that in the aſſailing thereof he had diſcovered many of *Scanderbegs* men, and thereby ſuppoſed him to have been there alſo; the greateſt cauſe why he ſo ſuddainly roſe and came to *Croia*. At his firſt coming he offered great rewards and large priviledges unto the Citizens, if they would forthwith yield up their City; otherwiſe he threatned unto them all the calamities of War, vowing never to depart thence before he had it; whereunto he received no other anſwer out of the City than was ſent him by the mouth of the Canon, or brought him by many moſt brave Sallies. *Scanderbeg* in the mean while continually moleſting his Camp, and every night falling into one quarter or another thereof. *Mahomet* taught by experience, to what ſmall purpoſe it would be for him to lie there long, roſe with his Army, and marched again to the Sea ſide, to a place now called the head of *Redon* upon the Gulf of *Venice*, not far from *Dirrachium*, where *Scanderbeg* had begun to build a new City called *Chiuril*, not yet finiſhed; which *Mahomet* in deſpight of the man, raſed down to the ground. After that, hearing that many of the *Epirots* were retired into the Mountains, he went to ſeek them out, and was with great loſs by thoſe Mountain People repulſed; *Scanderbeg* ſtill following them at the Heels, and awaiting all opportunities, daily cut off part of his Army. So that at laſt the Tyrant deſpairing of any good to be done in that Expedition, was glad to depart out of *Epirus*, having atchieved nothing worth his coming, and ſo, full of diſcontentment and melancholy returned to *Conſtantinople*.

Scanderbeg *falleth ſick.*

After all theſe great troubles, *Scanderbeg* rid over moſt part of *Epirus*, to view the ſtate of his Kingdom, and ſo at laſt came to *Lyſſa* (a City of the *Venetians*, which he had alwaies eſpecially liked) there to confer with the *Venetian* Legate and other the confederate Princes, of matters concerning their ſtate in general, as his manner was; but more particularly how they might take the City of *Valmes*, which *Mahomet* had the laſt year built in the Seigniory of *Ariannites Comynat*, and much troubled that part of *Epirus*. But whilſt he lay there, he fell ſick of a Fever, which daily ſo increaſed upon him,that he became ſick even unto death; and now perceiving his end to draw nigh, ſent for his Wife and Son, with the Princes and Lords his Confederates, and the Embaſſadors of the *Venetians*, into his Bed-Chamber. Where after he had at large with greater pain notably diſcourſed of his troubleſome life led among them, than he had before paſſed the ſame, and carefully forewarned them of the dangers like to enſue, he earneſtly exhorted them to continue in Unity and Concord, and valiantly to ſtand in defence of their Religion, Country, and Liberty. And afterwards turning his Speech to his Wife and his Son, commended them both with his Kingdom to the tuition of the *Venetians*; who by the Articles of the Confederation betwixt him and them, were in honour bound to protect his Son and Kingdom, during the time of his Minority, and afterwards peaceably to place him in the ſame. In fine he willed his Wife after his Death to paſs over with her Son into *Apulia*, where they might in ſafety and quiet live upon ſuch Poſſeſſions as he there

held

The death of Scan-derbeg

Scander-beg *buried at* Lyſſa.

The body of Scan-der-beg *dig-ged up by the Turks, and of them greatly honoured.*

held by the Gift of King *Ferdinand*. And ſo after he had with moſt fervent prayer commended his Soul into the hands of Almighty God, departed in peace the 17*th* day of *January*, in the year of our Lord, 1466. when he had lived about 63 years, and thereof raigned about 24. His death was worthily lamented of all Chriſtian Princes, but eſpecially of the *Venetians* and Princes of *Albania*, who had now loſt their moſt careful Watchman and invincible Champion; the ſorrow of his Subjects is not to be expreſſed, every man bewailing him, as the only ſtay of the Common-weal, and as if with him they had loſt all their hope. His dead Body was with the general Lamentation of all Men royally buried in the Cathedral-Church of St. *Nicholas* at *Lyſſa*; where it reſted in peace, until that about nine years after, the Turks coming to the Siege of *Scodra*, by the way took the City of *Lyſſa*, and there with great devotion digged up his Bones, reckoning it ſome part of their happineſs, if they might but ſee or touch the ſame; and ſuch as could get any part thereof, were it never ſo little, cauſed the ſame to be ſet, ſome in Silver, ſome in Gold, to hang about their Necks, or wear upon their Bodies; perſwading themſelves by the wearing thereof to be partakers of ſuch good fortune and hap as had *Scanderbeg* himſelf whilſt he lived; which is not unaptly by *Gabriel Fairnus* of *Cremona*, thus in Verſe expreſſed:

Paulus Jovius Illuſt. virorum *Elog. lib.* 8.

Turcarum clades, Othomanni *nominis horror,*
Epiri tutela, illo jacuere Sepulchro:
Quo quondam invicti cubuerunt oſſa Georgi.
Nunc & membra viri, & diſſectum in fruſtra ſepulchrum
Interijt, ſparſi manes, conſciſa vaguntur
Oſſa, nec in gelida nunc ſaltem morte quieſcunt.
Namque ut is aſſertum toties cum laude paternum
Imperium, exacta moriens ætate reliquit;
Illicet immanes tenuerunt omnia Turcæ.
Tum clari Herois venerati nobile buſtum,
Oſſaque, marmoraque, invictum condentia corpus,
Abſtulerant, ſibi quiſque in partes ſecta minutas,
Tanquam ijs bellica vis, & Martius ardor ineſſet:
Et genium præſtare bonum, ſortemque valerent.
Sic quæ alijs tumulum virtus parat, abſtulit illi:
Atque eadem diro venerandum præbuit hoſti.

In Engliſh thus:

The bloody Bane of faithleſs Turks, and terrour of their Name,
Epirus ſtrong defence and guard, lay buried there with fame:
Within that Tomb wherein long ſince, Great *Caſtriotus* lay;
But now thoſe Limbs and Tomb defac'd, are carried quite away.
The remnants of that worthy Wight out of his grave were torn;
And being dead, could find no reſt, but were for Jewels worn.
For after he, far ſpent with age, gave place to fatal Doom,
And left his Fathers Kingdom, got and kept with great Renown;
Forthwith the cruel Turks prevail'd, and all things there poſſeſt:
Who worſhipping his ſtately Tomb, and place of quiet reſt,
Dig'd up his Bones, and brake the Tomb wherein he did remain:
And glad was he that could thereof ſome little part obtain.
As if in them ſome Martial force, or vertue great had been:
Or fortune rare, ſuch as before in him was living ſeen.
So Vertue, which to others gives a Sepulture and Grave,
Bereft it him, yet forc'd his Foe in Honour it to have.

Mathias *King of* Hungary, *taketh the Kingdom of* Boſna *from the Turks.*

Moſt part of the times of thoſe Wars betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, the *Venetians* by Sea and the *Hungarians* by Land, kept the Turks throughly buſied. *Mathias Corvinus* King of *Hungary* (according to his promiſe made unto the *Venetians*) entred into the Kingdom of *Boſna*, where by force he overthrew the ſtrong Forts which the Turks had built for the defence of their Frontiers, and manfully drave them out before him until he came to *Jaziga* (of ſome called *Jaitze*) the chief City of *Boſna*; which he at length took; and following the courſe of his Victory, ſcarcely ſufferd the Turks to breath, until he had by force wreſted all that Kingdom out of their hands. Wherewith *Mahomet* being exceedingly grieved, in great fury came with a ſtrong Army into *Boſna*, and laid hard Siege to *Jaziga*, which was by the Chriſtians right valiantly defended, until *Mathias* with a puiſſant Army came to the Relief thereof; who ſo troubled the Turks Camp with continual Skirmiſhes on the one ſide, and they of the Town with deſperate Sallies on the other; that at length the proud Turk was driven to ſuch extremity, that he was glad ſecretly to ſteal away by night with all his Army into *Servia*; and for haſt to leave behind him both his Tents and great Ordnance, which (the Turks Hiſtories report) he cauſed to be caſt into the River, becauſe it ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians. *Mathias* after he had thus valiantly put to flight his Enemies, and relieved his City, followed the Turks into *Servia*, and took part of that Country alſo, which together with *Boſna* he united to the Kingdom of *Hungary*. In theſe Wars, *Mahomet* had ſuch proof of the Force and Power of *Mathias* and the *Hungarians*, that for a good while after he had no great ſtomach to provoke them farther; for why, the name of *Mathias* was now become unto the Turks no leſs dreadful, than was ſometime the name of his Father the valiant *Huniades*.

The *Venetians* at the ſame time alſo with their Gallies ſcoured the Seas, and landing their Men ſometime in one place, ſometime in another, did great harm in many places of the Turks Dominion near unto the Sea coaſt. Amongſt other their Generals at divers times ſent from that State, one *Nicholas Canalis* ſucceeding *Lauretanus* (whom we have before ſpoken of) as ſoon as he had received his Charge, came with his Fleet into the Bay of *Salonichi*, and landing his Men, burnt divers Towns and Villages alongſt the Sea ſide: And afterwards returning into *Peloponneſus*, he fortified the Town of *Legoſticium* in the Gulf of *Patras*; which work the Turks with their often Skirmiſhes laboured to have hindred, but in deſpite of all they could do, it was brought to perfection, and a ſtrong Garriſon therein left for the defence thereof; which done, he returned again to *Eubœa*. Shortly after, he with the ſame Fleet put to Sea again; and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of *Macedonia* and *Thracia*, ſurpriſed the City of *Ænus* which ſtandeth upon the mouth of the River *Maritza*, called in ancient time *Hebrus*, upon which River the famous Cities *Andrianople* and *Philippopolis* are alſo ſituate. *Canalis* after he had taken the ſpoil of the City, returned to his Gallies, carrying away with him two thouſand Captives into *Eubœa*. At the ſame time alſo, the *Venetians* giving Aid unto *Nicholas Duchaine* againſt his Brother *Alexius*, then at variance for the Principality of *Zadrima*, near unto the River of *Drino* in *Epirus*, gave a great Overthrow to the Turks which came in the quarrel of *Alexius*.

1470. *Mahomet* not a little offended with the harms done unto him by the *Venetians*, and perceiving that the Iſland of *Eubœa* (now called *Nigroponte*) was for the commodious ſituation and ſtrength thereof, the chief place from whence they wrought him all theſe wrongs, and whither they afterwards retired again, as unto a moſt ſure place of Refuge; determined with himſelf at once to be even with them for all, and to imploy his whole Forces both by Sea and Land for the gaining of that place. This Iſland of *Eubœa* is about an hundred miles in length, and lieth over againſt that part of *Græcia* which was of old called *Bœotia*, from whence it is ſeparated with a narrow ſtrait of the Sea; it aboundeth with Corn, Wine, Oil, Fruit, and Wood fit for ſhipping. The chief City thereof, was in ancient time called *Chalcide*, and of latter time *Nigroponte*, by which name alſo the whole Iſland was known; albeit the Turks now call it *Egribos*; a populous, rich, and ſtrong City; ſo fortified with Walls and Bulwarks, that (in moſt mens judgment) it ſeemed a place impregnable. Unto this ſtrong City, *Mahomet* reſolved to lay ſiege; knowing well, that upon the fortune thereof dependeth the ſtate of the whole Iſland. Wherefore he aſſembled a mighty Army, and made great preparation both by Sea and Land; and when all things were in readineſs, ſent *Mahomet* (the great Baſſa of the Court) with a Fleet of three hundred Gallies, and certain other ſmall Veſſels well furniſhed with Souldiers, Mariners, and all things neceſſary, by Sea into *Eubœa*; and with a great Army marched himſelf by Land through *Achaia*, until he came over againſt the City of *Chalcis*. The *Venetian* Admiral hearing of the coming of the Turks Fleet, ſet forward to have met them near unto the ſtraits of *Helleſpontus*; but after he had by his eſpials deſcried the great number of the Enemies Fleet, finding himſelf too weak, ſhaped his courſe to the Iſland of *Scios*. The Baſſa coming out of the Straits of *Helleſpontus*, covered the Sea with his Fleet, and holding on his intended courſe without let came to *Eubœa*; where at his firſt landing, he took *Stora* and *Baſilicon*, two ſmall Towns, which he raſed to the ground, and from thence went directly to *Chalcis*. As ſoon as this great Fleet was there arrived, *Mahomet* cauſed a great Bridge to be made of his ſmaller Veſſels over the Strait betwixt *Achaia* and *Eubœa*; whereby he paſſed all his Army, and ſo belayed the City round both by Sea and Land. And after he had planted his Battery, began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the Walls; wherein he had in ſhort time made fair Breaches, and the ſooner, for that one *Thomas* of *Liburnia* (chief Canoneer of the City) before corrupted by the Turks, by ſigns agreed upon, gave them certain knowledge in what places the Walls were weakeſt; whereby they ſo aptly planted their Battery, as if they had taken view on the inſide of the Walls. Which foul Treaſon was at length perceived, and the Traytor therefore worthily executed. Yet little prevailed the Tyrant thereby; for ſuch was the induſtry of the Defendants, that whatſoever he had by the fury of his great Ordnance beat down by day, that they with reſtleſs labour repaired again by night. Thus was the Siege continued thirty days, in which ſpace many a ſharp Aſſault was given by the Turks, to their great loſs; and the City ſtill valiantly defended by the Chriſtians. At length the *Venetian* Admiral (to the great comfort of the beſieged) came with his Fleet within view of the City, making ſemblance as if he would have given the Turks battel. Whereupon it is reported, that *Mahomet* was about to have raiſed his Siege, and have got himſelf over into the Main, for fear the *Venetians* ſhould with their Gallies have broken the Bridge, and ſo have ſhut him up into that Iſland; which thing it was thought the Admiral might have done to his great praiſe, if he would as a couragious Chieftain have adventured the matter, as he was earneſtly requeſted by the Captains of every private Gally; who generally grieved to ſee him ſo great a Commander, to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity. But he fearing to come any nearer, came to an Anchor and moved not, neither gave any ſign of comfort or relief to the beſieged. Which thing the Turkiſh King quickly perceiving, and therewith encouraged, having now in divers places beaten down the Walls, and made them aſſaultable, brought on his Men to the Breaches, promiſing them the ſpoil of the City, with many other great Rewards and high Preferments according to their particular Deſerts, whereof he ſaid, He would Himſelf be an Eye-witneſs. Hereupon the Turks gave a moſt fierce and furious Aſſault; which the Defendants with invincible courage received, and made ſuch ſlaughter of them, that the Ditches were fill'd, and the Breaches made up with the bodies of the dead Turks. But ſuch was the number of that populous Army (the greateſt ſtrength of the Turks) that the living little felt the loſs of the dead: *Mahomet* continually ſending in new ſupplies of freſh Men, in ſtead of them that were ſlain or wounded; ſo that one could no ſooner fall, but two or three ſtept up in his room, and ſo ſucceſſively, as if new Men had ſprung out of the Bodies of the dead. Twice they had even won the Breaches, and were both times with wonderful ſlaughter beaten out again. This deadly and dreadful Aſſault, was maintained a whole day and a night without intermiſſion. At length the Defendants being for the moſt part ſlain or wounded, and the reſt wearied with long fight, and unable to defend the Town now aſſaulted almoſt round, retired from the Breaches into the Market-place, and there like reſolute Men, ſold their lives at a dear price unto the Turks. Amongſt the ſlain Chriſtians, were found the dead bodies of many notable Women, who ſeeing the ruine of the City, choſe rather to die with their Friends in defence thereof, than alive to fall into the hands of their barbarous Enemies.

Chalcis *the chief City of* Eubœa *beſieged by the Turks.*

Treaſon in the City.

Chalcis *is taken by the Turks.*

Mahomet being now become Lord of the City, and having loſt forty thouſand of his Turks in that Siege, in revenge thereof cauſed all the men that were found in the City alive, to be put to moſt cruel death, eſpecially the *Italians*, upon whom he ſhewed his Tyranny with moſt exquiſite and horrible Torments. *Paulus Ericus* Governor of the City, with a few others, who with him were fled into the Caſtle, without reſiſtance delivered the ſame unto him, upon his faithful Promiſe, that they might in ſafety depart; but after he had got them into his Power, the perfidious Tyrant without regard, commanded them all to be cruelly murthered. The Governors Daughter a Maiden of incomparable beauty, was amongſt the reſt taken Priſoner, and for her rare Perfection, by them that took her, preſented to *Mahomet* as the Mirrour of Beauty: The barbarous Tyrant greedy of ſo fair a Prey, ſought firſt by flattering words and fair perſwaſion, to induce her to conſent to his deſire; but when he could not ſo prevail, he fell into another vain, and began to ſhew himſelf in his own nature, threatning her with Death, Torture, and Force, worſe than Death it ſelf, if ſhe would not otherwiſe yield unto his Appetite. Whereunto the conſtant Virgin (worthy eternal Fame) anſwered ſo reſolutely, and ſo contrary to the Tyrants expectation, that he being therewith enraged, commanded her to be preſently ſlain. The horrible and monſtrous Cruelty, with the filthy Outrages by that beaſtly and barbarous people committed, at the taking of that City, paſſeth all credit. *Chalcis* thus won, the reſt of that fruitful Iſland without further reſiſtance yielded unto the Turiſh ſlavery, under which it yet groaneth. This Calamity happened unto the *Venetian* State, or rather (to ſay truly) to the general hurt of the Chriſtian Common-weal, in the year of our Redemption, 1470.

The fruitful Iſland of Eubœa *taken by the Turks.*

Canalis the *Venetian* Admiral, who all the time of the Siege, had in the ſight of the City lien at Anchor as a looker on, fearing now the City was loſt, to be ſet upon by the Turks Fleet, hoiſed Sail, and laded with diſhonor returned in haſte unto *Venice*, where he was by the Commandment of the Senate committed to Priſon, and afterward with all his Family exiled to *Utinum*.

1471. Shortly after, when *Mahomet* was departed with his Army out of *Eubœa*, and his Fleet returned to *Conſtantinople*; the *Venetians* with their Gallies, attempted to have upon the ſudden ſurpriſed the City, a little before loſt. But *Mahomet* had therein left ſo ſtrong a Garriſon, that when the *Venetians* had landed their Men, they were again enforced to retire to their Gallies, and to forſake their Iſland.

Chalcis thus loſt with all the Iſland of *Eubœa*, the *Venetians* choſe *Petrus Mocenicus*, a valiant and diſcreet Gentleman, Admiral of their Fleet, in ſtead of *Canalis*; and by their Embaſſadors ſolicited *Sixtus* the Fourth of that Name, then Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, with *Lewis* King of *Cyprus*, and the grand Maſter of the *Rhodes*, to joyn their Forces together with theirs againſt the great and common Enemy; which thing all the aforeſaid Chriſtian Princes promiſed them to do. And the more to intangle the Turk, they at the ſame time ſent *Caterinus Zenus* their Embaſſador with rich Preſents unto *Alymbeius Uſun-Caſſanes*, the great King of *Perſia*, to incite him on that ſide againſt the Turk; in which Negotiation *Zenus* ſo well behaved himſelf, that the next year following, that great King took up Arms againſt *Mahomt*, and had with him mortal Wars, as ſhall be in convenient place hereafter declared. *Mahomet* not ignorant of the proceedings of the *Venetians*, and that they did what they might to ſtir up as many Enemies as they could, and to bring him (if it were poſſible) into hatred with the whole World; and well knowing how much he had offended the minds of the Chriſtian Princes with the cruelty he had of late uſed againſt them of *Chalcis*, thought it not beſt as then further to provoke them, and ſo happily to bring all at once about his ears, but for a ſeaſon to lie ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, as if he had been deſirous now to live in peace, not meaning further harm; hoping thereby, that although he concluded no Peace with any of them (which inded he was not deſirous of) yet that tract of time might mittigate the hainouſneſs of the fact, and cool the heat of their diſpleaſure; whereby it came to paſs as he wiſhed, that nothing worth the ſpeaking of was that year attempted againſt him; and becauſe the *Perſian* King was the man of whom he ſtood moſt in doubt, he ſought by his Embaſſadors to pacifie him, and to withdraw him from the League of the Chriſtians; requeſting him, if it were for nothing elſe but for the Community of the Mahometan Religion, wherein they well agreed, and were thereby the profeſſed Enemies of the Chriſtians, to withdraw his hand, and in their cauſe to ceaſe to take up Arms; urging now (for that it ſo ſtood with his purpoſe) the zeal of Religion, whereas otherwiſe he regarded (as was thought) no Religion at all. But *Zenus* the *Venetian* Embaſſador lying continually in the *Perſian* Court, ſo wrought the matter with *Uſun-Caſſanes*, that he told the Turks Embaſſadors plainly, That he could nor would not longer endure the manifeſt injury and wrong done unto him by the Turkiſh King; and farther, that he had made a faithful League with the Chriſtian Princes, and therefore would to the uttermoſt of his Power make it known unto the World, that he would effectually perform what thing ſoever he had promiſed; and ſo diſmiſſed them, now no leſs diſcontented than were before the *Perſian* Embaſſadors at ſuch time as they returned from the Turks Court, having obtained nothing they then requeſted concerning the Emperor of *Trapezond*.

1472. *The* Venetians *aided by King* Ferdinand, *the Biſhop of* Rome, *and the great Maſter of the* Rhodes, *do the Turks great harm all alongſt the coaſt of the leſſer of* Aſia.

The year following, *Mocenicus* the *Venetian* Admiral with his Fleet arrived in the Iſle of *Lesbos*, where he did great harm. From thence he paſſed the Bay of *Adramittium* into the leſſer *Aſia*, and ſo ſpoiled the Country about *Pergamus*. After that he landed again at *Cnidus* upon the coaſt of *Caria*, where he took a great Booty; and ſo having done the Turks exceeding much harm in *Aſia* all alongſt the Sea coaſt oppoſite to *Græcia*, he returned laden with ſpoil towards *Peloponneſus*. In his return about the Promontory of *Malea*, upon the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, he met with *Richaienſis* coming unto him with ſeventeen Gallies from King *Ferdinand*; by whom he was certified, that the great Biſhops Fleet was ready to come forth alſo. After mutual Gratulation, as the manner at Sea is, the Admirals joyning their Fleets in one, landed at *Methone*, now called *Modon*, then a City of the *Venetians* in *Peloponneſus*; where after they had well refreſhed their Souldiers, and taken in freſh Victuals, they put to Sea again; and ſailing through the Iſlands, landed in *Aſia*, where they were at their firſt landing encountred by the Country Turks, whom at laſt they put to flight, and by the ſpace of four days took what pillage they could in the Country; where the Souldiers found great ſtore of rich Booty, eſpecially of Turky Carpets, which are there made in great abundance. From thence they ſailed to *Halicarnaſſus*, which is part of *Caria* (where ſometime ſtood the ſtately Tomb which Queen *Artemeſia* built for her Husband *Mauſolus*, accounted amongſt the Wonders of the World) where they took a wonderful ſpoil. There came unto them *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Modruſſa*, with twenty Gallies ſent from the great Biſhop; whom the other two Generals welcomed with great joy. At the ſame time alſo came thither two Gallies from the great Maſter of the *Rhodes*. With this Fleet of eighty five Gallies, they ſailed to the Iſle of *Samos* over againſt *Epheſus* (ſometime a place of great Fame, but then altogether deſolate and unpeopled) there to conſult for their further proceedings in thoſe Wars. Looſing from *Samos*, they took their courſe alongſt the Sea coaſt of *Aſia*, and landed at *Attalia*, the chief City of *Pamphilia*, a place of great Traffique; where they found in the Suburbs of the City great ſtore of many rich Commodities, brought thither out of *Egypt* and *Syria*; whereof they took what pleaſed them, and burnt the reſt together with the Suburbs. Unto the City it ſelf they began to lay ſiege, but perceiving that it was not without great loſs of their Men to be taken, they departed thence; and running all alongſt the coaſt of *Pamphilia*, burnt and deſtroyed what came in their way, and ſo returned back again to *Rhodes*; where they met an Embaſſador from *Uſun-Caſſanes* the *Perſian* King, to the Biſhop and the *Venetians*, for great Ordnance; whereof that ſo mighty a Prince was altogether unfurniſhed. Of this Embaſſador they underſtood, that *Uſun-Caſſanes* was entred into League with the Chriſtian Princes, and now buſie in making preparation againſt the Turk. At which time *Mahomet* requited the *Venetians* with no leſs harm in *Epirus* and *Dalmatia*, than they had done to him in *Aſia*; for now that *Scanderbeg* was dead, the Turks mightily prevailed upon the weak Princes of *Epirus* and *Albania*, with the Countries adjoyning. The Chriſtian Fleet departing from the *Rhodes*, landed in the Country of the *Myndians*, a part of *Caria*, and with great ſpoil returned to the Iſland of *Naxos*, one of the *Cyclades*; from whence King *Ferdinand* his Gallies returned home, laded with much rich ſpoil; for now the year was far ſpent. Yet after the departure of the Kings Gallies, *Mocenicus* with the Legate returned back again into *Aſia*, and there landing their Men, took the famous City of *Smyrna* in *Ionia*, and when they had taken the ſpoil thereof, ſet it on fire. At which time alſo they did great harm about *Clazomene*, not far from *Smyrna*. So Winter drawing now faſt on, they returned, laded with the rich ſpoils of *Aſia*; the Legate into *Italy*, and *Mocenicus* into *Methone*.

1473. Mahomet *no leſs troubleſome unto the* Mahometan *Princes than to the Chriſtians.*

The inſatiable deſire of Soveraignty, whereunto the Turkiſh King was naturally inclined, had continually armed him, not only againſt the Chriſtian Princes, but againſt others alſo even of his own Superſtition; making no great difference betwixt the one and the other, if ſo he might extend his Dominion. He had long before under the pretence of a friendly Parley craftily circumvented the King of *Myſia*, a Country in *Aſia*, and having got him within his danger, cruelly put him to death, and by force ſubduing his Kingdom, left not one of the Kings blood alive. After that he invaded *Cilicia*, which the Turks call *Caramania*, where the two young Brethren, *Pyramet* and *Caſſambet* reigned, and drave them both out of *Cilicia*; of whom *Pyramet* the elder, fled for refuge to *Uſun-Caſſanes*; *Caſſambet* the younger aſſiſted by his old Friends, ſought by force of Arms to recover again his Inheritance wrongfully by the Turks poſſeſſed, and was beſieging certain Towns upon the Sea coaſt, which being taken from the Turks would eaſily draw all the reſt of the Kingdom after them. *Mocenicus* the *Venetian* Admiral being now with the firſt of the Spring come upon the coaſt of *Cilicia*, at the requeſt of *Caſſambet*, landed certain Companies of Men under the leading of *Victor Superantius*, and certain pieces of great Artillery, wherewith he ſo battered the Walls of *Sichinum*, that he enforced the Turks therein to yield up the City; which he delivered to *Caſſambet*. In like manner he took the City of *Corycus*, which he alſo reſtored to *Caſſambet*. At laſt he laid ſiege to *Seleucia*, which ſtandeth upon the River *Orontes*, and was built by King *Seleucus*, one of the Succeſſors of *Alexander* the Great, diſtant from the Sea about five miles; the Governor of this City diſcouraged with the ſight of the great Artillery, delivered the City to the *Venetian* Captain, who by the appointment of the Admiral reſtored the ſame to *Caſſambet*. Who by this means brought again into his Kingdom, gave great thanks unto the Admiral, promiſing both for himſelf and for his Brother to be always Friends unto the *Venetians*. *Mocenicus* departing from *Cilicia*, landed his Men in *Lycia*, and harried that Country alongſt the Sea coaſt. And this *Mocenicus* ſailed into *Cyprus*, to appeaſe a great Inſurrection there raiſed againſt the Queen, who was by her Husband at his death left to the Protection of the *Venetians*; which Rebellion when he had well quieted, hearing that *Triadanus Grittus*, was by the Decree of the Senate appointed Admiral, and already come into *Peloponneſus*, he with as much ſpeed as he could haſted thither, to give up his Charge, and ſo to return home again to *Venice*.

About this time the great *Perſian* King *Uſun-Caſſanes* began to make War upon the Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet*, for the better underſtanding whereof, it ſhall not be from our purpoſe briefly to ſhew by what means this *Uſun-Caſſanes*, of a ſmall Prince aſpired to the Kingdom of *Perſia*, and ſo in ſhort time grew to that greatneſs, that he was juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt Monarchs of the World then living; as appeareth by theſe Wars betwixt him and the great Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet*. This *Uſun-Caſſanes* of whom we now ſpeak, was the Son of that *Tachretin*, who with other poor Princes was driven into Exile by the violence of *Bajazet* the firſt, great Grandfather to this *Mahomet* the Great, Emperor of the Turks, and was again reſtored by great *Tamerlane*, as is before declared in the life of *Bajazet*. By the death of *Tachretin*, his Son *Uſun-Caſſanes* (of ſome called alſo *Aſymbeius*) obtained that ſmall Territory which his Father had in *Armenia*; nothing anſwering unto the greatneſs of his conceits. Wherefore not contented with ſuch Poſſeſſions as was from his Father deſcended unto him, he began to ſhoulder for more room, with ſuch weak Princes his Neighbours as he thought he might beſt deal withall; wringing one Province from this Prince, another from that, and thruſting ſome others quite out of all that they had; and in ſhort time ſo inlarged his Dominion, that he had got into his hands a great part of *Armenia*, and was reputed both for a mighty and fortunate Prince. Inſomuch that *Calo Joannes*, then Emperor of *Trapezond* (whoſe Power altogether anſwered not to the greatneſs of his Stile, being for moſt part ſhut up within the bounds of *Pontus*, and fearing the greatneſs of the Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet*, whoſe name began then to grow dreadful unto his Neighbour Princes) gave to him his only Daughter *Deſpina* in Marriage, by ſuch Alliance to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the Turkiſh Tyrant, if need ſhould require. At which Marriage it was agreed, That *Uſun-Caſſanes* ſhould in the right of his Wife enjoy all the Kingdom of *Pontus*, after the death of *Calo Joannes* her Father, and of *David* his Brother; and that *Deſpina* ſhould ſo long as ſhe lived have the free Exerciſe of her Chriſtian Religion.

By this Woman, *Uſun-Caſſanes* had a Daughter called *Martha*, whom I willingly remember, for that ſhe was the Mother of *Hyſmael*, afterwards the great King of *Perſia*, commonly called *Hyſmael the Sophy*; of whom more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the Life of *Selymus*. *Uſun-Caſſanes* honoured with this Marriage, and ſtrengthened with this new Alliance, ceaſed not, after his wonted manner, daily to encroach upon his Neighbour Princes; and proceeded ſo far, that at length he began to lay hand upon a part of *Armenia*, which was then part of the Dominion of the *Perſian* King. *Zenza* (whom ſome call *Tzokies*, which was indeed the name of his Father) reigning then in *Perſia*, by his Embaſſadors admoniſhed, and in ſhort commanded *Uſun-Caſſanes* to hold himſelf content with his own, or at leaſt, with that he had already wrongfully taken from others, and not to preſume to come within the bounds of his Dominion, threatning otherwiſe to take him as an Enemy to his State, and to turn his Forces upon him. With which Embaſſage *Uſun-Caſſanes* being much offended, gave the Embaſſadors no entertainment, but commanded them with ſpeed to get them out of his Kingdom, and to tell their Maſter, That he would ſhortly himſelf in perſon come and debate the matter with him face to face. With which proud Anſwer from ſo mean a Prince the *Perſian* King moved, levied ſuch an Army for the invading of him, as was thought to have been ſufficient to have ſubdued a far greater Prince; and ſo appointed, ſet forward toward *Armenia*. *Uſun-Caſſanes* much inferiour to this great King in Wealth and Number of Men, but not in Haughtineſs of Mind, and Valiantneſs of Courage, ſtayed not to expect the coming of ſo puiſſant an Enemy, but full of hope ſet forward to meet him, and by great journeys ſought to come upon him before he could have any knowledge of his coming; yet had he then in his Army ſcarce one man to ten, but all armed with couragious Hearts, and conducted by a moſt fortunate Chieftain which feared nothing. So holding on his way, at length he met with a great Army of the *Perſians*, with whom he preſently joyned Battel, and after a long and cruel Fight overthrew them in the plain Field, with ſuch a Slaughter as might well have weakned the Forces of a right great Kingdom. The great King more inraged than diſcouraged with his overthrow, raiſed a far greater Army than before, the very Strength of his Kingdom; reſolving now, not to ſend any more his Lieutenants, but to go in perſon himſelf againſt ſo deſperate an Enemy. All things being in readineſs, he ſet forward, and at length met with the *Armenian* Prince, whom he found as ready to give Battel, as he was at the firſt. So being both deſirous to trie their fortune, they joyned battel; wherein the *Perſians* were again diſcomfited and put to flight, and more of them ſlain in that Battel, than were brought into the Field in the firſt Army. *Zenzes* the *Perſian* King was there ſlain with *Uſun-Caſſanes* his own hand, and *Cariaſuphus* his Son taken Priſoner; whom the *Armenian* Prince uſed with the greateſt honour could be deviſed, giving unto him the Honour and Title due to the *Perſian* King, taking to himſelf the bare name of the Protector of the *Perſian* State. Which he did only to pleaſe the *Perſians*; and to keep them quiet until he had got ſome more aſſured poſſeſſion of that Kingdom. But after he had in the two former Battels broken their greateſt Strength, and then under the colour of a peaceable Governor got into his power the regal City of *Tauris*, with the reſt of the Cities and ſtrong places of that great Kingdom, and that all men had him now in great reverence and admiration for his great vertues; he ſecretly diſpatched out of the way the poor titular King his Priſoner, (the laſt of the Poſterity of the mighty *Tamerlane*) and took upon himſelf the higheſt place, which admitteth no Partner. Whilſt this reſtleſs Prince was thus tumbling in the World, and not yet well ſetled in his new gotten Kingdom, *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor, no leſs ambitious than himſelf, had ſcornfully rejected the Embaſſadors and Preſents which *Uſun-Caſſanes* had ſent; and having ſhamefully put to death *David* the Emperor of *Trapezond*, his Allyance, had converted all the Kingdom of *Pontus* (which *Uſun-Caſſanes* of right claimed as his Wives Dowry) into the form of a Province, and ſo united it to the Turkiſh Empire. Which ſo manifeſt a wrong, *Uſun-Caſſanes* in the newneſs of his ſo late atchieved greatneſs, durſt not adventure to addreſs; but after that he was ſurely ſeated, and had with the courſe of time overcome all dangers at home, being daily prickt forward with the remembrance of the former injuries (ſtill ſuggeſted by the importunity of his Wife *Deſpina*, and the ſollicitation of the *Venetians*, to whom he had by ſolemn promiſe bound himſelf) he determined now to take the matter in hand, and to try his Forces upon his proud Enemy the Turkiſh Emperor. Hereupon he raiſed a great Army, and being well appointed of all things neceſſary, paſſing through *Armenia* toward *Pontus*, near unto the River *Euphrates* was encountred by *Muſtapha* (*Mahomets* Eldeſt Son, a young Prince of great hope) and *Amurath* the great Baſſa of *Romania*, whom *Mahomet* (fearing ſuch a matter) had ſent before with a ſtrong Army out of *Europe*, to joyn with ſuch Forces as *Muſtapha* had already raiſed in *Aſia*, ſo to withſtand the invaſion of the *Perſian*. Theſe two great Commanders *Muſtapha* and *Amurath* joining Battel with *Uſun-Caſſanes*, were by him in the plain Field overthrown; where *Amurath* the great Baſſa himſelf, with thirty thouſand Turks were ſlain; *Muſtapha* with the reſt of the Army by ſhameful flight ſaving themſelves.

Uſun-Caſſanes *in a great battel overthoweth the King of* Perſia.

1474. *Two huge Armies of the Turks and Perſians in field together.*

Now when *Mahomet* underſtood that *Amurath* was ſlain, and his Army diſcomfited, he was therewith exceedingly troubled; but purpoſing to be thereof revenged, gave order into all parts of his Dominions for the levying of new Forces; ſo that at the time by him appointed, was aſſembled a great and mighty Army of 320000 men. *Uſun-Caſſanes* in like manner was in the Field with an Army, nothing in number inferior unto his Enemy. Theſe two *Mahometan* Kings, drawing after them their huge Armies met together near the Mountains of *Armenia*, where at the firſt encounter one of the Turks great Baſſa's was ſlain, with 40000 Turks. With which hard beginning the proud Tyrant was ſo daunted, that he could hardly be perſwaded to prove his fortune any further, but contenting himſelf with that loſs, was about to have retired; and had undoubtedly ſo done, if ſome of his moſt expert and valiant Captains which might be bold with him, had not ſharply reproved him, that having ſo populous an Army as ſcarcely felt that ſmall loſs, he ſhould once think of returning without Victory. With which their comfortable perſwaſions he was again encouraged to give Battel. Yet for his more ſafety he withdrew his Army into a Strait betwixt two Mountains, and with his Carriages fortified the front thereof, as with a Trench; behind which Carriages he placed his great Ordnance, and on either ſide his Archers. The *Perſians* as men of great Valour, and thereto encouraged with their former Victories, came on as men fearing no peril, to have charged the Turks even in their Strength; preſenting their whole Army before they were aware, into the mouth of the Turks Artillery; which ſuddenly diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of them, brake their Ranks, and took away a number of them. Beſides that, the *Perſian* Horſes terrified with the unacquainted and thundering report of the great Ordnance, were not to be ruled by their Riders, but ſtarting back, ran ſome one way, ſome another, as if they had felt neither Bit nor Rider. Which their confuſion *Mahomet* perceiving, preſently took hold of the occaſion offered, and with his Horſemen fiercely charged them, being now by themſelves intangled and out of order. Nevertheleſs the *Perſians* made great reſiſtance, and ſlew many of the Turks; but ſtill fighting confuſedly and out of order, they were at the laſt inforced to flie; in which Flight a great number of them were ſlain, and their Tents alſo taken. *Zeinal Uſun-Caſſanes* his eldeſt Son, labouring to ſtay the Flight of the *Perſians*, was ſlain with a ſmall ſhot. So the Honour of the day remained with the Turks; yet they had no great cauſe to brag of their winnings, having loſt in that Battel forty thouſand Souldiers; whereas of the *Perſians* fell not above ten thouſand. *Mahomet* contenting himſelf with this dear bought Victory, returned homewards; and *Uſun-Caſſanes* leaving another of his Sons with his Army for the defence of *Armenia*, returned likewiſe to *Tauris*. But whilſt the Chriſtian Princes were in their greateſt expectation, what might be the Event of theſe Wars betwixt theſe two mighty *Mahometan* Kings; they upon the ſuddain concluded a Peace, and confirmed the ſame with new Affinity, excluding the Chriſtians quite out of the ſame. This laſt Battel betwixt *Mahomet* and *Uſun-Caſſanes*, was fought in the year of our Lord 1474, about four years before the death of *Uſun-Caſſanes*, who died the fifth of *January* in the year 1478.

The death of the noble Muſtapha Mahomet *his eldeſt Son.*

In the time of theſe Wars died the noble *Muſtapha*, *Mahomet* his eldeſt Son, at *Iconium*, having ſpent himſelf with reveling amongſt his Paragons; or as ſome write, commanded to die, by his Father, upon this occaſion. This youthful Prince upon a time coming to the Court to ſee his Father (or as they term it, to kiſs his hand) became amorous of the Wife of *Achmetes* Baſſa, a Lady of incomparable Beauty, and Daughter to *Iſaac* Baſſa, the chief men in the Turkiſh Empire, next unto *Mahomet* himſelf; but finding no means to compaſs her in whom his Soul lived, he awaited a time when as ſhe (after the manner of the Turks) went to bath her ſelf; and there as he found her all diſroabed, ſhamefully forced her, without regard either of his own Honour, or of hers. Of this ſo foul an outrage, *Achmetes* her Husband, with his cloaths and hat all rent for madneſs, came and grievouſly complained to *Mahomet*, craving vengeance for the ſame. Unto whom *Mahomet* again replied, *Art not thou thy ſelf my Slave? and if my Son* Muſtapha *have known thy Wife, is ſhe not my Bondſlave he hath had to do withal? Ceaſe therefore thus to complain, and hold thy ſelf therewith content.* Nevertheleſs he in ſecret ſharply reproved his Son for ſo hainous and diſhonorable a Fact by him committed, and commanded him out of his ſight; and as he was of a ſevere nature, cauſed him within a few days after to be ſecretly ſtrangled. Nevertheleſs, the wrong done unto the Baſſa, ſunk ſo deep into his haughty mind, as that he would never admit excuſe therefore, but put away his Wife, the ground of the implacable hatred betwixt him and the great Baſſa *Iſaac* his Father-in-law; and in fine, the very cauſe of his utter deſtruction, as is afterward declared in the life of *Bajazet*.

1475.

Mahomet delivered of his greateſt fear, by the Peace he had lately concluded with *Uſun-Caſſanes* the *Perſian* King, was now at good leiſure to imploy all his Forces againſt the Chriſtians. And bearing a deadly hatred againſt the Princes of *Epirus* and *Albania*, with a wonderful deſire to extend his Empire unto the *Ionian* and *Adriatick*, that he might from thence but look toward *Italy*, which he began now to long after; he determined with himſelf, firſt to ſubdue thoſe Countries, as ſtanding in his way, both for the invaſion of *Italy*, and of the Territories of the *Venetians*. And foraſmuch as the ſtrong City of *Scodra* (otherwiſe called *Scutary*) then in the poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*, for the commodious Situation thereof ſeemed to give him the beſt entrance into the Countries of *Albania*, *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, and to ſuch Cities as the *Venetians* held alongſt the Sea coaſt, he reſolved there to begin his Wars.

Solyman *Baſſa beſiegeth* Scodra *with an Army of eighty thouſand men.*

This City was of great Strength, as well for the natuaral Situation thereof, as for the ſtrong Fortifications therein made by the hand of man; which thing *Mahomet* was not ignorant of, but preſuming of his own Strength and Power, vainly perſwaded himſelf, that no place was now able long to hold out againſt him. Wherefore having prepared all things fit for the beſieging thereof, he ſent *Solyman* Baſſa an Eunuch (whom he made his Lieutenant General in *Europe*, in the place of *Amurath* Baſſa, before ſlain by *Uſun-Caſſanes*) with eighty thouſand Souldiers to beſiege *Scodra*. This great Baſſa according to his charge came, and with great pomp incamped round about the City, the 25 of *May*. Shortly after having planted his battery, he began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the Walls, and ceaſed not by all means he could deviſe, to trouble the Defendants; and when he had by force of the Canon done what he could, gave divers ſharp aſſaults unto the City, but was ſtill with great loſs valiantly repulſed by them of the City. Long it were to declare, how often, and in what terrible manner that warlike Baſſa *Mahomet*, his chief Captain, attempted to have won the City; as alſo to ſhew how they of *Scodra*, directed by their worthy Governor *Antoninus Lauretanus*, valiantly defended themſelves and their City; nothing was omitted that the Enemy could do or deviſe for the gaining thereof; but all his devices and attempts were ſo met withal by the Defendants, that they ſerved him to no other purpoſe but to the deſtruction of his people. Whilſt the Baſſa thus lay at the Siege of *Scodra*, *Mocenicus* having received ſuch commandment from the Senate, came and joyned himſelf to *Grittus* the new Admiral, who then lay with his Fleet in the mouth of *Boliana*, a great River running out of the Lake whereupon the City of *Scodra* ſtandeth. Theſe two great Commanders being met together, were both as one man, and with a wonderful conſent did what they might for the furtherance of the Common good, a thing not common; firſt they put ſtrong Garriſons, with all things neceſſary, into *Colchinum*, *Lyſſa*, *Dirrhachium*, and other Cities of their Seigniory upon the Sea coaſt. After that, they went up the River *Boliana* with certain Gallies, and came within ſight of *Scodra*, and there by Fires in the night, and other tokens of comfort, encouraged the Defendants, as with an aſſured promiſe of relief; which thing it grieved the Turks to behold, who therefore went about to have ſhut in thoſe ſame Gallies with a great Chain drawn croſs the River, where it was narroweſt betwixt them and the Sea; but in doing thereof, the *Venetians* out of their Gallies ſlew five hundred of the Turks, and wounded divers others, and ſo returned again to Sea. It was afterward attempted by the aforeſaid Admirals, if a new ſupply might have been put into the City; but the Enemy had ſo beſet the ſame that it was not poſſible to be done. In the mean time, *Matthias* King of *Hungary* (receiving a great yearly portion of the *Venetians* for the defence of their Countries againſt the Turk) hearing that *Scodra* was beſieged, began to make ſuch Spoil in the Turks Dominions bordering upon him, that *Mahomet* was glad to call home the great Baſſa from the Siege of *Scodra*, to defend his own Frontiers. So the Baſſa after he had lien three months with his great Army at the Siege, and loſt fourteen thouſand of his men, whereof the greateſt part died of Sickneſs taken by long lying in the rotten mooriſh ground near unto the River; by commandment from his Maſter, roſe with his Army and departed. The *Venetians* alſo, which lay all that while thereabout in their Gallies, were toucht with the ſame contagion; *Triadanus Grittus* died thereof; and *Mocenicus* the other Admiral fell thereof dangerouſly ſick, but being ſomewhat recovered, returned home, and was ſhortly after for his good ſervice choſen Duke of *Venice*, *Marcellus* the old Duke being dead. With this diſhonour taken at *Scodra Mahomet* was ſo diſcontented, that he appointed a yearly Fee unto one, to put him in mind dayly of the Siege of *Scodra*.

Matthias *King of* **Hungary** *inforceth the Turks to forſake the Siege of* **Scodra.**

1476. The ſame year that this great Baſſa *Solyman* had in vain beſieged *Scodra*, he was afterward ſent with a great Army into *Valachia*, where he was ſo intangled in the Woods and Fens, by *Stephanus* the Vayvod, that he loſt all his Army, and with much ado eſcaped himſelf, by the wonderful ſwiftneſs of a Mare whereon he rid.

The year following, which was the year 1476, *Mahomet* ſent out a great Fleet to Sea, under the conduct of *Geduces Achmetes*, his chief Counſellor and Man of War, (whoſe very name was dreadful in all places where he came) in hope to have by Treaſon ſurpriſed the Iſland of *Crete*, but that Plot was in good time by the *Venetians* perceived, the Traitors executed, and he of his purpoſe diſappointed. Whereupon he changed his former purpoſe for *Crete*, and ſent the ſame *Achmetes* with his Fleet into the *Euxine* (or as the Turks call it, *the Black Sea*) to beſiege the rich City of *Caffa*. This City was in ancient time called *Theodoſia*, ſituate in the Country of *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, faſt by the Sea ſide, and had of long time been in poſſeſſion of the *Genowaies*, and was a place of exceeding great Trade, until that this great Emperor *Mahomet* having taken *Conſtantinople*, and falling out with the *Venetians*, had by his ſtrong Caſtles built upon the Straits of *Helleſpontus* and *Boſphorus*, taken away both the traffique of Merchants into thoſe Seas, and all poſſible means for the *Genowaies* to ſend Succour to that City; yet it is credibly reported, that one valiant Captain undertook to carry his Company (in number not above one hundred and fifty men) by Land from *Genoa* to *Caffa*, not much leſs than two thouſand miles, and worthily performed what he had undertaken. *Achmetes* coming thither with his Fleet, encloſed the City both by Sea and Land; which divided in it ſelf by reaſon of the diverſe diſpoſition of the Inhabitants, being of divers Nations, ſome *Genowaies*, ſome *Greeks*, ſome *Armenians*, but moſt *Tartars*, could not long hold out, but was in ſhort time given up to the Baſſa, upon condition, That the *Genoway* Merchants, who were there both in number many, and exceeding rich, might in ſafety depart thence with their Wealth. Which promiſe the Baſſa performed not; but when he was poſſeſſed of the City, ſent ſuch as he thought good, to *Conſtantinople*, and commanded the reſt upon pain of death, not to depart thence, or to convey away from thence any part of their Subſtance. In ſhort time after, the whole Country of *Taurica Cherſoneſus* yielded unto the Turkiſh Obeiſance. At which time alſo the *Tartar* Princes, namely the *Precopenſes* and *Deſtenſes*, terrified with the greatneſs of the Turk, cowardly yielded themſelves as Tributaries unto him; ever ſince which time they have lived a moſt ſervile and troubleſome life, ſubject to every command of the *Othoman* Emperor; for whom they have done great ſervice many times in their Wars, againſt the *Perſians*, the *Polonians*, the *Hungarians*, *Tranſylvanians*, and *Germans*, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory well appeareth; and as the aforeſaid Nations their Neighbours, with others alſo further off, have even of late to their great loſs felt.

Although the *Venetians* had in theſe late Wars loſt the great and fertile Iſland of *Eubœa*, with the ſtrong City of *Chalcis*, the ſureſt harbour for their Gallies; yet held they ſtill divers ſtrong Towns and commodious Havens by the Sea-Coaſt, both within *Peloponneſus* and without; as *Methone*, *Corone*, *Tenarus*, *Naupactum* and others; which ſtanding as it were in the boſome of his Empire, *Mahomet* ſore longed after. And therefore to ſatisfie his ambitious deſire, ſent *Solyman* (the great Baſſa of *Europe*) with a ſtrong Fleet into *Peloponneſus*. Who entring the Gulf of *Corinth*, at his firſt coming laid Siege to *Naupactum*, now called *Lepanto*, a City ſtanding in the Gulf of *Corinth*, in the Country of *Ozolæ* near unto *Locris*, over againſt *Peloponneſus*. *Antonius Lauretanus* (for his late good ſervice done in defending of *Scodra*) made Admiral for the *Venetians*, came with ſpeed to *Naupactum*, and in deſpight of the Enemy ſo furniſhed the City both with men and whatſoever elſe was needful, that the Baſſa now out of hope to win the City, roſe upon the ſuddain with his Army, and in a great fury departed, after he had lien there four months. In this fret returning towards *Conſtantinople*, he put certain Companies of his men to ſhore in the Iſland of *Lemnos*, in hope to have upon the ſuddain ſurpriſed the City of *Coccinum*; but as they were about to have entred, they were contrary to their expectation, manfully reſiſted by ſuch Chriſtians as by chance were next the Gate; where the notable Courage of *Marulla* (a maiden of that City) was much commended; who ſeeing her Father ſlain in the Gate, took up the Weapons that lay by him, and like a fierce *Amazon* notably revenged his death, deſperately fighting in defence of her Country, with thoſe few which were there at the firſt, and ſo kept the Turks out, until the reſt of the Citizens (moved with the Alarm) came to the Gate, and forced them, not without ſome loſs, to retire again to their Gallies. Not long after, *Lauretanus* came thither with his Fleet; but before his coming, the Baſſa was departed thence for *Conſtantinople*, having in this expedition done nothing that was expected at his hands. 1477.

Mahomet after the death of *Scanderbeg* ceaſed not from time to time by one of his great Captains or other to invade *Epirus*, and the other parts of *Albania*; and ſo gaining ſometime one

Croia beſieged by the Turk.

part, ſometime another, had ſubdued moſt part thereof. And about this time his Army lay at the Siege of *Croia*; for relief whereof, the *Venetians* (in whoſe protection it was) ſent *Franciſcus Contarenus*, a Noble Gentleman, their Lieutenant, with ſuch Forces as were ſufficient for the raiſing of the Siege. He finding the Turks in the Plain of *Tyranna*, gave them Battel; which a great while ſtood doubtful; at length Victory inclining to the *Venetians*, the Turks began to flie; after whom the *Venetians* made no great purſuit, but contented to have put them to flight, took their Tents, with ſuch Forts as they had raiſed againſt the City. Thus whilſt the *Venetians* think themſelves in ſure poſſeſſion of the Victory, and out of fear of their Enemies, they were through their own too much ſecurity, by and by themſelves overthrown: For whilſt the common Souldiers having their minds more ſet upon the Spoil, than upon the purſuit of the Enemy (the Battel as yet ſcarce ended) ſcatter themſelves, and the Captains were conſulting, whether they ſhould lodge that night (which began then to approach) in the Enemies Tents, or not; in the midſt of their conſultation, the Turks having perceived their diſorder, ſuddainly returned again upon them, and without great reſiſtance overthrew them, and put them to flight. In which flight a thouſand of them fell, amongſt whom *Contarenus* the General, and divers others of good place and calling, were ſlain alſo. This overthrow the *Venetians* took a great deal better than that which ſhortly after followed in the confines of *Italy*, at the River of *Sontium*.

Contarenus *the* Venetian *General ſlain.*

Mahomet having conquered a great part of *Albania*, and dayly incroaching upon the Chriſtians, made divers incurſions into the Countries of *Dalmatia*, *Hiſtria*, and *Carniola*; yea, and ſometimes went ſo far, that he and his Turks entred into the Province of *Friuli*, called in ancient time *Forum Julij*, a part of the *Venetian* Seigniory, and ſo carried away with them many Priſoners, with much Spoil. For remedy whereof, the *Venetians* with exceeding charge and wonderful labour fortified alongſt the River of *Sontium*, from *Goritia*, to the Fens of *Aquilea*, the ſpace of twelve miles, and there built two Forts, wherein they continually kept ſtrong Garriſons for the defence of the Country. Whereby the Country People thinking themſelves now in ſafety, began to fall into ſecurity (the dangerous ſickneſs of all Common-Weals) neglecting by their careful watch to foreſee a far off the Enemies coming, as they had before uſed. It fortuned at this time, that *Aſa-beg* (whom ſome call *Marbeck*) one of the Turks great Captains, upon the ſuddain when no ſuch thing was feared, came and ſhewed himſelf in an Evening upon the further ſide of the River of *Sontium*, with a thouſand Horſemen; upon the ſight of whom, an Alarm was raiſed in both Forts, and every man put himſelf in readineſs, as if they ſhould even preſently have joyned Battel; but it was ſo nigh night, as that nothing could as then be done; yet the *Venetian* Garriſons joining themſelves together, watcht all that night in Arms. There was at that time in both theſe Forts, three thouſand Horſemen, and ſome few Companies of Footmen, all under the command of *Hieronimus Nowel* Count of *Verona*, a famous Captain of that time; who with the reſt of the Captains reſolved if they could, to keep the Turks from paſſing the River; if not, then to give them battel. *Marbeck* General of the Turks Army, taking good view of the place, in the night time ſecretly conveighed a thouſand of his beſt Souldiers over the River, four miles off, in ſuch a place as the *Venetians* feared leaſt, deeming it impoſſible for any man, there to have paſſed over. Theſe men he appointed to lie cloſe in ambuſh behind a great Hill, in ſight, not far from the other ſide of the River, and upon a ſign given, preſently to diſcover themſelves and charge the Enemy. The next morning very early, he ſent certain Troops of his readieſt Horſemen over the River, which by offering to skirmiſh with the *Venetians*, might draw them into the Field; and then as men in doubt whether to fight or to flie, to tole them on to the place where the ambuſh lay. The *Venetians* had divided themſelves into three Battalions; whereof the General himſelf had the leading of the firſt, who ſeeing theſe diſordered Troops coming to skirmiſh with him, encountred them fiercely, and eaſily put them to flight, (being ſo determined before) and in that flight earneſtly purſued them; eſpecially the Counts Son, a valiant young Gentleman, who with others like himſelf, thought by that days good ſervice to gain unto themſelves great Honour. When the Turks General ſaw that the *Venetians* following the chaſe, were gone a great way from the River, he forthwith paſſed over with the reſt of his Army, and followed the *Venetians* at the Heels; which the Turks which before fled, now beholding, turned again upon their fierce Enemies, and valiantly withſtood them. At which very inſtant the other Turks upon ſign given ariſing out of ambuſh, came down from the Hill *Licinis*, with ſuch violence and clamour, that the *Venetians* therewith diſcouraged would have fled if they could have told which way; but they were on every ſide ſo beſet, that there was no way left for them to eſcape; but were there all ſlain, except ſome few which yielded themſelves, and ſo were ſaved. The other two Battalions of the *Venetians*, diſcouraged with the ſlaughter of the firſt, fled incontinently, and in flying were many of them ſlain. In this Battel the Count himſelf, with his Son, and many other notable Gentlemen, and half the Horſemen were loſt. The Turks encouraged with this Victory, the next day ſpoiled all the Country of *Friuli*, betwixt the Rivers of *Sontium*, (otherwiſe called *Liſonzo*) and *Tiliaventum*, and cruelly burnt all the Country before them; ſo that at once an hundred Country Villages were to be ſeen on a light fire together, which ſtood ſo thick, that it ſeemed as if one continual Fire had wholly covered all the face of the Country. The barbarous Turks laden with the Spoil of that rich Country, and driving before them great numbers of miſerable Captives, as if they had been Flocks of Sheep, returned to *Sontium*. But when they had paſſed the River, and had travelled homeward one days journey, and all men thought they had now been quite gone, they ſuddainly returned back again, and poſting through the Country they had before ſpoiled, came to the River of *Tiliaventum*, which they deſperately paſſed, and did no leſs harm on that ſide the River, than they had before on the other; and ſo carrying away with them what they pleaſed, returned by the ſame way they came, having filled all that part of *Italy* with terror and fear. This overthrow of *Sontium* the *Venetians* account amongſt the greateſt loſſes which they received from the Turks in all theſe their long Wars.

The Turks ſhew themſelves at the River of Sontium.

The Country of Friuli ſpoiled by the Turks.

1478. The next year about Harveſt the Turks came again with a far greater power; and paſſing the River of *Sontium*, came before the Forts of *Gradiſca*, where *Carolus Fortebrachius* lay with a ſtrong Garriſon of the *Venetians*, offering him skirmiſh, ſo to have drawn him into the Field. But the wary Captain conſidering the great ſtrength of the Enemy, and the loſs received the year before, would not be drawn out of his ſtrength, but ſtood upon his guard, expecting to take the Enemy at ſome more advantage; which thing the Turks fearing, durſt not diſperſe themſelves abroad for the Spoil of the Country, leaving ſo ſtrong a Garriſon of the Enemies behind them. And therefore when they had gon about four miles into the Country, they turned their courſe up into the Mountains (which are part of the Alps) towards *Germany*, and there grievouſly ſpoyled the Mountain People ſtrangely paſſing through thoſe abrupt and high Mountains with their Horſes, where men could hardly either go or ſtand on Foot without ſomething to ſtay upon. And ſo when they had done what harm they could, taking a great compaſs about, returned home another way.

1479.

Vid. Marinum Barletium de expug. Scodrenſi.

Mahomet remembring the ſhameful repulſe he had about four years before received at *Scodra*, and having the name of that City daily ſounding in his ears, determined now once again to gage his whole Forces upon the winning thereof, and ſo to give Peace to his ambitious deſires. And becauſe he would not again be diſhonoured with that he purpoſed to take in hand, he gave out order into all parts of his Dominions, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, for the aſſembling of his beſt Souldiers and Men of War. Now when all things were in readineſs, and ſuch an Army aſſembled, as he ſeldom or never had a ſtronger; firſt he ſent forth *Aly-beg* (Warden of the Frontiers of his Kingdom alongſt the River *Danubius*) with eighty thouſand of the Souldiers called *Achanzij*, towards *Scodra*. Theſe *Achanzij* are Horſemen, which for their good ſervice, according to their deſerts, have certain Lands given them by the King to live upon during their Lives; for which they are of duty bound to ſerve upon their own charge, as the forrunners of the Turk his Army, whenſoever he goeth to beſiege any place; theſe be they which firſt enter into the Enemies Country, burning and ſpoiling what they can, until they come unto the place appointed; and have this priviledge, That ſo ſoon as all the Army is come unto the place to be beſieged, they may then at their pleaſure either depart or ſtay.

The Governor of *Scodra* underſtanding both by common fame and certain intelligence, of the Turks deſigns, with all care and diligence fortified the Town, labouring continually both night and day at the Rampiers, as if the Enemy had been already preſent; and plentifully provided all things neceſſary for the enduring of a long Siege. The aged and unneceſſary People, he ſent out of the City into other places of more ſafety farther off; in whoſe ſtead he took in great numbers of ſtrong and able men which dwelt in the Country round about; amongſt whom were many Mariners taken out of the Gallies, and other men of like quality, which got their living upon the River and Lake of *Scodra*, luſty bodies enured to hardneſs, who in the long Siege following did great ſervice.

The poor Country People flie for fear of the Turks.

Whilſt this preparation was making in *Scodra*, behold the Mountains a far off Northward from the City, began to ſhine with many great Fires, and all the Country was covered with thick ſmoak, which every hour ſeemed to draw nearer and nearer; when within ſhort time after, the poor Country People (which as yet were not all fled) with ſuch Traſh as they could well carry, came running for life all over the Country to the ſtrong Cities upon the Sea ſide, crying out that the Turks were come.

The next day, which was the fourteenth of *May*, *Aly-Beg* with his eighty thouſand *Achanzij*, came into the Suburbs of the City, and there encamped; ſo that none could go in or out of the Gates; which was not the leaſt part of his charge. To him, by the commandment of *Mahomet*, had *Scander-Beg* Governor of *Boſna*, and *Malcotius* with ſeven thouſand Horſemen, joyned themſelves upon the way. Of this *Malcotius* it is reported (as was of *Auguſtus*) that the majeſty of his countenance, with the reſplendant beams iſſuing out of his Eyes (as if it had been the Rayes of the Sun) were of ſuch peircing brightneſs, that no man was able with immoved and fixed Eye long to behold the ſame. Theſe Horſemen (the forerunners, as I ſaid, of *Mahomets* great Army) the Chriſtians much troubled, with often Sallies and Shot, out of the Town, and ſlew many of them with little or no loſs unto themſelves.

When *Aly-Beg* had thus lien before the City ten days, came *Taut Gaiola* the great Baſſa of *Conſtantinople* with five and twenty thouſand Souldiers, and above twelve thouſand Camels, for moſt part laden with Mettal in Maſs, for to make great Ordnance of, and other neceſſaries for the Camp. The Baſſaes great and ſtately Tent of purple colour, was pitched upon the top of an high Hill called the Baſſaes Hill, becauſe in that place *Solyman Baſſa* had lien in the former Siege about four years before: the Baſſaes Army lay encamped betwixt the ſame Hill and the Town. This *Taut Gaiola* was born in *Epirus* of baſe Parentage, and from thence by the Turks carryed away young to *Conſtantinople*; where for his ſharpneſs of Wit and rare Activity, he grew into ſuch favour, firſt with *Mahomet*, and afterward with *Bajazet* his Son, that he was by them promoted to the greateſt places of Honour, next unto themſelves; wherein he became ſo popular, and had ſo poſſeſſed the hearts of the People, that it was ſuſpected of ſome, he would have aſpired to the Turkiſh Empire himſelf. Preſently after the coming of this great Baſſa, workmen were ſet a work about the caſting of the great Ordnance, and making ready of other things for the Siege. The Chriſtians alſo were no leſs buſie about their Fortifications, the Governor appointing unto every man his charge, and which part of the Wall to defend; yet keeping continually in the Market place certain Companies (with the Enſigns of S. *Mark*, and S. *Steven*) to ſerve as freſh Supplies, as need or occaſion ſhould require. Whilſt the great Ordnance was in caſting, the Baſſa cauſed a great Bridge of Timber to be made over the River, that ſo he might at his pleaſure paſs over his men, and command both ſides of the River. The Chriſtians in the mean time with vigilant Eye ſo attending the Turks, that none of them could ſtir within ſhot, but he was forthwith ſet off and ſlain..

The thirteenth of *June*, *Muſtapha* the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of *Aſia* (commonly called the great Baſſa of *Natolia*) came alſo in great pomp to the Siege with thirty thouſand Souldiers brought out of *Aſia*; perſonable men, but not accounted ſo good Souldiers as they of *Europe*; for it is a common ſaying among the Turks, *That the Men of* Europe, *and the Horſes of* Aſia *do beſt ſervice.* This great Baſſa was honorably met and welcomed by the other great Baſſa of *Conſtantinople*, and was quartered upon another ſide of the City, where his rich Pavillion (all of Green) was pitcht in a Vineyard about a mile from the Town. *Muſtapha* to prove the courage of his Souldiers, propounded a reward to which ſo ever of them, as durſt adventure but to go and touch the Walls of the City; upon which occaſion, *Two of the Turks attempting to touch the walls of* Scodra, *are both ſlain, and one of their Heads ſet upon the Wall.*

two of his Souldiers paſſing well mounted, attempted to have performed that enterpriſe. But making what haſt they could poſſibly, they were both ſlain from the Wall, and one of their bodies recovered by certain valiant Souldiers, which ſallied out of the Town, and his head being cut off, was upon a Launce ſet upon the Walls for the Turks to behold.

The fifteenth of *June*, five thouſand ſix hundred *Janizaries* came into the Camp, with four white Enſigns; at whoſe coming all the Souldiers of both the Baſſaes Camps gave a wonderful ſhout, and welcomed them with great joy. Theſe are the great Turks Guard and beſt Souldiers, in whom the greateſt Strength of his Kingdom conſiſteth, and are called the Sons of the great Sultan. After whoſe coming, *Mahomt* himſelf was dayly expected. Three days after, came two other great men, attended upon with a number of followers, who by their countenance, and the great reverence done unto them by the reſt of the Turks, ſeemed to be men of great place and authority; theſe men deſired, that they might with ſafety ſpeak with the Governor of the City, and the reſt of the Captains, to deliver unto them ſuch a Meſſage, as they had for their good (as they ſaid) brought unto them from *Mahomet*. Which their requeſt being granted, the elder of them, after he had with many glorious words ſet forth the power of his Maſter, and what he had done to other great Cities, with their Princes; and further ſhewed into what danger they were like to fall, if they ſhould long ſtand upon their defence; he began to perſwade them to yield up the City, aſſuring them of all kind uſage, with many rich rewards from the great Emperor; whereas otherwiſe, they were to expect nothing but extream miſery and moſt ſhameful death. Whereunto anſwer was in the name of them all given by the mouth of *Petrus Pagnanus*, a grave and worthy Citizen, That they were not afraid of the greatneſs of *Mahomet*, or of any thing he had done, or could do; and that he ſhould find it hard to inforce them, but impoſſible to perſwade them to deliver their City; and therefore that he might at his pleaſure uſe his Forces againſt men fully reſolved rather to yield unto nature her laſt due, than to hearken to any compoſition; and in concluſion told them, that if they ſhould at any time after make any ſuch motion, they ſhould not expect any other anſwer than from the mouth of the Canon. With which ſhort anſwer theſe great men departed, not a little diſcontented.

At this ſame time the ſtrong City of *Croia* (which the worthy *Scanderbeg* had living ſo honourably defended, and dying had left it with his Kingdom, in the protection and poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*) having holden out a years Siege, after that all the Kingdom of *Epirus* and moſt part of *Albania* was loſt, for lack of Victuals was yielded up unto the Turk, upon condition, That the hunger-ſtarved Defendants (who then ſeemed rather Ghoſts than Men) might at their pleaſure in ſafety depart; which agreement the faithleſs Turk brake and without mercy put them all to the Sword. This heavy news was delivered to them of *Scodra* by certain Chriſtians in the Turks Camp; wherewith they were much grieved, but nothing at all diſcouraged.

Whilſt the Turks thus lay at the Siege, the Watermen, of whom a great number lived upon the great Lake of *Scodra* (being in circuit about one hundred miles) came many times down the River by night, and did much harm in the Turks Camp; for remedy whereof, they were inforced to build certain ſmall Gallies to keep them in, who for all that, many times ſtole ſecretly upon them, and much troubled them.

The two and twentieth of *June*, the Turks mounted two great Pieces of Ordnance upon the top of the Hill whereon the Baſſa lay; whereof the one carried a Bullet, made of an hard kind of round Stone, of three hundred pound weight, and the other a Bullet of four hundred, wherewith they began to batter the Town four days; after that, they placed a third Piece of Artillery at the foot of the ſame Hill; which delivered a Bullet of four hundred pound weight; and the next day they planted a fourth Piece, greater than the reſt, about the middle of the ſame Hill; which carried a Shot of ſix hundred and fifty pound weight. In this while, eight thouſand of the Turks Souldiers, called *Aſapi* (which are known from the *Janizaries* by their red Caps, whereas the *Janizaries* wear white) came into the Camp. And ſhortly after came *Mahomet* himſelf with all his Army to the River of *Drimon*, whither the two great Baſſaes of *Aſia* and *Conſtantinople* went with great Pomp and Triumph to meet him.

Mahomet *in perſon himſelf cometh unto the ſiege of* Scodra. *The order of* Mahomets *Camp.*

The ſecond of *July*, *Mahomet* with all his Army before the riſing of the Sun came to the Camp before *Scodra*; where after he had well viewed the Situation thereof, he is reported to have ſaid, O *what a fair and ſtately place hath the Eagle choſen out for her ſelf to build her neſt, and to hatch her young ones in.* Divers rich Pavillions were ſet up for *Mahomet* himſelf, but one far greater than the reſt, diſtant from them about a Flight ſhoot, which was the place wherein he held his Counſel; the other were for his own private uſe. Round about theſe his Tents, lay the *Janizaries* incamped, a good diſtance off; yet ſo cloſe one to another, as if it had been a perpetual Rampire or ſtrong Trench, whereinto was but one entrance, continually guarded with a moſt ſtrong Guard. Round about the *Janizaries* lay all the reſt of the Army encamped; ſo that all the Country as far as a man could ſee was covered and white with Tents, much like as when the ground in Winter is covered over with a deep Snow; and ſtill more people reſorted to the Camp daily; ſo that it was deemed by men of great experience, that *Mahomet* had then in his Army of all ſorts of People, about 350000 Men, all gaping to devour that poor City; a ſight of it ſelf ſufficient to have daunted the Courage of right valiant men; but what can be terrible to them that fear not to dy? Againſt this terror of the Enemy, the Defendants were notably encouraged by the comfortable perſwaſions and exhortations of one *Bartholomeus* a Preacher, (ſometimes one of the worthy *Scanderbegs* Souldiers) who afterwards giving himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, became a zealous Preacher, and in this Siege did notably comfort the Chriſtian Defendants againſt the terror of ſo great an Army of Miſcreants. All this while the battery was ſtill maintained; and the fifth of *July* the Turks mounted two other great Pieces, whereof the one was like unto the former before mounted, but the other placed upon the middle of the Baſſaes Mount, was of an incredible greatneſs, diſcharging a Shot of twelve hundred pound weight, and was called the Princes Piece, in whoſe name it was with much cunning and induſtry made; with which huge Piece, the Turks even from the beginning of the Siege had threatned the beſieged, willing them to expect the coming of the Princes Piece. The next day they planted upon the ſame Mount a ſeventh Piece, which carried a Shot of five hundred and fifty pound weight; from which time they battered the City with the aforeſaid ſeven great Pieces, and ceaſed not oftentimes by night out of their great Mortar-Pieces, to caſt great Balls of Wild Fire into the City, ſo to have ſet it on Fire; whereby divers of the Citizens were inforced to uncover their Houſes covered with Shingle, and by men appointed for that purpoſe, to watch the fall of ſuch Fire works, and ſo to quench the ſame; which they ſo carefully looked to, as that the device of the Enemy took no effect at all. At the ſame time alſo the Turks out of their ſhort Mortar Pieces, caſt huge great Stones of incredible weight, which falling from high, did moſt terribly cruſh in pieces whatſoever thing they light upon, wherewith the Defendants were wonderfully troubled. In few days after, the Enemy mounted three other great Pieces, whereof one was greater than that was called the Princes, and carried a Bullet of thirteen hundred weight; from which time they dayly battered the City with ten ſuch Pieces, as the like hath ſeldom-times been heard of; and the Arrows fell ſo thick into the City, as if it had been continual Showers of Hail, ſo that no man could go or well ſtir in the Streets without hurt. Yet in the midſt of all theſe dangers the Chriſtians valiantly defended the City, and with their deadly ſhot from the Walls and Mounts exceedingly annoyed the Enemy. The eleventh of *July* the Turks mounted another great Piece like unto the former, upon the Baſſaes Mount, and the ſame day battered the Walls with an hundred ſeventy eight Shot of this huge Artillery.

Mahomet having by the fury of his great Ordnance, beaten down a great part of the Wall, and that now nothing ſtood in his way but ſuch ſimple repairs as the Defendants had made of Timber and Planks, with Earth caſt in betwixt, was in good hope in ſhort time to become Maſter of the Town; and therefore ſent certain Companies of his *Janizaries* and other Souldiers (which he with continual Supplies of freſh men ſtill relieved) to aſſault the breaches, ſo if it were poſſible to enter the Town, or at leaſtwiſe to burn ſuch Fortifications of Timber as the Defendants had made. But that which ſeemed unto him at firſt ſo eaſie, he found in execution full of difficulty and danger; for the Turks approaching the breach, found there reſolute men, a ſurer defence than any Wall; whoſe valiant courage ſerved inſtead of a wrong Bulwark. So whilſt the Turks deſperately ſtrive in the face of the breach either to enter or to ſet fire upon the new Fortifications made for moſt part of Timber, and the Defendants with no leſs reſolution do what they may to the utmoſt to repulſe them, many were on both ſides ſlain, but eſpecially of the aſſailants. Which *Mahomet* well perceiving, and that by that manner of Aſſault he gained nothing but notable loſs and ſpoil of his beſt men, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and his battery to be again forthwith renewed; every day ſhaking the Wall with an hundred and ſixty or an hundred and eighty moſt terrible great Shot, and one day with 194, the greateſt battery that he made in one day during that Siege.

After this great battery, the Tyrant cauſed a freſh Aſſault to be given, but with little or rather worſe ſucceſs than before; for though divers of the Defendants, and among them, ſome of good place, as *Franciſcus Patavinus, Franciſcus Scorbaro,* two *Italian* Captains, and ſome other of the better ſort of the Citizens were there ſlain with the great Shot, whereof the Enemy that day diſcharged into the breaches 193, yet were they with greater loſs enforced again to retire, and with ſhame to give over the Aſſault.

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, *Mahomet* continuing his Battery with no leſs fury than before, ſtill ſought by force of his Artillery to open a way into the City; and the third day after the former Aſſault, gave a more furious and deſperate attempt unto the City than before, inſomuch that the Turks were in the breaches come to handy ſtrokes with the Chriſtians, and there made a moſt cruel and deadly Fight; wherein many fell on both ſides, but of the Turks moſt; yet were there many of the Chriſtians alſo ſlain, eſpecially with the Turks great Ordnance. It was a right ruthful ſight to have ſeen the Rampiers at the great Gate of the City beaten down flat to the ground, and to lie full of the rent bodies of the Chriſtians; at which place the Enemy ſo prevailed, that he was even now ready to have entred; for the Turks ſo furiouſly aſſailed the Defendants, and the murthering Shot from the Baſſaes Mount fell ſo thick and ſo terribly into the breach, beſide the infinite number of Arrows, that there were ſcarce any of the Chriſtians which defended that place, but they were either ſlain or grievouſly wounded. But when all ſeemed now almoſt deſperate and forlorne, and the greedy Enemy even ready to devour his Prey, a new ſupply of luſty Souldiers well armed, came couragiouſly to the breach, and as Lyons encountring the Enemy, drave him down again, and ſo enforced him with great loſs to retire. *Mahomet* grieved with this repulſe, in his fury cauſed an hundred ſeventy three great Shot to be diſcharged into the City, and afterwards ſending for his great Baſſaes and other his principal Men of War, declared unto them his mind, as followeth;

Mahomet *purpoſing to give a general Aſſault, incourageth his Captains and Souldiers thereunto.*

I think none of you are ignorant (right worthy Souldiers) that now it is the third month ſince this City hath by us been moſt ſtraitly beſieged, and with all manner of Artillery and Engines of War impugned, aſſaulted and on every ſide aſſailed, the Walls thereof utterly ſubverted, and the Bulwarks laid flat with the ground, and (as you ſee) as good as raſed: beſides that, ſo oft as we have ſet fire upon their fortreſſes, ſo often we have provoked them of Scodra *to fight, and have alſo much vexed them with aſſaults. Laſt of all, as you know, we have left nothing unproved, nothing unattempted, which could be deviſed, the eaſilier to overcome them, being wearied, worn out, and their ſtrength ſpent. Wherefore (in mine opinion) the matter is not longer to be put off or delayed, but even to morrow before the Enemy can recover his ſtrength to repair his Breaches, let us encloſe the City round, and give them a general and terrible Aſſault: and therefore every one of you make your ſelves ready, and exhort your Souldiers in the Camp, that they every one of them to morrow with the dawning of the day come forth armed and well appointed for the winning of the City. Now will I prove and know them that are worthy of my Pay. Thou the Baſſa of* Conſtantinople, *with thy Squadrons and certain Companies of the* Janizaries *our faithful Guard, give charge unto the breach: In the mean time, let the Baſſa of* Aſia *with his power aſſault the other parts of the City: let every Man make ready and bring with him what is needful for this general Aſſault; my mind giveth me, that to morrow before this time we ſhall win the City: for who is there can reſiſt us? The Town (as you ſee) is bared both of wall and of all other defence; the Bulwarks and Ditches are laied even, and an eaſie way for us to come unto it; the Citizens themſelves weary with ſo many fights and aſſaults faint and want Strentgh; whereas we are ſtill freſh and luſty; they in number few, we almoſt innumerable; beſides that, we far paſs them in the force of our Artillery, wherewith* *many of them ſhall periſh in the defending of the Breaches. Who then can gainſay, but that they of* Scodra *are already our Priſoners? Where, upon ſuch as remain alive, I will at my pleaſure uſe the Law of Arms and Captivity. On therefore couragious hearts without further delay. Is not the very name of* Scodra *hateful unto us? For which of you doth not with great diſdain call to remembrance the death of your Parents, or Bretheren, or Friends, or Companions, cruelly ſlain under theſe Walls? Can you diſgeſt your hatred againſt them of* Scodra? *And ſo many ſlaughters of your Friends, by them made? But to forget elder times, and the harms received from them long ſince, let us but look upon our late ſlaughters and wounds as it were yet bleeding; it is not yet full four years ſince that we made War with theſe men of* Scodra, *wherein ſo many thouſands of our People fell, that their ſlaughter is yet almoſt objects to our Eyes, and their blood craving revenge. This very Hill whereon we ſtand, and the Stones yet ſeem beſprinkled and polluted with their blood. Wherefore haſt you as men of Courage; Take up Arms, valiantly mount the Hill, aſſault the Town, and revenge your old injuries. Glut your ſelves to the full in the effuſion of the Chriſtian blood, whereunto our Laws do ſo much exhort us, and do what you may with force and ſword, that not one of them of* Scodra *may be left alive; which you may eaſily bring to paſs, having all things thereunto needful; for there is nothing to withſtand you, nothing wanting for the gaining of the Victory. All things are prepared, all things are ready; an eaſie matter it is for a ſtrong man to overcome the weak and feeble, that wanteth ſtrength as do they.*

This Speech of the barbarous Tyrant was received with great applauſe and good liking of the hearers; and now was *Scodra* to be with all might and main aſſaulted, and not a man there left alive. Hereupon Proclamation was made throughout the Camp, That every man upon pain of death ſhould be ready againſt the appointed time; and the great Captains and Commanders of the Army departing from *Mahomet*, went up to the top of the Hill whereon the Baſſa lay, and from thence taking view of the City, and laying their heads together, conſulted how they might beſt give the Aſſault. The Defendants on the other ſide always expecting their Enemies hovering over their heads, left nothing undone that they could poſſibly deviſe, for the defence of themſelves and the City. Now upon the top of the Baſſaes Mount, was a royal Pavillion erected richly covered with Purple, from whence the proud Tyrant might plainly behold all the Aſſault, who with the dawning of the day (being the 22 of *July*) entring the ſame, the Turks who in the covert of the night had conveighed themſelves, as near unto the Walls as they could upon the ſignal of Battel given by a tire of Ordnance diſcharged from the Baſſaes Mount, ſuddainly ran to the Breaches as thick as Bees, in hope by their ſuddain approach to have taken the Chriſtians at ſome advantage, wherein they were much deceived. For they always doubting ſuch a matter, and carefully obſerving the leaſt motion of the Enemy, were always in readineſs to meet with their attempts; ſo that the Turks deſperately ſtriving to gain the Breaches, and the Chriſtians valiantly defending the ſame, there was in divers places begun a moſt cruel and mortal Fight; but eſpecially near unto the great Gate, where the fury of the Cannon had made the Walls moſt aſſaultable. There the Enemy was come to fight hand to hand, and prevailing upon the Defendants, had ſet up one of the Turks Enſigns upon the top of the Rampiers; which *Mahomet* beholding, rejoyced exceedingly, thinking the City now as good as taken. But the Chriſtians ſeeing the danger, ſpeedily repaired thither with new ſupplies, and by plain force drave the Enemy out again, and beat him from the Rampiers. Upon them alſo that were coming up, they caſt down pieces of Timber, great Stones, Wild-Fire, pots of Lime, and ſuch other things as might moſt anoy them; as for Shot, none fell in vain by reaſon of the wonderful multitude of the Turks, who ſtood ſo thick, that a man could hardly have caſt down a grain of Muſtard Seed from the Wall but it muſt needs have light upon ſome of them; by which means the Turks were notably repulſed, their Enſign pluckt down and they enforced to retire from the Walls. Which ſuddain alteration *Mahomet* perceiving, fell into a great rage, and forthwith commanded his great Ordnance, with greater fury than ever, to be diſcharged into the Breach; and with great words commanded the two chief Baſſaes which ſtood by him upon the Mount, to go preſently down and enforce the Souldiers which were already retired, to return again unto the Aſſault. Theſe great Commanders ſeeing the Tyrant in ſuch a fret, forthwith deſcended from the Hill, and where perſwaſion would not ſerve, with their drawn Swords enforced the Souldiers to return back again to the Aſſault. The Turks knowing that they were now in the Eye of their King, and in the preſence of their greateſt Commanders, ſtrive with might and main to win the Rampiers; for in that place, the Walls of the City were beaten down to the ground, ſhaken before this Aſſault with two thouſand five hundred thirty nine Shot of the Canon or other Pieces of no leſs force. The Chriſtians likewiſe in defence of themſelves and their City, with invincible Courage oppoſed themſelves againſt the Turks; ſo that a more deſperate Fight than there, was hardly ever to be ſeen; deſperate men with deſperate hand aſſailing one another; and the more to increaſe the terror of the day, the thundering Shot, with the clamour of Men, and noiſe of the inſtruments of War, was ſo great, as if Heaven and Earth ſhould have preſently fallen together; and Arrows falling into the City as if it had been ſhowers of Rain, oftentimes darkned the light of the day. In this dreadful Fight, many of the Defendants were ſlain; but of the Turks, twenty to one. Near unto that Gate where this terrible Aſſault was given, were certain Loops hewn out of the main Rock, which flanked the Ditch all alongſt that ſide of the City, out of which the Chriſtians with their murdering Shot made Lanes amongſt their Enemies and ſlew them without number. For all that, the mighty Baſſaes and great Captains, one while by perſwaſion, another while by threatning, forced them ſtill forward, and if any turned back, preſently ſlew him; ſo that the Turks ſeeing no leſs danger in retiring than in fighting againſt the Enemy, like deſperate men thruſt forward by heaps, and were ſlain without number. Yet ſtill preſſing on ſo long as life laſted, and others ſtepping forward inſtead of them that were ſlain, they began again to prevail upon the Defendants (who in that place were for moſt part either ſlain or hurt) and again recovered the top of the Rampiers, and there advanced the Turks Enſigns. Then began the Tyrant to lift up his Head, making ſure account that the City was now his own. But as the common ſaying is, *He that reckoneth without his Hoſt, muſt reckon twice*, ſo chanched it to *Mahomet*. For the Companies, from the beginning of the Siege left in the Market place ready for all events, and oftentimes wiſhing for

The City of Scodra *aſſaulted by the Turks the fourth time.*

A moſt terrible Aſſault.

for ſome occaſion wherein to ſhew themſelves; being now in good time advertiſed of the imminent danger, came with ſpeed to the place of the Aſſault before the Turks had taken good footing; and there valiantly encountring them, ſlew a great number of them, and forced the reſt from the Rampiers; and plucking down their Enſigns before ſet up, inſtead of them placed their own. With which repulſe the Turks were ſo diſmaied, that they quite forſook the Aſſault, and in deſpight of their imperious Commanders, not expecting any ſign of Retreat, in haſt retired to their Camp. *Mahomet* falling from ſo great an hope, and grieved above meaſure with this ſhameful repulſe, returned into his Pavillion fretting and fuming as a man half mad, where two days he tormented himſelf with his own paſſions, not admitting any man to his preſence. The Chriſtians afterwards took the ſpoil of the dead Turks, and cutting off divers of their Heads, ſet them up upon Poles round about the City, to the terror of their Fellows. In this Aſſault were twelve thouſand of the Turks ſlain, and many more wounded. Of the Chriſtians were loſt four hundred; and of them that came to the Breach eſcaped none, but he was wounded more or leſs.

Twelve thouſand Turks ſlain in the laſt Aſſault.

After that *Mahomet* had two days digeſted the laſt repulſe, the ſhame whereof grieved him more than the loſs it ſelf; he ſent for both the great Baſſaes of *Conſtantinople* and *Aſia*, and other two of his chief Counſellors, with whom he reſolved to give another Aſſault, and thereon to gage his whole Forces; for they were all of opinion with him, That the Defendants were ſo weakned and waſted with the former Aſſault, that they could not poſſibly hold out another. Whereupon ſtrait Commandment was given through the Camp, that every man without exception ſhould be ready to go to the Aſſault whenſoever they were called upon; and the more to incourage the Souldiers, great rewards and preferments were promiſed to them which in time of the Aſſault ſhould perform any eſpecial piece of ſervice. The firſt appearance of the new Moon (which the Turks worſhip with great Devotion) was the time that *Mahomet* had appointed for this general Aſſault; in the mean time he ſpared not to pour out his fury againſt the Walls and Rampiers of the Town, by the mouth of the Canon. The Chriſtian Defendants on the other ſide, firſt by hearty Prayer commended themſelves and their City to the Protection of the Almighty, and afterwards with reſtleſs labour and no ſmall peril, ſpeedily repaired and new fortified whatſoever the fury of the Artillery had overthrown or ſhaken; omitting nothing that could be done or deviſed for the defence of themſelves and their City. Now as ſoon as the new Moon began to ſhew her ſelf, the Mahometan Prieſts going about the Army, gave the Souldiers knowledg thereof (as their manner is) by ſinging of a Song in manner of a Proceſſion; whereunto the whole Army anſwered with a ſhort Reſpond, but with ſuch a terrible noiſe as was wonderful to hear; and at the ſame time bowing themſelves to the ground, ſaluted the Moon with great Superſtition. All their fond Ceremonies performed, they began to draw nigh the City ſo thick, and in number ſo many, that all the ground for the ſpace of a mile round about *Scodra*, was thick covered with men. The Chriſtians expecting every hour to be aſſailed, were ready upon the Walls and Rampiers of the City, to repulſe the Enemy; but eſpecially at the great Gate where moſt danger was feared, for that the Turks with their great Ordnance had made that place of all others moſt aſſaultable. Here *Jacobus Moneta* a Noble Captain, with his Brother *Moncinus* a valiant Gentleman, took upon them to receive the firſt Aſſault, which is commonly of all others moſt terrible; for the Turks uſe in their Aſſaults to give three attempts, whereof the firſt is moſt furious and dangerous, as performed by their beſt Souldiers; the other two are of leſs force; but if they fail in all three, they forſake the enterpriſe as men diſcouraged. Whilſt both the aſſailants and the Defendants ſtood thus in readineſs the one as it were facing the other a great part of the night, *Mahomet* before day went up to the top of the Baſſaes Mount, from whence he had before beholden the former Aſſault; at whoſe coming there were preſently eleven Canons diſcharged, and twelve ſmaller Pieces (the ſignal appointed for the Aſſault.) The Turks upon this ſign given, with exceeding tumult and moſt hideous outcry (as their manner is) began to aſſail the City round, and with ſuch wonderful agility of Body and Courage mounted the Rampiers at the great Gate, that they had there as it were in a trice ſet up one of their Enſigns, which was forthwith pluckt up by *Moneta*, and the Turks with great ſlaughter driven down, where many of them were ſlain with Stones, Timber, Fire and ſuch other things caſt down upon them; beſide a great number ſlain or wounded with Shot, Arrows, and Darts, whereof none fell to the ground in vain, by reaſon that the Turks ſtood ſo thick, that they violently preſſed one another forward, in ſuch ſort that the foremoſt could by no means ſhun any danger, were it never ſo great or terrible. In this ſort the Aſſault was with great ſlaughter of the Turks continued until it was day; they ſtriving to win the Breach, and the Chriſtians moſt valiantly defending the ſame. *Moneta* himſelf in this Fight received divers wounds, and was twice beaten down to the ground; yet ſtill recovering himſelf, incouraged his Souldiers, and worthily repulſed the Enemy. *Mahomet* ſeeing his Souldiers beaten from the Breach, cauſed a tire of his great Ordnance to be diſcharged upon the Chriſtians which ſtood therein thick for the defence thereof, by force whereof many of them were rent in pieces, and the reſt ſore diſmaied; which the Turks quickly perceiving, and therewith encouraged, came on again with a freſh charge, forcing themſelves to the uttermoſt to have entred. But the valiant Captain nothing diſcouraged either with the loſs of them that were ſlain, or the danger of himſelf, valiantly withſtood the furious Enemy, and maintained the place till new ſupplies came to relieve him, and departed not thence, nor ſuffered any man to depart, till the Aſſault was ended. Many were ſlain on both ſides; yet nothing troubled the Defendants ſo much as the great Ordnance, which being diſcharged from the Baſſaes Mount, into the breach, when as the Turks were driven back, ſlew many of the Chriſtians, leaving the breach almoſt clear; ſo giving occaſion for the Turks to have entred, had not other couragious Souldiers ſtept up in ſtead of them that were ſlain, who manfully repulſed the Enemy. The Tyrant from the Mount ſeeing the invincible Courage of the Defendants, was therewith exceedingly troubled; but fully reſolved now or never to have it, commanded all his Forces to be drawn from all parts of the City, to the great Gate, there to renew the Aſſault; ſtraightly charging his Captains, never to return thence until they had taken the City. Hereupon the greateſt part of that huge Army was forthwith in the ſight of himſelf brought to the

The Turks ſuperſtitiouſly reverence the new Moon.

Scodra *again moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by the Turks.*

the appointed place, and there gave a ſharp and cruel Aſſault at the breach, with ſuch deſperate fury, that in ſhort time they had ſlain moſt of the Defendants there preſent, and advanced divers of their Enſigns upon the top of the Rampiers. Which *Mahomet* beholding from the Mount, rejoiced exceedingly, making ſure account, that the City was now his own; but by that time he had well conceived this hope, new ſupplies of freſh and couragious men (of purpoſe reſerved for all events) came to the place of danger, and with great reſolution incountring the wearied Turks, drave them back, cleared the breach, and overthrew the Enſigns. Which ſo ſuddain an alteration in the breach, wrought no leſs alteration in the proud Tyrants mind, his hope was turned into deſpair, and his joy into choler; inſomuch that in his fury he commanded all his great Artillery to be at once diſcharged into the breach, whereby many of his forward and couragious Souldiers were ſlain together with the Defendants. At the ſame time, the great Commanders and Captains knowing themſelves to be in the Eye of their imperious Lord and Maſter, with their drawn Swords forced the poor Souldiers again forward to the breach; and the more to encourage them, adventured themſelves alſo among them; whereby the Fight became more fierce and terrible than before. Many of the Turks were there ſlain; yet ſuch was the force and multitude of them which ſtill ſtept up in their place, and Bullets and Arrows flew ſo thick, that the Defendants oppreſſed with multitude, and overwhelmed with Shot, were hardly able longer to maintain the place, being for moſt part either ſlain or wounded. Whereupon a great cry ran upon the ſuddain through the City, that every man without exception ſhould forthwith repair to the breach. Which was with ſuch chearfulneſs done, that in leſs time than was to have been thought, a wonderful multitude of all ſorts of people was there met together, encouraging one another againſt the preſent danger; who all as men reſolved to lay down their lives in defence of their Country, valiantly encountred the Turks upon the top of the Rampiers, and ſo hardly laid upon them, that notwithſtanding their great number, they began now again to waver and ſhrink back. Which thing the Tyrant perceiving from the Mount, in great rage commanded his Canoniers, as faſt as they could to diſcharge the great Ordnance into the breach, without regard of his own men, ſo that together with them he might alſo kill ſome of the Chriſtians, and withal imperiouſly commanded his Captains, with all their force and power to maintain the Aſſault, threatning them with moſt horrible death, if they returned, without Victory. Hereupon the Aſſault was again renewed, every man (in ſhew at leaſt) ſet down there to do his laſt Devoir. But the great Ordnance ſtill playing upon the breach, ſlew many of the Turks, as well as of the Chriſtians. Thrice the great Shot fell amongſt the Turks themſelves, and rent in ſunder a great number of them which were foremoſt, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt; whereof the Tyrant had ſmall regard, ſo that together with them he might alſo diminiſh the number of the Defendants. Nevertheleſs, ſuch was the deſperate fury of the Enemy, that the City was in no ſmall danger to have been preſently taken, had not freſh ſupplies come from other parts of the City which they were appointed unto; who with great Courage reſiſted the Enemy. Yet the Turks far exceeding in number (and freſh men continually ſtepping up in ſtead of them which lay by heaps under their Feet, and ſerved them in ſtead of Steps to get up to the Rampiers) maintained a long and terrible fight; at which time the great Ordnance alſo ſore annoyed the Defendants, ſo that with one Shot (whereby the greatneſs of the harms done at other times may be gathered) eighteen of the Chriſtian Defendants were ſlain. As for Arrows, they flew as thick as Hail into the City, ſo that they obſcured the light of the day, and lay in moſt places of the Street a Span thick; ſo that for the ſpace of a month after, the inhabitants uſed no other fuel to burn, but Turkiſh Arrows. It was a ruful ſight, to have ſeen the bodies of the valiant Chriſtians rent in ſunder with the great Shot, and pieces of them cleaving upon every Wall thereabout, every Street was ſtained with their Blood, the great Ordnance continually thundred, Churches and Houſes came ratling down, yea the heavy countenance of the Air it ſelf ſeemed to bewail the miſery of the poor Chriſtians; beſides, the noiſe of Trumpets, Drums, and other inſtruments of War, with the horrible cry of the helliſh Turks, was ſo great and hideous, that it ſeemed as if Heaven and Earth ſhould have gon together; nothing was to be heard but the very terror of the Ear; nothing to be ſeen but death, and the very inſtruments of death. And now in this extremity a fearful cry ran through the City, That without preſent help all would be loſt at the great Gate; whereupon not only they which were whole, (which were the feweſt in number) but they alſo which lay wounded or ſick in their beds, chearing up themſelves, with Weapons in their Hand ran with ſpeed to the place where the danger was; chuſing rather there to die, than to be ſlain in their beds. Thus whilſt the Chriſtians of all ſorts, and from all parts of the City, ran deſperately to the Gate, the Turks were on every ſide hardly preſſed, and in great number ſlain; yet freſh men ſtill coming up, as if they had ſprung out of the Earth, the deadly Fight was by them ſtill maintained; for the Turks on the one ſide, for fear of the Tyrant, laboured with might and main to win the City; and the Chriſtians on the other, knowing no hope left for them if they ſhould be overcome, with no leſs reſolution defended the ſame. In this obſtinacy of mind many fell on both ſides; ſometimes the Turks ſeemed to have the better, and were ſtraitway by the Chriſtians put to the worſe. Which manner of mortal Fight, with doubtful event, was continued moſt part of that day; until that at length many being on both parts ſlain, and the reſt for the moſt part ſore wounded and hurt, the fury of the Aſſault began to aſſwage; for the Turks now weary of that long and deadly Fight, and fainting with their wounds, had no great ſtomach to mount up the Rampiers, where they ſaw no hope to prevail, but all things threatning preſent death. *Mahomet* beholding the wonderful ſlaughter of his men, and that having done what was poſſible for men to do, they now fought as men diſcouraged, and in deſpair of Victory himſelf, cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, which the Turks no ſooner heard, but that they left the Aſſault, and without order ran to their Tents, as men half ſcared out of their Wits.

The aſſault renewed again fiercely by the Turks.

A woful ſight.

A doubtful Fight.

Of this Victory, the Chriſtians (as they had good cauſe) rejoyced greatly; yet was this joy mingled with much ſorrow and heavineſs, for the loſs of ſuch worthy men as were ſlain in that Aſſault, many of whoſe bodies they were glad to gather up by piecemeal, ſome here, ſome there, ſome cleaving on this Wall and ſome on that; which they, as the time would give leave, honourably buried with the reſt of the ſlain. At which time alſo, they with all diligence and expedition repaired their breaches, and put all things in ſuch readineſs, as if they ſhould have preſently received a freſh Aſſault.

Mahomet wonderfully grieved with the ſhameful diſhonour and great loſs he had received at the laſt Aſſault, repented himſelf that ever he had taken the matter in hand, wiſhing that he had never heard of the name of *Scodra*; and in his choler and frantick rage moſt horribly blaſphemed againſt God, moſt wickedly ſaying, *That it were enough for him to have care of Heavenly things, and not to croſs him in his Worldly Actions*; in which fury he deſcended from the Mount, and got into his Tent, where he again tormented himſelf with his melancholy Paſſions by the ſpace of two days; wherein he would neither be ſpoke withal, or admit any man to his preſence. Upon the third day he called a general Counſel of his Commanders and beſt Souldiers, and thereupon openly before them all ſaid, That he was determined to give the Enemy a freſh Aſſault, for that being weakned with ſo many Aſſaults, he could not poſſibly be able to hold out another; and therefore hoped for an eaſie Victory. But he had no ſooner ſo ſaid, but that all they that heard him, cried out with one voice to the contrary; ſaying, That it was not by any means to be attempted, for as much as his beſt Souldiers were already ſlain, and the greater part of them that were left, either ſore wounded or brought to that weakneſs, that they were not able to do any more ſervice; and that therefore it were better for them to kill one another, or elſe himſelf to kill them one by one, than to expoſe them to be ſo ſhamefully butchered by the Chriſtians. In this diverſity of opinions, *Achmetes Baſſa* the great Champion of the Turks (a man reverend and of great authority, for his birth, years, and rare experience in Martial Affairs, and one by whom *Mahomet* had done great matters) ſtanding up, with pleaſing ſpeech calmed his furious mind, and with ſubſtantial reaſons perſwaded him to deſiſt from that his intended purpoſe, and to take another ſurer courſe, as followeth:

A notable Speech of the great Baſſa *Achmetes*.

YOUR *great Valour and worthy Praiſes, invincible Emperor* (ſaid he) *who is able to expreſs? the greatneſs whereof the mind of man cannot conceive, and my dull Spirit but wonder at; my Tongue faltereth to ſpeak of them, neither would this time ſerve ſo much as to recount them. It is of all men deemed a thing of great honour (moſt dread Soveraign) when a Prince hath received a Kingdom from his Anceſtors, to be able in ſafety to keep and defend the ſame; greater than this is it, honourably to increaſe and augment it, ſo left; but of a ſmall thing, by worthy proweſs to bring it to the higheſt type of worldly honour, is of all other things the greateſt. Which moſt rare excellency, all men worthily aſcribe unto your perfection and felicity; and I, of all others, can thereof bring the moſt aſſured teſtimony, who have oftentimes heard it of mine Anceſtors (which following the* Othoman *Princes out of* Aſia *into* Europe) *that your worthy Predeceſſors at their firſt coming into* Europe (*without offence be it ſaid*) *poſſeſſed but a corner thereof; to whom you afterward by divine appointment ſucceeding, have adjoined ſo many Provinces, Kingdoms, and Empires, as were tedious to rehearſe them. For who can worthily expreſs, how you have in* Europe *ſubdued* Conſtantinople, *the Imperial City of the Eaſt Empire, with all* Thracia, Achaia, Grecia, Peloponneſus, Bœotia, Thebes, *and the noble City of* Athens *the Mother and Nurſe of all good Learning. The Empire of* Trapezond, *with the Emperor thereof is by you overthrown; The Kingdoms of* Servia *and* Boſna, *with the Princes of* Peloponneſus, *are by you gloriouſly vanquiſhed. You have at your command twelve Kingdoms in* Aſia *the leſſer;* Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia, Pamphilia, Lycia, Caria, Lydia, Phrygia, Nicomedia, *and* Nicea, *with the famous City of* Pruſa. *Beſides theſe,* Ionia, Doris, Smyrna, Colophon, Epheſus, Miletum, Halicarnaſſus, Pergamus, *with the Country of* Taurica, *are under your Subjection. The great Country of* Armenia *hath felt your force; The Iſlands of* Lesbos, Chios *and* Eubœa, *are parts of your Empire. What ſhould I ſpeak of infinite People and Nations, by you moſt victoriouſly vanquiſhed? This may ſuffice for all, That you have gained from the Chriſtians twenty Provinces, and two hundred great Cities. For it were too long to rehearſe the* Mahometan *Kings and Princes by you alſo vanquiſhed: In all your expeditions all things have yet given place to your fortune. The ancient Monuments may now ceaſe to extol the praiſes of* Cæſar, Scipio, Pyrrhus, Hannibal, *and other Chieftains of* Rome *and forraign Nations; for why, they are all inferiour to you, both for Victories and Countries ſubdued. The* Othoman *Family is undoubtedly fatal for Soveraignty; all the World ſhall in ſhort time come under your government, and all Nations ſhall ſerve you. As for this Town of* Scodra, *let it not ſo much grieve you; worldly things (as you know) do ofentimes deceive our expectation; in them Fortune beareth great ſway. Yet for this matter quiet your ſelf; for I dare gage my Faith unto your Imperial Majeſty, that I will in ſhort time find means, that this City ſhall ſtand at your devotion. Did not I of late bring into your ſubjection the impregnable City of* Croia, *which you ſo long deſired? But whereas you would now again forthwith attempt to win it by Aſſault, I therein crave your pardon, in that I cannot be of that opinion, but muſt needs think far otherwiſe; for to attempt War, and to be overthrown, is an eaſie matter for every one to do; but to vanquiſh the Enemy, and to carry away the Triumph, that right few men know. He that conſulteth of ſuch great and weighty matters, ought to be free both from fury and deſire, both evil Counſellors. The Chriſtians of* Scodra *are not in my opinion to be again aſſaulted, for in ſo doing you ſhall but loſe your labour. For if you could not ſubdue them, your Army being then freſh and ſtrong, how ſhall you now overcome them with much fewer, and they wounded, weak, and feeble? I have viewed the whole Camp, and ſearched every Tent; and found no place, no tent, yea ſcarcely any cabin, without groaning, ſighing, weeping or wailing; in every place was heavineſs, ſorrow, mourning, and death it ſelf; for in the laſt Aſſault you loſt thirty thouſand and more, of your beſt Souldiers; many more are grievouſly wounded and maimed; none, but he carrieth about him ſome ſign that he was there; few or none there be that dare again mount the Hill to give a freſh Aſſault, they are all ſo affraid and diſcouraged. Whom when I demanded, how ſo great a fear was come upon them, and what was the cauſe they had ſo loſt their wonted Courage? they anſwered me, That it was the look, even the very look of them of* Scodra, *whoſe Eyes did ſeem unto them, to burn and ſparkle with fire; their ſtern and terrible countenance (ſaid they) have ſtruck this terror into us, Wherefore I think it not good to give a freſh Aſſault with men ſo diſmaied; but rather to uſe policy and delay, againſt ſuch reſolute Enemies. This City of* Scodra *is the Eye and Head of all this Province, which the* Venetians *have notably fortified, and planted with ſtore of* Ordnance, *and of all things elſe neceſſary for defence thereof; but eſpecially with moſt valiant Souldiers, of purpoſe choſen out of many of their Garriſons, for defence of this City. You have not now to do with the weak and effeminate People of* Aſia, *but with the hard and rough People of* Epirus. *And you know (moſt mighty Emperor) the ſtrength and courage of this Nation; it is now thirty years that you made War againſt this People, and have not yet altogether ſubdued them; and how dangerous and chargeable this War hath been unto you, who knoweth not? It is now ſix months ſince we came firſt before this City; we have intrenched our ſelves round about it, we have day and night laid hard Siege unto it; we have battered it of long with eleven Canons; I ſpeak not of other ſmaller Pieces or Engines of War, with all kinds of Shot and Fire-works, and whatſoever elſe we could deviſe. We have many times to our coſt aſſaulted it; what could be done by force, ſtrength, or multitude of valiant men, is already done in the former Aſſaults; Nothing hath been left unattempted, no policy, no direction hath wanted in your Leaders, neither courage in your Souldiers. What ſhould I recount the innumerable great Shot, or ſpeak of our Arrows and Darts, delivered into the City as ſhowers of Hail? Did all this, or any thing elſe we could do, any thing terrifie theſe Defendants? Were they not, nay are they not ſtill ready with great aſſurance and Courage at all aſſaies to encounter us? You take a wrong courſe, by force to conſtrain them; they have taken upon them the defence of this place, and are not thence to be removed, there ſhall you be ſure ſtill to find them either alive or dead; and what account they make of their lives, you ſee, they will ſell them unto us dear for their Country, and prefer an honourable death before a ſervile life. Wherefore againſt men ſo ſet down, policy is to be uſed; and them whom we cannot by force ſubdue, let us by delay and time overcoome. If you will win* Scodra, *block it up, build ſtrong Forts in places convenient round about it, and furniſh them with good Souldiers; make a bridge over* Boliana, *with a ſtrong Caſtle on either ſide, to ſtop the paſſage; which done, beſiege the other weaker Cities of the* Venetians, *which are as it were the Limbs of* Scodra; *and ſubdue the Country round about, which will be no hard matter for you to do, being Maſter of the Field; ſo muſt* Scodra *at length of neceſſity yield unto you, as of late did* Croia, *inforced thereunto by Famine. Thus may you in ſafety without ſlaughter of your People, come to the full of your deſires.*

The wholeſome Counſel of the Baſſa ſo well pleaſed *Mahomet* himſelf, and the reſt there preſent, that the Aſſault was laid aſide, and preſent order taken for the ſpeedy execution of that which was ſo well by him plotted. Whereupon the Baſſa of *Conſtantinople* with his Forces was ſent to *Zabiache*, a City in the borders of *Dalmatia*, ſtanding upon the Lake of *Scutary*, not far from *Aſcrivium*, which in few days was yielded unto him. The Baſſa poſſeſſed of the City, thruſt out all the Inhabitants, and leaving therein a Garriſon of Turks, returned again to the Camp at *Scodra*. At the ſame time the great Baſſa of *Aſia* was alſo ſent by *Mahomet* againſt *Drivaſto* a City alſo of the *Venetians*; which when he had beſieged and ſore battered by the ſpace of ſixteen days, the great Tyrant came thither in perſon himſelf, and the next day after his coming took the City without any great reſiſtance. Such as he found upon the Walls, he put to the Sword; of the reſt he took three hundred away with him to the Camp at *Scodra*, and there in the face of the City cauſed them all to be cruelly ſlain, of purpoſe ſo to terrifie the Defendants. The next day after, he ſent the great Baſſa of *Conſtantinople* to *Lyſſa*, called alſo *Aleſſo*, a City of the *Venetians*, ſituated upon the River *Drinus*, about thirty miles from *Scodra*. The Baſſa coming thither, found the City deſolate, (for the Citizens hearing of his coming, were for fear before fled) for which cauſe he ſet the City on fire. Here the Turks digged up the Bones of the worthy Prince *Scanderbeg*, for the ſuperſtitious opinion they had of the vertue of them; and happy was he that could get any little part thereof to ſet in Gold or other Jewel, as a thing of great price, (as is before declared.) All theſe things thus done, *Mahomet* committed the direction of all things concerning the Siege of *Scodra*, unto the diſcretion of *Achmetes*; by whoſe perſwaſion he leaving a great power for the continuing of the Siege, departed thence himſelf with forty thouſand Souldiers, for *Conſtantinople*, curſing and banning by the way all the Country of *Epirus*, all the Inhabitants therein, and every part thereof, their Corn, their Cattel, and whatſoever elſe was fruitful; but above all other things, the City of *Scodra*, with all that therein was, for that he had never received greater diſhonour or loſs, than there.

Lyſſa *taken by the* Turks, *and the Bones of* Scanderbeg *digged up by them, and had in great reverence.*

After his departure, which was about the ſeventh of *September*, the two great Baſſaes of *Conſtantinople* and *Aſia*, according to order before taken, built a great bridge over the River *Boliana*, and on either ſide a ſtrong Caſtle, to the intent that no relief ſhould that way be brought into the City. Which work when they had brought to perfection, and furniſhed both Caſtles with Garriſons, Ordnance, and all things neceſſary, they left *Achmetes* Baſſa with forty thouſand Souldiers to continue the Siege, and returned themſelves, the one to *Conſtantinople*, the other into *Aſia*. The wary and politique Baſſa mindful of the charge he had taken upon him, took ſuch order, that no relief could poſſibly be brought unto the City either by Land or by Water; and ſo lying ſtill before it a long time, he brought it at length into ſuch a diſtreſs and want of all things, that the poor Chriſtians were fain to eat all manner of unclean and loathſome things; Horſes were dainty meat, yea, they were glad to eat Dogs, Cats, Rats, and the Skins of Beaſts ſod; it exceedeth all credit, to tell at what exceeding great price a little Mouſe was ſold, or Puddings made of Dogs guts. All theſe bare ſhifts and extremities the poor Chriſtians were content to endure even unto the laſt gaſp, rather than to yield themſelves into the hands of their mercileſs Enemies.

Whilſt *Scodra* thus lay in the ſuds, the *Venetians* weary of the long and chargeable War they had to their great loſs now maintained againſt ſo mighty an Enemy by the ſpace of ſixteen years, and having no means to relieve their diſtreſſed Subjects in *Scodra*, thought it beſt to prove if they could procure a Peace from the Tyrant. For which purpoſe they ſent *Benedictus Triviſanus*, a great Senator, and a man of great experience, to *Conſtantinople*; who ſo well uſed the matter, that after long debating too and fro, at length a Peace was concluded; whereof the chief Capitulations were, That the *Venetians* ſhould deliver unto *Mahomet* the City of *Scodra*, the Iſland of *Lemnos* and the ſtrong Caſtle of *Tenarus* in *Peloponneſus*, and pay him yearly eight thouſand Ducats; that they might freely after their wonted manner traffique into the *Euxine*, by the Straits of *Helleſpontus* and *Boſphorus Thracius*, and other parts of his Dominions. Concerning the Citizens of *Scodra*, it was compriſed in the ſame Peace, That it ſhould be at their own choice, either to live there ſtill under the government of the Turkiſh Emperor, or elſe at their pleaſure to depart in

ſafety

A hard choice.

Scodra yielded unto the Turks.

ſafety with their Goods whither they would. *Triviſanus* having in this manner concluded a Peace, in his return homeward, the fourth of *April* found the *Venetian* Admiral riding at Anchor in the mouth of *Boliana*, from whence they both by Letters certified the Governor and Citizens of *Scodra*, in what manner the Peace was concluded with the Turk, and what proviſion was therein made for them. Upon receipt of which Letters the Governor calling together the Citizens, declared unto them how the caſe ſtood; and there with them entred into conſultation upon this hard queſtion, Whether they would remain there ſtill in their Native Country under the Turkiſh Tyranny; or forſaking the ſame, live amongſt other Chriſtians in perpetual exile? But after the matter had been throughly debated, and many reaſons on both parts alledged; at length it was by general conſent concluded, That they ſhould all forſake the City and the Houſe of Bondage, as dangerous both to their Souls and Bodies, and live as it ſhould pleaſe God amongſt other Chriſtians. So the Turks giving Pledges for the ſafe departure of the Chriſtians in *Scodra*, they all at an appointed day with bag and baggage came out of the City, and were by the *Venetians* carefully tranſported into other parts of their Territory in *Italy*, where they lived in peace. The Turks (who had now beſieged the City a whole year) after the departure of the Chriſtians entred the City with great joy and triumph; which, with many others thereabout, hath ever ſince, to the great ruth of all Chriſtendom, remained in the poſſeſſion of the faithleſs Infidels. Thus was the ſtrong City of *Scodra* loſt, and the long Wars ended betwixt *Mahomet* and the *Venetians*, which happened in the year 1478.

1480. *Mahomet* now at Peace with the *Venetians*, ſent the ſame *Achmetes* Baſſa (by whom he had but a little before taken in *Scodra*) with his Fleet of Gallies againſt one *Leonard* Prince of *Neritus*, *Zacynthus*, and *Cephalania*, Iſlands near unto *Peloponneſus*; where the Baſſa arriving, eaſily took the ſame Iſlands, the poor Prince for ſafeguard of his life being glad to fly into *Italy* with his Wife and Treaſure, to King *Ferdinand*, whoſe nigh Kinſwoman he had married.

About the ſame time *Alis-Beg*, ſirnamed *Michael Ogli*, *Iſa-Beg* the Son of *Caſſanes*, and *Balis-Beg*, ſirnamed *Malcozogli* (men of great account amongſt the Turks, and moſt honourably deſcended) entred into *Tranſilvania* with a great Army of an hundred thouſand men, and brought ſuch a general fear upon the Country, that *Stephanus Batore*, the Vayvod, was glad with all ſpeed to flie unto *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, to declare unto him the danger of his Country, and to crave his Aid. *Matthias* at the ſame time lay ſick of the Gout; nevertheleſs he took ſuch order by his Captains, *Stephanus Cherepetrus*, and *Paulus Kiniſius* Count of *Temeſware*, that the Turks were encountred not far from *Alba Julia*, and there in a great and bloody Battel overthrown; wherein *Iſa* one of their great Captains was ſlain, with thirty thouſand Turks more. Neither was this Victory gained by the Chriſtians without loſs, *Bator* the Vayvod himſelf being ſore wounded, and eight thouſand men ſlain.

Mahomet *longeth after the* Rhodes.

Mahomet in his ambitious humor, had long time deſired to have in his ſubjection the Iſland of the *Rhodes*. For why, it grieved him that ſo ſmall an Iſland ſhould lie ſo nigh his great Dominions in *Aſia*, holden by a few Chriſtians, to the great trouble of his Merchants trading in the *Mediterranean*, beſide many other harms dayly from thence received, and to have no feeling of his greatneſs. But for as much as the winning of that place was thought to be a matter of great difficulty, and in former times unfortunately attempted by ſome of the Mahometan Princes; he purpoſed now with good advice to take this enterpriſe in hand. Wherefore calling together his grave Counſellors and moſt expert Men of War, after he had declared unto them the manifold injuries received from them of the *Rhodes*, he propounded the matter; Whether it were beſt to attempt the winning of that Iſland or not? Some forward men perſwaded him to revenge the injuries done by thoſe Chriſtians, and to ſubdue that Iſland, which for the nearneſs unto *Caria*, might of right be accounted as part of his Dominion; and not to forbear that enterpriſe for fear of repulſe, foraſmuch as he was able to bring more Men to aſſail it than were Stones in the Wall about it. Others better adviſed, declared the Strength of the Iſland, with the Valor of the Defendants; Men alwaies brought up in Arms, as it were choſen out of all parts of Chriſtendom; ſo that it was (as they ſaid) like to prove a matter of more difficulty than was by ſome ſuppoſed; whereof ſome of the Mahometan Princes had to their no ſmall diſhonour, already made ſufficient trial; alledging farther, that that ſmall Iſland which ſcarcely appeared in the Sea, was not of that worth, as that he ſhould thereon engage his honour, with the lives of ſo many good men, and moſt valiant Souldiers as might ſerve for the conqueſt of a Kingdom. For all that, *Mahomet* prickt forward with the Spurs of Ambition, and continual ſolicitation of *Anthonius Meligalus*, a fugitive Knight of the *Rhodes*, reſolved to follow the counſel of them which perſwaded the War. This *Meligalus* was a Knight of the Order, which when he had prodigally conſumed his ſubſtance, which was great, with two others, *Demetrius* and *Sophonius*, men of his own quality and diſpoſition, fled unto the Turkiſh Emperor; preſenting unto him a perfect plot of the City, with all the ſtrength both of it, and the Iſle wherein it ſtood, and which way he might with moſt eaſe win it. In which ſervice they frankly offered to ſpend their lives; but hoping indeed, by ſuch foul Treachery to repair their broken Eſtate. All things being now in readineſs, *Mahomet* appointed *Meſithes Paleologus*, one of his chief Baſſas (the near Kinſman of *Conſtantinus Paleologus* the laſt Emperor of *Conſtantinople*) General for that expedition; committing to his charge the whole managing of that ſo great an action. *Meſithes* embarking his Army, in number eighty thouſand, and throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the Siege, ſet forward from *Conſtantinople*, and with a pleaſant gale of Wind, ſailed along the coaſt of *Aſia* the leſs, towards the *Rhodes*; where by the way he called unto him *Demetrius* (one of the fugitive Knights) to learn of him the beſt means for the ſafe landing of his Army. As for the Arch Traitor *Meligalus*, and chief Author of this War, he was fallen ſick upon the way; and in the extremity of his ſickneſs, growing both troubleſome and loathſome unto the Turks that were with him in the ſame Gally, was by the Mariners thrown over board alive, crying out in vain for help, no man vouchſafing to have any compaſſion upon him; and ſo ſwallowed up of the Sea, received amidſt the Waves, the juſt guerdon of his Treachery.

A death right worthy ſuch a Traitor.

At this time *Peter Damboiſe* a Frenchman, an *Avergnoies*, a man of ſingular Government, was Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*; whoſe vigilancy was ſuch, that commonly once in eight days he had certain intelligence what great matters paſſed in the Turks Court; and therewith of ſuch deep judgment, that he was ſeldome or never overtaken or deceived with any falſe advertiſements. This careful Grand Maſter, was not ignorant of all theſe great preparations, neither of the coming of the Baſſa; and therefore had before ſtrongly fortified the City, and ſo ſtored the ſame with all things needful, as might well have ſerved for many years ſiege; eſpecially with ſuch Shot and Powder, that it was deemed (as indeed it was) an eſpecial means whereby the City was afterward preſerved. At the ſame time, many noble and valiant Gentlemen hearing of the Turks deſigns, repaired thither out of *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and other places of Chriſtendom, chearfully to adventure their lives, in defence both of the place, and of the Chriſtian Religion, againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtianity. The Great Maſter taking a general view of all the Forces he had, to oppoſe againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy, found that he had in the City ſixteen thouſand able men; in which number were reckoned many Jews and other men of ſervile condition; who in the Siege following, did right good ſervice. The great Baſſa conducted by the falſe Traitor *Demetrius*, ſafely landed both his Army and Artillery in the Iſland the two and twentieth day of *June*, not far from the City. At which time the Great Maſter conſidering that the ſafety of the City conſiſted more in the lively valour of the Defendants, than in the Strength of the dead Walls, or other warlike proviſion; thought it requiſite, as a part of his duty, by chearful perſwaſions to encourage them valiantly to withſtand the force of their Enemies. And therefore calling them all together, ſpake unto them, as followeth:

The oration of the Great Maſter to the reſt of the Knights and Souldiers, to encourage them valiantly to withſtand the Turks.

At length valiant Souldiers and Fellows at Arms, we ſee the Turks our mortal Enemies (as we were before advertiſed, as well by Letters from our friends, as by common fame) breathing after our deſtruction; in readineſs to deſtroy our Churches, our Oratories, our Altars, our Religion, and whatſoever elſe we account ſacred or religious; ſeeking the ruin of this noble City, and the cruel death of us all; gaping at once, to devour our lives, our wealth, our hope, with all our former honour. And truly as I cannot deny but that the chance of War is doubtful, and the event thereof uncertain; So when I conſider your valiant Courage and Chearfulneſs of Mind, I preſently conceive a moſt aſſured hope of Victory. They have entred into Arms againſt us, not ſo much for any deſert of ours, or upon any other quarrel; as for the unſatiable deſire of Rule, and the great deſpight they bear againſt us and the Chriſtian Religion. But to withſtand their Fury, and to fruſtrate their Deſigns, we want neither Weapons nor Artillery, nor Proviſion for many years, we have a moſt ſtrong Garriſon of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, Engliſh, *and others, the very Chivalry of Chriſtendom; and that which more is, Chriſt Jeſus our Captain and General, by whoſe power, we ſhall no doubt eaſily repulſe the vain force of our moſt wicked and graceleſs Enemies. The care we have for the defence of the Chriſtian Faith, whereunto we are by ſpecial profeſſion bound, will animate and encourage us, againſt them which ſeek for nothing more than to extend their wicked and groſs ſuperſtition, to the great diſhonour of God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus. Beſides that, we are warlike* Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, *and other worthy Chriſtians; they are of* Caria, Lydia, Capadocia, *and the other delicate Countries of* Aſia, *effeminate perſons brought up to pleaſure. I ſay it not to draw you into any manifeſt or inevitable danger, neither to feed you with vain hope, or to fill your ears with windy words; but this I promiſe and aſſure you of, that if this Siege ſhall continue long, hither will come ſuch ſtrong Aid out of* France, Italy, *and* Spain, *as will ſerve not only to raiſe the Siege, but to recover again the Empires of* Conſtantinople *and* Trapezond. *Then ſhall our Enemy ſee no good end of their Counſels; but all their devices ſo confounded, as that they ſhall hardly be able by ſpeedy Flight to ſave themſelves. But ſuppoſe the hardeſt ſhould happen, which I fear not; would not any man account his life moſt happily and honourably ſpent, in defence of a good conſcience, and the quarrel of Chriſt Jeſus? Truly my great years and courſe of life now almoſt ſpent in defence of the Chriſtian Religion (as I ever deſired) doth call me forth, as one ſo aſſured of that good laid up for me, in Heaven by Chriſt Jeſus (whoſe Battel we are to fight) that I no whit fear any Enemies force or future chance; which for all that, I have as far as I could, and to the uttermoſt of my power ſo provided for, as that we will not (I hope) be therewith overwhelmed. Be you therefore of good chear and comfort (as I know you are) and ſhew your ſelves valiant and couragious, which reſteth wholly in your ſelves; and as for all the reſt, time, and our diſcretion ſhall right well provide, I doubt not.*

The valiant Men and worthy Souldiers, reſting upon the aſſurance of their aged Governor, departed every man to his charge, full of hope and courage. Now had the Baſſa landed his great Army, and ſent *Demetrius* the traiterous Knight, *Meligalus* his Companion, with certain Troops of Horſemen and ſome Foot, to view the ground, where he might beſt encamp with his Army. *Demetrius* in great pride riding about the City, was known by *Anthony Damboyſe*, the Great Maſters Brother; by whoſe leave he ſallied out with a Troop of gallant Horſemen, and skirmiſhed with them: but the Turks being more in number, caſt about to have incloſed them; which *Anthony* perceiving, turned upon them that were coming behind him, and that with ſuch force, that he ſlew or wounded moſt part of them. In this hot skirmiſh, *Demetrius* having his Horſe ſlain under him, and himſelf overthrown, was there trodden to death under the Horſes Feet; an end too good for ſo falſe a Traitor. *Meratius* a French Knight, unadviſedly diſpoiling his dead Body, was by the Turks ſlain, and his Head preſented to the Baſſa in ſtead of *Demetrius*.

The Baſſa approaching the City, at the firſt coming took a great Orchard, which the Great Maſter had ſtrongly intrenched, and therein placed certain Companies of Souldiers, with ſome ſmall Pieces of Ordnance; which place if it could have been kept, might fitly have ſerved the Defendants to have at their pleaſure ſallied out upon the Enemy. But they which were appointed to the keeping thereof, either terrified with the ſight of ſo great an Army, or elſe doubting to be able to hold it againſt ſo great a power, abandoned it by night, and retired into the City; leaving the great Ordnance behind them for haſt. In this place the Baſſa by the counſel of *George Frapaine* (a Chriſtian Fugitive of the *Rhodes*, and now Maſter of his Ordnance) began to plant his Battery, and from thence to batter the Tower called *Nicholen*, or S. *Nicholas* his Tower, diſtant from the City three hundred paces. But againſt this place, *Damboyſe* had ſo aptly mounted two great Baſiliskſ, that he made him glad quickly to forſake the ſame; yet finding no other place more convenient for his purpoſe, ſhortly after he near unto the ſame place planted again his battery, of far greater force than before. Wherein, beſide the Ordnance of greateſt charge, he had three hundred ſmaller Pieces for Battery; wherewith at the firſt he did ſmall harm, for that this *George Frapaine* repenting himſelf (as was thought) of his foul Treaſon, beſtowed the Shot to ſmall purpoſe; for which cauſe the Baſſa began to have him in diſtruſt; which *Frapane* perceiving, fled by night again unto the *Rhodes*, and diſcovered unto the Great Maſter all the ſecrets of the Turks Camp. The Turks continuing the battery, had ſore ſhaken the aforeſaid Tower called S. *Nicholas*, and beaten down ſome part thereof; which the Chriſtians with great induſtry, ſpeedily repaired in beſt ſort they could; for all that the Turks gave thereunto a fierce Aſſault, by the ſpace of ſix hours, forcing themſelves to the uttermoſt to have taken it; but perceiving that it prevailed them nothing, they retired, having loſt eight hundred of their men, with many others drowned in the Sea, of whom the number was not known, and a thouſand others ſore wounded,

Eight hundred Turks ſlain.

Meſithes diſappointed of his former purpoſe, bent his Artillery againſt the Walls of the City, and with continual battery had made a fare breach. But *Damboyſe* foreſeeing the danger, had with great labour caſt up ſuch Rampiers with a Countermure before the breach, that the Baſſa durſt not in any caſe adventure to enter the breach he had made. For performance of this ſo neceſſary a work, the Captains themſelves refuſed not to put too their helping hands; by whoſe example, all the reſt of the People which were able to do any thing, being moved, willingly imployed their labour until the work was fully finiſhed.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Caly-Baſſa* the younger (a great Courtier) was ſent from *Mahomet* to ſee with what ſucceſs the Siege went forward. Upon whoſe arrival, it was given out through all the Turks Camp, That *Mahomet* was in perſon himſelf coming to the Siege, with an hundred thouſand Men, and an hundred and fifty Pieces of great Ordnance. Theſe News (of purpoſe deviſed to the terror of the Defendants) being blown out of the Camp into the City, ſtruck an exceeding great fear into the minds of ſome of the Defendants, and ſo diſcouraged the Spaniards, with their nigh Neighbours that came from *Navar*, that they began openly to reaſon in their Conventicles, That it was not poſſible for the City to be defended againſt ſuch a power; and therefore after an inſolent manner, deſired leave to be gone, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt. The Great Maſter underſtanding of their doings, ſent for theſe mutinous Spaniards; and after he had ſharply reproved them of diſorder and cowardiſe, promiſed to ſhip them away forthwith out of the Iſle, ſaying, *That he doubted not, right well to defend the City againſt the greateſt power of the Turk, without the help of ſuch baſe minded Cowards.* In the mean time he commanded them to ſurceaſe from their mutinous talk, threatning otherwiſe to make them examples to others, what it is ſo much to forget themſelves. But theſe Spaniards ſhortly after, better conſidering of the matter, and what a diſhonour it would be both to themſelves and their Nation, if they ſhould ſo diſhonourably be ſent away, repenting themſelves of that they had done, came and craved pardon of the Great Maſter; and to redeem their former fault, in all ſallies and ſervices during that Siege, ſhewed themſelves moſt valiant and forward men; for all that, the Great Maſter would never afterwards truſt them in any ſervice alone. The Baſſa attempting much and prevailing little, thought it would much further his deſigns, if he could by any means take the Great Maſter out of the way, by whoſe careful policy he ſaw all his devices ſtill countermanded; wherefore to bring this his purpoſe to paſs, he practiſed by the means of one *Janus a Dalmatian*, to poyſon him. This *Janus* having conceived this Treaſon from the Baſſa, was received into the City of the *Rhodes*, as a Chriſtian Fugitive fled from the Turks; where he acquainted himſelf with one *Pythius* an *Epirot*, of great familiarity with *Marius Philelphus* (of late Secretary unto *Damboyſe*, but as then out of favour and in diſgrace, for that he was partaker with the Spaniards in the late mutiny.) *Janus* by the means of *Pythius*, whom he had now throughly corrupted, ſought after *Philelphus*, who then as he right well knew, lived diſcontented, as a fit inſtrument whereby to work this Treaſon; for that he was a man well acquainted with the Cooks and Butlers, and other Servitors in the Great Maſters Houſe, and himſelf (yet) there very converſant alſo. *Pythius* preſuming of his old acquaintance and familiarity with *Philelphus*, and waiting upon his melancholy humor, began to perſwade him to revenge the diſgrace he lived in, and withal to ſhew him the means how to do it, by poyſoning the Great Maſter; which might (as he ſaid) fall out to his greater good than he was yet aware of. *Philelphus* making ſemblance as if he had not diſliked of the motion, was deſirous to know of him what farther benefit might thereby ariſe to him, more than revenge. To whom *Pythius* forthwith ſhewed the Baſſaes Letters to *Janus*, whereby he aſſured him, that whatſoever he ſhould promiſe unto any man for the furtherance of the practice, he would to the full perform the ſame. *Philelphus* having got full underſtanding of the Treaſon, preſently diſcovered the ſame to *Damboyſe*. By whoſe commandment, *Janus* and *Pythius* were ſtraitwaies apprehended, and being examined, confeſſed the Treaſon; for which *Janus* loſt his Head, and *Pythius* (as he had well deſerved) was ſhamefully hanged. *Philelphus* for his Fidelity, was pardoned his former error, and again received into the Great Maſters favour.

Treaſon againſt the Great Maſter diſcovered, and the Traitors executed.

The Baſſa underſtanding that the Treaſon was diſcovered, and the Traitors executed, was much grieved therewith. Nevertheleſs, he ceaſed not with continual battery to ſhake the City, but eſpecially the Tower of S. *Nicholas*, for the aſſailing whereof, he made wonderful preparation. Amongſt other things, he had framed a great Bridge, ſtaied with ſtrong Ropes and Cables, over a ſhort fret of the Sea, betwixt the place of his Battery and the ſame Tower, whereon ſix men might march abreaſt; in which device he repoſed great hope. But as the Turks were making faſt this Bridge, and had (as they thought) brought the work to a good perfection; *Gervaiſe Rogers* an Engliſhman of great courage, and very skilful in Sea matters, found means by night to cut and break in ſunder all the Ropes and Cables wherewith the Bridge was ſtaid; which now looſe, was by the violence of the Sea quickly carried away, and the Turks diſappointed of their purpoſe. For which good ſervice he was by the Great Maſter honourably rewarded, and of him in publick audience highly commended.

Yet was the furious Battery by the Baſſa ſtill maintained, and a new Bridge framed upon ſmall Boats and Lighters, faſt moored with Cables and Anchors; and divers Pieces of great Ordnance placed in Fuſts and Gallies. So that the Tower was at one time battered both by Sea and Land, the Defendants aſſailed with ſmall Shot and Arrows innumerable, and the Tower at the ſame inſtant deſperarely ſcaled. But *Damboyſe* had ſo placed his great Ordnance, that with the force thereof the Bridge was broken in ſunder, four of their great Fuſts ſunk, with great ſtore both of

Men and Ordnance; the Defendants alſo in the Tower, with Shot, Timber, Stones, and other ſuch like things provided for that purpoſe, grievouſly overwhelmed the Turks that were ſcaling the Walls and beat them down with great ſlaughter. This hot Aſſault was deſperately maintained by the Turks from three a clock in the morning untill ten; when the Baſſa ſeeing no hope to prevail, gave over the Aſſault, having therein loſt above two thouſand five hundred men; whoſe dead bodies ſhortly after driven on ſhore, were ſpoiled by the Chriſtians. The ſame night two Mercenary Souldiers of *Crete*, going about to have fled unto the Enemy, were apprehended and put to death. And *George Frapaine*, who in the beginning of the Siege fled from the Turks, now again vehemently ſuſpected of Treaſon, was executed alſo.

Two thouſand five hundred Turks ſlain in the Aſſault.

Thus neither Force nor Treaſon prevailing, the Baſſa becauſe he would leave nothing unproved that might better his cauſe, ſent certain Meſſengers unto the Great Maſter, offering to him in the name of the Turkiſh Emperor, great Rewards, with many honourable Preferments, if he would yield up the City, which he could not (as they would have perſwaded him) long hold againſt ſo mighty an Enemy; wiſhing him now in his declining eſtate not to refuſe ſuch honourable and princely Offers, for fear he were afterwards conſtrained to accept of far worſe, or elſe through his deſperate wilfulneſs plunge himſelf and his People into ſuch extreme peril, as ſhould be impoſſible for him or them to find any way out of. Whereunto the Great Maſter in brief anſwered, *That he would not willingly in his ſure eſtate uſe the counſel of his Enemy; neither in his greateſt diſtreſs refuſe chearfully to yield his Life unto Almighty God, to whom he did ow it; and that with far better Will than to yield up the City upon any conditions, bear they never ſo fair a ſhew of honour or profit.* The Meſſengers perceiving his conſtant reſolution, rather to die than to yield his City, began (according to inſtructions before given them by the Baſſa) to temper with him another way, and to perſwade him to yield unto the mighty Emperor ſome ſmall yearly Tribute or other Homage, as an acknowledgment of his greatneſs, and ſo to live as his Friend in Peace. But the Great Maſter knowing by the woful example of others, that in that ſmall requeſt lay included the beginning of the Turkiſh Thraldom and Slavery; utterly refuſed to pay him the leaſt Tribute, or to do him the leaſt homage that could be deviſed. With which anſwer the Meſſengers returned, having obtained nothing of that they were ſent for.

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter.

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter, reported by the aforeſaid Meſſengers unto the Baſſa, troubled him exceedingly; for though he had ſmall hope by force to win the City, yet he was alwaies in hope until now, at his pleaſure, to forſake the Siege with ſome ſuch reaſonable compoſition as might ſtand with his honour. But ſith nothing remained now, but by plain force to conſtrain his Enemies, he reſolved for the ſafeguard of his honour, in that extremity to uſe that extream remedy; wherefore beſides the great Pieces of Battery he had already planted againſt the Walls, he mounted divers ſmaller Pieces much higher, thereby the more to annoy the Defendants, by beating down of their Churches and high built Houſes. His Ordnance thus placed, he battered the City day and night for the ſpace of four days together without intermiſſion; during which time, the Chriſtians out of the City ſpared not, liberally to beſtow their Shot among their Enemies alſo; ſo that the Air ſeemed to grow thick, and the light of the day to be darkned with the ſmoak of the great Ordnance; and the great Shot came ſo thick into the City, that the fearful Women and Children were glad to ſhroud themſelves from the danger thereof, in Cellars and Caves under ground. So long continued this great Battery, that at length the ſtrength of the Wall gave place to the fury of the Canon, and a fair breach was laid open for the Enemy to enter; which was no ſooner made, but that with the firſt ſhew thereof the Turks gave thereunto a deſperate Aſſault; and prevailing by reaſon of their multitude, had upon the ſuddain recovered the top of the Walls, and there ſet up ſome of their Enſigns; but the Chriſtians ſpeedily coming in on every ſide to the defence of the breach, they were again quickly repulſed and beaten down into the Ditches, out of which moſt of them never roſe more. At which time the Turks in another place with their ſcaling Ladders had gained the top of the Walls, and there advanced their Enſigns alſo, and were now five hundred of them entred the City and come into the Street called *the Jew-Street*, where they were encountred by the Great Maſter and his Followers, and all ſlain that were already entred, and their Enſigns that ſtood upon the Walls thrown down. The reſt yet ſcaling the Walls, and ignorant of the fortune of their Fellows, were likewiſe beaten from the Walls, and with wonderful ſlaughter rejected. So that the Baſſa not able any longer to indure the ſlaughter of his men, being in both places repulſed, cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and left the Aſſault; wherein he had loſt of his moſt forward men about five thouſand, with ſmall loſs of the Chriſtians. In this Aſſault, the Great Maſter himſelf received five wounds, whereof one under his right Pap was thought to have been deadly; which yet afterward was very well cured with the reſt.

A fair Breach made by force of the Turks battery.

After that the Baſſa had by the ſpace of three months to ſmall purpoſe ſpent all his Forces and Devices upon the City, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to raiſe his Siege and depart, or to tarry and expect ſome better fortune, which in all his former actions had ſeemed almoſt to have waited upon him; to forſake the Siege, was diſhonourable; and to continue it without hope, preſented no leſs danger. Beſides that, in the former Aſſaults he had already loſt nine thouſand of his beſt Souldiers, and all the reſt of his Army was filled with heavineſs and deſpair, to hear the woful ſighing and groaning of their Fellows, of whom fifteen thouſand lay diſperſed in the Camp ſore wounded, and ready many of them to give up the Ghoſt; and alſo but even a little before, two great Ships ſent from *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* with Men and Munition, were in deſpight of all the Turks Gallies ſafely arrived at the *Rhodes*, to the great joy and encouragment of the beſieged, and no leſs diſcontentment of the Turks. Whilſt the Baſſa was thus deliberating what courſe to take, a rumor was raiſed in the Camp, That the Chriſtian Princes were coming with great power to relieve the Town; with which news the whole Army was exceedingly troubled; whereupon he raiſed his Siege. Some others ſay, that *Mahomet* hearing of the evil ſucceſs of his Army in the Iſland of the *Rhodes*, with the difficulty of the Siege, and now ready to go in perſon himſelf againſt the Sultan of *Egypt*, ſent for the Baſſa, and that ſo the Siege was raiſed. Howſoever it was, the Baſſa before his departure cauſed all the Vines and Trees growing in that part of the Iſland, to be cut down and ſpoiled; and ſo after he had poured forth his

fury

The Baſſa raiſeth his Siege.

fury upon the ſenſeleſs Creatures, which he could not according to his deſire exerciſe upon the people, again embarked his Army, and with ſhame departed, the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt*.

At the ſame time that the *Rhodes* was thus beſieged, *Mahomet* ſent his old and moſt expert Captain *Achmetes* Baſſa, with a great Fleet and a ſtrong Army to make an entrance into *Italy* (for no Kingdom was ſo ſtrong, which the ambitious Tyrant in the pride of his heart thought not he might now command) and having long before conquered *Conſtantinople*, otherwiſe called *New Rome*, was ſtill dreaming (I wot not what) of the conqueſt of *Old Rome* alſo. The miſchievous Baſſa according to his great Maſters deſigns, embarked his Army at *Vallona* (otherwiſe called *Aulona*) a Sea Town in the borders of *Macedonia*; and from thence paſſing directly over that narrow Sea, which is in breadth about ſixty miles, landed his men in that rich and fertile part of *Italy*, called in ancient time *Apulia* (now *Puglia*) near unto the old and famous City *Hydruntum*, at this day called *Otranto*; where as ſoon as this warlike Baſſa had landed his forces, he forraged all that rich Country alongſt the ſea coaſt, and took ſuch infinite ſpoil as might well have ſatisfied the greedy deſire both of himſelf and of his hungry Souldiers, all which rich booty he cauſed to be conveighed into his Gallies. So when he had at his pleaſure ranged up and down the Country by the ſpace of fourteen days, and ſaw that none made head againſt him, he laid ſiege to *Otranto*, the chief City of that Country, and as it were the Key of that part of *Italy*; and having with ſuch Ordnance as he took out of his Gallies, made a breach, eaſily entred the ſame, and ſo without any great loſs took the City. A thing not greatly to be marvelled at, foraſmuch as it was but weakly manned, and more weakly defended, by men altogether living in ſecurity in the midſt of their Wealth and Pleaſure. The Archbiſhop, with *Zurlo* the Governor, and the chief men of the City, for ſafeguard of their lives fled into the great Cathedral Church, as into a Sanctuary; where they were all together moſt miſerably ſlain. The reſt of the Citizens, whoſe hard fortune it was to eſcape the Sword (as people reſerved to more miſery) were afterward ſhipt over into *Grecia*, and there ſold for Slaves. The landing of the Turks in *Apulia*, with the taking of *Otranto*, brought a general fear upon all *Italy*, inſomuch that *Sixtus Quartus*, then the great Biſhop of *Rome*, forgetting all things ſave himſelf, was about to have forſaken the City for fear. Now after the Turks had at their pleaſure ranſackt *Otranto*, *Achmetes* cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly fortified (as the ſure footing of the Turks in *Italy*) and victualled for eighteen months, and there leaving eight thouſand of his beſt Souldiers in Garriſon, returned himſelf with the reſt to *Vallona*, and ſo by Land to *Conſtantinople* to know his great Maſters further pleaſure, but purpoſing with himſelf, with the firſt of the next Spring to have returned with greater forces again to *Italy* for the proſecuting of his former Victory. Which if he had done, it was grealty to have been feared, that all that goodly Country, ſometime Miſtris of the World, but then and yet alſo rent in ſunder by the diſcord and ambition of the Chriſtian Princes, had in ſhort time become a prey unto the barbarous Turk for ever.

Achmetes *landeth his Army in* Apulia *near to* Otranto, *and ſpoileth the Country.*

Otranto *taken by the Turks.*

But whilſt the great Tyrant (in his life time the great ſcourge of Chriſtendom) thus proudly plotteth the ruin and deſtruction of fair *Italy*, God, in whoſe hands the hearts of Kings are, put an hook in the great Tyrants Noſe, and led him quite another way. For at the ſame time, the *Caramanian* King, aided by the *Perſian* and the Sultan of *Egypt*, had in a great Battel overthrown *Bajazet* (*Mahomets* eldeſt Son then living) and ſlain moſt part of his Army; in revenge whereof, *Mahomet* with great expedition raiſed a great and puiſſant Army, and taking *Achmetes* with him as his chief man of War, rejecting the Wars of *Italy* unto a more convenient time, paſſed over into *Aſia*; where upon the way, about a days journey ſhort of *Nicomedia* a City of *Bithynia*, at a place called *Geiviſin* he fell ſick, and there for the ſpace of three days grievouſly tormented with an extream pain in his Belly (which ſome ſuppoſed to be the Colick) died; but being indeed, as moſt men thought, poyſoned; when he had lived about 52 years, and thereof reigned 31, in the year of our Lord 1481.. His Body was afterwards magnificently buried in a Chappel near unto the great Mahometan Temple, which he himſelf firſt built at *Conſtantinople*.

Mahomet *dieth at* Geiviſen *in* Bithynia, *not without ſuſpition of poiſon.*

1481.

He is buried at Conſtantinople.

The death of this mighty man (who living troubled a great part of the World) was not much more lamented by thoſe that were neareſt unto him, (who ever living in fear of his Cruelty, hated him deadly) than of his Enemies, who ever in doubt of his greatneſs, were glad to hear of his end. He was of ſtature but low, and nothing anſwerable to the height of his mind, ſquare ſet, and ſtrong limmed, not inferior in ſtrength (when he was young) unto any in his Fathers Court, but to *Scanderbeg* only; his complexion was Tartarlike, ſallow, and melancholy, as were moſt of his Anceſtors the *Othoman* Kings; his look and countenance ſtern, with his Eyes piercing, hollow and a little ſunk as it were into his Head, and his Noſe ſo high and crooked, that it almoſt touched his upper Lip. To be brief, his countenance was altogether ſuch, as if Nature had with moſt cunning hand therein depainted and moſt curiouſly ſet forth to view the inward diſpoſition and qualities of his mind, which were on both parts notable: He was of a very ſharp and apprehenſive Wit, learned, as amongſt that Nation, eſpecially in Aſtronomy, and could ſpeak the *Greek*, *Latine*, *Arabick*, *Chaldee* and *Perſian* Tongues. He delighted much in regarding of Hiſtories, and the Lives of worthy Men, eſpecially the Lives of *Alexander the Great*, and of *Julius Cæſar*, whom he propoſed to himſelf as examples to follow. He was of an exceeding Courage, and thereto very fortunate; a ſevere puniſher of injuſtice, in them eſpecially to whom he had committed the adminiſtration of Juſtice. Men that excelled in any quality, he greatly favoured and honourably entertained; as he did *Gentil Bellin* a Painter of *Venice*, whom he purpoſely cauſed to come from thence, to *Conſtantinople*, to draw the lively counterfeit of himſelf, for which he moſt honourably rewarded him. He ſo ſeverely puniſhed theft, as that in his time all the ways were ſafe, and a Theef ſcarcely to be heard of. But theſe good parts were in him obſcured with moſt horrible and notorious Vices; for why, he was altogether irreligious, and of all others moſt perfideous, ambitious above meaſure, and in nothing more delighted, than in blood; inſomuch that it is probably gathered, that he was in his time the death of eight hundred thouſand men; Craft, Covetouſneſs, and Diſſimulation, were in him accounted for tollerable Faults, in compariſon of his greater Vices. In his love was no aſſurance, and his leaſt diſpleaſure was death; ſo that he lived feared of all men, and died lamented of none. He had iſſue three Sons, *Muſtapha* (dead before him, as is before declared) *Bajazet*, and *Gemes*, or rather *Zemes*, of ſome

The deſcription of Mahomet.

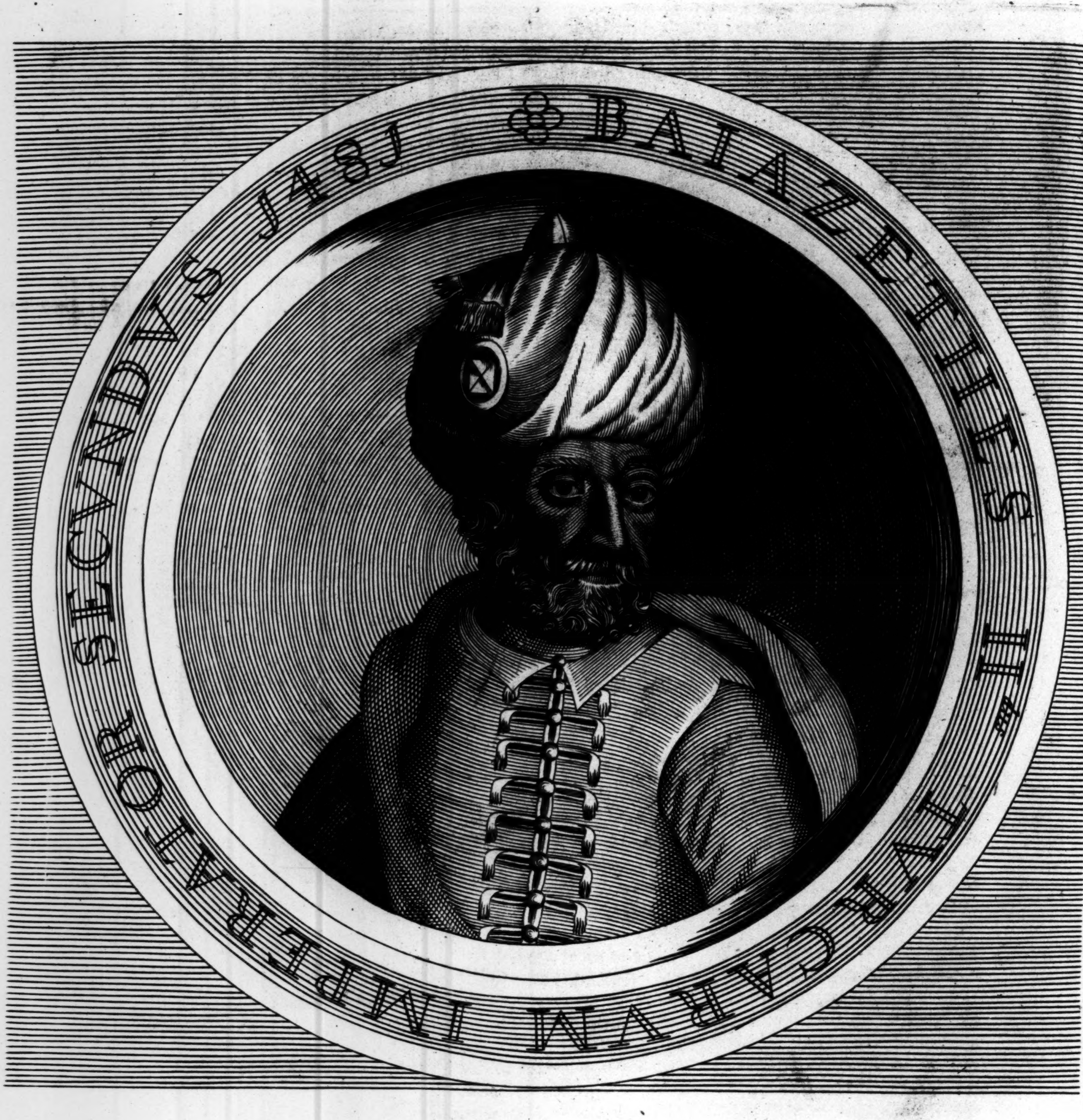
The Sons of Mahomet, Muſtapha, Bajazet, *and* Zemes.

called *Zizimus*, Competitor of the Empire with his eldeſt Brother; whom he exceedingly troubled in the beginning of his Reign, ſo that he could not well attend any other thing but him; which opportunity (by God himſelf no doubt offered for the ſafeguard of *Italy*) *Alphonſus* Duke of *Calabria* (King *Ferdinand* his eldeſt Son) taking hold upon, with all the power he could make in *Italy*, beſieged the Turks in *Otranto*; with whom he had many ſharp skirmiſhes, wherein he loſt divers of his great Captains and Commanders, as the Count *Julio de Aquaiva*, *Loys de Capua*, and the Count *Julio de Piſa*, with others and was ſtill by the ſtrong Garriſon of the Turks put to the worſe; until ſuch time as being ſtrengthned with Aid out of *Spain* and *Portugal*, (but eſpecially with certain Companies of moſt valiant Souldiers ſent from *Matthias Corvinus* out of *Hungary*; whoſe Forces the Turks moſt feared) he began to cut them ſhort, and ſtraitly beſieged the City both by Sea and Land; until at length the beſieged Turks hearing of the death of their great Emperor, and now hardly preſſed with the dangers of a ſtrait Siege, no longer expecting the return of *Achmetes* their General, (then ready to have come to their reſcue with five and twenty thouſand Souldiers) yielded up the City unto the Duke, upon compoſition before made, That they might with bag and baggage in ſafety depart thence; which they did, after they had to the great terror of all *Italy* holden that ſtrong City by the ſpace of a year. And ſo was that rich Country rather by the mercy of God (in taking away the great Tyrant) preſerved, than by the ſtrength or policy of the Inhabitants, which was then in great danger to have for ever given place unto the power of the great Tyrant, had he longer lived; yea and after his death, to the power of *Bajazet* his Son, had he not by Domeſtical troubles been enforced to turn himſelf another way, and as it were to neglect in time to relieve his diſtreſſed Garriſon in *Otranto*, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

Otranto yielded by the Turks upon compoſition.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Mahomet *the Great.*	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	Conſtantinus Palæologus *laſt Chriſtian Emperor of* Conſtantinople.	1444.	8.
		Of the Weſt	Frederick *the Third, Arch-Duke of* Auſtria.	1440.	54.
	Kings	Of England	Henry *the Sixth.*	1422.	39.
			Edward *the Fourth.*	1460.	22.
		Of France	Charles *the Seventh.*	1423.	38.
			Lewis *the Eleventh.*	1461.	22.
		Of Scotland	James *the Second.*	1436.	29.
			James *the Third.*	1460.	29.
	Biſhops of Rome		Nicholas *the* V.	1437.	8.
			Calixtus *the* III.	1455.	3.
			Pius *the* II.	1458.	6.
			Paulus *the* II.	1464.	7.
			Xyſtus *the* IV.	1471.	13.

The


BAIAZETHES II^dus TVRCARVM IMPERATOR SECVNDVS 1481

Arma manu quatiunt fratres hostilia regnum,
Hinc **Bajazethes**, **Zizimus** *inde petit.*
Bajazethes *rerum potitur, Rhodon, inde Quiritum,*
Zizimus *extrema mœnia sorte petit.*
Suſtinet et bello, varias et pace, procellas
Bajazethes *fœlix et miser, inter opes.*
Iam senio tremulus, fert bella domestica regno,
A Gnato ejectus, dira venena bibit.

Two Brothers now infest the mighty State,
Zemes *on this' Side,* **Bajazet** *on that*
Fortune crowns **Bajazet**, *while* **Zemes** *flyes*
From Rhodes to Rome, driv'n by his destinies:
Much **Bajazet** *endur'd in warr and peace,*
Happy, and wretched his triumphall daies;
Till worne with age, and with domestick strife,
A Cup of Poyson ends his loathsome life.

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The LIFE of
BAJAZET,
The Second of that NAME,
AND
Second Emperor
OF THE
TURKS.

Diſſention among the Turks about the Succeſſion.

UPon the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, great Troubles began to ariſe about the Succeſſion in the Turkiſh Empire; ſome of the Baſſaes and great Captains ſeeking to place *Bajazet*, the eldeſt Son of *Mahomet*, in the Empire; and others with no leſs devotion labouring to prefer *Zemes*, or *Gemes*, otherwiſe called *Zizimus*, *Bajazet* his younger Brother. By occaſion whereof there aroſe two great and mighty Factions, which in few days grew to ſuch heat, that many great Tumults and hot Skirmiſhes were made in the Imperial City, betwixt the Favorites of both Factions, and great ſlaughter committed. In theſe Broils the proud Janizaries for an old grudge ſlew *Mahometes* one of the four great Baſſaes, a man by whoſe grave Counſel moſt of the weighty Affairs of the Turkiſh Empire had been managed during the Reign of the late Emperor; and proceeding further in their accuſtomed Inſolency, ſpoiled all the Chriſtians and Jews which dwelt amongſt them, of all their Wealth and Subſtance; at which time the rich Merchants and Citizens of *Conſtantinople* which were natural Turks themſelves, eſcaped not their ravenous Hands, but became unto them a Prey and Spoil alſo. The other three Baſſaes of the Court, *Iſaac*, *Meſithes*, and *Achmetes*, (lately returned from the winning of *Hydruntum* in *Italy*) although they ſecretly maligned and envied one at the greatneſs of another, yet to appeaſe theſe ſo dangerous Troubles, and to aſſure their own Eſtates, joyned hands together, and by their great Authority, and multitude of Followers and Favorites, found means that *Corcutus* (one of the younger Sons of *Bajazet*, a young Prince of eighteen years old) was as it were by general conſent of the Nobility and Souldiers, ſaluted Emperor, and with great Triumph and Solemnity placed in the Imperial Seat. In whoſe name, the aforeſaid Baſſaes at their pleaſure diſpoſed of all things, little or nothing regarding either *Bajazet* or *Zemes*, then both abſent, the one at *Amaſia*, and the other at *Iconium* in *Lycaonia*. For the jealous Turkiſh Kings never ſuffer their Sons to live in Court near unto them, after they be grown to years of diſcretion; but ſend them to Govern their Provinces far off; where they are alſo under the Command of the Emperors Lieutenants-General in *Aſia* or *Europe*, and may not depart from their Charge without great danger, not ſo much as to viſit their Father without expreſs leave and commandment. So jealous are thoſe Tyrants, yea even of their own Sons.

Bajazet and *Zemes* hearing of the death of their Father, and of the Troubles in the Imperial City, haſted thitherward with all ſpeed, where *Bajazet* being the nearer, firſt arrived; but finding the Empire already poſſeſſed by *Corcutus* his younger Son, and himſelf excluded, he in grief of his heart poured forth moſt grievous Complaints before God and man, calling Heaven and Earth to witneſs of the great wrong and injury done unto him by the proud Baſſaes. And what by Tears and humble Obteſtations, what by great Gifts and greater Promiſes, but moſt of all by the earneſt labour and ſolicitation of *Cherſeogles* Vice-Roy of *Græcia*, and the Aga or Captain of the Janizaries, both his Sons in law, prevailed ſo much with the great Baſſaes and Souldiers of the Court, that *Corcutus* being of a mild and courteous diſpoſition, overcome by their intreaty and the reverence of his Father, reſigned unto him the Imperial Government, which he preſently took upon him with the general good liking of the people, and made *Corcutus* Governor of *Lycia*, *Caria*, and *Ionia*, with the pleaſant and rich Countries thereabouts; allowing him a great yearly Penſion for the better maintenance of his Eſtate, with promiſe alſo of the Empire after his deceaſe, and ſo ſent him away to his Charge, where he moſt pleaſantly lived during the Reign of his Father *Bajazet*, giving himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, which made that he was afterwards leſs favoured of the Janizaries and other men of War.

Bajazet *cometh to* Conſtantinople.

Zemes *riſeth againſt his Brother* **Bajazet.**

Zemes thus prevented by his elder Brother, and underſtanding by his Friends how all things ſtood at *Conſtantinople*, and that *Bajazet* was already poſſeſſed of the Empire; returning with great ſpeed, raiſed a puiſſant Army in the Countries which were under his Command, and marching through the heart of *Aſia* the leſs, by the way as he went, took into his poſſeſſion ſuch Cities and ſtrong Places as he thought beſt; and ſo entring into *Bithynia*, took the great City of *Pruſa*, the ancient Seat of the *Othoman* Kings. Purpoſing in himſelf, that as *Bajazet* had ſhut him out of *Europe*, ſo he would alſo in requital thereof exclude him out of that part of the Turkiſh Empire which is beyond *Helleſpontus* in *Aſia*, and to make himſelf Lord thereof. Wherein Fortune at the firſt ſeemed unto him moſt favourable, all the people whereſoever he came yielding unto him Obedience as unto their Prince and Soveraign; ſo that in ſhort time he ſeemed both unto himſelf and to others, in ſtrong poſſeſſion of that part of the Empire.

Bajazet *goeth againſt* **Zemes.**

Of theſe his proceedings *Bajazet* having Intelligence, and perceiving the greater part of his Empire now in danger to be loſt, and doubting further, that *Zemes* his ambitious Mind would hardly reſt therewith long contented; for remedy of ſo great a Miſchief levied a ſtrong and puiſſant Army, wherewith he paſſed over into *Aſia*, and came to *Neapolis* a City of *Anatolia*, near whereunto *Zemes* lay with his Army ſtrongly incamped. As *Bajazet* was upon the way againſt his Brother, *Achmetes* the great Baſſa (in the confeſſion of all men the beſt man of War and moſt expert Captain amongſt the Turks, and of all others moſt entirely beloved of the Janizaries) came, and unarmed preſented himſelf upon his knees before *Bajazet*, his Sword hanging at his Saddle-bow; to the admiration of many, who could not but wonder to ſee ſo worthy a Chieftain of ſo great Place in time of Service, without any apparent cauſe, in ſuch humble manner to appear before his Soveraign, as if he had had nothing to do with Arms. It chanced many years before, in the mortal Wars betwixt *Mahomet* the late and great Emperor of the Turks, and *Aſſymbeius Uſun-Caſſanes* the King of *Perſia*, that *Bajazet* having the leading of the right Wing of his Fathers Army, had not martialled it in ſo good order as was to *Mahomet* his good liking; for which cauſe he commanded this *Achmetes* to go and ſet that part of the battel in better order. Which his Soveraigns Command whiles he moſt ſkilfully performed, *Bajazet* taking it in evil part, as tending to his own diſgrace, in great choler threatned the Baſſa, to find a time when he would be revenged upon him. But he being a man of great ſpirit, and one that durſt both do and ſay much, perceiving his meaning, bid him do what pleaſed him; and laying his hand upon his Sword, ſolemnly vowed, That whenſoever he came to Command as Emperor, he would never ware Sword in field; the remembrance whereof was the cauſe that he then came in manner aforeſaid, ready to ſerve if he were thereto commanded, or otherwiſe to endure what ſo his Princes Pleaſure was. *Bajazet* perceiving that the unkindneſs ſo long before conceived, was not yet diſgeſted, in token of Grace ſtretched out to him his Scepter, and taking him up, commanded him to girt his Sword unto his ſide, and not to remember that which he had long before both forgiven and forgotten. And knowing right well that he was a moſt valiant and expert Captain, made him General of his Army, to the great contentment of the Janizaries and the reſt of the Army; who ſo ſoon as they ſaw him, gave out divers great ſhouts for joy, as if Victory had moſt aſſuredly attended upon him. *Achmetes* taking upon him the Charge, came and incamped ſo near as he could to *Zemes*, and ſo lay by the ſpace of ten days; during which time, many ſharp Skirmiſhes were made with divers Fortune; ſometime the one ſide prevailing, and ſometime the other. At length the matter was brought to a general battel; wherein after a long and cruel fight, and great ſlaughter on both ſides, the Fortune of *Bajazet*, conducted by the policy of *Achmetes*, prevailed againſt *Zemes*. Who ſeeing his Army overthrown, betook himſelf to flight, and came to *Iconium*; in which flight many of *Zemes* his Followers were taken Priſoners; whom *Bajazet* would have pardoned and enlarged, but that by the perſwaſion of *Achmetes* he changed his mind, and to the terror of others ſuffered them all to be put to the Sword.

Achmetes *made General of* **Bajazet** *his Army.*

Zemes *flyeth into* **Syria.**

Zemes doubting after this Overthrow to fall into his Brothers hands, and finding no means to make head again; when he had ſtaid three days at *Iconium*, cauſed his Treaſure, Plate, Jewels, and other things of great value and light carriage to be truſſed up, and taking with him his Mother and his two young Children, a Son and a Daughter, accompanied with a ſmall Retinue, fled into *Syria*; then part of the Dominion of *Caytbeius*, commonly called the great Sultan of *Egypt* and *Syria*. It was not long after the departure of *Zemes* from *Iconium*, but that *Bajazet* came thither with his Army, to have ſurpriſed him; but underſtanding of his flight, he took order for the peaceable Government of that part of his Empire. And ſo having ſuppreſſed that dangerous Rebellion, and again reduced that troubled part of his Empire to his Obeyſance, returned with Victory to *Conſtantinople*.

1482.

The diſtreſſed Prince *Zemes* travelling through *Syria*, came at length to *Jeruſalem*; where he ſtayed a good ſpace, devoutly viſiting the Monuments of that moſt ancient and famous City. From thence he travelled into *Egypt*; where at his firſt entrance into the Country, he was met by divers of the greateſt Nobility of that Kingdom, ſent from the great Sultan, by whom he was honourably conducted to *Caire*, and there preſented to *Caytbeius*, of whom he was graciouſly welcomed; unto whom after due Reverence done, he declared the cauſe of his coming, as followeth:

Zemes *his Speech to* **Caytbeius** *Sultan of* **Egypt.**

If it were not to me certainly known (moſt Victorious) that you are not ignorant either who I am, or from whence deſcended, or with what injury enforced, after long and painful travel I am here arrived; it would much concern me to uſe another manner of beginning of my Speech, and with greater proteſtation of words to ſeek your gracious Favour. But foraſmuch as all theſe things are unto your moſt Royal Majeſty ſufficiently known, as I do well perceive in this, that your infinite Clemency hath entertained me with far greater kindneſs, than I in ſuch my adverſe Fortune durſt wiſh for, much leſs requeſt: Now nothing remaineth for me to ſay, more than juſtly to complain unto your invincible Majeſty, of the Wrong and Injury done unto me by Bajazet, *whom I may more juſtly term my cruel Enemy, than kind Brother. For he not contented to have taken unto himſelf my Fathers Empire by great tumult and ſlaughter, hath with all Hoſtility and Force of Arms perſecuted me his Brother, excluded out of the Imperial City, and then living in* Bithynia, *troubleſome neither to him, nor any of his people, and never reſted until he had chaſed me out of the bounds of my Fathers Empire.*

Empire. Neither hath the jealous deſire of Soveraignty (whereof my Father whilſt he lived, had him always in diſtruſt) ſo much moved him unto this ſo cruel Fact, as a certain unnatural cruelty towards all his Kindred in general, and mortal hatred againſt me his Brother in particular; for he which is already poſſeſſed of the Empire, and doth with all Hoſtility perſecute a private perſon, ſubject and expoſed to his Injury, that man thirſteth not after Soveraignty, but after Blood; neither deſireth he to Conquer, but to Kill. And whereas after my Fathers death great Troubles aroſe in Conſtantinople, *and many bloody Skirmiſhes were fought betwixt the Favorites of both of us, it cannot with any truth be laid to my charge, as done by mine advice or counſel, I being at the ſame time ſo far from thence. Neither am I juſtly to be blamed, if that after my Fathers departure I put my ſelf upon the way towards* Conſtantinople, *eſpecially being ſent for thither by many my good Friends, men of great Mark and Quality; but his Fortune prevailing, I gave place, and leſt my coming to the Imperial City might have been the occaſion of new Troubles, I returned aſide into* Bithynia, *and ſo to* Pruſa, *with purpoſe there to have reſted in quiet, if my Brother would have given me leave. But ſo far was he from that, to ſuffer me there to reſt, as that I was by him moſt cruelly aſſailed as an open Enemy; and had I not by ſpeedy flight withdrawn my ſelf from the imminent danger, and departed quite out of my Fathers Kingdom, I muſt have yielded my ſelf, my blood, and life, as a Sacrifice into his cruel hands. Neither is he to me ſo mortal an Enemy, or thirſteth after my life ſo much for fear, as for very hatred and malice; for what is there in me to fear? Verily nothing:* Conſtantinople *is his, the favour of the great Chieftains and Men of War is his, the Treaſure and Regal Riches are all his; wherefore he hateth his Brother, but feareth him not. He will ſway all things alone, he will have all that belongeth to the* Othoman *Family alone, and he, yea none but he, muſt live alone.* Xerxes *was a mighty King, and yet in that great and large Kingdom he not only preſerved his Brethren in ſafety, but had them alſo in great Honour and Eſtimation. What did* Alexander *the Great? Who not only took pleaſure in his Brother, but had him alſo as a Companion of his moſt glorious Expedition; and many other famous Kings of foreign Nations, and of our own Family, have ruled both more ſafely, and better ſtrengthned, with the counſel and aid of their moſt loving Brethren, rather than with others. But* Bajazet *is of a far other mind, reputing violence and haughtineſs of heart to be his greateſt and ſureſt defence; herein his fierce Nature delighteth, more than in the lawful courſe of Nature, Juſtice, and Equity; he had rather have his Brother his Enemy than his Friend, and to drive him into exile, than to make him partaker of his counſels. But I beſeech thee moſt puiſſant Monarch, the faithful Keeper and Maintainer of our Law and Religion, by the ſacred Reliques of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *which thou haſt at* Jeruſalem *and* Mecha, *ſuffer me not, a Kings Son, to live in baniſhment and exile, poor and miſerable, a ſcorn of his Brothers cruelty, far from home, far from his Country and Kingdom; but regarding the Law of the great Prophet, lift up the afflicted and oppreſſed, and by the great Authority which you have, bridle Domeſtical wrongs; or if that will not take place, revenge it with thy Sword, and ſuffer not our Empire, with ſo great travel founded, by the cruelty or folly of one wilful man to be overthrown; which ſhould be no more grievous and lamentable to us, than dangerous to your moſt high Eſtate, and all other Kings and Princes of our Religion. For you of your ſelf underſtand right well, what deadly Enemies the Chriſtian Princes are unto the Turks; and do you think, that if any great War (which I wiſh not) ſhould ariſe of this our Diſcord, that they would long reſt in quiet, and as idle Beholders ſtand looking on until it were of it ſelf appeaſed? Or rather having ſuch an opportunity preſented, would not with might and main ſuddenly invade our Kingdom, before ſhaken with Civil Wars, and ſeek the utter ruine and deſtruction of the ſame? Which their deſire, if that hateful people could bring to paſs (which thing* Mahomet *turn upon themſelve) my mind abhorreth to think how far that miſchief would run: For the* Othoman *Family once rooted out, there is none of our Religion (your Majeſty only excepted) which is able to withſtand their Power; wherefore you muſt then ſtand for your ſelf and all the reſt, you alone muſt withſtand the force of the Chriſtians, you muſt maintain that War with much loſs, and greater charge, and moſt uncertain ſucceſs. Wherefore, invincible Monarch, I moſt humbly beſeech thee, that pittying our Eſtate, whiles the matter is yet whole, and remedy is yet to be had, to deal with* Bajazet *by your Embaſſadors, That though he will not receive me his Brother as Partner of the Empire, yet at leaſt to admit me into ſome ſmall part of my Fathers Kingdom: Let him Reign and Rule, let all things be at his Command; let it be lawful for me poor man but to live in reſt and quiet ſomewhere, poſſeſſing but ſo much as may ſuffice me honeſtly to lead a private life. Which thing if he ſhall refuſe to grant, although he neither fear the Laws of God or man, yet as I have at* Jeruſalem, *ſo will I alſo ſhortly at* Mecha *(if by your leave I may) complain unto the great Prophet, of the Injuries done unto me by my cruel and unnatural Brother; and afterwards make proof of your compaſſion towards me, all which I hope ſhall much avail. But if (which I would not) I ſhall prove all theſe things in vain, ſith deſperation enforceth men to all Extremities, I will go with Fire, Sword, and Slaughter, by ſecret and open force, by right and wrong; and hated, will vex my hateful Brother by all manner of Miſchief, by all manner of Revenge. Neither will I make an end of confounding of all, until I be either received into part of the Empire, or elſe together with my life leave thoſe deſperate and loſt things for him alone to enjoy. For I deem it much better, quickly to die, than with diſgrace and infamy to protract a lingring loathed life.*

The great Sultan in courteous manner comforted the diſtreſſed Prince, willing him to be of good chear, and patiently to bear his preſent hap; foraſmuch as it became a man born in ſo high Fortune, not to be diſcouraged with any miſchance, or diſmaid if things fell out otherwiſe than he looked for; commending him withall, for that he ſaw in him no leſs courage than might well have becomed his better Eſtate; and willing him to live ſtill in hope, promiſed to do what in him lay, to reconcile him to his Brother, and to perſwade him that he might be received into ſome part of the Kingdom; and to that purpoſe ſhortly after diſpatched away an honourable Embaſſage to *Bajazet*. *Zemes* in the mean while, by the ſame Sultans leave, upon a ſuperſtitious devotion travelled into *Arabia*, to viſit the Temple of *Mahomet* at *Mecha*, and his Sepulchre at *Medina*. Upon his return to *Caire*, the Embaſſadors before ſent, returned alſo, but not having obtained any thing they deſired; for *Bajazet* would not give ear to any Agreement, but ſeemed altogether to contemn and deſpiſe his Brother. Wherefore *Zemes* more upon ſtomach and deſire of Revenge, than for any hope he had of the Empire, determined with himſelf to make open War upon him; repoſing ſome good hope in his ſecret Friends, and in the revolt of ſome of the great Captains, who diſcontented with the Government of *Bajazet*, ſecretly wiſhed for his return.

Catbeius *the* Egyptian *Sultan ſendeth Embaſſadors to* Bajazet.

1483. *The King of Caramania ſolliciteth Zemes to take up Arms againſt* Bajazet.

Whilſt he was thus plotting theſe weighty Matters, a Meſſenger with Letters came fitly from the King of *Caramania*, offering with all the Power he could make, to joyn with him, if he would take up Arms againſt his Brother. This poor titular King then lived in *Armenia*, and being able by his Friends to make ſome good force, was in hope by joyning with *Zemes*, to recover ſome part of the *Caramanian* Kingdom, from whence his Father was not many years before driven by the force of the late Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet* the Great, *Bajazet* his Father. It is hard to ſay, whither of theſe diſtreſſed and exiled Princes gave the greater encouragement to the other, to take this deſperate War in hand, being both together far unable by all the Friends they could make, to encounter with the great Power of *Bajazet*. But what is ſo dangerous or deſperate, which aſpiring Minds will not attempt in hope of a Kingdom? whoſe brightneſs ſo dazeleth their eyes, that they can ſee nothing but it.

Hereupon *Zemes* having received great Gifts of the *Egyptian* Sultan, with promiſe of Aid, departed from *Caire* (the Sultan earneſtly perſwading him to the contrary) and as it was before appointed, met with the *Caramanian* King upon the borders of *Aſia* the leſſer; where they concluded to joyn together ſuch Forces as they had, and to invade *Bajazet*. Which they accordingly did; for raiſing all the Power they could, they entred into *Cilicia*, (now called *Caramania*) and joyning their Armies together, incamped between *Iconium* and *Larenda*. Neither did *Bajazet* in time of ſo great a danger ſit ſtill; not ſo much fearing his Brothers Power, as the revolting of his Captains and Souldiers, whom he knew either to love, or at leaſt not to hate the young Prince his Brother. Wherefore he raiſed a great Army, and ſent *Achmetes* (the great Man of War) before with the one part thereof, himſelf following after with a far greater ſtrength; for at that time he had under his Enſigns two hundred thouſand men.

As he was marching with this great Army, a rumor was raiſed in the Camp, That ſome of his chief Captains had conſpired to betray him into the hands of his Brother, and that many of the Souldiers ſecretly favouring *Zemes*, would upon the joyning of the battel forſake him, and take part with his Brother. Which report ſo troubled *Bajazet*, that he ſtood in doubt what to do, or whom to truſt; but knowing that nothing winneth the heart of the common Souldier more, than the Generals bounty, he forthwith cauſed a wonderful maſs of Money to be divided amongſt the Captains and Souldiers, loading their minds with ample promiſes of far greater Rewards, for their fidelity and valour to be ſhewed in that preſent Service. Having thus aſſured himſelf of the wavering minds of his Souldiers, he began to draw near to *Iconium*, where his Enemies lay incamped; and by gloſing Letters and flattering Meſſengers made ſhew openly, as if he had been very deſirous to come to ſome good Agreement with them, but ſecretly went about to ſtop all the ſtraits and paſſages, in ſuch manner as that it ſhould not be poſſible for them again to retire back into *Syria*; for he doubted nothing more, but leſt they being few in number, and in ſtrength far unequal unto him, would not upon ſo great diſadvantage hazard the fortune of a battel, but retire themſelves into *Syria*, and ſo to his exceeding Trouble and infinite Charge protract the War.

Zemes flieth to Sea.

Zemes perceiving his Brothers ſubtil drift, and ſeeing no ſuch Revolt as he had hoped for, and as had before by Letters to him been promiſed; and weighing with reaſon his own weak Forces, retired in good time unto the ſtraits of the Mountain *Amanus*, which divideth *Cilicia* from *Syria*. Here, deſpairing of all good ſucceſs in the Enterpriſe he had taken in hand, he perſwaded the *Caramanian* King his Confederate to give place unto the time, and to reſerve himſelf unto his better Fortune; and ſo breaking up his Army, with a few of his Followers came down to the Sea coaſt of *Cilicia*; where he hired a tall Ship to attend in readineſs, that if any ſudden danger ſhould ariſe, he might go aboard, and ſo ſave himſelf by Sea. In the mean time he ſent a Meſſenger unto *Damboys* Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, certifying him, That for as much as he had no place of ſafety left amongſt his own people, wherein he might ſhroud himſelf from the fury of his Brother, ſtill ſeeking after his life, he would upon his ſafe Conduct come to him into his Iſland of the *Rhodes*. Which his requeſt the Great Maſter eaſily granted, deeming the flight of ſo great a Prince from the Turk, to be a thing much profitable to the Chriſtian Commonweal; and thereupon he preſently ſent forth certain Gallies to fetch him from the troubleſome coaſt of *Cicilia*. But before theſe Gallies were come, *Zemes* was inforced by the ſudden acceſs of his Enemies, for the avoiding of preſent danger, to go aboard on that Ship which he had providently before prepared to be in readineſs for ſuch purpoſe. And having put a little from the ſhore, ſhot back again an Arrow with Letters made faſt unto it, directed unto his Brother *Bajazet*, containing as followeth:

Zemes his Letters to his Brother Bajazet.

Thou knoweſt (moſt unkind and cruel Brother) that I fly not unto the Chriſtians, the mortal Enemy of the Othoman *Family, for hatred of my Religion or Nation; but enforced thereunto by thy injurious dealing, and dangerous practiſes which thou inceſſantly attempteſt againſt me, yea even in my extream miſery. But this aſſured hope I carry with me, that the time will come when as thou the author of ſo great wrong, or thy Children, ſhall receive their juſt guerdon of this thy preſent tyranny againſt thy Brother.*

It is reported, that when *Bajazet* had read theſe Letters, he was ſo troubled in mind, that for certain days he gave himſelf wholly to mourning and heavineſs, and would in no wiſe be comforted; inſomuch, that he was brought into the Camp by the Baſſaes, as a man half diſtraught of his wits, ſhunning for a ſeaſon all mens ſpeech and company.

Zemes flieth to the Rhodes.

Zemes ſailing to the *Rhodes*, was there honourably received of the Great Maſter, and all the reſt of the Knights of the Order; to whom in their publick Aſſembly three days after, he openly declared the cauſes of the diſcord betwixt his Brother and him; alledging for the colour of his Rebellion, That although *Bajazet* were his elder Brother, yet that he was born whilſt his Father yet lived in private Eſtate, under ſubjection and command, long before he poſſeſſed the Kingdom, and ſo no Kings Son; whereas he himſelf was the firſt born of his Father, being an Emperor, and ſo not Heir of his Fathers private Fortune (as was *Bajazet*) but of his greateſt Honour and Empire; and yet not of ſuch an haughty mind, but that he could have been content to have given place unto his Brother, ſo that he could have been contented likewiſe to have granted him ſome ſmall portion of the Empire, wherein he might ſafely have lived as a poor Prince, and his Brother; but that ſuch was his pride, as that he would not vouchſafe to ſuffer him to live ſo much as a poor private life in any corner of ſo large an Empire, and was therefore by his unnatural and tyrannous dealing, enforced to crave Aid of the Chriſtian Princes. Of whom (forſomuch as he had always heard much honour) he was in good hope to find ſuccour and relief in that his diſtreſſed eſtate; proteſting unto God and the World, that if ever it ſhould be his good Fortune by their means and help to obtain the Empire, he would never be unmindful of ſo great a benefit; but to make with them a perpetual and inviolable Peace, and ſo to reſt their faſt Friend for ever. The Great Maſter on the other ſide comforting him with chearful Speeches, promiſed to keep him in ſafety from the fury of his Brother; and farther to commend his Cauſe to the other great Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom.

The deſcription of Zemes.

This exiled Prince *Zemes*, was about the age of eight and twenty years when he came to the *Rhodes*; of ſtature tall, ſomewhat corpulent and well limb'd, grey-eyed, but looking ſomething aſquint, hook-noſed, and in the middle riſing, in ſuch manner as the *Perſians* commend in their Kings; of colour brown, ſpare of ſpeech, and by nature cholerick; a great feeder, ſo that he ſeemed rather to devour his meat, than to eat it; much delighted in ſwimming, and to lie abroad in the night; penſive and melancholy, which men imputed to his great cares; never merry but in the company of the grand Maſter; a religious obſerver of the ſuperſtition, from which he could never be drawn during the long time he lived in exile; learned as among the Turks, ſo that he wrote the Hiſtory of his Fathers life. But leaving him in ſafe keeping with the grand Maſter of the *Rhodes*, let us again return to the courſe of our Hiſtory.

Bajazet having now the ſecond time chaſed away his Brother, after he had well quieted that part of his troubled Kingdom in *Aſia*, returned again to *Conſtantinople*, carefully attending when ſome new motion ſhould be made by his Brother, to his farther diſquiet. But after he underſtood that he was with the Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, he ſent certain of his Baſſaes (amongſt whom *Achmetes* the great Souldier is reported to have been one) unto the Great Maſter, requeſting him to deliver up *Zemes*, offering for him a wonderful ſum of money. Which diſhonourable requeſt, when it could by no means be obtained, the ſame Embaſſadors in the name of their Maſter, concluded a Peace very commodious for the *Rhodians*; wherein among other things it was agreed, That the Great Maſter ſhould keep *Zemes* in ſafe cuſtody, ſo that he ſhould no more trouble the Turkiſh Empire; in conſideration whereof, and for his honourable uſage, *Bajazet* ſhould yearly pay unto the Great Maſter thirty thouſand Ducats the firſt of *Auguſt*, which was afterward accordingly payed.

1484. It fortuned that whilſt *Achmetes* the great Baſſa (employed in matters abroad) was abſent from the Court, *Bajazet* diſcourſing with the other Baſſaes his grave Counſellors, upon his late Expedition into *Aſia* againſt his Brother, ſeemed to be highly offended with the untruſtineſs and doubtful faith of ſome of his greateſt Captains and Souldiers; yet upon whom he might juſtly lay the blame, he well knew not, although it ſeemed by his talk, he ſhould ſomewhat diſtruſt the great Captain *Achmetes*. Hereupon *Iſaac* the moſt ancient Baſſa of the Court, and of greateſt authority next unto *Bajazet* himſelf (whoſe Daughter, a Lady of exceeding beauty, *Achmetes* had long before married, but doubting that ſhe had yielded her Honour to the wanton luſt of *Muſtapha*, the eldeſt Son of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, had put her from him, and would by no means be reconciled; for which cauſe there was a ſecret hatred ever after betwixt thoſe two great Baſſaes) perceiving the Emperors diſcontented and ſuſpitious humour, and deſiring nothing more than the deſtruction of *Achmetes*, took hold upon this opportunity, and by all means he could deviſe, encreaſed the ſuſpition of the Treaſon, which had already too much poſſeſſed the jealous Emperor; ſometimes craftily imagining Intelligence to have paſſed betwixt *Zemes* and *Achmetes*; and forthwith amplifying his Power and Authority, which (as he ſaid) was ſo great with the Janizaries and Souldiers of the Court, that they by reaſon of his often imployments, were wholly at his devotion; ſo that he might at his pleaſure do more in *Zemes* his quarrel, than ſhould ſtand with the ſafety of *Bajazet*; a matter well to be conſidered of, and alſo carefully prevented. For remedy of which dangers, it was thought neceſſary, that *Achmetes* at his return to Court, ſhould be taken away and ſlain.

Achmetes *his death contrived.*

Achmetes fearing nothing leſs than that which was contrived againſt him, came after his wonted manner to the Court; and was with the other great Baſſaes invited to a ſolemn Supper which *Bajazet* had commanded to be prepared, to ſolace himſelf after his travels (as it was given out) with his chief Baſſaes. To this Royal Supper came *Achmetes* with the reſt of the bidden Gueſts, miſtruſting nothing, and was there ſumptuouſly feaſted by *Bajazet*; who to make his Gueſts the merrier, drank Wine plentifully himſelf, cauſing them alſo to drink in like manner; ſo that they were full of Wine; a thing utterly forbidden by their Law; yet daily more and more uſed, eſpecially by their great Men in their Feaſts. Supper now ended, and the night far ſpent, *Bajazet* in token that they were welcome, and ſtood in his good Grace, cauſed certain rich Robes of pleaſing colours to be brought forth, and to be caſt upon every of his Gueſts one, giving beſide unto every one of them a fair gilt Bowl full of Gold. But upon *Achmetes* was caſt a Gown of black Velvet, which among the Turks may well be called the Mantle of death, being ſo ſure a Token of the Emperors heavy Indignation, as that it is death for any man once to open his mouth, or to intreat for him upon whom it is by the Emperors commandment ſo caſt. *Achmetes* ſeeing himſelf now under the ſhadow of death, and knowing it but vain to intreat for mercy, as he was a man of great ſpirit, brake forth and ſaid, *Oh cachpogly* (which is as much as to ſay, Thou Son of a Whore) ſith thou entendedſt ſo much cruelty againſt me, why didſt thou not put it in execution before thou hadſt inforced me to drink this impure and forbidden Wine? and ſo caſting his Eyes upon the ground ſate ſtill. The other Baſſaes having leave to depart, giving thanks to the Emperor, and craving pardon for their exceſs, kiſſed the ground at his Feet and ſo departed; with whom *Achmetes* offered to have gone out alſo, but was forthwith commanded to ſit ſtill, for that the Emperor had to talk with him in ſecret. The Baſſaes were no ſooner departed, but the terrible Executioners of *Bajazet* his wrath ſtept in, and laid hands upon *Achmetes* to have ſlain him; when one of the Eunuchs in greateſt favour with the Tyrant, ſtanding by, adviſed him not to be too haſty in executing of ſo great Man, ſo entirely beloved of his beſt Souldiers and Men of War, but rather to ſtay his Execution for a while, to ſee how the matter would be diſgeſted; and in the mean time by torture to wreſt it out from him what might be got, to make it in ſome ſort appear, that he died for his due deſert. Hereupon *Bajazet* deferred his Execution to a farther time, and cauſed him there preſently to be ſtript, and carried away to be tortured.

Achmetes *his Son ſtirreth up the Janizaries to help his Father.*

Amongſt other Gallants of the Court which attended the coming out of the great Baſſaes whom they followed, was one of *Achmetes* his Sons, a Gentleman of great hope; who miſſing his Father amongſt the reſt, began preſently to miſtruſt that all went not well; and ſpeedily running from one of the Baſſaes to another, with much ado learned the hard eſtate of his Father; whereof he was alſo at the ſame inſtant advertiſed by a ſecret Friend near about *Bajazet*. Hereupon this young Gentleman began forthwith piteouſly to lament his Fathers miſhap, and to exclaim againſt the cruelty of *Bajazet*; called on the Janizaries for aid, putting them in remembrance of his Fathers great and manifold Deſerts towards them, together with his imminent danger; and ſo running up and down the City in the dead time of the night, had in ſhort ſpace raiſed up all the Janizaries in Arms; who underſtanding of the danger of their ancient Commander, whom they generally loved and honoured as their Father, came running by heaps from all parts of the City unto the Court-Gate, there with terrible Exclamation doubling and redoubling their *Bre, Bre*, (which barbarous word they commonly uſe in expreſſing their greateſt diſcontentment and fury) and did indeed ſo furiouſly beat at the Court Gate, that *Bajazet* fearing leſt they ſhould break in by violence, cauſed the outer Gate to be ſet open, and ſhewing himſelf from above out at an Iron Window, demanded of them the cauſe of that Tumult and Uproar. To whom they inſolently anſwered, That they would by and by teach him as a Drunkard, a Beaſt, and a Raſcal, to uſe his great Place and Calling with more ſobriety and diſcretion; and among many other opprobrious words wherewith they ſhamefully loaded him, they called him oftentimes by the name of *Bengi, Bengi* (that is to ſay, Bachelor or Scholar) which amongſt thoſe Martial Men, Contemners of all Learning, is accounted a word of no ſmall reproach and diſgrace. And after they had in moſt deſpiteful manner thus reviled him, they proudly commanded him forthwith to deliver *Achmetes* unto them, or elſe to take that ſhould enſue thereof. *Bajazet* terrified with this Inſolency of the Janizaries, and fearing ſome ſudden violence to be offered, commanded *Achmetes* to be without delay delivered unto them; which was done in ſuch haſt, that he was brought forth unto them almoſt naked, bare legged, and bare headed, bearing in his body the manifeſt marks of his hard uſage. The Janizaries receiving him with great rejoycing, ſupplied his want of Apparel with ſuch habiliments, as they for that purpoſe upon the ſudden took from *Bajazets* Minions; and ſo taking him upon their ſhoulders, with great joy carried him out of the Court, ſtill crying unto him, How he did, and how he felt himſelf? And ſo guarded him home, ready no doubt to have ſlain *Bajazet* and rifled the Court, if he would have but ſaid the word. But he yet Loyal, laboured with good words to appeaſe that Tumult, and to pacifie their fury; excuſing that which *Bajazet* had done againſt him, to have been done only to correct him, for that happily he had forgotten ſome part of Obedience and Duty. Nevertheleſs, hereupon remained no ſmall heart-burning betwixt *Bajazet* and the Janizaries for a long time after; yet *Bajazet* for fear of them reconciled himſelf to *Achmetes*, and in open ſhew had him in greater Honour than before, promoting him even unto the higheſt degrees of Honour, howbeit he inwardly hated him to death. And the more by the continual inſtigation of the old Baſſa *Iſaac*; by whoſe perſwaſion, when it was thought that all had been forgotten, he was by *Bajazets* Commandment, as he ſate at Supper in the Court, thruſt through the body and ſlain. This was the miſerable end of *Achmetes*, the great Champion of the Turks, and one of the greateſt Enemies of Chriſtendom that ever lived in the Turkiſh Court; for by him, *Mahomet* ſubverted the Empire of *Trapezond*, took the great City of *Caffa* (called in ancient time *Theodoſia*) with all the Country of *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, the impregnable City of *Croia*, with all the Kingdom of *Epirus*, the ſtrong City of *Scodra*, and a great part of *Dalmatia*, and laſt of all *Otranto*, to the terrour of all *Italy*; by him alſo, *Bajazet* vanquiſhed and put to flight his Brother *Zemes*, as is before declared. In reward of which good Services, he was by the Tyrant (upon a meer ſuſpition) thus cruelly and ſhamefully murthered. About this time alſo, *Caigubus* (*Zemes* his Son, then but a Child) was by the commandment of *Bajazet* his Uncle, ſtrangled in the new Tower of *Conſtantinople*.

Bajazet *for fear delivereth* **Achmetes** *to the Janizaries.*

Achmetes *ſlain.*

1487. **Bajazet** *purpoſeth to deſtroy the Janizaries.*

Bajazet now grievouſly offended with the pride and late Inſolency of the Janizaries, cauſed ſecret inquiry to be made, of them which were the Authors of thoſe late Stirs; and finding them to be the Officers of their Companies, and ſpecially thoſe which had before ſlain *Mahomet Baſſa* the great Politician, immediately after the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, at which time they had alſo raiſed great Tumults, and done much harm in the City; he under colour of Preferment, ſent away thoſe Authors of Sedition into divers parts of his Empire, appointing unto them (as unto old Souldiers and Men of good deſert) certain Lands and Revenues for their Maintenance and Preferment. But as ſoon as they were departed, he by ſecret Letters commanded the Governors and Magiſtrates of thoſe places whereunto they were ſent, ſuddenly to apprehend them, and as Traytors to put them to death; which was accordingly done. The Janizaries of the Court and about *Conſtantinople*, hearing what had hapned unto their Fellows, became wonderful diſcontented, and began to mutine in divers places of the City, uttering Speeches againſt the Emperor full of Deſpight and Revenge. Which thing when *Bajazet* underſtood, and had well conſidered the late danger he was in, together with the intollerable Pride and Inſolency of thoſe his maſterful Slaves; he ſecretly purpoſed in himſelf for the curing of ſo dangerous a Diſeaſe, to uſe a moſt deſperate remedy; which was, ſuddenly to kill and deſtroy all the Janizaries, eſpecially thoſe which were belonging to the Court, or about *Conſtantinople*. This his purpoſe he imparted to divers of his greateſt Baſſaes, charging them upon pain of his heavy diſpleaſure not to diſcloſe it; and for the execution thereof, had ſent for great numbers of thoſe Souldiers which are called *Acanzij*, who are amongſt the Turks reputed for the beſt ſort of Common Souldiers. Moſt of all the Baſſaes to whom he had imparted this his cruel device, much diſliked thereof, as too full of peril and danger; yet ſeeing him fully reſolved for the performance thereof, would not, or durſt not ſay any thing to the contrary. Only *Alis* and *Iſkender Baſſa* (both deſcended of the

Honourable Family of *Michael Ogli*) diſſwaded him from attempting any ſuch thing; alledging firſt, That the Janizaries were in number many, Souldiers of great courage and experience, reſolute men, and ſuch as would ſell their lives dear: Then, admitting that he ſhould kill all them about the Court and in *Conſtantinople*; yet for as much as all his ſtrong Towns and Caſtles, eſpecially in the Frontiers and chief places of his Dominions, were poſſeſſed and holden by ſtrong Garriſons of other Janizaries, Fellows and Friends of theſe (who would undoubtedly take up Arms in defence of themſelves, and revenge of their dead Friends) it were a thing very like to endanger himſelf, together with the whole State of his Empire, beſide the great diſhonour which would grow unto himſelf thereby for ever.

This ſo dangerous an Exploit, wherein the hands of ſo many were to be uſed, was not kept ſo ſecret, but that the vigilant and wily Janizaries had got an inkling thereof; and thereupon began daily more and more to ſuſpect the matter, both by the often and ſecret repair of the great Men to the Court, more than they had before ſeen, and alſo by the unwonted multitude of thoſe *Acanzij*, which were daily brought unto the Imperial City by great Troops. Wherefore fearing to be ſuddenly ſurprized, they banded themſelves together, and openly ſtood upon their Guard; and by chance lighting upon *Alis Beg* as he came from the Court, (who was indeed their beſt friend) after their barbarous manner, with many opprobrious and contumelious words, demanded of him, if he were not one of them who had conſpired their deſtruction; and without more ado had preſently ſlain him, had he not (as a well ſpoken man) with great Proteſtations and Oaths perſwaded them, that he never conſented to any ſuch thing, or that they needed to fear any ſuch thing from him; and ſo with much ado rid himſelf out of their hands.

Bajazet ſeeing his purpoſe diſcovered, and that he could not without great bloodſhed, and danger both to his Eſtate and Perſon, work his will upon the Janizaries; by the counſel and advice of them that ſaw farther into the matter, to colour his former intention, commanded by open Proclamation, That the Janizaries and other his Men of War (of whom he had a great Power now aſſembled at *Conſtantinople*) to be in readineſs againſt a certain prefixed day, to go with him into *Moldavia*; as if he had raiſed that Power for that purpoſe only. But when the time was come that he ſhould ſet forward, the Janizaries put themſelves in order of battel by themſelves, and would in no wiſe joyn themſelves with the reſt of the Army, or receive the Emperor into the midſt of their ranks, as they had always before accuſtomed; but furiouſly ſhaking their Weapons at him, told him plainly, that he had ſought their deſtruction; and bid him therefore if he thought it ſo good, to ſet his Executioners to work upon them, whom he ſhould find both ready and able to defend themſelves. To pacifie their fury, *Bajazet* was glad to give them good words, and to uſe all the means he could (by his great Baſſaes and other Captains which were able to do any thing with them) to perſwade them to be quiet; ſwearing unto them by the holy Soul of his Father (a ſolemn Oath amongſt the Turks) that he would not harm or wrong the meaneſt of them. So with much ado they were at length appeaſed, and received *Bajazet* into the midſt of them, as their wonted manner was.

This dangerous Tumult ſo quieted, *Bajazet* ſet forward, and paſſing over *Danubius*, entred into *Moldavia*, where he firſt laid ſiege to a ſtrong Town ſtanding upon the Euxine Sea, called of the Turks *Kele*, but in ancient time *Achilleia*, which was at length delivered unto him by compoſition. From thence he went to *Ac-girmen*, otherwiſe called *Aſprocaſtron*, which after a months ſiege was alſo delivered up by Compoſition; which two ſtrong places ſo won, he returned again to *Conſtantinople*.

Bajazet *invadeth* Moldavia.

Many great Princes ſue to the Maſter of the Rhodes *for* Zemes

Many great Princes deſirous of *Zemes*, laboured by their Embaſſadors to have obtained him of the Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*; firſt *Bajazet* his Brother, fearing leſt he ſhould at one time or other again break forth upon him, or elſe ſet up by the Chriſtian Princes, trouble his Eſtate, offered great Sums of Money to have had him delivered into his hands; and *Charles* the French King purpoſing the Conqueſt of *Naples*, (which he in few years after performed) and after that to have invaded *Græcia*, thought *Zemes* a moſt fit Inſtrument for the furtherance of thoſe his high Deſigns, and was therefore wonderful deſirous to have had him. *Matthias* alſo King of *Hungary* (a Fortunate Warrior againſt the Turk) perſwaded that the having of him might be unto him a great furtherance in the courſe of his Victories, ſought by all the means he could to have obtained him. At which time alſo *Innocentius* the eighth of that name, Biſhop of *Rome*, no leſs deſirous than the reſt, to have in his keeping ſo great a pledge of Peace and War (the bridle of the Turks fury, together with the large Penſion he was ſure to receive yearly from *Bajazet* for the ſafe cuſtody of him) ſo wrought the matter by *Lyonel* Biſhop of *Concordia*, his cunning Legate, that the Great Maſter, fearing on the one ſide to be conſtrained by the great Power of *Bajazet*, to grant that he had ſo often refuſed, and now ſo earneſtly ſolicited on the other ſide by the Biſhop, cauſed *Zemes* to be delivered to him at *Rome*, in the year 1488. for which doing he was by the Biſhop honoured with the honour and title of a Cardinal. So *Zemes* to the great profit of the Biſhop (who received from *Bajazet* a yearly Penſion of forty thouſand Ducats) remained in ſafe cuſtody at *Rome* all the time of *Innocentius*, and alſo of *Alexander* the Sixth his Succeſſor; until that the French King *Charles* the Eighth, paſſing through the heart of *Italy* with a ſtrong Army againſt *Alphonſus* King of *Naples*, in the year 1495. and making his way through the City of *Rome*, ſo terrified the great Biſhop (who altogether favoured and furthered the Title of *Alphonſus*) that he was glad to yield to ſuch Articles and Conditions as pleaſed the King; and amongſt the reſt, to give in Hoſtage unto the King his graceleſs Son *Cæſar Borgia Valentinus*, and alſo to deliver unto him *Zemes* his honourable Priſoner, as ſhall be afterwards in place convenient at large declared.

In the beginning of *Bajazet* his Reign, whilſt he was buſied againſt his Brother *Zemes* in *Aſia*, *John Caſtriot* the Son of *Scanderbeg*, aided by the *Venetians*, after he had fortunately overthrown the Turk in battel near unto *Croia*, recovered a great part of *Epirus* out of their poſſeſſion. At which time alſo *John Chernovich*, a Chriſtian Prince of *Albania*, caſting off the Turkiſh yoke impoſed upon him by the late Emperor *Mahomet*, ſuddenly took up Arms, and by the help of the *Venetians* valiantly repulſed the Enemies out of that part of *Albania*; and ſo troubled *Bajazet*, that he was glad to ſuffer him peaceably to enjoy all that he had by force recovered, and further to content himſelf with a ſmall Tribute for the reſt.

1486. Bajazet invadeth Caramania.

Bajazet highly offended with *Abraham* (whom ſome call *Pyramet*) the King of *Caramania*, for aiding his Brother *Zemes* againſt him; in revenge thereof raiſed a great Army both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, and marching alongſt *Aſia* the leſs, through the Countries of *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Caria*, *Lydia*, and *Pamphilia*, entred at length into *Caramania*. But the King of *Caramania* hearing before of his coming, and knowing himſelf too weak to meet him in the Field, fortified the ſtrong Cities and Places of his Kingdom, and retired with his Army into the Straits of the Mountain *Taurus*, where it parteth *Cilicia* from *Syria*; wherein he was in more ſafety than in any of his ſtrongeſt Holds. *Bajazet* finding no way to come to him, ſpent moſt part of the Summer in ſpoiling of the open Country; but perceiving his Enemies could not ſo be drawn into the Field, he laid Siege unto the famous City of *Tarſus*, being the chief City of the Champain part of *Cilicia* (the native place of Saint *Paul* the Apoſtle) and in ſhort time ſo battered the Walls of his City with his great Ordnance, that he had made them aſſaultable. The Citizens conſidering the danger they were in, offered to deliver up their City, their Liberty, Lives, and Goods reſerved. Of which their Offer *Bajazet* accepted, and moſt honourably performed his promiſe for their ſafety; not permitting any of his Souldiers to enter the City, more than ſuch as muſt needs for the guard of his Perſon, and ſafe keeping of the City. And for as much as Winter began now to grow faſt on, he diſperſed his Souldiers into the Country Villages round about, not ſuffering the Country people to till or ſow their Land, or to do any thing elſe which might turn to their profit or good; whereby they were inforced to yield themſelves wholly to his devotion. The *Caramanian* King ſeeing his people daily fall from him, and fearing to be at length forſaken of his Souldiers alſo; in this his diſtreſs obtain'd Aid both of men and money from *Caytbeius* the great Sultan of *Egypt*, and ſo with all the Power he could make, took the field with the firſt of the next Spring, fully reſolved to try the fortune of a battel, although in ſtrength and power he knew himſelf much inferior to his puiſſant Enemy.

Tarſus in Cilicia yieldeth to Bajazet.

A long and terrible battel betwixt Bajazet *and the King of* Caramania.

Bajazet glad to ſee his Enemy ſo forward, ſpeedily aſſembled his Army, and without delay offered him battel; which the *Caramanian* King refuſed not. So betwixt them was begun a fierce and terrible fight; which by the ſkilful Conduct of the Leaders, and exceeding Courage of the Souldiers, was maintained the whole day with doubtful Victory and great Slaughter on both ſides, new Supplies ſtill coming on in ſtead of them which were ſlain. The day declining, the *Caramanian* King (whoſe fatal deſtiny had now appointed him unto his laſt work) ſeeing his wearied Souldiers rather overlaid with multitude, than vanquiſhed by force, to begin to give ground unto their Enemies; couragiouſly thruſt forward with his Guard and other valiant Souldiers about him, with ſuch fury, that he brake into the midſt of his Enemies battail; where being known, he was forthwith environed by the Turks, and ſo hardly charged on every ſide, that having his Horſe ſlain under him, he was enforced to fight on foot; where after he had with his own hand ſlain divers of his Enemies, he fell down dead in the midſt of them. His Souldiers diſcouraged with his death, turned their backs and fled, and in flying were for the moſt part either ſlain or taken Priſoners. After this Victory, *Bajazet* ſpeedily overran all that large Country, and without reſiſtance in ſhort time brought under his Obeyſance all the Country of *Cilicia*.

There was at that time in that part *Cilicia* which is called *Trachea*, and lieth toward the Sea ſide, an ancient *Mahometan* Prince, who had under his Command moſt part of that Country, with the famous and populous City of *Scandeloro*, the chief place of his Reſiance. This Prince had of long time lived betwixt the Chriſtian Kings and the Kings of *Caramania*, as neuter, ſtill fearing the greater, but indeed loving neither; and had until then chiefly maintained his ſtate by the Alliance he and his Anceſtors continually held with the Kings of *Cyprus* and the grand Maſters of the *Rhodes*. Againſt this poor Prince, the only one now left in *Aſia* the leſs, not ſubject unto the Turkiſh Kings, began *Bajazet* now to turn his Forces; purpoſing before he proceeded any further, to make a full Conqueſt of the leſſer *Aſia*, and ſo to make all ſure behind him. Of which his purpoſe the Prince having knowledge, and wiſely weighing his own ſmall Power to withſtand ſo puiſſant an Enemy; offered by his Embaſſadors to deliver unto *Bajazet* his chief City of *Scandeloro*, with all the reſt of his Territory in *Cilicia*, upon condition, that *Bajazet* ſhould give unto him other Poſſeſſions for it, in ſome other part of *Aſia* the leſſer, to the like value. Which his Offer *Bajazet* accepted, and ſo became Lord of all the Sea coaſt, from the Straits of *Boſphorus*, unto the Confines of *Syria*.

After he had thus conquered *Cilicia*, with a great part of the Mountain *Taurus*, he deſcended into *Armenia* the leſs, and in ſhort time brought under his Subjection ſo much of that Country, as alſo of *Cappadocia*, as was ſometime belonging to the *Caramanian* Kings. When *Bajazet* had thus ſlain the *Caramanian* King, and ſubdued that moſt ancient Kingdom of the Turks, which had long and many times mightily contended with the Glory and Power of the *Othoman* Kings, he left *Muſtapha*, one of his great Baſſaes, at *Iconium*, with his *Aſian* Army, to keep in Obedience thoſe new won Countries; and as a Triumphant Conqueror returned himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, where he was of his Subjects joyfully received.

1487.

After that *Bajazet* had thus inlarged his Empire with the Kingdom of *Caramania*, and was now become an unwelcome Neighbour unto the great Sultan of *Egypt* and *Syria*, he began to ſwell in diſdain againſt that mighty Prince, for that he had given Aid againſt him, firſt unto his Brother *Zemes*, and after that to the *Caramanian* King in theſe late Wars; of which wrong purpoſing to be revenged, he ſhortly after appointed one *Caragoſa Baſſa* his Lieutenant in *Aſia*, with *Iſhender* another of his great Captains, with a ſtrong Army to invade *Syria*, then part of the great Sultans Kingdom. Theſe two great Commanders well appointed for the purpoſe, when they were come to the uttermoſt parts of *Cilicia*, the new bounds of *Bajazets* Empire, were then to paſs by the Confines of *Aladeules* his Kingdom, before they could paſs the great Mountain *Taurus* to come into *Syria*. This *Aladeules* commanded as King over the rude and fierce people which dwelt alongſt that great and rough Mountain, and was then in League with the Sultan. He hearing of the approach of the Turks Army, with a great number of his Mountain-people, lay in Ambuſh in the Straits whereby the Turks muſt needs paſs, of purpoſe to intercept them. *Iſhender* marching in the Vantguard with a great number of the voluntary Souldiers called *Acanzij*, as the manner of the Turks is, and fearing nothing leſs, than to be ſet upon by the Mountain King, before he was aware was come into the midſt of his Enemies, and was by them ſo fiercely charged on every ſide for their places of advantage, that he there loſt moſt part of his men, and forſaken of the reſt, which ſought by flight to ſave themſelves, he with his two Sons and others were taken Priſoners; *Michael-Beg* the eldeſt of the two being faſt bound, was ſlain by one of *Aladeules* his Followers, whoſe Brother he had ſlain in that skirmiſh his Head being cut off, was by the commandment of *Aladeules* carried to his Father *Iſhender*, the more to grieve him; who diſdainfully willed the Meſſenger not to ſhew it unto him, but to bid his Maſter eat it if he would. With which anſwer *Aladeules* was exceedingly moved; nevertheleſs pitying the old mans miſery, he ſhortly after ſet *Jaxis-Beg* the younger Brother at liberty; but *Iſhender* himſelf he ſent Priſoner unto *Caitbeius* the great Sultan at *Caire*, where he remained in priſon five years after. *Caragoſes* the Baſſa diſcouraged with the loſs of ſo great a man, retired with his Army back again into *Cilicia*, and from thence advertiſed *Bajazet* what had happened, by whom he was commanded to return to *Conſtantinople*, as a man unfit for ſo great an enterpriſe.

1488.

Achmetes *being diſcomfited, is taken Priſoner and ſent to* Caire.

The next Spring following, *Bajazet* conſtant in his former reſolution for the invaſion of *Siria*, ſent *Achmetes* another of his Baſſaes, with a far greater Army than had *Caragoſes*, againſt the Sultan; who was no ſooner come to the further part of *Cilicia*, but he was there at a place called of the Turks, *Tzucur Ova*, encountred by the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, and there in a great Battel overthrown; wherein he himſelf fighting moſt valiantly, loſt two of his Fingers, and being taken Priſoner was ſent to *Caire*.

1489.

Bajazet with this overthrow rather incenſed than diſcouraged, made great preparation the next year againſt the Sultan both by Sea and Land, ſuch as he had not before at any time made. And when all things were now in readineſs, ſent *Alis-Baſſa* (of ſome called *Calibeus*) and *Cherſeogles* his Son in Law, two notable Captains, with a great and puiſſant Army by Land, againſt the *Egyptian* Sultan; at which time he requeſted of the *Venetians*, with whom he was then in league, That he might by their good leave, as occaſion required, refreſh his Fleet (then ready to put to Sea for the invaſion of *Syria*, as he ſaid) in their Iſland of *Cyprus*. Which his requeſt was by the general conſent of the Senate denied, as a thing tending to the great danger of their State; yet wiſely doubting leſt *Bajazet* taking that denial in evil part, ſhould ſeek to have that by force, which he could not obtain by requeſt, they preſently ſent *Franciſco Privolo* their Admiral, to Sea with thirty Gallies for the defence of that *Iſland*. He hearing that one Fleet of the Turks Gallies, lately come out of *Helleſpontus*, lay hovering at the Iſland of *Sciros*, expecting a far greater from the Coaſt of *Ionia*; and carefully conſidering how ſecret and ſuddain the Turkiſh deſignments were, although it was given out, that all this great preparation was made againſt the Sultan; yet to provide that they ſhould not ſuddainly ſurpriſe the Iſle, he ſpeedily ſent ſundry Companies of Souldiers, eſpecially Archers, out of *Crete* into *Cyprus*, for the better defence thereof; but ſtaid himſelf with his Fleet at the Iſland of *Naxos*, that ſo at hand he might be the readier to withſtand whatſoever the Turks intended. But when he underſtood that all their Fleet was met, and now ſet forward, he hoiſed ſail, and held his courſe directly for *Cyprus*. In the mean time the Turkiſh Fleet ſailing alongſt the Coaſt of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Cilicia*, kept on their courſe until they came upon the Coaſt of *Syria*, by which time *Calibeus* and *Cherſeogles* were come with a mighty Army into *Cilicia*, near unto the Mountain *Taurus*.

Caitbeius the *Egyptian* Sultan having before had certain intelligence of the great preparation that *Bajazet* had made againſt him, had before ſent *Usbeg* a moſt valiant and politique Captain, with a ſtrong Army of his Mamalukes and other his moſt expert Souldiers into *Syria*, to be ready at all times to withſtand the Turks. This worthy Chieftain underſtanding of the coming of the Turks Army, thought it greater policy, to carry the calamities which always wait upon great Armies, into the Enemies Country, than to receive it into his own Boſom. And therefore although he knew himſelf to be for number far inferior unto his Enemies, yet ſupplying that want with the Valour, Courage, and aſſured confidence he had repoſed in the approved and invincible force of his Mamalukes, he expected not the coming of the Enemy into *Syria*, but paſſing over the Mountain *Amanus*, and ſo deſcending into *Cilicia*, met him not far from *Tarſus*, in the ſame place (as it was thought) where *Alexander the Great* had long before in a great Battel vanquiſhed *Darius*.

A long and terrible Battel betwixt the Turks and the Mamalukes.

Theſe two puiſſant Armies come from far out of divers parts of the World, the one to find the other, were no ſooner come together, but that with like chearfulneſs they joyned Battel; and that with ſuch violence and fury, that the Earth ſeemed to tremble under their Feet, and a moſt preſent deſtruction threatned unto them all; which terrible and cruel Fight was maintained all that day with doubtful Victory, and exceeding Slaughter on both ſides, the politique Generals with new ſupplies of freſh Souldiers continually relieving the moſt diſtreſſed parts of their Battels; and they likewiſe as men prodigal of their lives, reſolutely offering themſelves to all dangers. When this moſt dreadful Fight had in this ſort endured the whole day, and many thouſands of valiant men of late alive, lay now dead upon the ground, the approaching night brake off the Battel, and both the Armies ſore wearied and weakned (but eſpecially the Turks) retired to their Camps, where they reſted that night.

But the *Egyptians* coming to their Camp, found all their Carriages with their proviſion of Victuals and other neceſſaries quite taken away and gone. Which thing (as ſome write) the bordering People of that Country (for moſt part living upon robbery) had done in time of the Battle, to pleaſe the Turks; or as ſome others report, they which had the charge thereof, terrified with the greatneſs of the Turks Army, and doubtleſs of the Battel, fled away; and taking their way along the Sea ſide, fell into the hands of the Turks which were put on ſhore out of the Gallies, and ſo were of them ſpoiled. Howſoever it was, (for in ſo great uncertainty I dare not affirm) certain it is, that the *Egyptians* were ſore troubled with the loſs of their proviſion, fearing that if they ſhould now ſtay longer in the Country, they ſhould forthwith be driven to great extremities for want of neceſſaries. Wherefore when they had evilly reſted that night, the next day early in the morning they preſented themſelves in order of battel before their Enemies, braving them into the Field, and daring them to Battel. The Turks diſdaining to ſee any prouder in field than themſelves, after they had in goodly order ranged their Battels, ſet forward with Enſigns diſplayed againſt their proud Enemies. There began a moſt terrible and bloody Battel, fought with ſuch deſperate reſolution, as if they had ſolemnly vowed, either to overcome or die in the place where they ſtood. A man would have ſaid, that the former days fury had been but a play in compariſon of this; many valiant Souldiers covered with their dead bodies the ſame ground whereon they living ſtood, when they received the firſt encounter of their Enemies. Of both thoſe great Armies none was ſeen to give ground, or once look back; the Turks *Janizaries*, and the Egyptians *Mamalukes* (the undoubted ſtrength of the greateſt Mahometan Monarchs, Souldiers for their Valour much feared, and through the World renowned) there buckled together, and ſtanding foot to foot ſpent the uttermoſt of their Forces one upon another; as if they would in that battel have made it known unto the World, which of them were to be accounted the better Souldiers. Whilſt Victory ſtood thus doubtful, and the day was now far ſpent, *Usbeg* the *Egyptian* General, with fifteen thouſand valiant Horſemen (whom he had received for that purpoſe) gave a freſh Aſſault upon the Turks Squadrons, with ſuch force that they had much ado to keep their order, and began now to give ground; which was by and by made good again by other freſh men ſpeedily brought on by the Baſſaes. Then became the Battel more fierce than before, every man ſtriving to the uttermoſt of his power, to ſell his life unto his Enemies as dear as he could. In which manner of Fight all the reſt of the day was ſpent, until that after the going down of the Sun, the darkneſs of the night coming faſt on, they were glad for lack of light to break off the Battel, and to retire themſelves into their Camps, not knowing as yet who had got the better.

The Turks Baſſaes taking view of the Army, and finding that of an hundred thouſand fighting men which they brought into the Field, there was ſcarce a third part left, and moſt of them alſo maimed or hurt; and doubting to be ſet upon again the next morning by their reſolute Enemies, fled away ſecretly the ſame night, leaving behind them for haſte their Tents well ſtored with Victuals and all other things needful. The *Egyptians* alſo having loſt one half of their Army (which was at the firſt ſeventy thouſand) and wanting their neceſſary proviſion, were retired alſo the ſame night into the Mountain *Taurus*, not knowing any thing of the Flight of the Turks. And ſome of the Souldiers paſſing quite over the Mountain without ſtay, into *Syria*, raiſed a report all over the Country as they went, That the Sultans Army was overthrown, and that the Turks had got the Victory; ſo uncertain was the true knowledge of the event of that Battel, even unto them that were preſent therein. The *Egyptian* lying that night upon the ſide of the Mountain, had ſpeedy intelligence from *Aladeules*, of the flight of the Turks; which being alſo confirmed by his Eſpials to be true, he preſently came down from the Mountain, and entred into the Turks Camp, where he found plenty of Victuals and of all other things needful for the refreſhing of his Army.

The Turks flie away by night.

Aladeules the Mountain King, with the People called *Varſacide*, by whoſe confines the Turks muſt needs in their return paſs, robbed and ſlew many of them in their diſordered Flight; and had ſo ſtopped the paſſages, that they were in flying overtaken by the Mamalukes, and ſlain with ſo great a ſlaughter, that of all that great Army of the Turks few remained alive to carry news home. *Calibeius* and *Cherſeogles* the Baſſaes, were in that flight both taken Priſoners, and afterwards preſented to *Caytbeius* the Sultan, at *Caire*, with eighteen Enſigns of the Turks Sanzachs, which are great men amongſt them, having every one of them the regiment and command of ſome one Province or other, and are in degree next unto the Baſſaes.

Neither was the fortune of *Bajazet* his Navy at Sea, better than that of his Army at Land; for as it lay at rode upon the Coaſt of *Syria* at the mouth of the River *Orontes*, which runneth by the famous City of *Antioch*, his Gallies were by tempeſt and rage of the Sea put from their Anchors, and in the ſight of their Enemies, ſwallowed up of the Sea, or elſe driven upon the Main, and there with the Surges of the Sea beaten in pieces. *Bajazet* not a little troubled with theſe loſſes both by Sea and Land, at length with much ado, by his Embaſſadors concluded a Peace with the Sultan, unto whom he reſtored all ſuch places as he had before taken from him; for which the Sultan delivered unto him *Calibeius*, *Cherſeogles*, *Achmetes*, and *Iſkender*, with all the reſt of the Turks Priſoners, which he had in great number in his keeping.

1492.

A Peace concluded betwixt Bajazet *and* Caytbeius.

Shortly after this Peace was concluded betwixt theſe two great and mighty Princes, *Caytbeius* the Sultan died; who of a *Circaſſian* Slave, by many degrees of Honour, and by the favour of the Mamalukes his Fellows, obtained the rich Kingdom of *Egypt*, which he right worthily governed to his immortal praiſe by the ſpace of two and twenty years; commanding at one time the great and rich Country of *Egypt*, with all *Africk* as far as *Cyrene*, Weſtward; and *Judoa* with a great part of *Arabia*, and all *Syria*, unto the great and famous River *Euphrates*, Eaſtward. In the later end of his Reign he (overcome with the importunity of his Wife *Dultibe*, an *Arabian* born, a Woman of an haughty Spirit) joyned his Son *Mahomethes*, a young man of about four and twenty years old, with him in the Fellowſhip of his Kingdom; that ſo poſſeſſed of it his Father yet living, he might the better enjoy it after his death. Contrary to the cuſtom of the Mamalukes, who of long time had not uſed to have their King by ſucceſſion, but by their free election. Who grudging to be thus defrauded of their wonted choiſe, immediately after the death of *Caytbeius* ſlew *Mahomethes* his Son; and in few months after, four more, who one after another without their good liking had aſpired unto the Kingdom; neither could they be contented, until ſuch time as that they had according to their wonted cuſtom ſet up a Sultan of their own choice.

About the ſame time that the aforeſaid Peace was concluded betwixt the two great Mahometan Princes *Bajazet* and *Caytbeius*, *Charles* the French King was making great preparation againſt *Alphonſus* King of *Naples*; giving it out, That after he had recovered that Kingdom, he would forthwith from thence invade the Turks Dominions in *Grecia*. Which great attempt the haughty King was enduced to take in hand, by the perſwaſion of divers of his Nobility, but eſpecially the ſolicitation of *Ludovicus Sfortia* Duke of *Millan*; whereby the whole ſtate of *Italy* was in ſhort time after ſore ſhaken, and *Sfortia* himſelf, Author of thoſe troubles, at laſt carried away by the *French*, miſerably ended his days as a Priſoner in *France*. *Alphonſus* the *Neapolitan* King doubting the greatneſs of the French King his Enemy, entred into a confederation with certain of the States of *Italy*, againſt the *French*, but eſpecially with *Alexander* the Sixth then Biſhop of *Rome*; for the better aſſurance whereof, he gave his baſe Daughter in Marriage to *Godfrey Borgia*, the Biſhops Son, and made him Prince of *Carinula*;

Alphonſus *King* of Naples, *and* Alexander *Biſhop of* Rome *crave aid of* Bajazet *againſt* Charles *the French King.*

Bajazet *ſendeth* Dautius *his Embaſſador to* Alexander *Biſhop of* Rome.

his other Son *Francis* he entertained alſo in great pay to ſerve him in his Wars. And by his Embaſſador *Pandonius Camillus*, lately returned out of *France*, gave *Bajazet* to underſtand, what the French King had purpoſed againſt them both, requeſting him to aid him with ſix thouſand Horſemen and as many Foot againſt their common Enemy, promiſing to give them honourable entertainment during thoſe Wars. And to futher the matter, *Alexander* the great Biſhop ſent *George Bucciard*, a *Ligurian*, ſkilful in the Turkiſh Language, Embaſſador to *Bajazet*, to declare unto him with what great preparation, both by Sea and Land, the young French King (deſirous of honour and the enlargement of his Kingdom) was about to invade *Naples*; and then, with what great power (after he had diſpatched his Wars in *Italy*) he purpoſed to paſs over into *Grecia*; and that he had to that end earneſtly travelled with him to have *Zemes* his Brother delivered into his hands, whom he deſired to uſe as a moſt fit inſtrument for the troubling of his State and Empire, by reaſon of his many Friends; yet that his Holineſs (having the *French* in diſtruſt as a proud and ambitious People, as alſo careful for the danger of the City of *Rome*, and of the State of *Italy* in general) had entred into a confederation with *Alphonſus* King of *Naples*, with their united Forces to withſtand that proud Nation, both by Sea and Land; wanting nothing more for the accompliſhment thereof, than Mony; by which means only, *Bajazet* might (as he ſaid) provide for the ſafety of his Kingdom in *Grecia*, if he would put to his helping hand, to furniſh them with Mony for the entertainment of Souldiers; foraſmuch as the City of *Rome*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, were the ſureſt Walls of that ſide of the *Othoman* Empire; if he not altogether refuſing the charge, would not ſpare for a little coſt to maintain the War rather in that forreign Country, than to receive it, brought home to his own door, concluding, That it were much more commodious and eaſie with his Treaſures to repreſs his Enemies in a ſtrange Country afar off, than by dint of ſword and plain battel in his own. A thing by experience well known, That they which have neglected and ſet at nought remote dangers, for ſparing of charge, have afterwards been inforced with greater danger to receive the ſame into their own boſoms, when as they were become deſperate and paſt remedy. *Bajazet*, who both by his Eſpials and often Letters and Embaſſadors from *Alphonſus*, knew all this to be true, gave great thanks to the Biſhop by his Embaſſador, for that he ſitting in ſo high place, did ſo friendly and in ſo good time admoniſh him, both a Stanger and of a contrary Religion, of things of ſo great conſequence; yet for anſwer, he willed him to return again unto his Maſter with one *Dautius* his Embaſſador, who ſhould carry with him both Mony and other his ſecret reſolutions concerning thoſe matters. Among other things given him in charge, was an Epiſtle written in Greek, wherein the barbarous King with great cunning perſwaded the Biſhop to poiſon *Zemes* his Brother, as a man of a Religion altogether contrary to his; for indeed of him alone for his great Vertues *Bajazet* ſtood in fear and doubt, leſt he ſhould by ſome chance eſcape out of Priſon to the troubling of his State. For the performance of this his requeſt, he promiſed faithfully to pay unto the Biſhop, two hundred thouſand Ducats, and never after ſo long as he lived, to take up Arms againſt the Chriſtians. Otherwiſe than had his Father *Mahomet*, and his Grandfather *Amurath* done, who both as deadly Enemies unto the name of Chriſtians never ceaſed by continual Wars to work their woe.

Jo. Rovereus *robbeth the Turks Embaſſadors.*

But *George* the Biſhops Embaſſador, and *Dautius*, travelling towards *Italy*, and having now happily paſſed the *Adriatick*, as they were about to have landed at *Ancona*, were boarded by *Jo. Rovereus*, Brother to *Julianus* the Cardinal (a man of great account in thoſe quarters) and clean quit of their Treaſure and whatſoever elſe they had aboard. *Rovereus* pretending for the defence of the Fact, That the Biſhop did owe him a great ſum of Mony, due unto him for his good ſervice done in the time of *Innocentius* his Predeceſſor, for which he now paid himſelf. Neither could the Biſhop, much troubled with that injury, ever after recover one part thereof, although he threatned vengeance with Fire and Sword, and alſo ſought for recompence of the *Venetians*, whom it concerned to ſave the Turks harmleſs in thoſe Seas; for why, *Rovereus* bearing himſelf upon the *French*, which were now upon coming, whoſe faction he followed, kept the Mony, and ſet at nougt the Biſhops thundering Curſes and vain Threats. *Dautius* himſelf *Bajazets* Embaſſador being ſet on ſhore, was glad to go on foot to *Ancona*; and ſo from thence paſſing up the River *Padus*, came to *Franciſcus Gonzaga*, Duke of *Mantua*, of whom for (the ancient Friendſhip betwixt him and *Bajazet*) he was courteouſly entertained, and furniſhed both with Mony and Apparel, and ſo ſpoiled returned into *Grecia*, to carry news unto his Maſter how he had ſped.

When *Bajazet* underſtood by *Dautius*, the evil ſucceſs he had in his late journey, he forthwith ſent *Muſtapha* one of the Baſſaes of the Court, unto the great Biſhop *Alexander*, with like inſtructions as he had before given to *Dautius*; who with better hap arrived in *Italy*, and came to *Rome* in ſafety; where he forgot no part of that was given him in charge by his great Maſter. But amongſt many other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he moſt ſought for at the Biſhops hands.

1495.

At the ſame time, which was in the year 1495, the French King *Charles* the Eighth of that name, paſſing through the heart of *Italy* with a ſtrong Army againſt *Alphonſus* King of *Naples*; and taking his way without leave through the City of *Rome*, ſo terrified *Alexander* the Biſhop, who (as we have before ſaid) altogether favoured, and as much as in him lay, furthered the cauſe of *Alphonſus*; that he was glad to yield to all ſuch Articles and Condicions as it pleaſed him then to demand; not purpoſing in himſelf at all the performance of any of thoſe things, which for fear he had with great ſolemnity promiſed, as the ſequel of the matter afterwards declared. Amongſt other things, he was inforced to give unto the King his graceleſs Son *Cæſar Borgia Valentinus* (then one of the Cardinals) in hoſtage, for the performance of the other of his promiſes; Which diſgrace the crafty old Biſhop ſought to cover, by gracing his Son with the title of his Legate; and with him he was alſo enforced to deliver *Zemes* the Turk, *Bajazets* Brother, his honourable Priſoner; who to the great profit of the Biſhop and his Predeceſſor, had remained in ſafe cuſtody at *Rome* about the ſpace of ſeven years. But *Zemes* within three days after he was delivered to the *French*, died at *Cajeta*, being before his deliverance poiſoned (as it was thought) with a powder of wonderful whiteneſs and pleaſant taſte; whoſe power was not preſently to kill, but by little and little diſperſing the force thereof, did in ſhort time bring moſt aſſured death; which pleaſant poyſon, *Alexander* the Biſhop, skilful in that practice (corrupted by *Bajazets* Gold, and

Zemes *dieth poiſoned by* Alexander *Biſhop of* Rome.

envying ſo great a good unto the *French*) had cauſed to be cunningly mingled with the Sugar wherewith *Zemes* uſed to temper the Water which he commonly drank. His dead Body was not long after ſent to *Bajazet*, by *Muſtapha* his Embaſſador, who to the great contentment of his Maſter, had thus contrived his death with the Biſhop. Not long after, this dead Body ſo far brought, was by the appointment of *Bajazet*, honourably interred among his Anceſtors at *Pruſa*. *Cæſar Borgia* alſo the Biſhops Son, a little before given in hoſtage unto the French King, deceiving his Keepers at *Velitras*, returned again to *Rome* before the French King was come to *Naples*. This wicked Imp come of an evil ſtrain, not worth the remembrance but by way of deteſtation (the very monſter of Nature, if a man ſhould well conſider the courſe of his whole life) ſhortly after his eſcape, envying at the honour of *Candianus* his Brother, who then was General over the Biſhop his Fathers Forces, which were at that time great; when he had one time merrily ſupped with his ſaid Brother, with their Mother *Vannotia*, traiterouſly cauſed him to be unawars murdred in the Streets as he was going home, and his dead Body to be caſt into the River of *Tiber*. Then caſting off his Prieſtly Habit with his Cardinals Robes, he took upon him the leading of his Fathers Army in his Brothers ſtead, and gave himſelf wholly to Martial Affairs; a vocation beſt fitting his fierce and bloody diſpoſition; and with exceeding Prodigality, wherewith he exhauſted his Fathers Coffers and the Treaſures of the Church, bound faſt unto him deſperate Ruffians and Souldiers (eſpecially *Spaniards*, his Fathers Country men) ſuch as he knew fitteſt to ſerve for the execution of his moſt horrible devices. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were ſuch as all good men deteſted, yet the old Hypocrite his Father winked thereat, fearing (as it was thought) to be murdred of the Viper, himſelf, when it ſhould ſerve for his purpoſe. Now when he had thus ſtrengthned himſelf, and that he was become a terror to all the Nobility of *Rome* and the Seigniories thereabout, he by the advice and help of his Father (who deſired nothing more than to make him great) firſt drave the moſt honourable Family of the *Columnij* out of the City, and afterwards out of *Latium*; and by moſt execrable Treachery, poiſoned or killed the honourable Perſonages of the great Houſes of the *Urſini* and *Caetani*, taking to himſelf their Lands and Poſſeſſions. With like cruelty he ſtrangled at one time four Noblemen of the *Camertes*; and drave *Guido Feltrius* out of *Urbin*. He took the City of *Piſaurum* from *Jo. Sfortia*, who with much difficulty eſcaped his bloody hands; and drave the *Malateſtaes* out of *Ariminum*. The great Lady *Katharine Sfortia* he thruſt out of *Forum Livij* and *Forum Cornelij*, and ſhamefully led her in triumph through *Rome*. And never ſatisfied with blood, which he without meaſure ſhed, he took the City of *Faventia* from *Aſtor Manfredus*, a young Gentleman of rare perfection; whom after the beaſtly Tyrant had moſt horribly abuſed againſt Nature, he cauſed to be cruelly ſtrangled, and his dead body to be caſt into *Tiber*. Having thus filled the meaſure of his iniquity, and as a fretting Canker, having either devoured or driven into exile moſt part of the *Roman* Nobility, and purpoſing by the ſupportation of his Father, to make himſelf Lord and Sovereign both of the City, and of all *Latium*, in the pride of his thoughts he was by the hand of the moſt High attached and caſt down, and that by ſuch means as he leaſt feared; for being with his Father at a ſolemn Supper in the *Vatican*; of purpoſe prepared for the deſtruction of certain rich Cardinals and ſome other honourable Citizens, they were both poyſoned by the fatal error of one of the Waiters, who miſtaking of a Flaggon, gave the poiſoned Wine to the accurſed Biſhop and his Son, which was prepared for the Gueſts; whereof the old Biſhop in few days after died. But his Son who had drunk the ſame with Water, although he died not of long time after, yet preſently fell into ſuch an extream ſickneſs, that he was not able to help himſelf, or to command his deſperate Followers, whereof he had great ſtore; but lying ſick, in ſhort time ſaw himſelf of them forſaken, and two of his Enemies, *Pius* the Third, and *Julius* the Second, one after another ſitting in his Fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enjoyed that Pontifical Dignity but ſixteen days; and *Julius* ſucceeding him, cauſed this *Cæſar Borgia* (who of right had deſerved a thouſand deaths) to be ſhut up in the Caſtle called *Moles Adriani*, from whence he ſet him at liberty upon the delivery of certain ſtrong Holds which were yet holden by his Garriſons. After he had thus rid himſelf out of *Julius* the Biſhops hands, he fled to *Oſtia*, and ſo by Sea to *Naples*; where he was by the commandment of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, apprehended by *Gonſalvus* the Great, and tranſported into *Spain*, for fear leſt he, being of a moſt troubleſome Nature, and much reſorted unto by his old Favourites, ſhould raiſe ſome new ſtirs in *Italy*. He was no ſooner arrived in *Spain*, but he was caſt into Priſon in the Caſtle of *Medina*, where after he had lien three years he deceived his Keepers, and with a Rope which he had gotten, let himſelf down from an high Tower of the Caſtle; and ſo eſcaping, fled to the King of *Navar*, whom he afterwards ſerved in his Wars, and was in an hot skirmiſh againſt the Kings Enemies (wherein he had obtained the Victory) ſlain with a ſmall Shot: Unworthy after ſo many horrible Villanies, to have ended his days ſo honourably. His dead Body was found ſtript, and ſo brought unto the King upon a bad Beaſt, as if it had been a dead Calf all naked; which was by his commandment honourably buried at *Pamphilona*.

The evil life of Cæſar Borgia.

The death of Cæſar Borgia.

The French King invadeth Naples.

But to return again from whence we have ſomething too long with this troubleſome Body gone aſtray. The French King having thus loſt both his great Hoſtages, *Zemes* the Turk by death, and the Cardinal *Borgia* by eſcape, held on his journey towards *Naples*; and with wonderful ſucceſs prevailed as he went, all places yielding unto him without any great reſiſtance. *Alphonſus* ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of ſuch aid as he had in vain requeſted both of the Turkiſh Emperor and of the *Venetians*, and now almoſt beſet with his mighty Enemy, to whom ſo many ſtrong places had in ſhorter time been delivered than any man had before imagined; and withal conſidering with himſelf, how that he had loſt the hearts of his Subjects (the ſtrongeſt defence of Princes) for that moſt of the Nobility, and eſpecially the *Neapolitans*, hated him for his too much ſeverity in puniſhing the Offenders in the late Rebellion, wherein the Princes of *Sarne* and *Salerne* were chief; and the common People were no leſs offended with the grievous and heavy exactions, required of them for the maintenance of theſe Wars, inſomuch that their murmuring Speeches came oftentimes to his own hearing; as oftentimes it falleth out, That the hatred of the Subjects againſt their Princes, which hath for fear of long time been diſſembled during their proſperity, more frankly and fiercely breaketh out in their declining eſtate; for theſe cauſes, *Alphonſus* fearing to be forſaken of his People, as a man in deſpair, with abundance of tears openly in the ſight of all the *Neapolitans*, reſigned his Kingdom of *Naples* to his Son *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet ſcarcely reigned one whole year after the death of *Ferdinand* his Father; and with four Gallies paſſed over to *Mazerea*, a City of *Cicilia*. His Son *Ferdinand* a Prince of rare perfection and ſingularly graced with all the vertues of true Nobility, and thereto dearly beloved of all the People was to the wonderful contentment of the *Neapolitans* with great joy and acclamations ſaluted King; and ſo having performed all the Ceremonies belonging to his Coronation, returned preſently to his Army. By this time the French King with all his Forces was entred far into the Kingdom of *Naples*; and having taken by Aſſault certain Cities which truſted too much to their own ſtrength, ſtruck ſuch a general terror into the minds of the *Neapolitans*, that they thought no place now ſtrong enough to abide his batteries, or power ſufficient to abide his Forces. *Ferdinand* the young King with his Army had taken the Straits of the Forreſt of S. *Germane*, thereby to impeach the further paſſage of the French King. But whilſt he was there buſied, he was ſuddainly advertiſed, that *Fabritius Columna* with a great power of Frenchmen, had by the *Appenines* broken into *Campania*, and ſo was marching towards him; wherefore doubting to be ſhut up betwixt two ſtrong Armies of the Enemies, he retired ſpeedily to *Capua*, a ſtrong City ſituate upon the River *Vulturnus*; purpoſing there by means of that deep River, to ſtay the French from paſſing farther. But whilſt he lay there, news was brought unto him, That all the City of *Naples* was in an uprore, and that the Citizens were all up in Arms, as men in doubt which way to turn themſelves. *Ferdinand* not a little troubled with theſe bad news, commended the charge of his Army and the defence of the City of *Capua* to his chief Captains, and rid himſelf in poſt back again to *Naples*.

Ferdinand *departeth from* Capua *to pacifie an uprore at* Naples.

It is a ſtrange thing to tell, what a ſuddain alteration enſued upon his arrival there; for ſuddainly all the tumult was appeaſed, every man laid down his Arms, and welcomed him with a general gratulation; for he was a man of a great and invincible Courage, and of ſo comely a Perſonage, as might eaſily win the hearts of his Subjects; inſomuch, that when he earneſtly requeſted them, that they would not traiterouſly betray him to his barbarous and cruel Enemies, being their natural King, or rather their Brother born and brought up amongſt them; they all with one conſent anſwered, That they would ſpend their Lives and Goods in his quarrel, ſo long as he ſhould keep his Army whole, and defend the City of *Capua*; but if it ſhould ſo chance that the *Aragonians* ſhould be overthrown, or elſe for fear abandon that City, and the French King, as Victor, to approach the City of *Naples*, he ſhould do both againſt reaſon and equity, if by exacting Fidelity and Allegiance of his Subjects, apprehended with ſo juſt a fear, he ſhould ſo expoſe that noble City with the fruitful Country thereabout, to be ſpoiled and deſtroyed by a merciless and cruel Enemy. Whilſt *Ferdinand* was thus buſied in appeaſing and confirming his wavering Subjects at *Naples*, the French King had taken divers Cities, and was come before *Capua*. The Citizens of *Capua* although they were alwaies well affected to the *Aragonian* Kings, yet ſeeing the French King as a moſt violent Tempeſt to bear down all before him, began now to conſult amongſt themſelves of yielding up the City; whereunto they were the more prickt forward, by the ſuddain revolt of the great Captain *Trivultius* with his Followers; as alſo by the departure of *Verginius* and *Petilianus*, two great and famous Commanders, who ſeeing themſelves forſaken of *Trivultius*, fled with their Companies unto the City of *Nola*. In this diſcomfiture of King *Ferdinands* Army, the Frenchmen had entred into the Suburbs of the City; which thing *Gothfredus* and *Gaſpar* (two valiant *German* Captains) beholding, ſallied with their Companies out of the City, of purpoſe to abate the pride of the *French*, and to confirm the doubtful Citizens. Theſe worthy Captains, when they had with exceeding Valour repulſed the *French*, and thought to have again returned into the City, could not be ſuffered to enter, but were by the Citizens ſhut out of the Gate, in danger to have had their Throats cut by the Eenmy. In which perplexity they were glad upon their knees to intreat the cowardly Citizens ſtanding upon the Walls, not in ſuch traiterous manner to betray their Friends ready in their defence to beſtow their lives; and with much intreating, at length obtained of thoſe heartleſs men, that they they might by ten and ten in a Company be received in at one Gate of the City, and ſo put out at another, fartheſt from the danger of the Enemy; in which ſort when they had paſſed through the City, they took the way towards *Naples*; and upon the way met with the King at *Averſa*, unto whom they declared all that had hapned in his abſence at *Capua*; who although he ſaw his Army diſperſed, and all things now deſperate, yet went he on forward, and came to the very Gates of *Capua*, and there called upon divers of the chief men of the City, requiring to be let in. But when he ſaw there was none to give him anſwer, and an Enſign of the French King diſplaied upon the Wall, in token that the City was become French, he returned to *Naples*; where he found the Gates now ſhut againſt him, and all the Citizens up again in Arms, and not willing to receive any of the Souldiers which came from *Capua*, more than the King himſelf; for flying Fame preventing his return, had filled every corner of the City with report, That all the chief Captains of his Army were either gone over to the Enemy, or elſe for ſafeguard of their lives fled; That the whole Army was broken up, and *Capua* yielded to the French. Wherefore the *Neapolitans* framing their fancies according to the condition of the time, began now alſo to fawn upon the good fortune of the French, and to have King *Ferdinand* in contempt; which he well perceiving, and fetching a compaſs farther off from the City, came unto the Caſtle, whereinto he was received with his Followers by his faithful Captains therein before left. But providently foreſeeing that he could not there long ſtay, but that he ſhould be beſieged by his Enemies both by Sea and Land, he commended the keeping of that Piece unto *Alphonſus D'avalus*, a moſt valiant Captain, and departed himſelf with 20 Gallies well appointed unto *Ænaria*, an Iſland not far from *Naples*, having in it a commodious Harbour and a ſtrong Caſtle; where Fortune, never firm but in miſery, ſeemed again to deride the poor remainder of his Honour; for coming thither, the Captain of the Caſtle, unworthily named *Juſtus*, forgetting his duty towards his Soveraign, of whom he had before received many extraordinary favours, moſt traiterouſly now in his ſo hard diſtreſs ſhut the Gates of the Caſtle againſt him at his landing, and unkindly refuſed to receive him. With which unexpected ingratitude, the poor King was wonderfully perplexed and almoſt abaſhed; yet with earneſt intreaty and ample commemoration of the benefits and preferments which both his Father and himſelf had in times paſt beſtowed upon him, he prevailed ſo much with this unthankful man, that he was content to receive him into the Caſtle, ſo that he would come but himſelf alone; of which his offer, when no more could be got, the King ſeemed to accept. So the Captain having opened a Port to receive him in, was in the very entrance thereof ſuddainly ſtab'd to the heart with a Dagger by King *Ferdinand* and ſlain in the midſt of his armed Souldiers; which was done with ſuch a Countenance and Majeſty, that the Warders with their Weapons in their hands, diſmaid with his look, forthwith at his commandment opened the Gate, and received him in with all his Followers. Whereby it appeareth, *That in the Countenances of Princes reſteth a certain Divine Majeſty, in all Fortunes above the common courſe of Nature; which is of power to daunt the Hearts of moſt diſloial Traitors in the performance of their unnatural Treaſons.* The next day after the departure of King *Ferdinand* from the Caſtle of *Naples*, *Charles* the French King was received into the City, with ſuch Pomp, Triumph and Acclamation of the *Neapolitans*, as if they had even then by the benefit of that forraign King, been reſtored to perfect Liberty, and delivered out of ſome long and hard Bondage. Shortly after, the Caſtle of *Naples*, with all the ſtrong places thereabout were yielded unto the *French*, and Embaſſadors ſent from all the Princes and People of that Kingdom, yielding themſelves into the power of the French King. Then *Ferdinand* ſeeing all loſt and gone, departed from *Ænaria*, where he lay expecting the event of his hard fortune, and ſailed into *Cicilia.* Thus the Houſe of *Aragon* in leſs than five months, loſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, about ſixty three years after it was firſt taken from the French by *Alphonſus* the elder, this *Ferdinand* his great Grandfather.

A moſt reſolved act of King Ferdinand.

Charles *the French King received into* Naples.

The report of the great preparation made by the *French* for this War, had long before filled the Ears of them which dwelt in any part of the Turks Dominions in *Europe*; but when they ſaw the *French* Enſigns diſplaied upon the Walls of the Caſtles, and ſtrong Towns alongſt the coaſt of *Calabria* and *Salerne*, ſuch a ſuddain fear fell upon the Turks Garriſons alongſt the coaſt of *Epirus* and *Macedonia* on the other ſide of the *Adriatick*, over againſt that part of *Italy*, that many of them forſook their charge; the Chriſtians in thoſe places, as alſo in *Grecia* and *Peloponneſus*, beginning then to lift up their heads in hope of their deliverance, and to make the beſt preparation they could to joyn with the French againſt the Turks; but eſpecially the rough and wild People inhabiting the high Mountains called *Acroceraunij* in the borders of *Epirus*, who preſently took up Arms, refuſing to be any longer tributary unto the Turkiſh Emperor;

This proſperous and ſpeedy ſucceſs of the *French* King in the conqueſt of *Naples*, filled the minds of moſt of the Chriſtian Princes, as alſo of the Turkiſh Emperor, with a doubtful expectation, whither his greatneſs would grow; many being of an opinion, that he covertly affected the Empire of *Rome*, and to make himſelf the ſole Monarch of *Italy*. Which conceit no little troubled both the great Biſhop *Alexander*, and *Maximilian* then Emperor. *Bajazet* alſo feared much leſt he ſhould upon the ſuddain turn his Forces into *Epirus* or *Grecia*, to his no ſmall diſquiet. And *Ferdinand*, the adviſed King of *Spain*, was no leſs careful for the ſafety of *Silicia*. *Lodovicus Sfortia* alſo (ſhortly after created Duke of *Millan*, the chief occaſion of the *French* Kings coming into *Italy*, and a great aider of him in thoſe Wars) began now to conſider better of the matter, and to ſtand in doubt of the King, whom he well perceived to make ſmall reckoning of his word or promiſe, ſo that he might thereby enlarge his Dominions. And the *Venetians*, who in all theſe Wars had ſtood looking on as neuters (in hope that when the *Aragonians* and *French* had with long Wars, which they vainly imagined, well weakned one another, that they might then at their pleaſure ſhare out ſomething for themſelves) were now in doubt with the reſt of the States of *Italy* to loſe ſome part of their own Territory; for now there was no Prince or State in *Italy* able to oppoſe themſelves againſt the *French*, but ſtood all as it were at his devotion.

A great League made by divers Chriſtian Princes againſt the French King.

Wherefore the aforeſaid Princes, namely, *Maximilian* the Emperor, *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Rome*, the State of *Venice*, and *Lodovicus Sfortia*, Duke of *Millan*, for the more aſſurance of their Eſtates, by their Embaſſadors ſpeedily ſent from one to another, concluded a ſtrong League among themſelves; whereof the chief Capitulation was, That if any of theſe Confederates ſhould upon their own accord make War upon any other Prince, they ſhould do it upon their own charges; but if any of them ſhould chance to be invaded by any other, that then every one of theſe Confederates ſhould of their own charge ſend four thouſand Horſe and ten thouſand Foot in aid of their Confederates ſo invaded, until the Wars were ended; which League was to endure for twenty years. The fame of this League was welcome to many other Princes, but eſpecially to *Bajazet*, who now feared nothing more, than the Forces of the *French*, and had therefore offered unto the *Venetians*, to aid them both by Sea and Land againſt the *French*, if their Affairs ſhould ſo require. This League ſo much pleaſed not other Princes, but it troubled the *French* King more, as of purpoſe made againſt him; although it was by the Confederates pretended to be made only for their own ſafety. Wherefore he with all expedition placed his beſt Captains with ſtrong Garriſons in all the Cities and ſtrong Holds of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and left *Mompenſer* his Viceroy in the City of *Naples*, and with the reſt of his Army returned into *France*, purpoſing by the way as he went to terrifie the diſſembling Biſhop, ſo if it were poſſible to draw him from the League; and afterwards to deal with *Sfortia* and the reſt as he might. But when he was come near unto *Rome*, the Biſhop for fear fled out of the City to *Peruſium*, intending from thence to have fled to *Venice*, if the *French* King ſhould have farther purſued him. *Charles* deceived of his purpoſe, in peaceable manner entred the City, and there ſtaid three days, and ſo departed; uſing violence againſt none, but againſt ſuch as were well known to be of the *Aragonian* faction. From *Rome* he marched to *Piſa*; and ſo with much pain paſſing the *Appenines*, was at the River of *Tarrus*, not far from *Parma*, ſet upon by *Franciſcus Gonzago* Duke of *Mantua*, General of a great Army which the *Venetians* and *Sfortia* had raiſed upon the ſuddain to have ſtopped his paſſage; in which Battel he was in great danger to have been taken or ſlain, and there loſt his Tents, with all the rich Spoil gotten in the rich Kingdom of *Naples*; yet having at length with great ſlaughter valiantly repulſed his Enemies, he afterwards returned in ſafety home.

About the ſame time that this Battel was fought at *Tarrus*, the young King *Ferdinand*, lately driven out of his Kingdom by the *French* King, returned again out of *Cicilia* to *Naples*; where he was joyfully received of the *Neapolitans*, and by the help of his Friends (but eſpecially of the great

Ferdinand *recovereth his Kingdom of* **Naples** *from the French, and dieth.*

Gonſalvus, ſent in his aid by *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*) in leſs than a years ſpace recovered the Kingdom of *Naples* again from the *French*; and then dying without iſſue left the ſame to his Uncle *Fredericus*. Wherein the uncertainty of worldly Honor, the chief felicity of ambitious minds, is well to be noted; when as in that one Kingdom the chief Government was ſix times changed in leſs than the ſpace of three years: for firſt *Ferdinand* the elder dying, left that Kingdom unto his Son *Alphonſus*, at ſuch time as the French King was making preparation for thoſe Wars: *Alphonſus* deſpairing of his own Forces, reſigned the Kingdom to his Son *Ferdinand*, when he had ſcarcely reigned fully a year: *Ferdinand* in leſs than three months was driven quite out of *Italy* by *Charles* the French King: *Charles* poſſeſſed of the Kingdom, in ſhort time after was again diſpoſſeſſed by the ſame *Ferdinand*: *Ferdinand* having with much trouble thruſt out the French, died within leſs than a year: After whom ſucceeded *Fredericus* his Uncle, no leſs unfortunate than the reſt: and *Charles* the French King himſelf lived not long after, but died ſuddenly as he came from playing at Tennis, being then but ſeven and twenty years old, leaving the flouriſhing Kingdom of *France*, with the troubleſome Title pretended to the Kingdom of *Naples*, unto *Lewis* his ſucceſſor, who lived with great trouble to Conquer the ſame, and with greater grief to loſe it again.

The death of Charles *the French King.*

1496.

1497.

The Turks invade **Podolia** *and* **Raſſia** *and in their return are for the moſt part loſt.*

But to return again to the courſe of our Hiſtory, from whence the great Occurrents of that time (not altogether impertinent to our purpoſe) have a little too far led us. *Bajazet* delivered of two great fears, firſt by the death of his Brother *Zemes*, and after by the caſting out of the *French* out of *Naples*; began now to turn his Forces upon the Chriſtians, and by his Lieutenant *Bali-beg* Sanzack of *Siliſtra*, invaded the Countries of *Podolia* and *Raſſia*, being part of the Kingdom, where the Turks did great harm, and carried away many Priſoners. But coming again the ſecond time, and making ſuch like ſpoil as before, they ſtayed ſo long, that the cold of Winter (which in thoſe Countries is very extream) was now come on; and in their return as they were about to have paſſed through *Moldavia*, they were by *Stephanus* Prince of that Country, denied both paſſage and victuals, and forced to take the way alongſt the Sea coaſt; where many of them ſtragling from their Army, were by the way cut off and ſlain by the *Moldavians*; and the reſt, what by the extremity of the cold, what for want of food, and foulneſs of the way, periſhed; ſo that of that great Army very few returned home. The Turks Hiſtories report, That in this expedition were loſt forty thouſand Turks.

He ſent alſo *Cadumes* one of his Baſſaes into *Illyria*, who ſpoiling that Country, with a part of *Croatia*, was encountred by nine thouſand *Croatians* and *Hungarians* near unto the River *Morava*, under the leading of Count *Bernard Francopaine*; where after a cruel and bloody Fight, the Chriſtians were put to the worſe, and above ſeven thouſand of them ſlain; the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight through the Mountains and Woods. Of the Chriſtians that were loſt, many were drowned in *Morava*, chuſing rather ſo to end their days, than to fall into the hands of their cruel Enemies. This overthrow was imputed to the General, who would needs give the Turks Battel in plain Field, although he was earneſtly entreated by Count *Jo. Torquatus* to have kept the Straits of that Country, whereby he might have had great advantage of the Enemy. *Torquatus* himſelf having loſt all his Horſemen in that Battel, and his Horſe killed under him, fought valiantly on foot, until he was by the multitude of his Enemies oppreſſed and ſlain. The Baſſa to give *Bajazet* a ſure teſtimony of the Victory, cauſed all the Noſes of the ſlain Chriſtians to be cut off and put upon ſtrings, and ſo by Waggon ſent them as a barbarous Preſent to *Conſtantinople*. After the death of *Charles* the *French* King, *Lewis* the Twelfth of that name having obtained that Kingdom, wrote himſelf alſo Duke of *Millan*, as deſcended of one of the Daughters of *Jo. Galeatius* firſt Duke of *Millan*; in which his ſuppoſed right he was fully reſolved to make War upon *Sfortia* then Duke of *Millan*. And for his better ſucceſs in thoſe Wars, ſought by all means he could, to draw ſome other of the Princes and States of *Italy* into the Fellowſhip of that intended War; but above all others the *Venetians*, as moſt commodious for his purpoſe; with whom he made a firm League, and for the aid they were to give him, covenanted that they ſhould have for their ſhare the City of *Cremona*, with all the pleaſant Country about *Abdua*, then part of *Sfortia* his Dominion; which was afterwards accordingly performed.

Sfortia underſtanding of this compact made againſt him, and knowing himſelf far too weak of himſelf to ſtand againſt ſo puiſſant Enemies; attempted firſt to ſet *Maximilian* the Emperor, with the States of *Germany*, upon the *French* King. But that not ſorting to his deſire, he ſought to agree with the King, by offering to hold his Dukedom of him, by paying him a yearly Tribute. After he had thus in vain proved all the means he could deviſe, to have appeaſed the *French* King, and provided for his own ſafety; he by his Embaſſadors ſent of purpoſe, certified *Bajazet* of the confederation betwixt the *French* King and the *Venetians*, and that their purpoſe was after they had oppreſſed him, and ſome other of the States of *Italy*, then with their united Forces to invade his Dominions; and that therefore it were good for him in time to look unto it, and to give aid againſt thoſe which would in ſhort time become his moſt dangerous Enemies. By this means the Duke was in good hope, ſo to buſie the *Venetians* by bringing the Turk upon them, as that they ſhould ſtand the *French* in ſmall ſtead. At which time alſo the Embaſſadors of *Florence* did what they could to prick forward the Turk to make Wars upon the *Venetians*; for the malice they bare againſt them for protecting them of *Piſa* againſt the oppreſſion of the *Florentines*.

Bajazet perſwaded by the Embaſſadors, and calling to remembrance the injuries before done him by the *Venetians*; firſt by giving aid to *John Caſtriot* the Son of *Scanderbeg*, and *John Chernovich* another Prince of *Epirus* (whereby he loſt a great part of that Conntry, and was alſo further enforced to yield to ſuch conditions as altogether ſtood not with his honour) and again by denying to give his Fleet leave to put into their harbours of *Cyprus*, in the time of his Wars againſt the Sultan of *Egypt*; all which he was glad then to endure, for fear leſt that his Brother *Zemes* (then living) ſhould by their means be ſet up againſt him; promiſed now to do what the Embaſſadors had requeſted; glad in his mind that the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes had preſented unto him ſo fit an opportunity of Revenge.

1499.

Friuli *part of the* **Venetian** *Territory ſpoiled by the Turks.*

Hereupon he made great preparation both by Sea and Land againſt the *Venetians*, and upon the ſuddain cauſed *Scander Baſſa* his Lieutenant in *Illyria*, with twelve thouſand Horſe to break into the Country of *Friuli*, part of the *Venetian* Territory upon the frontiers of *Italy*. The Baſſa as he had in charge, paſſing over divers great Rivers, at length entred the Country, burning and deſtroying all before him as far as *Liquentia*, carrying away with him all the poor Country People Priſoners. But when he was come to the Banks of *Tiliaventum*, and underſtood that he came too late to pleaſure the Duke of *Millan* (for why, the *French* with the *Venetians* had before without reſiſtance driven him quite out of *Italy* and *Germany*) he there, with more than barbarous cruelty put four thouſand poor Priſoners to the Sword; and ſo having filled the Country with mourning and with blood, returned from whence he came, loaded with ſpoil of that rich Country.

At the ſame time alſo, *Bajazet* put to Sea ſuch a Fleet as none of his predeceſſors had before ſet forth; and with a great Army in perſon himſelf marched alongſt the Sea Coaſt of *Morea*, in ſuch ſort, as that his Army by Land, and his Fleet at Sea, as near as they could, kept even pace the one within ſight of the other. Neither were the *Venetians* unmindful of themſelves, but ſet forth a ſtrong Fleet under the charge of *Anthony Grimani* their Admiral; in number far inferior to the Turks, but for Equipage, Strength, ſkilful Mariners, and all other manner of warlike proviſion, much ſuperior. For which cauſe the Turks, although defied and braved by the *Venetians*, yet durſt not at the firſt joyn with them in battel, but ſtill kept alongſt the coaſt of *Morea*, not daring to put further off into the Sea. In this their courſe the *Venetians* troubled them exceedingly, ſometimes making ſhew as if they would have conſtrained them to fight, and otherwhiles giving them chaſe, never departing far from them, wiſely accounting it right good ſervice, if they could but keep that huge Fleet from landing in *Italy*, or other place of the *Venetian* Territory. Moſt men were in good hope, that if thoſe great Fleets ſhould have joyned in battel, the *Venetians* ſhould have had a notable Victory; for that the Enemy as afraid kept ſo dangerous a courſe, and ſo near the main. The longer they thus ſailed, the more was the State of *Venice* offended with their Admiral, that he contrary to all expectation, delayed to fight, and ſtill ſuffered the dangerous Enemy to approach nearer and nearer their Territories; and there were none which had not rather he ſhould have ſet all upon the hazard of one battel,than to protract by delay a long and doubtful War. Whilſt all mens minds were thus in expectation of ſome great exploit to be done upon the Enemy, news came to the City, that the Turks Fleet had put into the Haven *Sapientia* in the Iſland *Sphraga*, to water, and was there embaied by the *Venetians*. This report was of moſt men joyfully received, as if the Victory had been already aſſured; and ſo much the more, for that it was vainly ſuppoſed, that it would be gained without any great loſs. But others which better knew the place, deemed of the matter far otherwiſe, ſaying, That the place wherein the Enemy lay was ſuch, as that he might ſafely at his pleaſure depart thence. Yet forſomuch as the Turks Fleet was more ſubject unto danger in putting out of the Harbor, than in the wide Sea, there was no man but was of opinion, That the *Venetian* Admiral would ſet upon them as they ſhould come forth again. Whilſt men were thus divining too and fro, and the *Venetians* attending the coming forth of the Enemies Fleet, it fortuned that *Andreas Lauredanus* and *Albanus Armerius* (two valiant Gentlemen) but a little before come from *Corcyra*, of purpoſe to be preſent at the battel, were the firſt that began the fight; and with their two nimble Ships (after they had changed a few Bullets) boorded a tall Ship of the Turks, being of ſuch beauty and burthen, that ſhe ſeemed rather a Caſtle than a Ship, whereof one *Baruch* of *Smyrna* (a notable Pirat) was Captain; who after a long and cruel Fight, perceiving that he muſt either yield, or by force be taken, deſperately ſet fire on his own Ship, by the rage whereof both ſhe and the *Venetian* Ships faſt grapled unto her, were all three together burnt down to the Water. Many of the Men (to ſhun the violence of the Fire) leapt over boord into the Sea, where ſome of them were taken up by the other Ships, and ſome periſhed. Some few other of the *Venetian* Fleet couragiouſly aſſailed the Turks at their coming out, and doing great harm, put the Turks whole Fleet in no ſmall fear. But the moſt part of the *Venetian* Gallies lay looking on a far off, unto whom the other before in fight with the Turks, after they had done what they could, retired alſo. But by that they had done, it appeared plainly, that the *Venetian* Admiral that day let ſlip out of his hands a moſt notable Victory, if he as a reſolute Man had with his whole Fleet charged the Enemy.

A Fight at Sea betwixt the Turks and the Venetians.

After this Fight the Turks held on their courſe, ſtill keeping *Morea* on the right hand, whom the *Venetians* ſtill followed: at length the Turks Fleet was come to the entrance of the Gulf of *Patras*, where the *Venetians* again faintly ſetting upon them, ſuffered them to recover the Gulf; with no leſs diſhonour than they had before let them eſcape at the Port *Sapientia*: for the *Venetians* having the advantage of the place, and better appointed for Fight at Sea, might eaſily (as it was ſuppoſed) have gained the Victory, if the Commanders (but eſpecially the Admiral) had been ſo forward in the ſervice as became Men of their place. But many of them afraid to Fight lay aloof, ſo that *Dauthes* the Turks Admiral (who perceiving himſelf too weak, had purpoſed to run his Gallies on ſhoar, and ſo to have fled to the Army at Land, if he had felt himſelf overcharged by the *Venetian* Fleet) had now contrary to his expectation recovered the Gulf he deſired, though not without loſs of ſome of his Gallies. Within this Gulf ſtandeth the antient City of *Naupactum* (now called *Lepanto*) then ſubject to the *Venetians*, whether *Bajazet* was then come by Land with his Army; and now by the coming of his Fleet into the Gulf, laid hard Siege unto the City both by Sea and Land. They of the City ſeeing themſelves on every ſide beſet with their Enemies, without any great reſiſtance fell to compoſition with *Bajazet*, and ſo yielded unto him the City, which the Turks hold at this day.

Lepanto *yielded to the Turks.*

Grimanus the *Venetian* Admiral returning to *Venice*, was for all his evil ſervice (or rather for that he, according to his mild nature, had not uſed ſeverity againſt ſuch Captains as refuſed to Fight) caſt into Priſon; and although he was a Man mightily befriended, yet was he by a publick Decree Baniſhed into one of the *Abſytides*, Iſlands upon the Coaſt of *Liburnia*. From the firſt foundation of the City of *Venice* was never Man impugned with more ſpight, or defended by greater friends; but common hatred prevailing, he was nevertheleſs exiled. Thus *Bajazet* having made a Road into the *Venetian* Territory by *Scander-Baſſa*, and taken from them the City of *Naupactum*, with the Country thereabout, returned with Victory to *Conſtantinople*.

1500. The next year following, which was the year 1500. *Bajazet* put to Sea a greater and ſtronger

Fleet than he had the year before; and himſelf in perſon with a puiſſant Army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men entred by the Strait of *Corinth* into *Peloponneſus*, and marching through the Country, came and incamped before the ſtrong City of *Methone* (now called *Modon*) then under the Government of the *Venetians*; at which time his great Fleet met him there alſo by Sea, as he had before appointed. When he thus had beſet the City both by Sea and Land, and with long and continual battery made three great and fair breaches in the Walls, he gave unto the ſame two terrible Aſſaults, and that with ſuch deſperate fury, that many of them which went firſt unto the breach, overthrown by the preſs of them which followed, were trodden to death. Yet nevertheleſs the City was both times valiantly defended by the Citizens and Garriſon Souldiers; ſo that when he had done what he could, he was glad to retire from the Walls, having filled the Town-Ditches with the Bodies of his ſlain Turks. The *Venetian* Admiral *Triviſanus* lying at the Iſle of *Zacynthus* (but far too weak to fight with the Enemy) in the beginning of the Siege ſent *Valerius Marcellus* and *Baptiſta Polanus*, with two Gallies full of Men and Munition in relief of the beſieged; and now doubting their further wants, ſent *Jo. Maripetrus*, *Alex. Cothius* of *Corcyra*, and *Cachuris* of *Hydruntum*, with three other great Gallies, with Men, Munition, and ſuch other things as he thought needful for the defence of the City. Theſe three reſolute Captains coming with a full wind, and packing on all their Sails, brake through the Turks Fleet lying in their way, and ran themſelves aground under the Walls of the Town; for they of the Town had ſo barred the Haven for fear of the Enemy, that they could not that way poſſibly get in. The Citizens and Souldiers joyful of the coming of this freſh Supply and withal fearing leſt the Gallies ſhould be ſet off again from them by the Enemy, came running by heaps from all parts of the City, towards the Sea, to receive this new come Aid; which was done with ſuch confuſed diſorder, that divers places of the City towards the Land were left without Defendants, as if there had been no Enemy near. Which the Janizaries quickly perceiving, preſently entred by thoſe forſaken places with little or no reſiſtance. Then the Citizens all too late began to make head; for the Janizaries already entred made way for the reſt of the Army; which ſwarming into the City, ſlew without pity all that came in the way, as well *Grecians* as *Venetians*, with all the Souldiers but even then newly landed out of the three Gallie. In this ſlaughter, *Anthonius Fabrius* and *Bardella* (Governors of the Town) with *Andreas Falco* Biſhop of *Methone*, in his Pontificalibus and his Mytre on his head, were ſlain; none eſcaped their fury, but ſuch as were for their ſtrength reſerved for ſervile labour, or for their beauty, to the Victors luſt; and of theſe a thouſand bound faſt together in long Ropes, were brought to *Bajazets* Pavilion, and there in his ſight by his commandment cruelly murthered. The Cities of *Corone* and *Pilus* (now called *Navarrinum*) ſometime the dwelling place of old *Neſtor*, terrified with the taking of *Methone*, yielded themſelves by compoſition to *Bajazet*. This City of *Chriſſeum*, now known by the name of *Caput S. Galli*, was taken alſo by *Cherſeogles*, *Bajazet* his Son in law. All theſe were Cities belonging to the *Venetians*. *Nauplium* was alſo beſieged by *Haly Baſſa*, but yet ſtill defended by the *Venetians*. *Bajazet* having new fortified the City of *Methone*, and ſtored it with new Inhabitants, left in it a ſtrong Garriſon, and ſo with Victory returned to *Conſtantinople*.

Methone *beſieged both by Sea and Land by* Bajazet.

Methone *taken by the Turks.*

Corone, Pilus, *and* Criſſeum *yieldeth to the Turks.*

1501. At this time *Triviſanus* the *Venetian* Admiral died of grief of mind, as ſome ſuppoſed; in whoſe place the Senate ſent *Benedictus Piſaurius*, a noble and valiant Gentleman, who with the *Venetian* Fleet followed the Enemy, then departing from the Siege of *Nauplium*, purſuing them even unto the Straits of *Helleſpontus*, ſtill cutting off ſuch as ſtraggled or tarried behind the reſt of the Fleet; by which means he took above twenty of their Gallies, and in his return took from the Turks the Iſland of *Ægina*, and landing in divers places of the Turks Dominions, left unto them the woful remembrance of his being there. Afterwards meeting with *Gonſalvus*, ſirnamed *the Great* (ſent by *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, to aid him againſt the Turks) at *Zacynthus*, he invaded *Cephalenia* (which *Triviſanus* his Predeceſſor had in vain attempted the year before) and laid hard Siege to the City; which was for a ſpace valiantly defended by the Turks, yet at length by the good conduct of *Gonſalvus* it was by force taken, when as *Giſdare* the Governor thereof, with his Garriſon of Turks had before fought it out even to the laſt man. The City being taken, all the whole Iſland yielded forthwith to the *Venetians*.

Cephalenia *taken by the* Venetians

Piſaurius having taken *Cephalenia*, repaired the City, and leaving a ſtrong Garriſon for defence of the Iſle, departed to *Corcyra*; where he was advertiſed, that the Turks were rigging forth a great Fleet againſt the next Spring, whereof ſome part lay in the Bay of *Ambracia*, not far from *Corcyra*; ſome at *Eante*, and the reſt within the Straits of *Helleſpontus*. Wherefore purpoſing to do ſome exploit upon thoſe Gallies which lay in the Bay of *Ambracia*, to avert the mind of the Enemy from perceiving of that he had ſecretly with himſelf intended, he ſent the greateſt part of his Fleet unto the Iſland of *Neritos*, who ſuddainly landing ſhould put the Inhabitants in fear. The Captains ſent about the buſineſs, chearfully put in execution what the Amiral had commanded, and by their ſuddain landing raiſed ſuch a tumult, that all the Countries thereabout were filled with the expectation of that which ſhould enſue thereof. The Bay of *Ambracia* is ſo ſtraitned on either ſide with the Mountains of *Epirus*, that the entrance thereof is but half a mile over; but by and by opening it ſelf into a great wideneſs, and running up into the Land, maketh a moſt pleaſant and ſafe Harbour for Ships and Gallies to ride in. *Piſaurius* with a fair Wind coming thither with eight Gallies well appointed, when the Turks thought him to have been at *Neritos*, and entring the Strait, rowing farther into the Bay, burnt one of the Turks great Gallies, to the terror of all them that dwelt round about the Bay, and carried with him eleven more, laded with Munition and Victual, through the Strait; the Turks in vain fretting thereat, and doing what they could with their great Ordnance from Shore to have ſunk him in going out of the Bay. But having done what he came for, he returned with his Prey again to *Corcyra*. Not long after he alſo recovered the Caſtle of *Pylos* in *Morea*; which, as it was ſuddainly gotten, ſo was it as ſuddainly loſt; for *Camalia*, a notable Pirat of the Turks, who had been abroad ſeeking after purchaſe, putting into that Harbor by chance, took three Gallies there left by the Admiral for defence of the place, and ſo terrified the faint-hearted Captain, that he fell to compoſition with the Pyrat, to yield him the Caſtle, ſo that he and his Souldiers might in ſafety depart; which the Pyrat granting, had

Pylos *taken from the Turks, and again yielded unto them.*

the Caſtle delivered unto him, which he could not with far greater ſtrength have poſſibly won. So was *Pylos* for fear twice in one year yielded up unto the Turks, and was both times the death of the cowardly Captains which gave it up, being both beheaded by the commandment of the Admiral. About the ſame time, *Piſaurius* attempted to have burnt other of the Turks Gallies lying in the River *Eante*, upon the coaſt of *Macedonia*; but not with ſo good ſucceſs as before; for the Turks, made more careful by the loſs they had but a little before received at *Ambracia*, did now more vigilantly look unto their Gallies; ſo that when *Piſaurius* had in certain ſmall Veſſels, made of purpoſe for that ſervice, embarked two hundred reſolute Souldiers to have gone up the River to have fired the Gallies, they were by the way after they had entred a good way into the River, encountred by the Turks, and enforced to return. But before they could get out of the River, the wind roſe ſo contrary, with ſuch a ſtiff gale full in the mouth of the River, that the Mariners overmaſtred with the violence of the Weather, when they had done what they could, and ſpent all their ſtrength, were driven aſhore, ſome on one ſide of the River, and ſome on the other, and ſo fell into the hands of their Enemies, of whom it booted not to crave mercy.

Dyrrachium *taken by the Turks.*

About this time *Bajazet* took alſo the ancient and famous City of *Dyrrachium*, now called *Durazo*, from the *Venetians*; before ruinous, and almoſt quite abandoned by the Inhabitants, as a place of danger, and not to be kept now that the Turk had got all the Country round about it. The *Venetians* ſore preſſed with theſe Wars ſo long maintained againſt the Turk, had many times prayed Aid of other Chriſtian Princes, and were well holpen by the *Spaniard* in the taking of *Cephalenia*; and now *Lewis* the *French* King, upon a good devotion to that War, ſent the Lord *Raveſtin* with ſeven tall Ships and fifteen Gallies well appointed out of *Provence* and *Genoa*, to aid the *Venetians* his Friends. This Fleet departing from *Naples*, where they had by the way put in, and paſſing about *Italy*, and ſo through the *Ionian* Sea, came to *Melos* one of the *Cyclades*; at which Iſland *Piſaurius* with his Fleet in ſhort time arrived alſo; from whence they by mutual conſent departed together to invade the Iſland of *Lesbos*; and being there ſafely arrived, landed their Forces, and laid ſiege to the ſtrong City of *Mytilene*, where by the fury of their Artillery they in ſhort time had made a fair breach in the Wall. In the time of this battery, whilſt the breach was in making, *Piſaurius* with part of his Fleet ſailed to *Tenedos*; for it was reported, that certain of the Turks Gallies were then coming for that place out of *Helleſpontus*. Which report, as ſome write, was of purpoſe given out by the *French*, thereby to draw the *Venetian* Admiral from the Siege, that ſo in the mean time they being in good hope to take the Town in his abſence, might themſelves carry away the honour thereof, together with the rich ſpoil. Others favouring the *French*, blame the *Venetian* Admiral, as if he had of purpoſe departed, envying at the honour of the *French*. Which is hardly to be believed in ſo honourable a Perſonage, and in an action ſo much concerning the good of his Common-Weal. Howſoever it was, the breach being made, in his abſence was by the *French* preſently aſſaulted; although that *Palus Valateſius* the *Venetian* Vice-Admiral, earneſtly requeſted the *French* Admiral to defer the Aſſault for a while, and to expect the return of *Piſaurius*. Which his Counſel the *French* Admiral gave him the hearing of, but yet went forward with the Aſſault. The Frenchmen after their manner furiouſly aſſailing the breach, were valiantly repulſed by the Turks; ſo that in the breach was made a deadly and moſt terrible Fight, many falling on both ſides. Yet for all that, the City was manfully defended by the Turks, and the Frenchmen were enforced to retire. The *French* Admiral having taken this repulſe, commanded all things to be carried aboard, puposing to have forſaken the Siege, and ſo to have departed; when in the mean time the *Venetian* Admiral returned, and with much ado perſwaded the *French* to ſtay. Whereupon the battery was again begun with greater fury than before, and now the Leaders were conſulting of a freſh Aſſault to be given, when ſuddainly news was brought, That the Turks Fleet was coming to relieve the City; and thereupon the Aſſault was for a time deferred and the battery continued. But thoſe Turks which came, being in number but few, were for the moſt part by them in the Gallies taken and caſt over board; ſome few that got to Land, ſaved themſelves in the Woods and deſart places of the Iſle. By this time the City was again made aſſaultable, and the *Venetians* with great Courage aſſailed the breach, and had twice gained the top of the Rampiers, from whence they were again both times beaten down by the Turks, the *French* all the while looking on. Many valiant men were there ſlain and hurt, and in the end the *Venetians* were glad with loſs to retire, as had the *French* done before. Whilſt this was in doing, a Pinnace came to the Fleet with news, That the Great Maſter of the *Rhodes* was coming with his Gallies, to the Siege; whereupon the Admirals determined to maintain the Siege until his coming. But the next day after, the *French* Admiral changing his purpoſe, ſhipped his men, and hoyſing ſail departed to *Chios*; and ſailing thence towards *Italy*, was overtaken with a moſt terrible Tempeſt, wherein the Admiral Gally with two others were loſt, with eight hundred good Souldiers, the Admiral himſelf with above forty others were by chance contrary to all hope ſaved, and with much danger with his Weather-beaten Fleet recovered the Haven of *Tarentum*. The *Venetian* Admiral thus forſaken of the *French*, and ſeeing the time paſt wherein he expected the coming of the Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, brake up the Siege and departed from *Lesbos* to *Chios*, and from thence to *Paros*, where he found the Maſter of the *Rhodes* with his Gallies; unto whom he complained greatly of the inconſtancy of the *French*, imputing it unto them, that the City of *Mytilene* was not won. Neither were they behind with him, but in every place where they came, laid the fault as much or more upon him. From *Paros* the *Venetian* Admiral took his courſe to the Iſland of *Melos*, where he found one *Richius* an Arch Pyrat of the Turks, who by force of Tempeſt was driven on Shore, and by the ſuddain coming down of the Iſland people, taken; him (for that he had exerciſed exceeding Cruelty upon certain Chriſtians that he had taken) *Piſaurius* cauſed to be faſt bound to a Spit, and with a ſmall fire to be roaſted to death. From *Melos* he returned to *Corcyra*, and there wintered.

Mytilene *beſieged.*

The Siege of Mytilene *broken up.*

1502.

The next Spring, *Piſaurius* with certain Gallies which *Alexander* Biſhop of *Rome* had ſent unto him, under the command of *Jacobus Piſaurius* Biſhop of *Paphia*, ſailed to *Neritos*, now called *S. Maura*, which is an Iſland parted from the firm Land with a little fret of the Sea, long time before that way let in by the *Corinthians*. Here *Piſaurius* ſuddainly landing his men, ſurpriſed the Iſland, and with wonderful celerity and induſtry caſt up two great Trenches, in ſuch ſort, and to ſo good purpoſe, that three thouſand of the Turks Horſemen coming at a low water over that narrow Strait which parteth the Iſland from the Main, were with loſs repulſed and forced to retire. Whereupon S. *Maura* the chief City was forthwith delivered unto *Piſaurius*, with the reſt of the Iſland.

Neritos *taken by the* Venetians.

The *Venetians* weary of this long and chargeable War againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, ſent *Lodovicus Manetius* their Embaſſador to *Bajazet*, to treat with him for Peace; but *Bajazet* ſtood upon ſuch hard points, that nothing could at that time be concluded. Yet *Manetius* ſo diſcreetly uſed the matter, that *Bajazet* ſent with him at his return to *Venice*, his Embaſſador, to propound unto the Senate ſuch Conditions as it pleaſed him to grant them Peace upon. This Embaſſador had audience in the Senate twice, where he in the name of his Maſter propounded ſuch proud and unreaſonable Conditions, that they were by the Senate rejected, and ſo he himſelf diſmiſſed and ſent back again.

1503.

The year following, the *Venetians* ſent an Embaſſador to *Bajazet*, who moved with the pitiful complaints of his own Subjects, for the daily harms they received from the *Venetians* alongſt the Sea Coaſt, as alſo for want of Trade; and fearing alſo ſome troubles like to ariſe in his Kingdom in *Aſia* (as indeed there did, not long after) yielded himſelf more willingly to hear of Peace, than before. This Embaſſador called *Zacharias Phriſcus*, was well heard of *Bajazet*, and after long ſuit had brought the matter he came for unto ſome good terms: and being honourably rewarded by the Turkiſh Emperor, returned home, carrying with him unto the Senate far more reaſonable Conditions of Peace than had at any time before been by *Bajazet* propounded. Hereupon the *Venetians* ſhortly after ſent *Andreas Gritti* (an honourable Senator) a man well known to *Bajazet* both for his famous traffique in former time at *Conſtantinople*, and alſo for that in theſe late Wars he was taken Priſoner at the winning of *Methone*, and his life ſpared at the interceſſion of *Cherſeogles* (*Bajazet* his Son-in-Law) and afterward ranſomed; he in the name of the State from whence he came, concluded a Peace with *Bajazet*. The Capitulations whereof were, firſt, That the *Venetians* ſhould deliver up the Iſlands of *Neritos* and *Leucadia*, reſerving unto themſelves the Iſland of *Cephalenia* only; Then, That *Bajazet* ſhould reſtore all ſuch Goods as had been taken from the *Venetian* Merchants, in theſe late Wars; And that it ſhould be lawful for them (as they were wont) ſafely to traffique into the *Euxine* Sea, and to *Conſtantinople*; and there to have their Conſul or Governor as they had had in former time; And laſt of all, That the *Venetian* Territory ſhould be certainly known, and ſeparated from the Turks by certain Bounds and Limits. Theſe Conditions were ſolemnly agreed upon, and confirmed both by *Bajazet* and the State of *Venice*; and ſo a firm Peace concluded in the year 1503, after the Wars had continued betwixt them about the ſpace of five years.

A Peace concluded betwixt Bajazet *and the* Venetians

The ſame year *Bajazet* aſſembled a great and puiſſant Army of his beſt and moſt approved Souldiers, as well in *Aſia* as *Europe*, which met together at *Sophia*, purpoſing (as it was thought) to have invaded *Hungary*; but worthily doubting the ſucceſs of that War againſt ſo warlike a Nation, he changed his purpoſe, and leaving *Achmetes Baſſa* with his *Aſian* Souldiers at *Sophia*, turned himſelf with the reſt of his Amy into *Albania* (to reduce thoſe rebellious People again to his obeyſance) and had before ſent a Fleet of Gallies to ſtop the paſſages of that Country alongſt the Sea Coaſt. But the Country People underſtanding of his coming, fled into the high and rough Rocks and Mountains, from whence they did the Turks great harm; who nevertheleſs with incredible labour and adventure, mounted thoſe difficult places; and killing an exceeding number of thoſe mountain and ſavage People, carried all the Women and Children they could light upon, away with them Priſoners; and with Fire and Sword made all the Country deſolate. After which Spoil done, *Bajazet* returned with his Army to *Manaſtirum*; and departing thence, upon the way met with a Derviſlar (which is a phantaſtical and beggarly kind of Turkiſh Monks, uſing no other Apparel but two Sheep-Skins, the one hanging before and the other behind) a luſty ſtrong fat Fellow, attired after the manner of his order, with a great Ring in each Ear; who drawing near unto *Bajazet*, as if he would of him have received an Alms, deſperately aſſailed him with a ſhort Scimitar which he had cloſely conveied under his hypocritical habit. But *Bajazet* by the ſtarting of the Horſe whereon he rid (being afraid at the ſuddain approach of the Hobgoblin) partly avoided the deadly blow by the Traitor entended, yet not altogether unwounded; neither had he ſo eſcaped the danger, had not *Iſhender* Baſſa with his Horſemans Mace preſently ſtruck down the deſperate Villain as he was about to have doubled his ſtroak; but being now ſtruck down, he was forthwith rent in pieces by the Souldiers. This treacherous and deſperate fact ſo much moved *Bajazet*, that he proſcribed all them of that ſuperſtitious Order, and baniſhed them out of his Empire.

Bajazet *in danger to have been ſlain by a Derviſlar or Turkiſh Monk.*

After ſo many troubles, *Bajazet* gave himſelf unto a quiet courſe of life, ſpending moſt part of his time in ſtudy of Philoſophy, and conference with learned men; unto which peaceable kind of life, he was of his own natural diſpoſition more enclined than to Wars; albeit that the regard of his State, and the earneſt deſire of his Men of War, drew him oftentimes even againſt his Will into the Field. As for the Civil Government of his Kingdom, he referred it wholly unto his three principal Baſſaes, *Alis*, *Achmetes* and *Jachia*, who at their pleaſure diſpoſed of all things. After he had in this quiet and pleaſing kind of life to his great contentment paſſed over five years, of a little neglected Spark ſuddainly aroſe ſuch a Fire in *Aſia*, as was hardly after with much blood of his People and danger of that part of his Empire quenched; the reliques whereof yet trouble thoſe ſuperſtitious People at this day. Which thing was brought to paſs by the crafty device of *Chaſan Chelife*, and *Schach Culi* his Boy (whom ſome call *Teckel Scachoculus*, and others *Techellis*) two Hypocritical *Perſians*; who flying into thoſe Countries, and with the counterfeit ſhew of feigned Holineſs having procured to themſelves a great name amongſt thoſe rude People, with a number of windy headed Followers (filled with the novelty of their new Doctrine) raiſed firſt ſuch a diverſity of opinions about the true ſucceſſors of their untrue Prophet, and afterwards ſuch a Rebellion amongſt the People, as that the one yet remaineth, and the other was not in a good while after without great bloudſhed appeaſed.

Bajazet *by nature peaceable.*

But for the better underſtanding of the ground of theſe troubles, which hapned at this time in the Reign of *Bajazet* by occaſion of theſe two fugitive *Perſians*; as alſo for the mortal Wars which afterwards enſued betwixt *Hyſmael* (commonly called *the great Sophi of Perſia*) and *Selymus*, *Bajazet* his Succeſſor, it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe briefly to declare the great mutation which at this time happened to the *Perſian* Kingdom, as well in the State it ſelf, as in Matters of their Superſtition. At ſuch time as *Aſymbeius Uſun-Caſſanes* reigned in *Perſia*, there was one *Haider Erdebil* (whom *Jovius* calleth by the name of *Harduelles*) a man honourably deſcended amongſt the *Perſians*, who contemning worldly Honour, Riches, Pleaſure, and whatſoever elſe belonged unto delicacy of life (commonly accounted the greateſt part of Human Felicity) as meer Vanities and Trifles, led ſuch a ſtraight and auſtere kind of life, with ſuch continency and contempt of the World, as that the Vulgar People, for moſt part given to pleaſure, wondering at that in him which they could not or would not imitate, began to have the man in ſingular admiration for the opinion they had conceived of his upright Life and Vertues. The fame of this new Prophet (for ſo he was accounted) was grown ſo great in the *Perſian* Kingdom, that People without number reſorted out of all parts of *Perſia* and *Armenia* unto the great City of *Tauris* to ſee the man. And he the more to ſeduce the Multitude (delighted with Novelties) began to inveigh againſt the common received opinion of the *Mahometans*, concerning the true Succeſſors of their great Prophet; and to revive the opinion of *Giuni*, ſirnamed *Soſi*; perſwading the People (as if he had been inſpired with ſome divine Inſpiration) That none of the Profeſſors of the *Mahometan* Religion ſhould inherit the Kingdom of Heaven after they were dead, but ſuch as were the Followers of *Haly*, the true Succeſſor of the great Prophet *Mahomet*, and his Fellow in writing: Whom he taught them only to honour as privy to the mind of the great Prophet, and ſo to receive his Writings as of all others moſt authentical; rejecting *Ebubekir*, *Omer*, and *Oſman*, with their Writings, as moſt wicked and accurſed men; whom the Turks had ever, and yet do with the other *Mahometans*, honour and worſhip as the true ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, and his ſincere Interpreters, together with the aforeſaid *Haly*, whom the *Perſians* do only acknowledge, and therefore in their Prayers do commonly ſay, *Curſed be* Ebubekir, Omer, *and* Oſman, *and God be favourable to* Haly, *and well pleaſed with him.* Which their difference about the true Succeſſor of their Prophet, in whom was no truth, hath been, and yet is, one of the greateſt cauſes of the mortal Wars between the *Turks* and *Perſians*; and not the divers interpretation of their Law (as many have written) which amongſt the *Turks* and *Perſians* is all one.

The Turks *and* Perſians *differ not about the interpretation of their Law, but about the true Succeſſor of their great Prophet* Mahomet.

Haider *marrieth* Martha *the daughter of the great King* Uſun Caſſanes.

Uſun-Caſſanes moved with the Fame and Vertues of this new Prophet, or rather (as ſome thought) deſirous to win the Hearts of the Multitude of them that had received this new phantaſie; gave him in marriage his Daughter *Martha*, begotten of the Chriſtian Lady *Deſpina* the Daughter of *Calo Joannes*, Emperor of *Trapezond*. Which marriage the Chriſtian Emperor made with the *Mahometan* Prince, and he alſo accepted thereof, thereby to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet the Great*; whoſe power was then become a terror unto all his neighbour Princes; but to how ſmall purpoſe this policy ſerved them both, is before declared in the life of the ſame *Mahomet*. At the concluſion of this marriage, the Emperor had eſpecially covenanted with *Uſun-Caſſanes*, that his Daughter *Deſpina* might have the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian Religion. Whereby it came to paſs, that this *Martha* her Daughter, inſtructed by her Mother, became a Chriſtian alſo; who now married by her Father unto this preciſe Hypocrite *Haider Erdebil*, in ſhort time bare him a Son called *Hyſmael*, whom ſhe ſo much as ſhe could trained up in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion. Whereby it came to paſs, that afterwards when he had by rare fortune obtained the Kingdom of *Perſia*, he always during his life had the Chriſtians in good regard, and never found fault with their Religion.

Haider thus graced with the marriage of the great Kings Daughter *Martha*, only for his rare Vertues and Purity of Life, as was commonly ſuppoſed, grew now into far greater Credit and Eſtimation of the People than before. So that his doctrine and opinions began to be generally received, and the number of his Followers ſo greatly augmented, that *Jacup* ſucceeding his Father *Uſun-Caſſanes* but lately dead, began to have the Power and Credit of *Haider* his Brother in law in ſuſpect; and to diſtruſt leſt the *Perſians* (who ſecretly favoured the remainder of the Poſterity of their ancient Kings) ſhould aſſemble together under the colour of this new Superſtition, and raiſe ſome dangerous Rebellion before he were well ſetled in his Seat. For he was not ignorant, that *Aſembeius* (*Uſun-Caſſanes* his Father) had but by Force and Policy uſurped the Kingdom, having killed *Moloonchres* the lawful King; whereof there aroſe two Factions, ſome favouring the Uſurper, and otherſome the poor remainder of the deſcent of their ancient Kings of the race of *Tamerlane*. For which cauſes *Jacup* (as he was of a ſuſpitious and troubleſome Nature, and above meaſure jealous of his State) nothing regarding the near Alliance or reputed holineſs of his godly Brother in law, cauſed him (ſuſpecting no ſuch matter) to be ſecretly murdred; and ſo having ſtruck off his Head, with Fire and Sword perſecuted all the Profeſſors of that new Doctrine; ſo to deliver himſelf for ever of that his vain and needleſs fear; *Hyſmael* the Son of *Haider* (who was afterwards called *the great Sophi of Perſia*) being then but a Child, as it were by fatal Deſtiny eſcaped the Fury of his cruel Uncle *Jacup*, and fled into *Hyrcania*, unto one *Pyrchales* his Fathers Friend, who then ruled in a ſmall Territory near unto the *Caſpian* Sea.

Haider Erdebil *ſecretly murdred.*

Amongſt many others of the Diſciples and Followers of *Haider* (which in that cruel Perſecution were glad to flie for ſafeguard of their lives) the two before named, *Chaſan Shelife*, and *Schach Culi*, afterwards ſirnamed *Cuſelbas*, in outward ſhew both of Vertue and Learning not inferior unto their Maſter, flying that dangerous Tempeſt, and paſſing over the River *Euphrates*, came into *Armenia* the leſſer, and there took up their dwelling at the great Mountain *Autitaurus*; at the foot whereof the broken Rocks have divers dark and obſcure Caves; made partly by Art, and partly by Nature; which place is of the Inhabitants called *Teke-Ili*; whereof divers Hiſtoriographers, I know not whether deceived by the name of the place, or elſe wittingly transferring the name of the place unto the man that lived therein, have called this *Schach Culi* (who of the two proved of greater fame) by the name of *Techellis*, by which name we will alſo from henceforth call him. A thing heretofore much uſed amongſt the religious, and alſo ſome of the Children of great Princes, who oftentimes bare the names of the places where they were born, or where they moſt lived. This place is both wholeſome and exceeding pleaſant, for the variety of Fruits and lively Springs, wherewith the Plains adjoyning are continually watered, and the Mountains at all times of the year garniſhed.

Here *Shelife* with his Companion *Techellis*, having ſeparated themſelves far from the Company of men, and given themſelves wholly to a contemplative life, for divers years lived moſt ſtraitly and auſterely, contenting themſelves with ſuch things as the Earth of it ſelf afforded them, without ſeeking for better. Theſe Hypocrites were firſt ſeen, and afterwards acquainted with the Shepheards and Heardſmen living upon the Mountains; and in proceſs of time with the rude Husbandmen and Country People, who wondring at their ſtrait and devout kind of life, relieved them with all things neceſſary. Yea *Bajazet* himſelf hearing of their auſtere and devout manner of living, ſent them yearly ſix or ſeven thouſand Aſpers, as his Alms given them upon Charity and Devotion. But afterwards when they began to tell Fortunes, and as it were by the way of divination to prognoſticate of things to come, the Rural People held them for more than men, and conceived of them a firm opinion, that they were ſome divine Prophets. And ſo were by the Country People firſt drawn into the Country Villages, and afterwards, as if it had been againſt their Wills, into the Cities; where they had in ſhort time filled all the Country far and near, with the admiration of their fame; But after they began to publiſh their new phantaſied Doctrine concerning the true ſucceſſor of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, they wanted not their new fangled followers (as had *Haider* their Maſter before amongſt the *Perſians*) who had them in ſingular Reverence; perſwaded now by them, that they ſhould be condemned for ever, if they did not (as they were by them taught) give the honour of the true ſucceſſion of their great Prophet, only to *Haly*, and him only to reverence and call upon next unto the great Prophet himſelf.

The beginning of the Cuſelbaſſas.

When they had thus with their often Sermons and blinded Prophecies ſeduced the People, and in ſhort time won great Credit amongſt the Vulgar ſort, of themſelves too much given to Novelty and Superſtition; they commanded their Diſciples and Followers to wear upon their Turkiſh Hats a red Band or Ribband, whereby to be known from others that were not of their profeſſion. Of which red Bands or Ribbands, they which profeſſed this new Superſtition, were, and yet are over all the Eaſt part of the World called by the name of *Cuſelbaſſas*, which is to ſay, *Red Heads*.

Hyſmael *his behaviour in the time of his exile.*

Hyſmael alſo living in exile, moſt earneſtly embraced that new Superſtition which *Haider* his Father had before taught in *Perſia*, but with far better Fortune and Succeſs. For as ſoon as he was grown to mans Eſtate, he following his Fathers manner of life, and being by nature wonderful eloquent, comely of perſon, exceeding wiſe, and of an invincible Courage, was of the rude Vulgar People accounted of more like a god than a man; ſo that he grew to be of great fame and power amongſt thoſe barbarous People with whom he lived. And not the baſe and vulgar ſort only, but divers Noblemen alſo, and others of good reputation, once allured with the Novelty of his Doctrine, the more to manifeſt their good Will towards the Author of their ſect; after they had forſaken their old Superſtition, ceaſed not (as the manner of men is) to commend him in the higheſt degree of Vertue and Honour. And he himſelf as yet but a youth, altogether bending his Wit to the ſetting forth of himſelf, making ſemblance of more than was indeed in him, obtained, as if it had been againſt his Will, Riches, Honour, Fame, and Authority; of all which things, he as a notable diſſembler ſeemed to make no account or reckoning; neither were there ſome wanting which would ſware, that *Haider* his Father (as he was an excellent Aſtronomer) calculating his Nativity, ſhould ſay, That he ſhould prove a great Prophet, and the Author of true Religion, who ſubduing the greateſt part of the Eaſt, ſhould become as glorious both in matters of Religion and Martial Affairs, as was *Mahomet* the Great Prophet himſelf. Which report being bruted abroad amongſt the Vulgar People, greatly increaſed his Authority, and gave them occaſion to talk of wonders. Not long after, *Hyſmael* was firſt by the admiration, or rather aſſentation of his Friends and Followers, and afterwards as if it had been by a general conſent, ſirnamed *Sophos*, which amongſt thoſe People ſignifieth *a wiſe man*, or *the Interpreter of the gods.* Theſe proſperous beginnings, with the troubled State of the *Perſian* Kingdom, encouraged him to take in hand great matters; for his Uncle *Jacup* the *Perſian* King was long before dead, being together with his Son poiſoned by his adulterous Wife; which thing he preſently perceiving, enforced her to drink of the ſame Cup; and becauſe he would be ſure that ſhe ſhould not eſcape, with his own hand ſtruck off her Head, and immediately after died, with his Son. After whoſe Death great Troubles aroſe about the Succeſſion; and divers great men one after another aſpired to the Kingdom, which they enjoyed not long. And amongſt the reſt *Elvan-Beg* (whom *Jovius* calleth *Alvantes*) at that time ſtood in no ſure poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, being mightily impugned by his Brother *Moratchamus*.

Hyſmael *returneth into* Armenia, *and recovereth his Inheritance.*

Hyſmael taking hold of this opportunity, armed divers of the moſt able men of his Followers, and receiving ſome ſmall Aid from his poor old Friend *Pyrchales*, entred into *Armenia*, and there partly by the Fame that ran of him, and partly by the good Will of the People, rather than by any force, recovered his Fathers Inheritance, whereunto the remembrance of his dead Father did not a little further him. He encouraged with this good beginning, daily grew ſtronger and ſtronger, by the continual repairing unto him of ſuch as having once received the Doctrine of *Haider*, were glad of long (for fear of Perſecution) to diſſemble the ſame; but now having got an Head and Chieftain to cleave unto, began openly to ſhew themſelves again, and in great number to reſort unto him, in hope of the good ſucceſs of their Religion, not ſo happily begun by his Father.

Sumachia *taken by* Hyſmael.

Hyſmael *cometh to* Tauris.

His power thus dayly increaſing beyond his expectation, he laid Siege unto *Sumachia*, a City in the Confines of *Media*, which he took by force and ſacked; and with the Spoil thereof both inriched and armed his Souldiers, which before were for moſt part naked men. The taking of this City wonderfully increaſed both his Fame and Courage, as oftentimes it falleth out, *That haughty minds, couragiouſly attempting high exploits, by the good event of their firſt attempts make way unto the full of their ſtately deſires.* So after this, *Hyſmaels* thoughts were not ſo low, as to think of the taking of this or that little City; but how he might now compaſs the great City of *Tauris*, the very Seat of the *Perſian* Kings, and afterwards the Kingdom it ſelf. Whereupon repoſing no leſs confidence in his own good Fortune, than the Valour of his Souldiers, he marched with his Army directly to the City of *Tauris*, and that with ſuch expedition, that he was come before it before any ſuch thing was feared, much leſs provided for. *Elvan* the *Perſian* King was then at *Tauris*, and had but a little before fought a great Battel with his Brother *Moratchamus* for the Kingdom; and having vanquiſhed him, drave him out of *Armenia* and *Perſia*; and afterwards, as it commonly falleth out in the winding up of Civil Wars, had cauſed divers of the chief Citizens of *Tauris*, which had taken part with his Brother againſt him, to be ſeverely executed, filling the Eyes of their Friends with the horrible ſpectacle of their diſmembred Bodies, and the Hearts of moſt men with ſorrow and heavineſs; whereby he had ſo alienated the minds of the Citizens from him, that now upon the approach of *Hyſmael*, they were all ready to forſake him; of which diſpoſition *Hyſmael* was beforehand informed, and upon the good hope thereof had haſted his coming. *Elvan* the *Perſian* King thus overtaken on the ſuddain, had not time to raiſe ſuch Forces as might ſuffice either to encounter his Enemy, or defend the City; wherefore deſpairing of his own Strength, and juſtly fearing the revolt and fury of the diſcontented Citizens, as a man diſmaid, ſuddainly fled out of the City. After whoſe departure the Gates were preſently ſet open to *Hyſmael*. For the Citizens which in thoſe troubleſome times (wherein the two Brethren contended for the Kingdom) had ſuffered great calamity, choſe rather in that preſent danger to receive a Conqueror of ſo great fame as was then *Hyſmael*, than to their utter deſtruction to oppoſe themſelves againſt him in the quarrel of their cruel King; and the rather, for that they ſaw a general ſecurity and open way to Preferment, propoſed unto all ſuch as ſhould receive the reformed Religion of this new Conqueror.

Hyſmael *taketh the City of* Tauris, *and defaced the Tomb of his Uncle* Jacup.

Hyſmael entring the City, ſlew certain of the Kings Guard which were not yet departed, and then utterly raſed the ſtately Tomb wherein his Uncle *Jacup* was after the manner of the *Perſian* Kings royally buried. And to mitigate the ſorrow he had ſo long conceived of his Fathers death, and with revenge to appeaſe his angry Ghoſt, he cauſed the Tyrants bones to be digged up and ſcattered abroad, and the memorial of his name to be quite raſed out of all places of the City.

Although *Hyſmael* was thus poſſeſſed of the Regal City of *Tauris*, and had thereby made a way for the obtaining of the whole Kingdom, yet he knew that ſo long as *Elvan* lived, his Conqueſt was not unto him aſſured; and therefore to the uttermoſt of his power he augmented his Army with new ſupplies taken up in that populous City, whom he furniſhed with Armor and Weapons taken out of the Kings Armory. In the mean time news was brought unto him, that the *Perſian* King before fled into the fartheſt part of his Kingdom, was now coming from *Seyras* with a great Army againſt him; and that *Moratchamus* his Brother, forgetting in this common danger all former quarrels, had raiſed a great Army about *Babylon* in *Aſſyria*, in ſhort time to joyn with his Brother.

Hyſmael *goeth againſt the* Perſian *King.*

Hyſmael nevertheleſs nothing terrified with the report of the great preparation of the two Brethren againſt him, to the intent he might ſeem to undertake this War by the appointment of God, and upon a greater aſſurance than upon his own Strength, reſolved to go againſt them. And ſo after he had muſtered his Army, and in beſt manner he could provide all things neceſſary, he ſet forward from *Tauris*; uſing no other perſwaſion to encourage his Souldiers, but that they ſhould all as became reſolute men, make haſt and follow him whom God had given them for a Chieftain and Leader, unto a moſt aſſured Victory. The *Perſian* King was at the ſame time ten daies journy from *Tauris*, when *Hyſmael* with incredible celerity preventing the fame of his coming, was come to the Mountain *Niphates*, which parteth *Armenia* from *Aſſyria*; which Mountain, *Elvan* purpoſing ſhortly to paſs over with his populous Army, had ſent before his Scouts to diſcover the ſtrait paſſages, and a multitude of Pioneers to make the ways more commodious for his great Army to paſs. Which thing *Hyſmael* underſtanding, and politiquely conſidering that it would be much for his advantage, if he ſhould firſt himſelf paſs over thoſe great Mountains, and ſo upon the ſuddain ſet upon his Enemies then lying in ſecurity, and fearing nothing leſs than ſuch a deſperate attempt; upon that reſolution advanced his Enſigns upon the Mountains, and having with ſmall reſiſtance diſcomfited them which kept the paſſages, came down the ſame Mountains like a tempeſt, and furiouſly aſſailed the King, then lying in his Camp on the other ſide at the foot of the Mountain; upon the approach of whom, ſuch a hurly burly was raiſed in the Kings Camp, that what for the confuſed tumult of the Souldiers, and fearful outcries of the multitude of baſe People which followed the Camp, the King could ſcarcely give order unto his Captains what he would have done, or yet incourage his Souldiers, or put them in order of Battel. So that *Hyſmael* giving a fierce onſet with his *Armenian* Souldiers, there was ſuddainly begun a moſt terrible and bloody Battel. Neither did that day the fortune of *Hyſmael* fail him, whoſe courage and prowes never failed; for aſſailing the Kings Battel of Footmen, with three Squadrons at once, he had overcome them and put them to flight before that the Horſemen could arm themſelves and mount their Horſes, which were for moſt part unſadled and unbridled at his coming. The King, who had nothing either feared or foreſeen this ſo ſuddain a miſchief, but had vainly perſwaded himſelf, That the very fame of his coming with ſo huge an Army, would ſo terrifie his Enemies, as that he ſhould find none either at *Tauris*, or in all *Armenia*, that durſt make reſiſtance; was glad now to run to and fro to encourage his Souldiers, to ſtay his diſcomfited Battels, yea and to come to handy-blows himſelf. But when neither his Captains nor Souldiers could put in execution his ſuddain directions which he was inforced to give in that imminent danger, being at once overcome with ſhame and deſperation, he reſolutely thruſt himſelf into the head of his Battel, and there valiantly fighting was ſlain. Whereupon the *Perſian* Horſemen, the greateſt Strength of the Kings Army, having now no King for whom they ſhould fight, betook themſelves to flight, after whom followed the Archers, and all the reſt of the Kings Army.

Elvan *the* Perſian *King ſlain.*

When as *Hyſmael* had with leſs loſs than a man would have thought ſo great a Victory could have been atchieved, poſſeſſed the Enemies Tents, he made no great purſuit after them, for that he thought it more requiſite to refreſh his Souldiers throughly wearied and almoſt ſpent with long travel and late fight; wherefore for certain days he repoſed himſelf with his Army in thoſe his Enemies forſaken Tents. Afterwards, when he had received Embaſſadors from divers places, yielding their Cities and Towns, and that the favour of the People generally inclined to him, together with the Victory; he marched with his Army to *Seyras*; where he was of the Citizens who had before heard of the Victory, joyfully received, and his Army relieved with all things he could deſire. *Hyſmael* there entertained with the greateſt honours that the fearful Citizens could poſſibly attribute to him, did oftentimes preach unto them of the truth and excellency of his Fathers Doctrine, and withal gave out ſtrait Proclamations,

tions, That he would account all them for his Enemies, which did not within the ſpace of thirty days renounce their old Superſtition, and receive this new found verity (as he would have it.) Wherefore, foraſmuch as on the one ſide were propoſed moſt certain rewards, by the happy courſe of his Victories, and on the other, was threatned Exile and Torture to ſuch as ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in their opinion; in ſhort time he drew all the vulgar People to embrace his new Doctrine. And afterwards having paid his Souldiers with the riches of that great City, he gallantly furniſhed both his old and new Souldiers that wanted Armor, with moſt excellent Armor and Furniture; for in that City, one of the greateſt and moſt famous of the Eaſt, were many Shops full of all kind of Armor, which the Armorers with wonderful cunning uſed to make of Iron and Steel, and in the juice of certain Herbs, of much more notable temper and beauty than are theſe which are made with us in *Europe*; not only Head-pieces, Curiaſſes, and compleat Armors, but whole Capariſons for Horſes, curiouſly made of thin plates of Iron and Steel. Departing from *Scyras*, he took alſo the great City of *Sapha* ſuppoſed to have been the City in ancient time called *Suſa*, and *Sultania*, which for the wonderful ruines of the huge Buildings, is deemed to have been the ancient and famous City *Tigranocreta*. Theſe great matters quickly diſpatched, and having in every City placed Governors of his own Sect, he paſſed over the River *Tygris* in *Meſopotamia* of purpoſe to expulſe *Moratchamus* the late Kings Brother, out of *Babylon*, who was yet in Arms, and had intended (as is before ſaid) to have paſſed into *Armenia*, to have joyned his Forces with the King his Brother; but now terrified with his Brothers Calamity (who together with a moſt puiſſant Army, and the Strength of the *Perſian* Kingdom, was in one day fallen from the height of ſo great a Fortune) thought it not beſt to try his fortune in the Field againſt ſo fortunate an Enemy, but forthwith to withdraw himſelf into the remoteſt places of that large Kingdom, and from thence to expect ſome better Fortune. For he well knew that he was not able to withſtand his victorious Enemy, now leading after him a moſt puiſſant Army, who not long before had with a ſmall power vanquiſhed and ſlain his Brother in a great Battel. *Hyſmael* now by the greatneſs of his Fame and Forces, and as it were by the Favour of God himſelf, become a terror to all the Princes of the Eaſt, entred into *Meſopotamia* after the flight of *Moratchamus*, and received all that great Province into his Subjection, every man as it were ſtriving who ſhould firſt by his Speedy Submiſſion purchaſe the Favour of the victorious Conqueror. To be brief, *Moratchamus* already terrified, and repoſing no great hope in himſelf, or his own power, neither deeming it for his ſafety to ſhut up himſelf within the Walls of any ſtrong City, truſt up his things of greateſt price, and with his Wives and Children fled into *Arabia*.

Hyſmael *goth againſt* Moratchamus.

This *Moratchamus* is he whom ſome Hiſtoriographers called *Mora-Beg*, and is in the Turks Hiſtories called *Imirſa Beg*, who (as they report) afterwards marrying the Daughter of *Bajazet*, and recovering part of the *Perſian* Kingdom, was ſuddainly murthred by ſome of his Nobility, whom he purpoſed ſecretly to have put to death, if they had not prevented the ſame by murthring of him firſt. *Hyſmael* having victoriouſly ſubdued a great part of the *Perſian* Kingdom, and filled all the Eaſt part of the World with the glory of his name, returned out of *Aſſyria* into *Media*, and took in ſuch Cities and ſtrong Holds as were yet holden by the Garriſons of the late *Perſian* King. And afterwards returning into *Armenia*, made Wars upon the *Albanians*, *Iberians*, and *Scythians*, which dwell upon the Borders of the *Caſpian*; for that thoſe Nations, in ancient times tributaries unto the *Perſian* Kings, taking the benefit of the long Civil Wars wherewith the Kingdom of *Perſia*, and all the Eaſt Countries, with the ruin of the Kings Houſe, had been of late turmoiled; had neither paid any Tribute by the ſpace of four years, nor ſent any honourable Embaſſage, as they were wont, and as was expected, eſpecially in ſo great a Victory and alteration of the State.

Hyſmael having thus obtained the *Perſian* Kingdom, in ſhort time became famous through the World, and was juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt Monarchs of that Age. But nothing made him more to be ſpoken of, than the innovation he had made in the Mahometan Superſtition; for by his device and commandment a new form of Prayer was brought into their Mahometan Temples, far differing from that which had been of long time before uſed. By reaſon whereof, *Ebubekir*, *Homer*, and *Oſman*, the ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, before had in great regard and reverence, began now to be contemned, and their writings nothing regarded; and the honour of *Hali* exalted, as the true and only Succeſſor of their great Prophet. And becauſe he would have his Subjects and the Followers of his Doctrine known from the Turks and other Mahometans, he commanded that they ſhould all wear ſome red Hatband, Lace, or Ribband upon their Heads; which they Religiouſly obſerve in *Perſia* until this day; whereof they are of the Turks called *Cuſelba*'s, or *Redheads*. And in ſhort time he had ſo uſed the matter, that he was wonderfully both beloved and reverenced of his Subjects; inſomuch that his ſayings were accounted for divine Oracles, and his commandments for Laws: ſo that when they would confirm any thing by ſolemn Oath, they would ſwear by the Head of *Hyſmael* the King; and when they wiſhed well to any Man, they uſually ſaid, *Hyſmael* grant thee thy deſire. Upon his Coyn which he made both of Silver and Gold, on the one ſide was written theſe words, *La illahe illalahu* Muhame *dum reſul allahe*: which is to ſay, *There is no Gods but one, and* Mahomet *is his Meſſenger.* And on the other ſide, *Iſmaill halife Iullahe*; which is to ſay, *Hyſmael the Vicar of God.*

Hyſmael *exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects.*

1508.

Chaſan Chelife *and* Techellis *invade the Turks Dominions.*

Whilſt *Hyſmael* was thus wreſtling for the *Perſian* Kingdom, *Chaſan Chelife* and *Techellis* (whom we have a little before declared to have bin brought out of the Mountains and Deſarts, into the Country-Villages, and afterwards into the Cities; and to have filled the Countries of *Armenia* and a great part of the leſſer *Aſia* with the novelty of their new Doctrine and Opinions, firſt phantaſied by one *Giunet Siech*, and afterward revived by *Haider Erdebil*, *Hyſmael* his Father) having gathered a great Army of ſuch as had received their Doctrine, invaded the Turks Dominion. For after that *Techellis* (this cold Prophet) had with wonderful felicity in the preſence of many prognoſticated of things to come; and *Hyſmael* the *Sophi* (of late a poor exiled and baniſhed man) was thought to have grown unto the higheſt type of Worldly Honours, not by mans help, but by uprightneſs of life, and the fortunate paſſage of an undoubted Religion; ſuch a deſire of receiving that new Superſtition poſſeſſed the minds of the People in general, that the Cities and Towns thereabouts were now full of them which in token of their new profeſſion had taken upon them the wearing of the Red Hat, the known Cogniſance of the *Cuſelba's*. Firſt they met together at the City of *Taſcia*, at the Foot of the Mountain *Antitaurus*, or as the Turkiſh Hiſtory reports, at the City of *Attalia*, to the number of ten thouſand, upon a great Fair-day; where they laid hands upon the chief Magiſtrate of the City, and executed him, ſetting his quarters upon four of the higheſt Towers of the City; and further perſwaded by theſe new Maſters of this new Superſtition, to take up Arms in defence of themſelves and of their ſincere Religion (as they termed it) in caſe that any violence ſhould be offered them by the irreligious Turks; they all ſwore never to forſake their Captains for any diſtreſs, or yet refuſe any labour or adventure for the honour of their moſt holy Religion (as they would have it) in defence whereof they had already vowed their Souls and Bodies. Theſe Ringleaders of Rebellion, ſeeing the minds of their frantick Followers ſo well prepared for their purpoſe, and repoſing a great confidence in their valor and reſolution; and withal conſidering that the mony which was bountifully brought in unto them by the Country People, partly for Devotion, partly for Fear, was not ſufficient to maintain ſo great a multitude, gave leave by publique Proclamation to their unruly Followers, to forrage the Country round about them, and to live upon the Spoil of them which would not receive their new found Doctrine. Whereupon they dividing themſelves into divers Companies, and ranging up and down the Country, brought into the Camp abundance of Cattel, and other ſuch things as the Country yielded; and forthwith (their multitude ſtill increaſing) they entred into *Lycaonia*, a populous and fruitful Country, where they refreſhed themſelves many days, roaming up and down to the great grievance and terror of the People; and brought ſuch a fear upon the whole Country, that they which dwelt in open Durps and Villages, were glad to flie with their Wives, Children and Goods, into the ſtrong City of *Iconium*; for Proclamations were in many places ſet up in the names of *Chaſan Chelife* and *Techellis*, wherein many both Spiritual and Temporal Bleſſings were in moſt ample manner propoſed to all ſuch as ſhould forthwith take part with them, and follow that their new Doctrine already eſtabliſhed in *Perſia*; but unto ſuch as ſhould obſtinately perſevere in their old Superſtition, after they had once drawn their Sword, was threatned utter deſtruction without without hope of pardon of Life. So that all the Inhabitants thereabouts, terrified with the terror of this Proclamation, ſome for fear of Death, ſome upon Inconſtancy, ſome for ſafeguard of their Goods and Poſſeſſions (dearer unto them than any Religion) ſome other indebted, infamous, in danger of Law, beſides many fugitive Servants, daily reſorted to theſe new Maſters. Not long after, whilſt the Turks were making preparation for the ſuppreſſing of this dangerous Rebellion, certain Troops of Horſemen ſent from *Hyſmael*, came in good time to theſe new Prophets; for *Hyſmael* in favour and furtherance of that new Superſtition, had a little before by fit Meſſengers exhorted them to proceed couragiouſly in their ſo religious an enterpriſe, and to join Martial Force unto the Religion they profeſſed; promiſing further, not to be wanting unto them at their need, but to ſend them ſkilful Leaders, and from time to time to furniſh them with Coin for the maintenance of that War. All this *Hyſmael* did openly in deſpight of *Bajazet*, of ſmall beginnings to ſow the Seed of greater War. For he bearing an old grudg againſt *Bajazet* for the former Wars betwixt the *Turks* and the *Perſians*, as alſo for their diſagreement in matters concerning their Superſtition, and prickt forward with the heat of youth, deſired nothing more in the greatneſs of his power, and proſperous ſucceſs of his Affairs, than to have occaſion to make War with the Turkiſh King; for which purpoſe he ſent his Embaſſadors unto the State of *Venice*, to joyn with them in League and Amity, in ſuch form and ſort as they had long time before, by *Catarinus Zemes*, *Barbarus*, and *Contarenus* their Embaſſadors, concluded with *Uſun-Caſſanes* the great *Perſian* King his Grandfather. The chief things that he requeſted of the *Venetians*, was, That they would ſend him out of *Italy* by the way of *Syria*, men ſkilful in the caſting of great Ordnance, and with their Fleet to trouble *Bajazet* by Sea; promiſing in the mean time himſelf to fill *Aſia* the leſs with his Army by Land, and ſo to give a fair occaſion unto them, to recover by Sea all ſuch places as they had before in the late Wars loſt unto the Turks upon the Coaſt of *Peloponneſus* and *Grecia*.

Hyſmael ſends Embaſſadors unto the Venetians *to joyn in League with them againſt* Bajazet.

The *Venetians* having with all courteſie entertained the Embaſſadors, gave them anſwer, That they would never be forgetful of the ancient League and Amity they had made with the *Perſian* King; the remembrance whereof was unto their State a thing moſt pleaſant; and that they were wonderful glad, that the new King was an Enemy unto the Turk, and had them in ſuch regard, as to participate to them the cauſes of that War; and further to promiſe unto them thoſe things, which if his Grandfather *Uſun-Caſſanes*, or his Uncle *Jacup* would have performed, he ſhould not now have had need to make Wars with the Turkiſh Emperor. But ſuch was the alteration of things and times, that as the *Perſian* Kings then living at home in peace, thought it not good to ſtir whilſt *Bajazet* was buſie in *Europe*; ſo now their State ſtanding in far worſe condition and fortune, could not perform that which they heartily wiſhed, and moſt of all deſired; for that they thought it not good to break the League which they had not long before made with *Bajazet* the Turkiſh Emperor; eſpecially then, when ſundry warlike Nations of *Europe* conſpiring together, and divers mighty Kings provoked with no injury, but only envying at their happy eſtate, made Wars upon them; yet neverheleſs were in good hope, that God would ſtand in their juſt defence, and ſtill preſerve their State, which no Enemies power had for the ſpace of ſeven hundred years and more been able to overcome. Wherefore they ſhould ſhew unto their King, that they would as occaſion ſhould ſerve, and as it ſhould ſtand with the good of their State, do their uttermoſt devoir to make him underſtand, that nothing was dearer unto them than the Friendſhip of ſo great a King; nor any thing more honourable, than by mutual Counſel and combined Forces to aſſail the Turk their common Enemy.

Shortly after, the Embaſſadors (having obtained nothing more than the hope of a League to be in time concluded, and being honourably rewarded) returned with their Gallies to *Cyprus*, and ſo from thence to *Syria*, where they had ſecret conference with *Petrus Zenus* (the Son of *Caterinus Zenus*, a man famous for his Embaſſage unto *Uſun-Caſſanes* into *Perſia*) Governor of the *Venetian* Merchants at *Damaſco*. Which thing *Bajazet* having intelligence of, and of the paſſage of the *Perſian* Embaſſadors that way, complained grievouſly both by his Embaſſadors and Letters unto *Campſon Gaurus* Sultan of *Egypt*, That he dealt not as a Friend and Confederate with him, in ſuffring theſe Embaſſadors ſo to paſs throughout the midſt of *Syria*, unto the Chriſtians their common Enemies, to ſtir them up to War. Whereupon all the *Venetian* Merchants which were at *Tripolis*, *Aleppo*, *Damaſco*, *Berytus*, and *Alexandria*, and eſpecially *Zenus* himſelf, were forthwith apprehended by the commandment of the great Sultan, and carried in Bonds to *Caire*, where they were many times enforced in Chains to anſwer unto ſuch things as were laid to their Charge; and after they had by the ſpace of a year endured the manifold deſpights of the proud Mamalukes, hardly obtained to eſcape with Life and Liberty.

The two ſeditious Prophets, *Chaſan* and *Techellis*, well ſtrengthned with the aid of the *Perſians*, were now come unto *Iconium*, the moſt famous City of *Lycaonia*; and waſting all the Country before them, drew a great multitude of People to receive their new Doctrine. For the repreſſing of which outrages, *Orchanes* and *Mahometes*, two of *Bajazet* his Nephews (who in ſtead of their Fathers *Alem Schach* and *Tzian Schach*, the Sons of *Bajazet* before dead, governed thoſe Countries) gathered together their Forces, and diſdaining to ſuffer ſuch diſgrace by ſuch a Rabble of raſcal People, in the ſight of ſo famous a City, came into the Field to give them battel. But they in their youthful heat making too much haſt, and joyning battel in a place of diſadvantage, were by the Rebels overthrown and put to flight. Neither would theſe Ringleaders in that Victory have forborn to have aſſailed *Iconium*, but that they wanted Artillery and Engins of War requiſite for the beſieging of Cities.

Orchanes *and* Mahometes *two of* Bajazet *his Nephews overthrown by* Techellis.

Corcutus alſo, one of the Sons of *Bajazet*, having at the ſame time levied a convenient Army about *Thiatyra*, *Sypilus*, *Magneſia* and *Phocea*, durſt not further ſtir or ſet forward againſt the Rebels, although they lay diſperſed about the Country faſt by him. Theſe new Prophets with Enſigns diſplaied, marching from Country to Country through the heart of the leſſer *Aſia*, entred at length into *Bithynia*, where near unto the River *Sangarius* they met with *Caragoſes Baſſa* the Viceroy of *Aſia*, coming againſt them with a great Army well appointed, which he had a little before raiſed upon the Bruit of the coming of theſe Rebels; and had alſo commanded *Achometes* (whom the Turks call *Achmetes*) the eldeſt Son of *Bajazet* then living, Governor of the great Countries of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, to raiſe his power, and to follow at the Back of the Rebels; who if they ſhould hap to be put to the worſe, would neither be able to retire, neither to keep the Field, being ſo ſhut up betwixt two ſo great Armies. But *Techellis* by his ſpeedy coming fruſtrated theſe deſigns of the Viceroy; for marching with all ſpeed, he was upon *Caragoſes* before he was well aware of his coming, near unto the Mountain *Hormynus*, as he was then taking up of more Souldiers, and daily expected the coming of others, as if he had been going againſt ſome puiſſant Enemy. The Viceroy ſeeing the Rebels approach, although he had before not purpoſed to have encountred them before he had raiſed far greater Forces; thought it not now to ſtand with his honour, to refuſe to give them Battel, although his Army for the moſt part conſiſted of the rude Country Peſants, taken up upon the ſuddain out of *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, raw Souldiers, and for moſt part unarmed; as commonly they are which in thoſe Countries are preſſed againſt their Wills out of the Towns and Villages, and are of the Turks called *Aſapi*, who of the Janizaries are ſcarcely accounted for men. But his greateſt confidence he repoſed in the approved Valour of his ancient Horſemen, by whoſe means he doubted not, in ſafety to retire out of the Battel, and to ſave himſelf if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than well; making no great account of the common Souldiers, more than by them if he could, to weaken the Force of the Rebels; who on the other ſide (their greateſt Force conſiſting of Footmen) had no hope to ſave themſelves by Flight, but only by plain Valor and dint of Sword. Which *Techellis* well conſidering, exhorted his Souldiers to remember into what Country they were come, and that there was no Cities of refuge, no new power, no other gods of defence to flie unto, if they ſhould not that day play the men; Wherefore let us couragiouſly (ſaid he) ſet forward againſt our Enemies, and by Victory defend our Lives, together with the Truth of our Religion, for which we have vowed both our Souls and Bodies. He had ſcarcely ſaid thus much, but that his whole Army, in token of chearfulneſs, gave a moſt terrible ſhout, and without further ſtay ſet upon their Enemies. The Viceroy had placed his Footmen in the main Battel in the middle, and his Horſemen in the Wings, thereby to have compaſſed his Enemies; but *Techellis* had ſet all his Footmen in one great ſquare Battel, and his *Perſian* Horſemen for a refuge. But the Viceroy his freſh-water Souldiers could ſcarcely abide the ſight of *Techellis* his Army; for in the front of the Battel ſtood Souldiers throughly armed, and all the reſt of his Army with red Hats upon their Heads, as if they had been imbrued with Blood, which wonderfully terrified the Baſſaes cowardly and unskilful Souldiers; ſo that having indured the Fight ſcarcely half an hour, they all turned their Backs and fled. The Turkiſh Horſemen which had valiantly aſſailed the Rebels Army on both ſides, although they had ſlain many with their Arrows and Lances, and ſomewhat diſordered the Battel, for that the Footmen were inforced to leave their places, and to preſs ſtill on forward againſt them; yet when *Techellis* his Souldiers (having overcome the Footmen, and dividing themſelves into divers Squadrons) began with their long Pikes to kill their Horſes, and to lay hardly unto them, they likewiſe betook themſelves to Flight alſo. Then the *Perſian* Horſemen (which all this while had ſtood ſtill as lookers on) left their ſtandings and following the chaſe ſlew many of the Turks in their diſordered Flight; and following faſt on, incloſed the Viceroy as he was ſtaying of his Horſemen, and could not for the thickneſs of the duſt well diſcern his Enemies; ſo that he had been there taken, if he had not been ſpeedily reſcued by his Guard, and ſo delivered from that danger. The reſt of the Turks Horſemen ſaved themſelves by flight. In this Battel ſeven thouſand of the Turks Footmen were ſlain, and all their Enſigns taken, with great ſtore of Proviſion.

The battel between Caragoſes *and* Techellis.

Techellis *beſiegeth* Caragoſes *the Viceroy; in the City of* Cutaie,

After which Victory, *Chaſan* and *Techellis* reſting their Army one day, marched to the City of *Cutaie*, near unto the mountain *Horminius*: This City is ſituated as it were in the midſt of *Aſia* the leſs, and is the Seat of the Turkiſh Emperors Viceroy in *Aſia*; as *Sophia* in *Mæſia* is for his other Vceroy in *Europe*; for it was reported, that the Country People had for fear of the preſent War conveied thither the greateſt part of their Wealth; and the Rebels well knew, that the Viceroy himſelf with his chief Horſemen were fled thither alſo; neither doubted they, but that all the Army might be greatly inriched by the Wealth of that City, if they ſhould without delay imploy their whole Forces for the gaining thereof, their Enemies now altogether diſcouraged with their late overthrow. *Techellis* alſo deeming that enterpriſe of ſo much worth as whereon to gage his whole Forces, coming before the City, placed ſuch Field Pieces as he had before taken in the Battel, and his Archers in ſuch fit places as might moſt annoy the Defendants; afterward he cauſed ſcaling Ladders to be ſet up, and Proclamation made through all his Camp, That the whole Spoil of the City ſhould be the Souldiers if they could take it; with promiſe of greater rewards to them that ſhould firſt recover the top of the Walls. Filled with this hope, the rebellious multitude approached the Wall, fearing neither Enemies Force, multitude of Shot, or danger of Death; ſtriving who ſhould firſt mount the Ladders, and ſome climbing one in the neck of another, ſo to get up by the ruins of the Wall. The Defendants in the mean time from above caſting down upon them great Stones, Timber, Fire, ſcalding Water, Lime, Sand, and ſuch like without meaſure; wherewith although many were overthrown and cruſht to death or ſpoiled, yet others preſently ſtept up in their place; neither was any of them ſeen, for fear of the preſent danger to ſhrink back or be diſcouraged; for the Viceroy on the one ſide, and *Techellis* on the other, were both Eye-witneſſes of every mans Valor in that hot ſervice; the one prickt forward with doubtful hope, for fear to be enforced to give over the Aſſault ſo begun; and the other with the due regard of his Honour, Life and State, all ſubject to that danger, and therefore in perſon himſelf performed all the parts of a worthy Chieftain and couragious Souldier. But at length the Defendants wearied with the fierce Aſſault of the Enemy, and for moſt part wounded, *Techellis* continually ſending in freſh men, and withdrawing ſuch as were hurt, by plain force brake into the City in two places over the heaps of the dead bodies; and having repulſed the Defendants, burſt open one of the Gates, and thereby brought in his whole Army. Then began a miſerable Slaughter of the Souldiers and poor Citizens in every Houſe and Corner of the City. At which inſtant the Palace (whither the Viceroy had retired himſelf with his Family) was alſo taken; the Viceroy himſelf with his Wives and Children were there alſo taken Priſoners, and the ſtately Palace built with Marble, in a trice conſumed with fire.

Caragoſes *the Viceroy with his Wives and Children taken by* Techellis *in the City of* Cutaie.

The rich City of *Cutaie*, the Seat of the great Commander of the Turkiſh Empire in *Aſia*, thus taken by *Techellis*, and his whole Army both beautified and inriched with the ſpoil thereof; he perſwaded himſelf, that it was now no hard matter for him to take the City of *Pruſa* alſo, the ancient Seat of the Turkiſh Kings in *Bithynia*, and ſo to endanger the whole State of the Turks Empire in *Aſia*, if he ſhould now without delay carry the terror of himſelf thither, before the Turks could in that Country make head againſt him, or the Citizens be able in ſo ſuddain a fear to make any ſufficient proviſion for the defence of themſelves and their City; and ſo in the courſe of his good fortune to uſe the courage and chearfulneſs of his Souldiers. Wherefore appointing a day when he would ſet forward, he commanded all things neceſſary to be made ready for the taking of that rich City, being neither ſtrongly walled, neither furniſhed with any good Garriſon for the defence thereof.

Bajazet *ſendeth* Alis Baſſa *out of* Europe *againſt* Techellis.

But whilſt he was making this preparation, a new Army, lately ſhipt over the *Helleſpont* from *Callipolis* into *Aſia*, inforced him to change his former determination. For *Bajazet* awaked at the name of *Techellis*, and the fame of the new Superſtition now generally received in *Perſia*, had long before given commandment to his Sons, Nephews, and the Viceroy of *Aſia*, That they ſhould with all carefulneſs provide, that that part of his Kingdom took no harm thereby. But after he ſaw *Techellis* of a poor Hermit become a great Captain, and backt alſo with the *Perſian* King, and all his Dominions in *Aſia* in danger of ſome great alteration; he ſent *Alis Baſſa* with his *Europeian* Army. This *Alis* an Eunuch, born in *Macedonia* (yet for his courage comparable with the greateſt Captains) had for his many and worthy deſerts, in the time of the great Emperor *Mahomet*, *Bajazet* his Father, got unto himſelf both the honour and name of a moſt famous Chieftain. He having made choice of the principal Horſemen of *Epirus*, *Macedonia*, *Servia*, *Illyria*, and *Thracia*, and joyning unto them ſeven thouſand Janizaries (the moſt aſſured hope of the Turks in all their expeditions) paſſed over from *Callipolis* into *Phrigia*, and upon the way directed his Letters unto *Achomates* and *Corcutus*, *Bajazet* his Sons, and to all the other Sanzacks and Governors of the Turks Provinces in *Aſia*, That they ſhould with as much ſpeed as they could, raiſe their Forces and meet him in *Galatia*. But *Techellis* advertiſed of his coming, thought it beſt for him to depart out of *Pontus*, and to retire to ſome place of more ſafety, leſt by longer ſtaying he ſhould be incloſed by his Enemies, repairing thitherwards on every ſide; or elſe upon ſome great diſadvantage to join Battel; for he ſaw, that if he ſtaid never ſo little, he ſhould find no ſafe paſſage or place of refuge to retire unto, having left ſuch large and ſpacious Countries, ſo many Enemies Cities, ſo many great Rivers, ſo many diſcontented People behind him; all which the firſt favour of the Vulgar Sort, and ſpeedy courſe of his Victory, had a little before laid open unto him. Wherefore calling together his Captains and moſt expert Men of War to conſult upon the matter, it was generally thought to be a point of meer madneſs, or elſe of extream neceſſity, with ſo ſmall a power of unskilful Souldiers, without any ſufficient ſtrength of Horſemen, to joyn Battel with ſuch an Enemy as better knew the Country than he, and far exceeded him both for number and expertneſs of his Souldiers. Wherefore *Techellis* truſſing up his rich Prey he had before gotten, began now with ſpeed to retire back again with his Followers through *Galatia*. But the Baſſa having intelligence almoſt every hour by Letters and Eſpials, both of the retiring of *Techellis*, and the way he held, paſſed over the River *Sangarius*, and coaſting the Country, came and encamped betwixt the Cities of *Cutaie* and *Ancyra*, which way it was ſuppoſed the Enemy would paſs. Where when he had there a while reſted his wearied Souldiers, and was certainly advertiſed, that the Rebels had taken another way, he ſet forward again, and after five days march in the Plains of *Galatia*, overtook the ſtraglers of the Enemies, who wearied or wounded, were not able to hold way with the Army; all whom the Baſſa commanded to be cruelly put to the Sword. And *Techellis* to terrifie the great Baſſa, or at leaſtwiſe with a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſtay his purſuit, cauſed *Caragoſes* the Viceroy, whom he had carried along with him in Chains, to be cruelly impailed by the highway ſide, upon a ſharp ſtake ſet faſt in the ground, and ſo left him ſticking for the Turks to wonder at. But *Alis Baſſa* nothing diſmaied with the horrible death of ſo great a perſonage, held on his way with more haſt than good ſpeed, exhorting his Souldiers patiently to endure the painfulneſs of the long march, and to ſtrain themſelves to take revenge of thoſe rebellious Theeves and Robbers, who deſtroying the Country before them, ſpared not ſo much as the Turks Children, and the Temples of their Religion; and ſo the day following came into the Plains of *Ancyra.* The ſame day alſo *Achomates* came unto the Baſſa with ten thouſand Souldiers. *Alis Baſſa* perceiving that he could not poſſibly with his whole Army overtake his Enemies, marching with greater ſpeed before him, and grieved at the heart to ſee them eſcape out of his hand, reſolved to prove if he could with his Horſemen overtake them; whereupon leaving his Footmen with *Achomates,* he himſelf with eight thouſand Horſe following the Enemy upon the ſpur, overtook the Rearward of their Army at the Mountain *Olyga,* a little from the City of *Ancyra,* unto whom he gave an hot skirmiſh.

The battel betwixt Alis Baſſa *and* Techellis.

Chaſan Chelife *ſlain.*

Alis Baſſa *ſlain.*

Techellis which a little before had taken a fit place for his Camp, upon the riſing of the Hill, although he ſaw his men faint with long travel and the ſcorching heat of the Sun, yet quickly perceiving that he ſhould have to do only with Horſemen, and that in a place of advantage; turning his Army, and orderly placing his Souldiers, as the ground and the ſhortneſs of the time would give leave, valiantly received the impreſſion of the Turks, and with their long Pikes and Arrows at the firſt repulſed them; ſo that it ſeemed they would neither have given ground unto the bragging Horſemen, neither have done any thing not beſeeming their former Victories, had not *Alis Baſſa* ſent a thouſand Carbines, who in Troops orderly following one another, delivered their Shot as thick as Hail upon the Enemy; with which ſtorm many of them being ſlain, and more wounded, their ranks began to be ſomewhat diſordered; whereupon the other Horſemen breaking in, with great ſlaughter overthrew the Vantguard of *Techellis* Battel; in which conflict *Chaſan Chelife* himſelf was ſlain. *Techellis* always at hand where moſt need was, even in the midſt of the Slaughter of his men ſet in order a new Battel of his moſt ready and beſt armed Souldiers, the only remedy in ſo great a diſtreſs; and bringing them on into the front of the Battel, oppoſed them againſt the Horſemen, now (as they thought) in poſſeſſion of the Victory; commanding them by little and little to retire unto the Mountain, to the intent that they might ſeem to do that by commandment of the General, which they were like enough to have done of themſelves for fear; hoping that it would ſo come to paſs, That the Turks finding the diſadvantage of the place, would leave ſo hardly to aſſail them. But the Baſſa encouraged with the firſt ſucceſs of the battel, exhorted his Souldiers to urge the Victory, now almoſt as good as gotten, and not to give the Enemy ſpace to recover the ſtrength of the Mountain, but valiantly to charge them, and with a little ſhort pains that day to end all that War, to the honour of *Bajazet* their Soveraign, and worthy commendation of themſelves in general. In this ſort encouraging them, he with a Troop of his beſt Horſemen (to animate the reſt, and to ſhew his own Valour) brake through the Enemies Battel; which thing he in the ſame heat, with more courage than diſcretion, attempting to perform the ſecond time, was incloſed by his Enemies and ſlain; upon whoſe fall the fortune of the Battel was in a moment changed; for the Turks, which erſt fought couragiouſly, having beaten back and almoſt overthrown their Enemies, now diſmaied with their Generals death, began to fight but faintly, and by little and little to give ground, and at laſt turning their Horſes about, fled. On the other ſide *Techellis* his Souldiers, who but a little before had repoſed greater hope in the ſtrength of the place and the Mountain, than in their Weapons and Valour, now incouraged with new hope, and taking heart in the faint Charge of their Enemies, began to thruſt forward, and with a moſt terrible noiſe crying Victory, put to flight the Turks Horſemen, before wearied with long travel, when as they had by the Generals raſhneſs loſt a notable Victory almoſt already gained. *Techellis* although he knew that the Enemy could neither refreſh his Horſes, nor yet with any aſſurance keep the Field, if he ſhould have purſued him; yet having loſt many of his beſt Souldiers, and the reſt of his Army ſore weakned with Travel, Faſting, and Fighting, determined to refreſh his wearied Followers upon the Mountain *Olyga.* From whence after a few days he marched over the River *Halys* unto the City of *Taſcia,* his old dwelling place, and ſo to the City of *Celenis,* which the River *Marſia* (much ſpoken of by the Poets) runneth through, and is now called by the name of *Maras,* but as then the Regal Seat of the Mountain King *Aladeules.* The Turks Horſemen having thus in ſome ſmall ſort rather revenged the injuries done by the Rebels, than obtained any Victory, returned to *Achomates,* who was then coming on with the Footmen. Not long after, *Bajazet* underſtanding of the death of *Alis Baſſa* his General, ſent *Jonuſes Baſſa,* a warlike Captain, and of great experience (born in *Epirus*) in his ſtead. Who as ſoon as he had received the Charge of the Army from *Achomates,* marching forthwith into *Cappadocia,* and keeping the way on the right hand towards the Mountain *Antitaurus,* came in few daies unto the City of *Taſcia,* the place of *Techellis* his abode; where burning and deſtroying the Country all about, he came and encamped with his Army at the foot of the Mountain; The Baſſa had in his Army about forty thouſand Horſe and Foot, well appointed, with many Field Pieces, and plenty of Victuals which he brought with him, for fear of want in that bare Country. *Techellis* terrified with his coming, having of late received no Aid from *Hyſmael* the *Perſian* King, and wanting alſo great Artillery, and beſides that ſeeing his Souldiers greatly both diminiſhed and diſcouraged with the late Battel at *Olyga*; determined not upon ſo great diſadvantage to meet his Enemy in the plain Field, but to keep the rough Mountains and thick Woods, hoping that if he could be able any time to keep thoſe ſtrong places, he ſhould either receive ſome Aid from *Hyſmael,* or by the heat of the Turks Leaders take them at ſome notable advantage. In the mean time many notable skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the Souldiers on both ſides; for the Turks fetching a compaſs oftentimes about the Mountains, and ſeeking for the beſt paſſages, by the eaſie riſing of the Hills, came to skirmiſh with their Enemies; and *Techellis* his Souldiers on the other ſide ſallying many times out of the Woods and abrupt places of the Mountains, valiantly aſſailed the Turks. After they had a long time in this ſort, as if it had been in diſport, rather proved their Forces one upon another, than done any great matter; the Turks prying into every corner, at length perceived two ways whereby their whole Army with Enſigns diſplayed might without any great difficulty be brought unto the top of the Mountain, and ſo into their Enemies ſtrength. The Baſſa having well viewed and conſidered the places, cauſed the Janizaries at one inſtant to march up to the Mountain by one of the aforeſaid ways, and the reſt of his Army by the other;

Jonuſes Baſſa ſent *by* Bajazet, *General of his Army againſt* Techellis.

who with ſoft pace climing up the ſteep Mountains, with their Targuets defended themſelves as well as they could againſt their Enemies Darts and Shot. For *Techellis* his Souldiers having before taken the high Mountains and places of advantage, caſt down upon the Turks great Stones and Shot without number, as if it had been out of ſome ſtrong Forts. But the Turks bending certain ſmall Field Pieces againſt the places which moſt annoied them, eaſily drave them from their ſtandings; the Harquebuſiers ſtill following their Enſigns, ſhrouded cloſe under the Targuetiers, and delivered their deadly Shot as ſhowers of Rain upon their Enemies. Whoſe deſperate approach *Techellis* perceiving, cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and with all his Army retired farther off into the higer Mountains and rougher Woods. The night following, perceiving that by the evil ſucceſs of the former skirmiſh he had loſt a great part of his credit and ſtrength, he with great ſilence forſook the Woods, and paſſing quite over the Mountains fled into *Armenia*, then part of the *Perſian* Kingdom. Neither did the Turks perceive their departure until, it was light day, and that their Scouts entring the thick Woods, and finding the Enemies baggage, with ſome wounded Souldiers not able to flie, brought news unto the Baſſa of the Enemies departure and of his ſpeedy flight into *Armenia*. Which thing, when he by them that were taken, underſtood to be certainly true, fretting and chafing like a mad man, that he had not preſently upon the Enemies Retreat beſet the Wood round, he ſent his Horſemen forthwith to purſue them; but all in vain, for *Techellis* was by direct and known ways gone into *Armenia*. Some few ſtraglers not able to make ſo much haſt as the reſt, were overtaken by the Turks Horſemen, and brought back to the Baſſa.

Techellis thus put to flight, *Jouſes* cauſed ſtrait inquiſition to be made through all the Cities of the leſſer *Aſia*, for all ſuch as had profeſſed the *Perſian* Religion; and them whom he found to have born Arms in the late Rebellion, he cauſed to be put to death with moſt exquiſit Torments, and the reſt to be burnt in their Foreheads with an hot Iron, thereby for ever to be known; whom together with the Kinsfolks and Friends of them that were executed, or fled with *Techellis*, he cauſed to be tranſported into *Europe*, and to be diſperſed through *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, and *Peloponneſus*; for fear leſt if *Techellis* now fled into the *Perſian* Kingdom, ſhould from thence return with new Forces, they ſhould alſo again repair unto him, and raiſe a new Rebellion. This was the beginning, courſe, and ending, of one of the moſt dangerous Rebellions that ever troubled the Turkiſh Empire; wherein all, or at leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of their Dominions in *Aſia*, might have been eaſily ſurpriſed by the *Perſian* King, if he would throughly have proſecuted the occaſion and opportunity then offered.

The remainder of *Techellis* his Followers, flying into *Perſia*, by the way lightning upon a *Caravan* of Merchants laden with Silks, and other rich Merchandize, took the Spoil thereof; for which outrage coming to *Tauris*, the Captains were all by the commandment of *Hyſmael* executed, and *Techellis* himſelf to the terror of others burnt alive.

Techellis *burnt at* Tauris.

1509. *A great Earthquake at* Conſtantinople.

The next year (which was the year 1509. the fourteenth day of *September*) chanced a great and terrible Earthquake in the City of *Conſtantinople* and the Countries thereabouts; by the violence whereof, a great part of the Walls of that imperial City, with many ſtately Buildings both publick and private, were quite overthrown, and thirteen thouſand People overwhelmed and ſlain. The terror whereof was ſo great, that the People generally forſook their Houſes and lay abroad in the Fields; yea *Bajazet* himſelf, then very aged and ſore troubled with the Gout, for fear thereof removed from *Conſtantinople* to *Hadrianople*; but finding himſelf in no more ſafety than before, he left the City and lay abroad in the Fields in his Tent. This Earthquake indured by the ſpace of eighteen days, or (as the Turks Hiſtories report) a month, with very little intermiſſion; which was then accounted ominous, as portending the miſerable calamities which ſhortly after hapned in the *Othoman* Family. After this Earthquake enſued a great Plague, wherewith the City was grievouſly viſited, and for the moſt part unpeopled. But after that the Earthquake was ceaſed, and the Mortality aſſwaged; *Bajazet* cauſed the imperial City to be with all ſpeed repaired, and to that purpoſe gave out commiſſions into all parts of his Dominions for the taking up of Workmen; ſo that there were at once in work eighty thouſand Workmen, who in moſt beautiful manner in the ſpace of four months again repaired the ruins of that great City.

The Children of Bajazet.

Bajazet had by his many Wives, eight Sons and ſix Daughters, which lived to be Men and Women grown; and the Sons all Governors in divers Provinces of his large Empire; whom the Turkiſh Hiſtories reckon up in this order, *Abdullah Zelebi*, *Alem Scach*, *Tziban Scach*, *Achmet*, *Machmut*, *Corcut*, *Selim*, and *Mahamet*. Yet *Antonius Utrius* a *Genoway*, who long time lived in *Bajazet* his Court, and (as he of himſelf writeth) waited in his Chamber at the time of his death, reckoning up the Sons of *Bajazet*, maketh mention but of theſe ſix, *Sciemſcia*, *Alemſcia*, *Achomates*, *Mahometes*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*; naming the forenamed by names ſomething differing from the other. *Sciemſcia* the eldeſt, Governor of *Caramania*, for his towardlineſs moſt dearly beloved of his Father, died a natural death before him, and was of him and his Subjects greatly lamented. *Alemſcia* died in like manner, of whoſe death as ſoon as he was advertiſed, by mourning Letters written in black paper with white Characters (as their manner of writing is, in certifying of heavy news) he caſt from him his Scepter with all other tokens of Honour, and cauſed general mourning to be made for him in the Court, and through all the City of *Conſtantinople*, by the ſpace of three days; during which time all Shops were ſhut up, all trading forbidden, and no ſign of mirth to be ſeen: and for a certain ſpace after the manner of their Superſtition, cauſed ſolemn Sacrifices to be made for the health of his Soul, and ſeven thouſand Aſpers to be given weekly unto the Poor. His dead body was afterward with all Princely Pomp conveyed to *Pruſa*, and there with great ſolemnity buried. *Tziban* Governor of *Caria* and *Muhamet* Governor of *Capha*, upon their Fathers heavy diſpleaſure, were by his commandment both ſtrangled.

Of his other four Sons, *Achmet*, otherwiſe called *Achomates*, *Machmut* or *Mahometes*, *Corcut* or *Corcutus*, and *Selymus*; the ſecond (namely *Mahometes*) was of greateſt hope and expectation, not given to ſenſuality or voluptuous pleaſure, as *Achomates* his eldeſt Brother, neither altogether bookiſh as was *Corcutus*, nor yet of ſo fierce and cruel a Diſpoſition as *Selymus*; but of ſuch a lively Spirit, ſharp Wit, bountiful Diſpoſition, and Princely Carriage of himſelf, that in the judgment of moſt men, he ſeemed already worthy of a Kingdom. Which immoderate favour of the

People, cauſed his elder Brother *Achomates*, yea and *Bajazet* alſo himſelf, to have him in no ſmall jealouſie, as if he had affected the Empire; and was in ſhort time the cauſe of his untimely death; which thing he nothing doubting, haſtened (as fatal things are) by ſuch means as he leſt feared might have procured any ſuch mortal diſtruſt or danger.

Moſt of *Bajazet* his Children were by divers Women, yet *Achomates* and this *Mahometes* were by one and the ſame Mother; for which cauſe *Mahometes* took greater pleaſure in him than in any his other Brethren, although it were not anſwered with like love again. *Achomates* was Lord and Governor of *Amaſia*; and this *Mahometes*, of *Magneſia*; who deſirous to ſee the manner of his Brothers Life and Government, diſguiſed himſelf with two of his familiar and faithful Friends, as if they had been religious men, of that Order which the Turks call *Imalier*. [Theſe men are for the moſt part comely Perſonages, born of good Houſes, who in cleanly Attire made after an homely faſhion, do at their pleaſure wander up and down from Town to Town, and Country to Country, noting the diſpoſition and manners of the People; whereof as fitteth beſt their purpoſe, they make large Diſcourſes afterwards to others; they commonly carry about with them Silver Cymbals, whereon they play moſt cunningly, and thereunto ſing pleaſant and wanton Ditties; for which idle delight, they receive Mony of the People, as an Alms given them of Devotion. Theſe are the common corrupters of youth, and defilers of other mens beds; men altogether given to eaſe and pleaſure, and are of the Turks called, *The religious Brethren of Love*; but might of right better be termed, *Epicurus his Hogs*, than any profeſſors of any Religion at all] *Mahometes* and his two Conſorts, as men of this profeſſion, travelled up and down the Countries of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* (where *Achomates* commanded) and ſo to the City of *Amaſia*; receiving for their merry glee by the way as they went, the Alms and Devotion of the fooliſh Country People: And being at the length come to *Amaſia* upon a ſolemn Holyday, they awaited the coming of *Achomates* to the Church; who paſſing by, ſtaid a while liſtening attentively unto their pleaſant and alluring Harmony; which was for that purpoſe moſt curiouſly and skilfully before deviſed, and by them both with their inſtruments and voices performed. When they had ended their Muſick, and according to the manner of their idle profeſſion expected his devotion; *Achomates* being a man of a ſpare hand, commanded five Aſpers to be given them in reward [which is about ſix pence of our Mony.] *Mahometes* diſdaining his Brothers baſe reward, as a ſign of his miſerable diſpoſition, would in no wiſe diſcover himſelf, as he had before determined; but taking horſe, returned with ſpeed to *Magneſia*; from whence he wrote taunting Letters unto his Brother *Achomates*, ſcoffing at his good Husbandry (no praiſe to a Prince) and in contempt ſent him back again his five Aſpers; which thing *Achomates* took in ſo evil part, as that he was never afterwards friends with him. The report of this Fact was in ſhort time diſperſed throughout all parts of the Turkiſh Empire, divers men diverſly deeming of his purpoſe therein.

Mahometes *diſguiſed as a ſeafaring man, cometh to* Conſtantinople, *and ſo to the Court.*

Not long after *Mahometes* had in this ſort plaid with his Brother *Achomates*, he attired himſelf with certain of his truſty Followers as if they had been Seafaring men, and with a ſmall Bark came to *Conſtantinople*, and there landing as Adventurers from Sea, took diligent view both of the imperial City, and of the City of *Pera* ſtanding oppoſite againſt it, curiouſly noting how all things were by his Fathers appointment ordered and governed. It hapned whilſt he was thus ſtaying at *Conſtantinople*, that *Bajazet* had appointed a ſolemn aſſembly of all his chief Baſſaes at the Court; which *Mahometes* was deſirous to have the ſight of, as alſo of the faſhion of his Fathers Court; but as he with his Companions preſſed to have entred in at the Court Gate, they were by their baſe Apparel taken of the Porters to have been rude Mariners, and ſo by them kept out. Wherefore conſulting what to do in that caſe, he went and preſently bought a moſt beautiful Chriſtian Captive Boy, and the next day coming again to the Court with two of his Companions (as if they had been Adventurers at Sea) requeſted to be let in, for that they had brought a Preſent for the Emperor. So finding means to be admitted to the preſence of *Bajazet*, one of his Conſorts (as if he had been a Sea Captain) boldly ſtept forth, and with due reverence offered the Peſent unto the Emperor; which he thankfully took, and in token thereof gave him his hand to kiſs, and commanded a rich Garment wrought with Gold to be given unto him, with two others of leſs value unto *Mahometes* and his Fellow, ſuppoſed to be the ſaid Captains Followers; who all this while ſtood a far off, as if it had been for reverence of the Emperor, but indeed for fear to be diſcovered. As theſe counterfeit Gueſts were returning from the Court in their Garments of Favour, they hapned to meet with three Courtiers which knew *Mahometes*; who diſmounting from their Horſes, had done him Honour and due Reverence, as to the Son of the great Emperor, had he not by ſecret ſigns forbidden them, as one unwilling to be known. When he had thus ſeen his Father, the Court, and the Imperial City, he went again aboard, and ſo with ſpeed returned to *Magneſia*.

The report of this his doing, had in ſhort time filled both the City and the Court, and was at laſt brought to *Bajazets* Ears; which raiſed in his ſuſpitious Head many a troubleſome thought, greatly fearing, that in theſe ſlie practices lay hidden ſome ſecret and deſperate Conſpiracy, dangerous to himſelf and his other Children. Wherefore after long diſcourſe had with the three great Baſſaes then of his ſecret Counſel, concerning the matter, to rid himſelf of all fear, he reſolved in any caſe to take him away. And therefore cauſed them in his name to write unto *Aſmehemedi*, a gallant Courtier, and alwais near unto *Mahometes*, to poiſon him with a ſecret Poyſon, for that purpoſe incloſed in thoſe Letters ſent unto him; with promiſe of great rewards and preferments for that his ſervice, to be afterwards received from the Emperor; charging him withal, that if he could not effect the matter, he ſhould ſo conceal it, as that *Mahometes* ſhould have no diſtruſt thereof; the leaſt ſuſpition whereof, would tend to his utter deſtruction. This *Aſmehemedi* for ſome unkindneſs bare a ſecret grudge againſt *Mahometes*, which *Bajazet* knowing of, made choiſe of him the rather; and he on the other ſide, partly to perform the old Tyrants command, and partly to revenge his own private wrong, vigilantly awaited all opportunities to bring to effect that he had in charge. At length it fortuned, that *Mahometes* having diſported himſelf in his Gardens of Pleaſure, and being thirſty after his exerciſe, called for drink; *Aſmehemedi* alwaies at hand, in a gilt Boul fetcht him ſuch drink as he deſired, whereinto he had ſecretly conveied the deadly Poyſon ſent from *Bajazet*. *Mahometes* having drunk thereof,

Mahometes *poyſoned by* Aſmehemedi.

thereof, in ſhort time began to feel himſelf evil at eaſe, and preſently ſent for his Phyſicians; who thinking that he had but ſomething diſtempered himſelf with drinking too much cold drink in his heat, perceived not that he was poiſoned, until that within ſix dais after, he died. Of whoſe death *Bajazet* advertiſed, could not abſtain from mourning, although he himſelf had been the only Author thereof; and the more to manifeſt his heavineſs, commanded all the Court to mourn with him, and Prayers to be made in their Temples after their ſuperſtitious manner, and Alms to be given to the Poor for the health of his Soul. His dead body was afterwards carried to *Pruſa*, and there honourably buried with his Anceſtors. *Aſmehemedi* the Traitor in reward of his unfaithfulneſs towards his Maſter, was by the commandment of *Bajazet* caſt into Priſon, and never afterwards ſeen, being there (as it was thought) ſecretly made away.

Aſmehemedi *juſtly rewarded for his Treachery.*

Now had *Bajazet* but three Sons left, *Achomates*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*. *Achomates* Governor of *Amaſia*, was a man both politick and valiant; but much given to pleaſure and delight; him *Bajazet* and moſt part of the great men of the Court favoured above the reſt of his Brethren; except ſuch as were before corrupted by *Selymus*. *Corcutus* for his mild and quiet nature, was of moſt men beloved, but not thought ſo fit for the Government of ſo great an Empire; eſpecially by the Janizaries and Souldiers of the Court, for that he was (as they thought) altogether drowned in the ſtudy of Philoſophy, a thing nothing agreeing with their humor. Yet might *Bajazet* ſeem to do him wrong, if he ſhould not according to his promiſe again reſtore him unto the poſſeſſion of the Empire, which he had almoſt thirty years before received at his hands; as is before in the beginning of his life declared. But *Selymus* being of a more haughty diſpoſition than to brook the life of a Subject under the command of either of his Brethren, and altogether given to martial Affairs, ſought by infinite Bounty, feigned Courteſie, ſubtil Policy, and by all other means good and bad, to aſpire unto the Empire. Him therefore the Janizaries with all the great Souldiers of the Court, yea and ſome of the chief Baſſaes alſo (corrupted with Gifts) wiſhed above the reſt, for their Lord and Sovereign; deſiring rather to live under him which was like to ſet all the World on a hurly burly (whereby they might increaſe their Honour and Wealth, the certain rewards of their Adventures) than to lead an idle and unprofitable Life (as they termed it) under a quiet and peaceable Prince.

Whilſt men ſtood thus diverſly affected towards theſe Princes of ſo great hope, *Bajazet* now far worn with years, and ſo grievouſly tormented with the Gout that he was not able to help himſelf; for the quietneſs of his Subjects and preventing of ſuch troubles as might ariſe by the aſpiring of his Children after his death, determined whilſt he yet lived (for the avoiding of theſe and other ſuch like miſchiefs) to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion in ſome one of his Sons; who wholly poſſeſſed of the Kingdom, might eaſily repreſs the pride of the other. And although he had ſet down with himſelf, that *Achomates* ſhould be the man, as well in reſpect of his Birth-right, as of the eſpecial affection he bare unto him; yet to diſcover the diſpoſition of his Subjects, and how they ſtood affected, it was given out in general terms, That he meant before his death to make it known to the World, who ſhould ſucceed in the Empire, without naming any one of his Sons; leaving that for every man to divine of according as they were affected; which was not the leaſt cauſe that every one of his Sons with like ambition began now to make ſmall account of their former Preferments, as thinking only upon the Empire it ſelf.

1511. Selymus *aided by* Mahometes *his Father in law, riſeth againſt his Father.*

Firſt of all *Selymus*, whom *Bajazet* had made Governor of the Kingdom of *Trapezond*, rigging up all the Ships he could in *Pontus*, ſailed from *Trapezond* over the *Euxine* (now called *the Black Sea*) to the City of *Capha*, called in ancient time *Theodoſia*, and from thence by Land came to *Mahometes* King of the *Tartars* called *Præcopenſes*, a mighty Prince, whoſe Daughter he had without the good liking of his Father before married; and diſcovering unto him his intended purpoſe, beſought him by the ſacred Bonds of the Affinity betwixt them, not to ſhrink from him his loving Son-in-law in ſo fit an opportunity for his advancement. And withal ſhewed unto him, what great hope of obtaining the Empire was propoſed unto him by his moſt faithful Friends and the Souldiers of the Court, if he would but come nearer unto his Father (then about to transfer the Empire to ſome one of his Sons) and either by fair means to procure his favour, or by entring with his Army into *Thracia*, to terrifie him from appointing either of his other Brethren for the Succeſſor. The *Tartar* King commending his high device, as a kind Father-in-law with wonderful celerity cauſed great ſtore of ſhipping to be made ready in the *Pontick* Sea, and *Mæotis*, but eſpecially at the Ports of *Copa* and *Tana*, upon the great River of *Tanais*, which boundeth *Europe* from *Aſia*; and arming fifteen thouſand *Tartarian* Horſemen, delivered them all to *Selymus*, promiſing forthwith to ſend him greater Aid if he ſhould have occaſion to uſe the ſame. Theſe things being quickly diſpatched, *Selymus* paſſing over the River *Borryſthenes*, and ſo through *Valachia*, came at length to *Danubius*, and with his Horſemen paſſed that famous River at the City of *Chelia*; his Fleet he commanded to meet him at the Port of the City of *Varna*, called in ancient time *Dionyſiopolis*, in the Confines of *Bulgaria* and *Thracia*; he himſelf ſtill levying more men by the way as he went, pretending in ſhew quite another thing than he had indeed intended; which the better to cover, he gave it out as if he had purpoſed to have invaded *Hungary*.

But *Bajazet* a good while before advertiſed, that *Selymus* was departed from *Trapezond*, and come over into *Europe*, marvelling that he had left his charge in *Aſia* (the Rebellion of *Techellis* and the *Perſian* War yet ſcarce quieted) and that upon his own head he had entertained forreign Aid to make War againſt the moſt warlike Nation of the *Hungarians*; and farther, that with his Army by Land, he had ſeiſed upon the places neareſt unto *Thracia*, and with a ſtrong Navy kept the *Euxine* Sea; he began to ſuſpect, as the truth was, That all this preparation was made and intended againſt himſelf; for the crafty old Sire had good proof of the unquiet and troubleſome nature of his Son, eſpecially in that without his knowledge he durſt preſume to take a Wife from amongſt the *Tartars*, and afterwards with no leſs preſumption of himſelf raiſe an Army both by Sea and Land: whereby he eaſily perceived, that he would never hold himſelf contented with a ſmall Kingdom, ſo long as he was in hope by a deſperat adventure to gain a greater. Yet thinking it better with like diſſimulation to appeaſe his violent and fierce Nature, than by ſharp reproof to move him to farther Choler, he ſent unto him Embaſſadors to declare to him with what danger the Turkiſh Kings had in former times taken upon them thoſe *Hungarian*

Bajazet *ſendeth Embaſſadors to* Selymus.

Wars; for example whereof he needed not to go no further than to his Grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who many times to his exceeding loſs had made proof of the *Hungarian* Forces; wherefore he ſhould do well to expect ſome fit opportunity, when as he might with better advice, greater power, and more ſure hope of Victory, take thoſe Wars in hand. Whereunto *Selymus* anſwered, That he had left *Aſia*, inforced thereunto by the injuries of his Brother *Achomates*, and was therefore come over into *Europe*, by dint of Sword and the help of his Friends,to win from the Enemies of the Mahometan Religion a larger and better Province for that little barren and peaceable one which his Father had given him, bordering upon *Hiberia* and *Cholchos*, bare and needy People, living as Connies amongſt the Rocks and Mountains. As for the *Hungarians*, whom they thought to be a People invincible, and therefore not to be dealt withal, he was not of that baſe mind to be daunted with any danger, were it never ſo great; and yet that in his opinion the War was neither ſo difficult or dangerous, as was by them prentended; foraſmuch as the ancient proweſs of that warlike Nation was now much changed, together with the change of their Kings; and their Diſcipline of War not only much decaied, but almoſt quite loſt, after that *Uladiſlaus*, far unlike in Policy and Proweſs, had ſucceeded the renowned *Matthias* in that Kingdom. Neither had he (as he ſaid) from his cradle learned to be afraid of death, or of the common chances of War, as knowing that neither God nor Man would be wanting unto him, who with an honourable reſolution did adventure upon vertuous and worthy attempts; and that therefore he was fully reſolved for his own honour (which his Father had in ſome ſort blemiſhed by the immoderate advancement of his Brethren) either to die honourably in the Field in battel againſt the Enemies of the Mahometan Religion, or elſe gloriouſly to extend the bounds of the Turkiſh Empire: and that he would not (though one of the youngeſt in the *Othoman* Family) be accounted inferior to any of his Brethren in Vertue and Proweſs. Thus was the *Hungarian* War never by *Selymus* entended, notably by him pretended; and with no leſs diſſimulation by *Bajazet* diſſwaded. The Embaſſadors, although *Selymus* in all his Speeches ſhewed no token of Peace; yet in his Fathers name preſented unto him divers Gifts, thereby if it might be to appeaſe his fierce and cruel mind. Unto his old Government they adjoyned *Scamandria*, which the *Hungarians* call *Schenderovia*, a ſtrong City of *Servia* upon the borders of *Hungary*, with many other ſtrong Towns in the ſame Country; they gave him alſo threeſcore thouſand Ducats, beſide a thouſand Garments of Cloath and Silk; with good Store of Proviſion wherewith to relieve and content the Souldiers by him entertained; leſt that they drawn far from home in hope of Spoil, ſhould take it in evil part if they ſhould be ſent away empty handed. *Selymus* in a happy time having received theſe Gifts, returned the Embaſſadors unto his Father, with more doubtful anſwer and uncertain hope than before; yet changing nothing in himſelf of his former reſolution, ſecret Meſſengers and Letters from his Friends in the Court ſtill whetting him forward (too much already inflamed with deſire of Sovereignty) perſwading him to make haſt and to repoſe his greateſt hope in his quick ſpeed; for that they underſtood, that about the time of his ſetting forward, his Brother *Achomates* was coming with a great power, being ſent for out of *Cappadocia* by his Father.

Preſents given to Selymus *by his Fathers Embaſſadors.*

Bajazet *would appoint his Succeſſor whilſt he yet lived.*

In the mean time *Bajazet*, moved the rather with the fear of *Selymus*, reſolved upon that, whereof he had long before in his mind deeply conſidered, and now ſaid openly, That he would appoint his Succeſſor, who inſtead of himſelf, ſpent with years and ſickneſs, ſhould bring with him the flower of Youth and ſtrength of Body, fit to govern ſo great an Empire. But when thoſe things were propounded unto the Souldiers of the Court by the four great Baſſaes (who in all things both of Peace and War had next place unto the Emperor himſelf) it was forthwith gainſaid by thoſe Martial Men, crying aloud with one voice, That they would know no other Emperor but *Bajazet*, under whoſe conduct and good fortune they had now ſerved above thirty years; and therefore would not ſuffer him to live a private life in obſcurity, who with ſo many Victories and ſtrong Cities taken, had brought the *Othoman* Empire unto that height of Renown and Glory. They ſaid moreover, that there was in him yet ſtrength enough, if he would but with the reverend honour of his Age retain the Majeſty of his place, and the Glory he had gotten with his long and happy Reign, and moſt famous Victories; and that of his Children, ſuch an one ſhould undoubtedly in his due time ſucceed in the Empire, as of right ought; only they wiſht, that the old Emperor might in the mean time live in health with a long and happy Reign; neither needed he (as they ſaid) to fear that after his death any controverſie ſhould ariſe among his Sons about the Succeſſion; for that the *Othoman* Progeny uſed to attain the imperial ſeat, according to the old cuſtom of their Anceſtors the *Othoman* Kings, by Right and Order only, and not by Corruption or Faction. But if he would needs upon his own private good liking, or as it were by new adoption, proceed to make choice of ſuch an one as the People and the Men of War (his moſt loyal and faithful Subjects) could not ſo well like of, it would be an occaſion of much more trouble, and happily the means to bring in that confuſion of the State, which he thought thereby to eſchew. For then, beſide the diſlike of the People, the other Brethren would never endure ſo notable an injury, or ever be at quiet, until they had (as men wrongfully caſt off and diſinherited) by ſtrong hand and endangering of all, recovered their honor loſt by the headſtrong Will of their aged Father.

The Souldiers thus before inſtructed by the Friends and Favourites of *Selymus*, (who with Mony and large Promiſes had corrupted their Captains and chief Officers) ſpake theſe things frankly, to have deterred the old Emperor from his purpoſe. But he thinking that they had (as he himſelf did) eſpecially affected *Achomates* his eldeſt Son, (for that they had generally proteſted, That they would againſt all injuries defend his honour, unto whom the Empire ſhould of right appertain) ſaid he would make choice of *Achomates*, if it ſhould ſtand with their good liking. But the chief of the Souldiers (who corrupted by *Selymus*, had together ſold both their Faith and themſelves) cunningly commended *Achomates*, and ſeemed wonderfully to like of him; yet to accept of him for their Sovereign, *Bajazet* yet living, they ſaid was not agreeing with the ancient cuſtom of the *Othoman* Kings, neither for the behoof of the men of War, neither yet good for the State of the Empire; foraſmuch as neither his Brethren *Corcutus* and *Selymus*, neither the Souldiers of the Court, could patiently endure the leaſt touch of the ſuſpition of Infidelity; which they muſt needs do, if he as a ſuſpitious Father ſhould doubt either of the Love or Loy-

Bajazet *ſeeketh to prefer* Achomates *unto the Empire.*

alty of his moſt dutiful Sons, or of the Faith and Conſtancy of his moſt faithful Servants, whereof he had made ſo many trials. Beſides that, it ſeemed unto them all unreaſonable, that by the odious prejudice of that Fact, the Souldiers ſhould be left defrauded of the rewards uſually granted unto them during the time of the vacancy of the Empire, ariſing of the Spoil taken from them which are of Religion different from the Turks. For it is a cuſtom, that immediately upon the death of the Turkiſh Emperor, all the Jews and Chriſtians which dwell at *Conſtantinople*, *Pera*, *Hadrianople*, *Theſſalonica*, and *Pruſa*, eſpecially Merchants, expoſed unto the injuries of the Turks, are by the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court, ſpoiled of all their Wares and Goods, and become unto them a Prey; neither will they give their Oath of Allegeance unto the new Emperor, until he have granted unto them all that Prey, as a Bounty, and have ſolemnly ſworn by his own Head (the greateſt aſſurance that can by Oath be given amongſt the Turks) freely to pardon all the Offenders, and for ever to forget all the outrages before committed. When *Bajazet* ſaw his Men of War thus generally to oppoſe themſelves againſt the tranſlation of the Empire to *Achomates*, he of purpoſe to corrupt the minds of them which were before already corrupted, promiſed to give them five hundred thouſand Ducats if they would ſtand favourable to *Achomates*, and accept him for their Sovereign; which Maſs of Mony his Cuſtomers and Receivers undertook to levy of the ſame Merchants Strangers and Jews, and to pay it as *Bajazet* had promiſed. Yet the overthwart forwardneſs of theſe Men of War overcame the good Fortune of *Achomates*, although the reward promiſed were great; for why, they had in their Martial Minds conceived far greater Rewards and Preferments, if inſtead of a peaceable and quiet Prince, a monſtrous Tyrant of reſtleſs nature (as was *Selymus*) might by their help and means aſpire to the Empire. Thus *Bajazet*, driven from his hope, thought it beſt for the preſent to diſſemble the matter; and concealing his grief, with patience to put up that diſhonour, until a fitter opportunity were offered for the effecting of that he ſo much deſired.

Selymus *marcheth with his Army toward* Hadrianople

Selymus *his diſſembling Embaſſage unto his Father.*

Selymus advertiſed from his Friends, with what affection and faſtneſs the Souldiers of the Court had in the ſecret favour of him openly withſtood the earneſt deſire of *Bajazet* for the preferment of *Achomates*; becauſe he would no longer fruſtrate the expectation of his Favourites by lingring and delay, or ſeem to diſtruſt the ready good Wills of the Men of War towards him, left the borders of *Hungary*, and with his Army marching through *Thracia*, incamped at length upon the riſing of an Hill not far from *Hadrianople*, from whence the neighing of his Horſes might eaſily be heard, and his Tents from the high places of the City diſcovered. From thence he ſent a Meſſenger to his Father then lying in the City, to certifie him, That foraſmuch as he had not of many years before ſeen him, he was now therefore deſirous to come unto his preſence to viſit him, before he croſſed the Seas back again by his appointment to *Trapezond*; and the rather, becauſe it might chance that he ſhould never ſee him again, being now become both aged and diſeaſed; beſides that, it much concerned (as he would have had him to believe) the quietneſs of his Kingdom in *Aſia*, and the unity of his Children, if the controverſies betwixt him and his Brother *Achomates*, which could not ſafely be committed to Meſſengers, might by themſelves be diſcovered to him their Father, as an indifferent hearer and decider thereof. Wherefore he humbly beſought him to appoint him a time and place to give him audience in; and not to denie him leave to come and kiſs his Hands; which thing his Anceſtors never refuſed to grant to their poor Friends, much leſs to their Children. *Bajazet* who a few days before underſtanding of the coming of *Selymus*, and throughly ſeeing into his devices, had called unto him certain of his Sanzacks or chief Captains, with their ſelect Companies out of the neareſt parts of *Grecia*, and had alſo ſet ſtrong Watch and Ward through the City; fearing leſt under the colour of parle, his Souldiers attending about his perſon, corrupted by *Selymus* and his Friends (who even then loaded with Gifts and Promiſes, were ſecretly upon the point of revolt) ſhould be quite drawn away from him, and ſo he himſelf at length be either by open force oppreſſed, or ſecret Treachery circumvented, thought it beſt to cut him off at once from all hope of conference or acceſs unto his preſence. Wherefore ſeriouſly blaming him, that he had upon his own head brought his Army into another mans Province, that he in Arms required audience, and laſt of all, ſo inſolently abuſed his Fathers lenity and patience; he by the ſame Meſſenger ſent him farther word, That he ſhould not preſume to approach any nearer unto him, or expect any thing appertaining to peace, who guarded with forreign power had without his Fathers leave entred into Arms, and ſpoiled the Countries of his Friends; and that therefore he ſhould do well, with all ſpeed to retire out of *Thracia*, yea and out of *Europe* alſo, and disbanding his Forces, again to retire himſelf unto his own charge in *Pontus*; in which doing he ſhould find greater favour and kindneſs with him his Father, than ever he had before: but if he would needs proceed in the courſe by him begun, that then he would no more take him for his Son, but for his Enemy, and before it were long, ſharply chaſtiſe for his malapert Inſolency, little differing from unnatural Treachery. The Meſſenger with his anſwer diſmiſſed, it was not long after, but that *Bajazet* was by his eſpials advertiſed, that *Selymus* the night following was riſen with his Army, and marched directly towards *Conſtantinople*; whether he was ſent for by his Friends, in hope that upon his approach with his Army, ſome ſuddain tumult and uprore would to his avail ariſe in that ſo great and populous City. Whereupon *Bajazet* fearing leſt in ſtaying at *Hadrianople*, he might loſe the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, early in the morning by break of the day departed from *Hadrianople* towards *Conſtantinople*. Upon his departure *Selymus* peaceably entred the City of *Hadrianople*, the Citizens fearing, that if they ſhould have made any reſiſtance, their unſeaſonable faithfulneſs towards *Bajazet* might have turned to their utter deſtruction. *Selymus* after he had a while refreſhed his Army with the plenty of that City, according to his former determination ſet forward again, of purpoſe by long and ſpeedy Marches to have prevented his Fathers coming to *Conſtantinople*. *Bajazet* was yet ſcarcely come to *Chiurlus*, or rather *Tzurulum*, an ancient ruinous City almoſt upon the mid way betwixt *Hadrianople* and *Conſtantinople*, when warning was given him of them that followed his Army, that the forerunners of *Selymus* were at hand, cutting off the ſtraglers of his Army, and with hot skirmiſhing ſtayed and troubled his Rearward. The aged Emperor more moved than terrified with the ſtrangeneſs of the matter, becauſe his marching ſhould not ſeem as if it were a Flight or Chaſe, commanded his Standard to be ſet up, and all his Army to make a

Selymus *overtaketh his Father.*

The chief men about Bajazet *ſecretly favour* Selymus, *and diſſwade him from giving him Battel.*

ſtand, of purpoſe that if *Selymus* ſhould come on to give him Battel, he might find him in readineſs. The great Captains and Noblemen then preſent with *Bajazet*, whether it were for old acquaintance, or upon ſome new inclination of their affection, or elſe upon hope of new Allyance and Preferment, wiſhing well unto *Selymus*, and therefore indirectly and cunningly favouring him, ſeemed not to like of *Bajazet* his reſolution, to be ſo far moved (as they ſaid) with the youthful heat and lightneſs of his Son, as to ſeek revenge by battel, whereas the Victory it ſelf could yield him nothing but ſorrow; but the overthrow threatned deſtruction both to himſelf and all them that were with him; the imminent event thereof ſeemed to be ſo much the more dangerous and fearful, by how much he was at that time inferior unto his Son both in warlike Proviſion and number of men. Wherefore it were good for him (they ſaid) to moderate his anger, and not now in the winding up of his life to make too much haſt by a miſerable death in a woful Battel to ſtain the whole glory of his former life. There was (as they would have perſwaded him) but one only courſe to be taken, full of wholeſome Policy and Safety; and that was, That he ſhould with ſuch ſpeed as he had begun, march on forward to *Conſtantinople*, that ſo *Selymus* excluded ont of the City, (his chiefeſt hope) and then not knowing which way to turn himſelf, ſhould either of his own accord, or for fear of his Fathers greater Forces, think of return; and ſo with his raſcal Followers more honeſtly periſh by the hands of them whoſe Countries he had ſpoiled, and upon whom he muſt of neceſſity live in his return, than by the ſword of his Father. The Author of this Counſel was *Muſtapha*, the moſt ancient Baſſa of thoſe, which being in greateſt Authority about the Emperor, are only of his Privy Council, and ſway all matters of importance concerning either Peace or War; he then upon an unthankful and malicious mind loathing *Bajazet*, as one that had too long reigned, hated him alſo for certain private diſpleaſures conceived of the emulation of the other younger Baſſa's by him promoted; and ſecretly bare great affection to *Selymus*, both in condition and favour reſembling his Grandfather the Great *Mahomet*, by whom he was brought up himſelf, and him of all the Sons of *Bajazet* he thought moſt worthy of the Empire. This *Muſtapha* was born in the Town of *Seres* (near unto *Amphipolis*) the Son of a Greek Prieſt, a man of a ſly, crafty, and ſubtil Wit, always ſubject to corruption; which diſeaſes of mind were in him well to have been diſcovered by his froward look and ſquint Eyes, the certain notes of a nature to be ſuſpected. Next unto this *Muſtapha* was *Boſtanges Baſſa*, born of the honourable Houſe of the *Ducagina* in *Ætholia*, and therefore called *Ducaginoli*; a man for his Covetouſnes, Ambition, and Treachery, infamous; as the foul and miſerable end of his life afterwards declared. Unto this man, *Selymus* had by ſecret promiſe betrothed one of his Daughters, now marriageable, as a reward of his corrupt Faith. By which ſleight he had alſo allured *Ajax* (Aga or Captain of the Janizaries, and great Maſter of the Houſhold) to promiſe his Aid for the obtaining of the Empire; whereunto he ſaid he was by Deſtiny called; and by his means drew other inferior Captains ſecretly to favour his quarrel; unto whom he ſpared not to promiſe whatſoever might pleaſe their humors. Yea the Captains almoſt generally either corrupted with reward, or for fear following the inclination of the greater Commanders, of themſelves leaned that way.

Cherſeogles *Baſſa the only great man faithful to* Bajazet, *perſwadeth him to give Battel to* Selymus.

Of all the reſt, only *Cherſeogles Baſſa* (whom the Turks Hiſtories call alſo *Achmet Hertezec-Ogli*) a faithful, conſtant, and upright man, free from all double dealing and deceit, a faſt and aſſured Friend unto *Bajazet* his Father in Law, was of opinion, That the immoderate Pride and Inſolency of *Selymus*, was even there by force of Arms and ſtrong Hand forthwith to be oppreſſed, before he ſhould approach any nearer unto the Imperial City, for fear of raiſing ſome further trouble or tumult there, than were well to be appeaſed; which was the thing that *Selymus* his Friends moſt of all deſired. Neither was it to be thought (as *Cherſeogles* ſaid) that the naked *Tartarion* Horſemen, although they were in number more, would ever be able to abide the firſt charge of *Bajazet* his well armed Penſioners. As for the Janizaries, of whoſe approved Faith and Valour tried in many dangers, he had before had good experience; there was no doubt but that they would now to the uttermoſt of their power defend the Perſon and Honour of their aged and victorious Emperor, who had of long time ſo well of them deſerved; and alſo to revenge his quarrel upon diſobedient *Selymus*, who neither fearing God the juſt Revenger of ſuch ungracious dealing, neither the infamy of men, had moſt unnaturally lift up his Sword againſt his Father, wickedly to deprive him of life, of whom he had received life. Wherefore he perſwaded him, in his own juſt quarrel to go forth unto his Souldiers with chearful countenance, and putting them in remembrance of the benefits they had from time to time moſt bountifully received at his hands, as alſo of their Allegiance and Duty; to make them to underſtand, that repoſing his truſt in their Fidelity and Valour, he had reſolutely ſet down with himſelf, in that place before he went any further, by their faithful hands to chaſtiſe the preſumptuous inſolency of his unnatural Son, together with his rebellious Followers.

But now that we are fallen into the remembrance of this *Cherſeogles*, it ſhall not be amiſs, both for the honour of the man, and the great love he always bare unto the Chriſtians, to ſtep a little out of the way, to ſee the cauſe why he being a Chriſtian born, turned Turk. For he was not (as almoſt all the reſt of the great men about *Bajazet* were) of a Child taken from his Chriſtian Parents, and ſo brought up in the Mahometan Religion; but now being a man grown, turned Turk; yet ſo, as that he never in heart forgot either the Chriſtian Religion or love towards the Chriſtians; a thing not common among ſuch Renegates. He being the Son of one *Cherſeoglas*, a ſmall Prince of *Illyria* near unto the black Mountain; and going to be married unto a Lady whom he moſt entirely loved, and unto whom he was already betrothed, honourably deſcended of the Houſe of the Deſpot of *Servia*; his intemperate Father with luſtful Eye beholding the young Lady of rare Feature and incomparable Beanty, deſired to have her for himſelf; and regarding more the ſatisfying of his own inordinate deſire, than his own honour, or the Fatherly Love of his Son, took her in marriage himſelf; all his Friends labouring in vain to diſſwade him, and with open mouth crying ſhame of ſo foul a Fact. Wherefore the young man, moved with the indignity of ſo great an injury, and driven headlong with deſpair, fled firſt to the Turks Garriſons which lay not far off, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*; where the fortune of the man was to be wondred at; For being brought before *Bajazet*, who with chearful countenance entertained him, for that he was honourably deſcended, and well liked both of the man, and of the cauſe of his revolt; ſmiling upon him, ſaid, *Be of good chear Noble Youth, for thy great courage is worthy of far greater fortune than thy Fathers Houſe can afford thee; now in ſtead of thy Love wrongfully taken from thee by thy Father, (the Kinſwoman of a poor exiled Prince) thou ſhalt have given thee in marriage the Daughter of a great Emperor, of rare and ſingular perfection.* And not long after abjuring his Religion, and changing his Name of *Stephen* to *Achomates* and *Cherſeogles*, he married one of *Bajazet* his Daughters, a Princeſs of great Beauty; and deſerved to have a place amongſt the Baſſaes of greateſt honour in the Court. Yet ſtill retaining the remembrance of his former Profeſſion, with a deſire to return thereto again; inſomuch that he kept in his ſecret cloſet the image of the Crucifix, which he ſhewed to *Jo. Laſcaris*, as to his truſty Friend, as he himſelf reported. This man at ſuch time as the City of *Modon* was taken by the Turks, and a multitude of poor Chriſtian Captives cruelly put to death in the ſight of *Bajazet*, by earneſt intreaty ſaved the *Venetian* Senators there taken; and afterward by earneſt ſute delivered *Andreas Gritti*, being Priſoner at *Conſtantinople*, and condemned to die; who not many years after was choſen Duke of *Venice*. He was the chief means whereby the *Venetians* to their great good obtained Peace of *Bajazet*. He alſo by his great Authority, and of his own charge redeemed innumerable Chriſtians from the ſervitude of the Turks, and ſet them at liberty. Neither is his kindneſs towards the furtherance of good learning to be forgotten; for at ſuch time as the foreſaid *Jo. Laſcaris* the notable and learned *Grecian*, by the appointment of *Leo* the Tenth, ſought ancient works of famous Writers, he procured the Turkiſh Emperors Letters Patents, that he might freely at his pleaſure ſearch all the Libraries in *Grecia*, to the great benefit of good Letters. Now *Bajazet* encouraged by this mans perſwaſion (as is aforeſaid) and hearing as he lay in his Pavilion, the Alarm of the Enemy, with the tumult and clamor of his own Souldiers as if they had been men afraid; and ſundry Meſſengers alſo at the ſame time coming unto him with news, That *Selymus* with his *Tartarian* Horſemen had almoſt incloſed the Rearward of his Army, and already taken ſome of his Baggage; grinding his Teeth for very madneſs and grief of mind, with Tears trickling down his hoary Cheeks, got him out of his Pavilion in his Horſe-litter, (for he was at the ſame time ſo troubled with the Gout, that he was not able to ſit on Horſeback) and turning himſelf unto the Penſioners and Janizaries ſtanding about him, as their manner is, ſaid unto them,

Bajazet's *Speech to the Souldiers and Janizaries of the Court.*

Will you, Foſter-Children, valiant Souldiers, and faithful keepers of my Perſon, who with great fortune have ſerved me in Field above the ſpace of thirty years; and for your faithful and good ſervice have both in time of Peace and War, of me received ſuch rewards, as by your own confeſſion and thankſgiving far exceeded your own expectation, and the meaſure of our Treaſures; Will you, I ſay, ſuffer the innocent Father to be butchered by his graceleſs Son? And your old Emperor, tormented with age and diſeaſes, to be cruelly murthered by a company of wild Tartars, *little better than arrant Rogues and Theeves? Shall I be now forſaken in this my heavy old age and laſt act of Life? And ſhall I be delivered unto mine Enemies, by them, by them, I ſay, who many years ago with great faithfulneſs and invincible Courage defended mine Honour and Right againſt my Brother* Zemes? *And have many times ſince, not only valiantly defended this Empire againſt moſt warlike Nations, but alſo moſt victoriouſly augmented the ſame? But I will not ſo lightly believe that which to my no ſmall grief is brought unto mine ears, concerning the revolting of mine Army; neither if I did believe it, am I ſo fearful as to be therewith diſcouraged, or to ſeek to make ſhift for my ſelf. For to what purpoſe ſhould I think of Flight; as though I could in any other place find more faithfulneſs or ſurer defence than with you? And concerning your ſelves, what ſhould be your hope by this ſo infamous Treachery? If any of you (for I cannot believe that you are all ſo mad) without regard of faith, of worldly ſhame, or the fear of God, have polluted your minds with the pernicious conceit of ſo foul a Treaſon; do you think to gain greater Rewards and preferments by your Treachery and Villany, than by your Fidelity and Conſtancy? There be many, which careful of my Perſon, perſwade me to reſerve this my ſick and feeble Body unto my better fortune, and to commit my ſelf to flight, ſo rather to ſave my life with ſhame and infamy, than to end my days with honour and glory; Which is ſo far from my thought for the apprehenſion of any fear to do, that I will to the contrary forthwith give the fierce Enemy battel; and in this my laſt danger make proof of all your Fidelity and Valour, and of every one of your good Wills in particular; and ſo by conduct of the Higheſt, either defeat the power and break the ſtrength of this graceleſs man, or elſe having reigned above thirty years an Emperor, end my days together with them which ſhall unto the end continue with me in their Faithfulneſs and Loyalty, although I ſhould be moſt ſhamefully and diſhonourably betraied and forſaken of ſome of mine own Guard; which thing though lying Fame would make me believe, yet will I not fear it until I ſee the proof thereof.*

The common ſort of the Janizaries faithful to Bajazet, *deſire battel.*

The common ſort of Janizaries, unto whom the great Commanders and Captains corrupted by *Selymus*, had not for their levity and multitude communicated their purpoſe of transferring the Empire to *Selymus*, began to cry out as if it had been with general conſent, That he ſhould not doubt to joyn battel with his Enemies, and ſo to make proof of their conſtant Fidelity and wonted Valor. Which was done with ſuch a cheerfulneſs and deſire expreſſed by great Shouts, clapping of Hands, and clattering of Armor, that it ſeemed they would play the parts of reſolute Souldiers, and that as guiltleſs men they took it grievouſly to be once ſuſpected of Treaſon or Infidelity. Others alſo who ſecretly and in heart were well affected to *Selymus*, for faſhion ſake followed them with like cry; but eſpecially the great Commanders both of the Army and of the Emperors Court, now changed their affection, whether it were for ſhame of the Fact, or for fear of diſcovering themſelves out of ſeaſon, is uncertain. Wherefore according to the manner of ſuch men, which through their mutability and miſchievous diſpoſition, fearing to be convinced and diſcovered, add unto the preſent a ſecond and new Treaſon or Treachery, to cover the former; ſo *Muſtapha* and *Boſtanges* (not daring now to ſhew themſelves for *Selymus*) to make a great ſhew of their feigned Loyalty towards *Bajazet*, departed themſelves out of his Pavilion, to encourage the Souldiers, and to martial the Battel.

The battel betwixt Bajazet *and* Selymus.

Bajazet ſick in his Chariot, by the advice of *Cherſeogles* the faithful Baſſa, placed his Battel in this order: The Sanzacks (which are the Governors of Provinces) with their Horſemen, in number about ſix thouſand he ſet in the Front of the Battel; the Spachi-oglans and Siliphtars, which are the chief Horſemen of the Court, and as it were the Emperors Penſioners, were placed as two Wings on each ſide the great ſquadron of the Janizaries; in the midſt whereof was old *Bajazet* himſelf. Other forty thouſand Horſemen (Servants to the great men of the Court) were left in the Rearward, and to guard the Baggage. Theſe Slaves (for ſo indeed they are) for their Apparel and Furniture, yea and Valor alſo, are little inferior to their Maſters, by whom they are ſo ſumptuouſly maintained both for ſtrength and oſtentation. The Battel thus ordered, *Bajazet* commanded the Trumpets to ſound, and a red Enſign in token of battel to be diſplaied. On the other ſide, *Selymus* placing his *Tartarian* Horſemen in both Wings, and his Turks in the midſt, in manner of a half Moon, for that he in number of Horſemen far exceeded his Father, did almoſt on every ſide incloſe him, and ſo charge him. The *Tartars* when they were come within an hundred paces of their Enemies, caſting themſelves (after the manner of their fight) into great Rings, empty within in manner of a Crown, and ſo running round, that they might both backward and forward deliver their Arrows, caſt upon their Enemies whole ſhowers of Shot, as if it had been Hail, to the great annoyance of the Turks; when as in the mean time the other *Tartarian* Archers further off, ſhooting their Arrows not right forth, but more upright towards Heaven, which falling directly down, ſore gauled the Turks Horſes alſo. But the old Souldiers (taught by the example of their Captains) ſerred cloſe together, and caſting their Targets over their Heads, as if it had been one whole Roof or Penthouſe, received their Arrows with leſs harm, and haſted with as much ſpeed as they could to come to handy blows. The Penſioners alſo at the ſame inſtant bravely charged the middle of *Selymus* his Battel, where his Turkiſh Horſemen ſtood; and *Ajax* Captain of the Janizaries, drawing out ſeven hundred ready Harquebuſiers out of the Squadron of the Janizaries, with them aſſailed the hindmoſt of one of the Wings of the *Tartars*; and the four thouſand Servants left in the Rearward, as deſirous as the reſt to ſhew their forwardneſs, with great Slaughter repulſed the other Wing of the *Tartars*, which came to have ſpoiled the Turks Carriages. This fierce battel betwixt the Father and the Son, with doubtful event endured from Noon until the going down of the Sun; *Selymus* in many places ſtill reſtoring his declining Battel, and fighting himſelf, as for an Empire. But after that the *Tartars*, hardly charged by the Harquebuſiers, were not able to abide the Shot, eſpecially their Horſes, being with the unwonted noiſe thereof wonderfully terrified, and ſo carrying back their Riders whether they would or no, began to fly; the reſt of the Horſemen could neither by commandment, threatning, or wounds, be inforced to ſtay, but turned their Backs and fled. The Footmen alſo whom *Selymus* had attired and armed after the manner of the Janizaries, being forſaken of their own Horſemen, were now by *Bajazet* his Horſemen compaſſed about and almoſt all ſlain.

Selymus *his Army diſcomfited.*

Selymus his Army thus overthrown, and himſelf hardly beſet, was by certain Troops of his Turkiſh Horſemen which yet ſtaied with him, delivered from the preſent danger; and being wounded, was mounted upon a freſh Horſe, and ſo with all the ſpeed he could fled after the *Tartars*. But doubting to be purſued and overtaken by his Fathers ſpeedy Horſemen, he changed his Horſe, and took another of a wonderful ſwiftneſs; and ſo reſerving himſelf to his future fortune, with a few of his Followers fled to *Varna*, and from thence by Sea to *Capha*.

The eſtimation Selymus *had of his horſe whereon he eſcaped from his Father.*

The Horſe whereon *Selymus* fled was all cole black, called *Carabulo* (that is to ſay, *a black Cloud*) whom *Selymus* as a good Servitor ever after exempted from all ſervice; and had him in ſuch eſtimation, that covered with Cloth of Gold, he was as a ſpare Horſe without a Rider led after him in all his great Expeditions, firſt into *Perſia*, and afterwards into *Egypt*, where he died at *Caire*, and there to the imitation of *Bucephalus*, Great *Alexanders* Horſe, had a Monument erected for him: wherein *Selymus* ſhewed himſelf more kind than to his own Brethren, whom he cruelly Murthered, and hardly afforded to ſome of them ſo honourable a Sepulture.

In this Battel, of forty thouſand which *Selymus* brought into the Field, eſcaped not above eight thouſand, but they were either ſlain or taken priſoners. Of *Bajazet* his Army were loſt about ſeven hundred, and three thouſand hurt with *Tartarian* Arrows: which loſs he preſently revenged with extream cruelty, cauſing all ſuch as were taken Priſoners to be without mercy put to the Sword in his ſight; whoſe heads were laid together by heaps, and their dead bodies, as if they had been Towers. Of this notable Battel betwixt the Father and the Son in the year 1511, *Chiurlus* called in ancient time *Tzurulum*, before an obſcure old ruinous City, (or as *Jovius* calleth it, a Village) became famous; but much more afterwards by the fatal deſtiny of *Selymus*; who not many years after, ſtrucken with a moſt loathſome and incurable diſeaſe, ended his days in the ſame place with an untimely and tormenting death; God (as it is to be thought) with revenging hand in the ſame place taking juſt puniſhment for his former diſloyalty towards his Father, as ſhall hereafter in due time and place be declared.

Three days *Bajazet* lay ſtill in the ſame place where he had obtained the Victory, till ſuch time as all his Souldiers were again returned from the chaſe of the Enemy; after that, he held on his way to *Conſtantinople*, and there bountifully rewarded his Souldiers. In the mean time *Achomates* hearing of all the trouble which had happened betwixt his Father and his Brother *Selymus*, with the event thereof, came with an Army of twenty thouſand from *Amaſia*, through the Countries of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, unto the City of *Scutari*, called in ancient time *Chriſopolis*, (though ſome ſuppoſe it to have been the famous City of *Chalcedon*) which City is ſituated upon the Strait of *Boſphorus*, directly againſt the City of *Conſtantinople*. In this place *Achomates* encamped his Army, near unto the Sea ſide, expecting what courſe his Father would take after ſo great a Victory. For beſide the Prerogative of his Age, and the eſpecial love of his Father towards him, the general affection of the Vulgar People, with the good opinion he had of himſelf, had already filled his mind with the hope of the Empire. Wherefore he ceaſed not night and day to ſend Meſſengers over that narrow Strait, to *Conſtantinople*; and moſt earneſtly to ſolicite *Bajazet* his Father, in ſo fit an occaſion to make haſt to diſpatch what he had ſo long before determined, concerning the reſignation of the Empire. He alſo importuned his Friends and Familiars in beſt manner he could to commend him to his Father, and in moſt ample ſort to extol his grave purpoſe for tranſlation of the Empire; and to do the uttermoſt of their devoir, that ſeeing God and good Fortune had juſtly overthrown the raſh attempt and force of his Brother *Selymus*, he by their good means might the ſooner obtain the Empire, whereof he was the undoubted Heir.

Bajazet *willing to prefer* Achomates *to the Empire.*

Bajazet, who of himſelf and according to his old good liking was altogether deſirous of the Preferment of *Achomates*, was by their perſwaſions eaſily intreated to haſten the performance of that he had before determined for the transferring of the Empire. And making no great ſecret of the matter, commanded certain Gallies to be made ready for the tranſporting of *Achomates* from *Scutari* to *Conſtantinople*. But the great Baſſaes with the Souldiers of the Court (the ſecret Favourites of *Selymus*) underſtanding the matter, began again openly to reſiſt and impugn his purpoſed determination, and to alledge the ſame reaſons they had before at *Hadrianople* alledged; in fine they ſaid plainly, That they would by no means ſuffer him ſo far to diſable himſelf as an inſufficient man to reſign the Empire, who of late had with ſo valiant and couragious an heart fought for the honour of his Crown and Dignity; and that therefore ſo long as he lived, they would acknowledge no other Sovereign but *Bajazet*: yet for all that as they meant not thereby to cut off *Achomates* his hope, ſo neither ought he to diſtruſt the good will of the Men of War; but that he being a Man of moſt approved and known Valour, might in due time with their general good liking enjoy his right, which ſhould then without all queſtion be due unto him as the eldeſt Son of their Emperor. They ſaid moreover, that they had in the late Battel againſt *Selymus* ſufficiently declared what minds they were of, both towards their Emperor and *Achomates*, and what confidence they were to repoſe in the fidelity of their Souldiers, who to manifeſt their Faithfulneſs and Loyalty, had not refuſed to offer themſelves unto the hazard of a moſt unequal Battel, yea their lives unto death it ſelf. O foul diſſimulation, the covert Mask of all Miſchief, under which, meer Treachery is here pretended for great Loyalty, the aged Emperor too too much flattered, *Achomates* ſhamefully deluded, and (the Man that might not as then without ſome addition of diſgrace be named) *Selymus*, even Bloody *Selymus*, ſecretly ſought for above all Men to be preferred.

Bajazet by this offwardneſs and inſolency of the Souldiers again diſappointed of his purpoſe, or elſe (as ſome thought) delighted with the ſweetneſs of Sovereignty; for that after the late Victory he ſeemed (as one grown young again) neither to feel himſelf old or unable ſtill to govern ſo great an Empire; ſent word to *Achomates*, how the matter ſtood, and that he ſhould forthwith depart from *Scutari* to his old charge at *Amaſia*, from whence he would again call him at ſuch time as he had with new bounty won the minds of the Souldiers, and procured the good liking of other the great men in Court, whereby ſo great a matter and not uſual, might the better and with more ſecurity be effected.

Achomates thus deceived of his hope and expectation, grievouſly complaining that he was ſo mocked of his Father, and contemned of the Souldiers of the Court, began to mix his new requeſt with words of heat and diſcontentment, and to inveigh againſt his Father, for making him a byword (as he termed it) and a laughing ſtock unto the World, after he had taken the pains to come ſo far, and that by his ſpecial appointment. But if he proceeded ſo to doat, and to make ſo great reckoning of the Souldiers of the Court, that in reſpect thereof he neither regarded his promiſe, nor that was right and juſt; he would himſelf by force of Arms take upon him the defence of his own honour and right, ſo lightly eſteemed by his Father, and revenge the diſgrace offered unto him by others.

Whereunto *Bajazet* anſwered by the Cadeleſcher (which is a man of greateſt place and authority amongſt the Turks in matters concerning their Superſtition, and therefore of them honoured above others, as the ſacred interpreter of their Law) that he did neither well nor wiſely without juſt cauſe to fall into ſo great rage and choler, as by his ſpeech and force to think to extort that good which was only by love and loialty to be gained; whereas all things ſhould be ſurely kept for him, and the Empire undoubtedly deſcend unto him, if by untimely haſte he did not marr that hope which he ought by ſufferance and patient expectation to cheriſh; he might (as the Cadeleſcher told him) learn by that late example and fortune of his Brother *Selymus*, what might be for his own good and welfare; and that it was a thing of far more danger, deſperately to thruſt himſelf headlong into ſuch an action as he could not poſſibly ſee the end of, than moderating by reaſon his hot paſſions, to expect with patience the opportunity of time, and fitneſs of occaſion, with the alteration of matters, all tending to his good.

Achomates inflamed with anger and grief of the repulſe, all the while the Cadeleſcher was delivering his Fathers Meſſage, gave him many ſharp taunts, and had much ado to ſtay himſelf from offering of him violence, oftentimes threatning him, that in ſhort time both his Father ſhould dearly buy the changing of his purpoſe, and the Souldiers of the Court their treacherous dealing; and ſo ſending him away with this ſhort anſwer, he preſently roſe with his Army, and paſſing through *Bithynia*, cruelly ſpoiled the Country in his return to *Amaſia*. There daily more and more enflamed with the grief and the indignity of the repulſe before received, he determined to invade the leſſer *Aſia*; that if it ſhould ſo fall out, that he muſt needs by force of Arms trie his right againſt either of his Brethren, he might therein uſe the Wealth of that rich Province. Whereby if it ſhould chance that he ſhould by the practice of any, fail of the whole Empire, yet he ſhould at the leaſt wiſe be poſſeſſed of the one half thereof, and be the readier for all events, having all theſe great and rich Provinces in his power.

Achomates *inciteth his two Sons* Amurathes *and* Aladin *to take part with him againſt their Grandfather* Bajazet.

Wherefore calling unto him his two Sons, *Amurathes* and *Aladin*, young Princes of great hope, after he had grievouſly complained of the unkindneſs of his Father *Bajazet*, and of the injuries done againſt him by his Enemies in the Court, he declared unto them, that there was now no hope left for him to obtain the Empire, except they would forthwith enter into Arms with him, and ſo together with him defend both his and their own right and honour, againſt the malice and injuries of their Enemies; which he ſaid, would be an eaſie matter to do by ſurpriſing the leſſer *Aſia*, if they would couragiouſly adventure upon it; foraſmuch as all *Piſidia*, *Lycaonia*, *Pamphilia*, with the Sea-coaſt of *Ionia*, were not as then kept with any Army or Navy. And as for his Brother *Corcutus*, there was no great doubt to be made of him, who according to his quiet diſpoſition would be content either to ſit ſtill, or elſe in regard of his juſt quarrel take part with him; or if he would needs intermeddle his quiet eſtate with the troubled, and ſo enter into Arms, might eaſily be thruſt out of whatſoever he poſſeſſed: As for the Governors of the reſt of the Provinces, he doubted not, but that they would alſo yield either to his command, or fortune. Wherefore he willed them, to pluck up their hearts as men of Courage, and to go into the Countries thereabouts to take up men, and whatſoever elſe were needful for the Wars. Theſe Gallants, of their own youthful diſpoſition ready enough for ſuch a matter, and now encouraged with their Fathers perſwaſion, did what they were by him commanded, and had in ſhort time raiſed a notable Army of voluntary Souldiers, of whom the greateſt part were of ſervile condition. But *Achomates* himſelf, beſides his old Army which he had in former time lead againſt the *Perſian* Rebels, levied new Forces alſo, and called forth into the Field all the able men that were to be found in the Cities round about; and ſo running through the Provinces proclaimed himſelf King of *Aſia*, and ſuch as would not forthwith yield unto him, thoſe he and his two Sons in divers places proſecuted with all hoſtility; by which means many Cities,eſpecially ſuch as were but weakly fortified, partly for fear, partly by conſtraint, were delivered over unto him.

After that, he entred with his Army into *Lycaonia*, and the borders of *Cilicia*, where by Embaſſadors and often Letters he requeſted *Mahometes* his Brothers Son (who then governed thoſe Countries) to aid him in his juſt quarrel againſt them, who by crafty and ſiniſter perſwaſions had to his diſhonour and diſgrace withdrawn his Fathers good will from him, and ſo far ſeduced him, as that he was determined to appoint another Succeſſor in the Empire, than him his eldeſt and firſt begotten Son; which their malice he would (as he ſaid) prevent, and by force of Arms recover his right, which his Father knowing to be due unto him, was about to have put him in poſſeſſion of whilſt he yet lived, had he not by the ſiniſter practice of others been hindred; for the recovery whereof, if *Mahometes* would out of his Province aid him with men and victual, and ſo further his juſt cauſe, he promiſed that he ſhould find a far better Uncle than he had found a Father; and that his preſent Friendſhip ſhould in time be moſt amply and bountifully requited.

Whereunto *Mahometes* anſwered, that he could not do what his Uncle had required, except he were ſo commanded by his Grandfather *Bajazet*, whom alone he acknowledged for his dread Sovereign; and that it was not for him to judge, whether he did right,or otherwiſe: That he would not in his life time reſign the Empire to his Son. But this (he ſaid) he was not ignorant of, that he was not to yield his obedience to any other, ſo long as he lived poſſeſſed of the Empire; to whom both his Father *Tziban Scach* whilſt he lived, and himſelf alſo had given their Oath of Obedience and Loyalty. Wherefore it were good for him to pacifie himſelf, leſt in ſeeking untimely revenge of his Enemies, he ſhould to the offence of all men wrong his Father; and by too much heat and haſt overthrow both his hope and honour; which of right ſhould be moſt great, if he could but in the mean time have patience, and ſtay himſelf a while. *Achomates*, who expected nothing leſs than ſuch an anſwer, but thought that *Mahometes* would either for love or fear have preſently come unto him, and now finding his requeſts to be with greater gravity and conſideration denied by his Nephew, than they were by reaſon of him demanded, entred with his Army into the borders of his Province, and with fire and ſword began to deſtroy the Country before him. Which *Mahometes* with ſuch power as he had thinking to remedy, was by the way encountred by his Uncle not far from *Laranda*, and there overthrown; and taking that City for refuge, was there certain days beſieged by *Achomates*; and at laſt together with his Brother (then but a Child) delivered into his hands, at ſuch time as the City was by the fearful Citizens by compoſition yielded unto him. *Achomates* having taken the City with his two Nephews, cauſed *Mahometes* his Counſellors, with his Foſter Brother, by whoſe perſwaſion it was ſuppoſed that he had ſo anſwered his Uncle and endangered himſelf, to be put to death.

1512.
Bajazet *ſendeth Embaſſadors to* Achomates.

Theſe proceedings of *Achomates* filled *Bajazet* with grief and indignation, that he ſhould in ſo great years be ſet upon by two of his own Sons, one after the other. Yet to prove if thoſe troubles might without more bloodſhed be pacified, he ſent his Embaſſadors unto him to reprove him for his diſloyalty; and to command him forthwith to ſet a liberty his two Nephews, *Mahometes* and his Brother, and ſo without more ſtir to get him again to *Amaſia*; which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then to denounce unto him open War. But he, which by how much the more he had after his repulſe ambitiouſly affected the Empire, had reſolved with himſelf to deal ſo much the more cruelly in his proceedings; having received this Meſſage from his Father, cauſed the chief Embaſſador (for that he had in frank ſpeech delivered his Meſſage and denounced unto him Wars) to be in his own preſence put to death; and threatned the reſt with the like, if before the going down of the Sun they avoided not his Camp.

Achomates *killeth his Fathers Embaſſador.*

This outrage highly offended *Bajazet*, and alienated the minds of many before well affected to *Achomates*; for that without any reverence of his Father, and contrary to the Law of Nations, he had violated the Embaſſadors ſent to him for Peace. Upon the firſt bruit hereof, the Souldiers which then waited at the Court Gate, in the hearing of *Bajazet* exclaimed, that the inſolency of *Achomates* was not longer to be ſuffered, but forthwith by force to be repreſſed; that by ſufferance and delay he would grow from evil to worſe; and that if *Bajazet* ſhould prolong the time, and in fatherly ſort ſeek by fair means to reclaim him, he ſhould afterwards in vain crave the aid of his beſt Souldiers againſt his rebellious Son ſtrengthned by his own long ſufferance. *Muſtapha* alſo the chief Baſſa, with *Boſtanges* and others of great place (who ſecretly favoured *Selymus*, and had cunningly cauſed theſe things by fit men to be diſperſed amongſt the Souldiers) began at the firſt to mutter, and as it were to wonder at the ſtrangeneſs and hainouſneſs of the Fact, in ſuch ſlie ſort, as if they had condemned the Deed done, but not the Doer. But afterward, when they ſaw that *Bajazet* was throughly heated, both by his own angry diſpoſition and the ſpeech of the Souldiers, and upon the confidence of his former Victory againſt *Selymus*, now ready to ſeek revenge; they began then to heap freſh coles upon the fire, and bitterly to inveigh againſt *Achomates*, as a Traitor to his aged Father and the Sate; and withal highly commended the Fidelity and Courage of the Janizaries and Souldiers of the Court, who for the ſafety and honour of their aged Emperor, were moſt preſt and ready to expoſe themſelves, their lives, and whatſoever elſe they had, unto new dangers.

Achomates *proclaimed Traitor.*

So was *Achomates* by the craft and ſubtilty of theſe great men, by the anger of his Father, and the judgment of the Souldiers, proclaimed Traitor; and order taken, that the Souldiers of the Court with the *Europeian* Horſemen, ſhould with all poſſible ſpeed be ſent againſt him into *Aſia*. But when choice was to be made of ſome valiant and worthy General that might take upon him ſo great a Charge, which ſeemed eſpecially to appertain unto ſome one of the great Baſſaes; it was ſtrange to ſee, how they all began to ſtrain courteſie at the preferment, and every one to refuſe the place and diſable himſelf, ſaying, That it were a great indignity, that the Emperors Army ſhould be led againſt his Son by any of his Servants; and the Souldiers (having their leſſon beforehand) ſaid plainly, That they durſt not, nor would not draw their Swords or lift up their hands againſt the Son of the Emperor, and Heir Apparent of the Empire, except they were conducted and commanded by ſome of the *Othoman* Blood in perſon preſent with them; for ſo had his Brother, long before when he rebelled in *Cilicia*, and now of late, *Selymus* his rebellious Son, been both overthrown and vanquiſhed, even by the conduct of *Bajazet* himſelf, and not by any of his Servants. Theſe things all tended to this purpoſe, that *Selymus* might by indirect means be reconciled to his Father (whom they ſecretly favoured, although for fear of diſpleaſure they durſt not ſo much as name him but by way of diſgrace) and by this very means to make way for his return to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo conſequently give him power to ſeiſe upon the Empire. For it was probably ſuppoſed, that neither *Bajazet* himſelf, being very aged and diſeaſed; neither *Corcutus*, altogether buried in his ſtudy, would undertake the mannaging of thoſe Wars; ſo that of the *Othoman* Family only *Selymus* was left, to whom that charge might be committed, all the Nephews of *Bajazet* by reaſon of their tender years, as yet unfit for the ſame. At theſe ſpeeches of the Baſſaes and the Souldiers, *Bajazet* as a man perplexed and in a chafe, flung away into his Palace, excuſing himſelf by his great years and diſeaſed Body; but complaining deeply, that *Corcutus* in following the vain title of Learning, with a quiet contented kind of life, had in the mean time neglected other ſtudies and honourable qualities, better beſeeming his Princely Birth and Calling. As he was thus reaſoning with himſelf, and deviſing what courſe to take, *Muſtapha* the old Baſſa, who all the time of his Reign had uſed to diſburden him of his Cares, having by way of talk drawn him into a full diſcourſe concerning the proceeding to the intended War, ſet upon him with this crafty and premeditated Speech, framed of purpoſe for his deſtruction.

The crafty oration of the great Baſſa Muſtapha *to* Bajazet, *for the bringing home of* Selymus.

Your Majeſty may not (moſt dread Sovereign) although by years and ſtrength of Body you were never ſo well able, you may not I ſay, either tranſport your Army, or your ſelf paſs over in perſon into Aſia; *leſt whilſt you are there, from place to place chaſing* Achomates, *you leave a far more dangerous Enemy behind you in* Europe, *who may in your abſence ſeiſe upon* Thracia, Græcia, *yea and the imperial City it ſelf, deſtitute of ſufficient defendants. Do we not hear, that* Selymus *is raiſing of new Forces above* Varna? *and expects a new ſupply of Horſemen from the* Tartar *King his Father in law? And already as it were hovering over our heads? Is not he of greater Spirit and Courage, than to be daunted or diſmayed with the misfortune of one battel? Or if you ſhall ſend over your old beaten Souldiers into* Aſia, *and call* Corcutus *into* Europe *with the Forces he levied the laſt year, who in time of your ſickneſs may withſtand the attempts of* Selymus? *will he fear theſe freſh-water Souldiers of* Aſia, *or their philoſophical General, which feared not the Souldiers of your Court, the pickt and choſen men of the World, and your ſelf a moſt worthy and victorious Emperor? You are deceived, and (if I may be ſo bold ſo to ſay) you throughly ſee not into the doubtful Event of things, if you think not, that you muſt at one time wage War againſt two dangerous Enemies, even in the remoteſt parts of your Empire, in* Aſia *and* Europe; *For whilſt you ſhall go to expulſe* Achomates *out of* Cappadocia, Selymus *nearer at hand, and awaiting all opportunities, will by and by at your back, raiſe a moſt dangerous War in the very heart and chief ſtrength of your Empire. But if you, moved with the greatneſs and due conſideration of the danger, ſhall go about to defend* Thracia, *and for that purpoſe retain with you the moſt approved and faithful Souldiers of the Court, you ſhall ſee all* Aſia *on a fire before your face; neither will* Achomates *make an end of Waſt and War, until ſuch time as he hath drawn the Empire of* Aſia *unto himſelf. Wherefore if it be not to be imputed to your fault, but to your fate or fortune, that two begotten of your ſelf, ſhould by your ſelf and the conſent of all men be judged Traitors unto your Crown and dignity; whereof the one through raſhneſs, the other upon pride and vain diſcontentment, hath riſen up in Arms againſt you; Why do you not in ſo doubtful and perplexed a matter prefer ſafe and ſound advice before that which masketh under the ſhew of Majeſty and Honour? and whom you cannot both at one time correct and be revenged upon, to ſet upon them as occaſion ſhall ſerve when they are together by the ears betwixt themſelves? This is the only hope of your ſafety, this is the only way, if you ſhall reſolve (as the common Proverb ſaith) to drive out one nail with another, and ſo to overcome your Enemies. Moderate a while your hot deſire of revenge, and for the preſent diſſemble your grief; grant unto one of them pardon, and in ſhew take him into your grace and favour, imploy him againſt the other; ſo ſhall you without danger, howſoever it ſhall fall out, perſecute the one whom you love not, with the hazard of the other whom you truſt not; and at your pleaſure oppreſs him to whom you ſhall commit your Enſigns and Army, the hands of your faithful and truſty Souldiers being ever at your appointment ready to take revenge. So ſhall you with ſecurity make an end of this war, expoſing unto the danger him whom you had rather to overcome (as your Enemy) by him whom you wiſh alſo to periſh.*

Muſtapha had ſcarce made an end of ſpeaking, but the other Baſſaes (as they had before agreed amongſt themſelves) began where he left, and with all their cunning laboured to perſwade *Bajazet* to call home his Son *Selymus*, and to make him General of his Army againſt his Brother; ſaying, That he had already indured ſufficient puniſhment for his former diſloyalty, and that therefore it was like that he as a well corrected Child would from thenceforth contain himſelf within the compaſs of his moſt dutiful obedience; whereas *Achomates* proud of his Birthright, having of late violated his Fathers Embaſſadors, and filled all *Aſia* with Rebellion, was not like to be brought to any reaſonable conformity, until he were by force of Arms pluckt down, and ſo made to know himſelf, in like manner as was his Brother *Selymus* of late. *Bajazet* ſeeing that in reſolving of a matter of ſo great conſequence, *Cherſeogles Baſſa* (his Son-in-law, and the only faithful Counſellor then about him) ſat ſilent, hanging the head, as a man not of the ſame opinion with the reſt, ſtood a great while in doubt what to reſolve upon; he could not ſo eaſily forget the late injuries done againſt him by *Selymus*, it was yet freſh in memory, how that he had out of *Aſia* invaded *Europe*, ſurpriſed *Hadrianople*, given him Battel, indangered his perſon with his *Tartarian* Horſemen, and that only by the goodneſs of God he had obtained the Victory; on the other ſide, his Majeſty contemned, his Nephews impriſoned, his Embaſſadors violated, the Cities of *Aſia* ranſacked, and all thoſe goodly Countries preſently ſmoking with the fire of Rebellion, ſo filled his old heart with anger and indignation, as that he deſired nothing more than to be revenged. Whilſt he was thus ſtrugling with his own thoughts, and doubtful what to do, the unfaithful Baſſaes by deep deceit and treachery (*Cherſeogles* moſt inſtantly perſwading the contrary) overcame him ſo far, as with his own hand to write, Letters to *Selymus*, promiſing him, that forgetting all injuries paſt, he would upon the hope of his Loyalty, receive him into his former grace and favour, and make him General of his Army, if he would without delay repair to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo paſs over into *Aſia* againſt his rebellious Brother *Achomates*.

Corcutus cometh to Conſtantinople.

Whilſt theſe things are in doing at *Conſtantinople*, *Corcutus* advertiſed by Letters from his Friends of the weak eſtate of his aged Father, and by what perſwaſions he had been induced (after *Achomates* was proclaimed Traitor) to call unto him *Selymus*, and to make him General of his Army; came down out of *Magneſia* to *Phocis*, and there imbarking himſelf in his Gallies, ſailed to *Conſtantinople*; where being arrived, he went preſently to the Court, attended upon with a great number of his Friends and Favourites; and entring into the Privy Chamber, humbled himſelf before his Father, and kiſſed his hand; and after much talk had betwixt them of divers weighty matters, is reported to have ſpoken unto him as followeth:

Corcutus his oration to his Father Bajazet.

It is now above thirty years paſt (moſt reverend Father, and dread Sovereign) ſince that I (being choſen and proclaimed Emperor by the Prerogative of the Souldiers of the Court, by general conſent of the Citizens of this imperial City, and by the grave judgement of the wiſe and grave Baſſaes of the Court) have chearfully and willingly, and as I may truly ſay, with mine own hand delivered from my ſelf unto your Majeſty the poſſeſſion of this moſt glorious Kingdom and Empire; Which thing what worldly wight would have done? but either a mad man, or elſe a moſt kind and loving Son? Unto which ſo rare an example of a religious and loving heart, I was not by any fear or conſtraint enforced, but only by regard and contemplation of your own ſacred perſon, and the due conſideration of my duty. Neither did it in the courſe of ſo many years, ever repent me of that my ſingular kindneſs and duty done, when as I contenting my ſelf with ſuch things as you had unto me aſſigned, and with the general commendation of my well doing, as well as with a Kingdom, thought this your great eſtate and higheſt type of worldly honour, not to be compared with the quiet contentment of my pleaſing ſtudies; when as I accounted it a vain thing, and not beſeeming the reſolution of a ſetled and quiet mind, to long after theſe worldly things, which being had and enjoyed to the full, work no full contentment in the inſatiable deſire of man; and that ſurmounting vertue, and the ſweet, O moſt ſweet meditation of Heavenly things promiſed unto my contemplative and raviſhed mind, things of far more worth and Majeſty than all the Kingdoms and Monarchies of the World. But whilſt I was tracing the path, little regarding worldly honour, or the glory of an Empire, and was for pure Devotion and deſire of knowledge travelling into the furtheſt part of Arabia, unto the Altar of our moſt ſacred Prophet Mahomet, and ſo to the Indians, *as to men of a more exact Knowledge and ſincere Profeſſion; you in the end of my travel drew me out of* Egypt *by the long hands of the* Egyptian *Sultan, back again into* Phrygia; *commanding me, that eſchewing the manifold dangers (which in my long travel I muſt needs have fallen into) I ſhould from thenceforth have more regard of my life and health, and to expect the fruit both of my Loyalty towards you, and of your Fatherly Love towards me; as if you had been then of opinion, that the time would come, when for the evil diſpoſition of ſome, an innocent man, devoted unto the ſtudy of Wiſdom and Learning, might be a ſtay both unto your ſelf and the whole* Othoman *Family. Since which time I have ever both dutifully obeyed your command, and with as much care and integrity as I poſſibly could, diſcharged my charge; and in the late* Perſian *War, raiſed and brought into the Field mine Army, wherewith I defended the Frontiers of my Province from the incurſions of the* Barbarians. *But after that they were vanquiſhed, and by your Forces driven out of the leſſer* Aſia, *and that my unnatural and graceleſs Brethren, the one of them in* Europe, *as a moſt deſperate Recreant, had in plain Battel aſſailed the perſon of your moſt ſacred Majeſty (his reverend Father, far ſpent with age, and then grievouſly tormented with the Gout) of purpoſe to have at once deprived you both of your Life and Empire: and the other in* Aſia *ſeeking by like Diſloyalty and moſt horrible Treaſon there to poſſeſs himſelf of a Kingdom, had beſieged and taken Priſoners his Brothers Sons your Nephews, young Princes of great expectation, your faithful and loving Subjects; and proceeding further, had ſet all that part of your Empire on a broil; I thought my ſelf in duty bound to repair hither unto your Imperial Majeſty, for that I ſaw it came to paſs, not without the providence of the moſt Mighty, that I might at ſuch time eſpecially requeſt the juſt reward of my due deſert of you my moſt reverend and loving Father, the moſt religious obſerver of Equity and Juſtice; when as you having had too great proof of the Infidelily of my unnatural Brethren, might moſt fitly and moſt commodiouſly perform that which you upon great reaſon might now grant unto me your dutiful and obedient Son, although my former deſerts had merited no ſuch thing. Wherefore moſt gracious Sir, I humbly pray and beſeech you by all your Fatherly Love and Affection towards me, and known Loyalty towards you, to vouchafe before the coming of* Selymus, *to have regard of mine Honour, with the ſtate of your Empire; for when he ſhall once in Arms break in, he will at a trice cut off all hope of pacification; and ſupported by the Men of War, confound all things at his pleaſure; for I hear, that the very Garders of your Perſon, and chief Commanders of your Armies, altered in diſpoſition towards you, do but expect the good offer of time, when they may willingly ſalute for their Emperor and Sovereign, him, whom your good fortune of late full ſore againſt their Wills, overthrew in open Field. Wherefore that Empire whereof I was ſometime poſſeſſed, and for the rare deſert of mine ancient Loyalty towards you, is of good right due unto me, reſtore to me again whilſt you may, and whilſt it is yet in your power, in this ſuddain and momentary occaſion now preſented. For your Majeſty ſhall in vain favour my moſt juſt and upright claim, after that you (having at once received into the Imperial City a moſt deſperate and ambitious man) have for ever loſt your liberty, together with your ſelf.*

Bajazet *comforteth* **Corcutus,** *and promiſeth to reſign to him the Empire, after that* **Selymus** *was paſſed over into* **Aſia.**

Corcutus with tears ſtanding in his Eyes having ended his Speech, the aged Emperor moved with a Fatherly Affection, and the reaſonable perſwaſion of him, his only loyal and moſt kind Son, comforted him up with good words, and willed him to be of good chear; and withal diſcovered to him the very ground of his reſolution, in calling home of *Selymus*; telling him farther, That he could be well content to reſign to him again the Empire, but that it was not in his power ſo preſently to do, for fear of the Souldiers of the Court, who had (as he ſaid) of late withſtood him in the like motion, and would again with tooth and nail gainſay it, if he ſhould but give the leaſt occaſion for them to ſuſpect any ſuch matter; but that by the plot now laid, *Selymus* ſhould under the title of honour be drawn out of *Europe*, together with the Souldiers of the Court, into *Aſia* againſt *Achomates*, both bars unto his preſent deſire for transferring of the Empire, in whoſe abſence it ſhould be in his power freely to diſpoſe therof at his pleaſure; which he promiſed preſently to reſign unto him, ſo ſoon as they were once paſſed over into *Aſia*. Which thing once done, although it were not altogether to their liking, yet feared he not, that either the Captains or Souldiers, who had of late ſo honourably and faithfully defended him againſt *Selymus*, ſhould now for his ſake diſlike of *Corcutus*, or attempt any thing not beſeeming the glory of their late deſert; but rather hoped, that if his two unnatural and rebellious Sons, *Achomates* and *Selymus*, ſhould once joyn battel (as it was moſt like they ſhould) that either the one or both ſhould by the juſt Judgment of God periſh for their ſo great diſobedience, murdred by the hands one of another. *Corcutus* not much diſliking of his Fathers purpoſe, and reſting himſelf wholly upon his Favour, thought it not good further to argue the matter his Father had ſo well conſidered of; but taking his leave, returned to his lodging, not without hope of obtaining the Empire, and ſo remained many days after at *Conſtantinople*; during which time he ſought neither by Gifts nor golden Promiſes to procure the love and good liking of the great Baſſaes or Souldiers of the Court; for that he as a plain upright man, thought it not good by ſuit and corruption (the great Promoters of the unworthy) to ſeek for that at their hands which was of right due unto him by his Fathers Favour and Promiſe.

In the mean time *Selymus* his faſt Friends advertiſing him of the coming of *Corcutus* to the Court, adviſed him to make haſt, and with all ſpeed poſſible to come to *Conſtantinople*; for that it was to be feared, leſt *Bajazet* being very aged, and withal eaſily to be drawn away, might by the perſwaſion of *Corcutus* be induced to alter, yea and perhaps quite break off the courſe before well ſet for his moſt ready preferment. Upon which news, *Selymus* attentively waiting upon nothing more than to have acceſs unto his Friends in Court, and before reſolved, at his firſt coming thither not to ſpare for any coſt in corrupting the Men of War, and ſo to poſſeſs himſelf of the Empire; made now no ſtay, but with certain Troops of Horſemen, commanding the reſt to follow after, came with wonderful celerity to *Conſtantinople*. *Corcutus* with the great Baſſaes and Courtiers, and moſt part of the Souldiers of the Court, going to meet him at the Gates of the City, at his entrance received him with a kiſs (as is the manner of the Turks) and brought him through the midſt of the City, all the People running out by heaps to have a ſight of the man, of late in every mans mouth for his deſperate Rebellion, but now welcomed with much thundering Shot in token of triumph, and the joyful Acclamation of Men, Women, and Children, and People of all ſorts. So that it eaſily appeared, that all the hatred before conceived againſt him for his late outrage againſt his Father, was now quite forgotten; and that he would in ſhort time before his other Brethren aſpire unto the Empire.

The next day after, *Selymus* came to the Court, and having acceſs to his Father, fell proſtrate before him and kiſſed his Feet, and with the greateſt ſhew of humility poſſible, craved of him pardon for his Diſloyalty. O deep Diſſembler, and Traitor of all other moſt treacherous! of late in Field with Sword drawn to have ſlain his aged Father, but now proſtrate at his Feet; and within an hour mounted perforce into his Imperial Seat.

The old Emperor ſmiling upon this Crocodile, in moſt kind manner, took him up, and courteouſly ſaid unto him:

Bajazet his crafty Speech unto his Son Selymus.

Thy Faults, Son Selymus, *are ſo much the leſs, for that they have found ſpeedy repentance; wherefore I do the more willingly grant thee pardon; but from henceforth endeavour thy ſelf, that God who hath given thee a notable Spirit and Courage, may alſo be thought to have indued thee with a good and well diſpoſed Mind. There is a Martial matter ready, worthy thy hardneſs, wherein thou maiſt ſufficiently manifeſt unto the World thy forwardneſs and courage; there when time ſerveth let it appear.*

The crafty diſſimulation of Selymus.

Shortly after was called a Counſel for the Wars, but eſpecially for the chuſing of a General to go againſt *Achomates*; the honour of which place when many would have given to *Selymus*, he began with great diſſimulation to refuſe, making as though he would not in any caſe be preferred before his Brother *Corcutus*, to whom he would (as he ſaid) willingly give place, both in reſpect of his years and learned diſcretion, who could no doubt with greater Authority and Wiſdom mannage that War: As for himſelf, now he had obtained his Fathers gracious Pardon and Favour, he could well content himſelf with any corner of the Empire, were it never ſo little.

But *Corcutus* and his Friends, who had repoſed all their hope and all their devices in the departure of *Selymus* with the Souldiers of the Court; as if they had with great modeſty contended on both ſides, again perſwaded him, yea and inſtantly requeſted him not to refuſe that honour by general conſent without any diſgrace to his Brother, given to him as to a worthy Chieftain, of great experience in Martial Affairs. So *Selymus* with wonderful cunning deluding *Corcutus* and his Favourites, whilſt he ſeemeth craftily to refuſe the thing he moſt deſireth, is by the general conſent of all parts choſen General of the Army to go againſt his Brother *Achomates*. which was no ſooner made known unto the Souldiers, eſpecially the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court; but they before inſtructed, with loud Acclamations ſaluted him not for their General only, but for their Sovereign Lord and Emperor alſo; and ſo without further delay put themſelves in Arms to defend and make good that they had done, if any better diſpoſed ſhould ſeem to withſtand them or diſſent from them.

Selymus by the Souldiers thus ſaluted Emperor, at firſt made ſhew as if he had been half unwilling to take upon him the Empire; and ſo began faintly to refuſe it, as moved ſo to do by the due reverence and regard of his Father, yet living. But after a while he ſuffered himſelf to be intreated; and then commending himſelf and his cauſe wholly to the Men of War, to bind them unto him the faſter, promiſed beſide the particular favours he ought them, to beſtow a right great and general Largeſs amongſt them; which he afterward accordingly performed.

After that, he requeſted the chief Baſſaes and Commanders of the Army there preſent, to go forthwith unto his Father, and to take ſuch order (ſeeing it was the mind of the whole Army it ſhould be ſo) that the Empire might by his good Will, without further trouble or tumult be forthwith transferred unto him.

Muſtapha the great Baſſa, in whoſe wily head all this matter was (to his own worthy deſtruction) firſt hammered; whether it were upon a new fineneſs of his own, or that *Selymus*, (as it was given out) had threatned to kill him, except he would go and ſhew all the whole proceſs of the matter to his Father; coming as a man diſmaied to *Bajazet*, (who awaked with clamour and tumult of the Souldiers, was come out of his Chamber, into the open rooms of his Palace) in few words delivered unto him this moſt unwelcome Meſſage, as followeth:

The blunt ſpeech of Muſtapha *to* Bajazet *perſuading him to reſign the Empire to* Selymus.

Emperor (ſaid he) *the Men of War have in their Counſel ſaluted* Selymus *both their General and Emperor, which their choice they require thee to ratifie, being ready preſently to break into the Court to kill us both, if thou ſhalt refuſe forthwith to reſign the Empire. They all with one conſent requeſt that of thee, which they have already put into the hand of another. Wherefore it is a thing of far more danger, to ſeek to recover that thou haſt already loſt, than willingly to yield that which is already taken from thee, ſeeing it is not by any force or policy to be regained. They in Arms, in fury, and now entred into Rebellion, think upon ſome greater miſchief.*

Bajazet troubled with fear and choler, and then too late perceiving the treachery of the Baſſaes, and how he had been by them betrayed; pauſing a while at the ſtrangeneſs of the matter, afterwards in fury brake out into theſe Words:

The reſolute anſwer of old Bajazet *to* Muſtapha *and the other Baſſaes.*

Falſe and Forſworn, do you thus betray me? and with ſuch monſtrous villany requite mine infinite Bounty? Why do you not alſo as Murderers take away my life, which could not endure for a while to expect the diſſolution of this my weak and aged body; but depoſing your juſt and lawful Sovereign, muſt needs in poſt haſt ſet up a moſt wicked and graceleſs man to reign over you? But much good do it you with your deſired Emperor, the Contemner of God, and Murtherer of his Father; to whom ere it be long, you ſhall full dearly pay the price of this your perfideous dealing and treachery againſt me. And he himſelf beginning his Empire by moſt unnatural treaſon, murder, and bloodſhed, ſhall not (I hope) eſcape the heavy hand of God, the undoubted and ſevere Revenger of ſo great Impiety and Treaſon.

Muſtapha, with *Boſtanges* and *Ajax* as falſe as himſelf, returning back again to the Souldiers, ſpeaking not a word of the ſorrow and indignation of *Bajazet*, told them how that he was well content to reſign the Empire, and ſo had appointed *Selymus* (to whom both God and the general conſent of the Men of War had already delivered the Empire) to ſucceed him in the Empire. When this their Speech was generally reported, they whom *Selymus* had before corrupted, began now to hold up their heads and look big on the matter; and others who before ſtood doubtful what to do, ſeeing now no other remedy, in haſt joyned themſelves unto the ſame Faction. Whilſt all things were thus diſorderly carried by the unruly Souldiers, *Selymus* was by them mounted upon a couragious Horſe, and ſo with all Pomp conducted up and down moſt of the fair Streets of the imperial City; and with the general voice and clamor of the People (howſoever their minds were for moſt part otherwiſe affected) ſaluted Emperor. And the ſame day both the great Baſſaes and the Souldiers in general, were all ſolemnly ſworn unto *Selymus*, as their only Lord and Emperor.

Corcutus *flyeth*

Corcutus, whether it were for grief of his hope now loſt, or fear of his life, although *Selymus* had promiſed to give him the City of *Mytilene*, with the Iſland of *Lesbos*, ſecretly embarked himſelf, and ſo returned to *Magneſia*.

Bajazet of late one of the greateſt Monarchs of the World, but now thus thruſt out of his Empire by his Son, deteſting both him and the treachery of his Subjects, and overcome with ſorrow and Melancholy, determined of himſelf, before he were thereto enforced by *Selymus* to forſake *Conſtantinople*, and to retire himſelf to *Dymotica* (a ſmall City wholeſomely ſituated in *Thracia*, not far from *Hadrianople*, where in former time he had for his pleaſure beſtowed great coſt, and now as he thought beſt fitted his preſent eſtate.) Wherefore cauſing great ſtore of Treaſure, Plate, Jewels, and rich Furniture to be truſſed up, he with five hundred of his Houſhold Servants, full of Heavineſs and Sorrow, with Tears trickling down his aged cheeks, departed out of the Imperial City, towards *Hadrianople*, with purpoſe from thence to have gone to *Dymotica*. *Selymus* brought him about two miles upon his way, and ſo returning again to *Conſtantinople*, took poſſeſſion of the Palace.

Bajazet being then about ſeventy ſix years old, or as ſome report full fourſcore; and beſide his old diſeaſe of the Gout, ſore weakned with heavineſs and grief of mind, was not able to travel above five or ſix miles a day, but was conſtrained by the extremity of his pain and weakneſs, to ſtay ſometimes two or three days in a place. Whilſt he was thus travelling, *Selymus* no leſs careful of the keeping of his Eſtate, than he had before been for the obtaining of the ſame, began now to doubt, That if he ſhould depart from *Conſtantinople*, and with all his Forces paſs over into *Aſia* againſt his Brother *Achomates*, *Bajazet* in the mean time might in his abſence return to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo again poſſeſs himſelf both of the City and Empire. Wherefore to rid himſelf of that fear, he reſolved moſt Viper like, before his going to kill his Father, and ſo moſt unnaturally to deprive him of life, of whom he had received life; ſuch is the cruel and accurſed Nature of Ambition, that it knoweth neither Father, Mother, Brother, Wife, Kindred, or Friend, no ſometimes not her own Children; the fury whereof was never in any one more pregnant, than in this moſt monſtrous and cruel Tyrant *Selymus*.

Selymus *practiſeth with* Haman *a Jew*, Bajazet *his Phyſitian to poyſon him.*

The readieſt and moſt ſecret way he could deviſe for the effecting of this his damnable device, (which without great impiety could not be ſo much as once by him thought upon) was to work it by poyſon; upon which reſolution he ſecretly compacted with *Haman* a Jew, his Fathers chief Phyſitian, to poyſon him; promiſing him for his reward a Penſion of ten Ducats a day during his life. And for that men are oftentimes with terror and fear, as well as with reward, enforced to be the miniſters of miſchief; he to be the more ſure of this Jew, (prone enough for gain to do evil) threatned him with moſt cruel death, if he did not both ſecretly and ſpeedily work this feat, commanding him ſo ſoon as he had done it, to return unto him to *Conſtantinople*.

The deceitful Jew moved both with the fear of death and hope of reward, (two great motives) coming ſhortly after to *Bajazet*, and finding him very weak, ſeeming to be very careful of him, told him, That he would prepare for him a portion, which ſhould both reſtore to him his health, and alſo ſtrengthen his weak body, if it would pleaſe him to take it the next morning early lying in his bed. *Bajazet* nothing diſtruſting his old Phyſitian whom he had ſo often and ſo long truſted, ſaid he would gladly take it. Early the next morning cometh the Jew with the deadly poyſon in a Cup of Gold, *Bajazet* yet ſleeping, which he ſet down in the Chair of State, and ſo ſtood waiting untill the aged Prince ſhould of himſelf awake. But *Bajazet* ſleeping ſoundly (as oftentimes it chanceth when men ſleep their laſt) and withal ſomewhat longer than ſtood with the Jews purpoſe, he preſuming of his wonted practice, awaked him and told him, That the time to take the portion was almoſt paſt, and

Bajazet *poyſoned by the Jew.*

asked him if it were his pleaſure then to take it. *Bajazet* doubting no Treaſon, willed him to bring it; whereof when the Jew had taken the eſſay, (having before himſelf taken a preſervative againſt that poyſon) he gave it to *Bajazet* to drink, who chearfully drank it up; the Phyſitian commanding them that waited in his Bed-Chamber, and attended on his perſon, to keep him well covered with warm clothes, and not to give him any thing to drink until he had well ſweat. This curſed Jew having thus poyſoned the aged Prince, to avoid the danger of the Fact, and to carry the firſt news thereof to *Selymus*, ſecretly conveyed himſelf away, and in haſt fled to *Conſtantinople*. But *Bajazet* attainted with the force of the Poyſo, began firſt to feel moſt grievous gripings in his Stomach, the ſtrong pain whereof appeared by his miſerable complaining and heavy groaning; in the midſt of which torments he gave up the Ghoſt in the year 1512, when he had reigned thirty years. The Turks report that he died a natural death, but *Antonius Utrius* a *Genoway*, who at that time ſerved in *Bajazet* his Chamber, and was preſent at his death, reporteth, That upon his dead Body the evident tokens of Poyſon were to be ſeen. His dead Body with all his Treaſures were preſently brought back again to *Conſtantinople*, and delivered to *Selymus*, who cauſed the Body of his Father to be with the greateſt ſolemnity that might be, buried in a moſt ſumptuous Tomb, in a Chappel near unto the great Mahometan Temple, which he had before built for himſelf at *Conſtantinople*: which Monument there remaineth this day to be ſeen. His Servants were all by *Selymus* reſtored to their places which they before held in the Court in the time of their old Maſter, excepting five of the Pages of his Chamber, who lamenting the death of their Maſter above the reſt, had attired themſelves all in mourning Apparel; for which cauſe they were by the commandment of *Selymus* caſt into priſon, where two of them were put to death; the other three at the ſuit of *Solyman*, *Selymus* his Son, and of other two Baſſaes, were ſaved; but being ſtript of their rich Apparel, and whatſoever elſe they had gotten under *Bajazet*, they were inrolled for Common Souldiers under *Sulluſtares Baſſa*. Of theſe three, *Antonius Utrius* (the *Genoway* before ſpoken of) was one, who after ten years miſerable Captivity amongſt the Turks, at laſt eſcaped at ſuch time as *Selymus* was by the *Perſian* diſcomfited; and with much ado returning again into *Italy*, wrote the Hiſtory of all ſuch things as he himſelf had there ſeen, with the calamities of *Bajazet* his Houſe, and a great part of the tyrannous Reign of *Selymus*.

The death of Bajazet.

Selymus *cauſeth two of his Fathers Pages to be put to death for mourning for their Maſter.*

Haman *the Jew juſtly rewarded for his treachery.*

Haman the falſe Jew (as the ſame Author reporteth) coming to *Conſtantinople*, and expecting ſome great reward for his foul Treaſon, by the commandmet of *Selymus* had his head preſently ſtruck off; with this exprobration of his Treachery, *That opportunity ſerving, he would not ſtick for reward to do the like againſt* Selymus *himſelf*. Of this *Bajazet*, *Janus Vitalis* writeth this *Elogium:*

Paluus Jovius Illuſt. virorum Elog. lib. 4.

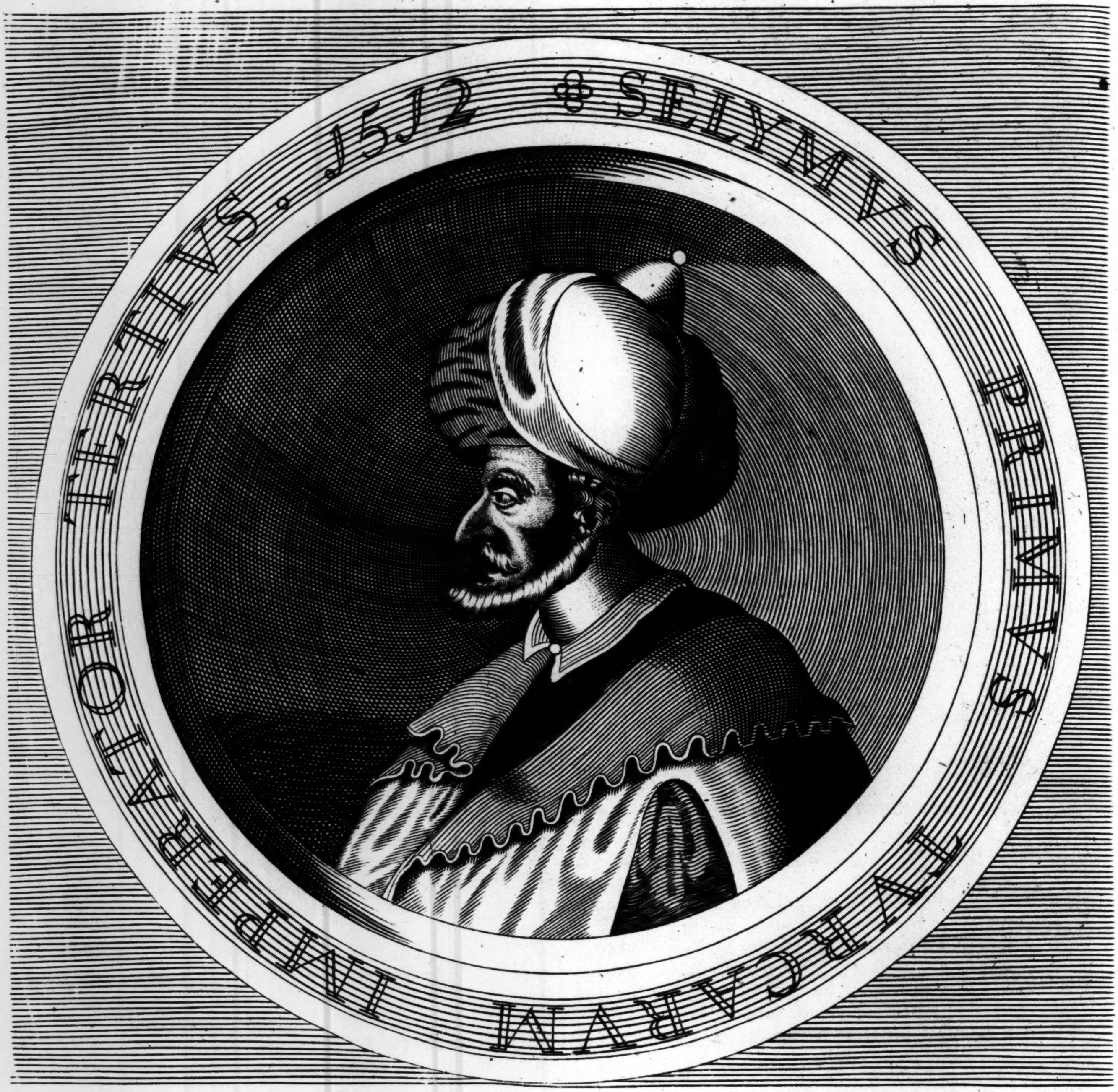
Dum rerum exquiris cauſas, & dum procul Hunnes
Carmannos, Cilices, *Sauromataſque domas:*
Bajazethe, *domi proles tua te petit armis,*
Et te per fraudes amovet imperio.
Adjicit inde novum ſceleri ſcelus, & tibi miſcet
Pocula lethiferis illita graminibus.
Intempeſtivos crudelis vipera fœtus,
Per ſua ſic tandem funera, rupta, parit.
Quid tutum eſt, cui ſint ingentia regna Tyranno,
Si timant natos, progeniemque ſuam?

In Engliſh thus:

Whilſt that thou *Bajazethes* ſeeks of things the hidden cauſe,
And fain wouldſt bring the Hunne and Ruſs under thy Turkiſh Laws:
Thy Son at home ſteps up in Arms againſt thy Royal Crown,
And by falſe Treaſon and Deceit finds means to pluck thee down.
Whereto he addeth miſchief more, and ſtraight without delay,
By Poyſon ſtrong in glittering Bowl doth take thy life away:
The cruel Viper ſo brings forth her foul untimely Brood,
Who eat and gnaw her Belly out, their firſt and poiſoned Food.
Which things may Princes hold for ſafe, that do great Kingdoms ſway,
If of their Children they muſt ſtand in dread and fear alway?

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Bajazet *the Second.*	*Emperors of* Germany		Frederick *the Third, Arch-Duke of* Auſtria.	1440.	54.
			Maximilian *the Third.*	1494.	25.
	Kings	*Of* England	Edward *the Fourth.*	1460.	22.
			Edward *the Fifth.*	1483.	0.
			Richard *the Third.*	1483.	3.
			Henry *the Seventh.*	1485.	24.
			Henry *the Eighth.*	1509.	38.
		Of France	Lewis *the Eleventh.*	1461.	22.
			Charles *the Eighth.*	1483.	14.
			Lewis *the Twelfth.*	1567.	17.
		Of Scotland	James *the Third.*	1460.	29.
			James *the Fourth.*	1489.	25.
	Biſhops of Rome		Xyſtus *the* IV.	1471.	13.
			Innocentius *the* VIII.	1484.	8.
			Alexander *the* VI.	1492.	11.
			Pius *the* III.	1503.	26 days.
			Jullus *the* II.	1503.	9.

The


SELYMVS PRIMVS TVRCARVM IMPERATOR TERTIVS. 1512

En Selymus, scelere ante alios immanior omnes:
In Patris, et Fratrum, dirigit arma necem.
In Persas movet inde ferox, Memphitica Regna
Destruit: et Syros, Æthiopasque domat.
Hinc in Christicolas irarum effundere fluctus,
Ipsorumque imo vertere regna parat.
Cum diro victus prosternitur ulcere, Christus
Scilicet est populi, portus et aura sui.

Lo Selymus, the vilest of the Othoman brood,
Embru'd his hands in Father's, Brothers bloud.
Persian, Egyptian, Syrian, and Moore
Submit their Scepters to his insolent pow'r;
But when the Christians Realms he vainly thought,
To speedy desolation to have brought,
A mortall ulcer seizd him, to make knowne
The great Messiah can protect his owne.

The LIFE of

SELYMUS,

Firſt of that NAME,

The THIRD and moſt WARLIKE

Emperor of the Turks.

1512.

THIS *Selymus*, by favour of the great Baſſaes and Men of War whom he had before corrupted, having deprived his Father *Bajazet* firſt of the Empire, and ſhortly after of his Life alſo, and now fully poſſeſſed of the Empire himſelf; firſt took view of the Treaſures which the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors his Anceſtors had before of long time heaped up in great abundance; out of which he gave unto the Souldiers of the Court two millions of Ducats; and for a perpetual remembrance of his thankfulneſs towards them augmented their daily wages, allowing unto every Horſeman four Aſpers a day, and to every Footman two, above their wonted allowance. By which exceeding bounty, he greatly aſſured unto himſelf the minds of the Men of War.

Selymus *going into* Aſia *againſt his Brother* Achomates.

Shortly after he paſſed over with a great Army into *Aſia*, leaving the government of the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople* unto his only Son *Solyman*; and marching into *Galatia* came to the City of *Ancyra*, in hope there to have oppreſſed his elder Brother *Achomates*. But he underſtanding before of his coming, withal wiſely conſidering how unable he was to withſtand his Forces, fled before into the Mountains of *Cappadocia* upon the Confines of *Armenia*, taking up men by the way as he went, and praying aid of all ſorts of People, yea even of ſuch as were but of ſmall ability themſelves, and unto him meer Strangers; that ſo he might in beſt manner he could, provide ſuch ſtrength as might ſerve him to make head againſt his Brother, and for the recovery of *Aſia*.

Selymus having ſpent that Summer without doing any thing worth the ſpeaking of, and conſidering that he could not well winter in that cold Country near unto the great Mountain *Taurus*, by reaſon of the deep Snows and extream cold there uſually falling, and that to go farther was to no purpoſe, foraſmuch as *Achomates* flying from place to place, and Mountain to Mountain was not to be ſurpriſed, he retired back again into *Bithynia*, and ſending his *Europeian* Horſemen down to the Sea-coaſt, and the Janizaries to *Conſtantinople*; reſolved to winter with the reſt of his Army at *Pruſa*. At which time being wholly bent againſt *Achomates*, his Competitor of the Empire, he for certain years continued the League which his Father *Bajazet* had before concluded with *Uladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*, *Sigiſmundus* King of *Polonia*, and the *Venetians*. And thinking no care (no not of Children) ſuperfluous which might concern the eſtabliſhing of his Empire, he called unto him five of his Brothers Sons, *Orchanes* the Son of *Alem Scach*; *Mahometes* the Son of *Tzian Scach*; *Orchanes*, *Emirſa*, and *Muſa* the Sons of his Brother *Mahometes*; all young Princes of great hope, of years betwixt ſixteen and twenty, excepting *Muſa* who was not paſt ſeven years old; Of all theſe, *Mahometes* (whom his Uncle *Achomates* had a little before taken Priſoner at *Larenda*, as is before declared, and upon the death of *Bajazet* had again ſet him at liberty) being about twenty years old, was for rare Feature and Princely Courage accounted the Paragon and Beauty of the *Othoman* Family; which great perfection, as it won unto him the love and favour of the Men of War, and alſo of all the People in general; ſo did it haſten his ſpeedy death, only *Selymus* his cruel Uncle envying at his life. After he had got theſe poor innocents into his hands, he ſent for divers of his great Doctors and Lawyers, demanding of them, Whether it were not better that ſome five, eight, or ten perſons ſhould be taken away, than that the State of the whole Empire ſhould with great effuſion of Blood be rent in ſunder, and ſo by civil Wars be brought in danger of utter ruin and deſtruction? Who although they well perceived whereunto that bloody queſtion tended, yet for fear of diſpleaſure they all anſwered, That it were better ſuch a ſmall number ſhould periſh, than that the whole State of the Empire ſhould by Civil War and Diſcord be brought to confuſion; in which general calamity, thoſe few muſt alſo of neceſſity periſh with the reſt. Upon colour of this anſwer, and the neceſſity pretented, he commanded theſe his Nephews before named, to be led by five of his great Captains into the Caſtle of *Pruſa*, where they were all the night following moſt cruelly ſtrangled. It is reported, that *Mahometes* with a Pen-knife ſlew one of the bloody Executioners ſent into his Chamber to kill him; and ſo wounded the other, as that he fell down for dead; and that *Selymus* being in a

Selymus *murthereth five of his Brothers Sons.*

Chamber faſt by, and almoſt an Eye-witneſs of that was done, preſently ſent in others, who firſt bound the poor Prince, and afterward ſtrangled him with the reſt; whoſe dead bodies were buried at *Pruſa* amongſt their Anceſtors. The cruelty of this Fact wonderfully offended the minds of moſt men, inſomuch that many even of his Martial men filled with ſecret indignation, for certain days abſented themſelves from his preſence, ſhunning his ſight as if he had been ſome fierce or raging Lion.

1513. Selymus *ſeeketh after the lives of* Amurat *and* Aladin, *the Sons of* Achomates *his Brother.*

Of all the Nephews of old *Bajazet*, only *Amurat* and *Aladin* (the Sons of *Achomates*) yet remained, whom he purpoſed to ſurpriſe upon the ſuddain, and ſo to rid himſelf of all fear of his Brothers Children; having then left none of the *Othoman* Family, but them and his two Brethren upon whom to exerciſe his further Cruelty. Theſe two young Princes had a little before recovered the City of *Amaſia*, from whence they were the Summer before expulſed by their Uncle *Selymus*, at ſuch time as *Achomates* their Father was glad to flie into the Mountains of *Cappadocia*. *Selymus* fully reſolved upon their deſtruction, ſent *Uſegi* one of his Baſſaes with five thouſand Horſemen, who by great journies travelling to *Amaſia*, might upon the ſuddain come upon theſe two young Princes, and take them altogether unprovided, and as then fearing no ſuch danger, which was thought no great matter for the Baſſa to do, foraſmuch as he might with his light Horſemen eaſily prevent the fame of his coming; and the City of *Amaſia* where they lay, was neither well walled, nor as then furniſhed with any ſufficient Garriſon for defence thereof; beſides that, *Achomates* himſelf was at that time abſent, buſied in taking up of Souldiers upon the Frontiers of *Caramania*. But *Muſthapha* the old Baſſa, by whoſe ſpecial means *Selymus* had obtained the Empire (as is afore declared in the life of *Bajazet*) being privy unto his wicked purpoſe, and now in mind altogether alienated from him, deteſting his moſt execreable Tyranny, both for the unworthy death of *Bajazet*, his Father, and the guiltleſs blood of ſo many young Princes his Nephews by him ſhed without all pity; and having compaſſion of the imminent danger whereinto theſe two Brethren were now like alſo to fall; by ſecret and ſpeedy Meſſengers gave them warning of the coming of the Baſſa, and all that was intended againſt them. Who upon ſuch knowledge given, preſently advertiſed *Achomates* their Father thereof, and laid ſecret ambuſh themſelves for the intercepting of their Enemies. So that within few days after, the Baſſa coming with his Horſemen towards *Amaſia*, fell before he was awar into the midſt of his Enemies; at which time alſo, *Achomates* following him at the heels, ſo ſhut him in with his Army on every ſide, that moſt of his men being ſlain, he himſelf with divers other Captains were taken Priſoners and brought to *Achomates*, and by his commandment committed to ſafe cuſtody.

Uſegi *Baſſa taken Priſoner.*

Now it fortuned, that ſome of *Achomates* Souldiers ſcoffing at the Priſoners whom they had taken, told them how they had been deceived, and how all the matter had been carried (ſo hard a thing it is to have even the greateſt Counſels in Court kept ſecret) boaſting that they wanted not their Friends, even of ſuch as were moſt inward with *Selymus*, who ſecretly favored the better cauſe, and would not long ſuffer the cruel Beaſt to rage further; all which things *Selymus* his Souldiers reported again after they were ranſomed and retuned home. But *Uſegi* the Baſſa lying ſtill in Priſon, and getting certain knowledge of the whole matter, by ſecret Letters gave *Selymus* to underſtand, that *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa whom he moſt of all truſted, had ſecret intelligence with *Achomates*, and had been the only cauſe of the loſs of his Army.

Selymus of late envying at the great Honour and Authority of *Muſtapha*, and wiſhing him dead, (whoſe deſert he was not able, or at leaſtwiſe unwilling to requite) cauſed him upon this accuſation without further trial to be ſecretly ſtrangled in his ſight, and his dead body (as it were in ſcorn of his former felicity) to be caſt out into the Street for every man to gaze upon. This was the ſhameful end of this traiterous Baſſa, who had of long time at his pleaſure commanded all things in the Turkiſh Empire, and was for Riches, Power and Authority, next unto the Emperors themſelves; but now lieth as a dead Dog in the Street, no man daring for fear to caſt earth upon him. A rare ſpectacle of the uncertainty of worldly Felicity, and a worthy example of Diſloyalty. But *Achomates* hearing what had happened to *Muſtapha*, in revenge thereof in like manner executed *Uſegi* Baſſa his Priſoner, and according to his courteous nature ſet all the reſt of the Priſoners at liberty.

Muſtapha *Baſſa ſhamefully murthered.*

Uſegi *Baſſa put to death.*

Selymus thirſting after nothing more than the guiltleſs blood of his Brethren and Nephews, upon whom he had againſt all right uſurped the Kingdom, whereof he never thought himſelf ſufficiently aſſured ſo long as any of them breathed; began with the firſt of the Spring to deviſe with himſelf, how he might firſt take away his Brother *Corcutus*, who then lived at *Magneſia*, and having caſt off all hope of the Empire, gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, which he (ſeduced with Ambition) had in evil time a little before forſaken; but now retiring himſelf thereto again, as to his greateſt contentment, ſpent his time in quiet contemplation, not attempting any thing againſt his cruel Brother uſurping the Empire. *Selymus* reſolved upon the deſtruction of this harmleſs Prince, ſuddainly commanded his Captains to make choice of ten thouſand Horſemen to be in readineſs within three days, giving it out that he would make an inroad upon the ſuddain into *Cappadocia*. In the number of theſe Horſemen, *Antonius Menavinus a Genoway*, Author of this Hiſtory (as he himſelf reporteth) was one.

All things being in readineſs againſt the appointed time, *Selymus* in perſon himſelf ſet forward with his Army from *Pruſa*, ſtill keeping the way on the right hand; ſo that the Souldiers, who thought they ſhould have marched directly into *Cappadocia*, and ſo to *Amaſia*, as it was before commonly reported; began now to perceive by the contrary courſe they held, that they were to go for *Lydia* and *Ionia*. When a valiant Souldier among the reſt, who had ſometime ſerved one of the Baſſaes in *Corcutus* his Court, by divers circumſtances gathering the intention of *Selymus*, ſecretly conveied himſelf out of the Army, and being excellently well mounted, taking the neareſt way, came to *Magneſia*, and gave *Corcutus* warning of the coming of his Brother. *Corcutus* conſidering the great danger he was in, richly rewarded the Meſſenger, and leaving his Houſe in ſuch order as it was wont to be, fled with two of his Servants to the Sea ſide, in hope to have found paſſage either into *Crete* or elſe *Rhodes*.

The next day after *Corcutus* was departed, early in the Morning came *Selymus* to the Caſtle of *Magneſia* before the riſing of the Sun, in hope to have found *Corcutus* yet in his bed; but being deceived of his expectation, he fell into a great rage, and with cruel torments examined all his Brothers Servants and Eunuchs, What was become of him, and where he had hid himſelf? and with much ado got it out of them, That he had warning of his coming by a fugitive Souldier, and was thereupon fled, but whither they knew not. Wherefore *Selymus* ſtaied there fifteen days, during which time he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made all over the Country, and along the Sea Coaſt, for to have apprehended him. But when after much ſearch he could hear no tydings of him, he cauſed all his Brothers Treaſure and rich Furniture to be truſſed up, and to be ſent by Sea to *Conſtantinople*. So leaving one of his Captains with a thouſand Horſemen in Garriſon at *Magneſia*, he returned again to *Pruſa* with as much ſpeed as he came from thence; verily ſuppoſing, that his Brother was for ſafeguard of his life, by Sea fled into *Italy*. All this while *Boſtanges*, *Selymus* his Son in Law, lying with a Fleet of Gallies upon the Coaſt of *Ionia*, had taken from *Corcutus* all hope of eſcaping by Sea: ſo that he was fain to hide himſelf in a Cave near unto the Sea ſide, not far from *Smyrna*; living in hope, that after a few days the Fleet would depart, and ſo he ſhould find ſome opportunity to eſcape.

Selymus *taketh the ſpoil of his Brother* Corcutus.

After he had thus a great while in fear moſt miſerably lived with Country Crabs and other like wild Fruit (a poor Diet for a man of State) and was with extream neceſſity inforced to ſend his man for relief to a poor Shephards Cottage thereby, he was by a Country Peſant diſcovered to *Gaſſumes*, who with too much diligence ſought after his life; and being by him apprehended, was carried towards the Tyrant his Brother at *Pruſa*.

Corcutus *taken.*

Right welcome to *Selymus* was the report of his taking; who as ſoon as he underſtood that he was within a days journey of *Pruſa*, ſent one *Kirengen-Ogli* (who of his ſquint look was called *Chior Zeinal*) to ſtrangle him upon the way, and to bring his dead Body to *Pruſa*.

This Captain coming to *Corcutus* in the dead time of the night, and awaking him out of his ſleep, told him his heavy Meſſage; how that he was ſent from his Brother *Selymus* to ſee him executed, which muſt as he ſaid preſently be done. *Corcutus* exceedingly troubled with theſe heavy news, and fetching a deep ſigh, deſired the Captain ſo long to ſpare his life, until he might write a few ſhort lines unto his Brother *Selymus*. Which poor requeſt being granted, he called for Pen and Paper, and readily in Turkiſh Verſe (for he had ſpent all his time in ſtudy) reproved his Brother of moſt horrible Cruelty; upbraiding him, that he had not only moſt diſloyally thruſt his Father out of his Empire, but alſo moſt unnaturally deprived him of Life, of whom he had before received the ſame; and not ſo content, had moſt tyrannouſly ſlain his Brothers Children; and now like an unmerciful wretch thirſted after the guiltleſs blood of himſelf, and *Achomates* his Brethren. At laſt concluding his Letters with many a bitter curſe, he beſought God to take of him juſt revenge for ſo much innocent blood by him moſt unnaturally ſpilt. And when he had thus much written, he requeſted the Captain, that it might together with his dead body be delivered unto *Selymus*. So without any further delay he was according to the Tyrants command preſently ſtrangled. The next day after, when the dead body was preſented unto *Selymus*, he uncovered the face thereof, to be ſure that it was he, and ſeeing a Paper in his hand, took it from him; but when he had read it (for all his cruel nature and ſtony heart) he burſt out into tears; proteſting, that he was never ſo much grieved or troubled with any mans death as with his; for which cauſe, he commanded general mourning to be made for him in the Court, and with Princely ſolemnity buried his body. Three days after, he cauſed fifteen of thoſe diligent ſearchers who firſt found *Corcutus*, to have their Heads ſtruck off, and their bodies to be flung into the Sea, ſaying, *That if he were by any extremity driven to fly and hide his Head, they would not ſtick to ſerve him in like manner as they had done his Brother.*

The lamentable death of Corcutus.

Now of all the Poſterity of *Bajazet* remained none alive to trouble the cruel Tyrants thoughts but only *Achomates* and his two Sons; who upon the approach of the Spring, ſet forward with his Army from *Amaſia*, excited by the often Letters of his Friends, who aſſured him, that *Selymus* might upon the ſuddain be eaſily oppreſſed, if he would with all expedition come to *Pruſa*; foraſmuch as the Janizaries and *Europeian* Horſemen, the undoubted ſtrength of his Army, were at that time abſent, and he himſelf as one hated both of God and Man, could not in ſo ſuddain and unexpected danger tell what he were beſt to do, or which way to turn himſelf; wherefore they willed him without delay to haſten his coming, and not to expect the milder Weather of the Spring, leſt in the mean time *Selymus* ſhould call together his diſperſed Forces; God (they ſaid) did oftentimes offer unto men, both the opportunity and means to do great matters if they had the power to lay hold thereon, and therefore he ſhould do well now by celerity and courage to ſeek to better his evil Fortune, which but a little before had bereft him of his Fathers Kingdom; for if Summer were once come on, he muſt either gain the Victory by plain Battel, which would be a hard matter, or elſe get him packing out of *Cappadocia* and all *Aſia* the leſs.

Achomates, who before had promiſed unto himſelf better ſucceſs, as well for the great Strength he had of his own, as for the new ſupply of Horſemen he had procured from *Hyſmael* the *Perſian* King, but eſpecially for the hope he had, that *Selymus* generally hated for his late Cruelty, ſhould in the time of the Battel be forſaken of his own Souldiers; yielded to the perſwaſions of his Friends, who with many pleaſing words ſet before his Eyes glorious things, eaſie to be ſpoken, but hard to be effected. Wherefore, when he was come into *Galatia* with ſomewhat more than fifteen thouſand Horſemen, having for haſt left his Footmen by eaſie marches to come after him; *Selymus* advertiſed of his coming, by ſpeedy Meſſengers ſent for his Horſemen to *Pruſa*. In the mean time whiles he is levying other common Souldiers, and expecting the reſt of his Forces, Fortune which always favoured his attempts, did then alſo avert the danger prepared for him by the unfaithfulneſs of his Followers, and ſhewed to him the open way to Victory. For *Achomates* ſecret Friends which were in *Selymus* his Camp, continuing firm in their good will toward him, did earneſtly by Letters perſwade him (being already ſet forward, and now come as far as *Paphlagonia*) to make haſt, and to come before *Selymus* his Forces were come together; for that he had ſent for the Janizaries, and *Europeian* Horſemen, and did with all ſpeed and diligence make all the preparation he could poſſibly; which for all that would all come too late, if he ſhould upon the ſuddain come upon him before he were provided. Which Letters being by chance intercepted, gave *Selymus* certain knowledge both of his

Treaſon againſt Selymus *diſcovered.*

his Brothers purpoſe and coming, together with the Treaſon intended againſt him by his own Servants; wherefore executing them who had writ thoſe Letters, he in their names cauſed others to the ſame effect to be written to *Achomates*, perſwading him with all ſpeed poſſible to come ſtill on, and not to ſtay for his Footmen, for that *Selymus* might eaſily be oppreſſed with a few Troops of Horſemen, if *Achomates* would with ſpeed but come and ſhew himſelf unto his Friends and Favourites; who upon the firſt ſignal of Battel would raiſe a tumult in the Army, and upon the ſuddain kill *Selymus*, unadviſedly going to and fro in the Battel. Which Letters ſo written, *Selymus* cauſed to be ſigned with the Seals of them whom he had before executed, and found means to have them cunningly delivered to *Achomates*, as if they had been ſent from his Friends; who giving credit to the ſame, and preſuming much upon his own Strength, doubted not to leave his Footmen, who followed eaſily after him, under the conduct of *Amurat* his Son; and came and encamped with his Horſemen near unto the Mountain *Horminius*, upon the Bank of the River *Parthemius*. *Selymus* alſo departed from *Pruſa*, and having received into his Army ten thouſand Janizaries (but a little before come over the Strait) ſent before *Sinan Baſſa*, General of his *Aſian* Horſemen, to know and make proof of the Strength of his Enemies. The Baſſa not knowing as yet where *Achomates* lay, neither of what force he was, being deceived by the darkneſs of the Morning, fell into a place of diſadvantage, where he was ſet upon by *Achomates*, and having loſt ſeven thouſand of his men, was glad with other eight thouſand which were left, to fly back to *Selymus*.

Sinan Baſſa *diſcomfited by* Achomates.

For all this loſs, was not *Selymus* diſcomforted, or doubtful of the Victory, but forthwith marched on forward to the River *Elata*, which runneth directly out of the Mountain *Horminius* into *Pontus*, watering moſt large Fields upon the right hand, which at this day are called *the Plains of the new Land*. So did *Achomates* alſo, who although he knew his Brother to be every way too ſtrong for him, yet being incouraged with the late Victory, and in hope that his Friends in *Selymus* his Army (whom he vainly ſuppoſed to have been yet living) would in the very Battel do ſome notable matter for him, and that Victory would follow his juſt quarrel; reſolved neither to retire back, neither to expect the coming of the reſt of his Army. The River was betwixt the two Camps, and the number of both Armies certainly diſcovered, yet could not *Achomates* (to whom the open Fields offered a ſafe retreat unto the reſt of his Army) poſſeſſed with a fatal madneſs, be perſwaded (conſidering the greatneſs of the danger) in time to provide for the ſafety of himſelf and his Army, carried headlong (as it ſeemed) by inevitable deſtiny to his fatal deſtruction, which preſently after enſued.

Selymus *with his Army paſſeth over the River.*

Selymus a little before the going down of the Sun, with his Army paſſed over the River *Elata*, and gave general commandment through all his Camp, that every man againſt the next day ſhould be ready for battel; and in a Wood not far off placed a thouſand Horſemen in ambuſh, under the leading of *Canoglis*, his Wives Brother, a valiant young Gentleman, whom his Father had a little before ſent from *Taurica* unto his Son in law with a choſen Company of *Tartarian* Horſemen; unt him *Selymus* gave in charge, that when the Battel was joyned, he ſhould ſhew himſelf with his Horſemen upon the back of his Enemies, and there to charge them.

As ſoon as it was day, *Selymus* in a great open Field put his Army in order of Battel, placing his Horſemen in two Wings, ſo that all his Spearmen were in the right Wing, and the Archers and Carbines in the left; in the main Battel ſtood the Janizaries with the reſt of the Footmen. On the other ſide *Achomates* having no Footmen, divided his Horſemen into two Wings alſo.

Whilſt both Armies ſtood thus ranged, expecting but the ſignal of Battel, a Meſſenger came from *Achomates* to *Selymus*, offering in his Maſters name, to trie the equity of their quarrel in plain Combat hand to hand; which if he ſhould refuſe, he then took both God and the World to witneſs, that *Selymus* was the only cauſe of all the guiltleſs blood to be ſhed in the Battel, and not he; whereunto *Selymus* anſwered, that he was not to trie his quarrel at the appointment of *Achomates*; and though he could be content ſo to do, yet would not his Souldiers ſuffer him ſo to adventure his perſon and their own ſafety; and ſo with that anſwer returned the Meſſenger back again to his Maſter, giving him for his reward a thouſand Aſpers.

Achomates having received this anſwer, without further delay charged the right Wing of his Brothers Army, who valiantly received the firſt charge; but when they were come to the ſword, and that the matter was to be tried by handy blows, they were not able longer to endure the force of the *Perſian* Horſemen; who being well armed both Horſe and Man, had before requeſted to be placed in the foremoſt ranks, by whoſe Valor the right Wing of *Selymus* his Army was diſordered, and not without great loſs enforced to retire back upon their Fellows. Which thing *Selymus* beholding, did what he might by all means to encourage them again; and preſently brought on the left Wing with their Arrows and Piſtols, inſtead of them that were fled; and at the ſame time came on with the Janizaries alſo, who with their Shot enforced *Achomates* his Horſemen to retire. *Achomates* himſelf carefully attending every danger, with greater Courage than Fortune came in with freſh Troops of Horſemen, by whoſe Valour the Battel before declining was again renewed, and the Victory made doubtful; but in the fury of this Battel whilſt he was bearing all down before him, and now in great hope of the Victory, *Canoglis* with his *Tartarian* Horſemen riſing out of ambuſh, came behind him, and with great outcries cauſed their Enemies (then in the greateſt heat of their Fight) to turn upon them; at which time alſo the Footmen ſtanding cloſe together aſſailed them afront, and the Horſemen whom the *Perſians* had at firſt put to flight, now moved with ſhame, were again returned into the Battel; ſo that *Achomates* his ſmall Army was beſet, and hardly aſſailed on every ſide. In fine his Enſigns being overthrown, and many of his Men ſlain, the reſt were fain to betake themſelves to flight. Where *Achomates* having loſt the Field, and now too late ſeeking to ſave himſelf by flight, fell with his Horſe into a Ditch, which the rain falling the day before, had filled with water and mire; and being there known and taken by his Enemies, could not obtain ſo much favour at their hands as to be preſently ſlain, but was reſerved to the farther pleaſure of his cruel Brother. *Selymus* underſtanding of his taking, ſent *Kirengen* (the ſame ſquint-eyed Captain which had before ſtrangled *Corcutus*) who with a Bowſtring ſtrangled him alſo. His dead Body was forthwith brought to *Selymus*, and was afterwards by his commandment in royal manner buried with his Anceſtors at *Pruſa*.

Achomates *ſtrangled.*

Now

Amurat *and* **Aladin** *the Sons of* **Achomates,** *fly, the one into* **Perſia,** *and the other to* **Egypt.**

Now *Amurat, Achomates* his Son, underſtanding upon the way by the *Perſian* Horſemen (who ſerred together, had again made themſelves way through the Turks Army) of the loſs of the Field and the taking of his Father, returned back again to *Amaſia*; and there after good deliberation, reſolved with his Brother to betake themſelves both to flight; he with the *Perſian* Horſemen paſſing over the River *Euphrates*, fled unto *Hyſmael* the *Perſian* King; but *Aladin* the younger Brother paſſing over the Mountain *Amanus* in *Cilicia*, fled into *Syria*, and ſo to *Campſon Gaurus* the great Sultan of *Egypt*.

After this Victory, *Selymus* having in ſhort time and with little trouble brought all the leſſer *Aſia* under his obeiſance; and there at his pleaſure diſpoſed of all things, determined to have returned to *Conſtantinople*; but underſtanding that the Plague was hot there, he changed his purpoſe, and paſſing over at *Callipolis* and ſo travelling through *Grecia*, came to *Hadrianople*, where he ſpent all the reſt of the Summer, and all the Winter following; and afterward when the Mortality was ceaſed, returned to *Conſtantinople*; where it was found that an hundred and threeſcore thouſand had there died of the late Plague.

Hyſmael the *Perſian* King, whoſe Fame had then filled the World, hearing of the arrival of *Amurat*, ſent for him, and demanded of him the cauſe of his coming. The diſtreſſed young Prince, who but of late had loſt his Father, together with the hope of ſo great an Empire, and now glad for ſafegard of his life to fly into ſtrange Countries, oppreſſed with ſorrow, by his heavy Countenance and abundance of Tears, more than by Words, expreſſed the cauſe of his coming; yet in a ſhort ſtrained Speech, declared unto him, how that his Father, his Uncle, with the reſt of his Couſins, all Princes of great Honour, had of late been cruelly murthred by the unmerciful Tyrant *Selymus*, who with like fury ſought alſo after the life of himſelf and his Brother, the poor remainders of the *Othoman* Family, who to ſave their lives, were both glad to fly, his Brother into *Egypt*, and himſelf to the Feet of his Imperial Majeſty.

Hyſmael moved with compaſſion, and deeming it a thing well beſeeming the greatneſs of his Fame, to take the poor exiled Prince into his protection and to give him relief, willed him to be of good comfort, and promiſed him Aid. And the more to aſſure him thereof, ſhortly after gave him one of his own Daughters in marriage. For it was thought, that if *Selymus* (for his Tyranny become odious to the World) ſhould by any means miſcarry (as with Tyrants commonly falleth out) that then in the *Othoman* Family, ſore ſhaken with his unnatural Cruelty, none was to be preferred before this poor Prince *Amurat*; beſides that, it was ſuppoſed, that if he ſhould invade him with an Army out of *Perſia*, that upon the firſt ſtir, all the leſſer *Aſia* mourning for the unworthy death of *Achomates*, would at once revolt from him, who for his Cruelty and ſhameful Murthers had worthily deſerved to be hated together both of God and Man.

Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring *Hyſmael* furniſhed *Amurat* his new Son in Law with ten thouſand Horſemen, willing him to paſs over the River *Euphrates* at *Arſenga*, and to enter into *Cappadocia*, as well to make proof how the People of that Country were affected towards him, as of the ſtrength of the Enemy; after whom he ſent *Vaſta-Ogli*, the moſt famous Chieftain amongſt the *Perſians*, with twenty thouſand Horſemen more, with charge, That he ſhould ſtill follow *Amurat* within one days journy; and he himſelf with a far greater power ſtaid behind in *Armenia*, doubting to want Victual, if he ſhould have led ſo great an Army through thoſe vaſt, barren and deſolate places, whereby he muſt of neceſſity paſs.

1514. **Amurat** *ſpoileth* **Cappadocia.**

Amurat marching through the leſſer *Armenia*, and entring into the Borders of *Cappadocia*, had divers Towns yielded unto him by his Friends; ſome others he took by force, which he either ſacked or elſe quite raſed; and brought ſuch a general fear upon the Inhabitants of that Province, that the People ſubmitting themſeves unto him all the way as he went, it was thought he would have gone directly to *Amaſia*, had not *Chendemus* (an old Warlike Captain whom *Selymus* had left for his Lieutenant in *Aſia*) with a great Army come to meet him at *Sebaſtia*, which at this day is called *Sivas*. This *Chendemus* had alſo long before advertiſed *Selymus* both of the preparation and coming of the *Perſians*, as ſoon as he had learned by his Eſpials, That they were paſſed the River *Euphrates*. Upon which news *Selymus* came preſently over into *Aſia*, and commanding all his Forces to meet together at *Pruſa*, had with wonderful celerity levied thereabout forty thouſand common Souldiers. Which ſo ſoon as *Amurat* underſtood, as well by ſuch Priſoners as he had taken, as by advertiſement from his Friends; although he was very deſirous to have fought with *Chendemus*, yet doubting that if *Selymus* ſhould with his wonted celerity come againſt him, he ſhould be intangled in the Straits of the Mountain *Antitaurus*, he retired back again to *Vaſta-Ogli*. But *Selymus*, who all that year had in his haughty thoughts been plotting ſome ſuch notable exploit as were worthy his greatneſs, ſtanding in doubt whether he ſhould by Sea and Land invade *Hungary*, the *Rhodes*, or *Italy*, at that time ſore ſhaken with Civil Wars; having now ſo fit an occaſion given him by the *Perſian*, to the great joy of all Chriſtendom, converted himſelf wholly unto the Eaſt, and in thirty days march came to *Arſenga*. Where joining his Army with *Chendemus*, when he underſtood that his Enemies having harried the Country, were again retired, prickt forward with the grief of the injury and deſire of revenge, with hope of Victory he reſolved to follow after them foot by foot, and forthwith to enter into *Armenia* the greater, the principal Province of the *Perſian* Kingdom.

Selymus *reſolveth to invade the* **Perſian.**

But the difficulties of this notable expedition, which were in Counſel propounded by them which had beſt knowledg of thoſe Countries, were great and many, all which by his own good hap and invincible courage, he himſelf afterwards overcame; for the Souldiers which had in ſhort time already marched by Land out of *Illyria*, *Epirus*, and *Macedonia*, into *Cappadocia*, muſt of neceſſity in this long expedition take upon them new labors; they were to endure the ſharp and pinching cold of the huge Mountain *Taurus*, and by and by after the moſt vehement and and ſcortching heat in the Plains of *Armenia* the leſſer, with extream Thirſt, Hunger, and moſt deſperate want of all things; and well the more, for that the *Perſians* in their Retreat ſpoiling the Country as they went, had utterly deſtroyed all that might ſerve for the uſe of man, of purpoſe to leave nothing to their Enemies but want of all things, if they ſhould purſue them; beſides that, his moſt expert Captains ſtood in no ſmall doubt of the petty Princes of *Armenia* the leſs, and the Mountain King *Aladeules*, whom they were to leave behind them at their backs, without any great aſſurance of their Frindſhip, who they well knew would leave them, if any thing ſhould happen otherwiſe than well to *Selymus*, either in the Battel, or for want of Victuals, or in the ſtrait paſſages. For they were to be relieved with Victuals from the *Armenians*: and *Aladeules* Forces then in readineſs, were neither for number nor power to be contemned; who alſo with Caſtles commodiouſly placed, and ſtrong Garriſons, at his pleaſure commanded all the ſtraits, paſſages, and entrances which led out of *Cappadocia* into *Armenia* and the *Perſian* Kingdom: for all the Mountain Countries were under his command, and his Kingdom ſtretched from the Mountains called *Scodriſci* near unto *Pontus*, all alongſt the great Mountain *Taurus* unto *Amanus*, which divideth *Cilicia* from *Syria*.

Amongſt the reſt, old *Chendemus* Viceroy of *Natolia*, a Man of great experience, and of all others in greateſt credit, favour, and authority with *Selymus*, perſwaded him to ſtay a while in *Cappadocia*, and there to refreſh his *Europeian* Souldiers already weary of their long Travel, and ſo to expect the coming of his Enemies. And to perſwade him from the dangerous expedition into *Perſia*, ſpake unto him as followeth:

Chendemus Baſſa *diſſwades* Selymus *from going any further againſt the* Perſians.

It is not to be thought (moſt mighty and invincible Emperor,) that the Perſians *are fled for fear, becauſe they retired before they ſet eye upon us their Enemies: it is a fineneſs, and they plainly go about to entrap us, whiles they by flight make a falſe ſemblance of fear. Know we not what cunning Heads and able Bodies* Perſia *breedeth? Will they fear the naked Turkiſh light Horſemen or Archers, which with their couragious barbed Horſes and themſelves ſtrongly Armed, feared not the* Scythian *ſhot? or (if they be too little) which by their Valour have vanquiſhed ſo many Nations, and gained unto their King ſo great and large an Empire? Think you, that you have either greater or better Forces than had long ago,* Caſſumes *your Uncle, or Great* Mahomet *your Grandfather; who divers times proving their Forces againſt this Enemy, were more than once put to the worſt, I my ſelf then ſerving in their Camps near unto* Trapezond *and the Mountains of* Nicopolis. *I will not deny, but that the great Ordinance which you carry with you may ſtand you in great ſtead, ſo that fit place may be found to beſtow ſo many field Pieces in: but this ſcortched Ground, the frozen and abrupt Mountains, with the vaſt and ſolitary Plains beyond them, terrifie me, whom all the armed Forces of our Enemies in places of great advantage could not diſmay. You muſt fight not only with your valiant Enemies, but with the difficulties of Nature alſo. Neither may your Majeſty give any credit to the* Armenians *or* Aladeules, *Princes of moſt doubtful Faith: although at your firſt ſetting forward they ſhew a fair Face, and ſeem never ſo friendly: for they will but expect and await ſome fit occaſion to take you at an advantage, and ſo to ſet upon you when you leaſt fear them. But admit you were aſſured of Victory, O with how much warm Blood of your beſt Souldiers ſhall you buy the ſame? with what other Souldiers, with what other Forces will you defend* Grecia, *if the Chriſtian Kings hearing that you for enlarging your Empire, or deſire of Fame being gone into the furtheſt part of* Armenia, *ſhall in the mean time Invade you? Wherefore if it be better and more wiſdom, with ſafety to defend your own, than with danger to ſeek for that is other Mens; if Princes of greateſt Policy have repoſed the glory of their Victory, not in the greatneſs of the ſlaughter of their Enemies, but in the ſafety and preſervation of their own Souldiers: ſpare to object your ſelf and your Army to moſt manifeſt danger, and unadviſedly to commit all at once to the hazard of good Fortune: which being a moſt fickle and unconſtant Miſtreſs, if ſhe ſhall but once dally with your dangerous attempts, you ſhall through your raſhneſs in far ſhorter ſpace tumble down head-long from the top of ſo great Majeſty, than you have thereunto a while ago by your rare Vertues worthily aſpired.*

Selymus as he was of a rough and fierce Nature, ſo would he have all things done according to his own device and direction: and though he were not a little moved with this Speech of ſo grave a Counſellor and moſt expert Commander, and ſaw many of his Captains troubled with the imagination of the future danger; yet in a fume refuting ſome little of that which *Chendemus* had ſaid, he diſmiſſed the Counſel, proteſting openly, that he would proceed in his intended purpoſe, hap what hap ſhould, from Friend or Foe: although that old Fellow were (as he ſaid) ſo careful of his life, that he feared to die a noble Death. Which *Selymus* had no ſooner ſaid, but preſently others about him, accuſtomed to ſerve his Humor, which envied at the glory and wealth of old *Chendemus*, took hold upon theſe words, and beginning with the greatneſs of his Forces, the valour of his Souldiers, the ſtore of his Artillery, with his own invincible Fortune; made eaſie matters of all the former difficulties, and with great words laboured to extenuate all that the grave Baſſa had before ſaid concerning the proweſs and power of the Enemy. After that, they began to diſcredit *Chendemus*, ſaying, That he (being a martial Man, and of known reſolution in all his moſt warlike Actions) had not ſaid as before, for want of courage, of any diſtruſt he had of the Victory, but of purpoſe to hinder that moſt honourable Expedition, and to cut off all hope of Victory, which was (as they ſaid) as good as already gotten; being before loaded with *Amurat* his great Promiſes, and the Gold of *Perſia*. Wherefore they wiſhed him to beware of the ſlie old Fox his wiles and treaſon, and to proceed on in his Expedition ſo much the more boldly: and not to think that his Souldiers would refuſe any danger or labour, ſo long as they ſaw courage in himſelf, but would be ready (as they ſaid) to undertake the moſt deſperate difficulties of War, and deſired nothing more, than to be conducted into thoſe far Countries, where by their martial Proweſs and valiant Acts they might make their Emperor *Selymus* equal with the Great *Alexander*, and themſelves comparable to his *Macedonians*. And to work the utter deſtruction of this moſt faithful Counſellor without all recovery, theſe falſe Flatterers ſuborned bold-faced Accuſers, who falſly and ſhamefully affirmed, that he had received great ſums of Mony from *Amurat*, and did not therefore in time go againſt the *Perſian* Robbers, whereby all the former Calamities happed (as they ſaid) to that Province. For which pretended Cauſes, *Selymus* commanded *Chendemus* without further hearing to be ſlain: but indeed to terrifie others from like liberty of Speech; and withal to teach them, to deem thoſe devices and counſels as moſt excellent, which their Sovereign ſhould as it were by divine Inſpiration find out himſelf, and ſo to accept of them without contradiction. The ſudden death of this moſt faithful Counſellor *Chendemus*, ſtruck an exceeding fear into the minds of all Men, for that ſo honourable a Perſonage, of late in ſo great credit and favour with his Sovereign, was whithout hearing Executed; who they had known as a Man of great account, both for his proweſs and policy, to have ſtood faſt on *Selymus* his ſide, firſt in his Wars againſt his Father, and of late againſt his Brother: not doubting but that *Selymus*

Chendemus Baſſa *by the commandment of* Selymus *ſlain.*

by nature cruel and ſuſpitious even of trifles, would with like Tyranny not ſpare Men of meaner calling, which ſpared not his deareſt and moſt ancient Friends.

Selymus marching from *Arſenga*, came to the Confines of the leſſer *Armenian* Kings, and of *Aladeules*; where by his Embaſſadors he requeſted the Kings of thoſe Nations (who were then in Arms) that they would joyn their Forces with his againſt the *Perſian*, and to go with him into *Armenia* the great; promiſing that when the Wars were happily ended, he would give unto them all ſuch Territories as ſhould chance in thoſe Wars to be taken from the Enemy, as a reward of their Aid. But theſe poor Kings, which hated both *Hyſmael* and *Selymus* for their manifold injuries they daily received in the Frontiers of their Dominions, lying in the midſt between them, (as commonly it falleth out, that the weakeſt go to the walls) craftily expecting the Event of this War, would not openly ſhew themſelves; but anſwered, that they had taken up Arms for no other purpoſe, but for the defence of themſelves and their Kingdoms. Not meaning in that doubtful War to bear themſelves as Enemies unto either of thoſe great Princes their Friends and Neighbors, of whoſe juſt grievances they were not able or worthy to determine; yet if he would without Hoſtility in peaceable manner paſs through their Dominions, they promiſed to give free paſſage unto him and his Army; and after he was entred into *Armenia* the greater, to relieve him with ſuch Proviſion of Victual as their bare Countries could afford.

Selymus thus deceived of this his firſt Hope, (for why, he thought thoſe poor Kings would at the firſt, either for love or fear have been ready to have done him all the ſervice they could) diſſembled his grief for the preſent, as wholly bent againſt *Hyſmael*; fearing that if he ſhould by word or deed defend thoſe neuter Princes, he ſhould have them at his back his moſt aſſured and undoubted Enemies. Wherefore paſſing the Mountains called *Scodriſci*, he came in eight days unto the great Mountain called *Moſchij*, which the famous River *Euphrates*, with his mighty ſtream and huge broken banks, ſeparateth from the great Mountain *Antitaurus*, and with perpetual ſteep ridges runneth into *Iberia* and *Colchis*, and on the Eaſt diſcovereth *Armenia* the greater; here *Selymus* with Enſigns diſplayed marching alongſt the bank of the River, departed not from the ſame, for fear to lack Water in that hot and dry Country; and ſo held on his way directly Eaſtward, leaving the Country of *Armenia* the leſs upon his left Hand, and the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Aladeules* on the right, until he came unto the Mountain *Periardo*. This great Mountain, famous by the riſing of two great and notable Rivers out of it, is for the wonderful fertility of all things, of the barbarous People called *Leprus*, which is to ſay, fruitful; for *Euphrates* and *Araxis* there running out of two divers and contrary Marſhes, with many arms, water and enrich that champion and dry Country. *Selymus* having made ſo great a Journy, and yet not able ſo much as by report, to underſtand what was become of *Hyſmael* his ſo great and populous Army, which he knew was but a little before departed out of *Cappadocia*; as a Man in doubt and half afraid, ſtayed and incamped his Army at the head of the River *Euphrates*, and from thence ſent out his Scouts every way, if happily they could intercept ſome which might give him knowledge of his Enemies. But the *Armenians*, whether it were for fear of the coming of the Turks, or that *Hyſmael* their King had ſo commanded, were all before fled out of that part of the Country, whereby *Selymus* was to paſs with his Army; and having forſaken their Houſes, and carried away with them, or elſe by Fire deſtroyed whatſoever might ſerve for the uſe of Man.

Selymus *ſendeth out his Scouts, who do return with bad news.*

The Turkiſh Scouts after they had by the ſpace of two days ſcoured up and down the Country, returned back again to *Selymus*, not having taken ſo much as any one Man; ſhewing unto him, That all things were deſtroyed before him, and nothing left but wild Fields and a moſt deſolate Country, without any appearance of Man or Beaſt; and that they were of opinion, that either the *Armenian* Guids were deceived in the way, or elſe had of purpoſe brought them into ſuch deſert places, whereas wanting Paſture for their Horſes, and Food for Men, they muſt needs together periſh with Hunger. Which their preſent fear was greatly increaſed by the weak Kings whom they had left behind them at their backs; but eſpecially *Aladeules*, who either for ſhame or fear had a few days at the firſt holpen the Turks with Victual, but after they were farther entred into *Armenia*, performed nothing of that he had before moſt faithfully promiſed; ſeeking therein the favor of *Hyſmael*, who he thought would with the ſame good fortune vanquiſh the Turks; that he had not long before the greateſt part of the Eaſt. *Selymus* perplexed in mind, began now to ſuſpect Treaſon, to fear Famine, to dread the Deſerts and forſaken places, and with grief of mind to call to remembrance all that old *Chendemus* his faithful Counſellor had before moſt truly told him; for all that, he ſhewed himſelf unto his Souldiers with cheerful Countenance, as a Man nothing diſmaied; which his firm conſtancy ſeemed to promiſe unto their diſcouraged minds good ſucceſs, with ſpeedy Victory. Wherefore calling unto him his Guids, and ſuch as beſt knew the Country, and underſtanding by them, that on the right Hand beyond the Mountain *Periardo* lay the moſt fruitful Country of all *Armenia*, he roſe with his Army, and compaſſing the Hill toward the North, turned down toward the River *Araxes*, and above the City of *Coy* paſſed his Army over the River, his Footmen by little Bridges, and his Horſemen by Foords; for *Araxes*, until it have received ſuch Rivers as fall into it out of the Marſhes of *Periardo*, runneth but with a ſmall ſtream, and is in ſome places eaſie to be paſſed over.

Selymus *paſſeth over* Araxes.

Selymus had ſcarcely well got over the River, and incamped his great Army, when *Vaſta Ogli* (who having joyned his Forces with *Amurat*, lying incamped not far off, and fearing leſt the City of *Coy* and the unprovided Citizens ſhould by the ſudden coming of the Enemy be oppreſſed) quickly roſe with his Army, and ſet forwards to meet the Turks; for that City of all others in that Country, for freſh Fountains and Rivers, moſt pleaſant (wherein the *Perſian* Kings for the great plenty of all manner of Fruit, and wholſomeneſs of the Air, leaving *Tauris*, were wont to ſpend moſt part of the Summer) had then in it many rich Citizens, and ſumptuous Buildings; which *Vaſta Ogli* thought good betimes to reſcue, and not with diſhonour to loſe that rich City, looking as it were upon it; and leaving it unto the Enemy, to ſuffer him there to refreſh his hunger-ſtarved Souldiers with plenty of all things. *Caſſianus* an *Armenian* Born, and preſent in thoſe Wars, did by many probabilities (as *Jovius* writeth) ſhew unto him, That this City of *Coy* was in ancient time that moſt famous City which was called *Artaxata*, which *Domitius Corbulo* deſtroyed. Neither did *Hyſmael* himſelf (although he had but a little before ſent the greateſt part of his Forces againſt the *Coraxeni*, who were then riſen up againſt him in Rebellion; as he that made no great reckoning of the Turks, or ever thought that they durſt have come ſo far into *Armenia*) make any delay, but forthwith as ſoon as he had heard of the coming of *Selymus*, came alſo in perſon himſelf unto his Army.

By chance *Vaſta Ogli* (who contrary to all Mens expectation had until then ſhunned to fight, or come in ſight of his Enemies, of purpoſe with leſs danger and loſs of Men to overthrow them afterwards, being ſore weakned and almoſt ſpent with long Travel and want of Victuals) lay then incamped near the City, when as the Turks Scouts, upon the coming of *Hyſmael*, perceived by the great riſing of the duſt, and by the neighing of the *Perſian* Horſes, that ſome greater power was at hand. Which ſo ſoon as it was noiſed in the Turkiſh Camp, they began to rejoyce exceedingly, and to conceive the firſt hope both of their ſafety and victory; glad, that now meeting with their Enemies, they ſhould either by Victory turn their labour, toil, famine, and extremities wherewith they had of long time ſtriven, into eaſe and plenty of all things, or elſe by honourable death end all their miſeries at once: for many of the Horſemen, eſpecially of them that came out of *Europe*, whoſe Horſes were ſtarved for want of Forrage, and the common Footmen ſpent with long Travel, and grievouſly troubled with the Flux, (who travelling in the extream heat of the Sun, had for moſt part lived upon Crabs and other wild Fruits, with a bad ſupping made of Meal and Vineger, and almoſt deſparing to get the ſight of their Enemies) began now to die in every corner.

Hyſmael *ſends an Herald to* **Selymus.**

Hyſmael as ſoon as he was come within ſight of his Enemies, repoſing great confidence as well in the valour of his Souldiers, as in his own rare Fortune, the more to terrifie them, thought it good forthwith to give them Battel: Whereupon he ſent an Herald unto *Selymus*, accompanied with certain ſkilful Souldiers, which ſhould in beſt ſort they could take view of the number and force of their Enemies, of their Artillery, and in what ſort they lay incamped; and to tell him, That foraſmuch as he had no Title unto *Armenia*, nor that the Turks had at any time claimed any intereſt therein, he could not but marvel, why he had againſt all right entred with his Army into his Dominion: but if he happly upon a vain preſumption, to the imitation of *Alexander* of *Macedon*, ſhould think ſo much of the World his own, as he could by the Sword and his own good Fortune win, he ſhould then make himſelf ready againſt the next day to make proof of his Fortune, and the Forces of others not inferior to his own.

Selymus *his anſwer unto* **Hyſmael.**

Whereunto *Selymus* anſwered, That the freſh remembrance of the manifold Injuries done to the Turks by the *Perſians*, was ſuch, as might give him juſt cauſe to take up Arms; for as much as long ago both his Grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, and his Uncle *Caſſumes*, and even of late his Father *Bajazet*, and he himſelf alſo in his Wars againſt his Brother *Achomates*, had received great wrong and diſhonour from the *Perſians*. All which things, although they were of themſelves important, yet he eſteemed not of them as ſufficient cauſes of War, but only ſought after his Enemy *Amurat*, his Brothers Son, who had of late ſpoiled *Cappadocia*; whom if he would quietly and friendly deliver unto him, as the mutual Laws of amity and friendſhip amongſt Princes for the maintenance and preſervation of their Eſtates and Kingdoms required, then he would withdraw his Forces, and peaceably return into his Kingdom; otherwiſe, he threatned with Fire and Sword to deſtroy, not the Frontiers of *Armenia*, but even the heart of *Perſia*. And ſo diſmiſſing the Herald, both the Armies for that day lay ſtill in their Trenches, expecting the dreadful event of Battel.

The order of **Selymus** *his Battel.*

The next day *Selymus* by perſwaſion of his Captains brought his Army into the open Field, and in order of Battel ſet forward againſt his Enemies, which lay about two Miles off, thinking that *Hyſmael*, a Prince of ſo great name, would without delay accept of Battel; yet what ſtrength the *Perſian* King was of, what number of Men he had, what manner of Horſemen, how Armed, and with what Weapons, he could not certainly learn: for beſide that the *Perſians* are by nature ingenious and ſubtil, the Souldiers generally ſo reverenced and loved *Hyſmael* their King, that not one was found to have gone from him to the Turk; whereas many revolted from *Selymus* to him, as it was afterwards learned of the *Perſian* Captains.

Selymus, who had at that time eighty thouſand Horſemen under his Enſigns, placed *Chaſan Baſſa* his Lieutenant General of *Europe*, with his *Europeian* Horſemen in the right Wing; and *Sinan Baſſa* with his *Aſian* Horſemen in the left; and before them both the *Acanzij*, which were voluntary Horſemen, the forerunners of the Turks Army, who in hope of ſpoil follow the Turks Wars out of all Countries: In the middle Battel he placed the *Aſapi* or Common Souldiers, which baſe and half naked People, as Men of little worth or eſtimation, are commonly thruſt into the Front of the Turks Battels, to receive the firſt fury of the Enemy, and to blunt their Swords, more than for any other good ſervice; directly behind them he beſtowed his great Artillery, guarded with four thouſand Horſemen: Laſt of all followed himſelf with his choſen Penſioners and Janizaries, compaſſed about with ſmall field-Pieces, and his Carriages, as with a double Trench; for he had (as their manner is) ſo environed himſelf round with his ſadled Camels made faſt one to another with long Chains, that they ſtood him in ſtead of a ſtrong Trench, from whence he might ſpeedily relieve any part of his diſtreſſed Army; and in caſe of extremity being in the midſt of his ſtrength, might as out of a ſure Fort repreſs the furious Aſſault of his Enemies. He alſo commanded his Footmen in the vauward of his Battel, that upon the approach of the Enemies Horſe, they ſhould ſpeedily withdraw themſelves aſide into two parts, leaving ſpace for the great Ordnance which was placed behind them, to play in the middle between them. On the contrary part *Hyſmael*, who by the Turks Fugitives underſtood all the devices of his Enemies, calling unto him the chief Commanders of his Army, ſhewed unto them, That there was no doubt of the Victory, ſo that they could ſhun the fury of the great Artillery; which he aſſured them would eaſily be done, if when they ſaw the Turkiſh Footmen divide themſelves, they would alſo in like manner withdraw themſelves into two parts, and give place to the fury of the great Ordnance; for which purpoſe he cauſed two great Enſigns to be diſplaied, whereunto they ſhould at the time appointed retire, the one for himſelf and thoſe whom he conducted, the other for *Vaſsi Ogli* and the reſt of his Army.

Hyſmael *with thirty thouſand* **Perſians** *giveth Battel to* **Selymus** *with three hundred thouſand Turks.*

Hyſmael (as *Jovius* reporteth) had in his Army about thirty thouſand Horſemen, without any Footmen, amongſt whom were ten thouſand Men at Arms, reſolute Gentlemen, of great experience, all gallantly mounted upon couragious barbed Horſes, and themſelves bravely Armed, both for the ſhew and terror of the Enemy; their Weapons were a good Lance, a ſure Scimitar, and a Horſemans Mace; the reſt were Armed with ſtrong Curiaſſes and Head-pieces, and were either Archers on Horſeback, or elſe uſed light Horſemens Staves made of Aſh after the Spaniſh Faſhion, wherewith they ſerved at the half Staff. As for Guns they had none, in which thing only and number of Men, they were inferior to the Turks. But ſuch was the invincible courage and noble minds of the *Perſians*, that contemning the huge multitude of their Enemies (who were in number about three hundred thouſand) and making no great reckoning of their great Artillery, they doubted not with ſo few to give them Battel.

Hyſmael having given the ſignal of Battel, came on with his Army, exhorting his Soulders then to remember the Honour they had long before gotten in many Battels, and couragiouſly to follow him their Sovereign, whom they by their worthy ſervice and many victories had made the greateſt Monarch of the Eaſt; telling them, that they ſhould have now to do but with naked Men, whoſe Weapons were but weak Staves and light Targets, and their Horſes little poor Jades almoſt dead with hunger, never able to abide the firſt charge of his valiant Men at Arms.

On the other ſide, *Selymus* perceiving the coming of his Enemies by the riſing of the duſt, cauſed knowledge to be given through his Army by his Captains and Officers, that the time of Battel which they had ſo long wiſhed for, was now come; wherein if they would worthily acquit themſelves againſt thoſe their proud Enemies, they ſhould to their immortal Fame extend the Turkiſh Empire from the *Perſian* Sea to the Mountain *Caucaſus*: but if they cowardly forgetting their ancient Proweſs, ſhould faint in time of Battel, they were not then to think by any means to eſcape by flight back again through thoſe great Plains and deſolate Countries; where they ſhould by the way either ſhamefully periſh, or elſe to their perpetual infamy be taken Priſoners, and as baſe Slaves, during their lives be enforced to ſerve the *Perſian* Women; foraſmuch as beſide the great diſtance of the place, both the great River *Euphrates*, and the huge Mountain *Taurus*, and the faithleſs King *Aladeules*, who had ſhut up all the paſſages, did cut off all hope from them, if they ſhould be overcome, by any means poſſible to eſcape back again into *Cappadocia*.

The great and mortal Battel between Hyſmael *and* Selymus.

Vaſta Ogli *ſlain.*

When *Hyſmael* was come near with his Army, and the *Aſapi* upon ſign given dividing themſelves, made place for the great Artillery to play, as was before appointed; he alſo preſently dividing his Horſemen, charged the right Wing of the Turks Army, with ſuch force, that after a moſt terrible fight betwixt the half armed Turks, and the valiant *Perſian* Men at Arms, *Chaſan Baſſa* the great Commander of the *Europeian* Horſemen, with the formoſt of that Wing being ſlain, and many more after them, he inforced all that Wing to retire unto that place where *Selymus* himſelf with the Janizaries ſtood. On the other ſide, *Vaſta Ogli* having received no little harm by the Turks great Ordnance, becauſe he had not ſo ſpeedily cleared himſelf and his followers of that danger, as had *Hyſmael*, charged the *Aſian* Horſemen in the left Wing, and there in bloody Battel made great ſlaughter of the Enemy, but not with like good hap as did *Hyſmael*; for whiles he moſt couragiouſly in the formoſt Ranks, aſſailed his Enemies, he was ſtruck with a ſmall ſhot and ſlain. With whoſe fall the Turks were greatly encouraged, inſomuch as that they which but now were glad to give ground, and had loſt the third part of that Wing, began afreſh to renew the Battel, and valiantly to withſtand the *Perſians*; and with their Harquebuſiers (wherewith the *Perſian* Horſemen were wonderfully terrified) drave them head-long upon the Turks common Footmen. The *Perſians* whether it were forced by neceſſity for that they had loſt ſo great a Commander, and not well able to govern their Horſes, terrified with the thundring ſhot, or elſe for that the open ſide of the Footmen preſented unto them greater place of advantage, ſetting themſelves together brake through the middle of the Battel of thoſe Turkiſh Footmen, and bearing them down before them with a mighty ſlaughter, came to the great Ordnance, and there ſhew the Canoniers, who diſcharging their Field-Pieces at all adventures, in that great medly made a foul ſlaughter, as well of their own Men as of their Enemies. And ſo without ſtop (as victorious Conquerors) made way through the midſt of their Enemies, until they came to the right Wing, where *Hyſmael* was ſtill hardly charging the *Europeian* Horſemen, who having before loſt *Chaſan* their General, and being many of them ſlain or wounded, were already enforced to retire; but now charged afreſh upon the ſide, had much ado to endure the fury of their Enemies, but as Men in extream danger, were glad to cry to *Selymus* for help.

In this hard diſtreſs, *Selymus* in two places opened his Carriages, wherewith he ſtood as it were entrenched, and preſently ſent out part of his Horſemen. And by and by turning himſelf unto his Janizaries, ſaid, *This days Victory is reſerved (moſt worthy Souldiers) unto your valour and labour, wherefore now valiantly ſet forward, and as freſh and couragious Men, aſſail your wearied Enemies; their Horſes are all on a water with Sweat, and the Men themſelves faint under the weight of their Armor.* But yet for all that *Selymus* could ſay, the Janizaries were not very forward, but ſtood ſtill, as Men willing in ſo great a danger to keep themſelves within the ſafegard for their Munition. Wherefore whilſt they at their leiſure ſet forward, the *Perſians* in the midſt of the heat of this Victory, compaſſing in the *Europeian* Horſemen, ſlew them downright, *Selymus* looking on and wiſhing in vain to help them. *Fabritius Carrectus* great Maſter of the Rhodes, who of all theſe things had certain intelligence, writ to *Leo* the Tenth then Biſhop of *Rome*, that the Janizaries refuſed to be commanded by *Selymus*, and were not by any perſwaſion or intreaty to be induced to relieve the diſtreſſed *Europeian* Horſemen; but as Men diſtruſting the event of the Battel, choſe rather in their ſtrength to expect the ſucceſs thereof, than with moſt manifeſt danger to expoſe themſelves unto the violence of the *Perſian* Horſemen, which had as a Tempeſt overborn the vantgard of the Turkiſh Footmen.

The *Perſians* were now ready on every ſide to have aſſailed *Selymus* in his greateſt ſtrength; when *Sinan Baſſa*, although the Wing he led was ſore rent and weakned, yet following the *Perſians* through the midſt of the heaps of the ſlain Footmen, came in, in good time for *Selymus*, and with certain freſh Troops which had eſcaped the fury of *Vaſta Ogli*, reſtored the Battel before almoſt loſt; but eſpecially by the invincible courage of *Alus Beg* and *Mahomet* his Brother deſcended of the honourable Family of the *Malcozzij*, which for Nobility amongſt the Turks is accounted next unto the *Othomans*; both of them for courage reſembling their Warlike Father *Malcozzius*, famous for that woful expedition he made into *Friuli* againſt the *Venetians* in the Reign of *Bajazet*. *Selymus* alſo not yet diſcouraged but ſtill in hope, commanded all the great Ordnance wherewith he was environed, which he had reſerved as his laſt refuge, to be diſcharged; by the violence whereof, ſuch ſlaughter was made, as well of his own Men as of his Enemies, mingled together, that what for duſt, what for ſmoak, and thundring of the Artillery, having on both ſides almoſt loſt the uſe of ſight and hear-

The terror of the Battel betwixt Selymus *and* Hyſmael.

ing, and their Horſes being ſo terrified with the thundring report of the great Ordnance, that they were not now to be ruled, the Battel was broken off; the Victory yet doubtful. The Turkiſh Hiſtories to expreſs the terror of this day, number it amongſt their diſmal days, terming it *The only day of Doom.*

Hyſmael in this furious Battel, having received a Wound under his left Shoulder with a ſmall ſhot, by perſwaſion of his friends withdrew himſelf to have his Wound ſearched; which thing undoubtedly was the ſafegard both of *Selymus* and his Army: for the *Perſians* by and by following their King, left the Victory, now in all Mens opinion almoſt gotten. But after that *Hyſmael* perceived the Wound was not deep, for that the ſtrength of his Armor had ſo broken the force of the ſhot, that it pierced not far into his Body, he was about to have charged the Turks afreſh: but underſtanding of the death of *Vaſta Ogli*, in whom for his ſingular experience in martial Affairs, he had repoſed his greateſt confidence; and his Captains alſo perſwading him not to make ſo light reckoning of his Wound, the grief whereof he yet felt not, being warm, but to have regard to his own Health: He in ſeemly order ſoftly marched away in ſuch ſort, that his departure had no reſemblance of flight. And paſſing by the City of *Tauris*, willed the chief of the Citizens to open the Gates of the City to *Selymus* (if he ſhould come thither) and to receive his Garriſons, rather than by vain conſtancy to fall into utter deſtruction; and ſo marched himſelf into the Confines of *Media*.

The Perſian Tents taken by the Turks.

But the Turks intangled with many difficulties, having no hearts for fear, nor ſtrength for wearineſs to purſue their Enemies, yet coming to the *Perſian* Tents, took them without reſiſtance: where beſide the rich Pavillions wrought with Needle-work of Silk and Gold, and much other precious Furniture, many noble Ladies and Gentlewomen were found, which after the manner of the *Perſians* had followed their Husbands in thoſe Wars, whom *Selymus* cauſed to be all freely ſet at liberty untouched, excepting one of the Wives of *Hyſmael*, whom he detained and gave her in Marriage to one of his Baſſaes. Some which were preſent at this Battel, reported that amongſt the heaps of them that were ſlain, were found the dead bodies of divers *Perſian* Women, which being Armed, and following their Husbands, died with them in the Battel; whom *Selymus* cauſed to be honeſtly buried.

Thus was that notable Battel fought in the *Galderan* Fields near unto the City of *Coy*, betwixt theſe two great Princes, the ſeventh day of *Auguſt* in the year of our Lord, 1514. In which Battel *Selymus* loſt above thirty thouſand Men, amongſt whom was *Chaſan Baſſa* his great Lieutenant in *Europe*; ſeven Sanzaks, in which were the two *Malcozzian* Brethren, who labouring the one to reſcue the other, were both together ſlain. Bſide his common Footmen of whom he made leaſt reckoning, he loſt moſt part of his *Illyrian*, *Macedonian*, *Servian*, *Epirot*, *Theſſalian*, and *Thracian* Horſemen, the undoubted flower and ſtrength of his Army, which were in that mortal Battel almoſt all ſlain, or grievouſly wounded.

Selymus for all this great loſs, by the confeſſion of his Enemies having gotten the Victory, and receiving Embaſſadors from *Coy* and the Cities thereabouts, and the great City of *Tauris*, promiſing to relieve him with whatſoever he needed, and to do what elſe he ſhould command; marched directly to *Tauris*, deſiring both to ſee and poſſeſs himſelf of that City, as one of the chief Palaces of the *Perſian* Kings. This City is two days journey diſtant from *Coy* where the Battel was fought, and is verily thought to be the famous City called in ancient time *Ecbathana*, about an hundred and fifty Miles diſtant from the *Caſpian* Sea. The Citizens were ready at the coming of the Turks, and brought them great ſtore of Victuals out of the Gates of the City, where *Selymus* had lodged his Army in the Suburbs, thinking it no ſafety to lodge within that great and populous City, contenting himſelf to have the Gates thereof delivered unto him, which he kept with ſtrong Guard. Some report that *Selymus* durſt not truſt the *Perſians*, and therefore never went into the City but diſguiſed in the Habit of a common Souldier. Yet ſome others ſay, that he did with great magnificence Banquet in the ſtately Palace of the *Perſian* King, and there had great diſcourſe with them of *Tauris* concerning his late Victory. But whilſt he thus ſtaied at *Tauris*, and with himſelf purpoſed to ſpend that Winter in *Armenia*, he called together his great Captains and Commanders of his Army, to know how they liked thereof; who fearing his diſpleaſure, wholly referred themſelves to his own reſolution. Only *Muſtapha* his chief Baſſa chanced to ſay, That it were good that the minds of the Janizaries and the other Souldiers of the Court ſhould therein be known. Which his Speech *Selymus* took in ſuch evil part, that he preſently commanded him out of his ſight, and deprived him of his greateſt Honour; and the more to diſgrace him, ſent one of his Jeſters after him, who in great ſcorn and deriſion coming behind him, cut off part of his Tulipant that hung down, as the Faſhion was. But the Janizaries underſtanding the matter, and much offended with the indignity offered unto the great Baſſa whom they dearly loved, roſe up all together in Arms, and told *Selymus* flatly, That they would not in any caſe Winter ſo far from home in the Enemies Country; and therefore that it were beſt for him betime to conſider of the matter, for that they were reſolutely ſet down to forſake him if he would needs ſtay, and not with ſpeed return. *Selymus* much troubled with this inſolency of the Janizaries, and hearing daily, that *Hyſmael* with new ſupplies out of *Iberia*, *Albania*, and *Parthia*, was coming upon him with greater power than before, and conſidering withal with what difficulty and danger he had eſcaped in the late Battel, preſerved rather by his good fortune and force of his great Artillery, than the valour and prowes of his Souldiers, and withal ſuſpecting the multitude and ſtrength of the *Tauriſians*, of whoſe fidelity he could make no reckoning, he changed his former determination, and reſolved again to return into *Cappadocia*; whereupon having contrary to his promiſe exacted a great Maſs of Mony from them of *Tauris*, he departed thence, carrying away with him three thouſand Families, the beſt Artificers in that City, eſpecially ſuch as were ſkilful in making of Armor and Weapons, and ſo with ſpeed retired towards the River *Euphrates*, a longer way than that whereby he came; fearing to return again by the head of *Araxis* and the Mountains *Periardes*, for meeting the *Iberian* and *Albanian* Horſemen, who were reported to be then coming againſt him.

The Janizaries in mutiny againſt Selymus.

Hyſmael underſtanding of his departure, followed after with as much ſpeed as he could, leaving behind him for haſt his Carriages and ſuch of his Souldiers as were not able to endure ſo long and ſpeedy a march: yet for all his haſt (foraſmuch as *Selymus* was gone a great way before him) he could not overtake any part of his Army, until he was come to the great River

Euphrates, where *Selymus* ſtaying two days, and having made divers little Boats, was paſſing over his Footmen; which becauſe they were not ſufficient for the ſpeedy tranſportation of ſo great a multitude, many for haſt ſwam over the River with Bladders, and ſome adventured to get over upon the broken pieces of their Carriages, which they had for that purpoſe burſt in ſunder. *Selymus* himſelf got over to the farther Bank in a little Boat, having before cauſed his Horſemen with their Horſes at once to take the River, of purpoſe to break the violence of the ſtream, whereby his Footmen and Camels with their burdens got over with leſs danger, and ſome of his Field-pieces were alſo with leſs difficulty tranſported; yet for all the ſpeed he could make, the *Georgian* Horſemen, the forerunners of *Hyſmael* his Army, being come within ſight before the Turks were all got over, raiſed ſuch a fear and a ſtir all alongſt that ſide of the River, that two thouſand of the Turks were in their haſty paſſage there drowned, divers Field-pieces left ſticking in the Mud, and much of their Baggage carried away with the force of the River. The *Georgians* contenting themſelves with ſuch things as were left, purſued them no further: for the wheels of the Turks Carriages entangled together with the violence of the ſtream, had ſtayed a great part of the Turkiſh Traſh, floating in the River; and much more was in divers places driven upon the ſhore, all which the *Georgian* Horſemen eaſily drew out. *Hyſmael* in the mean time rejoycing at nothing more, than that having chaſed away his Enemies, he had alſo recovered much of the great Ordnance whereby he had before received ſo great hurt.

Selymus *in paſſing the River* Euphrates, *receiveth great loſs.*

Selymus *cometh to* Amaſia.

Selymus by ſpeedy flight thus got out of the hands of the *Perſians*, found his paſſing much more dangerous at the Mountain *Antitaurus*, than he had before thought of: for *Aladeules*, the Mountain King having now his fortune in contempt, and diligently waiting for his prey, had with his ſavage People before taken all the ſtrait paſſages of the Mountain Country; who every night in thieviſh manner aſſailed the Turks, as they with their weak and weary Companies paſſed through thoſe rough and broken ways; and robbing their Carriages, preſently fled into their haunts and places of refuge in the thick Woods and rocky Mountains. *Aladeules* himſelf in the mean time (by whoſe fraud all this was done) every day excuſing himſelf, as if it had been done againſt his will, by the rude mountain People, enured to ſuch deſperate Robberies, whom nevertheleſs he ſaid he would in ſhort time ſeverely chaſtiſe ſo ſoon as he could find the Authors thereof. In the mean while, for faſhion ſake ſending a little ſpare Proviſion for certain days, did every night rob and ſpoil the Turks by his Souldiers, as they could take them in places of advantage. Againſt which miſchiefs *Selymus* could neither by Policy, neither his Souldiers by induſtry provide any ſufficient remedy. Wherefore diſſembling the injuries he daily received, purpoſing to be thereof in time revenged, together with the foul and treacherous dealing of the faithleſs King; holding on his way, he with much ado came at length to *Trapezond*, and from thence to *Amaſia*, where he ſpent that Winter in repairing his ſore weakned Army, purpoſing with the firſt of the Spring to make War upon *Aladeules* and the mountain People, who in his return had done him ſo great harm and injury.

In this ſort *Jovius*, one of the great Hiſtoriographers of that time, reporteth the aforeſaid Wars betwixt *Hyſmael* and *Selymus*, whoſe credit in that matter other Writers have ſince for moſt part followed. Howbeit, *Jo. Ant. Mænavinus*, a *Genoway*, who ſerved in thoſe Wars, doth in his Book concerning Turkiſh Affairs, dedicated to the French King, much otherwiſe report the ſame: which to ſatisfie the deſirous Reader, I have thought good here in few words to ſet down, as it is by himſelf reported.

The former Hiſtory as it is reported by Jo. Ant. Mænavinus *a* Genoway *preſent at doing thereof.*

Selymus (ſaith he) with his Army, in number about three hundred thouſand Men, being come to the River *Euphrates*, found the Bridge broken down by his Nephew *Amurat*, and his Enemies encamped in convenient place on the farther ſide of the River, with their Forces greatly increaſed by new ſupplies lately ſent from the *Perſian* King; ſo that there was then in the *Perſian* Army about ninety thouſand Men Horſe and Foot, the Horſemen for moſt part furniſhed with two Horſes apiece for ſervice: And though *Selymus* did what he might, to know whether the *Perſian* King were in perſon himſelf in the Camp, or elſe (which he moſt feared) was raiſing of greater Forces in *Perſia*, yet could he by no means learn the truth of that he deſired. Wherefore repairing again the broken Bridge, he firſt ſent over his two great Lieutenants of *Grecia* and *Natolia*, who paſſing over the River, encamped themſelves as they thought convenient. The next morning, about two hours before the riſing of the Sun, *Amurat* ſuddenly aſſailed the great Commander of *Grecia*, *Chaſan Baſſa*, in his Trenches, and by plain force diſcomfited the Turks, and by good Fortune took from them their Tents: Whereupon ſuch a terror and fear came upon the other great Commander of *Natolia*, that his Souldiers thruſting themſelves for fear into the River, ſwam over with great danger, and again joyned themſelves with the reſt of the Army. *Selymus* troubled with the great loſs thus received, cauſed all his great Artillery to be placed all alongſt the hithermoſt Bank of the River *Euphrates*; and becauſe the Enemy ſhould not perceive the ſame, ranged certain Companies of his Souldiers before the Ordinance, as if they ſhould preſently have paſſed the River: who upon ſignal given, ſhould forthwith withdraw themſelves and give place to the great Ordnance bent upon the Enemy. But when Fire was given to theſe great Pieces, many of them being overcharged, burſt in ſunder, and ſlew divers of the Turks: Many alſo of their rich Horſes and Mules being near unto the River ſide, and terrified with the thundring Shot, leapt into the River, and were there drowned together with their riders. The *Perſians* alſo receiving great loſs, retired farther off for fear of the great Artillery. So *Selymus* without reſiſtance paſſing over the River, marched forthwith toward the Enemy, whom the *Perſians* as Men nothing diſmayed, notably encountred. The Battel was of long time doubtful, and much Blood ſhed on both ſides; and if the approach of the night had not broke off that mortal Fight, the *Perſian* Army rather overcharged with the multitude of the Enemy, than vanquiſhed by valour, had undoubtedly received a great overthrow; but through the benefit of the night, they without further loſs eſcaped the purſute of the Turks. Upon this Victory, *Selymus* left his Carriages and Baggage with his Footmen; and taking with him only his Horſemen, ſet forward with intention to have upon the ſudden ſurpriſed the regal City of *Tauris*, before the fame of the late fought Battel could be carried thither; the *Perſians* in the mean time being no leſs careful of their affairs. The day before, ten thouſand freſh Horſemen well appointed, which had not yet been in the Battel, where coming to *Hyſmael*; theſe he craftily laid in the Turks way, commanding them upon the approach of the Enemy to fly as if it had been for fear. *Selymus* in the morning having deſcried theſe Horſemen at hand, ſuppoſing them to be ſuch of his Enemies as being overtaken with the night, were not able to follow the reſt of his Army, exhorted his Souldiers couragiouſly to purſue their diſcouraged Enemies.

The *Perſians* ſeeing the Turks, of purpoſe betook themſelves to flight; and they ſuſpecting no deceit, followed faſt after them, until that about mid-day being weary of the purſuit, and coming to a little River which was in their way, they there ſtaied to refreſh themſelves; and after they had taken a ſhort repaſt, again purſued the *Perſians*, ſtill leaving behind them ſuch as were not able ſo faſt to follow, prickt forward with hope, that before night they ſhould ſurpriſe and ranſack the rich City of *Tauris*. The Turkiſh Horſemen thus drawn far from the Footmen, the *Perſian* Horſemen left in ambuſh, in the mean time ſet upon the Turks Footmen, lying (as they ſuppoſed) in great ſecurity, and with a great ſlaughter overthrew them; at which time they alſo took all *Selymus* his Treaſure and great Artillery. Which overthrow was by ſpeedy Poſts, about two a Clock in the night made known to *Selymus* (who now in his mind already conceived the ſacking of *Tauris*) and withal that the fierce Enemy was following him at the heels. *Selymus* wonderfully abaſhed with this unexpected news, and the loſs of his Footmen, forthwith began to retire; which the ten thouſand *Perſians* which had before of purpoſe fled, perceiving, now turning themſelves upon the retiring Turks, charged them hardly; ſo *Selymus* encloſed both before and behind by his Enemies, received a great overthrow; and the Turks thus hardly beſet, and almoſt deſpairing of their lives, and having loſt their Enſigns, brake out ſideways betwixt their Enemies and fled. *Selymus* ſeeing all deſperate and forlorn, betook himſelf to flight alſo with the reſt; and paſſing the River *Euphrates*, brake down the Bridge, which he had but a little before repaired, for fear the *Perſians* ſhould further purſue him, and with much trouble and no leſs danger coming at length to *Amaſia*, aſſembled thither the relicks of his diſcomfited Army. Such of the Turks as remained behind, and were not able in flight to keep way with the reſt, were all ſlain be the *Perſians*.

The *Genoway* Author thus concludeth his Hiſtory, That the *Perſian* King did not more rejoyce at this Victory, than did he himſelf for the overthrow of the Turks, hoping in that their ſo great a confuſion, to free himſelf of his long and miſerable thraldom, and to find a way unto his native Country Parents; as afterwards he did; for flying firſt to *Trapezond*, and there taking paſſage into *Europe*, he came to *Hadrianople*, from whence he travelled by Land on foot to *Salonica*, and there chancing upon certain Ships of Chriſtian Merchants which had brought Corn thither, he was by them tranſported into the Iſland of *Chios*; from whence he joyfully returned to *Genoa* his native Country, after he had amongſt the Turks endured ten years Captivity; moſt part whereof he lived as a Page in old *Bajazets* Privy-Chamber, and the reſt as a Souldier of the Court in the Reign of *Selymus*; and therefore well acquainted with the faſhion of the Turks Court, and manners of that barbarous Nation.

Now ſhall it not (as I hope) be much from our purpoſe, here with *Jovius* a little to digreſs in comparing theſe two great Princes *Hyſmael* and *Selymus* together, who in that time had filled the World with the glory of their Fame; that wearied with bloody Broils, and the wonderful chances of War, we may a little repoſe our ſelves with matter of a milder Vain, neither unpleaſant nor unprofitable.

Selymus *and* Hyſmael *compared together.*

Theſe two mighty Princes, as they were for royal deſcent, ſtrength of body, courage of mind, riches, and power, equal, and had thereby obtained like fame and renown; ſo in conditions and qualities of mind, and martial Diſcipline, they much differed. Firſt of all (beſide the mutual hatred of the one Nation againſt the other, delivered as it were by Succeſſion from their Grandfathers and Fathers) theſe two Princes, and ſo likewiſe their Subjects alſo, were at great ods about an idle Queſtion of their vain Superſtition, the one preferring and honouring *Ebubekir*, *Homaris*, and *Ottoman*, as the moſt true and rightful Succeſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*; the other with no leſs devotion honouring *Haly*, and deteſting the three former; differing otherwiſe in few or no points of their moſt fond Superſtition; yet did they under the colour and zeal of their Religion (as they would have it) both pretend juſt cauſes of War, although their evil diſſembled ambitious deſires, plainly declared unto the World, that they both ſhot at one and the ſame Mark, *viz.* By confirming their power and ſtrength, to extend the bounds of their great Empires. For *Hyſmael* of purpoſe affected the fame and glory of *Darius* and *Xerxes* the ancient *Perſian* Kings; who having ſubdued *Aſia*, with great boldneſs paſſed over into *Europe*; and *Selymus* the greatneſs of *Alexander* of *Macedon*, who ſubverted the *Perſian* Empire. Which their aſpiring thoughts, maſking under the vail of zeal towards their Religion, ſeemed not altogether vain; Fortune with like indifference immoderately favouring their bold ambitions and endleſs deſires. But in *Hyſmael* appeared ſuch a wonderful devotion and gravity, that his haughty thoughts were with the reverend Majeſty thereof covered; whereas in *Selymus*, his inhuman cruelty did blot and obſcure all his other princely Vertues; for he with reward and puniſhment retained the Majeſty of his Empire, but with the greater fame of ſeverity than bounty. Becauſe it was expedient in the exact diſcipline of that ſervile Government, whereof the greateſt ſtrength of the *Othoman* Empire conſiſteth, to uſe all rigor and ſeverity; otherwiſe it ſtood with the State of *Hyſmael*, who leavied always his Armies of his Nobility and Men free Born, with whom temperate Juſtice, civil Courteſie, and popular Clemency, are of greateſt force, to win their Fidelity, Faith, and Loyalty; for that there is no Man well Born, which feareth not more the blemiſh of infamy than the heavineſs of puniſhment; ſo that it was not to be marvelled, if *Hyſmael* by ſuch honorable Vertues did mightily defend the glory of his Majeſty and Renown. Unto theſe his rare Vertues, was alſo joyned a comlineſs of Face (the faireſt gift of Nature) well beſeeming ſo great a Monarch; for he was well Colored, quick Eyed, yellow Bearded, and that which amongſt the *Perſians* is accounted the ſign of ancient Nobility, hookt Noſed; and was withal exceeding Eloquent; by which good Gifts, he wonderfully won to himſelf both the Eies and Hearts of ſuch as beheld him. But in *Selymus*, his ſtern Countenance, his fierce and piercing Eies, his Tartar-like pale Color, his long Muſtacho's on his upperlip, like Briſtles, frild back to his Neck, with his Beard cut cloſe to his Chin, did ſo expreſs his martial diſpoſition and inexorable nature, that he ſeemed to the beholders to have nothing

Hyſmael *majeſtical.*

Selymus *tyrannical.*

nothing in him but Miſchief and Cruelty. Which diverſity of countenances was alſo accompanied with no leſs diverſity of affections, and ſo conſequently with far unlike manner of Government. For *Hyſmael* was of nature courteous and affable, eaſie to be ſeen and ſpoken withal, doing nothing that beſeemed his Regal Function, but in the ſight of all men; his manner was to dine openly in the company of his Nobility, delighting much in Hawking and Hunting, accompanied with his Noblemen and the Embaſſadors of foreign Princes; He would oftentimes run, leap, and prove Maſteries with his chief Courtiers, being himſelf a moſt excellent Horſeman and cunning Archer; in his exerciſes he was ſo popular, that he would not ſtick openly to bath himſelf and ſwim in his Princely Baths; his Wives, the beautiful Daughters of his Nobility or Neighbour Princes, Ladies of great Chaſtity, he neither loathed nor divorced; after the ancient manner of the *Perſian* Kings, who always uſed moſt tenderly to love and cheriſh their Wives, doing them all the honour poſſible in Court, as Partakers of all their Fortune; and carried them, their Children, Nurſes, and richeſt Furniture into their fartheſt Wars, to their great trouble and charge, by the preſence of ſo dear Pledges, the more to encourage their minds in time of Battel. Whereas *Selymus* contrariwiſe did all things in ſecret, eating his meat alone without any company, attended upon with his Pages and Eunuchs only, and ſatisfying Natures want with ſome one ſimple diſh of meat: He ſeldom went abroad but to the Church, upon the Friday the Turks chief Sabbath; and then ſo beſet with his Penſioners and other Souldiers of the Court, that although he uſed to ride alone mounted upon ſome couragious Horſe, yet was it a hard matter by face to know him among ſo many armed men, who with great Pride and Inſolency kept back the beholders: He was ſeldom ſeen abroad in the City, chuſing rather for his recreation to paſs over in his Gally into *Aſia*, and there alongſt the Sea coaſt to take the air; his Wives he would not ſuffer to come to Court, neither uſed their company but for procreation ſake, and that (as was thought) without any great good countenance or familiarity; for that he being not greatly given to Women, but more delighted with unnatural pleaſure, thought a mans body and mind to be not a little weakned with the allurements of Women; wherefore he ſeldom reſorted to the cloiſter of choice Paragons in the midſt of *Conſtantinople*, ſhut in on every ſide with high and blind Walls. Thoſe dainty pieces, either taken from their Chriſtian Parents, or by chance ſurpriſed by Pirats, are there moſt curiouſly kept by ancient Matrons and old Eunuchs, by whom they are with all diligence inſtructed in the Principals of the Mahometan Law, and to read the *Arabian* Tongue, and withal, cunningly and comely to ſing, play, daunce, and ſow; but *Selymus* of all others uſed ſeldomeſt to ſee their allurements, as a man not greatly delighted with Women, or deſirous of many (and oftentimes unfortunate) Children; having but one Son (*Solyman*) by the Daughter of *Muhamet* a *Tartar* King, who afterwards by the ſufferance of God, proved a great Plague to the Chriſtian Common-Weal. Such ſpare time as he had from his ſerious and weighty Affairs, he uſed to ſpend in walking in his Gardens with ſome of his Baſſaes or other great Courtiers, and in beholding and noting the Noblemens Children there ſporting themſelves, would diſcourſe and conſult of many things of great importance. Some hours he would ſpend in the Baths, and reading the Hiſtories of his Anceſtors and other foreign Princes; imitating therein his Grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who cauſed almoſt all the Hiſtories of the famous Princes of the World to be tranſlated into the Turkiſh Language, and their lively counterfeits to be with cunning hand drawn, that by their worthy examples he might be the more enflamed to extend his fame and glory. He would many times ſcoff at the great buſineſs of his Father *Bajazet*, who (as he ſaid) was ſo drowned in the Study of *Averrois* (determining nothing certainly of the Nature of the Soul) and the Motions of the Heavens, that he deſired rather the name of a ſharp Diſputer, amongſt the idle Profeſſors of Philoſophy, than of a renowned Chieftain amongſt his valiant Souldiers and Men of War.

Hyſmael *courteous.*

Selymus *churliſh.*

One of the *Perſian* Embaſſadors finding him pleaſantly diſpoſed, demanded of him, why he did not wear his beard long, as his Father *Bajazet*, and other great Princes of that Age had done, thereby to ſeem unto their Subjects of greater Majeſty; to whom he anſwered, That he liked not to carry about with him ſuch an unneceſſary handful, whereby his Baſſaes might at their pleaſure lead him up and down the Court, as they had done his Father; noting thereby, that *Bajazet* whilſt he yet lived, had been too much overruled by the Baſſaes; which he could by no means indure, following no mans advice but his own in whatſoever he took in hand.

But to come unto the *Perſians* themſelves, they in their Wars had great diſadvantage of the Turks; for as they were ſtrong in Horſemen, ſo were they deſtitute of expert trained Footmen, by whoſe only means the Turks have atchieved their greateſt Victories, and performed their greateſt Wars. Beſide this, it was a great want in the *Perſians*, that they had not the uſe of Guns, againſt whoſe fury no ſufficient reſiſtance can be made, or force of man oppoſed; as appeared by the lamentable example of *Uſun-Caſſanes* at *Artenga*, and now of *Hyſmael* in the *Calderan* Fields; whoſe victorious Armies of Horſemen were in both places put to the worſt by the terror and violence of the Turks Artillery. For the naked Turkiſh Horſeman is not to be compared with the *Perſian* Man at Arms; who comes into the Field armed with a ſtrong Cuiras, a ſure Head-piece, and a good Target; whereas the Turkiſh *Europeian* Horſemen, altogether naked, uſe only a ſquare or crooked Buckler, wherewith they do ſcarcely cover themſelves; and the *Aſian* Horſemen Bucklers made of ſoft Reeds, wound round, and covered with ſome kind of Silk. The *Perſian* Horſemen alſo, wearing their Pouldrons and Gauntlets, and bearing Staves of good Aſh, armed at both ends, fight with them as occaſion ſerveth at the half Staff, after the manner of the *Numidians*, and with doubling and redoubling their often thruſts from on high, do eaſily wound or kill the unarmed Turks, with their Horſes; whereas the Turkiſh Horſemen, after the manner of the *Grecians*, couching their Staves in their Reſts, do at the firſt courſe moſt commonly break the ſame, being made of light and brittle Fir, and ſo preſently come to their Scimetars, or Horſemans Maces, being in all other things far inferior to the *Perſian* Men at Arms. As for the Turkiſh Archers on horſeback, they are in no reſpect to be compared with the *Perſians*, who well mounted and ſurely armed, and uſing both greater and ſtronger Bows, ſhoot more deadly Arrows, and ſo make ſmall account of the Turks. So that all things well conſidered, the *Perſian* Army

The Perſians *better Horſemen than the Turks.*

devoted to their King, as well for the great and firm opinion conceived of his high Courage and divine Spirit, as for that they were to him by Faith obliged; although it was in number far inferior, yet had it been of the Turks invincible, if it had not been overwhelmed by the cruel, cowardly, and murthering Artillery, and wonderful multitude of Men. The cauſe why *Hyſmael* out of ſo many great and large Provinces then under his Obeiſance (able in ancient times with their multitude to cover the face of the Earth, and to drink the Rivers dry) brought now ſo ſmall an Army againſt the Turkiſh Emperor, breaking into the heart of *Armenia*; was for that *Hyſmael* to win the hearts of the People by Bounty, had remitted a great part of his Cuſtoms and Tributes, ſo as then ſtood beſt with his Policy, having but lately aſpired to the Kingdom, and thruſt down his near Kinſmen, the Poſterity of *Uſun-Caſſanes* and *Jacup*, the rightful Inheritors thereof; ſo that his Coffers being empty, and wanting Mony, the ſinews of War, he was not able to raiſe ſo great an Army as otherwiſe he might out of thoſe populous Kingdoms and Countries, yielding plentifully all things neceſſary for mans uſe. Whereas with *Selymus* it was far otherwiſe, whoſe Horſemen, Footmen, Captains, Canoniers, both at Sea and Land, Officers of Peace and Wars, received their dayly Wages and monthly Pays in ready Mony, of his Treaſurers and Paymaſters; for the defraying of which charge he never wanted Coin, having an ineſtimable Maſs of Mony alwaies in ſtore in the ſeven Towers at *Conſtantinople*; and his yearly Tributes and Revenues ſtill exceeding all his charges by a fourth part. The Strength of the *Perſian* King conſiſted in three kind of Souldiers; the firſt were they which were accounted Souldiers of the Court; the ſecond, ſuch as were by Cuſtom and Duty bound to ſerve him in his Wars; and the third, ſuch as were ſent to him from the Princes his Neighbours and Confederates. Thoſe which were accounted Souldiers of his Court, had their certain Stipends, and were altogether maintained of the Kings charge; of whom, according to the old cuſtom of the *Perſian* Kings, they at certain times receive Armor, Horſes, Apparel, Tents, and Wages, every one as he is in place and degree. And being attended upon with a gallant and ſtrong Garriſon of theſe, he maintaineth the Majeſty of his Court, eſpecially when he rideth in Progreſs. The Nobility and ancient Gentlemen of his Country, who hold Lands and Poſſeſſions deſcended unto them from their Anceſtors, or holden by the gift of the King, are ſent for in time of Wars, and are of duty bound to perform ſuch like ſervice as the Nobility and Gentlemen of *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain* do unto their Sovereigns; theſe hardly amount to the number of twenty thouſand, whereof it is well if the third part come well armed; the reſt content themſelves with Head-pieces and Jacks; and uſe for their Weapons either Horſemens Staves or Bows, which they can moſt cunningly handle, diſcharging their Arrows very near unto that they aim at, either forward or backward. They which come unto him from forreign Princes, confederate or tributary, are commonly ſent from the Kings and Princes of *Iberia*, *Albania* and the Countries bordering upon *Media*, and *Armenia*; who being half Chriſtians, bear a mortal hatred againſt the Turks. *Hyſmael* the *Perſian* King had then under his Dominion theſe great and famous Countries, *Armenia* the greater, *Sulthania*, *Perſia*, *Aſſyria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Media* and *Parthia*; whereof *Armenia* is the chiefeſt, famous for the great City *Tauris*, called in ancient time *Ecbathana*; this Country yieldeth unto the *Perſian* King his beſt Footmen; but his choice Horſemen come from out of *Perſia*, and eſpecially from *Scyras*, called of old *Cyripolis*; next unto them are from *Aſſyria*; the chief City whereof is *Bagdat*, called in ancient time *Babylon*. The *Medes* and *Parthians* are of all others acounted the beſt Archers next unto the *Scythians*.

The cauſe why Hyſmael *came with ſo ſmall an Army againſt* Selymus.

The Countries ſubject to Hyſmael.

1515.

Selymus *with a new Army entreth into* Armenia.

But now to return again from whence we have a little too far ſtrayed. *Selymus* after his great expedition againſt *Hyſmael*, wintering at *Amaſia*, by his Lieutenants and Captains in *Europe* and *Aſia*, raiſed ſuch a power, that with the firſt of the Spring he entred again into the Confines of the *Perſian* Kingdom, with a greater Army than before, and that ſomewhat ſooner than the extream cold of that part of *Armenia* (ſubject to the ſnowy Mountain *Taurus*) would either well ſuffer, or that the Enemy thought it had been poſſible for him to have ſo done. There was upon the further ſide of *Euphrates* a ſtrong Town called *Clamaſſum*, ſituate a little above that place where the River *Melas* (much celebrated by the *Grecian* Poets) falleth into the River *Euphrates*; which Town for the commodious ſituation thereof, ſtanding upon the firſt entrance of the paſſage into *Armenia* the great, the *Perſians* had furniſhed with a ſtrong Garriſon; this Town *Selymus* thought good in any caſe to be maſter of, by taking whereof, and of ſome other Holds thereabout, he ſhould open a fair way for himſelf into his Enemies Country. *Hyſmael* at the ſame time was gone with all his power againſt the *Hyrcanians*, *Bactrians*, and other ſavage People dwelling near unto the *Caſpian* Sea, then up in Arms againſt him; which wiſhed opportunity *Selymus* taking, and making a bridge over the River *Euphrates*, paſſed over with his Army, came before the Town, and laid hard Siege to the ſame before his Enemies were well awar of his coming. The Turks at their firſt approach compaſſing the City round with their huge multitude of Harquebuſiers and Archers, drave the Defendants from the Walls; and ſtill without reſt or intermiſſion bringing on freſh men, as *Selymus* had before taken order, and others at the ſame time breaking open the Gates, and in divers places ſcaling the Walls, enforced the Defendants to forſake their ſtandings, and to retire themſelves into the Market place; where although they were before ſore ſpent with labour and wounds, yet did they there with wonderful courage a great while notably withſtand the multitude of their Enemies ſtill ſwarming in, and in defence of their Country, like reſolute men, fought it out unto the laſt man.

Selymus having taken and ranſacked *Clamaſſum*, with two other ſmall Caſtles which the Defendants had for fear before abandoned, although he was with a deadly hatred and ambitious deſire prickt forward againſt *Hyſmael*, and thirſted after nothing more than the ſubverſion of the *Perſian* Kingdom; yet he thought it not good further to enter into *Armenia*, before he had out of thoſe Foreſts and Mountains chaſed the Mountain King *Aladeules*, who but the year before had moſt treacherouſly done him and his Army ſo many injuries in his return from the *Perſian* Expedition. For *Aladeules* not without cauſe fearing his own eſtate, as ſoon as he underſtood that *Selymus* had again taken the Field, and that he was come to the River *Euphrates*, and ſo to *Clamaſſum*, ſpeedily aſſembling his Forces, had in ſhort time raiſed a great Army for the defence of himſelf and his Kingdom; purpoſing that if *Selymus* ſhould go farther into *Armenia*, then after his wonted manner to look on as a beholder, and by the event of the War, to take occaſion of Prey, and by ſhutting up the paſſages of his Country, at his pleaſure to rob and ſpoil the Turks in their return. Wherefore *Selymus* leaving a Garriſon at *Clamaſſum*, retired back again over the River *Euphrates* unto the Mountain *Antitaurus*, where it was reported that his Enemies lay.

Aladeules *his Kingdom.*

This *Aladeules* (as is aforeſaid) ruled over the rude and ſavage Mountain People, inhabiting the great Mountains *Taurus* and *Antitaurus*; which Mountains as it were linked together one to another, run from the Mountains called *Scodriſci*, and the Borders of *Cappadocia*, with a perpetual riſing, through many large Provinces and Countries unto the great Mountain *Amanus*, and uttermoſt bounds of *Cilicia*. The People of this Country were by Nature fierce and warlike, more famous for nothing than for the want of all things; who as men dwelling in a rough and bare Country, could little or nothing profit by Husbandry ; yet in ſuch places as would bear any paſture, they had their breed of Horſes and Camels, and did with all diligence uſe graſing ; but the greateſt part of their living conſiſted in hunting and ſtealing. Theſe are ſuppoſed to have had their beginning from the *Galatians*, *Cappadocians*, *Armenians*, and the old Inhabitants of *Aſia* the leſs, which by long and continual Wars in former ages, and eſpecially by the lamentable irruption of the *Scythians*, were inforced to forſake their Cities and Dwellings, and for ſafeguard of their lives to fly into thoſe rough and deſolate Mountains. Theſe diſtreſſed People ſearching every Hill and every Dale, and following the opportunity of the Rivers and Fountains, but eſpecially the mildeſt temperature of the Air, and favourable aſpect of the Sun, built in many places poor Country Villages, and afterwards divers fair Towns; where in proceſs of time they growing to better eſtate, there roſe up ſome amongſt them, which overruling the reſt, ambitiouſly took upon them the name of Kings, deſiring to be had in regard, and to be feared of their Neighbours, although they commanded but over rough Woods and ragged Rocks. Near unto the Confines of *Aladeules* Kingdom is the City *Orpha*, which many ſuppoſe to have been the famous City *Edeſſa*, becauſe that as yet there remaineth certain Monuments of *Baldwin* in Latine Letters; who after his Brother *Godfrey* was poſſeſſed of *Jeruſalem*, is reported to have taken *Edeſſa*, and there reigned. Not far from thence is alſo the ancient City *Amyda*, which at this day is called *Carimida*, joyning upon *Meſopotamia*; which Country lying between the two great Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, is now called *Diarbecha*. The chief City of *Aladeules* Kingdom was *Maras*, ſo called as may be thought of the fair River *Marſias* running through it out of the Mountain *Celene*, taking the name of *Marſias* overcome by *Apollo*, and made famous by the Verſes of many learned Poets. But *Aladeules*, after he ſaw that *Selymus* with his Army was entred into the Frontiers of his Kingdom, and drawing near unto him, brought down all his Horſemen, in number about fifteen thouſand, from the Mountains into a fair large Valley ; commanding his Footmen, whereof he had great ſtore, to keep the Mountains on the right hand and the left ; where having the high rocky Mountains and ſtrait paſſages much for his advantage, he determined in that place which he had long before choſen and fortified, to expect the coming of his Enemies. *Selymus* conſidering the diſadvantage of the place, although he perceived the Victory could not without great loſs of his men be obtained ; and before perſwaded that his Enemies would never have willingly been drawn to Battel ; yet made no doubt to adventure his Fortune, preſuming upon the multitude and ſtrength of his Army. Wherefore he commanded *Sinan Baſſa* the Eunuch (whom he had made General of the *Europeian* Horſemen inſtead of *Chaſan Baſſa* before ſlain) with a ſquare Battel to charge the Enemy afront, foraſmuch as the place would not ſuffer him to range his Battel in length, nor to uſe any Wings ; and he himſelf with his Janizaries and *Aſian* Horſemen followed after in the Rearward. Neither were the Souldiers of *Aladeules* unmindful of themſelves or of their King, who valiantly fought in the head of the Battel, but having ſpent their Arrows, did couragiouſly receive the furious aſſault of the Turks; and ſtanding cloſe to them, ſtill keeping the advantage of the ground, did with ſuch force repulſe them, that the old beaten Souldiers of the Turks, ſeemed little or nothing to prevail either with their Multitude or Valor ; for the Turks by reaſon of the ſtraightneſs of the place, could not incloſe them on either ſide, and were beſide grievouſly wounded by *Aladeules* Footmen, who ſtanding upon the ſides of the Hills with their Darts and Arrows from above, overwhelmed the Turks in the Valley. When *Selymus* ſaw that *Aladeules*, contrary to his expectation made ſtrong reſiſtance, and valiantly withſtood his Forces ; he drew certain Companies of Harquebuſiers out of his own Squadrons, and ſent them to relieve their Fellows ; and at the ſame inſtant commanded the Janizaries for all the danger to mount the Hill. Then the Mountain People terrified with the ſtrangeneſs of the Shot, and not able to abide the force thereof, by and by turned their backs, and by known ways fled into their ſure haunts, in the Mountains and Woods faſt by ; yet the greateſt ſlaughter fell amongſt theſe Footmen, who when they ſaw the Horſemen put to flight, and the Janizaries coming up the Hills againſt them, did with much difficulty, by ſteep and broken ways clamber up the high Mountains ; as oftentimes it falleth out, that both the ſtrength of mens legs and other their wonted forces fail them moſt, when ſurpriſed and overcome with ſuddain fear, they deſire to run and fly faſteſt. The Turks having them in chaſe had the killing of them until the going down of the Sun. The Horſemen with the King, upon their ſwift Horſes, well acquainted with thoſe Rocks and rough Ways, with little loſs retired themſelves into the further and ſtronger places of the Mountains.

Selymus *aſſaileth* Aladeules.

Aladeules *flies into the Mountains.*

Aladeules after this diſcomfiture, finding himſelf in all things far inferior to his Enemy, thought it beſt by protracting the War, to weary him out ; wherefore as the Turks purſued him, and burnt the poor Country Cottagess ſtanding in their way, he ſtill fled from Mountain to Mountain, never offering Battel or ſhewing himſelf, but in places of great diſadvantage ; and therefore *Selymus* fearing leſt in that barren rough and unknown Country, he ſhould either want Victual, or by ſome other means be entrapped, if he ſhould ſtill with his whole Army follow after his ſtrong Enemies, upon the ſeventh day left off to purſue them any further. And encamping himſelf in the moſt convenient place of that Country, ſent *Sinan Baſſa* with his light Horſemen, who carrying with them certain days Victuals, ſhould ſtill at the heels follow the Enemy, and with all ſpeed and policy poſſible hunt after the King himſelf. *Selymus* in the mean time curiouſly inquiring of the Country Captives after the ſtrength of *Aladeules*, and what means he had to maintain the War; found, that he had taken with him his beſt men both Horſe and Foot; and had commanded the Country People to forſake the Villages, of purpoſe to leave all deſolate to the Enemy; and having ſurely intrenched himſelf upon a certain ſtrong Rock (whither he had before conveied great ſtore of Proviſion) was reſolved not to give Battel unto his Enemies, until he had drawn them into the impregnable Straits of the Mountains, where their huge multitude ſhould little avail them, but to increaſe their own loſs. Another cauſe there was alſo (as they ſaid) for that he feared to be betrayed by *Alis Beg* his Kinſman, General of his Horſemen; who firſt fled in the late Battel; whoſe unfaithfulneſs and hatred might ſeem to proceed of a juſt ground, for that *Aladeules* had in former time treacherouſly murthered his Father, upon a jealous ſuſpition of his aſpiring to the Kingdom.

Selymus underſtanding all this, cauſed the Captives to have their Irons ſtruck off, and inſtead of their Gyves lading them with Gifts and Promiſes, ſent them to *Alis Beg* with ſecret Letters and Rewards, to perſwade him in ſo fit a time to revenge his Fathers death; which thing if he would perform by ſome notable exploit upon *Aladeules*, he ſhould both purchaſe unto himſelf great credit with *Selymus*, and alſo the Kingdom. Theſe homely Meſſengers according as was given them in charge, having imparted the matter to *Sinan Baſſa*, within few days had ſo wrought, that *Alis Beg* (whom the deſire of a Kingdom together with *Selymus* his Rewards prickt forward to ſeek revenge) was eaſily drawn to joyn hands with *Selymus*. And when he could no other way hurt *Aladeules*, who miſtruſting all things, warily looked unto himſelf, he found the means to go over to *Sinan Baſſa*, carrying after him a great part of *Aladeules* his beſt Horſemen; by whoſe means the reſt alſo which remained being with Rewards corrupted, one Company after another came at laſt all over unto the Baſſa. *Aladeules* circumvented with this unexpected Treachery, which never before thought it poſſible that his Men ſhould all ſo ſuddainly have forſaken him and revolted to the Turks, was now glad to repoſe all his hope in ſecret flight. But *Sinan Baſſa* and *Alis Beg*, hardly purſuing him as he fled through the Mountains, hiding himſelf in Rocks and the thick Woods, at laſt drew him out of a Cave, being betraied by the Country Peaſants. *Aladeules* being brought to *Selymus*, was within a few days after put to death, and his head in great deriſion afterwards carried about through all *Aſia* the leſs; and afterwards by way of barbarous oſtentation, ſent by *Selymus* to the Senate of *Venice*, as a loathſome teſtimony of his Victory. *Aladeules* thus dead, *Selymus* reduced all his Kingdom to the form of a Province, which he divided into three parts, and after the manner of the Turkiſh Government, appointed to every part a Sanzack; yet ſo, that *Alis Beg* ſhould be chief over the reſt, with ſuch Sovereignty, as that he wanted nothing of a King but the name only. And for the better Government of all things in that new gained Kingdom, he left *Sinan Baſſa* there all the reſt of that Summer; with commandment, that after he had ſet all things in good order, he ſhould winter at *Iconium*; and he himſelf with a ſmall Train returned to *Conſtantinople*, for he had heard, that whilſt he was buſied in his Wars againſt *Hyſmael* and *Aladeules* in *Armenia*, that the *Hungarians* had made divers incurſions into *Servia*, and ſpoiled that Country. Wherefore for fear of loſing *Samandria* (which ſtanding near to *Danubius*, for the convenient ſituation thereof is reputed the Bulwark of *Servia* and *Thracia*) he ſent *Jonuſes Baſſa* then Governor of *Boſna* with eight thouſand Horſemen, who paſſing the River *Savus* entred into *Croatia* as far as *Catinum*; and at the ſame time tranſported another Army over *Danubius* into *Hungary*, to the intent that the *Hungarians* at one inſtant beſet with double danger, ſhould be inforced to fear their own State; and withall to ſhew unto the World, of what Strength and Power the *Othoman* Emperors were. Deeming it to concern much, both for the preſent and the time to come, to the daunting of the Chriſtians; if he ſhould by his happy Attempts make it known, that he could at once eaſily and readily maintain ſo many and ſo puiſſant Armies, and wage ſo great Wars in divers parts of the World, and ſo far diſtant one from another.

Aladeules *taken and brought to* Selymus, *is put to death.*

Selymus *invadeth* Hungary.

In the end of the year, when he had thus with double invaſion repreſſed the *Hungarians*, he ſpent the Winter following at *Hadrianople* and *Conſtantinople*, in making of greater preparation for War than ever he had before from the beginning of his Reign. For he was advertiſed, that the great Monarchs of the North his Neighbours, namely *Maximilian* the Emperor, *Uladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*, and *Sigiſmundus* King of *Polonia*, with the Princes of *Germany*, had combined themſelves together to make War upon him. But after he had learned by his ſure Intelligencers (whom he had with great charge ſent into all parts of *Europe*, diligently to obſerve what was done in the Courts of thoſe great Princes) that all the great meetings of the Chriſtian Princes proved nothing but glorious Words and ſumptuous Banquets; he being rid of that vain fear (God ſo appointing) turned himſelf and all thoſe his wonderful preparations again toward the Eaſt, to the great quiet of Chriſtendom in general.

Yet leſt happily in the abſence of himſelf and of his Armies, the Chriſtian Princes might take occaſion to invade his Dominions, he ſtrengthned the Frontiers of his Empire with moſt ſtrong Garriſons; and left his Son *Solyman* (who afterward proved the ſcourge of Chriſtendom) at *Hadrianople* with a ſtrong power, and *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his Tutor (a man of great Wiſdom and Government) at *Conſtantinople*. This great Baſſa was of *Cilicia*, a native Turk born, which was a thing accounted ſtrange, foraſmuch as the great Baſſaes were alwaies choſen of the Chriſtian blood. After that, he ſent *Cherſeogles* (whom of all others he moſt truſted) with his Army into *Bithynia*, and made *Zafferus* an Eunuch, Admiral of his Navy, which he had but a little before built, and with wonderful labor and charge rigged forth. Then ſtaying a few days at *Conſtantinople* to ſee the young Souldiers, but then choſen Janizaries, he departed thence and went to his old Army, lying with *Sinan Baſſa* at *Iconium*, purpoſing to have again invaded the *Perſian*.

1516. Selymus *goeth to* Iconium.

When he was come thither, he underſtood that *Campſon Gaurus* Sultan of *Egypt* (with a great Army levied in *Egypt* and *Judea*) was come into *Syria*; giving it out that he would aid the *Perſian* King his Confederate, and with all Hoſtility enter into *Cilicia*, if *Selymus* ſhould farther proceed to invade *Hyſmael* the Sophi his Friend and Ally. *Selymus* perplexed with theſe News, and fearing that if he ſhould once paſs over the River *Euphrates*, *Campſon* lying ſo near in readineſs, ſhould forthwith break in at his back into *Aſia* by the Mountain *Amanus*, and ſo indanger that part of his Dominion; ſtaied at *Iconium*, and ſent his Embaſſadors with great Preſents to *Campſon* to pacifie him, if it might be. The chief Men in this Embaſſage were the *Cadeleſcher*, a Man of great account amongſt the Turks, and of them exceedingly Reverenced for the opinion they had of his great knowledge in the Mahometan Superſtition, who afterwards wrote the Commentaries of this War; and *Jachis* a great Captain. The ſcope of whoſe Embaſſage was, to intreat *Campſon*, that he would not hinder or diſturb *Selymus* from making War upon the *Perſian* King; who had ſo oft[illegible] and ſo forcibly invaded his Dominions in *Aſia*, and by bringing in a new form of Superſtition, had corrupted and altered the moſt certain grounds of the Mahometan Religion. And if they found him reſolutely ſet down and not to be by any conditions removed, the[illegible] with all poſſible diligence to learn his ſtrength and farther deſigns, ſo far as by any means they could, and with all ſpeed to make their return.

The cauſes moving Campſon *to fall out with* Selymus.

But *Campſon* now far ſpent with age, and living in the height of worldly Bliſs, although he knew it fitter for him at thoſe years to give himſelf to eaſe and quietneſs, than to thruſt himſelf into Wars and other Princes quarrels; yet thought this Expedition to be for many cauſes both good and neceſſary. Firſt, he deadly hated the Man for his inhuman Cruelty, and therefore could never be perſwaded to renew the League with him which he had in former time made with his Father *Bajazet*; beſides that, he deſired to abate and repreſs his audacious inſolency, grown already by his proſperous Succeſs beyond the bounds of reaſon; for *Selymus* having taken *Tauris*, overthrown the *Perſians*, and ſlain *Aladeules*, began now to ſeem terrible to all the Princes that bordered upon him, and there were many which ſaid he was another *Alexander*, who whilſt other Princes ſat ſtill as Men aſleep, did in the mean time Plot in his victorious mind, the Monarchy of the whole World. But above all things, the fear of the loſing of *Syria*, and conſequently the loſs of all his Kingdom (the quickeſt motive for ſtirring up of the ſuſpitious minds of the greateſt Princes) moſt inforced *Campſon* to take in hand this War; ſo as much as the goodly Kingdoms of *Egypt*, *Judea*, and *Syria*, oppreſſed with the intollerable Government of the Proud Mamalukes, and therefore leſs faithful to the *Egyptian* Kings, were in danger to revolt to the Turks, if the *Perſians* ſhould by any miſchance or fortune of War be of the Turks vanquiſhed. For which cauſe *Campſon* in the beginning of this War, ſolicited by the *Perſian* Embaſſadors, had made a firm League and confederation with *Hyſmael*; and alſo moved with the miſery of the woful young Prince *Aladin* the Son of *Achomates*, was in mind perſwaded, that the cruel Turkiſh Tyrant might by his and the *Perſian* Kings Forces, eaſily be thruſt out of his Empire in *Aſia* and *Europe*. For *Aladin*, who after the death of *Achomates* his Father, fled to *Campſon* the Sultan of *Egypt* (as is before declared) had lived three years as a forlorn and diſtreſſed Prince in the *Egyptian* Court, and by all means he could deviſe incited the Mamalukes to revenge the injuries and cruelty of his Uncle *Selymus*. The eldeſt Son alſo of the late King *Aladeules*, a goodly young Prince, having at once loſt his Father, his Kingdom, and whatſoever he had elſe, was in good time fled to the *Egyptian* King, and had ſo filled the minds of all Men with the indignation and deteſtation of *Selymus* his exceeding cruelty, that the Princes of the Mamalukes of their own accord came to *Campſon*, humbly beſeeching him to take upon him ſo juſt a War; and if by reaſon of his great years he ſhould think himſelf unable to indure the travel thereof, it would then pleaſe him yet to give them leave of themſelves to take the matter in hand, for the repreſſing of the inſolency of that great and wicked Tyrant.

The order of the Mamalukes.

Theſe Mamalukes far excelled the Turks, not only in ſtrength of Body, skilful riding, and goodly armor, but alſo in courage and wealth. Beſide that, they had not forgotten with what ſmall power they had under the leading of *Caitbeius* their great Sultan overthrown the Turks great Armies in *Cilicia*, firſt at *Adena*, and afterward at *Tarſus*, where they took Priſoners, *Meſites Palæologus* the great Baſſa, and *Cherſeogles*, *Bajazet* his Son-in-Law; by which Victory they grew into ſuch a proud and vain conceit of themſelves, as if they had been the only Souldiers of the World, able of themſelves to vanquiſh and overcome whatſoever they ſhould ſet upon. Theſe ſo valiant Souldiers, were for the moſt part of the poor People, called in ancient time *Getæ*, *Zinchi*, and *Baſtarnæ*, born near unto the *Euxine* Sea and the Fens of *Mæotis*, eſpecially on that ſide where the River *Corax* falleth into the *Euxine* Sea; which Country is of later time called *Circaſſia*, of the People called *Cercitæ* near unto *Cholchis*. Theſe miſerable and wretched People, the *Valachians*, *Podolians*, *Polonians*, *Roxolanes* and *Tartars*, dwelling by *Taurica* (pulled from their Mothers Breaſts, or by other violent means ſurpriſed) were ſold to Merchants; who culling out the beſt for ſtrength of Body, or aptneſs of Wit, conveied them by Sea to *Alexandria*, from whence they were continually ſent to the great Sultan of *Egypt*; and by his appointment were at *Caire* (after the old manner of that People) delivered to Maſters of fence and ſuch other Teachers, who carefully inſtructed them, being ſhut up in their Schools, in all manner of feats of Activity; where after they were become able to bend a ſtrong Bow, and taught cunningly to Shoot, Leap, Run, Vault, Ride, and skilfully to uſe all manner of Weapons, they were then taken into pay, and received into the number of the Kings Horſemen or Mamalukes; and ſuch of them as proved cowardly or unapt, were made ſlaves unto the reſt. So that they ſeeing all honour, credit, and preferment, laied up in martial proweſs, did with all diligence and courage imploy themſelves to military Affairs, and therein ſo well profited, that oftentimes they which at the firſt were but bare and baſe ſlaves, of the meaneſt of the Mamalukes, by many degrees of ſervice riſe at length to the higheſt degrees of Honour. All theſe Mamalukes were the Children of Chriſtian Parents, from the time of their Captivity inſtructed in the Mahometan Superſtition; for no Man born of a Mahometan Father, or of a Jew, could be admitted into the number of the Mamaluke Horſemen; which was ſo ſtraitly obſerved, that the honour of a Mamaluke Horſeman never deſcended unto the Sons of the Mamalukes; yet might they by Law inherit their Fathers Lands, Poſſeſſions, and Goods; by which reaſon the Sons of the Sultans themſelves never ſucceeded their Fathers in the Kingdom. Hereby alſo it came to paſs, that many Chriſtians of looſe life, or condemned for their notorious offences, flying thither, and abjuring the Chriſtian Religion, and ſuffering themſelves to be Circumciſed, being Men meet for the Wars, grew by degrees to great Honour; as did *Tangaribardinus* the Son of a Spaniſh Mariner, who by his forwardneſs and induſtry grew into ſuch credit and authority with *Campſon* the great Sultan, that almoſt all things were done by his advice and counſel; and was divers times by him imployed in moſt honourable ſervice, being ſent Embaſſador both to *Bajazet* the Turkiſh Emperor, and to the State of *Venice*, about matters of great importance. Yet his impiety eſcaped not the hand of God; for at length by the envy of the Court he was brought into diſgrace, thruſt out of his place, and caſt into priſon, where he, loaded with cold Iron, moſt miſerably died. Neither was it to be marvelled if the Mamalukes were grown to that exceſs of wealth, foraſmuch as the Egyptians and Syrians being miſerably by them oppreſſed, were not ſuffered to have the uſe either of Horſe or Armor, neither admitted to any matters of counſel; but being impoveriſhed and brought low with heavy impoſitions and daily injuries of the Mamalukes, gave themſelves wholly to the Trade of Merchandiſe, Husbandry, and other mechanical Occupations; over whom the Mamalukes had power and command, as imperious Maſters over their Servants, and would with greater inſolency than is to be believed abuſe the poor Country People, beating and ſpoiling them at their pleaſure; and not ſo contented, Raviſhing their Wives and Daughters without redreſs. The Egyptians (a People in ancient time much renowned for their valour and prowe ſs) were by their maſterful ſlaves kept in this miſerable thraldom and ſlavery about the ſpace of three hundred years. For after the declination of the Roman Empire, that rich Country falling into the Government of the Conſtantinopolitan Emperors, the Egytians ſoon weary of the proud and avaritious Sovereignty of the Greeks, called in the Saraſins, by whoſe help they expulſed the Greeks, and after choſe the General of the Saraſins for their King, after whoſe name the *Egyptian* Kings were of long time called *Caliphs*, as they had of ancient time been called by the names of *Pharo* and *Ptolomey*.

The imperious Government of the Mamalukes in Egypt, Judea *and* Syria.

The laſt of theſe *Caliphs* Reigned at ſuch time as the Chriſtians under the leading of *Godfrey* and *Bohemund*, paſſing as Conquerors through *Aſia* and *Syria*, erected the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*. He being invaded by *Almericus* ſixth King of *Jeruſalem*, and finding himſelf too weak, praied aid of the Sultan of *Syria*, who ſent him *Sarraco*, a valiant Captain, with a ſtrong power to aid him; but *Sarraco* no leſs unfaithful than couragious, treacherouſly ſlew the *Caliph*, in whoſe aid he came, and took upon himſelf the Kingdom. After *Sarraco* ſucceeded *Saladine* his his Brothers Son, who utterly extinguiſhed the name and authority of the *Caliphs* in *Egypt*, whom *Sarraco* had yet left as high Prieſts. This *Saladine* oftentimes vanquiſhed the Chriſtian Armies in *Syria* and *Judea*, and at length quite overthrew the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, as it is in the former part of this Hiſtory to be ſeen. *Saladine* dying, left the Kingdom of *Egypt* to his Brother, whoſe poſterity ſucceſſively reigned of long time there, until the time of *Melechſala*. This *Melechſala* (laſt of the freeborn Kings, and of the poſterity of *Saladine*) had great and mortal Wars with the Chriſtians, wherein having loſt moſt of his beſt Souldiers, and repoſing no great confidence in the Egyptians, thought good to ſtrengthen himſelf with a new kind of Souldiers, meer ſlaves bought for Mony. For at that time the Tartars breaking into *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, and overrunning the People called *Comani* joyning upon *Cappadocia*, made general ſpoil of that People, as of Priſoners taken by Law of Arms. Of this baſe People, *Melethſala* for a little Mony bought a great multitude, which he tranſported into *Egypt*, and furniſhed them with Arms; by whoſe prowe ſs he not only defended the Frontiers of his Kingdom, but alſo beſieged *Lewis* the French King in his Trenches not far from *Damiata*, called in ancient time *Heliopolis*, or *Peluſium*, and ſhortly after in plain Battel took him Priſoner, as is long before declared. But in the pride of this Victory, *Malechſala* was by the conſpiracy of theſe his new Souldiers ſlain; in whoſe place they ſet up one *Turqueminius*, a deſperate Fellow of their own Company, honouring him with the Title of the great Sultan of *Egypt*. *Turqueminius* of [illegible] baſe Slave now become a great Monarch (after the manner of Men) forgetting his old Companions which had ſo highly promoted him, and having them in great diſdain, was by one of them (called *Clotho*) ſuddenly ſlain; for which Fact he was by thoſe baſe Souldiers, his Companions, choſen Sultan in his place; who for the ſhort time of his Reign did much for the confirming of that ſervile Monarchy; yet was he at length ſlain alſo by *Bandocader*, ſometimes one of his fellow Servants, who alſo ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. After him in long order ſucceeded many valiant Men of the ſame ſervile ſtate and condition, whom for brevity I wittingly paſs over. Amongſt the reſt, *Caitheius* (of whom we have before ſpoken in the life of *Bajazet*) was for wealth and martial prowe ſs moſt Famous; who according to the manner of his Predeceſſors, did with greater bounty and care maintain that ſervile Government, than any of them who had before him Reigned in *Egypt*; and was for his notable Government and noble Acts juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt Princes of that Age. After whoſe death great troubles aroſe in that ſervile Monarchy about the Succeſſion. Whereby the Mamalukes drawn into divers Factions, ſome ſeeking to prefer one, and ſome another, had in four years ſpace with Civil Wars ſore weakned their Eſtate, and ſlain divers of their greateſt Princes which had aſpired unto that Kingdom. For appeaſing of which Miſchiefs, tending to the utter ruine of their Kingdom, the great Courtiers and chief Men amongſt the Mamalukes with one conſent offered the Kingdom to *Campſon Gaurus* (or as the Turks call him) *Carſaves Gauris*, of whom we now ſpeak, a Man of great integrity and courage, and altogether free from ambition. He, terrified with the dreadful example of ſo many Kings whom he had ſeen in ſhort time miſerably ſlain by the ambitious aſpiring of other proud Competitors; when he was ſore againſt his will hoiſt up upon the ſhoulders of the Nobility and chief Souldiers, and ſo carried into the Court, as their manner was, began earneſtly to refuſe the Kingdom, and to withſtand their choice, excuſing himſelf as unfit for ſo high a Place; and with trears ſtanding in his Eies, beſought the other great Lords his Friends, that they would forbear to thruſt him, well contented with his private life, into that glorious place ſubject to ſo many dangers; and the rather, for that he neither had Mony to give bountifully unto the Souldiers of the Court, as other the *Egyptian* Sultans had accuſtomed; neither held that ſufficiency and authority as was requiſite for repreſſing of ſuch violent and ſeditious tumults as were too riſe in that troubleſome time and confuſion of all things.

The beginning of the Government of the Mamalukes in Egypt.

The Nobility on the other ſide perſwaded him, That he would not upon a fooliſh obſtinacy or vain modeſty refuſe the offer of his preſent good Fortune, but courageouſly to take upon him the Government of the State, now ſore ſhaken with civil Diſcord, together with the regal Dignity, which was with the general good liking of all the Men ſo frankly offered unto him. At laſt they all by ſolemn Oath promiſed unto him, That they would with all their power, policy, and wealth, maintain and defend the Majeſty of his State; and that the Men of War ſhould not demand their wonted Largeſs, before the ſame might by his Receivers and Treaſurers be raiſed of his Cuſtoms and other Revenues of the Crown. By which perſwaſions *Campſon* incouraged, ſuffered himſelf to be ſaluted Sultan, and ſo took upon him the Government. Afterwards, when he had given unto the Men of War ten millions of Ducats, by the name of a Largeſs, and by his moderate Government had cauſed Men generally to have his proweſs and wiſdom in admiration, he did with ſuch policy and dexterity reform the ſhaken State of that Kingdom, before rent in ſunder with Civil Wars, taking away by Poiſon and other ſecret devices, ſome few, the chief Authors of Sedition, that for the ſpace of ſixteen years neither tumult nor noiſe of War was at any time heard of in all *Syria* or *Egypt*; worthy undoubtedly the name of a moſt excellent and fortunate Prince, if when he had by ſingular wiſdom and policy eſtabliſhed the general peace and proſperity of his Kingdom, he could have there contented himſelf to have lived in quiet, and in the winding up of his life not raſhly have thruſt himſelf into the dangerous quarrels of other Princes.

The moderate and happy Government of Campſon.

The *Cadeleſcher* and *Jachis* (*Selymus* his Embaſſadors) departing from *Iconium*, came in few days to *Campſon* the great Sultan, who then lay incamped near unto the River *Orantes*, at this day called *Farfar*. Theſe Embaſſadors entertained by *Campſon* with greater bounty than courteſie, and ſhortly after their coming having audience in his Pavillion; did with moſt temperate and calm Speech deliver their Embaſſage. To whom *Campſon* anſwered, That it was the ancient Cuſtom of the *Egyptian* Sultans (foraſmuch as they held the chief place in their Religion) with all care and induſtry to keep the other Mahometan Kings and People in peace and concord amongſt themſelves; whereof he for his part had been always moſt deſirous; and was for no other purpoſe come with his Army into his Province of *Syria*, than to perſwade *Selymus* to peace. Who if he would needs wilfully proceed in his intended Wars againſt *Hyſmael* the *Perſian* King, his friend and confederate, he would then do what ſhould ſtand with his honour and place, and not longer ſuffer all to go to wrack, for the vain pleaſure and fury of one inſolent and ambitious Man. He ſaid alſo, That he had of long time before ſeen into *Selymus* his inſatiable, fierce and troubleſome diſpoſition; who having moſt unnaturally procured the death of his good Father, the old Emperor *Bajazet*, and ſlain his Brethren, Princes of great Valour; ſeven of his Nephews, Princes of no ſmall Hope; with many other of his beſt Friends and faithful Counſellors; could make no end of his ambitious Tyranny. Wherefore they ſhould tell *Selymus*, that one and all the conditions of peace ſhould be, if he would from thenceforth deſiſt from invading of *Hyſmael*, and reſtore to *Aladeules* his Son, his Fathers Kingdom, which had of long been under the defence and protection of the *Egyptian* Sultans, as of right and reaſon he ought to do, he ſhould in ſo doing, beſide his favour and friendſhip which might greatly ſtand him in ſtead, reap greater fame and glory by an aſſured and honourable peace, than by doubtful and dangerous War.

Campſon *his anſwer to the Embaſſadors of* Selymus.

The Embaſſadors, although they knew right well that *Selymus* would not for any threats give over his enterpriſe or lay down Arms, yet to the intent they might the ſooner be diſpatched, and ſo in time advertiſe *Selymus* of the Sultans ſudden coming, ſeemed wonderfully to like of his motion for peace, and to give good hope by their reaſonable perſwaſions to induce *Selymus* to like thereof; foraſmuch as they were of his ſecret Counſel, and Men able to do much with him; whereby they truſted (as they would have had the Sultan to believe) it would eaſily be brought to paſs, that thoſe ſparks might be quenched, which all things ſtanding upright, had not as yet kindled the Fire of War. So they being by *Campſon* rewarded, and having leave to depart, travelling day and night, returned to *Selymus*, who was then come to *Cæſarea*.

Campſon alſo removing from *Orantes*, came into *Comagena* unto the famous City of *Aleppo*, which City is probably ſuppoſed to have been built of the ruines of the ancient City *Hieropolis*, by *Alepius* the Emperor *Julianus* his Lieutenant; who in that Province did many notable matters, and called the new built City after his own name. It is ſituate near unto the River *Singa*, which riſing out of the Mountain *Pierius*, with many turnings and windings runneth through *Comagena*, and being but a ſmall River, falleth at length into the River *Euphrates*. This City *Hyalon* King of the *Tartars* took and burnt, at ſuch time as the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt made War with the *Egyptian* Kings, for the Kingdoms of *Syria* and *Jeruſalem*. Which calamity notwithſtanding, it was again repeopled; and is at this day a famous City, for the commodious ſituation thereof much frequented with Merchants from the furtheſt parts of the World. It is ſcarce five days journey from *Tripolis* and *Berytus*, the great Ports of *Syria*, and is alſo near unto the Turks and Perſians; ſo that the Riches of the Eaſt are thither commodiouſly conveied out of *Turky*, over the Mountain *Amanus* which parteth *Cilicia* from *Syria*; and ſo likewiſe out of *Perſia* and *Meſopotamia* over the River *Euphrates*, where the City *Byrsha* of late time bounded the Kingdom of the *Egyptian* Sultans, from the *Perſian*.

Selymus *converteth his Forces from the* Perſians *againſt* Campſon.

Selymus underſtanding by his Embaſſadors (who had diligently noted all things in the Sultans Camp) both of the coming, and of the number of his Enemies; and alſo enformed of the Sultans proud Anſwer, who had ſo peremptorily preſcribed to him ſuch unreaſonable conditions as pleaſed himſelf; thought good to alter his purpoſe, and now to convert his Forces another way than he had before determined. For that to enter farther into *Armenia*, leaving ſo puiſſant an Enemy as *Campſon* at his back, ſeemed a thing too full of danger; and to give over the enterpriſe he had with ſo great care and charge undertaken, at the appointment and pleaſure of another Man, ſtood neither with his honour or ſtate. Wherefore in a matter ſo doubtful, he reſolved upon a notable and neceſſary point, well fitting the greatneſs of his mind. He made ſhew as if he would have gone directly againſt the *Perſian*, as he had before determined; and that the more certain report of this his purpoſe might be carried to *Campſon*, he ſent before part of his Army with his Carriages to the City *Suaſſia*, in old time called *Sebaſtia*; it ſtandeth in the Frontiers of the *Perſian* Kingdom, where the great River *Euphrates* pent up with the Rocks of the

Selymus encourageth his Souldiers to go againſt the Mamalukes.

Mountain *Taurus*; breaketh again violently forth into *Meſopotamia*; but turning himſelf upon the right Hand; purpoſed to paſs the Mountain *Taurus*, and breaking ſuddenly into *Comagena* to come upon the Sultan before he were well aware of his coming. Wherefore calling unto him his truſty Janizaries, with the other Souldiers of the Court, he openly with cheerful countenance declared unto them what he had reſolved to do with the reaſons of the alteration of his former determination; perſwading them, that the Victory would eaſily be atchieved, if they as couragious Souldiers would with all celerity (before the Mamalukes could perceive they were returned) get to the top of the Mountains, and recover thoſe difficult paſſages; not fearing the vain Names and Titles of the Mamalukes. *For why* (ſaid he) *the ſtrength of thoſe Horſemen is long ſince decayed and gone; the old Mamalukes, who in the time of* Caitbeius *were of ſome fame and reputation, are all dead. You ſhall in Battel meet but with a ſort of gallant Horſebreakers rather than Souldiers, which can cunningly mannage their Horſes in ſport, to the pleaſure of the Beholders, but know not how to encounter the Enemy, or to indure to be wounded; who as Carpet-Knights, effeminate with long peace, and corrupted with exceſs and delicacy of their great Cities, never ſaw their Foes intrenched, or armed Enemies, neither have heard the ſound of a Trumpet, but at Plays or Shews. Wherefore you are to make but ſmall account of them, being furniſhed with no ſtore of Ordnance or ſtrength of Footmen. But as the reverend Interpreters of our ſacred Laws and Religion, having orderly performed all their obſervances, do divine unto us all happineſs; ſo you as Men full of hope, ſet forward cheerfully unto moſt aſſured Victory over your proud Enemies. For God no doubt favoureth the quarrel of Men juſtly provoked, and offereth means of Victory to ſuch as take up juſt and neceſſary Arms. Yet to overcome the Enemy, and to enjoy Victory indeed, wholly conſiſteth in the courage and valour of them which deem nothing better or more honourable than to ſpend their lives for the honour of their Prince and Country.* Here the Janizaries ſhaking their Weapons, forthwith cried out with cheerful voice, That he ſhould lead and conduct them whitherſoever he would; ſaying, That they were ready as couragious Men, to overcome all the difficulties of thoſe hard paſſages, and patiently to endure all the labours and dangers incident to that War.

Selymus, by the mountain People having found out the eaſieſt paſſages, reſolved to paſs over the Mountain with his Army in three places; and ſo appointing three great Companies of the common Souldiers, and Country People, for the opening of the ſtrait paſſages; he commanded the rough and uneven Ways to be made plain and ſmooth, for the tranſporting of his Ordnance, and the broken paſſages to be caſt even, that ſo his Baggage and Carriages might the better paſs; and the more to encourage his Souldiers to take pains, he promiſed preſent reward to all ſuch as in tranſporting of his Ordnance, ſhould take any extraordinary pain. Whereby it came to paſs, that the ſame being of the ſmaller ſort bearing Bullet of no great weight, was in ſhort time by the cheerful labour of his Souldiers, drawn over thoſe great Hills and Dales; ſo that in five days all his Army with his Baggage and Carriages were got over the Mountain *Taurus*, and come into the Plains of *Comagena*. For that Mountain where it taketh the name of *Amanus*, which is almoſt in the middle where the River *Euphrates* parteth the Mountain *Taurus*, and the Bay *Iſſicus*, is neither exceeding high, or yet impaſſable; for as it cometh nearer the Sea, it is not ſo rough as elſewhere, but is in many places inhabited and tilled by the Mountain Cilicians, a fierce kind of People accuſtomed to labour and toil, who are now called Caramanians, which is to ſay, the Inhabitants of the black Mountains; for that the burnt Rocks of the Mountain ſeemed afar off to be black.

Alis-Beg which betraied *Aladeules*, whom *Selymus* had a little before ſent for, as ſoon as the Army was come down into the Frontiers of the Enemies Country, with a ſtrong power of his light Horſemen, ſpeedily overran all that Country which is at the foot of *Amanus* and *Taurus*; thereby to underſtand of the Country People and ſuch as they could take Priſoners, where *Campſon* lay with his Army; and alſo by keeping the paſſages to do what might poſſibly be done, that *Selymus* his coming might not be known to the Enemy.

But *Campſon*, who with no leſs vanity than pride had fondly flattered himſelf, only by the authority and greatneſs of his name to have terrified *Selymus*, and overruled him at his pleaſure; could not be perſwaded that he was come over the Mountain *Amanus*, until certain news was brought him, that he was encamped with a moſt puiſſant Army within two days march of him. With which unexpected news being ſore troubled, and in the midſt of that danger to ſeek Counſel, as one which began rightly to conſider of his own ſtrength, and the ſtrength of his Enemy; began then to doubt what were beſt for him to do; and in great perplexity ſometime hoped well; and by and by was as a Man half diſcouraged and diſmaied. And now become exceeding careful both of his honour and himſelf, he began to doubt, whether it were better for him to give place to ſo great a danger, and ſhunning Battel to retire with his Army into places of more ſafety; or elſe couragiouſly to abide the coming of his Enemies, and to hazard the Fortune of a Battel, although it were upon great diſadvantage; foraſmuch as he reputed it far more honourable, after the example of his Predeceſſors from whom he had received that great Kingdom (both gotten and kept by martial Proweſs) to die with honour in the Field, than by ſhameful and unwonted Flight, either to blemiſh their military Glory continued above the ſpace of 300 years, or for love of a ſmall remainder of life, being now 77 years old, to ſeem willing to reſerve unto an obloquy and ſhame his laſt days, deprived of all honour and reputation.

The wholeſome Counſel of Gazelles for protracting the War.

There were amongſt his Chieftains many, which preferred wholeſome Counſel before that which was in ſhew more glorious; but above all others, *Jamburd* Syrnamed *Gazelles* (ſometimes the follower of great *Caitbeius*) a valiant Man of great Honour, for his long experience in martial Affairs, and at that time Governour of *Apamia*. He, as he was of opinion, That to fight with the Turks Army, conſiſting for moſt part of expert Souldiers, with ſo ſmall a power, were a thing of deſperate danger; ſo was he alſo, that it were good ſpeedily to retire, and to chuſe the City of *Damaſco*, as the fitteſt place for thoſe Wars; foraſmuch as the Turks Army could make no haſt after them, by reaſon of their Footmen and Carriages, ſo that they might at eaſe and with ſafety retire; and there calling together all the Mamalukes which were in Garriſon in *Judea* and *Egypt*, and entertaining the Arabians their Neighbors, to protract the War until Winter, when as they might eaſily diſtreſs the Enemy for want of Victual. And that it was not to be feared that *Aleppo*, if it were furniſhed but with a reaſonable Garriſon, could by and by be taken of the Enemy, who had but ſmall Field-Pieces not fit for battery. Beſide that, in ſhort time Aid would come from the *Perſians* out of *Meſopotamia*; yea and *Hyſmael* himſelf hearing of the Turks expedition into *Syria*, was like enough to break into *Aſia* the leſs; neither would the Chriſtians refuſe to furniſh them with great Artillery from the Iſlands of the *Rhodes* and *Cyprus* againſt that common Enemy, if they were thereto in time requeſted. All which things being laid together, he ſaid, the Sultan might afterward upon even hand go into the Field, if he ſhould think it ſo much to concern his honour, to give his Enemies battel. But foraſmuch as the greateſt Wars, which at the firſt had moſt violent and moſt furious motions, by the politique Enemies delay, did moſt commonly in time grow calm, he ſhould not therefore make too much haſt to adventure the fortune of Battel; for that the errors of War, which many times chanced through the overſight or raſhneſs of the Chieftains, might well of good men be lamented and deteſted, but hardly or never recovered or amended.

Gazelles his grave and conſiderate Speech had much moved both the Sultan and others; yet the chearfulneſs of the Souldiers, and fooliſh hardineſs of the Mamalukes did ſo fill *Campſons* Ears, that he could not hearken to ſo good and wholeſome Counſel; for as ſoon as they heard certainly of the coming of the Turks, they began to leap and dance, and to rejoice among themſelves, that the time was come wherein they might make proof of their Valor, and win to themſelves Honour. For now (as they ſaid) was come that time they had long wiſhed for, wherein they would by notable ſlaughter of their Enemies, advance the Honour and Majeſty of *Campſon* their Sultan far above the fame of *Caitbeius*; and ſome even of the chief men about *Campſon*, upon flattery and vain oſtentation, alledging how honourably and with what ſmall labour they had before overthrown the Turks great Army at *Taurus*; perſwading him that the victory would eaſily and without any great danger be gotten. But eſpecially *Cayerbius* Governor of *Aleppo* and of the Province of *Comagena* (who after his War ended, was in reward of his foul Treaſon, by *Selymus* unworthily preferred to the greateſt Honours of *Egypt*) extolling with glorious words the Faithfulneſs, Courage, and Valor of the Mamalukes, and extenuating the Power and Strength of the Enemy, forced his Wits to the uttermoſt to overthrow the wholſome Counſel of *Gazelles*.

A ſecret grudge between Campſon *and* Cayerbeius *Governor of* Comagena.

For this *Cayerbius* for all his fair face bore a grudg in his heart againſt *Campſon*, becauſe he had ſome years before poiſoned his Brother, whom he had in jealouſie, being a man next to himſelf of greateſt Power, Wealth, and Authority amongſt the Mamalukes, and withal of an aſpiring mind. Whereupon *Cayerbeius* afterwards thinking it good to look to himſelf, and doubting the like practice to be intended againſt himſelf; being, as the manner of that Kingdom was, ſummoned to a Parliament at *Caire*, feigned himſelf ſick, and would not come; wherewith *Campſon* was not a little offended, yet for a time he thought it beſt to diſſemble the matter, and to wait ſome fitter opportunity for the taking away of that proud man, ſo forgetful of his duty, and bearing himſelf againſt his Sovereign, as if he had been an abſolute King in his own Province; this he thought might moſt covertly be brought to paſs, if he ſhould upon the occaſion of the preſent War (as then it fell out) or elſe under the color of going in perſon himſelf to the River *Euphrates*, come to *Aleppo*; for it was the manner of the ancient *Egyptian* Sultans, not to account themſelves worthy of the name of a Sultan or great General, before they had, as *Cayerbeius* had of late done, encamped their Army upon the ſide of the River *Euphrates* at the City *Byrtha* (which ſtanding upon the Bank of the River, retaineth at this day both the ancient Name and Fame) and there with ſolemn Pomp had in the ſight of the Army forced their Horſes into the River to drink; giving to underſtand by that ceremony, the greatneſs of their Empire, and that they were ready by force of Arms to prove, that all thoſe Countries were theirs, which lay alongſt the River *Euphrates*, from the Mountain *Taurus* unto the Deſerts of *Arabia*. But the conſideration of this War letted that he did not at his firſt coming oppreſs him, becauſe he deemed it to ſtand beſt with his preſent Affairs; and not yet knowing the purpoſe of *Selymus*, to expect the motions of the Turks and Perſians, and to defer the execution of his Wrath againſt *Cayerbeius*, until the end of the War; for fear leſt the other Mamalukes, diſmaied with the hainouſneſs of the ſuddain fact, ſhould either revolt from him, or elſe raiſe ſome Mutiny or Rebellion in that populous City. For *Cayerbeius* had by his Courteſy and Bounty many ſtrong Companies in the Army faſt bound unto him; and beſide that, was of greateſt Credit and Authority with them of *Aleppo*, having in his keeping a ſtrong Citadel, built upon the riſing of an Hill in the midſt of the City, which he kept with a ſtrong and ſure Garriſon.

But whiles *Campſon* doth thus ſlowly and conſiderately purpoſe his deſtruction, many of the Sultans ſecret Friends, to him more officious than faithful, ſecretly adviſed *Cayerbeius* to beware of the Sultan, and by ſome good means in time to provide for his own ſafety. He underſtanding of the danger, and thinking all delay deadly, ſent ſecret Meſſengers unto *Selymus*, diſcovering unto him the cauſe of his grief, and promiſing as occaſion ſhould ſerve to come over unto him, and to deliver into his power the Caſtle with the heart of the Citizens, and all the ſtrength of his own Horſemen; thereby to provide for his own ſafety, to revenge his Brothers death, and to further his Victory againſt *Campſon*; and for performance of promiſes on both ſides, required ſecret Hoſtages to be given. By the ſame Meſſengers he alſo advertiſed him, what Strength the Sultan was of, perſwading him in any caſe to make haſt to give him Battel before he had gathered any greater Power. *Selymus* nothing doubted to condeſcend to all that the Traitor had requeſted, promiſing of himſelf far greater things than ever he had required; aſſuring himſelf of the Victory, if his Enemy ſhould loſe ſo much of his Strength by the revolt of ſo great a Commander.

Campſon enforced by the general conſent of his Souldiers, and the violence of his inevitable Deſtiny, then at hand, rejecting the good and faithful Counſel of *Gazelles*, at ſuch time as *Selymus* was reported to be at hand; reſolved according to the Counſel of the Traitor *Cayerbeius*, to dare him Battel. He lay conveniently incamped upon the River *Singa*, almoſt ten miles from the City, in ſuch ſort as that his Souldiers might uſe the benefit of the River, and removed from the Houſes and Pleaſures of the City, might yet nevertheleſs be eaſily relieved with the ſtore and plenty thereof.

The Mamalukes notable Souldiers.

The Mamalukes were ſcarce in number twelve thouſand, but every one of them, according as he was of greater Place or Calling, ſo had he attending upon him more Servants, well furniſhed, with Horſe and Armor. A goodly and invincible Army, if the Battel might have been tried by true Valor. The Mamalukes wearing their Beards long and rough, with grave and ſtern Countenance, having ſtrong and able Bodies, uſed ſuch cunning in all their Fights and Battels, that after they had given the firſt charge with their Launces, they would by and by with wonderful activity uſe their Bows and Arrows, caſting their Targets behind them; and forthwith the Horſemans Mace, or crooked Scimeter, as the manner of the Battel or Place required. Their Horſes were ſtrong and couragious, in making and ſwiftneſs, much like unto the Spaniſh Jennets; and that which is of many hardly believed, ſo docible, that at certain ſigns or ſpeeches of the Rider, they would with their Teeth reach him up from the ground a Launce, an Arrow, or ſuch like thing; and as if they had known the Enemy, run upon him with open mouth, and laſh at him with their heels, and had by Nature and Cuſtom learned, not to be afraid of any thing. Theſe couragious Horſes were commonly furniſhed with ſilver Bridles, gilt Trappings, rich Saddels, their Necks and Breaſts armed with Plates of Iron; The Horſeman himſelf was commonly content with a Coat of Mail or a Breaſt-Plate of Iron. The chief and wealthieſt of them uſed Headpieces; the reſt a linnen covering of the Head, curiouſly folded into many wreaths, wherewith they thought themſelves ſafe enough againſt any handy ſtrokes; the Common Souldiers uſed thrumb'd Caps, but ſo thick that no Sword could pierce them.

The order of Campſon *his Battel.*

Campſon of all his Army made four Battels; The firſt was committed to *Cayerbeius*, becauſe it was in his own Province, where the Battel was to be fought. The ſecond was led by *Sybeius*, who for his wonderful Activity was of them called *Balvano*, which in their Language ſignifieth a Tumbler, or one that ſheweth Feats of Activity; he was Governor of *Damaſco*, a man of ſingular Faith and Valor. Theſe two great Commanders were appointed at once to charge both the Wings of the Turks Army. After them followed *Gazelles* with the third Battel, to ſecond either the one or the other of the two foremoſt, as need ſhould require. *Campſon* himſelf led the fourth, all gliſtering in guilt Armor, behind the reſt almoſt a mile and an half. The laſt was left for the defence of the Camp.

The order of Selymus *his Battel.*

But *Selymus* according to his wonted manner ſo ordered his Battel, that his Aſian Horſemen were in the right Wing, his Europeian Horſemen in the left, his Janizaries and Artillery in the main Battel; before whom in the middle between the two Wings he placed his moſt valiant and gallant Penſioners, amongſt whom, contrary to his wonted cuſtom, he choſe to ſerve that day.

Cayerbeius as ſoon as he was come near the Enemy, in token of his brave Courage, gave a hot charge upon the Europeian Horſemen; and by and by, as if he would have compaſſed in that Wing, wheeled a great way about behind them, where chancing upon a great Company of Scullions, Drudges, and other baſe People that followed the Camp, with an infinite number of Camels and Carriages, he made there a great ſtir with little ſlaughter, that as a valiant and cunning Traitor he might in the ſelf ſame time ſatisfie the expectation of his Valor and of his Treaſon together. In the other Wing, the Governor of *Damaſco*, to enter upon the open ſide of the Enemy, forbearing to charge him afront, and turning about his Troops on the left hand, entred overthwart their Ranks; where the Mamalukes fought with ſuch fury, that having made great Slaughter of the Aſian Horſemen, they brake in amongſt them, as if it had been a raging Floud, bearing all down before them, until they came to the Enſigns in the midſt of that Wing; neither could *Muſtapha* the *Beglerbeg* (who was by Birth a Hungarian, and *Selymus* his Brother in law) neither the Imbrahor-Baſſa (or Maſter of the Houſe) though they did what they might to withſtand him, after the firſt were overthrown, ſtay the reſt, but that they would needs turn their backs and flie. So *Sybeius* as a valiant Conqueror having cut in two pieces the right Wing of the Enemies battel, and thruſting in betwixt the battel of the Footmen and the backs of the Penſioners, brought a great terror and fear upon the whole main Battel. The matter was now brought to extream danger; for *Selymus* by the breaking in of *Sybeius* was almoſt cut off from his Footmen, in whom he had repoſed his greateſt confidence. And now the Janizaries were hardly charged by *Gazelles*, who following the Fortune of *Sybeius*, had ſet upon the head of the Enemies Battel. The Aſian Horſemen alſo being put to the worſe, and cut in pieces, found no means how to reſtore again their diſordered Battel.

In this extremity *Sinan Baſſa* in good time came in with his Horſemen; by his coming, for that he had been but lightly charged by *Cayerbeius* the Traitor, and had brought with him many freſh Troops of Horſemen, the fury of the Mamalukes was repreſſed, the Turks again encouraged, and the Victory ſhortly after wrung out of the Mamalukes hands; the great Artillery being by the commandment of *Selymus* at the ſame time diſcharged amongſt them, by the terrible thundering whereof, the Mamalukes Horſes ſomewhat troubled, could not ſo well as before be ruled; neither could the men themſelves, although they were of wonderful Courage, much prevail, being on every ſide oppreſſed with the multitude of their Enemies. Yet in that diſtreſs being nothing diſmaied, although they were by *Cayerbeius* and their good fortune forſaken, they were not to ſeek either of courage or direction; but ſetting themſelves cloſe together, they brake through the midſt of their Enemies, with great ſlaughter of the Europeian Horſemen, and hurt of the Penſioners; and ſo with ſpeed fled towards the Camp and City. After whom followed *Sinan Baſſa* with the readieſt and freſheſt Troops of his Horſemen; for *Selymus* (who that day in the extream heat, for his wonderful pains, courage, and direction ſeemed undoubtedly greater than himſelf) riding up and down, called earneſtly upon his Souldiers to urge the Victory, and with all ſpeed to purſue their flying Enemies.

Campſon had now (his Deſtiny ſo leading him) ſet forward, of purpoſe to come to the relief of his men ſent before; or if the Turks ſhould be overcome, to be partaker of the Victory; when upon the way he underſtood by them that fled, That *Cayerbeius* was revolted, his Army overthrown, and the terror ſo great, as that the flight of his Souldiers was not now poſſibly to be ſtaid; beſide that, to augment the fear, it was reported, That the multitude of his Enemies and Force of their Artillery was ſo great, that they were not then to be encountred. With which heavy News, the proud old man, who in the perpetual courſe of his good Fortune had never taſted of evil hap, was ready for ſorrow and grief of mind to have ſunk down to the ground. And forthwith his own men, and the Enemy purſuing them, coming upon him, who in their headlong courſe without regard overthrew whomſoever they met, every man making ſhift for himſelf,

The death of Campſon.

ſelf, without reſpect of others harms; he being a corpulent man of great years, and beſide the heavineſs of his Armor, troubled alſo with a Rupture, overcome with heat and grief of mind, fainted in that great preſs, and ſo falling down, was without regard trodden to death, after he had with great Majeſty governed the Kingdoms of *Egypt*, *Judea*, and *Syria* many years. The valiant Tetrarchs of *Damaſco* and *Tripolis*, whilſt others fled for life, either to the Camp or to the City of *Aleppo*, labouring in the hindermoſt of their flying Troops to repreſs the force of their purſuing Enemies, were both fighting honourably ſlain. *Selymus* erecting a few Tents in the ſame Field wherein the Battel was fought, and keeping moſt part of his Army in Arms, ſlept not all that night, but ſtood faſt as a man not yet aſſured of his Victory or good fortune; fearing leſt men of ſo great Valor as were the Mamalukes, ſhould in the covert of the night return and ſet upon him in his Camp; for he knew right well, that they were overcome and put to flight, rather by the Treachery of *Cayerbeius* and fury of his great Ordnance, than by the Valor of his Souldiers. But *Gazelles* and the other Mamalukes, after they certainly underſtood of the death of *Campſon*, having given their Horſes a ſhort bait, departed in haſt from *Aleppo* to *Damaſco*. The next day *Selymus* removing with his Army, took the rich Tents of his Enemies full of all princely ſtore, which he gave unto his Souldiers for a Prey; and marching from thence to *Aleppo*, had the City peaceably delivered unto him by *Cayerbeius*, where he favourably took the Citizens into his protection; and the more to win their hearts, granted unto them greater Priviledges than they had in former time enjoyed.

Aleppo ***delivered to*** **Selymus** ***by*** **Cayerbeius** ***the Traitor.***

In this Battel were ſlain not above a thouſand Mamalukes; but of their Servants and followers a great number; more being ſlain in the Flight than in the Fight, when as their Horſes fainting for heat, and dying under them for thirſt, many of them were inforced to betake themſelves to their feet, and ſo were eaſily ſlain of every baſe Horſeman. For a great number of goodly Horſes died there, which being foggy fat, and delicately brought up in cold Stables, could not endure the vehemency of the heat, and that unacquainted travel; for that day all things were burnt with the ſcorching heat of the Sun.

This famous Battel was fought the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt*, in the year of our Lord 1516, the very ſame day (which is ſtrange to tell) whereon but two years before, he had obtained the Victory againſt *Hyſmael* the great Sophi in the *Chalderan* Fields. *Selymus* loſt in this Battel three thouſand Horſemen; whereby it may eaſily be gathered, That he had there received a notable overthrow of his Horſemen, if *Sinan Baſſa* in the left Wing (which by the Treaſon of *Cayerbeius* eſcaped with ſmall loſs) had alſo happened upon his *Sybeius*, as the other General did.

The dead Body of **Campſon** ***laid out for all men to view.***

The dead body of *Campſon* found two days after without any wound appearing thereupon, was by the commandment of *Selymus* laid forth in open place for all men to behold; that ſuch as believed him yet to live, and to be gone to repair his Army at *Caire*, might be out of all hope of his return; and others that were already revolted, might thereby be the more confirmed, as now out of all fear of him. Not long after, when the dead Body began to putrifie and grow noyſom, and to convince the fame of his eſcape, had lien open to the view of all men by the ſpace of three days, it was without any funeral Pomp or ſolemnity, ſimply buried in the moſt ancient Temple of *Aleppo*. Of the riſing and fall of this great man, *Janus Vitalis* hath written this *Elogium* or *Epitaph*.

Paulus Jovius Illuſt. virorum Elog. lib. 4.

Fortuna cæca, & ſurda, vere diceris,
Et mente una prædita.
Ad alta tollis ſcamna in imo conditos,
Ut mox cadant profundius.
Moroſa tu mortalium appetentium
Votum, omne fulmine ocyus
Fugas, deinde te nihil petentibus
Benignitate prodigis.
Campſon *ut ille* Gaurius, *nil ambiens,*
Nil te proterva flagitans,
Invitus imperator oræ Egyptiæ
Tumultuoſa militum
Ex fece plebis factus inſolentia,
Supra volabat nubila,
Inter receptus altiora ſydera
Mox excidens altiſſimus,
Abſumptus armis hinc & hinc rebellibus,
Gravis ſenectæ pondere
Fit ludus atrox impotentis alea
Tuæque pervicaciæ,
Amiſit & cum vita, opes quas maximo
Cum regno habebat maximas.

In Engliſh thus:

Fortune well call'd both deaf, and blind,
And thereto fond withal,
Thou ſetſt the beggar up aloft,
To work his greater fall.
Thou peeviſh Dame, more ſuddain than
, The thunder Clap from high,
Rejects the ſuits of greedy Wights,
Which to thee call and cry.
And laviſhly conſumes thy ſelf,
And whatſo elſe thou haſt,
On ſuch as crave nothing of thee,
Nor wiſht not to be grac't.
As *Campſon Gaurus* ſeeking nought,
Ne craving ought of thee;
Againſt his Will by Souldiers rage,
Was rais'd from baſe degree.
And ſoaring up above the Clouds,
Made King of *Egypts* Land,
Receiv'd amongſt the higheſt Stars,
Did there in glory ſtand.
But forthwith falling thence, oppreſt
With Rebels, War, and Age;
Became the ſcorn of thine ore'thwart
Moſt fierce and fickle rage.
And ſo with life, together loſt
A World of Wealth alſo;
Which with his ſtately Kingdom great,
He greateſt did forgo.

Selymus ***coming to*** **Damaſco.**

Selymus having received the City of *Aleppo* into his Obeiſance, ſent *Jonuſes Baſſa* before him with a great part of his light Horſemen, to purſue his flying Enemies to *Damaſco*, whither he himſelf in few days after came alſo with the reſt of his Army, when he underſtood that his Enemies were departed thence and fled to Caire. They of *Damaſco*, thinking it not to ſtand with their good to ſtay the courſe of his Victory, and with their lives to hazard the great Wealth of that rich City; without delay preſently opened unto him the Gates at his coming. By whoſe example other Cities alongſt the Sea-Coaſt moved, eſpecially *Tripolis*, *Berytus*, *Sydon*, and *Ptolemais*, ſending their Embaſſadors, and receiving in the Turks Garriſons, yielded themſelves in like manner.

Not long after, *Selymus* held a great Counſel in his Camp, which then lay under the Walls of *Damaſco*; for he would not bring his Souldiers

Notable diſcipline in Selymus his Army.

into the City for troubling the quiet and populous ſtate thereof, together with the great Trade of Merchandiſe, which at that time was with wonderful ſecurity kept there by Merchants of divers Countries, coming from far, even from the remoteſt parts of the World. And in the Camp ſuch was the military diſcipline of that moſt ſevere Commander, that the Souldiers (knowing the Victory to give them no whit the more liberty) ſuffered the fruitful Orchards and Gardens of the Citizens, in the moſt plentiful time of Autumn, to reſt in ſafety untouched, without any keeper. By which ſevere and ſtrait government he ſo politiquely provided againſt all wants, that his Camp was in all parts furniſhed with plenty of all things neceſſary, and that at prices reaſonable. There taking unto him men skilful in the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country, and calling before him the Embaſſadors of all the Cities of the Country, he heard and decided the greateſt controverſies of the Syrians, appointed Governors over the Provinces and Cities, took view of the Tributes and Cuſtoms, and abrogated many Cuſtoms and Tributes due unto the old Sultans, which ſeemed either unreaſonable or grievous to the People; thereby to gain the fame of a juſt and bountiful Conqueror.

When he had thus ſet all things in order in *Syria*, and ſufficiently reſted and refreſhed his Army; and eſpecially his Horſes which with long and continual travel were grown maigre and lean; he of nothing more deſirous than of the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, and the utter ſubverſion of the Sultans State and Mamalukes Government; ſent before *Sinan Baſſa* into *Judea* with fifteen thouſand Horſemen, and a ſtrong Regiment of Harquebuſiers ſelected out of the Janizaries and other Souldiers, to try the paſſage of that Country, and to open the way for him to *Gaza*, which was thought would be unto him very troubleſome, by reaſon of the wild Arabians roaming upon and down that Country. The City of *Gaza* ſtandeth near the Sea towards *Egypt*, not far from the ſandy Deſarts, whereby men with much difficulty and dangerous travel paſs out of *Syria*, and ſo to *Caire*.

Tomombeius *by the general conſent of the Mamalukes choſen Sultan of Egypt.*

In the mean time, the Mamalukes who under the conduct of *Gazelles* were come to *Caire*, with all the reſt of their order which were thither aſſembled from all parts of the Kingdom, entring into Counſel together (as it often falls out in time of danger and diſtreſs) without all contention or envy, choſe *Tomombeius* (of the Turks called *Tuman-bai*) a Circaſſian born, to be their King. He was then the great Diadare, and by his Office next in honour and power unto the Sultan; whoſe Proweſs and Policy was ſuch, that he only in the opinion of all the Mamalukes was thought able and ſufficient to ſtay and uphold the afflicted and declining State of their Kingdom. He by their general conſent and good liking promoted to the State of the great Sultan, thinking (as truth was) his own Majeſty, and the remainder of the Mamalukes hopes, to be wholly repoſed in Arms, and the fortune of Battel; began with great carefulneſs and ſingular induſtry to provide Armor, Weapons, and Horſes from all places; he alſo cauſed great ſtore of Ordnance to be caſt, and muſtered great Companies of ſuch of his Slaves as ſeemed meet for the Wars; beſide that, he entertained for Pay, many of the Moors and Arabians his Neighbours. He alſo for great reward, hired men skilful of the Countries, to go through the Deſarts of the *Palmyrens* into *Meſopotamia*, and ſo to *Hyſmael* the Perſian King with Letters, earneſtly requeſting him to invade the Turks Dominions in *Aſia* the leſs, or with all ſpeed to break into *Comagena*, being by the departure of the Enemy left bare and deſtitute of ſufficient Garriſons; and farther to advertiſe him, That *Selymus* who then lay in the borders of *Judea*, might eaſily be incloſed with their two Armies, and ſo be vanquiſhed, or for want of Victuals diſtreſſed; and the rather, for that there was no Fleet of the Turks upon that coaſt, able from Sea to relieve their Army by Land, or yet to tranſport them thence in caſe they ſhould by chance of War be diſtreſſed, and ſo think to return. In which doing, he ſhould both relieve the Egyptian Sultan his Friend and Confederate, for his ſake brought into ſo great danger; and alſo without any great trouble or peril notably revenge himſelf of ſo many ſhameful injuries as he had before received from that his moſt capital Enemy. Whilſt *Tomombeius* doth theſe things, *Sinan Baſſa* the forerunner of *Selymus*, having eaſily repulſed divers companies of the wild Arabians, who in manner of Theeves and Robbers lay upon the paſſages, had now opened the way, and was come to *Gaza*; where the Citizens, although they were in heart faithful unto the Mamalukes, yet for that to ſhut their Gates againſt the Baſſa, and to ſtand upon their guard without a ſufficient Garriſon, ſeemed a matter both perilous and unreaſonable, forthwith yielded their City upon reaſonable compoſition; and with the plenty thereof relieved the Turks Baſſa, giving him great (but diſſembled) thanks, that by his means and the good fortune of *Selymus*, they were delivered from the cruel bondage of the Mamalukes; promiſing for the remembrance of ſo great a benefit, for ever to remain his faithful Servants. *Sinan* commending their ready good will, required of them all ſuch things as he wanted, or had occaſion to uſe; which they ſeemed willingly to deliver; and ſo lodged his Army near unto the Walls of the City, within the defence of the Gardens, purpoſing in that place to expect the coming of *Selymus*.

Gaza *yielded to* **Sinan.**

In the mean time (as he was a man of great experience, and moſt skilful in Martial Affairs) he ſought by all means to get knowledge of that Deſart and unpeopled Country, not inhabited for lack of Water; and eſpecially of the nature of the great Sands whereby *Selymus* was with his Army to paſs; he alſo won by rewards the Inhabitants of the Country thereabout, by large offers, to procure unto him the favour of the Chieftains and Leaders of the Arabians, near unto thoſe places; and alſo to eſpy what the Mamalukes did at *Caire*, and wherein they repoſed their chief confidence, and forthwith to give him knowledge thereof.

On the other ſide, the Citizens of *Gaza*, in heart Enemies unto the Turks, as dayly feeling the grievances of the preſent Army, advertiſed *Tomombeius* of the coming of *Sinan Baſſa*; and that that power of the Turks Army might eaſily be oppreſſed before the coming of *Selymus*, if a ſtrong power of Mamalukes were ſent thither under the conduct of skilful Leaders; promiſing, that if the Mamalukes would at an appointed time upon the ſuddain in the night ſet upon the ſleepy Turks, they would at the ſame inſtant ſally out of the City upon the Camp, and there with Fire and Sword do what harm they could for the overthrow of the Enemy.

Of this device, *Tomombeius* and the Mamalukes liked well, and ſo without delay ſent *Gazelles* ſix thouſand choſen Horſemen, and a great number of the Arabians, to perform the exploit upon *Sinan*; for *Gazelles*, in that his wholeſome Counſel had been by *Campſon* and others rejected, (who being ſtraitway deſirous of Battel, had raſhly caſt themſelves and the whole State into ſo great calamity) and afterwards in the greateſt danger of the Battel having performed all the parts of a politick and valiant Chieftain, was grown into ſuch credit, that all Men held a great opinion both of his valour and direction.

Sinan advertiſed of the coming of Gazelles, goeth ſecretly to meet him.

But he was ſcarcely well ſet forth, when advertiſement was given unto *Sinan* by his Syrian intelligencers, That the Mamalukes with the Arabians were coming through the ſandy Deſerts, upon the ſudden to oppreſs him; and that they would be with him before two days were expired, foraſmuch as they had ſet forward upon the Spur, without any Carriages or Baggage to let them. Which overture in good time given, as it was the ſafegard of *Sinans* Army, ſo was it of greateſt importance and moment, for the obtaining of the full Conqueſt of *Egypt* afterward. But *Sinan Baſſa*, although he knew nothing of the Treachery of them of *Gaza*; yet as a Man of prudent and ſubtil Wit, ſuſpecting that ſuch a thing might happen; becauſe he would not at once have to do with a double Enemy, reſolved to go and meet the Mamalukes upon the way, and to give them Battel. Wherefore with great ſilence diſlodging his Army betwixt ten and twelve of the Clock in the night, he ſet forward and marched out of ſight of the City about fifteen Miles toward *Egypt*. There was near unto that place a little low Village, wherein Travellers uſed commonly to lodge, for the commodiouſneſs of a lively and plenteous Spring which there riſeth; there by chance both *Sinan Baſſa* had purpoſed to ſtay, and *Gazelles* in like manner had alſo determined to reſt a few hours to refreſh his Army, that he might by night, after he had well refreſhed his Horſes, come unlooked for upon his Enemies at *Gaza*; when news was brought to both the Generals almoſt at one inſtant, by the forerunners of both the Armies, That the Enemy was at hand.

Gazelles not a little troubled with that unexpected news, for that he perceived himſelf diſappointed of his purpoſe; and unable to fight with his Enemies in plain Battel, eſpecially his Horſes being ſore wearied with Travel, was inforced upon the ſuddain for the ſafegard of himſelf and his followers, to reſolve upon a new reſolution; yet nothing diſcouraged, with cheerful countenance and lively ſpeech exhorted his Souldiers to make themſelves ready for Battel, and that which they could not by policy bring to paſs, they ſhould now by plain force perform. *Sinan* on the other ſide having ſomewhat ſooner ſet his Men in order of Battel than had *Gazelles*, foraſmuch as he had before at good leiſure taken order what he would have done, if it ſhould come to the point of Battel; with conſtant look and long perſwaſions full of hope, encouraged his Souldiers to fight: But the concluſion of all his Speech was, That they ſhould play the Men, and not once think of flight, foraſmuch as all places about them would be ſhut up, and become impaſſible, if they obtained not the Victory; and that above all things they ſhould perſwade themſelves, that no one of them could that day periſh, but ſuch as the immortal God had by the inevitable Law of fatal Deſtiny, appointed to die; and that with like hazard valiant Men found life in the midſt of their Enemies Weapons, that Cowards by immutable Deſtiny found death in their ſafeſt flight.

The Battel between Sinan Baſſa and Gazelles.

The Baſſa had placed his Harquebuſiers in the Wings of his Battel, which were ranged of a great length in thin Ranks, thereby to uſe their Pieces at more liberty, and with more eaſe to incloſe the Enemy; in the middle were placed the Horſemen to receive the firſt charge of the Mamalukes. *Gazelles* approaching the Enemy, ſent before the Troops of the Arabian light Horſemen to trouble the Wings of his Enemies Battel, and with a ſquare Battel of his Mamalukes charged the middle Battel of the Turks. The Battel was a great while moſt terrible, and the Victory doubtful; for although the Turks in number far exceeded, yet were they not able to endure the armed and couragious Mamalukes, but were glad to give ground; and quite diſordered by the breaking in of the Mamalukes, as Men diſcouraged, began to look about them which way they might flie; when by the commandment of *Sinan* the Harquebuſiers, who with the firſt Volley of their ſhot had repulſed the Arabians, wheeling about, encloſed all the Enemies Battel. By which means both Men and Horſe were a far off ſlain, with the multitude of the deadly ſhot; where true Valour helped not them, ſo on every ſide incloſed. For where any Troop of the Mamalukes preſſed forward upon the Turks, they quickly retired, and in all places of the Battel as much as they could ſhunned to encounter their Enemies with their Horſemen, labouring only to gaul them with ſhot. *Gazelles* ſeeing his Horſe ſpent with extream wearineſs, and that he was not to expect any further help, his Arabians beginning now to fall from him; and alſo conſidering, that many of his moſt valiant Souldiers were either ſlain or wounded, and having alſo himſelf received a great wound in his Neck, he with the reſt of his Army made way through the midſt of his Enemies, and having loſt divers of his Enſigns, fled back again to *Caire* through the ſame ſandy Deſerts whereby he came. In this Battel was loſt the Governor of *Alexandria*, and *Orchamus* Governor of *Caire* (both Men of great account among the Mamalukes) and beſide them a great number of Arabians, with a thouſand or more of the Mamaluke Horſemen. Neither got *Sinan* a joyful or unbloody Victory, having loſt above two thouſand of his beſt Horſemen, and amongſt them certain Commmanders, Men of great mark.

The Turks weary of this Battel, which had endured from noon till night, and many of their Horſes fainting under them, were not able to purſue their Enemies, and therefore encamped themſelves in the ſame place where the Battel was fought, near unto the Fountain. The day following they at leiſure gathered the ſpoil, and cutting off the Heads of their Enemies, which were eaſily known by their long and rough Beards, faſtned them up upon the Date Trees growing thereby, as well in witneſs of their worthy labour, as by that ſtrange and horrible ſpectacle to feed the eies of their fierce Emperor, who was ſhortly after to paſs that way, and ſo to manifeſt unto him the Victory of that day.

In the mean time they of *Gaza* upon the riſing of the Sun, perceiving the Turks Camp left empty, as Men not able longer to diſſemble their covert Treachery; and vainly ſuppoſing that *Sinan Baſſa* upon ſome knowledge of the coming of the Mamalukes, had for fear retired back into places of more ſafety, ſuddainly ſet upon ſuch as were left in the Camp, which were for moſt part ſick and weak Men (yet in number many) whom they moſt cruelly ſlew; and preſently after ſet upon two thouſand of the Turks Horſemen, ſent from *Selymus* to *Sinan*, which by chance were come thither the ſame day, enquiring with great carefulneſs what was become of the Baſſa and his Army; and ſpoiling them of his Carriages, put them to flight; who after that diſcomfiture, ſuppoſing the Baſſa (whom they had thought to have found at *Gaza*, tarrying for the coming of *Selymus*) by ſome miſhap or policy of the Enemy to have been loſt, with all his Army, and therefore fearfully retiring, were upon the way miſerably ſlain by the Arabians; neither had any one of them eſcaped, if they had not met with *Juleb* the Governor of *Achaia* at the City of *Rama*; for he was alſo ſent from *Selymus* to *Sinan Baſſa* with a ſtrong company of Grecian Horſemen, by whoſe coming the fury of the Arabians was well repreſſed. Yet theſe pilfering People ſtill calling forth to the prey more and more of their Leaders which dwelt in the Mountains adjoyning, and being grown to a great Army, overtook the Turks at a Village called *Carasbara*, where they inforced them to fight in a place of great diſadvantage. For the Arabians having before taken certain ſtraits, which cloſed in the paſſage at the further end of a large Valley, ſhewed themſelves at once, before, behind, and on both ſides of the Turks; their Weapons were Bows and Arrows, and long Spears armed at both ends, which they nimbly handled, after the manner of the Moors. Theſe Weapons they moſt skilfully uſed upon their ſwift Horſes, and both in their charge and retreat wounded their Enemies deadly. So that the Turks in number few, and for their Horſemens ſtaves inferior to their Enemies, durſt not offer to charge them; but keeping cloſe together, hardly defended themſelves, ſtill making way as they might; and had undoubtedly been brought into extream danger to have been utterly loſt, had not *Juleb* with four Pieces of Artillery which he brought with him for his defence, driven them which kept the ſtraits from their high places, and ſo opening the way, with all ſpeed brought through his Men; which ſtraits once paſſed, and coming into the open Fields, he with more ſafety marched forward, skirmiſhing afar off with the Enemy with his Archers and Harquebuſiers, and diſcharging his Field-pieces where he ſaw the greateſt and thickeſt Troops of thoſe wild People.

On the other part, the Arabians diſperſedly hovering about them in Troops, were ſtill in the tail of the Army, and ſuch as were wounded or weak and could not follow the reſt, they ſlew; and ſought by all means to hinder the Journy, not ſuffering them (circumvented with ſo many dangers) either to refreſh themſelves, or to take any reſt. This was unto the Turks a moſt diſmal day, for many of them tormented with thirſt, and weakned with wounds and extream labor, gave up the Ghoſt; and now no help remained in this deſperate eſtate, being ſtill beſet and hardly laid too with the multitude of thoſe fierce and deſperate Enemies; when ſuddainly a great number of other Turks came to them in the mid-way unlooked for, being now in deſpair and even at the laſt caſt; for *Selymus* having left the Imbrahor Baſſa with a ſtrong Army upon the borders of *Perſia*, for the defence of *Syria* and *Aſia*, and having ſent for new ſupplies of Souldiers to *Conſtantinople*, which ſhould with a great Fleet be tranſported into *Syria*, had now removed from *Damaſco*; and the better to provide for Victuals and Forrage, which began now to grow ſcant in that waſted Country; every day ſent before great Troops and Companies of his Army, as it were at certain appointed times.

So *Juleb* delivered of the preſent danger by the coming in of theſe freſh Souldiers, met with *Selymus* the next day, and in order told him all that had hapned unto him and his firſt Troops at *Gaza* and *Rama*, and all the way after; and alſo what they ſuppoſed by conjectures to have chanced to *Sinan Baſſa* with his Army, for the manifold wiles of ſo dangerous Enemies. With which news *Selymus* became exceeding Melancholy, and thereupon thought it not good to go any further, before he perfectly knew how all ſtood with *Sinan*; in which fortune he had repoſed all the hope of his good ſucceſs in that ſo great an enterpriſe. But whilſt he was in this dump, ſuddainly came the Syrian Spies, who declaring unto him all that *Sinan Baſſa* had done, converted that melancholy paſſion into no leſs joy and gladneſs; for he ſaw that by that Victory, *Egypt* was laid open unto him, and his deſires as good as half accompliſhed in leſs time than ever he expected.

Selymus *doubting* Sinan *Baſſa to have been loſt becometh Melancholy.*

News of Sinans *Victory comforteth* Selymus.

The next day after, he removed with his Army to *Rama*, and by the way as he went (to the terror of others) burnt the Dwellings, together with the Wives and Children of thoſe Arabians, who but a little before had done ſo much harm to his Men in their paſſage. And from thence ſending before his Footmen to *Sinan Baſſa* at *Gaza*, he himſelf with his Horſemen turned out of the way upon the left hand to *Jeruſalem*, to viſit that moſt ancient and famous City, ſo much renowned both for the antiquity thereof, and the fame of the Religion of the Jews. That unpeopled and deſolate City lay then defaced with the huge Ruins of the old ſacred and ſtately Buildings; not inhabited by the Jews, the ancient Inhabitants thereof (who for their inexpiable guilt, as Men exiled out of the World, have no Country or reſting place) but for moſt part by a few poor Chriſtians, who to the great ſcorn and ſhame of the Chriſtian name, paid yearly a great Tribute unto the Sultan of *Egypt*, for the poſſeſſion of the ſacred Sepulcher; when as the Chriſtian Princes, flouriſhing at that time with glory, power, and wealth, could not by any motive of immortal glory or fame, be incited to revenge ſo great an injury; but deeming it (as ſhould ſeem) better agreeing with their ſtate, to ſpend their time in idle Vanities, or mortal War one againſt another, than in the quarrel of the moſt true and Chriſtian Religion.

Selymus having reverently worſhipped the ancient Monuments of the old Prophets, and done eſpecial ſacrifice unto his great Prophet *Mahomet*; gave unto the Chriſtian Prieſts keepers of the place (as unto good and devout Men) Mony to maintain them for ſix months; and ſtaying at *Jeruſalem* but one night, marched in four days to the reſt of his Army at *Gaza*; where by the way he had continual skirmiſhes both day and night with the Arabians; for they according to their wonted manner were deſperately at hand in every place, and where the ſtraitneſs of the ways inforced the Turks to extenuate their ranks, there would they be ready to skirmiſh with them, and ſuddainly unlooked for come to handy blows; and when they came into the Vallies, they tumbled down from the Mountains great ſtones upon them, which they had for that purpoſe before provided. At which time the Turks Harquebuſiers, in whom they had greateſt confidence, ſerved them to little purpoſe; for the Weather was ſo tempeſtuous and extream moiſt with continual Rain, that the Pouder in their Flasks became wet and unſerviceable, and hardly could they keep Fire in their Matches. Yet by the valiantneſs of the Janizaries the matter was ſo uſed, that near unto the perſon of the Emperor no great harm was done by thoſe naked Robbers; for climbing up the Hills with Pikes in their Hands they drove them from their ſtandings, and enforced them to abandon the ſtraits and high places.

1517. Sinan Baſſa *goeth to meet* Selymus, *as he was coming to* Gaza.

But *Sinan Baſſa* (who after his Victory returning to *Gaza*, had put to death the authors of the late revolt, confiſcated their Goods, and exacted of the People in general a great ſum of Mony, as the juſt puniſhment of their falſe Treachery) hearing now of the coming of *Selymus*, went to meet him with his victorious Souldiers, furniſhed with the ſpoils of their Enemies. Whom *Selymus* moſt honourably received, and gave generally to the Captains, and particularly to the moſt valiant of the common Souldiers, garments of Silk, with a great ſum of Mony in reward of their good Service.

After that, he ſtaied but four days at *Gaza*, for that he thought it not good to give any long time of breathing unto his diſcouraged Enemies, now twice overthrown; or to ſuffer the new Sultan (not yet well ſetled in his Kingdom) to grow ſtronger by new preparations and ſupplies raiſed in the moſt populous and plentiful Country of *Egypt*. Which to let, although it required great haſte in ſetting forward, and ſerved as ſpurs unto him, naturally haſting to glory and renown; yet was his Army to be refreſhed after ſo long and painful Travel, and great proviſion to be made for the carriage of Water upon Camels all the way through the dry, ſolitary, and ſandy Deſerts. For between *Gaza* and *Caire* lie vaſt unpeopled and barren ſands, which moved by the Wind, riſe up in Billows in manner of a rough Sea, ſo troubleſome, that oftentimes it is not poſſible to ſee for duſt, and the light ſands in many places gauled deep with the wind, wonderfully troubleth the weary paſſengers. But ſuch a ſuddain calm enſued the great Rain which fell but three days before, that *Selymus* unto his great good Fortune wanted nothing that he could wiſh, for the happy conduct of his Army; for the air was become ſo calm, that there was no blaſt of wind to raiſe the Sand to trouble their ſight; and withal ſuch plenty of Water was found almoſt in every place, by reaſon of the abundant Rain, which being not yet ſunk far into the Sand, afforded them water in ſuch plenty, if they digged but two foot deep, that the Souldiers commonly thought it needleſs to carry any bottle of water for fear of thirſt. Yet for all that, the wild Arabians failed not in all that paſſage, on every ſide to hover about the Turks Army (as Hawks over their prey) and ſuffer none of them to ſtraggle out of order, or ſtay behind the Army, but they were ſtraitway ſnatched up and ſlain. Againſt whom *Selymus* provided an eaſie remedy, by placing his Field-pieces in divers parts of his Army, which by the direction of the Leaders (as every Man hapned to be neareſt unto the danger) were forthwith diſcharged upon the roaming Enemy. And in the rereward of his Army were placed ſtrong companies of Harquebuſiers, for the defence of the weak and feeble Souldiers, who could but ſoftly follow the Army, and were therefore moſt ſubject to danger.

By this means *Selymus* with ſome ſmall loſs received from the Arabians, in eight days march drew near to *Caire*, *Sinan Baſſa* going before him, who with his Europeian Souldiers ſtill kept one days journey before. There is a Village about ſix Miles diſtant from the City of *Caire* called *Matharea*, famous for the plenty of moſt excellent Balm, with liquor of all others moſt fragrant and ſoveraign, diſtilled out of low Trees there planted, whoſe uttermoſt rind the people cut with Ivory Knives to give the Liquor paſſage; which Balm for the notable vertues thereof, being not elſewhere to be had, Mens diſeaſes and wanton deſires have made of a wonderful price. Into that place near unto a Village called *Rhodania*, had *Tomombeius* conveied all his new and old proviſion of Artillery; and had drawn deep Ditches overthwart all the field; and croſs the high-way, which he had cloſely covered over the weak hurlds and earth, as if it had been firm ground. And he with his Mamalukes (in number about twelve thouſand) and a great multitude of Arabian Horſemen lay in places convenient, of purpoſe that when the Turks Battels ſhould approach, they ſhould firſt feel the force of his great Ordnance before they came within the ſhot of their Arrows, and forthwith upon great diſadvantage, with all his Forces ſuddainly to ſet upon them diſordered and intrapped. All which things were ſo cunningly and ſo politickly contrived and done, that there was none in the Sultans Army which doubted of the good ſucceſs of that day; and a great miſchief had undoubtedly befallen the Turks, had not Fortune which favoured *Selymus*, and frowned upon *Tomombeius* (or more truly to ſay, the fatal period of that Kingdom ſo requiring) by the falſe Treachery of a few, fruſtrated the great endeavors of the Mamalukes.

Tomombeius *ſeeks to entrap the Turks.*

There was in the Sultans Army among the Souldiers of the Court, four Epirot Mamalukes, who grieved to ſee *Tomombeius* (contrary to their deſires) preferred to the Kingdom by others of a contrary faction; whether it were upon a malitious diſpoſition, or upon hope of reward and better entertainment, or for that in ſo great a declination of their Kingdom, they thought it good to ſeek for new friends of more aſſurance, fled ſecretly to *Sinan Baſſa*, as to a moſt famous Captain, and one of their own Nation. For this great Commander *Sinan*, *Selymus* his right hand, was born in a poor Country Village of *Epirus*, in the Mountain Country of *Ambracia*; whom a wonderful miſchance preferred to that height of credit and wealth; for it is reported, that a Sow kept in the Houſe wherein he was Born, bit off his Genitors, being then but a Child, as he lay by chance ſleeping in the ſhadow; and being made of a greater eſteem by that miſhap, was by them which took up delicate Minions from the Turkiſh Emperor, brought to *Conſtantinople*, and preſented to the great Emperor *Mahomet*, *Selymus* his Grandfather; where fortune by the fatal direction of his good hap, advanced him to his appointed honors, whom ſhe had long before diſmembred. By theſe fugitive Mamalukes, *Selymus* and *Sinan* were inſtructed of all the devices of the Enemy, and eſpecially what ſtratogems *Tomombeius* had with great cunning and policy deviſed; whereinto they muſt needs fall, if they ſhould go directly on and not forſake the high-way. Wherefore guided by the ſame Fugitives, they fetcht a great compaſs on the left hand, and by an unuſed way, before it was day, having eſcaped the front of their Enemies Camp, with all the dangers prepared for them; they came and ſhewed themſelves at their backs in order of Battel, with their great Artillery ready bent, becauſe they were deſirous without delay to joyn Battel.

The coming of Selymus *by an unexpected way makes great confuſion in* Tomombeius *Camp.*

Tomombeius now too late perceiving that his Plot was diſcovered by the Treaſon of ſome of his own People; although he was therewith above meaſure grieved, for that all that he had with ſo great induſtry and the labour of ſo many Men brought to paſs, was through ſpiteful fortune made fruſtrate, and in a moment brought to nought; yet for all that, he was a Man of an invincible courage) preſently entred into his wonted and deep devices, and calling to him his chief Commanders, quickly told them what he would have done. Now in this ſhort moment of time he was to do many things at once; the ſignal was to be given for the Souldiers to mount their Horſes, and to make themſelves ready, the order of his Camp was to be changed, his Battel to be ordered, his Souldiers to be encouraged, and all his great Ordnance, as the caſe required, quite the contrary way to be turned; all which things, as they could but hardly and troubleſomely by one Commander be directed, ſo were they haſtily and diſorderly at once done by many. But above all other things, the great concourſe of people for turning and removing the great Artillery, moſt troubled the well ordering of the reſt; for many of them were huge Iron pieces of great weight, made faſt in Stocks of Wood, with Rings and iron Claſps, after the old and rude manner of ſhip Ordnance, which for their exceeding and ponderous weight, could not be out of their places removed, but by the ſtrength of many Horſes, and the great labour of Men, with leavers and rouls put under them; and ſuch as were mounted upon Carriages when they were drawn through all parts of the Camp, with the great clamour of the diſordered and haſty People, ſome drawing, ſome thruſting forward the ſame, with their tumultuous ſtir and doings, wonderfully troubled the other Souldiers as they were mounting to Horſe and repairing toward their Enſigns. But two things marvellouſly helped theſe difficulties, the Souldiers cheerfulneſs, and conſtancy, which was ſuch as paſſeth credit; for they did not upon any apprehenſion of fear fail either in hope or courage, as oftentimes it hapneth in ſuddain accidents, wherein even the old approved Souldiers do many times fail of their wonted valour. And although they were twice overcome in Battel, yet ſtill they were of greater ſpirit and confidence, as Men deſtitute neither of courage or ſkill, but only of fortune.

Wherefore *Tomombeius* having with much ado ordered this Battel, and his Souldiers with great cheerfulneſs, deſiring the ſignal to be given, commanded all the multitude of his Arabians to compaſs in the wings of the Enemies Battel behind, and ſo to ſkirmiſh with them; that ſo (if it were poſſible) the Turks Horſemen might with the danger of the doubtful fight with ſuch an uncertain Enemy, be diſordered before he ſet forward to charge them with his Troops; and withal commanded his great Ordnance (which was now turned upon the Enemy) to be preſently diſcharged. So did the Turks likewiſe, diſcharging at once from a convenient diſtance both their greater and ſmaller Ordnance; and ſpeedily recharging them, brought them within an Arrow ſhot; ſo that for a good ſpace they lay beating the one the other on both ſides with their great Artillery only; in which manner of fight the Egyptian Canoniers were almoſt all ſlain, and many of their Field-pieces broken by force of the Enemies ſhot. For *Selymus* had in his Camp many excellent and skilful Canoniers, whom he had with great entertainment allured out of *Italy* and *Germany*; and eſpecially of thoſe refuſe Jews, which by the zeal of King *Ferdinand* being driven out of *Spain*, afterwards to the ſhame of the Chriſtians, diſperſed thoſe rare and deadly devices through the Eaſt. The chief of theſe Canoniers was one *Jacobus e Rogio Lepidi*, a cunning Engineer, who but a little before overcome by the Turks rewards, abjuring the Chriſtian Religion, revolted unto the Mahometan Superſtition.

Chriſtian Canoniers ſerve the Turks againſt the Egyptians.

But after that the Mamalukes had brought the matter to Battel on both ſides, they gave out a moſt hideous and dreadful cry, and with exceeding fury aſſailed the Turks in three places; for *Selymus* ſtill keeping his wonted order, approached his Enemies with his Battel in form of an half Moon. *Muſtapha Baſſa* had the leading of the Aſian Horſemen in the right wing; and *Jonuſes Baſſa*, of the Europeians in the left; he himſelf ſtood in the main Battel with the Squadron of his truſty Janizaries, and great ſtore of Artillery; but *Sinan* the Eunuch Baſſa, General of the Field, led after him a great number of moſt valiant Horſemen, drawn out of every Troop, to be ready againſt all the uncertain events that might happen in the Battel, unto whom he joyned five hundred Harquebuſiers, Janizaries, Men of wonderful courage and activity, ſelected out of *Selymus* his own Squadron, to relieve ſuch part of the Army as ſhould chance to be moſt preſſed by the Enemy.

The order of Selymus his Army.

Sinan Baſſa *General of the Field.*

So almoſt at one time, whilſt *Tomombeius* ſtood in the main Battel againſt *Selymus*, and the Wings of the Mamalukes with equal Battel encountred the Wings of the Turks, and the Arabians alſo valiantly charging them in the rereward as they had in charge, four ſharp Battels were at once made in divers places. It is reported by ſome that were preſent in that Battel, that what for the clamor and cry of Souldiers, what for the noiſe of Drums and Trumpets and ſuch like Inſtruments of War, what for the thundering of Ordnance, clattering of Armor, and riſing of the Duſt, all Mens minds were ſo confounded and abaſhed, that running on headlong as Men furious and deſperate, when neither their Speeches could be heard, their Tokens known, their Enſigns ſeen, or Captains underſtood, miſtaking one another in that hurly burly, they ſlew many of their Friends in ſtead of their Enemies; for never Battels met together with greater hatred, neither did ever two great Kings with leſs care of their perſons and ſafety more reſolutely or deſperately make ſhew of their ſtrength and courage; for both of them with like danger both of themſelves and of their Armies, ſeeing plainly that they had put both their Lives and Kingdoms to the hazard of a Battel, promiſed unto themſelves no other hope of ſafety, but what they ſhould obtain by Victory. *Gazelles* deſirous both of honor and of revenge, to requite the Europeian Horſemen with like ſlaughter as he had before received from them not far from *Gaza*, with wonderful fury aſſailed *Jonuſes Baſſa*, and at the firſt encounter brake his firſt Ranks, and overthrew certain of his Guidons; at which time the Arabians preſſing couragiouſly in at their backs, enforced thoſe victorious Troops, which in all Battels had hitherto carried away the prize (the very flower of *Thracia*, *Theſſalia*, *Epirus*, *Macedonia*, and *Græcia*) to flie and ſhew their backs, which never Enemy had before that time ſeen. At which time *Sinan Baſſa* carefully attending every accident, came ſpeedily in with his moſt valiant Troops of freſh Men, upon the ſide of the Enemy, and reſtored again the Battel, now declining and foully diſordered. But whilſt *Sinan*, who in this his laſt worthy labour had interrupted the manifeſt Victory of *Gazelles*, was with an invincible courage valiantly fighting in the head of the Battel, he was by the coming in of the couragious Captain *Bidon* with his Mamalukes, overcharged and ſlain. His moſt valiant Followers alſo labouring to reſcue and carry away his dead Body, were by *Gazelles* unfolding his Troops (that ſtanding thin, they might at more liberty uſe their

Swords,

Sinan Baſſa *with moſt of his Followers ſlain by* Bidon.

Swords, in which manner of fight the Mamalukes far excelled the Turks) for moſt part ſlain, and the reſt put to flight; and that choſen Company of five hundred of the moſt valiant Janizaries, now deſtitute of their Horſemen, when they had moſt couragiouſly done what was poſſible for Men to do, being compaſſed round with the Mamalukes Horſemen, were all in a trice cut in pieces and trodden under foot. Thus reſteth this Eunuch Baſſa in the Bed of Fame, who living, had the leading of this moſt warlike Emperor *Selymus* his greateſt Armies in his moſt dangerous Wars.

Muſtapha in the other Wing of the Turks Battel coming on couragiouſly with his Aſian Horſemen, did ſore preſs the left Wing of the Egyptians (whereof *Helymus* the Diadare, and *Giapal*, two valiant Captains, had the leading) who but a little before had received great harm by the great Ordnance which was diſcharged out of the midſt of *Selymus* his Battel overthwart the Field; which *Muſtapha* perceiving, and deſiring to blot out the old infamy he had before received, did fiercely preſs upon them, ſo diſordered, and with his whole Troops overthrew their broken Ranks; and gliſtering in his bright Armor, with a loud voice encouraged his Aſian Souldiers, exhorting them that day with valiant proweſs or honourable death, to recover their ancient Honour of late loſt in the Fields of *Aleppo.*

Muſtapha *with his Aſian Souldiers overthroweth the left wing of the Sultans Army.*

At the ſame time alſo *Tomombeius* breaking through the middle Battel of the Turks Horſemen, was entred into the Squadron of the Footmen, with his crooked Scimeter giving many a deadly Wound, himſelf being a valiant big made Man, and of great ſtrength. The Arabians had alſo in a ring incloſed the uttermoſt parts of the Turks Army, and in many places inforced them to turn their Battel upon them, being ſore charged with a doubtful fight both before and behind; when *Selymus* ſet forward with his Battel of Footmen, and his Squadron of Janizaries, his laſt and moſt aſſured refuge in that his hard diſtreſs, whoſe invincible force, neither the couragious barbed Horſes nor their victorious Riders were able to abide; for part of them with their Harquebuſiers, and the reſt with their Pikes, had ſo ſtrongly ſet the front of their Battel, that nothing was able to ſtand whereſoever that firm Battel, linked together as if it had been but one whole entire body, ſwayed. Yet was this cruel Battel continued with divers Fortune on both ſides, from four a Clock until the going down of the Sun; neither was there any part of their Armies, which had not with divers ſucceſs and change of fortune, endured the fury of that Battel; for both the victors and the vanquiſhed being inraged with an implacable hatred one againſt another, fought deſperately as Men prodigal of their lives, the Mamalukes diſdaining to have the Victory wrung out of their Hands by them whom they had in ſo many places diſcomfited, and the Turks taking it in no leſs ſcorn, that they, whom but of late they had overcome and vanquiſht in two great Battels, ſhould now the third time make ſo ſtrong reſiſtance. So that on both ſides their fainting hands and bodies both wearied and weakned with Wounds, ſupported only with anger and obſtinacy of mind, ſeemed yet ſufficient to have maintained that bloody Battel until the next day, if the darkneſs of the night now coming on, had not made an end of that days ſlaughter.

Tomombeius undoubtedly vanquiſhed, and fearing to be utterly overthrown, firſt cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, that his Mamalukes which were indeed not able to withſtand the Janizaries, might not ſeem to be put to flight, but rather as Men commanded, to retire. Which he thought to concern much both for the encouraging of his Souldiers, and for the keeping of his own credit and eſtimation with his Subjects; for now the ſelf ſame fortune which had deceived his firſt hopes, ſeemed unto him (as it fareth with them in diſtreſs, ſtill hoping for better) to promiſe him more proſperous ſucceſs, if he were not diſcouraged; but reſerving ſuch remainders of his Forces as were left, he ſhould again couragiouſly renew the War.

The Battel thus broken off by the approach of the night, the Turks as Victors enjoying the Tents and great Artillery of their Enemies, purſued the Mamalukes until midnight, who held on their way to *Caire*, in manner as if they had fled. This great Battel was fought upon a Thurſday, the 24 day of *January*, in the year 1517. The Diadare was taken in the flight mortally Wounded, and with him the valiant Captain *Bidon*, having in the Battel one of his Legs broken in the Knee with a Faulchion ſhot, wherewith his Horſe was alſo ſlain under him. *Selymus* commanded them both the next day to be ſlain, either for that their Wounds were ſuppoſed to be incurable, or elſe for that it was his pleaſure, with the death of thoſe two honourable Perſonages to appeaſe the angry Ghoſt of *Sinan Baſſa*, whoſe death he wonderfully lamented.

Selymus *cauſeth the Diadare and valiant Captain*Bidon *to be ſlain.*

The Turks although they ſtill prevailed, yet was their Army greatly impaired even in their proſperous ſucceſs and fortunate Battels; the fourth part of their Army was conſumed with Sickneſs and the Sword, and that days labour had tyred a great number of their Horſes, beſide the long Journey they had before endured. For which cauſes *Selymus* was enforced to ſlack ſomewhat of his accuſtomed haſt; for as yet he had no experience of the diſpoſition of the Egyptians which dwelt at *Caire*; neither could he underſtand by any certain report, where *Tomombeius* ſtayed, or upon what reſolution he reſted. Which things not throughly known, he thought it not good to commit himſelf and his Army into that moſt populous and ſpacious City; but ſtaying four days at the Village of *Mathareа* and *Rhodania*, carefully provided for his Wounded Souldiers, and cauſed the Bodies of ſuch as were ſlain to be buried; but the dead Carcaſſes of his Enemies he left to the Birds of the Air and Beaſts of the Field. And afterward removing his Camp thence, that he might more commodiouſly water, he came to the Plains between the old *Caire* and *Bulach.*

In the mean while *Tomombeius*, nothing diſcouraged with ſo many miſhaps, gathering together the Mamalukes from all places, encamped his Army commodiouſly between the new City of *Caire* and the River *Nilus*; he alſo Armed eight thouſand Ethiopian Slaves (which kind of Men he had not before uſed, for the remembrance of their old Rebellion;) beſide that, he opening the old Armory, put Arms into the Hands of the Mamalukes Sons, and Moors, (his Vaſſals) into the Hands of the Jews and Arabians alſo, and couragiouſly prepared for a greater and more mortal War than before. But foraſmuch as there were many difficulties in the mannaging thereof, having almoſt loſt all his great Artillery, with many of his moſt valiant Horſemen ſlain in the former Battels, he in his troubled mind did ſo caſt the doubtful hopes of his laſt device, (which cruel neceſſity wrung from him) that foraſmuch as he had by manly force nothing prevailed in open Field, he would now altogether uſe policy; as he which of late having unfortunately made proof of his ſtrength, his forces yet all whole, thought it not good again to adventure the fortune of a Battel; neither was he in hope if he ſhould ſo do, to be able with his ſmall power and deſperate ſupplies to protract the War until the heat of Summer, as he deſired. Wherefore he reſolved by night to aſſail the Turks Camp, and if poſſibly he could, to ſet it on Fire. For which his device he ſeemed to have two reaſons; whereof the one conſiſted in the ſpeedy execution, that he might deſperately attempt to do ſome notable exploit in the night, before the Enemy ſhould perceive the weakneſs of his power, which was not great, and ſcambled upon the ſuddain; as alſo before he himſelf ſhould grow into contempt with the natural Egyptians; who deſiring nothing more, than to caſt off the ſervile Yoke of the Mamalukes Government, with wavering minds expected but ſome fit occaſion to Rebel. The other was, That by the benefit of the night he might avoid the danger of the great Ordnance; which in ſuddain accidents, and eſpecially in the darkneſs of the night, ſerveth to little or no purpoſe; in which kind of ſtrength he had before to his great loſs learned, that his Enemies were too good for him. But theſe his reaſonable policies, when all things were in readineſs to have put the ſame in execution, were in like manner as the firſt overthrown by the Treaſon of ſuch as ſecretly revolted from him to the Enemy.

Tomombeius *his purpoſe diſcovered to* Selymus.

For *Selymus* underſtanding the whole Plot by certain Mamalukes (which having the Kings evil fortune in contempt, as it commonly falleth out with Men in miſery, dayly forſook him) commanded his Army to be always in readineſs, and making great Fires in divers parts of his Camp, kept moſt careful and vigilant Watch. By which his diligence it came fitly to paſs, that the night following, *Tomombeius* approaching his Camp, was repulſed with no ſmall loſs of his firſt Troops which unadviſedly were gone on too far; and had no doubt that night thereby received his laſt overthrow, but that he wiſely miſdoubting the unwonted light of the Fires ſhining in all parts of the Camp, in time called back his haſting Troops, which were themſelves with more haſte than good ſpeed marching into the very mouth of the Turks great Artillery, bent of purpoſe upon them.

Tomombeius diſappointed of his purpoſe, by perſwaſion of his Chieftains retired to *Caire*; for the Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſe in plain Field, thought it beſt to proceed in another manner; perſwading him, with the whole ſtrength of his Army to Man all the convenient places of that great City, otherwiſe expoſed to the Enemies pleaſure, and ſo to keep the Turks from entring. For they as Men brought to this extremity, that they muſt now fight for their Dwellings, Lives, Wives, and Children; thought it more honourable, and better agreeing with their ancient glory, ſo to do in their ſight, and in the entrance of their Houſes, than elſewhere further off. Wherefore the Mamalukes coming home to *Caire*, furniſhed all their Families and flat Roofs of their Houſes, with all manner of Weapons; every one of them now humbly requeſting the Egyptians their Neighbours, to take up Arms againſt the Turks their ancient and mortal Enemies, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be cowardly ſlain, their Goods ſpoiled, and their Wives and Children carried away into moſt miſerable Captivity; foraſmuch as the mercileſs and greedy Enemy, if he ſhould once get the Victory, would no whit ſpare them, although they ſhould as neuters ſtand looking on, and help neither party; for Victory (as they ſaid) always full of inſolent pride, would know no Friend but ſuch as with reſolute hand did their uttermoſt devoir in time of danger for the obtaining thereof.

The Egyptians diverſly affected toward the Mamalukes.

There were many of the wealthieſt of the Egyptians, who as they thought the change of the State would be hurtful to their Trades and Wealth, ſo were they ready in all they could to help the Mamalukes their old Lords; ſo on the other ſide there were many of the middle ſort of the Citizens, and a far greater multitude of the baſeſt ſort of the vulgar People, who having little or nothing to loſe, lived in hope now to make a gain of other Mens Loſſes; and withal, remembring what miſery and ſlavery they had endured about the ſpace of three hundred years, under the proud Government of the Mamalukes, kept themſelves cloſe in their Houſes, expecting the laſt event of Wars; and ſecretly rejoycing in their Hearts, that the time was come (God ſo appointing) wherein their outragious and cruel Maſters ſhould be juſtly and worthily puniſhed for their oppreſſion and hard dealing; and that which gladded them the more, was, That the revenge ſhould be taken by the hazard of other Mens lives, with which wiſhed ſpectacle they well hoped ſhortly to fill their deſirous Eies.

Tomombeius with much labour and greater care, fortified all the Gates and entrances of the City, appointed unto every Street a particular Captain, in every publick place encouraged the People, omitting nothing that could poſſibly be done or deviſed; and that which in ſo great a calamity and danger was of all other things the hardeſt, with cheerful countenance and undaunted courage made ſhew of greateſt hope. The Mamalukes alſo, beſide the neceſſity (which in caſes of extremity is of power to encourage and make deſperate the faint hearted Coward) provoked with emulation, ſtrove amongſt themſelves, who ſhould beſt perform all the duties of worthy Captains and Souldiers; for every one of them according to his conceit and device, cauſed great Ditches or great Timber-logs to be caſt overthwart the Streets; ſome in covert Trenches ſet up ſharp Stakes, whereupon the Enemy falling unawares, might be gaged; otherſome according to their ſtore, furniſhed the windows and fronts of their Houſes in the greateſt and moſt open Streets, with Harquebuſiers; all which things with many more, were done with ſuch celerity, that none of the beſt and moſt honourable of the Mamalukes refuſed to handle a Spade or Mattock, or to put his hand to any other baſe labour; ſo that nothing could be ſooner deviſed, but it was forthwith performed.

The deſcription of the great City of Caire.

This great and ancient City of *Caire* was not compaſſed with any Walls, yet were there divers Gates and Entrances which led unto it; whereof one broad ſtrait Street came directly from the Eaſt Gate unto the Caſtle and middle of the City; the reſt were ſo narrow and crooked, that by them no great Artillery could poſſibly be brought, or Souldiers enter without great danger. Into this place eſpecially had *Tomombeius* conveied his chiefeſt ſtrength; for that he knew his Enemies muſt of neceſſity come in that way for the largneſs of the Streets; the other parts of the City he kept with leſs Garriſons. But the innermoſt part where the Caſtle ſtood, was kept with a very great and ſtrong Garriſon of moſt valiant Souldiers; that whitherſoever the clamor of the Enemy or danger of the Battel ſhould call, they might ſpeedily from thence come with relief. For why, that City of all others the greateſt, could not with ſo ſmall power as *Tomombeius* then had, be in every place and entrance ſufficiently defended; for within the circuit of *Memphis* (now called *Caire*) are contained, three great Cities, which joyned one to another with ſtragling Bridges, make one City; whereof the greateſt and moſt populous, is at this day called *New Caire*. It lieth in length ſix miles, alongſt the River *Nilus*, from which it is equally diſtant a mile; the breadth thereof, exceedeth not a mile and a quarter. In the midſt thereof is a Caſtle ſtanding upon a little riſing ground, ſomewhat higher than the reſt of the City; more notable for the beauty and greatneſs thereof, than for the manner of the fortification; for in it were many princely Gardens, a fair Street with many large Galleries, divers fair Tilt-yards and Courts, with ſtately Chambers opening every way; the utter part thereof was garniſhed round about with Towers, Fortreſſes, and beautiful Battelments, from whence all parts of the City, the River *Nilus* running by, and the high Pyramids, were moſt pleaſantly to be ſeen. Not far from this princely Palace, is a Lake made by the hand of man, the Water wherein derived from the River *Nilus*, is on every ſide incloſed with moſt ſtately Buildings; and is a place of wonderful pleaſure, when as a man ſtanding at a Window may take both Fiſh and Foul, whereof there is in the Lake great ſtore. Another Lake there is far greater and fairer than this, in form of a Triangle, in the uttermoſt part of this new City of *Caire* toward *Bulach*; it is filled at the riſing of *Nilus* by a great Sluce made of Stone with Iron Floodgates, and being joyned to the great River by a broad Channel, is able to bear ſmall Boats and Barges; wherein Gentlemen for their diſport uſed to ſolace themſelves both by day and night in courting their Miſtreſſes. The Houſes were all gallantly built afront all about the Lake, with Porches garniſhed with open Galeries, and paved with ſmooth Marble even to the brim of the Lake; there the Citizens in their more proſperous times uſed to row up and down in Boats, and with pleaſant Muſick to delight the liſtning Ears of the hearers. On the Eaſt ſide of this Lake ſtood a moſt ſumptuous and ſtately Pallace, the late work of Queen *Dultibe* Wiſe of the great Sultan *Cayerbeius*, for manner of the Building and inward beauty far exceeding the other proud Buildings of this pleaſant place; for the Walls gliſtered with red Marble, and pargeting of divers colors; yea all the Houſe was paved with checker and teſſeled work; the Windows and Gates were made of Alablaſter, white Marble, and much other ſpotted Marble; the Poſts and Wickets of maſſy Ivory, checkered with gliſtering black Ebony; ſo curiouſly wrought in winding knots, as might eaſilier ſtay than ſatisfie the Eyes of the wondering Beholder; neither was the Furniture in it inferior to the magnificence of the Building, but ſuch as might fitly anſwer both a Princes ſtate, and a Womans quaint deſire. All which things ſhortly after *Selymus* (having obtained the Victory) carried to *Conſtantinople*; not ſparing the very Walls, but plucking them down, ſo to take out the curious Stones whole. Beſide the goodly Buildings about that Lake, in every place of *New Caire* was to be ſeen the fair Houſes of the chief Mamalukes, more commended for their commodiouſneſs, than for the manner of their Building. The reſt of the Buildings of the City was but low, repleniſhed with the common ſort of baſe People. There are yet extant in divers places of the City, three Churches of the Chriſtians; whereof one is holden in greater reverence than the reſt, for the fame of a low Vault in the ground, where it is reported the Virgin *Mary* flying the fury of *Herod*, to have repoſed her ſelf with her Child *Chriſt Jeſus* the Saviour of the World; another dedicated to the Virgin *Barbara*; and the third to St. *George*, which amongſt thoſe Nations are of great fame. Unto the City of *New Caire*, the City of *Bulacha* is joyned almoſt with continual Buildings. It is of an high and ſtately Building, lying cloſe unto the River *Nilus*, and was in Summer time frequented by the Mamalukes and other Noblemen, that they might at their pleaſure from their high places behold the inundation of that famous River. There land all the Ships which come up the River; yet the great meeting of the Merchants is at *New Caire*. On the other ſide of the River over againſt *Bulach*, are many Cottages made of Hurdles and Leaves of Date Trees, the Dwellings of poor Fiſhermen and Watermen. A little above *Bulach* is *Old Caire*, which is alſo joyned unto the new City with continual Buildings; yet diſtant from it about two miles and an half, and ſtandeth alſo faſt by the River *Nilus*. Over againſt it in the midſt of the River is an Iſland, notable for the pleaſantneſs of the Gardens and Banqueting Houſes therein; in it is an ancient Temple, famous for the love of King *Pharoas* Daughter and the danger of *Moſes* (a moſt ancient Hiſtory, yet every where there ſtill freſh in memory.) But moſt part of the Buildings of *Old Caire*, are now grown into Gardens and rude Ruins. It is ſuppoſed by many probable Conjectures, that there ſometime ſtood the ancient City of *Memphis*. Upon the Bank of the River, the late Sultan *Campſon* built a ſumptuous Tower, overtopping the Caſtle in *New Caire*, to convey Water thither out of *Nilus*; which being by many Wheels and ingenious devices forced into the top thereof, and there received into great Ciſterns, was from thence by Pipes of Stone and Lead, conveied into all places of the Kings great Palace at *New Caire*. About five miles diſtant from *Old Caire* on *Africk* ſide, ſtand the Pyramids, Monuments of the barbarous Egyptian Kings vanity; whoſe proud Names and Titles time hath worn out of thoſe huge and wonderful Buildings, of purpoſe made for the vain eternizing of their Fame and endleſs Wealth; ſo that of them it may now well be ſaid,

The Pyramids of Egypt.

Miramur periiſſe homines? monumenta fatiſcunt;
  Interitus ſaxis nominibuſque venit.

What wonder we that men do dy? the ſtately
  Tombs do wear;
The very Stones conſume to nought, with Titles
  they did bear.

Within them are the Sepulchers of the old Egyptian Kings, divided into Chappels, garniſhed with Stone of great price curiouſly wrought. Yet are thoſe places of a loathſome ſmell, and for dakneſs thereof, dreadful to behold; for as men go down to come into them by a narrow way, almoſt ſwarved up with Rubbiſh, their lights are oftentimes put out with the damp of the Earth and ſwarms of Remiſe flying about their Ears. Some having got to the tops of them, report, that the Watch-Tower of *Alexandria*, and the mouth of the River *Nilus* where it falleth into the Sea, is from thence well to be ſeen; and that, for the great height of them, a man cannot ſhoot an Arrow ſo high as the midſt of the lower Tower whereon the Spire ſtandeth.

Of theſe outragious Buildings, are written many ſtrange and almoſt incredible things; as that an hundred thouſand men ſhould be occupied continually by the ſpace of twenty years, in building of one of them; during which time, the charges for Roots, Garlick, and Onions only, amounted to one thouſand ſix hundred Talents of Silver. Theſe wonderful Pyramids only excepted, nothing is in the three Cities more to be wondred at than the multitude of the People, who in number almoſt incredible go up and down every Street; but for moſt part ragged and torn, for that they which held any Wealth, durſt not make any ſhew thereof for fear of the Mamalukes. The Common People did then generally live with Mutton, Hens, and Rice, whereof the Country yielded plenty; neither had they as yet the knowledge of the curious, but unwholeſome forced Diſhes, and provocations of Gluttony, which other Nations had to their great coſt and hurt invented. But again to our purpoſe.

Selymus encourageth his Souldiers to the wining of Caire.

When *Selymus* underſtood aſſuredly, that *Tomombeius* was retired into *Caire*, and that the Mamalukes having thither aſſembled all their ſtrength were reſolved there to prove the uttermoſt of their fortune, he with his Army drew nearer unto the City, exhorting his Souldiers to ſet down themſelves that day for ever to vanquiſh and ſubdue their Enemies, whom they had ſo many times before overthrown; and now a little to force themſelves for the gaining of the rewards due to their former Labors and Victories; which (as he ſaid) would be ſo many and ſo great, as they had not the full thereof before in their immoderate deſires imagined. Telling them moreover, that there was but a few good Souldiers left with the deſolate Sultan, who already wounded and terrified, and not able longer to keep the Field, had made choice to end their days in the ſight and arms of their Wives and Children. Beſide that, he made them believe, that he was voluntarily ſent for by the Egyptians, deadly Enemies unto the very name of the Mamalukes, whoſe utter deſtruction they earneſtly expected; and had therefore promiſed him for the rooting up of that wicked and cruel kind of men, to aſſail them as occaſion ſerved out of their Houſes, and ſo to further his Victory; yet neverthele ſs he ſaid, That the accompliſhment of the whole matter, and to make a full conqueſt, conſiſted in the ſubduing of thoſe weak remainders of the vanquiſhed and ſcattered Army; foraſmuch as they were not to be accounted as men quite overcome, which did yet live in hope, with Weapons in their hands, poſſeſſed of the chief City and Seat of their Empire. Wherefore that they ſhould think, That in the fortune of that day, reſted the good or bad eſtate and condition of all their Lives, Honours, and Fortunes. Aſſuring them, that it would be a matter but of ſmall labour and travel, to bring it to a wiſhed end, if they would in that new kind of Fight (as they had always valiantly in other Battels under his conduct) but reſolve with themſelves, that they would overcome.

This his Speech much inflamed the minds of his Souldiers, but the hope of ſo great a Prey much more; ſo that being in good order and ready, they expected but the ſign of the Aſſault. When *Selymus* entring by the Gate called *Baſuela*, did at one inſtant thruſt in his Horſemen at divers places of the great City; but his Janizaries he brought in by the greateſt and largeſt Street. At the firſt entrance of the City, Horſemen encountred with Horſemen; and made a bloody Fight in the narrow Streets and Lanes; but the Footmen placing their Culverins and Falcons before and ſuddainly diſcharging them where they ſaw the thickeſt Troops of their Enemies, cleared the Street directly before them. But when they came to the Barricado's and Trenches, and were by force to remove the Timber Logs and other like things lying croſs the Streets, and ſo to paſs the Trenches, the Mamalukes on the other ſide valiantly withſtanding them; they fought with ſuch force and obſtinacy on both parts, that in the memory of man was never a more fierce and cruel Battel ſeen. For both the Mamalukes and the Turks in that Fight ſhewed the uttermoſt of their ſtrength and power; not ignorant, that in that, as in the laſt, they were to fight not for Honour only, but even for their Lives and Empire; when as greateſt rewards, or elſe extream miſery, were by dallying fortune on both ſides propounded both to the vanquiſhed and vanquiſher. At theſe Barricado's the Turks received great loſs, as alſo at the Trenches; for they unadviſedly running on, the hindermoſt ſtill bearing forward the foremoſt, tumbled by heaps one upon another into the covert Trenches, and were there miſerably impailed upon the ſharp Stakes, for that purpoſe before ſet up by the Mamalukes. The Women alſo and Children, with manly courage threw down Stones and Tyles, and ſuch other things from the tops of their Houſes, and out at their Windows, upon the Turks; and they on the other ſide as they could eſpy them, fetcht them off from thoſe high places with their Harquebuſes, or elſe violently brake into the Houſes from whence they were aſſailed, and there fought with diverſe ſucceſs. But moſt part of the Egyptians, diligently obſerving the fortune both of the one and of the other (accounting them both for Enemies) with diverſe affection aſſailed ſometimes the Turks, and ſometime the Mamalukes, ſeeming ſtill notably to help that part whom they ſaw for the time to have the better. Many cruel and moſt terrible incounters were at once made in divers places of the City; for as they croſſed from Street to Street, ſometime the one, and ſometime the other hapned upon new Troops of Enemies; and they which as Victors purſued their Enemies afront, were by others following them at the heels, ſlain down right; ſo that in the Victory none could aſſure themſelves of ſafety. The Lanes and Streets (a moſt horrible thing to behold) did ſo flow with the blood of them which lay by heaps ſlain, that the Duſt which at the firſt roſe wonderful thick, was quite laid, as with a plentiful Shower of Rain; the Air was darkned with the ſmoke of Shot, and ſhowers of Arrows; and ſuch was the clamor of the People and Souldiers, the clattering of Armor, and report of the Artillery, that the Earth ſeemed to tremble, and the Houſes to fall down.

A moſt mortal Battel fought in Caire.

A long and terrible Fight.

This dreadful and doubtful Fight endured two whole days and nights without intermiſſion; yet ſo, that the Mamalukes in number few, and not able to endure ſo long labour and watchings, giving ground by little and little, and forſaking their firſt Munitions, retired themſelves further into the City. The third day, beſet with the greateſt dangers that could be, as to loſe themſelves with all that they had, (which commonly enforceeth mens courages in their laſt attempts) they renewed the Battel with ſuch reſolution, that they conſtrained the Turks to retire a great way, and for haſt to leave behind them certain of their Field-Pieces. With which repulſe it is reported, that *Selymus* deſpairing of Victory, commanded to ſet fire upon the Houſes; moved thereunto with juſt diſpleaſure againſt the Egyptians, for that *Jonuſes Baſſa*, now his greateſt

Man of War, had even before his face received a dangerous wound in his Head, by a Stone caſt out at a Window.

Now were the Houſes pitifully burning, and the Egyptians weeping and wailing cried for mercy. The Turks themſelves fought but faintly, expecting the ſound of the Retreat; when News was ſuddainly brought by many at once, that the Enemies in the other ſide of the City, were by *Muſtapha Baſſa* enforced to retire, and afterward had betaken themſelves to flight, as to their laſt refuge. For *Muſtapha* by the overture of the Egyptians and fugitive Mamalukes, was directed to a fair broad Street, where the Mamalukes had left their Horſes ready ſadled and bridled; that if the worſt ſhould chance, they might thither retire, and taking Horſe, ſpeed themſelves to ſuch places of refuge as they had before thought upon. All theſe Horſes reſerved by the Mamalukes as their laſt refuge, *Muſtapha* took away, having before put to flight the Garriſon which kept them, which was but weak, conſiſting for moſt part of Horſe-Boys, and Muleters; as ſafe enough in ſuch a place of the City as was leaſt to be ſuſpected and feared.

This accident (as it oftentimes falleth out in great and unexpected Miſchances) did not a little daunt the courage of the Mamalukes; who now ſeeing themſelves hardly beſet, and that dreadful Battel by no other hope or help maintained, but only by courage; being in their own judgment overcome, betook themſelves to flight. Moſt part of them haſting to the River of *Nilus* with *Tomombeius* (who in that Battel had all in vain proved the uttermoſt of his proweſs and policy) being tranſported over the River in Boats, fled into the Country of *Segeſta*; others of them hid themſelves in the Houſes of the Egyptians, and in the loathſome corners of the City. A thouſand five hundred of the better ſort of the Mamalukes fled unto the greateſt Temple of their vain Prophet; whereafter they had a great while valiantly defended themſelves as out of a ſtrong Caſtle, becauſe they would not yield themſelves but upon honourable conditions; at laſt overcome with thirſt, wearineſs, and wounds, together with the fury of the great Artillery, they yielded themſelves to the pleaſure of the Conqueror; part of whom the furious Souldiers ſlew in the Porch of the ſame Temple, and the reſt within a few days after were ſent down the River to *Alexandria*, there to be afterwards murdered.

Caire *taken by* Selymus.

Selymus having thus gained the Victory, forthwith ſent part of his Army to quench the Fire then raging, and cauſed Proclamation to be made through all the City, That all the Mamalukes which would yield themſelves within twelve hours, ſhould be taken to mercy; but unto ſuch as yielded not within the appointed time, ſhould remain no hope of life. Unto the Egyptians alſo that ſhould reveal the hidden Mamalukes, he propoſed rewards; but to ſuch as ſhould conceal them, he threatned to impail them upon Stakes, and having ſold their Wives and Children, to burn their Houſes: Upon which Proclamation, many of the Mamalukes before crept into corners, came forth and yielded themſelves, and were forthwith caſt into Iron. All which were ſhortly after, contrary to his promiſe, moſt diſhonourably murdred in priſon, becauſe (as it was given out) they ſought means to have eſcaped. Many of the Egyptians which would not break the bonds of Faith and Fidelity with the Mamalukes their old Lords, being impeached by their malitious Neighbours, moſt conſtantly died for their Friends, for whoſe ſake they had vowed themſelves to death.

With this Victory the Turks growing inſolent, ranſackt every place of the City, drew out the Mamalukes that had hid themſelves, and ſlew them, rifled the houſes of the Egyptians, as well Friends as Foes, and left nothing ſhut up or in ſecret. And ſome there were, which at one time in the ſame Houſes raged with Covetouſneſs, Cruelty, and Luſt; every man fitting his own humor, whereunto he was by nature or cuſtom inclined; for that in time and place of ſo great liberty, moſt men, but eſpecially the common Souldier, flattereth himſelf to the full, making conſcience of nothing, but meaſuring all things according to his inſolent and diſordered Appetite. The ſame day that *Selymus* took *Caire*, *Gazelles* (who but a little before by the commandment of *Tomombeius*, was gone to *Thebais*, to aſſemble the Arabians and to entertain new Supplies) came to *Caire*; but finding all loſt, and ſeeing no poſſibility either by force or policy to prevail, and therefore thinking it not good again to prove the fortune of War, which had ſo often with contrary courſe fruſtrated the endeavours both of himſelf and his Partakers; he came to *Selymus*, upon his Faith before given for the ſafety of himſelf and his Followers (which were three Arabian Captains, and a number of good Horſemen) and being admitted to his preſence, in the midſt of his greateſt Captains boldly ſpake unto him as followeth:

Gazelles *his ſpeech to Selymus.*

If fortune, whom by thy great valor thou haſt won to be thy Friend, had not envied our Felicity, thou ſhouldſt not have (moſt noble Selymus*, at this time, after that all things have given place unto thy Valor) matter whereby thou mighteſt excel others in worthyneſs of mind alſo. Whilſt we were in Arms againſt thee for our Lives and Kingdom, our Wealth and State yet ſtanding whole, we always as men proudly preſuming upon their own vain Strength, made little account of thee or the name of the Turks; yea to ſay the truth, we hated thee as became Enemies: But now that we have to the uttermoſt of our power made proof of thy Force, and have in all Battels been put to the worſt; admiring both thy wonderful and divine proweſs, and moſt proſperous Victories (not given thee without the Providence of the Immortal God) we humbly come unto thee by thy goodneſs to better our hard and adverſe Fortune; that thou by ſparing and pardoning thy vanquiſhed and yielding Enemies (by which only vertue men come neareſt unto the Gods) maiſt extend thy name and fame above the bounds of the reſt of thine immortal glory. We have faithfully ſerved* Tomombeius*, ſo long as he held the Strength and Majeſty, yea but the Name of a King, or lived in any countenance; but ſeeing he is (his Deſtiny ſo requiring) driven out of his Country, and wandreth the Deſarts, with uncertain report whether he live or not; we come unto thee, rather as men of him forſaken, than ſuch as have forſaken their Prince; ready to ſhew unto thee our Loyalty and Valor in our better condition and ſtate; if we may by thy goodneſs, changing our hard fortune, live and ſerve under thy worthy conduct.*

Selymus, for that he right well knew *Gazelles* both for his Vertue and Valour, wherewith valiant men win Credit even with their greateſt Enemies, and alſo deſiring to joyn in League and Friendſhip with the Arabians (or rather Alarbes) whom he knew of all others to be moſt to be feared, received them all courteouſly; appointing unto every one of them an honourable Penſion, and perſwading them to forget their old eſtate, willed them to look for far greater things of his

Bounty. Not long after, when as the Moors and wild Arabians, with certain Mamalukes that were fled to the City of *Achaſia*, made incurſions into the Country about *Caire*, and oftentimes did cut off the Turks which went any thing far from the City to ſeek abroad for forrage, he ſent *Gazelles* with part of his Army to repreſs them; who having quickly won and ſackt *Achaſia*, and ſlain moſt part of thoſe adventurers, to his own great praiſe, and the wonderful contentation of *Selymus*, honourably returned in leſs time than was expected.

In the mean time, *Tomombeius* in the Country of *Segeſta* (which is on the other ſide of *Nilus* towards *Cyrenaica*) miſerably beſet with ſo many miſchiefs, began to make head again. There were come unto him a ſtrong Company of Mamalukes from *Alexandria*, which he had by Letters ſent for out of the Garriſon of that City, and many others had followed him in his flight from *Caire*. And there were not wanting many great men amongſt the Arabians and Moors (the Inhabitants of that Country) which promiſed him their help and furtherance. Beſide that, many of the Egyptians, whoſe Houſes and Familes were become a Prey and Booty unto the inſolent Turks, promiſed him, That if he would by night come to *Caire*, they would raiſe ſuch a tumult in the City, as ſhould eaſily work the confuſion of the Turks; foraſmuch as they all having endured moſt horrible Indignities and Villanies, could no longer abide thoſe moſt inſolent men to rage and reign over them. They ſent him word alſo, that the Turks huge Army was now brought to a contemptible number, moſt part of them being ſlain in the battel at *Caire*; and the reſt being for the greateſt part brought to extream weakneſs with wounds and ſickneſs. For which cauſes, as *Tomombeius* his Forces increaſed daily, ſo hope alſo, which never failed the poor vanquiſhed and diſtreſſed King, began now alſo to revive in his invincible heart, above the condition of his miſerable eſtate. So that fawning fortune, which even then moſt cruelly and deſpightfully went about utterly to ſupplant him (of all other diſtreſſed Princes moſt miſerable) ſeemed but then firſt to change her frowning countenance, and to promiſe unto him more happy and proſperous ſucceſs.

Albuchomar *diſcovereth to* Selymus *the power of* Tomombeius, *and the treachery of them of* Caire.

Whilſt *Tomombeius* was making this preparation, one *Albuchomar*, an Egyptian, for Authority and Wealth the greateſt man by far in all the Country of *Segeſta*, whether it were to avert the miſery of the preſent War out of his Country; or elſe by the pleaſure of his revolt to gain the good liking of *Selymus*, upon whom all things ſeemed to fawn, came and certified him both of *Tomombeius* his Strength, and of the new practices of the Citizens of *Caire*. Whereupon *Selymus* cauſed ſtrong watch and ward to be kept in all places of that great City; and ſuch Citizens as he ſuſpected to favour *Tomombeius*, he ſhut up into the Caſtle; which being before abandoned by *Tomombeius*, was then together with the City in his poſſeſſion; and placed all alongſt the River, Boats furniſhed with Men and Artillery, to keep and defend the farther Bank of *Nilus*, and to impeach *Tomombeius* his paſſage over. Yet conſidering with himſelf, with how great danger he had ſo many times fought with thoſe deſperate Enemies, and what a difficulty it would be to intercept *Tomombeius*, (protracting the War in thoſe vaſt and unknown Countries, and ſtill preparing greater Forces, without whom he could nothing aſſure himſelf of all his former Victories) to prove if he might be won by Clemency and Bounty, he reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors unto him, to perſwade him to lay down Arms, and after ſo many overthrows, at length to acknowledge the fortune of the Victor; and withal to promiſe him upon the faith of a Prince, That if he would come in and ſubmit himſelf, he ſhould of the Courteſie and Bounty of the Conqueror, upon conditions reaſonable repoſſeſs that his late Kingdom, which he ſhould never be able by force to regain. But if he would needs deſperately proceed to make head again, forgetting his offered grace, together with his own diſability, he ſhould afterward when the matter was again tried by Battel, by his own juſt deſert never more find at the hands of his angry Enemy, any regard of his Princely State or Dignity.

The cauſes moving Selymus *to ſend Embaſſadors to* Tomombeius

For *Selymus* ſeeing himſelf by the courſe of his Victories drawn into a far Country, and not without cauſe fearing with ſo ſmall a power as he had left, to be oppreſſed in that ſo great and populous a City, even with the very multitude, men of doubtful Faith; thought it better by ſome honourable compoſition to aſſure himſelf of ſome great part of that he had won, than by going on, to thruſt himſelf with his Army into new dangers, with the hazard of all. Beſides that, he was certainly advertiſed, That the Mamalukes before fled into divers Countries, were in every place levying new ſupplies of Horſemen; and that the Fleet which went into the Arabian Gulf againſt the Portugals, was dayly expected at the Port of *Suezzia*, wherein were three thouſand Mamalukes under the leading of *Amyraſes* and *Ray Salomon*, two expert Captains, with great ſtore of good Braſs Ordnance; by which good helps, *Tomombeius* ſtood in fair poſſibility to recover his former loſſes, and to return again to *Caire*, whither he was by his ſecret Friends moſt earneſtly invited. But above all things, the care he had of the Perſians moſt induced him to think of Peace; for fear that if the Baſſa whom he had left at the Mountain *Taurus*, ſhould not be able to withſtand the Forces of the Perſian King, he ſhould ſo be excluded out of *Aſia* the leſſer, and *Syria* alſo, before his Fleet could from *Conſtantinople* arrive with new ſupplies of Men and Victuals at *Alexandria*.

Selymus *his Embaſſadors ſlain by the Mamalukes.*

Wherefore he ſent certain of the moſt reverend of his Turkiſh Religious, and with them ſome of the moſt honourable Egyptians, Embaſſadors to *Tomombeius*; who paſſing over *Nilus*, into the Country *Segeſta*, were without further hearing, with more than babarous cruelty ſlain by certain Mamalukes which chanced upon them; thinking thereby to gratifie *Tomombeius*, as yet not knowing of any ſuch matter, and to manifeſt their affection towards him, as alſo that they were not deſirous of any peace with the Turks.

This proud and inſolent fact utterly brake *Selymus* his patience, and ſhortly after made an end of that mortal War, together with the honour of the Mamalukes. For he being a man of an hot and cruel nature, even when he was nothing at all moved, could by no means brook that his Enemies, ſo often vanquiſhed and put to flight, ſhould ſo lightly reject his offers unto them as the caſe ſtood, both honourable and profitable; and that worſe was, violate his Embaſſadors againſt the Law of Nations, moſt religiouſly kept even amonſt the moſt barbarous and ſavage People. Wherefore provoked by ſo great an injury, he carefully provided for all things neceſſary for his expedition into *Segeſta* againſt *Tomombeius*. And becauſe it ſtood not with his honour (as he took it) nor with the good of the preſent ſervice, to paſs the River by Boats, he gathering together all the ſmall Veſſels and Lighters he could poſſibly, made thereof a large and ſtrong Bridge over *Nilus*.

Tomombeius underſtanding by his Eſpials, and from his Friends at *Caire*, of the preparations of

Selymus, and of the Bridge he had made; fearing alſo the revolt of the Country People, whom he probably ſuſpected to be alienated from him, by the revolt of *Albuchomar*, a man of ſo great Power and Authority amongſt them; determined once again to prove the fortune of battel, which had ſo often deceived his expectation. For he juſtly meaſuring of his own ſtrength, and finding himſelf in all things inferior to his mighty Enemy, well ſaw that he was neither able to protract the Wars, neither in open Field to abide his coming with all his Forces; and to fly further into the Deſerts, was, as he deemed it, nothing elſe but to make ſhipwrack of that ſmall remainder that was left of his Honour and Credit. Wherefore by the advice of his beſt Captains (which was the laſt indeavour both of himſelf and of the Mamalukes) he departed betime out of the Province of *Segeſta* with four thouſand Mamalukes, and twice as many Moors and Arabians, and travelled day and night without intermiſſion to come to the River *Nilus*. By that deſperate attempt to deceive the Turks, ſuſpecting no ſuch thing from their vanquiſhed and weak Enemy; as alſo by celerity to prevent the fame of his coming; hoping ſo by his ſuddain and unexpected approach to overthrow that part of the Turks Army which ſhould firſt paſs the River, before they could poſſibly be relieved from the other ſide. Neither was he deceived in the computation of the time, which he having before exactly caſt, with the manner of his travel, fell out ſo fitly, that he came to the place he deſired, even at ſuch time as the Aſian Horſemen were come over the Bridge, as he had before gueſſed. The Harbengers and Pages of *Selymus* his Chamber, which were gone ſomething further than the reſt, to make choice of the moſt commodious place for the erecting of the Emperors Pavilion; by the riſing of the duſt, firſt perceived the coming of the Enemy; and *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa advertiſed thereof, ſuddainly raiſed an Alarum; which ſo unexpected a matter brought a great fear both on them which were already paſt over, and alſo on them that were on the further ſide of the River.

Tomombeius *diſtreſſeth the Turks in paſſing the bridge made over* Nilus.

Tomombeius preſently aſſailing his Enemies, as yet but putting themſelves in order, and repairing to their Enſigns, at the firſt onſet ſlew ſuch as made reſiſtance, and the reſt he diſcomfited and put to Flight. Neither was *Muſtapha* the great Commander (although he did what poſſibly he could, by his own example to have encouraged them) able either by his own invincible courage or other perſwaſion, after his firſt ranks were overthrown, to repair his diſordered Battel, or to ſtay the flight of his men; for in that ſo hot and ſuddain a skirmiſh all was full of tumult, ſlaughter, doubtfulneſs and fear; and all alongſt the Bank of the River, both above and beneath the Bridge, were to be ſeen fearful Companies of the Turks, ruthfully looking upon the River, and crying unto their Fellows on the other ſide for help. Many forced by the furious Enemy, took the River and there periſhed; others ſtriving at the end of the Bridge, to return that way, and overborn by their Fellows or others continually ſent from the further ſide, or elſe amazed with fear, fell into the River, and were there drowned; the Bridge was ſo broad that four Horſemen abreſt might eaſily paſs over at once, and ſo great numbers of them in ſhort ſpace be conveied over. But when the great Ordnance (the Turks chief ſtrength) was alſo to be tranſported, fewer Troops of Horſemen were ſent over, than the greatneſs of the preſent danger, or ſuddainneſs of the chance required. Neither did their great Artillery as then ſtand them in any ſtead, for that it could neither ſo ſpeedily be conveied over, nor without great hurt be diſcharged from the hither Bank to the further, by reaſon of their own men ſtanding between them and the Enemy.

In the mean time *Selymus*, who in the beginning of the skirmiſh came down to the Rivers ſide, filled a great number of Boats and other ſmall Veſſels with his Janizaries with their Harquebuſies, and withal haſted his Horſemen over the Bridge to relieve their Fellows diſtreſſed on the further ſide; in which Boats the nimble Watermen uſed ſuch diligence in landing of ſome, and preſently in fetching over of others, that in ſhort time they had tranſported divers Bands of thoſe moſt ready and valiant Souldiers; whoſe coming wonderfully comforted the Aſian Souldiers, even now at the laſt caſt, and ready to have given over. *Canoglis* alſo, the Tartar Kings Son and *Selymus* his Brother in Law, encouraging his Horſemen to take the River, with loſs of ſome few of his men recovered the further ſide, to the great admiration of the beholders; which in that Nation was not ſo much to be marvelled at, as they which by Troops with their Horſes had oftentimes ſwam over the great Rivers *Taurus* and *Volga*, no leſs dangerous than was the River *Nilus*.

Tomombeius at the ſame time, for that he ſaw ſpeedy Victory to conſiſt in one thing eſpecially, ſerring his Troops together, ſtrained himſelf with might and main to have gained the head of the Bridge, that by plucking away ſome few of the firſt Boats, he might ſhut in his Enemies already come over; and by cutting the Cables whereby the Boats were faſtened to the bank, all the Bridge with the Turks upon it, might be born away with the force and violence of that great River; whereupon roſe a moſt cruel and deadly Fight; for the reſolute Mamalukes in the front of their battel fought valiantly; and *Muſtapha* well conſidering the danger, had drawn to that place both his Enſigns and his beſt Souldiers; ſo that there was fought ſuch a fight, as a matter of ſo great conſequence required; the Mamalukes plainly ſeeing, that if they could obtain the place, they ſhould ſhortly after with little ado, overthrow all the former Victories of their Enemies. And the Turks no leſs ignorant, that except they kept the Bridge whole, they were all but loſt men that were already come over; and that the reſt of the Army together with their Emperor ſo far from home, and in the midſt of his Enemies, muſt of neceſſity ſhortly after run the ſame fortune. But *Muſtapha* well relieved by the Janizaries and the Europeian Horſemen, which were now come over in great number, not only received his Enemies charge, but preſſing upon them, gained ground, and by little and little inforced them to retire. This is that *Muſtapha* the Hungarian, and *Bajazet* his Son in Law, which for his own glory and perpetual fame, built that notable, ſtately, and ſumptuous Stone Bridge (of the Spoils of this Victory) over the River *Stremon*, which at this day men paſſing over into *Thracia*, wonder at, as at a work beſeeming the greatneſs of the Roman Empire.

The Mamalukes give a freſh charge upon the Turks.

Tomombeius, to give a time of breathing to his Mamalukes, who, their Horſes for wearineſs now fainting under them, were not able longer to ſhew their wonted Courage; and deſirous by them again to prove the uttermoſt fortune of the battel, exhorted the Moors and Arabians, a while to charge the Enemy, which thing they after the manner of their Fight valiantly performed; and ſhortly after the Mamalukes having a little breathed themſelves and their Horſes, came in afreſh and renewed the battel; with ſuch fury, that *Selymus* doubting the Victory (although he was by his moſt faithful Counſellors perſwaded to the contrary) yet doubted not to adventure the Bridge, and in perſon himſelf to go and relieve his diſtreſſed Souldiers; who by his coming in, encouraged, and in the ſight of their Emperor deſiring every man for his part by ſome notable ſervice to deſerve both credit and preferment, repreſſed the fury of the Enemy; who in ſhort time after, by the coming on of certain freſh Companies of Janizaries, were notably repulſed, and ſo at length put to flight; whom the Horſemen which were not in the battel, purſued all the Fields over. At length alſo the Tartarians (who carried away with the force of the ſtream, were ſomewhat long before they could recover the farther Bank and come to their Enemies) were now come in alſo, and with their ſwift Horſes following the chaſe, augmented the ſlaughter. But *Selymus* above all things deſirous of *Tomombeius*, preſently commanded *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa, *Gazelles* and *Cayerbeius*, with certain freſh Troops of light Horſemen, to purſue him at the heels, and if it were poſſible not to ſuffer him to eſcape; for ſo long as he lived, he could not aſſure himſelf of any thing he had yet gotten. Theſe vigilant Captains not unmindful of their charge, following faſt after him, overtook him the next day at the ſluce of a great deep Fen, where he had a little reſted himſelf and his Followers, being then about to cut off a wooden Bridge, ſo to have hindred the Enemies purſuit. Some of his Followers being there ſlain, and ſome taken, he was again enforced to fly. The third day when he had almoſt loſt all his men, and was come with ſome few into the Territory of the Secuſſan Prince, theſe great Captains ſtill eagerly purſuing him, and denouncing unto the poor Country People which dwelt in Villages thereabout, all Extremities and Tortures, if they did not with moſt diligent watch and ward ſo keep the paſſages of thoſe Mariſhes, as that he ſhould not poſſibly eſcape; he was ſo beſet on every ſide, that for ſafegard of his life he was glad to hide himſelf all alone in a foul deep Mariſh; where ſhortly after he the poor Sultan was by the diligent ſearch of the Country Peaſants found out, hidden among the Flags and Bulruſhes, ſtanding in the water up to the ſhoulders, who delivered him miſerably bound unto the Turks. Shortly after he with certain Captains and other of his chief Friends taken in that Flight, was brought to *Caire*. *Selymus* before reſolved to put him to death, and the rather for the injury done to his Embaſſadors, would not ſuffer him to come into his preſence, but commanded him to be tortured, ſo to have cauſed him to have revealed the great Treaſures of *Campſon* his Predeceſſor, which were thought to have been by him hidden; in which moſt horrible and exquiſite Torments it is reported, that he with great conſtancy and ſtern countenance uttered nothing but certain deep ſighs and groans, overcoming with patience the Tyranny of the proud Conqueror; who after that, commanded him in baſe and ragged Apparel, with his hands bound behind him, as a Thief or Murderer condemned to die, to be ſet upon a foul lean Camel, and ſo to be carried in deriſion through all the publick and notable places of the City; that the Egyptians might ſee him, whom they but a little before had adored for their King, by change of Fortune caſt into extream miſery, by moſt ſhameful death to end both his life and Empire together, when they had thus deſpightfully led him as it were in triumph, and brought him to the chief Gate of the City called *Baſuela*, they there openly ſtrangled him with a Rope; and that he might be the better ſeen, and become more contemptible to all that paſſed that way, they hanged him up by the neck upon an Iron Hook in an Arch of the ſame Gate, and ſo left him to the worlds wonder. *Palearius* propounding him as a mirror both of the better and worſe fortune, for all men to look upon, aptly deſcribeth both his happineſs and miſery in theſe few Verſes following:

The Mamalukes put to flight.

Tomombeius *taken and brought to* Selymus.

Tomombeius *tortured.*

The miſerable end of Tomombeius *laſt Sultan of Egypt.*

Non fuit in toto, Rex æque Oriente beatus;
  Nec magis in toto Rex Oriente miſer,
Quam dolor Egypti, *olim* Tomombeius, *auro*
  Ingenti, atque armis, & ditione potens.
Captus ab hoſte fero, miſerum ſimul atque beatum,
  Exemplo potis eſt, commonuiſſe ſuo.
Quid rides temere? quid fles? vis te cohibere?
  Et natum poſthac te meminiſſe hominem?
Mi trabeum induto, gemmis auroque corona
  Cingebat, fulgens & diadema caput.
Mi quandam ornabant pretioſa monilia collum,
  Nunc fractam vili reſpice fune gulam.

Paulus Jovius Illuſt. virorum Elog. lib. 4.

In Engliſh thus:

In all the Eaſt a King more bleſt was no where to be found,
Nor in the Eaſt one more accurſt liv'd not upon the ground,
Than *Tomombeius*, *Egypts* grief, ſometime for ſtore of gold,
Of power great for Martial Force, and Kingdom he did hold.
But taken by his cruel Foe, may good example be
Both to the happy and diſtreſt, of mans uncertainty.
Why do'ſt thou fondly laugh? Why do'ſt thou vainly cry?
Canſt thou from henceforth ſtay thy ſelf, and think th'art born to die?
My Garments were the Royal Robes, I wore the Crown of Gold,
With richeſt Stones moſt richly ſet, moſt glorious to behold:
My neck adorn'd with richeſt Gems which I did ſometimes wear.
But now truſt up in ſhameful Rope, behold me hanging here.

This miſery befel *Tomombeius* the thirteenth of *April*, in the year 1517, upon the Monday in *Eaſter* Week. There were many which ſhed tears to behold that ſo cruel and lamentable a ſpectacle, who by their woful countenance and pitiful lamentation ſeemed to deteſt that foul and unworthy death of their late Sultan; notwithſtanding that the Janizaries reproved them therefore, and threatned them with death, who like giddy braind Fools (as they termed them) enured to the ſlavery of the Mamalukes, joyfully and thankfully accepted not of their deliverance; for the Egyptians were as yet uncertain of their Eſtate, and therefore as men in ſuſpence (not without cauſe) ſtood in doubt what ſhould become of themſelves; fearing leſt the Turks, a warlike Nation, and a terror to all the Princes of *Europe* and *Aſia*, nothing more courteous than the Mamalukes, ſhould with no leſs inſolency rage and tyrannize over them, under their warlike and cruel Emperor. Beſides that, the woful ſight of *Tomombeius* hanging in the Gate, as the unworthy ſcorn of Fortune, wonderfully wounded their hearts; for why, it was yet freſh in their remembrance, that he with the good liking of all men, and general favour of the Nobility, with good fame roſe up all the degrees of Honour both in Field and Court, unto the height of Regal Dignity; and therefore grieved the more to ſee

The Egyptians in doubt of their Eſtate bewail the death of Tomombeius.

him by inevitable Deſtiny caſt down headlong, ſo ſhamefully to end his Life and Empire together. A notable ſpectacle undoubtedly amongſt the rareſt examples of worldly fragility, both to the happy and unfortunate; the one, not to be too proud, or too much to flatter themſelves in their greateſt bliſs; and the other, to learn thereby with patience to indure the heavy and unworthy changes and chances of this wretched and miſerable world. And ſo much the more did *Tomombeius* ſo hanging, move men to compaſſion, for that the Majeſty of his tall and ſtrong body, and reverend countenance, with his long and hoary Beard, well agreed with his imperial Dignity and Martial diſpoſition. The ſame fortune with *Tomombeius* ran alſo divers of the Princes of the Mamalukes, with ſome others of the common ſort alſo.

Tomombeius thus taken out of the way, and all the Mamalukes almoſt ſlain, and no power of the Enemy to be heard of in all *Egypt* to renew the War; *Selymus* dividing his Forces, ſent them forth with his Captains, to take in the Countries and Provinces of *Egypt* lying further off. They of *Alexandria* after the battel of *Caire* having thruſt out the Garriſon, and eaſily ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Pharus* (which the weak defendants choſe rather upon hope of preſent reward to deliver, than with doubtful event to defend) yielded themſelves many daies before unto the Turks. *Damiata* alſo, called in ancient time *Peluſium*, opened their Gates, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Victors. There was no City betwixt the River of *Nilus* and the Borders of *Judea* and *Arabia*, which yielded not to the obedience of *Selymus*. The Kings alſo of *Africk* bordering upon *Cyrenaica*, Tributaries or Confederates of the Egyptian Sultans, ſent their Embaſſadors with Preſents to *Selymus*.

There remained now none but the wild Arabians (a People never to be tamed) and eſpecially they of *Africk*, who having loſt many of their Friends and Kinſmen in aiding *Tomombeius*, would not (as it was thought) ſubmit themſelves unto the Turkiſh obedience. This wandering king of People, living for moſt part by Theft, had filled the Countries from *Euphrates*, where it runneth by the Palmyrens, with all the inner parts of *Egypt* and *Africk* unto the Atlantick Sea, with huge multitudes of men; and being divided into many Companies under divers Leaders, have no certain dwelling places, but live an hard and frugal kind of life in Tents and Waggons, after the manner of the Tartars; their greateſt Wealth is a good ſerviceable Horſe, with a Launce or a bundle of Darts; they were alway at diſcord and variance amongſt themſelves, by reaſon whereof they could never agree for the expulſing of the Mamalukes, who otherwiſe had not been able to have ſtood againſt them, if they ſhould have joyned their Forces together. So that the late Egyptian Sultans ſeemed to hold their State and Empire among ſo populous a Nation, rather by their diſcord than their own ſtrength; wherefore *Selymus* having now by fit men, upon his Faith before given, allured many of their Chieftains and greateſt Commanders to *Caire*, honourably both entertained and rewarded them. By whoſe example others moved, came alſo in dayly; and having received their rewards, gave the Oath of their Allegeance to *Selymus*. Others which could by no fair promiſes or words be won, being cunningly intercepted by other Captains, and delivered to *Selymus*, indured the pains of their vain obſtinacy and malice. The other remote Nations toward *Æthiopia*, as they had in former time rather acknowledge the friendſhip than the command of the Egyptian Sultans; ſo now induced with the fame of the Victory, eaſily joyned in like amity with the Turk.

Selymus *cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience.*

About the ſame time, *Selymus* ſent certain Troops of Horſemen to *Suezzia*, a Port of the Red Sea (of old called *Arſinoe*) about three days journey from *Caire*; in which Port *Campſon* the great Sultan (a little before the coming of the Turks) had with infinite charge and four years travel built a ſtrong Fleet againſt the Portugals, who by their Conqueſts in *India* had taken away all the rich trade of the Indian Merchandiſe into the Gulf of *Arabia*, to the great hinderance of the Egyptian Kings Cuſtoms; over which Fleet (a little before the beginning of the Turkiſh Wars) *Campſon* had appointed one *Amyraſes* and *Ray Salomon* Generals, with a ſtrong power of Mamalukes and great ſtore of Ordnance, againſt the Portugals. Theſe valiant Captains having yet done nothing in the ſervice they were appointed unto, as they lay at *Gidda* (the Port of the famous City of *Mecha*, wherein is the Temple of their great Prophet *Mahomet*) underſtanding of the death of *Campſon*, and of the coming of *Selymus* into *Egypt*, fell at variance among themſelves; one of them being willing to continue his obedience towards the new Sultan, and the other no leſs deſirous to follow the good fortune of the Victor. Whereupon a mutiny ariſing among the Souldiers, *Amyraſes*, who favoured *Tomombeius*, was inforced to fly to *Mecha*. But ſhortly after, *Ray Salomon* requiring to have him, and threatning all hoſtility except he were forthwith delivered, he was apprehended by them of *Mecha*, fearing to have *Gidda* their Port ſpoiled, and ſo ſent back again to the Fleet. *Ray Salomon*, that he might be Admiral alone, his Aſſociate being taken out of the way, and by ſome notable fact to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the Conqueror, cauſed *Amyraſes* in the night to be caſt over-board; and giving to the Souldiers two months pay, and ſwearing them to the obedience of *Selymus*, in few days ſailing came back again to *Arſinoe*, where leaving the Fleet, he came directly himſelf to *Selymus* at *Caire*, of whom he was graciouſly received. After that, all the Princes which were before Tributaries or Confederates to the late Sultans of *Egypt*, even to the Confines of *David*, the moſt mighty King of *Ethiopia* (whom ſome call *Presbiter John*) without delay entred into the like ſubjection or confederation with the Turks.

Of this Cortug-Ogli *ſee more in the life of* Solyman.

Egypt, with all the Provinces thereunto belonging, thus brought into ſubjection, *Selymus* about the beginning of *July*, ſailed down the River of *Nilus* to *Alexandria* (*Cortug-Ogli*, a famous Pyrat of *Halicarnaſſus*, ſitting at the helm of his Gally) there to take view of his Fleet but late come from *Conſtantinople* with new ſupplies both of Men and Victuals, ſent from *Pyrrhus Baſſa* and his Son *Solyman*; which after he had well ſurveyed, and diligently viewed the Walls of the City, and of the Caſtle of *Pharos*, he returned again to *Caire*. In the mean time, the Mamalukes in durance at *Alexandria*, were by his commandment murdered every Mothers Son, in the entrance of the Priſon. At which time alſo above five hundred Families of the nobleſt and richeſt of the Egyptians were commanded to remove from *Caire* to *Conſtantinople*, and a great number of Women and Children, of the race of the Mamalukes, were tranſported thither alſo in Ships hired for that purpoſe. Into this Fleet beſides the Kings Treaſure and Riches, he conveied all the publick and private Ornaments of that moſt rich and famous City; with ſuch a covetous and greedy deſire of Spoil, that the very Marble Stones, commended either for the excellency of the workmanſhip, or beauty of the Stone, were violently rent out of the main Walls, to his great reproach and infamy. Lying at *Caire*, he with great pleaſure beheld the riſing of the River

Nilus, which had then overflowed the Country next unto it; and that with ſuch a deſire, that he moſt curiouſly enquired of the old Country men the meaſure and nature to the River; for by the diverſity of the riſing thereof (which they by certain marks and meaſures well find out) they prognoſticate ſometime abundant plenty, ſometime extream dearth, and ſometime reaſonable ſtore, when as the violent River moderately or furiouſly breaking out, ſomewhile ſo drowneth the greateſt part of the Country, that all the Seed ſeaſon it lyeth under water, and at another time floweth ſo ſparingly, that in many places it ſcarce layeth the Duſt, thereby foreſhewing an undoubted dearth; ſo that the Egyptians then aſſure themſelves of Plenty, when as *Nilus* keeping a mean, pleaſantly riſeth neither to the higheſt or lowaſt marks of his inundation.

Cayerbeius *the Traitor made Governor of* Caire *and* Egypt.

The Mamaluke Kingdom, together with the name of the Mamalukes, thus overthrown, and the Conqueſt of *Egypt* ſo happily atchieved, *Selymus* reſolved to make his return into *Syria*; and the rather, for that it was reported, That *Hyſmael* the Perſian King was coming with his Army into *Meſopotamia*, and ſo like enough to break into *Comagena.* Wherefore having as he thought good, diſpoſed of all things, he left a ſtrong Garriſon of his beſt Souldiers in *Caire*, and appointed *Cayerbeius* that notable Traitor, his Deputy and great Commander over all that great and new gotten Kingdom of *Egypt*, now converted into the form of a Province, as it remaineth at this day. Which honourable preferment ſo unworthily beſtowed, exceedingly both grieved and troubled *Jonuſes* the great Baſſa, before enflamed with the hope and juſt deſire thereof; for now that *Sinan Baſſa* was dead, he puffed up with the eſtimation of his own worth and valour, and proud of the Wound he had of late received in the preſence of *Selymus* at the entring of *Caire*, and to the uttermoſt of his power, ſuffering no man to grow near him in Credit and Eſtimation; thought himſelf the only man now left, to whom of all others, that eſpecial and honourable charge ſhould in the judgment of *Selymus* and of the whole Army of right be committed. Neither wanted he the general good liking of the Men of War, for immediately after he was recovered of his wound, when he in the moſt magnificent Houſe of the Diadare at *Caire* (which he in the Victory had rather of himſelf uſurped, than by the gift of *Selymus* obtained) daily kept princely Cheer for all comers (no ſmall means to gain the love of the common Souldiers) and gave frankly to them all; to ſome Horſes, to ſome beautiful Slaves; to ſome Mony, Plate, Jewels, rich Garments, fair Armor, and ſuch like; he won unto himſelf ſuch Favour and Credit,that whenſoever he ſhould (as the manner was) go to the Caſtle unto the Emperor, he was brought thither with a great and goodly train of his Favorites and Followers, as the man in all mens Judgment deſigned to the government of that great and rich Kingdom. All which things highly offended the mind of *Selymus*, who as he was apt to ſuſpect, and cruel where he feared, ſo did he alſo (in ſecret) envy great Vertues, accompanied with too much honour and power.

Jonuſes *envieth at the preferment of* Cayerbeius.

Jonuſes ſeeing *Cayerbeius* the Traitor thus unworthily promoted, overcome with grief and indignation (who as a man of a proud and haughty mind, took it as done to his own diſgrace) yet colouring his inward diſcontentment by counterfeiting himſelf ſick, for certain days came not abroad; nevertheleſs ſtill more and more tormented both with the injury (as he took it) done to himſelf, and the unworthy preferment of the Traitor, he could not ſo well contain himſelf, but that in his choler ſome words fell from him, whereby his diſcontentment was perceived. It hapned that *Cayerbeius* coming of courteſie to viſit him, and in the heat of the day familiarly calling for drink (which was Water and Sugar, after the manner of the Egyptians) immediately after he had drunk, felt ſuch grievous and unwonted gripings and tormentings in his Stomach and Belly, that many ſuppoſed him to have been poyſoned by the Baſſa; yet was he by the power and vertue of a more ſovereign and effectual remedy preſerved. Which report, whether it were true or no, was uncertain; but certain it is, that it ſank further into the mind of *Selymus*, than any man would have thought. He had now alſo a little before heard, that many of thoſe rich Egyptian Families, which he had before commanded to be removed to *Conſtantinople*, had for great ſums of Mony obtained of *Jonuſes*, (who had the whole ordering of that matter) that they might quietly and in ſafety remain ſtill in their own Country. Of which his covert dealing, great probability was alledged by ſuch as repined at his honour, and ſecretly accuſed him, That thoſe Princelike and exceſſive charges and expences, which he was not able poſſibly to maintain of his ordinary Penſion were royally ſupported with the embeſeled Spoil and Revenues of that new gotten Kingdom. Which malicious ſuggeſtions, as they tended to the lightning of his Credit, ſo alſo another crime (whether it were of fraudulent dealing or negligence, or other further reſpect, is uncertain) coming in the neck of the other, wrought his utter diſgrace, and final confuſion; for *Selymus* after the manner of great Princes (who more ſeverely to puniſh the former offences, notably deſſembling their preſent anger, expect but the occaſion of ſome new crime) with vigilant Eye waiting upon his words and deeds, proſecuted him with a mortal and deadly hatred, with a full purpoſe to deſtroy him.

Selymus *commanded the Wages of his Souldiers to be left in Garriſon at* Caire, *to be augmented.*

A few days before it was certainly reported that *Selymus* would again return into *Syria*, the Souldiers appointed to be left in Garriſon at *Caire*, alledging the great diſtance of the place, and the greater dangers they were to expect, with the labors by them already endured, requeſted of the Bounty of their moſt fortunate Emperor, that they might have their Wages augmented. Which thing *Selymus* (never ſpare handed to his Men of War) eaſily granted, commanding *Jonuſes* the ſtately Baſſa, that the ſum they required, might be added to their accuſtomed Wages, and ſo entred into his accounts for the Wars. But he carried headlong with diſcontentment, made neither the Treaſurers nor Paymaſters acquainted with any ſuch matter as *Selymus* had before commanded; of purpoſe, that the Garriſon Souldiers deceived of their greater Wages promiſed them by the Emperor, might even at the firſt begin to hate and contemn *Cayerbeius*, as Author of ſo great an injury; that ſo the ſtate of *Caire*, and of that new gotten Kingdom, diſquieted by the mutiny of the Garriſon Souldiers, *Selymus* inforced to change his former purpoſe, ſhould inſtead of that ſtrange Governor (hated of the Egyptians for his late Treaſon, and not beloved of the Garriſon Souldiers, becauſe he was to them a Stranger) of neceſſity ſend ſome of his own Baſſaes, a Turk, for the better ſtay and aſſurance of that wavering and mighty Province. But all theſe things (as commonly wicked purpoſes have their foul events) fell out in fine far otherwiſe then he had in his troubled mind before conceived. For *Selymus* being departed out of *Egypt*, and now on his way almoſt as far as *Jeruſalem*, the Garriſon Souldiers at *Caire*, the pay-day being now come, and receiving no more but their old accuſtomed wages, moved with that evil dealing (as contrary to the Emperors promiſe and their general expectation) began with more fury and rage than ever *Jonuſes* had before imagined, openly and inſolently to inſult and threaten the Treaſurer and Paymaſters, and with open mouth to rail upon *Cayerbeius* their Governor. With which ſo inſolent and opprobrious Speeches he aſtonied (as one not yet acquainted with the faſhions of the Turkiſh Garriſons) together with the Paymaſters, in beſt manner they could excuſed themſelves unto the Souldiers, requeſting them not to think ſo hardly of them who were altogether innocent in the matter, and with patience to underſtand the truth of the cauſe; wherein if they ſhould on their part find any fraudulent or evil dealing, they craved no favour, either refuſed any puniſhment. Thus *Cayerbeius* and the Paymaſters ſeeking by all means to avoid both the ſuſpition and the preſent danger; and the mutinous Souldiers no leſs haſtning to find out by whom they were ſo abuſed, and to be thereof revenged, it was at laſt with much ado agreed, That truſty Meſſengers ſhould forthwith be ſent to *Selymus*, who was not yet gone out of *Judea*, to underſtand of him the truth of the matter.

Theſe ſpeedy Meſſengers having with wonderful celerity diſpatcht their journey, overtook *Selymus* with his Army a little from *Lariſſa* in *Judea*; and admitted to his preſence, orderly declared unto him both the complaints of the Souldiers, and the carefulneſs of *Cayerbeius* and the Paymaſters to excuſe the matter, together with the danger they were in, with all the other accidents whatſoever which had hapned ſince the time of his departure from *Caire*. Which complaint ſo incenſed the mind of *Selymus* with new paſſions of anger and choler, being already ſore alienated with former diſpleaſures, that he without further delay commanded *Jonuſes Baſſa* to be brought before him to anſwer the matter; who although he were inwardly ſtrucken with the guilt of his own conſcience, and ſurpriſed with a deadly fear, which appeared in his colour as pale as Aſhes, ſeeing in the angry face and countenance of his Sovereign the moſt certain tokens of his heavy diſpleaſure; yet as he was a man of great Spirit, anſwered boldly, That he had forbidden the Souldiers Wages to be augmented, contrary to his Majeſties command, not upon any evil meaning to have inverted that mony to his own uſe, neither thereby to have drawn any man of purpoſe into diſgrace, as was by ſome his malicious Enemies ſuggeſted; but upon great reaſon, thereby to provide for his Majeſties Cofers wonderfully emptied with thoſe late Wars; beſide that, the conſtant report of new troubles like to ariſe out of *Perſia*, gave good occaſion for him to ſpare unneceſſary charges: Whereas on the other ſide, as he ſaid, the Garriſon Souldiers were already inriched with the plentiful Spoils of *Egypt*, and in a moſt goodly City poſſeſſed the ſumptuous Houſes and Lands of the Mamalukes, feeding upon the Goods of the Egyptians, and had already received both greater Pay and more bountiful Rewards from him, than ever any Souldiers had from any his Predeceſſors the *Othoman* Kings; in which caſe, if they were not paſt all modeſty, they might well enough take it in good part, if they were ſomething reſtrained in their unreaſonable requeſts. He alledged moreover, that great Princes which retain their Souldiers in reaſonable Pay in time of Peace and War, ought ſometime for Warlike Diſcipline, to require of them a moderation of their deſires, leſt whilſt they all ſtrive with greedineſs for their private gain, there want Mony afterwards in the common Treaſury to maintain a greater and more neceſſary charge, Wars ſtill riſing upon Wars; ſeeing that no Commander, were he never ſo valiant or fortunate, ever did any great matter in Wars, if he wanted Coin, the moſt proper Inſtrument and very Sinews of War, anſwering unto his other moſt heroical parts and ſufficiency. But as he was yet thus ſpeaking, *Selymus* full of wrath and indignation interrupted him; for if he ſhould have ſuffered him in longer diſcourſe to have recounted his former deſerts and worthy ſervice done, aſwell in the time of his Father *Bajazet*, as of late even in his own preſence, he was like enough to have had of them that were able to do moſt with him, interceſſors for him; and ſo without further delay, cauſed him even there in his own preſence to be executed; ſaying moreover, that others which would arrogantly preſume to preſcribe unto their Sovereigns what they had to do, ſhould for ever after by the example of that moſt inſolent Servant, be admoniſhed of their duty and condition. It is reported, that the Souldiers in deſpight of *Selymus* wonderfully lamented the unworthy death of this ſo worthy a man; for he beſide his notable and rare valor, ſo many times to his great honour in ſundry Battels approved, had by the dexterity of his Grecian Wit, Comelineſs of Perſonage, Military Eloquence, and gallant manner of living, ſo won the love and favour of all men, that there was few or none in all the Army which did not acknowledg himſelf ſome way indebted and beholden unto him; and did therefore condemn the Emperors Cruelty. They then began to tell how *Muſtapha* ſirnamed *Caloger*, a man of wonderful Credit and Authority both with *Bajazet* and himſelf, was in the heat of his fury ſlain without hearing; and that in like manner of rage, old *Chendemus* a man of greateſt honour and integrity of life, and of all the Chieftains which came out of the great Emperor *Mahomets* Nuſery, the moſt skilful, had been for his grave and wholeſome Counſel only, without cauſe murthered; neither was then *Boſtanges* his Son in Law forgotten; neither *Cherſeogles* (the one moſt honourable for the great place he held in Court and the Marriage of *Bajazets* Daughter, and the other a man of no leſs mark being his great Admiral, and bearing himſelf high upon his infinite Wealth, but more upon his Wife one of the Daughters of *Selymus*) both which two Noble Gentlemen about two years before had their heads ſtruck off, no man well knowing wherefore; and their dead Bodies caſt out at the Court Gate, to the terror of the beholders, as a miſerable ſpectacle of their own miſery and the Emperors Cruelty. Yea the remembrance of his old tyranny (renewed as it were with this late outrage) preſented afreſh unto all mens eyes the reverend old Emperor *Bajazet* his Father, with his two Brethren, *Achomates* and *Corcutus*, by right both called unto the Empire before himſelf; with many other young Princes of the Blood, of great hope and expectation, who as all men knew, periſhed through the unnatural and execrable Cruelty of this moſt mercileſs man. So that men generally did both fear him and hate him. Foraſmuch as he without all fear of God or regard of worldly ſhame, accounted no practice wicked, or device deteſtable, that might ſerve for the better eſtabliſhing of his Kingdom; and had ſet down in his mind, (long before corrupted with Ambition and Tyranny) That it was far better for the aſſurance of his eſtate, to be feared of all than beloved of many; and therefore ſpared no mans life, of whom he had but the leaſt ſuſpition. Howbeit that the ſeverity by him uſed againſt this ſo great a man and ſo gracious with

Selymus *calleth for Jonuſes Baſſa to anſwer the matter.*

The anſwer of Jonuſes Baſſa.

The death of Jonuſes the great Baſſa.

the People, may in ſome ſort be excuſed, as juſtly moved thereunto by the preſumptuous and malicious dealing of the proud Baſſa under-hand, contrary to the charge given him by his Lord, to the peril of thoſe his great but late Conqueſts both in *Egypt* and *Syria*.

This great Baſſa, whilſt he yet lived and flouriſhed in the Court, in nothing ſo much offended the minds of the People (who generally both loved and honoured him) as by the Cruelty by him ſhewed upon the perſon of the fair Lady *Manto* his beſt beloved Wiſe. Who being a Greek born, and adorned with all the good gifts of Nature, whereunto her lovely conditions were alſo anſwerable, was by *Zebalia* her firſt Husband (a man of great honour) carried with him into the Wars, as his greateſt Treaſure and chief delight. But he ſlain, and ſhe by misfortune falling into the hands of the Turks (her Enemies) remained ſo priſoner with them for a time; until that this great Baſſa *Jonuſes* ſhortly after (ſeeing her amongſt the other Captives there taken, ſo far to exceed the reſt as doth the Sun the leſſer Stars) ſurpriſed with her incomparable beauty, became of her amorous; and in too curious viewing of the captive Lady, was by her himſelf taken Priſoner. Where finding her outward perfections graced with no leſs inward vertues, and her honourable mind anſwerable unto her rare feature, took her unto his Wife; honouring her far above all the reſt of his Wives and Concubines; and ſhe again in all dutiful loyalty ſeeking to pleaſe him, for a ſpace lived in all worldly felicity and bliſs, not much inferior unto one of the great Sultaneſſes. But long laſteth not the Summer Fruit of wanton Love, blaſted moſt time in the bloſſom and rotten before it be well gathered; for in ſhort time the Baſſa more amorous of her Perſon, than ſecured in her Vertues, and after the manner of ſenſual men, ſtill fearing leſt that which ſo much pleaſed himſelf, gave no leſs contentment to others alſo; began to have her in diſtruſt, although he ſaw no great cauſe, why, more than his own conceit, not grounded upon her evil demeanor, but upon the exceſs of his own liking. Which mad humor (hardly to be over purged) of it ſelf ſtill more and more in him increaſing, he became ſo froward and imperious, that nothing ſhe could ſay or do could now ſo pleaſe or content him, but that he ſtill thought ſome one or other, although he wiſt not who, to be therein partakers with him. So fearful was the jealous man of his own conceits. Yet could he not chuſe but love thoſe great perfections; whereat he could not enough wonder; although he found no contentment therein, tormenting ſtill both himſelf and her whom he ſo dearly loved with his own paſſionate diſtruſt; until at length, the fair Lady grieved to ſee her ſelf thus without cauſe to be ſuſpected, and wearied with the inſolent pride of her peeviſh Husband, together with his imperious commands, determined ſecretly to depart from him, and ſo to return again into her own Country. Which her purpoſe ſhe diſcovered unto one of her Eunuchs, to whom ſhe had alſo delivered certain Letters to be by him conveied unto ſuch of her Friends, as whoſe help ſhe was to uſe in her intended flight; which Letters the falſe Eunuch opened, and for the more manifeſting of the matter delivered them unto the Baſſa his Maſter. Who therewith inraged, and calling her unto him, forthwith in his fury, with a Dagger ſtab'd her to the Heart and ſlew her; ſo together with the death of his Love, having cured his tormenting jealouſie.

Jonuſes Baſſa jealous of his fair wiſe Manto.

The fair Lady Manto *cruelly ſlain by her jealous Husband.*

But leaving this great Baſſa with fair *Manto* unto their reſt, his courſe thus run, to return again unto *Selymus*; who now come into *Syria*, was by Letters from the Himbracor-Baſſa or Maſter of his Horſe (whom he had left upon the Frontiers of his Kingdom to attend the motions of the Perſians) advertiſed, That the Perſian preparations which had raiſed ſuch a hot rumor of Wars in the beginning of Winter, was grown cold in the heat of Summer; and that he had ſeen in all the time of his abode in thoſe quarters, none but certain ſtragling Companies, making ſhew as if ſome greater power had been coming, which had many times made ſuddain roads into the Country, with whom he had ſundry times proſperouſly encountred; and it was generally reported by ſuch Priſoners as he had taken, and by his own Eſpials alſo, that *Hyſmael*, troubled with the Hyrcanians and Tartars, had converted the greateſt part of his Forces againſt thoſe Nations; ſo the Winter now drawing faſt on, and deep Snows already fallen upon the Mountain *Taurus*, he could not though he would that year look after *Aſia* the leſs, or *Syria*. There were that reported, that the Tartars which dwell between the two Rivers, *Tanais* and *Volga*, were by *Selymus* his procurement, and money, ſet at work to keep *Hyſmael* buſied, by invading the Iberians and Albanians, which were under his protection; which thing he wrought by the means of *Mahomet* his Father in Law, the Boſphoran King who being of the ſame Language and Nation, by rewards eaſily induced the needy Captains of the Tartars his Friends and Confederates, to take up Arms againſt their Neighbours.

The cauſe why Hyſmael *invaded not* Selymus *wholly buſied in the Egyptian Wars.*

Many men marvelled that *Hyſmael* the Perſian King neglected ſo fair an opportunity, whereby he might (as moſt men thought) have thruſt *Selymus* quite out of *Aſia* and *Syria*, whilſt he was thus buſied in *Egypt*, yea and eaſily have deſtroyed him, ſhut up with all his power, eſpecially at ſuch time as the Egyptian Sultans *Campſon* and *Tomombeius* made ſo great reſiſtance. But they which could better judge of the matter, ſaw that *Hyſmael* was not of ſo great Power and Strength abroad, as at home; for his Army for moſt part conſiſted of Gentlemen, or ſuch as were by cuſtom bound to ſerve him in his defenſive Wars, voluntary men, and ſuch as ſerved without Pay. Theſe as they were the moſt valiant Horſemen of the Eaſt, ſo did they with ſingular Valour worthily defend the Kingdom of *Perſia*, and alſo as occaſion required, make War with their near Neighbours; but if any longer expedition were to be taken in hand, that they could by no means away withal, accounting it a grievous thing to depart from their Wives, unto whom they are ſo addicted that oftentimes they carry them with them into the Wars; and being a wanton and fine kind of People, are not able without Wages to draw after them according to their accuſtomed manner, ſo many Carriages and Horſes as might ſerve both for their neceſſary and wanton uſes. With which difficulty, the great King *Uſun-Caſſanes*, *Hyſmael* his Grandfather by the Mothers ſide, was much troubled in his Wars againſt *Mahomet* the Great; but was now much harder for *Hyſmael* to do, for that he having obtained his Grandfathers Kingdom by the meer good Will of the People, eaſing them forthwith of their heavy impoſitions, always thought the love of his Subjects (which is eaſily gotten with Bounty and Juſtice) the ſureſt riches of his Kingdom; and that to command only over the Bodies and Goods of his People, their Hearts altogether alienated and loſt by moſt heavy and grievous exactions, ſeemed not the part of a gracious and natural Prince, but of an outragious and momentary Tyrant. Whereas *Selymus* on the contrary part, who had by force, miſchief, and moſt deteſtable practices ſtept up into his Fathers ſeat, had after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings repoſed his greateſt and moſt aſſured ſtrength in a ſervile and mercenary kind of men, whom he might for pay as his own Creatures, at his pleaſure draw far from home, and as he beſt liked lead them from place to place, and Country to Country, for the enlarging of his Empire, and eternizing of his Name; and therefore according to the quality of his People, deemed true and ready power to conſiſt only in mony, and the ſeverity of his own command; whereby he had learned with moſt happy ſucceſs, in ſhort time to obſcure all the Victories of the former *Othoman* Kings, with the greatneſs of his own.

1518. All the Winter following, *Selymus* ſtaied with his Army in *Syria* ſpending the time in viſiting the Ports and Cities of that Province, and ſetting of things in order, for the better aſſurance thereof. But upon the approach of the Spring, when he certainly underſtood, that by the procurement of *Leo* the Tenth, then Biſhop of *Rome*, the Chriſtian Princes were entred into conſultation to make War upon him, and that ſupplications with great ſolemnity were made for that purpoſe, and honourable Embaſſadors ſent into all Provinces to ſtir up the greateſt Kings of Chriſtendom againſt him, he (leaving *Gazelles* his Lieutenant in *Syria*) by great journies returned to *Conſtantinople*; from thence as at hand to behold the devices and motions of Chriſtian Princes his Enemies. In the mean time, fearing no alteration to ariſe in the Provinces of *Syria* and *Egypt*, foraſmuch as he well ſaw, that *Cayerbeius* and *Gazelles* his Lieutenants, being at deadly hatred betwixt themſelves (as well for old grudges, as for the late Treaſon of *Cayerbeius*, the great cauſe of the ruin of the Mamalukes Kingdom) would never agree in one againſt him, but rather with a certain emulation ſtrive betwixt themſelves with diligence, faithfulneſs, and moderation, who ſhould deſerve beſt in well governing the Provinces by him committed to their charge, as indeed they did during the ſhort time of his Reign.

1519. Selymus *purpoſing to invade the Chriſtians, ſtruck in the Reins of his Back with a Cancer.*

Selymus being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, and purpoſing from thenceforth to turn all his Forces upon the Chriſtians, cauſed wonderful preparation to be made for his Wars, but eſpecially at Sea; whereby it was thought, that he would have either attempted the ſtrong Iſland of the *Rhodes* (a great moat in his Eye) or elſe ſome part of *Italy*. But as he was hatching this miſchief, or ſome other of no leſs importance, and in the mean time delighted himſelf with viſiting the Cities of *Grecia* and *Thrace*, and ſolaced himſelf in the pleaſant Country about *Hadrianople*, he was ſuddainly attached with the Hand of God, and ſtrucken in the Reins of his Back with a Cancer; which melancholy and devouring malady contemning all cure, did by little and little ſo eat and corrupt his body, as that he before ſo much honoured, became now loathſome and odious both to himſelf and others.

As he lay thus languiſhing, his incurable diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, leaning his head in the lap of *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa, whom of all others he moſt loved, ſaid, O *Pyrrhus, I ſee I muſt ſhortly die without remedy.* Whereupon the great Baſſa took occaſion to diſcourſe with him of many matters; and amongſt others, that it would pleaſe him to give order for the well beſtowing of the great Wealth taken from the Perſian Merchants in divers places of his Empire; perſwading him to beſtow the ſame upon ſome notable Hoſpital for relief of the poor. To whom *Selymus* replied, Wouldſt thou *Pyrrhus*, that I ſhould beſtow other mens goods wrongfully taken from them, upon works of Charity and Devotion, for mine own vain glory and praiſe? aſſuredly I will never do it; nay, rather ſee they be again reſtored unto the right owners. Which was forthwith done accordingly; to the great ſhame of many Chriſtians, who minding nothing leſs than reſtitution, but making *ex rapina holocauſtum*, do out of a World of evil gotten goods cull out ſome ſmall fragments, to build ſome poor Hoſpital, or mend ſome blind way; a poor teſtimony of their hot Charity.

1520. *Selymus* lying thus ſick to death, and rotting above the ground in his Tent, as he was upon the way going to *Hadrianople*, ſent before *Pyrrhus* and *Achmetes*, two of his greateſt Baſſaes, to provide for the ſolemnizing of the great Feaſt, which the Turks call *Bairam* (and is as it were their Eaſter) purpoſing to come after himſelf at leiſure, as his weak Body would give him leave; and kept with him only *Ferhates*, the third of his greateſt Baſſaes and Privy Counſellors. But ſuch was the fury of his foul diſeaſe, continually attainting him with intollerable pains, that ſhortly after the departure of the other two Baſſaes, he breathed out his cruel Ghoſt, in the Month of *September*, in the year 1520, near unto the City *Chiurli*, in the ſelf ſame place where he had ſometime moſt unnaturally aſſailed his aged Father *Bajazet*, with purpoſe to have ſlain him, had not the fortune of the old Emperor in a great battel prevailed both againſt his Force and the Treaſon of his own People. Thus intending the miſchief he could not perform, cut off by a loathſome and untimely death, he to the great joy of all Chriſtendom ended his days, when he had lived ſix and forty years, and thereof reigned eight; which time of his Reign was nothing elſe but a moſt horrible and dreadful time of Bloodſhed. His dead Body was afterwards ſolemnly by his Son *Solyman* buried in a new Temple at *Conſtantinople*, which he to the imitation of his Father and Grandfather, had for that purpoſe before built. Upon his Tomb is ingraven in the Greek, Turkiſh, and Sclavonian Tongues, this ſhort Epitaph:

The death of Selymus.

The ju[illegible] judgment of God.

Hic maximus adſum Selymus, *qui orbem domui.*
Non bella relinquo, ſed pergo inquirere:
Non ulla me fortuna potuit evertere:
Licet oſſa jacent, animus quærit.

Phi. Lonicerus Turcicæ Hiſtoriæ, Tomo primo. lib. primo.

In Engliſh thus:

Lo here I lie great *Selymus*, which held the World
in fear;
The World I leave, but not the Wars, which I
ſeek, though not here.
No Fortunes force, or Victors hand, could take
from me the Spoils:
And though my Bones lie buried here, my Ghoſt
ſeeks bloody broils.

Selymus *before his death commendeth the tuition of his Son* Solyman *to* Pyrrhus *the Baſſa.*

He uſed commonly to ſay, That nothing was ſweeter than to reign without fear or ſuſpition of his Kindred. A little before his death, he commended his Son *Solyman* to *Pyrrhus Baſſa*, ſtraitly charging him, that after his death he ſhould leave the Perſians, and turn his Forces altogether upon the Chriſtians. And the more to incenſe him to the effuſion of Blood, he left him the lively counterfeit of himſelf hanging at his bed ſide, with ſundry bloody Precepts breathing forth his cruel and unmerciful diſpoſition.

Tabulæ Epigraphe.

Soldanus Selymus Otomanus *, Rex*
Regum, Dominus omnium Domino-
rum, Princeps omnium Principum,
Filius & Nepos Dei. S. S. S.

Ad dextram, Verſus Græca lingua adſcripti in hunc ſenſum.

Tutus ut imperii Princeps ſibi ſceptra capeſſat,
Anxia ne dubio corda pavore premat,
Ne putet eſſe nefas cognatum haurire cruorem;
Et nece fraterna, conſtabilire domum.
Jura, Fides, Pietas, Regni dum nemo ſuperſit,
Æmulus, haud turbent religione animum.
Hæc ratio eſt, quæ ſola queat regale tueri
Nomen, & expertem te ſinit eſſe metus.

Ad ſiniſtram lingua Sclavonica.

Te ſemel adverſus peccantem, mitis haberi,
Ne ſtudeas, pœna vindice tutus eris.
Protinus enſe reſcindendum, putreſcere ſi quid
Incipiet, clemens Rex male ſceptra gerit.
Ad veniam facilis, peccanti porrigit anſam
Qua ſe ſuſtentans, ad nova damna ruat.

Ad Calcem tabulæ lingua Turcica.

Qui non ipſe ſua Princeps haſtilia dextra,
Agmen in adverſum marte favente jacet.
Sed refugit ſævis caput objectare periclis
Dum gravia impavido, prælia corde ſubit:
Iſte ſciat vanis belli ſeſe artibus uti;
Et votis nunquam fata favere ſuis.
Nulla ſibi ſperet, ſuſcepti commoda belli,
Hoſtiles acies quiſquis adire timet.

The Inſcription of the Table.

Sultan *Selymus Othoman* King of
Kings, Lord of Lords, Prince of
all Princes, the Son and Nephew
of God.

On the right hand of the Table were written Greek Verſes to this ſence.

The Prince that ſafely ſeeks to reign, and hold his State in quiet reſt,
Muſt never ſuffer troubled care to harbour in his Princely Breaſt.
Nor think it ſin to ſpill the blood of his moſt near and deareſt Kin,
Not of his Brother, ſo thereby aſſured ſafety he may win.
Law, Faith, Devotion, and ſuch like, to break them all he muſt not ſpare,
Nor conſcience make of any thing, to rid him from aſpiring care.
This is the way and only mean that may protect a Princes State,
And ſet him ſafe without all fear, whilſt none may live whom he doth hate.

The bloody and tyrannical Precepts left by Selymus *to his Son* Solyman, *which he afterward moſt aſſuredly kept as is to be ſeen in his life following.*

On the left hand of the Table was written in the Sclavonian Tongue.

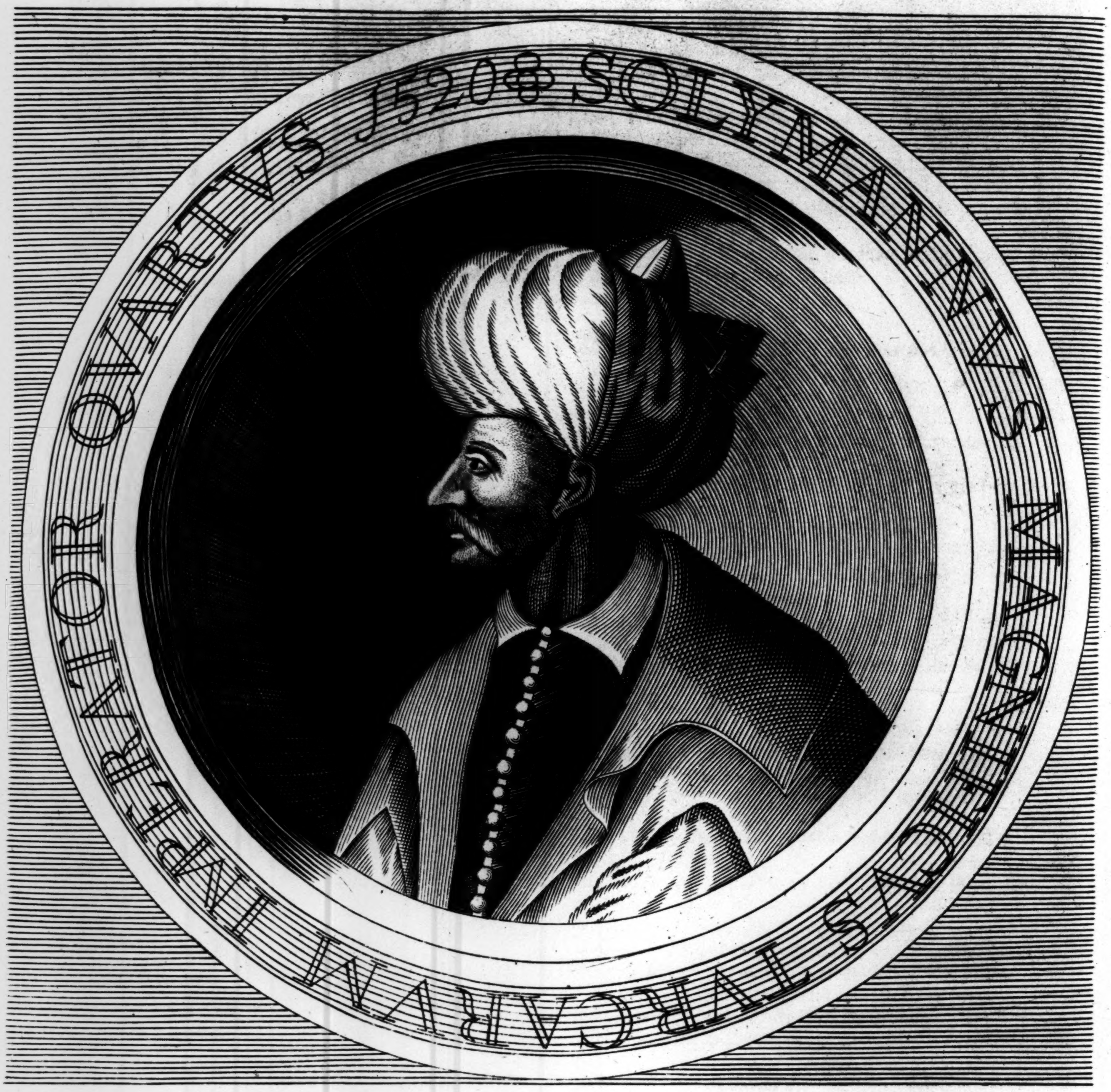
Of him that ſeeks to work thy wo, deſeve not to be counted kind:
But take him for thy mortal Foe, and plague him with revenging mind.
The rotten limb is cut away for fear of doing further harm:
The gentle Prince doth bear ſmall ſway, if no abuſe can make him warn,
Forbearance makes men more offend, and to preſume of further grace,
It doth but ſtrength to Rebels lend, to thruſt their Sovereign out of place.

At the lower end of the ſame Table was written in Turkiſh Verſe.

What Prince in perſon dareth not in open Field to meet his Foe,
And there with unapplanded heart, his deadly darts himſelf to throw:
But hides his head for fear of harm, and ſhuns the danger of the Field,
When Martial minds with courage bold withſtand their Foes with ſpear and ſhield;
Let him well know, how that in vain he beareth Arms but for a ſhew,
And that the honour of the Field will never ſuch a Coward know.
Ne let him hope to gain the Spoil by any Wars he takes in hand,
That feareth with couragious mind his Enemies Forces to withſtand.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Selymus *the Firſt.*	*Emperors of* Germany		Maximilian *the Firſt.* Charles *the Fifth.*	1494. 25. 1509. 39.
	Kings	Of England	Henry *the Eighth.*	1509. 38.
		Of France	Lewis *the Twelfth.* Francis *the Firſt.*	1497. 17. 1514. 32.
		Of Scotland	James *the Fourth.* James *the Fifth.*	1489. 25. 1513. 32.
	Biſhops of Rome		Julius *the* II. Leo *the* X.	1503. 9. 1513. 8.

The


SOLYMANNVS MAGNIFICVS TVRCARVM IMPERATOR QVARTVS 1520

Imperij Solyman patrij moderatur habenas,
Regnaque Chriſtianum cladibus usque metit.
Antiquam capit ille Rhodon, Naxumque, Parumque,
Turrheni infastat Littora curva Maris.
Pannonios multo populatur milite fines,
Et cingit muros clara Vienna tuos.
Inclyta Sigethi dum mœnia concutit armis,
Cogitur, hinc Stygiam nudus adire domum.

Magnificent Solyman mounts his Fathers Throne,
With Chriſtian Slaughters formidable growne,
Rhodes, Naxos, Paros felt his cruelty,
And the sweet Shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea;
Th'Hungarian Territories he did invade,
And feirce attemps on fair Vienna made;
Till from the walls of Sigeth meanly come
Th'aspiring Tyrant crept to his long Home.

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11

The LIFE of

SOLYMAN,

THE

FOURTH and moſt MAGNIFICENT

Emperor of the Turks.

THE death of *Selymus* was with all carefulneſs concealed by *Ferhates* the only Baſſa then preſent, for fear leſt the Janizaries and Souldiers of the Court getting knowledge thereof, ſhould after their wonted manner in the time of the vacancy of the Empire, ſpoil the Merchants and Strangers in places where they lay in Garriſon, and eſpecially in the Imperial City; and not ſo contented, after their accuſtomed inſolency preſcribe unto the greateſt Baſſaes at their pleaſure. For preventing whereof, *Ferhates* diſpatched a truſty Meſſenger with Letters in Poſt to *Solyman* the only Son of *Selymus*, then lying at *Magneſia*; certifying him of the death of his Father; and that he ſhould deſerve well of his peaceable Subjects by haſtning his coming to *Conſtantinople*, whilſt all things were yet in good order, in time to repreſs with his preſence the feared diſordered proceedings of his Men of War.

Solyman *hardly perſwaded that his Father was dead.*

Solyman having to his great content peruſed the Baſſaes Letters, as one deſirous enough of the Empire; yet conſidering the cruel diſpoſition of his Father (who upon a meer jealous conceit of his aſpiring mind, and for certain words by him let fall in diſlike of his Fathers extream dealing, had practiſed moſt unnaturally to have taken him away by Poiſon; which danger he eſcaped only by the carefulneſs of his Mother, who miſdoubting the worſt, cauſed the Poiſoned rich Shirt ſent to him from his Father, to be firſt worn by one of his Chamber, whereof he in ſhort time after died) and alſo that the Letters were ſigned only by *Ferhates*, and the news not ſeconded from any of the other Baſſaes; fearing ſome hidden and ſecret Plot of his Father tending to his deſtruction, durſt not adventure to remove from his charge, but returned the Meſſenger as one to whom he gave little or no credit. Ten days thus ſpent, and the death of *Selymus* nothing as yet ſuſpected; *Ferhates* underſtanding by his Meſſenger the wearineſs of *Solyman*, and that he expected more aſſured advertiſement, ſent preſently unto the other great Baſſaes *Pyrrhus* and *Muſtapha* at *Hadrianople*, that they ſhould without delay repair unto the Court; unto whom at their coming he declared the death of the Emperor. Which after they had ſeen to be true, they by another ſecret and ſpeedy Meſſenger advertiſed *Solyman* again thereof, confirming thoſe Letters with all their Hands and Seals; whereby *Solyman* now aſſured of his Fathers death, preſently put himſelf upon the way, and by long and painful journies in few days came to *Scutarium*, called in ancient time *Chriſopolis*, over-againſt *Conſtantinople*. Where he was met with the Aga or Captain of the Janizaries, and by him tranſported in a Gally over that ſtrait paſſage to *Conſtantinople*; where at his landing the Janizaries by the appointment of their Captain were ready to receive him, knowing as yet nothing of the death of *Selymus*, until that *Solyman* being now in the midſt of them, the Captain with a loud voice ſaid unto them, *Behold your Emperor.* Whereupon they all with great acclamation cried out, *Long live the great Emperor Solyman*; which conſent of the Men of War, is unto the Turkiſh Emperors the greateſt aſſurance of their Eſtate. And ſo with much Triumph he was by them brought into the Roial Palace, and placed in his Fathers Seat in the year 1520. in which year alſo *Charles* the Fifth was choſen Emperor of *Germany*. The Janizaries diſappointed by the Baſſaes of the ſpoil of the Merchants, eſpecially Chriſtians and Jews, received of the bounty of *Solyman* a great Largeſs, and in the beginning of his Reign had their accuſtomed Wages ſomewhat augmented alſo, to their wonderful contentment.

Solyman was about twenty eight years old when he began to Reign, and was at the firſt ſuppoſed to have been of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition; ſo that the Princes to whom the Name of *Selymus* was before dreadful, were now in hope that a quiet Lamb was come in place of a raging Lion. But in ſhort time they found themſelves in their expectation far deceived; and eſpecially the Chriſtian Princes bordering upon him, unto whom he became a far more dangerous Enemy than was his Father before him; converting his Forces moſt part of his long Reign upon them, which *Selymus* had almoſt altogether imployed againſt the Kings of *Perſia*, and *Egypt*, the greateſt Princes of the Mahometan Superſtition.

The

Gazelles *Governor of* Syria *rebelleth againſt* Solyman.

The firſt that felt his heavy Hand was *Gazelles* Governour of *Syria*; who preſently upon the death of *Selymus*, thinking himſelf now diſcharged of the Oath of Obedience which he had given to *Selymus*, but not to his Succeſſors; and earneſtly deſiring to reſtore again the Kingdom of the Mamalukes lately overthrown, gathered together the remainder of the diſperſed Mamalukes, which ſpeedily reſorted unto him out of all parts of *Aſia* and *Africk*; and alluring with rewards the Leaders of the wild Arabians, with great numbers of the Country People of *Syria*, diſcontented with the Turkiſh Government, entred into open Rebellion, and by force of Arms drave the Turks Garriſon out of *Byrtha*, *Trypolis*, and divers others Cities of *Syria*, taking them into his own poſſeſſion. And the better to effect that he had taken in hand, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Caire* unto *Cayerbeius*, who had of *Selymus* received the Government of *Egypt*, the unworthy reward of his horrible Treaſon; perſwading him by any means to take revenge of the injury and wrong before done to the Mamalukes, and by killing of the Turks Garriſons to make himſelf Sultan of *Egypt*, and reſtore again the Kingdom of the Mamalukes, offering him therein the uttermoſt of his devoir and ſervice. But *Cayerbeius*, either not truſting *Gazelles* his old Enemy, or aſhamed by new Treaſon to augment his former diſhonor, or elſe (which was moſt like) miſdoubting his own ſtrength in performance of ſo great an enterpriſe; after he had attentively heard what the Embaſſadors had to ſay, cauſed them preſently in his own ſight to be put to death as Traitors, and with all ſpeed certified *Solyman* thereof, who without delay ſent *Ferbates Baſſa* with a ſtrong Army into *Syria*. Which thing *Gazelles* hearing, and having in his power moſt of the Cities of *Syria*, retired himſelf, with all his Army into the ſtrong City of *Damaſco*; whither at length, *Ferbates* the great Baſſa by long march came alſo. *Gazelles* reſolved to try the fortune of the Field, and ſo either by ſpeedy Victory or honourable Death to end the matter, rather than to ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up within the Walls of the City, upon the coming of the Baſſa, valiantly iſſued forth with all his power, and gave him Battel; which for the ſpace of ſix hours was moſt cruelly fought, and many ſlain on both ſides. At length *Gazelles* being oppreſſed with the multitude of his Enemies (being eight times more in number) and hardly aſſailed on either ſide, was enforced to fight in a Ring, and there performing all the parts of a worthy General and valiant Souldier, honourably died together with his Mamalukes in the midſt of his Enemies, leaving unto them a bloody Victory. *Gazelles* thus ſlain, the City of *Damaſco* with all the Country of *Syria* without any more ado yielded again unto the Turks obedience, which the Baſſa took in ſo good part, that he would not ſuffer his Souldiers to enter into the City, then richly ſtored with Commodities of all ſorts, brought thither by Merchants out of divers parts of the World.

Gazelles *ſlain.*

Syria thus pacified, the Baſſa went to *Caire* in *Egypt*, and there commending *Cayerbeius* for his fidelity, confirmed him in his Government; and inveying againſt the cruelty of *Selymus* (ſo to pleaſe the Egyptians) wiſhed them to hope for all happineſs under the peaceable Government of the new Sultan *Solyman*. And ſo when he had ſet all things in order in both the Provinces of *Syria* and *Egypt*, returned again to *Solyman*.

The year following, *Solyman* by the Counſel of *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his old Tutor (a mortal Enemy unto the Chriſtians) and by the perſwaſion of the Janizaries reſolved to beſiege the ſtrong City of *Belgrade*, otherwiſe called *Taurunum*, ſituate upon the borders of *Hungary*, where the River *Savus* falleth into *Danubius*. Which City his great Grandfather *Mahomet* (ſurnamed the Great; and before him the warlike *Amurat*) had with all their power, long time before to their great loſs and diſhonour, vainly attempted. Wherein until that time were reſerved the Enſigns, then taken from the Turks, to their no ſmall grief, with other trophies of the glorious Victories of the worthy Captain *Huniades*, and the great King *Matthias Corvinus* his Son. Wherefore *Solyman* ſending his Army before, was come as far as *Sophia*, a City in *Servia* (the place where the Turks great Lieutenant in *Europe* is always reſiant) before that the Hungarians were aware of his coming; for they living at eaſe all the time that *Uladiſlaus* Reigned, and now ſleeping in ſecurity under the young King *Lodovicus* his Son, a Man of no experience; who contenting himſelf with the Title of a King, ſuffered himſelf to be pilled and polled by his Nobility and great Clergy-Men (inverting all the wealth of the Land to their own private gain) that he was not able to raiſe any ſufficient power to go againſt his puiſſant Enemy; eſpecially his Nobility, in whoſe hands reſted the wealth of his Kingdom, promiſing him much, but performing indeed nothing. *Huniades* with his hardy Souldiers, the ſcourge and terror of the Turks, were dead long before; ſo was alſo *Matthias* that fortunate Warrior; after whom ſucceeded others given to all pleaſure and eaſe; to whoſe example the People faſhioning themſelves, forgot their wonted Valour, and gave themſelves over to ſenſuality and voluptuous Pleaſure; ſo that *Solyman* without let, preſented his Army before the City of *Belgrade*, and with battery and undermining in ſhort time became Lord thereof, having loſt few of his People in that Siege. How much the loſs of that ſtrong City concerned the Chriſtian Common-wealth, the manifold and lamentable miſeries which afterwards inſued by the opening of that Gap, not unto the Kingdom of *Hungary* only, but to all that ſide of Chriſtendom, did, and yet doth, moſt manifeſtly declare. It was won by the Turks the nine and twentieth day of *Auguſt* in the year 1521.

Belgrade *won by* Solyman.

After the taking of the ſtrong City of *Belgrade*, *Solyman* returning to *Conſtantinople*, brake up his Army and there lay ſtill almoſt all the year following. During which time, he cauſed great preparation to be made at *Galipolis* and other his Ports, for rigging up of a great Fleet; which cauſed the Italians, Venetians, and them of the *Rhodes*, to look about them, as Men careful of their Eſtates, fearing that thoſe Forces would ere long be imployed againſt ſome or all of them.

1521.

Philippus Villerius *choſen great Maſter of the* Rhodes.

About the ſame time *Philippus Villerius* a Man of great wiſdom and courage, then following the French Court, was in his abſence by the Knights of the *Rhodes* choſen great Maſter of that honourable Company; who embarking himſelf at *Marcelles*, after a long and dangerous journey (being not without the knowledge of *Solyman* hardly laied for at Sea by *Cortug-Ogli* a famous Pyrat of the Turks, whoſe two Brethren the Knights of the *Rhodes* had but a little before ſurpriſed at Sea and ſlain, and then held the third in Priſon) arrived in ſafety at the *Rhodes*, where he was with great joy and triumph received.

The great Baſſa, by whoſe grave advice *Solyman* was contented in all his weighty Affairs to be directed, conſulting with the other Baſſaes, of divers great exploits which was firſt to be taken in hand, for the honour of their Emperor and inlarging of his Empire, were of divers opinions concerning the beſieging of the *Rhodes*. *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa of greateſt account, diſſwaded the taking in hand of that Action, as too full of difficulty and danger; producing for proof thereof the example of the great Emperor *Mahomet*, *Solymans* great Grandfather; by whom it was unfortunately attempted, and in fine ſhamefully abandoned. But *Muſtapha* next in place and reputation to *Pyrrhus*, extolling the power and fortune of *Solyman*, ſaid, That the greatneſs of their Emperor was not to be concluded within the attempts of his predeceſſors as well appeared by the late taking of *Belgrade*; from whence firſt *Amurath*, and after him, *Mahomet*, two of the moſt warlike Princes of the Turks, had with great diſhonour been repulſed; and ſhould no doubt with like good fortune prevail againſt the *Rhodes* alſo, being able (if need were) to bring more Men before it than were ſtones in the Walls thereof. Which he ſo confidently affirmed, with extenuating the power of the Rhodians, that he ſeemed to make no doubt of the good ſucceſs of that War; preſumptuouſly affirming, that upon the firſt landing of *Solymans* great Army, they of the *Rhodes* would without delay yield themſelves and their City into his hands.

Amongſt others of great experience, whoſe opinion *Solyman* was deſirous to have, before he would take ſo great a matter in hand, was the famous Pirat *Cortug-Ogli*, a Man of a miſchievous and cruel Nature, but of great experience in Sea matters. Who preſented to *Solyman* by *Muſtapha* and *Ferhates*, two of the greateſt Baſſaes, going before him, after due reverence done, and commanded to deliver his opinion, ſpake unto *Solyman*, as followeth:

Cortug-Ogly *the Pyrat perſwadeth* Solyman *to beſiege the* Rhodes

The greatneſs of your deſerts (moſt mighty and puiſſant Emperor) maketh me (being by you ſo commanded) at this time frankly to ſpeak what I think may be for the glory and honour both of your Majeſty and Empire. I daily hear the pitiful lamentation of the miſerable People of Mitylene, Eubœa, Peloponeſus, Achaia, Caria, Lycia, *and all alongſt the Sea Coaſt of* Syria *and* Egypt, *bewailing the ſpoil of their Countries, the ranſacking of their Cities, the taking away of their Cattel and People, with other infinite and incredible Calamities, which they daily ſuffer of the croſſed Rhodian Pyrats, no Man withſtanding them: Many a time have theſe wretched People holden up their Hands to me for help, moſt inſtantly requeſting me to be a mean for them to your Imperial Majeſty, whereby they might be protected from the injury, rapine, and ſlaughter of theſe cruel Rovers. Wherefore in their behalf I beſeech your ſacred Majeſty, by the moſt reverend Name of the holy Prophet* Mahomet, *and by your own moſt heroical Diſpoſition, to deliver your afflicted Subjects from theſe their moſt cruel Enemies, and at length to ſet them free from the fury, captivity, and fear, of theſe Pyrats, more grievous unto them than death it ſelf; and conſider with your ſelf, that this injury and inſolency tendeth not ſo much to the hurt of your poor Subjects, and oppreſſed People in private, as to the diſhonour and diſgrace of your Imperial Name and Dignity; which if any other Chriſtian King or Prince ſhould offer, your Majeſty I know would not ſuffer unrevenged; And will you then ſuffer theſe Robbers, Cut-throats, baſe People gathered out of all the Corners of Chriſtendom, to waſt your Countries, ſpoil your Cities, murther your People, and trouble all your Seas? For who can paſs by Sea to* Tripolis, Damaſco, Alexandria, Caire, Chalcide, Lesbos, Chios, *nay unto this your Imperial City of* Conſtantinople, *without moſt certain and manifeſt danger of theſe Rovers? What have we heard every Spring this many years, but that the Rhodians had taken ſome one or other of your Ports, led away your People into moſt miſerable Captivity, and carried away with them the rich ſpoils of your Countries? And that which is of all other things moſt diſhonourable, this they do under your noſe, and in your ſight, in the midſt and heart of your Empire. Pardon me I beſeech you moſt Mighty Emperor, if I too plainly ſpeak what I think; For whatſoever I ſay, I ſay it to no other end, but that you ſhould now at length do that which ſhould many years ago have been done. We your moſt Loyal Subjects may not, nor ought not for the increaſe of our Mahometan Religion, and for the enlarging of your Empire and Honour, to refuſe to adventure our Goods, our Bodies, our Lives, to all hazard and danger without exception. If you likewiſe be carried with love of Glory and Renown, or raviſhed with the deſire of never dying Fame; in what Wars can you more eaſily gain the ſame, or better imploy us your Servants, than in vanquiſhing and ſubduing the* Rhodes, *the reputed Bulwark of Chriſtendom, which only keepeth us from their Countries? But ſome will perhaps ſay, your Anceſtors have in former times unfortunately attempted that City; ſo did they alſo* Belgrade *in* Hungary; *yet hath your happy Fortune to your immortal Fame, brought the ſame under your ſubjection, being far more ſtrongly fortified than it was in times paſt; and do you then deſpair of the* Rhodes? *Caſt off ſuch vain and needleſs miſdoubt. The Turkiſh Empire hath always grown by adventures and honourable attempts: Therefore make haſt to beſiege it both by Sea and Land. If your Subjects mourning under the heavy burthen of the Chriſtian Captivity, built it with their own Hands for the Chriſtians; cannot they now at liberty, deſirous of revenge, and fitted with opportunity, with like hands deſtroy the ſame? If it pleaſe you to vouchſafe but to look into the matter (moſt dread Sovereign) you ſhall ſee that there is a divine occaſion by the procurement of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *preſented unto your moſt Sacred Majeſty, now that the Chriſtians of the Weſt are at diſcord and mortal War amongſt themſelves. Your Majeſty is not ignorant, that in mannaging of Wars, the opportunity of the time is eſpecially to be followed, and that when occaſion ſerveth, all remiſneſs and delay is to be carefully avoided; the changes of times are moſt fickle, and if you ſuffer your good hap now to paſs over, you ſhall perhaps in vain afterwards purſue the ſame when it is fled and gone.*

Solyman by Nature an ambitious young Prince, prickt forward thus alſo by the perſwaſions of *Cortug-Ogli* and others, ſeeking their further credit and preferment by fitting his ambitious humor; but moſt of all by the inſtigation of the Baſſa *Muſtapha*, reſolved to go in perſon himſelf againſt the *Rhodes*. And firſt to make ſome proof of what ſpirit and courage *Villerius* the new choſen Great Maſter was of, in whoſe ſufficiency the greateſt part of the defence of the City was ſuppoſed to conſiſt; to him by way of a little cold Friendſhip, he ſent a Meſſenger with this ſhort Letter thus directed:

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, greateſt Emperor of *Conſtantinople* and *Trapezond*, moſt Mighty King of *Perſia, Arabia, Syria,* and *Egypt*; Lord of *Aſia* and *Europe*; Prince of *Mecha* and *Aleppo*; Ruler of *Jeruſalem*; and Maſter of the Univerſal Sea; To the reverend Father, *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, and Legate of *Aſia* Greeting.

Solymans *Letter to* Villerius *Great Maſter of the* Rhodes.

I am glad of thy Kingdom and new promotion, which I wiſh thou mayeſt long and happily enjoy, for that I hope thou wilt in Honour and Fidelity exceed all them which before thee Ruled in the Rhodes; *from whom as my Anceſtors have withdrawn their hand, ſo I after their example joyn with thee in amity and friendſhip. Joy thou therefore, my Friend, and in my behalf rejoyce of my Victory and Triumph alſo; for this laſt Summer paſſing over* Danubius *with Enſigns diſplayed, I there expected the Hungarian King, who I thought would have given me Battel; I took from him by ſtrong hand* Belgrade, *the ſtrongeſt City of his Kingdom, with other ſtrong holds thereabouts; and having with Fire and Sword deſtroyed much People, and carried away many more into Captivity as a triumphant Conqueror, breaking up mine Army, am returned to my Imperial City of* Conſtantinople, *from whence Farewel.*

The Great Maſter having read theſe Letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, perceived forthwith *Solymans* meaning; and that Peace was offered him in words and ſhew, but War in deed and meaning. Which becauſe he was ready by force to repulſe, he rewarded the Turks Meſſenger, and ſent back with him another of his own, a private Perſon. For the Rhodians did ſeldom vouchſafe to ſend any honourable Embaſſadors to the Turkiſh Emperors (with whom they for moſt part lived in Hoſtility) either the Turks to them. By this Meſſenger he anſwered *Solymans* Letters with other of like vain, as followeth:

Philippus Villerius Liladamus, Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, to the Turk.

The anſwer of Villerius *to* Solymans *Letter.*

I right well underſtand your Letters, which your Meſſenger brought unto me. The friendſhip you write of is as pleaſing to me as diſpleaſing to Cortug-Ogli *your Servant, who went about to have intercepted me upon the ſuddain, as I came out of* France; *but failing of his purpoſe, ſtealing by night into the Rhodian Sea, he attempted to have robbed certain Merchants Ships bound from* Joppa *to* Venice; *but ſending my Fleet out of my Haven, I ſtaied his fury, conſtrained the Pyrat to flie, and for haſt to leave behind him the Prizes he had before taken from the Merchants of* Crete. *Farewel, from the* Rhodes.

By this anſwer *Solyman* perceived, that he was well met withal in his own fineneſs, and that he ſhould not ſo eaſily carry the *Rhodes*, as he had before done *Belgrade*. Yet being fully in himſelf reſolved to try his Fortune therein, he called unto him certain of the chief Commanders of his Wars, to whom he opened his whole determination in this ſort:

Solymans *Oration to his Men of War, declaring his purpoſe of beſieging the* Rhodes

Although I doubt not, worthy Chieftains, but that you are of the ſame mind now that you have been always of in the invading of other Nations; yet I have thought it good in matters tending to the common Glory, and good of us all, to uſe your general advice and counſel. Since the time that my Father left this World, we have made War with divers Nations and People. The Syrians by nature unconſtant, and prone to Rebellion, we have by force reduced to their former Obedience. The Sophi, *that mighty King, Nephew unto the great King* Uſan-Caſſanes, *by his Daughter the Siſter of King* Jacup, *in heart and deed our mortal Enemy, not contented with the Kingdoms of* Aſſyria, Media, Armenia, *the greater,* Perſia *and* Meſopotamia, *we have with our Forces ſhut up within the compaſs of his own Dominions. The laſt year running through* Hungary, *both on this ſide and beyond* Danubius *we took* Belgrade *the ſtrongeſt Fortreſs in that Kingdom. And whatſoever elſe we attempted, we ſubdued. Yet for all that (to ſpeak plainly of my ſelf) my mind greater in conceit than my Empire, and the Blood of* Othoman, *findeth no contentment in theſe Victories. For whatſoever you have yet done, although it be great, yet I deem it all but little, in regard of your worth; my deſire carrieth me further. This have I always above all things moſt earneſtly deſired, to ſet upon the* Rhodes, *and utterly to root out all the ſtrength and forces, yea the very name of thoſe Rhodian Souldiers. And have not you alſo no leſs than my ſelf deſired the ſame? How often have I heard you crying out, The* Rhodes, *The* Rhodes? *I have expected the time that being diſcharged of other Wars, I might here imploy my whole ſtrength and power. That we ſo long deſired, is now come; there was never greater opportunity of good ſucceſs offered, a great part of the Walls of the City of the* Rhodes *now lying even with the ground; which cannot in ſhort time be repaired, eſpecially in their want of Coyn. Beſide this, the Garriſon in the Caſtle is but ſmall, and their aid from* France *far off, which will either come too late when the City is loſt, or that which I rather believe, never. For neither will the* French *King (being at mortal Wars with the* German *Emperor, and Lords of* Italy) *ſuffer his Store-houſes to be disfurniſhed, or his Ports bared of the neceſſary defence of his Shipping. Neither do you believe that the Spaniards (diſtreſſed at home with Famine, War, and civil Diſſention) will eaſily come hither out of* Scilicia *and* Campania *with ſupplies of Men and Victual. But you may perhaps think that great danger is to be feared from the Venetian Fleet, and the Iſle of* Crete, *which I aſſure you is not ſo; for I know (although I will not now manifeſt the ſame) how I have prevented that miſchief. Wherefore couragious Souldiers (born to the ſubduing of all Chriſtendom, much more of the* Rhodes) *with chearful hearts follow me your Sovereign againſt theſe your moſt perfideous and cruel Enemies. How long I pray you will you ſuffer that ſtain and diſgrace to ſtick upon the* Othoman *Family, and generally upon all the Name of the Turks, which theſe Rhodians caſt upon us the laſt time they were beſieged? Which was not ſo much done by their Valour, as by the unfortunate counſel of my great Grandfather* Mahomet, *calling home* Meſithes Palæologus *his General in that War, for one unlucky Aſſault. But admit that their Valour gained them Victory, will you therefore always ſuffer theſe pyratical excurſions upon our Main and Iſlands? The ranſacking of Cities and Countries? The carrying away of your Cattel and richeſt Subſtance? The captivity and ſlaughter of your Wives and Children? The ſlavery of your neareſt Friends and Kinſmen? So help me great* Mahomet *it ſhall not ſo be; I Vow in deſpight of* Chriſt *and* John, *in ſhort time to ſet up mine Enſigns with the Moon in the middle of the Market place of* Rhodes. *Neither do I ſeek any thing* [illegible]

ſo

to my ſelf, more than the honour of the enterpriſe; the profit I give unto you my fellow Souldiers, their Coyn, Plate, Jewels, (which is reported to be great) their Riches and Wealth is all yours, to carry home with you unto your Wives and Children. Wherefore let us now with all our forces and courage ſet forward to the beſieging of the Rhodes.

Solymans purpoſe thus made known, and the ſame with one accord of all his Captains well liked; *Pyrrhus* the eldeſt Baſſa and of greateſt authority, who at the firſt diſſwaded the War, ſtanding up in the midſt of the reſt, ſaid:

I cannot but much admire the great Wiſdom and rare Vertues of our young Emperor, who ſo wiſely and adviſedly hath declared all the deep Counſels of a worthy Chieftain in taking of War in hand. Bleſſed be Mahomet, *thrice and four times Bleſſed is this Empire, Bleſſed is our Eſtate, and Bleſſed are we with ſuch a Prince, which carrieth with him in his Wars, not only Men and Habiliments of War, but moſt deep wiſdom and policy. Which wholeſome manner of proceeding, if we had always before our eyes, and would follow, we ſhould in ſhort time bring under our ſubjection not the* Rhodes *only, but all the Kingdoms of the Chriſtians. Yet beſide that which our Emperor hath moſt carefully and conſiderately deviſed, mine age and experience would exhort you, by Gifts, Promiſes, Rewards, and all other means whatſoever, to corrupt, if it were poſſible, the very chief and principal Citizens of the* Rhodes, *thereby to enter into their moſt ſecret devices and counſels; which how it may be wrought, I will in few words give you to underſtand. I as a Man indifferent, deſirous of peace and quietneſs, will by Meſſengers, and Letters induce the Great Maſter to ſend ſome honourable Embaſſage to our dread Sovereign, which if I can once bring him unto, then let me alone with the reſt.*

Solyman *maketh preparation againſt the***Rhodes**

This counſel of the old Fox pleaſed all the hearers well, but above others the Emperor himſelf, who gave him in charge with all diligence and ſpeed, to prove what he could do; the other Captains he commanded to prepare the greateſt Forces they could, both for Land and Sea ſervice. Which preparation was ſo great both at *Conſtantinople* and others places, that it could not long be kept ſo ſecret, but that news thereof was brought to the *Rhodes* the fourth day of *February*; which news daily increaſing and ſtill confirmed by more certain reports, *Villerius* the Great Maſter for more certain intelligence, ſent a Chriſtian of *Epidarius*, who could perfectly ſpeak the Turkiſh Language, as a Spy to *Conſtantinople*; who by ſecret Letters from thence gave him knowledge that the Turks were preparing a great Fleet, and raiſing a mighty Army, advertiſing him alſo of a wonderful proportion of Artillery prepared for Battery; but againſt whom was not commonly known, ſome deeming it to be for the Invaſion of *Italy*, ſome for the *Rhodes*, others ſuppoſing it to be for *Cyprus* or *Corcira*; which diverſity of conjectures, made many (whoſe conceits averted from themſelves the fortune of that War) to be more careleſs and ſecure. But whilſt every Man was of Opinion, that it was made againſt any Man rather than himſelf, certain advertiſement was given to the Rhodians from divers places by Letters from their friends and confederates, That the Turks did with extraordinary diligence keep ſtrait Watch and Ward in all their Ports thereabouts along the Sea Coaſt, otherwiſe than they were before accuſtomed; which ſeemed to Prognoſticate ſome farther matter than the defence of their Frontiers.

Villerius *prepareth to make reſiſtance againſt the Turks.*

Villerius careful of his charge, as the Mark whereat the Enemy aimed, provided with all poſſible diligence great ſtore of Victual, Armor, Weapons, Shot, Pouder, and whatſoever elſe neceſſary for the defence of the City.

The new Walls of the City, and Avergne Fortreſs, by *Baſilius* Engineer to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth (a work begun in the time of *Fabritius Caractus* the late Grand Maſter, but not yet finiſhed) was now with all diligent labour ſet upon, every Man putting his helping hand unto ſo neceſſary a Work. Whilſt theſe things were with ſo great endeavour and labour a doing, a Meſſenger came from *Conſtantinople*, (ſent from the old Baſſa *Pyrrhus*) a ſharp Witted and cunning Fellow; who with much filed ſpeech in moſt ample manner doing his Meſſage, by the way, painted forth the great towardlineſs and courteous nature of the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*, with the great commendation of *Pyrrhus* Baſſa his Maſter; delivering from both of them Letters unto the Great Maſter to this purport.

Solyman by the Grace of God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, &c. To the reverend Father *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, and Legate of *Aſia*, Greeting.

Solymans *Letter to* **Villerius.**

I Am certainly informed that my Letters are delivered unto thee; which for that thou underſtoodſt them aright, I cannot expreſs how much it pleaſed me. Truſt to it, that I am not contented with the Victory I got at Belgrade; *I hope for another, nay I aſſure my ſelf thereof, which I will not hide from thee whom I am always mindful of. Farewel from* Conſtantinople.

Pyrrhus, great Counſellor to the mighty Emperor *Solyman*, to *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, and Legate of *Aſia*, Greeting.

Pyrrhus *Baſſa his Letter to* **Villerius.**

YOUR Letters, greater in meaning than Character, I have delivered unto our moſt mighty Emperor; but the Bearer thereof I would not ſuffer to come to his Preſence, leſt he ſhould be too much offended with ſo baſe a Meſſenger. Unto whom from henceforth ſend Men of worth, commendable for their years and diſcretion, with whom his Majeſty may (if he ſo pleaſe) confer and conclude of matters concerning the common Good; which thing if you ſhall do, it ſhall neither repent you of the doing thereof, nor me of my Counſel. The Meſſenger I ſend, bringeth Letters unto you alſo from our great Emperor; to whoſe divine Excellency how you are to anſwer, you are already admoniſhed. Farewel from Conſtantinople.

Theſe Letters being openly read, drew the minds of the Rhodians diverſly. Such as altogether wiſhed for peace, meaſuring others after their own plain meaning and integrity, commended the Counſel of *Pyrrhus*, ſaying, That he being an old Man of great experience, was not ſo deſirous of our quiet, as of the quiet of his Prince and Country; and therefore wiſhed by wiſdom to order that which the young Prince ſought for by War, fearing the uncertainty of Mans fragility, the common chance of War, the violence of Fortune, which hath oftentimes in a moment with a handful of Men overthrown moſt mighty Kings with their ſtrong Armies. The perſwaſion of theſe men took ſuch effect, that one of the Knights of the Order called *Raimund March*, a Spaniard, a Noble Gentelman of great Courage, and very eloquent, skilful alſo in the Turkiſh Tongue, and then Muſter-maſter, was appointed to have been ſent Embaſſador unto the Turkiſh Emperor. Many there were of a contrary opinion, which ſuſpecting fraud and deceit, ſaid it were good to beware of the Enemies Counſel; asking, to what end this Embaſſage were? For ſhould we proclaim War (ſay they) againſt the moſt mighty Tyrant, not yet our profeſſed Enemy, who writeth all Peace? Or ſhould we intreat for peace, no War as yet proclaimed; that he which as yet is afraid himſelf, may now underſtand that he is of us feared? Beſides that, with what ſecurity, with what face can our Embaſſadors go, unrequeſted of the Turkiſh Emperor, without his ſafe conduct through thoſe Countries which we dayly burn and ſpoil? But they ſhall ſhew *Pyrrhus* the great Baſſaes Letters forſooth, his protection, his Credit and Authority ſhall defend them from all injury and wrong; as though the ſervant ſhould preſcribe Laws to his Maſter, and ſuch a ſervant as is moſt like unto his Maſter (that is) cruel, falſe of Faith, a hater of all Chriſtians, but eſpecially of us Rhodians; whom the mercileſs Tyrant having in his power, with his Navy and Army in readineſs, ſhall with cruel torture inforce to diſcover unto him our proviſion, the ſecrets of our City and Order. This opinion of the wiſer ſort, was greatly confirmed by the too much curioſity of the Meſſenger which was ſent, who with all diligence enquired of the State and Situation of the City, of the number and ſtrength of the Order. Wherefore in concluſion he was ſent back again accompanied but with one private Souldier to carry the Great Maſters Letters unto the Turkiſh Tyrant; the tenor whereof was thus:

Philippus Villerius Liladamus, Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, unto the Turk, Greeting

The anſwer of Villerius *to* Solymans *Letter.*

THat you are mindful of me grieveth me nothing; and I am alſo mindful of you. You repeat your Victory in Hungary, *wherewith not being contented you hope for another; nay you promiſe and aſſure your ſelf thereof, before you have attempted the War. Beware you deceive not your ſelf; mens expectations never deceive them more than in Wars. Farewel, from the* Rhodes.

The other Letters written to *Pyrrhus*, were to this effect:

Philippus Villerius Liladamus, Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, to *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa.

Villerius *his anſwer to* Pyrrhus *the Baſſa his Letters.*

I Have adviſedly conſidered thy Letters, with the behaviour and diſpoſition of thy Meſſenger. As I contemn not thy counſel, ſo I will not follow the ſame, whilſt my men of War do ſpoil the Countries and Ports of thy Lord and Maſter, which I bear withal, by reaſon of the injuries they have ſuſtained of the Turkiſh Pirats. But I will call them home, and will ſend Embaſſadors unto thy great Lord; ſo that thou before ſend me ſafe conduct under thy Maſters great Seal, for their ſafe coming and return. Farewel, from the Rhodes.

But theſe Letters were never delivered unto the great Turk, or the Baſſa; for as ſoon as the Turkiſh Meſſenger was come over into the Main, he preſently took Horſe, which was there in readineſs for him, and poſted towards *Conſtantinople* with as much ſpeed as he could, leaving the Chriſtian Meſſenger his Companion behind him; who returning back again to the *Rhodes*, and telling what he had heard and ſeen, gave them all great occaſion to deſpair of Peace; whereupon *Villerius* ſent into *Crete* to hire certain Companies of Cretenſian Archers. In the mean time advertiſement was given unto the Great Maſter by Letters from the Iſland of *Naxos*, That the Turks were ready to put their Fleet to Sea with the firſt appearance of the new Moon; which thing they moſt ſuperſtitiouſly obſerve in the beginning of all their great actions. The ſame news was brought alſo by certain Merchants of the Iſland of *Pathmos*, who came to the *Rhodes* with a great Ship laded with Corn from *Eubœa*; under the color of the ſale whereof, they (by the commandment of the Turks, to whom they were Tributaries) diligently noted all that was done in the City, ſhortly to be beſieged. The great Maſter with no leſs diligence, ſent divers of his ſmall Gallies amongſt the Iſlands and alongſt the Main, to learn what might be of the Enemies doings. *Joannes Lupus* one of the Knights of the Order, and Captain of one of theſe Gallies, meeting with a great Ship of the Turks laded with Corn, took her and brought her home to *Rhodes*. But *Alphonſus* Captain of another of the Gallies, lying in harbour in one of the Iſlands, and ſuffering his men to ſtraggle too far into the Land, was ſet upon by a Turkiſh Pyrat and taken.

Villerius advertiſed of the coming of the Turks Fleet.

About the ſame time the Turks by often Fires made upon the Main in the night ſeaſon, gave ſign unto the Rhodians, that they were deſirous to have ſome parly with them, as their manner was. Whereupon one *Meneton* a French man, one of the Knights, by commandment of the reſt of the Order, was ſent with a Gally well appointed to the Main to ſee what the matter might be; and with him was joyned *Jacobus Xaycus* a Paymaſter for the Gallies, that he might of the inhabitants of the place, and his Friends there dwelling, diligently enquire of all things concerning the intended War; for this *Xaycus*, beſides that he was a skilful Sea-man and one that knew the Coaſt well, had alſo good experience in Civil Affairs, and was wonderfully beloved and made of by the Turkiſh Merchants whoſe Language he had perfectly learned. Drawing near the Shore, he found the Turkiſh Merchants making merry upon the Main, with their Carpets, Cotten-Wool, and ſuch like Merchandiſe about them as they uſed to exchange with the Rhodian Merchants for woollen Cloaths; unto theſe Merchants he gave due ſalutations, gaging his Faith for their ſafety, and they likewiſe to him. But being requeſted to come aſhore to make merry until one of his familiar and old acquaintance might be ſent for, who as they ſaid was not far off; he anſwered, that he could not ſo do, except they would firſt deliver a Pledge for him a Shipboard. The perfideous Turks laughing as it were at his needleſs fear, willingly ſent their Merchandiſe and a Pledge aboard the Gallies. *Xaycus* then going aſhore, and embracing the Turkiſh Merchants which met him; upon a ſign given, was forthwith beſet on every ſide and taken Priſoner, and by Poſt Horſes conveied with all ſpeed to *Conſtantinople*; where he was with moſt exquiſite torments that could be deviſed for any man to endure, enforced to confeſs whatſoever his cruel Enemies could deſire. After *Xaycus* was by treachery thus loſt, then began their provident wiſdom to be highly commended, which were the occaſion, that the Decree made for ſending Embaſſadors unto the Turk, was again revoked. The hoſtage given for *Xaycus*, being brought to the *Rhodes* and examined, was found to be a ſimple Country fellow whom the Turks had of purpoſe well apparelled to deceive the Rhodians, who frankly and plainly according to his ſimple knowledg, anſwered to all things that were of him demanded; as that the Turks were making great preparation for Sea, upon the Coaſts of *Caria* and *Lycia*, and had taken up many Souldiers in the Countries thereabouts to ſend into the Frontiers of his Dominions towards *Syria*, for defence of the ſame againſt the Perſians. All which was true; for *Solyman* to put the Rhodians out of all ſuſpicion of invaſion (whom he knew carefully to obſerve his doings) ſent the Souldiers whom he had levied in the Countries neareſt to the *Rhodes*, far away againſt the Perſian, as if he had meant nothing againſt the *Rhodes*, and ſo upon the ſuddain to ſet upon them with his Army brought out of *Europe*, before they were awar. But this his device ſerved to ſmall purpoſe; for the Great Maſter perceiving by many circumſtances, but eſpecially by that late calamity of *Xaycus* that the *Rhodes* was the place the Turkiſh Tyrant longed after; and fearing that delay might bring farther danger, cauſed a ceſſation from all other buſineſs to be proclaimed, until all things neceſſary for defence of the City were accompliſhed; Watch and Ward was kept in every Street, the great Artillery planted upon the Walls and Bulwarks, Companies appointed for the defence of every place, the publick Armory of all warlike proviſion was open, all the Streets were full of Men carrying Weapons, ſome to one place, ſome to another. At which time a general Muſter was taken by the chief Men of the Order, where were found about five thouſand men able to bear Arms, among whom were ſix hundred Knights of the Order, and five hundred Souldiers of *Crete*; the reſt were for moſt part Mariners, able Bodies, who in the time of the Siege did great ſervice, encouraged by their Sea Captains; the Iſland People which repaired into the City, ſerved to little other purpoſe but to dig and carry Earth unto the Rampiers; and the Citizens (except it were ſome few of the better ſort) were for the moſt part weak and of ſmall Courage, not able to indure any labour or pains, and yet hardly to be kept in order and governed, great ſpeakers, but ſmall doers, greater in ſhew than in deed. The Great Maſter having carefully provided and ordered all things needful for the defence of the City, and fearing nothing more than the faint Hearts of the Citizens, cauſed them all to be called together; for incouragement of whom, he ſpake unto them as followeth:

The carefulneſs of the Grand Maſter.

Villerius *his Oration unto the Rhodians.*

Valiant Gentlemen and worthy Citizens, we hear that the Turk our mortal Enemy is coming againſt us, with a huge Army raiſed of divers Nations; from whoſe natural cruelty and wonted perjury except we defend our ſelves by force, one and the ſelf ſame danger is like to befal me, my Knights, and you all. For we have with common conſent and hand grievouſly ſpoiled him both by Sea and Land, and you are by booties taken by ſtrong hand out of his Dominions, inriched; and at this day we keep his People in grievous ſervitude, and he ours; but he injuriouſly, and we moſt juſtly: For his Anceſtors (weary of the dark Dens and Caves of the Mountain Caucaſus, *their natural Dwelling) without Right, Title, or Cauſe, incited only with Covetouſneſs, Ambition, and the hatred of our moſt ſacred Religion, have driven the Chriſtians out of* Syria; *and afterwards oppreſſed the Grecians in* Grecia; *where not contented to have deſtroyed the People, with one ſimple kind of death (as Barbariſm is ever cruel and mercileſs) they have with moſt exquiſite and horrible Torments butchered many thouſands of that Nation. All whom, this wicked proud youth (whoſe miſchief exceedeth his years) an evil Neighbour to all men, not contented with the Dominions of* Arabia, Syria, Egypt, *the greateſt part of* Aſia, *and of many other places more, ſeeketh in Tyranny, Murther, Spoil, Perjury, and Hatred againſt Chriſt and Chriſtians, far to excel; and forceth himſelf to the uttermoſt of his power, to take from us our Iſlands, and to ſubdue the Chriſtian Countries; that ſo at length being Lord of all, and Commander of the World, he may at his pleaſure overthrow the Chriſtian Cities, kill the Chriſtians, and utterly root out the Chriſtian name, which he ſo much hateth. For the repulſing of which intollerable injury, we have eſpecially choſen this Iſland of the* Rhodes *for our dwelling place, becauſe the ſame ſeemed more commodious than any other for the annoying of this barbarous Nation. We have done what in us lay, holpen by you; we know by proof your great Valour and Fidelity, which we now have not in any diſtruſt. Wherefore I will not uſe many words to perſwade you to continue in your Fidelity and Loyalty, neither long circumſtances to encourage you to play the men; ſithence worthy minds are not with words either encouraged or diſmayed. But concerning my ſelf and my Knights of the Order, I will ſpeak a few words: I with them, with whom (as I hope) the Chriſtian Princes and other my Knights of the Weſt will in good time joyn their Forces, are moſt ready and preſt to defend your ſelves, your Children, your Wives, your Goods, the Monuments of your Anceſtors and ſacred Temples, dedicated to the ſervice of our God. Which opinion, that it may remain firm and fixt in your minds, if nothing elſe, my Faithfulneſs in your Wars, my Body not yet altogether ſpent but able enough to endure pains and travel; the Nobility of theſe worthy Knights of the Order, their Love towards you, and their Hatred towards your Enemies were ſufficient to confirm; but beſide this, the ſtrength of this City, which this noble Order hath with infinite charges ſo notably fortified with Ditches, Walls, Towers and Bulwarks, againſt all the force and fury of Artillery, is ſuch, as that no City may worthily be compared, much leſs preferred before the ſame. It is wonderfully ſtored with all kind of Weapons and Warlike Proviſion; we have laid up plenty of Wine, Fleſh, and Corn, in vaults, ſo that neither wet Weather nor Worms can attaint the ſame; of Wood and wholeſome Water not to be taken from us, things neceſſary for men beſieged we have plenty, and able men enough for the defence of the City. All which things promiſe unto us aſſured Victory, and ſuch end of the War as we wiſh for. Beſides this, Neceſſity, which giveth Courage even unto Cowards, will enforce us to fight. Yet ſtandeth on our ſide true Religion, Faith, Conſcience, Devotion, Conſtancy, the Love of our Country, the Love of our Liberty, the Love of our Parents, Wives, Children, and whatſoever elſe we hold dear; Whereas they bring with them the proud command of their Captains, Infidelity, Impiety, Unconſtancy, a wicked deſire of your Bondage, of your Blood, and the Blood of your Parents, Wives, and Children. Out of doubt (beloved Citizens) our good God will not ſuffer ſo many good vertues to be overcome by their foul vices. Wherefore be you in mind quiet and ſecure, and trouble not your ſelves with forboding fear of your Enemies; only continue in the Fidelity and Loyalty which you have always kept inviolate and unſpotted toward this ſacred and honourable Fellowſhip, in moſt dangerous Wars, and hardeſt chances of Fortune; and if need ſhall ſo require, with couragious hand ſhew your Valour againſt your Enemies, and make it known unto the Spaniards, French, Italians, Hungarians, and Engliſh, That the Rhodians are of power to daunt the Turkiſh Pride, and to* *avert their Fleets and Armies from* Italy, *which they have ſo many years threatned with Fire and Sword; and will no doubt thither with all ſpeed haſten and come, if (that which my mind abhorreth to ſpeak) they ſhould here prevail. Neither will his ambitious youth, in Courage, Falſhood, and cruelty exceeding* Hannibal, *imitate him in that, that having overthrown the Romans in the great Battel at* Cannas, *knew not to uſe his Victory; but he will preſently with more than* Cæſars *celerity, bring forth the Treaſures his Father got in* Egypt, *and with great Fleets and huge Armies invade* Apulia, Calabria, *and* Scicilia; *from whence he will forthwith break into* France, *and afterwards into* Spain, *and other Chriſtian Countries, raging through them with all kind of cruelty. But I am carried away further than I purpoſed, and than need is; For your Fidelity and Valour (moſt worthy Citizens) to endure the Siege, and repulſe the Enemy, is ſuch, as needeth not my perſwaſion; and of greater reſolution, than that it can be ſhaken with the dangers incident to men beſieged; yet the greateſt and moſt forcible miſeries of all, which is Hunger and Thirſt, I aſſure you, you ſhall never feel; which pinching calamities for all that, ſome People (in Faithfulneſs, Courage, and Valor nothing comparable to you) have nevertheleſs moſt conſtantly endured. For they of* Petelinum, *beſieged by the Carthaginenſians, for want of Victual, thruſt their Parents and Children out of the City, the longer to hold out the Siege, and lived themſelves with Hides and Leather ſod or broiled, and Leaves of Trees, and many other homely things, by the ſpace of eleven months; and could not be overcome until they wanted ſtrength longer to ſtand upon the Walls, and to hold their Weapons in their hands. They of* Caſſilinum, *beſieged by* Hannibal, *held out until a poor Mouſe was ſold for much Mony. You muſt of neceſſity keep Watch and Ward in your Stations; if your Houſes chance to be beaten down with the Enemies Artillery, you muſt have patience; for why, they ſhall be repaired again, and it is not a matter of ſuch importance, that we ſhould therefore yield unto our Enemies, in whoſe Courteſie and Fidelity no aſſurance is to be repoſed. For beſides that he is by Nature cruel and unfaithful, he can by no means be gentle and faithful towards us, which have done him ſo much harm, who only (as he himſelf ſaith) have oftentimes to his grief interrupted the courſe of the Victories of him the Conqueror both of Sea and Land; whom he hath ſo many times aſſailed by open force with all his Strength, Wit, Craft, Deceit and Policy; yet alwaies hitherto in vain, Almighty God ſtill protecting us, whom above all things (moſt dear Citizens) I wiſh you to ſerve and call upon, for except he keep and defend the City, the Watchmen do but watch in vain.*

This chearful Speech wonderfully encouraged the Hearers, eſpecially the Vulgar ſort, eaſily carried away with pleaſing Words. But whilſt they in their jollity dream of nothing but of Triumph and Victory, the Wiſer ſort poſſeſſed with care, ceaſed not to do what in them lay, to procure, That the good commonly forewiſhed, might in fine come to effect. Among others *Clement* Biſhop of the Greeks, a man both for his place and devout manner of living had in great reputation amongſt them, laboured earneſtly by daily exhortations, to perſwade the Greeks his Countrymen in that great and common danger with heart and hand to joyn with the Latines in defence of the City; for although the Government was altogether in the Great Maſter and his Knights, which were Latines, yet the People both of the Iſland and City were for moſt part Greeks, who liked not altogether ſo well of the Latine Government, but that they did many times repine thereat. Howbeit the matter was at that time ſo ordered by the good perſwaſion of the Biſhop, and good Government of the Great Maſter, that they all agreed as one man, to ſpend their lives in defence of the City; and were ſo far from fear of the coming of the barbarous Enemy, that many of the Vulgar People, in whom appeareth commonly more Heat than Wit, wiſhed rather for his coming than otherwiſe. But look what they had fondly wiſhed, proved afterward to their coſts over true. For within a few nights after, the Turks by fire made in the night time upon the Main, gave ſign of parly unto the Rhodians. Whereupon a Gally well appointed, with a long Boat, was preſently ſent forth to ſee what the matter was; which drawing near unto the ſhore, was hailed by a Turk, accompanied with a Troop of Horſemen, deſiring the Captain of the Gally to ſend ſome on ſhore, with whom they might more conveniently parly; which thing the Captain refuſing; *What*, ſaid the Turk, *art thou afraid of* Xaycus *Fortune?* to whom the Captain in threatning manner anſwered again, Xaycus *whom you have contrary to your Faith and Oath taken, troubleth me not; neither am I afraid of you, whom I truſt not; but if you have any thing to ſay let me hear it, or elſe get you further off, otherwiſe I will ſpeak to you by the mouth of the Canons.* Then one of the Turks coming to the Water ſide, laid down Letters upon a Stone, ſaying, that in them was contained that they had in charge; which ſaid, he preſently ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and departed with the reſt of his Company. The Captain ſending out his long Boat for theſe Letters, found them directed in this ſort;

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, moſt Mighty Emperor of *Conſtantinople* and *Trapezond*, &c. unto the reverend Father *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, to his Knights, and all his People in general.

The purport of which Letter was as followeth;

Solymans threatning Letters to the Rhodians.

THE compaſſion I have of my diſtreſſed Subjects, and the great injury you do me, hath moved me to Wrath. Wherefore I command you without delay, to yield unto me the Iſland and City of the Rhodes, *willingly and charitably granting you leave ſafely to depart with all your Riches, or to tarry if you ſo pleaſe under my Obeiſance, your Liberty and Religion in no part infringed with any Tribute or impoſition. If you be wiſe, prefer Friendſhip and Peace before bloody War; for unto them which are by Force ſubdued, are reſerved all extremities which the miſerable vanquiſhed uſe to ſuffer of the angry Conqueror; from which neither your own Force, nor forreign Aid, nor huge Walls, which I will utterly overthrow, ſhall be able to defend you, fare you well. All which ſhall aſſuredly be performed, if you ſhall make choice rather of my Friendſhip, than of my Force; wherein you ſhall neither be deceived nor circumvented; I take to witneſs God the Creator of Heaven and Earth, the four Writers of the Evangelical Hiſtory, the fourſcore thouſand Prophets deſcended from Heaven, and amongſt them our higheſt Prophet* Mahomet, *the reverend Ghoſts of my Father and Grandfather, and this my ſacred and imperial Head. From our Palace at* Conſtantinople.

When theſe Letters were openly read in the Counſel Chamber at the *Rhodes*, ſome were of opinion, That it was good to anſwer the Turkiſh Tyrant roundly, thereby to give him to underſtand that they were not afraid of his Threats; otherſome thought it no Wiſdom with hard words to provoke ſo great an Enemy to further diſpleaſure. Thus whilſt every man would have framed an anſwer according to his own diſpoſition, in concluſion it was agreed upon, to give him no anſwer at all.

The ſame day theſe Letters came to the *Rhodes*, which was the fourteenth day of *June*, one of the Turks great Commanders at Sea with thirty Gallies, the Forerunners of the Turkiſh Fleet, arrived at the Iſland of *Chos*, famous in antient time for the Birth of *Hippocrates* the great Phyſitian, and the wonderful Picture of *Venus* left there unperfect by *Apelles*, which for the excellency thereof never man durſt afterward take in hand to perfect; which fruitful and pleaſant Iſland was then at the arrival of the Turks, part of the Dominion of the *Rhodes*. The Admiral of this Fleet here landing his Turks, began to burn the Corn which was then almoſt ripe, with the Country Villages round about. With which injury, *Prejanes* the Governor of the Iſland (a man of great Courage and Valor) moved, with a choſen Company of Footmen, and certain Troops of Horſemen, ſuddainly ſet upon the Turks, in divers places diſperſed abroad far into the Country, with ſuch a terrible cry of the Country People, and Inſtruments of War, that the Turks being therewith amazed, ran away as if they had been mad, and were many of them ſlain without reſiſtance; and had not the Gallies lien near the Shore, to receive them that were able to flie thither, there had not one of them which landed eſcaped the hands of the Iſland People. The Turks having received this loſs, left the Iſland, and put to Sea again.

The Rhodians for fear of the Turks deſtroy their Suburbs and places of pleaſure without the City.

The Rhodians for the moſt part now aſſured and out of doubt of the coming of the Turks, by the perſwaſion of *Gabriel Pomerolus* Vicemaſter, and other men of great experience, pluckt down the Suburbs of the City, and laid them even with the ground, their pleaſant Orchards alſo and Gardens near to the City, they utterly deſtroyed; the Great Maſter for example ſake beginning firſt with his own, being a place of great delicacy, lying under the Walls near to the French Bulwark; and taking into the City all ſuch things as they thought needful for the induring of the Siege, they utterly deſtroyed all the reſt, were it never ſo pleaſant or commodious, within a mile of the Town, leaving all that ſpace as even and as bare as they could poſſibly make it; to the intent, tha[illegible]e Enemy at his coming ſhould find nothing near the City whereof to make uſe. But whilſt the pleaſures and delights of the Suburbs are thus in defacing, another more heavy and woful ſight preſented unto the Eyes of the Citizens, filled the City with greater mourning and penſiveneſs than did the coming of the Enemy.

The fear of the Country People.

The miſerable multitude of the poor Country People, ſome bringing Wood, ſome Corn, ſome Cattel, ſome Fouls, and other ſuch neceſſaries as they had out of the Country into the City (for ſo the Great Maſter had commanded) after whom followed great numbers of Women and Children weeping, with diſchiveled hair, ſcratching their faces and tearing themſelves after the manner of the Country, wringing their Hands, and caſting up their Eyes to Heaven, beſeeching God with heavy countenance and floods of Tears to defend the noble City of the *Rhodes*, and themſelves from the fury of their Enemies. Which multitude of Country People with their Proviſion being packt up into narrow rooms in the Houſes of the Citizens, and their Cattel ſtarving for want of Fodder, afterwards corrupted the Air, whereof inſued rotten Agues and the Flux, during the time of the Siege. But after the City was given up, ſuch a Plague and Mortality followed, as deſtroyed great numbers of the Turks and poor Chriſtians, which knowing not whether to go, choſe rather there to die, than to forſake their native Country.

The General of the Turkiſh Fleet which landed in the Iſland of *Chos*, and was of purpoſe ſent by *Solyman* to provoke the Rhodians to Battel at Sea; before he with his whole power came to beſiege the Iſland, came dayly with twenty Gallies half thoſe narrow Seas over, betwixt *Lycia* and the *Rhodes*, leaving the reſt of his Fleet riding at Anchor at the Promontary called *Gnidum* (not far from the City of *Rhodes*) ready to aid him as need ſhould require; this manner of bravery he uſed many days together, hoping thereby to allure the Rhodians out of their Haven to give him Battel; knowing, that if he ſhould therein obtain the Victory, it were at that time little leſs than the taking of the City, or if he could by cruel fight but weaken the Forces of the Rhodians, he ſhould therein do his Maſter good ſervice, and greatly further his Victory by diminiſhing the number of the Defendants. When he had many days without intermiſſion in this proud manner come half Seas over, and ſometimes paſſing further came and lay at the mouth of the Haven, as it were daring them to fight; the Rhodians not wont to be ſo braved at their own doors, moved with the intollerable inſolency of this proud Turk, by their continual importunity cauſed the Great Maſter to call a Counſel, to conſider whether they ſhould fight with this Fleet of the Turks or not. The Counſellors by the appointment of the Great Maſter aſſembled; the Chancellor, a man of great Authority and Spirit, famous for his noble Acts both at home and abroad, and chief of them which were of opinion this Fleet of the Turks was to be fought withal, ſaid:

The Chancellor his Speech perſwading the Rhodians to fight with the Turks Gallies.

So great diſgrace was not longer to be ſuffered, but preſently revenged; For (ſaid he) *the huge Fleet of the Turks, I do not ſay at whoſe force and fight, but at whoſe very name many men do tremble and quake (which for all that is unto us no great novelty, for every year we hear of the like) is as a head to be joyned unto theſe pyratical Gallies, as Members; and then will it be moſt expedient (which will be a moſt eaſie thing for us to do, having the better both for ſtrength of ſhipping and number and valor of men) to give that great head ſuch a blow and wound, by cutting off theſe limbs, that it ſhall ever after ſtagger and faint for want of ſtrength; or elſe there is no other Fleet at all prepared againſt us to follow this, and then this diſcomfited we ſhall be at quiet. Which thing in my judgment (though others which fear their own ſhadows and the falling of Heaven, ſay otherwiſe) is moſt like to be true; for the great Turk is not ſo ſottiſh to come hither, the fitteſt time of the year being ſo far ſpent, in the latter end of* June, *to beſiege this City, and ſuch a City as he knoweth to be moſt ſtrong, wanting nothing that is needful, and throughly manned with valiant Souldiers, from whence his Anceſtors have been with loſs and ſhame repulſed; when as the remainder of the Summer will be ſpent before he can encamp himſelf and place his batteries; and Winter time as you know is unfit for every Siege, eſpecially in this Iſland, wherein they can find no Haven or Harbor to reſt in. Wherefore on God his name let us ſet upon our proud Enemies; and let us not for a few threatning words ſent unto us from a fearful youth, upon a fineneſs and policy leſt we ſhould follow the tail of his Fleet bound for ſome other place, ſit ſtill like Cowards within our Walls with our hands* *in our boſoms, as men which for fear and dred durſt not ſhew their heads. Which our Cowardiſe and want of Courage we forſooth call* Fabius *his policy; But I would to God we were like* Fabius, *but I fear we ſhall prove more like* Antiochus, *the Etolians, the Vitellians, all whoſe courage conſiſted in words, vainly hoping to gain the Victory by ſitting ſtill and wiſhing well. But, the help of God is not to be gotten with Womens Prayers and Supplications or theſe faint-hearted Policies, which Cowards call adviſed counſel, but Victory is gained by adventuring and expoſing our ſelves to danger and peril.*

With theſe and ſuch like Speeches he ſo moved the multitude, which commonly conceiveth moſt Courage upon the greateſt uncertainties, that they deſired that they might fight; ſaying, That they would waſh away that foul diſgrace with the Blood and Slaughter of their Enemies; For why, they wanted not Weapons, Courage, or Hands (as they ſaid) to do it withal.

For all this, the graver ſort of the Counſel (without whoſe conſent the Maſter might in ſuch caſes do nothing) thought it not good in ſo dangerous a time to adventure any great part of their Forces, which they ſhould afterwards want for the defence of their City. The Turkiſh General deceived of his expectation, and perceiving that the Rhodians would not be drawn forth to Battel at Sea, withdrew his Fleet twelve miles off, unto a place called *Villanova*; where caſting Anchor and landing his men, he burnt the Corn all thereabouts which was now almoſt ripe, but forſaken of the People as a thing deſperate; as for the People themſelves, they were all fled, and had retired themſelves either into the City of the *Rhodes*, or elſe into ſtrong Caſtles in other places of the Iſland.

The worthy commendation of the Great Maſter.

At the ſame time certain Troops of Horſemen ſent forth to have skirmiſhed with the Turks that were burning of the Corn, were by a Meſſenger ſent from the Great Maſter, commanded to retire; for the provident General ſought by all means to reſerve his Souldiers for greater dangers which he juſtly feared in the expected Siege; during which time he ſhewed himſelf a moſt politick Captain and brave Souldier; he would many times by day eat his Meat with his Souldiers, as one of them, and moſt part of the night keep Watch himſelf, walking up and down, reſting himſelf when he was weary upon ſome Stone or piece of Timber, or other homely ſeat, as it chanced. In time of Aſſault he was always more forward and adventurous than the grave Counſellors wiſhed, fearing neither Shot nor Enemy; yet did he always more commend diſcreet Counſel grounded upon Reaſon, than proſperous Actions commended but by their events. And that which a man would wonder at, amongſt ſo many cares in midſt of ſuch divers and dangerous chances, he carried always ſuch a Grace and Majeſty in his chearful countenance, as made him to be of the Beholders both reverenced and loved. All the time he could ſpare from the neceſſary Cares of his weighty charge, from Aſſaults, and the natural refreſhing of his Body, he beſtowed in Prayer and ſerving of God; he oftentimes ſpent the greateſt part of the night in the Church alone praying, his Head-piece, Gorget, and Gantlets lying by him; ſo that it was often ſaid, That his devout Prayers and Carefulneſs would make the City invincible.

The Turks Fleet deſcried at Sea troubleth the Rhodians.

The ſix and twentieth day of *June* early in the morning, news was brought into the City from the Watch Tower ſtanding upon St. *Stephens* Hill about a mile from the City, That a moſt huge Fleet was deſcried at Sea, making thitherwards all alongſt the Weſtern Coaſt of *Lycia*. This bad news much troubled the City, although it was not of moſt men unexpected; all places was filled with tumult and hurly burly, every man meaſured the greatneſs of the danger by the meaſure of his own fear, and ſuch a pitiful cry was in every place as is uſual in Cities preſently to be beſieged. Hereupon publick Prayers were made through all the City, and every man with great Devotion beſought the God of Heaven, That as it was his pleaſure that the Rhodians ſhould at that time be the Champions of the Chriſtian Religion, ſo he would give them Strength and Victory againſt their Enemies, and to turn the calamities of War upon the Enemies of his Name. Their Devotion ended, the Gates of the City were ſhut up, and People from all places ran unto the Walls, great Flocks of Women, Children, and aged men not able to ſtand without a Staff, going forth of their Houſes to gaze upon the dreadful Fleet (wherein was above two hundred Sails as is reported) filled the Streets, the tops of the high Towers and Houſes.

The order of the Turks Fleet

The foremoſt of the Fleet was the Admiral of *Calipolis*, to whom *Solyman* had committed the charge of all his Navy, and to aſſail the City by Sea; the Rear-Admiral was *Cara Mahometes* an arch Pyrat, who was afterwards ſlain with a great Shot out of the City. The Vice-Admiral in the middle of the Fleet with a great Squadron of Gallies, having a fair Weſternly wind, ſtruck ſail directly before the mouth of the Haven (which was on both ſides defended with two ſtrong Towers well furniſhed with great Artillery) and began to row toward the City; whereupon an Alarm was raiſed, the Trumpets ſounded, and many haſted unto the Bulwark which defended the left ſide of the Haven, which the Enemy ſeemed to direct his courſe unto; and was indeed more ſubject to danger than the other. But the Turk ſeeing himſelf in danger to be ſunk with ſhot from the Bulwark, was glad to get himſelf farther off unto the reſt of the Fleet; the Rhodians from the Walls with loud outcries ſcornfully deriding him for his fooliſh attempt. This great Fleet in exceeding bravery and triumph paſſing by the City in ſight of the Rhodians (ſtanding upon the Walls with Enſigns diſplaied) did not more terrifie them, than they were themſelves terrified to behold the ſtrength of the City, and the chearfulneſs of the Defendants. But paſſing on, they came to the Promontory which the Inhabitants call *Bo*, about three miles diſtant from the City, Eaſtward. Which ſmall Har[illegible] being not able to receive ſo great a Fleet, many of the Gallies were inforced to ride it out at Sea, where they were by Shot out of the City oftentimes indangered and inforced to get them further off. Whilſt the Enemy was there landing his great Ordnance and other Inſtruments of War prepared for the Siege, chuſing a place for his Camp, tranſporting his Land Souldiers from the Main into the Iſland, viewing the ſtrength and ſituation of the City, and in what place he might with moſt eaſe aſſault the ſame; the Rhodians in the mean time were not idle, but ſunk divers deep ſounds in many places of the City near unto the Walls, to diſcover the Enemies Mines, and fortified their Bulwarks with great Rampiers; in which work every man put too his helping hand without reſpect of Age or Calling.

The Great Maſter by his Embaſſadors craveth aid of the Chriſtian Princes.

The Grand Maſter about that time ſent *Lodovicus Andugus* one of the Knights of the Order, into *Spain* to *Charles* the Emperor; and *Claudius Ducenvillus* another of the Order alſo, to *Rome* to the Cardinals, and Italian Knights of the Order; and from thence into *France* unto the French King with Letters; craving

craving the aid of theſe Chriſtian Princes, for relief of the City, by Sea and Land beſieged. But all in vain, for they carried away with the endleſs grudge one againſt another, or reſpecting only their own States, returned the Embaſſadors with good words, but no relief.

At this time *Prejanes* Governor of *Chios* (of whom we have before ſpoken) a man comparable with any of the Captains of that age, an excellent Souldier both by Sea and Land, valiant and thereto fortunate, of an invincible Courage, brought up in the Wars from his Childhood; when he had by the ſpace of two or three days hid himſelf in the Rocks at Sea, for fear of the Turks great Fleet, came by night in a ſmall Pinnaſs to the *Rhodes*, having deceived the Turks Watch; at whoſe coming the Rhodians wonderfully rejoyced, for the Souldiers repoſed greater confidence in no man, than in him; and if any great exploit were to be done, him the Maſter truſted above any other; he always in Arms during the Siege, incouraged the Souldiers, ſearched the Watch, ſurveyed the Bulwarks, repaired the Breaches, and ſuch labors as others acounted extream miſeries, he chearfully endured, as if they had been but his pleaſure and recreations. At the ſame time alſo, *Gabriel Martiningus* of *Brixia*, a moſt skilful Enginier, came to the *Rhodes* out of *Creta*; by whoſe induſtry and cunning, fifty five Mines which the Turks did with infinite labor and charge make (by reaſon of the ſpringing of the Water, and hardneſs of the Rocks) during the Siege, were all by countermines diſappointed and defeated.

The commendation of Prejanes.

The deſcription of the Rhodes.

The City of the *Rhodes* is ſituate on a plain ground, on every ſide to be beſieged, only Northward it is defended with a goodly Haven, from whence it lyeth open all weſtward; betwixt it and the Hills round about it, lieth a ſtony plain ground not very broad, but of a greater length; theſe Hills are full of Springs, and Orchards planted with Olives, Fig-Trees, Vines, and ſuch other Fruits as ſuch dry and ſandy ground will bear. But what by Nature wanted, was by the Hand and induſtry of man ſupplied; for it was compaſſed about with a moſt ſtrong double Wall, and deep Trenches, threatning the Enemy with thirteen ſtately Towers; and ſure againſt all Aſſaults, with five mighty Bulwarks, with divers goodly fair Gates; and that which was the greateſt defence of all, within the City was alwaies kept a moſt exact and ſtrait form of Warlike Diſcipline. The defence of the whole City was thus proportioned; from the French Tower (which with the greatneſs and heighth thereof ſeemed to mate the sky) ſtood the Frenchmen with the French Lilies in their Enſigns, under their Commander *Joannes Abbinus*, a Noble Knight of the Order; from thence to St. *Georges* Gate lay the ſtout Germans, with the Eagle in their Enſigns; in the third ſtation were placed the French Avergnoys, with the Spaniards, for that the Ditches in that place were neither ſo deep nor broad as elſewhere; in the fifth place lay the Engliſh Garriſon, over whom the Grand Maſter himſelf commanded; after them ſucceeded they of *Narbona*; and laſt of all the Italians, in Valour not inferior to any of the reſt, under the leading of *Petrus Balinus* and *Gregorius Morgutus*. In every one of theſe ſtations were divers valiant Knights of the Order, whoſe names (worthy of eternal memory) for brevity we paſs over, all men of themſelves ſufficient to have taken upon them the whole charge.

The Enemy was not buſier without the City in placing his battery, but traiterous minds were as buſie within to have betraied the ſame. A Turkiſh Woman, Slave to one of the rich Citizens, had conſpired with certain of her Complices, at ſuch time as the Turks ſhould give Aſſault unto the Town, at one inſtant to ſet on fire the Houſes wherein they dwelt in divers places of the City, that the Defendants drawn from the Walls to quench the Fire, the Turks in the mean time might the more eaſily enter. But this Treaſon was in good time revealed, and the offenders worthily executed.

A Turkiſh Woman Slave, conſpireth to fire the City.

The Turks had not as yet placed their battery, when as they took a certain Hill, whereon ſtood the Church dedicated to *Coſmus* and *Damianus*, directly over againſt the Engliſh ſtation; from thence (as it ſeemed, rather for exerciſing of their Souldiers than for any great harm they could do ſo far off) they began with ſmall battering Pieces to ſhoot into the City; and afterwards they began to dig Mines, and to caſt up Trenches; for the performance of which kind of work, and for the filling up of the Town Ditches, they had brought with them fifty thouſand Pioniers, men better acquainted with Country labour and keeping of Cattel, than with Wars, which being inforced unto their labour day and night, ſometime with Stripes and ſometime with death, did with incredible celerity bring that to paſs, which was before thought impoſſible. They cut ways through the moſt hard ſtony Rocks, raiſing the Plains as high as Mountains, with Earth brought two miles off, and laying the Mountains even with the Plains, and yet they never wrought in ſafety, but were miſerably rent in ſunder with the great Ordnance out of the Town; and that which moſt of all troubled them, the Rhodians ſallying out upon thoſe over-laboured People, having neither courage nor skill to defend themſelves, but truſting only to their heels, ſlew great numbers of them, and not of them only, but of others alſo appointed for their defence, whom the Rhodians (taking courage of their fear) fiercely purſued and ſlew down right. And when many others iſſuing out of the Camp in great Companies, thought to have relieved their Fellows, the great Ordnance before of purpoſe placed to moſt advantage, ſo thundred from the Walls among the thickeſt of them, that the ground lay covered with the Bodies and Weapons of the dead Turks. With which manner of Fight, after the Rhodians had twice or thrice troubled the Enemy, the Turks for their more ſafety wrought moſt upon their Mounts by night, keeping moſt ſtrong watch for the defence of their Pioniers, which for more aſſurance they doubled in the day time, and bent their Artillery againſt the places which the Rhodians uſed to ſally out at; which did not ſo much keep them in, as the fear of weakning themſelves by often ſallies, knowing that one man was unto them a greater loſs, than unto the Enemy an hundred. Amongſt others which in the beginning of this great Siege forced the uttermoſt of their devices to the deſtruction of the Turks, were certain Mariners, who having the Turkiſh Language perfectly, by leave of the Grand Maſter (diſguiſing themſelves in the habit of Turks) departed by night out of the Haven in a ſmall Boat, loaded with Apples, Plums, Pears, Melons, Grapes, and other ſuch Fruits as the time of the year afforded; and in the darkneſs came along the Coaſt, unto that part of the Iſland whereunto the paſſage was out of the Main. There as if they had been Turks come from the Main, they landed their commodities, which the Turkiſh Souldiers bought greedily. When they had thus ſold their Fruits, and in ſelling thereof diligently noted the ſpeech and talk of the Souldiers concerning the Siege, and were now

The painfulneſs of the Turks Pioniers.

The Turks deceived by the Chriſtian Mariners.

ready to depart, certain Turks which greatly diſliked the hard beginning of this Siege, ſeeing themſelves if they did but ſtir, in danger to be ſet off with ſhot out of the Town, earneſtly requeſted the Mariners to take them with them into the Main; which to do, at the firſt the Mariners diſſembling, refuſed, as a thing dangerous; and beſides that, their Boat was too little to receive ſo many as would willingly have gone with them. Yet with much ado, they ſuffered themſelves to be intreated to take in ſeven or eight, ſuch a number as they could well maſter; who in hope of paſſing over into the Main, were (contrary to their expectation) brought Priſoners to the *Rhodes*, where they were by *Prejanes* brought up to the top of the higheſt Tower of St. *Johns* Church, from whence they might ſee all about the Country, and well deſcrie all the manner of the Turks Camp, which they ſimply diſcovered unto the Captain, and whatſoever elſe they were demanded, and amongſt other things confeſſed, that the Souldiers were greatly diſcontented with the Siege, having in the beginning thereof loſt ſo many men, and that they were ready to riſe in mutiny againſt their Captains, and would hardly by them be commanded out of their Trenches and Cabbins, ſaying, that all they did was but loſt labour, and that they ſhould find it another piece of work to win the *Rhodes*, than they had at *Belgrade*; wherefore if they were wiſe, they ſhould in time depart before they had received further harm both from the Enemy, and for want of neceſſaries, wherewith the Souldiers began already to be pinched. All which was then ſuppoſed to have been ſpoken by the Captives to pleaſe him in whoſe power they now were; yet it appeared afterwards to be all true. For *Pyrrhus Baſſa* conſidering the troubled ſtate of the Camp, and the general diſcontentment of the Souldiers, whom he was at that time gladder to pleaſe than to puniſh, writ unto *Solyman* at *Conſtantinople*, That if he would the Siege ſhould go forward, he ſhould without delay come in perſon himſelf to the Camp, for that the Souldiers without regard of ſhame were ready to riſe in mutiny and to abandon the Siege, refuſing to be commanded by their Captains.

In the mean time whilſt *Solyman* prepareth himſelf to ſet forward, the Turkiſh Captains underſtood by certain Fugitives (whereof in all Wars ſome are to be found) that the high Steeple of St. *Johns* Church ſerved them of the Town for a Watch Tower; for which cauſe, and for deſpight of the Croſs ſtanding upon the top thereof, they laboured nothing more, than with continual ſhot to beat down that Tower, which whilſt they were doing with great diligence, *Solyman* himſelf came into the Camp the eight and twentieth day of *Auguſt* in the Afternoon; where finding in his Army all the ſigns of cowardiſe and fear that could be ſpoken of or deviſed, and nothing done according to the command of ſuch as he had appointed for that charge, but all things out of order, he took more grief to ſee that great diſorder, than he did pleaſure and good hope of two hundred thouſand Souldiers which were in his Army. Yet for all that he was inwardly chafed with the heat of youth and indignation, againſt his own People as well as the Rhodians, but moderated himſelf betwixt his own rage and the offence of his Souldiers, and calling them together, cauſed them to be diſarmed, not leaving among them ſo much as a Sword; and compaſſing them in with fifteen thouſand Harquebuſiers whom he had brought with him well appointed, he ſtept up into his Royal Seat, there ſet on high for that purpoſe; where ſitting down, he pauſed a good while without any word ſpeaking, as if he had conſidered with himſelf whether he ſhould only puniſh the Authors of the Mutiny, or elſe with the puniſhment of many to revenge ſo foul a Sedition, little differing from open Rebellion. But following of himſelf the milder reſolution, he thought it ſufficient to correct the multitude and common ſort of Souldiers with ſharp and bitter words; and after general ſilence made, brake out into this cholerick Speech.

Solyman *cometh into the Camp.*

Slaves (quoth he) *for I cannot find in my heart to call you Souldiers, What kind of men are you now become? are you Turks? Men wont both to fight and overcome? Verily I ſee the Bodies, Countenances, Attire, and Habit of my Souldiers; but the Deeds, Speeches, Counſels and Devices of cowardly and vile Traitors. Alas how hath my opinion deceived me? that Turkiſh Force and Courage is gone, the Valour and Strength both of Bodies and Minds, wherewith the Arabians, Perſians, Syrians, Egyptians, Servians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Epirotes, Macedonians, and Thracians were ſubdued, is loſt; forgetting your Country, your Oath, the Command of your Captains, your Obedience, and all other Warlike Diſcipline; you have againſt the Majeſty of my Empire refuſed to fight, like Cowards betaken your ſelves to flight, for vain fear of death and danger, not beſeeming men of War. If any man ſhould at home but have named the* Rhodes *in your Feaſts, amongſt your pots, in your aſſemblies and great meetings, you could then with your Tongues brag to pull it down, you had much ado to hold your Hands; here, when I would make proof of your force and courage, it is nothing. But you thought perhaps, that the Rhodians ſo ſoon as they ſaw your Enſigns before their Gates, would ſtrait way yield themſelves and their City into your Power; Let all men ceaſe ſo to ſay or think, and believe me that know the truth, This baſe and infamous Den (which you ſee) is full of moſt cruel Beaſts, whoſe madneſs you ſhall never tame, without much labour and bloodſhed. Yet ſhall we tame them; for why, nothing is ſo wild but at length it may be tamed; which except I bring to paſs, I am fully reſolved and have vowed unto my ſelf, Either here to die, or ſpend my days; And if ever I do or ſay otherwiſe, let this my Head, my Fleet, mine Army, and Empire, be for ever accurſed and unfortunate.*

Solymans *cholerick Oration to his Souldiers.*

And ſo without further Speech, deſiring rather to be accounted of his Souldiers gentle than ſevere, he pardoned them all their former offences, and ſworn them all again to his obedience. This mutiny ſo appeaſed, all things were afterwards done with better ſucceſs, and greater care both of the Souldiers and Commanders. Firſt, they planted in divers places twelve great Bombards, wherewith they threw up Stones of huge weight into the Air, which falling down into the City, might break down the Houſes, and whatſoever elſe they lighted upon; with the fall of one of theſe, the Great Maſter was like to have been ſlain. Howbeit this proved a device of more terror than danger, for with two hundred ſuch Shot were but ten men ſlain; which thing amongſt others, *Apella* a traiterous Fugitive declared unto the Enemy, with whom he had intelligence, as he himſelf confeſſed being taken upon ſuſpition and examined; for which his Treaſon he was juſtly executed.

Apella *a Traitor.*

The force of the Battery was more feared, wherein the Turks had planted forty great Pieces of Battery, and amongſt them twelve Baſilisks (ſo aptly named of the Serpent *Baſiliſcus*, who as *Pliny* writeth, killeth Man or Beaſt with his ſight) with theſe Pieces the Turks battered the Walls

The Turks battery.

Walls continually; but lying ſomewhat far off, did no great harm.

At the ſame time alſo *Solyman* cauſed battery to be laid againſt the Tower of St. *Nicholas*, ſtanding upon a narrow piece of ground pointing far into the Sea, defending the Haven upon the right hand, where ſometime ſtood the great *Coloſſus* of the Sun, accounted the greateſt amongſt the ſeven Wonders of the World. Which Caſtle was both ſtrongly and ſumptuouſly built at the charges of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, as appeared by their Arms there engraven in many places in Marble. This Tower was valiantly defended by *Guido* a Frenchman, who had the charge thereof, with two hundred Souldiers, amongſt whom were thirty Knights of the Order.

The Turks Artillery planted againſt the Tower, was by the skilfulneſs of the Chriſtian Canoniers in ſhort time diſmounted with Shot from the Tower, and many of the Gunners ſlain; ſo that they were glad to ſurceaſe any more to batter the Tower by day, but lying ſtill all the day they began to batter the ſame by night, wherein they prevailed no more than they had before done in the day time; For the Defendants warily obſerving ſuch places as were likeſt for the Enemy to place his Battery in, did ſo aptly place their Ordnance againſt the ſame, and to ſo good purpoſe that the Turks ſwore, their doings were by ſome means diſcovered unto the Enemies. So when they had in vain beſtowed five hundred great Shot, and made a ſmall breach which they durſt not once attempt to enter, they ſhamefully abandoned that place alſo.

The Engliſh Bulwark blown up.

All this while *Pyrrhus* was buſie in working of Mines to undermine the City, two and thirty of which Mines the Defendants fruſtrated with Countermines; in which kind of work many were loſt on both ſides; yet for all the carefulneſs of the Chriſtians, the Engliſh Bulwark, was undermined by the Enemy, and upon the fourth of *September* part thereof blown up, with ſuch violence, that unto them in the City it ſeemed at the firſt to be a general Earthquake; and therewith divers Engliſh were there overwhelmed. The Turks attempting preſently to enter, were by the Grand Maſter and his Followers with great ſlaughter repulſed.

But *Muſtapha* the Baſſa coming on with freſh Supplies, and crying out of the cowardiſe of them which retired, renewed the Aſſault; where for a while was fought a moſt ſharp and cruel Fight, the Leaders chearfully encouraging their Souldiers, and they likewiſe doing what was poſſible for men to do. All mens ears were filled with the thundering of the Shot, noiſe of Trumpets and Drums, and crying of Men. And unto the Turks it ſeemed that over their heads it rained deadly Shot, Stones, and Fire; for the Townſmen and Women mingled with the Souldiers, caſt down upon the Turks, Fire, Stones, Timber, and whatſoever elſe came to hand; ſo that they unable longer to indure the courage and force of the Chriſtians, turned their backs and ran away by heaps, not expecting any ſign of Retreat, every man ſeeking to ſave one; among whom as they fled, the great Ordnance ſhot off from the Walls made wonderful ſlaughter. At this Aſſault of the Turks were ſlain (as ſome write) almoſt two thouſand, and among them the Maſter of the Turks Ordnance, a man whom *Solyman* greatly loved; which Victory the Chriſtians gained not without ſome loſs; for beſides ſome few others that were ſlain, fifty Knights of the Order (men worthy of Eternal Memory) there ended their days alſo.

The Turks aſſault the Engliſh Bulwark the ſecond time, and are again repulſed.

The fifth day after (which was the ninth day of *September*) *Solyman* by the perſwaſion of *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa, commanded a freſh Aſſault to be given to the Engliſh Bulwark, which was attempted by the Turks with greater reſolution than the firſt. Seven Enſigns of the Turks were broken in by the ruins of the Bulwark, and had inforced the Defendants, oppreſſed with number to give ground, when the Grand Maſter coming in with the Enſign of the Order, guarded with a Company of moſt valiant Knights, drave them out again by force, and made good the place. *Muſtapha* ſeeing his men retire, couragiouſly reſtored the Battel by bringing on of new ſupply, and other Captains with Threats, Strokes, and terror of Death, enforced the Souldiers (who had before turned their Backs) now again to fight. So that there began a more cruel Fight than had before been from the beginning of the Siege; which was unto the Chriſtians more dangerous, for that they were overwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh Shot. But in that extremity no man regarded either danger or life, only this they remembred, That thoſe were their barbarous Enemies, whom they muſt either victoriouſly overcome, or die therefore; with which fury the Aſſault was continued by the ſpace of three hours, until at length *Muſtapha* with his Turks diſcouraged, with the loſs of two thouſand of their Fellows, and of three great Noblemen, whom *Solyman* eſpecially favoured, and ſore beaten by the Spaniards out of their Flankers, were enforced to retire. Few of the Chriſtians in reſpect of ſo many Enemies, were ſlain, yet had the Enſign of the Order been then loſt, *Joachimus Cluys* the Enſign Bearer having both his Eyes ſhot out, had not *Emericus Rujaulx* an Avergnois, and one of the Knights of the Order, with incredible courage reſcued the ſame.

Muſtapha *Baſſa falleth into diſgrace with* Solyman.

After this ſecond Aſſault, falling out ſo unluckily unto the Turks, *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa began to grow in contempt with *Solyman*; and *Pyrrhus* to keep his credit by doing ſomething, with continual battery of ſeventeen great Pieces, did batter the Mount near unto the Italian Bulwark. At which time alſo *Caſſius* Governor of *Bithynia*, another of the Turks great Commanders, laboured by undermining to have overthrown the French Bulwark; ſo glad they were to attempt any thing to content their imperious great Lord and Maſter. But the endeavours of *Caſſius* was by Countermines through the careful diligence of *Gabriel Chierus*, having charge of thoſe works, fruſtrated; and *Pyrrhus* in the other place after he had by hot Aſſault ſlain them which were appointed for the defence thereof, and gained the Mount, and brought a great fear upon the City, was again with great loſs ſhamefully repulſed, and by the commandment of *Solyman* cauſed to retire. At this Aſſault the Governor of *Eubœa*, *Solyman* his Lieutenant General, a man of great honour (if any of the Turks Slaves are ſo to be accounted) was ſlain, for whoſe death *Solyman* was exceeding penſive and heavy.

The Engliſh Bulwark aſſaulted the third time by Muſtapha.

Muſtapha the Baſſa finding himſelf in diſgrace with *Solyman* for the two unfortunate Aſſaults by him given at the Engliſh Station, determined if it were poſſible by a third to recover his loſt credit; and for his better ſucceſs therein, agreed with *Achimetes* another great Commander, at the ſame time to aſſault the Spaniſh Bulwark; according to this reſolution *Achimetes* having with a Mine ſuddainly blown up a great part of the Wall of the Spaniſh Station, in the thick of the Duſt and Smoke, preſently entred his men, who by the ruines of the Wall recovered the top of the Rampiers. *Muſtapha* alſo at the ſame inſtant hardly charged the Engliſh, ſo that in both places was made a hard and doubtful Fight. *Muſtapha*, deſiring nothing more than with better ſucceſs now to redeem his former diſhonour, did what he might to incourage the Souldiers, calling upon them by name, and putting them in remembrance of their former Victories. The Rhodians on the other ſide mindful of their former honour, with the greatneſs of the preſent danger, valiantly repulſed the Enemy, and forced him with ſhame to retire. In this Aſſault many Engliſhmen were ſlain, and *Prejanes* alſo ſore hurt, having before ſlain many of the Turks. *Muſtapha* beſide the loſs of his men, had alſo two of his Enſigns taken by *Chriſtopherus Vaulderick*, Commendator of the German Knights. *Achimetes* having won the top of the Walls, had there ſet up the Turkiſh Enſigns; but by the valiantneſs of the Defendants, and by means of certain ſmall Pieces of Ordnance, by *Martiningus* aptly placed in the Houſes before the new made breach, and by force of Shot out of the Flankers on both ſides of the Breach, whereof none fell in vain, he was again inforced to forſake the Walls and to retire.

The Turks Enſigns advanced to the top of the Walls, are again caſt down.

The three and twentieth day of *September*, the Turkiſh Captains hoping by means of a Mine which they had made againſt the Avergne Bulwark, to enter and win the City, approaching the Walls with great Multitudes of Souldiers, ready to have entred upon the blowing up of the Mine, which being met with a countermine out the City, wrought not ſuch effect as was by them expected; ſo that having received ſome harm, ſtanding in a place of great diſadvantage, and done nothing, they returned again into the Camp. Yet all the expert Captains probably conjecturing that the Wall might be inwardly ſhaken by the Mine, though it were not by them outwardly perceived, cauſed that part of the Wall to be moſt violently battered all the reſt of day and night following; and by the fury of their Artillery, made a fair and large Breach. All that night was heard in the Turks Camp an unwonted clattering of Weapons, and of men running too and fro, as if there had been ſome great matter a doing; which the Rhodians conjectured (as the truth was) to be a ſign of ſome great Aſſault to be ſhortly given.

Another breach made in the Walls.

Solyman reſolving the next day with all his Force to aſſault the new made Breach, after he had by himſelf in a melancholy mood walked up and down in his Tent a great part of the night, ſent for the chief Commanders of his Army, to whom he declared his mind as followeth;

Your Valour and Wiſdom (worthy Captains) needeth not any exhortation, yet the deſperate madneſs of our Enemies maketh me to ſpeak unto you theſe few words. Who whilſt they yet do, as from the beginning, as men without reaſon deſperately defend their City rent with our Artillery, ſhaken with our Mines, their Churches and Houſes beaten down about their Eears, wearied and worn out with Slaughter, Labour, and Wounds, which muſt needs befal men ſo oftentimes aſſaulted, they worthily ſeem unto our Souldiers men of invincible Force and Courage; which opinion to have removed, much concerneth the happy and wiſhed ſucceſs of our Aſſault. Wherefore I would have you with effectual perſwaſion and bountiful promiſes to hearten on our Men to the winning of this City. Beſide this, you ſhall open unto them my purpoſe and intent, and that they ſhould not think that they are brought hither to beſiege one City; but that in taking this one, they ſhall upon the matter make a way into all the Dominions of the Chriſtians. Here be the Kinſmen, Allies, and Friends of all the Kings, Princes and Potentates of Chriſtendom; here is all our Enemies Treaſure, the Spoil whereof promiſed unto our Souldiers may ſerve to great purpoſe to encourage them forward; here is the ſtore of Ordnance, Armor, and other Warlike Proviſion, which ſhall both furniſh us, and in time to come miſerably confound the reſt of the Chriſtians. We ſhall beſide this, enjoy a moſt goodly and rich City, with a Haven of all others moſt commodious, from whence all things neceſſary for War may at all time as occaſion ſhall require, by Land and Sea be ſupplied; which as they ſhall be to us things of great importance, ſo ſhall we deſpoil our Enemies of far greater. This is their Caſtle, Storehouſe, Treaſury and Armory; this is the very receptacle and place of refuge for all ſuch as trouble the Turks by Sea; from hence ſhall we have free ſcope and paſſage into Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, *and many other Chriſtian Countries. But as for your ſelves valiant Captains, when as I conſider how that you have within theſe few months by your Valour and Wiſdom ſubdued unto my Empire the ſtrong City of* Belgrade, *which my great Grandfather* Mahomet *that mighty Emperor could not with all his power get; I reſt in great hope that theſe fierce and obſtinate Chriſtians ſhall not long be able to defend themſelves in theſe their Dens and lurking places.*

Having ended this Speech, the Captains every one unto his Company made known what the great Emperors Will and pleaſure was; and open Proclamation made through all the Camp, wherein the ſpoil of that rich City was all granted unto the Souldiers, as a Prey and Reward for the pains they were to take.

Solyman heavy with ſleep and care, laid himſelf down, upon his Pallat to take his reſt. But the Great Maſter (to whom the unaccuſtomed ſtir of the Enemy portended ſome great matter) all that night in Arms painfully viewed every part of the City, chearfully encouraging his Souldiers to remember, That they did watch for the ſafety of their Country, their Lives and Liberty. It fortuned the ſame night, that a poor Chriſtian ſerving a Turk in the Camp, calling ſecretly unto the Watchmen upon the Walls, gave them warning that the Turks prepared the next day to give a general Aſſault unto the City. Which thing when the Great Maſter underſtood, becauſe he would have nothing done raſhly or fearfully (as it commonly happeneth in things done upon the ſuddain) called together his Knights, and ſpake unto them, as followeth:

The Great Maſter his oration unto his Knights.

I am glad ſacred Companions and Fellows in Arms, that the time is come when in one Battel getting unto your ſelves great honour, and defending your Country, you may be juſtly accounted the worthy defenders and Revengers of the Chriſtian Commonweal and Name. The people againſt whom we are to fight to morrow, aſſaileth us only preſuming upon their multitude; But if we meaſure Valour, not by number, but by Courage and Prower, undoubtedly a few reſolute men will eaſily overcome a multitude of Cowards. You know your Enemy, and the manner of his fight; you are to fight (moſt worthy Knights) with them whom you have always vanquiſhed at Sea, and in juſt Battel ſometimes overcome by Land, at ſuch time as with their whole power they aſſaulted your Walls; omitting in the mean time many hot skirmiſhes, wherein you ever put them to the worſt; Wherefore you and they in the Aſſault to morrow ſhall have ſuch Courage, as Conquerors and men conquered uſe to have. Neither will they fight, becauſe they dare fight, but becauſe the great Tyrant and violent command of their Captains enforceth them thereunto. Wherefore remembring what you are by birth, what opinion the Chriſtian Commonwealth hath conceived of you, where you are, and what you have taken upon you; take up *your Arms with juſt fury and indignation, and fight againſt them, following one frantick youth, as if you ſaw your Slaves bearing Arms againſt you; whereunto you are inforced, not only by the indignity of the wrong by them offered, but alſo by neceſſity, which of it ſelf is of power to make Cowards valiant and hardy. For here we are in an Iſland from whence we cannot eſcape, and in a City, whoſe rent and battered Walls do not ſo much protect and defend us, as our Weapons; wherefore to morrow we muſt here either vanquiſh them, or die therefore; to morrow ſhall give unto us either joyful Victory, or a moſt honourable death.*

The Turks aſſault the City in five places at once.

The Rhodians valiantly defend the City.

The Spaniſh Bulwark taken by the Turks.

The Spaniſh Bulwark again recovered.

The Turks give over the aſſault.

As he was yet thus ſpeaking, news of approach of the Enemy cauſed him to make an end; and every man haſted with ſpeed unto the place of his charge. The Enemy coming faſt on; with a moſt horrible cry (as their manner is) fiercely aſſailed the City in five places, where the Engliſh, Spaniſh, Italians, Narbonenſes, and Avergnoies had their Stations. To the aſſault of every of which places, *Solyman* had appointed ten thouſand Turks. *Muſtapha* the Baſſa calling upon the name of his great Prophet *Mahomet*, and promiſing unto the Souldiers the rich Spoil of the City, fiercely aſſailed the Engliſh Station, from whence he had been three times before ſhamefully repulſed. *Pyrrhus* the other great Baſſa, with like fury aſſaulted the Italian Station. In both places was maintained a cruel and deadly fight; the Turks fighting for the Prey; and the Rhodians for their Lives and Liberty. Neither was there any, of what degree or order ſoever, which did not that day fight for the defence of the City. The Prieſts and religious were not then exempted, but fought among other Souldiers; Women, Children, and with them the aged Fathers, beyond the ſtrength of their Bodies and courage of their Minds, brought Weapons unto the Defendants, ſome Stones, which they had digged out of the Streets, ſome burning Pitch-barrels, ſome Hoops with Wild-Fire, ſome ſcalding Oyl, ſome boiling Pitch; which being caſt down upon the Enemies, troubled them ſo, as nothing was more feared; for upon whomſoever it fell, it ſtuck faſt, and ſo ſcalded their Bodies, that they were glad to caſt down their Weapons to tear off their Clothes, wherewith many of them rent off the Skin and Fleſh alſo. All which things fell ſo thick upon the Turks, as if it had rained Fire and Stones, beſides the deadly Shot, which amongſt ſuch a multitude of Enemies never fell in vain. The Great Maſter having a careful Eye over every part of the City, after he had well relieved the Italian Station, which was at the firſt hardly diſtreſſed by *Pyrrhus*, left there *Antonius Monterollus*, one of the Knights of the Order, with ſuch Company as he thought convenient for the ſafety of that place, and went himſelf with the reſt unto the Engliſh Station, which was then hardly laid to by the Baſſa *Muſtapha*. But whilſt he was there buſied in repulſing the Enemy, and had now well relieved the place, a ſuddain cry ran alongſt the Walls, that the Spaniſh Bulwark was already poſſeſſed by the Enemy; with which heavy news he was not a little troubled, but leaving there *Emericus Gombaulus*, one of the Knights of the Order, with a choſen Company of Souldiers for the defence of that place; he with his Guard haſted unto the Spaniſh Station, which he found by a wonderful chance already taken by the Enemy. In the beginning of the Aſſault, certain Turks to ſhun the danger of the Shot, had for fear hidden themſelves at the foot of this Bulwark, among the Stones, which had before been beaten down with the battery; in the mean time, other Turks of the ſame Regiment, under the leading of the valiant Captain *Achimetes*, hotly charged the Spaniards on the right hand of the Bulwark, not medling with the Bulwark it ſelf, as a thing of greateſt ſtrength; the valiant Souldiers appointed for the defence of the Bulwark, ſeeing their Fellows and Countrymen diſtreſſed faſt by them on the right hand, could not indure to ſtand ſtill as lookers on, but left the Bulwark, and went to the place ſo hardly aſſaulted; where whilſt they were valiantly encountring the Enemy, the cowardly Turks who had before hid themſelves for fear, hearing all ſtill over their Heads, and thereby gueſſing (as the truth was) that the Defendants were drawn thence to another place more diſtreſſed; to colour their fear, and prove their good fortune, like tall fellows, crept out of the holes wherein they had before for fear hidden themſelves, and ſecretly crawling up the battered Walls of the Bulwark, got into it before they were diſcovered, where finding none but a few Souldiers (who buſied in removing of a great Piece unto a place more convenient for the annoying of the Enemy, had laid down their Weapons) they ſuddainly ſet upon them, ſlew them, overthrew the Chriſtian Enſigns, and ſo became Maſters of that ſtrong Fort. The Turks without ſeeing that, wonderfully commended the Valour of thoſe men, and blaming themſelves of Cowardiſe, made great haſt through the midſt of the Town-Ditch to get up into the Bulwark to help their fellows. But in going through the Ditch, they were ſo cut off with Shot on both ſides out of the Flankiers, that few of them could get up into the deſired Bulwark. And the Great Maſter with a crew of valiant Souldiers, nothing fearing the armed Enemy, now in poſſeſſion of the Bulwark over their Heads, with great reſolution ſcaled the ſame. In the mean time *Hugo Caponus*, a Spaniard, and *Menotius* a Frenchman, both Knights of the Order, with a Company of Cretenſian Souldiers brake into the Bulwark by a Gate which the Turks had not as yet boulted, and being once got in, they made of the Turks a quick diſpatch; for whom they ſlew not with the Sword, they inforced to miſchief themſelves for haſt back again over the Walls. The Bulwark thus again recovered, which had been two hours in poſſeſſion of the Enemy, and the City delivered of a wonderful fear, the Great Maſter (well worthy of that name) leaving a ſufficient number of Souldiers for the keeping of that Fort, went with the reſt of his Company unto the place where the Spaniards with the reſt of the Defendants ſore charged by *Achimetes*, and now wearied and almoſt ſpent, had much ado to hold out, who incouraged with the ſight of the Great Maſter, as if Victory had attended upon him, with great cries and ſigns of joy valiantly and with great ſlaughter repulſed their Enemies, as if they had been freſh men. Long it were to recount the deadly fight and hard adventures which befel at the Aſſault of the other two Stations of the Avergnoys and Narbonenſes; but the Turks were in every place put to the worſt, and lay by heaps ſlain in the Ditches and Breaches of the Town. *Solyman* from his ſtanding (for that purpoſe made of high Maſts) beholding the miſerable ſlaughter of his men, and no hope of gaining the City, cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, a thing welcome both to the Rhodians and the Turks. In this terrible Aſſault, which endured by the ſpace of ſix hours, divers of the Knights of the Order were ſlain, eſpecially of the French and Spaniſh Nation, with one hundred and fifty common Souldiers, all worthy of eternal fame;

and of the Turks (as they which write moſt modeſtly report) twenty thouſand. The young Tyrant was ſo much offended with the ſhameful repulſe he had received at this laſt Aſſault, that he fell into a rage againſt all them which had perſwaded him to enter into that action, but eſpecially againſt the great Baſſa *Muſtapha*, whom he accuſed as an unfaithful Counſellor, and chief perſwader of that unlucky War; who flattering him in his vain humor, by extolling his Forces above meaſure, and falſly extenuating the power of the Enemy, aſſuring him that upon the firſt approach of his Army they would yield themſelves without reſiſtance, had drawn him into that dangerous Expedition, like to ſort to the great diſhonour of himſelf and all the *Othoman* Family; for which doing he adjudged him worthy of death, and in great fury commanded the Executioner without further delay to put him to death in his preſence. Which dreadful doom ſo ſuddainly and upon ſo light an occaſion, given upon a man of ſo great mark and quality, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the minds of all there preſent, that none of them durſt ſpeak one word againſt the rigor of that ſentence, or ſo much as ſet a ſigh in pitying of his caſe. The Executioner now ready to give the fatal ſtroke, *Pyrrhus* the moſt ancient of all the Baſſaes, moved with compaſſion, and preſuming of his great favour with the Tyrant, whom he had from his Childhood had the charge and government of, ſtept forth, and appealing unto his mercy, earneſtly requeſted him to ſpare his life. Wherewith *Solyman* was ſo filled with wrath and indignation, that for his preſumption, and for ſending for him to *Conſtantinople*, to come to that dangerous Siege, he commanded him to be executed alſo. All the reſt of the Counſellors ſeeing the danger of theſe two great men, fell down at the Feet of the fuming Tyrant, craving pardon; ſaying, *That the Enemies ground had already drunk too much of the Turkiſh Blood, and was not to be further moiſtned with the Blood of two ſuch noble Perſonages and worthy Counſellors.* *Solyman* moved with this general interceſſion of his great men, pauſing a little upon the matter, the heat of his Fury being ſomething over, ſuffered himſelf to be intreated, and granted them their lives; unto *Pyrrhus* for his great Age and Wiſdom, and to *Muſtapha* for his Wives ſake, who was the Tyrants natural Siſter, ſometime the Wife of *Boſtanges*.

Solyman *in his fury commandeth the two great Baſſaes,* Muſtapha *and* Pyrrhus *to be put to death.*

The Baſſaes ſpared at the interceſſion of the other Counſellors.

All the time of this Siege, the Turks great Fleet, furniſhed with Men and all manner of Warlike Proviſion, lay before the entrance of the Haven without doing any thing at all; for the Admiral being no man of War, ſeeing the mouth of the Haven chained, and the Caſtles upon the entrance full of Ordnance, and ſtrongly manned, durſt not attempt either to enter the Haven, or beſiege the Caſtle; for which his Cowardiſe, and for that he had negligently ſuffered Proviſion both of Victual and Munition to be conveied into the City during the time of the Siege, to the great relief of the beſieged, he was by *Solyman* adjudged to die a moſt cruel death; but by the mediation of *Achimetes*, one of his beſt Men of War, the ſeverity of that ſentence was changed into a puniſhment, unto any noble mind more grievous than death it ſelf; for he was by *Solymans* commandment, openly ſet upon the Poup of the Admiral Gally, and there as a Slave received at the hands of the Executioner a hundred Stripes with a Cudgel, and ſo with ſhame was thruſt out of his Office.

Solyman *diſplaceth his Admiral and puniſheth him as a Slave.*

After that *Solyman* had in ſo many places with all his power ſo long time in vain beſieged the *Rhodes*, his haughty Courage began to quail, ſo that he was upon point to have raiſed his Siege and left the Iſland; yea the grief he had conceived, went ſo near him, that he many times fainted and lay ſpeechleſs, as if he had been a dead man. The remembrance of ſo many unfortunate Aſſaults, the death of ſo many worthy Captains, the loſs of ſo many valiant Souldiers (ſufficient to have ſubdued a great Kingdom) ſo much grieved him, that a great while after he ſhunned the company of Men, and would not ſuffer himſelf to be ſpoken withal; until at length he was again by *Abraham* his Minion, a man in whom he took ſingular pleaſure, recomforted, and perſwaded to continue the Siege; for that time (as he ſaid) which worketh all things, would at length tame the fierceneſs of his Enemies, whom the Sword could not upon the ſuddain ſubdue. In the mean time *Solyman* for his pleaſure, and to ſhew unto the Rhodians, that he purpoſed not to depart, began to build a ſumptuous Caſtle upon the top of the Mount *Philermus* in the eye of the City. During which time divers Letters were ſhot into the City with Turkiſh Arrows out of the Camp, wherein many of *Solymans* moſt ſecret Counſels were revealed, and the revolt of a great man promiſed, which the Rhodians by many circumſtances gathered to have been *Muſtapha*, who could not eaſily forget the injury ſo lately offered unto him by *Solyman*; needs it muſt be ſome of *Solymans* ſecret Counſel, otherwiſe he could not have revealed ſo great ſecrets as it were out of the Boſom of *Solyman*. But ſee the chance, at the very ſame time, tidings came unto *Solyman*, that *Cayerbeius* the Governor of *Egypt* was dead; in whoſe place *Solyman* ſent *Muſtapha* to *Caire* as Governor of *Egypt*, by that honourable preferment again to pleaſe his diſcontented mind, after which time no more Letters came into the City.

Solyman *exceedingly grieved with the repulſe and loſs received at the Siege of the* Rhodes *was upon point to have left the ſame.*

Now the Turks began to make fair Wars, their terrible battery began to grow calm, and for certain days it ſeemed by the manner of their proceeding, that they purpoſed rather by long Siege than by Aſſault to take the Town. Neverthleſs the Enemies watching day and night in their Trenches, uſed all the policy they could, ſometimes offering unto the Souldiers upon the Walls great rewards, if they would yield up the City, and ſometimes threatning them as faſt; and to breed a diſlike amongſt the Defendants, they would oftentimes ſay that *Solyman* deſired only to be revenged upon the Latines, without meaning any harm unto the Greeks.

It was now the beginning of *October*, and Winter began to grow faſt on, great rain, with terrible thundering and lightning, and mighty Tempeſts, Heavens threats, then fell ſo abundantly, that the Turks before wearied in body with labor and wounds, were now alſo in mind diſcouraged. And that more increaſed their fear, the Sea was grown ſo rough, that the Admiral was not able in that open and dangerous Sea longer to ride it out with his Gallies; but was inforced to ſlip his Anchors, and as he might to run his Gallies on ground. In theſe troubles wherewith both *Solyman* himſelf and all his Army were at furtheſt of their Wits, and almoſt quite diſcouraged, *Achimetes* one of his moſt valiant and expert Captains came to comfort him, and promiſed if he would continue the Siege, in ſhort time to make him an open way into the City; upon confidence whereof, *Solyman* to encourage his fainting Souldiers, now ſcarce able for cold and lack of courage to hold their Weapons in their hands, cauſed them to be aſſembled before his Pavilion, where from an high place, he comforted them in this ſort:

Achimetes *promiſeth to make a way for* Solyman *into the City.*

I am

Solyman *comforteth his Souldiers and perſwadeth them with patience to endure the Siege.*

I am not ignorant (moſt valiant Souldiers) what great things you endure for mine Honour, and the Glory of mine Empire. This continual threatnings of the Heavens, this immoderate Rain, this terrible Thunder and Lightning, the coldneſs of the Weather, the want of Neceſſaries, with the manifold miſeries of this long Siege, do much perſwade me, to give you leave to lay down your Arms and to take your reſt. But firſt let us conſider if unto Men of Courage it be not a diſhonour, for the teediouſneſs of Rain and Tempeſt, to leave unto our Enemies the Victory already in our hands, and ſhamefully to forſake our Trenches, Forts, Mounts, overtopping not only the Walls of the City, but mating the Heavens, with ſuch other like Works made with my infinite Charge and your great Travel, all for the taking of this City. Truly this War either ſhould not have been taken in hand at all, or being once begun, is to be ended for the honour of the Othoman *Empire. Which for ſo much as it could not be accompliſhed in Summer; the reputation of mine Empire in Common, and the regard of the Commodity of every one of you in private, enforceth me to perform it in Winter. For if we ſhall from hence depart with our Army, who doubts but the Enemy, not only for deſire of revenge, but alſo ſtrained by neceſſity, having loſt all he had of his own, will pray upon your Countries, Houſes, and Goods, and will bring you, your Wives, and Children, into a far more miſerable Slavery and Bondage, than that wherein he himſelf now is? Wherefore I adviſe you to continue the Siege, and never to depart before you have attained unto the end of your deſires. And admit there were no neceſſity in the matter, yet the Honour and Fame of the Action ought to impoſe upon you a reſolution both of Body and Mind to endure the Siege: For the Eies and Countenances of all Nations, eſpecially the Chriſtians, are fixed upon you; whom when they ſhall underſtand not to be able to endure the Field one Winter, they will of right call you Summer Birds, which ſo ſoon as any Storm ariſeth look after your Houſes and places of Repoſe. It is reported, that the Grecians for a Strumpet beſieged* Troy *ten years; and ſhall not the Turks, vexed and oppreſſed with Slaughters, Robberies, Invaſions both by Sea and Land, and that more is, with the ſervitude of two hundred and fourteen years, endure one Winters Siege? They will ſay, that the terror of your Name is but vain, and that Fame hath encreaſed the ſame (as many other things more) which not ſeen, are more feared in far Countries amongſt Men of ſmall experience: And that now every Man may ſafely enough abide your force, which make your Invaſions rather upon a fury and bravery than upon any good reſolution, which in all kind of War, (but eſpecially in beſieging of Cities) is moſt neceſſary; whereof many being by natural ſituation and fortification impregnable, time hath with her Handmaids, Famine and Thirſt, overcome and vanquiſhed, as it ſhall do this City of the* Rhodes: *againſt which beloved in Arms, there is a ſecret miſchief prepared, which may not in this open Audience be publiſhed; for it is as neceſſary that the vulgar ſort ſhould be ignorant of ſome things, as to know the ſame.*

Many thought, that this was ſpoken rather of policy than upon any good ground; and although his hot perſwaſion had little moved the could courage of his deſpairing Souldiers, yet the regard of duty in that moſt Loyal Nation, with the greedy expectation of ſo great a ſecret, overcame all other difficulties; ſo that they departed (at leaſtwiſe in ſhew) contented to endure whatſoever ſhould befal.

Achimetes *winneth the Vaumures of the Avergne Bulwark, raiſeth a ſtrong Penthouſe againſt the Wall, and ſo undermineth the ſame.*

The miſerable ſtate of the Common Souldiers of the Turks, and the ſmall account is made of them.

Achimetes author of this great expectation, and the only hope of *Solymans* ſucceſs, came oftentimes and aſſailed the Vaumures of the Avergne Station, which although they were not very high, yet were they always valiantly defended by the Rhodians. It fortuned, that this warlike Captain daily attempting the Vaumures, in the end by force obtained the ſame, and ſo poſſeſſed of the place he ſo much deſired, deſperately kept it until greater help came running in, who with wonderful expedition (with matter for that purpoſe before prepared) clapt up a ſtrong and defenſible covering in manner of a Penthouſe againſt the Town-Wall, betwixt the Wall and the Vaumure, under which they ſhrowded themſelves from the Defendants; which was an eaſie matter for ſuch a multitude to do, the Ditches of the Town in that place being now filled up ſo high, that the Defendants could not out of the Flankers ſcour the Ditch, nor yet without manifeſt danger come to caſt any thing down upon them from the top of the Walls; for the Turks Harquebuſiers which lying upon their Mounts, higher than the battered Walls of the Gity, ſuffered none to appear upon them without danger. So that the Rhodians who erſt thought themſelves at great quiet, were now overtaken with a ſuddain and an unexpected Miſchief; which at the firſt filled the City with fear and heavy ſilence, which ſtraightways after brake out into pitiful Outcries and Lamentations. The Turks lurking under their Penthouſe, labouring with Mattocks and Pickaxes to dig up the Foundation of the Wall; and *Prejanes* forward and couragious to do what might be done, threw down upon the Turks, Fire, Scalding Oyl, Burning Pitch, Wild Fire and ſuch things. But when the miſerable Men which ſhrunk from the Work for fear of the Fire, were again beaten forward by their imperious Commanders, and preſently ſlain if they made any delay, and freſh Men ſtill thruſt on in ſtead of ſuch as were hurt or ſlain; the fatal Work begun the ſeventh day of *October*, went apace forward, with the great and continual labour of theſe wretched Slaves. A great number of the Common Souldiers whom the Turks call *Aſapi* was imployed in this work; of whom *Solyman* in this Siege of the *Rhodes*, and other his Expeditions, made not much more account but as of Pioniers to work in Mines and to caſt up Trenches, and oftentimes with their Bodies to fill Town-Ditches to make a way for the Janizaries to paſs over upon; they by the conſtraint of *Achimetes* undermined the Wall, and as they wrought, ſhoared up the ſame again with Timber, whereunto they afterwards ſet Fire, hoping by that means to overthrow the Wall; which falling not out according to their expectation, for that they had not far enough undermined it, they aſſailed with great Hooks and ſtrong Ropes to have pulled it down. But the Rhodians with their great Ordnance from the Avergne Bulwark, quickly put them from that mad work with great ſlaughter, and fruſtrated all their long labour. *Achimetes* thus diſappointed of his purpoſe, ſtood in great doubt whether he ſhould give over the enterpriſe, for that he ſaw he laboured in vain, or elſe in that dangerous place to expect ſome better hap, the only mean to ſave him from the Tyrants heavy diſpleaſure, who as he knew meaſured all things by the event. *Solyman* underſtanding by *Achimetes* that the Wall (although it was not overthrown as was expected) was yet ſore ſhaken and weakned with undermining, cauſed his Battery to be planted againſt that part of the Wall ſo undermined; which ſo many ways weakned, and now ſore battered, fell down daily more and more. For remedy whereof, the Rhodians laboured night and day to raiſe a new Wall, in ſtead of that which was beaten down.

At the ſame time, *Solyman* perſwaded by the general opinion of all his great Captains, that the City was that day or never to be taken, determining to give another general Aſſault, cauſed Proclamation to be made through his Camp; wherein he gave the ſpoil of the City unto his Souldiers, and the more to encourage them, ſpake unto them in few words, as followeth:

Solyman *encourageth his Souldiers to a freſh Aſſault.*

Fortune at length valiant Souldiers, having notably proved your Courage and Patience, now offereth unto you the worthy Rewards of your Labour and Pains. The Victory and Wealth of your Enemies which you have ſo much deſired, is now in your Hands. Now is the time to make an end of this mungrel People, of whom more are ſlain than left alive; and they not Men, but the Shadows and Ghoſts of Men, feeble and ſpent with Hunger, Wounds, Wants and Labour; who will I know reſiſt you, not becauſe they ſo dare, but becauſe of neceſſity they ſo muſt, enforced thereunto with all extremities. Wherefore now revenge your ſelves of the Falſhood, Cruelty, and Villanies of theſe Chriſtians, and make them a woful example to all poſterity, that never Man hereafter preſume to offer injury to a Turk, in whatſoever State he be. The way is already open into the City, there is a fair Breach made whereby thirty Horſemen may at once enter, nothing wanteth but Courage in you to aſſail the ſame.

The Souldiers encouraged with this Speech of their Emperor, made great ſhew of cheerfulneſs, and promiſed to do their uttermoſt devoir, threatning unto the Chriſtians moſt horrible Death and miſerable Captivity.

The diſtreſſed eſtate of the Rhodians and their couragious reſolution therein.

In the mean time, the great Shot flying continually through the Breach, did beat down many Houſes in the City; but the Countermure new built againſt the Breach ſtanding upon a lower ground, it ſeldom toucht, to the great good of the Rhodians. The ratling of the falling Houſes, the horrible noiſe of the Enemy, with the thundering of the great Artillery, wonderfully terrified the miſerable Citizens; in every place was heard the Lamentation of Women and Children, every thing ſhewed the heavineſs of the time, and ſeemed as altogether loſt and forlorn. The day thus troubleſomely ſpent, the night followed much more troubleſome; and after the night, the day of Aſſault of all other moſt dreadful; for with the dawning thereof, the gliſtering Enſigns of the Enemy were ſeen flying in the Wind, and the Turks cheerful with the hope of Spoil and Victory, haſted towards the Breach with great Outcries and Songs, after their Country manner; and there before one of the Gates of the City called St. *Ambroſe* Gate, ſet down a great number of their Enſigns deckt with Garlands, in token of Victory. The Turks great Fleet alſo at the ſame time ſailing too and fro before the Haven, made ſhew as if it would have aſſailed the City on that ſide; who had ſeen the City ſo beſet, would have ſaid that it would at one inſtant have been beſieged both by Sea and Land; and to moſt Mens judgments, it ſeemed that the Rhodian State ſhould that day have taken end and been deſtroyed. Yet for all theſe extremities, the Rhodians were nothing diſcouraged, but looking upon their Weapons as the only remainders of their hopes, not regarding any danger, upon the Alarm given came running out of their Houſes by heaps unto the Walls, like deſperate Men oppoſing their Bodies in ſtead of their battered Walls againſt their Enemies in defence of their Country. There needed neither Exhortation nor command of Captain, every Man was unto himſelf a perſwader to fight valiantly in defence of the City; and one of them propounded unto another the cruel death, the miſerable ſervitude, the mocks and taunts they ſhould indure, if they ſhould chance to come into the proud Enemies hand; all which was to be avoided either by honourable Victory or Death. The Turks conducted by *Achimetes*, fiercely aſſailed the Breach, which was by the Rhodians (ſtanding upon the ruins of their Walls) valiantly defended. In the mean time the diſmaied Matrons and Maidens, ſome in their Houſes, with heavy Hearts expected the woful Deſtruction of the City and themſelves, otherſome in the Churches with Floods of Tears and lamentable Cries, poured forth their Prayers to the Almighty, craving his help in that their hard diſtreſs, and to protect them againſt their barbarous Enemies. The deadly Fight at the Breach, was on both ſides with great courage and force maintained. The Turks were in good hope forthwith to win the City, if they did but a little more ſtrain themſelves; and therefore to terrifie the Rhodians the more, oftentimes in their fighting gave out moſt terrible outcries; and the Rhodians accounted the Turks as good as vanquiſhed, for they being ſo many in number, and in a place of ſuch indifferency, had not yet prevailed; beſide that, they were greatly incouraged with the greatneſs of the common danger, and the ſight one of anothers Valour, ſo that by their invincible Courage the Turks were inforced ſhamefully to retire. The Rhodians ſeeing their Enemies turn their Backs, gave a great ſhout in deriſion of them; the Turks diſdaining that they in number many (and now Victors, if they ſhould with a little reſolution maintain the Aſſault they had begun) ſhould be ſo derided of a handful of Men as good as already vanquiſhed, with great indignation returned again to the Breach, and more furiouſly aſſailed the Rhodians than at the firſt. At which time the City had undoubtedly been taken, had not they which defended the ends of the Wall, yet ſtanding on both ſides of the Breach, out of their Barricadoes with their Shot overwhelmed the Turks thronging in at the Breach, and others with murthering Shot out of the Flankers of the new built Wall ſo cut them in ſunder, that a greater ſlaughter for the time was hardly in any place ſeen. *Achimetes* beholding the wonderful ſlaughter of his Souldiers, and that he fought with great diſadvantage and loſs, againſt deſperate Men, who reſolving to die, feared no danger, gave over the Aſſault, and again retired; leaving behind him in the Breach and Town-Ditch, the Carkaſſes of five thouſand of his dead Turks beſides many more which afterwards died upon the hurts they received.

The Turks trouble the Rhodians with continual Alarms, and by caſting up of Trenches got into the City.

This Aſſault was given unto the Town the laſt day of *November*, a day dedicated to St. *Andrew*; after which time the Captains of the Turkiſh Army, although they deſpaired not of the Victory, yet terrified with ſo great ſlaughter of their Men, reſolved with one accord no more to attempt the City with any notable Aſſault; but by ſundry great Trenches to be made through the midſt of the ruins of the Walls, to get into the City; and with Mattocks and Pickaxes to overthrow the new made Wall and another Barricado which the Defendants had made within the ſame; and in the mean time whilſt this was in doing, to keep the Rhodians ſtill buſied with continual Skirmiſhes and Alarms. This deviſe put in execution by the wonderful labour of ſuch a multitude of People, ſerved the Enemy to greater purpoſe than all that he had before done; who daily overthrowing or deſtroying the new Fortifications which the Rhodians made in ſtead of them which were before overthrown, and by little and little creeping on further, drave the Defendants to that extremity, that they were glad to pull down many of their Houſes, therewith to make new Fortifications, and to make their City leſs, by caſting up of new Trenches; ſo that in ſhort time they were brought to that point, that they could not well tell which place to fortifie firſt, the Enemy was now ſo far crept within them; for the ground which the Enemy had thus gained within the City, was almoſt 200 Paces in breadth, and 150 Paces in length.

Parley offered by the Turks to the Rhodians.

Secret parley rejected.

The Great Maſter at the inſtance of his People ſendeth Embaſſadors to Solyman.

Solyman, although he did now aſſure himſelf of the Victory, and was by nature cruel and deſirous of revenge, yet perſwaded by *Achimetes* and *Caſſius* (two of his moſt valiant Captains) that for the inlarging of his Empire, nothing was better than the fame of clemency; commanded *Pyrrhus* the old Baſſa to prove if the Rhodians might by parley be drawn to yield their City upon reaſonable conditions. Whereupon the Baſſa ſent one *Hieronimus Monelia*, a Genoway, unto the Walls, who craving of the Defendants ſafe Conduct, ſaid he had ſomething to ſay tending to the common good of the diſtreſſed City. All Mens minds were preſently filled with expectation of ſome great matter, and he commanded to ſpeak. Who anſwered, that he might not deliver his Meſſage openly, but would either by Speech in ſecret, or by Letters deliver the ſame unto one *Mathias de Via* his Countryman, one of the Citizens of the Rhodes. When *Francis Fornovius*, one of the Knights of the Order, a Frenchman of a cholerick diſpoſition, whoſe great courage was well ſeen in all that Siege (having as it is reported, with ſhot out of Saint *Georges* Tower himſelf ſlain five hundred Turks during the time of that Siege) being now preſent, and moved with indignation to here a motion made of private conference with the Enemy; bent his Piece upon the Meſſenger, and cauſed him forthwith to depart without doing his Meſſage. Many who in time of the Aſſault feared not any danger, but were altogether become deſperate and careleſs of themſelves, after that they had underſtood that the Enemy had offered parley, and that they began to conceive ſome hope of life, reſorted unto the Great Maſter, requeſting him, that he would provide for the ſafety of his loving People, whoſe warlike Forces were with many Aſſaults ſore weakned, the City beaten down about their Ears, and moſt of them which were left, either wounded or ſick: They had (as they ſaid) now ſufficiently proved both their force and fortune; wherefore he ſhould do well, to beware, leſt while he were too long in conſulting, the Enemy ſhould conceive a further indignation in ſeeing his offers refuſed. With theſe and ſuch Speeches they inforced the Great Maſter to ſend Embaſſadors to *Solyman*. The Men that were ſent, were *Anthonius Groleus* a Frenchman, Enſign-bearer for the Order, a Man of great reputation for his wiſdom and experience; and with him *Robertus Brauſius*, a Man of great gravity, and skilful in the Greek Tongue; for whom was received as Pledges, a Kinſman of the great Captain *Achimetes*, and a certain Epirot which fled out of the City unto the Turks, becauſe one of the Grecian Captains had ſtruck him with his open Hand, a Man of a ſharp Wit, and one that could perfectly ſpeak the Greek, Turkiſh, and Italian Tongues, as appeared to his great credit amongſt the Enemies, being had of them in great regard, although he was not known whilſt he dwelt in the City, that he was any ſuch Man. After that came alſo *Solymans* Enterpreter, for he himſelf could ſpeak no other Language more than his own, accounting it a great diſgrace, and againſt the *Othoman* Empire to uſe any other Language. The Embaſſadors admitted unto *Solymans* preſence, told him, That they were ſent to know, for what cauſe he had ſent to require parley? Who in a flaming heat, as if he had known nothing thereof, ſaid there was no ſuch matter; and commanding them preſently to void his Camp, ſent them away with Letters to the Great Maſter and the Citizens, to this effect.

Solymans *Letter ſent to the Great Maſter and the Rhodians, by their Embaſſadors.*

If I had not compaſſion of human Infirmity, which oftentimes tumbleth headlong Mens ambitious and haughty Minds, into moſt dangerous and unneceſſary Miſchiefs, truly I would not have directed unto you theſe Letters at this time; but as you have well deſerved, perſecute you with death and moſt miſerable ſervitude; which how eaſie a thing were it for me to do, you your ſelves know. But having now ſufficiently tried my force, if you be wiſe make proof of my Clemency. You have already ſatisfied your own fury, your own mad humor, and now adviſe your ſelves, lay your Hand upon your Heart, and without delay yield your ſelves as I command; your Lives I give, I give you your Wealth, and more than that, your choice to tarry there ſtill, or to depart; Refuſe not the grace frankly offered, which was of you to have been moſt heartily deſired. It ſhall not always be lawful for you (as at this preſent) to make choice of both. From our Camp.

Upon the return of the Embaſſadors, the poor of all ſorts flockt together to the Great Maſter his Houſe, not far from the Breach; where after the multitude of the common People was diſmiſſed, and the chief of the Burgers ſent for, the imperious Letter of the Turkiſh Tyrant was openly read before the Knights of the Order, and the better ſort of the Citizens. Whereunto the Great Maſter accounting it both honour enough, and ſufficient term of life honourably to die, anſwered in this ſort.

The Great Maſter his opinion concerning that Solyman *demanded by his Letters.*

You heard (ſacred Fellows in Arms, and valiant Citizens of the Rhodes*) theſe imperious and ſorrowful Letters; whereunto how we are to anſwer, requireth no great deliberation; we muſt as reſolute Men either yield or die; all hope of the Victory is gone, except forraign Aid come. Wherefore if you will follow my Counſel, let us with Weapons in our Hands, until the laſt Gaſp and the ſpending of the laſt drop of our Blood, like valiant Men defend our Faith and Nobility received from our Anceſtors, and the Honour which we have ſo long time gotten both at Home and Abroad; and let it never be ſaid, that our Honour died but with our Selves.*

This Speech of the Great Maſter ſeemed unto many, heavier than the imperious Commandment of the Turkiſh Tyrant; and a great while Men ſtood ſilent, heavily looking one upon another, many with changing of their countenance and outward geſture, more than by words expreſſing what they thought in heart. At length a certain Greek Prieſt, with great compaſſion of mind (as it ſeemed) and Tears trickling down his Cheeks, brake forth into theſe words:

And

A notable Speech of a Greek Prieſt perſwading the Great Maſter to yield.

And I would alſo hold my peace, if I were a private Man; and not firſt of all in ſo great and troubled aſſembly, broach mine own opinion. But foraſmuch as the regard of our common preſervation can wring a word out of no Mans mouth; and all Men know, that now is the time to ſpeak and ſay what every Man thinketh beſt, which ſhall neither always nor long be granted unto us, I will not let it now overpaſs and ſlip away: Wherefore let us ſuppoſe, that no command of a moſt mighty Prince beſieging us, were come unto us, but that I were reaſoning as a private Man with his Neighbour, or one Friend with another by the fire ſide, or in our cups without care, without any great affection to either party; as Men indifferent not liking or hating (as Men oftentimes do of Princes Affairs which concern them nothing) and then (as I hope) my Speech ſhall be unto you neither unpleaſant nor unprofitable. We Greeks *and* Latins, *with joyned Arms, have now theſe ſix Months withſtood our deadly Enemies, not only abroad before our Walls, but alſo in the very bowels of our City, without any forreign help; which as we have of long time all vainly looked for, ſo are we now every one of us out of hope thereof. And yet our Enemy either moved with the ſecret goodneſs of God, or elſe ignorant of our ſtrength and forces, ſpent with Wounds, Slaughter, Sickneſs, and perpetual Labour, doth voluntarily offer that unto us; which was of us to be moſt of all deſired and earneſtly ſued for. Your publick and private Treaſures, the bodies of your ſelves, your Wives and Children he keepeth inviolated; he taketh from us only the City, which he hath for moſt part already beaten down and taken. Worthy Great Maſter, and you moſt valiant Knights, I have known proweſs and valour in many Battels at Sea, but eſpecially in this Siege; whereof ſeeing there is no more uſe in this our deſperate eſtate, I do appeal unto your wiſdom and diſcretion. Since all is now the Conquerors, in that he leaveth unto us our lives and Goods, that is to be accounted gains, and the yielding up of the City and Iſland no loſs, which the victorious Enemy already commandeth; which although it be a heavy matter and grievous unto the Nobility, yet your Fortune perſwadeth you thereunto. Wherefore if you be to be moved with any compaſſion, I account it better to yield, than to be ſlain our ſelves, or to ſee your Wives and Children by Law of Arms to be led away before your Faces into miſerable Captivity and Servitude. If any Chriſtian compaſſion remain in your warlike Minds, I beſeech you ſeek not the utter deſtruction of this innocent People, who (I may with modeſty ſay) hath not evil deſerved of you, whom Chriſt Jeſus, whom the Enemy himſelf, would have preſerved. That I ſay this which I ſpeak unto you for Chriſtian Charity, and for no other cauſe, let this be a ſufficient Teſtimony, That ſo long as you were able to reſiſt by your own power, or hoped for Aid from forrein Princes, I never ſpake word, or once thought of yielding; but now ſeeing the fatal ruine of all things about us, our common Eſtate brought unto the uttermoſt extremity, our deadly Enemy in the heart of our City, no hope, and that the War cannot longer be protracted; I wiſh you to yield, and for my part had rather make choice of Peace than War, and to prove the Enemies Favour than his Fury.*

Moſt of them there preſent, were of the ſame mind with the Prieſt. But as nothing can be ſo reaſonably ſpoken as to content all Men, ſo this Speech was not of them all liked; ſome there were (though not many) which conſidering the harms they had done unto the Turks, and doubting with what ſafety they might yield themſelves into the power of that faithleſs People, had rather to have fought it out to the laſt Man, and ſo to have left unto them a bloody Victory. Amongſt theſe, one bold ſpoken Fellow ſtept forth, and in preſence of them all diſſwaded the yielding up of the City, in this ſort:

A moſt reſolute Speech of a common Souldier, diſſwading the yielding up of the Rhodes.

I have not been with any thing more unacquainted, than to deliver my opinion before Princes, or in ſuch great and publick Aſſemblies, being always more deſirous modeſtly to hear other Mens Opinions, than impudently to thruſt forth mine own. But now, ſeeing extream neceſſity will not longer ſuffer me to keep my wonted courſe of ſilence, I will frankly ſpeak my Mind, and tell you what in my Opinion is to be anſwered unto the heavy Meſſage and imperious Command of the moſt perfidious Tyrant. This cruel Enemy hath overthrown our Wall, and is entred three hundred Foot and more within our City, and as a moſt troubleſome Gueſt liveth and converſeth with us as it were under the ſame Roof. Such as liſt not longer to endure ſuch an unwelcome Gueſt and troubleſome Neighbour, perſwade you becauſe he is troubleſome, to give him all; but (worthy and ſacred Knights) I am of far different Opinion; neither do I think a Poſſeſſion of two hundred and fourteen Years is ſo lightly to be delivered up, and the Ground forſaken; but rather that this troubleſome Intruder is in like manner to be himſelf troubled, and with deadly Skirmiſhes continually vexed; whom after we had by force of Arms and undaunted Courage, maugre his Head, held out five Months, at length he brake into our City, not by any Valour in himſelf, but holpen by time, which tameth all things; and ſince his firſt entrance it is now almoſt forty days, in which time for all his haſt, he hath ſcarcely got forward a hundred and thirty Paces, hindred by the Blocks, we have laid in his way, and will not ceaſe continually to lay, if we be wiſe Men, and mindful of our former Valour. Deſtroy me you heavenly Powers, before I ſee with theſe Eies theſe ſacred Knights to yield up this famous City of the Rhodes, *the ancient Bulwark of Chriſtian Religion, unto our merciless Enemies, polluted with the infamous Superſtition of* Mahomet; *who beſides the inſatiable thirſt they have of our Blood, how faithleſs and miſchievous they are by Nature, if we know not, we need not make example of our ſelves, but we may take example by the calamity of* Conſtantinople, *the late miſery of* Eubœa, *and that which later was, of* Methone; *as alſo by the Mamalukes at* Caire, *miſerably ſlain contrary to the League, contrary to the Faith and Promiſe by the Turkiſh Emperor himſelf before given. What, do you not remember how the Death of the moſt noble Captains at* Belgrade *was of late procured by the falſhood, craft, and deceit of the ſame faithleſs Miſcreants? Let us then, being Men of Wit and Underſtanding, truſt theſe mad Beaſts, let us give our ſelves into their power, which have no regard of right or reaſon, of Religion, or any thing elſe; whoſe Covetouſneſs and Cruelty it is hard to ſay which is greater, which for theſe many years have plotted and laboured nothing more, than how by policy or force they may utterly root out the Name of the Rhodians, which they ſo deadly hate. They keep us ſhut up and beſieged now the ſixth Month, feeling together with us extream dangers and endleſs labour, ſlain by heaps before our Walls and Fortreſſes, and cannot be removed hence with Thunder, Lightning, Storms, Tempeſts, and all the Calamities of Winter, a time which giveth intermiſſion to all War, both by Sea and Land; ſo deſirous they are of Revenge, and greedy of our Blood; and that not altogether without cauſe, for we have alſo ſhed theirs, and gladly would ſtill ſo do, if it lay in our power. But ſeeing it ſeemeth good unto God otherwiſe, and that we are ſurpriſed with inevitable neceſſity, yet let us whilſt we are at liberty, and have* *power our ſelves, by honourable, death amongſt the Chriſtian Enſigns, eſchew the Torments and Reproaches which our cruel Enemies hope to inflict upon us; ſo ſhall we enjoy eternal Fame and Glory, prepared both in Heaven and Earth for ſuch as honourably die in defence of their Prince and Country; which Honour it becometh not them to envy unto thy moſt noble Name and Vertue, worthy Grand Maſter, which having for many years enjoyed the commodity and profit of Peace, and greatly enriched by Bounty of this ſacred Military Order, refuſe now to bear this laſt burden of War.*

At theſe words an ancient Greek, for his Wiſdom and Diſcretion of great Reputation both with the Greeks and Latins, perceiving his Countrymen wrongfully touched, and the deſperate holding out of the City vainly perſwaded, took hold, and interrupting this young Gallant; in anſwer of that he had ſaid, ſpake as followeth:

The former Speech notably anſwered by a Greek, and the yielding of the City urged.

That grief of mind and deſperation can make Men rather Eloquent than Wiſe, as you have many times heard before this, ſo you might this day perceive alſo, moſt valiant Gentlemen; for adviſed modeſty never falleth into obloquy, neither confoundeth falſhood with truth; it deſireth not the ſlaughter of the Citizens, it perſwadeth not fury, nor exhorteth Men to madneſs; but it is by nature ſo engraffed in many, that when they cannot by their own Wiſdom and Policy deliver themſelves from their troubles, they yet ſeek to draw others into the fellowſhip of the ſame danger; ſo greedy have malice and miſery always been of company. But if you (worthy Commander) will give me alſo leave to ſpeak, a Man amongſt his Countrymen not of meaneſt Place and Authority, which thing both the preſent Calamity and urgent Neceſſity might of you eaſily obtain, I would alledge ſuch reaſons, and lay down ſuch matter, as ſhould not only refel the copious and glorious words of this ſharp witted Orator, ſcrap'd together of purpoſe to flouriſh out the matter, but alſo ſuch as might ſtir your mind to that which is honeſt, profitable, and neceſſary; expulſing hatred, fear, trouble or deſpair. This Gentleman, whom we all know, not only to be a vehement Orator, but ſomtime a Man moſt terrible, whereas for all his great words he is by nature mild, and ſo mild, that he never had the heart to kill; nay not ſo much as lightly to wound any one of them whom he calleth barbarous, mad, cruel, whoſe perfidious dealing he deteſteth, whoſe cruelty he accurſeth, whoſe manner of living he exclaimeth againſt, as altogether without Law, without Reaſon, without Order, without Regard; and now in time of Truce, and whilſt the Showers of Arrows, Iron Bullets, Fire and Stones doth ceaſe, creeping out of his Cave, maketh much ado, and keepeth a great ſtir; and not knowing in what danger he is, doth now with glorious words call upon death, whereof he hath hitherto ſhewed himſelf too much afraid, and all forſooth (as he ſaid) leſt he ſhould be enforced to endure the mocking and ſcorning of the Enemy. But this is meer Pride, not Chriſtian Fortitude or Humility. But our Enemy neither threatneth nor purpoſeth any ſuch matter, nothing ſo perfidious or cruel as he would make him, rubbing up the ſlaughter at Caire, Eubœa, Methone, *and* Conſtantinople, *Cities taken either by Force or warlike Policy, and not yielded by compoſition, upon faith given betwixt the beſieger and the beſieged; who becauſe he would ſpare us, will not ſuffer us to do that whereby we ſhould undoubtedly periſh. But whereof proceedeth this new found Clemency? This unwonted favour toward the People of the* Rhodes? *I am not of the Tyrants Privy-Counſel, neither ever curiouſly ſought after the reaſon of another Mans Bounty, but am glad to receive it when I need it. Yet for all that, I will not diſſemble what I think in a matter ſo doubtful; he is willing (as I ſuppoſe) in this Siege and Conqueſt of the* Rhodes, *to ſhew unto other Nations whom he purpoſed to invade, both his Power and his Patience; leſt always ſatisfying his cruel Nature, he ſhould make deſolation in places he would Reign over, and ſo for ever alienating the Minds of Men, be inforced to fight with all Men with Fire and Sword; by which Rigour he hath not ſo much hurt his Enemy as himſelf. For this cauſe (as I ſuppoſe, he leaveth unto us life and goods, leſt whilſt he in going about to take them from us by force, and we ſeeking to keep them by deſperatneſs, we ſhould both fall into great deſtruction, no leſs lamentable unto the Conqueror than to the vanquiſhed. Beſides that, if he ſhould kill all here, truly he might then enter the Breaches of the City on the Bodies of the dead, no Men now left alive to reſiſt him. But* Lerus *is ſhut up,* Arangia *is ſtrongly Fortified,* Lyndus *is by Situation impregnable; here he knoweth are Weapons, Armor, and Men; here he muſt begin a new War, except he will have the remainder of your War, the fatal Plague of his Empire, to prey ſtill upon his Subjects; all which ſtrong places he ſhall have without ſlaughter, without bloodſhed (as reaſon is) if he ſhould let you and us poor wretches depart in ſafety with a little traſh. Except theſe worldly conſiderations have moved him to mercy and compaſſion; then out of doubt it is wrought by divine power and the ſecret favour of God towards us, and of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus Crucified. Whereunto if you be Men well adviſed, if Religious, if mindful of the duty of Chriſtians, it becometh not you to oppoſe any Obſtacle, and with the ruine of your ſelves to deſtroy this miſerable People, which for this half years Siege, hath ſcarcely had ſo much reſt as might ſuffice the neceſſity of nature, ſtanding for you in Battel, enduring both Wounds and Death for your Honour and Victory; by whoſe faithful labour and diligence you have been always holpen both at home and abroad; whether you Invaded the Turk by Land in* Mytilene, Naupactus, Methone, Patras, *or other parts of* Peloponneſus; *or elſe by Sea thruſt him out of the Poſſeſſion of the* Ionian *or* Ægeum; *whereby it may appear even unto a Blind Man, how injurious it is, and far from truth, to object unto us, That enjoying the Fruits of Peace, we refuſe the Charges of Wars; nay we never refuſed Wars. But now it is come to that point, that if we would never ſo fain make Wars, we are not able ſo to do, the flower of our youth being ſlain; and the ſmall remainder that is left, not only weakned in Body with Wounds, Sickneſs, Watching, and reſtleſs Labour; but alſo in Mind diſcouraged, whilſt all things fall out proſperouſly to our Enemies, and to us adverſe; the greateſt and beſt part of our great Artillery being broken with continual uſe, which if it were whole we could have thereof ſmall uſe or profit, for want of Powder, which not only this City now wanteth, but alſo your ſtrong Holds,* Lerus, Lyndus, Halicarnaſſus, Arangia. *I was never deſirous or curious to look into other Mens doings, much leſs into your manner of War; but yet (Great Maſter) you cannot deny, but it is ſo; who have cauſed Souldiers to be brought from thence hither openly, and Gunpowder ſecretly; by which Policy you have withſtood your forreign Enemy theſe ſix Months, and deceived the treachery of one or two domeſtical Traitors. But I gladly admit we have all theſe things, I ſtand upon the truth, I ſay not what moſt Men ſay, but I ſpeak to pleaſe a few; and ſuppoſe we wanted neither Armour nor Courage, I would then ask you this, whether they would adviſe you to uſe them to your defence, or to your deſtruction? For unto both it cannot be, no more than at once to be a Freeman and a Slave. To uſe them to your deſtruction, that were madneſs and ſenſeleſs pride, hateful to God and Man; you ſhould therefore uſe them to defence; but* *how ſhall we defend a City (I do not ſay, as the truth is) already loſt and poſſeſſed by the Enemy, wherein he reigneth, rangeth, and turneth all upſide down? But having the Walls battered down, a great Breach in the Spaniſh Station, and another not like, but even now as good as made in the Italian Station, how ſhall we be able to keep this unfortunate Town, battered and rent at the French, Engliſh, and Avergne Stations, and the Tower of St.* Nicholas? *Which if it were not ſo battered and bared of all Warlike Proviſion, but ſound and throughly furniſhed with Munition and Victual, yet neceſſity enforcing, and reaſon perſwading, you ought to forſake it, forſomuch as all power of further reſiſtance is taken from you. Do you not ſee how eaſily and almoſt without any trouble, the Enemy (by means of the Caſtle he hath new Built upon the Mount* Philermo, *not paſt two Miles diſtant) can take from you all manner of Proviſion both by Sea and Land, and reſtrain you from going out or in? Truly notable Gentlemen, honourable for your Martial Proweſs, you ſee and have long ago foreſeen theſe things better than I, altogether ignorant in Martial Affairs, altogether buſied in the Trade of Merchandiſe, and caring for my Family; yet ſuffer me to ſay the truth. All the Powers whereby this Kingdom ſtood, are departed and gone; againſt the force of our Enemies no policy of force remaineth; and to expect Armies of Angels, or Souldiers from Heaven, and other ſuch like Miracles, is in my judgment more and more to provoke God to anger, although in his anger he be unto us merciful. Wherefore being deſtitute of all worldly help, let us as we may, provide for our ſafety. I beſeech thee (worthy Great Maſter) by theſe my aged Tears, by the natural piety ingrafted in thy noble nature, expoſe not this miſerable City to the ſpoil of the Enemy, our old and middle aged Men to the Sword, our Wives and Daughters to be Raviſhed, our Boys and Youths to the unnatural filthineſs of our barbarous Enemies, and to be corrupted with the mad and groſs Opinion of the ungodly Mahometan Superſtition: I would (noble Knights) you had ſeen with what Tears, with what Mourning our heavy Families and Children crying about their Mothers, ſent us hither, and what Prayers they made for us at our departing; I would you knew with what mind and how great hope they expect their ſafety from your clemency and adviſed reſolution.*

The Great Maſter reſolved that the City was not to be defended, calleth a Common-Council of his Knights and the Burgeſſes of the City.

A Truce tak'n with the Turks for four days.

A barbarous Fact.

This Speech of the aged Greek might have moved a Heart of Flint; but the Great Maſter, who in his countenance ſhewed a greater courage than his preſent ſtate required, commanding every Man to his charge; after the matter had been thus moſt part of the night diſcourſed, gave then no other anſwer, but, That he would be careful of all their well doing. The next morning he ſent for *Prejanes*, *Martiningus*, and a few other of the greateſt judgment and experience; by whom he was fully reſolved, that the City in ſo many places by the Enemy laid open and ſhaken, was not poſſibly to be long defended; whereupon he cauſed a Common-Council to be called of all the Knights of the Order together with the Burgeſſes of the City; where after long debating, whether they ſhould fight it out to the laſt Man, or yield upon ſuch Conditions as were to be obtained; It was by general conſent concluded, that the City ſhould be yielded, and thereupon a Decree made which was by the Great Maſter pronounced. Whilſt theſe things were thus in doing, a Truce was taken with the Enemy for four days, but full of fear and danger. During which time, divers of the Turks preſuming upon the Truce, came by great Companies to behold the Walls and Rampiers of the City; wherewith *Fornovius* the Frenchman (of whom mention is before made) being ſore moved, in his choler without further command diſcharged a Tire of great Ordnance among the thickeſt of them, contrary to the Truce taken. At which time alſo the Rhodians received into the City ſecretly by night a Ship loaded with Wines out of *Crete*, and in her *Alphonſus* a Spaniard, chief Pilot of the Rhodian Gallies, and with him 100 voluntary Souldiers all Latins; all which went out of *Crete* without the knowledge of the Venetian Senate; for at that time the Venetians were in League with *Solyman*. The Turks juſtly offended with the breach of the Truce, and the taking in of new Supplies, which they ſuppoſed to have been far greater than in truth they were; without command of any Captain or Enſign diſplayed, in great numbers thruſt in through the ruins of the Breaches into the City as far as the Rampiers and Barricadoes new made, and furiouſly aſſailed the Defendants; In which Conflict many were ſlain and wounded on both ſides. But after the Turks had to their coſt again made proof of the courage of their Enemies, as without commandment they began that Skirmiſh, ſo of themſelves they brake it off and retired. After the Truce was thus broken, the Captain of the Turks Fencers, a bloody cruel Fellow, having taken three Chriſtians Priſoners, cut off their Hands, Ears, and Noſes, and ſent them ſo diſmembred into the City with Letters to the Great Maſter, charging him with the unjuſt breach of the Truce, barbarouſly threatning within three or four days to make like example of him to all poſterity. Amongſt others none was more troubled with this ſuddain and unexpected breach of the Truce, than *Robertus Peruſinus*, *Raymundus Marchet*, and *Raymundus Lupus*, three Knights of the Order, Men of ſingular Wiſdom and Gravity, Embaſſadors at that time in the Turks Camp; whom the barbarous People in their fury had undoubtedly ſlain or put to torture, if they had not feared the like meaſure to have been ſhewed to their Hoſtages in the City. But after that *Nicholaus Vergotus*, and *Georgius Sandriticus*, two of the Burgeſſes of the City, were come into the Camp with Articles containing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians were contented to deliver up the City, all their fury and rage was quickly appeaſed. *Solyman* for his greater Majeſty and the more terror of theſe Meſſengers, beſet round about with his great Army, and guarded about with his Janizaries in their richeſt Attire and gliſtering Armor, gave them audience; who admitted to his preſence, with great humility offered unto him in writing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians would yield up unto him the City. The chief points whereof were, That the Churches ſhould remain unto the Chriſtians inviolated; That no Children ſhould be taken from their Parents; That no Chriſtian ſhould be inforced to forſake his Religion and turn Turk; That ſuch Chriſtians as would tarry ſtill in the City, might ſo do at liberty, without paying any Tribute for the ſpace of five Years; That all they which would depart might go with Bag and Baggage, furniſhed with convenient Shipping and Proviſion, as far as *Crete*, and to carry with them ſo much great Ordnance as they pleaſed; and that the Chriſtians ſhould appoint a reaſonable day for the time of their departure. All which Articles *Solyman* condeſcended unto, and ſolemnly ſwore faithfully to perform the ſame. But how they were indeed performed the Writers of that age do much vary: It ſhould ſeem they were neither altogether kept, nor broken; but ſo performed as pleaſed the Conqueror; certain it is that many great outrages were through military Inſolency committed by the proud Turks upon the poor Chriſtians, contrary to the mind of *Solyman. Jacobus Fontanus* a Civilian, and at that time one of the Judges of the City (out of whoſe writings this Hiſtory is for moſt part collected) reporteth, That the Turks not expecting the departure of the Chriſtians, brake into the City upon Chriſtenmas Day, by the Gate called *Coſquinium*, polluted the Temples, ſhamefully abuſed the Chriſtians, and made havock of all things; and that he himſelf, falling into their hands, after he had with ſuch Mony as he had, redeemed himſelf, having not ſufficient to content all their greedy deſires, was by them hardly entreated and grievouſly beaten. The Great Maſter by the counſel of *Achimetes*, putting on ſuch ſimple Attire as beſt beſeemed a vanquiſhed Man that was to humble himſelf before the Conqueror, went out of the City into the Camp, attended upon with a few Knights of the Order; where after he had waited in the Rain moſt part of the day, before *Solymans* Tent, at laſt he had a rich Gown caſt upon him, and ſo brought into the proud Tyrants preſence. Where after they had a while at the firſt, with piercing Eies one earneſtly beholden the other; the Great Maſter humbling himſelf before him, was in token of Grace admitted to Kiſs his Hand, and welcomed by *Solyman* in this ſort.

Solyman *his Speech unto the Great Maſter.*

Although (ſaid he) *I might worthily and juſtly infringe the Articles I have preſcribed concerning the yielding of the City, with thy moſt wicked croſſed Compiers, the People of the* Rhodes, *and thee eſpecially ſuch a Captial Enemy, from whoſe deſerved puniſhment, neither Faith nor Oath ought to ſtay a moſt juſt Conqueror; yet I have determined to be not only gracious and merciful unto thee, ſo great an Offender, deſerving exemplary Puniſhment, but alſo liberal and bountiful; who if thou wilt by weldoing amend the grievous Tranſgreſſions of thy former Life, I promiſe unto thee moſt honourable Entertainment, great Preferment, and the higheſt Places in my Empire, in my Army in time of War, and in Counſel in time of Peace. Not to refuſe this mine offer, both thy preſent eſtate perſwadeth thee, and the Chriſtians (whoſe quarrel thou tookeſt upon thee to defend againſt me, with better beginning than ſucceſs) deſerve at thy hands no better; for what ſhould let thee forſaken of all thy Friends, a Man as it were betraied and vanquiſhed, to caſt thy ſelf into the perpetual faith and protection of a moſt mighty and merciful Conqueror, of himſelf offering thee this undeſerved Grace and Favour.*

Whereunto the Great Maſter preſently anſwered;

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter to Solyman.

Moſt Mighty and Gracious Emperor, your offered Favours before your other worthy Captains I deſerve not; neither is my preſent eſtate and deſert towards you ſuch, as that I dare or ought to refel the ſame; yet I will ſpeak freely in the midſt of your Victorious Army, a Man vanquiſhed in preſence of the Conqueror, whoſe great Mercy I never deſpaired of, and whoſe Faith I never doubted; I had rather now I have loſt my Sovereignty, forthwith to loſe my private and unfortunate Life; or elſe for ever hereafter to live in Obſcurity, than of my People to be accounted a Fugitive rather than a vanquiſhed Man: For, to be vanquiſhed is but chance of War, and of ſo great a Conqueror no ſhame to him that is Conquered; but afterwards to forſake his own People and to turn to the Enemy, I account it ſhameful Cowardiſe and Treachery.

Solyman marvelling at the Courage and Majeſty of the Hoary old Prince, in his ſo great extremity, diſmiſſed him, and ſent him again into the City, guarded with his own Guard, until he was come into his Palace; and unto every one of the Knights attending upon the Great Maſter, was given a rich Garment, in token of *Solymans* Favour. Within a few days after *Solyman* coming into the City, went to viſit the Great Maſter alſo; whom he found buſie in packing up his things againſt his departure. Here when the Great Maſter falling down upon his Knees would have worſhipped him, he would in no caſe ſuffer him ſo to do; but with his hand putting aſide the Vail of Majeſty (which manner of Reverence the Turkiſh Emperors give only to God, and their Great Prophet *Mahomet*) took him up and Saluted him by the Name of Father. To whom the Great Maſter for his Wiſdom and Diſcretion now to him no leſs admirable, than he was before in time of War for his Valour and Courage, ſpake in this ſort:

Solyman *cometh into the City unto the Great Maſter.*

The Speech of the Great Maſter to Solyman.

If my Fortune and Succeſs had been anſwerable to my Heart and Courage, I ſhould here be in this City, rather as a Victorious Conqueror than a Man Conquered. But ſithence the fatal Deſtinies would needs overthrow the Rhodian Eſtate, I am glad that you are the Man before all other by Fortune aſſigned, of whom I ſhall receive both Force and Grace. And unto you, amongſt many other your rare and worthy Praiſes, this ſhall not be the leaſt, That you vanquiſhed the Rhodes *and ſhewed Mercy. By this means you have joyned unto your dreadful Power, the Fame of Clemency and Courteſie; an Honour not of the Higheſt to be deſpiſed, by which alone we come neareſt unto God. Wherefore I doubt not but you will keep the conventions of the late Peace inviolated, which your own clemency perſwaded you to grant, and neceſſity inforced us to take. I ſhall now be an eternal example to the Turkiſh Emperors Clemency and Vertue, more than if I had by and by at the firſt yielded my ſelf; Obſtinate wilfulneſs hath made thy Glory and Mercy now Famous through the whole World, and unto the Worlds End.*

Whereunto *Solyman* by his Interpreter, anſwered:

The notable anſwer of Solyman *to the Great Maſter.*

It is to me a great pleaſure, that God at length hath put into thy mind to make choice of Peace before War, which I would thou couldſt have liked of from the beginning; then truly thou ſhouldſt at this time have received of my great and mighty Majeſty, more good than thou haſt endured harm. Which that I have done unto thee, not for any hatred, but only for deſire of Sovereignty, thou mayſt gather by this, That I ſuffer thee and thine to depart hence at liberty, with all your Wealth and Subſtance; for I make not War, thereby to heap up Wealth and Riches; but for Honour, Fame, Immortality, and enlarging of mine Empire. For it is the property of a King royally deſcended, by ſtrong Hand to take from others, and to invade others; not upon a greedy and covetous Mind, but for the honourable deſire of Rule and Sovereignty; which whilſt my Neighbour withſtandeth, I count it enough by force of Arms to remove him.

But the Tyrant (as many ſuppoſed) ſpake all this by way of diſſimulation, having as it was commonly bruted, given order for the rigging up of a great Ship, and certain Gallies, for the ſuddain tranſporting of the Great Maſter and the Knights of the Order to *Conſtantinople*, which report ſeemeth to have been but feigned either of malice, or elſe by ſuch as leaſt knew *Solymans* Mind; for if he had ſo purpoſed, who ſhould have let him, having them all in his Power.

Jovius in his little Treatiſe *Rerum Turcicarum* dedicated to *Charles* the Fifth, reporteth that he himelf heard *Liladamus* the Great Maſter ſay, That when *Solyman* entred into the *Rhodes* attended upon with thirty thouſand Men, there was not any Man heard to ſpeak a word, but that the Souldiers went as if they had been obſervant Friers; and that when he came to ask leave of *Solyman* that he might depart, he was ſo courteouſly uſed of him, that turning himſelf to *Abraim* the Baſſa, whom he above all Men loved, ſaid, Truly I cannot but grieve to ſee this unfortunate old Man, driven out of his own dwelling, to depart hence ſo heavily.

The Great Maſter embarking himſelf with his Knights and ſuch other as were willing to depart, in Veſſels and Gallies prepared for that purpoſe, departed out of the Iſland on New-years day at night; and after long and dangerous Travel by Sea in that Winter weather, landed at laſt at *Meſſina* in *Sicilia*, from whence he afterwards ſailed into *Italy*, and ſo travelled to *Rome*, where he was honourably received by *Adrian* the Sixth of that Name, then Biſhop there, a Hollander born, ſometime School-maſter to *Charles* the Fifth, and his Vicegerent in *Spain*; who if he had been as forward in the ſhort time of his Papacy to have relieved the *Rhodes*, as he was to maintain *Charles* his Quarrel againſt the French King, it is not unlike but that famous City had been relieved, and the Iſland in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians at this day. Thus *Solyman*, whilſt the Chriſtian Princes were at diſcord amongſt themſelves, to his great glory and no leſs grief of all good Chriſtians, entred the *Rhodes* the 25 day of *December*, a day dedicated unto the Nativity of our Saviour Chriſt, in the year 1522, after it had been by the Knights of the Order valiantly kept and defended againſt the Infidels by the ſpace of 214 years, ſince the time they by force took it from the Infidels in the year 1308. and now being ſo long holden as was poſſible, againſt all the power of the Turks, was yielded up when it had been ſix Months beſieged. At this Siege *Solyman* loſt a great part of his Army; for beſides them that were ſlain at the Aſſaults, which were many, thirty thouſand died of the Flux.

Solyman *entreth into the* Rhodes *on Chriſtenmas day, in the year* 1522.

Solyman *ſends* Ferhates *Baſſa againſt* Alis-Beg *the Mountain Prince*

Whilſt *Solyman* thus lay at the Siege of the *Rhodes*, *Ferhates* Baſſa Governour of the Marches of the Turkiſh Empire, alongſt the River of *Euphrates*, by the commandment of *Solyman* went with a great Army againſt *Alis-Beg*, whom the Turks called *Schach*, *Suar-Ogli*, that is to ſay, King *Suar* his Son; which *P. Jovius* corrupting, calleth him by the name of *Saxovar-Oglis*. This *Alis* after he had betrayed his Uncle *Aladeules* the Mountain King, unto *Sinan* Baſſa, was by *Selymus* left chief Governour of that large and wild Country alongſt the borders of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, wanting nothing of the honour of a King but the Name only, as is before declared in the life of *Selymus*. *Solyman* jealous of his Honour, and fearing leſt he ſhould take upon him the abſolute Government of that Country (which indeed of right belonged unto him, the Children of *Aladeules* the late King, being now all dead) and ſo to make himſelf King; eſpecially if he ſhould joyn in friendſhip with the Perſian King; after the manner of ambitious Men, purpoſed by any means to have him taken out of the way; and had therefore ſent *Ferhates* to eaſe him of that care. The Baſſa without making any ſhew of Hoſtility marching with his Army along the Confines of his Country, as if it had been but to look to his charge, when he was come as near as he could to *Alis*, without miſtruſt, thought good to aſſay if he could by policy bring that to paſs which he was otherwiſe with great danger to attempt by force. Wherefore feigning himſelf to be extream ſick, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Alis*, requeſting him as a friend to vouchſafe to come unto him being at the point of death, unto whom he had many things of importance from the great Emperor to impart, and would if he ſhould die, leave with him all his charge until *Solyman* ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe thereof.

Alis *and his four Sons treacherouſly ſlain.*

Alis, who from his youth had always honoured the Turkiſh Emperors and faithfully ſerved them, miſtruſting no harm, came to the Baſſa, accompanied with his four Sons; whom the faithleſs Baſſa without regard of infamy, cauſed preſently to be put to death with their Father; and ſo reducing all that Country into the manner of a Province, under *Solymans* obeiſance, came to him with twenty thouſand Men, about the time that the City of the *Rhodes* was yielded up. This is the faithleſs dealing of the Turks, not with the Chriſtians only, but with them of their own ſuperſtition alſo; uſing it as no ſmall policy, utterly to extinguiſh the Nobility of all Countries ſubject to their ſervile Tyranny.

Solyman *returneth to* Conſtantinople.

Solyman *upon the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes and diſordered ſtate of* Hungary, *taketh occaſion to invade that Kingdom.*

Solyman after he had thus ſubdued the *Rhodes*, and diſpoſed of the Iſland as he liked beſt, returning to *Conſtantinople*, brake up his Army, and for the ſpace of three years after followed his pleaſure, not doing any thing worthy of remembrance. During which time and many years after, the rich and flouriſhing Country of *Italy*, ſometime Miſtreſs of the World, was miſerably afflicted and rent in pieces by *Charles* the Fifth (then Emperor) and *Francis* the French King, the one envying unto the other the glory of the Empire; and he not content therewith, ſeeking with immoderate ambition to make himſelf Lord of all *Italy*; moſt of the other Chriſtian Princes and States being at the ſame time either by the one or by the other, drawn into the fellowſhip of that War, to the great trouble and ſore weakning of the Chriſtian Commonweal. Whereupon *Solyman* waiting all occaſions that might ſerve for the enlarging of his Empire, and annoying of the Chriſtians, thought it not a fit time for him to ſet his foot into *Hungary*, whereunto he had already laied open a way by the taking of *Belgrade*. He knew right well that *Lewis* then King of *Hungary* was but young, altogether unacquainted with the Wars, commanding over his headſtrong Subjects (eſpecially his rich Prelates and Nobility) no otherwiſe than pleaſed themſelves, being himſelf rather by them altogether overruled; beſides that, he was in good hope, that the other Chriſtian Princes near unto him, either carried away with regard of their own Eſtate, would not, or elſe before unto himſelf by League faſt bound, could not afford unto him any great aid or ſuccour; the Germans he knew would make ſmall haſt unto ſuch Wars as ſhould yield them much danger, and but ſmall pay. As for the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *Charles* the Emperor, and *Ferdinand* his Brother, although they were joyned unto the young King with the neareſt bonds of Alliance (*Lewis* having Married *Mary* their youngeſt Siſter, and *Ferdinand*, *Ann*, King *Lewis* his Siſter) yet was there as he thought ſmall help to be expected from them; *Charles* having his hands full in *Italy*, and *Ferdinand* altogether careful of himſelf; and that *Sigiſmund* King of *Polonia* would for the young Kings ſake break the ancient League he had with the Turkiſh Emperors, he could hardly be perſwaded:

As

1526. Solyman *cometh againſt* Lewis *King of* Hungary.

As for other Chriſtian Princes farther off,he ſtood not in any great doubt. Thus having with himſelf ſingled out this young Prince the Hungarian King, whom he had in his greedy mind already devoured, he ſet forward from *Conſtantinople*, and was come on his way as far as *Sophia* in *Servia* with a mighty Army of two hundred thouſand men, before that the Hungarians had any knowledge of his coming (ſo blind and ſenſeleſs was that State, which now ſleeping in ſecurity, had long before loſt thoſe Eies which ever watcht, and never ſpared coſt or pains to keep the ſame in ſafety) in ſtead of whom were others come in place, ſharp of ſight, and too too provident for that concerned their own advancement; but blind as Beetles in foreſeeing this great and common danger (wherewith they were ſhortly after all quite overwhelmed) until it was now brought home unto their own Doors. The young King of himſelf but weak, by reaſon of his youthful years, and nothing ſtrengthned by them for whom he had moſt done, and ſhould have been his greateſt ſtay, was wonderfully diſmaied with the fame of the approach of ſo mighty an Enemy; yet the better to withſtand him, he ſent Embaſſadors with all ſpeed unto the Chriſtian Princes his Neighbours, requeſting their Aid againſt the common Enemy, but all in vain. In the mean time, after the ancient manner of his Country he gave out general Summons for the Aſſembly of his Counſel for the Wars; whether his great ſtipendary Prelates (of duty bound to appear) came with their Troops of evil appointed Horſemen, and not half full; who alſo delivered in leſs ſums of Mony by far, than of right they ſhould have done, towards the maintenance of the charge of that common War. And the temporal Nobility, forgetting the warlike Diſcipline of their famous Anceſtors, as freſhwater Souldiers which had ſeen the Turkiſh Emperor in his ſtrength, and but little acquainted with ſome light skirmiſhes or ſmall invaſions, in their vain bravery made light account of the Turks; proudly vaunting, *That although they were in number but few, yet they would eaſily overthrow the great numbers of them, if ever they came to handy ſtrokes.*

The vanity of Tomoreus.

But above all the reſt, one *Paulus Tomoreus* Archbiſhop of *Coloſſa*, ſometimes a Minorite, who had before been in divers light skirmiſhes againſt the Turks, with great inſolency did ſo confidently brag and boaſt of the Victory he vainly dreamed of, that in his Sermons unto the Souldiers,and in open talk with the Nobility (if he could have done ſo much as he vaunted of) it ſhould ſeem that he himſelf had been enough to have overthrown the Turks whole Army.

But when all the Kings Army was aſſembled, and a general muſter taken, there was hardly found five and twenty thouſand men in all, horſe and foot. So that the fooliſh hardineſs of *Tomoreus*, and others ſo forwards to give the Turks battel, was of moſt wiſe men diſliked. The old Souldiers and men of great experience ſaid plainly, *That it was meer folly and madneſs with ſuch a handful of men to give battel unto the Enemy, who would bring eight times ſo many more into the Field as they were.* Wherefore ſome wiſhed, that the young King ſhould be withdrawn from the eminent danger; among whom *Stephanus Verbetius*, a noble Captain, of all the reſt beſt acquainted with the Turkiſh Wars, gave Counſel, that the perſon of the young King ſhould for the ſafety of the Common State, whatſoever ſhould happen, be kept out of danger in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Buda*.

Wholeſome Counſel not followed.

But the unruly Souldiers with open mouth impugned his wholeſome Counſel, and ſaid plainly, *That except the King himſelf did lead them, they would not at all fight.* Of which opinion was alſo the raſh Prelate *Tomoreus*, perſwading them with all ſpeed to give the Enemy Battel, and that the noble young King under the protection of Almighty God ſhould in perſon himſelf go and give the ſignal of battel againſt his Enemies. The King overruled by this unlucky Counſel, upon a bravery without reaſon ſet forward with his Army, and came to a place called *Mohatchz* or *Mugace*, which is a little Country Village not far from *Danubius*, almoſt in the midle between *Buda* and *Belgrade*. And now *Balybeus* with twenty thouſand Horſemen (the forerunners of the Turkiſh Army) was at hand, at which time the Commanders and Captains of the Kings Army, entred into Counſel, Whether it were better to incamp their Army within their Waggons alongſt the River of *Danubius*, and ſo to expect the coming of *Joannes Sepuſius*, Count of *Cilia*, and Vayvod of *Tranſylvania* (who was then ſaid to be coming towards the King with his Tranſylvanian Horſemen, of all other fitteſt to have encountred the Turks; or elſe to march forward, and preſently to give them Battel? But *Tomoreus*, who now commanded all, knowing that upon the coming of the Vayod, he was to give place, and himſelf to be commanded (which unto ſo proud a man was no ſmall grief) for the maintenance of his credit and reputation, and to carry away the glory of the Victory he ſo vainly hoped for, could not abide to hear of any delay; but haſting headlong to his own deſtruction, did with ſuch vehemency impugn the wholſome Counſel of others, who would have expected the coming of the Vayvod, that he by his frantick perſwaſions, drew on the unadviſed young King into moſt apparent and manifeſt danger.

The battel of Mohatchz.

For *Balybeus* divided his Horſemen into four Battels, which by turns skirmiſhed with the Kings Army without intermiſſion, and gave the Hungarians no leiſure to reſt either day or night, but continually wheeling about, kept them in ſo ſtrait, that no man could without great danger go to water his Horſe at the ſide of *Danubius*, which was faſt by, or once to ſtir out of the Camp, but were inforced to dig Pits for water in places where they lay; with which neceſſity *Tomoreus* was enforced to put the Army in order of Battel, and there was now no remedy, but he muſt of neceſſity fight for the honour of his Prince and Country. His Battel was ranged all in length, and his Horſemen not altogether (as it was thought) unfitly placed here and there by Troops among his Footmen; leſt the Turks (being in number eight to one) ſhould with their multitude compaſs them round, and ſo inforce them to fight as it were in a Ring; for now was *Solyman* come alſo with all his huge Army. The Hungarian Tents defended with a ſmall Garriſon, were left a little from the Army on the right hand, incloſed round about with Wagons, one chained to another; near unto the which, *Tomoreus* General of this unlucky Battel, had not altogether undiſcreetly placed a Troop of choſen Horſemen for the defence of the Kings Perſon againſt all uncertain Events of the Battel. But this day (unlucky to the Hungarian name, but unto the King himſelf moſt fatal and unfortunate) overthrew that his purpoſe, deviſed too late for the ſafety of the Kings Perſon; for at the firſt encounter the Hungarians, although they had received no harm by the Turkiſh Artillery (being mounted too high, of purpoſe as it was thought, the Gunners being for moſt part Chriſtians) were eaſily beaten down, and overthrown, oppreſſed by the multitude of their Enemies, eſpecially *Tomoreus* with the reſt of the Prelates

and

Tomoreus *ſlain.*

and Nobility being almoſt all ſlain together, and the Hungarian Horſemen alſo either ſlain or put to flight. All things going thus to wrack, a Company of Turks aſſailed the Camp, which was hardly defended by the weak Garriſon. Which thing the Troop of the choſen Horſemen appointed for defence of the Kings Perſon, beholding, could not be ſtaid, but that they would needs help them which defended the Camp. The young King ſeeing all his Army diſcomfited, and himſelf forſaken of the Horſemen which he was in hope ſhould have guarded him, betook himſelf to flight. But as he was making ſhift for himſelf, thinking to have paſſed over a fenny Ditch, his Horſe in plunging out, fell backwards upon him into the Ditch; where being heavy loaden with Armor not able to help himſelf, he was in the midſt of the filthy Ditch in the Mud moſt miſerably drowned. Some few Horſemen eſcaped out of the Battel, the reſt were either ſlain or taken Priſoners. This woful Battel never ſufficiently to be lamented, as the ground of the miſeries of that worthy Kingdom, was fought the nine and twentieth day of *October* in the year 1526.

King Lewis *drowned in a ditch.*

Solyman having obtained this Victory, marched on directly to *Buda*, the Regal Seat of the Hungarian Kings, which was delivered to him with the Caſtle; upon condition, that he ſhould not violate any man either in Perſon or Goods, and at his departure to leave the ſame again unto the Hungarians; all which things he (according unto their requeſt) faithfully performed. Being entred into the Caſtle, he wonderfully commended the ſame, but lodged not therein, becauſe it is by their ancient Law forbidden the Turkiſh Emperor to lodg within any walled place which is not his own. Wherefore he returned and lodged in his Camp alongſt the River of *Danubius*.

The Heads of ſlain Chriſtian Biſhops and Captains preſented to Solyman.

Whilſt *Solyman* lay thus at *Buda*, ſeven bloody Heads of the Biſhops and greateſt of the Nobility (ſlain in the late battel at *Mohatchz*) were preſented to him, all ſet in order upon a woodden Step; whereat he ſmiled, to ſee his Courtiers laying their right Hands upon their Breaſts, and bending their Bodies as if they had done them great obeiſance, to ſalute them by name, and in diriſion to welcome them by the names of valiant Popes. But afterwards, when he had more particularly enquired what every one of them was, it is reported that he moſt of all deteſted *Ladiſlaus Salcanius* the great Biſhop of *Strigonium*, for his miſerable Covetouſneſs, that being a man of infinite Wealth, refuſed to ſpare part thereof unto his Sovereign, requeſting the ſame at his great need. *Tomoreus* he blamed of inconſiderate raſhneſh, for that he being a Clergy-man, would buſie himſelf ſo far in matters not belonging to his vocation: On the contrary part,he commended *Franciſcus Perenus* Biſhop of *Veradium*, a man honourably deſcended, for his wiſe Counſel (though it was not followed) for that he had heard it reported, that he as a true Prophet foretelling the common ſlaughter enſuing, had ſharply ſaid in the Counſel at ſuch time as *Tomoreus* would needs fight with the Turks, and was not by any means to be removed from that his fatal opinion, That he did foreſee what that their Frier-like General would the next day do; and that he would with ſo great an enterpriſe effect no more, but to make one Holyday the more in the Chriſtians Calendar, in remembrance of thirty thouſand Hungarian Martyrs, moſt miſerably ſlain of the Turk in an unequal battel, for defence of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion (for at that time, they which willingly expoſed themſelves to death in defence of the Chriſtian Faith, were all accounted for Martyrs;) *Georgius Sepuſius* and the others, he called raſh Fools, that would adventure with ſo ſmall ſtrength to incounter ſo ſtrong an Enemy. At ſuch time as the Counterfeits of King *Lewis* and *Mary* his Wife were ſhewed unto him, he honourably ſaid, That he was ſorry for the young King, that it was his evil hap to have ſo unadviſed Counſellors in a matter of ſo great importance, as to perſwade him againſt all reaſon to fight at ſo great diſadvantage; and that he came not into *Hungary* to take his Kingdom from him, but only to revenge the wrongs done unto him by the Hungarians; and that if he had eſcaped the danger of the Battel, he would aſſuredly have again reſtored unto him the Kingdom of *Hungary*, contenting himſelf with ſome ſmall Tribute; and that it ſhould have been unto him honour enough to have ſaved the Nephew of *Sigiſmund* King of *Polonia* his Confederate, ſo ſtrongly allied with the honourable Houſe of *Auſtria*. All which he commanded to be told to *Mary* the Queen, who was for fear fled from *Buda* to *Paſſonium*. Which might perhaps all ſeem to have been either diſſemblingly ſpoken, or falſly reported of the Equity and Courteſie of the barbarous King, if he had not ſhortly afterwards to the ample declaration of his Bounty and liberality, without any deſert, given the ſame Kingdom of *Hungary* to *Joannes Sepuſius*, not born of any Royal Blood, and then retaining the mind of a very Enemy. After that, he took away three goodly Images of Braſs of ancient workmanſhip, which were placed in the entrance into the Kings Palace, by that renowned King *Mathias Corvinus* the great favourer of rare Qualities and Vertues; theſe Images repreſented the forms of *Hercules* with his Club, of *Apollo* with his Harp, and *Diana* with her Bow and Quiver, all which he placed in the Tilt-yard at *Conſtantinople*, as a Trophy of the Hungarian Victory. Howbeit theſe Images were ſince taken down by the perſwaſion of the Mufti, and molten (as contrary to their Superſtition) and great Ordnance made of them. He carried alſo away with him three Pieces of Artillery of moſt excellent and curious workmanſhip; and certain braſen Pillars of chamfred work, which ſupported the Chapiters of the Gates. He tarried at *Buda* about twenty days; in which time to ſatisfie the cruel nature and greedy deſires of his Souldiers, he ſent out divers Troops of Horſemen into the Country thereabout, by whom all the Country betwixt *Rab* and the River of *Tibyſcus* was by that ſuddain and unexpected incurſion ſo deſtroyed, that it is reported that above an hundred and fifty thouſand People of all ſorts were either ſlain or led away into moſt miſerable Captivity. All which done, he returned again by the ſame way he came to *Conſtantinople*.

The Biſhop of Veradium *too true a Prophet.*

The honourable Speech of Solyman *concerning his coming into* Hungary.

Joannes Sepuſius *Vayvod of* Tranſylvania, *aſpireth to the Kingdom of* Hungary.

About the ſame time *Joannes Sepuſius* Vayvod of *Tranſylvania*, with a great power came now too late into *Hungary* to have aided the King; but glad, as was thought, of his death, as tending to his own advancement; foraſmuch as he was now (the King being dead without iſſue) a man of greateſt account among the Nobility of *Hungary*. Wherefore as one of a deep and reaching Wit, and in great hope to obtain the Kingdom, he began cunningly to labour divers of the Noblemen one by one, and inſtantly to requeſt them, that at the next Parliament they would not betray the Honour of their Country, in ſuffering the Royal Dignity of that ancient Kingdom to be transferred unto a ſtranger, of ſuch a Nation as happily loved them not; for why the Hungarians ought well to remember what great calamities they had received in former times, in chuſing foreign Kings and Strangers to rule over them, and in following their unfortunate Enſigns againſt the Turks; which thing the woful miſeries of times paſt might notably prove; which either *Sygiſmundus* of *Bohemia*, or *Ladiſlaus* the firſt, of *Polonia*, by their unfortunate Battels, once at *Nicopolis*, again at *Columbarium*, and laſt of all at *Varna*, had brought unto the Hungarians. But to ſpeak, nay once to remember the harms received by the long Cowardize of *Ladiſlaus*, or this late raſhneſs of his Son King *Lewis*, would make any noble mind to bluſh and be aſhamed; under whoſe Government all Military Diſcipline, and the Glory of *Hungary*, might well be thought to be utterly loſt. And he ſaid there remained of the Nobility of *Hungary*, men honourably deſcended of moſt ancient Houſes, worthy of the Kingdom, which bare noble minds, and were of ſufficient Courage, Diſcretion, and Power, in this time of common heavineſs to reſtore the honour of the Eſtate, and worthily to defend the Kingdom; amongſt whom (ſaid he) I would not be accounted ſo baſe minded, or heavy headed (although there be many which for the honour of their Houſes and Wealth may ſeem to go before me) that I will therefore confeſs, that any of them is for Valour, Proweſs, or Fortune, better than my ſelf, either for conducting of an Army, or government of a Kingdom; for I ſhall be a King of Courage and Valour ſufficient, if by your favourable good Will I ſhall be thought worthy of your conſent and ſufferages. The Vayvod taking this courſe, by his earneſt ſute and labour had won the good Wills of many; and ſo much the eaſier, for that *Stephanus Bator* (a man of greateſt Nobility among the Hungarians) was a little before gone into *Bohemia* unto King *Ferdinand*, who was then greatly buſied (by reaſon of a Parliament there ſummoned) in procuring the favour of the Nobility and Commons of that Realm, againſt the time of the Parliament, wherein he was in good hope to be choſen King; as he was in ſhort time after.

King Lewis *buried.*

At the ſame time the Hungarians were with great ſolemnity celebrating the Funeral of their late King; whoſe dead Body after the departure of *Solyman* from *Buda*, was found whole, by the demonſtration of one *Cotriſcus*, one of the Squires of his body, who was preſent when he was drowned; and ſo was brought out of the Fens of *Mohatchz* to *Alba Regalis*, where it was with great Pomp buried amongſt the Sepulchers of the other Kings of *Hungary* his Predeceſſors. Which ſolemn Funeral once ended, the general Military Parliament (by the Authority and Voice whereof the Kings of *Hungary* were by their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms to be choſen) was called; in the ſhutting up whereof, *John* the Vayvod having in that common heavineſs no Competitor, nor any of the greateſt Nobility which durſt ſtand againſt him, was with the great applauſe and conſent of all there preſent choſen King. To whom, forthwith *Petrus Perennus* came and preſented the ancient Crown of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, which was in his keeping, made after an homely faſhion of pure Gold, with which the lawful Kings of *Hungary* uſed alwaies to be ſolemnly crowned. It is reported, that it was the Crown of *Stephanus* firſt King of *Hungary*, and was by an ancient Cuſtom alwaies kept in the Caſtle of *Vicegrade*. And ſo *John* the Vayvod was orderly crowned, and conſecrated by the hands of *Paulus* Biſhop of *Strigonium*, lately choſen inſtead of *Ladiſlaus Salcanius*, ſlain in the Battel at *Mugace*, and by the hands of *Stephanus Brodaricus* Biſhop of *Vacia*, whom he choſe for his Secretary. And unto *Americus Cibachus* he gave the honour of the Vayvod of *Tranſilvania*, being but a little before choſen Biſhop of *Veradium*. In his preferment, he was greatly holpen unto the Kingdom by the Nobility which followed him out of *Tranſylvania*, men of great account both in Peace and War; amongſt whom deſcended of the Hungarian Blood, were chief, *Stephanus Verbetius*, *Paulus Antandrus*, *Gregorius Peſchenius*, *Nicholaus Gleſſa*, and *Janus Docia*. But whilſt this new King is in this ſort buſied in rewarding his Friends, and ſtrengthning himſelf in his Kingdom, he was advertiſed that *Ferdinand* his Competitor of the Hungarian Kingdom was choſen King of *Bohemia*; who out of the old controverſie betwixt *Mathias Corvinus* and *Fredericus* the Emperors great Grandfather, alledged great claim unto that Kingdom, derived from the time of *Ladiſlaus*, who was reported to have been poiſoned at the time of the ſolemnization of his Marriage, through the ambition and malice of *Georgius Pogibracius*; who affecting the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, ſhortly after obtained the ſame. And now it ſeemed that the time was come, wherein *Ferdinand* made greater with the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and ſtrengthned with the power of his Brother *Charles* the Emperor, not forgetting his Right, might upon good ground lay claim unto the Kingdom of *Hungary*, unto him (as he pretended) of right belonging ever ſince the time of *Albertus* the Emperor. Neither did *Ferdinand*, beſide the ſtrength of *Auſtria* and *Bohemia*, want the furtherance of divers of the Princes of *Hungary*; having in his Court many of unquiet Spirit, half Fugitives, deſirous of change, which envied at the Vayvods Royal Preferment (as if it had been taken from themſelves, more worthy thereof than he) by the raſh and tumultuous favour of the Vulgar People. For beſides *Bator*, who in moſt Mens judgment might moſt worthily have required and obtained the Kingdom, there were others alſo almoſt of like Nobility and Valour, as *Valentius Tauraccus*, *Stephanus Maylatus*, *Janus Scala*, *Gaſper Seredius*, *Baltaſor Pamphilus*, and *Ferentius Gnarius*; to whom alſo was joyned *Paulus Bachitius* born in *Servia*, a valiant Gentleman, who being entred into the Mahometan Religion, to avoid the Turkiſh Slavery, got away unto the Chriſtians, and hardly eſcaped from the Battel of *Mohatchz*. By the perſwaſion of theſe Noblemen, *Ferdinand* of his own diſpoſition ready enough to claim his Right, eſpecially a Kingdom, and truſting unto his Strength in *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, *Rhetia*, *Stiria*, and *Carynthia*, marched directly towards *Buda*. With whoſe coming, *John* the new King being wonderfully troubled, as a man beſet with want of all things, having neither ſufficient Strength whereupon to reſt in his new got Kingdom, neither any great aſſurance of the Fidelity of his Subjects, like enough either for fear, or of their natural inconſtancy, to fall from him, determined not to abide the coming of his Enemy to *Buda*; but exhorting his Captains to follow him, although he were glad to depart and give place to his evil Fortune for a time, with ſuch Power as he had brought with him out of *Tranſylvania*, and ſuch other as he could otherwiſe levy, he paſſed over the River to *Peſtum*; and not daring any where thereabouts to reſt, by long marches paſſed over the River *Tibiſcus*, and there encamped at *Tocai*, which was a ſtrong Caſtle upon the further ſide of the River. His departure being known, *Ferdinand* marching on, obtained *Buda* without reſiſtance; where he ſtaid a while, and conſulted with his Captains,

Whether

John Sepuſius *the Vayvod choſen and crowned King of* Hungary.

Ferdinand *King of* Bohemia *layeth claim to the Kingdom of* Hungary.

King Ferdinand *taketh* Buda.

Whether he ſhould purſue his flying Enemy, or not. But it was quickly reſolved, That the diſcouraged Enemy was to be ſpeedily purſued, before he ſhould gather greater ſtrength, or enter into greater Policies. Wherefore *Ferdinand* committed all his Army unto the Nobility of *Hungary*, his Friends, whom we have before named; who marching with all ſpeed poſſible, came to the River *Tibiſcus*; where paſſing over upon a Bridge made of Boats which they brought with them in Waggons for that purpoſe, they came with Enſigns diſplaied unto the Caſtle of *Tocai*, where the King lay with his Army in order of Battel. But terrified with the ſuddain coming of his Enemies, and debating with his Captains of the greatneſs of the danger, took a courſe unto himſelf rather ſafe than honourable; for his Captains deſiring nothing more than to joyn Battel, and in manner contemning their Enemies, perſwaded him to withdraw himſelf a little out of the Battel, and to keep him out of danger; and if things fell out otherwiſe than well, to reſerve himſelf unto his better fortunes; as for themſelves they would moſt reſolutely fight againſt thoſe traiterous Fugitives, foraſmuch as it were great diſhonour for them, being Hungarians, a warlike People by nature, to refuſe Battel being offered by the Enemy. Amongſt the Chieftains of the Kings Army, *Ferentius Bodo* an old Captain of great experience and courage was chief, to whom the King delivered his Enſign with his own hands, and he with great skill ordered his Battel, for the number of his Souldiers; he himſelf ſtood in the main Battel with the Hungarians, placing the Tranſylvanians in the Wings. In *Ferdinands* Army, *Valentinus Turaccus* led the main Battel with the Hungarians, under *Ferdinands* Enſign; ſtrengthned on the one ſide with Troops of Horſemen out of *Styria*, and on the other, with the Horſemen of *Auſtria*. But *Paulus Bachitius* (according to the manner of the Turkiſh Wars, wherewith he was well acquainted) with a Company of Light-Horſemen lay cloſe in ambuſh in a convenient place for that purpoſe, a good diſtance off, againſt the left Wing of the Enemies Army, ready as occaſion ſhould ſerve, to take his moſt advantage. It was not greatly needful for the Captains to uſe any perſwaſions to encourage their Souldiers, ready enough of themſelves to fight. The great Ordnance once diſcharged, the Armies came faſt on and joyned Battel, where the Wings of both Battels fought with divers fortune. The Styrian Horſemen were not able to endure the force of the Tranſylvanians, but were put to the worſe. And on the other ſide, the left Wing of *Bodo* his Army, conſiſting for moſt part of raw and unexpert Souldiers, was by the Horſemen of *Auſtria* overthrown. At the ſame time both the main Battels (being almoſt all Hungarians) fought with equal courage, and that ſo eagerly, as ſeldom had been ſeen a more fierce or cruel Battel. But by a freſh charge given by *Ferdinands* Horſemen, who had now put to flight the right Wing of *Bodo* his Battel, all *Bodo* his Army fighting moſt valiantly, was diſordered and put to flight; *Bodo* the General labouring to reſtore the Battel, and to ſave the Enſign to him before by the King delivered, was by the coming in of *Paulus Bachitius* with his Light-Horſemen taken. The other Captains ſeeing all loſt, and paſt hope of recovery, betook themſelves to flight; all the Kings Artillery and Enſigns were taken by the Enemy. The King ſeeing the overthrow of his Army, for ſafeguard of his life fled into *Polonia*. *Ferdinands* Captains following the courſe of the Victory, entred into *Tranſylvania*; where the People yielding themſelves at the firſt, all the whole Province, ſubmitted it ſelf unto the Authority of *Ferdinand*. *Bodo* and the reſt of the Noblemen that were taken Priſoners, with the Enſigns taken from the Enemies, were ſent to *Ferdinand*. But when *Bodo* having his liberty promiſed, could not be perſwaded to renounce his Oath given to King *John*, and to bear Arms againſt him, he was by *Ferdinand* his commandment caſt into a dark Dungeon, where ſhortly after conſumed with ſorrow and grief, he miſerably ended his life.

The battel of Tocai, *between the Armies of King* John *and King* Ferdinand.

King John *flies into* Polonia.

Ferdinand *crowned King of* Hungary *at* Alba Regalis.

Shortly after, *Ferdinand* (the Hungarians generally ſubmitting themſelves unto him) was by their common conſent ſaluted King, and crowned with the ſame old Crown wherewith King *John* had been crowned, which the ſame *Perenus* (a man of little conſtancy) brought unto him; and with him was alſo crowned *Ann* his Wife, the only Siſter of the late King *Lewis*. All which ſolemn ceremonies were celebrated at *Alba Regalis*, the uſual place for the Coronation of the Hungarian Kings. *Ferdinand* by rare felicity thus poſſeſſed of two Kingdoms, whereunto he was not born, returned into *Bohemia*, and left his Deputies for the Government of the Kingdom of *Hungary*; theſe were *Stephanus Bator*, whom he appointed Viceroy, with whom he joyned *Paulus* Biſhop of *Strigonium*, who had alſo revolted from King *John*; and made *Berethſaxtus* Secretary, and *Alexius Turſonus* a Moravian, Treaſurer.

Laſcus *counſelleth King* John *to crave aid of* Solyman.

King *John* thus miſerably diſtreſſed, and thruſt out of his Kingdom by *Ferdinand*, fled to *Hieronimus Laſcus*, a man for his honourable deſcent and learned vertue, of great fame and reputation amongſt the Polonians; who glad of ſo honourable a Gueſt, was more careful of nothing, than with all poſſible kindneſs and courteſie how to comfort him, wrapt up in ſo many calamities with the loſs of his Kingdom; he frankly promiſed unto him all his own Wealth (which was not ſmall) for the recovery of his former eſtate; and that which more was, for the reviving of his former felicity, the uttermoſt of his Wit and Device, which in the compaſſing of all great matters was accounted wonderful. That bountiful entertainment of this poor King by *Laſcus*, was not altogether unpleaſant to *Sigiſmud* King of *Polonia*, although (becauſe he would not offend *Ferdinand*, with whom he was joyned in Friendſhip and Alliance) he ſeemed to moſt men plainly to forget himſelf, in ſhewing ſo ſmall kindneſs unto King *John*, whoſe Siſter *Barbara* he had ſometime married; which was the cauſe that *Laſcus* forgot no point of courteſie in entertaining his Gueſt, and yet the credit of *Sigiſmund* with King *Ferdinand* not toucht. But when they had ſpent almoſt a month in conſultation, and debating of matters too and fro, *Laſcus* accuſtomed with his deep Wit ſharply to reaſon, and adviſedly to determine of moſt weighty cauſes, at laſt reſted upon this one point, That ready help in ſo hard and deſperate a caſe was only to be hoped for of the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*; being of opinion, that he being a moſt mighty Prince and of an honourable diſpoſition, anſwerable to his greatneſs, would not reject the humble Prayers of an oppreſſed and exiled King; eſpecially, if that being by his mercy and power reſtored, he could be content for ſo great a benefit to hold his Kingdom, as of the bounty of the *Othoman* Kings. For *Laſcus* ſaw that *Solyman* (ſo great and proud an Emperor) was not ſo deſirous of Kingdoms (whereof he had ſo many as could not eaſily be reckoned, then commanding over a great part of the World) as of glory and renown, wherewith he underſtood him to be wonderfully delighted above all other Kings of the Eaſt, naturally carried away with that windy vanity. This Counſel (as in effect it proved) was unto King *John* wholſome and reaſonable, if a man do but reſpect the poor Eſtate of a King, ſo greatly wronged, living in exile, but reſpecting the Chriſtian Common-Weal, it was undoubtedly moſt dangerous and lamentable, for one mans particular profit to bring the whole State into moſt dreadful and horrible danger; but the ſick minds of worldly men, living in ſmall hope of doing well, and at the point of deſparation, refuſe no worldly remedies, be they never ſo doubtful or dangerous.

Laſcus *goeth Embaſſador for King* John *to* Solyman.

And not long after, upon this reſolution with the King, *Laſcus* deſirous by noble actions to encreaſe the honour of his name, took the matter upon him, and went as Embaſſador from the exiled King to *Solyman* to *Conſtantinople*. The report was, that *Sigiſmund* did not only not ſtay him, but ſecretly gave him his ſafe conduct with Letters of Credence, wherein he commended him unto the Baſſaes and other great men in *Solymans* Court, deſcended of the Polonian Blood, as his faithful and loving Subject ſent thither upon an extraordinary and ſpecial Embaſſage. *Laſcus* as ſoon as he was come to *Conſtantinople*, with wonderful dexterity had in ſhort time won the Favour, not of the Baſſaes only, but of the other Courtiers alſo; preſenting them with ſuch Gifts as might for the fineneſs and rareneſs thereof, rather than for the value (as he thought) be moſt acceptable and pleaſing to their Wives; for amongſt that barbarous and corrupted People nothing is better welcome than Gifts, whether they proceed of ſimple good Will, or other reſpect, is no great difference.

Abraham *Baſſa*.

Amongſt the great Baſſaes at that time of greateſt Power and Authority, was *Luſtebeius*, or rather *Lutzis*, who had married *Solymans* Siſter; and *Abraham* born at *Praga*, a baſe Village in *Acarnania*, brought up in the Court from his Childhood with *Solyman*; he was then Viſier or chief of the Baſſaes, and Keeper of the Emperors Seal, and was by his office to ſubſcribe all ſuch Grants or Letters as paſſed from the Emperor; by which his great place and ſpecial favour he had with *Solyman*, he in Magnificence, Power and Authority far exceeded all the reſt of the Baſſaes, doing whatſoever pleaſed himſelf; and that with ſuch Sovereignty and the good liking of *Solyman*, that it was commonly ſaid, he was the commander of his thoughts. *Laſcus* thus inſinuated into the Court, and oftentimes talking with the Baſſaes without an Interpreter, for that he could well ſpeak the Sclavonian Tongue (the familiar ſpeech of the Turkiſh Courtiers) earneſtly ſolicited the Kings cauſe, wonderfully commending him; for at his firſt coming, after he had ſaluted *Solyman*, and was about to have declared the cauſe of his coming, he was after the manner of the Turkiſh Court referred to the Baſſaes; for *Solyman* uſed not to admit any Chriſtian to talk with him in his Court.

Laſcus *his requeſt of* Solyman *in the behalf of King* John.

Laſcus requeſted of *Solyman*, by the Baſſaes, That King *John* wrongfully thruſt out of his Kingdom by *Ferdinand* Duke of *Auſtria*, and the Treaſon of certain of the Hungarians, might by the Turkiſh power be again reſtored unto the Kingdom of *Hungary*, which he would hold by homage of the Turkiſh Emperor, as of right belonging unto him, ſince the time that *Solyman* with victorious hand revenging his wrongs, and ſubduing his Enemies, had by Law of Arms (Fortune ſo judging) gained the ſame. Promiſing that King *John*, who for his worthineſs was by the general good liking of the Hungarians lawfully choſen to be their King, and ſo after the ancient manner of that Kingdom crowned; if he were now received into *Solymans* Protection, and by him reſtored, ſhould never forget ſo great a benefit, but always moſt faithfully and thankfully to honour the Majeſty of *Solyman*, paying him ſuch yearly Tribute as it ſhould pleaſe him to impoſe, and to make it known to all men, that he was his Vaſſal. Which thing if it would pleaſe him to grant, it ſhould be no leſs honour and glory to *Solyman* himſelf, than profitable and comfortable unto the diſtreſſed King. For beſide, that heroical Kings are compared unto Gods, rather for giving than receiving; it was eaſie to be ſeen, how greatly it did concern the profit of the *Othoman* Kings to be neighboured with a weak and tributary King, rather than with *Ferdinand*, a Prince of great Power, lately choſen King of *Bohemia*, ſupported by the ſtrength of his Brother *Charles* the Emperor, commanding over the warlike Nation of the Germans; which was as much difference as was betwixt the maintenance of a continual heavy War upon his Borders, and the ſafe enjoying of a moſt aſſured Peace. Beſide that, it concerned the Turks to beware, that ſuch things as they had got by the Sword, they ſhould alſo by the Sword defend; and not to ſuffer any one to grow greater than the reſt in Riches and Power. For it might ſo fall out, that *Charles*, grown to be a Prince of mighty Power, might draw the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes to join with him in the common cauſe of the Chriſtian Religion, and in that quarrel, as the Chriſtian Kings of *Europe* had in former time done, with united Forces to ſeek to recover again what they had before loſt; whoſe Force it would be hard to withſtand.

Solyman *granteth* Laſcus *his requeſt*.

Theſe things being ſharply delivered, and by the Baſſaes again reported unto *Solyman*, who ſtanding at a ſecret Window, had before heard them as they were by *Laſcus* to the Baſſaes declared; it was no great labour to perſwade the Turkiſh Emperor, of himſelf deſirous of Glory and Sovereignty, again to undertake the Hungarian War, and to grant King *John* his requeſt, promiſing according to the ſucceſs of the Victory to give him that he deſired, that he would faithfully perform what he had promiſed, and not ſhew himſelf therefore unthankful.

Ferdinand *ſendeth an Embaſſador to* Solyman.

In the mean time, *Ferdinand* upon great reaſon thinking it neceſſary by all means poſſible to confirm himſelf in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Hungary*; and fearing no force but the Turks, determined to prove *Solymans* diſpoſition, and to ſeek for his Friendſhip; hoping by reaſonable means to compaſs it, by ſhewing unto the barbarous Prince (not altogether abhorring from the commendation of Juſtice) his ancient Title and Claim, and that he was by the ancient Laws of the Country right Heir thereof; thinking that *Solyman* having obtained ſo many Victories, and ruling over ſo many Kingdoms, would now at length give himſelf to Peace, as a man contented with his glory already gotten. His deſire was, to be received into his Friendſhip, and to joyn with him in League upon the ſame conditions which *Ladiſlaus* and his Son *Lewis* had for certain years before obtained of the *Othoman* Kings, and *Sigiſmund* King of *Polonia* then alſo with like quietneſs enjoyed. Wherefore having found out a fit man, whom he might ſend upon this Embaſſage to *Conſtantinople* (one *Joannes Oberdanſcus*, a Hungarian) he furniſhed him accordingly, and gave him Gifts, ſuch as he thought good to beſtow upon the great Baſſaes. But when *Oberdanſcus* was come unto *Conſtantinople*, he found *Solyman* harder to be intreated than he had before

Solymans *anſwer to* Ferdinands *Embaſſadors.*

hoped; and the Baſſaes altogether unwilling to hear of any League; for although he was courteouſly received of *Solyman*, and moſt patiently heard, whilſt he both eloquently and diſcreetly before the great Baſſaes, delivered his Embaſſage; yet in the ſhutting up of all, he received no more but a proud and inſolent anſwer; for *Solyman* ſaid, it was far from the manner of his Anceſtors, to receive them into grace and favour which had done injury to the *Othoman* name; wherefore that *Ferdinand* had done impudently to invade another mans Kingdom, and to think to hold it to himſelf; foraſmuch as his old Title and Claim which he ſtood ſo much upon, was altogether extinguiſhed and loſt by Law of Arms, by his late Victory againſt King *Lewis*; for which cauſes he adjudged him unworthy of his Friendſhip and Favour, purpoſing ſharply to revenge the wrong he had received; and proclaiming War, to come again into *Hungary* with ſuch a power as ſhould be ſufficient to invade *Ferdinand*, either in *Auſtria* or *Germany*. Wherefore inſtead of Friendſhip and League he denounced unto him all the calamities of War; and ſo commanded the Embaſſador with ſpeed to depart from *Conſtantinople*. But *Oberdanſcus* when he was come back again as far as *Vienna*, and had there told the Kings Lieutenants of the threatning words of *Solyman*, and that he would ſhortly come thither with his Army, he was not of any of them believed, but reputed for a vain man. Wherefore to ſhun the hatred of them which miſtook truth for falſhood, he made haſt to come to *Ferdinand*, who was then at *Spires*, labouring for voices to further his ſuit, for that at the next Aſſembly of the States of the Empire, which was then at hand for the Coronation of his Brother *Charles*, he himſelf as he well hoped, was to be choſen King of the Romans. The News brought by *Oberdanſcus*, did not a little trouble King *Ferdinand*, foreſeeing as it were what would happen; for that the Turkiſh Tyrant uſed not lightly to break ſuch promiſes, but to perform them to the uttermoſt; and that more encreaſed his care, he knew he ſhould come in evil time to crave help of the Germans, for the defence of his Kingdom in *Hungary* againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, eſpecially his Brother *Charles* the Emperor being buſied in his Wars in *Italy*, and he himſelf wanting Mony, the only means to raiſe an Army to withſtand the Turk.

1529.

Solyman *cometh into* Hungary *with a great Army.*

The Spring now come, and all things freſh and green, *Solyman* altering nothing of his former determination, having levied an Army of an hundred and fifteen thouſand men, ſet forward from *Hadrianople*, his Europeian Horſemen going before him conducted by *Abraham* the great Baſſa, and *Achomates Michael-Ogli*, General of the Acanzij or voluntary Horſemen; and his Aſian Souldiers led by *Becrambeius* Baſſa following after him; he himſelf with his Janizaries and Souldiers of the Court keeping in the middle.

King John *cometh to* Solyman *at Belgrade.*

And marching on in this ſort, came in fifteen daies to *Belgrade*, where King *John* accompanied with *Laſcus* and ſuch of the Hungarian Nobility as took his part, came unto him, of purpoſe to make himſelf known unto him which was to protect him; and doing him all the honour he poſſibly could, to requeſt him to proceed to revenge his quarrel. *Solyman* with grave and yet friendly countenance, raiſing himſelf a little from the Cuſhion whereon he ſate, gave him his right hand, proteſting, That nothing could happen unto him better, or that he more deſired of God, than to be able to relieve diſtreſſed Princes, eſpecially ſuch as were wrongfully oppreſſed by his Enemies; wherefore he willed him to be of good comfort, promiſing of his bounty frankly to beſtow upon him whatſoever he ſhould in that War win with the Sword from the Enemy. King *John* obtained this rare favour of *Solyman* by the earneſt mediation of *Abraham* the commanding Baſſa; whom he had before at *Conſtantinople* by his Embaſſador *Laſcus* ſo now with Gifts and Requeſts, that he throughly took upon him the defence of the Kings cauſe; wherein *Laſcus* was eſpecially holpen by *Aloyſius Grittus* the Duke of *Venice* his Son, who then followed the Turks Camp, and was for his Fathers ſake and the great ſufficiency he held himſelf, had in great reputation amongſt the Turks; and in ſuch favour with *Abraham*, who did all in all with *Solyman*, that he could perſwade him to any thing he would. For this *Aloyſius Grittus*, born and brought up in *Conſtantinople*, and wonderful eloquent in the Turkiſh Tongue, had by the honourable carriage of himſelf, and the great Port he kept in his Houſe, ſo throughly poſſeſſed *Abraham* (that all commanded) that he would many times bring *Solyman* himſelf over the Haven to *Pera*, to ſolace himſelf in *Grittus* his pleaſant Gardens and Banqueting Houſes, which he had there moſt ſumptuouſly made after the Italian manner; whereby to his great profit he obtained to be the chief man in receiving of the Turks Cuſtoms.

Solyman *enters* Buda *without reſiſtance, and beſieged the Caſtle.*

The fame of *Solymans* coming directly from *Belgrade* to *Buda*, ſo terrified the Citizens of *Buda*, that they almoſt all forſook the City and fled unto other places further off, ſome to *Strigonium*, ſome to *Alba Regalis*, ſome to *Poſſonium*; ſo that at his firſt coming he entred the City (almoſt deſolate) without any reſiſtance; the Caſtle holden by a Garriſon of Germans, he commanded to be beſieged. The Captain of the Caſtle was one *Thomas Nadaſtus*, a man of great account among the Hungarians, both for the honour of his Houſe, and his qualities anſwerable to the ſame, graced with ſingular Learning; he perceiving his Souldiers diſmaied with the ſight of ſo great an Army, and willing to ſurrender up the Caſtle; as beſeemed a valiant Captain, forbad his Souldiers to have any talk with the Enemy, commanded the great Artillery to be bent and diſcharged upon the Turks; and ſeeing his Souldiers ſlack and timerous, reproved them of Cowardiſe and Treaſon, threatning them with ſhameful death if they did not hold out the Siege to the uttermoſt, and ſhew themſelves valiant men, both for the honour of their Country, and of King *Ferdinand* whoſe Pay they received, and of whoſe bounty they were to expect Rewards and Preferments anſwerable to their Deſerts. But they miſdoubting by the running too and fro of the Turks, that the Caſtle was undermined; and ſmelling, or at leaſtwiſe imagining themſelves to ſmell the ſent of the Gunpowder, which they ſuppoſed to be in the Mine, and doubting to be preſently blown up; were ſtruck with ſuch a ſuddain fear, that neither the fear of future puniſhment, neither the ſhame of ſo foul a Fact, nor the reverence of ſo worthy a Captain could ſtay them, but that they would needs without further delay deliver up the Caſtle; which when they could by no means perſwade the reſolute Captain to conſent to, but that he ſtill with ſtern Countenance exclaimed againſt their Cowardiſe and Treaſon, they laid hands on him, and bound him Hand and Foot, and ſo preſently concluded with the Enemy to yield to him the Caſtle, ſo that they might in ſafety depart thence with Bag and Baggage; which their Requeſt *Solyman* granted. But when the Garriſon Souldiers (in number about ſeven hundred) were about to depart with their baggage towards *Poſſonium*, as was before agreed; and the Janizaries coming into the Caſtle, having looſed the Captain, were about to let him go alſo; *Solyman* advertiſed of the treachery of the Garriſon Souldiers, and of the Fidelity of the Captain, changing his mind, judged ſuch villanous minded men unworthy of his mercy, and in deteſtation of their perfideous dealing with their Captain, gave them all to his Janizaries to be ſlain; but to the Captain himſelf he offered honourable entertainment, which when he refuſed, *Solyman* courteouſly ſent him away; holpen therein by the commendation of King *John*, although his Siſter was married to *Stephanus Maylat* his deadly Enemy. Which bloody execution done by the commandment of the bloody Tyrant, the Turks ſaid was not only lawfully done, but alſo to the immortal glory of his name in the execution of Juſtice; which might peradventure ſeem reaſonable, if the perpetual hatred of that moſt barbarous Nation againſt the Chriſtians gave not juſt occaſion of ſuſpect, that it proceeded rather of their ancient malice, than of any regard of Juſtice. For why ſhould the Germans, who had offended to his great good, and therefore obtained his ſafe conduct, be thought worthy of ſo cruel death? when as *Solyman* himſelf in puniſhing the perjury of another, ran into wilful perjury himſelf; perverting the commendation of Juſtice which he ſo much deſired, by his moſt bloody and unjuſt ſentence.

Solyman *contrary to his promiſe cauſeth the Garriſon Souldiers after they had delivered the Caſtle, to be ſlain.*

Buda the chief City of *Hungary* thus taken by *Solyman*, he reſolved forthwith to beſiege *Vienna* the chief City of *Auſtria*; in good hope, that by the carriage away of that, the other Cities of leſs ſtrength both of *Hungary* and *Auſtria* would without any reſiſtance be yielded unto him. Wherefore he ſent before him *Achometes* with the voluntary Horſemen, who according to the manner of the Turkiſh Wars, running through the heart of *Hungary*, and entring with Fire and Sword into *Auſtria*, paſſed by *Vienna*, miſerably burning and deſtroying the Country before him as far as *Lyntz*. The poor People not knowing where to hide themſelves from the fury of their Enemies, nor of whom to crave help, fled as Men and Women diſmaied, carrying with them their beloved Children, the unfortunate pledges of their love, and what elſe they could, as things ſaved out of the midſt of the Fire. For whatſoever fell into the Enemies hand, was loſt without recure; the old men were ſlain, the young men led away into Captivity, Women raviſhed before their Husbands faces, and afterwards ſlain with their Children, young Infants were ript out of their Mothers Wombs, and others taken from their Breaſts were cut in pieces, or elſe thruſt upon ſharp Stakes, yielding up again that breath which they had but a little before received; with many other incredible Cruelties, which were then by the mercileſs Enemy committed. *Solyman* himſelf ſhortly after followed theſe forerunners, and feting forward with all his Army from *Buda* towards *Vienna*, by the way took the Caſtle of *Altenbourg*, whether by force or compoſition, is diverſly reported; of the Garriſon Souldiers there placed by King *Ferdinand*, he reſerved three hundred Bohemians, whom he commanded to follow his Camp. He alſo aſſaulted the little City of *Neapolis* ſeven times in one day, and was as often repulſed; but being loath to ſpend any longer time about a Town of ſo ſmall importance he forſook that, and held on his way to *Vienna*, whither he came about the ſix and twentieth day of *September*, and incamped in five places round about the City, with ſuch a World of People, that unto them which viewed his Camp from the higheſt Tower in *Vienna*, it ſeemed that the ground was for the ſpace of eight miles all covered with the multitude of his Tents and People. King *Ferdinand*, who from the time that he had by his Embaſſador *Oberdanſcus* received the hard anſwer from *Solyman*, alwaies ſtood in doubt of his coming; and beſide his own Forces (which were not great to oppoſe againſt ſo mighty an Enemy) craved Aid of the Chriſtian Princes his Neighbours, eſpecially of the Princes of the Empire; Who granting him Aid againſt the common Enemy, appointed *Frederick* Count Palatine of *Rhene* and Duke of *Bavaria*, General of their Forces. But whilſt the Germans after their manner, ſlowly ſet forward, and made leſs haſt than the greatneſs of the preſent danger required; *Solyman* coming in the mean time, had ſo belaid the City, that it was not poſſible for Duke *Fredrick* by any means to get into it, but was glad to ſtay with his Army at *Chremſe* about twelve miles from *Vienna*. A few days before by good hap, upon the report of the loſs of *Buda*, twenty thouſand Souldiers Horſemen and Footmen out of divers Countries, were in good time come to *Vienna*: Amongſt theſe, the chief Commanders was *Philip* the Palſgrave, Duke *Fredericks* Nephew (a young Gentleman of great Courage and Hope, ſent thither but a little before with a few Companies of Horſemen and Footmen by *Frederick* his Uncle, who was coming after with a greater power himſelf, but was now ſhut out of the City by *Solyman*) *Nicholaus* Count of *Salma*, the Lord *William Rogendorff*, Steward of the Kings Houſhold, *Joannes Cazzianer*, a noble man of *Croatia*, and afterwards Governor of *Vienna*; and next unto them, *Nicholaus Turrianus*, *Joannes Hardecus*, *Leonardus Velſius*, *Hector Ramſack*, Men both for their Birth and Valour of great account amongſt the Germans. The City of *Vienna* as it was of ſome good ſtrength toward the North, by reaſon of *Danubius*, ſo in other places it was at that time neither by Art nor Nature ſtrong. The Ditches, ſuch as they were, were altogether dry, and eaſie to be paſſed over; the Walls of Brick, built round without any Flankers, and neither high nor thick, but after the ancient ſimple manner of Fortification of Cities; for before that time neither had King *Ferdinand*, fearing no Enemy, neither they of *Vienna*, who had not of many years ſeen an Enemy, had any care to fortifie the City; but as men altogether buried in ſecurity, and nothing fearing the coming of ſo mighty an Enemy (although they were thereof before admoniſhed by *Oberdanſcus*) had not ſo much as caſt up any Rampier or Bulwark, more than at the Gate of *Carinthia*, whereon they might conveniently place their great Ordnance; ſo that of an hundred great Pieces, and three hundred others of leſs charge, which might have wonderfully annoyed the Enemy, a great part ſerved to no uſe for want of convenient place to mount them upon. Yet as the ſuddain coming of the Enemy, and the ſhortneſs of the time gave leave, ſuch Bulwarks as they could upon the ſuddain, they caſt up, and planted their Ordnance thereon. The City was divided into divers quarters, and to every part a ſtrong Garriſon appointed for the defence thereof; all the Gates of the City were mured up, except ſuch as were of purpoſe reſerved to ſally out at. Now had *Abraham* the great Baſſa encamped himſelf upon an high Hill, where ſtood a ruinous Caſtle, from whence he might overlook all the City; yet ſo, as that he lay out of danger of Gun ſhot. *Becrambeus*, *Solymans* great Commander in *Aſia*, lay at the Gate called *Purgatoria*, near the

Auſtria *ſpoiled by the Turks.*

Altenbourg *taken.*

Solyman *cometh to* Vienna.

Vienna *badly fortified.*

Church of Saint *Ulderick.* In the third Camp towards the riſing of the Hills, lay *Michael-Ogli*, towards the Church of Saint *Vitus.* At the Scottiſh Gate toward *Danubius*, lay the Aſpi, with divers Companies of the Janizaries; which with Shot out of their Trenches, ſuffered no man to appear upon the Walls in that quarter without moſt manifeſt danger, and poured ſuch ſhowers of Arrows over the Walls into City, as if they had fallen out of the Clouds; that hardly could any man ſtir in the City unarmed, but he was forthwith wounded. *Solyman* himſelf lay near unto Saint *Marks* Church, compaſſed about with the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court, defended alſo with the brick Walls of the Gardens thereabouts. Whilſt the Turks were thus incamping themſelves, the Chriſtian Defendants oftentimes fortunately ſallied out upon them, and ſlew many of them. In one of which ſallies *Wolfgangus Hagen* a valiant Captain, with cetain old Souldiers of the Spaniards, was ſlain fighting moſt valiantly at the Gates of the Caſtle; and in another skirmiſh *Chriſtopherus Zetlitz* a man of great courage, ſallying out of the City with five hundred Horſemen, even unto the Enemies Trenches, was intercepted and taken with ſix others of his Company; who were all compelled by the Turks to carry ſo many Heads of their ſlain Fellows upon Poles, and ſo preſented unto *Solyman*; of whom he inquired many things as well concerning *Ferdinand* himſelf, and where he was, as concerning the Princes which had the charge of the City, whether they were in hope to defend the ſame againſt his mighty power or not. Whereunto *Chriſtopherus* aptly and wiſely anſwered, although not altogether ſo truly, That King *Ferdinand* lay not far off at the City of *Lintz*, expecting the Aſſembly of a great Army; and that the Princes of *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and of divers other places were coming unto him, with great Aid; ſo that if he would but ſtay a little until his Forces were come together, he ſhould then ſee whether of them were of greater Strength and Power; foraſmuch as it would not be long before the King would come and give him Battel: as for the Princes in the City, he ſaid, he knew no more of their minds, but that both they and all the Souldiers from the higheſt to the loweſt, had ſolemnly ſworn to defend the City, and not to give it over, unto the laſt man, repoſing their hope not in the Walls and Fortreſſes thereof, but in their Weapons and Valour, being men of great reſolution, and not eaſily to be vanquiſhed or diſcouraged. With which anſwer although *Solyman* was a little moved, yet diſſembling his preſent heat, ſaid, he had hitherto made War againſt divers Nations, and alwaies had the Victory, whereof he doubted not now alſo; but as for him and the others taken with him, they knew they were in his power to ſave or kill at his pleaſure; yet to make them know that he could ſhew mercy unto his vanquiſhed Enemies, he frankly granted them their lives and liberty; charging them, that after they were again returned into the City, they ſhould in his name wiſh the Defendants of themſelves to yield up the City, which it was impoſſible for them long to defend againſt his mighty power, which neither the ſtrong City of *Belgrade*, nor the famous City of the *Rhodes* were able to withſtand; and to accept of ſuch reaſonable conditions as he ſhould grant unto them; promiſing that amongſt other things proceeding of his infinite bounty, he would take order, that they ſhould in ſafety depart thence with bag and baggage; in which doing, they ſhould well provide for the ſafety of themſelves and of their Goods, by flying unto his mercy in time, before the fury of the War was grown to further extremity; all which it would be too late to expect after the Victory, when nothing was to be hoped for but cruel death, murther, and miſerable deſtruction. Wherefore, it were good for them well to conſider of the matter, and not fooliſhly to refuſe that was now frankly offered them of mercy, which they ſhould not afterwards obtain with any Prayers or Tears; for why, he was reſolutely ſet down (as he ſaid) not to depart thence before he had taken the City. When he had thus ſchooled them, he gave unto every one of them three Hungarian Ducats, and ſo ſent them away. They being received into the City with great joy, made relation unto the Princes and great Captains, of all the threatning and proud ſpeeches of the Turkiſh Tyrant; which they took in ſuch diſdain, that they would not vouchaſe to return him any anſwer. *Solyman* not a little dipleaſed, that his great words were ſo lightly regarded, by way of deriſion ſent word to the City, That if they wanted help, he would ſend them the three hundred Bohemians, whom he took in the Caſtle of *Altenbourg*; to whom anſwer was returned by them of the City, That they needed no help from him, wherefore he might diſpoſe of his Priſoners as he thought good. By this, *Solyman* perceived, that *Vienna* was not to be won with words, nor the Defendants to be diſcouraged with great looks; wherefore he began to uſe his Force, and with ſuch Ordnance as he had brought with him to batter the Walls; which becauſe it was not great, but fitter for ſervice in Field than for battery, did not much more harm than to beat down the Battlements and ſuch like ſtandings, made of Timber and Boards in manner of Galleries, hanging here and there over the Wall, for the ſmall Shot to play out of, a ſimple device inſtead of Flankers. His great Artillery provided for battery was coming up the River of *Danubius*, which he dayly looked for; but by good hap, *Wolfgangus Hoder*, a forward Captain, hearing of the Turks coming up the River, went out of *Poſſonium* with certain ſmall Veſſels well appointed, and meeting with the Turks, ſet upon them with ſuch courage and reſolution that he ſlew many of them, and ſunk divers of their Boats and Pinnaces, amongſt whom were they which were bringing up *Solymans* great Pieces for battery to *Vienna*; which was there all ſunk in the River, with the Boats that brought it. By this good ſervice, *Solyman* was diſappointed of his great Artillery, and the City delivered of a great danger. So *Wolfgangus* having made great Spoil among the Turks, and loſt ſome few men, returned with Victory to *Poſſonium*. Yet another part of the Turks Fleet coming up to *Vienna*, at the firſt coming brake down all the Bridges; for a little above the City, the River of *Danubius* dividing its Channel, maketh divers Iſlands, which by ſundry Bridges are joyned together, over which lieth the way from *Auſtria* unto the City. This Fleet ſo kept the paſſage, that no man could without danger either by Water or by Land go in or out of the City. *Solyman* having loſt all his Pieces for Battery, and ſeeing how little he prevailed with his Field-Pieces, fell to undermining of the City, hoping by that means to overthrow the Walls, and to make a way for his men to enter. This work, as the Turks chief hope, was with wonderful labor and diligence attempted in fifteen ſundry places; which was not ſo ſecretly done, but that it was by Drums laid upon the ground, by Baſons filled with Water, and Sounds made into the Earth, perceived by the Defendants;

Solyman *releaſeth the Chriſtian Princes without ranſome.*

and ſo with Countermines met withal, that moſt part of thoſe works were utterly fruſtrated, and in them eight thouſand of his Turks either ſlain or buried quick.

Eight thouſand Turks loſt in the Mines.

The walls of Vienna *blown up.*

The Turks repulſed from the breach.

A moſt terrible Aſſault.

The Turks the third time repulſed.

Solyman to buſie the Defendants that they ſhould not ſo perfectly diſcover his Mines, divided his Army into four parts, appointing them orderly to ſucceed one after another in giving Alarms to the Town, that filling their Ears with continual noiſe, he might keep them always occupied. In the midſt of the hurly burly his Mine-works went forward with all ſpeed poſſible, neither was he in that his expectation deceived; for one of the Mines brought to perfection, unperceived by the Defendants, and ſuddainly blown up, ſhook and overthrew a great part of the Wall near unto the Gate which leadeth towards *Carinthia*, whereat the Turks gave a great ſhout, as if the City had now been taken, and withal couragiouſly ſtepping forward, preſſed in on all ſides, by the ruins of the Wall to have entred the breach, charging the Defendants with their ſmall Shot and Turkiſh Arrows as thick as Hail. Who on the contrary part like reſolute Men ſtood in the face of the breach, with more aſſurance than the Wall it ſelf, receiving them with deadly Shot and puſh of Pike, in ſuch furious manner, that the Turks for all their multitude, unable longer to maintain the Aſſault, began to retire. Which thing *Solyman* perceiving, ſent in new ſupplies, and ſo renewed the Aſſault before given over, but with no better ſucceſs than before; for having received a great overthrow, as Men forgetting both Duty and martial Diſcipline, they retied, not expecting any ſign of Retreat. At this Aſſault ſo many of the Turks were ſlain, that the ground near unto the Town lay covered, and the Ditches filled with their dead Bodies. Not long after the Wall was blown up in two places more, over againſt St. *Clares* Church; by which breach, being not very great, the Turks ſeeking to have entred, made a bloody Fight with the Germans which defended, that place; which they fought ſo deſperately to have entred, that without regard they thruſt one another upon the points of their Enemies Weapons; who gliſtering in good Armor, readily received them being for moſt part naked Men, and ſlew them without number, and ſo enforced them again diſorderly to retire, having before filled both the breaches with their dead Carkaſes. Three days after enſued a moſt cruel Fight, when as another part of the Wall (near unto the Gate of *Carinthia*, and not far from the firſt breach) was ſo ſuddainly overthrown, that the Turks through the new made breach ſeeing the Chriſtians as they ſtood ready to come to the defence thereof, and likewiſe the Chriſtians them, now approaching; for eagerneſs and haſt on both ſides threw away their Pieces and Bows, and came to handy blows in the middle of the breach; the Turks with their Scimiters, and the Germans with their long Swords. At which time, as the Chriſtian Captains encouraged their Souldiers with chearful perſwaſions; ſo the Turkiſh Commanders enforced forward their Turks both with words and wounds. The Aſſault began ſo terrible, that it was thought a more fierce and deadly Fight was never ſeen from the beginning of the World; which was with great reſolution maintained by the Turks, for that many of their moſt valiant Horſemen forſaking their Horſes, thruſt in with their Targets and Scimiters, or elſe with their Lances amongſt the Janizaries and other Footmen, and there fought moſt deſperately. At laſt, after this furious Fight had endured by the ſpace of three hours and many of the Turks beſt Captains and Souldiers lay dead upon the ground by heaps; the Turks ſeeing no hope to prevail, gave over the Aſſault, and retired to their Camp.

The Lord William Rogendorffe.

Vienna again aſſaulted.

The Turks repulſed.

Long and tedious it were to recount every Aſſault given during the time of that dreadful Siege, with every particular accident not unworthy the remembrance, which for brevity wittingly I paſs over. Yet among the reſt, the moſt valiant Leader (though afterward unfortunate) the Lord *William Rogendorffe* is not to be forgotten, who oftentimes perceiving many of the Turks ſtragling diſorderly abroad in the Country, one day upon the ſuddain ſallied out upon them with certain Troops of Horſemen, with ſuch violence, that at the firſt onſet he overthrew them, and having them in chaſe, did ſuch ſpeedy execution, that of five thouſand three hundred ſcarce one hundred and forty eſcaped his hands; after which time his Name became terrible unto the Turks. *Solyman* was exceedingly grieved with the often and bloody Aſſaults by him in vain given to the City; but purpoſing now to prove the laſt and utmoſt of all his Forces, he called to him the chief Commanders of his Army, whom at the firſt he ſharply reproved as Men of no Courage, which being many times as good as poſſeſſed of the Victory, had moſt cowardly contrary to the manner of that victorious Nation, turned their backs upon their Enemies, in the breaches already half won; wherefore he willed them to pluck up their Hearts, and to make all things ready for a new Aſſault, wherein he expected that they ſhould with couragious forwardneſs and reſolution, recompence their late Cowardiſe; for why, he accounted it a great diſhonour to forſake the Siege begun; wherefore they ſhould reſolve the next day as victorious Conquerors to take the City, or elſe there as faint hearted Cowards to end their days. The next day after this heavy charge given, which was the fifteenth of *October*, the great Commanders of the Turks Army with all their Forces aſſailed the City, thruſting their Men into the breaches by heaps, as if they would, if no way elſe, yet with very multitude (if it had been poſſible) have diſcouraged or overborn the Chriſtians; they were come to handy Blows, and the Fight was in every place moſt terrible, the Chriſtian Defendants ſtill repulſing them with greater Courage than they were able to aſſail them. Beſides that, to the great advantage of the Defendants, many Pieces of their great Ordnance ſkilfully mounted in places moſt convenient, and continually diſcharged among the thickeſt of their Enemies as they preſſed on, made of them ſuch ſlaughter, and ſo cut them off, that being throughly diſcouraged, they ſhrunk back, and could not by any threats or command of their Captains be thruſt forward; chuſing rather to be ſlain of their own Captains (as ſome of them were) than to be rent in ſunder with the murthering ſhot of the Chriſtians. So that the Captains ſeeing now no other remedy, gave over the Aſſault and retired, leaving behind them many thouſands of their dead Turks in the Town-ditches.

The next day after this Aſſault, *Solyman* deſpairing to win the City, and fearing the coming of King *Ferdinand* and the Count Palatine with a ſtrong Army, as it had been to him reported, conſidering alſo that Winter was now coming faſt on, determined to raiſe his Siege; and to colour the diſhonour thereof, he ſent certain of the chief Priſoners which he had taken, richly Apparelled, with their Purſes full of Mony, into the City, to tell the Captains, that he came not with purpoſe either to beſiege or take the City, but to revenge the wrongs done unto him by his Enemy King *Ferdinand*, and to have fought a Battel with him for the Kingdom of *Hungary*; whom foraſmuch as he could not draw unto *Vienna*, he would remove thence to ſeek for him, as his Capital Enemy; wherefore they ſhould do well to yield themſelves; which if they would, he promiſed not to enter their City, but to receive both the Citizens and Souldiers into his protection, reſerving unto them their Lives and Goods, with perpetual freedom. Which his offer the Defendants ſcornfully refuſed, as proceeding of meer deſparation. The next night following, *Solyman* with more than barbarous Cruelty, cauſed all the Priſoners in his Army to be ſlain, which pitiful Outcries was of the Souldiers heard into the City, not knowing what the matter ſhould be, until that the next day after the departure of the Enemy, they found the dead Bodies of Men, Women, and Children in all places of the Camp wallowed in their own Blood, a moſt lamentable Spectacle to behold. *Solyman* purpoſing to forſake the Siege, cauſed *Abraham* the great Baſſa to ſhew himſelf in order of Battel, as if he would have given a freſh Aſſault: In the mean time he himſelf roſe upon the ſuddain with the reſt of his Army, and returned towards *Buda* in ſuch haſt, that he neither put any Garriſon into ſuch places as he had taken, neither demanded of them any Tribute. After whom the Baſſa followed, keeping himſelf a days journey behind him; and ſo in five days he arrived with all his Army at *Buda*, thirty two German Miles from *Vienna*.

Solyman *raiſeth his Siege.*

Eighty thouſand Turks loſt at the Siege of Vienna.

This Siege was given over by *Solyman* about the ſixteenth of *October*, wherein he is reported to have loſt eighty thouſand Men, amongſt whom was his great Lieutenant of *Aſia*, with many other of his forward Captains and beſt Souldiers. Of the Defendants few or none of name were loſt; but of the Country People it is ſuppoſed that there was about ſixty thouſand ſlain and carried away into Captivity; all the Country about *Vienna* was miſerably ſpoiled, all their Trees and Vines being by the Turks cut down to the ground. *Solyman* according to his promiſe reſtored *Buda* unto King *John*; who by ſolemn writing acknowledged himſelf his Vaſſal, and to hold the Kingdom of *Hungary* of him as his Lord and Sovereign. Unto him *Solyman* joyned *Aloyſius Grittus* as his Legate, to help him to provide ſuch things as ſhould be needful for the defence of that Kingdom.

Solyman *reſtoreth the Kingdom of* Hungary *to King* John.

It hapned one day whilſt *Solyman* lay at *Buda*, and had given King *John* with divers of the Nobility of *Hungary* acceſs into his Pavillion, that he fell earneſtly in hand with King *John*, to pardon *Paulus* Biſhop of *Strigonium*, and *Petrus Parenus* (who had taken part with King *Ferdinand*) and to receive them into his favour again; which Men King *John* in no caſe liked of, becauſe that they as Traitors unto their Prince and Country, forgetting their Faith and Oath, had performed the like duty to *Ferdinand*, as they had but a little before done unto him at the time of his Coronation; wherein he ſhewing himſelf unwilling to be entreated, ſaid, That their mutable Minds fraught with Infidelity, would never contain themſelves within the bounds of Loyalty, but find occaſion to commit ſome fouler Treaſon than they had before. Whereunto *Solyman* ſtraining his Voice a little as one ſomewhat moved, moſt honourably replied, *Can any thing* (ſaid he) *happen unto thee in thy life better or more honourable, than if by this kindneſs thine Enemies ſhall be of all Men accounted Ingrateful, that is to ſay, Men noted with eternal Infamy, when as in thy ſelf the commendation of a good and courteous Prince ſhall for ever remain?* And ſo not long after, fearing the cold of Winter then approaching, dangerous for his Beaſts for Carriage, eſpecially his Camels, bred and brought up in the hot Countries of *Aſia*; he ſet forward to *Belgrade*, and ſo travelling through *Thracia*, returned to *Conſtantinople*.

The honourable ſaying of Solyman *to* King John

All this while that *Solyman* thus raged in *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, *Charles* the Emperor lately reconciled to *Clement* the ſeventh of that Name, then Biſhop of *Rome*, with a ſtrong Army beſieged *Florence*, by his Lieutenant *Davalus*, (who might have done much againſt the Turks, if he had been ſo well imployed) labouring by all means to repreſs the liberty of the Citizens, whereunto they had but a little before aſpired, and to bring them again under the ſubjection of the Family of *Medices*, whereof *Clement* was the chief. Which thing with much ado he brought to paſs, inveſting *Alexander* the Biſhops Nephew in the Dukedom of *Florence*, and afterward giving him his baſe Daughter in Marriage; forgetting his Brother *Ferdinand* in the mean time, thruſt out of the Kingdom of *Hungary* by *Solyman*, and the Dukedom of *Auſtria* waſted by the Turks, with the City of *Vienna* in danger to have been loſt. Which common calamities might well have moved both the Emperor and the Biſhop, to have had more regard of, than by oppreſſing the liberty of one free City, to ſeek how to ſerve their own private reſpects.

1530.
Solyman *Circumciſeth his three Sons.*

The year following, which was 1530, *Solyman* with great Solemnity and Triumph, after the Turkiſh manner, Circumciſed three of his Sons, *Muſtapha*, *Muhamet*, and *Selymus*, at *Conſtantinople*.

Solyman hardly diſgeſting the diſhonour he had before received at *Vienna*, and oftentimes ſolicited by King *John*, for aid againſt *Ferdinand*, who with greater ſtomack than power ceaſed, not continually to moleſt him; but moſt of all prickt forward with the inſatiable deſire of inlarging his Empire, after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings, accounting his Neighbour Princes always his Enemies, and their Dominions the objects of his Victories, and ſpoil for his Souldiers; raiſed ſuch an Army, as for the greatneſs thereof might worthily have been a terror unto the World; not ſo much purpoſing the protection of King *John*, which he in ſhew moſt pretended; neither the Siege of *Vienna*, as was commonly bruted; as the conquering of *Auſtria*, *Carinthia*, *Croatia*, *Styria*, and the reſt of King *Ferdinands* Dominions, and ſo afterwards of all *Germany*. For the accompliſhment whereof, he had in his immoderate deſire prefixed unto himſelf the ſpace of three years, which the great Monarchs of *Rome* could not perform in more than ſo many Hundreds. It was commonly reported, that the proud Tyrant would many times ſay, That whatſoever belonged unto the Empire of *Rome*, was of right his, foraſmuch as he was rightfully poſſeſſed both of the Imperial Seat and Scepter of *Conſtantine* the Great, Commander of the World, which his great Grandfather *Mahomet* had by law of Arms won from *Conſtantine* the late Chriſtian Emperor, whom he ſlew at *Conſtantinople*. And therefore both in his common talk and writings, as oft as he had occaſion to make any mention of *Charles* the Emperor, he would proudly, and as it were in diſdain to term him by the name of the King of *Spain*, but never by the name of Emperor.

The

King Ferdinand *ſends Embaſſadors to* Solyman.

The preparation of Charles *the Emperor againſt* Solyman.

The diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes, and the great troubles even then ariſing in *Germany* about matters of Religion, did not a little encourage the barbarous Tyrant to take in hand this great expedition. King *Ferdinand* certainly advertiſed, that *Solyman* was in perſon himſelf ſetting forward with his huge Army, ſent unto him three Embaſſadors; whereof *Leonardus Negarola*, a noble Gentleman, well learned and skilful in divers Languages, was chief, with rich Preſents, and reaſonable offers to entreat with him for Peace. Who meeting him upon the borders of *Servia*, were by him courteouſly received, and patiently heard; yet obtained of him no other anſwer, but that they ſhould follow his Camp, and attend his further pleaſure. The report whereof brought a general fear upon all *Germany*, but eſpecially them of *Auſtria*, in whoſe freſh remembrance as yet remained the bleeding Wounds of their Country, their Brethren and Friends ſlain, their Wives and Children led away into Captivity, their Goods and Cattel loſt, their Houſes and Fields burnt, and thouſands of other grievous calamities which they had endured in the late Invaſion of the Turks. *Charles* the Emperor had in very good time a little before, for a while well appeaſed the diſſention then ariſing in *Germany* about matters of Religion; putting them in hope of a free and general Council to be holden for the deciding of all ſuch matters; and in a great Aſſembly of the States of the Empire to be holden at *Ratisbon*, ſhewing the greatneſs of the imminent danger, ſo puiſſant an Enemy threatning unto them all the calamities of War, with the manifold miſchiefs like to enſue, if they ſhould in ſo unfit time fall at variance amongſt themſelves; offering with great reſolution, to go in perſon himſelf with all his old expert Souldiers, in defence of the common Chriſtian cauſe; ſo much prevailed with the Princes of the Empire, and the Embaſſadors of the free States, that they highly commended his forwardneſs, and all other matters for that time ſet apart, agreed all with one conſent, at a prefixed day to ſend unto *Vienna* ſuch warlike Forces as they had in any time before ſet forth for the defence of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Majeſty of the Empire. Whereupon he wrote unto *Alphonſius Vaſtius* (his Lieutenant General in *Italy*, and one of the greateſt Captains of that age) that he ſhould without delay call together the old Captains, and to levy ſo many Companies of Harquebuſiers as they poſſibly could; and with them and the Spaniſh Souldiers to repair forthwith unto him into *Auſtria*. He alſo enjoyned *Andreas Auria* his Admiral, that he ſhould with like diligence rig up a ſtrong Fleet of Gallies and Merchants Ships, and to go againſt the Turks Navy into *Gracia*. At the ſame time he ſent for his choice Horſemen out of *Burgundy* and the Low-Countries, and many noble Gentlemen and old Souldiers out of *Spain*; for the guard of his own perſon he entertained twelve thouſand *Germans*, ſuch as had longeſt ſerved in his Wars in *Italy*, over whom commanded *Maximilian Herberſtene* and *Tamiſius*, both famous Captains. At the ſame time *Clement* the ſeventh then Biſhop of *Rome*, although his Coffers were greatly emptied by the late *Florentine* Wars, which had coſt him ten hundred thouſand Ducats; yet to make ſome ſhew of his devotion in ſo dangerous a time, with the great good will he bare unto the Emperor; after he had with grievous exaction extorted from the Clergy a great maſs of Mony (whereunto his rich Cardinals contributed nothing, as if it had been a thing utterly unlawful for them, in ſo good a cauſe to have abated any jot of their pontifical ſhew in the Court of *Rome*) ſent the young Cardinal *Hippolitus Medices* his Nephew, being then about twenty years of age, a Man indeed fitter for the Wars than for the Church, as his Legate unto the Emperor, accompanied with more good Captains than Clergy-men, and his Coffers well ſtuffed with Treaſure, whoſe coming to *Ratisbone* was unto the Emperor and the Germans very welcome; for beſides that he was a young Gentlemen of very comly Perſonage, and exceeding Bountiful, he entertained for thoſe Wars (beſides the Company he brought with him) eight thouſand Hungarian Horſemen, of all others beſt acquainted with the Turkiſh Wars.

Strigonium *beſieged by King* John.

King *John* underſtanding, that the formoſt of *Solymans* great Army were come as far as *Samandria* in *Servia*, thought it now a fit time to wring from King *Ferdinand* ſuch Towns as he yet held in *Hungary*; wherefore he ſent *Aloyſius Grittus* (whom *Solyman* had left as a helper for his Eſtate) to beſiege *Strigonium*, which is a City of *Hungary* ſituate upon the ſide of *Danubius*, about thirty Miles from *Buda*, the Caſtle thereof was at that time holden with a ſtrong Garriſon of King *Ferdinands*; whereunto for all that *Grittus* laid ſuch hard Siege both by the River and by Land, that the Defendants doubting how they ſhould be able to hold out, eſpecially if *Solyman* ſhould take that in his way, as it was moſt like he would; ſent for relief to *Cazzianer* a warlike Captain, then Governour of *Vienna*, and General of all King *Ferdinands* Forces; by whoſe appointment certain ſmall Frigats were ſent down the River of *Danubius*, from *Poſſonium*, well manned; who ſuddainly ſetting upon the Turks Fleet (which ſo kept the River, that nothing could that way poſſibly be conveied either in or out of the Caſtle) ſhould by their unexpected coming open that way. But *Grittus* having intelligence thereof by certain Hungarians, which though they ſerved King *Ferdinand*, made no great account to flie ſometime to the one part, ſometime to the other, as beſt fitted their purpoſe; preſently reſolved to ſend his Fleet up the River, and by his ſuddain coming to oppreſs his Enemies, in like ſort as they had thought to have done him. And the more to encourage his Souldiers, he promiſed great rewards to all ſuch as ſhould perform any extraordinary piece of ſervice in that Action; and ſo having throughly furniſhed all his Fleet with good Souldiers, but eſpecially with Turkiſh Archers, ſent them up the River to ſeek their Enemies; who fearing no ſuch matter, as Men ſurpriſed with the ſame miſchief they had prepared for others, were at the firſt exceedingly diſmaied; yet conſidering that they were reaſonably well provided for their coming (although they yet wanted ſuch help as *Cazzianer* had appointed to ſend them) they thought it a great ſhame to flie, and therefore putting themſelves in order of Battel, came down the River, and with great courage encountred their Enemy. There began a ſharp and cruel Fight, many being ſlain and wounded on both ſides; but at laſt they of *Poſſonium* not able longer to endure the deadly ſhot of their Enemies, and eſpecially of the Turkiſh Archers, (who with their Arrows ſore gauled both the Souldiers and the Mariners) they turned their backs and fled; in which Fight of ſixty Frigats which came from *Poſſonium*, only thirteen eſcaped, with *Corporanus* the General, all the reſt being either ſunk in the Fight, or elſe taken by the Enemy, being run aſhore and forſaken by the Poſſonians, truſting more unto their Legs by Land, than their Oars by Water.

Beſides this loſs of the Frigats, there was ſlain of the Poſſonians almoſt five hundred. After this Victory, *Grittus* hoping that they in the Caſtle of *Strigonium*, deſpairing now of relief, and fearing the coming of *Solyman*, would not long hold out, left off to batter or undermine the Caſtle, (wherewith he perceived he little prevailed) purpoſing by lying ſtill, and keeping them in the Caſtle from all relief, to enforce them in time to forſake the place. Thus whilſt the divided Hungarians with their own hands inconſiderately ſought one anothers deſtruction, with the ruin of their Country; *Solyman* the great Enemy of all Chriſtians was ready at their backs to devour both the one and the other, as in few years after he did.

Much about this time the old Spaniſh Souldiers in *Italy*, drawn together by *Vaſtius*, as the Emperor had before commanded, were come to the *Alpes*. In this Camp, of one ſort of Men and other, was above twenty thouſand, whereof almoſt the third part was not ſerviceable; for the old Souldiers enriched with the long Wars in *Italy*, and the ſpoil of the rich Country of *Lumbardy*, wherein they had of late been Billited, brought with them all their old gotten ſpoils and ſubſtance, not forgetting ſo much as their Women, and whatſoever elſe ſerved their pleaſure; for carriage whereof they drew after them a great multitude of Carriages and unneceſſary People, all which ſerved for no other uſe but for the Souldiers pleaſure, and to conſume Victuals. Which their licentious wantonneſs *Vaſtius* deſiring to reform, gave ſtrait commandment through all the Camp, That they ſhould leave behind them all ſuch unneceſſary Baggage, and appointed what Carriages ſhould ſuffice for every Company. Whereat the Souldiers began at the firſt to murmure, and preſently after to ariſe up in Mutiny; for many of the Captains being rich, and diſliking of that long and dangerous expedition, covertly incited the common Souldiers to cry out upon *Vaſtius* the General, for their Pay already due. Which thing once put into their heads, and the matter ſet on foot, quickly grew to that height, that they all with one voice ſaid flatly, That they would go no foot further before they had received their Pay. *Vaſtius* although he well perceived that tumult to be raiſed by ſome of his Enemies, which ſought thereby to lighten his credit, was glad for all that for the preſent to diſſemble the matter, and yielding to the neceſſity of the time, to content the mutinous Souldiers with one months Pay, promiſing them their full contentment, at ſuch time as they ſhould come unto the Emperor; and ſo when he had with much ado appeaſed that Tumult, he ſet forward into *Germany*.

Mutiny, among the Spaniſh Souldiers.

Immediately after the Spaniards followed the Italians, who with ſuch chearfulneſs offered themſelves to that ſervice, that every Captain brought with him twice ſo many in his Company as was expected; ſo that *Vaſtius* (who before doubtful for their forwardneſs in ſo dangerous a War, eſpecially in the aid of the Germans, of whom they had in the late Wars received great harms, had by great and earneſt perſwaſions induced divers of the Nobility, and others of the better ſort, to enter into that honourable Action, in hope that they would draw after them great numbers of their Friends and Tenants, (as indeed they did) was now glad to ſend back again many of the common Souldiers, by reaſon of the multitude; and alſo to his great diſcredit, and the offence of many, full ſore againſt his will to diſplace moſt part of thoſe forward Gentlemen, whom he had but a little before made Captains, who to their no ſmall charge had gallantly furniſhed themſelves according to their degrees and places; for the Emperor had then appointed what number of Italians he ſhould bring; and alſo given commandment, That rejecting the reſt, he ſhould commit the leading of them only to thoſe old expert Captains, of whoſe valour and diſcretion he had before had good experience. There were *Martius Columnus, Petrus Maria Rabeus, Philippus Torniellus, Joannes Baptiſta Caſtalius, Fabritius Maramaldus, Pyrrhus Stipcianus*, and *Camillus Columna*, being all Men of great worth, and approved faith towards the Emperor.

In theſe Italian Companies were fourteen thouſand ſelect Footmen, beſide many other brave Men who voluntarily reſorted from divers places to *Vienna*. After theſe Footmen followed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* with two thouſand Horſemen, and certain Troops of Grecians and Spaniards, and with them came many noble Gentlemen out of all parts of *Italy*, who had before been great Commanders, but now ſerved as private Gentlemen voluntarily without charge or pay; accounting it a great ſhame to tarry at home as Cowards, and not to be preſent in that religious War.

The Emperor alſo about the ſame time having taken view of his Horſemen come out of the Low-Countries moſt excellently appointed, and Shipping his great Ordnance, whereof he had bought great ſtore at *Nurembergh*, departed down the River from *Ratiſbone* to *Lyntz*. The River of *Danubius* never carried ſo many Veſſels and Souldiers ſince the time of the great Roman Emperors, as it did at that preſent; and yet beſides them which went down the River by Shipping, the pleaſant Banks on both ſides were filled with great Companies of Horſemen and Footmen paſſing all alongſt the River under their Colours, with their Drums and Trumpets ſounding, which altogether made the moſt glorious ſhew that a Man could well behold upon earth.

1532. Solyman *cometh into* Hungary.

In the mean while, *Solyman* in ſix and fifty days march come to *Belgrade*, thruſt over the great River *Savus* by Bridges made in divers places, an infinite number of his Horſemen into *Hungary*, and leaving *Danubius* on the right hand, turning a little upon the left, marched directly towards the rich Country of *Stiria*, called in ancient time *Valeria*, and now *Stiermark*. By the way as he went he came to the little Town of *Gunza*, which one *Nicholas Juriſchitz* (a Man of an invincible Courage) kept with a ſmall Garriſon of his own. This Town ſtandeth in a Plain not far from the City of *Sabaria*, built ſquare, and but of a ſmall compaſs, not very ſtrongly walled, a poor obſcure thing, never famous till now by the great diſhonour that the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman* there received. *Abraham* the chief Baſſa (who ſo abſolutely commanded among the Turks, as if *Solyman* had received him into the fellowſhip of the Empire with himſelf) was very deſirous to ſave this Captain *Nicholas*, for that he knew him to be a Man of great Courage, and was familiarly acquainted with him at ſuch time as he lay Embaſſador a *Conſtantinople*; wherefore he attempted firſt by gentle perſwaſions and large offers, and afterwards by moſt terrible threats, to induce him to yield the Town to *Solyman*. But finding him ſo reſolutely ſet down, that he was neither by fair nor foul means, but only by force to be removed out of his Town; he incloſed the ſame round about with the huge Army of the Turks, and by Mines overthrew the Walls in three places. Which ſuddain breach whilſt the Garriſon Souldiers moſt

Gunza *beſieged by the Turks.*

valiantly defended againſt the furious Aſſault of the Janizaries on the South ſide of the Town, the Baſſa planting his Field-pieces upon the Hills on the North ſide, did from thence grievouſly annoy the Defendants; who fiercely aſſailed by their Enemies before, and beaten with the great Ordnance behind, were grievouſly diſtreſſed. Wherewith the worthy Governour ſomewhat troubled, though not much diſcouraged, ſuddainly of Timber and Boords raiſed up a Curtain twelve foot high, at the backs of his Souldiers, wherewith they were ſo covered from the ſight of their Enemies, that they could not make any certain ſhot at them, but only at that Curtain at all adventures, not doing any thing ſo great harm as before; and with deſperate and reſtleſs labour, in deſpight of all the Turks great power, repaired the Breaches, in as ſtrong manner as at the firſt. In the mean time two hundred of the Turks Horſemen ſtragling from the Camp, and ſeeking after Booty into the Country as far as *Neoſtat*, were by the Hungarian Horſemen intercepted, and all ſlain or taken; whoſe heads the Hungarians brought to *Vienna*, and the more to encourage the Souldiers which daily repaired thither, in token of good luck ſet them up upon ſtakes upon the Walls of the City.

The huge Army of Solyman.

Then was it certainly known of the Priſoners, that *Solyman* had in his Camp five hundred thouſand Men, and three hundred Field-pieces, which were not of greater bigneſs but that a Camel might well carry one of them, being taken from the Carriage; for why, *Solyman* purpoſing by deſtroying the Country before him, to draw the Emperor unto Battel; had (as they ſaid) brought no greater pieces of Battery with him.

Solymans *proud Letters unto the Emperor* Charles *and King* Ferdinand.

Which report of the Priſoners was alſo confirmed by the Embaſſadors of King *Ferdinand*, whom *Solyman* gave leave to depart at *Gunza*, giving to every one of them a Gown of Velvet and a piece of Plate, with Letters unto the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* his Brother; wherein proudly uſurping the Titles of many Kingdoms, he moſt inſolently wrote himſelf Lord and Sovereign of almoſt all Countries and Nations. But the effect thereof was, That he was come into *Hungary*, to revenge the wrongs which they had done unto King *John* his Friend and Vaſſal; and would with Fire and Sword enter their Countries, and by the power of God and his great Prophet *Mahomet*, the favourers of juſt quarrels, give them Battel, if they durſt meet him; wherefore if they would as valiant and couragious Princes meet him in the Field, he would in one Battel end that quarrel with them, and in reward of the Victory either win or loſe the Empire of the World. When *Solyman* had thus a great while lain at the Siege of *Gunza*, and thereto given divers ſharp Aſſaults, being ſtill with great loſs and diſhonour repulſed, he in the ſpace of four days caſt up near unto the Town-Ditch two great Mounts of Faggots and Earth, as if they had been two great Mountains, of ſuch heighth, that they overtopped not the Walls only, but even the higheſt Towers in the Town, (by which wonderful work the greatneſs of the Turks Army might eaſily be conjectured;) one of theſe great Mounts he caſt up directly againſt the face of the Town; and the other at a corner of the ſame, to Flanker along the Wall; from whence he did with his ſhot not only beat them which appeared upon the Walls for the defence thereof, but them alſo which upon occaſion went too and fro in the Streets. Theſe Mounts being with incredible celerity brought to perfection, the Town-Ditch filled up, and many of the Defendants either ſlain or wounded upon the Walls, the Turks gave a moſt furious Aſſault at the place which was before ſhaken with the Mine; againſt whom the valiant Captain as need was in that extream danger, oppoſed all the ſtrength he had left. But the Turks ſtill preſſing on with there infinite multitude, were got up to the top of the Walls with eight Enſigns, from whence they had repulſed the Defendants; which being all either wounded or wearied, ſhrowded themſelves under the defence of their Penthouſes, being neither able nor of courage to make further reſiſtance, ſo that the Walls were now abandoned, and the Town there left without Defendants; when ſuddainly ſuch a great clamor was made by the loud outcries and lamentation of the Women and Children and other fearful People, that the Turks which had recovered the top of the Walls, ſtrucken with a ſuddain fear, thinking the Town to have been full of Souldiers, ſtood as Men aſtonied and diſmaied, whereupon the Defendants began again to take courage, and to ſhew themſelves; at whoſe ſight the Turks poſſeſſed with a needleſs fear, forſook the Wall, and could not by any perſwaſions or threats of their Captains be brought on again to the Aſſault. The Town was that day in all Mens judgments defended by the mighty power of God, and not by the ſtrength of Man.

Abraham *Baſſa perſwadeth* Solyman *to leave the Siege of* Gunza.

It grieved the proud Tyrant above meaſure, that ſo baſe a Town ſhould ſo long hold out againſt all his power, ſo that oftentimes in his rage he would threaten to raſe it down to the ground, and not to leave any ſign thereof remaining; which he would undoubtedly have in time performed, had not *Abraham* the great Baſſa (by whoſe counſel he was altogether directed) otherwiſe perſwaded him; who waiting a fit time, when his choler was paſt, told him, that it was not worth his name and greatneſs, to ſpend his time and forces upon ſo ſmall a Town of no importance, by raſing whereof he ſhould neither get honour nor profit; for why, no Man would marvel, if he with ſo puiſſant an Army ſhould take ſo ſmall a thing, eſpecially by long Siege, whereby the ſtrongeſt places are enforced to yield; and when he had ſo taken it, it would be accounted a greater honour for ſo little a Town to have holden out ſo long, than for him to have with ſo great forces in long time conſtrained it; but if it ſhould otherwiſe fall out, as the chances of War are uncertain, that he ſhould by any occaſion be conſtrained to leave it, he ſhould thereby get no ſmall diſhonour; wherefore it were more wiſdom to ſpare his Souldiers labour in ſo ſmall a matter, whereof he was not to expect either honour or profit, and for to reſerve them for his greater deſigns, and not vainly to ſpend his forces and time in beſieging of ſo baſe a Village, from whence he might now depart with leſs diſhonour than he could afterwards, when he had proved the uttermoſt of his forces, and yet in the end glad peradventure to forſake it; wherefore it were more for his honour to raiſe his Siege, and calling the Governour of the Town unto him, to give him the Town as it were of bounty, than to ſpend ſo many good Men as he muſt needs caſt away in the winning of it by force; with theſe and like reaſons the Baſſa prevailed ſo much with *Solyman*, that *Nicholas* the worthy Governour of the Town was by a Herald at Arms ſent for to come to the great Baſſa, *Solyman* diſdaining (as it ſhould ſeem) to ſpeak with him himſelf. The Governour being ſent for, though he was grievouſly wounded, and in ſmall hope of life, yet ſtoutly refuſed to come to any parley, except he were firſt well aſſured both by ſafe conduct and good hoſtages for the ſafety of his perſon, and that nothing ſhould be exacted

The Governor cometh to the Baſſa.

His anſwer to the Baſſa.

of him, not beſitting his Religion and Honour; which ſtout anſwer cauſed *Solyman* and the Baſſa to think, that his ſtrength was not yet ſo weakned, but that he was ſtill able to hold out the Siege; and thereupon, that he required for his ſafety was forthwith granted, and two Men of great account ſent for hoſtages for him into the City with *Solymans* ſafe conduct. Which being received, the Governour went forth, and was by *Abraham* the great Baſſa honourably received into the Camp, and commanded to ſit down by him in his Tent; where he was by him firſt by the way of courteſie demanded, whether he had recovered his old infirmity wherewith he was troubled at ſuch time as he was ſent Embaſſador unto *Solyman* at *Conſtantinople*? After that, whether the wounds he had received in the laſt Aſſault, were dangerous or not? But laſt of all, and that which moſt concerned the matter, upon what hope he alone had ſo long and ſo obſtinately withſtood the mighty Sultan *Solyman*, when as all his Neighbours round about him had ſo willingly ſubmitted themſelves? ſaying further, That he marvelled much why he repoſed any confidence in the lingring King *Ferdinand*. Whereunto the Governour modeſtly anſwered, That he was (thanks be to God) well delivered of his old Diſeaſe, and that his wounds were without danger; but as concerning his holding out, he ſaid, that he for his great Wiſdom knew, that it was the duty of a good Souldier valiantly to withſtand his Enemies, and not to be troubled with any evil hap, or diſcouraged with any chance of War; as for himſelf, he ſaid, when Mans help failed, he had repoſed his full truſt in God, by whoſe power he had been hitherto preſerved, which as he well hoped ſhould never fail him at his need; and that King *Ferdinand* was not ſo far off, but that he would before it were long be there preſent with a great Army; wherefore he did not greatly marvel, that he was not relieved before that time, foraſmuch as many lets and occaſions might chance which might hinder the Kings purpoſe, conſidering that fortune always by nature unconſtant, was in nothing more like unto her ſelf in her unconſtancy, than in martial Affairs. The Baſſa wondering at the invincible courage of the Governour, ſaid, That although the great Emperor *Solyman* might now at his pleaſure utterly deſtroy the Town, with all that therein was, yet being by nature of a moſt honourable and mild diſpoſition, and a great lover of valiant and couragious Men, had commanded him in his name to give him that Town, and the lives of all them that were in it, as a reward of his Valour ſhewed in the defence thereof; yet ſo that he ſhould ſwear Obedience unto him, and receive ſome few Turks into the Town, in token that he had yielded the ſame. The politick Governour knowing that of eight hundred valiant Souldiers, he had ſcarcely a third part left, and them alſo ſore weakned with wounds and want of reſt, thought it neceſſary to make his Peace in the beſt ſort he could; for what could have hapned unto him more wiſhedly, than with his Honour to keep the Town ſtill, and with the loſs of a few pleaſing words to deliver himſelf, with ſo many of his Friends, from extream fear and peril? And ſo in all his talk ſhewing no ſign of fear, and with great words ſetting forth the ſtrength of his Garriſon (which was indeed brought to an extream weakneſs) ſaid he was ready at the firſt to have yielded up the Town, for the old acquaintance he had with him at *Conſtantinople*, but was always letted by the Germans and Spaniards which were there in Garriſon, fierce and cruel Souldiers, whoſe hard hearts were (as he ſaid) hardly intreated to ſuffer him at that time to come out of the City into the Camp; wherefore he could promiſe to a be Friend to all ſuch Turks as ſhould paſs that way, and to relieve them with ſuch things as his waſted Country could afford; and further in token of his ſubmiſſion, to ſet up one of *Solymans* Enſigns in the chief Tower of the City; but as for receiving any Turks into Garriſon, in token that he had yielded up the Town, he was willing ſo to do, but that he was greatly afraid they ſhould be evil entreated by the Germans and Spaniards, who deadly hated the Turks; whereof it was to be thought, that new Wars would eftſoon ariſe. In concluſion, he ſo cunningly uſed the matter, that the great Baſſa was contented with this ſmall token of ſubmiſſion, that he ſhould receive in at one of the Gates of the City, one of *Solymans* Captains with ten Janizaries, which being done accordingly, and they courteouſly for a while entertained and again diſmiſſed, the great Baſſa held himſelf with that ſimple ſubmiſſion well contented; when as the Governour had neither German nor Spaniard as then in Garriſon.

Solyman departeth from the Siege of Gunza.

So when *Solyman* had with his great Army lain at the Siege of *Gunza* by the ſpace of twenty eight days, and in that time to his great loſs aſſaulted the ſame thirteen times, he roſe with his Army, glad of a little fained ſubmiſſion for the ſafegard of his honour; and leaving *Vienna* on the right hand, whither moſt part of the Chriſtian Army was aſſembled, took the way on the left into *Carinthia*, and ſo came to the River *Mura*, and from thence to the City *Gratia*. This turning of *Solymans* out of the way from *Vienna*, where he knew his Enemies lay, put all fear out of the minds of the Chriſtians, which they had before not without cauſe conceived, inſomuch, that he but a little before feared as a Prince of great pride and power, ſhamefully repulſed at the little Town of *Gunza*, and now ſhunning his Enemies at *Vienna*, began to grow into contempt as if he had been running away for fear. Which diſgrace the Turks ſought by divers excuſes to cover, as that the ſtrong City of *Neoſtat* lay betwixt him and *Vienna*, which could neither without much difficulty be taken, nor danger left Enemy behind him; beſides that, Winter began to approach, which cauſed him (as the Turks gave it out) to content himſelf with the ſpoil of the rich Countries betwixt the Rivers of *Savus* and *Dravus*, and ſo in good time to return again to *Belgrade*. But they which ſeemed to ſee farther into the matter, were of opinion, That *Solyman* underſtanding by his eſpials, and ſecret advertiſement from his Friends, that the Princes of *Germany* had with one conſent joyned their Forces with the Emperors, brought out of *Italy*, *Spain*, and the Low-Countries, which at his ſetting forth he leaſt feared, and that the Chriſtian Army in number great, conſiſted not of raw Souldiers, but for the moſt part of ſuch as had been trained up in Wars; Men both for courage and ſkill nothing inferior to his Janizaries and beſt Men of War; choſe rather to take the ſpoil of the Country, as he might with ſafety, than to adventure his Perſon and State to the hazard of a moſt doubtful and dangerous Battel.

Caſon ſent with fifteen thouſand Horſemen to ſpoil Auſtria.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Michael Ogli* by the commandment of *Solyman*, ſent *Caſon* with fifteen thouſand of his voluntary Horſemen (who in *Solymans* expedition againſt *Vienna*, had run through the Country of *Auſtria* as far as *Lyntz*) charging him without ſtay to ſpoil all the Country far and near which lieth between

Danubius and the *Alpes*, thereby to learn what he could of the ſtate and ſtrength of the Emperors Camp; and by doing all the harms he could poſſibly, to leave a moſt lamentable remembrance of the Turks being in *Auſtria*. *Caſon* was of himſelf forward enough, and deſirous of the ſpoil; but ſo much the more, for that he was by the former Road into that Country become both famous and rich; wherefore dividing his Horſemen into three Companies not far diſtant one from another, he ſuddainly oppreſſed an infinite multitude of all ſorts of People in the Fields and Country Villages as he went; all which he either ſlew without mercy, or carried away as miſerable Priſoners. Thouſands of Men and Women tied together in Chains and Ropes, were by the cruel Turks enforced to run as faſt as their Horſes; the Country Villages were all burnt down to the ground, and in them the poor Children of the Chriſtians, whoſe Parents were either ſlain or carried away Captives; ſo that all the Country every way almoſt for the ſpace of a hundred and fifty Miles, was covered with Smoke and Fire, within three Miles of *Lyntz*; where King *Ferdinand* then lying, was glad to get himſelf farther off to *Strabinga*, where his Brother *Charles* the Emperor lay. This cruel Turk according to his charge, having with Fire and Sword without compaſſion wrought all the Wo he could poſſible upon the poor Chriſtians, and now loaded with the ſpoil of the Country and multitude of Priſoners, began to return the ſame way he came, thinking to find *Solyman* either at the Siege of *Gunza*, where he left him, or nearer hand at *Neoſtat* coming towards *Vienna*. But he as is aforeſaid, riſing with ſmall honour from *Gunza*, and fearing the power of the Chriſtians, was quite gone another way as far as *Gratia*, the Metropolitical City of *Stiria*, ſtanding upon the River of *Muta*; which turned to the utter deſtruction of *Caſon* and all his followers; for as ſoon as it was perceived by the burning of the Country all about, that the Turks were come near to *Lyntz*, the Chriſtian Captains with their Companies went out of the Camp, ſome one way, ſome another, as was thought moſt convenient for the meeting with theſe miſchievous Turks, which never reſted in one place; wherein they uſed ſuch diligence in taking the paſſages, that it was not poſſible they ſhould eſcape unfought withal. Four Companies of Spaniſh and Italian Horſemen under the leading of *Lewis Cove* a valiant Captain, firſt lighting upon them in a Valley near unto *Neoſtat*, and deſperately charging them, were by the Turks for moſt part ſlain. But *Caſon* perceiving how he was on every ſide laied by the Chriſtians in the Vallies betwixt *Neoſtat*, *Sabaria*, and *Veſprinium*, the night following with more than barbarous Cruelty ſlew four thouſand of the Chriſtians he had before taken Priſoners, becauſe he ſhould not be hindered by them in his flight; and dividing his Army into two parts, about midnight began to ſet forward, uſing the benefit of the night to have eſcaped from his Enemies out of theſe Vallies wherein he was encloſed. One part of this Army led by *Ferſes* taking the way Southward, did with incredible labour cut a way through the thick and overgrown Woods (a thing thought altogether impoſſible) and ſo with little or no loſs came to *Solyman* into *Stiria*. *Caſon* with the other part of the Army breaking out of the Valley of *Storamberg*, chanced upon the Palatine (General of the Forces ſent from the German Princes) who with ten thouſand Footmen and two thouſand Horſemen, and certain Field-pieces brake the Battel of the Turks, and ſlew of them a great number; In which conflict *Caſon* his chief Enſign was taken. He fighting moſt valiantly in the rere-ward to give others time to eſcape, was himſelf there ſlain; whoſe gallant Head-piece preſented afterwards to the Emperor, confirmed the report of his death. They which eſcaped from the Palatine, in their flight fell into the hands of *Lewis*, and the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, by whom they were ſlain like Beaſts. The Hungarian Horſemen led by *Valentinus Turacus*, lighting upon them which fled from *Lewis* and the Marqueſs, had the killing of them for the ſpace of ſeven Miles; and of all others did upon them the cruelleſt execution, following them hard at the heels with their freſh Horſes, and fiercely inſulting upon them in their own Language. Thoſe few diſperſed Turks which eſcaped the fury of the Hungarians, fell into the Hands of the Country People about *Veſprinium* and the Lake of *Bulaton*, which came out on every ſide in hope of ſpoil, who ſhewed them ſmall favour; ſo that of eight thouſand which were with *Caſon*, it was thought not one returned to *Solyman*.

***Four thouſand Chriſtian Captives murdered by* Caſon.**

Caſon *diſcomfited by the Palatine, and ſlain.*

The ſlaughter of the Turks.

The Emperor underſtanding that *Solyman* was gone as far as *Gratia* in *Stiria*, called his chief Captains together into the Caſtle of *Lyntz*, to know their opinions, whether it were beſt to follow the Enemy into *Stiria* or not. The Cities of *Lyntz*, *Gratia*, and *Vienna*, are ſituate almoſt in form of a Triangle; but from *Lyntz* to *Gratia* is three good days journey of bad rough way by Horſe. Some ſaid it was beſt to Fight with the Turks in that uneven Mountain Country, where the Turks chief ſtrength conſiſting in the multitude of his Horſemen, ſhould ſtand him in ſmall ſtead, but ſhould be enforced to try the Battel with his Footmen, wherein he was inferiror to the Chriſtians. This Counſel although it had in it many difficulties, yet for that it proceeded from the moſt approved Captains, ſo moved the Emperor, that he preſently ſent *Apontius* a Spaniard (the moſt famous Captain *Antonius Leva* his Lieutenant) to take view of that paſſage; who ſhortly after returned again to *Lyntz*, bringing word that all the Country as he went was deſolate and for fear forſaken of the Inhabitants; but concerning the place of the Enemies above, he could learn no certainty. Whereupon it was by general conſent concluded, that they ſhould all go to *Vienna*, whither all the ſtrength of the Germans was already aſſembled, there to take a general view of the Army, and to give the Enemy Battel if he ſhould again return. Some there were of great Courage which openly diſliked of that going to *Vienna*; ſaying, that the Emperor ſhould rather in that diſtreſs of the Provinces of *Stiria* and *Carinthia* purſue his Enemy, than turn out of the way to *Vienna*. But others of greater judgment, whoſe opinion prevailed, ſaid, It was one thing to invade, and another thing to defend; ſo that the Emperor might with honour enough encamp himſelf in the Fields of *Vienna*, and from thence to expect and deride the baſe expedition and vain brags of his proud Enemy, who a far off challenged him into the Field, and then like a Coward durſt not come near him.

Charles *the Emperor his power at* Vienna.

The Emperor coming to *Vienna*, and taking a general view of the Army, found therein two hundred and ſixty thouſand Men, whereof ninety thouſand Footmen, and thirty thouſand Horſemen were accounted old expert Souldiers, and of them many whole Companies and Bands, of ſuch as had before been Generals, Captains, Lieutenants, Antients, or other Officers and Men of Mark in other Armies, and now were content to ſerve as private Men. It was thought that ſo many worthy Captains and valiant Souldiers, were never before in the memory of Man aſſembled together into one Camp; for the Princes and free Cities had not ſent thither common Souldiers, but their choſen and approved Men; ſtriving as it were amongſt themſelves, who ſhould ſend the beſt. All the flower and ſtrength of *Germany* from the River of *Viſtula* to the *Rhine*, and from the Ocean to the *Alpes*, was by the Princes of the Empire and free Cities either ſent thither, or of themſelves voluntarily came thither. A thing never before heard of, that all *Germany* ſhould as it were with one conſent, be glad to take up Arms for their common ſafety, in defence of their honour and liberty; eſpecially againſt People brought out of the furtheſt parts of *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. Beſide the great number of Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians; the Bohemian Camp lay not far off, ſtrengthened with them of *Silicia* and *Moravia*. There were alſo ſome Troops of Polonian Horſemen, not ſent thither by publick Authority, but ſerving as voluntary Men; King *Sigiſmund* winking thereat, who as he was careful not raſhly to break the League he had made with *Solyman*; ſo leſt he ſhould ſeem careleſs of the Chriſtian common cauſe, by notable diſſimulation left place for ſuch of his Subjects as would (as if it had been without his knowledge) to ſhew their Valour in the moſt honourable War.

The Order of the Chriſtian Army

The Chriſtian Army ready to receive the Enemy, lay in a great Field near unto *Vienna*, in this Order; Three great Squadrons of Pikemen, ſtanding one Squadron a great way diſtant from another, were ſo placed againſt the Enemy with like and equal Front, that all the Horſemen divided into two parts, might well be received into the great ſpaces betwixt the three Squadrons; for it was not thought convenient to oppoſe ſo ſmall a number of Horſemen in open Field without the Footmen, againſt almoſt three hundred thouſand of the Turks Horſemen. The right wing of the Horſemen was led by the Emperor himſelf, and the left by King *Ferdinand*. Before and behind, and on every ſide of the three Squadrons of Pikes, ſaving in thoſe places which were left open for the Horſemen, about thirty paces off, were placed twenty thouſand nimble Harquebuſiers ranged in length, and but five in a rank; ſo that whilſt the firſt diſcharged, the ſecond, and after them the third, and ſo the reſt readily and orderly coming on, might without let deliver their Bullets upon their Enemies; neither was it thought any diſadvantage to place them ſo thin, for that if they found themſelves by the Enemies oppreſſed, they might eaſily retire amongſt the Pikes, ſtanding faſt at hand. Before the Harquebuſiers was planted the great Ordnance, whereof, the Emperor had ſuch ſtore. and ſo well placed, that he could therewith (as with a moſt ſure Trench) have compaſſed in his whole Army. Only the Hungarians, Men well acquainted with the manner of the Turks fight, choſe to lie in the open Field in two great wings, under the leading of their two valiant Captains *Valentinus* and *Paulus*. Many noble Gentlemen beholding this goodly Army, wept for joy, conceiving a moſt aſſured hope of Victory, if the proud Enemy durſt with all his Forces joyn in Battel. But *Solyman*, who by all means ſought with his great number of Horſemen to keep the wide and open Fields, certainly advertiſed both of the Emperors ſtrength and the manner of his lying, got him over the River of *Mura*, and at *Marpurge* by Bridges which he made on the ſuddain, paſſed over the great River *Dravus*. And ſo he which that Summer held almoſt all the World in ſuſpence, with the doubtful expectation of the ſucceſs of that War; having with all that his huge power wherewith he threatned the World, done nothing at all worth the remembrance, but was in every place either overcome, or elſe ſhamefully repulſed; left *Stiria*, and returned the ſame way he came, directly betwixt the Rivers of *Savus* and *Dravus*, to *Belgrade*, and ſo to *Conſtantinople*; leaving here and there ſome remembrance of his barbarous cruelty, and ſtill looking behind him if the Emperor were not at his heels; at ſuch time as a few Dalmatian and Croatian Horſemen did ſtill purſue the tail of his Army. It is reported, that he carried away with him thirty thouſand Chriſtians into Captivity, beſides many thouſands of poor Country People ſlain by the mercileſs Turks; but eſpecially by *Caſon* and his Followers; and ſo to his eternal infamy was twice in the ſpace of a few years driven out of *Germany*. The Emperor underſtanding of *Solymans* departure, determined with all ſpeed to return into *Italy*; although King *Ferdinand* his Brother moſt earneſtly entreated him before his departure, in ſo fit a time to imploy thoſe great Forces againſt King *John*, who now as it were forſaken of *Solyman*, might eaſily with ſo puiſſant an Army have been thruſt not only out of *Buda*, but alſo quite out of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, wherein he was by *Solyman* as his Vaſſal placed. But the Emperor, for that Winter began now to approach, and the Plague was got into the Camp, yea even into his Court, continued in his former purpoſe of departing into *Italy*; yet yielding ſo far unto his Brothers requeſt, as to leave behind him all the Italians, who joyned with King *Ferdinands* own Forces were thought ſufficient for the accompliſhment of the Hungarian War.

Solyman *returneth.*

Over theſe Italians, one *Fabritius Maramaldus* was by the means of *Alphonſus Vaſtius* appointed General; but no order taken for the payment of their Wages, whereby the Souldiers might be the more encouraged to take in hand that War, and alſo kept in obedience. Which think at the firſt much offended the minds of the other Captains, thinking themſelves diſgraced by the preferment of *Maramaldus*, a Man of no greater account than themſelves; but as ſoon as it was known abroad, the under Captains and Officers of the Bands, led with the credit and favour of their old Captains; ſaid plainly, That they would not go into *Hungary*, except either King *Ferdinand* would in perſon go himſelf, or elſe one of the great Commanders, *Vaſtius* or *Leva* were appointed for the General; and the Common Souldiers ſaid flatly, that they would ask leave to depart, except they had three months Pay, which they knew well they ſhould never get of that poor King, already brought unto great wants. *Vaſtius* to appeaſe this Mutiny, travelled greatly with his Souldiers, perſwading them to remember the faith of Souldiers, and by their conſtant perſeverance to maintain their honour they had got by their chearful coming, telling them, That valiant Souldiers never wanted Pay, furniſhing themſelves by their Victories with all things neceſſary from the Enemy. And as for *Maramaldus* their General, they had no juſt cauſe to miſlike him, being an old Captain of great experience, for courage and policy not inferior to any of the greateſt Commanders, and placed by the Emperors own appointment as a Man moſt ſufficient, whoſe

The Italians left for the aid of King Ferdinand *ariſe in Mutiny.*

judgment they ought not in any caſe to diſlike. When *Vaſtius* had with theſe and ſuch like reaſons well appeaſed the tumultuous Souldiers, and was gone out of the Camp into *Vienna*, to take further order for the remedying of all difficulties; Night the Nurſe of ſedition came on, whoſe darkneſs excluding all modeſty and fear, gave further ſcope and place unto the mutinous Souldiers inſolency. By chance there was at that time brought out of the City into the Camp very courſe, hoary, mouldy Bread; which ſome of the Souldiers having brought, and thruſting it upon the points of their Spears, ſhewed it unto their Fellows in great choler, railing againſt King *Ferdinand*, which in his own Kingdom in the beginning of the War had made no better Proviſion, but with ſuch corrupt and peſtilent Bread to feed them being Strangers, which were only for his defence and quarrel to adventure their lives. And but a little before, a certain Spaniard, being but a common Souldier, coming into the Generals Tent, and caſting the like Bread down at the feet of *Vaſtius*, bitterly curſing the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, had raiſed a wonderful Tumult; wherefore the Italian Souldiers flocking together out of their Tents, gave many hard Speeches concerning their Pay, their Victuals, and the difficulties of the Hungarian War. There one *Titus Marconius* of *Volattera*, a Man of a troubleſome Spirit, but reaſonably well ſpoken, was by the other Souldiers ſet up upon a great heap of Saddles, that he might be the better heard, and by divers ſeditious Captains requeſted frankly to ſpeak his mind, ſo far as he thought concerned the ſafety and welfare of them all. Where it is reported that he ſpake unto them in this ſeditious manner as followeth:

The ſeditious Oration of Titus Marconius, *to the mutinous Italians.*

And ſhall the Spaniards (ſaid he) *beloved Companions and Fellows in Arms, as you have heard, go into* Italy? *And to our great hurt again return into their old Wintering places? And that which I am aſhamed to ſay, as notable Gueſts lie with our Wives? And we Italians as baniſhed Men fight this Winter with Ice and Snow in* Hungary? *And that forſooth for a moſt beggarly King, and him alſo to the* Hungarians *a Forreigner and meer Stranger, againſt a natural born Prince, of his Subjects well beloved and ſtrongly backt with the power and wealth of the Turkiſh Emperor? And that which might juſtly grieve any couragious mind under the conduct of* Maramaldus, *who oftentimes blinded with anger and haſty cruelty, hath ſo furiouſly thruſt us through with his Sword, that he ſeemeth not more to deſire the name of a Captain for any thing, than for the killing and murthering of us now his Souldiers. Neither can I believe that you, who have oftentimes been Captains and Antients your ſelves, will be ſo mad as to ſerve under a common Captain, without hope of any Pay, of any Proviſion, of Victory, or return. Truly it delighteth me not ſo much to have come hither for the honour of the Italian Name (no more reckoned of than a Ruſh) although I have eleven times ſerved; as it doth this day aſhame me to ſee this ſhameful end of the War, ended before it was well begun. But in Regal Dignity is no ſhame, nor equity in rewarding the Souldier; for Kings now adays make account of Souldiers only according to their neceſſity; this is it alone that giveth us Pay, this is that getteth us love, this is it maintaineth our reputation; all which Peace once by Victory obtained, loſe their Grace. So fareth it with us at this preſent (Fellow Souldiers) the Emperor and his Brother King* Fardinand, *delivered from the fear of a moſt dangerous War, to eaſe themſelves of this multitude of us, ſeek to thruſt us into* Hungary *as Beaſts to the ſlaughter, by the ſpending of our Blood, hoping to purchaſe unto themſelves Victory, and by the loſs of us to take no harm themſelves, though the Turks and Hungarians ſhould with Sword and Famine utterly deſtroy us, ſhut up with the Ice of* Danubius, *and the Snow of the* Alpes. *But peradventure you underſtand not theſe devices, no more than you underſtand what this terrible and bloody * Comet, ſhooting his Beams towards* Italy, *pretendeth. Verily it is not fatal either to* Solyman *or* Cæſar, *but rather threatned unto us death and deſtruction; for they with like counſel full of ſafety and diſcretion, would not open any way unto their own deſtinies, but warily withdrew themſelves one from the other, and ſhunned all the dangers of the Field. Wherefore if it were lawful for them, without any blemiſh of their Majeſties, ſo notably to provide to keep themſelves out of danger, when as on each ſide half the World lay as a reward of the Victory, ſhall not we look to our ſelves, that we be not thruſt thither from whence appeareth no hope of return, but with utter deſtruction, when as we may do it without offence, and by good right, eſpecially ſeeing no Pay is offered us. That you ſee what a goodly end is made of that notable War, wherein only we the Italians, in ſtead of commendation and reward, reap injury and diſgrace; and are peradventure of purpoſe exiled into* Hungary, *that this flour of Chivalry being drawn out of* Italy, *and ſent far out of the way, Colonies of Spaniards and Germans may be placed in our ſteads. Truly it ſeemeth hard dealing, to be ſent out of the way into a barbarous Country, where we ſhall find all hoſtility, and no place of refuge to receive us, being diſtreſſed. Beſides this, we ſhall alſo whether we will or no, feel how heavy and intollerable it will be both to our bodies and minds, to endure the miſeries of this Winter and dangerous War; and in the mean time, with no ſmall hearts grief imagine what things our Children, our Brethren, our Kinſmen, yea our Wives, ſuffer at home of the Spaniards and Germans. Wherefore worthy Companions, it concerneth us more at this time to have a good foreſight, than valiantly to Fight. The occaſion preſented unto us for our ſafety and welfare, ſtandeth upon a fickle point, it muſt be done without delay, and we muſt hie us hence before that the Spaniards truſs up their Baggage; and ſo preventing the Emperors formoſt Companies, come firſt our ſelves into* Italy; *for if we ſhall ſtay but a little to conſult upon the matter,* Vaſtius *and our other proud Commanders will preſently be here, the very betrayers of the Italian Blood, who for their own gain and our miſchief, have brought us into theſe ſtraits; who I know will moſt earneſtly entreat us, and with many ſubtilties ſeek to ſeduce us, by offering us great pay, and whatſoever elſe we ſhall require; which will all prove but words. But you, if you be Men, refuſe to talk with them, as with your Common Enemies, or rather in revenge of their old injuries kill them. Here wanteth not in this Aſſembly valiant Men, for courage and integrity of life their betters far, which can lead you forth, order your Battel, and fortunately uſe this your courage and forwardneſs. Wherefore if you be wiſe ſet forward reſolutely, and good fortune no doubt will attend you in your haſt; for the full accompliſhment of your deſire conſiſteth in your haſt only.*

** At this very time a great Blazing Star was ſeen in the Firmament* at Vienna.

Marconius had no ſooner made an end of this mutinous Speech, but the tumultuous Souldiers in every Band began highly to commend and approve the ſame, and by and by ſuch a confuſed noiſe was heard through all the aſſembly, as uſeth to riſe amongſt the diſcontented vulgar People, ready to riſe in Arms; but the Drums preſently ſtriking up a March, they made no longer ſtay, but without delay pluckt up their Enſigns, and forward they go directly towards *Neoſtat*. In this tumult, in ſtead of their old Captains,

Eight thouſand of the Italians in mutiny, forſake their Captains, and return into Italy.

Captains, which either were not then preſent, or refuſed to go with them, they choſe others to be their Leaders; who once named by the ſeditious multitude, might in no caſe without dander refuſe to take the charge upon them, were they never ſo unwilling. Theſe were *Montebellius*, *Nerius*, *Melcarius*, *Sanctius*, and the two Twins of *Millan*, called *Gluſſani*, who drew after them eight thouſand Souldiers; the reſt partly for ſhame, and partly for fear, ſtayed ſtill with *Maramaldus* their new appointed General. When they were thus gone, *Vaſtius* and divers other great Companies hearing thereof in the City, poſted after them ſix miles, and at length overtaking them, requeſted them to ſtay, and not to diſhonour themſelves with ſo foul a Fact; telling them that their Pay was ready for them, and omitting nothing wherewith they might have been moved to ſtay, mingled their prayers with grievous threats; but they reſolutely ſet down, would neither hear nor ſtay, but as men inraged with fury and their own guilty Conſcience, with ſtern looks diſcharged ſome ſmall Shot upon them. Whilſt *Vaſtius* would there have ſtayed the Company, and did what he poſſibly could by threatning and otherwiſe, to have terrified their Leaders, and to have brought them back, he was oftentimes in danger to have been ſlain. In the end he was glad to forſake them, and to return as he came. King *Ferdinand* by this ſudden departure of the *Italians*, for that time diſappointed of all his hope of recovering the Kingdom of *Hungary* from King *John*; in great choler wrote unto his Subjects of *Styria* and *Carinthia*, whereby the *Italians* were to paſs, That they ſhould ſhew them no manner of courteſie in their paſſage; whereupon enſued great hurt on both ſides. Yet for all that, theſe *Italians* in deſpight of what could be done, at length recovered *Tiliaventum* in the borders of *Italy*, where they disbanded themſelves, and returned every man to his own dwelling, leaving King *Ferdinand* unto his own Forces. The Emperor alſo breaking up his Army at *Vienna*, and purpoſing now as before, to return into *Italy*, appointed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* to go formoſt with the light Horſemen; with whom alſo he went himſelf; after him followed *Vaſtius* with the *Spaniards*; two days after came the Cardinal, whoſe Train was of all the greateſt; laſt of all followed the mercenary *Germans*; in which order he returned in ſafety into *Italy*.

Charles *the Emperor returneth into* **Italy.**

This was the end of thoſe wonderful Preparations made by the two great Monarchs *Solyman* and *Charles* the Fifth, in the year, 1532. which held the World in great ſuſpence with the fearful expectation of ſome marvelous alteration; and ſo much the more, for that at the ſame time appeared a great Blazing-Star by the ſpace of fifteen days. All which for all that, God ſo appointing, ſorted to far leſs harm than was of moſt men feared.

Auria *goeth againſt the Turks.*

Now whilſt *Charles* the Emperor was thus in Arms againſt *Solyman* in *Auſtria*, *Andreas Auria* by his appointment, with a Fleet of thirty five tall Ships and forty eight Gallies, wherein he had embarked twenty five thouſand good Souldiers well appointed, did in the mean time wonderfully annoy the Turks in *Peloponneſus*. With this Fleet *Auria* departing from *Meſſina* in *Sicilia*, and paſſing alongſt the Coaſt of *Italy*, into the *Ionium*, near unto the Iſle of *Zacynthus* met with *Vincentius Capellius* the *Venetian* Admiral, with a Fleet of ſixty Gallies ſet forth by the *Venetians* for defence of their Territory; who offered unto *Auria* all poſſible kindneſs, but excuſed himſelf, that he could not joyn with him in that War againſt the Common Enemy, by reaſon of an old League betwixt the Turks and the *Venetians*, which *Solyman* had but a little before renewed. So that at that time the *Venetians* ſtood as men indifferent betwixt *Charles* the Emperor and *Solyman*, offering like kindneſs to both, but taking part with neither, yet in readineſs to fall out with either, if they ſhould by Sea or Land offer any injury to their State; wherein they bare themſelves ſo indifferent, that it was thought, that they at one and the ſelf ſame inſtant advertiſed *Auria*, That *Hymerales* the Turks Admiral lay with his Fleet of ſixty Gallies evil appointed, in the Bay of *Ambracia*, where he might eaſily be ſurprized; and gave likewiſe warning to him of the coming of *Auria* with a ſtrong Fleet, wiſhing him in time to provide for his better ſafety, by retiring his Fleet into ſome other place of more aſſurance, which he preſently did; for knowing himſelf too weak, he departed from *Ambracia*, to the ſtrong Haven of *Calcide*. Which thing with other like, well conſidered, might give juſt cauſe to any Chriſtian heart, to bewail the State of that time, wherein the Chriſtian Princes being either in mortal Wars amongſt themſelves, or intangled by *Solyman* with Leagues of no aſſurance, omitted the faireſt opportunity that could have been wiſhed for the abating of the Turks greatneſs; for if the *Venetians* joyning their Forces with *Auria*, had in time purſued the Turkiſh Admiral, it was like, that not only all *Solymans* Power at Sea had been utterly diſcomfited; but alſo moſt part of *Grecia*, mindful of their ancient Empire and Liberty, and then ready to have rebelled, and joyned hands with the Chriſtians, might have been recovered out of the Turkiſh Thraldom; yea and the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople* greatly indangered, few or none being left for the defence thereof, beſide young Janizaries and effeminate Eunuchs, the heartleſs Keepers of the Turks Concubines; *Solyman* himſelf being then far off in *Hungary*, and having drawn with him the greateſt ſtrength of his Empire.

Auria taking his leave of the *Venetian* Admiral, with much Honour done at Sea on both ſides; was ſhortly after advertiſed, That the Turks Admiral was fled to *Calcide*. Wherefore now out of hope to do any good againſt him, he directed his courſe to *Corone* (which is a ſtrong City upon the Coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, about twelve miles diſtant from *Modon*) with purpoſe to beſiege it; which when he had well viewed, and conſidered of the ſtrength thereof, he laid Siege thereto both by Sea and Land, battering it moſt terribly at one time with fourteen great pieces of Artillery by Land, and a hundred and fifty by Sea, ſo that a more terrible Battery had not been lightly heard of; for all that, the Turks valiantly ſtood upon their defence, and manfully repulſed the *Italians*, which under the Leading of the Count of *Sarne* aſſaulted the City by Land. The Turkiſh Garriſons lying about in the Country of *Peloponneſus*, did what they might to have relieved the City; who by the valour of the ſaid Count were diſcomfited, and *Zadares* their chief Leader ſlain; whoſe Head, with others of the ſlain Turks, were ſet upon Stakes, to the terror of the Defendants.

Auria *beſiegeth* **Corone** *in* **Peloponneſus.**

At length the Turks wearied with Aſſaults, and terrified with the thundring Shot which never ceaſed, and driven alſo from their greateſt ſtrength towards Sea, by the deſperate aſſault of

Corone *yielded to* **Auria** *by the* **Turks.**

Patras *taken and ranſacked by* **Auria.**

Auria *returns to* **Italy.**

certain reſolute Chriſtians, whom they had now full ſore againſt their wills received as it were into their boſoms; fearing alſo to want Victual and Powder, if they ſhould longer hold out without any hope of Relief; yielded the City and Caſtle to *Auria*, upon condition that they might in ſafety depart thence with bag and baggage. *Corone* thus taken, and a ſtrong Garriſon of *Spaniards* there placed, and the Chriſtian Greeks which dwelt in the City ſworn unto them, *Auria* put to Sea with his Fleet, and ſailing again by *Zazinthus*, came to *Patras* another ancient City of *Peloponneſus*, which he eaſily took and ranſacked; for the Turks diſtruſting the ſtrength of the City, had ſtrongly intrenched themſelves near unto the Caſtle; which place alſo, together with the Caſtle, they in ſhort time yielded to *Auria*; covenanting, that they, and eſpecially their Wives, might with their Garments only depart in ſafety into *Ætolia*; which was by *Auria* ſo preciſely performed, that when three thouſand of them paſſed along through the Army of the Chriſtians, ranged on both ſides, and ſome of the Souldiers began rudely to handle ſome of the Women, and to take from them ſome of their Jewels, he cauſed them preſently, to the terror of others, to be hanged. *Auria* leaving his Army at *Patras*, with commandment to follow him by Land, ſailed alongſt the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, until he came to the Strait of *Naupactum*, now called *Lepanto*, which is the entrance into the Gulf of *Corinthia*, parting *Peloponneſus* from *Ætolia*, with a Strait ſomewhat narrower than the Strait of *Helleſpont*. Upon this Strait ſtood two Caſtles, the one called *Rhium*, upon the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, and the other *Molycreum* in *Ætolia*, which *Bajazet* had wonderfully fortified, and ſtored with Ordnance for the keeping of that Strait. *Auria* threatning all extremity unto the Captain of the Caſtle on *Peloponneſus* ſide, if he did enforce him to plant his Battery, ſo terrified him, that he without delay yielded unto him the Caſtle; covenanting only, That he and his Souldiers might in ſafety depart thence; which granted, and the Turks departed, *Auria* gave the ſpoil of the Caſtle unto his Souldiers which came with him by Sea; whereby he ſo offended the minds of the other Souldiers which came by Land from *Patras*, that they were about to have forſaken him. The other Caſtle upon *Ætolia* ſide was not ſo eaſily taken, being valiantly defended by a Garriſon of old Janizaries, appointed for the keeping thereof. Yet in the end by fury of the Ordnance a breach was made, whereby the Chriſtians forcibly entring, ſlew three hundred of the old Garriſon-Souldiers, not taking any one to mercy; the reſt fled into a ſtrong Tower in the midſt of the Caſtle, where ſeeing no remedy but that they muſt needs fall into the hands of their Enemies, they deſperately blew up themſelves, and the Tower, with a great part of the Caſtle, with Gunpowder, in ſuch ſort, that it ſeemed all the Sea coaſt to have been ſhaken with an Earthquake; and the Gallies which lay a Bow-ſhot off, were almoſt overwhelmed with ſtones blown out ſo far off. The great Ordnance taken in this Caſtle was valued at 70000 Ducats; whereof certain pieces of a wonderful greatneſs, with *Arabian* letters written upon them, were afterwards by *Auria* brought to *Genoa*; and in remembrance of the Victory, mounted upon the Bulwark at the mouth of the Haven. All theſe things thus happily atchieved, *Auria* ſtrongly fortified the City of *Corone*, ſtoring it both with Munition and plenty of Victual, committing the defence thereof to *Mendoza* a valiant *Spaniard*, with a ſtrong Garriſon of *Spaniards*; promiſing of his own charge to relieve him whenſoever he ſhould need, if the Emperor ſhould defer to do it. The Strait of *Naupactum* laid open, *Salviatus* with the Gallies of *Malta* ſcoured all alongſt the Gulf of *Corinth*, doing great harm unto the Turks which dwelt on both ſides of the Gulf, ſpoiling and terrifying them even as far as *Corinth*. Not long after, Winter now approaching, *Auria* receiving Letters from the Emperor, of *Solymans* departure out of *Hungary*, returned with his Fleet loaded with the ſpoil of the Turks, to *Naples*, and ſo from thence home to *Genoa*.

1533. *The* Turks *beſiege* Corone.

Auria *ſent by the Emperor to relieve* **Corone.**

In the beginning of the Spring following (which was the year, 1533.) it was rifely reported that the Turks were coming with a great Fleet towards *Peloponneſus*; and not long after, *Mendoza* Governor of *Corome*, by Letters advertiſed *Peter* of *Toledo*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, That he was both by Sea and Land hardly beſieged by the Turks; and that he would to the uttermoſt of his Power valiantly defend the City, ſo long as he had any proviſion of Victual: Wherefore he moſt earneſtly requeſted, That if the Emperor would have the Town kept, he ſhould in time ſend him Relief, whereupon the oppreſſed *Grecians* taking heart, were like enough to rebel, and to help to expulſe the Turks quite out of *Peloponneſus*: But above all things he forgot not to crave ſpeedy Aid of *Auria*, and to put him in mind of the faithful promiſe he had made to relieve him at his need. Upon this news, *Charles* the Emperor commanded *Auria* his Admiral, to rig up a convenient Fleet for that Service, promiſing forthwith to ſend unto him twelve Gallies, which he had new built in *Spain*. He alſo requeſted the Knights of *Malta* to Aid him with their Gallies againſt that common Enemy. Wherefore *Auria* having with wonderful celerity rigged up thirty tall Ships, and as many Gallies, came to *Naples* to take in his Souldiers; there the old Garriſons of the *Spaniards* which for want of pay were riſen in mutiny againſt the great Commander and General *Vaſtius* and the Vice-Roy, and had rifled the City of *Averſæ*, and done no little harm all about in the Country of *Campania*, were again pacified by a pay given unto them, and preſently embarked for *Corone*, under the Command of *Rodericus Macicaus* their General; at which time alſo *Frederick* of *Toledo* the Vice-Roy's Son, with a Company of brave Gentlemen went aboord, vowing unto the Sacred War that their firſt Service. The Knights of *Malta* came thither alſo with their Gallies. But whilſt theſe things were a doing, *Auria* to incourage them of *Corone*, for fear leſt they deſpairing of help, ſhould fall to ſome hard compoſition with the Turks, ſent *Chriſtopher Palavicine* a reſolute young Gentleman of an invincible courage, with a moſt ſwift Gally to *Corone*; who by daylight paſſing through the midſt of the Turks Fleet, ſafely recovered the Haven, to the great joy of the beſieged Chriſtians; and ſhortly after when he had well viewed all things he was ſent for, with the ſtrength and manner of the Enemies lying, and filling the minds of the Defendants with aſſured hope of ſpeedy reſcue, about noon time of the day he ſuddenly brake out again through the midſt of his Enemies, and as it were miraculouſly eſcaped in ſafety, for all that they could do, although they ceaſed not to give him chace ſo long as they were in any hope to have overtaken him. *Auria* departing from *Naples*, came to *Meſſina*, where he certainly informed of the Enemies force both by Sea and Land, with the number of their Gallies, and ſeeing that the chief hope of relieving of the City conſiſted in celerity, ſtayed not for the Gallies he expected out of *Spain*; but held on his courſe towards *Grecia*; for it was told him, that the Enemies Fleet daily increaſed, by the coming in of the Turkiſh Pirats; and that *Aſſem-Beg* (otherwiſe called *the Moor of Alexandria*, an arch Pirat) was ſtill looked for, in whoſe good directions the Turkiſh Captains repoſed the greateſt hope of their Victory. When he was come as far as *Zazynthus*, he was informed by the *Venetians*, That *Luftibeius* Baſſa (or rather *Lutzis* Baſſa the Turks great Admiral, and *Solymans* Brother in law) with *Solyman* of *Acarnania*, and the *Moor* (men for their skill at Sea, of great Fame and Reputation) lay before *Corone*, with eighty Gallies manned with divers Companies of the old Janizaries; ſo that it was thought a matter of exceeding peril for him to adventure to relieve the Town, except he took the advantage of ſome proſperous gale of Wind. Wherefore *Auria* to have yet more certain knowledge of the Enemies Fleet, ſent before him *Chriſtopher Palavicine* with one Gally, again to view the manner of the Enemies lying; who paſſing the Promontory of *Acrites*, ſaw all the Turks great Fleet lying in very good order before the City; and ſo returned to *Auria*, confirming that the *Venetians* had before reported, and that the Turks Fleet was greatly increaſed, and lay ready as it ſhould ſeem to give him battel as ſoon as he ſhould approach the City. For all that, *Auria* nothing diſmaid with the greatneſs of the Turks Fleet, made no ſtay, but ſtill kept on his courſe, and with a fair gale of Wind paſſing the Promontory of *Acrytes*, came directly towards *Corone*. Two great Gallions, of all the Fleet the moſt War-like Ships, came formoſt; whereof the one was *Aurias*'s own, which he had built with a wonderful Charge; and the other was of *Sicilia*, Theſe two great Ships were appointed by *Auria* to turn a little upon the left hand; and at ſuch time as the Enemy ſhould ſet forward from the ſhore, to caſt Anchor betwixt both the Fleets; that as occaſion ſhould ſerve, they might as out of two ſtrong Caſtles, beat the Turks Gallies with their great Ordnance, wherewith they were for that purpoſe wonderfully ſtored. Next unto theſe great Gallions followed the other War-like Ships with full ſails; after whom came the Gallies in three Squadrons; whereof *Salviatus* had the leading of the right Wing, which conſiſted of the Biſhop of *Romes* Gallies and them of *Malta*; in the left Wing and near unto the Enemy commanded *Antonius Auria*; and in the middle was *Auria* himſelf. At the firſt ſight of the Chriſtian Fleet, the Turks moved not from the ſhore, but diſcharged their Ordance at them afar off, and then begun to ſet forward and to draw nearer; eſpecially the *Moor*, who with greater courage than the reſt, aſſailed the ſide and the rereward of the Fleet; for the Chriſtians keeping on their courſe right forth to *Corone*, and turning nothing to the left hand, as was before appointed, ſeemed as if they had fled; and ſo much the more, for that the Gallies in the right Wing, for fear of the Turks great Ordnance, did fetch a great compaſs farther off into the Sea, and many of the middle Squadron and of the left Wing alſo, had diſorderly thruſt themſelves in amongſt the Ships, although they had received little or no harm of the Enemies great ſhot.

The order of Auria *his Fleet before* Corone.

The Chriſtian Fleet diſordered.

In this confuſion of the Chriſtian Navy, the *Moor* requeſted *Lutzis* the Admiral, not to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion, wherein the Chriſtian Fleet might eaſily have been overthrown; but whilſt *Lutzis* doth ſlowly and conſiderately ſet forward, *Auria* in the mean time had put his Fleet again in order, and with a fair Wind was come to *Corone*. Two of the Ships by the way falling foul one on another, ſtaid behind, being not able to keep way with the reſt; about which all the Turks Gallies preſently flockt, and took the leſſer of them, killing all the *Spaniards* they found therein. Out of this they boorded the greater, and with a bloody fight had won the Forecaſtle and Waſt of the Ship; when *Auria*, accounting it no ſmall diſhonour to have his Ships ſo ſurpriſed at his heels, cauſed all his Gallies to turn again upon the Enemy, to reſcue thoſe Ships. The Turks ſeeing that, and with the Weſternly Wind by little and little fallen down ſo far with the Ships, that they were come within the danger of the ſhoot of the Town, began with great ſtir to forſake the Ships, and to betake themſelves to their Oars, and ſo in manner of flight withdrew themſelves. Whom *Auria* purſued a good way to *Modon*, thundring in their Poupes with his great ſhot, which he liberally beſtowed amongſt them; whilſt in the mean time *Antonius Auria* came to reſcue the two diſtreſſed Ships. There the *Spaniards* which but a little before had hardly maintained their cloſe fights, began now as men revived, to ſhew themſelves, and couragiouſly to make reſiſtance; and they which came with *Antonius Auria* to their reſcue, entring with wonderful celerity on every ſide, ſlew and took 300 Janizaries, which with great courage had entred thoſe Ships, and were there left by the ſudden departure of their Fellows. Amongſt whom was taken, one *Joſuphus* an old Captain of 1000 Janizaries; to whom *Auria* after he was come to *Corone*, gave a fair Suit of Apparel and a chain of Gold, and ſo ſet him at liberty without any ranſome, thereby to provoke the Turks to the like kind of courteous dealing with the Chriſtians. *Aſſam-beg* the Pirate, and the other Captains of the Turks Fleet, wonderfully blamed *Lutzis* the Admiral, for that he would not then fight with the Chriſtians, when as he was thereto moſt earneſtly requeſted both by the Captains and Souldiers in general, and had a fair opportunity of Victory offered at ſuch time as the Chriſtians Fleet was diſordered; but he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, That it was given him in ſpecial Charge from *Solyman* the Emperor, That he ſhould in any caſe reſpect the ſafety of his Navy, and not to come to the hazard of a battel. The Turks which beſieged the City by Land, upon the approach of the Chriſtian Fleet, forſook their Trenches and fled; at which time *Mendoza* the Governor ſallying out, took great ſtore of Victual and War-like proviſion which the Turks had for haſt left behind them. So *Auria* to his great honour having driven the Turks from *Corone* both by Sea and Land, furniſhed the City with ſtore of Corn, Wine, Victual, Powder, and Shot; and committed the defence thereof to *Macicaus* and the Companies of the mutinous *Spaniards* which he had brought from *Naples*; comforting the Greeks, and exhorting them, patiently for a while to endure thoſe Calamities of War; telling them that the Emperor would the next Spring make War againſt the Turks both by Sea and Land in *Peloponneſus*, and free them from the Turkiſh Bondage. And ſo imbarking the old Garriſon of *Spaniards*, departed from *Corone*, and came before *Modon*, where he lay as it were braving the Turks Admiral, hoping thereby to draw him out of that ſtrong Harbor to battel. But when he ſaw that the Enemy could by no means be allured out of his ſtrength, or aſſailed as he lay, he departed thence to *Corcyra*, and ſo back again to *Meſſina* in *Sicilia*.

Auria *arriveth at* Corone.

The Turks Fleet flies to Modon.

Corone *relieved by* Auria.

Auria *returns, and before* Modon *braveth the Turks Fleet*

Within

The Moor of Alexandria *well beaten, and taken by* Canalis *the Venetian.*

Within a few days after, *Aſſam-beg* the Moor of *Alexandria* and moſt famous Pyrate, lying in wait for the Merchants Ships of *Venice* coming out of *Syria* with Merchandize, by chance met with *Hieronimus Canalus* upon the Coaſt of *Crete*; where in the night time was fought betwixt them a fierce and cruel Battel; wherein of the Moors thirteen Gallies, four were ſunk, three taken, and the reſt having loſt moſt part of their Rowers, fled to *Alexandria*. In this Fight were ſlain three hundred Janizaries which were going to *Caire*, and a thouſand other Turks; of all them that were taken, there was ſcarcely one ſaved, but the Moor himſelf, who grievouſly wounded in the Face, for ſafeguard of his life was glad to diſcover himſelf; for the Venetians maintaining their State by Trade and Traffique, do of all other ſhew leaſt favour unto Pyrats. When the Moor had made himſelf known to *Canalis*, there was great care taken for the curing of his Wounds, and either of them began with notable diſſimulation to excuſe the matter to other; ſaying, That they were both deceived by the likeneſs of the Gallies, and miſtaking of their Friends for Enemies; when as for all that, they knew one another right well. For the Moor ſaid, that he took thoſe Venetian Gallies for to have been part of *Auria* his Fleet; and *Canalis* excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that he miſtook him for *Barbaruſſa*, who a few years before had ſurpriſed three of the Venetian Gallies. Yet the Venetians doubting how *Solyman* would take the mater, by their Embaſſador ſought to exeuſe what was done, as a thing happening by error and miſchance; of which excuſe *Solyman* accepted, and ſaid moreover, that *Canalis* had done well and Souldier like, to repulſe by force the wrong that was offered him. Three of the Emperors Gallies ſtaying behind the reſt of the Fleet, were near unto the Promontory *Palimurus*, upon the Coaſt of *Apulia*, intercepted and carried away by *Sinam*, ſirnamed the Jew, a notable Pyrate of that time alſo.

The Garriſon Souldiers of Corone *deſire of their General to be brought to ſome ſervice.*

The Winter following, the Spaniards and Greeks in *Corone* began to want Victuals, eſpecially Wine and Fleſh; for the Turks had ſo blocked up the City, that nothing was to be had out of the Country; wherefore the Souldiers requeſted *Macicaus* their Governor and General to lead them forth to ſome piece of ſervice againſt the Enemy, forſomuch as they were not to hope for any relief elſewhere before *April*, wiſhing rather valiantly to die like men in Fight againſt the Turks, than to languiſh within thoſe dead Walls for want of Victual. But *Macicaus* mindful of his charge, ſought by many reaſons to diſſwade them from ſuch purpoſe, ſhewing them what an offence it were raſhly to depart out of the City committed to their cuſtody, which might be unto them dangerous, although they ſhould ſpeed never ſo well; and that thoſe wants which they rather feared than felt, would well enough be overcome by ſparing and patience; and therefore told them plainly, that he was reſolutely ſet down to keep the City for the Emperor, and to indure all hardneſs, rather than to incur the infamy, That he had forſaken the City, and betraied his Garriſon. Yet for all this the matter was ſo urged by *Didacus Touarres* and *Hermoſilla*, both great Captains, and by the general importunity of the Souldiers, that *Macicaus* was enforced to yield to their deſire, and to promiſe them to go; yet earneſtly proteſting, that he did it altogether againſt his Will, rather enforced than perſwaded unto that, whereof he had no great hope of ſucceſs. Among other that were ſo forward in this action, was one *Barbatius*, a moſt valiant Greek, who could perfectly ſpeak the Turks Language, and of all others beſt knew the By-waies and ſecret paſſages of the Country; he undertook to be their Guid, and by unknown Waies to bring them unto the Enemies undiſcovered in the dead time of the night, when as they feared no ſuch matter. So *Macicaus* commending the cuſtody of the City to *Liſcanius* and *Mendeſius*, with charge that they ſhould ſuffer no man to go out of the City after his departure, for fear of giving any knowledge unto the Enemy, ſet forward about ten a clock in the night towards *Andruſſa*, *Barbatius* being his Guid; who ſhunning the common beaten Waies, brought them by ſecret and uncouth Paths that night half the way to *Andruſſa*; but upon the riſing of the Sun he brought them into a ſecret woody Valley, where they reſted and refreſhed themſelves all that day, and ſetting forward at night, came to *Andruſſa* before day. In this Town, which was of no great ſtrength, lay one *Caranus*, a warlike Captain with three thouſand Footmen, whereof the one half were Janizaries; and in the Suburbs lay *Acomates* with a thouſand choſen Horſemen, with which Garriſon the Turks kept all that ſide of *Peloponneſus* in awe. *Macicaus* brought by his Guid unto the place where his Enemies lay, went directly to the Town to have ſurpriſed it; *Hermoſilla* in the mean time ſtanding ſtill with certain Companies of Spaniards over againſt the place where the Horſemen lay. But this could not be done with ſo great ſilence, but that ſome of the Horſeboys being awake diſcovered them by the fire in their Matches; who firſt awaked the negligent Watchmen, and afterwards raiſed an Alarm in the Suburbs; whereupon *Hermoſilla* couragiouſly ſet upon the Horſemen, being altogether unready, and ſlew many of them before they could arm themſelves, and ſet fire alſo upon the Stables wherein the Turks Horſes ſtood, with the rage whereof many of the Turks periſhed, with their Horſes and Armor. Great and terrible was the noiſe raiſed upon the ſuddain in the Suburbs, but eſpecially of the Horſes, which burnt as they ſtood faſt tied in the Stables, or by chance breaking looſe, ran up and down with their Tayls and Mains on a light fire; by occaſion whereof, an Alarm was raiſed in the Town, and the Turks got to the Walls before the Spaniards could enter. *Macicaus* himſelf labouring to break in at a Poſtern, was ſhot in the Head with a ſmall Shot, and ſlain; divers others near unto him were ſlain alſo. The Turks perceiving the ſmall number of their Enemies, ſallied out upon them, and enforced them to retire to *Hermoſilla*, who had already made great Spoil amongſt the Horſemen, by whoſe skilful direction, the Spaniards retired in ſo good order, making many ſtands, with their Harquebuſiers all drawn into the Rearward, that ſuch of the Turks as were moſt forward to purſue them, did by their death cauſe the reſt to make leſs haſt. *Acomates* with ſuch of his Horſemen as had eſcaped the Fire, haſted thither alſo, bringing with him two hundred Harquebuſiers, which he had cauſed his Horſemen for haſt to take up behind them upon their Horſes; but whilſt he ſought eagerly to be revenged upon his Enemies, and with too much heat preſſed on with the foremoſt, he was ſhot in the Body with a Bullet and ſlain. So the Horſemen which had before received a great loſs as they lay in their lodgings, accounting it in their good haps that they were not there all ſlain, and having now loſt their Captain, ceaſed any further to purſue their Enemies, but returned. The Spaniards and Greeks, although they were wearied both with their long march and evil ſucceſs, retired ſtill as

Macicaus *Governor of* Corone *goeth out to ſurpriſe* Andruſſa.

Macicaus *ſlain.*

reſolute men, ready to fight, and ſo returned to *Corone*. Preſently after, the Turkiſh Garriſon removed from *Andruſſa* to *Megalopolis*, now called *Londarium*; after whoſe departure the Chriſtian Souldiers of *Corone* came thither and buried the dead bodies of their ſlain Fellows (which till then lay unburied) and brought back with them the Head of *Macicaus* their late General, which the Turks had there ſet up upon a long Pole, which they honourably buried at *Corone*. Not long after, the Plague began to grow hot in *Corone*, ſo much the more grievous, for that it came accompanied with many other hard difficulties. For which cauſes, the Spaniards as men at once inforced with many extremities, imbarked themſelves with all the great Ordnance, and ſuch Greeks as would go with them, in certain Ships which came with Corn out *Sicilia*, and ſo departed, leaving the Town empty for the Turks to come unto.

Corone *forſaken by the Spaniards.*

It was commonly reported, that the Spaniards left *Corone* not without the ſecret conſent of the Emperor, which was the rather thought to be ſo, becauſe that they which forſook the place, received thereby no diſgrace, and the Emperor himſelf had offered to give the Town to *Clement* Biſhop of *Rome*, the Venetians and the Knights of *Malta*, who all refuſed to receive it, as loath to be at ſo great a charge in keeping a place ſerving for no greater purpoſe; the very cauſe why the Emperor was ſo willing to part with it. Now *Clement* the great Biſhop had by means of *Aloyſius Grittus* made a motion of a Peace, to have been concluded for ten years betwixt *Solyman* and the Chriſtian Princes, and thereupon the Town to have been again delivered unto the Turks; which Peace *Solyman* was not altogther unwilling to grant, being then wholly bent to invade the Perſian King. *Ferdinand* was alſo in good hope that his Brother *Charles* the Emperor, would for the yielding up of that Town have covenanted with the Turk ſome great matter for his benefit in *Hungary*, which as was thought would alſo have been eaſily obtained. But whilſt the Emperor drawn diverſly with the conſideration of his honour in keeping it, and of his profit in giving it up, ſtood too long in reſolving, the Town in the mean time was by the Spaniards (their neceſſity dayly increaſing) abandoned, and ſo left to the Turks for nothing.

1534.

Solyman now purpoſing to turn his forces againſt the Perſians, of whom he had in the Frontiers of his Dominions received great hurt, eſpecially in *Comagene*; renewed the League he had with the Venetians, and ſome other Chriſtian Princes; but of all other his Affairs with the Chriſtians, he was moſt careful of the intereſt he had already gotten in *Hungary*. For it was reported, that King *John* his Vaſſal induced by the continual ſolicitations of his Subjects, was deſirous of Peace with King *Ferdinand*, upon condition that he might quietly enjoy the Kingdom during his life; and after his deceaſe it to remain to King *Ferdinand* and his Heirs. Wherefore *Solyman*, that nothing ſhould be there done in his abſence without his knowledge, ſent *Aloyſius Grittus* the Duke of *Venice* his Son (of whom we have before ſpoken,) a man both for the honour of his Houſe, the good carriage of himſelf, and the ſpecial commendation of *Abraham* the chief Baſſa, in great credit with him; with Commiſſion as his Lieutenant to be aſſiſtant unto King *John*, in ſuch magnifical ſort, as that without him the King might conclude nothing in matters of State, concerning either Peace or War, with any other the Chriſtian Princes. With this proud Commiſſion from the grand Seignior, *Grittus* entred into *Tranſylvania*, then a part of the Kingdom of *Hungary* (much about the ſame time that *Solyman* ſet forward from *Conſtantinople* againſt the Perſian) attended upon with ſeven thouſand perſons of one ſort and other, among whom were *Urbanus Batianus*, and *Janus Docia*, two famous Hungarian Captains with their Companies, and many of the Turks Janizaries alſo. At his firſt coming, to make his Authority the more known, he ſent out his proud command unto the great Men and Governors of the Cities of that warlike Province, charging them forthwith to repair unto him as great *Solymans* Deputy, authoriſed by him to hear and determin all the controverſies and matters of State concerning the Kingdom of *Hungary*. At that time *Americus Cibachus* Biſhop of *Veradium*, a man of great Nobility and Power, withal ſingularly well qualified, was Vayvod or Governor of *Tranſilvania*, an honour next unto the King; he underſtanding that *Grittus* was come into his Province, and making ſmall haſt to wellcome him, as one not greatly moved with his coming, or much regarding the commandment of *Solyman*; wonderfully offended *Grittus*, who deſired nothing more than at his firſt entrance to have confirmed the opinion of his Authority in the minds of the Vulgar People by the preſt and ready attendance of the Vayvod. But it was commonly bruted, that the ſtout Biſhop upon a Chriſtian Zeal deteſted the Friendſhip of the Turks, and could not well brook that they ſhould be too much acquainted in his Province, for fear leſt that fruitful Country abounding with Men and Horſes, ſhould by one means or other fall into their hands. *Grittus* was come to *Baxovia* when he underſtood by many Meſſengers, that the Vayvod was coming with a great Train, and lay about ten miles off, encamped with divers gallant Troops of Horſemen, in warlike manner appointed; for the Biſhops of *Hungary* being wonderful rich, were by old cuſtom bound to keep great numbers of Horſemen, which as occaſion ſerved they uſed to bring into the Field againſt the Turk; accounting it great honour with their religious hands to defend the cauſe of Religion. But then eſpecially the Nobility of the Country well appointed reſorted on every ſide, on courteſie to honour and contenance their great Biſhop and Governor, at whoſe commandment they were; inſomuch as the Biſhops retinue made ſhew of a good Army. Which thing moved *Grittus* exceedingly, that he ſhould be enforced contrary to his expectation to parly with the Biſhop in the open Fields, as with an Enemy in ſight of all their Followers. Hereof roſe envy, a deadly miſchief always repining at another mans honour; when as the one ſwelling with Turkiſh Pride could not then abide any equal, and the other jealous of his honour, could by no means endure any ſuperior, in ſuch place as he had the Sovereignty of. When theſe two great men had met together in the open Fields, and there dined more like Enemies than Friends, without any ſhew of friendſhip or good will; *Grittus* inwardly chafing at his bare entertainment, covertly threatned to be revenged upon all ſuch as ſhould make ſo light account of his Authority; and immediately as he departed from the Banquet, taking his Cap from his Head (which was after the Turkiſh manner made of a high faſhion, of rich Sables) and opening it with both his Hands, ſaid, *This Cap will not hold two Heads, and therefore it muſt be fitted to one*, and ſo put it on again. *John Docia*, one of the Hungarian Captains, his Followers, who deadly hated the Vayvod (for that he had long time before, for his malepert Speech in a great Aſſembly, given him a blow with his

Aloyſius Grittus *the Duke of* Venice *his Son*, Solymans *Lieutenant in* Hungary *to overſee King* John.

Americus *Biſhop of* Veradium *and Vayvod of* Tranſylvania, *contemneth* Grittus.

Fiſt)

Janus Docia *incenſeth* Grittus *againſt the Vayvod.*

The cauſe why Laſcus *the Polonian fell from King* John.

The Vayvod murdred in his Tent by Docia, *and his head preſented to* Grittus.

The Tranſylvanians riſe up in Arms againſt Grittus, *to revenge the death of the Vayvod.*

Fiſt.) took hold of that Speech of *Grittus*, as a fit occaſion for him to work his revenge: and ſaid, *Your honour maketh a fit compariſon, neither can this Province contain two equal Governors or Commanders, nor you ever enjoy your Power and Authority, except you do this day with ſpeedy and manly reſolution defend both* Solymans *credit, and your own. You know not this proud Beaſt* Americus; *whoſe Pride and Inſolency if you but ſay the word, I will quickly put down; for he hateth* Solyman, *he regardeth not the King, and of you he maketh no account at all, for why, he aſpireth unto the Majeſty of a King, and ſaith that the Vayvodſhip of* Tranſylvania *well beſeemeth a King; for that in this Country* Decebaldus *the Dacian ſometime reigned, whom the warlike Emperor* Trajan *with all the force of the Roman Empire hardly ſubdued. No man can more proudly or arrogantly ſet himſelf forth than he, neither more craftily or cunningly diſſemble to ſerve his turn. Indeed he hath for faſhion ſake preſented your honour with a few ſimple Preſents, and given you his Hand alſo, better known for his Falſhood than his Faith; to the intent that when you are once paſt his Country, he may ſcoff and jeaſt at your Decrees; verily he deadly envieth at your Honour and Felicity, and grudgeth in his heart, that you ſhould ſet down the Laws of Peace and War in* Hungary; *and whereas he doth manifeſtly aſpire unto a Kingdom, he feareth you above all others, leſt you ſhould trouble his deſigns, abate his credit, and chaſtiſe his inſolency. Verily, he that thus maligneth your happyneſs, and contemneth your Authority, is not to be ſuffered, but by good reaſon to be taken away; thereby at this your firſt entrance to defend the credit of your Commiſſion, and honour of your Name. For nothing is more dangerous than a faithleſs Companion, and a ſecret Enemy, eſpecially when you ſhall leave him at your back behind you; for when he ſhall, as occaſion ſerves, ſhew forth his hidden malice, he ſhall ſo much the more ſlily and deſperately endanger your Perſon.* *Grittus* enraged with his Speech more than before, thought it beſt to make haſt, and to uſe his Authority to the full; he commended *Docia*, and promiſed him in ſhort time to requite his good will towards him, eſpecially if he would by ſome notable attempt abate the Biſhops Pride. It is reported, that *Grittus* gave him no other charge, but to take the Biſhop that ſo he might after the Turkiſh manner have ſent him in Chains to *Conſtantinople*, and beſtowed the honour of the Vayvod upon *Hieronimus Laſcus* the Polonian, who in hope of that honourable Preferment unto him promiſed by King *John*, had done unto him great and faithful ſervice, as his Embaſſador both unto *Solyman*, and alſo unto the French King. But when King *John* perceived that he could not conveniently without manifeſt danger place him, being a Polonian (who could ſcarcely ſpeak the Hungarian Language) Governor over ſuch warlike People; he as it were enforced by neceſſity, preferred this *Americus* the Biſhop of *Veradium*, a man of them both reverenced and feared: Which ſo grieved *Laſcus*, a man of great Stomach and Experience, and thereunto excellently learned, that he would never admit of any excuſe of the Kings, but alwaies after complained, that he was by the King deluded. Yet for all that, he kept himſelf within the bounds of Loyalty, and enjoyed certain Lands and Towns which the King had given him in the Borders of *Polonia*; and eſtranged nevertheleſs from him in mind, was now become one of *Grittus* his Followers, hoping of his better Preferment by his means unto *Solyman*; and for that cauſe was not ſo forward to do the King ſuch ſervice as he had in times paſt. Now by the commandment of *Grittus*, a ſtrong Company of Turkiſh Horſemen, and certain Troops of Hungarians, were delivered to *Docia*; who ſecretly departing that night from *Baxovia*, came ſuddenly to the Vayvods Camp, having a little before by his Hungarian Spies learned that he lay in the open Fields in his Tent, by reaſon of the great heat, without any watch or guard attended on only with his Pages and Houſhold Servants, as a man without fear; and that all the reſt of his retinue lay diſperſed in the Country Villages round about. All which ſerved ſo well for *Docia* his purpoſe, that the Vayvod ignorant of his death ſo nigh at hand (who rather contemned than feared his Enemies) was ſuddainly oppreſſed by *Docia* his Souldiers; ſo that whilſt he was yet lying in his Bed, and ſcarcely well awaked by his Chamberlains and the noiſe of the Enemy; *Docia* breaking into his Tent, cut off his Head as he lay. All they which lay near, amazed with the ſuddainneſs of the matter, fled away for fear, and left their Horſes and other things for a Prey to the Turks and other of *Docia* his Followers. *Docia* having done ſo great an outrage, returned to *Grittus*, preſenting unto him the Vayvods Head, which he brought in his Hand by the Ear. *Laſcus* was then preſent, but altogether ignorant of the murder, who as a man moved with a natural compaſſion in ſo ſuddain and horrible a Fact, and forgetting all former grudges (as in like caſe it oftentimes chanceth) ſtood as one diſmaid, nothing rejoicing at the unworthy death of his Enemy. To whom *Grittus* turning himſelf, ſaid, *Laſcus*, Doſt thou not know this ſhaven Pate, truly it is a great Mans Head, but of ſuch an one as was very ambitious, rebellious, and proud. To whom *Laſcus* replied, Truly though I loved him not, yet I thought it not ſo whilſt it ſtood upon his Shoulders; diſallowing therein the Cruelty of the Fact. Which thing *Grittus* perceiving began to repent him of that was done, and ſaid openly, that although he was worthily ſlain, yet he could have wiſhed rather to have had him taken Priſoner. The report of this horrible murder once bruted abroad, the Biſhops Kinſmen and Friends, yea almoſt all the People of that Province riſe up in Arms againſt *Grittus*, to revenge the death of the reverend Biſhop, whom living they had both loved and feared. Never did any People in revenge of a common wrong; enter into Arms with greater deſire, more heat, or quicker ſpeed; ſo that in few days there were aſſembled together forty thouſand Horſe and Foot, under the leading of *Stephanus Maylat* a Noble Gentleman, who of all other moſt honoured the Biſhop, and in that common grief took upon him as chief, the perſecuting of the Authors of ſuch inhumane Cruelty. *Grittus* perceiving how grievouſly the matter was taken, with the danger he was in, began to doubt with himſelf what courſe were beſt for him to take. To go forward, and to fall into the hands of the furious People, the ſame was preſent death; and to return and leave the honourable deputation he had with ſo great expectation of all men taken upon him, was unto his aſpiring mind no leſs torment than death it ſelf. Thus perplexed, he with all ſpeed got himſelf with his Followers to the ſtrong Town of *Mege*, in hope to ſhroud himſelf until ſuch time as the rage of the Country People were either of it ſelf appeaſed (as it oftentimes falleth out in ſuch ſuddain Tumults) or elſe he ſhould be relieved by King *John*, or the Turks Sanzacks which had the charge of the Frontiers of the Turkiſh Empire. The Townſmen of *Mege* ſeeing *Grittus* accompanied with ſo many Turks, ſhut the Gates againſt him; yet at length by the perſwaſion of the two Hungarian

Captains *Docia* and *Batianus*, they gave him leave to enter into the baſe Town, having before retired themſelves with all their Subſtance unto the higher Town, which in manner of a ſtrong Caſtle commanded the lower. Here whilſt *Grittus* with all carefulneſs fortifieth the place, and diſpatcheth the Meſſengers unto his Friends abroad for Aid; his Enemies with hideous noiſe and outcries approaching the Town, at their firſt coming attempted to have ſcaled the Walls and Rampiers thereof, which thing whilſt they diſorderly did, with greater fury than diſcretion, they were eaſily repulſed, and many of them ſlain by the Turks Janizaries and Harquebuſiers. After which loſs, by the direction of *Maylat* their General, they withdrew themſelves out of the danger of the Shot, and incamped on every ſide of the Town, hoping as the truth was, that their Enemies unprovided of Victual, could not long hold the place, but muſt of neceſſity either ſtarve with Famine, or yield it up. In the mean time *Grittus* reſolutely enduring all the calamities of a man beſieged, fell ſick, and ſo much the more for that he could hear nothing of any Aid which he expected from his Friends; for King *John* glad in his mind of the diſtreſs of the Overſeer, or rather Competitor of his Kingdom; and alſo knowing that he could not without great diſcontentment of his Subjects oppoſe himſelf againſt ſuch a multitude riſen upon ſo juſt a cauſe; yet for faſhion ſake ſent certain Troops of Horſemen to his relief; who not altogether ignorant of the Kings mind, made ſuch haſt, as men that purpoſed not to come in time to do him good. As for the Turks Sanzacks of *Belgrade* and *Sumandria*, they envying at his honour, flatly refuſed to depart from their charge, to relieve him without expreſs command from *Solyman* himſelf; and *Laſcus* (before one of *Grittus* his chief Followers, but now a beholder of his diſtreſs) when he had a little before departed from him to procure him ſome relief, as he promiſed, did now in this extremity forſake him alſo. The Citizens in the upper Town (who a great while had ſtood looking on from above as men indifferent) perceiving the full reſolution of their Countrymen to be revenged, and the difficulties wherewith the Turks were incloſed, aſſailed them alſo from the high Town. *Grittus* thus beſet on every ſide, offered unto the Tranſylvanians a great Maſs of Mony, to ſuffer him to paſs forward into *Hungary*; but their furious minds more deſirous of Revenge than Mony, were not to be moved with any Gold. In fine, he ſent rich Jewels to the Governor of *Moldavia* his Friend, to be ready at a certain hour when he would ſally out of the Town, to receive him with certain Troops of Horſemen; ſo if it were poſſible to ſave himſelf and his Children. *Grittus* (whether it were upon a doubtful hope, or urged by inevitable deſtiny) ſallying out of the Town at the appointed time, with *Solymans* Commiſſion in his hand, and miſſing of the Moldavian, fell upon *Francis Scheden* the late Biſhops nigh Kinſman, and *Maylat* his familiar Friend; who furiouſly running in upon him with tumultuous Speech, violently caught from his Head his rich Cap of Sables,and with his Horſemen took him, being weak with ſickneſs, and making no reſiſtance. His Followers, eſpecially the Turks, incloſed on every ſide, were either ſlain or taken. But *Grittus* himſelf being brought to the Generals Tent, beſet round with his armed Enemis, and there examined, *Why he had commanded the Vayvod to be ſlain*; earneſtly proteſted, *That he never commanded any ſuch thing, and that it was done without his knowledge.* Which his anſwer ſerved not his turn, all the People crying out againſt him with one voice,that he ſhould as a ſacrifice be offered unto the Vayvods Ghoſt. Whereupon he was by *Maylat* delivered again to *Francis Schenden* to be executed, who without delay cauſed his Head to be ſtruck off. The Nobility and the Vayvods Kinſmen (after the manner of that People) dipped ſome part of their Garments in his Blood, the longer to keep in mind the remembrance of the Revenge. This was the ſhameful end of *Aloyſius Grittus* the Duke of *Venice* his Son, *Solymans* Deputy in *Hungary*, with whom he was in ſuch credit as never was any Chriſtian, abounding in Wealth and worldly Felicity; but climing too faſt up the evil ſtaved Ladder of Ambition, ſuddenly fell and never riſe more. The Executioner ſtripping his dead Body, found about him ſo may precious Stones and Jewels as were valued at forty millions of Ducats. And not long after, *Laſcus* ſent for by the King to *Buda*, was ſtraitly examined upon torture concerning *Grittus* his Commiſſion and purpoſes, and was in great danger of his life; but at laſt by the interceſſion of *Sigiſmund* King of *Polonia*, he was ſet at liberty, and ſo fled out of *Hungary* unto *Sigiſmund* his Court in *Polonia*, after he had long time wearied himſelf, and adventured his life in the Hungarian State. *Docia* the Author of this Tragedy, was by the furious People afterwards rent in pieces, and ſo periſhed.

Grittus *beſieged by the Tranſylvanians.*

Grittus *taken and brought to* Maylat.

Grittus *beheaded.*

The Riches found about Grittus.

The ſame time that *Grittus* went from *Conſtantinople* into *Hungary*, *Solyman* the Turkiſh Emperor dreading no danger out of *Europe*, took in hand two great Expeditions both at one time, the one by Land into *Aſia* againſt the Perſians, and the other by Sea into *Africk* againſt the Moors; promiſing unto himſelf in his inordinate deſires, the Monarchy of the whole World in ſhort time, if he might ſubdue theſe two great Nations whom he had already in hope devoured. But foraſmuch as all cannot be told at once,which was at one time in divers places ſo far diſtant done, omitting for a while the Expedition made in perſon himſelf againſt the Perſians, we will firſt declare what he did by his Lieutenants againſt the Moors. *Hariadenus*, ſirnamed of the Chriſtians *Barbaruſſa* (who ſucceeding his elder Brother *Horruccius* in the Kingdom of *Algiers* in *Africk*, had by many Victories ſo inlarged the Kingdom before gotten by his Brother, that his Name and Power was now become terrible both to the Chriſtians and wild Moors, and his fame grown great in the Turkiſh Court) was the chief Author and perſwader of *Solyman* to invade *Africk*. But it ſhall not (as I think) be far from our purpoſe here briefly to rehearſe by what means thoſe two Mytilene Brethren, baſely born, crept out of a ſmall Galliot unto the Majeſty of great Kings; that herein they which come afterwards may alſo admire the wonderful changes and chances of theſe worldly things, now up, now down, as if the life of man were not of much more certainty than a ſtage Play.

Solyman *at one time purpoſeth to invade* Perſia *and* Africk.

Theſe two Brethren, *Horruccius* and *Hariadenus*, born at *Mytilene* in the Iſland of *Lesbos*, weary of the poor and baſe eſtate they led at home with their Father, a Renegate Grecian; ſtealing a little Galliot, committed themſelves and all the hope of their good fortune to Sea, where by chance they conſorted themſelves with *Camales*, a moſt famous Pyrat of that time; under whom *Horruccius* the elder Brother, for his forwardneſs became a Captain; and growing rich by many Purchaſes, and alſo ſtrong with Gallies and Slaves which he had at ſundry times taken; and at laſt conſorting himſelf with *Haudin Sinam* the Jew, *Salec*, and other leſs Pyrats (which afterwards became

The poor beginning of Horruccius *and* Hariadenus, *who of baſe Pyrats, aſpired to the Kingdom of* Algiers.

became men of great fame and account) over whom he commanded as an arch Pyrat, came ſeeking after purchaſe as far as *Mauritania.* At which time *Selymes* King of *Julia-Cæſarea*, which now we call *Algiers*, was in Arms againſt his Brother *Mechemetes*, Competitor of the Kingdom; who aided by the Numidians, now commonly called Arabians, put his Brother in great doubt of his Eſtate. *Selymes* glad of the coming of *Horruccius* and the other Pyrats his Followers, with a great Maſs of Mony paid before hand, induced *Horruccius* and the reſt to take upon them the defence of him and his Kingdom againſt his Brother; which thing *Horruccius* ſo happily performed, (eſpecially by the means of his Harquebuſiers, as then no ſmall terror to the wild Moors and Numidians) that in ſhort time he repulſed that ſavage People, and ſet *Selymes* at peace in his Kingdom. *Horruccius* being a man of a ſharp wit, and by nature ambitious, noting in the time of his ſervice the Kings mild and ſimple diſpoſition, void of all diſtruſt; and that the naked Moors were no Souldiers, but a light and unconſtant People, alwaies at variance among themſelves; and that the wandring Numidians living barely divided into many factions, were eaſily by reward to be won, or by force conſtrained; ſuddenly falſified his faith, and villanouſly ſlew *Selymes* the King, as he was bathing himſelf, miſtruſting nothing leſs than the falſhood of the Pyrat; and in the ſame hurl murdring ſuch as he thought would withſtand his deſire, and with Bounty and Cruelty overcoming the reſt, ſo wrought the matter, that he was by general conſent choſen King of *Algiers*. Thus of a Pyrat become a King, he ſhortly after by Policy ſurpriſed *Circello* (a famous City about ſixty mile diſtant from *Algiers*) by his Souldiers ſent thither in the habit of Merchants. After that, he by his Brother *Hariadenus* (no leſs valiant than himſelf) troubled all the Mediterranean Sea from *Algiers* with his Gallies, and all his Neighbours; himſelf by land with daily incurſions, leaving nothing untoucht, which might by force or policy be had; ſo that his power daily encreaſed, men of ſervice continually reſorting unto him, as the chief man in all thoſe parts. Not thus contented, he to enlarge his Kingdom, drave the Spaniards out of *Bugia*, a City famous both for the great Trade thither, and for the Mahometan School ſometime there kept; at the taking whereof he loſt his right Hand with a Shot, and inſtead thereof ever after uſed a Hand of Iron, wherewith he obtained many worthy Victories againſt his Enemies; for near to *Algiers* he overthrew an Army of the Spaniards, with *Diego de Vara* their General. And ſhortly after, at ſuch time as *Hugo Moncada* returning out of *Italy* with the old Spaniſh Souldiers landed in his Country, he enforced him again to Sea; where he with all his expert Souldiers either periſhed by ſhipwrack, or driven on ſhore, were ſlain or taken Priſoners by *Horruccius*, and thruſt into his Gallies. At laſt having in ſundry Battels overcome the King of *Tremiſſa*, *Charles* the Emperor his Confederate, and thruſt him out of his Kingdom, he ſtirred up both the Chriſtians and Numidians againſt him; ſo that coming to take *Ora* and *Portus* (two ſtrong Holds kept by Garriſons of Spaniards ſent thither to aid the King of *Tremiſſa*) he was by them and the Moors at the firſt repulſed, and afterwards quite overthrown; where moſt part of his Army being ſlain or taken Priſoners, he with a few of his Friends ſought to ſave themſelves by flight over the deſart Sands; and ſeeing himſelf hardly purſued by his Enemies, ſcattered many pieces of Gold upon the Sands as he fled, thereby to have ſtaied their haſty purſuit; but they more deſirous of him than of his Gold, followed ſo faſt, that at laſt they overtook him, and without further delay ſtruck off his Head, which was afterwards ſent into *Spain*, and carried upon a Launce through all the Towns and Cities alongſt the Sea Coaſt; to the wonderful rejoycing of the People, unto whom he had in former time done great harm.

Horruccius *his ſucceſs.*

Horruccius *ſlain, and his head carried about in* Spain.

After the death of *Horruccius*, *Hariadenus* inferior to his Brother neither in Courage nor Martial Proweſs, by the general conſent of the Souldiers took upon him the Kingdom of *Algiers*. He, made Heir not only of his Brothers Kingdom, but of his Vertues and haughty Thoughts, and of the ſurname alſo of *Barbaruſſa*, began forthwith to aſpire unto the Empire of all that part of *Africk*; accounting what he had already gotten, too little and too baſe to anſwer his deſires. Wherefore he entred into Arms, and became a terror both to the Moors and Numidians; holding Peace with ſome, and Wars with others, as beſt ſerved his purpoſe; and with his Gallies robbed and ſpoiled the Coaſts of *Spain*, *Sardinia*, and the Iſlands *Baleares*; Fortune ſo favouring him in all his enterpriſes, that he became both famous and fearful to his Enemies. He ſlew *Hamet*, a great Commander among the Numidians, and chaſed *Banchades* and *Amida*, two of their greateſt Princes, out of the Country; and with like fortune at Sea, overcame *Hugo Moncada*, a famous Spaniard, who ſore wounded, had much ado to ſave himſelf by flight, when he had loſt divers of his Gallies. He alſo in Battle at Sea overthrew *Rodericus Portundus*, Admiral of *Spain*; in which fight the Admiral with his Son were both ſlain, and ſeven of his Gallies taken; in token of which Victory, he ſent part of the rich ſpoil there taken, with the Admirals Enſign, as a Preſent unto *Solyman*; whereby he became famous in the Turks Court; but much more, after he had repulſed *Auria* from *Cercenna*, and taken two great Genoway Ships which were coming to *Auria* loaded with Men and Munition; the loſs whereof filled the City of *Genoa* with much ſorrow. All things ſorting thus according to his deſire, and his name become no leſs terrible in *Spain*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, and the Iſlands of the Mediterranian, than it was in the greateſt part of *Africk*; *Solyman* grieved with the loſs of *Corone*, *Patras*, and the Caſtles upon the Straits of *Lepanto*, taken from him by *Auria*, *Himeralet* his Admiral being ſhamefully put to flight, by the Counſel of his Baſſaes, but eſpecially of *Abraham* the chief Baſſa, ſent Embaſſadors unto him to *Algiers*; offering him the greateſt honours of his Court, and to make him Admiral of all his Fleet, if he would forthwith repair unto *Conſtantinople*; for why, he was the only man in all mens judgments, who for his years and great experience at Sea, as well as for his invincible Courage and Glory of his late archieved Kingdom, was to be compared with *Auria*, and to be oppoſed againſt the Chriſtian Fleet. *Sinus* a great man in *Solymans* Court, was with this Embaſſage ſent, and ſpeedily traſported to *Algiers* by *Mangalis*, a famous Pyrat, then Governor of the *Rhodes*; who at his landing, was honourably received by *Barbaruſſa*, and audience given him. *Barbaruſſa* underſtanding the cauſe of his coming, was exceeding glad thereof, preſently conceiving no ſmall hope of obtaining the Monarchy of *Africk*, if he might once come to *Solymans* preſence, and at large ſhew unto him the ſtate of *Africk*, and power of the Chriſtians, with their continual diſcord amongſt themſelves. Wherefore without further

Hariadenus *ſirnamed* Barbaruſſa, *ſucceedeth his Brother* Horruccius *in the Kingdom of* Algiers.

His wonderful ſucceſs

Solyman *ſends for* Barbaruſſa.

delay committing the protection of his Son *Aſanes* (then about eighteen years old) and the Government of his new gotten Kingdom to *Ramada* and *Agis*, two of his nigh Kinſmen and aſſured Friends, of whoſe Fidelity he doubted not; he with forty of his own Gallies in moſt warlike manner appointed, ſet forward with *Solymans* Embaſſador towards *Conſtantinople*; where, by the way he met with a Fleet of Genoway Ships bound for *Sicily* for Corn, which after a ſharp and cruel fight he took and burnt. After that, landing by night in the Country of *Elba*, not far from *Naples*, he ſuddenly ſupriſed *Rhium* a rich City; where loading his Gallies with the Wealth thereof, and carrying away with him all the Inhabitants into Captivity, he arrived at *Conſtantinople* in the year 1533, where he was by the great Courtiers brought to *Solyman*, of whom he was joyfully received, if it were but for the Preſents which he gave him; which were fair Boys and young Maidens ſumptuouſly apparrelled, Eunuchs, and wild Beaſts of *Lybia*, as Lyons, Leopards, and ſuch like.

Barbaruſſa *cometh to* Conſtantinople.

But after he had certain days diſcourſed at large with the great Baſſaes, of the State of *Africk*, the ſtrength of the Chriſtians, and how the Wars were to be managed, he was afterwards by them ſeldomer ſent for, and offering himſelf into their Company, was hardly admitted; for Envy (the inſeparable Companion of growing honour) had quickly overtaken him in the Court, ſo that many men letted not openly to ſay, It had not been the faſhion of the *Othoman* Kings, to prefer Pyrats (the worſt kind of Thieves) to the honour of their great Admiral; and that there wanted not, neither ever would want men both vertuous and valiant in the Turks Court, which could with great honour maintain and augment the glory of the Turkiſh Empire both by Sea and Land; whereas he had againſt all right and conſcience, by ſhameful Treachery intruded himſelf into another mans Kingdom in *Africk*, and there perſecuted the Mahometan Princes and People, being of no Religion himſelf, as one that was born of a renegat Greek, and from his youth lived as a mercileſs Pyrat, and common Enemy of Mankind.

Barbaruſſa *envied in the Turks Court.*

By which Speeches *Barbaruſſa* perceived in how evil time *Abraham* Baſſa his beſt Friend, and by whoſe means he was ſent for, was abſent from Court; who at that time was gone to *Comagena*, and wintered at *Aleppo*, with purpoſe (as *Solymans* Forerunner) with the firſt of the next Spring, to paſs over *Euphrates* againſt the Perſian.

Barbaruſſa *rejected to* Abraham *the great Baſſa.*

After long ſuit, and much expectation, *Solyman* anſwered *Barbaruſſa* by *Ajax* and *Caſſimes* two of the great Baſſaes, That all the matter concerning him ſhould be referred to the diſcretion of *Abraham* the chief Baſſa, for that he was by his Counſel eſpecially ſent for into *Africk*; wherefore if he did expect any thing, he ſhould repair unto him in *Syria*, that according to his grave judgment all things might be ordered.

He travelleth into Syria *to the Baſſa, and is by him commended to* Solyman.

Barbaruſſa thus rejected into *Syria*, although he well perceived that it tended to his no ſmall diſgrace; yet in hope by ſufferance to obtain another Kingdom, ſeemed contented with the anſwer, and reſolved forthwith to take upon him that long and painful journey; which the old King luſtily performed, and ſo poſting by Land through *Aſia* the leſs, and travelling over the Mountain *Amanus*, then covered with deep Snow came in the dead time of Winter to *Aleppo* in *Syria*, where he was honourably received by the great Baſſa, and heard at large, to his ſo good contentation and liking, that he deemed him of all others the fitteſt to command the Turks Power at Sea; and to that purpoſe writ commendatory Letters in his behalf to *Solyman*; wiſhing him for his ſufficiency to place him as the fourth with the other three Baſſaes of his Counſel.

His return to Conſtantinople.

After *Barbaruſſa* was again arrived at *Conſtantinople* with theſe Letters, and that it was once known how effectually the chief Baſſa had commended him to *Solyman*, it was a wonder to ſee how on a ſuddain the face of the Court was changed upon him, every man either for Friendſhip or Flattery began now to ſpeak of his praiſes, and to extol his worthineſs; who was now in all mens mouths but *Barbaruſſa*? ſo great was the Power and Authority of the chief Baſſa, that being abſent, yet was his approbation of all men accounted ſufficient to prefer whom he pleaſed; and his Letters Laws to the reſt of the Court.

Roſcetes.

Barbaruſſa had brought with him from *Algiers*, one *Roſcetes* the Elder Brother of *Muleaſſes* King of *Tunes*, who wrongfully driven into exile by his younger Brother, had lived certain years at *Algiers*, but now by the perſwaſion of *Barbaruſſa* was come with him to *Conſtantinople*, to crave aid of *Solyman*, againſt the oppreſſion of his Brother. Him *Barbaruſſa* oftentimes ſhewed unto the great Baſſaes, and in his diſcourſes with them concerning the Conqueſt of *Africk*, ſet him out as a moſt fit inſtrument for ſubduing of the Kingdom of *Tunes*, as a man whom the People more affected than they did *Muleaſſes* the Uſurper. After long deliberation and conſultation had with the Baſſaes concerning the invaſion of *Africk*, *Barbaruſſa* now admitted unto the preſence of *Solyman*, in theſe or like words perſwaded him to that War, for the entrance whereunto we have thus far digreſſed.

Barbaruſſa *his ſpeech to* Solyman *to perſwade him to invade* Tunes.

What thing the Prieſts with loud voice uſe to pray for, at ſuch time as the Othoman *Emperors enter into the Temple to pray, the ſame thing do I alſo wiſh unto thee moſt mighty* Solyman; *which is, That thou ſhouldſt remember thy Progenitors by Juſtice and Religion to have got for thee this Empire, than which, more magnificent and richer the Gods have not given to any; Fortune hath never deceived them that trod that way, and thou hitherto haſt ſo traced their ſteps, that thou haſt eaſily ſurmounted their Fame and Glory, adminiſtring Juſtice to thy Subjects; and inflamed with the hope of eternal praiſe, making continual War againſt the Enemies of our Religion, the true office of a zealous Prince. By this means is* Belgrade *taken,* Rhodes *won, the King of* Hungary *ſlain in Battel,* Germany *twice harried and burnt, ſo that* Charles, *whom the Chriſtians would make equal to thy ſelf in power and valour, with the great aid almoſt of all the Chriſtian Nations, terrified with the noiſe of thy Army, ſhunned battel. But foraſmuch as Empires, be they never ſo large, or Victories be they never ſo glorious, can either ſatisfie the greatneſs of an heroical mind, or glut the ſame with glory; thou haſt therefore ſent before thee thy victorious Enſigns againſt the Perſians and Parthians, that thoſe Nations who have wickedly fallen from our Rites, purified as it were by thy ſacred Arms, may be again reclaimed to the antient Rites of our Religion. But be this unto thy greatneſs moſt honourable to attempt, and glorious to perform; let it only be lawful for me now grown an old man in the midſt of Arms and dangers, to declare what is expedient, and briefly to open ſuch things as I have by long experience learned to concern the augmenting of thy Fame and Empire elſewhere. Neither would I have you to take this as preſumptuouſly ſpoken of me; for Fortune hath enough, yea more than enough favoured my deſigns, whom from a poor cottage and bare hope, ſhe hath promoted to glorious Victories, great Riches, yea unto the Title and Majeſty of a King. But unto theſe things the Gods* *could give me nothing better, than to be called for of thee, and ſent for, in* Counſel *to diſcourſe of matters of greateſt importance; wherefore my advice ſhall be unto thee faithful, and with experience confirmed; which although it be all that it ſeemeth old men can do, yet in my ſound Body remaineth ſuch ſtrength, that I dare both promiſe and perform unto thee my good ſervice at all aſſaies both by Sea and Land. For unto this only courſe have I bent my ſelf day and night from my youth, following the purpoſe and counſel of my valiant Brother* Horruccius *(who to extend the bounds of our Religion, perſecuted the Chriſtians both by Sea and Land) deſiring nothing more, than that thy Fleet and Power might once be joyned with my Forces and direction, and ſo under thy good hap, to be either a* Commander, *or elſe commanded; foraſmuch as it grieveth me not to be commanded by my betters. Of which my deſires if the Gods ſhall make me partaker, the Spaniards ſhall ſhortly be driven quite out of* Africk, *thou ſhalt hear that the Moors are gone over into* Spain, *to repoſſeſs the Kingdom of* Granado; *that* Tunes *and* Numidia *are at thy command; and not to ſpeak of* Sardinia *and* Corcyca, *that* Sicilia *is ours; which once taken, we ſhall ſtarve up* Italy, *and on every ſide diſtreſs it with our Fleet being now weak and brought low by the diſcord of the Princes, and that part thereof both towards* Sicilia *and* Macedonia *ready to ſubmit it ſelf upon any condition, ſo it might caſt off the Spaniſh yoak. Think not, that either that Strength or Unity is now in* Italy, *which was when thy great Grandfather* Mahomet *having taken* Hydruntum *brought a great fear, not upon Italy only, but upon other the Chriſtian Nations alſo; for by the good ſucceſs of that War, which all the Chriſtian Princes could hardly withſtand, he had undoubtedly taken the* City *of* Rome, *and ſo according to right and reaſon, again united the Empire of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, as they were before in their ancient glory. But he ſuddainly left the World, rapt to Heaven, that he might leave to thee (according to the appointment of the fatal Deſtinies, and revolutions of the Heavens) this work of abſolute perfection. And yet my purpoſe is not, by putting thee in hope of ſo great and rare a Triumph, to interrupt or hinder thee for turning thy power into the Eaſt, againſt thy old and irreligious Enemies, deſerving all extremities; for thy Navy ſhall be ſufficient for me, whereof thou ſhalt have no need in thy Wars ſo far within Land; that whilſt thou art conquering* Aſia, Africa *the third part of the World may in the mean time be brought under thy ſubjection alſo. Where before all other things,* Muleaſſes *is to be driven out of* Tunes; *a man of inſatiable Covetouſneſs, unſtaied Luſt, horrible Cruelty, hated both of God and Man; who having by Treachery ſlain eighteen of his Brethren, or that which worſe is, cruelly burnt out their Eyes, doth ſo reign alone, that he hath left him neither Kinſman nor Friend. For being as unthankful as perfideous, he hath murdred all his Fathers Friends, who with great travel had preferred him to the Kingdom, ſo to make ſhort payment for ſo great deſert. With this Beaſt we muſt have to do, whom whilſt no man loveth, all men wiſh to periſh. The Numidians trouble him with daily invaſions, whoſe injuries the infamous Coward endureth with ſuch ſhame and reproach, that it ſhould ſeem he had rather to ſuffer them than revenge them. And yet this effeminate Daſtard holdeth in Chains many valiant Turks, and acknowledgeth not your Imperial Name, whereunto all men on every ſide ſue for grace; and which is not to be ſuffered, exceedingly favoureth the Spaniards of* Tripolis, *to the intent that* Agis *and* Moſes, *two valiant Turkiſh Captains, may be driven out of the City. This wild Beaſt diſarmed of his Claws and Teeth, we ſhall eaſily deſtroy, if it be but for that we have with us* Roſcetes *his Brother, whom the Numidians wiſh and long for; him muſt we uſe, if it be but for a ſhew, ſo ſhall the thing we deſire, be without Blood effected, as ſoon as we ſhall but preſent our ſelves before the Gates of* Tunes. *Then ſhall it be at your pleaſure, to appoint whom you will have to govern the Numidian Kingdom; it ſhall be unto me glory enough, when the greateſt part of* Africk *conquered, ſhall be peceably delivered into your hands at your return with the Triumphs of* Perſia. *But by the way as I return, I aſſure you upon mine own repute, ſo to uſe the matter, that the Chriſtians ſhall alſo have good cauſe to bewail their calamities; and if I hap to meet with* Auria, *he ſhall have ſmall cauſe to rejoyce of the miſchief he hath done; for him alone I challenge to perſecute, as my proper and peculiar Enemy, both for the remembrance of the harms we have received at his hands, and for the deſpight I have at his fame; who once taken out of the way, the Seas ſhall be open only to you and your Fleets. And believe me, he that ſhall be able to command the Seas, ſhall eaſily alſo ſubdue the Kingdoms by Land.*

But *Solyman*, who after the manner of wiſe Princes, uſed well to conſider, and afterwards with ripe Judgment to reſolve of ſuch matters as he had with attentive ear hearkned unto; commending *Barbaruſſa* for his forwardneſs in his ſervice, for that time brake up the Counſel. Not long after, a Decree was made, according to *Abraham* the great Baſſaes advice, That *Barbaruſſa* ſhould be joyned as fourth with the other three chief Baſſaes of *Solymans* Counſel, and be made great Admiral; ſo that all the Iſlands, Ports, and People all alongſt the Sea Coaſt through out *Solymans* Empire ſhould be at his command, and that it ſhould be lawful for him to take up ſuch Mariners and Souldiers for ſervice at Sea, as pleaſed him in what place ſoever. This being ſolemnly proclaimed, *Solyman* with his own hand delivered him a Scepter and a Sword, willing him, by worthy deeds to perform what he had promiſed. After which, *Ajax* and *Caſſimes* the two great Baſſaes, with the Captain of the Janizaries, brought him with exceeding Pomp, from the Court to the Navy; at which time was carried before him all the tokens of his new obtained honour. And towards the maintenance of that War at Sea, he had delivered unto him out of *Solymans* Treaſures, eight hundred thouſand Ducats, and eight hundred Janizaries.

Barbaruſſa *is made* Solymans *great Admiral.*

Barbaruſſa ſped of that he deſired, ſtaid not long after at *Conſtantinople*, but departing out of *Heleſpontus* with eighty Gallies and certain Galliots, ſhaped his courſe towards *Italy*, leaving *Amurathes* (a Sea Captain) with twelve Gallies to tranſport *Solyman* and his Army, ready to ſet forward againſt the Perſian, over that narrow Sea into *Aſia*. Who after he had ſo done, overtook *Barbaruſſa* at *Methone*, who holding on his courſe to *Africk*, and ſuddainly paſſing the Strait betwixt *Italy* and *Cicily*, brought a great fear upon both the Countries; but paſſing by the Bay of *Hippona* alongſt the Coaſt of the lower *Calabria*, he ſet upon the Town of Saint *Lucidius* called in ancient time *Tempſa*; which although it ſtood upon a Rock and was reaſonably well walled; yet ſuch was the violence of the Turks Aſſault, that it could not be defended but was taken, with ſo much more hurt to the Inhabitants, for that the Maior of the Town, to keep the People from flying away, had lockt up the Gates on the other ſide of the City, from the Enemy. From thence he with rich Spoil and many Priſoners went to *Citarium*, where he had learned of his Priſoners, a Fleet of Gallies was in building. This Town forſaken of the Inhabitants for fear, he took without reſiſtance, ranſacked it, and burnt it, where he alſo fired ſeven

He ſpoileth the Coaſt of Italy.

Gallies not yet altogether finiſhed. But after he was come with his Fleet as far as the Iſland *Capri*, within the ſight of *Naples*, ſuch a terror was ſtruck into the minds of all that dwelt alongſt that Coaſt, That it was thought, if he had landed and gone directly to *Naples*, the Neapolitans would for fear have abandoned the City. But holding on his courſe, he came to *Procbita*, which he took and rifled; ſo paſſing by the Port of *Cajeta*, (which he might eaſily have taken) he came to *Spelunca*, a Town in the hithermoſt part of the Kingdom of *Naples*. They of the Town diſmaied with the ſuddain arrival of ſo great a Fleet, yielded the ſame without reſiſtance. The Enemy entring the Town, took twelve hundred Priſoners. *Pelegrinus* a chief man amongſt them of *Spelunca*, was fled into the Caſtle; him *Barbaruſſa* commanded to yield, which if he would preſently do, he promiſed to let him go free; but if he ſhould ſtand upon his defence, he threatned in ſhort time to make him repent his fooliſh hardineſs, with the utter deſtruction both of himſelf and the Town. The fearful Gentleman without delay came out of the Caſtle, and fell down at his feet; who according to his promiſe gave him his liberty, and with rare courteſie reſtored to him his Wife, his Son and Niece, whom he had taken Priſoners; who received them with many tears falling from their Eyes for joy.

The ſame night alſo two thouſand Turks came from the Fleet, through the rough and buſhy Mountains, to the City *Fundi*, ten miles diſtant from *Spelunca*, in the uttermoſt Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, conducted as was thought by certain Italians of that Country; who a few years before taken at Sea, and overwearied with the heavy burthen of the Turkiſh Slavery, had revolted to the Mahometan Religion. But ſuch was the ſuddainneſs of their coming, and their celerity in entring the City, that *Julia Gonzaga* the Paragon of *Italy*, and the chief prize which they ſought after, had ſcarce time to get to Horſe half naked, and ſo with much difficulty to eſcape into the Mountains. It is reported, that *Barbaruſſa* (which thing he himſelf afterwards ſeemed not to deny) moved with the fame of her incomparable Beauty and wonderful perfection, deſired exceedingly to have taken her as a Preſent for *Solyman*. The Citizens were for moſt part either ſlain or taken Priſoners by the Turks, who loaded with the Spoil of the City, returned again to the Fleet. Another part of *Barbaruſſa*'s Fleet came to *Tarracina*, which the Turks took forſaken of the Inhabitants, who for fear were all fled into the Mountains, except ſome which for age or ſickneſs could not ſhift for themſelves, whom the Turks ſlew, and ſpoiled the Churches. *Barbaruſſa* thus ſcouring along the Coaſt of *Italy*, and news thereof daily brought to the City of *Rome*, ſtruck ſuch an exceeding terror into the minds of the Citizens, that it was verily thought if he had come a little further to *Oſtia*, they would generally have forſaken the City. But he having well performed his promiſe made to *Solyman* for vexing the Chriſtians, and before reſolved of a greater matter he had to do; when he had watred at *Pontia*, paſſed over into *Africk* with ſuch celerity, that he was arrived there before it was thought that he was departed from the Coaſt of *Italy*. For *Barbaruſſa* to deceive *Muleaſſes* King of *Tunes*, and to take him unprovided, had given it out, that he would burn and ſpoil the Coaſts of the Chriſtian Countries, eſpecially of *Italy*, *Liguria*, and *Spain*, in revenge of the harm done by *Auria* at *Corone* and *Patras*. Which thing *Muleaſſes* the rather believed underſtanding his proceedings upon the Coaſt of *Italy*. The Venetians having alſo at the ſame time at great charges prepared a great Fleet, did in ſome part leſſen *Muleaſſes* fear, That *Barbaruſſa* would imploy his Forces for *Africk*; for then what ſhould the Venetians have needed to have made ſo great and chargeable a preparation? But that which above all other things brought him into ſecurity, was for that he had by ſecret Eſpials certainly learned, that his Brother *Roſcetes* was kept at *Conſtantinople*, as a Priſoner at large, under ſafe keeping; which made him to think, that *Barbaruſſa*'s Forces were not prepared againſt him; for he knew that he could not be impugned, or his State more indangered by any other means, than by producing the competitor of his Kingdom, to whom his guilty Conſcience doubted, that both the Citizens of *Tunes* and the Numidians were for moſt part well affected.

Julla Gonzaga a air *Lady hardly diſtreſſed by* Barbaruſſa.

The Romans afraid of Barbaruſſa.

Muleaſſes *King of* Tunes.

This *Muleaſſes* of whom we now ſpeak, and whom hereafter we ſhall by occaſion often remember, was lineally deſcended of the ancient King of *Tunes*; who without interruption of diſcent, or mixture of forreign Blood, had by the ſpace of nine hundred fifty four years mightily ruled the great Kingdom of *Tunes*, from *Tripolis* to *Bugia*, almoſt eight hundred miles alongſt the Mediterranean, and into the Main as far as the Mount *Atlas*; and for the long continuance of their State, and largeneſs of their Kingdom, were worthily accounted the moſt reverend and mighty amongſt the Mahometan Kings of *Africk*. His Father *Mahometes*, when he had with much glory, and more pleaſure, reigned two and thirty years, perceiving the end of his life to approach, had purpoſed to have appointed *Maimo* his eldeſt Son (whom for his haſty aſpiring he then held in durance) to ſucceed him in his Kingdom; but overcome with the importunity of *Lentigeſia* his Wife, a Woman of a haughty ſpirit, who had by reward made a ſtrong faction in the Court for her Son *Muleaſſes*, he altered his former purpoſe, and appointed him his Succeſſor; by whom (as it was thought) the ſmall remainder of his own old years was ſhortned; *Maimo* the right Heir of the Kingdom in Priſon, preſently murthred; ſeventeen of his other Brethren unmercifully executed: and three other, *Barcba*, *Beletb*, and *Saetb*, with more than barbarous cruelty with a hot Iron of their ſight deprived; only *Roſcetes* the ſecond Brother, and *Abdemelech*, eſcaping the hands of their unatural Brother, fled to *Morbabitus* a great Prince amongſt the Numidians; whither alſo their Brothers malice perſecuted them, ſeeking by many practiſes to have taken them away, and at laſt for a great ſum of Mony to have had them delivered into his hands. Which Mony the Numidian received, but ſuffered the diſtreſſed Princes, as if they had eſcaped againſt his Will, to flie further to another Numidian Prince a Friend of his, called *Benticſes*; where *Muleaſſes* by like practiſes as before, ſought to have deſtroyed them, or to have got them into his own power. Thus chaſed by their Brothers endleſs malice, from Prince to Prince, and place to place, they for their more ſafety fled at laſt to the City of *Biſcaris*, far into the main Land; where *Abdemelech* as one weary of the World gave over all, and betook himſelf to a ſolitary life, and became a melancholy Mahometan Monk. But *Roſcetes* courteouſly entertained by *Abdalla* Prince of that City, found ſuch favour in his ſight, that he gave him his Daughter in marriage, and long time honourably maintained him as his Son in Law, with ſuch carefulneſs, that for fear of *Muleaſſes* practiſes, he was ſeldom permitted to eat any other Meat but ſuch as the

Prince

The ingratitude of Muleaſſes.

Roſcetes *riſeth againſt his brother* Muleaſſes.

Forſaken of the Numidian Princes, he flieth to Barbaruſſa.

Prince or his Wife had before taſted of. *Muleaſſes* thus reigning and raging, and yet not contented with the death of ſo many of his Brethren, proceeded further, and murdred divers of their Children alſo. He cauſed alſo the Manifet and Meſuar, men of greateſt Authority in all the Kingdom, his Fathers grave Counſellors, and his chief Friends, by whoſe means eſpecially he had aſpired unto the Kingdom, to be cruelly tortured to death, fearing their Greatneſs; or rather as ſome thought, grieving to ſee them live, to whom he was ſo much beholden, and therefore rewarded them with ſuch ſharp payment. And by the inſtigation of *Lenteſia* his Mother, cauſed divers of his Fathers other Wives and Concubines to be ſhamefully murdred, enveighing oftentimes againſt his Father, that as an effeminate Prince, had for his pleaſure maintained two hundred Wives and Concubines in his Houſes of delight, by whom he had begot ſo many Sons Competitors of the Kingdom, that he had left him (as he ſaid) a laborious and endleſs piece of work, to deſtroy ſo great a brood. *Roſcetes* aided by his Father in Law and the other Numidian Princes, to whom the name of *Muleaſſes*, both for his cruelty againſt his own Blood, and injurious dealing againſt his Neighbours, was become odious; paſſing over the River *Bragada* with a great Army, near unto *Tunes* met with *Muleaſſes* his Army, conducted by *Dorax* a valiant Captain, Brother to *Lentigeſia*, where in a ſharp conflict he overthrew his Brothers Army, and enforced *Dorax* with them that were eſcaped out of the Battel, for ſafeguard of their lives to flie into *Tunes*. *Roſcetes* purſuing the Victory, came and preſented his Army before the Gates of the City, in hope that the Citizens (whom he knew for the moſt part to hate the uſurping Tyrant) would upon the ſight of him, in right their King, with ſo great an Army, raiſe ſome tumult in the City, and let him in. There he lay by the ſpace of twenty days, ſtill expecting ſome innovation; in which time the more to alienate the minds of the People from *Muleaſſes*, and to ſhew how unable he was to protect them, he burnt and deſtroyed all the Olive and Fruit Trees, which grew moſt plentifully and pleaſantly all alongſt the Country, from the ruines of old *Carthage*, to the Walls of *Tunes*; which was unto the Citizens, whoſe greateſt Poſſeſſions lay there, a moſt heavy and lamentable ſpectacle. But *Muleaſſes* had ſo attempered their minds with fair ſpeeches and large promiſes of recompenſing every man to the full, for all ſuch harm as they ſhould ſuſtain for his Brothers fury in the Country; and beſide that, had the City in ſuch ſtrong poſſeſſion by reaſon of his Souldiers, that the Citizens either would not or could not revolt to *Roſcetes*. The Numidian Princes weary of that long and vain expectation, according to the levity of that Nation, accounting it no ſhame after Victory once gotten to depart, began one after another to ſhrink away to their own dwellings, perſwading *Roſcetes* alſo to provide for himſelf whilſt he had time, and to attend his better fortune. Wherefore he fearing to be betraied by the Numidians, or circumvented by his cruel Brother, fled to *Barbaruſſa*, then reigning at *Algiers* in great glory, where he was honourably entertained; and there remained until ſuch time as by his perſwaſion he went with him as is aforeſaid to *Conſtantinople*, to crave help of *Solyman*, by whom he was detained in ſafe cuſtody, although it was in policy given out by *Barbaruſſa*, that he was in the Fleet, and that he ſhould by *Solymans* power be reſtored to his Fathers Kingdom at *Tunes*.

Barbaruſſa *landeth at* Biſerta.

Biſerta *yieldeth*.

Barbaruſſa *cometh to* Guletta.

Muleaſſes *flieth out of* Tunes.

This was the ſtate of the Kingdom of *Tunes*, at ſuch time as *Barbaruſſa* with *Solymans* great Fleet, contrary to all mens expectation, ſuddainly departing from the Coaſt of *Italy*, landed in *Africk* at *Biſerta*, a famous Port of the Kingdom of *Tunes*. They of *Biſerta* weary of the government of *Muleaſſes*, and of themſelves deſirous of change, as ſoon as they heard the name of *Roſcetes*, forthwith drave out their Governor, and received the Turks into the Town. For *Barbaruſſa* had before ſent certain of *Roſcetes* his familiar Friends aſhore, which bare the People in hand, that he was in the Fleet, but not able to come yet on ſhore, for that he was (as they ſaid) Sea-ſick, and troubled with an Ague. *Biſerta* thus poſſeſſed by *Barbaruſſa*, he preſently departed thence, and ſayling by *Utica*, thirty miles diſtant from *Biſerta*, and ſo keeping alongſt the Coaſt, and paſſing the Promontory of *Carthage*, came before *Guletta*, a ſtrong Caſtle within the Bay of *Tunes*, ſo placed upon a Strait, that it commandeth all the paſſage by Sea unto the City of *Tunes*. Before this Caſtle, *Barbaruſſa* in token of Friendſhip, diſcharged all his great Ordnance, which they of the Caſtle anſwered with like; but being required to deliver it up to *Raſcetes*, they ſaid it ſhould be alwaies at his command that ruled in the City of *Tunes*. The News of *Raſcetes* his ſuppoſed coming, flying ſwiftly by land from *Biſerta* to *Tunes*, and the great Fleet once diſcovered, ſet all the City on an uprore; for the Citizens were in great expectation of their new King, both for the love of *Roſcetes*, who had alwaies ſhewed himſelf to be of a mild and bountiful nature; and alſo for the hatred of *Muleaſſes*, whoſe tyrannous and covetous Government they thought they had too long endured. Neither was he ignorant what report ran of himſelf, and how he had loſt the hearts of his Subjects; which was evidently to be ſeen in the eyes and countenances of the chief men of the City. And that which more increaſed their hatred, was for that he had not according to his promiſe to them in time of diſtreſs, made them any recompence for their goodly Houſes and Olive Gardens, deſtroyed in the Country by *Roſcetes* in the former Wars; wherefore at ſuch time as he came now out of the Caſtle, and in the greateſt Aſſembly of his People, began to perſwade them to play the Men, and to continue conſtant in their obedience, promiſing unto them ſuch reward as they knew he was never able to perform, they all departed, and left him alone; yea ſome of them under the colour of Friendſhip, and amongſt them *Abdabar*, then Meſuar (which was chief Officer next unto the King) perſwaded him to give place to his hard fortune, and forthwith to flie, for by chance at the ſame inſtant it was in every mans mouth, that the Turks were even at hand; which thing cauſed *Muleaſſes*, forſaken of his Subjects, of himſelf fearful, and worthily doubting to be betraied, to flie in ſuch haſt out of the City, that he left behind him both his Treaſure and Jewels, which afterwards came into the hands of his Enemies. The firſt that revolted was *Abezes*, a man of great Authority; and *Fetuches*, Captain of the Caſtle; both renegate Spaniards. *Fetuches* preſently after the flight of *Muleaſſes*, brought out *Roſcetes* Wife and Children, whom *Muleaſſes* had long time kept in priſon, and to welcome their Father, placed them in the Kings Royal Seat. *Abezes* alſo forthwith advertiſed *Barbaruſſa* of *Muleaſſes* departure, and with what longing the People exepected their deſired King; wiſhing him without delay to repair unto the City; and for a Preſent ſent him a goodly Barbarian Horſe, Barbaruſſa *enters into* Tunes.

The Citizens deceived of their expectation, riſe againſt the Turks.

richly furniſhed, and divers others for his other chief Captains. Hereupon *Barbaruſſa* without longer ſtay ſet forward with five thouſand Turks, which he had already landed, and coming to the City, was of the Citizens joyfully received. But after long looking, when they could no where deſcry *Roſcetes* their ſuppoſed King, and heard nothing but the name of *Solyman* and *Barbaruſſa*, doubled and redoubled by the Turks in their Military acclamations, as they marched through the City towards the Caſtle; they began to diſtruſt, as the truth was, that in ſtead of their new King whom they ſo much deſired, they had received the Turkiſh Government, which they utterly deteſted. Which ſuſpicion once confirmed by certain of *Roſcetes* his Friends (whom *Barbaruſſa* had brought with him of purpoſe to delude the People) who grieved to ſee the ruin of their native Country, ſpared not for fear of the preſent danger to tell their Friends and Acquaintance as they went, That they did in vain look for *Roſcetes*, whom they had left in bonds at *Conſtantinople*; it was a wonder to ſee, how ſuddainly the minds of the People were changed, how ſpeedily they ran to their Weapons, and how furiouſly they aſſailed the Turks, now fearing no ſuch matter, and were not as yet all got into the Caſtle. The chief Leader of the Citizens in this tumult, was *Abdahar* the Meſuar; who but a little before upon the coming of the Turks, by augmenting the danger, and the unfaithfulneſs of his Subjects, had perſwaded *Muleaſſes* to flie; but now perceiving himſelf deceived of his expectation for the coming of *Roſcets*, and repenting of that he had done, ſought by all means to drive out the Turks, and to recal *Muleaſſes*. And the more to animate the People, as he ſtood on high, from whence he might beſt be heard, he cried unto them with a loud voice:

We are moſt villanouſly betraied (worthy Citizens) for Roſcetes, *whom we expected for our lawful King, lamenteth his miſery in Chains, in Priſon at* Conſtantinople; *and we, except we preſently play the men, and valiantly fight for our Liberty, ſhall for ever ſerve as Slaves to theſe foreign and mercileſs Pyrats. The preſent danger of our Eſtate telleth us, that we muſt preſently and without delay take the occaſion offered. Wherefore let all men that mean not to ſerve as Slaves, and to be bought and ſold as Beaſts, take up Arms againſt the faithleſs Turks. I my ſelf will be your Leader; let us therefore all with one conſent, with heart and hand revenge this ſhameful Treachery, defend our Country and Liberty with the ancient honour and liberty of the Numidians.*

Muleaſſes *returned into the City.*

There was now no time to ſtay, every man had betaken himſelf to his Weapons; *Muleaſſes* was again ſent for, who yet ſtaid in the Suburbs, expecting what ſhould happen; many of the Turks were ſlain before they were aware, or feared any thing; all the City was filled with outcries and clattering of Weapons; the number of the Citizens was ſuch, as might eaſily have expulſed the Turks, had they been but reaſonably armed, or well conducted, which in a matter ſo ſuddain, and with men altogether ignorant of ſervice, was not poſſible. Yet they, armed with fury, and encouraged with the multitude of themſelves, ſwarmed up as thick as was poſſible one of the Bulwarks of the Caſtle, which they knew was eaſieſt to be gained, where the Turks had ſet up one of their Enſigns; and with the multitude of their Darts and Arrows ſo overwhelmed the Turks, that they were glad to forſake the place, and to retire farther into the Caſtle to a place of more ſtrength; from whence and all alongſt the curtain of the Wall, they without intermiſſion diſcharged their great Artillery and ſmall Shot amongſt the thickeſt of the naked Moors, making of them a wonderful Slaughter. *Barbaruſſa* although he was a man of an invincible courage and great experience, all his life time well acquainted with deſperate dangers (the dreadful ſteps of aſpiring minds) yet ſurpriſed with the ſuddainneſs of the Aſſault, ſhut up in a place whereof he yet knew not the ſtrength, and not provided of Victual for three days, was with the due conſideration of theſe difficulties, not a little troubled; which his care was by the diſordered fury of his Enemies, and known valour of his own Souldiers greatly diminiſhed; eſpecially when he ſaw his own men ſtill fighting, as men full of hope and courage, and the Moors as men half diſmaied with the wounds and ſlaughter of their Friends, ready to retire. Howbeit, by the coming in of *Muleaſſes* and *Dorax*, the Aſſault twice before given over, was again at both times renewed, with no leſs deſperate Fury than at the firſt, and the Turks hardly charged. In this dangerous Aſſault *Halis* of *Maliga*, a Renegate Spaniard, but a moſt expert Souldier, turning himſelf to *Barbaruſſa*, ſaid,

If thou wilt ſave thine honour, and hold this Fort, we muſt ſally out upon thus Enemy, which having never ſeen a ſet battel, but only acquainted with light ſkirmiſhes, will not be able to endure our charge at hand, but ſhall in a moment know the price of their fooliſh hardineſs; who as Brain-ſick men could neither indure the government of their cruel King, ne yet thankfully receive the authors of their deliverance and liberty.

This motion of the Spaniard, confirmed by the general approbation of the chiefeſt Captains, *Barbaruſſa* commanded *Halis* the Author of that Counſel, with certain other Captains and their Companions, at one inſtant to ſally out at two Ports of the Caſtle; which they ſo reſolutely performed, that in ſhort time a wonderful number of the naked Moors lay dead upon the ground.

The Citizens of Tunes *diſcomfited by the Turks.*

Muleaſſes *flieth.*

Abdahar the Meſuar himſelf, was there ſhot through with a Bullet and ſlain; whereupon the Aſſault was quite given over, the Moors retiring by Companies back into the City, and the Turks ſtill purſuing them; where in the Streets for certain hours, was fought a moſt cruel and bloody Battel. At laſt the Citizens overcome, forſook the open Streets, and betook them to the refuge of their Houſes; not ſo careful of their King, as of themſelves, their Wives and Children. And *Halis* with the reſt, wearied with the ſlaughter of his Enemies, and overcome with labour, heat, and thirſt, returned with Victory unto the Caſtle. It is reported that there was above 3000 of the Citizens ſlain that day, and thrice as many hurt. *Muleaſſes* thus diſcouraged, and utterly deſpairing to recover the City, hardly eſcaped his Enemies hands, by the good help of his Uncle *Dorax*, with whom he fled over the River *Bagrada*, and came in ſafety to *Conſtantina* (called of old time *Cyrtha*) the ancient Seat of the Numidian Kings, but then a part of *Dorax* his Dominion; where he was honourably maintained and protected until the coming of *Charles* the Emperor into *Africk*. The night enſuing this Battel, and the flight of the King, was reſtleſs both to the Citizens and the Turks, each of them for fear of other ſtanding upon their ſtrongeſt Guard.

The Citizens of Tunes *yield themſelves to* Barbaruſſa.

The next day, the Citizens diſcouraged with the loſs of ſo many of their Kinſmen and Friends, and having no King now for whom they ſhould fight, craved pardon of *Barbaruſſa* for their raſh attempt, excuſing it by the name of Loyalty to their ancient Kings; offering to ſubmit themſelves unto him with all faithfulneſs. Which their offer he willingly accepted, knowing that he was not able to keep that place with his Souldiers three days, for lack of Victual; ſo that all his hope and Victory gotten, might eaſily be overthrown and brought to nought, if the Citizens moved either with deſperation or deſire of Revenge, ſhould joyn with the other *Numidian* Princes, and beſiege him in the Caſtle. Whereupon a general Peace was granted, and by ſolemn Oath on both ſides confirmed, whereby the Citizens expreſly bound themſelves to the Obedience of *Solyman*, and to *Barbaruſſa* as his Lieutenant. All things thus ſet in order in the City of *Tunes*, and new Magiſtrates and Officers by him made, he laboured by all means to win unto him the *Numidian* Princes; which when he had eaſily brought to paſs by Gifts and Rewards with thoſe needy Princes, of themſelves prone enough upon light occaſions to make or break the Bonds of Friendſhip, he ſent *Aſan-aga* an Eunuch, and *Halis* the *Spaniard*, with the Janizaries, and certain pieces of great Ordnance, to take in the other Cities of the Kingdom of *Tunes*; which they in ſhort time performed, being in all places peaceably received, only the City of *Carvenna* held out a while, yet afterwards for fear of further harm received the Turks Garriſon. But to leave *Barbaruſſa* King of *Algiers* and *Solymans* great Admiral, thus poſſeſſed of the Kingdom of *Tunes*; and *Muleaſſes* in exile at *Conſtantina*, until he be again reſtored unto his Kingdom by *Charles* the Emperor, as ſhall be hereafter declared; let us again return to the Wars at the ſelf ſame time undertaken by *Solyman* in Perſon himſelf in *Perſia*, perſwaded thereunto (as we have before ſaid) by *Abraham* the great Baſſa. Of whom a few words, that they which ſhall hereafter live, may in him as in others, ſee in what ſlippery place they ſtand, and what ſmall aſſurance they have, which forſaking God, run headlong after theſe worldly vanities, and ſwelling with the Favours of great Princes, are in a moment when they leaſt fear any ſuch fall, ſuddenly overthrown, and become the miſerable Spectacles of mans fragility in the height of their ſuppoſed bliſs.

The deſcription of Abraham *the Baſſa.*

This great Baſſa called of the Turks *Ibrahim*, of us *Abraham*, was born in a poor Country Village near unto *Perga*, a Town in that part of *Epirus* which was called *Buthrotia*; who in his Childhood was taken from his Chriſtian Parents, by ſuch as by Authority did take up the Tribute-Children of the Chriſtians for the Turkiſh Emperor. A Tribute of all Tributes moſt grievous. He was of Countenance amiable, of Feature comely, active of Body, well ſpoken, pleaſantly conceited, and ſharp of Wit; ſo that he in ſhorter time than was thought poſſible, to the admiration of many, learned both to ſpeak and write the *Arabian*-Tongue, and other Languages uſed in the Turks Court, and could skilfully play upon ſundry kinds of Inſtruments. And being yet a Boy, ſerved *Scanderbaſſa*, a man of great Authority and Power, in the time of *Selymus* the Emperor, in whoſe Service he was inſtructed in the Mahometan Religion; but giving himſelf to all manner of curioſity and neatneſs, he was wonderfully favoured by the great Lady his Miſtreſs, and by her commended to her Husband *Scanderbaſſa*, as a fit Page to temper his melancholy and wayward diſpoſition, with his pleaſant conceits and devices; wherein the Tetrical Baſſa finding him to excel, gave him as a rare Gift to *Solyman* the Son of *Selymus*, his Grandfather *Bazajet* yet living; who took in him ſuch pleaſure, that the old Emperor cauſed him to be brought up in the Court, in all Princely Qualities with *Solyman* (who was of like years unto him) as his Companion and Playfellow. Where he ſo framed himſelf unto the young Princes diſpoſition in all points, that he was of him always exceedingly beloved, and afterwards promoted to all the Honours of the Court, and made one of the Baſſaes; giving unto him in Marriage the only Daughter and Heir of *Scanderbaſſa* his Maſter, then dead, with an exceeding great Dowry. And after that made him Governor of *Caire*; where he had not long remained, but he was again ſent for to the Court, as the man which gave thereunto life, without whoſe Company *Solyman* was as one half dead. At length he made him *Viſier*, which is the chief of all the Baſſaes, and Preſident of his Council, the greateſt Honour in the Turkiſh Empire next unto the Emperor himſelf. And to honour him yet more, he delivered him his private Signet, wherewith the Turkiſh Emperors never uſed to truſt any but themſelves; he might at his pleaſure grace and diſgrace whom he would, in Court or elſewhere. What he commanded was done, and whatſoever he did was taken for well done. He might without the Emperors knowledge give any Office, yea the Government of whole Countries and Provinces unto his Favorites; his credit with the Emperor was ſo great, that he did what he liſt, and no man durſt preſume to ask any reaſon why. And to ſay all at once, he wanted nothing of the Majeſty of an Emperor, but the name only; in ſtead whereof, he was commonly called the great Commander of all the Emperors Forces. His houſe in *Conſtantinople* was of all other moſt ſtately, wherein was daily to be ſeen ſuch a multitude of his gallant Followers, and ſuch a world of Wealth and Royal Furniture, as that it might be worthily compared with the Palace of a great Prince. Neither was he partaker of *Solymans* Counſels in his weighty matters of State only, but of his ſecret Delights and pleaſures alſo; if he were preſent, all was well; if he were away, nothing pleaſed; to be ſhort, he ſo poſſeſſed this great Emperor, that men commonly ſaid, The Soul of *Solyman* lived in *Abraham*. Whereat many of the great Men of the Court ſecretly repined; but eſpecially *Solymans* Mother, and *Roxolana* his fair Concubine, whom of all Women he held deareſt.

His bringing up in the Court.

His great credit with Solyman.

Abraham *Baſſa perſwadeth* Solyman *to make War upon the Perſians.*

This great Commander, which might at all times be bold to ſpeak what he thought unto *Solyman*, ſought many times in his private Diſcourſes betwixt them two, to perſwade him to forbear to uſe his Forces any farther againſt the Chriſtians, over whom he had ſufficiently already triumphed, and to turn them upon the *Perſians*, by whom he was daily injured. Alledging to him, that the *Germans* were a ſtrong and Warlike people; who as they both in Language and Manners differed from the *Hungarians*, ſo were they always at variance with them, and therefore much cared not though they were by him ſubdued; but if he ſhould begin to invade any part of their Country, he ſhould then ſoon ſee that invincible Nation with their United Forces up in Arms, ready to make ſtrong Reſiſtance. And to provoke *Charles* the Emperor (of all the Chriſtian Princes the mightieſt) were not good, who of himſelf was able to bring into the field moſt puiſſant Armies of valiant Souldiers out of his own Dominions; beſides the wonderful Concourſe of moſt reſolute Men out of all parts of Chriſtendom, which would not ſpare to lay down their lives at his Feet in that War; which was of them accounted moſt Religious. *Yea what ſtrength both of Horſe and Foot might be raiſed and brought to the battel by the two Brethren* Charles *and* Ferdinand, *only might* (as he ſaid) *even then be plainly perceived, when as they valiantly defended* Vienna, *beſieged by us with great Power. Neither did* Charles *afterward, as it ſeemed, and as the Chriſtians commonly vaunt, fear to have adventured the fortune of a main battel with you; who although I doubt not but he ſhould have been overcome by you ſo great a Monarch with ſo puiſſant an Army, a thing peculiar to your own good Fortune; yet I cannot deny, but that the Victory againſt ſuch expert and reſolute Souldiers, ſo ſtrongly armed as their manner is, muſt have been bought with a great deal of our blood. Theſe things in my opinion may reaſonably perſwade you to let the Chriſtians alone, by Civil Wars to weaken one another, that ſo afterwards they may become a prey unto us without any danger of ours. So that in my judgment the* Perſian *War is to be taken in hand, rather than the Wars in* Germany, *and eſpecially for that you have ſufficiently enlarged the bounds of your Empire Weſtward, which you have extended even unto Nations very far diſtant. So that it is now a great matter to defend ſo much as you have already gotten; and therefore partly for the difficulty for the defending thereof, and partly upon an honourable contempt, according to the infinite bounty of your heroical Inclination, have thought good to beſtow whole Kingdoms upon ſtrangers, yea half your Enemies. Wherefore how much more glorious ſhall it be now upon juſt occaſion to ſeek for that which joyneth unto your own Confines; and may therefore eaſily be united unto your own Empire: if you according to the example of your Grandfather and Father ſhall force your ſelf to drive that accurſed and abominable Race of* Iſmael *out of* Aſia. *For it ſhall be a great glory unto the name of the* Othoman *Kings for ever, if you ſhall after your wonted manner zealouſly reſpect the cauſe of Religion; a Work of incomparable Fame, if the Authors of a moſt deteſtable Superſtition ſhall by you be chaſed quite out of* Aſia. *For what more juſt or honourable cauſe can there be to make War, than to profeſs your ſelf the Defender of the Divine Precepts of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *againſt the wicked and irreligious Impugners thereof? And by the way to revenge and utterly to deſtroy the Capital Enemies of your Anceſtors; which was the laſt prayer of your Father* Selymus. *Can you endure them which Rule ſo inſolently, that they account every one that is near them their Enemies and Prey, and dare alſo with their pilfering Invaſions provoke your Self, living contented within the bounds of your own Empire, in peace both in* Europe *and* Aſia? *and they (forſooth) ſuch as have by moſt horrible wrong crept into the Royal-Seat of the moſt lawful and noble Kings deſcended of the blood of* Uſun-Caſſanes? *who after their wonted manner ſtill live by Rapine and Robbery? Believe me, Noble Emperor, if you ſhall upon a zeal to your Religion with your Victorious hand take away this ſtain and plague of* Aſia, *there ſhall undoubtedly be erected unto you ſo glorious and magnificent a Trophy in the midſt of* Perſia, *as may be compared, yea preferred before the Triumphs of your Victorious Father* Selymus. *For it is not ſo much to have deſtroyed the* Mamalukes *(by condition Slaves) and the proud Sultans of* Egypt *and* Syria, *as to have ſubdued the* Perſians, *famous in antient time for their Martial Proweſs, who ſo oftentimes vanquiſhed by* Alexander *of* Macedon, *gave unto him the name of Great. Solyman*, prickt forward with many ſuch Diſcourſes, daily ſounded in his ears by the Baſſa, began to yield to his perſwaſion. Whereof *Abraham* himſelf greatly rejoyced; for it was thought of many, that he did never in heart renounce the Chriſtian Religion, but was only in outward ſhew a Turk, and in heart a Chriſtian. Which was the rather conjectured, for that he marvellouſly favoured and protected the Chriſtian Merchants, furthered by all means the Leagues of the Chriſtian Princes with *Solyman*, and laboured always to turn his Forces from them upon the *Perſians*. And the more to whet him forward, the Baſſa had cunningly inſinuated into his acquaintance one *Mulearbe* of *Damaſco*, a man in that time famous in *Conſtantinople*, for the opinion the people had generally conceived of his Holineſs and Profound Knowledge in the ſecret cauſes of things, and the Art of Magick; uſing him as a Prophet to fill the ambitious mind of *Solyman*, with aſſured hope of proſperous Succeſs, which thing the hypocritical Wiſard, after the manner of ſuch Deceivers, ſlily performed, propheſying unto him all happineſs in ſo Religious a War, and ſo much (as he ſaid) pleaſing God. This the Baſſaes purpoſe was much furthered alſo by *Ulemus* a noble and valiant *Perſian*, who having married the great *Perſian* King *Tamas* his Siſter, was revolted from him to *Solyman*, fearing to be called to account for the Extortion wherewith he had grievouſly oppreſſed the Countries whereof he had the Government; and being wonderfully countenanced in *Solymans* Court by the great Baſſa, did after the manner of diſloyal Fugitives perſwade *Solyman* by all means he could to take that War in hand, diſcovering unto him the Power, State, and Strength of the *Perſian* Kingdom (which he could well do) and plotting unto him the eaſieſt way for the conquering thereof, offering alſo unto him the uttermoſt of his devoir. So *Solyman* filled with the vain hope of the Conqueſt of *Perſia*, yielded fully unto the perſwaſions of the great Baſſa, and gave out his Commiſſions into all parts of his Empire, for the raiſing of a mighty Army for the performance of ſo great an Enterprize; commanding all his Captains and Men of War to be ready at the City of *Nice* in *Bithynia* at a certain day appointed. Which his purpoſe, although it was mightily impugned by his Mother, and fair *Roxolana* his beſt beloved, as that which altogether proceeded from the Baſſa; the one alledging, with what evil ſucceſs his Grandfather and Father had before him attempted that ſame War; the other aſſailing him with her paſſionate affections; but both of them indeed repining at the credit of the Baſſa, and in their hearts diſdaining, that ſo great a Monarch ſhould at the pleaſure of his Servant be led up and down the World ſo far from their Company; for which cauſe they did what in them lay to have overthrown the purpoſe of *Abraham*, and to have altered *Solymans* former determination. But ſo ſtrong was the Baſſaes credit with his great Lord and Maſter, that all theſe great Ladies Devices and Prayers were as Womens affectionate paſſions rejected, and the Baſſaes counſel (to their no ſmall grief) in all things regarded.

Solyman *reſolveth to go againſt the* Perſians.

Abrahams *credit maligned by* Solymans *mother and* Roxolana.

Abraham *Baſſa ſent before with an Army into* Syria.

The time appointed being come, and all things in readineſs, *Solyman* ſent *Abraham* the Baſſa, and *Ulemas* the *Perſian*, before him into *Syria* with a ſtrong Army, to be ready with the firſt of the Spring to invade the *Perſian* King. Which thing the Baſſa gladly took upon him, and coming into *Syria*, wintered with his Army at *Aleppo*; whither *Barbaruſſa* came unto him for his Letters of Credence to *Solyman*, as is before declared. The Spring now approaching, *Abraham* ſent *Ulemas* the Fugitive *Perſian* Prince before him with the light Horſemen, the forerunners of his Army, into *Meſopotamia* as his Guid, becauſe the Country was unto him beſt known;

following

The City of Tauris *yielded unto the Baſſa.*

Solyman *cometh to* Tauris.

Solyman *followeth* Tamas *the* Perſian *King into* Sultania.

following not far after himſelf with all his Army. And marching ſtill forward in that manner, came at length without reſiſtance unto the famous City of *Tauris* in *Armenia* the greater, called in ancient time *Ecbathana*, as is probably by ſome conjectured; a great and rich City, but unwalled and of no ſtrength; where the *Perſian* Kings, for the pleaſantneſs of the place, and freſhneſs of the Air, uſed commonly to be reſiant in the heat of the year. From whence *Tamas* the *Perſian* King was as then abſent, buſied in Wars with *Kezien-baſſa*, a Prince of the *Coraſine Hircanians*; ſo that the Citizens of *Tauris* deſtitute of all help, yielded themſelves and the City unto the Baſſa at his firſt coming. *Tamas* the *Perſian* King underſtanding what had hapned at *Tauris*, drew near with his Power, warily expecting to have taken the Turks at ſome advantage, and ſo by policy to have defeated his Enemies, whom he was too weak to meet with in plain battel. Which thing the wary Baſſa well perceiving, for more aſſurance by ſpeedy Courriers advertiſed *Solyman* of the taking of *Tauris*, and of the Enemies purpoſe, requeſting him with all ſpeed to repair with his Army to *Tauris*. *Solyman* was then come far on his way with a great Army, not by the way of *Ancyra*, *Sebaſtia*, *Amaſia*, the borders of *Trapezond*, and ſo over *Euphrates* at *Arſenga*, into *Armenia*, as his Father *Selymus* had done before him, becauſe that way was thought longer and more troubleſome; but quite another way, on the right hand from *Nice* in *Bithynia*, to *Iconium*, and by *Cæſaria* to *Malathia*, where is the notable paſſage over the River *Euphrates*, burſting out by the Vallies of the Mountain *Antitaurus*, from whence the Plains of *Meſopotamia* (then part of the *Perſian* Kingdom) begin to open themſelves; through which Country *Solyman* marched peaceably with his Army, paying the poor Country people for whatſoever he took; and ſo in four and fifty days march, came from *Nice* in *Bithynia*, to the City of *Coim* in *Armenia* the greater, which is ſuppoſed to be built in the ruines of the famous and ancient City of *Artaxata*. But hearing ſuch News as is aforeſaid from the Baſſa, he doubled his march, and ſo in ſhort time after came and joyned his Forces with the Baſſa at *Tauris*. *Tamas* (who yet daily expected the coming of the *Georgian* light Horſemen) underſtanding that *Solyman* was coming againſt him with a World of men, thought it not good to abide the coming of ſo puiſſant an Enemy, but with delay to weary him out, that drew ſuch a multitude of people after him; and by taking of him at all advantages, to cut off his people, ſpent with long travel, wanting Victual, and falling into divers Diſeaſes; as it commonly chanceth to populous Armies in ſtrange Countries, where the change of the Air, with the inevitable neceſſity always attending upon a great Army, moſt times cauſeth grievous and contagious Diſeaſes. Wherefore *Tamas* to ſhun the coming of *Solyman*, retired further off into *Sultania*, about ſix days journey from *Tauris*. Whereof *Solyman* having knowledge, departed from that rich City without doing any harm therein; following after *Tamas* into *Sultania*, to joyn battel with him if he could poſſible; leaving behind him for haſt, a great part of his Carriages and Baggage, with five hundred Janizaries, and three of his Sanzacks with their Companies. The City of *Sultania* was in ancient time one of the Royal Seats of the *Perſian* Kings, but ruinated by the *Scythian Tamerlane*, retained no ſhew of the ancient Majeſty, but only in the Churches by him ſpared. Near unto this City *Solyman* lay incamped many days, expecting that the *Perſian* King (in revenge of the injuries to him done, and for the ſafeguard of his Honour) ſhould at length come out of the Mountains, and ſhew himſelf in plain Field, and give him battel. Which was a thing ſo far from *Tamas* his reſolution, upon the due comparing of his own ſtrength with his Enemies, that he retired in ſuch ſort, that *Solyman* could by no means learn what was become of him, or which way to follow him.

Solymans *Army diſtreſſed with tempeſt.*

The Country near unto the City of *Sultania*, wherein *Solyman* lay incamped at large, is on every ſide invironed with huge Mountains, whoſe tops are to be ſeen afar off, always covered with deep Snow; theſe Mountains were in ancient time called *Nyphates*, *Caſpius*, *Coathras*, and *Zagrus*, taking their beginning no doubt from *Caucaſus* the Father of Mountains; and joyning one to another, ſome one way, ſome another, do divide moſt large and wide Countries. Whilſt *Solyman* in thoſe vaſt and plain Fields moſt fit to fight a battel in, expected the coming of *Tamas*, ſuch a horrible and cruel Tempeſt (as the like whereof the *Perſians* had never before ſeen at that time of the year) fell down from thoſe Mountains (which was ſo much the more ſtrange, for that it fell in the beginning of *September*) with ſuch abundance of rain, which froze ſo eagerly as it fell, that it ſeemed the depth of Winter had even then of a ſudden been come in; for ſuch was the rage of the bluſtring Winds, ſtriving with themſelves as if it had been for Victory, that they ſwept the Snow from off the tops of thoſe high Mountains, and caſt it into the Plains in ſuch abundance, that the Turks lay as men buried alive in the deep Snow, moſt part of their Tents being overthrown and beaten down to the ground with the violence of the Tempeſt, and weight of the Snow; wherein a wonderful number of ſick Souldiers and others of the baſer ſort which followed the Camp, periſhed; and many others were ſo benummed, ſome their Hands, ſome their Feet, that they loſt the uſe of them for ever; moſt part of their Beaſts which they uſed for carriage, but eſpecially their Camels, were frozen to death. Yea *Solyman* himſelf was in great danger to have been overwhelmed in his Tent, all the Tents round about him being overthrown with the violence of the Tempeſt. Neither was there any remedy to be found for ſo great miſchiefs, by reaſon of the helliſh darkneſs of that tempeſtuous night, moſt of their fires being put out by the extremity of the Storm; which did not a little terrifie the ſuperſtitious Turks, as a thing accounted of them ominous. And that which troubled them no leſs than the miſeries of the Tempeſt, was the fear of the Enemy, whoſe ſudden coming they deadly feared; until that after ſo tedious a night, the Sun breaking out the next morning, with his chearful beams revived many, before ready to give up the ghoſt for cold, and gave comfort unto them all in general, by diſcovering the open Fields clear of their feared Enemies. It was a dreadful thing to have ſeen what miſery that one night had brought into the Turks Camp; the ground lay almoſt covered with Bodies of the dead, and many lived but ſo, as that they accounted the dead more happy than themſelves. Many of the Turks vainly thought, that horrible Tempeſt was brought upon them by the Charms and Inchantments of the *Perſian* Magicians; whereas it was undoubtedly by the Hand of him who bringeth the proud devices of Princes to naught.

Solyman troubled as well with the ſtrangeneſs of the accident, as the loſs he had received, after he had a little refreſhed his diſcouraged Souldiers, roſe with his Army, and took his way on the left hand into *Aſſyria*; *Ulemas* the *Perſian* perſwading him thereunto for many cauſes, but eſpecially by putting him in hope of the taking of *Babylon*; for that *Mahometes*, a Friend of his, was Governor thereof. But he when the matter came to proof, was not to be won either by Promiſe or Reward, to betray the City. Wherefore *Solyman* reſolved to take it by force; neither did his Fortune fail him therein; for as ſoon as *Mahometes* underſtood that *Ulemas* was at hand with the Forerunners of the Turks Army, and that *Solyman* with all his Power was coming after, (who as he thought would never have come ſo far;) he not provided to withſtand ſo mighty an Enemy, and not beloved of the Citizens, fled out of the City. *Solyman* coming, in ſhort time after was of the *Babylonians* received without reſiſtance. The City of *Babylon*, commonly called *Bagdat*, roſe out of the ruines of the old City of *Babylon*, ſo much ſpoken of in holy Writ; from whence it is not far diſtant, ſtanding upon the River *Tygris*, which not far beneath falleth into the River *Euphrates*. In this famous City is the Seat of the great Calyph, the chief Mahometan Prieſt, whom all the Mahometan Princes have in great Reverence, and hath an old Prerogative in the choice and confirmation of the Kings of *Aſſyria* and the Sultans of *Egypt*; of which Calyph, *Solyman* according to the old ſuperſtitious manner, received at his hands the Enſigns and Ornaments of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, and with great bounty won the hearts of the people; and thereupon reſolved to ſpend that Winter there, billiting his Army in divers places of that fertile Country. The other Cities of *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia* alſo, namely *Caraemida*, *Meredinum*, *Orſa*, and *Aſanceſa*, hearing that *Solyman* had without reſiſtance taken *Babylon*, yielded themſelves and received his Garriſons. Yet the fame thereof was ſo great, that Embaſſadors came unto him as far as *Ormus*, (a City in the mouth of *Euphrates* where it falleth into the *Perſian* Gulf, famous for the great Traffique out of *India* thither) ſuing unto him for Peace. Thus the ancient City of *Babylon*, with the great Countries of *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia*, ſometimes famous Kingdoms of themſelves, and lately part of the *Perſian* Kingdom, fell into the hands of the Turks, and became Provinces of the Turkiſh Empire, in the year, 1534. Where *Solyman* after he had ſpent that Winter in great Joy and Triumph, according to the manner of the Turkiſh Government, placed a great Commander, which they by a proud Name call the *Beglerbeg*, (which is as much as to ſay, the Lord of Lords) and under him divers others for the Government of theſe Countries, by parts, which they call *Sanzacks*, who are ever at the Command of the *Beglerbeg*. Whilſt he thus wintered at *Babylon*, he cauſed *Aſhender Zelibi* (which is to ſay, *Alexander the Noble*) his great Treaſurer for the Wars, to be hanged, for that he had unfaithfully dealt in his Office, and confiſcated all his Goods.

Babylon *yielded to* Solyman.

The Countries of Aſſyria *and* Meſopotamia *poſſeſſed by the Turks.*

Tamas *comes to* Tauris.

Tamas hearing that *Solyman* was gone to *Babylon*, returned to *Tauris*; of whoſe ſpeedy coming the Janizaries and other Captains there left by *Solyman* underſtanding, fled in haſt out of the City, leaving all ſuch things as were committed to their cuſtody, for a prey unto the *Perſian* Souldiers.

1535. *Solymans* Army being mightily increaſed by the coming unto him of the great Baſſa of *Caire*, with the Sanzacks of *Alexandria*, *Judea*, *Syria*, and *Comagena*; by the perſwaſion of *Abraham* and *Ulemas*, the Spring now well come on, departed from *Babylon* again towards *Tauris*, with purpoſe either to draw *Tamas* to battel, or elſe to his eternal infamy, before his face to ſack that his regal City. But *Tamas* advertiſed of his coming, and knowing himſelf too weak to give him battel, forſook the City, and fled into the Mountains of *Hircania*; deſtroying all the Country before him as he went, and carrying away the Inhabitants, leaving nothing to relieve the Turks Souldiers, if they ſhould purſue him. *Solyman* underſtanding that *Tamas* was again fled, ſent *Ulemas* with all the choice Horſemen of his Army to overtake him if it were poſſible, and to fight with him. But when he had followed him two or three days Journey, and ſtill found the Country deſolate as he went, yielding neither Forrage for his Horſes, nor Relief for his Men, and ſaw no hope to overtake the King; he began as a provident General, to forecaſt the extremities like to befal in his return through thoſe deſolate Countries with the Enemy at his heels; and thereupon in time retired back again to *Solyman*, declaring unto him what had hapned. Who fretting in his mind, that the *Perſian* King was not to be drawn to battel, marched forthwith to *Tauris*, entring it without reſiſtance, the Citizens ſubmitting themſelves unto him; whoſe lives ſpared, he gave that rich City for a prey to his Souldiers, who left neither Houſe nor corner thereof unranſacked, abuſing the poor Citizens with all manner of Inſolency; every common Souldier without controlment fitting himſelf with whatſoever beſt pleaſed his greedy deſire or filthy luſt. *Tamas* had in this City a moſt ſtately and Royal Palace; ſo had alſo moſt part of the Nobility their ſumptuous and rich Houſes, which by the commandment of *Solyman* were all raſed down to the ground, and the greateſt part of the beſt Citizens and beautiful Perſonages of all ſorts and condition, at his departure thence carried away Captives. *Solyman* contenting himſelf to have done the *Perſian* King this diſgrace, in ſpoiling this his rich and Royal City, returned again towards *Meſopotamia*, deſtroying the Countries all the way as he went, killing the very Beaſts and Cattel, thereby the more to impoveriſh the *Perſians*, wiſhing to leave nothing unto them but penury and miſery. He was ſcarcely paſt *Coim* and the *Calderan* Fields (famous for his Fathers Victory againſt *Hiſmael*) but that certain Troops of *Perſian* Horſemen were in the tail of his Army, and had taken away ſome of his Baggage, and ſlain divers of the ſick and ſtragling Souldiers, and with their often Skirmiſhes did not a little trouble his whole Army. Beſides that, it was noiſed through all his Camp, That *Tamas* himſelf was coming after him with a greater Power of Horſemen, taken up in *Hiberia*, *Albania*, *Parthia*, *Media*, and *Armenia*, and would be at their backs before they could get out of *Armenia*; for which cauſe he appointed the two great Baſſaes of *Caire* and *Syria* (for ſo they were called) and *Ulemas* the *Perſian*, with 18000 good Souldiers to follow him in the Rereward of his Army, to receive and repreſs the ſudden Aſſaults of the *Perſians*, if need ſhould require; and ſo ſtill kept on his March, until he was come to *Amida*, now called *Caraemida*, an ancient City of *Meſopotamia*. In the mean time *Tamas* the *Perſian* King was returned to *Tauris* with a mighty Army; in hope there to have ſuddenly ſurpriſed his Enemy, ſurcharged with

Tamas *hearing of the coming of* Solyman *to* Tauris, *flyeth into* Hyrcania.

Solyman *ranſacks* Tauris.

with the pleaſures of ſo rich a City; but finding him gone, and beholding the miſerable ſpoil and deſolation he had made in the City; moved with Indignation, he reſolved to purſue him whither ſoever he were gone, and was now on his way as far as *Coim.* Where underſtanding that *Solyman* was gone ſo far before, that he was hardly to be overtaken; and finding the noble Gentlemen in his Army unwilling in their heavy Armor to undertake ſuch a purſuit, as could not be performed without the wonderful toil of themſelves, and moſt aſſured loſs of their goodly Horſes; alledging, that they were provided to fight a battel, and not to travel ſo long a Journey (all which, *Tamas* now that his choler was over, knew to ſtand with good reaſon) he changed his former determination, thinking it beſt there to ſtay and not to follow the purſuit of his Enemies any further; until that *Delimenthes* one of his Noblemen (always more forward than the reſt) offered with five thouſand choſen Horſemen to overtake ſome part of the Turks Army, and to do on them ſome good ſervice. Which his offer *Tamas* gladly accepted, commending him greatly for the ſame, promiſing him moſt honourable Reward; and ſo in haſt ſent him away.

Delimenthes *with* **5000 Perſians** *purſues the Turks.*

He forthwith taking the well known and neareſt way, uſed ſuch Expedition, that he was in hope to overtake the Rereward of the Turks Army (marching not far now before him) about the foot of the Mountain *Taurus*, as in deed it fell out at a place called *Bethlis.* This *Bethlis* is a famous Town in the Confines of the *Perſian* Kingdom, where it bordereth upon *Meſopotamia*, ſtanding in a pleaſant Valley, by which runneth a little River falling out of the Mountain *Antitaurus*; and had a Caſtle kept with a Garriſon of *Perſians.* In this Valley the two Baſſaes of *Caire* and *Syria* (conducted by *Ulemas*) thinking they had now been paſt all danger of the Enemies purſuit, ſtaid with the Rereward of their Army to refreſh their wearied Souldiers, upon certain knowledge, that *Solyman* with the reſt of his Army was already come in ſafety to *Amida* in *Meſopotamia.* And therefore lay as men ſecure, without any ſuſpicion of the coming of the *Perſians*, whom they had not ſo much as heard any thing of in long time before. But *Delimenthes* uſing moſt faithful and diligent Eſpials of that Country people, by that time he was come within one days journey of *Bethlis*, underſtood certainly where the Turks lay, weary of their long travel, as men without fear, keeping little or no Watch in their Camp: Whereupon he determined in the dead time of the night following to aſſail them in their Camp; and by ſecret Meſſengers gave knowledge both of his coming, and of this his purpoſe, to the Captain of the Caſtle of *Bethlis*; requeſting him at an appointed hour upon ſign given, to be ready to ſally out with his Garriſon upon that ſide of the Turks Camp which was towards the Caſtle. Which his venturous deſignment was ſo furthered both by the darkneſs of the night, and the abundance of rain which fell at the ſame time, as if it had been wiſhed for; that he was got with all his reſolute Followers within the Turks Camp, before they were aware of his coming; where the *Perſian* Souldiers as Wolves amongſt Sheep, did ſuch ſpeedy execution amongſt the ſleepy Turks, that the two great Baſſaes and *Ulemas* had much ado to get to horſe and ſave themſelves by flight. And ſuch was the fury of the *Perſians*, and the greatneſs of the ſudden fear increaſed by the darkneſs of the night, that the Turks not knowing which way to turn themſelves, or what to do, were ſlain by thouſands, ſome ſleeping, ſome half waking, ſome making themſelves ready to fight, and ſome to fly, few of all that great Army eſcaped the Sword of the *Perſians.* Of the five great Sanzacks which were in the Army, three were ſlain, and one taken. Eight hundred Janizaries ſeeing themſelves forſaken of their Chieftains, laid down their Harquebuſies and other Weapons, and yielded themſelves upon *Delimenthes* his word. The fierce Mountain people alſo, who in former time had ſuffered great injuries of the Turks, after the death of *Aladeules* their King, had now joyned themſelves to the *Perſians*, and notably revenged their Wrongs; to whoſe ſhare all the Baggage of the Turks Camp fell for a prey. It might then well have been ſaid of the Turks, which the Poet ſpeaketh of the night wherein *Troy* was ſackt:

Delimenthes *aſſails the Turks Camp by night, and maketh a great ſlaughter.*

> *Quis cladem illius noctis, qui funera fando*
> *Explicet?* ———

The ſlaughter of that night was ſo great, that it is of the Turks until this day accounted amongſt their greateſt loſſes; and the Victory ſo welcome to the *Perſians*; that in Memorial thereof they kept that day (which was the thirteenth of *October*) as one of their Solemn Holidays for many years after. *Delimenthes* returning all bloody with the ſlaughter of the Turks, and loaded with their Spoils, was of *Tamas* joyfully received, and honourably rewarded.

Solyman *diſcouraged.*

This Overthrow reported to *Solyman* by the two great Baſſaes and *Ulemas*, as men that had hardly eſcaped Ship-wreck, ſo daunted his proud conceits, that he reſolved in himſelf to return home, and no further to proſecute that unfortunate War; the evil event whereof, his Mother (as he ſaid) had more truly preſaged, than had the cold Prophet *Mulearabe*; but ſecretly in mind diſpleaſed with *Abraham* the great Baſſa, by whoſe perſwaſion he had taken in hand that dangerous Expedition. By the way as he went he was met at *Iconium* by *Barbaruſſa* and *Sinan Baſſa* ſirnamed the Jew, a man for his skill at Sea in reputation next to *Barbaruſſa.* Theſe two great Perſonages lately come from *Algiers* to *Conſtantinople* with the remainder of his Fleet, met him ſo far by Land, to ſhew their joyfulneſs for the Conqueſt he had made of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, and to excuſe themſelves for the loſs of the Kingdom of *Tunes*; which won by *Barbaruſſa* in the beginning of the *Perſian* War, was before the ending thereof again wrung out of his hands by *Charles* the Emperor, and reſtored to *Muleaſſes*, as ſhall be hereafter declared. They with great humility declared unto him the whole proceſs of that War, and with what Succeſs they had endured the force of *Charles* the Emperor himſelf in Perſon; ſhewing plainly unto him, that there wanted neither valour in the Souldiers, nor direction in them the Commanders, but only Fortune, which as it mightily reigneth in all mens actions, ſo eſpecially in matters of War. *Solyman* graciouſly accepted of their excuſe, and courteouſly took them up, proſtrate at his Feet, commending them for their valour in their evil haps, in a Plot ſo well by them laid, more than he did the Victory of others, got by good Fortune, not grounded upon any good reaſon; willing them to be of good chear, ſaying, That that he would in ſhort time find occaſion for them to recompence that diſgrace, and again to ſhew their approved valour. After long travel he came to the Strait of *Boſphorus*, where *Abraham* the Baſſa going before him, had in token of Triumph cauſed the Shore all along the place where he ſhould go aboord the Gally provided for his Tranſportation, to be covered with *Perſian* ſilk for him to tread upon; from whence he paſſed with much Triumph over to his Palace to *Conſtantinople*.

Abraham *the great Baſſa in diſgrace with* Solyman.

Envy, the fatal and cruel Companion of Princes immoderate favours, had with her prying Eyes quickly diſcovered in Court *Solymans* changed countenance upon the great Baſſa, and began now to ſhew her gaſtly Face. They which before were moſt ready to do him all Honour poſſible, yea to have laid their hands under his Feet, ſought now by all ſecret means to work his Diſgrace and Confuſion. But of all others, the two great Ladies, *Solymans* Mother and the fair *Roxolana*, ceaſed not by daily Complaints to incenſe *Solyman* againſt him; the Mother, for that he had by his perſwaſion, contrary to her mind and her ſuperſtitious Obſervations, drawn her Son into the dangers of the *Perſian* War; and *Roxolana*, for that he moſt honoured and ſought the Preferment of *Muſtapha*, *Solymans* eldeſt Son by another Woman; whereas ſhe above all things laboured by all ſubtil means to prefer *Bajazet* her own Son to the Empire, after the death of *Solyman* his Father; which her deſignment ſhe perceived to be much croſſed by the Credit which the Baſſa had with her *Solyman*, and therefore did what ſhe might, both to bring him out of Favour, and to work his Deſtruction. But that which moſt impared his credit with *Solyman*, was the common report raiſed of him by his Enemies, That he being in heart a Chriſtian, did in all things favour the Chriſtians, (a thing moſt odious among the Turks) and had for that cauſe craftily perſwaded *Solyman* to take in hand the unfortunate *Perſian* War. And that which more increaſed the ſuſpition, was, That he about that time had cauſed one *Mark Nicholas* a *Venetian* Merchant (who had not without ſuſpicion of ſome, oftentimes come unto him with Letters and ſecret Meſſages whilſt he lay at *Babylon*) to be taken in the night, and murdred at *Conſtantinople*, and caſt into the Sea, becauſe he ſhould not diſcover any thing that might be hurtful unto him. *Abraham* thus brought in diſgrace with *Solyman*, was (after the manner of the Turkiſh Tyranny) bid to a Solemn Supper in the Court about the fourteenth of *March*, after which time he was never more ſeen. It is reported, That after Supper *Solyman* fell into a great rage with him, charging him bitterly, That he had miſgoverned the State, inverted his Treaſures to his own private uſe, and as a Trayton, had ſecret Intelligence with the Chriſtian Princes his Enemies; for proof whereof, *Solyman* with a ſtern Countenance ſhewed him his own Letters, which had by chance been intercepted; oftentimes asking him in furious manner, If he knew not that Hand, if he knew not that Seal. All which, the Baſſa lying proſtrate at his Feet humbly confeſſed, and with many Tears craved of him pardon. But his hard heart was not by any prayers to be moved; for the ſame night as he was ſlumbring upon a Palate in the Court, overcome with heavineſs, an Eunuch cut his Throat with a crooked Knife, which *Solyman* for that purpoſe had delivered unto him with his own hand. He was murdred ſleeping, becauſe *Solyman* had in former time of his favour ſolemnly ſworn unto him, That he would never kill him whilſt he lived. By which Oath, the great Mahometan Prieſt ſaid, He was not ſo bound, but that he might kill him ſleeping, for as much as men by ſleep deprived of ſenſe, are for that time not to be accounted as living, but as dead, mans life conſiſting altogether (as he ſaid) in lively actions. It is reported, that after *Solyman* had looked upon the dead body, and bitterly curſed the ſame, he cauſed a great weight to be tied unto it, and ſo, caſt it into the Sea. His Treaſure and Goods, which were almoſt infinite, were the next day all ſeiſed upon for the Emperor, and a ſmall portion thereof appointed for his poor Wiſe to live upon. His death was no ſooner known, but that the vulgar people deviſed of him infamous Songs, and ſlanderous Reports, as of a Traytor moſt juſtly condemned; and in further deſpight, with mire and ſtones defaced the Trophies of the *Hungarian* Victory, which he had in a ſtately manner erected before his ſumptuous Houſe in *Conſtantinople*. This was the woful end of *Abraham* the great Baſſa, who whilſt he ſtood in favour with his Prince, was of all others accounted moſt fortunate, wanting nothing but the name of the great Sultan; but after falling into diſgrace, became the ſcorn of Fortune, and the lamentable Spectacle of mans fragility. He was murdred the fifteenth day of *March*, in the year 1536.

Abraham *Baſſa murdred in the Court by the Commandment of* Solyman.

The cauſes that moved Charles *the Emperor to invade* Tunes.

How the Kingdom of *Tunes* was by *Barbaruſſa* (the Turks great Admiral) taken from *Muleaſſes*, we have already told; but how the ſame was again taken from him by *Charles* the Emperor a little before the return of *Solyman* out of *Perſia*, remaineth now to be declared. It was commonly reported, and not without juſt cauſe feared, that *Barbaruſſa*, poſſeſſed of the Kingdom of *Tunes*, and ſupported by the Power of *Solyman*, would the next Summer, not content himſelf with the Spoil of the Coaſts of *Spain*, *Sardinia*, and *Italy*, as he had in former time, but with all his Forces invade *Sicilia*, the Granary and Storehouſe of *Italy*, and from thence attempt to Conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, which it was thought he in his immoderate deſires had longed much after. To repreſs this his barbarous Inſolency, and to work the ſafety of the Frontiers of the Chriſtian Kingdoms (much ſubject to the Rapines of the Turkiſh Pirates) *Charles* the Emperor reſolved in Perſon himſelf with a puiſſant Army to paſs over into *Africk*, whilſt *Solyman* was yet buried in the *Perſian* Wars, and by force of Arms to diſpoſſeſs the Tyrant of his new gotten Kingdom of *Tunes*. For the accompliſhment whereof, he cauſed Souldiers to be levied in all parts of *Spain*, and came down to *Barcelona* with eight thouſand Footmen and ſeven hundred Horſemen, far ſooner than was by any man expected; amongſt whom were many of the Nobility of *Spain*, with their Followers moſt gallantly appointed; but eſpecially *Ferdinand* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*; whoſe forwardneſs in that honourable Action, with the deſire he had to revenge the death of his Father *Garzias*, ſlain before by the *Moors* at *Girapolis*, gave great hope even then unto his Country-men, That he would in time prove a worthy Chieftain, as indeed he afterward did.

The Emperors great Preparations for the invaſion of Tunes.

Andrew Auria *the Emperors Admiral.*

In the mean time *Andrew Auria*, the great Admiral, unto whom only for his approved fidelity and long experience the Emperor had fully communicated what he had with himſelf before purpoſed, had with wonderful diligence and celerity rigged up a great Fleet of Ships and Gallies ſo furniſhed with all manner of Warlike Proviſion, as might well have ſufficed a great Army; whereunto he joyned alſo his own Fleet of ſeventeen Gallies and three Galleaſſes, wherein he had imbarked the Flower of *Genoa* and *Liguria*, who with exceeding chearfulneſs had voluntarily offered themſelves to follow him their old General in that Sacred Expedition, With this great Preparation *Auria* came to the Emperor at *Barcelona.* Thither came alſo *Lewis* the King of *Portugals* Brother (whoſe Siſter *Iſabel*, *Charles* the Emperor had married) with 25 Caravels, Ships which the *Portugals* uſed in their *Indian* Voyages, amongſt whom was alſo one huge Galeon; all Ships well appointed and fit for Service, wherein were embarked 2000 *Portugals*, beſide Mariners; there alſo arrived ſixty Sail of tall Ships ſent out of *Flanders* and the *Low-Countries*; wherein were a great number of condemned perſons, whoſe lives were ſpared that they might ſerve in the Gallies. Unto this War *Paulus* the Third of that Name, then Biſhop of *Rome*, ſent ten Gallies under the Conduct of *Virginius Urſinus*; the great Maſter of *Malta* ſent thither his Fleet alſo. At the ſame time that all this preparation was in making in other places, that worthy Chieftain *Alphonſus D'aualus Vaſtius*, whom the Emperor had appointed General of all his Forces at Land, had by the Emperors Commandment taken up five thouſand new Souldiers in *Italy*, which were led by *Hieronimus Tutavilla*, Count of *Sarne*, *Frederick*, *Caracte*, and *Auguſtine Spinula*, all famous Captains. The old Spaniſh Garriſons which lay in *Lombardy*, the Emperor commanded to be ſtraitly looked unto, that none of them ſhould leave their places to go into this new Expedition, but to remain there ſtill under their General *Antonius Leva*; which worthy Captain although he would fain have had him with him, as of all his great Commanders the beſt; yet he thought it good to ſpare him, both for that he was much troubled with the Gout, and alſo for that it was neceſſary (as he thought) to leave ſuch a valiant Captain with his Garriſons in the Country, ſo near unto the *French* and *Swiſſers*, whom he durſt not ſo well truſt as to disfurniſh that Country either of ſo great a Commander, or of the wonted Garriſons.

Alphonſus D'aualus Vaſtius *General of the land forces.*

At the ſame time *Maximilian Eberſtein*, an old Commander, came to *Vaſtius* with eight thouſand *Germans*, over the *Tridentine* Alps to *Millain*, and ſo to *Genoa*; amongſt whom were divers noble Gentlemen, who then as voluntary men ſerved of their own charges. With theſe *Germans* and the five thouſand *Italians*, *Vaſtius* embarked himſelf at the Port called *Portus Veneris*, in *Liguria*; having before perſwaded them, with patience to indure the tediouſneſs of the Sea, and to comfort themſelves with the hope of the Victory in *Africk*; where they ſhould fight in the Quarrel of God, and for the Emperor, who did never forget his religious and valiant Souldiers. So ſailing alongſt the Coaſt of *Italy*, he came to *Naples*, where the Vice-Roy and divers other of the Nobility had of their own charges, every man according to his devotion or ability, built or furniſhed ſome one Gally, ſome more, for that Service. It was a wonder to ſee with what chearfulneſs the Gallants and luſty Youths of *Naples*, and all that part of *Italy*, came and offered themſelves unto *Vaſtius*; ſo that it ſeemed there was none left behind in *Naples*; for he had with ſingular courteſie ſo won the hearts of the old Souldiers and luſty Youths of that Kingdom, that both the one and the other thought it a moſt honourable thing to adorn, the one their before deſerved Penſions, and other their firſt entrance into Martial Affairs, with the participation of ſo notable a Victory. But whilſt every man was thus buſied in ſetting forward, certain mutinous Souldiers (weary of the Sea, and fearing the dangers of ſo long a Voyage) began to caſt many Perils, to find fault with their ſmall Wages, and to diſcourage the multitude, perſwading them, with ſeditious Speeches to forſake their Colours, and to run away; for redreſs whereof, *Vaſtius* cauſed the Authors of that Mutiny to be taken and thruſt into Sacks, and in the ſight of the whole Fleet to be caſt into the Sea. So *Vaſtius* departing with his Fleet from *Naples*, came in few days to *Palermo* in *Sicily*. The Emperor alſo looſing from *Barcelona*, came to the Port of *Mago* in the Iſland of *Minorca*, and from thence to *Caralis* in *Sardinia*, whether *Alphonſus Vaſtius* was a little before come with all his Fleet out of *Sicily*. Not long after, the Emperor, now that all his Forces were come together, paſſed over from *Sardinia* into *Africk*, and with a fair Weſterly Wind put into the Port of *Utica*, which is of the Seafaring men called *Farina*.

The Emperor paſſeth over into Africk.

In the entring whereof, the Admiral Gally, wherein the Emperor himſelf was, by great miſchance ſtruck upon a Sand, and there ſtuck faſt; which ſo much troubled the Emperor, for that his Father *Philip* had by like miſhap been like to have been caſt away upon the Coaſt of *England*, as he was ſailing out of the *Low-Countries* into *Spain*; howbeit, by the good direction of *Auria* ſhe was quickly got off the Sand again, and entred with the reſt, to the great rejoycing of the whole Fleet. So preſently departing again from *Utica*, and ſailing alongſt the Coaſt, he doubled the Promontory of *Carthage*, yet famous for the ruines of that proud City, and came to Anchor before a Caſtle, which of a Well beneath it, is called by the name of *Aquaria*, or *the Water-Caſtle*. The *Moors*, who from the Hills of *Utica*, or their Watch-Towers, had taken view of the Chriſtian Fleet, and of the Courſe it held, advertiſed *Barbaruſſa*, That the Chriſtians were coming againſt him with an innumerable Fleet; for there was of one ſort and other almoſt 700 Sail, whereof 82 were great Streamers, which gallantly garniſhed with Flags and Gallies, made a ſhew of more than indeed they were, and wonderfully terrified the Enemy.

Barbaruſſa *hearing of the coming of the Emperor, is much diſcouraged.*

But that troubled *Barbaruſſa* moſt, that he was by Meſſenger upon Meſſenger certainly informed, that the moſt mighty Chriſtian Emperor *Charles* was in Perſon himſelf in the Fleet, with ſuch a world of people, that it ſhould ſeem he had left none in *Spain* and *Italy* that were able to bear Arms. Which News was brought by certain Mahometan Slaves, who getting looſe in the Gallies, had in the night ſwome aſhore, and reported the certainty of the Emperors coming; for the proud Turk, a great Contemner of the Chriſtian Forces, never thought that the Emperor would have adventured his Perſon unto the dangers of the Sea, and chances of War, eſpecially in an unknown, barren and ſcorching Country, but would rather have attempted to do ſomething by his Lieutenants; or elſe by *Auria* his Admiral ſeek to ſurprize ſome baſe places alongſt the Sea-coaſt, but not to come directly for the regal City of *Tunes*; in which opinion he was chiefly confirmed by *Aloyſius Præſenda*, a Gentleman of *Genoa*, who taken at Sea, was kept as Priſoner at large in *Tunes*; of whom *Barbaruſſa* had learned many things concerning the State of *Italy*, the manner of the Chriſtians, and ſtrength of the Emperor; craftily feeding him with the hope of liberty, if he would truly declare unto him ſuch things as he deſired to know.

In his rage he executeth Aloyſius Præſenda.

Wherefore now in his rage he cauſed him to be brought before him; charging him bitterly, that he had craftily and perfidiouſly told him lyes for truth, concerning the Emperor, and therefore commanded him to be forthwith executed. When he had thus with the unworty death of a guiltleſs Chriſtian, ſomewhat mitigated the grief of his light belief, he forthwith began to caſt with himſelf how he might beſt withſtand his puiſſant Enemy. And firſt of all calling to counſel his Sea-Captains, in whom for their approved valour he repoſed moſt confidence, he ſhewed unto them, that they as valiant men, acquainted with the dangers attending upon honourable Actions, were not to doubt of the Victory, forſomuch as he ſaw it as good as already gained; for the ſame reaſons for which he had before perſwaded himſelf, that the Emperor (if he had not been half mad) would not have undertaken ſo deſperate and doubtful a War.

Barbaruſſa *encourageth his Souldiers.*

For who is there (ſaid he) *that knoweth this Country (not to ſpeak of our own Forces) which would not reaſonably think our Enemies ſhould in ſhort time know the price of their ambitious deſire and raſh attempt? which in a moſt unſeaſonable time of the year, the days being now at the longeſt, and the Sun in his greateſt ſtrength, are come to fight in a Country ſcorched with heat, and altogether without water; where the very ſand which riſeth with every blaſt of Wind, flying into their Eyes and Faces, ſhall no leſs trouble them than their Enemies? Shall we think that they, which as I hear for moſt part are freſh-water Souldiers, and ſurcharged with heavy Armor, can eaſily march forward, or retire, or yet keep their ground, as the divers occaſions of battel ſhall require; when as the deep and hollow burning ſand up to the mid leg, will not ſuffer them to keep any order of Array? How ſhall they be able by any means to abide the force of our Turkiſh footmen, or the often charging of the nimble* Numidian *Horſemen? And if they be ſo many of them as they ſay there is, where can they get Victual to feed ſuch a multitude, if we do but protract the War? Aſſuredly (moſt valiant and couragious Chieftains) we ſhall erect a moſt rare and incomparable Trophy in this Country of* Africk; *when as* Charles *the rich and great Emperor of the Chriſtians ſhall either here be ſlain in battel, or elſe fall into our hands as a moſt rich prey. For mine own part, I will notably provide, that you ſhall want neither Weapons, Victual, or Aid, during the time of this War: I will open the old Armories, broach my Store, and bring forth my Treaſures. The* Numidian *Princes now our Friends, I will without delay entertain with great pay, and ſuch Preſents as ſhall be to them moſt welcome. As for the Citizens of* Tunes, *you know how eaſily they are to be kept in Obedience, and brought on againſt the Enemy for a ſmall pay, and hope of reward. But this one thing is it that I moſt earneſtly require of your approved valour, That you moſt valiantly defend the ſtrong Caſtle of* Guletta, *as the moſt aſſured defence not of this City only, but of the whole Kingdom; and eſpecially of our Navy which there lieth in ſafe Harbor; for that piece will our Enemies with all their Forces firſt aſſail. Wherefore, as worthy Men never to be vanquiſhed, keep that for* Solyman *and me; ſo that it being vainly attempted by our Enemies, and reſolutely defended by you, the Chriſtian Emperor there failing of his purpoſe, and ſhamefully foiled; ſhall now begin to deſpair, not of the taking of the City of* Tunes, *but of his own return and ſafety.*

Barbaruſſa *his chief Captains.*

When he had thus ſaid, the Sea-Captains anſwered with one conſent, That they would moſt willingly and chearfully perform whatſoever it ſhould pleaſe him to command; and in confirmation thereof, promiſed him not to do any thing which beſeemed not moſt valiant and reſolute Men. Amongſt theſe Sea-Captains, *Sinan* of *Smirna* a Jew, who had loſt his right Eye, was both for his age and long experience in Military Affairs, of greateſt account; next unto him was *Haidinus* of *Cilicia*, for his furiouſneſs in fight ſirnamed of the *Italians Cacciadiabolo*, and *Salec* of *Ionia*, which two had before in a great Battel at Sea, ſlain *Rodericus Portendus* great Admiral of *Spain*, and taken his Son *John* Priſoner, and ſeven great Gallies; after theſe, was *Tabacches* of *Laodicea*, and *Giaffer*, a valiant Captain of the Janizaries; all which were notable Pyrats, and then Men of great fame.

The ſituation of Guletta.

The ſtrong Caſtle of *Guletta* ſtandeth in the bottom of the Bay of *Carthage*, upon a point of the Land, where the Sea by a narrow Strait runneth on the Eaſt ſide of the Caſtle into the Lake of *Tunes*, which being in a manner round, is about twelve Italian miles over. But now that Caſtle is parted from the Main on the Weſt ſide alſo, by the Sea that way let in; which chargeable Work was by *Barbaruſſa* begun, but given over again by him; perſwaded by ſome, That the Sea coming in that way, would in ſhort time fill up the Lake with ſand; but was afterwards for all that, perfected by others. So that now it ſtandeth in the manner of an Iſland, in the mouth of the Lake, divided from the firm Land by two narrow ſtrait paſſages; the one on the Eaſt, and the other on the Weſt; yet ſo, that it commandeth both. This Caſtle *Barbaruſſa* had before ſtrongly fortified both with Men and Munition, as the Key of that Kingdom, but now upon the coming of the Emperor, he put into it his moſt expert and reſolute Captains before named; well foreſeeing, that in the defence thereof reſted the ſafety of his Navy which then lay within the Lake, as in a moſt ſure Harbour; and alſo the greateſt hope he had for the holding of the City of *Tunes*, whereon depended the whole State of that Kingdom.

The Chriſtian Army landeth at Guletta.

The Emperor lying at Anchor with all his Fleet near unto the ſhore, gave general Commandment, That his Souldiers ſhould with as much ſpeed as was poſſible be landed with the long Boats; which was ſo orderly done, that the *Moors* terrified with the hideous cry of the Souldiers, making toward Land, and not able to abide the ſhowers of ſmall Shot, were eaſily beaten from the ſhore, whither they were come down in great multitudes, and ſo ſuffered the Chriſtian Souldiers to land quietly. The firſt that landed were the Spaniſh Companies, after them the Italians, and laſt of all the Germans, whom *Vaſtius* General of the Army cauſed preſently to encamp themſelves; ſtraitly commanding, that no man ſhould ſtraggle from the Camp farther into the Land, until the Horſemen and great Artillery were all landed. The Emperor himſelf bearing Victory in the chearfulneſs of his Countenance, landed alſo. In the mean time certain Companies were ſent out by the General, to view the places nigh hand, and to ſeek out the Ciſterns and Fountains of freſh Waters thereabout, which ſometime ſerved the famous City of *Carthage*, with whom the *Moors*, but eſpecially the *Numidian* Horſemen, a ſwift, ſubtle, and painful kind of Souldiers, oftentimes and in many places ſuddenly skirmiſhed; and though they were but naked men, yet taking all the advantages they could of the places to them well known, with their Arrows and Darts furiouſly aſſailed them unawares, and overloaded with Armor, ſparing no mans life that fell into their hands. Among whom was *Hieronimus Spinula* a *Ligurian* Captain, who overthrown by a *Numidian* Horſeman, had his Head cut off, and carried away by the ſame nimble Horſeman, before he could be reſcued. The like miſhap befel *Fredericus Careſſus* a noble Gentleman, who going with *Vaſtius* to view the places thereabouts, was faſt by his ſide ſuddenly ſlain with a ſmall ſhot. All which nimbleneſs and fierceneſs of the Enemy, could not for all that ſtay the Emperor, but that he would needs with a ſmall Troop of Horſemen, in Perſon himſelf take view of the places thereabouts, even in the ſight of the *Numidian* Horſemen, which were in every place to be ſeen pricking up and down the Country in Troops; although he was many times requeſted by his grave Counſellors, to leave that Service for his inferior Captains, and not to expoſe himſelf to ſo great danger both of his Perſon and of the common ſafety. *Vaſtius* had now brought on the Army near unto the Caſtle of *Guletta*, ſtill caſting up a rolling Trench as he came nearer thereunto, thereby to keep his men out of the danger of the Enemies ſhot; which work was not done only by the Pioneers and Gally-Slaves, but by Souldiers of all ſorts; yea many of the Captains themſelves laid their hands to the Spade and Mattock; for why, the Emperor was there a continual Beholder, and chearful Commender of every mans labour and forwardneſs, and the buſie Enemy was ever ready to take the advantage, if any thing were by negligence omitted, oftentimes ſallying out even unto the very Trenches of the Chriſtians, there giving unto them proud words of defiance. When the Army was to be martialled, and every Commander to be appointed to the place of his Charge in this Siege of *Guletta*; the Count of *Sarne* (a man famous both for the honour of his houſe, and for the good Service he had lately done againſt the Turks at *Corone*) requeſted of *Vaſtius* the General, to have the charge of the Mount neareſt unto the Caſtle; which as it was a place of moſt danger, ſo was it alſo of greateſt honour. Whereat the old *Spaniards* (after the manner of their proud nature) much repined. Upon the top of this Mount, the Count ſet up his rich Tent in the eye of the Enemy, and there lay with the *Italian* Companies over whom he commanded. He had not there lien long, but *Salee*, one of the Turks famous Pirats, with certain Companies of the Garriſon-Souldiers, ſallied out of the Caſtle directly upon the Mount whereon the Count lay; and by making ſhew as if he would deſperately have aſſailed the ſame, raiſing a great Alarm againſt the *Italians*; yet ſo as after certain Vollies of Shot diſcharged on both ſides, he began to retire as if he had been thereto conſtrained. Which thing the Count perceiving, being a man of greater courage than direction, in great rage with bitter words reproved certain of the Captains, whom he perceived not ſo forward in purſuit of the Enemy as he would have had them; and in his fury ran down from the Mount, the reſt for ſhame following him, and overtaking the Enemies ſlew divers of them. The crafty Pirat now ſeeing the Count drawn out of his ſtrength into the plain ground, and perceiving himſelf ſtrong enough to encounter him, ſuddenly turning himſelf about, ſaid unto his Souldiers; *The advantage you wiſhed to have of your Enemies is now offered, they are now in your danger; wherefore now ſhew your ſelves valiant men, and ſuffer not one of theſe proud freſh-water Souldiers to eſcape alive or unwounded.* Which he had no ſooner ſaid, but they preſently made a ſtand, and ſo hardly charged them from whom they but even now ſeemed to fly, that the *Italians* not able longer to indure the fight, betook themſelves to flight. The Count himſelf with *Belingerus* his Kinſman, fighting valiantly in the foremoſt of his Companies, was ſlain; many others indured the ſame fortune; others flying back again to the Mount, were ſlain there by the Turks; who reſolutely entred into the Trenches with them ſo far, that they carried away with them the Plate and Riches of the Counts Tent. Neither was there any of the *Spaniards* which lay neareſt unto them, and might eaſily have reſcued them, that would once ſtir out of their places to help them; for it is reported, that they were nothing ſorry for the overthrow of the *Italians*, foraſmuch as the Count had ſo arrogantly craved of the General the moſt honourable place, which he ſo evil held. His head and right hand were cut off, and ſent by *Salec* to *Barbaruſſa*. This Overthrow much grieved the *Italians*, whom *Vaſtius* comforted with chearful Speeches, imputing all that loſs, neither to the valour of the Enemy, or cowardiſe of the *Italians*; but only to the raſhneſs of the Count, whom he ſaid worthily to have paid the price of his inconſiderate forwardneſs. But the *Spaniards* he ſharply reproved as merciless men, which upon ſo light an occaſion had given cauſe for the *Italians* to have them in diſtruſt. The Turks in the mean time by the often ſhooting off their great Ordnance, ſhewed the joy they conceived of this Victory.

Salee *ſallieth out upon the Count and the* Italians.

The Count ſlain, and his Head and right Hand ſent to Barbaruſſa.

It oftentimes ſo falleth out, that whilſt men laugh at their Neighbours harms, their own is not far off; and ſo it fell out with the *Spaniards*; for *Tabacches* another of the piratical Captains, ſhortly after ſallying ſuddenly out of the Caſtle in the dawning of the day, was got up to the top of the Trenches wherein the *Spaniards* lay, before they were aware of his coming, and there ſlew ſome as they lay aſleep, ſome idly ſitting fearing no harm, others, as they were arming themſelves; and with their ſudden Cry, cauſed the reſt which lay near unto that place, ſhamefully for fear to fly out of their Trenches; where the Turks taking ſuch traſh as they there found, and having ſlain and wounded many, amongſt whom was one *Mendoſa* a Captain, and carrying away with them the Enſign of *Sarmentus* which ſtood upon the top of the Trench, returned with Victory. The alarm raiſed in the Army was ſuch, as that the Emperor himſelf came running to the place in his Armor, ſeverely reproving them of cowardiſe, which had forſaken the place, and grievouſly offended with them which had kept ſuch negligent watch againſt ſuch an Enemy, as was not for wilineſs, agility, and courage, to be ſlightly regarded of the beſt and moſt expert Souldiers. This diſgrace of the *Spaniards* well comforted the *Italians*, to ſee the old Souldiers no leſs overtaken in their neglience, than they had been in their unadviſed forwardneſs.

The Spaniards *rejoycing at the Overthrow of the* Italians, *are themſelves foiled by* Tabacches.

This Tumult appeaſed, *Vaſtius* called into his Tent the Colonels and chief Captains of the *Spaniards*, and ſpake unto them in this manner:

Vaſtius *his Speech to the Spaniſh Captains.*

Friends (ſaid he) *elſewhere always valiant, who together with me, have by your invincible proweſs gained unto our Emperor many moſt glorious Victories; you ſeem unto me at this time to have need to be called upon, and to be put in remembrance of your wonted and approved valour; for as far as I can ſee, the remembrance of your ancient Fame, is in you grown altogether cold, your hands are become faint for fear; and that which I am ſorry and aſhamed to ſay, you are grown I know not how, altogether out of order, and heartleſs, ſhewing no courage for the ſubduing of theſe naked Pirats. Yeſterday* (*as many ſay*) *you ſmiled at the unskilful and unfortunate forwardneſs of your friends, which they bought dear; but to day they worthily laugh at your degenerate careleſs negligence; ſo that it concerneth you in Honour, to blot out this ſo foul and publick a diſgrace, by ſome notable and worthy Exploit. Wherefore I exhort you,* *and I ſtraightly charge and command you, that with all ſpeed you prepare both your minds and weapons for the atchievement of ſome new honour; ſo that if the proud Enemy ſhall again preſume to come forth and aſſail your Trenches, you ſhall forthwith break out upon him, and beat him back again even to the Gates of* Guletta. *Perhaps good fortune will ſo attend your valiant and reſolute purſuit, that you may together with their diſordered men, enter ſome of their Rampiers, wherein we ſee their whole hope conſiſteth; which if it ſhall otherwiſe fall out than is hoped for, yet ſhall you by this your notable devoir wonderfully content the Emperor your Soveraign, and me your General, and withal, cover your late diſhonour.*

Whereunto they all anſwered, That they would ſo bear themſelves againſt the Enemy, as that he ſhould not deſire greater courage or contempt of danger in men deſirous of honour and commendation.

The Turks ſally again out of Guletta.

It was not long, but that the Turks incouraged with their former ſucceſs, after their wonted manner ſallied out again, conducted by *Giaffer* Captain of the Janizaries, a man of exceeding Courage and Strength of Body; who with the Janizaries and certain Companies of Mooriſh Archers, about the noon time of the day iſſuing out of the Caſtle, aſſailed the uttermoſt Trenches, hoping in that broiling heat to find the Chriſtians in their Stations negligent and unprepared; wherein he was nothing deceived; for the Spaniards that burning hot time of the day, kept ſuch negligent Watch, that *Giaffer* with his Janizaries and Archers, was got up to the top of the Rampiers, and there diſcharged their Shot and Arrows upon the Chriſtians in their Trenches, before they were well aware of his coming. But upon the ſtriking up of the Drum, certain Companies of Harquebuſiers brake out upon them in two places at one inſtant, as *Vaſtius* had before commanded; whom he ſeconded with a Company of Halbadiers, keeping in readineſs his Squadrons to reſcue his Harquebuſiers, if they ſhould be inforced by the Enemy to retire; and in that order expected the event of the skirmiſh, which was moſt valiantly maintained on both ſides. For the Janizaries, although they were inforced to give ground, yet (as men not uſed to flie, and ſtanding upon the honour of their order) withſtood the Chriſtians with no leſs reſolution than they were by them charged; until that *Giaffer* their Leader, deſperately fighting among the foremoſt of the Janizaries, was at once ſhot in with two Bullets, and ſlain; whoſe dead Body the Janizaries labouring to carry away, indured a moſt cruel Fight, many being on both ſides ſlain upon his dead Carkaſs; yet at length they were inforced to flie, and ſo fiercely followed by the Spaniards, that they of *Guletta*, when they had received in the foremoſt, ſhut out almoſt a fourth part of their own men, for fear the Chriſtians ſhould together with them have entred the Caſtle. *Didacus Abila*, one of the Spaniſh Enſign-bearers, advanced his Enſign upon the top of one of the Enemies Rampiers, and was there ſlain, but his Enſign ſaved by one of the Souldiers of the ſame Band. The Chriſtians received more loſs in their Retreat, than they had in all the Fight; for the Turks from their Rampiers then diſchaged their Shot as faſt as they could upon them, which they could not before do, without the like danger to their own men mingled amongſt them. This days work well abated the pride of the Turks, and gave good hope to the Chriſtians, that the Caſtle would without any great loſs be gained; for being near unto it, they perceived it not to be ſo ſtrong as they had ſuppoſed.

Giaffer *Captain of the Janizaries ſlain.*

The Emperor having ſpent a few days in conſultation about his farther proceeding, and preparing of things for the Siege, reſolved without further delay with all his Forces to aſſault the Caſtle, perſwaded thereunto by many reaſons; firſt, by the chearfulneſs of his own Souldiers, and the Courage of his Enemies ſore daunted in the laſt skirmiſh, which he was loath they ſhould again recover by the coming of new Supplies; beſides that, he was informed, that divers Companies of the Numidians were coming to *Tunes*, entertained by *Barbaruſſa*, whoſe ſtrength was like dayly to encreaſe; but that which moved him moſt to haſten the matter, was, for that his men began to grow ſickly in his Camp, being all the day time ſcorched as it were with the fervent heat of the Sun, and well near ſtarved in the night with cold and exceeding Dews wherewith they were commonly wet to the skin; neither was there either good Water, or freſh Victual by any means to be had in that ſandy and barren Soil, for the relief of the ſick, other than that was brought out of the Fleet; for all the Water thereabout was moſt unpleaſant and exceeding brackiſh, ſo that both ſick and whole were glad when they could get a Crab to quench their extream Thirſt; although the Emperor did what he might to remedy theſe extremities, and much relief was in good time ſent both from *Sicilia* and *Naples*; the Bisket alſo in the Ships, eſpecially in the Spaniſh Gallies, was grown hoary and unwholeſome. Wherefore he began to place his Battery about the fifteenth of *July*, which was defended all alongſt with Gabions, and Casks filled with Sand, for that the Country Soil in that place yielded neither Earth nor Turf to do it. *Auria* appointed to batter the Caſtle by ſea, divided his Gallies into three Squadrons which orderly ſucceeding one another, ſhould by turns beat the ſame: his great Ships rid at Anchor, and out of their Forcaſtles thundred with their great Ordnance. And *Vaſtius* at Land had divided the Army into three Battels; Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, every ſtation by themſelves, in ſuch ſort, as that they might indifferently be partakers both of the danger of the Aſſault, and of the glory of the Victory. There was never ſtrong place in the memory of man (ſince Guns, that fatal Engin were firſt invented for the deſtruction of mankind) aſſailed with greater force, greater preparation, or induſtry. The great Ordnance in manner of a great Earthquake, ſo terribly roared and thundred, that the Earth ſeemed not only to tremble and quake under mens Feet, but even by and by to rent in ſudder and ſwallow them up; and the Sea which was even now quiet and calm, began to riſe aloft, and to rage and fome as if it had been in a great Storm; at which time the Air became thick, and the Skie darkned with the ſmoke of the great Artillery; from the break of the day until Noon, the roaring Cannon and Culverin never ceaſed; ſo that the Vamures were beaten down, the Caſtle made aſſaultable, and the Walls ſo ſhaken, that in many places the Turks Cannoniers, together with their Cannon lay buried in the ruins thereof. Which thing perceived, they which were before appointed to give the firſt Aſſault, upon ſignal given by the Emperor, preſently upon the ceaſing of the great Artillery aſſailed the Breach, and others with their ſcaling Ladders ſcaled the Walls; which was done with ſuch Courage and reſolution, that the Turks when they had done what they poſſibly could for the defence of the place, by caſting down Darts, Wild-Fire, and ſuch like things upon the Chriſtians as they were climbing up; at length as men deſpairing longer to hold the

Guletta *furiouſly battered.*

Guletta *aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.*

the place, and overcome with a greater Fortune, turned their Backs and fled. *Sinan* and the reſt of the Captains by a wooden Bridge, fled out at the further ſide of the Caſtle, into the Main, and ſo alongſt the left ſide of the Lake by Land to *Tunes*, not looking behind them for haſte; which way moſt part of his men followed him alſo. The reſt were either ſlain or driven into the Lake, where ſeeking to ſave their lives by ſwiming, they were either ſlain in coming to Land, by the Spaniſh Horſemen, or elſe in their ſwiming ſhot at pleaſure by the Harquebuſiers, ſo that all the Lake was as it were covered with the dead bodies of the Turks and Moors. The Emperor with ſmall Shot thus gained the Caſtle of *Guletta*, with all the warlike Proviſion therein, and with it all *Barbaruſſa* his great Fleet and ſtrength at Sea, which he for the more ſafety had before put into the Lake; which as it was unto the Emperor a thing moſt pleaſant, ſo was it unto *Barbaruſſa* and his Pyrats the greateſt grief and loſs poſſible, having at once loſt all their power at Sea, which but a little before was no ſmall terror to all the Frontiers of the Chriſtian Countries and Iſlands in the Mediterranean.

Guletta *won, and* Barbaruſſa *his Fleet taken.*

Barbaruſſa *rageth.*

Barbaruſſa troubled and terrified with ſo great a loſs, with a ſtern and ſcornful Countenance received the Jew, and the reſt of the Captains fled from *Guletta*, reviling them bitterly in his rage, and calling them faint-hearted Cowards, which had in ſo ſhort a time given over ſo ſtrong a place. Whereunto *Sinan* anſwered for them all, in this ſort:

The ſhort anſwer of Sinan *the Jew unto* Barbaruſſa.

Hairadin (ſaid he) *ſo long as we were to fight with armed men, we did as thou well knoweſt, and our Enemies cannot deny, what well beſeemed us and thy magnificent Fortune. But when we are to withſtand the Divel and his infernal Furies, which came againſt us with Flames of Fire, and Earthquakes, things of extream terror and danger; it ought not to ſeem ſtrange unto thee, if we ſought to eſcape the uncouth Fury of the immortal Enemies of mankind, to do thee ſervice in thy better Fortune, in defence of this thy City and Kingdom. Neither do we account it any diſgrace to have eſcaped that danger, as men that mind again to fight; out of which thou, a moſt ancient and expert Commander (if I may frankly ſpeak unto thee the truth) if thou hadſt been there preſent, wouldſt have accounted it no diſhonour, but very good diſcretion to have eſcaped in ſafety.*

Barbaruſſa repreſſing his fury, began in a more temperate manner to requeſt them every one particularly, as valiant and couragious men to ſtand faſt unto him in that War againſt their Enemies the Chriſtians; telling them, that he well hoped, that after the great ſupply of the Mooriſh Footmen and Numidian Horſemen were once come (which were now at hand) the Enemy ſhould not long rejoyce of the taking of *Guletta*. After that, he forthwith converted all his ſtudy and endeavour, to prepare ſuch things as were needful for the War, bringing forth his Treaſures, and bountifully beſtowing the ſame amongſt the Moors and Numidians, thereby to confirm the Friendſhip of ſuch as well affected him, and with his new bounty to win the hearts of ſuch as yet ſtood doubtful.

Muleaſſes *cometh to the Emperor.*

In the mean time *Muleaſſes* the exiled King, with a ſmall retinue of his Friends and Followers came from the fartheſt part of *Numidia*, into the Emperors Camp; the Emperor ſitting in a Royal Seat in the midſt of his Pavilion, whereunto *Muleaſſes* was admitted, with a Mitre upon his head, in a Garment of green and blew changeable Silk; he was of a tall and manly Stature, of Colour tawny, but ſo Squint-eyed, that he ſeemed ſpitefully to look upon them whom he beheld; whom after he had kiſſed the Emperors right hand, and had ſet himſelf down with his Legs gathered cloſe under him, upon a Carpet ſpred upon the bare ground, after the manner of his Country, he by an Interpreter ſpake unto the Emperor as followeth:

The Oration of Muleaſſes *unto* Charles *the Emperor.*

Thou art come in Arms into this Country, and art now almoſt Conqueror of the ſame (thrice mighty Emperor) provoked thereunto not by any deſert of mine, for that our different Religion ſo required; yet as I verily think, not without the appointment of the moſt high God, whom both thou and I do with like Devotion worſhip, to take revenge of the moſt perfidious and cruel Tyrant and Pyrat, the mortal Enemy of mankind; whom I foreſee as good as already vanquiſhed, now that Guletta *is taken, and his Navy ſurpriſed. So that I hope he ſhall in ſhort time by thy revenging hand, at once receive the juſt Guerdon of all his former Villanies; which ſhall be ſo much the more to my comfort, for that I hope the Fruit of thy rare Felicity and glorious Victory will redound in great part to me, being reſtored by thee into my Fathers Kingdom; which I as a poor exiled Prince moſt humbly requeſt of thy Juſtice and Bounty. For it ſhall be unto thee a thing moſt honourable and profitable, if thou ſhalt receive into thy protection me, a King Royally deſcended of a moſt ancient Progeny, ſtrengthned with the great Allyance of the Numidians and Moors. Neither do I refuſe either to pay thee Tribute therefore, or to acknowledge my ſelf Vaſſal unto thee the Chriſtian Emperor. Of which my Fidelity there can be no greater aſſurance, than the thankful remembrance of ſo great a benefit received; which ſhall never remain unforgotten of me and my Poſterity, even for that eſpecially, that I deteſt and abhor the name of an unthankful man; and do well by experience find, how much my ſtate may be confirmed, and the minds of my People to me aſſured, by thy Garriſons ſo near at hand in* Sicilia *and* Sardinia.

The Emperors anſwer to Muleaſſes.

Whereunto the Emperor anſwered, That he was come over into *Africk* to be revenged of the injuries which *Barbaruſſa* had many times done upon the Frontiers of his Dominions, and to root out the Pyrats, of all others moſt miſchievous; which his good purpoſe had by the goodneſs of Chriſt his Saviour taken ſo good effect, that he doubted not in ſhort time by the taking of *Tunes* to obtain a perfect Victory; which once gained, he would then kindly grant him all things which ſhould ſtand with the convenience of his Affairs, and the uſe of his Victory; ſo that he would not falſifie his Faith, which he might juſtly ſuſpect, if he repoſed not a ſpecial truſt, that the remembrance of ſuch a benefit would for ever remain in his heroical mind; and was further aſſured, that the ſame power which ſhould reſtore him his Kingdom of courteſie, could alſo take it from him again, if his unthankfulneſs ſhould ſo deſerve.

The behavior of Muleaſſes.

Muleaſſes in the preſence of the Emperor uſed ſuch a gravity and grace in his ſpeech and geſture, as well declared, that he had nothing forgotten his former eſtate; but towards the General and the other great Captains he uſed all manner of Courteſie, ſo that he rid up and down with them gallantly mounted, mannaging his Horſe, and charging and diſcharging his Launce with ſuch agility and skill, as ſhewed him to be a very good Horſeman, and of great activity. At other vacant times he would ſubtilly reaſon with learned men, after the manner of *Averois*, of the nature of things, of the Motion of Heaven, and Power of the Stars. By the Emperors commandment he had a Tent appointed for him, and honourable allowance for his Diet. *Vaſtius* and the reſt of the chief Commanders of the Army uſed him with all honour, and at ſuch time as he was deſirous to ſee the Camp, courteouſly brought him into all places of it, that he might himſelf ſee what Mounts they had in ſhort time caſt, what abundance there was of great Artillery, what ſtrong Watch and Ward was kept, what a number there was of brave and warlike Souldiers of divers Nations, differing much one from another in Language, Countenance and manner of Furniture; and further demanded, Whether that puiſſant Army which the Emperor had brought over to his great good, were in his Judgment ſufficient to ſubdue the Enemy? Where above all things *Muleaſſes* wondred at the number and order of the great Ordnance; and next unto that, at the wonderful plenty of things to be bought and ſold in the Market place, and at the modeſt quietneſs of the Souldiers in buying the ſame. Not long after, the expert Captains by diligent enquiry learned of him many things well ſerving for their better proceeding in that War, eſpecially of the diſpoſition and ſtrength of them of *Tunes*, of the ſituation of the City, of the nature of the Walls, and fortification of the Caſtle, of the Wells and Ciſterns in the Suburbs, and what Strength the Moors and Numidians were of, which *Barbaruſſa* had entertained. In concluſion, he aſſured them (as afterwards it fell out) that *Barbaruſſa* would never truſt to the ſtrength of the Walls, which would eaſily be overthrown with the great Artillery; but would in a great bravery with Enſigns diſplaied bring all his Forces into the Field, of purpoſe to terrifie the Chriſtians with the ſight of the multitude of his raſcal Souldiers, and to break their array with his Numidian Horſemen, who with hideous and terrible cries, after the manner of that Nation, would not fail to aſſail them; and yet for all that would never bring into the Battel his Turkiſh Footmen (in whom he repoſed his greateſt confidence, and whom he deſired moſt to ſpare) but would as a crafty and ſubtil Turk, by oppoſing of the Moors, whom he held in ſmall regard, trie by their blood what might be done without the danger of his own men. But as he told them, nothing could be more ſtrange unto the Moors his Countrymen, or that they were more afraid of, than in a ſet battel to fight with that Enemy, whoſe Squadrons coming orderly on in gliſtering Armor with long Pikes, might ſcorn and eaſily overthrow the naked Archers of the Moors, and the unarmed Numidian Horſemen; and that our men ſhould find nothing more grievous or troubleſome, than the ſcorching heat of the Sun, and the Thirſt riſing thereof; which might eaſily be remedied by plenty of Water, which by Slaves and ſmall Boats might eaſily be brought in Casks and Bottels from the Fleet alongſt the Lake, and ſo diſtributed amongſt the Army; although not far from the Walls of the City were certain old conduit Heads which would yield them great Plenty of Water, if the malicious Enemy did not to his own hurt and others, poyſon the ſame. Theſe things orderly reported to the Emperor, confirmed the hope he had before conceived of the deſired Victory; ſo that wholly bent thereupon, and carefully forecaſting all things, he reſolved forthwith to depart from *Guletta*, and with all his power to beſiege *Tunes*.

His opinion and counſel concerning the preſent war.

But whilſt he was preparing things neceſſary, ordering his Souldiers, and diſcovering the Enemies purpoſes, his Souldiers had dayly divers skirmiſhes with the Numidians; ſo that once the skirmiſh was like to have come to a juſt Battel; which began in this ſort; The Moors had planted certain Field-Pieces amongſt the Olive-Gardens, wherewith they ſhot continually into the Camp; for removing whereof, the Emperor leaving the Italians, with certain Companies of the old German and Spaniſh Souldiers, for the keeping of his Camp and Trenches, went forth with his Horſemen and the reſt of his Army; ſending before him *Montegius*, General of the Spaniſh Horſemen, who for moſt part were but raw Souldiers, ſuch as were of the Noblemens ordinary Servants and Followers, not before acquainted with the Wars. Theſe light Horſemen with divers Fortune skirmiſhed a while with the Enemy; but when they ſaw themſelves to be hardly charged, and *Montegius* their General grievouſly wounded, they turned their Backs, and in the ſight of the Emperor ſhamefully fled to the Men at Arms, which were coming after them. The manner of the Enemies Fight was, to give at the firſt a fierce and deſperate Charge, and upon the encounter given, of purpoſe to retire, avoiding thereby the ſuddain force of their Enemies, and by and by to turn again upon them with a freſh charge. The Emperor ſeeing the Flight of his light Horſemen, came on couragiouſly with his Men at Arms; by whoſe coming in and valiant encounter the Turks and Moors were put to flight, and the Field-Pieces wherewith they had before annoyed the Camp, taken. In this Skirmiſh the Emperor in perſon, as he ſtood foremoſt in his armed Troops, gave the ſign of Battel himſelf, by crying with a loud voice, Saint *James*, Saint *James*, whom the Spaniards take for their Patron; and ſo charging the Enemy, performed the part not only of a couragious Chieftain, but of a reſolute and valiant Souldier alſo; reſcuing with his own hand *Andreas Pontius* a noble Gentleman of *Granado*, whom unhorſed and ſore wounded, the Enemy was ready preſently to have ſlain, had not the Emperor by his coming in ſaved him; deſerving thereby the Oken Garland, which the Romans by the name of *Civica Corona*, gave as an honour to ſuch as had in Battel ſaved a Citizen.

The Spaniſh light Horſemen put to flight.

The Emperor reſtoreth the Battel, and with his own hand reſcueth Andreas Pontius *of* Granado.

About the ſame time it fortuned, that thirty thouſand Moors came upon the ſuddain to have ſurpriſed a little Tower ſtanding upon a Hill near unto the ruins of old *Carthage*; wherein the Emperor had placed certain Souldiers for the keeping thereof, becauſe it was near unto his Camp. Before theſe Moors went a Numidian Prieſt, who bellowing out certain ſuperſtitious Charms, caſt divers Scrols of Paper on each ſide the way, wherein he curſed and banned the Chriſtians; and now they had with Fire and Smoke brought the Chriſtians in that Tower to great extremity, when the Emperor himſelf coming to their reſcue with certain Companies of Horſemen and Footmen, ſlew the conjuring Prieſt, with others, and put the reſt to flight. The diſcomfiture of the Spaniſh Horſemen cauſed many men to think, that if the Emperor ſhould come to a ſet Battel with the Enemy, he ſhould find his Horſemen too weak, both for that they were but few in number, and not to be compared with the Numidians. For which cauſe, and divers others, certain of the Emperors grave Counſellors, but none of the beſt Souldiers, wiſhed him not to proceed further in that dangerous War, but with ſpeed to return out of *Africk*, for as much as he had won honour enough by the taking of *Guletta*, and the ſurpriſing of the Enemies Fleet; whereby he had to his immortal praiſe, and the common good of Chriſtendom, delivered all the Frontiers of the Chriſtian Countries in the Mediterranean, from the danger and fear of thoſe moſt cruel Pyrats; beſides that, the Flix began

The Emperor adviſed by his Counſellors to return home.

to rage in his Camp, whereof many of his Souldiers fell ſick and died dayly. Whereas on the contrary part, the mighty Numidian Princes, ſuch as were *Muleaſſes* old Enemies, were reported to come in dayly to the aid of *Barbaruſſa*. Theſe unſeaſonable Speeches the Emperor thought good to repreſs betime; reaſoning againſt the authors thereof with great gravity, as againſt men who with more fear doubted of the ſucceſs of things, and the event of the Victory, than beſeemed them, whom for their conſtant reſolution, and good opinion conceived of their diſcretion, he had choſen to be of his moſt ſecret Counſel.

The reſolute anſwer of the Emperor.

Saying, *That he deſired not of them that their needleſs and diſhonourable labour, wherein they ſhould ſhew themſelves more careful of his perſon than of his honour; foraſmuch as thoſe things which they now alledged ſhould have been ſaid before the War was taken in hand, now by good hap half ended; before he ever paſſed over into* Africk. *For he might* (as he ſaid) *have reſted quietly in* Spain, *and have eaſily neglected and rejected the injuries done upon the Sea Coaſts, and the complaints of his Subjects; but he was* (*as they well knew*) *for moſt urgent cauſes come thither; whereas he was reſolved to ſatisfie the expectation of the world with a notable Victory; or if God ſhould otherwiſe appoint, there to end his days with honour. Wherefore he willed them to ceaſe further to flatter him that was no way diſmaid, or to poſſeſs the minds of his valiant Souldiers with a vain forboding fear, and with reſolute minds, together with him their Chieftain, againſt the next day to expect what the fortune of the Field ſhould appoint for the full accompliſhment of that War. For he was* (as he ſaid) *ſet down to give the Enemy Battel; or if he refuſed the ſame, to batter the Walls of* Tunes, *not doubting but that God would ſtand on his ſide in ſo good and ſo godly a quarrel.*

The Emperor marcheth toward Tunes.

The Emperor leaving a ſufficient Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Guletta*, commanded the Breaches to be repaired, and the great Ordnance there taken to be laid upon Carriages, which before after the old rude Sea faſhion lay bound in great unweldy pieces of Timber, with Iron Rings faſtned thereunto, and could not handſomely be handled or removed to or fro. After that, when he had cauſed the Country to be viewed all about, which betwixt the Olive Groves and the right ſide of the Lake giveth a direct paſſage unto the City of *Tunes*; he ſet forward with his Army in ſo good order, that he ſtill marched as ready to fight, for fear of the Policies and ſuddain Aſſaults of the Enemy. On the left hand marched the Italians next unto the Lake; on the right hand the Spaniards near unto the Olive-Groves, which in the manner of a great Wood ran alongſt the Country, from the ruins of *Carthage*, almoſt to the Walls of *Tunes*; in the midſt betwixt both marched the Germans; next unto them followed the great Ordnance; and after it, the Carriages of all the Army. In the Vaungard was *Vaſtius*, whom the Emperor had made General of the Army, and eſpecially for that day; in the Rearward was the Duke of *Alva* with certain Troops of choſen Horſemen; in the middle of the main Battel was the Emperor, and by his ſide *Lewis* his Brother in Law the King of *Portugals* Brother. The Italians were conducted by the Prince of *Salerne*, the Spaniards by *Alarco* an ancient Captain, and the Germans by *Maximilian Eberſtein*. But the Emperor in his Armor ceaſed not to ride from Squadron to Squadron, with chearful countenance and full of hope, recounting unto them the former Victories which they had gotten for him; and telling them, that he did that day expect of them a moſt honourable days ſervice, foraſmuch as they were to fight againſt the naked Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion; wherefore they ſhould with reſolute minds ſet down themſelves to endure the Weight of their Armor, the painfulneſs of the March, the heat of the Sun and Sand, and the teediousneſs of the Thirſt ariſing thereof; until they might joyn Battel with their Enemies, where they ſhould undoubtedly by the goodneſs of God (in whoſe quarrel they fought) obtain the Victory; in the mean time they ſhould with patience overcome all difficulties, comforting themſelves with the undoubted hope of a moſt rich Prey, which they were to expect of the Spoil of a rich City. Whereunto every Squadron anſwered with a great ſhout, that he ſhould not trouble himſelf with thoſe matters which he had before rehearſed, but to aſſure himſelf, that they his Souldiers would moſt patiently endure all extremities, and not deceive the expectation he had conceived of their wonted valour, but by valiant Fight to make him Emperor, not of *Africk* but of *Aſia* alſo.

Now *Vaſtius* had withdrawn two Companies of Harquebuſiers out of the Spaniſh Squadron, to skirmiſh with the Moors who continually followed in the tail of the Army; whom, by thoſe Harquebuſiers and certain Troops of Horſemen deputed to that purpoſe, the Duke of *Alva* notably repulſed in the Rearward.

The Army was now come unto the Ciſterns of freſh Water, which *Muleaſſes* and others which well knew the Country, had before told them of; which as ſoon as the Souldiers almoſt fainting under the weight of their Armor, with the ſcortching heat of the Sun, and extremity of Thirſt, deſcried afar off; they for deſire they had to quench their Thirſt, forthwith forſook their Colours, and diſorderly ran as faſt as they could to thoſe Ciſterns; *Vaſtins* the General, to the uttermoſt of his power labouring in vain both by fair means and foul to have ſtaid them; who ſaw by that diſordredneſs of the Souldiers, a great advantage offred unto the Enemy, which then was not far off. But when the General could neither with words or blows prevail any thing with them, the Emperor himſelf was glad to haſt thither, with his Preſence and Authority to have kept them in order; yet ſuch was the force of their intollerable Thirſt, that neither the ſight of the Emperor, nor all that he could do, could remedy the diſorder; ſome fainting in the Sand for lack of Drink, and ſome other for greedineſs ready to burſt their Bellies at the Fountains; ſo that the Emperor was fain with his Truncheon to beat them away. Amongſt the reſt, one *Sullius Cicero* of *Arpinas*, a famous Captain, died at the Ciſtern ſide with drinking too much. This extremity for want of Water ſeemed juſtly to have hapned unto them, foraſmuch as *Vaſtius* the day before had by general Proclamation through the Camp, commanded that every Souldier ſhould carry with him a Bottle of Wine or Water at his Girdle; although he cauſed ſo much Water as he conveniently could, to be carried in great Casks for the common relief of the Army, whereof the Germans had the greateſt part; ſome almoſt ready to give over for Thirſt, were glad to get a draught of cold Water of their Fellows which had it, for two Ducats.

The Souldiers for greedineſs of water diſordered their march.

A draught of water ſold for two Ducats.

This diſorder being with as much ſpeed as was poſſible reformed, and the Army again brought into order, the Emperor held on his march towards the Enemy; for *Barbaruſſa* with a wonderful multitude of Horſemen and Footmen, and a number of Enſigns (the inſtruments of vain

Barbaruſſa *in Field againſt the Emperor.*

fear and fooliſh bravery) gallantly diſplaied after the manner of the Moors, was come about three miles from the City, and with certain Field-Pieces (as *Muleaſſes* had foretold) went about to have broken the Battel of the Chriſtians; which Pieces although they were oftentimes diſcharged, yet did they but little or no harm by reaſon of the unskilfulneſs of the Cannoniers. *Vaſtius* in like manner, and for like purpoſe had commanded the great Ordnance to be brought into the Front of the Battel ; but perceiving what time and toil it required to have it done (for that it was drawn but by ſtrength of men, and the Wheels of the Carriages ſunk deep in the devouring Sand, and the Shot and Powder which the Mariners and Gally-Slaves carried altogether upon their Shoulders; came but ſoftly on) he ſuddainly changed his purpoſe, and told the Emperor, That he thought it not beſt to ſtay for the great Artillery in that chearfulneſs of his Army when every man deſired Battel, but to commit all to the Valour of his reſolute Men, and his own good Fortune, which ever favoured his noble attempts; leſt whilſt we ſtay (ſaid he) too long upon our great Ordnance (which do not always ſerve to great purpoſe in ſuddain Battels) our Enemies gather Courage in the time of this our unneceſſary delay; and this exceeding chearfuulneſs of our Souldiers (the moſt ſure token of undoubted Victory) by deferring of time grow cold. Whereunto the Emperor, deſirous of Battel, and filled with good hope, joyfully anſwered; *Vaſtius*, if thou ſo think it good (which I alſo like well of) in Gods name give the ſignal. That ſhall I by and by do (ſaid he) but firſt it is reaſon that you which ſway and command a great part of the World, learn at this time to obey him, whom to his great charge and ſhame, you, laying aſide the Imperial Majeſty of your ſelf, have for this day made General and Commander of ſo mighty an Army; wherefore (ſaid *Vaſtius*) I will now uſe my Authority, and command you, ſith I may not ſo requeſt you, to depart from this place, and to get you into the midſt of the Battel near unto the Enſigns; leſt by ſome unlucky Shot, the whole eſtate of the Army be brought into extream peril by the danger of one mans life. Whereat the Emperor ſmiling, willed him to fear no ſuch thing; ſaying moreover, That never Emperor was yet ſlain with a Gun. For all that, he departed out of the place as he was commanded, and went into the middle of the Battel. Whereupon the ſignal of Battel was by the ſound of the Trumpet, and ſtriking up of the Drum, preſently given, and the Enemy (with more haſte than the extream heat of the day required) furiouſly charged by the Emperors Horſemen, who to avoid the danger of the great Artillery, made all the haſte they could to come to handy blows. In the foremoſt of theſe Horſemen was *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, a moſt valiant Nobleman, who then ſerved the Emperor without charge; he being ſomewhat before the reſt, at the firſt onſet ſlew with his Launce a great Captain of the Moors, and preſently with his Sword ſo troubled them that were next, that he opened a way for them that followed him, to break into the Enemies Battel. The Harquebuſiers alſo diſcharged ſo faſt upon the Enemy, that three hundred of them lay dead upon the ground before the joyning of the Battel ; which the reſt of the Footmen ſeeing, forſook their great Ordnance and fled back to *Barbaruſſa*. Who long endured not the force or fight of the Chriſtians; but grinding his Teeth for ſorrow and grief of mind, turned his Horſe, and with his Turks retired into *Tunes*. For now that his deſigns had in the beginning taken ſo evil ſucceſs, he thought it not beſt to adventure all in one Battel; knowing right well, that the Emperors Army could not long endure the inconveniences of the intollerable heat and want of many things, eſpecially of freſh Water; which fed him with hope, that he ſhould out of theſe his Enemies diſtreſſes pick ſome fit occaſion of advantage, if he could but a while defend the City of *Tunes*. The Numidians and Moors, who in great Troops and Companies had alwaies hovered about the Emperors Army, without doing any thing worth reporting, retired themſelves into the Suburbs, Gardens, and other places near unto the City.

Vaſtius *commandeth the Emperor.*

Barbaruſſa *flieth to* Tunes.

The Emperor glad of the flight of his Enemies, which were thought to have been in number an hundred thouſand, encamped with his Army that night in the ſame place where they before lay; determining the next day to batter the Walls of *Tunes*. In the mean time *Barbaruſſa*, ſurpriſed with an exceeding fear, and diſtracted with many cares, and now become more cruel than himſelf, had in his mind purpoſed a fact full of exceeding and inhuman Cruelty ; which was at once to have killed all the Chriſtian Captives in the Caſtle of *Tunes* ; fully reſolved to put the ſame in execution, had not *Sinan* the Jew diſſwaded him from that moſt execrable fact ; proteſting ſuch a practiſe to be unſeemly for a man of his Valor, famous for his many Victories, and carrying with him the Majeſty of a King; whereas he would ſhortly after wonderfully repent him for doing ſo ſhameful a fact ; the doing whereof, What was it elſe (as the Jew ſaid) but a manifeſt demonſtration of his extream fear and deſperation? which two things were moſt dangerous to him, that was to maintain ſo doubtful a War, and would much deface the glory of his former life ; wherefore he ſhould do well to beware, that by the fame of ſuch a moſt horrible fact, he did not provoke *Solymans* heavy diſpleaſure againſt him; who devoid of all human Cruelty, had uſed both to deteſt and revenge ſuch outrages. Wherefore he ſhould ſuffer the Chriſtian Captives to live bound in their fatal Chains, ſo long as it were their Fortunes; who being well kept, and unarmed, might ſhortly after ſerve him to good purpoſe, and could no way without moſt certain danger move themſelves, if they ſhould unadviſedly luſt after their unlucky Liberty; for by them, the expected Victory could neither be given to the Enemy, nor taken from him, or yet ſo much as hindred. At which ſpeech the Tyrant was aſhamed, and ſo ſparing the lives of the poor Wretches, went out of the Caſtle, into the greateſt Church of *Tunes*, whither he had cauſed to aſſemble all the chief men of the City, to tell them what he would have done for the defence of the City, and now by perſwaſion to encourage them to fight; from whom, as men by him holden in diſtruſt, he had but a little before the coming of the Chriſtians, taken all manner of Armor and Weapons.

Barbaruſſa *in mind to kill all the Chriſtian Captives, is diſſwaded by* Sinan *the Jew.*

Whilſt *Barbaruſſa* was thus buſied, the moſt joyful and happy day appeared to thoſe miſerable Captives, by fortunes change no leſs black and diſmal to the Turks and Moors. For that hainous purpoſe of the cruel Tyrant could not long be covered or kept ſecret; ſo that a conſtant report of a danger ſo imminent, was run through the whole Caſtle, even into deep Dungeons; by the compaſſion of certain manumiſed Slaves, who deteſting the ſavage Cruelty of *Barbaruſſa* their Maſter, and touched with Devotion, had in Heart returned to their old and true Chriſtian Religion; incouraging by ſecret Speeches the chief of the Captives with whom they were acquainted, *The Chriſtian Captives break priſon, and drive the Turks out of the Caſtle of* Tunes.

to lay hand now upon their liberty. Amongſt theſe well minded Men was one *Francis* a Spaniard, whom *Barbaruſſa* had from his youth brought up as his Minion, having him always in great eſteem by the name of *Memis*; and another called *Vincentius Catereus* of *Dalmatia* an Eunuch. Theſe two adventuring a moſt memorable and godly attempt, ſet open the Priſon doors, and gave Inſtruments unto the poor Priſoners, ready to take the occaſion offered; who boldly ſtarting up, brake off their Chains and Gyves, and ſo by the great goodneſs and mercy of God, about ſix thouſand poor naked Chriſtians, armed with that came firſt in hand, but eſpecially with ſtones, brake forth ſuddainly upon the Turks that were in the Caſtle. *Ramadas* a renegate Spaniard Captain of the Caſtle, ſtirred up with unexpected and terrible noiſe of ſo many Priſoners breaking their Irons, with a few Souldiers whom he had ſuddainly called unto him, ran to the Caſtle Gate, where one of the Priſoners (a luſty young Man of *Sicilia*) had with one of the Bars of the Gate ſtruck down one or two of the Warders, and having bolted the Gate, was become Maſter thereof; him *Ramadas* ſlew, and opening the Gate, made way for himſelf and his few followers, with whom he went to *Barbaruſſa*, to carry him the news of that his hard miſchance. But the Chriſtians now looſed from their Bands, and having ſuddainly ſlain divers of the Turks, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Caſtle, brake open the Armory, and ſo ſeiſing upon the Kings Treaſure, Armor, and Proviſion, from a high Turret gave ſigns of Victory to the Chriſtian Army by ſmoke and falſe fires made with Gunpowder; and laſtly by diſplaying of *Sarmentus* his Enſign, which (as we have before declared) was by *Tabacches* taken from the top of the Trenches at the Siege of *Guletta*. Theſe ſigns although the Chriſtians in the Army could not well perceive, as being too far off; yet by the Fugitives which came oftentimes out of *Tunes* to the Emperor and *Muleaſſes*, they were both perſwaded, that ſome great Tumult was riſen amongſt the Enemies. Wherefore the Emperor ſent two of his Captains with their Companies, who going as near as they could to the City and the Caſtle, ſhould diſcover what the matter was. In the mean time, *Barbaruſſa* almoſt mad for anger, in his fury blaſpheming his vain Gods, and bitterly curſing and banning the Jew, for diſſwading him from killing the Captives, came to the Caſtle Gate, with tears ſtanding in his Eies pitifully requeſting the late Chriſtian Captives (which then ſtood upon the top of the Walls and the Gate, with Weapons in their hands) that they would forthwith let him in, faithfully promiſing them their liberty, with a general and free Pardon for all that they had done. But they mindful both of their former and preſent Fortune, and moved with juſt hatred, caſt ſtones at him, and with many opprobrious words rejected his requeſt; ſo that he inraged with ſorrow and madneſs, ſhot at them with his own hand, and ſeeing all paſt remedy, and the City not poſſible now to be kept, ſhamefully betook himſelf to flight. After him followed the Turks, in number ſeven thouſand, with purpoſe to flie to the City *Hippona*, now called *Bona*, famous for the Biſhoprick of that reverend Father and great Divine *Auguſtine*. For there (as in a moſt ſure Harbour) had *Barbaruſſa* left fourteen Gallies in the Lake near unto the City, to ſerve his turn whatſoever miſchance ſhould happen; but the Tackling, Sails, Oars, and Ordnance, he had laid up in the Caſtle faſt by, which were kept with a Garriſon of his own.

Tunes yielded to the Emperor.

The Emperor underſtanding that *Barbaruſſa* with his Turks was fled, came with all his Army unto the Gates of *Tunes*, where the Magiſtrates of the City were ready to ſubmit themſelves unto him, and to deliver him the Keys of the City; only requeſting of him, that he would keep his Souldiers incamped without the City, and not to ſeek the utter ſpoil and ruin thereof; promiſing, that the Souldiers ſhould want nothing that was there to be had. *Muleaſſes* alſo careful of the ſafety thereof, earneſtly intreated the Emperor in the Citizens behalf. But he, although he was of his own honourable diſpoſition ready enough to have granted what they requeſted; yet for that he did, not without cauſe, doubt of the Moors Fidelity, and that the payment of the Mony which they of *Tunes* had by *Muleaſſes* promiſed for the payment of the Souldiers wages, was by them craftily delaied, expecting ſtill the uttermoſt devoir of *Barbaruſſa*, he could not by any means be perſwaded to promiſe them any certainty of their ſafety, moved alſo ſo to do by the diſcontented Speeches of his Souldiers, who ſpared not to ſay, That they ſhould be hardly and unkindly dealt withal, if after ſo long travel and ſo much pains taken both by Sea and Land, they ſhould be defrauded of the reward of the Victory, ſith nothing but only the hope of the preſent ſpoil did relieve and feed them, being poor and miſerable, having ſcarce Clothes to cover their nakedneſs, and their Bodies ſpent with long labour and thirſt; ſo that the Moors of *Tunes*, Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, and the perpetual receivers of moſt horrible Pyrats, might worthily rejoyce of the Chriſtian Victory; and the Conquerors themſelves for ever bewail their own calamities and miſeries. Whilſt the Emperor ſtood thus in doubt what to reſolve upon, *Vaſtius* with a ſmall Company came to the Caſtle Gate, and was with wonderful joy received by the Chriſtian Captives. But as he was viewing the Wealth and Proviſion laid up in the Caſtle, a Ligurian Captain diſcovered unto him where certain Treaſure lay hid; for *Barbaruſſa* had there caſt into a Well thirty thouſand Ducats ſowed up in Bags, which *Vaſtius* getting eaſily out, obtained them of the Emperor of Gift, as he whoſe good ſervice had well deſerved them. The Caſtle thus won by a moſt rare chance, and the Captives taking the ſpoil thereof, the Souldiers could no longer be ſtayed, but that they entred into the City by heaps, running after the ſpoil into every part thereof; the Citizens fearing no ſuch matter, and calling in vain upon the faith of *Muleaſſes*; the old Souldiers at the firſt entrance ſlew many. The Spaniards and the Italians ſought moſt after the ſpoil; but the Germans deſiring more to glut themſelves with the Mahometan Blood, filled all places with dead Bodies, without regard of Sex or Age, ſo that the prophane Temples of their vain Prophet, ſwam with the Blood of them that were fled into them. Which furious execution continued until ſuch time as the Emperor moved with the pitiful requeſt of *Muleaſſes*, cauſed proclamation to be made, That no Man ſhould upon pain of Death hurt any Citizen, or take any Priſoners; yet for all that, it could not otherwiſe be, but that many young Men and Women were by the Mariners (which were come to the ſpoil of the City) carried away to the Fleet.

Tunes ſpoiled by the Chriſtians.

Muleaſſes for a little Mony redeemed divers which he knew, out of the hands of ſuch as had them Priſoners; amongſt others, one of his Wives, whom he ſometime held deareſt, was ranſomed for two Ducats. The Emperor entring

Three things eſpecially lamented by Muleaſſes *in the ſpoil of the Caſtle of* Tunes.

into the Caſtle, commended the Captives, who were the occaſion of that ſpeedy Victory; and giving to every one of them Mony, ſet them at liberty, promiſing unto them Shipping and Proviſion to bring them home every Man into his own Country. Unto the two manumiſed Servants of *Barbaruſſa*, which were the Authors of breaking the Priſon, he gave Mony and Apparel, and afterwards learned of them many things concerning *Barbaruſſa* his purpoſes, and ſecret diſpoſition. In the ſpoil of the Caſtle, *Muleaſſes* lamented the loſs of three things eſpecially; firſt, the ancient Arabian Books containing the interpretation of the Mahometan Law, and the Acts of the Kings his Predeceſſors; the loſs whereof, *Muleaſſes* (in the hearing of *P. Jovius*, out of whom this Hiſtory is taken) ſaid (as he reporteth) that he would moſt gladly, if it had been poſſible, have redeemed with the price of a City: Then the precious Ointments and Perfumes, with the wonderful ſtore of Ambergrize, Musk, and Civet, worth much Gold; all which, *Barbaruſſa* as a rude and rough Man had made no reckoning of. And laſt of all, the rare and rich Colours for Painting, which lying by heaps, were by the ignorant Souldiers, ſeeking for that might yield them preſent Mony, fooliſhly neglected and troden underfoot, ſerving no Man to good. In this Caſtle were found divers Head-pieces and other Armor of the Chriſtians, namely of the French, who with *Lewis* their King, had about three Hundred years before beſieged that Caſtle; which Armor had been until that time there kept by the Moors in remembrance of that Victory againſt the Chriſtians.

Barbaruſſa in the mean time was come to the River of *Bagrada*, which the Moors call *Maiordech*, which he eaſily paſſed over, though he was purſued by certain Numidian Horſemen, whom *Muleaſſes* had raiſed of his old Friends, and of the Followers of his Uncle *Dorax*, and ſent them to purſue the Turks; but *Barbaruſſa* ſo marched with his Harquebuſiers and Archers placed in the rereward, that the Numidian Horſemen durſt not come near him, and ſo in ſafety came to *Hippona*, as he had before purpoſed. Yet in paſſing the River *Bagrada*, he loſt *Haydin* of *Smirna*, that famous Pyrat; who being a fat Man, and wearied with the heat of the Sun and painfulneſs of the Journey, drank ſo much, that he died preſently upon the bank of the River.

Barbaruſſa *flieth to* Hippona, *and there comforteth his Souldiers.*

When *Barbaruſſa* was come to *Hippona*, he reſted his Men two days; then calling them together again, he comforted them with good words; perſwading them, that whatſoever miſchance had happened, they ſhould impute it not to the valour of the Enemy, but to the treachery of the Slaves; exhorting them, as valiant Men patiently to endure that frown of Fortune, and by ſome notable exploit to win again her Favour; for he was again determined to put to Sea with the Fleet he had, and to go preſently from thence to *Algiers*, where after he had with new Supplies encreaſed his Power, and augmented his Fleet, and better adviſed himſelf, he would take an attempt in hand anſwerable to their deſires, and not unbeſeeming his own credit and eſtimation. It is reported, that never vanquiſhed and beaten Captain was with a more chearful acclamation anſwered by his Souldiers, than he was at that preſent; they all with one conſent moſt willingly requeſting him to command whatſoever pleaſed him, which they would never refuſe to undertake, were it never ſo heavy or dangerous, ſo that they might be brought to ſome notable exploit. *Barbaruſſa* uſing this exceeding chearfulneſs and forwardneſs of his Souldiers, did with wonderful celerity weigh up the fourteen Gallies which he had ſunk in the Lake, and forthwith rigged them up, and furniſhed them for all aſſaies; and upon the very brink of the Lake caſt up a Mount of earth, whereon he placed certain pieces of Artillery for defence of the Harbour, not vainly conjecturing, that the Chriſtian Fleet would in ſhort time come thither to impeach his going out; pointing therein as it were at the purpoſe of the Emperor and *Auria* his Admiral, who were of opinion, that by ſending part of the Fleet thither, thoſe Gallies might be drown'd in the Harbour with the great Ordnance, before they could be rigged and made ready.

Auria *ſendeth certain Gallies to intercept* Barbaruſſa.

Unto this piece of ſervice *Auria* appointed one *Adam*, a Captain of *Genoa*, a Man of no great skill in matters at Sea, but yet of great wealth and credit, and the Admirals nigh Kinſman; he with certain Galliots and fourteen Gallies, ſet forward towards *Hippona*, promiſing unto himſelf a moſt certain and eaſie Victory, hoping to purchaſe unto himſelf great Honour of the unprovided Enemy; for that he thought to have taken *Barbaruſſa* buſie in ſetting forth of his Fleet. But after he was paſt *Biſerta*, and come near to *Hippona*, he was certainly adviſed, that *Barbaruſſa* had with incredible celerity rigged up his Gallies, and fortified the Harbour, by planting great Ordnance upon the Mount he had there raiſed. With which news he wonderfully troubled, changed his purpoſe, perſwaded by the other Captains of the Gallies, in no caſe to adventure to fight with him, becauſe the Spaniſh, Sicilian, and Neapolitan Gallies were but weakly manned, many of the Souldiers being for greedineſs of the Spoil gone aſhore without leave at *Tunes*; ſo that he ſhould at great diſadvantage fight with the Turks, being more in number and deſperately bent. Wherefore he upon good advice preſently changed his former courſe, and returned to the Fleet for more Aid. *Barbaruſſa* (as it was afterwards known) ſtood a good while in doubt, whether he ſhould in hope of Victory purſue thoſe Gallies, foraſmuch as they were in number no more than his own, or elſe to perſiſt in his former purpoſe of going to *Algiers*.

Barbaruſſa *eſcapeth to* Algiers.

Unto which opinion all the under Captains inclined, being altogether ignorant of the weakneſs of the Chriſtians; and ſo letting ſlip a fair occaſion, leaving a ſmall Garriſon of Turks in the Caſtle, he departed from *Hippona* and ſailed alongſt the Coaſt to *Algiers*. When *Adam* was returned again to the Fleet, and had done nothing, many of the Chriſtian Princes were wonderfully offended, that by the negligence of ſome who were hardly to be commanded, and by the unrulineſs of others who without leave were gone aſhore, ſo fair an occaſion of the deſired Victory, was neglected. For this thing only wanted unto the Emperors rare felicity in that War; for if thoſe few Gallies had been taken from the cruel Enemy, or ſunk in the Sea, there had been no means for him to have eſcaped; being verily thought, that the Numidians in number infinite, and deadly Enemies unto the Turks, would with often Skirmiſhes out of their known places of advantage, have ſo cut him off in his long and painful travel by Land, that they would altogether have made an end both of him and his followers before he could have come to *Algiers*. *Auria* angry both with himſelf and thoſe whom he had put in truſt, and yet not out of hope to overtake his Enemy, with his own Gallies and ſome other of the beſt Ships went to *Hippona*; but finding *Barbaruſſa* gone, he took the City, and overthrew the Walls thereof; but in the Caſtle which he by force took from the Turks, he placed *Alvarus Gometius* with a ſufficient Garriſon, and ſo returned unto the Emperor. This *Gometius*, although he was a moſt valiant Captain, yet became ſo infamous for his avaritious dealing both with the Enemy and his Friends, that for fear how to anſwer ſuch things as he knew would be laid to his charge, he became the infamous Executioner of himſelf. The Caſtle was afterwards by the commandment of the Emperor, raſed down to the ground, for that it was not without a marvelous charge to be kept.

The Kingdom of Tunes *is by the Emperor reſtored to* Muleaſſes.

After that, a Counſel was holden concerning *Muleaſſes*, whom the Emperor placed again in the Kingdom of *Tunes*, there to Reign as his Anceſtors had done before him; paying him yearly by the name of Tribute, two Faulcons, and two Numidian Courſers; with condition, that he ſhould for ever honour the Emperor, and be a Friend unto all Chriſtians, and an utter Enemy unto the Turks. Beſides that, That he ſhould from time to time defray the charges of a thouſand Spaniards and more, to be left in Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Guletta*; by holding whereof, the Emperor kept as it were the Keys of that Kingdom at his Girdle.

The Emperor returneth with Victory into Italy.

The Emperor having thus honourably driven *Barbaruſſa* and the Turks Pyrats out of *Tunes*, taken from their them Gallies, delivered the Chriſtian Countries (all along the Sea Coaſt into the Mediterranean) of a great fear, and reſtored *Muleaſſes* again to his Kingdom, ſailed into *Sicilia*, where he was in great Triumph received at *Panormus* and *Meſſina*, from whence he paſſed over to *Rhegium* in *Italy*, and from thence by Land to *Naples*. Thus was the Kingdom of *Tunes* taken by *Barbaruſſa* and the Turks; and by *Charles* the Emperor recovered again out of their hands the ſelf-ſame time that *Solyman* was in Perſon himſelf in Wars againſt the Perſian; whom *Barbaruſſa* accompanied with *Sinan* the Jew, after this overthrow met at *Iconium* in his return out of *Perſia*, well accepting of their excuſe, as is before declared.

1537. *Solyman* as well of his own ambitious diſpoſition, as following the manner of the *Othoman* Kings, deſirous by all means to encreaſe the glory of his Name, and to enlarge his Empire, determined with himſelf to take away from the Portugals all their Traffick into the *Eaſt Indies*. It grieved him to hear, that the Chriſtian Religion ſhould begin to take root amongſt thoſe Pagan Kings, which had not long before received the Mahometan Religion; Beſides that, he was credibly enformed, that the Portugals in theſe late Wars he had againſt the Perſians, had aided them with certain Harquebuſiers, and alſo had ſent them Work-men to ſhew them both the making and uſe of great Artillery. But that which moved him moſt of all, was for that the Portugals by their Traffick into the *Indies*, had cut off all the Trade of Merchandiſe into the Gulf of *Arabia*, whereby the Riches of the Eaſt were wont to be tranſported unto *Caire*, and ſo to *Alexandria*, from whence they were afterwards by the Venetian Merchants and others diſperſed into all parts of *Europe*; but now were carried by the great Ocean into *Portugal*, and from thence conveied into all parts of Chriſtendom, to the great hindrance of his Tributes and Cuſtoms of *Egypt*. For theſe cauſes, and at the inſtance of *Solyman* Baſſa an Eunuch, born in *Epirus*, and then Governour of *Epgypt*; *Solyman* cauſed wonderful preparation to be made, for the building of a great Fleet in the Red Sea, to go againſt the Portugals. All the Timber whereof was cut down in the Mountains of *Cilicia*, and Shipped in the Bay of *Attalia* in the bottom of the Mediterranean, from whence it was by Sea tranſported to *Peluſium*, and ſo up the River of *Nilus* to *Caire*; where after it was framed and ready to be ſet together, it was with infinite labour, and no leſs charge, carried by Land with Camels through that hot and ſandy Country, from *Caire* to *Suetia*, a Port of the Red Sea, called in ancient time *Arſinoe*.

The Egyptian Kings about to let in the Red Sea into the Mediterranean.

From which place eighty miles diſtant from *Caire*, the ancient Kings of *Egypt*, ſeeking by vain and wonderful works to eterniſe the memory of themſelves, had with incredible charge cut through all that main Land; ſo that Veſſels of good burthen might come up the ſame from *Arſinoe* to *Caire*; which great Cut or Ditch, *Seſoſtris* the rich King of *Egypt*, and long after him *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, purpoſed to have made a great deal wider and deeper, and thereby to have let the Red Sea into the Mediterranean, for the readier tranſportation of the Indian Merchandiſe to *Caire* and *Alexandria*. Which mad work, *Seſoſtris* prevented by death could not perform; and *Ptolomeus* otherwiſe perſwaded by skilful Men, in time gave over for fear leaſt by letting in the great South Sea into the Mediterranean, he ſhould thereby as it were with another general Deluge have drowned the greateſt part of *Græcia*, and many other goodly Countries in *Aſia*, and with exceeding charge, in ſtead of Honour, have purchaſed himſelf eternal Infamy. Yet by the ſingular induſtry of *Solyman* the Eunuch, who with ſevere commandent enforced all the people of the Countries thereabouts to the furtherance of the building of that Fleet; he had with wonderful celerity in ſhort time new built eighty tall Ships and Gallies at *Arſinoe*, and furniſhed them with Men, and all things elſe needful for ſo long a Voyage. At which time, he upon a quarrel pickt without cauſe, but not without the good liking of *Solyman*, moſt injuriouſly confiſcated the Goods of the Venetian Merchants at *Alexandria* and *Caire*, and thruſt the Mariners into his Gallies as Slaves.

Dium *a Caſtle of the Portugals in the* Eaſt Indies *in vain aſſaulted by the Turks.*

With which Fleet in moſt Warlike manner appointed, *Solyman* the Baſſa, accompanied with *Aſſan-Beg*, commonly called the *Moor* of *Alexandria*, a moſt famous Pyrat and an excellent Sea-man, ſet forward againſt the Portugals; and ſailing through the Red Sea, and ſo Eaſtward by the Gulf of *Perſia*, came at length as far as the great River *Indus*; where with all his power he Aſſaulted *Dium* a Caſtle of the Portugals, ſituate upon the mouth of that great River; but in concluſion, after he had many days beſieged the Caſtle both by Sea and Land, and tried the uttermoſt of his ſtrength, he was ſo repulſed by the Portugals, that he was glad to forſake the Siege, and leaving his great Ordnance behind him for haſt, returned back again to *Aden*, a City of great Trade in *Arabia Fœlix*; where diſcouraged with the evil ſucceſs he had againſt the Portugals, becauſe he would be thought to have done ſomething, he allured the King of that rich City to come unto him, upon his falſe Faith before given for his ſafe return; but as ſoon as he had him aboard, he like a perjured wretch hanged him up at the Yards-arm of his Admirals Galley, and ſo ſurpriſing the City, enriched himſelf with the ſpoil thereof.

The treacherous dealing of Solyman *the Eunuch Baſſa with the Kings of* Arabia.

The like barbarous cruelty he uſed at *Zibyth*, another famous Port of *Arabia*, where the Pilgrims of the Eaſt do commonly Land when they after the manner of their ſuperſtition come to viſit the Temple of their falſe Prophet at *Mecha*; the King of which place together with all his Nobility he cruelly murthered, contrary to his Faith given; and ſo travelling himſelf by Land to *Mecha*, as if he had been ſome devout Pilgrim, ſent back his Fleet by the Moor to *Suetia*, having performed againſt the Portugals nothing at all.

At the ſame time *Solyman* by the perſwaſion of *Lutzis* and *Aiax* (the Baſſaes of greateſt authority about him, now that *Abraham* was dead) turned all his Forces from the Perſians, as Men agreeing with him in the chief points of his Mahometan Superſtition, with purpoſe to convert the ſame upon *Italy*; whereunto he was earneſtly ſolicited by *John Forreſt* the French Kings Embaſſador, then lying at *Conſtantinople* of purpoſe to incite *Solyman* againſt *Charles* the Emperor, aſſuring him that he was not of ſuch power, as at one time to defend *Apulia* againſt him, and the Dukedom of *Millain* againſt the French King, who (as he ſaid) was determined that Summer to invade that part of *Italy*. And to further the matter, about the ſame time one *Troilus Pignatellus*, a noble Gentleman, ſometime Commander in *Charles* the Emperors Army, but then exiled out of *Naples*, fled unto *Solyman*; and forſomuch as he was a Man of name, and like to do him great ſervice in the invaſion of *Apulia*, as one which knew the Country well and promiſed unto him good ſucceſs in that War, was by *Solyman* honourably entertained amongſt his Mutfaracas; which is a certain Company of Horſemen for their approved Valour, choſen out of all Nations; having the free exerciſe of their Religion whatſoever without controulment, and are only bound to attend upon the Perſon of the great Turk when he goeth to War. The cauſe of his revolt was, for that the Viceroy of *Naples* had executed *Andrew* his Brother, one of the Knights of the *Rhodes*. But being now grown into great favour with *Solyman* and the Baſſaes, and oftentimes called to counſel in the preparation of that War, caſting off all natural love of his Country, ceaſed not by all means to perſwade *Solyman* to invade the ſame; aſſuring him, that the People of *Apulia* and *Salerne*, oppreſſed with grievous Tribute and Exactions by the Emperors Officers, would at the firſt revolt, eſpecially if they ſaw any of the French Nation to cleave unto. And that which moved him more than all the reſt, the ancient Turks told him into what a fear all *Italy* was ſtrucken, at ſuch time as *Achmetes* the Baſſa having taken *Hydruntum*, had undoubtedly conquered not only the Kingdom of *Naples*, but the City of *Rome* alſo, and all the reſt of *Italy*, had not the untimely death of *Mahomet* his great Grandfather interrupted the courſe of that Victory. Which perſwaſions wrought ſuch effect in *Solyman*, that he, once fully reſolved for the Invaſion of *Italy*, made ſuch expedition both by Sea and Land, that he himſelf in Perſon was come with two hundred thouſand Men unto *Aulona*, the moſt convenient Port of *Macedon* for the tranſporting of his Army, before it was thought in *Italy* that he was ſet forward from *Conſtantinople*; where he had not long ſtaied, but *Lutzis* Baſſa his Admiral, accompanied with *Barbaruſſa*, ſailing alongſt the Coaſt of *Peloponneſus* and *Epirus*, and ſo paſſing by *Corcyra*, where *Hieronimus Piſaurius*, Admiral of the Venetian Fleet lay with his Gallies (after mutual ſalutation done after the manner at Sea, by ſhooting off their great Pieces in token of friendſhip) put into the Haven of *Aulona* alſo. *Solyman* not purpoſing to loſe any time, and having *Italy* now in his ſight, commanded *Lutzis* and *Barbaruſſa* to paſs over with the Fleet unto *Otranto*, and to prove the minds of the people; that if the firſt enterpriſe fell out well, he might preſently follow after with all his Army. With them went alſo *Troilus Pignatellus*, as forward to the deſtruction of his Country, as any of the reſt. He knowing that the great Cities of *Hydruntum* and *Brunduſium* were kept with ſtrong Garriſons of *Charles* the Emperor; leaving *Hydruntum* on the right hand, directed the Turks to a Town upon the Sea Coaſt, eight miles off, called *Caſtrum*, near unto which ſtandeth a Caſtle upon a Hill then belonging to *Mercurinus Catinarius*; who being a Man unacquainted with Wars, and terrified with the ſuddain coming of the Turks, and perſwaded by *Troilus*, yielded up his Caſtle, upon condition, that the Turks ſhould offer no violence or injury unto him or his, either in body or goods. Upon which condition the Town of *Caſtrum* was alſo delivered unto them. But the Turks, eſpecially the greedy Mariners, being got into the Caſtle and the Town, moved neither with the intreaty of *Troilus*, nor the commandment of *Lutzis* and *Barbaruſſa*, rifled the Town and Caſtle, and carried away with them *Mercurinus* himſelf, with all the flour of the people, to their Gallies as Priſoners. But *Lutzis* aſhamed of ſuch faithleſs dealing, preſently ſet *Mercurinus* at liberty again. At the ſame time alſo, *Solyman* had by night ſent over certain Troops of light Horſemen, in great Palenders; which running all alongſt the Sea Coaſt from *Tarentum* to *Brunduſium*, carried away with them both the People and Cattel, and whatſoever elſe came in their way by the ſpace of forty miles. So that all the Country of *Salentinum*, now called *Otranto*, was filled with fear and danger; and had not there ſtayed, but was like enough to have overwhelmed all *Italy*, by the coming over of *Solyman* with his whole Army, had not the raſhneſs of one Venetian Captain by unexpected chance turned that Tempeſt from the Italians upon the Venetians themſelves.

Solyman *incited by the French Embaſſador to invade* Italy.

Solyman *with an Army of two hundred thouſand Men cometh to* Aulona.

Solyman *ſends* Lutzis *and* Barbaruſſa *with his Fleet to invade* Italy.

Caſtrum *in* Apulia *yielded to the Turks, and by them contrary to their faith ſpoiled.*

The Turks ſpoil Apulia.

Alexander Contarenus, a valiant Captain of the Venetians, meeting with certain of the Turks Gallies, which would neither vail their top Sails, nor in token of reverence and friendſhip, diſcharge any of their great Ordnance, as of duty they ought to have done in thoſe Seas where the Venetians commanded; offended with their proud inſolency, fiercely aſſailed them, and in fight ſunk two of them; wherein *Uſtamenes* Governour of *Calipolis*, a Man of no ſmall reputation among the Turks, was reported to have periſhed. Which outrage done by *Contarenus* in a moſt unfit time (to the great hurt of the Venetian Eſtate, as it appeared afterward) was imputed to his own private grudge which he bare againſt the Turks, for that they intercepted a Ship of his as ſhe was coming out of the Eaſt Countries laden with rich Merchandiſe; ſo that it was thought, that he to pleaſe himſelf in revenging of his own private injury, regarded not what in that dangerous time might enſue thereof to the common State.

A little before the coming over of the Turks into *Italy*, *Andreas Auria* the Emperors Admiral lying at *Meſſina* in *Sicilia*, underſtanding that *Solyman* was come with his Army to *Aulona*, and that his Fleet was arrived there alſo, put to Sea, directing his courſe towards the Iſlands of *Cephalenia* and *Zacynthus*, hoping (indeed as it fell out) to meet with the tail of the Turks Fleet; for there according to his expectation he chanced upon divers of the Turks Victuallers, whom he eaſily took. The Mariners he chained in his own Gallies for Slaves, and furniſhing his Fleet with the Victual which was not for him provided, fired the Ships. Whilſt *Auria* was thus beating too and fro in the Ionian Sea, it fortuned that *Solyman* ſent *Janusbeius* his chief Interpreter, a Man whom he made no ſmall account of, with two Gallies on a Meſſage to *Lutzis* his Admiral. This proud Turk coming near unto *Corcyra*, where the Venetian Admiral lay with

Junusbeius *with two Gallies, driven by the Venetians upon the Acroſteraunian Rock.*

with his Fleet, offered ſcornfully to paſs without vailing; which his pride tending to the diſgrace of the Venetians, certain of the Venetian Captains not enduring, ſet upon him with ſuch fury, that the Turks were enforced to run both their Gallies on ſhore upon the Coaſt of *Epirus*, near unto the Mountains called *Acroceraunij*, where having eſcaped the danger at Sea, they fell almoſt all into the hands of the cruel Mountain pleople, living for the moſt part by Theft, and waiting for Wrecks, as Hawks for their prey; by theſe ſhavers the Turks were ſtript of all they had, and *Junusbeius* with much ado redeeming himſelf out of their hands, returned to *Solyman*. *Auria* ſailing alongſt the Sea Coaſt, chanced upon theſe Gallies, and finding them ſore bruſed, ſet fire on them.

For theſe unkind parts, the Turks were wonderfully offended with the Venetians, and grievouſly complained of them to *Solyman*; although the Venetian Admiral laboured by all means he could to appeaſe *Junusbeius*, and to excuſe the matter, as a thing done by great overſight on both ſides. Upon theſe ſmall occaſions, the Turks ſought to break off the League with the Venetians; which fell out ſo much the ſooner, for that about the ſame time *Auria* ſailing up and down the Ionian Sea, and diligently looking into every Habour to intercept ſuch as ſtragled from the Turks Fleet, hapned by night to light upon twelve of *Solymans* great Gallies near unto *Corcyra*, all filled with his Janizaries and choice Horſemen of the Court, the beſt Souldiers of the Turks, who had by Land ſent their Horſes to the Camp by their Lackies, and were coming themſelves with the Janizaries by Sea. *Auria* falling upon theſe Gallies, had with them a cruel and deadly Fight; for they as reſolute Men, wiſhing rather to die than to yield to their Enemies, with invincible courage maintained a moſt bloody Fight againſt *Auria* with his thirty Gallies excellently appointed, until ſuch time as moſt part of them were ſlain, and the reſt ſore wounded; who ſeeing no remedy, but that they muſt needs come into the hands of their Enemies, threw their Scimiters overboord, becauſe thoſe choice Weapons ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians. In this conflict, *Auria* loſt alſo many of his beſt Souldiers; yet having got the Victory, and poſſeſſed of the Gallies, he anchored near unto *Corcyra*, there to take view of his own harms and the Enemies; but whilſt he rid there at Anchor, he was advertiſed, that *Barbaruſſa* was coming againſt him with eighty Gallies. Wherefore knowing himſelf too weak to encounter ſo ſtrong an Enemy, he departed thence, and returned again to *Meſſina* to repair his Fleet. *Solyman* thorowly chafed with the loſs of his Gallies and beſt Souldiers, and with the double injury done unto him by the Venetians, fell into ſuch a rage, that he curſed *Barbaruſſa*, as one who in theſe Wars had done him no good ſervice; and thundred out grievous threats againſt the Venetians, ſaying, He was under the colour of an ancient League, by them deceived and greatly abuſed, and that they were ſecretly confederated with *Charles* his Enemy, and had for that cauſe (as they had always) holpen *Auria* with intelligence, and all things neceſſary, receiving him into their Harbours, and by their Eſpials giving him knowledge of the order of his Fleet, that ſo he might at his own advantage ſurpriſe his Gallies, as he had already done. Unto which fire, *Junusbeius* his Interpreter, *Barbaruſſa*, and *Aiax*, laid new Coals, more and more incenſing the Tyrant, who was of himſelf ſufficiently inflamed; perſwading him by all means they could, to break the League with the Venetians. Wherein *Junusbeius* ſought to revenge his own private injuries; and the other two after their great profit and credit, gaping after the Spoil of the Iſlands near hand, eſpecially of *Corcyra* (now called *Corfu*) *Zacynthus*, and *Cephalenia*, all ſubject to the Venetian Seigniory; finding the Wars in *Italy* more dangerous and difficult than they had before imagined. For the French King came not then into *Italy*, as was by them expected; and it was commonly reported, That *Petrus Toletanus* Viceroy of *Naples*, having put ſtrong Garriſons into the Towns all alongſt the Sea Coaſt, was coming himſelf with a great Army; beſide that, the Horſemen ſent over from *Aulona*, ranging about in the Country of *Salentum* for Spoil, were many times cut off by *Scipio Sommeius* a noble Gentleman, there Governour for the Emperor. Wherefore *Solyman* changing his purpoſe for the invaſion of *Italy*, in his mad mood proclaimed War againſt the Venetians; and riſing with his Army from *Aulona*, and marching alongſt the Sea Coaſt until he came over againſt *Corcyra*, he encamped near unto the Mountains called *Acroceraunij*, where the fierce and wild People inhabiting the high and rough Mountain of *Chimera*, a part of the *Acroceraunian* Mountains; by the inſtigation of one *Damianus* a notable Theef, and very perfect in the blind and difficult paſſages amongſt the Rocks, and Woods in thoſe deſolate Mountains, conſpired to attempt a moſt ſtrange and deſperate Exploit, which was, by night to ſpoil *Solyman* in his own Pavilion. Theſe beggarly wild Rogues living for moſt part by Murther and Robbery, altogether without Law or any manner of Religion, in hope of ſo great a prey, and to become famous in killing one of the greateſt Monarchs of the World in the midſt of his ſtrength, garded with ſo many thouſands of his Soulders; were not afraid of any danger, how great ſoever, hoping in the dead time of the night to ſteal into the Camp undiſcovered, and there ſo to oppreſs *Solyman* ſleeping in his Tent. Which (as was by many afterwards ſuppoſed) they were like enough to have performed, to the aſtoniſhment of the World, had it not been by chance diſcovered; for when they had put all things in readineſs for that purpoſe, *Damianus* ringleader of theſe deſperate ſavage People, by ſecret ways ſtealing down the broken Rocks of thoſe huge Mountains, and coming very near unto the Camp to view the ſtanding of *Solymans* Pavilion, with the order of the Turks Watch, was by the cracking of a Bough eſpied by the Janizaries, where he ſtood in a Tree prying all over the Camp; and being there taken, and afterward put to torture, and confeſſing what he had intended, was by the commandment of *Solyman* torn in pieces. Whereupon he forthwith ſent a great part of his Army up into the Mountains, which hunting after theſe wild People, as if they had been wild Beaſts, ſlew many of them, and by *Solymans* appointment did what they poſſibly could to have quite deſtroyed them, as an infamous People, Enemy to all Men.

Auria *taketh* 12 *of the Turks Gallies full of Janizaries and* Solymans *other beſt Souldiers.*

Junusbeius, Barbaruſſa, *and* Ajax, *incenſe* Solyman *againſt the Venetians.*

Solyman *converteth his Forces from the Italians againſt the Venetians.*

Solyman *in danger to have been ſlain in his Tent in the midſt of his Army.*

Solyman *invadeth the Iſland of* Corcyra

When *Solyman* had thus fully revenged himſelf upon this barbarous Nation, he purpoſed to invade the Iſland of *Corcyra*, now called *Corfu*, part of the Venetian Seigniory; ſending before *Barbaruſſa* with his great Artillery, whom he had but a little before called out of *Italy* with his Forces. *Piſaurius* the Venetian Admiral in good time perceiving the Tyrants purpoſe, ſtrengthned the Garriſons in both the Caſtles of *Corfu*, with new ſupplies of good Souldiers ſent out of the Gallies; and knowing himſelf unable to encounter with the Turks great Fleet at Sea, withdrew himſelf farther off from the Iſland, into the Gulf of the Adriatick, to the intent to joyn his power with *Joannes Veturius*, who kept that Sea with another Fleet of the Venetian Gallies, and ſo with joyned Forces to defend the Venetian Coaſts againſt the Turks; whom he thought himſelf ſtrong enough without the help of *Veturius* and of *Auria*, whoſe coming was daily expected. *Solyman* ſending a great part of his Army out of the Main, into the Iſland, burnt and deſtroyed the Country Villages, leading away a wonderful number of poor Country People into moſt miſerable Captivity. *Aiax* the Baſſa, and *Barbaruſſa*, in two ſmall Pinnaces came as near unto the City of *Corfu* as they poſſibly could, to ſee which way they might moſt conveniently lay Siege unto it; but perceiving the great ſtrength thereof, being wonderfully Fortified and throughly Manned, they advertiſed *Solyman*, that it was a place impregnable. *Aloyſius Ripa*, and *Symon Leonius*, two Senators of *Venice*, were then Governours of *Corfu*; who not without cauſe ſtanding in doubt of the great ſtrength of the Turks both by Sea and Land, cauſed the City Suburbs (which were very great and ſumptuouſly Built) to be pluckt down, for fear that the Turks ſhrouding themſelves in them, ſhould more eaſily beſiege the Town. This was a woful and lamentable thing to behold, when as at the ſame time a Man might have ſeen the Magnificent houſes of the Venetian Merchants, built in time of long Peace, both for profit and for pleaſure in every place of the Iſland, ſet on fire by the Turks. But the regard of the publick State in ſo great a danger, made all thoſe goodly things which went ſo to wrack, to be lightly accounted of in compariſon of their lives and liberty; for as much as thoſe loſt things might with new charge be again in ſhort time recovered.

The two Venetian Governours aforeſaid, fearing a long Siege, and not provided of Victual to ſuffice ſuch a multitude as were got into the City, for any long time; uſed a heavy and ſharp remedy, by turning a great number of weak People and Children unable for ſervice, out of the City; of whom many, eſpecially Children, died in the Town-ditches in their Mothers arms, under the Walls of the City, not daring to go any further for fear of the Enemy, who had faſt by, in places convenient caſt up great Mounts, and planted his Ordnance againſt the City. Only the Caſtle called St. *Angelo*, ſtanding in the middle of the Iſland, about fifteen miles from the City of *Corfu*, being valiantly defended by the Inhabitants againſt the Aſſaults of the Turks, happily ſaved above three thouſand poor People which fled thither from the fury of the Turks, who in all other places of the Iſland had made all deſolate. The Turks the more to terrifie them of *Corfu*, taking a Hill not far from the City, covered the ſame with their Tents, and from the Rock called *Maripetrus*, ſhot with their great Ordnance into the Town; ſome of them in the mean time ſtanding cloſe in the ruins of the Suburbs, did with their Harquebuſies kill or wound them which appeared upon the Walls. The Gallies alſo did oftentimes out of their Prows diſcharge their great Pieces againſt the City, to the greater terror than hurt of the Defendants. *Solyman* perceiving that he did but loſe his labour in beſieging the City (as he was told at the firſt by his great Captains, *Luzus*, *Aiax*, and *Barbaruſſa*) determined now to raiſe his Siege, and to return to *Conſtantinople*, greatly aſhamed that he had no better ſped, neither in *Italy*, nor at the Siege of *Corfu*. But when he was about to have departed, it was told him how unfaithfully ſome of his Souldiers had dealt with them of *Caſtrum* in *Italy*, who yielding themſelves upon the Turks faith to them given for the ſafegard of their liberty and goods, were nevertheleſs moſt injuriouſly ſpoiled of all that they had, and carried away into bondage. Which fact, as tending to the diſhonour of his name, and the deterring of others from yielding, *Solyman* took in ſo evil part, that for amending thereof, he cauſed the Authors of that fact to be put to death, and the Captives of *Caſtrum* to be diligently ſought out, and ſent home again into their Country; well deſerving therein the commendation of a moſt juſt Prince. The Turks left the Siege of *Corfu* and departed out of the Iſland about the twelfth of *September*, in the year 1537, carrying away above ſixteen thouſand of the Iſland people into perpetual Captivity. So *Solyman* riſing with his Army, marching through *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*, returned through *Macedonia* to *Conſtantinople*; having in this his expedition done great harm both in *Italy* and *Corcyra*, but yet nothing encreaſed his Empire or honour.

Good Juſtice done by Solyman.

The Turks depart from Corfu, *and carry away with them above* 16000 *Chriſtians into Captivity.*

Before his departure, calling unto him *Lutzis* his Admiral, he commanded him alſo to return with his Fleet to *Helleſpontus*; who paſſing by *Zacynthus*, and landing ſome of his Men in the night, took divers of the Country people Priſoners. But underſtanding that the City it ſelf was both ſtrong and well manned, he departed thence to *Cythera*, where unfortunately attempting to have taken the Caſtle, and diſappointed of his purpoſe, he made what ſpoil he could upon that Iſland, and with eight hundred Priſoners returned into *Ægium* to *Ægina*, a rich and famous Iſland, and well peopled both with Mariners and other Inhabitants. Approaching the Iſland he by his Meſſengers ſent before unto the Governour of the City, attempted firſt by fair means, and afterwards by threats, to have had the City yielded unto him; and not ſo prevailing, but perceiving them to ſtand upon their defence, he landed his Men, and gave the ſignal of battel. Which they of the Iſland refuſed not, but manfully met him, and at the firſt encounter ſlew many of his Men. Wherewith the Admiral grievouſly offended, and ſtill landing freſh Men, even with his multitude oppreſſed them of the Iſland, being but in number few and weary of long fight; and ſo enforced them to retire into the City.

To be revenged of this injury, the Baſſa cauſed certain pieces of great Ordnance to be landed, and a Battery planted againſt the City; by force whereof he had in ſhort time in divers places opened the Walls, and then with all his power aſſaulting the Breaches, forthwith took the City, which after he had rifled, he burnt it down to the ground, raſed the Walls, and put the Men every Mothers Son to the Sword. As for the Women, he gave them without reſpect unto the luſt of his Souldiers and Mariners, whom afterwards together with the Boys and young Children he ſhipped into the Country near unto *Athens*, to be from thence conveyed unto *Conſtantinople*, into moſt miſerable ſervitude.

Ægina *with other Iſlands of the* Ægium *ſpoiled.*

Ægina thus utterly raſed, he with much like force and cruelty raged upon them of *Paros* and the other Iſlands thereabouts, killing the old Men and ſuch as made reſiſtance, and thruſting the reſt into his Gallies. Shortly after he came to the Iſle of *Naxos*, where all the Iſland people were for fear of his coming fled out of the Country into the City; where landing his Men, he made havock of whatſoever came to his hand. And in the mean time ſent a Meſſenger unto the Duke, to will him to yield himſelf and his City into the obedience of the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*.

Which Meſſenger admitted into the City, and brought before the Duke, in blunt and plain terms, without further circumſtance, delivered his Meſſage thus:

The blunt Speech of a Turk ſent by Lutzis *Baſſa unto the Duke of* Naxos.

If thou wilt without more ado, yield thy ſelf, thy City, and Territory, to the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor, thou ſhalt deſerve his favour, and ſo ſave thy ſelf with that thou haſt. But if thou, otherwiſe adviſed, ſhalt now refuſe this Grace, thou ſhalt never hereafter have the like offer, but for ever undo thy ſelf, thy Wife, and Children, thy Citizens, and Subjects in general. Here is preſent a moſt mighty Fleet, with moſt valiant and victorious Souldiers, furniſhed with all the habiliments of War requiſite for Battel or Siege. Be warned by them of Ægina, Paros, *and other thy neighbour Princes of the Iſlands. Thy hap is good, if thou be not miſadviſed, and (warned by other Mens harms) wilfully refuſe to remedy thine own; and when thou mighteſt be ſafe, wilfully caſt away thy ſelf.*

Thus ſaid, he was commanded by the Duke to ſtand aſide, and a while to expect his anſwer; who with the chief of his Subjects there preſent, but much troubled, and all full of heavineſs and ſorrow, conſulted what anſwer to make. But after they had according to the weightineſs of the cauſe, and neceſſity of time fully debated the matter, it was with general conſent agreed, That foraſmuch as they were not themſelves of power to withſtand ſo furious an Enemy, neither to expect help from others, they ſhould therefore yield unto the preſent neceſſity, which otherwiſe threatned unto them utter deſtruction, and reſerve themſelves unto better times. Whereupon anſwer was given unto the Meſſenger by the Duke, That he was ready to yield himſelf unto *Solyman* as his Vaſſal, and of him as of his Sovereign to hold his Seigniory for the yearly Tribute of five thouſand Ducats. Of which offer the Baſſa accepted, receiving in hand one years Tribute. So was that notable Iſland yielded unto the Turkiſh obeiſance the 11 of *November*, in the year 1537. from whence *Lutzis* the proud Baſſa, loaded with the rich Spoil of the Countries and Iſlands he had paſſed by, returned to *Conſtantinople* with his Fleet. Not long after, this great Baſſa (then in credit and authority next unto *Solyman* himſelf) fell at ods with his Wife, *Solymans* Siſter; for that he, after the unnatural manner of thoſe barbarous People, kept in his houſe a moſt delicate Youth, in whom he took more pleaſure than in his Wife. Which ſhe, being a Woman of great Spirit, not able to endure, and knowing her Husband by marrying of her, to have been from baſe degree advanced unto the higheſt Honours the Emperor her Brother could heap upon him; in great rage reproved him with moſt bitter words, ſaying, That ſhe had married him to be of him beloved, and uſed as his Wife, and not contemptuouſly abuſed by his Minions. Wherewith the Baſſa moved, gave her a Blow on the Ear, and cauſed her as a fooliſh and unquiet Woman to be ſhut up in her Chamber. But ſhe not brooking ſuch abuſe, came weeping to *Solyman* her Brother, and complaining of her Husband, requeſted to be Divorced from him who made no better reckoning of her. And with her complaint ſo incenſed *Solyman*, that he took from him his Seal, and thruſt him out of all his honourable Promotions; and had undoubtedly put him to death, had not the remembrance of his old love and friendſhip ſtaied his fury; yet having utterly diſgraced him, he baniſhed him the Court, into *Macedonia*, where he ſpent the remainder of his loathed life like a poor private Man; of whom *Boiſardus* thus writeth:

Naxos becometh tributary unto the Turks.

Lutzis *Baſſa diſgraced by* Solyman *and exiled*

Quæ tibi cum molli res eſt pollute Cynedo:
Cum cubet in Thalamis regia nympha tuis?
Ex humili fortuna loco te evexit in altum
Ex alto major ſæpe ruina venit.

On dainty Boys, thou filthy Man, why do'ſt thou fix thine eye;
Whilſt Princely Dame of Royal Blood doth in thy Chamber lie?
From baſe eſtate, to honours height blind Fortune did thee call,
And ſet thee up with Princes great, to work thy greater fall.

The Turks ſpoil the Venetians; and the Venetians them likewiſe.

Solyman thus fallen out with the Venetians, as is aforeſaid, to intangle them at once with Wars in divers places, commanded his Lieutenants in every place bordering upon any part of the Venetian Seigniory, to vex and moleſt them with all Hoſtility, which they did accordingly. In *Peloponneſſus*, *Caſſimes* beſieged *Mauplium* and *Epidaurus*, two ſtrong Cities of the Venetians; *Barbaruſſa* landing his Men in *Dalmatia*, ſurpriſed the ancient City of *Botrotus* belonging to the Venetians, carried away the Citizens, and raſed the City; *Obroatium* another City of the Venetians in *Dalmatia*, called in ancient time *Argirutum*, with the Caſtle of *Nadin*, were taken by *Uſtref*, *Solymans* Lieutenant in *Illyria*. The Venetians thus invaded on every ſide, requited them again with the like; *Piſaurius* and *Veturius* the Venetian Admirals landing their Men, beſieged *Scardona* a City of the Turks in the borders of *Dalmatia*, which they took by force, put the Turks to the Sword, and overthrew the Walls of the City, becauſe it ſhould be no more a refuge unto the Turks; they alſo ſent one of their Captains called *Gabriel Ribeus* to beſige *Obroatium*; who upon the coming of *Amurathes* one of *Uſtref* his Captains, cowardly fled, and in flight loſt moſt of his Men; for which his Cowardiſe, *Piſaurius* cauſed his head to be ſtruck off aboord the Admiral Galley; And *Camillus Urſinus*, appointed by the Venetian State Governour of *Jadera* a ſtrong Town upon the Frontiers of their Territory in *Dalmatia*, took from the Turks the Town of *Oſtrovizza*, which he burnt down to the ground; he recovered alſo *Obroatium*, which was a little before loſt; which by the commandment of the Senate he utterly raſed, as a place not well to be kept againſt the Enemy.

The ſame Autumn that *Solyman* having waſted *Corcyra*, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, and the Venetians held Wars with the Turks for the Towns and Caſtles in *Dalmatia*; King *Ferdinand* received ſuch an overthrow at *Exek* by the Turks, as a greater or more ſhameful unto the Name of the Chriſtians was hardly in that Age ſeen; if the loſs of the choice Souldiers and Captains of four great Nations, with the ſhameful flight of the General be well conſidered. After the Battel of *Mohahz*, wherein King *Lewis* was loſt, the Turks having gotten the Victory, kept unto themſelves that part of *Hungary* which is called *Poſſega*, becauſe thereby they had a fit paſſage from *Belgrade* further into *Hungary*. The two great Rivers of *Savus* and *Dravus* running almoſt with equal diſtance from the Weſt, taking with them divers other ſmaller Rivers, before they fall into the great River of *Danubius* Eaſtward, do on both ſides incloſe this Country of *Poſſega*, being a rich and plentiful Country, and wonderful well peopled; it bordereth upon the Provinces of *Croatia* and *Corbania*, which in times paſt were at continual Wars with the Turks Garriſons there by in *Illyria* and alſo in *Boſna*.

At

Mahometes *Governour of* **Belgrade.**

An evil aſſured Peace.

King **Ferdinand** *breaketh his League with the Turks.*

At that time one *Mahometes* a moſt valiant Captain of the Turks was Governour of *Belgrade*; to whom for his approved valour and wiſdom *Solyman* had committed the keeping of thoſe Frontiers, and the protection of the Kingdom of *Hungary* in the behalf of King *John*. He the year before had ſo uſed the matter, that what by force, what by policy, he had taken from the Chriſtians above thirty ſmall Caſtles in the Country, (which was ſometime part of the Patrimony of the Deſpot of *Raſcia*) and had joyned them to the Regiment of *Boſna*. One of theſe Caſtles amongſt the reſt called *Exek*, for the commodious ſituation thereof he ſtrongly fortified, as that which might give him paſſage over the River *Dravus* into *Hungary*; from whence he fet infinite preys out of King *Ferdinands* Country near unto him. Yet was there at that time a certain League betwixt *Solyman* and *Ferdinand*, which notwithſtanding after the old cuſtom of thoſe Countries for the exerciſe of the Garriſon Souldiers, did bear with the taking of Booty, and light Skirmiſhes, without any Breach thereof; ſo that it were done without any great Power or Field-Picces; which wrong named Peace, *Mathias* and other Kings of *Hungary* had of long time uſed with the Turks, doing them with their nimble light Horſemen no leſs harm than they received. But the Germans now uſing no ſuch light Horſemen, but ſerving upon great Horſes, and charged with heavy Armor, received great hurt by thoſe light Skirmiſhes; the Turks with their light Horſes eaſily ſhunning their charge, and again at their pleaſure charging them afreſh, when they ſaw the heavy German Horſes almoſt weary and ſpent; by which means the German Horſemen were oftentimes by the Turks light Horſemen overthrown, and ſo either ſlain or taken. King *Ferdinand* not well brooking theſe continual injuries, and grieved in mind at the League which *Solyman* had to his profit made with him at his going into *Perſia*; finding the ſame both unprofitable and hurtful to himſelf, determined to take up Arms, with purpoſe that if he could drive the Turks out of the Country of *Poſſega*, then forthwith to paſs over *Dravus*, and to go directly to *Buda* againſt King *John*. It ſtill ſtuck in his mind, how that Kingdom was taken from him by *Solyman*; and that more was, as it were in diſgrace of him and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, beſtowed upon a ſtranger, which had neither right thereto, nor was any way royally deſcended. Yet were there ſome which wiſhed him, not raſhly to enter into Arms againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, as was not to be vanquiſhed but by the united Forces of all the Chriſtian Princes of *Europe*. For they foreſaw, that *Solyman* ſo provoked, would not put it up, but for the hatred he bare againſt the Chriſtians, and for his honour, ſeek more cruel revenge; as he had of late done againſt the Venetians, with whom upon a light occaſion he had broken an ancient League, for ſinking one or two of his Gallies; for which he would admit no excuſe or ſatisfaction. All this *Ferdinand* knew to be true; yet all the People of his Dominions lay ſo earneſtly upon him to take that War in hand, that they ſaid plainly, they would never bear Arms more againſt the Turks, if he omitted that occaſion. For they of *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, *Croatia*, and *Noricum*, ſubject to the invaſion of the Turks, and daily receiving great harms, thought the Turks might eaſily be driven out of *Poſſega*, for as much as *Mahometes* had no great power, nor like to have any greater, Autumn now almoſt ſpent.

Cazzianer *General of King* **Ferdinands** *Army.*

Mahometes *Governour of* **Belgrade,** *aided by the other Turks Captains.*

So King *Ferdinand*, with the wonderful rejoycing of his Subjects, cauſed Souldiers to be taken up in all parts of his Kingdom, ſending for moſt of his Nobility and beſt Captains, as to a religious War, and in a very ſhort ſpace had raiſed a good Army, yet ſuppoſed of greater ſtrength than number, as conſiſting moſt of ſelect Men. The Footmen were for moſt part Germans, to whom were joyned as Wings certain Companies of Italians, Harquebuſiers, whom *Lewis Lodronius*, a valiant Captain, and General of the Footmen, had raiſed in *Rhetia* and thoſe parts of *Italy* which lie near unto the *Alps*. The Horſemen were of *Bohemia*, *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and ſome alſo out of *Hungary*, all conducted by their ſeveral Captains; all theſe Horſemen were in number eight thouſand, but the Footmen were ſixteen thouſand ſtrong, with great ſtore of Artillery of all ſorts. This Army for the expertneſs and valour of the Souldiers, was thought ſufficient to have met the greateſt Army of the Turks in Field, if it had been conducted by a politick General, and (as he had at other times been) fortunate; which was one *John Cazzianer*, a Nobleman of *Croatia*, whom as one of great experience, and famous for the late defence of *Vienna*, King *Ferdinand* had made General of his Army. For *Ferdinand* by the advice of his beſt Friends never uſed to adventure his Perſon unto the danger of any Battel, eſpecially againſt the Turks, by whom many Chriſtian Kings had in former time been vanquiſhed and ſlain; but performed all his Wars by his Lieutenants; which he was thought to do, not ſo much for want of courage, as moved with the fatal miſhap of ſo many Chriſtian Kings. *Mahometes* Governour of *Belgrade* underſtanding of this preparation made againſt him, ſent for divers Companies of the Garriſon Souldiers which lay upon the borders near hand; he required aid of the Governours of the Turks Province thereabouts; and was eſpecially holden by *Uſtref* Governour of *Boſna*, who of all *Solymans* Lieutenants in *Europe*, was able to bring into the Field moſt good Horſemen; he ſent him *Amurathes* a famous Captain with a great Company of gallant Horſemen, unto whom were joyned certain Companies of Footmen of the wild and mountain People of *Dalmatia*, entertained for pay; which rough and rude kind of People were governed and kept in order by certain Companies of Janizaries drawn out of the Garriſon Towns as far as *Belgrade* and *Samandria*; after whom followed many out of *Servia* and *Raſcia*, ſome for pay, ſome for prey. The Turks Receiver liberally paying to ſuch as were willing to ſerve, two months pay before hand. Neither wanted he aid of the Hungarians from *Buda*; ſo that the Turkiſh Governours on every ſide putting to their helping hands, *Mahometes* had in ſhort time gathered ſuch an Army, as for number and ſtrength was not much inferior to King *Ferdinands*, and reſolved to expect the coming of his Enemies at *Exek*. *Cazzianer* was now come as far on his way as *Caprunza*, a Town upon the River *Dravus*; having before well and conveniently provided for the victualling of his Army, if they whom he put in truſt, and had taken the matter upon them, had with like ſpeed and diligence performed their charge; for they were the chief Men of all the Country, who all followed the direction of *Simon* Biſhop of *Zagrabia*; who inflamed with zeal above meaſure, or elſe for want of judgment deceived, had promiſed to ſerve the whole Camp with plenty of Victuals, at a very low rate. Which thing the Country people which were to bring in the Victual, ſome by Waggon, ſome by Boats alongſt the Rivers, many difficulties now ariſing, were not able to perform; which was not to be remedied by reaſon of the nearneſs of the Enemy; and alſo for that *Mahometes* with ſmall Gallies in both Rivers, and his Troops of Horſemen pricking up and down the Country, did either ſtay the Country people from bringing of Victual, or elſe allured them for a greater price to bring it to his own Camp, where they received ready Mony. *Cazzianer* ſetting forward from *Caprunza*, hardly came in ten days to the Caſtle of *Verueza*, which is about forty miles diſtant from *Caprunza*; being enforced to make ſhort marches, by reaſon of the troubleſome carriage of ſome great Pieces of Artillery for battery. The wiſer ſort began even then to miſdoubt the want of Victual, both for the reaſons before alledged, and for that ſuch Victual as was looked for, came not, although they marched very ſoftly; ſo that they were then enforced to ſpend ſuch Victual as they had provided, not for the beginning, but for the difficulties of a long protracted War.

A ſlow march.

Wherefore *Cazzianer* wrote ſharply to the Biſhop and the other which had taken upon them the charge of providing Victual for the Army; commanding them to uſe all poſſible diligence and ſpeed, and not to let the hope of a notable Victory to be loſt through their negligence, for want of Victual, rather than the valour of the Enemy. In the mean time *Cazzianer* thought good there to ſtay, and to expect the coming of the Victual, ſending before him *Paulus Bachitius* with a thouſand Hungarian light Horſemen and certain Companies of Italian Harquebuſiers, as far as the Caſtle of *Zopia*, to the intent that he might of ſuch Priſoners as he could take, learn ſomething of the Enemies purpoſe. The Turks in the Caſtle of *Zopia* deſcrying the coming of *Bachitius*, and thinking the whole Army of the Chriſtians had been at hand, ſet fire on the Caſtle, which they thought they could not keep, and by Boats fled down the River *Dravus*. Yet for all their haſt, *Bachitius* took ſome of them in their flight; of whom *Cazzianer* learned that which he before knew by his own Eſpials, how that *Mahometes* and the Turks lay encamped at *Exek*, with a full reſolution to give him Battel.

Cazzianer cometh to Walpo.

Cazzianer ſetting forward again, ſtill keeping alongſt the River *Dravus*, came in eight days to the Caſtle of *Walpo*; where by the way he was glad to ſtay ſeven days at the River *Craſſus*, which falleth into *Dravus*, until ſuch time as a Bridge was made for the tranſporting of his Army, for that the River was not to be waded over; in which time *Cazzianer* entred oftentimes into counſel with the other Captains, what courſe to hold for the better proceeding in that War. Where divers Men were of divers opinions; ſome ſaid, It was better to leave *Exek*, and to beſiege a Caſtle of the Enemies there by, called *Villach*; others more wary than the reſt, were of opinion, That it were better there to ſtay until the reſt of the Aid and Victual, which they daily expected, were come. But the greater number, which alſo prevailed, urged the firſt determination, of going directly to the Enemy at *Exek*, for that longer delay would but breed further danger; and there was in the Camp (as they ſaid) both ſtrength and Victual ſufficient for obtaining of the Victory, if they would make an end of their needleſs Conſultations, and not protract the War until Winter were come on; where they did nothing elſe, but cauſe the Souldiers to think that they were afraid to meet the Enemy, and ſecretly to ſteal away back again into their Countries; whereas if they would like reſolute Men march on forward againſt the Enemy, who at other times truſting moſt unto his multitudes, and now having no great power, would never abide the ſight of the Chriſtian Army, bringing with it ſo much Artillery, but would forthwith forſake the place, and never ſhew his face; foraſmuch as the Chriſtian Men at Arms would (as they ſaid) eaſily break through and overthrow the naked Turkiſh Horſemen, if they durſt abide the Field. The young Souldiers, who as yet had never made proof of the Turks manner of fight, did with ſuch chearfulneſs like of this reſolution, that they thought two days ſtaying, a long delay of ſo ready and eaſie a Victory. Wherefore it was reſolved upon, preſently to ſet forward, and thereupon the Army was Muſtered; where, upon view taken, there was found to be ten thouſand Horſemen (for divers Troops of Germans were come to the Camp, after the time of the firſt ſetting forward of the Army;) a more gallant Company of Horſemen, both for the ſtrength of their Horſes, and goodly furniture of the Men, had ſeldom been ſeen in an Army ſo ſuddainly raiſed. But the Footmen, ſelected out of all the Provinces, were greatly diminiſhed, being now in number ſcarce eight thouſand ſtrong; for many were ſick in the Camp, others weary of the long Journy, lingering behind, were ſtoln away; and generally all they which were left, moyled with dirt and mire, by reaſon of the deepneſs of the rotten way, wet through with Rain, and almoſt ſtarved with Cold, and thereto pincht with Hunger, were thought ſcarce able to endure the hardneſs of the preſent War. After that commandment was given, That every Souldier ſhould carry with him three days Victual; and proclamation made, That no Man ſhould upon pain of death take any Turk Priſoner, although he yielded himſelf, or charge himſelf with any ſpoil before the Battel were fully ended; foraſmuch as the Captains would afterwards divide the Spoil of the Enemy among the Souldiers. This proclamation thus made through the Camp, they ſet forward towards *Exek*; and the third day they came to a certain Valley, about three miles from *Exek*, where they encamped. The next day a Company of Turks ſhewed themſelves, which was by the great Ordnance repulſed.

The Turks ſkirmiſh with the Chriſtians.

The day following, the Enemy ſallied out of the Town and skirmiſhed oftentimes with the Chriſtians; in which Skirmiſhes many were ſlain on both ſides, but more wounded of the Chriſtians, for that the Turks had politickly mingled certain Janizaries, Harquebuſiers, and Archers, with their Horſemen; who, uſed to that manner of fight, ſore gauled the Chriſtian Horſemen. For which cauſe the General forbad all ſuch light Skirmiſhes, as purpoſing to keep his ſtrength whole againſt the general day of Battel; commanding his Canoniers ſo to place the great Ordnance as might moſt annoy the Enemy, if he ſhould ſhew himſelf by Troops within the danger of the Shot; which was ſo well performed, that the Turks ſallying forth, received thereby great hurt, the deadly ſhot flying through the midſt of their Companies. The ſame day *Symon* Biſhop of *Zagrabia* came into the Camp with his Horſemen, and a certain proviſion of Victual, whereby the fear of the want before conceived, was well eaſed. *Mahometes* perceiving that the Chriſtians were not longer to be drawn to thoſe harmful Skirmiſhes, but that he muſt bring his Men in danger of the great Shot; to annoy them by another means, ſent many ſmall Boats, manned with Harquebuſiers and ſmall Pieces of Ordnance, into the Lake near unto the Camp, ſo to keep the Chriſtians from watering there, and with thoſe ſmall Pieces ſhot oftentimes into the Camp. Near unto the Valley where the Chriſtians lay, was a Hill, whereupon ſtood a Village, wherein

The Chriſtians come within ſight of Exek.

The Turks Skirmiſh with the Chriſtians in paſſing the Forreſt.

Mahometes *wiſely refuſeth to fight with the Chriſtians, offering him Battel.*

were placed certain Companies of Turks, to Skirmiſh as occaſion ſhould ſerve with the Chriſtians; for placing of whom the whole Army was put in order of Battel, and the great Artillery bent upon them, that they ſhould not with their light Skirmiſhes, after the manner of the Turkiſh fight, trouble the order of the Army. Which thing the Turks perceiving, and that they were not able to hold the place, ſet fire on the Town, and ſo retired to *Exek*. The Chriſtians keeping on their march, came to the top of the Hill, from whence they might ſee *Exek* ſtand about two miles off in a fair Plain, near unto the Bank of *Dravus*; all which low ground betwixt the Hill and *Exek*, was ſo ſubject to the Caſtle, that it was thought a matter too full of danger, to attempt that way to batter the Caſtle, and expoſe the Army to the inevitable fury of the Enemies ſhot. Wherefore deſcrying a riſing ground on the further ſide of the City equal with the top of the Walls, they thought it beſt to remove their Camp thither, and on that ſide to plant their Battery againſt the City. But to come to that place was thought a matter of no ſmall trouble; for they muſt ſet a compaſs three miles on the right hand through a Forreſt by a foul and troubleſome way, before they could come to the place they deſired; for the Army was not ſo great, as to beſiege the City round; wherein were not (as is reported) above ſixteen thouſand Men; neither was there ſuch ſtore of Victuals in the Camp, but that the Army was like ſoon to feel the want thereof, without a continual ſupply, which would hardly be had, the Enemy ſtill beſetting every paſſage, and with their light Horſemen ſcouring about all the Country, of purpoſe to keep them from Victual. For which cauſe, ſome were of opinion, That it were beſt for them there to ſtay where they were, until ſuch time as both more Aid and better ſtore of Victuals were come unto them; but others of contrary mind, ſaid the Enemy was but barely ſtored with Victual himſelf, and therefore could not long hold out; which they ſaid they underſtood by certain Chriſtian Fugitives; and that *Mahometes* had put his chief ſubſtance into certain Boats, to be conveyed down the River, as purpoſing to flie, and would not hold out the Siege above three days; as for the Forreſt, they thought it would well enough be paſſed through, if they would couragiouſly ſet forward; beſide that, the time of the year ſuffered no delay, Winter coming ſo faſt on, that except ſome notable thing were done quickly, they ſhould be enforced by the very time of the year to return with ſhame, without doing any thing. This opinion was beſt liked of, as more honourable and better beſeeming Men of Valour, than to lie ſtill in one place; whereupon the next day the Army removed, and in good order marched through the Forreſt. Which thing *Mahometes* quickly perceiving, preſently ſent forth a thouſand light Horſemen, and certain Companies of the Janizaries and Harquebuſiers, to trouble the Chriſtians in their paſſage; who by a nearer and well known way overtaking the Army, ſuddainly charged the Rereward, wherein the Italians and Bohemians marched. The Bohemians quickly fled, and the Italians with much ado endured the charge; but being relieved by the Carinthian Men at Arms, they notably repulſed the Turks, and put them to flight. So the Army with ſmall loſs paſſed the Forreſt, and came to the place they deſired; where, after they had encamped themſelves, and in good order placed all things needful for the Siege, they in ſeemly order offered unto the Enemy Battel; but he keeping himſelf within the Town, ſhot at the Chriſtians with his great Ordnance; and they to requite him, with two great Pieces which they had placed upon the riſing of a Hill, ſhot through both the Walls of the Town and the Bulwark alſo, to the great terror of the Defendants. The Chriſtians in the mean time having ſtood almoſt all the day in order of Battel in ſight of the Enemy, vainly expecting when he ſhould come forth to give them Battel, returned at night into their Camp; for *Mahometes* upon great conſideration kept in his Souldiers, although they were moſt deſirous to fight; underſtanding right well of the want of Victual in the Chriſtian Camp; and beſide that (as the Fugitives reported) being ſtraitly commanded by Letters from *Solyman*, that he ſhould not upon pain of a moſt ſhameful death forſake the place, but to defend it to the laſt. Now the Chriſtians deſirous of Battel, being thus delayed and deceived of their expectation, had in a few days ſpent the ſmall ſtore of Victual they had, and began to feel a general want; neither was there any apparent means how they ſhould be relieved, ſo that every Man began to fear ſome general miſchief to enſue. When *Balthazer Pamphilus*, a noble Hungarian, and a Captain of great experience, ſitting in Counſel with the reſt, entred into this Speech.

Balthazer Pamphilus *his counſel for relief of the Army.*

Captains (ſaid he) *we do all that we do, unadviſedly; For whilſt we conſult at large how we may overcome our Enemies, the ſtrength of our Army is in the mean time ſo weakned for want of Victual, that the Souldiers are neither well able to ſtand on their Legs, nor to hold their Weapons in their feeble Hands; and generally, even they which are of greateſt courage begin now to quail, and deſpairing of Battel, ſee that they muſt miſerably and ſhamefully periſh for want: Wherefore in my opinion, we ought firſt and above all things moſt ſpeedily to provide for this want, which ſo grievouſly pincheth us; and preſently to remove hence unto the Caſtle of* Hermande, *that with the proviſion thereof, which is not like to be little, we may refreſh our whole Army; and ſo relieved, to proceed further as occaſion ſhall require.*

Balthazer *taketh the Town of* Hermande

The Caſtle of Hermande *yielded unto the Chriſtians.*

This Caſtle was about ten miles diſtant from *Exek*; whereinto many of the Turks had conveied their Wives and Children, and chiefeſt ſubſtance, being kept with a ſmall Garriſon of twenty Turks. Faſt by the Caſtle was a pretty little walled Town, without Flankers, after the manner of the old fortifying; which Town and Caſtle *Balthazer* ſaid would eaſily be taken. This his Counſel was well liked of all Men, and he himſelf ſent with certain Companies of Souldiers to take the Town. Wherein fortune ſo favoured him, that it was at his firſt coming ſurrendred unto him; but when he had it, he found not therein any ſuch ſtore of Corn or Victual as he had hoped for; yet he took there certain Veſſels of Wine, to the great relief of the weak Souldiers. Upon the news of the taking of this Town, the Camp removed from *Exek* about ten a Clock in the night, but ſo diſorderly, that the Souldiers ſcarce knowing their own Enſigns, ſeemed rather to have fled for fear, than marched for ſpoil; yet the Turks for all that moved not out of *Exek*, miſdoubting ſome deceit, and loth to attempt any thing raſhly in the night. When the Army was come to the Town, the Captains took order, that the Victual there found, was equally divided amongſt the Souldiers, and the next morning Battery laied againſt the Caſtle; which thoſe few Turks valiantly defended half a day, and then by compoſition yielded it. But when the Caſtle was taken, there was found in it but two Barrels of Meal, and other two of Millet. Then might a Man have ſeen the

Captains themſelves hanging their Heads, as men ſtrucken with a ſuddain fear, who inſtead of a great Prey and Victual to have ſerved many days, found nothing but a few Women and Children, and ſcarce ſo much Victual both in the Town and Caſtle, as would ſerve the Army two days. Yet they diſſembled the matter, and fed the Souldiers with hope of better ſtore, after the Bridge were once repaired, that they might paſs the River of *Bodrog*, which ran by the Town; which Bridge the Turks had before (for defence of themſelves) broken, by plucking up of certain Piles, and taking away of the Planks; wherefore the Carpenters being ſet on work, and every man putting too his helping hand, the Bridge was with continual labour in three days repaired. The fourth day, the Waggons and ſmaller Pieces of Ordnance paſſed over the Bridge, and after them ſix of the great Pieces for Battery; but the Bridge overcharged with the ſeventh, which was of wonderful weight, and much greater than the reſt, began to break; ſo that the Captains were inforced to break that fair Piece of Ordnance, and ſo by pieces to carry it away, that the Enemy ſhould not get ſo great a Spoil. All things being thus well paſſed over, the Piles were again cut down, and the Planks ſtruck off, to the intent the Enemy ſhould not that way purſue them; and other way there was none, but to fetch a compaſs about the great Lake which was many miles about. Here the Captains began to conſult, whether it were beſt to break the great Pieces of Ordnance, that ſo they might more ſpeedily march away, or not. Of which opinion was *Cazzianer* himſelf, promiſing of his own charge to new caſt them. As for the ſcaling Ladders, and other ſuch like things provided for the Siege, they burnt, becauſe they ſhould not come into the Enemies hand, or trouble themſelves in their march. But moſt of the Captains were of opinion, that it was not beſt ſo diſhonourably to break thoſe goodly Pieces, the greateſt ornament and defence of their Country; but to hold on their march through *Poſſega*, until they came to *Juvancha*, where they ſhould find great ſtore both of Corn and Wine; which Town with the Caſtle of *Gara* faſt by it, ſtored with all kind of Proviſion, they ſaid would eaſily be taken before the Turks could poſſibly come ſo far about the Lake from *Exek*; and that it were a great ſhame, ſo to return without doing any thing. *Cazzianer* thus perſwaded, ſet forward, and with great toil (by reaſon of the deepneſs of the way and heavineſs of the great Ordnance) came by night to *Juvancha*, which was but three miles off; where the Turks having with incredible celerity paſſed a long journey, arrived at the ſame time alſo. Near unto this Caſtle was a little Town, out of which all the Turks were fled; the Townſmen being Chriſtians, opened the Gates and received in the Souldiers; who there filled themſelves abundantly with Wine, and could hardly be driven out thence by their Captains to the Camp. The ſame night the Turks burnt the ſame Town, and whatſoever the Chriſtians had therein left; and every man betook him to his Armor in the Camp, for the Enemy was now at hand; and in the dawning of the day began hotly to skirmiſh in divers places with the Chriſtians, but eſpecially in that quarter of the Camp where the Bohemians lay. Wherewith *Petrus Raſchinius* General of the Bohemians, being grieved, ſet upon them with a Troop of his beſt Horſemen, and enforced them to flie; but the Turks after the manner of their Fight, quickly returning again, and relieved by the coming in of their Fellows, beſet the Bohemians on every ſide, and ſlew many of them. *Raſchinius* the General fighting moſt valiantly, was there ſlain with his Followers. The Chriſtian Captains purpoſing to retire home, placed on each ſide of the Army four Ranks of Wagons for defence on both ſides; in the Vauward were placed the weak and ſick men, yet ſo, that in the Front of the Army were certain Companies of luſty tall Souldiers; but in the Rearward was placed the greateſt ſtrength both of Horſe and Foot. The Army thus marching as it were on both ſides intrenched, as it oftentimes met with woody Hills hindring their way, ſo did the ſame fitly ſerve the Chriſtians, that the Turks could not well aſſail them in their march, both before and behind. Which thing *Mahometes* perceiving, ſent before certain Companies of Janizaries and nimble Footmen, which knew the Country and the paſſages well, with certain Faulcons and other ſmall Pieces to take the Straits whereby the Army was to paſs, and ſo to gaul them in their paſſage, and when they could keep the place no longer, to flie back to another, and ſo from place to place; and in the open places he had his Troops of light Horſemen, which were ever buſie in one place or another of the Army: By which means the Chriſtians in their March received much harm, which grieved them the more, for that no great power of the Turks was any where to be ſeen together, but ſtragling Companies; which as they were commanded, ſometime would come on with a fierce charge, and by and by retire again, and with their Arrows and Falcon Shot, from places of advantage aſſail them. At one of theſe Straits ſomewhat bigger than the reſt, *Paulus Bachitius* one of the Hungarian Captains, in whom the Souldiers generally repoſed their greateſt truſt, was ſlain with a Faulcon Shot, with divers other of the valiant Hungarians; who ſeeing there a greater number of the Turks than they had ſeen in other places, thought to have done ſome good ſervice upon them; his death brought a general fear upon the whole Army, foraſmuch as both then and at other times, without him they never had any good ſucceſs againſt the Turks. Yet in that skirmiſh, the Hungarians, to revenge the death of their Captain, did with ſuch force repulſe the Enemy, that they cauſed him after he had loſt many of his men, to run away and leave his ſmall Field-Pieces behind him. But ſuch was was the weakneſs or cowardiſe of the Chriſtian Footmen, and the agility of the Turks, eſpecially the Janizaries, that they with their ſhot out of the Woods, ſtaid the Hungarian Horſemen from the purſuit of their Fellows, and recovered their ſmall Field-Pieces before they could be carried away by the Chriſtian Footmen; wherewith they did again forerun the Army, and ſtill trouble it as before. The Chriſtians beſet with theſe dangers, and almoſt ſpent for want of Victual, ſeeing no means to relieve their weak Bodies, nor any hope to comfort their fainting Spirits, did generally fear ſome extream calamity to enſue; and ſo much the more, for that it was reported, that *Mahometes* ſtill expected freſh ſupplies from *Belgrade*, *Samandria*, and *Nicopolis*; and many of the Hungarian light Horſemen ſtole away from them, as careful of their own ſafety; neither did they ſee any comfort in the diſmaid Captains, who at other times were wont with chearful and couragious words to relieve the Souldiers, if they ſaw them any thing diſcouraged. But when they were come into a fair open Field near unto a Town called *Gara*, they were advertiſed, That the Enemy had in the Woods before them, whereby they were to paſs, cut down great Trees croſs the waies, ſo that neither their great Ordnance nor Waggons, nor yet their Horſemen could

Cazzianer *to retire with more haſte, would have broken his great Ordnance.*

The Turks ſore trouble the Chriſtians in their retiring.

A general fear in the Chriſtians Camp.

poſſiby

poſſibly paſs that way but that they muſt needs break their order.

This once bruted through the Army, filled them with all heavineſs and deſperation, and ſo much the more, for that *Ladiſlaus Moreus*, and others which knew the Country well, ſaid there was but two ways to eſcape; the one through the Woods about ten miles ſpace to *Walpo*, which by reaſon of the Trees cut down croſs the ways by the Turks was not to be paſſed, but they muſt needs leave behind them their great Ordnance and Carriages; the other towards the Caſtle of *Zenthuerzebeth*, which was in *Ladiſlaus Moreus* his Country, certain miles diſtant from *Gara*; by taking of which way, the Enemy by reaſon of the ſtraightneſs of the paſſage, muſt of neceſſity be inforced to give over his purſuit. Yet for all that, it was in Counſel reſolved upon, to take the way through the Woods of *Walpo*, for that there was Victual enough, and in the Caſtle of *Walpo* was kept Mony ſent from King *Ferdinand*, ſufficient to pay the Souldiers for all that Winter. And ſo leaving the great Ordnance behind them, and burning the Powder and whatſoever elſe could not well be carried on Horſeback, to ſet forward with all ſpeed: As for the Trees they ſaid, they would be well enough removed, and the way opened by the Pioniers and Waggoners; wherefore every Captain was commanded to have his Souldiers in readineſs to ſet forward upon the ſign given, which was by the ſound of a Shalm or Hoboy; which when it ſhould be given, was referred to the diſcretion of the General. There were many which wonderfully diſliked of this reſolution, and ſaid openly, that the Enemy was fewer in number than their Horſemen, and pinched almoſt with like want of Victual; beſides, that the Turks durſt never in juſt Fight encounter with the Chriſtian men at Arms, but like Theeves aſſail them upon a ſuddain at ſome advantage, and by and by be gone again; and that the Town of *Gara* where the Enemy lay encamped, was not ſo ſtrong but that it might be won; wherefore all things were to be proved, and ſome great matter to be attempted of valiant men, pinched with wants; for that to run away, would not only be a diſhonour unto the Captains themſelves, who ought always to prefer their honour before their Lives, but alſo dangerous unto them, which reſpected nothing but Life. And if they ſhould ſet forward in the night, many would be loſt in the Woods; and Valor in the dark could not be known from Cowardiſe; beſides that, the Turks (as they ſaid) lay ſo nigh, that it was not poſſible to depart without their knowledge, eſpecially if they ſhould burn the Powder, or break their great Ordnance. For which cauſes, they thought it better to fight a Battel with them, and not to believe the falſe reports of new Supplies come unto them, and that God would undoubtedly give them aid, which were ready to lay down their Lives for their Religion and Glory of the Chriſtian Name. After all this, they began to conſult what was now to be done with the ſick and wounded Souldiers, which were before carried in Waggons or among other Baggage of the Army; for it was like that ſo great a multitude of ſick and wounded men, underſtanding what was decreed concerning the departure of the Army, would as miſerable forſaken men, fill the Camp with lamentation and mourning; which it was thought would be alſo increaſed by the weeping and wailing of them which ſhould never afterwards ſee their Brethren, Kinſmen, Fellows, or Friends, ſo miſerably and ſhamefully left behind and forſaken; the noiſe whereof, muſt needs come to the ears of the Turks, which lay within a ſmall Gun-ſhot. Wherefore it was determined, that theſe ſick and wounded Souldiers ſhould be carried upon the Waggon and Cart-Horſes; and that ſuch as were not able to ſtay themſelves, ſhould be holden up by other of more ſtrength riding behind them upon the Buttocks of the Horſe. In fine, to colour the matter, they which were ſo deſirous to go, ſaid that this their manner of departure grounded upon good reaſon, was not to be accounted a ſhameful Flight (as ſome would term it) but a right honeſt and neceſſary manner of retiring; foraſmuch as they were ſtronger than their Enemies in Horſemen, and equal alſo (if not ſtronger) in Footmen, although they were ſore weakned with Sickneſs. Whilſt theſe things were in Council diverſly diſcourſed, and the reſolution ſet down as is before ſaid, the matter was brought to this paſs, that every Captain with troubled judgment conceived in himſelf ſecret cogitations, far from the common good; and without regard of Shame and Diſhonour, bethought himſelf how he might betake himſelf to flight, the uncertain hope of deſired life. On the contrary part, *Mahometes* uſing moſt certain Spies, and advertiſed every hour of all the diſtreſſes of the Chriſtians, and thereby preſaging his future Victory; did by moſt diligent Watch and Troops of Horſemen, beſetting the paſſages far and near, moſt vigilantly attend every motion in the Chriſtian Camp; of purpoſe, that when the Army ſhould riſe and ſet forwards he after his wonted manner might in the Straits (fit for his purpoſe) ſet upon them being divided and diſperſed one from another, as they muſt needs in thoſe troubleſome paſſages; for he had placed his Horſemen and Footmen in the known Tracts of thoſe Woods, that he had ſhut up the Chriſtians as it were in a Toil. It was now almoſt midnight, and the Army taking no reſt, ſo carefully expected the ſign of ſetting forward, that every little delay ſeemed to moſt men both tedious and dangerous; ſo that many great Captains upon a cowardly conceit would ſtay no longer, but haſted to depart, and to go before the reſt, without any leave of the General. The beginning of this miſchievous departure, is reported to have been begun by the common Hungarian Horſemen, which knowing the paſſages and ways through the Woods, made moſt haſte to *Walpo*. *Ladiſlaus Moreus* diſhonourably following their example, went the other way to his Caſtle *Zenthuerzebeth*. After them followed in great haſte the Stirian Horſemen, without regard of ſhame, led by *John Hunganot* their General, who was appointed to have guarded the Rearward. *Symon* Biſhop of *Zagrabia* fled in like manner, known by his great Lanthorn wandring in the Wood; yet with leſs ſhame than the reſt, becauſe he being a Clergy man, thought it not to belong to his vocation to put on Arms, or to go into Battel. In the mean time it was fearfully told told to *Cazzianer*, That the Hungarian Horſemen were fled, and that *Ladiſlaus* and *Hunganot*, with the Stirian Troops were gone alſo; and that all the reſt of the Army not expecting the appointed ſignal, were in like manner upon flying; with which report, the cowardly and diſmaid General was ſo terrified, that he preſently got to Horſe, quite forgetting the ſignal he ſhould have given (for that he thought all the reſt, as he afterwards ſaid, to have been gone before) and as he was unarmed, betook himſelf to flight, leaving behind him for haſte his Tent ſtored with Plate and other rich Furniture. In this Tumult of them which ſo diſorderly fled, *Lodronius* that famous Captain was called up, and told by

The fearful reſolution of the Chriſtians to get from the Turks.

The vigilancy of Mahometes.

The Chriſtian Captains ſhamefully flie, ſome one way, ſome another, in the night.

The diſhonourable Flight of Cazzianer.

his

Lodronius encourageth the Footmen.

his Servants, that the General was fled and gone; to whom he anſwered again, Without doubt it cannot be ſo, that I ſhould be ſo ſhamefully and perfideouſly betraied of him; and ſo as a man meagred with long Watching and painful Labour, laid himſelf down again to ſleep. Not long after, *Mahometes* hearing the ſtir that was in the Camp, roſe with his Turks to aſſail his Enemies; yet to be better aſſured what the Enemy did, he thought it good to ſtay for day light, cauſing his men to ſtand ſtill in order of Battel, and with wonderful ſilence to expect the ſign of ſetting forward, which was given by the ſoft ſound of a Horſemans Drum paſſing through every Company. For the old Captain acquainted with many Battels againſt the Chriſtians, doubting of their feigned Flight, would not unadviſedly be drawn into Battel, but in a place commodious for his Souldiers; as one before fully ſet down (after his wonted manner) to perform that ſervice, not by the hazard of one ſet Battel, but by dallying off the time with often skirmiſhes, when he could take the Enemy at advantage. The day appearing, *Lodronius* again awaking, heard a certain confuſed noiſe of the Turks, and withal ſaw himſelf forſaken of the greateſt part of the Horſemen; whereupon he complained in vain, that he was betraied; yet for all that, he was nothing diſcouraged, but cheared up the Footmen, exhorting them to remember their former Valor, and to reſolve with themſelves only with Courage to overcome the danger, which hard Fortune had at that time brought them into; for that valiant men were rather to think of an honourable Death, than ſhameful Flight, whereby whether they ſhould eſcape with Life or not, was uncertain. As for himſelf, who had been their happy General in many Battels, he ſaid he was reſolutely ſet down by repulſing the Enemy to bring them into a place of ſafety, or elſe valiantly fighting together with them to end his days. As *Lodronius* was yet thus encouraging the Footmen, the Horſemen of *Carinthia, Saxony, Auſtria* and *Bohemia*, who mindful of their duty, had in vain expected the appointed ſignal from their General, came unto *Lodronius*, as unto the moſt valiant Captain, beſeeching him inſtead of their treacherous General, to take upon him the place; promiſing to do whatſoever he commanded, and to fight as men againſt thoſe Infidels for their Religion and King, ſo long as they were able to hold up their Weapons. *Lodronius* would in no caſe accept of that honour ſo frankly offered, modeſtly proteſting himſelf unworthy thereof; yet as a man of Courage, and moved with the hard eſtate of ſuch an Army, he with a ſolemn proteſtation promiſed to execute the place in the beſt manner he could, and ſo did as long as his Fortune gave him leave.

An old German Souldier jeſteth at Lodronius.

The Horſemen diſcomfited by the Turks.

The Chriſtian Footmen overthrown.

It is reported, that as *Lodronius* was encouraging the Footmen, and earneſtly inveighing againſt ſhameful flight, an old German Souldier was ſo bold, as bluntly, yet ſharply to ſay unto him; *Worthy* Lodronius, *thou canſt never be thought to fly ſhamefully, with a Horſe of ſuch a prize under thee.* *Lodronius* perceiving the old Souldiers meaning, alighted, and with his Sword hoxed his Horſe; ſaying aloud, *This day, valiant Souldiers, ſhall you have me both your General and Fellow Souldier, fighting on foot as one of your ſelves; ſee now that you deceive not my expectation, but let us either with glorious Victory or honourable Death end this War together; yet ſo, as that we die not unrevenged.* All his other Horſes he gave away unto ſuch ſick and wounded Souldiers as he beſt knew; amongſt whom was one *Picenard* of *Cremona*, a Captain who was then in an extream Fit of an Ague, and had hardly eſcaped the hands of the Enemy. The firſt Troops of Horſemen and Bands of Footmen, were ſcarcely out of the Camp with their Enſigns, but the Turks coming with a hideous cry, aſſailed them on every ſide, and many ſharp skirmiſhes were given unto the Horſemen as they marched; with ſuch event that the Chriſtians ſometime valiantly receiving the Enemies charge, and ſometime charging them again, repulſed the proud Enemy ſtill buſie with them. In theſe continual skirmiſhes, *Antius Macer Fuchſtat*, General of the Carinthian Horſemen, fighting valiantly was ſlain; being, for his brave Armor ſuppoſed by the Turks to have been the General of the Field. And by like miſhap four and twenty Horſemen of great fame were alſo ſlain, and their Guidon taken; amongſt theſe were three Noblemen, *Andreas Reſchius*, *Chriſtopherus Hernaus*, and *Georgius Himelbergus*. In another place was made a moſt cruel skirmiſh with the Saxon Horſemen, and them of *Miſnia*, *Thuringia* and *Franconia*, who followed the Saxons Enſign; of theſe, fighting moſt valiantly, was ſlain above ſix and thirty worthy Captains, Lieutenants, or Ancients; and *Chuenricus* a principal Captain of the Saxons taken, who afterwards died in Bonds amongſt the Turks. Amongſt them which were ſlain, *Sebaſtianaus Metheſcus*, and *Jacobus Scullemburgh* were of greateſt Nobility. In like manner the Horſemen of *Auſtria* couragiouſly reſiſting the Enemy for a ſpace, were in the end overthrown; where amongſt them was ſlain two valiant Noblemen, *Fettaius* and *Hoſchirchius*, with divers other men of great place and reputation both in their own Country and abroad. But the greateſt ſlaughter was made amongſt the Bohemian Horſemen, upon whom (being diſordered by the Janizaries Harquebuſiers) the Turkiſh Troops of the old Garriſon Souldiers breaking in with their Scimeters and heavy Iron Maces, made a moſt bloody execution. The Battel of Footmen being ſore gauled and almoſt diſordered in their march by certain Companies of Janizaries and Archers of the Aſpi (who from a woody Bank of a Mariſh diſcharged their ſhot and arrows continually upon them, yet never coming to handy Blows) was on the other ſide ſo hardly charged by *Amurathes* with his Troops of Horſemen of *Boſna*, that being not able longer to keep order, it was at laſt by him broken and cut in pieces; where the Turks with their Swords and Hatchets ſlew the poor Chriſtians without mercy. *Lodronius* himſelf carried away with the breaking in and force of the Horſemen, was driven into a Mariſh; where after that he being ſore wounded, and almoſt faſt in the deep Mud, had done the uttermoſt of that his laſt endeavour; he by the fair entreaty of the Turks, perſwading him rather to yield, than there to be ſlain, ſo yielded himſelf, that he with three Companies which were with him, after they had laid down their Weapons, were all ſaved as valiant Souldiers; for now the merciless Turks, imbrued with the Chriſtian Blood, were weary of ſlaughter, and began greedily to ſeek after the Spoil; hunting after them (who flying diſperſedly, thought themſelves to have eſcaped the Enemies hands) with ſuch ſucceſs, that a great number of them was taken and led away for Slaves; few of the Footmen eſcaped, and almoſt all the reſt which were not fled before the Battel, were to be ſeen dead upon the ground.

This ſhameful Overthrow at *Exek* was reported to have exceeded the moſt grievous Overthrows that the Chriſtians had received in any former time; for the Flower both of Horſe and

Foot there loſt by the raſhneſs and fault of an unlucky General, rather than by the Valour of the Enemy, ruthfully periſhed; ſo that many Provinces were filled with heavineſs and mourning. For it never chanced before (as was to be ſeen by the unfortunate Battels of *Sigiſmund* the Emperor, and King *Ladiſlaus*) that the Turks got ſuch a Victory without ſome loſs; ſo that they which fell almoſt unrevenged at *Exek*, may ſeem to have augmented that loſs by the great infamy thereof. *Mahometes* having thus almoſt without the Blood of his Souldiers, obtained ſo great a Victory, and taking the Spoil of the Chriſtian Camp, pitched his Tents in a little Meadow, being cleanſed of the dead Bodies, and after he had merrily feaſted with his Captains, commanded the chief Priſoners, the goodly Spoils, and faireſt Enſigns to be brought unto him; and openly commending the Captains who had that day done any good ſervice, commanding divers Bags of Mony to be brought unto him by the Receivers, he with his own hand rewarded the Souldiers, ſome with Gold, ſome with Silver, according to their deſerts; And cauſing all the Priſoners which were not common Souldiers to be brought forth, he diligently viewed them, and preſently cauſed every one of their names, and the office they bare, to be inrolled by his Clerks; and unto ſuch as brought in the Heads, Ears, or Hands of the Chriſtians with Rings upon them, he forthwith cauſed one Reward or another to be given.

Lodronius *ſlain.*

Lodronius, when as by reaſon of his deadly Wounds he was thought unable to endure travel, or to be brought alive with the other Priſoners to *Conſtantinople*, was ſlain by his Keepers, and his Head afterwards ſent thither. For as many noble Gentlemen (and amongſt others, *Laurentius Streiperg* and *Dietmarus Loſeſtaine*) have reported, (who ranſomed afterwards, returned home again to their Wives and Children) amongſt the Priſoners which were together with the fair Enſigns and other gallant warlike Furniture (eſpecially gilt Armor and Headpieces) preſented by *Mahometes* his Meſſengers to *Solyman*, three of the greateſt Captains Heads were in a ſilver Baſon there ſeen and known; which were the Heads of *Paulus Bachitius* the valiant Hungarian Captain, *Antius Macer* General of the Carinthian Horſemen, and *Lodronius* General of the Footmen;

Three of the great Captains Heads preſented to **Solyman** *at* **Conſtantinople.**

which after the Tyrant had looked aſquint upon, as abhorring that loathſome ſight, he with ſtern countenance commanded all the Priſoners to be ſlain. But upon the interceſſion of the Janizaries (who entreated for them, as valiant men, to whom they had at the time of their taking paſt their Faith, and might afterwards do him good ſervice) he changed his countenance, and ſaved many of them.

Cazzianer *generally hated*

But *Cazzianer* flying to his own Caſtle, was of all men accuſed as a wicked forſaker of his own Camp and Enſigns, and commonly railed upon, as the eternal infamy of his Country, and Author of the publick calamity; ſo that it was reported, that he durſt neither go abroad, nor ſhew his Face for ſhame. He was ſo generally hated, that infamous Libels, made againſt him and the other Captains which ſhamefully fled as he did, were commonly ſung in the Streets by Boys in all places of *Germany*. Wherewith he was ſo much grieved, that he requeſted of King *Ferdinand*, that he might ſafely come to the Court, to anſwer whatſoever could be laid againſt him; which his requeſt the King eaſily granted, and when he came to the Court, received him with doubtful countenance. But when the hearing of his cauſe was by the King ſomewhat longer protracted than he would have had it, and he in the mean time kept under ſafe cuſtody; impatient of ſuch delay, and half doubtful whether he he ſhould be quitted or condemned, thought it better to flie, than to abide the Trial.

Cazzianer *impriſoned, breaketh Priſon.*

So feigning himſelf ſick, and ſcraping up by little and little with his Knife a brick pavement under his Bed, and ſo in the night getting out one Brick firſt, and then another, at length brake through the Vault, and with his Sheets letting himſelf down, eſcaped, having Poſt Horſes ready for him without the Caſtle. Not long after, as he was a man of an haſty and unconſtant nature, deſpairing of his eſtate, he fled to the Turks; *Mahometes* gladly receiving him, and beſides his great entertainment, promiſing him the Government of all *Croatia* in manner of a Tributary King, if he would faithfully ſerve *Solyman*, and help him in the ſubduing of the Cities of *Auſtria*. After he had agreed upon all the conditions of his revolt, that he might return to *Mahometes* with ſome more credit, he began boldly to deal with *Nicholaus Sirenus* a Nobleman of *Croatia*, and his dear Friend, as he ſuppoſed, to revolt with him; aſſuring him, that *Solyman* would deal as kindly with them both, as he had before with King *John* in the Kingdom of *Hungary*. *Sirenus* promiſed him he would, or at leaſt made as if he promiſed to do what he deſired, and ſo agreed as it were upon the matter, promiſing to go over with him to the Turk with a Troop of his beſt and moſt truſty Horſemen. But *Sirenus* conſidering with himſelf the hainouſneſs and impiety of ſo great an offence, changing his purpoſe, choſe rather to deal treacherouſly with his old Friend, fearing no ſuch thing in his Houſe, than to offend both againſt God and his Prince.

Cazzianer *moſt ſhamefully murdred, and his Head ſent unto King* **Ferdinand.**

Wherefore after he had well feaſted *Cazzianer* in his Houſe, he as a moſt cruel Hoaſt, cauſed him to be ſlain, and ſent his Head to King *Ferdinand*; in reward whereof he recieved of the Kings Gift *Cazzianer* his Caſtle, with all his Subſtance.

The Emperor, the Venetians, and the Biſhop of **Rome,** *enter into a Confederation againſt the Turks.*

In the mean time the Venetians, provoked by the Turks with divers injuries both by Sea and Land (when as *Solyman* but a little before hardly beſieging *Corcyra*, and with moſt barbarous Cruelty waſting the Iſland, had broken the League, and even then by his Lieutenant *Caſſimes* Baſſa beſieged *Epidaurus* and *Nauplium*, two of their Cities in *Peloponneſus*) reſolved without delay to make Wars likewiſe upon him, who for a ſmall Treſpas would admit of no Excuſe or Recompence. Whereunto they were all animated both by *Charles* the Emperor, and *Paulus* the Biſhop; who warned by the late and dangerous attempts of *Solyman* and *Barbaruſſa*, thought it more for the ſafety of their Eſtates, by giving aid to the Venetians, to keep the Turks buſied further off, than to ſuffer them to acquaint themſelves too much with the Ports of *Italy* and *Sicilia*. Wherefore all the Winter following they laboured by their Embaſſadors, to ſet down what number and what manner of Ships, what Souldiers, what Mony was to be provided, and how to be according to their Eſtates apportioned, for the ſetting forth of a ſtrong Fleet againſt the next Summer, to be ſent into *Graecia* againſt the Turks. At laſt it was agreed amongſt theſe confederate Princes, by their Embaſſadors at *Rome*, That the Emperor ſhould furniſh and ſet forth eighty two Gallies, the Venetians the like number, and the Biſhop thirty ſix, to make up the number of two hundred Gallies; that the Venetians ſhould lend unto the Biſhop, ſo many Gallies ready rigged, as he ſhould deſire, to be furniſhed by him with Mariners and Souldiers; and that the Emperor and the State of *Genoa* ſhould find ſufficient ſhipping for the tranſportation of the Land Forces and Victual. The Generals alſo of this great Fleet to be ſet forth, were at the ſame time appointed; *Andreas Auria* for the Emperor, *Vincentius Capellus* for the Venetians, and *Marcus Grimmanus* Patriarch of *Aquilea* for the Biſhop; to whom was joyned *Paulus Juſtinianus* one of the chief Senators, a man of great experience in Sea matters. It was alſo agreed, that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* Viceroy of *Sicily*, ſhould have the commanding of the Land Forces; and that whatſoever was got from the Turks in that Expedition in *Græcia*, the Iſlands, or *Dalmatia*, ſhould be all faithfully delivered to the Venetians, who had received ſo many injuries from the Turks. The Emperor alſo of his Liberality promiſed unto the other Confederates, that they ſhould for reaſonable price have as much Wheat as they would out of *Sicilia*, without paying any Cuſtom.

1538. Solyman *ſendeth* Barbaruſſa *againſt the Venetians.*

Solyman underſtanding of this confederation and preparation made againſt him by theſe Chriſtian Princes, commanded *Barbaruſſa* his Admiral to make ready his Fleet to go againſt theſe Enemies, and to do all the harm he could upon the Iſlands ſubject to the Venetian State. Which thing *Barbaruſſa* with great care and diligence in ſhort time performed; and ſo with an hundred and thirty Gallies in moſt warlike manner appointed, with the firſt of the Spring, in the year 1538. departed from *Helleſpontus* directly to *Crete*; where having paſſed the Promontory of *Gyamus*, which at this day is called *Sparta*, he undaviſedly landed moſt part of his men, to have ſurpriſed the City *Canea*, which was in ancient time called *Sydonia*. But *Grittus* one of the Venetian Senators then kept the City with a ſtrong Garriſon; who from the Walls and Bulwarks thereof ſo plagued the Turks with great and ſmall Shot, and the ſallying out of two Companies of Italians, that *Barbaruſſa* having loſt many of his men, was fain to retire again to his Fleet in ſuch haſt, that he left behind him a thouſand of his Turks, which were gone further into the Iſland after Booty, who were afterwards all ſlain by them of *Crete*. After that, he attempted to have taken divers places in the Iſland, and was every where notably repulſed. With the City of *Candia*, whereof the Iſland now taketh name, and was in ancient time called *Cytheum*, he durſt not meddle; but ſailing almoſt round about the Iſland, took only *Cecilia*, a little Town before forſaken of the Inhabitants, which he ſet on fire, and ſo departed from *Crete*; for he was advertiſed, That *Vicentius Capellius* the Venetian Amiral, who was now come to *Corcyra*, would in ſhort time come to relieve them of *Crete*. *Auria*, Admiral of the Emperors Fleet, paſſing the Strait of *Meſſina*, came to *Corcyra* alſo, and there joyned with the Venetians. The Chriſtian Fleet was then ſo great that it was thought the Turks durſt not meet it at Sea, but by all means ſhun to give Battel. For *Barbaruſſa* than lay with the Turks Fleet in the Bay of *Ambracia*, expecting when the Chriſtians ſhould enter the ſtrait entrance thereof, where he had on both ſides placed divers Pieces of great Ordnance, to have ſunk them in their coming in; for *Grimmanus* the Patriarch, a little before departing from *Corcyra*, had with the great Biſhops Gallies begun to beſiege *Preveſa*, a Town upon the Promontory of *Auctium* faſt by that Strait; and landing ſome of his Souldiers, with three great Pieces of Artillery ſo battered the Caſtle of *Preveſa*, that he was like enough to have taken it, had not the Turks from *Ætolia* come to relieve it with a ſtrong Power both of Horſe and Foot. Wherefore the Patriarch ſhipping again his Men and Ordnance, returned to the Fleet at *Corcyra*, not repenting him of his journey, for that he had well viewed the Straits of that Bay, and all the Enemies Fleet riding at Anchor within it. Upon the return of the Patriarch, and relation made, what he had both done and ſeen, the great Commanders of the Chriſtian Fleet entred into Counſel; what courſe were beſt to take for their better proceeding in that great action. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy, General of the Land Forces, was of opinion, That it were beſt to land the Souldiers and great Ordnance, and with all their Force to aſſault the Caſtle of *Preveſa*; which once taken, and their Ordnance there planted, the Enemies Fleet might in the Bay, be utterly defeated, for all that paſſage to Sea might eaſily be taken from them, by ſinking of one of the great Ships in the mouth of the Strait, and by moaring there of three great Galleons full of Artillery; ſo that if *Barbaruſſa* would deſperately adventure to come out, he muſt needs be ſunk in the mouth of the Bay. Whereunto *Auria* replied, That *Gonzaga* his Counſel was in words and ſhew glorious, but to put in execution moſt dangerous; for that firſt to land the Souldiers and great Artillery, he ſaid was a thing too too full of hazard and peril; for it was to be thought, that the Turks in *Ætolia* would as they had before done, come with ſpeed with their Horſemen to relieve the beſieged in the Caſtle; whoſe Force the Chriſtian Footmen could hardly abide. Beſides that, if the Fleet ſhould by force of Weather be conſtrained to leave that Coaſt, (as it well might, Autumn now coming faſt on) after the Souldiers were landed; From whence ſhould they then get Victual in the Enemies Country? or what relief ſhould they hope for, if they ſhould hap to be diſtreſſed; being on every ſide beſet with their Enemies, and their Friends by Tempeſt driven from them? Wherefore he thought it beſt, if the Enemy could not be drawn out of the Bay to Battel, to go directly into the Bay of *Naupactum*, and to take that Town which was not greatly fortified, and to ranſack and ſpoil all the Towns, even to the bottom of the Bay of *Corinth*. Which the Grecians in the Fleet, ſaid might eaſily be done; by taking of which courſe it might ſo fall out, that *Barbaruſſa* moved with the danger of his Friends, would for ſhame come out and joyn with them in Battel. This Counſel of *Auria* was beſt liked both of *Capellius* and the Patriarch, being far more deſirous to fight with their Enemies at Sea, than at Land.

Barbaruſſa *landing in* Crete, *is repulſed with loſs.*

The confederate Princes Fleets meet at Corcyra.

Gongaza *his opinion*

Auria *of another opinion.*

Auria having put in order his Fleet, came to *Preveſa*, and ſo to the Strait of the Bay of *Ambracia*, where he ſo placed the whole Fleet, which was in number two hundred and fifty Sail, that it might eaſily of the Enemy be numbred. Which ſight (as it was reported) wonderfully troubled *Barbaruſſa*; who although he was of a couragious diſpoſition, and ſuch a man as greatly feared not either the Valour or Martial Diſcipline of the Chriſtians, yet was he exceedingly moved with the ſight of ſo great a Fleet ſo well appointed; for a greater had not of long time been ſeen in the Ionian Sea. So that an Eunuch of *Solymans* Court, ſent by him as *Barbaruſſa* his Companion, ſeeing him to delay the time as a man half diſcouraged, did with moſt uncivil and proud words take him up, becauſe he would not forthwith go out of the Bay and fight with the Chriſtians which lay at the mouth thereof daring of them: wherein he was not (as he ſaid) to regard his own ſafety (who as a Coward could not Endure ſight of the Enemy) but the honour of *Solyman* his Soveraign, who would not take it well, to have the glory of his name ſtained with ſo ſhameful a delay: For if he were a valiant and martial man, as he profeſſed himſelf to be, he ought never to deſpair

Auria *braveth* Barbaruſſa *lying in the Bay of* Ambracia.

Barbaruſſa *reproved of cowardiſe by one of the Turks Eunuchs.*

of Victory; and if it ſhould ſo fall out, that Fortune ſhould frown upon them, and not anſwer to their deſires, yet ſhould not *Solyman* therefore want Captains and Souldiers better than they, if they were overcome; and the Woods of *Pontus* would afford him Timber enough to build twice ſo great and ſtrong a Fleet. And for a concluſion, the inſolent Eunuch willed *Barbaruſſa* to beware, that whilſt he feared a moſt honourable death (which was uncertain, though the Battel were loſt) he drew not upon himſelf the certain danger of a moſt ſhameful death by the diſpleaſure of *Solyman*.

Barbaruſſa *his anſwer to* Salec *concerning the Eunuchs ſpeech.*

At which Speech *Barbaruſſa* turning himſelf about to *Salec*, one of the Arch-Pyrats, a famous Seaman, ſaid unto him, *We muſt for ought that I can ſee, moſt valiant and faithful Captain, adventure this Battel, although it be at too much diſadvantage; leſt haply we periſh by the complaints of this barking demy-man.* And ſo preſently commanded all his Fleet to weigh Anchor, at the ſame time that *Auria* had hoiſed ſail, and was on his way toward the Bay of *Naupactus*, thinking that the Enemy durſt not for fear have come out of the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Auria* keeping on his Courſe, was come to *Leucade*, when the Enemies Fleet was deſcried out of the top of *Bondelmerius* Galleon, to be come out of the Bay, and to make towards them, keeping cloſe by the Shore; which manner of Courſe the crafty Turk, miſdoubting his own ſtrength, held of purpoſe, that if he ſhould chance to be overmatched by the Chriſtians, he might turn the Prow of his Gallies upon them, and running the Poops aground, ſo to land his men and great Ordnance, and from Land as he might defend his Fleet; accounting it a leſs loſs (if the worſt ſhould chance) to loſe the Gallies, than the Men.

Barbaruſſa *putteth out of the Bay of* Ambracia, *and followeth* Auria.

Auria ſomewhat troubled with this ſuddain coming out of the Enemy, as with a thing which he then leaſt expected, yet notably ſtaid himſelf, and commanded all the Fleet to prepare themſelves to Battel, and to follow his Admiral Gally. Now all the Turks Fleet was come into the open Sea in ſuch order, that *Barbaruſſa* himſelf was in the middle Battel; where his Admiral Gally was to be ſeen with many purple Flags and Streamers flying gallantly in the Wind; on his right hand was *Tabaches*, and *Salec* on the left, both men of great fame, every one of them having almoſt like number of Gallies, which were in all an hundred and fifty. Unto the middle Battel were joyned two Wings in ſuch order, that which way ſoever the Admiral turned, they turning alſo, ſtill repreſented the form of a flying Eagle; ſo that (as *Auria* himſelf afterward confeſſed) a more firm or orderly Fleet could not have been brought out by any expert Captain. Before the Fleet, came about twenty nimble Gallies conducted by *Drogut* (or *Dragut*) an Arch Pyrat, famous afterwards for the great harm he did unto the Chriſtians. *Capellius* the Venetian Admiral came in his long Boat to *Auria*, requeſting him, That he with his Gallies might give the firſt charge upon the Enemy; to whom *Auria* gave great thanks, and praiſing his forwardneſs, requeſted him to follow him, to whom he would in good time give a ſign what he would have done. The foremoſt of the Turks light Gallies was now come to the great Galleon of *Bondelmerius*, which was the foremoſt of the Chriſtian Fleet, whereunto were ſent alſo certain Gallies from *Salec*, to help to aſſail that tall Ship; which ſhooting afar off, did no harm, neither *Bondelmerius* them; who would not ſuffer one Piece to be diſcharged; for he being an expert Seaman, and loath to ſhoot in vain, expected that they ſhould come nearer unto him, and then upon the ſuddain to diſcharge all his great Ordnance upon them. Neither was he deceived in that his expectation, for the Turks coming near unto him, were ſo overwhelmed with the great and ſmall Shot out of the Galleon, that they were glad to ſtay their Courſe, and retire. In the mean time *Auria* called back again the Ships which were gone before, and cauſed his Galleon to be towed out, and by Boats on purpoſe ſent out, charged the Captains of the Gallies to make themſelves ready to fight, upon ſignal given by the ſound of the Trumpet, and diſplaying of the Admirals Enſign; yet was not *Auria* of mind to fight with his Gallies without his Ships. Which thing the crafty Enemy well perceived, and therefore ſought by all means to joyn Battel with the Gallies, before the coming in of the tall Ships, which were as Caſtles in reſpect of the Gallies; for it was then ſuch a calm, that the Ships were not able to keep way with the Gallies, and the ſmooth Water ſeemed to offer a fit opportunity for Battel; which ſo well pleaſed the Patriarch, that many heard him crying aloud to *Auria* to give the ſignal; and marvelled much why he deferred to give Battel. For he fetching a great compaſs, and hovering about his Ships, with his Gallies kept ſuch a Courſe, that many thought he would upon a ſuddain have done ſome ſtrange and unexpected exploit upon the Enemy; but *Auria* held that ſtrange Courſe of purpoſe to have drawn the Enemies Gallies within the danger of his great Ships, who thundering amongſt them with their great Ordnance, might have eaſily ſore beaten and diſordered them, and opened a way unto his Gallies to have gotten a moſt certain Victory. But the crafty old Turk doubting by the ſtrangeneſs of *Auria*'s Courſe, to be circumvented with ſome fineneſs, changed his Courſe, and lay ſtill with his own Squadron of Gallies, warily expecting to what purpoſe that ſtrange Courſe of the Enemy tended. In the mean time, both the Wings of his Fleet had a little before Sun-ſet, begun in divers places to encounter with the Chriſtians; ſome were in vain ſtill aſſailing *Bondelmerius* his great Galleon; others with their great Ordnance had ſo ſore beaten two tall Ships (wherein *Buccanigra* and *Mongaia*, two Spaniſh Captains were imbarked with their Companies) that they were given for loſt, many of the Souldiers and Mariners being ſlain. Two other Ships loaded with Victual, the one of *Venice*, the other of *Dalmatia*, were burnt by the Turks, and ſome few of the men ſaved by their Ship-boats, and by ſwiming to the Ships neareſt unto them. In the ſhutting in of the Evening *Salec* took two Gallies ſtragling behind the reſt of the Fleet, whereof *Mozenicus* a Venetian, and *Bibiena* a Florentine, were Captains. After theſe Gallies, was taken alſo the Ship of *Aloyſius Figaroa* a Spaniard, although his Souldiers had for a time fought moſt valiantly. In this Ship, with *Figaroa* the Father, was taken his Son, a young Gentleman, and beautified with all the good gifts of Nature; who afterwards preſented to *Solyman*, turned Turk; and growing in Credit in *Solymans* Chamber, after three years miſerable impriſonment, obtained his poor Fathers Liberty, and ſent him well rewarded home again into *Spain*. Whilſt both the Fleets were thus expecting how they might to their moſt advantage joyn Battel, ſuddainly aroſe a great Tempeſt of Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, with a freſh Gale of Eaſterly Wind; whereupon the Chriſtians ſeeing the Turks hoiſing up their ſmall Sails, without delay hoiſed up both ſmall and great to clear themſelves of the Enemy, and with that fair Wind returned again to *Corcyra*; ſo diſorderly and in ſuch haſte, ſparing neither

The order of the Turks Fleet.

Auria *his politique courſe.*

The Chriſtian Fleet ſhamefully flieth.

neither Sail nor Oar, that it ſeemed rather a ſhameful Flight, than an orderly Retreat. So that *Auria*, a man of ſo great fame at Sea, as that he was called a ſecond *Neptune*, was that day accounted no Captain. It is reported, that *Barbaruſſa* with the ſame Wind purſued the Chriſtians a while, and being not able longer to ſee what Courſe they held, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the night, to have ſtaid his Courſe; for the Admirals had cauſed their Lights which they uſed to carry in the Poops of their Gallies, to be put out. Whereat *Barbaruſſa* heartily laughing, ſaid oftentimes in the Spaniſh Tongue; Auria *hath therefore put out his light, the better in the dark to hide his Flight*; noting him in ſuch a fear, as that he without regard of honour, ſought only how by Flight to eſcape. When they were come to *Corcyra*, they were all generally of opinion, That by the benefit of that ſuddain Storm they had avoided a great danger. The Imperials, eſpecially the Genoways, to excuſe *Auria*, imputed the cauſe of ſo ſhameful a Flight unto the Venetians, who would not from the beginning receive any Spaniſh Souldiers into their Gallies, the better to have withſtood the Enemy; and that *Auria* therefore doubting of the Venetians, refrained from joyning Battel; and the rather, becauſe that upon the coming forth of the Turks Fleet, they had hoiſed up their Sails tied up to the Yards with ſmall Lines, which they might at their pleaſure eaſily cut, and ſet Sail to flie which way they would. Shortly after came *Barbaruſſa* with all his Fleet to the Iſland of *Paxus*, about four Leagues from *Corcyra* Eaſtwards, braving the Chriſtians as if he would have fought with them, if they durſt come out. Whereat *Gonzaga* the Viceroy fretting, went to every one of the three great Commanders, requeſting them for the honour of the Chriſtians, to repreſs that proud Turks inſolency. At laſt the matter was brought to that paſs, that the Venetians having taken in certain Companies of Spaniards, the Fleet ſhould be divided into four Squadrons, and ſo to give Battel. But this conſultation was ſo long protracted, that *Barbaruſſa* fearing the tempeſtuous Autumn Weather, hoiſed ſail, and about the ſeventh of *October* returned again into the Bay of *Ambracia*. After the departure of *Barbaruſſa*, the Generals of the Chriſtian Fleet directed their Courſe into the Bay called *Sinus Rizonicus*, to beſiege *Caſtronovum*, or *New-Caſtle*, a ſtrong Town of the Turks ſtanding in that Bay, and bordering upon the Venetian Senators. The Inhabitants were part Dalmatians, part Epirots, which had renounced the Chriſtian Religion, and ſome Turks, living moſt part by Merchandiſe. Unto this Town the Chriſtians laid Siege, and in ſhort time won it, where they had a great Prey, and a wonderful number of Captives of all ſorts. Three days after the taking of the Town, the Caſtle was alſo yielded by the Turks Garriſon; covenanting in vain to depart with Life and Liberty.

Barbaruſſa *jeaſteth* at Auria.

Barbaruſſa *braveth the Chriſtians.*

Caſtronovum *taken by the Chriſtians.*

This Town taken by common force, ought of right by the Covenants of the League to have been delivered to the Venetians; yet was it for all that by *Auria* and *Gonzaga* reſerved for the Emperor, and *Franciſcus Sarmentus* with four thouſand Spaniards all old Souldiers, left there in Garriſon; *Capellius* the Venetian Admiral urging in vain the right of the Venetians. Which thing ſo much greived the Senate, (who ever had the ambitious Spaniard in ſuſpition, and now aſſured of him as an evil Neighbour to their Town of *Catarum*) that repenting themſelves of the League with the Emperor, they decreed to ſue to *Solyman* for Peace; which they afterwards eaſily obtained, for a ſhort ſpace, by *Laurentius Grittus* their Dukes Son, and by the help of *Antonius Rincus* the French Kings Embaſſador; who then lying at *Conſtantinople*, in good time told the great Baſſa's, that the League the Venetians had made with the Emperor, was made without the conſent of the greateſt part of the Senate, and that War taken in hand againſt moſt of their Wills.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Barbaruſſa* put to Sea again to have relieved *Caſtronovum*; but being at Sea, many of his Gallies were by the violence of a ſuddain Tempeſt driven upon the Acroceraunian Rocks, and there caſt away. It is reported that he loſt there twenty thouſand men, which with the broken pieces of his Gallies were found almoſt all alongſt the Coaſt of *Dalmatia*. This Shipwrack being certainly known, *Capellius* would have perſwaded *Auria* to have preſently purſued *Barbaruſſa* ſo diſtreſſed; which motion *Gonzaga* well liked, as a man deſirous by ſome notable exploit to recompence the diſgrace before received at *Leucade*. But *Auria* for divers cauſes not liking of the matter, was ſo ſet down upon his return to *Italy*, that he preſently hoiſed ſail, leaving the Venetian Admiral in ſuch a rage, that he deteſted himſelf; for ſubmitting himſelf to another mans power; and wiſhed the Captains there preſent never to ſubject themſelves to the command of a Stranger, foraſmuch as that *Genoway*, either upon cowardiſe or malicious mind, as an old Enemy to the Venetian State, would not proſecute ſo manifeſt a Victory, but put up ſo ſhameful a diſgrace as he had before received. But of all this *Auria* made ſmall reckoning, referring all that he both ſaid and did, ſo far unto the Emperors commodity, that *Valerius Urſinus* a Noble Gentleman then ſerving in the Venetian Pay, merrily ſaid, *That* Auria *had done nothing but wiſely and politiquely, in ſetting the Venetians together by the Ears with the Turks, and opening a Gate for a long War, whether the Venetians would or not; ſo as the Emperor himſelf could not have better wiſhed, and that without the loſs of one Gally.* For it was thought by many, that the long Wars betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, would ſort to the great good of the Emperor; when as the Venetians worn out and ſpent, with thoſe long and chargeable Wars againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, ſhould be ſtripped of their Lands and Territories either by force, or ſome hard compoſition wrung from them by neceſſity.

Auria *neglecting to purſue* Barbaruſſa, *returns into* Italy, *to the grief of the Venetian Admiral.*

Caſtronovum thus taken, and *Sarmentus* with a Garriſon of four thouſand Spaniards there placed, as is aforeſaid, and the Chriſtian Fleet diſſolved, *Solyman* took the matter ſo grievouſly, that he determined to beſiege it again both by Sea and Land; and in his fury, cauſed *Nauplium* and *Epidaurus*, two of the Venetian Cities in the Country of *Peloponneſus*, to be ſtraitly beſieged. Yet took he ſingular pleaſure, that *Barbaruſſa* his Admiral, in all reſpects worſe furniſhed, had driven out of the Sea the great Fleet of the Chriſtians, which he before that time had made too great account of. Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring, which was in the year 1539, *Barbaruſſa* by his commandment repaired again his Fleet, and notably furniſhed it with all manner of warlike Proviſion; manning his Gallies for the moſt part with Janizaries and other ſuch ſelect Souldiers. With this Fleet *Barbaruſſa* (Summer well now come on) departed out of *Helleſpontus*, and came to the Bay *Rizonicus*; at which time alſo *Ulames* the Perſian then Governor of *Boſna*, ſhewed himſelf with his Forces upon the Mountains, as he had in charge from *Solyman*. *Barbaruſſa* before he entred the Straits of the Bay, ſent before him *Dragut* and *Corſetus*, two

Barbaruſſa *ſent by* Solyman *to beſiege* Caſtronovum.

1589.

notable Pyrats, with thirty Galliots, who landing their Men near unto *Caſtronovum* (as they were commanded) were valiantly encountred by *Sarmentus* with his Spaniards, and forced again to their Galliots, many of the Turks being ſlain and taken Priſoners. After that came *Barbaruſſa* with ninety Gallies, and three tall Ships which carried the Artillery for Battery and other neceſſary proviſion for the Camp; where he ſpent three days in landing his great Ordnance and caſting up Trenches, which could not be done but by night by reaſon of the continual ſhot out of the Town; wherewith the Spaniards had in that three days ſpace ſlain above a thouſand Turks; amongſt whom was *Agis Hariadenus*, who had made himſelf as it were a King at *Taiorea*, a City near *Tripolis* in *Africa*; whoſe death much grieved *Barbaruſſa*, as one of his moſt ancient and beſt Friends. At length *Barbaruſſa* having caſt up his Trenches, landed four and fifty great Pieces of Artillery for Battery; whereof he gave a fourth part to *Ulames* to batter the Town on the North ſide, whilſt he in the mean time, in three divers places battered the Eaſt ſide, and *Salec* from Sea with ten Gallies, did morning and evening batter another part of the Wall. Whilſt *Sarmentus* was thus in ſo many places aſſailed, and did what was poſſible to have repaired the Braches; the Turks by force took one of the Towers, where after they had diſplaied their Enſigns, they from thence with their ſhot ſore troubled the Spaniards. At the ſame time alſo, *Ulames* had made a Breach, and was ready on the other ſide of the City to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmentus* ſeeing no means longer to defend the City, commanded the hurt Souldiers to get them into the Caſtle below, and the reſt with him to take the Market-place, there to die together like Men; where the Turks ſtraight way breaking in on every ſide upon them, made a moſt cruel and bloody Fight, wherein the Spaniards overwhelmed with ſhot, and the multitude of their Enemies, were ſlain almoſt every Man. *Sarmentus* wounded in the Face with three Arrows, and wearied with long fight, ſeeing *Sancius Fria* a Captain ready to flie, ſharply reproved him, and catching him by the hand, made him there to tarry by it, until they were both together ſlain. Many valiant Captains were there loſt, whoſe names for brevity I omit. *Aloyſius Arius*, and certain other Captains, who together with the wounded Souldiers were got into the Caſtle, ſeeing no means to defend the place, yielded themſelves; whom *Barbaruſſa* according to his promiſe, took to mercy in ſparing their lives, yet carried them away into Captivity to *Conſtantinople*. The dead Body of *Sarmentus* could not be known amongſt ſo many heaps of the dead, although *Barbaruſſa* had cauſed moſt diligent ſearch to be made for it, and offered great ſums of Mony and liberty alſo, to whoſoever could recover it; being deſirous to have ſent his Head for a Preſent to *Solyman*. *Barbaruſſa* proud of this Victory, began forthwith to gape after *Cattarus* a City of the Venetians in the bottom of the ſame Bay; and thereupon writ threatning Letters to *Joannes Bembus* one of the Venetian Senators then Governour of the City, preſently to deliver the City; which he would (as he ſaid) otherwiſe aſſault by force. Whereunto *Bembus* anſwered again by Letters, that in ſo doing he ſhould violate the League lately made with *Solyman*, and that he ſhould find him ready by force to repel his Forces. Wherewith *Barbaruſſa* diſpleaſed ſent certain Gallies into the bottom of the Bay; who diſcharging certain great Pieces at the City, made ſhew as if they had come to beſiege it. At whom *Bembus* a Man of good courage cauſed as many more like Pieces to be diſcharged, and ſhewed his Men upon the Walls: Which thing *Barbaruſſa* perceiving ſtaid his courſe, and calling back his Gallies, returned to *Caſtronovum*, from whence (better appeaſed with Preſents afterwards ſent from *Bembus*) he departed out of that Bay.

Caſtronovum *hardly beſieged by* Barbaruſſa.

Caſtronovum *taken*

Sarmentus *ſlain.*

The long Wars betwixt *Charles* the Emperor and *Francis* the French King, were now well pacified, and ſuch friendſhip (at leaſtwiſe in ſhew) now grown betwixt theſe two great Princes, that moſt Men thought that all other quarrels laid aſide, they would now at length with united Forces go againſt the great and dangerous Enemy of Chriſtendom; which opinion not altogether of the wiſer ſort believed, was yet at this time wonderfully confirmed by many extraordinary and rare courteſies then paſſing betwixt them, which concern not this Hiſtory; as alſo, in that two of their moſt famous Captains, *Alphonſus Vaſtius*, and *Hanebald*, were as it were with one conſent by them both ſent Embaſſadors to *Venice*, to have drawn the Venetians into the Confederation of that War againſt the Turk. Which two renowned Captains coming to *Venice*, moſt gallantly accompanied, were by *Landus* the Duke, and the whole State, with great magnificence received, the people after their wonted manner flocking together in every place to behold them ſo noble Captains ſent from ſuch mighty Princes; but eſpecially *Vaſtius*, whoſe Fame having many times before filled their Ears, made them now the more deſirous to ſatisfie their Eies alſo with the beholding of his tall and comely Perſon. Which two famous Captains admitted into the Senate, for that purpoſe fully aſſembled, and Audience given; *Vaſtius* ariſing from the Dukes ſide, in theſe or like words delivered their Embaſſage.

Alphonſus Vaſtius *and* Hanebaldus *ſent Embaſſadors from the Emperor and the French King to the State of* Venice.

Vaſtius *his Oration to the Venetian Senate.*

It is come to paſs (as I ſuppoſe) by the great providence of Almighty God, and of all the Divine Powers (moſt noble Duke and honourable Senators) that two of the moſt mighty Kings of Europe, *who of late had of long time made mortal Wars one upon another, touched with the Zeal of Religion, are become great Friends; undoubtedly to that purpoſe only, that having made a firm Peace, they may bring ſuch a general quietneſs to the long troubled and afflicted State of Chriſtendom, as beſt beſeemeth their greatneſs; and taking in hand a ſacred War, to revenge ſo many calamities received from the Infidel. That this might be made known unto you (moſt noble Venetians) theſe mighty Monarchs have ſent us hither in good time to kindle in you the like Zeal, wherewith it is well known you have always for the honour of your State been enflamed; for you of all others, which are of ſuch power and valour at Sea, they wiſh for, as their Fellows and Confederates in this ſacred War and hoped Victory, and think you worthy, which ſhould enjoy the eſpecial fruit of all that labour. Foraſmuch as the Chriſtian Forces once renewed, and ſo great and ſtrong a Fleet once aſſembled, every Man ſeeth that the Turks muſt needs be too weak, although they brag, that they carried away the Victory of late at* Actium, *when, as they then eſcaped the victorious hands of our Men, not by their own Valour, but by the unexpected hap of a ſuddain Storm. For all the powers of Heaven and Earth, and of the Sea alſo, will be propitious unto us, uniting ſo great Forces, in regard of our ſacred Religion; and will ſo take away the Hearts of the Infidels, that they ſhall learn to be overcome. As for our land Forces, we are to hope nothing but well, foraſmuch as unto thoſe which the Emperor of late brought into the Field at* Vienna, *and cauſed the Turkiſh Emperor to flie, ſhall be joyned not only all the Horſemen and Infantry of*

France (*a wonderful ſtrength,*) *but* Sigiſmund *alſo King of* Polonia *will without delay bring forth his Armies, wherewith he hath been uſed in the quarrel of the Chriſtian Religion happily to fight againſt the Infidels; ſo that it is not to be doubted of a moſt certain and aſſured Victory. Wherefore the victorious Emperor and moſt Chriſtian King* Francis *moſt inſtantly requeſt you to enter into the like godly Cogitations, conceived for the general good of the Chriſtian Name, and religiouſly to embrace the hope of a moſt true and glorious Victory; and further exhort you, by a wholeſome Decree to avert your religious and couragious Hearts from the friendſhip of the Infidels; for it may worthily ſeem unto your moſt honourable minds, a moſt foul and ſhameful thing, to have renewed your League, and to have preferred an infamous and uncertain Peace, before a moſt religious and juſt War. Neither doth it beſeem this moſt wealthy State to be terrified from that which is good and right, with any Charges of War, be they never ſo great; for if we ſhall once overcome, which is incident to this preſent and long wiſhed occaſion, we ſhall by the profit of one Victory, either by Sea or Land, to your incomparable praiſe recompence all the Loſſes by us in former times received.*

The anſwer of the Duke to **Vaſtius.**

Whereunto the Duke in the name of the whole State anſwered, That there never happened any thing at any time unto the Venetian Senate more honourable, for the manner of the Embaſſage, or for the publick ſecurity of their State, more to be deſired than the hope of ſuch a Peace; after that two moſt mighty Kings by two ſuch famous Captains their Embaſſadors, did certifie them of their attonement and aſſured Peace, moſt glorious to themſelves, to their eternal praiſe, wholeſome alſo to the Venetian State, beſet with ſo many dangers, and wonderfully to be wiſhed for of all the other Princes of Chriſtendom, if they would ſincerely and religiouſly with their Forces by common conſent united, reſolve upon that ſacred War; for then would not the Venetians be wanting to themſelves or the Chriſtian Common-weal, but end the League they had with the Turk, not with a diſhonourable Peace, but with Arms and Victory. Wherefore it was to be requeſted of Almighty God by Prayer, That thoſe puiſſant Kings would with religious and happy event ſpeedily and ſeriouſly fulfil all that hope of Peace, which they had by their mutual diſcourſes and embracings in ſhew promiſed unto the World.

Vaſtius *his anſwer to the demand of the Venetian Senators.*

In few days after, certain of the ſelect Senators ſitting in Council, after the manner of that State, called the Embaſſadors unto them, and asked them, Whether they knew any thing of the Articles and Capitulations wherein that League and Confederation was to be concluded? And by the way, Whether they thought the Emperor in regard of that Peace would give unto the French Kings Son the Dukedom of *Millain*, as was reported? Whereunto *Hanebald* the French Embaſſador anſwering nothing, *Vaſtius* ſaid, that he knew nothing more, but that the two great Princes had agreed of betwixt themſelves, and that the Emperor had deſired the Peace, as one willing to help the afflicted and declining State of the Chriſtian Common-weal; which thing any Man might ſee could not be effected or brought to paſs, but that the Emperor muſt in many things yield to the requeſts of the French King, and redeem his good will; for his noble mind (ſaid he) worthy Senators, can eaſily make light of the greateſt loſs of his own things, when he foreſeeth a large way opened thereby to eternal Fame and Glory. Theſe words were very glorious and gracious to the Hearers; but they, as Men of great experience, could not let it ſink in their minds, that the Emperor whom they had often deeply ſounded, would ever part with the Dukedom of *Millain*, which only thing the French King required, and had for the recovering thereof unfortunately ſtriven almoſt twenty years, to the trouble and diſquiet of a great part of the World. The Nobility and Authority of this Embaſſage more moved the Senate than did the other former Embaſſadors, *Didaco Mendoza*, a Spaniard, and *Gulielmus Pellicerius*, a French-man, then both preſent; yet was it much ſuſpected by the Venetians, becauſe it contained no certain reſolution, but only the bare hope of a future Peace; ſo that it was by many Men ſuppoſed to be but a matter deviſed to deceive others, and to ſerve the Emperors turn to his great profit. Yet all the cunning ſeemed to reſt in this Point, That the Venetians led on with the hope of this Leage, ſhould neglect the renewing of the League they had the year before taken with *Solyman*, which was now almoſt expired. Upon which uncertainty of other Mens reſolutions, the grave Senators thought too dangerous a matter to depend.

The Venetian Senators diverſly affected towards the confederation with the Emperor and the French King, againſt Solyman.

Upon this queſtion of this new League and Confederation to be made with theſe Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turk, the Senate was wonderfully divided; ſome favouring the Emperors requeſt, enveighing againſt the renewing of that ſhameful League with the Infidels, which they ſaid was nothing elſe, but as much as in them lay to betray unto them the other parts of Chriſtendom, and eſpecially *Italy*, deſtitute of their help, and yet not to be obtained without great charge; and with many reaſons urged the honourable Confederation with theſe Chriſtian Princes; others of a deeper reach, conſidering what infinite harms they had from time to time received by falling out with the Turks, and ſuſpecting alſo the Emperors drift; and joyning thereunto the conſideration of the great Dearth then reigning in the City, which was not to be relieved but out of *Macedonia* and *Græcia*, the Turks Countries; the Emperor having at that time as it were of purpoſe impoſed ſo great a Cuſtom upon all Corn to be tranſported out of *Sicily*, that the very Cuſtom came to as much as both the price of the Corn and the Fraight together; all which miſchiefs they ſaid were to be prevented by renewing the League with *Solyman*. This matter was with great heat debated in the Senate too and fro, either part having great Fautors; ſo that the Senators ſpent almoſt whole Winter nights in the Court, diſcourſing and conſulting what were beſt to be done; but whatſoever was there ſaid or decreed, was forthwith by one of the Factions or other made known, not only to the Embaſſadors preſent in the City, but by Letters alſo diſcovered into Provinces far off; a thing never before in that State known, which had ever uſed as it were with a religious ſilence to keep ſecret whatſoever was there decreed. Which thing *Marcus Foſcarus*, an old Senator and a Man of great wiſdom perceiving, ſaid openly, That the State was betrayed by the multitude and corruption of voices, and muſt needs ſhortly periſh, if it were not ſpeedily committed to the grave and faithful judgment of ſome few; for there was almoſt two hundred of them which gave voices, reducing the Multitude to the number of fifty, who for their experience and love towards their Country, were holden of Men of greateſt gravity and ſecrecy; ſo was the madneſs of many ſtayed by the diſcretion of a few. But *Foſcarus* ſhortly after fell into ſuch hatred of the Multitude, grieving to

Foſcarus *a grave Senator.*

Foſcarus *diſgraced by the multitude.*

be as light headed Men without diſcretion, ſo excluded out of the Council; that he was by the voices of the Multitude firſt thruſt out of the Council himſelf; and by them kept a great while after from all the Preferments and Honours of the City; being indeed one of the graveſt Senators, and a Man of deepeſt judgment. Which diſgrace turned afterward to his great honour and credit, as one that had foreſeen much, after they were once found out and condemned which had traiterouſly revealed the Secrets of the State.

The Venetians ſent Aloyſius Badoerius *their Embaſſador to* Solyman, *to conclude a Peace.*

But this long conſultation concerning the Confederation, came to this end, That the Senators doubting the Union of thoſe two great Princes, and yet willing to expect the event, decreed forthwith to ſend three Embaſſadors; whereof two ſhould be ſent to the Emperor and the French King to diſcover their deſigns; and the third, which was *Aloyſius Badoerius*, a wiſe and well ſpoken Man, was with all ſpeed diſpatched away to *Solyman*, to prevent the fame of the diſtruſt to be conceived of the agreement of theſe great Chriſtian Princes; and if he could by any means, to ſpare for no Coſt, to ſave unto the Venetians their Cities of *Nauplium* and *Epidaurus*, which *Solyman* required of them before he would grant them Peace. Which if it could not be obtained of the proud and crafty Tyrant, then to yield unto neceſſity, and to conclude a Peace with him upon any conditions; which courſe the *Decem-Viri* thought to be moſt expedient for the State; yet concerning the yielding up of the Cities, they gave him ſecret inſtructions and warrant, fearing forſooth the force and tumult of the headſtrong Multitude, who if they had known any ſuch thing, would undoubtedly thereupon have taken occaſion to have croſſed and overthrown that moſt wholeſome Decree; for there was no doubt, that if they had delayed the matter, and ſought for Peace too late, but that *Solyman* would upon another Mans weakneſs and neceſſity have encreaſed his inſatiable deſire, and not granted them Peace, being brought low and forſaken, except they would deliver unto him the Iſlands of *Cephalenia*, *Zacinthus*, and *Corcyra*, a matter no leſs grievous than the deſtruction of the very City of *Venice* it ſelf. So that the great Embaſſadors *Vaſtius* and *Hanebald*, who came of purpoſe to have hindred the League with the Turk, by their great diligence wrought nothing more effectually, than that the Venetians the better foreſeeing the danger of their State, ſhould as they did, make haſte to conclude the ſame; for it falleth out in Mens purpoſes and Actions, That a good and happy ſucceſs otherwiſe well hoped for, is oftentimes marred with too much diligence and care. Neither was it any doubt, but that *Hanebald* was ſent by the French King but for faſhion ſake, and ſecretly underhand by *Pellicerius* the old Embaſſador, perſwaded the Venetians to haſten the concluſion of Peace with *Solyman*. Which as *Badoerius* their Embaſſador was carefully ſoliciting the matter at *Conſtantinople*, and being loath to yield the ſtrong Cities which *Solyman* required, offering unto him inſtead of them a great ſum of Mony; *Solyman* took him up with threatning words as a ſhameleſs Diſſembler, earneſtly proteſting, That he would never grant him Peace, without the yielding of thoſe Cities, rehearſing unto him the moſt ſecret points of his Embaſſage, and how that he was authorized from the *Decem-Viri* to yield them unto him; which thing the Embaſſador little thought *Solyman* had known. Wherefore *Badoerius* ſo ſhamefully reproved, and ſtanding in doubt of his life, ſeeing the greateſt ſecrets of his Embaſſage revealed to *Solyman* and his Baſſaes, was glad to accept of Peace, by yielding unto him *Nauplium* and *Epidaurus*, two Cities in *Peloponneſus*, and with them *Nadinum* and *Labrania*, two Caſtles of *Dalmatia*, to the great grief of the whole Senate; for granting whereof the Common people ignorant of the ſecret Decree of the *Decem-Viri*, and ſuppoſing that *Badoerius* had given away that which he had no authority to give, were ſo inraged againſt him at his return, that there was much ado to ſave the guiltleſs Man from exile, and his Goods from confiſcation, although the Traitors were then known which had diſcovered the Secrets of the State unto the Turks. Theſe were *Mapheus Leonius* a Senator, and *Conſtantinus Cobatius*, Secretary to the Colledge of the *Decem-Viri*, and *Franciſcus Valerius*, one of the Senators baſe Sons, the Traiterous diſperſer of the Turks Mony for the corruption of others; who with other his Complices were for the ſame Fact hanged in the Market-place, when as *Leonius* and *Cobatius* were a little before fled into *France*.

The moſt ſecret decret of the Vetian Senate made known to Solyman.

1540.

A Peace concluded betwixt the Venetians and Solyman.

The Traitors which revealed the ſecrets of the Venetian ſtate to Solyman *executed.*

About the ſame time, which was in the Year of our Lord 1540, died *Joannes Sepuſius* King of *Hungary*, *Solymans* Tributary; after whoſe death enſued great Wars in *Hungary*, and the lamentable ſubverſion of that flouriſhing Kingdom; for the better conceiving whereof, it ſhall not be amiſs with as much brevity as the plainneſs of the Hiſtory will permit, to open the cauſes and grounds of the endleſs calamities which afterwards enſued, and never took end, until that warlike Kingdom was to the great weakning of of Chriſtendom utterly ſubverted.

King *Ferdinand* and this tributary King *John*, had with like deſire of Peace and quietneſs, made between them a League; profitable to them both as their Eſtates then ſtood, rather than honourable; yet moſt welcome to the Hungarians, who divided into Faction, and having followed ſome the one King and ſome the other, enjoyed nevertheleſs their Lands and Goods by the benefit of this Peace; the Towns and Caſtles being ſtill kept by them in whoſe poſſeſſion they then were at the making of the Peace. In the capitulations of which Peace, it was compriſed, That *Ferdinand* ſhould from thenceforth call *John* by the Name of a King; whereas before he had both in his common Talk and Letters called him by the Name of the Vayvod only: It was alſo expreſly ſet down in the ſame Articles of Peace, and ſubſcribed by the Hands of divers of the Nobility of *Hungary*, That if King *John* ſhould die, King *Ferdinand* ſhould ſucceed him in the whole Kingdom of *Hungary*; which condition was ſuppreſſed and kept very ſecret for fear of *Solyman*, who accounted of that Kingdom as of his own, gotten by Law of Arms, and beſtowed upon King *John* as upon his Vaſſal; neither was it to have been thought, that if he ſhould have known thereof (being of a haughty mind by nature, and not able to endure an injury) he would have ſuffered that Kingdom, got and defended with ſo great danger and coſt, to be by the Will of an unthankful Man, transferred unto his Enemy.

The ſecret confederation betwixt King Ferdinand *and King* John *revealed.*

This matter of ſo great importance, was (as it is reported) by *Hieronimus Laſcus* Embaſſador for King *Ferdinand* to *Conſtantinople*, revealed unto *Solyman* and the Baſſaes, to bring King *John* into hatred. So much did this noble Gentleman, for his rare Vertues otherwiſe greatly to have been commended, yield unto his grief, and deſire of revenge; when after the death of *Aloyſius Grittus*, he fell from the friendſhip of

King John *in his old years marrieth* Iſabella *King* Sigiſmunds *Daughter.*

King *John*, being (as is before declared) by him committed to Priſon, and hardly afterwards enlarged, at the requeſt of King *Sigiſmund*. Whereupon *Solyman* being exceedingly angry with King *John*, called him unthankful Churl, and turning himſelf about to *Lutzis Baſſa* his Brother in Law, ſaid, How unworthily do theſe two Chriſtian Kings wear their Crowns upon their faithleſs Heads; who as ſhameful deceivers are not afraid, either for worldly ſhame or fear of God, for their profit to falſifie their Faith? But King *John* underſtanding thereof, and wonderfully fearing his own Eſtate, did by good Friends and rich Preſents, pacifie *Solyman* again, laying all the blame upon King *Ferdinand*, as better able to bear it. Not long after, King *John* having ſet his Kingdom in good order, and ſtrongly fortified the City of *Buda*; being now far ſtricken in years, at the earneſt requeſt of moſt of the Nobility of *Hungary*, and other his beſt Friends, married *Iſablla* the Daughter of *Sigiſmund* King of *Polonia*, a gracious Lady and of great Spirit; which King *Sigiſmund*, had long before married *Barbara* King *Johns* Siſter, after whoſe death he married the Lady *Bona Sfortia*, the Daughter of *Joannes Galeacius* Duke of *Millain*, by whom he had this Lady *Iſabella* whom King *John* now married. Which Marriage *Solyman* liked well of, having many times by way of talk before condemned the ſingle life of the King; but King *Ferdinand* liked thereof nothing at all, plainly foreſeeing, that the Hungarians (if the King ſhould chance to have a Son) would forthwith look upon him as their natural King, and reject himſelf as but a Stranger.

The Queen with Child

This young Queen in ſhort time (as he had feared) conceived with Child, and was now very big; when King *John* was enforced to make an expedition in perſon himſelf againſt *Maylat* (famous for the death of *Aloyſius Grittus*) and *Balas*, both Governours of *Tranſylvania*; whereof *Maylat* not contented with the Name of Vayvod or Governour, ſought to make himſelf King. But *Solyman* deteſting the impudent Arrogancy of the faithleſs Man, and hating him for the death of *Grittus*, and the Turks ſlain with him, advertiſed King *John* of all the matter, wiſhing him to be more circumſpect, whom he truſted with the Government of ſo great and rich a Country. So *Maylat* ſhamefully rejected of *Solyman*, and out of hope of a Kingdom, fearing alſo to be thruſt quite out of his Government by King *John*, thought it beſt for his own ſafety to raiſe up all the Province into Rebellion, and to take part with King *Ferdinand*; which thing *Ferdinand* by his divers Agents ſecretly furthered to the uttermoſt. For theſe two Kings, although they were at Peace the one with the other, and in words and ſhew made ſemblance of Friendſhip, yet in heart they envyed and hated each other, as if they ſhould preſently have waged War. At that ſame time King *John* exacted of his Subjects, and eſpecially of them of *Tranſylvania*, a great ſum of Mony, to pay the Turks his Tribute, then two years behind: Which thing ſerved *Maylat* and his Complices, as a fit occaſion to raiſe the People into Rebellion, perſwading them, that there was no reaſon to pay unto the Turk ſuch a Tribute, as would ſerve well to wage ten years honourable War againſt him; ſo that by that, and ſuch like perſwaſion, all the Province was in an Uproar, little differing from manifeſt Rebellion. To appeaſe theſe dangerous troubles thus ariſing, King *John* ſent certain of his chief Nobility and beſt Captains with a great power into *Tranſylvania*, following after himſelf in his Chariot, not yet well recovered of his late Sickneſs. Theſe Noblemen entring in two places into *Tranſylvania*, and ſcouting up and down the Country, had in ſhort time ſo uſed the matter, that what by force, what by policy, the Tumult was well pacified, and divers of the chief Offenders worthily executed. *Maylat* the ambitious Author of this ſedition, not able to hold the Field againſt the King, and ſeeing himſelf beſet on every ſide with his Enemies, retired himſelf with all his Wealth into a Town called *Fogaras*, a place of great ſtrength, which the Kings power ſhortly after hardly beſieged; the King himſelf then lying at *Sibynium*, the chief City of *Tranſylvania*, and about a mile diſtant from *Fogaras*, ſick of an Ague, whereinto he was again fallen through too much care and pains taken in travelling in that hot time of the Year, the days being then at the longeſt. Whilſt he thus lay ſick at *Sibynium*, and his Army faſt by at the Siege of *Fogaras*, News was brought unto him from the Court, That the Queen his Wife was delivered of a fair young Son; which was no ſooner bruted abroad, but the Hungarians as Men overjoyed, came flocking to the Court where the King lay, diſcharging their Pieces in triumph, with all other ſigns of joy and mirth they could poſſibly deviſe; the Noblemen came from the Camp to rejoyce with the King, and all the Army was filled with gladneſs. And for the greater ſolemnity of this ſo common a Joy, a royal Feaſt was prepared, which the Noblemen would needs have the King to honour with his preſence, though he were thereto unwilling, being as yet but a little recovered; howbeit yielding to their importunity, he ſuffered himſelf to be overruled and brought to the Feaſt by them, which was unto him the merrieſt and the laſt that ever he made; for willing to ſhew his inward joy, and to content his Nobility there preſent, he forgot himſelf, and eat and drank more liberally than was for the health of his weak Body; whereby the Fever which had but a little before left him, was again renewed, in ſuch ſort, as that he well perceived he could not longer endure. Wherefore feeling his end to draw faſt on, he made his Will, appointing his young Son to be his Heir, whom he committed to the Tuition of *George*, Biſhop of *Veradium*, and *Peter Vicche* a noble Gentleman and his near Kinſman, until he came to Age; requeſting the reſt of the Noblemen to prefer his Son in the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom, before a Stranger; telling them, That *Solyman* would undoubtedly take upon him the protection both of the Kingdom and of his Son, if they would in time ſend Embaſſadors unto him with Preſents, and promiſe for his Son, that he ſhould raign as his Tributary as he had done before; and ſo preſently after died.

Queen Iſabella *delivered of a Son.*

The death of King John.

The honourable ſaying of King John.

This King was of a courteous and gentle nature, bountiful, and in all his doings juſt, of no fierce and rough diſpoſition, as the Hungarians commonly are, but of a moſt civil behavior, garniſhed with good letters, and throughly ſchooled in the divers chances of both Fortunes, not meaſuring his actions by the ſtrength of his power, but by the exact rule of deſcretion; for in time of buſineſs no Man was more circumſpect, or vigilant than he, nor in time of recreation any Man more courteous or pleaſant. He uſed oftentimes to ſay, That the favour and love of valiant Men gotten by bounty and courteſie, was the beſt Treaſure of a Prince; for that courteous and thankful Men, did oftentimes in ſome one worthy piece of ſervice, plentifully repay whatſoever had been beſtowed upon them; as for ſuch as were unthankful, they did to their ſhame bear the teſtimony of another Mans vertue.

Embaſſadors ſent out of Hungary *to* Solyman.

A young Child Crowned. King of Hungary.

The Kings death was kept ſecret until ſuch time as the Noblemen had agreed with *Maylat* that he ſhould take an Oath of his faithful Allegeance to the King, and his Son his lawful Heir, and ſo ſtill to enjoy his former place and Government; which offer *Maylat* gladly accepted Then calling together the Council, it was decreed to ſend the ſame Embaſſage to *Solyman*, which was appointed, the old King yet living. So were preſently diſpatched away two moſt honourable Embaſſadors, *Joannes Exechius* Biſhop of *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, and *Stephanus Verbetius* the Chancellor, a Man of great years, carrying with them ten Bowls of pure Gold couriouſly wrote, ſix hundred of Silver, gilt and engraven; forty pieces of purple Silk and Cloath of Gold for Turks Gowns, and 50 *l.* of coined Gold to be paid in the name of two years Tribute. Which Embaſſadors paſſing directly from *Sibinium* over *Danubius* into *Servia*, and ſo travelling through *Thracia*, came to *Conſtantinople*. In the mean time, the dead Body of the King was with much heavineſs carried from *Sibinium* to *Alba Regalis*, moſt part of the Army following it, and there with great ſolemnity Buried. After this, the young Child was Chriſtened and called *Stephen*, and there preſently Crowned with the ancient Crown of King *Stephen*, who firſt erected that Kingdom, and without which the Hungarians never accounted their Kings lawfully Crowned. Yet the Royal Dignity was by the common conſent of the Nobility given unto the Queen, with condition, that in all publick Writings, the Names of the Son and of the Mother ſhould be joyned, and the Kings Mony coined with the ſame Inſcription; but the chiefeſt Authority reſted in *George* the Biſhop; for he was Treaſurer, and had at his command the Caſtles and ſtrong Holds; yet were the Souldiers with their Enſigns and Furniture, at the devotion of *Valentinus Thuracus*: In the middle between theſe two was placed *Peter Vicche* the Kings Kinſman, and by the old King appointed for one of the Tutors of his young Son, ſuſpected of neither part, honoured with the name of High Conſtable. But becauſe the name of this *George* the Biſhop was moſt famous in this woful War which we were about to write, I thought it worth the labour to ſpeak ſomething of his nature and diſpoſition, that it may be known to all poſterity, by what policy this War was managed, and how this flouriſhing Kingdom by the madneſs of the Hungarians came into the hands of the Turks.

George *Biſhop of* Veradium *one of the Kings Tutors, a notable Man.*

The fugitive Hungarians perſwade King Ferdinand *to invade* Hungary.

This *George* was born in *Croatia*, and brought up from his youth in the Houſe of King *John*, where vertue and induſtry never wanted relief; when as he unadviſedly before had entred into the Orders of a Monaſtical life, and weary too late of the ſtraitneſs thereof, had forſaken his profeſſion. Wherefore being of a very pleaſing nature, and ſtill following King *John* driven out of his Kingdom, and long living in exile, he won ſuch credit and commendation for his Fidelity, Integrity, and ready Counſel in the Kings moſt doubtful and dangerous Affairs, that after *Sibacchus* that worthy Biſhop was by the treachery of *Aloyſius Grittus* ſlain at *Baxovia*, he obtained the great Biſhoprick of *Veradium*. After that, when he had ſtrengthned his credit with great Wealth, he always as a faithful Counſellor ſwaid and happily ruled both the Court and Kingdom, to the profit of the King. But he was of ſuch a diverſe and pliant Nature, that performing in all actions all the parts of a moſt ready and excellent Man, he ſeemed to be made of contrary qualities, and born to do any thing; for in ſaying of his Princely Service, and performing the other Ceremonies of the Chriſtian Religion, he ſhewed, or at leaſtwiſe counterfeited ſuch a contrition in his devout Countenance and Speech, that a Man would not have thought it could poſſibly be the ſame Man, who in the moſt weighty Affairs both of War and Peace, did moſt ſtoutly ſhew the wonderful force of a moſt pregnant and couragious Wit; for he uſed to keep whole Companies of moſt excellent and ready Horſemen, and would oft-times come forth into the Battel armed; he would with often Banquets and Rewards win the Hearts of the Souldiers, and after the manner of great Chieſtains, maintain the honour and credit of his Name, both with puniſhment and reward, as occaſion required. Beſides that, no Man looked into the Wealth of the Kingdom more diligently than he, no Man did to more profit let to farm the Cuſtoms, old Mines, Feedings, and Salt-Pits; no Man could deviſe finer means to raiſe Mony, of all others the readieſt way to credit; inſomuch that King *John* would confeſs himſelf to reign by the eſpecial induſtry of that one Man; And King *Ferdinand* would many times ſay, That he envied at King *John* for nothing he had, but for one hooded Fellow, which was better for the defence of a Kingdom than a thouſand with Helmets on their Heads. Wherefore this Biſhop having taken upon him the Tuition of the young King, was ſtill buſied in all the weighty cauſes of the Kingdom, both Civil and Martial; he laboured with great care, that the Hungarians ſhould agree together in Love and Unity; and did what he might, providently to foreſee, that no Tumult or Rebellion ſhould any where ariſe, whereby the beginning of the Kingdom, yet but weak, might any way be troubled. But King *Ferdinand* hearing of the death of King *John*, thought it now a fit time for him to recover again the Kingdom of *Hungary*, which he had ſo long deſired. Whereunto he was alſo the more prickt forward by the perſwaſion of *Alexius Torſo, Ferentius Gnarus, Petrus Bachit, Balthazar Pamphilus, Francus Capolnates, Janus Caſtellamphus*, and *Caſparus Seredus*, all Noblemen or Gentlemen of great account in *Hungary*, who in the former troubles followed the part of King *Ferdinand* againſt King *John*, and lived now in Exile; theſe all with one conſent told King *Ferdinand*, That now or never was the time when they might be again reſtored unto their Country with honour, and that the War might that Autumn be diſpatched, if he would make haſte, for as much as Winter coming faſt on, would ſtay the coming of the Turks, and ſuch Noblemen of *Hungary* as took part with the Queen, did not very well agree together, being unwilling to be commanded by *George* the Apoſtate Monk, who (as they ſaid) with great cunning and diſſimulation ſeducing the Queen, and poſſeſſing the Treaſure, enjoyed all alone the power of a King; and that they, which for taking part with the right, had long lived as baniſhed Men, might now ſafely return into their Country, and be honourably preferred by the Queen; the Biſhop (which commanded all) aſſuring them thereof, if they would return unto the young Kings Court, unto their Friends and ancient Houſes. But they had (as they ſaid) before given their Faith unto him, as to a vertuous and faithful Prince, whom they had preferred before one that was an Hungarian born; wherefore he ſhould do both unadviſedly and unkindly, if letting ſlip the occaſion preſented, he ſhould defer to make War. For, what could be more diſhonourable to him ſo great a King, and alſo Emperor elect, than by ſhameful delay to forſake them, being noble and valiant Gentlemen, which had followed his part, and were then ready with ſtrong Troops of Horſemen to do him the beſt ſervice they could.

The German Captains in like manner perſwaded him to take the matter in hand; who as Martial Men, expecting ſome one preferment, ſome another, in the Army, were deſirous of Honour, Pay, and Prey, the chief comforts of their travel and peril.

Laſchus *diſſwadeth King* Ferdinand *from ſeeking for the Kingdom of* Hungary *by force, perſwading him rather to requeſt it of courteſie of* Solyman.

But *Laſchus* the Polonian (who, in matters concerning Peace and War ſaw more than all they; as he that knew the diſpoſitions of many Princes, and had ſeen the Manners and Faſhions of divers Nations, having travelled through a great part of the World, and oftentimes been Embaſſador in the Courts of the greateſt Princes) was of a contrary opinion, and told King *Ferdinand* plainly, That the Kingdom of *Hungary* was to be obtained rather by policy than by force, by craving it at *Solymans* Hand, to hold it of him by Tribute, as King *John* had done.

For (ſaid he) *that may by petition and fair entreaty be eaſily obtained of that Heroical Prince (who in his vain humor oftentimes fondly ſeeketh after honour) which will never be got from him by force of Arms. I throughly know* (ſaid he) Solymans *haughty mind, and the proud diſpoſition of his Baſſa's; he contemneth Wealth, and is cloyed with ſo many Kingdoms; but they, upon their inſatiable covetouſneſs and exceeding pride, deſire nothing, nor perſwade him to nothing more than War. Wherefore it is good to beware, that with the noyſe of this ſuddain War you ſtir not up the Turks, which lie ready as it were expecting ſuch an occaſion, which cannot be withſtood but by the United Forces of the Chriſtian Princes; which might by their general conſent be done, but that their Eies blinded with fatal darkneſs cannot ſee it, and the Unity of the Chriſtians now deſperate, ſeemeth by God reſerved to ſome better time; ſeeing that of late the Chriſtian Kings are fallen off, and cannot agree upon the long expected Peace. Is not* (ſaid he) *the French King deceived of his hope; and as he would have it thought, greatly diſhonoured with his late unkindneſs? Which renewing his old wound, will revive in him an endleſs hatred. Away with all diſſimulations, Enemy to grave Councils, and let plain truth, although unpleaſant unto Princes ears, prevent flattery. Undoubtedly, he being a Prince of no baſe Courage (as it oftentimes falleth out with Men throughly grieved) will in his anger, as an Enemy pour forth his Gold, whereof he hath great ſtore, to croſs the Emperors deſigns, to trouble the Aſſemblies of the States of* Germany, *to withdraw the minds of the Princes, and with bounty to gain them to himſelf; who envying mightily at the Imperial Dignity, wont to be indifferently given to them that beſt deſerved the ſame, to be as it were inveſted in the Houſe of* Auſtria, *which in this perpetual ſucceſſion of ſo many Emperors, hath as it were got a right by long cuſtom. Wherefore they will ſecretly conſpire together, and as notable lingerers by nature, will either give no help at all, or elſe too late; at ſuch time as the Turks Garriſons ſhall come flying to the ſuccor of the young King. Neither is there any cauſe why any Man ſhould think that the Governours of the Turks Countries near at hand, will for the approach of Winter be ſlack in this cauſe; for they undoubtedly, making an honeſt and honourable ſhew, will take upon them to defend the Fatherleſs Child and Widow; of purpoſe to make an entrance to the ſecret deſire they have to gain the Kingdom to themſelves; for if you ſhall once joyn with them in Battel, if the beſt happen, and fortune favour our firſt attempts, truly you ſhall have War without end, with ſuch an Enemy, which will bring with him Wealth that will never be ſpent, power not to be overcome; and couragious Souldiers ſworn to our deſtruction: So will it come to paſs, and I pray God I be a falſe Prophet, that in ſeeking for the Kingdom of* Hungary *by War, you ſhall at length be glad to fight for* Auſtria *it ſelf, and your own Kingdom alſo.*

Laſchus *ſent Embaſſador from King* Ferdinand *to* Solyman.

This Speech ſo moved King *Ferdinand*, that although he purpoſed to go on with the War, yet he thought it good by an honourable Embaſſage to prove *Solymans* mind and purpoſe alſo; which to do, no Man was thought fitter than *Laſchus* himſelf, Author of that Council, being unto him very well known, and familiarly acquainted with all the great Baſſa's of the Court. Which ſervice *Laſchus* refuſed not, but being furniſhed with all things needful for ſuch an Embaſſage, departed from *Vienna* towards *Conſtantinople*.

King Ferdinand *ſendeth an Embaſſador to the Queen, to demand of her the Kingdom of* Hungary.

Yet for all that, King *Ferdinand* perſiſting in his former purpoſe, made withal preparation for Wars, truſting upon the aid of the Emperor his Brother, and the coming over of the Hungarians, who ever thought it cauſe honeſt enough for them to revolt, if it ſo ſtood with their preſent profit. But before he would enter into open Wars, he ſent *Nicholas* Count of *Salma* to the Queen, to ſhew her the Inſtruments of the laſt League betwixt the King her late Husband and him, and to exhort her to yield up the Kingdom, which by the late League was another Mans right; and not by delaying of the matter, to hurt both her Self and her Son; for King *Ferdinand* offered to give unto the Child the Province of *Sepuſia*, as was before agreed betwixt the two Kings expreſly in the League; and to the Queen a greater Revenue, and whatſoever elſe ſhe had in Dowry. But if ſhe would forget that lawful League, he threatned, that neither the Emperor *Charles* his Brother, nor he, wanted force wherewith to recover by ſtrong hand the Kingdom, annexed to the Houſe of *Auſtria* both by ancient right and the new conſent of moſt of the Hungarian Nobility. The Count of *Salma* being received at *Buda*, hardly obtained to be admitted to the preſence of the Queen; for *George* the Biſhop, and *Viccho*, miſtruſting her Woman-like Courage, ſaid, ſhe was not to be ſpoken withal, by reaſon ſhe was ſo full of heavineſs and ſorrow; and that they were of Authority, as the Kings Tutors, and ready to give him both audience and anſwer. Which opinion of her weakneſs and want of judgment, the Queen, being a Woman of an heroical and royal Spirit, took as tending ſo much to her diſgrace, that ſhe ſaid ſhe would kill her ſelf, if the Embaſſadors were not permitted to come into her Chamber (which was a dark Room hung with Black, as the manner is;) and ſhe ſitting upon a low Pallet negligently attired, as one that had no care of her ſelf, wan and pale Coloured, but as then ſhedding no Tears, yet with voice and countenance ſo heavy, as might ſhew her Tears to be rather dried up with long Mourning, than that her ſorrow was any thing abated; for the deſire of bearing rule had now ſo poſſeſſed her mind, that ſhe contemned all the dangers of imminent War, and for defence of her Sovereignty reſolved with her ſelf to call in the Turks. After the Count admitted to her preſence, had with due reverence and great proteſtation delivered his Meſſage, ſhe demurely anſwered. That ſuch was the Fortune of her Sex and Years, that being bereft of the King her Husband, and perplexed with the daily griefs both of Body and Mind, ſhe could neither give nor take Council, but pur-

The Queens anſwer to the Embaſſador.

poſed in ſo weighty a Cauſe to uſe the advice of *Sigiſmund* her Father, whoſe Integrity and Juſtice was ſuch, as King *Ferdinand* need no other Judge or Arbitrator to end that Controverſie: Wherefore ſhe requeſted a convenient time and ſpace wherein ſhe might ask Counſel of her Father; to whoſe juſt judgment ſhe ſaid ſhe would ſtand, as ſhe thought the Nobility of *Hungary* would alſo. Which ſmall time of delay if it ſhould be denied, and that they would needs forthwith make War upon her; ſhe ſaid, that the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* his Brother ſhould ſurely win no great Honour, if they ſhould come to oppugn her a Widow conſumed with Tears, and a young Child yet crying in his Cradle. The Count ſo ſent away, when he was returned to King *Ferdinand*, told him, That the Queen was altogether in the power of the Biſhop, and could neither ſay nor do any thing, but what ſhe had before received from him; for he only (as he ſaid) commanded all; as for the reſt of the Nobility, they ſhared amongſt them the Honours and Preferments of the Realm, and as Men deſirous of credit and gain, had rather be the Governours of the young Prince, than the Servants and Waiters of a great and mighty Foreign King; all which, he ſaid he had both heard and ſeen. Wherefore all the hope was in War, wherein ſuch ſpeed was to be uſed, as that the Queen with her Son unprovided, and expecting the event of their Embaſſage from *Conſtantinople*, might be driven out of *Buda* before they could take up Arms, or well adviſe themſelves what to do; and that the Queen ſought delay but to make her ſelf the ſtronger, and in the mean time to call in the Turk, and ſo to make a more dangerous War. Wherefore if ever he purpoſed to Reign in *Hungary*, he ſhould forthwith caſt off all other Cogitations, and make ready his Forces with all ſpeed poſſible.

King Ferdinand *invadeth* Hungary.

Vicegrade *taken.*

Peſth *and* Vachia *taken.*

Buda *beſieged.*

Hereupon King *Ferdinand* furniſhed with Mony from *Charles* the Emperor, without delay raiſed a great Army, which he ſent down the River *Danubius* to *Strigonium*, which City had all the Reign of Kign *John*, continued faithful to King *Ferdinand*. The General of his Army was *Leonardus Velſius*, a Nobleman of *Rhetia*; who for many cauſes, thought it expedient firſt to open the way to *Buda*; for almoſt in the middle of the way ſtood *Vicegrade*, with a goodly Caſtle upon the top of an Hill by the River; which Town (but not the Caſtle) *Velſius* after nine days Siege took with the loſs of about two hundred of his Men, all the Garriſon Souldiers therein being either ſlain or taken Priſoners, with *Valentinus Litteratus* their Captain. From *Vicegrade* he paſſed over the River *Danubius* to *Peſth*, which he took, being forſaken of the Enemy. With like ſucceſs he took the City of *Vachia* without loſs; and removing thence, and croſſing again the River with his Fleet, came and encamped before *Buda*, ſo to terrifie the Citizens, and to diſcover as far as he could the purpoſe of the Queen. Where *Perenus*, *Stephanus Raſcaius*, and *Franciſcus Francopanes* Biſhop of *Agria*, all Men of great Nobility amongſt the Hungarians, revolted from the Queen to King *Ferdinand*; the Biſhop was reputed for a Man of great Integrity, and upon meer conſcience to have gone ove to *Ferdinand*; yet was he by Letters from *George* the Kings Tutor, challenged to have revolted, in hope by means of *Charles* the Emperor to be made a Cardinal. *Velſius* lay with his Army at the hot Baths, about a mile and a half from the City, as if he would rather beſiege it than aſſault it. The Germans lying there, did fetch in Booty round about the Country; which was taken in evil part by the Hungarians on their ſide, who ſeeing their own Cattel or their Friends driven away, the Villages burnt, and the poor Husbandmen bound and taken Priſoners, fell together by the Ears oftentimes with the Germans. On the other ſide they of *Buda* ſending out their Troops of Horſemen, skirmiſht with the Germans if they did but ſtir out of the Camp, and well defended the Villages from the injury of the Enemy; for *Valentinus Thurracus* General of the Queens power, had taken into the City a wonderful number of light Horſemen. Whilſt the Army lay thus encamped, it fortuned that *Balthazar Pamphilus* a noble Hungarian, ſtraying out of the Camp even unto the Gates of *Buda*, deſired the Warders at the Gate to give him leave to talk with *Valentinus* their General, for that he deſired to ſee his old Friend, and to confer with him of certain matters concerning the good of the Common State. Which thing being granted by the General, he was immediately received into the City with his Troop of Horſemen. Shortly after returning again into the Camp, he reported how he had been entertained by his old acquaintance in the City; where viewing the Garriſon, the great Artillery, and Fortification of the City, he perceived it was not to be taken without a greater power, and in a more ſeaſonable time of the year. Which thing ſo moved *Velſius*, by nature ſuſpicious, and doubtful of the fidelity of a Stranger, that he commanded him in anger to avoid the Camp, becauſe he had without his leave gone into the City, and upon his own private inſolency had conference with the Enemy, and by ampliſying their ſtrength, to have diſcouraged the Army, by putting them out of hope of Victory. Wherefore *Velſius* never attempting to aſſault the City, returned again to *Vicegrade* to beſiege the higher Caſtle (wherein the ancient Crown of King *Stephen*, wherewith the Hungarian Kings were ever after him Crowned, was kept) which Caſtle he alſo took, with ſomething leſs loſs than he had done the lower Town. Not long after, he marched with his Army to *Alba Regalis*, the City where the Hungarian Kings were uſually Crowned and Buried; which by the means of *Perenus* was delivered unto him, and a Garriſon put into it for King *Ferdinand*. Theſe things thus done, *Velſius* retired again to *Strigonium*; which he did the rather, becauſe the Germans and Hungarians, two rough Nations, could by no means agree together, in ſo much as that *Velſius* the General in parting them was wounded in the Thigh, and *Perenus* hurt with a Stone; beſides that, Winter was now come far on, and the Souldiers cried out for Pay. For which cauſes, *Velſius* (being alſo ſick of the Stone) billeted his Souldiers for that Winter about the Country. Yet before that, he new fortified *Peſth*, and left therein a Garriſon; becauſe it was reported, that the Turks upon their Frontiers were making preparation to come to aid them of *Buda*.

King Ferdinands *Army departs from* Buda.

Alba Regalis *yielded to King* Ferdinand.

At ſuch time as King *Ferdinand* was levying his Forces for the invaſion of *Hungary*, the Queen by the Counſel of the Biſhop had in good time craved aid of the Turks Lieutenants in the Countries bordering upon *Hungary*, eſpecially of *Uſtref* Governour of *Boſnu* (a very aged Man, and of great Honour, who had married one of the Daughters of *Bajazet* the old Emperor) as alſo of *Mahometes* Governour of *Belgrade*, and *Amurathes* who had the charge of the Frontiers of *Dalmatia*; from whom ſhe received one anſwer, That they might in no caſe without expreſs commandment from *Solyman* depart from the places committed to their charge. Beſides that *Mahometes* was by rewards overcome by *Laſchus*, as he paſſed by *Belgrade* to *Conſtantinople*, not to ſtir or aid the Queen. Wherefore ſhe, rejected by theſe great Captains, certified *Solyman* by her Embaſſadors, what danger her ſelf, her Son, and the Kingdom was in, craving his ſpeedy aid. *Laſchus* was not yet come to *Conſtantinople*, being faln ſick by the way, but had ſent before, *Ptolomeus* his Phyſician to the great Baſſaes, and eſpecially to *Lutzis* his old acquaintance, upon whom he had beſtowed great Gifts, and was in hope by him to have obtained what he deſired; but all in vain; for *Solyman* who thought it much for his honour to defend his own right, and that he had before given unto King *John*; thought alſo that it would redound both to his great profit and glory, if he ſhould as it were upon charity take upon him the protection of the Widow and Fatherleſs Child, in their ſo great diſtreſs and danger. Wherefore calling unto him the Embaſſadors, the three great Baſſaes ſtanding by, he ſaid, That he had of his meer bounty before given the Kingdom of *Hungary* unto King *John*, to deſcend to his poſterity, ſo long as they ſhould retain the kind remembrance of ſo great a benefit; wherefore to declare his conſtancy, inſeparable from his bounty, he ſaid he would take ſuch a courſe in the matter, as that the Germans his Enemies ſhould not long rejoyce of the Wars they had begun. And in token of friendſhip, and that he had taken upon him the protection of the young King, he cauſed to be delivered unto the Embaſſadors a royal Robe of Purple and Gold, a Buckler with the Boſs moſt curiouſly wrought, a Horſemans Mace with a handle of Gold, and a Scimiter with the Scabberd richly ſet with Stones; and afterwards wrote effectually to *Uſtref* and *Mahometes* his Lieutenants, That they ſhould without delay aid the Queen, and not to make excuſe becauſe it was Winter; threatning them, that if ſhe took any harm through their default and negligence, it ſhould coſt them their Heads. The Queens Embaſſadors glad of their good diſpatch, were ſcarce departed from the Turks Court, when *Laſchus* came to *Conſtantinople*; and underſtanding by his Phyſician the ſucceſs of the Hungarian Embaſſadors, proceeded for all that in his buſineſs, and delivered his Meſſage, and upon reaſonable conditions requeſted the Kingdom for King *Ferdinand*. But when he in ſpeaking had oftentimes made mention of *Charles* the Emperor, as if he would with all the power of *Germany* aid his Brother; *Solyman* was ſo moved therewith, that he was preſently taken away and committed to Priſon; the great Baſſaes, but eſpecially *Ruſtan, Solymans* Son in Law, a proud and furious young Man, chiding him and taking him up as worthy of death, for offending with his liberal Speech the Majeſty of ſo courteous a Prince, and as it were mocking the King of Kings; requiring friendſhip, when in the mean time his Maſter moſt impudently made Wars in *Hungary*.

The Queen craveth aid of Solyman *againſt* Ferdinand.

Solyman *promiſeth to protect the Queen and her Son, againſt* Ferdinand, *and ſends Preſents to the young King.*

Laſchus *King* Ferdinand *his Embaſſador impriſoned by* Solyman.

Uſtref and *Mahometes* the Baſſaes aforeſaid, having received ſuch ſtrait commandment from *Solyman*, aſſembled their diſperſed Souldiers, and by ſhipping brought them down the Rivers *Savus* and *Dravus*, into *Danubius*; for it is a hard matter to perform any great thing by Wars in *Hungary* without the help of a great Fleet, for conveying of the great Ordnance, Victual, and other ſuch neceſſaries of the Army, frome one ſide of the great Rivers to the other, as occaſion requireth; but as then being the midſt of Winter, and the North Wind blowing hard, *Danubius* was ſo Frozen on both ſides, that the middle of the River was ſcarce open; ſo that the Turks not able to paſs for the extremity of the Weather, not daring to return for the ſtrait command of *Solyman*, were enforced in their Tents there to abide the hardneſs of Winter, to ſhew their readineſs. It is almoſt incredible to be ſpoken, with what patience and reſolution the Souldiers endured all the extremities of the time, in ſo bare a place, their Horſes, which of all other things they hold moſt dear, ſtarving for Cold and want of Meat.

The Spring at length coming on, right welcome both to the Turks and the Queen, *Mahometes* with his Turks and wild Illyrians, and *Uſtref* with his Souldiers of *Boſna*, entred into *Hungary*, with whom *Valentinus* General of the Queens Forces, joyned alſo, with an Army of Hungarians brought from *Buda*. And the Queen to further the matter, ſent Preſents to the Turks Generals, victualled the Camp, and furniſhed them with great Ordnance for the beſieging of ſuch Cities as were holden by King *Ferdinand* her Enemy. They paſſing over *Danubius*, took the City of *Vacia* (being but badly defended for King *Ferdinand*) and putting many to the Sword, after the manner of their barbarous Cruelty, burnt the City. From thence they removed to *Peſth*, which was ſo valiantly defended by *Barcocius* and *Fotiſcus*, the one a Hungarian Captain, the other a German, that the Turks deſpairing of the winning of the City, and not well relieved with Victual by the Queen then, fearing future want, paſſed again over *Danubius*, and faithfully reſtoring the great Ordnance without any more doing, returned again into their own Countries; but in their retiring, the Hungarians by the leading of *Ferentius Gnarus*, ſlew many of them, amongſt whom was one *Achomates* one of their beſt and valianteſt Captains.

1541.
The Queen joyneth her Forces with the Turks and burneth Vacia.

Peſth *in vain beſieged by the Turks.*

King *Ferdinand* advertiſed of the Turks departure, returned again to his old hope of recovering the Kingdom; perſwading the Emperor his Brother, not to give over the War ſo fortunately begun, eſpecially now that the Turks having forſaken the Queen, were departed and gone. Wherefore the new Forces lately before raiſed in *Auſtria, Bohemia, Sileſia*, and *Moravia*, for the new ſupply of *Velſius* his Army, were preſently ſent into *Hungary*, under the leading of the Lord *William Rogendorff* Steward of the Kings Houſe, who was then gone as far as *Poſſonium* to have relieved them of *Peſth*; unto whom, as a more ancient and honourable General *Velſius* gave place. He, furniſhed with theſe new Supplies, three months Victuals, and great Artillery from *Vienna*, joyning with the old Army, marched directly to *Buda*, and beſieged it. Overagainſt the ſtately Caſtle of *Buda*, wherein the Queen lay, was a great Hill called St. *Gerrards* Mount, ſo high, that the middle thereof was equal with the higheſt place of the Caſtle, and from the top thereof they might look into the Streets of the City, betwixt which Hill and the Caſtle was a great Valley and a deep Ditch. Upon this Hill, *Rogendorff* to beat the Caſtle, and to terrifie the Queen, planted his Battery, and ſo ſhook a new built Tower thereof, that it was thought that it would have ſuddainly fallen; which if it had, yet was it ſuppoſed a dangerous matter to have aſſaulted it, becauſe it was walled about with a treble Wall. But the ſumptuous Turrets and the princely Galleries of the Kings Palace in the Caſtle, which every Man ſaw *Rogendorff* might have beaten down with his great Ordnance, he ſpared; but whether of himſelf, or elſe commanded by the King (as loath to deſtroy ſo goodly Buildings, as could not without great charges be in long time again repaired) was uncertain. Wherefore by divers Heralds

King Ferdinand *ſendeth the Lord* William Rogendorff *with an Army into* Hungary.

Buda *beſieged.*

Rogendorff *threatns the Queen.*

The Biſhop his ſcornful anſwer to Rogendorff.

A great Breach in the walls of Buda.

The Germans aſſaulting the Breach, are with loſs repulſed.

ſent unto the Queen, he wiſhed her to break in ſunder thoſe Gyves and Fetters wherein the Biſhop under colour of protection, had faſt bound her Son and her, and to accept of King *Ferdinands* offer, who was ready to beſtow upon her a goodly Seigniory, wherein ſhe might moſt honourably live in quiet, and bring up her Son in ſafety. Which thing if ſhe, as a ſimple Woman, and ignorant of her own danger, ſhould refuſe, and obſtinately contemn the peril wherein ſhe ſtood, he would forthwith in moſt terrible manner beat down the Palace about her Ears. Whereunto the Biſhop in the Queens behalf anſwered, That ſhe was not ſuch a Fool to exchange the Kingdom of *Hungary* for the Principality of *Sepuſia*; and that ſhe thought *Rogendorff* a very doting and mad old Man, who being once before well beaten in thoſe Ditches, came now again like a Fool to receive his utter deſtruction in full guerdon of his raſh Folly; wherefore he ſhould ceaſe to terrifie valiant Men, fighting with diſcretion for their natural King and Country, againſt his drunken Company, for that they were nothing troubled with the noiſe of his great Shot; but yet he ſaid, that he would above all the reſt, by way of private courteſie, gently requeſt *Rogendorff* to diſcharge his Pieces with a little leſs noiſe, becauſe he had a Sow at home great with Pigs, which terrified with the thundring of his Guns, would farrow he doubted before her time, to the grief of his Gueſts. For the Biſhop was of a ſharp and taunting Spirit, and ſuch a contemner of the Germans, that when two of them were taken in the Kings Orchards burning certain Houſes, he in deriſion cauſed two Hogs to be hanged upon the ſame Gallows with them. Not long after, *Rogendorff* removed his Camp from St. *Gerrards* Mount, to a more convenient place for the battering of the City, called the *Jews Graves*, near unto the Gate called the *Jews Gate*. Which thing the Biſhop ſeeing, after his quipping manner requeſted of *Rogendorff* to pardon him, in that he had of late wrongfully called him a doting old Man; for that in removing his Camp into a more commodious place, he ſeemed to be a proper wiſe Man and of good diſcretion, now that he had pitched his Tents in a moſt fit place amongſt the dead, both for himſelf being an old Man and almoſt worn with vain labour; and for his Army there condemned to die with him. *Rogendorff* thus encamped, begun in two places to batter the Walls; *Perenus* and the Hungarians with the Bohemians near unto the Gate called *Sabatina* in one place, and he himſelf with the Germans betwixt the *Jews Gate* and the Caſtle in another; which was done with ſuch violence, that a great part of the Wall was beaten down, and another part thereof overcharged with Earth, which the Defendants had caſt up on the inner ſide for the ſtrengthning thereof, was at the ſame time born quite out and ſo fell down, to the wonderful diſmaying of all that were in the City. Which fair opportunity to have taken the City, *Rogendorff* let ſlip, either not well aware thereof by reaſon of the great ſmoke of the Artillery on both ſides, and the Duſt ariſing with the fall of the Wall which covered all; or elſe according to his natural diſpoſition, doing all things leaſurely and ſuſpitiouſly; ſo that a little delay bereft him of the preſent apprehenſion of ſo ſuddain a reſolution; and the Germans uſed more to ſtanding battels than to aſſaults, were not to be ſo eaſily brought on to aſſault the Breach upon the ſuddain, as were the Spaniards, Italians, or French. The Wall was opened in that place almoſt two hundred Paces in length, yet ſtanding almoſt the height of a Man, which might eaſily have been ſcaled with ſhort Ladders; but night was coming now faſt on, wherein the Germans would not willingly attempt any dangerous matter; ſo that the aſſault was deferred until the next morning. Whereas they of *Buda* in the mean time taking the advantage of the Enemies delay, with incredible diligence and labour in that night raiſed up a new Rampier in ſtead of the Wall that was fallen, every Man without exception putting his hand to the Work. In the morning the Germans coming to the Breach, gave ſuch a fierce aſſault unto the new made Rampier, that *Otho Fotiſcus* deſperately entred into a ſhattered Houſe, which joyned unto the Wall; and certain other Companies, one Souldier helping up another, had almoſt recovered the top of the Rampier, and were there ready to have ſet up their Enſigns; when they of *Buda* with wonderful conſtancy and reſolution withſtood the aſſailants, *George* the Biſhop encouraging them, and fighting amongſt them; who having laid aſide his Hood, was now to be ſeen with his Helmet on his Head, running too and fro as need required all alongſt the Rampier. At length the Germans ſeeing themſelves to ſtrive in vain againſt reſolute Men, were enforced to retire. In this aſſault *Rogendorff* loſt above eight hundred Men. *Perenus* was alſo in like manner, but with leſs loſs, repulſed at the other Breach he had made at the Gate *Sabatina*. After that, *Rogendorff* attempted by undermining to have taken the City, but was by Countermines diſappointed of his purpoſe. Yet for all this, they in the City began to feel the want of many things, ſo that it ſeemed they were not able to endure any longer Siege; the common People pinched with Hunger, crying openly out in mutinous ſort, that it was time to yield and make an end of thoſe common miſeries; but ſuch was the Authority of the Biſhop, with his provident foreſight of all urgent events, that once ſhewing himſelf in the Market-place as if he would have Preached, he could turn the peeviſh minded people which way he pleaſed.

Bornemiſſa practiſeth to betray the City of Buda.

After all this, it miſſed but a little, but that this City which could not by Enemies force be won, had by ſhameful Treaſon been loſt; there was at that time in *Buda* one *Bornemiſſa* a Lawyer, who had in former time been Maior of the City; this *Bornemiſſa* exceedingly hated the Biſhop for taking part with a Bankrupt Jew againſt him, and being full of malice, and deſirous of revenge, promiſed to *Revalius* (Martial in the Enemies Camp) to deliver to him the blind Poſtern in St. *Maries* Church-yard, whereby he might enter the City; which Gate ſerved the Citizens in time of Peace to go through to the River. *Rogendorff* the General made acquainted with the matter, ſo liked thereof, that he in himſelf thought it not good, in a matter of ſo great importance, to uſe at all the ſervice of the Hungarians: Quite contrary to that *Bornemiſſa* had requeſted of *Revalius*, who deſirous to have the matter brought to paſs without the ſlaughter of ſo many guiltleſs People as was by him to be betraied, would have had it altogether performed by the Hungarians, who he was in good hope would ſhew mercy unto their Country-men and Kinſmen, and uſe their Victory with more moderation than the Germans, who provoked with many deſpights, and coming in by night, were like enough to make great effuſion of Blood. But *Rogendorff* after the manner of his Nation, to be counted politick, uſing to keep promiſe with no Man, and hoping by excluding the Hungarians, to have all the glory of the conceived Victory wholly to himſelf; made as if he would

have

Bornemiſſa receiveth in the Germans by a Poſtern, ſuppoſing them to have been Hungarians.

The Germans not conducted, are diſcovered and diſcomfited.

have uſed only the Hungarians, and glozed with *Revalius*, whoſe Son for the more aſſurance he took as a Pledge; For againſt the appointed hour, which was about midnight, having before given ſtraight charge that no Man ſhould ſtir in the Camp, he ſent four ſelect Companies of Germans with great ſilence unto the Poſtern; at which time his Son *Condi* ſtood with a ſtrong Troop of Horſemen, ready to have entred, at ſuch time as the Germans (received into the City) ſhould break open the great Gate, as was before agreed. Neither did *Bornemiſſa* fail to perform what he had as a Traitor promiſed; but opening the Poſtern we ſpake of, had with great ſilence received in moſt part of thoſe German Companies. But when he ſtill asked ſoftly of them as they came in, for *Revalius*, and heard them anſwer nothing but in the German Language; although he was otherwiſe a Man of a bold Spirit, yet then ſurpriſed with a ſuddain fear (as it oftentimes chanceth in ſuch actions to Men deceived of their expectation) he ſtood as a Man amazed that knew not what to do, and forgot to conduct the Germans, who altogether unacquainted with the City, knew not which way firſt to go; and ſtealing on ſoftly in the dark, went on with no great courage, for fear of Treaſon, ſtill asking of them that followed, for him that ſhould direct them. The Germans could not go ſo cloſely, but that they were by the clattering of their Armor and the light of their Matches, deſcried by the Watch; who asking for the Word, and they not giving it, preſently raiſed an Alarm; but now all too late, the City being as good as half taken, had the Germans well conducted, reſolutely gone on with the matter ſo well begun; but they ignorant of the way, and now deſcried and chaſed with their own fear, ran back again to the Poſtern, in ſuch haſt, that one of them miſerably wronged another, in ſtriving who ſhould get out firſt; and their paſſage out much letted by the Pikes and Weapons which they which fled firſt had caſt croſs the way to run the lighter into the Camp. The firſt that ſet upon the Germans was *Bacianus*, who had that night the charge of the Watch; and after him *Vicche*, who kept the Court of Guard in the Market-place; and hearing the Alarm, came thither with a ſtrong Company both of Horſemen and Footmen. Many of the moſt valiant Germans, who coming in firſt, were in flight become laſt, were ſlain or taken, and amongſt them many of *Bornemiſſa* his Familiars and Friends (as for himſelf, he was got out among the formoſt) from whom the Biſhop by exquiſite Torture wrung out the whole Plot of the Treaſon, and afterwards cauſed them to be ſeverally executed to the terror of others. *Revalius* in the mean time complaining in the Camp, That he was deceived by the General; and *Bornemiſſa* wofully lamenting, That having worthily got the name of an infamous Traitor, he had thereby loſt all his Subſtance and undone his Friends and Kindred. The General *Rogendorff* (condemned even of the common Souldiers, for his fooliſh Arrogancy and Pride) was hardly ſpoken of through all the Camp, as he that by too much inſolency had overthrown the faireſt occaſion of a moſt goodly Victory; wherefore from that time he attempted no great matter, but ſet himſelf down by long ſiege to tame his Enemies, and ſo to win the City.

Solyman at one time maintaineth Wars in divers places of the world far diſtant.

Solyman underſtanding of the Queens diſtreſs in *Hungary*, and with what deſire *Ferdinand* (ſupported by the Emperor his Brother) thirſted after that Kingdom; conſulted with his Baſſaes, of the purpoſes and power of his Enemies, both there and elſewhere; and politickly reſolved at one time, with his divided Forces, to withſtand their attempts in divers places, and thoſe far diſtant one from another, whereby the greatneſs of his power is well to be perceived. Firſt, he ſent *Solyman* Baſſa an Eunuch to *Babylon*, to defend the Country of *Meſopotamia*, and the Frontiers of his Empire alongſt the River *Tygris*, againſt *Tamas* the Perſian King. *Mahometes* another of his great Baſſaes, he ſent into *Hungary* to relieve the beſieged Queen; and after him, *Uſtref* Baſſa, which was the fourth of his chief Baſſaes, with another Army to ſtay at *Belgrade*, in readineſs to aid the other Baſſa ſent before him, as occaſion ſhould require, if he ſhould find his Enemies too ſtrong. Unto *Barbaruſſa* he committed his Navy, for the defence of *Grecia* and *Epirus* againſt *Auria*, who but a little before, aided by the Gallies of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, had driven the Turks and Moors (which took part with the Turks) out of *Clupea*, *Neapolis*, *Adrumentum*, *Ruſpina*, *Tapſus*, and all alongſt that Coaſt of *Africk* which the Moors call *Mahomedia*, except the City of *Leptis*, and cauſed thoſe Cities to ſubmit themſelves to the Government of *Muleaſſes* King of *Tunes*. Theſe Cities are at this day called *Calabia*; *Suſa*, *Mahometa*, *Monaſterim*, *Sfaxia*, and *Africa*. And becauſe *Solyman* underſtood, that *Maylat* the Vayvod of *Tranſylvania* took part with King *Ferdinand*, he ſent againſt him *Achomates* Governour of *Nicopolis*; and commanded *Peter* of *Moldavia*, Prince of *Valachia*, to aid him; who afterwards accordingly came unto him with thirty thouſand Horſemen. He himſelf alſo doubting the purpoſes of the Chriſtian Princes, and eſpecially of *Charles* the Emperor, more than he had need, came to *Hadrinople*, and in the Countries thereabouts raiſed a third Army, to aid the two Baſſaes ſent before into *Hungary*; keeping with him his Son in Law *Ruſtan*, whom he had made one of the four great Baſſaes of his Council, having thruſt out *Luftibeius*, whom the Turks call *Lutzis*, his Brother in Law, and exiled him into *Macedonia* for evil entreating and ſtriking his Wife, which was *Solymans* Siſter, as is before ſaid, but was at this time done.

Mahometes Baſſa cometh with the Turks Army to relieve Buda.

The order of King Ferdinands Army.

Mahometes the Baſſa deſirous to do his great Maſter the beſt ſervice he could, entred into *Hungary* with his Army about the middle of *June* in the year 1541, taking with him in his way the other *Mahometes* Governour of *Belgrade*, who gave the ſhameful overthrow unto the Chriſtians at *Exek*; joyning alſo with him the power of *Boſna*, now commanded by *Ulamas* the Perſian, for that *Uſtref* the old Baſſa was lately dead. The Captains of the Chriſtian Army hearing of the coming of the Turks, entred into Counſel, Whether they ſhould continue the Siege, or elſe go and meet them by the way and give them Battel. But the Period of the Hungarian Kingdom drawing faſt on, and the inevitable Deſtiny thereof ſo requiring; the opinion of *Rogendorff* prevail'd againſt the reſt for the continuing of the Siege, he ſeeming more willing to die than to croſs over the River to *Peſth*, or to retire to *Vicegrade* or *Strigonium*, as divers would have perſwaded him; wherefore he removed from the place where he lay before, and encamped his Army on the further ſide of the City, at the foot of St. *Gerrards* Mount, where the Hill lying between *Buda* and the Camp, and departing from the River, leaveth a fair Plain toward the Eaſt; of purpoſe that the Turks (which he knew would not go far from the River and their Fleet) ſhould be enforced dangerouſly to paſs by the Mouth of his great Ordnance;

which he had aptly placed upon the front of his Trenches; for ſuch was the nature of the place, that the Camp lay defended on the right hand with the ſteep Hill, on the left hand with the River, and behind toward the City with a ſtrong Bulwark. Upon the right hand, upon a little riſing ground, he placed the leſſer Camp, wherein were the Hungarians which favoured King *Ferdinand*, and then followed his Enſigns. He made alſo a Bridge from his Camp into a little Iſland which lay in the River, and with a Fort well planted with Ordnance commanded both the River and the Plain, ſo to beat the Enemies Fleet coming up the River, and themſelves alſo as they ſhould march alongſt the Plain. He was about alſo to have made a Bridge of Lighters and Boats quite over the River, from his Camp to *Peſth*, and in this order to expect the coming of new ſupplies from King *Ferdinand*, and to repel the Enemy who was coming, and with long Siege to weary them in *Buda*; for there was ſuch ſtore both of Victual and all other warlike Proviſion in *Peſth*, as would well have ſufficed his Army until Winter had been ſpent. As ſoon as the Turks were come nigh the City, *Valentinus* as an Embaſſador from the Queen, met them with two thouſand Horſe, and fully inſtructed both the *Mahomets*, what the Chriſtians did; what ſtrength they were of, and how they might moſt conveniently encamp their Army. Wherefore the Baſſa marching on boldly forward, came within half a mile of the Chriſtian Camp, where he quickly intrenched himſelf round with a ſtrong Trench, filling a great part of the Plain with his Tents. But the other *Mahometes*, Governour of *Belgrade*, a moſt politick Captain, took the higher ground towards the riſing of the Hill, nearer unto the Tents of the Hungarians than of the Germans. Unto theſe two Armies thus encamped, belonged alſo two Fleets; the Chriſtian Fleet conſiſted of four and twenty Galliots, about fourſcore ſmall Pinnaces, and little leſs than a hundred Ships of burden and other great Boats; whereas the Turks Fleet was not thought to be paſt half ſo great. Near unto the little Iſland, joyned as we have before ſaid by a Bridge to the Chriſtian Camp, beneath in the River had the Turks taken another Iſland called *Cepellia*, over againſt their own Camp; where caſting up a great Bulwark in the uppermoſt end thereof, and planting it with great Ordnance, they from thence ſhot at the Fort which the Chriſtians held in the little Iſland, and at their Veſſels paſſing to and fro in the River, as the Chriſtians did at them likewiſe. This Iſland of *Cepellia* lyeth ſomewhat more than forty miles in length in the River *Danubius*, full of Country Villages, ſo commodiouſly, that if *Rogendorff* had at the firſt taken it and fortified it, before the coming of the Turks, as the Hungarians perſwaded him to have done, the Turks could by no means have encamped in the Plain, but muſt needs have forſaken their Fleet, fetching a great compaſs about more toward the Weſt, further off from the River; which would have turned to the Turks great diſadvantage. *But no Man is ſo wiſe as to foreſee all things, when as the very evil ſucceſs, be the Plot never ſo well laied, ſhall of it ſelf, beſide the loſs, leave unto the unfortunate Man the Note of the want of provident foreſight and diſcretion.* But *Rogendorff* was not willing to divide his Forces, until he had ſome new ſupply from King *Ferdinand*. Whilſt the Armies lay thus near one to the other, there were ſome light skirmiſhes made every day, either by the Horſemen or the Footmen, and ſometime one brave Man challenging forth another hand to hand, whom he thought by his Armor or ſome other ſign of his worth, to be like to himſelf; which was ſo pleaſant a ſight to behold, that both the Armies upon a military courteſie, as if it had been ſo agreed, would many times for certain hours forbear to ſhoot any ſhot, of purpoſe to ſee thoſe Gallants, with true Prowess to prove their Valour and Manhood one upon another with their Spears and Swords only. In which light skirmiſhes the German Horſemen were often times put to the worſt; who mounted upon great heavy Horſes, fitter for a ſet Battel, could neither ſo readily charge the Enemy, nor purſue him in his flight; as could the Turks with their nimble and ready light Horſes, ſo well acquainted with that manner of flying fight, that they would with wheeling about eaſily fruſtrate the firſt charge of the heavy Horſemen, and by and by come upon them again with a freſh charge, and ſo oft retire and come on again, until they had either wearied or overthrown them. But the Hungarians acquainted with that manner of fight as well as they, and alſo better armed, did eaſily encounter the Turks, and foil them, although they were in number more.

The Baſſa entrencheth his Army within half a mile of the Kings Army.

Skirmiſhes betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

Rayſchachius *for ſorrow of his Son ſlain by the Turks, ſuddainly dieth.*

There was amongſt the German Captains a Nobleman called *Eckius Rayſchachius*, whoſe Son (a valiant young Gentleman) being got out of the Army without his Fathers knowledge, bare himſelf ſo gallantly in fight againſt the Enemy in the ſight of his Father and of the Army, that he was highly commended of all Men, and eſpecially of his Father, who knew him not at all; yet before he could clear himſelf, he was compaſſed in of the Enemy, and valiantly fighting, ſlain. *Rayſchachius* exceedingly moved with the death of ſo brave a Man, ignorant how near it touched himſelf, turning about to the other Captains ſaid, This worthy Gentleman, whatſoever he be, is worthy of eternal commendation, and to be moſt honourably buried by the whole Army. As the reſt of the Captains were with like compaſſion approving his Speech, the dead Body of the unfortunate Son reſcued, was preſented to the moſt miſerable Father; which cauſed all them that were there preſent to ſhed Tears; but ſuch a ſuddain and inward grief ſurpriſed the aged Father, and ſtruck ſo to his Heart, that after he had ſtood a while Speechleſs, with his Eies ſet in his Head, he ſuddainly fell down dead. From that time the General commanded, That no Man ſhould upon pain of death go out of the Army to skirmiſh with the Enemy without leave; wherein he was ſo ſevere, that he hanged up one or two that preſumed to tranſgreſs his Commandment; which thing much diſcouraged his own Men, and ſo encouraged the Enemy, that they would ſometime brave the Chriſtians upon the top of their own Trenches.

Many days had now paſſed ſince the coming of the Baſſa, the Turks and they of *Buda* daily encreaſing both in ſtrength and courage; when on the other ſide, faint courage, weak ſtrength, troubled council, uncertain reſolution, the ominous ſigns of an undoubted overthrow, were eaſie to be ſeen; and hope it ſelf, the ſtay of all human Actions, eſpecially of Martial Affairs, almoſt loſt; the only things that held their fainting Hearts, was the often Letters of King *Ferdinand*, and the firm opinion they had conceived, That *Charles* the Emperor would not in ſo great a danger fail to aid his Brother, both with Men and Mony; and laſt of all, the firm reſolution of a General, which far paſſed all reaſon, the ſooner to draw him to his end. The Armies lying in this order, the Turks from the higher ground, and out of *Cepellia*, perceiving

The Turks ſuddainly aſſail the Chriſtians in the Iſland.

the Germans in the little Iſland as careleſs men to keep but negligent Watch, agreed amongſt themſelves at one inſtant out of both their Camps, to aſſail divers of their Forts; and ſo in the break of the day landed with their Fleet ſo cloſely and ſuddainly to the Iſland, that they had ſlain almoſt ſix hundred of the Germans, before they were throughly awake or could well arm themſelves; wherewith the reſt were put in ſuch a fear, that they fled to the Camp in ſuch haſte, that many of them fell beſide the Bridge and were drowned in the River. All the Camp was wonderfully troubled with the ſuddaineſs of the matter, the Turks with their hideous cries raiſing the Alarm in divers places at once; yet for all that, certain German Companies in one of the Forts neareſt unto the River, and the Souldiers in the Fleet, well declared their preſent reſolution and valiant courage, in recovering again of the Iſland. For *Herbeſtulſus* the Camp-Maſter, perſwading them not to ſuffer the Chriſtian Enſigns and great Ordnance to be ſo ſhamefully carried away of the Turks; and *Marius* the Admiral at the ſame time landing divers Companies in the Iſland with his Pinnaces and great Boats; they ſo couragiouſly charged the Turks, then buſied in the ſpoiling of the dead bodies and drawing away of the great Ordnance, that they drave them again into their Boats, leaving unto them as Victors, both the Iſland and the Ordnance, having before their departure, received no leſs loſs themſelves than had the Germans before.

It was reported, that the Turks Fleet might that day have been quite overthrown, if the Chriſtians uſing the Victory, and holpen with the courſe of that ſwift River, had couragiouſly purſued them and landed with them. But many things after a matter is done are eaſily ſeen, which in the very heat and hurl of the danger cannot be foreſeen; foraſmuch as ſuddain accidents attended with great peril, do oftentimes dazel the minds of right wiſe and valiant Captains; yet four of the Turks Pinnaces were ſunk, and three taken, and many of the Turks ſlain or drowned in the River. Shortly after, the Turks more and more encouraged with the multitude of themſelves, and the fearfulneſs they perceived in their Enemies, did at ſundry times ſo inſolently trouble and aſſail the Camp of the Chriſtians on every ſide, that they left them almoſt no time of reſt, one Company ſtill ſucceeding another, ſo that they were almoſt in deſpair, to be able long to defend their Camp, the Enemy ſtill growing both in Strength and Courage. For the Baſſa that lay at *Belgrade*, ſtill taking unto him the ſick and wounded Souldiers, ſent continually freſh men in their ſtead; and *Valentius* taking unto him a Company of the Turks Janizaries Harquebuſiers, had driven *Perenus* with the Hungarian Horſemen out of the upper Camp. So that they in the neither Camp were now hardly beſet with their Enemies on every ſide; yet were they well holpen by the great Artillery from *Peſth*, which much troubled *Valentinus* and his Horſemen in aſſailing the Camp on that ſide.

Valentinus *General for the Queen in* **Buda**, *certifieth* **Perenus** *of the coming of* **Solyman.**

Some report that *Valentinus*, not greatly angry with the Hungarian baniſhed men, but with the Germans, did by the way of private courteſie and Friendſhip, by a faithful Souldier wiſh *Perenus* ſpeedily to provide for the ſafety of himſelf and of the Hungarians with him; for that there was a great Beaſt coming, which would at one morſel devour them all. For *Solyman* advertiſed of the doings of the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, thinking that they would have come down to *Buda* with a puiſſant Army, was reſolved to be preſent himſelf at ſo notable a Battel, and was therefore coming thither with his Army in all haſte. Wherefore *Perenus* thus forewarned, ſaid plainly to *Rogendorff* and the other Captains, That except they would preſently riſe with the Army and depart, he would now whiles he had yet time, make ſhift for himſelf and his Countrymen. Their opinions diverſly delivered, at laſt they all agreed, that it was beſt the next night to paſs over the River to *Peſth*; only the General upon a fatal obſtinacy ſaid, He would not without King *Ferdinands* commandment depart from *Buda*; and therefore ſent Count *Salma* with a ſwift Pinnace up the River to *Vienna* to know his pleaſure therein. In the mean time urged with fear, *Perenus* fretting at their long ſtay, it was reſolved upon, that they ſhould the next night after the Moon was down, paſs over the River in four Convoies to *Peſth*. In the firſt, were to paſs over the Hungarians, with their great Ordnance. In the ſecond, the German and Bohemian Horſemen; and in the other two, the Footmen, and the Baggage of the Army. For it was not ſo eaſie a matter to make a Bridge over *Danubius*, as they had at firſt ſuppoſed; for after they had begun it, and almoſt planked it, there roſe ſuch a Wind and Tempeſt, and the violent River became ſo rough, that the Timber wherewith the Bridge was faſtned together was broken, the Joynts unloſed, and many of the Boats whereof the Bridge was framed, their Cables being broken, were carried away by the force of the Stream. The firſt and the ſecond Convoy Fortune ſo favoured, that they well paſſed over; for although they of *Buda* and the Turks, ſeeing in the day time from their high places the Fleet drawing together into one place, might have ſome ſuſpition of the matter, ſome gheſſing one thing and ſome another; yet could they foreſee nothing of the ſuddain departure of the Enemy: But that multitude of Ships and Boats now paſſing too and fro, could not long deceive the attentive and vigilant Enemy; and ſo much the leſs, for that two Fugitive Hungarians even then diſcovered to the Biſhop the Flight of the Germans; who preſently certified the Baſſa, and the other, *Mahometes* thereof, which without further delay came almoſt with all their power to aſſault the Chriſtians in their Camp; the great Ordnance was brought forth, and after the Janizaries and other Footmen, followed the Horſemen, diſmounted from their Horſes to do the better ſervice; who all with a horrible cry aſſailed the Trenches. Then began the Germans to quail, their Flight being now diſcovered; yet did they with the Bohemians for a while notably reſiſt the Enemy. All the Camp was filled with tumult and confuſion, and eſpecially at the River ſide, every man in that great fear ſtriving to get aboard, without regard of order or ſhame; for the dead time of the night then covered with dark and thick Clouds, made all things more terrible, even unto them which were of beſt courage; the Authority of *Rogendorff* the General (in the darkneſs of the night, and ſo great clamor both of his own People and of the Enemy, and the thundring of the Ordnance) was as nothing; he (beſides that he was then ſick in mind) lay in his bed wounded, by a wonderful and fatal chance; for as he was writing Letters to the King, a Faulcon-Shot out of the Enemies Camp falling in his Tent, and ſtriking in ſunder a Cheſt which ſtood there, wounded him grievouſly in the left Shoulder with a Splinter of the ſame. The other Captains of the Footmen, envying that the Horſemen were ſo well eſcaped, ſtood as men more careful of themſelves than of the common danger, faintly reſiſting the Enemy. The uppermoſt Tents, wherein *Perenus* lay, were

The Chriſtians Army departeth by night from **Buda.**

The Turks aſſail the Chriſtians in their Camp at their departure

firſt

A miſchievous practiſe of the Biſhop.

Great ſlaughter of the Chriſtians.

firſt taken by *Mahometes* of *Belgrade*, and *Valentinus*, and the German Footmen chaſed all over Saint *Gerrards* Mount. They of *Buda* alſo ſallied out, and entred the Camp on that ſide which was next unto the City, and with Wild-Fire burnt the Tents a little before forſaken by the Germans. And the Biſhop at the ſame time cauſed a great Stack of Straw ſtanding by the Kings Stables near unto the Rivers-ſide, to be ſet on fire; which gave ſuch a light, that a man might have ſeen all over *Danubius* unto the Walls of *Peſth*, as if it had been light day; whereby the great confuſion of the Chriſtian Army by Land, as well as the ſhameful flight by Water, was of the Turks plainly diſcovered. Then was the great Artillery from every place diſcharged upon the flying Fleet, as well from *Buda* as the Turks Camp. And to increaſe the fear, *Caſon* the Turks Admiral rowing with his light Boats againſt the Stream, ſet upon the Ships croſſing the River to *Peſth*, where he took certain Boats loaded with Souldiers, and with his great Ordnance ſunk divers others; ſo that the River was filled with dead Bodies, and the miſerable Company of Souldiers and Mariners laboured to ſave their Lives by ſwiming; for at ſuch time as the Janizaries having ſlain the firſt Companies, were broken into the lower Camp; and the reſt of the Germans flying over the Bridge into the little Iſland, were there ſlain without mercy, by the Turks purſuing them, many of them leaping into the River and there periſhed. Three hundred Sail of one ſort of Ships and other, were ſo confuſed and mingled together, that *Danubius* ſeemed that night to have been covered over, as if it had been with a great Bridge. But the Chriſtian Fleet ſeeing all loſt, cleared themſelves ſo ſoon as they could of the Turks; and ſo beating them back with their great Ordnance out of the Poups of their Ships, got up the River to *Comora*. The reſt of the Land-Forces endured the ſame Fortune in the Camp, of whom the Bohemians died moſt honourably, ſlain by the Enemy in Fight.* Many falling into the hands of them of *Buda*, were ſaved or ſlain, as was their Fortune to fall into the power of a merciful or mercileſs man. But the Sun riſing, plainly diſcovered the Slaughter of the Chriſtians, and the Victory of the Turks, not ſo well before known. There were about three thouſand men of one ſort and other, who in warlike manner had taken a little Hill by Saint *Gerrards* Church, and there ſtood upon their guard, until ſuch time as more than two thouſand of them were ſlain; the reſt caſting away their Weapons yielded in hope of life, and were reſerved for a ſpectacle more grievous than death it ſelf.

Peſth *taken by Caſon, Admiral of the Turks Fleet.*

Rogendorff againſt his Will carried away by his Phyſician and Chamberlain to Comora, *there dieth.*

Solyman *cometh to* Buda.

At the ſame time *Caſon* with his victorious Fleet coming to the Shore of *Peſth*, brought ſuch a fear upon them that were eſcaped thither, and might eaſily have defended the Walls, (only with the cry of his Souldiers and the thundering of the Artillery) that the Horſemen for haſte to get out, were like to overrun one another. The Germans had at that time ſo much forgot their wonted Valour, and ſo trembled at the name of the Turks, that as ſoon as they ſaw their white Caps, in their Ships, they ran away as men diſmaied, unarmed, leaving behind them their Plate, their Carriages, and whatſoever good thing they had elſe. Yet ſome of the Hungarian Horſemen more deſirous of the Spoil than afraid of death, ſtaid behind rifling the Merchant Shops; for *Peſth* was become a very rich Mart-Town, for all kind of Merchandiſe, Merchants reſorting thither from all other places of the troubled Country, as to a ſtrong and commodious City, and of more ſafety than the reſt. But *Caſon* now entring without reſiſtance, ſlew ſome of thoſe greedy Hungarians, and ran through the Town with ſuch barbarous Cruelty and Thirſt of the Chriſtian Blood, that he ſpared neither Man, Woman, nor Child, except ſome few, which either for their Beauty or Strength of Body were reſerved for the Turks beaſtly Luſt, or ſlaviſh Labor; ſo that in this War it is reported more than twenty thouſand Chriſtians were one way and other by divers chances ſlain. There was taken at *Peſth*, in the Camp and in the Iſland thirty ſix great Pieces for Battery, of wonderful Beauty; and of leſſer Field Pieces an hundred and fifty. As for Shot, Powder, Armour, Weapons, and Victual provided for Winter, ſuch ſtore was found, that the Turks accounted it for the greateſt part of their Victory. *Rogendorff* the unfortunate General, at ſuch time as the Turks having won the Trenches, were fighting in the midſt of his Camp, deſiring rather to be ſlain in his Tent, than to live after ſo great an overthrow, was againſt his Will by ſtrong hand carried aboard a little Pinnace by his Phyſician and Chamberlain, which would not leave him as he lay, and was ſo conveyed up the River to the Iſland of *Comora*; where he ſhortly after, partly for the painfulneſs of his Wound, but more for grief of mind, died in a little Country Village called *Samarium*, leaving unto the Germans a woful remembrance of his accurſed obſtinacy and pride. *Solyman* ſtill doubting the coming of *Charles* the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* to *Buda*, was coming with his Army from *Hadrianople* in ſuch haſte, that he cauſed the Janizaries, his beſt Footmen, contrary to their manner, to march as faſt as his Horſemen; but underſtanding by the way, of the late Victory obtained by his Captains, he took more leaſure, and came with a great power to *Buda* in *Auguſt*, and there incamped on the other ſide of the City, to avoid the noiſome ſavour of the dead Bodies, which lay yet unburied. Where calling unto him the other Army, and making one huge Camp of both, he highly commended all his Captains, but eſpecially the two *Mahometes*. And underſtanding that the Victory was eſpecially gotten by the means of *Mahometes* Governor of *Belgrade*, he made him General of all his Europeian Horſemen, one of the moſt honourable Preferments of the Turkiſh Empire; the other Captains he rewarded according as they had deſerved, and withal augmented their Pay.

Turkiſh Cruelty.

After that, he cauſed the Priſoners, in number about eight hundred, to be brought out; who bound in long Ropes, were in deriſion led all alongſt the Army, ranged in order of Battel, and afterward by his commandment ſlain by his young Souldiers; ſaying with ſevere countenance, that they were worthy of ſuch death, which by Embaſſadors diſſemblingly entreating of Peace, had in the mean time craftily waged War. Amongſt theſe Priſoners was one Souldier of *Bavaria* of an exceeding high Stature; him in deſpight of the German Nation he delivered to a little Dwarf (whom his Sons made great account of) to be ſlain, whoſe head was ſcarce ſo high as the Knees of the tall Captive; with that cruel ſpight to aggravate the indignity of his death; when as that goodly tall man, mangled about the Legs a long time by that apiſh Dwarf with his little Scimeter, as if it had been in diſport, fell down, and was with many feeble blows hardly at laſt ſlain by that Wretch, ſtill heartned on by others, to ſatisfie the Eyes of the Princes, beholding it as their Sport.

This barbarous and cruel execution done, *Solyman* ſent his Embaſſadors with Preſents to the young King, which were three beautiful Horſes, with their Bridles of Gold, and their Trappings

richly

Solyman ſends for the young King into the Camp.

The Queen ſendeth the young King her Son to Solyman in the Camp attended with the Nobility.

Solyman courteouſly receiveth the young King.

richly ſet with precious Stones, and three Royal Robes of Cloth of Gold; and unto the chief of the Nobility he ſent rich Gowns and Chains of Gold. The Embaſſadors which brought theſe Preſents, in courteous manner requeſted of the Queen, to ſend the young King her Son, attended with his Nobility, into the Camp, and without all fear, to hope that all ſhould go well both with her and her Son; for that *Solyman*, who exceeded all other Kings, not in Power and Fortune only, but in Vertue and upright dealing alſo, was of ſuch an heroical Diſpoſition, that he would not only defend the Child, whom in the right of his Father he had once thought worthy his Protection and Favour, Victory confirming the ſame, but would alſo augment his Eſtate, with the largeſt Bounds of his ancient Kingdom. Wherefore he was deſirous to ſee the young King, and to behold in him the repreſentation of his Father, and with his own hand to deliver him to be imbraced of his Sons; that of his Protection renewed, ſo happily begun, might be grounded a firm and perpetual Friendſhip with the *Othoman* Kings; and that he would always account of her as of his Daughter. But the cauſe why he came not to ſee her, which he did in courteſie deſire, was for that by ancient cuſtom the *Othoman* Kings were forbidden that point of courteſie, to viſit other mens Wives in their Houſes. Beſides that, *Solyman* (they ſaid) was not ſo forgetful of his Modeſty and Honour, as to receive into his Pavillion the Daughter of a King his Friend and Ally, and ſhe the late Wiſe of a King his Friend and Tributary, and the fair young Mother of a Son, growing in the hope of like Regal Dignity, for fear he ſhould draw into any ſuſpition the inviolate name of her Chaſtity, which in Queens was to be guarded with an eſpecial and wonderful care. Whereunto the Queen (a manifeſt fear confounding the tender Senſes in her Motherly Affection) anſwered very doubtfully; but the Biſhop perſwading her, and inſtantly requeſting her, not to give the Turks occaſion to ſuſpect, that ſhe had them in diſtruſt, by her little and unprofitable delay; ſent her young Son in Princely ſwathing Clothes, in a rich Chariot, with his Nurſe and certain great Ladies unto the Camp, attended upon with almoſt all the Nobility to whom *Solyman* had ſent Preſents. In his coming to the Camp, he was for honours ſake met upon the way by certain gallant Troops of the Turks brave Horſemen; and all the way as he paſſed in the Camp, orderly ſtood the Janizaries of *Solymans* Guard. As ſoon as he was brought into the Camp, *Solyman* courteouſly looked upon him, and familiarly talked with the Nurſe, and commanded his Sons there preſent to take him in their Arms, and to kiſs him, in certain token of the love they would bear him, whom they were in time to have their Friend and Tributary, when he was grown to mans eſtate; theſe were *Selymus* and *Bajazet*, begotten of his fair Concubine *Roxalana*; bearing the Names, the one of his Grandfather, the other of his great Grandfather. As for *Muſtapha* his eldeſt Son by his Circaſſian Wife, he then lived in *Magneſia* a great way off; who though he was a Prince of ſo great hope, as never any of the Turkiſh Kings had a Son of greater, and was therefore exceedingly beloved of the Men of War; yet was he not ſo well liked of his Father, brought out of favour with him by *Roxalana*, as if he had traiterouſly gone about to take the Empire from him, yet living, as did *Selymus* his Grandfather from *Bajazet*; for which cauſe *Solyman* ſecretly purpoſed to take him away, as afterwards he did, and to appoint *Selymus* for his Succeſſor, as hereafter ſhall appear.

Solyman craftily taketh the City of Buda.

Solyman detaineth the Noblemen of Hungary in his Camp.

But *Solyman* at ſuch time as the Noblemen of *Hungary* were dining merrily with the Baſſaes, had commanded certain Companies (to whom he had before given inſtructions what he would have done) under the colour of ſeeing the City, to take one of the Gates called *Sabatina*, and the chief Streets; which was done ſo quietly and cunningly, that a wary Watchman ſtanding there and beholding the manner of the Turks coming and going too and fro, could hardly have perceived how the Gate was taken, until it was too late. For many of the Turks walking fair and ſoftly by great Companies into the City, as if it had been but for pleaſure, to have ſeen it; and other ſome to colour the matter, walking likewiſe back again, as if they had ſufficiently viewed the City; by that means they without any tumult or ſtir quickly took the appointed Gate, with the Market place and chief Streets of the City Which ſo finely done, the Captain of the Janizaries cauſed Proclamation to be made in all parts of the City, That the Citizens ſhould without fear keep themſelves within their Houſes, and forthwith, as they would have their Lives, Liberty, and Goods ſaved, to deliver all their Weapons; which they ſeeing no remedy, did; and having delivered their Arms, and taken the Turks Faith for their ſecurity, they received them into their Houſes as their unwelcome Gueſts. But ſuch was the quietneſs and modeſty of the Turks, by reaſon of the ſeverity of their Martial Diſcipline, that no Citizen which took them into their Houſes, was by them wronged by Word or Deed. *Solyman* underſtanding that the City was thus quietly and without reſiſtance taken, ſent the Child back again unto the Queen, although it was now almoſt night; but the chief Noblemen he retained ſtill with him; theſe were *George* the Biſhop and Treaſurer, *Petrus Viache* the young Kings nigh Kinſman and one of his Tutors, *Valentinus Turaccus* General of the Queens Forces, *Stephanus Verbetius* Chancellor, and *Bacianus Urbanus* Governor of the City of *Buda*. This ſuddain and unexpected change exceedingly troubled all their minds, and ſo much the more, for that the great Baſſaes with changed countenance began to pick quarrels with them, and as it were ſtraightly and impudently to examine them, and to call them to account for all that they had done. The Queen ſeeing the City ſo craftily ſurpriſed, and the Nobility injuriouſly detained in the Camp, troubled with fear and grief, by humble Letters requeſted *Solyman* not to forget the Faith he had long before given unto her, and even of late confirmed by his Embaſſadors; but mindful both thereof, and of his wonted Clemency, to ſend back unto her the Noblemen, who for their Fidelity and valiant Service had well deſerved both of him and her; this ſhe did by *Ruſtemes* Baſſa, whom ſhe had loaded with Gifts, and amongſt other things of great price, had ſent him a fair Coronet of her own, and a goodly Jewel ſet with rich Stones, to ſend unto his Wife (*Solymans* Daughter) for a Preſent.

The great Baſſaes of divers opinions for the diſpoſing of the Kingdom of Hungary.

After that, *Solyman* conſulted with his Baſſaes four days, what order to take concerning the Kingdom of *Hungary*; in diſcourſe whereof his great Baſſaes were of divers opinions. *Mahometes* adviſed him to carry away with him to *Conſtantinople*, both the young Child and all the Nobility, and to leave ſuch a Governor in *Buda*, as by his wiſe and moderate Government, rather than by rigour, might put the People out of fear of Servitude and Bondage, by defending them from wrong, and yet by little and little lay upon them the yoke of the Turkiſh Government. But *Ruſtemes* Baſſa (before corrupted, and a man in greater favour than the reſt, becauſe he was *Solymans* Son in Law, and therefore further from all ſuſpition of Flattery) ſtood altogether upon terms of honour; ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonourable unto ſo great and mighty a Monarch, who never had at any time with any Spot or Stain blemiſhed the Glory of his Name, than after Victory, againſt all right and reaſon to break his Faith at once with a weak Woman and ſilly Infant, whom he had before taken upon him to protect and defend. On the other ſide, *Mahometes* Governor of *Belgrade* (an old mortal Enemy of the Chriſtians, of all the reſt beſt acquainted with the ſtate of *Hungary*, and for his great experience and approved Valour, then extraordinarily admitted by *Solyman* into Council among the great Baſſaes) diſliked of both the former opinions, as too full of Lenity; and being asked his own, delivered it in this miſchievous manner as followeth:

The Oration of Mahometes *of* Belgrade *to* Solyman, *concerning the diſpoſing of the Kingdom of* Hungary.

I know (ſaid he) *moſt mighty* Solyman, *that he which in conſultation of matters of ſo great conſequence is to deliver his opinion laſt, ſhall if he diſſent from the reſt, be ſubject to envy and reprehenſion. And therefore it cannot be, but that I being of a quite contrary opinion to them that have before ſpoken, my ſpeech muſt be unto your Ears both unpleaſant and tedious. But I refuſe not to be counted by my ſelf, yea and preſumptuous, if you will ſo have it, rather than a ſmoother up of other mens ſayings, as one of no Judgment; whilſt I recount thoſe things, which as the preſent caſe ſtandeth, may wonderfully profit your deſigns and the Imperial State; for of right I may deſire you to yield a little to my years, and (if I may by your good favour ſo ſay) to that I have already done; when as I, now grown an old man in Wars againſt theſe Hungarians, have by experience learned thoſe things of the State and Strength of this Kingdom, and the diſpoſition of the People, which being here laid down, may much avail for your better determination of this ſo weighty a cauſe as admitteth no repentance if you ſhall now be overſeen therein. You have now within the ſpace of theſe twenty years come in Wars your ſelf in perſon five times into this Country, when I as no obſcure Captain or Souldier, was in all thoſe Wars and Battels ever preſent, of purpoſe, as I ſuppoſe, to revenge your Injuries, to enlarge your Empire, and in brief to aſſure you of a good Peace, which could never be but by force of Arms and Victory. And therefore you valiantly won* Belgrade, *the infamous dwelling place and receptacle of moſt outragious Theeves and Robbers, and in former time famous for the unfortunate attempts of your Anceſtors; when as from thence the Hungarians in time of Peace had at their pleaſure, whilſt your Father was then occupied in the Perſian War, ſpoiled the Borders of* Servia *and* Illyria. *The ſame Hungarians about five years after, for that they had in cruel manner ſlain your Embaſſadors, you overthrew in battel, and ſlew their King; and poſſeſſed of* Buda, *to manifeſt and make known by a notable demonſtration, the magnificence of your heroical mind, even unto the remoteſt Enemies of our name, did chooſe out of the reliques of that vanquiſhed Nation, one whom you might grace with the honour of the Regal Crown, although not born of Royal Blood, or unto you known for any other deſert, than that he was a little before, both your publique and private Enemy; and coming gainſt you with a ſtrong power out of* Tranſilvania, *he had in the mean time loſt his Brother, a better man than himſelf, ſlain with our Sword. After that, roſe up the Auſtrian King, a new Enemy, to expulſe this Hungarian, reigning by your courteſie, and ſo you took in hand the third War againſt the Germans, which you ſo effectually proſecuted, that having forthwith reſtored the King, you carried the terror of your ſelf not only to the Walls of* Vienna, *but into the very heart of* Germany. *But two years yet ſcarcely paſt, the ſame King (never long contented with Peace or Wars) ſupported by the power of his Brother* Charles, *and in vain beſieging* Buda *defended by your Garriſons, ſtirred you up again to revenge the Injury, Slaughter, and Spoil by his Souldiers done; for that you thought it to ſtand with your honou*[illegible] *to protect him with your power, whom you had of* [illegible]*ur rare Bounty made a King; and then deſired above all things, to fight a noble Battel with the two Brethren for the Empire of the Weſt. But they at ſuch time as you with Fire and Sword ran through their ancient Kingdoms, endured not the noiſe of your coming. After that, enſued a Peace between the Hungarians and the Germans, (your Majeſty permitting and approving it, at ſuch time as you made haſte to go againſt the Perſians; but the German King ſo broke that Peace, that had not I in good time revenged his Treachery, by the overthrow of a great Army of his at* Exek, *you muſt of neceſſity have been ſent for from* Babylon *your ſelf, as but now you were glad to come in haſte, by long and painful journeys from* Conſtantinople, *to aid us in time, and as I verily hope, to make an end for all; that all things ſet in firm order in* Hungary, *the inconveniences of ſo many labours and ſo great charge, five times undertaken for another mans profit, might now at length take end; except (as I ſee ſome wiſh) you be in mind never to give over the protection of the Child and Widdow, a matter full of infinite labour and peril, not to be countervailed with that glorious ſhew of honour, which by theſe (in my opinion) too too wiſe men is pretended to your haughty mind, ever deſirous of Honour and Fame. But I as a blunt man underſtand not this high point of Wiſdom, abounding with Glory, which in the very courſe thereof cutteth in ſunder the ſinews of Victory, and is never by politique Generals admitted into their Camps. In which doing, as I wiſh you more fortunate than your Anceſtors, who have united eighteen Kingdoms to this your Empire, ſo would I not have you more wiſe than they; for what can be a more unwiſe part, than always to play the unwiſe man? that is to ſay, always to be careful of other mens Affairs, and in m*[illegible]*an time oftentimes to endanger his own Eſtate, his Health, his Wealth, his Honour. You have ſatisfied, and that (in my opinion) plentifully the duty both of Charity, Fidelity, and if it muſt needs be ſo, of Honour and Glory alſo; if it be to be gotten rather by Courteſie, Clemency and Lenity, than by the invincible ſtrength of wiſe Policy, and the conſtant reſolution of a Martial Mind; for by thoſe inſtruments, and none other, have worthy Vertues always promoted and ſupported the Othoman Kings. Wherefore let thoſe vain ſhews (as ſeemeth unto me) of counterfeit honour delight the minds of idle and ſloathful Kings; aſſuredly they never pleaſed your armed Anceſtors, but after the Enemy was quite overthrown, the Triumph made, and the Trophies of Victory erected. But let this be as beſt pleaſeth your high Wiſdom and Judgment, whereunto the greateſt Wits gave place. Truly I (if I well foreſee the chances of War, and the aſſured events of things) will not follow that manner of Counſel which the pleaſure of my mind perſwadeth me unto; when as neceſſity, which ruleth all things, preſently forceth me and ſheweth me a far better Courſe. The Hungarians above all other things notably warn us not to truſt them, who infamous for their unconſtancy after Revolt and Treachery, are ſtill at variance amongſt themſelves; and their baniſhed men are continually ſetting on the Germans to invade the Country, and the weak power of the Queen and the Child is not ſuch as may withſtand ſo near and ſo mighty an Enemy; ſo that another mans Kingdom muſt of neceſſity be defended by our help, which may not be leſs than a ſtrong Army without our great peril. To be brief, every year to take in hand ſo long an expedition of ſo great labour and travel,*

with

Miſchievous Counſel.

with an Army furniſhed with Horſemen, Footmen, Artillery, and a Fleet of Ships for defence of another man, as commonly we do, ſeemeth to me meer madneſs; neither do I think it to ſtand with the Majeſty of the Othoman Emperors, thus to be moved every year at the requeſt of a puling Woman, crying for help; except you think it more profitable and honourable to maintain a defenſive than invaſive War: Wherefore (in my opinion) it is beſt to turn this Kingdom (ſo often conquered and defended by Law of Arms) after the manner of your Anceſtors, into the form of a Province; the Queen I would have ſent to her Father, and the Boy her Son brought up in your Court at Conſtantinople, *and there inſtructed in our Religion; the Nobility of the Country I wiſh to be ſlain, and their Caſtles raſed, and the notable Families which bare the braveſt minds, to be carried away out of all parts of the Country into* Aſia; *as for the baſe multitude, I would have kept under with good Garriſons, to till the ground, and inhabit the Cities. By this only means (mighty* Solyman) *ſhall both the Hungarians perceive themſelves conquered, and the Germans glad to forbear coming into* Hungary, *unleſs they will raſhly and unfortunately hazard both* Styria *and* Auſtria.

Solyman *entreth* Buda *the thirtieth of Auguſt 1541, and there firſt ſacrificeth after the Mahometan manner.*

The Doom of Hungary.

The Queen departeth out of Buda with her Son.

But *Solyman* thinking it good to do ſacrifice before he would reſolutely determine of ſo great a matter, entred into *Buda* with his two Sons, *Selymus* and *Bajazet*, the thirtieth of *Auguſt* in the year 1541. and there in the Cathedral Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* (being before by his Prieſts Purified after the manner of their Superſtition) ſacrificed the firſt Mahometan Sacrifice in *Buda*. Shortly after, he as it were moderating the opinions of his great Counſellors, provided out of them all both for his own ſecurity and honour, and publiſhed a Decree, the fatal Doom of that flouriſhing Kingdom, whereunder it yet groaneth at this day; That *Buda* ſhould from that day be kept with a Garriſon of Turks, and the Kingdom converted into a Province of the Turkiſh Empire; and the Queen with her young Son ſhould preſently depart the City, and live in *Lippa*, in a fertile and quiet Country beyond the River of *Tibiſcus*, which ſomething to comfort her, was near unto the Borders of her Father *Sigiſmund* his Kingdom, to be ſafely conducted thither with all her Wealth and Jewels by his Janizaries. Wherefore the Queen and her Son, according to this Decree, with Tears and Mourning, deteſting in her heart the Tyrants perfideous dealing (which neceſſity inforced her then to diſſemble) departed from *Buda*, conſtrained by the Turks to leave behind her all the Ordnance in the Caſtle and City, with all other the Warlike Proviſion and Store of Victual. The Noblemen went with her alſo, who although they went ſorrowful for this woful and unexpected change of things, yet were they very glad of their Liberty and Safety, whereof they had for the ſpace of three days deſpaired. Only *Valentinus* was kept in ſafe cuſtody in the Camp, becauſe he was a Martial Man of greateſt power amongſt the Hungarians; and beſides that, much hated of the Turks for the hard purſuit of *Caſon* and his Horſemen, ſlain at *Storamberg* in *Auſtria*. Thus the Royal City of *Buda* fell into the hands of the Turks, whereupon not long after enſued the final ruin of that Kingdom, ſometime the ſtrong Bulwark of Chriſtendom, but loſt to the great weakning of the Chriſtian Commonweal; which may juſtly be imputed to the Pride, Ambition, and Diſſention of the Hungarians amongſt themſelves, and the calling in of the common Enemy; the due conſideration of whoſe only coming, might well have ſufficed to have made them agreed.

King Ferdinand ſendeth Embaſſadors and Preſents to Solyman.

Whilſt theſe things were doing at *Buda*, King *Ferdinand* expecting the event of this War at *Vienna*, and hearing of the ſhameful loſs of his Army, and that the General deadly wounded was fled to *Comara*, and that *Solyman* (Fame encreaſing the evil News) was coming towards *Vienna*; ſent *Leonardus Velſius* (who never liked of the Siege of *Buda*) to *Comara*, to ſtay the further Flight of the Souldiers, and to gather together ſo well as he could the diſperſed Reliques of the ſcattered Army, and to comfort again the diſcouraged men with the hope of new Supplies and of Pay. And ſomewhat to ſtay *Solyman*, who as it was thought would ſuddainly come to *Vienna*, he ſent Count *Salma* and *Sigiſmund Lithbeſtain*, a noble and grave Counſellor, his Embaſſadors, with Preſents and new Conditions of Peace to *Solyman*. The Preſents were a high ſtanding Cup of Gold after the German faſhion, curiouſly ſet with Stones; and a wonderful Globe of Silver of moſt rare and curious device, daily expreſſing the hourly paſſing of the Time, the motion of the Planets, the Change and Full of the Moon, the motion of the ſuperior Orbs, ever moving by certain Wheels and Weights curiouſly conveyed within the ſame, and exactly keeping due time and motion; lively expreſſing the wonderful motions and converſions of the Celeſtial Frame. A moſt curious and ſtrange piece of Work, deviſed and perfected by the moſt cunning Aſtronomers for *Maximilian* the Emperor, whoſe noble mind never ſpared for any Coſt to obtain things of rare and ſtrange device. The Embaſſadors paſſing down the River of *Danubius*, were at their landing firſt received by *Caſon* the Admiral of *Solymans* Fleet, and by him brought into a rich Tent, the ground under their Feet being all covered wich rich Carpets; to whom *Ruſtan* Baſſa ſent ſuch good chear as the Camp afforded, but eſpecially moſt excellent Wine, no leſs forbidden the Turks by their Law, than deſired of the Germans. The next day after, the great Baſſaes feaſted the Embaſſadors, *Solyman* himſelf dining not far off in his Pavillion; at which Feaſt the Baſſaes for the more courteſie dined with the Embaſſadors, not ſitting with their Legs gathered under them flat upon the ground, as their manner was, but ſitting in Chairs at a high Table, after the manner of the Chriſtians; only *Mahometes* Governor of *Belgrade*, for his Age and Valour, an extraordinary Gheſt, ſat down upon a Cuſſion beneath the Baſſaes. Their Chear was only Rice and Mutton, and that ſo plainly and ſparingly dreſſed, as if they had thereby noted our gormandiſe and exceſs; who meaſure not our Chear by that which Nature requireth, but that which greedy Appetite deſireth, as if therein conſiſted the greateſt Nobility; and the Drink for the great Baſſaes themſelves, right eaſie to be had, was fair Water out of the River *Danubius*. After Dinner the Embaſſadors were brought in unto *Solyman*, each of them led betwixt two Baſſaes holding them faſt by the Arms, as it had been for honours ſake, and ſo brought to kiſs his Hand. For the Turks ſuffer no Stranger otherwiſe to come unto the Preſence of their ſuſpicious Emperor, but firſt they ſearch him that he have no Weapon about him, and ſo claſping him by the Arms under the colour of doing him honour, diſſemblingly bereave him of the uſe of his Hands, leſt he ſhould offer him any violence; yet hath he always as he ſitteth in his Throne, lying at hand ready by him a Target, a Scimeter, an Iron-Mace, with Bow and Arrows.

The frugal Chear of the Turks.

The requeſt of the Embaſſadors in the behalf of King Ferdinand.

Solymans *proud anſwer to King* Ferdinand *his Embaſſadors.*

The great Globe was alſo brought in by twelve of the Embaſſadors Servants, which with the ſtrangeneſs thereof filled the mind of *Solyman*, and the Eyes of his Baſſaes with admiration; for *Solyman* was of ſo ſharp a Wit, that he was not learned only in ſuch Books as contained the Laws and Rites of the Mahometan Superſtition, but had alſo curiouſly ſtudied Aſtronomy, and eſpecially Coſmography, in which profitable and pleaſant ſtudy he much recreated himſelf as his leaſure ſerved. The Embaſſadors deſired that he would give the Kingdom of *Hungary* to King *Ferdinand*, almoſt upon the ſame conditions that *Laſcus* had before required it for him at *Conſtantinople*, paying him ſuch yearly Tribute as King *John* had uſually paid, and promiſing farther to draw *Charles* the Emperor his Brother into the ſame League; ſo that *Solyman* delivered of all fear that way, might at his pleaſure turn his Forces upon the Perſian, which it was thought he moſt deſired. Beſides that, they ſaid he ſhould deal neither honourably nor indifferently, if he ſhould prefer the young Child before King *Ferdinand*, who beſide his ancient Right unto that Kingdom, (which they were not now to urge, as oppreſſed by his happy Victories, but might in time be revived) had alſo a late intereſt by a League betwixt him and King *John*, wherein he had expreſly covenanted by the ſolemn conſent of the greateſt part of his Nobility, that King *Ferdinand* ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom. Whereby they excuſed him of the late War, as juſtly taken in hand againſt the Queen and her Son uſurping upon his Right; which King *John* knowing to be good, and moved with Conſcience, had by his ſolemn act acknowledged, though to the great offence and prejudice of *Solyman* his ſetter up and defender, as alſo to the touching of himſelf in honour, to have ſo unthankfully and fraudulently dealt with his Patron, to whom he was by the Oath of Obedience bound. Wherefore they requeſted, that ſith he being a Prince of all others moſt mighty and magnificent, ſtanding upon his upright dealing both in Peace and War, had ſo lightly regarded the ſlie dealing of ſo ungrateful a man; he would rather accept of King *Ferdinand* ſo many ways injured, as his Friend and Tributary, than to have him his perpetual Enemy. Concluding, That nothing could be unto him, for the good report of his Juſtice more commendable, or for the aſſurance of a perpetual Peace more profitable, or to the immortal praiſe of his Bounty more honourable, than to call a King of a moſt ancient Diſcent, famous for his Vertue and Fidelity, choſen for a King by the Bohemians, deſired for a King by the Hungarians, Emperor elect of the Roman Empire by the Germans, and the natural Brother of the great Emperor, his Tributary King of *Hungary*. *Solyman* with chearful countenance accepting and commending of the Preſents, anſwered them two days after by *Ruſtan* the Baſſa his Son in Law, that this was his reſolute condition of Peace and Friendſhip; If King *Ferdinand* would forthwith reſtore all the Cities, Towns, and Caſtles, which were before belonging to King *Lewis*, and for ever after abſtain from *Hungary*; and whereas he had been ſo often provoked by him to War, and had therein beſtowed ſo great charges, and taken ſo much Travel, he could for that be content with an eaſie pain (which ſhould be for his great honour) to impoſe an eaſie Tribute upon *Auſtria*; upon which Conditions he was content to enter into League with them; but if ſo be that thoſe Conditions ſeemed unto them too heavy, and that they would rather make choice of War than Peace, he would bring to paſs by continual War, that ſuch things as they had taken from the Kingdom of *Hungary*, ſhould be requited with the deſtruction of *Auſtria*. But the Embaſſadors, although they were much moved at the proud Demand of Tribute for *Auſtria*, as that wherein the two Brethren of mighty power, *Charles* the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* were diſdainfully abuſed; to keep the beſt courſe of their Negotiation, and to win ſome time in ſo hard eſtate of things; required a Truce until ſuch time as King *Ferdinand* and the Emperor his Brother might be made acquainted with the matter. Which their requeſt the Turk (perceiving their drift and purpoſe) would in no caſe grant, for Winter was now faſt coming on. It was lawful for the Embaſſadors all the time they were in the Turks Camp, to view every part thereof, *Ruſtan* Baſſa conducting them from place to place; where above all things, they moſt wondred at the perpetual and dumb ſilence of ſo great a multitude, the Souldiers being ſo ready and attentive, that they were no otherwiſe commanded but by the becking of the Hand, or a Nod of their Commanders; they marvelled alſo at the exquiſite order and ſweetneſs of the Turks Camp, finding therein nothing diſordered or noyſom; ſo that it ſeemed not the Camp of ſuch a rude and barbarous Nation, but rather of them which were the Authors of Martial Diſcipline. The Embaſſadors being rewarded, and ſo ſent away, *Solyman* commanded the old Governor of *Belgrade* to ſpoil the Borders of *Auſtria* all alongſt *Danubius*; *Caſon* alſo General of the voluntary Horſemen, he ſent into *Moravia* for like purpoſe; who neither of them did any great harm, by reaſon of the ſuddain riſing of the great Rivers, with the abundance of Rain then falling in Autumn. After that, *Solyman* appointed one *Solyman* an Hungarian (who taken Priſoner in his youth by the Turks, had from that time followed the Mahometan Superſtition) Governor of *Buda*; who by the upright adminiſtration of Juſtice, and courteous uſing of the People, with *Verbetius* the old Chancellor, ſhould do what was poſſible to put the People in hope of long Peace and Tranquility. Which things done, after he had ſtaid about twenty days at *Buda*; he determined to return again into *Thracia*, becauſe the Rain of Autumn and the cold of Winter was now come in; and was alſo in doubt to be ſhut in with the riſing of the great Rivers, wherewith the Country of *Hungary* is in every place ſo watred, and on every ſide, ſo compaſſed, that it is an hard matter to paſs. By the way he ſet *Laſcus*, King *Ferdinands* Embaſſador, again at liberty, whom he had left in Priſon at *Belgrade*; but he long enjoyed not that benefit; for ſhortly after returning into *Polonia*, he died of the Flux; which cauſed many to ſuppoſe, that he was poiſoned by the Turks. A man for his Vertue and Learning famous worthy of a longer life, whoſe death the King himſelf much lamented.

The Turks Camp well ordered.

Solyman *returneth towards* Conſtantinople.

Laſcus *ſet at liberty by* Solyman, *ſhortly after dieth.*

As *Solyman* was returning into *Thracia*, and was come to the River *Drauus*, it was told him, That *Stephen Maylat*, Vayvod of *Tranſilvania*, who took King *Ferdinand* his part, a profeſſed Enemy of the Turks, was taken by the cunning of *Peter* of *Moldavia*, and Prince of *Valachia*; and that all the Country of *Tranſylvania* was well pacified, and yielded to his Obedience. Of which News *Solyman* was paſſing glad; for he exceedingly hated *Maylat*, a Martial man of a froward Nature, deſirous of rule, and ready upon any occaſion to revolt; foraſmuch as he remembred *Grittus* his Legate, and the Turks by him ſlain; and knew alſo, that the Tranſylvanians, an invincible People, born to trouble, and more delighting in uncertain War than aſſured Peace, was by him ſtirred up; whom he wiſhed rather by gentleneſs to appeaſe, than by force of Arms and ſtrong hand to ſubdue. But becauſe we have oftentimes before made mention of this *Maylat*, of whoſe taking *Solyman* ſo much rejoyced, it ſhall not be amiſs in few words to declare in what fineneſs he fell into the hands of this treacherous and bloody man, *Peter* of *Moldavia*.

This Moldavian by the commandment of *Solyman* (as is aforeſaid) had joyned his Forces with *Achomates*, Governor of *Nicopolis*, againſt *Maylat*; which being united, were in number fifty thouſand Horſemen, beſide Footmen; which after the manner of thoſe Countries, were not many, every man almoſt in the Country, be he never ſo poor, keeping a Horſe to ſerve upon. *Maylat* beſet with the multitude of his Enemies, and finding himſelf too weak to encounter them, deſpairing alſo of aid from King *Ferdinand*, whom he knew to be buſied in a greater War, forſook the Field, and fled again into the ſtrong Town of *Fogaras*, as he had done the year before, when he was overcharged by King *Johns* Power; for there as in a moſt ſtrong place both by nature and fortification, he had laid up his greateſt Subſtance and Proviſion for the Wars, but eſpecially the rich Spoil he had long before taken from *Grittus*. *Achomates* coming thither with his power, and perceiving the place was not to be battered or taken by force, but with much labour and long time, thought it beſt, to aſſay if he could overcome him by craft and deceit. Wherefore he ſent a Meſſenger unto *Maylat*, to perſwade him to yield himſelf unto *Solyman*, and to make choice rather to be called of him his Friend, than to be judged his Enemy; of whom he might well hope of all goodneſs, which had given whole Kingdoms unto his Enemies; promiſing, that he would uſe the uttermoſt of his Credit, which was not ſmall, and labour for him as a Friend, that he might feel the fruit of his Clemency and Bounty, and ſtill enjoy the Government of *Tranſylvania*, paying him ſome ſmall yearly Tribute, as he had before requeſted; foraſmuch as he could take no courſe better, being beſet with ſo many Enemies, than to make his Peace upon reaſonable Conditions, and that with as much ſpeed as were poſſible; in which doing, beſides that he ſhould well provide for his own ſafety, he ſhould alſo ſave both his Wealth and Honour; for *Solyman* was coming (as he ſaid) with his victorious Army, who would with aſſured death revenge his vain hope of holding out the Siege, if he ſhould upon a ſtubborn and obſtinate mind then refuſe to obey his command. Whereunto *Maylat*, who foreſaw that it was better for him to make a certain Peace, than to endure an uncertain War, anſwered, That he could be content to conclude a Peace, ſo that it were not upon any bad conditions; and would not greatly refuſe *Solymans* command, which was wont to be both reaſonable and juſt; wherefore upon ſufficient Pledges he would come into the Camp, in preſence to agree upon the Conditions of the Peace and demanded to have *Achomates* his Son, a valiant young Gentleman, delivered in Hoſtage. Which thing *Achomates* denied, for that he had (as he ſaid) before given him to *Solyman*, as the manner was, and therefore had over him no more power; but he promiſed for him, that was but one, to give four of his beſt Captains. Which offer *Maylat* (miſdoubting no deceit) accepted, and with a great and gallant retinue attended upon, came into the Enemies Camp, where he was courteouſly and honourably received. But the Parly, as it could not be conveniently begun immediately after the firſt ſalutation, ſo could it by no means be then ended, but was deferred until the next day; to the intent, that the treacherous Moldavian might take his well acquainted and well known Gueſt, whom he had againſt that time invited to a ſolemn Banquet. By that means, the next day about the midſt of Dinner, Fortune ſo favoured the intended Treachery, that *Maylat* (who was of ſo proud and cholerick a nature, that he could not well brook the leaſt indignity) was by occaſion of ſome inſolent Speech, of purpoſe miniſtred by the Moldavian Gheſts, put into ſuch a fret, that laying his hand upon his Sword, he in a rage flung from the Table; at which time all the other Gheſts ſtarting up alſo, laid hands upon him and took him, fuming, and in vain crying out, that he was ſhamefully betrayed. His Followers were all forthwith ſtript of all their bravery by the needy Moldavians, and their Horſes and Armor taken from them. Whilſt *Maylat* was yet furiouſly exclaiming of this Treaſon, in came *Achomates*, who to ſeem guiltleſs of the matter, with deep diſſimulation ſharply reproved the falſe Moldavian, that he had in doing ſo foul a Fact ſhamefully violated the Laws of Hoſpitality, reverenced of all Nations, falſified the Faith which he had given him for his ſafety, and betraied the lives of ſuch notable Captains as lay in hoſtage for him. Whereunto the Moldavian (as if it had been in contempt) ſcornfully anſwered, that he had upon good cauſe taken *Maylat* Priſoner, and ſo would in ſafety keep him for *Solyman*, unto whom it only belonged to judge, whether he had juſtly or unjuſtly kept him.

Maylat *the Vayvod not able to keep the Field against* Achomates, *and the Prince of* Moldavia, *flieth to* Fogaras.

Maylat *cometh into the Turks Camp.*

Maylat *treacherouſly taken Priſoner by the Moldavian.*

Not long after, the ſtrong Town of *Fogaras* was delivered, with the Hoſtages, but whether by fear or corruption of *Maylats* Lieutenant, is uncertain. So *Valentinus Turaccus*, and *Maylat*, two of the greateſt Noblemen of *Hungary*, ſufficient of themſelves to have reſtored the Hungarian Kingdom (firſt rent in ſunder with civil Diſcord, and afterward with the invaſion of the Turks) fell into the hands of the Enemy, not vanquiſhed in Battel, but deceived by Treaſon. The Town being thus ſurrendred, almoſt all the Country of *Tranſylvania*, was by *Solymans* conſent delivered to the young King, unto whom all the People moſt willingly ſubmitted themſelves, and took the Oath of Obedience, remembring that his Father had almoſt for thirty years ſpace with great Juſtice and quietneſs governed that Province; and with many Preſents honoured the young King lying in *Lippa*, with the Queen his Mother, and his two Tutors, the Biſhop, and *Vicche*.

Tranſylvania *given by* Solyman *to the young King.*

At the ſame time, *Charles* the Emperor at the importunate ſuit of his Subjects of *Spain*, had prepared a great force both by Sea and Land for the conquering of *Algiers*; from whence the Turkiſh Pyrats did ſo infeſt all that Coaſt of the Country, from *Gades* to the Mountains *Pyrenei*, that the Spaniards (all Trade of Merchandiſe being ſet apart) were glad to keep a continul Watch and Ward all alongſt that Coaſt for defence of the Country. Wherefore although he well knew of the coming of the Turks to *Buda*, and how hardly he was by the Lantgrave and others ſpoken of, for leaving his Brother ſo hardly beſtead, to go againſt a ſort of Pirats in *Africk*, yet perſiſting in his former determination, he departed out of *Germany* into *Italy*, where by the way he met *Octavius Farneſius* his Son in Law, *Alphonſus Vaſtius* his Lieutenant, by the Venetian Embaſſadors, near to *Verona*, and ſo brought to *Millain*, where he was with great Solemnity joyfully received of the Citizens, and under a Canopy of Gold brought unto the Palace; he himſelf

Charles *the Emperor returneth out of* Germany *to invade* Africk.

going in a plain black Cloke, and a homely Cap in mourning wiſe; when as the Women and vulgar People, upon a curious ſimplicity, expected to have ſeen ſo great an Emperor in his Royal Robes, gliſtering with Gold and precious Stones, and the Imperial Crown upon his Head. His heavy Countenance anſwerable alſo to his Attire was much noted, as preſaging the woful overthrow which was the day before received at *Buda*, but not yet known in *Italy*. From *Millain* he departed to *Genoa*, where he was advertiſed by Letters from his Brother King *Ferdinand*, of the overthrow of the Germans, of the Victory of the Turks, and the coming of *Solyman*. Upon which news, *Vaſtius* and *Auria*, his two chief Commanders, the one at Land, the other at Sea, would have perſwaded him to have deferred his intended expedition for *Africa* until the next Spring; and with ſuch power as he had already raiſed in *Italy*, and brought with him out of *Germany*, to ſtay ſtill in *Italy*, ſo to make ſhew unto the Turks as if he would have returned and holpen his Brother; and in the mean time to aſſure himſelf of his ſtate in *Italy* againſt the French, who (as it was thought) would be ready to take all occaſion of advantage, if any miſhap ſhould befal him, either by the force of the Enemy, or violence of Tempeſt. But he conſtant in his former reſolution, anſwered them as they ſat in Counſel, that they had perſwaded him for great reaſons to ſtay in *Italy*; but that he was for far greater to paſs into *Africk*; for if he ſhould then ſtay in *Italy*, it would be thought that he was for fear of the Turks fled out of *Germany*; which diſgrace could no otherwiſe be prevented, but by the preſent proſecuting of his former determination for *Algiers*, and ſatisfying the expectation of his Subjects of *Spain*; and ſo by Sea valiantly to prove their better Fortune, which had of late not ſo well favoured them at Land; in hope that *Algiers* might be won before the Seas ſhould grow rough and dangerous with Winter Tempeſts; which if it ſhould fall out according to his mind, he would not, as he ſaid, greatly care what the French could do. Yet was it thought, that the diſſembling Friendſhip betwixt the French King and him, would not long endure; and the rather, for that there was a new grudg riſen betwixt them about the death of *Antonius Rinuo*, who for certain years had lien Embaſſador for the French King at *Conſtantinople*, to *Solyman*, and was a few months before ſent back again by him into *France* to the King; but returning back again with new inſtructions from his Maſter, for the confirmation of a further League betwixt the Turkiſh Sultan and him, he was by certain Spaniards of the Emperors old Souldiers, who had knowledge of his coming, belaied upon the River *Padus* as he was going down to *Venice*, ſo to have paſſed into *Epirus*, and ſlain, together with *Cæſar Fregotius*; or as the common report went, firſt taken and tortured, to get from him the ſecrets of his negotiation, and afterwards ſlain. Which report ſo much touched *Vaſtius* in Credit, that in purgation of himſelf, he offered the Combat to any man of like quality to himſelf, that durſt charge him with the truth thereof. But many were of opinion, that he was well and worthily taken away, for undertaking ſo odious a Charge, as to ſtir up the Turks againſt the Chriſtians, and to ſhew unto them ſuch opportunities as might beſt ſerve their purpoſe, by diſcovering unto them the Emperors Deſigns, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian Common-Weal. But were it well, or were it evil, as *Paulus* the third of that name then Biſhop of *Rome*, meeting the Emperor at *Luca* as he came from *Genoa*, could not, or would determine, ſure it ſerved as no ſmall occaſion to ſet thoſe two great Princes again at ods, whereby the wiſhed Unity of the Chriſtian ſtate was ſore ſhaken, and a way opened for the Turk. The Emperor at his coming to *Luca*, was honourably received by the Cardinals and Biſhops, and lodged in the Court; the great Biſhop was before placed in the Biſhops Palace, whither the Emperor came thrice to talk with him, and the Biſhop to him once. But the Biſhop having nothing at all prevailed with the Emperor and the French Embaſſador, for the appeaſing of the troubles even then like to ariſe betwixt him and the French King; did what he might to perſwade him to employ ſuch Forces as he was about to paſs over with into *Africk*, againſt the Turks in defence of his Brother *Ferdinand*, and of the Country of *Auſtria*, if *Solyman* ſhould happily purſue his late obtained Victory at *Buda*. But he ſtill reſolute in that fatal determination of invading of *Africk*, rejected that the Biſhops requeſt alſo. So the great Biſhop having moved much, and prevailed little, in the greateſt matters which moſt concerned the common good, taking his leave of the Emperor, returned by eaſie journies to *Rome*.

The French Kings Embaſſadors ſlain by the Emperor.

The Emperor and the Biſhop of Rome *meet at* Luca.

The Emperor in the mean time with certain Bands of Italians, under the leading of *Camillus Columna* and *Auguſtinus Spinola*, and ſix thouſand Germans, came from *Luca* to the Port *Lune*, and there imbarking his Souldiers in certain Merchants Ships provided for the purpoſe, and five and thirty Gallies, departed thence, commanding the Maſters of the Ships to direct their Courſe to the Iſlands of *Baleares*; but after they had put to Sea, they were by force of Tempeſt ſuddainly ariſing, brought within ſight of *Corſica*; where after they had been toſſed too and fro two days in the rough Seas, and put out of their Courſe, the Wind ſomething falling, they put into the Haven of *Syracuſa*, now called *Bonifacium*. The diſperſed Fleet once come together into the Port of *Syracuſa*, and the rage of the Sea well appeaſed, he put to Sea again for the Iſlands *Baleares*, now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*; where in his Courſe he met with a Tempeſt from the Weſt, more terrible and dreadful than the firſt; wherein divers of the Gallies having loſt their Maſts and Sails, were glad with extream labour and peril in ſtriving againſt the rough Sea to get into a Harbor of the leſſer Iſland, taking name of *Barchinus Mago* the famous Carthaginenſian, whoſe name it retaineth until this day. From hence the Emperor with all his Fleet paſſed over to the greater Iſland, being wonderful glad that *Ferdinand Gonſaga* his Viceroy in *Sicilia* was in good time come with the Sicilian Gallies and Ships of *Italy*, in number an hundred and fifty Sail, wherein he had brought ſuch ſtore of Bisket and Victual as might have ſufficed for a long War. *Mendoza* was alſo expected to have come thither with his Fleet from *Spain*; but he by reaſon of contrary Winds being not able to hold that Courſe, altered his purpoſe according to the Tempeſt, and ſo happily cut over directly to *Algiers*. So the Emperor nothing miſdoubting the careful diligence of *Mendoza*, and thinking that which was indeed already chanced, and the Wind now ſerving fair, by the perſwaſion of *Auria* his Admiral hoiſed ſail, and in two days came before *Algiers*, and there in goodly order came to anchor before the City in the ſight of the Enemy. Whilſt the Fleet thus lay, two of the Pyrates which had been abroad at Sea, ſeeking for prize, returning to *Algiers*, not knowing any thing of the Fleet, fell

The Emperor driven by tempeſt into Sicilia.

The Emperor cometh to Algiers.

The Emperors Fleet out of Spain *and the Low Countries.*

The Duke of Alva.

Delay in great actions hurtful

fell into the Bay amongſt them before they were awar; the bigger whereof *Viſcontes Cicada* ſtemmed with his Gally and ſunk him, the other with wonderful celerity got into the Haven. In the mean time *Mendoza* with his Gallies had paſſed the Promontory of *Apollo* now called *the Cape of Caſſineus*, and in token of honour ſaluting the Emperor after the manner at Sea, with all his great Ordnance, gave him knowledg that the Spaniſh Fleet was not far behind. In this Fleet was above an hundred tall Ships of *Biſcay* and the Low Countries, and of other ſmaller Veſſels a far greater number. In theſe Ships, beſides the Footmen, were embarked a great number of brave Horſemen out of all parts of *Spain*; for many noble Gentlemen had voluntarily of their own Charge gallantly furniſhed themſelves with brave Armor and couragious Horſes, to ſerve their Prince and Country againſt the Infidels. Over theſe choice men commanded *Ferdinand* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, for his approved Valor then accounted a famous Captain. Theſe Ships going altogether with Sails, were not able to double the *Cape* as did *Mendoza* with his Gallies, for now it was a dead Calm; howbeit the Billows of the Sea went yet high, by reaſon of the rage of the late Tempeſt, and did ſo beat againſt the plain Shore, that it was not poſſible to land the Souldiers; but that they muſt needs be waſhed up to the middle; which thing the Emperor thought it not good to put them unto, and ſo to oppoſe them Sea-ſick and through wet againſt the ſuddain and deſperate Aſſaults of their fierce Enemies. He alſo ſtaied for the coming of the Spaniſh Ships for two cauſes; firſt that he might with his united Power more ſtrongly aſſault the City, and terrifie the Enemy; then, to communicate the whole glory of the action with the Spaniards, at whoſe requeſt and forwardneſs and greateſt Charge he had undertaken that War. Which fatal delay of two days, although it was grounded upon good reaſon, did not only diſturb an aſſured Victory, but to the notable hurt of the whole Army, opened a way to all the calamities which afterward enſued.

The Emperor ſendeth a Meſſenger to Aſſan-Aga *Governor of* Algiers *for* Barbaruſſa.

The ſcornful anſwer of Aſſan *the Eunuch to the Emperors meſſenger.*

The Emperor landeth his Army at Algiers.

In the mean while the Emperor ſent a convenient Meſſenger to *Aſanagas*, otherwiſe and more truly called *Aſſan-Aga*, or *Aſſan* the Eunuch; who with a little Flag of Truce in his hand making ſign of a Parly, and anſwered by the Moors with like, as their manner is, went on ſhore, and was of them courteouſly received and brought to *Aſſan*. This *Aſſan* was an Eunuch, born in *Sardinia*, brought up from his youth in the Mahometan Superſtition by *Barbaruſſa*, a man both politick and valiant, and by him left for the keeping of his Kingdom of *Algiers* in his abſence with *Solyman*. This Meſſenger brought into his preſence, required him forthwith to deliver the City (firſt ſurpriſed by Force and Treachery by *Horruccius*, and afterwards to the deſtruction of mankind, fortified by *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* his Brother) to *Charles* the mighty Emperor, come in perſon himſelf to be revenged on thoſe horrible Pyrats; which if he would do, it ſhould be lawful for the Turks to depart whether they would, and for the natural Moors to abide ſtill with their Goods and Religion wholly reſerved unto them untouched, as in former time; and for himſelf, he ſhould receive of the Emperor great Rewards both in time of Peace and Wars, ſo that he would remember himſelf, that he was born in *Sardinia*, and was once a Chriſtian; and accept of the faireſt occaſion which could poſſibly be offered for him to return again to the worſhipping of the true God, and to enjoy the favour and bounty of the moſt mighty Emperor, and withal to revenge himſelf of the cruel Tyrant *Barbaruſſa*, for the unnatural Villany done unto his perſon. But if he would needs dally on the time, and make proof of the ſtrength of ſo great preparation, he ſhould undoubtedly, with the reſt of his Followers, receive the ſame reward of his obſtinacy, which they had to the example of others, received at *Tunes*. Whereunto the ungracious Eunuch anſwered, That he thought him altogether mad, that would follow his Enemies Council; and with a grinning countenance askt him, Upon what hope the Emperor truſted to be able to win the City? the Meſſenger pointing with his finger directly to the Fleet, told him, That which you ſee, with his great Artillery, and Valour of his Souldiers, both Horſe and Foot; whereat the Eunuch ſcornfully laughing, replied, And we with like Force and Valour will defend this City, and make this place, already famous for your overthrows here twice, now the third time, of all others moſt famous by the Emperors diſcomfiture. It is reported, That there was in *Algiers* an old Witch, famous for her Predictions, who had (as it was ſaid) foretold the Shipwracks and miſery of *Didaco Verra*, and *Hugo Moncada*, to them of *Algiers*, and alſo prefixed a time when as the Chriſtian Emperor adventuring to beſiege that City, ſhould there receive great loſs both by Sea and Land. The fame of which blind Prophecy ſerving fitly to confirm the hope of good ſucceſs in the minds of the vulgar multitude, *Aſſan* ſo fed and augmented (although he himſelf being a crafty wiſe Fellow, believed no ſuch vanity) that he did therewith not only encourage his own Souldiers, but alſo ſtruck a terror into the minds of the weaker ſort of his Enemies, ſeeing themſelves caſt upon ſo dangerous a Coaſt upon the approach of Winter. There was in Garriſon in the City but eight hundred Turks, and moſt of them Horſemen, but ſuch, as whoſe Valour and reſolution far exceeded their number. For *Aſſan* had loſt many of his beſt men, ſome in fight againſt *Mendoza*, and otherſome at Sea, ſlain or taken by *Auria* in *Corſica*, and in other places by the Rhodian, Neapolitan, and Sicilian Gallies; but many more were by his leave gon to aid the Moors againſt the Portugals; the other multitude did ſcarce make up the number of five thouſand; which were partly natural Moors born in that Country, and partly ſuch as were born in *Granado*; to whom were joined many Fugitives out of the Iſlands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, who in former time having entred into Rebellion, and fearing condign puniſhment, were fled to *Algiers*, and there revolted to the Mahometan Superſtition. But the Captains of the wild Numidians made up a great number both of Horſe and Foot, which lying ſtragling without the City in the open Fields, ſhould night and day vex and moleſt the Chriſtians, (This brutiſh People, naturally Enemies unto the Chriſtians, had *Aſſan* with rewards and hope of a rich Spoil, allured out of the Countries thereabout to aid him) neither was it lawful for any man to carry his Wiſe or Children out of the City, into places of more ſafety farther off, or to ſhew any ſmall token of fear, pain of death being by the imperious Eunuch propoſed to whoſoever ſhould but look heavily for fear of danger, or ſpeak a word favouring of Cowardiſe. The Emperor by *Auria* making choice of a moſt convenient place for landing his men, laid his Gallies ſo cloſe unto his tall Ships, that his armed Souldiers might with eaſe come out of the high built Ships into them, and ſo out of them into the long Boats, to be forthwith ſet on ſhore. And ſuch was the ſpeedy diligence of them that had the charge of that matter, and the plenty of

Boats ſtill ready to receive the Souldiers as faſt as they could come out of the Gallies, that the Footmen were in a very ſhort time all landed. The Emperor having a little reſted and refreſhed his Souldiers, divided his Army into three equal Battels; which was in number about twenty thouſand Footmen, beſides Horſemen and others, who of their own voluntary Will then followed the Emperors Fortune. Unto every Battel he appointed three Field-Pieces, to terrifie the Numidian Horſeman, which were ſtill pricking up and down about them, ready to charge if they could take them at any advantage. And ſo ſetting forward a few Furlongs, encamped in a ſtrong and convenient place, near unto the City, between two deep Ditches, which the Water falling from the Mountains had naturally worn ſo deep, that neither Horſeman nor Footman could well paſs over, but by Bridge; and faſt by upon the left hand was an Hill, from the top whereof it ſeemed the City might with great Ordnance well be battered.

The deſcription of Algiers.

The City of *Algiers*, ſometime the Royal Seat of the great King *Juba*, called of the Romans *Julia Cæſarea*, is in form of a Triangle, ſituate faſt by the Sea towards the North, having a Haven, but neither great, neither ſafe from the North-Wind. The Houſes farther off from the Sea, ſtand in ſeemly order upon the riſing of a ſteep Hill, as it were upon degrees; in ſuch ſort, that the Windows of one row ſtill overlooks the tops of the next beneath it, into the Sea, moſt beautiful to behold. The Emperor having divided his Camp into three parts, every Nation by themſelves, lying on the Eaſt ſide of the Town, was in great hope to win it; and the rather, for that whilſt he aſſaulted it on that ſide, his Ships and Gallies from the North ſide, might in time of the Aſſault with their great Ordnance beat the Enemy all alongſt the Wall; which ſtill riſing higher and higher according to the riſing of the ſteep Hill, could not conveniently be defended with one Bulwark, as we ſee it may in plain ground. Neareſt unto the riſing of the Hills, lay the Spaniards; in the midſt, the Germans with the Emperor; and in the Plain neareſt to the Sea, the Italians.

The Numidians ſkirmiſh with the Spaniards.

In the mean time whilſt the great Ordnance was landing, and the Horſes unſhipping, the Numidians with a hideous outcry ſhewed themſelves upon the tops of the Mountains above the Spaniards, and from thence eaſily gauled them with their Darts and Shot; for they nimbly running too and fro in the known parts of the rough Mountains, would ſuddainly and fiercely aſſail them, but after the manner of their Nation skirmiſhing afar off, rather than near at hand. In which manner of light skirmiſhes, all the day was ſpent until night, with ſmall danger but much trouble to the Spaniards. And when night was come, theſe wild People, one Company ſtill ſucceding another in the place they had before taken, never left ſhooting; for whereſoever they ſaw any Fire in the Spaniſh Camp, thither came Arrows, Darts, and Stones flying as thick as Hail; for remedy whereof, the Spaniards were glad to put out their Fires, and with ſilence to expect the day, that they might come nearer unto them.

The Spaniards put the Numidians to flight, and gain the Hills.

Whereſore as ſoon as the Sun was up, the Spaniards by the perſwaſion of *Alvayes Sandes*, Maſter of the Camp, valiantly climbing up the high Mountains, repulſed and put to flight the Numidians, and took the top of the Hills, and there lay as it were encamped in the poor Shepherds Cottages. But the ſame day ſuch a multitude of the wild People was flockt about them, that they were compaſſed in round, and glad to fight on every ſide in a Ring. Yet this fierceneſs of this barbarous People, was by the Valour of the Sicilian Companies quickly repreſſed, whoſe Pikemen gliſtering in their bright Armor, made ſmall account of the Numidians Arrows and Darts, but orderly ſtepping forwards with their Pikes, and the Harquebuſiers cloſe by their ſides, eaſily repulſed their naked Enemies.

The deſcription of the Numidian Footmen and Horſemen.

The Numidian Footmen are for moſt part Youths half naked, with long hair not unlike the Iriſh, uſing no other Weapons but Darts; they fight mingled with their Horſemen, truſting the one to the other, and are of a wonderful ſwiftneſs and agility of Body. Their Horſemen uſe long Spears, armed at both ends, which they with a marvellous dexterity uſe, to the endangering of their Enemy purſuing them; they uſe alſo long and light Targets made of Leather, wherewith they ſo cunningly defend themſelves and their Horſes, both in their Charge and Retreat, that for a ſmall trifle, in reſpect of the danger, they will give a man leave to caſt ſeven Darts at one of them, which they will all moſt ſurely avoid either with the Spear, or receive them without harm into their Target.

A marvellous Tempeſt.

In the mean time, whilſt this wild People thus skirmiſhed all the day, at night a ſuddain miſchance overthrew all the Emperors hope; for as he ſtood beholding the unſhipping of his great Ordnance, his Horſes, Victual and other neceſſaries of the Army, a ſtorm of Wind and Rain began about ſix a clock in the Afternoon, holding on all the night without intermiſſion, with ſuch rage, as if Heaven and Earth ſhould have gone together; wherewith the whole Army at Land was wonderfully troubled, and a great part of the Fleet at Sea by force of Tempeſt driven aground, periſhed. That night three Companies of the Italians, by the appointment of their General, lay without the Trenches againſt the ſuddain Aſſault of ſo uncertain an Enemy, who when they had all the night endured the vehement Rain and extream cold, were ſo overcome with the extremity of the Weather, that neither were their minds able to relieve their weak bodies, neither their feeble bodies their daunted minds; for they could neither conveniently ſtand nor lie down, all the ground being ſo miry, that at every ſtep they ſunk up to the calf of the Leg. Upon theſe ſtarved Companies, the Turkiſh Horſemen and Moors Footmen, who diligently obſerved the Watch of the Chriſtians, perceiving their diſtreſſes, ſuddainly ſallied out in the dawning of the day; and ſo fiercely charged them, their Match and Powder being now ſo wet that they could not uſe their Pieces, that they all fled, except a few Pikemen, who made a ſtand, and were all quickly ſlain by the Turks; who ſo deſperatly purſued the reſt in chaſe, that they followed them over the Trench into the Camp. This Alarm being heard, *Camillus Columna* the Italian General came preſently thither, being ſent by the Emperor, who with certain Companies iſſued out over the Bridge againſt the Enemy; who now in ſhew diſcouraged with the coming out of this new Supply, did indeed, or at leaſtwiſe made as if they did diſorderly retire for fear. At which time *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, Viceroy of *Sicilia*, a man of greateſt account in the Army next unto the Emperor, coming in alſo, and angry with them which had before fled, perſwading them as valiant men, to recompence their ſhamful flight with a freſh Charge, by driving the Enemy home to his own door; which thing *Columna* ſaid could not be done without great peril, but *Gonzaga* being a man of a noble Courage, deſired to have the diſgrace which the Italians had received, ſalved ſome way, although it were with never ſo great danger; thinking alſo that it might happily fall out, that

The Moors put to flight by the Italians.

The Italians diſcomfited by the Moors flie, and in danger the whole Camp.

The notable courage of the Emperor in ſtaying the flight of his Army.

Enemy being put to flight, and haſtily purſued, they might together with them enter the City, without danger of the Artillery. So without farther delay, the reſt of the Italian Companies were led forth of their Trenches with great chearfulneſs by *Auguſtine Spinola*, who ſo valiantly charged the Enemies, that they put them to flight, and purſued them ſo hard, that they came with them to the very Gates of the City; where many ſhut out for fear of letting in the Italians together with them, eſcaped by known ways, ſome to another Gate, and ſome into the Mountains. But then theſe barbarous People, with Darts and Shot from the Walls, began to overwhelm the Italians which were unadviſedly come within their danger, and with terrible outcries to terrifie them; and they which before were fled without the Walls, returned again to fight. They alſo which had ſhut the Gate, ſallied out again, and hardly charged the Italians, who already gauled with ſhot from the Walls, and rent in ſunder with the great Ordnance, fled moſt diſorderly; for why, they were but raw Souldiers taken up in haſt, little or nothing acquainted with the Wars. At which time *Aſſan* alſo ſallying out, who was eaſily known by his Countenance and rich Attire, purſued the chaſe with his Troops of Turks and Moors Footmen. Only certain Knights of the *Rhodes* fought valiantly, and retired orderly; and *Spinola* with ſome other Gentlemen making a ſtand at a little wooden Bridge, ſomewhat ſtaid the Enemy and ſaved the lives of many. So the Italians which firſt charged moſt valiantly, being in the flight become hindermoſt, the Enemy ſtriking them down as they fled, covered the Fields with their dead Bodies by the ſpace of half a mile, eſpecially they which fled towards the Sea; for there they were circumvented and ſlain by the mercileſs Numidians, who beholding the Shipwrack, were come down to the Sea ſide for prey. But the formoſt Companies of the Italians which firſt fled into the Camp, fled in ſo much haſt and ſo great fear, that none of the Leaders in ſo great and ſuddain a perplexity, remembred either the common ſafety, or performed the duty of an adviſed Captain; ſo that all ſeemed at once loſt both by Sea and Land. Only the Emperor, armed with an invincible courage againſt all the chances of fortune, and not to be diſmaid with any miſhap, was both unto himſelf and others that day the greateſt Captain; for when all was almoſt loſt, he in good time ſtaied the matter by coming on with the Squadron of Germans, whereof he ſent before three Enſigns to ſtay the flight, and with them as a ſure and freſh ſupply to guard his Camp beyond the Bridge which was over the Ditch, ſerving his Army for a Trench as we have before ſaid. But ſuch a fear had poſſeſſed the minds of the flying Italians, and ſuch was the fierce purſuit of the Enemy, that thoſe Germans (not before wont to turn their backs) as if they had been afraid of the Turks white Caps, or not able to abide their ſight, or to hold up weapon againſt them; by and by turned their backs, and ſhamefully fled for Company with the Italians. Then the Emperor galloping forth with his Horſe, and his Sword in his Hand drawn, reproving them of Cowardiſe that fled, ſet forward with the German Squadron, and with a ſtout and manly Courage ſpake to them theſe few words in their own Language: *When will you (fellow Souldiers) ſhew your Faces to your proud Enemies, if now when you ſhould fight for the honour of the Chriſtian Name, for the glory of the German Nation, for the ſafegard of your own Lives, in the preſence of your Emperor, you fear a few diſordered and naked Barbarians?* Immediately when he had thus ſaid, the Germans touched with ſhame, and diſdaining that it ſhould be thought they needed any exhortation to perform the parts of valiant Souldiers, iſſued out againſt the Enemy; who moved with their coming, and ſeeing the Italian battel again reſtored by the valour and travel of certain valiant and expert Captains, ſtood ſtill a while and began to retire; whether it were becauſed they feared the great Artillery and aſſault of the Germans, or that they thought they had done enough for that ſally; when as for the full accompliſhment of the Victory they ſaw the Chriſtian Fleet overcome with a moſt horrible Tempeſt, miſerably to periſh before their Faces; and many of their Men, eſpecially the Moors, haſted to the Sea ſide in hope of a more certain Prey, whereas no Enemy was to be feared. For the bluſtring Winds blowing from divers quarters, as if they had conſpired to raiſe a moſt horrible Tempeſt, had made ſuch a rough Sea, and the huge Billows went ſo high, that the Ships by the violence of the Weather, and rage of the Sea, put from their Anchors, fell foul one of another, and were ſo loſt; or elſe driven upon the Main, were there beaten in pieces in the ſight of the Army; ſo that all the Sea Coaſt Weſtward from *Algiers* to *Cercello*, lay full of dead Men and Horſes, and the Ribs of broken Ships. The Numidians beholding this miſerable Wreck, came down by great Companies from the Mountains, and without mercy ſlew all that came alive to Land. In the ſpace of a few hours was loſt about a hundred and forty Ships, and all the ſmall Boats and Carvels, which were in number many. Some of the Gallies, when they had from midnight to the next day at noon, by the painful labour of the Mariners, and skilfulneſs of the Maſters, rid it out; being no longer able to endure the rage of the Tempeſt, and fearing to be eaten up with the Sea, with Sails and Oars ran aground; but the Souldiers and Mariners ſwimming to Land in hope to ſave their Lives, and thinking that the greateſt danger had been now paſt, were by the Numidian Horſemen which ran up and down the Sea ſide, ſlain. There might a Man have ſeen Free-men of all ſorts, with Tears commending their lives and liberty to their own Gally-ſlaves, that by the ſpeech and entreaty of them, which by the ſuddain change of fortune had but even now ſhaken off their Irons, and with merry Hearts ſwam out to their liberty, they might be ſaved from the cruelty of the fierce Numidians. It was a moſt grievous and woful ſight for divers hard extremities, when as every Man according to the diſpoſition of his mind and skill in Swimming, ſtanding doubtful in moſt aſſured death, which to receive or refuſe, was by fatal Deſtiny drawn to his end, and either drowned in the Sea, or thruſt through with the Enemies Lance; yet moſt made voice to abide the danger of the Sea, and to expect the event of the Tempeſt, rather than to haſten their end by the Enemies mercileſs Hand. By that means it came to paſs, that that barbarous Cruelty of the Enemy (as a thing moſt feared of the Mariners and Souldiers) ſaved many Gallies, which by the appointment of the fearful Mariners and Paſſengers ſhould otherwiſe have been run on ground. But after that, a notable Galley wherein *Jannettin Auria* went, was ſeen to come near unto the Shore, and to be driven upon the Sands by force of Weather and the beating of other Gallies. The Emperor not enduring to ſee ſo valiant a young Gentleman, Captain of many Gallies, ſlain without help by the Moors in the ſight of *Auria* his Uncle, ſent by and by one of his Captains called

An horrible Tempeſt.

The Chriſtian Fleet periſheth by Shipwrack.

A hard choice.

Many Gallies loſt by ſaving of one Man.

Antonius of *Aragon*, with three Bands of Italians to the Sea ſide; by whoſe coming the Moors were put to flight, and he with the reſt in the Galley ſaved; but ſo, that the ſaving of him was the loſs of divers other Gallies. For many delivered of the fear of the Numidians, and truſting to the reſcue of the Souldiers came down to the Sea ſide, deſiring to ſave themſelves from the rage of the Sea, ran their Gallies on ground; and had not ſome bold Captains (grieved to ſee ſo great a loſs) ran up and down the Banks with their drawn Swords in their Hands, and by threatning death unto the Galley-ſlaves and Mariners, ſtaied their rowing, moſt part of the Gallies had by the example of the others periſhed. *Auria*, not ſo angry at himſelf as at the Emperor (who, contrary to the obſervation of skilful Sea-men, could not be diſſwaded from taking in hand that great expedition in ſo ſuſpicious a time of the year) with an invincible courage ſtrove againſt the violence of the Tempeſt, and rage of the Sea; inſomuch, that being requeſted by ſome of his Friends to ſave himſelf, whatſoever became of the Galley; he was ſo angry thereat, that he commanded them to be beſtowed under Hatches. Four Gallies alſo of *Virginius Urſinus* Earl of *Anguillaria*, and as many of the Rhodians, after his example rid it out, the reputation of their honour exceeding the fear of death. Certain Gallies alſo of *Sicilia*, *Naples*, and *Spain*, happily endured all the rage of the Tempeſt; yet was there fifteen great Gallies caſt away; with the loſs whereof, beſides the loſs of ſo many Ships, the Tempeſt ſtill enduring, ſo great ſorrow and deſperation in the woful expectation of the Wreck of all, poſſeſſed the whole Army, that not only the young Souldiers regarding only their own lives, but even the moſt valiant Captains careful of the common Eſtate, were utterly diſcouraged; for never was Army in any memory overwhelmed with a greater concourſe of calamities, when as all their Victuals being loſt in three days, nothing was left to relieve them withal, and they wanted Tents wherein to ſhroud and reſt the Souldiers ſpent with labour, hunger, cold, and wounds, in ſuch perpetual Rain and ſo dirty a Country. In which ſo great miſeries a wonderful care, heavier than the former fear, exceedingly troubled the minds of all Men, to think upon that horrid Wreck; when as having loſt ſo many Ships, and they poor Men landed in *Africk*, were in doubt however to return again into their native Countries. Yet the notable courage of the Emperor ſtill kept the diſtreſſed Men in hope, which never altogether forſaketh wretched Men in the midſt of their calamities; for he with a couragious heart and chearful countenance performed all the parts of a provident and courteous General. For when he had again made ſure his Camp againſt the aſſaults of the Barbarians, he commanded the wearied Captains, eſpecially the Duke of *Alva* (wonderfully wearied in the late skirmiſh, and dung wet) to ſpare themſelves and take their reſt; he comforted the wounded Men, and cauſed them to be carried and cheriſhed in the Tents which by chance yet ſtood (for the tempeſtuous Wind had almoſt overthrown them all) and ſo not ſparing himſelf for any pains, being in his Armor and through wet, won the hearts of all his Souldiers the more. In this conflict he loſt about three thouſand Men, amongſt whom was five of his forward Captains, and three Knights of the *Rhodes*; but many more were hurt. The greateſt loſs was thought to be in loſs of the Ships and of the Mariners, which was alſo encreaſed by the loſs of a wonderful deal of great Ordnance, reckoned ſo much the greater, for that it would come into the hands of the Moors, to the common harm of the Chriſtians, ſo ſoon as the Sea would give them leave to dive for it. Shortly after, *Auria* (as he was to foreſee a Tempeſt, a wonderful obſerver of the Sea, of the Heavens, and of the Clouds) miſtruſting that place, departed with the remainder of the Fleet to the Cape called *Metafuſium*, becauſe it was a place of ſafer riding for his Gallies, and better for the taking in of the Souldiers; adviſing the Emperor to march thither by Land. Which his Counſel the Emperor liking well of, to relieve the hunger of his Souldiers, commanded firſt all the draught-Horſes which were firſt unſhipped for the drawing of the great Ordnance, and after them the Horſes for ſervice, to be killed, and divided for Meat among the Souldiers. As for Wood to make Fire of, they had plenty of the Planks and Ribs of the broken Ships, Fortune as it were with that one poor benefit recompenſing ſo many calamities. The next day the Emperor departed from *Algiers*, with his Army divided into three Battels, the ſick and wounded Men being received into the middle; and when he had marched ſeven miles (the Enemies Horſemen ſtill hovering about him) he came to a heady Brook which the Moors call *Alcaraz*; which was grown ſo high with the abundant Rain and the check of the Wind and of the Sea, that being but a ſhallow thing before, it was not now to be paſſed over by a good Horſeman. Wherefore the Emperor of neceſſity there encamped, in ſuch ſort, that lying with his Army in form of a Triangle, two ſides of his Army was defended with the Sea and the Brook, and the other with a ſtrong Guard of armed Men, for he thought it not good to depart from the Sea, a ſure defence for his Army on the left hand, to ſeek a Foord farther off. Many adventuring to ſwim over, were by the violence of the Stream carried away and drowned. Wherefore the Emperor cauſed a Bridge to be made over it, of the Maſts and Sail-yards of the broken Ships, which were by chance there taken up, and ſo paſſed over the Italians and Germans. The Spaniards marching higher up the Brook, found a Foord whereby they paſſed over. After which time the Turks purſued them no further, being called back again by *Aſſan* their Governour; as for the Moors and Numidians which ſtill followed at hand always ready to skirmiſh, they were eaſily repulſed by the Harquebuſiers and Field-pieces appointed to every Nation; but upon ſuch ſick and wounded Men as were not able to keep way with the Army, they exerciſed all manner of cruelty; for there was none which in that ſmall hope, poſſeſſed with fear of their own ſafety, was greatly moved with the compaſſion of their Fellows miſery. The next day paſſing over another little River, which the Souldiers waded over up to their Breſts, they came in three days march to the Rode where the Fleet lay, and encamped in the Ruins of the old City *Tipuſa* near unto the Sea ſide, which ſerved them inſtead of a Fortreſs againſt the Barbarians. The Sea was now calm, the Wind laid, and the Weather ſo fair that all Men thought the Souldiers might now well be embarked and tranſported into *Europe*; wherefore the Emperor to the great joy of the whole Army commanded every Man to make himſelf ready to go aboord, in ſuch ſort, that firſt the Italians, next the Germans, and laſt of all the Spaniards ſhould be embarked; but ſo many Ships and Gallies, as is before ſaid, being loſt by Shipwreck, it was thought that thoſe which were left were not able to receive the whole Army, although it was crowded together

The miſery of the Chriſtian Army.

The chearfulneſs of the Emperor comforteth the whole diſtreſſed Army.

Horſes good Meat in the Emperors Army.

The Emperor departeth from Algiers.

He embarketh his Army.

Horſes of great price drowned by the Emperors command, to make room for the common Souldiers.

together as cloſe as were poſſible. Wherefore the Emperor commanded the Maſters and owners of the Ships to caſt all the Horſes overboord into the Sea, reputing it an unmerciful part, to prefer the ſafegard of thoſe Horſes (although they were of great worth) before the life of the baſeſt common Souldier or Horſe-boy in his Camp. Which thing much grieved the minds of the Noblemen and Owners of thoſe goodly Beaſts, not only for that they were (not without extream neceſſity) for the preſent deprived of ſuch an ineſtimable Treaſure, but ſhould for ever, as they ſaid, loſe the moſt notable race of Horſes in *Spain*; there with grief and vain compaſſion, was to be ſeen goodly Horſes of ſervice, bearing up their proud Heads, ſwimming all about the Sea unto the Ships neareſt unto them for ſafegard, as if it had been to the Shore, and in the end wearied with long ſwimming to be there drowned. But ſcarce half the Souldiers were yet embarked, when the Eaſt and North-Eaſt Wind, and ſtraitways after divers contrary Winds almoſt as great as the firſt, roſe; whereupon the Ships which had already taken in the Souldiers, not expecting any command, for fear of being driven upon the Rocks, directed their Courſe according as the Wind carried them, with full Sails alongſt the Coaſt; They were quickly out of ſight, and diſperſed with the Tempeſt, ſome into one Country, ſome into another, carrying the Fame of that Shipwreck, and the report that all was loſt, into the Iſlands of the Mediterranean and Ports of *Italy*.

Two Spaniſh Ships full of Souldiers driven by Tempeſt to Algiers.

The force of this Tempeſt was ſo great, and the Billows went ſo high, that ſome of the Ships were in the ſight of their Fellows ſwallowed up of the Sea. But amongſt the reſt two Spaniſh Ships full of Souldiers were by wonderful miſhap by contrary Winds driven again to *Algiers*, and there ſet faſt upon that fatal Shore, where the Numidian Horſemen with a multitude of Moors following them, came running down to the Sea ſide to kill them as they ſhould come to Shore; for the barbarous People thirſting after Chriſtian Blood, would not receive them to mercy, although they were ready to yield themſelves, and covenanted nothing but the ſafegard of their lives. At which their cruelty the Spaniards diſdaining, with their Weapons in their hands got to Shore, and ſtanding cloſe together as deſperate Men, withſtood them who had with their multitude quickly compaſſed them in round; yet in deſpight of what that barbarous multitude (without regard of humanity or Law of Arms) could do, they made way through the midſt of them, from the place where they were caſt on Shore, unto the very Gates of the City. But ſeeing the Turks ſally out, they called unto them, offering to yield themſelves Priſoners to *Aſſan* without further reſiſtance, if they would aſſure them their lives, which they were in good hope of, for that he was born of Chriſtian Parents in *Sardinia*, and was attended upon with many Renegate Spaniards.

Aſſan *taketh the Spaniards to mercy.*

So *Aſſan* coming forth of the City, gave them his Faith for their ſafety, and beating away the Moors and Numidians, courteouſly ſaved them all, wiſely making great account of ſo great a gain as would redound unto him by ſo many Priſoners, joyned with no ſmall commendation of his clemency in ſaving them. Of the Germans the third part never returned home, but were either loſt with Shipwreck, or elſe dead of the Sickneſs enſuing ſo great miſeries.

The Emperor cometh to Buzia.

The Emperor perſwaded (or rather overruled) by *Auria*, to avoid the violence of the Tempeſt, ſailed alongſt the Coaſt of *Africk* Eaſtward to *Buzia*; the Caſtle whereof was kept with a ſmall Garriſon of Spaniards; where the Emperor landing, found ſome freſh Victual, though not much, yet ſuch as did both him and the other Noblemen no ſmall pleaſure. Whilſt the Emperor lay at *Buzia* expecting fairer Weather, a great Ship of *Genoa* laded with Victual chanced to come into the Bay, to the great rejoycing of the hungry Souldiers; but ſuch was the violence of the Tempeſt, that her Anchors came home, and ſhe driven upon the Flats was caſt away; yet ſo, as that part of the Victual driven to Shore, and half ſpoiled with the Salt-water, well relieved the encreaſing want. In the mean time the Emperor when he had long looked for the aſſwaging of the Tempeſt, and was now out of hope of any new ſupply of Victual, ſent away *Gonzaga* with the Sicilian and Rhodian Gallies; for the Wind before at North was now come to Northweſt, and put them in hope to adventure again to Sea, rather than to ſtay there longer. So although with a troubleſome yet a proſperous Courſe, they came in ſhort time to the Port of *Utica*, now called *Farinas*; where *Muleaſſes* King of *Tunes* bountifully relieved *Gonzaga* and his Fleet with all kind of Victual and other neceſſaries. From whence they afterward departed, and landed all in ſafety at *Drepanum* in *Sicilia*. The bluſtring Winds were now at length weary of blowing, and the raging Sea became calm, ſo that the skilful Sea-men for fear of new dangers, and weary of thoſe that were paſt, thought it beſt to adventure again at Sea. Almoſt every hour they were reaſoning in Council, What Courſe they were for moſt ſafety beſt to take; when ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt to bear for *Sardinia* or *Corſica*; and otherſome would have had them to have kept alongſt the Coaſt of *Africa*, and ſo directly for *Sicilia*.

The Emperor arriveth in Spain.

But the Wind coming fair at Eaſt, the Emperor directed his Courſe to the Iſlands *Baleares*, and from thence at length arrived at the Port of *New Carthage* in Spain, greatly commended even of his Enemies, for the wonderful courage and conſtancy in paſſing through ſo many extremities, in ſuch ſort as if he had triumphed over the malice of fortune.

1542.

The French King the more to trouble the Emperor, ſoliciteth Solyman *to invade his Countries.*

About this time the diſſembled friendſhip betwixt *Charles* the Emperor and *Francis* the French King brake out into open hatred. The King firſt thinking himſelf deluded by the Emperor, who had long time fed him with the vain hope of the reſtitution of the Duchy of *Milan*, when as he meant nothing leſs; and of late abuſed by the death of *Rinco* his Embaſſador, ſlain by the Spaniards in paſſing down the River *Padus*, as is before declared. In revenge whereof he raiſed a great power in *France*, and at ſuch time as moſt Men thought he would have invaded *Italy*, ſent *Charles* his Son with the one part of his Forces into the Low-Countries, which were then governed by *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* the Emperors Siſter; and *Henry* his other Son with the other part of his Forces to invade *Spain*; both young Princes, of great hope. And not ſo contented, but deſirous by all means to trouble and moleſt the Emperor, as he did in the Low-Countries by ſetting on the Duke of *Cleve*; ſo by *Antonius Polinus* his Embaſſador, a Man of great diſcretion, he earneſtly ſolicited *Solyman* the Great Turk, with whom he was then in League, to ſpoil the Borders of *Spain* with his Gallies, at the ſame time that *Henry* his Son was beſieging *Perpenna* in *Spain*. For which practice he was of moſt Men diſcommended, as too much favouring his own grief, and eſpecially by ſuch as affected the Emperor. But how this matter (which drew upon the French King no ſmall envy) was carried in the Turks Court, ſhall not

(as I hope) be unto this Hiſtory impertinent to declare.

Pollnus *the French Embaſſador meeteth* Solyman *coming from* Buda *and offereth unto him Preſents from the French King.*

After the death of *Rinco* ſlain by the Spaniards, *Francis* the French King ſent *Antonius Polinus* a Man of great dexterity, his Embaſſador to *Solyman*; who paſſing by many by-ways to *Venice*, and ſo over the Gulf to *Sibinicum*, croſſing over *Illyria*, met with *Solyman* in *Miſia*, as he was coming from *Buda*; and there firſt offered unto him the Preſent ſent from the King his Maſter (for with empty hands no Man might preſume to come to thoſe barbarous Kings of the Eaſt) which Preſent was a Cupboord of Plate curiouſly wrought, in weight ſix hundred Pounds; and five hundred rich Garments of all ſorts of Silk and Skarlet to be beſtowed upon the Baſſaes and other great Courtiers. *Solyman* after he had read the French Kings Letters, and heard what he had further to ſay, ſeemed to be greatly moved with the death of *Rinco*, and promiſed *Polinus* not to be wanting unto the French King, by Sea or Land to give him aid in his juſt Wars againſt *Charles* his Enemy, for breaking of the League, but foraſmuch as nothing could be well determined of ſuch matters in his Journy of ſo great haſt, he told him, that as ſoon as he was come to *Conſtantinople*, he ſhould then have anſwer by his Baſſaes of all his demands.

The requeſt of the French Embaſſador to Solyman.

The Embaſſador above all things deſired that he would ſend *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* with his Fleet againſt the next Summer into *Provence*, there to be received into the French Harbors, and to be imployed againſt the Emperor as occaſion ſhould require; and further, That he would requeſt the Venetians, with whom he was able to do much, to joyn in League with the King his Maſter againſt *Charles* the Emperor, whoſe power began now to be dreadful to their Eſtate. *Polinus* was not ſlack in his buſineſs, but all the way as he went ſought to win the favour of the Baſſaes, ſtill giving them one Preſent or other, and filling their minds with the hope of greater. But when they were come to *Conſtantinople*, in the later end of *December*, *Solyman* promiſing what he had before ſaid, adviſed *Polinus* to return to *France* with his Letters, and to bring him certain word back again from the King, of the determinate time and full reſolution of taking thoſe Wars in hand; and that he would in the mean time ſend *Junusbeius* his Embaſſador to *Venice*, who had been there divers times before, and would provide to have ſuch a Fleet in readineſs as he deſired.

Pollnus *return into* France.

Polinus exceeding glad of that anſwer, with great ſpeed returned back again to the King, bringing with him as Preſents from *Solyman* two goodly Turkiſh Horſes and a Sword richly ſet with Stones of great price. The French King having by his Embaſſador received *Solymans* Letters and Preſents, and three days together diſcourſed with him at large of the manner of his proceeding in the Turks Court, in ſhort time after ſent him back again to *Solyman* with full inſtructions both of the time and places, and other circumſtances of the intended War.

Pollnus *ſent back again to* Solyman *cometh to* Venice *and notably ſolliciteth the Venetians to take up arms with the French King againſt the Emperor.*

Polinus coming to *Venice*, found not *Junusbeius* there, as he had well hoped; yet to loſe no time in expecting his coming, he with *Pellicerius* Embaſſador Lieger for the French King, and other of the French Faction, laboured the Senators in the behalf of the King. For it was thought like enough, that the Venetians ſtill meaſuring all their Councils by their profit, would eaſily conſent to that League, eſpecially being requeſted thereunto by *Solyman*, and put in hope to have the Port-Town *Maranus* delivered unto them in reward thereof; which otherwiſe the French, in whoſe poſſeſſion it was, threatned to deliver to the Turks, and to make them their evil Neighbours, rather than to have it taken from them by the Germans. Wherefore *Polinus* having audience given him in the Senate, notably pleaded the French Kings cauſe, grievouſly lamented the death of the Embaſſador ſlain by the Spaniards, and bitterly enveighed againſt the ambition of the Emperor, who as he ſaid aſpired to the whole Monarchy of *Italy*, not by true vertue and valour, but by meer craft and deceit, encroaching ſtill upon the liberties of the Free-States, and by little and little impoſing upon them the Yoke of Bondage; In confirmation whereof he produced many examples, to them well known, requeſting them as ancient Friends and Confederates of the French, to joyn their Forces with the Kings; in which doing, they ſhould aſſure themſelves of ſuch reward of the undoubted Victory, as they could not deſire greater. Whereas if they ſhould refuſe ſo to do, and would rather ſit ſtill and look on as neuters, they ſhould undoubtedly, Fortune having decided the quarrel, grievouſly offend both, and might worthily expect of the vanquiſhed, hatred; and of the conqueror, injury. Beſides that, in taking up of Arms they ſhould highly gratifie *Solyman*, who provoked with late injuries, had determined with a puiſſant Army to invade *Hungary*, and at the ſame time to ſend *Barbaruſſa* with a great Fleet againſt the Spaniards their common Enemies; for the imparting of which his deſigns he would ſhortly ſend unto them *Junusbeius* his Embaſſador: As for the event of the War they needed not to doubt, when as they of themſelves were ſtrong enough quickly to thruſt the Emperor out of the Duchy of *Millan*, being generally hated of the people, feeding his Souldiers with the ſpoil of the Country, and and on every ſide beſet both by Sea and Land by two of the greateſt Monarchs of the World.

The crafty anſwer of the Venetians to the French Kings Embaſſador.

Whereunto the Senate delaying the time for certain days, that *Junusbeius* might in the mean time come thither, gravely anſwered, That the amity they held with King *Francis*, ought to be unto them an ornament, but no burden; the like alſo they held with the Emperor, whom they would in no caſe ſeem to caſt off, although they had been by him overwraught; Wherefore the Senators and all the Citizens in general were of opinion, to preſerve their Peace, as they which in the hard times of War had endured great extremities, which would hardly be recovered with long Peace: But if they did once ſee the Enſigns diſplaied, and the Wars begun, they would then take further advice, Whether it were good for them to thruſt themſelves into thoſe Wars or not, when as they were in League and Friendſhip with three of the greateſt Princes of the World.

Solymans *Embaſſador cometh to* Venice.

In the mean time *Junusbeius* arrived at *Venice*, and was there honourably received. He requeſted, That the League before made at *Conſtantinople* by *Badoerius* their Embaſſador, might by the authority of the Senate be confirmed; and ſo commended the French Kings cauſe to the Senate, that he requeſted no more, but that unto that amity which they already held with the French, they would joyn further courteſies, the rather for that *Solyman* had accounted him for his Brother, and had undertaken to aid him againſt *Charles* King of *Spain*; but as to joyn in League with him, or in his quarrel to take up Arms, he requeſted nothing. Which was quite beſide the expectation of *Polinus* and *Pellicerius*, who by urging of the matter, and by telling of all, had thought eaſily to have perſwaded the Senate to have granted what they requeſted, and therefore thought the Turk (who had ſo coldly ſpoken in the cauſe) to be ſome way corrupted. But as

it

Polinus *coming to* Conſtantinople, *findeth not the Turk ſo ready to ſend his Fleet to aid the French King, as he had hoped.*

it afterward appeared; there was ſuch equity and modeſty in *Solymans* Letters (who was otherwiſe of a proud and inſolent nature) that he would not as then exact any thing of them, which ſhould not ſtand with the good of their Eſtate. Wherefore *Polinus* having in vain ſtaied certain days at *Venice*, was in one of their publick Gallies tranſported to *Raguſium*, and from thence travelled by Land to *Conſtantinople*, where he found all things more difficult than ever he dreamed of. For the great Baſſaes ſaid, There could no Fleet be ſet out that year, by reaſon that he was come too late to ſue for ſuch a matter, the Spring of the Year being now paſt, of all other times moſt fit for to take in hand ſo long a Voyage. So that *Polinus* was above meaſure vexed with care and grief, that he had ſo evil ſped, and was come ſo out of ſeaſon both at *Venice* and *Conſtantinople*. *Dixius* alſo, one of the Maſters of the Rhodian Gallies, was come to *Conſtantinople*, to carry news into *France* of the coming of the Turks Fleet; who told *Polinus*, That the Kings Sons were with ſtrong power far entred into the Low-Countries, and had already invaded *Spain*, expecting nothing more than the coming of the Turks Gallies. Wherefore *Polinus* (as it eaſily chanceth to Men deceived by truſt repoſed in any other Mens promiſes, and bewailing the evil ſucceſs of their vain travel) wonderfully tormented himſelf, curſed the froward and unconſtant manners of the Baſſaes, called upon the Faith of *Solyman*; and beſought the great Baſſaes one by one, that they would not contrary to their promiſe forſake the King, who upon the hope of the coming of the Turks Fleet, had now invaded both the Low-Countries and the Kingdom of *Spain*; foraſmuch as by that delay, which was unto them neither honourable nor profitable, was (as he ſaid) betraied the Majeſty of his King, and a moſt aſſured Victory now as good as gotten, quite marred. In which his obteſtations, he was ſo importunate and tedious, that he became unto thoſe proud Baſſaes rather loathſome than gracious; inſomuch that to end his ſute, they thought it beſt ſharply to take him up, and for that time to ſhake him off. And therefore ſending for him and the other French Gentlemen which followed him, to the Court, the great Baſſaes then ſitting in Council, and *Barbaruſſa* with them for the Honour of his place; as ſoon as they were come into the Council-Chamber, *Solyman* Baſſa the Eunuch turning himſelf about, ſpake unto them in this ſort.

The ſharp Oration of Solyman *the Eunuch Baſſa to* Polinus *the French Embaſſador.*

Frenchmen (ſaid he) *this place for diſpatch of moſt weighty Affairs, appointed by the grave Judgment of our moſt mighty Emperor to us his faithful Servants, doth (as it beſt beſeemeth) receive us daily coming unto it, void of love and hatred; and withal doth notably put us in remembrance, to ſpeak our minds freely. Neither would I, that this frankneſs of ſpeech (the Meſſenger of truth, and therefore the faithful keeper of friendſhip) ſhould be unto your Ears unpleaſing or troubleſome; for ſithence your King hath been called the friend and fellow of the* Othoman *Name, we may not now either forget the duties of love, or loath your friendſhip; ſeeing that our Emperor doth marvellouſly affect you, and is not a little deſirous to ſtrengthen you with his power, and by overcoming your Enemies to encreaſe your power and honour. But in your demands is no equity, no modeſty, ſo that we term you unmodeſt and importunate; and others which favour you not ſo well, call you plainly by your right Names, unreaſonable and ſhameleſs Men; who as too too forgetful of your duties, do moſt fondly trouble the Laws of amity and friendſhip. For Leagues are confirmed by like profit, making even the charge and mutual dangers; but if neglecting your Friends kindneſs and courteſie, you will make no requital, they will quickly grow weary of you. So happeneth it unto you Frenchmen, who ever forgetful and negligent in our dangers, but in your own always mindful and diligent, have ſhewed your ſelves friends unto us when need was, not in deeds and certain aid, but only in bare Letters, and Embaſſages. Tell me I pray you where ever you ſhewed any ſign or token of your good will or aid? Whereby the minds of our Enemies might at the leaſtwiſe have but been kept in ſuſpence of ſome doubtful fear, when as* Charles *with all the power of the Weſt came into* Hungary: *And* Corone *and* Patras *were in the mean time ſhaken in* Grece *with the Enemies Fleet; and laſt of all* Tunes *taken with ſo great a Fleet? But all this we pardon you; yet this it is which is hardly to be endured, that you did not ſo much as once grieve at our ſo great injuries, as you ought to have done; but ſent your gratulatory Embaſſadors unto the bloody common Enemy, who had but even then ſlain ſo many of our people. At length our Emperor came to* Aulona *to your great profit, about to paſs over into* Italy; *but neither then in the arrival of our Fleet appeared the good wills of the Apulians towards you, which were of you ſo vainly promiſed, neither did you ſo much as once move to invade the upper part of* Italy; *ſo neither ſerving our turn, nor well fitting your own, you have always loſt the occaſion of the good ſucceſs of your affairs. But neither then, neither at any time afterwards, needed we your Counſel or united Forces; for the Venetians to their pain felt both our Forces and our Faith; as for the reſt, War, the notable revenger of our wrongs, moſt happily brought to paſs, at ſuch time as you of your own voluntary heads made Peace with the common Enemy, to invade us; and did as unkindly as impudently as it were blow Wind in his Sails. But we, without your help, have notably repreſſed ſo great aſſaults of our Enemies; when as this ſame* Hariaden Barbaruſſa *put to flight their Fleet at* Ambracia *and happily ſlew the Spaniſh Pyrats of* Caſtrum, *and having again recovered our own Cities, took alſo from them ſome of theirs; wherefore we are bound unto you for no deſert, but we had rather forget theſe unkindneſſes, than to fail you whom we have once received into our friendſhip. For we perform our fidelity in deeds; but it is his part to regard the time, to way the danger, to wait occaſion; which will not raſhly commit his actions to the hazard of Fortune. You are come later than you ſhould have done for the ſetting forth of our Fleet; for Summer now well ſpent, followeth the peſtilent time of Autumn, ſo that Mariners cannot in convenient time be taken up, or ſafely thruſt into the Gallies; for in long ſailing, who would not think, but that ſuch a Company of Sailers uſually ſick at the change of an unacquainted Air, would be in danger of their lives? Who would not fear Shipwreck in their return, when as this ſame* Hariaden *ſo great a Maſter at Sea, driven upon the Acroceraunian Rocks in the Month of* Auguſt, *loſt ſo many Gallies? A Fleet would be rigged in Winter, furniſhed and ſet forward in the Spring, in Summer is ſafe ſailing and making War. Which that it may be ſo done, we will for the Commonwealths ſake perſwade the Emperor; for the Navy once loſt, cannot upon the ſuddain be again reſtored for much Gold, whereof the* Othoman *Emperor wanteth no ſtore, heaped up by many Ages. If thou be wiſe take theſe things in good part as friendly ſpoken; but whether the Emperor will pardon thy boldneſs or not, let himſelf conſider; truly we have ſatisfied both him and our ſelves in ſpeaking to thee ſo plainly.*

Theſe things ſeverely ſpoken by the Eunuch Baſſa, did ſo much the more trouble *Polinus*, for that they ſeemed to have been ſent from the mouth of *Solyman* himſelf, who was thought to have heard all that was ſaid. For behind the Baſſaes as they ſat in Council, was a Window with a braſen Grate, and a Curten drawn before it, that the Emperor when he pleaſed, might unperceived hear the complaints and ſutes of all Nations, and note the manners of his great Counſellors; whoſe care for the adminiſtration of Juſtice was ſo much the greater, for fear of his preſence. Yet did not *Polinus* for his repulſe, deteſting the double dealing of the Baſſaes, ſo give over his ſute; but winning by gifts the favour of the *Capiaga* or chief Porter, a Man ever of great authority in the Turks Court, laboured by him to be brought to the ſpeech of *Solyman* himſelf; who faithfully performed what he had undertaken, So the French Embaſſador brought by him into the ſecreteſt place of the Court, which few Chriſtians had ever been, and ſo unto the preſence of *Solyman*, recounted unto him how all matters had before paſſed, and moſt earneſtly beſought him not to fail the Kings expectation of the Fleet he had before promiſed, who at that preſent was invading his Enemies in three places. Whereunto *Solyman* courteouſly and expreſly anſwered, That the opportunity of ſending out of his Fleet was paſt; not by his will, which was always immutable and firm, but by his late coming, and the time of the year half ſpent; but promiſed the next Spring without doubt to ſend unto the King his Friend and Brother, twice ſo great a Fleet as he had deſired againſt *Charles* their Enemy. With which anſwer, the Embaſſador diſpatched away *Dixius* into *France*, upon whoſe arrival, King *Francis* called back again *Henry* his eldeſt Son with his Army, from the Siege of *Perpenna* in *Spain*.

Polinus *by the means of the Capiaga, is brought to the Speech of* Solyman *himſelf.*

Solymans *anſwer to* Polinus.

The Princes of Germany joyn their forces with King Ferdinand *againſt the Turk in* Hungary.

The Princes and States of *Germany*, at the requeſt of King *Ferdinand* and the Nobility of *Hungary*, about this time decreed with one conſent, to take up Arms againſt the Turks, for the recovering again of *Buda*, and other the loſt parts of *Hungary*. For beſides the diſhonour done to their Nation at *Exek* under the leading of *Cazzianer*, and again at *Buda* under the leading of the Lord *Rogendorff*; they well ſaw, that if they did not ſpeedily relieve the Hungarians overwhelmed with the calamities of the Turks Forces, they ſhould in ſhort time be enforced to fight for their Religion, Children, Wives, and Lives, againſt the ſame mighty Enemy, at their own Doors. For preventing whereof, the Princes and free Cities of *Germany*, ſet out thirty thouſand Footmen, and ſeven thouſand Horſemen, amongſt whom was *Mauritius*, afterwards Duke of *Saxony*, then a young Gentleman about twenty years old. But the General of theſe German Forces, was *Joachimus* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, a Man more for the honour of his Houſe than the valour of himſelf preferred to that place; yet ſo, that unto him was joyned eight others, Men of great years and experience, by whoſe Counſel he was to be directed. When they were come to *Vienna*, King *Ferdinands* power met them; where, beſide ſuch as were taken up in *Auſtria*, *Huganot* Governour of *Stiria* came in with ten thouſand Horſemen. Unto theſe the Noblemen of *Hungary*, *Gaſper Seredius*, *Andreas Bathor*, and *Petrus Perenus*, a Man of the greateſt authority, power, and experience, amongſt the Hungarians, joyned themſelves, with fifteen thouſand Horſemen; whither alſo *Paulus* the third of that Name then Biſhop of *Rome*, ſent three thouſand choſen Footmen out of *Italy*, conducted to *Vienna* by *Alexander Vitellius*, a moſt famous Captain. The Marqueſs with this great Army marched from *Vienna* alongſt the River *Danubius*, but ſo ſoftly, that the Hungarian and Italian Captains ſaid plainly, That the beſt part of the Summer and fitteſt time for Wars, was paſſed over in loitering and dallying out the time to no purpoſe; eſpecially *Jacobus Medices*, who had long before perſwaded the King, to be ready to ſet forward his Forces with the firſt of the Spring, before the Turks could either augment their Garriſons, or put in any new Forces; for that by ſuch reſolute and ſpeedy invaſion, it was like enough he might recover both *Peſth* and *Buda*. Which politick and wholſome Counſel ſo well given, King *Ferdinand* too much crediting the great Men of his Court (liking nothing but what proceeded of themſelves) rejected, expecting the full aſſembly of all his Forces, before the ſetting forth of his Army. At length the Marqueſs was by ſoft marches come to *Strigonium* (King *Ferdinand* himſelf ſtaying behind at *Vienna*) where it was commonly reported, That *Solyman* fearing to loſe *Buda*, was either in perſon himſelf coming into *Hungary*, or elſe ſending down the General of his European Horſemen, who might never ſet foot forward to War, without ſixty thouſand Horſemen. Which news ſo troubled the Germans, that they made no great haſt forward, doubting how they ſhould return again if they chanced not to get the Victory; beſide that, it was thought that the Marqueſs never purpoſed to fight a Battel, or endanger himſelf or his Army for the Kingdom of *Hungary*, but only to defend the bounds of *Auſtria*, and by ſhewing the ſtrength of *Germany*, to terrifie, if he could, the Turks, if they not content with *Hungary*, ſhould alſo provoke the Germans. But after it was by certain Eſpials from *Samandria*, known that all that report of the coming of the Turks great Army was but vain, and that there was ſcarce a thouſand Janizaries and twice ſo many Horſemen come to *Buda*, and that the Turks Fleet was both for number and ſtrength far inferiour to the Kings, they ſet forward again with more chearfulneſs, much encouraged by the forwardneſs of the Hungarians, eſpecially of *Perenus*; aſſuring them, that if they would without delay march on, and ſpend no more time in vain, they ſhould not find at *Buda* any ſuch number of Turks as was worth the name of an Army; for that *Solyman* uſing but every ſecond Year to make War, did that year take his reſt, and was not like to undertake any great expedition. For theſe reaſons all Men being ready chearfully to ſet forward, the Marqueſs appointed to paſs over *Danubius*; which this *Perenus*, *Huganot*, and *Medices*, all expert Captains liked not of; wiſhing him rather to hold on his way directly ſtill on that ſide the River to *Buda*, the chief City of the Kingdom. But it was the mind of the General and all his Counſellors, firſt to beſiege *Peſth*, which might be done with leſs labour and danger, and there having made proof of the Enemies ſtrength and purpoſe, to come to the Siege of *Buda*; for then would the Souldiers with much more courage and chearfulneſs endure the Siege of *Buda*, if they had by good fortune firſt beaten them out of *Peſth*. Which Counſel was both beſt liked and followed, and the Army by two Bridges with great and painful labour made over *Danubius* (which was in that place divided into two parts) tranſported. At the ſame time *Medices* an Italian Captain, Admiral of the Kings Fleet, came down the River, and in deſpight of the Turks took the Iland of St. *Margaret*, lying in the River a little above *Buda*, and by force repulſed the Turks Fleet unto the Suburbs of the City. The Marqueſs to avoid the danger of the great ſhot from *Buda*, after he was paſſed the River, fetcht a great compaſs about, and ſo came to the North ſide of *Peſth*; for on the South it was defended with the River *Danubius*, running betwixt it and *Buda*; and on the Eaſt and Weſt the great Ordnance on the one ſide from the Caſtle of *Buda*, and on the other from Mount St. *Gerrard*, did ſo ſcour all alongſt the Walls, that no Man could without moſt manifeſt danger there abide. For *Buda* ſtanding upon the Hill, and divided from *Peſth* only with the River, ſo overlooketh and commandeth all the plain Country about *Peſth*, that without peril no Man can ſtir on any ſide of the City, but Northward towards *Agria*, covered by the City from the ſhot out of *Buda*. As the Marqueſs was coming thither, he was told by certain Fugitives, That *Balis* Governour of *Buda* (who in that place ſucceeded *Solyman* the Hungarian Renegate, lately before dead of the Plague) had in Garriſon in *Buda* two thouſand Horſemen; and that *Ulames* the Perſian Governour of *Boſna*, was come unto him with three thouſand more; whereunto *Amurathes* had alſo joyned another thouſand which he brought out of *Dalmatia*; and that *Segemenes* was come thither alſo with a thouſand Janizaries from *Conſtantinople*; as for the reſt of the Footmen, that they were but wild Country people, fitter for labour than for ſervice in Wars. They told him alſo, that the Enemies Fleet conſiſted of ſixty ſmall Pinnaces, ten Gallies, and a few other great Boats; and that *Solyman* had commanded his Captains in any caſe to defend *Buda* and *Peſth*, to the laſt Man, without regard of any other place. And had propoſed unto the valiant, great rewards; and to the cowardly, extream puniſhment; charging them further, that if need were, they ſhould in time ſend for *Achomates* the General of his European Horſemen, to *Sophia*, to aid them. The Turks upon the approach of the Chriſtians, iſſued out at one of the Gates of the City, and skirmiſhed with the Hungarians; but after they had ſufficiently proved one anothers ſtrength, and ſome few were on both ſides ſlain, they retired into the City, and the Hungarians to the Camp. The next day after, *Vitellius* going out of the Camp near the City with five companies, to chuſe a place for planting the Battery; the Turks at one inſtant ſallying out at two Gates of the City, gave him a hot skirmiſh, where at the firſt, the fight was begun with like courage and force; but the Turks ſtill ſending forth new ſupplies both of Horſe and Foot; firſt the Chriſtian Footmen, and after that the Horſemen, not able longer to endure the force of the Janizaries, were conſtrained diſorderly to retire, having loſt in that retreat four of their Captains and two Enſigns; and had not *Vitellius* with one Company of Horſemen ſerred together, valiantly repulſed the inſolent Janizaries, the loſs had been much greater. *Vitellius* exceedingly grieved with this loſs, and perceiving the manner of the Enemies fight, encouraged his Souldiers, purpoſing if he could to be fully revenged; and above all others, requeſted *Perenus* to be ready to joyn with him as occaſion ſhould require. *Vitellius* lay encamped in the Kings Orchards, walled about as it were a mile, equally diſtant both from the great Camp and from the City; out of theſe Orchards he went with twelve Companies under their Enſigns, commanding the reſt to ſtand ſtill within the Walls, in readineſs at all aſſaies; and ſo fetching a great compaſs about, marched alongſt the River ſide towards the City; neither did the proud Enemy (brag of the former days Victory) make any delay, but bravely ſallied out at the Eaſt ſide of the City, and couragiouſly charged them. But *Vitellius* warned of his former harm, and ſeeing his Enemies come on as he deſired, covered his ſhot with his Pikes, and ſtanding cloſe, received the Enemies charge; his ſhot ſtill playing under the Pikes, oftentimes upon their Knees; many of the Turks were there laid on the ground, whilſt they deſperately fought to have broken the order of the Chriſtians. In the mean time, when many of the Turks Horſemen and Janizaries coming out of the Gates, and divers others beholding the fight were come over the River from *Buda*, to be partakers of the Victory, had filled the hithermoſt Bank; *Vitellius* in good time, of purpoſe by little and little retired, as if he had been overcharged; then began the Enemy to give a great ſhout, and more fiercely to aſſail the Chriſtians; their Horſemen alſo clapt behind them, to have there charged them. Which thing *Perenus* diligently noting, and that the Turks in following of *Vitellius* were drawn a great way from the Gates, he ſuddainly with his light Horſemen clapt in betwixt the City and the Turks at their backs; after whom followed alſo *Mauritius* (afterwards Duke of *Saxony*) with a ſtrong Troop of German Horſemen, of purpoſe to have ſhut them in for retiring back again into the City. But then the Turks perceiving the danger, and finding themſelves ſhut in, ſtood as Men more than half diſmaied, bethinking themſelves which way to take, and ſo began to retire. When *Vitellius* coming on couragiouſly with his Pikemen and his Harquebuſiers divided into two Wings, charged them fiercely; and the Hungarian and German Horſemen breaking in amongſt them on the other ſide, made great ſlaughter of them, and ſtruck ſuch a fear amongſt the flying Turks, that many of them in running to the Gate, thruſt one another through with their Pikes; divers other were alſo by the Horſemen driven into the River and there drowned. This day *Segemenes* loſt above an hundred of his Janizaries, and four hundred others. The chiefeſt commendation for this piece of ſervice was given to *Vitellius*, who had ſo well and ſo quickly revenged himſelf of the Turks; and next him to *Perenus*, who as a skilful Captain had ſo well awaited the time to entrap the Enemy; Neither is *Mauritius* the young Saxon Prince unworthy his due praiſe, who valiantly charging the Turks, and having his Horſe ſlain under him, was in danger to have been there loſt himſelf, had not *Nicholas Ribiſche* one of his Followers, covered him with his own Body, until ſuch time as that he was reſcued by others, *Ribiſchi* himſelf preſently dying of his Wounds, This little Victory ſo encouraged the Germans, that the Marqueſs commanded the great Ordnance to be preſently brought forth, and the Battery planted, which was at the firſt placed ſo far off, that it did little harm, although the Wall were both old and thin, not above five Foot thick; and the Ordnance laid either a little too low, or mounted too high, either ſhot ſhort, or quite over the City into *Buda*; which fault once perceived, the Battery was removed nearer, and a fair Breach ſoon made in the Wall, with the continual beating of forty great Pieces of Artillery. *Vitellius* was the firſt that offered to aſſault the Breach, ſo that the Germans would preſently ſecond him, which thing they all by holding up of their hands promiſed couragiouſly, but cowardly by and by broke that promiſe; for oftentimes it chanceth, That they which before the danger are readieſt to promiſe their help, are in the very danger it ſelf of all others moſt ſlack. The Hungarians alſo for their

parts

The Marqueſs of Brandenburg *cometh to* Peſth *with his Army.*

The Turks ſally out of Peſth, *and put the Chriſtians to the worſe.*

The Turks ſallying out again are diſcomfited by Vitellius *and* Perenus.

Mauritius *in danger to be ſlain.*

A Breach made in the walls of Peſth.

parts promiſed not to be behind. The ſilence of the Enemy at the Breach and in the City, was wonderful, ſo that many thought he had been fled back over the River to *Buda*; for *Segemenes* Captain of the Janizaries, an old beaten Souldier, ordered all things with as little ſtir as was poſſible; he had received new ſupplies from *Ulamas*, and had caſt a deep Countermure within the Wall againſt the Breach, and on the inner ſide of the ſame had made a ſtrong Barricado, with Gabions and Wine Veſſels filled with Sand and Earth; behind which ſtood the Janizaries, and next unto them the Turkiſh Archers; and laſt of all the Horſemen, who had left their Horſes to ſerve on Foot. The ſignal for the aſſault once given, four Italian Captains ran deſperately with their Companies by the ruins of the Wall to the Breach; but whilſt they there ſet up their Enſigns, and wondring at the Enemies fortification, were ready betwixt hope and fear to leap down, they were ſuddainly overwhelmed with a ſhour of Arrows and Bullets. Yet *Vitellius* ſtill encouraging them, brought them ſtill on, who did what they might to have entred; but the German Footmen with their General ſtood ſtill under the Walls, looking on, as Men nothing moved either with the hope of Victory or danger of their Friends; and the Hungarians not ſo much as once looking upon the Enemy, retired; two of the Italian Captains, *Rufus* and *Fiolla* were there ſlain, and *Carolus Vitellius* his Nephew, ſhot in the Shoulder. The Turks with Shot and Stones ſtill repulſed and beat down the Italians, whereof the Germans alſo ſtanding ſtill, felt part, and were more gauled than a Man would have thought Men could have been, that did nothing; for there they ſtill ſtood for ſhame, leſt if they ſhould have alſo firſt retired, they ſhould have encurred a ſecond infamy as bad as the firſt; which thing *Vitellius* perceiving, would in no caſe depart from the Breach, but wiſhed rather to loſe his Men by whole Companies, than to leave the leaſt colour of excuſe to the Germans, or that they ſhould ſay they ſtaied longeſt, of whom he with greater anger than grief complained, that he was forſaken and cowardly betraid. In time of this aſſault one of the Turks was heard to ſpeak aloud in the Italian Tongue, *Why do not you valiant Italians ſpare your ſelves, and give place to thoſe laſie Germans? We all wiſh to ſpare you, and to beat the drunkenneſs out of their moſt cowardly heads, that they ſhould no more hereafter provoke us.* At length the Germans weary of their hot ſtanding and nought doing, got them farther off, after whom the Italians forthwith retired; but ſo diſorderly, to be quickly out of the danger of the Enemies ſhot, that if the Turks had at the ſame time ſallied out at all the Gates, it was thought that the whole Camp had been greatly endangered. In this attempt rather than aſſault, ſeven hundred Chriſtians were ſlain outright, and many more hurt, who died afterwards of their wounds.

The Breach aſſaulted by the Italians.

The Germans ſtand ſtill as lookers on, whilſt the Italians give the Aſſault.

The contumelious Speech of a Turk againſt the Germans.

The Germans and the Italians retire with loſs.

All this while the Marqueſs and *Hugonot* the great Commanders of the Army, kept themſelves ſo far from Gunſhot, that they were no where to be ſeen, until that *Torniellus* and *Fotiſcu*, two valiant Captains, finding them out, wiſhed them for ſhame to ſhew themſelves for the comforting of the Army. A little before night they conſulted with the other Captains, whither they ſhould forſake the Siege, or continue it ſtill; whereof moſt of the Germans beſt liked to be gon, as the ſafeſt way; though *Vitellius* and ſome others ſpake earneſtly to the contrary. At which time a Spy coming in, brought news that *Achomates*, *Solymans* Lieutenant of the European Horſemen, had paſſed over the River *Savus* at *Belgrade*, and was coming to *Dravus*; whoſe coming either cunningly fained, or vainly believed, cauſed the Germans to make a ſhort concluſion, and to reſolve flatly to return to *Vienna*, fearing that if they ſhould longer continue the Siege, they ſhould be ſtaied againſt their wills by *Achomates*. Which thing made many of the old German Souldiers to hang their heads for ſhame, and the Hungarians to curſe both the Germans and the hard fortune of their Nation, vainly wiſhing for a General in courage anſwerable to the ſtrength of that great Army. *Segemenes* perceiving how much the Chriſtian Army was diſcouraged by the laſt days evil ſucceſs, early in the Morning couragiouſly ſent out all the Horſemen, and after them certain Companies of Footmen, to relieve them in their retire; who in many place ſkirmiſhed with the Hungarians, being nothing inferior unto them either in courage or skill; and the matter was brought to that paſs, as if it had been ſo agreed upon, that many of the moſt notable and expert Souldiers on either ſide encountred together hand to hand in the ſight of the Italians and Germans, the Hungarians mixt with the Turks, and the Turks with the Hungarians, with ſuch fidelity, that they regarded no other Enemy but him whom every one hand ſingled out for himſelf, as if it had been in a triumph for exerciſe hand to hand. It hapned, that a notable Captain of the Turks, deſired to ſee *Vitellius*, who being ſhewed unto him (for he was eaſie to be known by his Armor) the Turk ran unto him to embarce him for his honour, and ſo departed. About five hundred Horſemen ſo encountred one another hand to hand that day, of whom many were ſlain or hurt. The night following the Battery was removed, and the Army marched towards the River to the Fleet. The Turks perceiving the Chriſtians to be departed, ſallied out of the City on all hands, and with a great cry upbraiding them of Cowardiſe, hardly purſued the Rereward of the Army. *Ulamas* was come over himſelf from *Buda*, and ſo eagerly followed the Army, that it could hardly have eſcaped without great danger, had not *Vitellius* with his Italians made a ſtand, and requeſted the Hungarian and German Horſemen to turn back upon the Enemy; which they at his requeſt did, and not only repulſed the Enemy, but alſo put him to flight, and in the chaſe ſlew many. After which time the Army paſſed on quietly; yet ſeven hundred Germans which were ſick and ſtragled behind the Army, were by the Turks Horſemen miſerably ſlain in the ſight of their Fellows. The Germans thrice foiled by the Turks, firſt at *Exek*, then at *Buda*, and now at *Peſth*, returned full of heavineſs and grief, as they which were now to forget the ſubduing of *Hungary*, and to become careful of *Germany* it ſelf. The Army coming to *Vienna*, was there broken up, and the Italians ſent home into their Country, who for moſt part died by the way, of infection taken in the Camp in ſtrange Air, and a moſt queſie time of the Year.

A notable skirmiſh betwixt the Turks and the Hungarians.

The Chriſtians removing from Peſth *are aſſailed by the Turks.*

The Chriſtian Army broken up at Vienna.

But to cover the ſhame of this unfortunate expedition, and to turn Mens talk another way by ſome notable accident; *Petrus Perenus* the noble Hungarian was the Man pickt out for the purpoſe to fill Mens mouths. He, belayed with the envy of the Court, was for ſuſpicion of aſpiring to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, by the commandment of King *Ferdinand* apprehended by *Liſcanus*, a Spaniſh Captain in the Caſtle of *Strigonium*, as a Traitor, and preſently delivered to *Medices* the Admiral, to be conveied up the River to *Vienna*.

Perenus *the notable Hungarian apprehended upon ſuſpicion of Treaſon.*

The uncourteſie of Liſcanus *the Spaniard in the apprehenſion of* Perenus.

Matters ſurmiſed againſt Perenus.

Vienna. *Liſcanus* at the time of his apprehenſion moſt covetouſly and uncourteouſly took from him his Chain, and a rich Cloak lined with Sables; which indignity done to ſo noble a Gentleman, ſo much offended the minds of the reſt of the Hungarians, that above twelve thouſand of them thereupon preſently returned home to their own dwellings, curſing the Germans to the Divel. This *Perenus* was one of the greateſt Peers of *Hungary*, but of a moſt haughty and magnificent mind, ſo that he would ſometime have almoſt a hundred goodly ſpare Horſes fit for ſervice led before him without their Riders; and would ſometime ſpeak too liberally againſt the bareneſs of King *Ferdinands* Court, who polled by his Courtiers, hardly maintained his State; which his ſurpaſſing magnificence and princely Port was cauſe enough for the other great Courtiers to envy at his Eſtate, and to ſeek his overthrow; who as Men overcharged with the burthen of another Mans vertue, whereof they never bore the leaſt part, and always gaining by the depraving of other Mens perfection, conſpired together his overthrow, and oftentimes pointing at him with their fingers, would ſay, That he ſavoured of a Crown. This notable Man, as he had many worthy Vertues, ſo was he not without cauſe noted of ambition and unconſtancy; for after that King *Lewis* was loſt, he diſdaining the preferment of *John* the Vayvod to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, took part with King *Ferdinand* againſt him, in hope as it was thought to be next in honour unto himſelf; but after he ſaw King *John* again reſtored, and his State ſtrongly ſupported by *Solyman*, and that all things ſtood doubtful and fickle with *Ferdinand*, he with like levity ſought means by *Abraham* the great Baſſa to be reconciled to King *John*; which was hardly obtained of him by the interceſſion of *Solyman* himſelf (as is before declared) to whom he gave his Son as a Pledge of his Fidelity. After which time he lived in great Honour and Loyalty all the Reign of King *John*; but after he was dead, and ſaw *George* the Biſhop the Kings Tutor doing what he liſt, to reign like a King, he diſdained his Government, and ſolicited by King *Ferdinand*, revolted again unto him, and furthered him in what he could for the obtaining of the Kingdom. But now falling into the envy of the Court, Malice found out matter enough to work his confuſion. Firſt it was given out, That his Son who had many years been detained in *Solymans* Court as a Pledge of his Fathers Faith, was even then under the colour of a fained eſcape come into *Tranſylvania*; when as he had ſecretly agreed with *Solyman*, that his Father being a Man much favoured of the People, ſhould by promiſing them all poſſible Freedom, allure them to the Turkiſh ſubjection; in reward of which good ſervice he ſhould be made Governour of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and put in hope alſo to be made the Tributary King thereof, if it ſhould fortune the young King to die. Beſides that, it was accounted a thing very ſuſpicious, that he had the Winter before uſed great kindneſs and friendſhip toward the Turkiſh Captains, by ſending them great Preſents, and receiving the like again. And laſt of all, his Letters directed to certain Hungarian Captains were produced, wherein he ſeemed to promiſe them as his Friends and Followers, greater entertainment than agreed with his preſent Eſtate. All which things King *Ferdinand* (of his own diſpoſition not eaſily to be perſwaded to conceive evil of the Germans his Countrymen, were it never ſo apparent or true, but of Strangers any thing) quickly believed, and therefore cauſed him (as is before ſaid) to be apprehended. But *Perenus* as he was brought by *Medices* the Admiral to *Vienna*, when he was come near unto the Gate of the City, and heard that *Philippus Torniellus* with certain other brave Captains of his acquaintance, were come to meet the Admiral; he requeſted that the cloſe Coach wherein he rid might be opened, and that he might have leave to ſpeak to thoſe noble and valiant Gentlemen. Which thing was eaſily granted, for that the Nobility and approved valour of the Man ſeemed unto them which had the charge of him, unworthy of ſuch reſtraint of liberty or impriſonment, yea or of the leaſt ſuſpicion thereof. So he turning himſelf towards them, ſpake unto them in this ſort:

The lamentable ſpeech of Perenus *to* Torniellus *and the other Captains, concerning his apprehenſion.*

Perenus *his requeſt of the Admiral and the reſt of the Captains.*

Wretched I, noble Gentlemen (ſaid he) *whom deſpightful envy hath circumvented guiltleſs; but much more miſerable King* Ferdinand, *whom domeſtical Thieves bereave of Subſtance, of Friends, and Honour all at once. For ſo it cometh to paſs, that by this inconſiderate wrong done unto me, he ſhall utterly loſe the love and fidelity of the Hungarian Nation, and may therefore for ever not without cauſe deſpair for the obtaining of the Kingdom of* Hungary, *ſithence that it is not lawful for me (inferiour to none of my Nation in Birth, and having for my good and faithful ſervice well deſerved reward of a juſt King) ſo much as to rejoyce for the deliverance of my Son from the Captivity of the Turks, but that by my ſiniſter fortune, dreadful death in ſtead of incomparable joy muſt be preſented to mine Eies. For will theſe malicious Pick-thanks, guilty of their own Cowardiſe, the wicked Contrivers and Witneſſes of my wrongful Accuſation, ſpare me being laid faſt and in durance, which never ſpared the Kings Honour? For every Man of what Nobility ſoever, be he never ſo guiltleſs, when he is once in hold, muſt be content to endure, not what he hath deſerved, but what his hard fortune aſſigneth. Yet my upright mind and clear conſcience, which thing only God the moſt juſt Judge leaveth as a comfort to Men in miſery wrongfully accuſed, delivered me of this care; and ſo will the Marqueſs our General, to whom I before upon a miſtruſt foretold, that ſuch a danger would ſhortly befal me, and that I had rather be ſlain guiltleſs, than to withdraw my ſelf from Trial; which thing I told him at ſuch a time as I was ſo guarded with mine own ſtrength, that I feared no Mans force. I beſeech you do me this honourable favour, as to requeſt King* Ferdinand *in my behalf quickly and honourably to proceed to the Trial of my Cauſe, and according to his own princely diſpoſition, and the will of others, to diſcern betwixt his faithful Friends and fained Flatterers. Truly we are too too unfortunate Captains, if for a little evil ſucceſs we ſhall be ſo adjudged as Men that had overthrown their Fortune.* Cazzianer *peradventure received the juſt puniſhment he had deſerved, for the ſhameful forſaking and loſing of the Army at* Exek, *when as he poſſeſſed with an uncouth fear, forgot the duty of a General, more afraid of death than diſhonour; for when he had voluntarily committed himſelf to ſafe cuſtody, he was ſo generally condemned of Cowardiſe, that deſpairing to defend his Cauſe, he brake Priſon, and as wickedly as unfortunately revolted to the Turks; But neither was I of late the General, neither were we vanquiſhed, although we prevailed not, but honourably retiring, valiantly repreſſed the inſolency of the purſuing Enemy. As for the Kingdom of* Hungary, *I might then well have affected the ſame, and eaſily have deſerved it at* Solymans *Hands, when as King* Ferdinand *after the death of King* John *was making his preparation for that War; at which time my Friends and Followers at my devotion, with the love of the Hungarians towards me, ſeeming of no ſmall importance*

tance for the obtaining of the Victory, might have miniſtred no unreaſonable or unſeaſonable hope to have drawn a Man into courſes not altogether beſeeming a Chriſtian. Wherefore I have, and will ſo long as I live fight againſt the Turks, if King Ferdinand *ſhall ſhew himſelf an indifferent Judge in this accuſation, falſly ſurmiſed againſt me by the malice of mine Enemies.*

Perenus, Valentine *and* **Maylat,** *three of the greateſt Nobility in* **Hungary,** *kept in perpetual Priſon.*

When he had made an end of ſpeaking, the Admiral courteouſly perſwaded him to have good hope in the clemency of the moſt juſt King; and ſhortly after performed his requeſt; for he and *Torniellus* taking the King as he was Hunting, entreated him to deal favourably with *Perenus.* For all that, *Perenus* could not obtain that his cauſe might be openly heard, but was committed to ſafe keeping, there to remain in perpetual Priſon; but whether it was for the miſpriſion of new Treaſon, or for revenge of his old unconſtancy, is uncertain. Thus three the only great Princes left of the Hungarian Blood, equally worthy of the Kingdom, *Valentine, Maylat,* and *Perenus,* ſnarled almoſt in like Snares of envy, cut off all hope of raiſing a King to their ſeditious and therefore miſerable Countrymen; when as *Perenus* lay too late bewailing his unconſtancy in perpetual Priſon; and the other two faſt in Chains near unto the *Euxine* Sea, expected death the end of their miſeries. This end had the Wars taken in hand againſt the Turks by the general conſent of the Germans in the year 1542. which many thought might worthily be compared with the greateſt loſſes of thoſe times; when as King *Ferdinand* having in vain ſpent a great maſs of Treaſure (the fitteſt ſtay for the imminent War) and loſt the opinion before conceived of the ſtrength of *Germany*; had now as a weak Prince, and ſubject to injury, provoked him againſt the Turks, bold enough otherwiſe, but as then inſolent for their late Victories.

1543.

Polinus the French Kings Embaſſador ſtill following the Turks Court, ceaſed not by all means to ſolicite *Solyman,* with his Gallies to aid the King his Maſter in the invaſion of the Dominions of *Charles* the Emperor, in *Italy, Sicily,* and *Spain.* In which ſute he was ſo croſſed by *Solyman* the Eunuch Baſſa, then Viſier, that he was almoſt in deſpair of ſpeed; for the Malicious Eunuch being himſelf a great Sea-man, and envying the Honour of *Barbaruſſa* (who was to be employed in that ſervice) ſought by keeping him out of all honourable Actions, to diminiſh his former Glory; and concerning the preſent, proteſted openly as he ſat in Council, That he ſaw no other cauſe why the Turkiſh Emperor ſhould to his great charge and the common danger, ſend out ſuch a Fleet, but to ſerve *Barbaruſſa* his own turn. But *Solyman* having diligently heard, and deeply conſidered of that the Baſſaes had ſaid, rejected their opinions, who would not he ſhould have given the French King any aid; and honourably decreed according to his promiſe, whatſoever ſhould enſue thereof, to ſend his Fleet unto the King by *Barbaruſſa.* Two days after, the French Embaſſador before in deſpair, but now revived with that Decree, was ſolemnly Feaſted by *Ruſtan* Baſſa (*Solymans* Son in Law) and by *Solyman* the Eunuch Baſſa; for ſo it was their great Maſters pleaſure, both of them joying of him for the friendſhip confirmed betwixt the two Princes by ſending this Fleet. After which, divers Gifts were beſtowed upon the Embaſſador and his chief Followers; and at ſuch time as he was to take his leave, *Solyman* gave him great charge of his Navy, that it might be ſafely kept, and ſo after the ſervice done, again returned; and withal delivered him Letters unto King *Francis,* wherein after the glorious rehearſal of his proud Titles, he writ unto him as followeth:

Solyman *granteth to ſend his Fleet by* **Barbaruſſa** *to aid the French King againſt the Emperor.*

Solymans *Letters to the French King.*

We have upon a brotherly Bounty granted unto Polinus *your Embaſſador, ſuch and ſo great a Fleet as you have deſired, throughly furniſhed for all aſſaies; whoſe direction we have commanded* Hariaden *our Admiral to follow, and by your appointment to proceed againſt the Enemy. But you ſhall do well and friendly, the Wars once happily ended, to ſend back again my Fleet to* Conſtantinople. *All things ſhall undoubtedly fall out according to your own deſire and mine, if you ſhall carefully take heed that* Charles *the Spaniſh King your perpetual Enemy, do not again deceive you with the motion of a deceitful Peace. For then ſhall you bring him to a moſt indifferent Peace, when you have brought upon his Countries all the calamities of War.*

Polinus taking his leave of *Solyman* then lying at *Hadrianople,* returned to *Conſtantinople,* where he found *Barbaruſſa* with an hundred and ten Gallies and forty Gallions, ready to put to Sea, which he had with incredible celerity rigged up and furniſhed. And ſo ſetting forward the eight and twentieth of *April* in the year 1543, and paſſing the Straits of *Heleſpontus,* he arrived firſt at *Cariſtius,* in *Eubœa*; and from thence to *Malea,* where he was by contrary Winds caſt into the Bay of *Lacedemon,* and there ſtaied nine days before he could double the Cape of *Metapanium,* called in ancient time *Tenarus*; After that he came to *Methon,* and from thence croſſing the Ionian, came to the Strait of *Meſſana*; where the Turkiſh Pyrats being come with their Galliots within the ſight of *Rhegium,* began to land their Men. They of *Rhegium* ſeeing ſo great a Fleet, and the Turks already landing, fled out of the City for fear; but the Caſtle was ſtill kept by *Didacus Gaietanus* a Spaniard, who refuſed to have any parly with *Polinus* the French Embaſſador, and with ſhot out of the Caſtle ſlew certain of the Turks; wherewith the reſt being enraged, brake into the City, and finding it deſolate, ſet it on Fire, ſore againſt the will of *Polinus* and *Barbaruſſa,* who ſought to have found out the Authors thereof, and to have puniſhed them accordingly.

Barbaruſſa *amorous of the Captain of* **Rhegium** *his Daughter.*

After that, certain Pieces of great Ordnance were landed and planted againſt the Caſtle, which with a few Shot ſo terrified the Captain, already troubled with the crying out of his Wife, that he without any more ado yielded himſelf and the Caſtle with all therein, into the hands of the Enemy; unto whom with his Wife and Children, *Barbaruſſa* at the requeſt of the French Embaſſador granted both life and liberty; the reſt he ſhut up in a Church, and gave the Spoil of the Caſtle to his Souldiers. There was in the Garriſon of the Caſtle about ſeventy Spaniards, but many more Citizens, which were all carried away Priſoners. One of the Captains Daughters, a young Gentlewoman of exceeding Beauty, had with her good Grace ſo warmed the withered affection of the old Pyrat *Barbaruſſa,* that he (now fitter for the Grave than for Marriage) became amorous of her perſon; ſo that taking her from her Father, and entring her into the Mahometan Superſtition, he made of her as of his Wife; inſomuch that certain Months after he welcomed and bountifully entertained the Captain as his Father in Law, coming to ſee his Daughter at the Port called *Portus Herculis* in *Tuſcany,* where the Turks Fleet then lay. *Barbaruſſa* ſailing alongſt the Coaſt of *Italy,* came to

Oſtia, in the Mouth of the River *Tibur*, and brought ſuch a fear upon the City of *Rome*, that the Citizens were ready generally to have forſaken the City; had not *Polinus* by his Letters to *Rodolphus* the Cardinal, then the great Biſhop *Paulus* his Legate in the City, in part ſtaied the ſuddain Tumult. The Biſhop himſelf was then at *Buxetum*, a Town betwixt *Cremona* and *Placentia*, travelling (in ſhew) with the Emperor, to have made a Peace betwixt him and the French King; but labouring in ſecret to have bought of him the Dukedom of *Millan*, for *Octavius* his Kinſman the Emperors Son in Law. *Polinus* his Letters written to the Cardinal at *Rome*, and ſent by the Governour to *Tarracina*, were to this effect.

The French Embaſſadors Letters to comfort Rodolph *the Cardinal, the Popes Legate in* Rome.

This Fleet which is by Solyman *ſent for the defence of* France *by* Barbaruſſa *his Admiral, is by his appointment at my command; ſo that it is not to hurt any but our Enemies. Wherefore make it known to the Romans and others dwelling alongſt the Coaſt of the Popes Territory, That they fear of us no Hoſtility; for the Turks will never violate the Faith of their Emperor ſolemnly given unto me; and you know moſt aſſuredly, that the French King deſireth nothing more, than that the Eſtate of* Rome *might not only be kept in ſafety, but alſo flouriſh moſt glorſouſly, and be therefore preſerved from all injury. Farewel.*

In like manner he alſo comforted up them of *Neptunianum* and *Oſtia*; ſo that they brought unto the Turks all manner of Victual, and ſometimes for four Sheep or a couple of Oxen redeemed a good Priſoner taken in ſome place of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Yet for all this, the Romans did not ſo much credit the Embaſſadors promiſe in the behalf of the Turks good dealing, but that many of the weaker ſort fled out of the City into the Country by night, although the chief Magiſtrates did what they might to have ſtaied them. When *Barbaruſſa* had thus lien three days in the Mouth of the River *Tibur*, and there watered, he paſſed alongſt the Coaſt of *Etruria* and *Liguria*, without doing any harm; and ſo ſailed directly to *Marſeilles*. Where leaving him with his Fleet for a while, expecting the French Kings further pleaſure, we will again return unto *Solyman*, who at the ſame time that *Barbaruſſa* was ſpoiling the Frontiers of the Emperors Dominions in *Italy*, came with a great Army into *Hungary*, for the more aſſured poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, whereafter he ſaw King *Ferdinand* ſo much longed. And becauſe he would make all ſure before him, he ſent *Amurathes* Governour of *Dalmatia*, and *Ulamas* the Perſian Governour to *Boſna*, to beſiege *Walpo*, a ſtrong Town ſituate upon the River *Dravus*, not far from *Exek*, famous for the overthrow of the Chriſtian Army under *Cazzianer*; after whom followed alſo *Achomates* the great Commander of his European Horſemen.

Solyman *cometh with a great Army into* Hungary.

This Town (part of *Perenus* his poſſeſſions) was againſt all theſe Forces kept and worthily defended by *Perenus* his Wife (her Husband then lying in Priſon at *Vienna*) and her Friends by the ſpace of three Months; but was at laſt by the treacherous Souldiers delivered to the Enemy, together with their General; whom when they could by no means perſwade to conſent to the yielding up thereof, but that he would needs hold it out to the laſt, they took him perforce, and ſo delivered him with the Town to the Turks; who received him with all courteſie, and uſed him honourably; but thoſe traiterous Souldiers, whether it were in deteſtation of their Treachery, or for the ſpoil of them, were all put to the Sword; the juſt reward of their Treaſon. The reſt of the Citizens were taken by the Turks to mercy, and well uſed. The Biſhop and chief Men of *Quinque Eccleſiæ* (a famous City not far off on the other ſide of *Dravus*) hearing of the loſs of *Walpo*, and terrified with the greatneſs of the Turks Army, fled for fear, leaving none but the meaner ſort of the People in the City, who willingly yielded the ſame unto the Turks. The next Town of any ſtrength was *Soclosſia*, belonging alſo to *Perenus*; which for a while held out againſt the Turks, for that divers Gentlemen of the Country which were fled into the City, encouraged the Citizens to ſtand upon their defence. But after much harm done on both ſides, when they were no longer able to hold out, they retired into the Caſtle, in hope to have ſo ſaved their lives and liberty by yielding; but *Amurathes* was ſo offended with them, that he would come to no reaſonable compoſition, or promiſe them any thing more, than that they ſhould at their pleaſure come forth; and ſo as they came out at the Gate, ſlew them every Mothers Son, thereby to terrifie others from making like reſiſtance.

The Caſtle of Walpo *treacherouſly yielded, and the Traitors juſtly rewarded.*

Solyman *cometh with his Army to* Strigonium.

Solyman underſtanding of all theſe things, gave thoſe Towns which were taken, to *Amurathes* the General; and having put all things in readineſs, departed from *Buda* with all his Army to beſiege *Strigonium*; which was then kept by *Liſcanus* and *Salamanca*, two proud covetous Spaniards, with a Garriſon of one thouſand three hundred Souldiers, whereof ſome few were Spaniards and Italians, and the reſt Germans. *Paulus* Biſhop of *Strigonium* got himſelf out of the City betimes, deſpairing of all mercy if he ſhould have fallen into the power of *Solyman*, by whoſe interceſſion he had been once before reconciled to King *John*, and had again revolted from him to King *Ferdinand*. The Caſtle of *Strigonium* was ſituate upon a high Hill overlooking *Danubius* running underneath it; the Walls were built even without any Flankers, after the old manner of building before the invention of Guns; for which cauſe *Vitellius* and *Torniellus* two expert Captains (the year before ſent from the King to view the place, and the manner of the Fortification) were of opinion, that the City could hardly be defended, if it were beſieged by any ſtrong Enemy; being ſubject alſo unto a Hill not far from the Gates of the City. Againſt which inconveniences the old Garriſon Souldiers which Wintred in *Strigonium*, caſt up new Bulwarks and Fortifications, and after the manner of windy headed Men, making great boaſt before the danger, what they would do, ſeemed to wiſh for the coming of *Solyman*. But after that the Barbarous Enemy had with his Tents covered the Fields and Mountains round about the City, and withal brought a gallant Fleet up the River, all thoſe brags were laid in the Duſt, and every Man began to grow doubtful of his own ſafety; for that they being but few (although Men of good worth) were to withſtand the infinite number of ſuch Enemies, as oftentimes uſed moſt deſperately to expoſe their lives to all manner of dangers. This their fear was alſo encreaſed by the coming of certain Meſſengers from *Solyman*, who underſtanding of what Nations the Garriſon conſiſted, ſent unto the City three of his own Guard, one a Spaniard, another an Italian, and the third a German, all Renegate Chriſtians; that every one of them might without an Interpreter ſpeak unto their Countrymen in their own Language; Theſe Men admitted into the City, offered great rewards and large entertainment in the Name of *Solyman*, to ſuch as would in time yield; denouncing all torture and extremities unto them which ſhould endure the ſummons of the Cannon. Whereunto it was anſwered by the Captains, That thoſe faithful and valiant Souldiers, who had repoſed their laſt hopes in their Arms, were neither to be won by gifts, nor terrified with threats.

The ſtout anſwer of the Captains.

With which anſwer the Meſſenger returned, and the ſame day the Turks great Ordnance were planted upon the Hill before the Gate of the City, and the weakeſt parts of the Walls round about the City, ſo well pickt out by the Turks to be aſſaulted, as that they could not more skilfully or commodiouſly have been choſen out of them which had within moſt diligently viewed every thing; ſo that it is to be thought that the Chriſtians wanted not only Fortune againſt the Turks, but alſo Faith amongſt themſelves. *Salamanca* diſtruſting the Fortifications of the Suburbs, retired into the City, contrary to that he had before vainly boaſted. *Achomates* General of the European Horſemen, laid ſiege to that part of the Wall which was next to the Biſhops Gardens; *Ulamas* the Perſian beſieged the Tower near unto the Gate towards *Buda*: The Aſapi or common Souldiers were by their Captains brought on to dig Trenches, and caſt up Mounts, as was thought moſt convenient.

The terrible battery of the Turks at Strigonium.

It is incredible to be ſpoken, with what fury the great Ordnance were diſcharged without ceaſing; inſomuch that the Tower with a great part of the Wall near unto it, ſhaken with continual Battery, fell down with ſuch violence, as if all had been ſhaken with a moſt terrible Earthquake; neither was any Man able to ſtand upon the Walls, but that the Janizaries with their Harquebuſies out of their Trenches, and from their Mounts, would moſt certainly fetch him off; and many which ſtood within farther off, were with the Turks Arrows, falling from high as if it had been out of the Air, grievouſly wounded. But that which moſt troubled the Defendants, and did them greateſt harm, was the Stones, which beaten in ſunder with the great Shot, and not to be avoided, did with their Pieces kill or maim the Souldiers near hand: With which dangers they were enforced to forſake the uttermoſt Wall, and to caſt up new Fortifications within, that they might with leſs danger defend the place.

The Turks repulſed thrice at the aſſault of the Breach.

Neither in the Enemy wanted courage to aſſail the Breach; thrice they deſperately attempted to have entred, and were always with loſs repulſed. In which aſſaults, amongſt others, *Bultaces* Sanzack of *Selymbria*, and a Man of great account among the Turks, was loſt. Whilſt the Defendants were thus buſied, many of the Souldiers and Mariners which came up the River with all things neceſſary for the Army, from *Buda*, went on ſhore, and lay in the Suburbs of the City in ſuch ſecurity, as if there had been no Enemy nigh; which thing they in the City perceiving, ſuddainly ſallied out upon them fearing no ſuch matter, and ſlew many of them before they could arm themſelves, and drave the reſt of their Fleet; ſo that betwixt fighting and flying there was about two hundred of them ſlain. *Zimar* a Perſian, Admiral of the Fleet, in reſcuing of them which to ſave their lives fled unto the River, was ſhot through with a ſmall Shot and ſlain. Whilſt theſe things were in doing, and the Turks having in many places ſore ſhaken the Wall, did with greater force daily aſſail the City, and the Defendants with their continual loſs, and out of all hope of relief, were more and more diſcouraged; an old Calabrian Engineer which had long time ſerved King *Ferdinand*, fled out of the City to the Turks; who being courteouſly entertained by *Solyman*, and examined by the Baſſaes of many things concerning the ſtrength and ſtate of the City, ſatisfied them in all that they deſired; and further, directed them in planting their Batteries in places moſt convenient for the ſpeedy taking of the Town.

A Chriſtian Fugitive diſcovereth the ſtrength and ſtate of the City unto the Turks.

In the mean time whilſt the Turks were with reſtleſs labour battering the Walls, and working in their Mines, it fortuned that a gilt brazen Croſs which ſtood upon the top of the Steeple of the Cathedral Church, was by the continual ſhooting of the Turks thereat, at length beaten down; at the ſight whereof, it is reported that *Solyman* after the ſuperſtitious manner of that Nation taking the chance as a token of good luck, cried out preſently, *Strigonium is won*.

Liſcanus and *Salamanca* fearfully conſulting of the event of the Siege, and ſecretly conferring together, reſolved to ſave themſelves, and to give up the Town. *Liſcanus* was no great Souldier, and yet by continual ſpoil grown exceeding rich, and therefore thought it but folly to buy the Name of a reſolute Captain at too dear a price, with the loſs of his Life and Wealth. The like feeling was alſo in *Salamanca*, who preferred the ſafety of himſelf and of that which he had got in long ſervice, before all credit and honour, were it never ſo great. This their purpoſe was not kept ſo ſecret, but that it was noiſed abroad amongſt the common Souldiers, of whom almoſt the third part was now either ſlain, or with wounds or ſickneſs grown weak; yet were they all of opinion generally, that they were ſtill ſtrong enough to defend the Town. But the under Captains and Antients uſing to flatter their Generals, liked well of the motion, to yield unto *Solyman* upon reaſonable conditions, rather than to expoſe themſelves to moſt certain death, which ſhould nothing better King *Ferdinands* cauſe.

Salamanca *goeth out of* Strigonium, *to parly with the Turks about the yielding up of the ſame.*

Not long after, an Antient was by night let down over the Wall; and having by an Interpreter received the Turks Faith, called forth *Salamanca*, that he might upon better conditions go through with them for the yielding up of the Town. Who without further delay coming out, went to *Achomates*; before he went, commanding them which defended the Water Tower next to the River ſide, a place of great danger, for ſafegard of their lives to get them into the City; who terrified with that news, and haſtily retiring, were by the vigilant Turks which lay at the ſiege thereof, perceived; who ſuddainly breaking in, ſlew ſuch as were not yet gone, and poſſeſſed the Caſtle. But *Salamanca* being brought before the great Baſſaes, when he had ſtood upon many nice terms, and required many things to have been granted him, obtained no more, but that they ſhould without delay yield up the City, and put themſelves wholly to the mercy of *Solyman*. So the Spaniard being there ſtaid, himſelf writ to *Liſcanus*, how he had ſped; willing him forthwith, if he loved his own ſafety, to yield the City, without ſtanding upon further terms.

Strigonium *yielded to the Turks by* Liſcanus *the Spaniard.*

Liſcanus upon receit of theſe Letters coming forth to the Souldiers, declared unto them the neceſſity of yielding up of the Town, and what hope there was to eſcape with life and liberty. But whilſt the Souldiers filled with indignation, ſtood as Men in doubt what to do, *Holi* Commander of the Janizaries came unto the Gate, and with chearful rather than ſtern countenance required to have it opened unto him, according to the agreement made by *Salamanca* in the Camp; which was forthwith opened by *Liſcanus*, and the Keys delivered unto him. The Janizaries entring peaceably into the City, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Walls and Fortreſſes round about, commanding the Chriſtian Souldiers to give place, out of whom they choſe all the beardleſs Youths, and commanded the reſt to caſt down their Harquebuſies and other Weapons in a place appointed, which they all for fear did, expecting nothing but ſome cruel execution to be done upon them by the barbarous Enemy. Which their fear was the more encreaſed by a ſtrange accident then unluckily chancing; for whilſt the Souldiers did as they were commanded, with their Harquebuſies caſt their Flasks full of Powder alſo, one of them ſuddainly took fire of a Match which was by chance caſt in amongſt them with fire in it, which firing the reſt, blew about all that heap of Weapons among the Turks, which ſo filled them with anger and fear of ſome ſuddain Treachery, that they fell upon the Chriſtians and ſlew divers of them; until ſuch time as *Halis* (perſwaded that it was a thing hapned rather by chance than malice) commanded his Janizaries to ſtay their fury. This tumult appeaſed, *Halis* cauſed proclamation to be made, That all ſuch Chriſtian Souldiers as would ſerve *Solyman* in his Wars, ſhould have ſuch place in his Army as their quality required, with bountiful entertainment; yet of all the Chriſtian Souldiers were found only ſeventy, which careful of their lives, accepted the offer, fearing that the Turks would upon ſuch as refuſed, exerciſe their wonted cruelty. *Halis* entertaining them courteouſly, ſent them away with the other youths whom he had before culled out, down the River to *Buda*; the other Souldiers he took into his protection, and uſed their labour to help the Turks to make clean the Caſtle. But *Liſcanus*, who to ſave his Gold had made Shipwreck of his honour and reputation, was glad to give unto *Halis* the fair Chain of Gold which he had moſt covetouſly and inſolently before taken from *Perenus*; when as *Halis* (who would otherwiſe have taken it from him by force) by way of military courteſie now craved it of him, as a ſtrange kind of ornament among the Turks; with which gift he was in hope to have ſaved the reſt of his Coyn. But fortune favoured not ſo much the covetous Coward; for when he was about to depart away with his Horſes of ſervice, which he kept very good, and had cunningly ſtuffed the Saddles full of Gold, thinking ſo ſlily to have conveyed it; the Turk laughing at him, took from him his Horſes furniſhed as they were, ſaying, That he which was to go by Water needed no Horſes. So was the covetous Wretch at once quit of the great Wealth which he had in long time evil got. The Captains with the reſt of the Souldiers diſpoiled of the Arms, were conveyed over the River of *Danubius*, and ſo travelled on foot to *Poſſonium*, where the Count *Salme* by the commandment of the King apprehended *Liſcanus*, *Salamanca*, and ſome other of the Captains for ſuſpicion of Treaſon, and committed them to ſafe cuſtody, there to anſwer for their cowardly yielding up of the City.

Liſcanus *the covetous Spaniard merrily ſtript of all his wealth by* Halis *Captain of the Janizaries.*

Solyman *entreth into* Strigonium, *and there ſetteth up the Mahometan Superſtition.*

Solyman entred into *Strigonium* the tenth of *Auguſt* in the year 1543. and there converting Chriſtian Churches into Temples for the Mahometan Superſtition, firſt ſacrificed for his Victory (as he had before done in *Buda*) and after with all ſpeed ſo ſtrongly fortified the City, as if he would thereby for ever have taken from the Chriſtians all hope of recovering the ſame again, deriding the ſlothful negligence of the Germans, who poſſeſſed of it fourteen years, had neglected all that time to fortifie it. Not long after, *Solyman* leaving *Oſſuinus* a valiant Captain Governour of *Strigonium*, and ſending his Tartarian Horſemen to ſpoil the Country on the left hand, as far as *Alba Regalis*; went himſelf to beſiege the Caſtle of *Tatta*, called in ancient time *Theodota*. The Garriſon Souldiers terrified with the loſs of *Strigonium*, and the ſight of the Turks Army, upon the firſt ſummons yielded the Caſtle without reſiſtance, and were ſo ſuffered quietly to depart. That Caſtle after the manner of the Turkiſh Diſcipline, (who with few and thoſe very ſtrong Holds keep their Provinces in ſubjection) was by *Solymans* commandment preſently raſed down to the Ground. *Torniellus* General of the Italians cauſed *Hanibal*, Captain of the Caſtle, to have his Head ſtruck off for his cowardly yielding up of the place he had taken charge of; thereby to admoniſh others, which had the charge of ſtrong places, not to refuſe an honourable death in defence of their Country, for fear of an ignominious death attending their Cowardiſe.

A cowardly Captain worthily rewarded.

Solyman *goeth to* Alba Regalis.

Tatta thus laid in the Duſt, *Solyman* marched with his Army towards *Alba*, ſurnamed *Regalis*, for that the Kings of *Hungary* by an ancient cuſtom uſed there to be Crowned and alſo buried. *Buda*, *Strigonium*, and *Alba Regalis*, three princial Cities of the Kingdom of *Hungary* ſtand in manner of a Triangle, almoſt equally diſtant one from another, about a hundred miles in compaſs. *Buda* and *Strigonium* are ſituate upon the River of *Danubius*; but *Alba* ſtandeth more into the Land, ſtrongly ſeated in the midſt of a great Lake, but not ſo wholſomely, eſpecially in the Summer time, the Winter Waters then decreaſing, and groſs vapours ariſing with the heat of the Sun. From the City through the Mariſh or Lake, unto the firm Land, lie three broad and high Cauſeys (in manner of the ſtreaks of a Cart-wheel) well built, with fair Houſes and Gardens on either ſide, and a broad way in the middle, whereby Men paſs in and out of the City. At the end of every Cauſey toward the Land were caſt up ſtrong Bulwarks, which the Citizens uſed not to watch but in dangerous times of War; ſo that by theſe Bulwarks, the Houſes of the Suburbs ſtanding upon theſe Cauſeys, were ſafe from the danger of the Enemy, the Lake filling up all the ſpaces betwixt the Cauſeys; which, what for the Depth, what for Mud; Flags, and Bulruſhes, growing in it, was not by Horſe or Man to be paſſed through. And the City it ſelf ſtanding in the midſt of the Lake, compaſſed round about with a ſtrong Wall, and a deep Ditch always full of Water, was hardly to be beſieged; for which cauſes a great number of the Country people upon the coming of *Solyman*, fled into it with their Cattel, as unto a moſt ſure hold. In the City lay in Garriſon two Companies of Germans, and two hundred Horſemen, unto whom were joyned five hundred Hungarian Horſemen, ſuch as in time of Peace lived by Robbing, and are by an infamous name called *Uſarous*, unto theſe the Italian Count *Torniellus*, who with his Italians was come as far as *Javarinum*, or *Rab*, ſent four Captains with their Companies, ſuch as were moſt forward in that ſervice; after whom followed *Barcotius*, Captain of the Kings Guard, with a Company of Horſemen, appointed by the King for General. Who was no ſooner come into the City, but news was brought of *Solymans* approach. Whereupon he in haſt called together the other Captains, with *Birrous* then Mayor of the City, and other the chief Citizens to conſult with them, What was beſt to be done for the defence of the City, but eſpecially, Whether the Suburbs of the City, ſtanding upon thoſe three broad Cauſeys, were to be deſtroyed or not? That ſo the City ſtanding in the midſt of the great Mariſh, might both with leſs labour and danger be defended. This queſtion was ſeriouſly debated, and great reaſons alledged; at laſt the Citizens cried out with one voice againſt

The deſcription of Alba Regalis.

The Citizens of Alba *will not ſuffer the City to be deſtroyed.*

the matter, and ſaid, That they would never ſuffer thoſe goodly Suburbs, wherein were ſo many Churches and fair Buildings as might compare with the City it ſelf, to be ſo ſhamefully deſtroyed, to the utter undoing of ſo many rich Citizens; for what could be (ſaid they) more diſhonourable or lamentable, than to the encouraging of the barbarous Enemy, to ſhew ſuch a token of extream fear; and with their own hands to burn and deſtroy thoſe ſtately Buildings, which might by ſtrong hand be well enough defended againſt the Enemy, if they did not play the ſhameful Cowards. Of which opinion with the Citizens was alſo *Octavianus Seroſactus* an Italian Captain; alledging that both the City and the Suburbs might both with like danger be defended; foraſmuch as they were equally fortified with the benefit of the Mariſh, and if the worſt ſhould happen, the Defendants might yet ſafely enough retire into the City. At laſt ſtanding up as one thruſt forward, both with the publick hard Fortune and his own, ſaid, *Valiant Gentlemen, what ſhew will you give of your valour, or what honour ſhall you have of your ſervice, If you ſhall defend ſo famous a City, by deforming of it your ſelves, and cutting off the Suburbs, as it were the Arms thereof, before the danger, upon too haſty deſperation? Verily you ſhall do nothing, either in the ſervice of the King, or the honour of your ſelves, except this City (if God ſo pleaſe) be of you whole and ſound valiantly defended.* Upon this Speech they all ariſe, the wiſer ſort and of greateſt experience giving place to the importunity of the ignorant and ſimple. *Barcotius* himſelf full of care, and overcome with the vain opinion of the greater part, yielded alſo unto that fatal reſolution of ſaving the Suburbs. *For it often falleth out, that they, who wiſely weighing dangers in the ballance of reaſon, and do therefore fearfully reſolve of the event of things, and do thereupon oftentimes give more hard and reſolute judgment of things than Men of greater courage; yield neverthleſs to be partakers of other Mens follies, yea even to moſt aſſured death, rather than by maintaining their fearful opinion, to be deemed Cowards.* So fell it out with *Barcotius* the General, who ſetting a good countenance on the matter which nothing liked him, went out to the Souldiers, declaring unto them the reaſons why the Suburbs were to be defended; exhorting them with like valour on their parts to anſwer that honourable reſolution, promiſing to provide whatſoever ſhould be neceſſary for the obtaining of the Victory; aſſuring them of great rewards and preferment, which ſhould by their good ſervice deſerve the ſame. Hereupon the Suburbs were by the common labour of the Souldiers and the Citizens quickly fortified, the great Ordnance in places convenient orderly planted, and Watch and Ward kept by the Captains and their Companies by their turns day and night. But the Turks drawing near to the City, bent their Forces only againſt the Suburbs of the Gate leading towards *Buda*; foo that they perceived the Mariſh was in that place drier than the other, and the ſandy Ground more unfit for the making of Bulwarks and other Fortifications for the ſafety of the Defendants, than in other places where the ground yielded better Turf. *Barcotius* perceiving the Enemies purpoſe, drew all the Italians and Germans from the other Gates into the Suburbs of the Gate of *Buda*, leaving the Country-people which were fled into the City, and the Citizens, in their places. At the firſt coming of the Turks, the Hungarian and German Horſemen, with the Italian Footmen, ſallied out of the Suburbs, and after certain light skirmiſhes retired. Which manner of fight was continued by the ſpace of three days without any great harm done on either ſide; for the Captains, had warily commanded, That the Souldiers ſhould not adventure out too far. But after that *Solyman* himſelf was come and had with the multitude of his Tents beſet the City far and near, to the terror of the beholders, the Chriſtians ſhut up all the Gates, and ſallied out no more. Which thing cauſed the wild Hungarian *Uſarous* (uſed to open skirmiſhes) to provide for themſelves in time, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be coupt up (as they termed) within the Walls of the City; ſo for faſhion ſake, asking leave to be gone (who were not againſt their wills to be ſtaied) they by night departed, being not to be entreated by the General or Citizens to ſtay, and by known ways eſcaped through the Woods from the Enemy. In the mean time the Turks were come with their winding Trenches within ſhot, and with their Arrows and ſmall Shot ſo ſcoured the top of the Bulwark, that no Man could there poſſibly appear but he was ſtraight wounded; and ſuch was the fury of the great Artillery; that it had in ſhort time battered in ſunder the Planks and Timber which kept in the ſandy Mould, whereof the Fortreſs was made, more for ſhew than for ſtrength; in ſuch ſort, that the great Shot flying quite through all, ſlew and wounded many that were a far off; in which diſtreſs of the Defendants, the Turks Aſapi with ſmall danger filled up the Ditches of the Bulwark, and divers places of the Mariſh with Earth and Wood, which they brought continually from a Wood thereby with ſix hundred Waggons, ſo that in the ſpace of twelve days they had made a firm way for them to paſs over upon, both to the Bulwark and the Suburbs; a work before thought impoſſible to have been performed. The Ditches thus filled up, the Turks valiantly came on, ſeeking by plain force to enter the Bulwark. Firſt came on the Aſapi, whom as Men of leaſt worth the Turks Captains uſe to thruſt to the firſt danger; after whom followed the Horſemen, now on foot, with Swords and Targets, or elſe their Horſemens Staves, covering the Janizaries, who upon their Knees with their Harquebuſiers ſore gauled the Defendants. This hot fight endured above three hours with equal hope and courage; but the Turks ſtill relieved with freſh Souldiers, repulſed the Chriſtians, and gained the uttermoſt Bulwark; nevertheleſs the Italian Fort was that day valiantly defended, the very Women and Religious helping to defend it; in which aſſault a tall Hungarian Woman, whoſe courage far exceeded the weakneſs of her Sex, thruſting in amongſt the Souldiers upon the top of the Fort, with a great Sythe in her hand at one blow ſtruck off two of the Turks Heads, as they were climbing up the Rampier. This aſſault was given the nine and twentieth of *Auguſt*, on which day the Turks had before taken *Belgrade*, and alſo ſlain King *Lewis* at the Battel of *Mohachz*; and were therefore after their ſuperſtitious manner in obſervation of their fortunate and unfortuate days, in good hope to have then taken the City; wherein they were much deceived, being not able at that time further to enter, but enforced again to retire. Wherewith *Solyman* offended, ſent for *Abraham*, *Achomates*, and *Halis* (the chief Captains in that aſſault) into his Tent, and reproved them ſharply, for that the Bulwark being ſo valiantly and fortunately won, they had not with more courage proſecuted the Victory, but cowardly (as he thought) given it over, being in a manner already won; and therefore with ſtern countenance commanded them to prepare all things

The Turks with incredible labour fill up the Ditches and Lake, and by plain force aſſault the Bulwark of the Suburbs towards Buda.

A notable Act of an Hungarian Woman.

The Suburbs of Alba Regalis won by the Turks.

The miſerable ſlaughter of the flying Chriſtians.

ready within three days for a freſh Aſſault, and never to return unto him, except they did win the City. Whereunto the Captains anſwered no more (for were they never ſo guiltleſs, they might not before him ſtand to excuſe themſelves) but that they would in ſhort time accompliſh his deſire. Wherefore having made all ready, and encouraged the Souldiers to this laſt Aſſault, they terribly aſſailed the Rampiers, and brought a great fear upon the Defendants; for taking the benefit of a thick Miſt (as it oftentimes chanceth in mariſh grounds) they were with great ſilence (contrary to their manner) got up to the top of their Rampiers, and come to handy blows, before they were well diſcovered. The Fight was for the time fierce and terrible; but the Janizaries prevailing, at length put the Germans to flight, and after them the Italians alſo, ſo that now well was he that could run faſteſt towards the City. But that their haſty Flight little availed, when as they were to paſs out by a little narrow Gate in manner of a Wicket; and they in the City, without regard of them that fled, had plucked up the Draw-Bridge over the Ditch. For naturally it cometh oftentimes to paſs, that the fear of the preſent danger, without bluſhing excuſeth our foul dealing. So the barbarous and fierce Enemy purſuing the flying Chriſtians at the Heels all the length of thoſe Suburbs with moſt cruel execution, many notable men, ſome fighting, ſome flying, were there ſlain; amongſt whom was *Octavianus Seraſactius*, Author of the evil Counſel whereof iſſued that calamity. *Barcotius* the General flying on Horſeback to the little Gate, which was not to be paſſed through, and crying in vain to them that fled, to have the great Gate opened, was by the coming of the Janizaries ſlain; whoſe Head and right Hand full of rich Rings, was by the barbarous Enemy carried about in deriſion upon a Launce. The reſt of the flying multitude finding the little Gate ſhut up with the Bodies of the dead, and the Bridge maliciouſly drawn up, deſperately threw themſelves into the deep Ditch; where ſome of them labouring to ſwim out, were caught by the Legs and Arms by other that could not ſwim, and both together drowned. Some hardly crauling over, were ſhot in the Head or Back with the Turks Arrows; otherſome ſticking faſt in the Mud, were as if it had been in ſport ſhot to death by the Turks; ſome few there were which got over, and were ſaved.

Embaſſadors ſent to Solyman *to entreat upon conditions for the yielding of the City.*

There was yet left in the City the General of the German Horſemen, and *Uſcaſades* of *Cremona*, an Italian Captain; theſe two gathering the remainder of the Souldiers which were left, placed them upon the Walls: but the Citizens were ſtruck with ſuch a fear, that they could not tell which way to turn themſelves. For now *Birrous* the Maior, with the Aldermen and other chief Citizens, ſeeing the ſlaughter of the Italians and Germans, were ſo overcome with deſpair, that they thought no hope of their well doing was to be repoſed in making of any farther reſiſtance, but only in the mercy of *Solyman*. Wherefore *Birrous* ſpake unto the Turks from the Wall, That he might ſafely ſend Embaſſadors to *Solyman*, to intreat with him upon reaſonable conditions, for the yielding up of the City; which thing *Achomates* eaſily granted. With theſe Embaſſadors for the Citizens, went alſo the Generals of the German Horſemen, and *Carolus Rufus* an Italian Captain (who of all others had born himſelf moſt valiantly in all the Aſſaults, to the great admiration of the Turks) to intreat for the ſafety and liberty of the Souldiers. The Embaſſadors being brought before the great Baſſaes, requeſted, That yielding the City, the Citizens might injoy their Lives and Liberty; whereunto they were ſo anſwered, as that it ſeemed they ſhould not all be pardoned; yet was the general fear well diminiſhed, for that the puniſhment reſpected but ſome few. *Rufus* was courteouſly entertained; and eaſily obtained, that the Italians might in ſafety depart with Bag and Baggage to *Vienna*; the like grace alſo had the General of the Germans for his Souldiers. *Solyman* the Eunuch Baſſa, offered unto *Rufus* honourable entertainment, if he would have ſerved *Solyman*; which when he refuſed as bound to King *Ferdinand* by Oath, in honour of his Valour he gave him a rich Cloak wrought with Flowers of Gold. The Embaſſadors returning into the City, and telling how they had ſped, delivered the Citizens of a great fear. Shortly after the City being yielded, *Achomates* by open Proclamation in the Market-place, commanded the Italians and Germans to make themſelves ready againſt the next day to depart, and to take good heed that no Hungarian went with them; he alſo ſtraitly charged the Citizens to keep their Houſes until the ſtrange Souldiers were departed. At the time appointed, the Italians and Germans ſet forward, conducted by *Homares* with a Company of the Turks Horſemen, who faithfully defended them againſt the Tartars, running up and down the Country after the Spoil; neither was any thing taken from them but their Dags, which the German Horſemen after a new faſhion carried at their Saddel Bows; theſe the Turks greatly deſired, delighted with the novelty of the invention, to ſee them ſhot off with a Firelock without a Match. But after the departure of *Homares*, they were in their travel ſet upon by the Hungarians, with whom they had many hot skirmiſhes, and had hardly eſcaped unſpoiled, had they not been reſcued by the Kings Souldiers lying in Garriſon in the Caſtles as they paſſed along the Country. The few which remained, after many troubles came at laſt to *Vienna*, more like Ghoſts than Men.

Solyman *entreth into* Alba Regalis.

Solyman *cauſeth the chief Citizens of* Alba Regalis *to be ſlain.*

Solyman entring quietly into the City, firſt viſited the Sepulchers of the Hungarian Kings, and gave out Proclamation, That the Hungarians ſhould fear of him no harm; for that he was not come to conquer them, but to deliver them from the Bondage of the Germans, and ſo to reſtore again that entire Kingdom unto *Stephen* the right Heir of King *John*. But within three or four days after, he called out the chief Citizens into a Field not far off, wherein the Bodies of condemned men were wont to be buried, as if he would have there taken an Oath of their Fidelity; whither, after they were all aſſembled in the beſt manner they could, as to ſome ſolemn Feaſt, the cruel Tyrant (without regard of his Faith or Promiſe) cauſed them all to be ſlain. Howbeit ſome report, that he cauſed them only to be put to death which bare office in the City, at ſuch time as they revolted from the Obedience of the Queen and the Infant King, unto *Ferdinand*, and had then brought in German Souldiers; and that he ſent the reſt into exile to *Buda* and *Belgrade*. So *Solyman* leaving *Balibeius* Governor of *Alba Regalis*, and *Mahometes* ſometime Governor of *Belgrade*, his Lieutenant General for the whole Government of that Kingdom, returned again toward *Conſtantinople* (Winter now beginning to approach) after he had that Summer won *Strigonium* and *Alba Regalis*, two of the chiefeſt Cities of *Hungary*. All this while King *Ferdinand* had raiſed no Power worth the ſpeaking of, to withſtand ſo mighty an Enemy; only at *Vienna* lay ſeven thouſand Germans and four thouſand Italians, at ſuch time as *Solyman* departed from *Alba Regalis*, which were ſhortly after diſcharged.

Solyman *returneth to* Conſtantinople.

Whiles *Solyman* thus lay at the Siege of *Alba Regalis*, he ſent his Tartarian Horſemen which ſerved him to ſmall purpoſe in the Siege, to ſpoil the Country round about; theſe ſavage People doing much harm, were in divers places circumvented by the Hungarians, and about three thouſand of them ſlain; one of them being taken Priſoner, had found in his Knapſack half a Child of about two years old, the loathſome remainder of his barbarous feeding.

Barbaruſſa all this while lying with his Fleet (as we have before ſaid) at *Marſeilles*, fretted exceedingly, that he had to his diſhonour undertaken ſo long a Voyage by Sea, to pleaſure him which was not able (as he ſaid) to direct his own deſigns to any certain reſolution, but ſhamefully ſuffered the beſt time of the year for ſervice, negligently to paſs away without any thing doing; the blame whereof would (as he ſaid) be imputed to him at *Conſtantinople*; and that *Solyman*, who deſired to aid the King his Friend and Confederate, and by all means to annoy his Enemies, would take in evil part to have it reported, that he had with ſo great charge ſet out ſo great a Fleet, and ſo far off, to help his Friend hardly beſet with his Enemies, and to have done nothing; beſides that, he took on like a Turk, that he who in time of ſervice never uſed negligently to let ſlip the leaſt opportunity, ſhould now blemiſh his former credit and eſtimation, by lying ſtill all that Summer in the Harbor of *Marſeilles*, where his Souldiers grew lazy with doing nothing. Wherefore *Polinus* going to the King, told him of the proud Turks great diſcontentment for lack of employment; and returning to *Barbaruſſa*, brought order from the King, that he ſhould lay Siege to *Nice* a City of *Provence*, then holden by the Duke of *Savoy*. This City ſtanding upon the Sea, was by one of the French Kings for a great ſum of Mony pawned unto the Duke; which Mony, King *Francis* had many times offered to have repaid, but could never get the City out of the Dukes hands. Unto which ſervice, the French King ſent alſo his Fleet of two and twenty Gallies and eighteen Ships, wherein were embarked eight thouſand Footmen, and Victual for many days. This Fleet departing from *Marceilles*, keeping cloſe by the Shore, came to the Port called *Monoc*; whither two days after came *Barbaruſſa* alſo with an hundred and fifty Gallies. From thence *Polinus* by commandment from the King writ to the State of *Genoa*, That they ſhould not fear of that great Fleet any Hoſtility, which was not to hurt any but them of *Nice*, and not them neither if they would yield themſelves. For more aſſurance whereof, he obtained of the Turks divers *Genoa* Captives, which had long time been chained in their Gallies, and courteouſly ſet them at liberty, and ſent them home without ranſom. After that, he friendly exhorted the Citizens of *Nice*, to yield themſelves again unto their ancient and lawful Prince, renowned for his Bounty and Power; rather than to adventure their State to all extremities for that poor and diſtreſſed Duke, who between the Emperor and the French King, diſpoiled of the greateſt part of his Dominions, ſaw no other end of his miſeries, but to leave that little which yet remained, as a Prey to the one or to the other, that ſhould firſt lay hand thereon. Whereunto the Magiſtrates of the Town anſwered, That they knew no other Prince or Soveraign but *Charles* their Duke; wherefore he ſhould deſiſt farther to ſolicite them by Letters or Meſſengers, whom they would make no other account of but as of their Enemies. Wherefore the Frenchmen and Turks landing their Forces, laid Siege to the Town in three places. The Citizens had but a little before newly fortified their Walls, by the direction of *Paulus Simeon*, Captain of the Caſtle, and one of the Knights of the *Rhodes*, a man of great experience; who long before taken at Sea by Pyrats, had ſometime ſerved *Barbaruſſa*, and therefore perſwaded the Citizens as reſolute men to withſtand the Turks. Which, that they ſhould more conſtantly perform, he took their Wives and Children and weaker ſort of the People into the Caſtle; and from thence furniſhed the Citizens with all things neceſſary for their defence. The City was at once in divers places battered by the Turks and French, both by Sea and Land; ſo that at laſt the Turks had beaten down one of the new built Bulwarks, and made ſo fair a Breach, that with their Enſigns diſplaied, they attempted to have entred; whoſe forwardneſs *Leo Strozza* (then ſerving the French King with a Band of Italians) imitating, ſought to have entred alſo; but the Citizens ſtanding valiantly upon their defence, manfully repulſed both the Turks and Italians, and cauſed them with loſs to retire. In this Aſſault were ſlain about an hundred Turks; and of *Strozza* his Souldiers two and twenty. Preſently after, *Barbaruſſa* with all his force began a freſh Battery, in ſuch terrible manner, that the Citizens ſeeing their Walls in divers places opened, and the few Souldiers they had, ſore wounded, and no hope to be in convenient time relieved, began to parly with the French General from the Wall, concerning the yielding up of the City; upon condition, that they might in all reſpects live under the French King as they had done under the Duke; for performance whereof the General gave them his Faith. But *Polinus* fearing leſt the Turks ſhould violate this compoſition, and for grief of the loſs of their Fellows, or for hope of the Spoil break into the City, entreated *Barbaruſſa* to recal his Souldiers, and to cauſe them to go aboard his Gallies. For which cauſe not long after, the Janizaries, as men deceived of their hoped Prey, were about to have ſlain both *Polinus* and *Strozza*, as they came from talking with *Barbaruſſa*.

Nice in Provence beſieged by the French and the Turks.

The Citizens crave parly, and after yield the City.

The Caſtle beſieged.

The City thus yielded, they began to conſult for the taking of the Caſtle; the performance whereof conſiſted firſt in the aſſailing of the Caſtle it ſelf, and then in defending of the City from the ſuddain ſallies of them in the Caſtle; and likewiſe in defending of them which beſidged the Caſtle, ſo that no Enemy ſhould come to raiſe the Siege; of which two things, *Barbaruſſa* put the French to choice which they would take; ſhewing himſelf ready either to beſiege the Caſtle, or to keep the Field. The French ſtanding in doubt of which to make choice, the proud old Turk ſcorning their ſlow reſolution, and them alſo, as men unfit for the ready accompliſhment of any Martial exploit; cauſed ſeven Pieces of Battery, whereof two were of wonderful greatneſs, to be placed in a trice in a place moſt convenient, and the ſame quickly intrenched and fortified, to the great admiration of the French; with which Pieces he had quickly beaten down the Battlements of the Walls, and Centinel Houſes, ſo that no man was able to ſhew himſelf upon the Walls. The Frenchmen likewiſe on the other ſide did with their great Ordnance continually batter the Caſtle; but with long ſhooting they came to ſuch want of Shot and Pouder, that *Polinus* was glad to requeſt, that he might either borrow or buy ſome of *Barbaruſſa*; whereat the Turk fretted and fumed exceedingly, That they ſhould in their own Country ſtand in need of his Proviſion, who at *Marceilles* had better fraighted their Ships with Wine, than with neceſſaries for the Wars. For the rough and ſevere old Turk could

Barbaruſſa in his rage threatneth to lay hands on Polinus, *and to return forthwith to* Conſtantinople.

could not forbear to taunt them, and oftentimes complained, that he was deluded with the hope of great matters which *Polinus* had promiſed at *Conſtantinople*; and that in ſuch a rage, that he would threaten to lay hands upon *Polinus*, who had brought him from *Conſtantinople* thither, whereas he muſt either loſe his honour, or having ſpent his Shot and Powder, expoſe himſelf and his Fleet to all dangers. Wherefore being exceeding angry with the French, he ſuddainly called a Counſel of his Captains, and other chief Officers; giving it out, That he would preſently return to *Conſtantinople*, ſeeing that among theſe cowardly and unskilful men (as it pleaſed him to term them) he found nothing ready or according to promiſe. Yet for all that, when he had chafed his fill, by the fair intreaties and large promiſes of the French General and *Polinus* together, the Wayward old man was perſwaded to change his mind, and to continue the Siege. But he was yet ſcarcely well pacified, and his mind ſet again upon the Siege, but Letters were intercepted from the great Captain *Alphonſus Vaſtius*, to *Paulus* Captain of the Caſtle, wherein he requeſted him to hold out a while againſt the Enemy, till that he, who had already ſent before his light Horſemen, might come alſo himſelf with his Men at Arms, who were upon the way alongſt the Alps by the Sea ſide, and would in two days with the ſlaughter of the Turks put him and his Caſtle out of all fear and danger. Which thing once bruted in the Camp, ſuch a great and ſuddain fear came upon the Turks and Frenchmen (the night following the more to terrifie them proving by chance very rainy and tempeſtuous) that they all forſook their Trenches and great Ordnance, and laying down their Weapons, by narrow Paths climbing over the top of the high Mountain, came down headlong to the Sea ſide to the Fleet. But the day appearing, and no Enemy to be ſeen, they were aſhamed of that they had done, and came again to the Siege. Not long after, when as the Caſtle in all mens Judgment was hardly to be battered, and ſtanding upon a firm Rock, was not but in long time with hard labour and doubtful ſucceſs to be undermined, it was generally thought good to raiſe the Siege. The Turks upon their departure brake into the City, and when they had taken the Spoil thereof, ſet it on fire.

The Turks and French give over the Caſtle of Nice, *and ſet fire on the City.*

Barbaruſſa retiring with his Fleet to *Antipolis*, came to anchor at the Iſland *Lerina*, called of the Mariners *Margarita*; at which time *Vaſtius* and the Duke of *Savoy*, with *Auria* his Fleet arrived at *Villa Franca*; in the entrance of which Haven, the Gally wherein *Vaſtius* went, was like to have been loſt. Four other Gallies by force of ſuddain Tempeſt were driven upon the Rocks, and ſo ſuddainly beaten in pieces with the Surge of the Sea, that the Gally Slaves had not leiſure to ſtrike off their Irons, but were there all drowned, and all the Ordnance loſt. *Polinus* underſtanding this diſtreſs of the Enemy, ſent one *Petrus Angelus* to *Barbaruſſa*, to ſhew him the occaſion offered, and to perſwade him with all ſpeed to haſt thither with his Fleet, as to a moſt aſſured Victory. *Barbaruſſa* ſeemed to like well of the motion, and promiſed to go, yet he moved not, letted as it was thought with the contrary Wind, which then blew hard at Eaſt, and with the roughneſs of the Sea. But the Wind being fallen, and the Sea become calm, and he contrary to his wonted manner making no haſte, ſet ſlowly forward, and being a little on his way, came again to anchor, and went no further; the Sanzacks and other Captains firſt marvelling, and afterward laughing thereat, ſcoffingly ſaid, That *Barbaruſſa* did but reaſon to deal kindly with *Auria*, as his Brother and Friend of his own Profeſſion, for that he had ſome years before received the like Friendſhip at his hands, in letting him eſcape at *Hippona*, which he now honeſtly paid him again. Whereunto *Barbaruſſa* both then and afterwards at *Conſtantinople* anſwered no otherwiſe, but, that he being an old Commander, and half blind, ſaw more in the matter than all thoſe green Captains with their ſharp ſight. Not long after, he returned again to *Marceilles*, and put into the Haven of *Tolon*, called in ancient time *Taurenta*. *Vaſtius* and the Duke coming to *Nice*, commended the Captain of the Caſtle, and wondering at the cunning manner of the Turks Fortifications, preferred them in that point before the Chriſtians. *Barbaruſſa* lying with his Fleet at *Tolon*, and by the Kings Officers entertained with all poſſible Courteſie, delivered five and twenty Gallies to *Salec* the famous Pyrate, and *Aſſanes* his nigh Kinſman; who paſſing the Bay of *Narbona*, rifled certain Towns in *Spain* ſtanding upon the Sea-Coaſt, and about the Promontory of *Venus* (called of the Mariners *Creum*) took great prize; and in the Haven of *Palamos* took one Merchant Ship and a Gally; with which Prey they paſſed over to *Algiers* as they were commanded, there to winter, and with the firſt of the Spring to return again to *Barbaruſſa* in *Provence*. That Winter *Barbaruſſa* repairing his Fleet, was furniſhed with many neceſſaries by the Genowayes, and eſpecially by *Auria* himſelf, who under the colour of redeeming of Priſoners, willingly furniſhed the Turk with ſuch things as he wanted; for although he profeſſed himſelf one of the Emperors Captains, yet would he not ſhew an Enemies mind, by the unſeaſonable denial of a little Sea Furniture, leſt in ſo doing he ſhould have hurt his Native Country of *Genoa*, which he ſaw then ſubject to the injury of ſo great a Fleet ſo nigh at Hand. But leave we now *Barbaruſſa* to winter in *Proven*[illegible] and with the courſe of time turn a little out of the way, to ſee in *Muleaſſes* King of *Tunes*, the ſmall aſſurance the greateſt have in higheſt place of worldly honour.

Barbaruſſa *derided by the Turks Captains.*

His anſwer to their taunts.

Muleaſſes *fearing the coming of* Barbaruſſa, *departeth from* Tunes *into* Italy, *to crave aid of* Charles *the Emperor.*

This Mahometan King, once before thruſt out of his Kingdom by *Barbaruſſa*, and reſtored again by *Charles* the Emperor (as is before declared) hearing of his coming with this great Fleet, and imagining nothing leſs than that he ſhould come to the aid of the moſt Chriſtian King, doubted (not without cauſe) leſt it was prepared againſt himſelf. Beſides that, divers great Cities of his Kingdom, namely *Conſtantina*, *Mahemedia*, and *Mahometa* (called in ancient time *Cyrtha*) *Leptis* and *Adrumentum*, were then holden by the Turks, *Barbaruſſas* Favorites. Wherefore fearing the worſt, about the ſame time that *Barbaruſſa* was ſailing alongſt the Coaſt of *Italy*, he paſſed over into *Sicily* to have met the Emperor at *Genoa*, and to have obtained of him greater Aid againſt the Turks. At his departure out of *Africk*, he committed the tuition of his Kingdom to ſuch valiant men as he ſuppoſed would have been unto him moſt faithful: Firſt, he appointed *Mahometes* (then *Maniphet*) to govern the City, and *Corſus* (otherwiſe called *Fares*) his old Servant to keep the Caſtle; leaving *Mahometes* his Brother, and *Fares* his Son, with *Touarres* a Spaniard (Captain of the Caſtle of *Guletta*) as Pledges, the one of his Brothers, the other of his Fathers Faith; but unto *Amida* his Son he committed the leading of his men of War for the defence of his Kingdom againſt the Turks and Numidians. As he was paſſing out of *Sicilia* to have met the Emperor at *Genoa*, he was by contrary

Winds driven firſt to *Cajeta*, and afterward to *Naples*, where he was by the Viceroy honourably entertained, and a Houſe appointed for him richly furniſhed; the Neopolitans wondring at the ſtrange Attire of the People, with the manner of their feeding, and curious plenty of all manner of ſweet Perfumes; for into every Diſh they put in Odors of exceeding price, ſo that it was well known, that a Peacock and two Pheaſants dreſſed after the manner of the Kings Kitchen, coſt above an hundred Ducats; ſo that not only the Dining Chamber, when they were carved up, but all the Houſe was ſo filled with the ſtrange and fragrant ſmell, that all they that dwelt near thereabouts were partakers of that unuſual and delicate Perfume.

Coſtly Diſhes.

From *Naples* he was about to have travelled by Land unto the Emperor, being then in conference with the Pope at *Buzetum*, (fearing to adventure the Sea, poſſeſſed by the Enemies Fleet) had not the Emperor by his Letters willed him to ſtay ſtill where he was.

Amida *riſeth againſt* Muleaſſes *his Father, and uſurps the Kingdom of* Tunes.

But whilſt he made his aboad at *Naples*, and carefully attended what Courſe *Barbaruſſa* would take, (who furniſhed with ſo great a Fleet, was departed from *Nice* diſappointed of his purpoſe) he was by certain Meſſengers advertiſed out of *Africa*, That *Amida* his Son was riſen up againſt him, and poſſeſſing himſelf of the Kingdom, had ſlain his Captains, polluted his Wives, and taken the Caſtle of *Tunes*. With which news he being exceedingly troubled, determined without delay to paſs over into *Africk*, and though late, yet as he might to remedy his domeſtical troubles, in hope to oppreſs that Rebellion in the beginning, and his Son alſo, before he could gather any ſtrength to reſt upon. Wherefore he with all the haſte he could opened his Coffers and entertained Souldiers, the Viceroy giving leave to all ſuch baniſhed Men as would, to come and give their names to paſs over as Souldiers into *Africk*; upon report whereof, ſuch a number of Malefactors and condemned perſons came flocking to *Naples*, that it was thought a ſufficient Army might have been made of ſuch kind of men; every one of them chuſing rather to enter into Pay, and blot out the infamy of baniſhment, and prove the fortune of Wars, than to live wandring up and down the Woods and in danger every hour to be hanged. Of theſe infamous Men, one *Joannes Baptiſta Lofredius* (a Man well born, but of a fierce and covetous diſpoſition) undertook the leading; he covenanting with *Muleaſſes* to have three months Pay before hand, levied a thouſand and eight hundred Men, which he preſently ſhipped, and keeping the greateſt part of their Pay to himſelf, paſſed over with the King into *Africk*, and landed at *Guletta*.

Muleaſſes *turneth into* Africk *to* Guletta.

But how *Amida* roſe up againſt his Father, and what was the end of that bloody Rebellion, ſhall not be amiſs briefly to rehearſe. There were certain Noblemen of great Authority about *Amida* when *Muleaſſes* departed, which at their pleaſure ruled the young Prince, who eaſily hearkned unto their Counſel, and followed the ſame; the chief of theſe was one *Mahometes* Son of *Bohamer*, who in the Reign of *Mahometes*, *Muleaſſes* his Father, was *Maniphet*, whom *Muleaſſes* (poſſeſſed of the Kingdom) put ſhamefully to death by cutting off his Privities, becauſe he had by haſty Marriage deceived him of *Rhahamana* a Maiden of incomparable Beauty, the Daughter of *Abderomen* Captain of the Caſtle, whom he moſt paſſionately loved; for which cruel fact, *Mahometes* his Son had long time conceived a deadly hatred againſt *Muleaſſes*, which he had many years diſſembled, that he might as occaſion ſerved be the more cruelly revenged. Next unto him was another *Mahometes* ſirnamed *Adulzes*, whom *Muleaſſes* was wont commonly to call his worſt Servant. Theſe two with a few others conſpiring together, gave it out, that *Muleaſſes* was dead at *Naples*, and before his death had moſt irreligeouſly (as they accounted it) revolted to the Chriſtian Religion. With which report they perceiving *Amida* moved, came unto him and perſwaded him quickly to enter into his Fathers Seat, leſt *Mahometes* his younger Brother (then lying in hoſtage with the Chriſtians at *Guletta*) ſhould by the favour and help of *Touarres*, whoſe Garriſon was ever ready, be preferred before him. For *Mahometes* was eighteen years old, reſembling his Grandfather in Name, Favour, and Diſpoſition, and therefore of the Citizens of *Tunes* beſt beloved. Wherefore *Amida* came in poſt haſte out of the Camp to *Tunes*, to lay firſt hand upon his Fathers Kingdom. The People which as yet had heard nothing of the Kings death, received him with doubtful countenance; and as many ſtood marvelling that he was ſo raſhly come into the City without his Fathers commandment, *Mahometes* (appointed by *Muleaſſes* to govern the City) came out and ſharply reproved him as guilty of high Treaſon, perſwading him to return again into the Camp; and ſeeing him ſtay, by force of multitude thruſt him out of the City. *Amida* deceived of his expectation, got him out of the way into the pleaſant Country of *Martia* between *Utica* and the ruins of old *Carthage*.

Amida *thruſt out of* Tunes.

But *Mahometes* Governor of the City, after he had repulſed *Amida*, got him with all ſpeed by Water to *Touarres* at *Guletta*, to know of him more aſſuredly, if any ſuch evil News were brought from *Sicily* of the death of the King; and to complain of the raſhneſs and intollerable preſumption of *Amida*. Where ſtaying ſomewhat long in diſcourſing with the Captain, and afterwards returning to the City, he was ſuſpected to have practiſed with the Captain to make *Mahometes* (the Pledge in *Guletta*) King in his Fathers ſtead; for ſo the common voice went. The Moors are by nature a faithleſs People, haſty, ſuſpitious, deſirous of News, which true or falſe, they for the time interpret as ſerveth beſt their Factions, whereunto they are exceedingly given. So at the firſt there roſe in the City a doubtful rumor of the making of a new King; the ſuſpicion whereof more and more increaſing, ſet all the City on an uprore. By occaſion whereof, certain of the Citizens, to whom the very name of *Muleaſſes* was odious, ſpeedily certified *Amida* (then in the Gardens of *Martia*, ſighing and grieving at his hard Fortune) how all ſtood, and that now was the time to do himſelf good.

Amida *returneth, and poſſeſſeth the Kingdom.*

He revived with that unexpected News, and encouraged by the perſwaſion of *Bohamer* and *Adulzes*, and other his Followers; reſolved to take hold upon that good offer of Fortune, which would not always frown, and to follow this good hap. So in haſte returning to *Tunes*, and entring in at the Gate, which he then found open, ran preſently to the Governors Houſe, and finding him not at home, cruelly ſlew all his Houſhold, and with his bloody company went preſently to the Caſtle; where *Fares* the Captain ſeeking to have kept him out, and boldly laid hands upon his Horſes Bridle to have thruſt him back, was by a deſperate Ethiopian, one of *Amida* his Followers, thruſt through with a Sword and ſlain; over whoſe Body yet ſprawling, *Amida* forcing his Horſe, brake into the Caſtle with his Friends, and finding *Mahometes* Governor of the City, preſently ſlew him alſo. And ſo by this means *Amida* in the ſpace of an hour (a little before, a man in deſpair) obtained the City, the

Caſtle, and the Kingdom together. After that, he murthred his younger Brethren, and embrued with blood, without ſhame polluted his Fathers Concubines. *Muleaſſes* landed (as we have before ſaid) at *Guletta*, with ſuch Forces as he had brought with him out of *Italy*; was adviſed by *Touarres* the Spaniard, not to adventure with ſuch an handful of Men to go to *Tunes*, before he were well aſſured of the good diſpoſition of the Citizens towards him; and was the more earneſt with *Lofredius* not to go, becauſe the Viceroy had expreſly written, That he ſhould in no caſe go any further than *Guletta*, except the King according to his promiſe had a good ſtrength of the Numidians to joyn with him. But certain of the Noblemen amongſt the Moors, which under the colour of Friendſhip were fled out of the City, and had after the ſolemn manner of their Nation put their Swords unto their Throats, and ſworn to be faithful unto him, wonderfully prickt forward both the King and *Lofredius* (too haſty of themſelves to their own Deſtiny) bearing them in hand, That *Amida* upon the firſt ſight of his Father would forſake the City, and betake himſelf to flight. So without more ſtaying, *Muleaſſes* with Enſign diſplaied ſet forward towards *Tunes*, *Lofredius* chearfully following him; *Touarres* requeſting them in vain to beware of the Moors Treachery. *Muleaſſes* marching ſtill forward, was come ſo nigh the City, that they might from the Walls deſcry him; when ſuddainly a ſtrong Troop of Moors ſallied out of the Gate with a terrible Cry, and fiercely aſſailed him; whom the Kings Horſemen valiantly received, many falling on both ſides. *Muleaſſes* in this hot ſkirmiſh fighting couragiouſly againſt his Enemies, was wounded in the Face, and bled exceedingly; which ſo diſcouraged them about him, that they doubting of his life, turned their Backs and fled; when preſently a wonderful number of Horſe and Foot ſuddainly iſſuing out of the Olive Gardens, had beſet *Lofredius* and his Souldiers round; upon whom the Italians diſcharged certain Field-Pieces; but after they had once diſcharged them, they had no leiſure to charge them again; for the barbarous Enemy came on ſo thick and ſo faſt, that the Italians ſeeing themſelves too weak, and compaſſed in round, let fall their Weapons as Men diſcouraged, and caſt themſelves into the Lake, ſo by ſwimming and taking hold of the little Boats, to ſave themſelves from the Enemies Sword; which Boats ſtood thoſe diſtreſſed Men in great ſtead; for being furniſhed with ſmall Pieces, they did beat back the Moors, who eagerly purſued them even unto the Lake with their Horſes. *Lofredius* as a Man amazed with the ſuddain coming of the Enemy, took the Lake with his Horſe, and was there unhorſed by the Enemy and ſlain, as were divers with him. Some few there were that fought couragiouſly, chuſing rather honourably to die in the midſt of their Enemies, than ſhamefully to be ſtrangled in the ſtinking Lake. *Muleaſſes* ſoiled with his own Blood and with the Duſt flying amongſt the reſt, was known and taken; nothing more bewraying than his odoriferous Perfumes. In this conflict a thouſand three hundred Italians were loſt; the reſt which eſcaped, *Touarres* relieved, and ſhortly after ſhipped them over into *Sicily*, from whence they travelled home to *Naples*, but ſo poor, as well ſhewed the miſery of their Fortune. *Amida* having thus obtained the Victory, was moſt careful of nothing than to make his Father unfit for Government, which he did by the cutting the ſight of both his Eyes with a hot Penknife; the like Cruelty he uſed upon *Nahazar* and *Abdallas* his Brethren, then taken with his Father. After that, he certified *Touarres* Captain of *Guletta*, That he had taken a few Youths Priſoners, which he would deliver unto him; and that he had bereft his Father of his ſight, who had deſerved a worſe puniſhment, as he that had long before done the like to his Brethren; but had yet left him his life, as an example to other Tyrants, and to ſhew that he dealt not altogether unmercifully with ſo perfideous a Father; laſt of all, he confirmed (upon certain conditions) the ſame League which his Father had with him; which he well ſaw was to great purpoſe, eſpecially in the newneſs of his Kingdom. Neither did *Touarres* refuſe the ſame as ſtanding with his preſent profit; for upon this agreement, *Amida* was to give him certain Mony to pay his Souldiers, and to deliver him the Priſoners he had taken, with the Enſigns and Body of *Lofredius*. For more aſſurance whereof he gave *Sebites* his Son, then nine years old, in Hoſtage; yet upon condition, that if an aſſured Peace could not be agreed upon, but that they muſt needs enter into War, then *Touarres* ſhould forthwith reſtore him his Son *Sebites* in ſafety. Theſe Capitulations, although they ſeemed not unreaſonable, and were of them well liked; yet *Touarres* thought it not altogether agreeing with the honour of the Emperor, that he ſhould enjoy the Kingdom, who by moſt horrible Treaſon and deteſtable Villany had thruſt himſelf thereinto without the Emperors leave. Wherefore he entred into a new device to call in the rightful Heir, who might at the Emperors pleaſure (offended with the injury done by *Amida*) reign in *Tunes*.

Muleaſſes *going to* Tunes, *by the way overthrown.*

Lofredius *ſlain.*

Muleaſſes *taken.*

Amida *put out his Fathers and Brethrens Eies.*

There was an exile amongſt the Numidians one *Abdamelech*, ever ſince the time that *Roſcetes* fled to *Barbaruſſa*. Him, becauſe he was *Muleaſſes* natural Brother, *Touarres* ſent for, putting him in hope of the Kingdom, ſupported by *Anemſcha* a great Prince amongſt the Numidians, who had all that long time courteouſly entertained him. Neither was *Abdamelech* ſlow to accept the occaſion preſented, eſpecially incouraged thereunto by the Numidian Prince his good Friend, and the predictions of the Aſtrologers, who had foretold him, That he ſhould die King of *Tunes*. Which vain kind of Divination having in it no manner of aſſurance, yet cauſeth great minds oftentimes to undertake great attempts beyond reaſon, which falling out with more hap than they were with reaſon foretold, giveth ſome credit to that Vanity, and cauſeth thoſe cold Prophets to be of ſome accounted as great Wizards. And to work this feat, ſuch a time was offered, as a better could not be wiſhed; for *Amida* having ſet all things in order as he pleaſed in the City, and caſting no peril, was gone to *Biſerta*, to take order for his Cuſtoms, which was there great upon Fiſhing. Wherefore *Touarres* to keep his promiſe, ſent back *Sebites*, *Amida*'s Son, in a Boat to *Tunes*, and received *Abdamelech*; who travelling moſt part by night, was ſecretly come to *Guletta*, and there reſting himſelf and his Horſes a few hours, to prevent the fame of his coming, poſted in haſte with a Troop of his Numidian Followers to *Tunes*, and paſſing through the City, went directly to the Caſtle, which he entred without reſiſtance of the Warders, ſuppoſing him to have been *Amida* come from *Biſerta*; for *Abdamelech* had after the manner of the Moors covered his Face with a Skarf, as if it had been to have kept him from the Sun and the Duſt, and by that happy ſlight got into the Caſtle before it was known who he was. The Warders perceiving their error, began as Men amazed now too late to betake themſelves to their Weapons,

Touarres *ſends for* Abdamelech Amida *his elder Brother.*

Abdamelech *by Policy obtaineth the Kingdom of* Tunes.

for in making reſiſtance they were quickly ſlain by the Numidians which came in with *Abdamelech*; who thus poſſeſſed of the Caſtle (the chief ſtrength of that Kingdom) let in his Friends, which were many in the City, by whom he was preſently ſaluted King; the reſt of the Citizens either well liking of the matter, or at leaſt not daring for fear to ſtir.

Abdamelech *dieth and* **Mahometes** *his Son is choſen King in his place.*

But as in theſe worldly things, for which Men ſo vainly toil, is no aſſurance, ſo this new King ſhortly after fell ſick and died, when he had reigned but ſix and twenty days, and was afterwards Royally interred. After whoſe death, his mighty Friends, with the chief of the Citizens (perſwaded and encouraged by *Touarres* the Spaniard) choſe *Mahometes* his Son (a Child ſcarce twelve years old) to reign in his Fathers place; appointing *Abdalages* Maniphet (Brother to him who *Amida* ſlew) *Abdelchirinus* Meſuar, *Shyriffus* (a great Man in the Mahometan Superſtition) and *Perellus* a Chriſtian Knight, to be his Directors and Governors; which four ſwaied all at their pleaſure. But *Abdelchirinus* tendring the Welfare of his Country, and deviſing out of ſeaſon how to ſet up one of the Royal Blood that were of himſelf able to govern the Kingdom (ſaying, That it was not for the common good to be ruled by a Child) was for his labour by his other three Fellows ſuddainly ſlain, with all his Kindred and known Friends. After whoſe death the other three erected a manner of Triumvirat Government, every one of them laying hand upon one part of the State or other, as liked him beſt. *Amida* thus ſhut out of *Tunes*, and having loſt his Kingdom, wandred up and down to *Leptis*, *Cyrapolis*, and many other places, craving Aid of every Man to recover his Kingdom, miſerably rent in ſunder (as he ſaid) by moſt wicked Men who inſolently triumphed over the Boy King. Which they of *Tunes* knew well to be true, and dayly complained of the death of *Abdelchirinus*, whom they called the faithful Counſellor and Father of his Country. Whilſt *Amida* is thus trudging up and down, craving help of this and that Prince, proving his Friends, and ſounding his Subjects Affection towards him; *Muleaſſes* grown miſerable with his long impriſonment and the calamity of his diſaſter Fortune, obtained of the young King his Nephew ſo much favour, as that he might ſometime go out of the Caſtle to the Church; under colour whereof he took Sanctuary, a place in *Tunes* holden in ſuch reverence amongſt the Moors, as that it was a moſt inviolable Refuge to all ſuch as fled thereunto.

Muleaſſes *at the requeſt of* **Touarres** *is ſent to* **Guletta.**

Not long after, at ſuch time as *Bernardinus Mendoxa* the Admiral of *Spain* came to *Galetta* with the Spaniſh Fleet, *Muleaſſes* at the requeſt of *Touarres* was conveyed out of the Sanctuary to the Lake, and ſo by Water to *Guletta*, there to be preſent at the Conſultation there holden for the utter ſubverſion of *Amida* and the driving out of the Turks out of ſuch Cities as they yet held alongſt the Sea-Coaſt in *Africa*. *Muleaſſes* had hardly before eſcaped the hands of certain of his Enemies in *Tunes*, who ſought after his life; preſerved by an old Woman, who moved with pity, hid him from their fury under a great heap of Garlike; and had he not now in good time eſcaped to *Guletta*, he had again fallen into the hands of his mercileſs Son *Amida*, who ſhortly after recovered again his Kingdom; and would not as he ſaid himſelf, have ſpared him for the Reverence of any Sanctuary. For the Citizens of *Tunes* weary of the evil Government of ſuch as were in Authority about the young King, and not a little offended with the King himſelf, for eſpouſing *Melucca* his Couſin one of *Muleaſſes* his Daughters, ſecretly encouraged *Amida* by Letters to repair to the City, promiſing to aid him in recovering his Kingdom. Whereupon he came in ſuch haſte, that the young King had ſcarce time to get out of the City; and *Amida* entring without reſiſtance, and holpen by his Friends, eaſily obtained again the Kingdom, and exerciſed moſt exquiſite Cruelty upon his Enemies; of whom he cauſed ſome to be torn in pieces and devoured of fierce Maſtives kept hungry for that purpoſe. *Perellus* he cauſed to be tortured, his Secrets to be cut off, and himſelf afterwards burnt to aſhes in the Market place.

Amida *recovereth the Kingdom of* **Tunes**, *and takes revenge upon his Enemies.*

But *Muleaſſes* ſtaid not long at *Guletta*, offended with the Covetouſneſs of *Touarres*, who (as he ſaid) had not faithfully reſtored ſuch things as he had before put him in truſt withal, but had avaritiouſly in his miſery deceived him of part of his rich Houſholdſtuff, with certain notable precious Stones, and ſome of his Treaſure; whereof the blind King ſo grievouſly complained to *Charles* the Emperor, that for deciding the matter, they were both commanded to repair unto him into *Germany*; where in concluſion to end the ſtrife, *Touarres* was diſcharged of his Government, and *Muleaſſes* ſent into *Sicily*, there to be kept of the common charge of that rich Iſland. *Muleaſſes* by the way coming to *Rome*, was honourably feaſted by Cardinal *Farneſius*; at which time he ſhewed himſelf both in his Apparel and Behavior not forgetful his better Fortune; and being brought unto the preſence of *Paulus* the great Biſhop, would do him no greater Honour but to kiſs his Knee, accounting it too great an indignity to have kiſſed his Foot. He was of Stature tall, and of a Princely Diſpoſition, unworthy of ſo hard a Fortune, had he not in the like manner before unmercifully dealt with his own Brethren.

Muleaſſes *diſdaineth to kiſs the Popes Foot.*

1544.

Barbaruſſa weary of his long lying to ſo ſmall purpoſe in *Provence*, requeſted the French King either throughly to imploy him, or elſe to give him leave to depart; offering if he ſo pleaſed, to ſpoil all alongſt the Coaſt of *Spain*, from the Mountain *Pyrenei* to *Cadiz*. But he not ignorant what hard Speeches ran of him already in all parts of Chriſtendom, for bringing in the Turks, was loath to leave unto the memory of all Poſterity the foul remembrance of ſo woful a ſlaughter; beſides that, he was adviſed to diſburden his Country of ſuch troubleſome Gueſts, who roving about did much harm in the Province where they lay, and as it was reported, now and then ſnatcht up one Country Peaſant or other, and chained them for Slaves in their Gallies. Wherefore in ſupply of the Turks that were dead, the King gave unto *Barbaruſſa* all the Mahometan Slaves in his Gallies, to the number of about four hundred; and furniſhing him with all kind of Proviſion, and beſtowing great gifts upon him and his Captains, ſent him away; and with him *Strozza* with certain Gallies, his Embaſſador to *Solyman*. So the Turk departing out of *Provence*, kept alongſt the Coaſt until they came near unto *Savona*, whither the Genoways ſent divers Preſents and freſh Victuals to *Barbaruſſa*; which he took ſo thankfully, that he proteſted not to hurt any of their Territory. From thence he kept a right Courſe to the Iſland of *Elba* belonging to the Duke of *Florence*, over againſt *Plumbinum*; where underſtanding that one of the Sons of *Sinan* his old Friend was there kept Priſoner, he writ unto *Appianus* Governor of the Iſland, for his deliverance, to this effect:

Barbaruſſa *his Letters to* **Appianus** *Governor of Elba.*

I know that a young man a Turk (a very good youth) the Son of Sinan *ſirnamed the Jew (a famous Captain) taken of late at* Tunes, *that I would have thee friendly* *to reſtore; which gift I will make thee to underſtand to be unto me moſt acceptable; for this our great Fleet in paſſing by you ſhall faithfully forbear to uſe any hoſtility. But if thou ſhalt in this ſo ſmall a matter refuſe to gratifie me, expect upon the Coaſt of thy Country all the harms that an angry Enemy can do.*

Appianus *glad to deliver the captive when* Barbaruſſa *required.*

Whereunto *Appianus* (ſhewing his men upon the Walls, in token that he was not afraid) anſwered, That the young man was become a Chriſtian, and therefore might not in any caſe be delivered to the Turks; but that he would in any other thing gratifie him in what he could, and for his ſake uſe the young man as his Son. And to molifie the unkindneſs of his anſwer, he ſent him freſh Victual with other Preſents. But *Barbaruſſa* offended with the anſwer, landed his men round about the Iſland, and commanded them to make what Spoil they could; which they performed accordingly, hunting the Iſland People up and down the Rocks and Mountains like Hares; until that *Appianus* not without cauſe doubting the utter Spoil of the Iſland, redeemed his Peace by delivering the young man to *Salec* the Pyrat, who brought him to *Barbaruſſa* gallantly attired after the Italian manner; of whom he was joyfully received as the Son of a moſt valiant Captain his old Friend; and thereupon *Barbaruſſa* ſtaied his Souldiers from doing any further harm upon the Iſland, and gave *Appianus* great thanks for him. This young Man *Barbaruſſa* honoured with the command of ſeven Gallies, and afterwards ſent him to his Father then lying at *Suetia* a Port of the Red Sea, Admiral againſt the Portugals, who greatly troubled thoſe Seas. But the old Jew overjoyed with the ſuddain and unexpected return of his Son, whom he had for many years before given as loſt, in embracing of him fainted, and ſo preſently for joy died.

Sinan *the Jew dieth for joy.*

Barbaruſſa *in his return toward* Conſtantinople *doeth much harm upon the Coaſt of* Italy.

This man for Valour was accounted little inferior to *Barbaruſſa*, but for diſcretion and juſt dealing far beyond him, nothing of ſo furious and waiward a diſpoſition as was he. *Barbaruſſa* departing from *Elba*, came into the Bay of *Telamon* in *Tuſcany*, and in ſhort time took the City, which he ſpoiled and burnt, but eſpecially the Houſe of *Bartholomeus Telamonius*; whoſe dead Body but a little before buried, he cauſed to be pluckt out of the Grave, and his Bones to be ſcattered abroad, becauſe he being Admiral of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Gallies, had in the Iſle of *Lesbos* waſted *Barbaruſſa*'s Fathers poor Poſſeſſion; and marching by night eight miles farther into the Land, ſurpriſed *Montenum*, and carried almoſt all the Inhabitants away with him into Captivity. The like miſchief he did at the Port called *Portus Herculis*, but purpoſing to have taken *Orbitello*, and there to have fortified, he was by *Lona* and *Vitellius* (two valiant Captains before ſent thither, the one by the State of *Siena*, and the other by the Duke of *Florence*) repulſed. So though diſappointed of his purpoſe, yet having done great harm, and put the whole Country of *Tuſcany* in exceeding fear, he departed from thence and landed again at *Igilium*, now called *Gigio*, an Iſland about twelve miles diſtant from *Portus Herculis*, where he quickly battered the Town, and carried a wonderful number of all ſorts into miſerable Captivity; keeping on his Courſe, he paſſing the Cape of *Linar*, and coming over againſt *Centumcelle*, had burnt that City for the ſame reaſon he did *Telamon*, had he not been otherwiſe perſwaded by *[illegible]* the French Embaſſador, ſeeming to draw the French King into further obloquy. From thence he came with a direct Courſe to the Iſland of *Ischia*; where landing in the night, he intercepted moſt part of the Inhabitants of the Iſland, as they were flying into the Mountains; and in revenge of the hatred he had conceived againſt *Vaſtius* at the Siege of *Nice*, he burnt *Forino*, *Panſa*, and *Varranium*, three chief Towns of that Iſland; but *Pithacuſa* the dwelling place of *Vaſtius*, ſtanding upon a broken Rock ſomewhat diſtant from the Sea, he durſt not adventure upon. Then ſcraping along the Iſland *Prochita* with leſs hurt, becauſe moſt part of the Inhabitants were before fled to *Pithacuſa*, he put into the Bay of *Puteoli*, and ſent *Salec* the Pyrat with part of his Fleet, to make proof if the City of *Puteoli* might from Sea be battered. *Salec* drawing near the City, ſhot into it with his great Ordnance, and by chance ſlew one *Saiavedra* a valiant Spaniard, upon the Walls, and put the Citizens in a great fear leſt the whole Fleet ſhould have landed, they themſelves as then unprovided; but the Viceroy came preſently with a power both of Horſe and Foot from *Naples*, which *Barbaruſſa* diſcovering from Sea, as they came down the Mountains, called back *Salec*; and leaving the Iſland of *Capri*, and paſſing by the Promontory *Atheneum*, was about to have ſeiſed upon *Salernum*, when a Tempeſt ſuddainly ariſing diſperſed his Fleet, and drave him beyond the Promontory *Palinurus* upon the Coaſt of *Calabria*; where he did exceeding much harm, eſpecially at *Carreato*. From thence he departed to the Iſland of *Lipari*, betwixt *Italy* and *Sicily*, which Iſland he miſerably ſpoiled, and with forty great Pieces ſo battered the City, that the Citizens were conſtrained for fear to yield, whom he carried away all Priſoners about the number of ſeven thouſand, of one ſort of People and other, and burnt the City. So loaded with the rich Spoil of *Italy* and the Iſlands upon the Coaſt, he returned towards *Conſtantinople* with ſuch a multitude of poor Chriſtian Captives, ſhut up ſo cloſe under Hatches amongſt the excrements of Nature, that all the way as he went almoſt every hour ſome of them were caſt dead overboard; every man deteſting the endleſs hatred betwixt the Emperor and the French King, the very ground of all this and many thouſand other moſt woful and underſerved calamities of the poor Subjects. With this rich Prey and an infinite number of Captives, *Barbaruſſa* arrived at *Conſtantinople* in the beginning of Autumn, in the year 1544: where he was honourably received of *Solyman*, and highly commended for his good ſervice both by Sea and Land.

Barbaruſſa *arrived at* Conſtantinople.

Mahomet Solymans *eldeſt Son dieth.*

Solyman triumphing at *Conſtantinople* of the good ſucceſs he had in *Hungary*; in the midſt of all his glory, was advertiſed of the death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt Son, whom of all his Children he held deareſt; whoſe dead Body was ſhortly after brought from *Magneſia*, and with wonderful ſolemnity, and no leſs mourning, buried at *Conſtantinople*. How entirely *Solyman* loved this his Son, well appeared by the great ſorrow he conceived of his death: and not contented to have built him a ſtately Tomb, erected alſo in memorial of him a Mahometan Church, called the Church of *Mahomet* the Leſſer; for the difference of *Mahomet* the Great who won *Conſtantinople*. Whereunto he alſo annexed a Monaſtery and a Colledg, with many things more after the groſs manner of their Superſtition, for the health of his Soul, as he vainly ſuppoſed. After that, *Solyman* according to his wonted manner, which was but every ſecond or third year, to take in hand ſome notable expedition, ceaſed from Wars by the ſpace of two years; in which time many of the great Princes and worthy Men of that Age died; amongſt whom was *Francis*

The death of the famous Pyrat Barbaruſſa.

the French King. *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* that famous Turk of whom we have ſo often ſpoken, who being of great years and no leſs fame, left this life in the year 1547. and was buried at a Houſe of his own called *Beſictas*, near unto *Boſphorus Thracius* on *Europe* ſide, not far from the Mouth of *Euxinum*, about four miles from *Pera*, where he had but few years before at one time ſold about ſixteen thouſand Chriſtian Captives, taken out of *Corcyra*; and to make famous that place appointed for his Burial, he of his own coſt built there a Mahometan Temple, there yet with his Sepulcher to be ſeen; That place was in ancient time called *Jaſonium*. About which time alſo, died of conceit that famous Captain *Alphonſus Davalus Vaſtius*, taken away by untimely death when he had lived but forty five years. At which time, *Charles* the Emperor by his Embaſſador *Gerardus Veltuwich*, concluded a Peace with *Solyman* for five years, wherein King *Ferdinand* was alſo included; which Peace was afterwards before the expiration thereof, by *Solyman* (at the requeſt of *Henry* the French King) broken.

Vaſtius *dieth.*

1548.

1549.

Van *yielded to the Turks.*

Solyman had now almoſt three years taken his reſt, when it fortuned that *Ercaſes Imirza*, King of *Sirvan*, moved with the often injuries of *Tamas* his Brother the great Perſian King, fled to *Solyman* at *Conſtantinople*, to crave aid of him againſt his Brother. *Solyman* glad of ſuch an occaſion to work upon, entertained him with all courteſie, and promiſed to take upon him his quarrel, and to protect him againſt his unnatural Brother. And when he had made all things ready for ſo great an expedition, paſſed over into *Aſia*, and after long and painful travel entred at laſt with a puiſſant Army into *Armenia*, and there in the Borders of the Perſian Kingdom, firſt beſieged the City of *Van*, which after ten days ſiege was yielded unto him, upon condition, that the Perſian Souldiers there in Garriſon, might with life and liberty depart with their Arms as Souldiers; which was at the firſt by *Solyman* granted, and ſo the City ſurrendred. From thence *Solyman* ſent his chief Commanders with a great part of his Army, to burn and ſpoil the Enemies Country, which they for a time chearfully performed; and running far into the Country, ſtrive as it were amongſt themſelves who ſhould do moſt harm; where *Imirza* amongſt the reſt, for whoſe ſake *Solyman* had undertaken this War, was as forward as the beſt to waſt and ſpoil his Brothers Kingdom, ſparing nothing that came to hand; the beſt and richeſt things he got, he preſented to *Solyman*, to draw him on ſtill in that War. But that ſerved not his turn to recover again his Kingdom of *Sirvan*; for *Tamas*, without ſhewing any power to withſtand the Turks, had after his wonted manner, cauſed his people to withdraw themſelves far into the Mountain Country, leaving nothing behind them in that waſt Country to relieve them but the bare Ground; ſo that the farther the Turks went, the more they wanted, without hope of better ſucceſs than ſuch as they had before to their loſs made proof of, in their former expeditions into that great Kingdom. The conceit whereof ſo much pierced not the common Souldiers only, but even the Captains themſelves; that to make an end of that long and unprofitable War, taken in hand for another Mans good, they conſulted amongſt themſelves either to kill *Imirza*, or elſe to diſgrace him with *Solyman*; Which they ſo cunningly wrought; ſome ſuggeſting falſe ſuſpitions of his treacherous dealing in the proceeding of that War; and others with like craft, under colour of friendſhip giving him warning in ſecret of the danger he was in; the one filling *Solymans* Head with diſtruſt, and the other *Imirza* with fear; briefly to ſhut the matter up in their own terms, *They perſwaded the Hare to flie, and the Hounds to follow.* *Imirza* doubting ſome ſuddain miſchief, fled for ſuccour to an old acquaintance of his, one of the Princes of *Chaldea*, who moſt treacherouſly ſent him in Bonds to *Tamas* his Brother his moſt cruel Enemy, who glad to have the author of all his troubles with the Turks, delivered into his hands, caſt him in Priſon; and that *Solyman* nor any other ſhould in his behalf further proſecute the War, or by his means hope for Victory, cauſed him to be in Priſon murthred. In this expedition againſt the Perſian King, *Solyman* was occupied a year and nine months; all which time the Turks endured great troubles, and were oftentimes hardly diſtreſſed by the Perſians; until at laſt *Solyman* himſelf weary of that tedious War, wherein he had got neither honour nor profit, thought it beſt ſo to make an end; and thereupon returned again to *Conſtantinople* in the year 1549.

Imirza *murthered in Priſon.*

Solyman *returneth to* Conſtantinople.

1550.
Dragut *a famous Pyrat of the Turks poſſeſſeth certain Cities in* Africk.

In the mean time it fortuned, that one *Dragut Raiſes* a notable Pyrat of the Turks, had craftily ſurpriſed the City of *Africa* in the Kingdom of *Tunes* (called in ancient time *Aphrodiſeum*) and alſo *Leptis Parva* (and now of the Moors called *Mahamedia*) and there ſetling himſelf, as in a place both commodious and of good aſſurance, exceedingly troubled the Chriſtians both by Sea and Land, eſpecially ſuch as traded in the Mediterranean. So that the Emperor, moved as well with the manifold injuries done by that Arch-Pyrat upon the Frontiers of his Dominions, as by the daily complaint of his poor Subjects, commanded the Viceroy of *Sicily*, and *Auria* his Admiral, to levy a ſufficient power in time to repreſs that Pyrat, before he grew to farther ſtrength. Whereupon, they with a ſtrong Fleet well manned and throughly appointed for that purpoſe, and aided by the Knights of *Malta*, paſſed over into *Africk*, and landing their Forces, by the ſpace of three months beſieged the City before poſſeſſed by the Pyrat, which with continual Battery they had at length made aſſaultable. And hearing that *Dragut* was coming with a new ſupply to relieve it, they with all celerity aſſailed it both by Sea and Land, and in the ſpace of a few hours took it by force the tenth day of *September* in the year 1550. in which aſſault many of the Enemies were ſlain, and the reſt taken. *Auria* having thus diſpoſſeſſed the Pyrat, and adviſedly conſidering that the City was not without an infinite charge to be holden by the Chriſtians, among ſo many of the Infidels, raſed it down to the ground, carrying away with him ſeven thouſand Captives, and all the ſpoil of the City. And not ſo contented, did all the harm he could with Fire and Sword all alongſt the Coaſt of *Africa*, to the intent that the Turks ſhould there find no relief; and took twelve Priſoners out of *Monaſterium*, a Town not far from the City of *Africa*; and ſo having done what he came for, returned again into *Sicily*. *Dragut* thus at once thruſt out of all he had, with a few of his Friends fled to *Solyman* to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo incenſed him with the grievous complaint of the wrong done unto him by the Chriſtians; that in revenge thereof, he reſolved to make War both upon the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, notwithſtanding that the five years League he had before taken with him at his going into *Perſia*, was not yet expired. So with chearful words and courteous entertainment comforting up the deſperate Pyrat, the

Spring

1551. Spring following (which was in the year 1551.) he furniſhed him with a great Fleet in moſt warlike manner appointed, to revenge the injury done to him by *Auria* in *Africk.* With this Fleet in number a hundred and forty Sail, *Siman* one of the Turks great Baſſaes, accompanied with *Dragut* the Pyrat, by the appoinment of *Solyman*, departed from *Conſtantinople*; and cutting through the Seas, arrived at length in *Sicily*, where they ſuddainly ſurpriſed the Town and Caſtle of *Auguſta*, which they preſently ſacked. Departing thence, they came to the Iſland of *Malta*, and there landed their Men in the Port of *Marza*, otherwiſe called *Moxet*, near unto the Caſtle, which they battered with certain Pieces of great Ordnance, but ſo as was to no great purpoſe. At which time divers Companies of the Turks running further into the Iſland, made havoke of whatſoever came in their way. After they had thus few days in vain battered the Caſtle, and ſaw themſelves both there valiantly repulſed, and in other places by Ambuſhes and ſuch like means cut off by the Souldiers and Inhabitants of the Iſland, they removed thence to the Road of St. *Paul*, where they landed their Ordnance with purpoſe to have beſieged the City; but perceiving by a little, what ſmall hope there was to prevail, and ſeeing divers of their Men dying through the extremity of the Heat, they forſook the Iſland and went to *Gaudes* now called *Goza*, a little Iſland about thirty miles in compaſs, five miles diſtant from *Malta* Weſtward, ſubject unto the Knights of the Religion; and there landing their Men, miſerably ſpoiled the Iſland, and whatſoever they light upon, and carried away with them of one ſort of People and other ſix thouſand and three hundred Captives into moſt woſul bondage. With which booty they put again to Sea, and ſailed directly to *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, called of old *Leptis Magna*; which City *Charles* the Emperor had before given to the Knights of *Malta*, and was at that time by them kept. This City was the Mark whereat the Baſſa and the Pyrat ſhot; for taking whereof they landed their Forces, and by long and winding Trenches approached as near the ſame as they could. Which they did not without great loſs of their people; for they of the Caſtle having great ſtore of great Ordnance, and moſt expert Cannoniers, did with continual ſhot ſo annoy the Turks, that they were oftentimes enforced to retire; yet with much troubleſome labour and no leſs peril, they came at laſt within eight hundred Paces of the Walls; where the Baſſa cauſed his Gabions made of thick Planks, to be placed in the night, and his Battery planted. And the next day (which was the eighth of *Auguſt*) the Cannon began to play, which was again anſwered from the Caſtle with like, and every hour ſome of the Turks ſlain, the great ſhot ſtill flying into their Trenches, ſo as that day four of the beſt Cannoniers in the Army were ſlain, with certain other Men of good account alſo; and the Clerk General of the Army, a Man of great eſtimation and well beloved of the Baſſa, had his Hand ſhot off, and many other of the Janizaries and common Souldiers either ſlain or hurt; moreover they brake one of their beſt Pieces, and diſmounted four others, which for that day made them to leave the Battery. The next night the Turks approached yet nearer unto the Caſtle, upon whom the Chriſtians in the break of the day ſallied out even unto their very Trenches, and afterwards retired. With the riſing of the Sun (which the Turks have in great reverence) they renued their Battery with greater force than before; yet with ſuch evil ſucceſs, that the Baſſa was almoſt mad for anger; for about the evening the Fire by miſchance got into their Powder, wherewith thirty of the Turks were burnt, many hurt, and one Piece broken. At length the Turks were come ſo near, that they had planted their Battery within a hundred and fifty Paces of the Wall; which they continued with ſuch fury, that they had made a fair Breach even with the Ditch; but what was beaten down in the day time, the Defendants repaired again by night, in ſuch ſort, as that it was not to be aſſaulted. Yet in concluſion, a traiterous Souldier of *Provence*, before corrupted by the Turks, found means to flie out of the Caſtle into the Camp, where he declared unto the Baſſa the weakeſt places of the Caſtle, by which it might be moſt conveniently battered and ſooneſt taken; and eſpecially one place above the reſt which was againſt the Governours Lodgings; which ſtanding towards the Ditch, and having underneath it Cellars to retire the munition into, could not if it were once battered, well be repaired again or fortified. Which the Baſſa underſtanding, cauſed the Battery there to be planted, laying the Pieces ſo low, that they did eaſily beat the Cellars and Vaults in ſuch ſort, that in ſhort time the Walls were ſo ſhaken, that the Rampiers above through the continual battery, began greatly to ſink; which ſo amazed the Souldiers, ſeeing no convenient means to repair the ſame, that ſetting all honour aſide, they requeſted the Governour, That ſithence the matter began now to grow deſperate, and that the place was not longer to be holden, he would in time take ſome good order with the Enemy for their ſafety, before the Walls were further endamaged. With which motion, *Vallier* the Governour (an ancient Knight of *Daulphiny*, and one of the Order) was exceedingly troubled; which *Peiſieu* another of the Knights, perceiving, he as a Man of great courage, and of all others there preſent moſt ancient, in the name of the other Knights declared unto them, That the Breach was neither ſo great, nor ſo profitable for the Enemy, but that it was defenſible enough, if they would as Men of courage repair the ſame; ſaying, That it was more honourable for worthy Knights and luſty Souldiers, to die valiantly with their weapons in their hands, fighting againſt the Infidels for the maintenance of their Law and Chriſtian Religion, than ſo cowardly to yield themſelves to the mercy of thoſe, at whoſe hands nothing was to be looked for but moſt miſerable ſervitude, with all kind of cruelty; and therefore perſwaded the Governour to hold it out to the laſt. For all that, he overcome with the importunity of ſuch as would needs yield, who with all vehemency urged the imminent danger wherewith they were all like to be overwhelmed, and finding himſelf bereft both of Heart and Fortune, and forſaken of his Souldiers; without farther consideration, conſented that a white Enſign ſhould be diſplayed on the Walls, in token that they deſired parley; When a Turk preſenting himſelf, they requeſted him to underſtand of the Baſſa, if he could be contented that ſome of them might come to intreat with him of ſome good order to be taken for the yielding up of the Caſtle. Whereunto the Baſſa willingly conſenting, two of the Knights were forthwith ſent out, to offer unto him the Caſtle with the Artillery and Munition, ſo as he would furniſh them with Ships to bring them with Bag and Baggage ſafely to *Malta*. Whereunto the Baſſa briefly anſwered, That (foraſmuch as they had as yet deſerved no grace, preſuming to keep ſo ſmall a place againſt the Army

Malta *attempted by the Turks.*

The Turks Fleet arriveth at Tripolis *in* Barbary.

Tripolis *battered by the Turks.*

Hard conditions offered by the Baſſa to the beſieged.

of the greateſt Prince on Earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the Army, he would condeſcend to their requeſt; or if they would not thereunto conſent, that for recompence, all they within the Caſtle ſhould continue his Slaves and Priſoners; notwithſtanding if they incontinently and without delay did ſurrender the place, he would exempt out of them two hundred. Whereupon the Meſſengers returning in deſpair, were ſtaid by *Dragut* and *Salla Rais*, with flattering words and fair promiſes, that they would ſo much as lay in them, perſwade the Baſſa to condeſcend to a more gracious compoſition; fearing indeed that the beſieged through deſpair would reſolve (as their extream refuge) to defend the place even to the very laſt Man. Wherefore they went preſently to the Baſſa, to declare unto him his overſight in refuſing them who voluntarily would have put themſelves into his hands, whom reaſon would he ſhould with all courteſie have received; for that after he had the Caſtle and the Men in his power, he might diſpoſe of them as he ſhould think good. The Baſſa liking well of his counſel, cauſed the Meſſengers to be called again, and with fained and diſſembling words told them, That at the inſtance of *Dragut* and *Salla Rais* there preſent, he did diſcharge them of all the coſts and charges of the Army, ſwearing unto them (the better to deceive them) by the Head of his Lord and his own, inviolably to obſerve all that he had promiſed unto them; which they too eaſily believed, and forthwith went to declare the ſame to the Governour, and others within the Caſtle. The Baſſa, the better to come to the effect of his deſire, after theſe Meſſengers ſent a crafty Turk, whom he charged expreſly to perſwade the Governour to come with him into the Camp, for the full concluſion of the giving up of the Caſtle, and for the appointing of ſuch Veſſels as ſhould be needful for their ſafe conduct to *Malta*; and that if he made any doubt to come, he ſhould make ſhew as if he would there remain in Hoſtage for him; but above all things, to conſider of the ſtrength and aſſurance of the beſieged, and of the diſpoſition of all things there. Which the ſubtil Turk ſo finely handled, that the Governour by the counſel of thoſe who had perſwaded him to yield (notwithſtanding the reaſons of Wars and Duty of his Office forbad him in ſuch manner to abandon the place of his charge) reſolved upon ſo ſmall an aſſurance of the Baſſa, and gave ear to the miſerable end of his Fortune. So taking with him a Knight of his Houſhold (to ſend back unto thoſe of the Caſtle, to declare unto them how he ſped in the Camp) under the conduct of the Turk that was come to fetch him, he went ſtraight to the Tent of the Baſſa; who by the Turk that went firſt in, was advertiſed of the ſmall courage of the Defendants, which he aſſured him to be no better, but that if he thought it good, he might bring them to ſuch order and agreement as he would himſelf. Upon whoſe perſwaſion calling in the Governour *Vallier*, after he had rigorouſly reproved his raſhneſs, ſaid unto him, That foraſmuch as he had once given his word, if he would pay the charges of the Army, he was content to let them go with Bag and Baggage, otherwiſe he would diſcharge but two hundred. Whereat the Governour greatly moved, anſwered, That that was not according to his laſt promiſe unto the Knights before ſent. But when he ſaw it would be no better, he requeſted him that he might again return to the Caſtle to know the minds of the reſt; which the falſe Baſſa would by no means grant, but only permitted him to ſend back the Knight that he had brought with him, to make report of theſe hard News to the beſieged; as for the Governour, he was ſent to the Gallies with Irons on his Heels. When they of the Caſtle underſtood what had paſſed betwixt the Baſſa and the Governour, they began exceedingly to fear the miſchief then at hand; yet took no other reſolution, but to return the ſaid Knight to the Baſſa, to know whether they ſhould expect from him no better anſwer. Who as ſoon as he was come before him, the Captain of the Caſtle was brought in, of whom the Baſſa asked, Which of the two he would chuſe, either to pay the expences of the Army, or elſe both he and all the reſt to remain his Priſoners? Whereunto the Governour anſwered, That a Slave had no other authority than that which by his Maſter was given him; and that having loſt (beſides his liberty) the power to command, if any thing were yet reſerved in him, could not counſel him to command others to agree unto any thing, but that which was concluded with them which were before ſent. Which thing the Baſſa hearing, for fear that ſuch a reſolute anſwer ſhould come to the knowledge of the beſieged, and cauſe them to become deſperate; having taken counſel with his other Captains, he took the Governour by the Hand, and with a ſmiling and diſſembling Countenance told him, That he would without any doubt let them depart as he had promiſed; and that therefore without fearing any thing, he ſhould cauſe them all to come out of the Caſtle. But the Governour, becauſe he had been before deceived, would not truſt to his word, but ſaid unto him, That he might command him that was come from the Caſtle, for that he knew they would now do never a whit the more for him. So the Baſſa turning towards the other Knight, commanded him forthwith to go unto them in the Caſtle, and to cauſe them to come forth, ſwearing again as before, by the Head of his great Lord, and his own, That they ſhould all be delivered and ſet at liberty, according to the conventions firſt agreed upon. Which the Knight believing, went to report to them this good news; which they received with ſuch joy, that without further care or conſideration of their miſhap ſo near, they ran in haſte with their Wives, Children, and beſt Moveables, ſtriving who ſhould firſt get out. But they were no ſooner iſſued, but they were by the Enemies ſpoiled of all they had, and taken Priſoners; part of the Knights were ſent to the Gallies, and the reſt to the Baſſa. Who being by the Governour put in remembrance of his Faith twice given, anſwered, That there was no Faith to be kept with Dogs, and that they had firſt violated their Oath with his great Lord, unto whom at the giving over of the *Rhodes*, they had (as he ſaid) ſworn never more to bear Arms againſt the Turks. The Caſtle was forthwith taken and ſpoiled, and about two hundred Moors of that Country that had ſerved the Knights, cut in pieces, and thereupon, a great Peal of Ordnance diſcharged, with great cries and ſhouts in ſign of their Victory. Thus the ſtrong Caſtle and ancient City of *Tripolis* in *Barbary* was delivered unto the Turks the fifteenth day of *Auguſt*, in the year 1551. Whilſt the Baſſa lay at this Siege, the Lord of *Arramont*, who had many years lien Embaſſador from *Francis* the French King at *Conſtantinople*, and was now ſent again by *Henry* the Second, came to the Turks Camp, being requeſted ſo to do by the great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, to have diſſwaded the Baſſa from that Siege; wherein he nothing prevailed. Yet now grieved to ſee how the faithleſs Turk, contrary to his Oath, moſt villanouſly intreated the

Governour

More eaſie conditions offered by the Baſſa, which he confirmeth by his Oath.

The wary anſwer of the Governour to the Baſſa.

The Caſtle yielded.

Governour and the other Knights, lying at his feet as Men half deſperate; was ſo bold as to put him in mind of his promiſe, confirmed by his Oath; which if he would not keep, that yet at the leaſt according to his own voluntary offer, he would releaſe two hundred of them; but he excuſed himſelf as before, ſaying, That no Faith was to be kept with Dogs, which had firſt broken their own Faith. Yet afterwards he condeſcended, that two hundred of the eldeſt and ſuch as were moſt unfit for ſervice (amongſt whom was comprehended the Governour and certain other old Knights) ſhould be ſet at liberty; who were forthwith ſent aboord the French Embaſſadors Gallies, and by him tranſported to *Malta*; where they were but hardly welcome, for that they had ſo cowardly ſurrendred a place, which they might much longer have defended. The next day after the Caſtle was delivered, which was the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*, the proud Baſſa for joy of this Victory made a ſolemn Dinner, whereunto he invited the French Embaſſador, and *Vallier* the late Governour; which they refuſed not to come unto, in hope to recover ſome more Priſoners. This great Feaſt for the more Magnificence was kept in the Caſtle-Ditch againſt the Breach, where were ſet up two ſtately Pavillions, the one for the Baſſa, and the other for the Embaſſador and his Company, where he was honourably Feaſted with wonderful plenty both of Fleſh and Fiſh and good Wines, which they had found in the Caſtle; which ſervice was done with Muſick of divers ſorts, and Officers in number above a hundred, apparelled for moſt part in long Gowns of fine Cloth of Gold, Tuffed or Fringed; and the other of Velvet or Damask. The Baſſa was no ſooner ſet down, but all the Ordnance of the Fleet were diſcharged with ſuch a noiſe and thundring, that it ſeemed the Heavens and Skies did ſhake. The Table being taken up, the Embaſſador and the late Governour *Vallier*, entred into the Pavillion of the Baſſa, and beſide the two hundred Men which he had promiſed, obtained twenty more, upon the Embaſſadors promiſe, That he ſhould for them cauſe to be releaſed thirty Turks taken at *Malta*, at the landing of the Army there. The Turks having in their hands an ancient Gunner of the Caſtle, called *John de Chabas* born in *Daulphine* (to the end that this triumphant Feaſt ſhould not be unfurniſhed of ſome cruel ſacrifice of the Chriſtian Blood) for that he had in time of the Siege ſhot off the Hand of the Clerk General of the Army, brought him into the Town, and when they had cut off his Hands and his Noſe, put him quick into the Ground to the Waſt, and there for their pleaſure ſhot at him with their Arrows, and afterward to make an end of him cut his Throat. The Baſſa ſhortly after departing out of *Barbary*, left *Dragut* the Pyrat Governour of *Tripolis*, honouring him with the Title of the Sanzack of that place; from whence he many years grievouſly moleſted the Moors near unto him by Land, and the Chriſtians by Sea. The ſame year 1551. *Solyman* notwithſtanding the five years Peace before taken with King *Ferdinand* at his going into *Perſia*, ſent *Achometes* his Lieutenant in *Europe* with a great power into *Hungary*, who with *Halis* the Baſſa of *Buda* invaded the upper part of *Hungary*, and firſt took the City of *Temiſwar*, and contrary to their Faith given, ſlew the Garriſon Souldiers; after that, they took alſo the Caſtle of *Zolnok*, forſaken by the Chriſtians, and certain other ſmall Caſtles. But laying Siege to *Erlaw*, they were partly by the valiantneſs of the Defendants, and partly by the coming on of Winter enforced to forſake the Siege, and to get themſelves into their Wintering places.

The ſhameleſs anſwer of the faithleſs Baſſa to the French Embaſſador.

The Turks Triumph for the winning of Tripolis.

A ſhameful cruelty of the Turks.

Temeſway *and* Zolnok *taken by the Turks.*

Queen *Iſabel*, King *John* his Widdow, ſeeing the Turks daily encroaching upon that little they had left her, and that ſhe was not able by any means to defend *Tranſylvania* againſt them, by the advice of *George* Biſhop of *Veradium* her old Counſellor, agreed with King *Ferdinand* to deliver unto him the Government of the Country, with all the Royal Dignity of *Hungary*, for which ſhe was to have of him *Caſſovia*, and a yearly Penſion of an hundred thouſand Ducats. Which agreement made and throughly concluded by *Baptiſta Caſtalius* an Italian (whom *Charles* the Emperor had but a little before ſent to aid King *Ferdinand*) the Queen returned into *Polonia*, her native Country; and ſo King *Ferdinand* by that means obtained almoſt all the Province of *Tranſylvania*, and what elſe the Queen had in *Hungary*. But the Biſhop a little before made a Cardinal, being ſuſpected by *Baptiſta* the Italian, that he favoured the Turks Faction more than King *Ferdinand*, and by that means ſought to get the Government to himſelf, was by the Italians device ſuddainly murthred in his own Houſe at *Veradium*; an end good enough for ſo troubleſome a Prelate.

George *Biſhop of* Veradium *murthred in his own Houſe.*

1552.

Halis the Baſſa of *Buda* proud of the good ſucceſs he had the year before, underſtanding that divers of the chief Hungarians had withdrawn themſelves into the Caſtle of *Agria*, purpoſed in himſelf with all his power to beſiege it, and there to take them. So aided by *Achomates*, *Chaſan*, and other of the Turks Sanzacks and Captains by *Solymans* appointment ready at his call, he came with an Army of thirty five thouſand Turks, and the tenth of *September* in the year 1552. encamped round about the Caſtle; where after he had placed his Artillery, he began a moſt furious Battery. But doubting to prevail that way, he attempted alſo to undermine the Caſtle, omitting nothing that could be deviſed for the taking thereof; but all in vain, for the Hungarians by the good direction of *Stephanus Dobus* their Captain, couragiouſly endured the Siege and very manfully repulſed the Enemy. At length, the twenty ninth of *September* the Enemy with twenty eight Enſigns of ſelect Souldiers gave a freſh aſſault to the Caſtle, and were by the Defendants enforced ſhamefully to retire; at which time four and twenty Barrels of Gunpowder by miſchance caught Fire, and beſides that it blew up divers Captains and Souldiers, did much harm in the Caſtle, to the great diſmaying of the Defendants. After that, the Turks with incredible pertinacy the twelfth of *October* fiercely aſſaulted the Caſtle from morning until night, and for deſire of revenge and hope of ſpoil left nothing unattempted for the gaining of the place; but were by the greater valour of the Hungarians beaten back, and with great loſs enforced at laſt to give over the aſſault. Thus the Baſſa nothing prevailing by force, attempted by great promiſes and large offers to have brought them out; which he underſtanding to be nothing regarded, and his Letters ſcornfully burnt, brought on his Souldiers again, and gave unto them in the Caſtle a moſt furious aſſault, but with no better ſucceſs than before; for having loſt many of his beſt Souldiers, he was enforced to retire. So after he had in vain ſix weeks beſieged the Caſtle, he was glad to raiſe his Siege, and to retire to *Biſſam*. After whoſe departure there was found twelve thouſand great Shot, wherewith he had battered the Wall. In this Siege ſix thouſand Turks were ſlain, and of the Hungarians but three hundred. King *Ferdinand* glad of this

Agria *beſieged by the Turks.*

The Turks give over the Siege of Agria.

Victory, made *Stephanus* the worthy Captain, Vayvod of *Tranſylvania*, and bountifully rewarded the other Captains and Souldiers as they had well deſerved.

1553.

Henry the French King, who together with his Kingdom had (as it ſeemed) received the hereditary Quarrels of *Francis* his Father againſt *Charles* the Emperor, had by his Embaſſador the Lord of *Arramont* ſo wrought the matter with *Solyman*, that the more to trouble the Emperor, he ſent a great Fleet into the *Tyrrhenum* or *Tuſcan* Sea, which in the year 1553, and the year following, did great harm upon the Coaſts of *Calabria*, *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, as alſo in the Iſlands of *Elba*, *Corſica*, *Cerbe*, and *Maiorca*, and ſuch like places on the Frontiers of the Emperors Dominions; yet were the Turks in moſt places notably again repulſed by the people of thoſe Countries. The ſame year *Solyman*, ſeduced by *Roxolana* (ſometime his fair Concubine, but then his imperious Wiſe) and *Ruſtan* Baſſa his Son in Law, moſt unnaturally murthred his eldeſt Son *Muſtapha*, the mirrour of the *Othoman* Family; Which tragical Fact (the like whereof both for the treacherous contriving and inhuman execution hath ſeldom times been heard of) I have thought good here in due time to ſet down, in ſuch ſort as it is by moſt credible Writers of that time reported.

Muſtapha Solymans *eldeſt Son in great eſtimation with the People.*

Solyman *becometh amorous of* Roxolana.

Muſtapha *ſent to Govern* Caramania.

The malice of Roxolana *againſt* Muſtapha.

Roxolana *conſpireth with* Ruſtan *Baſſa her Son in Law againſt* Muſtapha.

Solyman after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings (who to avoid the participation of their Sovereignty, uſe not oftentimes to Marry, but otherwiſe to ſatisfie their pleaſure with ſuch beautiful Concubines as it pleaſeth them to make choice of out of the faireſt Captives of all Nations, moſt daintily brought up for that purpoſe in the Court) had by a Circaſſian Bondwoman a Son called *Muſtapha*, who for his wonderful towardlineſs and rare perfection, was amongſt the Turks had in ſuch expectation and admiration, as that they in nothing accounted themſelves more happy, than in the hope laid up in him; whoſe noble carriage was ſuch, as thereby he ſo poſſeſſed the minds of all Men in general, (but eſpecially of the Men of War) that he was reputed the glory of the Court, the flour of Chivalry, the hope of the Souldiers, and joy of the People. Whilſt he thus grew, encreaſing both in years and favour, it fortuned with *Solyman* as it doth with Men delighted in change, that he became amorous of *Roxolana*, of ſome called *Roſa*; (but more truly *Hazathya*) by condition a Captive, but ſo graced with beauty and courtly behaviour, that in ſhort time ſhe became Miſtreſs of his thoughts, and Commandreſs of him that all commanded; and that which more eſtabliſhed her in poſſeſſion of his love, ſhe had in time made him Father of four fair Sons, *Mahomet*, *Selymus*, *Bajazet*, and *Tzibanger*, and one Daughter called *Chameria* Married to *Ruſtan* or *Ruſtemes* the great Baſſa. In this height of worldly Bliſs nothing troubled her more than the exceeding credit of *Muſtapha*, *Solymans* eldeſt Son by the Circaſſian Woman; who honoured of the greateſt, and beloved of the reſt, ſtood only in her light, imbarring her and hers (as ſhe thought) of the hope of the Empire, which he now above all things ſought to bring to one of her own Sons; which the better to compaſs, ſhe under the colour of great good will and love, procured that *Muſtapha* the young Prince and his Mother ſhould as it were for their greater honour and ſtate, with a Princely allowance be ſent into *Caramania* to govern that great Country, far from the Court. Which was no great matter for her to bring to paſs; for that the Turkiſh Emperors uſually ſend their Sons after they come to any years of diſcretion; unto ſuch Provinces as are far from the Court, attended upon with one great Baſſa and ſome grave Doctor of their Law, ſo to acquaint them with the manner of Government; the Baſſa inſtructing them in matters of civil Policy, and the Doctor in matters concerning their ſuperſtition; and yet by ſending them afar off, to keep them from aſpiring to the Empire by the favour of the Court; (a thing of the Turkiſh Emperors not unworthily feared even in their own and beloved Children.) *Roxolana* having at once thus cunningly rid the Court of the great Competitors both of her Love and of the Empire (things of all others enduring no Partners) reſted not ſo, but began ſtraitway to plot in her malicious Head the utter deſtruction of him, to whom all others wiſhed all happineſs This ſhe ſaw was not to be brought to paſs without ſome Complices; wherefore after ſhe had in her ſecret conceit diſcarded many, of whom at firſt ſhe had reaſonable good liking; at laſt ſhe made choice of *Ruſtan* Baſſa her Son in Law, upon whom ſhe would ſet up her reſt. This *Ruſtan* was a Man baſely Born in *Epirus*, altogether compoſed of diſſimulation and flattery, ever ſerving his own turn, were it never ſo much to the hurt or grievance of others; by which means he, although none of the beſt Souldiers, was yet by many degrees grown up to be the greateſt Man in the Court, and *Solymans* Son in Law; him ſhe probably thought to wiſh the ſucceſſion of the Empire to one of her own Sons, his Wives full Brethren, rather than to *Muſtapha* her half Brother. Beſide that, ſhe was not ignorant how that *Ruſtan* as one careful of the Emperors profit (the readieſt way to preferment) had abridged the Penſions and Fees of the Officers and Servitors in Court; which he perceiving to pleaſe the Emperor, proceeded ſo far therein, that he attempted to have cut off, if it had been poſſible, ſome part of *Muſtapha* his princely allowance; for which doing, ſhe knew how odious he was to all the Courtiers (whereof he made ſmall reckoning) but eſpecially to *Muſtapha*, inſomuch that it was thought he would not forget ſo notorious an injury, if ever he ſhould obtain the Empire. Hereupon ſhe brake with *Ruſtan* upon the matter, whom ſhe found ready enough of himſelf to do what in him lay to further her miſchievous deſire.

Roxolana *feineth her ſelf Religious.*

To begin this intended Tragedy, ſhe upon the ſuddain became very devout, and being by the favour of *Solyman* grown exceeding rich, pretended as if it had been upon a devout Zeal for the health of her Soul, after the manner of their Turkiſh Superſtition, to build an Abbey, with an Hoſpital and a Church; which ſo godly a purpoſe ſhe imparted to the Mufti or chief Mahometan Prieſt, demanding of him, if ſuch works of Charity were not acceptable unto God, and available for her Souls Health. Whereunto the Mufti anſwered, That thoſe works were no doubt gracious in the ſight of God, but nothing at all meritorious for her Souls Health, being a Bondwoman; yet very profitable for the Soul of the great Emperor *Solyman*, unto whom as unto her Lord, both ſhe and all ſhe had appertained. With which anſwer of the great Prieſt ſhe ſeemed to be exceedingly troubled, and thereupon became wonderful penſive and Melancholy; her chearful countenance was repleat with Sadneſs, and her fair Eies flowed with Tears, her mirth was mourning, and her joy heavineſs. Which thing *Solyman* perceiving, and ſorry to ſee his love upon conceit ſo to languiſh, ſent her word to be of good cheat, and to comfort her ſelf, promiſing in ſhort time to take ſuch a courſe

Solyman manumiſeth Roxolana.

courſe as ſhould eaſe her of all her griefs; which he forthwith did, ſolemnly manumiſing her from her bond Eſtate. So great a favour obtained, Roxolana with great chearfulneſs began thoſe meritorious works by her before intended, as if ſhe had thought of nothing but Heaven, whereas indeed her thoughts were in the depth of Hell. When ſhe had thus a good while buſied her ſelf in paving the way to Heaven, as was ſuppoſed; Solyman not able longer to forbear the company of her, in whom his Soul lived, after his wonted manner ſent for her by one of his Eunuchs, who ſhould have brought her to his Bed-Chamber. To whom ſhe with her Eies caſt up to Heaven, demurely anſwered, That her life and whatſoever elſe ſhe had was at her dread Sovereigns command, but again to yield her Body unto his Appetite ſhe might not in any caſe do, without the great offence of the High God, and manifeſt Breach of his ſacred Laws, which permitted her not now voluntarily to yield him that, being free, which he before without offence might command of his Bondwoman; and becauſe ſhe would not ſeem to uſe this as an excuſe, ſhe referred her ſelf all in things to the grave judgment of the learned and reverend Mufti, with whom ſhe had before at full conferred. This ſhe did, preſuming of the Sovereignty ſhe had over that great Monarch, whom ſhe right well knew ſhe had ſo faſt bound in the pleaſing Fetters of his affection towards her, as that ſhe was ſure enough of him without a Keeper. Solyman raviſhed with her love, and well the more for her denial, ſent for the Mufti, requiring his judgment in the matter; who before inſtructed in all points, agreed with that Roxolana had ſaid, aggravating the heinouſneſs of the Fact, if he ſhould proceed to enforce her as a Slave, who being now free, he might not without great offence touch unmarried. Whereupon Solyman more and more burning in his deſires, became a freſh Suter to her for Marriage, whom he had ſo often before commanded; which his Sute eaſily obtained, (as the Mark ſhe had all this while aimed at) he with all ſpeed to the great admiration of all Men, and contrary to the manner of the Mahometan Emperors, ſolemnly Married her, appointing for her yearly Dowry five thouſand Sultanyns.

Solyman ſends for Roxolana.

She excuſeth her ſelf, and refuſeth to come.

Solyman marrieth Roxolana.

Roxolana plotteth the confuſion of Muſtapha.

This Woman of late a Slave, but now become the greateſt Empreſs of the Eaſt, flowing in all worldly Felicity, attended upon with all the pleaſures her Heart could deſire, wanted nothing ſhe could wiſh, but how to find means that the Turkiſh Empire might after the death of Solyman be brought to ſome one of her own Sons. This was it that had (as is before ſaid) long troubled her aſpiring mind, and in the midſt of all her Bliſs, ſuffered her yet to take no reſt. Noble Muſtapha, Solymans eldeſt Son, and Heir apparent of the Empire, although far abſent, was yet ſtill before her Eies preſent; his credit, his valour, his vertues, his perfections were all bars to her deſires; he was the only Cloud that kept the Sun from ſhining on her; if he by any means might be taken away, then wanted nothing that ſhe deſired. Which to bring to paſs, the wicked Woman laboured cunningly b[illegible]tle and little to breed in Solymans Head no [illegible] ſuſpicion of Muſtapha, That he being a young Man of an haughty Spirit, deſirous of Sovereignty, generally beloved, and ſwelling with the immoderate favour of the Men of War, which were all at his devotion, left nothing elſe to be expected from him, but when he ſhould (as did his Grandſire Selymus) lay hand upon the Empire, and work his aged Fathers deſtruction. This miſchievous Plot by her deviſed, was not a little furthred by Ruſtan the great Baſſa, by whom paſſed all great matters; who nothing omitted, that could be ſlily deviſed for the diſgrace or confuſion of the young Prince. For he as a great ſecret, craftily told all them that were ſent Governours into Siria, that Muſtapha was ſecretly ſuſpected by his Father, of aſpiring to the Empire, and therefore charged them particularly, carefully to obſerve all his actions, with the manner of his Life and Government, and by their Letters diligently to advertiſe him of whatſoever they ſhould ſee or hear; bearing them in hand, that the more ſuſpiciouſly or odiouſly they ſhould write of him, the more gracious and acceptable it would be unto the great Sultan. Wherefore he by theſe Men oftentimes certified of the princely diſpoſition, courage, wiſdom, valour and bounty of Muſtapha, whereby he had won all Mens Hearts, doubted that he would at length be preferred to the Empire; yet durſt he not for all that adventure to temper with Solyman about that deteſtable conſpiracy againſt the innocent Prince, but ſtill delivering the Letters to the malicious Woman, left the reſt by her ungracious head to be wrought. And ſhe ſtill as occaſion beſt ſerved her purpoſe, ceaſed not with pleaſing allurements and flattery (wherein ſhe was moſt excellent) to infect Solymans mind, that whenſoever he ſhould chance to have any ſpeech of Muſtapha, ſhe might take the fitter occaſion to bring forth thoſe Letters. Neither was ſhe in her drift deceived, but having found a fit opportunity, with Tears trickling down her Cheeks (which to ſerve their turns ſubtil Women ſeldom want) ſhe told the Emperor in what danger he ſtood; recounting amongſt other things, how Selymus his Father had by ſuch means deprived Bajazet his Grandfather, both of his Life and Empire together; and therefore moſt inſtantly beſought him, as if it had altogether proceeded of a careful love, by that example warned to look to himſelf. But theſe light arguments of ſuſpicion ſeemed as they were indeed, unto Solyman ſcarce probable; ſo that ſhe little prevailed thereby. Which thing ſhe well perceiving, and inwardly grieved thereat, converted her cruel mind to other miſchievous devices, and ſought by all means how to poiſon the young Prince; neither wanted there wicked Men, as it were vowed to all kind of miſchief and villany, ready to have performed what ſhe deſired, had not Gods providence withſtood ſo horrible a practice. For whereas certain rich Apparel was by her ſent unto him in his Fathers name, he fearing the worſt, would not touch it before he had cauſed it to be worn by one of his Servants; by which curious warineſs (as it was thought) he for that time prevented the Treaſon of his wicked Stepdame, and made her malicious practice manifeſt to the World. Yet reſted ſhe not ſo, but was ſtill plotting new devices, tending all to one purpoſe; for being grown to that height of honour and power as never was Woman in the Othoman Court, and by the means of Trongilla a Jew (as it was thought) having bewitched the mind, of the Turkiſh Emperor, ſhe ſtill grew more and more in favour, and obtained that her Sons might by turns be ſtill preſent in Court; of purpoſe, that by their daily preſence and continual flattery, they ſhould more and more procure their Fathers love; and if by chance Muſtapha ſhould come thither, ſhe might have the better means to diſpatch him; if not, to expect ſome other fit time, when ſhe might by ſome one or other mean take him away. But Muſtapha never coming (for why, the Emperors Sons

Muſtapha in danger to have been poiſoned by Roxolana.

uſe not without their Fathers leave to go out of the Provinces aſſigned unto them, or to come to *Conſtantinople*, but after the death of their Father to receive the Empire, attended upon with a number of Souldiers) ſhe eaſily deviſed another practice, that her Sons ſhould wait upon their Father, not in the City only, but in the Provinces alſo; ſo that *Tzibanger*, ſirnamed *Crouchback*, always followed his Father in the Camp. Certain years thus ſpent, and ſhe ſtill hammering her miſchievous devices; at length Fortune favouring her wicked deſire, got from the Baſſa which had the Government of *Muſtapha* and the Province of *Amaſia* (for as we have ſaid, every one of the Kings Sons hath with him one Baſſa, which is as it were his Lieutenant in adminiſtration of Juſtice and Martial Affairs) certain ſuſpicious Letters, wherein was contained, that there was a Speech of a Marriage to be made between *Muſtapha* and the Perſian Kings Daughter; which thing he thought good to give knowledge of to the Counſel, that if any harm ſhould enſue thereof, he might be out of all ſuſpicion. Theſe Letters being brought to *Ruſtan*, he thought he had now as good as half brought to paſs the long deſired ruin of *Muſtapha*; ſo making no ſtay, he opened the matter to *Roxolana*, and afterwards both together went to the Court, and declared all the matter to the Emperor; in doing whereof, they forced both their ungracious wits to fill his head, yet doubtful, with ſuſpicion, and to poſſeſs his mind with the fear of his own moſt dutiful Son; ſaying, That he as a proud and ambitious young Man, raviſhed with the deſire of ſo glorious an Empire, ſought againſt the Laws both of God and Nature, to take his Father out of the way, that ſo he might with more ſpeed ſatisfie his aſpiring mind. And to give the more credit to this their moſt falſe ſuggeſtion, they warned him of the alliance by him purpoſed with the Perſian King the ancient Enemy of the *Othoman* Emperors; wiſhing him to beware leſt *Muſtapha* ſupported by the ſtrength of *Perſia*, and the favour of the Sanzacks and Janizaries, whoſe love he had by bounty purchaſed, ſhould in ſhort time when he feared leaſt, together deprive him both of his Life and Empire. With theſe and ſuch like accuſations they ſo prevailed with the aged Man, whom they never ſuffered to reſt in quiet, that he at length reſolved to work his ſafety (as he ſuppoſed) by the death of his own Son, in this ſort:

Roxolana *and* Ruſtan *together put* Solyman *in fear of his Son* Muſtapha.

In the year 1552 he cauſed proclamation to be made almoſt in all the Provinces of his Empire, That foraſmuch as the Perſians without reſiſtance with a great Army invaded *Syria*, burning and deſtroying the Country before them, he to repreſs that their outragious inſolency, was enforced to ſend thither *Ruſtan* Baſſa with an Army; which according to his appointment was in ſhort time raiſed. Now when all things were in readineſs, as if it had been for ſuch a War as was pretended, he commanded *Ruſtan*, with as much ſecrecy and as little tumult as was poſſible, to lay hands upon *Muſtapha*, and to bring him bound to *Conſtantinople*; which if he could not conveniently effect, then by any other means to take him out of the way.

Solyman *ſends* Ruſtan *Baſſa with an Army to take* Muſtapha.

With this wicked and cruel charge *Ruſtan* with a ſtrong Army marched towards *Syria*. *Muſtapha* underſtanding of his coming, without delay with ſeven thouſand of the beſt Horſemen in all *Turky* made towards *Syria* alſo; whereof *Ruſtan* hearing, and perceiving that he could not (as he deſired) conveniently execute the cruel command of the unnatural Father, forthwith turned his back, and treading the ſame ſteps he came, returned with his Army to *Conſtantinople* with ſuch ſpeed, that he endured not to behold the very Duſt raiſed by *Muſtapha*'s Horſemen, much leſs his preſence; giving it out, That he certainly underſtood that the Province was in quiet, (as indeed it was) and that he thereupon returned. But unto *Solyman* he told another Tale in ſecret, which he maliciouſly had deviſed, That he by moſt apparent ſigns and manifeſt preſumptions had perceived the whole Army ſo inclined towards *Muſtapha*, that if he ſhould have attempted any thing againſt him by plain force, he ſhould have been utterly forſaken, and had therefore in ſo dangerous a caſe left the matter as it was to his grave further direction. This Tale ſuſpiciouſly told, raiſed in the wicked and unnatural Father (nothing degenerating from the natural cruelty of his Anceſtors) new and great ſuſpicions, whereof to diſburden his diſquieted mind, he conceived with himſelf a moſt horrible device. Wherefore the year following, which was the year 1553, he raiſed a great Army; giving it out, That the Perſians had with greater power than before invaded *Syria*, and that therefore he for the love of his Country, and defence of his Empire, was determined to go thither with his Army, and in perſon himſelf to repreſs the attempts of his Enemies. Wherefore the Army being aſſembled, and all things neceſſary orderly provided, he commanded to ſet forward, and in few days after followed himſelf; who coming at length into *Syria*, preſently by truſty Meſſengers commanded *Muſtapha* to come unto him at *Aleppo*, for there he lay encamped. And yet for all theſe ſhadows, the matter was not ſo cloſely by *Solyman* conveied (although he was exceeding careful thereof) but that his mortal and deadly hatred againſt his Son was perceived by the Baſſaes and other great Men about him; inſomuch that *Achmat* Baſſa by a ſecret and truſty Meſſenger gave him warning thereof, that ſo he might in time the better provide for the ſafegard of his life. Neither could *Muſtapha* himſelf but marvel, that his aged Father without any apparent reaſon ſhould come ſo far with ſo great an Army; yet truſting to his own innocency, though wonderfully troubled and perplexed in mind, he reſolved (although it were with the extream danger of his life) to obey and yield to his Fathers command; for he thought it more commendable and honourable to incur the danger of death, than living to fall into the foul ſuſpicion of diſloyalty. In ſo great a perplexity of mind, after he had with himſelf much diſcourſed too and fro, what courſe he were beſt to take, at length he boldly and reſolutely asked the Doctor, whom (as we have before ſaid) he had always with him in his Court, Whether the Empire of the World, or a bleſſed Life were of Man more to be deſired? To whom the Doctor frankly anſwered, That the Empire of the World, to him that would enter into the due conſideration thereof, brought with it no felicity more than a vain ſhew and outter appearance of good, nothing being more frail or uncertain than worldly Honour, bringing with it fear, vexation of mind, tribulation, ſuſpicion, murder, wrong, wickedneſs, ſpoil, ruin, and captivity, with other miſchiefs of like nature, not to be deſired of him that would attain to true felicity, by which means the bleſſed Life was to be loſt and not gained: But they unto whom God had given the grace rightly to conſider and weigh the fragility and ſhortneſs of this our Eſtate (which the common ſort deemeth to be the only life) and to ſtrive againſt the Vanities of this World, and to embrace and follow an upright kind of life, had

The malicious device of Ruſtan.

Solyman *goeth himſelf with an Army to kill his Son.*

He ſendeth for Muſtapha.

Muſtapha *perplexed in mind.*

His talk with his Doctor.

had undoubtedly a place aſſigned for them in Heaven, and prepared by the great God, where they ſhould at length enjoy life and bliſs eternal. This anſwer of the great Doctor wonderfully ſatisfied the troubled mind of the young Prince, foreſeeing as it were the approach of his own end; and ſo ſtaying not any longer diſcourſe, forthwith ſet forwards towards his Father, and making great haſt, came at length to his Fathers Camp, and not far off pitched his Tents in the open Field. But this his ſo haſty coming the more encreaſed the ſuſpicion in the mind of his wicked Father; neither ſpared *Ruſtan* in the mean time with his crafty and ſubtil devices to augment the ſame; for by a ſign given he cauſed the Janizaries and chief Men in the Army to go as if it had been for Honours ſake to meet *Muſtapha*; which they all without delay preſently did at his command, and ſo all together ſet forward. In the mean time he the moſt crafty Varlet, with troubled countenance (for he could notably diſſemble) as a Man half diſmayed came in haſte into *Solymans* Pavillion, and falſly told him, That the Janizaries and almoſt all the beſt Souldiers of the Army were of themſelves without leave gon to meet *Muſtapha*, and that he feared what would enſue thereof. Which news ſo troubled the old Tyrant, that he became pale for fear, and going out of his Tent, and finding them gon, eaſily believed all to be true that the falſe Baſſa had told him. Neither wanted *Muſtapha* ſtrange warning of his end ſo near at hand; for the third day before his ſetting forwards toward his Father, falling aſleep in the Evening, he thought he ſaw his Prophet *Mahomet* in bright Apparel to take him by the hand and lead him into a moſt pleaſant place, beautified with moſt glorious and ſtately Palaces, and moſt delicate and pleaſant Gardens; and pointing to every thing with his Finger, to ſay thus unto him, *Here reſt they for ever, which in this World have led an upright and godly Life, following Vertue, and deteſting Vice*; and after that turning his Face to the other ſide, to have ſhewed him two great and ſwift Rivers, whereof the one boiled with Water blacker than Pitch, and in them appeared (as he thought) numbers of Men wallowing and tumbling, ſome up, ſome down, crying horribly for mercy; *And there* (ſaid he) *are puniſhed all ſuch as in this frail life have been malicious workers of iniquity*; the chief of whom (as he ſaid) were Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other great Men of the World. *Muſtapha* awaking, and troubled with this melancholy Dream, called unto him his Doctor; and having told him all the matter, asked him what the ſame might ſignifie? Who ſtanding a great while in a muſe (for the Mahometans are exceeding ſuperſtitious, attributing much to dreams) full of ſorrow and grief at length anſwered, That this Viſion (for ſo it pleaſed him to term it) was undoubtedly to be feared, as preſaging unto him the extream peril of his Life, and therefore requeſted him to have great care both of his Life and Honour. But *Muſtapha* as he was of a notable ſpirit and courage, regarding nothing that anſwer, ſtoutly replied, What, ſhall I ſuffer my ſelf to be terrified and overcome with childiſh and vain fear? Why rather haſte I not couragiouſly and reſolutely to my Father? And ſo much the more boldly, becauſe I know aſſuredly I have always (as reaſon was) reverenced his Majeſty, that againſt his Will I never turned mine Eies or Foot againſt his moſt Royal Seat, much leſs affected his Empire, except the moſt high God had called him to a better life; neither then without the general good liking and choice of the whole Army, that ſo I might at length without Murder, without Blood, without Tyranny, well and juſtly reign and in Love and Peace inviolate live with my Brethren; for I have ſet down with my ſelf, and choſen, if it be my Fathers pleaſure ſo, rather to die in his Obedience, than reigning many years, to be reputed of all Men, eſpecially my Competitors, a Rebel or Traitor. Having thus ſaid, he came unto his Fathers Camp, and pitching his Tents (as we have before ſaid) ſuted himſelf all in White, in token of his Innocency, and writing certain Letters (which the Turks when they are about to go to any place of danger, uſe to write, and always to carry with them, for they are wonderful fooliſh in their Superſtition) and putting them in his Boſom, attended upon with a few of his moſt truſty Followers, came with great reverence towards the Tent of his Father, fully reſolving to have kiſſed his Hand, as their uſual manner is. But when he was come to the entrance of the Tent, remembring that he had yet his Dagger girt to him, he entred not until he had put it off; becauſe he would not come into his Fathers ſight with any Weapon, if happily ſo he might clear himſelf of his Fathers needleſs ſuſpicion. So when he was come into the more inward Rooms of the Tent, he was with ſuch honour as belonged to his ſtate chearfully received by his Fathers Eunuchs. But ſeeing nothing elſe provided but one Seat whereon to ſit himſelf alone, he perplexed in mind, ſtood ſtill a while muſing; at length asked where the Emperor his Father was? Whereunto they anſwered, That he ſhould by and by ſee him; and with that caſting his Eye aſide, he ſaw ſeven Mutes (theſe are ſtrong Men bereft of their Speech, whom the Turkiſh Tyrants have always in readineſs, the more ſecretly to execute their bloody Butchery) coming from the other ſide of the Tent towards him; at whoſe ſight ſtrucken with a ſuddain terrour, ſaid no more, but *Lo my death*; and with that, ariſing, was about to have fled; but in vain, for he was caught hold on by the Eunuch and Mutes, and by force drawn to the place appointed for his death; where without further ſtay, the Mutes caſt a Bow-ſtring about his Neck, he poor Wretch ſtill ſtriving, and requeſting that he might ſpeak but two words to his Father before he died. All which the Murtherer (for no addition is ſufficient ſignificantly to expreſs his unnatural Villany) both heard and ſaw by a Travers from the other ſide of the Tent; but was ſo far from being moved with compaſſion, that thinking it long till he were diſpatched, with a moſt terrible and cruel voice he rated the Villains enured to blood; ſaying, *Will you never diſpatch that I bid you? Will you never make an end of this Traitor, for whom I have not reſted one Night theſe ten Years in quiet?* Which horrible commanding ſpeeches, yet thundering in their Ears, thoſe butcherly Mutes threw the poor innocent Prince upon the ground, and with the help of the Eunuchs forcibly drawing the knotted Bow-ſtring both ways, by the commandment of a moſt wicked Father, ſtrangled him. With like barbarous Cruelty, he ſhortly after cauſed *Mahomet* his Nephew (*Muſtapha* his Son) to be ſtrangled alſo.

Muſtapha *cometh to his Fathers Camp.*

The exceeding treachery of **Ruſtan** *againſt* **Muſtapha.**

The melancholy Dream of **Muſtapha** *in coming to his Father.*

Muſtapha *cometh to his Fathers Tent.*

Muſtapha *moſt cruelly ſtrangled in his Fathers ſight.*

Mahomet Muſtaphaes *Son ſtrangled alſo.*

This unnatural and ſtrange Murder committed, he preſently commanded the Baſſa of *Amaſia*, *Muſtapha*'s Lieutenant to be apprehended, and his Head in his own preſence to be ſtruck off. Which done, he ſent for *Tzihanger* the Crooked, yet ignorant of all that was happened; and in ſporting wiſe, as if he had done a thing worth commendation, bid him go meet his Brother *Muſtapha*; which thing *Tzihanger* with a merry and chearful Countenance haſted to do, as one

Solyman offereth to Tzihanger *all* Muſtapha's *treaſure and wealth.*

Tzihanger *for ſorrow killeth himſelf.*

glad of his Brothers coming. But as ſoon as he came unto the place where he ſaw his Brother lying dead upon the ground ſtrangled, it is not to be ſpoken how he was in mind tormented. He was ſcarcely come to the place where this deteſtable Murther was committed, when his Father ſent unto him certain of his Servants to offer unto him all *Muſtapha's* Treaſure, Horſes, Servants, Jewels, Tents, and withal, the Government of the Province of *Amaſia*; but *Tzihangir* filled with extream heavineſs for the unmerciful death of his well beloved Brother, ſpake unto them in this ſort. *A wicked and an ungodly Cain, Traitor (I may not ſay Father) take thou unto thee Treaſures, the Horſes, the Servants, the Jewels, and the Province of* Muſtapha. *How came it into thy wicked, cruel, and ſavage Breaſt, ſo ungratiouſly and contrary to all Humanity, I will not ſay the Reverence of thine own Blood, to kill thy worthy, warlike, and noble Son, the Mirror of Courteſie, and Prince of greateſt hope, the like of whom, the* Othoman *Family never yet had, nor never ſhall? I will therefore my ſelf provide that thou, nor none for thee ſhall ever hereafter in ſuch ſort ſhamefully triumph over a poor crooked Wretch.* And having thus much ſaid, ſtab'd himſelf with his own Dagger into the Body, whereof he in ſhort time died; Which ſo ſoon as it came to the old Tygers Ears, it is hard to ſay how much he grieved. His dead Body was by his Fathers commandment carried from *Aleppo* in *Syria*, to *Conſtantinople*, and afterwards honourably buried on the other ſide of the Haven at *Pera*. For all this bloody Tragedy, his covetous mind was not ſo troubled, but that he could forthwith command all *Muſtapha's* Treaſures and Riches to be brought to his Tent; which his Souldiers in hope to have the ſame given among them for a Prey, willingly haſted to perform. In the mean time the Souldiers which were in *Muſtapha's* Camp, not knowing what was become of their Maſter, ſeeing ſuch a multitude of Souldiers thruſting into their Camp without all order; to repreſs their tumultuous inſolency, ſtept out in their Armor, and notably repulſed them, not without much Bloodſhed.

A bloody tumult betwixt the Souldiers of Solyman *and* Muſtapha.

The Tumult appeaſed by Achomat *Baſſa.*

The Janizaries up in Arms againſt Solyman *for the unworthy death of* Muſtapha.

The ſtout ſpeech of Solyman *to the Janizaries.*

The fierce anſwer of the Janizaries to Solyman.

Solyman *yieldeth unto the Janizaries.*

At length, the noiſe of this ſtir was heard by the reſt of the Kings Souldiers, who ſeeing the Tumult to increaſe more and more, ran in to help their Fellows; ſo that in ſhort time there began a hot skirmiſh and cruel fight on both ſides, inſomuch that two thouſand were ſlain, and more wounded; neither had the broil ſo ended, had not *Achomat* Baſſa a grave Captain, and for his long experience of no ſmall Authority amongſt the Souldiers, kept back the Janizaries, and ſtaid their fury; and turning likewiſe to *Muſtapha's* Souldiers, by gentle and mild words and courteous perſwaſions, in this manner appeaſed their rage. *What my Brethren* (ſaid he) *will you now (degenerating from your ancient Loyalty, for which you have been for ſo many Ages commended) impugn the command of the great Sultan our dread Soveraign? Truly I cannot ſufficiently marvel what thing ſhould move you, whom I have hitherto proved to have been moſt worthy and valiant Souldiers, in this civil conflict to draw thoſe Weapons againſt your Fellows and Brethren, which you have moſt fortunately uſed againſt the Enemies of the* Othoman *Kings; except you mean thereby to make your ſelves a joyful ſpectacle unto your Enemies, who grieving to ſee themſelves overcome by your Victorious Weapons, may yet rejoice among themſelves to ſee you turn the ſame one upon another. Wherefore my Sons, for your ancient honours ſake, be careful that you do not by this your inſolency loſe the reputation of your Wiſdom, Loyalty, and Valor; for which you have hitherto been above all others commended; reſerve theſe your Weapons which you have now but too much uſed among your Fellows, againſt your Enemies, of whom you may get more Praiſe and Honour.* This Speech of the old Baſſa ſo mollified the ſtout Souldiers, that they freely permitted all that was in *Muſtapha's* Tents to be carried to *Solymans*; but ſo ſoon as the death of *Muſtapha* was blown into the Ears of the Janizaries and the reſt of the Army in *Solymans* Camp, another Tumult roſe among them worſe than the firſt: They were quickly all up in Arms again, and with a great noiſe confuſed with Tears and Lamentation, as they were in rage and fury, brake violently into *Solymans* Pavillion with their drawn Swords: which ſtruck the Tyrant into ſuch a fear, that deſtitute of all Counſel in himſelf, he was about with the extream peril of his life to have fled; but being holden by his Friends, and making a Vertue of Neceſſity, upon the ſuddain adventured to do that which at better leiſure he would ſcarcely have thought upon; for going forth out of his Tent, but with a pale and wan Countenance, he ſpake unto the enraged Souldiers thus: *What Broil is this? what Stir? what ſo great Inſolency? what mean your inflamed, fierce and angry Looks? know you not your Soveraign? and him that hath power to command you? Have you ſo reſolved to ſtain the ancient and invincible honour of your ſelves and your Anceſtors, with the Blood of your Lord and Emperor?* Whilſt he was yet thus ſpeaking, the Souldiers boldly anſwered, That they denied not, but that he was the Man whom they many years before had choſen for their Emperor; but in that they had by their own Valour got for him a large and mighty Empire, and in like manner preſerved it; that was therefore of them done, that he ſhould for the ſame govern them vertuouſly and juſtly, and not to lay his bloody hands without diſcretion upon every juſt Man, and moſt wickedly embrue himſelf with innocent Blood; and that they came thither armed, they did it (as they ſaid) moved with juſt cauſe to revenge the unworthy death of guiltleſs *Muſtapha*; and that for that matter, he had no juſt cauſe to be angry with them. Wherefore they required, that they might publickly clear themſelves of the Treaſon whereof they were accuſed by *Muſtapha's* Enemies, and that the Accuſer might be brought forth to juſtifie his Accuſation; proteſting, that they would never lay down their Weapons, until the Accuſer made his appearance in Jugdment, and commenced his Accuſation judicially, upon pain to endure the like puniſhment if he failed in proof. Whilſt theſe things were in doing, the hainouſneſs of the late committed fact cauſed every Man to ſhed Tears, ſo that *Solyman* himſelf ſeemed to be ſorry for the Murther ſo lately by himſelf committed; wherefore he promiſed unto the Souldiers whatſoever they required, and did what he could to appeaſe their angry minds. For all that, they in the mean time, leſt he ſhould craftily ſlip away and deceive them of that he had promiſed, and of the expectation of ſuch things as they had required, with a marvellous care and diligence all kept Watch and Ward.

Ruſtan *diſgraced by* Solyman, *flyeth to* Conſtantinople.

Solyman to appeaſe this fury of the Janizaries, deprived *Ruſtan* Baſſa of all his Honours, and took from him his Seal whereof he had the keeping, and delivered it to *Achomates* Baſſa. But *Ruſtan* worthily ſtrucken with fear and horror, ſeeing himſelf now in no ſafety in his own Tents, fled ſecretly to *Achomates*, asking his Counſel what were beſt for him to do, and what Courſe to take in ſo doubtful and dangerous a caſe? To whom the Baſſa anſwered, that it were beſt for him to uſe the great Emperors advice, and to do what he commanded. Which anſwer well ſatisfied *Ruſtan*; and ſo he which of late gave other Men acceſs unto the Emperor at his pleaſure, was now glad by his old Acquaintance and Friends to prefer this poor ſuit, To know his pleaſure what he would have him to do; from whom he received this anſwer, That he ſhould incontinently without further delay get him out of his ſight, and out of the Camp; which the Baſſa ſaid he could not conveniently do, being by his diſpleaſure and the Souldiers rage diſfurniſhed of all things neceſſary for his departure. Whereunto *Solyman* ſent him anſwer again, That he could give him neither longer time nor delay, and that it were beſt for him without more ado to be gone for fear of further harm. Whereupon *Ruſtan* guilty in conſcience of his moſt horrible Villany and Treachery, accompanied but with eight of his moſt faithful Friends inſtead of his late world of Followers, poſted in haſte to *Conſtantinople*, and there (not without danger of his Head) with *Roxalana* and other the complices and contrivers of the Treaſon againſt *Muſtapha*, in great fear expected the event of his Fortune.

This young Prince *Muſtapha* thus ſhamefully murthred by his own Father, was for his rare Vertues generally beloved of the Turks; but of the Souldiers moſt for his Martial Diſpoſition, and readineſs for the effuſion of Chriſtian Blood. The opinion they had conceived of him was ſuch, and their love ſo great, that they never thought there was any in the *Othoman* Family, of whom they expected ſo much for the enlarging of their Empire; inſomuch, that ever ſince, when in their private or publick Actions they fail of any great hope, they uſe this Proverb even at this day taken from him, *Gietti Sultan Muſtapha*, Sultan *Muſtapha* is dead; as who ſhould ſay, our hope is all loſt. *Achomates* Baſſa the great Champion of the Turks, a Man of exceeding Courage, not ignorant of the ſmall aſſurance of the great Honours of that State, at ſuch time as he received the Seal from *Solyman*, boldly told him, That as he did then frankly beſtow it upon him, ſo he would at one time or other to his no leſs diſgrace take it from him; to whom *Solyman* ſolemnly promiſed with an Oath, not to diſplace him ſo long as he lived. For all that, he had not long enjoyed that honour, but that *Solyman* falling in diſlike with him, and willing again to promote *Ruſtan* Baſſa to that great honour, greater than which there was none in the Turks Court, which by reaſon of his Oath he could not do ſo long as *Achomates* lived; To ſave his Oath, and to prefer his Son in Law (whom he had indeed diſplaced only to pleaſe the tumultuous Janizaries) reſolved to have *Achomates* put to death. Of which his purpoſe *Achomates* altogether ignorant, and one Morning after his wonted manner coming into the *Divano* in all his Honour, upon the ſuddain received word from *Solyman*, that he muſt preſently die, and forthwith was the Hangman ready to have ſtrangled him, as was given him in charge; whom the ſtout Baſſa thruſt from him with his hand, with countenance and chear in ſhew no more troubled than if the matter had nothing concerned him. And looking a good while round about him, eſpied at laſt an honeſt Man whom he had before many times pleaſured, whom he moſt earneſtly requeſted for all the kindneſs ſhewed unto him, to do him that laſt favour as to ſtrangle him with his own hand, which ſhould be unto him the greateſt good turn that he could poſſibly deviſe, doubting nothing more than to die with the hand of the Executioner. Which thing, when he after much intreaty had undertaken to perform, *Achomates* willed him, that he ſhould not at one twitch ſtrangle him outright, but letting the Bowſtring ſlack again, give him leave once to breath and then to diſpatch him; which his requeſt was by his Friend accordingly performed, and he in that ſort ſtrangled; wherein it ſeemeth, that he was deſirous, firſt to taſte of Death, and not to die all at once. Immediately after whoſe death, *Ruſtan* Baſſa was again reſtored to his place of chief Viſier, and had the great Seal delivered unto him; which honour he enjoyed about ſix years after, and ſo at laſt died of the Dropſie. This was the end of theſe two great Baſſaes *Achomates* and *Ruſtan*, who in that time ſwaied that great Empire, under *Solyman*, and of whom we have ſo much ſpoken. It is reported, that *Solyman* having appointed *Achomates* to die, ſhould ſay, It is better for his great Heart once to die, than to die a thouſand times, in ſeeing his Honour taken from him and beſtowed upon another.

The miſerable end of Achomates *the great Baſſa*

1554.

The Turks Gallies by the ſolicitation of the French before brought down into the Tuſcan Sea, did much harm upon the Coaſts of *Calabria* and *Sicilia* in this year 1554. as they had the year before, and ſo did divers years after. At which time alſo *Pandulphus Contarenus* the Venetian Admiral ſcouring alongſt the Seas, carefully looking to the Frontiers of the Venetian Eſtate, chanced to meet with the Baſſa of *Callipolis*, who in the year before had rifled certain Venetian Merchants; in revenge of which injury he ſet upon him, and after a great Spoil made both of the Turks and their Gallies, he ranſacked *Dirrachium* then one of the Turks Port Towns in *Dalmatia*.

1555.

The next year 1555, the ſame Baſſa recovered his ſtrength; but not daring to be too buſie with the Venetians, ſurpriſed the Iſlands of *Blumbis* and *Elba*, ſubject to the Duke of *Florence*, and withal ſent Letters to *Solyman*, to perſwade him to take up Arms againſt the Venetians, as they which had broken the League.

1556.

Zigeth *beſieged by the Baſſa of Buda.*

At the ſame time, *Haly* the Baſſa of *Buda* by Policy ſurpriſed the ſtrong Caſtle of *Baboza* in *Hungary*; and was in good hope by the like fineneſs to have taken the Town and Caſtle of *Zigeth*, a place of great importance; but failing of his purpoſe, he came the next year 1556, with a great Army, and the thirteenth day of June encamped before the Town, wherein was Governor *Marchus Horwath* a valiant Captain, with a Garriſon of notable Souldiers. Shortly after he began a moſt terrible Battery; during which time the Chriſtians ſallying out divers times, ſlew many of his Men; who for all that uſed ſuch diligence, that the twentieth of *June* they won the uttermoſt Wall, and after five hot Aſſaults were in hope at the ſixth to have won the Caſtle alſo, but the Chriſtians perceiving the danger, reſolutely ſallied out, and having ſlain eight hundred of them, drave the reſt again from the Wall. Yet the Turks gave it not ſo over, but with a great number of Carts laboured to have filled up the Marriſh and Ditches about the Town, which their Attempt was by the induſtry of the Defendants alſo defeated. The Baſſa perceiving how hardly the Town would be won by force, attempted to have perſwaded them to have yielded it up by compoſition; but failing therein of his purpoſe, began again the twelfth of *July* to aſſault the City, which Aſſault he maintained five days together without intermiſſion, ſtill ſending in freſh Men inſtead of them that were wearied or ſlain; yet was the City for all that by the Valour of the Chriſtians notably defended. So when he had in vain proved the uttermoſt of his Forces, he raiſed his Siege the one and twentieth day of *July* and departed; but within ſix days after, he retuened from the City *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, and

A terrible Aſſault.

Zigeth *notably defended.*

and aſſaulted the City afreſh; but was at length glad to give over the Siege and be gone, when he had loſt of his beſt Souldiers above two thouſand, and of the Defendants ſlain but an hundred and twenty. After his departure there was ten thouſand great Shot found, wherewith he had battered the Town and the Caſtle, which was for this time thus worthily defended. The Turks in the mean time after their wonted manner ceaſed not to do what harm they could in the Tuſcan Sea, and had again miſerably ſpoiled the Iſland of *Corſica*; for withſtanding of whom the Biſhop of *Rome* exacted of his People a great Subſidy, and finely ſtript the Jews of their Mony, and ſeiſed upon their rich Merchants Goods in his Territory. At whoſe earneſt ſuit *Solyman* in their behalf writ unto the Biſhop as followeth:

Sultan *Solyman*, moſt Mighty Emperor of Emperors, the Son of *Selymus*, Emperor of Emperors, to whom God give eternal Victory; to Pope *Paulus* the Fourth, Greeting.

Solymans *Letters to the Pope in behalf of the Jews Merchants.*

MOſt excellent and moſt mighty Lord of the Profeſſors of the Meſſias Jeſu, and Lord of Rome, *the Almighty keep thee. At ſuch time as thou ſhalt receive our Seal, thou ſhalt underſtand by our Letters, that certain Hebrews have come unto us, complaining that they are oppreſſed of thee with too grievous Exactions, when they come to traffique at* Ancona; *This burthen I requeſt thee to take from them, and to reſtore again unto them their Goods, that thereby they may be able to pay to us our Tribute; which if thou (as I hope thou wilt) ſhalt do, thou ſhalt feel our Favour. Farewel. From* Conſtantinople *the laſt of the bleſſed Month* * Rambeluch, *in the year of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *nine hundred threeſcore and four.*

* *The ninth of March, Ann.* 1556.

Haly *Baſſa beſiegeth* Zigeth *again.*

Haly Baſſa grieved with the late repulſe he had received at *Zigeth*, came again the next year, and beſieged it, at which time King *Ferdinand* ſent *Nicholaus Polwiler* and the Count *Serinus* with a Power raiſed in *Suevia* and *Auſtria*, to recover *Baboza*, a Caſtle betwixt Zigeth and *Stiria*, before ſurpriſed by the Turks; of whoſe coming the Baſſa having intelligence, roſe with his Army and departed from *Zigeth*, which he had for certain Months hardly beſieged, and not far from *Baboza* met with *Polwiler* and *Serinus*; who joyning Battel with him, after a hard and ſharp Fight overthrew him and put him to Flight. This Victory with the coming down of young *Ferdinand*, King *Ferdinands* Son, Archduke of *Auſtria* with new Supplies, ſo terrified the Turks in that part of *Hungary* along the River *Dravus*, that they for fear forſook *Baboza*, *Sammartin*, *San-Laurence*, and divers other ſmall Caſtles which they had before taken, and fled to *Quinque Eccleſiæ*.

Haly *Baſſa overthrown.*

The Governor of *Zigeth* encouraged herewith, ſallying out with his Garriſon, ſlew many of the Turks in their Flight towards *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, and meeting by chance with a Troop of Horſemen, which were bringing the Turks Pay, overthrew them, took the Mony, and ſo with an exceeding rich Prey returned to his Caſtle. At which time alſo *Adam* the Governor of *Rab*, otherwiſe called *Javarinum*, having burnt the Suburbs of *Alba Regalis*, and driven away many thouſands of Cattle, at a Town called *Sian* overthrew five hundred Turks, and as many fugitive Chriſtians, and ſo with a great Prey and little or no loſs at all of his Men returned.

Henry *the French King ſollicteth* Solyman *to invade the King of* Spain *his Territories*

Henry the French King at the ſame time in Wars with *Philip* King of *Spain*, and troubled with the loſs of his Army overthrown not far from Saint *Quintins* (at which time the Duke *Montmorency* Conſtable of *France* and General of the Army, with his Son and divers other of the Nobility of *France* were taken Priſoners) by his Embaſſador *Michael Codignac* ſolicited *Solyman* to have by Sea invaded *Naples* and *Sicilia*, ſo to have withdrawn the Spaniſh Forces out of *France*, to defend their own Frontiers. Which thing *Solyman*, offended with the inſolency of the Embaſſador, refuſed to do; yet nevertheleſs commanded his adventurers all alongſt the Coaſt of *Africk*, to infeſt thoſe Seas, and to do what harm they could upon the Coaſt of *Italy* and *Sicilia*; which they ſo diligently performed, that the Viceroy of *Sicilia* was fain for defence of thoſe Countries to lie in readineſs with his Gallies in the Ports of *Cajeta* and *Naples*.

The Guiſe, Lord Grand Prior in France, *Admiral of* Malta, *taketh certain of the Turks Gallies.*

In the mean time the Guiſe, Lord Grand Prior of the Knights of Saint *Johns* in *France* (and Brother of *Francis* the Duke of *Guiſe*, General of the French Kings Army in *Italy*, who upon the overthrow received at Saint *Quintins*, called out of *Italy*, ſhortly after took *Cajais*) Admiral of the Gallies of *Malta*, went out toward the Eaſt with four Gallies well appointed, to lie in wait for the Turks, and by fortune met with two great Ships laded with the Turks Merchandize, which he took; and by and by after, light upon four of the Turks Gallies, with whom he had a great Fight; yet at length having ſunk one of them and burnt another, he took the other two. After which Victory returning towards *Malta* to have repaired his Gallies and cured his wounded men, he was met with four other great Gallies of the Turks; who deſirous to revenge the loſs of their Fellows, ſet upon him, and he ſeeing now no remedy, but that he muſt needs fight couragiouſly, encountred them. But foraſmuch as he had in the two Fights before loſt ſome of his Men, and ſeventy two of the Knights in the Gallies lay ſore wounded, he, by the Counſel of the Captains retired towards *Malta*; but by the way one of his Gallies was taken by the Turks, with two and fifty Knights of the Order; yet with the reſt and the Prizes before taken, he recovered the Iſland of *Malta*, where he ſtaied that Winter; and the next Spring ſailed into *France* to be partaker of thoſe troubles, which beginning ſhortly after, have but of late taken end.

Solyman *in nothing more unfortunate than in the proof of his Children.*

The immoderate Fortune of the great Sultan *Solyman*, was not in any thing more contrary to his deſire, than in the proof of thoſe his Children, of whom the World held the greateſt expectation. *Muſtapha* his eldeſt Son, the Mirror of Courteſie, and rare hope of the whole Turkiſh Nation, the ſuſpitious Tyrant had moſt unnaturally cauſed to be murdered in his own preſence, to the grief of all his Subjects in general, as is before declared; poor *Tzihanger* was dead for ſorrow; and *Mahometes* his eldeſt Son by his beſt beloved the fair *Roxolana*, was departed this life alſo. So that now remained unto him only *Selymus*, the unworthy Heir of ſo great an Empire, and *Bajazet* his younger Brother, the lively image of his Father, both Men grown, and the Sons of the ſame *Roxolana*; but ſo far differing the one from the other both in Feature of Body and Diſpoſition of Mind, as if they had not been of the ſame Kindred and Line. *Selymus* the elder Brother, moſt like unto his Mother, was in the ſecret determination of the aged Emperor his Father appointed Heir of that moſt mighty Empire. *Bajazet* much reſembling his Father, was on the other ſide ſtrongly ſupported by the care and

entire

Bajazet Solymans younger Son ſeeketh to aſpire unto the Empire.

entire love of his Mother; which whether it proceeded of a ſecret commiſeration of his inevitable Deſtiny, or that he had by Loyalty or other means ſo won her Favour, is not known; but every Man ſaw, that if it had lien in her Power, ſhe would undoubtedly have preferred him before his elder Brother *Selymus*, and have placed him in the Empire; but ſhe muſt needs give way to her old Husbands Will, firmly and irremovably ſet down, that the Deſtinies ſo permitting, none ſhould reign after him but his eldeſt Son *Selymus*. Of which his purpoſe and reſolution *Bajazet* being not ignorant, began moſt circumſpectly to look about about him, if he could by any means fruſtrate that forcible neceſſity, and exchange his certain deſtruction with an Empire; in which his deep and dangerous cogitations he was not a little comforted by the favour and love of *Roxolana* his Mother, and of *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa his Brother in Law; who together had in any other matter been able to have overruled the aged Emperor. Whereupon he reſolutely ſet down himſelf, rather to end his days by making proof of good or bad Fortune, than upon the death of his Father (which by Courſe of Nature could not now be far off) to be as a Sacrifice baſely butchered by ſome vile Hangman of his Brothers. *Bajazet* ſo reſolved, and now already fallen out with his Brother *Selymus*, took occaſion upon the general diſcontentment of the People and others, for the unworthy death of *Muſtapha* their late joy, to begin thoſe ſtirs which he had before with himſelf plotted, and ſo to make a Head, whereunto he might afterward join the Body alſo; for why, that worthy *Muſtapha* had left behind him ſo great deſire of himſelf, that now it wearied many to live after him, they had ſo placed all the hope of their good Fortune in him, unto whom nothing was more deſired than to revenge the wrong done unto him, or elſe to run the ſame hard Fortune with him; otherſome guilty of the immoderate Affection they had born unto him yet living, and fearing to be called to give an account thereof, thought any ſtate better and more aſſured than that wherein they preſently ſtood, and therefore ſought all occaſions of new ſtirs, how to ſet all in an hurly burly; only a Captain was wanting, *Muſtapha* could not again be revived, yet might he be ſtrongly ſuppoſed to live. This device pleaſed *Bajazet*, as beſt fitting his purpoſe, being not ignorant of this diſpoſition of the People. Wherefore by certain of his moſt faithful and truſty Followers he found out a certain obſcure Fellow of a notable audacity, which ſhould take upon him the Name and Perſon of *Muſtapha*, whoſe Stature alſo and Countenance and Proportion of Body differed not much from *Muſtapha* himſelf; he, as if he had by chance eſcaped, firſt began to ſhew himſelf in that part of *Thracia*, which is above *Conſtantinople*, and lieth toward *Danubius*, not far from the Countries of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, and was for that cauſe both fitteſt for Rebellion, and alſo beſt ſtored with Horſemen, who of all others moſt honoured *Muſtapha*. Thither he comes as if it had been from a long journey, ſlenderly accompanied, and as if he had been deſirous the firſt not to have been known; his Followers being demanded (as it chanced) who it was, did rather fearfully give them that asked, occaſion to gheſs, than plainly to tell them, that it was *Muſtapha*; neither did he himſelf much deny it; whereby the People became more and more deſirous to know him. Which beginning thus laid, he afterward began to rejoyce of his fortunate coming thither, and to give God thanks for his ſafe arrival there amongſt his Friends; he tells them, That as ſoon as he was ſent for by his Father, he durſt not come into his ſight, or commit himſelf unto him in his Fury, but by the counſel of his Friends to have with great promiſes perſwaded one that was marvellous like unto himſelf to go in his ſtead; by whoſe danger he might make proof of his Fathers mind towards him; who before he was admitted to the ſpeech of his Father, was without hearing miſerably ſtrangled, and ſo caſt out before his Pavilion, at which time there were many (as he ſaid) which perceived the deceit, but the greater part remained in error, deceived with the Lineaments and Countenance of the miſerable dead Man, who was much altered with the terrible pains of death, and ſuppoſing it to have been him indeed that was ſlain. Which thing as ſoon as he underſtood, he thought it not good longer to ſtay, but preſently to flie and to provide for his own ſafety; and ſo flying with a few of his own Followers, thereby the more ſecretly and ſafely to eſcape; and having paſſed above *Pontus* by the People of *Boſphorus*, was now come thither, where he was in good hope to find much help and comfort in the Fidelity of his Friends, whom he requeſted not now to forſake him, or to make leſs account of him diſgraced by the malice of his Step-Mother, than they had before in time of his Proſperity. For that he was aminded to revenge the injury done unto him, and by force of Arms to defend himſelf; for what elſe had he now left? being by no other means preſerved, but by the death of another Man; that he had ſufficiently proved how his Father ſtood affected towards him, and that he now lived by his miſtaking, not by his Kindneſs. The cauſe of all which his troubles was his Stepdame, who (as he ſaid) with her inchantments led the ſilly old Man (now almoſt doating for Age, and mad for love) whither ſhe would at her pleaſure, and by her Agent *Ruſtan* Baſſa forced him forward headlong into all kind of miſchief; but that God be thanked he wanted not his Friends, by whoſe help he would find a way out of theſe miſeries, and take revenge of his Enemies; for why, he had as yet couragious Hearts, and the Janizaries with the greater part of his Fathers Family on his ſide, and that great multitudes of People would flock unto him upon bruit of his Name; ſo that they which did now mourn for him as dead (in number many) would by heaps run to help him being alive; ſo that they there preſent would only courteouſly receive him as a Gueſt, and protect him now diſtreſſed, till ſuch time as his welwillers and Friends might repair unto him. And this at laſt he gave out not in ſecret, but openly to all Men whereſoever he came. The ſame things did they alſo report, whom he made the People to believe to have been the Companions of his Flight; which was alſo confirmed by divers of good Account and Authority, whom *Bajazet* had before dealt withal to that purpoſe. So that a great number of Men altogether unknown to *Bajazet*, were by that means ſeduced; for this matter was ſo cunningly wrought, that many of them that had known *Muſtapha* alive, and ſeen him laid dead before his Fathers Pavilion, yet liſted not greatly to believe that which they knew, but eaſily ſuffered themſelves to be perſwaded that this was the true *Muſtapha*. But the Companions and Followers of *Muſtapha* (in whoſe minds the lively Countenance and Remembrance of him was thoroughly ingraven) nothing could deceive; yet deluded partly with fear, partly with grief and deſire of revenge, and wiſhing rather to adventure any thing, than longer to live without *Muſtapha*, were the firſt Men that came to offer their

The crafty dealing of the ſuppoſed Muſtapha to deceive the People.

A counterfeit Muſtapha ſet up to make an head of Rebellion.

ſervice

Solyman *angry with the Sanzacks, for not ſuppreſſing the ſuppoſed* Muſtapha, *ſendeth* Partau *Baſſa againſt him.*

Muſtapha *and his Companions drowned by night.*

Roxolana *intreateth* Solyman *for* Bajazet *her younger Son, and obtaineth his pardon.*

ſervice to this counterfeit *Muſtapha*; and would not ſuffer other Men to doubt but that this was the very *Muſtapha*, which was falſly reported to have been ſlain. As for the deceiver himſelf, he either kept with him, or entertained them that came, ſome with fair promiſes, ſome with courteous Speeches, and many alſo with Mony and Rewards, which he made them believe he had reſerved of the Relicks of his better Fortune; for *Bajazet* had before notably provided, that nothing ſhould in this behalf be wanting unto him for the countenancing of his Credit. So within the ſpace of a few days ſuch a multitude of Men was reſorted unto him, as might almoſt have made a whole Army. When *Solyman* upon the ſuddain was advertiſed by the fearful Meſſengers and Letters of the Sanzacks thereabouts, what a danger was like to enſue by the concourſe of ſo great a Multitude of People to this counterfeit *Muſtapha*; he preſently ſuſpecting (as the truth was) that this was not done without the privity of one of his Sons, thought it not a thing to be neglected, and therefore by his Letters reproved the Sanzacks thereby, that they had ſuffered the matter to run ſo far, and had not in the beginning as their Duty was, ſuppreſſed the ſame, grievouſly threatning them, if they did not with all ſpeed ſend unto him in bonds that counterfeit Companion with the reſt of his Complices. Which that it might be the eaſilier by them performed, he promiſed to ſend one of the chief Baſſaes, namely *Partau* Baſſa (who had married the Widow of *Mahometes* the eldeſt Son of *Roxolana*, of whom we have before remembred) and with him a ſtrong power of the Souldiers of the Court; but if they would have themſelves excuſed, that they ſhould of themſelves diſpatch the matter before the coming of that Aid. This *Partau* led after him certain Squadrons of Souldiers, not ſo many in number, as notable for their Fidelity; for *Solyman* had cauſed the moſt faithful of his Colonels, Captains, and Corporals, to be culled out; wiſely doubting leſt his Souldiers, either led with Affection, or corrupted with Reward, might take part with him againſt whom they were ſent. For the common ſort of the Janizaries ſtanding in ſuſpence at the fame of *Muſtapha*, and expectation of ſome great novelty, favoured that broil, and wiſhed all on an hurly burly; neither was the matter indeed without danger. The Sanzacks after they had received this ſtrait charge from *Solyman*, conſidering how much it ſtood them upon to make a ſpeedy diſpatch, began now to incourage one another to beſtir themſelves, to make all the ſpeed poſſible, and with all their Power on every ſide to oppoſe themſelves againſt the attempts of this new found *Muſtapha*, labouring to ſtay ſuch as were coming unto him, and to diſperſe ſuch as were already come, by ſhewing them the greatneſs of the danger, and threatning them with all extremities. In the mean time *Partau* Baſſa came on with his Army, and was not now far off; when (as in like caſe it oftentimes falleth out in things not yet ſufficiently confirmed, and by celerity prevented) the Souldiers of the counterfeit *Muſtapha* ſeeing themſelves beſet on every ſide, began to fear, and at firſt ſome few to ſlip away; but afterwards all, without regard of ſhame or of their promiſe, to forſake their Captain and flie every Man whither he thought beſt. The Captain ſeeking likewiſe to have made ſhift for himſelf, was with the chief of his Counſellors and Followers taken by the Sanzacks and delivered unto the Baſſa, who with a ſtrong Guard ſent them all in bonds to *Conſtantinople*; where *Solyman* by moſt exquiſite Torments drew from them all the ſecret devices of his young Son *Bajazet*, and that he had purpoſed after ſuch a Head made by this ſuppoſed *Muſtapha*, as he thought covenient, to have upon the ſuddain joined himſelf with a great Power, and ſo as ſhould beſt ſerve for his purpoſe, to have gone directly to *Conſtantinople*, or elſe againſt his Brother *Selymus*. But whilſt he goeth ſomewhat too ſlowly about his buſineſs, his unripe Counſels were by his Fathers Celerity oppreſſed. Of all which matter *Solyman* now throughly aſſured, cauſed the ſuppoſed *Muſtapha* and his Companions at Midnight to be drowned in the Sea; thinking it not good to have thoſe things commonly known, and to have his domeſtical wounds yet bleeding, laid open to the view of his Neighbour Princes. Nevertheleſs being mightily offended with *Bajazet* for ſo great an inſolency, he ceaſed not to caſt in his mind how to be revenged upon him; which his Wife *Roxolana*, a Woman of great Wiſdom, was not ignorant of. Who after a few days, at ſuch time as the old Mans Fury was overpaſt, falling of purpoſe into talk with him about the matter, ſhe laid together in her Sons behalf, and alledged the indiſcreetneſs of Youth, the neceſſity of the Fact, and the example of his Anceſtors in like caſe, that it was ſo provided for by nature, that every Man ſhould be careful of himſelf and his, and that all Men did indifferently ſhun Death, that young Men were by evil Counſel eaſily ſeduced and made to forget their Duty. That it were reaſon he ſhould forgive him this firſt Fault; which if he amended, then was it a great gain for the Father to have ſaved his Son; but if he ſhould again fall into relapſe, there would not want time to puniſh him for both Faults; And that if ſo be he would not pardon him for his own ſake; yet he would vouchaſe to pardon him for hers, entreating now for him for whom ſhe had before groaned, and not to be cruel upon him, one of the Pledges of their Love, in whom reſted the Blood of them both; for in what woful caſe ſhould ſhe be, if of thoſe two Sons (all that God had left her) the Fathers Severity ſhould bereave her of the one? Wherefore ſhe requeſted him to moderate his Anger, and to prefer his Clemency before his juſt Indignation; foraſmuch as God himſelf of all Power and Might, did not always deal with Sinners in Severity, but for moſt part in Mercy; whereas otherwiſe all mankind would not ſuffice his Wrath. And would Mercy in any place be more fitting, than in the Father towards his Child? She promiſed further, that *Bajazet* ſhould from thenceforth remain in moſt dutiful Obedience towards his Majeſty; and upon his ſo great Clemency, to convert the fear wherein he now lived, into a World of Duty and Devotion. Honourable minds (ſhe ſaid) were retained with nothing more than with Kindneſs and Courteſie; that the remembrance of that his Fatherly Forgiveneſs ſhould be a ſtay unto him, for ever doing the like again; at laſt, that ſhe would promiſe for him, and take upon her, that he ſhould for ever afterwards ſatisfie his Fatherly expectation in all kind of Duty and Loyalty. Which words mingled with Tears and other Womanly Geſtures, ſo wrought with *Solyman*, being otherwiſe too much in her power, that he reſolved to forgive the Fault; yet ſo, that he ſhould come and ſubmit himſelf, and receive from him his charge. This careful Mother ſoreſlows no time; but by Letters ſecretly adveriſed *Bajazet* not to fear to come unto his Father at ſuch time as he ſhould be ſent for; aſſuring him that there was no danger, for that his Father was by her means appeaſed, and he again brought into his favour. With which good News *Bajazet* well comforted, reſolved to go at ſuch time as he was ſent for; yet

full

Bajazet *goeth to his Father in fear.*

Roxolana *comforteth her Son* Bajazet.

Solyman *reproveth* Bajazet *of diſloyalty, and afterward pardoneth him.*

full of fear, and oftentimes looking back unto his Brother *Muſtapha*, whoſe dreadful example ſufficiently warned him what a danger he adventured himſelf unto. Yet he came to the place appointed for the Parley, which was in a common Inn at a place called *Careſtran* a few miles from *Conſtantinople*; for ſuch is the ſuſpicious manner of the Turkiſh Tyrants of theſe times, not to ſuffer any of their Sons that be Men grown, to ſet their Foot within the Gates of *Conſtantinople*, as dangerous for ſoliciting the Souldiers of the Court, and ſo conſequently for the altering of the State. *Bajazet* was no ſooner lighted from his Horſe, but his Fathers Guard was preſently ready to receive him, commanding him to lay aſide his Sword and Dagger; which thing though it be an uſual matter in others that are admitted to the preſence of the Turkiſh Emperor, yet might it then in the mind of his guilty Son raiſe a great fear. But his kind Mother (who had before ſeen in what fear and perplexity he would come) had conveighed her ſelf into a Chamber faſt by the entrance of the ſame Houſe *Bajazet* was to paſs, where out of a little Caſement covered with a thin Linnen Cloth, ſhe called unto him in paſſing by, in theſe few words, *Corcoma oglan, Corcoma*; which is as much to ſay, *Fear not my Son, fear not*; with which ſhort Speech *Bajazet* was not a little both comforted and encouraged. But as ſoon as he was come into his Fathers Preſence, and had done his Duty, *Solyman* commanded him to ſit down by him; then began the grim Sire grievouſly to reprove him of raſhneſs and want of diſcretion in taking up Arms, which he could not otherwiſe conceive of but as taken up againſt himſelf. And admit they were as he would have it, and the beſt that he could make of it, taken up againſt his elder Brother, yet was it nevertheleſs a great preſumption and moſt wicked Fact. Neither was there any want in him, but that the whole ſtate of the Mahometan Religion (which at this day reſteth upon the *Othoman* Family) had by his Domeſtical Diſcord been ſore ſhaken, and brought in peril of utter ruin, to the great Injury, Reproach, and Contempt of his Majeſty, a moſt deteſtable and horrible Crime, which could not with condign puniſhment be revenged. Yet for all that, he had determined to pardon him, and to ſhew himſelf rather a kind Father, than a ſevere Judge; ſo that he would from thenceforth leave the care of future things to God; foraſmuch as none of theſe things are done by our appointment, but that Kingdoms and Monarchies are beſtowed as beſt pleaſeth him; ſo that if it were his Deſtiny to enjoy the Empire after his death, he ſhould be ſure thereof as of a thing that would of it ſelf come unto him, and was not by any Mans power to be kept from him, as that which was by God ordained for him; but if it were otherwiſe appointed by God, then were it a mad thing for him to labour in vain to ſtrive againſt the Will of God, and as it were to fight with God. Wherefore he ſhould now as one well warned, ceaſe to rage and ſtorm, and not to moleſt his quiet Brother, or trouble him his aged Father; for that if he ſhould again fall and raiſe new ſtirs, it would aſſuredly fall upon his own head, neither would any place of mercy be found for his ſecond offence, and that he ſhould then find him not as now, his gentle Father, but a moſt ſevere and revenging Judge. Which when he had ſaid, and *Bajazet* had thereunto briefly anſwered as the time would permit, rather craving pardon for his Treſpaſs, than excuſing that was not to be excuſed, and promiſing from thenceforth to live moſt loyally at his Command; *Solyman* according to the manner of that Nation called for Drink, which he commanded to be given to *Bajazet*, who not daring to refuſe it, although he had rather have ſo done, drank thereof what he thought good, doubting leſt that ſhould have been his laſt; of which fear his Father forthwith delivered him by drinking a good draught of the ſame Cup. So *Bajazet*, though guilty, having with better ſucceſs ſpoken with his Father than had his Brother *Muſtapha*, returned again to the former place of his charge.

Bajazet *returneth to his charge.*

This hapned in the year 1555, from which time *Bajazet* ſo long as *Roxolana* his Mother lived, behaved himſelf with all dutiful and Brotherly Kindneſs both towards his Father and his Brother; and that rather for to keep her favour, and not to cut off the hope which he had only in her Affection towards him, than for any confidence he had in his Fathers Kindneſs, or for any Love he bare to his Brother; the regard of her being the only thing that kept his fierce Nature in quiet. But ſhe dead about two years after, he as a Man bereft of all hope of long Life, and diſcharged of all Bonds of Duty, fell to his former Courſe, and began more grievouſly than before, to revive the old grudges betwixt him and his Brother; ſometime ſeeking by ſecret practices to have him made away, and other ſometimes by open force entring into his Province, which was not far off, there evil intreated ſome of his Brothers Followers as he light upon, for their Maſters ſake, omitting nothing which he thought might tend to the diſgrace of him whom of all other he wiſhed dead. He had alſo certain of his Favorites at *Conſtantinople*, by whom he cunningly wrought by all means to gain the Love of the Souldiers of the Court, and doubted not as occaſion ſerved to paſs over thither himſelf, and there to lurk in ſecret with ſuch as were of his Faction, and privy to his Deſignments. Of all which things *Solyman* had knowledg, but eſpecially by Letters from *Selymus*, wherein he was alſo adviſed to have care of his own ſafety; for that he was far deceived, if he perceived not, that theſe Preambles of *Bajazets* wicked intentions, would at laſt turn upon his Head, who regarded neither God nor Man, ſo that he might alone reign; unto whoſe unruly deſires his Fathers Welfare was no leſs a bar, than was his Brothers, and therefore through his Sides was his Life ſhot at, which Treaſon had (as he ſaid) been of long time plotted, and now occaſion ſought to have the ſame performed; wherefore he ſhould take heed that he were not by ſuch Treachery overwhelmed before he were aware thereof; That for himſelf he could eaſily bear with the injuries of his Brother *Bajazet*, yet could not chuſe but be moved with the greatneſs of his Fathers dangers. By which means *Solymans* hatred againſt *Bajazet* was ſtill more and more increaſed. Wherefore he by Letters put him in remembrance of his Duty, how courteouſly he had uſed him, and again what he had on his part promiſed; that there would not alwaies be place for forgiveneſs; that he ſhould therefore ceaſe to wrong his Brother and trouble his Father; that he had but a ſhort time to live, and that after his death God would aſſign each of them their Fortunes. But all this was to no purpoſe with *Bajazet*, fully ſet down to hazard whatſoever, rather than as a Beaſt to have his Throat cut by his Brother; which thing he as plainly ſaw would betide him in the Reign of *Selymus*, as if it had been then in execution. Yet he anſwered to his Fathers commands not impertinently, but his deeds agreed not with his ſayings, neither did he alter any thing of his intended purpoſe. Which thing as ſoon as *Solyman* perceived, he thought it beſt to take another Courſe, and to

Solyman *admoniſheth* Bajazet *of his Duty.*

Solyman *removeth his two Sons farther aſunder.*

remove his Sons both farther from himſelf, and alſo farther the one from the other. Wherefore he gave them to underſtand, That it was his pleaſure that both of them within a certain prefixed time ſhould depart out of their Governments (*Bajazet* being then Governor of *Cutai*, and *Selymus* of *Magneſia*) and that now *Bajazet* ſhould remove to *Amaſia*, and *Selymus* to *Iconium*. *Selymus* was without imputation, and altogether in favour with his Father; yet becauſe no occaſion ſhould be given *Bajazet* to fall into extremities if he ſhould have been removed alone, *Solyman* to ſeem indifferent, commanded them both to remove; unto which command it was adjoyned, that the further they were off one from another, they ſhould be ſo much the nearer in mind and Brotherly love: for as much as nearneſs of dwelling of the Great, did many times hinder their good agreement, whilſt by forwardneſs of Officers many things are on both ſides done to the grieving of their Maſters; and that they ſhould in any caſe do as they were commanded, and that he which ſtaid longeſt ſhould not be free from the ſuſpicion of Contempt.

Bajazet *unwilling to go to* **Amaſia,** *ſeeketh delays.*

Selymus made no long ſtay, as he that knew a great part of all this to be done for his ſake; but *Bajazet* hung back, and being gon a little on his way, ſtaid, complaining of the unlucky Province of *Amaſia*, ſtained with the Blood of his late Brother the Noble *Muſtapha*, to be aſſigned unto him as ominous, and that he could be better contented with any Province whatſoever, than that, where the deadly remembrance of the miſerable end of the neareſt unto him in Blood, ſhould be ever before his Eyes, to the wounding of his Heart; Wherefore he requeſted that he might at leaſt winter in thoſe places, or elſe there from whence his Brother was now departed; but *Solyman* would in no wiſe hearken unto him. Now *Selymus* gon before certain days Journies with ſuch Troops as his Father had ſent him beſide his own, for fear of *Bajazet*, who yet ſtaid loitring and trifling on the time, ſuddainly returning and fetching a compaſs about, ſhewed himſelf at his Brothers Back, marching towards *Pruſa* in *Bithynia*, the ancient Seat of the Turkiſh Kings; which he did not without the privity of his Father, who liked not of the lingring of *Bajazet*; for what if he, having gained the good Will of the Janizaries, ſhould have gon either to *Pruſa*, or directly to *Conſtantinople*? what a danger might have grown thereby to *Selymus*, yea unto the whole State in general? In this common fear, *Solyman* thought it beſt for *Selymus* there to ſtay, from whence they might moſt conveniently help one another, if *Bajazet* ſhould (as was feared) turn himſelf upon either of them. Yet was not *Selymus* ſo ſtrong as to adventure to joyn Battel with his Brother, whom he knew ready to put all to the hazard of one day. But when *Bajazet* (contrary to his expectation) ſaw *Selymus* behind him, and that he had got nothing by his long delay, but that his Brother ſhould be the undoubted Heir of the Empire if his Father ſhould die, which was then by reaſon of his ſickly conſtitution of Body dayly more and more feared; he writ unto his Father, accuſing his Brother, That he could not more manifeſtly in any thing declare how maliciouſly he was affected towards him, than by taking that indirect Courſe, to no other purpoſe but to aſpire unto the Empire, and to have a ſhort cut over to *Conſtantinople*, if he ſhould have any news of his Fathers death, which he ſtill gaped after; which his longing, if his Fathers longer Life ſhould delay, then by the ſecret Miniſters of his Treaſon to diſpatch him, and by the murdring of him to poſſeſs himſelf of the Empire; and yet nevertheleſs, this man as a moſt dutiful and obedient Son, to be of him much made of, and as it were put in his Boſom. Whereas he on the contrary part meaning well, into whoſe conceit never any ſuch thought came, but was ever at command, was not had in any regard, but caſt off and contemned, whoſe greateſt requeſt was but to ſhun an unfortunate ominous Province. After that, he converted his ſtyle to Prayers, requeſting again of his Father, to gratifie him with ſome other Province, if it were but that from which his Brother was departed, or with any other whatſoever, ſo that it were more lucky than that of *Amaſia*; for anſwer whereof he ſaid he would ſtay where he was, to the end that finding favour in his requeſt, he ſhould not have need further to retire; but if he ſhould not obtain his requeſt, that then he was ready to go whitherſoever his Father ſhould command. It was not altogether for nought that *Bajazet* found fault with *Amaſia*; being the manner of the Turks, of the ſmalleſt things of all to divine upon the greateſt. But *Solyman* underſtood the matter otherwiſe; who not ignorant of his Sons Tears, knew right well that he in them ſought for nothing elſe but a more commodious place for him to raiſe new ſtirs in, than was *Amaſia*, ſo far diſtant from *Conſtantinople*. So *Bajazet* by many delays did what he could to fruſtrate his Fathers appointment, ceaſing not in the mean time to augment his ſtrength, with new Souldiers, to provide Armor, Mony, and whatſoever elſe ſerving for defence of himſelf, and the impugning of his Brother. Which *Solyman* took in no other part, than as intended againſt his own perſon; yet would he ſeem as not to have any ſuch underſtanding of the matter; for why, the wary old Sire would not by taking knowledg thereof, drive headlong his Son, who was already running too faſt of himſelf. Beſides that, he was not ignorant that the Eyes of all Nations were bent upon this diſcord of his two Sons; and therefore he deſired by all means, that theſe Grudges might be with as little ſtir as was poſſible, appeaſed. Wherefore he anſwered *Bajazet* courteouſly, That concerning his Government of *Amaſia*, he could not alter it, as reſolutely ſet down as well for his Brother as himſelf, and that therefore they ſhould do well to go both to their appointed places, as he had before commanded. As for the reſt, they ſhould be of good comfort, for that he would take ſuch order, as that neither of them ſhould have juſt cauſe to complain.

Solyman *to be ſure that his two Sons ſhould go to their appointed Provinces, ſendeth* **Partau** *and* **Mehemet,** *two of the Viſier Baſſas, to ſee them brought thither.*

Partau Baſſa the fourth of the great Baſſa's of the Court was appointed to go with this Meſſage to *Bajazet*, and *Mehemet* third of the ſame great Baſſa's with like charge to *Selymus*; becauſe the matter ſhould ſeem to be done with all indifferency; and both of theſe great Men commanded not to depart from them they were ſent unto, before they were both come unto the places of their Government whereunto they were aſſigned. Which *Solyman* wiſely did, to keep them both within the compaſs of Duty by the preſence of ſuch two grave Counſellors. Which thing *Selymus* took in good part, but *Bajazet* not ſo; who having reſolved with himſelf to ſet all on a hurly burly, thought nothing more unfit for his deſigns, than to have one of his Fathers greateſt Counſellors ſtill at his Elbow as Cenſor of all his Speeches and Doings; wherefore having courteouſly entertained him, and rewarded him according to his Ability, he diſmiſſed him (though unwilling to depart) making this excuſe, That he would uſe him as his Patron and Defender with his Father, foraſmuch as he had no other in Court to defend his cauſe, promiſing

Bajazet *ſendeth* **Partau** *Baſſa back again to his Father.*

miſing not to be unto him an unworthy or unthankful Client; and to carry word back again unto his Father, That he would above all things have care of his command, if he might ſo do for his Brother *Selymus*, whoſe Injuries and Treacheries he had much ado to brook. *Partau* the great Baſſa ſo ſent away, aſſured *Solyman* what the very mind and purpoſe of his younger Son was. And albeit that *Bajazet* to make it ſeem as if ſomething had been done by that Embaſſage, made ſhew as if he would have preſently gone towards *Amaſia*; yet *Solyman* nevertheleſs fearing the worſt, made all the preparation he could againſt him, commanding the Beglerbeg of *Greece*, although then ſick of the Gout, to make haſte, and with his Horſemen to paſs over with all ſpeed to aid *Selymus*; and *Mehemet* Baſſa but lately returned, he ſent forthwith back again for the ſame purpoſe to *Selymus*, with certain of the moſt truſty Companies of the Janizaries; and the old Man in readineſs, made ſemblance as if he would himſelf in perſon have gone over alſo.

Solyman *makes preparation againſt* Bajazet, *and ſendeth Aid to* Selymus.

The Janizaries unwilling to go againſt Bajazet.

But the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court came with evil Will together, deteſting that War between the Brethren, as altogether abominable; for againſt whom ſhould they draw their Swords? was it not againſt the Emperors Son, and happily the Heir of the Empire? Wherefore this War might (as they ſaid) well enough be let alone, as altogether unneceſſary, and not they to be inforced to imbrue their Hands one in anothers Blood, and to pollute themſelves with ſuch Impiety; as for that which *Bajazet* did, was to be holden excuſed, as proceeding from neceſſity. Which Speeches of the Janizaries being brought to *Solymans* Ears, he forthwith declared them to the Mufti (who in all matters of doubt they flee unto as unto a moſt ſacred Oracle) demanding of him, how he was to be intreated, who of himſelf preſumed whiles he yet lived, to levy Souldiers, raiſe an Army, ranſack Towns, and trouble the State of the whole Empire? and what alſo he deemed of them that were his Followers and took part with him? and laſt of all, of them alſo that refuſed to bear Arms againſt him, and ſaid that he had in ſo doing nothing offended? Whereunto the Mufti anſwered, That both the Man and his Partakers were all worthy of death, and that ſuch as refuſed to take up Arms againſt him, were as prophane and irreligious Men, to be accounted deteſtable. Which the great Prieſts anſwer was publiſhed unto the People, and by the chief Chiaus ſent to *Bajazet*, to ſee if he might be therewith moved.

Bajazet *his meſſage to his Father, requeſting him not to meddle between him and his Brother.*

Within a few days after, there came to *Conſtantinople* one of the Chiaus (whom *Bajazet* had intercepted, being ſent from *Solyman* to *Selymus*) by whom *Bajazet* gave his Father to underſtand, That he was in all Duty his, and that he had not taken up Arms againſt him, neither refuſed to be unto him in all things obedient; but that he had only to do with his Brother, and with him to fight for his life, by whoſe Sword he muſt die, or elſe he by his, for that a miſchief was to be by one of them performed; which quarrel he was reſolved to try whiles he yet lived, and that therefore he ſhould do beſt not to meddle in the quarrel, or to give Aid to either. But if ſo be he would needs (as the report was) paſs over the Sea to aid *Selymus*, he ſhould not think eaſily to get him into his hands, for that he knew right well, if the worſt came, how to eſcape and ſave himſelf, and would before he could get over into *Aſia*, make ſuch ſpoil with Fire and Sword, as never had *Tamerlane* or other the cruelleſt Enemy of the Turks that ever was. Which Meſſage did not a little trouble *Solyman*. And withall it was reported, That the Town of *Axuar*, where one of *Selymus* his Sons ruled as Sanzack, was already taken by *Bajazet* and ſhamefully ſacked.

Selymus *departeth towards* Iconium.

But *Selymus* hearing that his Brother was gone toward *Amaſia*, and now on his way as far as *Ancyra*, being out of all ſuſpicion of danger which he feared upon the way ſo long as his Brother was yet lingring in thoſe quarters, haſted now towards *Iconium*, which was with a ſtrong Garriſon kept for him; for amongſt other cares wherewith *Solyman* was vexed, it was not the leaſt, That *Bajazet* intercepting *Iconium*, ſhould get into *Syria*, and from thence into *Egypt*, an open Country, and not yet throughly eſtabliſhed under the Turkiſh Government, neither forgetful of the old Government of the Mamalukes, and therefor deſirous of change; from whence it would have been an hard matter to have driven *Bajazet*, eſpecially the Arabians being always ready and at hand at every light ſtir, where any hope of Prey was; out of which Province alſo in caſe of extremity he might eaſily tranſport himſelf into any of the Chriſtian Kingdoms. *Solyman* therefore took great care, that this paſſage, which might ſeem the laſt refuge of *Bajazets* devices, might be ſtopped up; and concerning the ſame, had given commandment unto moſt of his Commanders in *Aſia*, to be always in readineſs to aid *Selymus* whenſoever he ſhould call. With them *Selymus* lay encamped under the Walls of *Iconium*, attending every ſtirring of *Bajazet*, reſolving there to expect further Aid from his Father, and not by untimely fight to commit his ſafety to the hazard of one doubtful Battel.

Bajazet *ſtayeth at* Ancyra, *and there raiſeth his Forces.*

But *Bajazet* on the other ſide not unmindful what a matter he had taken in hand, ſlept not thereupon, but firſt entertained a valiant ſort of Horſemen which the Turks call *Chiurts*, and are ſuppoſed to be of that People which were ſometimes called *Gordij*, Men for their known Valour famous. He yet lay in the Plain and open Fields by *Ancyra*, of the Commodities of which City (which were indeed great) he made great uſe; In the Caſtle thereof he beſtowed his Concubines and Children; of the rich Merchants he took up Mony to be repaid with the uſe upon the good ſucceſs of the War; and from thence he took whatſoever was needful for the arming and furniſhing of his Men. Beſides his own Family, which was very great, and thoſe *Chiurts* which we ſpoke of, many repaired unto him which had been in former time beholden to his Mother, his Siſter and *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa; many alſo of the Reliques of the valiant *Muſtapha* and *Achomates* the great Baſſa, valiant Men and expert Souldiers, who deſired to revenge the unworthy death of their Lords and Maſters, even with their own. Neither was there wanting an exceeding Rablement of ſuch as weary of their preſent ſtate, deſired ſome new innovation and change. The commiſeration alſo of the State of the unfortunate *Bajazet*, eaſily drew many to take part with him, whoſe whole truſt was in his Valor; they favoured the young Prince, lively reſembling his Father; whenas in *Selymus* appeared no likeneſs of himſelf, but the expreſs Lineaments of his Mothers Face and Body, a Woman whilſt ſhe lived generally hated of all the People; he went heavily as overcharged with his groſs Paunch, blub cheeked, and exceeding red faced, ſo that the Souldiers in ſport would ſay, he was fed with green Malt; he was altogether given to his eaſe, and ſpent his time in Drunkenneſs and Sleep, neither was he courteous of Speech nor willing to deſerve well of any Man; for he would not (as he ſaid) offend his Father by being popular, ſo was he only of his Father beloved, and of all other Men hated, of all

The deſcription of Selymus.

kind

Bajazet and his quarrel generally favoured of the Souldiers.

Bajazet his purpoſe.

Bajazet goeth againſt his Brother.

kind of Men he moſt miſliked of them that ſet all their hope in a bountiful and couragious Prince. The ſame Souldiers were alſo wont to call *Bajazet*, *Softy* (that is to ſay) a Man given to quietneſs and ſtudy; but after they ſaw him take up Arms, and for the ſafeguard of himſelf and his Children ready to adventure any thing, they began to admire him as a Man of Valour and Courage; and to ask among themſelves, Why his Father ſhould reject him of ſuch worth, the the expreſs image of himſelf, and prefer before him that gorbellied Sluggard, in whom no Spark of his Fathers Valour was to be ſeen? This his entring into Arms was no Fault, being thereunto by neceſſity enforced, for, had not *Selymus* their Grandfather done the like? whereof no better example could be found; whom the force of neceſſity conſtrained not only to take up Arms againſt his Brother, but alſo to haſten the death of his Father; and by ſo doing, purchaſed unto himſelf and his Poſterity the Empire; which ſo gotten, if *Solyman* did not unjuſtly poſſeſs, why might not his Son uſe the ſame Courſe? why ſhould he ſo rigorouſly revenge that in his Son, that was ſo lawful in the Grandfather? Although there was (as they ſaid) great difference between that *Selymus* and this *Bajazet*; for that this Man intended no harm againſt his Father, but wiſhed him long to live; neither yet againſt his Brother, if he might by his leave but live, if he would but once ceaſe to do him wrong; that it was always accounted lawful to repel Force by Force, and to ſhun preſent Death, if the Deſtinies would ſo permit. By ſuch Affections and Motives, *Bajazet* his Power increaſed dayly; which being now grown almoſt to the greatneſs of a full Army, he thought it not beſt to uſe longer delay, but to march forthwith againſt his Brother to fight with him one Battel for his Life, State, and Empire; accounting it ſome commendation (although in vain) to have attempted ſo great an Enterpriſe. His purpoſe was (as *Solyman* feared) to get into *Syria*, which if he could bring to paſs, he then doubted not of the reſt. *Selymus* ſtrengthned with his Fathers Power, lay waiting for his coming before *Iconium*, well appointed of all Warlike Proviſion; his Army was exceeding ſtrong, and in it many notable Commanders, Martial Men of great experience, whom his Father had joyned unto him; who all lay covered with their great Ordnance planted in places moſt convenient. But *Bajazet* nothing terrified therewith, as ſoon as he came within ſight of his Brothers Army, exhorted his Souldiers in few words to play the Men, for that now was come the time they wiſhed for, and place for them to ſhew their Valour in; wherefore they ſhould ſhew themſelves couragious and valiant, and he would make them all rich and fortunate; he told them, that their Fortune was now in their own hands, to frame it every Man as he would himſelf; ſo that if any of them were weary of their preſent ſtate, there was the Field wherein they might exchange it with a better and therein lay down the miſeries of their former lives; that of him they ſhould if they overcame, expect Riches, Promotions, Honours, and whatſoever elſe, the Rewards of valiant Men; that with the Victory of one Battel, all their deſires ſhould be ſatisfied, were they never ſo great; which Victory was by the Valour which reſted in them to be gotten, and his Brothers Army, the heartleſs Followers of a heartleſs Captain, overthrown; for as his Fathers Souldiers that were with his Brother, they were in Body preſent, but in Mind altogether on his ſide; that it was only *Selymus* that withſtood his Welfare and their Felicity, whom they ſhould therefore valiantly ſeek for in Field as their common Enemy; and not to be afraid of his Multitude, foraſmuch as Victory was to be gained, not by Number, but by Valour; and the moſt Mighty God of Heaven and Earth was ſtill preſent, not with the moſt, but with the beſt: Beſides that, he willed them to remember with what a cruel Enemy they were to fight, who thirſted after nothing more than their Blood: And to conclude, he willed them all, not to look upon his Words, but his Deeds; and ſaid, If as you ſhall ſee me fighting for your profit, you ſhall likewiſe fight for mine Honour, I dare then aſſure you of the Victory. Which ſaid, he with great Courage charged the Enemy, and fighting himſelf long time amongſt the foremoſt, and there performing all the parts of a valiant Souldier, and worthy Captain, was for his notable Valor no leſs commended of his Enemies, than of his own Souldiers. The Battel was bloody and terrible, and many fell on both ſides: But after that they with wonderful obſtinacy had a great while fought with doubtful Victory, ſo that forty thouſand Turks lay there dead upon the ground; at length the Victory began to encline to that ſide whereon ſtood the greater Strength, the juſter Cauſe, and better Counſel. Many of the Enemies being ſlain, and many of his own People alſo loſt, *Bajazet* was enforced to retire; which he did ſo leiſurely, and without ſhew of any fear, that it ſeemed to the Beholders, he had well near as well gained as loſt the Field; neither durſt *Selymus* purſue him, but ſtood ſtill faſt in the ſame place, never more glad of any thing, than to ſee his Brothers back. But *Bajazet* after he had in contempt of his Fathers command thus run his own Courſe, and ſatisfied his own deſire, though diſappointed of his purpoſe, and not able to perform the journey by him intended into *Syria*, turned now his Courſe, and began in good earneſt to go to *Amaſia* his appointed Province.

The battel between Bajazet *and* Selymus.

Forty thouſand Turks ſlain.

Bajazet *goeth to* Amaſia.

Solyman ſpeedily advertiſed of the event of this Battel, forthwith paſſed over into *Aſia*; for as the great Baſſaes his Counſellors thought it not convenient for him to go over the Strait before the Victory; ſo after it was certainly known, they thought it not good longer to ſtay, leſt the overthrow of *Bajazet* might give occaſion to ſuch as ſecretly favoured his quarrel, to ſhew themſelves, and ſo to raiſe greater Troubles. Beſides that, the fame of his paſſage over, would (as they ſaid) much avail both to the diſcouragement of *Bajazet*, and the terrifying of his Friends; and therefore it was by them thought good, haſtily to purſue him, now overthrown, and not to ſuffer him to gather Courage by the example of his Grandfather *Selymus*, *Selymans* Father; who had been more terribly vanquiſhed than when he ſtood in his whole ſtrength, and might ſeem by that means to have eſpecially prevailed, for that he was at firſt unfortunately overthrown. Neither were theſe things without reaſon foreſeen; for it is almoſt incredible, what admiration and love this battel (although unfortunate) did get to *Bajazet*; men wondred that he durſt with ſo ſmall a power, and as it were but an handful of Men, encounter with his Brother far better appointed, and alſo ſupported by his Fathers Strength; not fearing either the diſadvantage of the place, or the Fury of the great Artillery; and to have behaved himſelf in the battel not like a young Souldier, but an old and expert Commander. *Selymus* might at his pleaſure boaſt of himſelf as they ſaid (to his Father) for the Victory; but *Bajazet* was the man that deſerved to have overcome; and that *Selymus* might to any thing aſcribe the Victory, rather than to his own Valour.

Theſe and ſuch like Speeches, as they made *Bajazet* gracious amongſt the people generally; ſo doubled they his Fathers cares, and encreaſed his hatred, to wiſh him the rather dead. For why, he was reſolutely ſet down, not to leave any other Heir of his Empire than *Selymus* his eldeſt Son, always Loyal and Obedient unto him; whereas the other he abhorred as Stubborn and Rebellious, gaping after the Empire whilſt he yet lived; of whom he was therefore ſo much the more to ſtand in dread, by how much he was reputed to be of more valour, and for the aid he had now ſo openly given to *Selymus*. For theſe cauſes he paſſed over the Strait into *Aſia*, with purpoſe not to go far from the Sea Coaſt, but as it were a far off with his favourable aſpect to countenance *Selymus* his proceeding; doubting by coming too near with his Army, to endanger himſelf by the ſuddain revolt of the Janizaries, which he above all things feared.

Augerius Busbequius Epiſt. 3 legationis Turcicæ.

I my ſelf (ſaith the Author of this Hiſtory) ſaw him departing out of *Conſtantinople* the firſt of *June* in the year 1559, when as within a few days after, I my ſelf was alſo ſent for thither; for the Baſſaes thought it not amiſs to have me in the Camp, and to uſe me courteouſly as their Friend, for which cauſe I was aſſigned to lodge in an Inn in a Village near to the Camp, where I lay very well, The Turks lay in the Fields round about; but lying there three months I had good leiſure and opportunity to ſee the manner of their Camp, and in part to know the order of their Martial Diſcipline. So I attiring my ſelf in ſuch apparel as the Chriſtians commonly uſe in thoſe places, went up and down with one or two Companions at my pleaſure unknown. Firſt I ſaw the Souldiers of all ſorts moſt orderly placed, and that, which he would ſcarce believe that knoweth the manner of our War, there was in every place great ſilence, and as a Man may ſay, dumb quietneſs, no brawling, no inſolency, no not ſo much as a word or laughter paſſing in ſport or drunkenneſs. Beſides that, wonderful cleanlineſs, no Dunghils, no Excrements that might offend either the Eies or Noſe, for all ſuch things the Turks do either bury or carry them far out of ſight. They themſelves ſo oft as they are enforced to diſcharge the burthen of Nature, dig an hole with a Spade and bury it, ſo is all their Camp without filth. There was not to be ſeen any Drinking or Feaſting, no Dicing (the great ſhame of our Wars) the loſs of Mony or time at Cards or Dice, the Turks know not. I met only with a rough Hungarian and his Companions, a Souldier, who heavy himſelf, to the Lute rather houled than ſung a doleful Ditty, containing the laſt words of a Fellow of his dying of his wounds upon the green Bank of *Danubius*, wherein he requeſteth the River, becauſe it ran to the place where he was born, to carry news to his Friends and Countrymen, that he died an honourable death, and not unrevenged, for the encreaſe of his Religion, and honour of his Country; wherunto his Fellows ſighing, ſare a Foot, O *happy and thrice happy Wight, would Fortune with thee change we might*. For the Turks are of opinion, That no Mens Souls go more ſpeedily to Heaven, than of ſuch valiant Men as die in Battel, for whoſe welfare their Maidens daily make Prayers and Vows. I would alſo needs go through their Butchery, where their Beaſts were killed, to ſee what Fleſh was to be ſold, where I ſaw but four, or at moſt five Weathers hanging ready dreſſed, and that was the Butchery for the Janizaries, which I deemed to be in that Camp not fewer than four thouſand. I marvelled that ſo little Fleſh ſhould ſuffice ſo many Men; but I was anſwered, That few of them did eat Fleſh, for that moſt part of them had their Victuals tranſported from *Conſtantinople*. Then I demanding what it was, they ſhewed me a Janizary ſitting by, who in an earthen Diſh had killed a Turnep, an Onion, a Head of Garlick, a Parſenep, and a Cucumber, all ſauced with Salt and Vinegar, or more truly to ſay, with Hunger; whereon he fed as ſavourly as if they had been Feaſants or Partridges; his Drink was the common Drink of all living Creatures, even fair Water. By which frugal kind of Diet, they provide both for the health of their Bodies, and the ſparing of their Purſe; and that I marvelled the more at, it was the time that their great Faſt, or to ſpeak after our faſhion, their Lent was at hand; at which time with us Chriſtians, even in well ordered Cities, much more in Camps, all Rings with Playing, Dancing, Singing, Crying, Quaffing, Carouſing; and in brief, with Madding and Phrenſie. So that it is not vainly reported, That a Turk ſent about that time Embaſſador into *Germany*, coming home reported, That the Chriſtians on certain days did riot, and became mad, until they beſprinkled with a certain kind of Aſhes in the Church, came to themſelves again, and ſo recovered; and that it was a wonderful thing to ſee, how much they were changed by the efficacy of that remedy, that they ſeemed not to be the ſame Men; meaning indeed the diſordered manners of the Chriſtians at *Shrovetide*, and the Ceremonies uſed on *Aſhwedneſday*: Which thing they to whom it was told, ſo much the more marvelled at, for that the Turks have many medicines which cauſe madneſs, but few or none which preſently eaſeth the ſame. And they upon thoſe days that go before their great Faſts, change nothing of their wonted manner of Life to the worſe; but rather contrariwiſe prepare themſelves to abſtinence, by taking ſomewhat from their uſual fare, the better to endure the ſuddain change of their Faſt; which they ſo preciſely obſerve, that upon their faſting days they will not ſo much as taſte a Cup of Water, or waſh their Mouths with Water all the day long, before the Stars appear in the Sky; which maketh their Faſts, eſpecially in Summer when the days be long and hot, to be unto them very tedious.

The order of the Turks Camp.

The opinion the Turks have of them that die in their Wars.

The ſpare Diet of the Janizaries.

The preciſe manner of the Turks in their Faſts.

Whiles I thus lay in the Camp, there came unto me one *Albertus* a learned Man with certain Preſents from the Emperor to *Solyman*, which were, certain gilt Plate, and a moſt curious Clock, which was carried upon an Elephant like a Caſtle; and ſome Crowns to be diſperſed among the Baſſaes; which *Solyman* would needs have preſented unto him in the Camp in the ſight of the whole Army, to make it the better known what friendſhip was between him and the Emperor, and that he needed not to fear any danger from the Chriſtian Princes.

Preſents ſent from the Emperor Ferdinand *to* Solyman.

But to return again to *Bajazet*, from whom we have a while digreſſed; he after the Battel at *Iconium* had retired himſelf to *Amaſia*, the place of his Government, as though he would have now there quietly lived, if his Father would ſo give him leave. He had now ſatisfied his youthful deſires and grief, and ſeemed willing from thenceforth to ſatisfie his Fathers better expectation; and therefore ceaſed not by Letters and fit Men to prove his Fathers mind. Neither did *Solyman* ſhew himſelf ſtrange from ſuch a reconciliation; at firſt he eaſily gave the Meſſengers audience, read his Sons Letters, and courteouſly returned anſwer; ſo that it was commonly reported in the Camp, that the Father and the Son would agree, and that the old Man would pardon

Bajazet *goeth to* Amaſia, *and ſeeketh for his Fathers favour.*

Solyman *diſſembleth with* Bajazet.

Bajazet *departed into* Amaſia, *with purpoſe to flie into* Perſia.

Bajazet *deceiveth the Baſſa of* Sebaſtia.

pardon the youthful Prank already paſt, ſo that he would from thenceforth remain dutiful. But all this was by the Counſel of the Baſſaes, nothing but deep diſſimulation in the crafty old Sire, until he had ſhut up *Bajazet*, and ſo got him alive into his hand; for it was feared, leſt he deſpairing of pardon, ſhould with ſuch a power break into the Borders of *Perſia* (now the only place left for his refuge) as might prevent the watchful diligence of his Lieutenants upon thoſe Frontiers; whom *Solyman* charged by continual Letters ſo to ſtop all the paſſages into *Perſia*, as that there ſhould not be any crany for *Bajazet* to flie out by. In the mean time, if any came within his reach that were ſuſpected to have taken part with *Bajazet*, or favoured his proceedings, thoſe he cauſed to be tortured and ſecretly made away, and among them ſome whom *Bajazet* had of purpoſe ſent to excuſe themſelves. For *Solyman* fearing leſt *Tamas* the Perſian King (more mindful of his old Quarrels than of the late enforced Peace) ſhould hardly with much ado ſuffer his Son to be got out of his hands if he ſhould flie thither, and ſo again raiſe a long and dangerous War, did therefore what he poſſibly might to oppreſs him before he ſhould come thither. Which his purpoſe although it was covered with all ſecrecy, yet was it not hidden from ſome of *Bajazet* his Friends, by whom he was oftentimes warned not to truſt his Father, but to beware of Treaſon, and in any caſe ſpeedily to provide for his own ſafety. But *Solyman* thinking he had now ſo provided as that he could by no means eſcape, and happily the more to deceive his Son, appointed to return with his Army to *Conſtantinople* the day after their *Eaſter* day. But *Bajazet*, upon the very Feaſt day having performed the ſolemnities thereof, commanded all his things to be truſſed up at *Amaſia*, and ſo ſet forward upon his unfortunate Journy towards *Perſia*; knowing right well, that he went to the ancient Enemy of the *Othoman* Family, but yet fully reſolved to make proof of any Mans mercy, rather than to fall into the hands of his angry Father. Now were they all ſet forward, except ſuch weak Souls as were not thought able to endure the labour of ſo long a Journy, among whom was left *Solyman*, *Bajazet* his youngeſt Son, but then newly born; which guiltleſs Babe, with his Mother, *Bajazet* thought better to leave unto the mercy of his Grandfather, than to take him with him, a poor Companion of his woful and miſerable flight; whom *Solyman* as yet uncertain of his Fathers Fortune, commanded to be Nurſed at *Pruſa*. *Bajazet* ſo gone from *Amaſia*, uſed ſuch celerity in his Travel, that almoſt in every place he prevented the fame of his coming, and light upon many that were appointed to have ſtaid his paſſage, before they were ready or aware of his coming. The Baſſa of *Sebaſtia* he thus deceived; There was two ways, whereof the one of them being intercepted, would greatly hinder his Journy, and that the Baſſa had already taken; wherefore he ſent certain, as if they had been Fugitives, to tell the Baſſa, that he was already gone the other way. Which the Baſſa believing, left the place he had before taken, and riſing with all his power to purſue him the other way, whereby it was told him he was gone, left that way free and open for him to paſs by.

The Baſſa of Erzirum *deceived by* Bajazet.

Solyman *much grieved with the flight of his Son.*

The Baſſa of *Erzirum* he deceived alſo by another not much unlike ſhift; from whom when he was not far diſtant, and knowing that in paſſing through his Country, he was to endure great danger, he ſet upon him with a wile, ſending unto him certain of his Followers with commendations; who afterwards lamentably complaining of the young Princes calamity, to move the Baſſa to pity, at laſt requeſted that he would give him leave to ſhoo his Horſes in his Territory; telling him that he came unprovided of all things, and therefore deſirous in that fruitful Country to refreſh his Horſes a day or two, and to new ſhoo them. Whereunto the Baſſa courteouſly anſwered, That he would not let him to take whatſoever he needed. But whether it was for the compaſſion that he had upon the ſtate of *Bajazet*, or for the ſecret love he bare him, or that he thought by that means the eaſier to entrap him, is doubtful; and happily prevented by *Bajazets* quick ſpeed, had not as yet ſufficient time to draw together his Souldiers. He ſent alſo unto *Bajazet* certain ſmall Preſents, ſeeming to be glad of his welfare and coming; who nevertheleſs kept on his way, reſting no part of the day, and but a little of the night. The Baſſa of *Erzirum* underſtanding that *Bajazet* came ſtill on, made what haſt he could alſo, and joyned his power to the reſt of the Baſſaes which followed after; for many Baſſaes and Sanzacks hearing that *Bajazet* was fled from *Amaſia*, purſued faſt after him, being charged by *Solyman* upon pain of their Heads to bring him back either alive or dead; but all in vain, by reaſon of his ſpeedy departure, and for that he made more haſt to flie, than they did to follow. Yet it coſt no Man dearer than this Baſſa of *Erzirum*, of whom we have now ſpoken, whom *Solyman* for this cauſe diſplaced; and *Solyman* afterwards ſlew, with two of his Sons, young ſtriplings whom he had before in deſpight ſhamefully abuſed againſt nature. Yea *Solyman* himſelf and *Mahomet* the great Baſſa, with the Berglerbeg of *Grecia*, followed alſo after *Bajazet*, though it were a far off. This his departure grieved *Solyman* above meaſure, aſſuring himſelf (as the truth was) that he was fled into *Perſia*; wherewith he was ſo much moved, that he could ſcarcely contain himſelf, but would needs have gone with all his power in all haſt againſt the Perſian, to have terrified him at hand from relieving his rebellious Son. But theſe his raging fits his grave Counſellors moderated, by declaring unto him what danger he ſhould adventure himſelf unto, by reaſon of the doubtful faith of his beſt Souldiers. And what if *Bajazet* (as he was a deſperate and ſuddain Man) ſhould in the mean time turn about above *Pontus* and the Fens of *Meotis*, and ſo fetching a compaſs come to *Conſtantinople*, and proclaiming a general liberty in his abſence, poſſeſs himſelf of the Empire. By which wholeſome perſwaſion *Solyman* ſtaid his ſo haſty a Journy; but *Bajazet* all the way as he went, writ upon the the Gates and Doors, That he would give double pay to all ſuch as ſhould follow him; which cauſed *Solymans* Captains to have their own Souldiers in diſtruſt, and the more for that they might oftentimes hear amongſt them, ſpeeches of great good will and love towards *Bajazet*.

The eager purſuit of the Baſſaes and Sanzacks.

After long flying, he was at length come to the River *Araxis*, which ſeparated the Turks Kingdom from the Perſian; which having paſſed over, and yet not ſo in ſafety, he left certain of his Followers upon the Bank of the River to keep the Sanzacks (who ſtill eagerly purſued him) from paſſing over; whom the Sanzacks eaſily repulſed, and ſo paſſing the River, entred a great way into the Perſian Kingdom, until ſuch time as that they were met withal by certain of the Nobility of *Perſia* with great Troops of Horſemen; who demanding of them what they meant, and what they ſought for in another Mans Kingdom,

dom, were anſwered by the Turks, That they purſued their Kings fugitive Son. To whom the Perſians replied, That they did not well, contrary to the League with their Lord and Maſter, to come in Arms beyond the Bounds of their own Kingdom; and that there was a ſtrong League between King *Tamas* and *Solyman* which it behoved them to regard; as for *Bajazet*, their King would conſider what was convenient for him to do, and not in that point forget himſelf; in the mean time they ſhould do well to get them out of that Country wherein they had nothing to do. Whereupon the Turks forthwith left this purſuit and retired.

Bajazet *well entertained by the Perſian King.*

Tamas *the Perſian King in fear of* **Bajazet.**

But by and by came Meſſengers from the Perſian King to *Bajazet* to ſalute him, and to demand the cauſe of his coming, and alſo to ſee what ſtrength he brought with him; which as ſome account was about twenty thouſand. To whom *Bajazet* declared, That he by his Brothers injuries and Fathers hard dealing, driven out of his Country, was fled unto the ſacred Majeſty of the Perſian King, as his moſt aſſured refuge, who, as he well hoped, in compaſſion of Mans inſtability, would not reject him ſo diſtreſſed, and otherwiſe deſtitute of all help. Whereunto the Perſian replied, That he had done very unwiſely to come unto him that was in League and Amity with his Father; whereof one condition was, That they ſhould account the Enemies of the one, the Enemies of the other; and the Friends of the one, the Friends of the other. Which Law to break, he accounted a thing utterly unlawful; nevertheleſs ſeeing the matter was ſo faln out, he was welcome as unto his Friend, who in his behalf would leave nothing unattempted to reconcile him to his Father, which he deſpaired not to bring to paſs. So *Bajazet* meeteth with the Perſian King, but in an evil hour, although at their firſt meeting there was great welcome, friendly countenance, chearful looks, mutual kindneſs, often conference, and great feaſting one of another; things whereby the ſecret thoughts of hollow hearts are beſt concealed; there was alſo a motion made of a ſtraighter bond of alliance, and one of the Perſian Kings Daughters promiſed to *Orchanes* one of *Bajazets* Sons; and he put in hope that the Perſian King would never reſt in quiet, until *Solyman* had made him Governour either of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylon*, or *Erzirum* (which Governments were by the Perſians greatly extolled) and that he might there live without fear of his Brother, far from him and his Father alſo; where if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than well, he might have his Brother the Perſian King a ſure refuge to retire unto, and ſo ſafe from all danger. Which ſpeeches were happily given out, of purpoſe to avert *Bajazet* his thoughts from the feeling of the preſent danger; who ſeemed unto himſelf ſo aſſured of the love and friendſhip of *Tamas* the Perſian King, that at ſuch time as he ſent his Embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, for a reconciliation to be made between *Solyman* and him (as was commonly ſuppoſed) he willed the ſame Embaſſador to tell his Father, that he had loſt a Father at *Conſtantinople*, and found another in *Perſia*. But whether the Perſian delt ſincerely in this behalf for *Bajazet* by his Embaſſadors, which where many, may well be doubted. Like it is, that there was more fained ſhew of double diligence, than of true meaning therein; and the rather to feel the mind of *Solyman*, than to do any good to the poor diſtreſſed Prince; and the rather, for that in the mean time all things were ſeriouſly plotted that might tend to his deſtruction. Which were no ſooner grown to their full ripeneſs, but there was of purpoſe a motion made, That ſuch a multitude as followed this young Prince lay ſo cloſe together, that there was not in one place Victual ſufficient for them, and that it was therefore more convenient to have them billited in the Country thereabouts; which would be more commodious, as well for the better victualling of them, as for divers other purpoſes alſo. Truth was, that *Tamas* the Perſian King, far unlike his noble Father *Iſmael*, ſtood in doubt leſt he brought up a Serpent in his Boſom. Yet there were many which thought, that it was not the Perſians mind at firſt to have deſtroyed *Bajazet*, but to have been thereunto enforced by the practice of ſome of his Familiars and Followers; who not regarding the courteſie of the Perſian King, nor the Laws of Hoſpitality, perſwaded *Bajazet* to thruſt him out of his Kingdom; whereof there was many evident Tokens. And among other things it was told King *Tamas*, that one of *Bajazets* chief Captains ſhould ſay, What mean we? Why ſtay we to kill this heritical King, and to poſſeſs his Kingdom? For we ſhall no doubt by his Treachery all come to deſtruction. And that upon ſuch occaſion the King was conſtrained to condeſcend to a device more neceſſary than honourable. *Bajazet* had no great power, but moſt of them were valiant Men, and Souldiers of great experience, ready to adventure upon any thing; of whom the Perſian not without cauſe ſtood in ſome fear. He knew his Kingdom to be neither ancient nor yet well aſſured, as gotten by his Father by the counterfeit ſhew of a reformed Religion; and who could aſſure him, but that amongſt ſo many Nations over whom he Lorded, that there were many weary of the preſent State, and ſo deſirous of novelties? Unto whom nothing could chance more fitting than the coming of *Bajazet*, a noble and valiant young Gentleman; and that more was, deſperately ſet; that as yet he himſelf might of right rather ſeemed in the power of his Gueſt, than he in his; and that therefore he was to alter the matter, and not longer to entertain him as his Gueſt, but to coupe him up as a moſt dangerous wild Beaſt. Which to do, the eaſieſt way was to diſperſe his power, and ſo to take him unawares; for that he could not without much Bloodſhed be openly taken in the midſt of his ſtrength, eſpecially by the dainty Perſian, of long time not uſed to War, and as yet not come together; againſt *Bajazets* Souldiers, Men of great activity and experience. So was the matter cunningly imparted unto him for the diſperſing of his Forces, and all the Commodites to enſue thereof alledged; which *Bajazet* might not well gainſay, although many of his wiſe Followers (Men of great reach) did ſhrewdly ſuſpect the ſequel. But what could he refuſe, upon whom neceſſity lay ſo heavy? Where no other hope was left? Where he lived as it pleaſed another Man; and that again too, where once to doubt of the fidelity of his Hoaſt, might be imputed to him for the greateſt Treachery? So theſe moſt valiant Souldiers, the poor Princes faithful Followers, never again to ſee one another, are diſperſed into divers Country Villages, and beſtowed where the Perſians thought good. Not many days after, at a time pickt out for the purpoſe, they in number few, and diſperſed in a ſtrange Country, were encloſed by many and ſlain; their Horſes, Armor, Apparel, and whatſoever elſe, became a prey unto the Murtherers. At the ſame inſtant was *Bajazet* and his Sons caſt in Bonds alſo, and that to his greater grief as many report, taken as he was ſitting merrily at Dinner at the Kings Table. The Perſian King ſeemed to have fore-

Bajazet *his Followers diſperſed and ſlain.*

Bajazet *impriſoned.*

foreſeen much in this his hard dealing with *Bajazet*; as if that he, being a valiant and couragious young Prince, and much better Souldier than his Brother, ſhould have ſucceeded his Father in his Empire, much trouble and peril might have grown thereby, both to himſelf and his Kingdom; and that it ſtood far better with the ſafety of his Eſtate, that *Selymus* (a Man wholly given to voluptuouſneſs and eaſe) ſhould reign over the Turks; in whoſe time he might as it were promiſe unto himſelf all peace and ſecurity; and therefore it was thought that he would never let *Bajazet* go alive out of his hand, but rather make him away in Priſon, as if he had there died for melancholy and grief. Well he was aſſured, that after he had ſlain his Followers, and impriſoned himſelf and his Sons, he would never be Friends with him that had ſo notably wronged him. *Bajazet* thus ſhamefully impriſoned, Meſſengers ran continually too and fro betwixt the two old Princes *Solyman* and *Tamas*. Amongſt the reſt, the Perſian King ſent a ſolemn Embaſſador unto the Turk with Preſents, namely curious Tents, coſtly Carpets, an Alcoran containing the Myſteries of their Superſtition, and certain ſtrange Beaſts. The cauſe of his coming was pretended to be for a reconciliation to be made between *Solyman* and his Son; which Embaſſador was honourably entertained and feaſted by the great Baſſaes. Now was poor *Bajazet* in ſmall hope of life, his cruel Father ſtill craving to have him delivered into his hands to be ſlain; and the Perſian yet denying to deliver him, and ſeeming to defend him, but not (as was thought) altogether faithfully. *Solyman* left no means unattempted to have wrung him from the Perſian, ſometimes he ſpake him fair, putting him in mind of his League, wherein it was agreed, That they ſhould both have the ſame Friends and the ſame Enemies; otherwhile he terrified him with great words, and denouncing of War, except he would deliver him his Son; he furniſhed with ſtrong Garriſons all the Frontiers of his Dominion towards *Perſia*, he filled all *Meſopotamia* and the Banks of the River *Euphrates* with Souldiers, eſpecially with them of his own Guard, and ſuch as he had before uſed in the Battel againſt *Bajazet*; over whom commanded *Mehemet* Baſſa the third of the Viſier Baſſaes, and *Selymus* the Beglerbeg of *Grece* (for *Selymus* was ſoon weary of the Field, and ſo betime returned home;) he alſo incited the Georgian People to take up Arms againſt the Perſians; who wiſely anſwered, That they had not ſuch confidence in their own ſtrength, as to provoke King *Tamas*; but let *Solyman* himſelf come with his Army, and when they ſaw him preſent in the Field, then they knew what they had to do, and that he ſhould then well ſee that they wanted neither diſcretion nor valour. And becauſe he would leave nothing unproved, he made ſhew as if he would in perſon himſelf have gon to *Aleppo* in *Syria*, and ſo have on that ſide invaded the Perſian; neither was the Perſian King altogether out of fear, having to his coſt many times proved what *Solyman* was able to do. But the unwillingneſs of the Souldiers, and their minds altogether eſtranged from that War, eaſily ſtaied the raging Turk; they deteſted that War, and forſook their Enſigns, a great number of whom (eſpecially Horſemen) without leave of their Captains returned to *Conſtantinople*; and being commanded again to the Camp, went indeed, but with ſuch countenance and chear as well declared how they were affected, and what they would do if occaſion ſerved for them to revolt.

The Perſian King ſendeth Embaſſadors with Preſents to Solyman.

For which cauſe, after that *Solyman* perceived that *Bajazet* could not alive be got from the Perſian (excuſing himſelf by fear of revenge by him whom he had ſo grievouſly offended, if he ſhould by any means eſcape) he thought it beſt to follow that which was next, and to have him there ſlain; which he was in good hope to compaſs, and the rather, for that the Perſian had but lately written unto him, That he could not but much marvel to ſee him deal ſo ſlenderly in a matter of ſo great importance; That he on his part had ſent him divers Embaſſadors; and that he on the other ſide had ſent him nothing but common Meſſengers with Papers, which cauſed him to think that he made no great account of the matter; wherefore he ſhould do well to ſend unto him Men of account and place, with whom he might confer and conclude alſo according to the weightineſs and exigence of the cauſe; beſides that, he was (as he ſaid) not a little in his debt, for that *Bajazet* and his Followers had been unto him no ſmall charge before he could get him into his power; all which it were good reaſon he ſhould have conſideration of. Whereby *Solyman* perceived that Mony was the thing the Perſian King ſought after; and therefore rather than he would in an unfit time of his life intangle himſelf in a dangerous and unneceſſary War, he determined by the counſel of his Baſſaes, rather with Mony than with the Sword to fight with the Perſian King. Hereupon was *Haſſan Aga* (one of the chief Gentlemen of his Chamber) appointed Embaſſador into *Perſia*, with whom was joyned the Baſſa of *Maras*, a Man both for his age and place, reverend; who departing with a large Commiſſion almoſt in the depth of Winter, with great ſpeed and wonderful toil by thoſe long and difficult ways, arrived at laſt at *Casbin* the Seat of the Perſian King, having by the way loſt divers of their Servants and Followers. Being come to the Court, the firſt thing they deſired was to ſee *Bajazet*, whom they found ſhut up in a cloſe Priſon, pale and wan as a Man forlorn, with his Hair and Beard ſo long and overgrown, as that he was not to be known before he was new Trimmed, which done, then appeared the lively reſemblance of his wonted countenance and favour, ſo that *Haſſan* verily knew him to be him, for he had been brought up with him of a Child in the Court, and for this cauſe eſpecially had *Solyman* ſent him thither to be aſſured that it was he. At length after long diſcourſe and conference between the King and the Embaſſadors, it was agreed upon, that the King ſhould receive from *Solyman* full recompence of all the charges he had been at, and of the harms by him ſuſtained ſince the coming of *Bajazet* into *Perſia*, with ſuch further reward as ſo great a good turn deſerved; which things performed, that then it ſhould be in *Solymans* power to have *Bajazet* made away. With this news *Haſſan* poſteth to his Maſter at *Conſtantinople*, who forthwith cauſed the promiſed Reward, together with ſuch charges as the Perſian King demanded, to be made ready, and with a ſafe convoy to be ſent unto the Borders of *Perſia*, where they were of the Perſians received. Preſently after returneth *Haſſan* the appointed Executioner of the unfortunate *Bajazet*; for ſo *Solyman* had ſtraitly charged him to ſtrangle him with his own hands. Which thing this new made Hangman accordingly performed, and with a Bow-ſtring ſtrangled the unfortunate Prince; who is reported to have requeſted of the Executioner, that he might but ſee his Children before he died, and take of them his laſt farewel; which poor requeſt could not be granted, but he forthwith commanded to die. This was the woful

The cauſe why the Perſian King would by no means let Bajazet *go out of his hand.*

The miſerable eſtate of Bajazet.

The agreement between the Perſian King and Solyman *for the deſtruction of* Bajazet.

Bajazet and his four Sons ſtrangled.

ful end of the unlucky attempt of *Bajazet*, a Prince of far more worth than was *Selymus* his Brother, who in ſeeking to ſhun the death he feared, haſted the ſame before his time. Such as was the Fathers end, was alſo the end of his four Sons, *Omer*, *Amurat*, *Selym*, and *Muhamet*; of whom the three eldeſt were ſtrangled at *Casbin* with their Father, whoſe dead Bodies together with his, were ſolemnly brought to *Sebaſtia* and there buried. The youngeſt but new born left at *Amaſia*, and ſent by his Grandfather to *Pruſa* (as is before ſaid) to be there nurſed, was now upon the death of his Father commanded by his ſaid Grandfather to be ſtrangled alſo. The Eunuch ſent by *Solyman* to have done the deed, and loth to do it himſelf took with him one of the Porters of the Court, a deſperate and otherwiſe a hard hearted Ruffian, a Man thought fit to have performed any villany; he coming into the Chamber where the Child lay, and fitting the Bow-ſtring to the Childs Neck to have ſtrangled him, the innocent Babe ſmiling upon him, and lifting it ſelf up as well as it could, with open Arms offered to have embraced the Villain about the Neck and kiſſed him. Which guiltleſs ſimplicity ſo wounded the ſtony hearted Man, that he was not able to perform the intended butchery of the poor ſimple Child, but fell down in a ſwoun and there lay for dead. The Eunuch ſtanding without the Door marvelling at his long ſtay, goes in, and finding the Ruffian lying along upon the ground, with cruel hand performed that the other could not find in his heart to do, and ſo ſtrangled the guiltleſs Child as had been given him in charge. Whereby it evidently appeared, that it was not the mercy or compaſſion of *Solyman* that ſo long cauſed the guiltleſs Infant to be ſpared, but rather the opinion generally received amongſt the Turks, who meaſuring all things by the good or bad ſucceſs, refer all things that fall out well, unto God as the Author thereof, be they never ſo ungraciouſly begun; and therefore ſo long as it was yet uncertain what ſucceſs the attempts of *Bajazet* would have, *Solyman* ſpared the Infant, left upon his Fathers good hap he might ſeem to have ſtriven againſt the will of God. But now that his Father was dead, and his quarrel by the evil ſucceſs thereof condemned as it were by the ſentence of the Almighty, he thought it not good longer to ſuffer him to live, left of an evil Bird might come an evil Chick. I had ſometime (ſaith the Reporter of this Hiſtory) great reaſoning with my Chiaus about this matter; for falling into talk with him of *Bajazet*, he began bitterly to inveigh againſt him for taking up Arms againſt his Brother. Whereunto (ſaith this Author) I replied, That in mine opinion he was worthy both to be pittied and pardoned, for as much as he was of neceſſity enforced either to take up Arms, or elſe ſhortly after to yield himſelf to the ſlaughter. But he ſtill exclaiming againſt him, I ſaid unto him, You blame poor *Bajazet* of great wickedneſs for bearing Arms againſt his Brother; but *Selymus Solymans* Father you blame not, who upon like occaſion took up Arms both againſt his Father and his Brethren; yet he therein did nothing amiſs, nor in your judgment blame worthy. And rightly, (ſaith the Chiaus) for the event of the matter ſheweth ſufficiently, that that which he did was done by the appointment of God, and that he was from Heaven predeſtinated thereunto; whereas in *Bajazet* the event ſheweth the clean contrary. So that which falleth out well, be it by never ſo wicked means compaſſed or brought to paſs, they take it as done according to the will of God; but if it fall out otherwiſe, they judge it as a thing condemned by God himſelf; depending wholly upon the good or bad event of things, and therefore judging them to be well done, or otherwiſe.

The rare force of innocency.

1558. Charles *the Emperor reſigneth the Empire to his* Brother Ferdinand, *and ſhortly after dieth.*

This year 1558, *Charles* the Fifth that noble Emperor (of whom we have in the courſe of this Hiſtory ſo often ſpoken) who weary of the World, had two years before delivered all his hereditary Kingdoms and Principalities to his Son *Philip*, did now the twenty fourth of *February*, on which day he was born, by his Embaſſadors ſolemnly ſent for that purpoſe, reſign that Empire with all the Honours and Titles thereof unto his Brother King *Ferdinand*, requeſting the Princes Electors to confirm the ſame unto him, which they did the thirteenth of *March* next following. So living as a private Gentleman in that ſolitary life whereunto he had to the wonder of the World certain years before retired himſelf from all worldly Affairs, the one and twentieth day of *September* following died of a Fever, when he had lived eight and fifty years, and thereof reigned thirty nine; a Man no doubt to be worthily accounted amongſt the greateſt Chriſtian Emperors that lived before him. About which time alſo died his two Siſters, *Mary* the Queen of *Hungary*, and *Elenor* the French Queen, both Ladies of great Honour.

1559. *The Chriſtian Princes ſet out a Fleet for the recovery of* Tripolis *in* Barbary.

The Knights of *Malta*, who of long had been Suitors to the great Biſhop and the King of *Spain*, for the recovery of *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, about nine years before taken from them by the Turks; at which time they alſo ſurpriſed the Iſland of *Zerbi* upon the Coaſt of *Barbary* betwixt *Tripolis* and *Tunes*, from whence they much troubled the Chriſtians travelling by thoſe Seas; had now at length ſo much prevailed, that the King commanded a great Fleet to be now forthwith made ready in *September* in the year 1559, to meet together in *Sicilia*, and from thence to go directly againſt the Enemy by *Malta*. Unto which Fleet, the great Biſhop, the Duke of *Florence*, and the Knights of *Malta*, with many other valian Men out of divers parts of Chriſtendom, joyned their Forces alſo; ſo that at length there was a hundred Gallies and Ships met together under the conduct of *Andreas Gonzaga* the General. But whilſt this Fleet from divers places was long in coming thither, the Duke of *Medina Celi* came before with part of the Fleet to *Malta*, and in the Haven of *Marza Moxet* expected the coming of the reſt, who about the end of the year came thither. But whilſt they were wintered expecting the Spring, many of the Souldiers fell ſick and died. At length the time of the year fit for their ſetting forward being come, the Captains conſulted among themſelves, Whether they ſhould firſt ſet upon *Tripolis*, or the Iſland of *Zerbi*, otherwiſe called *Mening*; The Knights of *Malta* being of opinion, that it were better firſt to beſiege *Tripolis*, and that with all ſpeed, before *Dragut* ſhould come thither to furniſh it with Souldiers and Proviſion. Others thought it better firſt to invade the Iſland of *Zerbi*, where the Army might be relieved with plenty of all things neceſſary, and from whence they might at all times of danger in ſafety retire, and from thence afterward as time ſhould ſerve, to go to *Tripolis*. Which unfortunate counſel was by the greater part agreed upon: Wherefore in *Februnary* the year following they departed from *Malta*, and ſailed directly to *Zerbi*. In the mean time *Dragut* the moſt famous Pyrate of that time amongſt the Turks, and Governour of *Tripolis*, was come thither with eight hundred of the Turks Janizaries, and had notably ſtrengthned the City with Men, Victual,

1560. *The Chriſtian Fleet arriveth at the Iſland of* Zerbi.

The Caſtle of Zerbi *taken by the Chriſtians.*

Pial *Baſſa* Solymans *Admiral ſent to remove the Chriſtians out of* Zerbi.

and new Fortifications; and preſently ſent Meſſengers to *Solyman* at *Conſtantinople*, to certifie him of the arrival of the Chriſtian Fleet in *Africk*. But the Chriſtians coming to the Iſland of *Zerbi*, were at the firſt landing encountred by the Moors, whom they repulſed, and ſo at pleaſure landed. This Iſland is not far from the Main, here and there full of Bogs and Mariſhes, other River hath it none, and in the midſt is ſomewhat Hilly. It was inhabited with about thirty thouſand Men, which dwelt in low Cottages, ſimply apparelled; yet is the Iſland reaſonably fertil, yielding Dates, Olives, Barley, Mill, and ſuch like. When the Chriſtians were there landed, they ſent for *Caravanus* a poor King amongſt the Moors (from whom *Dragut* had before taken that Iſland) to uſe his counſel for their better proceeding in that War. In the mean time they agreed with eight thouſand Men to beſiege the ſtrongeſt Caſtle in the Iſland; in going whereunto, the Spaniards went foremoſt, the Germans next, and laſt of all the Italians. By the way as they went they light upon ten thouſand Moors which lay in ambuſh in a Wood, to have upon the ſuddain ſet upon them unawares; but being diſcovered, and ſeven hundred of them ſlain in skirmiſh by the Spaniards, the reſt fled. So coming to the Caſtle they planted their Battery, and laid hard Siege unto it. The Captain of the Caſtle finding himſelf too weak long to hold out, fled ſecretly with his Turks, leaving the Caſtle for the Moors to defend; who upon condition that they might in ſafety depart, yielded the Caſtle to the Spaniards; for keeping whereof, *Varona* and *Cerda* two Spaniſh Captains were there left with their Companies. Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Caravanus* the Moor King came to the Camp of the Chriſtians and there talked with the General; in whoſe hoary Countenance reſted a reverend Majeſty; his Apparel was after the Moors faſhion of white Linnen, with him came alſo the King of *Tunes* his Son. In talking with the General his manner was to ſit flat upon the Ground, and wiſely diſcourſed how the Turks were to be removed out of *Africk*. But in the midſt of theſe diſcourſes, when ſuch a thing was leaſt feared, ſuddainly a Pinnace brought news from Sea, That *Pial* Baſſa the Turks great Admiral was coming thither with a great Fleet of eighty five Gallies, and that more were daily repairing unto him on every ſide. Which was indeed true; for *Solyman* underſtanding from *Dragut* the Arch-Pyrat, that Iſland to be by the Chriſtians now poſſeſſed and fortified, thought it not (in his ſo great power and flouriſhing Eſtate) to ſtand with his honour to ſuffer, but rather to give aid unto the Moors of that Iſland, a people agreeing in Religion with himſelf, and therefore commanded *Pial* Baſſa his Admiral to take in hand that expedition. Who thereupon rigged up a great Fleet well appointed and ſtrongly manned with a number of the Turks beſt and moſt approved Souldiers, as well Janizaries as others, yet all both doubtful and fearful of the long Journy, as alſo of the fame of the Enemies with whom they were to encounter; for why, the Turks had conceived a great opinion of the valour of the Spaniards, as knowing great Wars both of ancient and later times to have been by that Nation (to the immortal praiſe thereof) moſt happily performed; they remembred *Charles* the fifth, and daily heard much of King *Philip*, the Heir both of his Fathers Vertues and Kingdoms; which made them ſo careful, that many of them before their ſetting forth (as in times of greateſt danger) made their Wills, and ſo departed from *Conſtantinople*, taking their leave of their Friends, as if they ſhould never have thither returned again. So that all the City was in a confuſed fear; neither was there any Man, whether he went or ſtaid, that hung not in ſuſpence with the doubtful expectation of the event of that War. Howbeit *Pial* with his great Fleet, with long ſailing and a proſperous Wind was at length come welnear as far as *Malta*, and knowledge thereof (as aforeſaid) given unto the Chriſtian Fleet at *Zerbi*. With which unexpected news the Chriſtians there were not a little troubled; nevertheleſs they fortified the Caſtle with new Fortifications and Bulwarks, and fell to agreement with the principal Man amongſt the Moors of the Iſland, (who commanded the reſt, and had before pluckt down the Enſigns of *Dragut*, and ſet up the King of *Spains*) that he ſhould yearly pay unto the King of *Spain* (as he had before unto *Dragut*) ſix thouſand Crowns, one Camel, four Oſtriches, four Sparrow-Hawks, and four blew Falcons; a Tribute fit for ſuch an Iſland.

Part of the Chriſtian Fleet oppreſſed at Zerbi *by the ſuddain coming of the Turks.*

But ſhortly after, *viz.* the ninth of *May*, the Great Maſter of *Malta* by another Pinnance gave the Chriſtians at *Zerbi* again to underſtand, That the Turks Fleet was even now at hand, and already departed from the Iſland of *Gozo*, well appointed and ſtrongly manned; and that therefore he adviſed them with ſpeed to hoiſe Sail, and to get them to ſome place of more ſafety, or elſe to come to him to *Malta*, for fear of being by ſo great a power of the Turks ſuddainly oppreſſed. Whereupon *John Andreas Auria* the Admiral ſent unto the General, requeſting him to come aboord, that ſo they might before the coming of the Turks Fleet, retire themſelves to ſome place of more aſſurance. But he for all that ſtaied ſtill at the Caſtle, where the Chriſtians had built four ſtrong Bulwarks; whereof they had named one *Auria's*, another *Gonzaga's*, the third the Viceroys, and the fourth the Knights, not yet all perfectly finiſhed; as for the Caſtle it ſelf they called it *Philip-Alcazer*, by the name of the King. But whilſt the General is thus buſie, and vainly hopeth to keep both the Caſtle and his Ships, he the next day deſcrying from far the coming of the Turks great Fleet, haſted with the Admiral to be gon; and putting twice to Sea, was both times by a contrary Wind driven again into the Haven, ſo that he and the Admiral had much ado in time to get them into the Caſtle; for the Wind was ſo favourable for the Turks, and brought them ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians diſmayed with their ſuddain coming, knew not now well what to do, or which way to turn themſelves. But by good hap, the greater part of the Ships and fourteen Gallies were got out and gon the night before, and the Great Maſter had in *April* called home his Gallies, wherewith and ten others of his own he afterwards defended the Frontiers of his Iſland. As for the reſt of the Fleet that ſtaied for the General and the Admiral, ſome few Gallies eſcaped by flight, other ſome ran themſelves a ground, ten of which were preſently taken by the Turks, as were the reſt alſo that were left, although they for a while did what they might to have ſaved themſelves. The night following, the Viceroy and the Admiral ſecretly ſtole out of the Caſtle, and ſo by good Fortune in two ſmall Frigots fled to *Malta*. *Caravanus* alſo the Moor King, with the Prince of *Tunes*, got them away into the Main. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy departing from *Malta* into *Sicilia*, provided as he might for the ſafety of that Country. *Auria* in the mean time gathered together the remainder of the diſperſed Fleet, having loſt in this unfortunate expedition ſeventeen Gallies, with a great part of the Ships.

Now

The Caſtle of Zerbi beſieged by the Turks.

Don Alvarus with the reſt of the chief Commanders taken Priſoners.

The Caſtle of Zerbi yielded unto the Turks.

Now in the Caſtle was left as General, *Don Alvarus de Sandes*, a valiant Gentleman of great ſpirit and long experience, with five thouſand Footmen, ſome Germans, ſome Italians, but for the moſt part Spaniards; beſides a thouſand other that were no Souldiers. So that the Turks beginning to beſiege the ſame the ſeventeenth of *May*, were by them many times notably encountred, and in their aſſaults repulſed. Unto this Siege at length came *Dragut* the Pyrat, who with fifteen great Pieces which he brought with him from *Tripolis*, encreaſed the fury of the Turks Battery. Neither were the Chriſtians in the mean time wanting unto themſelves, having in the Caſtle forty great Pieces of Artillery, wherewith they ſlew a number of the Turks and Moors; and ſometimes ſallying out, fought with them hand to hand; and having ſlain and wounded many, retired again into the Caſtle. In this manner the Siege continued three Months with many an hot and deſperate skirmiſh; during which time, nothing more troubled the Defendants than Thirſt in that hot and dry Climate and intemperate time of the year; for why, in the Caſtle there was but one great Ciſtern, which although it yielded ſome good ſtore of Water, yet was it not enough to ſuffice ſo great a multitude, but was by meaſure ſtill ſparingly given out to the Souldiers ſo far as it would ſerve, no Man having more allowed him than would ſuffice to keep him alive; the quantity whereof ſome augmented by diſtilling of the Sea Water, and mingling it with their allowance; and ſo well eaſed their thirſt, until ſuch time as having ſpent all their Wood, they wanted that poor help alſo. There might a Man have ſeen many poor Souls lying upon the ground half dead, gaping and ſtill crying out nothing but Water, Water; in whoſe dry Mouths, if any Man upon compaſſion vouchſafed to pour a little Water, they as Men revived therewith would preſently ſit up, until that for thirſt they fell down again, and ſo at length as Men roaſted gave up the Ghoſt. Thus many died daily, beſide them whom the chance of War and other Diſeaſes without help conſumed in ſo great a diſtreſs. *Don Alvarus* the Governour conſidering the great extremity they were now brought unto, attempted with *Don Sanchius de Leyva* Admiral of the Neapolitan Gallies, *Belingerius de Requeſenes* Admiral of the Sicilian Gallies, and ſome others, by night to have eſcaped away into a Gally which lay under the Caſtle, but in doing thereof were perceived by the Turks, and ſo all taken. Whereupon ſuch Souldiers as ſickneſs and the Enemies Sword had yet left alive, pinched with extream neceſſity, forſaken of their beſt Captains, and out of all hope of relief alſo, covenanting for their lives only with the Enemy, yielded themſelves into moſt miſerable Captivity. In this unfortunate expedition periſhed about eighteen thouſand Chriſtians, ſome with ſickneſs, ſome drowned, but moſt ſlain, beſide the loſs of a great part of the Fleet alſo.

The Turks with Victory return to Conſtantinople.

* Augerius Busbequius Epiſt. 4 legationis Turcicæ.

The miſery of the Chriſtian Captives.

Of this Victory *Pial* ſent news by one of his Gallies to *Conſtantinople*, which for the more manifeſting thereof, dragged at the Poop thereof a great Enſign of the Chriſtians, with the Picture of Chriſt Crucified therein. Which was no ſooner come into the Haven, but that the rumor of the overthrow of the Chriſtians was forthwith blown through the whole City, the Turks exceedingly rejoycing one with another for the news of ſo great a Victory; yea many of them not ſo contented, came by heaps to the Gate of the Houſe where the Emperor *Ferdinands* Embaſſador lay, and there meeting with his Servants, by way of deriſion asked them, if they had any Brethren, Kinſmen, or Friends, in the Spaniſh Fleet at *Zerbi*, for if you have (ſaid they) you ſhall ſhortly ſee them here. Beſides that, they with many words moſt inſolently bragged of their own Valour, and ſcorned the Cowardiſe of the Chriſtians; asking, who were able to withſtand them, now that the Spaniard was alſo overcome? All which with much more the Embaſſadors Men with great grief were enforced to hear, but there was no remedy, ſeeing God had ſo appointed it. Shortly after, in *September*, the victorious Fleet returned to *Conſtantinople*, dragging with it the Priſoners, Spoils, and Gallies of the Chriſtians, a ſight no leſs pleaſant unto the Turks, than heavy unto the Chriſtians; and that night it lay at Anchor near unto the Rocks in the face of the City, with the greater Pomp and Glory to come the next day into the Haven. At which time *Solyman* himſelf was come down into a Gallery near unto the Havens Mouth, adjoyning unto his Garden, the better to ſee the coming in of the Fleet, and the Chriſtian Captains ſet there to ſhew upon the Poop of the Admiral Galley, namely, *Don Alvarus de Sandes*, *Don Sanchius de Leyva*, *Don Billingerus de Requeſenes*, all of late great Commanders; as for the Chriſtian Gallies all diſarmed and unrigged, ſo to ſeem the more contemptible in compariſon of the Turks, they were towed at the Tail of the Turks Gallies. They which then ſaw *Solymans* countenance, perceived not in him any ſign at all of any inſolent joy. I my ſelf (ſaith * *Busbequius*, then the Emperor *Ferdinands* Embaſſador there) ſaw him two days after going to the Church with the ſame countenance he had always, with the ſame ſeverity and gravity, as if this Victory had nothing concerned him, nor any thing chanced ſtrange or unexpected; ſo capable was the great Heart of that old Sire, of any Fortune, were it never ſo great; and his mind ſo ſetled, as to receive ſo great applauſe and rejoycing without moving. Within a few days after, the Chriſtian Captives (before almoſt ſtarved with Hunger) were brought to the Court; many of whom could ſcarce ſtand upon their Legs, ſome others for weakneſs fell down and fainted, and otherſome died outright; they were all ſcornfully led in Triumph, with their Arms diſordered and ſcornfully put upon them; the Turks in the mean time inſulting round about them, promiſing unto themſelves the Empire of the whole World; and vainly asking, What Enemy they were to fear, now that the Spaniard was overcome? *Alvarus Sandes*, as chief of all the Priſoners, being brought into the *Divano* before the Viſier Baſſaes, and demanded by *Ruſtan* Baſſa, What his Maſter meant, being not able to defend his own, to invade other Mens? anſwered, That it beſeemed not him to judge thereon; and himſelf to have done but his Duty, with ſuch faithfulneſs as was meet to put in execution what he was commanded by his Lord, although he had no good Fortune therein. After that, he beſought the Baſſaes upon his Knee, to ſpeak for him unto *Solyman*, for that he had at home a poor Wife, with certain ſmall Children, for whom he requeſted him to ſpare him. Whereunto *Ruſtan* Baſſa (contrary to his manner) courteouſly anſwered, his Sovereign to be of a mild and gentle Nature, and that he was in good hope his Pardon might be of him obtained; ſo was he commanded away unto *Caradines* his Caſtle, towards the Black Sea. But he was not gone far, but that he was called back again; for that the great Chamberlain, a Man in great credit with *Solyman*, had not as yet ſeen him; for which cauſe he was ſent for back again; wherewith he was not a little troubled, fearing leſt the Baſſaes having changed their minds, would have put him to death. The reſt of the Captives of the better ſort were committed to the Caſtle of *Pera*, and amongſt them, *Don Sanchius de Leyva*, with his two baſe Sons, and alſo *Don Billingerus Requeſenes*; which two great Men, with *Don Alvarus de Sandes*, were nevertheleſs afterwards with much ado and almoſt beyond all hope, at the requeſt of the Emperor, and by the dexterity of his Embaſſador, by *Solyman* ſet at liberty; although he had before denied them unto *Salviat* the French Kings Embaſſador, who had been an earneſt interceſſor for them. Yet before they were delivered out of Priſon, the Mufti or Turks great Prieſt was asked his opinion, Whether it were lawful, for a greater number of Turks to exchange a few Chriſtian Captives (for the Embaſſador beſide the Rewards he had promiſed unto the Baſſaes, to further the matter, had alſo undertaken, that forty common Priſoners of the Turks ſhould be ſet at liberty for them) whereunto the Mufti anſwered, That the Doctors of their Law were of divers opinions concerning that queſtion, ſome ſaying that it was lawful, and ſome not; howbeit as then it was by him reſolved upon, unto the more favourable part, and the exchange allowed.

There were amongſt the Priſoners taken at *Zerbi*, beſides theſe Noblemen of whom we have before ſpoken, two other noble Gentlemen right honourably Born, *Don John* of *Gardona*, *Don Billinger* his Son in Law, and *Don Gaſto* the Duke of *Medina* his Son, to whom yet but a Youth, his Father nevertheleſs had given an honourable place in the Army. Of theſe two *Don John* had wiſely taken order for a great ſum of Mony to be left in the Iſland of *Chio*, by the way as the Turks Fleet went to *Conſtantinople*, from whence he afterwards in ſafety got into *Spain*. But *Gaſto* was by *Pial* Baſſa (upon hope of a great ranſom) purpoſely hid out of the way, which had like to have wrought his deſtruction; for *Solyman* having got an inckling thereof by the inſtigation of *Ruſtan*, laboured for nothing more than to have *Gaſto* found out, ſo to have a more juſt occaſion for the putting of *Pial* to death, being taken tardy in ſo manifeſt a fault. But all that labour was ſpent in vain, *Gaſto* being by death taken away, but whether by the Plague (as ſome reported) or by *Pial* his means (as it were more like) leſt the truth ſhould be found out, is uncertain. But certain it was, that being with great care ſought for by the Duke his Fathers Servants, he could never be heard of more; So that it was thought *Pial* for the ſafegard of his own life, not to have ſpared *Gaſto* his Priſoners life. Who neverthereleſs for a long time lived in great fear, and not daring to come to *Conſtantinople*, took occaſion with a few Gallies to wander about amongſt the Iſlands of *Ægeum*, as if he had there ſomething to do; but indeed ſo ſhunning the ſight of his angry Lord, for fear he ſhould have been compelled in Bonds to have anſwered the matter. Until at length he appeaſed at the requeſt of *Suleiman* Baſſa (the Eunuch and *Solymans* great Chamberlain) and of *Selymus*, *Solymans* Son, granted him his Pardon in theſe words well worth the marking, out of the Mouth of an Infidel Prince: *Well have he from me pardon and forgiveneſs for ſo great an offence; but let God the moſt juſt revenger of all villanies take of him due puniſhment after this life.* So fully he ſeemed to be perſwaded that no evil deed ought to remain without puniſhment, either in this life or in the life to come.

Pial *in diſgrace with* Solyman, *ſhunneth to come to* Conſtantinople.

There was in this expedition a Colonel of the Turks well acquainted with *Busbequius* the Emperors Embaſſador, then lying at *Conſtantinople*; into whoſe hands (in that diſcomfiture of the Chriſtians) by chance was come the Imperial Enſign of the Gallies of *Naples*; wherein within the compaſs of an Eagle, were contained the Arms of all the Provinces belonging to the Kingdom of *Spain*. Which fair Enſign the Embaſſador underſtanding him to purpoſe to give for a Preſent unto *Solyman*, thought good to prevent the matter, and to get it from him; which he eaſily obtained, by ſending him two Sutes of Silk (ſuch as the Turks make reckoning of) for it; ſo providing that one of the Imperial Enſigns of *Charles* the Fifth, ſhould not to the eternal remembrance of that overthrow, remain ſtill with the Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion. This ſo miſerable a calamity received by the Chriſtians at *Zerby*, made that Iſland, before little or nothing ſpoken of, to be ever ſince famous.

One of the Imperial Enſigns of Charles *the fifth redeemed from the Turk.*

About this time to end this unfortunate year withal, the twenty fifth day of *November* died *Andreas Auria* (that ſecond *Neptune*) being ninety four year old; a Man in his time of great fame, and of the greateſt Princes of that age had in no ſmall reputation, but eſpecially of *Charles* the Fifth, in whoſe ſervice he did much for the benefit of the Chriſtian Common-weal, being for moſt part imployed in his greateſt Wars againſt the Turks and Moors. Yet amongſt all the notable things done to his immortal Glory, the kindneſs by him ſhewed unto his native Country was greateſt; which oppreſſed by the French, he ſet at liberty; and when he might have taken upon him the ſole Government thereof (as had divers others before him) moderating his deſires, and reſpecting the only good thereof, appeaſed the great diſſention that had of long reigned therein; and eſtabliſhed ſuch a form of Government, confirmed with ſo good and wholſome Laws and Orders (no Mans liberty infringed) as that it hath ever ſince to his eternal praiſe, in great wealth, ſtate, and liberty thereby flouriſhed.

The death of the noble Andreas Auria.

The Turks the year following, with their Gallies robbed and ſpoiled divers places upon the Coaſts of *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Malta*; againſt whom *Philip* King of *Spain* ſending forth his Gallies, by force of Tempeſt loſt twenty five of them, the eighteenth day of *September*, together with *Mendoza* Admiral of that Fleet.

1561.
A great Shipwrack.

Ferdinand the Emperor, having with long ſute and much intreating obtained Peace of *Solyman*, and being now well ſtricken in years, and careful both of the State of the Empire and of the advancement of his poſterity, began to deal with the Princes Electors for a choice to be made of a King of the Romans, who after his death might without the trouble of *Germany*, ſucceed him in the Empire; commending unto them his Son *Maximilian*, a Prince of great hope, then King of *Bohemia*. Whereupon an aſſembly of the Princes Electors was appointed to be holden at *Franckford*; who there meeting at the appointed time, with general conſent the twenty fourth day of *November* in the year 1562, choſe *Maximilian* the Emperors Son King of the Romans, and with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities Crowned him; who alſo the year after was at *Presburg* the eighth of *September* with much ſolemnity Crowned King of *Hungary*. Unto this ſolemn aſſembly of the Empire at *Franckford*, *Solyman* the Turkiſh Emperor ſent *Ibrahim* Baſſa, otherwiſe called *Abraham Strozza* (a Polonian born, of whom we have before ſpoken) his Embaſſador with Preſents and

1562.
Maximilian *choſen King of the Romans and after Crowned King of* Hungary.

Solyman *by his Embaſſador confirmeth a Peace with* **Ferdinand** *the Emperor for eight years.*

and Letters to *Ferdinand* the Emperor, to confirm the Peace for eight years betwixt them before concluded; who the ſeventeenth day of *November* in preſence of the Emperor, the King of ths Romans, and all the Princes Electors, had Audience; where after much glorious Speech in ſetting forth his Maſters greatneſs, with his love towards the Emperor and his Son the new choſen King, as wiſhing unto them all happineſs, he delivered his Letters of credence unto the Emperor; the Copy whereof I have not thought amiſs here to ſet down, for that therein is notably to be ſeen the moſt inſolent Pride of that barbarous Prince, and miſerable eſtate of the rent Kingdom of *Hungary*, divided as it were at his pleaſure betwixt him and the Emperor.

Solymans *proud Letters to the Emperor* **Ferdinand.**

I the Lord of Lords, Ruler of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, who am of power to do and not to do whatſoever pleaſeth me, Lord of all Grecia, Perſia *and* Arabia, *Commander of all things which can be ſubject to King and Command; the great Worthy of theſe times, and ſtrong Champion of the moſt wide World, Lord of all the White and Black Sea, and of the holy City of* Mecha, *ſhining with the brightneſs of God, and of the City of* Medina, *and of the holy and chaſt City of* Jeruſalem, *King of the moſt noble Kingdom of* Egypt, *Lord of* Ionia, *and of the City of* Athens, Senau, *of the ſacred Temple of God,* Zebilon *and* Baſſio, Rethſan *and* Magodim, *the Seat and Throne of the great King* Naſhin Rattam, *and Lord of the Iſland of* Algiers, *Prince of the Kingdoms of* Tartary, Meſopotamia, Media, *of the Georgians,* Morea, Anatolia, Aſia, Armenia, Walachia, Moldavia, *and of all* Hungary, *and of many other Kingdoms and Territories, whereof I am Emperor; the moſt mighty Monarch Sultan* Solyman, *Son of the great Emperor Sultan* Selym, *who have power from God to rule all People with a Bridle; and ſtrength to break open the Gates and Bars of all Cities and ſtrong Places: Into whoſe mighty hand are delivered all the ends of Worlds, none excepted. I the Ruler of the Eaſt, from the Iſland of* Tſein *unto the fartheſt bounds of* Africa, *whom God hath appointed a mighty Warrior in the edge of the Sword; amongſt whoſe moſt mighty Kingdoms the impregnable Caſtle of* Ceſarea *is reputed for the leaſt, and in whoſe hereditary Dominions the Kingdom or Empire of* Alexander *the Great is accounted of as a trifle; with me is the ſtrength of the whole World and vertue of the Firmament. Foraſmuch as thou King* Ferdinand, *which art the mighty Lord of Chriſtendom, and the choſen Veſſel of the mighty Chriſtian Faith, created and elected Emperor of the Roman People, of* Bohemia, Vandalia, Crabatia, *and many other Countries King and Lord,* &c. *Not long ſince ſent unto our Court (which is the refuge of all Kings, the protection and ſanctuary of all that flie thereunto, and the Throne of Grace for all Princes of theſe times which repair unto it) one* Augerius Busbeck, *thy faithful Counſellor and Embaſſador, with Letters of conſideration, to renew with us a Peace, and to enter into a further league and bond of Amity: Which Letters bear date the year from the Prophet* Jeſu *(upon whom and our Prophet* Mahomet *reſt the brightneſs and peace of God)* 1562, *the firſt day of* June, *requeſting of us, That granting you Peace for eight years, we would not with any Hoſtility hereafter moleſt your Cities, Caſtles, Countries, or Subjects, but to ſuffer them to live in ſecure Peace and Tranquility,* &c. *Unto which your petition we anſwer you, That from henceforth for the whole ſpace of eight years ſhall be betwixt us on both parts to be continued a new, true, and firm League; of which agreement, peace, and confederation, theſe ſhall be the conditions. Firſt, That you our beloved ſhall be bound to ſend yearly to our Court as a Pledge of this League thirty thouſand Hungarian Ducats, with that remainder which you owe unto us for the two years laſt paſt; For which we promiſe unto you, that we from henceforth during this eight years League, will take no part either by way of hoſtility or friendſhip with King* Johns *Son, foraſmuch as belongeth to his hereditary Countries, whether they be in the hither part of* Hungary, *or on the further ſide of* Teiſſe: *All which for all that, by Law of Arms belong unto us. And the ſame King* Johns *Son in the time of this eight years League ſhall be alſo bound in ſuch ſort to perform unto us his obedience, as that from henceforth it ſhall not be lawful for him to uſe any War or Hoſtility againſt you, neither to trouble your Subjects with Fire or Sword, nor to ſurpriſe your Cities, Caſtles, or Towns; or by violence to take away or exact of your People or Subjects, their Sheep, their Cattel, their Goods, Mony or Revenues. We alſo our ſelves ſhall have no right, nor take occaſion to drive away your People, to burn your Countries, or carry away any Captives; but rather in this eight years ſpace religiouſly keep Peace and Concord with you. And under theſe conditions of Peace ſhall alſo be comprehended* Michael Balaſchus, Nicholas Batho, *with all their Goods and Territories, and divers other ſuch like, which ſhall be ſubject unto you and King* Johns *Son. To be brief, if happily any of yours or King* Johns *Sons Subjects ſhall have now before in time of War thruſt one another out of his Goods, Lands, or Poſſeſſions, whereof new quarrels or diſcord may ariſe; we will and decree, that all ſuch controverſies, quarrels and claims ſhall be deferred until this definite time of the League expired. Beſide, if by chance any diſſention ſhall hereafter ariſe betwixt us about our juriſdiction, which can by no means be compoſed and ordered; we will that yours ſhall in the mean remain as yours, and ours as ours; all contention and enmity ſet apart; alſo many Towns ſituate here and there by* Danubius *and* Tatta, *ſhall be ſuffered to uſe the ſame Law which they did in former time; ſo that the Souldiers which are yet in Garriſon in the Caſtle of* Tatta, *ſhall have no right to infeſt or vex theſe Towns ſituate near unto* Danubius. *Furthermore, if after this Peace concluded, any of your Noblemen or Gentlemen ſhall fortune to have any of our Noblemen by revolt or other occaſion whatſoever, Captives, they ſhall diſmiſs them and ſet them at liberty, to return unto their Friends freely without hurt or ranſom; that ſo the Concord and Peace begun betwixt us, may be the more firmly kept, and our Subjects live in more ſecurity. All and every one of theſe things we grant and promiſe to be of us from henceforth until the end of the aforeſaid eight years, without all fraud or guile religiouſly obſerved and kept; and for that purpoſe have cauſed theſe our Letters of this Peace and Confederation to be publiſhed from our Royal Palace; And moreover, have not only provided, that the Copy of the ſame ſhould together with our edict be proclaimed to all and every the Generals, Captains, Lieutenants, of our Armies both by Sea and Land, in all the parts of our Empire, and to all our mercenary Souldiers, but have alſo ſtraightly commanded, that it ſhall be firmly and ſincerely kept. We will alſo, that this agreement of Peace and Amity ſhall comprehend and concern our two chief Governours or Vayvods of* Vallachia *and* Moldavia, *ſo that none of your People of* Hungary, Crabatia, Sclavonia, *or other your Countries or Iſlands whatſoever, ſhall in any ſort be moleſted or grieved by our Subjects. And if it ſhall fortune that ſome ſhall on your part out of their Caſtles ſet upon our Subjects, or by force take away their Goods, the ſame Men ſhall in any caſe be bound to make thereof reſtitution. Alſo if any ſhall flie from us, and carry away with them the Mony or Goods of their Maſters whom they ſerved, or if the like ſhall be done by any of yours flying to us, then the ſame Goods on both* *parts are to be of right demanded and recovered again, and the Fugitives to the example of others to be corrected and puniſhed; foraſmuch as fugitives Goods of right appertain unto their Lords and Maſters. Furthermore it ſhall be lawful for your Captains and Commanders to fortifie or build Caſtles, Cities, or Towns, in the Borders of* Hungary, *and to put into the ſame, Victual, Armor, and ſuch like; but ſo, that they do none of theſe things out of their own limits. And during the time of this League, it ſhall not be lawful to take or carry away any of your Subjects Priſoners either into* Hungary *or in other places of your juriſdiction; which for all that, if it ſhall by any chance happen, that then ſuch Captives without delay be ſuffered ſafely to return home again. Furthermore, whatſoever Chriſtians ſhall have any buſineſs to do in our magnificent Court or any part of our Dominions, as are Embaſſadors, Officers, Servants and ſuch others; unto all theſe we not only grant and permit, that they may come and go about their buſineſs, and ſo again depart from our Court or Provinces; but alſo have willed and commanded them to be well and courteouſly entreated by our Subjects, and furthered with the interpretation of our Language. And if it ſhould fortune any contention or diſcord to ariſe betwixt our Subjects on either ſide, about the Bounds and Limits of Lands, or other ſuch like cauſes; ſuch controverſies we will to be decided and determined by diſcreet and indifferent Men on both parts, and the Authors of ſuch diſcord and variance, to be puniſhed as ſuſpected perſons and breakers of the League. We alſo probibite thoſe Skirmiſhes or Combats, which were wont to be ſometimes on both ſides made upon the Borders. And deſire, that the form of this League and Peace, and every Article thereof, may be publickly read and ſet up in ſundry places of your Dominions; and commandment given, that they may with due obedience and reverence be obſerved and kept. Which we likewiſe have now before promiſed faithfully and aſſuredly to perform; and your Embaſſador whom a few Months agon you ſent unto us, in your name requeſted the ſame of us, and hath with earneſt Prayers moved us, by Imperial Oath and theſe Letters of Credence to witneſs, that we did ratifie and confirm the ſame; as if we our ſelves ſhould ſpeak to you in preſence. Wherefore we have given to him theſe our Letters of Pacification to you directed, that your Generals, Souldiers, and Subjects, may be bound alſo to obſerve and keep all theſe things; wherefore, ſo long as nothing contrary to this League ſhall be done on your part; ſo long in like manner all theſe Articles of Peace ſhall be of me accepted and aſſured. For witneſs and confirmation whereof I ſwear this Oath; By the true and living Creator of Heaven and Earth, by the true ſigns of our great and reverend Prophet, by my Imperial Power, and by my true Faith; that nothing contrary or repugning unto the aforeſaid Articles, Conditions, and Promiſes of the eight years League agreed upon betwixt us, ſhall be attempted or done by any our Governours, Generals, or Vayvods, &c. Commanding moreover, all our ſworn Governours of our moſt mighty Empire in* Walachia *and* Moldavia, *and King* Stephen *himſelf, and others which have the Government of our Empire confining upon you, That they all and every of them as well as our ſelves, ſhall juſtly, faithfully, and religiouſly accept, reverence, and keep theſe conditions of Peace, towards your Subjects, Cities, Caſtles, Towns, and other things appertaining to you; and in the leaſt thing not to hurt, injure, or wrong any your Subjects. In brief, we ſhall as far as our part concerneth us, give unto this moſt mighty and great new made love and friendſhip, ſo great honour, reverence, and authority, that that which may even in the leaſt things be had, ſhall not on our part be wanting. In token whereof, we have ſuffered certain Chriſtian Captives, whom by your Embaſſador you requeſted to have ſet at liberty, frankly to return unto you without ranſom; out of which Captivity they could never have been redeemed, if in regard of this our amity and friendſhip we had not granted them liberty; truſting that you will in like ſort ſet at liberty ſuch of ours as you have Captives. Given at our Imperial Palace and Seat in the moſt mighty City of* Conſtantinople, *the firſt day of* September, *in the year of our great and reverend Prophet* 969.

Preſents from Soly*man to the Empe-ror* Ferdi*nand.*

The ſame Embaſſador after he had delivered theſe Letters, preſented unto the Emperor the Gifts he had brought from his great Maſter; which was two great Cups of natural Cryſtal curiouſly wrought and ſet with Stones of great price; a couragious *Turky* Horſe with a Saddle and Trappings wrought with Gold, and ſet with precious Stones, and garniſhed with Chains of pure Gold; and four of the faireſt Camels that were to be got in all *Conſtantinople*. In delivering of which Preſents the Baſſa made his excuſe, that the Horſe and Camels had loſt their beauty, being with four months Travel from *Conſtantinople*, grown ſomewhat lean and weary.

1564.
The death of the Em-peror Fer*dinand.*

This Peace thus concluded betwixt the Emperor *Ferdinand* and *Solyman*, held firm until the death of *Ferdinand*, who about two years after in the year 1564 upon St. *James*'s day died, being ſixty years old; whereof he reigned as Emperor not full ſeven years. In whoſe place ſucceeded *Maximilian* his Son, before choſen King of the Romans. But immediately after the death of *Ferdinand*, the Captains on the Frontiers of that part of *Hungary* which was holden for the Emperor on the one ſide, and the Turks Captains with the Vayvod of *Tranſylvania* on the other ſide, weary of their eaſe, began contrary to the form of the League, to ſurpriſe ſtrong Holds and Towns one in anothers Confines, whereof enſued much trouble; The Author whereof was *Melchior Balas* the Emperors Lieutenant in that part of *Hungary* which bordereth upon *Tranſylvania*, who firſt ſurpriſed certain Towns upon the Frontiers thereabouts; in revenge whereof the Vayvod ſuddainly ſet upon *Sackmar* a Town in the Emperors Territory, which he took, and therein *Balas* his Wife and Children. In deſpight whereof *Balas* ranſacked and burnt *Debrezin* a great Town of the Vayvods. But not long after, the Vayvod *Solymans* Vaſſal, aided by him with four thouſand Turks and three thouſand Moldavians, did much harm upon the Frontiers of that part of *Hungary* which belonged unto the Emperor; and firſt took *Hadad*, and afterwards beſieged *Ungar*. In requital whereof, *Maximilian* the Emperor ſent *Lazarus Suendi* a valiant Captain; who with an Army of eight thouſand beſieged the ſtrong Caſtle of *Tokay*, which he took the fifth of *February*, in the year 1565, and after that took the rich Town of *Erden*. In the mean time *Solyman*, who had in himſelf fully purpoſed to be revenged of all theſe injuries (as well appeared by that he did the year following) to ſtay the Emperor from proceeding father, until ſuch time as he were at better leiſure to be revenged, (for as then he was making great preparation for *Malta*) ſent *Marcus Lilineſius* a Renegate Tranſylvanian of *Cibinium*, his Embaſſador to *Maximilian*, to put him in remembrance of the League made with his Father, and to wiſh him to have regard how he further proceeded to the Breach thereof. Whereupon the Emperor, becauſe he would not ſeem unwilling to hearken to peace, commanded his Lieutenants and Captains no more to invade *Tranſylvania* or that part of *Hungary* which the Turks held. Howbeit that whilſt this Embaſſador

New troubles in Hungary.

1565.

The Turks purpoſing War, craftily ſue for Peace.

baſſador was thus entreating of Peace at *Vienna*, the Baſſa of *Temeſwar* in the Borders of *Tranſylvania*, made divers incurſions into the Borders of *Hungary*, and with ſix thouſand Souldiers beſieged the ſtrong Caſtle of *Jula*, and the Turks in great number came daily into *Tranſylvania*. At which time alſo *Suendi* General of *Maximilian* his Forces upon the Frontiers, by Meſſengers ſent for that purpoſe, wiſhed him not to give any credit unto the Turks Embaſſador, who meaning nothing but War, under the colour of Peace ſought nothing elſe but to take him upon the ſuddain unprovided. Neither ceaſed theſe troubles thus, but daily grew from evil to worſe; for in *June* the Tranſylvanians beſieged *Erden*, before taken by the Imperials, and after two months Siege had it yielded unto them. In the mean time *Chernovich* the Emperors Embaſſador to *Solyman*, returned from *Conſtantinople*; aſſuring him, that the great Turk for all his fair ſhews of Peace, meant indeed nothing but Wars, for which he was (as he ſaid) making great preparation both by Sea and Land. Whereupon the Emperor began to raiſe new Forces; which thing divers Noblemen both of *Germany* and other places hearing of, came unto him with his Followers; and amongſt other *Romerus* one of the Knights of *Malta*, and divers others of his Brethren, with five Companies of Souldiers well appointed, ſent thither by *George Hoohenheim* Grand Prior of that Order in *Germany*, and then confirmed one of the Princes of the Empire. At the ſame time alſo, the Turks being buſie upon the Borders of *Styria*, and the places thereabouts, were many times cut off by *Charles* the Archduke; who taking them at an advantage, ſlew at one time three thouſand of them. Yet for all this, the Turks Embaſſador was ſtill at *Vienna* treating for Peace, and ſo cunningly handled the matter, that whereas *Ericius Salma* a valiant Captain, had corrupted the chief Judge with certain others of *Alba Regalis*, to have betrayed the City unto him; for performance whereof they had delivered their Wives and Children as Hoſtages, and he was now upon his way from *Rab*, which is but eight miles off, in an aſſured hope to have ſurpriſed the City; he was ſuddainly by Letters in poſt from the Emperor, called back again, for corrupting the hope conceived of Peace; and ſo was that notable deſignment unfortunately diſappointed; of which practice the Turks having knowledge, afterwards moſt cruelly executed forty of the Conſpirators, impaling ſome of them upon ſharp Stakes, and hanging others upon Iron Hooks by the Jaws until they were dead. Shortly after the Turks took *Neſtas*, which was not long after again recovered by the Emperor.

At the ſame time one of the Turks Spies was taken at *Zigeth*, who but thirteen days before was ſent from *Conſtantinople*, of purpoſe to view the ſtrength and ſituation of that place; he being brought before *Charles* the Archduke, and examined, ſaid, That *Solyman* would aſſuredly the next Spring come in perſon himſelf into *Hungary*, to beſiege the ſtrong Caſtles of *Zigeth* and *Jula*. At which time alſo Count *Serinus* took certain other of the Turks Spies, by whom he was certainly advertiſed of *Solymans* coming the next year; and amongſt others, *Scaphis Vayda* the Baſſa of *Buda* his chief Counſellor. Beſide this, the Countreymen Contributors both to the Imperials and the Turks, were now ſtraightly commanded by the Turks to pay no more contribution Money unto the Imperials: Whereupon it was eaſily gathered, that all that talk of Peace was as *Suendi* had oftentimes written, nothing elſe but to delay the time, and to put them in ſecurity. Beſide that, the Turks made incurſions daily into one place or other of the Emperors Territories, ſhewing their ancient hate, and ſowing by thoſe ſlight Skirmiſhes, as it were the Seed of a greater War againſt the next Spring; which the Emperor now out of doubt of (being alſo warned thereof by many Letters from his Friends) put ſtrong Garriſons into his frontier Towns, eſpecially into *Rab* and *Zigeth*. But knowing that to be but a poor help againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy, he reſolved as his Father and Uncle had done before, to reſt upon the ſtrength of the Empire, and againſt the next year to call a general aſſembly of the Princes of the Empire at *Auguſta*, for the better underſtanding of the common Enemy.

Solyman *maketh preparation againſt the Knights of* Malta.

The Wars thus beginning again in *Hungary*, *Solyman* at the ſame time in revenge of the manifold harms done unto his Subjects by the Knights of *Malta*, (whoſe hand he found ever againſt him in all his dealings with the other Chriſtian Princes) made great preparation both by Sea and Land; purpoſing, as ſeemed by the manner thereof, to have raſed the memorial of thoſe worthy Men from off the Earth. Whereunto, beſide the natural hatred which he bare againſt all Chriſtians in general, and them above the reſt in particular, he was much incited by *Caſſanes*, *Barbaruſſa* his Son, King of *Algiers*, and *Dragut* Governour of *Tripolis*; by whoſe perſwaſions he cauſed a ſtrong Fleet to be rigged up, commanding the Lieutenants and Governours of his Ports and Havens all alongſt the Sea Coaſt, to put to their helping hands, and to be ready againſt the next Spring. And not long after, underſtanding partly of his own certain knowledge, and partly by the relation of others, in what good forwardneſs things were; he calling together a great aſſembly of his chief Princes and Men of War, delivered unto them his mind as followeth:

Solymans *Oration to to his Captains for the invaſion of* Malta.

What thing I have this forty years always wiſhed, which was to have ſo much leiſure from other Wars, as to pluck out of their Neſts, and utterly to root out theſe croſſed Pyrats, which vaunt themſelves to be the Bulwark of Chriſtendom; That ſame me-thinks I have by the favour of God and Muhamed *his Prophet, at this time obtained. For we have ſo repreſſed the attempts of the Perſians, that they cannot let us; and in* Hungary, *from whence certain dreadful motions were reported, we our ſelves will ſhortly do thoſe things which ſhall enforce our Enemies to hide their Heads in the heart of* Germany, *and to ſue to us for Peace. You your ſelves daily hear the pitiful complaints of our Subjects and Merchants, whom theſe Maltæſes, I ſay not Souldiers, but Pyrats, if they but look into thoſe Seas, ſpoil and make prize of; whoſe injuries or revenge, all Laws both of God and Man require. Neither can any thing happen unto me more pleaſing or more honourable, than if I may before I die accompliſh thoſe things, that is, to win* Malta, *and to leave all things in order in* Hungary *and* Polonia; *except perhaps ſome Man think it a harder matter for us to throw theſe croſſed Companions from the Rocks of* Malta, *than for our Anceſtors to have driven them from* Jeruſalem, *and ſo quite out of* Syria; *and for our ſelves to have forced them out of the ſtrong Iſland of the* Rhodes. *But this ſome will ſay is nearer unto* Italy, *from whence aid may eaſily be ſent, and the place defended by a Fleet. Believe me, they will never adventure to fight with us at Sea, who remember themſelves to have been there by us ſo often overthrown. Beſide this, ſo little a place cannot contain any great Garriſon; neither if it could, could it long feed them.*

them. Wherefore unto this expedition we have determined with the firſt of the Spring to ſend a moſt ſtrong Fleet; and even now we have already commanded all our Sea Captains, and Adventurers which acknowledge our command, to be there preſent with their Ships. The King of Algiers *will be there, the Garriſons of* Alexandria *are in readineſt, ſo alſo is* Dragut *with his appointed Fleet. As for our own it is by mine own appointment rigged up; unto which Fleet I doubt not but that all the ſtrength of the Weſt will give place. Which thing (worthy Captains) we ſpeak, truſting upon the help of Almighty God and* Muhamed *his great Prophet, with your known and approved Valour; Now remaineth only, that every one of you think with us, how this War may beſt be mannaged, and ſo to refer your devices unto us; which that you may the better do, Lo, I here deliver unto you the ſituation of the whole Iſland, and project of all their Fortifications which we have received of moſt expert and skilful Men.*

Solymans purpoſe thus made known, and the matter well conſidered, after that they which beſt knew the ſtrong places and manners of the Malteſes, had declared their opinions what they thought to be moſt expedient; it was decreed, That they ſhould with all ſpeed ſet forward; wherefore Victual and other things neceſſary for ſuch an expedition being with wonderful celerity prepared, they expected but Wind. Of theſe things *John Valetta* a Frenchman, Grand Maſter of *Malta* and of the Knights of the Order, being both by Letters and Meſſengers advertiſed (for he had always fit Men his Intelligencers at *Conſtantinople*, who warily noted the purpoſes and actions of *Solyman*) was not afraid, but knowing that of God depended the Victory, and that Men were to watch, labour, and foreſee; he aſſembled a Council of his Knights, and in few words ſpake unto them in this ſort:

Valetta *the Grand Maſter advertiſed of* Solyman *his purpoſe.*

Valetta *his Oration unto the Knights.*

What Solyman *prepareth (moſt noble and valiant Knights) and what a great War he provideth againſt us, you with me of late right well underſtand; wherefore it is needleſs for me to uſe any long Speech with you concerning that matter. The Enemy is known, his inſatiable ambition is known, his ſtrength is known, and his mortal hate againſt us and the Chriſtian Name is ſufficiently known. Wherefore let us all as one firſt reconcile our ſelves to God, and then provide all things as ſhall be needful for the War. In brief, noble Knights, to reconcile our ſelves unto God, and to appeaſe his diſpleaſure, two things are of us to be performed; whereof the one conſiſteth in amendment of Life, with a holy Converſation; the other in the religious worſhipping of him, with a firm and conſtant truſt in his help, with Prayer, which is called Godlineſs. By theſe means our Anceſtors obtained many Victories againſt the Infidels in the Eaſt. Neither is it to be doubted, but if we ſhall in theſe things joyn together, we ſhall alſo fruſtrate all the force and fury of this proud Tyrant. But foraſmuch as God uſually helps them which labour and take pains, and not the negligent and ſloathful, we muſt of neceſſity joyn unto them thoſe helps, which both our profeſſion and the courſe of War requireth; which partly conſiſteth in our ſelves, and partly in the other Chriſtian Princes. For Victual, Armour, Mony, and other ſuch things as in Wars are requiſite, we will ſo provide, that no Man ſhall juſtly complain, that we ſpared either coſt or pains. I will pour out all my ſtore, neither will I for deſire of life refuſe any danger. As for the Chriſtian Princes, I cannot perſwade my ſelf that they will lie ſtill in ſo fit an opportunity, and in ſo great a danger, not of our eſtate only, but much more of their own. Verily I will not ſpare to exhort every one of them both by Letters and by Meſſengers, which in part we have already done; and I doubt not but we ſhall have aid enough from the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of* Spain *(ſuch is their Chriſtian Zeal) and they I hope ſhall move the reſt. As for you, the Princes and very Light of this ſacred Order, and the reſt of our Brethren, moſt valiant Knights, I am well aſſured you will ſo fight for the moſt holy Chriſtian Religion, for your Lives and Goods, and for the glory of the Latine Name, againſt a moſt cruel Tyrant, the rooter out of all true Religion, of all Civility and good Learning, the Plague of the World, hated of God and Man; as that he ſhall feel the ſting of the Croſs which he ſo much contemneth, even in the City of* Conſtantinople, *yea in his Houſes of Pleaſure. For we ſhall not have now to do with him in the Iſland of the* Rhodes, *far from the help of our Friends, (from* Aſia, *from* Europe, *from* Egypt *encloſed with our Enemies both by Sea and Land) but in the Eies of* Italy *and* Spain, *in places ſtrongly fortified, from whence the Enemy may eaſily be circumvented; which that it may ſo fall out, let us not ceaſe to pray unto Almighty God, and to crave his ready help.*

When the Grand Maſter had thus ſaid, all that were preſent promiſed with one aſſent rather to loſe their Lives, than in any part to fail the Common Cauſe, or to come into the power of *Solyman*. After that publick Prayer and Supplication was made in every Church through the Iſle, and three Colonels choſen out of all the Knights; one an Italian ſirnamed *Imperator*, another *Borneas* a Frenchman, and *Quatrius* a Spaniard the third, all adviſed Men, and moſt expert Souldiers, who ſhould with all diligence provide all things neceſſary for the War. By whoſe appointment the Suburbs and Trees which might any way be hurtful to the fortified places, were overthrown, the Fortifications were throughly viewed, the Garriſons ſtrengthned, and all manner of Proviſion moſt plentifully diſtributed; and Letters from the Great Maſter ſent unto the Great Biſhop and other Chriſtian Princes, requeſting their aid againſt the Common Enemy. Meſſengers were alſo diſmiſſed into divers places, to certifie both the Knights of the Order and others, of the Turks great preparation.

The Knights make preparation for the Turks coming.

Solymans Fleet departing from *Conſtantinople* the two and twentieth day of *March*, in the year 1565, kept a direct Courſe towards *Peloponneſus*, and ſo came to *Methone*; where *Muſtapha* Baſſa one of the Turks greateſt Captains, a Man of ſeventy five years, and General of the Land Forces, muſtred the Army, wherein were numbred ſeven thouſand Horſemen of them which are of the Turks called *Saphi*; out of the leſſer *Aſia*, conducted by the Governour of that Country, and two Lieutenants of *Cicilia*, five hundred; and of the Iſland of *Lesbos*, now called *Metylene*, four hundred; he had of the Janizaries four thouſand five hundred, led by two Colonels appointed by *Solyman*; for that the chief Captain of the Janizaries, which they call the Aga, never departeth from the City but when the Sultan goeth himſelf. Beſides theſe was a certain kind of Men amongſt the Turks, who live of the Revenues of the Church; of them there was in the Army thirteen thouſand, who had at *Conſtantinople* vowed their Lives for their Superſtition. Out of *Thracia* and *Peloponneſus* were come two Colonels and one Lieutenant, with twelve hundred Horſemen, and three thouſand five hundred Volunteers out of divers Countries. There alſo *Piel* Baſſa *Solymans* Admiral took view of the Fleet, wherein were found a hundred and thirty Gallies, two and twenty Ships

Solymans *Fleet departeth from* Conſtantinople.

Ships for burthen, ſome greater, ſome leſſer, beſides one that was caſt away near unto *Methone*, where was loſt ſix thouſand Barrels of Powder, thirteen thouſand great Shot, and four hundred Spahi; beſides theſe, there were ten Gallies from the *Rhodes* commanded by *Halyport* a Man of ſeventy years; two Gallies from *Mitylene*, and about ſeventeen Galliots and other ſmall Pyrats Ships. With this ſtrong Fleet the Turks departing from *Methone* the thirteenth of *May*, arrived at *Malta* the eighteenth of the ſame Month, and put into a Haven in the North-Eaſt part of the Iſle, which the Inhabitants call *Marzaſiroc*; but perceiving themſelves not to be there in ſafety, they removed to another Port called *Major*.

The Turks Fleet arriveth at Malta.

The deſcription of Malta.

The Iſland of *Malta* lying betwixt *Africa* and *Sicilia*, might be doubted whether it were to be accounted in *Africk* or *Europe*, but that the ancient Coſmographers, and the Moors Language, which the Malteſes have always uſed, claim it for *Africk*; it is in length from the North-Eaſt to the South-Weſt twenty Miles; and in the broadeſt place twelve. It regardeth *Africk* Southward, over againſt *Leptis Parva*; and *Sicilia* towards the North, but more towards *Pachinum* than *Lilybeum*; and is in circuit about threeſcore Miles. It ſeemeth to have taken the name of *Melita*, of *Mel* or Hony, whereof it yieldeth plenty. The Trees there bear Fruit twice a year, and they have oftentimes twice Harveſt, eſpecially of Barly and Cotten Wool; yet is the Iſle in ſome places ſtony, gravelly, and bare of Wood; nevertheleſs it beareth Figs, Apples, Almonds, Grapes, and other Fruit Trees planted by the induſtry of Man, Date Trees alſo, but not fruitful; it beareth Thiſtles of ſuch bigneſs that the Inhabitants uſe them for Wood; freſh Water is there wonderful ſcarce, and ſuch Wells as they have are filled with Rain in Winter, for in Summer they are either clean dry, or elſe the Water becometh brakiſh. The Inhabitants are ſo burnt with the Sun, that they differ little in colour from the Æthiopians; they are of a wholeſome conſtitution of Body, ſpare of Diet, induſtrious, rather painful than Warlike, dying more for Age, than of Sickneſs; their Buildings, except it be in the City, which is in the midſt of the Iſland, and in the Suburbs, are long and low (like unto the Moors) covered with Turf or Reed. It is commonly ſuppoſed, that Saint *Paul* was by Shipwrack caſt upon this Iſland, but it is with greater reaſon to be thought that it was the other *Melita* in the Adriatick betwixt *Corcyra* and *Illyria*, and better agreeth with that which *Luke* writeth of the Apoſtles Trouble and Shipwrack in the Adriatique, out of which Sea, it is not to be gathered by the Text, that *Paul* and the reſt were driven. But again to our purpoſe; That ſide of *Malta* which reſpecteth *Sicilia*, hath in it many good Harbors and commodious Havens fit for ſhipping; where beſides the Port of *Marzaſiroc* towards the Eaſt, where the Turks Fleet firſt landed, and the Port of Saint *Thomas*, with another called *Scala* not far off, it hath two other notable Havens, the one called *Major*, and the other *Marzamoxet*, divided the one from the other by a narrow piece of ground; which with a ridg runneth in length from the South to the North almoſt in manner of an Iſland, having the Haven *Major* on the Eaſt, *Marzamoxet* on the Weſt. Upon the head of this high ridg ſtandeth the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*, of great ſtrength both by Nature and Art. As a Man entreth into the Haven *Major*, upon the left hand are four Promontories pointing far into the Haven on that ſide, almoſt in manner of Iſlands making ſo many Bays; upon the firſt ſtandeth the Gallows, whereof alſo it taketh name; upon the very point of the ſecond, on a rough and high Rock ſtandeth a moſt ſtrong Caſtle, called the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*, whereunto adjoyned the Town, ſeparated from the Caſtle only with a Wall and a Ditch, and is placed in a hollowneſs cut out of the main Rock; ſtrengthened alſo with the Sea and the induſtry of Man; and is of ſome called the *Burg*, of others the new City; in this Caſtle reſideth the Grand Maſter, and the Souldiers in the Burg; upon the third Promontory ſtandeth another ſtrong Caſtle, which they call alſo the Burg of Saint *Michael*; the fourth Promontory is not inhabited, from whence the Sea runneth alongſt the winding Banks almoſt into the midſt of the Iſland, unto a place called *Aqua Marſia*. Again, after the Port *Marzamoxet*, Weſtward is the Harbor of Saint *George*; and after that another called *Bennortat*; then followeth the Port Saint *Paul*, no leſs than the Port *Marzaſiroc*; after which cometh the Port called *Salinarum Sinus*; but on that ſide of the Iſland towards *Africk*, is only one Port called *Milliaria*; near unto the Iſland of *Malta* lie certain other little Iſlands, as *Gauloſo*, now *Goza*, two other called *Cuminia*, and another called *Piper*, all ſubject to the Malteſes.

Acts 27 & 28.

Thus much I have thought good to ſet down concerning the Turks Fleet, and for the deſcription of thoſe places wherein this great action was performed, the brute whereof then filled the World. Now ſhall it not be amiſs, in like manner to declare upon what ſtrength, next unto God, *Valitta* the Grand Maſter ſtood againſt ſo mighty and puiſſant an Enemy. Firſt, there was in the Iſland a thouſand and three hundred Mercenaries, ſome Spaniards, ſome French, ſome Florentines, and the reſt of *Naples*; there was alſo a thouſand Seamen of the Knights Fleet, and five hundred in the Town of Saint *Angelo*; and of the Country People which were fled into the ſtrong places five thouſand, Men not altogether unskilful of the Wars; there were alſo five hundred Knights of the Order, beſides Prieſts and Squires; for of theſe three ſorts of Men are they which are called Brethren of the Order. This was the number of them which defended the Caſtles and Towns of Saint *Elmo*, Saint *Angelo*, and Saint *Michael*, whereunto they were proportionably divided; and in the City it ſelf, which is called *Melita*, being in the middle of the Iſland, was two hundred Souldiers and as many Citizens, with three hundred of the Country People all Horſemen, commanded by *Jo. Vagno* a valiant Captain. Beſides this, every place was furniſhed with plenty of Victual, Armor, Weapons, Artillery, and whatſoever elſe was needful for the enduring of a long Siege, and a War that ſhould want many things; and that which paſſed all the reſt, Minds armed with invincible Courage againſt whatſoever ſhould chance, which oftentimes maketh of the vanquiſhed, Victors. All theſe things being in readineſs and orderly diſpoſed, as ſoon as they underſtood that ſeven and twenty of the Turks Gallies had put into the Haven *Marzaſiroc*, and were there landing their Men; *Gyon* Admiral for the Order, a valiant and couragious Knight, marched thither with five hundred Harquebuſiers, to have skirmiſhed with them; but as ſoon as the Turks ſaw them coming, they retired again to their Gallies. On the other part where the other Fleet lay, two hundred of the Turks going on ſhore, met by chance with *Riverius* a Frenchman, and eight Knights more, who having his Horſe killed under him, and one of his Companions ſlain, fell with the reſt into the hands of the Enemy. Whilſt theſe things were in doing, a certain Chriſtian Mariner

Riverius *with other Knights taken of the Turks.*

fled out from the Turks to the City *Melita*; who diſcovered the Enemies purpoſe, telling them, That the Turks by the appointment of *Muſtapha* had determined to have landed the greateſt part of their Forces, preſently to have beſieged ſome ſtrong place; had not *Pial* Baſſa the Admiral exclaimed aginſt it, doubting to be left too weak at Sea; ſaying plainly, That he would attempt nothing before the coming of *Dragut*, who was every hour expected. For *Solyman* had expreſly commanded, that they ſhould do nothing without his Counſel; ſo great an opinion had he of his Policy and Valour.

The Turks land.

But whether this report was true or otherwiſe, the Turks for all that returning with their Fleet to the Port *Marzaſirock*, landed twenty thouſand Souldiers and five Field Pieces, and ſo intrenched themſelves.

They of the Caſtle of Saint Michael *skirmiſh with the Turks.*

This done, *Pial* Baſſa with ſeven thouſand went to view the Caſtle of Saint *Michael*; but for fear of the great Shot durſt not to come nigh it; nevertheleſs they of the Town ſallying out, couragiouſly skirmiſhed with the Turks; in which conflict, *Curſelinus*, ſirnamed *Parda*, accompanied but with one Spaniard, ſo furiouſly aſſailed the Enemy, that he took from him one Enſign, and ſlew one of the *Sanzacks* a great Commander, with divers others. When *Pial* was come again into the Camp, the General began to conſult with the other Captains, whether it were better to lay Siege to the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*, or to the Town of Saint *Michael*; in concluſion it was agreed upon, that they ſhould with all their Forces beſiege the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*. And going up the Hill to view the Caſtle, they were incountred by the Garriſon Souldiers, in which Fight ſome few were loſt on both ſides. Thus by degrees things growing hotter and hotter, the Grand Maſter thought it good to certifie *Garzias* of *Toledo* Viceroy of *Sicily*, how things ſtood, that he might the ſooner rig up his Fleet to come to their reſcue. Wherefore he commanded one Gally to put out of the Haven by night, and to paſs over into *Sicily*, with *Salvagus* one of the Knights ſent thither on Meſſage. In the mean time the Turks caſt up a Mount to have battered the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*, and beaten the Gallies in the Haven *Major*, and ſo to have opened a way for their Fleet to have entred; but they were not able long to keep that Mount, for they had ſcarcely well ended the Work, but it was forthwith by the continual thundring Shot out of the Caſtle beaten down again; which thing greatly abated the Turks Courage. About that time, *Ochial* came to the Fleet with ſix Ships, drawn out of them which were left for the defence of *Alexandria*, and in them nine hundred Souldiers.

The Turks beſiege the Caſtle of Saint Elmo.

The Turks beaten from their firſt Mount, caſt up another on an higher ground, whereon they placed three great Pieces of Ordnance, wherewith they annoied not only the Haven wherein the Fleet of *Malta* rid, but the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo* alſo, the Great Maſters Seat, and with a rolling Trench drew nearer and nearer unto the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*; which although they had at firſt in vain attempted, hindred by them which were in the Caſtle; yet at laſt with much labour and travel they brought it to perfection; for the Turks in that kind of work, ſtill performed by their multitude, are accounted to excel others. Wherefore in ſhort time they planted their great Ordnance in ſuch ſort, as that they might batter both the Caſtles of Saint *Elmo*, and Saint *Michael*. There was in the Turks Camp a Gentleman of *Spain*, but then a Slave unto a Turk, who underſtanding the Enemies purpoſe for the beſieging of the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*, by a Chriſtian Fugitive advertiſed the Great Maſter thereof; Whereupon he forthwith ſent *Cerda* and *Miranda* with two Companies of Spaniards into the Caſtle, who were afterwards a great ſtrength unto the Caſtle, and hindrance unto the Enemy.

Dragut *cometh to aid the Turks.*

At length came *Dragut* Governor of *Lepis*, long looked for of the Turks, with thirteen Gallies, and in them a thouſand and ſix hundred Souldiers; after whom followed ten Galliots from *Bona*, and in them two Companies. In the mean time *Salvagus* the worthy Knight (ſent before into *Sicilia*) came to *Meſſana*, and having certified the Viceroy of the ſtate of *Malta*, was by him commanded to return to *Malta* in a Galliot, conducted by two Gallies of the Great Maſters; which having brought him near unto the Iſland, returned again into *Sicilia*; but he with his Galliot (not without moſt manifeſt danger) in the third Watch of the night brake into the Town through the midſt of the Enemies Fleet, with the loſs but of one of his Followers. Where having delivered unto the Great Maſter what he had in charge from the Viceroy, he was the ſame night ſent back again by the Great Maſter into *Sicilia*, to certifie the Viceroy, That he had need of more Aid, requeſting him with all ſpeed to ſend him ſome Supply, whereby he might the better hold out againſt the force of ſo great an Enemy. *Salvagus* diſcouraged neither with the labour nor the danger, preſently committed himſelf again to Sea, and in ſhort time arrived in the Port of *Siracuſa*, where finding the two Gallies we before ſpake of, he ſent them to *Malta*, as he had in charge, with four hundred Souldiers, among whom were divers Knights of the Order, and certain skilful Canoniers; willing them to ſhun the Weſt part of the Iſland, whereas they muſt needs come into the Enemies ſight, and to paſs by the Eaſt end thereof, which was further about, but ſafer; and turning Southward, to land in the Port *Miliare*, and from thence by the low places of the Iſland to convey the Souldiers by night to the City *Melita*, which was but four miles off; from whence they might eaſily paſs to the Caſtle of Saint *Michael*. This order taken, he went to *Meſſana*, and there declared to the Viceroy the danger of the War, with the ſmall number of the Defendants, requeſting of him a thouſand Footmen, which with thoſe already ſent, he thought would ſuffice to hold out the Siege until he with his whole Fleet might come to relieve them.

The Turks aſſault the Caſtle of Saint Elmo.

But whilſt theſe things were ſlowly provided (which with much difficulties and delay could hardly be brought to paſs, the Chriſtian Princes as it were ſleeping in ſo great a danger) the Turks upon the ſuddain the third of *June* aſſaulted the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*, in hope with ſhort ſcaling Ladders to get over that part of the Rampiers which was neareſt unto the Bulwark of the Caſtle. But the Defendants, in the Ditch which before had no Flanker to ſcour the ſame, had of Earth and Faggots made a large ſtrong Flanker, from whence the Caſtle alſo helping them, they valiantly reſiſted the Enemy, and filled the Ditches with the dead Bodies of the Turks. Who for all that, truſting to their multitude (wherewith rather than with true Valour, they obtain ſo many Victories) thruſt ſtill on until they had by obſtinate force (although long firſt) gained the Flanker; whereby they commanded all that part of the Ditch towards the Port *Marzamoxet*. In which place they with wonderfull celerity ſo fortified themſelves, that they could not be hurt by the Defendants; wherein they were much holpen by their own great Ordnance planted on the other ſide the Haven *Marza*; for with it they drave the Defendants from the place, beat down the corner of the Rampier, and battered the Front of the Bulwark, whoſe

Saint Elmo again aſſaulted.

New Supply ſent into the Caſtle Saint Elmo.

The Great Maſter diſappointed of a Supply by the fearfulneſs of the Ship-Maſter.

Saint Elmo again aſſaulted.

The Turks repulſed.

whoſe hight and greatneſs troubled the Enemy, but was not ſo commodious for the Defendants, for that it was made without any Flankers. But night coming on, five thouſand of the nine thouſand Turks which gave the Aſſault, tarried there; wherefore the Chriſtians conſtrained to forſake the place, retired themſelves into the Caſtle. The Turks in the mean time covered with the darkneſs of the night, with ſacks filled with Tow and Earth, filled up the Ditch which was under the Bulwark, but neither of any great wideneſs or depth; which done, they gave a freſh Aſſault, wherein above eight hundred of them were ſlain, part Janizaries, and part Spahi, and beſides them many wounded, of whom the moſt part remained half dead in the Ditch, where they periſhed, and could not be relieved. Of the Chriſtians was loſt five and forty, amongſt whom were five Knights of the Order, *Guardampes* an Avergnois, *Maſius* a Colonel of *Narbona*, *Contilia* a Spaniard, *Somaia* a Florentine, and *Neinec* a German. The ſame night the Great Maſter thinking, as reaſon was, that they in the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo* might want help, ſent two hundred of his Knights and as many other Souldiers into the Caſtle; who if they had been more, together with the four hundred which were before in the Caſtle, might happily have driven the Turks both from the Rampiers and the Flanker, and alſo kept the place longer. But foraſmuch as the Great Maſter wanted Souldiers, and had therefore ſent *Salvagus* into *Sicily*, for new Supplies (as we have before ſaid) he in the mean time couragiouſly expected their coming, refuſing no labour or pain; yet bewailing ſometime with himſelf the unfortunateneſs of the Chriſtian Princes, by whoſe negligence ſo fit an occaſion for the overthrow of the barbarous Enemy was let ſlip; But above all things, he marvelled exceedingly that no help yet came; eſpecially thoſe two Gallies, which (as we have ſaid) were in all haſte ſent by *Salvagus*; but they by the Maſters default kept not the appointed Courſe; for firſt whereas they ſhould have ſhunned the Weſt part of the Iſle, and have turned towards the Eaſt, they ſhaped their Courſe Weſtward to the Iſland of *Gaulos*, the Maſter vainly affirming, that he ſaw certain of the Turks Galliots lying before Port *Mileria*; which was afterwards well known not to have been ſo; for the truth was, that he for fear (whereby notable deſigns are many times fruſtrated) durſt not go forward. Whereby it came to paſs, that the Great Maſter was diſappointed of ſo neceſſary a Supply; which thing much grieved both the Viceroy and others, but eſpecially *Salvagus*. For he ſaw it would come to paſs, that if the Turks ſhould take the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo* (the moſt aſſured Bulwark and defence of the Iſland of *Malta*) the other places muſt of neceſſity be brought into extream danger, all the way to relieve them being thereby ſhut up. And that it might be taken, ſeemed not to him impoſſible, the Enemy having already taken one Fort, and laying hard Siege almoſt on every ſide of that little Pile. The due conſideration of theſe and ſuch like things grieved the minds of skilful Men, eſpecially ſeeing ſuch ſlack preparation in a caſe requiring ſuch preſent relief. Yet in the mean time Souldiers were taken up at *Rome* by the commandment of *Pius Quartus* then Biſhop, to be ſent to *Malta*; and by his example to ſtir up other Princes to ſend Aid unto this ſacred War, he gave an hundred pound of Gold to *Cambianus* Legat for the Order, and commanded Gunpowder and other neceſſaries for that War to be taken out of his Caſtle Saint *Angelo*, that ſo he might ſeem to be wanting in nothing that was in him to perform. Over theſe Souldiers, in number ſix hundred, he appointed *Pompeius Columna* General, and commanded *Camillus Medices* his Legate to accompany him. With theſe went many voluntary Men, of purpoſe to lay down their lives for the eterniſing of their Names in ſo religious a War, and that with ſuch an ardent deſire, as that every little delay ſeemed unto them a year. Wherefore coming to *Naples*, they there found *John Andreas Auria* with eleven Ships, the Prince of *Populonia* with nine, *Lanicius* with three, and three others ſet forth by other private Gentlemen. In theſe Ships were embarqued all thoſe Footmen which came from *Rome*, and ſo tranſported to *Meſſana*, where the Kings Fleet was providing. But whilſt the Chriſtians make ſlow preparation, conſidering the greatneſs of the danger, the Turks not ignorant thereof, reſolved to prove the uttermoſt before the ſtrength of the Chriſtians were ready or drawn together. For the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo* once taken, they aſſured themſelves with more eaſe to carry the reſt; for that thereby they ſhould firſt have the Haven *Marzamoxet* in their power, where their Fleet might in ſafety ride ſo long as they pleaſed; and the riſing ridge betwixt the two Havens was commodious for them both to batter the Town of Saint *Michael*, and to keep the Haven *Major*, ſo that none could without their leave paſs in or out thereat. Wherefore upon theſe and other ſuch like conſiderations they began again to batter the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*, as it had been with Thunder; which furious Battery they continued by the ſpace of four days together without intermiſſion. The night following they ſuddainly with great force gave an Aſſault, and with their ſcaling Ladders had almoſt gained the top of the Wall; when the Chriſtians deſirous of nothing more than to come to handy Blows, drave them down again with ſuch a violence, that never after they durſt ſet Ladder to the Wall, until the very laſt conflict. Whilſt things were thus hot at the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*, *Dragut* his Souldiers upon a bravery, as if they had been the only Men, went to a place called *Martia Scala*, which is between the Gallows and Saint *Thomas*'s Rode, as if they would have done more than the reſt; which the Chriſtians beholding out of the Town of Saint *Angelo*, to repreſs their inſolency, ſallied forth upon them, and ſo welcomed them, that they were glad after they had received a great loſs, forthwith to retire to the place from whence they came. Of the Chriſtians were ſlain *Bonnemius* a Frenchman, one of the Knights, and ſeven others.

The ſame time *Monſerratus* was by the Great Maſter ſent into the Caſtle of Saint *Elmo*, to command there as Governor inſtead of *Brolia*; for that he with watching and pains taken in defence thereof, was fallen ſick. The ſame *Brolia* had many times before written to the Great Maſter, That the Caſtle was ſo well fortified and furniſhed of all things needful, as that he thought it impoſſible to be won by the Enemy; and had with chearful Speech and brave Behavior, ſo encouraged the Knights, and other the Defendants, that they fought againſt their Enemies with more than Mens Strength, and greater Courage than is to be believed. Neither were the Turks for that diſcouraged, although they were with great loſs ſtill repulſed; but for certain days battered the Caſtle with greater fury than before, and immediately gave an Aſſault; for they had made a Bridge over the Ditch, of Maſts and Sail Yards, of ſuch a breadth, *The Turks make a Bridge over the Caſtle Ditch. A horrible Battery.*

Medranus a valiant Captain.

Eight hundred Turks ſlain with the fall of the bridge.

The Turks retire.

that ten Men might go thereon in rank; and had placed about the Ditch four thouſand Harquebuſiers, and brought all their Fleet unto Saint *George*'s Shore, not far from the Caſtle. And when they had by the ſpace of eighteen days ſore ſhaken it, and torn the Walls with thirteen thouſand great Shot, and were now in hope even preſently to win the Caſtle; ſee, *Beragamus* a Biſcain, one of the Knights, and *Medranus* a Spaniſh Captain, with certain other valiant Men, ran to the Bridge, and to the great admiration of the Beholders, oppoſed themſelves againſt the multitude of the Miſcreants. The Fight hand to hand was on both ſides both fierce and terrible; and now one of the Turks had advanced a Turkiſh Enſign upon the Bulwark, which whilſt *Medranus* layeth hand upon, and the Turk one the other ſide ſtrugleth to clear himſelf from him, in ſtriving together, they fell down both dead; ſhot thorow with one Bullet by one of the Turks. At which time the four hundred which we ſaid were but a little before ſent thither by the Grand Maſter, ſtood in good ſtead; for ſeeing all brought to ſo great a danger, ſome of them (whilſt otherſome fought with the Enemy) thruſt Barrels of Gunpowder under the Bridge, ſome caſt down Wild-Fire, Stones, and whatſoever elſe came to hand, upon the Enemy, and others farther off with their Harquebuſies ſore gauled the Turks; ſo in ſhort time the Bridge was burnt and blown up, which in the fall thereof, overwhelmed eight hundred Turks; the reſt (as they might) retired, few whole, but moſt part wounded. In this conflict the Chriſtians pluckt down two Enſigns; the one *Muſtaphaes*, the other *Draguts*; which the Turks had ſet up upon the very Battlements of the Walls. On the other part toward the Southweſt, a Band of the Turks had got to the top of the higheſt Rampier; which as ſoon as they in the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo* perceived, thinking to have beaten them off with a great ſhot, ſlew by miſchance ſeven of the Defendants upon the ſame Rampier, as they were going too and fro; but to recompence that error, at the next ſhot they rent in ſunder four of the Turks Captains, with twelve other of their moſt forward Souldiers. Whilſt they were here fighting, other Turks in the mean time had caſt up a Trench on that ſide of the Caſtle toward Saint *Angelo*; out of which they were quickly driven with Fire, Stones, and other ſuch like things thrown down upon them by the Defendants. The Turks valiantly on every ſide repulſed, retired into the Camp, when they had in this Aſſault loſt two thouſand of their beſt Souldiers, and of the Chriſtians ſlain almoſt an hundred, and wounded as many more. The ſame day *Valetta* the Grand Maſter perceiving the Port *Marzamoxet* not to be very ſtraitly kept by the Turks, commanded a light Brigandine to be carried out of the Haven, over land, to the place *Martia Scala*, that from thence he might ſend into *Sicilia*; for he (as reaſon was) conſidering in what danger the Caſtle Saint *Elmo* ſtood, by Letters certified the Viceroy and the Biſhop of *Rome* thereof, and of ſuch things as were there done; requeſting them of ſpeedy relief. The copy of the Letters ſent to the Viceroy, I have here ſet down; as for thoſe which were ſent to the great Biſhop, becauſe they were almoſt of the ſame purport, I have purpoſely omitted.

To *Garzias* of *Toledo*, Viceroy of *Sicilia*, and Admiral of the Fleet, Greeting.

The Great Maſters Letters to Garzias *Viceroy of* Sicilia

Since the time that I ſent Salvagus, *I have ſent unto you two Letters, which I cauſed to be ſent by* Melita *into* Gaulos, *which I pray God be come to your hands. After that, when as neither Meſſengers nor Letters came unto us from you, I commanded a man with Inſtructions to haſte to* Meſſana, *who when he had certain nights attempted to go out, and was at laſt got out, he was ſcarcely gone two miles, but he ſaw the Turks with might and main making after him; whom to eſcape, he was glad to run his Pinnace on ground; And caſting his Letters into the Sea, to forſake his Boat, and by flight to ſave himſelf. Now the Turks having removed their Fleet out of the Port* Vulturnus, *I conſidering how much it concerneth to certifie you of thoſe things which are here done, commanded a Brigandine to be carried to* Martia Scala; *for ſeeing that the Turks Fleet is gon to another part of the Iſland, I hope my Letters will without let in ſhort time come unto you. And the things I would have you to know, are theſe: The fifteenth of this month, all the Enemies Fleet (a little before night) paſſed by this Port; the coming on of the night letted, that we could not well perceive the weakneſs thereof, whilſt the Gallies almoſt unarmed, were with much difficulty towed forth; want of Water, cauſed them chiefly to depart out of the Port* Vulturnus, *and peradventure fear of your Fleet. For, as I have heard, they have intelligence, that an hundred and fifty Sail lie at road in the Port of* Meſſana; *for which cauſe alſo, they have not put themſelves into the Port of Saint* Paul, *but have placed their Fleet above the Port* Marzamoxet; *yet a good part of their Gallies lie at the Port Saint* George, *ſo to be nearer unto their Land Forces; yet is not the nearneſs ſuch, but that if your Fleet come upon the ſuddain, they will with the ſame fear retire to their Fleet, that they would if they were farther off. No man is now to be ſeen at* Vulturnus, *for they have left their firſt Camp at Saint* Katharines *and Saint* Johns, *having burnt all the Country Villages, and now lie with their Fleet as I have ſaid; and with their Army at the Caſtle Saint* Elmo, *which God hath as yet kept, and as I hope will; which thing is even for this to be hoped for, which was but yeſterday done; when as our moſt valiant Souldiers (by the help of God) for the ſpace of four hours couragiouſly endured a moſt terrible Aſſault. The Turks having alſo made a Bridge Weſtward toward the Port* Marzamoxet, *we have four times repulſed them to their great loſs; yet not without ſome loſs alſo on our part, amongſt whom* Medranus, *a worthy Captain was to my great grief ſlain. With this Victory our Men are ſo encouraged, that I am in hope the Caſtle may be defended until your coming, eſpecially the Enemies battery not ſo furiouſly now as before maintained. If I were relieved with certain Companies of freſh Souldiers, or at leaſt with thoſe our two Gallies, I would never think that this Caſtle could be taken from us; In defence whereof, whilſt we every hour look for help, we have ſpent both our Men, and whatſoever Warlike Proviſion we had elſe. We are reſolved although it coſt us all our lives, to go thither, relying upon you; who, as we hope for your Devotion and noble Courage, will not be unmindful of our Health and Welfare; but knowing the danger whereinto we muſt needs fall, if you ſhall defer to aid us, will ſend us out of hand certain Bands of Men, eſpecially when they may ſo eaſily be ſent; for now that the Turks are departed from the Eaſt part of the Iſland, our Souldiers may be landed at the* Black

Rocks. *Our lives lie in your hands, on whom (next unto God) reſteth all our hope; Wherefore, we moſt inſtantly requeſt you not to forſake us; committing our ſelves, and all that ours is, to your Compaſſion and Protection. Fare you well from* Malta *the ſeventeenth of* June.

Theſe Letters received and the diſtreſs of the beſieged Caſtle perceived, the Viceroy was (as of right he ought) greatly moved, and made ſemblance as if he had been deſirous to have brought forth his whole Fleet againſt the Turks. But forasmuch as the Supply of Ships from *Genoa* and *Spain* was not yet come, and that without them he thought it not good to adventure the Fortune of a Battel; he forthwith ſent *John Gardona* with four Gallies, whereof two were of *Malta*; and with *Gardona* joyned one *Robles* Camp-Maſter, with a ſelect Company of Spaniards; with whom went alſo about eighty Knights of *Malta*, who ſtayed at *Meſſana*, awaiting ſome fit occaſion to paſs over; amongſt whom were theſe chief Men of the Order, *Pariſot* the Great Maſters Nephew, *Vincentius Caraffa*, *Boninſcana* and *Maldonatus*, both Spaniards, *Centius* of *Aquitania*, and ſome others; Who although letted by Tempeſt and other occaſions, they came too late to *Malta*, as ſhall be hereafter declared, yet ſerved they in great ſtead; and had they come in time, before the Caſtle Saint *Elmo* was loſt, happily it might have been ſtill kept.

Four Gallies ſent to the Great Maſter for the relief of Malta.

The Turks making no more account of ſo great a ſlaughter of their Men, than of ſo many Sheep, deſperately renewed the Fight, as Men reſolved to endure all extremities. And firſt they moſt horribly thundred day and night with their great Ordnance upon the Caſtle; afterwards they aſſaulted the Breaches with ſuch a multitude and force, that if true Valour and hope of Immortality had not excluded all fear out of the hearts of the Defendants, the terror of the Aſſault had inforced them either to have fled or yielded. Dreadful was the Fight, and had they not been obſtinately ſet down on both ſides, the one to win the Caſtle, the other to defend it, that day had ended the quarrel. Five hours endured that moſt terrible Aſſault, at length the Turks repulſed by the Valour of the Chriſtians, retired; yet did they not for all that paſs the night following in quiet, but with their great Ordnance did ſo beat the Defendants, that they had much ado to keep the Turks from ſcaling the Walls; which that they ſhould not then dare to attempt, was with exceeding endeavour provided for by the Chriſtians; of whom in this Aſſault was loſt two hundred, and of the Turks an infinite number. And *Dragut* himſelf, whilſt he there performed the duty both of a General, and moſt valiant Souldier, got a blow on the Head with a Stone, whereof in two days he died; his dead Body was afterwards carried to *Tripolis*, and there honourably buried.

A moſt terrible Aſſault.

Dragut *ſlain.*

The Commanders of the Turks Army, ſtill more and more enraged with this Valor of the Chriſtians, and the ſlaughter of their Men, gathering all their Fleet together, commanded them to compaſs about the Caſtle, of purpoſe to give thereunto their laſt Aſſault, with all their Forces both by Sea and Land; and to ſend new Supplies of freſh Souldiers one after another, until they had taken the Caſtle. And therefore they with great induſtry prepared Bridges, Ladders, Engins, Armor, Weapons, Shot, and whatſoever things elſe was needful for the Aſſault. Which *Valetta* perceiving out of his Caſtle Saint *Angelo*, and fearing (as meet was) leſt they in the Caſtle ſhould not be able longer to endure ſo great a fury, called together in Counſel his Knights, two days before the Turks gave their laſt Aſſault; and told them, That they all as well as he, ſaw in what danger they which defended the Caſtle Saint *Elmo* were; and that he doubted not, but that every one of them (upon a Godly Zeal and Compaſſion) was no leſs moved with the ſlaughter and danger of their Fellows and other their Chriſtian Souldiers, than with their own; wherefore he requeſted them, to declare what they thought beſt to be done for their ſafety; yet ſo, as that they ſhould not haſtily determine any thing, that agreed not with the ancient Valour and Honour of their ſacred Military Profeſſion. Which motion once made, and their opinions in brief delivered, a Decree was made, That foraſmuch as the Caſtle could not longer be holden, regard ſhould be had for the ſafeguard of them that were therein; for which purpoſe it was agreed, that twelve Pinnaces ſhould be ſent to fetch them away. But before, three Knights were choſen who ſhould in haſte the night following go thither, and tell them what was in the Counſel agreed upon, and carefully to conſider in what ſtate the Caſtle was, which if the Defendants thought was to be abandoned, they ſhould poiſon the Water, and cloy the great Ordnance, that it might not afterwards ſtand the Turks in ſtead. The three Knights ſent thither, was *Medina* a Spaniard, *Rocca* a Frenchman, and *Conſtantinus Caſtriot* an Italian; who not without danger of their Lives (being oftentimes ſhot at by the Turks) got into the Caſtle, and declared unto them that were there in Garriſon, how careful the Great Maſter and the reſt were of them. And they on their ſide, firſt of all gave thanks to the Grand Maſter and the reſt, for the regard they had of them; and afterward concerning the Caſtle, ſaid, That if they conſidered the ſtraitneſs of the place, the ſmall number of the Defendants, and multitude of the Enemy, they ſhould well perceive in what danger they were, if the Turks ſhould often with ſuch obſtinacy renew the Aſſault; yet foraſmuch as they had ever hitherto felt the help of God ſo preſent, who had ſtill mercifully defended them againſt the rage of the Enemy, and wanted nothing needful for the defence of the place; the keeping whereof they had requeſted of the Grand Maſter as an honour, although they knew right well it could not without moſt manifeſt danger of their Lives be holden; yet they would for all that keep it to the laſt Man; for that perhaps the like honourable occaſion for them to ſhew themſelves in, ſhould never again be offered; wherefore they had (as they ſaid) reſolved in that place to ſpend their lives for the Glory of God and the Chriſtian Religion. The Courſe of this Life (they ſaid) was but ſhort, but that Honour and Fame was for ever; and whereas death is to all Men prefixed, it were to be wiſhed, that the Life which is to Nature due, ſhould rather ſeem to be by us frankly given to God and our Country, than reſerved as Natures Debt; which if it ſhould ſo happen, they would ſo uſe the matter, as that the barbarous Enemy ſhould have neither pleaſure nor joy, which ſhould not coſt him much Blood even of his beſt Souldiers. This they willed the Knights to tell the Great Maſter, and to requeſt him not to be too careful of them, but to promiſe to himſelf thoſe things of them which beſt beſeemed reſolute Men, eſpecially of them who had vowed themſelves to that ſacred War. This anſwer of greater reſolution than fortune, received; the three Knights, when they had diligently viewed the Caſtle, returned to the Grand Maſter; who calling to Counſel his Knights, and having heard the anſwer of the beſieged, would needs hear alſo what

Three Knights ſent to view the ſtate of the Caſtle of Saint Elmo.

The reſolute anſwer of them in the Caſtle to the Knights.

The three Knights of divers opinions concerning the keeping of the Caſtle St. Elmo.

what opinion the three Knights themſelves were of concerning the keeping of the Caſtle; of whom *Caſtriot* was of opinion, That the place was ſtill to be defended, and that if he were there to command, he would undertake to perform it; and there rather to loſe his Life than to forſake it, after he had once taken upon him the charge thereof. But *Rocca* the French Knight was far of another mind, and ſaid plainly, that the place could not poſſibly be holden againſt ſo ſtrong an Enemy; and that if *Julius Cæſar* himſelf were alive, and ſaw to what ſtrait the place was brought (eſpecially all the Rampiers being either beat down or ſore ſhaken, and ſuch a power of obſtinate Enemies lying round about it) he would never ſuffer ſo many valiant Souldiers to be loſt, but quit the place, and reſerve his Men to a further ſervice; for why, it was the part of valiant Men to perform ſo much as was of Men to be performed; but to ſtrive to do more, was no Manhood at all; wherefore he thought it beſt to do that which Men uſe with Members mortified, whoſe recovery is deſperate; in which caſe we doubt not to make a ſeparation, ſo to ſave the reſt of the Body with Life. The Spaniſh Knight in moſt part agreeing with *Caſtriot*, ſaid, That he thought it not good, that the place ſhould ſo eaſily be forſaken; firſt, for that the Ditches and Bulwarks were yet defenſible; and then becauſe he ſaw ſo great a conſent among the Defendants, and ſuch a chearfulneſs to withſtand the Enemy, which thing (as he ſaid) preſaged Victory.

Theſe opinions of the Knights thorowly in Counſel debated, and every particular well weighed, it ſeemed good to the greater part, that they which were in the Caſtle ſhould for certain days yet hold it out; eſpecially becauſe it was not the manner of the Knights of the Order eaſily to abandon their ſtrong Holds, but rather to keep them to the laſt, that even therein the barbarous Enemy might perceive with whom he had to do, and ſo ſee his Pride abated. For if they ſhould have forſaken the place, they might have been thought to have done it for fear; whereby the Enemies inſolency might have been increaſed, and the honourable Order of thoſe ſacred Knights diſgraced.

The Turks furiouſly aſſault the City.

But the Turks intentive to that they had before determined, the three and twentieth day of *June* aſſembling all their Forces both by Sea and Land round about the Caſtle, in the dead time of the night on every ſide ſet up ſcaling Ladders, made Bridges, wrought Mines, and with two and thirty great Pieces of Artillery battered the reſt of the Walls yet ſtanding, and preſently gave a moſt terrible Aſſault. The Defendants on the other ſide beat down ſome, repulſed other, ſlew many, ever more careful how to wound the Enemy, than to ſave themſelves; and where he preſſed faſteſt on, there to ſhew their greateſt Valour. Great were the Outcries made on both ſides, mixt with Exhortation, Mirth and Mourning; the face of the whole Fight was divers, uncertain, cruel, and dreadful; and now it was the third hour of the day, when ſtill the Victory ſtood doubtful; and had not the fury of the great Ordnance been ſo terrible, that it now had beaten down all the Walls unto the very Rock whereon the Caſtle ſtood, the Defendants might for ſome longer time have endured the Enemies Force. But the very Rock bared both of Walls and Defendants, and more than four hundred ſlain, a Man could now ſcarcely ſhew himſelf, but he was preſently ſtruck in Pieces. *Monſerratus* Governor of the Caſtle, and *Garas* of *Eubœa*, Men of equal Valour, Integrity, and Honour, were both ſlain with one ſhot; for a ſhort and tranſitory Life made Partakers of Immortality together. Yet the reſt which ſtood in defence of the Caſtle, nothing terrified with ſo great a loſs and ſlaughter of their Fellows, but augmented rather as it were with new Courage from above, fought with greater Force than before, overthrew the Turks Enſigns now ſet up in the Caſtle, ſlew the Enſign-bearers, Captains, and Colonels; now reſpecting nothing more, but honourably to lay down their Lives for their Religion and the obtaining of immortal Fame. By this time the Sun was mounted to the middle of Heaven, great was the Heat, and Men exceeding weary; the murdring ſhot never ceaſed, and ſuch was the multitude of the Enemy, that he ſent in freſh Men inſtead of them that were wearied or wounded. On the other ſide, the ſmall number of the Chriſtians, and thoſe weakned with Labour, Watching, Thirſt and Wounds, did what Men might; yet at length were overcome by a greater Force, and ſo the Caſtle by the Turks won, but with ſuch ſlaughter of their Men, that it was a wonder that ſo many ſhould be ſlain of ſo few. The Defendants were all ſlain, every Man in valiant Fight.

The Caſtle of Saint Elmo *taken by the Turks.*

Barbarous Cruelty exerciſed by the Turks upon the dead Bodies of the Knights.

Here may I not in ſilence paſs over the inhuman and more than barbarous Cruelty of the Turks againſt the dead Bodies of the ſlain Knights, that thereby may appear, that Cruelty never wanteth whereon to ſhew it ſelf merciless, yea even after death. The Turks after they had taken the Caſtle, finding certain of the Knights yet breathing, and but half dead, firſt cut their Hearts out of their Breaſts, and then their Heads from their Bodies; after that, they hanged them up by the Heels in their red Clokes with white Croſſes, (which manner of Attire they after an ancient Cuſtom uſe in time of War, as they do black in time of Peace) in ſight of the Caſtles, Saint *Angelo* and Saint *Michael*. And yet *Maſtapha* the Turks General not ſo contented, commanded them afterwards to be faſt bound together, and ſo caſt into the Sea, whoſe dead Bodies were in few days after by the Surge of the Sea caſt up into the Haven *Major*, and known by their Friends, were by the commandment of the ſorrowful Great Maſter honourably buried. With which the Enemies moſt barbarous Cruelty he was ſo moved, that he commanded that no Turk ſhould from that time be taken priſoner, but to be preſently ſlain. And thereupon all that were before taken, were forthwith put to the Sword, and their Heads caſt over the Walls on that ſide towards the Enemy. From the beginning of the Siege to the taking of the Caſtle, of the Chriſtians were ſlain a thouſand three hundred, amongſt whom were an hundred and thirty of the ſacred Knights of the Order all worthy to be regiſtred in the Book of everlaſting Fame.

Valetta *encourageth his Souldiers after the loſs of the Caſtle St.* Elmo.

The Caſtle of Saint *Elmo* thus loſt, *Valetta* although his mind (as he had good cauſe) was inwardly attainted with exceeding grief, yet made ſemblance otherwiſe, becauſe he would not daunt the minds of his Souldiers; telling them, that nothing was hapned unprovided for or unforeſeen. *This was* (as he ſaid) *the Will of God, and the chance of War, that ſometimes one, ſometimes another ſhould be overcome; and that cowardiſe, not ſuch Valour as was in them that were gon, gave occaſion to living Friends to lament; yet that the Enemy was not for that to be feared, who had alſo received ſuch a loſs, as he might thereby rather ſeem conquered, than a victorious Conqueror; whereas the loſs of his Knights was recompenced with Honour and Immortality, things of themſelves ſufficient to inflame all noble minds to behave themſelves valiantly. As for himſelf* (he ſaid) *that truſting not in his own ſtrength, but in the help of Almighty God, he had not yet caſt off the hope of*

Victory over the relicks of the diſcomfited Enemy; and that he well hoped, they were all of the ſame mind, wherein he moſt earneſtly requeſted them to perſiſt unto the end. When he had thus ſaid, he being a Man armed againſt all Fortunes, withdrew himſelf a little aſide; where caſting many things in his troubled mind, he determined to ſend Letters to *Petrus Meſquita*, Governour of the City of *Melita*, to certifie him and the Knights of the Order that were at *Meſſana*, and the Viceroy, of the loſs of St. *Elmo*; the Copy whereof, becauſe that in them evidently appeareth the Chriſtian mind of him the Great Maſter, I have thought good here to ſet down as followeth:

Valetta *his Letters to the Governour of* **Melita.**

Whilſt theſe Knights are ſetting forward, in the mean time chanced the miſerable misfortune of the Caſtle Saint Elmo; *which although it brought unto us that grief you may eaſily imagine, we for all that, as if it had happened by ſome ſecret appointment of God, have taken it in that part, that he as a moſt merciful Father purpoſeth thereby to warn us, but not utterly to deſtroy us. Neither do I think it lawful to doubt of his mercy and power. Yet for all that, I may nevertheleſs complain, that we are of them forſaken of whom it leaſt beſeemed. So that in the ſpace of ſeven and thirty days, wherein our moſt valiant Souldiers endured all the force of the Enemy (which truly was done rather by the power of God than of Man) we were holpen of our own (which owe ſo much unto us) not ſo much as with the leaſt help, which they might oftentimes have ſent us. But I liſt to aſcribe it, whatſoever it is, to God, of whom alone as we have hitherto received ſo many good things, ſo reſt we in hope hereafter to receive alſo. For, for any thing that I can ſee, we muſt not now truſt to Mans help; foraſmuch as we could by no Letters, no Diligence, no Prayers, no Admonitions, and to be brief, by no Commands move them, who of all others ought moſt to have obeyed it. The ſhortneſs of the time ſuffereth us not to write to the Viceroy of theſe things, it ſhall be your part to certifie both him and other our Friends thereof; who if they had obeyed our command, or aided us with never ſo little a ſupply of Souldiers, happily we had not loſt the Caſtle* St. Elmo; *in defence whereof we have ſpent the beſt part of our Souldiers. Wherefore except the Viceroy make haſt to deliver us from this Siege, I fear that he cannot in time come; but eſpecially if we be here beſieged before the coming of thoſe our ſmall helps which we as in a Dream have promiſed unto our ſelves, and which we now ſcarce hope will be in time preſent. For all that, we do not diſtruſt of God his love and providence; by whoſe divine inſpiration the rare courage of the Viceroy being in ſhort time ſtirred up, will haſten hither to relieve us. For all our welfare conſiſteth in celerity. Our Enemies having drawn all their Fleet into the Haven* Marza Moxet, *are buſied in cleanſing the Caſtle, and repairing the Breaches, that they may afterward the better uſe them againſt us. Wherefore upon the ſight of theſe our Letters, ſend unto us the Captains* Catherin, Belcacar, Belmeſt, *and* Zoricius, *with their Companies, that we may uſe their faithful and valiant ſervice, God of his mercy ſend us aid from ſome place, and keep you. Fare you well, from our Caſtle* St. Angelo, *the twenty fourth of* June, 1565.

Meſquita having received theſe Letters, commanded a Galliot forthwith to be launched, and therein embarked *Maſius Cadmellus*, one of the Knights; to whom he delivered both the Letters of the Grand Maſter to him, and others of his own, almoſt of the ſame purport, directed to the Knights of the Order which lay at *Meſſana*, requeſting him with all ſpeed poſſible to paſs over with them into *Sicilia*.

Muſtapha *Baſſa ſendeth Meſſengers to the Great Maſter.*

In the mean time *Muſtapha* the Turks General ſent a Meſſenger to *Valetta*, and with him an old Spaniſh Captive, with promiſe of liberty if he would go with his Meſſenger to the Town, to talk with *Valetta* concerning the yielding up thereof, and to try if he would by any means, come to agreement; who coming to the Town, the Turk ſtill waiting at the Gate, the Chriſtian was let in, and brought to the Great Maſter, to whom he declared what he had in charge from the Baſſa. But as ſoon as *Valetta* heard of the name of compoſition and yielding, he was ſo filled with indignation, that had he not been a Chriſtian, he would preſently have commanded him to have been hanged. Wherefore he gave him choice either to tarry ſtill in the Town, if he thought ſo good, or elſe forthwith to return and tell his Companion, that if he got him not Packing quickly, he would ſend him farther off with a great ſhot. With this ſhort anſwer the Turk ſuddainly returned into the Camp. Whereupon *Muſtapha* fell into ſuch a rage, that he openly proteſted, never from that time to forbear any kind of cruelty againſt the Chriſtians. There was then with *Muſtapha* one *Philip*, of the moſt noble Grecian Family of *Laſcaris*, who of a Boy taken Priſoner by the Chriſtians in *Patras*, a City of *Achaia*, and by them honeſtly and courteouſly uſed, was therefore ever after well affected toward the Chriſtians; he privy to many of *Muſtapha*'s deſigns, by a certain divine motion thought he ſhould not a little profit the Chriſtians by revolting unto them; wherefore he reſolved to flie unto the Caſtle of Saint *Michael*. Which thing when he had oftentimes attempted, at length the firſt of *July* he caſt himſelf into the Sea (for by Land he could no way eſcape) and ſwum to the Caſtle, not without danger of his life; for diſcovered by the Turks, he was many times ſhot at both with their Arrows and ſmall Shot. He, brought to the Great Maſter, revealed unto him many of the Enemies Secrets, and alſo adviſed him what was beſt to be done at the point of Saint *Michaels*, to fruſtrate the Enemies purpoſe for the aſſailing of that place; with many other things, which were unto the Defendants no ſmall hlep; and afterwards as often as need was, during the Siege, fought valiantly againſt the Turks.

The anſwer of the Great Maſter to the Turks Meſſengers.

Philip Laſcaris *flieth from the Turks to the Caſtle St.* **Michael.**

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Codonellus* ſent as we have before ſaid into *Sicilia*, came in ſafety to *Meſſana* where he found the Chriſtian Fleet not yet ready to relieve the diſtreſſed Maltæſes; for the Spaniſh Ships were not yet come, and *John Andreas Auria* with eight and twenty Ships was ready to return to take in four thouſand Footmen, taken up in *Etruria* by *Capinus Vitallius*. Which backwardneſs the Knights of the Order conſidering, and what danger was in delay, after they had well debated the matter amongſt themſelves, they reſolved by the power of God by all means poſſible to help their Brethren. And for this expedition choſe two moſt fit Generals of their own Fellows (the Commanders of *Meſſana* and *Baroli*) who forthwith went to *Garzias* the Viceroy, declaring to him what things the ſacred Knights of their Order had done, not for the King of *Spain* only, but for the Chriſtian Common-weal, and alſo what great charge they had been at the year before in the Pinionian expedition, wherein they had neither ſpared Ships, Victual, nor Munition, neither their own Lives, to profit the King and the Chriſtian Common-weal. Beſides this, they beſought him well to conſider, that the loſs of *Malta* concerned not the ſacred Knights only, but all *Italy*, and eſpecially *Sicilia*, for the nearneſs of

The Knights of **Malta** *crave aid of the Viceroy.*

ſo troubleſome and puiſſant an Enemy. For theſe and other like reaſons, which the ſhortneſs of the time ſuffered them not to rehearſe, they requeſted of him four thouſand Footmen, with whom all the Knights of the Order which were there, and many other noble and voluntary Men would make all poſſible ſpeed to relieve the beſieged, which they had before in vain attempted; with which ſtrength they were in good hope, if not to repulſe the Enemy, or to recover that was already loſt, yet at leaſt to ſtop and ſtay his farther proceeding, untill ſuch time as he having rigged up and brought forth all his Fleet, might ſet upon the Turks, and (as was to be hoped) vanquiſh and diſperſe them. But whilſt the Viceroy having heard their requeſt, conſidereth what anſwer to make, a Meſſenger came unto him from *Spain*, but with what command from the King (although Men gueſſed diverſly) could not be known. But upon his coming, the Viceroy gave the Knights this cold anſwer, That he could not grant what they requeſted; for that in ſo doing he ſhould diſfurniſh his Fleet, and not be able afterwards to relieve them as he deſired; but if it pleaſed them to tranſport the Knights with part of the Biſhops Souldiers into the Iſland, they might ſo do with their own two Gallies they had already, whereunto he would alſo joyn another of his own. The Knights when they could obtain no more, accepted of that which was offered.

The cold anſwer of the Viceroy to the Knights.

Whilſt theſe Gallies were ſetting forward, thoſe four Gallies whereof we have before ſpoken, wherein were embarked eighty Knights and ſix hundred other Souldiers, having at Sea ſuffered many troubles by the ſpace of twenty days, could not as yet arrive at *Malta*; and becauſe the Viceroy had commanded that they ſhould not land, except they firſt knew whether the Caſtle Saint *Elmo* were ſtill holden by the Chriſtians, they ſent out a Frigot to land, promiſing that day and the next to tarry in the Sea for her return. In the mean time a great Tempeſt ſuddainly ariſing, it ſo fell out, that the Frigot could not at the appointed time return; wherefore the Gallies which expected her coming, fearing leſt ſhe had been either by Tempeſt loſt, or by the Enemy intercepted, retired unto *Pozalo* a Port upon the Coaſt of *Sicilia*, neareſt to *Malta*, there to expect ſome good News; where as ſoon as they had put in, they underſtood that Saint *Elmo* was yet defended; whereupon they put to Sea again, with purpoſe to have arrived at *Malta*. But when they were within two Leagues of the place where they thought to have landed, they ſaw a Fire there which cauſed them to miſtruſt that the place was poſſeſſed of the Enemy, and that he lay thereabout to intercept them; wherefore they returned again to *Pozalo*; where now underſtanding of the French Knight come from *Malta*, that that Fire was by his commandment, as a ſign that they might without fear come forward; they with all ſpeed made again for the ſame place, and at length the nine and twentieth day of *June* about midnight landed at the *Black Rocks* on the South ſide of the Iſland toward *Africk*, and unſeen of any, got in haſte to the City *Malta*, where they were joyfully received, and there ſtaid to expect what the Great Maſter ſhould command. In the mean time it fortuned, a great foggy Miſt (which ſeldom times there chanceth) to ariſe ſo thick, that a Man could hardly ſee for it; at which time a Boy of twelve years old looking by chance out of a Window in the Caſtle of *Malita*, ſuddainly as one afraid cried out, that he ſaw a Turk going from the City to the Caſtle of Saint *Michael*. Which thing ſome of the Knights hearing, ran preſently out that way, and found a Greek of the City *Melita*, who brought back and examined (for that without the Governors paſs it was not lawful for any Man to go out of the City) confeſſed, That his purpoſe was to have advertiſed the Turks of the coming of thoſe Souldiers, that ſo they might have intercepted them as they ſhould have come from *Melita* to the Grand Maſter; for which Treaſon he was as he had well deſerved cut in four pieces. Three days after, this new Supply come from *Sicilia*, in the firſt Watch of the night came all in ſafety from *Melita* to the Grand Maſter, except two or three Boys, who overcharged with Armor and other Baggage, were not able to keep way with the reſt. It is not to be told, how much the beſieged rejoyced at the coming of theſe their Friends; and eſpecially *Valetta*, who ſeeing the Flower of his Knights and other Souldiers, as it were by Divine Providence come unto him; with tears trickling down his Cheeks, and his Eyes caſt up to Heaven, ſaid:

A Traitor taken and executed at Malta.

The Souldiers new come out of Sicilia, *come to the Great Maſter.*

I thank thee, O Heavenly Father, which heareſt my Prayers, and forſakeſt not this thy little Flock, beſet round with ravening Wolves: theſe are the Works of thine everlaſting Goodneſs, Mercy and Providence.

The Prayer of Valetta.

Theſe new come Souldiers requeſted of the Great Maſter, as a Reward of their Pains, That they might be put in Garriſon into the Town Saint *Michael*, a place now moſt laid unto by the Turks; which thing he (commending their forwardneſs) eaſily granted; yet for all that removed not the old Garriſon. Theſe freſh and couragious Souldiers deſirous of nothing more than to fight with the Enemy, the next day ſallied out, and having ſlain two hundred of the Turks, and wounded as many more, without loſs of a Man returned, every Mans Sword imbrued in the Blood of his Enemy. Which thing *Muſtapha* the Turks General hearing, knew it was they which lately came into the Town; and thereupon fell in rage with his Captains, as that they had by their negligence entred. But the ſuſpicion grew moſt upon them which were appointed for the keeping of the uttermoſt part of the Iſland; which was the more increaſed, for that three Galliots of *Algiers* had withdrawn themſelves away; ſo that he neither truſted them nor the Renegate Chriſtians, who as occaſion ſerved fled dayly from him. For which cauſe he gave out Proclamation, That none of them ſhould lie by night out of the Gallies, and that ſuch as did otherwiſe, ſhould therefore be burnt, or impaled upon ſharp Stakes; and changing his Watches, appointed *Salec* with his Galliots, whom he thought to be more faithful, for the keeping of the Iſland. And that neither they nor the Chriſtians ſhould be able to attempt any thing, he chained together divers Gallies in the Entrance of the Haven *Marzamuſcet*, and cauſed the reſt of the Fleet to ride nearer together than before. But becauſe exceeding many were at that time ſick in the Turks Camp, of the Flux and other Diſeaſes; three places were aſſigned for them; one for the wounded Men near unto *Aqua Marina*, guarded with two thouſand Turks; another in the Poops of their Ships and Gallies for the Turks Voluntiers; and the third amongſt the Bulwarks, where the inforced Chriſtians were cured. At the ſame time, *Muſtapha* appointed *Ochial* Baſſa Governor of *Tripolis*, inſtead of *Dragut* before ſlain; who going thither with five Gallies, and having ſet all things in order there, returned again unto the Camp. With him the Baſſa had ſent two Ships loaded with Corn to *Tripolis*, there to make Bread, whereof they began to feel ſome want in the Camp. He alſo ſent *Zuloch* one of his Colonels to *Solyman*, to certiſie him of

Ochial *Baſſa made Governor of* Tripolis.

the winning of the Caſtle St. *Elmo*, and to deliver unto him the deſcription of the Iſland of *Malta* as they found it at their arrival; and further to declare unto him, That he found the *Maltæſes* ſtronger and better provided, than was at his ſetting forth ſuppoſed; wherefore if it were his pleaſure longer to continue the Siege, he ſhould ſend a new ſupply of Men, Victual, and other Warlike Proviſion; which if he did, he would then be in hope to take the other ſtrong places of the Iſland alſo, though not ſo ſoon as was at firſt ſuppoſed, and that in the mean time whilſt he expected Anſwer, he would not fail to do what he poſſibly might. And becauſe he would not ſeem to have written an untruth, he began his battery in fourteen places with 70 great pieces of Artillery, amongſt which was three moſt huge *Baſilisks*; for from the Gallows Promontory to *Aqua Martia*, and from thence to the Caſtle of St. *Elmo*, wherein he had placed 300 Janizaries, the Turks had incloſed all that compaſs with ſundry Bulwarks, Trenches, and Mounts, from whence they with their thundering Shot day and night inceſſantly battered the Towns and Caſtles of St. *Michael* and St. *Angelo*, overthrew the Walls, beat down the Bulwarks, and brake down the houſes in ſuch terrible manner, that ſcarce any could be ſafe therein; which of all others moſt troubled the fearful Women and Children. But the Turks in their Trenches reſted in far more ſafety; yet ſo, as they durſt not ſtray far out of the Camp, but truſting upon their multitude, and that not many times without their loſs, being cut off by the Horſemen of the Garriſon of *Malta*, who were ever ready at their heels.

A terrible battery.

When the loſs of the Caſtle St. *Elmo* was known at *Rome*, the City was filled with mourning and heavineſs; ſome were ſorry for the diſhonour, otherſome feared leſt the Calamities of the *Maltæſes* ſhould redound unto themſelves. There was alſo amongſt others, a certain envious and foul-mouth'd kind of men, altogether ignorant and unacquainted with Martial Affairs, who ſhamed not to lay the blame of the loſs of St. *Elmo* upon the Grand Maſter; whom both his own Valour, with the worthy Teſtimony of ſo many famous and valiant men as were there preſent with him, as alſo this Hiſtory gathered out of the true light of things then done, ſhall both for the time preſent and for all Poſterity ſufficiently acquit of ſo falſe a ſlander. *But he will eaſily blemiſh another mans name, that ſpareth not his own; neither can Ignorance rightly judge of the counſels of the Skilful; or Cowardiſe, of valiant deeds.*

Three Gallies depart from Meſſana with aid towards Malta.

But to return again to our purpoſe; we ſaid before, that three Gallies were made ready at *Meſſana*; in ſetting forth whereof, they which had the Charge uſed ſuch diligence, that the ſeventh of *July* they departed out of Harbour. In them (beſides the Knights of the Order) were imbarqued 600 *Spaniards*, and 300 of the Great Biſhops Souldiers, conducted by *Pompeius Columba*; the Mariners were part hired, part Slaves, to whom liberty was promiſed, if they would luſtily do their endeavour to get into the Haven, and to be accounted of as the reſt of the Souldiers were. And becauſe they would relieve the beſieged not with Men only, but with Victual alſo, they put into the ſame Gallies five hundred buſhels of Wheat, beſide Gunpowder, Salt-peeter, and Lead for Shot. And although it was thought a moſt hard matter, by the Haven it ſelf to enter into the Iſland, the Turks poſſeſſing it and all the places thereabouts; nevertheleſs there was in the Knights ſuch an earneſt deſire to relieve their Brethren, that they promiſed both to themſelves and others, all things eaſie and ſafe. But when they began to approach the Iſland, they ſent a Scout before, to underſtand by ſigns from the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, whether they were to proceed forward or not; who coming ſo far that they might diſcover the ſign, perceived thereby that they ſhould retire. Which thing the Turks perceiving alſo, preſently with the ſmoke of their great Ordnance and other things, they ſo obſcured the Air as with a thick Cloud, in ſuch ſort as that thoſe ſigns were no more to be diſcerned; but all in vain: for why, our Men had already deſcried them; ſo thoſe three Gallies returned again to *Sicilia*. For, *Valetta* that good Prince thought it not meet to bring ſo many of the ſacred Knights, ſo many noble Gentlemen and valiant Souldiers, into a moſt manifeſt danger; for he ſaw certain of the Turks Gallies to lie by night in the mouth of the Haven *Marza Moxet*, at a place called *The Little ſands*, to impeach the going in or out of the Haven Major. About the ſame time, they which lay in Garriſon in the City *Melita*, hearing of the notable Sally made by the Souldiers lately come, and taking heart thereupon, at ſuch time as the Turks were fetching in a certain booty of Cattel, the Horſemen purſued them; and having ſlain divers of them, recovered the Prey; and yet not ſo contented, chaſed them even to their Camp. But the other Turks ſeeing their Fellows flying in ſuch haſt towards them, raiſed an Alarm, ran to their Generals Tent, and for that time ceaſed their battery.

The Gallies upon a ſign given return back.

The Great Maſter probably conjecturing, that the Turks would in ſhort time aſſault both the Town and Caſtle of St. *Michael*, thought good by his preſence to encourage and ſtrengthen the Garriſon; and therefore was about to have gone thither by a Bridge made of Boats from the one point of the Land to the other, between St. *Michaels* and S. *Angelo*; but quickly underſtanding the certainty thereof, returned again into his Caſtle. Some there be that think, For him to have ſo done, had been a venturous part, and full of danger, and therefore to have been diſcommended; for that great things are performed, not ſo much by ſtrength of body as of mind, by politique counſel and direction, wherewith a General (although abſent) may yet with his Forces be always preſent; but the General once loſt (which may eaſily happen if he will preſent his Perſon to the danger) we ſee moſt commonly all fall together with him, no otherwiſe than do all parts of the Body when the Soul departeth. But other-ſome are of contrary opinion, That the Generals preſence, eſpecially in great dangers, is both praiſe-worthy and moſt neceſſary; for that he, as the Soul, cannot provide for, or rule the body, except it be preſent, yea placed therein; and that *Valetta* in ſo doing, followed the Examples of the greateſt Kings and moſt famous Generals; as of *Alexander the Great*, *Julius Cæſar*, *Themiſtocles*, *Marius*, and others; whoſe words unto their Souldiers were theſe, *I my ſelf will be your Conductor in the Field, in the battel partaker of the danger with you, you ſhall be in all things as my ſelf.* Beſides that, who knoweth not, that as in other things, ſo moſt of all in Martial Affairs, all things are better, more orderly, and more eaſily done when the Maſter is preſent; neither was the learned Poet his meaning any thing elſe, when in the Wars betwixt the *Latins* and the *Rutilians*, he ſaith, *Urget præſentia Turni?* whereupon they concluded, that the Great Maſter in going had done both valiantly, wiſely, and according to his duty. But this we leave for martial men to determine.

The King of Algiers cometh to aid the Turks.

A deſperate Fugitive.

The King of Algiers notably repulſed both by Sea and Land.

A hard ſhift to carry news

At the ſame time the King of *Algiers* came to Aid the Turks with ſeven Gallies and ten Galliots, and in them 2200 Souldiers, who ſorry that he was not there at the beginning, and deſirous to do ſome notable Act, and withall to make proof of the Valour of his Souldiers, requeſted the great Baſſa to beſtow upon him the firſt place in the beſieging the Caſtle of St. *Michael*; which he not only granted, but joyned to his Forces 2000 of his own beſt Souldiers. Theſe things obtained, he commanded ninety ſmall Veſſels by devices to be carried over land out of the Port *Marza-Moxet* to *Aqua Martia*, for that he purpoſed on that ſide to beſiege the Caſtle by water. But *Valetta* perceiving the Enemies purpoſe, both by ſeeing that was done, and alſo advertiſed thereof before by a Chriſtian Fugitive; preſently called unto him two faithful and skilful Ship-Maſters of *Malta*, and imparting the matter unto them, demanded what they thought beſt to be done to keep the Turks from landing, as it ſeemed they purpoſed at the Walls foot. They quickly perceiving the matter, anſwered, That in their opinion, if a Chain were made of Maſts and Sail-yards as Spars joyned together with iron rings, and ſo drawn all alongſt from the corner of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, to that place where the Enemy thought to land, their purpoſe might be ſo defeated. This device ſo pleaſed the Great Maſter, that the night following ſuch a Chain was made, and faſt mored in the appointed place. The Turks ſo ſoon as it was day perceiving this bar, ſtood as men doubtful, not knowing how by any means to land their men, as they had before purpoſed. Whilſt they ſtood ſo abaſhed, a Chriſtian Fugitive a moſt deſperate Villain (in which kind of men fooliſh hardineſs is accounted a vertue, and deſperation, conſtancy) came to the King, and promiſed him to break the Chain, and ſo with a Hatchet in his hand caſt himſelf into the Sea; after whom followed two or three more to help him; who ſwimming to the Chain, got up upon it, and began to hew apace with their Hatchets. Which the Chriſtians beholding, ſuddenly five or ſix of the *Maltæſes* ſwam thither with their drawn Swords in their hands, and having ſlain two of them, cauſed the other to fly; after which time none of the Turks was ſo hardy as to attempt the ſame. The barbarous King for all that gave not over his purpoſe ſo, but with wonderful diligence prepared for the Siege, which the fifteenth day of *July* began both by Sea and Land. But the Defendants turning their great Ordnance upon that place from whence the Galliots came, with the fury thereof (in the ſpace of three hours, which the Aſſault endured) ſlew two thouſand Turks, and ſunk twelve of the Galliots; the reſt coming as far as the Chain, when they could get no farther, nor land their men, turned their Prows upon the corner of the Caſtle, but were glad at laſt to retire and leave that they came for, undone. The aſſault by Land alſo endured five hours, wherein many of the Turks were ſlain; and of the Defendants 200, amongſt whom was *Fredericus* the Vice-Roy of *Sicilia* his Son, ſtruck in ſunder with a great Shot, *Gordius* a Frenchman, *Franciſcus Sanguera* and his Nephew *John*, Spaniards, all Knights of the Order: *Medina* was alſo wounded, whereof he afterward died. But *Valetta* conſidering into what danger the State of *Malta* was like to fall, if he ſhould be conſtrained to fight many ſuch fights, where his Souldiers wearied day and night without reſt, were ſtill to incounter with freſh men, and heard nothing of any Aid or new Supply; the 17 day of *July* he ſent a Meſſenger into *Sicilia*, who ſwam from the Caſtle to the fartheſt part of the Bay to *Aqua Martia*, and from thence eſcaped unknown through the midſt of the Enemies, unto the City of *Melita*, and ſo in a little Frigot came to *Meſſana*. By him the Great Maſter ſent Letters to the Vice-Roy, requeſting him to ſend him his own two Gallies with thoſe Knights which were at *Meſſana*, and ſuch other Souldiers as might in them be tranſported; willing them, that as ſoon as they came to the Iſland, they ſhould hover off aloof before the Haven, ready upon a ſign given to thruſt in. The ſame time that this Meſſenger arrived at *Meſſana*, came thither alſo the Fleet from *Spain*, wherein were many of the Knights of the Order from divers Nations. The Vice-Roy deſirous to ſend theſe two Gallies to *Valetta*, ſent Letters before unto him in ſecret Characters by two Frigots, wherein he certified him that he would ſend the Gallies, requiring to have from him ſome ſign whereby they might at their coming know whether they ſhould enter or retire; which Frigots taking divers courſes, one of them laded with Medicines, as was afterwards known, was intercepted by the Enemy; the other although ſhe came in ſafety to *Melita*, yet for as much as all the paſſages betwixt the Caſtle of St. *Michael* and the City *Melita*, were certain days before by the diligence of the Enemy ſhut up, and three which had uſed to paſs too and fro, intercepted and moſt cruelly executed; and beſides that, the Haven ſtraightly kept; the Knights of *Meſſana* could have no further direction from the Great Maſter, for the ſafe ſending of the two Gallies; yet nevertheleſs becauſe he had requeſted them, and they themſelves were of the ſame opinion (as he had before written) that where all ii in queſtion, the adventure of a little part is leſs to be feared; they thought it good to adventure them, yet with this regard, not to expoſe all thoſe Knights to ſo great a danger, but of them all to ſend only forty, with a convenient number of other Souldiers, and with them *Salazar* a Spaniſh Captain was ſent by the Vice-Roy to be landed [illegible] the Iſland *Gaulos*, who ſhould afterwards from thence in a Boat (for that purpoſe towed along by the Gallies) paſs over into the Iſland of *Malta* as a Spy, to take view both of the City and Enemies Camp.

A Bridge made over the Caſtle-Ditch by the Turks.

In the mean time the Turks mindful of the loſs received in the Aſſault of the Caſtle St. *Michael*, and deſirous of revenge, did ſo violently batter the Caſtle with their great Ordnance, that what the Defendants repaired by night, that they ſtill beat down again by day; and in time of battery made a Bridge, which the 20th day of *July* before the Sun riſing they laid over the Ditch, that they might as if it had been upon even ground, come to fight hand to hand with the Chriſtians. Which ſeen, and quickly perceived what danger it might bring, by and by *Pariſot* the Great Maſters Nephew, and *Agleria*, both Knights, with certain mercenary Souldiers ſallied out to have burnt the Bridge, but were ſo received of the Turks, that they were almoſt all ſlain together with *Pariſot* and *Agleria*, and yet the Exploit unperformed. The Turks without ceaſing continued their furious battery until the eight and twentieth of *July*, which day in the Afternoon they in divers places aſſaulted the Caſtle; thrice they with freſh and new Supplies relieved their repulſed and wearied Souldiers, and ſo fiercely maintained the Aſſault, that they made no doubt but that day to win the Caſtle.

But

The Turks repulſed.

But the Defendants with no leſs reſolution withſtood them, repulſing them with their Weapons, with Shot, Fire, and Force, and at length inforced them with no ſmall loſs of their men to retire from the Walls. This Victory ſo incouraged the beſieged, that now they made ſmall reckoning of the Enemy; but foraſmuch as our men always ſpared their great Ordance but in time of fight, and ſallied not out as they were wont, the Turks thought that the Garriſon was but weak, and that Shot and Power grew ſcarce in the Caſtle. Yet deceived in both, for that it was rather of purpoſe, than for want, ſo commanded by the Great Maſter; who hearing nothing of the coming of any Aid, and ſeeing the Enemy to give daily more fierce Aſſaults, would not vainly ſpend his moſt neceſſary helps. The Turks perceiving what little good they had done with their often Aſſaults, determined now to prove what might be done by undermining the Caſtle; and had almoſt brought one of their Mines to perfection before it was by the Chriſtians diſcovered; and to the intent they ſhould the leſs mark it, they cauſed two Gallies to come as near as they could to the Walls, and to batter that place; in hope that whilſt our men gazed upon that was done openly, they ſhould the leſs regard what they were working in ſecret, that ſo they might in the mean time more eaſily get into the Caſtle.

A Mine of the Turks defeated.

But the beſieged careful of all that was to be cared for, perceiving their purpoſe, with a countermine defeated their Mine, and by the couragiouſneſs of certain of their Souldiers, but eſpecially of one Ancient, drave out the Enemy, who having caſt certain pots of Wild-fire before him into the Mine, and following preſently after with a piece of Fire-work in his hand, forced him out. For which good Service he was by the Great Maſter rewarded with a Chain of Gold of five pound weight.

The Bridge made by the Turks burnt.

And becauſe of vertue ſpringeth vertue, which ſtill reſteth upon Difficulties, the next day, which was the firſt of *Auguſt*, the Bridge which we ſaid the Enemy had made over the Ditch, was by a ſally made by the Defendants burnt down with Fire and Gunpowder caſt upon it; which was in good time done; for the next day, the Sun now declining, the Turks again aſſailing that part of the Caſtle where *Carolus Rufus* had the charge, were by our men valiantly repulſed. This aſſault endured three hours, in which time 300 of the Turks were there ſlain; and of the Knights, *Rufus* himſelf and *Bareſus*, with certain mercenary Souldiers. At this time the Chriſtians were by the Enemy ſo ſhut in with the multitude of great Ordnance, that they could not ſo much as look into the Ditch or ſhew themſelves, much leſs ſally out, but they were preſently ſet off. Yet did they not for all that make ſpare of their lives when occaſion was given them to perform any notable Exploit; as appeared by *Calderonius* a Spaniard, who ſeeing ſome viewing that part of the Wall which the Enemy had moſt battered and ſhaken at the Caſtle Bulwark, doubted not to ſally out, but was preſently taken with a Bullet and ſlain; which miſchance when it might ſeem of right to have terrified the reſt from attempting the like, did indeed the more incenſe them; ſo that when they ſaw the Enemy exceeding buſie in filling the Ditch, they, reſolutely ſet down to offer themſelves to moſt aſſured death, rather than to fall into the hands of the mercileſs Enemy, agreed to ſally out by night, and to meet with his deſigns. Whereupon an hundred, part Knights, part other Souldiers, ſallying forth, cauſed the Enemy to forſake the Ditch and betake himſelf to flight, of whom they ſlew about fourſcore, and loſt of their own, ten men; amongſt whom were *Joannes* and *Manicrinus* two Knights, whoſe heads the Turks the next day ſet up upon two Spears upon their Trenches, that they might be ſeen by the Chriſtians.

The ſame day, they of the City of *Melita* at night made at one inſtant a number of fires, and as if it were in triumph diſcharged great Vollies of ſmall Shot, with many other tokens of joy; which as well the beſieged as the Turks thought verily to have been done upon diſcovery of the Chriſtian Fleet, or elſe the landing of ſuch Forces as were come to remove the Siege; whereas indeed it was neither, but done only to ſhew their chearfulneſs, and to keep the Turks in ſuſpence with the novelty of the matter; who for all that were not ſlack in their buſineſs, but with Earth filled up the Ditch at the Caſtle Bulwark; whereby it came to paſs that they could not be hurt by the Flankers made in that place to ſcour the Ditch, but might thereby, as upon plain ground, without ſtay paſs unto the Wall, now opened and overthrown with their continual battery, and with two great Pieces (which they had planted upon a high Mount which they had newly caſt up on the right hand the Bulwark *Savoire*) they began to play upon the Caſtle, and at the firſt ſhot, ſhot into the Loupe where *Franciſcus Caſtilia* commanded. *Joannes Bernardus Godinetius* a Spaniſh Knight was there ſlain with a ſmall ſhot.

Aquilates a Spaniard flieth to the Turks.

The ſame day *Franciſcus Aquilates* a Spaniard, one of the Garriſon-Souldiers, perſwaded by fear and hope (in dangers two evil Counſellors) fled out of the Town St. *Michael* to the Enemy; perſwading the Turks Colonels to give a freſh Aſſault, aſſuring them that they ſhould without doubt win the Town, becauſe there was but 400 Souldiers left alive in it, and they (as he ſaid) almoſt ſpent with labour and wounds, all the reſt being dead. Which the Turks hearing, and ſeeing fair breaches both in the Walls of the new City and of the Caſtle of St. *Michael*, wide enough for Carts to go through, they determined with all their Forces to aſſault both places at once, and to prove if there were yet ſo much ſtrength left in thoſe Holds, as again to repulſe them; ſo the 7th day of *Auguſt* at one inſtant they aſſaulted the new City at the Caſtle Bulwark, and the Caſtle St. *Michael* at the breach, with ſuch a multitude, that all the Earth ſeemed to be covered with men round about.

The Turks at one time aſſault the new City and the Caſtle St. Michael.

The thundring of the great Ordnance, the noiſe of the ſmall ſhot, with the clattering of Armor, and noiſe of Trumpets, Drums, and other War-like Inſtruments, with the cry of men on both ſides was ſo confuſed and great, as if Heaven and Earth ſhould have been confounded together. Which when the Knights in the City *Melita* heard, and ſaw the Heavens obſcured with ſmoke, fearing that the Turks (as at the Caſtle St. *Elmo*) would never give over the Aſſault until they had won both the Town and the Caſtle; preſently all the Garriſon-Horſemen iſſued out of the City, and to avert the Turks from the Aſſault, ſet upon thoſe Turks which lay at *Aqua Martia*; who all ſurpriſed with ſudden fear, fled, the Chriſtian Horſemen hardly purſuing them with bloody Execution, and they in their flight pitiouſly crying out upon their Fellows for help.

The Garriſon-Souldiers of Melita ſallying out cauſe the Turks to give over the aſſault at St. Michaels.

Whereby it came to paſs, that they which were aſſailing the City and Caſtle, to reſcue their diſcomfited Fellows, were glad to give over the Aſſault; ſo with great ſlaughter foiled on both ſides by the Chriſtians, they returned to their Trenches, when they had loſt about fifteen hundred at the Aſſault, beſide them which were ſlain in the chaſe by the Horſemen of *Melita.* Of the Defendants of both places were ſlain above an hundred, and almoſt as many wounded. This fight endured about five hours. *Valetta* delivered of ſo great a danger, that day and certain others, cauſed publique Prayers to be made, and went himſelf with the multitude of the Citizens to the Church, to give Thanks to Almighty God for that Victory.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Garzias* the Vice-Roy was advertiſed from *Calabria*, that certain Ships laded with Men, Victual, and other proviſion neceſſary for the Wars, were coming from *Conſtantinople* to *Malta*; wherefore he forthwith ſent *Altamira* and *Gildandrada* two Noblemen, with five Gallies to meet them; who being come within thirty miles of *Malta*, met with no ſuch Ships, but only one Frigot and a Galliot; the Frigot they took, but the Galliot eſcaped to the Enemies Fleet at *Malta.*

Muſtapha the Turks General now thinking no man ſo ſtrong which might not with continual labour and watching be wearied and overcome, reſolved not to give unto the beſieged any time of reſt, but commanded his Souldiers again to aſſault the breach at the Caſtle of St. *Michael*; where they were by the valour of the Defendants, with no ſmall ſlaughter quickly repulſed; neither did the Baſſa give ſo many aſſaults, for the hope he had to win thoſe places, but rather to perform the duty of a valiant General, and to ſatisfie *Solymans* pleaſure, who had expreſly commanded, either to win that Iſland, or there all to loſe their lives. He alſo ſent a Galliot in haſt with Letters to *Solyman*; wherein he ſhewed him the ſtate of the Fleet, with what difficulties the Army was diſtreſſed, what ſmall hope there was of winning the places beſieged, how well the Chriſtians were provided, with many other ſuch things.

Muſtapha *ſendeth a Meſſenger to* **Solyman.**

In the mean time thoſe two Gallies of *Malta* (which we have before ſpoken of) departing from *Meſſana*, came to *Syracuſa*, where they ſtayed a day. The next day after, in going out of the Haven, they met with one of *Malta* in a ſmall Boat coming from *Pozalo* ſore wounded; he being demanded how he was ſo hurt; told them, That landing by night with his Boat and one Companion, he was requeſted by two *Sicilians* which dwelt there, to reſt there that night; which they doing, about midnight five Turks brake into the houſe upon them, killed his Companion, carried away the *Sicilians*, and he wounded as he was, hardly eſcaped by the benefit of the night; moreover he ſaid, That the *Sicilians* had told the Turks, that two Gallies were come into that Port, with Souldiers and other War-like Proviſion bound for *Malta.* Whereby the Knights perceived, that their coming would be diſcovered unto the Enemy, and that it was a moſt dangerous thing, or rather impoſſible to get into the Haven of *Malta*, as they had before purpoſed; nevertheleſs, to conduct *Salazar* with his little Boat, they kept on their courſe. But as they were ſailing, they deſcried two Gallies and one Galliot going before them, who ſeeing the Gallies coming after them, made with all ſpeed to *Malta*; and were no doubt thoſe Gallies, from whence thoſe five Turks came, which had done thoſe things which the wounded *Malteſe* reported. For all that, theſe Gallies kept on their courſe as far as *Pozalo*, from whence they certified the Vice-Roy by Letters, all that had happened; and not daring to put to Sea, the South-wind blowing with a ſtiff gale againſt them, they returned back again to *Syracuſa*, expecting there farther direction from the Vice-Roy. For which cauſe, they forthwith ſent one of the Knights to him to *Meſſana*; by whom they received anſwer, That they ſhould go on farther, but to ſtay for the coming of the whole Fleet, ready in ſhort time to paſs over to *Malta.* But *Salazar* brought by the Gallies to *Pozalo*, reſolved with his little Boat to go on; and although the day he departed thence, the Air was troubled with great Wind, Thunder and Rain, yet the day following proving more calm, he in ſhort time arrived in the Iſland of *Malta*, and came in ſafety to the City *Melita*; and there diſguiſed himſelf in Turkiſh Apparel, and taking with him one Companion, who could alſo ſpeak the Turkiſh Language, by night got into the Enemies Camp; where diligently marking all things, they perceived that there was in all the Turks Army of Land-Souldiers ſcarce 14000, and of them many wounded and ſick; and that the reſt was but an unſerviceable and feeble multitude, for that the courſe of Wars had (as commonly it doth) conſumed their beſt Souldiers. When they had thus viewed the Camp, they returned again to the City; from whence *Salazar* with one *Petrus Paccius* a Spaniard, a venturous and valiant man, went to a certain place near unto the Watch-Tower of *Malecca*; which when they had curiouſly viewed, *Paccius* was there left, that obſerving the ſigns from the Iſland of *Gaulos* and the City of *Melita*, he might give knowledge of all things to the Vice-Roy at his approach, as he was by *Salazar* inſtructed. As for *Salazar* himſelf, he in his little Boat (which at his coming into the Iſle he had there left) happily returned to *Meſſana*, and there declared unto the Vice-Roy all that he had ſeen; conſtantly affirming amongſt other things, That the Turks Fleet was but weak, lame, and diſfurniſhed both of Men and Munition, far unable to encounter with 10000 Chriſtians. About which time alſo, one of the two Frigots which were before ſent to *Malta*, returned with another Spaniard, and a Fugitive from the Turks Camp; and four Gallies before gone from *Meſſana*, were alſo come in with fourteen Turks taken about the Iſland of *Malta*, who all confirmed the ſame that was by *Salazar* reported; Which was, That the Turks Army was with often aſſaults wonderfully weakned, both in number and ſtrength; ſo that they could not with ſtripes be enforced to the aſſault, for which the Baſſa had with his own hands ſlain divers of them; and that which more encreaſed their fear, they ſaw none of their men wounded, but that they died thereof: Beſides that, they ſaw the Chriſtians with invincible courage to defend their ſtrong places, and not to ſpend one ſhot in vain: Wherefore they were ſorry, and repented that they ever took in hand that Expedition; they deteſted ſuch a War, ſhrinking as much as they could from the Aſſault, and as they might, ſtealing quite away, which many of them did, ſpecially ſuch as before abjured the Chriſtian Faith. For which cauſe diligent Watch and Ward was kept, and Commandment given by the great Baſſa, that they ſhould reſolve with themſelves either to win the Town, or there all to lay up their bones, for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had ſo commanded, whom to gainſay, was in it ſelf death. Theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions, cauſed the Vice-Roy ſomewhat the ſooner to think of the bringing forth of his Fleet; the beſieged in the mean time did what men might for defence of the place and themſelves. There was in the Caſtle one *Franciſcus Ginara* Captain of the Vauntgard, a noble and

Salazar *a Spaniſh Captain as a Spy entreth the* **Turks** *Camp.*

valiant Gentleman, of a great conceit; he about ten foot from the Town-Wall, which the Enemy had with their great Ordnance beaten down, cauſed a Curtain to be drawn 50 foot long, and five foot thick, with Flankers at both ends, which in two nights was brought to perfection, and was afterwards a great help to the beſieged. The Enemy in the mean time began a Mine under the corner of the Town-Ditch, where *Boningſegna* a Spaniard and a moſt valiant Knight had the Charge; which the beſieged perceiving, by a countermine defeated the ſame. It hapned in the mean time, that a Fugitive was ſwimming to the Town, he was taken by the Enemy, which much grieved the beſieged, deſirous to have underſtood ſomething of the ſtate of the Enemies Camp, and of their purpoſes. Now when the former Mine had taken ſo evil ſucceſs, part of the Turks aſſailed the Caſtle of St. *Michael*, and part with Gunpowder thought to have blown up the Caſtle-Bulwark; but by the carefulneſs and courage of the Defendants, all their Attempts were diſappointed; for many of the Turks were in both places ſlain, and certain bags of Powder taken from them in the Mine. With theſe and other ſuch difficulties, *Muſtapha* and *Piall* the Turks Generals diſappointed of their hope, conſulted with the other great Captains of the Army, Whether they ſhould there ſtill continue that deſperate Siege, or depart? Where moſt were clear of opinion, That it was beſt betime to depart. Yet for all that, the old Baſſa ſaid, He would there ſtay, until the Galliot which he had before ſent to *Conſtantinople*, were returned with anſwer from *Solyman*, and in the mean time both by force and policy to ſeek after Victory; which thing he oftner did, than ſtood with the broken eſtate of his Army, or of the beſieged; neither reſting himſelf nor ſuffering others to take reſt; for one while he battered the Walls, another while he wrought Mines or elſe made Bridges; ſometime he caſt up Mounds, and then again filled the Ditches; and ever and anon gave one aſſault or another. In all which doing he uſed ſuch induſtry, that whatſoever he took in hand, was in ſhort time brought to ſuch perfection as might have carried a ſtronger place, had not the valour of the Defendants far exceeded all his ſtrong and politique devices.

The Turks Mines defeated by the Chriſtians.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the Camp-Maſter, and Governor of the Caſtle St. *Michael*, was by night viewing the ruines of the Wall, he was ſtruck in the head with a ſmall ſhot, and ſlain; leaving behind him to his Fellows, the great deſire of himſelf; for why, he was a man for many his good parts (wherewith he had many times ſtood the Defendants in great ſtead) worthily beloved. In whoſe ſtead the Great Maſter ſent one of the Colonels that was with himſelf, a moſt expert and reſolute Captain, to take charge of St. *Michaels* Caſtle; who by his valiant care and providence ſo well diſcharged the charge committed unto him, that as often as the Turks attempted the place, ſo often they were with loſs repulſed.

Robles *Governor of the Caſtle of St.* Michael, *ſlain.*

The two Gallies with the Galliot, deſcribed by the Gallies of *Malta* (as we have before ſaid) told *Piall Baſſa* the Admiral, that the Chriſtian Fleet was ready to come forth; wherefore he fearing the ſudden coming thereof, cauſed ſeventy Gallies to be in readineſs; beſides which forty others lay in the Haven *Marza Muscet* unſerviceable, as wanting both Men and other Equipages; for that was ſpent in making Bridges, Mines, and other ſuch things neceſſary for the Siege; as for the Men, they were part with ſickneſs, and part with often aſſaults conſumed. Wherefore *Piall* for certain days kept himſelf by day in the Port Major near the ſhore, and by night put forth to Sea, expecting the coming of the Fleet. But after long looking, when he ſaw no man appear, he again landed his Souldiers; and becauſe at Land the Baſſa began to want Powder, of every thirty Barrels of Powder in every Gally, he took out twenty, and of ſome twenty five, or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turks began with greater fury than at any time before, to batter the Walls of both Towns, eſpecially with thoſe great Pieces which they call *Baſilisks*, whoſe ſhot of two hundred pound weight was ſeven hands about; whereby the Walls of the Caſtle of St. *Michael* were beaten flat. And at the ſame time, the Baſſa at the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, had with continual battery ſo ſhaken the Caſtle Bulwark, that it was almoſt fallen quite down. Theſe breaches thus made, when the Turks ſaw both Towns barred of Walls and other Defendants, and laid ſo open, that nothing ſeemed now to let them to look upon their Enemies, they made no longer ſtay, but the 18th day of *Auguſt* (the Sun being now at the higheſt) with all their Power fiercely aſſaulted both the Towns. Thrice they were repulſed, and ſtill came on afreſh; yet at length beaten down on every ſide with greater ſlaughter, they were glad ſhamefully to give over the aſſault, and again to retire to their Trenches. In this moſt cruel fight (which endured five hours) the invincible courage of the Great Maſter notably appeared, who armed with a Pike in his hand, and dreadful to behold, was ſtill valiantly fighting in the face of the Breach; whoſe preſence incouraged not the Souldiers only, but even Boys and Women to fight; for ſo it is, that men are more moved with example, than with words. Yet of the great number of the Turks, part ſtood ſtill in the Town-Ditch, and to ſave themſelves from the ſhot of the Caſtle-Bulwark, had with wonderful celerity caſt up a defence of Earth, Fagots, and other like matter, which they did of purpoſe to approach and to undermine the Walls, and had therefore incloſed the ſpace of fifteen Elns; which when the beſieged perceived, they bent certain Pieces of Artillery upon it, and ſlew many of them, and with fire conſumed what was left.

The Turks at once aſſail the Towns of St. Angelo *and St.* Michael, *and are at both places repulſed.*

The next day the aſſault was at the ſame places by the Enemy renewed, who by reaſon of his number of Souldiers might eaſily ſend freſh men in ſtead of them which were wounded or weary; and firſt, after their wonted manner they battered both the Towns all that day until night; afterwards the Moon ariſing, about midnight with a horrible cry they began a moſt terrible aſſault, which at the firſt much troubled the Chriſtians, who yet ſtill mindful of their wonted valour, did ſo much with their Weapons and Fire-Works, that the Enemy evil intreated, was glad after three hours fight to retire to his Trenches. The ſame day a Mine was by the Defendants perceived, at the Caſtle Bulwark, wherein a hundred Turks there found, were almoſt all ſlain, and the Mine deſtroyed. Yet for all this did not the Enemy reſt at all, but the next day ſeven times aſſaulted the ſame Breaches, uſing now not Weapons only, but Fire-Works alſo; wherewith *Boſminſegna* had his face ſo burnt, that he loſt one of his eyes. At the ſame time alſo, the Turks at a place called *The Spur*, laboured mightily to have gotten into the Caſtle; where *Caſtrius* a Knight of an invincible courage, got up upon the Rampier, and with a Pike couragiouſly thruſt them down that were climing

Another aſſault.

up, and thruſting through one, diſcouraged the reſt; but was himſelf wounded in the Arm with a ſmall ſhot; yet when he had a little withdrawn himſelf to have his Wound bound up, he came again to the Rampier, and never departed from the fight, until he had (as a valiant Conqueror) preſerved the place. So the Turks with great ſlaughter on every ſide repulſed, left the Victory to the Chriſtians, of whom were ſlain almoſt an hundred, and moſt of them (as at other times) with ſhot; amongſt whom were theſe moſt valiant Knights; at the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, *Fragus*; at the Caſtle of St. *Michael*, *Sciplo Piatus*, *Joh. Baptiſta Soderinus*, *Paulus Bomportus*, *Marius Fagianus*, *Ruffinus*, and certain others, men worthy of longer life. The Turks had alſo at the ſame time wrought a Mine at the Caſtle St. *Michael*, which was at once both diſcovered and deſtroyed.

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter.

The Turks aſſault both the Towns the fourth time.

The Turks enter the new City.

The comfortable Speech of the Great Maſter when the Turks were entred.

The Turks with great ſlaughter again repulſed.

With theſe ſo many and ſo great Aſſaults, certain of the Knights (and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort) fearing leſt that which was ſo often attempted by the Enemy, ſhould at length be effected; told the Great Maſter, That they thought it convenient and neceſſary, to remove all the Records, all the Pictures and Reliques of the Saints, and other their religious things into the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, there to be kept as in a place of more ſtrength and aſſurance. The Great Maſter, although he well knew that they which thus ſaid, ſpake it of a good mind, was for all that with that ſpeech exceedingly moved; wherefore he ſhortly anſwered them, That ſo to do, were nothing elſe but to appaul and diſcourage the minds, not of the *Maltæſes* only, who had hitherto valiantly behaved themſelves, and done more than any man could have hoped for; but alſo of the mercenary Souldiers, if they ſhould perceive it; wherefore he was reſolved, either together to keep all, or loſe all; and becauſe none ſhould from thenceforth repoſe any hope in the ſtrength of the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, he ſaid he would bring all the Garriſon out of the Caſtle into the Town, that there they might together with others withſtand the Enemy; and that he would leave in the Caſtle none but Gunners, who ſhould as need required ſhoot at the Enemy; an anſwer truly well beſeeming a man of his place, and to be to all Poſterity commended; for how can the Souldier hope, which ſeeth his Captain deſpair? or adventure, where the Chieftain ſeems to be ſtruck with fear? Whilſt the Grand Maſter with this anſwer doth both aſhame them and alſo encourage their quailing minds; the Turks (that this day as the other three before ſhould not paſs without aſſault) with the dawning of the day aſſailed the very ſame places with the greateſt fury poſſible, eſpecially at the ruines of the Caſtle; where *San Romanus* an *Avergnois*, which had the charge of that place, loſt this ſhort and tranſitory life, winning thereby immortal Fame; and at St. *Michaels*, *Adurnius* one of the Knights, and *Fagio* with certain others, were grievouſly wounded; for the Enemy ſuddenly retiring from the Aſſault, preſently ſo thundred into the Breaches with their great and ſmall ſhot, that all the Iſland ſeemed to tremble, the Heavens to burn, and the Air to be darkned with ſmoke. In the mean time *Valetta* throughly wearied with the mornings fight, had withdrawn himſelf a little to breath himſelf; when ſuddenly a Spaniſh Prieſt, with his hands caſt up to Heaven, came running to him, roaring and crying out, That all was loſt and forlorn, and that three or four Enſigns of the Enemies were by the Caſtle breach broken into the Town. Which the great Maſter hearing, ſuddenly clapt his Helmet upon his head, and with a Pike in his hand, ſaid unto them that were about him, *Lo, Fellow-Souldiers, the hour is come wherein you may ſhew your ſelves the moſt valiant Champions of the Chriſtian Religion, if it be ſo, that you now alſo retain the ſame valour which you have in other battels ſhewed. There is no cauſe wherefore you ſhould doubt of this laſt, for the Enemy is the ſame; and the ſame God which hath hitherto preſerved us, will not now forſake us; wherefore follow me, valiant hearts.* This ſaid, he haſted to the place where moſt danger was, and with him all the Souldiers, all the Citizens Men and Women, old and young, yea the very Children, all againſt the Common Enemy. There was fought a moſt dreadful and dangerous battel; ſome kept the Enemy from entring, ſome ſet upon them that were already entred, whom they wounded, chaſed, and ſlew, although they notably reſiſted. Within, without, all was covered with Weapons, Darts, dead Bodies, and Blood. The Great Maſter was careful of all, and in every place preſent, commending, exhorting, directing, as occaſion required, performing at once all the duties of a moſt valiant Souldier and worthy General. At length the Turks with the ſetting of the Sun retired, and ſo the Aſſault ceaſed. Thus was the Great Maſter the undoubted Victor, but not without much blood of his people, conſidering his ſmall number; for in this fight he loſt above 200 Men, whereas of the Enemies, beſide them which were entred, whereof not one eſcaped, were ſlain above 2000. Theſe are thoſe four terrible Aſſaults, preſently given one after another unto the beſieged.

Garzias the Vice-Roy in the mean time tarried for nothing elſe to tranſport his Army to *Malta*, but for the coming of *Jo. Cardona*, who with twelve Gallies was gone to *Panormo*, to conduct thence four Ships laded with proviſion; but when he ſaw him ſtay long, he ſent to him in poſt, That if he could not with ſuch ſpeed as was required tow forth thoſe Ships, he ſhould ſpend no longer time, but take out the proviſion into his Gallies, and with ſpeed to come away. So the Vice-Roy with a Fleet of 72 Gallies the twentieth day of *Auguſt* ſet forward from *Meſſana* to *Syracuſa*, wherein he carried ten thouſand ſelect Souldiers, amongſt whom were above two hundred Knights of the Order of St. *John*, and above forty of the Order of St. *Stephen*, which is an Order of Knights inſtituted by *Coſmos Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, to the imitation of the Knights of *Malta*, in the year 1561. and have their reſidence at *Coſmopolis*, a new built City in the Iſland of *Elba* in the Tuſcan-Sea, over againſt *Piombino*. Beſides theſe Knights, in this Fleet were divers noble and valiant Gentlemen of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and other Countries. The Fleet being arrived at *Syracuſa*, the Vice-Roy ſent *Auria* with one Gally and a Boat to *Malta*, to land a man, to know of *Paccius* (left, as we have before ſaid, for a Watch in the Iſland at *Maleca*) what News, or what he had ſeen. By whom it was underſtood, That no Ship was ſeen at Sea, but one Galliot, which the one and twentieth day of *Auguſt* in the morning made towards *Gaulos*, and the ſame day towards night as he was informed by the Watchmen of *Maleca*, ſixteen Gallies came to water at *Salina*, but what became of them afterwards, by reaſon of the coming on of the night could not be deſcried.

In this while the beſieged had notably repaired the Breach at the Caſtle Bulwark, and had in ſundry places aptly placed certain great Pieces to Flanker the Ditches, and to beat the Mount caſt up by the Enemy at the Bulwark of *Bononſegna*, that they might from thence annoy all the plain of the Caſtle with their ſmall ſhot. But the Turks having determined with all their Forces at once to aſſault both the Towns as before, brought an Engine made of Spars and Boards, able to cover thirty Men, under the Breach at St. *Michaels*; whereby it came to paſs, that none of the Defendants could without danger ſhew themſelves in the Breach; which when they could by no means endure, they ſuddenly ſallied out, and putting them to flight which were there covered, ſet fire on the Engine and burnt it. In like manner, they which beſieged the new City, were repulſed at the Caſtle breach, and another like Engin burnt. The next night, certain of the Watch of the Caſtle iſſued out, and having deſtroyed the Turks Engins prepared for the aſſailing of that place, and ſlain them that were ſet for the keeping thereof, returned in ſafety into the Caſtle. But when the Enemies both that day and others following reſted not, but repairing their Mines, Mounts, and Engins, laboured in both places to have beaten the Chriſtians from the Walls; all their endeavour and labour was by the induſtry and valour of the Defendants made fruſtrate. The beſieged had at the Caſtle breach made a Mine, and laid in it eight Barrels of Powder, that if the Enemy ſhould again aſſault that place, he might there be blown up; but whilſt the Turks were for like purpoſe working a Mine in the ſame place, they chanced upon the Mine before made, which they ſpoiled, and carried away all the Powder. Thus whilſt they labour both on the one ſide and the other, *Muſtapha* the General, a moſt expert and famous Commander, conſidering that Summer now ſo far ſpent, he was not to uſe longer delay; and withall, that reſolute perſeverance oftentimes in War findeth out a way to Victory; determined with all his Power once again to aſſault the Caſtle St. *Michael*. Wherefore diſplaying the ſtately Standard of the Turkiſh Emperor, upon the point whereof was faſtned a Globe of Gold, he commanded his Souldiers to enter the Breach; who now like deſperate men attempted to have performed his Command, and were by the Chriſtians valiantly encountred; ſo that in the Breach was made a moſt terrible and doubtful fight. But when the Turks had now been twice rejected and beaten down; *Muſtapha* perceiving his Souldiers as men half diſcouraged, but faintly to maintain the Aſſault, came himſelf to the places, praying and exhorting them not to be diſcouraged, but that day to confirm their former Labours and Victories; and not to ſuffer their vanquiſhed Enemies to triumph over them; he told them that the Enemy had now no defence left wherewith to cover himſelf, that all was beaten down flat, and and that there remained only a few weary and maimed Bodies, which were not able long to indure the edge of their Swords; that with ſuch reſolution they had before won the Caſtle St. *Elmo*; laſt of all, he by promiſing to ſome Money, to ſome Honour and Preferment, threatning ſome, and requeſting others, incouraged ſome one way, ſome another, every one according to his quality and diſpoſition; who moved either with their Generals preſence, promiſes, or threats, gave a freſh and fierce aſſault. The fight was on both ſides terrible, yet at length the Turks were again inforced to retire; for the Defendants had caſt up a Rampier, whereon they had fitly placed two Field Pieces, wherewith they ſore troubled the Enemy, and at the firſt ſhot ſtruck in ſunder one of thoſe wooden Engins, which the Enemy had made ſtronger than the reſt, covered with raw Hides to keep from burning, and rent in pieces forty Souldiers which were under it; and the ſame night they which were in the other Town and the Caſtle Bulwark, ſallying couragiouſly out, deſtroyed all the Enemies defences, and drave them from a Mount which they had made upon the Fortifications of the Chriſtians; whereby they perceived plainly, what ſmall courage the Turks had to fight, for upon that Mount they were almoſt 300, whereas of our men was but 25, with which ſmall number for all that, they had no mind to deal. The Defendants had for like purpoſe as before, made another Mine at the Caſtle Bulwark, but perceiving that it was in danger to be found by the Enemy in repairing his Fortifications without, they ſuddenly put fire unto it, by force whereof threeſcore Turks which were within the danger of the place, were blown up and ſlain.

A Mine of the Chriſtians found by the Turks.

The Turks deſperately aſſault the Town of St. Michael.

The Turks forced to retire.

Garzias the Vice-Roy, in the mean while that theſe things were in doing, departing with his Fleet from *Syracuſa*, with a proſperous Wind kept on his courſe tward *Pachynum*, where they deſcried a tall Ship at Sea, driven thither (as was afterward known) by Tempeſt; ſhe out of the Iſland *Mening* was carrying a great ſupply of Shot and Powder unto the Turks Camp at *Malta*; but now overtaken by the Chriſtian Fleet, eaſily yielded, and was by the Vice-Roy ſent by other Mariners to *Syracuſa*. And now the Chriſtian Fleet carried with a fair gale towards *Malta*, ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a Tempeſt from the Eaſt, that they were driven to the Iſland *Æguſa*, two hundred and twenty miles Weſt of *Malta*, from whence the firſt of *September* Letters were brought from the Vice-Roy to the Great Maſter, certifying him, That he would in ſhort time come with his Fleet and relieve him. The ſame day alſo a Chriſtian fled out of the Turks Gallies, wherein he was Captive, to the City St. *Angelo*; who reported, That in the Turks Camp were few men able to fight, moſt of the Army being with Wounds, Famine, Sickneſs, and other Miſeries brought to extream weakneſs; and beſides that, that infinite numbers of them died daily; yet for all that he ſaid moreover, that they were determined to beſiege the City of *Melita*, and had already for that purpoſe mounted five great Pieces of Artillery for battery; and that they had but a few days before taken twelve, and the laſt day of all fourteen Horſemen of the Garriſon-Souldiers of that City. In the mean while the Fleet which was driven (as we ſaid) to *Æguſa*, the rage of the Sea being now well appeaſed, came to *Drepanum*, and from thence toward *Gaulos*, as was before intended; where by the way the two Gallies of *Malta* light upon two of the Turks Galliots, and took them.

The Chriſtian Fleet driven by Tempeſt to the Iſland Ægusa.

The fifth day of *September* the Chriſtian Fleet came to *Gaulos*, where the Vice-Roy perceiving not the appointed ſigns from *Malta*, whereby he might ſafely land, returned forthwith back again to *Pozalo*, whither *Auria* immediately following him, told him, That he had ſeen the ſigns, and aſſured him of ſafe landing in the Iſland of *Malta*; wherewith the Vice-Roy encouraged, the next day towards night returned again to *Gaulos*.

The Chriſtian Fleet cometh to Gaulos.

The ſame day a Chriſtian Captive fled from the Turks to St. *Angelo*, and told the Great Maſter, That he was come to bring him good News, how that the Turks had determined to prove their laſt Fortune in aſſaulting the Caſtle St. *Michael*, which they would do the next day, where if the ſucceſs were anſwerable to their deſire, they would then tarry, but if not, then forthwith to be gone; and that *Muſtapha* the more to encourage his Souldiers, had promiſed five Talents of Gold to the Enſign-bearers, that ſhould firſt advance their Enſigns upon the Walls

A fugitive diſcovereth the enemies purpoſes to the Great Maſter.

and farther to promote them to greater places of Honour; as for the reſt, he would reward every one of them according to their deſert, either with Money or Preferment. *Valetta* thinking all theſe things to be by Gods appointment diſcovered unto him by ſuch men, as they had from time to time been; firſt gave thanks unto Almighty God; and after that, with all diligence prepared ſuch things as he thought moſt neceſſary for the repulſing of the Enemy. But the Turks all that day with their great Ordnance battered the new City, and the Shipping in the Haven, in ſuch ſort that one of the great Ships was there ſunk.

The Vice-Roy arriveth at Malta, *and landeth his Forces.*

In the morning *Garzias* the Vice-Roy with his Fleet arrived at the Iſland of *Malta*, and there quickly and quietly landed his Forces, and whilſt his Gallies watered at *Gaulos*, went forward with the Army about half a mile, inſtructing the Generals and Colonels, what he thought needful to be done, commanding all Proclamations and Commands to be made in the name of the King of *Spain*, until they came to the Great Maſter, and then in all things to obey him as their Sovereign; and charged *Aſcanius Cornia* the General, in all his actions to follow the counſel of the greater part. So in few words exhorting them to play the men, he left them marching towards *Melita.* About noon he retired to his Gallies, and ſailing Eaſtward, came with all his Fleet within the ſight of the City of *Melita*, about three miles diſtant from the South ſhore. They of the City upon ſight of the Fleet, in token of joy diſcharged all the great Artillery, which was anſwered from the Fleet, by diſcharging all their great Ordance twice. After that, he returned as he had before determined into *Sicilia*, to take into his Gallies the Duke of *Urbins* Companies, which were come to *Meſſana*, and certain Bands of Spaniards at *Syracuſa*, and ſo forthwith to return to *Malta*, to attend the departing of the Turks Fleet, being now evil appointed, and already as good as half overthrown.

The Turks, who (as is before ſaid) had purpoſed to prove their laſt Fortune upon the Town of St. *Michael*, had now certain days before the coming of the Fleet, begun to truſs up their Baggage; but as ſoon as they heard that the Fleet was come, and the Army landed, there ſuddenly aroſe a wonderful tumultuous confuſion amongſt them, ſome cried, Arm, arm, and otherſome as faſt to be gone; and being generally all afraid, every one according to his diſpoſition, betook himſelf to his Weapons or to his heels; the greateſt number thruſt together into their Trenches as near as they could unto the great Ordnance; and ſo burning the Engins and Fortifications, with all the ſpeed they could imbarked their great Ordnance and Baggage. Which they in the Town of St. *Angelo* perceiving, not expecting the Commandment of the Great Maſter in ſo ſudden an opportunity, couragiouſly ſallied out to *Burmolo*, where certain Turks kept a huge great Piece of Ordnance; who now having no mind to fight, betook themſelves to flight, and forſook the Piece; which they of the Town preſently drew within their Walls; and if the new-come Forces had that day charged the Enemy as they diſorderly ran to their Gallies, happily they had either found an occaſion of Victory, or at leaſtwiſe taken from them the greateſt part of their Artillery. But it may be, that they followed the old Military ſaying, That unto the flying Enemy a man ſhould make a Bridge of Silver. Beſides that, they thinking it not convenient to depart from the proviſion and things which they had brought for the relief of the beſieged; which for the roughneſs of the way and want of Horſes were hardly carried, would not provoke the Enemy with any Skirmiſh; whereby it came to paſs, that the Turks without let imbarked their great Ordnance, their Baggage, and moſt part of their Army. The 11th of *September*, whilſt the Turks Fleet was brought out of the Haven *Marza-Moxet*, a Fugitive of *Genoa* came in haſt to the Great Maſter, and told him, that 10000 Turks were marching toward *Melita*, to meet with the Chriſtians upon the Way. Which thing the Great Maſter hearing, preſently ſent a ſufficient number of good Souldiers to the Caſtle St. *Elmo* there to ſet up one of the Enſigns of the ſacred Order; who coming thither, found there four and twenty great Pieces, ſome for battery, ſome for the field, which they could not in ſo great haſt remove thence.

The Turks forſake the Siege.

The Turks Fleet departing out of the Haven *Marza-Moxet* to the Port of St. *Paul*, there landed ſeven thouſand men, with *Muſtapha* their General, who was falſly informed, That the Chriſtians were not above three thouſand ſtrong; and from thence incouraged with the ſmall number of the Enemies (as they ſuppoſed,) they marched directly toward *Melita.* The Chriſtians alſo marching orderly and ready to give battel, held on their way to meet them; and at the riſing of an hill both Armies meeting together, they gave a great ſhout, and withall the formoſt began the battel, where ſome few were at the firſt ſlain on both ſides. But the Chriſtians ſtill growing upon them both in number and ſtrength, the Turks finding themſelves overcharged, fled, the Chriſtians purſuing them and killing them until they came to their Gallies; where in ſtriving who ſhould get in firſt, about four hundred of them were drowned in the Sea, beſides eighteen hundred ſlain in the battel at land; and had the Chriſtian Souldiers well known the Country, they had ſlain them every Mothers Son. The Turks thus driven to their Gallies, lay there in the Haven all the next day, and moſt part of the night following; but little before day, upon the ſhooting off of a great Piece, the ſign of their departure, they all hoiſed Sail for *Gertia*, leaving the Iſland of *Malta* ſore impoveriſhed and waſted. In this Siege the Turks loſt about four and twenty thouſand, whereof moſt part were of their beſt Souldiers; and of the Chriſtians were ſlain about five thouſand, beſides two hundred and forty Knights of the Order, Men of divers Nations, but all worthy eternal Fame, whoſe dead Bodies the Great Maſter cauſed to be honourably buried. The Turks in their battery during the Siege, ſpent as is accounted, threeſcore and eighteen thouſand great ſhot.

The Turks overthrown by the Chriſtians, fly to their Gallies.

The Turks depart from Malta.

If a man do well conſider the difficulties and dangers the beſieged paſſed through in this five months Siege, the manifold labours and perils they indured in ſo many and ſo terrible aſſaults, the ſmall Relief to them ſent in ſo great diſtreſs, with the deſperate obſtinacy of ſo puiſſant an Enemy; he ſhall hardly find any place theſe many years more mightily impugned, or with greater valour and reſolution defended. The late beſieged, and now Victorious Prince, honourably acquitted of ſo great an Enemy, firſt commanded Publique Prayers with Thankſgiving to be made unto the Giver of all Victory; after that, he rewarded the Valiant, commended the reſt, and gave thanks to all, he charitably relieved the ſick and wounded, bewailed the ſpoil of the Iſland, and carefully provided for the repairing of the Breaches and Places battered; and yet in all this doing, diligently inquired after the Enemies

The thankfulneſs of the Great Maſter.

Courſe and purpoſe, and was not in any thing remiſs or ſecure, as in Victory moſt Men are. But becauſe ſo great harms could not without great helps in ſhort time be repaired, and the return of the proud Enemy, not without cauſe the next year feared; he by Letters to divers great Princes, and eſpecially to the Grand Priors of the Order, in divers Countries, requeſted help; amongſt whom *George*, Grand Prior of *Germany*, and Founder of the Caſtle of Saint *Elme*, was one of the chiefeſt. The Copy of which Letters, becauſe they briefly contain what we have before in this Hiſtory at large written, I have thought good here to ſet down, that the ſame may in ſuch order be read, as it was by the Great Maſter himſelf reported.

Brother *Valetta*, Maſter of the Hoſpital of *Jeruſalem*, to the Reverend and Religious our well beloved Brother in Chriſt *George* of *Hohenheim*, called *Bombaſt*, Prior of our Priory in *Almaine*, Greeting.

The Great Maſters Letters to the Grand Prior of Almaine, concerning the manner of the Turks proceedings in the Siege of Malta.

ALthough we doubt not but that by the Letters and Relation of many, you already underſtand of the coming of the Turks to invade theſe Iſlands, or rather utterly to ſubvert our Society; and the happily and heavenly Victory by us obtained of it; yet if the ſame things ſhall by our Letters alſo be brought unto you, we have thought the ſame will be unto you a thing much more pleaſing. For ſeeing that we are certainly perſwaded, that you in this no leſs happy than wholeſome ſucceſs will give moſt hearty thanks to Almighty God, and that the fruit of this good ſhall moſt of all redound unto you, for the honour which you bear in our Order; we have willingly determined to participate this our joy with you, and plainly and openly to proteſt, that we attribute this ſo notable and wonderful a Victory to our Lord Chriſt Jeſus, the greateſt King of all Kings, and Author of all good things: Which that you may the more worthily and willingly do, we will declare the whole matter, not at large (for that were to write an Hiſtory) but briefly and in few words. Sultan Solyman *the moſt mortal Enemy of the Chriſtian Name, and eſpecially of our Society, not contented to have ſpoyled us of the moſt famous Iſland of the* Rhodes, *the Caſtle of* Tripolis, *and almoſt whatſoever we had elſe; commanded a great and ſtrong Fleet to be made ready againſt us; which departing from* Conſtantinople *the one and twentieth day of* March, *arrived here the eighteenth day of* May: *Which Fleet conſiſted of almoſt two hundred and fifty Gallies, Galliots, and other Ships. The number of the Enemies that bear Arms, according to the truth, was about forty thouſand more or leſs: General of the Land Forces, was* Muſtapha *Baſſa; and of the Fleet,* Pial *Baſſa was Admiral; who having ſpent a few days in landing their Forces, viewing the places, pitching their Tents, and ſetting things in order (as the manner of War is) they began firſt to aſſail the Caſtle of Saint* Elmo *(ſituate in the mouth of the Haven) with great Force and moſt furious Battery. Which when they had many days done without intermiſſion, and had opened a great part of the Wall, and with all kind of Weapons aſſaulted the Breach; yet was it by the Valour and Prowess of our Knights, and other worthy Souldiers, kept and defended by the ſpace of thirty five days with the great loſs and ſlaughter of the Enemy; although the Caſtle it ſelf, in the Judgment of many, ſeemed not poſſible to be but a few days defended againſt ſo great a Force. At length the four and twentieth day of* June, *when our Men could no longer endure the multitude and fury of the Enemy, environed and ſhut up both by Sea and Land, and deſtitute of all help, the Caſtle was taken by the Turks; thoſe few of our Men which were left, being all ſlain. Of which Victory they being proud, began to beſiege the Caſtle and Town of Saint* Michael, *and this new City, eſpecially at the Caſtle and* Portugal *Bulwark; and (as their manner is) with great diligence and greater force and number of great Artillery and Warlike Engins, they began in divers places at once to batter and beat down the Walls. Which Siege, the dreadful Army of the Turks by Sea and Land, made to be moſt fearful and terrible, with ſuch huge great Ordnance, as the like for bigneſs and force was in no place to be ſeen; day and night thundring out their Iron and Stone Shot, five and ſeven hands about; wherewith not the thickeſt Walls, but even the very Mountains themſelves might have been beaten down and overthrown; by fury whereof, the Walls in many places were ſo battered, that a Man might eaſily have entred as on plain ground. Where, when the barbarous Enemies had with wonderful Force and hideous* Outcries *oftentimes attempted to enter, ſo often were they with great Slaughter and Diſhonour repulſed and beaten back; many of their Men ſlain or wounded. Their Generals, as well at Sea as Land, after that they had in ſo many places, with all their Forces in almoſt four months Siege and Aſſault, with exceeding fury in vain attempted the Breaches, and loſt the greateſt part of their old Souldiers, eſpecially Winter now coming on, wherein all Wars by Law of Nations ought to ceaſe; thought of nothing elſe but of departure, or rather of flight; which the coming of* Garzias *of* Toledo, *Viceroy of* Sicilia, *and Admiral of the King of* Spain *his Fleet, with ten thouſand ſelect Souldiers (amongſt whom were at the leaſt two hundred and fourteen of our Knights, and many other noble and valiant Gentlemen; which only with a Chriſtian Zeal, voluntarily met together from divers parts of the World to help and relieve us) cauſed them to haſten. So have you ſummarily and in few words, the proceedings and flight of the Turks Fleet, and the Victory by us (by the power of God) thereof obtained. It ſhall be your part to conſider and conjecture, in what ſtate our Order and this Iſland now ſtandeth, into what poor eſtate we are brought, how many things we want; wherein except we be relieved by the help and aid of our Brethren, eſpecially ſuch as you are, as we well hope, and aſſuredly believe we ſhall, our State will quickly take end. Fare you well. From* Malta *the ninth of* October, 1565.

The Great Maſter thus delivered of ſo great a Siege, and bountifully relieved by the Chriſtian Princes, and the great Commanders of his Order; ſpeedily repaired the Breaches and places battered, and with new Fortifications ſtrengthned thoſe places as he had by the late paſſed dangers perceived to be moſt ſubject to the Enemies Force.

After the return of the Turks Fleet to *Conſtantinople*, *Solyman* being exceeding angry with the Governor of the Iſland of *Chios* his Tributary; as well for that he had during the late Siege of *Malta*, had intelligence with the Great Maſter, and revealed unto him many of the Turks Deſigns; as alſo for detaining of two years Tribute, which was yearly ten thouſand Ducats; and had alſo neglected to ſend his wonted Preſents to the great Baſſaes, who therefore the more incenſed the Tyrant; commanded *Pial* Baſſa his Admiral to make ready his Fleet, and by Force or Policy to take that fruitful and pleaſant Iſland wholly into his own hand. Who without delay, with a Fleet of eighty Gallies the fifteenth day of *April* in the year 1566, being then Eaſter day, 1566.

The Iſland of Chios *taken by the Turks.*

arrived at *Chios.* The chief Men of the Iſland upon ſight of the Fleet, forthwith ſent Embaſſadors to the Baſſa with Preſents, courteouſly offering unto him the Haven, and whatſoever elſe he ſhould require. *Pial* with great kindneſs accepted their offer, and preſently poſſeſſed himſelf of the Haven in three places; and afterward landing, ſent for the Governor of the City and twelve of the chief Citizens to come unto him, as if he had ſome ſpecial matter to confer with him about from the great Sultan, before his departure thence for *Malta* or *Italy.* Who having a little conferred together, went to him with great fear; and that not without cauſe; for as ſoon as they were come before him, he commanded them to be laid hold upon and caſt faſt into Irons; which done, the Souldiers forthwith took the Town Hall, and without reſiſtance pulling down the Towns Enſign, (wherein was the Picture of Saint *George* with a red Croſs) inſtead thereof ſet up one of the Turks; the like whereof was done with great rejoycing of the Turks through the whole Iſland. After that, they rifled the Churches, and again conſecrated them after their Mahometan manner. The Governor of the City, and the Senators, with their Families, the Baſſa ſent in five Ships to *Conſtantinople*; as for the Vulgar People, they were at choice, either there to tarry ſtill, or depart, as beſt ſtood with their liking. And ſo the Baſſa, when he had there placed a new Governor, one of the Turks, with a ſtrong Garriſon, and ſet up the Mahometan Superſtition in that moſt fertile Iſland, departed thence for *Italy*; where ſailing alongſt the Coaſt of *Apulia*, he did exceeding much harm in burning and deſtroying the Country Villages, and carrying away of the poor People into Captivity; and ſo returned.

At this time the Kingdom of *Hungary* was moſt miſerably rent in pieces by the Lieutenants and Captains of *Solyman* and *Maximilian* the Emperor, and *John* the Vayvod of *Tranſylvania Solymans* Vaſſal; who grieved with the harms done unto him by the Emperors Captains, whereof himſelf was the cauſe, and vainly hoping to have obtained at *Solymans* Hands the greateſt part of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, as had ſometime King *John*; ceaſed not continually to ſolicite him to come himſelf in Perſon to make a full Conqueſt of the Reliques of *Hungary*, yet holden by the Emperor and ſome of the Hungarian Nobility; and flattering himſelf in that vain hope, called himſelf *the King of Hungary*; and increaſing his ſtrength by Letters unto the Nobility and Burgeſſes of the Cities of *Hungary*, ſummoned them, as if it had been by the appointment of *Solyman* his great Patron, that they ſhould all the ninth of *March* meet together at *Thorda*, to determine with him of Matters concerning their common good. Which thing as ſoon as *Lazarus Suendi* the Emperors Lieutenant underſtood, he forthwith by other Letters countermanded thoſe of the Vayvods; perſwading the Hungarians not to liſten to Charms of the Vayvod and the Turk, tending to their deſtruction, but rather to yield their Obedience to *Maximilian* the Chriſtian Emperor, whoſe purpoſe was by the aid of the Chriſtian Princes, to protect and preſerve them in Peace. And hereby it came to paſs, that the remainders of this ſore ſhaken Kingdom, divided into Factions, and diverſly carried, according to their Affection, ſome to the one ſide, ſome to the other, began afreſh to work one anothers confuſion, which fitly ſerved the Turks to incroach more and more upon them; Who at the ſame time ſurpriſed the Town of *Aimatſch* (the Captain whereof, with certain of the Garriſon Souldiers being gon about their buſineſs to *Agria*) and put to the Sword all them that they found in the Town. They thought alſo to have taken the ſtrong Town of *Sigeth*, but were by the valiant Count *Nicholaus Serinus* Governor thereof, couragiouſly encountred, and after four hours hard Fight overthrown and put to Flight. Not long after, they ranged up and down the Country, and ſet in Booties as far as *Jaka* and *Rab*, and did the Country People much harm. For which cauſe, *Maximilian* the Emperor about the later end of *May* brake up the Aſſembly of the Empire then holden at *Auguſta*, and began carefully to provide things needful for the War; appointing his Captains for the raiſing of ſuch Forces in *Germany*, as were but a little before granted unto him by the Princes and States of the Empire, in their late Aſſembly; but went himſelf to *Vienna.* For it was told him (as the truth was) that *Solyman* now in his extream Age was with a mighty Army ſet forward from *Conſtantinople*, and marching through *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, was come directly to *Belgrade*; where *John* the Vayvod of *Tranſylvania* met him, and kiſſing his Hand, had commended himſelf and all his ſtate unto his Protection. At which time *Suendi* the Emperors Lieutenant laid hard Siege to the Town of *Huſth* in the Borders of *Tranſylvania.* The Baſſa of *Buda* at the ſame time on the other ſide, by commandment of *Solyman*, with eight thouſand Turks and five and twenty Pieces of great Ordnance beſieging *Palotta* (a ſtrong Town about eight miles from *Rab*) had with continual Battery by the ſpace of eight days brought the ſame into great danger, although it was valiantly defended by *George Thuriger.* But hearing of the approach of *George* Count of *Helffenſtein*, ſent by the Emperor with certain Companies of Germans to relieve the ſame, he roſe in ſuch haſte from the Siege, that he left certain of his great Ordnance and a great part of his Baggage behind him, and retired towards *Alba Regalis.* The Count having relieved the Town, cauſed the Breaches to be forthwith repaired, and with a new Supply ſtrengthned the old Garriſon. Thus was a moſt lamentable War at once begun in divers places of *Hungary.* After that, the Count of *Helffenſtein*, ſtrengthned by the coming of the Count *Salmis* with certain Companies from *Rab*, departed from *Palotta*, and came to *Veſprinium* a City about two miles off, then holden by the Turks; which City he took by force the laſt of *June*, and left not a Turk alive therein, becauſe that they a few days before had cruelly ſlain certain Chriſtians whom they had taken Priſoners. So leaving ſtrong Garriſons both in *Veſprinium* and *Palotta*, they returned to *Rab.* Shortly after, the Count *Salmis* laid Siege to *Tatta* a ſtrong Town, otherwiſe called *Dotis*, betwixt *Rab* and *Comara*, which at length he took by Aſſault the eight and twentieth day of *July*, and ſlew all the Turks, except fifty, which flying into one of the Towers of the Caſtle, yielded upon compoſition; amongſt whom was the late Governor of *Veſprinium*, and the Governor of this place, with the Baſſa of *Buda* his nigh Kinſman, who were all preſently ſent Priſoners to *Vienna.* So the Count following the Courſe of his Victory (the terror of his former good Fortune running before him into the Turks ſtrongeſt Holds) was on his way to have beſieged *Gesta* a Town near to *Palotta*; when the Turks there in Garriſon upon the firſt ſight of his Army, left all and fled out at the farther ſide of the Town to *Strigonium.* After whoſe example other of the Turks Garriſons in *Wibo*, *Tſchokika*, and *Bambok*, Caſtles

The Turks ſurpriſe Towns in Hungary.

Great troubles in Hungary.

The good ſucceſs of the Emperors Captains.

thereabouts, ſet fire on that they could not carry, and followed their Fellows to *Strigonium* alſo. The Emperor underſtanding of the good ſucceſs of his Captains, cauſed publique Prayers with thankſgiving to Almighty God to be made through all the Churches thereabouts.

Count *Serinus* Governor of the ſtrong Town of *Sigeth* and the Country thereabout, certainly advertiſed of the coming of *Solyman*, ſent *Caſparus Alapianus* and *Nicholas Cobach*, two of his Captains, with a thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe, to lie in wait for the Forerunners of the Turks Army; who drawing near unto the place where theſe Turks lay, not far from *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, ſuddainly in the ſhutting in of the next day ſet upon them, doubting no ſuch matter, and put them in ſuch fear, that they diſorderly fled, ſome one way, ſome another, and were moſt of them ſlain or wounded by the Hungarians in their Flight. *Hali Beg* one of the Turks great Sanzacks and Leader of that Company, ſore wounded, and ſeeking to ſave himſelf by Flight in the Mariſhes, there periſhed; his Son and many other notable Men amongſt the Turks, were there taken and carried Priſoners to *Sigeth*. The Spoil the Hungarians there took was exceeding great; for beſides Plate and Coin, whereof they found good ſtore, they took eight Camels, five Mules, threeſcore Horſes, and ſix Carts laden with all manner of Spoil, and many Garments of great price; wherein the Gentlemen attired, returned to *Sigeth* in great Bravery, with two fair red Enſigns of the Enemies.

A great Prey.

Maximilian the Emperor long before advertiſed of *Solymans* purpoſe for the Conqueſt of the remainder of *Hungary*, to withſtand ſo mighty an Enemy, had beſide the Forces raiſed in his own Dominions, procured great Aid both of the States of the Empire and other Chriſtian Princes, which about this time met together at *Rab*. Firſt there repaired thither four Legions of German Footmen, and upwards of twenty thouſand Horſemen, with four thouſand Hungarians; the Duke of *Savoy* ſent thither four hundred Argoletiers; and many noble Gentlemen out of divers parts of *Europe* reſorted thither, to ſerve the Emperor in thoſe Wars, of their own Charge; eſpecially the Knights of *Malta*; and out of *Italy*, *Proſper Columna* and *Angelus Caſius*; out of *France*, *Guiſe* the Grand Prior, *Briſſack*, and *Lanſack*, who but a little before were going to *Malta*, of purpoſe to have ſerved there if the Turks Fleet had come thither again, as it was reported it would; but underſtanding that it came not, returned directly into *Hungary*, with certain other Knights of the Order. Many alſo of the Princes and free Cities of *Italy* declared their good Will toward the Emperor in this War; ſome ſending him Men, as did *Coſmus Medices* Duke of *Florence*, who ſent thither of his own Charge three thouſand Footmen; ſome Mony, as *Mantua*, *Genoa* and *Luca*. Thither came alſo *Alphonſus* Duke of *Ferrara* with a gallant Company of noble Gentlemen, and other his Followers. Beſides which Land Forces, the Emperor had alſo provided upon the River of *Danubius* twelve Gallies, and thirty other Ships for Burthen, ſo made, as that the Men could not be hurt with the Turks Arrows; wherein were embarqued three thouſand Souldiers, moſt part Italians, under the Conduct of *Philippus Flachius* a German and one of the Knights of *Malta*, who was afterward received into the number of the Princes of the Empire.

Solyman coming to the River *Dravus*, commanded a Bridge to be made over that great River, and the deep Fens on the farther ſide of the River towards *Sigeth*, for the tranſporting of his great Army; a Work of ſuch difficulty, that being thrice unfortunately begun, it was again given over, as a thing almoſt impoſſible. Wherewith *Solyman* was ſo moved, that in his rage he ſwore to hang up the Baſſa that had the charge of that work, if he did not with as much ſpeed as was poſſible, bring it to perfection. Whereupon the Work was again begun, all the Boats that were to be found in the River taken up, and Timber for the purpoſe brought from far, for the making of that Bridge. In this Work were imployed not the Vulgar People only, of the Country which was Tributary to the Turks, but the Gentlemen themſelves alſo, were by the imperious Turk (now commanding for his Life) enforced to lay their Fingers to work day and night without ceaſing, until the Bridge (which before was thought ſcarce poſſible to have been made) was by the reſtleſs induſtry and labour of ſuch a multitude of Men, in the ſpace of ten days brought to perfection. Wherein the ſeverity the barbarous Tyrant uſeth towards his Subjects, is worth noting; whereby he extorteth from them more than is almoſt poſſible for Men to perform; ſo that it is not to be marvelled, that he hath ſo good ſucceſs in whatſoever he taketh in hand. Over this Bridge (a mile in length) paſſed *Solyman*, and encamped at a place called *Mubatchz*, where he ſtayed certain days, until his Army was all come over. The laſt of *July*, ninety thouſand Turks (the Vantguard of *Solymans* Army) came before *Sigeth*, and encamped within a mile of the Town; after whom ſhortly after followed a hundred thouſand more out of *Solymans* Camp; of whom many in approaching the Town, were ſlain with great Shot out of the Caſtle; the reſt for all that encamped themſelves as near unto the Town as they could, and began the Siege.

The Turks with much labour make a Bridge over the great River of Dravus.

The Turks encamp before Sigeth.

The Town of *Sigeth* is ſtrongly ſituate in a Mariſh on the North ſide of *Dravus* upon the Frontiers of *Dalmutia*, commanding all the Country round about it, which of it taketh name; and was at that time a ſtrong Bulwark againſt the Turks, for entring farther into the Country that way toward *Stiria*. In this Town was Governor *Nicholaus Serinus*, commonly called the Count, a valiant Man, and a mortal Enemy of the Turks, with a Garriſon of two thouſand three hundred good Souldiers; who ſeeing the huge Army of the Turks, called together into the Caſtle, the Captains of the Garriſon, and the chief of the Citizens; where ſtanding in the midſt of them, he ſpake unto them as followeth:

You ſee (ſaid he) *how we are on every ſide beſet with the Multitude of our Enemies, wherein reſteth their chief hope; but let not us be thereof afraid or diſcouraged; for that Victory dependeth not on a confuſed Multitude of heartleſs Men, but on the Power of our God, who hath by a few at his pleaſure many times overthrown the mighty Armies of the Proud; and will not in the midſt of theſe dangers now forſake us, if we putting our Truſt and Confidence in him, do what beſeemeth valiant and couragious Men. Beſides that, our juſt Cauſe, with the ſtrength of the place we hold, our own Valour, and the help of our Friends, who I aſſure my ſelf will not fail us at our need, countervaileth their confuſed Multitude, forced together by their imperious*

Count Serinus *his comfortable and reſolute ſpeech to his Souldiers.*

Commanders ont of far Countries, and whatſoever elſe the proud Tyrant hath brought with him into the Field. Wherefore let us all as becometh valiant Men, for the truth of our Religion, and for the honour of our Prince and Country, live and die together; knowing whatſoever befals, that to a Life ſo loſt, beſide never dying Fame, belongeth a moſt aſſured hope of Joy and Felicity. As for my ſelf, I am reſolved, and ſo I hope are you alſo, that as I am a Chriſtian, and free born, ſo will I (by the Grace of God) in the ſame Faith and Freedom end my days. Neither ſhall the proud Turk, ſo long as I am able to hold up this hand, have ever power to command over me, or the ground whereon I ſtand.

This ſaid, he firſt took himſelf a ſolemn Oath to perform what he had promiſed, and perſwaded the reſt to take the like; which done, every Man returned to the place of his charge.

Solyman *cometh into the Camp at* **Sigeth.**

The fifth of *Auguſt Solyman* encamped within a mile of the Town, and the next day after came himſelf into the Camp, at whoſe coming the great Ordnance and ſmall Shot ſo thundred out of the Turks Camp, as if Heaven and Earth ſhould have gon together, the Turks after their wonted manner crying aloud their *Alla, Alla, Alla,* and the Chriſtians anſwering them with the Name of Jeſus. The ſeventh of *Auguſt* the Turks caſt up a great Mount, and thereon planted certain great Pieces of Ordnance. The next day following they began moſt terribly to batter the new Town in three places, and with incredible Labor caſt up a Mount in the midſt of the Mariſh, as it were in the Town Ditch, from whence they the next day with certain Pieces of great Artillery day and night battered the inner Caſtle of the Town without any intermiſſion, and did great harm both to the Caſtle and the Defendants. The Count perceiving the new City to be now ſo laid open with the fury of the Turks Battery, as that it was not poſſible to be defended, cauſed his Souldiers to ſet it all on fire, and to retire into the old. The tenth of *Auguſt* the Turks furiouſly battered the old Town in three places, and brought their Ordnance into the new Town; and with Timber, Earth and Rubbiſh made a Bridge, the more commodiouſly to go over the Mariſh. For the ſpeedier accompliſhment whereof, all the Turks were compelled to lay to their Hands, and to carry Wood, Fagots, Earth, and ſuch like things without ceaſing. There might a Man have ſeen all the Fields full of Camels, Horſes, and of the Turks themſelves, like Emmets, carrying Wood, Earth, Stones, or one thing or other to fill up the Mariſh; ſo was there with wonderful Labour two plain ways made through the deep Fen, from the Town to the Caſtle; where the Janizaries, defended from the great Shot with Sacks of Wool and ſuch like things, did with the Multitude of their ſmall Shot ſo overwhelm the Defendants, that they could not againſt thoſe places without moſt manifeſt danger ſhew themſelves upon the Walls. So that what by their vigilant Induſtry, and the fury of the great Artillery, the Turks (though not without great loſs) by force entred the old Town the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, uſing in their Victory ſuch celerity, that they ſlew many of the moſt valiant Defendants before they were able to recover the ſafeguard of the Caſtle. Both the Towns thus loſt, and ſo many worthy Men ſlain, not without cauſe brought great heavineſs upon the reſt which were in the Caſtle with the Count. The Turks poſſeſſed of the old Town, the next day planted their Battery againſt the Caſtle in four places, and with Fagots, Rubbiſh, and Earth, made two plain ways unto it, ſtill filling up the Mariſh; and having with continual Battery made it aſſaultable, the nine and twentieth day of *Auguſt* they began fiercely to aſſail the Breaches; but when they had loſt many of their Men, and done what they could, they were enforced with ſhame to retire. In this Aſſault, amongſt many other of their beſt Souldiers, was loſt one of their great Baſſaes alſo.

The defendants burn the new Town.

The Turks win the old Town.

Solyman *dieth of the bloody Flux.*

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Solyman* far ſpent with years, and diſtempered with his long travel, fell ſick of a Looſneſs in his Belly, and for the better recovery of his Health, retired himſelf (the Siege yet continuing) to *Quinque Eccleſiæ* a City near to *Sigeth*, where ſhortly after he died of the Bloody Flux the fourth day of *September*, in the year of our Lord 1566, when he had lived ſeventy ſix years, and thereof reigned forty ſix. He was of Stature tall, of Feature ſlender, long Necked, his Colour pale and wan, his Noſe long and hooked, of Nature ambitious and bountiful, more faithful of his Word and Promiſe than were for moſt part the Mahometan Kings his Progenitors, wanting nothing worthy of ſo great an Empire, but that wherein all happineſs is contained, Faith in Chriſt Jeſus. *Muhamet* the Viſier Baſſa (who commanded all in *Solymans* abſence) fearing the inſolency of the Janizaries, and leſt ſome Tumult ſhould ariſe in the Camp, if his death ſhould be known, concealed it by all means, and to be ſure of them that were of others beſt able to make certain report thereof, cauſed his Phyſicians and Apothecaries to be ſecretly ſtrangled, and by a truſty Meſſenger, ſent in Poſt, certified *Selymus* (*Solymans* only Son, and his Father in Law, then lying in *Magneſia*) of the death of his Father, willing him in haſte to repair to *Conſtantinople*, to take poſſeſſion of the Empire; and that done, forthwith to come to the Army in *Hungary*. But this could not be ſo ſecretly done, but that the Janizaries began to miſtruſt the matter; which *Muhamet* Baſſa quickly perceiving, cauſed the dead Body of *Solyman* in his wonted Apparel to be brought into his Tent ſitting upright in his Horſe-Litter, as if he had been ſick of the Gout, his wonted diſeaſe, and ſo ſhewing him to the Janizaries, both deceived and contented them, and ſo went forward with the Siege.

Muhamet *Baſſa concealeth the death of* **Solyman.**

The great Bulwark undermined and ſet on fire by the Janizaries.

The Janizaries having in the laſt Aſſault loſt many of their Fellows, began now to undermine the greateſt Bulwark of the Caſtle, from which the Defendants with their great Ordnance did moſt annoy them; wherein they uſed ſuch diligence, that the fifth of *September* they with Gunpowder and other light matter provided for that purpoſe, had ſet all the Bulwark on a light fire; and by that means poſſeſſed thereof, with all their force aſſailed the Bulwark next unto the Caſtle Gate, from whence they were with great ſlaughter twice repulſed by the Count. But the raging Fire ſtill increaſing, he was enforced with thoſe which were yet left alive, to retire into the inner Caſtle, wherein were but two great Pieces, and fourteen others of ſmall force. Thus the Turks ſtill prevailing, and taking one place after another, the ſeventh of *September* they furiouſly aſſaulted the little Caſtle, whereinto they caſt ſuch abundance of Fire, that in ſhort time it caught hold on the Buildings, and ſet all on fire. The Count thus aſſailed by the Enemy without, and worſe diſtreſſed with the Fire within, which ſtill increaſing, left no place for him in ſafety to retire unto,

The little Caſtle ſet on fire.

went

The laſt ſpeech of Count Serinus to his Souldiers.

went into his Chamber, where putting on a rich new Suit of Apparel, came preſently out again with his Sword and Targuet in his hand; and finding his Souldiers with chearful Countenance and their Weapons in their hands, attending his coming, ſpake unto them theſe few his laſt words: *The hard Fortune of this ſinful Kingdom hath together with our own overtaken us; but let us, noble Hearts, with patience endure what is to us by God aſſigned. You know what we have before promiſed, which hitherto God be thanked we have accordingly performed, and now let us with like reſolution perform this laſt. The place you ſee is not longer to be kept, the devouring Fire groweth ſo ſtill upon us and we in number are but few; wherefore let us as becometh valiant Men break out into the utter Caſtle, there to die in the midſt of our Enemies, to live aftewards with God for ever; I will be the firſt that will go out, follow you me like Men.* This ſaid, with his Sword and Targuet in his Hand, without any other Armor, calling thrice upon the Name of Jeſus, he iſſued out at the Caſtle Gate, with the reſt following him; where valiantly fighting with the Janizaries upon the Bridge; and having ſlain ſome of them, he was firſt wounded in two places of his Body with ſmall Shot, and at laſt ſtruck in the Head with an unlucky ſhot, fell down dead; the Turk for joy crying out their wonted word *Alla.* The reſt of the Souldiers in flying back again into the Caſtle, were all ſlain by the Turks, except ſome few, whom ſome of the Janizaries in regard of their Valour, by putting their Caps upon their Heads, ſaved from the fury of the reſt. In this Siege, the Turks (as they themſelves reported) loſt ſeven thouſand Janizaries, and twenty eight thouſand other Souldiers, beſide many voluntary Men not enrolled in their Muſter-Books, and three of their great Baſſaes. *Serinus* his Head was preſently cut off, and the next day (with the Heads of the other ſlain Chriſtians) ſet upon a Pole, for all the Army to gaze upon. After that it was taken down, and by *Muhamet* the great Baſſa ſent to *Muſtapha* the Baſſa of *Buda* his Kinſman, who by two Country Men, ſent it wrapped in a red Scarf covered with a fair linnen Cloth, to Count *Salma* in the Emperors Camp at *Rab*, with this taunting Letter thus directed.

Serinus ſlain.

Serinus his Head ſent to Count Salma.

Muhamet Baſſa to *Eccius Salma*, Greeting.

The Baſſaes quipping Letter to Count Salma.

IN token of my love, behold, here I ſend thee the Head of a moſt reſolute and valiant Captain thy Friend, the remainder of his Body I have honeſtly buried, as became ſuch a Man. Sigeth *biddeth thee farwell for ever.*

The death of this noble and valiant Captain was much lamented of all the Chriſtian Army, and his Head with many tears by his Son *Balthaſar* honourably buried amongſt his Anceſtors in *Tſchacaturna*, his own Caſtle. *Solyman* at his coming with this mighty Army into *Hungary*, had purpoſed before his return, if he had not been by death prevented, to have conquered both the remainder of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to have again attempted the winning of *Vienna*. For the accompliſhing of which his Deſigns, he at his firſt coming ſent *Parthaus* Baſſa, with forty thouſand Turks to help the Baſſa of *Temeſware* and the Tartars, in the behalf of the Vayvod, to beſiege the ſtrong Town of *Ghyla*, ſituate upon the Lake *Zarkad* in the Confines of *Tranſylvania*, not far from whence *Suendi* had but in *Auguſt* before overthrown the Tartars, called in by *Solyman* for the aid of the Vayvod, and ſlain of them ten thouſand. And at the ſame time he ſent *Muſtapha* Baſſa of *Boſna*, and *Canembeius*, with a great Power to *Alba Regalis*; who joyning with the Baſſa of *Buda*, ſhould keep the Emperor *Maximilian* buſie, whilſt he in the mean time beſiegeth *Sigeth*, as is before declared. *Parthaus* Baſſa coming to *Gyula*, and laying hard Siege to the Town, was ſtill notably repulſed by *Nicholaus Keretſchen*, Governor of the Town; inſomuch, that in a ſally he had certain Pieces of his great Ordnance taken from him by the Defendants, and the reſt cloied. But this brave Captain, not to have been conſtrained by all that the Baſſa could do, was at laſt perſwaded by his Kinſman *George Bebicus* (from whom *Suendi* had a little before taken certain Caſtles, for revolting from the Emperor to the Vayvod) for a great ſum of Mony to deliver up the Town to the Baſſa; which he did, covenanting beſide his Reward, That the Souldiers ſhould with Bag and Baggage in ſafety depart; all which was frankly granted; who were not gon paſt a mile out of the Town, but they were ſet upon by the Turks, and all ſlain except ſome few which crept into the Reeds growing in the Mariſh faſt by, and ſo eſcaped. The Traitor himſelf expecting his Reward, was carried in Bonds to *Conſtantinople*; where afterward, upon complaint made how hardly he had uſed certain Turks whom he had ſometime taken Priſoners, he was by the commandment of *Selymus*, who ſucceeded *Solyman*, thruſt into an Hogſhead ſtruck full of Nails with the Points inward, with this inſcription upon it, *Here receive the Reward of thy Avarice and Treaſon.* Gyula *thou ſoldſt for Gold; if thou be not faithful to* Maximilian *thy Lord, neither wilt thou be to me*; and ſo the Hogſhead cloſed faſt up, he was therein rolled up and down until he therein miſerably died.

Nicholaus Keretſchen *corrupted for mony, betrayeth* Gyula *to the Turks.*

A Traitor well rewarded.

The Emperors Camp then lying at *Rab*, and the Baſſa of *Buda* and *Boſna* with thirty thouſand Turks not far off at *Alba Regalis*, and many hot skirmiſhes paſſing between them; it fortuned that the fifth of September the Turks in hope to have done ſome great piece of ſervice upon the Chriſtians, came forth of the Camp in great number, and by chance light upon a few Forragers of the Army, of whom they ſlew ſome; the reſt flying, raiſed an Alarm in the Camp; whereupon the Hungarians and Burgundians with ſome others iſſuing out, purſuing the Turks, ſlew divers of them; in which purſuit *George Thuriger* deſcrying the Governor of *Alba Regalis*, a Man in great account, and very inward with *Solyman* whilſt he lived, fiercely purſued him in the midſt of the flying Enemies, and never left him until he had taken him Priſoner; and at his return preſenting him to the Emperor, was for that good ſervice Knighted, and rewarded with a Chain of Gold. There was by chance then preſent a Spaniard, who had heard him ſay openly at *Conſtantinople*, That he alone with his own power was able to vanquiſh the German King (by which name the Turks commonly term the Emperor;) With which words when that the Spaniard hardly charged him in the preſence of the Emperor, ſtill urging him as it were to ſay ſomething for himſelf, the Turk anſwered him in theſe few words following: *Such is the chance of War, thou ſeeſt me now a Priſoner, and able to do nothing.*

The Governor of Alba Regalis *taken.*

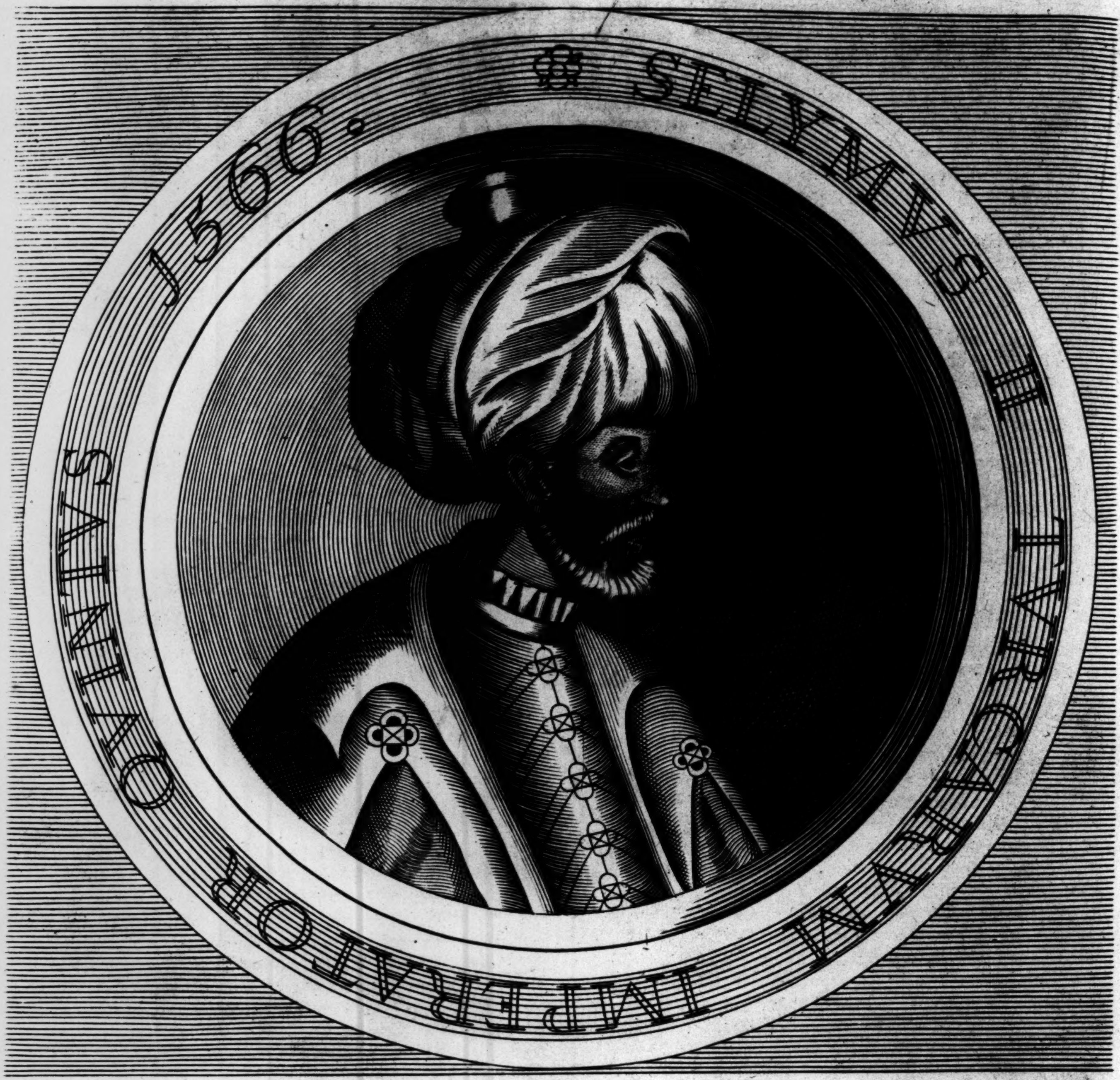
The Turks ſharp anſwer to the Spaniard.

All theſe troubles, with many more like in ſhort time to have enſued, were by the death of

Solyman within a while after well appeaſed. *Muhamet* Baſſa after he had repaired the Breaches, and placed a Turk Governor of *Sigeth*, with a ſtrong Garriſon for the defence of the place and commanding of the Country, called back the diſperſed Forces, and riſing with the Army, retired toward *Belgrade*, carrying *Solymans* dead Body all the way ſitting upright in his Horſe-litter carried by Mules, giving it out that he was ſick of the Gout; which thing the Janizaries eaſily believed, knowing that he had been many years ſo carried; yet ſtill wiſhing his preſence, as always unto them fortunate, although that he were able for to do nothing.

The Turks Army returneth with the Body of Solyman *to* Belgrade.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Solyman.				
Emperors of Germany		Charles *the Fifth.*	1519.	39.
		Ferdinand.	1558.	7.
		Maximilian *the Second.*	1565.	12.
Kings	Of England	Henry *the Eighth.*	1509.	38.
		Edward *the Sixth.*	1546.	6.
		Queen Mary.	1553.	6.
		Queen Elizabeth.	1558.	45.
	Of France	Francis *the First.*	1514.	32.
		Henry *the Second.*	1547.	12.
		Francis *the Second.*	1559.	1.
		Charles *the Ninth.*	1560.	14.
	Of Scotland	James *the Fifth.*	1514.	29.
		Queen Mary.	1543.	
Biſhops of Rome		Leo *the* X.	1513.	8.
		Hadrian *the* VI.	1522.	1.
		Clement *the* VII.	1523.	10.
		Paulus *the* III.	1534.	15.
		Julius *the* III.	1550.	5.
		Marcellus *the* II.	1555.	22 days.
		Paulus *the* IV.	1555.	4.
		Pius *the* IV.	1560.	5.
		Pius *the* V.	1566.	6.


SELYMVS II TVRCARVM IMPERATOR QVINTVS 1566.

Diſsimilis patri, Selymus regalia Sceptra
Corripit, et dira concutit arma manu.
Fœdus cum Venetis frangit (quid fœdera prosunt?)
Armataque manu Cypria regna rapit.
Instravit tumidum numerosis claſsibus Æquor,
Ut Naupactiacas nobilitaret aquas.
Muldavum fœda mulctavit morte Dynasten:
Et magni fines prorogat imperij.
Obruit Hispanos multa vi: Punica regna
Destruit, et regnis adijcit illa suis.
Sed nimis in venerem pronus, vinoque sepultus,
Extremum properat præcipitare diem.

Unlike his Father, Selymus fills the Throne
Breathing where e're he march't, Destruction:
His sacred League with Venice basely brakes,
And (arm'd with power) the Syrian kingdomes takes;
With a stupendious Fleet covers the Sea,
To be a Witneſs to his Infamy.
And to his Throne to add Moldavia
Their noble Vaywod butcherly do's slay:
And when the Spanish powrs were overthrown,
They, and the Tunis Scepters were his owne:
But spent with wine, with women, and with play
Th' effeminate Prince spur'd on his fatall day.

The LIFE of

SELYMUS,

The Second of that NAME,

Fifth Emperor of the Turks.

SElymus, the only Son of *Solyman*, then left alive, by Letters from *Mahamet Baſſa* underſtanding of the death of his Father, haſted from *Cutai*, a City of *Galatia* not far from *Ancyra*, towards *Conſtantinople*; and coming to *Scutary*, was from thence by *Boſtanges Baſſa* of the Court, conducted over the Strait to *Conſtantinople*; where by him and *Scander Baſſa* (*Selymus* his Son in law, and then *Solymans* Vicegerent) he was conveyed into the Imperial Palace the three and twentieth of *September*, in the year 1566. and there poſſeſſed of his Fathers Seat, was by the Janizaries there preſent, ſaluted Emperor. He was about the age of forty two years when he began to Reign, a man of an unconſtant and haſty diſpoſition, wholly given to wantonneſs and exceſs; ſo that he never went to Wars himſelf, but performed them altogether by his Lieutenants, contrary to the charge of *Selymus* his Grandfather, given by him to his Father *Solyman*, whereof he was never unmindful. The next day he came abroad, and ſhewed himſelf in his Majeſty; and in the Temple of *Sophia*, after the manner of the Turkiſh Superſtition, cauſed ſolemn Prayers and Sacrifices to be made for his Father; which done, he gave unto the Janizaries a Larges of 100000 Sultanines, with promiſe to augment their Wages. And all things being now in readineſs for his intended Journey, he with a goodly Retinue ſet forward from *Conſtantinople* the ſeven and twentieth of *September*; and the twentieth of *October* a little from *Belgrade* met the Army coming from *Sigeth*, gallantly marching under their Enſigns, with the dead Body of *Solyman*, whom the Souldiers generally ſuppoſed to have been yet living, but troubled with the Gout, to have kept his Horſe-litter, as his manner was to travel. *Selymus* alighting, came in his Mourning Attire to the Horſe-litter, looked upon the dead Body of his Father, kiſſed it, and wept over it, as did all the other great Baſſaes alſo. And that the death of *Solyman* might then be made known to all men, the Enſigns were preſently let fall, and trailed upon the ground, a dead March ſounded, and heavy ſilence commanded to be kept through all the Camp. Shortly after, *Selymus* was with the great applauſe of the whole Army proclaimed Emperor, his Enſigns advanced, and every one of the great Commanders of the Army, in their degree admitted to kiſs his hand. So marching forward, he returned again to *Conſtantinople* the two and twentieth of *November*; but thinking to have entred his Palace (which they commonly call *The Seraglio*) he was by the diſcontented Janizaries, but now come from the Wars,

the

prohibited ſo to do; they with great Inſolency demanding of him a greater Donative, together with the confirmation both of their ancient and new Priviledges, before they would ſuffer him to enter. Againſt which their great preſumption, the Viſier Baſſaes, together with the Aga, oppoſing themſelves, and ſeeking by all means to appeaſe them, were by them fouly entreated, and well rapped about the Pates with the ſtocks of their Callivars; but eſpecially the two great Baſſaes, *Mahomet* and *Partau*, as the chief Authors that their Lord had dealt no more liberally with them. With which ſo ſudden and unexpected a Mutiny of his beſt Souldiers, *Selymus* not a little troubled, and calling unto him the Aga (or Captain of the Janizaries) demanded of him the cauſe thereof; who with tears trickling down his cheeks for grief, told him, That it was for mony. Which by *Selymus* now promiſed unto them, together with the confirmation of their Liberties; and the Aga with fair words and heavy countenance moſt earneſtly intreating them, not to blemiſh the ancient Reputation of their wonted Loyalty with ſo foul a diſorder, nor to oppoſe the life of him their loving Captain, unto the heavy diſpleaſure of their angry Sultan; and farther aſſuring them that he would not fail them in the leaſt of his promiſes, but content them to the full of their deſires; the Mutiny was at length appeaſed, the inſolent Janizaries again quieted, and *Selymus* into the Seraglio received. Howbeit *Mahamet*, chief of the Viſier Baſſaes, for certain days after went not out of his Palace, neither came (as he was wont) into the *Divano*, but kept himſelf cloſe, for fear of ſome greater miſchief from them. This Tumult thus overpaſſed, and all again well quieted, *Selymus* with all Royal Solemnity buried his Father in a Chappel, which he after the manner of the Mahometan Kings, had in his life time moſt ſtately built, with a Colledge and an Hoſpital. Where faſt by his ſide is to be ſeen the Tomb of *Roxolana* his beſt beloved Wife, and of certain others his murthered Children; and by him hangeth his Scimiter, in token that he died in Wars; an Honour not otherwiſe granted to the Mahometan Princes. The Revenues ariſing of the Country about *Sigeth*, of late won from the Chriſtians, at the time of his death, were given to the Maintenance of his Houſes by him built of devotion; which for the Magnificence thereof, exceed all the reſt before built by the Mahometan Kings and Emperors, except thoſe which were the Buildings of *Mahomet* the Great, and *Bajazet* the Second. It was by many thought, that *Selymus* was in good time by death cut off,

as

Selymus *ſaluted Emperor of the Turks in the year 1566.*

Solyman *buried.*

as purpoſing that year to have wintred in *Hungary*, and the year following to have done great matters againſt the Chriſtians both by Sea and Land.

1567. The great Army of the Turks thus drawn out of *Hungary* by the death of *Solyman*, in ſome part aſſwaged, but altogether appeaſed not the endleſs Troubles of that unfortunate Kingdom. *Maximilian* the Emperor on the one ſide, and *John* the *Vayvod* of *Tranſylvania* with the Turks Captains on the other, renting it in pieces, as if they had ſworn the deſtruction thereof. The *Vayvod* deſiring to recover the ſtrong Caſtle of *Tockay*, in the Frontiers of this Country, but lately taken from him by *Suendi* the Emperors Lieutenant, laid hard ſiege to it, and had brought it to great extremity, although it was notably defended by *James Riminger* the Captain thereof; when ſuddenly News was brought unto him, That the *Tartars* (whom he had called into his Country to have aided him againſt the Emperor) did with all Hoſtility, after their barbarous manner, burn and deſtroy his Country before them, making havock of all things, ſo that the Country-people were glad in defence of themſelves, to take up Arms againſt them. Whereupon he forthwith left the Siege, and went to Aid his diſtreſſed Subjects againſt the *Tartars*, with whom he had many an hot Skirmiſh; and after much bloodſhed, at laſt overcame them, and with much ado rid himſelf of ſuch bad Gueſts. Now in the mean time, *Suendi* ſtrengthened with new Supplies ſent unto him from the Emperor, had taken the Caſtle of *Backmar* in the Borders of *Tranſylvania*, and with like good Fortune had the Caſtle of *Mungatz* yielded unto him, and after that beſieged the Town of *Huſth*; ſo that the *Vayvod* was glad to crave Aid of the Turkiſh Emperor *Selymus*, under whoſe Protection he was; who preſently commanded *Partaw* one of his chief Baſſaes, and then his great Lieutenant in *Romania*, to go with his Forces into *Tranſylvania*, to relieve them. But hearing that Embaſſadors were coming from *Maximilian* the Emperor, he called him back again, until he had heard the effect of that Embaſſage. At which time alſo the Baſſa of *Buda* enclining unto Peace, ſent Preſents to the Emperor, requeſting him to remove certain *Hungarian* Captains from off the Frontiers, leſt happily they ſhould interrupt the Treaty of Peace, then on both ſides purpoſed; promiſing for his part, to puniſh with death all ſuch Turks as ſhould make any further Invaſion, or raiſe any new Troubles. He writ Letters alſo to Count *Salma*, That he could not but marvel, to what end *Maximilian* the Emperor was about to intreat with his Lord and Maſter of Peace, whilſt *Suendi* in the mean time was raging in *Tranſylvania*, then under the Turks Protection; which if he proceeded ſtill to do, *Selymus* would thereof take occaſion (as he ſaid) to turn all his Forces that way; wherefore he requeſted him to perſwade the Emperor to take ſome more eaſie courſe in that behalf, promiſing alſo, that he would for his part effectually travel with his Maſter, to have better liking of Peace than of Wars, wiſhing him alſo to do the like. Which thing as ſoon as the Emperor underſtood, he commanded *Suendi* to give over the Siege of *Huſth*, and to keep himſelf quiet until he might by his Embaſſadors underſtand what the Great Turk purpoſed, and how he was affected towards Peace.

Troubles in Hungary.

The Baſſa of Buda *deſirous to farther the Peace.*

Now indeed theſe two great Princes, *Maximilian* and *Selymus* (although they notably diſſembled the matter) were both of them in heart deſirous of Peace, and that for divers great and urgent conſiderations. *Maximilian* for want of mony ſaw it was not poſſible for him to ſend into the field ſuch an Army the next year as he had the year before. And *Selymus*, beſide his other Troubles, was to take order for the appeaſing of a great and dangerous Rebellion in the fartheſt part of his Dominions in *Arabia Felix*; where the people riſing up in Arms, and having ſlain the Baſſaes and Sanzacks their Governors, were ready to have caſt off the Turkiſh Obedience; neither was he out of fear of the *Perſians*, ready (as was reported) to make War upon him. For which cauſes he wiſhed rather for Peace with the Emperor *Maximilian*, than Wars; and ſo much the more, for that it was impoſſible for him to ſend an Army of any puiſſance into *Hungary*, for want of many neceſſary Proviſions for the maintenance thereof, in a Country ſo much impoveriſhed by reaſon of his late Wars, wherein no Victuals were to be found for the relief of ſuch a multitude of men as he was to ſend, if he would do any good there. And truth it was (as the Turks themſelves afterward reported) that *Maximilian* with half the Power he had in field the laſt year, might have eaſily recovered the greateſt part of that Kingdom before loſt; but well knowing his own wants, and ignorant of theirs, he altogether inclining to Peace; and by Count *Salma* adverriſed from the Baſſa of *Buda*, That if he would ſend Embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, with the Tribute wont to be there paid for *Hungary*, a Peace upon reaſonable conditions might be eaſily obtained; he reſolved upon that point. And ſo certain Meſſengers being ſent up and down to *Conſtantinople* to the ſame effect, it was concluded, That if the Emperor would ſend Embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* with the Tribute yet behind, and a large Commiſſion for the treaty of Peace, *Selymus* ſhould give them his ſafe conduct, with liberty at their pleaſure to return in caſe either of Peace or War. Which agreed upon and faithfully promiſed on both ſides, *Selymus* ſet at liberty the Lord *Albert de Vuis*, who ſix years Lieger in *Conſtantinople*, firſt for the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and after for *Maximilian*, had now been ſtraitly impriſoned in his own houſe by the ſpace of 22 months, in ſuch ſort that neither he nor any of his houſhold could go abroad, Watch and Ward being kept both day and night about his Houſe, and his Windows alſo boorded up, to the end that he ſhould not ſo much as look out into the City or any whither elſe more than the Court of his Houſe only. So the Emperor *Maximilian* now reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* with the Tribute-mony and divers other rich Gifts and Preſents, as well to the Great Turk himſelf, as the Viſier Baſſaes his Counſellors; and conſidering with himſelf whom to be moſt fit, with Wiſdom and Honour to bring this ſo weighty a matter about, having to do with ſo barbarous, covetous, and mighty a people, made choice of the Lord *Anthonius Verantius* of *Agria* (of his Council for the Kingdom of *Hungary*) a Prelate of great Eſtimation, who being a man of 63 years old, beſide his great Learning, had the experience of 17 Embaſſages, wherein he always ſo diſcreetly bare himſelf, as well contented his Prince, and purchaſed unto himſelf the Reputation of a moſt grave and wiſe man; and about ten years before this Embaſſage, being ſent by the Emperor *Ferdinand* Embaſſador to *Solyman*, and now by *Maximilian*, to *Selymus* at *Conſtantinople*, returning with good Succeſs, was by the Emperor created a Prince of the Empire, and Biſhop of *Agria*. Unto which ſo honourable a Perſonage, having the

Maximilian *and* Selymus *both deſirous of Peace.*

Maximilian the Emperor ſendeth Embaſſadors to Selymus.

the charge of this ſo weighty a Matter, the Emperor the more to ennoble this Embaſſage, as alſo to purchaſe the greater Credit to his Embaſſador, joyned unto him a moſt honourable Baron, called the Lord *Chriſtopher Teuſenbatch* of *Stiria*, one of his Counſellors alſo for the Wars; who with full Inſtructions both taking their leave of the Emperor (then holding a Parliament at *Presburgh*) departed, and being attended upon with a great and honourable Retinue, ſet forward the firſt of *July*, 1567. and ſo came to *Comara* a ſtrong Town in *Hungary*, not paſt a League from the Turks Frontiers. In which place the Embaſſadors ſtayed until the ſeventh of *July*; and in the mean time gave knowledge of their coming unto the Governor of *Strigonium*, demanding for their ſecurity in the Enemies Country, to be met and received by ſome of his Garriſon; which granted, they took their Barks brought from *Vienna* and *Poſſonium*, ſufficient for their greatneſs to have carried them down the River to *Belgrade*, with Horſe and Waggon, and their whole Furniture; and ſo entring upon the Turks Dominion about a League or a little more from *Comara*, being ſo far waſted by the Souldiers and Gallies of *Comara*, they were met by an Aga of the Turks, with a *Chiaus* called *Becram* (ſent by the Baſſa of *Buda*) in certain Gallies armed with Turkiſh Souldiers. To whom the Embaſſador at his landing delivered his Mind, and afterward his Perſon, giving them to underſtand, that they were with all ſafety to conduct both him and all his to the Baſſa of *Buda*; which they anſwered they were ready to accompliſh; and ſo courteouſly invited by the Embaſſadors, they came aboord their Bark, and there dined together. Here they that were ſent with them, leaving them in the hands of the Turks, having Licence to depart, returned to *Comara*; and they that day after five Leagues ſailing arrived at *Strigonium*, where they were by the Governor of the City denied landing; for which ſo diſhonourable a part he was afterward ſharply rebuked by the Baſſa of *Buda*. Yet as they lay that night upon the water, certain Turkiſh Minſtrels, to do them Honour, and to get a Largeſs, with their barbarous bawling Inſtruments played them up many a homely fit of mirth; and divers others with ſundry ſorts of vaulting and tumbling, ſometime leaping one upon anothers ſhoulders, and ſometime doing their Tricks on the Earth, all the Evening ſhewed them great ſport and paſtime. From *Strigonium* they with five Leagues ſailing came to *Buda*, leaving behind them the Caſtle of *Vicegrade*, two Leagues diſtant from *Strigonium*. In this City of *Buda* lieth the great Baſſa by whom all *Hungary*, with the Provinces thereto belonging (in the Turks Power) is governed. This City, ſometime the Regal Seat of the *Hungarian* Kings, is ſituate upon a little Hill on the the South ſide of *Danubius*, having in the South point thereof a Caſtle, much higher than the City, and of a moſt brave Proſpect; in which Caſtle lieth a Captain with a Garriſon of five hundred Souldiers (as the Turks ſay) howbeit it is thought that they are not altogether ſo many; it is the loſs of his Head to ſtir out of his Charge; and beſide, he hath Commiſſion to deny the Baſſa himſelf Entrance, unleſs he come very ſlightly accompanied; ſo jealous are the Turks of that Caſtle, as if the State of *Hungary* depended thereon. Herein ſtandeth the Kings Palace, which taketh up moſt part of the place, greatly beautified by *Matthias*, and ſhewing outwardly to have been a very ſtately thing; for there are in it both large Halls and fair Galleries and Chambers built in moſt Royal manner; where amongſt other Rooms, the Embaſſadors found a decayed Library full of Pictures and Latin Titles of Books; all which things when they preſent themſelves to the Eyes of the Chriſtian beholders, offer a juſt conſideration of noble and reverend Antiquity, and withall, ſtrike into their hearts a certain compaſſion joyned with Horrour, to ſee the Renowned Glory of ſo many great Kings all waſted and brought to nothing. The next morning the Embaſſadors went to ſpeak with the Baſſa; whoſe Houſe was reaſonable fair (conſidering their guiſe and cuſtom, not much delighting in the beauty of their private buildings) ſituate upon the River ſide at the bottom of the Hill whereon the City ſtandeth. Unto this Baſſa the Embaſſadors preſented two great gilt Cups; a Clock all curiouſly wrought in Gold, and a thouſand Dollars; which Preſent the Baſſa received in his Divano (being a large Hall) where he ſate with his Counſellors, Officers, and other Turks in their places and order; ſome on his right hand, and ſome on his left, all richly attired in Garments of Silk of divers colours and faſhions, reaching down to their Anckles after their manner; their Heads covered with their paſſing-white and well made Turbants; in which Aſſembly nothing being then to be ſeen but goodly order and grave ſilence, they ſeemed to the ſtrange beholders ſo many Counſellors of exceeding gravity and Reputation. Round about the Hall wherein the Embaſſadors had Audience, were many Seats covered with Turky-Carpets; the reſt of the Room being all vacant. The Baſſa in a place more apparent than the reſt, ſitting in great Majeſty; before whom was ſet two little Chairs, on which (after he had ſtood up a while and embraced the Embaſſadors) he cauſed them both to ſit down. Whoſe Speech delivered in the Italian Tongue, after they had diſcharged themſelves of the Emperors Letters and Greetings, was to this effect, *viz.* That his Imperial Majeſty (for the common benefit of their Subjects in *Hungary*) requeſted him to continue in his good purpoſe and dealing for Peace; and further, to give ſafe Conduct unto them his Embaſſadors with their Retinue, until they were come unto the Turks Court, where they were to entreat and conclude a Peace, to the ending of all Troubles, and the Publique Benefit of their Subjects in general. Which Speech with chearful and friendly countenance ended, many of the Embaſſadors Followers were admitted to kiſs the Baſſaes hand, accounted no ſmall Favour amongſt thoſe Barbarians. The Interpreter of theſe things was a Jew of *Padua*, who declared all that was ſpoken, in the Turkiſh Language unto the Baſſa, and in the Italian unto the Embaſſadors. And although (if it had been their pleaſure) they might have told their mind each to other in the Croation Tongue without an Interpreter; yet the Baſſa ſtanding more upon his Reputation, and for ſome other reſpects beſide, would have the matter propounded and likewiſe anſwered in the Turkiſh. In which ſort they alſo conferred continually afterward with the Baſſaes at *Conſtantinople*, unleſs it were in ſome particular and private talk of ſmall Importance, or elſe in ſome point beſide the matter; for then the Interpreter ſpake in the Croatian or Sclavonian Tongue, which is familiar to moſt of the Turks, but eſpecially to the men of War. Before this Hall where the Embaſſadors were entertained by the Baſſa, in the baſe Court ſtood all the Janizaries in goodly Array, and his Slaves with their red Zarcul on their Heads, and other Souldiers with high and

The Embaſſadors come to Buda.

Preſents given by the Emperors Embaſſadors unto the Baſſa of Buda.

long Plumes of Feathers ſtanding upright; all which made a beautiful ſhew, and gave all great grace to the Baſſaes Court. Theſe men ſtir not one foot in their ſtandings, and if the Conſultation do laſt four hours long, ſo long are they to continue ſtanding without moving. The Embaſſadors having ſtayed two days at *Buda*, were by the Baſſa diſmiſſed, ſending with them his Checai (the Steward or Governor of his Houſe) a man of great Reputation, and *Becram* the Chiaus (the ſame that came to meet them at *Comara*) with a ſufficient Guard and certain Janizaries, ſent for their more ſafe travelling, and to provide for them from place to place, all things neceſſary for their Diet, as alſo for their Horſes, at the Turks charges. And thus accompanied, they imbarqued the tenth day of the aforeſaid month, towed up the Turks Gallies, which holpen by the ſwiftneſs of the River, carried them down in eight days to *Belgrade*, where they arrived the eighteenth of *July*. So having ſtaid at *Belgrade*, and there leaving their Boats, and taking their Coaches, they ſet forward by Land the twentieth of the ſaid month, and with great pains travelling through *Raſcia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, and paſſing a part of the great Mountain *Scardus*, and after that, the Mountain *Rhodope*, ſo by the way of *Philippolis* and *Hadrianople*, the two and twentieth of *Auguſt* gathered faſt upon *Conſtantinople*; where many of the Spahies and Chiauſes of the Court, with a number of the Janizaries and other Souldiers, for their greater Honour came to meet them a great way without the City. By whom the Embaſſadors honourably mounted on Horſeback, were by them conducted to their Lodging appointed for them about the midſt of the City; where the Lord *Albert de Vuis* the Emperors Embaſſador Lieger (not long before inlarged) having long looked for their coming, now moſt joyfully received them. It was then *Friday* the Turks Sabbath, and a day of them above all other days in the week regarded, and about ten of the Clock two hours before Noon; at which time the Embaſſadors were no ſooner alighted, but that *Selymus* going to hear the Ceremonies of his Religion, in the Moſchy of his Father *Solyman* (as his manner was ſometime to do) paſſed along before the Gate where the Embaſſadors lay, with the whole Train of his Court; and peradventure ſomewhat more than ordinary, to ſhew the Magnificence of his Power and State, to the end that the Embaſſadors (above the former opinion by them conceived) might hold him in the Reputation of a moſt puiſſant and mighty Monarch. He paſſing by, vouchſafed not once to give them a regard, or ſo much as to caſt his eye aſide upon them, although they were ſtrangers, and but even then arrived; but with a Countenance as if he had known not ſo much as any thing of their coming, held on his way as it lay. But *Muhamet* the chief Viſier Baſſa, with the other Baſſaes and great Courtiers, in moſt gracious manner as they paſſed by caſt their eyes upon them; all the courteſie they could then ſhew them. Six days after, being the eight and twentieth of *Auguſt*, the Embaſſadors all three went to viſit and ſalute *Muhamet* (or as the Turks call him *Mehemet*) the chief Viſier Baſſa, as the manner was, preſenting him from the Emperor, with four Cups of Silver all gilt, of moſt fair and curious Workmanſhip; of which, two of them being greater than the other, were three ſpans high, the other two being not ſo high by a ſpan, but having in them two thouſand Ducats of Gold; beſide which, they gave him alſo a Clock, being a moſt curious piece of Work, and all over double gilt. After which Greetings and Preſents delivered, beſides the contents of his Majeſties Letters, they declared unto him in general points, the cauſe of their coming, and the mind of the Emperor well diſpoſed to a Peace; and what great benefit would ariſe thereby to both Parties; and laſtly turning over the blame of the late Wars, and laying the fault thereof to the charge of others, ſweetned thereby the ſower of their former dealings. Neither was the Baſſa likewiſe for his part to ſeek for goods words, but anſwered them in Turkiſh by the mouth of *Hibraim* the chief Dragoman, who delivered his mind to them in Latin or Italian, according as the Embaſſadors had before uttered theirs; which Parle ſo ended, certain of the chief of the Embaſſadors Followers were admitted into the *Diviano* to kiſs the proud Baſſaes hand. The ſame day the Embaſſadors alſo ſaluted *Partau* the ſecond Baſſa, and *Ferat* the third in Order and Authority. To *Partau* they preſented two Cups of Silver all gilt, beſide a Clock of the ſame making with the afore named, and two thouſand Dollars; and the like to *Ferat*. The next day they went to viſit the other three Baſſaes, *Achomat*, *Pial*, and *Muhamet*, preſenting every one of them with two fair Cups and a thouſand Dollars. Theſe were the ſix Viſier Baſſaes to *Selymus*, then lying at Court with him, men that for Wealth and Authority went before all other in the Turkiſh Empire, as in the courſe of this Hiſtory may appear. And ſo having viſited them in general, the Embaſſadors to ſet their Affairs on foot, the fourth of *September* cloſed with *Muhamet*, to whom the ordering of Eſtate-matters was eſpecially committed. Yet after this firſt Conference, becauſe it was neceſſary before ſo weighty Affairs were broached, firſt to do the Turk Reverence, and to deliver the Preſents, with the Emperors Letters to him written; for ſome few days there was not any Point at all of the Embaſſadors buſineſs handled.

The Emperors Embaſſadors honourably received by the Turks at Conſtantinople.

Preſents given by the Emperors Embaſſadors to the great Baſſaes.

Selymus not long after the Embaſſadors were arrived, went out for his diſport and pleaſure on hunting; ſo that in the mean time, after the Preſents were given to the *Baſſaes*, matters ſtood ſtill altogether unadvanced, until the 21 of *September*; and that day (*Selymus* being now returned from his Diſport) it was appointed that the Embaſſadors ſhould have Audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their Followers, of thoſe that ſhould attend upon them, which were not in all above twelve perſons; for they to whom this Charge was committed, ſaid it was neither the manner, nor yet meet, that any great Train ſhould come before ſo great a Prince, and that they might not bring with them above that number; whereupon they appointed but ſix a piece to attend them; and of fifteen Cups of Silver and gilt, being moſt curiouſly and cunningly engraven, one of the faireſt among the reſt was given to each of thoſe twelve to carry, and they ordered to go by two and two before the reſt that came after in order with the reſt of the Preſents; which was two exceeding precious Clocks, like in bigneſs to them before given to the Baſſaes, but far above them in value; and 45000 Dollars for the Tribute behind and yet unpaid. The greateſt of theſe Cups was ſix Spans and a half, and the leaſt two Spans in height; ſome of them being double Cups, after the High-Dutch manner. The Embaſſadors (whoſe coming a great multitude of Janizaries attended below at the Gate of their Lodging; beſides made of the Spahies and Chiauſes, and others of good ſort (which were come

Preſents ſend unto Selymus *by the Emperor.*

The Emperors Embaſſadors honourably conducted by the Turks unto the Court.

to honour them with their Preſence to the Palace) putting themſelves in readineſs betimes in the Morning, and taking Horſe ſet forward toward the Court. The formoſt were they that did bear the Preſent in their hands, the people of the City in every Street flocking together in exceeding multitudes to behold them as they paſſed; and verily there had been ſeldom times ſeen the like Embaſſage in thoſe parts; for beſides the Fame that was blown abroad in every quarter, That they were Men ſent from one of the greateſt Princes in Chriſtendom; the diverſity of their Attire (ſo few as they were) more than any thing beſide, did repreſent the Majeſty of the Chriſtian Emperor to them that gazed upon his Embaſſadors and their Train, the people conceiving thereby, that he was Lord and Ruler over many Provinces and Countries. For they that were *Hungarians* belonging to the Biſhop of *Agria* (the chief Embaſſador) being attired in long and ſober Garments of very fine Purple-Cloth, having their Shoos pieced over the ſoles with Iron-Plates, and half their Heads ſhaven, ſeemed to differ from them but little; but on the other ſide, the High-Dutch attired in black, with their Velvet Caps, and ſhort Clokes laid with Silver Lace, and long Breeches little leſs than Rutter-wiſe, and Chains of Gold about their Necks, appeared very ſtrange and uncouth to the Turkiſh people; ſo accompanied in this honourable wiſe, the Embaſſadors entred the firſt Gate of the Great Turks Palace.

The firſt Gate of the Great Turks Palace.

This Gate is built of Marble in moſt ſumptuous manner, and of a ſtately height, with certain words of their Language in the front thereof ingraven and gilt in Marble. So paſſing through the baſe Court, which hath on the right ſide very fair Gardens, and on the left, divers Buildings ſerving for other Offices, with a little Moſchy, they came to the ſecond Gate, where all ſuch as come in riding, muſt of neceſſity alight; here ſo ſoon as they were entred in at this ſecond Gate, they came into a very large Square Court, with Buildings and Galleries round about it, the Kitchins ſtanding on the right hand, with other Lodgings for ſuch as belonged to the Court, and on the left hand likewiſe Rooms deputed to like Services.

The ſecond Gate.

There are moreover many Halls and other Rooms for reſort, where they ſit in Council, handling and executing the Publick Affairs either of the Court or of the Empire, with other matters, where the Baſſaes and other Officers aſſemble together. Entring in at this ſecond Gate, in one part of the Court, which ſeem'd rather ſome large Street, they ſaw the whole Company of the Solaches ſet in a goodly rank, which are Archers keeping always near unto the Perſon of the Great Turk, and ſerving as his Footmen when he rideth; they uſe high Plumes of Feathers, which are ſet bolt upright over their Foreheads. In another place there ſtood the Capitzi in like Array, with black Staves of Indian Canes in their hands; they are the Porters and Warders of the Gates of the Palace, not much differing in their Attire from the Janizaries; who ſtood in rank likewiſe in another quarter. And beſide all thoſe, with many more that were out of order, as well of the Court as of the common people, thoſe Knights of the Court which accompanied the Embaſſadors thither, with other great Ones alſo of like degree, were Marſhalled all in their ſeveral Companies. And among the reſt, the Mutfarachaes, Men of all Nations and all Religions (for their Valour the only free men which live at their own liberty in the Turkiſh Empire) ſtood there, apparelled in Damask Velvet and Cloth of Gold, and Garments of Silk of ſundry kinds and colours; their Pomp was great, and the greater, for the Turbants that they wore upon their Heads, being as white as whiteneſs it ſelf, made a moſt brave and goodly ſhew well worth the beholding. In brief, whether they were to be conſidered all at once, or in particular, as well for the order that they kept, as for their ſumptuous preſence, altogether without noiſe or rumor; they made the Embaſſadors and the reſt of their Followers there preſent, eye-witneſſes both of their Obedience, and of the great State and Royalty of the *Othoman* Court. Paſſing through them, the Embaſſadors were led into the Hall, where the Baſſaes and other great Men of the Court were all ready to give them Entertainment; they of their Train being at the ſame time brought into a Room that ſtood apart under one of the aforeſaid Lodgings all hung with Turky-Carpets. Soon after (as their uſe and manner is) they brought in their Dinner, covering the ground with Table-Cloths of a great length ſpread upon Carpets, and afterward ſcattering upon them a marvelous number of wooden Spoons, with ſo great ſtore of Bread, as if they had been to feed 300 perſons; then they ſet on Meat in order, which was ſerved in 42 great Platters of Earth, full of Rice-pottage of three or four kinds, differing one from another, ſome of them ſeaſoned with Honey, and of the colour of Honey; ſome with ſour Milk, and white of colour; and ſome with Sugar; they had Fritters alſo, which were made of like Batter; and Mutton beſide, or rather a dainty and toothſome morſel of an old ſodden Ewe.

A homely Feaſt given to the Embaſſadors Followers in the Turks Court.

The Table (if there had any ſuch been) thus furniſhed, the Gueſts without any Ceremony of waſhing, ſate down on the ground (for Stools there were none) and fell to their Victual, and drank out of great earthen Diſhes, Water prepared with Sugar, which kind of Drink they call *Zerbet*. But ſo, having made a ſhort repaſt, they were no ſooner riſen up, but certain young Men, whom they call *Giamoglans*, with others that ſtood round about them, ſnatcht it haſtily up as their Fees, and like greedy Harpies ravened it down in a moment. The Embaſſadors in the mean time dined in the Hall with the Baſſaes. And after dinner certain of the Capitzies were ſent for, and twelve of the Embaſſadors Followers, before appointed to do the Great Sultan Reverence; by whom (their Preſents being already conveyed away) they were removed out of the place where they dined, and brought on into an under Room, from whence there was an aſcent into the Hall, where the Baſſaes were ſtaying for the Embaſſadors; who ſoon after came forth, and for their eaſe ſat them down upon the Benches, whilſt the Baſſaes went in to *Selymus*; who before this time had made an end of Dinner, and was removed in all his Royalty, into one of his Chambers, expecting the coming of the Embaſſadors. All things now in readineſs, and the Embaſſadors ſent for, they ſet forward with their Train, and came to the third Gate, which leadeth into the Privy-Palace of the Turkiſh Emperor, where none but himſelf, his Eunuchs, and the young Pages his Minions, being in the Eunuchs cuſtody, have continual abiding; into which inward part of the Palace none entreth but the Capitzi Baſſa (who hath the keeping of this third Gate) and the Ceſigniers (that ſerve in the Turks Meat) with the Baſſaes and ſome few other great Men; and that only when they have occaſion ſo to do by reaſon of ſome great buſineſs, or ſent for by the Sultan.

The third Gate.

Being entred in at this Gate, which is of a Stately and Royal Building, the Capitzi by whom they were conducted ſuddenly cauſed them to ſtay, and ſet them one from another about long Plumes of Feathers ſtanding upright; all which made a beautiful ſhew, and gave all great grace to the Baſſaes Court. Theſe men ſtir not one foot in their ſtandings, and if the Conſultation do laſt four hours long, ſo long are they to continue ſtanding without moving. The Embaſſadors having ſtayed two days at *Buda*, were by the Baſſa diſmiſſed, ſending with them his Checai (the Steward or Governor of his Houſe) a man of great Reputation, and *Becram* the Chiaus (the ſame that came to meet them at *Comora)* with a ſufficient Guard and certain Janizaries, ſent for their more ſafe travelling, and to provide for them from place to place, all things neceſſary for their Diet, as alſo for their Horſes, at the Turks charges. And thus accompanied, they imbarqued the tenth day of the aforeſaid month, towed up the Turks Gallies, which holpen by the ſwiftneſs of the River, carried them down in eight days to *Belgrade*, where they arrived the eighteenth of *July*. So having ſtaid at *Belgrade*, and there leaving their Boats, and taking their Coaches, they ſet forward by Land the twentieth of the ſaid month, and with great pains travelling through *Raſcia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, and paſſing a part of the great Mountain *Scardus*, and after that, the Mountain *Rhodope*, ſo by the way of *Philippolis* and *Hadrianople*, the two and twentieth of *Auguſt* gathered faſt upon *Conſtantinople*; where many of the Spahies and Chiauſes of the Court, with a number of the Janizaries and other Souldiers, for their greater Honour came to meet them a great way without the City. By whom the Embaſſadors honourably mounted on Horſeback, were by them conducted to their Lodging appointed for them about the midſt of the City; where the Lord *Albert de Vuis* the Emperors Embaſſador Lieger (not long before inlarged) having long looked for their coming, now moſt joyfully received them. It was then *Friday* the Turks Sabbath, and a day of them above all other days in the week regarded, and about ten of the Clock two hours before Noon; at which time the Embaſſadors were no ſooner alighted, but that *Selymus* going to hear the Ceremonies of his Religion, in the Moſchy of his Father *Solyman* (as his manner was ſometime to do) paſſed along before the Gate where the Embaſſadors lay, with the whole Train of his Court; and peradventure ſomewhat more than ordinary, to ſhew the Magnificence of his Power and State, to the end that the Embaſſadors (above the former opinion by them conceived) might hold him in the Reputation of a moſt puiſſant and mighty Monarch. He paſſing by, vouchſafed not once to give them a regard, or ſo much as to caſt his eye aſide upon them, although they were ſtrangers, and but even then arrived; but with a Countenance as if he had known not ſo much as any thing of their coming, held on his way as it lay. But *Muhamet* the chief Viſier Baſſa, with the other Baſſaes and great Courtiers, in moſt gracious manner as they paſſed by caſt their eyes upon them; all the courteſie they could then ſhew them. Six days after, being the eight and twentieth of *Auguſt*, the Embaſſadors all three went to viſit and ſalute *Muhamet* (or as the Turks call him *Mehemet*) the chief Viſier Baſſa, as the manner was, preſenting him from the Emperor, with four Cups of Silver all gilt, of moſt fair and curious Workmanſhip; of which, two of them being greater than the other, were three ſpans high, the other two being not ſo high by a ſpan, but having in them two thouſand Ducats of Gold; beſide which, they gave him alſo a Clock, being a moſt curious piece of Work, and all over double gilt. After which Greetings and Preſents delivered, beſides the contents of his Majeſties Letters, they declared unto him in general points, the cauſe of their coming, and the mind of the Emperor well diſpoſed to a Peace; and what great benefit would ariſe thereby to both Parties; and laſtly turning over the blame of the late Wars, and laying the fault thereof to the charge of others, ſweetned thereby the ſower of their former dealings. Neither was the Baſſa likewiſe for his part to ſeek for goods words, but anſwered them in Turkiſh by the mouth of *Hibraim* the chief Dragoman, who delivered his mind to them in Latin or Italian, according as the Embaſſadors had before uttered theirs; which Parle ſo ended, certain of the chief of the Embaſſadors Followers were admitted into the *Diviano* to kiſs the proud Baſſaes hand. The ſame day the Embaſſadors alſo ſaluted *Partau* the ſecond Baſſa, and *Ferat* the third in Order and Authority. To *Partau* they preſented two Cups of Silver all gilt, beſide a Clock of the ſame making with the afore named, and two thouſand Dollars; and the like to *Ferat*. The next day they went to viſit the other three Baſſaes, *Achomat*, *Pial*, and *Muhamet*, preſenting every one of them with two fair Cups and a thouſand Dollars. Theſe were the ſix Viſier Baſſaes to *Selymus*, then lying at Court with him, men that for Wealth and Authority went before all other in the Turkiſh Empire, as in the courſe of this Hiſtory may appear. And ſo having viſited them in general, the Embaſſadors to ſet their Affairs on foot, the fourth of *September* cloſed with *Muhamet*, to whom the ordering of Eſtate-matters was eſpecially committed. Yet after this firſt Conference, becauſe it was neceſſary before ſo weighty Affairs were broached, firſt to do the Turk Reverence, and to deliver the Preſents, with the Emperors Letters to him written; for ſome few days there was not any Point at all of the Embaſſadors buſineſs handled.

The Emperors Embaſſadors honourably received by the Turks at Conſtantinople.

Preſents given by the Emperors Embaſſadors to the great Baſſaes.

Selymus not long after the Embaſſadors were arrived, went out for his diſport and pleaſure on hunting; ſo that in the mean time, after the Preſents were given to the Baſſaes, matters ſtood ſtill altogether unadvanced, until the 21 of *September*; and that day (*Selymus* being now returned from his Diſport) it was appointed that the Embaſſadors ſhould have Audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their Followers, of thoſe that ſhould attend upon them, which were not in all above twelve perſons; for they to whom this Charge was committed, ſaid it was neither the manner, nor yet meet, that any great Train ſhould come before ſo great a Prince, and that they might not bring with them above that number; whereupon they appointed but ſix a piece to attend them; and of fifteen Cups of Silver and gilt, being moſt curiouſly and cunningly engraven, one of the faireſt among the reſt was given to each of thoſe twelve to carry, and they ordered to go by two and two before the reſt that came after in order with the reſt of the Preſents; which was two exceeding precious Clocks, like in bigneſs to them before given to the Baſſaes, but far above them in value; and 45000 Dollars for the Tribute behind and yet unpaid. The greateſt of theſe Cups was ſix Spans and a half, and the leaſt two Spans in height; ſome of them being double Cups, after the High-Dutch manner. The Embaſſadors (whoſe coming a great multitude of Janizaries attended below at the Gate of their Lodging; beſides made of the Spahies and Chiauſes, and others of good ſort (which were come

Preſents ſend unto Selymus *by the Emperor.*

The Emperors Embaſſadors honourably conducted by the Turks unto the Court.

to honour them with their Preſence to the Palace) putting themſelves in readineſs betimes in the Morning, and taking Horſe ſet forward toward the Court. The formoſt were they that did bear the Preſent in their hands, the people of the City in every Street flocking together in exceeding multitudes to behold them as they paſſed; and verily there had been ſeldom times ſeen the like Embaſſage in thoſe parts; for beſides the Fame that was blown abroad in every quarter, That they were Men ſent from one of the greateſt Princes in Chriſtendom; the diverſity of their Attire (ſo few as they were) more than any thing beſide, did repreſent the Majeſty of the Chriſtian Emperor to them that gazed upon his Embaſſadors and their Train, the people conceiving thereby, that he was Lord and Ruler over many Provinces and Countries. For they that were *Hungarians* belonging to the Biſhop of *Agria* (the chief Embaſſador) being attired in long and ſober Garments of very fine Purple-Cloth, having their Shoos pieced over the ſoles with Iron-Plates, and half their Heads ſhaven, ſeemed to differ from them but little; but on the other ſide, the High-Dutch attired in black, with their Velvet Caps, and ſhort Clokes laid with Silver Lace, and long Breeches little leſs than Rutter-wiſe, and Chains of Gold about their Necks, appeared very ſtrange and uncouth to the Turkiſh people; ſo accompanied in this honourable wiſe, the Embaſſadors entred the firſt Gate of the Great Turks Palace.

The firſt Gate of the Great Turks Palace.

This Gate is built of Marble in moſt ſumptuous manner, and of a ſtately height, with certain words of their Language in the front thereof ingraven and gilt in Marble.

The ſecond Gate.

So paſſing through the baſe Court, which hath on the right ſide very fair Gardens, and on the left, divers Buildings ſerving for other Offices, with a little Moſchy, they came to the ſecond Gate, where all ſuch as come in riding, muſt of neceſſity alight; here ſo ſoon as they were entred in at this ſecond Gate, they came into a very large Square Court, with Buildings and Galleries round about it, the Kitchins ſtanding on the right hand, with other Lodgings for ſuch as belonged to the Court, and on the left hand likewiſe Rooms deputed to like Services. There are moreover many Halls and other Rooms for reſort, where they ſit in Council, handling and executing the Publick Affairs either of the Court or of the Empire, with other matters, where the Baſſaes and other Officers aſſemble together. Entring in at this ſecond Gate, in one part of the Court, which ſeem'd rather ſome large Street, they ſaw the whole Company of the Solaches ſet in a goodly rank, which are Archers keeping always near unto the Perſon of the Great Turk, and ſerving as his Footmen when he rideth; they uſe high Plumes of Feathers, which are ſet bolt upright over their Foreheads. In another place there ſtood the Capitzi in like Array, with black Staves of Indian Canes in their hands; they are the Porters and Warders of the Gates of the Palace, not much differing in their Attire from the Janizaries; who ſtood in rank likewiſe in another quarter. And beſide all thoſe, with many more that were out of order, as well of the Court as of the common people, thoſe Knights of the Court which accompanied the Embaſſadors thither, with other great Ones alſo of like degree, were Marſhalled all in their ſeveral Companies. And among the reſt, the Mutfarachaes, Men of all Nations and all Religions (for their Valour the only free men which live at their own liberty in the Turkiſh Empire) ſtood there, apparelled in Damaſk Velvet and Cloth of Gold, and Garments of Silk of ſundry kinds and colours; their Pomp was great, and the greater, for the Turbants that they wore upon their Heads, being as white as whiteneſs it ſelf, made a moſt brave and goodly ſhew well worth the beholding. In brief, whether they were to be conſidered all at once, or in particular, as well for the order that they kept, as for their ſumptuous preſence, altogether without noiſe or rumor; they made the Embaſſadors and the reſt of their Followers there preſent, eye-witneſſes both of their Obedience, and of the great State and Royalty of the *Othoman* Court. Paſſing through them, the Embaſſadors were led into the Hall, where the Baſſaes and other great Men of the Court were all ready to give them Entertainment; they of their Train being at the ſame time brought into a Room that ſtood apart under one of the aforeſaid Lodgings all hung with Turky-Carpets.

A homely Feaſt given to the Embaſſadors Followers in the Turks Court.

Soon after (as their uſe and manner is) they brought in their Dinner, covering the ground with Table-Cloths of a great length ſpread upon Carpets, and afterward ſcattering upon them a marvelous number of wooden Spoons, with ſo great ſtore of Bread, as if they had been to feed 300 perſons; then they ſet on Meat in order, which was ſerved in 42 great Platters of Earth, full of Rice-pottage of three or four kinds, differing one from another, ſome of them ſeaſoned with Honey, and of the colour of Honey; ſome with ſour Milk, and white of colour; and ſome with Sugar; they had Fritters alſo, which were made of like Batter; and Mutton beſide, or rather a dainty and toothſome morſel of an old ſodden Ewe. The Table (if there had any ſuch been) thus furniſhed, the Gueſts without any Ceremony of waſhing, ſate down on the ground (for Stools there were none) and fell to their Victual, and drank out of great earthen Diſhes, Water prepared with Sugar, which kind of Drink they call *Zerbet*. But ſo having made a ſhort repaſt, they were no ſooner riſen up, but certain young Men, whom they call *Giamoglans*, with others that ſtood round about them, ſnatcht it haſtily up as their Fees, and like greedy Harpies ravened it down in a moment. The Embaſſadors in the mean time dined in the Hall with the Baſſaes. And after dinner certain of the Capitzies were ſent for, and twelve of the Embaſſadors Followers, before appointed to do the Great Sultan Reverence; by whom (their Preſents being already conveyed away) they were removed out of the place where they dined, and brought on into an under Room, from whence there was an aſcent into the Hall, where the Baſſaes were ſtaying for the Embaſſadors; who ſoon after came forth, and for their eaſe ſat them down upon the Benches, whilſt the Baſſaes went in to *Selymus*; who before this time had made an end of Dinner, and was removed in all his Royalty, into one of his Chambers, expecting the coming of the Embaſſadors.

The third Gate.

All things now in readineſs, and the Embaſſadors ſent for, they ſet forward with their Train, and came to the third Gate, which leadeth into the Privy-Palace of the Turkiſh Emperor, where none but himſelf, his Eunuchs, and the young Pages his Minions, being in the Eunuchs cuſtody, have continual abiding; into which inward part of the Palace none entreth but the Capitzi Baſſa (who hath the keeping of this third Gate) and the Ceſigniers (that ſerve in the Turks Meat) with the Baſſaes and ſome few other great Men; and that only when they have occaſion ſo to do by reaſon of ſome great buſineſs, or ſent for by the Sultan. Being entred in at this Gate, which is of a Stately and Royal Building, the Capitzi by whom they were conducted ſuddenly cauſed them to ſtay, and ſet them one from another about five Paces, in a little Room, which nevertheleſs was paſſing-delicate, all curiouſly painted over with divers colours, and ſtood between the Gate and the more inner Lodgings. On both ſides of which Room, when all things elſe were whiſt and in a deep ſilence, certain little Birds only were heard to warble out their ſweet Notes, and to flicker up and down the green Trees of the Gardens (which all along caſt a pleaſant ſhadow from them) as if they alone had obtained Licence to make a noiſe. *Selymus* himſelf was in great Majeſty ſet in an under Chamber, parted only with a Wall from the Room wherein the Embaſſadors Followers attended, whereinto he might look through a little Window, the Portal of his ſaid Chamber ſtanding in counterpoint with the third Gate above mentioned. The Embaſſadors entring in, were led ſingle, and one after another, to make their Reverence unto the Great Turk. And in the mean time certain of the Capitzi with the Preſents in their hands fetching a compaſs about before the Window, muſtered them in his ſight. All this while not the leaſt ſound in the World being raiſed, but a ſacred ſilence kept in every corner, as if men had been going to viſit the holieſt place in *Jeruſalem*. Yet for all that, the Embaſſadors Followers placed one from another (as is aforeſaid) were not aware that the great Sultan was ſo near, looking ſtill when they ſhould have been led on forwards all together; howbeit they were ſet in one after another, neither did they that were ſo ſet out, return again into the Room, but having ſeverally done their Reverence, were all (except the Embaſſadors, that ſtill ſtaid in the Chamber) by one and one ſent out another way into the Court; neither could he that came after, ſee his Fellow that went before him, after he was once taken in to do his Reverence; but ſuddenly as the former was let out, the next was advanced forward to the door, where *Iſman* the Capitzi-Baſſa and the Odda-Baſſa, taking him by both Arms and by the Neck, the one at the right hand, and the other at the left, and ſo leading him apace, by the way ſoftly felt his wriſts with their hands, leſt peradventure he might have ſome ſhort Weapon in his ſleeve. Yet were they not all thus groped, as *Marc. Antonio Pigafetta* (the Reporter of this Negotiation) ſaith of himſelf and ſome others alſo. Howbeit this hath been, and yet is the manner of giving of Acceſs unto the Perſon of the Great Turk, ever ſince that *Amurath* the Firſt was after the battel of *Caſſova* murdered by one of *Lazarus* the Deſpots men; who admitted to his Preſence, in revenge of the wrong done unto his Maſter, with a ſhort Poniard that he had cloſely hidden about him, ſo ſtabbed him in the Belly, that he preſently died. And thus like men rather carried to priſon by Sergeants, than to the Preſence of ſo mighty a Monarch, they were preſented unto his Majeſty; he ſitting upon a Pallat, which the Turks call *Maſtabe*, uſed by them in their Chambers to ſleep and to feed upon, covered with Carpets of Silk, as was the whole floor of the Chamber alſo. The Chamber it ſelf being not very great, was but dark, altogether without Windows, excepting that one whereof we have before ſpoken, and having the Walls painted and ſet out in moſt freſh and lively Colours by great cunning, and with a moſt delicate grace; yet uſe they neither Pictures nor the Image of any thing in their painting. The ſix Viſier Baſſaes before mentioned, were ſtanding at the left hand as they entred in at the Chamber door, one by another in one ſide of the Chamber, and the Embaſſadors on the right hand on the other ſide ſtanding likewiſe, and uncovered. The Dragomans were in another part of the Chamber, near the place where the Sultan ſat gorgeouſly attired in a Robe of Cloth of Gold all embroidered with Jewels; when as the Embaſſadors Followers by one and one brought before him, (as is aforeſaid) and kneeling on the ground, a Turk ſtanding on his right hand, with all Reverence taking up the Hem of his Garment, gave it them in their hands to kiſs. *Selymus* himſelf all this while ſitting like an Image without moving, and with a great State and Majeſty keeping his countenance, dained not to give them one of his looks. This done, they were led back again, never turning their backs towards him, but going ſtill backwards until they were out of his Preſence. So after they had all thus made their Reverence, and were departed out of the Chamber, the Embaſſadors delivered unto *Selymus* the Emperors Letters, and briefly declared unto him their Meſſage; whom he anſwering in four words, as, That they were to confer with his Baſſaes; preſently they were diſmiſſed. And ſo coming out of the two inner Gates, they mounted on Horſeback, and took the way leading towards their Lodging, being at their return accompanied with the whole order of the Janizaries, with their Aga and other Captains; among whom were certain of their Religious Men called *Haigi* (which uſe to follow the Janizaries) who continually turning about, and in their going, ſinging or rather howling out certain Pſalms and Prayers for the Welfare of their Great Sultan; gave the Embaſſadors and their Followers occaſion to wonder, that they either left not for wearineſs, or fell not down like Noddies for giddineſs. All theſe were ſent, the more honourably to accompany the Embaſſadors to their Lodging; and beſide theſe, many more on Horſeback than attended them at their coming forth; in regard whereof, the Embaſſadors when they were come to their Lodging, to requite their greedy courteſie, frankly diſtributed amongſt them, above four thouſand Dollars, and yet well contented them not.

The Embaſſadors brought in unto Selymus, with the manner of the Entertainment of them and their Followers.

Itinerario Di. Marc. Antonio Pigafetta ca. 5.

The Embaſſadors after this Entertainment at Court, had divers times Conference with the great Baſſaes concerning Peace, as *Selymus* had commanded; wherein by reaſon of the Turks unreaſonable Demands (as their manner is at their firſt meetings) nothing could be as then concluded; ſo that *Selymus* himſelf being ſhortly after to depart for *Hadrianople*, where he was to continue for ſome months (but rather as it was thought for that they could not agree upon a Point of great Conſequence) the Treaty for Peace was intermitted, until ſuch time as a Meſſenger diſpatched in Poſt, might return unto the Turks Court, with ſome reſolute Anſwer concerning that matter. So it was, that during the Reign of the late Emperor *Ferdinand*, that the Turk his Subjects in *Hungary* payed all their Taxes and Tributes unto their old Lords and Maſters, abiding and living in the Emperors Juriſdiction, as did the Subjects of *Ferdinand*, to their Lords that dwelt in the Turks Dominion and Territories; now in this Treaty for Peace, the Turks (amongſt other their unreaſonable Requeſts) demanded to have their Subjects freed, and yet the Subjects of the Emperor to pay as they were before accuſtomed. Which as it was a requeſt nothing indifferent, ſo was it no leſs prejudicial and hurtful unto the Emperor his Subjects in *Hungary*; for which cauſe the Embaſſadors would not by any means conſent thereunto, before they knew the Emperors further Pleaſure concerning the ſame. Whereupon they diſpatched one *Sig. Odoardo* a Gentleman of *Mantua*, very skilful in the Turkiſh Language and in ſuch like affairs, by reaſon that as well about this

The principal Point whereupon the Embaſſadors differed from the Turks in the Treaty of Peace.

buſineſs as at divers times before about other the like, he had been employed from *Vienna* to *Conſtantinople* in the Emperors Service. So *Selymus* ſhortly after, *viz.* the twentieth of *October*, departing from *Conſtantinople*, in great Magnificence paſſed by the Gate where the Embaſſadors lay, with his whole Court in Arms, and in the ſame order that is uſually kept when he goeth to War, or taketh any great Journey. After whoſe departure the Embaſſadors having ſufficiently viewed the City of *Conſtantinople*, and then at good leiſure, to paſs the time and to ſee the Countries they had ſo often both heard and read of, together with the Ports and Havens on both ſides that narrow Sea which divideth *Europe* from *Aſia*, embarking themſelves, and croſſing the mouth of the Haven betwixt *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*, paſſed all alongſt the Coaſt on *Europe* ſide, unto the Euxin or Black-Sea, and ſo back again by the other ſide of that Straight Sea, curiouſly noting the great ruines of the ancient Cities of *Bithynia*, with ſome others alongſt the *Aſian* ſhore, together with the pleaſant ſituation they in former times had, whilſt they yet flouriſhed in their glory, but now for moſt part (or rather for altogether) laid in the Duſt and brought to nought, and ſo returned again to *Conſtantinople*. But whilſt they thus deceived the time, and lay long expecting the return, as well of their own Meſſenger unto the Emperor, as of *Selymus* himſelf; they were advertiſed in all haſt to repair unto him to *Hadrianople*, whether the aforeſaid Meſſenger was now come with full Inſtructions of all things concerning the Treaty for Peace. For which cauſe they with great ſpeed making themſelves ready, and taking their leave of *Pial Baſſa* (who for that he was *Selymus* his great Admiral, then lay at *Conſtantinople*) ſet forward the firſt of *January*, in the year, 1568. 1568. and ſo after nine days travel, at length arrived at *Hadrianople*, about an hundred fifty three Italian miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*. Here they ſtayed until the Peace was concluded, which was the ſeventeenth of *February*; the chief Capitulations whereof were, That either of thoſe great Princes ſhould ſtill hold what they had got each from the other in the late Wars: That the Emperor ſhould yearly pay thirty thouſand Ducats to the Turkiſh Sultan, as a Tribute for *Hungary*, the Tribute to begin in the beginning of *January* laſt paſt this year 1568. That the Subjects of the Turk ſhould pay nothing to the Subjects of the Emperor, neither the Emperors any thing to the Turks, but to be both of thoſe Payments free. And that upon theſe Conditions there ſhould be a firm and ſure Peace betwixt theſe two great Monarchs for eight years next following; wherein the *Vayvod* of *Tranſylvania* was (as the Turks Tributary) to be alſo comprehended. Nevertheleſs, all things at this time thus agreed upon, the Turks after their ſubtil manner finding ſundry Cavillations, and raiſing many doubts about the aforeſaid Capitulations, did what they might to have in ſome ſort altered what they had before agreed upon, to the bettering of themſelves and the hurt of the Chriſtians; and ſo with many their unreaſonable Demands ſtayed the departure of the Embaſſadors until the twentieth of *March* following. At which time having their Diſpatch, and taking their leave of the Great Turk and the Baſſaes, accompanied with *[illegible]* (*Selymus* his Embaſſador unto the Emperor) they by Land returned towards *Vienna*; where they with the joyful News of Peace the tenth of *May* arrived, being there two days after at the Court moſt honourably received. And five days after, Audience was given unto the Turks Embaſſador, who well heard and better rewarded, ſhortly after returned with a full concluſion of Peace from the Emperor, to *Conſtantinople*.

The chief Capitulations whereon a Peace was concluded betwixt Maximilian *the Emperor and* Selymus.

But whilſt this Peace was thus in concluding, and the Embaſſadors yet reſident at *Hadrianople*, the ſixteenth of *February* came an honourable Embaſſage from *Shach Tamas* the *Perſian* King, unto the Great Sultan *Selymus*, to intreat a Peace betwixt them, or rather to conclude the ſame, being before agreed upon the Controverſies, for which they afterwards fell to open War. Which Embaſſage for that it is no leſs truly than plainly ſet down in a Letter ſent from *Erzirum* (a City then in the Confines of the Turks Dominions towards the *Perſians*) written by a *Chiaus*, to *Mahomet* Chief of the Viſier Baſſaes; which *Chiaus* was, of purpoſe ſent from *Conſtantinople*, to meet the ſaid *Perſian* Embaſſador: I thought it not amiſs for the better underſtanding thereof, to ſet down the effect of the ſame Letter as it was tranſlated out of the Turkiſh into the Italian by the Emperors Embaſſadors Interpreter.

Embaſſadors ſent from Tamas the Perſian *King to* Selymus.

The effect of the Letter written to *Mahomet Baſſa*, the Chief Viſier, by a *Chiaus* ſent of purpoſe to meet the *Perſian* Embaſſador.

After due Salutations, this is the effect of that which we thought good to make known unto your Lordſhip. Now at this preſent (to wit in the beginning of the month Giuma Sulacohir) *is in good health arrived the Embaſſador of* Perſia, *the Kings Chief Counſellor, called* * Schach Culi Soltan, *attended upon with a hundred and twenty Gentlemen, with gilt Turbants on their Heads, and well furniſhed with ſpare Horſes led in Mens hands. Beſides whom he was accompanied alſo with two hundred Knights all apparelled in Cloth of Gold, with four hundred* Perſian *Merchants, in all above ſeven hundred Perſons; with a thouſand nine hundred Beaſts, Camels, Mules, and Horſes, five couple of Drums, every couple being placed upon a ſeveral Camel, five Nacars, three Trumpets, five Flutes, and other Inſtruments, in all about thirty Muſicians, playing upon theſe Inſtruments: There were alſo two Queriſters or Chaunters of the Alcoran, one Organiſt, one playing upon a Turkiſh Inſtrument like a Lute, two Players upon Sagbuts, with two other Muſicians, eight in all. There were alſo four Bondwomen ſerving in the Embaſſadors own Chamber. Who when he was with all this Magnificent Pomp come within one days journey of* Erzirum, *the* * *Sayms and Spahies aſſembling themſelves together to the number of eight thouſand Men, went to meet him; amongſt whom were an hundred and more, all apparelled in Cloth of Gold and Sattin; two thouſand Men with gilt Morrions on their Heads; in which bravery as marching forward, the* Perſian *Embaſſador amazed to ſee ſo great Majeſty and Pomp, ſaid that all the Army of* Conſtantinople *was come to meet him; and ſo being come into the City, cauſed all the Inſtruments to be played upon, even from morning until night. The next morning, the Embaſſador invited the Baſſa with all the Lords and Officers; who being come, he entreated them to hear his Muſick; and in like manner the Lord Baſſa invited the* Perſians. *But as the Embaſſador was going to the Banquet, came another Sultan of the Kings, who brought unto the ſame Embaſſador a gilt Turbant, and a rich Gown wrought with Gold,* which

* Schach Culi Soltan, *was not the proper name of this Embaſſador, but a Title of Honour, and ſignifieth as much as a Prince, Servant to the King.*

* *Sayms are Souldiers of greater honour than the Spahi, having for their Stipend yearly 2000 Aſpers at the leaſt, out of the Revenues of certain Towns and Villages.*

which he cauſed him to put on by the way. By this Embaſſador the Perſian *King hath ſent all the Armor of Sultan* Bajazet, *with all his Camels and other Wealth. The cauſes of the long ſtay of this Embaſſador were eſpecially two; the one for that the* Perſian *King had cauſed to be made two Pavilions of one Piece, the Curtains being interlaced with Gold, and the Supporters imbroidred with the ſame: Beſides this, he ſent two Books of Hiſtories, and two Pearls, which in weight weighed ten* * *Meſcali; one Balaſſo as big as a little Pearl; fourſcore and two times an hundred* † *Tumenlich of Stuff, amounting to fourſcore and two ſums of Aſpers, and forty Falcons; all which the* Perſian *King hath ſent unto the Great Sultan, as to the only Monarch and Patron of the World. This* Schach Culi *is the next in Authority to the King, and ſo was in the time of great King* Hyſmael. *Theſe two* Perſian *Sultans are the Kings chief Sultans and Courtiers, and therefore ſet themſelves forth with all the Pomp they can. Yet notwithſtanding all their Bravery, being come to* Erzirum *within the view of our Army, the* Perſians *were amazed to behold the goodly order of the* Othomans. *One part of theſe* Perſians *are returned again into* Perſia. *And if it pleaſe God, at the coming of my Meſſenger unto you, your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand of what Condition and State theſe two Princes and Sultans are. They have each of them yearly ſix Tumoni; which maketh after the computation of the* Othomans, *ſix thouſand Aſpers. Your Lordſhip after this account may judge of the reſt. The other cauſe of the long ſtay of this Embaſſador, was for that in* Syruan *the people were up in Rebellion, wherein many of them were ſlain; to the appeaſing of which Sedition, this* Schach Culi *was ſent, and now at laſt is come. From* Erzirum *in the beginning of the month of* * *Giuma Sulacchir, in the year of the Prophet* Mahomet, 975.

* *A Meſcali is four drams.*

† *Tumenlich is in value as much as the Turks Aſper.*

* *December.*

The Perſian Embaſſador honourably entertained by the Turks. at Hadrianople.

This *Perſian* Embaſſador was with the greateſt Pomp that might be entertained by the Turks at his firſt coming to *Hadrianople*, all the brave Courtiers with the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court going forth in moſt ſeemly order to meet him. Who now entred the City, and come before the houſe where the Emperors Embaſſadors then lay, and ſeeing certain of their Retinue before the door, asked of *Iſnam* the Capitzi Baſſa, what people they were; who told them that they were the Followers of an Embaſſador that there lay, ſent from one of the greateſt Princes of the Chriſtians, namely the Emperor, who was deſirous to make Peace with the Great Sultan his Maſter. Whereunto the Embaſſador replied, That he would willingly ſalute them; which *Iſnam* hearing, ſtraight way turned his Horſe towards the place where they ſtood. Now the Emperors Embaſſador being ſecret within a Lattice, and ſeeing him come towards them, went forth and ſtood upon the Door-threſhold, and ſo with ſigns and words ſaluted one another. Among the others the *Perſian* Embaſſador ſaid unto the Emperors, That he would gladly talk with him, if it might ſo pleaſe the Grand Seignior: *Hebrahim* the Dragoman who then was with the Emperors Embaſſadors, being Interpreter. So having courteouſly ſaluted one the other, they departed, but never after came together. Two days after, the *Perſian* Embaſſadors (according to the manner of thoſe barbarous Nations, who with empty hands ſalute not one another) by his Checaia or Steward of his Houſhold, preſented all the Viſier Baſſaes with divers rich Gifts and Preſents every one of them according to their degrees and places; and the day after went himſelf to viſit them; where by the way fell out a ſtrange matter, like enough to have coſt him his life. For a Giamoglan (as the Embaſſador was going to viſit *Muhamet* the chief of the Viſier Baſſaes for the firſt) meeting him, ſhot at him with an Harquebuſh, with purpoſe to have ſlain him; but as God would, miſſed him, and hurt but one of his chief Followers in the Arm. Wherewith the Embaſſador not a little diſmaid, as ſuppoſing himſelf to have been betrayed, turning his Horſe, was about to have gone to his Lodging; but the great Baſſa in the mean time having knowledge thereof, preſently ſent out men to Guard him, and to excuſe himſelf of the Fact. Whereof the Embaſſador being aſſured, held on his way. In the mean ſpace, the Fellow who ſhot the Harquebuſh, being apprehended, was brought before the Embaſſador and the Baſſa; who asking him for what cauſe he diſcharged the ſhot againſt the Embaſſador? he without change of countenance boldly anſwered, That he did it for no other cauſe but for that the Embaſſador was an Heretick, and ſent from an Heretical King, and an Enemy to their Religion; and therefore that it was not convenient he ſhould come to intreat of Peace with his Lord; adding further, that he was not worthy of any Peace. Which the Baſſa hearing, adjudged the deſperate Villain the next day to be drawn at an Horſe-tail through the City, and then to have his right Hand cut off, and afterward his Head, which was accordingly put in execution. After this, the *Perſian* Embaſſador the *22th* of the ſame month went to deliver the Preſents ſent from his Maſter unto the Grand Seignior, and to kiſs his Hand; ſending firſt before him the Preſents upon 44 Camels, whereof 34 were the Kings of *Perſia*, and the other ten his own. The Kings Preſent was an Alcoran, with the Authority of *Ali*, as they hold. For this is their Cuſtom, always to preſent one ſuch Alcoran unto the Princes to whom they ſend their Embaſſadors. It was covered with Gold, and garniſhed with moſt precious Stones. He preſented alſo a Book or Hiſtories, covered as the other; he gave alſo a Box, wherein was a very fair precious Stone called *Balaſſo*, and two Pearls of a wonderful greatneſs, with two Purſes of an handful long, full of Jewels. Beſides theſe, he preſented alſo eight Firuari or Porcellane Diſhes (which we call *China-Diſhes*) made of moſt pure Earth, kept above fifty years buried under the ground, to the end ſo to be fined and purified, which (as ſome ſay) will melt and diſſolve if any Poiſon be put into them. He gave alſo two moſt ſtately Pavilions, twenty great Carpets of Silk, and many other leſſer of Silk and Gold; alſo nine fair Canopies to hang over the Ports of their Pavilions, things not uſed among the Chriſtians. He gave alſo nine very fair Carpets of Camels hair, nine Saddles ſet with Stones after the *Perſian* faſhion, ſeven Staves of Silver, ſeven Scimiters with red Scabberts, ſeven Bows with Arrows and Quivers, all wrought with Gold and precious Stones; he preſented alſo many other Carpets called *Teſtich*, made of the fineſt Lawn, and ſo large, that ſeven Men could ſcarcely carry one of them. All the Faulcons were dead by the way. The Preſents which the Embaſſador gave unto the Great Turk in his own Name, were alſo theſe; An Alcoran, a Pavilion fair and large, certain Scimiters, Bows and Arrows richly garniſhed, with certain Carpets of Silk, and Camels hair. After which Preſents ſo delivered, and Reverence done unto the Great Sultan by the Embaſſador, and thirty of his Followers all in Cloth of Gold, he returned to his Lodging very honourably accompanied, as well by the Turks as them of his own Retinue. Firſt, beſides many others, there

The Perſian Embaſſador in going to viſit Muhamet *the Viſier Baſſa, in danger to have been ſlain.*

The rich Preſent ſent by the Perſian *King unto* Selymus.

The Embaſſadors Preſent to Selymus.

there were a great Company of the Spahies and Chiauſes, and other Courtiers mounted upon goodly Horſes, well furniſhed and in decent order; here might a Man have ſeen ſtore of Cloth of Gold, Velvet, Damask, and other kinds of Silk. After theſe, there followed about three hundred Perſian Horſemen, apparelled after their manner, ſome with Gowns made of divers little pieces of Taffata of ſundry Colours, repreſenting the Pictures of Men, Women, Horſes, and other Beaſts; and ſome of them embroidred with Flowers and Fruits of ſundry ſorts; ſome had alſo Gowns of Cloth of Gold, but not ſo fair as the Turks; and ſome of Velvet, but very few of Cloth; for that the Perſians have no great plenty either of Velvet or yet of Cloth, except ſuch as they have from the Portugals that travel into thoſe Eaſtern Countries; yet of Silk and Wool it appeareth they have great plenty, moſt part of their Gowns being of Wool quilted with Bombaſt. After theſe Horſemen followed many Perſian Footmen, peradventure all Servants; after whom came the Turkiſh Horſemen; and laſt of all came a Horſe of the Embaſſadors led by a Perſian; after which Horſe followed two hundred Janizaries; and in the Rearward of all came the Embaſſador alone, gorgeouſly attired both himſelf and his Horſe. He himſelf was inveſted with crimſon Velvet, mingled with ſome other Colours; his Saddle and Bridle were all bedeckt with Jewels; the Capariſon of his Horſe was all embroidred with Turquoies and other precious Stones; the Horn upon the top of his Turbant (which the Turks call *Metevenchia*) was altogether wrought with Gold, and ſet with precious Stones; in brief, upon every part of his Body hanged Jewels of great price. After the Embaſſador, followed about an hundred and forty Perſian Horſemen, and others of his Court apparelled as before, ſome well, ſome ill, according to their Ability. Now although the Perſians (as is to be thought) ſhewed all their Pomp, yet they made nothing ſo fair a ſhew as did the Turks; neither are they ſo fair Men of complexion, being for the moſt part of a ſwarſt and brown Colour, and rather little Men than otherwiſe, not much unlike to the Spaniards. The Embaſſador being departed, the Preſents were all brought and ſhewed to *Selymus*; who allowed for their ordinary Charges five hundred Ducats a day, for that indeed their number was great, and their Beaſts many. Theſe Expences beſtowed upon the Embaſſadors, do preſently begin as ſoon as any of them enter into his Dominions; and end, ſo ſoon as the buſineſs for which they come is finiſhed. But long it was not, but that this Embaſſador having concluded a Peace betwixt the two great Princes, *Tamas* and *Selymus*, and diſpatched ſuch matters as he came for, returned home again into *Perſia*. The Venetians alſo now at this ſame time, by their Embaſſadors ſought to renew the League they had made with the great Turk, now expired; which as it was eaſily obtained, ſo was it of ſmall aſſurance; *Selymus* the next year quarrelling with them, and raiſing new Wars, to the great hurt and diſturbance of that State, as ſhall forthwith appear.

An honourable allowance.

1569. *Selymus* now at Peace with all the World (a thing of the Turks not much deſired) began to think of Works of Charity; and purpoſing to build a magnificent Temple at *Hadrianople* for his own Sepulcture, with a Monaſtery, a Colledge, and an Alms-Houſe (as had his Father and other his Anceſtors before him at *Pruſa* and *Conſtantinople*, led thereunto with a vain and ſuperſtitious Devotion) was troubled with nothing more, than how to endow the ſame with Lands and Revenues ſufficient for the maintenance of ſo great a Charge; for that that the Mahometan Kings, are by their Superſtition prohibited to convert any Lands or Poſſeſſions to ſuch holy uſes, other than ſuch as they have with their own Sword won from the Enemies of their Religion, which they may (as they are perſwaded) as a moſt acceptable Sacrifice, offer to their great Prophet; which Deviliſh perſwaſion, ſerveth as a Spur to prick forward every of thoſe ambitious Princes to add ſomething to their Empire. This his devout purpoſe once known, wanted not the furtherance of many ripe Heads, deviſing ſome one thing, ſome another, as they thought beſt fitted his humor. But amongſt many things to him preſented, none pleaſed him ſo well, as the Plot laid for the taking of the rich Iſland of *Cyprus* from the Venetians; a Conqueſt of it ſelf ſufficient, both for the eternizing of his Name, and performance of his own charitable Works intended; with a large overplus, for the ſupplying of whatſoever wanted in his Fathers like devout Works at *Conſtantinople*. But that which moved him moſt of all, was the glory of ſuch a Conqueſt, which as his Flatterers bare him in hand, might make him equal with any his Predeceſſors; who in the beginning of their Reign, had uſually done or attempted ſome notable thing againſt the Chriſtians. Hereupon the matter was by *Selymus* propounded to the great Baſſaes to be conſidered of; without whoſe Advice and Counſel, the Turkiſh Emperors ſeldom or never take any great Wars in hand. Amongſt theſe grave Counſellors, *Muhamet* the chief Viſier Baſſa, a Man of greateſt Authority (unto whom *Selymus* was beholden, that he had ſo quietly obtained the Empire) and a ſecret Friend unto the Venetians, ſeemed much to miſlike of that motion, perſwading *Selymus* not to yield thereunto; alledging beſide the danger and uncertainty of the expedition, that his Father *Solyman* at the time of his death had charged him ſtraily, that the League with the Venetians ſhould be religiouſly kept, and that he could not with his Honour without juſt cauſe ſo quickly break the League, which he himſelf had but a little before moſt ſolemnly confirmed. But *Muſtapha* the ſecond Baſſa, ſometime *Selymus* his Tutor, and therefore of him much honoured, with *Pial* Baſſa the Admiral (both envying at the great honour of the Viſier Baſſa) ſo mightily impugned that he had before ſaid, and ſo importuned *Selymus* with the ſhew both of Honour and Profit attending that action, as alſo with the eaſineſs thereof (a great part of the Venetian Arſenal being but a little before burnt, and their Forces much weakned) that he rejected the Counſel of *Muhamet*, calling him in his Choler, Chriſtian (which among the Mahometans is a Word of no ſmall diſgrace;) and yielding wholly to the perſwaſion of *Muſtapha* and *Pial*, preſently cauſed preparation to be made both by Sea and Land, for the performance of that his reſolution. Which was not ſo covertly carried in the Turks Court, but that it was diſcovered by *M. Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian Embaſſador; and not without cauſe ſuſpected by the Venetian Merchants, whom the barbarous Turks began now to cut ſhort in their Traffick, looking big upon them, as Men ſuddainly changed, and evil intreating them with hard ſpeeches, the undoubted ſigns of greater troubles to enſue. The Venetian Embaſſador now out of doubt of the Turks purpoſe for the invaſion of *Cyprus*, came unto *Muhamet* the chief Baſſa, complaining of the breach of the League; and putting him in mind of the Fidelity of the Venetian State towards the Turkiſh

Muhamet *Baſſa diſſwadeth* Selymus *from the invading of* Cyprus.

Emperor; requeſting him that *Selymus* might not make too much haſte to begin that War, which would ſet all *Europe* on a broil; but rather by his Embaſſadors firſt to declare his mind to the Senate, for that ſo it might haply come to paſs, that all might be quieted, to the good of both parties without War. Which the politick Embaſſador requeſted not of the Baſſa for any hope he had to avert the War, for which the Turk had now all things in a readineſs, but only by ſuch an hope of compoſition, to hinder the Turks endeavours, and to win time, until that the State (being fully certified of all theſe matters) might make ready their Fleet and Forces, and ſo in Arms be ready to anſwer their armed Foes; Neither did he ever leave the Baſſa, until he had by his means procured, That one *Cubates* ſhould be ſent Embaſſador to *Venice*, to prove the minds of the Senators, whether they would willingly deliver the Iſland, or adventure to have it taken from them by Force. Theſe things and ſuch like as were then done at *Conſtantinople*, being by Letters ſent in Poſt from the Embaſſador, made known at *Venice*, brought a general heavineſs upon the City; for why, that underſtanding and provident State, warned by their former harms, of all others moſt dread the Turks Forces. *Cubates* the Embaſſador accompanied with *Aloyſius Barbarus* the Embaſſadors Son, and *Bonricius* his Secretary, departing from *Conſtantinople*, came by long journeys to *Raguſium*, where *Angelus Surſanus* ſent from *Venice* to meet him, was ready to receive him, who being taken into his Gally, brought him to *Venice*.

Selymus *ſendeth* Cubates *his Embaſſador to* Venice.

In the mean time the Senators ſitting oftentimes in Counſel, were divided in opinions concerning the chief matter they conſulted upon; ſome there were, that thought it not good to wage War againſt ſuch an invincible Enemy, nor to truſt upon a vain and idle hope, neither to commit all unto the hazard of ſuch Fortune as was unto them in that War by the Enemy propounded; they alledged, That they had always unfortunately taken up Arms againſt the Turks, and that therefore they ſhould ſet before their Eyes, what harms they had ſuffered, and how that beſide the loſſes already ſuſtained, they had always in the winding up of the Wars loſt ſomething more; that it were better to depart with *Cyprus*, ſo that they might quietly enjoy the reſt, rather than enter into Arms; Time they ſaid, would at length give them ſome one fit occaſion or other to recover that they had loſt, and to reſtore their State unto their former Honour; which for the preſent, was above their power to maintain; To put their truſt in their Confederates (they ſaid) was but to deceive themſelves; they ſhould remember how often even ſmall cauſes of falſe ſuſpition, or hope of profit, or fear of harm, had utterly fruſtrated and broken in ſunder the moſt ſolemn Capitulations of the ſtrongeſt Leagues; how often deſtruction had come thence from whence aid was always to have been hoped for, they needed not to ſeek farther for examples, than from their own Domeſtical Affairs. Others were of a contrary opinion, as that the Iſland was by force of Arms to be defended; ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonorable, than without fight to depart with ſo notable a part of their Seigniory; neither any thing more commendable, than to prove all things for defence of their Honour; neither would the proud Turks, with whom no aſſured League could be made (as they ſaid) hold themſelves content with this yielding up of the Iſland, but by intreating of them and giving them way, become more inſolent; and when they had taken *Cyprus* from them, would alſo ſeek after *Creet* and *Corcyra*, and ſo yielding them one thing after another, ſpoil themſelves of all together; ambitious and greedy Princes (they ſaid) grew more bold and inſolent by other Mens fear; and that no great or notable matter was to be done without danger; that hard beginnings had oftentimes merry endings; that the Favour and good Will of that inſatiable and greedy Nation, was not to be gained but with ſo great loſs and charge as that ſuch a coſtly Peace would be much more hurtful than War it ſelf; beſide that, it much concerned other Chriſtian Princes to have the Venetian State preſerved, and that therfore it was to be hoped, that they would to the uttermoſt of their power give them aid. The matter thus debated to and fro, it was in the end reſolved upon, to take up Arms in defence of their Honour, and by plain force to withſtand the Turk.

Hard to truſt upon Confederations.

So when *Cubates* the Turks Embaſſador came to *Venice*, neither did any Man of Courteſie meet him, neither was any Honour done unto him, or ſo much as common Courteſie ſhewed unto him; but being afterward admitted into the Senate Houſe with his two Interpreters only, he delivered *Selymus* his Letters, incloſed in a little Bag wrought with Silk and Gold; and ſo whilſt the ſame Letters were in breaking up, and tranſlating out of the Turkiſh Language into Italian, delivered alſo his Meſſage by word of mouth, as followeth:

The Turks Embaſſador homely entertained at Venice.

Cubates *the Turks Embaſſadors ſpeech in the Senate at* Venice.

What great account the mighty Sultan my dread Sovereign hath always made of your moſt honourable Friendſhip, is therein right well declared; That in the very entrance of himſelf into his Empire, he forthwith and without any hard or new Conditions, renewed his League with you; which he hath on his part always kept moſt faithfully and unviolate; worthily grieving the like kindneſs not to be ſhewed on your behalf, neither the like care of keeping your Faith to appear in you; who by harboring of Pyrats in your Havens, and murthering of his Subjects, have oftentimes broken the League. Which injuries, although they were by War to have been revenged; yet hath he, ſo mighty a Monarch, hitherto been always more mindful of your Honour and Friendſhip, than of his own Majeſty and Profit. But forſomuch as there is no end of theſe Injuries and Wrongs, and that it is now come to that point, That longer to forbear, might be imputed unto him rather for Cowardiſe than Courteſie, as alſo that it much more concerneth your State than him, and that therfore you ought no leſs than he to deſire, that all cauſes of unkindneſs might be cut off, and order taken, that in ſo great and mutual goodwil, there ſhould be no falling out by new quarrels dayly ariſing; the only remedy thereof is, if you ſhall deliver unto him the Iſland of Cyprus, *the cauſe of all theſe grievances. Now it beſeemeth you for your great Wiſdom, to make ſmall reckoning of ſo ſmall a matter, in compariſon of the Favour of ſo great a Prince; which if you willingly of your ſelves yield unto him, you ſhall right wiſely provide for your Affairs, and have him ſo great a Monarch always your Friend and Confederate; whereas if you ſhall ſhew your ſelves obſtinate, and not to yield to this his ſo ſmall a requeſt, his purpoſe is by ſtrong hand not only to take from you the Iſland, the cauſe of the War, but alſo to proſecute you with moſt cruel War both by Sea and Land. And thereupon I take God to witneſs, all the blame of the calamities to enſue of ſo mortal a War, to be imputed unto your ſelves, as the worthy reward of your wilfulneſs and breach of Faith.*

Which ſaid, he in the name of *Mahamet* the Viſier Baſſa told the Senators, That he was right ſorry that this breach was fallen out betwixt the

Emperor *Selymus* and them; and that although he doubted not but that they would right wiſely conſider of all things; yet he could not for the good Will he bare unto them, but admoniſh them of ſuch things as he deemed for them both profitable and wholeſome; and therefore did moſt inſtantly requeſt them, and withal adviſe them, not to enter into Arms againſt ſo mighty a Prince, neither wilfully to plunge themſelves into ſuch dangers, as they could hardly or never find the way out; for that their ſtrength was nothing anſwerable unto his, and that the event of that War would be unto them deadly; and therefore he took God and the love he bare unto them to witneſs, that he had in friendly ſort forewarned them of their harms, and adviſed them for their good. Giving them further to underſtand, that *Selymus* did nothing but thunder out moſt cruel Threats againſt their State; which his indignation was raiſed of the manifold complaints brought againſt them to his Court at *Conſtantinople.*

The effect of Selymus *his Letters to the Venetians.*

Selymus his Letters anſwerable to his Embaſſadors Speech, was alſo full of falſe ſurmiſed grievances; he complained, That the Venetians had in warlike manner entred into the Frontiers of his Empire in *Dalmatia,* and there had done great harm; that they had put to death certain Turkiſh Pyrates whom they had taken alive; that their Iſland of *Cyprus* was an Harbor for the Pyrates of the Weſt; and that from thence they robbed his peaceable Countries, and ſurpriſed his Subjects travelling that way for Devotion unto the Temple of *Mecha;* or otherwiſe about their Affairs. And that therefore thoſe cauſes of diſcord might be taken away, and the hindrance of Traffique removed, he required them to yield unto him the Iſland of *Cyprus;* which if they refuſed to do, he would by force of Arms take it from them; and by force of ſtrong hand cauſe them to do that which they might the better have done frankly and of their own accord; and further to make them underſtand how far the Turks did excel all othet Men in Martial prowess. As for the League before made betwixt his Father and them, he ſaid he had renewed the ſame, not becauſe he had any liking thereunto, but becauſe he had as then ſet down with himſelf, for a while in the beginning of his Empire peceably to endure all things.

The anſwer of the Venetians to the Turks Demands.

The Venetians, for that they knew the Embaſſadors errand before his coming, having now read his Letters, gave him ſuch anſwer as they had before reſolved upon; which was, That the Venetians had at all times inviolably kept their Leagues with the *Othoman* Emperors, and had in regard thereof let ſlip many opportunities and fit occaſions for them to have augmented their Dominions in; That they could without any danger to themſelves, have deſtroyed the Turks Fleet both at the *Rhodes* and *Malta,* and other places alſo; but that they more regarded their Honour; and alwaies thought, that nothing better became great and magnificent Princes, than to perform their Faith once given, and in all their actions to be like themſelves. And therefore had diſſembled and put up many grievous and bitter indignities, leſt they might be thought to have firſt broken the League; That they had never paſſed their own Bounds, or invaded the Turks; only to have taken order, that no Pyrates ſhould at their pleaſure roam up and down the Seas. Now whereas all Duties being on their part ſincerely and moſt religiouſly kept, *Selymus* complained himſelf to be wronged, whereas he himſelf had done the wrong, and had contrary to the League, denounced War againſt them, expecting nothing leſs; ſithence that they could not by the power of the League, they would by force of Arms defend that Kingdom, which they by ancient and lawful right poſſeſſed, delivered unto them by their Anceſtors. That God, in whoſe help they truſted, would weigh in indifferent Balance, all Mens Words and Deeds; whom they took to witneſs, that they were the Authors of Peace, and *Selymus* the cauſe of War; and that the ſame God would be now preſent unto their juſt complaints, and forthwith after with his power to take revenge on them, which falſifying their Faith and Promiſe given, and violating the ſacred League, had enforced them to take up moſt juſt and neceſſary Arms, which they would with the ſame Courage mannage, that they had taken them in hand.

The Turks Embaſſador ſent away in ſecret from Venice.

With this anſwer the Embaſſador departed, let out by a ſecret Poſtern, for fear of the People; who having got knowledge of the matter, were in great number aſſembled to the Court-Gate, muttering among themſelves, that it were well done to rend in pieces that accurſed Turk, the Meſſenger of his faithleſs Maſter. Which outrage it was thought they would in their fury have performed, had not ſuch as by the commandment of the Magiſtrates guarded him, better aſſured him of his ſafety, than either regard of Duty or the Law of Nations; he by the way as he went ſtill ſtorming, and ſwearing by his *Mahomet* to be of that ſo great an indignity revenged. This anſwer of the Senate unto the Turks Embaſſador concerning War, was of ſome well liked and highly commended, as full of Honour and Valour. Others deemed it too ſharp, liking of nothing that was ſaid or done to the further incenſing of the Turkiſh Emperor; being of opinion, that they might have of him obtained a more indifferent Peace by Courteſie, than by Rigor. As for the decreed War, they utterly diſliked, foraſmuch as all Wars were woful, but eſpecially thoſe that were to be maintained againſt them that are too ſtrong for us. In ſuch diverſity of opinions it appeared, That the Senate ſhould of that ſo honourable a Decree reap ſuch commendation, as the Event thereof ſhould afford, (than which nothing is more unreaſonable;) if things fell out well, then it was wiſely and worthily done; if otherwiſe, than was it like to be reputed a fooliſh, raſh, and woful reſolution.

The reſolution of the Senate for war diverſly liked and diſliked of others.

The greater the danger was now feared from the angry Turk, the more careful were the Venetians of their State; wherefore they forthwith ſent Meſſengers with Letters unto the Governors of *Cyprus;* charging them with all carefulneſs and diligence to make themſelves ready to withſtand the Turk, and to raiſe what power they were able in the Iſland, not omitting any thing that might concern the good of the State; and at the ſame time made choiſe of their moſt valiant and expert Captains both by Sea and Land, unto whom they committed the defence of their diſperſed Seigniory, with the leading of their Forces. *Hieronimus Zanius* was appointed Admiral, *Lucas Michael* was ſent into *Crete, Franſciſcus Barbarus* into *Dalmatia, Sebaſtianus Venerius* into *Corcyra,* all Men of great Honour, Experience and Valour. Other meaner Captains were alſo ſent with leſs charge into the aforeſaid places, as *Eugenius Singliticus* a noble Gentleman with a thouſand Footmen into *Cyprus,* who had alſo the leading of all the Horſemen in the Iſland; after whom Count *Martinengus* promiſed to follow with two thouſand Footmen more. The ſtrong Cities were now by the Venetians in all places new fortified, Armor, Ordnance, and Victual provided, and whatſoever elſe they thought needful for defence

The Emperor, the French King, and the King of Polonia *entangled with their Leagues, refuſed to aid the Venetians againſt the Turks.*

What Chriſtian Princes promiſed to aid the Venetians.

of their State. And foraſmuch as they well knew they had to do with too mighty an Enemy, they by their Embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe, earneſtly ſollicited moſt of the Chriſtian Princes to joyn with them in League, and to give them aid againſt the common Enemy, who as he was too ſtrong for any one of them, ſo was he not able to ſtand againſt their united Forces. But the Emperor *Maximilian* excuſed himſelf by the League he had not long before made with the Turk for eight years, which he ſaid he might not break; yet he had before his Eyes a moſt pregnant example, what ſmall reckoning the Turk maketh of his Faith and League, which he without any juſt cauſe had broken with the Venetians. The like excuſe uſed alſo *Charles* the French King, and *Sigiſmund* King of *Polonia*; who both ſeemed to be very ſorry for that the Venetians were fallen out with the Turk, but could not help them, for that they were in League with the Turkiſh Emperor. Nevertheleſs the French did them the Courteſie, to offer himſelf to be a Mediator, if they ſo pleaſed, betwixt them and *Selymus*. The young King of *Portugal Don Sebaſtian* pretended alſo for his excuſe the great Plague which had but a little before raged in his Kingdom, and much diminiſhed his People; as alſo that he was to maintain Wars by Sea againſt the Turks in the *Eaſt-Indies*, to the no leſs benefit of the Chriſtian Common-weal, than if he ſhould aid the Venetians in the Mediterranean. Only *Pius Quintus* then Pope, and *Philip* King of *Spain*, with certain of the Princes of *Italy*; namely *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*, *Guido Udebaldus* Duke of *Urbin*, *Coſmus Medices* Duke of *Florence*, and the Knights of *Malta*, promiſed them aid, which they afterward moſt honourably performed.

Selymus of himſelf angry with the Venetians, and firm in his reſolution for the Conqueſt of *Cyprus*, was upon the report of *Cubates* his Embaſſadors bad entertainment at *Venice*, further enraged; he deemed the Majeſty of the Turkiſh Emperor contemned, and himſelf in the perſon of his Embaſſador diſgraced; ſeeing that they whom he had thought would have yielded unto any thing, rather than the League ſhould have been broken, had ſent him ſuch a ſhort anſwer, and ſo contemptuouſly uſed his Embaſſador, unto whom they had not afforded ſo much as common Courteſie. It did not a little move him alſo, that the Venetians had in their Letters ſent by his Embaſſador, omitted the glorious Titles uſually given the Turkiſh Emperors; wherefore in ſome part to ſatisfie his angry mood, he cauſed *Marcus Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian Embaſſador, and all the Chriſtian Merchants of the Weſt throughout his Empire, to be clapt up in priſon, and their Ships ſtaied under an arreſt. And ſetting all other things apart, ſet himſelf wholly for the preparing of ſuch things as ſhould be needful for the intended War.

The deſcription of Cyprus.

But foraſmuch as the Iſland of *Cyprus* was the Prey whereafter the greedy Tyrant ſo much gaped, and for which the bloody Wars betwixt the Turk and the Venetians with their Chriſtian Confederats, preſently enſued; it ſhall not be from our purpoſe to ſpend a few words in the deſcribing thereof, as the Stage whereon the bloody Tragedy following was as it were acted; as alſo how it came firſt into the hands of the Venetians, and by what right of them ſo long poſſeſſed (although it be in ſome part before declared) until it was now by *Selymus* the great Turk, againſt all right injuriouſly demanded, and at length by ſtrong hand by him wreſted from them. This Iſland lieth in the fartheſt part of the Cilician Sea; it hath on the Eaſt *Syria*, on the Weſt *Pamphilia*, Southward it regardeth *Egypt*, and Northward *Cilicia*, now called *Caramania*. It is worthyly accounted amongſt the greateſt Iſlands of the Mediterranean, containing in circuit four hundred and twenty ſeven miles, and is in length (after the deſcription of *Strabo*) an hundred and ſeventy five miles, and in breadth not above ſixty five. It aboundeth with Corn, Wine, Oyl, Cotton-Wool, Saffron, Hony, Roſin, Turpentine, Sugar-Canes, and whatſoever elſe is needful for the ſuſtentation of Man, whereof it ſends forth great abundance to other Countries, of whom it craveth no help again. It was in ancient time called *Macaria*, that is to ſay, *Bleſſed*. The People therein generally lived ſo at eaſe and pleaſure, that thereof the Iſland was dedicated to *Venus*, who was there eſpecially worſhipped, and thereof cally *Cypria*. *Marcellinus* to ſhew the Fertility thereof, ſaith, That *Cyprus* aboundeth with ſuch plenty of all things, that without the help of any Forraign Country, it is of it ſelf able to build a tall Ship from the Keel to the top Sail, and ſo put it to Sea furniſhed of all things needful. And *Sextus Rufus* writing thereof, ſaith, *Cyprus famoſa divitiis, paupertatem populi Romani, ut occuparetur ſolicitavit, ita ut jus ejus Inſulæ avarius magis quam juſtius aſſecuti*, ſcil. Cyprus *famous for Wealth, allured the Poverty of the People of* Rome *to lay hold upon it, ſo that we have rather covetouſly than juſtly got the rule thereof.* In the heart of the Iſland ſtandeth *Nicoſia*, ſometime the Regal and late Metropolitical City thereof. And in the Eaſt end thereof *Famaguſta*, ſometime called *Tamaſſus*, a famous rich City, the chief and only Port of all that moſt pleaſant Iſland. Other fair Cities there be alſo, as *Paphos*, *Amathus* (now called *Limiſſo*) and *Cyrene*. This Iſland of it ſelf long time maintained the Majeſty of a Kingdom, as then when *Richard the Firſt*, King of *England*, paſſing that way with his Fleet for the relief of the Chriſtians then diſtreſſed in the Holy Land about the year 1191, was prohibited there to land; and certain of his People by force of Tempeſt there caſt on Shore, were by the Cypriots either cruelly ſlain or taken Priſoners; which barbarous violence King *Richard* took in ſo evil part, that he there by force landed his Army, and reſted not until he had taken *Iſaac* the King Priſoner, and ſubdued the Iſland. The King he ſent in Chains of Silver to *Tripolis*, there to be kept in cloſe Priſon; the Kingdom he kept a while in his own hand, which not long after he gave, or as ſome ſay, exchanged with *Guido* the titular King of *Jeruſalem*, for which cauſe the Kings of *England* for a certain time afterwards were honoured with the Title of the Kings of *Jeruſalem*. This Kingdom by many deſcents came at length to *Janus* Son of King *Peter*, who in the year 1423, was by *Melechel* a Sultan of *Egypt* taken Priſoner; but afterwards for the ranſom of an hundred and fifteen thouſand Sultanins was ſet at liberty and reſtored to his Kingdom, paying unto the Sultan and his Succeſſors a yearly Tribute of forty thouſand Crowns. This *Janus* left a Son called *John*, who after the death of his Father married the Daughter of the Marquis of *Mont-Ferrat*; after whoſe death he married one *Helena* of the moſt noble Houſe of the *Palæologi* in *Grecia*, by whom he had one only Daughter called *Carlotte*; but by another Woman a baſe Son called *James*. This King *John* was a Man of no Courage, altogether given to pleaſure, and according to the manner of his effeminate education, ſhewed himſelf in all things more like a Woman than a Man; which *Helena* his Wife, a Woman of a great Spirit, quickly perceiving, took upon her the Soveraignty

King Richard *in* England.

How the Kingdom of Cyprus *came to the Venetians.*

and whole Government of the Realm, gracing and diſgracing whom ſhe pleaſed, and promoting to the Eccleſiaſtical Dignities ſuch as ſhe beſt liked; aboliſhing the Latin Ceremonies, and bringing in them of the Greeks, and took ſuch further order as pleaſed her ſelf in matters of State concerning both Peace and War; her Husband in the mean time regarding nothing but his vain pleaſure; whereby it came to paſs that all was brought into the power of the Greeks the Queens Friends. Now the Queen her ſelf was much ruled by the Counſel of her Nurſe, and the Nurſe by her Daughter; ſo that the People would commonly ſay, The Daughter ruled the Nurſe, the Nurſe the Queen, and the Queen the King. The Nobility aſhamed and weary of this manner of Government, by general conſent of the People, ſent for *John* the King of *Portugals* Couſin-German (whom ſome call the King of *Portugal*) to whom they gave *Carlotte* the Kings Daughter in marriage, with full power to ſupply that want of Government which was in King *John* his Father in Law. He taking the Authority into his Hands, quickly reformed the diſordered Kingdom, as well in matters concerning Religion, as civil Policy. The Latin Ceremonies were again reſtored, and the Government of the Daughter, the Nurſe, and the Queen, brought to an end. But the miſchievous Daughter doubting the Countenance of the young King, perſwaded her Mother, as ſhe tendred her own Life, to poiſon the King. Which thing the wretched Woman (by the conſent of the Queen Mother, as was reported) in ſhort time performed, and ſo brought that noble Prince, well worthy longer life, unto his untimely end; whereby the Government was again reſtored unto the Greek Queen, who in the name of her weak Husband commanded again at her pleaſure. But above all, the Nurſe and her Daughter inſulted upon the young Queen *Carlotte*; which ſhe not well brooking, grievouſly complained thereof to *James* her baſe Brother, requiring his help for redreſs thereof; who not long after ſlew the Nurſes Daughter, not ſo much in revenge of the wrong by her done unto his Siſter, as to prepare a way for himſelf for the obtaining of the Kingdom; grieving inwardly, that ſhe or her Husband ſhould be preferred before himſelf. Which thing *Helena* the Queen quickly perceiving, perſwaded the King her Husband to cauſe his baſe Son to enter into the orders of Prieſthood, and ſo to become a Churchman, thereby to cut off all his hope of aſpiring unto the Kingdom; which the King at her inſtance did, and made him Archbiſhop of *Nicoſia*. In the mean time *Carlotte* by the perſwaſion of her Mother and the Nobility of the Country, married *Lewis* Son to the Duke of *Savoy*; who being for that purpoſe ſent for, came with all ſpeed to *Cyprus*. After that, the Queen-Mother and the old Nurſe (deſiring nothing more, than to revenge the death of the Nurſes Daughter upon *James* now Archbiſhop) deviſed firſt how to thruſt him out of all his ſpiritual Promotions, which were great, and afterward quite baniſh him the Kingdom. Hereupon the Queen wrote Letters againſt him to the Pope, to have him diſgraded, for that he being a Man baſe born, with his hands imbrued with innocent Blood, was unworthy of holy Orders. Which Letters by chance came to *James* his hands; who inraged therewith, accompanied with a number of his Friends and Favorites, ſuddenly entred the Court, ſlew ſuch of his Enemies as he found there, divided their Goods amongſt his Followers, and as King poſſeſſed himſelf of the Regal City. In this Broil the Greek Queen *Helena* died, and ſhortly after her Husband alſo. All things being thus in an hurly and out of order, certain of the Nobility for redreſs thereof, ſent for *Lewis* the Husband of *Carlotte*, as for him to whom that Kingdom in the right of his Wife moſt juſtly belonged; who upon his arrival was of all ſorts of Men joyfully received and welcomed as their King. *James* the Uſurper underſtanding before of the coming of *Lewis*, and perceiving the inclination of the People towards him, fled with divers of his Friends to *Alexandria* to crave aid of the Egyptian Sultan; in whoſe Court he found ſuch Favour, as that he was by the Sultans commandment Royally apparelled, and honoured with the Title of the King of *Cyprus*; which he promiſed for ever to hold of the Sultans of *Egypt* as their Vaſſal and Tributary. At which time the Sultan alſo by his Embaſſadors commanded *Lewis* to depart the Iſle, who by all means ſought to have pacified the Sultan, declaring unto him his rightful Title, yet offering to pay unto him the wonted Tribute, and to allow unto *James* a yearly Penſion of ten thouſand Ducats during his life. But all in vain, for *James* ſtill preſent in the Sultans Court, and wiſely following his own ſuit, at laſt concluded with the great Sultan (who thought it more honour to make a King, than to confirm a King) and receiving of him a great Army, returned into *Cyprus*; where in ſhort time he ſo diſtreſſed *Lewis*, that he was glad to forſake the Iſland, with his Wife, and to return into his Country; leaving the Kingdom of *Cyprus* again to *James*; who now by the ſupportation of the Egyptian Sultan poſſeſſed thereof, yet lived not without care of *Carlotte* and her Husband *Lewis*, whom he knew the Cypriots wonderfully affected. Wherefore for the more aſſurance of his Eſtate, he thought it beſt to joyn in League and Friendſhip with the Venetians, whom he knew to be of great power at Sea, and of all other fitteſt to croſs whatſoever *Lewis* ſhould in the right of his Wife attempt againſt him. Which League he afterwards made, and the better to confirm the ſame, took to Wife *Catharine Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Marcus Cornelius* a Magnifico of *Venice*, being before adopted to the Senate, and ever after their reputed Daughter. Not long after this marriage, *James* died in the year 1470. leaving the Queen great with Child, who in due time was delivered of a fair Son; unto whom with the Mother the Venetian State became Tutors, as their adoptive Fathers, and in their behalf took upon them the Government of the Realm. This Child ſhortly after died alſo, not without ſome ſuſpicion of Poiſon, after whoſe death great Troubles aroſe in the Kingdom, inſomuch that *Andreas Cornelius* the Queens Uncle, a moſt grave Counſellor, and Governor of the Realm under the Queen, was by the Conſpiracy of certain Noblemen ſlain, and all the Iſland ready to revolt from the Queen. For appeaſing of which Troubles, the Venetians were glad oftentimes to ſend their Admirals with their Gallies into *Cyprus*, to take order in the matter, and to aid the Queen; who at length perſwaded by *George Cornelius* her Brother, whilſt it was yet in her power, as a loving Daugter to yield up the Kingdom unto her adoptive Fathers, which ſhe deſtitute both of Counſel and Power, could not long hold ſo far from her Friends, beſet on one ſide with the great Turk, and on the other with the mighty Sultan of *Egypt*. She I ſay thus perſwaded by her Brother, came to *Venice*, where ſhe was with the greateſt Honour that could be deviſed, received by the Duke and whole State at Sea in their great and goodly Ship the *Bucentaure*, and ſo with all Royal Triumph brought through the midſt of the City unto the place

Sabellic. Ennead. 10. lib. 8.

moſt richly for the time appointed for the receiving of her; where ſhortly after attired in all her Royal Habiliments ſhe came in great Majeſty unto the Senate Houſe, and there before the Tribunal Seat of *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* then Duke of *Venice*, laid down her Crown and Scepter, and as a moſt loving Daughter reſigned up her Kingdom, to the great honour and profit of her Country. Thus the Kingdom of *Cyprus* was delivered into the hands of the Venetians in the year 1473; which they peaceable held from that time, paying unto the Sultans of *Egypt* ſuch Tribute as had the late King *James*: which yearly Tribute they in like manner paid unto the Turkiſh Emperors; after that the Kingdom of *Egypt* was by *Selymus* the firſt conquered in the year 1517, as due unto him by Law of Arms; with which yearly Tribute both *Selymus* himſelf and *Solyman* after him, held themſelves well contented. But now this Turkiſh Emperor *Selymus* the Second, of whom we ſpeak, deſirous both of the honour of ſuch a Conqueſt, and of ſo rich a Prey, made no account of the accuſtomed Tribute, but of the fruitful Iſland it ſelf; whereof he, as is before declared, hath by his Embaſſador made a proud demand, but is thereof denied by the Senate.

1570. Selymus *invadeth the Venetians.*

Selymus throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the Invaſion of *Cyprus*, in the beginning of *February* ſent a great power both of Horſe and Foot into *Epirus*, and the Frontiers of *Dalmatia*, to forrage the Venetian Territory, eſpecially about *Jadera*; of purpoſe by that War ſo near at home, to withdraw them from the defence of *Cyprus* ſo far off. About the middle of *April* following he ſent *Pial* Baſſa with fourſcore Gallies and thirty Galliots to keep the Venetians from ſending aid into *Cyprus*. This *Pial* was an Hungarian, born of baſe Parents, but turning Turk, and giving himſelf to Arms, was firſt preferred for his Valour ſhewed againſt the Chriſtians at *Zerbi*, and afterwards by many degrees roſe to the honour of one of the greateſt Baſſaes. He departing from *Conſtantinople*, and cutting through *Peloponneſus* and *Heleſpontus*, came to *Eubœa*, and there for certain days lay in ſuch order, as if he ſhould have preſently given the Enemy Battel; but underſtanding by his Eſpials, that the Venetians grievouſly viſited with the Plague, and ſlowly relieved by their Friends, were not like in haſte to come out, he took his Courſe to *Tenos* an Iſland of the Venetians, to have taken it from them. This Iſland is one of the Cyclades, and was by nature ſtrong, but ſtronger by the induſtry of the Defendants; who living far from the Chriſtian Countries, and compaſſed about with ſuch cruel and warlike Enemies, as people far diſtant ſtood in dread of, could never for any fear or danger be removed from the Chriſtian Religion, or induced to ſubmit themſelves to the Turks Government, as moſt of the other Iſlands had. *Pial* here landing his Forces, ſought both by fair means and foul to have perſwaded the Inhabitants to have yielded up their Town; but when he could get nothing of them but foul words again, he began by force to aſſault the ſame. Two days the Town was valiantly both aſſaulted and defended; but at length the Turks perceiving how little they prevailed, and that the Defendants were reſolutely ſet down for the defence of themſelves and their Country; ſhamefully gave over the Aſſault, and abandoning the Iſland, directed their Courſe toward *Cyprus*. For *Muſtapha* Author of that Expedition (for his ancient hatred againſt the Chriſtians made General by *Selymus*) had before appointed *Pial* Baſſa at a time prefixed to meet him at the *Rhodes*, and that he that came firſt ſhould tarry for the other, that ſo they might together ſail into *Cyprus*.

Pial *Baſſa ſent againſt the Venetians.*

Muſtapha having before ſent a great part of his Army by Land into *Pamphilia*, embarqued the reſt with *Haly* Baſſa General of the Forces at Sea; who yet ſtaid for him with the reſt of the Fleet at *Conſtantinople*. This *Haly* was one of the chief Baſſaes, a man of great account, and ſometime an eſpecial and noted Follower of *Muhamet* Baſſa; but now (as it is oftentimes elſewhere ſeen, that Men together with the change of Fortune, change their Minds and Affections alſo) was become a great Favorite of *Muſtapha*. Now to colour ſo manifeſt a wrong and breach of the Turks Faith, *Muſtapha* the General, acording to the Turkiſh manner, a little before his arrival in *Cyprus*, gave the Venetians there to underſtand by Letters of his coming, as alſo of his purpoſe for the taking of that Iſland from them; for that without ſome ſuch ſlender denouncing of War unto them againſt whom it is intended, the Turks generally account their Expeditions not to be altogether ſo lawful or fortunate as otherwiſe; and therefore writ unto them in this ſort:

Muſtapha *Baſſa unto the* Venetians:

Muſtapha *Baſſa his Letters unto the Venetians.*

THat the Kingdom of Cyprus *by ancient right belongeth unto the Kingdom of* Egypt, *you are not ignorant; which being conquered by the Turks, is together with it become of right a part alſo of the* Othoman *Empire; that Iſland we come to challenge, leading after us two hundred thouſand valiant Souldiers, unto which power, and the Wealth of the* Othoman *Kingdoms (all which, the moſt mighty Emperor is about, if need ſhall be, to ſend thither, and to bend his whole ſtrength thereon) all the united Forces of the Chriſtian Kings are not comparable; much leſs the Venetians, ſo ſmall a part of* Europe, *forſaken of their Friends, can ſuffice. Wherefore we will and exhort you, for the ancient amity which hath been betwixt your State and the victorious* Othoman *Family, to yield this Kingdom unto the moſt puiſſant Emperor, whoſe very name is become dreadful unto all the Nations of the World; and quietly and without reſiſtance to leave the Iſland, with the Love and Friendſhip of ſo great a Monarch to be for ever inviolably kept betwixt him and you. Whereas if you ſhall before ſuch wholſome Counſel, fondly prefer your vain hopes, you are to expect all the calamities of War, with ſuch dreadful examples as the angry Conquerors uſe to make of their vanquiſhed Enemies. For reſolution whereof, we yet give you half a months ſpace to bethink your ſelves in: and ſo fare you well.*

Muſtapha *Baſſa goeth for* Cyprus.

All this being now in readineſs, and a moſt Royal Gally of wonderful greatneſs and beauty by the appointment of *Selymus* prepared for the great Baſſa the General; he together with *Haly* Baſſa and the reſt of the Fleet departed from *Conſtantinople* the ſix and twentieth of *May*, and at the *Rhodes* met with *Pial*, as he had befor appointed. The whole Fleet at that time conſiſted of two hundred Gallies, amongſt whom were divers Galliots, and ſmall Men of War, with divers other Veſſels prepared for the tranſportation of Horſes; with this Fleet *Muſtapha* kept on his Courſe for *Cyprus*. They of the Iſland in the mean time carefully attending the Enemies coming, from their Watch-Towers firſt diſcovered their Fleet at the Weſt end of the Iſland, not far from *Paphos*; from whence the Turks turning upon the right hand, and paſſing the Promontory *Curia*, now called *Del Le Gate*, landed divers of their Men, who burnt and ſpoiled certain Villages, and

The Turks Fleet deſcried in Cyprus.

with ſuch Spoil and Priſoners as they had taken, returned again unto the Fleet; which holding on their former Courſe, came at length to a place called *Salina* (of the abundance of Salt there made) where they knew was beſt landing, and there in an open Road came to an Anchor, where the Baſſa's without any reſiſtance upon a plain Shore landed their Army.

The Turks land in Cyprus.

Now all the hope of the Chriſtians, was to have kept the Turks from landing, which they ſhould with all their ſtrength and power have done; neither was it a matter of any great difficultie, for had the Defendants but kept the Shore, and from the dry and firm Land valiantly repulſed their Enemies, they might undoubtedly with their Shot and Weapons have kept them from landing, or elſe have done them greater harm; knowing in the mean time, that in all the Iſland was no good harbour for them to put into, and that riding in an open Road ſubject to all Wind and Weather, they could not long without danger of Shipwrack ride it out; but they either terrified with the greatneſs of the Fleet, or prevented by the celerity of the Enemy, to their great hurt omitted ſo fair an opportunity, as the woful ſequel of the matter declared. It exceedingly incouraged the Turks that they had ſo eaſily footed the Iſland, which they thought they ſhould not have not done without a bloody Fight.

The Baſſa now landed, preſently intrenched his Army, and forthwith ſent the Fleet to tranſport the reſt of his Forces out of *Pamphilia* into the Iſland. And at the ſame time ſent out certain Scouts to take ſome Priſoners, of whom they might learn the ſituation of the Country, the beſt ways to paſs them with his Army, the ſtrength of his Enemies, and what they did, and many other ſuch like things which it concerned him to know. But the greateſt queſtion among the Turks themſelves was, Whether they ſhould firſt ſet upon *Famaguſta* or *Nicoſia*? *Famaguſta* ſtandeth low, altogether ſubject to the ſcortching Heat, which was then great, according as the time of the year, and nature of the Country required; wherefore the Baſſa for fear of diſeaſes to ariſe in his Army of the immoderate heat and unwholeſome ſituation of the place, thought it better to begin his Wars with the Siege of *Nicoſia*, and to make that City the ſeat of the War, for the conqueſt of the reſt of the Iſland. So having put all things in order, and well viewed the Country, and finding nothing he need to ſtand in doubt of, he ſet forward with his Army toward *Nicoſia*, which was about thirty miles diſtant, being the chief and richeſt City of all the Iſland. Which way ſoever the Army marched, it ſpread a great deal of ground; and the nearer it came, the greater was the ſlaughter of the Country people, and the number of Priſoners taken of all ſorts. But when news of the Enemies approach was brought unto the City, a general fear preſaging future miſery poſſeſſed the hearts of all Men. There was not in the City any valiant or renowned Captain, who as the danger of the time required, ſhould have taken upon him the charge; neither any ſtrong Army in the Iſland to oppoſe againſt the Enemy; the Governour of the City was one *Nicholaus Dandulus*, a Man too weak for ſo great a burthen; who always brought up in Civil Affairs, was to ſeek how to defend a Siege. Of the Citiſens and Country people he had taken up four thouſand Footmen, and a thouſand Horſemen, all raw Souldiers, commanded by the Gentlemen of the Country, Men of all others moſt courteous; but as well the Captains as the Souldiers, as Men brought up in a plentiful Country, fitter for Pleaſure than for War. The greateſt hope and ſtrength of the City, was repoſed in twelve hundred Italian Footmen, and ſix hundred Horſemen. The whole number of the Souldiers in Garriſon for defence of the City, was deemed about 8000 Horſe and Foot; too weak a Company againſt ſo fierce and ſtrong an Enemy; and the more, for that the Baſſa an old and moſt expert General was there in perſon himſelf preſent, a moſt ſevere and abſolute Commander, whom it would have been a hard matter to have withſtood with equal power. The Venetians had ever had great care of the Iſland of *Cyprus*, as lying far from them, in the midſt of the ſworn Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, and had therefore oftentimes determined to have fortified the ſame; yet fearing thereby to ſeem to diſtruſt or dread the Turks, and ſo give them occaſion of offence, left it ſtill undone. This City of *Nicoſia* ſtandeth in the midſt of the Iſland, in a plain and champain Country, compaſſed round with a Wall, as if it had been drawn with a compaſs, and is in circuit about five miles; for the manner of the ſituation, and magnificent buildings, as well publick as private, many have compared it unto the beautiful City of *Florence* in *Italy*; and was for the wholeſome and commodious ſituation thereof notably peopled. This City had the Venetians of late fortified with new Walls, thick Rampiers, and eleven ſtrong Bulwarks, according to the manner of the fortification of our time, and had raiſed three great Fortreſſes for defence of the Wall, which they furniſhed with a ſtrong Garriſon, great ſtore of Artillery, and other warlike proviſion. Neverthleſs, they found by experience in this War, That Fortifications are ſtrengthned by the Defendants, rather than the Defendants by the Fortifications.

Muſtapha *Baſſa marcheth towards.* Nicoſia.

Nicholaus Dandulus *Governour of* Nicoſia.

The deſcription of Nicoſia.

The Turks before Nicoſia.

Nicoſia *battered and aſſaulted, and by the Chriſtians valiantly defended.*

The 22 of *July*, the Baſſa with his Army encamped within a mile and a half of the City, when preſently the Turks by Troops iſſuing out of the Camp, rid contemptuouſly before the Walls and Gates of the City, and with often and loud outcries upbraided the Defendants; which by them being anſwered with ſilence, was taken as a token of their fear. And *Muſtapha* himſelf coming as near as he might without danger, took full view of the Walls and ſituation of the City. Shortly after, the Enemy drew nearer unto the City into a more open plain, and with their Tents filled the lower part of the Hill, which they called *Mandia*; but the Baſſaes Tent they ſet aloft upon the Hill, to the terror of the Defendants and encouragment of the Turks. The Camp being fortified, the Turks with incredible labour and celerity brought their Trenches from far, and at the firſt caſt up ſome few Forts, but afterwards, as their Army encreaſed, many more; which they raiſed ſo high, that they overtopped the Walls of the City, and made the place more dangerous for the Chriſtians to defend. There having placed ſeventy great Pieces of Battery, they began to batter the City both day and night without intermiſſion; with ſuch an horrible thundring, that the Earth trembled, the Houſes ſhook as if they would have faln down; at which time many were ſlain; both with the deadly Shot, and the broken pieces of Stones beaten out of the Walls; never was ſuch a fear as then within the City of *Nicoſia*; every day the Enemy brought his Trenches nearer and nearer, and reſted not until he had with reſtleſs labour brought them unto the very brim of the Town-Ditch, which the Citiſens before the coming of the Turks had not well ſcoured. Being come ſo nigh, they firſt skirmiſhed a far off with their ſmall Pieces; but afterwards, they not only battered the Walls with their great Artillery, but with ſmall Shot, Arrows, and Stones, overwhelmed the Defendants, as if it had been a ſhower of Hail; ſo to have driven them from off the Wall and Rampiers. In few days, not only all the Curtains betwixt three of the Bulwarks, was by the fury of the great Ordnance beaten down, but all places thereabout lay full of the dead Bodies of the aſſailants and defendants. For although the Chriſtians fought at great diſadvantage, both for the number of Men, and indifferency of the place; yet deſperation joyned with exteam neceſſity, of all other the greateſt Weapon, gave them ſuch courage, as with Shot, Stones, Timber, and ſuch like, to keep down their Enemies, and defend their Walls; and oftentimes to make great ſlaughter of them, with their Atillery and murthering Pieces, bent upon them as at a certain mark, who the thicker they ſtood the greater was their harm. They alſo oftentimes diſmounted many of the great Pieces and made them unſerviceable; and with Feather-beds and Sacks of Cotten-wool, made up their Breaches; which the Turks laboured again to burn with Pich-barrels, and Earthen-pots full of Wild-fire. After long fight the Turks entring the Ditch, made themſelves two ways to the Walls, which they fortified on both ſides with Fagots and Earth; in ſuch ſort, as that they were ſafe from the loops of the Bulwarks which flankered the Ditch. All this quickly performed, ſome preſently ſet up ſcaling Ladders; others filled the Ditches with Rubbiſh, Wood, Fagots, and Earth; and others in the mean time with Mattocks and Leavers were digging down the Foundations of the Bulwarks *Conſtance* and *Podocatera*, taking name of them that had the chief charge in the building thereof. The Chriſtians right valiantly endured the firſt Aſſault of the Enemy, and ſtruck down dead into the Ditches many of them that were climbing up the Ladders; and had in ſhort time ſlain more than they were themſelves in number, and inforced the reſt to give over the Aſſault. Theſe things were done in the beginning of the Siege, whilſt yet both parties were ſtrong; in which hard conflicts a great number of Souldiers were loſt and moſt of the Canoniers ſlain. After this Aſſault, both parties for a while buſied themſelves and ſpent the time in their ingenious devices; wherein it appeared, that the Turks were much cunninger in deviſing of means to take Cities, than were thoſe Chriſtians in defending the ſame.

Now had the Venetians in the firſt motions of theſe Wars, prayed aid of divers Chriſtian Princes, from moſt part of whom they received but cold comfort, as is before declared; yet now at length (though ſomewhat late) they had drawn into the confederation of this War, the Pope and the King of *Spain*; by whoſe example ſome other Princes of *Italy* moved, put to alſo their helping hands. The Venetians, as they whom the matter moſt concerned, had in good time put their Fleet to Sea; but knowing themſelves too weak to incounter the Turks, they lay ſtill upon the Coaſt of *Dalmatia*, about *Jadera*, expecting the coming of the Spaniſh Admiral with his Gallies. Two Months (wherein much might have been done) were now paſt in this expedition, and yet no news of his coming; ſo that what the ſpeed and induſtry of the Venetians had well prepared, was by the delay and lingring of the Spaniard, marred. Beſides that, the Plague began to ariſe in the Fleet, lying ſo long in one place; which at length grew ſo hot, that many of the Gallies had neither Mariner nor Souldier left in them; neither did this Mortality ſo ceaſe, until there were twenty thouſand dead thereof; amongſt whom were many Noble Gentlemen of great account, which might have done their Country good ſervice, had they been in time imployed.

The Venetian Fleet of an hundred and ſeventeen Sail at Corcyra.

Summer now almoſt half ſpent, and the Plague well ceaſed, the Venetian Admiral weary of expecting of the coming of *Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral; gathering together his Fleet which he had before diſperſed to avoid the Infection, ſailed to *Corcyra*, where he met with *Venerius*, another of the Venetian Commanders, who there ſtaid for him, having but a little before taken from the Turks *Coſtria*, now called *Suppoto*, a Town upon the Sea Coaſt over againſt *Corcyra*. The whole Fleet of the Venetians being aſſembled together, was an hundred and ſeventeen Sail, amongſt which were twelve great Galeaſſes; but all too weak to give Battel to the Turks, as being themſelves ſtronger in Shipping than in Men. Nevertheleſs, the Admiral ſorry and weary to ſee the ſpoil of the Venetian Territory, and moved with the diſtreſs of the beſieged in *Nicoſia*, rather than for any hope he had with that ſtrength to do any good againſt the Turks Fleet, departed from *Corcyra* towards *Crete*, and the twelfth of *Auguſt* landed at *Suda*, a Port of that Iſland. In the later end of this month, *Columnius* the Popes Admiral, and *Auria* Admiral for the King of *Spain*, arrived there alſo, whom the Venetian Admiral welcomed with great joy and triumph. The whole Fleet of the Confederate Princes now at length met together, conſiſted of an hundred ninety two Gallies, and twelve Galeaſſes, beſide Victualers and other ſmall Veſſels, laded with Munition and other neceſſary proviſion for the Fleet. Of theſe Gallies the Pope had ſet forth twelve, the King of *Spain* forty two, the reſt with the Galeaſſes were the Venetians. In this Fleet were embarked thirteen thouſand ſix hundred threeſcore Souldiers; of whom the Pope ſent eleven hundred, the King of *Spain* three thouſand nine hundred, and the Venetians eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty. Theſe three great Commanders entring into counſel, what courſe to take in their proceedings in this War, after long diſcourſe too and fro, at length by the perſwaſion of *Zanius* the Venetian Admiral, reſolved to go directly for *Cyprus*, and to give the Turks Battel, in hope thereby to raiſe them from the Siege of *Nicoſia*. About the midſt of *September*, this great Fleet furniſhed with all things needful for ſuch an expedition, looſed from *Crete*, and with a fair gale of Wind ſet forward for *Cyprus*; in all their Courſe keeping ſuch order, as if they ſhould preſently have met with the Enemy. In the midſt of theſe troubles died *Petrus Loredanus*, Duke of *Venice*, leaving the reſt of the care of that War to *Aloyſius Mocenicus*, who ſucceeded him in the Dukedom.

The Chriſtian Fleet ſetteth forward toward Cyprus.

Whilſt the Chriſtians thus ſlowly proceed in their ſo weighty Affairs, *Muſtapha* in the mean time laid hard Siege to *Nicoſia*; and dividing his Army into four parts, aſſaulted four of the Bulwarks of the City, with greater force than at any time before from the beginning of the Siege. The Aſſault was both long and terrible; Fury, and the very ſight of the warlike General, who was there a preſent witneſs, and beholder of every mans forwardneſs or cowardiſe (a matter of great moment) beſides their natural fierceneſs, carried the Turks headlong without any peril or danger. And on the other ſide, the greatneſs of the danger, the fear to loſe both life and liberty, with the hope of relief, encouraged the Defendants to dare any thing; ſo that the Turks could not approach the Walls, or mount the ſcaling Ladders, but they were preſently ſlain, or together with the Ladders thrown to the ground.

Many of the Turks were there ſlain, but eſpecially ſuch as were moſt forward; and of the Defendants were alſo more loſt than ſtood with the ſafety of ſo ſmall a number; and foraſmuch as few or none eſcaped out of that fight unwounded, the poor Defendants were brought unto a ſmall number. Many skilful men were of opinion, that the City might have been that day taken, if the aſſault had by the Baſſa been longer maintained, by bringing ſtill on freſh men; but ſuch was his loſs, as that he was glad for that time to give over the aſſault, and ſo with diſhonour to retire.

The Chriſtians ſally out of the City upon the Turks.

After this Aſſault, it was by ſome of the Captains thought good, that they ſhould (whilſt they were yet of ſome reaſonable ſtrength in the City) ſally forth upon the Enemy; ſo to make ſhew, that they had yet ſome good hope in themſelves, and withall by ſo ſudden an eruption to perform ſomething upon the ſecure Enemy. Of which motion, *Dandulus* the Governor in no caſe liked, as loth by ſuch a dangerous piece of Service to diminiſh the number of the Defendants, and ſo to give the Enemy an eaſier means to take the City. Yet ſeeing all the Captains generally of another mind, he yielded unto their deſire. So in the hotteſt time of the day, when as the Turks leaſt thought that the Chriſtians would have ſallied out, certain Italian Companies under the Conduct of *Cæſar Plovianus* of *Vincentia*, and *Albertus Scotus*, iſſued out by the Gate that leadeth to *Famaguſta*, and upon the ſudden brake into the Enemies Trenches; where they found the Turks, ſome playing, ſome ſleeping, but fearing nothing leſs than that the Chriſtians, whom they daily braved, durſt to have adventured to come forth. At the firſt entrance the Italians prevailed, and brought a great fear upon that quarter of the Turks Army, and ſlew many. But when the Turks, awaked with the Alarm, came running in on every ſide, the Italians oppreſſed with the multitude, were glad to retire; in which retreat divers of them were ſlain, and amongſt them their two Leaders *Cæſar* and *Albertus*; ſo that this ſally ſerved to no other purpoſe than to weaken the Defendants themſelves, and to cauſe the Turks to keep better Watch and Ward againſt ſuch ſudden Eruptions.

Scouts ſent out of the City, taken by the Turks and executed.

All hope of long defending the City now almoſt loſt, and that the Defendants could hardly ſtand upon the Walls, or ſhew their Heads without preſent danger; they for want of better Counſel, rather than for any hope of good Succeſs, ſent out certain Scouts, Men skilful of the Ways and Paſſages of the Country (whom they had for great Reward induced to undertake the matter) to crave Aid of the Country-people, that were in great multitude fled into the ſafety of the Mountains; and to tell them, that if they came not in time to their Relief, their Wives and Children, whom they had before ſent into the City, muſt needs in ſhort time fall into the Enemies hand, or periſh with hunger; but theſe Meſſengers were by the vigilant Enemy intercepted, and in the ſight of the beſieged tortured to death.

Letters ſhot into the City.

Muſtapha Baſſa in vain perſwadeth them of Nicoſia to yield.

About the ſame time divers Letters were ſhot with Arrows into the City, to perſwade the beſieged Chriſtians to yield themſelves; for that in ſo doing they ſhould find the Baſſa a mild and merciful Conqueror; whereas otherwiſe if they ſhould by wilful holding out delay his Victory, they were ſure to indure whatſoever could be indured or ſuffered. But when *Muſtapha* had thus in vain with hope and fear tried the minds of the Defendants, he called forth to Parley certain Souldiers that were ſtanding upon the Bulwark called *Conſtanzia*, of whom ſome were by the conſent of the Governor ſent forth unto him; unto whom *Muſtapha* by his Interpreter complained, That no anſwer was given unto his Letters; he ſet forth unto them the Glory, Power, and Greatneſs of the Turkiſh Empire; and debaſed the ſtrength of the *Venetians*; then he perſwaded them to yield, propounding unto them the miſeries that would fall upon them if the City ſhould by force be taken; which he threatned would be far greater than the danger the Turks were to undertake for the winning thereof; and that therefore it concerned none ſo much as themſelves, whether the City were given up by Compoſition, or elſe won by ſtrong hand; he ſhewed unto them the profit that ſhould ariſe unto them by yielding of it up, and offered to them large Entertainment, if they would ſerve him; and to conclude, told them, that they ſhould never afterwards find at his Hands ſo great Grace as was at that inſtant offered them. The crafty Baſſa did what he might to haſten the winning of the City, both for that he doubted the coming of the Chriſtian Fleet, and that his great Army was exceedingly troubled with contagious and grievous Diſeaſes, ariſing of the immoderate heat and drought in that ſo hot a Country. But the Souldiers thinking any thing more aſſured than the Turkiſh Faith; anſwered him, That they did not as yet doubt their own ſtrength, and that they were ready to indure any thing that could happen, rather than to prefer the uncertain Friendſhip of an unknown Prince, before the gracious Favour of ſuch worthy Princes as they had ſo good experience of.

This Anſwer cut off all the Baſſaes hope for taking of the City by Compoſition; wherewith being both grieved and enraged, he commanded all things to be made ready for the Aſſault; and the more to encourage his Souldiers, promiſed unto them great Rewards and Honours that ſhould firſt or ſecond mount the Walls. After that, he gave a general aſſault unto the City, with all his Power; wherein both he as a moſt worthy Captain, and his Souldiers, fought moſt fiercely. You have to do (ſaid he) with the ſmall and laſt remainders of your Enemies; which are ſcarce able to ſtand or hold their Weapons in their Hands, rather than with Enemies indeed; ſhall you not then eaſily overcome them, being both few and feeble, that have vanquiſhed them when they were many and luſty? The end of all your Labours is at hand, your hoped Rewards approach; only play you the men, and faint not in this Aſſault; the Spoil of this rich City ſhall be the worthy reward of your Labours, the fruit of all your Travel conſiſteth in this one moment. Whilſt he thus incourageth ſome, and reproveth others, they mindful of his Promiſes, and theſe of the diſgrace, altogether with their thick ſhot ſuffer no Man to ſtand in ſafety upon the Walls, and out of their Forts alſo with their great Ordnance greatly annoyed the Defendants. This done, they attempted by the ruines of the Wall, and in other places by Scaling-Ladders to have entred the City. Which terrible Aſſault was by the cruel Enemy maintained, not for ſome few hours, but for divers days together without any intermiſſion, freſh men ſtill coming on in ſtead of them that were wounded or ſlain. Yet did the Defendants valiantly endure all that Storm, and in ſuch weak caſe as they were, worthily performed what was poſſible for ſo few to do; yet ſtill in hope (the poor comfort of men in miſery)

Muſtapha encourageth his Souldiers.

Nicoſia moſt terribly aſſaulted by the Turks.

miſery) that Relief might come by the approach of the Chriſtian Fleet. At length, when the matter was brought to this Point, that the Turks were in great hope to have gained the Walls, and *Muſtapha* himſelf probably gueſſed; That the Chriſtians were now weary of the long Aſſault, and ſore weakned with Wounds and other infinite Miſeries, not to ſeek in a City ſo hardly diſtreſſed, and was in that his opinion alſo confirmed by certain Fugitive Chriſtians; he nevertheleſs upon the ſudden cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and ſo retiring into his Trenches, lay ſtill all the next day without any thing doing. The Defendants thinking that he had given over the Aſſault, becauſe of ſome Aid that was coming to their Relief, became more careleſs of the Enemy, and upon the vain hope of ſuch Aid, with leſs diligence repaired their Breaches, and provided for the repulſing of their Enemies. But the Baſſa in the mean time had choſen out of his whole Army about 200 of his beſt Captains and Souldiers, all Men of approved valour and agility of Body, whom the next day after, he ſent early in the Morning, to make proof if they could with Scaling-Ladders ſecretly and without any noiſe ſet up, get into the four Bulwarks which he had before ſore ſhaken with his great Ordnance. Theſe reſolute Men leading the way, got firſt up, after whom followed divers others, and ſo took the aforeſaid Bulwarks; when preſently after, other Companies of their Fellows which ſtood ready for the purpoſe, coming on forward, did with their Scaling-Ladders in divers places recover the top of the Walls; for now the matter was not done by ſecret ſurpriſe, but by open force. In every one of theſe Bulwarks were 70 Italians and as many Epirots, who there kept Watch and Ward; theſe Men part aſleep, as fearing no ſuch danger, and part lying laſily upon the ground, were there ſurpriſed on the ſudden and ſlain; other-ſome of them awaked with the ſtrange and uncouth noiſe, betook not themſelves luſtily to their Weapons, but forſaking their ſtations leapt down out of the Bulwarks at ſuch places as were next unto them, ſome for fear ran unawares into the midſt of their Enemies. Upon this Alarm ſome of the Chriſtian Captains came ſpeedily to the Walls with their Companies, as did *Eugenius*, who whilſt he in vain crieth out to ſuch fearful Souldiers as he met, that they ſhould not ſo cowardly fly, and ſtayeth others that were flying, was himſelf ſhot through with a ſmall ſhot and ſlain. Other Captains in other places likewiſe laboured in vain to have ſtaid the flying Souldiers, whoſe Perſwaſions, Requeſts, and Authority in ſo general a fear, nothing at that time prevailed.

The Turks gain the Bulwarks and Walls of Nicoſia

Nicoſia *taken by the Turks.*

The Defendants thus beaten from the Walls and Bulwarks, gathered themſelves into the Market place; but the Citizens ſtealing home to their own Houſes, there ſtood in the Entrances of the ſame, fearfully expecting the deſtruction of the Country, together were their own. In the mean time the Governor of *Aleppo* with his Regiment ſcoured the Walls of the City round about, as he had in charge from the General; and without reſpect put to Sword all that he met armed or unarmed. At the Bulwark called *Barbarus*, it fortuned him to light upon a Company of Italians, who for a while fought deſperately, but were in the end overthrown and ſlain. When he had thus cleared the Walls, and left ſuch Companies as he thought good in places convenient for the keeping of them, he came down into the more open places of the City; and ſeeing them that were gathered together into the Market place to have caſt themſelves into a Ring, and to fight as Men altogether deſperate, he cauſed certain murthering Pieces to be bent upon them; which they perceiving, laid down their Weapons, and yielded themſelves unto the mercy of the Enemy. By and by all the Gates of the City were ſtrongly guarded by the Enemy, to the intent that no Man ſhould go in or out. *Dandulus* the Governor, and *Contarenus* the Biſhop of *Paphos*, with the reſt of the Nobility, and better ſort of the Citizens, had got themſelves into the Town-Hall, and there ſtood upon their Guard; unto whom *Muſtapha* ſent word, that he would take them all to mercy, if they would without further reſiſtance yield themſelves. But while Meſſengers run to and fro, the Turks violently brake in upon them, and there ſlew them every man. After the death of theſe Noblemen, the crued Enemy ſpared none; and having ſlain ſuch as they found abroad in the Streets, brake into the Houſes, where they made havock of all things; young Babes were violently taken out of the Arms of their Mothers, Virgins were ſhamefully raviſhed, and honeſt Matrons before their Husbands faces deſpightfully abuſed, Churches were ſpoiled, and all places filled with mourning and dead Bodies; the Streets were in all places ſtained with blood, for in the City was ſlain that day fourteen thouſand eight hundred threeſcore and ſix perſons. Neither was there any end of the ſpoil, until the greedy Enemy had carried away all the Wealth that long Peace had heaped up. It is reported, that the Prey there taken, amounted to twenty hundred thouſand millions of Ducats; 200 of the moſt goodly and beautiful Youths were choſen out of purpoſe to be ſent to *Conſtantinople* for a Preſent for *Selymus*. In the City were taken alſo 250 Pieces of great Ordnance; whereof ſome were by the Enemy carried away, and the reſt left for defence of the City. Thus the famous City of *Nicoſia*, ſometime the Regal Seat of the Kings of *Cyprus*, fell into the hands of the Turks, the ninth day of *September*, in the year, 1570. in whoſe Power it ſtill remaineth.

A great ſlaughter.

Muſtapha having as he thought beſt diſpoſed of all things in *Nicoſia*, with the very terror of his name, rather than by any force, brought moſt part of the reſt of the Towns in the Iſland under his Obeiſance; and by fair intreaty and promiſe of good uſage, brought back again unto their wonted dwellings the rude Country-people, who upon the coming of the Turks were fled with all they had into the Mountains; them as Men not to be feared, he commanded to till and ſow their Land as they were wont. The City of *Cyrene* is ſtrongly ſituated, not far from the Sea, and was then well furniſhed of all things needful for the induring of a long Siege. Hither the Baſſa ſent one of the Sanzacks to Summon the City, more to prove the courage of the Defendants, than for any hope he had to have the City delivered unto him. But *Alphonſus Palacius* then Governor of the City, terrified with the loſs of *Nicoſia*, no ſooner ſaw the Enemy, but that without any further deliberation or force uſed againſt him, he delivered up the Town unto the Sanzack; covenanting only in reward of his cowardiſe, That he might in ſafety depart from thence with all his Garriſon-Souldiers; which was eaſily granted, and the City ſurrendred.

Cyrene *yielded unto the Turks.*

Not long after, *Muſtapha* leaving a thouſand Horſemen, and three thouſand Foot in Garriſon in *Nicoſia*, marched with the reſt of his Army to beſiege *Famaguſta*. And the more to terrifie them

Famaguſta beſieged.

them of the City, he by a poor Country-fellow, whom he had for that purpoſe ſet at liberty, ſent unto them in a Basket the Head of *Nicholaus Dandulus*, late Governour of *Nicoſia*, and at the ſame time ſent before him divers Horſemen, who upon their Horſemens ſtaves carried the Heads of many of the Noblemen ſlain at *Nicoſia*, wherewith they rid as in Triumph about the Walls of the City. Which thing he did, in hope that they of *Famaguſta* terrified with ſuch a ſpectacle, and the late overthrow of *Nicoſia*, would for fear of like miſery yield themſelves. But deceived in this his expectation, he encamped his Army about three miles from them City. Afterwards having taken view of the City, and well conſidered of the ſituation thereof, he with wonderful celerity caſt up divers Mounts againſt the ſame, and at the ſame time cauſed Battery to be laid againſt the great Tower which defended the Haven; he himſelf alſo in the mean while battering the Gate that leadeth to *Amathus*. But perceiving by the deſperate ſallies of the Defendants, their great courage, and that he was like to have much more to do in this Siege than he had in the winning of *Nicoſia*, and Winter alſo now drawing faſt on (being about the later end of *September*) he thought it beſt betime to provide, that by lying there he hazarded not the honour he had with ſo much labour and danger before gained; and the rather, for that it was commonly reported, that the Chriſtian Fleet was at hand; wherefore he roſe with his Army, and retired himſelf further off into the Country, where he ſhortly after bilited his Souldiers in the Villages round about for that Winter.

Muſtapha *raiſeth his Siege.*

The Turks at Sea advertiſed of the coming of the Chriſtian Fleet, prepare themſelves for Battel.

The Baſſaes at Sea, *Haly* and *Pial*, lying before *Famaguſta*, doubting the coming of the Chriſtian Fleet, which then lay at *Crete*, ſent out ſix Galliots to diſcover the doings of the Chriſtians; who returning with certain Priſoners taken in the Iſland of *Crete*, declared unto the Baſſaes what they had learned concerning the Chriſtian Fleet, and that it was already upon the way to *Cyprus*. Upon which intelligence the Baſſaes put their Fleet into the order of Battel, and ſet forwards towards *Limiſſo* to have met with the Chriſtians; who with a proſperous Wind were coming betwixt the Iſland of *Capathos* and the *Rhodes*; but there underſtanding by their Eſpials, that *Nicoſia* was loſt, and that the Turks were come to beſiege *Famaguſta*; they called a Council of all the chief Commanders in the Fleet, to conſult what were beſt to do in ſo dangerous a caſe. *Columnius* the Popes Admiral, and then chief Commander in the Fleet, with *Zanius* the Venetian Admiral, were of opinion, That it were beſt to hold on their courſe for *Cyprus*, and to relieve *Famaguſta*; for that it was like that the Turks proud of their late Victory, were for deſire of prey, for moſt part gon aſhore into the Iſland, and ſo left their Fleet but ſlenderly manned. Beſide that, they alledged, That the Venetian Senate had expreſly decreed, That they ſhould give the Turks Battel. But *Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral thinking it, as indeed it was, to be a matter of great difficulty and danger, was quite of another mind, ſaying, That he could not but marvel, how the Venetian Senators ſitting at their eaſe in Counſel, could before they knew their own ſtrength, and power of the Enemy, the nature of the Country, and purpoſe of their Foes, determine what were fit for Martial Men to do; unto whoſe actions no certain rule could be preſcribed. All the Shoars (he ſaid) were kept with the Enemies Garriſons; ſo that what need ſoever they ſhould have, they could neither come by Water or Wood, or put into any Harbor. Beſides that, the Enemy would give them Battel at his own pleaſure, and not at theirs; for that they were not of ſo much power, as to enforce him to fight: And that if the Senate, which uſed to do all things warily, and with great adviſement, did but ſee the weakneſs of their Gallies, wanting both Souldiers and Mariners, they would be of another mind. He alledged further, That they were to wage War in the Enemies Country, where there was no Port to receive their Fleet, no peaceable place, no confederate City, nor King to friend; whereas the time of the year grew every day worſe and worſe, when as they had neither Harbour to put into, neither were able to abide the Sea. And now that *Nicoſia* was loſt, for the relief whereof they were come ſo far, there was no reaſon longer for them to ſtay, the Enemy ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſing the Iſland with his great Army, as that there was not any hope to do any good againſt him. And that to keep him from Victual, and ſo to diſtreſs him, was not poſſible, lying in a moſt fertil Iſland, and in the midſt of his own Dominions; whereas they, who were to be ſtill relieved from far, ſhould ſooner feel the want than the Enemy. He was victualled (as he ſaid) when he came from home, but for three months, in hope to have made a ſhort diſpatch, and had now two thouſand miles home. He ſaid moreover, that he had expreſs commandment from the King, to return to *Meſſina* before Winter, and that therefore ſo ſoon as the month was out he would depart. The Venetian Admiral deſiring nothing more, than by Battel at Sea to overthrow the Turks, and ſo to relieve the diſtreſſed *Cypriots*, urged the Spaniſh Admiral to proceed in the Voyage; ſaying, That ſo great aid was not ſent from the Pope and the King, only for the relief of *Nicoſia*, but to deliver the whole Iſland from the danger of the Turk. Of the ſame opinion with the Spaniſh Admiral were divers other great Captains in the Fleet; namely *Sfortia*; who ſaid, That nothing was to be ſo done, as might raſhly exopſe unto caſualty or power of the Enemy, the publick Fortune and Majeſty of the Chriſtian Commonweal, which was in that Fleet greatly hazarded; That longer ſtay might bring further danger; that in that Fleet conſiſted the whole welfare of the Commonweal, wherein more might be loſt, if any miſhap ſhould chance thereunto, than was good to be gained by the relieving of *Famaguſta*. The great Commanders thus differing in opinions, the Council was in a heat diſſolved, and nothing concluded. Upon which ſo foul a diſagreement the Fleet began now to return back again, but ſo, that it was not now as before, one, but three Fleets, every Admiral by himſelf drawing after him his Fleet. *Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral, who firſt returned, after he had been two days wonderfully with Tempeſt toſſed at Sea, came at laſt to *Carpathos*, and departing thence, with much ado arived with his Fleet in the Iſland of *Crete*; from whence he by a Meſſenger ſent of purpoſe, requeſted leave of *Columnius* the Popes Admiral, that he might with his good will preſently return home. Whereunto *Columnius* anſwered, That he would give him no ſuch leave; but rather charged him, in the duty he ought to the good of the Chriſtian Commonweal, not to depart, but to keep company with the reſt of the Fleet until it were paſt *Zacynthus*, that ſo with their united Forces they might more ſafely paſs by the Enemies Countries; whereas otherwiſe, if any thing ſhould by his haſty departure fall out otherwiſe than well, it ſhould be imputed to the diſhonour of him that had forſaken his Friends, and not of them that were ſo by him for-

The Commanders of the Chriſtian Fleet of divers opinions for giving of the Turks Battel.

The Chriſtian Fleet returneth upon the foul diſagreement of the Commanders.

forſaken. But unto this *Auria* anſwered, That the welfare of the Kingdoms of *Sicilie* and *Naples* conſiſted in the ſafety of this Fleet; and that therefore having haſt home, he could not ſtay to keep company with their heavy Galleaſſes and other Ships of burthen, which muſt oftentimes be towed forward. This he openly pretended for his departure; yet ſecretly ſought (as it was deemed) to find an occaſion whereby to withdraw himſelf (being as he accounted the better Man at Sea) from the command of *Columnius*, whereunto he was full ſore againſt his will ſubject.

After they had thus a while ſpent the time with reaſoning the matter to and fro, *Auria* of himſelf without further leave hoiſed Sail, and ſo at length came to *Meſſina* in *Sicily*; neither did *Columnius* and *Zanius* ſtay in thoſe Quarters long after him, but having endured much trouble at Sea, arrived at laſt, *Columnius* in *Italy*, and *Zanius* at *Corcyra*. Thus this mighty Fleet, which had all this Summer filled the Mediterranean with all the Countries thereabout, with the expectation of ſome great matter, was by the diſcord of the Generals diſſolved, having done nothing at all worth the remembrance. In this idle expedition many thouſands of right valiant Men loſt their lives, being dead of divers Diſeaſes proceeding of change of Diet, and unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather in that hot Climat; amongſt whom was the valiant Count *Hieronimus Martinengus*, ſent by the Senate with three thouſand Souldiers for the defence of *Famaguſta*; who alſo moſt of them periſhed in that Voyage. The Venetian Fleet was no ſooner arrived at *Corcyra*, but *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* was ſent from the Senate to diſcharge *Zanius* the Admiral of his Office, and to ſend him Priſoner to *Venice*; in whoſe room was placed *Sebaſtianus Venerius* Governour of that Iſland.

Zanius *the Venetian Admiral diſcharged of his Office, and ſent in bonds to* Venice.

The Turks Baſſaes at Sea certainly advertiſed of the departure of the Chriſtian Fleet, were not a little proud thereof, as by the confeſſion of their Enemies, their Betters. Yet foraſmuch as the Seas began then to grow rough, and no Enemy appeared, they thought it to no purpoſe to keep the Seas with ſo great a Fleet, and therefore reſolved to leave *Muſtapha* with his Army in *Cyprus*, the next year to make an end of his Conqueſt ſo happily begun; and ſeven Gallies at Sea before *Famaguſta*, that no relief ſhould that way be brought into the City, and ſo to depart themſelves with the reſt of the Fleet to Winter in more ſafer Harbours; *Pial* with the greater part of the Fleet to *Conſtantinople*, and *Haly* with the reſt to the *Rhodes*. And becauſe they would for their greater credit prepare ſome worthy Preſent for their great Lord and Maſter *Selymus*, they fraughted a great Gallion of *Mahometes* the chief Baſſaes, and two other tall Ships, with the richeſt of the Spoil of *Nicoſia*, and the choice of the Priſoners there taken. But when they were now ready to hoiſe Sail and depart, as they were carrying out of the Gallion, certain Barrels of Gunpowder which *Muſtapha* the General had commanded for his better proviſion to be landed, a noble Gentlewoman Captive in the Gallion, wiſhing rather to die with honour, than to live diſhonoured, ſecretly fired the Powder; by force whereof the ſaid Gallion with the other two Ships, were ſuddainly rent in pieces; and all that was therein blown up into the Air. Of all that were in thoſe three Veſſels, none eſcaped with life but the Maſter of the Gallion, and two Chriſtian Captives, but there periſhed together with the rich Spoil. But the Baſſaes following their former reſolution, departed from *Cyprus*, and afterwards in ſafety arrived at *Conſtantinople*; where both then and all the Winter following, ſuch preparation was in making, as if *Selymus* had the next year purpoſed ſome far greater matter than the Conqueſt of *Cyprus*.

A deſperate Fact of a Woman.

Whilſt *Sebaſtianus Venerius* (now the Venetian Admiral) yet lay at *Corcyra*, the rude Acroceraunian people, more famous for nothing than for their Theft and want of all things; by truſty Meſſengers promiſed to deliver into his power the ſtrong Caſtle of *Chymera*, kept by a Garriſon of three hundred Turks, if he himſelf with a few Gallies and a convenient number of Footmen, would come into the Bay of *Ambracia*; offering him good Hoſtages for the better aſſurance of their promiſe. Of which their offer he gladly accepted, and forthwith went to the appointed place with a Company of Horſemen, three thouſand Footmen, and certain Gallies; who were no ſooner landed, but that preſently a thouſand of thoſe rough Mountain people came unto them; with which power taking the Hill, and repulſing the Turks Garriſon coming to the relief of the Caſtle, he ſo diſcouraged them that were in the Hold, that the next night they let themſelves down with Ropes into the Valley below; but being deſcried, were there all either taken or ſlain. And ſo in a very ſhort time was that ſtrong Caſtle taken by the Admiral, and a ſtrong Garriſon of Chriſtians put into it in ſtead of the Turks.

The ſtrong Caſtle of Chymera *taken by* Venerius.

Quirinus *taketh a Caſtle of the Turks in* Peloponneſus.

Not long after, *Quirinus* the Viceadmiral, a Man of great Courage, landed with twenty four Gallies in *Peloponneſus* near the Bay of *Maine*, and there upon the ſuddain both by Sea and Land beſieged a ſtrong Caſtle, which the Turks but two years before had built to trouble the Chriſtians paſſing that way. Which Caſtle he took in five hours, and put to the Sword five hundred Turks which lay there in Garriſon; and razing it down to the ground, carried away with him four and twenty great Pieces of Artillery into the Iſland of *Zacynthus*.

At ſuch time as *Muſtapha* before lay at the Siege of *Famaguſta*, *Bragadinus* Governor of the Town, and *Baleonius* a moſt expert Captain, from out of the high places of the City beholding the great Army of the Turks (which covered the ground almoſt as far as they could ſee,) with the cunning manner of their Fortification, were therewith much moved; and therefore thought it good betime to give the Senate knowledge thereof, and in ſo great a danger to crave their aid. And that their requeſt might be of more weight, and have the better hearing, they intreated *Hieronimus Raguzonius* Biſhop of the City, a reverend and devout Man, to take upon him that charge; unto whom they joyned *Nicholas Donatus* a noble Gentleman of *Cyprus*. The Biſhop at the firſt was very unwilling to go, as loath in ſo great danger to leave his Flock; but at length overcome with the entreaty of the Governor, and Tears of the beſieged, ſuffered himſelf to be entreated; and embarked in a Gally about the going down of the Sun, looſing out of the Haven, and hoiſing Sail, with a fair gale of Wind paſſed through the Turks Fleet, which then lay at Anchor before the City; and by the coming on of the night, and by the great way he made, got him quickly out of ſight. After four days ſailing he came to *Crete*, and ſo at laſt to *Venice*; where, as he had before unto the Admiral, ſo there unto the Senate he declared the dangerous eſtate of the City, the ſtrength of the Enemy, the weakneſs of the Defendants againſt ſo great a multitude, and the want of many things needful for the holding out of the Siege; and

Quirinus a valiant Gentleman.

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to be brief, that except they ſent ſpeedy relief, the City could not be kept. *Zanius* at that time Admiral, careful for the beſieged, cauſed four tall Ships to be laded with all manner of Victual and a great quantity of Gunpowder, and put into them ſeventeen hundred ſelect Souldiers, all which he ſent from *Crete* to the relief of them of *Famaguſta*; appointing *M. Antonius Quirinus* with twelve of the beſt Gallies in all the Fleet, to conduct the ſame thither. This *Quirinus* was a moſt valiant and expert Captain, meanly deſcended, but by ſervice grown to be a Man both of great reputation and wealth; and therefore *Zanius* at his departure to *Venice* although he knew the matter required haſte, yet preſuming upon his wiſdom and carefulneſs, left it to his diſcretion, when and how to perform that piece of ſervice. *Quirinus* (not without cauſe) doubting to ſet forward, the Seas as then full of the Turks Gallies, ſtaied until Winter was well ſpent, and then ſetting forward the ſeventeenth of *January*, kept aloof from the Ships, which with a proſperous Wind came directly before *Famaguſta*; in hope that the Turks Gallies which lay in the mouth of the Haven, might ſo be drawn farther into the Sea, in hope of ſome good Booty, he himſelf ſtaying with his Gallies in place convenient out of ſight. Neither had the event deceived his expectation, had not his fierce nature hindred the ſame; for the Turks upon the dawning of the day deſcrying the Ships, made haſtily toward them; but *Quirinus* not able longer to ſtay himſelf, and before deſirous to fight with them, ſhewed himſelf too ſoon in the open Sea, before the Enemy was come near the Ships; whom as ſoon as the Turks had ſeen, and that there was no hope to withſtand him, they ſtaied their Oars, and with all ſpeed retired. But *Quirinus* following faſter upon them, they were glad for ſafegard of their lives, with all the power they could to run three of their Gallies aground, and to run to ſhoar themſelves; which three Gallies, *Quirinus* did with his great Ordnance beat all to pieces, and ſore gauled the other four. The Haven thus cleered, he returned again unto the Ships, and brought them with the ſupply in ſafety to *Famaguſta*; upon whoſe arrival was great rejoycing both amongſt the Garriſon Souldiers and the Citiſens; for the Turks thought nothing leſs, than that the Chriſtian Gallies durſt at that time of the year have put into thoſe dangerous Seas; which *Quirinus* well knowing, came forth again with his Gallies, and roaming up and down at his pleaſure, took two of the Enemies Ships richly laded coming to the Camp; with which Booty he enriched his Souldiers; and further incited by occaſion, landed his Men in divers places alongſt the Sea Coaſt in *Pamphilia*, and there did great harm. So having filled the Country with the terror and fame of his Name, he returned again to *Famaguſta*; where he notably encouraged the Garriſon Souldiers, perſwading them to remember their wonted Valour; and filling them with hope that the Chriſtian Fleet would be with them in the beginning of the next Summer, to deliver them from their Enemies, and to raiſe the Siege. So having in twenty days diſpatched that he came for, and done what good ſervice elſe he could, he departed from *Famaguſta*, and within five days after arrived at *Crete*.

Negligence ſeverely puniſhed by Selymus.

It was not long, but *Selymus* had knowledge of this late ſupply put into *Famaguſta*, and of the harms done by *Quirinus*; wherewith he was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that he commanded the Governor of *Chios* his Head to be ſtruck off, and the Governor of the *Rhodes* to be diſgraced, whoſe charge it was to have kept thoſe Seas, ſo that nothing ſhould have been conveied into *Famaguſta*. Neither ſpared he *Pial* Baſſa, but deprived him of his Admiralty, and placed *Partau* Baſſa Admiral in his ſtead, for that he had not the year before diſcomfited the Chriſtian Fleet at the Iſland of *Crete*, as it was ſuppoſed he might have done.

From the beginning of this War, the Venetians, with *Pius Quintus* then Pope, who greatly favoured their cauſe, had moſt earneſtly from time to time ſolicited *Philip* King of *Spain*, to enter with them into the participation and fellowſhip of this War; which their requeſt ſtanding indeed with the good of his State, he ſeemed eaſily to yield unto; and therefore ſent *Auria*, his Admiral the laſt year, with his Fleet to aid them, but with ſuch ſucceſs as is before declared. As for to joyn with them in perpetual League and Confederation (as it was termed) againſt the common Enemy, that he referred unto the diſcreet conſideration of the two Cardinals, *Granvellan* and *Pace*, and *Jo. Zunica* his Embaſſador, ſent for that purpoſe to *Rome*; promiſing to perform whatſoever they ſhould on his behalf agree upon or conſent unto. At the ſame time, and for the ſame purpoſe lay alſo *Surianus* the Venetian Embaſſador at *Rome*; unto whom the Pope joyned Cardinal *Morone*, *Aldobrandinus*, and *Ruſticucius*, with certain other of the chief Cardinals, as Men indifferent to both parties, to moderate and compoſe ſuch differences and difficulties as ſhould ariſe betwixt the aforeſaid Commiſſioners for the King and the Venetians, concerning the intended League. But theſe grave Men, ſent from ſo great Princes about ſo great a matter (as well there could not be a greater) were no ſooner met together and ſet in conſultation, but that forthwith they began to jar about the Capitulations of the League. Neceſſary it was thought that a League ſhould be agreed upon againſt ſo puiſſant and dangerous an Enemy, but to find the way how the ſame might be concluded to the contentment of all parties, ſeemed a matter almoſt impoſſible. Oftentimes theſe Commiſſioners ſat, but the oftner the farther off; if one difficulty were by the diſcretion of ſome appeaſed, in ſtead thereof at the next meeting ariſe three others. The chief command of the Army to be raiſed, the proportion of the Forces, the manner of the War, with many other like circumſtances incident to ſo great Actions, made great differences among them; but moſt of all, the indifferent proportioning of the charge, the Spaniſh Commiſſioners ſeeking to turn the greateſt part thereof upon the Venetians, and the Venetians upon them; which was done with ſuch earneſtneſs and ſtudy of every Man towards his own part, as if they had all there met for the bettering of the particular State from which they were ſent, rather than for the Common good; For the Spaniard, who in former time was glad to keep the Frontiers of his large Dominions in *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, yea and of *Spain* it ſelf, with ſtrong Garriſons for fear of the Turk; now that the War was riſen betwixt the Venetians and him, and the danger thereof tranſlated far off into other Mens Territories; enjoyed now in his own an unwonted quietneſs, to the great content of his Subjects and eaſing of his own Charge in maintaining of ſo many Garriſons as before; whereof many were now thought needleſs. Beſides that, he by the Indulgence of the Pope raiſed ſuch great Sums of Mony upon his Clergy, as was thought by many, ſufficient to diſcharge the Charge of the War: For which cauſes he cared not for entring in any further League with the Venetians, but as it were in courteſie to ſend them a yearly Aid, to maintain a defenſive lingering War, and ſo to keep the Turks buſied upon the Venetian, a far off from his own Territories. But the Venetians, in whoſe Dominions the fierce Enemy daily raged, as well in *Dalmatia* as in *Cyprus*, were even for the ſame reaſons moved to haſten and ſhorten the War, that the Spaniard was to protract it; for beſide the nearneſs of the danger, and the infinite calamities by them ſuſtained, their yearly revenues ariſing for moſt part of their Cuſtoms, were greatly impaired, and their Traffick (the maintenance of their State) almoſt quite cut off; which cauſed them more earneſtly to confederate themſelves with the Spaniard. But hard it was to joyn in one, States ſo far differing in reſpect of their particular profit, and almoſt by nature contrary. Thus was all the laſt year, and a great part of this alſo, ſpent by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners in turbulent and fruitleſs Conferences, but nothing was as yet concluded concerning the League; which troubled the Venetians not a little, being of themſelves too weak for ſo mighty an Enemy as was *Selymus*, and yet no other certain ſtrength from their Friends to reſt upon. But whilſt they ſtood thus doubtful of the League with *Spain*, and quite out of hope of any attonement with *Selymus*; upon the ſuddain when they leaſt expected, it was by good Fortune laid as it were in their Laps, to make choice whether they would (as they had before moſt earneſtly deſired) joyn in League with the Pope and the King of *Spain*, or elſe fall to agreement with *Selymus*; and that by this means.

Muhamet *Baſſa a ſecret friend unto the Venetians, puts them in hope of Peace.*

Muhamet the chief Baſſa, a ſecret friend unto the Venetians, of whom he had been of long time honoured, had no great liking of the proſperous ſucceſs of *Muſtapha* in *Cyprus*, and therefore deviſed night and day, how to croſs the riſing of him, the Competitor of his Honour; and with all to help the Venetians, unto whom he was much beholden. He by ſecret Meſſengers had before oftentimes ſounded the mind of the Venetian Embaſſador, and put him in hope, that if ſuit were made unto *Selymus* for Peace, it would undoubtedly be granted; and further promiſed, to be himſelf a helper and interceſſor for the ſame. But finding the Embaſſador to caſt many perils, and to give ſmall credit unto their talk, who had before by truſting them deceived him; he did not ſo give over the matter, but referring the further tempering with him unto a more fit time, for the preſent he took opportunity to enter into diſcourſe with *Selymus* himſelf concerning the Venetians, and told him that it was reported, That they weary of the long altercation they had had with the Spaniards concerning the League, and now deſtitute of all hope and aid, would now haply of their own accord grant him that which they had before to him denied. And perceiving him not unwillingly to hear ſo of them, he proceeded further in the matter, to know his pleaſure what he would have done therein; cunningly by the way of good Counſel perſwading him unto that which he moſt wiſhed himſelf to be done. Immediately after, he ſecretly advertiſed *M. Antonius* the Venetian Embaſſador, That there was great hope of Peace, and that therefore the Senate ſhould under the colour of exchanging of Priſoners, and redeeming of Merchants Good, ſend ſome fit Men to *Conſtantinople*, with whom he would in ſecret confer of all ſuch matters as might farther the pacification. This unexpected news from the Embaſſador brought to *Venice*, was well heard of the Senate; for they thought it much to concern their State, to have a way opened whereby upon tolerable conditions to make Peace with the mighty Tyrant, if that the League betwixt them and the King of *Spain* could not be concluded. Hereupon they made choice of one *Jacobus Ragazonius* to go about the matter to *Conſtantinople*. This *Ragazonius* was a Man of great ſpirit and dexterity of Wit to take any matter in hand, and of a great reach and deep judgment in the managing thereof; and withal exceeding rich, and of ſo good carriage of himſelf, as that he was therefore famous; all which things were thought of great moment to win the favour of that covetous and barbarous Nation. The Senate, although they had not yet made proof what Men thought of the matter, yet doubted they not, but that upon the report of the ſending of this notable Man, Men would thereof diverſly divine, every Man according to his own fantaſie; and that many of the wiſer ſort would indeed ſurmiſe, as the truth was, that he was ſent for to entreat of Peace, although the exchange of Priſoners, and redemption of Merchants Goods, were the only things were openly pretended; and the Senate, although they thought it not amiſs to have it ſo underſtood, becauſe ſuch a ſuſpicion was like enough to ſtir up both the Pope and the Spaniard to accept of ſuch conditions of the deſired League, as they had before rejected; yet leſt the hope of the League (which they for many cauſes thought good to cheriſh) thereby cut off, might cauſe the Pope and the Spaniard both to be cold in the matter, they certified both them and other Chriſtian Princes, of the ſending of *Ragazonius*; yet of purpoſe concealing the ſecret drift of his going. *Ragazonius* throughly inſtructed by the Senate, was in a Gally conducted to *Raguſium*; which *Caſſan-Beg* (the great Baſſa *Muhametes* Son, Governor of *Liburnia*) underſtanding, met him upon the Frontiers, and told him, That he was ſent (by his Father) both to meet him and ſafe conduct him; which the Martial Man, contrary to the manner of the Turks, courteouſly performed, honourably entertaining him, and afterward ſending him with a ſafe Convoy until he was out of all danger. *Ragazonius* coming to *Conſtantinople*, was there by night ſecretly received into the City, and at firſt brought into a little baſe Inn, and a Guard ſet over him that he ſhould ſpeak with no Man. But after three days he was removed to a much better place, and preſented with divers kinds of dainty Diſhes of ſundry kinds of Meats. The effect of his Meſſage was, to try the Turks minds, and after conference had with the Embuſſador, to entreat of Peace. At length having acceſs to the great Baſſa *Muhamet*, after he had delivered unto him (as he had in charge) his Meſſage concerning the exchange of Priſoners and Merchants Goods; *Muhamet* asked him, If he had nothing in charge from the Senate concerning a pacification to be made? Whereunto he anſwered, That he had, but that he muſt firſt ſpeak with the Embaſſador, without whoſe Advice and Counſel he was not of himſelf to do any thing. At that firſt encounter, the Baſſa to terrifie the Meſſenger, declared unto him the innumerable multitude of the Turks Horſemen and Footmen, which no Nation (as he vainly boaſted) was able by force or policy to withſtand: Alſo his great and invincible Fleets at Sea, with whom all the power of the Chriſtians joyned together, was not able to encounter; and much other ſuch like ſtrength and wealth of his; And that the Venetians were now no more able to withſtand *Selymus*, than they were in times paſt to reſiſt his Father and his Anceſtors. Yet he diſcourſed of this matter

The Venetians ſend an Embaſſador to Selymus *to entreat with him of Peace.*

Ragazonius *the Venetian Embaſſador cometh to* Conſtantinople.

The conference betwixt Muhamet *the great Baſſa, and* Ragazonius.

in ſuch ſort, as not thereby to cut off the hope of the pacification; but ſaid, That the Venetians ſhould beſt have provided for the ſafety of their State, if at the firſt they had liſtned unto him, friendly and faithfully adviſing them not to have entred into Arms, in which doing they ſhewed more courage than power; and that yet, as the caſe now ſtood, and that *Selymus* was in a moſt aſſured hope, in ſhort time to become Lord and Maſter of the whole Iſland, it ſhould be to their great good, to prefer the favour and good will of the Turks before War, and by the voluntary yielding up of *Cyprus*, gain unto themſelves perpetual Peace and Tranquility. As for the Iſle it ſelf, it was not now worth the hazarding of ſo many dangers, being deſtitute of Inhabitants, which were almoſt all either ſlain or fled, the Cattel driven away, the Towns ranſackt and burnt, and the whole Country, of late moſt pleaſant and beautiful, now ſo ſpoiled and unpeopled, that it could not of long time yield unto him that ſhould have it, any profit or commodity. *Ragazonius* being a cool and adviſed Man, and withal perceiving that the Baſſa was not to be contradicted in his talk, ſo tempered his anſwer, as that he ſhewed no token of fear, neither let any word fall that might offend his ears, ſaying, That he was right glad that he had found ſo much favour in his ſight, as to have acceſs and leave to talk with ſo great a Prince, who for wiſdom and gravity excelled all the reſt of the Princes of the great Emperors Court; who ſo far as he might with his Loyalty towards his Soveraign, had always moſt graciouſly favoured the Venetian State; who alſo not ignorant of the uncertainty of worldly things, knew of all others beſt, that on both ſides were both Men and Arms, and that moſt mighty Princes had oftentimes with ſmall forces been overthrown, the event of things never deceiving Men more than in matters of War; no power upon Earth being ſure, which could not within ſome bounds contain the ſtrength of it ſelf; and that therefore he was in good hope, that he ſo worthy a Man knowing beſt what belongeth both to Peace and War, would deviſe ſome ſuch courſe as might ſort to the good and quiet both of the Venetian State and Turkiſh Empire; in which doing he ſhould find ſufficient matter for his eternal praiſe and glory, if by his diſcreet wiſdom a pacification might be made. Such talk having paſſed at their firſt meeting, *Ragazonius* had leave to ſpeak with the Embaſſador, who then lay at *Pera* under ſafe keeping. In paſſing over to *Pera*, *Ragazonius* might ſee a Fleet of Turkiſh Gallies encountring one with another in manner of a Fight at Sea, which the Turks had of purpoſe provided to ſhew unto him as a ſtrange ſight. Whereat *Ragazonius* ſmiling, ſaid unto the Turks that were preſent with him, That it was a pretty Childiſh Sport for him that had never ſeen the like before; but not to the Venetians, who were acquainted with theſe matters in earneſt; as the Turks ſhould well know whenſoever they had a mind to make proof what they were able to do at Sea. *Ragazonius* coming to the Embaſſador, had conference with him at large, and reſolved with him what to do in his negotiation. And ſo returning to *Mahomet*, eaſily diſpatched with him for the exchange of Priſoners and Merchants Goods; but when they came to talk of the Capitulations of a pacification to be made, at the firſt they were ſo far off, as if they would never have met; but after much and often Conference, ſometimes the one yielding, and ſometime the other, the matter was brought to ſome conformity, ſo that there was no ſuch great difference betwixt them, but that they were like enough to have agreed. *Pius* the Pope, and *Philip* the King of *Spain*, advertiſed of the ſending of *Ragazonius* to *Conſtantinople*, began to imagine as the truth was, that he was ſent about ſome treaty of Peace, what colour ſoever the Senate pretended to cover the ſame. And therefore doubting leſt the Turkiſh Emperor having once made Peace with the Venetians, ſhould turn his great Forces already prepared, upon the one or both of them, they thought it good for troubling of that Peace, now with all ſpeed to haſten the League, which they had ſo long before delayed. For which purpoſe the Pope ſent the noble *Columnius* to *Venice*; who admitted unto the Senate, declared at large how matters had paſſed at *Rome* concerning the League; and afterwards, what profit might ariſe of ſuch a League concluded, and what harms might enſue of the ſame, neglected. And to haſten the matter, ſet as it were before their Eies, how much it concerned the Common good, but them eſpecially, to have the ſame with ſpeed confirmed. As for to give any truſt unto the Turks, was (as he ſaid) not beſeeming their deep wiſdom and judgment, ſeeing they ſo often had been by them rather deceived than vanquiſhed. In concluſion, he requeſted them, That for his Holineſs ſake, moderating in ſome part their hard demands, they would with ſpeed joyn with him and the King in a moſt firm and Chriſtian League. Although this Speech of *Columnius* had much moved the minds of the Venetians, ſo that many inclined to the League, yet were there many doubtful thereof, and could not be reſolved whether it were better to embrace Peace with the Turk, or the League with the Pope and the King. Peace pleaſed them, neither did the League diſpleaſe them; it ſeemed a matter moſt difficult, whether to reſolve upon. They were fearful of the League either received, or rejected; The hope of Victory, the inconſtancy of the Turks, their own ſtrength at Sea, the large promiſes of the Chriſtian Princes, the certain hope of the League, and uncertainty of the Peace, perſwaded them to embrace the League. On the other ſide, the bad ſucceſs of the year before, their Forces ſhaken, and almoſt ſpent in *Cyprus*, the ſuſpected and doubtful faith of their Confederates, with the uncertainty of the ſucceſs, induced them to prefer the hoped Peace before the League. So the Venetians in ſuſpence betwixt both, gave the Embaſſador dayly more doubtful Anſwers than other; neither by promiſe binding themſelves, neither by flat denial cutting off the hope of the League, by Examples and Arguments rather refelling what was by others alledged, than any way declaring what they themſelves thought. Sometime they alledged ſuch things as might make a Man believe, that they were willing to joyn in League, and by and by again they would ſeem neither to reject nor accept of the ſame. In which doubtfulneſs many days paſſed. At length the matter being propounded in the Senate, there found not unlike diſpoſition of minds that it had among the meaner ſort; for ſome of the Senators inclined to the League, whoſe reaſons were grounded not upon profit only, but upon credit and honour alſo, which they wiſhed to be chiefly regarded; declaring alſo, what great ſecurity, honour and glory, ſhould redound unto them, by entring into ſuch an honourable League. But the remembrance of former loſſes, the ſtrength of the Turk poſſeſſing a great part of the World, compared unto their own, the terror of the Enemies Name, the fear of the evil ſucceſs, the ſmall hope of prevailing, induced others to like better of Peace, whoſe

The Pope and the King of Spain fearing leſt the Venetians ſhould make Peace with the Turk, haſten the confederation.

whoſe opinion was alſo confirmed by this, That the Confederation with thoſe Chriſtians, was of no more aſſurance or continuance than the Turks Peace; Beſide that, they alledged, That Leagues were therefore of leſs aſſurance, for that Confederations and Amities were ſeldom or never ſincerely and faithfully kept on both ſides, every Man commonly ſerving his own turn without care of other Men. They alſo ſet as it were before their Eies what great occaſions, even ſmall ſuſpicions might give Princes to break their Leagues, what ſtrange effects the fear of the loſs of Goods, or ſome part of their Territory might work. After this ſo weighty a matter had been thus with great contention throughly debated on both ſides in the Senate, it was at laſt put to voices; and ſo by the conſent of the greater part, the League was as more honourable received, and the Turks Peace rejected; and a Decree of the Senate to that effect made. *Ragazonius* by ſecret Letters form the Senate underſtanding of all theſe matters, began to deal more warily with *Mubamet* the great Baſſa in matter concerning the pacification, and more hardly to yield to his demands; and propounding many difficulties of purpoſe deviſed, requeſted of him, That he might by his good leave return to *Venice*, to be reſolved of many things by the Senate, whereof he was not able himſelf to judge, and ſo to return to him again with more certain inſtructions; aſſuring him, that the Senate would upon knowledge of the conditions of the Peace do and deviſe many things for the furtherance of the ſame; which could not ſo well be done by Letters, as if he were there himſelf preſent to reſolve them upon every particular. This his requeſt obtained, he with great ſpeed got him out of *Conſtantinople*; but was ſcarcely got out of the Gates, when report of the League which the Venetians had made with the Pope and the King of *Spain*, was brought unto the Court, and had in ſhort time filled the City; which made all the way as he travelled more troubleſome, and fruſtrated that alſo which was before concluded concerning the exchange of Priſoners and Merchants Goods. *Ragazonius* being come to *Venice*, declared at large in the Senate the drift and purpoſe of the Turk, and what conference he had had with the great Baſſa, and in what forwardneſs the Peace was; for which his diſcreet carriage of the matter, his wiſdom was highly by the whole Senate commended, and he himſelf afterward honourably rewarded.

The Venetians reſolve to accept of the League with the Pope and the King.

A perpetual League concluded betwixt the Pope, the King of Spain, *and the Venetians.*

In the mean time the Commiſſioners at *Rome* after long conſultation concluded a League, which they wou'd have to be perpetual, as well for invaſive as defenſive Wars againſt the Turks; and was by ſolemn Oath confirmed by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Venetian Senate the 24 day of *May*, in the year 1571. For the execution of which League, it was agreed upon, That the Sea and Land Forces ſhould conſiſt of two hundred Gallies, an hundred Ships, fifty thouſand Footmen, and four thouſand five hundred Horſemen; with a proportionate quantity of great Artillery, Victuals, and other things neceſſary, to be every year ready in *March*, or at fartheſt in *April*, to meet together at ſuch a place in the Eaſt, as ſhould be unto them for that purpoſe appointed; to be imployed as the Admirals ſaw cauſe, and as the preſent ſtate of things ſhould require. For maintenance of which charge it was agreed, That the King of *Spain* ſhould defray the one half and the other half to be divided into three equal parts; whereof the Venetians ſhould bear two parts, and the Pope the third; which if it ſhould be too heavy for him, then that remained by him undiſcharged, to be divided into five parts; whereof the King was to diſcharge three, and the Venetians two. The charge thus proportioned, they took order alſo for the proviſion of Victuals, to be at a reaſonable price taken up in any the Confederates Dominions, where the Army or Fleet ſhould chance to ſtay; yet ſo, that it ſhould be at the King of *Spain* his diſcretion, out of his Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, firſt to take his proviſion for the victualling of *Guletta*, *Malta*, and his own Navy. It was alſo agreed, That if the King of *Spain* ſhould at any time, when as the Confederates had no common War, invade *Algiers*, *Tripolis*, or *Tunes*, that then the Venetians ſhould of their own charge, aid him with fifty Gallies well appointed; as alſo, That the King ſhould in like manner and with like forces aid them as oft as they ſhould by the Turks be invaded. But if it ſhould fortune the Roman Territory to be invaded, that then the aforeſaid Princes ſhould be bound with all their Forces, to the uttermoſt of their power, to defend thoſe places, and the perſon of the Pope. And that in managing of the Confederate War, the three Admirals ſhould confer together of all matters, and whatſoever the greater part ſhould agree upon, that to be reputed as agreed upon by them all: That *Don John* of *Auſtria*, *Charles* the Fifth his natural Son, and Brother to the King, ſhould have the chief command of the Forces both at Sea and Land; but not to diſplay his own Enſign, but the common Enſign of the Confederates: Alſo, that ſuch places as ſhould be gained from the Turk by the Confederate Army, ſhould be divided amongſt the Confederate Princes, excepting *Tunes*, *Algiers*, and *Tripolis*, which ſhould remain only to the King of *Spain*: That all controverſies ariſing amongſt the Generals ſhould be decided by the Pope; unto whom the Venetians ſhould lend twelve Gallies, furniſhed of all things ſaving Men and Victuals, which the Pope ſhould of his own charge ſupply: Which Gallies at the end of the War he ſhould again deliver, in ſuch caſe as they then were: That an honourable place ſhould be left for *Maximilian* the Emperor, the French King, the King of *Polonia*, and the King of *Portugal* to enter into this League, whom with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, it ſhould beſeem the Pope to ſtir up in ſo good a Quarrel; and that it ſhould not be lawful for any the aforeſaid Confederate Princes to entreat of Peace, or enter into League, without the knowledge and conſent of the other Confederates. And for the better proceeding of all things, it was agreed, That ever in Autumn the Confederate Princes ſhould by their Embaſſadors at *Rome* conſult of the next years Wars, and according as the time and occurents ſhould require, to determine whether their Forces were to be encreaſed or diminiſhed. This League thus at length with much ado concluded, was not long after in *June* with great Pomp and Triumph openly proclaimed in *Rome*, *Venice*, and *Spain*, to the great joy of the greateſt part of Chriſtendom.

The proportioning of the charge of the Wars againſt the Turk; and the other Capitulations of the League.

The League proclaimed.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, the Venetians the more to intangle the Turk, thought it good to make proof, if they might by any means ſtir up *Tamas* the Perſian King to take up Arms againſt him; who as he was a Prince of great power, ſo did he exceedingly hate the Turks, as well for the difference betwixt the Perſians and them about matters of their vain Superſtition, as for the manifold injuries he had oftentimes ſuſtained. There was one *Vincent Alexander*, one of the Secretaries for the State, who having eſcaped out of Priſon at *Conſtantinople*, was

The Venetians the more to trouble the Turk, ſeek to ſtir up Tamas *the Perſian King to take up Arms againſt him.*

but a little before come to *Venice*, a wary wiſe Man, and of great experience, who for his dexterity of Wit, and skilfulneſs in the Turkiſh Language, was thought of all others moſt fit to take in hand ſo great a matter. He having received Letters and Inſtructions for the Senate, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, travelling through *Germany*, *Polonia*, and the Foreſts of *Mæſia*, in Turkiſh attire, came to *Moncaſtron*, a Port Town upon the ſide of the Euxine or Black-Sea, at the mouth of the great River *Boriſthenes*; where he embarked himſelf for *Trapezond*, but was by a contrary Wind driven to *Sinope*, a City of great Traffick; from whence he travelled by rough and broken Ways to *Cutay*, keeping ſtill upon the left hand, becauſe he would not fall upon any part of the Turks Army (which was then marching towards *Cyprus* through all thoſe Countries) nevertheleſs he fell upon a part thereof, from which he with great danger rid himſelf, being taken for a Turk, and by blind and troubleſome Ways, through Rocks and Foreſts, arrived at length at *Erzirum*, a ſtrong City of the Turks, then upon the Frontiers of the Turks Dominions toward the Georgians. This Journey of *Alexanders* was not kept ſo ſecret, but that it was vented at *Conſtantinople* by a Spy, who under the colour of friendſhip, haunting the Venetian Embaſſadors Houſe at *Pera*, had got certain knowledge of the going of *Alexander* into *Perſia*. Whereupon certain Curriers were ſent out with all ſpeed to beſet the three ſtraight Paſſages into *Perſia*, whereby it was ſuppoſed he muſt of neceſſity paſs, with certain Notes alſo of the favour of the Man, of his Stature, and other Marks, whereby he was beſt to be known. But he in ſo dangerous a Country doubting all things, and fearing ſuch a matter, leaving his Company behind him, with incredible celerity poſted from *Erzirum* to *Tauris*, and was a great way gon before the Turks Curriers came into thoſe Quarters; who yet hearing of him, followed after as far as they durſt, but could not overtake him. *Alexander* coming to *Tauris*, underſtood that the Court lay at *Casbin*, about twelve days Journey farther up into the Country; coming thither, the fourteenth of *Auguſt* of this year 1571. he chanced to meet with certain Engliſh Merchants, with whom he had before been acquainted; by whoſe help he not only got to ſpeak with *Ayder Tamas* the Kings third Son, but learned of them all the Manners and Faſhions of the Perſian Court, and how to bear himſelf therein. The Perſians by reaſon of the intollerable Heat do moſt of their Buſineſs at that time of the year by night.

Alexander the *Venetian Embaſſador hath audience with the Perſian King*.

Wherefore *Alexander* about midnight brought in to *Ayder*, declared unto him the cauſe of his coming; and the next night admitted unto the ſpeech of his aged Father, delivered his Letters of Credence, and in the name of the Senate declared unto him, with what perfidious dealing *Selymus* the Turkiſh Emperor was about to take away *Cyprus* from the Venetians, with what greedineſs and pride he had ſet upon the Chriſtians, and that diſcharged of that War, he would of all likelihood ſet upon the Perſians; having the ſelf ſame Quarrel unto the Perſians that he had unto the Venetians, that is, An ardent and inſatiable deſire of Soveraignty; a ſufficient cauſe for the greedy Turk to repute every King the richer that he was, the more his Enemy. After that, ſetting forth to the full the Proweſs of the Chriſtians, the wonderful preparation they had made both at Sea and Land, he perſwaded the King with all his power to invade the Turk, now altogether buſied in the Wars of *Cyprus*; and to recover again ſuch parts of his Kingdom as *Solyman* the Father of *Selymus* had taken from him. Wars he ſaid were more happily managed abroad than at home; That ſithence he alone (the Chriſtian Princes all then at quiet) had withſtood the Turks whole force and power, he needed not now to doubt of his moſt proſperous ſucceſs, the Chriſtian Princes now joyning with him. That he was much unmindful of his former loſſes and wrongs, if he thought he enjoyed an aſſured Peace; which he ſhould find to be nothing elſe but a deferring of War unto more cruel times; and that the Turk if he ſhould overrun *Cyprus*, would forthwith turn his victorious Arms upon him: The end of one War was (as he ſaid) but the beginning of another; and that the Turkiſh Empire could never ſtay in one ſtate; and that he would obſerve not the Turks Words, but his Deeds; and how that the *Othoman* Emperors according to the opportunity of the times, uſed by turns, ſometime force, ſometime deceit, as beſt ſerved their purpoſes: That no Princes had at all times by diſſembled Peace and uncertain Leagues more deluded ſome, until they had oppreſſed others. He wiſhed alſo, that at length this his cunning dealing might appear unto the World; and that Princes would think, that being combined together, they might more eaſily overcome the Turk, than being ſeparated, defend their own: That in former times ſometime will, ſometime occaſion, was wanting to them to unite their Forces; And that therefore they ſhould now combine themſelves for their Common good againſt the common Enemy: That it concerned no leſs the Perſians than the Chriſtians, to have the power of the Turk abated; And that this taking up of Arms, ſhould be for the good of the Perſian King howſoever things ſhould fall out; if well, he ſhould then recover what he had before loſt, with much more that was the Turks; if otherwiſe, yet by voluntary entring into Arms to countenance himſelf, and to give the Turks occaſion to think that he feared him not; which was (as he ſaid) the only way to preſerve their common ſafety, which would be unto all the Confederate Princes eaſie enough, if they themſelves made it not more difficult than the power of the Enemy. The Speech of the Embaſſador was willingly heard; whereunto the King anſwered, That he would conſider thereupon what he had to do, and in the mean while, a fair Houſe was appointed for the Embaſſador and his Followers, and bountiful allowance appointed of the Kings charge. He was alſo many times ſumptuouſly feaſted by the Noblemen, whom he ſtill requeſted to be mediators to the King, to take that honourable War in hand. The King had at that time a Son called *Iſmael*, a Man of a great Spirit, whom he then kept in durance, for that he with too much inſolency made Roads into the Frontiers of the Turks Dominions, to the diſturbance of the League his Father had before made with the late Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*; unto him *Alexander* having acceſs, was of him courteouſly heard; who fretting and languiſhing for very grief of revenge upon the Turks, wiſhed, that either the King his Father had his mind, or he himſelf the power of a King; and ſaid, That if ever it were his good Fortune to obtain the Kingdom, he would indeed ſhew what he then in mind thought. But of him more ſhall be ſaid hereafter. Whilſt this matter went more ſlowly forward in the Perſian Court than the Embaſſador would have had it, news was brought unto the Court, of the great Victory which the Chriſtians had much about that time obtained of the Turks at Sea; upon which occaſion the Embaſſador ſolicited *Tamas* more earneſtly than before, to make him partaker of the Victory of the Chriſtians, by entring into Confederation with them, and by taking up of Arms, rather than to hold uncertain friendſhip with the Turks in their miſeries, by whom he had been ſo often wronged. This he ſaid was the only time for the Perſian King to recover his former Glory, the like offer whereof would neither often chance, neither long ſtay; and that if he ſuffered ſo fit an opportunity to ſlip away, he ſhould afterwards in vain wiſh for the ſame, when it were too late. This ſo wholſome Counſel was well heard, but prevailed nothing to ſtir up the aged King; who then troubled with Rebellion in *Media*, or weary of the former Wars he had had with the Turk, and glad of ſuch Peace as he had then with him; anſwered the Embaſſador, That foraſmuch as the Chriſtian Princes had made a perpetual League amongſt themſelves, he would for two years expect the event, and afterward as occaſion ſerved, ſo to reſolve upon Peace and War. This improvident reſolution of the King, brought afterward unprofitable and too late repentance unto the whole Perſian Kingdom; when as within a few years after, all the calamities which the Senate had by their Embaſſador (as true Prophets) foretold, redounded unto the great ſhaking thereof. The Cyprian War once ended, and Peace concluded with the Venetians, *Amurath* the Son of *Selymus*, ſucceeding his Father in the Turkiſh Empire, invading the Perſian King, took from him the great Country of *Media*, now called *Silvan*, with a great part of *Armenia* the Great, and the regal City of *Tauris*, as ſhall be hereafter in due place declared. At which time the Perſian, who now refuſed to take up Arms, or joyn in League with the Chriſtian Princes, repented that he had not before hearkned unto the wholſome Counſel of the Venetians; and taught by his own harms, wiſhed in vain, that the Chriſtian Princes would again take up Arms and joyn with him againſt the Turk.

The anſwer of Tamas *the Perſian King unto the Venetian Embaſſador.*

Muſtapha *Baſſa returneth to the Siege of* Famaguſta.

Muſtapha the great Baſſa and General of the Turks Army, furniſhed of all things that could be deſired for maintenance of his Siege; and Souldiers in great number daily repairing unto him out of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, the Leſſer *Aſia*, and the Countries thereabout, beſide great Supplies brought unto him by *Haly* Baſſa from *Conſtantinople*; inſomuch, that it was thought he had in his Army two hundred thouſand Men; began now that Winter was paſt, in the later end of *April*, to draw nearer unto *Famaguſta*, and with incredible labour to caſt up Trenches and Mounts againſt the City, of ſuch height, that the Defendants from the higheſt places of the City could ſcarcely ſee the points of the Turks Spears, or tops of their Tents, as they lay encamped; which was no great matter for the Baſſa to perform, having in his Camp forty thouſand Pioneers always ready at his command.

The deſcription of Famaguſta.

The City of *Famaguſta* is ſituate in the Eaſt end of the Iſland, in a plain and low ground betwixt two Promontories, the one called St. *Andrews* Head, and the other the Head of *Graecia*. It is in circuit two miles, and in form four-ſquare; but that the ſide toward the Eaſt, longer and more winding than the reſt, doth much deform the exact figure of a Quadrant; It is almoſt on two parts beaten upon with the Sea, the other parts toward the Land are defended with a Ditch not above fifteen Foot broad, a Stone-wall, and certain Bulwarks and Parapets. Upon the Gate that leadeth to *Amathus* ſtandeth a ſix cornered Tower; other Towers ſtand out alſo in the Wall, every of them ſcarce able to contain ſix Pieces of Artillery. It hath a Haven opening toward the South-Eaſt, defended from the injury of the Weather by two great Rocks, betwixt which the Sea cometh in by a narrow Paſſage about forty Paces over, but after opening wider giveth a convenient Harbor to Ships, whereof it cannot contain any great number, and was now ſhut up with a ſtrong Chain. Near unto the Haven ſtandeth an old Caſtle with four Towers, after the ancient manner of building. There was in the City one ſtrong Bulwark, built after the manner of the Fortification of our time, with Paliſadoes, Curtains, Caſemets, and ſuch like, in ſuch manner, as that it ſeemed almoſt impregnable. All which, although they made ſhew of a ſtrong and well fortified City, yet for that there wanted many things, it was thought too weak long to hold out againſt the great power of the Turk; but what wanted by reaſon of the ſituation and weak fortification, that the Governor and other noble Captains ſupplied in beſt ſort they might, with a ſtrong Garriſon of moſt valiant Souldiers, the ſureſt defence of ſtrong places. There was in the City two thouſand and five hundred Italians, two hundred Albanois Horſemen, before entertained by the Governour; and of the Cypriots themſelves were muſtred two thouſand and five hundred more, all Men reſolutely ſet down to ſpend their Lives in defence of their Country.

The number of the Defendants of Famaguſta.

Muſtapha with wonderful celerity having brought to perfection his Fortifications, planted his Battery of ſixty four great Pieces; amongſt which were four great Baſilisks of exceeding bigneſs, wherewith he continually without intermiſſion battered the Walls of the City in five places, but eſpecially that part of the Wall that was between the Haven and the Gate that leadeth to *Amathus*. And with great Morter-pieces caſt up hugh Stones, which from high falling into the City, with their weight brake down the Houſes they light upon, and fell oftentimes through their Vaults, even in the bottom of their Cellars, to the great terror of the beſieged. The Walls in divers places ſore ſhaken, and the Houſes beaten down, he began to aſſault the City; which the Defendants (their Forces yet whole) valiantly repulſed, and not only defended their Walls and drave the Turks from the Breaches, but furiouſly ſallied out upon them, and having ſlain and wounded many, wonderfully diſturbed their Fortifications, and abated their Courage; neither did the Enemy with greater fury maintain the battery or aſſault, than did the Chriſtians the defence of the City, ſtill ſending their deadly Shot into the thickeſt of that great Multitude; inſomuch that in few days the Baſſa had loſt thirty thouſand of his Men; and the Captains themſelves wondering at the Valour of the Defendants, as if they had not now to do with ſuch Chriſtians as they had before ſo oftentimes overthrown, but with ſome other ſtrange people, began to deſpair of the winning of the City. The Turks thus doubting, and almoſt at a ſtand, the Chriſtians in the mean time made up their Breaches with Earth, Baskets, Wool-ſacks, and ſuch like, not ſparing their very Beds and Bed-clothes, Cheſts, Carpets, and whatſoever elſe might ſerve to fill up the Breach. Among many wants they feared, the greateſt was the want of Powder, which with continual ſhooting began greatly to be diminiſhed; wherefore to reſerve ſome part thereof againſt all extremities, they thought it beſt whilſt yet ſome ſtore was left, to uſe the ſame more ſparingly, and to ſhoot more ſeldom. But the Turks ſtill drawing nearer and nearer the City,

Famaguſta *aſſaulted and notably defended by the Chriſtians.*

Famaguſta again aſſaulted by the Turks.

and caſting up Mounts higher than the Walls of the City, with Earth and Faggots filled up the Ditch; which done, they of the broken Stones made Walls on either ſide, to ſave themſelves from the flankering Shot of the Chriſtians; then giving a freſh Aſſault, they uſed not only their Shot and other miſſive Weapons, but came foot to foot, and notably fought in the Breach hand to hand. Which manner of fight (as if it had been ſo agreed upon) they every day maintained for the ſpace of ſix hours. And although the Turks by reaſon of their multitude were divided into many parts, and freſh Men ſtill ſucceeded them that were weary; yet ſuch was the Courage of the Defendants, that every Man requeſted to have the places of moſt danger, and from thence with couragious hand repulſed the Turks with exceeding great ſlaughter. But for all that, the furious Enemy maintaining the Aſſault, not only by day, but by often Alarms in the night alſo, kept the Chriſtians continually in doubtful ſuſpence and readineſs, as if they ſhould have received a preſent Aſſault; and as ſoon as it was day, with freſh Men that had ſlept their fill, deſperately aſſailed the Chriſtians almoſt ſpent and meager for lack of ſleep and reſt. Force not prevailing, the reſtleſs Enemy leaving nothing unattempted, by a queint device was like to have taken one of the Gates of the City: There was growing in the Iſland great plenty of a kind of Wood much of the nature of a Firre or Pitch-Tree, eaſie to be ſet on fire, but hardly to be quenched, but differing in this, that in burning it gave forth ſuch a noiſome ſmell, as was not by any Man well to be endured; of this kind of Wood the Turks brought a wonderful quantity to one of the Gates called *Limoſina*, which once ſet on fire, could not by the Defendants by any means be quenched, although they caſt whole Pipes and Tuns of Water at once into it, but moſt terribly burning cloſe unto the Gate by the ſpace of four days, with the vehemency of the heat and loathſomeneſs of the ſmell, ſo troubled the Defendants, that ſcarce any of them could endure to ſtand upon the Wall, but forſaking the ſame, were ever and anon like to have given the Enemy leave to enter.

Bragadinus *encourageth the defendants*

Bragadinus the Governor, more careful of the common ſafety than of his own danger, ceaſed not ſtill to be going about from one place to another; telling the Italians, That now was given the fitteſt occaſion they could deſire, for them to ſhew their Valour in, and to gain great Honour of their barbarous Enemies; that it would be to their eternal Glory, if by their only means without any other help, the City ſo far off from the relief of the Chriſtians might be defended, and the great power of the Turks defeated: This (he ſaid) was the only time wherein it ſtood them moſt upon to play the Men; for if they could keep that little was left, the reſt of the Iſland would be eaſily recovered: And although the Turks Army exceeded far in number, yet did they excel them in Proweſs and Valour; whereby a few, and as it were but an handful of Men, had oftentimes prevailed againſt moſt infinite multitudes; now all the eies of the World, as well Friends as Foes to be fixed upon them, ſo that if they held out againſt ſo great a power, both their Enemies would admire their Valour, and all Chriſtendom extol their invincible Courage and Proweſs; and that they themſelves ſhould thereby reap both great Profit and honour; neither that any thing could be alledged, why they ſhould not be compared with the worthy Knights of *Malta*; who to their eternal Fame had delivered themſelves out of the mouth of the Turk, and left unto the World a moſt fair example for Men valiantly to ſtand in ſo good a Quarrel upon their own defence: *Nicoſia* (he ſaid) was loſt rather by the Cowardiſe of the Defendants, than by the Valour of the Enemy. He alſo praiſed the fidelity and courage of the Græcians, who for any fear or danger could never be removed from the Venetians, or induced to ſubmit themſelves unto the Turks Government; and perſwaded them, with the ſame reſolution to defend their own City, that they ſaw in the Venetian Souldiers, fighting for them, and for their own honour to ſtrive with the Italians, in defence of their State, their Country, their Wives, and Children, againſt the Tyranny of the Turks; foraſmuch as Aid would in ſhort time come, and ſet them free from all danger. The Senate alſo in like manner had ſent Letters to *Famaguſta*, willing them to be of good cheer, and yet a while to hold out the Siege, and that they ſhould be in ſhort time relieved. *Baleonius* alſo General of the Garriſon Souldiers, himſelf in Arms was preſent at every Skirmiſh, carefully foreſeeing what was in every place and at all times to be done; and by encouraging of his Souldiers, and adventuring of his Perſon, ſhewed hemſelf to be both a worthy Commander, and valiant Souldier. Neither did the Souldiers alone, but even the Women alſo what they might, ſtriving above the power of the ſtrength both of their minds and bodies; ſome bringing Meat, ſome Weapons unto the Defendants, and other Stones, Beds, Cheſts, and ſuch like ſtuff to make up the Breaches. But Victuals beginning now to wax ſcant, eight thouſand of the vulgar ſort of People were turned out of the City, who all in ſafety were ſuffered to paſs through the midſt of the Turks Army, to ſeek their living in the Country.

Balconius *a valiant Captain.*

The Turks ſeek to undermine the City.

Thus whilſt open force prevailed not according to the Turks deſire, they began in four places to undermine the City, in hope to have found entrance; but the Defendants doubting ſuch a matter, by diligent liſtening, and great Veſſels ſet full of Water near unto the Walls, and Drums laid upon the ground, by the moving thereof diſcovered their Works, and with Countermines fruſtrated thoſe of the Enemy; yet in ſo great a ſtir and hurly-burly all things were not poſſibly to be diſcovered; whereby it came to paſs, that whilſt the Defendants were altogether buſied in defending the Walls, a Mine not perceived was ſuddainly blown up near unto the Tower ſtanding upon the Haven, by force whereof a great part of the Wall thereabout was in a moment with a moſt horrible noiſe overthrown. With the fall thereof the Turks thinking the City as good as taken, with an horrible ſhout and outcry mounted the Wall, and in the Breach ſet up their Enſigns; Count *Peter*, who had the charge of that part of the Wall, being not now able to defend the ſame, ſo ſuddainly overthrown; which *Neſtor Martinengus* quickly perceiving, came ſpeedily from his own Station, to repulſe the Enemy now ready to have entred. The Fight became there moſt fierce and terrible, on the one ſide hope, on the other deſperation, enraged their minds; the Turks were in hope, that if they forced themſelves but a little they ſhould forthwith win the City; and the Defendants propounding nothing unto themſelves but ſhameful death and torture, fought as Men altogether deſperate. The Turks truſted to their multitude, and the Chriſtians to their valour: In the mean time *Andreas Bragadinus* with certain great Pieces aptly placed, out of the Caſtle flew a number of the Turks as they were coming to the Breach. *Ba-*

The breaches notably defended.

leonius hearing of the danger, came in haſte with a Company of couragious Souldiers, to relieve them that were fighting at the Breach, and cheering up his Followers, thruſt himſelf with the formoſt into the face of the Breach; and there not only appointed what was to be done, and with chearful countenance encouraged his Souldiers, but with his own hand having ſlain many, took one of the Turks Enſigns, when as he had before ſlain the bearer thereof, and tumbled him headlong into the Ditch. With the ſight whereof others encouraged, both on the right hand and on the left, made there a notable Battel, as Men fighting for their laſt hope. In fine the Turks were glad to retire, leaving behind them four thouſand Carkaſes of their ſlain Fellows in the Town-ditch, with fourteen of their Enſigns, which were brought into the City. Neither was this Victory gained without ſome loſs of the Chriſtians; about a hundred were ſlain, among whom were *Robertus Molvetius*, *David Noeius*, *Celſus Feto*, *Eraſmus Firmo*, all Captains.

They of Famagusta blow up one of their own battered Bulwarks, with ſix hundred Turks thereon.

For all this, they in the City took ſmall reſt, the Turks great Shot ſtill thundring in amongſt them; and in ſuch furious ſort, as that in one day (which was the eighth of *June*) were numbered about five thouſand great Shot, ſhot into the City. With which continual battery, one of the round Bulwarks of the Town was ſo ſhaken, as that a part of the Front thereof was fallen down into the Ditch, and another part ſtood leaning ready to fall, in ſuch ſort as that it was not longer to be defended; which the Chriſtians perceiving, preſently undermined the ſame Bulwark, and in the Mine placed certain Barrels of Gunpowder. The Turks coming to aſſault the place they had ſo ſore battered, the Defendants after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, faigned themſelves to retire for fear, ſo to draw the Enemy the faſter on; who was no ſooner come to the place deſired, but that fire being put to the Mine, blew up the Bulwark with all them that ſtood thereon; of whom ſome were overwhelmed with the earth it ſelf, other ſome were blown up into the Air, and falling down again, miſerably periſhed; and other ſome, ſhot as it were out of a Gun, fell down a great way off, and ſo were rent in pieces; which was unto the Defendants a moſt pleaſant ſight. About ſix hundred of the Turks periſhed at this Aſſault, amongſt whom were *Muſtapha* General of the voluntary Souldiers, and *Feregates* a Man of great mark amongſt the Turks. But by the haſty firing of the Mine, there periſhed alſo about an hundred of the Chriſtians, overtaken in their own device, amongſt whom were alſo ſome of great account.

Famagusta hardly aſſaulted.

The Turks inflamed with their loſſes, were more inraged with the ſpeeches and perſwaſions of *Muſtapha* their General; who moſt earneſtly exhorted them, with one conſent to aſſail their Enemies, now driven into a Corner of the Iſland, ſpoiled of all their Country, truſting more unto the ſtrength of the place, than of themſelves, entreating for nothing more, than with their lives to depart thence. But what place (ſaid he) is there impregnable for the Turks? *Nicoſia*, *Zigeth*, and ſuch other ſtrong Towns won, what are they but the monuments and teſtimonies of the cowardiſe of the Chriſtians, and the proweſs of the Turks? This day (ſaid he) will confirm your former Labours and Victories; which you before undertook for Honour, but here you ſhall have Honour mixt with Gold, and prey ſufficient to make you all rich. The Turks encouraged with this Speech of their General, as Men forgetful of all dangers, began a more terrible Siege than ever before; and having with incredible labour made three great Mines, and blowing them up, overthrew a great part with the Wall of the Caſtle, the notable defence of the Haven; which done, they with all their force oftentimes aſſailed the City, as if it ſhould have been their laſt labour; neither ceaſed they ſo to do day or night. At which time alſo that part of the City which is beaten upon with the Sea, was aſſaulted by them in the Gallies alſo.

The poor Chriſtians ſpent with deadly wounds, continual labour, perpetual watching both night and day; and now brought to ſmall number, hardly withſtood the furious Enemy, aſſailing them in ſo many places at once, and held out that Tempeſt rather with courage than ſtrength. In the mean time the Enemies Army encreaſed daily, the Turks in hope of the like ſpoil they had at *Nicoſia*, continually repairing out of the Countries round about, unto the Camp. The Chriſtian Captains ſeeing their Men with continual Aſſaults ſore ſpent, (inſomuch, that how many ſoever they ſeemed to be, there was not above three hundred ſound Men left) but ſeven Barrels of Powder remaining, want of all things daily encreaſing, hope of Aid ſtill decreaſing, and the Venetians (their only comfort) ſo far from them; the Captains (I ſay) themſelves began to quail in courage; and the rather, for that ſuch relief as was ſent from *Venice*, could not poſſibly be brought unto them, but ſtaied at *Creta*; the Turks Gallies ſtill lying before *Famaguſta*, ſo that nothing could in ſafety be brought thither. This fear of the Captains themſelves could not long be hid or diſſembled, but that it was by the Citiſens perceived; who having neither power to hold out the Siege, neither place left to flie unto, overcome with neceſſity, came flocking to the Governor, craving of him aid and comfort, and with abundance of tears beſought him in this common deſperation to take compaſſion on them, their Wives, and Children, a People that had always ſo well deſerved of the Venetian State. Their Walls (they ſaid) were beaten down, their Bulwarks overthrown, the few Souldiers that remained, ſpent with wounds, watching, and famine; the Enemies ſtrength encreaſing daily, ſo that they muſt needs in ſhort time all periſh with the Sword, if the City were by force taken; wherefore they beſought him, that yielding to neceſſity, which no power was ever able to withſtand, he would at laſt, while time yet ſerved, provide for the ſafety of ſo faithful and kind a People, and not to refuſe any conditions, how hard ſoever.

The Citiſens of Famagusta requeſt the Governor in time to yield up the City.

The requeſts and tears of the Citiſens of *Famaguſta*, with the due conſideration of the deſparate ſtate of the City, moved *Bragadinus* to compaſſion, who comforting them in beſt ſort he could, perſwaded them to be of good chear, for that he had care both of them and their State, and would ſo provide for them, as that they ſhould never repent themſelves of their Fidelity and Loyalty to the Venetian State. He in the mean time conſidering the greatneſs of the danger which preſently hung over all their heads, propounded the matter in a general Counſel called together for the ſame purpoſe; wherein after a little debating of the matter, they all agreed to yield; only *Baleonius* at the firſt diſſenting, as doubtful of the Turks Faith; but afterwards yielding unto the opinion of the reſt. So an Herauld being ſent unto the Baſſa, a Truce was taken for certain days to parley in, and Hoſtages on both ſides given, during which time not ſo much as a Dart was thrown, or an Arrow ſhot from either ſide. After a few days parley the conditions were agreed upon, whereupon the City ſhould be

A parly betwixt them of Famagusta and the Turks.

be yielded into the power of the Baſſa, which were theſe; Firſt, That the Inhabitants of the City yet alive, ſhould in ſafety enjoy their Lives, Liberty, and Goods, with the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian Religion; That the Governor with the reſt of the Captains and Souldiers might in ſafety depart with Bag and Baggage, and at their departure to take with them five great Pieces of Ordnance, and three Horſes, which ſoever it ſhould pleaſe them to make choice of, and that the Turks ſhould ſafely conduct them into *Crete*, finding them both Victual and Shipping. All which things were with more kindneſs promiſed, than with fidelity performed. Yet all theſe matters agreed upon, and conceived into writing; as alſo by ſolemn Oath on both ſides confirmed; the Governor ſending a Meſſenger before, requeſted that he might have leave to come to ſee the Baſſa, and to deliver unto him the Keys of the City. Leave being granted, *Bragadinus* the Governor, *Baleonius, Andreas Bragadinus, Laurentius Theupolus* Earl of *Paphos, Jo. Antonius Quirinus, Aloyſius Martinengus*, with a great ſort of other Captains came into the Camp; but before they entred into the Baſſaes Pavilion, they were commanded to deliver their Weapons, which they all did. At the firſt meeting *Muſtapha* entertained them courteouſly, and with many glorious words, as if it had been in admiration, extolled their worthy valour and courage; ſaying, that he was glad now to know them by face, whoſe valiant minds he had before known by their moſt valiant deeds. Now prowesſ and valour ſeemed not only in ſafety, but alſo honoured of the Enemy: When after a long diſcourſe the falſe Baſſa revolved unto the miſchief and treachery he had before reſolved upon; complaining that certain of his Men taken at the Siege, had been afterward againſt all reaſon and order ſlain. Which the Governor and the reſt utterly denying, he ſtarted up as in a rage, and with high words and ſtern countenance urging the fact, commanded them all to be forthwith caſt into bonds; and ſo bringing them out of his Pavilion, in the ſight of the Army, contrary to his Oath and Promiſe, cauſed them all to be ſlain. At which time *Bragadinus* and *Theupolus* were oftentimes commanded to lay down their Heads, to have had them ſtruck off; yet was this execution deferred, and their lives reſerved, not to ſave them, but with more exquiſit puniſhment and torture to ſatisfie the barbarous Cruelty of the faithleſs and unmerciful Tyrant. The next day after, *Bragadinus* having his Ears before cut off in deſpight, was brought forth to be wondred at, and tortured with the moſt extremeſt kind of Torture that Tyranny it ſelf could have deviſed; for diſpoiled of Jewels and Attire, and a Basket laid upon his Shoulders filled with Earth, he was enforced oftentimes to carry the ſame, to repair the Rampiers that were overthrown; and ever as he paſſed by, the proud Baſſa inſulting upon him to fall down and to kiſs the ground at his feet; and ſo buffeted with the Turks Fiſts, and ſpurned as a Dog with their Feet, was in great deriſion and deſpight asked, Whether he hoped that Chriſt his God would come to help him or not? Which Indignity of it ſelf bitter and miſerable, the dignity of the Man made much more miſerable; whoſe comely and ſtately Countenance, with his long and reverend Beard, even in that extream miſery added unto him a certain Majeſty and Grace. In this ſo foul a ſight of vertue troden under foot, the poor Chriſtians could neither well ſtay their Tears, nor let them fall, for fear of the diſpleaſure of the Turks. But the forſworn Baſſa, not only forgetful of all Humanity, but inraged rather with extream Cruelty, cauſed that noble and worthy *Bragadinus* to be ſet in a Chair, and his Skin to be ſlain off from him quick; a puniſhment unworthy of him that ſuffered it, but moſt worthy him that inflicted the ſame. Yet in ſo great and horrible a Torture he was not heard to let fall any word not beſeeming a faithful Chriſtian and the honour of his Country; only he called upon God for mercy, and deteſted the Turks perfideous Treachery, and ſo breathed out his life. But the Tyrant, worthy of eternal Infamy, not ſatisfied with the Torture of the living Man, cauſed the Head to be cut off from the dead Body, and upon the point of a Spear to be ſet up on a high place for all Men to look upon. His Skin alſo ſtuffed with Chaff, he cauſed to be hanged up at the Yards-arm, and ſo to be carried about; not ſo true a Trophy of his Victory, as a Teſtimony of his perfideous and Turkiſh Cruelty. Two days after, Count *Theupolus* after he had been moſt ſhamefully entreated, full of the marks of the Turks Cruelty, was (to make an end withal) ſhamefully hanged in the Market-place. With what Cruelty the Baſſa had tyranniſed upon the Nobility, with the ſame he alſo raged upon the meaner ſort of the Citiſens, of whom ſome he ſlew, ſome he chained in the Gallies, and carried away the reſt into Bondage. Three hundred Chriſtians, ſome Souldiers, ſome Citiſens, which came forth with the Governor to ſee the Turks Camp, were there alſo all ſlain. *Neſtor Martinengus* a famous Captain eſcaped the Tyrants hands, being hidden by one of the Baſſaes Eunuchs, who by the help of a Greek Fiſherman got to *Leptis*, and from thence to *Crete*, and ſo afterwards to *Venice*, where he faithfully reported to *Aloyſius Moſenicus* the Duke, the whole proceſs of that War, with the loſs of the City; and that in the ſpace of threeſcore and ten days there was above a hundred and forty thouſand great Shot diſcharged againſt the City. Such Noblemen and Gentlemen as eſcaped out of this ſo general a ſlaughter, baniſhed their Country, and in miſery, diſperſed without hope of return, led afterward a miſerable and vagrant life, though ſome of them even at this day (as I have been credibly enformed) are by the Venetian State right well maintained. The Country people and Artificers were generally by the Turks ſpared, for the peopling of the Country. This was the fatal ruine of *Cyprus*, one of the moſt fruitful and beautiful Iſlands of the Mediterranean; The loſs whereof, not without cauſe, grieved many Chriſtian Princes, as ſometime a Kingdom of it ſelf, but now a Province of the Turkiſh Empire, our Sins, or the evil agreement of Chriſtian Princes, or both, the cauſe thereof, I know not; neither if I did, durſt I ſo ſay.

Bragadinus *ſhamefully and horribly murthred by the faithleſs Baſſa.*

The forſworn Baſſa tyranniſeth upon the dead Body of **Bragadinus.**

Theupolus *hanged.*

Neſtor Martinengus *by good fortune eſcapeth.*

Cyprus *loſt.*

Whilſt *Muſtapha* yet lay at the Siege of *Famaguſta*, the other two great Baſſaes, *Partau* and *Haly*, the one the Admiral, and the other General of the Souldiers (appointed by *Selymus* for the keeping of the Sea, that no relief ſhould be ſent by the Venetians to *Famaguſta*, and further as occaſion ſerved to infeſt their Dominions) about the midſt of *May* arrived in *Eubœa* with two hundred and thirty Gallies; whether *Uluzales* Viceroy of *Algiers*, with divers other the Turks notable Pyrates, reſorted unto them with their Gallies. With this Fleet departing from *Eubœa*, and ſailing alongſt the Coaſt of *Myſia, Ionia, Caria*, and ſo directly toward the *Rhodas*, they were met with thirty Gallies more of the Turks adventurers. After that, having left certain Gallies for to lie before *Famagoſta*, they directed their Courſe for the Iſland of *Crete*, and the 13 of *June* put into the Bay of *Amphimalea*, now called *Suda*, and there landed 12000 Men.

The Turks arrive in **Crete** *with a great Fleet.*

The deſcription of Crete.

The Iſland of *Crete*, now called *Candia*, is greater than *Cyprus*, but leſſer than *Sicilia* or *Sardinia*; but for fertility comparable with any of the Iſlands of the Mediterranean. It was in ancient time famous for many things, but eſpecially for an hundred Cities which therein ſtood, as witneſſeth amongſt others, *Seneca*; (*Urbibus centum ſpecioſa Cretæ*) but at this time it hath only three; *Candia* a Colony of the Venetians, whereof the Iſland now taketh name, *Canea*, and *Rhetimo*. The circuit of the Iſland is five hundred and twenty miles, full of Hills; for which cauſe the people of the Country are much delighted in hunting. In it is no navigable River, or venomous Beaſt. It is now moſt famous through a great part of the World, for the good Malmſey which there groweth, and is from thence in great abundance ſent into many far Countries. Therein alſo grows great plenty of Cypreſs-Trees, ſerving for the uſe of ſhipping. It is at this day ſubject to the Venetians. The Turks being landed, and ranging up and down the Country, did what harm they poſſibly could, burning and ſpoiling all as they went; until that at laſt they were upon the ſuddain encountred by *Franciſcus Juſtinianus*, who but a little before their landing, was come into the Iſland with a thouſand Souldiers; and now joyning with the Iſland people, notably charged them, being altogether diſperſed and ſeeking after prey; and having ſlain many of them, enforced the reſt to retire to their Gallies. The next day the Turks landing again in great number, burnt divers Towns, and ranſacked *Setia* and *Rhetimo*, where they took a rich prey, and carried away many Priſoners; but loaded with their Booty, diſperſed and fearing nothing leſs than to be at that time ſet upon, they were aſſailed by *Lucas Michael* a valiant Captain, two thouſand of them ſlain, and with the loſs of their Booty and Priſoners, glad to retire unto their Gallies. Thus repulſed from *Crete*, they took their Courſe to *Cythera*, *Zacynthus*, and *Cephalenia*, Iſlands ſubject to the Venetians; where beſide other harms by them done, they carried away with them ſix thouſand poor Chriſtians into moſt miſerable Captivity.

The Turks driven out of Crete.

Departing thence, and ſailing alongſt the Coaſt of *Epirus*, they came to *Suppolo* an Haven Town in *Epirus*, which *Venerius* in the beginning of theſe Wars had taken from the Turks, but was now again by them again recovered. After that, they came to *Dulcigno*, which the Turks had but a little before beſieged by Land, for that the Governor thereof, and of *Antivari* (another Town of the Venetians upon the Frontiers of *Dalmatia*) had compacted with three hundred Epirots, to ſtir up the Country to rebellion, and to revolt to the Venetians; for the effecting whereof, the Epirots requeſted of the Venetians ſix thouſand Souldiers to make head, which the Venetians promiſed to ſend them. Whereupon the aforeſaid Epirots forthwith took Arms, and raiſed moſt part of *Epirus* into Rebellion; unto whom was ſent at the firſt one Captain with a hundred Italians from *Catora*. But when the Epirots vainly expecting the promiſed Aid, ſaw themſelves on every ſide hardly beſet with their Enemies, deſpairing of any good ſucceſs, they yielded themſelves to the mercy of *Achmetes* Baſſa, *Selymus* his great Lieutenant in *Græcia* (who to repreſs that ſo dangerous a Rebellion, was come thither with an Army of fourſcore thouſand Turks;) ſo was a moſt fair occaſion loſt, whereas the reſt of the Epirots, enflamed with the hope of liberty, were ready to to have come unto their Friends, already in Arms, and by their example like enough to have raiſed all *Græcia* into Rebellion. But now deceived of their expectation, bewailed their miſery, and truſting to the promiſes of the Venetians, they had caſt themſelves and all theirs into moſt manifeſt danger. They of *Dulcigno* ſeeing themſelves hardly beſet both by Sea and Land, ſent to *Partau* Baſſa, and covenanting with him, that they might in ſafety depart, delivered unto him the Town; and ſo *Sara Martinengus* Governor of the Town, which the Garriſon Souldiers, were in four Ships conveied in ſafety to *Raguſium*; as for the Citiſens, promiſe was kept with them after the Turkiſh manner. In the ſame hurley the Turks took alſo the Towns of *Antivary* and *Budua*. *Antivari* was both by ſituation and fortification ſtrong, and furniſhed with a good Garriſon: Nevertheleſs *Alexander Donatus* Governor thereof, a Man of no experience in Martial Affairs, overcome with the preſent fear, and deſpairing to be able to hold the Town, cowardly yielded the ſame unto the Enemy. Which his beaſtly Cowardiſe the Senate ſuffered not unpuniſhed, but confiſcating his Goods, and removing him from the Senate, caſt him into exile. From *Antivari*, the Turks following their good Fortune, departed with their Fleet into the Bay called *Rizonicus*, but now the Bay of *Cathuro*, and both by Sea and Land laid hard Siege unto the ſtrong Town of *Cathuro*, called in ancient time *Aſcrivium*; againſt which they caſt up two great Bulwarks, and planted thereon nine great Pieces of Artillery, wherewith to have battered the Town and the Caſtle; but the Defendants as reſolute Men ſallying out, put them from their Ordnance, and enforced them again unto their Gallies.

A fair occaſion let ſlip.

Dulcigno, Antivari, *and* Budua, *ſtrong Towns of the Venetians upon the Coaſt of* Epirus *and* Dalmatia, *yielded to the Turk.*

Cowardiſe puniſhed.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Uluzales* and *Caracoza*, both Men of great account and name among the Turks, got leave for ten days of the Admiral, with ſixty Gallies to ſpoil the Iſlands near thereabouts ſubject to the Venetians. Who coming to the Iſland of *Curzola*, about eighty miles Eaſtward from *Raguſium*, landed their Men, with purpoſe to aſſault the Town of *Curzola*, of the ſame name with the Iſland. Which *Antonius Contarenus* the Governor thereof perceiving, in the dead time of the night fled for fear out of the Town, into the Rocks and places of more ſafety, after whom the Townſmen followed alſo; ſo that in the Town were not left above twenty Men, and about eighty Women, who with Weapons in their hands, after the reſt were fled, came to the Walls, as wiſhing rather there to die, than to fall into the hands of the barbarous Enemy. But at ſuch time as the Turks began to approach the Town, and the Women with Stones, Fire, and ſuch Weapons as they had were beating them off, and with greater courage defending the place, than was to have been in their Sex expected, by the goodneſs of God a great Tempeſt aroſe ſuddainly out of the North, which ſo outragiouſly toſſed the Gallies, that *Uluzales* and *Caracoza* were glad to give over the Aſſault, and to get them thence into a place of more ſafety. Sailing alongſt the Coaſt, they by the way ſpoiled *Lyſina*, *Bracia*, and *Lyſſa*, little Iſlands upon the Coaſt of *Dalmatia*, out of which they carried away with them ſixteen hundred poor Chriſtians into Captivity. Theſe Turkiſh Pyrats at their pleaſure roaming up and down the Sea, fortuned to light upon a Ship of the Chriſtians, bound from *Meſſina* to *Corcyra*; which they took, and in rifling thereof found certain Letters directed to the Governor of *Corcyra*, certifying him of the League, then but lately concluded among the Chriſtian Princes; which Letters they ſent in poſt to *Selymus*, to give him knowledge thereof; who thereupon ſent unto his Admirals,

Curzola *forſaken by the Men, is defended by Women.*

Selymus *advertiſed of the League lately concluded betwixt the Chriſtian Princes.*

Admirals, with all hoſtility to infeſt any of the Dominions of the Chriſtian Confederates.

The Turks Fleet thus raging and reigning in the Adriatick, brought a great fear, not only upon the Coaſts of *Dalmatia*, *Iſtria*, and the Iſlands thereabouts, which were by them moſt afflicted; but alſo upon the Sea Coaſt of *Apulia*, and all alongſt that ſide of *Italy*; yea and upon the City of *Venice* it ſelf; inſomuch that they were glad to fortifie as well the City as the Frontiers of their Dominions, with new Fortifications and Garriſons; as did alſo the King and the Pope in *Italy*; for why, no Ship or Gally could now look out of any Port, but it was preſently ſurpriſed and taken by the Turks; which with the ſundry calamities before received, ſo confounded the Venetians, that they in their Aſſemblies and Conſultations ſeemed rather to quake for fear, than after their wonted manner, gravely to conſult how the Enemy was to be repulſed, Yet for the more ſafety of their City, and for fear leſt the Turks Fleet ſhould forcibly break in upon them, they ſtrongly fortified the Paſſages through the Rock or Bank which defended the City from the Sea, and kept continually twelve thouſand Men in readineſs in the City for the more aſſurance thereof.

All the Turks Fleet being again met together, *Partau* and *Haly* departed from *Aulona* the twenty ſixth of *Auguſt*, and ſailed directly to *Corcyra*; which little Iſland ſeemed to be compaſſed in round with the great Enemies Fleet. *Partau* Baſſa at his firſt arrival there, landed eight hundred Horſemen and a thouſand Foot, who ranging up and down the Iſland, did great hurt and burnt the very Suburbs of the City; At which time the Garriſon Souldiers ſailing out upon them with a thouſand Horſemen and five hundred Foot ſlew a great number of them, and amongſt the reſt one *Paphus Rays* a Man of great name. Thus the Turks Fleet having done wonderful harm in the Venetian Territory, as well in the Iſlands, as upon the Frontiers of *Dalmatia*, enriched with the ſpoil of thoſe Countries, and carrying away with them fifteen thouſand moſt miſerable Captives; departing from *Corcyra*, arrived all in the Bay of *Corinth* (now called the Gulf of *Lepanto*,) where we will for a while leave them to ride in ſafety.

The Turks put into the Bay of Lepanto.

The Forces of the confederate Princes meet together at Meſſina.

At ſuch time as this great Fleet (the terror of that part of Chriſtendom) firſt put into the Adriatick, *Venerius* the Venetian Admiral then lying with fifty Gallies at *Corcyra*, and fearing if he ſtaied there longer, to be enforced with ſo ſmall a power to fight againſt ſo ſtrong an Enemy, or elſe ſo to be ſhut up, that he could not joyn his Forces with the Spaniſh Fleet, which was daily expected; upon the coming of the Fleet departed thence to *Meſſina*, there more commodiouſly and more ſafely to attend the coming of *Don John* of *Auſtria* General of the Spaniſh Forces. At his coming, *Columnius* met him with twelve Gallies (which the Great Duke of *Florence* had ſent in the aid of the Confederates) and three Gallies of *Malta*, who only were yet come thither; and with great honour received him. Not long after, *M. Antonius Quirinus* and *Antonius Canalis* came thither alſo with ſixty and two Gallies, before appointed by the Venetians for the relief of *Famaguſta*, but now called back again to joyn with the reſt of the Fleet; and in ſhort time the Gallies of *Sicily* arrived there alſo. At laſt after long expectation, in the later end of *Auguſt* came *Don John* with the Spaniſh Fleet, a Man then about four and twenty years old, in whom wanted no honourable parts, his Mothers blemiſh only excepted; who although he was moſt dear unto his Father *Charles* the Fifth, yet left he him nothing by his Will, but only at his death commended him unto his Son *Philip*, as his Brother. The Venetian and the Popes Admirals hearing of his coming, went to meet him, and that with ſuch triumph and joy, that all the former heavineſs before conceived of his long ſtaying, was turned into gladneſs, with moſt aſſured hope of triumphant Victory; Their doubled Forces, and two great Fleets joyned in one, encouraged them above meaſure, filling all the Weſt with the expectation of ſome great matter. The Venetian Fleet conſiſted of an hundred and eight Gallies, ſix Galleaſſes, two tall Ships, and a great number of ſmall Galliots. Unto them were joyned twelve Gallies of the Popes, of whom *Columnius* was Admiral. And with *Don John* the General, and *Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral, came fourſcore and one Gallies, of whom three were from the Knights of *Malta*. In this Fleet, beſide Mariners, were reckoned to be twenty thouſand fighting Men; an Army not only beautiful for ſhew, as conſiſting of moſt choice Bodies; but indeed moſt ſtrong and puiſſant, old beaten Souldiers almoſt throughout it, in every place intermixed with others of leſs skill; many known to be Men of great experience, rich and luſty Bodies, were by name called forth to this ſo honourable ſervice; and divers other of great Nobility, as well old Men, as young and luſty Gallants, for the natural hatred they bear unto the common Enemy, came, and as voluntary Men chearfully thruſt themſelves into that religious War; every of which Noblemen, as they were greater by birth or power, ſo had they drawn after them a greater number of their Favourites and Followers, ſtrong and able Bodies, of their own charge bravely armed; who ſought for no other pay for their pains and danger, but by ſome notable Victory to eterniſe their names, or honourably to ſpend their lives in ſo juſt a quarrel, as for the defence of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion. Amongſt theſe moſt honourable and reſolute Men were three of greateſt mark, *Alexander Farneſius* Prince of *Parma*, in time to be the honour and glory of *Italy* his native Country, whoſe untimely death in the Low Countries even his honourable Enemies lamented; and being dead, is not without cauſe and worthy deſert accounted amongſt the moſt politick and famous Leaders of our age. The ſecond was *Franciſcus Maria* Prince of *Urbin*, a young Man honourably deſcended, and of an invincible courage; And the third *Paul Jordanus Urſinus*, an honourable Gentleman of the Family of the *Urſini* in *Rome*.

Don John of Auſtria.

Alexander Farneſius *Prince of* Parma.

All the power of the confederate Princes thus met together at *Meſſina*, and all things now in readineſs, a Counſel was called by the General, to reſolve what courſe to take in thoſe moſt dangerous Wars againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy; unto which Counſel were admitted only *Don John* the General himſelf, and *Aloyſius Rechezenes*, of ſome called *Requiſenius*, great Commander of *Caſtile*, the General Lieutenant, or rather director of his actions; *Sebaſtianus Venerius* the Venetian Admiral; and *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* General proveditor, of equal authority and reputation with the Admiral; and one Secretary; *Marcus Antonius Columnius* the Popes Admiral, with *Pompeius Colonna* his Kinſman. The chief point whereon theſe great Commanders were to reſolve, was Whether they ſhould adventure the general fortune of a Battel againſt ſo ſtrong an Enemy, or only ſeek to defend the Frontiers of their own Dominions? Which queſtion (as all other of like ſort) was of divers diverſly phantaſied; every Man pleaſing himſelf with his own reaſons. *Requiſenius*

quiſenius (*Don John* his chief Counſellor; without whom he willingly did nothing, and undoubtedly a Man of great valour and experience) ſpeaking firſt, ſaid, That the Enemies ſtrength was neceſſarily to be known, before they committed all to the fortune of a Battel; and that therefore delay was to be uſed, leſt improvident haſt overthrow all. Matters of War that were to be decided by the Sword, were (as he ſaid) with great and ſound adviſe to be adminiſtred, for that the errors of Battel, whereby all was to be put in hazard, were not to be again amended. He highly commended the adviſe of *Scipio Africanus*, who counſelled great Commanders, not to fight with the Enemy but upon ſome great advantage, or elſe thereunto forced by neceſſity. But as things now ſtood, what opportunity could be miniſtred, or advantage taken; the Enemy keeping himſelf cloſe within the Bay of *Corinth*, and no apparent means how to draw him out from thence? Neither that he for his part was of ſo great ſpirit, as within the Harbor in place of diſadvantage, without hope, to ſet upon an Enemy in common eſtimation ſtronger than himſelf; for what diſhonour ſhould they incur, if having received ſome notable loſs, they ſhould be enforced with ſhame to give over the enterpriſe begun? And to beſiege *Oricus*, *Dirrachium*, or *Caſtrum Novum*, frontier Towns of the Turks, ſo to draw them out to Battel; what were this other than to ſhew a certain fear and diſtruſt in themſelves, and to diſcourage the minds of the Souldiers? For as well the Enemy, as the common Souldier, would forthwith deem ſuch a poor attempt to proceed of a meer fear, as to make a vain ſhew of ſomething doing, when as they durſt not encounter the Enemy in his full ſtrength. As for the other reaſon drawn from neceſſity; what neceſſity had they, ſo deſperately to ſet upon the Enemy; who upon the approach of Winter muſt needs in ſhort time lay up his Gallies; and being already in ſafe Habor, would never be drawn to the hazard of a Battel, eſpecially like hope, like ſtrength, and like danger appearing on both ſides? Wherefore, it were beſt (in his opinion) only to make a great ſhew of their Forces, ſo to terrifie the barbarous Enemy; but in no caſe to hazard the hope of the whole Chriſtian Common-weal, upon the fortune of a Battel. He farther alſo propounded unto them, the uncertain events of things, the common chance of War, the ſtrength of the Enemy, as well by Sea as by Land; with whom they themſelves were not (as he ſaid) indeed comparable; then, what an infinite heap of miſeries was like to overwhelm the Chriſtian Common-weal, if they ſhould in any thing miſcarry; and that therefore, ſafe adviſe was in this caſe to be preferred before that which was attended upon with greater danger.

The Venetians urge Battel.

On the other ſide, the Venetians, who thought all delay both infamous and dangerous to their State, were far of another opinion. Wherefore *Venerius* and *Barbadicus* not only vehemently perſwaded, but moſt inſtantly requeſted the General and the reſt of the great Commanders, that ſo ſoon as opportunity ſerved, they would commit the matter to the trial of a Battel, and not to make that Counſel, which their couragious minds might make moſt glorious and fortunate, by declining of Battel, to become diſhonourable or fruſtrate. If deſire of honour (ſaid they) move us not, ſhall neither theſe things move us? The loſs of ſo great and chargeable a preparation, the ſpoiling of our Frontiers, and the inſolency of our Enemies, which we encreaſe by delay? We defend our ſelves and ours, we invade not them; we go not about to drive the Turk out of his Empire; but that we our ſelves be not by him driven out of our own Countries. Wherefore we ought ſo much the more readily & ſpeedily to think of Battel, by how much the neceſſity of him is greater that repulſeth a danger, than of him that offereth the ſame. What, are our Weapons blunt, or our hands benummed? Shall the Turks ſo often provoke us, and we ſtill be unrevenged? Shall we always ſhew our Weapons, and never fight? One fortunate Battel is able to blot out the infamy of former time, and to fill us with the hope of future happineſs; if nothing elſe, let the very indignity of the matter ſtir us up to battel. And what doubt is there, but that the Enemy ſwelling with pride, will come forth with his Fleet, and give us Battel? Think you that a ſmall diſcredit will enſue to our honour and reputation, if contented with a vain brag, having not once skirmiſhed with the Enemy, or ſo much as ſeen him, we ſhall return home, to the general ſhame of all Chriſtendom? See how many peſtilent inconveniences will enſue, if we ſhall take this courſe. This manner of proceeding will fill all Mens minds with deſpair; the people will murmure, That they are to no purpoſe oppreſſed with exactions and tributes; The confederate Princes (careful of this War) will ſay, that they have in vain wearied themſelves with often embaſſages and care thereof: The proud Enemy will account our departure, or declining of Battel, for a manifeſt Victory. The next year we may look for him again with a greater and a ſtronger Fleet, which will not only make a more heavy War, but deſtroy and bear down all before it; at which time, who can aſſure us that the Chriſtians ſhall have the like preparation, if we ſhall now delay to fight? What labour is to be taken, what coſt to be beſtowed, to ſet forth again ſo great a Fleet? Unto theſe cauſes which impoſe upon us a neceſſity and force to fight, is adjoyned not only a ſingular regard of our honour, but a moſt notable opportunity alſo offered; we never had a greater Fleet, nor better furniſhed with Men, Munition, and all things elſe to be required for the gaining of a notable Victory; and who knoweth not, that the Chriſtian Gallies are far ſtronger than the Turks? Beſides that, the greateſt part of their beſt Souldiers are in hope of prey gon into *Cyprus*, who there ſeeking after the ſpoil, and forgetful of the Enemy, without controlment glut themſelves with the pleaſures of that rich Iſland; whereby their Fleet is ſo much the weaker. All which things, as they promiſe no hard Victory, ſo do they propound unto us Honour, Glory, Fame, and moſt honourable Rewards; and open unto us the way both for the defence of the preſent, and recovery of that hath been before loſt. What then ſtand we ſtill looking for? Or why do we not in Gods Name joyn that Battel, which is unto us, not only neceſſary, but profitable alſo?

Thus much ſaid, they begun to entreat and beſeech the General and the reſt, not longer to ſuffer the Chriſtian Common-weal to receive loſs upon loſs, but to repoſe their only hope in the good ſucceſs of one worthy Battel, and never to look for the like opportunity, if they let ſlip the preſent. This matter of ſo great conſequence, thus throughly debated amongſt the greateſt Commanders, they thought it good to hear alſo the opinions of other notable Captains, of no leſs experience than themſelves (then in the Fleet) before they would conclude any thing. Amongſt the reſt, *Anthonius Carana*, and *Gabriell Serbellio*, both Spaniards, and for their great wiſdom and valour

Carana and Serbello perſwade the giving of Battel.

valour had in general reputation of all Men; being demanded their opinions, with moſt ſubſtantial reaſons, declared the neceſſity of giving Battel, and that it was not ſo dangerous, as to be therefore ſhunned or delaied; forſomuch as that violent Enemy was far eaſier to be dealt withall at Sea than by Land; where he muſt fight without his hugh multitude of Men, the Turks chief hope, and only means whereby they have obtained ſo many Victories againſt the Chriſtians. And ſo concluded their opinions, with an effectual perſwaſion to ſet forward to *Corcyra*, and without delay as occaſion ſerved to give the Enemy Battel. Which their opinion being generally well liked, was ſhortly after by the General and the reſt approved, and a reſolution ſet down for the giving of Battel; which was no ſooner known, but there was general rejoycing through the Army, every Man chearfully preparing himſelf to lay down his life in the publick defence of the Chriſtian Common-weal, and that with ſuch an earneſt deſire of Battel, that every day ſeemed now nothing elſe, but a delay of a moſt aſſured Victory.

The confederates put their Fleet in order of Battel.

Yet before they ſhould come into the ſight of the Enemy, the three Admirals thought it good to bring forth the Fleet into the Sea, and there to martial the ſame, in ſuch ſort, as if they ſhould even then preſently have joyned Battel; to the intent, that by ſuch orderly diſpoſing of their Fleet, and by appointing unto every Man his place he was to keep, they might ſo acquaint them with the order of the Battel, as that they ſhould when time ſerved, of themſelves without farther direction, martial themſelves, and ſo more readily enter into Battel. The next day the Admirals brought forth their Fleets into the open Sea; in the right Wing (which conſiſted of three and fifty Gallies) was *Auria* placed; in the left Wing was *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* with the like number of Gallies alſo; And in the middle Battel ſtood the General with ſeventy Gallies; On the right hand of the General ſtood *Columnius*, and on the left *Venerius*, his Aſſociates. Thus with equal front the Fleet ſet forward, as if they ſhould even preſently have joyned Battel. Betwixt the Wings and the middle Battel, was left no more ſpace but for three Gallies to row; In the Rereward behind the General, followed *Requiſenius*, the great Commander of *Caſtile*, with his Gallies; after *Columnius* followed the Admiral Gally of *Genoa*, wherein was *Alexander Farneſius* Prince of *Parma*; and behind *Venerius* came the Admiral Gally of *Savoy*, and in her the Prince of *Urbin*; in the ſpace betwixt the middle Battel and the left Wing, was placed *Paulus Jordanus*; and betwixt the middle Battel and the right Wing, was *Petrus Juſtinianus* with the Gallies of *Malta*; Upon the left Wing attended *Anthonius Canalis*; and *Quirinus* on the right. About half a mile behind all the reſt, followed *Alvarus Bazianus* Marquess of *Sanctacruz*, and Admiral of the Neapolitan Fleet, with thirty Gallies; a Man of great experience in matters at Sea; and now ſo placed, to be at all times ready to relieve this or that part of the Fleet, as the fortune of the Battel, or impreſſion of the Enemy ſhould require. The Chriſtians had repoſed great hope in ſix Galeaſſes, which furniſhed with great ſtore of Ordnance and certain ſelect Companies of moſt reſolute Souldiers, ſeemed rather like Caſtles than Ships. Theſe Galeaſſes conducted by *Franciſcus Duodus*, a moſt expert Captain, were placed about a mile before the Fleet; two of them before each Wing, and the other two before the middle Battel; ſo far diſtant one from another, as that with equal ſpace they anſwered the whole breadth of the front of the Fleet, which was almoſt the ſpace of five miles, and ſerved the ſame in ſtead of moſt ſtrong Bulwarks. The Gallies throughout the Fleet kept not cloſe together, but ſuch a convenient diſtance one from another, as might ſerve for them at liberty to diſcharge their Ordnance when time ſhould require. In the Wings, as alſo in the main Battel, were the Popes, the Kings, and the Venetian Gallies indifferently intermixed; that by the equality of the danger they ſhould have more care to relieve one another, than if they had ſerved apart. *Joannes Cardonius*, a moſt valiant Captain, with eight Gallies of *Sicily* and two Galliots, was appointed to go ten miles before the Fleet to deſcry what he might, of the Enemies doings, and in his return to joyn the one half of his Gallies to the one Wing, and the other half to the other.

Six Gale-aſſes.

The Chriſtian Fleet departeth from Meſſina, *to give the Turks Battel.*

In this ſort they departed from *Meſſina*, with purpoſe to ſeek out the Enemy; and not long after came to *Paxo*, where, of a ſmall broil at the firſt, was like to have riſen a great miſchief; for the next day, whilſt *Don John* ſtaied there to take a view of the Venetian Gallies, and how they were furniſhed both of Men and Munition, he finding them but weakly manned, for ſupplying of that want, appointed four thouſand Spaniards, and a thouſand Italians to be put aboord into the Venetian Gallies, where moſt need was.

Mutius Tortona *a Spaniard, raiſeth a Mutiny in the Fleet at* Paxo.

Amongſt theſe Souldiers, was one Company under the command of *Mutius Tortona* their Captain, a Man of an unquiet and furious Nature; who going aboord the Gally of *Andreas Calergus*, firſt fell to words with the Captain of the Gally, and after much ſtir, into plain fight; ſo that in a trice they were altogether by the Ears, as well the Souldiers as the Captains; of all which ſtir, *Mutius* was the only author. *Venerius* being not far off, and hearing of the matter, ſent the Captain of his own Gally to appeaſe the tumult, who thruſting himſelf into the midſt of the furious multitude, was by *Mutius* in his fury fouly entreated, and divers of them that came with him ſhrewdly beaten. Which thing *Venerius* (himſelf alſo of an hot nature) taking as done in diſgrace of the Venetians, and therewith exceedly moved; to the terror of others, cauſed *Mutius* and his Enſign-bearer to be hanged up at the Yards-arm of the ſame Gally, to the great offence of all the Spaniards. The General alſo taking this execution in evil part, full of choler and indignation, grievouſly complained, That he himſelf as General, was therein not a little wronged; and that it became every Commander, to know what belonged to his place, and not to encroach upon his betters; ſo ſhould the conditions of the League be the better kept, if every Commander could keep himſelf within the bounds of his own Authority. *Venerius* he ſaid, (whoſe authority was inferior unto his) could not of right without his command determine any thing againſt *Mutius* a Spaniſh Captain; And that therein his honour was empaired; for which if he had not a publick and honourable amends, he threatned by force of Arms to redreſs his wrong, and the League being broken, to carry away with him the Kings Gallies. Neither wanted there ſome, who favouring *Don John* his quarrel, and angry with the Venetians, laied ſtill more Coals on the fire that was already too great. Hereunto *Venerius* ſent word unto the General, That he ſhould do well to moderate his anger, and at leiſure to adviſe himſelf, and better to underſtand the matter; ſo ſhould he plainly ſee, that there was never more juſt or wholſome execution done upon any, than upon thoſe mutinous

Tortona *and his Antient hanged.*

Diſſention betwixt Don John *and* Venerius *the Venetian Admiral.*

tinous perſons: But if he, carried away with the heat of youth, ſhould attempt any more violent courſe than ſtood with the common quiet, it were not to be marvelled if he afterward repented. He (as he ſaid) was alſo in Arms, and ready to ſhew himſelf a Man. The matter was grown to that heat, that it was not only not far from the breaking off of the League; but even at the point to have ſet all on a broil, and to have put the whole Fleet in danger; had not *Columnius* the Popes Admiral, againſt this Tempeſt oppoſed himſelf; he with all his power laboured to cure the wounded mind of the General, and to appeaſe his anger; telling him, That the common Enemy would hardly be withſtood by them all, being at unity and concord amongſt themſelves; but if unto the foreign danger were alſo joyned domeſtical Diſcord, then were the Chriſtian Common-weath undone. But if he would moderate his anger, and more regard the honour and credit of the Venetian Admiral, than the puniſhment of a ſeditious Man, even they which were unto him Friends, and Enemies unto the Venetians, would highly commend his moderation and ſtayedneſs; yea, that howſoever the matter was done, it could not be now undone. But whatſoever *Venerius* had done, was in his opinion juſtly done; That it was always ſo accounted and obſerved, that when many Princes joyned their Forces together in matters that concerned the common managing of the War, nothing was to be done without the command of the General; but in matters belonging to the private Government of every Mans Regiment, every General had power of life and death over them that were under his command; which to be ſo, was as he ſaid hereby to be underſtood. King *Philip* was King of many Kingdoms, and that he might long ſo be, he heartily wiſhed; now if any Millanoies had committed any capital Crime worthy death in the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſhould the judgment of that crime be of right to be referred unto the King himſelf, as the chief Sovereign? Or unto the Governour of *Mallain*, where the offender was born? Or rather to the civil Magiſtrate of *Naples*, in whoſe juriſdiction the fault was committed, and ſo of right there to be executed? What difference was there then, but that *Mutius* might rightly ſeem to have been juſtly puniſhed by *Venerius*, who although he were a Spaniſh Captain, had yet raiſed a Mutiny in a Venetian Gally, which was under the command of the Venetian Admiral? Beſide that, the diſcipline of War ſometime required a ſevere and exemplary kind of puniſhment: For which cauſe it was both notably and truly ſaid of *Clearchus*, That a General ought to be more feared of his Souldiers, than the Enemy; and that amongſt the ancient Romans it had been the cuſtom, even for private Men with more ſevere puniſhment to reſtrain the factious Citiſen, than the moſt cruel Enemy: That the fact was not ſo much to be regarded, as the intention of him that did it: That it was the duty of Commanders to withſtand the madneſs of the mutinous. The author of ſedition and tumult he ſaid had ſuffered but condign puniſhment to his fact; who if he had eſcaped unpuniſhed, would but have been the more diſordered; but now by his exemplary puniſhment, would deter others from the like inſolency. Beſides that, the external danger was ſuch, as ought to reconcile them, were they never ſo much Enemies: That ſuch Men as they were, ſhould above all things regard what might profit or hurt the common cauſe; in contemplation whereof all private injuries were to be remitted; and the rather, for that the honour and diſhonour of the good or bad ſucceſs of ſuch an important action ſhould redound unto themſelves, but eſpecially unto the General. His own duty he had as he ſaid diſcharged, in dealing ſo plainly and faithfully with him, and could no more but pray unto God, with merciful eye to behold the troubled Chriſtian Common-weal in ſuch a moſt dangerous time.

Don John *ſtill beareth a Grudge againſt* Venerius.

Barbadicus *the Venetian Proveditor a notable Man.*

Thus was the mutiny at *Paxo* by the great labour of *Columnius* hardly appeaſed: Nevertheleſs *Don John* could not afterwards endure to participate unto *Venerius* his Counſels, or ſo much as to come in his company; all was done by *Barbadicus* the Venetian Proveditor. This *Barbadicus* was not inferior to *Venerius* in courage and valour, but far beyond him in diſcretion; a tall and goodly perſonage, well coloured, his Beard grizly, though not for age, for why he was not above fifty years old: Beſide that, in his eies and countenance appeared a vivacity or livelineſs of ſpirit; in his very gate and comely motion of his body, he carried a certain grace and majeſty; His talk and ſpeech was always calm and temperate, his counſel grave and ſound; ſo that he was both greatly honoured and beloved of all Men; His chief endeavor alſo was, to further the hope of attonement betwixt the Spaniards and the Venetians, ſo well begun by *Columnius*. And ſo all things brought into ſome reaſonable tearms, they departed from *Paxo*, and came to *Corcyra*; the ſpoil whereof well declared the Enemies late being there. From thence they departed to *Cephalenia*; where they by Letters from *Pau. Contarenus*, Governour of *Zucynthus*, were advertiſed, That the Turks Fleet of three hundred and three and thirty Sail, of one ſort and other, lay in the Gulf of *Corinth*, now called the Gulf of *Lepanto*. Whereupon they ſhortly after removed, with purpoſe to have gone to *Petala*, an Haven oppoſite over againſt the Iſlands (or rather Rocks) called *Echinades*, but now *Cornulares*, and ſo to the Bay of *Corinth*, to draw the Enemy forth to Battel; but ſtaied with contrary Winds, they put back again into the Valley of *Alexandria*, another Port in the Iſland of *Cephalenia*; from whence they afterward departed to the Iſlands *Corzulares*, where by the way they underſtood by Letters out of *Crete*, That *Famaguſta* was loſt; with which bad news they were no whit diſcouraged, but rather enflamed with the deſire of revenge. From the Iſlands they went to *Galanga*, a good Harbor, where they ſtaied one night, purpoſing the next day to have gone to the mouth of the Gulf of *Lepanto*, there to dare the Turks to battel.

The Chriſtian Fleet at Cephalenia.

The Turks Baſſaes *Partau* and *Haly*, who then lay in good ſafety within the Gulf, hearing of the approach of the Chriſtian Fleet, began to conſult with the reſt of their moſt expert Captains, Whether to give the Chriſtians Battel, or to keep themſelves ſtill within their ſafe Harbor; upon which doubt they were amongſt themſelves of divers opinions. Amongſt the reſt *Chiroche* a Man of great years and authority, and withal a moſt noble Captain, exhorted the Baſſaes, in no caſe, when no need was, upon a vain glory to adventure all to the fortune of an uncertain Battel; it was (as he ſaid) the part of wiſe and worthy Commanders, to moderate with reaſon their happy fortunes, for that thereunto were incident many accidents whereby their former felicity might be diſgraced; they had already run alongſt the Enemies Coaſts, ſpoiled the Frontiers of his Countries, and were with much honour and great ſpoil in ſafety returned, having encreaſed the Turkiſh Empire with many ſtrong

Chiroche *diſwadeth the Baſſaes from giving Battel unto the Chriſtians.*

ſtrong Towns of the Enemies; the Iſland of *Cyprus* was with wonderful good fortune brought under the Turks obeiſance, the Enemies great proviſion at Sea fruſtrated, in ſuch ſort, as that having loſt divers of their Gallies, they were never yet able to draw their Swords; they had with their Fleet at their pleaſure roamed up and down the Adriatick, and diſplayed their victorious Enſigns almoſt unto the very City of *Venice*. What could they then deviſe or wiſh for more honourable or glorious, than with the ſafety of their Fleet, yea without any loſs at all, to have performed ſo great matters? Now the three general Commanders of the Enemies Fleet to be ſo at diſcord among themſelves, as that they were ready to fall in ſunder of themſelves; who now upon the approach of Winter, and for want of Victual, muſt needs in few days return home with their Fleet, never after to meet again with the like ſtrength at Sea; and therefore to what purpoſe were it, by force of Arms and uncertain Battel, with danger to ſeek for the ſoveraignty and command of the Sea, which would forthwith of it ſelf without any danger fall unto them. Neither ſhould they by the doubtful Victory ſo much encreaſe their Honour, as by the uncertain event of a Battel blemiſh the ſame, if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than well. And that therefore they ſhould do well to take heed, that in ſeeking to augment their former Victories, they hazarded not their Honour already gained; but wholſomely delay the War, and keep themſelves in ſafety with their Fleet within the Gulf, and not to go out at the Enemies pleaſure, but when they ſhould ſee good themſelves, at ſuch time as the Enemy was not ſo well provided; ſo ſhould they (as he ſaid) without any great labour or danger attain to the full of their own deſires.

Partau *Baſſa ſtandeth indiffrent for giving or not giving Battel.*

Partau Baſſa was of opinion, That the Chriſtians would not at all offer him Battel; which opinion the Chriſtians had alſo of him; and in this queſtion, for giving or not giving of Battel, ſeemed neither to approve nor diſlike that *Chiroche* had ſo gravely ſpoken, but as a Man indifferent and loath to encur any blame, ſhewed himſelf ready either to ſtay or to ſet forward, as ſhould be thought beſt by the greateſt part. But *Haly* Baſſa, a Man of an hotter ſpirit, and the great Champion of the Turks, could not endure to hear of any delay, but of preſent Battel. The pleaſure of *Selymus*, the hope of Victory, the remembrance of the diſpleaſure *Pial* Baſſa had the laſt year incurred, for not giving the Chriſtians Battel, enduced him now in no caſe to refuſe Battel, but forthwith to go out of the Gulf, and to accept thereof, if it were offered. In which his opinion he was the more confirmed by the relation of *Caracoza* a famous Pyrat, and of great account among the Turks; who in a ſwift Galliot taking view of the Chriſtian Fleet, had reported it to be much leſs than indeed it was; deceived as was afterward thought, by not taking full view thereof, by reaſon of his poſting haſte; or elſe blinded by the Iſland, which lying behind the Fleet, ſuffered him not perfectly to deſcry the ſame. Upon which report there was great rejoycing amongſt the Turks, who now after their accuſtomed manner dreamed of nothing but Victory and Spoil. So that *Haly*, vainly perſwaded that his Fleet was both the greater and ſtronger, would now needs fight, in hope that the Chriſtians upon firſt ſight of the Turks Fleet would either retire and ſave themſelves by ſhameful flight; or elſe in adventuring Battel at ſo great ods, by their fooliſh hardineſs receive a notable overthrow. This opinion of the Baſſa was alſo not a little confirmed by the perſwaſion of *Caſſanes*, *Barbaruſſa* his Son, *Uluzales*, and *Chau-Beg*, Governour of *Smyrna*, all Men of great mark and experience, eſpecially in matters at Sea. And although *Partau* the other Baſſa ſtood wavering as a Man in doubt, and *Chiroche* Governour of *Alexandria*, with *Carabuzes* Governour of *Silicia*, and *Mechmet* Governour of *Eubœa*, Men of no leſs worth than the other, upon better conſideration, were of a quite contrary mind, for not giving the Chriſtians Battel; yet ſuch was the authority of *Haly*, or rather his opportunity, forced to his own Deſtiny, that his opinion prevailed; ſo that now out they needs muſt, and fight. Albeit that two other Eſpials ſent out after *Caracoza*, and having more perfectly viewed the Fleet, returning with ſpeed, told the Baſſaes, as truth was, That the Chriſtians very ſtrong and well appointed, were coming with Enſigns diſplayed of purpoſe to fight; and that their Fleet was in number much greater than was before ſuppoſed. With which news ſo far contrary to their expectation, the Baſſaes were exceedingly troubled; and demanding whether the formoſt Gallies were all Venetians or not; and being anſwered, that they were intermixt, ſome Venetians, ſome Spaniſh, and of the other Weſtern Countries; they began to doubt the worſt, and became exceeding penſive. Nevertheleſs knowing themſelves to be of all things well furniſhed, having now victualled in the Bay of *Corinth*, and there alſo taken in twelve thouſand Janizaries and Spahies, drawn out of the Garriſons of *Ætolia*, *Acarnania*, *Peloponneſus*, and the other Countries thereby, all reſolute Men, and four thouſand other common Souldiers, and that they could not now with their honour ſhrink back, they held it ſtill for the beſt, to hold on their former reſolution for the giving of the Chriſtians Battel. Yet before their ſetting forward, calling together the Captains and chief Commanders of the Fleet, *Partau* the more to encourage them, ſpake unto them as followeth.

The Turks reſolve to give the Chriſtians Battel.

Partau *Baſſa encourageth the Turks.*

We are to fight (ſaid he) *Fellows in Arms; with that kind of Men whom our Anceſtors have driven out of* Eubœa, *the* Rhodes, Mitylene, Peloponneſus, *and* Tripolis, *and we our ſelves but yeſterday out of the famous Iſland of* Cyprus; *whoſe Cities and ſtrong Towns, in number infinite, our Emperor hath, as the rewards of his Wars; whom we have always vanquiſhed as well by Sea as by Land; and ſhall it then now repent you, that you in this War, embrued in the Chriſtian Blood, have ſunk or taken many of their Ships and Gallies? That you have carried away great and rich Spoils? That you have taken whole Iſlands and Cities at the firſt aſſault? That we have by proof ſhewed unto the World what force is in the Turk to ſubdue ſtrong Cities and Towns? And what little power is in the Chriſtians to defend the ſame? What direction brought us Victory before, the ſame ſhall alſo at this preſent give us the like. Not to ſpeak of that, that we far excel them both in number of Men and Gallies, this is more to be reckoned of, that we excel them in Valour and Proweſs; for you being old expert Souldiers, from your infancy trained up in the Wars, hardened in infinite Battels, and full of courage and ſtrength, ſhall fight againſt weak, freſh-water, and effeminate Souldiers; who entertained for pay (of the refuſe of all Nations) know nothing belonging to the Wars; or forcibly preſſed out of Cities, ſerve not becauſe they would, but becauſe they muſt neither will nor chooſe. But not to ſpeak more of the manner of the Chriſtian Souldiers, who are nothing elſe than the perpetual exerciſe of your renown and proweſs; and to come un-*

*to him, under whoſe fortune and conduct they ſerve. What ſhould I ſay? Should I compare either of us (who have ſpent our Lives in Victories and Triumphs; who born and brought up amongſt Arms, have with our right hands gained unto our ſelves Honour and Fame) with this ſtripling and half months Captain, who never ſaw Battels but theſe? Who in a leſs matter never ſhewed proof of himſelf, why ſhould he be accounted of in a greater? who in ſo weighty a cauſe needed a Tutor; and ſuch a one, as indeed beareth the Name of a General, more for his honour, than for any worth in himſelf. Beſides, amongſt the Enemies is ſuch diſſention, that every Man regardeth his own private, ſerveth as pleaſeth himſelf, contemneth, and is contemned: Whereas with us is ſuch conſent, that it cannot be deviſed, how the Souldiers in general ſhould more truſt their Commanders, or the Commanders their Souldiers. What things were by the diſcipline of War or carefulneſs of a General to be prepared, all thoſe you have abundantly and plentifully in readineſs; only this laſt warlike labour remaineth; which once diſpatched, our Enemies ſhall be diſcomfited even in that wherein their greateſt confidence reſteth. They ſhall be diſpoiled of their Honour and Traffick at Sea; and that * once ſubdued, which is alone the glory of the Sea, there ſhall be no hope left for the Christians, whether by Sea or Land; and (that we have always wiſhed)* Italy, *fair* Italy *(wherein theſe matters are plotted againſt us) ſhall be in our hand and power; wherefore let us with ſuch courage aſſail our Enemies, as beſeemeth moſt victorious Conquerors, Men ſo many times conquered; And ſo ſet forward, as if you ſaw our Emperor himſelf encouraging you, and giving you the ſignal of Battel; of his bounty, and the preſent victory, expecting all felicity and bliſs.*

* *Viz.* Venice.

This comfortable Speech with great gravity delivered by the Baſſa, ſo encouraged the Turks, as that they all with one voice and mind ſeemed to deſire nothing more than Battel; for they ſtill poſſeſſed with the firſt report of *Caracoza*, and encouraged by the Baſſaes Speech, were in good hope to have fought the Battel upon great advantage, and therefore thought upon nothing but preſent Victory. Whereupon ſetting forward with great chearfulneſs, they came out of the Gulf, and ſhaped their Courſe for the Iſlands *Echinades*, about midway betwixt *Lepanto* and *Patras*, before little Iſlands, or rather obſcure Rocks, ſcarcely appearing in the Sea, but now to be made famous throughout the World, by the moſt notable Battel that ever was fought in thoſe Seas.

The Turks Fleet cometh out of the Gulf of Lepanto. *The Iſlands* Echinades, *or* Corzulares.

The Christians alſo coming ſtill on towards the Enemy, the ſeventh of *October* in the afternoon underſtood by their Eſpials, that the Turks Fleet was coming, and even now at hand; whereupon the General commanded the great Enſign of the Confederates (the appointed ſignal of Battel) to be forthwith diſplayed, and a great warning Piece to be ſhot off out of his Admiral Gally; And himſelf gliſtering all in bright Armor, with *Cardona* Admiral of *Sicilia*, and *Soto* his Secretary, in a long Boat went to all the Squadrons of the Fleet one after another, exhorting them with chearful countenance to follow their Leaders, and to play the Men; remembring, that they that day carried in their hands the Wealth, Honour, Glory, and Liberty of their Countries, yea and the very Religion of their Forefathers; and that that days Victory would bring unto them and theirs perpetual Felicity; whereas otherwiſe, if they ſhould as Cowards ſuffer themſelves to be overcome and vanquiſhed, it would be unto them the beginning of all manner of moſt woful calamities. To which and other like his Speeches, the Captains and Souldiers (before of themſelves chearful enough) in every place where he came gave ſuch applauſe with the joyful cry of Victory, Victory, ſo often and ſo chearful in all places reſounded, as that it was taken as a lucky aboadment of the glorious Victory ſhortly after enſuing. In like manner *Auria* in the right Wing, and *Barbadicus* in the left (for the Fleet kept the ſame order that they had appointed before at *Meſſina*) ceaſed not by all comfortable Speeches to encourage their Followers; ſhewing unto them, That now the time was come they ſo long wiſhed for, wherein they not oppreſſed with multitude, might at length ſhew their true Valour againſt the falſe and faithleſs Enemies; who being indeed nothing elſe but baſe and contemptible Slaves born to bondage, and having loſt their own liberty, came to impugn the liberty of others; bringing with them a greater terror of their name, than valour of their perſons; and that therefore, if ever, they would now ſhew themſelves valiant and couragious, and that day, wherein of all others true force was to be ſeen, to abate the pride of the barbarous and cruel Enemy, and to make their rejoycing for the Conqueſt of *Cyprus* ſhort, before they had well taſted the pleaſure thereof. At which time alſo, the Captains generally throughout the Fleet, with chearful countenances and couragious ſpeech encouraged their Souldiers; leaving nothing unſaid that might hearten them on; or undone, that might further the Victory.

Neither were the Turks wanting to themſelves (although it was fallen out much contrary to their expectation, to ſee the Christians, who they before thought durſt not have ſhewed themſelves, now ready to dare them Battel) but encouraged with their former Victories, and furthered with a fair gale of Wind, came on proudly with their Fleet orderly and gallantly ſet after their wonted manner in form of a Croiſant or half Moon, their fortunate Enſign; nevertheleſs in their coming on they were much troubled with the brightneſs of the Sun, which then ſhining full in their faces, with his bright beams ſo dazled their eies, that they could not well ſee how to their moſt advantage to direct their Gallies. In this Fleet of the Turks were two hundred and fifty Gallies, fifty Galliots, and twenty Brigadines and other ſmall Veſſels; all which a far off ſhewed like a thick Wood, but coming near hand, preſented (as we ſaid) the form of a Croiſant. The middle Battel in number much like the Christians, was conducted by the great Baſſaes *Haly* and *Partau*, attended upon with *Agan* Maſter of the Turks Arſenal, *Muſtapha Zeliby* the Treaſurer; *Achmat Bay*, with *Mahomet* his younger Brother, the Sons of *Haly*; *Achmat Aga* Governour of *Theuthrania*; *Aſſis Caiga* Governour of *Calipolis*; *Caracoza*, *Caſſanes* the Son of *Barbaruſſa*; *Malamur* Governour of *Mitylene*; *Dely Solyman Gider* Captain of *Chios*; *Caſſambeius* Governour of the *Rhodes*; *Prowi Aga* Captain of *Naupolium*; *Giaper Zeliby* President of *Galabra*; *Dordagulus*, *Dondemeni*, and many others, whoſe barbarous Names I purpoſely omit; all Men of great account and place, and for their experience at Sea the chief ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire. The right Wing was by the appointment of the Baſſaes commanded by *Mahomet Bey* with fifty ſix Gallies, with whom were alſo many worthy Captains; and in the left Wing was *Uluzales* the old Arch-Pyrat, but now the Vice-Roy of *Algiers*, with ninety five Gallies, accompanied with *Caraialo* and *Arabey* his two Sons, with a multitude of Pyrats, Men of his own profeſſion,

The number and order of the Turks fleet.

profeſſion, but moſt valiant and expert Souldiers. In the Rereward came *Amurates Dragute*, with thirty Gallies, and divers other ſmall Veſſels.

The great and notable Battel between the Turks and the Chriſtians, commonly called, The Battel of Lepanto.

Now was the day well ſpent, when both the Fleets were ready to give Battel; the Enemy ſtill coming on almoſt in ſame ſame order that the Chriſtians did; for their middle Battel came directly againſt our middle Battel, and their Wings againſt ours. So the ſignal of Battel on both ſides given by the ſhooting off of certain great Pieces; The Turks after their manner coming on with an hideous cry, firſt light upon the ſix Galeaſſes, which lying at Anchor almoſt a mile before the Fleet, as moſt ſtrong Bulwarks, out of their Fore-Caſtles poured out their murthring Shot upon the Turks, now come within their danger; and in their paſſing by ſo plagued them, by diſcharging their whole Broad-ſides, firſt the one, and eftſoons the other upon them, that having received great loſs, and divers of their Gallies ſunk, they were enforced to break their order, and to fall further off. Which ſo much the more troubled the Turks, for that they had before ſuppoſed, thoſe great Carts and unſerviceable Ships (as they accounted of them) to have carried little or no great Ordnance on their ſides, after the manner of their Gallies; for the uſe of the Galeaſſes was not unto the Turks known, until now that they had received from them moſt notable harm; which as it was the beginning of their miſery, ſo was it unto the Chriſtians of greateſt importance for the gaining of the Victory. At which time alſo the Wind, which all that day had much favoured the Turks, was now (God no doubt fighting his own Battel) come about to the Weſt, and with a pleaſant Gale in the time of the fight carried the ſmoke of the great Ordnance upon the Turks, to their no ſmall diſadvantage. Yet for all this loſs and diſorder in their Fleet, the fierce Enemy with wonderful pertinacy paſſing by theſe Galeaſſes, quickly repaired again to their places, and made good their diſordered Squadrons, and with all their force aſſailed the Chriſtian Fleet. The Trumpets, Drums, and other Inſtruments of War had ſcarcely well ſounded, when all ſhook with confuſed cries, flames of Fire, thundring of Artillery, and other noiſe of the Mariners and Seamen; wherewith many were ſo aſtoniſhed as if they had been both deaf and blind, having upon the ſuddain almoſt loſt the uſe both of their ſight and hearing. At which very inſtant a Man might have ſeen the whole ſhowers as it were of Arrows and Darts mixt with the deadly Shot, flying from the one Fleet to the other; the Maſts broken, the Sail-yards ſtruck down, the Tackles rent, and all confuſed with horror and fear. *Haly* beholding the Admiral Gally (which was eaſie to be known by the Flag) and uſing the ſurpaſſing chearfulneſs of his Mariners and Rowers, ran upon her with ſuch violence as if he would have preſently ſtemmed her; but being with like force encountred by the Admiral, they met together with ſuch violence, that both their Beaks were with the Feaze broken off, and ſo fell into the Sea. There began a moſt cruel fight betwixt theſe two great Commanders, who had before drawn unto them the ſtrongeſt Gallies in their Fleets, and the choiſeſt Men in their Armies. In the Admiral Gally of the Chriſtians were four hundred ſelect Men pickt out of the whole Army, moſt of them Captains and Antients, Men of approved Valour; who not only valiantly repulſed the furious Enemies, but with greater courage enforced them to ſhrink back, and preſſing hard upon them, entred the Gally even to the main Maſt; where the Enemy ſtrengthned with new ſupply, fought couragiouſly, repulſed the Spaniards, and cleared again their Gally. Many were there wounded on both ſides, and many ſlain. *Don John* ſeeing his Men give way, ſent in new ſupply; wherewith the other encouraged, beſtirred themſelves more luſtily than before, and hardly charge the Turks, who with like hope and like courage encounter them. The Battel was like unto the ebbing and flowing of the Sea; thrice the Turks were even driven unto the main Maſt, and thrice ſtrengthned with new ſupplies, they with great ſlaughter repulſed the Chriſtians back again.

A terrible onſet.

A dreadful and doubtful Fight between the two Admiral Gallies

Venerius coming to the relief of Don John is encountred by Partau Baſſa.

Venerius perceiving the danger of the General, was about to have aſſailed the Poup of *Haly* his Gally, ſo to have endangered her, being ſet upon both before and abaft; but in coming thither he was encountred by *Partau* the other Baſſa, who with a Company of Gallies oppoſed himſelf againſt him, and that with ſuch celerity, that having made ſhew as if he would have charged him afront, he by and by ſet upon his ſide. Which unexpected manner of fight ſo ſuddainly faſhioned, at the firſt much troubled the Chriſtians; who afterward gathering courage, notably defended themſelves. *Venerius* (upon whoſe Valour the Venetian State reſted) gallantly armed, not only encouraged his Men, one while with entreating, another while with threatning, but was himſelf in the midſt of them fighting, whoſe great Honour much moved the minds of his Souldiers; but his reverend years more; to ſee him (being above ſeventy ſeven years old) to perform all the parts of a brave youthful Commander, in the very face of the greateſt danger. The fierce Enemy having ſlain many of the Chriſtians, preſſed on more furiouſly, and fighting cloſe together, entred the Prow of *Venerius* his Gally now bared of Defendants, and with their multitude rather than true valour oppreſſed the Venetians; who had there no doubt been overcome, had not *Joannes Lauretanus* and *Catherinus Malipetra*, two valiant Captains, and lying not far off, ſpeedily come to their relief. By whoſe coming in, the fight was in the turning of an hand quite altered; ſo that they which a little before fiercely aſſailed the Venetian Gallies, were now glad to defend their own; ſo for a ſpace the fight ſtood indifferent, but in proceſs of the Battel, thoſe two worthy Captains, whilſt they alſo perform the parts of moſt reſolute Souldiers, were both ſlain; ſhot through with ſmall ſhot. The fall of theſe notable Men did rather enrage than diſcourage the minds of their Souldiers; ſo that blinded as it were with fury, and ſuddainly become other Men, they deſperately preſſed in upon the Turks; ſo that whilſt they on the one ſide kill and wound them, and *Venerius* more hardly chargeth them on the other; the terror of the Battel was turned from them that were even at the point to have been vanquiſhed, upon the Victors; and our Men after great ſlaughter of the Turks, took two of their Gallies; *Partau* the Baſſa in a long Boat eſcaped the danger, and ſo got him out of the Battel. Not far off thence, *Columnius* the Popes Admiral, as a valiant Chieftain hardly aſſailed other of the Turks Gallies, and made amongſt them great ſlaughter; one ſingled from the reſt, he took, and diſordered the other. *Lignius* the Admiral of *Genoa* with like courage thruſt himſelf into the thickeſt of the Enemies, and there made a notable fight. Many an Enemy fell about the Prince of *Parma*, *Rueres*, *Urſinus*, *Cornea*, and *Juſtinianus*; who for their preſent honour, and future fame, fought moſt couragiouſly.

Venerius in danger.

Lauretanus and Malipetra ſlain.

At which time *Chiroche* or *Sirock* (of ſome called *Mahomet Bey*) with his right Wing with great confidence came forward againſt the left Wing of the Chriſtian Fleet; but falling before he was aware into the danger of the Galeaſſes, was from out of them miſerably beaten with the great Ordnance, having many of his Men ſlain, and divers of his Gallies ſunk and torn, few of the huge and deadly Shot falling in vain into the Sea, by reaſon of the thick ſtanding of the Turks Gallies; where alſo divers of the Enemies were burnt with Pots of Wild-fire caſt into their Gallies out of the tops of the Galeaſſes. *Chiroche* to avoid the danger of the Galeaſſes, and to ſhun the dangerous Shelf betwixt him and the Main (which the River *Achelous* running between the Borders of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*, and there falling into the Sea, maketh) ſent a great part of his Gallies under the conduct of one *Alis* a notable Renegate of *Genoa*, to caſt about aloof upon the right hand, and ſo to come upon the back of *Barbadicus* the Leader of the left Wing of the Chriſtian Fleet. Which he perceiving, forthwith turned his Gallies, and with their Prows received the firſt onſet. The great Ordnance firſt on both ſides diſcharged, divers of the Gallies grapled faſt together, in ſuch ſort, as that they encountred one another not with their miſſive Weapons, only (as with their ſmall Shot, Arrows, and Darts) but with their drawn Swords foot to foot. Amongſt the reſt, the fight of two of the Chriſtian Gallies was moſt notable; in the one was *Barbadicus* himſelf, in the other *Marcus Ciconia*, upon whom fell ſix of the Enemies Gallies, and upon *Barbadicus* five; who although they were on every ſide diſtreſſed with a moſt doubtful and dangerous fight, yet did they moſt valiantly with worthy reſolution endure the ſame. In the fury of this Battel, *Barbadicus* encouraging his Souldiers, and fighting himſelf even there where moſt danger was, was hit in his left Eye with an Arrow, and ſo ſtruck into the Brain almoſt through the Head; wherewith falling preſently down, he was taken up for dead; howbeit he died not thereof until three days after. The ſuppoſed death of this worthy Man much troubled the Chriſtians, and both the Armies felt his fall (ſuch force there is in the valour of one worthy Man) for the Turks now as Conquerors luſtily boorded the Gally, troubled with the loſs of the Captain; and the Venetians as Men diſcouraged gave way; the Gally had there undoubtedly been loſt, had not *Fredericus Nanius* and *Sylvius Porcia* with their Gallies ſpeedily come to her relief; by whoſe coming in, ſuch an alteration was made, as that the Gally before half taken, was not only cleared, but divers of the Turks Gallies alſo boorded, and ſome of them taken, not without the great ſlaughter of the Turks. In this ſo hard and mortal a conflict, *Sylvius* was grievouſly wounded in the thigh and in his right ſide. It is reported of *Barbadicus*, That lying that evening at the point of death, the Battel then ended, he like another *Epaminondas*, asked which part had got the Victory; and being told that the Chriſtians had got it, and that the Turks Fleet was moſt part taken, and the reſt ſunk or burnt; he with his eies caſt up to Heaven, gave unto God immortal thanks therefore, and not long after joyfully departed this life, to live in Bliſs for ever.

The right wing of the Turks Fleet ſore gaulled by the Galeaſſes.

A terrible Fight betwixt Chiroche *and* Barbadicus.

The death of Barbadicus.

Ciconia *hardly beſet, and in danger to have been loſt, is relieved.*

Ciconia in the mean time hardly beſet with ſix of the Enemies Gallies, (as we have before ſaid) was himſelf ſore burnt with Wild-fire and hurt in the face; and having endured a long and terrible fight, was now even at the point to have been loſt; when ſuddain relief coming in, he was now contrary to all hope ſaved, and therewith ſo much encouraged, that with his weary and wounded Souldiers, as Men from death revived, he afreſh charged the Enemy, and took one of his principal Gallies, with one of the Turks faireſt Enſigns, which in the Venetian Armory is yet there to be ſeen; of his worthy valour, his honeſt wounds in his face and the fore part of his Body, were moſt certain and undoubted witneſſes.

Not far off, in the ſame Wing *Joannes Contarenus* an honourable and valiant Gentleman, did with his great Shot exceeding great harm amongſt the Turks Gallies; which *Chiroche* perceiving, and therewith inraged, ran ſo fiercely upon the ſide of *Contarenus* his Gally, that with his Beak he had well near ſtemmed her; and preſently grapling faſt with her, was like to have boorded her; who nevertheleſs the Chriſtians notably repulſed, with greater ſlaughter than was thought poſſible for ſo ſmall a number to have made; neither did the Enemies fall unrevenged, but all imbrued with the Blood of the Chriſtians. Seldom hath been ſeen a more cruel fight, or more reſolute Captains to encounter hand to hand. But after the Battel had of long time ſtood doubtful, the hope of the Chriſtians encreaſed upon two cauſes, for which the courage of the Enemy quailed; Firſt for that many of the Turks being ſlain or wounded, they were brought to a ſmall number; Then for that both parties ſaw *Chiroche* himſelf ſlain; from which time the Enemy, as well deſtitute of a Leader to conduct them, as of freſh ſupplies to relieve them, began to be cut down right, or taken. Which their danger was the more encreaſed, becauſe the Gally bulged with the great Shot, was now leaky, and in danger to ſink; wherefore the Turks in that Wing overcome with deſpair, began to think rather how to ſave themſelves by flight than by fight, repoſing their truſt in nothing more than in the nearneſs of the Main. But as they were turning about toward the Shoar, they were prevented by the Chriſtians; who entring the Gally, and having ſlain or driven overboord almoſt all that were left, took *Chiroche*, yet breathing, but half dead; and ſeeing ſmall hope of his life, with freſh wounds made an end of him.

A hard fight betwixt Jo. Contarenus *and* Chiroche.

Chiroche *ſlain, and his Gally taken.*

Divers and doubtful was the whole face of the Battel; as fortune offered unto every Man his Enemy, ſo he fought; according as every Mans diſpoſition put into him courage or fear, or as he met with more or fewer Enemies, ſo was there here and there ſometime victory, and ſometime loſs. Many fights were in ſundry places ſeen mingled together; ſome Gallies whiles they run to ſtem others, are themſelves by others ſtemmed; ſome, which you would think were flying away, falling by fortune upon one victorious Gally or other, ſuddainly take them; other ſome, as if they had been of neither part, row up and down betwixt the Battels. The chance of War in one place lifteth up the vanquiſhed, and in another overthroweth the victorious; all was full of terror, error, ſorrow, and confuſion. And albeit that fortune had not yet determined which way to incline, yet the Chriſtians at length began to appear much ſuperior both in courage and ſtrength; and the Turks ſeemed now rather to defend themſelves, than to aſſail their Enemies.

A hard and doubtful Battel.

Bacianus in the Reeward intentively marked all the whole fight, and ever as need required, ſent in preſent aid, without reſpect whether they were the Popes Gallies, the King of *Spain*, or the Venetians, that were diſtreſſed. In this long and terrible fight it chanced, that the Turks ſeeing the Chriſtians Generals Gally hardly charged on the Prow by *Haly* Baſſa, to be almoſt bared of Defendants in the Poup, all the Souldiers having their hands full before, were about to have boorded her abaſt, and to that purpoſe were fetching a compaſs about her; Which *Bacianus* quickly perceiving, gliſtering in bright Armor came ſpeedily in with certain Gallies, and by oppoſing of himſelf againſt them, ſtaied their courſe. In all the Battel was not ſeen a more cruel fight; for having diſcharged many volleys of Shot, and Arrows and Darts without number, they grapled at length together, and came to the Sword, where with the formoſt, *Bacianus* not only with words, but with his preſence and valour wonderfully encouraged his Souldiers, having received in his Target of proof two ſmall Shot. Many were on both ſides ſlain. The Spaniards attempting ſundry times to have entred the Turks Gallies, were with great loſs repulſed; but not giving it ſo over, neither giving the Enemy leave to breath, or ſo much as to look behind him, Valour was vanquiſhed by Pertinacy, and the Spaniards having overthrown and ſlain their Enemies, enjoyed their Gallies.

A terrible fight betwixt Haly *Baſſa and* Don John.

Now had *Don John* with like courage and ſtrength, but with doubtful Victory, fought three hours and more with *Haly* Baſſa; when after ſo dreadful and dangerous a fight, and many a deadly wound on both parts given and received, our Men began to faint, and brought to the uttermoſt of their devoir, were in danger to have been overcome, had not *Don John* betaken himſelf to his only and laſt refuge. He had (as is before ſaid) reſerved under the Hatches four hundred of his beſt and ſelect Souldiers, for their Valour choſen out of the whole Army againſt all the events of ſo long and dangerous a Battel; theſe Men attentively attending every beck of *Don John*, upon ſign given, as was before appointed, ſuddainly ſtart out, and with a terrible cry and deſperate onſet aſſail the Enemy, before almoſt ſpent with labour and wounds. This freſh and unexpected company ſo ſuddainly grown up, firſt aſtonied, and afterwards confounded, and with a great ſlaughter vanquiſhed the Turks and poſſeſſed the Gally. The Baſſa deadly wounded in the head with a ſhot, and all imbrued with blood, was taken, and as a joyful ſpectacle brought to *Don John*; who ſeeing him ready to breath his laſt, commanded him to be diſpoiled of his Armor, and his head ſtruck off. Which preſently ſet upon the point of a Spear, he for a ſpace held up aloft with his own hand, as a trophy of his Victory, as alſo with the ſight thereof to ſtrike a terror in the minds of the other Turks, who in the other Gallies faſt by fought yet right valiantly; neither was he therein deceived; for the Turks beholding the known countenance of the Baſſa their late General, and a Flag of the Croſs ſet up in the top of his Gally, and the noiſe of the Chriſtians, crying Victory, running through the Army; were therewith ſo diſcouraged, that confounded with fear they turned their Gallies and with might and main made toward the Land, which was not much more than a mile off. Which *Canalis* and *Quirinus*, yet breathing with the late ſlaughter of the Turks, perceiving, with their Gallies hardly purſued the flying Enemy, and ſunk and took divers of their Gallies. *Partau* his Son by the ſtaying of the reſt got time to run his Gally on ground, and ſo forſaking her, ſaved himſelf and his Men by running aſhoar; ſo did alſo divers others run themſelves aground and forſake their Gallies, which preſently became a Prey unto the Chriſtians.

Haly *Baſſa ſlain.*

The Turks middle Battel diſcomfited.

Caracoza *the famous Pyrat ſlain*

In this hot conflict *Caracoza* the famous Pyrat (who abjuring the Chriſtian Religion, had turned Turk, and of long time done exceeding much miſchief upon the Coaſt of the Chriſtian Countries) valiantly fighting, was ſlain by *Buzzatharinus* of *Padua*, by whoſe death many were delivered of a great fear.

Haly Baſſa had brought forth with him his two Sons *Achmat* and *Mahomet*, the one twenty three years old, and the other thirteen, the Nephews of the great Emperor *Selymus*, by his Siſter married to *Haly*; them their Father had placed in a great Gally, with a ſtrong guard of the Janizaries; who ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the main Battel, with the danger now drawing near unto themſelves, were exceedingly afraid, and therefore to ſave themſelves, thought it beſt with all ſpeed to make toward the Main. But in ſo doing they were prevented by *Requiſcenius* the great Commander, who with his furious Spaniards boording the Turks, already diſmaied and running away, ſlew of them a great number; and after a great fight and much cruel execution done, took the Gally, and that which pleaſed him more, the two Sons of *Haly* both alive; in the time of which fight, the poor Chriſtians who faſt chained in the Gally, had as Slaves long ſerved in great miſery, now perceiving the Chriſtians to prevail, brake off their Gyves, looſed one another, and with ſuch Weapons as firſt came to hand luſtily laid about them, and notably furthered the Victory.

Notwithſtanding all this good ſucceſs, the fortune of the Battel ſtood yet doubtful in the right Wing. There ſtood in either Battel two of the moſt noble Chieftains one againſt another; on the Chriſtian part *John Andreas Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral; and for the Turks *Uluzales*; both moſt valiant and expert Commanders, well known the one to the other, for that they had of long uſed the ſame Seas, equal for their military diſcipline, as alſo for their noble acts, but far unequal for number of their Gallies; for the Turks had of one ſort and other almoſt twice ſo many. *Auria*, whether it were for that he would in the beginning of the Battel warily decline the danger, and not hazard his Gallies, wherein his chief Honour would be alſo indangered; or elſe afraid leſt the Enemy, who far exceeded him in number of Gallies, ſhould extend his Wing at large, and encloſe the Chriſtian Fleet behind; upon the ſignal of Battel given, ſhrunk farther off from the reſt of the Battel; but whether upon policy, that it might be at his choiſe either to fight, if the reſt of the Army prevailed, or to retire if they ſhould be overcome; or that he upon martial policy declined the force of too ſtrong an Enemy; divers Men diverſly gloſſed; but what the cauſe was indeed, the wiſeſt could not ſurely tell. Howſoever the matter ſtood, it ſeemed his purpoſe was by policy to countervail what he wanted in ſtrength. This his falling off ſeemed unto the Turks moſt ſtrange, to whom his quick departure ſeemed at the firſt in manner of a flight. Neither was *Auria* content with that ſpace he had firſt ſeparated himſelf from the Army; but the ſecond time fell off further, and there ſtaying and hovering aloof off, ſeemed to await ſome good opportunity to take the Enemy at ſome advantage; having in the mean time one of the Galeaſſes of *Piſa* lying before him, as it were in ſtead of a Bulwark, which with often ſhot much troubled the Enemy. *Uluzales* alſo extending his Wing, took ſuch a ſpace, as that he ſeemed able to have compaſſed in and encloſed *Auria*; yet offered not Battel, but rather lay as expecting if any advantage ſhould be given him

The doubtful lying of John Andreas Auria *with the right Wing of the Chriſtian Fleet.*

Twelve of the Venetian Gallies taken by Uluzales.

A notable fight of the Knights of Malta.

Uluzales *flieth.*

The Chriſtians hardly purſue the flying Enemy.

him by the Chriſtians, than raſhly or unadviſedly to offer himſelf or his Gallies to any deſperate danger. He had not long ſo lien, but that according to his deſire, twelve of the Venetian Gallies, which had withdrawn themſelves from *Auria*, and without any order or direction roamed to and fro, fell into his danger; theſe Gallies cut off from the reſt, *Uluzales* with wonderful celerity encloſed, and with the multitude of his Gallies boording them one by one, ſlew the Defendants, and took the Gallies. In this fight many of the Knights of the Order of St. *Stephen* moſt valiantly fighting were ſlain. *Benedictus Superantius* a noble Venetian, ſeeing moſt part of his Men ſlain, himſelf mortally wounded, and his Gally now almoſt taken; reſolving rather preſently to die, than to fall into the hands of his Enemies, deſperately put fire to the ſtore of Powder he had in the Gally, and blew up himſelf and his Souldiers that were left, with a great number of the Enemies together. The report of the great Ordnance, and noiſe of the Battel in that part of the Fleet being heard, they which had now in the middle Battel got the Victory, together turned their Gallies thitherwards to aid *Auria*, but not in one Squadron together, but coming along one after another, as every Man had ſooner or later cleared himſelf of his Enemy, amongſt the reſt, *Petrus Juſtinianus* (Admiral of the Gallies of *Malta*) coming formoſt, was encountred with three of the Turks Gallies, with whom he with his Knights had a great and moſt terrible fight. Which *Uluzales* beholding, and above all others hating the Knights of the Order, ſpeedily ſent in other three Gallies to help their fellows. So *Juſtinian* hardly beſet with ſix Gallies, and oppreſſed with the multitude of his Enemies, had loſt fifty of his moſt valiant Knights, with one of his Enſigns, and with much ado hardly defended himſelf. But being now brought to the laſt caſt, and the Gally in the judgment of all Men given for loſt, two other of the Gallies of *Malta*, who had ſo valiantly fought with other three of the Enemies Gallies, that they were now upon point to have taken them all, ſeeing the danger of their Admiral, forſook their vanquiſhed Enemies, and with all ſpeed came to reſcue him; where they found him yet alive, but ſhot in with three Arrows, and ſtill fighting couragiouſly at the Deck of his Gally, with thoſe few he had yet left, beſet round with their Enemies; but by the coming in of theſe two Gallies, as if it had been by help ſent from Heaven, the Turks were notably repulſed, and the Admiral with his Gally reſcued, as a prey out of the mouth of the greedy Lyon. *Uluzales* underſtanding that the main Battel and right Wing of the Fleet was overthrown by the Chriſtians; for fear gave over the fight, and leaving the Gallies he had taken, and hoiſing Sail, was the firſt in that Wing that fled. Which *Cardonius* perceiving, who was come in before the reſt, ſuddainly ſhewed himſelf at his back, and by aſſailing the hindermoſt Gallies, did what he might to ſtay their flight until the reſt of the victorious Gallies were come in. But whilſt he ſo eagerly purſueth the flying Enemy, fifteen of the Turks Captains inraged with ſuch an unwonted diſgrace, and mindful of their wonted proweſs, ſtaid their flight, and contrary to the expectation of the Chriſtians, turned themſelves and renewed the Battel: What minds they bare, the event ſhewed; for in a trice almoſt all *Cardinius* his Souldiers and Mariners were ſlain; nothing letted the taking of the Gally, but that *Uluzales* ſeeing *Don John*, *Columnius*, and *Venerius* near at hand, and making towards him, and *Auria* alſo coming faſt on, was afraid longer to ſtay, and therefore giving over the fight, fled as faſt as he could; yet carrying away with him one Gally of *Cyprus*, and one Enſign of the Knights of *Malta*, as teſtimonies of his own Valour when he ſhould appear before *Selymus*. The Chriſtians although weary of the long fight which they had almoſt by the ſpace of five hours endured, yet ſo long as they were in any hope to overtake any of their flying Enemies, hardly purſued them in chaſe; but when they perceived it prevailed not to follow farther, and that it was more than time to ſee to their weary and wounded Souldiers and Mariners, they ſtaied from farther purſuit; for why the night came now faſt on, under the covert whereof the crafty old Pyrat flying for life with Sails and Oars, eſcaped with thirty (or as ſome write, forty) Gallies again into the Bay of *Lepanto*.

The number of the Turks ſlain in the Battel of Lepanto, *diverſly reported.*

It was a right horrible ſpectacle to ſee, how in this Battel the Sea ſtained with Blood, and covered with dead Bodies, Weapons, and the Fragments of the broken Gallies; beſides the great number of them that were ſlain, and beaten into the Sea; many of the Turks blinded with fear, caſting away their Weapons, to eſcape the fury of the Enemy, threw themſelves headlong into the Sea; but finding no hope to recover the Land, laboured again to come to the Gallies; or elſe fainting by the way, were miſerably drowned. Others, either half dead, weak, and unskilful of ſwimming, or overcharged with their Armor, the Sea alſo devoured; yea many that could well ſwim, wearied and wounded, ſunk for fear. Others upon Planks and the pieces of the broken Gallies, ſought to ſave themſelves, and not knowing what to follow or what to ſhun, wofully periſhed. Other ſome ſwimming, and pitifully entreating their Enemies, rather to take them Priſoners than to kill them, were (as it often times chanceth where things are done upon choler, rather than upon diſcretion) without compaſſion ſlain; in which doing, the Chriſtians thought they did rather revenge former injuries to them done, than to do them any wrong; with ſome Mercy more prevailed than Wrath; who remembring the common chance of War, choſe rather to take the Turks Priſoners (wofully craving nothing but their Lives) than without mercy to kill them. The number of the Turks loſt in this moſt famous Battel, could hardly be known, by reaſon that many of them were drowned. *Antonius Guarnerius* writing the Hiſtory of this War, reporteth two and thirty thouſand to have periſhed; but they which writ more ſparingly thereof, reported not paſt half ſo many to have been ſlain; of whom theſe were of greateſt name; *Haly* Baſſa the General, *Mahomet Bey* (otherwiſe called *Chirocbe* or *Sirochus*) Governour of *Alexandria*, *Caſſanes* the Son of *Barbaruſſa*, with his Son *Malamur* Governour of *Mitilene*, *Gider* Governour of *Chios*, *Caſſambeius* Governour of the *Rhodes*, *Provi Aga*, Captain of *Naupulium*, *Muſtapha Zelibi* the great Treaſurer, *Caracoza* the famous Pyrat; with many others, whom but to name were tedious. The chief Priſoners there taken, were *Achmat* and *Mahomet* the Sons of *Haly* Baſſa, both afterwards ſent as Preſents to the Pope, of whom the eldeſt died by the way at *Naples*; the younger preſented unto the Pope by *Columnius* at *Rome*, was there honourably kept Priſoner; and *Mechmet Bey*, Governour of *Eubœa*; and about three thouſand five hundred others were in that Battel taken alſo. The chief of them that eſcaped by flight, were *Partau* Baſſa, who ſeeing all go to wrack, fled in time in a long Boat to land; and *Uluzales*, (who as it was afterwards certainly known)

The ſurpaſſing beauty of the Admiral Gally.

The Greek that ſlew the Baſſa, honourably rewarded.

known) but with five and twenty Gallies, and ten Galliots fled to *Lepanto.* Of the Enemies Gallies were taken an hundred threeſcore and one, forty ſunk or burnt; and of Galliots and other ſmall Veſſels were taken about ſixty. The Admiral Gally then taken amongſt the reſt, was ſo goodly and beautiful a Veſſel, that for beauty and richneſs ſcarce any in the whole Ocean was comparable unto her. The Deck of this Gally was on both ſides thrice as great as any of the others, and made all of black Walnut-Tree like unto Ebony, checkered, and wrought marveilous fair with divers lively Colours and variety of Hiſtories. There was alſo in her divers lively Counterfeits, engraven and wrought with Gold, with ſo cunning hand, that for the magnificence thereof it might well have been compared unto ſome Princes Palace. The Cabbin gliſtered in every place with rich Hangings wrought with Gold Twiſt, and ſet with divers ſort of precious Stones, with certain ſmall Counterfeits moſt cunningly wrought. Beſides this, there was alſo found in her great ſtore of the Baſſaes rich Apparel, wrought with the Needle, ſo couriouſly and richly emboſſed with Silver and Gold, that his great Lord and Maſter *Selymus* himſelf could hardly put on more royal or rich Attire. His Casket there alſo found with ſix thouſand Ducats in it, with a yearly Penſion of three hundred Ducats, was given in reward to a Greek, born in *Macedonia*, which ſlew the Baſſa; and was therefore alſo Knighted by *Don John*; who had alſo given unto him the Burrel of the Turks Standard, which at his return to *Venice* (where he had of long time before dwelt, and ſerved in the Arſenal) he ſold unto a Goldſmith; whereof the Senate having intelligence, redeemed it of the Goldſmith, paying for every Ounce a Ducat, and layed it up amongſt the Trophies of that moſt famous Victory. It was all of maſſive Silver, Guilt and Engraven round about with Turſhik Letters. On the one ſide was written, *God doth conduct and adorn the faithful in worthy enterpriſes: God doth favour* Mahomet. On the other ſide, *God hath no other God, and* Mahomet *is his Prophet.*

The number of the Chriſtians ſlain in the Battel of Lepanto.

This notable Victory thus happily obtained, *Don John* the General, with *Venerius* and *Columna*, the other two Admirals, came together; whom the General friendly embraced, but eſpecially *Venerius*, calling him Father, and attributing unto him the greateſt part of the Victory. Afterwards, all together with their hands and eies caſt up towards Heaven, they upon their knees gave immortal thanks to Almighty God. So did alſo the reſt of the Captains and Maſters; commending one anothers valour and good ſervice; but eſpecially theirs, who for their Religion and Country had there moſt honourably ſpent their lives; which were in number about ſeven thouſand five hundred ſixty ſix. Amongſt whom, the chief Men that were ſlain, were *Joh.* and *Bernardinus*, of the honourable Family of *Cordona* in *Spain*, *Horatio* Caraffa, and *Ferantes Biſballus*. *Virginius*, and *Horatius*, noble Romans, of the honourable Family of the *Urſini*. Of the Venetian Nobility, *Auguſtinus Barbadicus*, *Benedictus Superantius*, *Vincentius Quirinus*, *Joannes Lauretanus*, *Marinus Contarenus*, *Catherinus Malipetra*, *Georgius* and *Andreas Barbadicus*, *Marcus Antonius Landus*, *Franciſcus Bonus*, *Hieronimus Contarenus*, *Antonius Paſchaligus*, *Hieronimus Venerius*, all of the Order of the Senators. Beſides divers other honourable Gentlemen, who well deſerved to be enrolled in the eternal Monuments of Fame. Of the Knights of *Malta* were alſo many ſlain, amongſt whom of the German Nation theſe were chief; *Joachim Spart*, Commander of *Moguntia* and *Frankfort*, *Ro.* of *Hembergh*, Commander of *Hemmendorf*, and *Fra. Droſt*. Of them that were wounded, theſe were of greateſt name; *Don John* the General, *Venerius* the Venetian Admiral ſhot through the Foot, *Paulus Jordanus*, *Troilus Savel*, and *Mar. Molinus*, with divers others of leſs fame, to the number of almoſt ſeven thouſand.

Great was the joy conceived of this Victory, but to none more welcome, than to the poor Chriſtians faſt chained to the Turks Gallies, of whom twelve thouſand were thereby delivered from moſt miſerable Thraldom, and contrary to all hope reſtored to their ancient Liberty.

A general rejoyſing, eſpecially in Venice *for the Victory.*

Two days after this Victory, *Venerius* ſent *Humfredus Juſtinianus* with news thereof unto the Senate at *Venice*; who coming in at the Adriatick Port about noon the nineteenth of *October*, by ſhooting off of certain great Pieces, gave warning unto the City of his coming, which at that time hung in a great ſuſpence betwixt hope and fear. The Citiſens generally awaked with the report of the great Ordnance, came flocking by heaps to the Port, every Man longing to hear the firſt news. There they might ſee *Juſtinian* coming a far off with his Gally, but when he was come nearer, they might perceive all the Mariners attired like Turks, and four of the Turks Enſigns hanging behind at the Poup of the Gally, which filled their minds with the hope of good news, deeming it to be (as indeed it was) part of the ſpoil of the Enemy. But after that *Juſtinian* was landed (which he had much to do for the preſs) and was gon to the Court, with a world of people following after him, crying out for news; and had there delivered his Letters, and at large diſcourſed of all the ſucceſs of the Battel (which was forthwith blown into the City) and that the Mariners alſo after his departure had reported the Victory, and that the Enemy was in a great Battel overthrown; good God, how the people as Men overjoyed, ran up and down the Streets, doubling and redoubling the joyful name of Victory. The Senators alſo rejoycing together, gave thanks to God with publick Prayers and joyful Hymns in every Church; and afterwards by ringing of Bells, Peals of Ordnance, Bon-Fires, and other ſuch like things, ſhewed all the tokens of joy poſſible. And to make this joy the more general, all Priſoners were ſet at liberty, and all Debts that exceeded not the ſum of five and twenty Crowns, payed out of the common Treaſury; which was generally done through all the Venetian Seigniory; and a Decree made, That that day whereon the Victory was gotten, which was the ſeventh of *October*, dedicated to the memorial of *Juſtina*, ſhould for ever be kept Holy-day; and for the perpetual remembrance thereof, a great Maſs of Mony was coyned, with the impreſſion of *Juſtina* upon it, and an Inſcription declaring the Victory. Many alſo their Neighbor Princes ſent their Embaſſadors congratulatory to *Venice*; namely, the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Florence*, *Ferrara*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, and *Urbin*, and the Knights of *Malta*. In which ſo publick joy no Man was ſeen to put on any mourning Garments, or to ſhew any token of heavineſs, although many had loſt their deareſt Friends and neareſt Kinſmen; whoſe lives they reckoned not loſt, but given unto the Chriſtian Common-weal. The like rejoycing was alſo made in *Rome*, in *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicilia*, and *Malta*; eſpecially at ſuch time as Embaſſadors from their Neighbor Princes, came to joy them of this Victory; yea and afterwards in their Countries

tries further off was like rejoycing and ſigns of joy, as with us here in *England.*

This is that notable Battel, commonly called the Battel of *Lepanto,* fought near unto the Iſland *Curzolari,* the ſeventh day of *October,* in the year 1571. the like whereof was never fought at Sea againſt the Turk, wherein he loſt his chief ſtrength at Sea, with moſt of his beſt Sea Captains; and might thereby well perceive what he and his Succeſſors were to fear, if the Chriſtian Princes at unity amongſt themſelves, all diſcord ſet apart, ſhould in zeal of their Religion joyn their invincible forces againſt them.

A witty and fit compariſon made by a Turk to ſhew that the loſs of Cyprus *was greater than the loſe of the Battel at* Lepanto.

In the midſt of all this joy, generally conceived of the late Victory, one of the chief Priſoners of the Turks, hearing it compared with the loſs of *Cyprus* (for that *Selymus* had therein loſt his Fleet, his beſt Men of War, with great ſtore of Ordnance) by a fit Compariſon ſhewed it not to be ſo, ſaying, That the Battel loſt, was unto *Selymus* as if a Man ſhould ſhave his Beard, which would ere long grow again; but that the loſs of *Cyprus* was unto the Venetians, as the loſs of an Arm, which once cut off, could never be again recovered. Declaring thereby the great inequality of the loſs.

The ſpoil of the Enemy divided amongſt the confederates.

The rich Spoil taken from the Enemy in this moſt glorious Victory, was thus divided amongſt the Princes Confederate. Unto the Pope were allotted nineteen Gallies, two Galliots, nine great Pieces of Ordnance, two and forty leſſer Pieces, and fourſcore and one Priſoners. Unto the King of *Spain* eight and fifty Gallies and an half, ſix Galliots and an half, eight and fifty great Pieces and an half, eight great murthring Pieces and an half, an hundred twenty eight leſſer Pieces, and a thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen Priſoners. Unto the Venetians were aſſigned for their ſhare, nine and thirty Gallies and an half, four Galliots and an half, nine and thirty great Pieces and an half, five great murthring Pieces and an half, fourſcore and ſix leſſer Pieces, and a thouſand one hundred threeſcore and two Priſoners. The reſt were beſtowed upon ſuch other Princes as had given aid, or otherwiſe well deſerved in that ſervice.

The joy conceived of this Victory was not ſo great amongſt the Chriſtians, but that the ſorrow thereof was amongſt the Turks far greater. *Selymus* himſelf was then at *Hadrianople,* where eight days after the Battel, news was brought unto him, That his Fleet was overthrown and almoſt all taken or ſunk by the Chriſtians. Which ſo ſoon as he heard, he was ſtrucken with exceeding grief; and overcome with melancholy, would not that day ſuffer any Man to ſpeak with him. And the rumor of the overthrow ſtill encreaſing, had in ſhort time filled all places with fear, tears, mourning, and heavineſs; ſome bewailing their Parents, ſome their Children, ſome their Husbands, ſome their Friends or Kinſmen, there loſt. But that which moſt grieved the Turkiſh Emperor, was the loſs of ſo many worthy and expert Captains, of ſo many skilful Maſters and notable Souldiers; who brought up all their lives at Sea, were not thought inferior to any then living; beſides the perpetual ignominy and unwonted diſgrace, thereby inflicted unto him and his poſterity for ever. Wherefore full of wrath and indignation, he was about to have commanded all the Chriſtians in his Dominions (in number infinite) to be put to death. Doubting indeed nothing more, than that they weary of the Turkiſh Thraldom, and deſirous of innovation, ſhould with Weapons put into their hands, riſe up againſt him, and take part with the other Chriſtians his Enemies. But whilſt the other Baſſaes (as Men diſmaid with the cruelty of the command) ſtood all ſilent, *Muhamet* Baſſa for his former deſerts in great favour with the Tyrant, thought it good to make proof if his fury might by reaſonable perſwaſion be mitigated, and ſome better courſe taken, both for the honour of *Selymus* himſelf, and the common good of the State; yet well knowing how full of danger it was, in that tyrannical Government, openly to ſpeak any thing contrary to the good liking of the wilful Emperor, he durſt not apertly contradict him; but leaning as it were to his opinion and pleaſure, by little and little to draw from himſelf; and ſo before he were aware, to lead him into his own device, and by delay moderate the rigor of his former fury. To which purpoſe, he cunningly ſet upon him in this ſort.

Muhamet *Baſſa cunningly diſſwadeth* Selymus *from ſo rigorous a reſolution, by filling his head with moſt neceſſary conſiderations.*

Your anger (ſaid he) *moſt magnificent and invincible Emperor, againſt the Chriſtians, is moſt juſt; and in this my deſire exceedeth all others, That they ſhould endure and ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as they have of right deſerved. Yet it behooveth us ſo to ſatisfie our wrath, as Men better regarding their own good, than the hot deſire of revenge. And foraſmuch as I am for your many and undeſerved favours, in all Loyalty bounden unto your Highneſs above others; I reckon it in part my duty, ſo much the more frankly to deliver my opinion, ſuch as it is, in matter of ſo great importance. Neither will I attemper my Speech in any reſpect to the comforting of your grieved mind; for how can it be that you, who following the worthy examples of your noble Progenitors, have always heretofore ſhewed your moſt heorical and couragious mind, contemning all the chances of Fortune; ſhould not for ever after ſhew your ſelf to be rather dreaded of all Men, than dreadful of any? Let others, whoſe Kingdoms built upon uncertainty, are ſubject to the revolution of time, and chance of Fortune, yield unto their evil haps: As for you, whoſe Empire is founded by the mighty hand of the moſt Higheſt, and compaſſed about with an impregnable defence, and are your ſelf by the power of God appointed King and Comander of Nations and People in number infinite; Fortune may well a little prick you, but never overthrow you. As for this late miſchance, if it muſt need ſo fall out, as proceeding from ſome immutable and eternal cauſe; muſt it be therefore always fixt and permanent? Only thoſe miſeries and miſchiefs which the cowardiſe or fooliſhneſs of Men bring unto themſelves, have their firm and certain calamities; other common events coming from other cauſes, have alſo their common and ſuddain chances; but how this late miſhap at Sea may be amended, and your former Glory there again recovered, is hereafter to be conſidered. Now for the preſent* (*in mine opinion*) *this one thing, as of all others moſt neceſſary, is to be provided, That the weak and worſt fortified places of your Empire, moſt ſubject to danger, may be preſently ſtrengthned with ſtrong Garriſons; and that by your preſent repair to the Imperial City, you chear up the minds of your heavy and diſmayed Subjects; which done, what ſhall let, but that you may at your pleaſure be revenged to the full of the Chriſtians? For there is no cauſe why we ſhould fear the Chriſtians, ſix hundred times and more before overthrown; both our Enemies and we are the ſame Men, we have been for many Ages, we bear the ſame minds, the ſame bodies, the ſame ſtrength, the ſame weapons, wherewith we have gotten infinite Victories, both of them and others. And although ſuch be the ſtate of Man, as that he cannot otherwiſe but ſometime or other taſte of the worſt Tun; yet I think this preſent misfortune to be rather imputed unto ſome fatal cauſe to us unknown, than to the Valour of the Chriſtians. Beſides that, we may well enough oppoſe one overthrow againſt our* *ſo many and infinite Victories; yea, we are to give immortal thanks unto Almighty God, that we have by force of Arms ſubdued the rich and famous Iſland of* Cyprus, *and that your high deſigns have in that point ſorted to your hearts deſire. And hard it is in mine opinion to judge, whether this late unfortunate Battel ſhall more hurt us, or the Chriſtians; for beſides that the multitude of the Turks hath no feeling of ſo ſmall a loſs, they will not as Men diſcouraged, give themſelves to mourning and vain lamentations, but with greater courage and fury come forth again into Battel, and revenge this loſs with the infinite calamities of the Chriſtians; who after this their good hap, will according to their wonted manner give themſelves to exceſs; pleaſure, careleſneſs, and eaſe, unto their own farther confuſion. Thus have I in brief faithfully declared mine opinion; yet with that ſubmiſſive Loyalty, as that whatſoever ſhould proceed from the mouth of your Imperial Majeſty, ſhall be of me deemed moſt wiſely and magnificently conſidered of.*

The Baſſa was in ſuch grace and authority with *Selymus*, that his opinion in Counſel prevailed, and the Tyrants wrath by his perſwaſion was well aſſwaged. But by the coming of *Uluzales* to Court, the remainder of his former grief and melancholy was fully quieted; who after he had excuſed himſelf of the late overthrow, and declared what he had himſelf done in the Battel, and in teſtimony thereof, preſented him with one of the Enſigns of the Knights of *Malta*; told him alſo, how that he had left the Chriſtian Fleet ſore rent and torn, as that it could not poſſibly be made ſerviceable againſt the next year; which news was both of *Selymus* and the reſt gladly heard. In the mean time *Selymus* placed this *Uluzales* in the ſtead of *Haly* Baſſa that was ſlain; and ſtraitly commanded the great Officers which had the charge of his Navy, to build new ſhipping night and day; and further enjoyned every Governour out of his Province he had in charge, to have in readineſs one Gally or two againſt the next Spring, as well for the defence of his own Dominions, as to revenge the loſs he had ſo lately ſuſtained; whereunto alſo many of his great Men put to their helping hands, and chearfully furthered his deſire. New ſupplies of Souldiers were alſo preſently raiſed, and put into his frontier Towns, great ſtore of new Ordnance caſt, Weapons and Armor provided, and whatſoever elſe the neceſſity of the preſent time required. So with the Turks ſtood reaſon and induſtry, rather than with the Chriſtians, who (as ſome note) rather wanted diſcretion how to uſe the Victory, than Valour to gain the ſame; which whether it chanced for that proſperity begetteth negligence, or that Men joying in their preſent Bliſs, regard little the time to come, I leave it to the judgment of the wiſer to determine.

Selymus *repaired his Navy with all diligence poſſible.*

The Chriſtian Fleet diſſolved.

After this ſo memorable a Victory, the three great Commanders of the Fleet ſat in Counſel to conſult, what farther courſe they were beſt to take. But foraſmuch as Winter began now to approach, and that they could not do much until their Fleet were new furniſhed and manned, they all reſolved for that time to diſſolve the Fleet, and the next Spring in the beginning of *April*, to meet together again at *Corcyra*. Whereupon *Don John* and *Columnius* returned to *Meſſina*, where they in ſafety arrived in *November*; and departing thence, and taking their leave the one of the other, arrived, *Don John* at *Naples*; and *Columnius* at *Rome*, where they were in both places with great joy and triumph received.

The Venetians for all that grieved with the loſs of *Cyprus*, gave not ſo over, but repairing their Navy with 30 Gallies, wherein were embarked 6000 Souldiers, won a Caſtle in *Epirus* called *Margarita*; and alſo recovered the Town of *Suppoto*, which the Turks had that Summer before taken from them; but now hearing of this overthrow, did upon the approach of the Venetian Fleet, again forſake it. The Gallies alſo of *Crete* conducted by *Canalis*, intercepted many of the Turks Veſſels laded with Captives and the Spoils of *Famaguſta*, as they were paſſing thence to *Conſtantinople*.

Suppoto *again recovered by the Venetians.*

Although upon the late obtained Victory, a certain reconciliation had been made betwixt *Don John* and *Venerius*, yet of the former diſſention remained an inward heart-burning of one of them againſt the other; for which cauſe the Spaniards requeſted the Venetians to appoint another Admiral in his place. *Venerius* was now indeed a Man of great years, and his ſtrength far ſpent; yet for that in his aged Body reſted great wiſdom and courage, and that they thought him for his great deſerts worthy all Honour, they were wonderful loath, and unwilling therein to gratifie the Spaniard; for why, they well knew there was no other cauſe of the Spaniards proud hatred, but that he had ſtood againſt them upon the Honour of the Venetians; and farther, They liked not that the Spaniard ſhould ſo preſumptuouſly preſcribe unto them, whom they ſhould place or diſplace, in or out of their honourable Offices. Nevertheleſs, not forgetting what commodity came by concord, and what evils of diſcord, and that they might not againſt ſo mighty an Enemy well ſpare the help of the Spaniard, they reſolved to make choice of ſome other; who ſucceeding *Venerius*, might with one conſent manage their Wars together with *Don John* and *Columnius*. There was then one *Jacobus Fuſcarinus* their chief Governour in *Dalmatia*, who but a little before had notably fortified *Jadera* and the other frontier Towns, and for the ſpace of fourteen months had notably repreſſed the furious incurſions of the Turks; of him then abſent and not deſirous of the place (as of a Man of worthy deſert) the whole State by general conſent made choiſe for their Admiral and General by Sea againſt the Turk; which moſt honourable place he received not with all the ſolemn ceremonies thereto belonging at *Venice*, as the manner was, but at *Jadera*; from whence he in the Admiral Gally ſent for that purpoſe by *Aloyſius Grimanus* his ſucceſſor in *Jadera*, ſailed over to *Corcyra*; where he found the old Admiral *Venerius*, with no leſs care providing for all things, than if he ſhould himſelf have ſtill continued the War. Of which great care *Fuſcarinus* at his coming eaſed him, by taking it wholly upon himſelf.

Caſtra Novum *in vain attempted by the Venetians.*

Whilſt *Fuſcarinus* thus lay making his preparation againſt the next Spring at *Corcyra*, *Sara Martinengus*, who had the charge of the Adriatick (by the Counſel of *Venerius*, who was now returned to *Venice*) upon the ſuddain landed his Men, and beſieged *Caſtra Novum*, a ſtrong Town of the Turks in the Borders of *Iſtria*; where at his firſt coming he took the Suburbs, and had in ſhort time brought the Town to great extremity. But in the height of his hope to have won the Town, hearing that the Beglerbeg of *Græce* was with great power coming thither, he was glad to raiſe his Siege, and with all ſpeed to get him again to Sea. The Turks in like manner, to diſtreſs the ſtrong Town of *Cataro*, holden by the Venetians in the Borders of *Dalmatia*, built a great and ſtrong Fort upon the paſſage from Sea to the Town, wherein they placed great ſtore both of Men and Artillery; in hope by keeping them of the Town from all relief by Sea, at length to gain the Town which they had many times in vain attempted by force; for by Land it was already environed with the cruel Enemy, poſſeſſing the Country round about it. *Jacobus Superantius* the great Providetor, then

Superantius relieveth Cataro, and taketh a great Fort of the Turks.

lying at *Corcyra* with the Admiral, underſtanding how *Cataro* a Town of no ſmall importance, was thus both by Sea and Land by the Enemy diſtreſſed; with twenty Gallies manned with the moſt choice Souldiers could be pickt out of the whole Fleet, took upon him the raiſing of the Fort, and relieving of the Town. *Superantius* with this ſelect Company, and certain other Gallies which met him by the way, came by night before the mouth of the Bay of *Cataro*, and there dividing his Fleet, left the one part thereof at Anchor before the Fort, and with the other himſelf couragiouſly paſſed by the Fort, further into the Bay; at whom the Turks out of the Fort made divers ſhot, but (by reaſon it was dark) to ſmall purpoſe. In paſſing by, *Superantius* took ſuch view as he could of the Fort, and by and by began on that ſide to batter the ſame; as did alſo the other Gallies on the other ſide; and withal, landed their Men on both ſides; who upon ſignal given, ran reſolutely to the Fort, and by plain force entring the ſame, prevailed upon the fearful Turks, and put them to the Sword every Mothers Son; ſo that of all that great Garriſon, was not one left alive to carry news of the ſlaughter. This Fort was in length five hundred Paces, but not ſtrong towards Land, from whence no ſuch fear was doubted. In it was taken ſeventeen great Pieces of Ordnance, with much fair Armor, and great abundance of Victuals; and ſeven Galliots which lay at Anchor under the Fort. *Cataro* thus relieved, *Superantius* with Victory returned again to *Corcyra*.

1572. *Fuſcarinus* the Venetian Admiral with all things in readineſs, having long lien at *Corcyra*, expecting the coming of the Confederates, as was before appointed; ſent *Superantius* the Providetor with five and twenty Gallies to *Meſſina*, to haſten the coming of *Don John*, and to attend upon him by the way. But coming thither, and thinking to have found a great Fleet and a ſtrong power in good forwardneſs to have ſet forward, he found ſuch ſmall preparation, as well ſhewed the Spaniards ſmall care for repreſſing of the Turk, and that they would not be very forward in the ſervice intended. Which filling him with grief and indignation, cauſed him to complain unto himſelf, of their unfaithfulneſs, and to bewail the ſtate of his Country, with the whole Chriſtian Commonweal; for *Don John* had before ſolemnly promiſed unto the Venetian Embaſſador, that all things ſhould be in readineſs againſt the appointed time; but now a great part of Summer was paſt, when ſcarce ſome few Companies, and about fifty Gallies were met together at *Meſſina*; and when *Auria* would come with the reſt, no Man could tell. So that the careful Providetor ſtood now no leſs in doubt of the Spaniards delay, than of the Turks fury.

Selymus *ſendeth out* **Uluzales** *with two hundred Gallies.*

Selymus, after the great overthrow he had received at the Iſlands *Corzolares*, for fear he ſhould be driven quite out of the Sea, was above all things careful for the renewing of his Navy; and having partly new built, partly repaired two hundred Gallies, commended them to the conduct of *Uluzales*; with expreſs charge, That by how much things had fallen out worſe the laſt year, he ſhould with ſo much the more care now beware the like danger; and not to go out of the bounds of the Archipelago, or to adventure Battel but upon advantage, or at leaſtwiſe upon an even hand.

Uluzales *a Renegate Chriſtian and now the Turks Admiral.*

This *Uluzales* (otherwiſe called *Occhiali*) was an Italian born in *Calabria*, who in his youth taken at Sea by the Turks, and chained in the Gally, and afterwards renouncing his Faith, by many degrees grew unto the higheſt preferments among the Turks, and ſo became an exceeding Plague as well to his own Country as all other of the Chriſtians bordering upon the Mediterranean. He now Admiral for the Turk, after the manner of the proud Barbarians, threatned with Fire and Sword to be revenged upon the Venetians; which known at *Venice*, much troubled them, as well acquainted with the fury of the old Arch-Pyrat. Beſide that, *Ant. Barbarus* their Embaſſador, all the time of this War kept in ſafe cuſtody at *Conſtantinople*, had by Letters certified them, what a great Fleet, and what a ſtrong Army *Selymus* had provided againſt them; and that he himſelf told 250 ſail of Gallies when they ſet forward from *Conſtantinople*, beſide ſome other that were to meet with them at *Calipolis*; and that therefore they ſhould beware how they encountred with the Turks Fleet but upon equal ſtrength. It was alſo at the ſame time commonly reported, That King *Philip* chief of the Confederates, careleſs of the Wars againſt the Turk in the Eaſt, was about to turn his Forces upon the Kingdom of *Tunes* or *Algiers*, nearer unto him; as indeed he did the year following. The Venetians intangled with ſo many difficulties, were even at their wits end, and day by day the Senate ſat from the riſing of the Sun to the ſetting of the ſame, conſulting how all theſe miſchiefs were to be remedied. But for as much as the greateſt danger was to be feared from the Turks Fleet, as then hovering even over their heads; they by Letters commanded *Fuſcarinus* their Admiral, That whether the Confederates came unto him or not, he ſhould forthwith take his Courſe toward the Eaſt, and there according to the Enemies deſigns, and his own diſcretion and valour, to do what he ſhould think beſt to be done for the common good of his Country; and not to refuſe to joyn with the Enemy in Battel, if he ſaw any good hope of Victory. Neither ceaſed they at the ſame time, both by their Embaſſadors and Letters, earneſtly to call both upon the Pope and the King, to haſten their Forces to encounter the Enemy before he ſhould come out of his own Seas; and to carry the terror of the War home to his own doors, rather than to receive it at their own. The like Meſſage was alſo done to *Don John*, putting him in mind what his place, what the time, and what the danger of the time required; entreating him (if it were poſſible) of himſelf to add ſomething unto that haſt which the neceſſity of ſo important a cauſe required. Who nevertheleſs, for all the Meſſengers and Letters to him ſent (which were many) went ſtill on fair and ſoftly, delaying from day to day; telling, That he would by and by come, and that the Spaniards would always be ſo good as their word. Which was ſo far from his thought, that afterwards finding one excuſe after another, he not only ſtaied his coming, but called back again *Requiſenius* alſo, whom he had ſent before with twenty Gallies to *Corcyra*.

Superantius *preſſeth* **Don John.**

Now were two months (fitteſt for the Wars) vainly ſpent; when *Superantius* grieved to ſee time to no purpoſe ſo ſlip away, and fearing leſt the reſt of the Summer ſhould to as ſmall effect in like manner paſs alſo, with great inſtance importuned him to haſten his journey. Then at length *Don John* anſwered, That the Venetians requeſted but reaſon, neither that he wiſhed for any thing more, than to ſatisfie their deſires; but that a greater care hindred the leſs, which was firſt to be prevented: He was advertiſed (as he ſaid) that the French King pretending the ſuppreſſing of certain Pyrats, had aſſembled a great Fleet at *Rochel*, with purpoſe indeed to invade *Spain*, now that the King was buſied in theſe Wars againſt the Turk; and that therefore they muſt pardon him if he preferred the regard of *Spain* before others, being expreſly commanded from the King, not to depart from *Meſſina* until he had other commandment from him. But whether this excuſe by *France* proceeded of a true fear or otherwiſe, the Venetians much doubted; and the rather, for that the French King underſtanding thereof by the Venetians, was therewith (as reaſon was) exceedingly offended; proteſting, that he was ever ſo far from that purpoſe of hindering any the Confederate Princes in that their Religious War, that if the troubles of his own Country would have ſo permitted, he would gladly have given them aid therein. Many there were alſo that thought, *Envy the ancient Enemy of Vertue and Valour*, to have had a great power in his delay; doubting whether the Spaniards would more rejoyce of the Victory well hoped for, if they ſhould joyn with the Venetians; or grieve if the ſame ſhould by the Venetians be obtained without them. *Superantius* weary of diſcourſes and long expectation, and almoſt out of hope of any help in time from the Spaniard, how untowardly ſoever things went, thought better yet warily to moderate his grief than in ſo dangerous a time to give any occaſion for the Spaniard to fall quite off. Yet ſpake he not fauningly or flatteringly of the matter, but with a certain modeſt gravity declared, That he had thought Heaven would ſooner have fallen, than that *Don John* would not at the appointed time have come to *Corcyra*. And withal beſought him, and wiſhed him to beware that he brought not the common State into ſome great danger; if they had to do with ſuch an Enemy as might be delayed with, then he ſaid he could eaſily abide delay; but now for that the War and the Enemy was ſuch, as wherein, or with whom never any General had delayed without loſs, to what end did he longer defer or trifle out the time? Or what other Fleet did he expect? If they ſhould divide their Forces, then were they all too weak, but united together, ſtrong enough to defend the common cauſe. The nearer the Enemy came, the more haſte were to be made to joyn with the Venetian Fleet. And what could be (as he told him) more honourable or glorious, than for him a noble young Gentleman royally deſcended, of whom the World had conceived a great hope, that he would in Martial Honour exceed the glory of his moſt famous Anceſtors, again to vanquiſh the proud Turk, the greateſt and moſt mighty Monarch of the World; to fight the Battel of the Higheſt, to aſſure the Chriſtian Common-wealth againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy, and to purchaſe unto himſelf immortal Glory and Renown? As for the French, there was no ſuch thing to be feared as was pretended, who with ſuch ſlender preparation, not worth the name of a Fleet, was not ſo unadviſed as to ſet upon a Kingdom of ſuch ſtrength and power as *Spain*. Furthermore he ſaid, that it concerned not the Venetians more than the King himſelf, to have the Turks repreſſed; whoſe Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicilia*, and *Spain*, were no leſs than their Territory, expoſed to danger by Sea. The good ſucceſs of their Affairs in the Eaſt would open the way to the Conqueſt of *Africk*; but if the Turk ſhould prevail, then were they to deſpair, not of *Africk*, but of all *Italy*, *Sicily*, yea and of *Spain* it ſelf. The time (he ſaid) and neceſſity of the War, with the extremity of the danger of the whole and common State, required that he ſhould with all his power and ſpeed poſſible, take upon him the defence of the common cauſe, or to ſay more truly of the Chriſtian Common-weal, then ſo dangerouſly impugned. Theſe reaſons drawn from the common good and the truth it ſelf, much moved the General; but the Kings pleaſure was to be preferred before all reaſons or dangers that could be alledged. But hearing afterward, what reſolute command the Venetian Senate had ſent unto their Admiral, he became exceeding careful; for he feared leſt if the Admiral ſhould without his help fight the Battel and gain the Victory, he would convert all the glory thereof unto himſelf; but if he ſhould chance to be overthrown, it would turn to his utter reproach and perpetual infamy, that in ſo neceſſary a time he had withdrawn himſelf from the common cauſe. Wherefore as a Man perplexed, and in doubt what to do, he ſtood for a while as one at his wits end; yet at laſt, he upon deliberation reſolved to take a middle Courſe, and ſo neither without the command of the King (by whoſe preſcript order all was to be done) to depart with the Fleet from *Meſſina*; neither altogether to fruſtrate the Confederates of the expected aid. And to that purpoſe ſent two and twenty Gallies under the conduct of one *Lilly* of *Andrada* (a noble Gentleman) to the Venetian Admiral at *Corcyra*; with whom went alſo *Columnius* with the Popes Fleet. Now was *Pius Quintus* the late Pope dead, and *Vigo Boncompanius*, by the name of *Gregorius Decimus Tertius*, Pope in his ſtead; who upon the ſame conditions with his predeceſſor, had entred into the League, and liking very well of *Columnius*, kept him ſtill for his Admiral.

Don John *in doubt whether to ſend aid to the Venetians or not.*

He ſendeth **Lilly** *of* **Andrada**, *with* 22 *Gallies.*

Long had *Fuſcarinus* expected the coming of the Confederates, and albeit that the year was far ſpent (*Auguſt* being then come) and no ſuch aid ſent as he had expected; yet deſiring to do ſomething worth the remembrance, and beſeeming their honour, he earneſtly perſwaded *Columnius* and *Lilly* to ſet forward with him toward the Eaſt, and with their united Forces to give the Enemy Battel; telling them, That if they were all of like courage, they ſhould go not only to the glory of the preſent Battel, but to the great honour and advancement of the whole Chriſtian Commonweal. After that, he extenuated the power of the Enemy; ſaying, That he could not but marvel, from whence ſuch a number of Gallies as was reported, could ſo ſuddainly be gathered, or whereupon ſo great confidence and boldneſs was grown unto them, ſo lately overthrown and put to flight; The Enemies Fleet (he ſaid) was the year before overcome and diſperſed, the Captains and Mariners ſlain; and that therefore it was not credible, that ſo many Gallies could with ſuch celerity be built, and ſuch a number of Mariners and Maſters as was needful, in ſo ſhort time provided; That the proviſion of the Enemy was by flying Fame made far greater than indeed it was or poſſibly could be; for why, they might eaſily gueſs what the Enemy was able to do, by the Chriſtians themſelves, who could not without much ado and great labour build their Fleets, and train up their Mariners and Maſters; and that therefore letting Fame flie, which commonly maketh things greater and more dreadful than they are; he was verily perſwaded, that the Enemy was glad to uſe moſt unskilful and ignorant as well Mariners, Maſters as Souldiers; who ſuddainly taken up in the inland Countries, and put into the Gallies, knew not ſo much as the very names of the Ropes and Tacklings, and other Equipage; and then thoſe Gallies which they had were like enough to be but weak, as of them which were the laſt year rent and bruiſed, and now again botched up; or in haſte built of green Timber, could not be nimble or greatly ſerviceable. Wherefore he exhorted them, as valiant Men to ſet forward againſt the Enemy; and that with the greater courage, for that the laſt years Victory had opened unto them the way for the gaining of another. Which if it ſhould ſo fall out, as good hope there was, they ſhould thereby take from the proud Enemy both power and hope (but in long time) to be able to recover his ſtrength at Sea; ſo that they in the mean time without fear, might at their pleaſure take the rich Iſlands in the Archipelago. Now if the Turks declining Battel, ſhould retire themſelves into the Helleſpont, then might they with Fire and Sword ſpoil all the Frontiers of their Dominion on this ſide the Straits, and open a way unto the Chriſtians to do great matters.

Hardly were *Columnius* and *Lilly* perſwaded by the Admiral; neither did they thereunto give their conſent, until it was decreed, That they ſhould not in any caſe joyn Battel with the Enemy, but with their Gallions and Galeaſſes firſt placed in the front of the Battel, in whom conſiſted the greateſt hope of the Victory. So ſetting forward toward the Enemy, and come to *Commentitia*, Letters were brought unto them from *Don John*, certifying them, That he was now by Letters from the King commanded to come towards the Eaſt, and to joyn his Forces with the Confederates; but yet that for certain days he could not come, until he were better provided of all things neceſſary; and that therefore they ſhould in the mean time carefully look unto all things, promiſing ſo ſoon as he poſſibly could to come unto them. Upon theſe Letters, *Columnius* and *Lilly* began to doubt, whether to go on further, or to expect the coming of the General; yet foraſmuch as he had not expreſly written any thing concerning their ſtaying, and *Fuſcarinus* urged them forwards, on they went, with their Fleet divided into three Battels.

The number and order of the Chriſtian Fleet.

The whole Fleet conſiſted of 155 Gallies, ſix Galeaſſes, and twenty tall Ships; in the right Wing was *Superantius*; in the left Wing *Canalius*; and in the middle Battel, *Columnius*, *Fuſcarinus*, and *Lilly*; and in the Rereward followed *Quirinus*. Before each Battel went two of the Galeaſſes ſtill in readineſs for preſent Battel. In this order they came firſt to *Zacynthus* (commonly called *Zanta*) and ſo to *Cerigo*; the next day after to *Colubraria* (commonly called *Dragonaria*) over againſt *Cerigo*. Here *Angelus Suriavus* a valiant Gentleman, ſent before to diſcover the Enemy, and what ſtrength he was of, returning unto the Fleet, declared unto the Admiral, That the Turks Fleet, conſiſting of 160 Gallis, ſixty Galliots, and four great Ships, lay about *Malvaſia*, in the entrance of the Bay called *Sinus Argolicus*, upon the Borders of *Peloponneſus*, about fifty miles off from the Chriſtian Fleet. Shortly after, the ſame Fleet was again diſcovered making for *Malea*; whereupon the Chriſtians, before reſolved to fight whereſoever they ſhould meet the Enemy, forthwith put themſelves in order of Battel, and ſo with their Galeaſſes in the front, made with what ſpeed they could toward him. Theſe two Fleets were thought for many reſpects almoſt equal; the Enemy was in number more, but inferior in ſtrength.

The Chriſtian Fleet and the Turks almoſt equal.

The Chriſtian Fleet by reaſon of the heavineſs of the Galeaſſes, made but ſmall way; and the Enemy afraid of the great ſtore of Ordnance the Galeaſſes carried, durſt not come near them. The Turks Fleet was rather nimble than ſtrong, but ours more firm and forward. Look wherein each exceeded the other, therewith they endevoured to help themſelves and annoy the Enemy. The Chriſtians fearing to be circumvented by the multitude of their Enemies, oppoſed their Ships and Galeaſſes before them as a moſt ſure fortreſs; and the Turk, by how much he had had the worſe ſucceſs the year before, was ſo much the more careful to beware how he endangered himſelf within the reach of the Galeaſſes.

The Turk warily declineth Battel.

The Chriſtians deſired nothing more than to fight and to come to handy Blows; but the Turk, who thought it ſufficient for the preſent not to be overcome, ſometime made away as faſt as he could, and by and by ſtayed again, if happily he might have taken the Gallies ſeparated from the Galeaſſes; never ſeeming willing to adventure further than reaſon and diſcretion would. The Enemy ſeeing the Chriſtian Fleet coming ſtill on, and ready to give Battel, firſt ſeemed as if he would have done the like, but afterwards turned his Courſe upon the right hand, and kept aloof alongſt the Coaſt of *Malea*; At which time the Chriſtians, although they were very deſirous to have followed them, yet the Turks with their nimble Fleet were quickly too far gon for the Chriſtian Fleet to overtake them, eſpecially with their heavy Ships. That day almoſt ſpent as it were in the chaſe of the Enemy, towards the going down of the Sun, the Enemy put into the current of the Sea betwixt *Cerigo* and the Hares Iſland, in bredth about ten miles, and there dividing their Fleet into three parts, lay in good order, as expecting the coming of the Chriſtians, with the Prows of their Gallies turned, as if upon the confidence of the place, which they had filled overthwart, they had purpoſed nothing more than to fight. Yet both Fleets ſeemed reſolved; the one not to fight without the Galeaſſes, and the other not to come near thoſe hot Ships, from whom they had but the year before received ſo great harm.

Uluzales *meaning nothing leſs, yet maketh ſhew of Battel.*

And although the Enemy, as was afterwards known, purpoſed nothing leſs than to fight, but upon great advantage; yet fearing by open flight to diſhonour his Lord and Maſter, and by granting as it were of Victory, to encreaſe the Fame of the Chriſtians, the crafty Pyrat made a great ſhew of that he leaſt indeed purpoſed. For pretending a great deſire to fight, he indeed deluded the Chriſtians hope; who although the Wind had failed them, yet in hope the Enemy would abide them Battel, with much labour and rowing came ſo near him, that the great Shot began to flie too and fro on both ſides;

The Turks politickly retire.

but when the matter ſhould have come to have been tried by dint of Sword, then it plainly appeared what the Enemy had indeed purpoſed; for ſtill keeping the Prows of his Gallies upon the Chriſtians, he by little and little ſhrunk back; and beſide that the ſhadow of the night began then to approach, he cauſed all his great Ordnance, charged only with Powder, to be ſhot off, and ſo in the thick of the ſmoke retired unſeen; colouring his ſubtil departure alſo, by certain Lights left in their Cock-Boats, making ſhew as if the whole Fleet had ſtill there ſtayed. By this means the Turks with great celerity eſcaped, being alſo holpen in this, that the Chriſtians hindred by the heavineſs of the Galeaſſes, could not but fair and ſoftly purſue them; for theſe Galeaſſes, as they are Veſſels of great ſervice, ſo are they alſo heavy and unweldy, and not fit for chaſe. The departure of the Enemy at length known, the Chriſtians alſo unwilling to fight by night, returned to *Cerigo*.

The Chriſtians deſirous of Battel, go againſt the Turks.

Two days after, the Turks ſtayed in the Bay of *Tenarus* (now called *Metapan*) and the Chriſtians at *Cerigo*; contented in that, that the Enemy was the cauſe that the Battel was not fought, and reckoning his weary and covert declining of Battel, as a ſecret confeſſion of the Victory. The third day after, the Chriſtians deſirous of nothing more than to joyn in Battel with the Enemy, in their former order ſet forward from *Cerigo*, and ſailing all the night, were in the break of the day deſcried from Land by the Turks; whereupon *Uluzales* by ſhooting off of certain warning Pieces commanded all his Men to go aboord, and to put themſelves in readineſs for Battel. And now the Chriſtians were not far off, when as the Turks (leſt declining of Battel might reprove them of fear) came out of the Haven, with their Fleet divided into three Battels; whereof the left Wing was extended a great way into the Sea, the right Wing ſtill keeping near unto the Main, and in the middle Battel was *Uluzales* himſelf; who came all on faſter than the Tide drave them, ſtaying their Courſe oft times of purpoſe, to have drawn the Gallies of the Chriſtians from the Galeaſſes and Ships. *Uluzales* ſeeing his Fleet thus in order, and fearing nothing more than the Galeaſſes, commanded both the Wings of his Fleet (having in each of them fourſcore Gallies) to fetch a great compaſs about, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, aloof off from the Galeaſſes, and ſo to aſſail the Wings of the Chriſtians on the ſides or behind; in hope ſo to have diſordered their Battel, and without danger to have drawn the Gallies from the Galeaſſes and the other heavy Ships. Which their intent the Chriſtians perceiving, in their Wings turned about their Gallies alſo, in manner of the new Moon, their main Battel ſtill facing the middle Battel of the Turks. The Wings of the Turks Fleet thus far ſeparated from the middle Battel, ſeemed to preſent unto the Chriſtians a great advantage; which *Fuſcarinus* (intentive to all the offers of good Fortune) quickly perceiving, and calling unto *Columnius* and *Lilly*, and ſhewing them the Enemies main Battel at hand, and the Wings gone a great way off, requeſted and perſwaded them, That not ſtaying for the heavy Ships and Galeaſſes, they would with him upon the ſuddain aſſail the Enemies middle Battel now deſtitute of the Wings; not doubting but ſo to overthrow the Enemies greateſt ſtrength there, before the Wings could, now they were ſo far gon, joyn themſelves to the Battel again. What could (as he ſaid) have hapned more wiſhedly, than to have their Battel divided? So that they might at more advantage fight againſt every part thereof, now ſeparated, than againſt all three parts at once. If they had thought themſelves not only equal, but too ſtrong for the whole Enemies Fleet united, ſhould they not the better overcome them apart and diſperſed? The opportunity, as he ſaid, was but ſhort, and therefore to be forthwith reſolved upon. If they would take the preſent occaſion of Victory then offered, and as reſolute Men charge their Enemies, little fearing any ſuch thing, they ſhould by their celerity and valour, teach the Turks what the Chriſtian diſcipline of War and power was able to do; but if they would therein uſe delay, they ſhould ere long in vain wiſh for the like occaſion they had let ſlip, when as their Battel was again ſtrengthned with the Wings. This the Admirals Speech was of moſt that heard it joyfully received, and his Counſel well liked; and that with ſuch a general chearfulneſs of the Souldiers, as ſhewed in them no want of courage to have given the Enemy preſent Battel. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* being of the ſame mind they had been always, ſaid it were dangerous ſo to do, for fear of drawing the whole three Battels of the Enemy at once upon them, againſt which they ſhould be too weak, without the help of the Galeaſſes and heavy Ships; and therefore ſaid flatly, That without thoſe Veſſels ſo much feared of their Enemies, they would not in any caſe hazard the fortune of a Battel. But whether *Columnius* and *Lilly* were of that opinion for that they ſo thought, or were ſo charged by *Don John* (of whom they altogether depended) not to fight in his abſence, many doubted. The Wings of the Chriſtians in turning about to confront the Wings of the Enemy, were a little diſordered; which the Turks perceiving, and taking the preſent opportunity, with fifteen of their Gallies were about to have charged the ſtragling Gallies; which *Superantius* perceiving, to ſtay their Courſe, went out couragiouſly againſt them with four Gallies, and made with them a great fight; in the heat whereof, *Superantius* ſeeing forty more of the Enemies Gallies coming towards him, and doubting to be encloſed, with all ſpeed ſent for relief, which came preſently in, namely twenty Gallies, with two of the Galeaſſes; which forthwith ſent their thundring Shot ſo thick and furiouſly amongſt their Enemies, that in a little time eighteen of their Gallies were by them all rent and torn; and the Turks therewith diſmaied, were glad in ſuch haſt to return, as if they had rather fled than retired. *Superantius* having at that fight but one of his Gallies ſhot through, returned again unto his place. Of this light fight many deemed what would have been the event of the whole Battel, if the opinion of *Fuſcarinus* had prevailed. Both the Fleets falling again into their order, although the Chriſtians could not ſo faſt follow, as the Turks went before them; yet came they ſo near them, that oftentimes they changed Bullets, as well with their ſmall Shot as their great. And yet for all that, it was by many ſigns gathered, that neither the Turks would abide preſent Battel, neither the Chriſtians longer delay, if by their Enemies they ſo might. The Chriſtians had agreed (as is before ſaid) not to joyn in Battel without their Galeaſſes and tall Ships; which *Uluzales* well underſtood, both by the Fugitives and his own Eſpials, as alſo by their manner of ſailing. And he himſelf, although he had no great deſire to fight, yet to be the better able to fruſtrate the endeavors of the Chriſtians (who with great labour drew with them the Galeaſſes and other heavy Ships) ſent his chargeable great Ships to *Malvaſia*, there to be unrigged; whereby he diſcharged himſelf of a great burthen, and made himſelf able at his own choice and pleaſure, to leave or take, to fight or not; and alſo with ſuch Souldiers and other neceſſaries as were in the ſame great Ships, ſupplied the wants of his whole Fleet. By which policy the matter was brought to that paſs, that if the Chriſtians would needs draw the Enemy to Battel, they muſt of neceſſity forſake their Galeaſſes, their moſt aſſured ſtrength; or if they would not leave them, then they could not by any means enforce the ready Enemy to fight. The day now declining, the Enemy ſuppoſing himſelf to have done enough for that time, both for the abating of the heat of the Chriſtians, and encouraging of his own People, in ſeemly order, as one not affraid, ſailed with his Fleet to *Corona*. The Chriſtians in like manner retiring themſelves to *Cerigo*.

The Turks Fleet at Corona, *and the Chriſtians at* Cerigo.

John Don *ſendeth word to the Fleet to meet him at* Zacy[illegible] thus.

Whilſt things thus went, *Don John* by a Frigot ſent of purpoſe, gave knowledge to the Fleet, that he was come to *Corcyra*, ſharply blaming the great Commanders for their departure, and that they ſtaied not for his coming; and further commanded them as their General, all other things ſet apart, forthwith to meet him at *Zacynthus*, there to reſolve of all matters. *Columnius* wholly devoted to the Spaniards, and preferring the favour of *Don John* before the reſt, hearing his Meſſage, was in ſuch haſt to have returned, that he would have perſwaded *Fuſcarinus* to have left the heavy Veſſels and other weak Gallies at *Cerigo*, and with 100 of the beſt Gallies with all ſpeed to have returned to the General. Of which opinion was alſo *Lilly*. But *Fuſcarinus* more careful than the reſt, as he whom the danger more concerned, would not yield to that perſwaſion; for that in ſo doing, they ſhould (as he ſaid) leave the Ships and Galeaſſes, the chief part of their ſtrength, in danger to be ſpoiled by the Enemy; whom they now kept at a Bay without the help of their General; and ſhould, as he well hoped, by often provoking of him, at one time or other draw him to battel, and have over him a notable Victory. And therefore requeſted them for the love of God, and the Zeal they bare unto the Common-good of all Chriſtendom, not to depart farther off, nor to ſuffer the Enemy to eſcape out of their hands, neither by their departure to leave the Iſlands of the Venetians ſubject to the fury of the Enemy; whereas the General might at his pleaſure and without danger come unto them, they lying betwixt the Enemy and him. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* reſolutely ſet down, hap what hap ſhould, to do what *Don John* had commanded, would not liſten to the reaſonable perſwaſions of the Venetian Admiral, but told him flatly, That if he would not in that they had ſaid yield unto them, they would forthwith leave him unto himſelf, and with their Gallies preſently return to *Zacynthus*, as the General had commanded. Whilſt they were yet thus diſcourſing, news was brought, that the Enemy was come with his Fleet into the Fret of *Cerigo*; which cauſed them all with one conſent to reſolve in ſuch order to paſs by the Enemy, as if they ſhould have given him preſent Battel; whereas before, they were determined by the perſwaſion of *Fuſcarinus* to have gon to *Crete*, and there leaving the Ships and Galeaſſes in ſafety, to have afterwards returned to the General. In ſuch order the Chriſtians paſſed by the Enemies Fleet, which lay ſtill in the Fret of the Sea without moving, ſtanding as it were rather upon the guard of themſelves, than reſolved for Battel. In three days ſailing they came to *Zacynthus*, where they found not *Don John*, but two of his Gallies, and commandment, that they ſhould there leave their heavy Ships, and with their Gallies come to *Cephalenia*, where they ſhould not fail to meet him. Hereupon the Venetians we e exceedingly grieved, and muttered through the whole Fleet, That the Spaniards bearing themſelves upon their Wealth, were too proud, and in compariſon of themſelves, regarded neither the conditions of the League, neither any other Mans credit, but trod all Men under foot; and would now uſe the Venetians, not as their Friends and Confederates, but as their Slaves and Vaſſals, feeding them in the mean time but with vain hope. Yet foraſmuch as the time and neceſſity ſo required, they were content to be over-ruled; and ſo leaving the Ships and Galeaſſes at *Zacynthus*, went with the reſt of the Fleet to *Cephalenia*; whether *Don John* was not yet come, but had ſent word thither, That if they had any deſire to joyn their Forces with his, they ſhould yet come further back unto him in *Corcyra*. This Meſſage (which they had rather feared than expected) much troubled the Venetians; who readier to ſuſpect every miſchief, than to hope for any good, began to fret and complain, That the Spaniards could very well tell the Venetians what they had to do, and forget in the mean time, what was on their own part to be performed. A hard thing it was to ſay, and yet to be ſaid, that now they had more to do with thoſe their dallying Friends and Confederates, than with their Enemies; for with their Enemies they were to fight but in time of Battel, but with them they were to wreſtle at all times and in all places. They were by them (as they ſaid) drawn from the ſight of their Enemies, when as they might have been overthrown; not to the intent that with their united Forces they might more ſafely fight againſt them, or under the conduct of *Don John* gain the Victory; but rather leſt any thing ſhould have been done which might be to the honour or profit of the Venetians, and that time which was to have been beſtowed in the managing of the War, ſpent in lingring and delaying, and vain going forward and backward to no purpoſe. One only way there was (as they ſaid) to have diſpatched with the Turk, which was, by overcoming him in another notable Battel, and ſo to have utterly broken his ſtrength at Sea; which Courſe the Confederates made no leſs difficult by their backwardneſs and delays, than the Enemy by declining of Battel; That they had long ago by many ſecret ſigns probably conjectured, that the Spaniards had more care to hinder and croſs other Mens doings, than to do any thing of themſelves: That their endeavours were to fruſtrate thoſe great hopes which promiſed unto the Chriſtian Common-weal, the greateſt Felicity and Happineſs, together with immortal Glory; and, That the Turks of late diſcouraged with the fortunate proceedings of the Chriſtians, might again rejoyce at their miſhaps.

Don John *ſendith for the Fleet to* Cephalenia, *where he alſo faileth to meet them.*

Don John *commandeth the Fleet to repair unto him to* Corcyra.

The Chriſtian Fleet altogether at Corcyra, *ſetteth forward again towards the Enemy.*

The Venetians, notwithſtanding all theſe their murmuring Speeches, loath to fall off from the Spaniard, kept ſtill on with the reſt until they came to *Don John* at *Corcyra*, who then lay with 53 Gallies, and 18 Ships at *Spilca*, in the uttermoſt end of the Iſland. At their firſt meeting, *Don John* ſhewed himſelf not a little offended, that they had not with more duty before attended his coming; and they again not a little complained of his long ſtay, with many other their grievances, which were tedious here to rehearſe. The Fleet now all with much ado at length met together, which conſiſted of two hundred Gallies, nine Galeaſſes, and thirty ſix tall Ships; It was by general conſent agreed, That they ſhould again ſet forward toward the Enemy. They were not yet under Sail, when two of their Eſpials brought them news, that the Enemies Fleet (weakly furniſhed both of Mariners and Souldiers) was come to *Navarinum*; which filled them all with good hope, that the Turks Fleet ſo evil provided, might in that place upon the ſuddain be eaſily oppreſſed, and the rather, if they came upon them unexpected. Wherefore, becauſe they would not be deſcried, they kept not their Courſe on right forth, but ſailing by night, kept aloof upon the right hand; and having paſſed *Zacynthus*, came with great ſilence unto the *Strophades*, where they lay at Anchor all that day. In the evening they looſed thence, ſo caſting their Courſe, that the more to terrifie the Enemy, they might before day fall upon him; and be ſeen in the mouth of the Haven where he lay, before there could be any report made of their coming thither. But this Courſe ſo well ſet, the time was ſo evil caſt, that it was fair day long before they could come to the appointed place; when the Turks out of their watch Towers diſcovered a far off the coming of the Chriſtian Fleet, gave warning thereof unto their Fellows; whereupon an Alarm was preſently raiſed in the Town, and all Men in Arms ran headlong to the Walls and to the Haven. But the Turks out of hope with their evil rigged Fleet to be able to withſtand the Chriſtians, and not daring to truſt to that weak Habor, and all now in a great hurly burly, ran confuſed-ed hand over head, Souldiers and Mariners, aboord; and whilſt they had yet time, got them in haſt out of that Habor, and as Men chaſed by their Enemies, got them into ſafe Harbor at *Modon*, a ſtrong Town of *Peloponneſus*, about ſix miles off. *Columnius* was ſent before the reſt of the Fleet to have purſued them; but they were got ſo far before him, that they had recovered the Harbor before he could overtake any of them. The Chriſtian Fleet coming before the Harbor, and leaving a ſpace as it were of purpoſe for the Enemy to come out into, there lay in the face of the

The Chriſtians offer the Turks Battel.

the Town, daring the Turks Battel. But when they had ſo lien almoſt all that day, and no Man durſt come out; and now towards the evening certain ſigns of Tempeſt appeared, the Chriſtians fearing to be by force of Weather driven on ground, put farther off again to Sea. Then at length *Uluzales* ſent out certain light Gallies to follow in the tail of the Fleet, when the Confederates ſuddainly ſtaying their Courſe, and turning their Prows upon them, drave them headlong again into the Harbor; and afterwards retired themſelves with the whole Fleet into the Iſlands *Oenuſæ*, now called *Sapientia*, right oppoſit againſt *Modon*. The next day wanting freſh Water, they removed unto the Bay of *Meſſina*, there to water in the mouth of the River *Pamiſus*, which there falleth into the Sea; where in paſſing by *Corone*, they were oftentimes ſhot at out of the Town; and landing their Men to water, were encountred by certain Troops of Horſemen, ſent for that purpoſe by *Uluzales*. There was Water dearly bought with the Lives of many there ſlain on both ſides; in the end, the Chriſtians prevailing, watered, and ſo again returned unto the *Oenuſæ* from whence they came.

The deſcription of the Bay of Modon.

Methone or *Modon* (for it is by both Names known) ſtandeth almoſt in an Iſland ſtretching far into the Sea, where towards the Weſt runneth out a long point of the Land a great way into the Sea; in the uttermoſt part thereof, ſtandeth a great round Tower. The Town it ſelf, is on the one ſide encloſed with the Sea, and toward the Land ſo ſtrongly fortified, as that it ſeemeth almoſt impregnable: Towards the South cometh in a fair Bay about three miles wide, ſafe from all Winds except the Northerly Wind only; and ſhut up by a little Iſland in the mouth of the Bay, maketh a ſafe and quiet Harbor, with two entrances thereinto on either ſide of the Iſland. Within this Bay lay the Turks Fleet, with the Sterns of their Gallies toward the Land, and their Prows towards the Sea. At the Southerly coming in of the Bay ſtandeth an Hill, which the Inhabitants call *Albus*; On the top whereof, the Enemy had placed ſix great Pieces of Ordnance, wherewith to keep the Chriſtians from entring that way. So had they alſo upon the point of the Main, which (as we ſaid) runneth out from the Town, and upon St. *Bernards* Rock, planted other great Pieces of Ordnance to defend that paſſage alſo. The Chriſtians coming unto the mouth of the Bay, there lay with their Fleet divided into four parts, but yet doubtful what to do; for beſide that the entrances of the Bay were but narrow, they were alſo far more dangerous to be entred, by reaſon of the great Ordnance planted upon them. Nevertheleſs, the Venetian Admiral in hope of good ſucceſs, and loath to let the fearful Enemy ſo to eſcape out of their hands, would fain have perſwaded the General with his whole Fleet to have entred the Bay, and there in the Harbor to have oppreſſed the Enemy; which he ſhewed to be no hard matter to do, for that the Enemy was too weak in ſtrength, and could not be from Land relieved. In which doing, they ſhould indeed overthrow but one Fleet; but in the overthrowing of that one, cut in ſunder all the Sinews of the Turkiſh Empire by Sea; and raiſing a Tumult in the Bay, and filling all with a general fear, ſhould undoubtedly at the firſt onſet put the Enemy to flight: Which done, what ſhould let, but that carrying about with them the terror of the Victory, they ſhould with their victorious Fleet, take from the Turk all the Iſlands of the *Ægeum*? That truly and wiſely it was ſaid of *Themiſtocles*, That whoſoever had the command of the Sea, muſt needs alſo prevail in the reſt, and at length carry away the Victory by Land alſo. It was (as he ſaid) the part of good Chieftains, not to be wanting unto themſelves when occaſion was offered; beſides that, they were the ſame Turks, whom they had but the year before vanquiſhed; and what had that one year either taken from them, or given unto the Turks? Or what ſhould they fear ſix Pieces of Ordnance mounted upon a Hill, who if they ſhould undertake the Battel, were not to fear the great ſtore of Ordnance in 260 of the Enemies Gallies and Galliots? I my ſelf (ſaid he) will be the Guide and Leader, in whatſoever ſhall ſeem moſt difficult and dangerous; and will in perſon my ſelf be the firſt that ſhall enter the Harbor, and adventure the firſt danger. Great Victories (he ſaid) were not to be gained but with great adventures; and that therefore the matter were to be haſted, before more aid ſhould be ſent unto the Turks. Wherefore they ſhould as reſolute Men attempt that, the Turks thought the Chriſtians durſt not to have attempted; and with the ſame courage break into the Bay, wherewith they had but the year before broken the ſtrength of the ſame Enemy; and by the power of God, carry away another notable triumph of the vanquiſhed Turks; who overcome in a ſecond Battel at Sea, muſt needs depart with all their maritime Territories. With evil liking of the Spaniards was the Venetian Admiral heard; and *Don John* the General, deeming both the time and place unfit for the attempting of ſo great an exploit; rehearſed on the one ſide, the ſtrength of the Enemy, the diſadvantage of the place, the difficulty of the Battel, with the manifold and great calamities received by the overhaſty and raſh attempts of their Enemies: That the Enemies ſtrength was not to be ſo much deemed by the eye, or by report, as by reaſon; and that many in ſeeking to encreaſe their former glory, had in ſo doing overthrown the ſame: That the Chriſtians in entring and adventuring the Harbor, ſhould on the one ſide be beaten with the Artillery from the Hill; and on the other, with the Artillery out of the Caſtle of *Modon*; and that it was not like that *Uluzales* ſhould if need were, lack aid from Land, who but the other day had ſent great Troops of Horſemen to have kept the Chriſtians from watering; That a matter of ſo great importance, was (by *Fuſcarinus* his leave) not raſhly to be taken in hand upon an heat and hautineſs of Stomack, but upon a grave and mature deliberation; for if they ſhould in a place of ſo great diſadvantage, hazard the fortune of a general Battel, it ſhould ſeem that either he knew not that kind of fight, and force of the Enemy, or elſe would make the Bay of *Modon* more famous by the overthrow of the Chriſtians, than was the *Curzulari* by the ſlaughter of the Turks. Then what a ſhame would it be, if they which were about to oppreſs the Enemies Fleet, ſhould themſelves be overthrown, and that in their own device? He had rather (as he ſaid) preſerve his own Fleet, than to take 600 of the Enemies Gallies, and to account the ſame for a greater honour. Which he determined not, for that he would not have any thing done; but that unripe occaſions ſhould not be too much haſtned, and as it were thruſt headlong forward; whereas time would give opportunity for the overthrow of the Turks Fleet, ſo that they ran not blindly on headlong; and that in future time, the Venetians would rejoyce that they had ſo moderated their deſires. The Chriſtians (he ſaid) had ſufficiently prevailed, if thoſe things ſhould fall out well, which were warily and adviſedly conſidered and reſolved upon.

John Don *refuſeth to follow the Counſel of the Admiral.*

The matter thus on both ſides debated, and nothing done, they returned with the Fleet into the Port of *Navarinum*. This proceeding, as it diverſly moved the Spaniards and the Venetians, ſo brought it forth divers Speeches, every Man ſpeaking in favour of his own Nation. The Spaniard openly vaunted, That he had moſt providently reſolved, for that how dear the Counſel of the Venetian Admiral would have coſt if it had been followed, the thing it ſelf (as he ſaid) ſhewed, by the extream danger thereof preſented, not in the doubtful opinon of Men, but laied open before their Eies. The Venetians on the other ſide more deſirous of Battel, the nearer they had ſeen the opportunity to have prevailed upon the Enemy, the more impatiently they endured ſo aſſured a Victory to have been let ſlip out of their hands; and thereof ſpake accordingly.

The Caſtle of Modon *in vain beſieged by the Chriſtians.*

The Chriſtians lying at *Navarinum*, conſulted of many things what they were beſt to take in hand; and reſolving at laſt, by Sea and Land to beſiege the Caſtle of *Modon*, which kept the paſſage into the Bay, and defended the Turkiſh Fleet; they returned again thither, and landed 7000 of their beſt Souldiers, to beſiege the Caſtle. And at the ſame time, appointed the Galleaſſes with certain Gallies to batter it alſo from Sea; which the more commodiouſly to do, they joyned two of their greateſt Gallies together ſide to ſide, which they made faſt with Maſts and ſtrong Ropes, and ſo boorded them clean over, whereon as on a Platform, they placed their Gabions all afront, filled with Earth, and great Ordnance betwixt, to have battered the Caſtle. But when this Engin (in manner of a floating Fort) ſhould have performed the ſervice for which it was deviſed, it proved unſerviceable, after it had with much ado been brought thither, being ready to ſink with the weight of the great Ordnance and other things wherewith it was overcharged. For which cauſe, and for that they underſtood a great number of Horſemen to be come into the Town, they gave over the Siege vainly begun, and put again with their Fleet to Sea. It fortuned at the ſame time, that a tall Ship of *Venice* departing from *Zacynthus*, and coming alongſt the Coaſt of *Peloponneſus* with proviſion for the Fleet, was deſcried by the Enemy; who thinking to do the Chriſtians a great diſhonour, if they could almoſt in the ſight of their Fleet ſurpriſe her, they ſent out certain light Gallies to have taken her; *Uluzales* in the mean time with the reſt of his Fleet, lying in the very mouth of the Bay, ready to come out, if the Chriſtian Fleet ſhould once ſtir to relieve her. Which the Chriſtians perceiving, and well hoping that ſo the Enemy would be drawn to battel, ſent out *Columnius* with his Gallies to reſcue the Ships; and others alſo which lying aloof, might get in betwixt the Turks Gallies and the Bay: *Don John* and the Venetian Admiral, lying ready to have given Battel, if *Uluzales* ſhould have come forth; but the Chriſtians coming on with a ſmall Gale, the Enemy being afraid, by ſhooting off of certain warning Pieces within the Bay, in time called back the Gallies that were already gon out of the Bay; who all forthwith came in, excepting *Mahomet* the Nephew of *Barbaruſſa*, a moſt famous Captain amongſt the Turks, who as one of great courage, and deſirous of honour, ſtaied a little without the Bay, with greater courage than diſcretion, expecting who ſhould aſſail him. Him the Marqueſs St. *Crucis* ſet upon, and had with him a great and terrible fight; but in the end the Marqueſs prevailing, ſlew *Mahomet* with all his Turks, and with honour carried away the Gally. So the diſhonour which *Uluzales* would have done the Chriſtians, fell upon himſelf, having in his own ſight loſt one of his beſt Captains with his Gally.

Mahomet *ſlain.*

The next day, becauſe the year ſhould not paſs without ſomething done, nor the hope of ſo great a preparation come to nothing, the Chriſtians determined to beſiege the Caſtle of *Navarinum* (which was in ancient time called *Pylus*) more famous for nothing, than for that it was the native place of old *Neſtor*. The City of *Navarinum* ſtandeth upon a riſing ground, ſtretching ſomewhat into the Sea; whereinto it hath a large proſpect, and a fair large Haven, but ſubject to the North-wind. It is defended with a point of the Main, running with a compaſs into the Sea, whereon ſtandeth an old Caſtle. Some ſent before to view the ſituation of the place, brought word back, that the Caſtle might in three days be won. The performance of which exploit, was committed to *Alexander Farneſius* Prince of *Parma*, whom the Venetians furniſhed with Munition and Victual. He landing with 2000 Italians, 1000 Spaniards, and 500 Germans, began with twelve great Pieces to batter the Caſtle. And albeit that the Battery was planted ſo far off, as that it did the Enemy no great harm; yet happily the enterpriſe had taken effect, if by taking the ſtraight and troubleſome paſſages through a rough and thick Foreſt, the City had been kept from relief; but foraſmuch as thoſe paſſages were left free, the Enemy cunningly oppoſed policy againſt force, for ſallying out of the City, they gave the Chriſtians an hot skirmiſh; and in the mean time whilſt the Chriſtians were ſo buſied, by a Port toward the Foreſt on the other ſide of the City, received in great number both of Horſe and Foot. The report of this new come aid cauſed the Prince to raiſe his Siege, and to go again aboord. And now reſted all the hope of the gaining of the Town in the ſtrength of the Fleet; and that not ſmall, for that the Turks not relieved with Victuals by Land, were by the Confederates kept from them alſo by Sea; for at that time the Turks were troubled with two great miſchiefs, the Plague, and Famine. For no proviſion had there been made, as in a thing not feared; and that little being ſpent that was in the Town, they were enforced to ſeek for Victuals further off; which coming but ſparingly, as in time of Dearth, was oftentimes by the way intercepted by the Souldiers that lay about in the Country Villages, wanting Victuals no leſs than they in the City. And the more Men the Beglerbeg of *Greece* brought down for defence of the Sea Towns, ſo much the more the wants of all things daily encreaſed: So that no Man doubted, but that in ſhort time all would be brought to extream penury. What a death the Mortality had made, the want of Men in their Gallies well declared; for many of the Gallies for lack of Mariners and Souldiers were ſent away into *Eubœa*, or left at *Malvaſia*, or carried away to *Conſtantinople*. Thoſe who ſtaid in the Bay of *Modon*, were ſcarce 100 Gallies, and 40 Galliots; and they ſo ſlenderly manned, that the greateſt Gallies had ſcarcely an hundred and twenty Men left in them, and they ſo meager and faint, as that they could ſcarcely hold up their Weapons. The Chriſtians underſtanding of theſe things, were in good hope, that by continuing the Siege, they ſhould without danger gain a notable Victory; for which cauſe *Fuſcarinus* perſwaded the Spaniards (of woſe conſtancy he doubted) to hold it out, as Men of reſolution; ſhewing them, that in the event of this action reſted for them for ever to be feared or contemned of the Turks; who except they ſhould be changed into Fiſhes or into Birds, could not (as he ſaid) without a notable overthrow eſcape their hands out of the Bay. But unto this his hope and counſel, the event was not correſpondent; for the Spaniards, whether it were for the tediouſneſs of the Siege, or for want of Victuals, or for the approach of Winter, or elſe moved with

The Prince of Parma *in vain beſiegeth* Navarinum.

The weakneſs of the Turks Fleet.

ſome other reaſon, began to think of the matter diverſly; and at the firſt a report was raiſed, That the Chriſtians giving over the Siege, would ſhortly return home; and the reaſon was, for that they wanted Bisket, and had ſcarcely Victuals left for fifteen days, which was to be reſerved for their long journey home: beſides that, The approach of Winter did call them from the action; and that having done what they might, they could never draw the Enemy forth to battel; and that therefore having ſufficiently and as far as was poſſible already diſcharged their duties, they were now alſo to regard their ſafety, and to foreſee that their Fleet, wherein the welfare of them all was repoſed, were now not too far endangered. At the firſt theſe Speeches were divulged by the common Souldiers and Mariners of ſmall credit or reputation; but afterwards by more, and they alſo Men of better place and ſort: Yea *Don John* himſelf, whether it were to ſome other purpoſe, or that he ſo ſpake in good earneſt, began to lay the fault upon others, why that he, ſo lately come from *Meſſina*, ſhould in ſo ſhort time want Victuals and all things elſe neceſſary.

The Venetians murmure againſt the Spaniards.

With theſe unexpected reports, and ſo far different from the confederation, the Venetian Admiral with the reſt of the Venetian Commanders were exceedingly troubled, and grieved above meaſure; for it ſeemed not credible, that they which but a little before were come from the moſt fertil and plentiful Country of *Sicilia*, in all Ages the moſt faithful and abundant Granary and Storehouſe of *Italy*, both in Peace and War, could ſo ſoon want Victuals. Could eighteen tall Ships (which ought by the Capitulations of the League to have come loaded with Bisket, Victuals, and other warlike and neceſſary Proviſion) become empty? Or but to have brought ſo much as might but ſuffice for a month only? If this were done without the knowledge of *Don John*, where was then the care of a General? If he winking thereat, where was his zeal to the confederation, or to what purpoſe came he to *Corcyra*? Was it to avert the Chriſtian Fleet (having once or twice met with the Enemy) from doing any good upon him? Could it come into any Mans head (beſides that in ſo doing he was therein to extinguiſh the glory of a moſt certain Victory, like to work the Turks confuſion) by the infamy of a voluntary return to encreaſe the glory and renown of his Enemy, and bring a perpetual ignominy and diſgrace unto the honour of the Chriſtians? Verily the Spaniards, therein to ſhew themſelves not ſo willing to have the power of the Turks abated, as the ſtrength of the Venetians not encreaſed.

The Venetian Admiral perſwadeth the Spaniards in no caſe to return from the Enemy.

Theſe things *Fuſcarinus* and the Venetians ſometimes fretted at amongſt themſelves; and otherwhiles the Admiral himſelf expoſtulated the ſame with *Don John* and *Columnius*; and in the preſence of the greateſt Counſellors ſhewed, not only how pofitable, but alſo how neceſſary perſeverance was in all Martial Affairs; That it was an old and uſual matter for Men in beſieging of their Enemies, to ſuffer many difficulties; if they ſhould, having performed nothing, return with the Fleet, who would doubt but that both their labour and charge was again the next year to be renewed? And what could this delay be elſe, but a propagation of their further calamities? That therefore it much concerned the Chriſtian Common-weal, although they had not all things in abundance, yet reſolutely and with patience to endure the ſcarcity of Victuals. If want of Bisket were feared, the General might eaſily remedy that matter, by ſpeedily ſending for thoſe Ships which lay laded with Victuals good ſtore at *Tarentum*; which thing might in ſhort time be performed. In the mean time he promiſed to ſupply the Spaniards wants with part of his own ſtore; and that he had rather his Men ſhould live with Roots, than to let the Enemies Fleet coupt up, ſo to eſcape his hands: That the deſire to protect the honour of the Chriſtians, would overcome all difficulties. Beſide that, the matter would be but ſhort, if it were done at once, in one continued Courſe; and would undoubtedly be by them performed, if they gave not over the thing they had ſo well begun, until they had accompliſhed it. They (as he ſaid) might in good ſafety lie with their Fleet in the Ports of *Navarinum*, *Sapientia*, and *Capraria*; whereas the Enemy, lying ſhut up in the Bay of *Modon*, ſhould have but a bad and dangerous Winter Harbour; and *October* being now begun, ſhould in ſhort time be in danger to periſh with bluſtering Storms and rage of the Sea, familiar unto that time of the year; or elſe enforced with the extremity of the Weather, and with want, to adventure into the open Sea, and with their weak Forces to joyn Battel. What ſhould therefore let, why they ſhould not for 10 or for 15 days continue the Siege, as beſt beſeemed the honour of themſelves, the valour of their Souldiers, and worthineſs of the Chriſtian Name? What a terror it would be unto the Enemy, to ſee the Chriſtians ready to endure all extremities and wants, to gain the Victory over the Turks? Again, what diſhonour and diſcredit would it be unto themſelves, if they ſhould ſuffer the Enemy (ſhut up and not daring to fight) to eſcape; eſpecially, when as they might ſitting ſtill, end the War? The Senate of *Venice*, he ſaid, moſt reſted upon the valour and courage of *Don John*, and therefore he requeſted him not to deceive the great hope they had of him conceived; for how much ſhould he himſelf blemiſh his own honour, if when he had before relieved the afflicted ſtate of the Common-weal, he ſhould now, when it was moſt of all to be holpen, forſake the ſame? Which ſhould not be much unlike, as if a Man ſhould with great labour purchaſe great ſtore of precious Pearls, and upon an humorous paſſion caſt them all into the Sea: That Men generally held a great opinion of him the General, an honourable remembrance of his Victory, and regard of his Valour; all which, how much the more pregnant and honourable ſhould they be, by the ſecond vanquiſhing and ſubduing the moſt mighty Monarch of the World; and that if the action well begun, ſhould be effectually proſecuted by the goodneſs of God, the direction of the Commanders, and the reſolution of the Souldiers, in ſhort time the Chriſtians ſhould carry the Victory from the Turks, and make him their General, equal not only with the great Chieftains of the preſent time, but even with the moſt famous Commanders of all former Ages.

Don John replied upon the Venetian Admiral.

Whereunto *Don John* replied, That the action then in hand no leſs concerned the Spaniards than the Venetians; and that he had in his life deſired nothing more, than to ſtand the Chriſtian Common-weal in ſtead: That he pointed at the ſame mark with *Fuſcarinus*, and in zeal to do good unto the Chriſtian Common-weal, gave place to no Man; but indeed to perform it, was a thing much more difficult than to ſay it; leſſer things (he ſaid) were to be overpaſſed, to reſerve themſelves for the performance of greater; and therefore marveiled that *Fuſcarinus* alone could not ſee things moſt manifeſt before his eies, who otherwiſe could with his piercing wit ſee through the deepeſt matters; could he think by any other means to abate the power of the Turk, than if they kept their Fleet whole? that it were ever the manner of the greateſt and moſt worthy Commanders, rather to ſhun the preſent dangers, that to encreaſe their Territories:

That nothing was ſo well purpoſed, which might not be of ſome wrongfully ſuſpected; but his faithful meaning to be pure and without ſpot; and albeit that the opportunity ſerved not for him to ſhew it; yet was his deſire and endevour nothing leſs: And that *Fuſcarinus* ſhould do well more intentively to conſider, what the cauſe, the matter, and the time required: That the manner of War at Land and at Sea, were much different, and that although Wars of both ſorts were to give place unto the moſt unſeaſonable time of the year, unfit for any kind of War; yet might Men at Land, better endure the Winter Storms in their Tents and Cabins, than at Sea in their Gallies, where oftentimes, will, skill, wiſdom, nor valour help not; but that (except it be ſo provided and foreſeen, that the ſeaſonable time of the year, and commodious for ſailing, may be taken) all muſt together periſh by Shipwreck. What, would he have them to ſtrive above their power with the Winter Storms, and Famine, the greateſt extremities of nature? Beſides that, he was verily perſwaded, that the Turks enjoying the commodities of a good Harbor, and of a rich City, would there in ſafety Winter; the Country of *Peloponneſus* relieving them with all neceſſaries; when as the Chriſtians in the mean time, except they in time returned home, ſhould lie expoſed to the rage of the Sea, ſtanding as it were in a continual Watch, not laying away their Weapons in the depth of Winter and dead time of the year, which in reaſon ought to give reſt to all Men. And that therefore every Man ought for the preſent to bear his own grievances, and not by the harms of his Friends and Confederates, to ſeek his own avail. And that he bearing himſelf upon the inward integrity of his good will toward the Venetians, would this ſay, howſoever *Fuſcarinus* ſhould underſtand it, that if the Kings Fleet ſhould by long ſtaying there periſh, it would no leſs concern the Venetians, than the King himſelf; and taking God to witneſs, would ſolemnly promiſe, Nothing to be unto him more leiſer or religious, than to be preſt ſo ſoon as the time of the year would give leave, and by his endeavour to make all Men to know, that he had no leſs care of the Venetian State, than of the Kings Affairs; neither deſired any thing more, than to be accounted, and indeed to be a moſt conſtant upholder of that moſt Chriſtian League; and that beyond all expectation, even in the judgment of the Venetians themſelves; but for the preſent they muſt pardon him, if he gave place unto the neceſſity of the time. As for the offer of the communicating of their Victuals, that would not be any help, but the deſtruction of both the Fleets; for ſo they ſhould both ſooner feel the want; wherefore it were much better to preſerve the Fleet, which they might uſe in the next years Wars, than wilfully to caſt away the ſame by Famine, and the rage of the Sea. In brief, what an indignity ſhould the Chriſtians ſuſtain, if they themſelves ſhould by the ſame means be overthrown, whereby they had thought to have overthrown others?

The Spaniards about to return without the knowledge of the Venetians.

Now the Spaniards were ſo reſolutely ſet down for their departure, that not only without the conſent of the Venetians, but even without their privity, their departure was reſolved upon, and ſecret commandment given unto the Maſters of the Gallies, with all the haſte that might be, to depart thence to *Meſſina*. Which the Venetian Admiral underſtanding, and therewith troubled as with an unexpected matter, came aboord the General, and greatly complained of his purpoſe for ſo ſuddain a departure; requeſting him a while to ſtay, until the two Gallies made faſt together in the Harbour of *Navarinum* (as is beforeſaid) with the Ordnance upon them, might be put in good ſafety, and neither they, or any thing elſe left for a prey unto the Enemy. With much ado, *Fuſcarinus* perſwaded him to ſtay that night, that thoſe Gallies might be brought out of the Harbour, and all things put in order for their departure. The reſt of the night was ſpent in debating of the matter too and fro; where *Don John* would needs have it conceived into a publick Inſtrument in writing, That the Fleet by the general conſent of the three Admirals returned for lack of Victuals; whereunto the Venetian Admiral hardly conſented. But when the Inſtrument ſhould have been made and confirmed, *Don John* better adviſed by one of his Secretaries, That the ſame would redound unto the great diſhonour both of the King and himſelf, that the Fleet coming out of the fruitful Country of *Sicilia*, ſhould in a months ſpace want Victuals; changed his mind for the writing, and only requeſted the Venetian Admiral to credit him and *Columnius*, in that they had ſaid concerning the want of Victuals; promiſing him, that if upon the way he ſhould meet with the Victuals that were ſent for, he would forthwith return and give him aid, as the time and occurrents ſhould require; but in the mean time to proceed by common conſent, to do that which was moſt needful. Hereupon they returned; and coming to *Corcyra*, they met the expected Ship laded with Victuals. Now is not *Fuſcarinus* unmindful of his duty, but coming to *Don John*, put him in remembrance of his promiſe; telling him, That it was not unlike, but that the Enemy ſo ſoon as he underſtood of their departure, would come out of the Bay, and return with his Fleet towards *Conſtantinople*; and being but weak manned, and worſe furniſhed of Mariners, might eaſily be overtaken upon the way and overthrown. But *Don John* was not by any means to be thereunto perſwaded, pretending, that he was by the King commanded forthwith to return. So the expectation of great matters to have been this year done, came to nought, but vaniſhed into ſmoak; and nothing performed worth ſo long a diſcourſe, more than to ſee with what difficulty great actions are managed, wherein the hands of many great ones are required; who jealous of their own Honour, or envying at others, corrupt with delays the faireſt opportunities, and by their croſs dealing, no leſs than the Enemy, hinder the common good, whereat they would all faineſt ſeem to aym. From *Corcyra Don John* departed to *Meſſina*, and *Columnius* unto *Rome*. *Fuſcarinus* with greater honour than ſucceſs returned to *Venice*, where he was with great joy received, both of the Senate and the Citiſens in general; and ſo (no leſs famous for his patience and moderation towards the other Confederates, than for his policy and valour) with the good liking of all Men gave up his charge, in few years after to receive a greater.

Amida the exiled King of Tunes craveth aid of Don John.

About this time, *Amida* King of *Tunes* (of whom much is before ſpoken in the Life of *Solyman*) being but a little before driven out of his Kingdom by the Turks (who had of long by little and little encroached upon him) and as a private Man lived in Exile with his two Sons at *Guletta* with *Franciſcus Tovares* Governour thereof, hearing of the great overthrow of the Turks at *Lepanto*, and of the good ſucceſs of the Chriſtians, ſent Embaſſadors to *Don John* General of the Confederate Princes, then lying in *Sicilia*, humbly requeſting his aid for the recovery of his Kingdom; promiſing to defray the whole charges of the War, and for ever to hold his Kingdom of the King of *Spain*, as his Vaſſal and Tributary. Which his requeſt well conſidered of, and the matter thought of no ſmall conſequence for the ſafety of the Chriſtian Countries lying over againſt that part of *Africk*, to have ſo dangerous an Enemy removed; *Don John* the year following (in the beginning of *October*) by the commandment of the King of *Spain* his Brother, departing from *Drepanum* in *Sicilia*, with an hundred and five Gallies and forty Ships, arrived the next day about noon at *Guletta*, where the Gallies of *Malta* came unto him, and ſhortly after *John Andreas Auria* the Admiral with nineteen more, and *Columnius* the Popes Admiral with fourteen more, all well appointed. At his arrival at *Guletta*, he underſtood by *Amida* and the Governour, the whole eſtate both of the City and of the Kingdom of *Tunes*; and that the Turks and Moors, terrified with ſo great a Fleet, were about to forſake the City. Wherefore having well viewed the place; he the next day after landed his Forces about four miles from the City, and ſent two thouſand five hundred Footmen before the reſt of the Army to the City; who found it all deſolate, the Turks and Moors being before for fear fled, ſome to *Caravana*, ſome to *Biſerta*; who entring without reſiſtance, came to the Caſtle, wherein they found two hundred Moors, who ſaid they kept it for *Amida* their King; but yet would by no means ſuffer the Chriſtians to enter. All which was forthwith made known to *Don John*, who then becauſe it was almoſt night, would not move, but early the next morning ſet forward with his whole Army; and entring the City, before abandoned by the Inhabitants, and ſo coming to the Caſtle, found nothing therein but great ſtore of Oil, Butter, and Wool. 1573.

Amida the late King, by the commandment of *Don John* all this while ſtaied at *Guletta*. But whilſt *Don John* was yet at *Tunes*, news was brought to him the thirteenth of *October*, That the Turks Garriſon before fled out of *Tunes*, with divers Moors, coming to *Biſerta*, were there kept out by the Citiſens, and not ſuffered to enter; for which cauſe they began to burn and ſpoil the Country thereabout. Whereupon the General ſent *Tovares* the Captain of *Guletta* thither with part of the Army; who encountring with thoſe Turks overthrew them, and had the City by the Citiſens peaceably delivered unto him.

The juſt judgment of God upon Amida *the late King of* Tunes.

The Kingdom of *Tunes* thus eaſily once again recovered from the Turks, *Don John* throughly informed of the faithleſs and cruel dealing of *Amida* the late King, and that in deteſtation of the Chriſtians and their Religion, he had already had intelligence with the Turks, and procured the death of ſome of the Chriſtians; gave this definitive ſentence upon him, being yet in the Caſtle of *Guletta*: That foraſmuch as he had of long time been the author of great diſcord and endleſs troubles in that Kingdom, and had moſt unnaturally deprived *Muleaſſes* his Father, firſt of his Kingdom, and afterward of his ſight; and in like manner tyranniſed over his natural Brethren, the rightful Heirs of that Kingdom, whereby the Turks had taken occaſion both to invade and poſſeſs the ſame; he ſhould therefore by the commandment of the King of *Spain* be carried Priſoner with his two Sons into *Sicilia*, there to remain for ever. Which heavy doom he taking moſt grievouſly, and yet crying out for mercy, was forthwith thruſt into a Gally; and with his Wife and Children tranſported into *Sicilia*, there to live in perpetual Exile; The juſt reward of his mercileſs and unnatural dealing with his Father and Brethren; God no doubt requiting him with the like meaſure he had before meaſured unto them.

Mahomet, Amida *his Brother, made King of* Tunes, *and Vaſſal to the King of* Spain.

After that (the King of *Spain* ſo commanding) *Mahomet*, *Amida* his elder Brother, and right Heir of that Kingdom, was appointed King in his place; who departing from *Guletta* to *Tunes*, was received as King, and there by ſolemn Oath promiſed for ever to be the King of *Spain* his Vaſſal, and to do whatſoever he ſhould command.

There was before departed out of *Tunes* forty thouſand Moors, who now came and offered their ſupplication to *Don John*, that they might again return and live with their new King; which their requeſt being eaſily granted, they in great numbers every day returned into the City. Shortly after, 1500 Turks, with 3000 of thoſe wild People which ſome call Arabians, ſome Alarbes, ſore troubled all the paſſages about the City; who were at laſt by the Chriſtians overthrown, and 150 Chriſtians whom they had taken Priſoners, reſcued. After that, *Don John* by the advice of his moſt expert and skilful Captains, commanded a ſtrong Caſtle to be built in the middle way betwixt *Guletta* and *Tunes*; and for the performing thereof left *Gabriel Serbellio* with 2000 Italians; and *Calazar* a Spaniard with other 2000 at *Guletta*. And ſo having performed that he came for, and diſpoſed of all things as he thought beſt, returned again into *Sicilia*.

A grief of griefs it is, and ſorrow almoſt unconſolable, when worthy actions moſt happily begun, ſort not to ſuch happy end as was in reaſon hoped for. The greateſt and moſt famous Victory of all Ages gained againſt the Turk, ſeemed to have lightned the Chriſtian Common-weal, and great hope there was, that the Chriſtians falling into unity amongſt themſelves, would by an happy exchange make the Turkiſh Empire the Seat of their Wars, and to turn into the Turks Dominions, the terror, ſlaughter, and other calamities of War, which had ſo many year afflicted the Chriſtian Common-weal. But by how much the more the joy was amidſt ſuch daily calamities and tears, ſo much greater was the ſorrow, ſo great an hope to be come to nought, and Men to be ſo blinded with the darkneſs of envy and diſdain, that they could not ſo much as think, with what diſhonour and danger of the Common-ſtate, they ſhould ſhrink from ſo juſt, ſo honourable, and ſo needful a ſervice, including in it ſelf the general good of all Chriſtendom. When poſterity ſhall conſider what things might then have been done, and the devices whereby the common cauſe was overthrown; it will worthily blame and greatly lament ſo notable a Victory and fit opportunity, ſent as it were from Heaven for the effecting of great matters, to have been let ſlip and paſſed over ſo lightly regarded. This made, that they who before had repoſed all their hope in Arms, had now no other confidence or hope of their welfare, but in concluding of Peace. Truly the Venetians both ſpoke and thought honourably of King *Philip*, as of a moſt faithful, juſt, devout, and honourable Prince; yet greatly blaming his Officers and others of great authority about him, as Men more regarding their own private, than the good of the Chriſtian Common-weal. In theſe perplexities of the Venetians, King *Philip* promiſed them to ſet forth a greater and ſtronger Fleet againſt the next year, and to be ſooner in readineſs with all his Forces and warlike Proviſion, and ſo to help them in all he might. Who for all that gave ſmall credit unto thoſe promiſes, for that with the like they had been oftentimes before deceived. And therefore as truſting moſt unto their own ſtrength, they with all carefulneſs and expedition entertained more Souldiers; of whom ſome they put into their Fleet, the reſt they placed in their Garriſons in *Crete*, in *Dalmatia*, and their frontier Towns in *Epirus*. Neither were the Turks then idle, as the report went; yet were they thought to manage that War with greater fame than ſtrength; for they had of purpoſe given it out, That they would the next Spring with divers Armies invade the

The Venetians weary of the delays and croſs dealing of the Spaniard, reſolve to ſue unto the Turks for Peace.

Venetian Territories in *Crete*, in *Dalmatia*, in *Epirus*, yea and in *Italy* it ſelf; and with their innumerable multitude both of Horſe and Foot ſo overwhelmed the Venetians, that they ſhould not be able poſſibly to hold out. This and more too they bravely vaunted of; but indeed *Uluzales* coming to *Conſtantinople*, had brought his Fleet ſo ſhaken and ſo weak, as that it ſeemed not poſſible but in long time to be again repaired, and furniſhed with Souldiers and Mariners, in ſtead of them that had been loſt, ſome in fight, but more by the contagiouſneſs of the Infection. But howſoever the matter ſtood, the Venetians careful with the expectation of great matters, and in ſmall hope of good ſucceſs, comparing their own ſtrength with the ſtrength of the Enemy; yet were they no leſs diſcouraged with the delays and croſs dealing of the Confederates, than with all the proviſion of the Enemy. It ſtuck in their minds, how that the Spaniards at ſuch time as *Cyprus* might have been defended, delaied their coming ſo long, that *Nicoſia* being loſt, it was time to return; neither could they forget that lingering delay to have been the cauſe of the great mortality amongſt their Men, dying in the Fleet at *Jadera*; They remembred alſo, that the commodities which of ſo notable a Victory were moſt plentifully to have been reaped, were by the ſlender proſecuting of the ſame, ſo ſparingly taken, that the former dangers ſtill remained; And that *Don John*, who ought by appointment to have been at *Corcyra* in the beginning of Summer, was ſcarcely come thither in the later end of *Auguſt*; And that he in the third year of this War, at ſuch time as their Fleet was with great labour and charge again repaired, would not, or liſted not to adventure to have again overthrown the Enemies Fleet, but in the very action to have always trifled away the greateſt part of Summer, before his Spaniards could ſet forward; and when he might ſafely have come to *Cerigo*, to have called back *Fuſcarinus* and the reſt, then facing of the Enemy, and even ready to have given him Battel: It was then ſecretly ſuſpected, the Spaniards to have ſtaied of purpoſe, and to have dallied on the time, that the Venetians having ſpent their Forces, might be the more expoſed and ſubject to their injuries: It ſtuck faſt not in their minds alſo, but even almoſt in their eies, what things had happened of former times in their Confederations with that Nation; they were grieved in the ſpace of three years an hundred times, twenty hundred thouſand Ducats to have been to little or ſmall purpoſe ſpent in that War: Beſides that, they doubted leſt the Flemings with their Confederates ſhould ſo intangle the King of *Spain* in defending of his own Territories, as that he ſhould not be at leiſure to ſend any aid into the Eaſt; in which caſe, what hope or help were they to look for? How ſhould they then defend the reſt of their Seigniory in the Eaſt? How ſhould their empty Coffers ſuffice to maintain ſo great Armies both by Sea and Land, as might withſtand ſo puiſſant an Enemy? Long were the diſcourſes, and effectual the perſwaſions, that the Venetians had amongſt themſelves, to induce one another, and all in general, more circumſpectly to conſider, not only what had already paſſed, or was preſently in hand; but alſo more warily to foreſee what would be the courſe and what the event of a matter ſo important; and betime to break off the Confederation, which they had always found to have ſtood them in ſmall ſtead. In revolving of theſe things, only one remedy ſeemed moſt effectual for the curing of their afflicted State; which was, by deſiſting from War, to conclude a Peace with the Turk, howſoever; which they were the rather in good hope to obtain, for that divers Speeches concerning the ſame had paſſed at *Conſtantinople*, and were from thence again reported at *Venice*. All Men thus inclining to peace, the Senate referred the proceeding therein unto *M. Antonius Barbarus* their Embaſſador, (who all the time of theſe Wars had lien in ſafe cuſtody at *Conſtantinople*) willing him therein to uſe the help of the French Embaſſador, who had always been a perſwader of Peace.

Selymus *himſelf deſirous of Peace.*

Muhamet *Baſſa dealeth cunningly with the French Embaſſador, ſoliciting the Peace in the behalf of the Venetians.*

The Venetians ſend their Embaſſador of purpoſe to Conſtantinople *to entreat a Peace.*

Selymus having got the Iſland of *Cyprus* and divers other places from the Venetians, and yet well wearied with the harms and loſſes he had himſelf received both by Sea and Land, was alſo deſirous enough of Peace. So that the French Embaſſador might as it was thought, have got a reaſonable and indifferent Peace, if he had but expected the opportunity of the time: But he (whether moved with the common harms, or ſome other ſecret cauſes to him beſt known) in making too much haſt, and ſeeming too deſirous of Peace, much hurt the common cauſe of the Venetians, which he moſt deſired to have furthered. *Selymus* having found him, reſolved with *Mahomet* the great Baſſa, what he would have done; who at ſuch time as the ſame Embaſſador came unto him about the matter, told him, That he had himſelf many times moved, yea and ſo far forth as he might, importuned his great Lord and Maſter for Peace, but could never find him willing to hear thereof, until that now at length overcome and wearied with the continual ſolicitation of ſuch as might do moſt with him, he had yielded thereunto. So the thing that *Selymus* himſelf undoubtedly deſired, that the crafty Baſſa ſeemed him with moſt difficulty to grant, rather upon the inſtance and contemplation of them that laboured for the ſame, than for any deſire he had thereunto of himſelf. For certain days at the firſt the French Embaſſador was moſt courteouſly heard, and the Baſſa with fair and cunning Speech promiſed, that the matter of pacification ſhould eaſily and in ſhort time be compaſſed; and ſo at their firſt conferences things paſſed rather in general terms, than that any conditions of Peace were particularly agreed upon; only this was on both parties conſented unto, That the Venetians ſhould ſend their Embaſſador of purpoſe, for the full concluding and confirming of the deſired Peace. Which charge was by the Senate committed to *Jacobus Superantius*, in whoſe wiſdom and valour they had repoſed great hope and confidence. He was no ſooner come to *Conſtantinople*, and the Turks delivered of the fear of the Chriſtian Sword, by the diſſolution of the confederation, but that all things were changed, and the Venetians glad to endure the proud looks of the Turks, their diſdainful ears, their deſpightful ſpeeches, their long and inſolent attendance, with many other ſhameful indignities: Yea the Baſſa was ſo ſhameleſs, as proudly to ask them, How they durſt be ſo bold as to impugn the great Emperor *Selymus* his Fleet at Sea. Whereunto the Embaſſador anſwered, That the Venetians had always honoured the Majeſty of the Turkiſh Emperors, neither had at any time taken up Arms againſt him, but in their own reaſonable defence, when force was by force to be repulſed, a thing lawful even for the wild Beaſt in the wild Wilderneſs to do. At the firſt entreaty of the Peace, the Baſſa ſeemed to put the Venetian Embaſſador in good hope, that the Venetians according to his requeſt ſhould enjoy their Territories in *Dalmatia* in as ample manner as in former times, and bounded with the ſame bounds, whereof they had in theſe Wars loſt ſome part about *Jadera*. But when the matter ſhould have come to the ſhutting up, the Turk began to ſhrink from that he had before promiſed, refuſing not only the reſtitution of the Territory they had indeed by Treaſon got; but by cautelous expoſitions of his meaning, framing the concluſion of the preſent Peace unto the form of their former Leagues, required, That as the Turks had now yielded unto them *Malvaſia* and *Nauplus*, ſo now they ſhould redeliver unto them two other places of like worth and importance: As for not reſtoring the Territory they had taken about *Jadera*, to colour their deceit, they pretended that they might not by their Law reſtore unto the Chriſtians any Town or place wherein were any Church or Temple dedicated or converted unto the Mahometan Religion, as was there; and further, That the ſame Territory was already given by *Selymus* in reward unto his Souldiers, Men of deſert, from whom without great injury it might not be again taken. Hereupon the French Embaſſador complained, That promiſes were not performed; and the Venetians ſo fretted, that they were even about to have returned as Men ſhamefully deluded, without concluding of any thing. Yet when no better could be obtained (the Turks ſtill ſtanding upon ſuch hard terms) the Embaſſadors by the appointment of the Senate concluded a Peace with the Turk; whereof theſe were the chief Capitulations; firſt, That the Venetians ſhould give unto *Selymus* three hundred thouſand Ducats, one hundred to be preſently payed, and the other two hundred by equal portions in two years next following; then, That the Merchants Goods ſhould be indifferently on both ſides reſtored; and laſtly, That ſuch places of the Venetians as the Turk was already poſſeſſed of, ſhould ſtill remain unto the Turks; but that ſuch Towns or places as the Venetians had taken in the Turks Dominion, ſhould be again forthwith reſtored. For the firſt payment of the Mony the Turk was earneſt, thereby as by a fine for an offence committed, to make this League unto him more honourable.

A Peace concluded between Selymus *and the Venetians.*

1574. *The Peace proclaimed at* Venice.

This Peace at *Conſtantinople* concluded the eleventh day of *February* in the year 1574. was by the Decree of the Senate confirmed; and afterwards the 13 of *April* following ſolemnly proclaimed in *Venice*, to the great wonder of the other Confederates. For the better ſatisfying of whom, the Popes Nuntio, with the Embaſſador of *Spain*, were ſent for into the Senate Houſe. And although there were many things that grieved the Venetians, yet did they forbear all hard ſpeeches, and of that their moderation received ſo much the more honour, as it is more difficult for an angry Man to overcome himſelf, than others. The Duke with calm and temperate Speech, framed to the purpoſe, declared unto them, That Anger and Hope, two evil Counſellors, being ſet apart, he had concluded a Peace with the Turk; not for that he was deſirous of the Turks friendſhip, which what account it was to be made of, he right well knew; but for the love he bare to the State, which was not only with loſs, but even with death it ſelf to be maintained. How he had been ſpoiled of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, he further declared; and that the Venetian State grew every day weaker and weaker by the continual War; and that therefore, before it were by loſs upon loſs come to the uttermoſt of extremity, they not able to maintain ſo heavy a War, were to take ſome better courſe for the preſervation of that which was yet left of their Seigniory; for that the ſafety of the Venetian State ſhould at all times be a ſure fortreſs and defence of the Chriſtian Common-weal againſt all the furious attempts of the Enemy, and uncertain events of time.

The Fame of this ſuddain and unexpected Peace was for the juſt and common hatred of the Chriſtians againſt the Turks, generally evil taken; and the Venetians for the concluding thereof hardly ſpoken of, as if they had betrayed the whole Chriſtian Common-weal, or at leaſtwiſe their Confederates. For Men were for the moſt part of opinion, that the Turks Peace would be but feigned and deceitful; and that having gained time to ſet things in order, according to his deſire, he would for the natural grudge he bare unto the Chriſtians, come to his old courſe, and as he had always done, break the League and take up Arms. Some ſaid, That the Venetians forſaken of their Friends and Confederates, would in their own devices periſh; yet ſo, as that their deſtruction would turn to the general harm of all Chriſtendom; and theſe Men were of opinion, That in that caſe, and againſt that Enemy, a dangerous War was to be preferred before an uncertain and diſhonourable Peace. Nevertheleſs the Venetians, beſides that they for the preſent eaſed themſelves of many an heavy burthen, ſo have they thereby enjoyed the fruits of a long and happy Peace, and found the ſame unto their State both wholſome and profitable until this day. It was thought by the ſequel of matters, That *Selymus* was the more willing to have Peace with the Venetians, that he might the better recover the Kingdom of *Tunes* and the ſtrong Caſtle of *Guletta* from the Spaniards; who with the Knights of *Malta* now gaped more after *Tripolis* and the other Port-towns holden by the Turks upon the Coaſt of *Barbary*, than how to defend the Venetians their Confederates. Thus with the loſs of *Cyprus* and ſome part of the Venetian Territory in *Dalmatia*, ended the mortal and bloody War betwixt *Selymus* and the Venetians. In the Courſe whereof is well to be ſeen, what great matters the united Forces of the Chriſtian Princes were able to do againſt this moſt mighty Enemy, if all diſcord and contention ſet apart, they would in the quarrel of the Chriſtian Religion joyn with heart and hand againſt him, and fight the Battel of Chriſt Jeſus.

The Peace by experience found profitable unto the Venetians.

Selymus *chaſeth* Bogdanus *out of* Moldavia, *and placed* John *Vayvod in his ſtead.*

Selymus now at Peace with them who before moſt troubled him; to keep his Men of War buſied, ſhortly after converted his Forces againſt *John* Vayvod of *Valachia*, and ſo at length joyned all that Province to his Empire. This Country of *Valachia* was in ancient time called *Dacia*; it hath on the Eaſt the Euxine (now called the Black Sea) on the South the famous River *Danubius*, on the Weſt *Tranſylvania*, and on the North *Ruſſia*. It is divided into two parts, the one called *Tranſalpina*, and the other *Moldavia* (of the River *Moldavus* running through the midſt thereof) but far paſſing the other both in greatneſs and abundance of Paſture. That part called *Tranſalpina*, *Mahomet* ſirnamed the Great (who won *Conſtantinople*) made ſubject to the Turkiſh Empire; but upon *Moldavia*, the other part, he only impoſed a yearly Tribute of two thouſand Ducats. After which time the Vayvods of that Country, aided ſometime by the Hungarians, and ſometime by the Polonians, roſe up oftentimes againſt the Turks, and refuſed to do their homage. It chanced, that *Bogdanus* Vayvod of that Country, favouring the Polonians, and joyning in League with them, lived much in *Ruſſia*, as purpoſing from thence alſo to have taken his Wife. Which *Selymus* ſuſpecting, with a great power chaſed him into Exile, and placed in his ſtead one *John* (called of his Country-men *Iuan*, and of ſome *Ivonia*) the ſuppoſed Son of *Stephanus* ſometime Vayvod of that Country; who with *Jeremias Czarnievieczius* (a Moldavian, who afterward notably betrayed him) having of long time lived amongſt the Turks, to be the more gracious amongſt them, renounced his Faith, and being circumciſed, turned Turk;

and following the trade of Merchandiſe, became, among them a Merchant of ſuch Fame, that he became very familiar and well acquainted with the great Baſſaes of the Court, and at length with *Selymus* himſelf. He underſtanding by his Friends near about the Turkiſh Emperor, of his purpoſe for the removing of *Bogdanus*, corrupted with rewards the great Baſſaes, to be mediators for him to *Selymus*, that commended by them, he might be preferred to be Vayvod of *Moldavia*; ſtill encreaſing the ſuſpicion *Selymus* had conceived of *Bogdanus*, and telling him, That he ſupported by the Polonians, was like enough in ſhort time to reject his obedience to his Imperial Majeſty. *Selymus* at the inſtance of the Baſſaes nominated this *John* to be Vayvod, who with a great power of the Turks Horſemen entring into *Moldavia*, eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf of the Country, *Bogdanus* being then abſent in *Ruſſia*, and as then ſuſpecting no ſuch matter; who yet afterwards attempted in vain by the help of the Polonians to have again recovered his Country, but finding no poſſibility ſo to do, fled afterwards into *Muſcovia*, where he long time after lived.

John *the Vayvod falleth into ſuſpicion with* Selymus *and the Baſſaes of the Court.*

John now quietly poſſeſſed of *Moldavia*, for ſome few years held the ſame with the good liking of the Turk, paying him his wonted Tribute; but afterwards repenting himſelf of his wicked revolt from the Chriſtian Faith, and now eftſoons again embracing the ſame, and (ignorant of his own Fortune) perſecuting with too much ſeverity thoſe which withſtood his coming into the Country, eſpecially ſuch great Men as took part with *Bogdanus*; and now after his return unto the Chriſtian Faith, not favouring the Turks as he was wont, but croſſing them in many matters, became ſuſpicious both unto *Selymus* and the Baſſaes his old Friends. Which the Vayvod of the leſſer *Valachia* (commonly called *Valachia Tranſalpina*) underſtanding, he became a ſuter unto the great Baſſaes of the Court for his Brother *Peter*, and earneſtly travelled with them, that as *John* ſupported by *Selymus*, had driven *Bogdanus* out of *Moldavia*, ſo *Peter* his Brother might in like manner by his help drive *John* out alſo. In which his Sute he ſpared for no coſt, neither ceaſed by malicious ſuggeſtions to encreaſe the ſuſpicion already conceived of *John* the Vayvod; who having rejected the Mahometan Religion, and again embraced the Chriſtian Faith, would (as he ſaid) in ſhort time, as had *Bogdanus*, joyn hands with the Polonians, and caſt off his obedience towards the great Sultan, by whom he had been ſo highly promoted. Beſides that, this malicious Man offered, That his Brother *Peter* for ſuch his preferment, ſhould pay yearly unto *Selymus* twice ſo much more as did *John*, namely an hundred and twenty thouſand Ducats by the name of a Tribute.

The Baſſaes before corrupted, and moved with the greatneſs of the Tribute, perſwaded *Selymus*, by an Embaſſador to ſend for *John* the Vayvod, to come unto him himſelf in perſon, and to command him to give place to ſuch a Man as he ſhould ſend thither in his ſtead; which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then to denounce unto him open War. Hereunto *Selymus*, who had even then much emptied his Coffers with the loſs of his Fleet in the Battel of *Lepanto*, and the chargeable Wars againſt the Venetians, was eaſily induced; and to that purpoſe ſent his Embaſſador to the Vayvod; who having audience the one and twentieth of *February*, at the ſame time that *Henry Valoys* (afterwards the French King) was crowned at *Cracovia*, delivered his Meſſage as followeth:

The commanding Speech of the Turks Embaſſador to John *the Vayvod.*

Selymus *the Great Emperor of the Turks ſendeth me unto thee,* John, *Vayvod of* Valachia, *his Tributary; with this Command, (whereunto his pleaſure is, that thou ſhouldeſt without delay ſend him anſwer:) firſt, He chargeth thee to ſend him not ſuch a Tribute as he was wont, but twice ſo much more; to wit, an hundred and twenty thouſand Ducats. If thou ſhalt refuſe ſo to do, there is another ready to give it both for himſelf and his poſterity. But* Selymus *mindful of thy Conſtancy, Fidelity, and Valour, will not be troubleſome unto thee in thy Government, if thou forthwith ſend the aforeſaid Tribute. Which if thou ſhalt refuſe to do, then his will is that thou ſhouldſt give place to another, and thy ſelf return with me to* Conſtantinople, *there to anſwer the matter; otherwiſe, I am in his Name to denounce all hoſtility and the calamities of War both unto thee and thy Country.*

This proud Meſſage of the Embaſſador ſtruck farther into the mind of the Vayvod than any would have thought; yet diſſembling his grief, he commanded him to be brought to the Lodging appointed for him; telling him, That in a matter of ſo great importance, and ſo much concerning the whole State of his Country, he could not give him ſo preſent Anſwer as he required; but that upon mature deliberation had with his Nobility and Council, he would in ſhort time anſwer him accordingly. The Embaſſador being gon to his Lodging, the Vayvod forthwith began deeply to conſider of *Selymus* his demands; and that in the Turks Faith was no aſſurance, which he kept or brake with the Chriſtian Princes as beſt fitted his own turn; and beſides that, That if he ſhould grant to pay that ſo great and heavy a Tribute in ſo great poverty of his Kingdom, ſore waſted with civil War, *Selymus* would not be therewith long contented, ſo long as any Man would give him more, but happily would the next year exact a greater, and in the end ſuch an one as he with all his Subjects ſhould not be able to pay; which it ſhould not be ſafe for him at any time to refuſe, ſo long as any Man would give it. Wherefore calling together the Nobility and States of his Country, he brake with them in this ſort:

The Speech of the Vayvod unto his Nobility and Subjects.

If ever you were to conſult and deliberate of a moſt important and difficult matter, this verily is that time; for Selymus *the Turkiſh Emperor, enflamed with enſatiable Avarice, and I know not by whoſe perſwaſion, not contented with his wonted Tribute, exacteth of us twice ſo much more. If you ſhall grant it, it ſhall not much concern me, as not to be payed by me your Sovereign, but by your ſelves and your poſterity; if we deny it, forthwith he denounceth unto us Fire and Sword, with all the calamities of War. And in this bareneſs of our Kingdom, almoſt ſpoiled by Civil Wars, how ſhall we be able to pay it him? Wherefore declare your minds. Verily I foreſee, that if you ſhall in this yield unto* Selymus, *and grant him ſo great a Tribute, he will not therewith long hold himſelf contented, but every year extort a greater, until he have altogether eaten us up. Wherefore it were better for us (in mine opinion) to loſe our lives together with our Wives and Children, than to ſuffer ſo great an indignity; neither is it mine own Eſtate that troubleth me; for why, it is you that are to pay it, and not I. Wherefore if you liſt not to endure this ſo diſhonourable and baſe a ſervitude, let me forthwith ſo underſtand from you; and I will for my part ſo provide, as that I will not only not pay unto the barbarous Tyrant the new and heavy Tribute he demandeth, but not ſo much as any Tribute at all; ſo that you be not wanting both to your ſelves and me. I know right well (beloved and Fellows in Arms) what I owe both unto you and the Common-weal, for whoſe good and welfare I am always ready to lay down my Life.*

He had no ſooner thus ſaid, but that a ſecret ſorrow and unwonted ſilence had as it were oppreſſed the whole Aſſembly. At length, as Men awaked out of an heavy and dead Sleep, they murmured among themſelves, that the Turkiſh Emperor ſhould ſo without reaſon oppreſs them, with doubling and redoubling of his Tribute; and were generally of opinion, That the Vayvod had not ſo plainly as truly ſpoken of the intollerableneſs thereof; and that therefore they had rather die, than to endure ſo great diſhonour, joyned with ſo foul a ſlavery. And thereupon offered unto the Vayvod to ſerve upon their own charge, and with him upon the Bank of *Danubius* to meet the proud Enemy, and there in defence of their Lives and Liberty, to fight it out unto the laſt Man. The Vayvod in few words commending their fidelity, and taking of them an Oath for the faithful performance of that they had ſo reſolutely promiſed, ſent for the Turks Embaſſador, and gave him this ſhort anſwer:

The anſwer of the Vayvod unto the Turks Embaſſador.

I, for the ancient Fidelity and Allegeance which I owe unto my Lord and dread Sovereign, the mighty Emperor Selymus, *would willingly yield unto him the Tribute he requireth, were it not that I know the minds of my People to abhor the ſame; wiſhing rather to endure all calamities, hap whatſoever hap may, than to yield unto ſo diſhonourable and ſhameful ſlavery. Wherefore ſithence I cannot by any means extort the ſame from my Subjects, tell my Lord* Selymus, *That I moſt humbly requeſt him, not to take the ſame in evil part; whoſe amity I wiſh to be unto me, rather an ornament and refuge, than diſgarce or hinderance. And that upon that good hope I both asked, and for my ſingular Fidelity obtained of him the Vayvodſhip of* Moldavia; *which my good hope I moſt heartily beſeech him may not deceive me.*

With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the Embaſſador unrewarded, and with a ſafe convoy brought him to the Bank of *Danubius*; which his homely uſage of the Embaſſador, cauſed him not a little to be ſuſpected, to be in mind changed from *Selymus*. The Embaſſador ſent away, the Vayvod not ignorant of the ſuddain invaſions of the Turks, forthwith began to raiſe his Army; and at the ſame time, ſent Embaſſadors unto *Henry* King of *Polonia* his neareſt Neighbor, certifying him of the dangerous ſtate of *Moldavia*, the ſureſt Bulwark of the Polonian Kingdom, which once overthrown, opened a fair and eaſie way for the common Enemy into *Polonia*; and therefore requeſted him, that as the Kings of *Polonia* had of ancient time, even for the ſafety of their own State, protected that Country; ſo it would pleaſe him now in like manner in ſo dangerous a time, to give him aid; or at leaſtwiſe to give leave unto ſuch of his Subjects as were willing to ſerve for entertainment, to come unto him, whom he would with all honour and bounty uſe according to their place and quality. Whereunto the King anſwered, That foraſmuch as he and his predeceſſors the Kings of *Polonia*, had for the ſpace of more than an hundred years been in League with the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors, he could not either ſend him aid, or yet give leave unto any of his Subjects to ſerve againſt the Turk, as he deſired. With this anſwer the Vayvod was much troubled, as there deceived where he moſt hoped for relief; yet hearing of certain Companies of the Polonian Coſſacks, which having long lien in hope of prey upon the ſide of the great River *Boryſthenes*, were returning empty home, he by fit Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, offered them great entertainment to ſerve him in his Wars againſt the Turk; of which his offer, they (as Men living for moſt part by ſervice) gladly accepted; and ſo without the knowledge of the King went unto him, to the number of twelve hundred, with their Captains Men of great Courage and Valour, of whom *Sujercevius* was chief; who were by the Vayvod honourably entertained, and did him in theſe Wars right worthy ſervice. Theſe Coſſacks are light Horſemen, lying moſt commonly upon the Borders of the Polonian Kingdom towards the Tartars; an hardy and valiant kind of Men, whoſe beſt living, is the ſpoil they take from the Enemy; and their beſt Lands, their Horſe and Launce. For albeit that the Turks and Tartars are moſt commonly in League with the Polonians, and ſeem never ſo deſirous of Peace; yet do they oftentimes in great numbers, upon the ſuddain break into the Countries of *Podolia*, and *Ruſſia*, part of the Polonian Kingdom, and there do great harm, if they be not in time repreſſed or cut off by the aforeſaid light Horſemen; who for that purpoſe lie always in wait for them, as doth the Hawk for the prey.

The Vayvod entertaineth the Polonian Coſſacks.

Selymus *ſendeth his Forces againſt the Vayvod.*

Selymus underſtanding the anſwer of *John* the Vayvod, was therewith exceedingly enraged, and the more by the bitter complaint of the Embaſſador, who angry with the Vayvod, that he was of him no better regarded nor rewarded, ſpared not to the uttermoſt of his power, to incenſe the angry Emperor againſt him, as if his Honour had been in the perſon of himſelf contemned and violated. Wherefore without delay, he ſent thirty thouſand Turks, and two thouſand Hungarians unto the Palatine of *Valachia Tranſalpina*, that joyning thoſe Forces to his own, he might take *John* the Vayvod, and ſending him in Bonds to *Conſtantinople*, to place *Peter* his Brother, Vayvod in his place. The Palatine glad of this command, and having raiſed his own power, together with the Turks and the Hungarians, ſwam over the River *Moldavus*, having in his Army about an hundred and two thouſand fighting Men; a power, not only ſufficient to have driven the Vayvod out of *Moldavia*, but alſo to have ſhaken a right puiſſant King in his Kingdom. The Palatine in the midſt of ſo great a ſtrength, little fearing, and leſs regarding the ſuddain coming of the Vayvod, ſuffered his Men with their Horſes to lie diſorderedly here and there, diſperſed in the large Meadows and Paſtures all alongſt the fair River ſide; ſo the better to refreſh themſelves, weary of their long travel. In the mean time certain Scouts came to the Vayvod then at Dinner, certifying him, that the Enemy with an huge Army (the certain number whereof they could not well deſcry) was come over the River; and now reſting themſelves, had turned off their Horſes into the rich Meadows thereabout, in ſuch diſordered and careleſs manner, as that they might with a ſmall power be eaſily overthrown. The Vayvod glad of this news, forthwith ſent before *Sujercevius* with his Coſſacks, and 5000 other light Horſemen, more certainly to deſcry what the Enemy did, with the manner of his lying; and he himſelf with the reſt of his Army followed fair and ſoftly after. *Sujercevius* with great ſilence approaching the Enemies Camp, ſuddainly light upon the Enemies Scouts, in number about 500; who encloſed before they were aware; were taken every Man by the Coſſacks, and by them ſtraightly examined of the ſtate of their Army and Camp. Who for ſafegard of their Lives now in the Enemies power, frankly confeſſed, how that the Palatine lay ſecurely there by, reſting his Army, not ſo much for the refreſhing thereof after his Travel, as with greater ſtrength to ſet upon the Vayvod with his freſh Souldiers; and that in the Army were about ſeventy thouſand Valachians, thirty thouſand Turks, and three thouſand Hungarians; who now diſperſed, and ſleeping in ſecurity, might eaſily be overthrown. Of all theſe things *Sujercevius* advertiſeth the Vayvod

The Palatine with the Turks overthrown by the Vayvod.

vod; requeſting him with all poſſible ſpeed to haſten his coming, for the obtaining of a moſt notable and aſſured Victory; he in the mean time lying cloſe with his Men not far from the Enemy. The Vayvod certified of all theſe things, came without delay, and forthwith commanded *Sujercevius* with his Men to give the onſet upon the Enemy; purpoſing himſelf with the reſt of his Army on the other ſide, to charge the diſordered Camp in three places. *Sujercevius* according as he had in charge, with a great and terrible outcry, ſuddainly ſet upon the ſecure Enemies; who diſmaid with the ſuddainneſs of the unexpect danger, ſtood as Men aſtoniſhed, not knowing which way to flie, or how to make reſiſtance. But whiles *Sujercevius* with his light Horſemen thus on the one ſide filled the Camp with tumult, terror, ſlaughter, and fear; behold, even as a ſuddain Tempeſt, cometh the Vayvod, bearing all the diſordered Camp down before him; neither had the Enemies any means to flie, having put their Horſes a great way off from them into the rich Paſtures; but there taken unarmed, were miſerably ſlain. In all the Camp was lamentation and mourning, Death raging in every place with ſuch fury, that of ſo great an Army as of late paſſed the River, few or non eſcaped, more than the Palatine with *Peter* his Brother, who by great chance with much ado getting Horſes, ſwam over the River, and ſo came to the Caſtle of *Brailovia* in *Valachia*; all the reſt were ſlain, and left to be of the Beaſts of the Field, and Birds of the Air devoured. It was a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſee the ground covered with the Bodies of the dead, all ſtained with gore Blood, and their Weapons of all ſorts lying by them. In the Camp were found great Riches, all which the Vayvod gave unto his Souldiers, and there ſtaied four days to refreſh his wearied Men. After that, he with his victorious Army entred into *Valachia*, the Palatines Country, where he took many Caſtles and Towns, and put to the Sword all that came in his way, Men, Women, and Children, without reſpect of Age or Sex; and burnt all the Country Towns and Villages before him as he went; ſo that all that part of the Country of *Valachia Tranſalpina*, was covered with Smoke and Fire, to the terror of the Beholders. The aged Fathers were in every place drawn forth to ſlaughter, the young Babes were cut in pieces, the Matrons and Virgins defiled, and afterwards ſlain; and in brief all the Cruelty that could be deviſed, performed; in the bloody execution whereof, the Vayvod commended his Men, perſwading them in like manner ſtill to proſecute the Victory, and that the reſt of their labours was all but for prey and booty, for the enriching of themſelves. In this havock of all things, it was told him, That the Palatine with his Brother *Peter*, the Men whom he moſt ſought after, were in the Caſtle of *Brailovia* not far off; whereupon he forthwith marched thither with his Army. The City of *Brailovia* ſtandeth upon the River *Danubius*, and had in it a Caſtle of ſome good ſtrength, defended both by the nature of the place, and a ſtrong Garriſon of the Turks, which *Selymus* had appointed for the keeping thereof, as the Key of the Country; not far from this City the Vayvod encamping his Army, writ unto the Captain of the Caſtle, forthwith to deliver unto him the Palatine, with *Peter* his Brother, his mortal Enemies; who never wronged by him, had invaded his Country, and ſought after his life, and being overthrown in Battel, were fled unto him; which if he ſhould refuſe to do, he threatned never to depart thence, until he had to his further harm, conſtrained him by force to yield them. Theſe Letters he ſent by two Valachian Captives, to be delivered unto the Captain of the Caſtle; whereunto he returned anſwer by four Turks, two of the City, and two of his own Servants, by whom he alſo ſent ten great Shot, and as many ſmall, with two Turkiſh Arrows, and this Meſſage.

The blunt anſwer of the Captain to the Vayvod.

For that I know thee to be the Servant of my dread Sovereign Selymus, *I regard thee; and will not deny the ſame Men to be with me, whom thou ſo much requireſt. But foraſmuch as I underſtand, that thou of late haſt ſlain a great number of the Servants of the great Emperor, who by his commandment were bringing* Peter *the Brother of the Palatine into* Moldavia: *I therefore tell thee, that except thou betime raiſe thy Siege, I will feed thee and thy Followers, with ſuch Diſhes as theſe; whereupon thou and thine Army gorged to the full, ſhall all afterwards dangerouſly ſurfeit and caſt. Farewel.*

Barbarous Cruelty.

This rough anſwer ſo much moved the Vayvod, that he commanded hands to be laid upon the aforeſaid four Meſſengers; and their Noſes, Lips, and Ears, being cut off, both their Feet to be with great Nails faſt nailed unto a long piece of Timber, and ſo with their Heads hanging downward, to be ſet up before the City, and ſo left for the Captain and the Citiſens to gaze upon. Signifying withal unto the Captain that ſent them, that he himſelf with the other Fugitives his Gueſts, ſhould in like manner be ſerved, if they fell into his hands. Immediately after, he aſſaulted the City, and uſing the chearfulneſs of his Souldiers, by plain force took the ſame, the Defendants being not able to hold them out. There was made great ſlaughter of the Turks, whereas no Man was taken to mercy; the very Babes were ſlain, together with their Mothers, and Blood ran like Rivers into the *Danubius*. For the ſpace of four days this bloody execution indured; no place ſerved for refuge, even the moſt ſecret and obſcure places were ſearched, and the poor Creatures there found, drawn forth and ſlain. The fury was ſo great, that no living thing, no not ſo much as the very Dogs were ſpared. Much Gold, Silver, Plate, Jewels, and other rich Spoil was there found, all which became a prey unto the greedy Souldiers; for that City was of all others in thoſe Quarters the richeſt, as a place much frequented, and enjoying long Peace, as after ſuch time the Turks were fully poſſeſſed of *Græcia*, not being troubled with any Wars; until now, that it way by the Vayvod firſt ranſackt, and afterwards raſed down to the ground, and nothing thereof left ſtanding, more than the bare Caſtle it ſelf; which the Vayvod durſt not adventure upon, for that it was well fortified, and furniſhed with ſo ſtrong a Garriſon, as that it could not without great loſs be taken.

The City of Brailovia *taken by Vayvod and raſed to the ground.*

The Turks again overthrown by the Vayvod.

Whiles the Vayvod was thus buſied in the ſpoil of *Brailovia*, news was brought unto him of the coming of fifteen thouſand Turks to the relief of the Caſtle; againſt whom he forthwith ſent *Sujercevius* with his Coſſacks, and other eight thouſand Moldavian Horſemen; who ſuddainly coming upon the Turks, diſordered and fearing no ſuch matter, ſlew almoſt 14000 of them, and chaſed the reſt unto the Caſtle of *Teina*. Of this Victory *Sujercevius* in all haſt certified the Vayvod; and withal, that there was another great power of the Turks coming, which might eaſily be alſo overthrown, if he leaving the Siege of the Caſtle of *Brailovia*, would without delay come and joyn his Forces with his. He glad of that news, and well perceiving how difficult and dangerous that Siege would be unto him, roſe forthwith with his Army, and went to *Sujercevius*; and afterwards upon conference had with him, laid Siege to *Teina*; which City taken without much labour, he put to ſword all the People found therein, not leaving one alive; and by the ſervice of *Sujercevius* overthrew the Turks coming towards *Brailovia.*

Selymus *in doubt to have been thruſt out of* Vala*chia by the Vayvod.*

Selymus in the mean time much troubled with the proceedings of the Vayvod, and doubting to be quite thruſt out of *Valachia Tranſalpina* (which he was like enough to have been, had not the Treaſon of *Czarnieviche* hindred the matter) prepared new Forces for that ſervice; and after the manner of the Turks in time of their greateſt diſtreſs, appointed general Supplications and Prayers to be made unto his Prophet *Mahomet*, for the better ſucceſs of his Wars; the undoubted ſign of his Fear.

The Vayvod after ſo many Victories againſt the Turks, purpoſing for a while to break up his great Army, called unto him his old Friend *Jeremias Czarnieviche*, unto whom, as unto the Man he of all others moſt truſted, he had reſolved to commit the charge, with part of his Army, to keep the Turks from paſſing again over the River *Danubius* into his Country; and in delivering to him his Charge, ſpake unto him as followeth:

The kind Speech of the Vayvod to Czarnieviche.

Sith Fortune hath hitherto anſwered our deſires (worthy Czarnieviche) *with moſt rare and perpetual ſucceſs againſt the Turks, our moſt cruel Enemies, we are thankfully to take the ſame, and to render moſt humble and hearty thanks unto Almighty God, that it hath pleaſed him, the Author of all Victory, ſo to have proſpered our endeavours againſt theſe fierce and devouring Enemies. Now what remaineth for the preſent, but to diſband mine Army, wearied with labour and travel, and to give my Souldiers leave to depart home to reſt themſelves, that ſo I may as occaſion ſhall require again uſe their freſh Forces for our better ſervice; you in the mean time with thirteen thouſand of my ſelect Souldiers, ſhall lie upon the ſide of* Danubius, *to keep the Turks from paſſing the River. Have good regard I pray you, unto this your charge, which I upon an eſpecial truſt, grounded upon your antient love and fidelity, have at this time impoſed upon you. And let me from time to time with all expedition underſtand from you of every motion of the Enemy, that ſo we may in due time provide for him accordingly.*

And ſo in token of his greater favour, taking his leave of him with a Kiſs (as the manner of thoſe People is) gave leave unto the greateſt part of his Souldiers to depart home, yet with this charge, to be always in readineſs whenſoever they ſhould be called upon.

Czarnieviche *hath ſecret conference with* Peter *the Palatines Brother, who cunningly perſwadeth him to give the Turks paſſage.*

Czarnieviche having received his Charge, and promiſing unto the Vayvod the uttermoſt of his faithful devoir, went towards *Danubius*, and there moſt carefully kept the paſſages with continual watch and ward. It was not long but that great numbers of the Turks were come down to the other ſide of the River, and more were ſtill coming, yet none of them was ſo hardy as to adventure the great River; *Czarnieviche* with his Horſemen lying in the faces of them, ready to receive them on the other ſide. Which the Baſſa whom *Selymus* had ſent with his Army, perceiving, ſent certain Men pickt out for the purpoſe, to *Czarnieviche*, to ſound him, if he might by any means be drawn to come over, in ſecret to talk with him; and the more to move him, beſide his conduct for his ſafety, ſent him by the ſame Meſſengers thirty thouſand Hungarian Ducats for a Preſent. With which ſo fair a Bait *Czarnieviche* allured, received the Mony, and faithfully promiſed to come; and ſo ſhortly after, ſecretly paſſing over the River, had conference with *Peter* the Palatines Brother, who then lay on the further ſide of *Danubius*, with a great power of the Turks. In this conference, *Peter* declared unto him in how great danger the Vayvod ſtood, and how highly *Selymus* was offended with him, That he his Tributary and Vaſſal ſhould work the deſtruction of his ſo great Armies; which his heavy diſpleaſure he could no otherwiſe ſatisfie but with his head; and that therefore he ſhould no longer rule in *Moldavia*, for that Government was by the great Emperor given unto him. Wherefore (ſaid he) if thou be wiſe, whilſt it is yet in thy power, gain the good will of *Selymus* by ſome good deſert; for an eaſie matter it is to begin any War, but an hard matter to end the ſame. Foraſmuch as it is not always in the ſame Mans power to begin Wars, and at his pleaſure to make an end. Every Fool may when he liſt enter into Arms, but muſt lay the ſame down when it pleaſeth the Conqueror. Now you have a fair opportunity, and it is in your own power to procure his friendſhip for ever, better ſtanding with your Affairs than War. And albeit you may hope well of the power of the Vayvod, yet wiſdom would not, that you ſhould prefer uncertainties before things certain; you have now received 30000 Ducats, the earneſt of your further deſerts; which ſhall hereafter have alſo their due rewards in moſt full and bountiful meaſure. Wherefore if you will do your ſelf good, and provide both for your ſafety and preferment, confound not your own good Fortune, with the broken and deſperate ſtate of the Vayvod, but ſuffer the Turks to paſs as Friends over the River of *Danubius*; for I am come (ſaid he) with a great and puiſſant Army from the mighty *Selymus*, to take upon me the Government of *Moldavia*, and to ſend the Vayvod in Bonds to *Conſtantinople*; and of me, being once Vayvod, what is it that for ſo great deſert thou and thine may not ask and obtain? Wherefore I pray thee conceal the coming of the Turks, and withdraw thy ſelf from the River; ſo ſhall we paſſing over the River with our populous Army, eaſily oppreſs the Vayvod with all his power, and at once revenge all the former injuries and diſgraces done both unto *Selymus* and us.

Czarnieviche *corrupted, giveth the Turks leave quietly to paſs over the River of* Danubius.

With greedy Men what will not the foul deſire of Gold work? *Czarnieviche* overcome with the golden Promiſes of *Peter*; and forgetful of his Faith before given unto the Vayvod, yielded unto all he requeſted; and drawing his Forces further off from the River, as if it had been for his more ſafety, gave the Turks free paſſage. There was then in the Turks Army two hundred thouſand Men, well appointed, and furniſhed with great Ordnance and all other things neceſſary, both for the Field and for Siege, who by the ſufferance of the falſe Traitor paſſed quietly over the River. *Czarnieviche* forthwith poſting to the Vayvod, certified him, how that the Turks truſting to their multitude, had paſſed the River of *Danubius*, againſt whom he was not able (as he ſaid) to make head; and that therefore he ſhould do well, without delay to go againſt them with ſuch Forces as he had then in a readineſs; which joyned unto his, might eaſily overthrow them. Glad was the Vayvod of this news, and filled with the hope of good ſucceſs, demanded of him what ſtrength the Enemy might be of? They are (ſaid he) not not much above twelve thouſand that be already come over, but are ſtill coming more and more, and will before your coming thither be above fifteen thouſand.

The Vayvod lay then at the Siege of the Caſtle of *Teina* (having before taken the City) but hearing this news, raiſed his Siege, and ſo in four days came and encamped within three miles of the Enemy; and forthwith ſent forth *Sujercevius* with his Coſſacks, and *Jeremias* General of the Horſemen, with ſix thouſand Horſe, to take view of the

Enemies Camp, and to underſtand what might be of their deſigns. Theſe two Captains marching together, chanced to fall upon the Turks Scouts, in number about ſix thouſand Horſemen, with whom they had a ſlight ſkirmiſh, and in ſhort time put them to flight. Of theſe Scouts they took one, and him grievouſly wounded; who being examined of the ſtrength of the Enemy, and feeling himſelf wounded to death, told them diſſemblingly, that the Turks were not in number many. But the Coſſacks doubting of the truth of that report, and probably conjecturing by ſo great a number of Scouts, that the Enemy was of far greater ſtrength than was ſuppoſed or reported; quickly certified the Vayvod thereof, wiſhing him in time to provide for the ſafety of himſelf and his Army, and not too much to truſt *Czarnieviche*, whom they had a good while before ſuſpected. But the Vayvod nothing doubting of the Faith of him whom he had a long time found moſt faithful in the time of his hardeſt diſtreſs, and uſed as a moſt truſty Companion in all his Travels, anſwered nothing, but that he knew whom he truſted; and that it was not now time to ſtand in doubt, or to be afraid, and that he would ere long come and take view of the Enemies Camp himſelf; for that he was not come ſo far to flie, but to fight in defence of his Country and Subjects, even to the laſt gaſp. And ſo fortifying his Camp near unto a Lake that runneth out of *Danubius* (for the more convenient watering of his Army) he ſet forward with all his power againſt the Enemy.

Czarnieviche *revolteth unto the Turks.*

Near unto the Enemies Camp was an high Hill, from whence the Vayvod had thought to have deſcried the number of them, with the manner of their lying; but coming thither, he could deſcry nothing but four Companies of Scouts a far off, one Company from another; who alſo upon the ſight of the Moldavians withdrew themſelves of purpoſe out of ſight unto the Army, which then lay in a low Valley behind an Hill, not to be diſcovered until a Man were almoſt upon it. The Vayvod ſuſpecting the Enemy to be at hand, divided his Horſemen, in number 30000, into 30 Companies, and placing before every Company certain Field-Pieces, ſo marched ready to give Battel. His Footmen, in number many, a rude and homely kind of People, but unto him of all others moſt faithful, and armed with ſuch Country Weapons as they had, he placed by themſelves. So marching on, he came to another Hill, from whence he might not far off eaſily deſcry the huge Army of the Enemy, and how he had been by the Treaſon of *Czarnieviche* deceived; whereupon he preſently ſent for him; who ſent him word back again, That he could not now come, the Enemy being ſo nigh at hand, but that he ſhould forthwith ſee him in the Field as forward as the forwardeſt againſt the Enemy. *Czarnieviche* had then under his command 13000 of the moſt choice Souldiers in the Army; who upon the ſignal of Battel on both ſides given (for the Turks were now alſo ready) firſt according to his promiſe ſet forward, as if it had been to have given the onſet; but being come near unto the Enemy, forthwih (as he had before agreed) cauſed his Enſign to be let fall, and his Men with their Caps upon the points of their Spears and Swords, in token of their voluntary yielding and ſubmiſſion, to bow down their Heads and Bodies; whom the Turks with their Spears and Lances holden upon high, joyfully received as their Friends, or rather as Men taken to mercy. The reſt of the Army almoſt diſcouraged with this ſo ſuddain a revolt of ſo great a Man, retired in haſt to the Vayvod, crying out unto him, That all was loſt. But he nothing diſcouraged therewith (as a moſt reſolute Man in the moſt ſuddain dangers) with comfortable words cheared them up, willing them as couragious Men to follow him againſt the Enemy, whom they in all things exceeded, excepting number, which always gave not the Victory. The Turks perceiving the Moldavians lately revolted, upon the joyning of the Battel (as Men in Conſcience wounded) to ſhrink back, thruſt them perforce into the head of their Battel, making of them no more account, but to blunt the Enemies Swords; and ſuch as hung back, they themſelves ſlew; upon whom as falſe Traitors the Vayvod cauſed his Field-Pieces to be moſt furiouſly diſcharged; ſo that moſt part of theſe treacherous Men there ſlain, ſome by the Turks, ſome by their own Friends, received the juſt reward of their Infidelity and Treaſon, accompanied with perpetual Infamy. Over the dead Bodies of theſe Traitors the Turks coming on, were at the firſt notably encountred by the Moldavians; and after a moſt cruel Fight, as if they had been diſcouraged, began to retire, but indeed of purpoſe to have drawn the Chriſtians before they were aware, within the danger of their great Ordnance, and Ambuſhes, which they had before aptly and covertly placed for that purpoſe. Which *Sujercevius* well acquainted with the Turks fineneſs, perceiving, with much ado ſtaid their further purſuit, and ſo avoided the danger prepared for them. The Turks deceived of their expectation, came on again afreſh, with no leſs fury than at the firſt; whom the Chriſtians right valiantly received, and made with them a moſt cruel and mortal Battel; wherein many both of the Turks and Chriſtians fell, and never roſe again. But what was ſo ſmall a power againſt ſuch a world of Men? After long Fight, the Moldavians oppreſſed with the multitude of their Enemies, began to give ground; and ſeeing no other remedy, but either to flie or to die, betook themſelves to flight, wherein moſt part of them were ſlain, the furious Enemy ſtill hardly purſuing them at the Heels; of the Coſſacks were left only 250. The Horſemen (the chiefeſt ſtrength of the Vayvod) thus by the Treaſon of *Czarnieviche* overthrown, the Vayvod with 20000 Footmen, and ſuch Horſemen as had now after the Battel joyned themſelves unto the Footmen, retired unto a Town not far off, which he but a little before had raſed; but was now glad in the ruins thereof to fortifie himſelf againſt the ſuddain and furious Aſſaults of the Turks; who the ſame night ſo beſet the Vayvods Camp with ſuch a multitude of Men, that no Man could go in or out of the Camp; or the uttermoſt part of that huge Army be from any place deſcried.

Traitors juſtly rewarded.

The Battel betwixt the Turks and the Moldavians.

The Moldavians overthrown.

The Vayvod having fortified himſelf within the ruins of an old Town is beſieged by the Turks.

The next day (which was the 11 of *June*) the Turks ſhot divers great Shot into the Vayvods Camp, but to ſmall purpoſe; for the Chriſtians had (for ſo ſhort a time) notably fortified themſelves within the ruins of the old Town. Which the Turks well perceiving, and withal conſidering how hard and dangerous a matter it would be to aſſault the Vayvod in his ſtrength, they ſent Meſſengers unto him, to perſwade him without delay to yield himſelf, and to repoſe more truſt in the mercy of the Turks, than in his own broken Forces; eſpecially in his ſo hard diſtreſs, being ſo beſet, as that he could not poſſibly eſcape; and out of hope of all relief; and therefore ſhould by ſuch voluntary yielding, ſeek for grace of his Enemies, rather than by a deſperate obſtinacy to caſt himſelf into a moſt certain deſtruction, where no mercy was to be expected. Whereunto the Vayvod anſwered, That he was not ignorant into what danger he was brought, rather by the Treaſon of *Czarnieviche* and his Followers, than by the Valour of the Enemy; yet had left with him a ſtrong power of moſt valiant and reſolute Men, who would in his quarrel and defence of themſelves, ſell their lives very dear unto the Turks; nevertheleſs, that to avoid the farther effuſion of blood, he could for his part be content to yield unto his hard fortune, ſo that the great Commanders of the Turks Army would condeſcend unto ſuch reaſonable conditions as he ſhould propound, and for the performance thereof give him their Faith,not once or twice,but ſeven times by ſolemn Oath to be taken. Of this his offer the Turks accepted, willing him to ſet down the conditions; which were, Firſt, that the Polonian Coſſacks might in ſafety depart into their Country, with their Horſes and Armor; then, that they ſhould without any violence offered to his perſon, ſend him alive and in good ſafety unto the great Emperor *Selymus*, before him to anſwer his own cauſe; as for the Moldavians, he ſaid he needed not to covenant any thing, for that the injury offered unto them tended alſo to the hurt of the Emperor himſelf, and of him whom he ſhould appoint Vayvod, whoſe Subjects they were. Theſe conditions (as reaſonable) were well liked of the Turks, and ſo according to his deſire, confirmed ſeven times by the ſolemn Oath of every Captain and Commander in the Army,both for themſelves and their followers. Upon this agreement, the Vayvod brought all his Army out of their Trenches wherein they had lien ſtrongly encamped,and there with heavy heart took his laſt leave of his Souldiers, to the general grief of them all; amongſt whom he divided ſuch Mony and Jewels as he had, as a remembrance of his kindneſs. And there in the ſight of them all diſarming himſelf, accompanied only with *Oſmolius* a Polonian, went in manner of a ſuppliant to the Turks Camp, where he had full four hours Talk with the great Commanders of the Army; until that at laſt *Capucius* Baſſa (either offended with his Speech, or unmindful of his Faith, before given) with his Scimitar upon the ſuddain ſtruck him a great blow overthwart his Face, and another croſs the Belly; whom ſo wounded, and as yet but half dead, the Janizaries took and cut off his Head, which was forthwith ſet up upon a Lance, for all Men to behold. His dead Body they bound by the Feet unto two Camels, and ſo ſhamefully tore it in pieces; and happy was he that could get any little piece thereof, or embrue his Sword with the leaſt drop of his Blood. This was the lamentable and woful end of *John* the Vayvod of *Moldavia*, a right valiant and worthy Man, ſhamefully murdred by the perfidious Turks; who had he been more conſtant in the Chriſtian Faith, had not happily fallen into ſo great miſery. Whoſe woful fall may ſerve as a moſt notable example of the uncertainty of theſe worldly things; for as no Man for a time had of the Turks more or more glorious Victories, ſo in the end, and as it were in demonſtration of Mans fragility, no Man periſhed more miſerably. The Vayvod thus perfidiouſly murthred, the Turks with like Treachery forthwith ſet upon the Moldavians, and ſlew them down right as Beaſts appointed for the ſlaughter. Which the Coſſacks beholding, and hoping for no better meaſure, thruſt themſelves into the thickeſt of their Enemies, and there valiantly fighting were all ſlain, except ſome few of the better ſort reſerved for ranſome,among whom was *Sujercevius* with ſome other Captains; who were afterwards for great ſums redeemed, when as they could by no means be perſwaded to forſake their Religion and turn Turk.

The Vayvod ſhamefully and perfidiouſly murthred by the Turks.

All Valachia made ſubject to the Turks.

After this Victory and ſhameful Murder of the Vayvod, the Turks overran all *Moldavia*, and put to the Sword all the Nobility of that Country, with many of the Country people; of whom they alſo as their manner is in Countries new conquered, ſent great numbers in Colonies into the farther parts of the Turkiſh Empire; and for the more aſſured poſſeſſion thereof, placed ſtrong Garriſons in every Town and Caſtle, as they thought it moſt convenient. Thus all *Valachia* (both the higher and the lower) fell into the Turks hands in the year 1574, and was by *Selymus* joyned unto the Turkiſh Empire, none of the leaſt things by him done; for beſide the gaining of ſo great a Country (the moſt aſſured Bulwark of *Polonia*) he hath thereby opened a fair and eaſie way for his Succeſſors, at their pleaſure to enter into *Podolia*, or *Ruſſia*, parts of the Polonian Kingdom, yea and into *Polonia* it ſelf; which they will undoubtedly in time do, if God in mercy bridle not their immoderate deſires, and with his mighty hand protect the dangerous ſtate of that Kingdom.

The loſs of Moldavia *dangerous to* Polonia.

Selymus at the ſame time,not a little grieved with the loſs of the Kingdom of *Tunes*, and that *Don John* had there done the year before; began forthwith to caſt in his mind, how he might again recover the ſame, and withal, thruſt the Spaniards out of the ſtrong Caſtle of *Guletta*; which they had now almoſt forty years kept, ever ſince that it was by *Charles* the Fifth, taken from *Barbaruſſa* in the year 1535; for he well ſaw it to be a matter of no ſmall moment, to whom that ſtrong Fortreſs (ſtanding ſo commodiouſly in the Frontiers of *Africk*) belonged. There was (and ſtill is) upon that Coaſt divers of the Turks Adventurers, which living altogether upon ſpoil, had to that place ſafe recourſe, as to a moſt aſſured refuge; and if no Booty were to be met with thereabout,then would they run out towards *Malta*, *Sardinia*, *Sicilia*, and the other Iſlands thereabouts; yea oftentimes into *Italy* and *Spain*, and from thence carried away with them great booties both of Men and Cattel, and whatſoever thing elſe came in their way; for which cauſe many of the Turks Men of War reſorted thither in hope of purchaſe. But after that *Guletta* was poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, they were not only deprived of that ſo commodious an Harbor, but many times intercepted even by them of that place, and by the Gallies of *Malta*; which two places ſerved as two moſt ſure Bulwarks againſt the Turks and Moors Adventurers, by whoſe means they many times came ſhort home. For which cauſe the Turks, eſpecially theſe Pyrats (of whom the Turk maketh great account, as not his leaſt ſtrength at Sea) wonderfully deſired to have both thoſe ſtrong places gotten out of the hands of the Chriſtians. In the Caſtle of *Guletta* was continually a ſtrong Garriſon of a thouſand Spaniards, who kept them of *Tunes* in great ſubjection, and oftentimes cut ſhort theſe Pyrats and Rovers, who much troubled thoſe Seas. Wherefore the Turkiſh Emperor *Selymus*, having made great preparation both for Sea and Land Service,commanded *Sinan*, *Pial*, and *Uluzales*, his chief Baſſaes, and Men of great experience, with all ſpeed to paſs over with his Fleet into *Africk*, to beſiege *Tunes* and *Guletta*. Who when they had put all things in readineſs according as they had in charge, ſet forward, and with 300 ſail of Gallies came before *Guletta* the 13 day of *July*; whether alſo reſorted unto them other the Turks Men of War from *Alexandria*, *Algiers*,and other places, in ſuch number, as that all that Coaſt ſeemed to be covered with ſhipping. The Turks at their firſt arrival laid Siege to the Water Town, wherein were 800 Souldiers well provided of all things needful for defence, who moſt valiantly maintained the place, until ſuch time as that moſt of them being by the often Aſſaults of the Enemy ſlain; the reſt by the commandment of the Captain retired to him into the Caſtle. In taking of this Tower the Turks loſt 3000 of their Men.

Guletta *beſieged by the Turks.*

After that, they began to beſiege the Caſtle of *Guletta*, againſt which they caſt up divers Mounts, and from thence moſt terribly battered the Caſtle; from whence the deadly ſhot was ſent again among them not ſparingly; ſo that in one day 200 great Shot were reckoned to have been ſhot out of the Caſtle amongſt the thickeſt of the Enemies. But after many furious Aſſaults, too tedious to report, and much harm done on both ſides, the Turks to their great advantage took the Channel of the Lake of *Tunes*; and fearing leſt ſome relief ſhould be ſent to the beſieged, maintained their Aſſault day and night without intermiſſion. Neverthele ſs, certain Companies of Spaniards ſent from the new Caſtle by *Serbellio*, got into *Guletta*; after which, they in the beſieged Caſtle ſallied out, and the 20 of *Auguſt* repulſed the Turks, with an exceeding great ſlaughter. But the Baſſaes fully reſolved upon the winning of the place to engage their whole Forces, and without ceaſing ſtill bringing on freſh Souldiers, after they had all the day continued a moſt terrible Aſſault, at length about two hours after Sun ſet, they took the Caſtle the 23 day of *Auguſt*, when there was now ſcarcely 200 Souldiers left alive to defend the ſame; who altogether with the other weak People in the Caſtle were without mercy cut in pieces. What wealth the Turks found in this Caſtle, is hard to ſay; but certain it is, that they had therein great ſtore of Victuals, Armor, Shot, and Powder, and four hundred great Pieces of Artillery.

Guletta *taken by the Turks.*

The new Caſtle beſieged.

Guletta thus taken, the Turks forthwith laid Siege to the new Caſtle, appointed by *Don John* the year before to have been built betwixt *Guletta* and *Tunes*, which was not yet altogether finiſhed; wherein the two ancient and valiant Captains, *Serbellio* and *Salazar* (left there of purpoſe for the building thereof by *Don John*) lay with a Garriſon of 4000 good Souldiers. The Baſſaes when they gave the firſt ſummons to the Caſtle, the 24 of *Auguſt*, required to have it forthwith delivered unto them; to whom *Serbellio* ſtoutly anſwered, That he had promiſed the King his Maſter, to give him a better account of the place; and being now alſo very old, could not indure the Turks heavy Yoke, but would therefore hold it out unto the laſt Man; which both he and *Salazar* truly performed, not omitting any thing that was by Men to be done for defence of the place; and ſallying out, ſometime the one, and ſometimes the other made great ſlaughter of the Turks, giving them alſo repulſe upon repulſe when they came to the Aſſault. But the great Baſſaes, little feeling, and leſs regarding the loſs of Men, ſo that thereby they might gain the place, after many moſt terrible and deſperate Aſſaults, at length (namely the 13 day of *September*) when they had with all their force for the ſpace of ſix hours furiouſly aſſaulted the Caſtle, and ſlain moſt of the Defendants, at laſt look it. *Serbellio* ſhot in with two Bullets, and wiſhing rather to die than to fall into the hand of the Enemy, thruſt himſelf into the midſt of the Turks, there to have periſhed; but by the haſty coming in of *Pial* Baſſa, both he and *Salazar* were taken alive; as for all the reſt that followed them, they were put to the Sword. The Baſſa in his rage ſtruck *Serbellio*, and the more to grieve him, cauſed his Son to be cruelly murthred before his Face. Neither was this Victory by the Turks obtained without Blood, having in leſs than three months ſpace that the Siege endured, loſt above thirty thouſand Men.

The notable anſwer of Serbellio.

The new Caſtle taken.

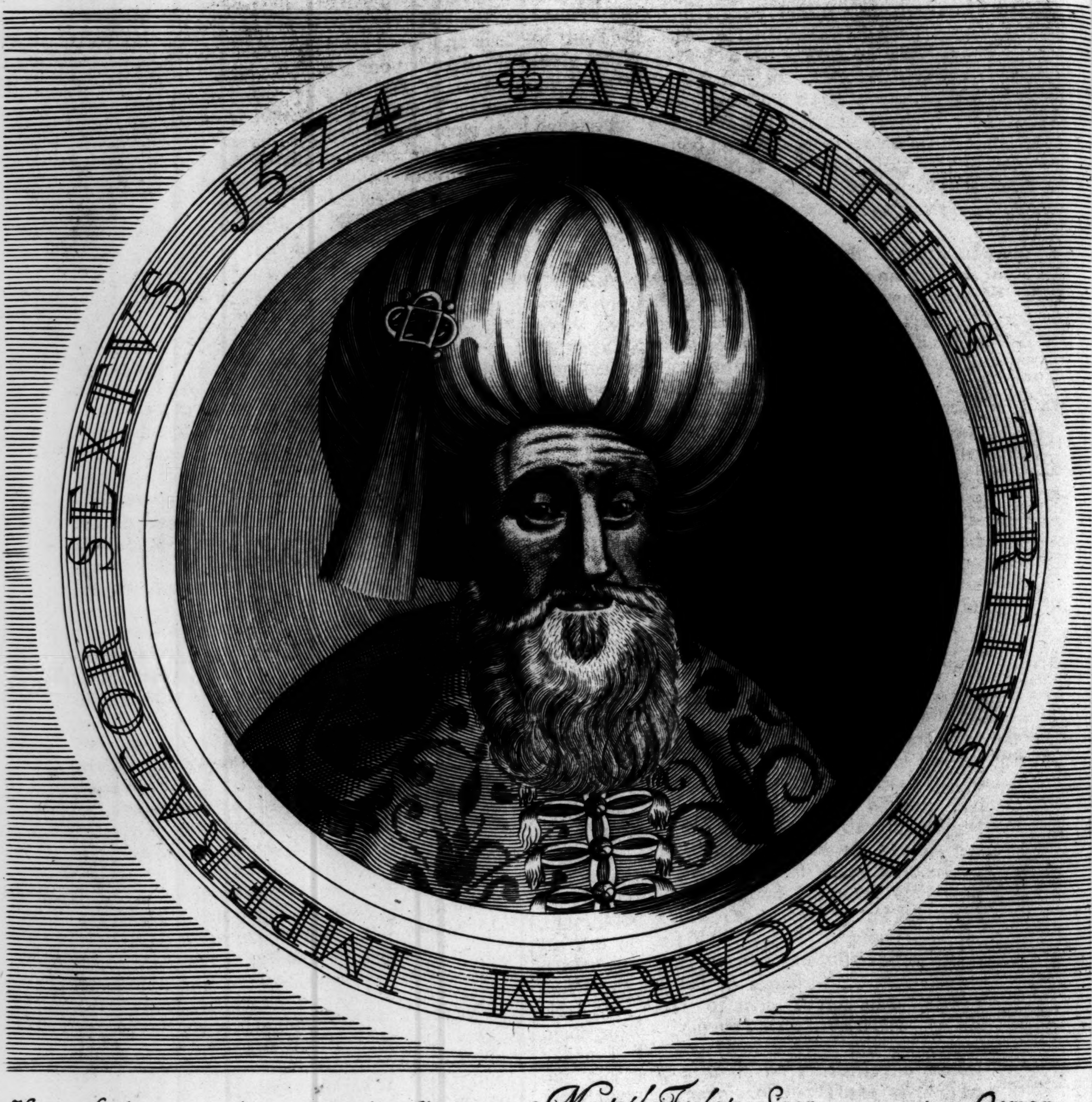
Tunes *yielded to the Turks.*

Theſe ſtrong Holds (the greateſt ſtrength of that Kingdom) thus taken, the Turks marched to *Tunes*, which they eaſily took, and afterwards overthrew the Fortifications thereof, becauſe it ſhould no more Rebel. *Mahomet* the young King, but the year before placed in that Kingdom by *Don John*, was there taken, and in bonds ſent aboord to be carried with *Carrera* Captain of *Guletta*, Priſoners to *Conſtantinople*; and thus the Kingdom of *Tunes*, with the ſtrong Caſtle of *Guletta*, fell again into the poſſeſſion of the Turks, to the further trouble of the Chriſtian Countries lying over againſt it. The proud Baſſaes having (as they thought) beſt diſpoſed of all things at *Tunes* and *Guletta*, departed thence, and with their Fleet of 400 Sail, came the fourth of *October* within ſight of *Malta*. But underſtanding that they of *Malta* were provided for their coming, and remembring what diſhonour their moſt magnificent Emperor *Solyman* had not many years before there ſuſtained (whereof divers of them had been eye-witneſſes) they turned thence, and ſailed directly to *Conſtantinople*.

Selymus *dieth.*

Shortly after, this great Emperor *Selymus* ſpent with Wine and Women, unto whom he had given his great ſtrength, died the ninth of *December* in the year of our Lord 1574; when he had lived one and fifty years, and thereof reigned eight, and lieth buried at *Hadrianople*. He was but of a mean Stature, and of an heavy Diſpoſition, his Face rather Swollen, than Fat, much reſembling a Drunkard. Of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors he was of leaſt Valour, and therefore leaſt regarded, altogether given to Senſuality and Pleaſure; and ſo dying, left his Empire unto *Amurath* his eldeſt Son, a Man of more Temperance, but not much greater Courage; who neverthele ſs by his valiant Baſſaes and Men of War, did great matters, eſpecially againſt the Perſians, the mortal and dangerous Enemies of the Turks, as ſhall be hereafter in this Hiſtory declared.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Selymus *the Second.*	*Emperors of* Germany		Maximilian *the Second.*	1565. 12.
	Kings	*Of* England	*Queen* Elizabeth.	1558. 45.
		Of France	Charles *the Ninth.*	1560. 14.
		Of Scotland,	*Queen* Mary	1543. 20;
			James *the Sixth, that now reigneth.*	1567.
	Biſhops of Rome,		Pius *the* V.	1566. 6.
			Julius *the* XIII.	1572. 12.


AMVRATHES TERTIVS TVRCARVM IMPERATOR SEXTVS 1574

Non ego fortis eram: quis tanto nomine dignus!
Ni fortem faciat mens generosa virum.
Me tumidum fortuna tumens evexit in altum,
Et par fortuna mens mea semper erat.
Sic quamvis tenero mihi nil nisi molle placeret:
Nominis augendi raptus amore fui.
Emisique meos ad fortia facta miniſtros:
Per quos sublatum est, nomen in aſtra meum.

Valiant I was not, none deserve that name
But those, whose generous minds bespeake their fame.
Fortune advanc'd me high, and fickle Shee
Still found a Soule, bravely prepard in me,
Soft in my tender years tho' I became,
Yet still I priz'd the glory of my name:
I Sent abroad my Ministers of State,
To doe the Slavish drugery of my fate.

Mustapha, Ferhates, Sinan et ter maximus Osman,
Terrores Orbis, Succubuere mihi,
Armenios domui fortes, Medosque feroces;
Et mihi paruerat Regia Taurisij.
Sed mihi quid prodest tantorum parta labore
Gloria, Si Subito maxima quæque ruant!
Et nihil est tanti, quod non brevis auferet hora
Sic mea cum multis gloria victa jacet.

Osman, Ferhates, Sinan, Mustapha
The terrors of the World, did me obey.
I broke the Medes, and the Armenian Powers,
And batterd downe the proud Taurisian Towers.
Yet what's all this to my ill gott renowne,
Since greateſt things are sooneſt tumbled downe,
We're robb'd of all we have, in one short houre,
And quickly we, and ours shall be no more.

pag 651.

THE LIFE OF AMURATH,

The Third of that Name, Sixth Emperour of the *Turks*.

1574

Amurath takes upon him the *Turkiſh* Empire the 25th day of *December*, in the year 1574.

THE death of the late Emperour *Selymus*, was, for fear of the inſolent Janizaries, notably concealed by the great *Baſſa's*, until ſuch time as *Amurath*, his eldeſt Son, then in *Aſia*, by ſpeedy Meſſengers advertis'd thereof, about twelve dayes after arrived at *Conſtantinople*, and there received into the *Seraglio*, took poſſeſſion of the Empire the five and twentieth day of *December*, ſolemn amongſt us Chriſtians, for the Nativity of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus. He was about thirty, or as ſome write, ſeven and twenty years old, when he began to reign; of a manly ſtature, but pale and corpulent, wearing his Beard thin and long: in his Countenance appeared not the fierce nature of the *Othoman* Princes, being indeed himſelf of a peaceable diſpoſition, a lover of Juſtice, and, in the manner of his Superſtition, very zealous. The riot and exceſs grown amongſt the *Turks* by his Fathers evil Example, he reformed by his own Temperance, and the ſevere puniſhment of notorious Drunkards; yet it is reported, that he would oftentimes himſelf drink plentifully of Wormwood-wine; he was much ſubject to the Falling-ſickneſs, and ſore troubled with the Stone; more ſpare-handed than was for the greatneſs of his State; and yielding more to the counſel of his Mother, his Wife, and Siſter, than of his great Baſſa's, which was of many imputed to him for ſimplicity.

The deſcription of *Amurath*.

He pacifieth the *Janizaries*, and augmenteth their priviledges.

At his firſt coming to *Conſtantinople*, to appeaſe the murmuring of the Janizaries, (grieved to ſee themſelves ſo diſappointed of the ſpoil of the Chriſtians and Jews, which they were wont to take in the vacancy of the Empire) he, beſide the uſual largeſs which the Turkiſh Emperours at their firſt entrance into the Empire, beſtow upon them, augmented alſo their daily wages, and granted them this Priviledge, That their Sons, as ſoon as they came to be twenty years old, ſhould be inrolled amongſt the number of the younger Janizaries, and be partakers alſo of their immunities; whereby he won their favours exceedingly. And immediately, to rid himſelf of all competitors, he, after the unnatural manner of the Turkiſh Policy, cauſed his five Brethren, *Muſtapha*, *Solyman*, *Abdulla*, *Oſman*, and *Tzihanger*, to be all ſtrangled in his own preſence. The Mother of *Solyman*, pierced through with the cruel death of her young Son, as a Woman overcome with ſorrow, deſperately ſtruck her ſelf to the heart with a dagger, and ſo died. At which ſo tragical a ſight, it is reported that *Amurath* let ſome tears fall, as not delighting in ſuch barbarous cruelty, but that the ſtate and manner of his Government ſo required.

He ſtrangleth five of his Brethren.

A deſperate woman.

In the beginning of his Reign he eſtabliſhed divers wholſome Laws, altered the Coin, and bountifully relieved the Poor. And albeit that he was of a mild and peaceable nature, yet becauſe he would not ſeem to degenerate from the *Othoman* Princes his Progenitors, he proſecuted his Fathers Wars, and by the Tartars called *Præcopenſes*, in the month of *October* in the year 1575 entred into *Ruſſia*, part of the *Polonian* Kingdom, where he burnt and deſtroyed two hundred Noble-mens houſes, beſides an infinite number of Towns and Villages, made great ſlaughter of the poor Country people, and carried away great numbers of Cattel and Priſoners bound in thongs made of raw Hides. But whilſt they were dividing the ſpoil with *Peter* the new Vayvod of *Valachia*, who had before ſolemnly promiſed to give the *Tartars* no paſſage that way, the *Polonian Coſſacks*, who had lien waiting for their return upon the River *Boriſthenes*, brake into the *Tartar's* Country, and there requited them with like harm, and brought back with them a number of old Captives, who little expected that their ſo ſudden deliverance.

Ruſſia invaded by the *Turks*. *Leon. Gorecius de Bell. Ivonia.*

1575

The *Polonians* at this time were at variance among themſelves about the Election of their new King; *Henry Valoys*, their late King, being the laſt year, after the death of *Charles* his Brother the *French* King, ſecretly ſtoll'n from them into *France*, to take upon him that Kingdom: after whoſe departure ſome of the *Polonian* Nobility made choice of *Maximilian* the Emperour; other ſome, no leſs inclining unto the choice of the great Duke of *Muſcovy*, and ſome unto others alſo. Whereof *Amurath* underſtanding, and loth that either of thoſe two great Princes, his Enemies, ſhould be inveſted or ſtrengthened with that ſo great a Kingdom, and ſo near unto him; to hinder that their Election, and to bring in another of leſs power, and ſo leſs dangerous unto himſelf, even in the beginning of his Reign wrote unto the *Polonians* to that purpoſe, commending unto them *Stephen Battor*, the Vayvod of *Tranſilvania*, for their King, in manner following;

Amurath, God of the Earth, Governour of
the whole World, the Meſſenger of God,
and faithful Servant of the great Prophet;
unto the moſt honourable Nobility and
Counſellors of the Kingdom of *Polonia*,
greeting.

Amurath's Letters unto the Nobility of *Polonia*.

IT is not unto the World unknown (moſt honourable and mighty Senators) our Noble Progenitors to have of long time and for many Years holden good Friendſhip and Religious Leagues with the Kingdom of Polonia: *For which cauſe it hath ſeemed good and reaſonable unto us, to put you in remembrance of this ſo antient a League and Band of Friendſhip; for that we underſtanding your Kingdom to be of late become deſtitute of a King, by the departure of the Noble King* Henry *your Crowned King (deſcended of the Royal Race of the* French *Kings) our friend: Who, for the ſmall regard you had of him (ſo Great and Worthy a Prince) and for your Diſloyalty, is departed*

out

1575 *out of your Kingdom, without purpoſe of returning any more into* Polonia. *Whereupon, as it is reported unto us (but how truly we know not) you paſſing over your ſaid Crowned King* Henry, *are about to make choice of a new King, and eſpecially of* Maximilian *the Emperour, or of the Duke of* Muſcovie, *both men of running wits, and of us greatly hated: For why, you may well know they will be troubleſome and grievous, not unto every one of you only, but even unto us alſo. Wherefore be you ware that you be not deceived; and take heed leſt your Confederations and Leagues cannot long by their valour and proweſs be eſtabliſhed; and withal, conſider well the great dangers and loſſes which you may thereby fall into: Whereof we have thought good to give you a taſte: Wherefore beware that heavier things befall not your State. We know there are right Noble and Wiſe men amongſt you, which know better than they how to Rule and Govern: And if ſo be it pleaſe you not to make choice of any of your own Nation, there is not far from you one* Stephen Battor *Prince of* Tranſylvania, *a Man of great Honour and Valour, by whoſe Labour and Dexterity, you may eaſily procure the peace and quiet of your Kingdom. Whereas if you ſhall do otherwiſe, we take to witneſs your God, and his Servant our Great Prophet, to deſtroy all your Wealth and Goods, which together with your Selves, your Wives and Children ſhall be given for a prey unto our Souldiers, with the chief men of your Cities of* Cracovia *and* Leperis: *Which for all that we ſay not as any thing at all doubting of your Fidelity and Conſtancy toward us. As for the reſt, which it pleaſed us by word of Mouth to have told unto you, we have given charge unto this our Embaſſadour and Counſellour, unto whom our deſire is, that you ſhould give full credence. From* Conſtantinople *the laſt of* September, *in the Year of our Prophet* Mahomet 983, *and firſt of our Reign.*

This great Sultan's commendations ſo much prevailed with the *Polonians*, that notwithſtanding that *Maximilian* the Emperour was by the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna* and ſome others choſen King, yet was that his Election by the greater part of the Nobility revoked, and both he and the great Duke of *Muſcovy* being paſſed over, the noble Princeſs *Anne* (of the moſt honourable *Jagellonian* Houſe) choſen Queen of *Polonia*; yet with this condition, That ſhe ſhould marry *Stephen* the Vayvod of *Tranſylvania*, to them by *Amurath* commended. Who, afterward elected King, all the time of his Life right worthily governed that noble Kingdom, not only defending the ſame in ſuch ſtate as he found it, but alſo notably extending the bounds thereof, enlarging it with ſuch Territories as he by force of Arms got from his Neighbours, eſpecially the *Muſcovite*. Of this Election *Amurath* would oftentimes afterwards boaſt, and ſay, That he had given the *Polonians* their King. But of him, and of the League made by him with *Amurath*, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

Stephen Vayvod of *Tranſilvania*, upon the commendation of *Amurath*, choſen King of *Polonia*.

1576 The year following, great troubles aroſe in *Perſia*, whereby the flouriſhing ſtate of that moſt mighty Kingdom was ſore ſhaken, and opportunity given for the Turkiſh Emperour to invade the ſame; which he laying hold upon, entred into that bloudy War, which, to the great quiet of the Chriſtian Common-weal, for long time after exerciſed the Forces of thoſe moſt puiſſant Princes one upon another. For the better underſtanding whereof, it ſhall not be amiſs compendiouſly to ſet down the ſame troubles of the *Perſian* Kingdom, the very ground of the long and mortal War between thoſe two moſt mighty Monarchs.

Old *Tamas*, the Perſian King, Son to the noble *Iſmael*, who with great glory had more than fifty years worthily governed that large Kingdom, and mightily withſtood the often invaſions of the Turkiſh Emperours, now ſpent with years, died the eleventh of *May* in the year 1576, leaving behind him eleven Sons; namely, *Mahamet*, the eldeſt, of an infirmity in his eyes ſirnamed *Codabanda*, a man of a peaceable and quiet diſpoſition, more delighted with the ſweet pleaſure of a contented Life, than the careful Honours of ſo great a Kingdom: *Iſmahel* the ſecond Son, of a more fierce and troubleſome nature, ſo much abhorring quietneſs, that, not regarding the League hardly concluded betwixt his aged Father and the Turkiſh Emperours, *Solyman* and *Selymus*, he would now and then, without his Fathers knowledge, upon a youthful heat, break out into the Frontiers of the Turks Dominions, and there make great ſpoil; for which doing, although he was both of his Father and the People the more regarded, yet was he by his Fathers commandment (who in outward ſhew ſeemed to miſlike of thoſe his youthful pranks, tending to the breach of the League) reſtrained of his liberty, and ſent to the Caſtle of *Cabacha*, betwixt *Tauris and Casbin*, where he remained at the time of his Fathers death: *Aidere* the third Son, no leſs ambitious than was his Brother *Iſmahel*, but not of like valour, kept by *Zalcan*, *Pyry Mahamet*, and other his Kinsfolks, all men of great Power and Authority. The other eight were, *Mamut*, *Solyman*, *Muſtapha*, *Emanguli*, *Alichan*, *Amet*, *Abrahim*, and *Iſmahel* the younger.

1577

The eleven Sons of *Tamas* the *Perſian* King.

The old King before his death had by his laſt Will and Teſtament ſolemnly appointed *Iſmahel* his ſecond Son to ſucceed him in the Kingdom; as of all his Sons moſt fit to take upon him ſo great a charge. Which thing *Mahamet* his elder Brother ſeem'd not much to diſlike, contenting himſelf with ſuch Honours as his Father had before beſtow'd upon him.

Iſmahel appointed by his Father to ſucceed him in the Kingdom.

Tamas thus dead, *Iſmahel* was by the Sultans ſent for to *Cabacha*, to take upon him his Fathers Kingdom at *Casbin*, when in the mean time there aroſe a great tumult in the City, yea even in the Kings Palace; for *Aidere*, the third Brother, who in the time of his Fathers greateſt ſickneſs had entred the Chamber where he lay drawing towards his end, and in his ſight moſt preſumptuouſly ſet the Royal Crown upon his head, to the manifeſting of his ambitious deſires, for which he was then worthily reproved: now after the death of his aged Father, carried headlong with the ſame aſpiring humour, and ſupported by *Zalcan*, and other his mighty Favourites, had ſo effectually dealt with the great Lady *Periaconcona*, his eldeſt Siſter, and the other Sultans, Counſellors of Eſtate, put in truſt to ſee the Will of the dead King put in execution, as that the Succeſſion could not be any longer kept from him, and preſerved for *Iſmahel*, but by the help of ſome fine and ſecret deceit. This Lady *Periaconcona*, (elder than all the young Princes, the Sons of *Tamas*, her Brethren, a Woman of great ſpirit and deep conceit) left in great truſt by her Father, ſeeing the proceedings of her Brother *Aidere*, durſt neither openly to move any thing unto the Sultans prejudicial to his deſigns, neither could ſhe in her heart indure ſo great an injury to be done to her Brother *Iſmahel*, appointed by his Father to ſucceed him. Wherefore in this perplexity ſhe caſt in her wily head how to ſatisfie her ambitious Brother preſent, how to ſave the right of *Iſmahel* abſent, the honour of her dead Father's Will and Teſtament, and the ſafety of the Kingdom. For having thorowly debated the matter with the Sultans, ſhe reſolved that *Aidere*, inveſted in Royal Apparel, and ſetled in the great Gallery, ſhould attend the acclamation of the People, and be there openly inthroniſed as the very elected King. With which vain ſhew the unwiſe

Aidere aſpireth to the Kingdom of *Perſia*.

youth

1576

youth (blinded with Ambition) ſuffered himſelf to be led: and being ſet in his Majeſty, verily perſuaded himſelf that he ſhould now be honoured, both of his Friends and Foes, as King. But unto theſe his ſo haſty and proſperous deſigns, the Succeſs that ſprung from the ſubtilty of thoſe Counſellors, and his diſſembling Siſter, were nothing conformable; for that ſhe, by their advice, took order for the gates of the Palace to be preſently lock'd, leaving at every paſſage a ſure Guard, and only one wicket open, ſafely warded with a company of moſt faithful and valorous Captains and Souldiers, wholly devoted to *Tamas* and *Iſmahel*, with ſtraight charge, to ſuffer every man to enter in, ſaving only the known friends of *Aidere*. In this ſort did ſhe think to have entertained the young man, until ſuch time as *Iſmahel* ſhould arrive at *Cabaca*, and ſo put in execution what he thought beſt for the honour of himſelf, and the general quiet of the Kingdom.

Who joyeth now but *Aidere?* in conceit a King, repleniſhed with unwonted joyes, receiving honour from all men but his beſt Friends. By means whereof, perceiving now the prohibition of them, and moved alſo with the great ſtir of *Zalcan*, his greateſt Favourite (who diſcovering the deceit, and crying upon King *Aidere*, threatned the Lady, the Sultans, and the reſt that waited upon the feigned Succeſſion, indeed ordained but for the ſcorn and deſpight of the ambitious man) ſtrucken with an exceeding fear, and full of ſorrow, he withdrew himſelf cloſely amongſt certain Women in the Court, hoping ſo to find ſome way to eſcape with life.

In the mean time, ſo greatly increaſed the cries and threatnings of the Friends and Favourites of *Aidere*, (who now had all of them prepared themſelves for ſome dangerous and pernicious attempt) that the Counſellors, with conſent of the Lady his Siſter, were inforced to take order, That to bereave this tumultuous and ſeditious People of all their hope and courage, *Aidere* ſhould be deprived of his Life. Whereupon, *Sahamal* the Georgian, Uncle to *Aidere* by the Mothers ſide, by the appointment of the Lady *Periaconcona* and the Sultans, after long ſearch made for him, at laſt found him hidden amongſt the Women, and without further delay, taking him by the locks, ſtruck his head from his ſhoulders, and in the place where *Zalcan* and the reſt of his unfortunate Favourites ſtood crying and threatning, amongſt the thickeſt of the preaſe of the proud Conſpirators, flung the Head all bloudy, and as it were yet breathing for heat; crying aloud to them, *Behold there your King, enjoy him at your pleaſure.* At which ſudden and horrible Spectacle, every man burned in rage and anger; neither for the preſent wanted there many a raſh head, that vainly threatned moſt cruel revenge; but in the end, when they perceived the neer Succeſſion of *Iſmahel* inevitable, and the death of *Aidere* irrevocable, every man betook himſelf to his own private Affairs, and ſo at laſt divided themſelves one from another; and ſo departing from the Palace, ſcattered themſelves ſome one way ſome another, every man as he thought beſt for his own ſafety.

Aider ſlain, and his Head caſt amongſt his Favorites.

Iſmahel ſaluted King.

He murdereth eight of his younger Brethren.

Shortly after, *Iſmahel*, the deſired King, arrived at *Casbin*, where he was of his Siſter and the Sultans joyfully received as their lawful and undoubted Sovereign, and with the great acclamation of the People ſaluted King; who, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of the Royal Seat, and his power now anſwerable to his deſires, he, after the manner of the Turkiſh Policy, moſt unnaturally cauſed the Heads of his eight younger Brethren to be ſtricken off; and withall uſed ſuch farther diligence, that not only all thoſe which were near unto them in Blood or Affinity were bereaved of their Lives, but alſo all the Favourites of his late ſlain Brother *Aidere* were deſtroyed in that publick ſlaughter; ſo that all the Streets of *Casbin* were defiled with blood, and all the City reſounded with mourning and complaints. Which unexpected Cruelty, altogether unworthy ſo worthy a thought King, ſo altered the minds of his Subjects in general, that all their former hopes were now converted into new fears, and their joy into mourning. But much greater, and far more lamentable did the miſeries grow, as ſoon as it was given out, That he would change the Religion of the *Perſians* (who with great devotion honour their fooliſh Prophet *Aly*) into the Superſtition of the Turks, (who with no leſs impiety obſerve and maintain the wicked Rites of *Ebubekir*, *Hammer*, *Oſman*, and others, by them ſuppoſed to be the moſt true Succeſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*.) For by means of this uncouth novelty and unexpected change, and by force of an Edict concerning that matter, publiſhed by this new King, many of his prophane Prieſts, many of the Governours of his friendly and ſubject Cities (too much devoted to their former Superſtition) were driven, ſome into exile, ſome clapt into priſon, ſome had their Eyes pluck'd out, (among whom was the Caliph of *Casbin*) and not a few others, in ſundry ſorts depriv'd of their Lives. Yea, many Ladies, joyned in blood with *Iſmahel* himſelf, and divers others of his Kinsfolks (to whom neither Sex, nor Age, nor Innocency, could be a ſufficient defence) endured ſundry torments and ſtrange calamities; ſo that in *Perſia* was never felt greater troubles, or a more dangerous change.

In this ſo great an Innovation, and among theſe Tumults, there went abroad withall a general rumour, not in the Cities of *Perſia* only, but in the Regions of the *Turks* alſo, even as far as *Conſtantinople*, That *Iſmahel* with a puiſſant Army of ſuch as favoured this new proclaimed vanity, was determined in perſon himſelf to go to *Babylon*, now called *Bagdat*, there to receive the Crown of the Empire, at the hands of him that he ſhould find to be the Succeſſor of their great Calyph, and in the chief place among their unclean Prieſts; as had ſometime *Solyman*, the great Emperour of the *Turks*, and the *Perſian* Kings of ancient times. In this world of troubles, when as the fear of farther miſeries increaſed, rather than any hope of ancient quietneſs; he was, when he leaſt feared, by the help of the afore-named Lady *Periaconcona*, ſuddenly bereft of his Life: but whether overtaken in ſome of his own amorous practiſes, or poiſoned by his ſaid Siſter, or that ſhe (as ſome probably affirm) having ſecretly conſpired with *Calil Chan*, *Emir Chan*, *Pyry Mahamet*, *Curchi Baſſi*, (being all at that time men of great account, and, as it were, Preſidents of the Kingdom) who, diſguiſed in Womens apparel, and brought in by her, ſtrangled him, at ſuch time as he had privately withdrawn himſelf amongſt his Paramours, is uncertain. Howſoever it was, ſufficeth it, that he by the help of the ſaid Lady *Periaconcona*, was by unnatural Death taken out of this World the four and twentieth day of *November*, in the year of Grace 1577, to the exceeding joy of all thoſe Nations, who by his death thought themſelves now freed of many great and dangerous troubles; when he had reigned one year, ſeven months, and ſix days.

Iſmahel ſuddenly murthered by the device of his Siſter *Periaconcona*.

1577

Iſmahel thus taken out of the way, the Lady began forthwith to perſuade with the great Sultans (the Miniſters of *Iſmahels* death) that as they had for the general good of *Perſia* contrived the death of the late King, ſo now that they would take upon them the Protection of that great Kingdom, with the preſervation of the Majeſty and Liberty thereof, untill ſuch time as it were known who ſhould worthily ſucceed in that Crown, which now remained in their Hands. There was at that time many of the greateſt Princes and Governours of that Kingdom aſſembled at *Casbin*, there gaping after ſuch Mutations of thoſe troubleſome times, as might beſt ſerve their private deſigns. *Emir Chan*, burning in ambitious Deſires, was in hope, by means of a match to be made with a Siſter of *Periaconcona* (who was already greatly inclining unto him) to be exalted to the ſovereignty of all *Perſia*. *Mirizi Salmas*, the chief Sultan, hoped on the other ſide to advance into the Eſtate, either *Mahamet Codabanda*, the eldeſt Brother of the dead King, or elſe *Hamze*, the eldeſt Son of the ſaid *Mahamet*; and by beſtowing upon him his Daughter in Marriage (as afterwards he did) ſo to increaſe the glory of his Houſe. Others there were that thought they ſhould be able to draw *Abas Mirize* (the middlemoſt Son of *Mahamet*) out of *Heri*, and to make him King. Neither wanted the Infant *Tamas* his aſpiring Friends, whoſe Tutor waited likewiſe for ſome Opportunity to ſettle him in the Kingdom, and ſo by means of his Greatneſs, to make himſelf greateſt amongſt his Fellows. A number of others there were, that ſecretly waited upon every Occaſion that time ſhould preſent for their Preferment. Howbeit in this ſo great variety of Thoughts, the Sultans anſwered the Lady with one conſent, and promiſed her in moſt liberal Terms, all the Protection that their Forces could afford, or their Weapons procure: and yet did every one of them, both in Action and Word, Clerk-like, diſſemble their ſeveral Imaginations, whereunto their Minds were as prone and ready, as their Hearts were cunning cloſely to conceal them.

Amurath intentive to the ſtirs in *Perſia*.

Mahamet reſolveth to take upon him the *Perſian* Kingdom.

Mahamet proclaimed King of *Perſia*. The Head of *Periaconcona* preſented to *Mahamet* on a Lance.

Amurath the Turkiſh Emperour now wakened, firſt at the Death of the old renowned *Tamas*, and then at the Rumour of the deſire *Iſmahel* had to paſs with an Army to *Babylon*, as alſo at the freſh Report of the *Turkiſh* Superſtition newly publiſhed in *Perſia*; and withall, throughly inſtructed what harm this late King had done in *Perſia*, what Diſſentions he had raiſed, and how hardly the Provinces of that Empire had endured thoſe Calamities; began forthwith to think hereby a fair Occaſion to be miniſtred unto him to take up Arms againſt the *Perſians*, and Matter ſufficient ſuggeſted for him to put in Execution the great deſire he had of ſome new Conqueſt. For it is an ancient Cuſtom, which is grown to be as it were a Law among the *Othoman* Kings, That they may not challenge their due Honours in their Life-time, nor their proud Monuments after their Death, unleſs they attempt ſome great and ambitious Actions and Enterpriſes, and perform ſome Exploit conformable to their Majeſty. *Amurath* therefore bent upon theſe great ſtirs in *Perſia*, would not direct his Mind any other way, or take any other War in hand, untill he might firſt ſee what iſſue theſe marvellous Innovations in *Perſia* would bring forth; which in the Perſon of *Mahamet*, the ſucceeding King, ſeemed to be more pregnant than ever before, and miniſtred unto *Amurath* new Occaſions of victorious and ſtrange Hopes. For as ſoon as *Iſmahel* was dead, the afore-named *Mirize Salmas* (in Dignity chief man among the Sultans, though in Blood and Nobility, inferiour to them all) after many Letters diſpatched to and fro, at laſt aſſured *Mahamet Codabanda*, how, with all quietneſs of Mind, and ſecurity of Perſon, he might come and poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom. He was alſo advertiſed by the ſaid *Salmas*, of the whole Conſpiracy plotted againſt his Brother, to bring him to his end; and likewiſe made acquainted how the fraudulent Lady, with the Sultans, had capitally conſulted againſt himſelf: and how ſhe, favouring *Emir Chan*, and *Abas Mirize* of *Heri*, her Nephew, and his Son, more than became her, did little regard the due and rightful Succeſſion of him, being the eldeſt Brother. So *Mahamet*, bearing himſelf upon the Faith and Diligence of *Mirize Salmas*, and deſiring withall, to ſee his eldeſt Son *Hamze Mirize* advanced to ſome ſuch ſovereign Dignity as he ſaw was due to the lively hope every man perceived to be in him, in regard of his Virtue and Prudence for managing the Commonwealth, and Matters of War, (wherein alſo he ſhewed himſelf unto his Father jealous and ſuſpicious, leſt ſome other men ſhould uſurp upon him that Honour and Authority which ſo properly appertained unto him) reſolved in the end, not to leave the Kingdom in the hands of private Perſons, nor the lightneſs of an unconſtant Woman of ſuſpected Modeſty, and a rebellious Conſpirator againſt her own Blood; wherewith ſhe had, without any pity or remorſe of Conſcience, now twice defiled her ſelf. And therefore he wrote back again, that he was minded to take the rightful Succeſſion upon him, and that for the ſame purpoſe he was putting himſelf upon his Journey; with ſtraight charge notwithſtanding, that *Mirize Salmas* ſhould before his entrance within the Gates of *Casbin*, preſent him with the miſchievous Head of *Periaconcona*, a Woman (in reſpect of the ſcorn exerciſed againſt his Brother *Aidere*, and of the treacherous Death of her other Brother *Iſmahel*, and of the perverſe Imaginations which ſhe had conceived to cauſe the Succeſſion to fall into other mens hands, and of the prodigal familiarity which ſhe had with ſome of the Sultans) well worthy of a thouſand Deaths. Secretly did *Mirize Salmas* put in Execution whatſoever *Mahamet* had privately enjoyned him, ſo that by his means he was preſently and ſolemnly proclaimed King of *Perſia*. And afterwards, having gathered together many ſquadrons of men, wholly devoted to the Blood and Name of *Mahamet*, the ſame *Mirize Salmas* met him on the way, carrying the Head of that manlike *Virago Periaconcona* upon the point of a Lance, with her Hair diſperſed, and ſome other uncouth ſights to the Terrour of the Beholders. From which Novelties (one miſchief as it were hudling upon the neck of another) there ſprung up divers inward Hatreds, ſundry tumultuous Seditions, and much Civil Wars; this new King, by the inſtigation of *Mirize Salmas*, ſeeking on the one ſide to be revenged on the Sultans for his Brothers Death; and they on the other ſide oppoſing themſelves with all their Power againſt him, the State of *Perſia* began to fall into great Inconveniences, and of theſe Novelties to reap new Loſſes. *Sahamal* the *Georgian* fled into his Mountain of *Brus*, fearing the Wrath of his new Lord: *Leuent Ogli*, likewiſe another of the Lords of *Georgia*, underſtanding of the flight of *Sahamal* his Neighbour, enſtranged himſelf ſo far from his old Love and ancient Devotion towards the *Perſian* Kings, that he ſeemed now to deſire ſome new Innovation. The Nations alſo that were Neighbours to the *Turks*, and the People of *Media Antropatia* (now called *Siruan*) diſliked of this new King; and in the end it appeared, that *Perſia*, under this King, through many Mutations, was in ſhort time fallen into moſt notable Miſery, and the ſtate thereof more weakened than it had been of long time before.

Of all theſe things had *Amurath* from divers places intelligence, but more particularly from *Uſtreff* of *Van*, (a City of *Armenia* the greater, ſcituate upon the Lake of *Aitamar*) who ſent him moſt perfect information of all the ſtirs in *Perſia*; diſcourſing unto him of the death of *Iſmahel*, the conſultations of the Sultans, the treacheries and death of *Periaconcona*, the broils between the King and the Sultans, the nature of the new King, (being diſeaſed in his eyes, little eſteemed of his Subjects, beſotted in affection towards his Sons) the facility to over-rule the chief Governours of the *Georgians*, and the People of *Siruan*, evil affected towards the new King; and to be brief, whatſoever had in truth ſucceeded in *Perſia*, and might inflame the mind of the ambitious Sultan, to convert his Forces againſt an Enemy of ſmall counſel, and much confuſion; adding thereunto, that never was there greater opportunity to overcome that King than was now offered, and therefore wiſhed him, not in any caſe to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion, as the *Othoman* Kings had never before, for the obtaining of ſo certain and glorious Victories.

Amurath, of long time wholly bent to mark the event of the troubles in *Perſia*, now ſtirred up with theſe Advertiſements from *Uſtreff*, ſetled himſelf more deeply in his former conceits to prove his Forces in ſubduing the Perſian King, the antient Enemy of the *Othoman* Emperours, and his only Corrival and odious Competitor in the Eaſt. But no one thing did more inflame him thereunto, than to think, how he ſhould have to his Enemy a King not acquainted with deeds of Arms, doting upon his Children, and weakned with the diſſention of his Subjects; and on the other ſide, entring into the conſideration of his own Forces, of the infinite number of his men, both Horſe and Foot, of the means he had to find money, of his Artillery and Engines of War, wherein he far ſurpaſſed the *Perſians*; he did more and more reſolve with himſelf, to take the occaſion that now was offered him to begin the War. For the compaſſing of which his purpoſe, he was greatly favoured by the preſent State of Chriſtendom, at that time being wholly in league and amity with him. So not finding any thing contrary to his deſignments, he reſolved at laſt to confer with the chief Baſſa's, which had the government of his Empire, Whether it were better upon this occaſion to begin the prepenſed War; or if they thought not this opportunity to be ſo fit, then to lay it aſide, and to convert his Forces and Counſel againſt the Commonwealth of Chriſtendom. For ſuch is the barbarous Policy whereby this Empire is managed, That it is lawful for them to break any League, be it by never ſo many promiſes or ſolemn Oaths confirmed, whenſoever any Enterpriſe is to be attempted for the advancing thereof. So that although this War could not be moved either againſt the *Perſians* or *Chriſtians* without breach of their promiſed Faith; yet among the manifold Conſultations that paſſed among the great Baſſaes, there was not any man found that made any account of that defect, but all with one accord, without farther reſpect, ſought to ſet forward the ambitious deſire of their proud Lord and Maſter. At laſt, after long conſultation and large diſcourſes, it was agreed upon by the great Baſſaes, *Mahomet*, *Sinan*, and *Muſtapha*, That it would be better, and leſs danger to attempt War againſt the *Perſians*, than againſt the Chriſtian Princes. *Muſtapha* amongſt the reſt, preferring the Valour of the *Latines* (whereof he had made good tryal, eſpecially at *Famaguſta*) before the Armies and Forces of the *Georgians* and *Perſians*. Whereby it is apparent to the World, that neither the zeal of their Religion, nor any injury receiv'd from the *Perſian* King, but only the ambitious deſire of *Amurath* (to ſubdue a Kingdom, both in his own conceit and other mens relations, evil governed, by an effeminate and ſottiſh King, and through civil diſſention brought into great danger) was the firſt provocation of making this War.

No aſſurance in the Turks League.

Ambition the Cauſe of the *Perſian* War.

* A Conſultation holden amongſt the Baſſaes about the manner of the Invaſion of *Perſia*.

* Upon this reſolution there aroſe new conſultations touching the manner thereof, and upon what coaſt they ſhould begin their journey, for the more honourable ſucceſs thereof. Which point *Amurath* greatly urged, proteſting before his chief Counſellors, that he would not enter into that War, except he were in great hope to bear away the Victory. Some thought it moſt convenient to ſend the Army to *Babylon*, and from thence to *Syras*, called in old time *Perſepolis*, the chief City of the Country of *Perſia*: others there were that gave adviſe, that the Army ſhould be directly ſent to *Tauris*, there to erect ſtrong Fortreſſes, and to take poſſeſſion of all the Country round about it; and there wanted not ſome (as it is reported) that thought it better to ſend two ſeveral Armies for both the fore-named Places; and ſo by bringing the Enemy into a ſtraight, to enforce him to yield to whatſoever ſhould be of him required. But *Amurath* durſt not repoſe ſuch Confidence in his Forces, as to think, that with his Battels divided and ſo weakened, he ſhould be able to conquer that Enemy, who had always moſt valiantly fought againſt the monſtrous and puiſſant Armies of his Anceſtors; and therefore firmly reſolved with himſelf to ſend one only Army, and ſo with his united Forces to ſeek the overthrow of the Enemy. And ſo preferring the ſtrong hope he had conceived to conquer the Country of *Siruan*, and the chief Cities of *Media* the great, before the difficulty of making War upon the Coaſt of *Scyras*, repoſing alſo great hope in the notable help that was promiſed him by the *Tartars*, called *Precopenſes*, he confirmed the great *Baſſaes* his Counſellors in the ſame Opinion; and withall, diſcovered unto them a matter, which to all of them, but eſpecially to *Sinan*, ſeemed moſt ſtrange; namely, that he was determined not to go himſelf in Perſon with his Army, but to ſend one of his worthieſt Captains in his ſtead. The Cauſes why he ſo did were many, but eſpecially, for that he was troubled with the falling Sickneſs, and feared greatly (and that not without good cauſe) leſt his Son *Mahomet* (being much favoured of the People) might peradventure in his abſence be untimely advanced to the *Empire*; beſide the Dangers that he ſuſpected at the hands of the Chriſtian Potentates: and withall, perſwaded it to be unto himſelf a great Honour to perform thoſe things by his Servants, which had in thoſe Countries been unfortunately attempted by his moſt noble Predeceſſors in their own Perſons.

While they were thus conſulting about the Expedition, and the great Baſſaes, *Sinan*, *Muſtapha*, and others, made means to be ſent as the Soveraign Miniſters of their Lords Deſignment, he diſpatched away ſundry Poſts and light Horſe-men, with order to the Baſſaes and Governours of *Van*, *Babylon*, and *Erzirum*, in the Frontiers of his Dominions, that they ſhould by often inroads ſpoyl the Towns and Caſtles of the *Perſians*, and by all means to do them what harm they could. Which they were not ſlack to put in Execution, and eſpecially *Uſtref* (or rather *Huſreve*) Baſſa of *Van*; who with often Incurſions did much Miſchief, as well in the Countries Tributary, as ſubject to the *Perſian* King. A forcible preparative for greater Troubles to enſue.

Uſtref Baſſa beginneth the Wars in *Perſia*.

Now in theſe great Preparations for the *Perſian* War, (which for many years after notably exerciſed the greateſt part of the Turks Forces, to the great quiet of the Chriſtian Common-wealth) *Stephen Bathor* the late Vayvod of *Tranſilvania*, but now by the Commendation of *Amurath*, become King of *Polonia*; in the beginning of his Reign, by his Ambaſſadour the great Lord *John* of *Syenna*, entred into a ſtrong League and Confederation with the great Turkiſh Sultan *Amurath* at *Conſtantinople*. Which, for that it ſheweth in what Terms that famous Kingdom then and yet ſtandeth

1577 eth with the Turks great Empire, and withall, containeth Matter well worth the Chriſtian Conſideration, it ſhall not be impertinent to our purpoſe (omitting the long and glorious Stile of that barbarous Monarch, ſerving to no other end but to ſhew the greatneſs of his Power) plainly to ſet it down as it was on his part at the ſame time by him confirmed.

The League betwixt the moſt puiſſant and and mighty Princes, Sultan *Amurath* the Turkiſh Emperour, and *Stephen* King of *Polonia*, agreed upon and concluded at *Conſtantinople*, in the Year of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſu 1577, and of the Prophet *Mahomet*, 985.

The League betwixt *Amurath* the Turks Sultan, and *Stephen*, King of *Polonia*.

I *Sultan* Amurath, *the Son of* Selym Chan, *the Son of* Solyman Chan, *the Son of* Selym Chan, *the Son of* Bajazet Chan, *the Son of the Great Emperour* Mahomet Chan, *&c. Prince of theſe preſent times, the only Monarch of this age, of power able to confound the power of the whole World, the ſhadow of Divine Clemency and Grace, Great Emperour of many Kingdoms, Countries, Provinces, Cities and Towns; Lord of* Mecha, *that is to ſay, of the houſe of the glory of God, of the reſplendent City of* Medina, *and of the moſt bleſſed City of* Hieruſalem, *Prince of the moſt fruitful Country of* Ægypt, Imen, Zenan, Aden, *and many other ſuch like: In moſt loving manner declare, That the moſt Glorious and Renowned* Stephen *King of* Polonia, *Great Duke of* Lithuania, Ruſſia, Pruſia, Maſovia, Samogitia, Kiovia, Livonia, *and many other Countrys moe; Prince of the couragious followers of* Jeſus, *Governour of all the affairs of the people and family of the* Nazarets, *the welcomeſt cloud of Rain, and moſt ſweet fountain of Glory and Vertue, eternal Lord and Heir of the felicity and honour of the aforeſaid noble Kingdom of* Polonia, *unto whom all the diſtreſſed repair for refuge, wiſhing a moſt happy ſucceſs and bleſſed end to all his actions: offering unto us many Religious vows and Eternal praiſes, worthy our perpetual Love and moſt Holy League, and with great Devotion, performing theſe and other like Honours, as for the diſpatch of his Letters to our moſt Glorious Court, for the new confirming of the moſt ſacred League and Confederation with us, ſending the Honourable Lord* John *of* Syenna *(his moſt faithfull Counſellour) his Embaſſadour to our Imperial Court; declaring his Love and Integrity, and purging himſelf of all the ſuſpicion of Hoſtility, hath requeſted the League and Confederation to be renewed. At whoſe inſtance we have given theſe our Letters confirming the ſaid League of Peace and Confederation: Wherein we command, That none of our Counſellours, Beglerbegs, Sanzakes, Generals of our Armies, Captains or Servants ſhall do, or on my behalf preſume to do any hurt unto the Kingdom, Countries, Cities, Caſtles, Towns, Iſlands, or whatſoever elſe to the Kingdom of* Polonia *belonging. And in like manner, that none of the Nobility, Generals, Captains, or others whatſoever belonging unto the King of* Polonia, *ſhall dare to do any harm unto my Kingdoms, Cities, Caſtles, or Towns confining unto the Kingdom of* Polonia. *In brief, my will is, that he being a mortal Enemy unto my Enemies, and a faſt Friend unto my Friends, ſhall do no grievance or harm unto any my Subjects, or things whatſoever unto my juriſdiction belonging. So in like manner, commanding alſo, that no hurt by any means, or for any occaſion, be done by our people unto the Subjects, or whatſoever elſe, unto the Juriſdiction of the King of* Polonia *appertaining.*

The Creatures, Embaſſadours, Meſſengers, and men of whatſoever condition elſe, ſhall on both ſides freely without lett or trouble, come and go without any harm receiving, either in their perſons or goods.

1577 *It ſhall be lawful alſo for the King of* Polonia *his Subjects, to ſeek throughout our Empire, for any the* Polonian *Captives taken before the time of this League; and the ſame ſo found (if they have not received the Turkiſh Religion, but ſtill remain Chriſtians) to redeem without the contradiction of any man.*

And that whatſoever ſhall be taken and carried away after the confirmation of this League, ſhall be all again freely and without any thing paying, delivered and reſtored.

That the Merchants on both parts may freely Traffick with all kind of Merchandize in the Black and White Sea, as alſo upon the main; and ſo paying their uſual and lawful cuſtom, to be in nothing wronged or moleſted.

If any of the Polonian *Merchants ſhall die in our dominion, the goods of him ſo dead, ſhall not be embezled, but kept in ſafety until his brethren or other his friends, ſhall come with the King of* Polonia *his Letters: Upon the ſhewing whereof, having alſo our Letters mandatory, the goods ſhall be forthwith reſtored unto the dead mans heirs. In which ſort alſo my Merchants ſhall be dealt withal, if any of them ſhall chance to die in the Kingdom of* Polonia.

If any wrong be done within the limits of mine Empire, unto any belonging unto the Kingdom of Polonia, *after the date of theſe Letters confirming the League; the doer of the wrong ſhall by my commandment be ſought out, and being found ſhall be puniſhed, and the wrong done, without any delay or contradiction forthwith recompenced. And the like Juſtice to be alſo on the behalf of the King of* Polonia *adminiſtred.*

If any debtor ſhall depart out of mine Empire into the Polonian *Territory, wherſoever he ſhall chance to be found by his creditor, he ſhall be brought to the Judge of that place to be examined, and whatſoever it ſhall be proved him of right to owe, the Judge of that place ſhall according to the equity of the cauſe make the creditor to be ſatisfied.*

But if the debtor cannot himſelf perſonally be found, no other man ſhall by reaſon of another mans debt be taken, detained or moleſted: Neither ſhall the innocent be troubled for the guilty, in either or both our Kingdoms.

In brief, upon whatſoever conditions and capitulations the League of Peace and Confederation was in the time of my Father, my Grandfather, or great Grandfather of famous memory, made with the Kings of Polonia, *upon the ſame conditions and capitulations be it now made alſo.*

Whatſoever hurt hath hitherto been done to either part by reaſon of the diſagreement of the Governours and Captains, ſhall all be on both parties neglected and forgotten.

Alſo after the time of theſe Letters confirming the League and Confederation, Whereas the King of Polonia *ſhall in time pay a certain ſumm of money uſed to be paid unto the Tartars; the Tartar* Chan, *and his Son* Mirzeleby *their Princes, ſhall reſtore the ſame again, and not to dare to ſuffer his Armies by any means to hurt the* Polonian *Territories. So that on the part of the* Tartars *and their Armies, no harm ſhall be done unto the Kingdom of* Polonia, *neither on the part of the* Polonians, *to the Territories of the* Tartars. *And if any harm ſhall by the* Tartars *be done in the King of* Polonia *his Territories, it ſhall by my commandment be again reſtored. And ſo likewiſe on the part of the Palatine of* Moldavia, *or the inhabitants of the Kingdom of* Moldavia, *no harm ſhall be done unto the Countries ſubject unto the King of* Polonia; *but if any be done and certainly known, to be by my Commandment again recompenced.*

On the part alſo of the King of Polonia *and his Subjects, whatſoever harm ſhall be done unto the Territory or Subjects of the* Moldavian *Palatine, or* Tartars, *the harm ſo done to be recompenced, and the doers thereof puniſhed.*

1577 *Alſo that all ſuch Fugitives as having done any notorious Felonies, or other Villanies in* Moldavia, *and ſo are fled into* Polonia, *ſhall at my requeſt, or at the requeſt of the Palatine of* Moldavia, *be reſtored, and in no caſe denied.*

That all the Polonian *Captives within my dominions, yet profeſſing the Chriſtian* Religion, *may by the King of* Polonia *his Subjects be redeemed, not paying any more for them than their Lords and Maſters payed: every ſuch Maſter of the ſlave taking his oath that he coſt him ſo much. But ſuch Captives as have received the* Turkiſh *Faith, to be forthwith ſet at liberty: And ſo the* Turks *ſlaves in the Kingdom of* Polonia, *to be likewiſe manumiſed.*

That our Embaſſadours on both ſides (ſo long as we are in League and Amity) may freely come and go, and not be ſtayed in any place; and being willing to meet together, may at their pleaſure ſo do. And being entred into the confines of either part, to be forthwith by ſome good and faithful guide appointed unto them, conducted unto the place they are to go unto. And this to be on both ſides kept.

No man to dare to hurt or ſtay any Merchant, having paid his thirtieth part, or lawful cuſtom.

If any of our Subjects ſhall have any ſuit with any of the King of Polonia *his Subjects, the Judges ſhall without delay, be bound to adminiſter Juſtice. All Thieves and Robbers ſhall be diligently ſought out; and being found, to be ſeverely puniſhed, and the goods taken away, without impeachment, to be reſtored unto the right owners, their Heirs, or to the King.*

The Sanzakes of Siliſtria *and* Bolograve, *the Cuſtomers and Water-bayliffs, ſhall not ſuffer any man but Merchants and ſuch as are ſent in our ſervice, to paſs over the River* Nyeſter; *who paſſing over, if they ſhall bring with them any Slave or Bondman out of* Polonia, *he ſhall be ſent back again. The Shepherds, if they will tranſport their Sheep into the Juriſdiction of the King of* Polonia, *ſhall not ſo do without the leave of the* Polonian *Governours, before whom they ſhall alſo number their Sheep: of whom if any ſhall be loſt, the Governours ſhall cauſe them to be ſought for, and to be reſtored unto the Shepherds, as alſo to pay for their Hay.*

The Zauzij, Janizaries, *or Poſts, ſhall not dare in time of Peace or War, to take any Horſes from the* Polonian *Merchants, or other the Kings Subjects coming into our Kingdom.*

The Palatines of Moldavia, *in whatſoever condition they have been towards the former Kings of* Polonia, *they ſhall now alſo ſtill ſo be hereafter. The thirtieths and cuſtoms of both parts, ſhall continue in their old manner, and not be encreaſed. The* Polonian *Kings Subjects and Merchants, as well* Armenians *as of any other Nation, whenſoever they ſhall enter into* Moldavia, *or any other part of our Empire, ſhall not travel by uncertain and unknown, but by the common and high ways; wherein if they ſhall ſuffer any loſs or harm, either in their goods or perſons, the doers of ſuch wrongs ſhall be ſought for, and ſeverely puniſhed. Which Merchants ſhall be ſuffered without any moleſtation quietly to come and go, having payed their thirtieths; and no Merchant to be troubled for anothers debt.*

If any the Polonian *Kings Merchants or Subjects, be willing for ready money to redeem and carry away any ſlave taken out of the* Polonian *Kingdom, and yet profeſſing the Chriſtian Religion, the Judges ſhall in no caſe withſtand them, neither preſume to take them from them, or again to redeem them. But if any of ſuch ſlaves have received the* Turkiſh *Religion, they ſhall not be again demanded by the King of* Polonia.

Such ſlaves as have not received the Turkiſh *Religion, if after a certain ſpace they ſhall be ſet at Liberty by their Maſters, and in the Letters Teſtimonial of their Liberty, it ſhall be declared that they have received the* Turkiſh *Religion; yet ſhall they not by the Judges be therefore detained.* 1577

In the City of Buruſa, *the* Polonian *Merchants having payed their uſual thirtieths, ſhall not be farther preſſed with any other unuſual payment.*

My will is alſo, that the Territories at this preſent in the poſſeſſion of the King of Polonia, *as hereafter to be by him taken from the* Muſcovite *or any other the Chriſtian Princes, to be comprized within this League, and ſo to be Royally by him poſſeſſed.*

And for the confirmation of the articles and conditions in theſe our Letters of Confederation contained, I ſwear by the power of the moſt Mighty God, and of his moſt Holy Prophet, and by the moſt clean and pure Spirits of all the Prophets; That for all the days of my life, and ſo long as nothing ſhall on the behalf of the King of Polonia *be done contrary to the Peace and League, nothing ſhall alſo on my part be done contrary unto the ſame. Witneſs the Almighty, the upright Judge and diſcerner of mens actions. From* Conſtantinople *the year of the Holy Prophet* Mahomet 985, *the 14th. of the Month* Cziemaſſi Eumel, *and of Chriſt*, 1577.

This League betwixt theſe two mighty Princes, *Amurath* and King *Stephen*, thus concluded, and after the death of *Stephen*, by *Sigiſmund* the Third (which now reigneth) renewed, as it hath been ever ſince to the *Polonian* Kingdom for the time commodious, ſo hath it as with an *Adamantine* band ſo bound that moſt famous Kingdom, as that in the hardeſt diſtreſſes of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, and moſt indeed concerning it ſelf, it hath afforded no more help than hath the Members farther off, which is, (I rue to ſay it) none at all; as in theſe late and preſent Wars betwixt the Chriſtian Emperour and the two laſt Turkiſh Sultans, it is too plainly to be ſeen: wherein, had it in due time given but ſuch reaſonable helps as it might well have ſpared, much, no doubt might have been done for the repreſſing of the common Enemy, and the recovery of the greateſt part of that is loſt of *Hungary*: but thus bound ſtandeth as a dead Member, ſerving to no uſe more than to the more ſpeedy deſtruction of it ſelf, together with the reſt of the ſick Body. For what aſſurance it can have in this long, (I muſt needs ſay) but evil aſſured Peace, is well to be ſeen in the great Conſultation of this great Sultan *Amurath*, with his Baſſa's after the *Perſian* War, for the invading of Chriſtendom; the *Polonians*, for all this League ſo ſolemnly conſtrained, were nothing the more regarded, but laid in the ſame balance with the leaſt, and preſerved only by the Providence that all governeth: which leading the Turk againſt the Chriſtian Emperour their Neighbour, hath given them that Peace they were otherwiſe hardly to have looked for. Unto whom for all that, having to his endleſs praiſe maintained a long and moſt chargeable War, they have not lent any great help or friendly hand; yet lying themſelves ſtill in the Lyons mouth, and like enough to be the next (God grant I be therein deceived) that is to be of him devoured.

But leaving theſe the heavy conceits of a melancholy Mind, and ominous forebodings of that I wiſh not, to return again toward *Perſia*, *Amurath* his greateſt care. Amongſt many the ambitious Competitors for the managing of theſe Turkiſh ſo great deſigns, was the great Baſſa *Muſtapha* (even he, who in the reign of the late Emperour *Selymus* conquered *Cyprus*, carrying thence, together with his Victory, perpetual Infamy, for his faithleſs and cruel dealing with *Bragadine*, the worthy and renowned Governour of *Famaguſta*) appointed General of the Turks Army into *Perſia*; and authority given him, to provide whatſoever he ſhould think needful for ſo great a War. And Commandment

Muſtapha Baſſa made General of the Turks Army.

Muſtapha cometh to *Erzirum*, and there muſtereth his Army.

Muſtapha at *Chars*.

ment given unto the Baſſaes, and other Commanders of the greateſt part of the Turkiſh Empire Eaſtward, that they ſhould themſelves with their Souldiers of all ſorts, bound by their perpetual Annuities to go to the War in the beginning of the Spring this Year 1578, repair to *Erzirum*, a City of *Cappadocia*, bordering upon *Armenia*, there to attend the command of their new General. Who having his diſpatch from *Conſtantinople*, and for faſhion ſake conducted by moſt of the Court over the Straight to *Scutari*, and from thence paſſing thorough the Countries of *Amaſia* and *Sivas*, in the very beginning of Summer arrived at *Erzirum*, and there ſtayed untill ſuch time as his People, Victuals, Artillery, and other his neceſſary Proviſion was come thither. From whence he departed for *Siruan*, having firſt taken a diligent ſurvey of his whole Army, muſtering the Souldiers of every Nation by themſelves; namely, of the *Meſopotamians* twelve thouſand, of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians* fourteen thouſand, of the *Syrians* two thouſand, of them of the leſſer *Aſia* (now comprehended under the name of *Natolia*) ten thouſand, of the *Jews* and *Philiſtims* one thouſand, and of the *Cilicians* four thouſand. After whom followed the Souldiers of *Græcia*, the Glory and Hope of all the Camp, valiant Men, to the number of ten thouſand; and after them the familiar and faithful Guard of the General, ten thouſand *Janizaries* of *Conſtantinople*, with Harquebuzes on their ſhoulders, and Scimitars by their ſides: of the City alſo of *Erzirum*, and the Juriſdiction thereof, appeared four thouſand, under the Enſign of *Beyran Baſſa* their General. All theſe were Stipendaries to the Turkiſh Emperour, unto whom other voluntary Adventurers joyned themſelves, in number not inferiour to the reſt, but better furniſhed, and of greater Courage: So that in this general ſurvey of the Army were found about an hundred and ten thouſand Men, moſt part Horſemen: yet was there not any ſtirred out of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Affrica*, or *Hungarie*, or other Places along the Sea Coaſts; neither were the Provinces from whence theſe Souldiers were drawn, left deſtitute or unfurniſhed of their ordinary Garriſons. Beſides this multitude of Men, *Muſtapha* brought with him five hundred ſmall pieces of Artillery, with many loads of Money for his Souldiers pay, with further order for the taking up of more at *Aleppo*, and other Places, if his Occaſions ſhould ſo require. He cauſed alſo great quantity of Corn to be tranſported by the great Sea, called in ancient time *Pontus Euxinus*, to *Trapezond*, ſo to be conveyed to *Erzirum*, being but four days Journey diſtant thence. To be ſhort, having taken order for all things he thought neceſſary for the War, he in ſeemly array departed from *Erzirum*, and in eight days arrived at the Ruines of *Chars*, and in the fruitful Country thereabout reſted himſelf; but was there ſurpriſed with ſuch a violent Tempeſt of Wind and Rain, as rent in ſunder his Tents, and did great harm, by means whereof many fell ſick, and were conſtrained to forſake the Army.

Muſtapha cunningly encampeth his Army at *Chielder*.

Having ſtayed three days at *Chars*, the Bounder of the *Turkiſh* and *Perſian* Empires, he departed thence with his Army, and that evening lodged under the Mountains of *Chielder*, ſuppoſed to be part of the Hills *Periardo*; where, hearing the *Perſians* to be in Arms, he thought it beſt for the ſecurity of his Army, to pitch his Tents as that he might well diſcover the coming of the Enemy, and not to be aſſaulted unawares. And therefore, planting himſelf in the Plain, he gave order that *Beyran*, Baſſa of *Erzirum*, ſhould take Poſſeſſion of a certain Hill on the right-Hand, and *Deruis*, the Baſſa of Caramit, ſhould keep another Hill that ſtood on the left hand; and with them *Oſman Baſſa*, *Mahomet Baſſa*, *Muſtaffade Baſſa*, adventurers, with many others, as well ſtipendary as voluntary men, ſhould likewiſe pitch their tents upon the ſame Hills, in ſuch ſort, as that they making as it were two Wings to the Camp, might diſcover the comming of every man, and yet he himſelf, being ſhadowed with the two Hills, might lie unperceived of any.

Tocomac General of the *Perſians*.

Mahamet, the new King of *Perſia*, as yet ſcarcely ſettled in his Kingdom, ſtirred up by the fame of theſe motions, reſolved in himſelf to ſtand upon the defence of his State, and for a time to diſſemble the conceived hatred which he bare to ſome of the Sultans of *Perſia*, and Princes of *Georgia*, and to make ſome apparent ſhew that he was reconciled to them; for that without them he could not promiſe unto himſelf any form of an Army, or Defence; wherein, (notwithanding all the troubled State of his Kingdom) he wrought ſo cunningly, that almoſt all the great men of account, took upon them the Protection of his State and Kingdom. And ſo *Tocomac* a Sultan, the Chan and Governour of *Reivan*, a famous man, well known unto the Turks, and of great Reputation amongſt the *Perſians*, was choſen General of this Expedition; with charge, That the gathering together the greateſt number of Men he could out of *Atropatia*, out of *Media* the greater, and other Places near unto the Turks, he ſhould by all means poſſible ſtop their paſſage into *Georgia* and *Media Atropatia*. And thereupon Precepts were ſent out into all parts of the Kingdom, That all the Chans, Sultans, and Souldiers whatſoever, ſhould come ready preſt to attend upon their new General. Many obedient to the Kings Proclamation, came, but many there were that would not ſtir a foot, for their Obſtinacy in the Broyls begun, and for the Suſpition they had of unlooked for Miſchiefs; at whoſe Diſobedience the King much grieved, but now there was no Remedy but to make the beſt of the matter, and for the ſafeguard of his Honour to make the beſt reſiſtance they could. So with thoſe few, which for the love of their Prince and Country were met together in thoſe parts, being in number not above twenty thouſand, *Tocomac* was diſpatched about his Buſineſs, if happily he might with theſe ſmall Forces oppreſs the Enemy in ſome ſtraight and troubleſome Paſſage, where the great multitude ſhould rather ſerve to the confuſion of themſelves, than to the help of one another. Theſe twenty thouſand were all Horſe-men, armed with Scimitar and Bow, with ſome Harquebuzers among, and furniſhed with very fine and well tempered Armour; but above all, couragious they were and reſolute, and well the more, for the Valour and Prowefs of their General. So provided of all things neceſſary, they ſet forward, and keeping the way of *Tauris* and *Genge*, they came to the turning of *Chars*, where they were advertiſed, that the Enemies Army was already paſſed.

They were now come within a days Journey of *Chielder*, when they ſent quick and faithful Scouts to bring them certain News of the Condition and number of the Turks Army, who came thither even at the very time that *Muſtapha* was incamping his Army between the two Hills, whereupon the two Baſſaes, *Beyran* and *Deruis*, with their People, had already pitched their Tents. Theſe Scouts diſcovering the Turkiſh hoſt aloft, perſwaded themſelves that there was not any other Battel than thoſe which they ſaw upon the Hills; whereof, with all ſpeed they could, they returned News to *Tocomac*, who at eaſe had followed theſe his Scouts a far off. *Tocomac* thus miſinformed by his Scouts of the number of his Enemies, held on his way boldly, with purpoſe to aſſault them; and having diſcovered their Tents upon the Hills, was

1578 throughly confirmed in the Opinion he had before conceived of the number of his Enemies, and the Scouts relation, and with ſo much the more confidence ſet forward to aſſail them. But *Beyran* and *Deruis*, who quickly from the Hills perceived the *Perſians* coming in the Plain, although they knew them to be men of great Courage, yet repoſing an aſſured Confidence in their Generals Battel, with all ſpeed mounted upon their Horſes, and ran to meet them. So in the aforeſaid Plains under *Chielder*, within one hour after noon was joyned a moſt bloody Battel, wherein at laſt were ſlain ſeven of the Turks Sanzacks, with a very great number of Souldiers, without any appatent loſs at all among the *Perſians*, who fighting cloſe together in a great heat, and all be-bloodied, urged their happy and fortunate Victory.

Muſtapha commeth with his Battel to relieve his diſtreſſed People.

But *Muſtapha*, who perceived all that had paſſed, and ſtaied waiting till the fight was at the hotteſt, and the medly at the thickeſt, that ſo the flight of the Enemies might breed their greater diſorder; and now ſeeing that his People could no longer endure the fury of the Enemies Rage (even as if it had lightned and thundred, and as though the Earth had ſhaken) with ſuch Cries and Acclamations as the Turks uſe in their Aſſaults for the more Terror of the Enemies, exciting his Army, ran as it were headlong upon his Adverſaries, and ſo renewed a moſt terrible Battel. The *Perſians* wonderful Courage endured this unexpected and dreadfull Aſſault, and with incredible ſignes of Valour, in that little time of day-light that was left (for the Night began now to approach) continued their manifold ſlaughters, and at laſt, being favoured by the darkneſs of the Night, withdrew themſelves with as little loſs as poſſibly they might. Neither durſt *Muſtapha* any longer purſue them, but was glad by Night to return to his Camp. Of the ſucceſs of this Battel the *Perſians* certified their King; as alſo of the greatneſs of the *Turkiſh* Army, with their further purpoſe for the annoying thereof. And by the *Turks* alſo were preſented to *Muſtapha* (who had already ſent away Poſts with News to *Amurath*) 5000 Heads, which by their Colour, Countenance, and Beards, bewraied themſelves to be *Perſians*, and 3000 *Perſians* alive. Of this Victory *Muſtapha* greatly rejoyced, and to make it ſeem the greater (ſeeking by all means to conceal his own Loſſes, and to raiſe a greater Terror by the Fame thereof, amongſt his Enemies,) cauſed the Heads of thoſe three thouſand that were brought before him alive, to be preſently cut from their Shoulders, and gave order, that of thoſe Heads there ſhould be framed a Bulwark in thoſe Fields, for a moſt horrible and uncouth Spectacle.

A Bulwark made of the Heads of the ſlain *Perſians*.

The ſame day that *Muſtapha* imployed himſelf about this barbarous and cruel work, there came unto him certain Meſſengers from *Manucchiar*, the younger Son of the *Georgian* Widow *Dedeſmit* (a great Prince in that Country) who told him, That with his good favour and leave, *Manucchiar* their Lord and Maſter was comming to ſalute him, and to offer himſelf unto him as his obedient and devoted Servant. At which news *Muſtapha* redoubling his Joy, gave commandment, That all the Baſſa's and Captains of the Army, with all ſolemn Pomp, with Trumpets, Drums, peals of Ordnance, and all other ſigns of muſical and joyfull Entertainment, ſhould go forth to meet the ſaid *Manucchiar*, and to accompanie him to his Preſence. Which they did accordingly, and ſo encountering him with all ſignes of Honour, 1578 conducted him to the great Pavilion of *Muſtapha*, who there cauſed him again to be ſaluted with like Triumph. *Manucchiar* diſmounted from his Horſe, and againſt his Will beholding the ſtrange and uncouth pile of Heads, all pale and filthie to behold, and indeed imagining what the matter meant: yet notwithſtanding, before all other things, having done his due Reverence to the great Baſſa, and according to his degree placed himſelf next to his ſide, after he had preſented him with ſuch Gifts as his Country yielded, he gave him to underſtand, That for the Honour and Eſtimation which he bare to the Turkiſh Valour, he was always devoted to the Houſe of the *Othomans*; and as he had oftentimes deſired to ſpend his Goods and Life in their Service, ſo at this preſent time, moved by his ancient deſire, allured by the ſtrange Fame of this victorious and wonderful Army, and ſtirred up by a particular fantaſie, to learn the painful and hard Precepts of the Art Military, under ſuch a General, Commander of other Commanders; he offered him all Devotion and Service, more than ever he had done to any heretofore, and himſelf having nothing in the World more deare unto him, conſecrated his own Life to his Commandments; deſiring that the ſame might be imployed in the conflicts of War under his Banners, among Warriers and Souldiers of Fame and Renown: and therefore beſought him to accept of him in the name of *Amurath*, whoſe obedient Vaſſal he vowed himſelf to remain for ever.

The ſpeech of *Manucchiar* to *Muſtapha*.

The Anſwer of *Muſtapha*.

Graciouſly did *Muſtapha* receive all this Diſcourſe from *Manucchiar*, and having ſhewed him again the pile of Heads, together with his Battels, Armour, and Proviſion of War, told him, That as all theſe Forces are the Gift of God, who always favoured the righteous Counſels of the *Othoman* Emperours, in ſuch ſort that they lord it over all the World, even to the aſtoniſhment of all that live in the World at this day; ſo had he, for his particular, choſen the better part, in comming now to yield himſelf, and to ſubmit his Obedience to his Lord, although it had been better if he had done it before. And as concerning the deſire he had to be his Companion and Fellow in theſe warlike Affairs, he did very friendly accept of his comming, and promiſed him all good Entertainment and aſſured Safety. And ſo in exchange of the Preſents which he brought with him, he apparelled him in Cloath of Gold, honoured him with a Battel-axe and Targuet wrought with Gold and Ammel, and never permitted him to go from his Pavilion without a train of his Slaves following him.

A terrible Rain and Tempeſt.

This *Georgian* Prince thus ſolemnly entertained, the General gave order thorough the Camp, That they ſhould the next Morning remove from thoſe Mountains: and now every man was putting himſelf in readineſs, when as there riſe a moſt terrible Tempeſt of Wind and Rain, mixt with Thunder and Lightning; which continued with ſuch Violence by the ſpace of four days together, as if the Heavens had been diſſolved into Waters. Whereby it came to paſs, that out of the dead Carkaſſes and Heads before mentioned, iſſued a moſt horrible ſtink; ſo that thereby, and by the foulneſs of the Weather, with the other Annoyances always attending upon ſo great a Camp, the whole Army was exceedingly troubled, and divers Diſeaſes aroſe among the *Turks*. But at the laſt the Weather breaking

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up, *Muſtapha* riſe with his Camp, and ſet forward toward *Teſlis*; and being not able by reaſon of the foulneſs of the way to paſs any further, that day ſtayed in the Plains, where the Lake *Chielder Giol* ſtandeth, and there refreſhed his ſick and wounded Souldiers; removing thence, the next day about Noon he came to the Caſtle of *Archicheleck*, ſometime a Caſtle of the *Georgians*, but taken from them by *Solyman* in his Wars againſt *Tamas*, and ever ſince holden by the *Turks*. Here *Muſtapha* ſurveyed his Army, and by diligent account taken, found himſelf to want 40000 of his Souldiers; whereof ſome were ſlain in the Battel, ſome were dead of Sickneſs, and many, wearie of ſo long and perillous a Journey, were by Night ſtolne out of the Camp, and returned to take their eaſe at home. From thence the Army removed, and lodged at Night near the mariſh called of the *Turks Peruana Giol*, or Lake of Slaves; and the next day came to *Triala*, where at this day are to be ſeen the Ruins of a great City, and of many Churches; whereof ſome are yet repaired and maintained by devout Chriſtians, the Reliques of thoſe happy and religious Forces, that with ſo great and faithful zeale paſſed the Seas and Mountains through thoſe barbarous Nations into the Holy Land; Men worthy of eternal Praiſe. The next day the Turks aſcended the high and craggie Mountain that ſtandeth upon *Teſlis*; from the top whereof deſcending the day following, they ſeiſed upon a Caſtle of the *Georgians*, called by the Turks *Giurgi Chala*. Departing thence, and lodging in certain Plains, the next day they came near to the River that runneth by *Teſlis*. But in theſe four days march from *Archichelec*, where *Muſtapha* took view of his Army, many of the Turks, who in ſeeking for Victuals for themſelves and their Horſes, had ſtraggled from the Army, were cut off by the *Georgian* Captains, who with a number of their own Country Souldiers ſecretly followed the Turks Army, and well acquainted with all the ways of the Country, lay in ambuſh upon ſuch Places as the Victuallers were to paſs through, and ſo ſuddenly ſetting upon them, ſpoyled them at once both of their Goods and Lives.

Muſtapha ſurveyeth his Army at *Archichelec*, and lacketh forty thouſand of his Men.

The Turks Victuallers cut off by the *Georgians*.

Muſtapha comming to *Teſlis*, found that Caſtle empty, for that *Daut Chan* Lord thereof, hearing of the comming of the Turks, forſook the ſame, and betook himſelf to the Fields, providing better for himſelf in ſo doing, than by ſtaying ſtill in the Caſtle, to have been there taken Priſoner. This Caſtle, for the convenient Scituation thereof, *Muſtapha* cauſed to be repaired and fortified, and planted therein an hundred pieces of Artillery, and appointed *Mahamet Baſſa* General Governour of that Place, with a Garriſon of ſix thouſand Souldiers; which done, he departed for *Siruan*. At which very time thoſe of *Soria*, which had brought a thouſand loads of Rent-Corn to the Camp from *Aleppo*, being themſelves in number a thouſand Perſons, with five hundred others of *Omps* (in ancient time called *Hus*, the City of the patient *Job*) and other places of *Soria*, men neither of Duty bound, nor of themſelves willing to follow the Camp, returned homewards towards their own Country; but upon the way they were ſet upon by *Aleſſandro*, *Giuſuf*, and *David*, (three of the *Georgian* Lords) and all ſlain, except ſome few, who by the ſwiftneſs of their Horſes eſcaped with *Naſſardin* their Captain.

Now after that *Muſtapha* had paſſed the deſcent of the ſteep Mountains of *Teſlis*, the next day he incamped in certain low Plains; where the Ambaſſadours of *Aleſſandro*, ſurnamed the Great, Son of *Leuent*, a *Georgian* Prince, came unto him, and told him, That their Lord was ready, if it ſo pleaſed him, to come unto him to do him Reverence, and by word of mouth to promiſe him that Devotion he had always in mind borne to the *Othoman* Emperours. With a glad Heart and chearful Countenance did *Muſtapha* receive theſe Ambaſſadors; and preſently ſent them back to will their Lord to come, and to tell him, That his friendſhip ſhould be unto him moſt dear and acceptable. And after their departure, took order with all the Commanders of his Army, to receive him with all the ſignes of Joy that might be; which at his comming was accordingly by them performed. Who, after he had preſented unto the General the rich Gifts he had brought with him, he offered his Obedience to the Baſſa, with the moſt lively Speeches he could poſſibly deviſe, calling *Amurath* his Lord: ſeeming to take it in evil part, that he paſſed not through his Territory, where he ſhould (as he ſaid) have had plenty of all things for the relief of his Army; yet hoping that in his return from *Siruan* he would take it in his way; whereas he ſhould find him moſt ready to beſtow all that he had in the Service of his Lord: telling him moreover, That although he could not, for many urgent reſpects, go with him into *Siruan*, yet he would always accompany him in Mind, and continually pray unto the Creator of all things, for his Proſperity and moſt happy Succeſs. Courteouſly did *Muſtapha* receive both his Preſents and Submiſſion, and in exchange thereof beſtowed upon him certain Gifts after the Turkiſh manner, and in magnifical Terms gave him anſwer; promiſing him in his return to paſs through his Country: and ſo diſmiſſed the *Perſian* Duke with like Honour wherewith he was entertained at his coming.

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Aleſſandro the *Georgian* ſendeth Ambaſſadors to *Muſtapha*.

Aleſſandro curteouſly entertained by *Muſtapha*.

Muſtapha, holding on his Journey toward *Siruan*, through mooriſh and troubleſom ways; in twelve days after he departed from *Teſlis*, came into the Confines of *Siruan*, near to the River *Canac*, and there reſted on this ſide the River one day. At which time they of the City of *Sechi*, bordering upon the *Siruanians* and *Georgians*, four days Journey from *Sumachia*, came to offer themſelves to *Muſtapha*, as Subjects to the Turks: Of whoſe Submiſſion the General graciouſly accepted, promiſing to them his aſſured Protection.

The Turks Army over-wearied with the continual travel of twelve days march, but yet far more afflicted with hunger, not finding in thoſe Parts ſo much as one wild beaſt to aſſuage their greedy deſire of Meat, ſought by all means, every man for himſelf, to get ſomething, eſpecially when they underſtood their General would paſs the River into a Country unto them all unknown, where they were altogether uncertain what to find for their relief. So whilſt they were inquiring among themſelves, who were able to conduct them to ſome ſuch place as where they might ſupply their wants, behold, certain *Perſians* were taken, who being ſtraitly examined on that point, after much reſiſtance, at laſt told them, that not far off, after they had paſſed certain Mariſhes, where *Canac* diſchargeth it ſelf into *Araxis*, they ſhould find many Fields full of Rice and Corn in the blade, and a little farther certain fat heads of Cattel, ſufficient to relieve the whole Army. Of this News was the General certified, who, although he greatly doubted the ſubtilty of his Enemies, yet to gratifie his Souldiers, and to make them more willing to follow him

The Turks Army afflicted with Hunger.

him into *Siruan*, he licenſed every man that had a deſire thereunto, to go and provide himſelf of Victuals, and ſo ſuffered all that would to go freely. Whereupon there went of themſelves, and were ſent by their Captains, about ten thouſand ſervile Perſons, with Camels, Horſes and Mules, to fetch away this proviſion of Corn and Cattel: but the Event anſwered not to their deſires. For *Tocomac*, with the other *Perſian* Captains, and the reſt of the Souldiers that were eſcaped from the overthrow given them in the Plains of *Chielder*, having gathered together the remainder of the Army, and recovered ſuch places as they thought ſafe and friendly for them, carefully attended the marching and paſſing of the Turkiſh Army. And being certainly informed by them of *Reivan* and *Georgia* what way they kept, and that of neceſſity they muſt arrive at the Banks of *Canac*, they began to deviſe how they might in ſome meaſure be revenged for their former loſs, and impeach their Enemies entrance into *Siruan*. But wanting rather ſtrength than courage to aſſaile the whole Army, they thought it beſt to ſtay in ambuſh in ſome fit place, untill ſome part of the Turkiſh Army (allured with the prey of the Corn and Cattel) ſhould for the releif of their common Neceſſities deſcend into thoſe fields; And the rather to draw them on, ſent out divers men, who, as if they had gone about their own buſineſs, and by chance at unawares had lighted upon the Turks Camp, revealed unto them as a great Secret, what a good Prey was hard by them; and ſo withdrawing themſelves out of ſight, privily awaited the coming of the Turks: when as within the ſpace of three days it ſo fell out, that the aforeſaid ten thouſand Forragers arrived at the wiſhed place; where they had no ſooner begun to charge themſelves with the Prey, but they were ſurpriſed by the *Perſians* and all ſlain, ſaving a few who by haſty flight ſaved themſelves. The noiſe of this hot Skirmiſh being heard into the Turkiſh Hoſt, cauſed *Muſtapha* to imagine that the matter was fallen out even as indeed it was; and therefore riſing with his whole Army, haſted with all poſſible ſpeed to have ſuccoured the poor People, who were now all ſlain. And albeit he came not in ſo good time as to yield them relief, yet came he very fitly to revenge their Death upon the *Perſians*, ſtaying too long to load themſelves with the Spoil of their Enemies.

Ten thouſand of the Turks Forragers ſlain.

The place from whence the Turks were to have had the aforeſaid Booty, was almoſt in manner of an Iſland, incloſed with the Rivers of *Araxis* and *Canac*; whereinto *Muſtapha* entred with his whole Power, *Dervis Baſſa* leading the one Wing, as did *Beyran Baſſa* the other, and he himſelf coming on in the middle with the main Battel. The *Perſians*, ſeeing *Muſtapha* with all his Forces haſting towards them, and withall, remembring the late overthrow by them received in the Plains of *Chielder*; began to bethink themſelves how much better it had been f[illegible] them to have contented themſelves with the la[illegible]ghter of the Forragers, and with ſpeed to have got them away out of that Straight, than by ſtaying longer, to be incloſed with the multitude of their Enemies, as that they could now no way eſcape without moſt manifeſt Peril. In this perplexity diſcourſing among themſelves, whether it were better to fly, or with ſo great diſadvantage to joyn battel, and ſo rather to dye honourably, than to live with reproach; at laſt they reſolved to reſerve themſelves to the further ſervice of their Prince and Country; deeming it rather a point of Wiſdom than of Diſhonour, not to adventure unto moſt deſperate and aſſured death, ſo many worthy men as might in future time ſtand their Country in good ſtead; yet did they not ſee how by flight well to eſcape, for that they were in ſuch ſort ſtrained within the Rivers, as that there was no ground left for them to eſcape by, than that which contrary to their Expectation was by the Turks already poſſeſſed. In theſe Difficulties every man began to betake himſelf to his own private Conceit and Fortune. *Tocomac* with *Emir Chan*, and other the great Commanders of the Army, were the firſt that turned their Backs, and by the help of their Couragious Horſes got over the River of *Canac*: whoſe Example moved many others to attempt the like, though not with like Fortune; for that their Horſes being not of ſuch Courage, and out of Breath, lay many of them drowned in the River. Wherewith others being amazed, as perceiving inevitable death in flying preſent before their Eyes, and repoſing all their hope even in deſpair, ran as it were headlong in a Rage and Fury upon their Enemies, and in fighting ſhewed unſpeakable Valour: but what was one againſt an hundred? For there they were alſo all ſlain, though worthy of immortal Fame. Thus was the *Perſian* Army quite diſcomfited in this demy Iſland, being firſt ſtained with the Blood of the Enemy, and afterward with the ſlaughter of the Neighbour and proper Inhabitant, and ſo became the perpetual Sepulchre of a moſt couragious and warlike People. The Turks in this laſt Conflict loſt not above 3000 men, beſide the ſlaughter of the 10000 Forragers; although *Tocomac*, to make his loſs to ſeem the more tolerable, made report to the King of a great ſlaughter made. The *Perſian* Captains, full of ſorrow for this unexpected overthrow, with the licenſe of their General departed every man to his ſeveral Government: as *Emanguli Chan* to *Genge*, *Seraph Chan* to *Naſſivan*, *Tocomac* himſelf to *Reivan*, and all the reſt to other Cities, to the Government whereof they were before by the King appointed, and ſo remained expecting his further Pleaſure from *Gasbin*.

The *Perſians* fly, and in flying are many of them drowned in *Canac*.

Muſtapha was now come to the River of *Canac*, which he was to paſs over into *Siruan*; and therefore made ſtraight Proclamation through his whole Army, That every man ſhould be in readineſs againſt the next day to paſs the River. At which Proclamation all his People ſuddenly aroſe in a tumult, and with injurious Terms, even to his Face, reproved his Folly and Inhumanity, propounding utter danger unto himſelf, and an univerſal Confuſion unto the whole Army: and therefore prayed him to ſurceaſe from proceeding any further, unleſs he were minded to caſt them all away. But his reſolute Mind was not by their Threats or Intreaties to be removed, neither gave he them other Anſwer than this, *That ſo had* Amurath *commanded, and that if all the reſt ſhould ſhew themſelves unwilling to obey their Sovereign, he himſelf would not, nor could not, but would be the firſt man to attempt and perform that which they all ſo abhorred and reproved. Valiant Soulders* (he ſaid) *were diſcovered and known not in Idleneſs and Eaſe, but in great pains taking, and difficult Enterprizes: who never ought to be afraid to change this momentary Life for everlaſting Honour, or to ſhun Death, if the Service of their Prince ſo required. And for mine own part,* ſaid he, *I moſt earneſtly requeſt you, that after I have attempted the paſſage of the River, if any thing happen unto me otherwiſe than well, yet carry my dead Body to the other ſide of the River, to the end that if I cannot whilſt I yet live execute the Commandment of my Sovereign, I may yet at leaſt perform the ſame when I am but a ſpeechleſs and liveleſs Carkas: foraſmuch as the deſire of my Lord is not in any ſort to be fruſtrated, for making too great account of mine own Life.*

The Reſolute Anſwer of *Muſtapha* to his tumultuous Souldiers.

Divers and ſundry murmurings and whiſperings followed upon this ſpeech of the General, who notwithſtanding the next morning did firſt of all wade over the deep and ſwift River himſelf: after whom preſently followed the Baſſa's with all their Slaves, by whoſe Example the reſt alſo were induced at laſt

Eight thouſand Turks drowned in paſſing the River.

Famine in the Turks Hoſt.

The Turks Army refreſhed.

to do the like, and ſo continued untill the darkneſs of the Night interrupted their Paſſage; by which Occaſion more than half the Army could not then get over. In this Paſſage, being with great Tumult and Diſorder attempted, it came to paſs that about 8000 Perſons, carried away with the violence of the River, were miſerably drowned, with the great outcry of all the Hoſt. The like hapned alſo to many Mules, Camels, and Sumpter Horſes, upon whoſe Backs divers Perſons being mounted, in hope to have paſſed dry over the River, were likewiſe headlong overwhelmed therein. With great Complaints and blaſphemous Curſings was the whole Night ſpent by them that were yet on this ſide the River, whoſe fears were not a little increaſed by the Example of their unfortunate Fellows before drowned. And like enough it was ſome peſtilent Sedition to have enſued thereupon, had there not a ſhallow Foord by great chance been diſcovered, which gave ſafe Paſſage to thoſe that were left; for in the Paſſage which the People made that followed *Muſtapha*, the Gravel of the bottom of the River being raiſed and removed by the heavy Hoofs of the Cattel, was driven down the River to a place where by great good hap there was alſo a Foord, and there gathered together in a heap, had in ſuch ſort raiſed the depth of the Channel, that it made as it were a ſhelf for their commodious Paſſage, ſo that the remnant of the Army, Carriages, and Artillery paſſing over the ſame, there was not ſo much as one man that periſhed. So having with much difficulty at laſt got over the River of *Canac*, they reſted themſelves that day and the next, and there ſtayed untill the whole Army was muſtered, and again put in Order. Removing thence, the day following they encamped in certain barren Champains, where was neither Corn nor Cattel; neither could they perceive or learn, that in thoſe quarters were any Villages at all. By means whereof, the hunger of their Beaſts increaſing, they were inforced to give their Horſes and Mules Leaves and Stalks of very dry and withered Reeds, and ſuch other like things of little or no ſuſtenance at all: and the men themſelves were fain to ſatisfie their hunger with thoſe uttermoſt reliques which they were fain to pick out of ſuch poor Victuals as now by Corruption were become loathſome to mans Nature; and that which worſe was, they ſaw no end of their Miſeries they were ſo entred into. Notwithſtanding there was now no looking back, but needs on they muſt, and follow the fortune of their Leaders; among whom *Muſtapha* before all the reſt ſet forward on his determined Journey. He had not long marched, but there was diſcovered good ſtore of ſundry Plants, and ſhortly after a very large plain Country all green and flouriſhing, and garniſhed with many Trees; by the only ſight whereof every man was refreſhed with the hope of Relief, and with more than ordinary paces haſted untill they were entred into thoſe Champains, abounding with all kind of Corn and Fruits that could be of an hungry man deſired. In this place did every man ſatisfie his Appetite, and forgot in part the fore-paſſed Calamities. Through this fruitful and pleaſant Country *Muſtapha* leading his Army, at laſt arrived at *Eres*, the chief City in that Coaſt of *Siruan*, as you travel from *Georgia*.

This City of *Eres* was forſaken of a number of her Inhabitants, as ſoon as it was known that the Turks were come to *Canac*, who all followed their Governour *Samir Chan*; who with *Ares Chan*, Governour of *Sumachia*, and other the Governours of *Sechi*, and other Places of *Siruan*, forſook the Cities, and all together withdrew themſelves into the Mountains, as places of more ſurety, attending the event of theſe ſo great Motions: ſo that as the Turks entred the City undiſturbed, ſo were they with the prey they found therein nothing inriched, for that in this common danger every man had carried away with him the beſt things he had. Here ſtayed *Muſtapha* two and twenty days, during which time he erected a Fortreſs in the ſaid City; whereupon he placed two hundred ſmall pieces of Artillery, and for the keeping thereof appointed *Caitas Baſſa* with a Garriſon of five thouſand Souldiers. In the mean time alſo he commanded *Oſman Baſſa* (one of the voluntary Captains) with ten thouſand men to poſſeſs *Sumachia*, ſometime the metropolitical City of that Province, with the Title of Viſier and Governour-general of *Siruan*. Giving him further in charge, that in any caſe he ſhould clear the paſſage to *Derbent*, and give preſent Advertiſements to the *Tartarians* of his arrival there, whom he ſuppoſed by that time to be come into thoſe quarters, for that they had before ſo faithfully promiſed to *Amurath*. *Oſman* comming to *Sumachia*, preſently ſeiſed upon the City, and was friendly entertained of thoſe that remained there; whom he likewiſe courteouſly intreated, without doing or ſuffering any outrage to be done upon them. Of which his courteous uſage they of *Derbent* underſtanding, ſent preſently to offer their City unto him, beſeeching him to receive them into his Protection, and to defend them from the *Perſians*; under whom, although they had long lived in ſubjection, yet differed they from them in the Ceremonies of their Mahometan Superſtition, wherein they better agreed with the Turks.

Muſtapha returneth out of *Siruan.*

Muſtapha having thus brought the Country of *Siruan* into the Turkiſh ſubjection, and finiſhed his Fortreſs at *Eres*, and put all things in ſuch order as he thought beſt; importuned by the *Janiſaries* and the People of *Grecia*, and ſomewhat inforced by the ſeaſon of the year, which was now far ſpent, departed from *Eres*, and turned his courſe homeward toward the Country of *Alexander*, ſirnamed the Great, as he had promiſed in his late paſſage into *Siruan*. And having travelled a long Journey, he ſent before him certain Engines and Pioneers to make a Bridge over *Canac*, ſo without danger to paſs over his Army. Having paſſed the River, he gave notice to *Sabamal* (one of the Lords of *Georgia*) of his arrival, who preſently came and yielded himſelf as Vaſſal to the Turks; and being entertained of the Baſſa with great Pomp, and rewarded after the Turkiſh manner, took his leave, and ſo returned into his Mountain of *Brus*.

Muſtapha ſetting again forward, and travelling by Night, becauſe he would not loſe the oportunity of the fair weather, by the errour of his Guides loſt his way, and ſo fell into rough and difficult Paſſages, whereby he was inforced to ſtay and wait for day light; which ariſing, did manifeſt unto them, that they were now entred into the Countries of his Friend *Alexander*: and therefore he gave forthwith Proclamation through all the Army, That no man upon pain of Death ſhould be ſo hardy as to moleſt or diſquiet any of the Subjects of *Alexander*, but to have good reſpect unto them, and to intreat them with all Courteſie. The day following, he ſtill travelled on in the ſame Country, when there arrived from *Zaghen* certain Ambaſſadours of *Alexanders*, with great abundance of Cattel, Corn, Fruits, and other relief ſent for a Preſent to the General, with a ſolemn excuſe that he came not himſelf, becauſe the Infirmity of his Body would not ſuffer him. Wherewithall *Muſtapha* reſted ſatisfied, and having the City of *Zaghen* on the right hand, cauſed the Meſſengers of *Alexander* to guide him the way to *Teflis*, which they ſo directly did, that within the

ſpace

Muſtapha relieveth his diſtreſſed Garriſon at Teflis.

The Miſery of the Turks Army in paſſing the Straights of Georgia.

ſpace of three days they conducted him thither with his Army, without the feeling of any annoyance; from whence they returned, being well rewarded for their pains by the General. Who now come to *Teflis*, found the Garriſon he had there left for the keeping thereof, ſo hardly pinched with Famine, that they were glad to eat Cats, Dogs, Sheep-skins, and ſuch like unwonted food; for neither durſt they for fear of the Enemy go out of the Caſtle to provide for themſelves, neither if they had ſo done, had it any thing availed, ſuch was the carefulneſs of the Enemy in keeping of his things: but now, by the coming of the General, they were relieved with Meat, Money, and plenty of all things. Having ſtayed there two days, he put himſelf again upon his way, and with Fire and Sword deſtroyed whatſoever came in his way in the Champains ſubject to the ſaid City, only the Sepulchres of *Simons* Progenitors (Lord of that Country) were left untouched by the Turks Fury. The next day they travelled over rough and ragged Mountains, full of a thouſand difficulties, which were the more increaſed by wonderfull great Snows that were fallen, by reaſon whereof, many Souldiers, Horſes, Camels, and Mules periſhed. In which diſtreſs the Army continued two days, during which time the Souldiers were fallen into ſuch diſorder, that forgetting the fear of the Enemies Country wherein they we[illegible]very man without regard took up his ſeveral [illegible]ng apart, ſome here, ſome there, where they might find either ſome thick Buſh or ſome ſmall Cottage, or ſome quiet Valley to ſhelter themſelves in from the Wind, the Snow, and the Storms. Of which diſorder certain *Georgian* Lords underſtanding by the Scouts, which from time to time waited upon the Turks Army, joyned themſelves together, and in the Night ſecretly approached unto it, expecting the Opportunity of performing ſome notable Exploit; and having obſerved, that *Hoſaine Bey* had withdrawn himſelf with his Regiment from the reſt of the Army under certain Mountains, to defend himſelf from the Storm and Wind; they took the Occaſion preſented, and ſo aſſailing him, ſlew his Slaves and all his Squadrons, took a great booty of many loads of Money and Apparel, led away with them all his Horſes, and whatſoever elſe they could find, and ſcarce gave him lieſure to ſave himſelf, by flying into the Tents of *Beyran Baſſa*. The next morning the Turks removed, and in the Evening came to a Caſtle called *Chiurchala*, where they ſtayed a whole day to make proviſion of Victual; which was attempted by ſending abroad many of their Slaves into the Fields, conducted by them of the Caſtle, who were all miſerably cut in pieces by the *Georgians*. From this Place the Turks Army departed in great hunger, over divers rough places of the *Georgians*, where they were oftentimes fain to reſt themſelves; and at laſt came to the Confines of *Dedeſmit*, of her called the Widows Country. In the entrance whereof, they muſt needs paſs thorough a narrow Straight, between certain Mountains, where the River *Araxis* windeth it ſelf with a thouſand turnings in the low Vallies, a dangerous place, and ſo narrow, that no more but one man alone could at once paſs through it. Between this Straight and a very thick and hilly Wood, they lodged upon the Bank of the ſaid River, and from thence they removed the next morning and travelled over very ſteep Mountains and rough Forreſts, over Ice and Snow, more hard than Marble, and over other hanging Rocks, in ſuch miſerable ſort, that many Camels, Mules, and Horſes, tumbling down headlong into the River, there miſerably periſhed. Through theſe ruinous Crags, and divers other Miſeries, they marched all the next day, and after that another day alſo, as miſerable to the Army as the former; and ſo at laſt being ſore afflicted with hunger, ſpoiled of the Enemy, tormented with the hard ſeaſon of the Year, and ſcituation of the Place; they arrived in the Territories that lay under *Altunchala*, or golden Caſtle, the princely Widows Palace, where they had all manner of Relief for all the Miſeries they had endured ſince their departure from *Chiurchala*, by the ſpace of ſix days; which if it had been a fair common travelled way, might have been performed in one only days Journey.

The *Georgian* Widow ſubmitteth her ſelf with her Son *Alexander* to *Muſtapha*.

The Widow, with *Alexander* her eldeſt Son, came down from her Caſtle, and went unto the Pavilion of *Muſtapha*, offering him divers Preſents, and promiſing unto him all faithful Obedience; whom *Muſtapha* courteouſly received, declaring unto her what honourable entertainment he had given to *Manucchiar* her younger Son there preſent, who had been with him in all the Expedition into *Siruan*. And for the preſent, diſſembling the privy diſpleaſure he bare againſt *Alexander* (whom he thought to have been one of them that ſpoiled the *Sorians* in their return from the Camp) he embraced him courteouſly, and prayed her to be content to leave him alſo there with him; giving her farther to underſtand, that he would ſend both her Sons to *Conſtantinople* to *Amurath*, with Letters of Credence for their yielded Obedience, for their Favour ſhewed to his Army, in giving it ſo ſecure Paſſage, and ſo many Helps; and laſtly, that for their good Deſerts, they might be of the ſaid great Sultan both honourably entertained and rewarded. The aged Lady, although her Mind was herewithall ſo retroubled, yet outwardly in her Countenance ſhewed her ſelf pleaſed; and ſeemed courteouſly to yield that ſhe was of neceſſity conſtrained to grant; as well for that he was already poſſeſſed of one of her Sons, as alſo for that both herſelf and her whole ſtate were now in his Power; and as it were at his Devotion: and therefore, leaving both her Sons behind her, ſhe returned her ſelf heavy to her Caſtle.

Muſtapha cometh to *Erzirum*, and diſchargeth his Army.

In this Place *Muſtapha* having refreſhed his Army two days, departed thence toward *Chars*, and after many days travel, at laſt arrived at *Erzirum*, to the great rejoycing of the whole Army, which was there preſently diſcharged by the General, without any muſtering at all, and leave given for every man to return into his Country.

Muſtapha magnifieth his own Exploits to *Amurath*.

Muſtapha ſettling himſelf in *Erzirum*, diſpatched Poſts with Letters of plentiful Advertiſements to his great Lord and Maſter, of all things that had paſſed; not forgetting to magnifie his own Exploits above Meaſure. He certified him of the Battels he had had with the *Perſians*, the Obedience he had received of the *Georgians* and *Siruanians*, the mutiny of his own Souldiers, the Fortreſs he had built at *Eres*, the Garriſons left in that City with *Caitas Baſſa*, and in *Sumachia* with *Oſman Baſſa*; and in brief, whatſoever elſe had paſſed, and whatſoever he had taken from the Enemy. Neither did he fail to propound unto *Amurath* what he thought convenient to be attempted the next year, for the ſtrengthning of thoſe places he had already conquered, and for preparing the way for new Enterprizes. And principally he put him in Mind of a Fortification to be made at *Chars*, a place very fit for any Paſſage into *Georgia* or *Armenia*, by ſcituation fruitful and commodious both for Men and Cattel. And withall he ſent unto him the Widows two Sons *Alexander* and *Manuchiar*, the *Georgian* Princes, certifying him of their Submiſſion, and that he had received in their Country all good entertainment and friendly welcome: and withall declaring his Opinion, That *Manuchiar* was the meeteſt man for Government than his Brother *Alexander*, and the readier to do him Service. Greatly did *Amurath* commend the Valour and Diligence of *Muſtapha*, and highly pleaſed himſelf with this conceit, That of theſe beginnings might grow mighty Conqueſts, to the enlargement of his Empire, and that by this means he ſhould be able to ſurpaſs the Glory of his Predeceſſors. And the more his ambitious thoughts were occupied about theſe Wars, the leſs he troubled himſelf with thinking how to annoy *Europe* with his Forces.

It was not long after the departure of *Muſtapha* from *Eres*, but that the *Tartarians*, having left the Fens of *Meotis*, and the unmountable ſhores of the black Sea, and having paſſed over the Rocks upon *Cholchis*, and ſurveyed the frozen Crags of the Mountain *Caucaſus*, were now arrived upon the Confines of *Siruan*, and there attended the Commandment of the Turks. Theſe *Tartarians*, being of them that are called *Præcopenſes*, to the number of thirty thouſand, conducted by their Lord and Captain *Abdilcherai*, a young man of great Valour and Fame, and of a comely Perſonage, were come, according to the faithful Promiſe of *Tartar Chan*, with full Reſolution to attempt whatſoever ſhould be commanded them in the Name of *Amurath*. Now *Oſman Baſſa* underſtanding of their approach, according to the charge before given him by *Muſtapha* the General, invited them to enter into *Siruan*, and by increaſing of the Turks Forces, to further theſe beginnings of *Amurath's* Glory, and theſe his Conqueſts, (or more truly to ſay, theſe magnifical and famous Terms of Victory) all which was moſt diligently put in Execution by *Abdilcherai*; who, having entred the Iron Gates where *Derbent* ſtandeth, (which by the Turks at this day is called *Demir Capi*, and ſignifieth the Gates of Iron) and ſo from thence paſſing into the Country of *Siruan*, there ſtayed, and thereof gave Advertiſement to *Oſman*, as was by him appointed. *Ares Chan*, late Governour of *Sumachia*, who for fear of the great Army of the Turks had abandoned the City, the chief place of his charge, and betaken himſelf to the ſafeguard of the Mountains, hearing of the departure of the Turkiſh General, reſolved with the other Governours of *Eres* and *Sechi* (who following his Example, had in like manner fled) now to return again to their forſaken Country, and to make proof if he could by any means take revenge of the Injury done unto him by the Turks. So paſſing under *Sumachia*, and having put to the Sword certain of *Oſmans* ſtragling Victuallers that were gone out of the City, he incamped with all his People a little from *Sumachia*, and by good Fortune ſurpriſed certain Meſſengers ſent from *Abdilcherai* the Tartar, to certifie *Oſman Baſſa* of his arrival, and to know his Pleaſure what he ſhould put in Execution. Theſe *Tartarians*, brought before *Ares*, after much Torture diſcloſed the Letters they carried, which the *Perſian* Captain read, and conſidering the great number of the *Tartarians* that were come, (for the Letters made mention of thirty thouſand) he reſolved not to ſtay any longer in thoſe quarters, but preſently raiſed his Camp, and retired towards *Canac*, meaning from thence to certifie the King of thoſe Novelties, and upon the banks of the ſaid River to attend the Kings anſwer. The *Tartarian* Captain coming to *Sumachia*, was appointed by the Baſſa to paſs over the River of *Canac* into *Genge*, the Country of *Emanguli Chan*, with the ſpoil thereof to enrich himſelf, and by all means to make his arrival unto the *Perſians* moſt terrible. With this charge the *Barbarian* departed, thirſting now for nothing more than for the blood and ſpoil of the Enemy; and with poſting Journies came to *Canac*, where *Ares Chan* was yet incamped; whom he upon the ſudden moſt furiouſly aſſaulted, and like a devouring flame diſcomfited all his Hoſt: and taking him alive, ſent him to *Sumachia* to *Oſman*, who forthwith cauſed him to be hanged by the Neck out of a Lodging in the ſame State-houſe where he had not long before ſat as Governour. The *Tartarian* after that, ſwimming over the River, and courſing a little above *Genge*, found *Emanguli Chan* with his Wife, and all his Family, and a great part of the Nobility of *Genge* in a Valley hunting the wild Boar; and aſſailing him, put him to flight, took from him his Wife, all the Ladies, and many Slaves, and ſlew many of the reſt that were come thither to ſee the ſport: and after that rode on to *Genge*, which he took, and yielded it wholly to the Fury and Luſt of his barbarous Souldiers, who left no manner of inhumane Cruelty unattempted, in ſatisfying their immoderate and barbarous Affections. And ſo being loaded with the Spoyls, and weary with the ſlaughter of their Enemies, they returned merrily toward *Siruan*: and paſſing again over *Canac*, came to the higher ſide of *Eres* into certain low Champains, environed about with Hills, and there having pitched their Tents, without any fear ſetled themſelves to ſleep, and to reſt their weary Bodies.

Ares Chan hanged at *Sumachia.*

Emanguli Chan taken, and *Genge* ſacked by the *Tartarians.*

In the mean time, and long before theſe Actions, was News brought to the *Perſian* Court of all the Turks proceedings: whereupon the *Perſian* King having gathered new Forces, had diſpatched *Emir Hamze Mirize*, his eldeſt Son, with 12000 Souldiers to paſs into *Siruan*, to ſee what hurt the Enemy had done, and to attempt the revenge of the forepaſſed Injuries; but above all things to puniſh the Villany of them of *Sechi*, and the other Citys of *Siruan*, that not induced with any Neceſſity, had ſo voluntarily yielded themſelves to follow the Obedience and Religion of the Turks. The *Perſian* Prince departing from *Casbin*, accompanied with his Mother *Begum*, who would needs follow her beloved Son, was on his way towards *Siruan*, under the guiding and Government of *Mirize Salmas*, chief of the Sultans; and had now left behind them the Countries of *Ardovil* and *Caracach*, when he was certified by the advertiſements come from *Ares Chan*, of the arrival of *Abdilcherai*, with his great number of *Tartarians*; and was thereby at the firſt ſtrucken into a great quandary, and almoſt out of comfort: yet, prick'd forward with an honourable deſire of Glory and Revenge, he proſecuted his intended enterpriſe for *Siruan*, and haſtening his Journey, came to *Eres* long before the King his Father thought he could have ſo done. This his notable Celerity ſerved him to great purpoſe, for that *Caitaſs Baſſa* was boldly gon out of the Fortreſs, and went ſpoyling the Country, carrying away with him whatſoever he met withall, and committing ſuch Inſolencies as hungry Souldiers beyond all honeſty uſe to do in ſtrange and fruitful Countries. But when he was in the midſt of theſe ſpoyls, and leaſt feared the Enemy, he was ſuddenly aſſailed by the Prince; and having no means to eſcape his Fury in this Extremity, after a fierce and bloody Battel (wherein the Turks although in number few, yet ſhewed many effects of Valour) he was there ſlain with all his Souldiers, leaving the Fortreſs, the Spoils, and the Country committed to his Cuſtody, free to the Pleaſure of the Victor: which the *Perſian* Prince having once again gotten into his Poſſeſſion, took away the two hundred pieces of Artillery that were left in the Fort by *Muſtapha*, and preſently ſent them to *Casbin* to his Father.

Eres recovered by the *Perſians.*

The Prince, encouraged with ſo happy a beginning, leaving his Mother at *Eres*, followed on his Journey toward *Sulachia*, but by the way deſcending

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ing the Hills, he diſcovered where the *Tartarians* lay encamped. Whereupon he ſtood in great doubt, whether to adventure upon ſo mighty an Enemy, or to content himſelf with the Victory he had already gotten, and ſo to return into *Perſia*: to return he thought it too great a ſhame, and choſe rather to adventure himſelf to moſt manifeſt Peril. And therefore deſcending the Hill, and drawing nigh the Enemy, he perceived that the Army was all laid down to reſt, and that their Horſes were ſome couched, ſome ſtanding, but all unſadled; whereupon, without any ſtay ſetting Spurs to his Horſe, he pricked forward with all his hoſt, and moſt terribly aſſaulted the *Tartarians*, now buried in their ſpoils and ſleep; and having ſlain their firſt and ſecond Watch, although with ſome loſs, among the tumultuary Souldiers he made an univerſal confuſion and ſlaughter, putting ſome to flight, killing others, and taking divers of them Captives: Among whom was their General *Abdilcherai*, who was taken alive, and ſent to the King.

Sumachia beſieged by the *Perſian* Prince.

Sumachia yieldeth unto the Prince.

After theſe Victories the *Perſian* Prince ſcoured to *Sumachia*, and compaſſed the City round about, wherein the Turkiſh Baſſa *Oſman* ſat as Governour, to the reproach of *Perſia*; and there encamping himſelf, ſend word to *Oſman*, That if he would yield himſelf, he would let him depart with Life and Goods; otherwiſe, if he would obſtinately hold it out, and not yield the City, which he ſo unjuſtly poſſeſſed, he ſhould be conſtrained to ſurrender it by force, and his Life withall. *Oſman*, who as then knew nothing of the *Tartarians* overthrow, but ſtill hoped of their return, thought it beſt to entertain the Prince with fair words untill their coming; and therefore gave him courteous anſwer, that he was very ready to yield up the City: but withall intreated him, that he would ſtay but for three days, and grant him time to put all things in readineſs, that ſo he might freely depart, as it had pleaſed him in courteſie to offer. The Prince, glad of ſuch an anſwer, ſuppoſing it to have proceeded of a ſincere meaning, expected of the Turk the performance thereof: But *Oſman* meaning nothing leſs, than to commit himſelf to the faith of his Enemy, and ſeeing that the *Tartarians*, whom he looked for, appeared not, he reſolved to ſave himſelf by ſecret flight; doubting, as he had good reaſon, that if he ſhould longer ſtay, to be betraied by the Inhabitants of the City themſelves; and therefore ſomewhat before the aſſigned term of the three days appointed for the ſurrendring of the City, he, by the help of a dark Night, and the covert of the high and rough Crags, with great ſilence withdrew himſelf out of *Sumachia*, carrying away with him all his Subſtance, and ſo in ſafety arrived at *Derbent*. The next Morning the Inhabitants of *Sumachia* opened the Gates of the City to the Prince: who ſeeing their Infidelity, firſt by giving of entertainment to *Oſman*, and now by helping him to eſcape, without giving him any knowledge thereof, did put in execution the effect of his Wrath and Indignation, which even at *Casbin* he had conceived in his Mind againſt them; and with great Cruelty did puniſh the miſerable and unfortunate Citizens, laying their Houſes even with the Ground, raſing both the old and new Walls of that City, of late ſo deſired a Receipt for the Turks. But when he was to depart thence, he ſtood in doubt, Whether to go on to *Derbent*, or to return to *Perſia*; the ſtrength of that City, the approach of Winter, and the long Journey he was to take homeward, perſuaded him to lay aſide the enterpriſe for *Derbent*: whereupon he reſolved to return to *Casbin*, yet firſt to make his return by them of *Eres* and *Sechi*, and upon them, as upon Rebels, to inflict well deſerved Puniſhment. So making his preſent repair thither, ſpared neither Sex nor Age, nor any Condition of Perſons, but upon them all poured forth his furious Indignation without exception. Which done, he with his aforeſaid Mother *Begum*, and his Army, though ſomewhat diminiſhed, yet victorious and triumphant, returned to *Casbin*.

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Abdilcherai beloved of the *Perſian* Queen.

Young *Abdilcherai* the Tartarian was kept ſafe in the Kings Palace at *Casbin*, but with ſuch eaſie Impriſonment as was agreeable to his calling; which was day by day ſo inlarged, as that he ſeemed not to live as a Priſoner, but rather as a Companion of thoſe of the Court, and as it were in apparent Liberty. By which occaſion, having inſinuated himſelf into the love of *Begum* the King's Wife, he ſpent his time in courting her, and ſhe again in entertaining of him in all ſecret and covert manner. Yet theſe their mutual Affections and interchangeable Favours paſſed not ſo ſecretly, but that in the Court and all over the City it was a riſe Report, That the ſhameleſs Lady, prodigal of her Honour, had participated both her bed and her ſelf with the *Tartarian* Priſoner. Howbeit, neither the King nor the Prince knew any thing of it. But the King perceiving the young Gentleman to be generally commended, valiant, courteous, and of a comely Feature, and withall nobly born (for he gave it out that he was the Brother of *Tartar Chan*) perſwaded himſelf, that it would ſtand with the great good of his ſtate, of a Captive to make him his Son-in-law, by giving him his Daughter in Mariage; whereby he was in good hope there might grow ſuch an amity and union between the Tartarian *Præcopenſes* and himſelf, as that they would from thenceforth not only refuſe to favour *Amurath* in thoſe Wars, but alſo become Enemies unto him, and in the favour of *Perſia*, turn their Arms and Affections againſt him. Which his deep and conſiderate purpoſe ſo diſpleaſed the Sultans of *Casbin*, that they ſought by all means they could poſſibly deviſe to avert the King from that ſo ſtrange a Policy; but all in vain, for the King being fully reſolved, and now upon the point to make a concluſion of the Marriage; the Sultans entering into the Palace with their Followers, and finding there the unfortunate *Tartarian*, ran him through the Body, and cutting off his privy Members, flapped them upon his Mouth after a moſt barbarous and filthy manner. It is reported, that the Queen was then alſo murdered by them; certain it is, that the poor Lady never after that day ſaw the light of the Sun: but whether it was put in execution by the appointment of the King her Husband, or that the Sultans did it for the publick Intereſt, is not certainly known. Upon theſe Murders ſprung up many Troubles, and much civil Diſſention, threatning the utter Confuſion of the *Perſian* Kingdom, to the ſingular benefit of *Amurath*. All which tumultuous Diſorders the King, by bridling his own Affections, and the Motions of his Son *Emir Hamze Mirize*, well appeaſed, procuring at laſt a perfect Unity, as then moſt Neceſſary for the defence of his Kingdom.

Abdilcherai ſlain in the Court.

The *Perſian* Queen made away.

Oſman Baſſa being in *Derbent* (the only place of refuge now left for the Turks in *Siruan*) ceaſed not with all carefulneſs to deviſe what he poſſibly could, for the aſſuring of that Country (of late won, and now again almoſt loſt) under the Government of *Amurath*. For the better eſtabliſhing whereof, together with his own ſafety, he thought it good to enter into Friendſhip with old *Sahamal* the *Georgian*, Lord of the Mountain of *Brus*. With this man did *Oſman* practice many tokens of good will, and he again interchangeably towards *Oſman*; whereupon there aroſe great Friendſhip between them, at leaſtwiſe in outward appearanse; whereunto in ſhort time there was added

a ſtrait

1578 a ſtrait knot of Alliance: for that *Oſman* took to Wiſe a Daughter of the ſaid *Sahamals*, the greateſt ſign of his ſincere love towards him. Nevertheleſs, ſhortly after, *Oſman*, upon ſome reaſonable Conjectures, began to ſuſpect (as indeed the truth was) that *Sahamal*, for all the fair ſhew of Friendſhip he made towards him, might for all that receive ſome ſecret order from the *Perſian* King to betray him, and to free the City from the Turks, and ſo to reduce all that Province unto the antient Devotion; in which jealous ſuſpicion he was fully confirmed by the Speeches of his Wiſe, the Daughter of *Sahamal*; who, raviſhed with the Honour, Valour, and Riches of her Husband, could not conceal any thing that ſhe knew deviſed againſt him, but frankly told him, That her Father, being ſecretly reconciled to the *Perſian* King, held Friendſhip with him, and that Letters went between them of great matters, and particularly of the Affairs of *Siruan*. Hereupon the Baſſa perſwaded himſelf, that all the Friendſhip of *Sahamal* was but deep Diſſimulation, and the Marriage of his Daughter nothing but a mean to procure his Death. Nevertheleſs he made ſhew unto his Wiſe, as if he had made no ſuch reckoning of it as indeed he did, but kept it in ſtore to his own ſafety, and the Deſtruction of *Sahamal*; whom, for all that he ſtill entertained with all Honour and Kindneſs due unto a moſt loving Father-in-law. But to prevent the malicious purpoſe of *Sahamal*, having invited him, according to the cuſtom, to a certain ſolemn Feaſt, he acquainted certain Companies of his moſt truſty and valiant Souldiers with his Determination, enjoyning them, that as ſoon as *Sahamal* was entred into his Court, even in the very diſmounting from his Horſe, they ſhould all fall upon him, cut off his Head, and put all his retinue to the Sword. Which his cruel command was by them accordingly at *Sahamals* comming put in execution, he in lighting from his Horſe being ſlain, and all his Followers murdered, when forthwith were ſent forth by *Oſman* two thouſand Horſemen to ſpoil and ſack all the Country of the ſaid *Georgian* Lord, to the great marvel and aſtoniſhment both of far and near. The *Perſian* King hearing of theſe News, took the matter grievouſly, as foreſeeing that the recovery of that Country and Province of *Siruan* would prove a matter of great Difficulty, and fearing greatly that it would ſtill remain (as indeed it doth) in the Poſſeſſion of the Turks. This was the end of the Turks Attempts againſt the *Perſians* in *Siruan* this year 1578, wherein they loſt above ſeventy thouſand men, devoured partly with the Sword, and partly with Famine, and the other Miſeries of War. And ſo Winter comming on very ſharply, every man withdrew himſelf from the Field, wholly attending the keeping of that they had already gotten, untill the comming on of the next Spring.

Sahamal ſlain by *Oſman.*

The Conſultations of *Amurath.*

Amurath, advertiſed by Letters from *Muſtapha*, of all that had hapned in the late Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, upon theſe proſperous Succeſſes (which the Baſſa had for the advancing of his own Credit deſcribed to be far greater than indeed they were) began to caſt many Devices in his Head, touching ſuch matters as were to be attempted the next year. And firſt, he thought it neceſſary to ſend his Forces again into *Siruan*, to recover ſuch Places as were firſt conquered by *Muſtapha*, but afterward again ſubdued by the *Perſians*; ſo to eſtabliſh his Government in that Country. But upon better conſideration, he ceaſed further to think of that matter, for the great hope he had conceived of the aid that was promiſed him by *Tartar Chan*, who had faithfully aſſured both him and *Oſman*, that he would over-run that Province anew, and do great matters in furtherance of the Turks Deſigns; all which for all that fell out to be but windy words; yet in reſpect of this hope he laied *Siruan* aſide, and committed the defence thereof to the falſe Promiſes of the *Tartarian*, and the Valour of *Oſman*. And pleaſing his ambitious Deſires with more haughty Thoughts, he began to deviſe with himſelf for ſending his Army directly to *Tauris*, there to erect a Fortreſs; which being ſtrongly fortified, and furniſhed with a great Garriſon of moſt valiant Souldiers, ſhould never be again ſubdued by all the power of *Perſia*; and by this means to keep in Subjection all thoſe great Countries between *Tauris* and *Erzirum*. Which his conceit, being of great weight and importance, was much increaſed by the perſwaſion of others, very inward with him; every man being almoſt of Opinion, That it was an eaſie matter for ſo great an Hoſt in few days to perform that Service, and to pierce, not only into *Tauris*, but farther, to paſs whitherſoever he would deſire. Yet after he had more deeply conſidered of an Enterpriſe of ſo great importance, and with more indifferent Judgment compared his own Forces with his Enemies, he began to find many difficulties and Dangers, which in the heat of his ambitious deſires he at the firſt ſaw not; for beſide the length and tedioùſneſs of the Journey, he doubted that in ſending his Army for *Tauris*, it might be on the other ſide aſſailed by the *Georgians* (of whoſe obedience he had as yet no great aſſurance) and on the other ſide by the *Perſians*, and ſo brought into great danger; which he was always to fear, whenſoever he ſhould have occaſion to ſend new ſupplies unto the Fortreſs by him intended at *Tauris*. Whereupon, laying aſide all his former Conceits, as too eager and perillous, he reſolutely concluded with himſelf, firſt to make ſure his own Borders, and afterwards by little and little to enter into the Enemies Country, ſtill fortifying in convenient Places as he went; and ſo ſurely, although but ſlowly, to triumph over his Enemies, rather than by thruſting his Army headlong upon uncertainties into places ſtrongly fenced both by Nature and the Power of moſt mighty Enemies, to be inforced with ſhame to abandon the enterpriſe ſo haſtily begun.

Muſtapha careful to put in execution *Amurath*'s command.

Of this his Reſolution he advertiſed *Muſtapha* by Writing, giving him in charge, againſt the next Spring to provide all ſuch things as ſhould be neceſſary for the building of certain Forts upon the way that leadeth from *Erzirum* into *Georgia*: that having made thoſe ways ſafe, and brought the People under his obedience, he might afterwards attempt greater matters. Whereupon *Muſtapha* preſently directed forth Precepts to the Cities of *Aleppo*, of *Damaſco*, *Caraemit*, and other Places of *Soria* and *Meſopotamia*, for the taking up of cunning Workmen, of Pioneers, and ſuch like, to the number of twenty thouſand; and likewiſe wrote to all the Countries, out of which he had raiſed his Army the laſt year, That all their Souldiers (yea and in greater number alſo) ſhould be in readineſs againſt the next Spring, to return to the Wars. The rumor whereof he cauſed to be ſpread even as far as *Ægypt*. He commanded alſo the Taxes and Tenths of thoſe Countries to be collected, and further, uſed the Chambers of *Aleppo*, and other Places, for ſuch maſſes of Money as he thought neceſſary for theſe purpoſes.

Manucchiar turneth Turk.

In this while, the two *Georgian* Brethren, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, ſent (as we have before ſaid) by *Muſtapha* to *Amurath* at *Conſtantinople*, in doubtfull hope, expecting the end for which they were both ſent unto the Court; were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Mahometan Religion, whereunto *Manucchiar* eaſily yielded. Whereas on the other ſide *Alexander* his elder Brother could by no Allurements or means be

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Alexander conſtant in his Religion.

induced to conſent to ſo infamous and damnable a change of his Religion, although he knew he ſhould therefore be deprived of his ſtate; but proteſting his Obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his love to his Brother, requeſted only, that he might but as a private Man go and live in his Country, there to be buried amongſt his Anceſtors. Which his requeſt the Turkiſh Emperour referred to the Diſcretion of *Manucchiar*, to do therein as he ſaw good; who conſented thereunto. Hereupon *Manucchiar* was circumciſed, and the name of *Muſtaffa* given him, with the Title of the Baſſa and Governour of *Altunchala*, and of all his Mothers and Brothers Countries: and being thus created a Turk, had his Brother *Alexander*, a Chriſtian, committed unto him, and ſo both returned into their own Countries.

Emanguli Chan taketh upon him the defence of *Siruan*,

Now in the *Perſian* Court at *Casbin*, were many Conſultations had for the repreſſing of the Invaſions of the Turks. And among others careful of thoſe matters, *Emanguli Chan*, Governour of *Genge*, doubting to loſe his honourable Government, by reaſon of the late ſack of his City, and ſpoil of his Country by the *Tartarians*; by thoſe Plots that were daily in contriving for the ſending of men into *Siruan* to impeach the Deſignments of *Oſman Baſſa*, and if it were poſſible, to drive him out of *Derbent*; took occaſion to offer unto the King, upon pain of his Head, to defend *Siruan*, and not to ſuffer *Oſman* the Turk to attempt any new Fortifications, or further Conqueſts in that Province. Of which his offer the King accepted, and thereupon the Government of *Genge*, and guarding of the Country of *Siruan* againſt the Forces of *Oſman*, was frankly committed unto him; and commandment given to the Governours of *Tauris*, *Reivan*, and *Naſſivan*, and to divers other Captains that were neareſt, to be ready at all times with their Power to aſſiſt *Emanguli Chan*, if it ſhould fortune either the *Tartarians* or *Turks*, with any great Power to enter into *Siruan*: which order ſo taken, was thought ſufficient for the Security of that Province.

But how to protect the *Georgian* Country, was thought to be a matter of great importance, every man being almoſt of Opinion, That ſome great Power of the Turks ſhould be ſent thither, for the more aſſurance of the Conqueſt thereof already begun, and for the Succour of the Fortreſs at *Teſlis*, which muſt needs otherwiſe fall again into the hand of the *Georgians*; This matter ſo troubled the *Perſian* King, as that he ſeemed to have bent his whole Counſels and Thoughts thereupon: When *Simon*, a *Georgian*, a famous Captain, (ſometime Priſoner with *Iſmahel* the late King at *Cabaca*, and by the familiarity he had with him, ſeduced from the Chriſtian Faith; for defence whereof he had in the time of King *Tamas*, choſen to live deprived of his Liberty and State) thinking it now a fit time to obtain at the Kings Hand ſuch help as he had long deſired, for the recovery of his Dominion uſurped by *David*, otherwiſe called *Daut Chan*, his younger Brother (who for the obtaining thereof of King *Tamas*, had voluntarily renounced his Chriſtian Religion) offered now unto the King his faithful Service, for the defence of that part of the *Georgian* Country wherein *Teſlis* ſtood (being in right, part of his own Inheritance) againſt the Turks; reproving by way of Diſgrace, his younger Brother of Cowardiſe, and promiſing the performance of great matters in himſelf, both for the Defence of that evil defended Country, and further annoying of the Enemy. With great content did the *Perſian* King conſent to the requeſt of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that Kingdom which he poſſeſſed before whilſt he was a Chriſtian: and ſent with him *Aliculi Chan* into *Georgia*, with five thouſand Horſemen, and certain pieces of Artillery taken at *Eres*, when *Caietas Baſſa* was ſlain. *Simon* afterwards coming to *Georgia*, was joyfully received of his Country-men, and there preſſed about three thouſand Souldiers of his own and of his Neighbours; excuſing himſelf that he was become a *Perſian*, not becauſe he preferred the Mahometan ſuperſtition before the Chriſtian Religion, but only ſo to be delivered from his long Impriſonment, and by that means to maintain his Eſtate. And in this order were the Affairs of *Georgia* aſſured and ſtrengthned in the beſt manner that might then be.

Simon with *Aliculi Chan* ſent for the Defence of *Georgia*.

1578

1579

The meeting together of the Turks Army at *Erzirum*.

Now began the Spring to approach, and every man prepared himſelf to the diſcontinued Travels of the Wars begun; and now were met together at *Erzirum*, out of all the wonted Provinces, all the Turks Forces, with all things neceſſary for the intended War. With this Army, in all things equal with the firſt, *Muſtapha* ſet forward, and in twelve days came to *Chars*, not perceiving in his Souldiers any ſign of diſcontentment at all. And foraſmuch as here they were to ſtay, and to fortifie both with Walls and Ditches that ruinated City, and that with as great ſpeed as was poſſible; there was no Remedy, but that beſide the Pioneers and Engineers that were brought for that purpoſe, many of the *Spaoglani*, yea and of the *Janizaries* alſo, muſt be ſet to work. Whereupon they all ſuddenly in a tumult, began with bitter Proteſtations to tell the General, That their ſtipends wherewith it pleaſed the Sultan to favour them, were not beſtowed upon them to imploy their Forces and Virtues in ſuch ſervile Works; but only with their Swords and other Weapons, to exerciſe that force and hardineſs for which they were eſteemed worthy of that Honour. Whereunto the General anſwered in moſt haughty Terms, and not yielding one jot to their Incivility, but uſing all means of Authority and Terrour, brought them to work ſo much as he deſired: So that within the ſpace of twenty three days the Towers and Walls were erected, the Ditches digged, the Artillery orderly planted upon the Walls, and the Water brought round about it. Many Inconveniencies happened in the Army while they were buſie in this work; and namely upon the twenty fifth day of *Auguſt*, when they had almoſt even finiſhed the whole Building, the Souldiers endured a moſt ſudden cold by reaſon of the Snow that then fell in great abundance.

Chars fortified in twenty three days ſpace.

Snows at *Chars* in *Auguſt*.

Chars thus fortified, the General reſolved to ſend Succours into *Georgia* to *Teſlis*; without which it was moſt certain that the Fortreſs would be yielded to the *Georgians*, but in what ſort to relieve it he remained doubtful. To ſend part of his Army with ſome valiant Captain ſeemed dangerous, and to go himſelf with all his Forces, would ſound (as he thought) to his diſcredit with his great Lord and Maſter, whom he had already made believe that he had ſubdued the *Georgians*, and brought all that Province to his Obedience and Devotion. In this Ambiguity, the deſire he had to preſerve his Credit with *Amurath* prevailed; and ſo he made choice of *Haſſan Baſſa*, Son to *Muhamet*, principal Viſier of the Court, a gallant Gentleman, and of great Valour, to whom he delivered between eighteen and twenty thouſand Souldiers; joyning unto him one *Reſuan*, Captain of certain Adventurers that voluntarily offered themſelves to follow the Forces of *Haſſan*; aſſigning unto him likewiſe forty thouſand Duckets, and many loads of Rice, Meal, and Barley, with other things neceſſary both for Diet and War, and ſo ſent him away for *Teſlis*.

Haſſan Baſſa ſent with twenty thouſand to the ſuccour of *Teſlis*.

Haſſan with this charge ſet forward, fully reſolved to put theſe ſuccours into *Teſlis*, or to loſe all: and at length came to the famous Streight of *Tomanis*;

nis, where the over-grown Woods on the one ſide, and the deep Vallies and craggie Rocks on the other, would aſtoniſh a right conſtant Beholder. When upon the ſudden, the *Perſians* and the *Georgians*, under the Conduct of *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, at unawares ſet upon the Turks, and joined Battel with them. For theſe two valiant Captains, remaining for the moſt part in the Borders of *Teflis* and *Tomanis* with 8000 Souldiers, waiting for ſome Opportunity to annoy either them of the Fort of *Teflis*, or elſe ſuch as ſhould come to their Succours; underſtanding by their eſpials, of the coming of *Haſſan* with this aid, had ſcattered themſelves all along the ſaid Streight, in hope there to aſſail the Turks, and, holpen by the advantage of the Place, to drive them headlong into the deep Valley, and at once to bereave them both of their Goods and Life. But *Haſſan*, careful of nothing more than how to avoid that danger, choſe rather to make his Journey through the thick Woods, and ſo as he might to eſcape the ambuſh that the Enemy might lay for him upon that ſtraight Paſſage. And ſo entring with his Army into the Wood, which he was to have left upon his left hand, to diſcover what might be plotted againſt him, he was hardly charged by the Enemy, and conſtrained to fight with a thouſand windings and turnings in and out, through a thouſand crooked Paths and doubtful Cranks, in a moſt confuſed medly, with great ſlaughter of his Men: who, not accuſtomed to this kind of Fight, nor acquainted with the ſcituation of the place, were in the skirmiſh driven ſo far, that down they fell, and being not able to recover themſelves, were preſently ſlain. And thus with much ado he at length paſſed the Streight of *Tomanis*. *Haſſan*, deeming himſelf much diſgraced by ſuffering his Enemies, in number ſo far inferior, to have done him ſo much harm, and ſo to have eſcaped his hands; and further, conſidering that in ſuch Places, ſleights and ſtratagems more avail than open Forces; burning with deſire of revenge, would needs ſtay near unto thoſe Streights, as if it had been to refreſh his wearied Army, but indeed to try if the *Perſians* would adventure again to trouble him, or no: and appointed *Reſuan Baſſa* with certain Bands of the Souldiers of *Grace*, and of his own Adventurers, to lie in ambuſh within the covert of the Streight, attentive to every ſtir of the Enemy. Two days the Turks Army lay thus divided, and were now reſolved the third day to remove thence towards *Teflis*; when as the *Perſian* Captains, *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, vainly imagining that this ſtay of the Turks was for fear of the *Perſians*, fooliſhly returned, and gave a freſh onſet upon the flank of *Haſſans* Squadrons. Who forthwith raiſing all his Souldiers, and giving a ſign to *Reſuan*, with all ſpeed compaſſed in his Enemies, and ſtraightning them on both ſides, took ſome of them alive, cut in pieces other ſome, and put all the reſt to flight. Among others that were taken alive, was *Aliculi Chan*, the Perſian Captain, who over-raſhly charging upon the face of *Haſſan*, fell into his Hand. The next day following (being the eleventh day after *Haſſans* departure from *Chars*) he joyfully arrived at *Teflis*, where he found among the poor beſieged Turks many Miſeries; whereof ſome were already dead, and ſome yet ſick, for they were ſo plagued with Famine, that they not only devoured their Horſes, but even the very Skins of the ſame Horſes, of Sheep, and of Dogs, and in ſuch moſt miſerable wants had paſſed the time; whom *Haſſan* at his arrival comforted with Gifts and good Words, exhorting them to perſiſt conſtant in the ſervice of their King, whoſe Honour (as he ſaid) was never more than there to be reſpected. And for as much as the Souldiers of the Fort did with one Voice requeſt *Haſſan* to appoint them a new Governour, becauſe they did miſlike *Mahamet Baſſa*, who the laſt year was left by the General in that Fort; *Haſſan* removed the ſaid *Mahamet*, and put *Amet Baſſa* in his place: and ſo after he had filled up the places of the dead Souldiers with a new ſupply, and ſet all things in order, he took his leave, recommending the charge and cuſtody of that Fort to their Truſt and Valour. *Haſſan* returning from *Teflis*, and being without any trouble come to the Streight of *Tomanis*, was advertiſed by his Scouts, That it was ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the Enemy, and ſo ſhut up with Artillery, as that it was not to be paſſed through: for *Simon*, thinking (as indeed it fell out) that *Haſſan* would return that way, had ſo belayed that Streight, as that the Turks could not without moſt aſſured loſs paſs the ſame: which thing much troubled the Baſſa, and filled his head with many Conceits, how he might make his Journey ſome other way, and decline the danger prepared for him. Thus perplexed, and altogether doubtful what to do, or which way to turn himſelf; *Aliculi Chan* the *Perſian* (who to purchaſe his Liberty could have been content to have done any thing) offered *Haſſan* to ſhew him a ſhort and ſafe cut, whereby he might without danger paſs with his Army out of that troubleſom Country; yet covenanting before, that he ſhould promiſe him to ſet him at Liberty for his ſo good Service. Which his requeſt the Baſſa did not ſtick in large manner to promiſe, although he afterwards to his great diſhonour performed not the ſame. So bending his Journey on the right hand, he was guided by *Aliculi* through ſtrange and uncouth wayes, out of thoſe Woods and Dangers, not meeting ſo much as with one of his Enemies. But when the *Perſian* Duke well hoping for his Liberty, put the Turk in mind of his promiſe; he with deep and feigned ſighs proteſted, That he was right ſorry that he could not perform what he had promiſed to do for him, foraſmuch as it lay not in his Power to ſet any man at Liberty, that was taken in Battel by the Souldiers of his great Lord and Soveraign: yet gave him his faith, that ſo far as his Intreaties and Favours with the General *Muſtapha* could prevail, he would uſe all the moſt earneſt means he could to procure his liberty and return to his own Country.

The *Perſians* aſſail the *Turks*, and make of them a great ſlaughter.

The *Perſians* over-thrown, and *Aliculi Chan* taken.

The Miſery of the *Turks* in Garriſon at *Teflis*.

Simon the *Georgian*, perceiving that the Turks were removed, imagined forthwith that they had taken this new way: but being afterward certified by his faithful Spies, that it was ſo indeed, he ran all headlong, and as it were deſperate, to meet with this ſo happy an Army. And all inflamed with rage for this great Fortune of the Turks, he fell upon the tail of the Turkiſh Hoſt, which with unmeaſurable Fury he wholly deſtroyed, leading away with him all the People, all the Horſes, and all the Treaſure of *Mahamet Baſſa* which he brought from *Teflis*, and all the Treaſure of *Haſſan Baſſa* likewiſe. As for *Aliculi Chan*, whom *Simon* moſt greedily ſought for, he was ſent way in the front of the Army, ſo that he was not to be reſcued. *Haſſan* holding on his way, came to *Chars* in the ſpace of eight days after his departure from *Teflis*, and there preſented unto *Muſtapha* the General, the *Perſian* Captain *Aliculi*, recounting unto him the dangers he had indured, and whatſoever elſe had happed in that Expedition. *Aliculi*, the unfortunate *Perſian*, was by the commandment of *Muſtapha* carried to *Erzirum*, and there in the Caſtle committed to Priſon. Not long after, *Muſtapha* returned himſelf alſo to the ſaid City of *Erzirum*, with his Army ſore weakned and diſcontented, which was there preſently by him diſcharged.

Simon deſtroyed the rereward of *Haſſan*'s Army, and taketh from him his Treaſure;

Muſtapha returneth to *Erzirum*, and there diſchargeth his Army.

About the ſame time that theſe things were in doing, *Amurath*, to make a ſafer and more eaſie

1579 paſſage for his Forces into *Georgia*, ſent *Uluzales* his Admiral with a great Fleet into the *Euxine* Sea to *Mengrelia*, called in ancient time *Cholchis*; who entering the famous River of *Phaſis* (now *Faſſa*) there fortified, and laid ſuch a beginning, that it is now one of the Turks proud Beglerbegſhips, although thoſe Fortifications, ſhortly after the departure of the Admiral, were for the preſent again by the *Mengrelians* demoliſhed. And this was the end of the ſtirs of this year 1579.

Of all theſe Succeſſes *Muſtapha* afterwards ſent Advertiſements to the Court to *Amurath*, recounting unto him the fortifying of *Chars*, the Deſerts of *Haſſan*, as well for the ſuccouring of *Teſlis*, as for the taking of *Aliculi* the *Perſian*. And becauſe the ſaid General had the year before perſwaded *Amurath*, That the Country of *Georgia*, and the People thereof, were brought under his Obedience, to the end that he ſhould not marvel at ſo many Loſſes and ſo many Battels, and thereby doubt of ſome falſe Informations; he declared unto him, that all theſe Troubles were not raiſed by the natural and home-bred *Georgians*, but by two certain Captains, *Aliculi* and *Simon*, ſent out of *Perſia*, who had made all theſe ſtirs; of which one of them now remained with him in Priſon, for him to determine of at his Pleaſure. With great Delight did the Turkiſh Emperour read all that *Muſtapha* had written, and by two of his Gentlemen-Uſhers ſent to *Haſſan* a Battle-axe all gilt and ſet full of Stones, a Targuet of Gold and Pearl, and a rich Garment of Cloth of Gold, in reward of his good Service, for which he greatly commended him; and withall gave order, That *Aliculi* ſhould be kept where he was in the Caſtle of *Erzirum*, in diligent and ſafe Cuſtody.

Haſſan Baſſa rewarded for his good Service by *Amurath*.

These Invaſions of the Turks much troubled the *Perſian* King in his Court at *Casbin*, conſidering, that now they had both throughly acquainted themſelves with all the Paſſages into *Georgia*, (in the difficulty and roughneſs whereof conſiſted the chief defence of that Province) as alſo that divers of the *Georgian* Princes were more than inclining unto the Turks Service; ſo that he could not but juſtly fear, that his Enemies would in time begin to pierce into the noble Cities of *Media* the greater, yea and peradventure even unto *Tauris* before any of the reſt. Which his care of foreign Invaſion was doubled with domeſtical Fears; *Mirize Salmas*, his chief Viſier, and upon whom he moſt reſted, ſtill filling his Head with a jealous Suſpition, That *Abas Marize*'s Son (made Governour of *Heri*, by *Tamas* his Grandfather,) was about in theſe Troubles with the Turk, to proclaim himſelf King of *Perſia*, to the great Ignominy of his Father, and Prejudice of *Emir Hamze*, his eldeſt Brother, the worthy and undoubted Heir of that Kingdom. This *Mirize Salmas* (according to his longing deſire) had married a Daughter of his to the ſaid *Emir Hamze*, with the Conſent of the King his Father; but yet not content with that Honour, ceaſed not continually with ambitious Devices, to ſeek out means how to bring to paſs, that the *Perſian* Eſtate might wholly remain to his Son-in-law, undivided and intire from the Participation of his Brethren; and therefore little regarding the Perils that might happen from the Turks, and blinded with the deſire of his own greatneſs, he went about to turn the King (being a man very credulous and inconſiderate) againſt *Abas Marize*; either to take him and commit him to Priſon, or at leaſt to bereave him of all Authority and Command. And the better to perſwade the King thereunto, he diſcovered unto him, how little *Abas Marize*'s Son had reſpected him in divers Occaſions; and that in theſe late Wars he had not ſo much as ſent forth one man againſt the Turks, but had forbidden ſuch as were of his Juriſdiction of *Heri*, to come to *Casbin*, at ſuch time as they were ſummoned both by Letters and Commandment, to have paſſed with *Emir Hamze* into *Siruan*; by reaſon whereof not one of them would ſtir a foot, anſwering, That they were enjoyned ſo to do by *Abas Marize*, their Lord; who had not only cauſed himſelf to be called King of *Heri*, but had given it out, that he meant to claim the Succeſſion in the whole Kingdom. Theſe complaints much prevailed with the King, both in reſpect of the love he bare to *Emir Hamze*, his eldeſt Son, and alſo of the credit he gave to his Viſier; eſpecially being accompanied with the crafty packing of the ſaid Viſier; who as he was very cunning in ſuch Practiſes of himſelf, ſo did he make them much more effectual with the effeminate King, by the means of divers great Ladies, and other Devices that were to him very familiar and uſual: Inſomuch that the King, carried away with light belief, did continually bethink himſelf how to find Opportunity to repreſs the boldneſs of his diſobedient Son; not forgetting for all that, to make ſuch preparation againſt the Turks, as ſhould be ſufficient to ſtay their Paſſage to *Tauris*, if they had any purpoſe ſo to do. But leaving the *Perſian* King to his troubled Cogitations for a while, let us again return unto the Turks General, the great Baſſa *Muſtapha*.

He now lying at *Erzirum*, after many troubles abroad, was ſurpriſed, and almoſt overwhelmed with unexpected Quarrels at home, many grievous Complaints being made of him to *Amurath*, whereby he was induced afterwards to take from him his Generalſhip, and to call him to the Court to give account of his Actions. Which ſeemed not to be done without cauſe, he having before raiſed a great Diſcontentment in the Mind of *Amurath*, by ſending ſuch a ſtrong power to the Succours of *Teſlis*; whereby he conjectured, that the Affairs of *Georgia* were not in ſuch Security as *Muſtapha* had already informed him they were, and alſo generally offended the Minds of the Souldiers of his Army, who all in an uprore, accuſed him of Improvidence and Prodigality, for that now this ſecond year he had with ſo much ado gathered together ſuch a number of Souldiers, to the trouble of the whole Empire, and infinite charge of their Lord, and yet performed nothing worthy the Glory of *Amurath*, or anſwerable to ſo great a charge. Which Complaints, although they were of ſome moment, yet would the Turkiſh Emperour, for the great Favours he bare unto him his antient Tutor, never have conſtrued them ſo hardly againſt him, as for the ſame to have been induced to have deprived him of his place, if the inveterate envy of *Sinan Baſſa* had not miniſtred ſtrength and force to theſe hard Accuſations, and ſet (as it were) an edge upon *Amurath* to do what he afterwards did.

Muſtapha diſcharged of his Generalſhip, and called home to *Conſtantinople*.

This *Sinan* was a moſt antient Enemy to *Muſtapha*, and in all things thought himſelf his match. For if *Muſtapha* had ſubdued *Cyprus*, ſo had he conquered *Tripolis*, *Guletta*, with the Kingdom of *Tunes* in *Affricke*: and if *Muſtapha* were a man of great Courage, and reverend for his years, *Sinan* would be his equal both in the one and the other; yea, and did not ſtick to think himſelf his better too, for that in the enterpriſe of *Giamen* in *Arabia*, he performed ſuch an Exploit as *Muſtapha* neither durſt, nor yet knew how to put in Execution, ſo carrying away the Glory of that famous Conqueſt; for which ever after there was between them a continual heart-burning, one of them envying at the others Glory, and both in Word and Deed, as Occaſions fell out, in all things oppoſing themſelves one againſt the other. At laſt happens this Opportunity for *Sinan*, who taking the occaſion of the Complaints of ſo many againſt *Muſtapha*, cauſed a great number of them to frame their Supplications

Sinan accuſeth *Muſtapha* to *Amurath*.

1579 to *Amurath*, which he for his part did in moſt malignant manner inforce and exaggerate againſt his old Adverſary, accuſing him, that this ſecond year he had moſt manifeſtly ſhewed himſelf to have gone unto the Wars, not as a worthy General, deſirous of noble and honourable Enterpriſes, but as a man that would make merchandiſe of Blood, and of his Souldiers pay; employing the moſt liberal Proviſion of Corn and Money, not as Rewards of well-deſerving men, nor to the erecting of ſuch Fabricks as were needful, and might have been built therewithall, but onely to his own proper gain, ſo to inrich himſelf with his Peoples loſſes, to the great ſhame of his Lord, and conſuming of the publick Treaſure; adding hereunto, that if the things done by *Muſtapha* were well ſearched, it would be found, that he had neglected many good Opportunities, attempted many things in vain, and not done any good either to the Emperour or his Souldiers, but only to himſelf; whom rather than they would follow again as their General, all his People in an uprote ſhewed themſelves ready and willing to adventure themſelves in any other far greater Labour that by their Lord and Soveraign ſhould be commanded them.

These and ſuch like Complaints, with the hard Opinion already conceived againſt him by *Amurath*, were the occaſion why he reſolved to put him from his place. Beſide that, he thought it a thing dangerous to his ſtate, to ſuffer one and the ſelf ſame General any long time to command over ſo great Armies; deeming it not ſo much for his Honour, ſtill to employ one man, as to ſhew that he had variety and choice of Subjects, worthy of ſo great a charge. And therefore, being deſirous to find out the truth of that was reported to him concerning *Muſtapha*, he ſent the chief of his Gentlemen Porters, with fifteen others, to bring him to the Court, with his Chancellour and Treaſurer, to ſhew the accounts of ſuch Monies as he had received, and to give up an account of their whole Office. Unto this Meſſenger had *Amurath* delivered three divers Letters, which he ſhould warily ſhew, as occaſion ſerved; one of them was ſo written of purpoſe, that *Muſtapha* in the receiving thereof might by the ſame Meſſengers be ſtrangled; in the ſecond was the Emperours warrant for the doing of that was to them commanded; and in the third was contained, that *Muſtapha* ſhould forthwith ſend his Chancellour and Treaſurer to the Court by thoſe Meſſengers. *Muſtapha* in the mean time by divers means, but eſpecially by the guilt of his own Conſcience, venting the Diſpleaſure of the Emperour towards him, and ſuſpecting (as the truth was) his Life to be by thoſe Meſſengers ſought after, at ſuch time as the Captain-Porter came to his Camp, found many delays to put him off, and would not in any caſe be ſpoken withal. But when the Meſſenger would indure no longer delay, he was at length admitted to his preſence, having a circle appointed for him, out of which he and his Companions might not ſtir or approach nearer unto him, the Baſſa's Guard ſtanding in Arms round about him. The Meſſenger perceiving the Baſſa's warineſs, wilily pluck'd forth the third Letters, concerning the ſending of his Chancellour and Treaſurer to the Court. Then began the crafty old Baſſa to find many excuſes to have delayed the matter; but being hardly preſſed by the Meſſenger, and ſeeing no other Remedy, he with much difficulty delivered them both, covenanting before with the Meſſenger, to have both their Lives ſpared; who coming to *Conſtantinople*, were forthwith clapt faſt into the Tower called *Jadicula*, as there to have been ſeverely examined of all the doings of the Baſſa. But *Muſtapha*, after long delay, coming at length to *Conſtantinople*, the ninth of *April* in the Spring following, and uſing the mighty and potent mediation of divers great Ladies, and other his gracious Friends in Court, prevailed ſo much in that corrupt Government, as that he was again at length received into the Favour of *Amurath*, without any further proceeding againſt Him, his Chancellour, or Treaſurer, who by his means were afterwards alſo inlarged and ſet at liberty; yet was he never after admitted to thoſe Honours, which he perſwaded himſelf were of right due unto him, for his good and faithful ſervice of long time done to the *Othoman* Emperours.

Jo. Leuncla. in ſupplement. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 79.

1579 *Muſtapha* by the Mediation of certain great Ladies appeaſeth the diſpleaſure of *Amurath*.

In this time that *Muſtapha* was General at *Erzirum*, *Muhamet* the Viſier Baſſa was treacherouſly ſlain at *Conſtantinople*; after whom, ſhortly died alſo *Achmet Baſſa*, who ſucceeded in his place; ſo that the ſaid ſoveraign Dignity, in Honour next unto the Turkiſh Emperour, was by rightful Succeſſion due to *Muſtapha*, the next Baſſa; but that he was not thought worthy of it by him that might, and of right ought to have gratified him therewith, as ſhall be a little hereafter declared, when we have briefly ſet down the ſudden and ſtrange death of the ſaid *Muhamet* the Viſier, worthy in all Hiſtories to be regiſtred, as a mirrour for all ſuch as adminiſter Juſtice in ſo great place, to look upon.

The ſtrange Death of the great Viſier *Baſſa Muhamet*.

This Baſſa, a man of as great Fame as ever was any that had Government in the *Othoman* Empire, in the time that he all commanded, had for ſome light cauſes deprived a certain Souldier of *Conſtantinople* of his yearly Penſion, which, with many Labours and Dangers he had gotten to maintain himſelf; which Penſion the Baſſa beſtowed upon another Souldier, ſo that the other poor Soul remained in Miſery, altogether unprovided for. Unto which miſerable eſtate ſeeing himſelf now brought, and not guilty to himſelf of any Fault worthy ſo great Puniſhment, he determined with himſelf, to revenge the Injury with the Blood of that great Baſſa, and to bereave him of Life, that had bereft him of Living; which, becauſe he could not by any fit means put in Execution (by reaſon of the Guard of Slaves that kept the Perſon of the Viſier, ſo that no man can come near him that holdeth that high place) except he could by ſome means acquaint himſelf in the Viſiers Houſe, and ſo inſinuate himſelf into his acquaintance; he reſolved to take upon him the rude habit of thoſe religious, which the Turks call Dervislars, and after their manner to preſent himſelf every Morning before the Viſier, to ask his Alms, and ſo he did, counterfeiting withall, a certain kind of folly and lightneſs of Mind, as do thoſe Dervislars, to make the People believe, that they contemn all worldly things, as men raviſhed only with heavenly Cogitations; which yet was by ſome that knew him, thought to have hapned in him, through the Grief he had conceived for the loſs of his ſtipend. *Muhamet* not only the firſt time, but alſo at all other times that this counterfeit Hypocrite came before him, cauſed him to be comforted with his Alms, and as it were with a kind of private ſtipend enjoyned him every Morning to come unto him into the *Divano*, and there, together with others appointed for the ſame purpoſe, to ſay his devout Prayers, and in ſinging Praiſes to their wicked Prophet, to intreat God for his Salvation; for it is a cuſtom of all the Noble-men, that at ordinary hours of Prayers, all their Prieſts aſſemble themſelves in the *Divano*, which is made ready for them; and there all together the infidel Wretches do with their unclean Mouths mumble up their ſuperſtitious Prayers, or rather moſt abominable Blaſphemies. By this means did this diſſembling Companion ſo inſinuate himſelf into the Viſiers Acquaintance,

that

1579 that the counterfeit fool went in and out of the *Divano* at his Pleaſure, no man gain-ſaying either his going in or coming out, but daily ſat in the Preſence of the Viſier, and ſo having ſaid his Prayers, and taken his Alms, with all Reverence quietly departed. At laſt, when the crafty Hypocrite thought that the time was come wherein he might moſt fitly execute his purpoſe, having utterly reſolved with himſelf to die, ſo that he might ſatisfie the Deſire he had of Revenge, ſo long covertly foſtered in his Heart; having conveyed a very ſharp Dagger ſecretly into one of his Sleeves, he went according to his Cuſtom, to require his Alms, with an aſſured Reſolution (when he had ſaid his Prayers, and reached out his hands to receive his wonted Alms) ſpeedily to charge upon the Viſier, and with the Dagger to ſtrike him to the Heart. According to the accuſtomed manner was the counterfeit Hypocrite (for who would ever have ſuſpected ſo long and ſo traiterous a deſignment) admitted into the *Divano*, where *Muhamet* the Viſier ſat in his Houſe, to give publick audience, and after the uſual manner, before any of the ſuters that attended for anſwers and diſpatch of their buſineſs ſuſpected any ſuch deceit, he was admitted near to the Viſier, and ſitting right againſt him, according to his old wont, poured out thoſe vain Devotions which thoſe hypocritical Barbarians uſe to mumble up in their Prayers; which being finiſhed, whilſt the Viſier ſimply reacheth unto him his wonted Alms, the traiterous Villain in receiving it, ſuddenly drew out his Dagger, and once or twice ſtabbed it into the Viſiers Breaſt, out of which ſo deadly Wounds guſhed out his Blood and Life together. Whereupon the ſtanders by aſtoniſhed with the ſtrangeneſs of the Act, ran in, but lo the old hoary Viſier lay all ſoiled in his own Blood, deadly pale, and breathing forth his laſt gaſp. The miſchievous murderer they preſently laid hands upon, and bound him faſt; but the Rumor of the ſtrange fact did by and by flie unto the Emperours Ears, who, ſuſpecting that ſome of the other great Baſſa's, deſiring to mount into that high Dignity, had provoked the Traitor to do this deteſtable Act, would needs underſtand of the traiterous Murderer, what occaſion had moved him ſo treacherouſly to kill his Viſier. Who reſolutely anſwered him, That he did it to deliver the City of *Conſtantinople* from the Tyranny of him, by whom he was undeſervedly deprived of his Penſion. But when he could get no other anſwer of him, he delivered him into the hands of the Slaves of the dead Viſier, who with moſt exquiſite Torments put him to death.

Muhamet thus dead, after him ſucceeded *Achmetes* the next Baſſa, who (as is before ſaid) ſhortly after died alſo, ſo that it was now *Muſtapha's* courſe to ſucceed in that chief room, for that he was the third in the order of the Baſſaes. But when he had uſed all the means that he poſſibly could, to have obtained that ſo honourable a place by order due unto him; yet could he not find ſo much grace in the ſight of *Amurath*, his great Lord, as to have it granted him under Seal, although in effect he made him ſit as Viſier, and all matters of State were brought unto him as chief Viſier: but in his ſtead the Seal was ſent to *Sinan Baſſa*, who was now made General for the *Perſian* Wars. Which diſgrace not a little diſcontented *Muſtapha*, fearing leſt ſome other ſtrange accident ſhould in ſhort time light upon him.

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Sinan Baſſa choſen General for the *Perſian* Wars.

After that *Muſtapha* was thus diſplaced from his Generalſhip, *Amurath* nominated *Sinan Baſſa* to be General in his ſtead, for this Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, and for the Preſervation of *Chars* and *Teflis*; giving him ſovereign Authority to command, and to ſet in order all ſuch Preparations as he ſhould think neceſſary for ſuch Enterpriſes as he ſhould think good to attempt in his firſt year; who although by reaſon of his great favour, he grew haughty and Glorious, yet did he not foreſlow to diſcourſe throughly with himſelf upon all his Deſignments: and namely, beſide the ſuccouring of *Teflis*, he determined to build a Fort at *Tomanis*, to aſſure the Paſſage thither from *Chars*; and withall to attempt all the means he could to induce the *Perſian* King to ſend Ambaſſadors for Peace, with ſuch Conditions as ſhould be acceptable to *Amurath*. With theſe and ſuch like Diſcourſes did he buſie himſelf whilſt he was yet making preparation to ſet forwards towards *Erzirum*. 1580

The *Perſian* King ſendeth *Maxut Chan* his Ambaſſador to *Amurath*.

Of all theſe changes and alterations was the *Perſian* King advertiſed, as alſo that this new Turkiſh General *Sinan* was careful how this long War might by ſome means be appeaſed, and a good Peace concluded. Upon which occaſion, and by the Perſwaſion of *Leuent Ogli*, the *Georgian*, and of *Mirize Salmas* the Viſier, he was induced to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, to demand Peace of *Amurath*. Upon which Reſolution he diſpatched *Maxut Chan* (of ſome called *Maxudes*) his Ambaſſador, with direction that he ſhould go to *Sinan*, and of him to receive Guides to conduct him to *Conſtantinople* with Letters to *Amurath*, and as much as lay in him, to labour for the pacifying of all theſe troubles: and in any caſe to conclude upon it, ſo that he would be content with *Chars* and *Teflis*. With theſe Inſtructions the Ambaſſador departed, and at length arrived at *Chars*, and ſo came to *Erzirum*, and was from thence conducted towards *Amaſia*. But when he came to *Sivas*, he found *Sinan* the General there encamped, gathering together his Army for the Execution of his Deſignments: for *Sinan*, upon the arrival of *Muſtapha*, departing from *Conſtantinople* the five and twentieth day of *April*, was now come ſo far on his way. Of the coming of this Ambaſſador, the Turks received great Joy, and News thereof was in poſt ſent by *Cicala Baſſa* to the Court. The *Perſian* Ambaſſador informed *Sinan* of all that he had to treat with *Amurath* on the behalf of King *Mahamet*; and laboured earneſtly to perſwade him of the Equity of the Cauſe, and of his Requeſt; declaring unto him, That foraſmuch as both the Nations were conjoyned under the Law of *Mahomet* their common Prophet (though there ſeemed ſome ſmall difference not worth thoſe troubles) it were a very inconvenient thing for them to contend among themſelves, and to ſeek the overthrow or utter deſtruction of one another; and that therefore he was in good hope to obtain of *Amurath* this deſired Peace, if he had no other cauſe wherewith he found himſelf agrieved, as in truth he had not. Wherefore he beſought the General, that he would with ſafe Convoy conduct him to *Amurath*, to the end that, if it were poſſible, theſe bloody Wars might take end; at the very report whereof, the reſt of the World rejoyced, and ſtood attentively waiting to ſee what would be the iſſue thereof.

The Admonition of *Sinan* to the *Perſian* Ambaſſador.

This Ambaſſador *Sinan* entertained after the beſt manner the rudeneſs of his Nature would afford; and thinking that the very fame of his Valour had wrought in the Minds of his Enemies this Reſolution, to come to demand Peace, granted unto the Ambaſſador a ſure Convoy to conduct him to *Conſtantinople*; and wrote to *Amurath* in his Letters, all that he thought was fit to be demanded, repreſenting unto him what great and important matters (he hoped) might now be obtained. But before he diſmiſſed the ſaid Ambaſſador, he adviſed him not to go to *Amurath*, without Reſolution to offer unto him ſome great good Conditions, and to yield unto him all that Country which he by force of Arms had before conquered: for he knew the mind of *Amurath* very well, that he was reſolved in himſelf, not to yield ſo much as one hands breadth of that Ground which he had won with the Sword. Which motion of the pround Baſſa ſo troubled the Ambaſſador, that fearing he ſhould not be able to conclude any thing, he ſtood in doubt, whether to proceed on his Journey to *Conſtantinople*, or to return back again into *Perſia*; but conſidering better what belonged to his Duty in ſo weighty a buſineſs, and hoping to receive more reaſonable Conditions from the mouth of *Amurath* himſelf, he gave large words to *Sinan*, and ſo with a ſafe Convoy departed from *Sivas*, and by long Journeys came to *Scutari*, and ſo paſſing over that little ſtrait, the fourth of *Auguſt* arrived at *Conſtantinople*.

The Preparations of the *Perſian* King againſt the Turks.

The *Perſian* King in the mean time, ſtirred up with the report of the Turks Preparations, to cauſe it to be noiſed, that he likewiſe intended ſome important matters, commanded all the *Chans* and Governours of his Kingdom, to meet together with all their Forces at *Tauris*, where he himſelf, with the Prince *Emir Hamze* his Son, met them. And after many Conſultations there had for the repreſſing of the Turkiſh Invaſion (for as yet it was not certainly known what *Sinan* meant to attempt) he reſolved to ſend Souldiers into *Georgia* towards *Teſlis*, whether of neceſſity Succours muſt be ſent by the Turks to them of the Fort; and withall, determined alſo to go himſelf with all his Army from *Tauris* to *Caracach*, a place very commodious and near, to guard both *Tauris* and *Siruan*, being ſcituate even in the middeſt between the one and the other; and there to expect the removing of *Sinan*, whoſe ambitious Nature the King knowing, doubted that he, to ſurmount *Muſtapha*, would attempt ſome great Enterpriſe; yea peradventure, to run even upon *Tauris*. But when it came to the point that he ſhould ſend ſome of his Captains into *Georgia*, he made choice of ſuch as had beſt experience of thoſe Countries, and were neareſt unto him; with whom he ſent *Tocomac* alſo, and the reſt, whoſe Service he had before uſed againſt the Turks: commanding them to joyn their Forces with *Simon* the *Georgian*, and by all means poſſible to annoy the Enemy; whom, if they ſhould perceive to bend for *Tauris*, they ſhould not fail to follow him; to the end they might joyn together with him, and ſo incounter the Enemies Army. All thoſe Captains were reſolute men, and led with them ten thouſand Souldiers, which being joyned with them of *Georgia*, amounted to the number of thirteen thouſand: who, arriving at *Genge*, gave knowledge to *Simon* of their coming, and that in his behalf they were ready to do great Matters.

Now was the *Perſian* Ambaſſador with all due honour received at *Conſtantinople*, where he was honourably entertained by the great Baſſaes of the Court, but eſpecially by *Muſtapha*, who within two days after, ſuddenly died; of a ſurfeit taken of eating too much of Musk-melons, and immoderate drinking of *Zerbet*, (a kind of pleaſant drink which the Turks uſe, made of Water and Sugar:) but moſt men thought him to have poiſoned himſelf, as fearing the former indignation of *Amurath* to be again inflamed by the new complains of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador againſt him, for that he in the time of his Generalſhip, had diſhonourably ſuppreſſed certain Ambaſſages ſent from the *Perſian* King; which he now fearing to be called in queſtion for, the former ſtorms as yet ſcarce well appeaſed, made himſelf now away. After his death it was commonly reported, that if he had longer lived, he ſhould have been undoubtedly ſtrangled; which to prevent, he became the worthy Executioner of himſelf, that had moſt unjuſtly cauſed others to be moſt ſhamefully murdered. Which was the more like to be true, and the rather believed, for that the infinite Wealth he had of long time ſcraped together, was immediately after his Death taken into the Kings Treaſuries, ſome ſmall portion thereof being left unto his Nephews; a moſt certain token of *Amuraths* Indignation againſt him. The *Perſian* Ambaſſador having audience the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, with many lively Reaſons and much Eloquence, perſwaded the Turkiſh Emperour to deſiſt from the War begun, as contrary to the Will and Pleaſure of their common Prophet *Mahomet*; as alſo to the Peace, which was ſo royally, and with ſo many Capitulations, not long before concluded between *Tamas* and *Solyman* his Grandfather; and was not to have been broken, and Wars raiſed, but upon ſome great Quarrel or Injury done; which the *Perſians* had not at any time offered, but had always wiſhed unto him all Happineſs, as they had manifeſtly declared, by ſending unto him an Embaſſage to that purpoſe by Sultan-*Tocamac*; whereby he might plainly perceive the good mind and zeal the *Perſian* King had for the maintenance of the Peace. And although in the ſhort reign of *Iſmabel*, there was ſome Rumor raiſed, that he meant to go unto *Babylonia*, and ſome ſuch like News: yet that was but a youthful part, and an effect of that heat which is commonly proper to ſuch as being kept long in ſtrait Priſon, cannot uſe their Liberty with Moderation, and had therefore received due Puniſhment for it, by ſudden and unexpected death. But as for the King that now is, he did above all others, imbrace amity with his Majeſty, and therefore did moſt earneſtly deſire, that it would pleaſe him to temper his Anger conceived, which had incenſed him to take up Arms againſt a King ſo much his Friend; being of the ſame Religion, and better affected towards him than all the reſt of the Nations in the World.

This Ambaſſador the Turkiſh Emperour diſmiſſed without any Reſolution at all, but onely gave order, that whatſoever he had to ſay touching this Peace, he ſhould communicate it with his Viſier. Many were the Diſcourſes which hapned, for that the Turk required all thoſe Cities and Countries, which till that time he had conquered with the Sword, or (as their proud manner of Phraſe is) whereon his Generals Horſe had trod, to be yielded again unto him; and the Ambaſſador on the other ſide, had no warrant from his King to yield any more than that part of *Georgia*, which is on this ſide the River of *Araxis*. Whereupon the ſaid Ambaſſador began to fear, leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected for a Spy, and ſo be evil intreated: wherewithall he did find himſelf too manifeſtly charged by the hard ſpeech that the Viſier uſed towards him. Being thus doubtful whereupon to reſolve, perceiving himſelf ſtrained to the grant of theſe demands, and receiving alſo ſome threatnings withall, he determined with himſelf to inlarge his Speeches with the Viſier in divers and ſundry particularities, and to give him good hope that he ſhould be able to perſwade with his King, the yielding up of ſo much as *Amurath* had and did demand. Hereupon was *Maxut Chan* the Ambaſſador in friendly manner and without any outrage ſent from *Conſtantinople* to *Chars*, and Commiſſion given to *Sinan* (then at *Chars*) that without delay, and with all fidelity, he ſhould cauſe the Ambaſſador to be conducted to *Van*, and from thence into *Perſia*, whereſoever he did deſire; all which was faithfully performed.

Sinan muſtereth his Army at *Erzirum*.

But to return again to *Sinan* the General, who from *Sivas* had ſent the ſaid Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople* (as is before declared;) and being departed

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parted thence, arrived at *Erzirum*, where he took a Survey of his Army, and other Proviſion neceſſary for this Expedition: and ſo from thence was now come to *Chars*, from whence he diſpatched the *Perſian* Ambaſſadour, much diſcontented that no other Concluſion for Peace could be wrought.

Maxut Chan reporteth unto the King what he hath done, and is for his good ſervice by him rewarded.

Maxut Chan at laſt arriving at the *Perſian* Court, reported unto the King all that had happened in this his Ambaſſage; the ſum whereof was, That *Amurath* would not condeſcend to any condition of Peace, unleſs the whole Country of *Siruan* might be yielded unto him, for that he had once (as he ſaid) conquered the ſame. Neither did the ſame Ambaſſador forbear to tell the King the Suſpition *Amurath* had conceived of him, to have been a Spie rather than an Ambaſſador; and of the large Promiſes he was fain to make to the Turk, to avoid the manifeſt danger of Impriſonment, or Death: all which for all that, now lay in his Majeſties Power to perform or not. The King for the preſent remained well ſatisfied with that *Maxut* had done, and in reward of his great travel and expences, gave him the charge of the Chamber at *Tauris*, naming him the Chamberlain of that rich and great City. Of which new Office (though very honourable, and of great importance) he took ſmall Pleaſure, for that one *Emir Chan*, his ancient Enemy, was chief Governour of that City, from whom he feared ſome dangerous treachery; wherefore he appointed his Deputy for the Execution of the Office, and withdrew himſelf from *Tauris* to *Caſſangich*, a place of his own, there to paſs away the time untill it ſhould pleaſe the King otherwiſe to diſpoſe of him. But *Emir Chan*, who ſtill nouriſhed in his mind the ancient hatred he had conceived againſt him, took this as a moſt fit occaſion to bring him into diſgrace with the King; certifying him, That *Maxut*, not contented with the great preferment it had pleaſed him to beſtow upon him, had in contempt of his rewards abandoned *Tauris*, and ſubſtituted in his place a moſt baſe Perſon to repreſent the King's Majeſty, and to manage his Treaſure: and that he abſented himſelf far from that City and the Court there, having withdrawn himſelf into the Confines of *Turkie*, no doubt for ſome miſchievous intent, either to yield himſelf unto them, or elſe to have Intelligence with them, and was like enough to be guilty to himſelf of the great Errour he had already committed, by offering *Siruan* unto the *Turkiſh* King, and making promiſe of ſo large Conditions, whereby he had obtained ſuch a ſure and ſafe Convoy to conduct him; when as he had before diſcovered himſelf to be a Favourer of the *Turks*, and a Traitor to his own King: and that therefore it were good to make trial of his Inclination, and ſo peradventure to decline ſome great Miſchief, tending to the danger of the *Perſian* State. This malicious Accuſation ſlily contrived, ſo wrought in the mind of the ſuſpitious King, that he commanded *Emir Chan* ſecretly to apprehend *Maxut*, and to bring him to the Court, and (if he could not by other means) then by torture to wreſt from him the truth of all thoſe matters. Glad was *Emir* to have his Enemy thus put into his hands; and thought it long untill he had brought this ſhame upon *Maxut*: who having already heard ſome inckling thereof, reſolved with himſelf to do any thing, rather than to fall into the Power of his hateful Enemy. And therefore at ſuch time as fifteen tall fellows were for that purpoſe ſent unto him from *Emir Chan*, who in the Kings name ſummoned him to the Court; he, without making any ſhew that he took the matter otherwiſe than well, entertained them courteouſly, and made them great chear; but when he perceived them to be overcome with ſleep, which crept upon them by reaſon of the exceſs wherewith they had overcharged themſelves, he cauſed them to be ſtraitly bound, and with long Cords hanged them down into a deep Well, and there ſhut them up ſecretly covered. Then gathering together the moſt precious things he had in his Houſe, and ſetting his Wives, his Children, his Brethren, and Nephews on Horſe-back, fled with all his Family in the Evening, and the next day arrived at *Salmas*, and was there friendly entertained by the Turkiſh Baſſa, and from thence conveyed to *Van*, where he was courteouſly welcomed by *Cicala Baſſa*, and honourably accompanied, ſent to *Sinan* the General, who very glad of his coming, ſent him with all diligence to *Conſtantinople*, to *Amurath*. And this was in effect the end of the firſt enterparlance of Peace betwixt the *Perſians* and the *Turks*.

1580

Maxut Chan flyeth unto the Turks.

Sinan remained at *Chars* eight days, and there again ſurveyed his Army and Proviſion; and afterwards ſet forward towards *Tomanis*, with Reſolution there to build a Fort. But being come thither, he could by no means put that his Deſignment in Execution, by reaſon of the immoderate Rain, which continually, by the ſpace of eight days fell in ſuch abundance, as that neither did the Sun appear, or the Sky clear. Beſide that, *Sinan* greatly feared leſt the Enemy, taking the Opportunity of this Rain, of the Streight, and of the Building, ſhould aſſault his Army, and finding it in evil plight, and out of order, greatly endamage it; wherefore, caſting off his former Determination for fortifying at *Tomanis*, he removed thence, to carry Succours to *Teflis*. But as ſoon as he was riſen with his Army, and paſt the Streight, *Tal-Ogli*, Captain of the *Janizaries* of *Damaſco*, and *Homar*, *Sanzack* of *Saffeto*, having received ſecret intelligence, that hard by, a little out of the way, was good ſtore both of Corn and Cattel; reſolved with themſelves to go thither to fetch in that booty; and ſo with two thouſand Souldiers, greedy of Prey, they ſet forward. Now *Simon* the *Georgian*, and the *Perſians*, following the Turks Army a far off, had divided his Souldiers into all ſuch places as where there was either Corn or Water, or any ſuch thing as might allure the Turks to ſcatter themſelves from the Camp; and perceiving theſe hungry Turks careleſly to run head-long to lay hold on this deſired booty, he ſuddenly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces, being diſordered; ſo that of thoſe two thouſand eſcaped but *Tal-Ogli* the Captain of the *Janizaries* only, *Homar* the *Sanzack*, and all the reſt being left dead upon the Ground.

Sinan cometh to *Teflis*.

Sinan holding on his way, in two days came to *Teflis*; where preſently he called a Counſel of all the chief men of his Army; taking order, That every man upon his Oath, ſhould depoſe the truth touching the greatneſs of *Teflis*; which he did, only in reproach of *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa; who moſt untruly had informed *Amurath*, That it was as great and populous as *Damaſco*, whereas in truth it was not in any reſpect to be compared unto that ſo famous a City. After that, he divided the Treaſure and Succours he had brought, among the Souldiers of the Fortreſs, chearing them up with good Words, and promiſes of great Matters. And becauſe the Souldiers there in Garriſon complained greatly againſt the Baſſa their Captain, he cauſed a Bill of complaint to be framed againſt him, and finding him guilty, that he had converted the Souldiers pay to his own uſe, he condemned him to the Reſtitution thereof, and ſo immediately diſcharging him of his Office, placed in his room *Gulſuf Bey*, a Lord of *Georgia*; who for the antient Enmity between him and *Simon*, had yielded

that

himſelf to the Turks, and was of them ſo welcomed, that *Sinan* truſted him with the Cuſtody of that Fort, which with ſo many dangers had been maintained and defended till that day.

Sinan departeth from *Teſlis.*

All things thus ſet in order at *Teſlis*, *Sinan* with his Army departed thence, and having again paſſed the Streight of *Tomanis*, there came unto him *Muſtaffad Baſſa* (afterward Governour of *Aleppo*) declaring unto him, That not far off was great ſtore of Corn and Cattel, and no body but only a few *Georgians* to keep the ſame; and therefore wiſhed him to ſend forth ſome to fetch it in, whereof, though it had been much more, his Army then ſtood in great need. *Sinan* was well affected unto this *Muſtaffad*, and therefore the eaſilier induced by him to ſend for the aforeſaid booty; but moved with the freſh remembrance of that which had happened to *Tal-Ogli* and *Homar*, he gave order, That to fetch in this Corn and Cattel there ſhould go out 10000 Horſe-men and their Servants, among whom was alſo the ſame *Muſtaffad* as their General. Now ſtood *Tocomac*, *Simon*, and the other *Perſian* Captains in ſecret ambuſh, waiting when any of the Turks ſhould come to fetch in this booty. Whereupon the aforeſaid Souldiers being now come, as they deſired, and having almoſt charged all their Mules and Horſes with that which beſt pleaſed them to make choice of; the hidden *Perſians* all on a ſudden iſſued out of their lurking places among them, and with great ſlaughter put them to flight, and with ſuch fury purſued the Victory, that they ſlew of them 7000, carried away many Priſoners alive, and the Mules and Horſes laden with the ſtolne booty. *Muſtaffad* was the firſt that fled, and the firſt that brought the unhappy News of that overthrow to *Sinan*; which was forthwith confirmed by the report of ſuch as had by ſpeedy flight eſcaped the Fury of the Enemy. Whereupon *Sinan* diſpatched the Baſſa of *Caramania* with a great Power, charging him whereſoever he ſhould find the Enemy, to ſet upon him; and preſently riſing himſelf with his whole Camp, followed the ſaid Baſſa: but all too late, for the *Perſians*, after the aforeſaid Victory, without ſtaying, had withdrawn themſelves into their ſtrong Places, known only to ſuch as were well acquainted with the difficult Paſſages of *Georgia*: and having there diſpoſed of their Prey, were now returning to wait ſome freſh occaſion of new ſlaughter. But when they deſcried the whole Army of the Turks upon the riſing of a certain Hill, they were afraid to meet them, yea and ſtood in ſome doubt alſo, leſt *Sinan* ſhould deſcend from the Hill, and ſo aſſault them; for which cauſe they retired themſelves again into the ſtrength of the Mountains; yet not with ſuch ſpeed but that the Turks overtook ſome few of them, and ſlew about fifty or threeſcore of them, whoſe Heads, in ſign of Triumph, they carried a good part of the way upon the points of their Spears; and took Priſoners about threeſcore and ten more.

Seven thouſand Turks ſlain by the *Georgians* and *Perſians.*

At laſt *Sinan* with all his Army having paſſed theſe dangerous Places of *Georgia*, arrived at *Triala*, where it was told him, That the *Perſian* King in Perſon, himſelf being already departed from *Tauris*, with an exceeding great Army was coming to bid him Battel. At which News he cauſed Proclamation to be preſently made thorough all his Army, That every man ſhould put himſelf in readineſs for the Voyage to *Tauris*, whither he himſelf meant to go to meet with the King his Enemy. In the mean time (as is reported) he diſpatched certain Poſts to the *Perſian* King, then at *Carachach*, to intreat him to ſend another Ambaſſador to *Amurath* for Peace, thinking by that means (as ſome do conjecture) to remove the King from the Reſolution of comming to aſſail him, if he had any ſuch meaning. After this Proclamation made, he deſcended into the open and large Plain of *Chielder*; where preſently he muſtered his whole Army, and gave it out, That before he would ſet forward toward *Tauris*, he would make trial of the readineſs and nimbleneſs of his Souldiers, in ſuch ſort as if they ſhould preſently joyn battel with the Enemy; which, without further delay, he put in Execution the next Morning, formally ranging his whole Army in order of Battel, and then ſending out ſome few others to ſhew themſelves upon the top of certain Hills, as if they had been Enemies that came to ſeiſe upon his Army; he cauſed all his Artillery to be diſcharged, and commanded every man to skirmiſh and beſtir himſelf altogether after the ſame manner as if the Enemy had been there preſent before them: where the thundring of the great and ſmall ſhot, the thick ſtorms of Arrows, with the brightneſs of the Armor and Weapons, yielding forth lightnings as if it had been fiery beams, and the noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, and other Inſtruments of War, with the Enſignes of blue and yellow flying in the Wind, made ſuch a medly of all things, as if it had been the turmoil of a very battel indeed. In the end he cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, and then ſetting all his Army in order again, made the like ſhew the ſecond time, and ſo the third time alſo; which was indeed performed with the great ſcorn and deriſion of his Souldiers, who deemed it rather Childrens play, than any commendation to the proud Baſſa. Theſe counterfeit ſhews of War thus finiſhed, yet did he not ſet forward toward *Tauris*, as he had given it out, but loitered eight days in thoſe Plains of *Chielder*. At which time there arrived out of *Perſia* one *Aider* the *Aga*, as an Ambaſſador from the King, who was by *Sinan* with great Joy entertained. Divers were the things by this Ambaſſador propounded, ſuch as had *Maxut Chan* before; but the concluſion of all was, that the *Perſian* King would be content voluntarily to relinquiſh *Chars* and *Teflis*, and ſo remain as he did before, in Amity with *Amurath*; and ſo deſired *Sinan* to conclude a peace with his Maſter, if it might be; as for himſelf, this Meſſage done, he was preſently to return into *Perſia*. For this Peace *Sinan* promiſed to deal with *Amurath*, ſo that the *Perſian* King would ſend another Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*. Upon which Concluſion the ſaid *Aider* returned into *Perſia*, and at *Tauris* declared to the King what he had ſeen, what Promiſes he had received of *Sinan*, and withall, exhorted him to ſend a new Ambaſſador unto the Turkiſh Court. After this, when the publick Rumor of the coming of the *Perſian* King was found to be falſe, *Sinan*, inſtead of going to *Tauris*, returned to *Chars*, where he idely ſtayed a whole Month, to the general marvelling and murmuring of all his Army, aſtoniſhed to ſee themſelves (to the great charges of their King, and the diſturbance of his whole Kingdom) brought forth not for any honourable Conqueſt, but as it were only of purpoſe to make a vain ſhew of War.

Sinan derided of his Souldiers.

Sinan cometh to *Erzirum*, and there breaketh up his Army.

At laſt he departed from *Chars*, for that now Winter was come on, and the Froſts and Snows did his Army great harm; and ſo coming to *Erzirum*, there preſently diſmiſſed every man to go and winter in his own Country; but remained ſtill himſelf in the ſame City. From whence he by ſpeedy Poſts diligently advertiſed *Amurath* of the Succours he had left at *Teflis*, of the loſſes he had received from the Enemy, of all that which was by *Muſtapha* miſreported, of the coming of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador to him, of the Promiſes made unto him touching a new Ambaſſador, and to be ſhort, of all his whole Actions. Beſides all this, he advertiſed *Amurath*, That the Enterpriſe of *Perſia*

1580 was a very hard, long, and difficult matter, and ſuch a one as needed another manner of Preparation than had been as yet appointed for it; and that if he deſired to ſubdue *Perſia*, it was then very neceſſary that he ſhould ſpeak with him at large, and diſcourſe upon many particularities, which could not ſo well without exceeding tediousneſs be declared by writing. After that, he ſent other Meſſengers alſo, to ſollicite *Amurath* for his return to *Conſtantinople*; continually telling him, That it was not poſſible to ſignifie by Writing, what he purpoſed to report to him by word of mouth, for the better accompliſhing of the enterpriſe begun. Nothing in the World did *Sinan* abhor more than this War, having his mind altogether bent againſt the Affairs of the Chriſtians in *Europe*, and therefore ſought by all means poſſible for the diverting of thoſe Wars from the Eaſt, into ſome other quarters. At laſt he wrought ſo much, he intreated ſo much, he writ ſo many Letters, and ſollicited the matter ſo earneſtly, that *Amurath* was perſwaded to ſend for him to *Conſtantinople*, as ſoon as ever he was certified of the arrival of the new Ambaſſador from *Perſia*, of whom *Sinan* had before advertiſed him. For he was reſolved either to grow to a peace with the ſaid Ambaſſadour, if he came with honourable Conditions; or if he came not, or, that after his comming they could not agree upon the Peace, then to put in Execution thoſe his Conceits, whereof he muſt needs in particular talk with *Sinan* by word of Mouth. At length the promiſed Ambaſſadour, called *Ebraim Chan*, a Man of great Eloquence, and highly honoured in *Perſia*, came to *Sinan*; whereof *Sinan* gave preſent Intelligence to *Amurath*, beſeeching him again to permit him to come to *Conſtantinople*. Which his requeſt *Amurath* then granted. Whereupon *Sinan* forthwith returned to the Court, where he attended the univerſal Government of the whole Empire: At his firſt coming to the preſence of *Amurath*, (wherein he diſcourſed not with him of any thing, but of the coming of the *Perſian* Ambaſſadour) the conditions were ſet down which they were to require for the reducing of the Capitulations of this Peace to a good end. After which agreement, the Ambaſſadour being now come, and moſt magnificently received in *Conſtantinople*, had audience. At which time he with much glorious Speech laboured to perſwade *Amurath*, That his King had a moſt ardent deſire to be reconciled unto him, and to joyn his Forces with his, againſt the Enemies of the *Mahometan* Religion; and that for that purpoſe he was now eſpecially come thither: which his good purpoſe, if it were anſwered with like zeal on his part, there would thereof enſue the greateſt Unity and Friendſhip that ever was between any *Mahometan* Princes. Whereunto *Amurath* gave him no other anſwer, but that he ſhould thereof talk with his Viſier, and with him intreat of all matters concerning the Peace: and ſo he was by *Amurath* entertained and diſmiſſed both at one time.

1581 *Amurath* circumciſeth his eldeſt Son *Mahomet*.

Now had *Amurath* called to *Conſtantinople* his eldeſt Son *Mahomet*, (who afterward ſucceeded him in the Empire) being then about ſixteen years old, to circumciſe him, according to the Cuſtom of the Turks; following therein the inveterate Law of the Hebrews. Unto which Solemnity many Chriſtian Princes were ſolemnly invited; who accordingly ſent thither their Ambaſſadours with great Gifts and Preſents, in token of Peace and Confederacy; namely, *Rodulphus* the Emperour, *Henry* the III. the French King, *Stephen* King of *Polonia*, the State of *Venice*, the King of *Perſia*, the Moor Kings of *Morocco* and *Fez*, the Princes of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and others. With all Triumph and Joy was the Circumciſion of this young Prince ſolemniſed by the ſpace of forty days and forty nights, in the great market Place of *Conſtantinople*; where all the Ambaſſadours aforeſaid had their Scaffolds prepared and furniſhed according to their Degrees and States, and received ſuch entertainment as might be ſhewed at ſuch a kind of barbarous Spectacle: only the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, who had alſo his Scaffold ſeveral to himſelf, but not regarded as the reſt, rejoyced not at theſe Feaſts and Triumphs: for among ſundry other wrongs and ſcorn done by the Commandment of *Amurath* unto the *Perſian* Nation, (as by hanging up certain counterfeit Pictures of *Perſians* made of laths and ſticks, and then burning them, and in many ſcornfull ſorts abuſing them) the Turk, for the great diſpleaſure he had conceived for the harm done to *Oſman Baſſa* and the Turks in *Siruan* much about that time, and for the diſdain he had taken againſt *Ebraim Chan* (as one not condeſcending to the conditions of Peace which he expected, nor yielding to any more than the other Ambaſſador had done before, ſeemed to have come as a Spie to mark the Turkiſh Affairs, or to mock *Amurath*, rather than to put in execution any good matter to pacifie the Minds of the two mighty Princes) commanded the ſtanding, before appointed for him, in diſgrace of him to be caſt down, and himſelf and all his followers to be ſhut up as cloſe Priſoners in the houſe of *Mahamet Baſſa* at *Conſtantinople*; where he was ſo ſtraightly kept, that though an hundred of his followers there died of the Plague, which ſhortly after began to wax hot in the City, yet could he not obtain ſo much favour as to be removed into ſome other place, but there was inforced to tarry it out, untill that afterward order was taken, he ſhould be carried thence as Priſoner to *Erzirum*. To end theſe Solemnities, *Mahomet* the young Prince was circumciſed, not publickly, but in his Fathers Chamber, by *Mechmet* one of the inferiour Baſſaes, ſometime the Emperour *Solymans* Barber.

1581

Io. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turc. p. 82

Now whilſt *Sinan*, as great Viſier, ſat commanding in *Conſtantinople*, the Gariſons of *Chars* and *Teflis* (kept in by the Enemy, and having received none other relief than a little which *Sinan* before his departure from *Erzirum* had by good hap cauſed to be ſecretly conveyed unto them) were thought to be driven to great wants. Which thing *Sinan* right well knew, and fearing leſt thoſe two places, which had with ſo much ado been both gained and maintained, ſhould for want of new Succours fall again into the hand of the Enemy: he both boldly and freely counſelled *Amurath* to ſend a new Garriſon to *Van*, for the ſafety of the Country thereabouts, and then, under the Conduct of ſome valiant Captain, to ſend Succours to *Teflis*: upon which point *Amurath* asked *Sinan* his Opinion, and willed him to bethink himſelf of ſome fit man. Hereupon, *Sinan* propounded divers unto him, but none of them pleaſed him; for why, he was before reſolved, in deſpight of *Sinan*, and of his Counſel, to beſtow this charge upon *Mahamet Baſſa*, Nephew to *Muſtapha* the late Baſſa, and for his ſake hated of *Sinan*. This Baſſa *Mahamet* he ſent to *Erzirum*, with the Title of the Baſſa of that Province; honouring him withall with the name of General of the Army for *Teflis*. And preſently gave commandment to *Haſſan* the Baſſa of *Caramit*, to *Muſtaffa*, ſometime called *Manucchiar* the *Georgian*, to all the *Sanzacks*, the *Curdi*, and the Souldiers of *Erzirum*, that they ſhould reſort to the ſtandard of *Mahamet* their General, and ſo to follow him to *Teflis*. Whereupon there aſſembled together out of all the ſaid places about five and twenty thouſand Souldiers, with all things neceſſary for the relief of the diſtreſſed Garriſon which was in *Teflis*. Commandment was alſo given to the Baſſaes of *Aleppo* and *Maras*, to repair to *Van* with all their Souldiers, and there to abide till Winter; which they accordingly did, not moleſted nor troubled by any Enemy.

In the end of *Auguſt*, *Mahamet Baſſa* departed from *Erzirum*, with the Baſſa of *Caraemit*, and all his Army, carrying with him Money, Corn, and all other things needfull for the relief of *Teſlis*, and in eight days came to *Chars*, and from thence to *Archelec*, not troubled by any. At *Archelec* he found *Muſtaffa* (otherwiſe called *Manucchiar*) the *Georgian*, with all his Souldiers, whom the General moſt joyfully entertained, and honoured him with Gifts, and withall admoniſhed him to continue in his Obedience to *Amurath*, and to conduct him with his Army the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt way to *Teſlis*; for that ſome were of Opinion, that it were beſt to go by *Tomanis*; and ſome other, by the way of *Muſtaffa* his Country: wherein *Muſtaffa* did readily reſolve him, that the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt way lay through his own Country, being alſo in his Opinion the ſafeſt. This counſel of *Muſtapha* pleaſed *Mahamet* greatly, ſo that he made choice of him to be the guide of his Army, repoſing himſelf wholly upon his good direction; and ſo departed thence toward *Teſlis*, paſſing through *Altunchala* and *Carachala*, both belonging to the ſaid *Georgian*, abounding with all things neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of man, neither were they ever diſturbed by any Enemy. Having paſſed *Muſtapha*'s Country, they came to a friendly Caſtle called *Gori*, from whence they diſcovered in certain fields a great Army of the *Georgians* mingled with *Perſians*, but apparelled after the manner of *Georgia*; theſe were thoſe Captains of *Perſia*, ſent from the *Perſian* King (as in other years before) to aid the *Georgians*; who ſecretly conjoyned with *Simon Chan* the *Georgian*, had changed their Apparel, becauſe the treaty of Peace ſhould not be diſturbed, and their King accounted unjuſt of his Word; who under a colour of a treaty of Peace, whilſt *Amurath* attended nothing elſe but to ſuccour and defend his conquered Countries, without purpoſe to annoy any other places, went about to procure the deſtruction of the Turks. Theſe then, as ſoon as they ſaw the Turkiſh Army, and perceived that they alſo themſelves were by them deſcried, ſent Herаulds unto them with haughty words of defiance, and to offer them battel. With great Grief of Mind did the Baſſa receive this proud defiance; but having no other purpoſe but only to bring his Succours ſafe to *Teſlis*, he diſmiſſed the Heraulds, and ſtudied by all means he could to ſhun Battel. That Evening he was favoured in his purpoſe by the great and continual Rain which then fell, and ſerved for a reaſonable excuſe of his delay: but the next day proving fair, and the Sun ſhining bright, both the Armies marched in ſight the one of the other all day, untill about four hours and an half before night, at which time the Turks arrived near to a River that ſeparated the one Army from the other. There the Baſſa fell in Conſultation with *Muſtapha*, whether they ſhould paſs over the River before Night, or ſtay on that ſide they were untill the next Morning: In which caſe *Muſtaffa* adviſed him to ſtay, as fearing leſt the Enemy ſhould ſet upon the Army, diſordered in paſſing the River, and ſo annoy them. Notwithſtanding the General diſliked this Advice of *Muſtapha*, having taken a ſtrong conceit, even upon the firſt diſcovery of the Enemy, that there was ſome intelligence and compact between *Muſtapha* and the *Perſians*, and that to that end he had maliciouſly perſwaded him to come that way, and not by the way of *Tomanis*; and therefore the Baſſa thinking, that if there were any ſuch Plot laid between *Muſtapha* and the Enemy, to ſet it in ſome confuſion, would not in any caſe follow the Counſel of the ſuſpected *Georgian*, to ſtay that Night; but commanded, that with the greateſt ſpeed that might be, all his Souldiers with their Treaſure and Corn ſhould paſs over the River, to the end, that before Night, he might on the other ſide of the River incamp his Army in ſome good place, to the ſcorn and deriſion of his Enemies. *Mahamet* his Lieutenant, a bold young man, and an hardy, was the firſt that ventured over, and after him the Carriages of Mony, and of Corn, and then the whole Army, with ſuch ſpeed, that ſome of the confuſed Multitude were drowned in the paſſage, being rather troden down with the Horſes and Camels, than brought to their deaths either by the depth of the Channel, or ſwiftneſs of the River.

Mahamet Baſſa refuſeth Battel offered by the *Georgians* and *Perſians*.

As ſoon as the *Georgians* perceived that the Turks had paſſed the River, without ſtaying untill they might ſettle themſelves in any good order, they in great haſte and fury ran upon them, and preſently aſſailed them, whileſt they were yet all in confuſion and out of order; by reaſon whereof the Turks, although they turned their faces upon their Enemy, and made ſome good reſiſtance, yet in ſhort time you might have ſeen the Banks of the River in many places ſtained with the Turkiſh Blood, and many Carkaſes of the Turks here and there ſcattered, without any apparent loſs among the *Georgians* and *Perſians*. Amongſt them that fell in this ſlaughter, were a number of *Sanzacks*, of the *Curdi*, and *Meſopotamians*; which the reſt perceiving, and by the overthrow of their own, conjecturing the loſs of others, turned their backs and fled; the like did the remnant of the *Meſopotamians*, and after them at laſt the whole Army: whom the *Georgians* preſſed ſo ſore in their flight, that many of the Turks, ſeeing no other way to eſcape, caſt themſelves into the River, and ſo (though hardly) eſcaped with their Lives. Great was the ſhame, great was the confuſion, but greateſt was the loſs they received, for that in the heat of the Battel, the Kings Mony and Corn was taken by the *Georgians* and *Perſians*, every man ſaving only ſo much for himſelf as he could ſecretly hide upon his own Body, or convey by the means of ſome truſty ſlave, which by the help of their ſwift Horſes, was preſerved rather by Fortune than by Valour.

The Turks diſcomfited, and the Treaſure and Corn taken by the *Georgians* and *Perſians*.

The Turks, thus diſcomfited and ſpoiled of their relief, the next Morning gathered themſelves together again one with another, curſing the Heavens, the King, and their adverſe Fortune: ſome of them alſo threatning the *Georgian* Renegate *Muſtapha*, as though all this miſchief had hapned through his treachery and ſecret Intelligence with the Enemy. Notwithſtanding, when they found that they had ſtill remaining ſo much Money, and other eaſements as might ſuffice to comfort the afflicted Minds of the Souldiers beſieged in the Fort, they reſolved to hold on their way towards *Teſlis*; and in their Journey uſed ſuch ſpeed, that the day following they arrived there in the Evening. But when they of the Fort ſaw their Friends whom they had ſo long expected, arrived in ſuch bad ſort, and ſo evil furniſhed, they were aſtoniſhed and wonderfully grieved at this common loſs, and all in a confuſion proteſted to *Mahamet*, That they would abandon the place, if they had not forthwith neceſſary Proviſion made for them. But the General, after he had with large Promiſes mitigated their firſt Furies and Inſolencies, preſently in the Morning cauſed a *Divano*, or Counſel to be called in the Caſtle, where, having gathered together all the chief Men in his Army, he ſpake unto them in this manner;

Mahamet with his diſcomfited Army cometh to *Teſlis*.

For

1581

The Oration of *Mahamet Baſſa* in the Caſtle of *Teflis.*

F*OR as much as it hath pleaſed God, that ſo great and important an occaſion of Victory, which was offered unto us for the Honour and Glory of every one of us, is now fallen out ſo unfortunately, that it hath not only not miniſtred unto us any matter of triumphing over our Enemies, as we ſhould have done, but rather hath made them (I know not how) to carry away from us both the Triumph, and alſo our Armour, our Horſes, our Slaves, and our Spoils; yea, and (the remembrance whereof doth moſt grievouſly trouble and afflict me) our* Sultans *Money, and our publick munition and forces ſolemnly delivered to our Conduct, is now become a booty and a prey unto them; that the Honour which might have made every one of us famous among noble and valorous Souldiers, is now fallen from our foreheads, and, to our great detriment, doth adorn the heads of Strangers, or rather of our Enemies: and that notwithſtanding all this, we are now come to thoſe couragious Souldiers, which with their great Valour have defended this Fort even in the midſt of their Enemies Weapons and Treacheries; and to whom we ſhould yield that aid and relief which the virtue of every one of their Minds doth deſerve, and which King* Amurath *had put into our hands to bring hither unto them: there is now no remedy, but to reſolve upon ſome good means, that we fall not wholly into the utter diſgrace of our Lord and King; and that is, To maintain theſe Souldiers in the cuſtody and defence of this Fort: and though it be with all our wants, and all our own diſhonours, to comfort theſe that have ſo long time looked for us, and ſo well deſerved all manner of relief. We cannot excuſe our ſelves, that our Enemies were better than we, either in number, or Inſtruments of War; for both in the one and the other we were far beyond them: neither yet can we ſay, that they ſet upon us by Night, or at unawares; for when we ſaw their number, their Weapons, their Horſes, and finally their approach, and their manner of aſſault, yet we would needs paſs over the River, and joyn battel with them: which we now know hath fallen out very lamentable unto us, becauſe we were more ready to take our flight, than to endure the fight; and to uſe our feet, than to occupie our hands. And therefore it is very requiſite, as well to ſatisfie the rigour of Juſtice, as to perform the Duty of Souldiers, that we ſuffer not our Lord and King to loſe his Money, which he truſted into our hands, and which we have loſt, not by ſtrength, nor by any treacherous ſtratagem of our Enemies, but by our own too too important fear, and too baſe a regard of our Lives, before which, it was the duty of every one of us to have preferred the care of Honour. For, if by fighting and courageous ſuſtaining the aſſaults of our Enemies, though they had been ſtronger, and better armed than we, this misfortune had hapned unto us, and that we could in any ſort have repreſented to the King and the World an honourable and bloody Battel, we ſhould not now have had any need to ſeek means how to repay this loſs, and to reſtore the thing that violently was taken from us by ſuch as were more mighty than our ſelves, and theſe honourable Souldiers ſhould more eaſily have digeſted with us this lamentable Calamity. But we have loſt that Money, and in very deed having as it were willingly beſtowed it upon the* Georgians *and* Perſians, *to redeem our Lives, and to ſave us from their Fury, are bound to repay it, or elſe for ever hereafter to be challenged as lawful debtors to the King for it. And therefore, my good Friends and Companions, if you will take a good courſe, let every one of us, without further Conſultation, put his hand into his private Purſe (if he have not fooliſhly caſt that alſo into the hands of the ravenous Enemy) and with our own Money let us ſuccour the Neceſſity of theſe men, and have regard to the Honour of our King. So ſhall we make our flight leſs blame-worthy, we ſhall juſtifie our Actions more honeſtly, and that which is of greateſt importance, we ſhall better pacifie the wrath of* Amurath, *which he might moſt juſtly conceive againſt us. I my ſelf before you all am moſt ready to diſburſe four thouſand duckets towards it, if it ſhall pleaſe you all to follow me accordingly; we ſhall deliver theſe Souldiers from their great Neceſſity, and acquit our ſelves from the intricate bonds of moſt troubleſome diſpleaſures.*

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There might a man have ſeen a thouſand Countenances changed a thouſand manner of ways; for one ſoftly whiſpered many a curſe and ſhame upon the King, upon *Mahamet*, yea, and upon God himſelf; another denied to diſburſe any thing, another determined privily to ſteal away; and ſome ſaid one thing, and ſome another: but in the end every man was induced to follow the Example of *Mahamet*, and thereupon having made a Purſe according to every mans ability, there was collected thirty thouſand Duckets among them. And preſently after, word was ſent to *Leuent Ogli* at *Zaghen*, to ſend thither Grain, Muttons, and other neceſſary Proviſions, that they might the better continue the defence of the Fort.

The Turks among themſelves make a Purſe of 30000 Duckets for the relief of the Garriſon of *Teflis.*

Two days only ſtayed *Mahamet* in *Teflis*, and having changed ſuch Souldiers as deſired to be diſmiſſed, and alſo appointed *Homar Baſſa* Governour of *Teflis*, inſtead of *Giuſuf* that there governed before, he departed. But before his departure Conſultation was had, Whether they ſhould keep the way of *Tomanis*, or the way they came through the Country of *Muſtaffa* the *Georgian*: and in the end they reſolved to keep the way of *Tomanis*, and thereupon order was taken that they ſhould all paſs the River. The *Curdi* were the firſt that went over, and had already pitched their Tents upon the farther ſide of the Water; when the General began to revoke his former order, and ſent them word, That they ſhould return, becauſe he was now determined to go back the ſame way he came. At which meſſage the *Sanzacks* were in a Rage, and in plain terms ſent him anſwer, That theſe mutabilities beſeemed not them, being men accuſtomed to War, but to be rather Childrens play, than manly Reſolution; and that for their parts they were minded not to change their Journey, but would go on the ſame way they had begun: and ſo forwards they went (ſay the General what he could) and by the way of *Tomanis* arrived at *Chars* long before *Mahamet*, who was much grieved at this their ſo great diſobedience: but ſeeing no other remedy, he with the Baſſa of *Caraemit* and *Muſtapha* the *Georgian*, put themſelves on their Journey, even by the ſame way they came to *Teflis*. At laſt *Mahamet* arrived at *Altunchala*, the chief Caſtle of *Muſtaffa* the *Georgian*, and burning with the deſire of revenge of thoſe loſſes, (which he thought himſelf to have received by the Treachery of *Muſtapha*) or, as ſome thought, ſeeking by this means to make *Amurath* believe, that in truth all the forepaſſed miſchiefs had happened not thorough their cowardiſe, but through the treacherous and malicious devices of the *Georgian*, and ſo to make their received loſſes ſeem more pardonable, he deviſed with himſelf how to find out ſuch a plot, as that *Muſtapha* might upon the ſudden be taken away, as guilty of ſo foul a Treaſon. And that he had deviſed, was in this ſort; To call a Council into his own Pavilion, as if he had received ſome commandement from the Court; and having cauſed *Muſtapha* to come into that room, whilſt the ſaid counterfeit commandement ſhould be in reading, to cauſe his Lieutenant, with thoſe chief of his band that ſtood about him, to fall upon him, and preſently to cut off his head. This pretended Councell was accordingly called, wherein ſat the Baſſa himſelf, and with him the Baſſa of *Caraemit*, certain *Sanzacks*, ſubject to the Juriſdiction

Mahamet deviſeth how to betray *Muſtapha* the *Georgian.*

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ction of *Erzirum*, the *Capagi* Baſſa, or chief Gentleman Uſher, and the Generals Lieutenant; with whom he had upon their ſolemn oaths for ſecreſie, communicated his intended deceit. The *Georgian Muſtapha* was alſo called accordingly; who, both becauſe he was beloved of more than one, and had alſo uſed all diligent Circumſpection, but eſpecially having heard in the Army ſome private whiſperings of ſuch a matter, knew full well of all that was deviſed againſt him, and therefore provided alſo for his own defence. But as touching his going to the Counſel, he thought he might not deny ſo to do, leſt by his abſence he might ſeem guilty of the fault whereof he was (peradventure not without cauſe) ſuſpected; and thereby to leave his Cities for a prey to their Enemies, now in the heart of his Country. And therefore reſolving to go, he deviſed how ſo to do with moſt ſafety, and ſo, as if need ſhould be, he might be able to turn the miſchief intended againſt him, upon the head of the General himſelf. And therefore having choſen out fifty of his moſt faithful and reſolute Souldiers, he commanded them to follow him to the Counſel appointed in the Generals Pavilion; and being come thither, to ſtay there ready and attentive at his firſt and one only call, ſuddenly and forcibly to ruſh into the Pavilion with their Weapons; and rather than any wrong ſhould be done unto him, to ſhew their Valour againſt the Turks, without exception of any Perſon whatſoever. Theſe men, by Nature Enemies unto the Turks, underſtanding well his meaning, ſettled themſelves upon the Execution; and taking unto them ſome other alſo of their faithful and truſty friends, followed him even to the Pavilion of *Mahamet*; where *Muſtaffa* entring into the place of Counſel, deſired of the General to know what his pleaſure was; who preſently cauſed the counterfeit Commandement to be read; whereunto *Muſtaffa* gave an attentive Ear. But when the other Baſſaes and *Sanzancks* began to ſit down (contrary to the manner of the Turks, who, whenſoever any Commandement of the Emperours is in reading, uſe always to ſtand up, and not to ſit down untill it be full read) the *Georgian* took his leave, promiſing to be ever ready to perform, not only that order of the Kings, but alſo whatſoever elſe he ſhould command. And ſo being about to depart, the *Capigi* Baſſi (or great Uſher) of *Mahamet* came unto him, and plucking him by the ſleeve, would have forced him to ſit down. Then *Muſtaffa* crying out aloud, drew his ſword, wherewith he ſtruck *Mahamets* Lieutenant, that was right againſt him; and with his left hand having caught the roll from his pate, with his right hand ſuddenly (to the great aſtoniſhment of all that were preſent) at one only blow parted his Head, his Neck, and his Breaſt in twain, even to his very Stomach; ſo that he died (a ſtrange ſpectacle to behold) being thus cut in ſunder, with his cleft head and two ſhoulders hanging down upon their ſeveral ſides. After this firſt, he redoubled his ſecond ſtroke, aiming at the head of the Baſſa of *Caraemit*; but it being defended with the writhen rolls of the Turbant, it ſlipped down by his Ear; yet ſo, that with a piece of the ſaid Turbant it carried his Ear quite away, with a little alſo of the fleſh of his Cheek; and all enraged, eagerly aſſailed *Mahamet* Baſſa the General, (who now all in confuſion was riſen up in the tumult) and wounded him with five mortal Wounds; which were yet afterwards by cunning hand healed, when they had brought him even to Death's door. At the cry of this *Georgian*, all his People ruſhed in together; upon whoſe confuſed tumult, and the fear that *Muſtaffa* through his fury had ſtruck into the Turks, the Camp was preſently raiſed; and every man with all ſpeed departing thence, put himſelf on his way towards *Chars*, whither alſo were brought the two wounded Baſſaes, and the reſt that were ill handled and greatly ſcared with theſe ſudden and uncouth ſtirs.

Muſtaffa notably revengeth himſelf of the Treachery intended againſt him by *Mahamet* the General.

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Of all this Treachery intended againſt him, *Muſtapha* ſent preſent Information to the Turkiſh Emperour; finding himſelf greatly grieved, at the falſe ſuſpition that *Mahumet* had wrongfully conceived againſt him, to his great diſhonour: and wrought ſo cunningly, that *Amurath*, in token of his good liking and contentment, ſent him both Cloth of Gold, and a Battel-axe all gilt. *Mahamet* on the other ſide intermedling here and there with all the art that poſſibly he could deviſe, all hateful and injurious terms, ſent large advertiſements of all the misfortunes that had happened; and aggravated to the King, both the Treacheries of *Muſtaffa*, and alſo the ſlender ſecurity of thoſe Ways and Countries.

As ſoon as *Amurath* underſtood the Calamities of his Souldiers, the loſs of his Mony, the great diſhonour of his People, and the apparent danger wherein the Fort of *Teflis* ſtood, when it was like to be abandoned; all inflamed with Rage and Anger, he called unto him the Baſſaes of his Court, (among whom ſat as chief, the proud and haughty *Sinan*) and rated them all exceedingly; reproving their lewd Counſel, and recounting the loſſes that he had from time to time received, as if they had haped through their defaults, and eſpecially *Sinan*, as the principal occaſion of all theſe Miſchiefs: who, like an improvident fool (as he ſaid) would needs relinquiſh the charge of his Army, and like a King, ſit idle at *Conſtantinople*, ſtanding (as it were) at ſome publick Triumph to behold and hear the Miſeries and Misfortunes of others; having before, in the time that *Muſtapha* was General, moſt vainly boaſted, with the like power that he had, to fetch the *Perſian* King out of *Casbin*, and to deliver him in bonds to *Amurath*, but had indeed performed nothing worth the remembrance. *Sinan* could do no leſs but make anſwer to the wrathful King, yet not with ſuch Mildneſs and Modeſty as in ſuch a caſe he ſhould peradventure have done; but in proud and peremptory manner, without any reverence or regard, told him plainly, That as the laſt year, a little before his return to *Conſtantinople*, Succours had been conveyed to *Teflis* without any loſs or trouble (as in truth they were) even ſo had they been this year alſo, if he had put his advice in Execution, as much as he deſpiſed and contemned it; for he did then give him to underſtand, that *Mahomet Baſſa* could not be a fit man for ſo great a charge; and that it was neceſſary to have choſen in his room ſome other Captain of Valour and Diſcretion; but ſeeing he would needs make choice of the ſame unfit man, he was not now to blame any other for his Errour, but only himſelf. As for his coming to *Conſtantinople*, it was a thing long before thought moſt needful; not only for his advice, how the matter of Peace might be brought to ſome good paſs, but alſo becauſe if that treaty came not to the deſired iſſue, then he had to talk with him how he might compaſs the overthrow of his Enemy; which thing as yet he had no fit time to declare unto him, but was now ready to reveal it, if it were ſo his Pleaſure. Wonderfully was *Amurath* grieved with this ſullen anſwer, when he conſidered that a Slave of his own, ſhould ſo arrogantly and manifeſtly reprove him of folly and improvidence. Notwithſtanding, being deſirous to know of him what that ſecret and important matter was, which he had to reveal unto him, for the eaſie compaſſing of this commenced Enterpriſe; he diſſembled his diſcontentment conceived againſt him, and commanded him to diſcloſe thoſe his Devices which he had to utter.

The proud anſwer of *Sinan* to *Amurath*.

1581

utter. *Sinan* in brief, of all his Advices, propounded theſe two things; firſt, his Counſel was, not to proceed in this War as they had hitherto done; by ſeeking with Forts and Fortreſſes to hold and keep the Enemies Countries; for that their Treaſures were not able to yield ſuch ſtore of Money, as was ſufficient for the maintenance of ſo many and ſo great Garriſons: contrary to the Opinion of *Muſtapha* (of late dead) who with great pertinacy had perſwaded that dangerous, chargeable, and difficult manner of War. His ſecond Advice was, that the true means to bring this War to the wiſhed end, conſiſted eſpecially in the Reſolution of *Amurath* himſelf, who, if he would go in Perſon, and againſt ſo mighty a King oppoſe the Perſon of a King, then might he moſt aſſuredly promiſe unto himſelf all ſpeedy and honourable Victory; for that at the only name of his coming, the *Perſians* would eaſily come to any Agreement; or if not, he might then proceed in his Wars, and ſo obtain moſt glorious Conqueſts. This his Advice ſo little pleaſed the effeminate King, that inſtead of the great Opinion he before held of him, he now conceived an envious affection againſt him: and a further ſuſpition (foſtred by the great Ladies of the Court, eſpecially *Amuraths* Mother) That *Sinan* had thus Counſelled the King, himſelf to go in Perſon, not for any good could come thereof, but only that ſo he might find means for the Prince, his Son, to make himſelf King, and to drive out his Father. Which ſuſpition was in ſuch ſort nouriſhed in the Mind of *Amurath*, eſpecially being aſſured of the great affection which the Prince carried towards *Sinan*, and he likewiſe towards him, that he reſolved to rid him out of his ſight; and ſo depriving him of all charge, preſently baniſhed him the Court, and out of *Conſtantinople* to *Demotica* (a City of *Thrace*) from whence afterwards he by moſt humble ſupplication obtained to be removed to *Marmaria*, a little beyond *Selymbria*. And into his place of Viſierſhip, was preferred *Sciaus Baſſa* (who had married *Amuraths* ſiſter) an *Hungarian* born, a goodly Perſonage, and of honourable Judgment; but above all men, a ſeller of Juſtice and Preferments, and yet a great friend to the Peace with the Chriſtian Princes, which *Sinan* had always moſt wickedly maligned.

Sciaus Baſſa made Viſier in *Sinan's* Place.

1582

The *Perſian* Captains in the mean time, with their Spoils, and divers of their Enemies Enſignes, were with great Joy received at home in *Perſia*; but when the Diſcord that fell out between *Mahamet Baſſa* and *Muſtaffa* the *Georgian* was alſo reported, the former Joy was redoubled, every man being of Opinion, that theſe Diſcords might be great impediments unto the Turks further attempts into *Perſia*; which it was feared they would the next year attempt, to the great danger of *Naſſivan* and *Tauris*. Upon which occaſions, the *Perſian* King, perceiving that he could not have a fitter Opportunity to employ himſelf againſt *Abas Mirize* his Son (then with him in diſgrace) determined with himſelf, to leave the matters on this ſide of his Kingdom in their preſent ſtate, and to march toward *Heri*; whereunto he was earneſtly ſollicited by his elder Son *Emir Hamze Mirize*, but eſpecially by *Mirize Salmas*, his Viſier. Upon which Reſolution, committing the defence of *Reivan*, *Naſſivan*, and that ſide of his Kingdom, to *Emir Chan*, Governour of *Tauris*, he ſet forward himſelf with his Army towards *Caſbin*, and ſo marching through divers Provinces, arrived at length at *Seſſian*, being on this ſide the chief of all the Cities ſubject to the Juriſdiction of *Heri*; which City he took by force, and without delay cauſed the Governour thereof to be beheaded, although he alledged a thouſand excuſes for himſelf, and objected a thouſand Accuſations more againſt the ſeditious Viſier.

Mahamet the *Perſian* King reſolveth to go to *Heri* againſt his Son *Abas Mirize*.

1582

Mahamet cometh to *Heri*.

The King after this, departing thence, and having alſo put to death certain Captains and Sultans, that were accuſed by the Viſier to be Confederates in the Rebellion of his Son, he arrived at laſt at the deſired City of *Heri*. Very ſtrong is this City by Scituation, compaſſed about with a good Wall, and watered with deep Channels of running Springs, conveyed into it by *Tamerlane* their Founder or Reſtorer: beſide that, there was in it many valiant Captains, Enemies to *Mirize Salmas*, ready to lay down their Lives in defence of themſelves, and of *Abas* their Lord; ſo that the winning thereof, could not but prove both long and difficult. As ſoon as the King approached the City, he felt in himſelf many troubled Paſſions ariſing of Grief and Pity; it grieved him to think that he ſhould beget ſo graceleſs a Son, who, inſtead of maintaining his State and Honour, ſhould ſeek his Ruine and Deſtruction: it grieved him alſo to remember the Blood of his Subjects, before ſpilt upon ſo ſtrange an occaſion; and ſcarcely durſt he enter into the Cogitation, thenceforth to ſhed any more of the Blood of his People. Nevertheleſs, being ſtill more and more ſollicited by his Viſier, he attempted to underſtand the mind of his Son; and (if it might be poſſible) to get him into his hands. But whiles the King, travelling with theſe thoughts, lay with his Army before *Heri*, *Abas Mirize* in the mean time, writ divers Letters to his Father and to his Brother; wherein he beſought them, That they would make known unto him the Occaſion of this their ſtir; for if deſire of Rule had moved them to ſeek the deprivation of him, being their Son and Brother, from the Honour he lawfully poſſeſſed, and which his Father himſelf procured for him of his Grandfather *Tamas*, they ought to abandon their Imagination; for that he was always ready to ſpend his Wealth and his Blood, together with his Eſtate, in their Service, and acknowledged his Father to be his good Father and King: but if they were not induced hereunto for this cauſe, but by a deſire to revenge ſome treſpaſſes that he had committed to the Prejudice of the Crown of *Perſia*, or his Fathers Honour, he was moſt ready to ſubmit himſelf to any amends; and with all reaſon, to yield unto them his Kingdom, yea the whole World, and even his own Life, the rather to ſatisfie their Minds with a more full Contentation. With twice and thrice reading over, were theſe affectionate Letters conſidered and digeſted: and at laſt, both the Father and the Brother, perceiving in them ſuch liberality of Words, and overcome with Pity, or if not with Pity, yet with great admiration and contentment, they determined to put the matter in practiſe; and moderating their deſire of revenge, to attempt the reducing of the young mans Mind to ſome good paſs. Whereupon they wrote back unto him, That no greedy deſire to uſurp his Government, had induced them to make ſo great a Voyage, to trouble ſo much People, and to ſhed ſuch abundance of Blood, but only his diſobedience and preſumption, in that he had cauſed himſelf to be called the King of *Perſia*, and had not ſent ſo much as one Captain to aid them in the late Wars againſt the Turks. Glad was *Abas*, the young Prince, when he underſtood the Accuſations that were laid againſt him; hoping to make it manifeſt before all men, how the King and his Brother were miſinformed in theſe particularities: and therefore incontinently did write back unto them, That if they would faithfully promiſe him, honourably, and without any outrage to receive his Ambaſſadors, he would ſend unto them ſuch evident matter, and ſo clear Information touching thoſe his Accuſations, as that they ſhould not only clearly perceive that there was never any ſuch kind of

thought

Abas Mirize by his Ambaſſadours purged of Treaſon.

The Ambaſſadours of *Abas* accuſe *Mirize Salmas* the Viſier.

thought in him, but alſo that he had always deſired and laboured the contrary: and would moreover open unto them ſuch matter, as in reſpect of other men, and not of himſelf, might cauſe their coming to prove profitable and commodious to all the Kingdom of *Perſia*. Which his requeſt they both ſolemnly promiſed faithfully to perform, being very deſirous to underſtand what thoſe ſtrange Novelties ſhould be. Whereupon *Abas Mirize* ſent unto them two of his chief Counſellors, men of great account and reverence both for Years and Wiſdom, with full Inſtructions; who, after many Speeches, in the end ſwearing (according to their cuſtom) by the Creator that ſpread out the Air, that founded the Earth upon the Deeps, that adorned the Heaven with Stars, that poured abroad the Water, that made the Water; and briefly, of nothing, brought forth all things, ſwearing by the head of *Ali*, and by the Religion of their Prophet *Mahomet*, that ſuch perverſe thoughts never entred into the head of *Abas Mirize*: they alleged many Teſtimonies and manifeſt Proofs, that moſt loyally, in all due time, as well when he was advanced to the Kingdom of *Perſia*, as alſo in his Battels againſt the Turks, his Son had always cauſed devout Prayers and Supplications to be made to God for his Proſperity; neither ever deſired to hear any other, but happy and fortunate ſucceſs of him. They brought with them a thouſand and a thouſand Precepts and loyal Letters, which the young man had cauſed to be written, as occaſions required, to the Governours that were his Subjects, for the Government of the State, wherein he never named himſelf King of *Perſia*, but only, Your King and Governour of *Heri*. They prayed the King alſo, to cauſe a diligent Proceſs to be framed againſt his Son; and if there ſhould be found in him any ſign or ſhadow of ſo wicked a ſuſpition, then to take from him his Eſtate and Liberty; offering themſelves to remain as Hoſtages for him. But when all this ſhould be done, and *Abas* found altogether free from theſe unjuſt Accuſations, then (falling even to the Earth and kiſſing it) they beſought him, and as it were conjured him, not to leave the matter thus imperfect, to the Prejudice of his Blood; but returning to his Counſellor, to take information likewiſe, upon what mind and conſideration he had adviſed the King, to take upon him this unorderly and dangerous Voyage; where no doubt he ſhould find nothing in him, but malignant, ambitious, and wicked Affections; and ſuch as even deſerved, that with his Blood there ſhould be revenged all the Blood of thoſe, which till that hour had been brought to their unworthy and undeſerved Deaths. And for as much as nothing remained, whereof the Viſier had informed the King againſt his Son, but the commandment that was given by *Abas Mirize* to the Governours under him, That they ſhould not go to the Wars againſt the Turks: they confeſſed in Truth, that ſuch an order was taken, but not to that wicked and traiterous end and purpoſe as was reported to the King by his great Counſellor, but only in reſpect of an Invaſion juſtly feared in thoſe quarters by the *Tartarian Jeſſelbas*; who by divers Inrodes had already done great harm in the Country about *Heri*, and put young *Abas* and his Counſellors in ſuch a fear, that they durſt not diſfurniſh their Cities of their Guards and Forces; and therefore had commanded the ſaid Governours, not to go to war againſt the Turks, but to ſtay and expect further direction. And that all this was by writing ſignified unto the Viſier himſelf; which he of a malicious mind had concealed, only to try, if in theſe common troubles he could bring to paſs, that *Abas Mirize* and the King might be taken away, and *Emir Hamze* ſucceed in his place; and ſo he himſelf remain the Superintendent of his Son-in-Law, and Moderator of that moſt famous Kingdom. Of which ſo treacherous a purpoſe, they (for all that) thought *Emir Hamze* the young Prince altogether ignorant, (knowing his honourable Diſpoſition and Love towards his own kindred) but imputed it only to the immoderate and ambitious deſire of the wicked Traitor *Mirize Salmas*.

Mirize Salmas the Viſier found guilty of Treaſon, and beheaded.

Of theſe grave Speeches of the Ambaſſadors, *Mahamet* the Father (by nature credulous) began to make great Conſtruction, and deeply to conſider of their ſo earneſt and important requeſts; which ſeemed unto him ſo upright and equal, as that he could not chuſe but hearken unto the ſame. And therefore, calling unto him the Governours, the Captains, the Judges, and Treaſurers of all the Cities that were ſubject to *Heri*: he demanded of them, how and in what ſort they eſteemed of *Abas Mirize*, and in what degree of Honour he deſired to be eſteemed of them; and of them all received one anſwer, That they held him for their Lord and Lieutenant to the King of *Casbin*, and that he himſelf had always deſired to be ſo taken and thought of: for proof whereof, every one of them brought in divers Letters, Precepts, and Orders, wherein he never cauſed himſelf to be honoured with any other Title, but only, Your King of *Heri*. He demanded further, Whether any ſuch Wars were attempted by the *Tartarian Jeſſelbas*, or not; whereof he received a large and ſolmen Information, that ſo it was, to the great detriment of all thoſe Territories. And thus the King was throughly perſwaded of the Innocency of his Son; who before was noted unto him by his Viſier, to be an obſtinate Rebel. Upon which Occaſion only, although he might juſtly have put him to Death, as Authour of ſo great troubles and bloodſhed; yet, becauſe he would be better informed of the truth of the Accuſations laid againſt him by the Ambaſſadors, he reſolved to make a curious and diligent inquiſition thereof: and therefore, firſt of all, in great ſecreſie he examined *Emir Hamze*, his eldeſt Son, wherefore he had adviſed this Journey againſt his Brother *Abas*, whom he had found guiltleſs of all thoſe Crimes that were objected againſt him: Whereunto the Prince anſwered, That he had no other certainty of the pretended evil behaviour of his Brother, but only that which proceeded from the great credit that he always gave to his Father-in-law *Mirize Salmas*, to whom, as to a chief Counſellor, his Father-in-law, and Protector of the Kingdom, he had always yielded aſſured credence; and ſo diſcharged the whole Tempeſts of all thoſe Miſchiefs upon the Viſier. Touching whom, the King made diligent Inquiſition, as well among thoſe of the Court, as of the Army; and thereby found him guilty of all that the Ambaſſadours of *Heri* had accuſed him: and that being always acquainted with the true Occaſions which reſtrained the Governours of *Heri* (ſubject to *Abas Mirize*) from going to the War againſt the Turks, he had moſt maliciouſly concealed the ſame, of purpoſe to hatch ſuch a ſtrange and dangerous diſcontentment, as had wrought the unworthy Death of many great men, and almoſt defiled the hands of the Father with the innocent blood of his guiltleſs Son. For which ſo foul a Treaſon the falſe Viſier was worthily condemned to die, and his wily head by the commandement of the King, ſtruck from his Carkaſs. Juſtly rewarded, with the ſame Puniſhment which he unjuſtly ſought to have converted upon others; and with his own deſtruction pacified the Diſſenſions and Battels that were riſen between the two Princes. And ſo the two Brethren being reconciled together, and the Son to the Father, after that *Abas* had again promiſed his wiſhed Obedience, 1582 ence (which he afterwards moſt dutifully performed) King *Mahamet* returned with the Prince towards *Casbin*; where, by reaſon of new and unexpected Motions of the Turks, he had now been long looked for and deſired.

Amurath, through the rough Speeches of *Sinan*, was more and more ſetled in his purpoſe for the continuing of the *Perſian* War; accounting it ſo much the more to his own Glory, as it ſhould in happy ſucceſs fall out contrary to the Opinion of many: and thereupon began to bethink himſelf, whom he might chuſe for his General, to whom he might commit ſo great a charge. Among the Baſſaes of the Court there was one *Ferat*, a man of ripe years, but yet fierce of courage, tough in opinion, in counſel as hardy as might beſeem his age, ready for all ſudden and ſtrange adventures, but above all, a Vaſſal moſt devoted to the King; of this man, at laſt he was reſolved to make choice, to have the leading of his Army: and therefore calling him apart, declared unto him what he had in himſelf purpoſed; encouraging him to take the charge upon him, with a firm reſolution to perform all things anſwerable to ſo worthy an enterpriſe, with the opinion he had conceived of his Valour. Very willingly did *Ferat* accept of this new Office, and thought himſelf (as indeed he was) highly favoured by the King; and thereupon made him a large promiſe, to employ his ſtrength, his wit, and uttermoſt devoire, to put in execution whatſoever ſhould be offered unto him, either by occaſion, or by his Royal Commandment.

Ferat Baſſa choſen General of the Army in *Sinan's* Place.

At firſt *Amurath* had no other purpoſe to employ him any further, but only to aſſure the Paſſage to *Teſlis*, and ſo into all *Georgia*; and to have deſtroyed the Country of *Muſtapha* the *Georgian*, who had ſo audaciouſly injured the Lieutenant of *Amurath*, and put his whole Army in Confuſion; but being certainly advertiſed of the troubles in *Perſia* between the King and his Son, he changed his purpoſe, and commanded *Ferat* to employ all his Forces to erect a Fortreſs at *Reivan*, a place belonging unto *Tocomac*, and to aſſure the Paſſage from *Chars* to *Reivan*; for ſo they ſhould be revenged of many harms they had received by him, and lay open the way to the City of *Tauris*, to the great glory of *Amurath*. As for *Muſtapha* the *Georgian*, although he had well deſerved to be chaſtiſed for his raſh attempt againſt *Mahamet Baſſa*, being then his General, yet he willed *Ferat* to diſſemble his evil Opinion of him; and (if it were poſſible) ſo to work, as to uſe him as an Inſtrument to convey Treaſure and Succours to *Teſlis*: for by this means the Paſſage being made ſafe, all *Georgia* would without any more Fortreſſes be ſubdued, and then the next year they might attempt the enterpriſe for *Tauris*.

Highly did *Ferat* commend the Devices of *Amurath* his Lord, and ſhewed himſelf ready for any attempt. And ſo the time being come wherein it behoved them to ſet on foot their important Deſignments, in the beginning of the year 1583, Commandments were ſent out to all the Cities of the Empire, which were wont to make their appearance at theſe Wars, That upon freſh ſummons, they ſhould be ready to return againſt the *Perſians*, and to put in Execution that ſhould be enjoyned them by their new General. The Fame whereof flew as far as *Syria*, *Jurie*, *Paleſtine*, *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, to *Balſara*, to *Sivas*, to *Maras*, to all *Bythinia*, *Capadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Armenia*; yea and beyond *Conſtantinople*, to the Borders of *Hungary* and *Greece*, and in brief, to all the Regions that were wont to come to this War: all which ſent their Captains and Souldiers accordingly. And ſo at laſt General *Ferat* departing from *Conſtantinople*, and paſſing over to *Scutari* by the way of *Amaſia* and of *Sivas*, came to *Erzirum*, where he took a view of all his Army and Proviſion: and from thence in eight days arrived at *Chars*, conducted by the *Perſian* fugitive *Maxut Chan*; and from *Chars*, ſet himſelf on his way towards *Reivan*. Three days before he came to *Reivan*, of certain Ruins of an old Caſtle which the Turks call *Aggia Chalaſi* (or the Caſtle of Strangers) he erected a new Fortreſs, and left in it a Garriſon of four hundred Souldiers, with a Sanzack, and certain pieces of Ordnance, and then went to *Reivan*. This Country is diſtant from *Tauris* eight or nine days Journey; between which two places are ſcituate *Naſſivan*, *Chiulfal*, *Marant*, and *Sofian*; all enriched with goodly Gardens and pleaſant Greens: but in the way are many craggy Mountains to be climed, and ſundry hard Paſſages either for Army or Traveller.

1583

General *Ferat* departeth from *Conſtantinople*.

He cometh to *Reivan*.

Here then did *Ferat* encamp himſelf with his Army; and taking advice of his chief Captains, where he ſhould build the Fort; they all with one conſent adviſed him to ſeiſe upon the Houſes and Gardens of *Tocomac*, and there to fortifie. Which he accordingly did, encloſing the Gardens with ſtrong Walls and deep Ditches round about, whereinto he conveyed Water from a certain River, that comming down from the Mountains, ran into *Araxis*. Which Work was performed with ſuch Expedition, that within the ſpace of fifteen days the Fortreſs was finiſhed, being in circuit ſeven hundred and fifty yards. It grieved *Tocomac* exceedingly thus to loſe his Country and Dwelling, and ſo much the more, becauſe it hapned ſo ſuddenly, and as it were unlooked for. He himſelf, as ſoon as he underſtood that the Turkiſh Army was coming to that Coaſt, having withdrawn himſelf and his Men of War out of the City he could not keep, ſought by all means to be revenged, if not altogether, yet in ſome part, of this ſo great an Injury. And therefore he wrote unto the King at *Corazan*, to *Emir Chan* at *Tauris*, to *Simon* in *Georgia*; he gathered Souldiers out of the Villages, and uſed all his poſſible indeavour to enable himſelf to annoy the Enemies Army: but from none of theſe places could he receive any help, the King being ſo far off in Wars againſt his Son, the *Georgian* being buſied by hindering any Relief to be brought to the beſieged in *Teſlis*; as for *Emir Chan* (who by ſolemn promiſe unto the King before his departure to *Heri*, had undertaken the defence of that ſide of the Kingdom againſt the Turks) he either would not, or could not ſtir; neither ſent ſo much as one Souldier, having, as ſome ſuppoſed, ſecret Intelligence with General *Ferat*, not to diſturb him in this his Work. So *Tocomac*, deſtitute of all other help, and not able of himſelf to do much againſt ſo mighty an Enemy; yet ceaſed not to lay ſuch privy Ambuſhes for the Turks as he could, killing of them ſometimes 100, ſometime an 150, and ſometimes more, as they fell into his danger. And to eaſe his Stomach againſt *Emir Chan*, (who ſitting ſtill at *Tauris*, as it were to behold his Miſery, would not ſo much as ſhake a Sword againſt theſe ſpoiling Turks) he ſpared not to diſpatch certain Horſemen in haſte to the King at *Corazan*, and by eloquent Letters to amplifie the cowardiſe of *Emir Chan*; intermedling withall ſome cauſes of Suſpition, that he had ſome intelligence with the Turkiſh General.

Ferat in the ſpace of fifteen days buildeth a Fort at *Reivan* 750 yards about.

Ferat having thus built this new Fort at *Reivan*, as *Amurath* had commanded, and furniſhed it with Artillery, and all other things needful for the defence thereof; appointed *Sinan Baſſa* (the Son of *Cicala*, a Renegate of *Genoa*, and by *Selymus* the late Emperour, in the flower of his Youth created *Aga*, or Captain of the *Janizaries*) with a Garriſon

1583 ſon of eight thouſand Souldiers to keep the ſame. And ſo departing thence, by the way of *Aggia Chalaſi*, in ten days arrived with his Army at *Chars*.

Ferat had not long ſtayed at *Chars*, but ſtrange News were brought thither, That *Muſtapha* the *Georgian* (to whom *Amurath* had ſent thirty thouſand Duckats, by two of his *Capigi* and two of his *Chiaus*, to have by him been conveyed to *Teflis* for the Relief of them in the Fort) was revolted from the Turkiſh Obedience, and being now become a Rebel, had left that Fortreſs in manifeſt danger to yield, if by ſome other means it were not relieved. Which ſtrange Novelties exceedingly troubled the General; who, to know the certainty thereof, called before him all ſuch as were the Meſſengers of this Misfortune: by whom he was certainly informed, That *Muſtapha*, the two *Capigi*, and the *Chiaus*, having put themſelves upon their way towards *Teflis* with the Treaſure, guarded with a Convoy of five hundred of his Souldiers, in the mid way had met with his Couſin *Simon* the *Georgian*; by whom he was perſwaded to return again to his antient Faith and Religion, which he had to the great Peril of his Soul ſo prophanely abandoned, and to ſhake off the Service of *Amurath*, which would yield him no other recompence than an hard and infamous Captivity, and in the end ſome fraudulent and treacherous Death: and that his Perſwaſion had ſo prevailed with *Muſtapha*, that he cauſed the two *Capigi* and the *Chiaus* to be apprehended and preſently beheaded; and dividing the Treaſure with his ſaid Couſin, had with him and his other Kinſmen vowed a ſolemn and perpetual Confederacy; and ſo having withdrawn themſelves to their wonted Paſſages, lay there in wait for ſuch Succours as ſhould by the Turks be brought to *Teflis*.

When *Ferat* underſtood theſe and ſuch other Particularities, he all in a Fury ſwore that he would not return to *Erzirum* untill he had put all the Country of *Muſtapha* to Fire and Sword: yet firſt he thought it needful to relieve *Teflis*, which would otherwiſe be in danger to be yielded to the Enemy: and for that purpoſe made choice of *Haſſan Baſſa*, who in the laſt year of the Generalſhip of *Muſtapha*, had moſt courageouſly conveyed the like Succours, and taken *Aliculi Chan*. Unto him therefore did the General aſſign forty thouſand Duckets, with other Proviſion neceſſary for that Service; and for the more Security, appointed him fifteen thouſand of the moſt choice and valiant Souldiers in all the Army, to conduct the ſame. In ten days ſpace *Haſſan Baſſa* went and came from *Teflis*, having in his Journey to and fro had many Skirmiſhes with the *Georgians*, wherein he loſt ſome few men, without any other loſs worth the remembrance.

After this, the General ſent one *Reſuan Baſſa* with ſix thouſand Souldiers to ſpoil the Country of *Muſtapha* the *Georgian*, the late Renegate, but now become a Rebel to the Turk; which *Reſuan*, without any long ſtay over-ran all his Territory, burnt his Towns, and committed moſt uncouth outrages, which extended even unto the poor inſenſible Trees, and carried away with him many captive Souls, with much Corn and Cattel, like a raging Tempeſt deſtroying whatſoever came in his way. Now was the General alſo retired to *Ardachan*, whither came *Reſuan* to meet him with his foreſaid Booty. But becauſe they had now performed what they had before intended, and the approach of Winter perſwaded their return, they removed from *Ardachan*, and by the way of *Olti* retired to *Erzirum*, from whence all the Souldiers were licenſed to depart to their ſeveral Places of abode, and a memorial ſent to *Amurath*, of all the Actions had been performed; and eſpecially of the good ſervice done by *Haſſan Baſſa*; who for the ſame was now once again honoured by the King, with Cloth of Gold, a Battel-axe and Target all gilt.

Ferat cometh to *Erzirum*, and there breaketh up his Army.

1583

About this time, one *Podolovius*, a Gentleman of *Polonia*, ſent by *Stephen* King of *Polonia*, to *Conſtantinople*, by the leave of *Amurath* to buy certain Horſes in *Anatolia*; returning homewards with four and twenty goodly Horſes which he had bought, was notwithſtanding the Great Turks Paſs, by his Commandment ſtayed upon the way, all his men (in number four and thirty) ſlain, excepting one Boy, who getting into a Wood, eſcaped, and *Podolovius* his Head ſtruck off. The Horſes brought back to *Conſtantinople*, were by the appointment of *Amurath*, ſome beſtowed into his own Stable, and the reſt given among the Baſſaes, oftentimes pointed at with the Fingers of the Turks, in deriſion of the *Polonian* King. This *Amurath* commanded to be done, in revenge of an outrage done by the *Polonian* Coſſacks againſt the Turks; whereof News was but even then brought to the Court.

The Death of *Hama Chadum*, *Amurath*'s Mother.

The nine and twentieth day of *November* of this preſent year 1583, died *Hama Cadum*, the Widow of the late Emperour *Selymus* the ſecond, and Mother of this *Amurath*, and lieth buried by her Husband *Selymus*, and his five Sons, ſtrangled by their Brother *Amurath*.

1584

Ferat raiſeth a new Army.

All the reſt of this year 1583, *Ferat* ſpent at *Erzirum*, and afterwards ſent out his ordinary Commandments to all the accuſtomed Cities, to ſummon the Souldiers againſt the next Spring in the year 1584, gathering together a greater number of Pioneers and Engineers than ever had been gathered in theſe Wars heretofore; and withall gave it out, That he would go to *Naſſivan*, and there do great Matters. At which report the *Perſian* was much moved, and began to caſt many things in their Heads about it; but above all others, the King, who underſtanding at *Casbin* of all that had before hapned at *Reivan*, and of the new Preparations of the Turks, began to fear that they would this year paſs to *Tauris*, or at leaſt (as was reported) to *Naſſivan*, and in thoſe places built new Fortreſſes, to the great danger of the *Perſian* Empire: and therefore, retaining ſtill ſuch Forces as he brought with him from *Heri*, and commanding as many more as he could out of all the Cities that were ſubject unto him, to follow him to *Tauris*, he arrived there with his Army, not long after the arrival of *Ferat Baſſa* at *Erzirum*. This unexpected coming of the *Perſian* King with ſo great an Army to *Tauris*, filled the World with Expectation of great Matters to have been done by him againſt the Turks; inſomuch that *Ferat* the General, before he would proceed any further, thought it good to advertiſe *Amurath* of the matter: declaring unto him, That his deſire was to go to *Naſſivan*, and there to build a Fortreſs, according to his Commandment, ſo to lay open a Paſſage to *Tauris*: but having received certain Intelligence, that the *Perſian* King was come to *Tauris* with an huge Army, and full Reſolution to encounter him; he thought it his Duty not to put in Execution his aforeſaid Determination, without his expreſs Commandment. Unto whom *Amurath* preſently wrote back, that the matter ſo ſtanding, he ſhould not go to *Naſſivan*, but only employ his Forces to aſſure the Paſſage to *Tomanis* and *Lori*, that ſo the Fort of *Teflis* might the year following be relieved by ſome ſmall Band, without ſending of any great Army for the conveying of Succours thither. This new Commandment of his Lord, *Ferat* kept ſecret to himſelf; cauſing the Rumour of his going to *Naſſivan* to be more and more increaſed; of purpoſe to feed the Opinion that the *Perſians* had be-

The *Perſian* King with a great Army cometh to *Tauris*.

fore

1584 fore conceived of his coming thither; and ſo deluding them, with leſs danger to build the Forts he had intended, for the quieting of thoſe moſt dangerous Paſſages of *Lori* and *Tomanis*.

Upon this Reſolution *Ferat* having gathered together his People, with all things neceſſary for his purpoſe, removed with his Army from *Erzirum* towards *Chars*, where he ſtayed ten days to take a new ſurvey both of his Souldiers and Proviſion. And ſo departing thence, ſet forward toward *Lori*; ſending before him *Haſſan Baſſa* with five thouſand light Horſemen to ſcour the Country even to *Tomanis*, and to learn what he poſſibly could of the Enemies purpoſes, and the State of *Georgia*. Which thing *Haſſan* dutifully performed, ſpeedily ſcouring over all the Woods, and diſcloſing all the Paſſages from thence to *Lori*, and ſo to *Tomanis*, without meeting with any upon whom to aſſay his Valour, more than certain Robbers upon the high-way, whom he cauſed to be ſlain, (as men altogether ignorant of the *Georgian* and *Perſian* Affairs) and their Heads to be ſet on the tops of their Launces, and ſo returned again to *Lori*: where having ſtayed one day, he met with the General, to whom he recounted all that had happened in that his Excurſion. *Ferat* being come to *Lori*, there incamped his Army. This place did ſometime belong to *Simon* the *Georgian*, well ſtrengthned with an high Caſtle, compaſſed about with very deep Ditches, and a thick Wall almoſt a mile in circuit, but was then ſomewhat weakned with time; it is diſtant from *Teflis* about two days Journey of a Carriers pace. Upon this Caſtle *Ferat* ſeiſed; and having repaired the Walls, and ſtrengthned the breaches, he placed therein *Ali Baſſa* of *Grace*, with ſeven thouſand Souldiers for the defence thereof, and planted upon the Walls two hundred ſmall pieces of Ordnance: And ſo when he had ſeen all things there in good order, departed thence with his Army towards *Tomanis*, having before commanded *Ali Baſſa*, at ſome convenient time to fortifie *Saitan Chalaſi* a Caſtle about ten miles diſtant from *Lori*, and therein to place a convenient Garriſon of Souldiers and Artillery.

Ferat cutteth down a thick Wood at *Tomanis*, and buildeth a Fort upon the Straight.

Four days were they going from *Lori* to *Tomanis*, being ordinarily but one days work from the one place to the other: but now the General would needs ſo make it, to take the ſpoil of thoſe rich Fields, abounding with Corn, Cattel, and Fruit, and to leave unto the Country-People a lamentable remembrance of his being there. At laſt being come to *Tomanis* (in times paſt a Caſtle of *Simons*, but by reaſon of theſe Wars, by him then abandoned) he began to conſult with the other Captains, how and where the Fort ſhould be erected, for the aſſurance of that Country. But after many Diſcourſes, it was at laſt concluded not to fortifie in that Caſtle, as being too far from the Straight, to make that dangerous Paſſage ſafe and ſecure; but to go a little further, and to build a Fortreſs upon the very Mouth of the Straight. So the Army marching forward a few miles, at the very entrance of the narrow Paſſage found the Ruines of another Caſtle, and near thereunto ſtayed themſelves. This ſteep headlong Caſtle was ſo compaſſed round about with a thick Wood, which hindered all diſcovery afar off, that it was not convenient to found ſuch a Caſtle there, from whence their Ordnance could neither avail them to whom the defence thereof ſhould be committed, neither indamage thoſe that ſhould come to offend it. And therefore the General commanded, that every man with all his Endeavours ſhould lay to his hand for the cutting down of that thick Wood, and making way through thick and thin, to lay it for an open Campaign, that was before the Receptacle of a thouſand dangerous Treacheries. In very ſhort ſpace were the Trees laid along on the Ground, the place made lightſome and open, and a very commodious Scituation prepared for the Foundation of a Caſtle. The plot of the old ruined Caſtle was compaſſed about with a Wall of a thouſand and ſeven hundred yards, and in the midſt thereof was erected a ſtrong Keep, ſundry Lodgings and Chambers builded, and 200 pieces of Ordnance diſtributed upon the new Walls. After that, the General ſent *Reſuan Baſſa*, and the Baſſa of *Caraemit*, with 20000 of his moſt choice Souldiers, to convey Succours to *Teflis*: who marching cloſely together in the direct way, in one day arrived at the ſaid Fort; wherein they beſtowed their Supplies; and changing the Governour thereof, ſubſtituted in his room one *Bagli*, being then upon this occaſion only called a Baſſa. Whilſt *Reſuan* yet lay thus incamped under *Teflis*, *Daut Chan*, the Brother of *Simon*, who in the beginning of theſe Wars, at the coming of *Muſtapha* the Turks General into *Georgia*, had fled out of *Teflis*, came now with all his Family, and offered himſelf as a ſubject and devoted Vaſſal to the Turkiſh Emperour: whom *Reſuan* entertained with great Promiſes and large aſſurances of all good Succeſs, according to his deſire.

1584 The compaſs of the Caſtle built at *Tomanis* by *Ferat*.

In the mean while News was brought to *Simon*, That General *Ferat* ſtaying at the Straights of *Tomanis* with his Army, had ſent *Reſuan Baſſa* with a far leſs number than indeed he had, to ſuccour *Teflis*: Upon which report he took Courage to encounter *Reſuan*, and to give him Battel. Upon which Reſolution without further delay, being accompanied but with 4000 *Georgians*, partly Subjects of his own, and partly of *Manucchiars*, he with all ſpeed poſſible went againſt *Reſuan*. But whilſt *Simon* was going thitherwards, General *Ferat* fearing the worſt, had already by chance diſpatched away the two Baſſaes of *Caramania* and *Maras*, with 10000 Souldiers, to the end that joyning themſelves with the Souldiers of *Reſuan*, they ſhould at all adventures be ſo much the ſtronger. Now *Simon* going reſolutely on, found *Reſuan* incamped with 6000 Souldiers only, at the foot of an Hill, on the back-ſide whereof lay all the reſt of the Army, and preſently gave a charge upon him; when the Souldiers behind the Hill being aware of his coming, were ready all at once with their Weapons to receive him. Who now perceiving his Errour, repented himſelf to have ſo raſhly aſſaulted his Enemies, ſeeing now no other Remedy but to be utterly undone. But ſeeing that he had now ſo far ingaged himſelf, as that he could not by flight but increaſe his Grief, and make the iſſue more lamentable; with theſe few Souldiers which he had, he indured the Fury of the great Army of *Reſuan*, ſo that on both ſides there was joyned a moſt cruel Battel: wherein the ſtrange and unuſual Valour of thoſe few Chriſtians was much to be wondred at. Yet in the end the huge number of the Turkiſh Swords and Spears ſo prevailed upon that ſmall number of the *Georgians*, as that they were brought to great Extremity; yea *Simon* himſelf having his Horſe ſlain under him, fell down headlong to the ground, and in his fall was very near to have been taken Priſoner, as was his Lieutenant, and many other his Followers, had he not been relieved by an unexpected and marvellous chance: for whilſt the Battel was even at the greateſt heat between them, *Reſuan* diſcovered the two Baſſaes of *Caramania* and *Maras*, who (as is before ſaid) were newly ſent by General *Ferat* to ſuccour him; but both by the ſaid *Reſuan*, and alſo by the reſt of his Army, were indeed thought to be *Perſians*; whereupon they were incontinently ſurpriſed with a ſudden fear, inſomuch that they now became very doubt-

Simon in danger to have been taken, eſcapeth by a ſtrange chanee.

1584 ful of the Victory, whereof they thought themſelves before aſſured. In this ſuſpence and doubtfulneſs of Mind the Battel was alſo intermitted, and the Victory by the ſight of thoſe their Friends diſturbed; whereby the *Georgians*, and eſpecially *Simon*, whoſe eſtate was almoſt deſperate, took the Opportunity to eſcape and ſave themſelves; leaving behind them moſt ſure ſigns of their Valour among the Turks, of whom many remained there ſlain, many wounded, and many filled with great marvail and unexpected fear. Thus eſcaped poor *Simon* with the remainder of his followers into his known places of Refuge, there to bewail the Death and Captivity of his Subjects. But *Reſuan* after he had diſcovered the Baſſaes approaching towards him, to be his known Friends and well Willers, fretted in himſelf exceedingly, that *Simon* had ſo eſcaped his hands; yet holding on his way to *Tomanis*, he arrived there in great Triumph, drawing the Standards of *Simon* all along the Ground, and cauſing many of the heads of the *Georgians* to be carried upon his Souldiers Launces, to the great joy of General *Ferat*, to whom he delivered all the Priſoners taken in the Battel, and wicked *Daut Chan*, who having in times paſt renounced his firſt Faith, was become a *Perſian*; and now again deſpiſing the vain ſuperſtition of the *Perſians*, had yielded himſelf to the vanity of the *Turks*, and made himſelf a voluntary Slave to *Amurath*.

Now was the year ſo far ſpent, that every man began to fear the Winters approach; and therefore the General determined to remove thence, and to withdraw himſelf into places of more ſafety. And ſo having ſet all things in order in the new Fort, he appointed *Haſſan* to be the Baſſa of *Tomanis*, and left with him eight thouſand ſelect Souldiers choſen out of all the Army, for the defence of that Fort and the Country thereabout. Deeply had *Ferat* laid up the outrage committed by *Muſtaffa* the *Georgian* (being now returned to his old name of *Manucchiar*) in taking away the Kings treaſure, and killing the two *Capigi* and the *Chiaus*: and therefore he reſolved with himſelf, not to return to *Chars* or *Erzirum*, unleſs he had firſt paſſed into the Country of the ſaid *Georgian*, and in moſt cruel manner revenged thoſe notable injuries before received. In three days he arrived at *Triala*, and there incamped. But lying there, ſuch an unwonted Dearth and Scarcity of all things riſe in the Army, but eſpecially of Victuals, that every five buſhels and a half of Wheat was ſold for five hundred Duckats, to the univerſal calamity of the whole Army.

A wonderful dearth in the Turks Army at *Triala*.

From this place, the General was minded to go on forwards towards the Country of *Manucchiar*; but whilſt he was upon the raiſing of his Tents, one *Veis* Baſſa of *Aleppo* came unto him, and told him, That it was not good now to ſpend the time in wandring about thoſe Countries, for that there were three very great Enemies confederate together, to make this enterpriſe very difficult, and almoſt impoſſible and deſperate: one was the ſeaſon of the year, being now full of Snows, Froſt, and Tempeſt; another was, the want and ſcarcity of all things neceſſary, eſpecially of Victual; the third was, the People of *Georgia*, who by a common uniting of themſelves together, and peradventure aided by the *Perſians*, might work ſome notable miſchief againſt the Army. This Speech of *Veis* ſo much offended the General, that he moſt ſharply rebuked him, and with bitter termes reproved him, telling him flatly, That he well perceived that he was brought up among Mountains and Villages, and of a Villain (as he was) upon ſome ſuperfluity of grace, or fooliſh importunity, advanced to the honour of a Baſſa, and that therefore he ſhould not have preſumed ſo much as to think it lawful

1584 for him, ſo impudently and malapertly to come and give him ſuch advertiſements; whereas it had been his duty rather to have held his peace, and to have hearkened to the commandments of his betters and ſuperiours, yielding himſelf obedient and devoted with all his power to perform the ſame. With this rebuke the General paſſed on to *Archelech*, burning, and in a manner deſtroying the Country before him, though indeed it was in amity and confederacy with the Turks. But the Inhabitants of *Archelech* upon the coming of the Turks had abandoned the City, and for fear withdrawn themſelves into the Mountains. In *Archelech Ferat* incamped, and ſtayed the ſpace of four days among the rocky craggs, and in a barren ſoil, yielding neceſſary ſuſtenance neither for man nor beaſt; ſo that every man there endured unſpeakable miſeries: yet for the ſpace of four days the Souldiers with patience endured this ſo great a Calamity. But in the end, the fall of a huge Snow being added to theſe Extremities, did ſo greatly increaſe their griefs, that all the Janizaries and Spaoglans of *Conſtantinople* aroſe in a Tumult, and coming before *Ferat*, in deſpightful and contemptuous manner, with very haughty and reſolute terms ſaid unto him:

The inſolent ſpeech of the mutinous Souldiers againſt *Ferat* their General.

AND how long ſhall we endure this thy tedious and inſolent Government? Where is the due Commiſeration that thou oughteſt to bear toward the Vaſſals of thy Sovereign, thou ruſtical and unreaſonable Captain? Doſt thou think happily, that we keep our Harlots as thou doſt, under thy ſumpteous Pavilions, all fat and in good plight, with delicate Viands, whilſt others live in Miſery? Doſt thou believe that we have as thou haſt, our dainty Sugars, Spices, and Conſerves, whereby to reſtore us, in the common Calamity of others? And that we have at command, Meat and precious Wines, which thou mingleſt with thy clear and pleaſant Water, partly provided for thee by the Art of the cunning Doctors, and partly brought to thee from far Places? From this day forward it will be no longer endured, that ſo much People ſhould continue in this Famine, afflicted with Nakedneſs, and many other Inconveniencies: and therefore get thy ſelf up and return toward Erzirum; *otherwiſe we ſhall be inforced to do that which will breed more diſpleaſure unto thee, than to any man living.*

The General in a great Agony preſently called a Councel, wherein it was concluded, That they ſhould all ſend their ſtrong ſumpter Horſes to *Ardachan*, and the reſt to follow him into *Manucchiars* Country, whether he had appointed to go only to make an inrode, and with the ſpoil and booty of that Country to refreſh the Minds of his Souldiers, afflicted with the Miſeries both paſt and preſent. This Commandment of the Generals they all readily obeyed, as well becauſe he promiſed them a ſpeedy Voyage, as alſo for that every man deſired the ſack of *Altunchala* and other the Territories of *Manucchiar*. So *Ferat* holding on his Journey thorough certain low Vallies between the high and craggie Mountains, continually accompanied with great Famine and Scarcity, at length brought his Army to *Cliſca*, a place belonging to *Manucchiar*, but as then for fear of the Turks quite abandoned and forſaken by the Inhabitants; who with their Wives and Children, and all the beſt ſtuff they had, were fled into remote and ſafe places untill the Fury of the Enemy was overpaſſed. In the Fields near unto this place (bounding with Corn and Cattel, and plenty of Fruit) the General refreſhed his whole Army; and hoping that all the Souldiers would like it well to ſtay a while in that ſuch caſe, determined with himſelf to erect a Fort in that Place. And with this Reſolution gave commandment to *Reſuan Baſſa* to go up to

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the Tower, and in the top thereof to ſet up an Enſign, with a Proclamation and publick Report, That he would in the Name of *Amurath* there erect a Fort, and fortifie it as he had done the other Forts before. *Reſuan* accompanied with *Amurath* the Baſſa of *Caramania*, according to the commandment of the General, in the top of the Tower ſet up an Enſign or two; which as ſoon as the Souldiers had eſpied, the forenamed *Janizaries* and *Spaoglans*, thinking themſelves too much abuſed by the General, ariſing again all in an uprore, repleniſhed with Fury and Indignation, ran up in a rage to take down the Enſigns that were ſet up upon the Tower, and taking them in their hands, rapt the ſaid *Reſuan* once or twice about the pate, diſcharging withall a thouſand injurious and deſpightful Words upon him, and ſharply rebuked him. And then returning to the General (who was now come thither himſelf to countenance the Action of *Reſuan*) with Geſtures full of deſpight, contempt and diſdain, reviling him with many ſhameful and ſcornful Terms, they proteſted unto him;

The mutinous Souldiers again threaten their General.

THat they were not come to the Wars to exerciſe the Occupation of Maſons and Dawbers, and to be employed in ſuch vile and diſhonourable Offices; but only to manage their Weapons, and thereby to demerit their ordinary Wages, and to purchaſe to themſelves Glory and Renown at the Kings hand. And therefore if he loved his Head, and would not ſee thoſe Armes turned againſt himſelf, which hitherto had been the Revengers of the Enemies Injuries, he ſhould reſolve with himſelf, to leave theſe new Buildings, and theſe unſeaſonable Deſignments, and giving place to the contrary ſeaſon of the year, to have due care of their common Deſires and Neceſſity.

Whilſt they were yet thus expoſtulating the matter with him, one more bold than the reſt, and more forgetful of his Duty, did not ſtick to aſſault the General, and to threaten him to wreak his Fury upon him; which in that Tumult had happily been done, had not the Baſſa of *Caramania* lent the General his own Horſe, and ſo conducted him to his Pavilion. Yet was he nevertheleſs ſtill purſued by the tumultuous Souldiers, and again ſharply accuſed for the ſtay that he made there, and for not reſolving preſently to remove thence; and at laſt after many reproachful Speeches, told expreſly, That if he did not the next morning remove out of thoſe quarters, without all fail he ſhould loſe his Life for it. For all that, *Ferat* diſdaining to yield to them, that ſhould of Duty have been ready and obedient at every beck of his; and ſeeking by all means (notwithſtanding all this ſtir) to ſtay there ſo long time as ſhould be ſufficient to build a Fort, that would ſo much offend *Manucchiar*, anſwered them again:

The ſtout anſwer of *Ferat*.

THat he made no account of their threatning him with his Life, which he had always offered to lay down for any ſervice of his King. But if they had no care to ſerve their Sovereign in this new Building, they might go their wayes; as for himſelf he was reſolutely minded to obey his Lord in whatſoever he had commanded him; for the honour of whom every one of them ought to think their Lives very well beſtowed.

Upon this anſwer there followed divers railings and curſings againſt the King, againſt the General, and againſt them all; and in this confuſed tumult every man betook himſelf to his Weapons; in every corner was heard grumblings and whiſperings full of Wrath and Indignation; ſo that there was a great fear of ſome dangerous event, but greater was the Suſpition of the Generals Life. And now every man had withdrawn himſelf to the guarding of ſuch things as he eſteemed moſt; when ſuddenly and in a trice you might have ſeen the Pavilions of all the Baſſaes and Captains fall down flat to the Ground, all the Cords thereof being cut inſunder by the wrathful Souldiers; and as it were in a moment, all the Muttons and other Cattel the General and Baſſaes led with them for their ordinary uſe, were ſeiſed upon by the ſame Souldiers, and guarded with all diligence poſſible. And ſo far was it off that any man durſt challenge or revenge this their Inſolency, that they themſelves turning afreſh upon their General, being now in a maze and deadly fear, began now the third time to threaten him, That if he did not forthwith remove from thoſe Countries, and turn his Journey towards *Erzirum*, thoſe Vallies and Fields ſhould without all fail become the Sepulchres of the Baſſaes, and thoſe Hills retain the eternal Memory of ſo bloody a day.

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The Souldiers overthrow the Generals Tents, and threaten to kill him.

With a little Liberality might the General have done with this People whatſoever he had liſted, but being loth to gratifie them in any thing, he was inforced to perform their proud and arrogant demands, and to his great ſhame, to obey them, whom with right uſage he might have made obedient to himſelf; and therefore to avoid their deſpightful Threats, to his exceeding great reproach, he was glad even as they had commanded, to remove out of thoſe quarters. The firſt day he arrived at *Ardachan*, with the great trouble of all his Souldiers; for whereas the Journey was wont to be two days work ordinarily, as well in reſpect of the length of the way, as the difficulty of the Paſſage; the General would now needs have it done in one, the rather thereby to grieve his Souldiers. But of this his wilfulneſs he received even the ſame day the juſt reward; for that the Chariots wherein his Women rid were conveyed away, together with the Eunuchs that were their Keepers: ſome ſay by the *Georgians* that lay in wait for ſuch a Prey; others ſay by the *Janizaries*, who the more to diſhonour their General, wrought him this Injury.

Great was the reproach that *Ferat* received in the Army, but far greater at *Conſtantinople*, when theſe News were there known; but there was no remedy, he muſt now perforce indure it, and diſcontented as he was, keep on his way towards *Erzirum*. In *Ardachan* he took a ſurvey of his Army, and there gave his Souldiers leave to depart: himſelf afterwards arriving at *Erzirum*, hated of all his Souldiers, envied by his Captains, derided for the loſs of his Women, and fallen into the diſgrace of every man. No leſs than the reſt was the Turkiſh Emperour diſcontented with him alſo; firſt for that he had done nothing worth ſpeaking of, in revenge of the ſhameful Injury done by *Manucchiar* the *Georgian*, and yet ſo mightily diſcontented his Souldiers: and ſecondly, for that without any care he had ſuffered *Aliculi Chan* the *Perſian* Priſoner to eſcape away; about whoſe flight it was thought he could not chuſe but have ſome Intelligence. For *Ferat*, after he was by new order from the Court, to divert his Journey from *Naſſivan*, to the Straights and narrow Paſſages of *Georgia*, being deſirous to be throughly informed of thoſe dangerous ways; in this ſecond year when he removed from *Erzirum*, took *Aliculi Chan* out of Priſon, of purpoſe to uſe him as his guide in thoſe dangerous Straights, and therefore carried him under a Guard (whatſoever it was afterwards) of his moſt faithful Vaſſals, ſtill intreating him well, and taking ſuch order as that he wanted nothing; at laſt being come to the Straights of *Tomanis* in *Georgia*, where the Caſtle (as it was before ſaid) was erected, he from thence ſecretly eſcaped into *Perſia*. The manner of his eſcape is diverſly reported; ſome ſay,

Ferat at *Ardaahan* breaketh up his Army.

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That *Ferat* in diſcharge of his Promiſe, for his good Direction had gratified him with his Liberty. Others ſay, That *Ferat* corrupted with Money, gave him Opportunity to eſcape; ſome others (with more probability) That his eſcape was made neither for Money, nor diſcharge of promiſe; but by the only Vigilancy of *Aliculi* himſelf, and the ſleepineſs of his Keepers; and that watching the Opportunity of the Night (a friend to all eſcapes) he ſtarted away. Howſoever it was, in fine, he was delivered from his long Captivity, to the diſcredit of *Ferat*, and returned into *Perſia*, to perform ſuch Interpriſes againſt the Turks, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

The dangerous Paſſage from *Reivan* to *Teflis* ſecured unto the Turks.

General *Ferat* (before his departure out of *Georgia*) had commanded *Aly*, the Baſſa of *Græcia* (whom he left, as is before declared, in the new Caſtle of *Lori*) to fortifie a certain Caſtle called *Saitan Chas* (in our Language, *The Caſtle of the Devil*) which he with great Diligence performed, and left therein fifty pieces of Artillery, and a thouſand Souldiers under the charge of a *Sanzack*; and ſo quieted the Paſſages from Fort to Fort, as that all the ways from *Reivan* to *Chars*, and from *Chars* to *Teflis*, were made eaſie and ſafe; and all the means taken away whereby the Enemy might be able to plot any new Treachery upon thoſe Paſſages, which was no ſmall piece of good Service.

The *Perſian* King in the mean time lying at *Tauris* with his Army, underſtanding that the Turks had changed their purpoſe from *Naſſivan* to *Georgia*, ſo that there was no further need to imploy his Army againſt them for the defence of *Tauris* or *Naſſivan*; at laſt reſolved with himſelf to licence his Souldiers to depart, and to apply himſelf to remove private Revenges. For calling *Emir Chan* unto him, whom he had left Governour of *Tauris*, and General for that part of his Kingdom; he required of him the occaſion, why he had not performed the great Promiſes which he had made to him before his departure to *Heri*, nor done his indeavour to hinder the Turks Fabrick at *Reivan*; and why he went not out with other Souldiers appointed for that purpoſe, and namely with the *Turcomans* (as he had promiſed) to revenge ſo great an Injury, and in beſt manner he could, to have indamaged the Turkiſh Forces? Sundry excuſes did *Emir Chan* alledge for the colouring of his manifeſt default, but none ſufficient to clear him of the Crimes objected againſt him by the King and the Sultans; wherefore he was by the King adjudged to have his Eyes burnt out with an hot Iron; and ſo deprived of his ſight, to be diſpoiled of all his Goods, and ſhut up in cloſe Priſon. Which heavy doom was without further delay accordingly put in Execution; whereof within the ſpace of a few Months, the wicked *Chan* (but yet a famous Souldier) miſerably died in Priſon. Whoſe Death ſo highly offended the *Turcoman* Nation, (who had him always in great Eſtimation) that they abſolutely denied their defences for the Crown of *Perſia*: and the more, when they heard that the King had beſtowed the room of *Emir Chan* upon *Aliculi*; who although he had in many reſpects deſerved all Preferment, yet for that he was an ancient Enemy to certain *Turcoman* Captains, they would not in any wiſe indure that he ſhould be exalted to ſo great an Honour. And therefore they waxed more diſdainful and ill affected towards the King, whereby the *Perſian* Forces became the more weakned and divided.

Emir Chan having his Eyes put out, dieth miſerably in Priſon.

The Turks notwithſtanding the League yet in Force betwixt *Amurath* and *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperour that now is, did many times make Incurſions into the upper part of *Hungary*, burning the Country Villages, and carrying away the People into Captivity; but in their return, they were oftentimes cut off by the Emperours Souldiers and ſlain. Which being reported at *Conſtantinople*, much moved the Turkiſh Tyrant: but when he underſtood that his men had without any cauſe made thoſe inrodes into the Territory of the Chriſtians, and ſo received the foreſaid Loſſes, he was again appeaſed, and in the beginning of this year 1584, renewed the League betwixt him and the Emperour for eight years more.

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Ferat from *Erzirum* advertiſed *Amurath* of all that had hapned in his late Expedition; deſiring him to command what he would have taken in hand the next Spring. But beſides this information from him, there wanted not many others which did the like alſo, although in another manner: declaring unto the King (and that in an odious ſort) the whole proceedings of *Ferat*, the eſcape of *Aliculi Chan*, the ſhameful loſs of his Women, his Quarrels with the *Janizaries*, his falling out with *Veis Baſſa*, a man well regarded of *Amurath* himſelf, the Diſorders of his whole Camp for his want of Diſcretion; and to be ſhort, the particularities of all ſuch Actions as had not altogether ſo honorably been by him performed that year: Cauſes of themſelves ſufficient to induce the King to remove the ſaid *Ferat* from his Generalſhip. To which occaſions, were alſo added ſundry other ſecret reſpects: for ever ſince the laſt departure of *Ferat* from *Erzirum*, *Amurath* had ſtill in his head, the next year following to attempt the Enterpriſe of *Tauris*, and thereby to ſtir up through the World a famous Report of his Conqueſt correſpondent to his Greatneſs. Now among the Captains whom he eſteemed to be worthy men, to whom he might with truſt commit this ſo great an enterpriſe, he bethought himſelf of *Oſman Baſſa*, left at *Sumachia* in *Siruan* by General *Muſtapha* in the firſt year of this War: who having in that Province remained ever ſince, had without any help of the *Tartarians*, by his own Induſtry and Valour, to the great Contentment of *Amurath*, brought that large Country into a reaſonable Obedience to the Turkiſh Empire; and that which moſt of all pleaſed the Turkiſh Emperour, had in a Country ſo far diſtant, maintained his Army, wherewith he had done all this without any Expences at all to his King; having now a good while levied his Souldiers Stipends upon the Lands and Territories of that Region; and ſtill exerciſed a kind of Government and Soveraignty over thoſe Places. Of all which his good Proceedings, he had cauſed Intelligence from time to time to be ſent unto the Court; by which means, and other Favourers which he had about the King, there was foſtred in the mind of *Amurath* a wonderful good Opinion of him; ſo that now without delay he reſolved to ſend for him to *Conſtantinople*; and for that purpoſe, before *Ferat* was arrived at *Erzirum*, he had diſpatched certain *Capigi* and *Chiaus* to call this famous warriour unto him: yet wanted there not ſome (and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort) that went about to hinder both his coming to the Court, and alſo theſe Deſignments of ſo great importance. For *Sciaus* the chief Viſier (who rather for the comelineſs of his perſon and alliance with the King, than for any other his Virtues, was mounted to that high room) did greatly fear, leſt *Oſman*, whoſe courſe it was to ſit next unto him in the order of the greateſt Baſſaes, partly for his experience in matters of War, and partly for the good Affection the King did bear unto him, ſhould at his coming to *Conſtantinople* perſwade the King to what he liſted, and ſo peradventure take from him the chiefeſt Office, and get into his hands the whole Government of the Empire, whereby ſo great wealth was to be gained. Wherefore to rid himſelf of theſe Fears, he caſt about by all means to keep him from coming to the

Amurath ſendeth for *Oſman* into *Siruan*.

the Court: but becauſe that to attempt the ſame openly, might prove a matter both difficult and dangerous, he thought it better to make trial of a more commodious and ſecret means. This *Sciaus* in conſideration of many Gifts beſtowed upon him by *Mahamet* the *Cuman-Tartar* King, had many times excuſed him to *Amurath* of divers Accuſations which *Oſman* by his Letters had laid to his charge; for not aiding him in the ſubduing of *Siruan*, as he was both by promiſe and duty bound: and for all his overſights alleadged ſuch reaſons in his behalf, as if they did not altogether perſwade *Amurath* to be kind unto him, yet at the leaſt not to carry a mind of revenge againſt him; and had ſo far proceeded in countenancing this *Tartarian* King, that there was betwixt them confirmed an interchangeable Amity and mutual Confederacy. Him *Sciaus* imagined to find willing and ready by all means poſſible, to hinder the coming of *Oſman* his Enemy to the Court, if he were but made acquainted with the matter. And therefore *Sciaus*, as ſoon as he underſtood the certain Reſolution of *Amurath*, to call *Oſman* to the Court, ſecretly wrote to the *Tartarian* King, who lay incamped near to the Haven of *Caffa* upon the Fens of *Meotis*; certifying him, That *Oſman* was to come to the Court; and that therefore it were good for him to call to mind, how great an Enemy he had been to him, and how much he had indeavoured by Letters to *Amurath*, to return all his Hatred and Diſpleaſure againſt him; and withall, That if he was able to do ſo much by Letters, as if *Sciaus* had not defended him with very reaſonable Excuſes, the King had executed his wrathful Indignation upon him to his great danger; he ſhould then imagine with himſelf, what *Oſman* ſhould be able to do, when he ſhould come in Perſon to the Preſence of *Amurath*, and without any Mediator, between themſelves determine of all matters what they ſhould think convenient. Theſe, and peradventure worſe Letters which *Sciaus* wrote to the *Tartar*, miniſtred matter enough unto him to reſolve to do what he might, not to ſuffer ſo pernitious an Enemy of his to arrive at *Conſtantinople*; and eſpecially perceiving that *Sciaus*, in whoſe breaſt he repoſed all his Hope and all his Protection, did ſo greatly fear his coming. Wherefore to rid himſelf of that Fear, he commanded twelve thouſand Souldiers, that changing their Weapons and Apparel, they ſhould go and lie in wait for *Oſman* in the Borders between *Cholchis* and *Iberia*, towards the *Tartarian Nomades*, by which way he was to come; and ſo making an aſſault upon him, to bereave him of his Life. Hoping that ſuch an outrage once done, could not, or would not, be imputed to his procurement, but rather to the *Tartar Nomades*, or to the *Mengrellians*, or to the *Georgians*, or to the *Muſcovites*, or to the Robbers by the High-way; and to be ſhort, rather to any body elſe, than to him. This Commandment of the *Tartar* King, was accordingly by the Souldiers put in Practice; who without further ſtay joyned themſelves together, and ſo rode towards the Place appointed.

The *Tartar* King ſendeth 12000 *Tartars* to lie in wait for to kill *Oſman*.

And now were the Meſſengers ſent from *Amurath*, come to *Oſman*, who preſently put himſelf on his way towards *Conſtantinople*, having left behind him at *Derbent* and *Sumachia*, two Baſſaes, thought to be the moſt ſufficient men in *Seruania*; having alſo appointed very good orders in the ſame, and an aſſured eſtabliſhment of all thoſe Countries and Places which *Muſtapha* firſt had ſubdued, and he himſelf had afterwards maintained under the Obedience of *Amurath*. He had alſo provided for the ſafety of his own Perſon, in paſſing thoſe troubleſome and dangerous Paſſages through which he was to travel, by chuſing out four thouſand Souldiers which he had tried in divers Battels, and brought up under his own Diſcipline; through whoſe Valour he doubted not ſafely to paſs through the Treacheries of the *Albanians*, and the populous ſquadrons as well of the *Tartarians* as of the *Mengrellians*.

Thus departed he from *Derbent*, and coaſting along the Rocks of *Caucaſus* (that at all times of the year are all white and hoary with continual Snows) leaving on his left hand *Media*, *Iberia*, and *Cholchis*; and on the right hand, the famous Rivers of *Tanais* and *Volga*, even at his firſt entrance unto the Shores of the *Euxine* Sea, he was by the above named twelve thouſand *Tartarians*, being apparelled like Theeves that lie upon thoſe ways, ſuddenly aſſailed and fought withall. But like as an huge Rock lying open to Tempeſts and Waves, ſtanding faſt and unmoveable in it ſelf, reſiſteth the thunderings and ruſhings of the great and fearful Billows: ſo ſtood *Oſman* faſt and firm, and couragiouſly ſuſtained this treacherous aſſault, turning the bold Countenances of his reſolute Souldiers, againſt the rebellious multitude of thoſe traiterous Squadrons; who, as is their manner in the begining, uſed great force, but finding ſo ſtout reſiſtance in thoſe few, whom they had thought with their only looks and ſhoutings to have put to flight, they began at length to quail. Which *Oſman* quickly perceiving, couragiouſly forced upon them, and in a very ſhort ſpace, and with a very ſmall loſs of his own, put thoſe *Tartarians* to flight, killing a number of them, and alſo taking many of them Priſoners; by whom *Oſman* was afterwards informed (as the truth was) that their King for fear that he had conceived, leſt when he came to *Conſtantinople* he would procure his Deſtruction from *Amurath*, had ſent this Army to ſeek his Death. Of which Treaſon *Oſman* cauſed a perfect proceſs to be made, together with the Diſpoſitions of the *Tartarian* Priſoners, which he ſent the ſhorteſt way he could deviſe to *Amurath* at *Conſtantinople*, with Letters declaring all that had paſſed, inflaming him to revenge ſo dangerous an Injury, and ſo wicked a Practice. *Amurath* receiving theſe Advertiſements from *Oſman*, according to the Neceſſity of the matter, took order that *Vluzales* his Admiral with certain Gallies well appointed, ſhould paſs over to *Caffa* to fetch *Oſman*; and withall to carry with him *Iſlan*, a Brother of the *Tartar* Kings, commanding *Oſman* by Letters, that he ſhould (to the terror of others) put to death the treacherous King, and place his Brother in his room.

Oſman aſſaulted by 12000 *Tartars*.

Oſman overcometh the *Tartars*.

This *Tartar* King was one of thoſe mighty Princes, who baſely yielding to the *Othoman* Power, led under them a moſt vile and troubleſome Life, as their Tributaries and Vaſſals, always at command; whoſe younger Brother *Iſlan*, (preſuming of the ſufficiency of himſelf and the favour of the People) going to *Conſtantinople*, became a Suiter unto the Turkiſh Emperour, to have his eldeſt Brother thruſt out of his Kingdom, as a man for his evil Government hated of his Subjects, and to be placed himſelf in his room. Which his ſuit was ſo croſſed by the Ambaſſadors of the King's Brother (who ſpared for no coſt in the behalf of their Maſter) that the ambitious Youth was ſent from the Turks Court to *Iconium*, and there clapt faſt up in Priſon; where apparelled like an *Eremit*, he led his Life altogether conformable to his Miſery, with ſuch a kind of external Innocency, as if he had been void of all hope or ambitious deſire of a Kingdom, but rather like a forlorn and unhappy wretch with vain Affliction and impious Devotion to prepare himſelf to a laudable and honourable Death. But whilſt he thus lived, ſequeſtred from all worldly Cogitations, upon the diſcovery of the King his Brothers Rebellion, he was in more than

Oſman ſtrangleth *Mahomet* the *Tartar* King with his two Sons, and placeth *Iſlan* his Brother in his ſtead.

poſt haſt ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, and put into the Gallies bound for *Caffa*, with Letters to *Oſman* of the tenour aforeſaid. Now in the mean time *Oſman* had by cunning means got into his hands this *Tartar* King, being, as is reported, betrayed by his own Counſellors, corrupted by the Turks Gold; whom with his two Sons *Oſman* upon the receit of the aforeſaid Letters from *Amurath*, cauſed to be preſently ſtrangled with a Bow-ſtring, and *Iſlan* his younger Brother to be ſaluted King in his Place, yet as Vaſſal to *Amurath*. This ſhameful death, the uſual reward of the Turkiſh Friendſhip, was thought juſtly to have hapned unto his *Tartar* King, for that he long before, ſupported by *Amurath*, had moſt unnaturally depoſed his aged Father from that Kingdom, juſt revenge now proſecuting his ſo great Diſloyalty.

Oſman embarked himſelf at the forenamed Gallies at the Port of *Caffa*, paſſing over the *Euxine* Sea, and entering into the *Thracian Boſphorus*, arrived at *Conſtantinople*; where he was received with great Pomp and ſingular ſignifications of good Love. But with moſt evident and expreſs kinds of Joy was he ſaluted by *Amurath* himſelf, when by his own Speech and Preſence he declared unto him every particularity of the matters that had hapned in his long and important Voyage, and in lively manner repreſented unto him the Perils and Travels that he had paſſed, and the Conqueſts that he had made in *Siruan*. After all which Diſcourſes, *Amurath* who longed after nothing more, than to ſee the *Perſian* King ſomewhat bridled, and the famous City of *Tauris* brought under his own Subjection, began to enter into Conference with *Oſman* about that Enterpriſe, and in the end would needs know throughly of him, what iſſue he could promiſe him of this his deſire: and in what ſort by his Advice and Counſel the Forces ſhould be imployed, and the Armies diſpoſed for the ſubduing of that City, which over all the Nations of the World was ſo famous and ſo great an honour to the *Perſian* Kingdom. To all which demands his Anſwer and Reſolution was, That forſomuch as the matters of *Georgia* were now well ſettled, the treacherous Paſſages by the new built Forts aſſured, and the Province of *Siruan* under his Obedience eſtabliſhed, there was now no cauſe why he ſhould any longer foreſlow ſo famous an Enterpriſe, but by the Conqueſt of *Tauris*, and erecting of a Fort in that proud City, to bring a Terrour upon all *Perſia*, and to raiſe a glorious renown of ſo mighty a Conqueſt among the Nations of *Europe*; for the accompliſhment whereof, he thought that either the ſame Army, or at the moſt a very little greater would ſuffice, ſo that it were raiſed of the beſt and choiceſt Souldiers.

Amurath demandeth *Oſmans* Opinion concerning the Enterpriſe of *Tauris*.

Oſman's Reſolution.

By reaſon of one of the Letters which *Sciaus Baſſa* had written to the late *Tartar* King, and by the Inſtigation of the young Sultan *Mahomets* Mother (jealous of the near alliance of the great Baſſa with her Husband, as prejudicial and dangerous to her Son) *Amurath* had in the open Divano deprived the ſaid *Sciaus* from the Office of the chief Viſier, and hardly pardoning him his Life, at the Interceſſion of his Wife, being his Siſter had baniſhed him the Court, ſo that he lived afterwards about *Calcedon*, upon the Borders of *Aſia*, not far from *Conſtantinople*, in a cloſe Palace he had there built for his own Pleaſure; in whoſe room he appointed *Oſman* to be chief Viſier; and to honour him the more, nominated him the General of his Army againſt the *Perſians*. Such Power hath Virtue, that even from the very ſcum of the raſcal ſort, and out of the ruſtical rout of Mountain Peaſants (which notwithſtanding cannot be truly juſtified of this *Oſman*, his Father being *Beglerbeg* of *Damaſco*, and his Mother, the Daughter of the *Beglerbeg* of *Babylon*) it doth oftentimes in the courſe of this variable World draw divers men into Princes Courts, and advance them to the higheſt Dignities. Truth it is, that from a private Souldier, though well born, he by ſundry degrees grew up to the higheſt Honour of that ſo great an Empire, and was at one inſtant created the chief Counſellor and General of the *Othoman* Forces. Great was the Joy that *Oſman* conceived hereat; and great was the deſire he had to make himſelf worthy of ſo honourable Favours; and the greater Confidence he perceived that *Amurath* had repoſed in him, the more eagerly was he ſpurred on to any thing poſſible whereby he might ſhew himſelf to have deſerved the ſame. And therefore adviſing with himſelf, that foraſmuch as the greatneſs of the Enterpriſe required a greater Army than was levied in former years, ſo it was neceſſary alſo for him the ſooner to ſend out his Advertiſements into all his ſubject Provinces, and by his own example to ſtir up the other Captains and Souldiers even in the Winter (though it were as yet ſomewhat troubleſome) to paſs over to *Scutari*, and from thence to *Angori*, to *Amaſia*, to *Sivas*: and there in thoſe Territories to drive out the time, untill his Souldiers which were ſummoned, were all gathered together. And becauſe upon this his great ſpeed it might peradventure fall out, that the Enemy miſdoubting his purpoſe for *Tauris*, might provide a greater Army than they would otherwiſe, he cauſed it to be given out, That he muſt go for *Naſſivan*; to the end, that the *Perſians* ſo beguiled, ſhould not regard the gathering of ſo mighty an Army as they could have done if they ſhould have heard of the Turks coming to *Tauris*; and ſo the General couſening Rumour flew, not only through all the Cities ſubject to the Turks, but into the Countries of the *Perſians* alſo; who notwithſtanding being very jealous of the City of *Tauris*, and fearing that the matter would fall out, as indeed afterward it did, ceaſed not make moſt curious and diligent inquiry about it. And although the diſgrace offered to his Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*, diſſwaded him from ſending any other for treaty of Peace: yet to ſpie out the Secrets of the Turks, and to underſtand the certainty of their purpoſe for *Naſſwan* or *Tauris*, he ſent divers Meſſengers to *Oſman*, as if he had meant to feel his mind touching a Peace; but in very deed for nothing elſe but to ſound his Deſignments: which for all that, he could not with all the cunning he could uſe poſſibly diſcover, but ſtill remained doubtful as at the firſt, the Fame ſtill running for *Naſſivan*.

Oſman Baſſa made chief Viſier and General of the Army.

In the beginning of this year, now growing towards an end, *Amurath* ſent one *Muſtapha*, one of the meaneſt of his *Chiaus*, unto *Stephen* King of *Polonia*, to excuſe the Death of *Podolovius* (ſo ſhamefully murthered as is before declared) as if the ſame had hapned by the Inſolency of certain Souldiers, and not by his Commandment; who the better to colour the matter, had brought with him two baſe Fellows, as Authours of that outrage, for the King to take revenge upon; but were indeed no ſuch men as they were pretended to be, but rather (as it was thought) men before condemned for ſome other Fact worthy of Death, and now ſent thither to ſerve that purpoſe: for whom the *Chiaus* (in proud and threatning manner in the name of his Maſter) required to have preſent Reſtitution made of all ſuch goods as the *Polonian* Coſſacks had not long before taken from the Turks, and the Captain of the ſaid Coſſacks to be delivered alſo unto him, to be carried to *Amurath*; and ſo hardly urged the matter, that (notwithſtanding the unworthy Death of *Podolovius* and his Followers, and the taking away of his Horſes) all the goods taken by the *Coſſacks*, were forthwith reſtored

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red; which the *Chians* almoſt in triumphant manner preſented unto *Amurath* at *Conſtantinople*.

This Summer alſo, *Amurath* diſporting himſelf with his Mutes, was almoſt dead. Theſe Mutes are luſty ſtrong Fellows, deprived of their Speech; who nevertheleſs certain by ſigns can both aptly expreſs their own Conceits, and underſtand the meaning of others: theſe men for their Secreſie are the cruel Miniſters of the Turkiſh Tyrants moſt horrible Commands; and therefore of them had in great regard. With theſe Mutes mounted upon fair and fat, but heavy and unready Horſes, was *Amurath*, upon a light and ready Horſe, ſporting himſelf (as the manner of the Turkiſh Emperours is) riding ſometime about one, ſometime about another; and ſtriking now the Horſe, now the Man, at his Pleaſure, when ſuddenly he was taken with a fit of the falling Sickneſs, his old Diſeaſe; and ſo falling from his Horſe, was taken up for dead: inſomuch, that the *Janizaries* ſuppoſing him to have been indeed dead, after their wonted manner fell to the ſpoyling of the Chriſtians and Jews, and were proceeding to further outrages, had not their *Aga* or Captain to reſtrain their Inſolency, to the Terror of the reſt, hanged up one of them taken in the manner, and certain others in the habit of *Janizaries*. Nevertheleſs, *Amurath* ſhortly after recovered again, and to appeaſe that Rumor of his Death (openly upon their Sabbath, which is the Friday) rid from his Palace to the Temple of *Sophia*; where I with many others ſaw him (ſaith *Leunclavius*) his Countenance yet all pale and diſcoloured.

Jo. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum. pag. 91.

A moſt barbarous outrage committed by *Petrus Emus* a *Venetian*.

This year alſo hapned ſuch a chance as had like to have raiſed new Wars betwixt the Turks and the *Venetians*; which, foraſmuch as it is worth the reporting, I thought it not good in ſilence to paſs over. The Widow of *Ramadan Baſſa*, late Governour of *Tripolis in Barbarie*, with her Son, her Family, and a great number of Slaves of both ſorts, being about to depart from *Tripolis* to *Conſtantinople*, had rigged up a fair Gally for the tranſporting of her ſelf and her Subſtance, reported to be worth eight hundred thouſand Duckats; upon which Galley for her more ſafety, ſhe had joyned two others, as Conſorts. Thus embarked, ſhe came to the Mouth of the *Adriatick*; where ſailing by *Curfu*, ſhe was by force of Tempeſt driven into the Gulf of the *Adriatick*. At which time one *Petrus Emus*, one of the *Venetian* Senators, with certain Gallies, had the charge for the keeping of that Sea againſt Pirats, and all other Enemies whatſoever. He hearing of the Turks coming into the Gulf, without delay ſet upon them; and being too ſtrong for them, took them all; and having them now in his Power, exerciſed moſt barbarous Cruelty, as well upon the Women as the Men: for having ſlain the Men, in number two hundred and fifty, and the Son of *Ramadan* in his Mothers lap, he cauſed the Women, being before raviſhed, to have their Breaſts cut off, and afterwards to be caſt overboard into the Sea, being in number about forty. The Brother of *Emus* chancing upon a beautiful Virgin, was by her moſt earneſtly intreated to have ſpared her Honour; and the rather, for that (as ſhe ſaid) ſhe was a Chriſtian, taken Priſoner about twelve years before in *Cyprus*; ſince which time ſhe had lived in moſt miſerable Captivity among the Turks; and being now fallen by good hap into the hands of a noble *Venetian*, was in good hope to be ſet at Liberty inviolated; which ſhe moſt humbly beſought him for the love of God to do, and not to imbrue his hands with her guiltleſs Blood, or to diſhonour himſelf by forcing of her. But all ſhe could ſay prevailed nothing with the cruel and unbridled Youth, who after he had at his Pleaſure abuſed her, caſt her with the reſt into the Sea. It is thought that *Emus* ſuffered this ſo great an outrage (and ſo far unbeſeeming the Honour of the *Venetians*) to be done, to the intent that none ſhould be left alive to bewray the greatneſs of the Booty, or of the Villany there committed; which was nevertheleſs (God ſo appointing it) revealed by one of the Turks, who ſaved by a Surgeon of *Crete* which knew him, and afterwards coming to *Conſtantinople*, openly declared the ſame. With the odious report whereof, the Turks were ſo enraged, that in every corner of the City a man might have heard them threatning unto the *Venetians* moſt cruel Revenge; yea they had much ado to hold their hands from the *Bilo* or Governour of the *Venetian* Merchants in *Conſtantinople*, and to forbear to ſpit in his Face, as he went in the Streets. At that time was one *Johan. Franciſcus Maurocenus* (or as they commonly call him, *Moreſin*) Bilo at *Conſtantinople*; who underſtanding that *Amurath* in his Rage was about to ſend one of the great Gentlemen of his Court, whom the Turks call *Zauſii*, (the great Turks uſual Ambaſſadors) to *Venice* about that matter, found means to have him ſtayed at *Conſtantinople*, and another of leſs Authority ſent to expoſtulate the matter with the Senate, and in the Name of *Amurath*, to require to have the Offendor puniſhed, and the Gallies with the Slaves and Goods reſtored; ſo ſhould the League betwixt him and them continue firm; whereas otherwiſe he ſhould be conſtrained by force of Arms to revenge the Wrongs done to his Subjects. This Meſſage being by the ſaid Meſſenger delivered at *Venice*, the Senators after diligent Examination of the matter, returned this anſwer; That the Widow of *Ramadan* with her Family coming to *Zacynthus*, an Iſland of theirs, was there honourably entertained, and preſented with certain courteous Preſents; but departing thence, and coming to *Cephalenia*, another of their Iſlands, her People running on Land, contrary to the Conditions of the League, made ſpoil of whatſoever they could light upon, ſparing neither Man nor Beaſt; of which their Inſolency their Proveditor underſtanding, and making after them, found them in Arms within the Gulf; and coming near unto them, was neither by them ſaluted, as the manner at Sea is, neither was any topſail ſtruck, in token that the command of that Sea belonged unto the *Venetians*, all which they ought by the League to have done; for which their outrages and proud Contempt, their Proveditor had taken ſo ſharp a Revenge; nevertheleſs, they promiſed in that caſe to do what beſeemed them in Reaſon and Juſtice to do, for the ſatisfying of his deſire. With which ſo reaſonable an anſwer, *Amurath* ſeemed to be well contented; but being indeed loth to intangle himſelf with Wars againſt that mighty State at Sea, his Wars againſt the *Perſians* being not yet finiſhed; yet ſhortly after, *Emus* was for his diſhonourable and cruel dealing with the Lady and her Family, worthily condemned and beheaded, and the Gallies with all the Goods and Slaves reſtored. This great Woman had in thoſe Gallies four hundred Chriſtian Slaves, all which upon the taking of the Gallies were (as the manner is) ſet at Liberty, for whom the *Venetians* made Reſtitution of as many others of the Turks.

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The Villany diſcovered.

Amurath ſendeth a Meſſenger to *Venice*, to expoſtulate the Injury done unto his Subjects.

Petrus Emus beheaded.

Jo. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum pag. 92.

Ramadan Baſſa, the Husband of the aforeſaid great Lady, was Governour of *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, and of the Country thereabouts; who having Wars with one of the barbarous Kings of the Moors, went out againſt him with all his Forces, wherein were certain Companies of *Janizaries*, ſent by *Amurath* from *Conſtantinople*. Now in this Country, as in many other places of *Africk*, are great and deſart Sands, over which whoſoever is to paſs, muſt provide himſelf both of Victuals and

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Ramadan Baſſa ſlain by the inſolent *Janizaries.*

skilful Guides; without which they are not without danger to be paſſed. *Ramadan* with his Army unprovided both of the one and the other, having entred theſe Deſarts, was at length brought to that caſe, that he could neither go forward, neither without loſs of his men, return. Yet at length he retired, and got home, but not without the loſs of ſome of his People, and the manifeſt danger of his whole Army; for which his improvidence the Janizaries fell into ſuch a rage, that not reſpecting the honour of the man, or regarding the diſpleaſure of their Sovereign, they fell upon him and ſlew him. At which their Inſolency if *Amurath* did wink, and paſs it over unpuniſhed, let no man marvel; for why, the antient obedience of thoſe martial men is not now as it was in former times, when they were with a more ſevere Diſcipline governed; but now grown proud and inſolent (as the manner of men is living in continual pay) with Weapons in their hands doubt not to do whatſoever ſeemeth unto themſelves beſt, be it never ſo foul or unreaſonable. Which although it be in many places of this Hiſtory to be ſeen; yet for the more manifeſtation thereof, I thought it not amiſs here briefly to ſet down an Example or two of their notorious Inſolency.

Achmetes Baſſa Governour of *Cyprus*, ſlain by the *Janizaries.*

Not many years before, the Janizaries in *Cyprus* with like Inſolency ſlew *Achmetes Baſſa*, Governour of that Iſland; pretending for the colour of ſo foul a fact, that he had defrauded them of their pay, and oppreſſed them of the Country with intolerable exactions. *Amurath* highly offended with this their Diſloyalty in killing their General, whom they had never before complained of; thought it much to concern the Majeſty of himſelf, and the repreſſing of the like Inſolency in others, not to ſuffer it to go unpuniſhed; and for that purpoſe ſent another new Governour into *Cyprus*, with ten Gallies furniſhed as well in other neceſſary Proviſion, as with ſuch a convenient number of Souldiers as might ſuffice to chaſtiſe the Inſolency of the chief Offendors. This new Governour arrived in *Cyprus*, diſſembling the ſecret Commandment he had for the executing of the Tranſgreſſors; by certain truſty men gave it out among the Janizaries, That *Amurath* was ſo far from being angry with the death of *Achmetes*, as that he thought him worthily ſlain by the Janizaries, for defrauding them of their Wages, and oppreſſing of his other Subjects. Which report the new Governour had of purpoſe given out, to put them in Security, and without further trouble to bring them into his danger. Hereupon the Janizaries chearfully and with all due Reverence received their new Governour; but ſhortly after to be ſure, they by an unexpected guile when as nothing was leſs feared, compaſſed in all the new come Souldiers, and ſlew them every Mothers Son; and not ſo contented, ſeiſed alſo upon the Gallies that brought them. Which ſecond outrage, though *Amurath* took in evil part, as ſeeing his Majeſty therein contemned, yet was he content to paſs it over, being loth to add edomeſtical Troubles to the great War he had in hand with the *Perſian.*

Another Inſolency of the *Janizaries.*

Busbeq. Legationis Turcice, Epiſt. 3.

But to end this matter with the Opinion of their own greateſt Baſſaes, concerning theſe maſterful men. It fortuned that whilſt *Busbequius* (Ambaſſador for *Ferdinand* the Emperour, unto *Solyman*) lay in the Turks Camp, at ſuch time as *Solyman* in Perſon himſelf was gon over the Straight in *Aſia*, to countenance his eldeſt Son *Solymus* againſt his younger Brother *Bajazet*, That upon a light Quarrel (though heavily taken) between the Followers of the ſaid Ambaſſador, and certain Janizaries waſhing themſelves at the Sea-ſide, the Ambaſſador for the quieting thereof was glad to uſe the help of *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa, *Solyman*'s Son-in-Law; who underſtanding of the matter by a Meſſenger ſent of purpoſe, adviſeth the Ambaſſador to cut off all occaſion of Contention with thoſe moſt naughty Fellows; asking him further, if he knew not that it was now the time of War, in which time they ſo raigned, as that *Solyman* himſelf was not able to rule them, but ſtood in fear of them. Which ſpeech fell not raſhly from *Ruſtan*, a man right well acquainted with his Lord and Maſters Grief; for that moſt notable Prince feared nothing more, than leſt ſome ſecret and dangerous Treaſon ſhould lie hidden among the Janizaries, which breaking out upon the ſudden, might work his final Deſtruction; whereof he needed not to ſeek for any further Example, than to his Grandfather *Bajazet.* For, as true it is, That great are the Commodities of a perpetual Army of a Princes own; ſo are the Incommodities alſo not ſmall, if they be not carefully met withall; but eſpecially for that the Prince is ever in doubt of Rebellion; and that it is ſtill in the Power of thoſe armed Souldiers, at their Pleaſure to tranſlate the Kingdom to whom they liſt. Whereof there have been many great Examples, although there are many ways for the remedying of the ſame. 1584

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But now that we have by occaſion of the Occurrents of that time a little ſtept out of the way, let us return again unto the Wars of *Perſia*, the chief Object of *Amuraths* haughty Deſigns. Now according to the Commandments gon out through all the Cities of the Empire, the Souldiers of all ſorts began to flock together; and all thoſe that were either deſirous to be eſtabliſhed in their former Charges and Governments, or ambitiouſly ſought to be now promoted, repaired to *Oſman*, as unto a King, and the ſovereign Moderator of the Turkiſh Empire, preſenting him very large and liberal Gifts, whereby he gathered together a huge heap of infinite Treaſure; and ſo entertaining them with all affable Courteſie, and promiſing both Rewards and Honours to ſuch as would follow him in his purpoſed Expedition, he levied a wonderful great number both of Men and Monies. And now was the time come that called him away to go towards *Erzirum*, where he was greatly expected of his huge Army there aſſembled together. And notwithſtanding the great dearth of Victual that commonly raigneth in thoſe quarters, yet thither he muſt, where he arrived about the latter end of the Month of *July*, in the year 1585: and there taking a view of his whole Army, and of all the Proviſion neceſſary for ſo important and famous an Enterpriſe, he daily laboured to haſten his departure. In this City of *Erzirum* were met together all the Souldiers of the Provinces that were wont to ſend help, but yet in greater number than ever was gathered by any General before: for that every man forſook his own private Buſineſs, and upon aſſured hopes of new Rewards and unwonted Honours, were all induced to follow the Fame of this their new Viſier and General: only the People of *Egypt* and *Damaſco* were buſied with other more private Quarrels at home, whereof becauſe they were both of great Importance, and alſo fell out at this very inſtant (leaving *Oſman* with his Army for a while at *Erzirum*) I will in as few words as I may, make a brief rehearſal.

Haſſan Baſſa the Queens Eunuch ſent to *Caire* to govern there.

Amurath had heretofore taken *Haſſan Baſſa* the Eunuch out of the *Seraglio*, from the charge he had there to ſerve in the Queens Court, and at her inſtance ſent him as Baſſa to *Caire* the great City of *Egypt.* Which great Office, beſide the Honour belonging unto it, is alſo beneficial to them whoſe good hap it is to be advanced thereunto; the Riches, the multitude of People inhabiting therein being ſo great, that it ſeemeth not to be one City, but rather to contain within the large Circuit

thereof,

1585 thereof, many Cities. This man being exceeding covetous, and therefore deſirous to handle the matter in ſuch ſort, as that he ſhould little need to ſeek for any more ſuch grants at the Kings hands, ſought by all manner of means to oppreſs the whole Nation, and by all Importunities to wring and extort from them Rewards and Bribes, without regard of Honeſty or Reaſon. By which his ſiniſter and corrupt dealing he had now made himſelf ſo odious and intolerable to the People in general, that they in great number, and many times, began to go to *Conſtantinople*, and with humble petitions to requeſt the King to take from them ſuch a cruel and unjuſt Governour; ſo that generally in the Court there was no talk but of the Villanies and Miſchiefs that were reported of the covetous Eunuch. At laſt *Amurath* ſeeing theſe publick Exclamations went daily ſo far, as that he could not for ſhame let them go any further without due Puniſhment, he reſolved with himſelf to call him to the Court; and having ſent unto him certain Meſſengers, admoniſhed him ſundry times to return home. But the Eunuch loth to leave ſo fit an occaſion to enrich himſelf, did ſtill delay his return, alledging divers feigned Excuſes for his longer ſtay. Which thing when *Amurath* underſtood, thinking himſelf thereby deluded, he determined to provide for ſo great a diſorder, and by puniſhing of the miſchievous Eunuch, to ſatisfie in ſome part the diſcontented Minds of his oppreſſed Subjects in *Caire*.

Ebrain Baſſa in ſpeech to *Mary Amurath*'s Daughter.

There ſate at that time among the chief Baſſaes of the Court, one *Ebrain* (or as moſt call him, *Ibrahim*) by Nation a *Sclavonian*, a young man of the age of thirty two years, or thereabouts, of very fair Conditions, and of a reaſonable Judgment; upon whom *Amurath* himſelf had determined to beſtow his own Daughter to Wife, and ſo to make him his Son-in-law. And therefore being now minded to remove the Eunuch from his Office, and to ſatisfie the City; and being alſo willing withall to give means to his ſaid Son-in-law to enrich himſelf, he reſolved to ſend him as General *Sindick* and ſovereign Judge into *Egypt*; giving him in particular charge, to remember how wickedly his Predeceſſor had dealt before him. And ſo this new Baſſa took his Journey towards *Egypt*, although there ran before him a great Rumour of his coming, and of the great Authority wherewith he was ſent. At which Report, as the *Egyptians* reſted content and joyful, ſo the Eunuch waxed very ſad and ſorrowful; perſwading himſelf, that this alteration could not but engender ſome ſtrange iſſue and effect againſt him. Whereupon adviſing himſelf to provide better for his own Affairs and ſafety of his Life, he reſolved not to ſtay the coming of the new Governour; but departing out of *Egypt*, he with great Care and Circumſpection for fear of meeting with *Ebrain*, travelled towards *Conſtantinople* in hope to appeaſe the Kings Wrath, or at leaſt by mediation of Bribes, and by the Interceſſion of the Queen, to find him more favourable than he ſhould find *Ebrain*; who without doubt would not have ſpared any Extremity or Cruelty, to have bereaft him both of his Goods and Life together. *Amurath* advertiſed from *Ebrain*, of the ſudden flight of the Eunuch Baſſa out of *Egypt*, and hearing withall, that he kept not the high-way from *Caire* to *Conſtantinople*, began to fear, leſt when he came into *Soria*, he ſhould flie into *Perſia* to the King, and ſo work him double and treble damage; as one that had already gathered a huge Treaſure, and having long lived in the Court, knew the moſt ſecret Affairs thereof, and had learned all the privie Devices and Faſhions of the *Seraglio*. Whereupon he with all Diligence diſpatched his *Imbrahur Baſſi* (whom 1585 we call Maſter of his Horſe) with forty of his *Capigi* (all Gentlemen Uſhers, and Officers of moſt ſecret and neareſt Rooms about him) with charge and commandment, that if they met him they ſhould bring him to the Court; uſing all the Aid and Aſſiſtance of his People that might be requiſite: and for that purpoſe delivered unto him very effectual and large Letters, after the beſt manner of the Court. This Meſſenger with his appointed train departed, and without any extraordinary inquiry, found the Eunuch in *Soria*, incamped in the Plains near unto the City now called *Aman*, but in times paſt *Apamea*, the principal City of that Country. As ſoon as the Eunuch underſtood of the coming of the *Imbrahur* himſelf, he gave order to his guard of Slaves, which in great number with Spears and Harcubuſes did ordinarily keep his Pavilion, that they ſhould not grant entrance into his Tent to any, but only unto the *Imbrahur* himſelf, and if need were, by force to keep the reſt of the *Capigi* from coming in. Which order was in very good time given; for as ſoon as the Kings Officer had diſcovered the Tents of the fugitive Baſſa, in all haſt he ran towards the ſame, and ſeeking out the greateſt among them, went preſently thither, to have entred with all his Followers; but the Slaves being in Armour, oppoſed themſelves againſt them, and permitting only the *Imbrahur* to enter in, entertained the reſt of his Train without. The *Imbrahur* being come in, read unto him the Commandment which he had from the King to bring him to the Court; and moſt inſtantly moved him, that without any further reſiſtance, he would quietly go with him. To whom the wary Eunuch anſwered, *Behold, how without any calling of the King, or conducting by you, I come of my ſelf, well aſſured to find not only Pardon and Pity, but alſo Favour and Grace in the ſight of my Lord; whoſe upright and mild Nature the wicked Treacheries of my falſe Accuſers cannot abuſe, to the Prejudice of me an Innocent*. And ſo without more ado they went all to *Conſtantinople*; the Eunuch ſtill ſtanding upon his Guard.

The warineſs of the crafty Eunuch.

The politick and crafty Eunuch had in this mean time diſpatched divers Poſts with Letters to the Sultan Ladies, certifying them of his coming, and principally beſeeching the Queen to protect him, and to appeaſe the Kings wrathful Indignation that happily he might have conceived againſt him; and ſo at length they arrived at *Scutari*. As ſoon as *Amurath* underſtood of his coming thither, he cauſed all the Treaſure which he had gathered, to be taken from him, with all the reſt of his private Subſtance, and the wretch himſelf to be clapt up in Priſon in the *Jadicula* or ſeven Towers. Where after he had languiſhed many Days, ſtill fearing ſome deadly blow, he at length received from the Queen, an unexpected, but moſt welcome Advertiſement, That he ſhould be of good chear and quiet himſelf, for that his Wealth had already ſaved his Life, and that ſhe hoped in ſhort time to procure him alſo his Liberty. Which indeed ſhe brought to paſs; for ſhe her ſelf made earneſt Petition to *Amurath* her Husband, that forasmuch as he had bereaft her Eunuch of all his Goods, he would yet at leaſt deliver him out of Priſon, and reſtore him unto her again. Which Requeſt of the Queens was granted accordingly, and the Eunuch enlarged; but the Treaſure that he ſo unjuſtly ſcraped together in *Egypt*, that remained ſtill among the Gold and other Jewels of the Kings.

The Eunuch caſt in Priſon at *Conſtantinople*, and his evil gotten Goods confiſcated.

But *Ebrain Baſſa* with his new Commiſſion now arrived in *Egypt*, had in ſhort ſpace by far more ſiniſter means than had the Eunuch before him, ſcrap'd together ſuch an infinite heap of Riches, as was able only of it ſelf to make him worthy of his promiſed Wife, and therefore he was called home to the Court, to accompliſh the intended Marriage. With this Commandment to return to *Conſtantinople*, he received alſo in charge, to make his Journey through the People of *Druſia*; and ſuch as he ſhould find loyal, to confirm them in their due Obedience, and to make them pay their antient Duties; but ſuch as he ſhould find ſtubborn and diſobedient, he ſhould quite root them out and deſtroy them. This Commandment *Ebrain* preſently put in Execution, and having packed up together all the Riches he had gathered in the time of his Government, and raiſed good ſtore of Souldiers in that Province, he took with him thirteen *Sanzacks*, that were ordinarily accuſtomed to ſit as Aſſiſtants under the Government of the Baſſa in the ruling of the populous Territories of *Caire*, and ſo ſet forwards towards *Gaza*, paſſing over thoſe vaſt and huge Wilderneſſes of Sand that lie between *Caire* and *Gaza*. From *Gaza*, joyning the *Sanzack* thereof with him, he went to *Jeruſalem*; and from thence, cauſing the *Sanzack* there alſo to follow his Train, he turned by *Saffeito*, by *Lezium*, by *Naplos* (called in times paſt *Samaria*) ſtill taking with him the *Sanzacks* of all thoſe places, and at laſt turned himſelf towards *Damaſco*; ſo that before he joyned with the band of *Damaſco*, he had gotten together eighteen *Sanzacks*, with all their Squadrons of Souldiers and Slaves. Beſides theſe, he had alſo his own private Court, which was wonderfully populous, and two hundred *Janizaries* of *Conſtantinople*, whom *Amurath* would needs have him to take with him at his departure from the Court, ſo that he had in his Army almoſt twelve thouſand Horſemen. From *Damaſco*, *Veis* the Baſſa was come as far as *Jeruſalem* to meet him, with all the Souldiers under his Government, in number about two thouſand Perſons. Beſides that, there came unto him by the way of *Sidon*, the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* of *Cyprus*, with all the band of that deſolate and deſtroyed Iſland; which Captain with his Souldiers was tranſported over into the Main, in thoſe Gallies that by the Kings appointment were ſent to fetch *Ebrain*; who, now ſtrengthned with all theſe Souldiers, had purpoſed the utter ruine of the diſobedient *Druſians*, and the raiſing of his own Glory, by triumphing over them.

The *Druſian* People what they are.

Theſe *Druſians*, againſt whom theſe great Preparations were now made by this new Captain, and of whom the Turkiſh Emperour is ſo ſuſpicious and doubtful, are ſuppoſed to be by deſcent Frenchmen, the reliques of thoſe that with great Devotion did in times paſt fight thoſe memorable and Chriſtian Battels in *Jury*, and recovered the holy City; but being afterwards brought low, partly by the Plague, and partly by the Fury of the *Barbarians*, mingled their Seed with the circumciſed Nation, and ſo together with their Authority and Command, loſt alſo their firſt Faith and Religion; yet ſo, that they grew into an hatred of the Turkiſh Superſtition, and abhorring the Circumciſion of the Jews, betook themſelves to a new Prophet of their own called *Iſman*, whoſe Doctrine they follow. The right *Druſians* live uncircumciſed, neither do they forbear Wine, as do the *Turks*; they make it lawful among them (moſt unlawfully) to marry with their own Daughters; the Turkiſh Government they have ſought by all means to eſchew, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours and Attempts of the Turkiſh Tyrants, but eſpecially of *Selymus* the ſecond, yet have they always been ſubject to their own natural Princes, and would never admit any Captain or Governour of the *Turks* within the Countries which they poſſeſſed. They are a People very warlike, ſtout, reſolute, and religious obſervers of their own Superſtitions; in Battel they uſe the Harquebuze and Scimitar, yet ſome of them at this day do ſerve with Lances and Darts; they are apparelled after the manner of the *Eaſtern* People, with a Turbant on their Heads, and Breeches they never wear, but inſtead thereof they cover thoſe parts with their Coat, which reacheth down to their Knees, buttoning it up before; their feeding is groſs, and of Mountain Meats; they inhabit all the Country that is environed within the Confines of *Joppa*, above *Cæſarea* and *Paleſtina*, and within the Rivers of *Orantes* and *Jordan*, ſtretching it ſelf even to the Plain of *Damaſco*, near to the Hills that compaſs it about upon the Coaſt of Mount *Libanus*. They were all in times paſt good Friends and Confederates, ſo that they were greatly eſteemed; but now being at variance, through greedineſs and covetouſneſs, they were divided among themſelves, one ſeeking the Deſtruction of another. At this time they were governed by five chief Captains or Governours; one of them was called *Ebne-Man*, and of the Turks *Man-Ogli*; another *Serafadin*; the third *Mahamet Ebne-Manſur*; the fourth *Ebne-Frec*; and the fifth *Ali-Ebne-Carfus*, by the Turks called *Ali-Carfus-Ogli*. Under theſe (who indeed carry the Title and Authority of an *Emir*, that is to ſay, King or Chief) there are divers their Lieutenants or Deputies, whom they call their *Macademi* or Agents. *Ebne-Man* or *Man-Ogli* inhabited the Mountains and Fields that are contained under the Juriſdictions of *Cæſarea*, of *Ptolemaida*, of *Tyrus*, and of *Sidon*, and had his reſidence for moſt part upon the Hill, in a Town called *Andera*; he was very mighty in Men and Armour, and ſince the time that by Treachery his Father was Murthered by *Muſtapha* then Baſſa of *Damaſco*, always a deadly Enemy to the Name of the Turks. *Ebne-Frec*, *Ebne-Carfus*, and *Ebne-Manſur* were always great Friends; but now eſpecially at the coming of *Ebrain Baſſa* they ſhewed themſelves more ſtraightly confederated together. *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* were ever oppoſite againſt them; ſo that the one ſide procuring the overthrow of the other, they loſt their Strength, and left no means to defend themſelves againſt the *Turks*, who had not long lain in wait for their Liberty. Now as ſoon as the News came among them, That *Ebrain* being departed from *Caire*, was coming into *Soria* to ſubdue them; the three Confederates above named reſolved among themſelves to go and meet this great Baſſa, and to ſubmit themſelves unto him, of purpoſe to turn all the intended Miſchief upon *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* their Enemies. And ſo having packed up great ſtore of Money, Cloth of Silk, Cloth of Woollen, and Cloth of Gold, with many Loads of Silks, and other things of exceeding Value, every one of the three being accompanied, one with about two thouſand, another with about three thouſand men, they put themſelves upon their Journey towards *Ebrain*, and met him at *Jeruſalem*, where he was already arrived. This their coming *Ebrain* took in wonderful good part; and courteouſly accepted thoſe their rich and great Preſents which they brought him; and by the offers of their Fidelity, and the grievous Accuſations they made againſt the other two *Druſian* Lords their Enemies, began to conceive great hope of his intended enterpriſe; for why, he ſaw that nothing could more eaſily compaſs their overthrow, than this their Diſcord. Being thus accompanied, he came by the way of *Damaſco* to the Champaign of *Bocca*, and there incamped. This was in the Month of *July* this year 1585. The whole Army that was with *Ebrain*, reckoning alſo the Souldiers of the three *Druſian* Lords, was about the number of twenty thouſand Horſemen ſtrong. In this place there came People out of all the quarters thereabouts,

The Country which the *Druſians* inhabit.

Five chief Rulers or Governors among the *Druſians*.

Three of the *Druſian* Lords met *Ebrain* at *Jeruſalem* with rich Preſents, and a great train of Men.

abouts, with Preſents to honour the Baſſa; to whom he likewiſe yielded ſuch ſmall Favours as his covetous Nature could afford them.

From this place alſo *Ebrain* preſently ſent Letters to *Serafadin* and *Ebneman*, whereby he invited them to come unto him, to acknowledge their Obedience unto the *Sultan*; for that otherwiſe they might aſſure themſelves to be in ſhort time deprived both of their Eſtates and Lives. For all that, *Man-Ogli* would not by any means come in. But *Serafadin* being poor both in Wealth and Forces, reſolved to come, in hope by rich Preſents to purchaſe his Attonement with the great Baſſa. And therefore having packed up together divers loads of Silk, great ſtore of Money, and many Cloaths of good Value and Beauty, and alſo attended upon with divers of his Subjects, he arrived at laſt at the Pavilion of *Ebrain*, with theſe his rich Preſents; which were there readily received, and he himſelf with great Attention heard; whoſe Speech in effect tended to no other thing, but only to perſwade the Baſſa, That he had always been a devoted Vaſſal unto *Amurath*, and that he had carried a continual deſire to be imployed in any his Service; and that now being led by the ſame Affection, and aſſured of his Favour, by the friendly and courteous offers made him in his Letters, he was come to ſhew himſelf unto him to be the ſame man, and ſo proferred him whatſoever lay in his ſlender Power to perform. Whereunto *Ebrain* made no anſwer at all, but only asked him the cauſe why he lived continually in Diſcord and Brawls with the three *Emirs* (who alſo ſate at that time in the ſame Pavilion.) Whereunto *Serafadin* anſwered, That it was not long of him, who as one deſirous of Peace, had not long time taken up Arms, but in the juſt defence of himſelf, againſt the Injuries of thoſe his Enemies, who becauſe they were more mighty than he, ſought continually to oppreſs him. Hereat the three Conſpirators aroſe, and with their grim looks bewraying their inward hatred, falſly charged him to have been ever the Authority of thoſe Brawls; adding moreover, That his Inſolency was at that time grown ſo great, as that no ſtrange Veſſel durſt for fear of him arrive at the Ports of *Sidon*, *Tyrus*, or *Berito*; nor any Merchant or Merchandiſe paſs over the Plains; but that thoſe Countries, as though they were a prey and ſpoil to the Theeves of *Arabia*, were generally ſhunned of all Travellors both by Sea and Land, to the great hinderance of the *Sultans* Cuſtoms. *Serafadin* would hereunto have gladly replyed, but prevented by *Ebrain*, and ſurcharged with many injurious Words, was committed to the Cuſtody of the two hundred *Janizaries* of *Conſtantinople*. And ſo being by them brought into a rotten Tent that was appointed for him, was every Night from thence forward put in the Stocks faſt chained, and continually guarded with a truſty Guard of the ſame *Janizaries*. In the mean time came the anſwer of *Man-Ogli*, who wrote back unto the great Baſſa *Ebrain*, as followeth;

Serafadin cometh with Preſents to *Ebrain*.

A Letter of *Man-Oglies*, to *Ebrain Baſſa*.

T*O the Lord of Lords, Sovereign above the Great Ones, the mighty, the noble Captain Couſin to the grand Lord, and worthieſt among the elect of the Prophet* Mahomet, *the noble and famous Lord* Ebraim Baſſa, *God give good ſucceſs to his haughty Enterpriſes, and Proſperity in all his Honour. I wiſh (even as thou doſt lovingly invite and exhort me) that I might come before thee, and follow thee, and ſerve thee always in any occaſion that it may happen thee to ſtand in need of my help. For I know that thou wouldeſt reſt aſſured of the Reverence that I bear towards thy Lord, and of the moſt fervent deſire wherein I live to ſerve him, and to imploy both my Life and my Subſtance in his Service: whereof I have alſo given ſome Teſtimony, though but ſmall, in the managing of his Cuſtoms that I have received; wherein I have always ſo carried my ſelf, as that I am not his Debtor of one aſpre; a thing I wis that* Ebne Manſur *(who is now with thee) hath not done. For although by his coming to meet thee even as far as* Jeruſalem, *he would make a ſhew of his Fidelity, yet doth he uſurp more than two hundred thouſand Duckats of the Kings, which he doth moſt unjuſtly detain from him of his Cuſtoms. But my hard Fortune will not grant me the Favour that I may come unto thee; for there are at this time preſent with thee three of mine Enemies, who (I know well) being not contented to have always diſquieted and troubled my eſtate, do now ſeek to bring me into ſo great hatred with thy heart, that if thou haddeſt me in thy hands, thou wouldeſt without any Conſideration bereave me of my Life. And I am aſſured, that this ſending for me importeth no other thing, but only a deſire thou haſt to impriſon me, and ſo to kill me; for I know how much thou art given to great Enterpriſes. Beſides this, my coming is alſo hindered by mine antient Oath that I took; when being as yet but a Child, I ſaw mine own Father ſo villainouſly betrayed by the murthering ſword of* Muſtapha, *being at that time the Baſſa of* Damaſco; *who under the colour of unfeigned Friendſhip, got him into his hand, and traiterouſly ſtruck off his Head. For in truth I carry the Image of my Fathers reverend Head, all pale, and yet as it were breathing, imprinted in my Mind, which oftentimes preſenteth it ſelf unto me, as well ſleeping in the Darkneſs of the Night, as alſo waking in the Light of the Day; and talking with me, calleth to my remembrance the Infidelity of the murthering Tyrant, and exhorteth me to keep my ſelf aloof from the hands of the mighty. And therefore I neither can nor may obey thy Requeſts, and in that reſpect it grieveth me, that I ſhall ſeem diſobedient unto thee, being in any other Action, and in all my Cogitations wholly addicted to do any Service not only to thee, who art moſt worthy to be reverenced of far greater Perſons than I am, but alſo to every the leaſt Vaſſals of* Amurath. *Thou wilt pardon me I hope, and thou ſhalt well perceive, that if there be any thing near me that may be acceptable unto thee, all that I have whatſoever, though in reſpect of thy ſelf it may ſeem vile and baſe, yet is it thine, and is now reſerved wholly for thee, and not for me. Farewell, and command me, and hold me excuſed upon theſe juſt Cauſes which thou heareſt, for my being ſo backward in coming to honour thee, as my Duty requireth.*

The poor and the leaſt among the
Slaves of the grand Lord,

The Son of Man.

Ebrain burneth 24 Towns of *Man-Oglies*.

Ebrain perceiving by this Letter the Reſolution of *Man-Ogli*, reſolved alſo in himſelf to go upon him with all his Army, and either by force or ſleight to get him into his Hands; or at leaſt to draw from him ſo many Harquebuzes, and as great Gifts and Tributes as poſſibly he might; and therefore riſing with his Camp, and turning himſelf toward the Country of *Man-Ogli*, he burned and deſtroyed four and twenty of his Towns, and ſo mounting up certain Rocks of *Libanus*, upon the top of a large Hill (that ſtandeth over *Andara* and other Places belonging to *Man-Ogli*) he incamped himſelf. But whilſt the Army was thus marching forward, *Veis Baſſa* of *Damaſco* with a great part of his People, and his ſon the *Sanzack* of *Jeruſalem*, with his Souldiers likewiſe, to the number of fifteen hundred Perſons, having ſeparated themſelves from the reſt of the Army in manner of a reteward; as they were buſie in raiſing their Tents, upon the ſudden were furiouſly aſſaulted by a great band of *Druſians* of the Faction of *Man-Ogli*, and diſcomfited. Which Victory the *Druſians* ſo proſecuted,

Veis Baſſa and his Son diſcomfited by the *Druſians*.

that they became Lords of the Pavilions, the Wealth and Armour of the Turks; and leading away with them their Horſes and their Carriages, put to the Sword five hundred Perſons, and ſcarce gave any leiſure of eſcape either to the Baſſa the Father, or the *Sanzack* his Son, who fled ſtraight to *Jeruſalem*, and never returned again to *Ebrain*; but *Vels* his Father ſtill followed the Army with thoſe few men which he had left, and was thought worthy of all men to be pitied.

Ebrain ſendeth for Harquebuzes to *Man-Ogli*.

Upon the Hill aforeſaid, *Ebrain* continued twenty four days together, with abundance of all things neceſſary for Victual; during which time he attended nothing elſe, but to try all Devices how he might draw Money and Preſents from *Man-Ogli*, or how he might train him into his Hands. For the compaſſing whereof, he diſpatched one *Gomeda* (*Ebne-Manſurs* Agent) to *Man-Ogli*, being in *Andrea*; to tell him, That foraſmuch as he would not give credit to the promiſe which he made him, nor to adventure himſelf into the hand of his Friend, he ſhould ſend unto him all the Harquebuzes he had; for that the *Sultans* Pleaſure was, that his People that went not to the Wars in his Service, ſhould not be furniſhed with ſo great ſtore of Weapons, to the danger of their Neighbours, and of the Subjects themſelves. With great Grief of Mind did *Man-Ogli* behold the Meſſenger, as the Man whom he well knew to be the Agent of his deadly Enemy; yet in regard of him that ſent him, he forbore to do him Injury, or to give him any Reproach; telling him, That all his People and Weapons were diſperſed abroad over his Territory, ſo that he could not tell what Harquebuzes to ſend him; with which cold Anſwer *Gomeda* returned. Which thing when *Ali Baſſa* of *Aleppo* underſtood, he offered himſelf to the General, that he would go unto him, and that to ſome better purpoſe. Many Reaſons did *Ali Baſſa* uſe to perſwade the wary *Druſian* to come and yield his Obedience to *Ebrain*, ſwearing that no harm ſhould be done unto him; and withall promiſing him great and honourable Favours. But never could he remove the reſolute and provident Mind of *Man-Ogli*, or win him to yield himſelf into the hands of a Man, whom he thought to be ſo murderous; yet at laſt with much ado, he prevailed ſo much with the *Druſian* Lord, that in ſign of the Reverence he did bear towards the General, and of his Obedience towards *Amurath*, he was content to ſend a Preſent to *Ebrain*. And thereupon gave him 320 Harquebuzes, 20 packs of *Andarine* Silks, and fifty thouſand Duckats to carry to the Baſſa for a Gift, and to reconcile him unto him. For the better effecting whereof, he ſent his own Mother to the great Baſſa, who in the behalf of her Son performed a very worthy Meſſage, excuſing him as well in reſpect of his Enemies that ſate there ſo near unto him, as alſo in regard of his Oath which he had ſolemnly ſworn, That for the Treachery of *Muſtapha* he would never commit himſelf into the hands of a Turk; and therefore beſought him to accept of the Gifts that were ſent him; and withall a Mind and Heart moſt ready to ſerve and obey the King in all Occaſions; and that he would hold him excuſed, for that his Excuſes were both juſt and reaſonable. Whereunto the Turk replyed, That although ſhe had found ſo foul a Fault in *Muſtapha*, who under the aſſurance of his Promiſe and Fidelity had betrayed her Husband; yet for all that ſhe ought not to fear any ſuch wicked or infamous Act at his hands, who ſtood upon his Honour and the Word of a Souldier; and ſo by Oath proteſting all faithful and conſtant Friendſhip towards him, in token of his ſincere meaning, he caſt a white vail about her Neck, and put another upon himſelf, and the third he gave her in her hands; willing her to report to her Son the Oaths he had made, and to carry him that Vail, and bring him with her, proteſting no otherwiſe to intreat him, but as a Friend and a Brother; the peaceable old Woman went her way accordingly; but ſhe neither could nor would go about to alter the purpoſe of her Son, but returned to *Ebrain* ſuch anſwer as did not greatly pleaſe him. After which time, he ſought more than ever he did before, to get the wary *Druſian* into his hands, or at leaſt, without regard of ſhame to draw from him more Preſents and Weapons. And therefore once again he ſent the crafty *Gomeda*, to exhort him upon Faith and Promiſe given, to come unto him; but for all the craft and lying Speeches that the treacherous Meſſenger could cunningly uſe, he could obtain nothing of the *Druſian* Lord, but good words only. Yet at laſt after much fineneſs he prevailed ſo much, as that *Man-Ogli* was contented by him to ſend another Preſent to *Ebrain*, with an expreſs Condition notwithſtanding, that he ſhould cauſe *Ebrain* to depart out of thoſe quarters, and that he ſhould not himſelf return any more to requeſt any thing farther of him. Which he very largely promiſed, only deſiring him to ſend a good number of Harquebuzes, thereby to content the Baſſa fully; ſo he gave him fifty thouſand Duckats more, and four hundred and fourſcore Harquebuzes, with a thouſand Goats, an hundred and fifty Camels, an hundred and fifty Buffes, a thouſand Oxen, and two hundred Weathers. With this rich Preſent came *Gomeda* to *Ebrain*, declaring unto him that this he had got from him, upon promiſe that he ſhould not moleſt the *Druſian* any more. For which promiſe ſo made, *Ebrain* ſharply reproved *Gomeda*, and threatned to make him know what it was to take upon him ſo dangerous a Liberty; and for the greater deſpight both to the one and to the other, *Ebrain* would needs have *Gomeda* himſelf to return again with like Meſſage to trouble the *Druſian*. Whereunto although he went in great fear of ſome Miſchief by the hands of *Man-Ogli*, yet was there no remedy but needs he muſt follow the command of him, in whoſe Power it was to take from him both his Honour and Life; and therefore on he went. But as ſoon as *Man-Ogli* ſaw *Gomeda* (thinking as truth was, that he came again about his wonted Requeſt) he was with the very ſight of him ſo far moved, as that he was even at the point to have thrown a dart at him, and ſo to have diſpatched him, had not the regard of more dangerous effects ſtaid his fury; yet ſpared he not with ignominious words and deadly Threats to diſburden his Choler. Notwithſtanding *Gomeda* could do no leſs but accompliſh the effect of his fraudulent Requeſts; and ſo wrought with him, that he drew from him four Burthens more of Harquebuzes, ten Swords, and ten gilt Daggers, certain ſilver Belts, ten packs of Silk, and ſome few pence; cauſing him withall to proteſt unto him, never to ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded to come again unto him; for if he did, he threatned to kill him, happen after what might of it. With exceeding Joy and Triumph did *Ebrain* receive this Preſent, and thinking now with himſelf that he had gotten a ſufficient booty from him, he determined to riſe with his Army, and to ſack all the reſt of *Man-Oglies* Country. Which he performed accordingly, and being conducted by *Emir Ebne-frec*, burnt *Andrew*, the place of *Man-Ogli*'s Reſidence, and in two days burned and deſtroyed nineteen other of his Towns, with unſpeakable Cruelty committing all things to Fire and Sword. After all this ſacking and raſing, *Ebrain* ſent divers Meſſengers to *Man-Ogli*, to try whether he would yet be perſwaded to come unto him; but nothing could move the reſolute *Druſian* to commit himſelf

The notable diſſimulation of *Ebrain Baſſa*.

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Emir Ebne-frec enticeth *Man-Ogli's Macademo* or Lieutenant to come to *Ebrain.*

himſelf into his hands, but rather increaſed his Conſtancy to avoid a moſt certain Death. Now the great Baſſa ſtill thirſting after Blood and Revenge, underſtanding by a Spie, that the Captain of *Andrea* (being one of the Factors of *Man-Ogli*) with three hundred and fifty Souldiers was got up to a certain Hill, into a Place of great Security, he ſent *Emir Ebne-frec* to entice him, and to tell him, That ſeeing his Lord *Man-Ogli* would not come and yield himſelf, he ſhould come unto him; which if he would do, he would aſſuredly in deſpight of *Man-Ogli*, make him a *Sanzack* of ſome of thoſe Places which he moſt deſired. The ambitious and unheedy *Macademo* ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily perſwaded, and being accompanied with his three hundred and fifty Followers, went with the ſaid *Ebne-frec*, and came at laſt to the Pavilion of *Ebrain*, having firſt cauſed his aforeſaid men to ſtay, being in a Valley two or three Miles off. But *Ebrain* would not ſo much as ſee the *Macademo*, although both in reſpect of the nimbleneſs of his Perſon, and alſo the fierceneſs of his Looks, he was worthy to be looked upon; but commanded him to keep in a ſeveral place from *Serafadin*, and in the mean time deviſed how he might with leaſt loſs of his own men, put to death thoſe three hundred and fifty the *Macademoes* Followers; which was by training them, by means of the ſaid *Ebne-frec*, into a certain Vine-yard, and ſo having brought them into a Straight, ſuddenly to ſet upon them and kill them. Which was accordingly performed; for being by the treacherous *Emir* brought into the place appointed for their ſlaughter, fearing nothing leſs, they were ſuddenly incloſed by the Turks *Sanzacks* or *Janizaries*, and ſlain every Mothers Son. This Maſſacre thus finiſhed, *Ebrain* commanded the *Macademo* to be brought before him, and without delay to be ſtripped and flaied quick; who being come, ſtoutly upbraided *Ebrain* with his Promiſe and his Oath; and amongſt other Speeches which he uttered whilſt they ſtripped him; ſaid, *Cut me off my Members, and firſt putting them into the Privities of that infamous* Ebrains *Wife, put them afterwards into the Mouth of himſelf; for ſo (I trow) he will be contented and ſatisfied with my Fleſh.* And to them that were the Executioners of his painful Death, he ſaid, *It is your great good Fortune indeed, that with ſuch Violence and needleſs Deformity, you are now able to ſpill my Blood, and to take my Life from me; whereas none of you all had been able, or once durſt, man to man, to have drawn one drop of it from me, no nor to have indured my Countenance. But go too, proceed in your wicked and unſatiable deſire of my Blood, and fulfil the cruel command of your Viſier; for in the end there will alſo light upon you the juſt reward of this ſo villanous a Fact.* With theſe and other ſuch like Speeches the miſerable wretch was ſtripped, and three great ſlaſhes made on his Back, where they began to flea him; he in the mean time not ceaſing to blaſpheme their Religion, and to curſe their King, and their falſe Prophet alſo. But the barbarous Souldiers proceeding in their cruel Action, made other like gaſhes upon his Breaſt and Stomach; and ſo drawing the Skin downward, could not bring it to his Navel before he was with the Extremity of the Pain, dead. After this, *Ebrain* cauſed the Followers of *Serafadin* (in number about a hundred and fifty) to be cruelly ſlain, and all his Country to be moſt miſerably waſted, he himſelf ſtill remaining in Chains.

The *Macademo* by the Commandment of *Ebrain* ſlain quick.

Whilſt the Fire and Sword thus raged in the *Druſian* Country, *Ebrain* by ſpeedy Poſts ſent to *Sidon*, where his Gallies lay at rode, commanded, That, diſbarking four thouſand Souldiers, they ſhould ſack all thoſe Countries along the Sea-coaſt, even as far as *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, ſparing neither Age nor Sex, nor any Perſon of Condition whatſoever. Which his cruel command was preſently put in Execution; and three thouſand Souls brought away Captives, great Booties made of much rich Merchandiſe, many Towns burnt, ſundry Caſtles raſed and laid even with the Ground; and to be ſhort, all the whole Country of *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* laied utterly waſte and deſolate.

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Ebrain was now in readineſs to depart for *Conſtantinople*, where he was by *Amurath* expected; as well for his Gold, as the accompliſhment of the Marriage. But bethinking himſelf, that whatſoever hitherto he had done, would be accounted either little or nothing, unleſs he provided in ſome ſort for the quieting of thoſe People under the Turkiſh Obedience, he determined to nominate one of the three *Druſian Emirs* that came to him to *Jeruſalem*, to be Baſſa of all thoſe Regions. And becauſe *Emir Aly Ebne-Carfus* was the richeſt and moſt obedient of them all, he thought good to commit that charge unto him, and honoured him with that Dignity; yet not without a Bribe, but for the price of an hundred thouſand Duckats. Wherefore he apparelled him in Cloth of Gold, gave him a Horſemans Maſe, and a Sword all gilt, and delivered unto him the Kings Commiſſion, cauſing him withall, to ſwear Faith and Obedience to *Amurata*. And ſo having (at leaſt to ſhew) ſet in order the Affairs of thoſe Mountains, which an hundred of the Turks great Captains had in former time vainly attempted, he returned to *Damaſco*, where he ſtaied 12 days, by ſhameful ſhifts extorting Money from divers Perſons. At laſt having no more to do in thoſe parts, he turned himſelf towards *Gazir* and *Baruto*, Places under the Government of *Ebne-Manſur*, where he arrived with all his Army, and found the Gallies which he had left in the Port of *Sidon*, now in the Haven of *Baruto*, as he had before commanded. Now upon a certain Hill above *Baruto* near unto the Sea, *Ebrain* had pitched his own Tent only, and none other; and having ſent all the reſt of his beſt and goodly things which he meant to carry with him to *Conſtantinople* aboard the Gallies, ſhrowded himſelf only under that narrow and baſe Tent. Thither he called *Ebne-Manſur*; and in pleaſant manner told him, That now it was time for him to make payment of the Debt of an hundred and threeſcore thouſand Duckats which he owed the King's Lord for the Cuſtom of *Tripoli* and *Baruto*; for that he could not longer ſtay in thoſe quarters, but was to return to *Conſtantinople*, which he knew how to do, unleſs he carried with him the diſcharge of that Debt. Whereunto *Ebne-Manſur* made Anſwer, That it would not be long before his *Macadamoes* would come with his Monies, and that then he would without further delay make Payment. Which thing *Ebrain* well knew to be an excuſe, and therefore determined with himſelf to thruſt him into the Gallies; and becauſe he could not carry the Money unto the King, yet at the leaſt to bring him his Debtor. But foraſmuch as he doubted to put this his Determination openly in Execution, for fear of ſome Inſurrection amongſt the People, as well for that he was within the Territories of the ſaid *Ebne-Manſur*, as for that he ſaw him greatly beloved and favoured of the other two *Druſian* Lords, *Ebne-frec* and *Ebne-carfus*, he therefore thought it better Policy by concealing this his purpoſe, to ſhew him in his outward Actions all good Countenance, and by ſecret and ſubtil means to take him Priſoner. Whereupon he deceitfully told him, That foraſmuch as he was to ſtay there for his Buſineſs that Night, and was reſolved the next day to make a road into the Country of *Man-Ogli*, he therefore prayed him to do him the Favour to be his Guide, and for that purpoſe, when he ſhould ſend for him

Ebrain notably diſſembleth with *Ebne-Manſur.*

at

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Ebne-Manſur in Chains ſent to the Gallies.

The rich Preſents given to *Amurath* by *Ebrain.*

Jo. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum. pag. 95.

at Midnight, that he would come unto him very ſecretly, becauſe he was minded to depart without any ſtir, only with five hundred men in his Company. The *Druſian* Lord verily believed the matter that ſo it was, and withall was in good hope by that means to find ſome way to eſcape his hands. Whereupon being called up at Midnight, he readily went to the Tent of *Ebrain*, who preſently charging him (whom all men thought he had eſpeciall affected) with many abominable and foul terms, cauſed a Chain to be caſt about his Neck, and his Armes; and ſo faſt bound to be carried into the Gallies. And yet not ſo contented, took the ſpoil of all his Country, whereby there was levied ſuch a Prey as was marvellous to behold; for beſides Money (whereof there was a very huge ſum) the ſtore of Cloths of Silk and Gold, was ſuch, and ſo great, as might better beſeem ſome great Prince, than ſuch a mountain ruſtical Lord as he was. When the Baſſa had conveyed all this into his Gallies, he ſailed to *Tripoli*, where he found *Serafadin* in the Cuſtody of *Veis Baſſa* and *Aly Baſſa* ; and having ſtayed there ſome few days, wherein he committed ſundry villainous and abominable Robberies, he cauſed the ſaid *Serafadin* to be put into the Gallies, with all his Silks and other Wealth, and ſo departed for *Conſtantinople*; where at ſuch time as he entered into the Channel of the City, accompanied with four and twenty Gallies, he was encountered and received by a wonderful number of his Friends and Favourites, and ſaluted with an honourable Peal of Artillery out of the *Seraglio. John Thomas Minadoi* the beſt Reporter of this Hiſtory, as alſo of the late Wars betwixt the *Turks* and the *Perſians*, being then at *Conſtantinople*, and having (as he reported of himſelf) good means to ſee the bountiful and beautiful Preſents which the ſpoiling and ravenous Baſſa gave the Turkiſh King ; reporteth the ſum thereof to have been a million of Gold, beſides the yearly Revenue of *Caire*, amounting to ſix hundred thouſand Duckats, with threeſcore Horſes moſt richly garniſhed, of ſingular beauty, but eſpecially of the *Arabian* Race, a live Elephant, and a live Giraffle (which is a beaſt like a Camel and a Panther) two great Crocodiles dead, a Chair of maſſie Gold richly ſet with precious Stones ; a Casket alſo beſet with precious Stones and Gold, many Packs of moſt fine Cloaths, Wollen, and Silks, certain other Cloaths with Fringe of Gold and Silver, and the *Barbarian* cut-work, moſt fine Linnen of *Alexandria*, and all the Harquebuzes taken from the *Druſians* ; beſides ſundry rich Preſents given by the proud Baſſa to the great Ladies of the Court, reported by *Leunclavius* to have been worth two hundred thouſand *Sultanines*.

But now foraſmuch as we have before made mention of the *Sanzack* of *Jeruſalem*, and his flight, it ſhall not be altogether impertinent to our Hiſtory (though ſomewhat out of time) in few words to declare what paſſed between him and the *Arabians* of *Paleſtine*, a little before the coming of *Ebrain* the great Baſſa into thoſe quarters ; by which little, the deſirous Reader may eaſily perceive the woful and troubleſome ſtate of that ſome time moſt bleſſed and fruitful, but now moſt miſerable and barren Land of Jury, and of thoſe Places in Holy Writ ſo much renowned.

The Land of *Jurie* much troubled with the *Arabian* Theeves and Robbers.

In the Confines of *Sodom*, and in the Places that lie not only between the Lake *Aſphaltites* and *Damaſco*, but alſo in the Plains and in the Vallies of *Jericho* and of *Samaria*, and in other Places about *Bethlehem*, *Emaus*, *Bethanie*, *Bethſage*, *Capharnaum*, *Nazareth*, *Levir*, *Bethſaida*, *Naplos*, and other Towns of Name thereabouts, there do haunt and live certain *Arabian* Captains ; who ſpreading themſelves even as far as *Rama* and *Joppa*, over-run at their Pleaſure all the Countries there round about, and continually commit grievous outrages as well againſt the ſaid Cities, as alſo upon the Goods and Wealth, not only of the Inhabitants there, but alſo of the Strangers ; yea and their Inſolency oftentimes groweth ſo great, that they dare to aſſault the fenced Cities, beſide the ſpoiling of Travellers, that by reaſon of their buſineſs have occaſion to paſs from one City to another. They are good Horſe-men, but uſe no Armour ; their Horſes are very ſwift to run, and ſpare of Diet, and are themſelves bold and adventurous Theeves. Theſe *Arabians* having had Intelligence, that the aforeſaid ambitious Youth, appointed *Sanzack* of *Jeruſalem*, was in mind to raiſe all the *Sanzacks* thereabout ; and joyning himſelf with them, and his Father the Baſſa of *Damaſco*, to reſtrain their inſolent Liberty, and to work their Deſtruction, reſolved with themſelves not to ſtay, untill he and his Confederates were ready ; but rather by ſundry Invaſions by him, even unto the Gates of *Jeruſalem*, to provoke him to come out into the Field. And the rather to induce him ſo to do, they compacted with a certain *Subbaſſi* of *Bethlehem*, their Friend, to encourage and animate the *Sanzack* thereunto, by promiſing unto him good Succeſs and proſperous Events. The ambitious young man, ſeduced with the glorious Perſwaſions of the falſe *Subbaſſi*, of whom he made good reckoning, and provoked by their Inſolencies, reſolved (as they had wiſhed) to iſſue out of the City into the open Field ; and thereupon having armed an hundred of his *Vaſſals*, and raiſed all the Horſemen that were under his Government, to the number of ſix hundred, he made a road towards *Jericho*, ſending before defiance unto them ; againſt whom the *Arabians* came accordingly, and with their Arrows and *Indian* Canes overwhelming his Harquebuzes, as if it had been a raging Flood, wrought him great wo ; when in the very nick, the Battel yet being at the hotteſt, the traiterous *Subbaſſi* fled towards *Bethlehem*, and left the Souldiers of *Jeruſalem* in the hands of the *Arabians*, who put moſt part of them to the edge of the Sword, and ſcarcely gave Liberty to the *Sanzack* to ſave himſelf by flight. The *Sanzack* certainly informed of this Fraud of the diſſembling *Subbaſſi*, to be revenged upon him, began alſo in like manner to diſſemble with him, feigning that he would once more try his Forces againſt the ſame *Arabians* ; and ſo uſed the matter, that the *Subbaſſi* arming himſelf, came unto him, without any Suſpition of the Miſchief intended againſt him. But as ſoon as he was come, the *Sanzack* took him alive, and preſently cauſed him in moſt cruel manner to be ſlain quick.

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The *Subbaſſi* of *Bethlehem* ſlain quick.

Thus having paſſed over the Troubles that ſtayed the People of *Egypt* and *Damaſco*, and the Countries thereabouts, from reſorting to *Oſman* the Turks great General at *Erzirum* ; let us again return thither where we left him, taking a view of the Preparations againſt the *Perſian* ; and proſecute thoſe Affairs, which of all others moſt exerciſed the Forces of the two mightieſt *Mahometan* Monarchs ; and with the Expectation thereof, filled the World from the *Eaſt* to the *Weſt*.

The ſtraight Commandment from *Amurath*, together with the Fame and Reputation of *Oſman* the General, had drawn together ſuch a world of People of all ſorts to *Erzirum*, as that it ſeemed not the Power of one King alone, but rather the united Forces of many Kings. Wherefore *Oſman* perceiving that he had gathered together too great a number of People, and too huge an Army, and that it might ſo fall out that he might want Victual for ſo great a Multitude (neither ſo greatly fearing his Enemies Forces, as that he needed to lead ſo populous an Army againſt them) determined

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to diſcharge a great number of ſuch as he thought moſt weak, and leaſt able to endure travel; ſo that out of this great Multitude he drew out about forty thouſand Perſons, who liberally, according to every mans Ability, redeeming the ordinary Perils of the Wars, returned home to their own dwellings. And ſo in *Oſmans* Army remained the number of an hundred and fourſcore thouſand Perſons, or thereabouts. With this Multitude the General departed from *Erzirum* (about the eleventh of *Auguſt* this year 1585) towards *Tauris*, continuing for all that, the Speech for *Naſſivan*. But he had ſcarce marched two days, when divers Souldiers of *Græcia* and *Conſtantinople* preſented themſelves before him, upbraiding him with great Improvidence, and telling him, that they began already to feel the want of Victual, by wanting the ſame day their ordinary allowance of Corn for their Horſes; ſo that if in the beginning, and as it were in the entrance of ſo long a Journey, they felt ſuch want, they could not tell with what Judgment or Diſcretion he meant to lead ſo great a Company ſo far as *Naſſivan*; nor by what cunning conceit he had preſumed to ſuſtain ſo great an Army in the Service of their Lord. *Oſman* quietly heard their Complaints, and preſently provided for them, by cauſing ſuch ſtore of Barley to be diſtributed among them, as they deſired; and ſeverely puniſhed the Officers that had the charge for the allowance of Corn, who moſt covetouſly began to make Merchandiſe of the common Proviſion, by converting it to their own private Uſes. And having thus quieted their troubled Minds, he proceeded on his Journey, and by the way of *Haſſan Chalaſſi* and of *Chars*, arrived upon the *Calderan* Plains, famous for the memorable Battels there fought between *Selymus* and *Hyſmael*. In theſe Plains he took a general review of his Army, wherein there wanted a number, that by reaſon of Sickneſs being not able to continue the Journey, were inforced to ſtay behind, ſome in one Place, ſome in another. Removing thence, he took the way, not to *Naſſivan*, as he had ſtill hitherto given it out he would, but now directly to *Tauris*. Which ſo ſudden an alteration of the Journey, as ſoon as the Souldiers of *Græce* and *Conſtantinople* heard, they fell into a great Rage, and coming again before the General, revelled with him in this ſort to his Face.

The number of *Oſmans* Army.

AND what are we, thou Villain, thou Turk, thou Dolt, whom thou handleſt in this ſort? We are neither Oxen nor Sheep of the Mountains, for the leading of whom thou thinkeſt thou art come out; neither can we brook theſe thy Lies and Deceits. If thou haſt publickly profeſſed to lead us to Naſſivan, *and by that ſpeech haſt trained us from the fartheſt bounds of* Græcia, *to what end now, after thou haſt wearied us ſo much, doſt thou deceive us with ſuch Vanities, and prolong our Journey, and ſet before us ſuch ſtrange and important dangers as our Minds never once thought on? But if this was thy firſt purpoſe and intent, and that now, not fooliſhly or by chance, but upon Premeditation and good Advice thou changeſt thine Opinion, why diddeſt thou diſmiſs ſo many Souldiers, as might have made the Army more terrible and ſtronger for the enterpriſe of* Tauris? *Doſt thou think that by ſuffering others to redeem their Liberties, and ſo to increaſe thy Riches, thou ſhalt ſet our Lives to ſale, and to make us ſlaves to the* Perſians?

The moſt inſolent Speech of the Souldiers of *Conſtantinople* and *Græce*, unto *Oſman* their General.

At theſe arrogant Speeches, the General was exceedingly troubled; ſeeing his good meaning, and the earneſt deſire he had to advance the Majeſty and Glory of his King, taken in ſo evil part, and thoſe his beſt Souldiers ſo highly offended. And although he could indeed have readily uſed the ſharpeſt and hardeſt Proviſions and Remedies for it, that in ſuch Occaſions are ordinarily applyed; yet upon good Advice he forbare ſo to do, and inſtead of Rigour and Puniſhment, reſolved to work by more eaſie means. Whereupon, cauſing many of the Captains and chief men among thoſe ſeditious Souldiers to come before him, he firſt perſwaded them, *That the former ſpeech for* Naſſivan *was not raiſed at all by him, nor that he was minded at that time to go for* Tauris; *but all that was done, he had done to fulfill the Commandment of the* Sultan, *who had charged him ſo to do, to the end to leſſen the* Perſian *Preparations; which they would undoubtedly have made far greater, if the ſpeech had been given out at the firſt for* Tauris. *Which his princely Care of their Safety, they for their parts ought willingly to further, for that in ſo doing they ſhould ſtill preſerve that great Opinion which both the King and the World had conceived of their Valour and Fidelity. Neither needed they to fear that the Souldiers which were diſmiſſed might weaken the Army, for that they themſelves were not only ſufficient to pierce into* Tauris, *and to open the way upon the Enemies, but to daunt them even with their Looks; and that thoſe which were diſcharged, had but purged the hoaſt of all Cowardiſe, and left nothing in it but Virtue and Courage.* By this mild anſwer of the General, the tumultuous Souldiers were ſufficiently pacified, but much better apaied and contented they were, as ſoon as he put his hand to the common Purſe, and beſtowed among them all a ſmall quantity of Monies; for by this his kind uſage, all their Stomacks were overcome, and they themſelves became ſo willing and ſo courageous, that now they durſt venture not to *Tauris* only, but to *Casbin*, yea even to the fartheſt parts of all the *Perſian* Kingdom.

Oſman wiſely appeaſeth his mutinous Souldiers.

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These important outrages thus appeaſed, the General turned himſelf with all his Army towards *Coy*, a City ſcituate beyond *Van*, in the midſt between *Tauris* and the *Martian Mere*, where he refreſhed his Army with all things he could deſire. From *Coy* he paſſed to *Marant*, a City ſubject to the *Perſians*; plentiful alſo of all things needful for Man or Beaſt. From thence he leaned down towards *Soffian*; a fruitful Place, ſubject alſo to the *Perſians*; from whence he began to diſcover *Tauris*. Great was the Joy of the whole Camp, and now the mutinous Souldiers of *Græce* and *Conſtantinople* could highly commend the Advice of the General, or rather of *Amurath* himſelf, in giving out the Rumour of *Naſſivan* for *Tauris*, as the only means whereby they were in quiet come ſo far, the *Perſians* being wholly occupied (as they ſuppoſed) about *Naſſivan*; inſomuch that every man being waxen courageous, and repleniſhed with Joy, without any fear at all began proudly to plot unto themſelves nothing but Sackings, Pillings, taking of Priſoners, Raviſhments, Robberies, and all thoſe inſolent and outrageous Actions that uſe raſhly to proceed from the greedy Affections of thoſe barbarous Victors; eſpecially they of the *Vauward*, who being deſirous of Booty, and to diſcover the Enemies Country, deſcended down towards certain pleaſant Gardens full of all ſorts of Trees, Springs, and Fruits; where having ſatisfied their Appetites, they withdrew themſelves to a certain little River near to a Bridge called *The Bridge of Salt-water*, and there ſtaied at pleaſure attending the coming of the Army. But even whilſt they were thus injoying the Water, the Fruits, the Shade, the green-Graſs, and other Delights of the Place, the *Perſian* Prince *Emir Hamze*, King *Mahamets* eldeſt Son, who with ten thouſand good Souldiers had cloſely couched himſelf, watching ſtill when ſome of the Enemies Bands ſhould come down to thoſe reſting Places, ſuddenly ſet upon them with ſuch Speed, Courage and Fury, that as if it had been a lightning, and

The *Turks* rejoyce upon the diſcovery of *Tauris*.

The *Perſian* Prince over-runneth the *Vauward* of the *Turks* Army.

in a manner without any reſiſtance he over-ran all thoſe Turks, and diſperſed them, putting to the Sword about ſeven thouſand of them. And ſo leading away with him many Priſoners, Horſes, Slaves, with ſundry Enſigns and Turkiſh Drums, he withdrew himſelf back towards his blind Father, who lay then encamped about twelve miles from *Tauris*, with fifty thouſand Souldiers or thereabouts; *Aliculi Chan* Governour of *Tauris* being left in the City with 4000 Souldiers only. A greater Army than this, not exceeding the number of threeſcore and four thouſand Men, was not the *Perſian* K. able to levie; the principal occaſion whereof was the death of *Emir Chan*, for which the *Turcoman* Nation being waxen rebellious and diſobedient, would not by any means be brought to defend that City, whereof *Aliculi Chan* their Capital Enemy was now Governour; and from *Cheilan* and *Heri* there came not ſo much as one Souldier to relieve the Neceſſities of *Perſia*. So that with theſe ſmall Forces in compariſon of the Enemies, the *Perſian* King had no ſtomach to meet the Turkiſh Army in plain Battel, but ſought how he might with as little loſs to himſelf as poſſibly he could, make trial of his Forces, and by all politick means to weaken and annoy his ſtrong Enemy.

Oſman ſendeth two Baſſaes with 14000 Souldiers to overtake the *Perſian* Prince.

Oſman underſtanding of this diſcomfiture of his *Vauward*, forthwith diſpatched *Sinan Baſſa* the Son of *Cicala*, and *Mahamet* the *Baſſa* of *Caraemit*, with fourteen thouſand Souldiers to purſue the victorious Prince: who in their purſuit uſed ſuch Expedition, that at length they overtook him in the way towards his Fathers Camp. But as ſoon as the Prince ſaw the *Turks* ſo near him, that without a dangerous and ſhameful flight he could not avoid the Battel, couragiouſly he turned his Face, and joyned with them a moſt bloody conflict; which being begun two hours before Night, was moſt fiercely maintained until that the Darkneſs of the Night bereaving them of the uſe of their Weapons, enforced both the one ſide and the other to retire. Which was done with the notable loſs of the *Turks*, who in this ſecond conflict (as it was commonly reported) loſt ſix thouſand men; and had (as it was thought) ſuffered a general ſlaughter, had not the Night interrupted ſo uncouth an Action, well worthy of a thouſand Day-lights. So that hitherto the *Turks* ſuſtained the loſs of more than ten thouſand Souldiers, and yet had ſcarce diſcovered or ſeen the City which they ſo greedily longed after.

The next Morning the *Turks* Camp removed and came within two Miles of *Tauris*, where they incamped. But whilſt they were ſetting up their Tents, *Aliculi Chan* iſſuing out of the City with all his Garriſon and ſuch of the Citizens as were fit to bear Arms, ſet upon the Face of the *Vauward*, being now renewed, and with many cunning turnings and windings ſo charged them, that with great loſs he forced them to retire even unto the main Battel; where after he had eſpied the great Artillery, he without hurt withdrew himſelf again to the City. The Confuſion of the *Turks* in this Skirmiſh was notable, for in a very ſmall time the *Vauward* was diſordered, and almoſt three thouſand ſlain. But *Aliculi* not ſo contented, in the ſhutting in of the Evening ſallied out of the City the ſecond time, and ſwiftly running along that ſide of the Army that lay towards *Tauris*, ſlew the Baſſa of *Maras*, and did great harm in that quarter; which done, without any ſtaying he fled to the Kings Camp, and forſook the Defence of that ſorrowful City which he could not hold. Nevertheleſs the *Tauriſians*, as many of them as remained in the City, gathered themſelves together to the Gates of the City, well armed, prepared to make a bloody entrance for the *Turks* whenſoever they ſhould come. All the Night was ſpent in watching without reſt on either ſide, and yet nothing attempted; but upon the break of the day, a great multitude of the ſervile ſort of the *Turks*, and of the common raſcal rout, without any order from their Captains, armed with Corſelets, Spears, and Swords, went to the City with Reſolution to have ſacked it, and ſo to have enriched themſelves with the Spoil and Pillage of that wealthy City. But when they came to the guarded Gates of the City, they found there contrary to their Expectation, a terrible Reſcue, and were inforced there to joyn an hard and mortal Battel; ſo that the Walls, the Entrance, yea and all the Ground thereabouts was bathed with Blood, and as it were, covered with Weapons and dead Carkaſſes. And yet for all that, though the *Perſians* ſtood faſt and firm at the arrival of this ſervile rout, at laſt they were conſtrained to yield the entrance, being overcome by the Multitude of them that out of the Camp flowed in upon them like a Flood; and retiring into the City, now aſtoniſhed and amazed on every ſide, they fortified themſelves in their Houſes under the Ground, and in the corners and winding turnings of the Streets; from whence with their Arrows and ſome few Harquebuzes, they did the *Turks* that entred, great harm. Yet were they not able to kill and deſtroy ſo many of their Enemies, but that at the laſt they were too mighty for them, and wrought many grievous Miſchiefs in that woful City. And ſo a great number of this raſcal People that remained alive, returned to the *Turkiſh* Camp, carrying away with them too manifeſt Tokens of the poor oppreſſed City; wherein the miſerable Woman and impotent Souls ſtood embracing and ſtraining the Doors and Poſts of their Houſes, and kiſſing their native Soil, with Prayers, Mournings, and Complaints, bewailing their preſent Miſeries, and yet fearing worſe to come. *Oſman* the General now made acquainted with theſe Calamities, cauſed Proclamation to be publiſhed, That no man ſhould be ſo hardy as to moleſt the *Tauriſians*, and in the mean time went himſelf about the City, viewing throughly the Scituation of it, and ſurveying the Place wherein he might both incamp himſelf ſafely, and with better Foundation and greater Security erect a Caſtle or Fort, for the more aſſurance of that conquered Country.

A great ſlaughter in the Gates of *Tauris*.

The Deſcription of *Tauris*.

The City of *Tauris* ſeated at the foot of the Hill *Orantes*, about eight days Journey from the *Caſpian* Sea, and is ſubject to Winds, Cold, and Snow; yet of a very wholeſome Air, abounding with all things neceſſary for mans Life; and wonderful rich, with perpetual concourſe of Merchandiſe brought thither out of the *Eaſt*, to be conveyed unto the *Weſt*; and alſo of others brought out of theſe *Weſtern* Parts, to be diſperſed into the *Eaſt*: It is very populous, ſo that it feedeth almoſt two hundred thouſand Perſons; but yet open to the Fury of every Army, without Walls, and unfortified. The Buildings (after the manner of thoſe of the *Eaſt*) are of burnt Clay, rather low than high. For all things it carrieth the Name, and was the Place of the *Perſian* Kings Reſiſtance, until ſuch time as that the late King *Tamas* removed his ſeat from thence further into his Kingdom to *Casbin*; nevertheleſs both before and ſince, although it had been ſundry times moleſted by the Inrodes and Fury of the Turkiſh Emperours, yet was it ſtill in great Eſtimation and Renown.

Of this City *Oſman Baſſa* having taken diligent view, cauſed his Tents to be pitched on the *South* ſide thereof, where was a ſpacious Garden all flouriſhing and beautiful, repleniſhed with ſundry kind of Trees and ſweet ſmelling Plants, and a thouſand Fountains and Brooks derived from a pretty River,

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which with his pleaſant Stream divided the Garden from the City of *Tauris*; and was of ſo great Beauty, that for the delicacy thereof it was by the Country Inhabitants called *Sechis Genet* (that is to ſay) the eight Paradiſes; and was in times paſt the ſtanding Houſe of their Kings, while they kept their Reſidence in this City; and after they had withdrawn their Seat from thence to *Casbin*, became the Habitation and Place of aboad for the Governours of *Tauris*. Of theſe Gardens and Places *Oſman* made choice to build his Caſtle in; whereof he gave the model himſelf, and commanded that all the whole Circuit of thoſe pleaſant Greens ſhould be invironed with Walls, and Trenches digged round about them to convey the Water from the aforeſaid River. Which was accordingly begun with the greateſt care that poſſibly might be; the Foundation of the imbattelled Walls laid, the Ditches digged fourteen foot broad, and a mans height in depth; and in the ſpace of ſix and thirty days the whole work finiſhed and brought to an end; great ſtore of Artillery mounted upon the Walls, and divers Baths, Lodgings, and ſuch other Houſes neceſſary for the *Turkiſh* uſes, built within the Caſtle. The firſt day of this building *Oſman* fell ſick of a Feaver, with a bloody Flux; which haply was the cauſe both of the ſlowneſs of the Building, and of many other loſſes that afterwards hapned, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

The Caſtle of *Tauris* built in 36 days.

Eight *Janizaries* with certain *Spaoglans* found ſtrangled in a Bath at *Tauris*.

Five days after the building of the Caſtle was begun, News was brought into the *Turkiſh* Camp, That eight *Janizaries* and divers *Spaoglans* were ſeen ſtrangled in a Bath within the City of *Tauris*. Whereupon the *Zaini*, *Spahini*, and *Janizaries* came preſently unto the General, declaring unto him, That although he had with too much Clemency given order, That no man ſhould hurt or moleſt the *Tauriſians*, and that according to his Pleaſure, every man had uſed Modeſty towards them, and Obedience to him; yet the *Tauriſians* themſelves had moſt audaciouſly ſtrangled in one of their Baths eight *Janizaries*, and certain *Spaoglans*, which Injury and Inſolency (they ſaid) in their Judgment was not to be ſuffered. This outrage ſo moved the General, that without any further delay he commanded the City to be ſacked, leaving it wholly to the Pleaſure of his Souldiers; who forthwith ſo uſed the matter, not as if they would have revenged an Injury, but rather at once have brought an utter Deſtruction upon the whole City. Every place was filled with Slaughter, Raviſhment, Rapine, and Murther; Virgins were defloured, Men-children defiled with horrible and unſpeakable Sins; Yonglings ſnatched out of their Parents Arms, Houſes layed even with the Ground and burnt, Riches and Money carried away, and in brief, all things ruinated and waſted. Neither were theſe Miſchiefs committed once only, but the ſecond followed worſe than the firſt, and the third upon that worſe than the ſecond; ſo that it was a miſery almoſt inexplicable, to behold that City ſo populous, ſo rich, ſometimes the Court and Palace of the *Perſian* Kings, and honour of that Empire, now ſubject to the Fury of the *Turks*, plunged in Calamity and utter Deſtruction.

The Miſery of the *Tauriſians*.

The woful Advertiſement hereof ſore troubled the *Perſian* King, but the young Prince his Son much more; who, moved with the Paſſions of moſt inward Grief, Diſdain, and Deſpair, and deſiring nothing more than Revenge, reſolved to attempt any thing whereby to requite ſo great a Wrong. In which Reſolution having confirmed his Army, he commanded 500 of his Horſemen to preſent themſelves even to the very ſight of the Enemies Tents, and as it were to dare them to Battel. Which thing they performed accordingly, and made a gallant ſhew of themſelves. At the diſcovery whereof, the *Turks* imagining that the *Perſians* were come in great number to aſſail the Army, order was given by the ſick General, That *Cicala Baſſa* and *Mahamet* the Baſſa of *Caraemit*, with the People of *Gracia*, and all their own Forces, ſhould go to encounter the Enemy; who preſently, with their Enſigns diſplaid, under which there ſtood about four and thirty thouſand ſtrong, beſides a number of ſervile People, yet men exerciſed in Labours and Perils, in all, well near forty thouſand, ſet forward. Now the five hundred *Perſians*, with a marvellous cunning kind of skirmiſhing, dallied with the *Turkiſh* Souldiers, and drew them forward for the ſpace of eight Miles and more; and being brought ſo far on, and now forewearied with the skirmiſh, were luſtily aſſailed by the *Perſian* Prince, who with part of his Army (to the number of about twenty thouſand Perſons) courageouſly ſet upon the two Baſſaes, and joyned with them the deadlieſt and cruelleſt Battel that ever was written of. Wherein the *Perſians*, having given a moſt perillous Onſet, and done great harm, it was thought that they would have contented themſelves with ſo lucky an Encounter, and ſo retired; which the *Turks* minding to prevent, and not to return without a notable Victory, hardly preſſed upon them, hoping in the end to put them to flight, and ſo to give them a bloody and deadly overthrow. But the *Perſians*, having quietly and with great aſſurance for a reaſonable ſpace endured their charge, at laſt as if they had been freſh men, made head upon them afreſh, and began a moſt terrible Battel anew, wherein the Baſſa of *Caraemit* (above named) was put to flight, and being wholly diſmaied and diſcomfited, fled back again to the Camp, carrying with him the moſt manifeſt tokens of the unhappy iſſue of the Battel. *Cicala*, the other Baſſa, notwithſtanding valiantly and with great cunning ſtill ſuſtained the Fury of the *Perſians*, labouring by all means to encourage his Souldiers, and to have reſtored the Battel; but when he had done what he could, overcome at laſt by greater Valour, he was inforced to betake himſelf to flight alſo; and ſo altogether diſcomfited, came to the Camp without any Enſign, having left behind him eight thouſand of his Souldiers dead upon the Ground.

Eight thouſand *Turks* ſlain.

The *Perſian* Prince, encouraged with this ſo fortunate a Victory, by ſpeedy Heraulds ſent to the ſick Viſier (whom he thought notwithſtanding to have been in Health) and gave him to underſtand, that if he were willing to fight, he was ready for him, and in what ſort ſoever it pleaſed him to accept of Battel, to make him good account of his Valour; and to cauſe him to know, not only that *Amurath* his Maſter had moſt unjuſtly raiſed this War, but alſo that it had been good for himſelf not to have taken the ſame in hand. Of this offer *Oſman* accepted; but being not able himſelf to go and anſwer the Prince in Perſon hand to hand, by reaſon of his Sickneſs, which every hour mortally increaſed, he ſent out all his Captains with his Army to dare him Battel.

The Prince lay ten miles or thereabouts diſtant from the Camp of *Oſman*, towards whom the *Turks* ſet forward in this manner; The main Battel was guided by the Baſſa of *Caraemit* and *Sinan Cicala*, with all the Souldiers of *Aſſiria* and *Babylon*; the left Wing was led by the Baſſa of *Natolia*, with the Band of *Gracia*; and the right wing was conducted by *Amurath Baſſa* of *Caramania*, with the People of *Soria*; to the number of threeſcore thouſand, beſide ſuch as were left behind at *Tauris*, with the truſty guard of the *Janizaries*, and the Artillery, for the ſafeguard of the Sick Viſier. In this order they confronted the *Perſian* Prince, who was himſelf in the midſt of his Army, with all his

People in very good order; having on the one ſide the Souldiers of *Perſia* and *Hircania*, and on the other them of *Panthia* and *Antropatia*, in all, to the number of forty thouſand. The *Turks* feared nothing more, than that the *Perſians* fetching a great compaſs about, ſhould with all Celerity and Fury ſet upon their Tents, and the Riches they had laid up together in their Pavilions; and therefore at every motion of theirs they continually feared this ſudden out-road; whereof they had ſuch eſpecial care, that retiring themſelves as much as they might, and feigning as if they had given Place to the *Perſians*, it wanted not much but that they had brought them even within the juſt level and mark of their Artillery. Which the *Perſians* perceiving, without any further dallying hardly began to aſſail the main Body of the Battel. The Prince himſelf being entred amongſt the Souldiers of the Baſſa of *Caraemit* (who as General ſuſtained the Place of *Oſman*) and preſſing into the midſt of the Battel, diſpatched every man that came in his way; and having ſingled out the Baſſa from the reſt, ſmote off his Head, and gave it to one of his Followers to carry upon the top of his Launce. Which being openly deſcried, brought a great Terrour upon the *Turks*, and exceedingly encouraged the *Perſians*, who embrued with the Blood of their Enemies, and intermingling themſelves more and more among them, made of them a moſt confuſed and general ſlaughter; wherein beſide the Baſſa before-named, there died alſo the Baſſa of *Trabſzonda*, the *Sanzacke* of *Bruſia*, with five other *Sanzacks*, and as it was commonly reported, twenty thouſand *Turks* more. It fell alſo to the Lot of *Amurath* Baſſa of *Caramania* to be there taken Priſoner, with divers other common Souldiers. But Night coming now on, and the *Perſians* being come ſomewhat too nigh the *Turkiſh* Artillery, they gave over the fight, and withdrew themſelves back to the Place where the King lay incamped with the reſt of his Army.

The Baſſa of *Caraemit* ſlain by the *Perſian* Prince, and his head cut off.

But now were divers days ſpent, wherein the new Fortreſs at *Tauris* (as we have before ſaid) was fully finiſhed, when the Souldiers of *Gracia* and *Conſtantinople*, wearied to ſee their Friends and Fellows thus ſlain before their Faces, and having alſo ſafely laid up in their own Cuſtody ſuch Preys and Booties as they had gotten in the ſack of the City, reſolved with themſelves to procure their own departure, and ſo much the rather, for that the Winter was now faſt coming on. And foraſmuch as the General was through the immoderate flux of blood brought weak, and in deſpair of Life, and quite abandoned of all hope by his Phyſicians, and therefore not to be ſpoken withall, they were fain by the Mouth of ſuch as were their truſty Friends about him, to repreſent unto him the Neceſſity of their return, and withal after many reverend Intreaties, cauſed it alſo to be ſignified unto him, That if he ſtood obſtinate, and would needs ſtay dallying out the time in thoſe dangerous Places where no ſuch need was, they ſhould be inforced to withdraw themſelves, and to forſake him. *Oſman*, who had now nothing elſe to do in thoſe Countries, but only to leave ſome convenient Garriſon in the new Fortreſs at *Tauris*, liberally promiſed to ſatisfie their Requeſts, by departing thence the next Morning. So calling unto him *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa of *Tripolis*, a man of a crafty and cruel Nature, made him Governour and Keeper of the new built Fortreſs at *Tauris*. And the more to incourage him to take that charge upon him, he gave him freely for the ſpace of three whole years, not only the Office and Authority, but alſo the Rents and Revenues of the Baſſa of *Caraemit*, lately ſlain by the *Perſian* Prince, and withal honoured him with the Title of a Baſſa of the Court; ſo that having finiſhed his three years Office of *Caraemit*, he was then to go and ſit among the ſovereign ſeats of the Baſſaes of the *Porta*. The Baſſa ſeeing ſo fair and ſo high a way for him to mount to thoſe high honours (greater than which there is none in the *Turkiſh* Empire) readily accepted the offer, and diſpatching his Lieutenant to *Caraemit*, to the Government of thoſe Countries in his Abſence, with an hundred of his own Followers, ſetled himſelf in the ſaid Fort with a Garriſon of twelve thouſand Souldiers, furniſhed with all neceſſary Proviſion until the next Spring. The General having thus ſet all things in order, and carefully provided for the ſafety of the Fortreſs, departed according to his Promiſe, and the ſame Morning (which was the fourſcore and ſeventh day after his departure from *Erzirum*) came to a Place called *Sancazan*, ſeven Miles diſtant from *Tauris*.

Giaffer Baſſa of *Tripolis*, an Eunuch, made Governour of *Tauris*.

Oſman the General departeth from *Tauris*, and cometh to *Sancazan*.

The *Turks* were now upon the point of their incamping, in a confuſed diſorder and hurliburly, when thoſe that were hindermoſt in the Army heard the neighng of Horſes, and the noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, as if it had been the coming of an Army. Which when the whole Camp underſtood, they ran headlong and diſordered as they were, to the reſcue, on that ſide where the noiſe of the Horſes and warlike Inſtruments was heard. But whilſt the *Turks* were thus intentively buſied on that ſide to expect the coming of the Enemy, the *Perſian* Prince without any ſign or token of Battel, with 28000 Horſemen was ready upon them on the other ſide; who having diſcovered the Camels and other Carriages, whereupon their Booty, their Spoils and their Riches were laden, which they had taken in *Tauris*, beſide much of their Proviſion of Victuals for the ſuſtenance of the Army, he turned upon them, and with a provident and ſafe Convoy had taken for a Prey eighteen thouſand of the Camels and Mules well loaden with the ſame Booties and Victuals; which the Prince ſent preſently away with ſix thouſand of his Souldiers, and he himſelf with his two and twenty thouſand *Perſians* entred into the *Turks* Army, who now to withſtand his aſſault, had on that ſide alſo made head againſt him. A gallant thing it was, and terrible withall, to ſee what a mortal Battel was made, what ſingular Proweſs ſhewed even preſently in the fore-front of the Battel; for in a moment you might have ſeen the Tents and Pavilions turned upſide down, and their incamping Lodgings repleniſhed with dead Carkaſſes and Blood, victorious Death ranging and reigning in every Corner. The *Turks* themſelves were aſtoniſhed and marvelled to ſee their Enemies (ſo few in number, and intermingled among ſo populous an Army of warlike People) more like fatal Miniſters of Death, than mortal men, to brandiſh their Swords over them, as if it had lightned, and to make ſo general a ſlaughter; and do to this day with great Admiration recount the Valour and Proweſs of the *Perſians*. But they all now doubting leſt the Enemy in this Fury ſhould forcibly have entred the very Lodgings of the ſick Viſier, it was commanded (not by himſelf, for he lay now at the laſt gaſp, but by him who at that time commanded in his Name) That without delay the Artillery ſhould be unbarred and diſcharged: which in that Medly and Confuſion of both Armies, without any Exception or Diſtinction of Perſons, overthrew both Friends and Foes, and did more harm perhaps among the *Turks* themſelves, than among the *Perſians*: for at the firſt thundring noiſe thereof the Prince with all ſpeed retired; after whom preſently followed all the reſt: ſo that the *Turks* which remained behind, were more annoied with the deadly ſhot, than were the

The Battel of *Sancazan*.

1585

Twenty thouſand *Turks* ſlain.

Perſians, who flying away, could not feel the damage, but that the *Turks* muſt firſt be well payed for their Labour. The *Turks* purſuing the flying *Perſians*, made ſhew as if they would gladly have overtaken them; but Night coming on, they feared to proceed any further than they might without Danger return. In this Battel of *Sancazan* were ſlain twenty thouſand *Turks*, without any notable loſs of the *Perſians*.

Oſman the Viſier and General dieth at *Sancazan*.

Among the reſt, in the ſame place died the Viſier *Oſman*, General of the late dreadful, but now deſolate Army; not by the hand of the Enemy, but conſumed with the vehemency of an Ague, and flux of Blood. Whoſe Death notwithſtanding was kept ſecret from the whole Army, every man verily thinking, that it was but only the continuance of his Sickneſs, becauſe the Charets wherein he lay, were ſtill kept cloſe; and in his Name *Cicala Baſſa* (for ſo he had appointed in his will) gave out Anſwers and Commandments to the whole Army. Nevertheleſs it was diſcloſed to the *Perſians* by means of three young men, who in the Life of *Oſman* having charge of his Jewels and Treaſure, were with the beſt thereof and the faireſt of his Horſes fled to the *Perſian* King, to whom they revealed the Death of the General. The *Perſians*, who before had thought it not poſſible for ſo great cowardiſe and diſhonourable kind of fighting and ordering of an Army to have proceeded from the Virtue and Valour of *Oſman*, of whoſe worth they had too manifeſt a trial and experience in times paſt, now underſtanding of his Death, were thereby incouraged to attempt the utter overthrow of the *Turkiſh* remnant, and ſo to give them an honourable farewel. Whereupon the *Perſian* Prince with 14000 men followed the *Turks*, who had now raiſed their Camp, and were removed to a certain River of Salt-water, not far from *Sancazan*, where the Prince cauſed a few Tents to be pitched, about four or five miles diſtant from the *Turkiſh* Camp, the aforeſaid Brook running in the midſt between the two Armies. Now the Prince had purpoſed to have aſſailed the *Turks* in the Morning, whilſt they were lodging their Carriages, hoping in that Confuſion to have wrought them ſome notable Miſchief; which his deſignment was revealed unto the *Turks* by one of his Spies whom they had caught. And therefore they did neither riſe ſo early in the Morning as their manner was, nor load their ſtuff until ſuch time as they were all armed, and on Horſeback ready to receive their Enemies. By which their wary and unuſual manner of riſing, the *Perſians* perceived that their purpoſe was by ſome means diſcovered. And yet conſidering that if they ſhould loſe this occaſion, they ſhould find no other good Opportunity to annoy them before the next Spring, they utterly reſolved to adventure the aſſault; and having obſerved that the Enemies Artillery was on the right ſide of the Army, they in the ſight of every man began to enter on the left. But the *Turks* preſently ſo uncovered and unbarred their Artillery againſt the aſſailants, as was to their great loſs and danger. Howbeit they were ſo nimble and ſo quick to ſhroud themſelves under the Enemies Army, and to avoid the miſchievous Tempeſt, that being come now very near the *Turks* Squadrons, they muſt needs joyn Battel with them. The *Perſians* had purpoſed before, as ſoon as they ſaw the *Turks* begin to ſtir, to retire, and ſo to draw them on into a very filthy and deep mariſh; which being then dry, was not feared or doubted of any, but only by thoſe that were acquainted therewithal, or born thereabouts. Which their policy the Rebel *Maxut Chan*, and with him *Daut Chan* (as being well acquainted with thoſe places) perceiving, gave notice thereof to *Cicala Baſſa*, who preſently cauſed a great compaſſing wing to be made, commanding them to ſet upon the *Perſians*, and to charge them home; which was forthwith put in Execution, ſo that their fore-front opened it ſelf with very large and ſpacious corners upon the Prince; who no ſooner ſaw this their unwonted order of coming on, but by and by he perceived that his purpoſe was diſcovered; and thereupon without any ſtay he began to retire, calling his People after him; which could not ſo ſuddenly be done, but that three thouſand of them remained behind, all miſerably ſtifled, overtrodden in the mire; with very little loſs to the *Turks*. And this only battel of five that were fought under *Tauris*, and in thoſe quarters, was leſs hurtful to the *Turks* than to the *Perſians*.

The Prince returned to the King his Fathers Camp, returning unto him the whole Action, together with the departure of the Enemy. And ſo the *Turks* came to *Salmas*, where the Death of the General was publiſhed; from *Salmas* they went afterwards to *Van*, where they took a ſurvey of their Army, and found wanting therein about fourſcore and five thouſand Perſons, or as ſome ſay more. At *Van* all the Souldiers were diſmiſſed; and *Cicala* from thence gave notice to *Amurath* at *Conſtantinople*, of all that hapned. Where firſt was publiſhed the Death of *Oſman* the General, (for whom were made many ſigns of great ſorrow) and together with his Death, were blazed the bloody and mortal Actions that were in that Expedition performed; ſo that the whole City ſeemed to be greatly diſcomforted; and in many places were heard much ſecret railing upon the King, many Curſes of this War, and inſolent Maledictions of theſe manifold Miſchiefs. After that, was diſperſed the great Fame of the new Fortreſs erected at *Tauris*, of the ſacking of the City, and of all the loſs that had hapned therein; and a general Edict publiſhed in the Kings Name, That through all the Cities of his Empire they ſhould make ſolemn Feaſts, with other expreſs Tokens of Joy and Rejoycing; which was accordingly done both in *Conſtantinople* and other Places. There was alſo word ſent to the Ambaſſadors of *Hungary*, of *France*, of *Venice*, and of other Countries, That they ſhould do the like; but they all with one accord anſwered, That it was never the Cuſtom of Ambaſſadours to make any ſuch ſigns of Rejoycing, but only when the King himſelf in Perſon returned from any the like Victories.

The *Turks* Army diſcharged at *Van*.

In the mean time Conſultation was held at *Van*, for the ſending of Succours to *Teflis* in *Georgia*; unto which important Service, *Daut Chan* to deſerve ſome Reward at *Amurath*'s hand, offered himſelf; unto whom *Cicala Baſſa* delivered thirty thouſand *Cecchini* to be conveyed to the Fort at *Teflis*. Which piece of ſervice the Renegate performed, and without trouble relieved the Souldiers in the Fort; which was ſo well accepted of *Amurath*, that he for the ſame good Service honoured him with the Dignity of the Baſſa of *Maras*. *Maxut Chan* alſo the other *Perſian* Rebel, that guided the *Turkiſh* Army to *Roivan*, and afterwards to *Taurio*, was in like manner by the ſame *Amurath* honoured with the great rich Office of the Baſſa of *Aleppo*.

The Miſeries the *Turks* Army endured at *Tauris*.

The Miſeries the *Turkiſh* Army endured in this Expedition for *Tauris*, beſide the Loſſes before rehearſed, were wonderful; for as the *Sanzack* of *Aman* (a City of *Soria*, called in ancient time *Apamea*) preſent in all this Action, reporteth in a Letter which he wrote to *Ali Baſſa* of *Aleppo*, there was ſuch a dearth in the *Turks* Army, that they were enforced to give their Camels Biſquet and Rice, and when that failed, they gave them their pack-Saddles to eat, and after that, pieces of Wood beaten into Powder, and at laſt the very Earth; which dearth endured untill they arrived at *Van*. And at *Tauris*, whilſt the Fortreſs was in building, they were of neceſſity conſtrained to give their Horſes their Dung in very drie Powder. By reaſon whereof there followed a grievous mortality of Horſes, Camels, Mules, and Men; and the ſtink which grew of this Mortality was ſo great, that every man was fain to carry a piece of a ſtrong ſmelling Onion under his Noſe, to avoid the heavineſs thereof.

The Fort ſo lately built in the Royal City of *Tauris*, exceedingly grieved the *Perſians* in general, but eſpecially the King and the Prince his Son; to let it alone, they reckoned it too great a ſhame, and how to demoliſh it they knew not well, finding themſelves not only deſtitute of Artillery, but alſo of ſuch ſufficient ſtrength as was requiſite for performance of ſo great an Enterpriſe; yet, prick'd on with deſire of Glory, and the neceſſity of the Cauſe, they determined even in the depth of Winter to gather new Forces, and with Trenches of Earth to approach the Ditch, and to try if they could advance a Countermure as high as their Walls, and ſo to attain to the Conqueſt thereof. But in the gathering of their Men they diſcovered new Difficulties; for, to hire any Souldiers either from *Heri* or *Cheilan*, was denied them by *Abas* and *Amet Chan*; and their *Turcoman* Nation, which might have been the readieſt and the neareſt at ſuch a need, for the late Death of *Emir Chan*, and for the Succeſſion of *Aliculi*, were grown very contumatious; ſo that neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the Preſidents and Governours of that Kingdom, could tell which way to turn themſelves. At laſt, for the common ſafety, they determined to draw the *Turcomans* to a Reconciliation; hoping that by promiſing them any honeſt Satisfaction for the wrong wherewith they challenged themſelves grieved for the Death of their Captain, they would become more tractable to do them Service in their common Neceſſities. Whereupon the King ſent kind Letters to the Heads and Captains of thoſe Nations, and principally to *Mahamet Chan*, and to *Chaliſe* the Sultan; declaring plainly unto them the Perils of his State, and of the Liberty of the whole Kingdom, with the Confidence he had in their Valour; and that therefore forgetting all that was paſt, as done not in ſhame or ſcorn of their Nation, but only for Zeal and Love to the Kingdom, they would demand ſuch Satisfaction as they deſired, and that he would be ready to agree to any juſt requeſt they ſhould make. To which Letters they readily anſwered, that they would come unto him, to put in Execution whatſoever he ſhould for the common Neceſſity or Honour of his State command. Now they had craftily amongſt themſelves already concluded not to ſuffer any other to ſit in the room of *Emir Chan* their late Governour, but only young *Tamas* the Kings third Son. Which Concluſion they had plotted to themſelves, with a Reſolution in the end, to cauſe him to be accepted for King at *Casbin*, in deſpight of the King himſelf and of the Prince *Hamze*; nothing regarding, that by this Action far greater Troubles would ariſe in *Perſia* than ever were yet heard of; but only being wholly bent to revenge the Death of one only *Emir Chan*. With this malicious and fraudulent Reſolution, they to the number of ten thouſand (under the conduct of two Captains, *Mahamet* and *Caliſe*) went to the King, in all Reverence offering themſelves with all readineſs to be employed in the enterpriſe whereunto they were called. The old credulous King, not ſuſpecting any miſchief plotted by theſe ſecret Rebels, was greatly comforted at their coming; and although by ſome of his Sultans that had felt ſome inckling of this Conſpiracy, he was adviſed to deal circumſpectly and warily with them, and not commit any matter of importance to their truſt; yet did he think every hour a thouſand untill he had offered them Satisfaction; promiſing them, that what Captain ſoever they would deſire in the room of *Emir Chan*, if it were poſſible, they ſhould have him. Whereunto the diſſembling *Mahamet Chan* made anſwer, That their deſire above all things, was to do him Pleaſure and Service; not doubting but he would appoint them ſuch a Chieftain, as ſhould be valorous, noble, and acceptable unto them. The King could ſtay no longer, but frankly declared unto them, That to aſſure them of his good will, and to give them an Hoſtage in pawn thereof, he had made choice of young *Tamas* his Son, to ſucceed in the room of *Emir Chan* their late Governour. As ſoon as *Mahamet Chan* heard this Reſolution of the King, who beſide all expectation, voluntarily of himſelf yielded them the means to put in Execution what they had maliciouſly before contrived againſt the Peace and Liberty of the Kingdom; he became more jocund than he was wont to be, and outwardly ſhewed himſelf ready for whatſoever the King would command him; and in the Names of the reſt, yielded alſo large Promiſes of Fidelity and Obedience, ſo that the matter might be performed for which he had now given his Word.

Ten thouſand *Turcomans* offer their Service unto the *Perſian* King.

The King, who deſired nothing more than to ſee the Fort of *Tauris* raiſed (which could hardly be done without the help of thoſe *Turcomans*) contrary to the Advice of the wiſeſt of the *Sultans*, and of the Prince, ſecretly, and as it were by ſtealth, gave his young Son *Tamas* into the hands of *Mahamet*, as chief of all the *Turcomans*. Who, to nouriſh the good Opinion and Credulity of the King, and to ſecure the Prince and the Sultans, gave a luſtie beginning, by the help of his Followers, with Trenches and Rampiers to approach the Fort. Neither was there any great time ſpent therein; for they had now almoſt made their Trenches and Mounts even with the Enemies Wall, and the Ditch it ſelf was almoſt filled up with Earth, ſo that there wanted but little more Labour to begin the deſired aſſault; when, contrary to all Mens Expectation, the falſe and wicked Traitor *Mahamet Chan* with all his *Turcomans*, leading away with them the Child *Tamas*, departed in the Night-time, and upon a ſudden, from ſo noble and honourable an enterpriſe; and, blinded with deſire to put in Execution his ill-hatched purpoſe, covertly and without any noiſe, removed from the beſieged Walls, and put himſelf on his way towards *Casbin*; ſtill terming *Tamas* by the Name of the King of *Perſia*, and ſundry ways abuſing and mocking the poor old King and the Prince. This ſo ſudden and ſo dangerous a Rebellion, whereby not only ſo honourable and ſo neceſſary an enterpriſe was to be abandoned, but the whole ſtate of the Kingdom like to be indangered, exceedingly grieved all good men, but moſt of all the old King and the Prince his Son; who, no leſs careful of his rightful Succeſſion, than was the aged King of his preſent Eſtate, both now hazarded by this Rebellion; wholly incenſed with Grief and Anguiſh of Mind, began to caſt a thouſand Devices in his troubled Head, what courſe to take, and what to reſolve upon. To abandon the ſiege it grieved him above meaſure, and to ſuffer ſo pernicious a Rebellion to go forward, ſeemed too dangerous for the State of *Perſia*; and to provide for both theſe Miſchiefs at once, was altogether impoſſible. In theſe huge Waves of contrary Thoughts, he reſolved at laſt to turn himſelf againſt the *Turcomans*, and to ſuppreſs that Rebellion, as moſt dangerous to the State. And ſo with

twelve

The *Turcomans* forſake the ſiege, and fall into Rebellion.

The *Turcomans* diſcomfited, and *Mahamet Chan* and *Calife* the *Sultan* beheaded.

1585 twelve thouſand Souldiers, and a part alſo of the Kings ordinary Guard, all courageous and hardy men, he followed after the rebellious *Turcomans*; and marching directly toward *Casbin*, he overtook them at a place called *Caliſteza*, a daies Journey on this ſide *Casbin*, and there joyned Battel with them. Wherein, many of them being ſorry for that they had done, would not ſo much as draw their Swords againſt the Prince; many others fled alſo away for fear, ſo that he eaſily obtained a wiſhed Victory over them. The ſeditious *Mahamet Chan* was taken Priſoner, and by the Princes Commandment preſently beheaded; ſo was alſo *Calife* the Sultan, and divers other Captains of this peſtilent Conſpiracy. Young *Tamas* was alſo taken, and by the Direction of the Prince ſent to the Caſtle of *Chabaca*. Five thouſand *Turcomans* of the late Followers of the Rebel *Mahamet*, fled out of the Battel towards *Babylon* by the way of *Siras*, and yielded themſelves to *Solyman*, *Baſſa* of that City; who afterwards repenting themſelves of their Folly, ſought to return again into the Favour of their King, but all in vain; ſo that being become Rebels to the one, and ſuſpected to the other, they did at one time loſe their Country, their Liberty, their Honour, and the Favour of all Men, as well Friends as Foes. The Prince after this Victory held on his way to *Casbin*, and there ſtaying, laboured to gather the diſperſed *Turcomans*, eſpecially thoſe that (moved with the honeſty of the cauſe) would not bear Arms in ſo unjuſt an Action; intending afterwards to return to *Tauris*, to attend the beſieging and conqueſt of the Fort. This was the end of this dangerous Rebellion, the chief cauſe that *Tauris* was not again recovered out of the hands of the *Turks*, to the great weakning of the *Perſian* Kingdom.

Giaffer Baſſa ſendeth to *Cicala Baſſa* for Aid.

Now *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa Governour of the Caſtle of *Tauris*, fearing leſt the *Perſian* Prince would with a greater Army again return to the ſiege; perceiving himſelf to wax every day weaker and weaker, by reaſon that many of his men ſecretly fled from him, beſide them that periſhed with Sickneſs, and others ſlain in adventuring too boldly to go abroad to ſeek for Victuals; ſent Advertiſement thereof to *Cicala Baſſa* at *Van*; ſignifying further unto him by Writing, That if the Prince ſhould again return to aſſault the Fort, he ſhould of Neceſſity be enforced to yield it; and that therefore, as he tendered the honour of his *Sultan*, he would be careful to ſend him Succour, whereby he might be able to maintain the Fort; adding moreover, That now it was moſt eaſily to be done, becauſe there was no Forces of the Enemies in thoſe quarters, ſaving only a few which remained about the King, lying twelve miles off from *Tauris*. *Cicala*, moved with the importance of the enterpriſe propounded, and withal deſirous to gain ſome credit of Glory and Renown with his King, entertained the Advices of *Giaffer*, and getting him to horſe with a train of three thouſand Harquebuzers, and good ſtore of Munition, ſet forward toward *Tauris*. The *Perſian* King advertiſed thereof, ſent out Spies to learn what way they held, meaning to meet them and to ſet upon them; but theſe Spies coming near to *Salmas*, were apprehended by the fore-runners of *Cicala*, and being put to Torture, revealed at laſt, how that their King was in Arms, and on his way towards *Sancazan*. At which News *Cicala* was greatly aſtoniſhed, as well for the danger whereinto the Forces and Munition which he had with him were likely to fall, as alſo for that by any loſs which his Troops ſhould ſuſtain in this Expedition, the City of *Van* (being indeed the greater and moſt noble frontier Town in all thoſe Countries) muſt needs be in hazard to be loſt, having left in it but his Lieutenant with a very few Souldiers. 1585 Whereupon he determined to relinquiſh this dangerous enterpriſe, and to withdraw himſelf back to the Defence and Preſervation of the City committed to his Truſt and Government. But although theſe expected and deſired Succours were not conveyed to *Tauris* as was intended, yet had *Giaffer* as good Fortune as he could wiſh; for the Preparations of the Prince were ſo long and troubleſome, and his return ſo much prolonged, that there was time enough yielded unto the *Turks* great General, now newly choſen (as by and by ſhall be declared) to go with a ſtrong Army into thoſe quarters, and ſo to preſerve all that which the only Expedition and Celerity of the Enemy might have put in great hazard, and almoſt have brought to a deſperate caſe.

In the mean time, *Amurath* the Turkiſh Emperour was greatly troubled at *Conſtantinople* in making choice of a new General; on the one ſide, *Oſman Baſſa* having by his laſt Will left *Sinan Cicala* to be his Succeſſour, as a man of approved Valour; and the many dangers he had run through in the late Service about *Tauris*, with the great favours he had in the Court, did not a little incline the King to his Election: on the other ſide, he heard of a publick Rumour ſpread amongſt the Souldiers, that they could by no means indure to be commanded by ſo young a Captain; and that ſome in plain tearms ſhould ſay, That they would not obey him: Which cauſed *Amurath* to doubt, that ſome dangerous diſcord might thereof enſue in the Army, if he ſhould proceed to make choice of him. Then there was alſo *Ferat Baſſa*, the ſame man which had already ſuſtained the charge before *Oſman*, who now very ambitiouſly ſought again for this Honour, having of late performed ſome good Service to the good liking of the King. Of any other to make better choice he had none, ſo that he ſtood in great doubt what to do. In the end, becauſe he was in good time to provide for his Affairs, he made choice of *Ferat Baſſa*, the ſame man whom he had before made proof of: a man of great Fidelity, of an honourable Carriage, and already experienced in the leading and commanding of ſuch an Army, to whom he granted the ordinary Authority, to mannage at his pleaſure ſuch Affairs of the Empire as concerned his Journey. Upon this Reſolution, general Precepts were ſent out to all Cities within the Kingdom, to the Baſſaes and other Governours, with ſpecial Commandment, That all their Souldiers, together with their Taxes, Tenths, Munitions, Victuals, Armour, Artificers, and to be ſhort, all their neceſſary Furniture and Proviſion ſhould be ready and in order, upon the firſt warning ſhould be ſent them the next Spring. Great proviſion of Money was made, and in *Soria* (beſides the ordinary ſum that is beſtowed upon the yearly pay of Souldiers in *Reivan*, *Erzirum*, *Lori*, *Tomanis*, *Teflis*, and *Chars*, which ſwallow up all the Revenue of that Country, and of the City of *Tripoli*, amounting to the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand Duckats) there was taken up in preſt of private Merchants in the City of *Aleppo* only, the ſum of threeſcore thouſand Cecchini, to be repaied unto them with the firſt Monies that ſhould be received by the Officers of his Cuſtom-houſes. A matter that moved an extraordinary grudging among the People, for that it ſeemed to every man a very ſtrange and intolerable Exaction, beſide ſo many grievances laid upon them, for Corn, for Carriages, for Pioneers, and for Workmen, to endure this burden alſo of lending their Money, without hope of Reſtitution thereof: yea and indeed every man did greatly wonder how they were thus ill-adviſed, to make it known to the Chriſtian Princes what ſcarcity and want of Money they had.

The return of *Soria* ſix hundred thouſand Duckats.

1585 had. The General had alſo with him four hundred pieces of Artillery, and did beſide ſo work the matter, as that *Maxut Chan* (who was appointed Baſſa of *Aleppo*) was granted unto him to be the guide of his Army, as he had been of *Oſmans*; and that *Cicala* Baſſa of *Van* (ſcarce his good friend) was removed from thence, and ſent farther off out of his way as Baſſa to *Babylon*.

1586

Ferat departeth from *Conſtantinople*, and cometh to *Sivas*.

And thus having put all things in readineſs, he departed from *Conſtantinople* in the Month of *April*, in the year 1586, and paſſing over the Strait into *Aſia*, came to *Sivas* ſomething later than he ſhould have done, being hindred partly by the Plague, which then raged exceedingly in *Conſtantinople*, and partly by other occaſions incident to ſuch Actions. At *Sivas* he ſtaied ſo long for the coming together of his Army, and in muſtering Men, that it was the latter end of *July* before he departed thence; ſtaying indeed the longer at *Sivas*, by reaſon of the exceeding Dearth and want of Victuals at *Erzirum*: which Dearth was alſo ſo great in *Aleppo*, that a *Venice* buſhel of Wheat was ſold for twelve *Cecchini*.

Ferat yet making his abode at *Sivas*, but ready to depart, was advertiſed by certain Poſts ſent from *Giaffer* the Baſſa of *Tauris*, how that the *Perſian* Prince was hourly expected with a great Army, and that if he did foreſlow to ſend Succours, and to prevent the coming of the Prince, and ſo give him time and leiſure to aſſault the Caſtle, he doubted greatly how he ſhould be able to hold the ſame. Upon which Advertiſement *Ferat* preſently removed, and ſo haſted his Journey, that about the beginning of *Auguſt* he was at *Erzirum*; and ſtill hearing more and more of the Princes coming, ſtaied not there, but haſted to *Van*; where having gathered together all his Souldiers, and taken a new Survey of his Army, he departed thence; and being preſently come into the open and large Champains, to make proof of the readineſs of his Souldiers, he marſhalled them in ſuch ſort as if he ſhould forthwith have joyned Battel with the Enemy, and ſo in ſeemly order marched on.

The *Turkiſh* General continually feared, leſt the *Perſians* ſhould come upon him with ſome ſudden aſſault; beſides that, the conſtant report of the Princes coming to *Tauris* with his Army, much increaſed his troubled Thoughts. But on the other ſide, he repoſed great Confidence in the Conſpiracy that was now plotted againſt the Life of the Prince, with the privity of *Aliculi Chan* the Protector and Champion of *Abas Mirize* of *Heri*, who under the colour of accompanying the Prince to aſſiſt his Forces, had reſolutely concluded with himſelf, and abſolutely promiſed *Abas* (having alſo given Intelligence thereof to the *Turks* General) to rid the Prince *Hamze* of his Life; or at leaſt (which he thought might more eaſily be brought to paſs) in the ſundry Revolutions and variable Chances of the Battel, at ſome time or other to make him fall into the hands of *Ferat*, and ſo to ſettle his Lord and Maſter *Abas* in his Eſtate. Upon theſe Treacheries *Ferat* grounding himſelf, began with greater Confidence to diſpoſe his Deſignments, and ſomewhat leſs to fear the Fame of the huge Preparations of *Perſia* againſt him. Which Preparations in truth, as by moſt wicked Devices and malicious Conſpiracies they were turned quite contrary from that end whereunto the Prince *Hamze* had continually appointed them; ſo if they had been employed with ſuch Faith and Fidelity as ſo righteous a cauſe required, without all doubt the Writers of our time ſhould have had matter enough in this 86 year to ſhew and repreſent unto the World ſuch Accidents as ſhould be nothing inferiour to thoſe of the year before-going. But foraſmuch as Rebellion and Diſcord, the two inferiour Miniſters of the Devil, have for the utter undoing and overthrow of the Glory of *Perſia*, continually favoured the *Turks* Army, no marvel it is that the *Perſian* Nation cannot vaunt of any Revenge taken for the Indignities offered them by their Enemies; and that our Writers cannot chuſe but write of the true and undoubted Victories of the *Turks*, and the bare Shadows of the *Perſian* Exploits; which notwithſtanding many Chriſtians vainly believe, becauſe they moſt earneſtly deſire them to be true, although they do ſee to the contrary, the manifeſt proſpering and evident Conqueſts which the *Turks* have in divers their States and Countries.

1586

The Glory of the *Perſian* Kingdom overthrown by Rebellion and Diſcord.

The *Perſian* Prince about the latter end of *July* arrived at *Tauris* with the greateſt part of his Army, where he (contrary to the Opinion of all men) ſtaied not, for what cauſe is uncertain. But underſtanding that *Zeinel Baſſa* of *Salmas*, by Nation a *Curdo*, lay encamped before the City, who of a *Perſian* was become a *Turk*, and had done great harm againſt the State of *Perſia*; he determined ſuddenly to ſet upon him, and to chaſtiſe him for his Rebellion. According to which Reſolution, being accompanied with twelve thouſand Souldiers, he rode to *Salmas*, where finding *Zeinel* with all his People encamped as he had been before informed, he gave him the aſſault. *Zeinel* more ready to flie than to fight, and his Souldiers as ready as he, fled preſently, and fell before the *Perſians*, ſo that the Baſſa himſelf with a few others had much ado to eſcape and ſave themſelves in the cloſeſt Corners thereabouts, leaving the City committed to his charge, for a prey unto the angry Enemy; who entering into the ſame, ſacked and ſpoiled it, exerciſing thereon all ſuch Cruelties, as partly the natural deſires of Souldiers uſe to practiſe, and partly ſuch as the *Turks* themſelves ſhewed unto them in that miſerable and moſt lamentable ſacking of *Tauris* the laſt year. The like Spoils did the *Perſian* Army in all thoſe quarters round about, and ſo would have peradventure returned to *Tauris*, but that certain Spies arrived upon them, with Advertiſement, That the Baſſa of *Reivan* being iſſued out of his Fortreſs with fifteen hundred Harquebuſiers, had committed the like outrages in the Villages and Fields thereabouts, as the Prince had done about *Salmas*: With which News the Prince was greatly moved; and immediately riſing with his Army, and marching towards *Reivan*, not far from the City encountered the Baſſa; who diſcovering the Enemies Forces afar off, began in great diſorder to flie and retire into his Fort, leaving the greateſt part of his Souldiers (making not ſo much ſpeed in flight as himſelf) to the Fury of the Prince, who put them all to the Sword, and did what harm he poſſibly could in all the Places thereabouts.

At the very ſame time great Troubles aroſe in the *Druſian* Country; for *Man-Ogli* the valiant *Druſian* (of whom we have before ſpoken) in Revenge of the Injuries done unto him and his People by *Ebrain Baſſa*, and by a valiant kind of Reſtitution to recompence himſelf of all thoſe Bribes and Preſents, which by ſo many ſhifts and ſubtilties were by the covetous Baſſa wrung from him (as is before declared) had now taken up Arms, and having waſted and ſacked all the Territory of *Ebne-Manſur*, and of his other Enemies who had yielded their Obedience unto the *Turks*, without lett forced all that Country with ſudden Invaſions and Inrodes, even very near unto the Cities of *Balbecke* and *Tripoli*, and did there exceeding harm. For redreſs whereof, *Amurath* was glad to diſpatch away from the Court *Ali Baſſa* born at *Aleppo*, with the Title of the Baſſa of *Damaſco*, and with Authority to muſter freſh Souldiers, and ſo wholly to attend the utter Subverſion of *Man-Ogli*. But coming thither, he found all again quiet, ſo that his

Preſence

1586 Preſence in that Country ſerved rather for a Reconciliation and Peace-making amongſt them, than for the proſecuting of any further War; which at that time was moſt neceſſary for the *Turks* to be avoided, as well for want of Money in the common Treaſury, as for the exceeding ſcarcity of Victuals.

Now the *Perſian* Prince having made an end of the Outroads and Spoils before-mentioned, retired himſelf to *Tauris*, and ſo towards his Fathers Camp, where the reſt of his Army was now arrived, to the number of about forty thouſand; of whom the Prince diſpatched away the Souldiers of *Heri*, to the number of eight thouſand, under the conduct of the traiterous *Aliculi Chan* their General; and part alſo of the *Turcomans*, under the leading of *Emanguli Chan*; with ſpecial charge, That they ſhould by the way, in places of moſt advantage, meet and receive the Enemies Army, and in thoſe narrow and troubleſome Paſſages to do them what miſchief they poſſible could. Which the Prince thus appointed, thinking by this means to weaken the Enemies Forces, and ſo at their arrival at *Tauris*, to come upon them with all his Power, and ſo utterly to deſtroy them.

Aliculi and *Emanguli Chan* perform nothing againſt the *Turks*, as was by the Prince expected.

Both theſe Captains departed accordingly, making ſhew that they would with all Affection accompliſh the Commandment of their Prince; yet never was there heard any ſervice of moment put in Execution by them; for *Aliculi* full of Treaſon, after their departure began to alledge many forced Reaſons and Excuſes, Why they ſhould ſurceaſe from meeting with the *Turks*; and *Emanguli* as yet utterly ignorant of the wicked Purpoſes and miſchievous Treachery of *Aliculi*, ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by him alſo. By the Delays and Negligence of theſe two *Perſian* Captains, the *Turkiſh* General took leiſure, without any loſs or hinderance at all, to arrive at *Tauris*, and to put the deſired Succours into the Fort; at what time the *Perſian* Prince by good hap had got Knowledge of the Treachery of *Aliculi*, and of the Deſignments which many of the *Sultans* had lately contrived, for the betraying of him alive into the hands of the *Turkiſh* General. Of which Suſpition he being greatly afraid, durſt not only not truſt himſelf to perform thoſe Battels that he had before determined to have performed, but quite abandoning this noble and honourable enterpriſe, wholly employed all his Care and Study for the ſafety of his own Perſon, and ſo left the Triumph of the Matter in the Power of the *Turks*. And thus thoſe great Hopes and Expectations which the *Perſians* had conceived of great Exploits to have been done againſt the Enemy, did not only prove vain and come to no good iſſue, but contrariwiſe by this diſcovery were converted into moſt ſtrange Diſturbances, and all *Perſia* thereby endured ſundry Alterations and Revolutions of moſt important Conſequences. For both *Aliculi Chan* and his Complices were purſued by the Prince, as Rebels and Traitors; and alſo *Abas Mirize* of *Heri* was manifeſtly diſcovered for a wicked and treacherous contriver of his Brothers Death; whereby the common Miſchiefs were encreaſed more than ever they were before, and the publick Calamities yielded greater hopes unto the *Turks*, than they had ever before conceived in all the courſe of theſe Wars.

Ferat putteth Succours into the Fort at *Tauris*.

When *Ferat* had thus relieved them in the Caſtle of *Tauris*, leaving for the Cuſtody thereof *Giaffer* the Baſſa with his former Companies, he returned towards *Erzirum*, having firſt cauſed a Fort to be erected at *Curchive Tauris*, a Place near unto *Tauris*; another at *Coy*, and the third at *Cum*; in every one of which Fofts he left a convenient number of Souldiers, with all things neceſſary and ſufficient for their maintenance, and defence of the Places they were to keep. He ſent alſo Succours to the Fort at *Teſlis* in *Georgia*, which they had long expected, and now moſt joyfully received. But the *Perſian* Prince having hunted *Aliculi Chan* out of the quarters of *Tauris*, thought himſelf now wholly delivered from the great fear of Treaſon and Rebellion, wherein he of late lived; and therefore in as great haſt as he could, put himſelf on his Journey towards *Genge*; in which place having gathered together a good number of Souldiers, he determined to remove thence, to intercept the Succours that were by the *Turks* to be brought to *Teflis*. Now he had always found *Emanguli Chan* to be both faithful and wiſe, and in him he repoſed an aſſured Confidence for performing any enterpriſe that he had in hand, and communicated with him every Device that he had conceived in theſe Wars. And therefore he made head and joyned with him; and lodging moſt familiarly in his City, he ſtayed there for the ſetting in order and diſpoſing of his aforeſaid Deſignment, being very deſirous not to let ſuch an Opportunity to overſlip, without Signification unto the World of ſome notable Novelty, which might be correſpondent to the Fame that of matters paſſed and performed the year before, was now ſpread and publiſhed abroad over all the World. But when he was even at the very faireſt to have put this his deſire in Execution, and leaſt of all feared any Treachery or Treaſon, upon a ſudden in the Night-time as he ſlept upon a Pallat he was miſerably ſtrucken through the Body, by an Eunuch of his that attended upon him, and ſo the moſt reſplendent and bright luſtre that ever ſhined in *Perſia*, was utterly extinguiſhed. What was the occaſion thereof, and who procured his Death, divers and ſundry are the Opinions of Men. Some think that his Brother *Abas Mirize* of *Heri*, who had before conſpired to have had him betrayed into the hands of the *Turkiſh* General, had now by force of Money and Gifts induced the wicked Eunuch thereunto. Others deemed it not to have been done without the privity of his Father, as more deſirous to prefer *Abas Mirize* his other Son unto the Kingdom. Divers others do diverſly reaſon of the matter; ſo that to affirm of a certainty, that thus or thus the Death of ſo worthy a Prince was procured, were great raſhneſs; and therefore we leave it, with the further proceſs of the *Perſian* State, unto the further diſcovery of Time, the antient Mother of Truth:

The *Perſian* Prince ſlain by one of his Eunuchs.

1586 Notwithſtanding the League betwixt the Chriſtian Emperour *Rodolph* the ſecond, and *Amurath* the great *Turk*, many ſharp Skirmiſhes oftentimes fell out betwixt the *Chriſtians* and the *Turks*, upon the Frontiers of their Territories and Dominions, eſpecially in *Hungary*, *Croatia*, and *Stiria*; as now in the latter end of this year 1586. in the Month of *December*, the *Turks*, after their inſolent manner making an inrode into the Borders of *Croatia*, received a notable overthrow by the *Chriſtians*, being in number much fewer; where amongſt others, the Baſſa of *Boſna* with his Brother was ſlain, whoſe Head with certain Priſoners was ſent to *Vienna* to *Erneſtus* Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, the Emperours Brother. This Baſſa of *Boſna* and his Brother, ſlain in this Conflict (as we have ſaid) are reported to have been the Sons of *Muhamet* the late great Viſier, by one of the Daughters of *Selymus* the ſecond, *Amurath*'s Siſter. For divers years following, *Amurath* did no great matter worth the Remembrance, contenting himſelf (as it ſhould ſeem) with that he had already got from the *Perſians*; and holding his league in ſome reaſonable ſort with the *Chriſtians*: yet not ſo, but that many a bloody broyl, tending at laſt even to the breach of the League, paſſed betwixt the *Turks* and the *Chriſtians*; which for the Continuation of the Hiſtory we will briefly ſet down, as they are unto us by the Writers of our time reported.

The Caſtle of *Koppan* in *Hungary* ſurpriſed by the *Chriſtians*.

In *February* the year following, which was the year 1587, the *Chriſtians*, provoked by the often outrages of the *Turks*, ſetting upon the Caſtle of *Koppan*, not far from the lake of *Balaton*, being then frozen, by good fortune ſurpriſed it. There was at that time in the Caſtle three of the *Turks Sanzacks*, and about a thouſand *Turks*, of whom an hundred and ninety of the better ſort, with ſeventy Women, beſides divers of the meaner ſort, fell into the hands of the *Chriſtians*; the reſt ſaving themſelves by flight, or by creeping into ſecret corners; an hundred Horſes for ſervice were there taken alſo, and ſo much Booty as was eſteemed to be worth forty thouſand Duckats. Of the three *Sanzacks* that were there preſent, *Alis Sanzack* of *Koppan* was taken, and brought firſt to *Vienna*, and afterward preſented to the Emperour; Another of them ſtanding upon his defence in a vault under Ground, was there ſmothered; the third eſcaped by flight, but was afterwards the ſame year taken with divers others, as ſhall be forthwith declared.

The eighth of *Auguſt* following, four of the *Turks* great Commanders in *Hungary*, *viz.* The Baſſa of *Ziget*, the *Sanzacks* of *Mohas*, of *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, and the new *Sanzack* of *Koppan*, with five thouſand Souldiers, brake into the borders of the *Chriſtians*, and in moſt cruel manner deſtroyed ſeventeen Country Villages about *Limbach*; carrying away with them all the miſerable Country People, with the ſpoil of the Country. Whereof *George* County *Serinus* (Son to that moſt valiant County *Nicholas Serinus* ſlain at *Ziget*) Commander of the Garriſon of *Caniſia*, underſtanding, with as much ſpeed as was poſſible raiſed ſuch Forces as he was able out of his Territory betwixt the Rivers of *Drauus* and *Mura*, and calling unto his aid the County *Nadaſti*, the Lord *Bathianius*, and ſome other valiant Captains that had the charge of thoſe Frontiers; with ſuch diligence took the Streights and Paſſages whereby the *Turks* muſt needs return among the Mariſhes, that the *Turks* coming back again that way with a very rich Prey and many Priſoners, being in the break of the day hardly charged by thoſe moſt expert and reſolute Souldiers, in thoſe ſtreight and troubleſome Paſſages about a mile from *Caniſia*, were at length diſcomfited and put to flight with ſuch a miſerable ſlaughter, that many of them yielded up their Scimiters, pittifully crying for Mercy; other ſome fled back into the Woods and Forreſts, and many running headlong into the Mariſhes, there periſhed, or ſticking faſt in the deep mud, cried together for mercy and help of their Enemies. In this Conflict *Muhamet* the *Sanzack* of *Quinque Eccleſiæ* (Son to *Haly Baſſa*, ſlain in the Battel of *Lepanto*) was taken Priſoner. *Sinan Beg* Sanzack of *Mohaz*, thinking to eſcape through the Mariſh, ſtuck faſt with his Horſe, and was ſhot through the Head with a ſmall ſhot, and there died. The Baſſa of *Ziget*, with *Chaſan* the new Sanzack of *Koppan*, ſeeing all deſperate and loſt, fled betimes out of the Battel; but he of *Koppan*, wandering up and down in the Woods, was the next night after the Battel with others taken; the Baſſa of *Ziget*, almoſt ſpent with Hunger and Grief of Mind, eſcaped on foot ſeven days after to *Breſenza*. There were taken of the *Turks* a thouſand three hundred, of whom many died afterwards of their Wounds. In this Battel there was ſlain of the *Turks*, with them that periſhed in the Mariſhes and Woods, about 2000, and of the *Turks* Horſes were taken about 1500. All the Prey before taken by the *Turks*, with the miſerable Captives, was again recovered. The number of them that performed this notable Service, was in all but fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horſe; of whom there was but eleven ſlain, but moſt of the reſt wounded. Four hundred heads of the ſlain *Turks* were (after the manner of thoſe bordering Souldiers) carried for ſhew to *Caniſia*, with five hundred Priſoners. The *Chriſtian* Souldiers, with the help of the Country People, ceaſed not for certain days to hunt after the *Turks* that were fled into the Woods, as after wild Beaſts, of whom they found a great number; divers others alſo ſeeing no means to eſcape, came forth of their lurking Places, and yielded themſelves.

Aly Baſſa of *Buda* ſtrangled by the command of *Amurath.*

Sinan Baſſa again received into Favour.

Amurath underſtanding of all theſe Troubles that had ſo happened, commanded *Aly* the Baſſa of *Buda* to be ſtrangled, for that he had broken the League, and not reſtrained the Inſolency of his *Sanzacks*, whom he might have commanded; and in his ſtead placed *Sinan Baſſa*, whom, before in diſgrace, he had now at the requeſt of his Wife again received into Favour, and reſtored to his former Dignity. About this time alſo *Sigiſmund* (the King of *Sweden*'s Son) now after the Death of King *Stephen* choſen King of *Polonia*, and *Maximilian* the Emperous Brother rejected; even in the beginning of his Reign ſought to renew the League which *Stephen*'s Predeceſſor, and other the *Polonian* Kings had before made with *Amurath* and his Predeceſſors, the *Turkiſh* Sultans. And to that purpoſe writ unto him as followeth.

Sigiſmund the Third, King of *Polonia*, unto *Amurath* the Third, Emperour of the *Turks*, ſendeth greeting.

Sigiſmund the *Polonian* King's Letter unto *Amurath*.

THE *Almighty long keep and preſerve your Majeſty in Health and Honour. Moſt Mighty Prince, our beſt beloved Friend and Neighbour, after that we by the Grace and Goodneſs of God were choſen to govern the Kingdom of* Polonia, *and the Ambaſſadors of that Kingdom had ſignified ſo much unto us; we, providing us of Neceſſaries, came to* Danske *the eighteenth of* October, *from whence we ſend* John Zamogil *our Secretary, to give your Majeſty to underſtand of this our coming. For being told by the* Polonian *Ambaſſadors, That we were choſen unto the Government of that Kingdom, upon Condition, That according unto the Cuſtom of our Predeceſſors the* Polonian *Kings, we ſhould keep Love and Friendſhip with the moſt excellent* * Muſſulman *Emperours; we promiſe unto your Sovereign Majeſty, that we are willing with the like or greater Zeal and Devotion, to continue that Amity and Friendſhip with your moſt excellent Majeſty and the* Othoman *Emperours your Succeſſors. For confirmation whereof, ſo ſoon as we ſhall come unto* Cracovia *the regal City of* Polonia, *and there be crowned, we will forthwith ſend our great Ambaſſador unto your Majeſty. In the mean time we moſt earneſtly requeſt your Majeſty, that our Kingdom may on your Majeſties behalf reſt in Safety and Peace; which we perſwade our ſelves you will eaſily grant. So wiſhing unto you all Health and Happineſs, we bid you farewell. From* Danske *the 18th of* October, *in the year* 1587, *and of our Reign the firſt.*

* The *Turks* deſire to be called *Muſſulman*, which in their Language ſignifieth a true believer.

Unto which the Kings Requeſt and Letters, *Amurath* not long after returned this Anſwer in Writing.

Amurath the Third, Emperour of the *Turks*, unto *Sigiſmund* King of *Polonia*, greeting.

Amurath's Anſwer unto the Letters of *Sigiſmund*.

I *Take it well, and as a token of your Love, that your Ambaſſador* John Zamogil *came with your Letters unto our moſt high and glorious Court, the refuge of diſtreſſed Princes; wherein you have given us to underſtand, how that inſtead of the moſt excellent and famous King* Stephen, *of worthy Memory, late King of* Polonia;

1587 Polonia ; *you, deſcended of the ſame noble Stock and Race of the* Polonian *Kings, are by the free election of the whole State of the famous Kingdom of* Polonia, *and the great Kingdom of* Lithuania, *choſen King of* Polonia ; *and being ſent for by lawful Ambaſſadors, by the Favour and Goodneſs of God, to be come unto the City of* Danske, *and from thence to be about to go unto* Cracovia, *the chief City of the Kingdom of* Polonia. *And when you are there arrived, to ſend your Ambaſſador unto our moſt high and glorious Court, to confirm, preſerve, and eſtabliſh the League and Amity commodious and neceſſary for both our Kingdoms, honoured and kept by your antient Predeceſſors, with our Grandfathers and Great-Grandfathers ; yea, and that with greater Zeal and Devotion than any your noble Anceſtors. And therefore your Ambaſſador in your Name requeſteth, That no Invaſion on our behalf be made into the Borders of the Kingdom of* Polonia, *or any harm there done ; and that the moſt noble* Tartar *Prince* Isbam Gerai (*whom God bleſs*) *ſhould be warned, that he neither make nor ſuffer any Incurſion to be made into the Confines of the Kingdom of* Polonia. *All which things in your Letters contained, with the reſt which your Ambaſſador hath by word of mouth delivered, are with ſpeed orderly by us conceived. Know you therefore our moſt ſtately and magnificent Court to be always open unto ſuch as reſort thereunto, and that from thence never man had repulſe, neither ſhall hereafter have ; wherefore it beſeemeth you, as ſoon as theſe our Letters ſhall be brought unto you, to open your Eyes, and to beware that nothing be on your part done againſt the Majeſty of our Court, and the League ; and that our Peace and Amity be neither in much or little diſturbed, but as beſt beſeemeth, well and ſincerely kept ; and ſo perſwade your ſelf it ſhall on our part alſo be moſt inviolately obſerved. Our Letters are alſo directed unto the moſt excellent* Tartar *Prince* Isbam Gerai (*whom God bleſs*) *ſtraightly charging and commanding him, not to make or ſuffer any Incurſion to be made into the Borders of* Polonia. *In brief, the League and Amity ſhall on our part be religiouſly kept ; and whoſoever ſhall preſume to do any harm unto the Kingdom or Confines of* Polonia, *ſhall therefore without fail receive from us due Puniſhment. So on your part alſo it is requiſite that the ſame be done, and that in Declaration of your Love, you forget not oftentimes to intimate unto our moſt high and glorious Court, ſuch certain Occurrents and News as ſhall happen in thoſe parts, which ſhall be unto us a ſign of your ſincere Love and Friendſhip. So know you, and give credit unto this our Seal from* Conſtantinople.

Neither was King *Sigiſmund* unmindful of this his Promiſe before made for the ſending of his Ambaſſadour ; but being poſſeſſed of the *Polonian* Kingdom, ſent *Chriſtopher Dziercius* (his Secretary) Ambaſſador unto *Amurath* for the confirming of the League ; which he hath ever ſince ſo firmly kept with the *Turk*, that he could never by any Entreaty of the Emperour, or of the Princes Electors, or others, or in reſpect of the common danger, be drawn into the Fellowſhip of this long and religious War, ſo hardly maintained by the Emperour and ſome few other Chriſtian Princes his Confederates ; firſt againſt *Amurath*, whilſt he lived, and ever ſince againſt *Mahomet* his Son, which now reigneth ; the iſſue whereof, God grant it prove not as well unto the *Polonians* as others farther off, in fine, lamentable.

1588

Genge *taken by* Ferat.

The year following, *Ferat* (yet the *Turks* General in *Perſia*) took the City of *Genge*, being before for fear of the *Turks* quite abandoned and forſaken by the Inhabitants ; who yet, upon his Faith given for their Safety, returned again, yielding to pay unto the *Turk* a yearly Tribute of five thouſand Duckats. But when he would have gone further into the Enemies Country, having part of his Army cut off by the way, he was by his mutinous Souldiers fouly entreated, wounded, and enforced to retire. *Cicala Baſſa* alſo paſſing over the River *Euphrates*, had in thoſe quarters divers bloody Skirmiſhes with the *Perſians*, ſometime carrying away the better, and ſometime the worſe, as the Fortune of the Field ſerved. Until at length, *Amurath* himſelf, no leſs weary than his People of that long and chargeable War, and the *Perſian* King alſo inclining to Peace ; he, by the perſwaſion of *Sinan Baſſa* (but lately before received into Favour) was now contented to be intreated to hearken unto the ſame ; moved thereunto, as well by reaſon of new Troubles then in other Places ariſing, as for the great Famine and Plague then raging in *Conſtantinople*. And conſidering withal what a great Territory he had won from the *Perſians*, and how neceſſary it was for him by Peace to confirm himſelf in thoſe his new Conqueſts, and by the building of certain ſtrong Forts for the Succour of one another, and by the placing of his *Timariots* therein, to aſſure the ſame unto him ; all which without Peace he could not poſſibly do, as the old Baſſa right wiſely told him. For which Reaſons he yielded to Peace ; and ſo Ambaſſadors paſſing to and fro, a Peace was at length agreed upon betwixt theſe two great *Mahometan* Princes ; the *Turk* covenanting to keep unto himſelf the Places he had already gained ; namely, *Tauris*, *Genge*, *Siruan*, and *Chars*, with all the Profits thereof ariſing, for the maintenance of his Garriſons and Timariots there. Whereof it was thought new ſtirs would preſently ariſe ; the *Turks* grown inſolent of their late Victories, being not able to content themſelves with the Conditions of the League ; and the *Perſians* not willing to live in continual fear of the *Turks*, eſpecially ſeeing themſelves to be daily by them more and more oppreſſed ; and withal doubting leſt the *Turks*, after they had taken faſt footing in thoſe new conquered Countries, and ſo grown ſtrong, and gotten better Knowledge of the Paſſages, ſhould, (after their ambitious manner) ſeek to poſſeſs themſelves of the reſt ; not keeping the Covenants agreed upon betwixt them, nor at all regarding the Capitulations of the League. Which was nevertheleſs (as we ſaid) on both ſides for the ſpace of ten years orderly confirmed, with all due Circumſtances and Ceremonies, in like Occurrents by the great Potentates of the World uſed ; and for the more aſſurance thereof, one of the *Perſian* King's Sons, or, as ſome others ſay, one of his Nephews, given unto the *Turks* in Hoſtage, as *Amurath* required.

The *Janizaries* in a Tumult at *Conſtantinople*.

These long Wars thus ended, ſhortly after a great Sedition was raiſed at *Conſtantinople* by the Souldiers of the Court, which, returning out of *Perſia*, with great Inſolency demanded their Pay. For the ſatisfying of whom, by the conſent of the great Sultan himſelf, the Value of the Coin was inhanſed, and a new kind of Subſidy for levying of Money impoſed upon the Subjects in general, none excepted ; who, ſtanding upon their antient Liberties and Priviledges, refuſed to pay it, eſpecially the *Janizaries* and other Souldiers of the Court. Whereſore their *Aga* or Captain was commanded to appeaſe them, and to perſwade them to pay the demanded Tribute ; in attempting whereof he was in danger to have been ſlain by the inſolent *Janizaries* ; and yet nevertheleſs for prevailing no more with them, was in diſpleaſure thruſt out of his Office, and another placed in his room, that ſhould have married *Amurath's* Daughter ; of whom for all that, the *Janizaries* would not accept in any caſe, but threw Stones at him, and threatned to kill him. The next Night a great Fire aroſe in the City, for the quenching whereof, the *Janizaries* were commanded (as their

Great harm done by Fire in *Conſtantinople*.

1588 Duty was) to put to their helping hands; which they not only moſt obſtinately refuſed to do, but alſo kept back others that brought Water for the quenching thereof, and, together with the other Souldiers of the Court, did what they might to make it burn the faſter. With the rage of this Fire were conſumed ſeven of their *Temples*, twenty five great Inns, fifteen thouſand Houſes, with many Warehouſes and Shops. To appeaſe this dangerous ſtir, and to prevent further miſchief, commandment was given to the *Beglerbeg* of *Græcia* and *David Paſſy* a Jew (the firſt Authors of this new Impoſition) that they ſhould either gather the aforeſaid Tribute by them deviſed, and pay the Souldiers, or by ſome other means to give them Contentment: But here began the Prieſts publickly to perſwade the People from payment of this new Tribute, or any other ſuch like; perſwading them in any caſe to defend their antient Liberties and Cuſtoms; whereupon the Churches were by the Prieſts ſhut up, publick Prayers for the Health of the *Sultan* intermitted, the Baſſaes Houſes aſſaulted, and all the City on a new hurly burly. For the appeaſing whereof, *Amurath* was glad to yield unto the *Janizaries*, to pay the Souldiers out of his own Treaſury, to revoke his Mandates given out for the exaction of the new tribute, and to deliver the two Perſwaders thereof to the Pleaſure of the *Janizaries*; who drew them up and down the Streets at Horſes Tails, and afterwards cutting off their Heads, in ſcorn toſſed them from hand to hand one to another, as if they had been Tenniſe Balls.

Sinan Baſſa of *Buda* invadeth the upper part of *Hungary*.

About the latter end of *September*, *Sinan*, *Baſſa* of *Buda*, having with the aſſiſtance of the *Sanzacks* about *Fille*, raiſed an Army of eleven thouſand Souldiers, with purpoſe to have ſpoiled all the upper part of *Hungary*, came the ſixth of *October* before the Caſtle of *Putnoe*, and gave thereunto ſummons; but finding them in the Caſtle better provided and more reſolute than he had before ſuppoſed, he departed thence, and paſſing the River *Schayo*, came to *Sixo*, a Town of about five hundred Houſes, which after a ſore battery he took, and burnt it down to the Ground. In the mean while, *Claudius Ruſſel*, General for the Wars in that part of *Hungary*, having aſſembled his Forces, came upon him, and after a hard fight put him to the worſe, when he had ſlain of his *Turks* about two thouſand five hundred, beſides three hundred other drowned in the River *Schayo*. Shortly after, the *Chriſtians* in like manner breaking into the Frontiers of the *Turks*, took from them the Caſtles of *Blavenſtein*, *Geſtes*, with ſome other ſmall Forts thereabouts in the upper part of *Hungary*.

Sinan overthrown.

1589 *Sinan*, for that he had contrary to the League, and without the Commandment of *Amurath*, ſo unfortunately attempted War in *Hungary*, was the next year in great Diſpleaſure ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, and *Ferat*, Baſſa of *Boſna* (late General of the *Turks* Army againſt the *Perſians*, and now but newly come home) placed in his room at *Buda*.

Amurath, before not ignorant of the great Preparation that *Philip* the King of *Spain* had made, and of the invincible *Armado* (as it was termed) by him ſet forth for the Invaſion of *England* (the Fame whereof had long before filled a great part of the World) as alſo of the evil Succeſs thereof the laſt year, *viz.* 1588; and of the purpoſe her Majeſty of *England* had for the troubling of his rich Trade, eſpecially into the *Weſt Indies*, and for the relieving of *Don Anthonio*, by him driven out of *Portugal*; wrote unto her about this time concerning thoſe and ſuch like matters as had been moved by her Agent, as followeth:

Amurath the Third, Emperour of the *Turks*, unto *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, greeting.

1589

Nicholaus Reuſnerius Epiſt. Turcic. lib. 12. *pag.* 42.

Amurath's Letters unto the Queen of *England*.

MOST Honourable Matron of the Chriſtian *Religion, Mirror of Chaſtity, adorned with the Brightneſs of Sovereignty and Power amongſt the moſt chaſt Women of the People which ſerve Jeſu, Miſtriſs of great Kingdoms, reputed of greateſt Majeſty and Praiſe among the* Nazarites, Elizabeth *Queen of* England, *to whom we wiſh a moſt happy and proſperous Reign. You ſhall underſtand by our high and Imperial Letters directed unto you, how that your Orator, reſiant in our ſtately and magnificent Court, hath preſented unto the Throne of our Majeſty a certain writing, wherein he hath certified us, how that about four years ago you have made war upon the King of* Spain *for the abating and breaking of his Forces, wherewith he threatneth all other Chriſtian Princes, and purpoſeth to make himſelf the ſole Monarch both of them and all the World beſide. As alſo, how that the ſame King of* Spain *hath by force taken from* Don Anthonio (*lawfully created King of* Portugal) *his Kingdom; and that your Intention is, that his Ships which go and come into the* Indies *may from henceforth be embarred and ſtayed from that* Navigation; *wherein are yearly brought into* Spain, *precious Stones, Spices, Gold and Silver, eſteemed worth many millions, wherewith the aforeſaid King, as with a great Treaſure enriched, hath means to moleſt and trouble all other Chriſtian Princes; which if he ſhall ſtill proceed to do, he will make himſelf daily ſtronger and ſtronger, and ſuch an one as may not eaſily be weakned. After that, your aforeſaid Orator requeſted our Highneſs, in the beginning of the next Spring to ſend out our Imperial Fleet againſt him, being aſſured that the King of* Spain *could not be able eaſily to withſtand it, for that he had now already received a great overthrow by your Fleet; and being ſcarce able to withſtand you alone, if he ſhould be on divers parts invaded, muſt needs be overcome, to the great benefit of all the Chriſtian Princes, as alſo of our Imperial State. Beſides this, that whereas the aforeſaid* Don Anthonio *is by force driven out and deprived of his Kingdom, that we (to the imitation of our noble Progenitors of happy Memory, whoſe Graves the Almighty lighten) ſhould alſo give the Aid and Succour of our magnificent State, as did they unto all ſuch as had recourſe unto their high Courts and Pallaces for relief. In brief, all theſe things, with many others which your aforeſaid Orator hath at large declared unto our Imperial Throne, we have well underſtood, and laid them up in our deep remembrance. But foraſmuch as we have for many years paſt made Wars in* Perſia, *with a full Reſolution and intent utterly to conquer and ſubdue the Kingdom of that accurſed* Perſian Heretick, *and to joyn the ſame unto our antient Dominions; and now by the Grace of God, and help of our great Prophet, are now upon the point for the ſatisfying of our deſire; that once done, due Proviſion ſhall be aſſigned unto all ſuch things as you have of us requeſted or deſired. Wherefore, if you ſhall ſincerely and purely continue the bond of Amity and Friendſhip with our high Court, you ſhall find no more ſecure Refuge or ſafer Harbour of good Will or Love. So at length all things ſhall go well and according to your Hearts deſire in your Wars with* Spain, *under the ſhadow of our happy Throne. And foraſmuch as the King of* Spain *hath by Fraud and Deceit got whatſoever he holdeth, without doubt theſe deceitful Deceivers ſhall by the Power of God in ſhort time be diſpatched and taken out of the way. In the mean time we exhort you not to loſe any Opportunity or Time, but to be always vigilant, and according to the Conventions betwixt us, favourable unto our Friends, and unto our Enemies a Foe. And give notice here to our high Court, of all the new Wars which you*

ſhall

1589 *ſhall underſtand of concerning the ſaid King of* Spain, *for the behoof both of your ſelf and us. To be brief, your Ambaſſador, after he had with all care and diligence diſpatched his Ambaſſage, and here left in his place one* Edward Bardon *his Deputy and Agent, now by our leave maketh his return towards your Kingdom, being for the good and faithful Service he here did, worthy to be of you eſteemed, honoured, and before others promoted; who when he hath obtained of you all thoſe his deſerved Honours and Preferments, let him or ſome other principal Ambaſſador without delay be appointed to our Imperial Court, to continue this Office of Legation. This we thought good to have you certified of under our moſt honourable Seal; whereunto you may give undoubted Credence. From our Imperial Palace at* Conſtantinople, *the 15th of this bleſſed Month* * Ramazan, 1589.

** September.*

Yet for all theſe fair ſhews, it may ſeem unto him that looketh more near into the ſtate of the *Turkiſh* Affairs at thoſe times, and that which hath enſued ſince, that *Amurath*, glad of the Diſcord of theſe two ſo great Chriſtian Princes, and not well aſſured of his new Conqueſts in *Perſia*, had no great mind to the Invaſion of *Spain*, as too far from the ſtrength of his Empire, an Enterpriſe not to be ſo eaſily managed by Sea, as were the Wars he ſhortly after undertook againſt the Chriſtian Emperour *Rodolph* by Land; wherewith for all that (God be thanked) he found his hands full all the remainder of his Life, as did alſo his Son *Mahomet* that reigned after him.

The *Polonian* Coſſacks invade the *Tartarians* and *Turks*.

About this time alſo the *Polonian* Borderers (whom they call *Coſſacks*) a rough and warlike kind of People, after their wonted manner making an inrode upon the *Turks* and *Tartarians*, upon the ſudden ſurpriſed *Koſlaw*, a Port Town within a days Journey of *Caffa*, where they had the ſpoil of many rich Warehouſes of the *Turks* Merchants, and the rifling of certain Ships lying there in Harbour; and having taken their Pleaſure, burnt the reſt, and ſo with a great booty returned to their lurking Places. With which Injury the *Tartars*, provoked and ſet on by the *Turks*, to the number of forty thouſand, brake into *Podolia* and the Provinces near unto *Polonia*, and reſting in no place, but burning the Country before them, ſlew the poor Country People without Mercy, and making havock of all that they light upon, beſides the ſpoil, carried away with them many thouſands of moſt miſerable Captives; the greateſt part whereof for all that the *Polonians* reſcued, with the notable ſlaughter of the Enemy, ſurpriſed in their return. Whereupon ſuch unkindneſs riſe between the *Turkiſh* Emperour and *Sigiſmund* the *Polonian* King, that it was thought it would have broken out into open Wars, had not the *Polonian* by his Ambaſſadors and the Mediation of the Queen of *England*, wiſely appeaſed the angry *Turk*, and ſo again renewed his League.

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The Reaſons wherewith the Viſier Baſſaes perſwade *Amurath* to make War.

Amurath, now at Peace with the World, from which he by Nature abhorred not, and ſitting idle and melancholy at home, was perſwaded by the Baſſaes his Counſellors, to take ſome new War in hand; for that great Empires (as they ſaid) could not without the continual uſe of Arms long ſtand or continue; as appeared by the *Roman* State, which ſo long as it was at Wars with *Carthage*, or their great Captains and Commanders occupied in arms againſt their Neighbour Princes, ſtill remained triumphant, and commanded over a great part of the World; but giving it ſelf to Eaſe and Pleaſure, and the Martial Men not after their wonted manner imployed, it in ſhort time by Civil Diſcord fell, and of the Miſtreſs of the World, became it ſelf a Prey even unto the baſeſt Nations. Which old *Cato* in his great Wiſdom foreſeeing, cryed out in the Senate, That the Souldiers and Men of War were to be kept ſtill buſied in Arms far from home, for that in ſo doing, all ſhould go well with the State, and the Glory thereof increaſe. Whereunto the *Othoman* Emperours, his noble Progenitors, having reſpect, propounded not Peace as the end of their Wars (as do other weak Princes having their own Forces in diſtruſt) but as invincible Conquerours, ſtill ſowed Wars upon Wars, making one Victory the beginning of another; whereby they not only brought that their Empire unto that greatneſs it was now of, but by ſuch continual Imployment made their Souldiers more courageous and ready, and alſo kept them from Rebellions and Tumults; whereunto in time of Peace, and living at eaſe, theſe Martial men are moſt commonly inclined, learning (as all others do) by doing nothing, to do that is evil and naught. Every thing (as they ſaid) was by the ſame means to be maintained, whereby it was at the firſt increaſed; and that therefore great Empires, as they were by Wars begun and augmented, ſo were they by continual Wars alſo to be from time to time eſtabliſhed; whereas otherwiſe the Souldiers living in Peace, and forgetting their Martial Proweſs, would for moſt part grow cowardly, as giving themſelves over to the Love of their own Dwellings, of their Wives, and of their Children, and other Pleaſures; or elſe, converting their Studies to Merchandiſe, or other profitable Trades, would in time forget the uſe of Arms, and be thereunto again hardly drawn; unto the great weakning of his ſtrength both by Sea and Land, and the diminiſhing of the number of his great Commanders and expert Captains, not to be had without the continual uſe of War. With theſe and ſuch like Reaſons, the great Baſſaes of the Court perſwaded *Amurath*, That he muſt of neceſſity take ſome new Expedition in hand, and not to ſuffer his valiant Souldiers, but now lately returned out of *Perſia*, to grow lazie or inſolent for lack of Imployment. Which they did not ſo much for the Love of their Prince, or Zeal unto the State, as for their own particular profit; eſpecially the two old Baſſaes *Sinan* and *Ferat*, the envious Competitors the one of the others Honour; who, although they both, much and almoſt all commanded both in Peace and War, yet was their Honours greater, and their Profit far more, in commanding of the *Turks* great Armies abroad, than in ſitting in the *Divano* at home; unto which no leſs honourable than profitable Preferment they both with like Ambition aſpired, accompanied with the hot deſires of their great and many Favorites both at home and elſewhere. Theſe Perſwaſions well pleaſed *Amurath*; who although he were himſelf no Souldier, yet was he deſirous of new Conqueſts, and to increaſe his Name; accounting it no leſs honour unto himſelf, by his Servants at his appointment to perform great things, than it was unto his Anceſtors to do that they did themſelves in Perſon. But in this ſo ſerious a matter, and of ſo great conſequence, *Amurath* at the firſt could not tell what beſt to reſolve upon; not for that he was not deſirous of Wars, but becauſe as yet he certainly knew not againſt whom he might with greateſt Profit and leaſt Difficulty and Danger convert his Forces; upon which point his Counſellors agreed not, but for divers Reaſons were of divers Opinions. Which, foraſmuch as they contain matters of greateſt importance of all things then in the World done, but eſpecially concerning the Profit of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, I ſhall not think it unworthy my Labour, to ſet them down in ſuch order as I find them credibly reported; having moreover in them many Letters and moſt weighty matters not yet come to all mens Knowledge; as alſo opening the Devices of the *Turkiſh* Tyrant againſt the *Chriſtian* Princes; a motive not only for

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The Cauſes why *Amurath* would not ſuddenly reſolve upon War.

them to joyn in Counſel together how to withſtand him, but for the common *Chriſtian* Commonweals ſake to forget and forgive all their private Diſpleaſures, and with their united Forces and Power honourably and courageouſly to make War upon him, and ſo at length by the Mercy of God to overthrow him, together with his tyrannical Empire, the greateſt Terror of our time.

Eight ſeveral Opinions of the Viſier Baſſaes, concerning the War to be taken in hand.

The great Baſſaes, concerning the intended War, were of eight ſundry Opinions; whereof the firſt was, That the Wars againſt the *Perſian* ſhould be renewed; the ſecond, For the Invaſion of the King of *Morocco* and *Fez*; the third, For War to be taken in hand againſt the King of *Spain*; the fourth, For the beſieging again of *Malta*; the fifth was, To ſet upon the *Venetians*; the ſixth, For the invading of ſome part of *Italy*; the ſeventh, For the King of *Polonia*; the eighth and laſt was, For War to be made upon the Emperour and the Kingdom of *Hungary*. With all the which aforeſaid Princes, except the *Spaniard*, although the *Turk* were then in League, and could not with all or any of them make War, without the notable breach of his Faith and Honour; yet was that never made queſtion or ſcruple of, but only, which might beſt ſtand with the Profit of his State for him to ſet upon; his barbarous Law allowing him that Liberty, for the more aſſuring of his State, or inlarging of his Empire, to break all Faith and Promiſe, eſpecially with the *Chriſtians*; not more in any thing to be pittied, than in repoſing any Credit or Confidence in the Faith of ſuch a miſcreant.

The firſt Opinion and Reaſons of them that would have the Wars renewed in *Perſia*.

The Reaſons the great Baſſaes alleged for the renewing of the *Perſian* War, were, For that the *Perſian* King was of himſelf like to break the League ſo lately with him concluded, ſo ſoon as he ſhould know the *Turks* entangled in any other War; moved thereunto, as well for the recovery of his Country, to his great diſhonour loſt, as alſo in Revenge of ſo many and ſo great Injuries to him of late done by the *Turkiſh* Emperours. Beſide that, the *Chriſtian* Princes would perſwade him and prick him forward thereunto; eſpecially the *Spaniard*, who for the nearneſs of *India* might without his great charge procure him ſo to do, and alſo conveniently furniſh him with great Ordnance and Canoneers, which it was well known he of late did. The Countries alſo but lately conquered, were not yet (as they ſaid) in quietneſs or ſafety, and the Fortreſſes therein but of late built, together with the Garriſons therein, to be in great danger, being for the length of the way, and difficulty of the Paſſage, not to be ſtill ſpeedily relieved; inſomuch, that if the *Perſians* did them no other harm, but only to forrage and waſte the Country about them, they ſhould bring the Inhabitants into ſuch diſtreſs, as that thoſe new conquered Countries were again by the Defendants to be forſaken, or elſe they muſt themſelves with hunger periſh. True Glory (they ſaid) conſiſted not ſo much in conquering, as in the uſe of the Conqueſt, and the Proſecution of the happy Victory; and that therefore *Amurath* ſhould take heed, that he provoked not the Wrath and Indignation of the great Prophet *Mahomet* againſt him; who having by his good Favour and Guide obtained more Victories than any of his Predeceſſors againſt the Enemies of his Religion, ought as a religious and devout Prince ſeverely to revenge the wrong done by them both to God and man. Unto which religious War *Usbeg Han* the *Tartar* King, as alſo the Prince of *Geilan* offered their ready help; as for the event of the Victory, now as good as in his hand, he was to judge by the ſucceſs of his former Wars. Neither that he need to fear the *Perſian* Horſemen, although they uſed *Arabian* Horſes, being by his men many times ſhamefully put to flight; or yet to doubt leſt the *Georgians*, in favour of the *Perſians*, ſhould take up Arms, for that many of them were already under his Obeiſance, and ſubject unto the Baſſa of *Teflis*, and other his Commanders; the reſt were his Vaſſals, or elſe ſuch, as following the Fortune of their Princes *Simon* and *Alexander*, ſought after no greater matter, but contenting themſelves with their own Country, although but ſmall, thought themſelves well if they might keep and defend the ſame; by Nature and Scituation ſo ſtrong, as that there is ſcarce any way unto it, by reaſon of the high and broken Mountains, the thick Woods, and ſtreight Paſſages.

The ſecond Opinion, for making of War upon the King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, and the Reaſon thereof.

The ſecond Opinion which was delivered, was for the Tranſportation of his Wars into *Affrick* againſt the King of *Morocco*, commonly called the *Seriphe*; and that for theſe Cauſes moſt, It would be a great ſhame and reproach (as they ſaid) unto the *Othoman* Empire, that it was not yet able to ſubdue theſe *Moors* and People of *Affrick*, in number but few; neither was it leſs ſhame or diſhonour unto the *Othoman* Emperours, to have ſo ſmall a Territory in *Affrica*, being the third part of the World, which by reaſon of the nearneſs unto *Italy*, had long time held Wars with the *Romans*. Beſide that, *Algiers* and *Tunis* could never be ſafely kept by the *Turks*; neither that the Subjects and Pirats which inhabited thoſe Cities would ever be contented or at quiet, untill they had again got that Kingdom into their hands. The Promontory of *Aguero*, and Port of *Larace* (two Ports without the Streights) were (as they ſaid) to be taken, as Places very commodious for the *Turks* Friends, ſeeking in thoſe Seas after Booty; and for the ſecuring of their Trade. And although the *Seriphe* were himſelf a *Mahometan*, and held his Kingdom as a Tributary unto the *Othoman* Empire; yet had he ſecret Intelligence with the *Spaniard* and the Knights of *Malta*, whereby they not long ſince had upon the ſudden almoſt ſurpriſed *Tripolis*, he in the mean time as it were winking thereat. And that altho' the *Spaniard* poſſeſſed in *Affrick*, *Maraſchebir*, *Oran*, *Pegnon*, *Tanger*, *Arzilia*, *Mazaga*, *Ceute* or *Septa*, Places whereby he might help and aſſiſt the *Moors*; yet might his Force and Attempts by a ſtrong Fleet be eaſily hindered, and *Spain* it ſelf infeſted. Beſide that, the *Spaniards* had yet in ſuch freſh remembrance the loſs of *Tunis* and *Guletta* (Places by them thought inexpugnable, and yet by *Sinan Baſſa* to his immortal Praiſe taken) as that they would not for the *Moor's* ſake eaſily ſeem to attempt any great thing againſt the victorious *Turks*.

The third Opinion, concerning the Conqueſt of *Malta*.

The third Opinion was concerning the War to be made againſt them of *Malta*, which was by a ſtrong Fleet to be performed; for that the Gallies of *Malta* did daily great hurt, as well unto the *Turks* Merchants, as unto ſuch as for Devotion-ſake travelled by Sea unto *Mecha*. And that therefore the War was thither to be transferred, not only for religions ſake and to aſſecure the Paſſage thither from the Incurſions of the *Malteſes*, but in Revenge of the old and late Injuries by them done; and eſpecially to blot out the Infamy and Diſgrace which the great Sultan *Solyman* had incurred, at ſuch time as he had in vain beſieged that Iſland; and to requite the loſs by him there ſuſtained. Beſide that, they alſo alleged the common Complaints of the Subjects; for that there were many which pitiouſly lamented the Miſery and Calamity, ſome of their Friends, ſome their Kinsfolk, whom they knew to live in moſt woful Servitude with thoſe Knights, and whom they moſt earneſtly deſired to have now ſet at Liberty; complaining his Subjects to have been ſo far from ſuffering of any ſuch things from thoſe Knights in the time of his Anceſtors, as that contrariwiſe they them-

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1590 ſelves were by them driven out of the Iſland of the *Rhodes*, the ſtrongeſt Bulwark of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal toward the *Eaſt*. Being moreover worthy alſo to be chaſtiſed, for that they had holpen the rebellious *Moors* with all kind of Munition, and had themſelves attempted to have ſurpriſed *Modon*.

The fourth Opinion, For War to be made againſt the King of *Spain*, and the Reaſons thereof.

In the fourth place were they which were of Opinion, that it were beſt for him to make War upon the King of *Spain*. Theſe men alleged it to be impoſſible for the *Turkiſh* Empire to aſpire unto the Monarchy of the whole World (whereunto all the *Turks* Actions and Devices were always as at a certain mark directed) except the *Spaniard's* great Strength and Power were firſt weakned, wherein he ſeemed to ſurpaſs all other the Chriſtian Kings and Princes; and that there was no fear leſt he ſhould beſiege *Algiers*, which he knew to be now much better fortified than it was in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. And that although the *Spaniards* without ceaſing beſought their King for the undertaking of that Expedition, by reaſon of the new Loſſes and Harms which they daily received from the Pyrats of *Affrica*; yet would he not hearken unto their Requeſt, for fear of the Danger imminent both to himſelf and his Subjects from the Enemies Fleet, which he ſhould in ſo doing draw into the *Spaniſh* Seas; neither would the *Spaniſh* Gallies eaſily come into the *Turks* Countries in the *Eaſt*, for being too far from their own Country, which for the moſt part ſtood in need of their help. And that the King of *Spain* was with the Multitude of his Buſineſs, or other his urgent Affairs ſtill ſo hindred, as that he could not ſuddenly put in Execution what his Counſel for the Wars ſhould decree. As alſo how much it was to be gathered by that which hapned not long ſince at *Preveza* and *Navarinum*, That the *Spaniards* ſhunned the *Othoman* Forces; as alſo how warily the King dealt in all his Affairs, leſt at length againſt his Will he ſhould be enforced to enter into Wars with the *Turk*, was moſt manifeſt; as was to be ſeen when as of late about the end of the *Perſian* War he refuſed to give Aid unto the *Perſian* King whom he might have holpen, and was ſo before wont to do. And in caſe that he would ſtand upon his Guard, and by force ſeek to repel force; yet ſhould he ſcarce have ſo much Strength as (beſide thoſe Wars which he now maketh in divers Places) to be able to undertake alſo a new War, and to find ſo many Souldiers, with ſo much Coin and other things neceſſary for ſo great a War. It ſtood him in hand (as they ſaid) to defend the Low-Countries, and to recover again the Provinces there loſt, which of themſelves wonderful ſtrong, both by reaſon of the Sea and the Multitude of the Rivers, were alſo with wonderful Courage and Pertinacy defended by the Inhabitants, for their Liberty and Religions ſake. Whereunto the *Engliſh* (at deadly hatred with the *Spaniard*) might many ways give great help, if they ſhould invade *Portugal*, or with their Ships lie in wait for his *Indian* Fleet, or make Incurſions into other his Kingdoms, as they did not long ſince at the *Groine* and *Cadez*: Places moſt fit to trouble *Spain*, and to hinder his Traffick into the *Indies* or other Places. Beſide that, he was at that time ſo intangled with his Wars in *France*, as that he could ſcarce find how to diſpatch himſelf thereof, without the loſs of his Honour and Credit. And admit he ſhould make Peace with the aforeſaid Princes, in ſuch ſort as that he ſhould not from thenceforth from them receive any harm; yet were other means to be ſought and taken in hand for his farther diſturbance, as by troubling his rich Trade for Spices and other Merchandiſe, whereof he reapeth great Profit; as alſo if need were, by driving his Ships out of the *Perſian* Gulf, by the help of thoſe Gallies which ſtill lie at road at *Poſſidium*, which we now call *Suez*. And that the Fortreſſes and ſtrong holds he there poſſeſſeth, were to be ſet upon, and if it might be, taken from him; as was once attempted againſt the *Portugals* at *Diu* and *Ormuz*; the like whereof *Alphonſus Albuquercius* (the King of *Portugal's* Viceroy in *India*) attempted, when as with his light Horſemen running through that Country, he thought upon a ſudden to have ſpoiled *Mecha*, and to have robbed the Sepulchre of *Mahomet* (as had hapned under the Empire of the *Sultans*) and as *Trajan* the Emperour had long ſince in like manner attempted to rage and ſpoil. Thoſe Places which he poſſeſſed in *Affrick* were (as they ſaid) to be ſet upon, and the Coaſt of *Spain* towards the *Mediterranean* to be infeſted; ſo at length, to gratifie the *Moors* his Subjects, who ſtill inſtantly requeſted the ſame, that ſo they might more ſafely traffick and travel, and that ſo the *Moors* might at length be delivered from the imperious command of the *Spaniards*; of which exploit Sultan *Selymus*, lately before dead, was in his life time well perſwaded; but might now at this time be much more commodiouſly done, for that the *Mooriſh* Nation was now greatly increaſed, and much oppreſſed by the *Spaniards*; and having got great Wealth by the Trade of Merchandiſe, even by Nature or Religion, had conceived a mortal hatred againſt the *Spaniards*; whereunto might not a little avail the Ports in *Affrick*, whereinto the *Turks* Fleet might at all times in ſafety retire. And in brief, that which was of greateſt importance to the better ſucceſs of this War, the *French* King and the Queen of *England*, had of their own accord promiſed the Continuation of their Wars, and that the *French* King ſhould invade *Navarre*, and by force of Arms recover the right he pretended unto that Kingdom; whilſt in the mean time the Queen of *England* ſhould not only trouble him in the *Weſt Indies*, and other Places of the Ocean toward the *North* and *Weſt*, but might alſo ſtir up new Broils in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, where moſt part of the People with great impatience bear the proud command of the *Spaniard*; as perſwaded (and that truly) all their Proſperity and Quietneſs to have been loſt, together with their laſt King, their true and lawful Soveraign. For he, at Peace with the Kings of *France* and *England*, exceedingly thereby enriched his Subjects by Traffick; whereas, ſince they fell into the Hands of the *Spaniard*, they daily complain of their new Loſſes and Dangers by Reaſon of his perpetual Wars. Moreover, that there was to be found great ſtore of exiled *Spaniards* diſperſed here and there, which being malecontent and weary of the *Spaniſh* Government, were fled not only out of *Portugal*, but even out of *Arragon* and other parts of his Kingdom; which now living in *France*, *England*, and *Conſtantinople*, both ſecretly and openly, liberally offered great helps; the like whereof many of the *Moors* alſo promiſed. All which together ſeemed to promiſe a moſt eaſie Expedition and certain Victory, if any ſhould upon the ſudden invade *Spain*; for that there was almoſt no uſe of Arms, the Inhabitants at home ſeldom times exerciſing themſelves therein; neither in Places needful having any ordinary Garriſons, and but few Horſes fit for Service. And that in fine it was to be conſidered, *Spain* to be greatly bared of men which knew how valiantly and couragiouſly to manage Arms, for the often choice they make of them, which almoſt moſt daily tranſported into the *Indies*, *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*, whereby the ſtrength of his Country muſt needs be exceedingly impaired; ſo that if they ſhould be invaded with any ſtrong and mighty Army, they 1590 they might ſeem hardly able to be holpen or defended by their own People, but ſhould need the Aid and help of the other near Provinces ſubject unto this Kingdom; which if they ſhould be either letted, or ſtay to come in good time, they ſhould leave ſo much the more eaſie Victory unto their Enemies.

The fifth Opinion for the Invaſion of the *Venetians*, and the Reaſons why.

In the fifth place were they which went about to perſwade *Amurath* to break his League with the *Venetians*; uſing Reaſons rather probable than true, although they might ſeem unto the *Turks* leſs doubtful, for that men eaſily and willingly believe ſuch things as they themſelves deſire. Theſe men went about to prove no Expedition to be leſs difficult than this, as judging of things preſent, by the event of former Wars paſſed; wherein the *Turks* had always taken ſomething from the *Venetians*: who to redeem their Peace, were divers ways enforced to ſatisfie the *Turks*. That the *Venetian* Common-wealth was afraid of the *Turks*, and abhorred War, was manifeſt (they ſaid) in that, that in all Actions it had propounded unto it ſelf Peace, as the end thereof; and after the manner of their Anceſtors, never entred into Wars, but enforced thereunto: and would happily upon the firſt denouncing of Wars, willingly depart with certain Places, for fear of greater harm, or to be utterly overcome, as it appeared they did in the yielding up of *Cyprus*. The Power and Force whereof was not ſo great, as that it could alone ſtand againſt the great Sultan; and to confederate it ſelf with others, would require no ſmall delay, for the great and many Difficulties which commonly uſed to ariſe in making of Leagues; not being now ſo conjoyned with the *Spaniard* as in times paſt, of whoſe aid it being of late deſtitute, was conſtrained to make an hard Peace with *Selymus*. And if ſo be the *Spaniard* would needs joyn himſelf unto the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*, yet that he could by no means afford unto them ſuch Aid and Supplies as were of neceſſity to be required unto ſo great a War, he himſelf being in his Wars otherwiſe ſo intangled; as for all other Confederation they could make without him, to be but weak and to no purpoſe. That which the *Pope* could do herein, to be but little; for albeit he ſhould according to his Duty exhort other Chriſtian Princes to give Aid, and to ſtir them up unto this War, yet that beſide ſome little ſupply of Money hardly drawn out of his own Coffers, and the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, he could ſcarcely perform any thing more; or when he had done his uttermoſt devoir, could but joyn five Gallies of his own unto the *Venetian* Fleet; which, with the Gallies of the Duke of *Savoy*, of the Knights of *Malta*, and of the *Florentines*, could but make a Fleet of ſome twenty Gallies, which was but a ſmall matter. Beſides that, the *Turks* were perſwaded, that betwixt the *Venetian* State and the other Chriſtian Princes was no ſuch Friendſhip and good Agreement, as the greatneſs of the imminent Danger of that War, and as the neceſſity of the cauſe would require; and that hitherto their Treaſures had been ſo exhauſted in paying the Debt they were run into in the laſt War, and in building of Fortreſſes, that happily they were not now ſo furniſhed with Coin, as was requiſite for the defraying of ſo great a War. And unto this War againſt the *Venetians*, conſented almoſt all the Viſier Baſſaes; differing only in this, Where, or againſt what Place of the *Venetian* Territory this War were to be firſt begun; ſome naming one place, and ſome another (for divers Reaſons them thereunto leading) which for brevity we paſs over.

The ſixth Opinion, for the attempting of *Italy*, and the Reaſons thereof.

Otherſome of the Baſſaes in the ſixth place, rejecting all the former Opinions concerning the War to be taken in hand, would have had all the Forces of the *Othoman* Empire, as well by Land as Sea, to have been converted againſt *Italy*; for that otherwiſe the *Turks* ſhould never come unto the Monarchy of the whole World (whereunto as at a mark they had directed all their Actions) except they did firſt ſubdue *Italy*. For that this Country, as the Center of the whole World, was wont to give both Counſel and Aid unto the reſt of the Limbs, whereby the Devices of others were croſſed; and that the *Romans* had at length commanded over all the World, eſpecially for that they held in Poſſeſſion this Country. Hereat did the *Hunnes*, the *Alani* and *Gothes*, the *Vandales*, the *Frenchmen*, *Spaniards*, and *Saraſins*, direct all their Thoughts and Cogitations. In fine, they concluded, That no Expedition could be taken in hand more honourable or profitable than this; for that *Italy* was a Queen amongſt other Provinces, for commodious Scituation, the wholeſomneſs of the Air, the plenty of all things neceſſary for Mans Life, for great, fair, and moſt rich Cities, for the antient Glory and Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire, and many other Cauſes alſo. Neither that this Expedition was to be deemed of much Difficulty, for that *Italy* was under the Rule of divers Princes, unto whoſe command moſt of their Subjects unwillingly obeyed; as alſo, for that the Inhabitants of that Country had now for many years lived in continual Peace, and were therefore the more effeminate and fearful, and ſo unfit for the Wars; and that if that Expedition were in one or divers places taken in hand before the Corn were full ripe, the *Turks* in that ſo fruitful a Country could never want Neceſſaries for them to live upon; whereas the Inhabitants in great number wanting the ſame, and ſhut up within the Walls and Fortifications of their Cities and ſtrong Towns, ſhould be brought into extream wants; which was the more evidently to be ſeen, for that at this time wherein they were at Peace, they had not Corn ſufficient in the Country for ſuch a multitude of People to live upon, but were glad to have it brought unto them from other Places, eſpecially from *Peloponeſus*, *Conſtantinople*, and the Cities upon the Coaſt of the great Ocean. Furthermore, that it was to be conſidered, that moſt part of the *Italians* lived by no other means than by their handy Labour, or the trade of Merchandiſe; of which means if they were deprived, they ſhould in ſhort time be brought to that point, as to be glad to accept of ſuch Conditions as the Victor ſhould propound unto them, or as Tributaries, to ſubmit themſelves unto the *Othoman* Government. Neither that the Souldiers would unwillingly be drawn unto that War; for that they were not to paſs through barren Regions of the Enemy, frozen with Ice, or deſolate, either by rough Woods or inacceſſible Mountains; but were all the way thither to travel through their own Country, and as it were in the ſight of their own Houſes; and if the *Turks* could oftentimes enter ſo far, when as they had their Confines more remote, and their Paſſages more difficult, that the ſame might now much more eaſily be effected, when as they had a far greater Opportunity, and their Enemies ſo near at hand.

The ſeventh Opinion for War to be made againſt the *Polonian*, and the Reaſons thereof.

The ſeventh Opinion was theirs which thought it beſt to have the War transferred into *Polonia*, and from thence into *Hungary* and *Germany*; for which they alleged theſe Reaſons: Firſt, for that they thought it a diſgrace unto the Majeſty and Reputation of the *Othoman* Empire, That the King of *Polonia* had ſometime refuſed to pay his Tribute due (for ſo the *Turks* account of all ſuch Preſents as are unto their Sultan uſually ſent by their Neighbour Princes, of Courteſie) and that therefore he was by force of Arms to be compelled thereunto.

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Which they thought would the more eaſily be obtained, for that there was much ſecret hatred and heart-burning amongſt the *Polonian* Nobility. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous War to be taken in hand; foraſmuch as *Polonia* was confined with *Moldavia*, the *Tartars*, and the *Sanzacks* of *Acherman*, *Bendera*, and *Voſia*; and moreover, for that the *Turks* could never have any aſſured or full Poſſeſſion of *Moldavia* or *Valachia*, except the Inſolency of the *Polonians* were repreſſed; the *Vayvods* of which Countries, when they had enriched themſelves with much Wealth, uſed ſtill to flie into the Kingdom of *Polonia*. Beſides that, they ſhould thereby revenge themſelves for the Injuries done them by the *Coſſacks*, and have more free and ſafe Traffick into *Muſcovia*, and bring a Terrour upon the Duke of *Muſcovia*, by reaſon of the nearneſs of the Country; which great Duke was an Impediment unto the *Othoman* Emperour, that he conquered not the whole Kingdom of *Perſia*. And when they had by this means by little and little drawn unto *Germany*, happily it might ſo come to paſs, as that the *Chriſtian* Emperour ſhould thereby receive ſome notable loſs, his Empire being ſtill more and more expoſed and environed with the *Turks* Forces and Garriſons. *Polonia* they ſaid to be a plain and open Country, neither to have any ſtrong Places for to withſtand them, and the Inhabitants to have ſmall skill in Martial Affairs, for that they had now long lived in Peace. For as for the War that they had with *Maximilian* the Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, it continued not long, and King *Stephen* in the late Wars he had with the *Muſcovite*, uſed for moſt part the *Hungarian* Souldiers, and ended thoſe Wars rather by beſieging than fighting.

The eighth Opinion, for War to be made againſt the Emperour, and the Reaſons thereof.

They which in the eighth and laſt place delivered their Opinions concerning the intended War, perſwaded to have it converted upon the *Chriſtian* Emperour; whom the *Turks* call the King of *Vienna*. The Cauſes they alledged for the beginning of this War was, For that the *Vſcocchi* were grown ſo inſolent as to make good priſe of the *Turks* both by Sea and Land; in ſuch ſort, as that not only for the harms which they did, but even for the Majeſty and Honour of the *Othoman* Empire, their Inſolency was not longer to be ſuffered. By whoſe Injuries it was eſpecially brought to paſs, that the Merchants, to their great hinderance in private, and the Sultans great loſs in common, having left the Town of *Narenta* or *Narona* in the *Turks* Dominion, had removed their Mart to *Salona* (now called *Spalato*) a Town of the *Venetians*; and that yet for all that was not ſo ſufficiently provided for the Security of the ſaid Merchants, although there were Peace betwixt the Emperour and the *Venetians*; for that theſe unruly men for moſt part living upon the ſpoil, troubled all both by Sea and Land with their Robberies, driving away mens Cattel, burning the Villages, and taking away the young Babes out of the Mothers Arms and Laps. Whereby it was eaſily to be ſeen what mind they were of; and that it was not to be doubted, but that if Occaſion ſhould ſerve for them to ſurpriſe any of the *Turks* ſtrong holds upon the Frontiers, they would with all their Power attempt the ſame; which, what a Diſhonour and Infamy (not to ſpeak of the loſs) it would be unto the whole *Othoman* Empire, every man might eaſily gueſs. Neither that it was unknown, how little the Chriſtian Emperour had eſteemed of the *Turk*, at ſuch time as he was in War with the *Perſian*, paying his Tribute too late at his Pleaſure; an evident ſign rather of violating than of eſtabliſhing the League. And that the good Succeſs of this War was not to be deemed either difficult or doubtful; for that the attempt might be given both by *Croatia*, *Hungary*, and *Auſtria*, Countries abounding with all things neceſſary for the maintenance of a great Army; as alſo for that they were almoſt to travel all the way in the *Turks* own Territory. Beſide that, the chief Fortreſſes of *Hungary*, namely *Belgrade*, *Buda*, and *Alba Regalis*, with many other ſtrong places, were already holden by the *Turks* Garriſons, whither their Armies might in all caſes of Extremity in ſafety retire, or out of the ſame Garriſons repair their Loſſes, if any ſhould be. The Roman Empire (as they ſaid) was more deſirous of Peace than War; and the Princes, of nothing more careful, than how to heap up and preſerve their Treaſures; and the People of *Germany*, for that of long they had had no Wars, to be leſs fit now to bear Arms, and worſe to be commanded by their Captains; always having in diſtruſt the *Hungarians*, the *Italians*, and *Spaniards*, for that thoſe Nations are not beloved, but rather hated of the *Germans*, being not at Unity among themſelves, but divided, eſpecially about matters of Religion. Neither that it was to be feared, leſt foreign Princes ſhould give Aid unto the Emperour in this War; The *Polonian* and *Tranſilvanian*, to live now in peace with the *Turk*, and therefore would by no means turn the heat of this War into their own Boſoms; as alſo, for that the *Polonians* were afraid, leſt in ſo doing, they ſhould be driven out of their Country, and enforced to remove themſelves toward the frozen Sea; and the *Tranſilvanian*, having received his Sovereignty from the *Turk*, no leſs in fear (if he ſhould ſo do) to be of him again ſtript and ſpoiled of the ſame; as for the King of *Spain*, although he were of ſuch Power, as might afford unto the Houſe of *Auſtria* great Aid, yet that he was in other Places now too much buſied: and that the Biſhop of *Rome* could not in all Places be ready to ſerve his turn; the Princes of *Italy* would not ſpend their Subjects and Treaſures to pleaſure another man; and that the *Venetian* State would not raſhly ſtir up the *Turks* Arms againſt themſelves, but rather at eaſe expect the event of the War, than to entangle themſelves with other mens Dangers. Theſe were the chief Opinions of the great Baſſaes concerning the War to be taken in hand, not ſo much proceeding from any ripe or ſound Advice, (as commonly they do) but rather from a certain barbarous Inſolency and Contempt of others; wherewith, they moved, do oftentimes vainly perſwade them of the eaſie performance of divers Expeditions; which in proof they find to be not only moſt difficult, but unto themſelves alſo moſt pernicious.

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Amurath reſolveth to make War upon the Emperour, with the Reaſons moving him thereunto.

In this ſo great diverſity of Opinions, *Amurath* ſtood long in doubt what to reſolve upon; deſirous he was in all places to ſhew his Power, and (if it were poſſible) to exceed the Glory of his Predeceſſors, as he thought himſelf to have already done in *Perſia*; having, as he boaſted, by his Servants there performed more than they could themſelves in Perſon with their mighty Armies. Wherefore, contenting himſelf with that he had already done in the *Eaſt*, he reſolved now to turn his Forces againſt the Chriſtian Emperour towards the *Weſt*, and that for divers reſpects. Firſt, it grieved him to ſee the Honour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that it durſt to make head againſt him; beſides that, to make War upon a Country confining upon his own, would be a thing of far leſs Difficulty than was the *Perſian* War, where his Armies were now ſtill to be led through his own peaceable Countries, from whence they were to be at all times plentifully relieved with Victuals and whatſoever elſe they needed. In which Opinion he was alſo confirmed by *Sinan Baſſa*, who having in vain perſwaded him to have made War againſt the *Venetians*, furthered now this War; in hope

1590 thereby to recover his Credit and Reputation (before greatly impaired abroad by the little he did in *Perſia*, as alſo at *Conſtantinople*, by the diſcord betwixt him and *Ferat* Baſſa, commonly called the Black Serpent) as alſo to increaſe his Wealth and Riches; which ſhortly after ſorted to his deſire, being by the great Sultan *Amurath* appointed General for thoſe Wars. But above all others, *Haſſan* Baſſa of *Boſna* furthered this matter, in hope thereby to have gained great Riches, (as the *Turks* manner is) together with the greateſt Honours of the Field, as he was moſt vainly perſwaded by his cold Prophets, to whom he gave no ſmall credit. He therefore daily certified *Amurath* of the harms which the *Vſcocchi* and other the Arch-duke's Servants and Subjects did upon the Frontiers of his Territories; telling him of their Burnings, Spoilings and Robbings, inciting him to begin his War in *Croatia*, and ſo to continue the ſame either againſt the Emperour, or the *Venetians*, or elſe upon the ſudden that way to break into *Italy*, as had ſometime the like been done in the time of *Mahomet*, *Bajazet*, and *Solyman*, his noble Progenitors; whereby to bring a great Terrour upon all the Princes of *Italy*, and to enrich his Souldiers with rich Spoils. By which his importunity he (as a moſt mortal Enemy not onely unto the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but unto all *Chriſtendom*) got leave to begin thoſe ſtirs in the Frontiers of the Empire, which were firſt fatal unto himſelf, and have ever ſince even until this day notably exerciſed the Arms of theſe two laſt *Othoman* Emperours *Amurath* and *Mahomet*; as alſo the *Chriſtian* Emperour, with others his Friends and Conſederates. Yet unto this leave granted unto the Baſſa, was this Condition at the firſt annexed, That he ſhould not ſeem to do it by the Commandment of *Amurath*, but of himſelf, under colour to reſtrain the *Vſocchi*; who, as well by Land as by Sea (as he pretended) ſpoiled both the *Chriſtians* and *Turks*, by the great liberty of the Princes of *Auſtria*, having ſmall care to chaſten them.

Now was it no great matter for *Haſſan* Baſſa to do what *Amurath* his great Lord and Maſter had commanded, for the diſturbing of the Peace betwixt him and the Chriſtian Emperour; the *Turks* Leagues with their neighbour Princes being ſeldom ſo religiouſly kept, but that as well their Souldiers in Garriſon upon their Frontiers by Land, as their Adventurers by Sea, might, to keep themſelves doing, upon a Military Inſolency (as the *Turks* term it) now and then at their pleaſures make incurſions for booty both by Sea and Land: which, anſwered with the like from their Neighbours ſo moleſted, there never wanted new Grievances, and juſt cauſes of Complaint, to the ſtirring up of greater troubles even amongſt the greateſt Princes. 1591 The *Venetians* thus wronged at Sea, and their Merchants robbed; by their Ambaſſadors complained at *Conſtantinople* of the Injuries done them by the *Turks* Pirats, requiring to have them called home and Juſtice done upon them. In like manner the Emperour alſo, ſeeing many things both this year and the next attempted by *Haſſan* Baſſa in *Croatia*, and the other *Turks* in *Hungary*, contrary to the League, to the great diſturbance of his Subjects in both thoſe Countries, by his Ambaſſador then lying at *Conſtantinople* complained of theſe Outrages, deſiring to know whether they were done by the conſent and knowledge of *Amurath* or not; and if not, then to require that order might be taken for the reſtraining thereof; which was accordingly done, and thoſe Incurſions for a while ſtayed, and the former Peace continued. *Amurath* ſtill making ſhew as if he were willing that the League agreed upon for eight years, ſhould not be in any wiſe on his part infringed. At which time the *Perſian* King's Son (the League not long before concluded) died in the *Turks* Court, where he lay in Hoſtage; whoſe dead body *Amurath* cauſed to be honourably ſent home to his Father into *Perſia*, with an Apology in defence of himſelf, againſt the ſuſpicion conceived by ſome, That he ſhould have been the cauſe of the untimely death of that young Prince; ſtill urging withal the confirmation of the League, which by the death of the Prince was like enough to have been broken. Whereof *Amurath* was the more deſirous, for that perſwaded by his Baſſa's (as is aforeſaid) to make Wars with the Emperour (although he notably diſſembled the ſame) he was in hope thereby to add unto his Empire the reliques of *Hungary*, with ſome good part of the Territory of the Houſe of *Auſtria* alſo, and ſo to open himſelf a way into the heart of *Germany*. For which purpoſes he now cauſed very great preparation to be made, and a ſtrong Army to be raiſed; and at the ſame time put a great Fleet of Gallies into the *Archipelago*, for the ſafety of his Iſlands in that Sea.

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The *Perſian* Hoſtage dieth in the *Turks* Court.

1592 According to theſe Deſignments, the Baſſa of *Boſna*, by the Commandment of *Amurath*, with an Army of fifty thouſand entred into *Croatia*, and without reſiſtance, burnt and deſtroyed the Country before him, ſparing nothing that came in his way. And not ſo contented, laid ſiege to the City of *Wibitz*, being the metropolitical City of that Country, ſtrongly ſcituate as it were in an Iſland, compaſſed about with the River *Una*. Which City, after he had ſore battered and twice aſſaulted, was by the diſtreſſed Defendants (now deſpairing of relief, and unable longer to hold it out) yielded unto the Baſſa upon Compoſition, That the *German* Souldiers there in Garriſon, might in ſafety with bag and baggage depart; and that ſuch of the *Chriſtian* Citizens as would, might there ſtill remain without hurt from the *Turks*, either in Body or Goods. Which Conditions the Baſſa faithfully performed to the Garriſon Souldiers, whom, in number but four hundred, he ſent with ſafe convoy into their own Territory: but afterwards, contrary to his faith and promiſe, exerciſed all manner of *Turkiſh* Tyranny upon the poor Citizens. The Emperour, troubled with this unexpected Invaſion of the *Turks*, ſent the Lord *Petzen* (whom he had many times imployed in Embaſſages to the *Turk*) to pray Aid of the *German* Princes againſt the common Enemy. Who, according to the greatneſs of the danger, in large terms promiſed their help. The firſt that made head was *Erneſtus*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, the Emperour's Brother, who with five thouſand Souldiers came from *Vienna* to *Savaria*, commonly called *Greu*, the Metropolis of *Stiria*; to whom repaired daily more ſtrength out of *Carinthia*.

Wibitz the Metropolitical City of *Croatia* yielded to the *Turks*.

In the mean time, the *Turks* Army daily increaſing in *Croatia*, incloſed ſix thouſand Foot-men and five hundred Horſe-men of the *Chriſtians*, who had taken the Mountains, Woods, and ſtreight Paſſages, and ſo hardly beſet them, that of all that number few eſcaped with life: amongſt whom many valiant Souldiers and expert Captains were ſlain; namely *James Prants*, *George Pleſbach*, and *John Welverdurff*. The Baſſa, after the barbarous manner of the *Turks*, to make his Victory ſeem more famous, laded ſix Waggons with the Heads of the ſlain *Chriſtians*. The *Turks* thus raging in *Croatia*, brought a general fear upon all *Hungary*, *Bavaria*, *Bohemia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Sileſia*, and the reſt of the Provinces thereabouts. Whereupon the Emperour, calling together the States of *Sileſia* and *Moldavia*, declared unto them the imminent danger; perſwading them to joyn their Forces with the reſt, for the repulſing of ſo dangerous an Enemy, and ſo imminent a Danger.

The *Chriſtians* overthrown.

After long delay, *Erneſtus* the Arch-duke, the tenth of *Auguſt* came to the Emperour his Brother, with the Ambaſſadors of *Hungary*; and the ſeventh day after were called together the Embaſſadors of the Kingdoms and Provinces of the Empire; where it was throughly debated, how the *Turks* were to be reſiſted, and their attempts infringed; as alſo from whence Forces, Money, and other Warlike proviſion was to be raiſed. For now it was manifeſtly ſeen, that longer to delay the matter was dangerous, and the rather, for that the Beglerbeg or great Commander of *Grecia*, with threeſcore thouſand ſelect Souldiers both Horſe and Foot, of long time exerciſed in the *Perſian* War, was e're long expected; who, joyning with the reſt of the *Turks* Army, might do great matters both in *Hungary* and the Places adjoyning. For preventing of which ſo great and manifeſt dangers, they ſate daily in Counſel in *Prague*, yea oftentimes even from morning untill night; for the *Hungarians*, and eſpecially the Lord *Nadaſti*, a moſt noble and valiant Gentleman amongſt them, inſtantly urged to have Succours ſent into *Hungary*; foraſmuch as the *Turkiſh* Emperour, if he ſhould get into his hands the reſt of the Towns and Caſtles yet holden by the *Chriſtians* in *Hungary*, it was to be feared leſt he ſhould in ſhort time after endanger the whole ſtate of *Germany*: the ſtrength whereof the *Turk* feared not ſo much, as he did thoſe poor reliques of *Hungary*. Others were no leſs careful of the dangers of *Croatia* and *Stiria*, as more proper to themſelves, the Enemy now there raging. In theſe ſo great dangers, the *Hungarians*, with the reſt of the diſtreſſed, cried upon the Emperour for help; and he likewiſe called upon the Princes of the Empire. Divers Aſſemblies were made in *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Moravia*, *Sileſia*, and the other Provinces of the Emperours, and Embaſſadors ſent from almoſt all the *German* Princes to the Emperour: all was full of Conſultation, but as for help that came in very ſlowly; yet ſuch as was to be had, was forthwith ſent into *Croatia*, to defend the Fortreſſes there againſt the further attempts and proceedings of the furious Enemy.

Certain vain attempts of the *Turks*.

The eighteenth of *September*, the *Turks*, with all warlike Proviſion upon the ſudden by Night aſſaulted the ſtrong Caſtle of *Toccay* in the upper *Hungary*, in hope to have ſurpriſed it; but finding it a matter of more Difficulty than they had before imagined, they departed thence, and attempted the leſſer *Comara*, which, ſtanding in a mariſh Ground, was alſo eaſily defended. At which time alſo the Baſſa of *Buda* with his Power entred into the Frontiers of the Chriſtians, but having well viewed the Cities, Towns, Caſtles, and Forts upon thoſe Borders, and finding nothing for his purpoſe, he without any thing doing returned again to *Buda*.

Turopolis ſpoiled by the *Turks*.

The ſix and twentieth day of *September*, *Haſſan*, the Baſſa of *Boſna*, incamped with his Army betwixt the Rivers of *Kulp* and *Sauus*, and in the Darkneſs of the Night paſſing over part of his Army into *Turopolis*, with Fire and Sword moſt miſerably ſpoiled all that pleaſant and fertile Iſland; the Lord of *Bonny*, to whom the keeping thereof was committed, labouring in vain to defend the ſame.

About the end of this Month, the Baſſa of *Ziget*, with the *Sanzacks* of *Mohas*, *Koppan*, and *Quinque Eccleſia*, and other *Turks* of great name, came with a ſtrong Army, and encamped between *Ziget* and *Rodeſto*. And ſhortly after News was brought to the Emperours Court, that *Kanyſia*, a City of *Stiria* (not far from the River *Zala*) was hardly beſieged by the Enemy, and that the *Turks* in coming thither had taken many *Chriſtian* Captives, whom they had ſent to be ſold at *Conſtantinople*; and that there was in the *Turks* Army about an hundred and ſixty thouſand men. But foraſmuch as the Chriſtian Army daily increaſed alſo, and was now grown to the number of threeſcore thouſand men, began to hope well that the Enemies Rage would be ſtayed from any further proceeding. About the ſame time, *Erneſtus*, the Arch-duke, appointed General of the Army, with the Marqueſs (Son to *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke) his Lieutenant, came both unto the Army.

In theſe Preparations, about the beginning of *October*, heavy News was brought unto the Emperours Court, how that 7000 men, whom he but a little before had ſent into *Croatia* under the Conduct of *Thomas Artelius Beane*, *George Gleichſpacher*, and *Dionyſius Denke*, to hinder the Courſe of the *Turks* Proceedings, being incamped betwixt *Wihitz* and *Caroſtat*, and having the twelfth of *September* diſcovered from an high Hill certain Companies of the *Turks*, (which were indeed of purpoſe come thither to view the Army of the *Chriſtians*) ſent out fifty Horſemen to diſcover the *Turks* Army where it lay, and what it attempted. Who, finding no more of the *Turks* than thoſe whom they had before ſeen from the Mountain, returned again unto the Army with ſuch ſimple Intelligence: whereunto the *Chriſtians* giving Credit, became ſecure in their Tents, as Men out of Fear of the Enemy, and ſo kept but negligent Watch. But in this ſo great Security, the Enemy on a ſudden came upon them, and with an hundred thouſand men brake into their Trenches; where the Chriſtian Foot-men for all that, for the ſpace of four hours maintained a notable fight, wherein many were on both ſides ſlain. But the poor Chriſtians being beſet round, and oppreſſed with the Multitude of their Enemies, were ſlain almoſt all; yet the Captains ſeeing the Danger, by ſpeedy flight ſaved their Lives; for which their Cowardiſe and careleſs Negligence, they were afterwards apprehended and beheaded. Almoſt all the common Souldiers were there ſlain; yea ſuch as fell alive into the hand of the Enemy, were moſt cruelly cut in pieces. The ſpoil alſo of the Tents of the Chriſtians fell unto the Enemy; wherein, beſide the abundance of other things, they found ſixty thouſand Dollars, brought but two days before from *Lintz* for the Souldiers pay. The *Turks*, after their barbarous manner, in Oſtentation of their Victory, laded fourteen Waggons with the Heads of the ſlain *Chriſtians*, which they ſent unto divers places thereabouts. This was indeed a great Victory, but gained by the *Turks* with much Blood; for the *Chriſtians*, fighting as men deſperate, ſlew of their Enemies about twelve thouſand, and died themſelves as men rather with number oppreſſed, than with true Valour vanquiſhed.

The Caſtle of St. *George* ſurpriſed by the *Turks*.

The Night following, the *Turks* upon the ſudden in the dead time of the Night ſurpriſed the Caſtle of St. *George*, and without reſpect of Age or Sex, cruelly put to the Sword all them that were therein, except an hundred and fifty Perſons, whom they carried away Captives; and ſo ſetting the Caſtle on fire, departed. At the ſame time divers Companies of the *Turks* were ſeen about *Siſeg*, who led away with them about ſix hundred *Chriſtians* into moſt miſerable Captivity. And that nothing might be wanting unto the Calamities of this ſo miſerable a waſted Country, three hundred Waggons charged with all manner of Proviſion, ſent out of the Provinces thereby for the Relief of the Garriſon Souldiers in *Croatia*, were all intercepted by the *Turks*, and ſo carried away.

The Emperour prayeth Aid again of the German Princes.

The Emperour, conſidering theſe Proceedings of the *Turks*, and that their Strength daily increaſed, gave notice by Writing, to all the Princes and States of the Empire, what Incurſions the *Turks*

1592 had of late made into *Croatia* and the Frontiers of *Hungary*, with other Places near unto them; and that the *Beglerbeg* of *Gracia*, with the Baſſaes of *Boſna*, *Buda*, and *Temeſwar*, without regard of the League yet in Force, had taken divers Cities, Towns, Caſtles, and ſtrong Places, and ſo extended the bounds of their Dominion above forty *German* Miles, having ſlain or carried away into Captivity the poor Inhabitants of thoſe Countries; and now to be grown to that height of Pride, that except their farther Proceedings were with like Forces repreſſed, they would in ſhort time ſet Foot into *Germany* it ſelf, and poſſeſſing themſelves of *Stiria* and *Carinthia*, would from thence daily more and more incroach upon the Empire; which to hinder, was not in his Power only, but required their help in general. Wherefore he requeſted them now at length, in ſo publick a Danger to open their Coffers, and to ſend out their Forces againſt the common Enemy. Which Requeſt of the Emperour, with the due Conſideration of ſo great a Danger, moved not only the Princes and States of the Empire, but others alſo farther off, to yield liberal Contribution unto ſo neceſſary and general a Cauſe.

The *Turks* now hearing of the great Preparation of the Chriſtian Princes, beſide the Army which was already in the Field, and that they had made a ſtrong Bridg over the River of *Dravus*, which they had alſo fortified, thereby in ſafety at their Pleaſure to tranſport their Army; without further delay furniſhed ſuch Places as they had gotten with ſtrong Garriſons, and ſo withdrew themſelves into their own Territory; which they did the rather, for that the Plague then raged ſore in *Conſtantinople*, inſomuch that there died a thouſand a day. Which Contagion had alſo taken hold of the *Turkiſh* Army; ſo that the *Chriſtians* for fear of Infection, forthwith ſlew what *Turk* ſoever fell into their hands. And thus ended the Troubles of this year, being as it were an Introduction for greater to enſue the year following.

Divers Incurſions of the *Turks* into the Frontiers of the *Chriſtians* in *Croatia* and *Hungary*.

1593 The *Turks*, together with the beginning of the new year, began alſo their wonted Incurſions into the Frontiers of the *Chriſtians*. They of the Garriſon of *Petrinia*, (a ſtrong Fort, but lately, and contrary to the League, built by the *Turks* upon the River of *Colapis* or *Kulp*, for the further Invaſion of *Croatia*) made daily Incurſions out of that new Fort, and entring into the Iſland *Turopolis*, ſpoiled and burnt the Town and Caſtle of *Beck-Vochobinam*, and having made a great ſlaughter, carried away with them 400 Priſoners. And in *Hungary* the *Turkiſh* Garriſons, to ſupply their Wants, made divers Inrodes upon the *Chriſtians*, and did exceeding much harm; of which Adventurers, ſix hundred in paſſing over the frozen Lake, were all drowned in the midſt thereof. In another place, three thouſand of them near unto *Nubuſe*, divided themſelves into two Companies; whereof the one ſhewed it ſelf in the ſight of the Towns-men, the other ſtill lying in ambuſh. They of the Town, upon the ſight of theſe *Turks*, ſallied out, and cauſing them to retire, followed them ſo far, that they were paſt the Place where the reſt of the *Turks* lay; who preſently ſtarting up, ran with all ſpeed toward the Town, in hope to have ſurpriſed it, and wanted not much of that they deſired; for there was ſcarce an hundred of the *Germans* there in Garriſon left in the Town, who had ſcarce ſo much time as to draw up the Bridges; which done, they with the great Ordnance from the Walls, enforced the *Turks* to retire and forſake the Town. About the ſame time alſo, the *Turks* in Garriſon at *Petrinia*, ſallying out upon the ſudden, took the Town of *Martenize*, which they ſpoiled; and having ſlain and taken about ſeven hundred Perſons, ſet fire on the Town, and ſo returned, having loſt in this Exploit not paſt an hundred and fifty of their own Men. 1593 Not long after, the ſame Garriſon Souldiers of *Petrinia* took another Caſtle three miles diſtant from the River of *Kulp*, whereinto the *Chriſtians* dwelling round about had for fear of the Enemy conveyed all their Wealth, with great ſtore of Victuals; all which the *Turks* took, and having ſlain ſix hundred men in the Caſtle, returned with an exceeding rich booty to *Petrinia*; which they bought with the Lives of five hundred of their Fellows, ſlain in taking of the Caſtle. With like Inſolency did alſo the other Garriſons of the *Turks* rage in all the other parts of *Hungary*. About *Saſſovia* in the upper *Hungary*, they carried away about three hundred *Chriſtian* Captives. And in the nether part of *Hungary*, they took the ſtrong Caſtle of S. *Hedwig*, upon the Lake of *Balaton*, which they ſpoiled and burnt; and ſo likewiſe the Caſtle of *Iſna*: but attempting the leſſer *Comara*, they were by the Garriſon Souldiers valiantly repulſed. They alſo fortified the Caſtle of *Stock*, which they had but a little before taken, that ſo it might ſerve for a ſafe Refuge for their Adventurers. Which their manifold Outrages, contrary to the League, evidently declared the deſire they had to begin that bloody War which preſently after enſued; and was indeed the more ſuſpected, for that at the ſame time the Emperours Ambaſſador, *Frederick Corcowitts*, was by the Commandment of *Amurath* ſhut up cloſe in his Houſe at *Conſtantinople*, and not ſuffered to ſpeak with any man, neither to write or to ſend any Meſſenger to the Emperour; which cauſed him the more to ſuſpect ſome great matter to be by the *Turk* intended, and therefore began to raiſe new Forces. The *Hungarians* and *Bohemians* alſo ſeeing their Towns and Caſtles thus taken, their Provinces ſpoiled, infinite number of People led away into Captivity, and the Enemy daily increaſing in ſtrength; at length agreed upon their own Charges to maintain a certain number both of horſe and foot, for the repreſſing of theſe the *Turkiſh* Incurſions.

Now although the Emperour knew right well all theſe Outrages of the *Turks*, contrary unto the League, could not be done without the knowledge and good-liking alſo of *Amurath* (as before informed thereof by his Ambaſſador from *Conſtantinople*) yet, to ſhew himſelf willing to have the League on his behalf kept, as alſo to make a further proof of *Amurath* his Reſolution for Peace or War, he wrote unto him as followeth:

Rodolph *the Second, Emperour of the* Romans, *unto* Amurath *the Third, King of the* Turks,

The Emperours Letters unto *Amurath*.

‘WHereas nothing is hitherto on our behalf omitted for the preſervation and continuance of the League and Amity betwixt your moſt Excellent Majeſty and Us, by the renewed Capitulations of Peace; and that we have with all ſincerity and love performed, and are hereafter ready to perform whatſoever is on our part to be performed and done; and as we have hitherto, ſo for ever hereafter alſo make offer of the ſame; we moſt aſſuredly promiſe unto our ſelves on your Majeſties behalf, that you in like manner will not ſuffer any thing on your part to be wanting; but gladly and willingly to do all things which ſhall be meet and needful for the preſervation and keeping of this our mutual love and friendſhip. Upon which good hope grounding our ſelves, to declare our plain meaning and ſincerity indeed, we will cauſe our honourable Preſent (which is now ready) to be brought unto

‘your

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your moſt Royal Majeſty, at ſuch time as ſhall be agreed upon betwixt our Ambaſſador and you; unto whom in all ſuch matters as he by our Commandment ſhall have to deal with your moſt Excellent Majeſty, your Viſiers, or Servants, we requeſt you to give full Credence. In the mean time, your Excellency ſhall do well to provide, that as we have now ſeverely commanded our Subjects to keep the Peace upon our Frontiers, ſo that your Souldiers alſo make no Incurſions as Enemies into our Territories, nor do in them any harm, but to endeavour themſelves alſo to Peace and Quietneſs; and eſpecially, that all ſuch things, as contrary to the Capitulations of the League have been there of late taken from our People, or otherwiſe unjuſtly poſſeſſed, may be again reſtored, the Loſſes recompenced, the new Fort of *Petrinia* demoliſhed, and the Baſſa of *Boſna* and others, the Authours of breaking of the League, puniſhed and diſplaced; whereby we ſhall gather your Royal Majeſties moſt noble and kind affection towards Us and our State, which, as it ſhall be a thing moſt juſt, ſo ſhall it be a ſingular Confirmation of our League. But concerning theſe Matters, and others to the ſame belonging, our Ambaſſador is to declare our Mind more at large, that ſo our preſt deſire for the continuance of our League and Friendſhip with your Majeſty, may more plainly be known. So wiſh we all Health and Proſperity unto your moſt Royal Majeſty. From *Prague* the eighth of *March*, 1593.

The Emperour alſo, at the ſame time, and to the ſame purpoſe, writ to Sinan Baſſa *in this ſort:*

Rodolph *the Second, Emperour of the* Romans, *to* Sinan Baſſa, *the Chief* Viſier, *greeting:*

The Emperours Letters to *Sinan* Baſſa.

WE write at this preſent unto your moſt Excellent Emperour, our moſt honoured Friend and Neighbour, concerning ſuch matters as we thought fit for the Preſervation of the Peace and League betwixt us, leſt haply otherwiſe we might ſeem to have forgotten our Duty. Now it ſhall well-beſeem your uprightneſs and good will, which we have at other times proved, for the high Place and Authority which you hold (and which we rejoyce to be again reſtored unto you) to give unto theſe things ſuch eaſie paſſage before his Majeſty; as that we may acknowledge your kindneſs and favour, and have occaſion therefore to ſhew our ſelves unto you thankful. Firſt, we offer our ſelves moſt ready to continue the Peace, and to perform whatſoever is according to the conventions of the renewed Peace on our part to be performed; as alſo to ſend the honourable Preſent (which is not as yet by us ſent) when as our Ambaſſador ſhall have with you appointed any certain time wherein it may be ſent. And we alſo aſſuredly hope ſo to prevail with your Emperour, that on your part the Places within our Territories, by your People forcibly poſſeſſed, together with all ſuch things as have been wrongfully taken away, may be again reſtored, and the Fort of *Petrinia* razed. The Baſſa of *Boſna* alſo (who we think would have been kept within the compaſs of Duty, if you had at that time held the Place of the chief Viſier) and whoſoever elſe, guilty of the wicked breach of the League, to be worthily according to their deſerts puniſhed and diſplaced, and your Souldiers ſeverely charged not to make any farther Incurſions, nor to do any thing that may tend to the breach of the League; as we likewiſe ſhall with new and ſtrait Commands moſt carefully reſtrain our Garriſon Souldiers upon our Frontiers, from all ſuch Incurſions and Enemies Actions. But of theſe things our Ambaſſador is more fully and at large to entreat with you; unto whoſe Speech we deſire ſuch Credence to be given as unto our own; and we will ſo provide, that you ſhall have good proof of our great good will towards you. From *Prague* the eighth of *March*, 1593.

Unto which the Emperours Letters, Sinan *returned anſwer as followeth:*

Sinan Baſſa, *Chief* Viſier *to* Amurath *the Third, Emperour of the* Turks; *unto* Rodolph *the Second, Emperour of the* Romans, *greeting.*

Sinan Baſſa his Letters to the Emperour.

BY theſe we give your Majeſty to underſtand, That two of your Majeſties Letters were brought hither before we were choſen and confirmed Chief *Viſier* in this moſt Royal Court; wherein your Majeſty excuſes your ſelf, and ſhews the cauſes why the ſending of the wonted Preſents hath been ſo long deferred, by laying the fault upon the Inſolency of our Garriſon Souldiers in *Boſna*, and the breach of the publick Peace; Which your Letters being by us read before our moſt mighty Emperour, his Highneſs in great choler burſt out into theſe words, *And thy Son, the Beglerbeg of* Buda, *hath ſtill hitherto writ, and given us to underſtand, that the uſual Preſents would certainly come, and that the King of* Vienna *would not in any caſe conſent unto the breach of the League, or of the Amity betwixt us and him; and yet for all that, the Preſents are not hitherto come; wherefore thy Sons Writings and Relations are not true.* But now the Baſſa of *Boſna* hath ſent word unto the Court, That your Majeſty will not ſend them, and all your doings to be but meer deceit and fraud. For which cauſe our moſt Mighty Emperour hath removed my Son from his Place in *Buda*, and rewarded the Baſſa of *Boſna* with honourable Garments, whereas my Son is for your Majeſties ſake diſplaced. Now on our behalf nothing is done againſt the Peace, but our Souldiers as with a Bridle kept in; whereas on your Majeſties part excurſions and harms into the Territories of our Emperour never ceaſe, eſpecially into *Boſna*, whereinto your Souldiers have of late in warlike manner broken, although they were by our Garriſons over-come, their great Ordnance taken, and brought hither unto the Court. Wherefore, ſeeing the caſe ſo ſtandeth, your Majeſty is to reſolve us upon two points; whereof the firſt is, Whether you be minded to keep friendſhip with us as beſeemeth; and to ſend hither the two laſt years Preſents, or not? And the ſecond, Whether you will ſet at liberty our Captive *Sanzacks*, or no? Now if your Majeſty ſhall be content to keep the League, and within theſe two Months next, to ſend the two years Preſents, as alſo to diſmiſs our *Sanzacks*; the League ſhall on our part be likewiſe undoubtedly kept, your Territories ſhall be in no caſe moleſted, ſuch Chriſtian Captives as your Majeſty ſhall require, be inlarged, and a moſt firm and ſure Friendſhip by us continued. Whereas if you ſhall upon any cauſe or excuſe longer delay the ſending of thoſe honourable Preſents, and unto theſe our Demands ſend us nothing but certain vain and windy Anſwers; let God on High be therefore for ever praiſed: for now our moſt Mighty and Victorious Emperour, who wanteth neither Ability nor Power, hath Commanded, That we our ſelf ſhould in Perſon go in this War; and putting our Confidence in the Higheſt, with the Army of the right-believing *Turks* to come into thoſe Parts.

‘And therefore aſſure your Majeſty, that we will
‘not fail there to encounter you; at which time
‘ſhall appear unto the World, what is by God our
‘Creator (whoſe Holy Name be for ever bleſſed)
‘in his deep Wiſdom pre-ordained and ſet down
‘for Us. Wherefore, ſeeing that all which con-
‘cerneth the League, together with the ſafety and
‘quiet of our People on both ſides, is unto your
‘Majeſty thus declared; you are to conſider the
‘End, and to follow our good Advice; whereas
‘if otherwiſe you ſhall be the cauſe of the breach
‘of this ſo wholſom a Peace and Unity, (which we
‘hitherto have ſo ſincerely and firmly kept) the
‘excuſe thereof both in this World and in the
‘World to come, ſhall lie upon your ſelf. Now
‘we requeſt of you no more, but forthwith to ſend
‘us anſwer of theſe our Letters. As for the reſt,
‘well may he ſpeed that taketh the right way.
‘From *Conſtantinople* the laſt of the Month * *Ginma*
‘*Zuleuel*, in the year of our Holy Prophet *Mahomet*
‘10001.

* Which is the 16th of *March*, in the year of *Chriſt* 1593.

Yet for all theſe fair offers of Peace thus made by *Sinan* Baſſa in his Letters, was his purpoſe nothing leſs than to have performed the ſame, ſeeking onely to have drawn the two years Preſents from the Emperour, amounting to a great ſum of Money, and ſo nevertheleſs to have proſecuted the intended War; the Emperour being the onely man of whom *Amurath* his great Maſter had, amongſt all the *Chriſtian* Princes, made choice of to exerciſe his force upon. Of all which things the Emperour was not ignorant, being thereof (as we ſaid) fully before by his Ambaſſador advertiſed from *Conſtantinople*.

These Troubles of the Spring thus paſt, enſued the Summer much more troubleſome, for *Haſſan*, Baſſa of *Boſna*, chief author and deviſer of theſe Broils, ceaſed not, for the increaſe of his Credit, to work what miſchief he could againſt the *Chriſtians* that bordered upon him. This great Baſſa mortally hated the Governour, or as ſome call him, the Abbot of *Siſeg*, a ſtrong Caſtle ſcituate upon the borders of that part of *Croatia*, yet holden by the *Chriſtians*, where the River *Kulp* falleth into the famous River of *Saius* or *Saw*, (and was indeed the very Bulwark of that Countrey) the cauſe of which his hatred is reported to have been this. The year before, the Baſſa had ſent a Meſſenger to this Abbot, to require him to deliver the Caſtle or Monaſtery unto him; which Meſſenger for certain days the Abbot entertained with many honourable Speeches, learning in the mean time of him ſo much as he poſſibly could of the Baſſaes intention, with what Power, in what Place, and with what Engines he had determined to beſiege the Caſtle. In the mean time it was diſcovered, that his Steward had long before plotted with the *Turk* to have betrayed the Caſtle, and had for certain years paſt received of him a yearly Penſion. Upon which occaſion, the Abbot cauſed both the Meſſenger and his own Steward to be apprehended, and ſo faſt bound hand and foot, to be caſt out at a Window of the Caſtle into the River of *Saw*. The Baſſa ſeeing his Meſſenger not to return, ſent another to the Abbot; grievouſly threatning him, if he did not ſend him back again his Meſſenger; Whereunto the Abbot anſwered, That he had diſmiſſed him certain days before, and therefore marvelled if he were not as yet returned; nevertheleſs concerning his demand, That he was reſolved to yield the Monaſtery unto the Baſſa, againſt whoſe Forces he ſaw himſelf unable to hold it; requeſting only, that it would pleaſe him to ſend ſome men of account to receive it at his hand, for that it would be no ſmall diſhonour unto him to deliver it up unto common Souldiers. The Baſſa, glad of this meſſage, ſent forthwith certain principal men of great account, hoping now without any loſs to have that ſtrong Place yielded unto him, which had ſo long time ſtood in his way. Three days after, certain Troops of Horſe-men, ſent from the Baſſa, came to the Monaſtery, as was appointed, and finding the Gates open, entred, firſt the Noblemen, and after them five hundred others, or thereabouts; who were no ſooner within the Gates, but that the Portcullis was let fall, and certain murthering Pieces (ſecretly placed in the Court for that purpoſe) diſcharged; with the violence whereof, the *Turks* that were already entred, were moſt miſerably rent in pieces, their Heads, Arms, and Legs, flying in the Air; when preſently the Garriſon Souldiers, ſtarting out of their lurking places, made a quick diſpatch of all them that had eſcaped the fury of the great Artillery. The reſt of the *Turks*, ſhut out, hearing the noiſe and cry of them within, turning their Horſes, betook themſelves to ſpeedy flight. The great Baſſa, hearing of this ſlaughter of his men, and how he had been deceived, ſwore in great rage by his *Mahomet*, to raze this Monaſtery down to the ground, and to pluck the Abbot's ſkin over his ears: and ſo by threatning Letters gave him to underſtand, as followeth:

Haſſan, Baſſa of Boſna, *unto the Abbot of* Siſeg.

The threatning Letter of *Haſſan Baſſa* of *Boſna* unto the Abbot of *Siſeg*.

It is not to thee unknown, how often we have ſent unto thee our Meſſengers with Letters, declaring unto thee our Love and good Will; requeſting thee in friendly ſort, and without further reſiſtance, to yield up unto us thy Fortreſs of Siſeg, *not longer to be by thee holden. Unto which our Requeſt thou haſt hitherto moſt wilfully at thy Pleaſure oppoſed thy ſelf, not without the ſlaughter of our men; and in ſo doing, haſt given cauſe unto the great Sultan to overthrow and raze that thy Fortreſs, whereof thou for the Emperour wilt needs be the chief. Thinkeſt thou it will be for thy good, or yet well taken, that thou haſt ſo ſhamefully and perfidiouſly circumvented and ſlain our Ambaſſadors and Servants ſent unto thee? Nay, aſſure thy ſelf, that if* Mahomet *grant us Life, we will never give over the ſiege of that thy Fort, wherein thou ſo much truſteſt, until I have before thy Face overthrown it, and (if thy God ſhall give thee alive into my hands) have pluck'd thy Skin over thine Ears, to the great reproach and ſhame of the* Chriſtians; *for I am fully reſolved, not to depart from this place, but to continue the ſiege thereof until I have it. Let a little time yet paſs, and thou ſhalt ſee thy ſelf on every ſide beſieged, thy Fort with more and greater pieces of Artillery than ever, battered, and our Power ſtrong enough to conſtrain thee. Thou haſt hitherto put thy greateſt hope and comfort in the * Banne* Erodius, *for whom, by the help of* Mahomet *we are too much ſtrong. In brief, we are of nothing more careful than how to get thee into our Power; which if we do, look not for any Mercy at our hands.*

* The *Hungarian* Bannes are Noblemen, in Power much like unto the *Turks* Baſſaes.

Haſſan Baſſa invadeth *Croatia*.

Neither was the Baſſa unmindful of his Promiſe, or of the loſs he had received, but now in the beginning of *June*, with an Army of thirty thouſand Horſe and Foot, came and beſieged the Fortreſs of *Trenſchim*, which with continual Battery and often Aſſaults he at length took, ſacked the Town, ſlew moſt part of the Inhabitants, except 800, or thereabouts of the younger ſort, which he carried away with him into Captivity. And being proud of this Victory, removed thence by a Bridge which he had made, paſſed over the River, and ſo the twelfth of *June*, came and incamped before the Monaſtery of *Siſeg*; and after vain ſummons given to the ſame, the next day cauſed his great Ordnance to be planted, and with great Fury thundering againſt the

Siſeg beſieged by *Haſſan Baſſa*.

the Walls, in ſhort time overthrew the new Tower, in the fall whereof two of the *Chriſtian* Canoneers periſhed. This furious Battery he maintained by the ſpace of ten days without intermiſſion, giving no time of reſt unto the beſieged; ſo that it ſeemed not poſſible for the Monaſtery to be any long time defended, if it were not with ſpeed relieved. The Biſhop of *Zagrabia*, and *Rupertus Eggenberg*, General of the Emperors Forces that then were at *Zagrabia*, gave knowledge thereof to *Andrew* Lord *Averſberg*, Governour of *Caroſtat*, craving his aid and counſel: who calling together his own Forces, raiſed a good number of good Horſe and Foot; and called alſo unto him the bordering Horſemen of *Karnia* and *Carainia*; who the 17*th* day of *June* met all together not far from *Inſtawitz*, and there tarried that night. The next day paſſing over the River *Saums* near unto *Zagrabia*, they joyned themſelves with the Emperors Forces, and marched the 19*th* day in good order to *Sceline*, where they expected the coming of County *Serinus*. The 20*th* day *Peter Herdelius* with his *Huſſars*, and the Lord *Stephen Graſwein*, came into the Camp, with many of thoſe light Horſemen whom the *Hungarians* called *Uſcocchi*. The 21*ſt* day they lodged at *Gradium*, ſtill expecting the coming of the County *Serinus*, who, otherwiſe buſied, could not come. The next day after, a Souldier ſent out from the beſieged, came into the Camp, who gave the Captains to underſtand, that except they made haſte that day to relieve the diſtreſſed Monaſtery, it would undoubtedly be loſt, for that the Enemy had made it aſſaultable, and would that night give the aſſault; and the defendants doubting how they ſhould be able to maintain the Place, began before his departure thence to think of compoſition with the Enemy. Upon which news, the Captains forthwith began to conſult among themſelves, what courſe to take in ſo doubtful and dangerous a caſe: where *Averſberg* was of opinion, that it were beſt to march on, and to give the Enemy Battel; with whom alſo agreed the Lord *Rederen*: the reſt of the Captains being of a contrary mind, for that the ſtrength of the *Chriſtians* compared to the *Turks*, was too weak; and therefore they thought it better in time to retire whilſt they yet might, than to hazard unto moſt manifeſt peril the lives of ſo many valiant men, at ſo great odds. At which counſel *Averſberg* was at the firſt much moved; but afterwards (as he was a man of great eloquence) plainly ſet before them the neceſſity of the Cauſe, and with lively Reaſons cheared up the fearful *Croatians*; notably perſwading them all in general, to put their whole truſt and confidence in God, to whom it was as eaſie to give Victory by few, as by many: and to fight like valiant men, for their Religion, their Countrey, their Lives, their Wives, their Children and Friends, and whatſoever elſe they held dear; againſt that cowardly Enemy, whoſe valour never brought him into the Field, but only the vain truſt he had in his multitude; and would therefore no doubt eaſily be put to flight, if he ſhould contrary to his expectation find himſelf but a little hardly laid unto. With theſe and other like Reaſons he prevailed ſo much, that they all yielded to his opinion, and with one conſent reſolved to go againſt the Enemy, and to do what they might to relieve their beſieged Friends. So upon a ſign given, the whole Army (in number not above 4000) forthwith removed, and with great ſpeed haſted towards the Enemy; and being come within a mile of the Camp, put themſelves in order of Battel. The *Turks* by their Eſpials underſtanding of the approach of the *Chriſtians*, brought all their Horſemen over the River of *Kulp*, by a Bridge which they had made, and having put themſelves in order, came on to joyn Battel with the *Chriſtians*: who had in their Vauntgard placed the *Croatians* and *Huſſars*; in the left wing them of *Caroſtat*, and the Harquebuſiers of *Karnia*; in the right wing the borderers of *Carainia*, all Horſemen; in the main Battel the reſt of the Souldiers, with the Horſemen of *Sileſia*, under the conduct of *Sigiſmund Paradiſe*; the Rereward was incloſed with three Companies of the Emperors Souldiers. The *Croatians* and *Huſſars* in the Vantgard gave the firſt charge upon the Enemy: but having for a good ſpace made a great Fight, they were about to have retired, and, diſcouraged with the multitude of the Enemies, were even upon the point to have fled: when *Averſberg* (General of the Chriſtian Army) came on with his Squadron, and not only reſtored the Battel, but ſo reſolutely charged the main Battel of the *Turks*, that the Baſſa was conſtrained at the firſt to retire, and afterwards to fly, after whom all the reſt of the Army followed. The *Chriſtians* ſtill keeping their array, purſued them with great ſpeed, and coming to the new made Bridge before them, took from them that paſſage, to the great diſcomfiture of the *Turks*; who ſeeing the miſerable ſlaughter of themſelves, and no way to eſcape, ran headlong ſome into the River *Odera*, ſome into *Kulp*, and were there for the moſt part drowned; the reſt were all ſlain by the *Chriſtians*, before determined not to take any Priſoners. In the mean time, the *Turks* that remained at the Siege, underſtanding of the overthrow of their fellows, ſet fire on their Powder and other Proviſion, and ſo in great fear betook themſelves to flight. Whoſe Tents the *Chriſtians* immediately after took, and in them nine great pieces of Artillery, and good ſtore of great Shot of 44 and 45 pound weight apiece, with the ſumptuous Pavilion of the Baſſa, and much other rich Spoil, which was all carried into the Monaſtery of *Siſeg*. The number of the *Turks* ſlain in this Battel, and drowned in the Rivers, is of divers diverſly reported; but moſt agree upon 18000. And amongſt them was *Haſſan-Baſſa* himſelf, found in the River near unto the Bridge, known by his moſt rich and ſumptuous Apparel; and near unto him *Mahomet-Beg*, and *Achmet-Beg*. In other places were alſo found the dead Bodies of *Saffer-Beg*, the Baſſaes Brother, of *Menibeg*, *Haramatau-Beg*, *Curti-Beg*, *O pard Beg*, and *Goſchus*, the Baſſaes chief Counſellor, and Maſter of his Houſhold. But of all others, the untimely death of *Sinan-Beg*, *Amurath's* Nephew, his Siſters only Son, ſent thither to have learned the Feats of Arms under *Haſſan* the great Baſſa, was of the *Turks* moſt lamented. Of 20000 *Turks* that came over the River *Kulp*, ſcarcely 2000 eſcaped. This ſo great a Victory obtained, all the Army of the *Chriſtians* went thrice about the Monaſtery, and every time falling all down upon their knees, gave unto God moſt hearty thanks for the ſame, as by him miraculouſly given, and not by themſelves won; and afterwards made all the ſhew of joy and gladneſs they could poſſibly deviſe.

A great Battel betwixt the *Turks* and the *Chriſtians*.

Siſeg relieved.

Eighteen thouſand *Turks* ſlain.

Siſeg thus delivered, and the *Turks* Army overthrown, the *Chriſtians* with all ſpeed laid ſiege to *Petrinia*, the ſtrong new Fort of the *Turks*, which they for the ſpace of five days moſt furiouſly battered; but hearing that the great Governour of *Græcia* (whom the *Turks* call the *Beglerbeg* of *Romania*) was with a great power coming to the relief of the Fort, they raiſed their Siege, brake up their Army, and returned every man to his wonted charge.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing at *Petrinia*, a Poſt came from *Conſtantinople* to *Buda*, who brought thither the firſt news of the overthrow of

News of the overthrow of the *Turks* at *Siſeg*, brought to *Buda*.

1593 *Siſeg*; for the report thereof was not as yet come to *Buda*; wherefore the Baſſa called unto him the Meſſenger, Authour of ſo bad News, and diligently examined him of the truth thereof; who told him, That at his departure from *Conſtantinople*, nothing was there known of that loſs, but that upon the way as he came, he met with divers Horſemen, but lately eſcaped from the ſlaughter, who told him of a certainty, that the Baſſa was ſlain, and his Army deſtroyed. Whereunto the Baſſa of *Buda* replyed, That he was happy in his Death, for that if he had by chance eſcaped, he ſhould for his Indiſcretion undoubtedly have ſuffered ſome other more ſhameful Death at the Court.

When News of the aforeſaid Victory was brought to the Emperour at *Prague*, he commanded publick Prayers, with thankſgiving to Almighty God to be made in all Churches; and ſent a Meſſenger with Letters to *Amurath*, to know of him how he underſtood theſe inſolent Proceedings of his Souldiers, and eſpecially this late Expedition of the Baſſa of *Boſna* and his Complices, contrary to the League, yet in force betwixt them. After which Meſſenger he ſent alſo the Lord *Popelius*, with the yearly Preſent (or rather Tribute) he uſed to ſend unto the *Turkiſh* Emperour at *Conſtantinople*; yet with this charge, that when he was come as far as *Comara* in the Borders of *Hungary*, he ſhould there ſtay until the return of the aforeſaid Meſſenger; who, if he brought Tidings of Peace from *Amurath*, then to proceed on his Journey to the *Turks* Court; otherwiſe, to return again with his Preſent; as he afterwards did. For *Amurath*, enraged with the notable loſs received at *Siſeg*, and prick'd forward with the Tears and Prayers of his Siſter (deſirous of nothing more than to be revenged for the death of her Son) the ſeventh of *Auguſt* cauſed open War to be proclaimed againſt the *Chriſtian* Emperour, both at *Conſtantinople* and *Buda*. The managing whereof he committed to *Sinan Baſſa*, the old Enemy of the *Chriſtians*, his Lieutenant-General, and perſwader of this War; who, departing from *Conſtantinople* with an Army of forty thouſand, wherein were 5600 *Janizaries*, was by *Amurath* himſelf and the great Men of the Court brought a mile on his way; having in charge from the great Sultan, by the aſſiſtance of the *Beglerbeg* of *Grace*, the Baſſaes of *Buda* and *Temeſware*, and other his *Sanzacks* and Commanders in that part of his Empire, to revenge the Death of his Nephew, and the Diſhonour received at *Siſeg*;

This War *Amurath* with great Pride denounced unto the *Chriſtian* Emperour, and the reſt of the Princes his Confederates in this ſort.

Amurath the Third, by the Grace of the great God in Heaven, the only Monarch of the World, a great and mighty God on Earth, an invincible *Cæſar*, King of all Kings, from the *Eaſt* unto the *Weſt*, Sultan of *Babylon*, Sovereign of the moſt noble Families of *Perſia* and *Armenia*, triumphant Victor of *Hieruſalem*, Lord poſſeſſor of the Sepulchre of the crucified God, Subverter and ſworn Enemy of the *Chriſtians*, and of all them that call upon the Name of *Chriſt*.

The proud and blaſphemous Denuntiation of War given out by *Amurath* againſt *Rodolph* the *Chriſtian* Emperour.

We denounce unto thee, Rodolph *the Emperour, and to all the* German *Nation taking part with thee, unto the great Biſhop alſo, all the Cardinals and Biſhops, to all your Sons and Subjects; we earneſtly (I ſay) by our Crown and Empire denounce unto you open War. And give you to underſtand, that our purpoſe is, with the Power of thirteen Kingdoms, and certain hundred thouſands of men, Horſe and Foot, with our* Turks *and* Turkiſh *Armes, yea, with all our Strength and Power (ſuch as neither thou nor any of thine hath ever yet ſeen or heard of, much leſs had any proof of) to beſiege you in your chief and Metropolitical Cities, and with Fire and Sword to perſecute you and all yours, and whoſoever ſhall give you help, to burn, deſtroy, and kill, and with the moſt exquiſite Torments we can deviſe, to torture unto Death, and ſlay ſuch* Chriſtian *Captives as ſhall fall into our hands, or elſe to keep them as Dogs, Captives in perpetual Miſery; to empale upon Stakes your faireſt Sons and Daughters; and, to the further ſhame and reproach of you and yours, to kill like Dogs your Women great with Child, and the Children in their Bellies; for now we are fully reſolved to bring into our Subjection, you which rule but in a ſmall Country, and by ſtrong hand and force of Arms to keep from you your Kingdom, as alſo to oppreſs, root up, and deſtroy the Keys and See of* Rome, *together with the golden Scepter thereof; and we will prove whether your crucified Jeſus will help you, and do for you as yours perſwade you. Believe him ſtill, and truſt in him, and ſee how he hath holpen his Meſſengers which have put their Confidence in him; for we neither believe, neither can we endure to hear ſuch incomprehenſible things, that he can help, which is dead ſo many Worlds of years ago, which could not help himſelf, nor deliver his own Country and Inheritance from our Power, over which we have ſo long time reigned. Theſe things, O ye poor and miſerable of the World, we thought good to ſignifie unto you, that you with your Princes and Confederates may know what you have to do and to look for. Given in our moſt Mighty and Imperial City of* Conſtantinople, *which our Anceſtors by force of Arms took from yours, and having ſlain or taken Priſoners all their Citizens, reſerved ſuch of their Wives and Children as they pleaſed, unto their Luſt, to your perpetual Infamy and Shame.*

Sinan, with his Army thus ſetting forward, kept ſtill on his way towards *Buda*, but the *Beglerbeg* of *Gracia* with a far greater Power marched towards *Croatia*, as well to relieve the Forts diſtreſſed by the *Chriſtians*, as again to beſiege the ſtrong Caſtle or Monaſtery of *Siſeg*; which he with his huge Army at his firſt arrival compaſſed about without reſiſtance, and with continual Battery overthrew the Walls thereof; giving no time of reſt unto the Defendants. Which breaches they for all that valiantly defended, and with reſtleſs Labour notably repaired; the very fearful Women bringing Tables, Stools, and whatſoever elſe came to hand, that might any wiſe help to keep the Enemy out, of whom a great number was in the breaches ſlain; but what was that handful againſt ſuch a Multitude? At length, the third day of *September*, the *Turks* by main force entred the Monaſtery, and put to the Sword all the Souldiers therein; among whom were 200 *Germans*, of whom the *Turks* cut ſome in pieces, and the reſt they threw into the River *Kulp*. One religious man there found among the reſt, they did flea quick in Deteſtation of his Profeſſion, and afterward cutting him in ſmall pieces, burnt them to Aſhes. So taking the ſpoil of all that was there to be had, and leaving a ſtrong Garriſon for the keeping of the Place, they paſſed over *Sauus*, burning the Country before them, and carrying away with them about a thouſand poor *Chriſtians* into perpetual Captivity. Theſe Invaſions of the *Turks*, cauſed the Emperour to crave Aid both of the States of the Empire, and other foreign Princes farther off, which was by ſome eaſily granted, but not ſo ſpeedily performed.

Siſeg taken by the *Turks*.

About this time, *Peter*, ſirnamed *le Huſſar*, (for that he commanded over thoſe Horſemen, whom the *Hungarians* call *Huſſars*) Captain of *Pappa*, by

1593 the appointment of *Ferdinand*, County *Hardeck* Governour of *Rab*, lay in wait for the *Turks* Treaſurer in *Hungary*, who had the command of 5000 *Turks*; him this *Hungarian* took at Advantage, as he was muſtering and paying certain Companies of his Souldiers, miſtruſting no ſuch danger, and deſperately charging him, ſlew him with divers of his men, and put the reſt to flight; and ſo with the ſpoil, and ſome few Priſoners, he returned again to his Caſtle, carrying with him the Treaſurer.

Sinan Baſſa beſiegeth Veſprinium.

Now *Sinan*, the General, being come with his Army to *Buda*, reſolved with himſelf to begin his Wars in that part of *Hungary*, with the ſiege of *Veſprinium*. This Epiſcopal City was by *Solyman*, the great *Turk*, taken from the *Chriſtians* in the year 1552, and again by them recovered about fourteen years after, about the year 1566; ſince which time untill now, it had remained in the hands of the *Chriſtians*. *Sinan*, without delay marching with his Army to *Veſprinium*, compaſſed the City round, and encamping as he ſaw good, planted his Battery, wherewith he continually thundered againſt the City. The *Chriſtians* there in Garriſon, eaſily perceiving that the City was not long to be holden againſt ſo great a Power, placed divers Barrels of Gun-powder in certain Mines they had made under the Walls and Bulwarks of the Town, with Trains that ſhould at a certain time take Fire. Which done, they departed ſecretly out of the City in the dead time of the Night, hoping ſo in the Dark to have eſcaped the hand of the Enemy; which they did not ſo ſecretly, but that they were by the *Turks* deſcried, and moſt of them ſlain. *Ferdinand Samaria*, Governour of the City, after he had for a ſpace valiantly defended himſelf, fell at laſt into the Enemies hand, and ſo was taken alive, together with one *Hoſkirke*, a *German* Captain. The *Turks* entred the City the ſixth of *October*, ſtriving who ſhould get in firſt, for greedineſs of the Prey, when ſuddenly the Powder in the Mines took fire, and blowing up the very foundations of the Walls and Bulwarks, ſlew a number of the *Turks* that were within the Danger thereof, and wonderfully defaced the City.

Palotta yieldeth unto the Turks.

From *Veſprinium* the Baſſa removed with his Army to *Palotta*, and gave ſummons to the Caſtle; but receiving ſuch anſwer as pleaſed him not, he laid ſiege unto it with all his Power. Which at the firſt, *Peter Ornand*, Captain of the Caſtle, chearfully received; but being afterward without any great cauſe diſcouraged, (the Caſtle as yet being but little ſhaken, and but one man ſlain, and the reſt of the Souldiers ready to ſpend their Lives in defence thereof) he ſent unto the Baſſa, offering to yield the Caſtle unto him, ſo that he with his Souldiers might with Bag and Baggage in ſafety depart. Of which his offer the Baſſa accepted, and granted his Requeſt. But he was no ſooner come out of the Caſtle with his Souldiers, and ready to depart, but the faithleſs *Turk*, contrary to his Oath and Promiſe, cauſed them all to be cruelly ſlain, except only the Captain, and two other. After that, the Baſſa without any great Labour, took in all the Country thereabouts, near unto the Lake of *Balaton*.

Now at laſt, though long firſt, about the middle of *October*, the *Chriſtians* began to muſter their Army, in number about 18000, all good and expert Souldiers; with which Power they ſhortly after paſſing over *Danubius*, at the firſt encounter with the *Turks*, put them to the worſe, ſlew a great number of them, and reſcued a number of poor *Chriſtian* Captives.

Alba Regalis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

In the latter end of this Month, County *Hardeck*, Governour of *Rab*, and General of the *Chriſtian* Army in that part of *Hungary*, departing from *Comaria* with all his Power, came and laid ſiege to the ſtrong City of *Alba Regalis*, which by the Force of his Artillery he in ſhort time made aſſaultable; but in aſſaulting the Breaches, was by the *Turks* there in Garriſon notably repulſed. So having made ſufficient proof both of the Strength and Courage of the Defendants, and perceiving no good could be done without a long ſiege, for which he was not as then provided; after Conſultation had with the reſt of the Captains, he reſolved to raiſe his Siege, which he did the ſecond of *November*; removing that day but half a mile from the City, becauſe he would be ſure of all his Army. But as he was about the next day to remove, News was brought him by his Eſpials, that the Enemies Power was at hand, and even now almoſt in ſight, which proved to be ſo indeed. For the Baſſa of *Buda*, by the command of *Sinan Baſſa* the General, was come forth with thirteen *Sanzacks*, and twenty thouſand Souldiers, thirty Field-pieces, and five hundred Waggons laden with Victual and other Warlike Proviſion, to raiſe the Siege, and to relieve the City; and was now even at hand, comming directly upon the *Chriſtians*; whereupon the County, aſſiſted by the County *Serinus*, the Lord *Palſi*, the Lord *Nadaſti*, *Peter le Huſſar*, and other valiant Captains of great Experience, with wonderful Celerity put his Army in order of Battel, and ſo courageouſly ſet forward to encounter the Enemy. The Baſſa, ſeeing the *Chriſtians* marching towards him, took the Advantage of the higher Ground, and from thence diſcharged his Field-pieces upon them; which, mounted too high, by good hap did them little or no hurt at all. The *Chriſtians* for all that, deſirous of Battel, and nothing regarding the Diſadvantage of the Ground, but calling upon the Name of the Almighty, mounted the Hill, and joyning Battel with the *Turks*, by plain force conſtrained them to flie. In this Army of the *Turks*, being for moſt part Horſemen, were about five thouſand foot, and many of them *Janizaries*, who in flying, oftentimes made ſtands, and wounded many, and yet nevertheleſs were almoſt all there ſlain, with many others; amongſt whom were three great Men, the *Sanzacks* of *Strigonium*, *Setchine*, and *Novigrade*; ſeven *Chiaus*, and many other men of mark, the moſt valiant Captains of the *Turks* Borderers. The Lord *Nadaſti*, with ſome others, taking view of the *Turks* that were ſlain and loſt in this Battel, deemed them to have been at the leaſt, in number eight thouſand; few Priſoners were ſaved, all being put to the Sword, with cauſed *Sinan* to ſwear by his *Mahomet*, never more to ſpare any *Chriſtian*. All the *Turks* Artillery, Waggons, and Proviſion, became a Prey unto the *Chriſtians*; many Enſignes were there found, and Weapons of great Value. It is hard to be believed, how much this Victory encouraged the *Chriſtians*, and daunted the *Turks*. Whereupon the County with great Joy brought back his Army to *Alba Regalis*, and encamped near the Bulwark called *Stopaſch*, where the *Turks* moſt feared to be aſſaulted. *Palſi*, *Nadaſti*, and ſome others, earneſtly perſwaded with the County, not to depart from the City before he had won it; but he, conſidering the hard time of the year, the ſtrength of the City, (which was now full of Souldiers, by reaſon of them that were fled in thither from the late overthrow) with the want of things neceſſary in his Army to maintain a longer Siege; and fearing alſo after long lying, to be enforced with Diſhonour to forſake it, would not hearken to their Perſwaſions, but calling a Council, reſolved to raiſe his Siege, and to content himſelf with the Victory he had already gotten; which was afterward imputed unto him for more than an overſight. So ſetting Fire upon the Sub-

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urbs of the City, he roſe with his Army, and departed thence the fifth of *November*, and returned to *Rab*.

Sabatzka taken by the Lord *Teuffenbach.*

Not long after, *Chriſtopher* Lord *Teuffenbach*, the Emperours Lieutenant in the upper part of *Hungary*, who lay encamped at *Caſſovia*, with his Army of fourteen thouſand Souldiers removed thence, and marching along the Country two days, came and laid ſiege to *Sabatzka*, one of the *Turks* ſtrongeſt Caſtles in thoſe quarters, out of which they uſually did much harm among the *Chriſtians*. This Caſtle of *Teuffenbach*, battered in three places, and having at length made it aſſaultable, took it by force the nineteenth of *November*, and put to the Sword all the *Turks* there in Garriſon, in number about two hundred and fifty, and inſtead of them, left a ſtrong Garriſon of his own; whereby all the Country thereabouts was reſtored to great quietneſs.

Filek beſieged by the *Chriſtians.*

Sabatzka thus taken, the *Chriſtian* General removed with all ſpeed to *Filek*, a ſtrong City of the higher *Hungary*, which *Solyman* the *Turkiſh* Emperour took from the *Chriſtians* in the year 1560, and placed therein a *Sanzack*, under the command of the Baſſa of *Buda*. The General encamping before this City, the next day after planted his Battery, and in moſt terrible manner without intermiſſion thundered againſt the Walls and Gates of the City. The *Sanzack*, Governour thereof, conſidering the Power of the *Chriſtians*, got out ſecretly by Night with a few Souldiers, to acquaint the other *Turkiſh* Sanzacks his Neighbours with the coming of the *Chriſtians*, and the number of their Army; and further to conſult with them, how the City might be relieved. The Baſſa of *Temeſware*, with the *Sanzacks* of *Giula*, *Hadwan*, *Scantzag*, and *Scirme*, undertook the matter; and thereupon the Baſſa ſent for eight hundred *Janizaries*, of late left by *Sinan Baſſa* in Garriſon at *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*; who all flatly refuſed to go to this Service; ſaying, That they would not be led as Beaſts to the ſlaughter, as were their Fellows but a little before at *Alba Regalis*; nevertheleſs, they enforced the *Armenians*, whom *Sinan* and his Son had brought thither, to go; but of *Buda*, *Alba Regalis*, and *Scamboth*, were ſent only fifteen hundred common Souldiers. For all that, the Baſſa, with the *Sanzacks* his Followers, firm in their former Reſolution for the Relief of the diſtreſſed City, having made great Preparation, and raiſed an Army of 18000 ſtrong, with many Field-pieces, by Night drew near unto *Filek*, and ſtaied within two miles of the City. But the General of the *Chriſtians*, with *Stephen Bathor*, and the other Captains, underſtanding of their coming, with 7000 good Souldiers choſen out of the whole Army, went out preſently againſt them, and the one and twentieth of *November*, ſuddenly aſſailing them in their Tents, overthrew them, and put them all to flight, whom the *Chriſtians* fiercely purſued with a moſt terrible Execution. In this fight and flight there was ſlain 6000 *Turks*, and but few or none taken. The Baſſa himſelf, with the *Sanzack* of *Filek*, and many others of great Name, were found amongſt the Bodies of the ſlain *Turks*. This Victory, gained with little or no loſs, yielded unto the *Chriſtians* a rich Prey, many gorgeous Tents and fair Enſigns, much Cattel, and 29 Field-pieces, with 200 Waggons laden with Victual and other Proviſion; all which they carried into the Camp at *Filek*, and ſo more ſtraightly beſieged the City than before. The ſame day the Lord *Palfi* and *Martin Laſla* came to the Camp with ſix thouſand Souldiers, and forthwith three Trumpeters were ſent to them of the City, That if without further reſiſtance they would forthwith yield the City, they ſhould have leave in ſafety to depart with Life and Goods, although the *Turks* had of late in like caſe broken their Faith with the *Chriſtians* at *Palotta*; but if they refuſed his Grace, and would needs hold it out to the uttermoſt, then to denounce unto them all Extremities. For all this, the *Turks*, nothing diſmaied, refuſed to yield; whereupon the battery began afreſh, and in more terrible manner than before; ſo that though the City was moſt ſtrongly fortified both with Walls and Rampiers, yet had the *Chriſtians* in three days ſpace with continual battery made a fair breach into it, whereby they, in deſpight of the Enemy, entred without any notable loſs the four and twentieth of *November*, ranſacked the City, and burnt a great part thereof. The ſame day they alſo took the uttermoſt Caſtle, wherein the *Sanzacks* Palace ſtood. This Caſtle ſtandeth upon a very high hill, ſtrengthned both by Art and Nature, and had in it a ſtrong Garriſon of valiant Souldiers, who ſpared not luſtily to beſtow their ſhot amongſt their Enemies, of whom they ſlew a great number. Nevertheleſs the *Chriſtians*, after they had for the ſpace of two Days and two Nights, with a moſt furious battery ſhaken the Walls, by plain force entred the Caſtle the ſix and twentieth of *November*, and put to the Sword all the Garriſon Souldiers, except ſuch as had in good time forſaken this Caſtle, and retired themſelves into another more inward. Who being in number eight hundred, with their Wives and Children, without hope of Relief, and ſeeing the Cannon now bent upon them, ſet out a white Enſign in token of Parley; which granted, it was agreed that they ſhould depart with Life, and ſo much of their Goods as every one of them could carry. Upon which Agreement the Caſtle was yielded the eight and twentieth day of *November*, and the *Turks* with a ſafe Convoy brought unto the Place they deſired. In this Caſtle was found a great booty, many pieces of Artillery, and much other warlike Proviſion, but of Victuals ſmall ſtore. The General, with the reſt of the Captains, entring the Caſtle, fell down upon their Knees, and with their Hearts and Hands caſt up to Heaven, thanked God for their Victory, and for the recovery of that ſtrong City; but eſpecially for the delivery of ſo many *Chriſtians* out of the *Turkiſh* Thraldom: for it is reported, that there were above eight hundred Country Villages ſubject to the Juriſdiction of *Filek*, the poor Inhabitants whereof were now all freed from the *Turkiſh* Servitude, by the taking of this only City. The *Chriſtians* forthwith repaired the Walls, Bulwarks, and Trenches, and ſtrongly fortified every place againſt the Enemy; and ſo leaving a ſufficient Garriſon in the City and Caſtles, departed with their Army, now in number about twenty thouſand, towards *Sodoch*, ſix miles from *Filek*. But as they were upon the way, News was brought unto the General, how that the *Turks* had for fear abandoned the Caſtles of *Dijwin* and *Somoske*; whereupon he ſent out certain Companies of Souldiers to take in both thoſe places; who coming thither, found them indeed forſaken by the Enemy, but yet many pieces of Artillery, and other warlike Proviſion there ſtill left.

Filek taken by the *Chriſtians.*

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Setſchine, *Blavenſtein*, and *Sallek*, abandoned by the *Turks*.

In the latter end of *November* the General marched with his Army towards *Setſchine*, a ſtrong Town in the Dioceſs of *Agria*; but the *Turks* in that place had two or three days before prepared themſelves to flie, and ſent their Wives, their Children, and the beſt of their Subſtance, ſome to *Hatwan*, ſome to *Buda*; and now hearing of the approach of the *Chriſtian* Army, ſet Fire on the Town, and fled. The *Chriſtians* immediately entring, did what they could to quench the Fire, and ſaved a great part of the Town; ſo leaving there a convenient Garriſon, he haſted with ſpeed to *Blavenſtein*, which the *Turks* did alſo ſet on fire,

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1593 and betook themſelves to flight. The *Chriſtians* coming thither the next day after, namely the fourth of *December*, found a great part of the Town yet unburnt, wherein they left a ſtrong Garriſon; and from thence marched to *Sallek*, which Town they alſo took, being forſaken by the Enemy, and put thereinto a good Garriſon. The General was of nothing more deſirous than to have proſecuted this ſo happy a courſe of Victory; but ſuch was the foulneſs of the Winter weather, that he could not travel with his great Artillery, without which no great matter was to be done againſt the Enemy, ſtill keeping himſelf in his ſtrong hold. And his Army in that waſted and forſaken Country, began now to feel the want of Victuals, ſo that many had withdrawn themſelves out of the Army unto their dwelling Places.

At the ſame time alſo, the Lord *Palſi* going to *Dregel* and *Palanka*, and finding them forſaken by the Enemy, furniſhed both Places with Garriſons of his own Men. Certain other ſtrong Places were alſo this Month recovered from the *Turks*, as *Ainacke*, *Sollocke*, *Weſtke*, and others, and ſo much Territory gained by the *Chriſtians*, as was in circuit thought equal with the lower *Auſtria*. The joyful News of the aforeſaid Victories, with the recovery of ſo much of the Country, and ſo many ſtrong Towns and Caſtles, made great rejoycing both at *Vienna* and *Prague*; for which cauſe publick Prayers, with Thankſgiving to Almighty God, were made in both Places, with many other tokens of Joy and Triumph, both there, and in divers other Places of the Empire. Yet were not the dead Bodies of the *Turks*, ſlain at *Alba-Regalis*, buried; whereof roſe ſuch a loathſome and noiſome ſmell, that no man could abide to come near the place, to the great trouble of the Inhabitants thereabout. At length, certain *Turks* out of *Buda* and *Alba-Regalis*, to the number of three hundred and fifty, met together, to have buried thoſe loathſome Carkaſſes. Upon whom it chanced a Captain of the *Huſſars* to light with his Horſemen, who fiercely aſſailing them, left moſt part of them there dead for others to bury, and carried away the reſt Priſoners.

The *Turks* in burying their dead, ſlain by the *Chriſtians*.

The Baſſa of *Buda* had cauſed *Murat*, Sanzack of *Palotta*, to be ſtrangled, for that he ſuſpected him to have had Intelligence with the *Chriſtians*; in whoſe room he placed another, who coming with 600 *Turks*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Preferment, was by the way ſet upon by *Peter le Huſſar*, with the Garriſon Souldiers of *Pappa* and *Thurne*, and ſlain with moſt part of his Followers; 35 of them were taken alive, with all the Sanzacks rich Furniture. To end this year withal, the *Turks* in Garriſon at *Petrinia*, *Siſeg*, *Caſtrowitz*, and other Places thereabouts, met together in number about 3000; who, the 19 of *December*, paſſing over the River *Sauus*, began to ſpoil the Frontiers of thoſe Countries. But before they were gon far, they were ſo incountred by the Lord *Graſwin*, and the Borderers thereabout, that five hundred of them were left dead upon the Ground, divers of good account taken Priſoners, and almoſt all the reſt drowned in the River; ſo that of all them that came over, few eſcaped with Life. In the latter end of this Month great numbers of Souldiers were taken up in *Saxony*, and other Places of *Germany*; whereof ſome were ſent to *Prague*, and ſome to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*; and in *Hungary* the *Chriſtians* increaſed their Strength with new Supplies. In *Auſtria* alſo a new Army was raiſed, and two and twenty great pieces of Artillery ſent down the River of *Danubius* to *Comara*, and new Preparation made in every Place for the next years Wars.

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A great Tempeſt at *Conſtantinople*.

Amurath dreameth.

Of the rich ſpoil taken from the *Turks*, in the late Victory near unto *Alba-Regalis*, the *Chriſtian* Captains made a Preſent for the Emperour and the Arch-duke *Matthias*, his Brother, which they ſent by the Lords *Gall* and *Brun*; and was by them preſented unto the Emperour and his Brother the eleventh of *January* at *Vienna*, in order as followeth; Firſt went the Maſter of the Ordnance of *Rab*, on both ſides attended upon with the other Officers of the Artillery; after them were drawn thirty great pieces of Ordnance taken in the Battel: After theſe Pieces followed three *Turkiſh* Horſes with rich Saddles and Furniture ſtudded with Gold, the Stirrups and Bridles being of Silver, gilt and moſt curiouſly wrought; after them were carried 22 of the *Turks* Enſigns, three of them were very rich, and the other right fair. Then followed the two Ambaſſadors aforeſaid, with each of them a gilt Mace in his Hand, ſuch as the *Turks* Baſſaes uſe to carry; after them were brought many Inſtruments of War, gilt Scimitars, Gleaves, Bows and Arrows, Targuets, and ten of the *Janizaries* Drums. Two of the aforeſaid Horſes were preſented to the Emperour, and the third to the Arch-duke. The Field-pieces brought to the Caſtle-gate, and orderly placed upon the Plain, were all, at ſuch time as the reſt of the Preſents entred the Caſtle, forthwith by the Canoneers diſcharged; and there for certain Days left upon the Plain for the People to feed their Eyes upon. The Ambaſſadours, diſcharged of their Preſent, and rewarded by the Emperour with Chains of Gold and other Gifts, returned to the Camp. Notwithſtanding that it was now deep Winter, yet many ſharp Skirmiſhes daily paſſed upon the Borders betwixt the *Turks* and the *Chriſtians*. The fifteenth of this pre-

A fair Preſent of the ſpoil of the *Turks*, ſent unto the Emperour.

ſent Month, 2000 of the *Turks* aſſembled together, were making an Inrode into the Country about *Filek*; whereof the Lord *Teuffenbach* having intelligence, lay in wait for them, and ſetting upon them fearing no ſuch danger, ſlew and took of them fifteen hundred.

Matthias, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, now Governour of *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and the Countries thereabout, by the departure of *Erneſtus* his Brother (but a little before by *Philip* King of *Spain* made Governour of the Low-Countries) was now alſo by the Emperour appointed General of the Chriſtian Army againſt the *Turks*; who, to be near unto the Enemy, and to farther the new War, departed the ſix and twentieth day of *February* from *Vienna* to *Rab*; after whom daily followed the Forces newly raiſed in *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, and *Hungary*, with others alſo ſent from *Prague* and *Vienna*. He conſidering to what ſmall purpoſe it would be to have the laſt year taken ſo many ſtrong Towns and Caſtles, except the ſame alſo were well manned and furniſhed with all needful Proviſion; by the perſwaſion of the Lord *Teuffenbach*, ſent County *Schilke* with a thouſand Horſe to *Filek*, for the more ſafety of that Place and the Country thereabout ſo lately gained from the *Turks*.

It fortuned, that about this time, a Souldier of the *Turks* taken not far from *Dregel*, and brought into the Camp; among other things whereof he was examined, confeſſed, That in *Novigrade* (a ſtrong Town and of great Importance, but one mile diſtant from *Vacia*, and three from *Buda*) was left but a weak Garriſon of about eight hundred Souldiers, who there lived in great fear to be beſieged; and that the *Turks* doubting ſuch a matter, had brought thither much Proviſion for the better fortifying of the Town. Upon which Intelligence the Chriſtians began to remove with their Army, and being come betwixt *Dregel* and *Novigrade*, underſtood by the Country People, that it was true that the *Turk* had reported: wherefore they reſolved that Night to lay ſiege unto the Town. So forthwith ſome were ſent to *Dregel*, to fetch thence certain pieces of Artillery, whom certain Troops of *German* Horſemen went to meet; who uſed ſuch diligence, that the eighth of *March*, a little before the riſing of the Sun, the whole Army, with the great Ordnance, was come before *Novigrade*. That day the Chriſtians ſpent in pitching their Tents, and incamping themſelves; yet before Night they had planted certain great pieces upon an high Hill, from whence they might ſee into the Caſtle; whereof the Maſter of the Ordnance cauſed three of the greateſt about the going down of the Sun, to be diſcharged againſt the Caſtle, to give the *Turks* to underſtand that they wanted nothing for the ſiege. The ſame Night alſo the Chriſtians caſt up a great Mount in the Valley, from whence they preſently ſent ſix great ſhot into the Caſtle: but early in the Morning, the Sun being yet ſcarce up, and all things now in readineſs, they began to batter the Caſtle, and that Day out of ten great Pieces, diſcharged 300 great ſhot againſt the Caſtle, but to ſmall purpoſe; for the Caſtle was built upon a moſt ſtrong Rock, fortified with high and thick Walls, and a deep Ditch hewen out of the main Rock, which compaſſed the Caſtle round; and for the more ſtrength thereof was ſo fortified with Pallizadoes made of ſtrong Timber, as that there was no acceſs unto the Walls; yet by the Commandment of the General, certain Companies of the Chriſtians prepared themſelves to aſſault the Breach, ſuch as it was; who beſides their Weapons, carrying with them dry Faggots, and ſetting them on fire, burnt the Pallizado in divers places, and ſo opened the way unto the Walls; and encouraged with the ſucceſs, aproached nearer, and ſlew divers of the *Turks* upon their Rampiers. Who diſcouraged with their own weakneſs, and the forwardneſs of the Enemy, faintly defended themſelves, and yet ſlew divers of them, beating them down from the Walls with Stones, Timber, Fire-works, and ſuch like. This Aſſault given in the Night, was continued until four a Clock in the Morning, and ſo given over. Shortly after came the Arch-duke with a 1000 Horſe into the Camp, and cauſed the battery to be again renewed; whereby it chanced that the chief Canoneer in the Caſtle (being a Renegade *German*) was taken with a great ſhot and ſlain; whoſe death ſo diſmaied the reſt of the Defendants, that they preſently ſet forth three white Flags in ſign of parley; which for all that, the Chriſtians ſeemed not to regard, but ſtill continued their battery. The *Turks* then pitifully crying out, named two Captains, whom they deſired to have ſent unto them, with whom they might fall to ſome reaſonable Compoſition; ſo for a while the battery ceaſed, and thoſe Captains being ſent unto the Town, brought nine of the beſt of the *Turks* in the City with them unto the Archduke; who by their Interpreter declared, That they well conſidered the force of the Criſtians, and ſeeing no relief to come from the Baſſa of *Buda*, as he had promiſed, thought themſelves to have already diſcharged the parts of good Souldiers, and ſeeing no other remedy, were contented to yield the Caſtle; yet ſo, as that with Bag and Baggage they might in ſafety depart. Whereunto the Lord *Palſi* (taking upon him the Perſon of the Arch-duke, for that he himſelf would not be known) anſwered, That foraſmuch as they had not yielded at the firſt ſummons, but holden it out to the loſs of many of his Mens lives, and his great charge, they were unworthy of any favour; yet of his own Clemency he would receive them, if they would abſolutely, without any farther condition, yield themſelves to his mercy. This anſwer being reported to the *Sanzack*, Governour of the Town, pleaſed him not, and therefore ſaid he would ſtill ſtand upon his own defence. Whereupon the Chriſtians were about to have began a freſh Aſſault; but after a new Parley, it was at laſt agreed, That the *Turks* yielding the Town unto the Arch-duke, ſhould in ſafety depart with their Apparel and Scimiters only: With which agreement two of the *Turks* were ſent back into the Caſtle, and the reſt detained. Four hours the *Turks* in the Caſtle delaied the time, as men doubtful what to do; but being earneſtly called upon for a reſolute Anſwer, and ſeeing the Chriſtians ready again to aſſault them, they for fear yielded; and ſo 450 of them came forth, amongſt whom was the *Sanzack*, Governour of the Town, with his Wife and Daughter, the *Sanzack* of *Selendre*, (ſent thither to have aided him) and one *Chiaus*, lately come from the Court. Theſe great men bravely mounted, were commanded to alight from their gallant Horſes, and had in their ſteads other bad Jades given them to ride upon; and as they paſſed by, as well the Women as the Men, were ſearched, that they carried with them nothing more than their Cloths; if any thing elſe were found, it fell unto the Souldiers ſhare for good booty. This ſtrong Town of *Novigrade* had continued in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks* about fifty years, and ſerved as it were for a Bulwark to *Peſth* and *Buda*; which now recovered out of their hands, opened a way unto their farther harms. The keeping of this Town was by the Arch-duke committed to the Lord *Rebei*, a Nobleman of *Hungary*, and Kinſman to *Palſi*, with a ſtrong Garriſon, and certain Troops of *Huſſars*.

Novigrade beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Novigrade yielded unto the Arch-duke.

The *Sanzack* of *Novigrade*, after he had loſt the Town, coming to *Buda*, was preſently apprehended by the Baſſa, and laid in Priſon; who, although he excuſed himſelf, by alledging that

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The *Sanzack* of *Novigrade* hanged at *Buda*.

that the Town was not poſſibly to be holden with ſo ſmall a Garriſon, againſt ſo great a Power; and that if any fault were, it was to be imputed to them of *Buda*, for not ſending relief in time; and therefore appealed unto the further hearing of *Amurath* himſelf: yet all ſerved him not, but was by the Baſſaes Commandment, in the Night hanged upon a Tree near unto the Gate of the City, and afterwards cut in pieces.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, the Emperour ſent his Ambaſſador to the great Duke of *Muſcovia*, the King of *Polonia*, and the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, to prove how they ſtood affected towards thoſe his Wars againſt the *Turk*, and what Aid he might procure from them. Into *Muſcovia* was ſent one *Warkutſch*, a Gentleman of *Sileſia*; who, coming to *Muſco*, found in that Court the Ambaſſadors of the *Tartar*, the *Turk*, the *Perſian*, the *Polonian*, and the *Dane*. Of all theſe, the Ambaſſadors of the *Tartar* and the *Turk* could have no Audience, but were with contumelious words rejected as Miſcreants. The Emperours Ambaſſadour was honourably entertained, and after the manner of that Country, a large proportion of Wine, Mede, Aquavitæ, Fleſh, Fiſh, and Fowl of ſundry ſorts allowed him daily all the time of his abode. At length, having Audience, he declared unto the great Duke the cauſe of his coming, and in the Name of his Maſter, requeſted his Aid againſt the *Turk*. Whereunto the Duke anſwered, That he would give the Emperour towards the maintenance of his Wars againſt the common Enemy, 500000 Duckets, and allow him yearly 400000 during the time of that War; requeſting him not to make any Peace with the *Turk*, and alſo promiſing to ſend him Aid of Men in this War, if he ſhould ſo need. The *Perſian* Ambaſſador alſo honourably feaſted the Emperours Ambaſſador, and had with him great conference concerning the Wars of the *Chriſtians* with the *Turks*, and in his Maſters Name promiſed the continuation of his Wars againſt the *Turk*, ſo that the Emperour would likewiſe promiſe not to have any League with him, ſo to give him lieſure to turn all his Forces again into *Perſia*. This Ambaſſador, after he had almoſt tarried four Months in *Muſcovia*, returned to the Emperour. At which time Doctor *Wacker*, the Emperours Ambaſſador into *Polonia*, returned alſo with joyful news, how that the *Polonians*, with an Army of eight and twenty thouſand, had ſtopped the Paſſage of an hundred thouſand *Tartars*, whom the *Turk* had ſent for againſt the Emperour; and that if he needed, he ſhould be aided with the *Polonian Coſſacks*; but unto the reſt of his Requeſts he could have no anſwer of the States of that Kingdom, for that the King was then abſent in *Sweden*, and was therefore referred to be further anſwered at his return.

Certain Caſtles of the *Turks* upon the Borders of *Stiria*, taken by the County *Serinus*.

At the ſame time, County *Serinus*, with three hundred Harquebuſiers, and certain Troops of Horſemen, and the Footmen of *Stiria*, and the Countries thereabouts, aſſembled to the number of ten thouſand, departed from *Caniſia*, to beſiege *Breſenza*, a Caſtle of the *Turks*. But they underſtanding before of his coming, conveyed away the beſt of their ſubſtance, and ſetting the Caſtle on fire, departed the three and twentieth of *March*. The Earl coming thither, took the forſaken Caſtle, and put thereinto a Garriſon of his own Souldiers. In like manner he took alſo *Sigeſta*, forſaken of the *Turks*, where he alſo placed a Garriſon of the *Chriſtians*. And ſo going on to *Baboſtcha*, beſieged it; which Caſtle, although it was ſtrongly ſcituated in a Marſh, and could not eaſily have been won, was for all that, for fear, abandoned by the *Turks*, and ſo taken by the County; by recovery of which Places, there was a ſafe and eaſie way laid open even to *Ziget*, the Baſſa whereof ſtood in no ſmall doubt to have been even then beſieged.

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Amurath, intending by all means he could to vex the Emperour, had determined to ſend his Fleet into the *Adriatique*, to beſiege *Zegna*, a City of the Emperours, ſcituate upon the Sea-coaſt, in the Bay *Quernero*, called in antient time *Flanaticus Sinus*. Which the better to effect, he ſent one of his *Chiaus* Ambaſſador to the *Venetians*, to requeſt them, That his Fleet might by their leave paſs along the *Adriatick*, and have the uſe of their Ports and Harbours, as need ſhould require. Which his requeſt the *Venetians* hearing, refuſed in any caſe to yield thereunto; fearing (and not without cauſe) the unfaithfulneſs and treachery of the *Turks*, whoſe Oaths and Promiſes are no longer ſtrong, or by them regarded, than ſtandeth with their own good and profit; nevertheleſs, they moſt honourably uſed the Ambaſſadour, and ſo ſent him away without obtaining of that he was eſpecially ſent for.

Hatwan beſieged by the *Chriſtians*.

In the upper part of *Hungary*, *Chriſtopher* Lord *Teuffenbach*, the Arch-dukes Lieutenant, having gathered an Army of twenty thouſand Souldiers, the ſixteenth of *April* layed ſiege to *Hatwan*, a ſtrong Town ſix miles from *Buda*, fortified with a tripple Ditch and Bulwarks of exceeding ſtrength. Againſt which, although the *Chriſtians* could not do much either by Mines or Mounts, (by reaſon it was ſo environed with water) yet they ſo ſhut up all the Paſſages thereunto, that nothing could be brought or carried in or out of the Town. They of the Town ſeeing themſelves thus block'd up, by ſecret Meſſengers certified the *Baſſa* of *Buda* in what caſe they ſtood, praying Aid of him; who with ten thouſand choſen Souldiers, which he had then in readineſs, and the *Sanzacks* of *Sirnah*, *Giula*, *Lippa*, *Lermoge*, and *Tſchangrad*, with five thouſand more, forthwith ſet forward toward *Hatwan*, to raiſe the ſiege; and the laſt of *April*, being come within ſight of the *Chriſtian* Army, about one of Clock in the Afternoon encamped on the ſide of the River *Sagijwa*; but when he could not, or elſe durſt not, for the deepneſs of the way, the abundance of the Water, and the nearneſs of the Enemy, adventure to paſs the River, he retired back again to paſs over at *Jaſperin* (otherwiſe called *Jasbrin*) where the River was joyned with a Bridg, and not far off a good Foord alſo to paſs over at; thinking ſo to have come upon the backs of the *Chriſtians*, and with more ſafety to have relieved the beſieged Town. But *Teuffenbach* perceiving his purpoſe, forthwith after his departure paſſed the River with much Difficulty, and overtaking him with his Army the next day, being the firſt of *May*, about one of the Clock in the Afternoon, between *Zarcha* and *Fuſcaſalva*, with his great Ordnance diſordered the rereward of the Enemies Battel; and coming on couragiouſly with his whole Army, began a moſt cruel fight; which the *Turks* a great while endured with wonderful Reſolution; but now, deſtitute of their wonted multitude (their greateſt confidence) and hardly layed unto by the *Chriſtians*, they in the end turned their backs and fled; whom ſix thouſand *Hungarians* and *Germans* fiercely purſued, and had the killing of them almoſt to *Buda*. In this Battel the *Chriſtians* took all the Enemies great Ordnance, with ſeventeen Enſigns, and alſo the Caſtle of *Jaſperin*, which the *Turks* had for fear abandoned; wherein was found good ſtore of Victuals, certain great Pieces, with much other warlike Proviſion. Of this ſo notable a Victory, *Teuffenbach* by Letters preſently advertiſed the Arch-duke, after he was again returned to the ſiege of *Hatwan*. Which Letters, becauſe they contain many Particularities and Circumſtances of this Battel, I have thought it not amiſs here to inſert.

The Copy of the Letters of the Lord *Teuffenbach*, to *Matthias* the Arch-duke, General of the Emperours Army againſt the *Turks*.

A*Lthough* (ſaid he) *I have by a ſpeedy Meſſenger upon the very Kalends of* May, *certified your Excellency of the notable Victory, which God of his great Goodneſs gave unto us the ſame day over our hereditary Enemy; yet afterward, upon diligent Inquiſition, we underſtood many Particularities, as well of the Captives themſelves, as of the Inhabitants about* Zolnocke, Peſth, *and* Buda; *whereof I thought good to advertiſe you. The Captives themſelves confeſs, That the Baſſa of* Buda, *with the* Sanzacks *of* Zolnocke, Zarwacke, Giula, *and* Tſchangrad, Cippaio, Genne, *and others, had with great Celerity raiſed an Army of thirteen thouſand Souldiers, amongſt whom were many* Tartars, *with purpoſe to have relieved the beſieged Town of* Hatwan, *and upon the ſudden to have oppreſſed us in our Tents. Filled with which hope, they in great haſte came with all their Power the laſt of* April *towards* Hatwan; *but foraſmuch as they could not paſs over the River* Zagijwa *by reaſon of the height of the Water, they were the next day, being the firſt of* May, *conducted by the Captain of* Jaſparin, *to a more commodious Paſſage, ſo to come the nearer unto us, and the next day in the Morning to have ſurpriſed us in our Tents. But our moſt merciful God hath averted this ſo great a Miſchief from us, and turned it upon their own Heads. For as it is moſt conſtantly reported from* Zolnocke, Peſth, *and* Buda, *and confirmed by the Inhabitants of the ſame Places, there are two thouſand five hundred of the* Turks *ſlain, and as many wounded, of whom many periſhed, and are found dead upon the High-ways leading to* Peſth, *and* Zolnocke; *of theſe we have ſent a thouſand Heads to* Caſſovia, *and cauſed many of the* Turks *to be buried for fear of Infection in this ſo great heat. Verily it was a bloody Battel, ſo that the old Souldiers ſay, they have not remembred or ſeen the* Turks (*no more in number*) *to have ſtood ſo long in Battel, and to have ſo fought it out without flying. Many Men of great Name and Place there periſhed and fell, amongſt whom are redeemed the* Sanzacks *of* Peſth, Novigrade, *and* Temeske, Genne, Alavus, Bogſte, Aluſtaſa, Marielaus, *and certain* Chiaus *lately ſent from the Court, with the Baſſa's Guard, wherein were eight hundred right valiant Souldiers, of whom few eſcaped with Life. Many fell that would have yielded great Ranſome; but it was agreed upon between the* Germans *and the* Hungarians, *not to ſpare any of the Enemies, but to put them all to Sword; and that whoſoever did otherwiſe, it ſhould be imputed unto him for Diſhonour. So that more than ſixteen common Souldiers, none were taken Priſoners, of whom we might learn how things went amongſt the* Turks, *with other Circumſtances of the Battel. We took thirteen Field-pieces, whereof four were greater than the reſt; which they called Organes, and four and twenty of the Enemies Enſigns. The Baſſa of* Buda (*beſide other three Wounds by him received*) *was grievouſly wounded in the ſide. Of our men were loſt about an hundred, and many of them moſt expert Souldiers; and about ſix hundred others grievouſly wounded, of whom there is ſmall hope, many of them being already dead. Neither is the loſs ſmall we have received in our Horſes and Armour, for there be few amongſt the* German *Horſemen, which have not loſt one, two, or three, of their Horſes or Servants, whereby our Horſemen are wonderfully weakned; yet was the Victory great, to God be the Praiſe, to him be the Glory and Thanks therefore. Let us in the mean time proſecute the ſiege begun. The laſt Night I commanded the Water to be drawn another way, ſo that now our Trenches may be advanced many Paces, and Bulwarks raiſed within two hundred paces of the Wall. We have already planted five great pieces of Artillery in one Bulwark, and hope the next Night to place five more upon a Mount faſt by, and will do what ſhall be needful for a ſtraight ſiege; and when time ſhall ſerve, undertake the Town with all our Power; God grant us therein good Succeſs and Victory.*

The *Turks* in Garriſon at *Zabola*, a Fort there by, diſcouraged with the overthrow of their Friends, forſook the Fort; which for Strength and Greatneſs was comparable with *Tocay* or *Erla*; which ſtrong Place the *Chriſtians* without any loſs now recovered.

Strigonium beſieged by the *Chriſtians*.

Whilſt this valiant Captain, the Lord *Teuffenbach*, thus lay at the ſiege of *Hatwan*, *Matthias*, the Arch-duke, General of the *Chriſtian* Army in *Hungary*, incouraged with the good Succeſs he had at *Novigrad*, came with his Army (being 44000 ſtrong) before *Strigonium* (ſometime the Metropolitical City of *Hungary*, but now of long a ſure receptacle of the *Turks*) and the ſixth of *May* incamped his Army about a quarter of a mile from the Caſtle in a moſt pleaſant Medow, from whence both the City and the Caſtle were plainly to be ſeen. Upon whom the *Turks*, out of the Caſtle, and three Gallies that lay upon the River, diſcharged certain great pieces without any great harm doing; but after the *Chriſtian* Fleet was a little before Night come down the River, and with their great Ordnance began to anſwer them again, the Enemy ceaſed ſhooting, and lay ſtill that Night. In the mean time it fortuned, that a *Turkiſh* Youth, taken in a Garden thereby, and brought into the Camp and examined, confeſſed that there was no Garriſon in the City, more than four hundred *Janizaries*, and that a new ſupply was daily expected from *Buda*. The *Chriſtians* labouring that Night, were by the breaking of the Day come with their Trenches to a Hill over againſt the Caſtle, where they placed their Battery, and forthwith began to batter the City. The ſame day (being the ſeventh of *May*) two and twenty *Turks* Heads were preſented to the Arch-duke, and four men taken alive, newly ſent out of the City to have viewed the *Chriſtian* Camp. About Night certain Balls of Wild-fire were ſhot into the City, whereof one fell upon the Tower called St. *Adelbert*, and ſet it on fire; wherewith, firſt the Church, and afterward a great part of the Town fell on fire. The *Sanzacks* Houſe, with all his Horſes and Armour, and a great quantity of Powder was then burnt, and ineſtimable hurt done in the City. The next day the *Chriſtians* had with continual battery made a breach in the Caſtle Wall; but adjoyning unto the Wall was an high and broad ſandy Rampier, which could hardly be battered; for all that the *Germans* gave a fierce aſſault to the breach, hoping to have entred by the Ruins of the Wall, but not being able to get over the ſandy Rampier, were inforced with loſs to retire. The day following, they began again the Battery with eighteen great pieces, when, about eight a Clock in the Morning, the *Raſcians* that were in the old City gave the General to underſtand, That if he would, at a place by them appointed, aſſault the greater City, to draw the *Turks* thither, they would in the mean time deliver unto the *Chriſtians* certain little Poſterns, and receive them into the old City; upon Condition, that no Violence ſhould be done unto them or theirs. Which being ſo agreed upon, the *Chriſtians* accordingly gave the aſſault the eleventh of *May* in the Evening, and by the help of the *Raſcians* took the City; who, according to promiſe, were all taken to Mercy, and the *Turks* ſlain, except ſuch as by their good hap recovered the new Town. The keeping of this City was committed to the charge of two Companies of *German* Footmen, and ſix hundred *Hungarians*, with three hundred *Raſcians*, and other Townſmen. Thus

The old City delivered by the *Raſcians* unto the *Chriſtians*.

was

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The Caſtle aſſaulted.

was the old City of *Strigonium* gained by the *Chriſtians*, the Suburbs whereof they preſently burnt, nevertheleſs the new Town, with the Caſtle, was ſtill holden by the *Turks*. Wherefore the *Chriſtians* having caſt up certain Trenches and Mounts, and placed their Artillery as they thought moſt convenient, began again to batter the Caſtle, and after they had by the Fury of the Cannon made it aſſaultable, with great Courage aſſailed the breach, which the *Turks* valiantly defended; ſo that the *Chriſtians* were glad to retire, leaving behind them about an hundred and thirty of their Fellows ſlain in the breach. The *Turks*, a little before the coming of the *Chriſtians*, had fortified an Hill, whereunto the Caſtle was ſomething ſubject, called of the *Chriſtians* St. *Nicholas* his Hill; this Hill ſo fortified, the *Chriſtians*, with continual battery and aſſault, gained the 17th of *May*, and put all the *Turks* left alive therein to the Sword; and turning the Ordnance, from thence alſo battered the Caſtle. The two and twentieth of *May*, a little before the going down of the Sun, certain Enſigns of Footmen were drawn out of the Camp, to have the next day aſſaulted the lower Town; who, taking the benefit of the Night, attempting to have entred the Town in the dead time of the Night, were notably encountered by the *Turks*, ſallying out of the Town upon them. The *Chriſtians* for all that, having enforced them to retire, proſecuted their former Reſolution, and with much ado got over the uttermoſt Wall; but finding there, contrary to their Expectation, ſuch a deep and broad countermure as was not poſſible to be paſſed, they ſtood as Men diſmaied, neither could they in the Darkneſs of the Night well ſee how to get back again over the Town-ditch, but diſorderly retiring, ſtuck faſt, many of them in the deep mud, and there periſhed. In this aſſault there were about a thouſand of the *Chriſtians* wounded and ſlain, and albeit that they twice or thrice renewed the aſſault, yet prevailed they nothing, but were ſtill repulſed with loſs. Many alſo of the *Turkiſh* Garriſon were likewiſe ſlain, yea, the *Sanzack* himſelf hurt with a great ſhot, with many other wounded men ſent down the River to *Buda*, brought thither true News of the aforeſaid Aſſaults, and of the ſtate of the beſieged.

The *Raſcians* riſe up againſt the *Turks*.

In the mean time, News was brought to the Camp, That *Sinan Baſſa*, the old Enemy of the *Chriſtians*, and the *Turks* great Lieutenant, coming towards *Hungary* with a great Army, and having by Boats conveyed over part thereof, was ſet upon by the *Raſcians*, (theſe are poor oppreſſed *Chriſtians*, dwelling on both ſides of *Danubius*, who, weary of the *Turkiſh* Thraldom, and deſirous of their antient Liberty, have oftentimes taken up Arms againſt the *Turks*, as they now did, encouraged by the good Succeſs of the *Chriſtians* on the other ſide of *Hungary*) and that after divers Skirmiſhes, they had taken thirteen of the *Turks* Veſſels, wherein, beſides Victuals, and certain great pieces of Artillery, they found about 2400 weight of Powder, 447 hundred of Lead, 46454 bundles of Match, 1200 great ſhot, whereof 1005 were of 66 pound weight, and of ſmall ſhot for Harquebuſiers, 48500, with much other warlike Proviſion; a great part whereof was brought into the Camp at *Strigonium*, and the reſt reſerved to future Uſes. This loſs ſo troubled the great Baſſa, that he altered his purpoſe before intended for *Caſſovia*.

The fourth of *June*, about five hundred *Turks*, ſent up the River from *Buda*, conducted by two *Sanzacks* under two red and white Enſigns, landed near to *Gokara*, on the further ſide of *Danubius*, over againſt *Strigonium*; where, after they had a while refreſhed themſelves, and left ſome few for the more aſſurance of the Place, all the reſt were conveyed over the River into *Strigonium*; where they had been long looked for, the old Garriſon being now ſore weakned by the former Aſſaults. Four days after, the *Turks*, encouraged with this ſupply, ſallied out upon a ſudden, and had entred one of the Forts of the *Chriſtians*; but were forthwith again repulſed, having loſt ſix and twenty of their men, and two of their Enſigns; not far off lay a troop of Horſemen, who, if they had in time come in, not one of the *Turks* had eſcaped. Long it were to tell, how often, and in what manner the *Chriſtians* aſſaulted this City, but were by the *Turks* ſo received, that in five Aſſaults they loſt five thouſand of their Men, amongſt whom were divers Captains, Lieutenants, Antients, and others of good account; three and twenty Canoneers were alſo ſlain, and ten great pieces of Artillery ſo ſpoiled, as that they were no more ſerviceable. The Garriſon of this City conſiſted for moſt part of the *Janizaries* (the *Turks* beſt Souldiers) whoſe notable Valour in holding out of this ſiege, was both of their own People, and their Enemies, much commended; whatſoever was beaten down by Day, that they again repaired by Night, and ſtill relieved with Victual, and things neceſſary from *Buda*, did what was poſſible to be done for defence of the City. About the ſame time certain *Turks* chancing upon a Troop of *German* Horſemen, in fight ſlew about fifty of them, and put the reſt to flight; whereupon, an alarm being raiſed in the Camp, many ran out to the reſcue of their Fellows, taking with them certain ſmall Field-pieces. Which the *Turks* perceiving, began to flie; whom the *Chriſtians* eagerly purſuing, were ſuddenly aſſailed by other *Turks*, ſallying out of a Fort faſt by, and inforced ſhamefully to retire, and to leave their Field-pieces behind them. Which the *Turks* ſeizing upon, cloyed them, brake their Carriages, and made them altogether unſerviceable.

1594

Five thouſand *Chriſtians* loſt at the ſiege of *Strigonium*.

The Arch-duke ſendeth Aid to the ſiege of *Hatwan*.

All this while the Lord *Teuffenbach*, lying at the ſiege of *Hatwan*, about this time requeſted Aid of the Archduke, for that his Power was with often Conflicts, Hunger, and other Difficulties always attending long ſieges, ſo much weakned, as that he had ſcarcely ſix thouſand ſound Men in his Camp; to whom the Arch-duke forthwith ſent twelve hundred Footmen, being loth to ſpare any more, for too much weakning of his own Army.

Amurath, diſdaining to ſee the Frontiers of his Empire in ſo many places impugned by the *Chriſtians*, and daily to receive from them ſo great Harms, ſought by all means to be reverenced; wherefore, beſide the great Power of his own, which he was now about to ſend with *Sinan Baſſa* into *Hungary*, he had alſo procured from the great *Tartar*, a wonderful number of thoſe rough and ſavage People to be ſent into *Hungary*, there to joyn with his Army. Theſe wild People, to the number of ſeventy thouſand, according to direction given, breaking into *Padolia*, *Walachia*, and *Moldavia*, gathered together an incredible number of Oxen and Kine; to this end and purpoſe, that driving them before them, they might both be aſſured of Victuals, and the ſafer travel through a part of *Polonia*. But when they were come unto the Borders of that Country, and there found the Power of *Samoſchie* the great Chancellor, and the *Polonian Coſſacks* in Arms, they eaſily perceived that they could not paſs that way without great loſs. Wherefore they placed the aforeſaid Heards of Cattel, ſome before, ſome behind, and ſome on each ſide of the Army, and ſo incloſed round about with thoſe Cattel, as with a Trench, marched on. But when they were come near unto the *Polonians*, this rude Device ſerved them to no other purpoſe than the overthrow of themſelves; for the *Polonians* diſcharging their great Ordnance, ſo terrified the

Cattel, that they turned upon the *Tartars*; and overthrowing whomſoever came in their way, did exceeding much harm; whom the *Polonians* immediately following, and hardly charging the confuſed Army, armed only with Bow and Arrows, after ſome ſmall fight, put them at laſt to flight, and obtained of them a notable Victory, with an exceeding rich Prey. Of the *Polonians* were loſt about eighteen hundred, but of the *Tartars* were ſlain thirty thouſand. The reſt retiring into *Podolia*, and paſſing the River *Neſter* by the way of *Tranſilvania*, where they did exceeding much harm, came to *Temeſware*, and ſo afterwards further into *Hungary*; unto whom the *Turks* ſent ſeven hundred Horſemen, to conduct them to the Army.

Strigonium aſſaulted.

But to return again to the ſiege of *Strigonium*, The fourteenth day of *June*, the *Chriſtians*, between eight and nine of the Clock in the Morning, with great Fury aſſaulted the Town in three places; which aſſault they moſt notably maintained, until it was almoſt three a Clock in the Afternoon. Nevertheleſs, the *Turks* ſo valiantly defended themſelves, that at laſt the *Chriſtians* were glad to give over the aſſault, and with loſs to retire. The Archduke from an high place beholding the aſſault, had one of his Foot-men ſlain faſt by him with a ſmall ſhot. Many of the *Turks* were alſo ſlain in this aſſault, and amongſt them, one of the three *Sanzacks* that defended the City. The Night following there aroſe a moſt horrible Tempeſt, with ſuch raging Wind, and abundance of Rain, that many thought they ſhould never have ſeen day; with the Violence whereof the Archdukes Tent was overthrown, and divers others blown down, or rent in ſunder, were in the Air carried from Place to Place. About the ſame time, the Lord *Palfi*, within the ſight of the Caſtle, caſt up a notable Fort, with high Mounts and ſtrong Trenches (even in the ſelf ſame place where *Solyman* lay about fifty years before, when he beſieged and won *Strigonium*) by which Fort ſo built, the Enemy was embarred to convey any thing up the River for the relief of the City, to the great diſcomfiture of the beſieged; for to have hindred the which work, the Enemy oftentimes ſallied out, but to no purpoſe. This Fort being brought to Perfection, the *Chriſtians* took alſo another Fort in an Iſland on the further ſide of the River, which the *Turks* had but few days before taken from the *Chriſtians*, and cloyed the great Pieces therein; which Fort the *Chriſtians* now again repaired, furniſhed it with a ſufficient Garriſon, and other great Ordnance.

Strigonium ſore battered.

Theſe things thus done, the Caſtle and the lower Town were in five divers places out of the new built Fort, the old Town, and the Iſland, ſo battered with continual ſhot, that a man ſhould have ſaid, that one Stone would not have been left upon another, but that all ſhould have been beaten down, and laid even with the Ground. The ſeventeenth of *June*, one of the *Chriſtian* Canoneers ſo diſmounted one of the great pieces in the Caſtle, that the piece, together with the *Turkiſh* Canoneer that had charge thereof, fell down out of the Caſtle into the Ditch. And the ſame day, a Maſon that fled out of the Caſtle into the Camp, among other things reported, That many of the *Turks* were ſlain with this continual battery and often aſſaults, and that not paſt an hour before, forty of them were ſlain in one Chamber, and now acknowledged themſelves to be indeed beſieged; and to have reſolved, that when they were brought to the laſt caſt, then deſperately to ſallie out upon the *Chriſtians*, and ſo either to return with Victory, or to make ſhift every man for himſelf as he might. Which his report ſeemed not altogether feigned; for about Midnight, a thouſand of the *Turks* ſallying out of the Caſtle upon the Fort newly built upon the River, in hope to have ſurpriſed it, were by the *Chriſtians* therein notably repulſed and inforced to retire; in which conflict fifty of the *Turks* were ſlain, and many more wounded and taken Priſoners. And the ſame day toward Evening, eight *Turks* of good ſort being taken and brought into the Camp, confeſſed, That but ſix days before, they had ſeen ſeven Boats full of wounded and dead men ſent down the River from *Strigonium* to *Bude*. Whereby it was eaſily to be gathered how bloody a ſiege this was unto the *Turks*, foraſmuch as all thoſe Bodies were the Bodies of men of good account and place; for the Bodies of ſuch common Souldiers as were ſlain, they ſtill threw into the River running by.

The new built Fort hardly aſſaulted by the *Turks*.

The Fort newly built upon the Bank of *Danubius*, much troubled the beſieged *Turks* in *Strigonium*, becauſe nothing could without danger of it be ſent up the River for their Relief; Wherefore they by fit Meſſengers ſent word out of the Caſtle to the Admiral of the *Turks* Gallies lying below in the River, That he ſhould at an appointed time come up the River with his Gallies as high as the Fort, and on that ſide at leaſtwiſe to make ſhew as if he would aſſault it; at which time they of the Town would be likewiſe ready to ſally out, and to aſſail it indeed on the other ſide by Land. The Admiral accordingly came up the River with his Gallies, and by diſcharging of certain great pieces, made ſhew as if he would on that ſide have battered the Fort; but was ſo welcomed thereout, that he was glad with his rent Gallies, quickly to fall down the River again further off out of danger. But whilſt the thundering ſhot was thus flying too and fro towards the River, they of the Town ſallying out, aſſaulted the Fort on the other ſide toward the Land, and that with ſuch deſperate Reſolution, that ſome of them were got up to the top of the Rampiers, and there, for the ſpace of two hours, maintained a moſt cruel fight; wherein many of them were ſlain and wounded, and the reſt enforced with ſhame to retire.

The *Chriſtians* thus ſtill lying at the ſiege, and intentive to all Occaſions, partly by their Eſpials, and partly by ſuch as they had taken Priſoners, underſtood, that a new ſupply, both of Men and Victuals, was ſhortly to be put into *Strigonium*; and therefore ſent out certain Companies of Souldiers, who lying in two convenient Places, the one upon the River, the other by Land, might intercept the ſaid ſupply. Both which Places were before by the provident Enemy poſſeſſed; who ſuddenly aſſailing the *Chriſtians* coming thither, and fearing no ſuch matter, ſlew ſome of them, and put the reſt to flight; who nevertheleſs in their retreat, brake the Bridge which the *Turks* had made of Boats under the Caſtle of *Strigonium* over *Danubius*. Of which Boats, ſome were carried away with the Violence of the Stream, and of the reſt thirty fell into the hands of the *Chriſtians*, without loſs of any man more than five, who making too much haſte out of a little Boat, fell into the River, and ſo periſhed. In this time, Fame, the fore-runner of all great Attempts, had brought News into the *Chriſtian* Camp, That *Sinan Baſſa*, the *Turks* great General, was coming to the relief of *Strigonium*; of whoſe Power divers diverſly reported. But the greater part doubting the worſt, and weary of the long Siege, and of the Calamities incident thereunto, added ſtill ſomething to the laſt report, to make the danger of longer ſtay to ſeem the greater; certain it is, that the News of the coming of ſo great and puiſſant an Enemy, raiſed many a troubled thought in the Minds of ſo great a Multitude. Now were the beſieged *Turks* in great wants in *Strigonium*, as appeared by Letters intercepted from the *Sanzack* *back* to the Baſſa of *Buda*, declaring unto him the hard eſtate of the beſieged, and humbly craving his promiſed help, without which the City could not, for want of Victuals, poſſibly be defended by the fainting Souldiers above three days. Which Letters being read in the Camp, cauſed great Preparation to be made for the continuing of the ſiege, and the withſtanding of the Enemy, whoſe coming was every hour expected. All this while the great Ordnance never ceaſed on either ſide; whereby many were ſlain, as well of the *Chriſtians*, as of the *Turks*, and amongſt others many of the Canoneers.

But foraſmuch as the riſe Fame of *Sinan Baſſa's* coming increaſed daily, and the *Chriſtian* Camp poſſeſſed with a general fear, gave unto the wiſe, juſt Suſpition of ſome great Miſchief likely to enſue; *Matthias* the General entered into Counſel with County *Ferdinand Hardeck*, the Lord *Palfi*, the Lord *Ungenade*, Preſident of the Counſel for the Wars, and *Eraſmus Eraun*, Governour of *Comara*, What was the beſt to be done in ſo dangerous a time. Who with general conſent agreed betimes, before the coming of *Sinan*, to raiſe the ſiege, and to remove with the Army into ſome place of more ſafety. Which their determinate Reſolution, the day following, being the ſix and twentieth of *June*, they made known to the other Princes and great Commanders in the Army; who wonderfully diſcontented therewith, eſpecially the *Germans*; both openly by word, and ſolemnly by writing, proteſted againſt the ſame, as moſt diſhonourable, and altogether made without their Knowledge or good likeing. To whom the Preſident of the Counſel for their further Satisfaction, declared, That the Enemy was coming with a very great Army, and even now at hand, whoſe ſtrength encreaſed daily, and with what Power he had purpoſed to aſſail them in their Tents, was uncertain; beſides that, it was manifeſtly know unto the World, how that in the former aſſaults they had loſt many of their beſt Souldiers, beſide others that died in the Camp; and that the Place wherein they lay encamped, was ſubject to many dangers; for which ſo urgent Cauſes the General had reſolved to raiſe his ſiege, and before the coming of ſo ſtrong an Enemy, to remove his Army into a place of more ſafety. Which Reaſons for all that, did not ſo well ſatisfie the *German* Princes and Commanders, but that they ſtill urged their former Proteſtation, requeſting his Excellency to have them excuſed beforeGod and the World, if they yielding to his Command, as to their General, did that which they thought not altogether beſt, and which they would not otherwiſe have done. For the more Evidence whereof, the ſaid *German* Princes and great Commanders, cauſed their ſaid Proteſtation to be ſolemnly conceived in Writing, which they affirmed with their Seals, and ſubſcribed with their own hands in order as followeth: *Francis*, Duke of *Saxony*, *Auguſtus*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, *Sebaſtian Schlick*, County *Wigand Maltzan*, *Erneſtus* of *Aſtan*, *Henry Pflugk*, *John Nicholas Raſwormb*, *Henry Curwigger Heerrath*, *John Oberhauſan*, *Henry Rottcirch*, *Melchior* of *Nothwith*.

The Arch-duke raiſeth his ſiege, and with his Army paſſeth the River.

But the Arch-duke, with the reſt, conſtant in their former Reſolution, firſt ſent away the great Ordnance, and raiſing the ſiege the 28*th* of *June*, followed after with the whole Army, paſſing over *Danubius*, not far from *Komara*, doubtfully expecting what courſe *Sinan* the great Baſſa (who was then reported to be even at hand) would take. Yet before their departure, they ſet the old Town on fire, and raiſed the Fort St. *Nicholas*, before taken from the Enemy, which they had once purpoſed to have kept. This unexpected departure of the *Chriſtians* much gladded the beſieged *Turks*; who for want of Victuals, had not been able long to have holden out. Yet lay the Lord *Teuffenbach* ſtill at the ſiege of *Hatwan*, labouring by all means to take from the beſieged *Turks* their Water, and with Earth and Faggots to fill up their Ditches; which work he had now happily brought to ſome good Perfection. Whereof they in the Town by Letters advertiſed the Baſſa of *Buda*, and that except they were within the ſpace of three days relieved, they ſhould be enforced to yield the Town. Which their diſtreſs the Baſſa conſidering, with ſpeed aſſembled all his Forces, and ſo ſet forward to relieve them, hoping to have come upon the *Chriſtians* before they were aware of his coming: But *Teuffenbach* underſtanding thereof, with five thouſand choſen Horſemen went out of the Camp to meet him, and ſuddenly coming upon him, fearing no ſuch thing, ſlew five thouſand of the *Turks*. put the Baſſa to flight, and together with the Victory, obtained an exceeding rich Prey.

Five thouſand *Turks* ſlain.

Hatwan in vain aſſaulted by the *Chriſtians*.

Now was there no leſs expectation and hope of the winning or yielding up of *Hatwan*, than was before of *Strigonium*; but according to the chance of War, it fell out otherwiſe. For *Teuffenbach* having with continual battery laied the breaches fair open, and made choice of ſuch Souldiers as he thought meeteſt for the aſſault, was in the performing thereof ſo notably repulſed by the *Turks*, that he was glad to retire with the loſs of his beſt and moſt reſolute Souldiers; which put him out of all hope of taking the Town by force. For beſide the loſs of theſe good men, he had ſcarce ſo many ſound men left, as might ſuffice to furniſh his Gariſons for defence of thoſe Frontiers; by reaſon that the *Hungarians* were almoſt all ſhrunk home, and of the *Germans* were left ſcarce two thouſand. Beſides that, he had oftentimes craved new Supplies of the Arch-duke, but all in vain; for which Cauſes he was glad to abandon two ſtrong Forts he had built before *Hatwan*, and to leave the Town, now brought to great Extremity. Thus two notable Cities, which were now as it were in the hands of the *Chriſtians*, and by the recovery whereof, the broken ſtate of the afflicted *Chriſtians* in *Hungary* had been much ſtrengthned, were as it were again reſtored unto the barbarous and cruel Enemy.

Teuffenbach giveth over the ſiege of *Hatwan*.

Whilſt the *Chriſtians* thus lay at the ſiege of *Strigonium* and *Hatwan*, the *Raſcians* (of whom we have before ſpoken) ſtriving ſtill more and more to rid themſelves from the *Turkiſh* Thraldom, gathered themſelves together to the number of fifteen thouſand, between *Buda* and *Belgrade*, under a General of their own chuſing. For fear of whom, the Baſſa of *Temeſwar*, with an Army of fourteen thouſand, went to fortifie and victual *Lippa*, doubting leſt it ſhould by them be ſurpriſed; but having done that he went for, in his return he was met with by the ſame *Raſcians*, and twice fought withall in one day, and both times put to the worſe, with the loſs of the greateſt part of his Army. After which Victory the *Raſcians* took *Becekerek*, a ſtrong Town ſtanding in a Mariſh four miles from *Belgrade*, and ſlew all the *Turks* they found therein. After that, they took a Caſtle called *Ottadt*, and dealt with the *Turks* in like manner. From thence they went and beſieged *Beche*, a Caſtle ſtanding upon the River *Tibiſcus* or *Teiſe*, where the Town adjoyning unto it yielded preſently; but they in the Caſtle ſtanding a while upon their Guard, offered at laſt to yield alſo upon certain Conditions. But the *Raſcians* knowing that the *Turks* thereabouts had conveyed into the Caſtle the beſt part of their Walth, and withal, that it was but weakly manned, would accept of no Conditions, but needs have it abſolutely delivered up to their Pleaſure. In the mean time the old Baſſa of *Temeſwar*, and his Son, knowing it to tend to their diſhonour to ſuffer this baſe People ſo to rage at their pleaſure about them, gathered together 11000 *Turks*, and ſo in great haſte came to relieve the beſieged Caſtle. Upon whom the *Raſcians* turned themſelves, and in plain Battel, overthrew the Baſſa, and ſo purſued the Victory, that of thoſe 11000 *Turks* ſcarcely eſcaped 1000; the Baſſa himſelf being there ſlain, and with him three *Sanzacks*, his Son eſcaped by flight. In this Battel the *Raſcians* took 18 great pieces of Artillery, and not long after took alſo *Werſetza*, and *Lutz*, two ſtrong places. After which ſo happy Succeſs, they ſent unto the Arch-duke *Matthias* for Aid, but eſpecially for Canoneers, profeſſing themſelves now utter Enemies unto the *Turks*. The *Raſcians* alſo about *Temeſwar* ſent word unto the other in the Camp that they would come and joyn with them; and they which inhabit the Country between the River *Danubius* and *Tibiſcus*, by Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe unto the Lord *Teuffenbach* (the Arch-dukes Lieutenant in the upper part of *Hungary*) offered in ſhort time to ſend him ten or twelve thouſand men, ſo that he would receive them and their Country into the Emperours Protection; which he eaſily granted them, and thereof aſſured them by writing. And to the Arch-duke himſelf they ſent alſo their truſty Meſſengers, requeſting him to ſend them a General to lead them, promiſing unto him all Obedience; which Meſſengers departing from them the fourteenth of *June*, ſhortly after returned with ſuch anſwer as was thought moſt convenient for their preſent State. Thus againſt the coming of *Sinan*, was *Hungary* almoſt all on a broil.

A Diet of the Empire holden at *Ratisbone* for the withſtanding of the *Turks*.

The Emperour grievouſly complaineth unto the Princes Electors and States of the Empire, of the Infidelity of the *Turk*, and craveth their Aid.

The Emperour, long before diſtruſting the *Turks* purpoſe for War, and well conſidering what a difficulty it would be for him with his own Forces only to withſtand ſo puiſſant an Enemy as *Amurath*, had by his Ambaſſadors prayed Aid of divers *Chriſtian* Princes, but eſpecially of them of the Empire, as thoſe whom this War concerned moſt. Wherefore he, after the antient and wonted manner of his State, in ſo common and imminent a danger, appointed a general Aſſembly of the Princes and States of the Empire, to be holden at *Ratisbone*, in the latter end of *February*; which, for ſundry urgent Cauſes was put off until *March*, and again until *April*, and ſo afterward until *May*. At which time the Emperour in Perſon himſelf, with the Princes Electors, and other the great States of the Empire, being met together with great Pomp at *Ratisbone*, and ſolemnly aſſembled in the Biſhops Palace, began there to ſit in Council the ſecond of *June*. Unto which Princes and States ſo aſſembled, after that the Emperour had firſt by the Mouth of *Philip* County *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, given great thanks for their ſo ready appearance, and briefly declared the Cauſe of their Aſſembly; he himſelf, after ſome complaint made of the *Turkiſh* Infidelity, in expreſs words declared unto them, how that he by his Ambaſſador then lying at *Conſtantinople*, had in the year 1591, made a League for eight years, with the preſent *Turkiſh* Sultan *Amurath*; which League *Amurath* himſelf had approved and confirmed, and thereof ſent him publick and ſolemn Inſtruments; wherein it was provided, That no hoſtility ſhould be on either ſide during that time attempted. And yet notwithſtanding that, he, contrary to his Faith given, as an hereditary Enemy of the *Chriſtians*, had violated this League, and by ſundry Incurſions barbarouſly ſpoiled and waſted, not *Hungary* only, but other of his Imperial Provinces alſo; but eſpecially by *Haſſan*, *Baſſa* of *Boſna*, who, firſt with a ſtrong Army beſieged, battered and took *Repitz*, an antient frontier Caſtle, and after that, *Wibitz*, *Drevik*, *Craſſowitz*, with other Places of Name; and had in his Dominion and Territory built *Petrinia*, a moſt ſtrong Fort, hurtful to all that Country, out of which he had done incredible miſchief in *Croatia*, *Windiſmarch*, and the moſt fruitful Iſland *Turopolis*; and had out of thoſe Places carried away above 35000 *Chriſtians* into moſt miſerable Captivity. Of which ſhameful Injuries and breaches of Faith he had many times by his Ambaſſadors complained unto the *Turkiſh* Sultan at *Conſtantinople*; and requeſted that all hoſtility ſet apart, due Reſtitution might have been made; but to have therein prevailed nothing, and that the ſame Baſſa, inſtead of condign Puniſhment, had been for the doing thereof, honoured by the great Sultan his Lord with honourable Gifts, the ſure Tokens of his Favour. Whereby he was ſo confirmed in his barbarous Proceedings, that he began to make open War, and having raiſed a full Army, and ſtrengthned alſo with certain Companies of *Janizaries* ſent from the Court, had paſſed over the River of *Kulp*, and beſieged the Caſtle of *Siſeg*; but by the juſt Judgment of God, the Revenger of Wrongs, had there received the Reward of his faithleſs and cruel dealing, being there ſlain, and almoſt all his Army utterly deſtroyed by his ſmall Forces, raiſed in haſte for his own lawful defence. Nevertheleſs the faithleſs *Turk* (as if he had been highly wronged himſelf) to have made this his breach both of League and Faith forthwith known to all the World, by commanding open War to be ſolemnly proclaimed againſt the Kingdom of *Hungary*, both in *Conſtantinople* and *Buda*; and by the *Beglerbeg* of *Greece*, to have again beſieged and taken the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Siſeg*. Whereas, on the other ſide, becauſe nothing ſhould on his part be wanting, which might make his deſire of Peace more known, he had again, and oftentimes by his Ambaſſador put the *Turk* in remembrance of his League, made and confirmed by his Faith. Who for all that, had changed nothing of his Purpoſe, but ſent his great Viſier, *Sinan Baſſa*, with the *Beglerbeg* of *Grecia*, and many inferiour Baſſaes and Sanzacks into *Hungary*, who with Fire and Sword inforced the Inhabitants and Country-People (ſuch as they left alive) to ſwear to the *Turk* Obedience, and to become his Subjects; and at the ſame time took *Veſprinium* and *Palotta*, two famous Fortreſſes of that Kingdom. And that the ſame Baſſa, by Commandment from his Lord and Maſter, had, contrary to the Law of Nations, impriſoned *Frederick Kreckowitz* his Ambaſſador, firſt at *Conſtantinople*, and cauſed the greater part of his Followers to be thruſt into the Gallies; and afterwards to have ſent him with a few of his Servants to *Belgrade*, and there to have kept him ſo long in Priſon, that he there miſerably died. In Revenge of which ſo great and open wrong, and for the defence and comfort of his afflicted Subjects ſo near the Enemy, he had raiſed a good ſtrength both of Horſe and Foot, by whoſe help and the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, the Baſſa of *Boſna* had reaped the Fruit of his perfidious dealing; as had alſo the Baſſa of *Buda*, with many thouſands of their great Souldiers, overthrown near unto *Alba-Regalis*, beſides many of their Caſtles and Towns taken or razed. Yet for all that, was it eaſie to be ſeen, theſe ſo great Victories, by the goodneſs of God, had and obtained againſt ſo mighty and cruel an Enemy, not to ſuffice; but that there was ſtill need of a perſeverant and continual ſupply for the maintenance of a perpetual War; and that it was daily to be expected, or rather, even now, preſently to be deſcried, That the *Turk* in his quarrel (which he deemed always juſt againſt the *Chriſtians*) and in revenge of theſe overthrows, would draw forth all his Forces, and adventure his whole Strength. For which Cauſes he had by the Knowledge and Conſent of the Princes Electors of the Sacred Empire, appointed

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that preſent Diet of the Empire; and not for the aforeſaid Cauſes only, but for divers others, both neceſſary and weighty alſo; as the general Peace of the Empire, the Pacification of the Low-countries, the Reformation of Juſtice, and amendment of the Coin; but eſpecially, and above all other things, to make it known unto the World, how much it concerned to have the *Turks* Pride betime abated, and ſome effectual defence for *Hungary* (now in danger) at length provided; being the moſt ſure defence and ſtrongeſt bulwark of that part of Chriſtendom. And that whereas his own hereditary Provinces were not of themſelves alone ſufficient to maintain ſo chargeable a War, he therefore requeſted the Electors, Princes and States, both preſent and abſent, not to grudge to be preſent with their Help, their Counſel, and whatſoever elſe ſhould be needful againſt ſo puiſſant and dangerous an Enemy. So ending his Speech, he cauſed all his demands, before conceived into Writing, to be read, and ſo delivered unto them. For anſwer whereunto, the Princes Electors, and others there preſent, required time. Which granted, after many ſittings and long Conſultations, they at laſt with one conſent anſwered, That it was a hard matter, by reaſon of the late dearth, and other like Occaſions, for them to grant ſuch Help and Aid as the Emperour had in Writing required; yet having before their Eyes the great and imminent danger wherein the Chriſtian Common-weal then ſtood, they, not regarding their own proper and near Difficulties, had, in regard of his Sacred and Imperial Majeſty, for the comfort and defence of the endangered *Chriſtians*, and for the repreſſing of the *Turkiſh* Fury, of their own free Will and mere Compaſſion, granted, beſide their accuſtomed Contribution, ſuch farther relief for the ſpace of ſix years, as they thought ſufficient for the maintenance of a defenſive War, both for the preſent, and for the time to come. What was by them farther decreed concerning the Emperours other demands, as not pertinent to our purpoſe, we willingly paſs over.

Sinan Baſſa with an Army of 150000 between *Buda* and *Alba-Regalis.*

Of all theſe things, as alſo whatſoever elſe had happed at *Strigonium*, *Hatwan*, or other Places of *Hungary*, was not *Sinan Baſſa* ignorant; who now, even upon the departure of the *Chriſtians* from *Strigonium*, was come with an huge Army between *Buda* and *Alba-Regalis*; unto whom forty thouſand *Tartars*, that by force had made themſelves way through *Podolia*, and the upper part of *Hungary*, had joyned themſelves; ſo that in his Army were reckoned above 150000 fighting-men, to the great Terrour, not only of *Hungary*, *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Croatia*, *Bohemia*, and the Provinces thereabout, but alſo of the whole State of *Germany*. With this great Army the old Baſſa had purpoſed to have over-whelmed the *Chriſtians* in their Camp at *Strigonium*; but now that they were before his coming departed over the River towards *Comara*, he reſolved to keep on his way, and to beſiege the ſtrong City *Jaurinum*, now called *Rab*: and to make all ſure before him, he thought it beſt to take *Dotis* in his way, a ſtrong Town of the *Chriſtians* in the mid-way between *Strigonium* and *Rab*, about five *Hungarian* miles ſhort of *Rab*. The *Chriſtian* Army, but newly paſſed over *Danubius*, in marching toward *Comara*, might ſee the Mountains and Fields on the other ſide of the River all covered with the Multitude of the *Turks* Army; who, though they were indeed many, yet marching diſperſedly, made ſhew of more than in truth they were. So both Armies marching in ſight the one of the other, and ſeparated only with the River, held on their way, the *Chriſtians* to *Comara*, where they encamped under the very Walls of the City, yet in ſuch ſort, as that they might afar off well deſcry one another; and the *Turks* towards *Dotis*, where the Baſſa with all his Army encamped the one and twentieth day of *July*. The Night following, having planted his battery, he began in furious manner to batter the Caſtle, the chief ſtrength of the Town, the *Chriſtian* Army looking on, but not daring at ſo great odds to relieve their diſtreſſed Friends. So whilſt the Baſſa granteth no breathing-while unto the beſieged, but tyring them out with continual Battery and Alarms, they of the Town, deſpairing of their own ſtrength, and to be able for any long time to hold out againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, within three days after yielded up the Town, being in that ſhort time ſore battered, and in divers places undermined; yet with this Condition, That it ſhould be lawful for the Garriſon Souldiers and Townſmen, with their Wives and Children, in ſafety to depart. Which was by the Baſſa frankly granted unto them, but not ſo faithfully performed; for at their departure, many of their Wives and Children were ſtayed by the *Turks*, and the Lord *Baxi*, Governour of the Town, foully intreated. Immediately after, the Baſſa without much ado took the Caſtle of St. *Martins* alſo, not far from *Dotis*, being by the Captain yielded unto him.

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Dotis and St. *Martins* yielded unto the *Turks*.

In the mean time, the Country Villages round about, forſaken of the poor *Chriſtians*, were by the *Turks* moſt miſerably burnt, and all the Country lay'd waſte. Yea, ſome of the fore-runners of the *Turks* Army paſſing over the River *Rabnitz*, ran into the Country as far as *Altenburg*, within five miles of *Vienna*, burning the Country Villages as they went, and killing the poor People; or that worſe was, carrying them away into perpetual Captivity: yet not without ſome loſs, four hundred of theſe roaming Forreigners being cut off by the Lord *Nadaſti*. *Palſi* alſo, and *Brun*, Governour of *Comara*, following in the tail of the *Turks* Army, ſet upon them that had the charge of the Victuals, of whom they ſlew a great number, took an 120 of them Priſoners, and an 150 Camels, and 30 Mules laded with Meal and Rice, which they carried away with them to *Comara*.

Rab.

Dotis and St. *Martins* thus taken, *Sinan Baſſa*, conſtant in his former Determination, ſet forward again towards *Rab*, and being come within a mile of the City, there encamped; the *Chriſtian* Army then lying not far off on the other ſide of the River. The City of *Rab* is a ſtrong and populous City, honoured with a Biſhops See, and was worthily accounted the ſtrongeſt Bulwark of *Vienna*, from whence it is diſtant about twelve *German* miles, ſtanding upon the *South* ſide of *Danubius*, whence the River dividing it ſelf, maketh a moſt fertile Iſland called *Schut*; in the *Eaſt* point whereof ſtandeth the ſtrong City of *Comara*. The defence of this City of *Rab* was committed to County *Hardeck*, a man of greater Courage than Fidelity, with a Garriſon of twelve hundred choice Souldiers; unto whom, a little before the coming of the Baſſa, were certain Companies of *Italians* joyned, who, together with the Citizens, made up the number of five thouſand able men; a ſtrength in all mens judgment, ſufficient for the long defence of that Place. The laſt of *July*, *Matthias*, the Archduke, about the going down of the Sun, departing out of the City of *Rab*, over the River into the Iſland over againſt it, came *Sinan Baſſa* with his huge Army and beſet it round, caſting up Trenches and Mounts, whereon he skillfully placed his Gabions and great Artillery, and whatſoever elſe was neceſſary for ſo great a ſiege; and that with ſuch Celerity as was to the Beholders thought moſt ſtrange. The ſecond of *Auguſt*, he with great Fury battered the City, and brought his Trenches within Muſquet ſhot of the Walls. At which time

The *Turks* and *Tartars* paſſing over the River overthrown.

The *Tartarians* the ſecond time overthrown.

Rab battered.

four thouſand *Tartarian* Horſemen ſwam over the *Danubius*, between *Rab* and *Comara*, after whom followed ſix thouſand *Turks*, who being with much ado got over to the farther ſide, ſuddenly ſurpriſed a Fort of the *Chriſtians* next unto the River, and forthwith turning five great pieces of Ordnance which they found therein, diſcharged them upon the Camp of the *Chriſtians*; who, terrified with the ſudden accident, riſe up all in Arms, and hardly charging thoſe deſperate adventurers, ſlew many of them, eſpecially ſuch as ſeeking after booty, had diſperſed themſelves from their Fellows, and forced the reſt again to take the Water, wherein moſt of them periſhed. About five days after, the *Tartarians* (living for the moſt part upon prey) ſwam again over the River, and upon the ſudden burnt a Village in the Iſland, and ſlew certain *Chriſtians* in their Tents; but being quickly encountred by the *Chriſtian* Horſemen, they were eaſily overthrown and many of them ſlain; the reſt, caſting away their Weapons, and forſaking their Horſes, ran head-long into the River, truſting more to their ſwimming than to their fighting; whom the *Chriſtians* hardly purſuing, in the very River ſlew about two thouſand of them; and by this Victory obtained many of the *Tartarians* ſwift Horſes, with their Scimitars, their Bows and Arrows, and ſuch Enſigns as they had. All this while, *Sinan Baſſa*, without intermiſſion, lay thundring with ſixty great pieces of battery againſt the City, but to little or ſmall purpoſe, for as yet he had made no breach whereby to enter, but the harm that was done was upon the Towers, or high built Houſes, or in the Camp, by ſuch random ſhot, as flying over the Town, fell by chance among the Tents of the *Chriſtians*. And the *Janizaries*, intentive to all opportunities, in a great Rain, furiouſly, and with a moſt horrible cry, (as their manner is) aſſaulted an utter Bulwark of the *Chriſtians*; which they for fear forſook, and retired themſelves into the City. Upon which Bulwark ſo taken, the *Janizaries* had ſet up three of their Enſigns: when the *Chriſtians*, aſhamed of that they had done, and better adviſed, taking courage unto them, forthwith ſallied out again, and courageouſly charging the *Janizaries*, but now entred, ſlew many of them, and recovered again the Bulwark.

A Baſſa ſlain.

Sinan Baſſa, leaving nothing unattempted that might further his deſire for the winning of the City, was now caſting up a great Mount againſt the City; which whilſt he daily ſurveyed, he chanced to fall ſick, and therefore appointed one of the Baſſaes in his own ſtead, to overſee the work; who, whilſt he was walking too and fro, haſtening the work, and commanding this and that thing to be done, was taken with a ſhot out of the Town and ſlain.

A fight in the River betwixt the *Turks* and the *Tartars*.

The fifteenth of *Auguſt*, certain *Turks* before the riſing of the Sun, getting over *Danubius* in Boats, aſſailed a Fort of the *Chriſtians*; which the Souldiers that had the keeping of it, preſently forſook and left it to the Enemy. Which *John de Medices*, lately come into the Camp with two thouſand *Italians*, perceiving, forthwith came to the reſcue of the Fort, drove out the *Turks*, and having ſlain divers of them, forced the reſt into the River, where they were all drowned. At which time five thouſand *Tartars* in another Place paſſing over the River into the Iſland, were encountred by the Lord *Palfi*, and the *Huſſars* his Followers, and without any great reſiſtance put to flight, wherein many of them were ſlain; the reſt taking the River, were in good hope to have got over, and ſo to have ſaved themſelves; but other *Turks* meeting them in the River, would with their Weapons have beaten them back, and ſtayed their flight; againſt whom the *Tartars* oppoſing themſelves, made with them in the very River a moſt cruel fight, but with ſuch loſs unto the *Tartars*, that of the five thouſand which adventured over, few returned to carry News unto their Fellows, how they had ſped. Now began great ſcarcity of Victuals in the *Turks* Camp, ſo that the Souldiers were fain to feed upon unripe Fruit, and ſuch other unwholſome things, whereof enſued the bloody Flux, and many other dangerous Diſeaſes; which raging amongſt them, did wonderfully conſume the Baſſa's Army. Beſide that, they of the City with continual ſhot had ſlain many, and amongſt them a Son-in-law of the great Baſſaes, whoſe death he is reported to have taken ſo unpatiently, that he fell ſick for Grief, but in ſhort time after paſſed it over, and recovered again.

The *Tartars*, not yet warned by their often loſſes, but paſſing again over the River into the Iſland the nineteenth of this Month, were there 3000 of them ſlain. In the mean time, certain Companies alſo of the *Turks*, having ſecretly paſſed the River, in another quarter aſſailed the *Chriſtians* in their Camp; in which hurly-burly, other of the *Tartars* got over the River not far from *Comara*, hoping now at length to perform ſome great matter, which they had before to their coſt vainly attempted; but finding the *Turks* overthrown before their coming, and the *Chriſtians* (contrary to their expectation) in Arms ready to receive them, they were eaſily diſcomfited, and two thouſand of them ſlain. In this conflict the *Sanzack* of *Strigonium*, with two others, and many more of great account among the *Turks*, periſhed. Shortly after, the *Chriſtians* ſallying out of the City, ſlew a great number of the *Turks*, and ſo retired with ſmall loſs. Thus was the *Turks* Army daily diminiſhed, beſides that, the want of Victuals, with the Bloody-flux, ſo increaſed, that many perſwaded the Baſſa to have raiſed his ſiege, and to have removed with his Army to ſome other more wholſom place, and of greater plenty; but he, reſolutely ſet down not to depart before he had either won the Town, or enforced them therein to yield, would not hearken to any perſwaſions to the contrary.

Whilſt *Sinan* thus lay at the ſiege at *Rab*, *Maximilian*, the Emperour's Brother, took *Craſtowitz*, a Fortreſs of the *Turks*, upon the borders of *Croatia*, and put to the Sword all the *Turks* there in Garriſon. After that, he laid ſiege to *Petrinia*, a ſtrong Fortreſs of the *Turks*, which they but a few years before had contrary to the League built in the Emperour's Territory, for the annoying of *Croatia*, and for the exceeding ſtrength thereof, was thought almoſt impregnable. Yet ſuch was the Induſtry of *Maximilian* and his Souldiers, that what with continual battery and mines, they ſo terrified the *Turks* there in Garriſon, that they for fear ſet fire on the Fort, and flying away by Night, made ſhift every man for himſelf as he might: Which they in the Caſtle of *Siſeg* hearing, ſet fire alſo upon it, and ſo left it to the *Chriſtians*: Whoſe Example they alſo of *Gara* followed; by which ſo proſperous and happy Succeſs of *Maximilian's*, not the Frontiers only, but even the whole Country of *Croatia* was for that time delivered of a wonderful trouble and no leſs danger.

A great skirmiſh betwixt the *Turks* and the *Chriſtians*.

The eight and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, twenty thouſand of the *Chriſtians* paſſing over the River by a Bridge out of the Iſland, and joyning with them of the Town, ſallied out upon the *Turks* Camp; the *Hungarian Heidons* in the foreward at the firſt Onſet took two of the *Turks* Bulwarks, and having beaten out the Enemies, cloyed certain of their great pieces; but the *Turks* returning with greater power, enforced the *Chriſtians* to retire, and recovered again their loſt Bulwarks. In this conflict many were ſlain, as well *Chriſtians* as *Turks*. In the mean while *Thonhauſe*, a great Captain of the *Chriſtians*,

ſtians, and *Geitzhofler*, County *Hardeck's* Lieutenant, with fifteen hundred *Hungarians* and *German* Foot came in great Boats to have holpen their Fellows, but landing ſomewhat too late, they were by the Enemy beaten back, and inforced with ſuch ſpeed to retire, that many of them being not able to recover the Boats, were drowned in the River; amongſt whom, *Geitzhofler* himſelf periſhed, and *Thonhauſe* was deadly wounded in his Breaſt. Yet the *Chriſtians*, not diſcouraged with this loſs, but gathering themſelves together under the very Walls of the City, gave a ſecond aſſault unto the Enemy; in the foreward were the Footmen, who were by the Enemies Horſemen eaſily repulſed; but by the coming in of the Lord *Rhinsberg*, (who was at the firſt onſet ſlain) the *Turks* were inforced into their Trenches, except ſome few, which, divided from the reſt, hid themſelves in the Vineyards, but being found out by the *Chriſtians*, were there all ſlain. In this Skirmiſh the Lord *Palfi* was grievouſly wounded in his Thigh. Of the *Chriſtians* were ſlain four hundred, and of the *Turks* about two thouſand. Theſe conflicts endured from ſeven a Clock in the Morning until twelve, at which time the *Chriſtians* returning into the City, and ſo into the Camp, amongſt other ſpoiles, carried away with them ſeventeen of the Enemies Enſigns.

Two thouſand *Turks* ſlain, and ſeventeen of their Enſigns taken.

No day now paſſing without ſome skirmiſh, at length, the ninth of *September*, ten thouſand *Turks*, ſome in Boats, ſome by other means, having got over the River of *Danubius* into the Iſland of *Schut*, ſuddenly ſet upon the *Chriſtians*, all ſleeping in ſecurity, and little fearing any ſuch danger; of whom they ſlew about two thouſand, and after ſome ſmall fight put the reſt to moſt ſhameful flight, in ſuch ſort, that *Matthias*, the Arch-duke himſelf, with the other Noblemen and Captains, had much ado by flight to eſcape. Thus, whilſt every man ſurpriſed with fear, made what ſhift he could for himſelf, the Enemy in the mean time entred the Trenches, took their Tents, their great Ordnance, the Shot and Powder, and all the Money, which but a little before was brought for the Souldiers Pay; beſides, about a thouſand Waggons, and two hundred Boats well loaded with Proviſion for the Camp, and ten Gallies, wherein were an hundred and twenty pieces of great Ordnance. The loſs received this day was valued at 500000 Duckats. And albeit that this Victory coſt the *Turks* two thouſand and five hundred of their lives, yet thereby they gained the maſtery, both upon the River and the Land; ſo that now, roming far and near, without reſiſtance, they ſpoiled the Country all about, and burnt certain Country Villages not far from *Vienna*; ſo that for many miles ſpace the Country Towns were for fear of the Enemy forſaken by the Inhabitants, of whom ſome were taken and ſlain, ſome carried into Captivity, and ſome others, (reſerved to a better Fortune) with ſuch things as they had, got themſelves farther off into Places of more ſecurity. And the more to increaſe theſe calamities, the *Tartars* ſhortly after paſſing over *Danubius*, near unto *Altenburg*, firſt ſacked *Weiſenburg*, and after burnt it, with certain Towns thereabout; but adventuring to have gone farther into the Country, they were with loſs inforced to return.

A great ſpoil taken by the *Turks*.

Whilſt the *Turks* thus prevailed in *Hungary*, *Cicala Baſſa*, the *Turks* Admiral then at Sea, with a Fleet of Gallies, landing his Men in divers places of *Italy*, did exceeding much harm, but eſpecially in *Calabria*, where he upon a ſudden ſurpriſed *Rhegium*, rifled the Town, and afterwards burnt it: From thence taking his courſe towards *Sicilia*, he, in the ſight of *Meſſana*, landed certain of his Men; who, adventuring too far a ſhore, were by the Country People overthrown and put to flight. So the *Turks* returning again to *Regium*, utterly razed what they had before left of that Town. In the mean time, not far from *Meſſana*, even in the ſight of the Garriſon of the Town, they took a certain Ship coming out of the Eaſt Countries, and three other coming from *Apulia*. Afterward, chancing upon certain Gallies of the Eaſt, they changed ſome few ſhot with them, but to no great purpoſe; and ſo turning their courſe, and ſailing along the Coaſt of *Calabria*, they oftentimes landed certain Companies, which, skirmiſhing with the *Calabrians*, had ſometime the better, and ſometime the worſe, and ſo with ſuch Fortune as befell them, were again received into their Gallies. They of *Meſſana*, unto whoſe eyes thoſe dangers were daily preſented, both by Letters and ſpeedy Meſſengers, gave the Viceroy knowledge thereof, (who then for his pleaſure lay at *Palermo*) requeſting his preſent Aid; but he dallying off the time, they, for the more ſafegard of the City and of the Sea Coaſt, of themſelves raiſed five hundred Horſemen, whom they committed to the Leading of *Philip Cicala*, the Renegade *Turkiſh* Admiral's Brother; and beſide, ſtored the City with all ſuch things as they thought neceſſary for the enduring of a Siege, if it ſhould chance the *Turk* to have any ſuch purpoſe; of all which they certified the King of *Spain*, as alſo of the negligence of the Viceroy, requeſting his ſpeedy Aid againſt theſe Terrours of the *Turks*. In the mean while, the *Neapolitans*, for ſafegard of their Coaſt put to Sea thirty Gallies; unto whom the *Pope*, the Duke of *Florence*, the *Genowaies*, and the Knights of *Malta* joyned alſo theirs; in all, to the number of about eighty Gallies, under the conduct of *Auria*. The provident *Venetians* alſo, although they were as then in League with the *Turk*; yet for the ſafety of their State, put to Sea a Fleet of about an hundred Sail, ſome Ships, ſome Gallies, under the leading of *Foſcarin*, their Admiral. Which two Fleets ſailing up and down thoſe Seas, delivered *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Dalmatia*, with many Provinces and Iſlands of the *Chriſtians*, of a great fear.

Regium razed by the *Turks*.

Sinan Baſſa, having before encouraged his Souldiers with great hope and large Promiſes, commanded an Aſſault to be given to the City of *Rab*; which was accordingly by them begun the twenty third of *September*, the Sun being as yet ſcarce up, and furiouſly maintained all that day from Morning until Night: But they of the Town ſo valiantly defended themſelves, that at laſt the *Turks* were glad to give over the Aſſault, and with loſs to retire. Neverthelesſ, the next day the Aſſault was again renewed, and moſt deſperately continued by the ſpace of two days; wherein twelve thouſand of the *Turks* there loſt their lives, the other with ſhame retiring themſelves into their Trenches. In few days after, the *Turks* by a Mine blew up one of the Bulwarks of the Town, with the fall whereof the Town-Ditch was in that place ſomewhat filled; whereby the *Turks* with all their Power attempted thrice the next day to have entred, but were by the Valour of the Defendants ſtill notably with loſs repulſed. Yet notwithſtanding all this cheerfulneſs and courageouſneſs of them in the Town, the Puiſſant Enemy ceaſed not with continual battery and furious aſſaults to attempt the City, until that at length he had gained two of the Bulwarks, from whence he might, to his great advantage, by the rubbiſh and earth fallen out of the battered Bulwarks and Rampiers, have acceſs unto the Town, to the great terrour of the Defendants. Whereupon County *Hardeck*, the Governour (who, corrupted by the *Turk*, had of purpoſe many times before ſaid that the Town could not poſſibly be long defended) now took occaſion to enter into Counſel with the other Captains of the Town, (divers of whom he had already framed to his purpoſe) what courſe were beſt to take for the yielding of it

Rab aſſaulted by the *Turks*.

Twelve thouſand *Turks* ſlain

County *Hardec* corrupted by the *Turks,* yieldeth the ſtrong Town of *Rab* unto *Sinan Baſſa.*

up. And ſo after a little Conſultation, holden more for faſhion-ſake, than for that he doubted what to do; reſolved to ſend a Meſſenger unto the Baſſa, for a Truce to be granted for a while, to ſee if haply in the mean time ſome reaſonable Compoſition might be agreed upon. Yet the Governour, conſidering into what ſcorn and danger he ſhould expoſe himſelf, by yielding up of ſo ſtrong a Town, to colour the matter, and to excuſe his doings unto the reſt of the Nobility and Garriſons of *Hungary*, cauſed a publick Inſtrument to be made in his and all the reſt of the Captains Names conceived in Writing; wherein they ſolemnly proteſted unto the World; That foraſmuch as it was impoſſible (by reaſon of the weakneſs of the Garriſon) for them longer to defend the Town againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, without new Supplies inſtead of them that were ſlain, (which they had oftentimes in vain requeſted) they were therefore of neceſſity inforced to come to Compoſition with the Enemy. Which Proteſtation ſo made, the Governour with the chief Captains confirmed with their Hands and Seals. So after a Truce granted, and Pledges given on both ſides, at length it was agreed upon, That all the Garriſon Souldiers, together with the County and other Captains, ſhould in Arms with Enſigns diſplaied, with Bag and Baggage depart in ſafety, and with a ſafe Convoy be brought to *Altenburg*. Which Agreement, though by Oath confirmed, was not on the *Turks* part altogether performed; for when the County had the 29*th* day of *September*, at ten a Clock in the Forenoon, delivered up the City to the Baſſa, and the *Chriſtian* Garriſon was all come out, the County himſelf, with a few of his Friends, was with a Convoy of *Turks* brought in ſafety to the appointed place; but the *Italians*, and other Garriſon Souldiers that came behind, and ought to have been by the Governour protected, were, contrary to the *Turks* promiſe, ſpoiled of all that they had, and hardly eſcaping with Life, came that Night to *Hochſtrate*, and the next day to *Altenburg*. Thus was *Rab*, one of the ſtrongeſt Bulwarks of *Chriſtendom*, traiterouſly delivered unto the moſt mortal Enemy of the *Chriſtian* Religion; being even then when it was given up, victualled for a year, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſary for defence; all which Proviſion, together with the City, fell into the hands of the faithleſs Enemy. A loſs never to have been ſufficiently lamented, had it not been about four years after, even as it were miraculouſly again recovered, to the great rejoycing of all that ſide of *Chriſtendom*, as in the Proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall appear.

Rab repaired by the *Turks*.

Sinan, glad of this victory, as the greateſt Trophy of his Maſters glory over the Chriſtians, gave him ſpeedy knowledge therof, both by Letters and Meſſengers. Of whom he was for that good ſervice highly commended, and afterward bountifully rewarded: for now had *Amurath* already in hope devoured all *Auſtria*, with the Provinces thereabout. The great Baſſa, becauſe he would not with too long ſtay hinder the courſe of this victory, without delay repaired the rent City, new fortified the battered Bulwarks, enlarged the Ditches, and filled the Cathedral Church with earth, in manner of a ſtrong Bulwark, whereupon he planted great ſtore of great Ordnance: and with exceeding ſpeed diſpatched all things neceſſary for the holding of the place. In the mean time he ſent certain *Tartars* to ſummon the Town and Caſtle of *Pappa*: which Caſtle and little Town ſubject thereunto, the Chriſtians the night following ſet on fire, becauſe it ſhould not ſtand the Enemy in any ſtead for the farther troubling of the countrey; and ſo fled.

Komara beſieged by *Sinan Baſſa.*

Sinan Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege.

The Baſſa, having at his pleaſure diſpoſed of all things in *Rab*, and leaving there four thouſand *Janizaries*, and two thouſand Horſemen in Garriſon, departed thence with his Army and laid ſiege to *Komara*, a ſtrong Town of that moſt fertile Iſland, which the *Hungarians* call *Schut*; which, ſcituated in the very point thereof, about four miles from *Rab*, is on the Eaſt, South, and North, incloſed with the two Arms of *Danubius*. All theſe ways *Sinan* with his Fleet (which he had there notably well appointed) laid hard ſiege unto the Town, and gave thereunto divers aſſaults; and by Land, the *Beglerbeg* of *Greece*, ceaſed not both by continual battery and Mines, to ſhake the Walls and Bulwarks thereof. Thus was the City on all ſides, both by Water and by Land, hardly laid unto. But the *Chriſtians* within, with no leſs Courage defended themſelves and the City, than did the *Turks* aſſail them; ſhewing indeed, that the Liberty of their Religion and Country, was unto them dearer than their Lives. *Matthias*, the Arch-duke, in the mean time, not ignorant how much it concerned the Emperour his Brother to have this City defended; having, after his late overthrow, gathered together a good Army of *Germans*, *Bohemians*, and *Hungarians*, reſolved to go and raiſe the ſiege; and ſo marching forward with his Army, came and encamped the 28*th* day of *October* at *Nitria*, about five miles from *Komara*. Now were the *Tartars* a little before departed from the Camp, with purpoſe to return home; yea, the *Turks* themſelves, weary of the Siege, and wanting Victual both for themſelves and their Horſes, began alſo, as men diſcouraged, to ſhrink away. Which the Baſſa well conſidering, thought it not beſt with his heartleſs Souldiers and Army, now ſore weakned, to abide the coming of the *Chriſtians*; and therefore upon their approach he forthwith forſook the City, which he had by the ſpace of three weeks hardly beſieged, and by a Bridg made of Boats, tranſported his Army and Artillery over *Danubius* to *Dotis*, where he the next day after brake up his Army. Immediately after the *Turks* were thus departed, the Arch-duke arrived at *Komara*, where he with great Diligence cauſed the Breaches to be repaired, the Mines to be filled up, and new Bulwarks and Rampiers to be made in divers Places for the more ſtrength of the City, leaving the charge thereof ſtill unto the Lord *Braun* the old Governour, who in the defence thereof, had received a grievous Wound in his right Knee; of whom alſo this notable Fact is reported. The Baſſa, in time of the late ſiege of *Komara*, under the Colour of a Parley, had ſent five *Turks* into the City to the Governour, but indeed to prove if he were by any means to be won to yield up the City, and not to hold it out to the laſt. The faithful Governour, having given them the hearing until they had diſcharged their whole Treachery, preſently cauſed four of their Heads to be ſtrucken off, and to be ſet upon long Pikes upon one of the Bulwarks for the Baſſa to look upon; but the fifth (the beholder of this Tragedy) he ſent back unto the Baſſa, to tell him, That although he had found one in *Rab* to ſerve his turn, he was much deceived, if in him he thought to find County *Hardeck*, and that he wiſhed rather to die the Emperours faithful Servant in the blood of the *Turks*, than to betray the City committed to his Charge.

County *Hardeck*, late Governour of *Rab*, generally before ſuſpected to have treacherouſly betrayed that ſtrong Town unto the Baſſa, was therefore ſent for to *Vienna*, and there by the Emperours Commandment committed to Priſon. Where, among many things laid to his Charge, as that he ſhould in the beginning of the ſiege, negligently

1594 have ſuffered many things to be done by the Enemy, which afterwards turned to the great danger of the Town; and that in the time of the ſiege, he had cauſed ſome of the Canoneers to diſcharge certain great Pieces againſt the Enemy, with Powder only, without Shot; and that ſeeing one Piece among the reſt to do the Enemy much harm, he had cauſed the ſame to be removed, and ſo placed, as that it ſerved to little or no uſe; beſide that, he (as it ſhould ſeem) making ſmall rekoning of the Town, ſhould oftentimes ſay, That if the *Turks* ſhould win it, he ſhould be but one Town the richer; with divers other ſuch things, giving juſt cauſe of ſuſpition. The thing that lay moſt heavy upon him, was the Teſtimony of one of *Sinan Baſſa's* Chamber, who being taken young by the *Turks*, and ſerving in the Baſſaes Chamber, was now fled from the *Turks*; and coming to the Arch-duke in the time of his ſiege, declared unto him, that there was Treaſon in his Camp; and that he, but three days before, by the Commandment of his Maſter, had delivered two bags full of Duckats unto two *Chriſtians*, of whom the one had a notable ſcar in his Face, and was afterwards known to have been one of the Counties Servants. Upon this and ſuch like Proofs, the County was, after many days hearing, in open Court, by the Judgment of ſeven and forty Noblemen and Captains of Name, condemned of Treaſon, and adjudged to be hanged, his dead Body to remain upon the Gallows by the ſpace of three days, and all his Lands and Goods to be confiſcate; the rigour of which Sentence was afterward by the Emperour mitigated, and the Traitor by him adjudged to have his right Hand (by him before given unto the Emperour in pawn of his Faith) and his Head ſtruck off upon a Scaffold at *Vienna*, and ſo buried. Which ſevere Sentence was afterwards accordingly put in Execution; for the tenth of *June* following, the Traitor being brought to the Scaffold, built of purpoſe in the high Street of *Vienna*, after the Sentence of his Condemnation there ſolemnly read, commending himſelf upon his knees to the Mercy of God, with his Eyes covered, and his right Hand laid upon a Block covered with black, had both his Hand and Head ſo ſuddenly ſtruck off by the Executioners, as that the Beholders could hardly judge which of them was firſt off. His dead Body with his Head and Hand, was preſently by his Servant wrapped in a black Cloth, and layed in his Coach, which ſtood there by of purpoſe covered with black, and was afterwards buried amongſt his Anceſtors.

The County *Hardeck* condemned and executed for betraying of *Rab*.

The *Tartars*, but lately before departed from *Sinans* Camp, paſſing over *Danubius* at *Strigonium*, had purpoſed through the upper part of *Hungary*, and by the Borders of *Tranſilvania* and *Moldavia*, to have again returned into their Country; of whom two Companies falling into the hands of the Lord *Palſi*, were by him cut off, and utterly defeated; the reſt coming unto the Borders of *Tranſilvania*, and finding the Paſſages ſo beſet by the Prince and the Vayvod of *Valachia*, as that they could not without moſt manifeſt danger paſs that way, returned again the ſame way they came; and having rifled and burnt certain Towns and Villages in the upper *Hungary* about *Tockay*, paſſed the River again at *Strigonium*, and wintering at *Veſprinium*, *Palota*, and other Places in the Country which is about *Rab*, lived upon the ſpoil of the poor diſtreſſed *Chriſtians*, upon the Frontiers of *Auſtria*, even as far as *Meinerſdorf*.

These *Tartars* (of whom we have ſo often ſpoken) at their firſt coming to the Aid of *Sinan*, by direction from the *Turkiſh Sultan*, ſtayed upon the Frontiers of *Tranſylvania*, of purpoſe to have ſurpriſed that Country, and either to have thruſt *Sigiſmund Bator*, the young Prince, out of the Government thereof, or elſe to have ſent him in bonds to *Conſtantinople*; for it was commonly reported, That he, weary of the heavy Tribute which he yearly payed unto the *Turk*, and had now after their greedy manner been divers times enhaunſed, had purpoſed to revolt from the *Turkiſh Sultan*, and to enter into Confederation with the *Chriſtian* Emperour. Which Innovation and Change, certain of the Nobility and chief States of *Tranſylvania*, ſought by all means to hinder; and acquainting *Amurath* with the matter, and entring into Conſpiracy with the *Tartars*, undertook to deliver the whole Country into their Hands, and to ſend the Prince Priſoner to *Huſt*, where the *Tartars* then lay upon the Borders encamped. Wherefore, diſſembling their purpoſe, they cunningly perſwaded the Prince, that *Samoſche*, the great Chancellor of *Polonia*, in the Confines of his Country, lay with a great Power expecting his coming, to conſult with him of matters of great Importance: and the better to colour this their Treachery, they had counterfeited Letters to that effect from the Chancellor to the Prince, and had wrought ſo effectually, that the Prince, not ſuſpecting any ſuch Treaſon, gave credit to their Perſwaſions, and ſo put himſelf upon his way towards the Chancellor, (as he ſuppoſed;) but by the way, he was adviſed by ſome of his Friends, which had got ſome ſuſpition of the matter, not to go any farther, for that his coming was not intended by the *Polonians* his Friends, (as he was perſwaded) but by the *Tartars* his Enemies, who lay in wait for him at *Huſt*, to bereave him of his Life and Government. The Prince, aſtonied with the novelty of the matter, liſtned unto their Perſwaſion, and retired with his Train to the ſtrong Fort of *Kekwere*; where he ſtayed fourteen days, as if it had been only for fear of the *Tartars*. In the mean time, he gave notice to the Nobility and Governours of the Country, his Friends, of the imminent and common danger; who forthwith repaired unto him in Arms. But the Traytors proceeding in their purpoſe, ceaſed not to perſwade *Bornemiſſa*, who had the Leading of the Princes Army, That to fight with the *Tartars* was a matter of no ſmall danger; and that therefore, if he wiſhed well to his Country, he ſhould not have to do with them, but only ſhew himſelf near unto them, and that he was not unprovided for them; which was accordingly done, and the *Tranſilvanian* Army brought ſo nigh unto the *Tartars*, as that they might hear the noiſe of their Drums and Trumpets. Whereby the *Tartars*, as by the Watch-word, perceiving themſelves diſcovered, and nothing to fall out according to their Expectation, as had been unto them promiſed for the betraying of the Prince; they removed thence, and by another way breaking through the midſt of *Tranſilvania*, and ſo into *Hungary*, rifled and burnt five hundred Villages, ſlew all the Males that were above twelve years of Age, and carried away the reſt unto the *Turkiſh* Army, then lying at the ſiege of *Rab*. In the mean time the Traytors (when as this firſt Plot ſerved them not) conſpired to ſet up one *Balthazar Bator*, the young Princes nigh Kinſman, and with the good favour of *Amurath*, to prefer him to the Sovereign Government of their Countrey. Which their purpoſe the Prince perceiving, and doubting altogether to truſt unto the fidelity of his own Subjects; writ to his Neighbours, the *Raſcians*, and other his Confederates, praying their Aid in this his ſo dangerous and doubtful Eſtate. Which after he had received, he appointed a general Aſſembly of all his States to be holden at *Clauſenburg*, and that upon a great pain to be inflicted upon all ſuch as ſhould not there perſonally appear; ſo at the prefixed day all came, except the Cardinal *Bator*, and *Stephen* his Brother,

Great harm done in *Tranſilvania* by the *Tartars*.

1594

ther, who, guilty of ſo foul a Treaſon againſt their own Blood, were now before fled into *Polonia*. Being all thus met together, the Prince Commanded the Gates of the City to be ſhut, and diligent Watch and Ward to be kept, forbidding by open Proclamation, That any man upon pain of death ſhould ſo much as ſpeak of any imagined Treaſon. And at the ſame time, politickly cauſed to be publiſhed in Writing, how that the *Germans* had in the farther ſide of *Hungary* got a notable Victory over the *Turks*; for joy whereof he commanded Bonefires to be made, and the great Ordnance to be in Triumph ſhot off, with many other ſigns of joy and gladneſs; and withall, cauſed a notable Banquet to be prepared, whereunto, together with others, were invited alſo all the chief of the Conſpirators; of whom, even as they were at Dinner, and leaſt feared any ſuch matter, he commanded fourteen to be apprehended and committed to Priſon; and the next Morning cauſed five of them to be Executed in the open Market-place. The Principal of whom, who had undertaken to have himſelf ſlain the Prince, after three or four light cuts in the Neck, he cauſed to be drawn in pieces with four Horſes; the other four, namely, *Alexander* and *Gabriel Gengi*, *Gregory Diaco*, and *Ladiſlaus Sallemis*, were beheaded, and their dead Bodies all that day left in the Market Place for the People to behold; the reſt were alſo afterwards worthily executed: and *Balthazor Bator*, whom the Conſpirators had intended to have exalted, ſtrangled. Having thus revenged himſelf upon his Enemies, he by a publick Edict divulged through all his Dominion, gave leave to all his Subjects in general, of their own charge to take up Arms againſt the *Turks*, and whatſoever they could take from them, to have it to themſelves, as good priſe gotten from their lawful Enemies. By which unwonted Liberty, the *Tranſilvanians*, encouraged as with a great Bounty, armed themſelves on all hands, to the number of forty thouſand; who being muſtered and ſworn to hold together againſt the *Turks*, made their firſt Expedition towards *Danubius*; where, at their firſt arrival, by good hap they light upon certain of the *Turks* ſhips laded with Proviſion for the Camp, and Merchandiſe of all ſorts, and much Treaſure; of which rich Ships, they at the firſt Onſet took ſeven, but the eighth (being indeed the Admiral) eſcaped their hands. In theſe Ships they took an exceeding rich booty, ſlew many of the *Turks*, and in token of the Victory, carried back unto the Prince, ſeven of the *Turkiſh* Enſigns. This Victory cauſed great Joy in *Tranſilvania*, every man of ſo proſperous a beginning, conceiving good hope of moſt happy Succeſs. It is reported, that *Sinan Baſſa* hearing of this loſs, ſhould ſay, That if this Proviſion had come to him in ſafety, he could with that Treaſure more eaſily have bought *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, than he had *Rab* in *Hungary*. After this Victory the Prince laid ſiege to *Temeſwar*, but hearing of the return of the *Tartars* from the *Turks* Camp, and that they were coming toward *Tranſilvania* (as is before ſaid) he left *Temeſwar*, to look to the defence of his own Country.

The Conſpirators againſt the Prince, apprehended and executed.

Not long after, about the two and twentieth of *December*, a Tumult riſe among the *Janizaries* of the Court at *Conſtantinople*, which grew to ſuch an height, that in the heat thereof, one of the Baſſaes was by them ſlain, with ſome others of good account, and one of *Amuraths* Sons ſore wounded, and with much ado ſaved. Upon conceit whereof, *Amurath* for Anger and Grief fell into a fit of the falling ſickneſs (whereunto he was much ſubject) and was therewith for the ſpace of three Days and three Nights ſo grievouſly vexed, as if he ſhould have preſently given up the Ghoſt; ſo that the City was filled with heavineſs and fear, and the great men of the Court were even ready to think upon a new Lord. This Tumult of the inſolent *Janizaries* many ſuppoſed to have been the cauſe of *Amurath's* death, which ſhortly after enſued; his Grief and Malady increaſing daily by the evil News ſtill brought unto him both by Meſſengers and Letters, eſpecially out of *Tranſilvania*, where the Prince, waiting upon every occaſion, was ſtill at hand with the *Turks*, cutting them ſhort in every place; and in ſundry Roads which he made upon them this Month, took many of their Caſtles and Forts from them. He had at that time in the Field, in divers places, three Armies; one under the conduct of *Geſty Ferens*, in the Country of *Lugas*, near unto *Temeſwar*; another under the leading of *Michael Horwat*, on the ſide of *Danubius*, to intercept the *Turks* coming to *Buda*; and the third commanded by *Caſpar Cornoyſe*, in the Country near to *Giula*, unto whom came ſhortly after fifteen hundred Horſemen out of the upper *Hungary*.

The *Janizaries* in a Tumult at *Conſtantinople*.

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Amurath ſick.

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The *Tranſilvanian* Prince *Sigiſmund Bator*, thus lately revolted from the *Turk*, for the ſtrengthning of his State, thought it beſt betimes to enter into Confederation with his Neighbours of *Valachia* and *Moldavia* (who, moved by his Example, ſhortly after in like manner alſo caſt off the ſervile Yoke of the *Turk*) but eſpecially with the *Chriſtian* Emperour *Rodolph*. For which purpoſe he ſent Ambaſſadors honourably accompanied; who coming to *Coſſovia* in *Hungary*, the fourteenth of *December*, arrived at *Prague* the twelfth of *January*, with twenty Waggons, and an hundred and fifty Horſe, where they were by the Emperours appointment moſt honourably received, and royally entertained; and after a few days, having delivered unto the Emperour the ſum of their Embaſſage, which was for a Confederation to be made between the Emperour and the Prince; after much grave Conſultation and ſerious Diſcourſe, it was fully concluded and agreed upon; the chief Points whereof I thought it not amiſs here in brief to ſet down, for the ſatisfying of ſuch as deſire to know in what terms that worthy Prince, next Neighbour unto the *Turk*, then ſtood with the *Chriſtian* Emperour.

The Capitulations of the League betwixt the Emperour and the *Tranſilvanian* Prince.

Firſt it was agreed upon, That the Emperour for himſelf, and for the States of *Hungary*, ſhould promiſe to proceed in his Wars begun againſt the common Enemy; and not to conclude any Peace with him, without the knowledge and good liking of the Prince. And that in all Concluſions of Peace to be made betwixt him and the *Turk*, the Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, ſhould be always compriſed; in regard whereof, the Prince likewiſe promiſed for himſelf, and the States of *Tranſilvania*, to proſecute the commenced War, and not to enter into any League with the *Turk*, without the knowledge and conſent of the Emperour and the Nobility of *Hungary*, and this to be confirmed by ſolemn Oath on both ſides.

Secondly, That the Province of *Tranſilvania*, with all the Parts and Confines thereof, hitherto poſſeſſed by the Prince of *Hungary*, ſhould remain unto the ſaid Prince *Sigiſmond*, and to his Heirs Male, with all the Profits ariſing thereof, in ſuch ſort as they had done in the time of *John*, *Stephen*, and *Chriſtopher*, his Predeceſſors, to have therein a moſt free and abſolute Authority; yet ſo, as that they ſhould acknowledge his Imperial Majeſty, and his lawful Succeſſors for their lawful Sovereigns; unto whom they ſhould always ſwear their Fealty, but without any Homage doing: and that to be performed by his Succeſſors at the time of the change; but by the Prince himſelf, preſently after the confirming of this League. But that for lack of Heirs Male, the Country of *Tranſilvania*, with

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1595 all the Territories thereunto annexed, ſhould deſcend unto his Sacred Majeſty and his Succeſſours, the King of *Hungary*, as a true and inſeparable member thereof; whereunto the Prince, and all the States of *Tranſilvania* ſhould bind themſelves by ſolemn Oath. But yet, that at ſuch time as the Heirs Male ſhould fail in the line of the preſent Prince, and that the Country of *Tranſilvania* ſhould according to theſe preſent Conditions be devolved to the Crown of *Hungary*; as well his preſent Imperial and Royal Majeſty, as his Succeſſours, ſhould keep inviolate the antient Laws, Priviledges, and Cuſtoms of that Country, and always appoint one of the Nobility of *Tranſilvania*, to be Governour or Vayvod of the ſame, and no other Stranger.

Thirdly, That his Majeſty ſhould acknowledge the Prince of *Tranſilvania* for an abſolute Prince, and by ſpecial Charter confirm unto him the Title of *Moſt Excellent*.

Fourthly, That his Imperial Majeſty ſhould procure one of the Daughters of the late Archduke, *Charles*, his Uncle, for a Wife for the Prince, that as they were now to be joyned in League, ſo they might be joyned in Affinity alſo.

Fifthly, That the Emperour ſhould procure him to be made one of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Sixthly, That the Prince might with more chearfulneſs and ſecurity make War againſt the common Enemy, his Imperial and Royal Majeſty ſhould not at any time, howſoever things fell out, forſake the ſaid Prince, or any of the Countries ſubject unto him; and even now preſently to aid him according as the preſent occaſion required, and afterward (if great need ſhould be) with greater help, whether it was by his General of *Caſſovia*, or others; and this giving of Aid to be on both ſides mutual and reciprocal, according as the neceſſity of the one or the other part ſhould require; and that where moſt need was, thither ſhould moſt help be converted.

Seventhly, That the ſacred *Roman* Empire ſhould take upon it the Protection and Defence of the Prince and his Territories; and that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould create the ſaid Prince, and the Prince's Succeſſors, Princes of the Empire; yet ſo, as that they ſhould have neither Voice nor Place among the ſaid Princes.

Eighthly, That whatſoever Caſtles, Towns, Cities, or other Places of Strength, ſhould by their common Forces be taken or recovered from the common Enemy, at ſuch time as his Imperial Majeſty ſhould ſend into the Field a full Army, ſhould be all his Majeſties; but ſuch Places as the Prince ſhould by his own Forces or Policy gain from the Enemy, ſhould remain unto the Prince himſelf. Yet that what Places ſoever the Prince ſhould recover, which at any time before belonged to the Kingdom of *Hungary* before it was taken by the *Turk*, thoſe he ſhould forthwith deliver to his Majeſty, as ſoon as reaſonable recompence were by him therefore made unto the Prince.

Ninthly, His Sacred Majeſty ſhould promiſe of his own Bounty to give unto his Excellency ſufficient Aid for the fortifying and defence of ſuch Places as ſhould be thought neceſſary for the behoof of the *Chriſtians*; as again the ſaid Prince ſhould likewiſe promiſe not to ſpare his own Coffers or Forces, that the ſame Places ſhould be throughly fortified and defended for the behoof of his Majeſty, and the common good of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal.

Laſtly, That foraſmuch as the Events of War are uncertain, and many things ſuddenly happen contrary to mens Expectation, if ſuch neceſſity ſhould chance unto his Excellency or his Succeſſors (which miſhap God forbid) that having ſpent themſelves, they ſhould not be able longer to defend their State and Country, but that the mighty Enemy prevailing, they ſhould at laſt be inforced to forſake the ſame; in this their Extremity, his Imperial and Royal Majeſty ſhould promiſe both for himſelf and his Succeſſors, within the ſpace of one Month to aſſign ſome certain Place in ſome other of his Dominions, where the ſaid Prince and his Succeſſors might honourably live; and the like regard to be had alſo of other ſuch principal men, as ſhould, together with the Prince, adventure their Lives and Livings in defence of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal. 1595

Which Articles of Confederation agreed upon, and ſolemnly confirmed, the ſame Ambaſſadors were with all Kindneſs, Bounty, and Magnificence, diſmiſſed and ſent back again unto the Prince; who was not himſelf in the mean time idle, but labouring by all means he could to draw unto him *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia* (a man of no leſs worth than himſelf) and *Aaron* the Palatine of *Moldavia*, both of them then the *Turks* Tributaries; and by them to alienate from the *Turk* both thoſe Countries, that ſo with their combined Forces they might the better defend their Liberty, and withſtand their common Enemy; wherein he did ſo much, and prevailed ſo far with them both, that caſting off the *Turks* Obeiſance, they ſhortly after, to the great Benefit of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal, and no leſs hindrance of the *Turks* proceedings in *Hungary*, joyned hands both together with him for the recovery of their loſt Liberty. Which revolt of theſe bordering Princes, for that it ſo much concerned the common good, as that the ſafegard of *Auſtria*, and of the remnants of *Hungary*, with ſome good part of *Germany* alſo, is even by them that in thoſe matters ſaw much, not without cauſe ſuppoſed to have reſted therein; and that this noble Vayvod (of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter) was the ſecond Actor herein, it ſhall not be from our purpoſe to ſee the manner of his revolt alſo from the *Turk*, as we have already the *Tranſilvanians*. For the more Evidence whereof, as for the Honour of the man (whilſt he lived, a moſt worthy member of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal) we will a little ſtep back to ſee how he obtained of the great *Turk* this ſo honourable a Preferment, as was the Vayvodſhip of *Valachia*, not without his revolt long now to be holden.

Valachia oppreſſed by the *Turks*.

Alexander, the late Vayvod of *Valachia*, a *Moldavian* born, and by *Amurath* himſelf promoted to that Dignity; proud above meaſure of this his ſo great a Preferment, as alſo of his own Nobility, and the deceitful Favour of Fortune ſtill fawning upon him; not only oppreſſed his People himſelf with intolerable Impoſitions, but to be in farther favour with the *Turks*, brought into that Country (too much before exhauſted) ſuch a company of them, as that they ſeemed now almoſt wholly to have poſſeſſed the ſame, oppreſſing the poor *Chriſtians* (the natural Inhabitants) with new Exactions, and more than Tyrannical Injuries, even ſuch as were not elſewhere by the *Turks* themſelves uſed; not only breaking at their Pleaſure into their Houſes, and deſpoiling them of their Goods, but taking Tithe alſo of their Children, as if it had been of their Cattel, a thing never before there ſeen; and for the ſatisfying of their beaſtly Luſt, raviſhing their Wives and Daughters, even in the ſight of their Husbands and Parents, with divers other ſuch outragious Villanies, not with Modeſty to be rehearſed. So that by this means he had violently taken from his *Chriſtian* Subjects all hope of recovery of their antient Liberty, had it not, as ſometime it falleth out in theſe worldly things, both unto Men and Common-weals, which brought unto the laſt caſt, and even as it were to the bottom of deſpair, by the Goodneſs of God, contrary to all hope, find ſometime ſuch unexpected Help and Relief, as that thereby they, beyond their hope, even to the aſtoniſhment of the World, mount up again unto a greater luſtre of their State, than was that from which they before fell; it had even ſo by the ſingular Mercy of God, now hapned unto the *Valachians*, not knowing which way to turn themſelves. There was at *Craiłova* (a City in the Confines of *Valachia*, towards the Confines of the *Hungarians* and *Turks*, where the Governour of thoſe Borders is for the defence thereof with a ſtrong Garriſon always reſiant) a noble Gentleman called * *Ion Michael*, Son to *Peter*, the Palatine of that Country, the aforeſaid *Alexander's* Predeceſſor; who, as he was unto the People for the Honour of his Father, the Prerogative of his Birth, the Comelineſs of his Perſon, and Tallneſs of his Stature, well known, ſo was he for his Zeal towards the Chriſtian Religion, his Love towards his Country, his Kindneſs towards his Equals, his Courteſie towards his Inferiours, his upright Dealing, his Conſtancy and Bounty unto them, no leſs Gracious; and for other the noble Virtues of his Heroical Mind, and natural Diſpoſition for the Performance of great Matters, his deep Wiſdom and quick Foreſight, his ſweet and pleaſing Speech, void of all Affectation, unto all good men moſt dear; whoſe Fame, both for the Honour of his Houſe, and of his own Virtues, ſtill more and more increaſing, and riſe in the Ears of *Alexander* the Vayvod, was the cauſe that he commanded him, as the ready, or rather natural Competitor of his State and Honour, to be ſecretly apprehended, and ſo taken out of the way; whereof he by good Fortune having Intelligence, and careful of his own Health, for ſafeguard of himſelf fled firſt into *Hungary*, and there not ſtaying long (God ſo directing him) went to *Conſtantinople* in the year 1591, to ſue for the Vayvod's Place, all the Nobility of his Country, and the Provinces thereunto adjoyning, ſecretly rejoycing thereat. About which time, the chief and moſt grave of the *Valachian* Nobility and Councellors proſtrating themſelves at the Feet of *Amurath*, moſt grievouſly complained unto him of the manifold and intolerable Injuries they had already ſuſtained, and were ſtill like to endure, without hope of redreſs, from *Alexander* their Vayvod, and the Followers of his Court; the *Turks* Garriſons and Merchants with plentiful Tears orderly declaring his many moſt foul and deteſtable Facts, and afterward highly commending *Ion Michael* for his rare Virtues, as the true Heir of their Province; moſt humbly requeſted *Amurath*, either to have him appointed the lawful Governour of their Country, or elſe ſome other Place by him aſſigned for them to dwell in, wiſhing any where to live, rather than under the heavy command of ſo merciless a man as was *Alexander*. For the furthering of which their Suit, *Michael*, his Uncle by the Mothers ſide, a *Greek* born, and a Man for his exceeding Wealth in great Favour in the *Turks* Court, ſpared for no coſt. So *Michael*, by the Goodneſs of God, was by *Amurath* with great Solemnity created Vayvod of *Valachia*, and the oppreſſed and almoſt forlorn State of that ſometime moſt flouriſhing Country by little and little well relieved (although not altogether without moſt ſharp and violent Remedies, ſuch as Extremities oft require) began now again to lift up the head, and to aſpire unto the ancient Liberty and Honour thereof. At the beginning of whoſe happy Soveraignty, *Alexander*, his Predeceſſour, in his own Conſcience guilty of his evil and ſhameful Government of that ſo notable and great a Province, and now in fear to be called to account, ſecretly fled. But certain years after, removing to *Conſtantinople* with his Wife, and there attempting divers evil means for the obtaining of the Palatinate of *Moldavia*, and for thoſe his unlawful Practiſes accuſed by the Palatine's Agent; he was by the Commandment of *Amurath* taken in his own Houſe, and there in his princely Apparel, moſt miſerably ſtrangled upon *Palm* Sunday, in the year 1597, about ſix years after his departure out of *Valachia*.

* *Ion* ſignifieth with the *Valachians* as much as *Chriſtian*, which ſome miſtaking, call this *Michael* alſo by the Name of *John*.

Michael by *Amurath* created Vayvod of *Valachia*.

Alexander ſtrangled at *Conſtantinople*.

Michael thus made Vayvod of *Valachia*, long it was not but that it fortuned, the Reverend Father *Cornelius de Nona*, ſent from Pope *Clement* the Eighth, unto the great Duke of *Muſcovie*, in his return conferring with *Sigiſmund*, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, and *Aaron*, the Palatine of *Moldavia*, informed them of the great conſent of divers zealous Chriſtian Princes, for the maintenance of the War againſt the dangerous and common Enemy; with many grave and effectual Reaſons perſwading them (but eſpecially for that they were themſelves *Chriſtians*) in that *Chriſtian* quarrel to joyn unto them their Forces alſo, raiſed in thoſe their Countries near unto the great Rivers of *Danubius* and *Neſter*; but unto *Michael*, the Vayvod of *Valachia*, he could not for divers his other important Buſineſſes then come; whom for all that, the aforeſaid *Tranſilvanian* Prince, *Sigiſmund*, his Neighbour, deſirouſly ſought to draw into the Fellowſhip of this War, even for the ſame Reaſons almoſt, wherewith he had been himſelf moved. Firſt, by divers great Reaſons removing ſuch doubts as might juſtly ſeem to hinder him from giving his conſent thereunto; and then by declaring the *Turkiſh* Inſolency daily increaſing, with the infinite Grievances by them deviſed againſt the miſerable *Valachians*; when as the Incurſions of the *Turks* or *Tartars*, or their Paſſages that way, (no leſs troubleſome than their Inroads) was almoſt every Month to be feared, their Armies, as Friends, to be in Winter and Summer received, their Souldiers to their great charges relieved, and their Commanders and Captains rewarded. *Valachia* thus impoveriſhed, was not able (as he ſaid) to pay the great Sums it did already owe, neither was to expect any releaſment of the evils it was wrapped in, much leſs was it able to ſuffice unto the grievous Exactions to be thereunto by them afterwards impoſed. None of his Predeceſſors (as he ſaid, and as truth was) had for many years now paſt, for any long time, or with any Security held their State or Government; but that either by the Calumniation of the Envious, or Bribes of their ambitious Competitors; brought into Suſpition with the Sultan, they were violently thruſt out, or moſt cruelly put to death. In brief, he ſaid it was a wiſe mans part, not without moſt manifeſt and weighty Reaſons, to promiſe unto himſelf better Fortune, or more aſſurance of his State, than had his unfortunate Predeceſſors before him; but warned by their Harms, betimes to provide for his own Safety. By which Perſwaſion he ſo prevailed, that the Vayvod (whoſe Name, whoſe Fame, whoſe Wealth and Life, together with his Subjects, was all thereby indangered) although he would not (for the weightineſs of the matter) at the firſt yield thereunto; yet aſſuredly promiſed, with his Friends, and the reſt of the Nobility of his Country, to conſider thereupon. Having it by the Prince plainly laid down before him, how a ſufficient number of Souldiers might at all times be raiſed, their Pay provided, and Aid ſtill ſent him as need ſhould be, from the *German* Emperour, or himſelf out of *Tranſilvania*; as alſo that *Aaron* the Palatine of *Moldavia*, would at all times be ready to combine himſelf unto them; that ſo with their united Forces they might upon the Banks of *Danubius* and *Neſter*, eaſily repulſe the Incurſions both of the *Turks* and *Tartars* their Enemies; the *Chriſtian* Emperour in the mean time, with leſs trouble proceeding in his Wars againſt the *Turk* in the other ſide of *Hungary*.

Now whilſt this Plot was thus in laying, and Matters debating too and fro, not altogether without the *Turks* Suſpicion; *Sinan Baſſa*, coming with a great Army into *Hungary*, had taken the ſtrong Town of *Rab*, as is before declared; with which Miſchance ſo much concerning the poor remainders of *Hungary*, the Vayvod, not a little moved, began more deeply to conſider of his own Eſtate. And as he was a man of great Spirit, and no leſs Zeal toward his Country, grieving to ſee his Subjects committed to his Charge, to be ſo daily by the inſolent *Turks*, ſtill more and more oppreſſed; he (as he had before promiſed to the *Tranſilvanian*) called an aſſembly of all the States of *Valachia*, to conſult with them what were beſt to be done for the Remedy of ſo great Evils, as alſo for the preventing of greater, not without cauſe then to be feared. Where, by the general Conſent of them all, it was agreed, rather to joyn with the Emperour and the other *Chriſtian* Princes in Confederation, as they had been oftentimes by them requeſted, than longer to indure that heavy Yoke of the *Turkiſh* Thraldom and Slavery. Whereupon the Vayvod taking unto him two thouſand of the *Hungarian* Garriſon Souldiers, now before, for that purpoſe, ſecretly laid upon the Frontiers of his Country; and calling upon the Name of *Chriſt Jeſus*, in one day to begin withal, ſlew about to thouſand of the Janizaries, (who without his leave had in that Country proudly ſeated themſelves) with all the reſt of the *Turks*, (in the midſt of their Inſolency) together with the traiterous *Jews*, not leaving one of them that he could come by alive, in all the open Country. And purpoſing to drive them out of their ſtrong holds alſo, and ſo to make a clean riddance of them, he within fourteen days after, ſet upon Dziurdzowa, a great Town of the *Turks* upon the Bank of *Danubius*; all which he burnt, ſaving the Caſtle: and having there made a great ſlaughter, and loaded with the ſpoil of the *Turks*, returned to *Buchareſta*, the chief Seat of his Palatinate.

Michael, the Vayvod of *Valachia*, revolteth from the *Turks*.

But long it was not after this his ſo great Preſumption, but that he perceived the *Turks* in Revenge thereof, to ſeek after his Life; although he yet ſeemed to yield his Obedience unto *Amurath*, and to have done that he did, as inforced thereunto by the Inſolency of the *Turks*, and for the neceſſary relief both of himſelf and his Subjects. For the ſame Month (*Rab* being, as is aforeſaid, taken by *Sinan*) one of the *Turks* * Emirs, deſcended of the great Family and Stock of *Mahomet* their falſe Prophet, and then *Cadileſcher* (a man of great Account and Place amongſt the *Turks*) accompanied with 2000 choſen Souldiers, fifty of the great Sultans Chamber, and many of the *Zauſii* and *Spahi*, upon the ſudden came to *Buchareſta*, under the colour of refreſhing themſelves after their long travel, but indeed with purpoſe to have taken the Vayvod; where they without Controulment, committed all kind of outragious Villany; and taking up all the chief Houſes in the City, imperiouſly demanded of the Vayvod (who then lay at his Palace near unto the new Monaſtery without the City, built without any Caſtle or Defence, upon the River *Dembowiza*) 10000 Florens for a Preſent, with Victuals and other neceſſary Proviſion for his Followers. And preſently after, being certainly informed that he lay there but ſlenderly accompanied, and almoſt himſelf alone, the Emir himſelf on foot, with a thouſand of his Souldiers, went out of the City, as if it had been but for his Pleaſure, and in Courteſie to have ſeen him. Of which ſo ſuſpicious a Gueſts coming, the Vayvod underſtanding, got him betimes away into the Camp of his *Hungarian* Mercinaries, which then lay but faſt by; when the *Turk* thus deceived of the hope he had before conceived for the taking of him, craftily ſent certain of his Followers, to know of him, to what end he, in time of Peace, did entertain ſuch a number of *Hungarian* Souldiers? Whereunto the Vayvod cunningly anſwered, That they were at the firſt entertained for the taking of *Peter*, the Son of *Alexander*, ſometime Palatine of *Moldavia*; who, although he were now before apprehended, and openly hanged upon an Hook at *Conſtantinople*, yet that thoſe Souldiers were, for their ready Service, of neceſſity ſtill to be bileted in the Country, until ſuch time as their pay might be provided. Which the *Turk* hearing, commanded the Vayvod forthwith to diſcharge them, as men unneceſſary, and to his Subjects troubleſome, promiſing the next day to lend him a Tun of Gold to pay them their Wages. Which feigned promiſe the Vayvod ſeemed thankfully to take; yet neverthleſs commanded the *Hungarians* forthwith in Arms to ſtand in readineſs in the Camp, for the intercepting of the *Turks*, if haply by him diſtreſſed, they ſhould betake themſelves to flight; whilſt he in the mean time, with his Courtiers and other Souldiers, ſecretly aſſembled into a Valley thereby, came ſuddenly upon the *Turks* (not as then dreaming of any ſuch thing) compaſſed about the Inns wherein they lay, and ſetting fire upon them in five Places, notably forced them both with Fire and Sword, the two greateſt Extremities of War; ſeeking now for nothing more than the juſt Revenge of his ſpoiled City, his forced Virgins, and wronged Subjects. Howbeit, the *Turks* for a ſpace right valiantly defended themſelves, and by plain force (although in vain) ſought to have broken through the midſt of their Enemies, and ſo to have fled. Yea, many of them by force of the Fire driven out of their Lodgings, and tearing off their burning Cloaths, fought ſtark naked; but moſt of them which could, fled unto the Palace where the great Emir lay, there with him ready to die or live. All which their laſt endeavours of Deſperation the Vayvod eaſily fruſtrated, with two great Pieces of Artillery opening a way for his Souldiers unto them. So that the proud Emir now in diſpair (like the hunted *Caſtor*) threw down out of a Window, a great Cheſt full of Gold and precious Stones, and other Jewels of great value, if happily he might have ſo appeaſed the Vayvods Wrath; humbly now requeſting no more, but to have his Life ſpared; fearfully promiſing a large ranſom for himſelf and thoſe few which were yet alive with him. Howbeit, the Vayvod mindful of the manifold Injuries by them done unto him and his Subjects, and nothing mitigated or moved with the rich Spoils thruſt upon him, or the large Promiſes the *Turks* had made him; commanded all thoſe his Enemies now in Power, to be ſlain every Mothers Son; of whom his Souldiers had a wonderful rich ſpoil, although much more was loſt in the fire: and ſo giving thanks unto God for the Victory, reſted with his People a while at quiet. Yet within leſs than a Month after, he ſent *Albertus Kiral*, his Lieutenant, with an Army to *Phloch*, (a great open unwalled Town on the farther ſide of *Danubius*, equally diſtant from *Vroſczok* and *Nicopolis*) from whence the *Turks*, oftentimes paſſing over that frozen River into *Valachia*, had there done great harm: which Town, not inferiour unto a good City, he ſuddenly ſurprized, and ſacked it, and put to the Sword all the Inhabitants thereof, except ſuch as were before his coming fled. And ſhortly after (the more to annoy the *Turks*) marching again over the frozen River, to have ſurprized *Herſowa*, a walled City, but one days Journey from *Brailoua*, he was by the way encountred upon the Ice by the *Turks*, whom he there in a great conflict

* The *Turks* call all them that are deſcended of the Stock of their Prophet *Mahomet*, by the Name of *Emirs* or *Lords*.

The *Cadileſher*, with all the *Turks* his Followers, ſlain.

Phloch ſpoiled by the *Vayvod*.

Herſowa taken.

overthrew ; and having ſlain many of them, and put the reſt to flight, holding on his intended Journey, took that rich City, which he rifled and burnt down to the Ground, all except the Caſtle, which was yet by the *Turks* valiantly defended ; and ſo with the ſpoil of the City, returned again over the River, there to refreſh his Souldiers, wearied with Labour and the Extremity of the Winter weather. And yet not ſo contented, within ſix days after paſſing again over the River, and having upon the ſide thereof in a great Battel overthrown the *Turks* Garriſons, took *Siliſtra*, a great City of *Macedonia*, built by *Conſtantine* the Great, (being the Seat of one of the *Turks* Sanzacks, and well inhabited with rich Merchants) which fair City he ranſacked, and having ſlain moſt part of the Inhabitants, burnt it down to the Ground, as he had the other: no leſs Terror than Grief unto the *Turks*.

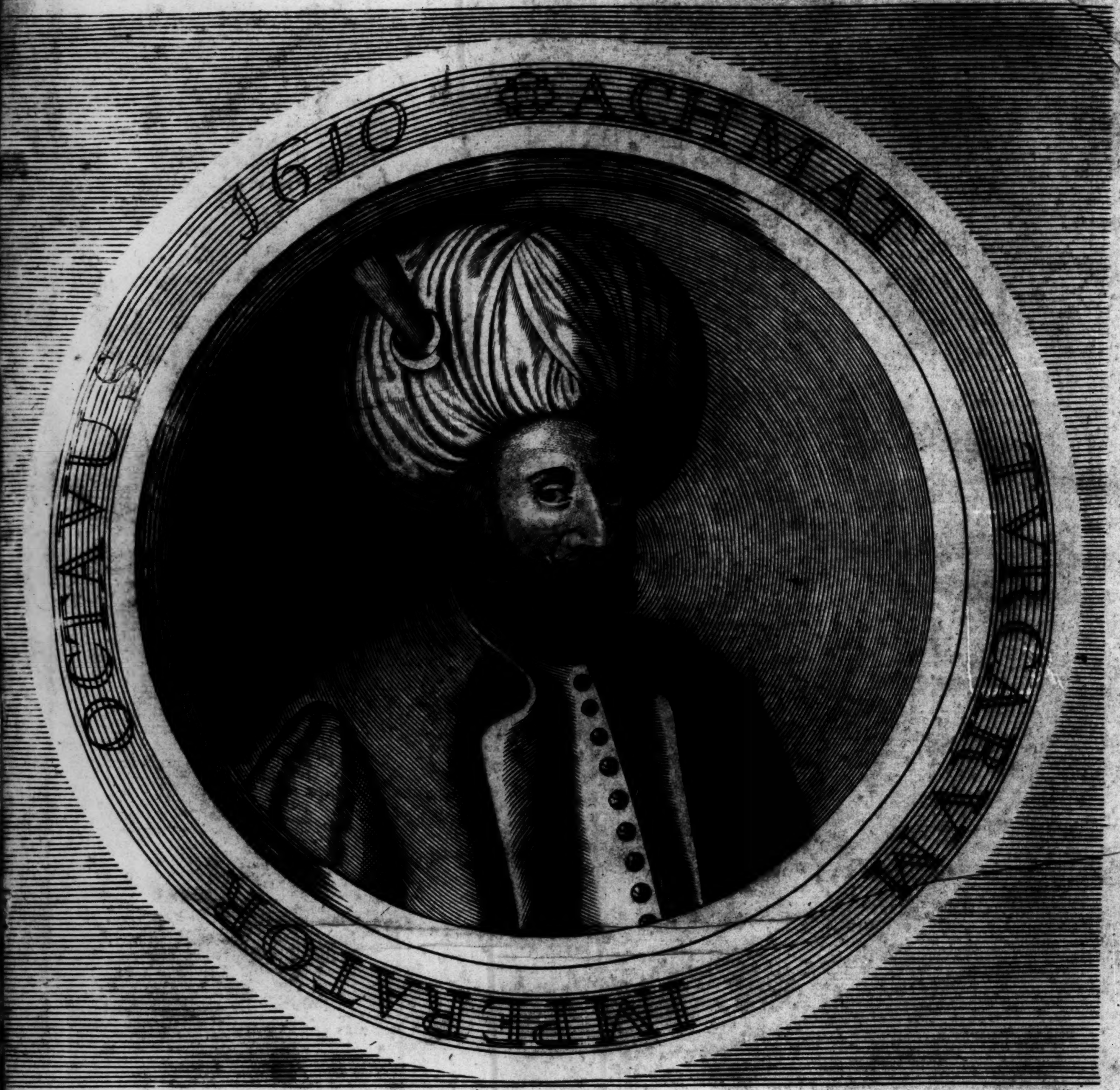
Siliſtra burnt.

Amurath dieth.

But whilſt the aforeſaid Confederation betwixt the Emperour and the *Tranſilvanian* Prince was yet in hand, and the Troubles in *Valachia* thus ariſing, *Amurath*, the great Sultan, grievouſly troubled with the Stone, and attainted with the falling Sickneſs, his wonted Diſeaſe, and inwardly alſo tormented with the late Inſolency of the Janizaries, and Revolt of the Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, (no ſmall hinderance to the proceeding of his Wars in *Hungary*) as a man both in Soul and Body tormented, with great Impatiency and Agony of Mind, departed this Life the eighteenth day of *January*, in the year of our Lord 1595; when he had lived one and fifty, or as ſome ſay, two and fifty years, and thereof reigned nineteen. At the time of his Death aroſe ſuch a ſudden and terrible Tempeſt at *Conſtantinople*, that many thought the World ſhould even preſently have been diſſolved. His dead Body was, not long after, with great Pomp and Solemnity, buried by *Mahomet*, his eldeſt Son, in a Moſchy which he himſelf had before built at *Conſtantinople*.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Amurath *the Third.*	*Emperours of* Germany,		Maximilian *the Second,*	1565. 12.
			Rodolph *the Second.*	1577.
	Kings,	*Of* England,	*Queen* Elizabeth.	1558. 45.
		Of France,	Charles *the Ninth.*	1560. 14.
			Henry *the Third.*	1574. 14.
			Henry *the Fourth.*	1589.
		Of Scotland,	James *the Sixth.*	1565.
	Biſhops of Rome.		Gregory *the* XIII.	1572. 12.
			Pius *the* V.	1585. 5.
			Urban *the* VII.	1590. 12 *days.*
			Gregory *the* XIV.	1590. 10 *months,* 10 *days.*
			Innocent *the* IX.	1591. 2 *months & one day.*
			Clement *the* VIII.	1592.

THE



Non tua te virtus, non ingens copia rerum
    Te faciunt magnum, non tua dextra potens:
Maximus est Superum, nutu qui territat Orbem.
    Hinc Achmete tibi gloria tota manat.
Hic tibi tunc tenero regalia Sceptra paravit,
    Hic tibi nunc juveni maxima quæque dedit:
Non quod sis alijs melior, multumve beatus,
    Sed quò sis alijs terror, et ira Dei.
d turges igitur fastuve superbis inani,
    Sic te cum miseris, numinis ira premat.
ne modium magnis, ni vis Succūbere magnus.
    Maxima quæque suo pondere pressa ruunt.
Ec tibi promittes regnandi tempora longa,
    Te tua fata vocant, te tua fata premunt.

'Tis not thy vertue, nor thy dread command,
That makes thee great, nor thy victorious hand..
Ther's an almighty God who makes thee so,
From him these glories (Achmet) on thee flow.
He in thy infant hands the Scepter plac'd,
And he thy vigorous youth with honours grac'd.
Not for thy meritts he exalted thee,
But that his Scourge of Vengeance thou shouldst be.
Boast thou not then, of what is not thine owne,
For he that sett thee up, may pull thee downe.
Be humble in thy most triumphant State,
For great things sink deprest by their owne weight.
Nor feed thy self with hopes of endless daies,
For at Fates Summons thou must goe thy waies.

THE TURKISH HISTORY

The Second Volume,

Beginning from

MAHOMET III.

And Continued to this

Preſent Year 1687.

Richard Knolles

THE SIXTH EDITION.

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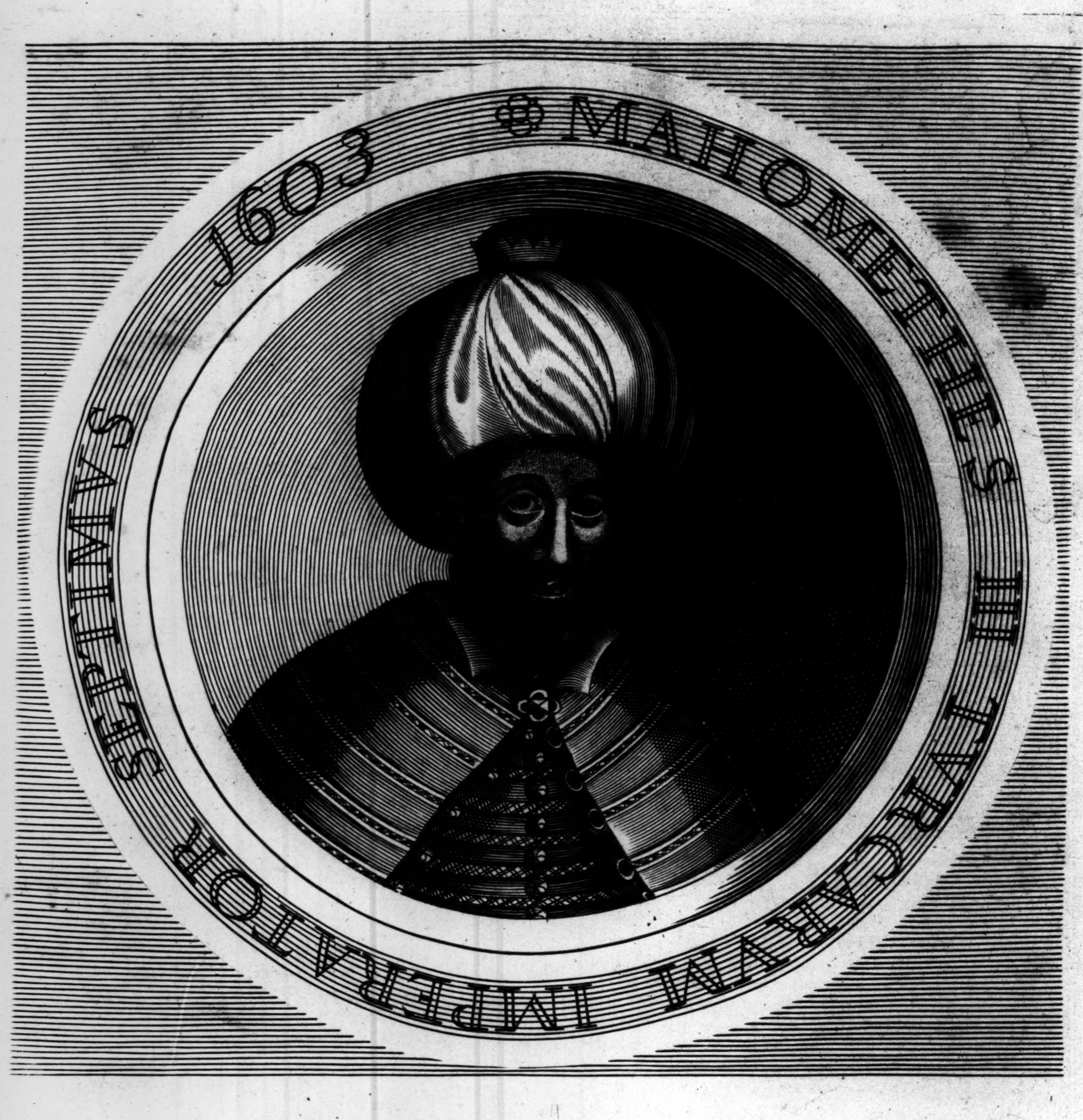
1603 MAHOMETHES III TVRCARVM IMPERATOR SEPTIMVS

Si quid in humanis, magnum te reddere poſsit:
Quid prohibet magnis nomen ineſse tuum?
Qui subjecta vides, tot diſsona regna, tot urbes:
Et nulli cedens, sceptra superba geris.
Cum tamen ignores, quid sit Sapientia Christi,
Omnia quæ jactas sunt, Mahomete, *nihil*

If any thing on earth can make man great,
Great as the greatest art thou Mahomet,
Who overlookst the World from thy bright Throne,
And seest the largest part of it thine owne.
But since the Christian Law thou dost disdeigne,
Thy labours to be truely Great, are all but vaine.

THE LIFE OF MAHOMET,

The Third of that Name, Seventh Emperour of the *Turks*.

1595

THE Death of the late great Sultan *Amurath* was not forthwith made known in the Court, but with wonderful ſecreſie concealed, not onely for fear of the *Janizaries*, (who in the time of the vacancy of the Empire always do whatſoever pleaſes themſelves) but alſo for that the People, having in diſtruſt the fierce Nature of *Mahomet*, *Amurath's* eldeſt Son, were generally better affected to *Amurath*, the younger Brother, a Prince of a more mild ſpirit and courteous diſpoſition, unto whom they in heart wiſhed thoſe ſtately honours, which could by no means, without the great wrong and prejudice of his elder Brother, and danger of the whole State, be given unto him. Ten days after came *Mahomet* in poſt from *Amaſia* to *Conſtantinople*, and was there by the great Baſſa's, and other his mighty Favorites, ſaluted Emperour: which done, he preſently after cauſed all his Brethren to be invited to a ſolemn Feaſt in the Court; whereunto they (yet ignorant of the death of their Father) came cheerfully, as men fearing no harm; but being come, were there all by his commandment moſt miſerably ſtrangled: and at once to rid himſelf of the fear of all Competitors, (the greateſt torment of the Mighty) he the ſame day (as is reported) cauſed ten of his Fathers Wives and Concubines, ſuch as by whom any Iſſue was to be feared, to be all drowned in the Sea.

Mahomet ſaluted Emperour of the *Turks*.

He murthereth his Brethren.

The *Janizaries*, and other Souldiers of the Court, not before acquainted with the Death of *Amurath*, neither with the choice that the great Baſſa's had without their privity made of *Mahomet*, and not a little offended to ſee themſelves ſo diſappointed of ſuch Spoils as they reckon due unto them in the time of their Vacancy, as men diſcontented, riſe up in a rage, and made ſuch havock and ſpoil in the Imperial City, as greater they could not well have made had there been as yet no Emperour choſen at all; and not ſo contented, were now even upon the point to have rifled their new Emperour's Court, and to have laid violent hands upon the Perſon of himſelf, in revenge of the tyranny by him executed upon his Brethren and Fathers Wives (which inhumane cruelty the Turkiſh Emperours eaſily excuſe by the name of the Policy of their State.) For the appeaſing of which ſo dangerous a Tumult, *Mahomet* called unto him certain of the chief men among the Seditious, ſuch as were thought to be able to do moſt with them, whom he ſought by fair perſuaſions and large promiſes to win unto him, and by them to pacifie the reſt. Which ſerved him to little or no purpoſe, until ſuch time as the great Baſſa's themſelves came out with their followers; who, with many fair perſwaſions, mixt with moſt grievous threats, and firm promiſe of a general pardon, with much ado appeaſed the Tumult; yet for the more ſafety, kept all the chief Streets of the City with ſtrong Watch and Ward. This Broil thus overblown, a new Tent was by the Commandment of the new Emperour ſet up before the Temple of *Sophia*; wherein, on the right hand was placed the dead Body of the late Sultan *Amurath*, his Father, and on the left-hand the Bodies of his nineteen ſtrangled Brethren, layd forth of purpoſe, as an heavy Spectacle for the People to behold; who all, not long after were, together with their Father, with great Solemnity, after the *Turkiſh* manner buried; and *Mahomet* himſelf (being about nine and twenty years old) now openly proclaimed great Emperour of the *Turks*, and Lord of all, from the riſing of the Sun, to the going down of the ſame. After that, returning to his Palace, he made unto his Baſſaes, and other great men, a ſumptuous and Royal Feaſt, as the manner was; but whilſt they were in the midſt of their Mirth, upon the ſudden all the City was again in an uprore, and the People in Arms, in ſuch ſort, as that it was thought ſcarce one man would have eſcaped alive from that Banquet, had not the chief Baſſa with his Gravity and Wiſdom, and wonderful Labour, in good time appeaſed their Fury; and withal, to their greater Terrour, cauſed all the great Ordnance in the City to be brought forth into the Streets ready charged, to be ſhot off amongſt them.

The *Janizaries* in a Tumult.

1595

The Tumult appeaſed.

The *Janizaries* again in an uproar.

Whilſt theſe Troubles thus paſſed at *Conſtantinople*, upon the late Confederation made between the Emperour, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, the *Valachians*, and *Moldavians*, divers fortunate Inroads and Skirmiſhes were by them made in the Frontiers of the *Turks* Dominions, many ſtrong Places were ſurpriſed, many rich Booties taken, and notable Exploits done, which we will briefly paſs over, as the Precedents of a greater War. The City of *Weitze*, before taken by the *Turks*, was now again in the beginning of this year recovered; and the *Chriſtians* about *Scuthia*, in number about four thouſand, breaking into the *Turks* Frontiers, carried away an exceeding rich Prey, with divers notable Captives. The like did alſo the *Chriſtians* of *Vivaria*; at which time alſo the Garriſon Souldiers of *Altenburg*, making a Road into the Country about *Rab*, encountered with four thouſand *Turks*, of whom they ſlew two hundred, took certain Priſoners, whom they ſent, ſome to *Presburg*, ſome to *Altenburg*; and *Sinan Baſſa*, the late General, returning towards *Conſtantinople* with much Treaſure, which he had greedily ſcraped together in the late Wars in *Hungary*, was by the *Valachians* ſet upon by the way not far from *Belgrade*, and ſtript of all that he had, having much ado to eſcape himſelf

Divers fortunate Roads made by the *Chriſtians* upon the *Turks*.

with ſome few of his Followers. The ſame *Valachians*, together with the *Tranſilvanians*, under the conduct of their valiant Captain, *Geſtius Ferens*, entring further upon the *Turks*, took from them divers of their Towns and Caſtles, as *Pondeſie*, *Nicopliſe*, *Killa*, and *Rebnichi*; and meeting with twelve thouſand *Tartars*, ſlew a great number of them, and put the reſt to flight. With this Inſolency of the *Valachians*, his late Tributaries, but now his Enemies, the *Turkiſh* Emperour was highly offended; and therefore ſent one *Bogdanus*, a *Valachian* born, deſcended of the *Palatines* Houſe, with a great Power, to expulſe the old Vayvod, and to poſſeſs himſelf of that Honour, as his Tributary; promiſing unto him all favour and kindneſs. *Bogdanus*, thus ſupported and furniſhed, came with his power into *Valachia*, yet thought it beſt before he attempted any great matter, to expect the coming of the *Tartars*, left the laſt year in *Hungary* by *Sinan*; of whoſe coming the *Valachians* and *Tranſilvanians* having underſtanding, met them by the way; and joyning Battel with them, ſlew eight thouſand of them, put the reſt to flight, and ſo returned: unto whom, preſently after this Victory, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince ſent fourteen thouſand Souldiers more to aid them againſt the *Turks*. But *Bogdanus* underſtanding both of the Overthrow of the *Tartars*, and the coming of this new Supply, durſt not proceed any farther in his Enterpriſe, but kept himſelf ſtill in his Trenches. Not long after, by the Commandment of the *Turkiſh* Emperour, *Han* the Crim *Tartar*, with a great power of his *Tartarian* Horſemen, entred into *Molduvia*, with purpoſe to have by Fire and Sword reduced that Country again unto the *Turks* Obeiſance: of whoſe coming, *Aaron* Vayvod of *Moldavia* having knowledge, and aided by his Neighbour *Michael* Vayvod of *Valachia*, ſo belayed the *Tartars*, that he in three divers Battels overthrew them, and having ſlain twelve thouſand of them, enforced the reſt to retire again out of his Country: and following the courſe of this Victory, preſently after took *Bendan*, *Schinitz*, *Tigna*, *Meohnis*, with ſome other Caſtles and Fortreſſes of the *Turks*, near unto the River of *Danubius*; all which he furniſhed with his own Garriſons; and withal, took in the rich Country of *Bobraga*, the Inhabitants thereof willingly ſubmitting themſelves unto him, as men weary of the *Turkiſh* Thraldom. With like good fortune, aided by the *Polonian* Coſſacks, he overthrew *Janicula*, the Son of *Bogdanus*, ſometime Vayvod of *Moldavia*, now ſent by *Mahomet* with a great Power, as a moſt fit Inſtrument to trouble the Vayvod, and to recover again that Country: with whom *Aaron* couragiouſly encountring at *Scarpetra*, a mile from *Danubius*, overthrew him in plain Battel; and having ſlain eight thouſand of his *Turks*, put him to flight, and took the ſpoil of his whole Camp. Neither yet ſo contented, marched preſently to *Neſter Alba*, where he put the *Turks* in a great fear, and afterwards burnt the Suburbs of the City, and ſo retired.

The Emperor's Ambaſſador dieth in Priſon at *Belgrade*.

How *Amurath*, the late Sultan, in the beginning of theſe Troubles, had at *Conſtantinople* ſhut up in Priſon *Frederick Krecowitz*, the Emperour's Ambaſſador, is before declared. This Ambaſſador *Sinan Baſſa* brought with him the laſt year, when he came into *Hungary*; who, after many Indignities by him ſuffered, both upon the way and at *Belgrade*, there died; five of whoſe Servants the falſe Baſſa cauſed to be kept in ſtraight Priſon, as guilty of their Maſter's Death; ſo to avert the Infamy thereof from himſelf. But now lying himſelf at *Belgrade* for the better managing of this years Wars, upon the coming of a new Treaſurer from the Court, he cauſed the five poor Priſoners to be brought before him, and moſt impudently charged them with the Death of their Maſter; ſaying, that they ſhould anſwer for the ſame unto God and their Emperour; and that his purpoſe in bringing of him from *Conſtantinople*, was to no other end, but to have uſed his help in concluding a Peace between the Great Sultan and the Emperour, and ſo to have ſet him, with all his, at liberty: but now that he was dead, he would ſend them his treacherous Servants to the Emperour, to be by him examined; and withal to tell him, That he was ſent from the Great Sultan (whoſe Power was not by any but God only to be withſtood) to beſiege *Vienna*, which he could (as he ſaid) the laſt year have taken with leſs labour than he had done *Rab*; and that therefore it were beſt for him betime to ſeek for Peace, before ſo great a Power had taken the Field: and that for farther Inſtructions, he would refer them to his Son, the Baſſa of *Buda*, to whom he ſent them from *Belgrade*, together with the new-come Treaſurer. Being come to *Buda*, they were forthwith brought before the Baſſa, and amongſt them the late Ambaſſador's Secretary, unto whom, after he had ſaid ſomewhat of the hard dealing with the Ambaſſador and his Followers, he declared, That he had always diſliked of that manner of proceeding, and oftentimes intreated his Father for their Liberty, and now at laſt to have obtained, That the Ambaſſador being dead, his Servants might be ſet free; and ſo put them in good hope, that they ſhould in ſhort time be reſtored to their wonted Liberty: in the mean time, that one of them ſhould go unto the Emperour's Court, and there ſpeak with one of his Secretaries, whom he had before adviſed to bethink himſelf of Peace; unto whom alſo be afterwards writ, upon what Conditions he thought Peace might be at the Sultan's hand obtained. Which were, If all the Caſtles and Strong-holds, taken by the Emperour's Forces in theſe Wars, as *Filek*, *Setchine*, and *Novigrade*, with their Territories, ſhould be reſtored, *Siſeg* in *Croatia* ſurrendred; if the Emperour ſhould from thenceforth refuſe to aid or protect the *Tranſilvanians*, *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*, and leave them to the Great Sultan to be chaſtiſed as Rebels; if finally, the Emperour would at once ſend unto the *Turks* Court his wonted Tribute for the years paſt, and ſo yearly afterwards: ſo he could be content, by the mediation of his Father, to attempt to appeaſe the fierce and inveterate Diſpleaſure of the Sultan, and to further the Treaty of Peace. This he commanded the Secretary to write, and to ſend it by the young Lord *Perling*, and to require Anſwer thereof: yet that he ſhould go with this Condition, That if the ſaid *Perling* within the ſpace of five and twenty days returned not with Anſwer, all the reſt ſhould, for his default, loſe their Heads. A ſubtil Device, and full of deceit, wherein the crafty Baſſaes, both the Father and the Son, ſought for nothing elſe but to ſee what confidence the Chriſtians had in themſelves, and to break the Confederation made between the Emperour, the *Tranſilvanians*, *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*; and that other Princes, whom God had ſtirred up in defence of ſo juſt a cauſe, hearing of a rumour of Peace, might grow cold, and defer to ſend their promiſed Aid. For now the *Turks* had found by experience, how hurtful and dangerous the Revolt of the three Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia* was unto them, as they which brought ten hundred thouſand Duckats yearly into the Great Sultan's Treaſury: beſides that, thoſe People, now become their Enemies, were of all other fitteſt to intercept all manner of Proviſion to be brought by Land either to or from *Conſtantinople*, were it Victual, or other warlike Proviſion. Notwithſtanding this motion of Peace made by the two Baſſaes, *Sinan*, the old Baſſa in the mean time, with great Diligence at *Belgnade*, prepared all things neceſſary for War, and cauſed three Bridges to be made, whereby he might in divers Places, as he thought beſt, tranſport his Army over *Danubius*; and at the ſame time ſent for the Garriſons round about, and other Souldiers before billeted in the Country, and put in readineſs all things neceſſary for a moſt mortal War.

The Baſſaes ſubtil demands anſwered with like:

Within the appointed time came *Perling* from the Emperours Court, with anſwer to the Letters written by the Ambaſſadors Secretary, at the Commandment of the Baſſa; the effect whereof was, that he had received his Letters by *Perling*, and did thereby underſtand what had paſſed between the captive Servants of the late Ambaſſadour, and *Sinan Baſſa* at *Belgrade*, and alſo between them and *Sinan Baſſa*'s Son at *Buda*; and that the Emperours Mind was never other, but that a firm Peace might have been made between him and the Sultan; and that the Emperour had done nothing elſe by his Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, or by others in other Places, but that ſuch reaſonable Conditions might have been found out, as might have ended thoſe Wars, and have on both ſides delivered their innocent Subjects from their great and daily Calamities; which might eaſily have been done, if *Sinan*, the Author and Fautor of this War, had with like deſire furthered the Peace. But that it was manifeſt unto the whole World, that all Complaints of infinite Grievances, being by the Ambaſſador, yea, and by the Emperour himſelf, by his Letters laid open unto the Sultan and his chief Baſſaes, had not only nothing prevailed, but alſo to have been with great Contempt rejected, and the Treaty of Peace once begun, to have by the Inſolency of the Baſſa of *Boſna*, been interrupted; That the Emperour, becauſe the matter ſhould not break out into open War, had ſent his double Tribute into the Confines of *Hungary*, which was a great while laid up at *Comara*, until the Sultans Mind was known. But when all his Deſigns tended to War, and the *Chriſtian* Provinces were by his Robbers on every ſide ſpoiled, the Inhabitants led away into moſt miſerable Captivity, the Towns and Villages burnt, yea, whole Countries laid deſolate, and all manner of Outrages were upon a mere Pride and Contempt, as it were of the whole World, exerciſed; then the Emperour to have taken his Refuge unto the defence of his juſt cauſe, and to have uſed ſuch Remedies as are both before God and the World to be allowed, and ſo by lawful War to have repulſed War. And that altho' all had not the laſt year proſpered in his hand, but that he had received ſome loſs; yet that *Sinan Baſſa* himſelf, and the Baſſa of *Buda*, his Son, with other of the wiſer ſort of the *Turks*, muſt needs confeſs that to have chanced, not by their Wiſdom, Policy, or Power, but by the Sufferance of God, by a rare Misfortune, through the inexcuſable Negligence and Treaſon of ſuch as he had put in truſt with the Confines of his Empire, worthy moſt ſevere Chaſtiſement. And that no man could deny, but that great Powers of the *Turks*, had not once, but oftentimes been overthrown and diſcomfited, by ſmall handfuls of the *Chriſtians*; therefore their Power not to be ſo invincible, as they vainly vaunted of. But whereas it is written, that the great Viſier *Sinan*, and the Baſſa his Son, are of Opinion, that the Emperour is brought to ſo low an ebb, that he muſt be glad to accept of moſt hard and diſhonourable Conditions of Peace propounded by them; therein they err much, and deceive themſelves far; for by the Power of God they ſhould ſhortly by Experience know, that his Imperial Majeſty wanteth neither Power nor Wealth, to repair the loſs received through the Treaſon of them he truſted, yea, and to recover whatſoever elſe he had loſt; and that it ſhould in ſhort time be witneſſed unto the whole World, by the help of God, and the defence of a moſt juſt Cauſe, that the Emperour was not ſo poor and weak as they ſuppoſed him to be. Yet, as he of his own natural Goodneſs and Clemency, with his own incomparable loſs and harm, had always ſought for the Quiet and Profit of his Subjects, and to the uttermoſt of his Power, ſtaied the effuſion of innocent Blood; ſo now alſo forgetting all Injuries, he could happily be content to think of an honourable Peace; whereunto he was more inclined than to protract the War with the unſpeakable harms of the Subjects on both ſides. Yet above all things, it behoved *Sinan* to know, that he was to reſtore all ſuch Caſtles and Towns as have in this War been taken by the *Turks*, beginning at *Wibitz* in *Croatia*, even to the laſt innocent Subject by them carried away into Captivity: And that the *Tranſilvanians*, *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*, (People many Ages joyned and united as inſeparable Members to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, as unto the true Body, and now of late by the Practiſe and Treachery of certain rebellious Perſons ſeparated from the ſame) were from henceforth to be left under the Protection and Government of his Imperial Majeſty, and never more to be impugned by the *Turks*. If theſe things were done, and order taken that the Injury and Diſgrace done unto the Emperours late Ambaſſador (a Fact that all the Princes of the World cried ſhame of) might not remain unpuniſhed; and that his Servants in durance at *Buda* and *Conſtantinople*, might be reſtored unto their wonted Liberty, then ſome good form of Peace, and bounding of their Territories, might happily be agreed upon; without which Conditions, all talk of Peace was but vain; for that God, the juſt and mighty Protector of ſuch as put their Truſt in him, would not fail to help his Imperial Majeſty, with the reſt of the Confederate Princes, in their ſo juſt a quarrel, and abate the Pride of ſuch as truſt in their own Strength and Power.

This anſwer the Captives at *Buda* were commanded to give unto the Baſſa, either by Writing or by word of Mouth; and withal, earneſtly to requeſt him, both for their own Liberty and their Fellows, wrongfully detained at *Conſtantinople*. Which if it could not be obtained, yet to comfort themſelves with that, that they ſhould in bounteous manner receive from the Emperour ſuch allowance, as ſhould ſuffice to provide them things neceſſary; as he had granted to *Perling*, whom he might have juſtly detained, and not ſent him back again, but for his Oaths ſake, being no lawful Priſoner. Thus were the unreaſonable Conditions of Peace, craftily by the Baſſa propounded, by others anſwered; but by whom he knew not, no Mans Name being ſet thereunto.

The Emperour, not ignorant with what an Enemy he had to do, and of nothing more careful than of the Kingdom (or more truly to ſay, of the Reliques of the Kingdom) of *Hungary*, lying now as it were in the Lions Mouth, ceaſed not to pray Aid, not of the Princes Electors only, but of others alſo farther off; yea, even as far as *Italy* and *Spain*, but eſpecially of the King of *Polonia*, as his near Alliance and Neighbour. Unto whom both he and the States of *Hungary* ſent their Ambaſſadors, at ſuch time as he, moved with the daily Incurſions of the *Turks* and *Tartars* into the Countries adjoyning upon his, had for the ſafety of his own Kingdom, called a Parliament of all his States in *February* laſt at *Cracovia*. Whereof *Mahomet*, the great *Turk*, hearing, ſent alſo two of his chief *Chiaus*, his uſual Ambaſſadors, unto the King and his States ſo aſſembled, to crave his Aid in his Wars in *Hungary*; which if the King ſhould not refuſe, then to

The *Turks* Ambaſſadors ſent unto the *Polonian* King ſlain in *Valachia.*

promiſe him to want no Coin to pay his Souldiers; and that *Mahomet*, mindful of ſo great a courteſie, would at all times be ready to requite him with like, when his Occaſions ſhould require. Theſe Ambaſſadors, having obtained ſafe conduct from *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia*, for their Paſſage through his Country, coming thither, were by the Vayvod himſelf honourably entertained and welcomed, and ſo brought into a fair Lodging, where they diſcourſed with him of many matters. But the Vayvod's Followers, grieved to ſee ſo great Honour done to theſe their ſworn and mortal Enemies, with Weapons in their hands brake into the Room where the Ambaſſadors were, and without more ado ſlew them both; and in the ſame Fury ſetting upon the reſt of the *Turks* their Followers, cut them all in pieces, ſo that of them none came into *Polonia* to do their great Maſter's Meſſage, neither yet returned to *Conſtantinople* to carry news of the reſt, but there altogether periſhed. Of which Outrage *Mahomet* yet underſtanding, was therewith wonderfully enraged, threatning all Evils both to the *Moldavians* and *Valachians*, and forthwith ſent out other Ambaſſadors to the ſame purpoſe, who with better Fortune afterwards in ſafety arrived in *Polonia*.

The Plague and Famine among the *Turks.*

The *Tartars* in many places (as is before declared) overthrown, and many ſtrong Caſtles and Forts taken from the *Turks* by the *Tranſilvanians*, *Valachians*, and *Moldavians*, the *Turkiſh* Affairs going to wrack in thoſe Quarters, and ſore ſhaken on that ſide of *Hungary*; *Mahomet*, the *Turkiſh* Emperour, called home to the Court *Sinan Baſſa*, his General in *Hungary*, to confer with him (as it was thought) of ſome great matters. In whoſe place he ſent *Ferat Baſſa*, he who ſometime had the leading of *Amurath's* great Armies againſt the *Perſians*; who now departing from *Conſtantinople*, came to *Belgrade* in *April*, and there took the charge upon him. Where, at his firſt coming, in the night time all the Ropes and Cords of the Tents were ſuddenly cut in ſunder, and ſo the Tent let fall about his Ears: which ſome ſuppoſed to have been done to his Diſgrace, by the procurement of *Cicala Baſſa*, before by him wronged; or, as others thought, by the inſolent Janizaries, who diſliking of him, did it in deſpight, wiſhing rather to have been led by *Mahomet* himſelf. Now at his coming, the Famine which the laſt year began amongſt the *Turks* was grown exceeding great, not at *Buda* and *Belgrade* only, but even generally in moſt places of *Hungary* poſſeſſed by the *Turks*; inſomuch, that the *Tartar* Women that followed the Camp were fain to roaſt their own Children, and eat them. This Famine was alſo accompanied with a moſt terrible Plague, whereof great numbers of the *Turks* and *Tartars* died daily: ſo that of fourſcore five thouſand *Tartars*, which came the laſt year into *Hungary*, now remained ſcarce eight thouſand, the reſt being all devoured with the Sword, Famine, and Peſtilence.

Michael Vayvod of *Valachia* doth the *Turks* great harm.

Great were the harms the *Turks* ſtill daily received from the late revolted Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, the Chriſtians of thoſe Places ſeeking by all means to annoy them. *Michael* Vayvod of *Valachia*, not contented with that he had already done, but entring into the *Turks* Frontiers, ſurpriſed *Scihmele*, together with the Caſtle; wherein he found fourteen field pieces, amongſt which were two which had upon them the Arms of the Emperour *Ferdinand*, and other two having upon them the Arms of *Huniades*; which Pieces he afterwards ſent as a Preſent to the *Tranſilvanian* Prince. After that, he took *Orofige*, a famous Port-Town, the dwelling place of the *Turks* great Purveyor for Butter, Cheeſe, and Honey, and ſuch other Proviſion for the Court, wherein he found ſuch ſtore of the aforeſaid Proviſion, as might well have ſufficed eight thouſand men for a whole year; and ſtill proſecuting his good Fortune, took from the *Turks Kilec* and *Galempe*, with the ſtrong Caſtle of S. *George*, commonly called *Grigio*, and at length beſieged *Laganoc*.

The notable Army of the Chriſtians, and from whence it was raiſed.

With the beginning of the Spring came *Matthias*, the Arch-duke, and General of the Chriſtian Army, from the Aſſembly of the Nobility of *Hungary* at *Presburg*, to *Vienna*, and ſo from thence to the Emperour his Brother at *Prague*, who appointed him General of the lower *Hungary*, and *Maximilian* his Brother General of the upper Country; giving them for their Lieutenants, unto *Maximilian* the Lord *Teuffenbach*, and to *Matthias* the County *Charles Mansfelt*, by him ſent for out of *Flanders*, and after created one of the Princes of the Empire. *John de Medices*, who was yet in *Hungary*, he made Maſter of the great Ordnance, with charge to fortifie *Komara*; which he ſo well performed, as that it was thought nothing in ſtrength inferiour to *Rab*. All this while the Emperour ceaſed not, by his Ambaſſadors and Letters, to ſollicite the Chriſtian Princes, for the repreſſing of the common Enemy to put to their helping hands; and ſo much prevailed with them, that out of his own hereditary Provinces, and from other Princes his Friends, he had this Spring raiſed a right puiſſant and ſtrong Army for the defence of *Hungary*; which how it was raiſed, and from whom, it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe briefly to remember, as the chief ſtrength, under God, whereby the Chriſtian Commonweal was this year moſt notably defended. Out of the higher *Saxony* came a thouſand two hundred Horſe-men, and out of the lower *Saxony* ſix hundred; from *Franconia* a thouſand Horſe-men; from *Suevia* four thouſand Foot-men; out of the County of *Tirol*, as many; from *Bavaria* three thouſand; out of *Bohemia* two thouſand men at Arms, ſix hundred light Horſe-men, and ſix thouſand Foot-men; from *Sileſia* a thouſand five hundred Horſe-men; from *Luſatia* five hundred Horſe and a thouſand Foot; from *Moravia* a thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Foot; out of *Auſtria* two thouſand Horſe and ſix thouſand Foot; from *Hungary* five hundred Horſe-men and a thouſand Foot: from the Nobility of *Suevia* and *Franconia* four thouſand Foot; from the King of *Spain* out of the Low-Countries, under the Conduct of *Charles* County *Mansfelt*, two thouſand Horſe-men and ſix thouſand Foot; unto theſe the Biſhop of *Rome* added two thouſand Horſe-men and eight thouſand Foot; the great Duke of *Florence* ſent five hundred Horſe and three thouſand Foot; the Duke of *Ferrara* a thouſand five hundred Foot-men; the Duke of *Mantua* a thouſand Foot; and the Duke *Venturee* five hundred Horſe. All which being put together, fill up the number of fifteen thouſand nine hundred Horſe-men, and fifty thouſand five hundred Foot. Which notable Army, raiſed from the power of divers Chriſtian Princes, and conducted by worthy Chieftains, had, by the goodneſs of God, much better Succeſs this Summer againſt the ancient Enemies of Chriſtendome, than had the like Army the Year before, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall appear.

Among the worthy Commanders that were in this puiſſant Army, *Charles* County *Mansfelt*, the Son of *Peter Erneſtus* the old County, from his Youth brought up in Arms, was by the King of *Spain*, at the requeſt of the Emperour, ſent with the aforeſaid Forces of two thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot out of the Low-Countries, as a Man for his approved Valour and Direction, fit to manage theſe dangerous Wars againſt the *Turk* under *Matthias* the Arch-duke, as his Lieutenant-General; who having raiſed the appointed Forces,

for

1595 for moſt part *Walloons*, departed from *Bruxels*, about the midſt of *February*; and by the way taking his leave of his aged Father at *Luxenburg*, and travelling through *Germany*, came in *March* to *Prague*, where he was by the Emperour, and the Arch-duke his Brother, moſt honourably entertained, and ſhortly after, with great Solemnity, created one of the Princes of the Empire. His Forces following after him, were by the way ſtayed, partly by the Inundation of Waters (the Rivers they were to paſs over at that time riſing to an unwonted height) partly by the Jealouſie of ſome of the *German* Princes, who denied them Paſſage through their Territories, untill ſuch time as that the Emperour, by his Letters, had opened unto him the way; which Princes, for all that, ſtood upon their guard, and ſo gave him Paſſage.

Now ran great Rumours of the wonderful Preparations of the *Turks*, as alſo of the Chriſtians; Fame, after her wonted manner, increaſing the report of all things above meaſure: which cauſed the *Turks*, with exceeding care, to look to the Fortification of their frontier Towns, eſpecially of *Rab* and *Strigonium*; as did the Chriſtians to the Fortification of *Komara* and *Altenburg*. In the mean time, many hot Skirmiſhes paſſed between the Chriſtians and the *Turks*, eſpecially in the late revolted Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, wherein the *Turks* were ſtill put to the worſe, to the great diſcontentment of their Emperour. Near unto *Temeſwar* the Baſſa of *Buda* was overthrown by the valiant Captain *Geſtius Ferentz*, and the *Tranſilvanians*. And in *Valachia*, the *Turks* General entring with a great Army, was there alſo, by the Lord *Nadaſti* and the *Valachians*, aided with the *Tranſilvanians*, in a great Battel diſcomfited and overthrown. Eight thouſand of the *Turks* heads, in token of this Victory, the Lord *Nadaſti* ſent to *Alba-Julia* to the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, and certain Enſigns, amongſt which, one was moſt richly garniſhed with precious Stones and Pearl, thought to be worth thirty thouſand Dollars; which the Prince afterward reſtored again to *Nadaſti*, offering him great Poſſeſſions in *Tranſilvania*, if he could have been content there to have ſeated himſelf.

Ferat Baſſa over-thrown in *Valachia.*

All this Spring the *Turks* countenanced their Wars with greater Boaſts and Threats than true force, giving it out, That they would in ſhort time work Wonders both by Sea and Land. For the more credit whereof, *Murat Rays*, a notable Pirate, was ſent out with twelve Gallies, who landing here and there upon the Coaſts of *Italy*, did much harm; cauſing it to be reported in every place where he landed, That this was but the beginning of a greater War, and that a wonderful Fleet was to follow him: which raiſed a great fear, as well in other places as in *Italy*. Howbeit, no ſuch Fleet afterwards appeared; for why, the Turkiſh Emperour, much troubled with the Revolt of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, and the great Mortality then raging both among his Souldiers and their Horſes, was not at leiſure to look into the Sea, having his hands full enough with the Troubles of *Hungary*, where his men of War enjoyed little reſt in the Frontiers of his Territories.

Sigiſmund, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, had, upon ſome juſt cauſes, of late ſuſpected *Aaron* the Vayvod of *Moldavia*, to have Intelligence not only with the *Polonians*, but alſo with the Cardinal *Bator*, and other his mortal Enemies, and ſecretly to have been about to make his Peace with *Mahomet*, and ſo again to fall off from him unto the *Turk*: which vehement Suſpicion growing daily more and more, was about this time manifeſtly confirmed by certain Letters intercepted concerning that matter. For the preventing whereof, the Prince cauſed *Aaron* to be apprehended, and with his Wife and Son to be ſent as Priſoners to *Prague*; in whoſe Room, he, by the conſent of the Nobility of the Country, placed one *Stephen Rozwan*, a wiſe and diſcreet man amongſt them, and ſuch an one as had been always faithful unto him: ſo, as much as in him was, providing that that Country ſhould not be rent from him, and the Union of the other. But againſt the ſecret Practices of the *Polonians*, he proteſted openly, by Letters unto the Emperour, by the Power of God, and Aid of his faithful Subjects, to redreſs thoſe ſo great Injuries himſelf by the Sword. 1595

Mahomet ſendeth Ambaſſadours to the Prince of *Tranſilvania.*

In the midſt of theſe Troubles came three Chiaus, Ambaſſadors from the Turkiſh Sultan, unto the Prince, to perſuade him again to put himſelf into his Protection, and to give him Paſſage through his Country, as in former time, into *Hungary*; promiſing him, that all the Injuries done by him or his People, ſhould be for ever forgotten and forgiven; and that he ſhould have thoſe three Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, as his own free Inheritance, without paying any Tribute; and ſo to be accounted as the *Turk*'s moſt loving Friend and Vaſſal. What the Prince anſwered thereunto was not known; but by his doings afterwards it was eaſily to be gathered, that he hearkened not unto the deceitful Charms of the faithleſs Tyrant, truſting more unto the League he had with the Chriſtian Emperour. Theſe Ambaſſadors were ſcarce gone, but that a ſecret Meſſenger came with Letters from the chief of the Chriſtians in *Bulgaria* to the Prince, declaring unto him, That if he did with any good Succeſs proſecute his Wars, they would be ready to follow his Fortune, and to joyn hands with him againſt the cruel Tyrant, and to ſhut up all the Paſſages that way into *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Hungary*.

Whilſt theſe troubleſome times thus paſſed in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, one of the old Janizaries, called *Waſvode Giezi*, an old Souldier, but a confident bold ſpoken Fellow, moved, as ſhould ſeem with the Diſcontentments of the time, came unto *Mahomet* the Great Sultan, at *Conſtantinople*, and there openly ſet upon him with this rough and abrupt Speech:

The preſumptuous Speech of one *Waſvode*, an old Janizary, to *Mahomet* the Great Sultan.

HOW *long at laſt, moſt mighty Emperour, wilt thou endure thy ſelf to be ſeduced and blinded by the great Baſſaes of thy Court, and Commanders of thine Armies? How long wilt thou ſuffer thy ſelf to be deceived, to the great danger of thy ſelf, and hurt of thy Subjects? See'ſt thou not how overthwartly, fraudulently, and cunningly, they, moved only with their own covetous and ambitious Humour, have hitherto dealt with thee and thy Father? eſpecially in that, that perſuaded by them, thou haſt diſhonourably broken thy League, and taken up Arms againſt the Chriſtian Emperour. At length open thine eyes and ſee their deceit, and how much they abuſe thy Power.* Sinan Baſſa, *who muſt have himſelf honoured and exalted above all others, hath not by ſtrong hand honourably won* Rab, *as hath been the manner of thine Anceſtors, but hath craftily bought it with thy money, and thereby caſt thee into a moſt dangerous War and infinite Troubles. O* Rab, Rab! *now the cauſe of great triumph and rejoycing, as if thereby all Chriſtendome ſhould in ſhort time be ſubdued to thy Scepter. But thou art therein much deceived; thy Barns, thy Store-houſes, as are* Tranſilvania, Valachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, *and other Provinces adjoyning, from whence, this thy Imperial City of* Conſtantinople, *with the Country about it, thy Court, yea thy Self are to be relieved, are by this War ſhut up; ſo that down the River of* Danubius *out of the Weſt, or by the* Euxine *out of the Eaſt, thou art not able to look for any Proviſion. From whence then, O moſt mighty Emperour, wilt thou maintain thy ſelf, thy Court, this populous City,* *and the Country hereabout? Not to ſpeak in the mean time of thy mighty Army now in* Hungary, *Fleſh, Fiſh, Corn, all manner of Victual, are now at ſuch a price, that the common Souldier cannot buy them. In this extream dearth of all things, not men only, but even the very Beaſts and Cattel, ſtarve for Hunger. Thy Horſes go fat perhaps into* Hungary, *but neither thou, nor thy ſelect Souldiers, can live by Graſs and Weeds, all that is left in that Country. This Miſery and Calamity of thy People thou ſeeſt daily, and yet thou wilt not with ſound Judgment lift up thine eyes, to ſee from whence theſe harms come, and how that they by thee put in greateſt truſt, ſtudy not for thy Profit, or the profit of the Commonweal, but only how by all means to enrich themſelves.*

Mahomet, much moved with the confident Speech of the old Janizary, commanded him to be forthwith committed to Ward, and by fair means to be examined, by whoſe ſetting on, and for what Cauſe, he had ſo boldly uttered this rude Speech unto his Sovereign, and what further thing he had intended: but the reſt of the Janizaries hearing thereof, riſe preſently in a Tumult, and by ſtrong hand took him out of Priſon, and by ſolemn Oath combined themſelves to defend him, even to the ſpending of their own Blood: whereat *Mahomet* was glad to wink.

The greateſt part of the Aid promiſed by the Chriſtian Princes for the maintenance of this years Wars againſt the *Turks* being now come to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, County *Mansfelt*, Lieutenant-General under the Arch-duke, forthwith called a Council of the Colonels, Captains, and other great Commanders of the Army, to conſult with them what courſe to take for the beginning of this great War, as, whether they ſhould preſently lay Siege to ſome Town of the Enemies, or elſe to expect him in the plain Field, and to give him Battel. All things well conſidered, and that reſolved upon which was thought moſt expedient, he removed from *Vienna* to *Altenburg*, where he muſtered his whole Army; and departing thence, with ſome few of his Followers came to *Walkenburg*, a Village upon the ſide of *Danubius*, where he made choice of a place to incamp his Army in; which after he had marked out, he returned again with ſpeed to *Altenburg*, and by open Proclamation thorow the Camp, gave ſtraight Commandment, That againſt a certain hour every man ſhould be in readineſs to remove and ſet forward toward the Enemy: but divers of the Souldiers, and eſpecially the *Germans*, began forthwith, after their wonted manner, to cry out for their Pay, before they would ſtir any farther: ſo that the County was glad, by a ſecond Proclamation to command them to riſe, promiſing them their Pay within eight days. But they ſtill ſtanding upon their former Reſolution for their Pay, refuſed any farther to follow their Captains, and ſent ſix of the beſt ſort among thoſe mutinous Souldiers to the County, in the Name of all the reſt, to demand their Pay; whom he forthwith commanded to be all hanged: but three of them having reaſonably excuſed themſelves, he let them go, and cauſing the other three to caſt lots for their Lives, hanged up two of them. Which ſevere Execution ſo terrified the reſt, that upon the Sign given they all riſe, and with the reſt of the Army followed the County. The whole Army being come to *Walkenburg*, unto the place where they were to encamp, the County himſelf, with others of the Nobility, began with Spades and Shovels to dig and caſt up the Trenches, and ſo wrought until they ſweat again; with whoſe Example, all the reſt of the Army, of what degree ſoever, being moved to labour, had in a ſhort time caſt up a very great Trench from *Danubius* unto the Mariſhes, large enough for eighty thouſand men to encamp in, the great Work, with reſtleſs labour, going forward both night and day until it was fully finiſhed. The County lying thus intrenched with his Army, was ſtill careful, by his Eſpials, to underſtand where the Enemy lay, and what he did. He was ready ſtill to hear all, but to believe that which ſeemed moſt like to be true: what he purpoſed, he kept moſt ſecret, ſo that the Enemy could never diſcover any of his Deſigns, (wherein the Generals of late years before him had much erred;) and commonly his moſt certain Reſolutions were ſhadowed under the open ſhew of ſome other matter nothing meant: Security he much abhorred, as never free from danger: and although it was by divers Meſſengers brought unto him, That the Enemy was but of ſmall Strength, unable to meet him, diſorderly encamped, and in great diſtreſs for want of Victuals; yet would he give little credit thereunto, as knowing ſuch Reports to have oftentimes been given out by the *Turks*, of purpoſe to lull the Chriſtians in Security, the more eaſily to oppreſs them. The Chriſtian Army thus ſtrongly entrenched, and the Trenches planted with great Ordnance, the County himſelf, with certain Troops of Horſe-men, would oftentimes ſhew himſelf before *Rab*, and ſometime before *Dotis*, viewing ſometime the one place, and ſometime the other, as if he had verily purpoſed to have beſieged one of them: and to give the greater ſhew that he had ſo determined, he cauſed the Ground to be marked out for his Army moſt conveniently to encamp in, and for the caſting up of his Mounts. Which cauſed the *Turks* of *Strigonium*, *Veſprinium*, *Palotta*, and other Places farther off, to ſend part as well of their warlike Proviſion, as of their Gariſon Souldiers, ſome to *Rab*, ſome to *Dotis*, for the defence of thoſe Places, neareſt as they thought unto danger. The County in the mean time having now put all things in readineſs, came with his Army, and ſat down before *Dotis*, demanding to have it yielded unto him. And the more to confirm the *Turks* that he would aſſuredly beſiege that place, he began to caſt up his Trenches, and to raiſe his Mounts as ſeemed moſt convenient; ſtraitly commanding every man, of what condition ſoever, to put his hand in ſome meaſure to the furtherance of thoſe Works; and the more by his own Example to encourage others, would oftentimes himſelf carry a Faggot, or ſome other thing, before him upon his Horſe, for the raiſing of the Mount. For all that, certain *Hungarian* Gentlemen diſdaining ſuch baſe labour (as they deemed it) refuſed to do any thing therein; which the County perceiving, ſtraitly charged one of them, by his Example, to carry a Faggot to the Mount: which the *Hungarian* Gentleman refuſing, the County therewith much moved, laid the Faggot he was carrying himſelf, before the *Hungarian* upon his Horſe, charging him to ſee that he carried it to the appointed place: the *Hungarian* diſdainfully taking it, carried it until he thought he was out of the County's ſight, and then in ſcorn threw it down; which the County (having ſtill an eye after him, perceiving, commanded him to be taken, and all armed as he rid, to be preſently hanged upon the next Tree for his Obſtinacy. Which wholſome ſeverity, both then and afterwards, cauſed others more diligently to do what they were commanded by their Superiours.

The Army of the Chriſtians muſtered at *Altenburg*.

The vigilant carefulneſs of County *Mansfield*.

Dotis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

An obſtinate *Turk*.

It happened about this time, that three *Turks* being taken Priſoners, were brought into the Camp; whom the County ſtraitly examined of many matters. But the firſt of the three could neither by fair or foul means be induced to anſwer to any thing that he was asked; and was therefore, by the Commandment of the County, in the ſight of the other two, cut into ſmall pieces. Who terrified

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with his diſmembring, confeſſed many things whereof they were asked; and among others, That the *Turkiſh* Sultan had determined to turn his greateſt Forces into *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, and the upper part of *Hungary*; and therefore would this Summer ſend ſmall Forces, or elſe none at all into thoſe quarters.

Now was *Dotis* ſo belay'd by the County, as that no man doubted but that he had thereon purpoſed to have engaged his whole Forces, when ſuddenly, the laſt of *June*, commandment was given thro' the Camp, That every man upon ſign given, ſhould be in readineſs to follow his Leaders, for that the County had determined forthwith to remove; yet whither the Army was to be removed, few or none knew, more than certain of the chief Commanders. As for to go to *Strigonium*, few there were that ſo much as dreamed thereof, all was kept ſo ſecret; yet was it the Counties purpoſe, even from the beginning, to attempt the winning of that City, which the Arch-duke had in vain the laſt year beſieged. The next Night, being both dark and foul, the County riſe with all his Army, and the next day, being the firſt of *July*, came to *Strigonium*, they of the City not hearing of his coming, before they ſaw him under their Walls. Wherefore the *Turks* in the Suburbs, called the *Raſcian* City, and they in the Fort under St. *Thomas* Hill, deſpairing of the keeping of thoſe Places, ſetting fire on the Houſes, and defacing the Fort, ſo much as in that ſudden fear they poſſibly could, fled into the lower Town. The next day the County without reſiſtance took the foreſaid Places forſaken by the *Turks*, which he manned with certain Companies of *Wallons*, and made a Bridg of Boats over *Danubius*, caſt up certain Mounts, and did many other things for the furtherance of the Siege. In three days he had again repaired the Fort under St. *Thomas* Hill, abandoned by the *Turks*, and therein placed four great pieces of Artillery, wherewith he began to batter the lower Town, and in other Places to ſtraiten the beſieged more than they had been the year before. The Baſſa of *Buda*, not ignorant of the want both of Men and Munition in the beſieged City, (and the rather, for that they had but a little before ſent part of their Garriſon with Shot and Powder to *Rab* and *Dotis*) attempted thrice (as he did many times after during the time of the ſiege) to have by the River put new Supplies both of Men and Munition into the City; but was ſtill, by the Diligence of the *Chriſtians* excluded, and inforced with loſs to return. In ſhort time, the lower Town, which they call *Waſſerſtat*, or the Water-town, was with continual battery ſore beaten, ſo that ſcarcely any Houſe or Building was left whole; and a Counterſcarf, made the laſt year, beaten down. Whereunto certain *Wallons* were ſent, only to have viewed the bredth and manner of the Ditches; after whom certain Companies of the *Hungarian Heidons* preſently followed, without any Command of their Captains; who with great Courage got to the top of another high Counterſcarf, and there ſet up ſome of their *Enſigns*. Which the *Turks* beholding, and coming on cloſe together, by plain force inforced them with loſs to retire. Among theſe *Hungarians* were divers alſo of the *Wallons* ſlain, with ſome others of good Name and Place, to the great Grief of the County, being not a little offended with that diſordered Service; yet Day and Night the Battery ceaſed not, and the *Chriſtians* out of their Trenches with their Muſquet-ſhot ſlew many of the *Turks* upon the Walls, receiving little or no hurt again, the *Turks* ſtill ſhooting ſparingly, for fear of wanting Shot and Powder at their greater need; yet that they ſpent they beſtowed ſo well, that amongſt others they had ſlain four of the *Chriſtian* Canoneers, and one *Wallon* Captain. About the midſt of *July*, the County with continual battery had made the Water-town (as he thought) aſſaultable; and therefore ſent certain Companies to begin the aſſault; who having paſſed the Counterſcarf, found the Ditch full of deep Mud, and but newly cut broader certain paces by the *Turks*, ſo that it was thought ſcarce poſſible to be paſſed without a Bridg; behind which Ditch was an high Wall with ſtrong Bulwarks, and within all this was another new caſt Ditch, and upon the very brink thereof a thick and high Parapet; all which, for all that, certain Companies of *Wallons*, with great Labour and Danger adventured to paſs; but ſuch was the Valour of the Defendants, and the ſmall number of them that came on to the aſſault, with the Diſadvantage of the Place wherein they ſtood, that at length they were glad to retire with the loſs of many of their Fellows. The *Chriſtians* in the beginning of this Siege had taken a little Iſland in the River before the City, which was kept with ſome few Companies of the Lord *Palfi's Heidons*; whereof the *Turks* having Intelligence at *Buda*, with three Gallies and certain other Veſſels, landed in the Iſland 3000 Souldiers, which ſlew the *Heidons*, unto whom no Succour could be ſuddenly ſent, and ſo recovered again the Iſland; wherein they left a ſufficient Garriſon for the keeping thereof, furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and ſo departed.

County *Mansfield* removed with the Army from *Dotis* to *Strigonium*.

The *Chriſtians* repulſed.

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About three days after the former aſſault, the *Chriſtians*, in hope of better Succeſs, the ſecond time aſſaulted the Water-town, in which aſſault the chief Leaders were the Lord *Greis* and *Anthony Zinne*, a famous Captain, had he not ſtained his Honour with County *Hardeck* at *Rab*; but being pardoned by the Emperour, did now, together with the reſt appointed to that Service, moſt courageouſly aſſault the Breach, but were again by the *Turks* notably repulſed, and inforced at laſt to give over the aſſault, and ſo to retire with the loſs of 150 men; among whom *Zinne* himſelf was ſlain, with one Captain *Ruger*, and ſome of the Counties own Guard; the Lord *Greis* was wounded in the Head, and the younger Lord *Schuendi*, with divers other Captains, grievouſly hurt. The next day after, 600 of the Mountain People came into the Camp unto the County, with Supplications, to requeſt him, Not to give over the ſiege until he had won the City; promiſing him in the Name of thoſe Towns and Villages from whence they were ſent, of their own Charges to repair for him what harm ſoever he ſhould do in the City for the taking thereof, yea, though he ſhould lay it even with the Ground: for why, the Harms they daily received from the Garriſon of that City were wonderful.

At the ſame time alſo he was advertiſed by his Eſpials (of whom he maintained many for the Diſcovery of the Enemies doings) that *Mahomet* the *Turkiſh* Sultan had writ unto the Baſſa of *Buda*, carefully to provide that his beloved City of *Strigonium* took no harm, and not to ſpare either for Men or Money in time to relieve it; and therein to do nothing without the Advice and good liking of his old and faithful Servant *Alis Beg*, who of long time had governed, and alſo defended that City; and to the intent that nothing ſhould be wanting for the performance hereof, that he had ſent *Alexander* Aga of the *Janizaries* from the Court, (whoſe Service he might ill have ſpared) whoſe approved Counſel and Help he might alſo uſe in all things; for that he had rather loſe ſome other whole Kingdom, than that one City; And that therefore he ſhould beware that it were not won by the Enemy, or by any Compoſition yielded; wherein if he failed, he threatned unto him his

Mahomet careful of *Strigonium*.

1595 heavy diſpleaſure, not to be appeaſed without the price of his Head. Which ſo ſevere a Commandment of the great Sultan's, the Baſſa ſent to them of *Strigonium*; with moſt grievous threats from himſelf, if they, terrified with any Battery, undermining, or aſſault, ſhould yield the City, and not hold it out as became valiant Souldiers, unto the laſt man; ſwearing to impale them all upon Stakes that ſhould conſent to the yielding up thereof. The old Governour *Alis Beg* having received this ſo ſtrait a Command from him that was both able and like enough to perform what he had threatned; utterly to deterr the Souldiers from once thinking of yielding, cauſed diligent Enquiry to be made throughout the Garriſon, if any of them had at any time made any motion of yielding up the City, or otherwiſe murmured againſt their Captains or Commanders appointing them to any Service; and ſuch as he found to have ſo done, he, to the terror of others, cauſed to be preſently executed; and after that, went down himſelf into the lower Town, to ſee that nothing were there wanting or amiſs, where moſt danger was. But when he would have again returned into the upper Town, he was ſtayed by the Janizaries, who told him, That ſeeing he was of ſo valiant and couragious a mind, and their Governour, he ſhould there ſtay with them, and take ſuch part as they did, were it better or worſe; and ſo would he, or would he not, there needs ſtay he muſt.

Now the Baſſaes of *Buda* and *Temeſware*, with divers *Sanzackes*, as well of thoſe parts of *Hungary* which the *Turks* poſſeſſed, as other places, were aſſembling their forces for the relief of the beſieged in *Strigonium*: whereof the *Tranſilvanian* Prince hearing, made ſhew as if he would forthwith have beſieged *Temeſware*; ſo that the Baſſa thereof leaving the intended Expedition for *Strigonium*, was glad to return for the defence of his own Charge. They alſo of *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Croatia*, with the Troops of County *Serinus*, had ſo ſtopped all the Paſſages, that twelve thouſand *Turks*, which were coming from *Zigeth*, and the places thereabout, could by no means come to joyn themſelves with their Fellows for the relief of the diſtreſſed City.

The higher City of *Strigonium* battered by the Chriſtians.

The County leaving nothing unattempted or undone that might help for the gaining of *Strigonium*, had made a notable Fort upon *S. Thomas* Hill, and therein placed five great Culverins; wherewith he furiouſly battered the higher City, and did therein great harm; and thereby alſo brought to paſs, that no man could go up or down the Hill betwixt the upper Town and the lower, but he was in danger to be fetch'd off with thoſe Pieces, or the Muſquetiers; who, defended by thoſe great Pieces, lay upon the ſide of the Hill in Caves and Buſhes, awaiting for ſuch as ſhould go up or down betwixt the two Towns. Thus the Chriſtians at one time battered the upper Town, the lower Town, and the ſtrong Town and Fort of *Gokara*, ſtanding on the farther ſide of *Danubius* over againſt *Strigonium*, beſieged by the Lord *Palſi*. But of all theſe Places, *Gokara* was with the fury of the great Ordnance moſt ſhaken; which the County perceiving, cauſed the Battery to be increaſed, and ſo continued until he had beaten down the Counterſcarf, and made certain fair breaches in the Wall. Whereunto the *Moravians* (unto whoſe Lot it fell) the one and twentieth of *July* gave an Aſſault in five divers places, whom the Lord *Palſi* ſeconded with his *Hungarians*, of whom certain were of purpoſe appointed, beſides their Arms, to bring things with them for the firing of the Town; which they in the time of the Aſſault found means ſo well to beſtow, that in a while the Town was all on a light Fire. The *Turks* at firſt made notable Reſiſtance, but finding themſelves over-preſſed, and ſeeing the 1595 Town now on a fire about their ears, which with the Wind ſo increaſed, that it caught hold of the lower Town on the other ſide of the River; they retired to the River-ſide, where ſome of them by Boats got over to *Strigonium*, other ſome periſhed in the River, the reſt, falling into the hands of the Chriſtians, were by them all put to the Sword. *Gokara* thus taken, and the fire quenched, the Chriſtians repairing the Breaches, and ſtoring it with all warlike Proviſion, left in it a ſtrong Garriſon. Within a night or two after, were two hundred of the *Turks* Horſe-men deſcried in a Field faſt by, which cauſed an Alarm to be raiſed in the Camp, as if the whole Army of the *Turks* had been at hand; howbeit, thoſe Horſe-men retiring, and no other appearing, it was afterwards known, that they were only Scouts ſent out by the *Turks* to take view of the Army of the Chriſtians, in what ſort they lay encamped.

Gokara taken by the Chriſtians.

The latter end of this Month it fortuned, that a young country fellow, ſecretly ſent out of the City by the Governour, and falling into the hands of *Palſi*, was by him ſent to the County; by whom he was in friendly manner demanded, from whence he came, whither he was going, and whereabouts? Whereunto the Youth frankly anſwered, That he was ſent from the Governour with Letters to the Baſſa of *Buda*; which he preſently drew out of his Boſom, and delivered them unto the County; who after he had read them, cauſed them to be cloſed up again, and ſo delivered to the Young-man, with ſome few Crowns, commanding him to carry them to the Baſſa, as he was about, and in his Return to bring him the Baſſa's Anſwer, promiſing for his ſo doing to reward him bountifully: which the Young-man undertook to do, and ſo departed. Now the purport of the Governours Letters was, That if the Baſſa did not within ſix or ſeven days ſend him aid, and relieve him, he ſhould for want of Victuals, and other things neceſſary for the holding out of the Siege, be inforced either to abandon the City, or to yield it up into the Enemies hands. Whereunto the Baſſa returned Anſwer by the aforeſaid Meſſenger, That he would within the appointed time be with him, willing him in the mean time to be mindful of his wonted Valour, and not to be with any thing diſcouraged; appointing him the day, the hour, the way, the means, with all the other Circumſtances how he would relieve him: Which Letters, the Young-man, according to his Promiſe, delivered unto the County; who thereupon provided accordingly for the welcoming of the Baſſa. Within a day after alſo, one of the *Turks* Canoneers, conſidering the danger the City lay in, and fearing that it would be loſt, fled out of it into the Camp; who, beſides that he aptly declared the ſtate of the City, and the wants the Beſieged were in, did alſo afterwards good Service during the time of the Siege. The *Turks* had in this while many times ſallied out to their great loſs; yet now, upon hope of better Succeſs, they adventured, the twenty ninth of this Month, to ſally out again, but with like fortune as before, leaving fourſcore of their men behind them, having ſlain but five of the Chriſtians.

Now had the *Turks*, in great wants, by the ſpace of a Month, right worthily defended *Strigonium*, expecting ſtill for relief. At length News was brought into the Camp, That the Baſſa of *Buda*, with 20000 men, was coming to raiſe the Siege; who the ſecond of *Auguſt* came accordingly, and with his Army encamped within four miles of the Chriſtians; lying ſo nigh, that certain of the *Turks* Horſe-men ſeeking after Booty, came very near unto the Camp of the Chriſtians, and out of the Paſtures, even under their Noſes, carried away ſome few Horſes: Againſt theſe deſperate Adventurers, certain Troops of the *Hungarian* and *German* Horſe-men iſſued

1595

A Skirmiſh between the Turks and the Chriſtians.

ſuing out, had with them an hot Skirmiſh: but the *Turks* of purpoſe retiring, as men over-charged, and the Chriſtians ſtill following on, had at length drawn them unto the place where divers other Troops of the *Turks* lay in Ambuſh for them; who now ſtarting forth, on every ſide hardly charged them. The *Hungarian* light Horſe-men well acquainted with ſuch Skirmiſhes, ſeeing the danger, preſently fled, and left the *Germans* to themſelves; who for a while valiantly encountred their Enemies; but oppreſſed with multitude, were glad at laſt to fly alſo. In this Skirmiſh of the Chriſtians were loſt and grievouſly wounded about an hundred. The *Turks*, encouraged with this ſo proſperous a beginning, came on the next day with all their Army, being before reſolved, by plain force to open themſelves a way into the City, and ſo to relieve the beſieged. Of all theſe things the County was not ignorant, as thereof forewarned by the Baſſa's Letters before delivered unto him; and had therefore with his Army ſtrongly belayed all the ways unto the City. Nevertheleſs, the Enemy came ſtill on between the Hills *S. Thomas* and *S. George*, and near unto the Suburbs called the *Raſcian* City, put themſelves in order of Battel, as did alſo the Chriſtians, giving the Enemy leave to come even to their Trenches. In the mean time, the Lord *Palfi*, with his *Hungarian* Horſe-men, fetching a compaſs about the Hill on the one ſide, and the Lord *Swartzenburg* with his Horſe-men on the other, had ſo incloſed the *Turks* behind, as that they could not without great danger retire.

A cruel Battel betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks before *Strigonium*.

Both Armies orderly ranged, and the ſignal of Battel given, the *Turks* having before, without any great harm done, diſcharged ſeventeen Field-pieces, came on after their wonted manner with a moſt hideous cry, and at the firſt Onſet, with their Turkiſh Arrows, as with a thick ſhower, darkned the Sky; when on the other ſide, the *German* and *Wallon* Horſe-men, with their Petronels, ſent their deadly ſhot as thick as Hail amongſt them again; and the Men at Arms after them, taught the *Turks*, to their coſt, how unfit their light and half-naked Horſe-men were in a ſet Battel to meet with them ſo well appointed: in a trice, but not without great ſlaughter, the Battel was brought to the Sword, and to be tried by true Valour: There was to be heard a cry Heavens high, the thundering of Artillery both great and ſmall, the clattering Armor, the gliſtering Weapons, the neighing of the Horſes, the crying of the Wounded, the heavy groanings of the Dying, with the noiſe of the Trumpets, Drums, and other warlike Inſtruments, made deaf the ears of the Hearers, preſenting unto them nothing but horror and even preſent death. It was a moſt miſerable ſight to ſee ſo many men in ſo ſhort time ſlain; for the Battel had ſcarce endured half an hour, when many thouſands of the *Turks* lay dead upon the ground, and the reſt ſeeing the Victory incline to the Chriſtians, betook themſelves to flight, leaving behind them their great Ordnance, and whatſoever elſe they brought for the relief of the beſieged: whom ſo flying, the Lords *Palfi* and *Swartzenburg* (who had before taken the ſtraights whereby they were to paſs between the Mountains) ſo received with their freſh Horſe-men, that of them that came that way few eſcaped.

The Turks overthrown.

The Baſſa himſelf, who ſtood upon the Hill, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his Men, fled alſo himſelf. The Baſſa of *Natolia*, with about 100 of the *Turks* more, by good fortune got into *Strigonium*. The number of the *Turks* ſlain in this Battel was great, and is of divers diverſly reported, ſome ſaying that there were ſlain 14000, and ſome fewer. Beſides them that were ſlain, many were alſo taken, and ſome of them men of great Name and Place. There was alſo taken 27 Enſigns, with a multitude of Camels, Aſſes, and Mules, laden with Mony, Shot, Powder, and other neceſſary Proviſion; all which, brought thither for the relief of the beſieged, became a prey unto the Chriſtians. In the heat of this Battel they of the City ſallying out, had entred a Fort of the Chriſtians upon the River-ſide, but were again preſently driven out, and with loſs enforced to retire. After this Victory, the County ſent certain Companies of the *Hungarian* and *German* Horſe-men, with 500 Waggons, to the Enemies Camp, not far off in the Mountains; who coming thither, found it utterly forſaken by the Enemy, but well ſtored with all manner of neceſſary Proviſion, which they carried all away, together with 600 Tents, many whereof were lined with Damask, Satin, and other Silk, richly embroidered, or layed with gold-lace, or gold-twiſt. The Baſſa's rich Tent, taken by the Collonel of the Horſe-men, was afterwards by him given unto the County, as was alſo the Plate and Money there found; all which he divided among the Souldiers according to their Deſerts. In the *Turks* Camp were alſo found certain Heads of the Chriſtians, with the dead Body of the Lord *Brandenſteine*, ſlain in the conflict but the day before, which the Chriſtians carried away with them into the Camp, and there honourably buried them. Thoſe that remained of the *Turks* Army hid themſelves in the Mountains and Woods, and ſo holpen by the darkneſs of the night, made beſt ſhift for themſelves that they could. The Baſſa himſelf, accompanied but with twenty Horſe, came to *Buda* about midnight, and by his coming filled the City with great heavineſs, every man lamenting his loſt friends. The *Hungarian* Heidons, beſt acquainted with the Country, pricking up and down the Mountains and by-ways, for certain days after the Battel, brought in daily into the Camp ſuch Priſoners as they took, or elſe the Heads of ſuch *Turks* as they ſlew. Of this ſo notable a Victory, the County by a ſpeedy Meſſenger certified the Arch-duke at *Vienna*, who rewarded him for his good News with a chain worth five hundred Duckats; and preſently cauſed the Song of Thankſgiving to be ſung in the Church of the *Auguſtine* Friers, and afterward in all the Churches of the City. The County alſo, to gratifie the Emperour, ſent him by the Lord *Chalon*, his Nephew, unto *Prague*, two of the chief Priſoners taken in the late Battel, with four Horſemen's Guidons cunningly made of Horſe-hairs, ſuch as are commonly carried before the greateſt Commanders of the *Turks* Armies, and fourteen other Enſigns of the *Turks*, with fourteen moſt goodly Horſes of the *Turks*, for a Preſent.

The next day after this Battel, the County ſent the Lord *Palfi*, with an Interpreter, unto the City, to demand it to be yielded; who having Audience, declared unto the *Turks* in what danger they were, that the help they looked for was now quite overthrown, new relief could not, but in long time, be ſent unto them; and that therefore it ſhould be good for them, whilſt yet they might, to be well adviſed, and betime to bethink themſelves of yielding up the City, leſt haply when they would, it then would not be accepted; promiſing to intreat with the General, that they might in ſafety depart, and with ſure Convoy be brought unto ſuch place of ſafety as were convenient. Whereunto the beſieged *Turks* anſwered, That the Chriſtians had now five Weeks layn at the Siege, and muſt yet lye three Weeks longer: and that whereas of late ſome few of their Friends came to have relieved them, and had failed therein; there was yet an hundred thouſand more to come after them, who if they ſhould not be able to perform that they came for, yet that they would not for that deliver or forſake the City, before they were ready to be drawn out of it by the heels, and that yet they would then take three days to reſolve thereupon.

Now had the Chriſtians with long and continual Battery ſore beaten both the upper and the lower Town, which Battery they now maintained with greater fury than at any time from the beginning of the Siege, and within the City their wants increaſed daily, having nothing left to live upon but a little Wheat and Barley, with ſome Horſe-fleſh; unto whom thus diſtreſſed, the Lord *Palſi*, by the commandment of the County (to try what confidence they yet had in themſelves) the Ninth of *Auguſt*, ſent two Gentlemen to the City, to do a Meſſage from him to the Governour: who advertiſed thereof, being a very aged and courteous man; accompanied with the Aga of the Janizaries, came to the Walls to hear what they had to ſay; where one of the ſaid Gentlemen in few words delivered him this ſhort Meſſage.

The Meſſage ſent by the Lord *Palſi*, to the Governour of *Strigonium*.

M*Y moſt gracious Lord, the Lord* Palſi, *moſt worthy Governour, greeteth thee well; and knowing thee to be a Captain both valiant and wiſe, and one that hath always courteouſly uſed ſuch as have fallen into thine hands, hath Compaſſion of thy deſperate Obſtinacy: and therefore, whereas thou art to look or hope for nothing elſe but preſent Death and Deſtruction, he, as thy Neighbour, and a Lover of thy Vertues, adviſeth and exhorteth thee, if thou wilt ſave thy ſelf and thine from moſt undoubted and imminent Death, and utter Confuſion, without delay to deliver up this City, which thou canſt not longer hold.*

Unto whom the old Governour thus, without ſtay, courteouſly anſwered:

The reſolute Anſwer of the old Governour, to the Meſſage ſent him by *Palſi*.

T*HY Speech, my Friend, and thy Maſters Advice, are unto me both vain. Tell the Lord* Palſi, *in my Name, that I cannot pleaſure him with the leaſt ſtone in this City. One foot I have already in the grave, and will with Honour carry theſe my gray Hairs into the ſame; and am yet comforted with a moſt certain and undoubted Hope, that my moſt dread and mighty Sovereign, and my Lord* Sinan Baſſa, *will not forſake me: yea, and that if they ſhould write unto me, that they could find no means or way to relieve me (which I am ſure they can) yet would I well, and at leiſure, conſider whether it were fit for me to deliver up this City or not; ſeeing that of the defence thereof dependeth all mine Honour and Credit. Beſides that, what Reward they have on both ſides that ſo eaſily deliver over the Cities they have in charge, all the World doth ſee.*

With this Anſwer he ſent them away. All this while the Aga of the Janizaries ſtanding by, ſpoke not one word, but ſighing in ſilence and grinding his Teeth, declared by his Countenance his Indignation and inward Grief.

The lower Town taken by the Chriſtians.

In the mid-way between *Buda* and *Strigonium*, in the midſt of the River of *Danubius*, lieth a little Iſland called *Vizze*, wherein many rich Clothiers dwelt: this Iſland the *Hungarian* Heidons ſpoiled, and in returning thence, met with twenty four Wagons laden with Corn, going to *Buda*, which they took, with eight and twenty Priſoners which they brought into the Camp. The lower Town being with long and continual Battery made aſſaultable, was by the Chriſtians, the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*, in three divers places at once aſſaulted. The *Bavarians* were by lot to give the firſt Charge, who in the performing thereof beginning to faint (for that they were notably repulſed by the *Turks*) but ſeconded by them of *Reitnaw* and *Suevia*, pluck'd down a great Paliſado, filled the Ditches, removed whatſoever ſtood in their way, and ſo long fought with the *Turks* in the breaches, that by the coming in of the Marqueſs of *Burgawe* with ſix Enſigns of freſh men, they prevailed upon the Enemy, and ſo all together brake into the Town. In the midſt of this dangerous Fight was the Marqueſs himſelf, who both with his Preſence and chearful Speech ſo encouraged his Souldiers, that they, as men fearing no peril, ran headlong into all danger, until they had entred the Town: there might a man have heard a moſt miſerable Cry, eſpecially of Women and Children throughout the City; whenas the Chriſtians breaking in on every ſide, ſlew whoſoever came in their way, without reſpect of Age or Sex, ſparing neither Woman great with Child, neither the little Children hanging at their Mothers Breaſts. Yet did not all that were entred ſo much attend the preſent Execution, as ſome of them did the Spoil and Prey; and eſpecially the *Hungarians*, unto whom all was good Booty, even the very Hinges of the Doors and Windows; whereby many eſcaped into the Caſtle and upper Town, with the Baſſa and *Ali-Beg* the old Governour. The Chriſtians had not many hours poſſeſs'd the Town, but that divers fires began to break out in divers places, but by what means was not at the firſt known: at laſt it was found out, that the *Turks*, doubting the loſs of the Town, had before, where they thought beſt, left Gun-powder, which taking fire by Matches left burning for that purpoſe, ſhould at a certain time ſet all on fire; by which means many moſt horrible Fires were raiſed in the Town, which conſumed many goodly Buildings, and other things which might have ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead, and could hardly in a day or two be quenched:

County *Manſfield* died at *Komara*.

This ſo joyful a Victory ſaw not he, by whoſe good direction, next under God, it was gained, the worthy County; for he a few days before being fallen ſick of a Fever, taken by drinking too much cold drink in his Heat, with immoderate pains taking in the late Battel, and ſo afterwards falling into a great flux with a Fever, was, by the counſel of his Phyſicians (for the better recovering of his Health) removed to *Komara*, as a place of more quietneſs; having before his Departure ſent for the Arch-duke to come into the Camp, and for *Blankemier* into *Bavaria*, to ſupply his own room. But his Diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, became at laſt deſperate, ſo that the Phyſicians themſelves now deſpaired of his Health. Yet lying thus drawing towards his end, he almoſt every hour enquired how the Army did, and whether the City were yet taken, or what hope there was of the taking thereof. But when it was told him a little before his Death that the lower Town was won, he thereat greatly rejoyced; and the next day, being the Fourteenth of *Auguſt*, towards night, quietly departed this World, to the great loſs of the Chriſtian Commonweal, and the exceeding grief of the whole Army. A Man even from his Child-hood brought up in Arms, of Stature great, but of Courage greater, and painful above meaſure, not the leaſt cauſe of his untimely Death. All the time of this Siege he took little Reſt either by day or night, ſcarce ſo much as to lie down upon his Bed in two or three nights together. The little Meat he did eat, he moſt part eat it ſtanding or walking, yea, and ſometimes on Horſe-back. He was a moſt ſevere Obſerver of Martial Diſcipline, which cauſed him to be of his Souldiers both beloved and feared. His Bowels were with due Solemnity buried at *Komara*, where he died; but his Body was brought back again to *Luxenburg*, there to be honourably interred with his Anceſtors.

About which time, *Theodore*, the great Duke of *Muſcovia*, hearing of the Wars betwixt the Emperour and the *Turk*, ſent two Ambaſſadours with Letters and Preſents to the Emperour; which Ambaſſadors coming to *Prague* the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*, accompanied with two hundred and fifty Horſe, were, by the Emperours appointment, honourably received and entertained. And afterward having Audience, firſt delivered the Letters of Credence from the great Duke, reported to have been of this purport.

The Copy of the great Dukes Letters unto the Emperour.

Your Majeſty hath ſent unto us your Ambaſſador Nicholas Warkotſie, *requeſting our brotherly Aid againſt the hereditary Enemy of all Chriſtianity, the* Turkiſh *Sultan. Wherefore, we alſo deſiring to live with you our dear and well beloved Brother in all perpetual Amity and Friendſhip, ſend unto you by our faithful Counſellor and Servant* Michael Iwanowitze, *and* John Sohnie; *Aid out of our Treaſury againſt the ſaid Enemy; unto whom we have alſo given other things in charge to be propounded to your Majeſty, requeſting you to give unto them full credit in all things. Given in the great Court of our Power at* Muſco, *in the year of the World* 7103, *and from the Nativity of Chriſt* 1595, *in the Month of* April.

What things in particular theſe Ambaſſadors were ſent for, was not commonly known, but among others it is ſaid, That the *Muſcovite* requeſted the Emperour to ſend an Ambaſſador unto the *Perſian* King, to draw him alſo into the League with them againſt the *Turk*; which Ambaſſadour ſhould firſt come into *Muſcovia*, and that way to paſs into *Perſia*. The Preſents which the great Duke ſent unto the Emperour, were, an hundred and fifty thouſand Florens of Gold, great ſtore of moſt rich Furs, and precious Perfumes deemed to be of exceeding value, two white Faulcons, and three Leopards alive. And *Iwanowitze* the Ambaſſador himſelf, preſented unto the Emperour of himſelf, certain rich *Turky*, *Perſian*, and *Babylonian* Hangings and Carpets, certain Timbers of Sables, with other rich Furs no leſs precious than Sables, ſo many as eight Porters could hardly carry. Theſe Ambaſſadors tarried at *Prague* until the ſeven and twentieth day of *December*, and then taking their leave, returned with the Emperours anſwer to the Duke.

Alis-Beg the old Governour of *Strigonium* ſlain with a great Shot.

But to return again unto *Strigonium*. The *Chriſtians* now poſſeſſed of the lower Town, bent their whole battery upon the higher Town, where it fortuned the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, that the old Governour *Alis-Beg*, whilſt he was carefully walking from Place to Place to ſee where moſt danger was, had his Arm ſtruck off with a great ſhot, of which hurt he preſently died. He was as man of great Gravity, about the Age of fourſcore years, and had of long time notably both governed and defended that famous City, the loſs whereof was like enough to have been unto him greater Grief than was the loſs of his Life there. Much about the ſame time alſo died the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, being before mortally wounded. Both the chief Commanders thus ſlain, the *Janizaries* with the other Souldiers and Citizens made choice of the Baſſa of *Natolia* (who as is aforeſaid eſcaped out of the late Battel into the City) for their Governour; who with heavy chear took upon him that forlorn charge. The *Chriſtians*, not ignorant of the death of theſe two worthy Men, in whoſe great and approved Valour they ſuppoſed the chief Defence of the City to have reſted, were in good hope that now the reſt would the more readily hearken to ſome good Compoſition; and therefore ſent a Meſſenger to demand if they would yet, whilſt there were ſome Mercy left, yield the City. Who, though they had loſt their chief Commanders, with the greateſt part of the Garriſon, and were in great wants both of Victuals and all Things elſe neceſſary for their Defence; yet their Anſwer was in few Words, That they would hold it out even to the laſt man. The greateſt cauſe of which their obſtinate Reſolution, was the ſtrait charge the Baſſa of *Buda* had given them for the defence thereof; beſides that, they accounted their City holy, as won by their magnificent Emperour *Solyman*, whom the *Turks* generally yet have in a devout remembrance, and therefore thought it a great Impiety to deliver it up unto the *Chriſtians*. The next day after came *Matthias* the Arch-duke into the Camp; who, after he had well viewed the whole Army, and the manner of the ſiege, he called together into his Tent the chief Commanders, namely, the Marqueſs of *Burgaw*, his Couſin, *John de Medices* the *Florentine*, and the Lord *Palfi* the *Hungarian*; to conſult with them what was further to be done for the winning of the City. Shortly after, he commanded the City to be aſſaulted in two Places at once, which was by the *Walloons* and *Germans* couragiouſly performed; but ſuch was the Valour of the Defendants, that when the *Chriſtians* had done what they could, they were glad at laſt to give over the aſſault, and with loſs to retire. About this time came the Duke of *Mantua*, with the three Counties his Brethren to the ſiege, and now the *Turks* began again to draw together near unto *Buda*, there to make head for the relief of *Strigonium*, and to be revenged of the loſs they had there before received. Whereof the Arch-duke having Intelligence, ſent out againſt them eight thouſand choſen Souldiers out of the Camp, who ſuddenly ſetting upon the *Turks* in their Camp, before the riſing of the Sun made a great ſlaughter amongſt them, and took certain Priſoners, of whom the Sanzack of *Copan* was one; and ſo with Victory returned to the ſiege.

Strigonium yielded unto the *Chriſtians*.

The beſieged *Turks* in *Strigonium* underſtanding of this overthrow of their Friends, from whom they expected moſt ſpeedy relief; and beſide the Terror of the continual Battery and ſtill feared Aſſaults, pinched alſo with extream wants of all things; began now to faint. Wherefore the Baſſa with the other Captains, overcome with the aforeſaid Difficulties, and the general out-cry of the fearful People, reſolved with one conſent to come now to parley, and upon reaſonable Conditions to yield up the City; whereupon a flag of Truce was ſet up, and Parley craved. Which granted, the Arch-duke after the going down of the Sun came into the lower Town, where nine of the *Turks* attended his coming; who entring into Parley, required that they might under ſafe Convoy, with Bag and Baggage depart, and ſo leave him the City; which the Arch-duke would not by any means agree unto. At length, with much Intreaty, they obtained that they might upon the ſame Conditions depart that the *Chriſtians* did at *Rab*; with their Scimitars by their ſides, and ſo much of their Goods as they could carry upon their Backs, unto ſuch Ships as were to be appointed for the carriage of them to *Buda*. For the performance whereof, Hoſtages were on both ſides given; and ſo the next day (being the ſecond of *September*) they began to come out of the City, more in number than either the Priſoners taken in the time of the ſiege had confeſſed, or the *Chriſtians* had thought. Thirty Ships were appointed for the conveying of them down the River to *Buda*, which not ſufficing, many of them tarried in the City until the next day, at which time the Baſſa, with the ſick and wounded, ſailed to *Buda*, the Priſoners and Pledges on both ſides being before faithfully delivered. Thus by the Goodneſs of God, and the good Conduct of a few valiant *Chriſtians*, was *Strigonium*, the Metropolitical City of *Hungary*, after it had fifty two years groaned under the miſerable Yoke of the *Turkiſh* Servitude, again reſtored unto the *Chriſtian* Common-weal; which the *Chriſtians* forthwith repaired and new fortified, as was thought

The Caſtle of *Vicegrade* taken by the *Chriſtians.*

beſt for the defence thereof againſt the Enemy. All which being done, about the midſt of this Month the Arch-duke ſent eighteen thouſand to beſiege *Vicegrade*, otherwiſe called *Plindenburg*, a ſtrong Caſtle of the *Turks* upon the River between *Strigonium* and *Buda*; which Caſtle they took. Which, when they of *Buda* underſtood, they were ſtrucken with ſuch a fear, that many of the better ſort were ready to forſake the City; inſomuch, that the Baſſa to ſtay their flight, was glad to command the Gates of the City to be ſhut upon them, and no man ſuffered to paſs out. This good Succeſs of the *Chriſtians* in theſe Wars, cauſed great rejoycing to be made in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom.*

All this while the *Chriſtians* were thus buſied at the ſiege of *Strigonium*, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince was not idle, but in divers places did the *Turks* exceeding much harm; ſo that now his Name began to be dreadful unto them. It fortuned that the ſame day that the County *Mansfelt* departed at *Komara*, that the Prince at *Alba-Julia* with great Solemnity married *Maria Chriſtina*, the Daughter of the late Arch Duke *Charles* the Son of the Emperour *Ferdinand*; her other Siſter *Anna* being before married unto *Sigiſmond*, now King of *Polonia*; for ſo it was agreed for the more aſſurance of the League between the Emperour and him, that he ſhould take his Wife out of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which he now did. Of this Solemnity the *Turks* (his evil Neighbours) having Intelligence, aſſembling to the number of 30000, or more, thought, as unwelcome Gueſts, to have come unbidden or unlooked for thereunto; but the vigilant Prince underſtanding of their coming, provided for their Entertainment accordingly, and ſetting his Pleaſures for a while apart, and coming upon them when they leaſt looked for him, in a great Battel overthrew them, and ſlew moſt part of them, carrying away with him as a triumphant Victor, the whole ſpoil of his Enemies.

About the ſame time, the *Tranſilvanians* alſo beſieged *Fagiat*, a Town holden by the *Turks* not far from *Temeſwar*, where, after they had lain 12 days, they of the Town, diſpairing to be able long to hold out, came to Parley, and covenanting to depart with Bag and Baggage, began to go out of the Town. But in their departure, underſtanding that the Baſſa of *Temeſwar*, with the Sanzacks of *Lippa* and *Jenne*, were coming to their relief, they that were yet in the Town began to find delays, and they that were already gone out, began to return. Wherewith the *Tranſilvanians* much moved, by plain force entered the Town, and put them all to the Sword; and afterward turning upon the Baſſa, who with ten thouſand *Turks* and certain Field-pieces was coming to have relieved the Town, had with them a cruel Battel; wherein moſt part of the *Turks* fell with ſmall loſs of the *Tranſilvanians*; who ſo eagerly purſued the Victory, that the Baſſa himſelf had much ado with five hundred others, to eſcape. The two Sanzacks, with divers others of good Place, were taken and ſent Priſoners to the Prince. Not long after, about the latter end of *Auguſt*, the *Tranſilvanians* alſo beſieged *Lippa*, a famous City of *Hungary*, ſtanding upon the River *Marack*, not far from *Temeſwar*, which the *Turks* being not able longer to hold, fled into the Caſtle; where finding themſelves in no great ſafety, after three days ſiege they came to Parly, and ſo yielded, upon Condition that they might in ſafety depart with ſo much of their Goods as they could themſelves carry. About which time alſo the Baſſa of *Boſna*, with ten thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*, went forth to have again recovered *Babotſca*, a frontier Town, before taken by the *Chriſtians*; which the *Stirians* and the reſt of the *Chriſtians* dwelling thereabouts, between the two Rivers of *Sauus* and *Drauus*, underſtanding, conducted by the Lords *Herbenſtein*, *Lencowitz*, and *Eckenberg*, that had the charge of thoſe Frontiers, overtook the ſaid *Turks* and *Tartars* near unto *Babotſca*, fought with them, and in the plain Field overthrew them.

Lippa taken by the *Tranſilvanians.*

Ferat Baſſa ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, and there ſtrangled.

Sinan Baſſa ſent in *Ferats* ſtead.

Mahomet, not a little grieved with the good Suc Succeſs of the *Chriſtians* in every part of *Hungary*, and above meaſure offended with *Ferat Baſſa*, his General, through whoſe Negligence all, or at leaſtwiſe moſt part of this had hapned (as he was by the Envy of *Sinan Baſſa* perſwaded) ſent for *Ferat* home, and in his Place ſent out *Sinan*. Of which the great *Sultans* Diſpleaſure *Ferat* was not ignorant, as forewarned thereof by her that beſt knew, even the Sultans Mother, and adviſed not to come in ſight until his Peace were made. Who, nevertheleſs truſting to his own Innocency (the comfortable, but moſt dangerous and weak ſtay of the great) and doubting not to anſwer whatſoever *Sinan* ſhould be able to charge him with, came to the Court; where he was by the Commandment of *Mahomet* ſhortly after ſtrangled, and his Goods, to the value of five hundred thouſand Duckats, confiſcated.

Among all the dangerous Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal, was none at this time more cruel than was *Sinan*, an *Epyrot* born, a Fiſhers Son, of a rough and uncivil Diſpoſition, now about fourſcore and three years old, even from his Youth brought up in the Wars; and yet (as his Motto was) breathing nothing but Blood and War. He had many times fortunately led the huge Armies of the *Turkiſh* Emperours, *Solyman*, *Selymus*, and *Amurath*, and is now ſent by the great Sultan *Mahomet*, as the fitteſt man to reduce the late revolted Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, to their former Thraldom; which to do, he before promiſed unto *Mahomet*, upon peril of his Head. He having raiſed a right puiſſant Army, by a Bridg made of Boats (after a Months Labour ſpent therein) paſſed over the great River of *Danubius*, into *Valachia*; of whoſe coming the *Tranſilvanians*, with the *Valachians* and *Moldavians* having Knowledge, had before ſo ſhut up the Paſſages of the Country, as that he could not without much danger have entred far; and were alſo ready with their united Forces, even at his firſt entrance, to give him Battel. Which he not refuſing, there began a moſt mortal and cruel fight, with much bloodſhed on both ſides. Thrice were the *Tranſilvanians* inforced to retire, but ſtill relieved with new Supplies, and knowing that they then carried in thier Arms the welfare of their whole Country, came on freſh again, and as hardly charged the *Turks*, as they had been by them charged. Thus with doubtful fortune and great ſlaughter was the Battel maintained from the Morning until Night, Victory with doubtful Wings hovering now over the one ſide, now over the other; until that at length, the *Turks*, overcome by true Valour, their Battels being quite diſordered and broken, were now glad to ſeek to ſave themſelves by flight. In this Battel, being fought the eleventh of *September*, beſides many thouſands of the common Souldiers, were ſlain alſo divers of great account amongſt the *Turks*; and amongſt the reſt, *Haider Baſſa*, a man of them much regarded, was found dead even in the ſame Place where the Battel was fought. *Sinan* himſelf, in making too much haſte to get over the Bridge, fell into the deep Mud, and in that general Confuſion of his Army, was like enough there to have periſhed; but as the common Proverb goeth, *Seldome lyeth the Devil dead in a Dike*, the old *Veiliard* was with much ado drawn out by them of his Guard, and ſo ſaved to further Miſchief. Nevertheleſs, the danger was ſo great,

A mortal Battel betwixt *Sinan* and the *Tranſilvanian* Prince.

The *Turks* overthrown.

Sinan in flying like to be drowned.

great, that for certain days it was commonly reported, that he was there drowned, moſt of his own people not as yet certainly knowing what was become of him. All the ſpoil of the *Turks* became a Prey unto the Chriſtians, as did alſo their great Ordnance, and many of their Enſigns; amongſt which, was one green one, which they accounted religious, as ſacred to their Prophet *Mahomet*, whereunto they in time of their greateſt Diſtreſs fly, as unto their laſt Refuge: there was taken alſo all their Tents, with great abundance of Victuals, and other warlike Proviſion.

The old Baſſa thus overthrown, full of Grief, and even mad for deſpight, poſted himſelf in all haſte to the Court, thinking it better himſelf to make the beſt of that which was indeed nought, than to have it made worſe than nought by the envious Report of others; and withal to fill the mind of the great Sultan with deſire of Revenge, which no man ſo much longed after as himſelf: wherein he ſo diſcreetly uſed the matter, as that the late loſs was eaſily paſſed over, as received by the common chance of War, or any other occaſion elſe whatſoever, rather than by any default of his; and new Commiſſion given him for the raiſing of another Army for the ſubduing of the late revolted Countries. In the mean time, to ſhew his Hatred unto the Chriſtians, and to pleaſe the eyes of them of the Court with the novelty of the Sight, he cauſed an hundred and twelve Chriſtian Captives, whom he had in Priſon at *Belgrade*, to be brought in chains like Beaſts to *Conſtantinople*; and ſo being led thro' the principal Streets of the City, to the vain contentment of the Citizens, to be brought to the Court-gate, for the Sultan to look upon, and the Courtiers to deride; from whence they were, after many unſpeakable Indignities, conveyed to moſt miſerable and loathſome Priſons, there to be fed with the bread of Tribulation.

The *Turks* overthrown in *Croatia*.

About this time, the *Turks*, under the Command of the Baſſa of *Boſna*, to the number of almoſt twenty thouſand, made a Road into *Croatia*, where they were by the Chriſtians, under the leading of the Lord *Eckenberg* and *Lencowitz*, overthrown, and almoſt all ſlain: the Chriſtians following the Chaſe even into the *Turks* Frontiers, burnt fifteen of their Villages, and took the Caſtle of *Varvivar*: immediately after, their Forces increaſing by the coming in of the Lord *Herbenſtein*, Governour of *Valeria* and *Windiſmarche*, and certain other Troops of Horſe-men out of *Carinthia* and the Countries thereabouts, they returned, the thirteenth of *September*, to beſiege *Petrinia*, otherwiſe called *Petrowina*; which, becauſe they were in hope to take by aſſault, they even at their firſt coming courageouſly aſſailed. But after two hours hard Fight, finding both greater reſiſtance, and more difficulty than they had before ſuppoſed to have found, and that without great Ordnance (which could not in ſhort time be got over the Mountains) there was no good to be done, they were glad to give over the Aſſault, and with ſuch loſs as they had received, to return to *Siſeg*, there to conſult farther of the matter. But the ſame night, a fugitive Horſe-man fled from the Enemy, came to the Camp, and told the Chriſtians, That *Raſtan Beg*, Governour of *Petrinia*, was in the late Aſſault wounded in the Breaſt with a ſmall Shot, and dead; and that the *Turks* in the Town, diſcouraged with his Death, and the late Overthrow of their Friends in *Croatia*, would upon the firſt ſight of them abandon the Town, if they would but again return to beſiege it. Upon which good hope the Chriſtians preſently riſe, and ſet forward again towards *Petrinia*: which the *Turks* (hearing of their coming) had before, as the Souldier reported, for fear abandoned. So the Chriſtians, without Reſiſtance, entering the Town, found therein ſome Pillage, but better ſtore of Shot and Powder; and preſently ſending for certain Troops of Horſe-men to purſue the flying *Turks*, took divers of them, and among the reſt the late Governours Lieutenant, whom they brought back again into the Town. Thus was *Petrinia* again recovered from the *Turks*, to the great quiet and ſafety of all that ſide of the Country.

Petrinia taken by the Chriſtians.

Sigiſmund, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, not ignorant with what an Enemy he had to do, either of the malice of old *Sinan*, who he knew would not be long before he returned, or yet of the ſecret Practice of the *Polonians*, for the withdrawing of the Country of *Moldavia* from him, ſought now, by all means (as it ſtood him upon) to make himſelf ſo ſtrong as he could againſt ſo many Storms ariſing. It fortuned, that even at the ſame time the *Zaculians* (better known by the name of *Siculi*) in former time a free People, but as then tributary unto the *Turks*, bordering upon the North-eaſt part of *Tranſilvania*; now weary of the Turkiſh Thraldom, and ſeeing the good Succeſs of the Prince, and the late revolted Countries, their Neighbours, offered unto the Prince their Service; promiſing of their own charge to maintain forty thouſand men in the Field during his Wars with the Turk, and yearly to pay him of every houſe a Dollar, with a certain meaſure of Wheat, Oats, and Barley, after the manner of their own Country: and further, That if God ſhould bleſs him with a Son to ſucceed him in his Government, every Houſholder ſhould give unto him a good fat Oxe. For all which Service, they craved no more, but that they might as his Subjects live under his Protection; yet ſo, as to be governed by their own ancient Laws and Cuſtoms. Of which their Offer the Prince accepting, it was forthwith by them proclaimed in their Camp, and all the People ſworn to the performance of the aforeſaid agreement. And having at that preſent but five and twenty thouſand in the Field, they, without delay, ſent out their Officers to preſs out fifteen thouſand more, for the filling up of the promiſed number of forty thouſand; wherewith they came unto the Prince, who, taking a view of his Army, found himſelf to be now fourſcore thouſand men ſtrong, to welcome the Baſſa withal when he ſhould come again into his Country.

The Prince taketh a view of his Army.

Now had *Sinan*, with great ſpeed, raiſed an Army of 70000 choice Souldiers, amongſt whom were many whole Bands of Janizaries, the ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire. With which Power, joyned unto the Reliques of his other broken Forces, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough for the ſubduing of the Prince: unto whom came alſo afterward *Haſſan Baſſa*, the Son of the great Baſſa *Muhamet*, one of the Turks moſt renowned men of War, and *Bogdanus*, the late expulſed Vayvod of *Valachia*, with many others of great name. With this Army, the old Baſſa, by a Bridge, which he with exceeding charge had made of Boats, paſſed over the great River *Danubius*, at a Town called *Zorza* or *Giorgo* (with us S. *George*) in *Valachia*, a great way beneath that place where ſometime the Emperour *Trajan* built his famous Bridge of Stone, worthily accounted amongſt the rare and wonderful Buildings of the World. From *Zorza* he marched with his Army to *Tergoviſta*, (ſometime the Vayvod's chief City, but then in the Power of the Turks) where is a notable Monaſtery, which he converted into a Caſtle, fortifying it with deep Trenches and ſtrong Bulwarks, and good ſtore of great Ordnance, purpoſing to make that the Seat of his War, until he had again reſtored thoſe late revolted Countries unto the Turkiſh Empire, which he, upon pain of his Head, had undertaken to perform. The Prince, both by Meſſengers and Letters, underſtanding of the

Sinan Baſſa by a Bridge made of Boats, paſſeth over *Danubius* into *Valachia*.

the Baſſaes arrival there, and having his Army in good readineſs, ſet forward to meet him, and to give him Battel. But being come into *Valachia*, and there incamped, it is reported, That a great Eagle, deſcending from an high Rock thereby, called the Kings Rock, and hovering over the *Chriſtian* Army, flew about the Princes Tent, and there lighting, was taken and preſented to the Prince, who commanded her to be kept as the preſage of his good Fortune, holding ſtill on his way; and the fifteenth of *October*, being come within half a days march of *Tergoviſta*, he underſtood by two *Chriſtians* lately eſcaped from the *Turks*, That two days before, the *Turks* hearing of his coming were ſtrucken with ſuch a general and ſudden fear, that *Sinan* had much ado, either by fair means or by foul to ſtay the *Janizaries* from flight; and that when he had done what he could, yet that certain Companies of them were quite fled and gon. But the Truth was, That *Sinan*, ſeeing the general fear of his Army, and he himſelf no leſs fearful than the reſt; upon the Princes approach fled with all his Army, leaving his Tents behind him for haſte, his great Ordnance, with much Victuals and other warlike Proviſion, carrying with him only ſuch things as were of moſt value. As for the City of *Tergoviſta*, with the Caſtle which he had made of the Monaſtery, he committed to the keeping of *Haſſan Baſſa* and *Bogdanus* the late Vayvod, now become a Renegade *Turk*, with a Garriſon of 4000 choſen Souldiers, promiſing within a few days, if need ſhould be, to relieve them, but fled himſelf in all haſte with his Army to *Buchareſta*, a days Journey from *Tergoviſta*. From whence he preſently writ back again to *Haſſan Baſſa*, willing him if he could to defend the Caſtle; but if he ſhould think it not poſſible to be kept againſt the Power of the Prince, then betime to forſake it and to ſhift for himſelf. But theſe Letters being intercepted by the *Chriſtians*, never came to the Baſſaes Hands. Not long after the departing of *Sinan*, the Prince coming to *Tergoviſta*, entred the forſaken Camp, where he found many Tents, with ſome Ordnance, and great ſtore of Victuals, and without further delay ſummoned both the City and the Caſtle, which for all that were both denied him. But the next day after, *Haſſan*, conſidering the flight of *Sinan*, the Power of the Prince, and withal, doubting, if need ſhould be, to be relieved by *Sinan*, whom, he not without cauſe ſuſpected not to love him, was about ſome reaſonable Compoſition to have yielded up both the City and the Caſtle; whereunto the Garriſon Souldiers (being moſt part of them *Janizaries*) would not in any caſe give their Conſent, but ſtood upon the defence of the Place. Whereupon the Prince began furiouſly to batter both the City and the Caſtle, and after ſome few hours battery, by aſſault took both, and put to the Sword the whole Garriſon; only *Haſſan Baſſa*, as taken with his own hand, he ſpared, and two other Sanzacks. *Bogdanus* the Renegade was there ſlain among the reſt. The *Chriſtians* had there a rich Prey, beſides forty two great pieces of Ordnance, and good ſtore of all manner of warlike Proviſion. *Haſſan* thus taken, grievouſly complained, That *Sinan* had of a malicious purpoſe expoſed him to ſo manifeſt Peril, for the grudge he bare unto his dead Father, the Viſier *Muhamet*, upon whom, becauſe he could never be revenged, he now by ſiniſter means had cunningly performed it upon his Son; yet he craved of the Prince to be well uſed, offering for his ranſome 100000 *Hungarian* Duckats. Yet whilſt the Prince thus lay at *Tergoviſta*, came thither 4000 *Turks*, whom *Sinan* had before his departure thence, ſent forth to ſpoil the Country, and to ſeek after Prey, thinking to have there found him ſtill; who now falling into the Hands of the *Chriſtians*, were there all ſlain, and 60000 head of Cattel recovered, which theſe *Turks* had taken out of *Valachia* and *Moldavia*, and ſhould by *Sinans* appointment have been ſent to *Conſtantinople*. For *Valachia* and *Moldavia* do ſo abound with Corn and Cattel, that they plentifully ſerve the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, not only with Corn and Fleſh, but alſo yearly ſend at the leaſt 150 Ships thither by the black Sea, laden with other kind of Victuals. Of which ſo great Commodities the *Turks* were now deprived, by the revolt of the aforeſaid Countries.

Haſſan Baſſa taken.

The fruitfulneſs of *Valachia* and *Moldavia*.

The Prince, leaving a ſtrong Garriſon in *Tergoviſta*, ſet forward with his Army towards *Bucareſta*, hoping there to have found *Sinan*. But he hearing of the loſs of *Tergoviſta*, and thinking himſelf in no good ſafety at *Bucareſta*, fled thence alſo to *Zorza*. The Prince coming to *Bucareſta*, found it abandoned by the *Turks*, and ſo took it without reſiſtance, yet had therein certain Field-pieces, with good ſtore of Shot and Powder, left there by *Sinan*. Having there ſtayed a while for the manning of the Place, he ſet forwards again towards *Zorza*; and that with ſuch ſpeed, that he overtook great numbers of the *Turks*, all whom he put to the Sword; ſo that the Fields betwixt *Bucareſta* and *Zorza*, were in many Places covered with the dead Bodies of the *Turks*. Nevertheleſs, he could not make ſo great haſte, marching ſtill in good order, but that the fearful Baſſa, diſorderly haſting, was about ſome ſix hours or more before come to the Bridge he had with great charge made over the River of *Danubius*.

Bucareſta taken by the Prince.

Sinan flyeth over *Danubius*.

Over the hithermoſt part of which Bridge (being in length about a mile) was *Sinan* with the greateſt part of his Army (before the coming of the Prince) got over into an Iſland in the midſt of the River, wherein he had at his coming over incamped; but doubting now there to ſtay, with all the ſpeed he could, got him over the other part of the Bridge alſo unto the farther ſide of the River, with ſo many of his Men as in ſo ſhort time poſſibly could. Where to ſtay the farther purſuit of the Prince, he brake the Bridge on that ſide, and ſet it on fire; and thereby cut off alſo many of his own men that were not as yet come over. Whom the Prince incloſing, forced many of them into the River, where they periſhed; the reſt flying into the Iſland, were by the *Chriſtians* fiercely purſuing them, either there ſlain, or ſeeking by the other part of the Bridge to have got over, (whereof the farther end was before broken down by *Sinan*, and the hither end toward the Iſland now cut off by the *Chriſtians*) were, together with the Bridge, carried away by the violence of the River, and ſo altogether periſhed. Other ſome of the *Chriſtians* in the mean time took the Bridge that leadeth unto the Caſtle of *Zorza*, which ſtandeth compaſſed about with an Arm of *Danubius*, and being not very great, was kept by a Garriſon of ſeven hundred ſelect Souldiers. Unto which Caſtle the Prince preſently laid ſiege, (the reſolute Souldiers being not by any means to be perſwaded to yield it up, but to hold it out even unto the laſt man) and after he had ſore battered it, by plain force took it, and put to the Sword all the Garriſon Souldiers he could lay hands upon. About an hundred of theſe *Turks*, ſeeing they muſt needs fall into the Power of their Enemies, deſperately leapt from the top of the Caſtle into the River, where not one of them eſcaped, being all either drowned or ſlain with ſmall ſhot. In the winning of this Caſtle, two hundred and fifty of the *Chriſtians* were loſt, and many wounded; but of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, betwixt the eighteenth and the laſt of *October*, periſhed above ſix and twenty thouſand. In this Caſtle were taken thirty nine great Pieces, with ſuch

ſtore

The Prince returneth with Victory to *Alba-Julia.*

The Opinion *Sinan Baſſa* had of the *Tranſilvanian.*

ſtore of Armour and other warlike Proviſion, as might have ſerved for an whole Kingdom, and four thouſand Chriſtians, beſide Women and Children, whom *Sinan* had taken out of *Valachia*, reſtored to their former Liberty. With whom, the Prince, after he had ſet all things in order, returned in great Triumph to *Tergoviſta*, and ſo afterwards to his Palace at *Alba-Julia*, where, as alſo at *Claudiopolis*, and other Cities through his Dominions, he cauſed publick Prayers, with Thankſgiving to Almighty God, to be devoutly made for ſo great a Victory: as did alſo *Michael* the Vayvod in *Valachia*; who in all theſe great Wars againſt the *Turks* was nothing inferiour unto the *Tranſilvanian* himſelf. A greater loſs than this, the Turkiſh Emperour received not at Land in many Years before, being by this ſo happy and victorious a Prince, and the Revolt of theſe three Countries, deprived of ſo much Territory as they had not from the Chriſtians of long time gained. It was by ſome of them of the better ſort of the *Turks* that were taken, reported, That *Sinan Baſſa* ſhould oftentimes ſay, That this young *Tranſilvanian* Prince had bereft him of all the Honour and Renown he had with great travel got in the courſe of his long Life; and that although he had eſcaped his hands, yet that he feared he would be the cauſe for him in theſe his great years, even in the winding up of all, to loſe his Life together with his Goods and Honour. Now was the *Tranſilvanian* Prince's Name (after the Overthrow of this great Baſſa) become dreadful unto the *Turks*, and alſo famous through all *Chriſtendome*.

Jenna yielded to the *Tranſilvanians.*

Whilſt this worthy Prince was thus buſied in this Expedition againſt *Sinan*, he cauſed the Caſtle of *Jenna* (ſtanding upon the High-way between *Temeſwar* and *Giula*) to be beſieged by certain of his Captains appointed to that Service; in which Caſtle lay one of the Turks Sanzackes, with a Garriſon of ſeven hundred Turks, who much troubled ſuch as paſſed that way. They, now brought to ſome Extremity, and terrified with the Succeſs of the Prince, offered to give up the Caſtle, ſo that as Souldiers, with their Scimiters by their ſides, they might in ſafety be brought to *Panoda*. Which their Offer being accepted of, and they now upon their way, the *Hungarian* light Horſe-men that ſhould have conducted them, informed that theſe Turks now under their charge had ſecret Intelligence with the Turks in Garriſon at *Giula* and *Temeſware*, That they ſhould lie in Ambuſh for them near *Panoda*, and ſo cut them off by the way; ſet upon theſe Turks whom they ſhould have conducted, and cut the Throats of four hundred of them: and yet ſtill holding on their way, met with theſe Turks that lay in Ambuſh for them, whom they, after a ſharp Skirmiſh, overthrew; and having ſlain a great many of them, put the reſt to flight. By the taking of *Jenna* the ways thereabout were quieted, eſpecially for them of *Waraden*. The Sanzack of *Jenna* reported, That *Mahomet* had a little before ſent word unto his Baſſaes and Sanzanckes in *Hungary*, That ſuch Caſtles and Towns as they thought were not to be defended againſt the Chriſtians, they ſhould betimes, as occaſion ſerved, yield them up, or forſake them, ſo to ſpare the needleſs loſs of his good Souldiers; of whom he had, with ſo many Towns and ſtrong-holds, loſt no ſmall number this Year in *Hungary*. *Jenna* thus taken, divers of the richer ſort in *Temeſware*, fearing to be even preſently beſieged, ſent their Wives and Children, with their Treaſure and ſuch other things as they made moſt reckoning of, out of the City, in Waggons, to be conveyed unto Places of more Safety; of which Waggons, ſeventy were by the Chriſtians (lying thereabout in Garriſon) intercepted, and in them an exceeding rich Booty.

Mahomet calleth in the *Tartars* to invade *Moldavia.*

Mahomet having this year fully purpoſed the utter Ruine of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, and the reducing of the Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, unto his Obeiſance, by the great Baſſa *Sinan*; had, for the better effecting thereof, before provided, that the Crim Tartar (ready ſtill at his call) ſhould with his own People (whereof he hath great ſtore) and certain Bands of the *Turks*, at the ſame time invade *Moldavia*; and poſſeſſing himſelf of this Country, to place one *Sidriake* Vayvod, inſtead of *Stephen*, placed by the Prince, and to people the Country with his *Tartars*, in reward of his good Service, as he ſaid; but indeed to have them always near at hand to do his Commandments in *Hungary*, *Polonia*, *Tranſilvania*, or the other Countries of the Chriſtians thereunto adjoyning. The *Tartar*, according to his Appointment, came with ſeventy thouſand *Tartars*, accompanied with their Wives and Children, to have planted themſelves in the Country, at the very ſame time that *Sinan* came to *Tergoviſta*. But being come upon the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, to have put in Execution what he was by *Mahomet* commanded, he found there *Zamoſchie*, the great Chancellor of *Polonia*, ready with a ſtrong Army to oppoſe himſelf againſt him, and to ſtay his farther Paſſage. Whereupon, ſome light Skirmiſhes paſſed between the *Tartars* and the *Polonians*; where the *Tartars* were ſtill put to the worſe, with the loſs of three thouſand of their men. The Tartar *Cham*, with *Sidriake* the Vayvod, appointed by the Turk, finding themſelves, though in number more, yet in ſtrength inferiour unto the *Polonian*, and that without his good leave he could not paſs; ſent unto the Chancellor to excuſe that was already paſt, as done without their conſent, by the Inſolency of their Souldiers; and to tell him, That their coming was not to fight with him, as having expreſs Commandment from the great Sultan *Mahomet*, in no caſe to diſturb the League betwixt him and the *Polonians*, but quietly to paſs by their Frontiers into *Moldavia*, and there to place *Sidriake* Vayvod, his Tributary, inſtead of *Stephen*, that now uſurped the place by the appointment of the *Tranſilvanian*; which, that they might do, they craved his leave, as Friends, to paſs. Whereunto the Chancellor anſwered, That he was come thither, by the commandment of the King, to defend thoſe Countries from the Invaſion of ſuch as had in them no right; and that there had of long time been an ancient League betwixt the *Polonian* Kings and *Turkiſh* Emperours, upon certain Conditions, which he would for his part keep inviolate, with the favour of the *Turkiſh* Emperour, yet ſo, as that the Kingdom of *Polonia* took no harm thereby, and that they might quietly live by him as their good Neighbour; which League he proteſted not to have been by him, but by them, infringed: as for to give them Paſſage, he ſaid he could not. Meſſengers paſſing thus to and fro, and ſome Parle had, at laſt certain Articles were agreed upon, to the reaſonable contentment both of the Tartar and of the Chancellor, (though not of *Sidriake*, diſappointed thereby of his Vayvodſhip) as alſo of the Turkiſh Sultan, whoſe Pleaſure they both ſeemed to have in ſpecial regard. Hereupon, the Tartar, with his Multitude, preſently returned, leaving the Chancellor to his own deſigns. Now was it commonly thought, that the Chancellor had done the *Tranſilvanian* Prince great Service, by keeping out of the *Tartars*, and much Honour was, by many that ſaw leaſt, ſpoken of him therefore. But far was it from his thought to do the *Tranſilvanian* therein any ſuch good, at whoſe Glory he envied, and had with the Cardinal and his Brother, the Princes Uncles (but moſt deadly Enemies) ſecretly conſpired, ſo much as in them was, his utter Ruine and Overthrow; wiſhing thoſe

Countries rather in the Subjection of the *Turk* than to ſee them ſo honourably at liberty, governed by the Prince; ſuch is the force of malicious Envy, the inſeparable Companion of worthy Vertue. Which the Chancellor (otherwiſe a man of great Fame and Honour) began now openly to pour forth; for preſently after the departure of the *Tartars*, he with all his Power paſſing over the River *Nijeſter*, or *Tyros*, into *Moldavia*, even at ſuch time as the Prince was going againſt *Sinan* at *Tergoviſta*, firſt ſeiſed upon the Caſtle of *Chotiim*, which he furniſhed with his own Souldiers: and from thence marching to *Zorona*, the metropolitical City of that Province, and Seat of the Vayvod, had it yielded unto him; and ſo proceeding on, had in ſhort time almoſt the whole Country delivered unto him; *Stephen* the Vayvod, placed by the Prince, flying from place to place before him, from whom he leſt feared any ſuch thing, having made account of no other Enemies but of the *Turks* and *Tartars*. *Stephen* the Vayvod thus driven out, and the Chancellor poſſeſſed of the Country, he preſently placed one *Hieremias* Vayvod inſtead of *Stephen*, to hold that Honour of the *Polonian* King as his Sovereign. Yet nevertheleſs, to ſatisfie the *Turk*, he ſent a Meſſenger to *Sinan Baſſa*, then but newly come to *Tergoviſta*, requeſting him not to take it in evil part that he had entred into *Moldavia*, and there placed a new Vayvod, but in the name of the great Sultan *Mahomet* to confirm this his doing, and the Vayvod by him placed; promiſing the Country of *Moldavia* to remain tributary ſtill unto the Sultan, and that this new Vayvod ſhould forthwith pay unto him what Tribute was behind, and from thenceforth a far greater Tribute yearly than had the Country of *Moldavia* before. Whereunto the haughty Baſſa (then fearing nothing leſs than that which immediately after hapned, to be driven out of thoſe Countries by the Prince) proudly anſwered, That it was not the great Sultan's mind that the *Polonians* ſhould at all invade *Moldavia*, for that beſide he could, without their help, reduce thoſe Countries to his Obedience, he had given that Country unto the *Tartar*, in reward of his good Service already done in *Hungary* and other places; whoſe Subjects, the *Tartars*, would e're long be ready, with their Wives and Children, to take Poſſeſſion of. Nevertheleſs the Chancellor proceeded to defend the new Vayvod by him placed; which was no great matter for him to do, *Sinan*, the Turks Champion (as is before declared) being preſently after overthrown, and driven quite out of thoſe Countries by the Prince: who, if he had not then gained the Victory, the Chancellor had not now holden *Moldavia*, but the Turk, whoſe Quarrel he ſeemed rather to favour than the Princes. The Chancellor, to colour this his Invaſion, pretended that the Country of *Moldavia* did of ancient Right belong unto the Kingdom of *Polonia*; which the *Tranſilvanians* took to be no other but mere and open wrong. This ſuppoſed Title, ſuch as it was, the Chancellor had ſo faſhioned out unto the King and the States of that Kingdom, that they referred it to his Diſcretion to invade the Country, and removing the Vayvod placed by the Prince, to place another in his ſtead; and the rather to perſwade them, laboured by many forced Reaſons to ſhew the Power of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince to be ſo far inferiour unto the *Turks*, that it was to be feared he ſhould at length be thruſt out of all his Dominions, and ſo they, together with *Moldavia*, become ſubject to the *Turks*; which if it ſhould ſo come to paſs, then ſhould the *Polonians* have an untruſty and troubleſome Neighbour: and that therefore it were better that *Moldavia* were poſſeſſed by them that were better able to defend it than was he, that ſo the *Turk* might be kept farther off from *Polonia*. Which occaſion he ſaid was not longer to be delay'd, but now betime to be laid hold upon; perſwading himſelf to find ſuch Grace and Favour with the *Turkiſh* Emperour, as that he ſhould be therewith right well contented; which was like enough for a time to be, for that the *Tranſilvanian* ſhould thereby be much weakened. By theſe and ſuch like Reaſons, framed to ſerve his own turn, the Chancellor ſo prevailed with the King and the States of the Kingdom, that he received (as I ſaid) full Authority to proceed in the matter as he did, and as is before declared, to the great trouble of the Prince, and benefit of the Turk; the late choſen Vayvod not long after opening a way in three places for the *Tartars* into *Tranſilvania*, one by the Country of *Siculi*, another by the way that leadeth to *Alba-Julia*, and the third by *Valachia*.

The Reaſons pretended by the Chancellor for the Invaſion of *Moldavia*.

The late choſen Vayvod opens three ways unto the *Turks* and *Tartars* into *Tranſilvania*.

The *Tranſilvanian* Prince, ſeeing the Country of *Moldavia*, by the practice of the Chancellor, thus taken from him, and diſſevered from the other united Provinces, to the great weakning of his Eſtate, after the flight of *Sinan* ſent certain Companies both of Horſe and Foot, to *Stephen* the late Vayvod, but now driven out by the *Polonians*, to prove if haply he could by that means drive out the *Polonians* again, and recover his former Dignity. With this aid ſent from the Prince, and others that favoured his Quarrel, he joyned a bloody Battel with the *Polonians*; but being therein by them overcome and taken, and for a ſpace kept (as the Prince feared, to have been delivered unto the *Turk*, he was by them (as is reported) cruelly afterwards put to death.

This foul dealing of the *Polonian* in *Moldavia* much grieved many good Chriſtians, as tending to the general hurt of the Chriſtian Commonweal. For which cauſe, the Emperour, by his Ambaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe unto the *Polonian* King, ſought to perſwade him to deſiſt from ſuch Invaſion of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, by his Chancellor, as nothing ſtanding with his Honour; and that ſome good Reconciliation might be made between the Prince and the Cardinal *Bator* and his Brother, the Princes Uncles, Authors of all theſe Troubles. To which purpoſe alſo the Pope ſent a Meſſenger with like Inſtructions and Letters unto the King, perſwading him, not ſo to proſecute his Wars againſt the Prince, but to turn his Thoughts unto a more peaceable and Chriſtian-like courſe, eſpecially with him with whom he was ſo near linked in Marriage. To the like effect he writ alſo unto the Cardinal *Bator*, and after many grave Admonitions peremptorily cited him to *Rome*. But foraſmnch as the Proceedings of the *Polonian* againſt the Prince are more plainly to be gathered by the Pope's Letters unto the King, it ſhall not, I hope, be miſtaken, if I here ſet them down thus as I find them by others reported.

The Pope's Letters unto the King of *Polonia* to diſſuade him from invading the Prince.

‘POpe *Clement* the Eighth, to our beſt beloved
‘Son in Chriſt, *Sigiſmund*, by the Grace of God
‘King of *Polonia*, with the Benediction Apoſtolical
‘ſendeth greeting. By how much greater affection
‘of fatherly Love we embrace your Majeſty in the
‘Lord, ſo much the more fervently we wiſh all
‘your Actions to be adorned with the greateſt com-
‘mendation of true Godlineſs and Wiſdom, both
‘before God and Men; whereof it proceedeth, that
‘we are ſo much the more vehemently and grie-
‘vouſly moved, if we hear any ſuch thing of you,
‘as may ſeem not agreeable to your Vertue and ap-
‘proved Zeal toward the Catholick Religion, or
‘tending to the obſcuring of the Glory of your
‘Name, as is now brought unto us concerning the
‘Affairs of *Moldavia*; whereof, not without great
‘grief, we write unto you. And to rehearſe things
‘a little before paſt: with what earneſtneſs and fer-
‘vency dealt I with you, that for God's Cauſe, and

1595 the defence of the health and liberty of the Chriſtian Commonweal againſt the Tyranny of the *Turks*, you would combine your ſelf with our moſt dearly beloved Son *Rodolph* the Emperor, and divers other Chriſtian Princes? and that you ſhould not let ſlip ſo notable an occaſion, ſo worthily to deſerve of God, of the Catholick Faith, and of the Chriſtian Commonweal in general? And albeit we then thought, as well for many your own private reſpects, as alſo of your Kingdoms, That you were to be borne withal and excuſed if you did not now openly deſcend into this Confederation of the Chriſtian Princes againſt the moſt mortal and common Enemy, neither apertly joyn your Forces or give aid for the repreſſing of his Inſolency; yet we always aſſured our ſelves, that no let ſhould in any caſe proceed from you, whereby either the Emperour or the other Chriſtian Princes ſhould be the rather hindered, juſtly to proſecute their Injuries, or to caſt off from their Necks the heavy yoke of the moſt cruel Tyrant; whoſe deſire of Sovereignty is not compriſed within the compaſs of any bounds. But that you ſhould in favour of the *Turks* impugn the Catholick Princes and Defenders of the Chriſtian Faith, and ſo joyn hands with the Enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt, as that by your help their force and fury ſhould be encreaſed, and ours not only weakened, but in the very courſe of Victory hindered, and caſt into moſt grievous perils; this we have not only not thought of you, but not ſo much as once ſuſpected; yea and can now ſcarce be perſuaded to believe thoſe things to be done by you, which are reported unto us as moſt true and undoubted. For the report goeth, That you having Intelligence with the *Turks* and *Tartars*, have with them conſpired, and namely againſt our well-beloved Son *Sigiſmund*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, who with invincible Courage fighteth the Battels of the Lord; and leſt he ſhould be able to abate the force and attempts of the moſt proud Enemy (which by the ſingular mercy of God he hath hitherto above his own power performed) but rather be enforced much to fear his own Eſtate, a new Vayvod and Prince, as it were by a triumvirate Authority, and compact, to be placed in *Moldavia*, and him by the *Turks*, You, and the *Tartars* together, to be made Governour of that Country. Which unto us ſeemed ſo new and ſo ſtrange, and contrary to the good Opinion we had always conceived of you, yea and ſo unbeſeeming your Zeal and Wiſdom, that for grief and admiration I had almoſt cried out with the Prophet, *You Heavens be amazed at this, and you Gates thereof be you exceedingly heavy.* For what could be ſuſpected or imagined farther from the Expectation of us and all good men, or more incredible, than that *Sigiſmund*, the moſt religious King of *Polonia* and *Sweden*, who had always profeſſed himſelf a moſt earneſt Defender of the Catholick Religion, who was ready, even with his own Blood to redeem the Victory of the Chriſtians, and Glory of the Croſs, againſt the moſt wicked Enemies of the ſame, to be upon the ſudden become ſo unlike unto himſelf? and (ſo much as in him was) to cut off the hope and happy ſucceſs of that religious War; and to do harm to a Chriſtian and Catholick Prince, not to refuſe to joyn in league and friendſhip, even with the moſt barbarous Nations and the *Tartars*, the perpetual enemies of himſelf, and of the Kingdom of *Polonia*. For which Cauſes, our mind is tormented with ſuch bitterneſs of grief, that we could not but by ſpeedy Meſſengers write unto you concerning this matter, that hereby you might the ſooner ſee the greatneſs of our grief; and we alſo without delay might ſignifie unto you, what our fatherly Love towards you requeſteth in ſo important a matter. For happily we will ſend one even of purpoſe to you concerning this cauſe, the care whereof grieveth us more than can well be expreſſed. Wherefore, 1595 moſt dearly beloved Son, we exhort you, and in the moſt effectual manner we can, adviſe you and beſeech you in the Lord, more attentively to conſider what great diſpleaſure both of God and Man this your Action and Reſolution may incur, what a ſtain it may bring unto your Crown and Dignity. For believe us, that are to you inſtead of a Father in Chriſt, who love you not feignedly, but faithfully, and indeed; who wiſh for your glory in this World, and your eternal Felicity in the World to come: believe us (I ſay) this doth much blemiſh your Fame with all Chriſtian Kings and Princes; all men take it in evil part, and deteſt it as a thing monſtrous, that it ſhould by your means be wrought, that the Chriſtian Affairs ſhould not proſper, that an heroical Prince, who had vowed himſelf for Chriſt and his Country, ſhould not have proſperous ſucceſs in this ſo religious and neceſſary a War againſt the *Infidels*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, no leſs yours, or peradventure alſo more yours, and other Chriſtian Princes Enemies, than his. But what do we ſay? You to hinder the proceedings of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince? this were happily but a ſmall matter; nay verily, by this means not only a Chriſtian and Catholick Prince, and valiant Champion of the Chriſtian Faith (a Vertue both admirable and amiable in the very Enemy) but your own Brother-in-law, bound unto you with ſo many bonds of Affinity, whoſe Children ſhall be as it were your Childrens Brethren, is by this means brought into great danger, and expoſed unto the fury of the moſt mercileſs Turks. What do you then my moſt dearly beloved Son? Beware that all men, both now living, and hereafter to come, condemn you not of the greateſt Inhumanity; but beware yet more, that you ſeem not ingrateful, not only to your own nigh Kinſman, but to God himſelf, who hath bountifully bleſſed you with two great Kingdoms, and ſo many good things; and that you provoke not him to Wrath againſt your ſelf, that rejecteth and confoundeth all evil and wicked Devices; and that this miſchief that you have brought upon your Brother, by the juſt judgment of God redound not to the greateſt deſtruction of you and your Kingdom, which he in mercy forbid. Do you think, that the *Tranſilvanian* being overcome, you ſhall in ſafety live from the treachery of the Turk? Do you not know him to be a faithleſs man, which meaſureth all things by his own profit, which keepeth faith with none but as ſtandeth with his own Commodity, who with an unſatiable deſire gapeth after every Kingdom, nay thirſteth after the Deſtruction of all Chriſtendom? Think alſo my Son, what wrong you ſhall do unto the Emperour your Couſin, out of whoſe Imperial Blood you have begotten Sons and Heirs, and by the Grace of God ſhall more; but alſo our Dignity, and the Dignity of this Apoſtolical Seat (which you have always ſo devoutly honoured) is thereby hurt, and your moſt dear Mother (which we know you of all other leaſt would) the *Roman* Church is offended, which for the maintenance of this ſacred War is at great and wonderful Charges; and our Forces, which by you ought to have been relieved and encreaſed, being in ſo unfit a time by theſe Stirs in *Moldavia* diſſevered and diminiſhed, and the Enemies on the contrary part encreaſed and ſtrengthened, into what danger and diſtreſs may both our Army of the Church and the Emperours fall? And withal, how greatly all the manner and managing of this whole War is thereby confounded, there is no man that ſeeth not. Yea and this moreover, which no little concerneth the Dignity of us and this Holy See, we have undertaken and certainly promiſed to our moſt dearly beloved Sons *Rodolph* and *Sigiſmund*, That your Royal Majeſty ſhould ‘not in any thing hinder or hurt their Affairs; neither did we hereof aſſure them upon a light occaſion, but, moved with great reaſon, not only for that we deſervedly ought ſo to promiſe of you in ſo juſt a cauſe, but alſo for that it was ſo unto us plainly and expreſly written by the Reverend Father the Biſhop of S. *Severus*, our Apoſtolical Nuntio with you, whom we know to be both unto us faithful, and to you dutiful: neither can we by any means doubt thereof, becauſe he hath writ unto us concerning ſo weighty a matter, that he received it even from your own Mouth. Which things ſo ſtanding, ſeeing you of your ſelf ſee the manifold Abſurdities of this Fact on every ſide, not to ſpeak of the heinouſneſs thereof; we requeſt you again, yea and oftentimes, forthwith to apply the neceſſary Remedies to theſe Hurts. The *Tranſilvanian* Prince, your Brother-in-law, devoted to your ſelf, and deſirous of your favour, either protect with your defence, or at leaſtwiſe hurt him not; yea, hurt not the whole State of the Chriſtian Commonweal, and relieve not by any means the Quarrel of the Enemies of Chriſt. If you have any controverſie with the Prince *Sigiſmund*, or deſire of him any thing, referr it unto us; that is to ſay, unto your moſt loving Father: you know your Affairs to be of us favoured, and we hope, by the Power of God, that it may eaſily come to paſs, that ſome convenient means may be found whereby Peace and Quietneſs may be confirmed betwixt you, and good Unity grow betwixt you two Brethren our Sons, and ſo all the root of Bitterneſs and Diſpleaſure to be utterly pluck'd out of your Minds. This have I writ unto you my Son, frankly, and from a ſincere Heart, though truly much grieved, becauſe we love you, and are much careful of your Honour and Good: Shew you again in Deed that you take it ſo, as written from your Father; and that you altogether prefer our fatherly and wholeſome Exhortations before the ſiniſter Perſwaſions of others. Farther concerning theſe matters, you ſhall underſtand by the ſame Biſhop our Nuntio, now with you, to whom you may (as you have done) give credit in all things, as to our ſelf.

Theſe Letters dated from *Rome* the eighth day of *November*, were delivered to the King in *December*, with others to the Cardinal and Chancellor, whom the Pope ſharply reproved, as the Authors and Contrivers of all theſe Miſchiefs.

The Tartar Cham, before ſtirred up by the *Turkiſh* Emperour *Mahomet* for the Invaſion of *Moldavia*, (as is already before declared) about this time ſent his Ambaſſador alſo unto the *Polonian* King, for the Confirmation of ſuch Articles as he had before argeed upon with the Chancellor: which, becauſe they manifeſtly declare the ground and purpoſe of his intended Expedition into *Moldavia*, with the foul colluſion of the Chancellor with the *Turks* and *Tartars* againſt the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, I thought it not amiſs, or from our purpoſe (for the more maniſeſtation of that which is already ſaid) here to ſet them down, as they are tranſlated out of the *Tartar* Language.

The Copy of the Letters of the *Tartar* unto the King of *Polonia*.

CHam Kazikiery *unto the King of* Polonia *and* Sweden, *our Brother, one of the great Lords among the Chriſtians, humbly boweth his Head. Firſt, we ſignifie unto you, that* Aaron *Palatine of* Moldavia *was a forſworn Traitor; who, having gathered a Power of the* Valachians, *and joyning unto him the* Polonian *Coſſacks, ſpoiled the Territories of the great Sultan. But afterward, Diſſention ariſing among them, the* Hungarian *Coſſacks living in* Valachia *ſent* Aaron *in bonds unto the King of* Vienna: *after him followed another Traitor called* Rozwan, *who alſo having raiſed certain Companies of Souldiers, began in like manner to forrage the Countries of the* Turkiſh *Emperour thereabout; which, as ſoon as he had knowledge of, he writ unto me his Brother, That I ſhould, with all poſſible ſpeed, go into* Valachia, *to chaſtiſe theſe Rebels, to burn their Houſes and Towns; and having with the edge of the Sword ſlain their men, to carry away with me their Wives and Children into Captivity. Having this in Charge, I, the great Cham of the great Territory of the great Lord* Karyktery, *with my Brother* Letikerry Galga, *and other my Brethren and Counſellors, warlike and valiant Captains and Murzis; mounting my Horſe, came with mine Army into* Valachia *unto the River* Prut, *where it meeteth in another River called* Cocoza: *here we chanced upon a faithful Servitor of yours, our Brother the Chancellor, who was alſo come a little before us into* Valachia; *with whom, after ſome light contention, when we began to be more tractable, he declared unto us, that he was of purpoſe come into* Valachia *to place there a new Vayvod, which (as he ſaid) of ancient Right belonged unto the* Polonians, *without any wrong or prejudice therein to be done to the Covenants and League they had with the Emperour of the* Turks; *and farther, that his deſire was, that one* Jeremias, *whom he had appointed Vayvod, might have the Command of that Province; and that the ancient Amity, ſuch as was in the time of Sultan* Solyman *and Cham* Dawlethgerd, *might be faithfully kept. Which, when I had for my part faithfully ſworn to do, and he likewiſe had cauſed the ſame to be done by ſuch of his as he had therefore ſent unto me, we decreed together, that the* Coſſacks *on the farther ſide of* Nijeſter *(diſordered and rebellious men) ſhould be utterly rooted out, that they ſhould not hereafter do any harm in the Territories of the great Sultan, and that the Preſents uſually ſent unto us of long, even ſince the time of Sultan* Solyman, *ſhould no more be detained, nor any harms be hereafter done in any part of our Dominions. And therefore, when the Chancellor had promiſed unto us, that he would take order that theſe* Coſſacks *ſhould be utterly deſtroyed, I alſo conſented, that according to the Pleaſure of the Royal Majeſty of you my Brother,* Hieremias *ſhould hold the Vayvodſhip of* Valachia; *which I forthwith by Letters ſignified unto the* Turkiſh *Emperour. Now if it be ſo, that your Majeſty ſhall give your Conſent unto thoſe things which we have here agreed upon with your Chancellor, you ſhall then for ever find brotherly Friendſhip with me, my Brother, and all other our Captains and Murzis: but if you ſhall not deſtroy theſe* Coſſacks, *you ſhall not then perform the Oath and Covenants made. Theſe things we have commanded to be declared unto you by our Ambaſſador, our Brother* Gianach Metagra, *whom we requeſt your Majeſty courteouſly to entertain, and by him to ſend the Preſents unto us; for we will not now this Year ſend any other. Given at the River* Prut *in the Year of* Mahomet 1004.

The Preſents offered by the *Tartar* Ambaſſador to the King of *Polonia*.

After the *Tartar* Ambaſſador had delivered thoſe Letters unto the King, with a Speech in effect to the ſame purpoſe, he in the Name of the Cham gave unto him an Horſe and an Arrow for a Preſent: and afterward being brought to a Lodging appointed for him, was commanded there to expect his Anſwer. At length his Diſpatch was given him in Letters ſealed up, which he took much againſt his Will, requeſting the King to ſend an Ambaſſador unto the Cham; and farther, by word of mouth to tell him what to anſwer unto his Lord. But other Anſwer could he get none than was already delivered him in writing; and ſo, rewarded with a Gown furred with Sables, was diſmiſſed without the Preſent requeſted by the Cham, or any Ambaſſador to accompany him.

Thus the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, on the one ſide mightily impugned by the Turk, and on the other,

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by the ſetting on of the *Turk*, ready to have been no leſs endangered by the Invaſion of the *Tartar*, received greater harm from the *Polonians* being *Chriſtians*, than from both thoſe great *Mahometan* Princes; the *Polonian* in ſome ſort performing for the *Turk*, what he had plotted to have been done by the *Tartar*; and ſo by the taking away of *Moldavia* from the Prince, not only weakened his ſtrength, but alſo opened a way for the barbarous Enemies into his Country. Howbeit, much it is that the *Polonians* alledge for the excuſe of themſelves, and the defence of that which was by the great Chancellor then done in *Moldavia*; which, for that it cannot be better told than by the great Chancellor himſelf, let us hear how he by his Letters anſwereth the matter, even unto *Clement* the Pope himſelf.

John Zamoſchie unto *Clement* the Eighth, the Great Biſhop.

Zamoſchie the great Chancellor his Letters unto *Clement* the Pope.

‘MOST holy and bleſſed Father in Chriſt, and moſt gracious Lord; after the kiſſing of your moſt bleſſed Feet, and my moſt humble Commendations, I have by your Holineſs's Letters, directed both unto the Kings Majeſty and my ſelf, underſtood, as well his Royal Majeſty, and my moſt gracious Lord and Maſter, as alſo my ſelf as his Servant, to be both accuſed unto your Holineſs; as if by thoſe things by us done in *Moldavia*, the Endeavours of the *Chriſtians* had been hindered, and the Power of the Enemy confirmed. Whereof I am not with many Words to purge my ſelf unto your Holineſs, foraſmuch as I aſſure my ſelf your Holineſs to have already fully underſtood both what the things were that were done in *Moldavia*, and how they were done; partly by the Kings Majeſties Letters, and partly by his principal Secretary, for that cauſe eſpecially ſent unto your Holineſs. Yet doubt I not to requeſt this one thing of your Holineſs, that if it hath known me for a man, I will not ſay of any Capacity or Wit, but even of the leaſt Experience in the World, or of any Religion at all; ſo to perſwade it ſelf of me, nothing to have been done, eſpecially in this matter, either raſhly, or to the hinderance of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal. I will not now repeat what mine Opinion was concerning the League and Confederation to be made with the reſt of the *Chriſtian* Princes, for the combining of their Forces againſt the common Enemy, eſpecially his Sacred Majeſties; as alſo what mine own Labour and Endeavour was in the laſt aſſembly of the States in the high Court of Parliament. Which thing, after it was even by them whom it moſt concerned, either delayed or neglected, or utterly caſt aſide, and yet his Majeſty had ſtill a great deſire to do the *Chriſtian* Common-weal ſome great good, I alſo to the uttermoſt of my Power laboured to that end; that by the common decree of the Kingdom, an Expedition might be made into *Tartaria*, not ſo much in revenge of the Injuries done by that Enemy in theſe late years paſt, as ſo in the mean time to turn him from the Necks of the *Chriſtians*, as that he ſhould not joyn his Forces with the *Turks*; or if it ſo pleaſed God to bleſs thoſe our Endeavours utterly at length to root out that ſo great a Miſchief. But how it came to paſs that this Expedition, ſo much by the King deſired (yet ſcarcely begun or taken in hand) took not effect; it is not needful for me to declare, for that I ſuppoſe your Holineſs hath by others, eſpecially your Nuntio, underſtood the ſame. In the mean time, by others and often Meſſengers News was brought, That *Sinan Baſſa* with a great Army was already come over *Danubius*; and I,

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by Letters from the Vayvod of the farther *Valachia* was advertiſed, how that he, not able to encounter him, had forſaken that Province, which at the firſt Impreſſion taken and almoſt utterly waſted by *Sinan*, he was now come faſt upon *Tranſilvania*, and in *Moldavia* the *Tartar* was ſtill expected, inſomuch that *Roſwan* (who having taken Priſoner *Aaron* the Palatine, whom he ſecured in his Houſe, and ſo himſelf invaded the Palatine) began now alſo to quake for fear, and to crave help of me, or rather to ſeek how he might fly away, (as not long after he did) neither having any great ſtrength about him, or expecting any greater from the People of that Country, for why, that Province was brought ſo low by the Miſeries of the former years, but eſpecially by ſuch as had evil governed the ſame, that at ſuch time as I entred into *Moldavia*, I aſſure your Holineſs there were not in it of Houſholders, above 15000, and thoſe alſo for the moſt part poor Country People of the baſeſt ſort, in whom there could neither be any great help, neither if they had been able to have done any thing, durſt *Roſwan* have truſted himſelf with them upon whom he had with all kind of Cruelty tyrannized. *Chotiim*, a Caſtle in the very Confines of this Kingdom, was kept with no greater Garriſon than 200 *Hungarians*, who, perceiving themſelves neither of ſufficient ſtrength to hold the Place, nor to withſtand the Enemy, they alſo by and by followed after *Roſwan*. All the reſt of the Province was not only unarmed, but altogether poor and naked, without any certain Government, without Counſel, without Strength, and without any Defence at all, two Caſtles only excepted; which, ſtanding upon the Confines of *Polonia*, might have ſerved better for the Enemy out of them to have infeſted us, than for the defence of *Moldavia* againſt them; ſo that had the Enemy once ſet foot into that Province, neither could it without a great Power have been recovered, neither being recovered, could eaſily have been defended againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy; and that which worſe was, was not it ſelf alone to have been conſumed with that Fire, but like enough to have carried away with it *Podolia* alſo bordering upon it, with a great part of *Ruſcia*. Wherefore, in this ſtate of things, when as both that Province was in greateſt danger to have been loſt, and ſo many Enemies hovered, not more over the Heads of all *Chriſtendom* than over this Kingdom, what was of us to be done? I know to whom I ſpeak theſe things, even unto him, not only whoſe divine Wiſdom, but ſingular Love alſo towards my native Country is to me moſt known. Verily I entred into *Moldavia* with no great Army, yet ſuch an one as haply (as in like caſe it often chanceth) Fame had made amongſt the Enemies a very great one; ſo that *Sinan*, fearing if he ſhould thruſt himſelf with his Army into the Streights whereby he was to break into *Tranſilvania*, to be ſhut in by our Army, ſtayed his Journey; and the *Tartar*, the more earneſtly he was called upon by *Sinan*, (by reaſon of the Fame of this our Army) reſolved to make himſelf ſo much the ſtronger. So that whilſt he aſſembled the *Nogaian Tartars* and others farther off, and ſo from all parts raiſed the greateſt Power he could, the matter was delaied almoſt unto the end of *November*; at which time he, with a moſt huge Army, accompanied with *Sendziak Jebivenſe*, and a great power of the *Turks* raiſed out of their Provinces thereby, came directly upon me in the Fields of *Coroce*. *Sendziack*, the *Tartar Cham's* Siſters Son, now called himſelf the Baſſa of *Moldavia*, as did the *Tartars* eldeſt Son name himſelf Prince of another part of that Province alſo; for ſo that Country was to have been divided betwixt them, that that part which was next unto the *Tartars* Dominions ſhould be allotted unto the *Tartar*, and the other part confining upon this Kingdom, to be governed by *Sendziak*, as Baſſa thereof, and ſo to make it the ſeat of a perpetual War, from whence *Podolia*, *Ruſcia*, and the leſſer *Polonia*, might be with continual Incurſions waſted even before our faces: concerning which matter they now diſperſed their Letters, wherein they publiſhed the Power and Authority given them from the grand Seignior, exhorting the People of that Country to receive the ſame. A whole day we fought with this multitude, our men always, by the goodneſs of God, having not only the upper hand, but without any notable loſs alſo, yet not without great ſlaughter of theirs: and would to God I had had ſuch ſtrength, as that not only the conditions of Peace, but even the Enemies themſelves might have been in my power. But when we were oftentimes come to parle (they ſtill requiring the ſame) and ſo at length unto Conditions of Peace; if ſuch were given them, as whereby this only Kingdom had without the wrong of any other been delivered from ſo great and ſudden a danger, what reaſonable man could find fault therewith, if we ſhould have preferred the health and welfare of our Country (whereunto all good men owe all they have) before other mens Profits? But now theſe things were ſo done, as that it was no leſs provided for the good of the neighbour Chriſtians, yea and happily not the leaſt for theirs, who for the ſame ſlander this Kingdom unto your Holineſs: the fury of *Sinan Baſſa* was by this means repreſſed, who whilſt he feared to be ſhut up in the Straits by our Army now come into *Moldavia*, and expected the *Tartars* coming, ſpent almoſt all the reſt of the Summer idly, and without any thing doing. The *Tartar* himſelf was not only turned from the Bowels of Chriſtendom, whereinto he had purpoſed (as the year before) to have entred, we having with our own Breaſts received his force and fury; but being brought unto Conditions, was expreſly enjoyned in a moſt ſhort prefined time, and without any more harm doing to return again into his Country by the ſelf ſame way he came, and by no other: whereby it is come to paſs, that until this day Chriſtendom hath not this year yet felt the *Tartars* Weapons. But unto *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, what a ſpace and power was given for them to gather their Strength and Forces together, and out of the ſame places to oppoſe them againſt the Enemy, whenas our Army kept them ſafe at their Backs, and eaſed not only *Moldavia*, but *Valachia* and *Tranſilvania* alſo of that care? Whereas if this cauſe of delay had not been objected unto the Turks firſt, and after unto the *Tartars*, not to ſay any thing of the Turks, the *Tartars* at the very ſelf-ſame time that the *Tranſilvanian* Army was gone into *Valachia* againſt *Sinan*, might have broken into *Tranſilvania* before it could have returned home, or elſe marching directly towards that Army, might have met with it out of *Tranſilvania*. As for *Moldavia*, which together with the Memory of the Chriſtian name, yet left in it, had utterly periſhed, it was moſt manifeſtly preſerved by the coming of our Army. Which what end it would have had, if the Enemy might at his Pleaſure have raged as he did in the farther *Valachia*, thoſe moſt bitter remembrances in it yet at this day ſmoking, do well declare; out of which it is well known more thouſands of Chriſtian Captives to have been carried away into moſt woful Captivity, than almoſt out of any other Province in all the time of theſe miſerable Wars. Which altho it be thus, yet boaſt we not thereof, neither ſend we any triumphant Letters unto your Holineſs, nor brag we of our good Service done for the Chriſtian Common-weal; contenting our ſelves with the Conſcience of the thing it ſelf. In the mean time we are accuſed unto your Holineſs; but for what cauſe? If any man complain for the taking of *Moldavia*, I will not ſay it was by them before willingly forſaken, whilſt I was yet in the Frontiers thereof; but that this Kingdom hath a moſt antient Right unto it, and ſuch a Right, as that when our Kings being buſied in their Wars againſt the Muſcovite, the *Cruciat Teutony* Brethren, or others; ſome others alſo troubling the ſtate thereof, it for a time became a Prey unto the Turkiſh Tyrants; yet in all the Leagues made or renewed betwixt this Kingdom and them, was ſtill excepted, That all ſuch things as the Palatine of *Moldavia* was of duty to perform unto the King, ſhould by him ſtill be performed. Which Kings of *Polonia*, and namely *Auguſtus* himſelf, the laſt of the *Jagellonian* Race, appointed divers of thoſe Palatines themſelves. Which altho they be things moſt manifeſt, yet having more regard unto the welfare of that Province, as a Chriſtian Country, than of our Right, we reſtored the ſame into the ſame ſtate wherein it hath been for many Years before theſe * Wars. Wherefore, if any man think any thing done whereby the Enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt might be eaſed or ſtrengthened, or the Defenders of the Faith hindred, it is ſo far from any ſuch thing to be done, that rather (as is before declared) the Enemies force is repreſſed and averted, and greater means given unto the Chriſtians afront to impugne them, the Enemy being at their Backs by us ſhut from them. But I fear that they have not fully informed your Holineſs, how theſe things were done, who have reported unto your ſaid Holineſs not only the Name of the Turks to have been proclaimed together with the *Polonians* in *Moldavia*, but alſo the Name of the *Tartars*, the proper Enemies of the *Polonians*, and by the Power and Decrees of them three, as it were confederate together, things to have been ordered in *Moldavia*. Which their Complaint if it tend to that end, as if a confederation were made with them, I frankly confeſs certain Conditions to have been given them, but ſuch as whereby is provided not only for the quiet and ſecurity of this Kingdom, but no leſs alſo for the whole Chriſtian Commonweal, as is before declared. All which things for all that, altho they were done for the good of this Kingdom, and all Chriſtendom in general, yet were they ſo done, that they were all by me referred unto the King's Majeſty and the States of the Kingdom; ſo that at this preſent the Kingdom is at free liberty either to joyn in Confederation with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes; or if that cannot upon certain and indifferent conditions be agreed upon, yet with no mans injury or hurt to ratifie this, joyned with the health and good of a great part of the Chriſtian Commonweal: only God grant that the Chriſtian Princes may ſeriouſly think both of this ſo Chriſtian a Confederation againſt the common Enemy, and ſtrive alſo all together againſt the enemy with their weapons, and not with Miſreports and Slanders one againſt another. They are not to aſſail the enemies feet, but his throat: neither is the ſeat of the war to be placed in the borders of *Polonia*, where it concerneth themſelves much to have all things rather peaceable behind them: but let the War be undertaken with no leſs charge & preparation, than if the enemies royal ſeat were to be aſſailed; which ſtanding in an open and plain Country, ſhall always, without much ado, be his that being ſtrongeſt can take it. This have I written at large, as my purpoſe was, all which I moſt humbly beſeech your Holineſs, with your divine Wiſ-

* *Viz. to become tributary unto the* Turks.

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‘ Wiſdom to conſider of, and with your wonted
‘ Clemency to accept the ſame. And ſo proſtrate
‘ at your Holineſs's Feet, I moſt humbly commend
‘ me to your Clemency. From *Zamoſchie* the tenth
‘ of *January*, 1596.

Thus much the great Chancellor, in defence of himſelf, and of that he had done in *Moldavia*; which, howſoever it contented the Pope, well I wot it nothing pleaſed the Emperour, and much leſs the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, now not a little weakened by the taking away of the Country of *Moldavia* from him.

Sinan Baſſa ſent for to Conſtantinople.

His Death.

To end this troubleſome year withal, many ſharp and bloody Skirmiſhes daily paſſed in divers Places of thoſe frontier Countries, the *Turks* almoſt in every Place ſtill going to the worſe. In the beginning of *November*, *Leucowitz*, Governour of *Carolſtat*, the ſecond time ſurpriſed *Wibitz* in the Frontiers of *Croatia*, where theſe Wars firſt begun; but being not able to take the Caſtle, contented himſelf as before with the ſpoil of the City, and afterward ſetting it on fire, departed. *Maximilian* alſo attempted *Zolnoc*, and the *Chriſtians* in Garriſon at *Strigonium* and *Plindenburg*, now become near Neighbours unto the *Turks* at *Buda*, did with continual Inrodes not a little moleſt them both all the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next. And the *Turks* in *Braila*, in *Valachia*, upon the ſide of *Danubius*, fearing after the flight of *Sinan* to be beſieged by the Vayvod, forſook the City, and in ſuch haſte paſſed the River, that in that tumultuous paſſage three hundred of them periſhed. *Sinan Baſſa*, by the *Tranſilvanian* Prince of late driven out of *Valachia*, was not long after ſent for to *Conſtantinople*; but the crafty old Fox, not ignorant of the fierce Nature of the great Sultan, and warned by the late miſery of *Ferat*, found occaſions to delay the time ſo long, until that he was ſent for again, and after that, the third time alſo. In the mean while, he had ſo wrought by his mighty Friends in Court, and by rich Rewards, mightier than they, that at his coming to the Court he was there honourably received, as the chiefeſt of the Baſſaes, and being afterwards offered to be diſcharged of the Wars, as men of above fourſcore years old; he refuſed ſo to be; ſaying, That he was born and brought up amongſt Souldiers and martial men, and ſo wiſhed among them to dye, as not long after he did; dying as was thought of conceit of the evil Succeſs he had in his Wars againſt the *Tranſilvanian*.

Mahomet perplexed.

Mahomet, the *Turkiſh* Emperour, exceedingly grieved with the loſs of ſo many his Cities and ſtrong Places this year loſt, as namely *Strigonium*, *Vicegrade*, *Siſeg*, *Petrinia*, *Lippa*, *Jenna*, *Tergoviſta*, *Bucharesta*, *Zorza*, and many others of leſs Name; and both by Letters and Meſſengers underſtanding daily of the ſlaughter of his People, and waſting of his Frontiers, commanded great Preparation to be made againſt the next Spring, giving it out, that he would then in Perſon himſelf, come down into *Hungary* with ſuch a Power as never had any his Predeceſſors the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, and there take moſt ſharp revenge of all his former Wrongs. Nevertheleſs theſe his ſo haſty deſigns were by the Plague and Famine (which then both raged extreamly in moſt part of his Empire) and by other great occurrents of the ſame time, ſo croſſed, that by that time the Spring came, he ſcarcely well knew which way to turn himſelf firſt. For beſide theſe Troubles of the *Weſt*, of themſelves enough to have filled his hands, the *Georgians* in the *Eaſt*, a warlike People, moved with the good Succeſs of the *Chriſtians* in *Valachia* and *Hungary*, had taken up Arms againſt him; and the old *Perſian* King, but a little before dead, had

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left that great Kingdom to his Son, a man of greater Spirit than was like to endure the manifold Injuries before done unto his Father by the *Turks*, to the great diſhonour of that Kingdom, and prejudice of himſelf. Of which things the Baſſa of *Tauris* gave him ample Intelligence, wiſhing him betimes to provide for ſuch Storms; which, joyned to the reſt, filled his Head with many troubled Thoughts, whereunto we leave him until the next Spring.

1596

The *Tranſilvanian* Prince, careful of his Eſtate, and not a little troubled with the diſſevering of *Moldavia*, thought it not unfit for his Affairs, now after the flight of *Sinan*, and diſcomfiture of the *Turks*, to go in Perſon himſelf unto the Emperour, and to declare unto him the wrong done him by the *Polonian*; and further to confer with him concerning the managing of the Wars againſt the common Enemy. So having put all things in readineſs for his Journey, he ſet forward in *January*, 1596, and by the way of *Caſſovia*, the fourth of *February*, arrived at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, where he was by the Emperours appointment moſt honourably entertained. But immediately after his coming thither he fell ſick of an Ague, which grievouſly vexed him by the ſpace of three Weeks. In the latter end of *February*, having ſomewhat recovered his Health, he went to the Church; where after his Devotions done, he was by the Dean of the Cathedral Church welcomed with a moſt eloquent Oration, ſetting forth his worthy Praiſes, and further animating him unto the like Exploits againſt the common Enemy of all Chriſtianity. Whereunto he forthwith anſwered in Latine ſo eloquently and ſo readily, that all men marvelled that heard him; proteſting in his ſpeech, That as he and his Subjects had not hitherto ſpared their Lives or Goods in defence of the common Cauſe; ſo would they not afterwards ſpare the ſame, but adventure all for the benefit of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal; well hoping, that the Emperour and the other Chriſtian Princes would not, as occaſion ſhould require, be wanting unto him with their Forces, or the Clergy with their Prayers; which done, he doubted not (as he ſaid) by the Power of God, but to obtain more notable Victories than he had yet againſt the *Turks*, the Enemies of God.

The *Siculi* rebell againſt the Prince.

Whilſt he yet thus lay at the Emperours Court, it fortuned that the People called *Siculi*, offended to have their Liberties in ſome part infringed in the late Aſſembly of the States holden in *Tranſilvania* in *December* laſt, riſe up now in Arms in divers Places, refuſing to yield their former Obedience to the Prince. A matter like enough to have wrought him much trouble, and ſuppoſed not to have been done without the privity of the Cardinal his Uncle; but by the Wiſdom and Courage of ſuch as he had in his abſence put in truſt with the Government of his Country, divers of the Ringleaders of this Rebellion were apprehended, and in divers ſorts executed; and three hundred of their Complices, to the Terror of their Fellows, had their Noſes and Ears cut off. By which wholeſome Severity all thoſe Troubles were appeaſed, and the Country again quieted.

At the ſame time alſo the *Tranſilvanians* obtained of the *Turks* a notable Victory, with an exceeding rich booty. *Mahomet* the *Turkiſh* Sultan had about this time ſent a new Baſſa for the Government of *Temeſwar*; againſt whoſe coming the old Baſſa, before Governour, had in ſeventy five Waggons truſſed up a wonderful deal of Wealth, which he had there gotten in the time of his former Government, to have been, together with himſelf, with a ſtrong Convoy conducted to *Belgrade*. Of this his purpoſe the *Hungarian Heidons*, lying at *Lippa* and *Jenna*, having Intelligence, lay in wait

The Baſſa of *Temeſwar* ſlain, and a great booty taken.

for him upon the way, and in his paſſing by ſet upon him; where in a ſharp conflict they overthrew the Convoy, and ſlew the Baſſa, whoſe Head they ſent for a Preſent to the Princeſs at *Alba-Julia*, and took the Spoil of the Baſſa's Carriages, wherein was taken a wonderful Wealth; for in one of thoſe Waggons is reported to have been found twenty thouſand of *Hungarian* Duckats.

In this abſence alſo of the Prince, 10000 of the *Raſcians* revolting from the *Turk*, came and offered their Service unto the Princeſs; whereof, ſhe by Letters, with great ſpeed, certified the Prince her Husband; who thereupon haſted to diſpatch with the Emperour, and having procured both from him and the Pope the Promiſe of ſome Aid to be afterwards ſent him, took of him his leave; and being honourably accompanied, departed from *Prague* to *Vienna*, where he arrived the eleventh of *March*, ſitting in a princely Chariot drawn with ſix moſt beautiful Horſes, the gift of the Emperour. At his coming thither he was met by the Nobility of the Country, and by *Aldobrandinus* the Pope's Nephew, who preſented him with three goodly Horſes for Service, richly furniſhed. Him the Prince took into his Chariot, and ſo accompanied, entred the City, where he was with all due Honour received and joyfully entertained, and ſo brought unto the Emperour's Palace, where, by the learned Students of that Univerſity, was for his Pleaſure acted before him the notable Hiſtory of *Joſhua*. Having ſtayed there three days, and purpoſing to have in his Return viſited his Mother-in-law at *Greies* in *Croatia*; News was brought him, That the *Turks* and *Tartars*, by the ſetting on of *Stephen Bathor*, his Uncle, were about to break into *Tranſilvania*. Wherefore changing his purpoſe, he departed thence to *Presburg*, and ſo with all ſpeed kept on his way towards *Tranſilvania*; where he, to the great joy and comfort of his Subjects in general, arrived in ſafety in the beginning of *April*.

Wars proclaimed in *Conſtantinople* againſt the Emperour and the *Tranſilvanian* Prince.

In this while many hot Skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks in the Frontiers of their Territories; and now the Plague and Famine which had of long raged in *Conſtantinople* and other places of the Turks Dominions, began to aſſwage. Of which ſo great Calamities as had devoured many thouſands of his People, the Turkiſh Emperour finding himſelf ſomewhat eaſed, forthwith cauſed the continuation of his Wars againſt the Emperour and the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, to be three days together proclaimed in *Conſtantinople*, and a great Army to be raiſed to be ſent into *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*; giving it out, that he would, with that ſo puiſſant an Army, in Perſon himſelf come into *Hungary*. At which time it was alſo reported, That he had already ſent his Tents and other his neceſſary Proviſion before to *Hadrianople*: for now was nothing more odious in the *Turk*'s Court than the Name of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince.

Of all theſe things was not the Emperour ignorant, as fully thereof certified both by Letters and Eſpials, as alſo by the uniform Confeſſion of ſuch Turks as were daily taken Priſoners. For which cauſe, he alſo, with as much ſpeed and care as he could, provided for the raiſing of his Army, as he had the Year before; as alſo for the levying of Money, and proviſion of all things neceſſary, that the Enemy at his coming might not find him unprovided. Neither ſpared he to pray Aid of the other Chriſtian Princes his Neighbours, eſpecially of the *Polonian*, whom he had divers times ſought after to have drawn him into the Confederation with the other Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turk. To which purpoſe he now alſo ſent unto him the Biſhop of *Preſlaw*, and the Lord *Poppelius*, his Ambaſſadors; as did the Pope alſo ſend unto him the Cardinal *Cajetane* his Legate; and the Princes Electors alſo their Ambaſſadors: unto whom the *Polonian* gave good hearing and good words, but would not by any means be perſwaded to break his League with the Turk, or to afford any Aid unto the Chriſtians; altho the Cardinal, with many pregnant Reaſons, ſhewed him what ſmall aſſurance there was in the Turk's Leagues, and how dangerous it might be to his State, if the Turk, making Peace with the Emperour, ſhould turn his force upon him, which it was like enough he would, as knowing no man longer for Friend than ſtood with his Profit; beſide the immortal Blemiſh of his Honour, by diſſevering himſelf from the Union of the Chriſtian Princes, to hold Friendſhip with the Turks and Infidels. But all this and much more to no purpoſe, ſo reſolutely was the *Polonian* ſet down for the keeping of the Turks Favour. So that of all the Chriſtian Princes ſo near unto the devouring Enemy, none ſtood the Chriſtian Commonweal in leſs ſtead than he. Which for all that, moſt men imputed not ſo much unto the King, as to others about him, eſpecially to *Zamoſchy* the great Chancellor, by whom that State was moſt ſwayed, who was not only ſuppoſed, but openly reported to have ſecret Intelligence both with the *Turk* and the *Tartar*.

All this while the Lord *Palfi*, Governour of *Strigonium*, ceaſed not with continual Inroads to vex the Turks, even to the Gates of *Buda*, as did alſo the other Chriſtian Captains in other places of the Turks Frontiers in *Hungary*. Near unto *Buda* were two great Country Villages, for moſt part inhabited by Chriſtians, who having given their Oath of Obedience unto the Turk, lived a miſerable life for the payment of an exceſſive Tribute yearly. Theſe poor Chriſtians, weary of the *Turkiſh* Thraldom, and the continual ſpoil of their Labours by them of *Strigonium*; by ſecret Meſſengers requeſted the Lord *Palfi*, of Mercy, to carry them with their Goods and Cattel away into ſome other place of the Chriſtian Territory, that ſo they might yet live amongſt Chriſtians, as he had but a little before done for them of old *Buda*. Unto which their ſo reaſonable a Requeſt, the Chriſtian Governour charitably hearkened; willing them againſt a certain appointed time to put themſelves, with all their things in readineſs. There was of theſe Chriſtians about 755 Families, who with their Wives and Children, and ſuch traſh as they had pack'd up into eighty Waggons, drawn with fourteen or ſixteen Oxen a-piece, at the appointed time, about mid-night, committed themſelves, with all that they had, unto the conduct of them of *Strigonium*, ſent out of purpoſe for them; by whom they were in ſafety brought to *Strigonium*. Amongſt them were many rich men, who brought with them good ſtore of Coyn, with an exceeding great number of Cattel. Unto theſe new-come Gueſts *Palfi* aſſigned certain Fields betwixt *Strigonium* and *Vivaria*, on the North-ſide of *Danubius*; where they ſo commodiouſly lived as was poſſible in ſo troubled an Eſtate of a Country.

Six hundred of the Garriſon Souldiers of *Lippa* ſlain by the Turks.

Shortly after, 600 Garriſon Souldiers of *Lippa*, ſeeking after Booty, and adventuring too far into the Enemies Territory, were diſcovered by the *Turks* Scouts, and ſo beſet by the *Turks* and *Tartars* billeted in the Country about *Temeſware*, that there was no way left for them [illegible] eſcape. Which they well perceiving, reſolved among themſelves (as became valiant men) to fight it out even unto the laſt man; and with no leſs Reſolution performed what they had before determined; for being on every ſide beſet, and hardly charged by their Enemies, they, as men before reſolved to die, altho ſcarce one to twenty, fought moſt deſperately, ſeeking for nothing elſe but to ſell their Lives as dear as they could unto their Enemies; and ſo fighting were all ſlain, 1596 except ſome few which by great fortune eſcaped, leaving unto the Enemy a right bloody Victory. Yet by this loſs of ſo great a Party was the Garriſon of *Lippa* greatly weakned, which the Enemy knew right well, and thereupon began forthwith to prepare to beſiege the Town. Which *Barbelus* the Governour (a moſt valiant man) wiſely foreſeeing, ſent in Poſt unto the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, to requeſt him with all ſpeed to ſend him four or five thouſand good Souldiers, with which Power he doubted not, by the Help of God, to be able to defend the Town againſt all the Forces the Enemy was at that time able to bring againſt it. Unto whom the Prince without delay ſent 8000, who all in ſafety, in good time arrived at *Lippa*; for ſhortly after their arrival, 40000 of the *Turks* and *Tartars* came and ſat down before the Town, incloſing it on every ſide, and ſo lay for certain days without any thing doing worth the ſpeaking of; they of the Town in the mean time doing them all the harm they could with their great ſhot, which they ſent amongſt them not ſparingly. But they had not ſo long lain, but that News was brought into the Camp, That the *Tranſilvanian* Prince was with a great Power coming thither to relieve the Town; whereupon they preſently riſe, and retired to the place where they had before encamped, about two miles from *Lippa*; where certainly underſtanding that the Prince neither was, neither could in ſhort time be in ſuch readineſs as was before reported, they forthwith returned, and more ſtraightly beſieged the Town than before. They had now brought with them ſeventeen pieces of battery, eight Waggons laded with Shot and Powder, and forty ſix others laded with ſcaling Ladders, and other warlike Proviſion; thus appointed they began to batter the Town, and afterwards gave thereunto divers deſperate aſſaults; which the *Chriſtians* valiantly received, and ſtill with great ſlaughter repulſed their Enemies. For that ſtrong Town was with Towers and Bulwarks flanking one another, ſo fortified, that out of them the *Chriſtians* with their murthering pieces made great ſpoil of their Enemies, and ſtill enforced them with loſs to retire, no bullet almoſt flying in vain. In the heat of one of theſe aſſaults the Governour cauſed one of the Gates of the Town to be ſet open, having before within the Town placed ſixteen great pieces at the very entrance of the ſame gate, charged with all kind of murthering Shot. Unto which Gate, as of mere Deſperation ſet open by the Defendants, the *Turks* and *Tartars* deſirous of revenge, came thronging as thick as might be, thinking to have thereby entred; when ſuddenly, and as it were in the turning of an hand, they were with the aforeſaid murthering pieces cut down as with a Sithe, and ſo again, and the third and fourth time, before they could clear themſelves of the danger thereof, their Heads, Arms, and Legs, and other rent Limbs, flying in the Air moſt miſerably to behold. Nevertheleſs the ſiege was by them continued, and the often aſſaults ſo reſolutely maintained, as if they had thereupon purpoſed to have engaged all their Lives. But this ſo obſtinate a Reſolution was by an unexpected accident, when they leaſt thought, converted into ſuch a deſperate fear and aſtoniſhment, that they upon the ſudden (no man forcing them) forſook their Trenches wherein they lay encamped; and leaving behind them their Tents, their great Ordnance, and whatſoever elſe they had, they betook themſelves to a moſt diſordered flight. The *Tranſilvanian*, who by chance were even then coming thither, purſuing them, ſlew divers of them, and took ſome others of them Priſoners. At this Siege the Baſſa of *Temeſwar* himſelf was mortally wounded, and *Hamat*, Sanzack of *Giula*, with divers others of good place ſlain, and 4000 of the common Souldiers. The cauſe of the Turks ſo great and ſudden fear was this; Whilſt the Baſſa of *Temeſwar* lay at the Siege of *Lippa*, as is aforeſaid, they that were left in the City fearing no harm, lived in great Security; in the mean time the Governour of *Lugaz* ſent out ſix thouſand Souldiers towards *Temeſwar*, now in the abſence of the Baſſa to ſeek after Booty: who coming to *Temeſwar* with great ſpeed, rifled the Suburbs of the City, ſlew all the Turks they could light upon, and ſet at Liberty a thouſand Captives: and ſo having truſſed up their Booty, ſet on fire all the Suburbs, and departed. Which fire grew ſo great and ſo terrible, that it was plainly ſeen into the Camp at *Lippa*, making a ſhew as if the whole City had been on a light Fire: which ſo daunted the Hearts of the Turks at the Siege, that they preſently fled (as is before ſaid) leaving all that they had behind them. 1596

Lippa beſieged by the *Turks* and *Tartars*.

Plenia, a Town of the *Turks* ſacked by the *Chriſtians*.

The *Tranſilvanian* all this while buſied in raiſing of his Army, and providing of things neceſſary for the maintenance of his Wars, was come into the Confines of *Hungary*, towards *Temeſwar*, even as the *Turks* fled from *Lippa*. At which time certain *Hungarian Heidons* that ſerved him, getting over *Danubius*, not far from *Nicopolis*, took *Plenia*, a little Town of the *Turks*, which they ranſacked and burnt, and having ſlain in the Country thereabout above three thouſand of the *Turks*, returned with a rich Prey unto the Prince.

Cliſſa lately ſurpriſed by the *Chriſtians*, loſt again to the *Turks*.

Not long before, the *Chriſtians* had ſurpriſed *Cliſſa*, a ſtrong frontier Town of the *Turks* in *Dalmatia*, not far from *Spalato*; which Town the Baſſa of *Boſna* ſought now again to recover, and thereto layd hard ſiege. For the relief whereof, *Leucowitz*, Governour of *Stiria*, and the other Provinces thereabouts belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Governour of *Zeng*, with a Fleet of two and forty Ships, wherein they had embarked 4000 Souldiers well appointed with all things neceſſary, ſet forward toward *Cliſſa*; and by the way lighting upon a Galley of the *Venetians*, bound with certain warlike Proviſion towards the *Turks* Camp, took her as good Prize, and rifled her. This Fleet with a fair Wind arrived at *Siret*, near unto *Trau*, where the Governour landing his men, marched that Night part of his way toward *Cliſſa*, and all the next day lay cloſe. The Night following they ſet forward again, and having marched fifteen miles, came unto the Enemies Camp before day; where, ſetting upon the *Turks* in their Trenches, fearing no ſuch Peril, they brought ſuch a general fear upon the *Turks* whole Camp, that the *Turks*, as men amazed, fled ſome one way, ſome another, every man (as in ſuch ſudden fear it commonly happeneth) making ſhift for himſelf, leaving whatſoever they had in their Trenches behind them. The *Chriſtians*, contented ſo to have put their Enemies to flight, fell preſently to the ſpoil, as more deſirous thereof, than by the haſty purſuit of their Enemies to put themſelves in poſſeſſion of an aſſured Victory. Which the *Turks* quickly perceiving, and from the Hills with the dawning of the day diſcovering the ſmall number of the *Chriſtians*, and how they were diſordered, they gathered themſelves again together, and coming down, incloſed on every ſide the diſordered *Chriſtians* (greedily hunting after the ſpoil) and ſlew them downright. *Leucowitz* himſelf, with the Governour of *Zeng*, and ſome others, got into *Cliſſa*, where having ſtayed two days, and doubting to be able to keep the Town, they ſecretly by Night iſſued out with 600 men, in hope to have recovered their Fleet; but the *Turks* ſuſpecting ſuch a matter, had ſo beſet the Paſſages, that of all that Company, *Leucowitz* had much ado himſelf, with three others, to eſcape. The Enemy now again poſſeſſed of his

Trenches, layd ſtraighter ſiege to the Town than before; which they of the Garriſon perceiving, and now out of hope of relief, agreed with the Baſſa, that they might with Bag and Baggage depart, and ſo yielded up the Town. Thus *Cliſſa*, one of the ſtrongeſt Towns of *Dalmatia*, through the greedy covetouſneſs of the diſordered Souldiers, fell again into the hands of the *Turks*.

Sombock taken by the Lord *Palſi*.

About the ſame time, *Palſi*, Governour of *Strigonium*, underſtanding of the meeting together of certain notable Adventurers of the *Turks* at *Sombock*, a Caſtle almoſt in the mid way betwixt *Alba-Regalis* and *Buda*, raiſed the greateſt ſtrength he could, and ſo with certain pieces of Artillery, and other things neceſſary for an aſſault, ſet forward from *Strigonium* the two and twentieth of *May*, before the riſing of the Sun, and about three a Clock in the Afternoon came to the aforeſaid Caſtle, whereunto he preſently gave a moſt terrible aſſault, which he never gave over until he had taken it; for after he had by the ſpace of three hours together with great danger maintained a moſt deſperate aſſault, at length he with much difficulty prevailed, and put to the Sword all the *Turks* he found therein, Man, Woman, and Child; and with the reſt, fifty *Janizaries*, but that day come thither. This Caſtle was of great Beauty, and moſt pleaſantly ſcituated, whereunto the Baſſa of *Buda* oftentimes for his Pleaſure repaired; for which cauſe *Palſi* was very deſirous to have taken it without ſpoiling; but the Fire he had therein already raiſed, ſo prevailed, that it burnt down all the goodly Buildings thereof, with great ſtore of Victuals and other Proviſion, nothing remaining but what the *Chriſtians* had ſaved for themſelves.

Temeſware beſieged by the *Tranſilvanian* Prince

The *Tranſilvanian* Prince, having raiſed a great Army for the relief of *Lippa*, being by great chance a little before his coming relieved, came and laid Siege to the City of *Temeſwar*: where he had not long lain, but that the *Turks* and *Tartars*, fearing to loſe that ſo famous a City, aſſembled together from all places thereabouts, to the number of 40000, and ſo came to raiſe the Siege. Of whoſe coming the Prince hearing, riſe with his Army, and went to meet them, and had with them a great and terrible Battel, the Victory for a great while ſtanding very doubtful, yet ſeeming to incline rather to the *Turks* and *Tartars*, than to the Chriſtians: but at length the *Turks*, diſordered with the great Artillery, and the *Tranſilvanians* charging them afreſh, began to give ground, and ſo at laſt to betake themſelves to plain flight. In this Battel were ſlain of the *Turks* and *Tartars* 5000, and of the Chriſtians 1500. It was for a time reported, That the Prince himſelf was in this Battel ſlain; which was not ſo, being reſerved to the further Plague of the *Turks*, and comfort of his afflicted Country. After this Victory he returned again to the Siege, which he more ſtraitly continued than before, leaving nothing unattempted that he could poſſibly deviſe for the winning of the City. Where, whilſt he yet thus lay battering the City both night and day, News was brought him, That *Giaffer Baſſa* and the *Tartars* were coming with a great Army to the Relief of the Beſieged. Whereupon, he conſidering his own ſtrength, and the power of his Enemies, and that the Aid promiſed him both from the Emperour and out of *Hungary* was not yet ready, with great grief of mind raiſed his Siege, and retired with his Army to *Lippa*, there expecting new Supplies as well of his own as from his Friends. Whilſt he yet there lay, he was certainly advertiſed, That the Baſſa of *Natolia* (the fore-runner of the great Sultan *Mahomet*) was come to *Belgrade* with fourteen thouſand Horſe, and four thouſand Janizaries, to joyn with the Baſſa of *Buda* for the relieving of *Temeſwar*; whoſe Forces joyned together were in number about threeſcore thouſand; and that *Mahomet* himſelf (of whoſe coming had been riſe report all this year) was now coming after with a far greater Power. Whereupon he departed from *Lippa*, leaving therein a ſtrong Garriſon; and foreturning to *Alba-Julia*, called there an Aſſembly of all his States, for the repreſſing of ſo puiſſant an Enemy.

The Prince raiſeth his Siege.

Mahomet, for the better ſucceſs of his Wars in *Hungary*, had drawn forth the *Tartar* with a mighty Power; who, altho he was at the firſt ſo unwilling to that Service (conſidering the great Loſſes he had therein before received) that he would not, as he ſaid, ſend ſo much as one Aſs thereunto; yet, overcome with great gifts, and the reſpect he had of the Turkiſh Sultan, was now ready with a ſtrong Army upon the Frontiers in *Moldavia*, to meet him in *Hungary*: unto whom the late choſen Vayvod ſent certain Preſents, with ſuch ſtore of Victuals as he could poſſibly provide for him. Yet foraſmuch as he was not that way to paſs without the leave of the *Polonian*, *Mahomet* had both by Letters, and divers his Ambaſſadors, intreated with the *Polonian* King for his Paſſage; as alſo for the Confirmation of the ancient League he and the *Polonian* Kings, his Predeceſſors, had, to their good, of long time had with the *Othoman* Emperours; from which he well knew the Chriſtian Emperour, with divers other the Chriſtian Princes, to ſeek by all means to withdraw him. *Mahomet* alſo, not ignorant how hurtful and dangerous the Confederation betwixt *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia* and the *Tranſilvanian* was unto him and his Deſigns, ſent unto him an Ambaſſador, by the ſhew of great dangers to deterr him from the *Tranſilvanian*, and by many glorious Promiſes to allure him to ſubmit himſelf again unto his Protection, and in token of his Fidelity to deliver unto the Sultan two of his Frontier Towns, ſuch as he ſhould require; in regard whereof, he ſhould, together with the Sultan's Favour, receive golden Mountains. Whereunto the Vayvod anſwered, That as yet he was not weary of the Friendſhip he held with the Prince: and for the Towns he required, that they were not in his Power to give, as belonging to the Prince; unto whom he ſaid he would write, and ſtay the Ambaſſador in the mean time until he had from him Anſwer.

The Emperour, on the other ſide, had with all carefulneſs, ſo far as in him was, provided that his Army might be ready to take the Field with the beginning of the Spring: but as it commonly chanceth, the ſpeedy Proceedings of great Actions (wherein the hands of many mighty is required) to be much hindered by delays, ſometimes of one, and ſometimes of another; ſo fell it out with him now: for albeit that his own Forces were in ſome good time ready, yet was the Spring, yea and a good part of Summer alſo far paſt, before the Aid promiſed from other Princes met together. At length, after long expectance, when ſome convenient number for an Army was from divers places come together at *Vienna*; they were by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, and their other Commanders, brought forth into the Field, and not far from *Altenburg* encamped, within the ſelf-ſame Trenches that were the laſt year caſt up by County *Mansfield* for the ſafety of his Army; there to expect the coming down of the great Ordnance, and other Proviſion, by the River from *Vienna*, as alſo the reſt of the Chriſtian Forces daily looked for. From *Altenburg* the Chriſtian Army removed to *Komara*, and not ſtaying there long, the four and twentieth of *July* marched towards *Vacia*, otherwiſe called *Watzen*; but before it came thither, the *Turks* hearing of the approach of the Chriſtians, forſook the Town, and with their Cattel and beſt part of their

Vacia abandoned by the Turks, is taken by the Chriſtians.

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ſubſtance fled to *Peſth*, carrying alſo away with them the great Ordnance; the greateſt whereof they buried by the way, which was nevertheleſs afterwards found out by the Chriſtians. And although the Turks at their departure had ſet fire both upon the Town and the Caſtle, yet the Chriſtians left therein did what they might to quench the ſame; by whoſe diligence, and the help of two thouſand Foot-men, and certain Troops of Horſemen ſent thither by *Swartzenburg*, a great part both of the Town and the Caſtle was preſerved: the whole Army of the Chriſtians following after, incamped in the open Field, and with their Horſemen braved the Turks even to the Gates of *Peſth*. This ſo ſudden a coming of the Chriſtians brought a great fear both upon them of *Peſth* and *Buda*; inſomuch, that they ſent their Wives and Children, with the chiefeſt of their Subſtance, down the River, unto places of more Safety, and farther off from danger; which was done ſo diſorderedly (as it happeneth in ſuch common Fears) that many of them for haſte thruſt one another into the River, and ſo periſhed.

Hitherto, in the former Wars againſt the Turk, had *Matthias* been General of the Chriſtian Armies; but now of late, *Ferdinand*, the Emperour's Uncle, County of *Tirol*, being dead, *Matthias* was by the Emperour his Brother preferred to the Government of that rich Country and the Provinces thereabouts, not inferiour to ſome Kingdoms; and *Maximilian*, his younger Brother, appointed General in his ſtead: who, departing from *Vienna* in the latter end of *July*, came into the Camp the fourth of *Auguſt*, where he was by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, his Lieutenant, and the Lord *Palſi*, honourably and with great Triumph received.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Cowardiſe puniſhed.

Hatwan won by the Chriſtians.

Extream Cruelty.

Now were the Chriſtians threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, and having fortified *Vachia*, and therein placed a convenient Garriſon, reſolved by common conſent to beſiege *Hatwan*, a ſtrong Town of the Turks in the upper *Hungary*. And thereupon riſing with their Army from *Vachia* the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, came the fifteenth of the ſame Month, about noon, and ſat down before the Town; and that with ſuch ſpeed, that they were, before ſeen of the Turks, in the Town, than that they heard any thing of their coming: inſomuch, that at the firſt ſhew of them, they of the Town took them to have been ſome come out to ſeek after Booty; and therefore ſallying out upon them, skirmiſhed with them a while, until they perceived the whole Battel coming. The Chriſtians approaching the Town, incamped themſelves, as they thought moſt convenient, and began in three places to batter the Counterſcarf. This frontier Town of the Turks, beſides that it was kept with a ſtrong Garriſon, was alſo ſtrengthned with a broad Ditch, and fortified with a broad Counterſcarf and ſtrong Paliſadoes. Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the Siege, the Turks ſallying out of the Town brake into their Trenches, and there did great harm; and like enough they were to have done more, had not the Horſe-men in good time come in upon them, and inforced them to retire. In this Sally, amongſt others, was one *Greis*, a notable Captain, ſlain, being ſhamefully forſaken of his own men; who for that their Cowardiſe, were all, in the ſight of the whole Army, diſarmed, and ſo turned out of the Camp, as men unworthy any longer to bear Arms. One morning alſo, as the Chriſtians were at their Devotions in their Trenches, a Turkiſh Prieſt from out of an high Tower not far off, railed moſt bitterly upon them, curſing and deriding them: wherewith one of the Chriſtian Canoneers much moved, made a ſhot at the Tower, which he ſo well beſtowed, that therewith he ſtruck down the Tower, together with the Idolatrous Prieſt, as he was

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yet railing and blaſpheming. At length the Chriſtians had with exceeding Labour and continual Battery made the Town aſſaultable: wherewith the Turks diſcouraged, offered (but all too late) to yield up the Town upon the ſame conditions that they of *Strigonium* did; whereunto they received no Anſwer, yea commandment was given throughout the Camp, That no man, upon pain of Death, ſhould have any Parle with them. Shortly after, all things being now in readineſs for the Aſſault, the Chriſtians, one day about five a clock in the afternoon aſſaulted the Town in four places; and after three hours hard fight, by ſtrong hand took it, with the ſchriching and lamenting of the Women and Children, and other fearful People, who now gave themſelves all loſt and forlorn. Four hours Execution was done upon all that came to hand, without reſpect of Age, Sex, or Condition: Women were ſlain great with child, and young Children hanging at their Mothers Breaſts; it booted not to cry for Mercy, the bloody Sword devouring all. The fury of the *Wallons* here exceeded, who rip'd the Children out of their Mothers Wombs, and made Thongs and Points of the skins of Men and Women whom they had flead quick. Which their Cruelty they afterwards excuſed, when they were therefore reproved, by pretending that thereby they did teach the Turks hereafter not ſo wickedly to blaſpheme againſt Chriſt, or with ſuch their wonted and barbarous Cruelty to torment the Chriſtians that fell into their hands, for fear of like themſelves. In this aſſault and fury periſhed of the Turks about four thouſand, and of the Chriſtians not paſt three hundred. In this Town, beſide that which the fire devoured, was found a very rich Prey. The firſt that entred the Town was one *Terſky*, a notable Captain, with his Company; after whom followed *Ruſwurme*, who each of them were thought, in their Entrance at the Breach, to have ſlain with their own hand eight or ten Turks.

Mahomet the great Sultan cometh to *Buda* with an Army of two hundred thouſand.

Now in the mean time *Mahomet* the great Sultan being come to *Belgrade*, removed thence to come down into the Heart of *Hungary*, ſending *Cicala Baſſa* before him; and at length, after long looking for, the ſecond of *September* arrived at *Buda*, having in his Army about two hundred thouſand men, and three hundred Field-pieces. From thence he preſently ſent 40000 to *Temeſwar*, but ſtayed there himſelf with the reſt of his Army.

The Chriſtians yet lying at *Hatwan*, and doubting leſt the Sultan ſuddenly paſſing the River ſhould come upon them not yet ready for Battel; departing thence, and retiring back again, came and incamped not far from *Vachia*. And albeit that the Arch-duke, before his Departure from *Hatwan*, had left a convenient Garriſon for the keeping of the Town; yet ſuch was the terror of the Turks approach, that the next day after, they that were there left in Garriſon forſook the Town, and ſetting it on fire, followed themſelves after the Camp. This coming of the Turkiſh Sultan to *Buda*, brought alſo a great fear upon them at *Vienna*, as much doubting leſt he ſhould that way have turned his Forces; which cauſed them both day and night to labour for the better Fortification of the City, and for the proviſion of all things, as if it had been for a preſent Siege.

But *Mahomet*, not provided for the undertaking of ſo ſtrong a place, and not ignorant of the diſgrace his great Grand-father, the victorious *Solyman* had ſometime received under the Walls thereof, had no purpoſe thereto, as having bent his thoughts quite another way. In the upper part of *Hungary* is an ancient famous City, well fortified and honoured with a Biſhops See called *Agria*, not far from *Hatwan*: upon this City, as the chief Fortreſs of the Chriſtians in thoſe Quarters, had *Mahomet* at

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his coming into *Hungary* caſt his eyes, and began now that way to make head, with purpoſe by taking of that City, and placing there a ſtrong Garriſon, to hinder the uniting of the Emperour's Forces with the *Tranſilvanians*, for the mutual ſtrengthning of the one the other by the way of the upper *Hungary*. Which the Arch-duke perceiving, ſent thither forthwith the valiant Collonel *Terſky* with a notable Company of *Italians* and *Germans*, and a thouſand other Harquebuſiers, who all arrived there in ſafety. At which time alſo the Lord *Teufſenbach* ſent into the City three thouſand Foot-men, under the conduct of County *Turne*, with good ſtore of warlike Proviſion needful for the defence thereof. The one and twentieth of *September*, *Mahomet*, attended upon by the great Baſſaes, *Ibrahim*, *Giaffer*, *Haſſan*, and *Cicala*, for old *Sinan* was now dead, with his Army of an 150000 men, came and encamped between the two Rivers of *Danubius* and *Tibiſcus*, covering a great part of the Country with his Tents. Approaching the City, he with wonderful Celerity caſt up five great Mounts, and from them with ſuch fury battered the Walls, that the Chriſtians were glad night and day to ſtand in Arms for the defence thereof. And altho that the Walls were ſo great, and in many places ſo weakly fortified, as that they were not but by a greater Garriſon to be defended againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy; and that therefore the Defendants with their Honour lawfully might even the firſt day have ſet the City on fire, and retired themſelves into the Caſtle, which was both fair and ſtrong, and the only place to be truſted unto; yet, for the ſpace of ſix days they worthily defended the whole City againſt the fury of the Enemies; and out of it did them great harm. But ſeeing the danger greatly encreaſing, and that the City was not longer to be holden, they ſet it on fire; having before conveyed all the beſt of their Subſtance, with themſelves, into the Caſtle: which the Turks quickly perceiving, brake ſo ſuddenly into the City, as if they would, together with the Chriſtians, have entred the Caſtle alſo; but in the attempt thereof they were notably repulſed, and many of them ſlain. Adjoyning to the Caſtle was a great and ſtrong Bulwark, againſt which the Turks for certain days furiouſly thundred with their great Ordnance, and that without intermiſſion; and having in divers places ſore ſhaken it, in the ſpace of two days aſſaulted it 12 times, but not without the wonderful loſs of their men: and yet gave it not ſo over; but as men with their loſs more enraged, came on again with greater fury than before, and ſo at laſt by plain force took it; and there put to the Sword all them they found therein, except ſuch as by good hap got betimes into the Caſtle. This Bulwark thus loſt, the Chriſtians the next day ſallying out, again recovered; wherein they ſlew a great number of the Turks, with the loſs of ſome thirty men, and as many more wounded. The beſieged now divers times, both by Letters and Meſſengers, craved Aid of *Maximilian* the General, giving him to underſtand, that they could not long hold out for want of Shot and Powder, if they were not betimes relieved (whereof the Enemy alſo was not ignorant) yet were they reſolved to hold it out even to the laſt man; altho the great Sultan had oftentimes, by Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, willed them to yield it up, with promiſe that they ſhould in ſafety with Life and Goods depart; otherwiſe threatning unto them greater extremities than was of late ſhewed unto the Turks at *Hatwan*, if they ſhould as obſtinate men hold it out unto the laſt: whereunto they never anſwered him any thing; for *Terſkie* had forbid them all Parle with the Enemy; and in the midſt of the Market-place had cauſed a pair of Gallows to be ſet up, threatning to hang him thereon, whoſoever he were, that ſhould once make motion of yielding up the City.

Agria beſieged by *Mahomet*.

A Bulwark twelve times aſſaulted in two days.

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Whilſt the beſieged thus live in hope of Relief, the Arch-duke, upon the coming over of the Sultan towards *Agria*, having retired with his Army to *Strigonium*, and there ſtaid ſomewhat too long expecting the coming of more Aid; began now at length to ſet forward, and to make ſome ſhew as if he had indeed purpoſed to have relieved his diſtreſſed Friends ſo hardly beſet at *Agria*. But ſuch was the foulneſs of the Weather, hindering the paſſage of his great Ordnance (not to ſpeak of any thing elſe) that in fourteen days he marched ſcarcely twelve miles forward. Whereby the Enemy took occaſion to prevail as he did in his Siege: who now hearing of the coming of the Chriſtians, and ſeeing to how little purpoſe he had ſo long battered the Caſtle, converted all his endeavours to the filling up of the Ditch of the old Caſtle, with Faggots, Earth, and ſuch like matter; for the haſtening of which work, *Mahomet* himſelf ſpared not to ride up and down in all places of his Army, with his Preſence and cheerful Speech encouraging his men in that deſperate Work. But whilſt the Turks are thus buſie in fulfilling his Command, the Chriſtians ſallying out upon them made great ſlaughter of them, and put to flight *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa, with ſuch as were about him; after whom they ſo eagerly followed, that he in the flight loſt his Tulipant for haſte, and was there very like to have been taken. Nevertheleſs, the work went ſtill forward, and was now at length, with the reſtleſs labour of ſo great a multitude, brought to ſuch perfection, that the Turks thought it now no great matter by aſſault to enter the Caſtle; and thereupon, the tenth of *October*, gave unto it four deſperate Aſſaults one upon another, being ſtill with greater ſlaughter of his men repulſed. But coming on again the fifth time with freſh Supplies, and greater fury than at the firſt, they prevailed; and ſo entring, put to the Sword all they found in the Caſtle, in number about eight hundred: four hundred of whoſe Heads, one of the Turks Captains cauſed to be carried unto *Mahomet* in the Camp, in the beholding whereof, he is ſaid to have taken great Pleaſure, as in the undoubted Signs of his Victory.

The old Caſtle taken.

The old Caſtle thus taken, nothing remained but the new Caſtle, againſt which the Turks converted their whole Forces, wherein they repoſed not ſo much hope (altho their Battery were very terrible, and their Power great) as in the ſecret Mines wherewith they had in fourteen places undermined the Caſtle, and were now almoſt ready to be blown up. Which the beſieged perceiving, and withal conſidering the ſtate wherein they ſtood, and not hearing any thing of relief; reſolved amongſt themſelves (without the conſent of their chief Commanders) no longer to hold out, but to yield. And thereupon altogether, as if it had been but one man, riſe up in a Mutiny againſt their two Governours, *Paul Niari*, and *Terſky*; who at the firſt, by all the reaſons they could deviſe, diſſuaded them from ſuch Cowardiſe, putting them in mind of the Oath they had taken: which not prevailing, they afterwards upon their knees requeſted them, as men, to hold it out yet a while, in hope of ſpeedy relief; yea *Terſky*, with his hands caſt up, intreated them, that if they would no longer hold it out, but needs yield, then they ſhould firſt kill him with their own hands, that he might not live to ſee ſo great a Diſhonour. But what availeth Perſuaſion with men poſſeſſed with ſo great fear? And in the mean time 250 of the common Souldiers, among whom were many *Italians*, ſecretly eſcaping out of the Caſtle fled into the Camp, of whom divers became Renegades and turned Turk; which added to the former fear, ſo much diſcouraged the minds of the reſt, that they

forth-

1596 forthwith required to come to parle with the Enemy, and ſo agreed, That they might with Bag and Baggage, and their Swords by their ſides, in ſafety depart; the great Sultan giving his Faith for the performance thereof, with Hoſtages delivered on either ſide. So the thirteenth of *October*, about Noon, the Garriſon Souldiers came out of the Caſtle, in number about 2000; but they were not gone far, but that they were in a great Plane ſet upon by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and there cut in pieces; ſome of them were ſlain quick, and ſome other of them otherwiſe ſhamefully diſmembred; the Turks in the mean time upbraiding them, and ſaying, That Faith was not to be kept with them that had ſo cruelly before dealt with them of *Hatwan*. This perfidious dealing much offended divers of the better ſort of the Turks, inſomuch, that ſome of them complained thereof unto the Sultan; who (as is reported) cauſed ſome of the chief Authors thereof to be put to death; and afterward, by open Proclamation commanded, that if any of the *Turks* or *Tartars* had taken any of them Priſoners, they ſhould forthwith ſet them at liberty. Thus is the famous City of *Agria*, of long time a Christian Biſhops Seat, now become a ſure Receptacle for the Turks and Infidels.

Agria yielded unto the Turks.

Petrinia beſieged by the Turks.

Whilſt *Mahomet* thus lay at the Siege of *Agria*, the Baſſa of *Boſna*, with certain other of the Sanzacks thereabouts, having raiſed a great Army, came and beſieged *Petrinia* in the Borders of *Croatia*: which he at his firſt coming ſo furiouſly battered by the ſpace of ſeven days, that it was of many thought not poſſible for it to hold out two days longer. In the mean time, the Lord *Herbenſtein* and *Leucowitze*, with all the Power they could make out of *Croatia* and *Windiſmarch*, came towards *Petrinia*; but having no means in ſo great haſte to make a Bridge over the River of *Kulp*, they retired towards *Siſeg*, there to paſs over. The Turks hearing of their retire, and ſuppoſing them to have fled for fear, put ſix thouſand Horſemen over the River to purſue them: upon whom the Chriſtians turning, and charging them home, overthrew them; and having ſlain many of them, drave the reſt headlong into the River, where moſt of them periſhed. The Chriſtians neverthelеſs keeping on their way to *Siſeg*, there the next day by a Bridge paſſed over the River, and ſo marching towards *Petrinia*, and being come near unto the Town, were encountered by eight thouſand Turks, whom they alſo put to flight; and by certain Priſoners there taken, underſtood that the Baſſa, the day before, was riſen from before the Town, and gone: which they at the firſt believed not, but coming thither found it ſo, to their own good Contentment, and the great Joy of the late beſieged.

Petrinia relieved.

Maximilian the General marching on fair and ſoftly from *Strigonium*, at length, the ſeventeenth of *October*, came to *Caſſovia*, four days after that *Agria* was loſt; and there met with the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, who was come thither with eighteen thouſand men, and forty Field-pieces to aid him; of whom eight thouſand were mercenary Horſemen, fifteen hundred were of the Nobility of his Country, and the reſt Foot-men. The next day after, they ſetting forward from *Caſſovia*, joyned themſelves with the reſt of the Army led by the Lord *Teuffenbach* and *Palſi*, and ſo of all their united Forces made one Army, conſiſting now of 32000 Horſe-men and 28000 Foot; who drew with them an 120 Field-pieces, and 20000 Waggons, wherewith they every night encloſed their Army as with a moſt ſure Trench. So orderly marching, they kept on their way towards *Agria*, with a full reſolution to give the Turks Battel, whereof the whole Army ſeemed to be very deſirous. By the way at length they came to a fair Heath two miles long and four broad, where they were to paſs over a certain River, the Paſſage whereof *Giaffer Baſſa* had before taken with 20000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, the reſt of the *Turks* Army lying ſtill not far from *Agria*. Now the purpoſe of the Baſſa was, to have enlarged the Paſſage of the River, and ſo to have made way for the whole Army to have afterwards paſſed to the other ſide, as moſt commodious for many purpoſes, eſpecially for Water, whereof they ſo might themſelves have had plenty, and yet kept the Chriſtians from it. But of this his purpoſe, by the coming of the Chriſtians he was quite diſappointed; for the next day, being the 23th. of *October*, they skirmiſhed with him in divers places, eſpecially at the Paſſage of the River; where, at the firſt Encounter he loſt 300 of his men, and in the end ſeeing himſelf too weak to withſtand the whole power coming on, fled to the Sultan, having loſt two of his Enſigns and 20 field-pieces, but of his men not many, both for that he fled betime, and the approach of the night hindered the purſuit of the Chriſtians, who were now become Maſters both of the paſſage of the River, and of the place where the Baſſa lay: which they finding not ſo commodious for them as they had at the firſt ſuppoſed (eſpecially for lack of Wood, the Weather being then extream cold, as alſo hearing of the approach of the Sultan with his whole Army) they forthwith forſook the ſame, and retired again over the River to the place where they lay before, incloſing themſelves with their Waggons, as if it had been a City ſtrongly incloſed with wooden Walls. The next day, which was the 24th. of *October*, towards night, *Mahomet* with all his Army ſhewed himſelf unto the view of the Chriſtians, and ſent 3000 *Tartars* to paſs the River; of whom the Chriſtians ſlew a great number with their great ſhot, and put the reſt to flight. Both the Armies were populous and ſtrong, and covered a great deal of ground, a moſt goodly ſight to behold: both drunk of the ſame River, as well the Men as their Horſes, and therefore kept continual watch all that night on both ſides of the River, eſpecially at the Paſſage. In the morning, betwixt ſix and ſeven a clock, *Mahomet*, with his Army ranged in order of Battel, came within ſight of the Chriſtians, his Squadrons as it were covering all the Country on that ſide of the River, as far as the Chriſtians could well ſee; and now again ſent part of his Army over the River; with whom the Chriſtians skirmiſhed from morning till night, both the Armies parted but by the River, all this while ſtanding faſt, and as it were facing the one the other. But being at length on both ſides well wearied, and many ſlain, the Turks retired again over the River to the Camp; in the mean time (as if it had been by conſent) they reſolved on both ſides the next day to try the fortune of a Battel; and ſo Commandment was given through both the Armies, for every man, againſt a certain appointed time to make himſelf ready. So the next day, being the 26th. of *October*, *Mahomet* brought forth his Army again out of his Camp, which was not far from the Chriſtians, and began now to draw down towards the River. Near unto this place were the ruines of an old Church, where *Mahomet* placed certain Companies of Janizaries, and 24 field-pieces, and commanded 10000 of his ſelect Souldiers to paſs the River, which they readily did. The Chriſtians alſo ready for Battel, and now thinking it time upon the coming over of the Enemy to begin; with part of their Army thereunto appointed, ſo fiercely charged the Turks that were already come over, that they quickly overthrew them, and not them only, but certain Companies of *Tartars* alſo that were in another place come over the River; and not ſo contented, but following them they had in chaſe, put to flight them alſo that ſtood on the farther ſide of the River, of whom they ſlew a great 1596

A great and long Skirmiſh betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

Ten thouſand Turks paſs the River, and are together with the *Tartars* put to flight.

number, and by the coming on of the reſt of the Army, took from them an 190 great pieces of Artillery; whereof ſo great a fear roſe in the Enemies Camp, that *Mahomet*, with *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the Army, fled in all haſte towards *Agria*, ſhedding ſome tears by the way as he went, and wiping his eyes with a piece of *Mahomet*'s Garment, which he for reverence carried about him as a Relique. It drew now towards night, and the Arch-duke was about to have cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and that day to have done no more. But the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, the Lord *Palſi*, and the reſt, perſuaded him in that ſo great fear of the Enemy to proſecute the Victory; and the rather, for that the *Turks* began again to make head, and to repair their diſordered Battels. Wherefore the Chriſtians ſtill keeping their Array, charged afreſh the Front of their Enemies reſtored Battel, conſiſting of 40000 men, and that with ſuch violence, as that they in ſhort time had ſlain the moſt part of them, and put the reſt to flight; and with the like good fortune charging the body of the main Battel, forced the diſcouraged Turks, with great ſlaughter, into their own Camp. Now Commandment was before given throughout the Chriſtian Army, that no man upon pain of Death ſhould in ſeeking after ſpoil break his Array, or forſake his Place before the Victory were aſſuredly gotten. But they in this hot purſuit breaking together with the Turks into their Tents, and there killing a great number of them, and ſeeing in every place great ſtore of rich ſpoil, contrary to the aforeſaid Commandment, left the purſuit of the Enemy, and diſorderly fell to the ſpoil of the Tents, until they came to the very Tent of the great Sultan. But here began all the miſchief with a moſt ſudden change of Fortune. For here theſe greedy diſordered men, not now worthy the name of Souldiers, light upon a ſtrong Squadron of reſolute men, with good ſtore of great Ordnance ready charged, which they diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of their Enemies, and rent in ſunder a number of them, and after that, came on reſolutely themſelves; when in the mean time *Cicala Baſſa*, with his Horſe-men yet untouched, brake in upon them alſo, and with the terror of his coming brought ſuch a fear upon them, that they began amain to fly, eſpecially the *Hungarians* and *Germans*, moſt buſied in the Spoil. Neither could they in that fear, by any threats or intreaty of their Commanders be perſuaded to make a ſtand, or ſo much as once to look back, or to ſhew any token of true Valour: which their haſty flight, was the overthrow not of themſelves only, but of others alſo that would have fought; for whilſt they fled head-long upon the Spur, and could not be ſtaid, they over-ran their own Foot-men, and ſo furthered the Enemies Victory. Thus for want of good order, thro the greedy covetouſneſs of a ſort of diſordered men, the moſt notable Victory that ever the Chriſtians were like to have had over the Turks, was let ſlip out of their hands. Many noble Gentlemen and Commanders, in ſeeking to ſtay the flight of their own men, were here ſlain: and altho the Enemy followed the Chace ſcarce half a mile, yet were the Chriſtians poſſeſſed with ſuch a fear, that they fled amain all over the Country, with greater ſhame than loſs, no man purſuing them. The Arch-duke himſelf ſeeing all deſperate, fled to *Caſſovia*. The *Tranſilvanian*, of all others moſt orderly, retired himſelf towards *Tocaii*, having not loſt in this Battel above 200 men, and of them never a man of name. All this loſs he imputed to the Covetouſneſs of the *Hungarians*, and Cowardiſe of the *German* Horſemen. The Lord *Bernſtein* having charge of the great Artillery, fled alſo, and made ſhift for himſelf, as did *Palſi*, and in fine all the reſt. Neither was the fear leſs amongſt the Turks (a wonderful thing to be ſpoken) than it was among the Chriſtians: for the Night following, they, for fear of the return of the Chriſtians, truſſing up the beſt of their things, fled alſo towards *Agria*. And it was afterwards known, that the Turks great Ordnance, Tents, and Baggage, ſtood three days in their Trenches, either altogether unguarded, or ſo ſlenderly guarded, as that they might have been eaſily taken by the Chriſtians, if they would but have made head again. Yea *Mahomet* himſelf is reported oftentimes to have confeſſed the danger and fear he was then in to have been taken, and all his Army deſtroyed, if the Chriſtians had (as they ſhould) purſued the Victory, and not ſo baſely run after the Spoil: by which danger he then warned, afterwards ever ſhunned to adventure his Perſon to the like Peril in the Field. In this Battel of *Kareſta* (for ſo it is of a place thereby called) and at the Siege of *Agria*, were loſt of the Chriſtians about 20000, and of the Turks 60000. *Mahomet* after this Victory fortified *Agria*, and for the keeping thereof left in it 10000 Souldiers, and ſo returned to *Belgrade*.

The Chriſtians in ſeeking too greedily after the Spoil, overthrown and diſcomfited.

Twenty thouſand Chriſtians ſlain, and threeſcore thouſand Turks.

The Baſſa of *Buda*, perſuading himſelf that the Chriſtians, after ſo great an Overthrow, could not this Year to any purpoſe recover their Strength, came with all the power he was able to make, and the fourth of *November* beſieged *Vachia*, in hope to have eaſily carried it: but finding there greater reſiſtance than he had before imagined, and hearing that the diſperſed Chriſtians in the upper part of *Hungary* were making head for to come to the relief of the Town, he, more afraid than hurt, brake up his Siege, and ſo returned to *Buda*; for indeed the diſperſed Reliques of the late Army of the Chriſtians were drawing together, but unarmed and unſerviceable, as having in the late flight ſhamefully caſt away their Arms, and therefore could have done the Baſſa ſmall harm if he had continued the Siege.

Vachia beſieged by the Baſſa of *Buda*.

Mahomet, thinking it Honour enough for him to have thus won *Agria*, and driven the Chriſtians out of the Field, divided his Army into two parts at *Belgrade*; whereof the one he billeted in the Country thereabout, to be ready for all Events, and with the other he returned to *Conſtantinople*: but by the way he was ſet upon by *Barbelius Januſchy* the *Tranſilvanian* Prince's Lieutenant, and the Vayvod of *Valachia*, who with a great Power both of Horſe and Foot being got over the River *Danubius*, and ſecretly favoured by the Country People, lay in Ambuſh for him in places of advantage, and ſtill following in the Tail of his Army, cut off 7000 of his men before he could be rid of them; and ſo with much trouble arrived at length at *Conſtantinople*, where we will for this Year leave him, until we hear of him more.

Maximilian, with a ſmall Retinue, arrived at *Vienna* in the latter end of *November*, where he found the Viſcount of *Burgaw*, *Swartzenburg*, and ſome other of the Commanders of his late Army; moſt of the reſt, eſpecially the *Italians*, being ſlain. The ſmall remainder of this unfortunate Year was ſpent with often Skirmiſhes and Inroads one into anothers Frontiers, as the manner of War is, without any other great thing done worth the Remembrance.

Rodolph the Chriſtian Emperour, notwithſtanding the late diſcomfiture of his Army not far from *Agria*, made choice again of his Brother *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, for the managing of his Forces for his next Years Wars againſt the Turk. Whereunto the Pope by his Legate *Fran. Aldobrandina* promiſed of his own charge to ſend him 10000 *Italians*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Mantua*; as did alſo the *German* Princes their wonted aid, with ſome others. All which ſlowly at length meeting together near unto *Poſſonium* and *Altenburg*, in the Months of *July* and *Auguſt*; departing thence, march-

Pappa taken by the Chriſtians.

Dotis taken by the Turks.

1596 marched to *Pappa*, which after eight days hard Siege they took, and ſo again retired to *Altenburg*, where they took a general Muſter of the Army, and afterwards, in the beginning of *September*, ſhewed themſelves before the ſtrong Town of *Rab*: where the Lord *Bernſtein* approaching too near the Walls, was with a Shot ſlain. Nevertheleſs, the reſt there ſtayed, until that hearing of the coming of *Mahomet Baſſa*, the Turks General, with a great Army, they left the Siege, and the twenty fourth day of *September*, paſſing over the River *Danubius*, into the Iſland *Schut* towards *Comara*, there on the North-ſide of the River encamped. Where they had not lain paſt eight days, but that the Caſtle of *Dotis*, ſtanding upon the South-ſide of *Danubius*, was by the Baſſa, before their Faces, and as it were even under their Noſes, beſieged and taken; the whole Army of the Chriſtians in the mean time, as idle Beholders, looking on, but not daring to relieve their diſtreſſed Friends: but afterwards ariſing, marched to *Vachia*; where, hearing of the Turks coming againſt them from *Peſth*, they ſet fire on the Caſtle, and ſo retired along the North-ſide of the River, until they came over againſt *Vicegrade*, a Caſtle of their own, on the farther ſide of *Danubius*; where, by the good direction of the Lord *George Baſta*, a moſt expert Captain, and Lieutenant-General of the Army, they encamped ſo ſtrongly, as that the Turks, after many brave Attempts given to have forced them in their Trenches, were glad with ſome loſs to depart.

Michael the Vayvod yieldeth his Obeiſance unto the Turk, and yet refuſeth to aid him againſt the Chriſtians.

Neither went things this Year better forward with the Chriſtians in other places, than in this ſide of *Hungary*; for *Sigiſmund* the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, by his Chancellor, beſieging the ſtrong City of *Temeſwar* in *October*, was, by the valour of the Defendants, and the unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather, inforced to raiſe his Siege, and with diſhonour to depart. *Michael* alſo, the Vayvod of *Valachia*, who, moved with the example and perſuaſions of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, had revolted from the Turks, and done them great harm (as is in part before declared) now wearied with their often Invaſions and the ſpoil of his Country, almoſt brought to utter Deſolation, many thouſands of his Subjects being by the *Turks* and *Tartars* carried away Captives, and his Towns and Caſtles for moſt part razed; to give his People a time of breathing, ſubmitted himſelf again unto the *Turkiſh* Obeiſance, ſolemnly receiving at the hands of one of the Turks Chiaus (for that purpoſe ſent from *Conſtantinople*) an Enſign in token of his Submiſſion unto the Turkiſh Emperour, as alſo of his favour towards him. Which the more to aſſure him of, he by another honourable Meſſenger ſhortly after received from *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour more kind Letters than at any time before, with the confirmation of the Vayvodſhip of *Valachia* by the grand Seignior's ſolemn Oath, unto *Michael* the Vayvod, and his Son *Peter*, then about thirteen years old, for the term of both their Lives, without diſturbance; paying but the half of the old yearly Tribute by the Turks before demanded. So glad they were upon any condition to have reduced that Martial man with his Country unto their Obeiſance: and in token of further Grace, together with theſe Letters he received alſo a goodly Horſe, moſt richly furniſhed, with a fair Scimiter and an Horſe-man's Mace, in ſign of the martial Power and Government committed unto him by the great Sultan *Mahomet*. All which goodly gifts and Honours the Vayvod ſeemed thankfully to accept: nevertheleſs, not daring too far to truſt unto the Turkiſh Faith, of the ſmall aſſurance whereof he had before had ſufficient Experience, he ſtill kept ſtrong Garriſons upon the Frontiers of his Country, with ſuch other Forces alſo as he was 1596 wont, excuſing the ſame to be done for fear of the *Tartars*; by whom he alſo excuſed himſelf for not going with the *Turks* General this Year into *Hungary*, as he was by ſpecial Meſſengers from the grand Seignior himſelf requeſted; telling him, that he might not in any caſe ſo do, for fear of the *Tartars* moſt horrible Incurſions, and the Spoils of his Country; yet knew he right well, how that they were by the great Sultan's expreſs Commandment charged not to do any harm either in *Moldavia*, or *Valachia*, as they went into *Hungary*. But this wary Vayvod not greatly truſting either the Sultan or them, as alſo loth himſelf, a Chriſtian, to go againſt the Chriſtians, his Friends and late Confederates, excuſed himſelf by the neceſſary care he had of his Subjects and Country, and ſo requeſted that his reaſonable Excuſe to be in good part of the great Sultan accepted: but of him more is to be ſaid hereafter. Thus paſſed this Year without any great thing done more than is before declared; both theſe great Princes, the Emperour and the Turkiſh Sultan, being warned by the laſt Years Work what it was to put all to the Fortune of a Battel: and therefore now, contenting themſelves to have ſhewed their Forces, as not afraid one of 1598 the other, countenanced this years Wars more in ſhews than deeds.

A great Tribute.

The Prince of *Tranſilvania* reſigneth his Country unto the Emperour.

What great things might by the Chriſtian Princes at Unity amongſt themſelves be done againſt the Turk, is by the conſiderate Right eaſily to be gathered; but eſpecially by the notable Victory of the famous *Tranſilvanian* Prince *Sigiſmund*, who, confederated but with his poor oppreſſed Neighbours the *Valachians* and *Moldavians*, and ſtrengthened with ſome ſmall Aid from the Emperour and the *Hungarians*, not only delivered thoſe three Countries from the heavy burthen of the Turkiſh Thraldom, but vanquiſhed alſo their moſt renowned Captains, overthrew their mighty Armies, burnt and ſpoiled their Countries, razed their Towns and Cities; which, as it hath been before in part declared, ſo if it ſhould be all particularly ſet down, beſides that it would be tedious, ſo alſo might it haply ſeem almoſt incredible. Beſides which Calamities of War (commonly more felt of the Subjects than of the Prince) the great Sultan himſelf found no ſmall Wants, as well in his Coffers, as other his neceſſary Supplies for the maintenance of his Wars, eſpecially in *Hungary*; the only Country of *Moldavia*, before theſe Troubles, yielding unto him yearly a Tun of Gold, 2000 Horſes for Service, 10000 great meaſures of Wheat, with as much Barly, and a wonderful proportion of Butter, Honey, and other Victuals; the other two Provinces paying the like or more, as a yearly Tribute: whereof he had of late, to his great diſcontentment, by the general Revolt of theſe three Countries, been quite diſappointed. But this ſo wholſome a Confederation (to the great hurt of the Chriſtian Commonweal, and benefit of the Turks) now broken, and *Moldavia* by the *Polonians* diſſevered from the reſt, and again made tributary to the Turk, as is before declared, and now *Valachia* alſo in a ſort acknowledging the Turks Obeiſance; the noble *Tranſilvanian* Prince, who hitherto with great Cheerfulneſs and Courage had fought the moſt Chriſtian Battels againſt the Turk, now left as it were all alone, and doubting how with his own ſmall Forces to be able long to defend his Country againſt the *Turk* and the *Polonian*, whom he feared not much leſs than him; leſt the ſame ſhould, together with himſelf, fall into the hands of the Turks or ſome other his Enemies, by a wonderful Change voluntarily reſigned this his Country of *Tranſilvania* unto *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperour, and his Heirs for ever: and ſo leaving his Wife in *Tranſilvania*, went himſelf into *Sileſia*, there to take Poſſeſſion of the Dukedoms of *Oppel* and *Ratibor*, which, together with the yearly Penſion of 50000 Joachims, or the Revenues of the Biſhoprick of *Vratiſlavia*, he had in lieu thereof received of the Emperour: whereupon the Poſſeſſion of *Tranſilvania*, by the general conſent of all the States of that Country, was in the beginning of this Year 1598, delivered unto the Archbiſhop of *Vacia*, the County *Nadaſti*, and Doctor *Petzi*, the Emperour's Commiſſioners; and a ſolemn Oath of Obedience and Loyalty taken of them all in general; albeit the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, as alſo the Emperour himſelf, would have perſuaded the Prince, either not at all, or at leaſtwiſe not ſo ſuddenly to have forſaken his Country, but to have ſtill kept the Government thereof himſelf yet for a year or two; well foreſeeing, that the ſame could not ſo conveniently be governed by any other as by himſelf, a natural Prince therein born, and exceedingly beloved of his Subjects. The ſame Commiſſioners alſo, in *June* following, going into *Valachia*, there took the like Oath of Obedience of *Michael* the Vayvod and his People: who, loathing the Turkiſh Sovereignty, all willingly yielded themſelves unto the Emperour's Protection. Theſe Commiſſioners alſo at the ſame time came to agreement with the *Tartars* Ambaſſadors, offering unto the Emperour Peace and Aid for the yearly Penſion of 40000 Duckats, and as many Sheep-skin Gowns, their uſual manner of Apparel.

Michael the Vayvod ſubmitteth himſelf, with his People, unto the Emperours Protection.

All this while continued the Diet of the Empire, begun in *December* laſt paſt at *Ratiſbon*, *Matthias* the Emperour's Brother being there his Deputy, and in his Majeſty's Name demanding a greater Aid for the maintenance of his Wars againſt the Turk, the common Enemy, than was by the Princes and States of the Empire offered: where, after great and long Deliberation, a large Proportion was by them all agreed upon for the defraying of the charges of thoſe Wars and defence of the Chriſtian Commonweal, to be paid in three years next; and ſo thereupon was the Aſſembly diſſolved. But as they were returning home, behold, contrary to all hope, *Rab*, one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes of Chriſtendom, three Years before betrayed unto the Turks by County *Hardeck*, was now by the Wiſdom and Valour of *Adolphus* Baron of *Swartzenburg*, the Emperour's Lieutenant in the lower *Hungary*, again recovered, to the great grief of the Turks, and wonderful rejoycing of the Chriſtians, in ſuch ſort as followeth:

This noble Gentleman the Lord *Swartzenburg*, of no leſs Courage than Experience, then lying at *Komara*, and ſtill in doubt leſt the Turks, ſo near unto him at *Rab*, ſhould attempt ſomething againſt him and his Charge, provided for his own defence all that Winter-time with a ſtrong Garriſon, keeping continual Watch and Ward, altho it were as then no time for the Enemy with any Army to keep the Field. So Winter paſſing, and the Spring approaching, it fortuned, that the two and twentieth day of *March*, about ſeven a clock in the night, the Gates being ſhut, were heard near under the Walls of the Town, two men, who by their Speech ſeemed to be *Italians*; with great inſtance requeſting, for the ſafeguard of their Lives, to be let in, for fear of the Enemies Purſuit: which by one of the Sentinels was forthwith reported unto the Governour; who, doubting it to be ſome ſubtil practice of the Enemy, commanded them there to take their Fortune until the Morning; at which time they were received into the City, and being brought before the Governour, proſtrating themſelves forthwith at his Feet, pitifully requeſted him to have compaſſion of their Miſery, and to comfort them with his charitable Relief, that ſo they might at length return again into their Country: who at the firſt asked them, What Country-men they were, and from whence they came at that time of the night? Whereunto they anſwered, That they were *Italians*, and that they had but even then eſcaped out of the cruel hands of the Turks at *Rab*. But deſiring to know of them ſome News, they, after their manner, humbled themſelves, ſhewing by their Geſture not to know any. Yet would he needs underſtand of them the Particularities, when and how they were taken by the Turks, and the means they had uſed to eſcape out of that cruel Servitude, in all order as had befaln them. Where the younger of them beginning, told him, That now almoſt two years ago, at ſuch time as the Chriſtians were overthrown by the Turks under *Agria*, and every man in that confuſion then ſeeking the beſt and neareſt way to ſave themſelves; they having by flight now eſcaped the greateſt danger of the Enemy, and ſo travelling over the Country towards *Vienna*, were, to their great Misfortune (by an hundred Turks come out of *Rab* to ſcour the Country, and to ſeek after Prey) taken Priſoners, and as Slaves committed to the Chain, where they had almoſt two years, until now, with great Patience ſerved. Theſe two Fugitives, by their outward appearance, ſeemed to be men of good Spirit and Valour; which cauſed the Governour the more deſirous to know of them the means they had uſed for their eſcape. So the younger proceeding in his Tale, gave him to underſtand of the whole matter, telling him, That they had been three Months before ſtill carefully deviſing how to recover their loſt Liberty, which now ſeemed to make ſome offer of it ſelf unto them: for that ſince the time that the Emperour's Army riſe the laſt year from before the Town, they were not kept ſo ſtrait, or looked unto as before, but lay as men by the Turks not much regarded; which cauſed them the more cheerfully to take the offer of the time, and to reſolve either the ſooner to dye, or to ſet themſelves at liberty. And that ſo one day as they were carrying certain Munition from the Palace of *Giaffer Baſſa* for the Souldiers, they ſecretly conveyed three pieces of Cord of ſome reaſonable bigneſs, therewith by night to let themſelves down from the Wall, and ſo make their Eſcape: which ſtoln Cord, that it ſhould not be ſeen, and ſo their purpoſe ſuſpected, they buried in the ground. But the Night being come for them to effect in what they had ſo long deſired, and they roming up and down in the dark, and ſtill finding one let or other, they were enforced for that time to ſtay, and to deferr it until the night following; which being come, and choice made of a moſt convenient place, they made faſt the Cord above, and ſo thereby ſlid down, firſt the elder, and then the younger; who not knowing how to ſwim, was yet by the good direction and help of his Fellow conducted over unto the farther ſide of the broad and deep Ditch; and that ſo, in the night (ſo dark as that one of them could hardly ſee the other) they were come by chance to *Komara*, thinking to have taken the way to *Vienna*. The Governour thus fully inſtructed of their Eſcape, demanded of them further, how the ſtrong Town of *Rab* was by the Turks governed and guarded; who told him, very evil, and with ſmall care, eſpecially ſince the Departure of the Emperour's Camp; and alſo that four Gates of the Town were filled up with Earth, which if they were broken open, would all fall into the Town-ditch, and ſo further them that would attempt to enter, with divers other Particularities. Whereof the Governour having well conſidered, thought with himſelf, that if by ſome ingenious Device he might by night, with ſome good ſtrength, upon the ſudden enter the Town,

Two *Italian* Priſoners flying out of *Rab*, diſcover the ſtate of the Town to the Lord *Swartzenburg*.

it

1598 it might happily be ſo again recovered. Upon which ſo great a deſignment he thought good to conſult further with the Lord *Palfi*, whom he requeſted, in all haſte, and with as much Secrecy as was poſſible, with 1600 Foot, and as many Horſe as he could make, to come unto him to *Komara*. Who, upon this Advertiſement, ſtaid not, but preſently giving order unto his men, ſet forward by night, and the *26th* of *March*, before day, with 1400 Foot and 120 Horſe arrived at *Komara*; where they were all joyfully received, and the Gates, after they were entred, again faſt ſhut, and ſo kept for fear of the Enemies ſecret Spies, of whom no man can be too wary, be he never ſo wiſe. Now whilſt theſe Souldiers were refreſhing themſelves, in the mean time, the Governour, with the Lord *Palfi*, diſcourſed to the full concerning the intended Enterpriſe; which reſolved upon, they found themſelves, upon the view of their men, to have 2600 Foot of the Garriſon Souldiers, and 300 Horſe, all good and courageous men, and well appointed for the intended Service: who there ſtaying two days after their coming, and many of them in the mean time (after the manner of their Religion) confeſſing themſelves, and receiving the Sacrament, were become ſo courageous, as that they doubted not, in the Quarrel of the Chriſtian Religion, to encounter a far greater number of the Turks than themſelves. And the more to ſtir them up, the Lord *Palfi* at the ſame time delivered unto them a notable Speech; not for all that telling them whither they were to go; but, That they were his Chriſtian Souldiers and Brethren, under his leading both of long and late time; who, never by him deceived of their wonted Pay at ſuch time as it was due, would not now, as he hoped, forſake him. And albeit that he well knew them to have deſerved at his hands a greater Contentment, nevertheleſs, being himſelf deprived of his Revenue by theſe late Wars, and his Poſſeſſions ſubject every hour unto the Incurſions of the Turks, could not therefore, according to his Deſire, and their Deſerts, ſhew unto them the great good Will he bare them; yet, now and even preſently was come the time wherein they might not only abundantly inrich themſelves, but alſo adorn their Heads with an immortal Crown of Glory, and make themſelves for ever famous, by performing the moſt happy and glorious Exploit that ever was by valiant Souldiers attempted or atchieved in that part of the World. And to the intent that they might know how dearly he accounted of the Life and Honour of every one of them, he would therefore himſelf, with the Lord *Swartzenburg*, (of whom proceeded all that fair Device and new Stratagem) be preſent with them in the Action; and that therefore they were not to think that they were led forth to any private danger, farther than their Commanders themſelves, whoſe Folly were to be accounted great, if raſhly and upon no good ground they ſhould adventure their Lives and Honours together; whereof they ought not now to doubt, having by a thouſand Proofs known how much they had been of them always regarded. And that therefore it behoved them ſo much the more to ſhew their Valour in this piece of Service undertaken for the great benefit of the Chriſtian Commonweal, and the Honour of Chriſt Jeſu, unto whom they were with one accord to make their Prayers, with his mighty hand to ſtrengthen their Hearts, and with glorious Victory to bring to happy end the intended Exploit againſt his Enemies, to the honour of his Name, and the advancement of the Chriſtian Religion and Faith. At the end of which Speech, all the Souldiers cried aloud, That they were moſt ready to do any their Commands, and to follow them whitherſoever. So order was taken, that within three hours they ſhould every man be preſt and ready with their Arms according to their places; and ſo having well refreſhed themſelves, about eleven of clock the ſeven and twentieth day of *March* they in good order began to ſet forwards toward *Rab*. But for that the multitude of Souldiers oftentimes giveth the Enemy warning of that is intended againſt him, *Palfi* gave order to one *John Stroine*, his Serjeant-Major, to follow fair and ſoftly after him, with 1700 Horſe and Foot; which he well performed: and ſo upon the break of the day they began to draw towards *Rab*, and there lay cloſe in Ambuſh all that day until night, about ſeven miles ſhort of the Town; refreſhing themſelves in the mean time with plenty of Victuals, which they had brought with them from *Komara*. Night (the favourer of Deceit) being come, in two hours March they began to draw near to *Rab*, and there ſtaid about five hours; from whence they ſent before them a French Engineer, a man of great Judgment, with thirteen others (before rewarded with 1500 Duckats) having with them four Petards, Engines of Force to blow up into the Air any thing whereunto they be faſtened, be it never ſo great and weighty; where, by good chance, they found the Draw-bridge down, and the Portcullis up; for that the Turks then caſting no Peril, expected every hour for certain Waggons with Proviſion from *Alba-Regalis*. By which good hap, the Chriſtians unperceived coming to the Gate, and thereunto faſtning their Petards, in good order gave fire to the ſame, which preſently took not hold; yet were they not far gone, but that they were by a Sentinel deſcried, who demanding what they were, was preſently anſwered by the violent Engines, which in a trice tore in ſunder the Gate, with ſome part of the Wall and of the Fortifications near unto it. When now the Watch (but all too late) began to give the Alarm, and the Chriſtians in the foreward thruſting preſently in, took the Gate, none of the Turks yet coming to the defence thereof, or to hinder them from entring. The firſt that appeared were 200 Turks, which with their wonted Cry *Alla*, *Alla*, in ſuch hideous manner as if they would therewith have rent the Heavens, would have ſtaid the Chriſtians from farther entring, but were themſelves over-charged by 300 which were already entred. At which time alſo the Baſſa came on with more than a thouſand following him, and that with ſuch Courage and Fury as was never greater to be ſeen in any Turk: where, after a moſt terrible Fight, maintained by the ſpace of two hours, the Baſſa himſelf being ſlain, the Turks began a little to retire, whereby a thouſand Chriſtians more had leiſure to enter: when ſtraightway after came *Giaffer* the great Baſſa with above a thouſand tall Souldiers following him, all the Inhabitants alſo of *Rab* running after him, and that with ſuch force, that they conſtrained the Chriſtians to retire unto the Gate whereby they entred. Who, reſolved rather honourably to die within the Town, than with diſhonour to be forced out, there, with incredible Courage, ſuſtained the greateſt Impreſſion of the furious Enemy; where was to be ſeen the true Chriſtian Valour for the performance of ſo great an Exploit, well worthy of eternal Memory. But this Baſſa alſo (the other being dead of a Wound in his Neck) encountered by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, after he had in that ſharp Conflict ſhewed great tokens of his Valour, was there at length ſlain alſo: both whoſe Heads ſtruck off, were for a Preſent afterwards ſent to the Emperour at *Prague*, with all the particularities of the whole Action. But now the Turks perceiving that all their chief Commanders were ſlain, retired moſt part of them into the City: ſome 300 of them crept underneath one of the 1598

The notable Speech of the Lord *Palfi* unto his Souldiers.

Rab ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

Two of the Turks Baſſaes ſlain.

A great Booty.

A great Tumult between the Janizaries and the Spahi.

the Bulwarks, where ſtood certain Barrels of Gunpowder, which they deſperately ſet on fire, and ſo together with themſelves blew up three hundred Chriſtians that were above upon the Bulwark; the greateſt loſs the Chriſtians had in all that Victory, who were otherwiſe ſuppoſed not to loſe therein above two hundred of their men. Thus the Turks diſcomfited, and altogether full of fear, loſing both their Force and Courage, fled in every place before the Chriſtians, they in every corner making of them a moſt horrible Slaughter. The Turkiſh Women all this while out of their Windows and other high places, ceaſed not to caſt down Stones, Timber, and ſuch like things, upon the Heads of the Chriſtians, whom they thought by all means to annoy, and to help the Turks. The bloody Execution continued all that day until night, the Chriſtians ſtill finding one or other hidden in the moſt ſecret places of the City upon whom to exerciſe their Wrath; who, ranſacking alſo every corner thereof, were by the Wealth therein found greatly enriched. But coming to the Palace of *Giaffer* the great Baſſa, they found ſuch great ſtore of rich Furniture, as better beſeemed ſome great Prince than a Turkiſh Slave. There they found alſo Letters, written in Characters of Gold, from the Baſſa of *Buda* to this Baſſa, greeting him, and promiſing him in his behalf to deal with the grand Seignior againſt the next Spring, with the firſt that his Army ſhould take the Field, that he might therein have ſome honourable place of Command, to the end he might in the Field ſhew his greater Valour, and no longer lie idle in that ſtrong Town. So found they there alſo many things written from the Great Sultan himſelf unto this Baſſa, with great ſtore of Coin, which all fell to the Souldiers ſhare; inſomuch, that by this ſo notable an Exploit ſo well performed, the publick State, together with the Souldiers private, was not a little bettered. There, amongſt other things, were recovered threeſcore and ſix pieces of Artillery, which were known to have been ſometime the Emperour's, and four and twenty others, which the Baſſa had cauſed to be brought from *Buda*, with great ſtore of ſhot and powder and other ſmall pieces, and meal ſufficient to have ſerved 4000 men for a Year and a half, but of Wine (little uſed of the Turks) only four Veſſels. In the Baſſa's Palace was alſo found of Armour and Weapons of all ſorts great ſtore, with abundance of Cloth and Apparel, which was all given in ſpoil to the Souldiers. Thus *Rab*, one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes of Chriſtendom, not full four years before beſieged by *Sinan Baſſa* with an 150000 men, by the ſpace almoſt of three Months, and then at length, by the Treaſon of the Governour to him betrayed; was now in one night, by the Valour and Policy of a few reſolute men, to their immortal Glory, again reſtored to the Chriſtian Commonweal, the nineteenth day of *March*, in the Year 1598. Of which ſo notable a Victory the Chriſtians rejoyced not a little both in *Hungary* and elſewhere; the great Sultan, with the Turks, no leſs grieving and ſtorming, as well for the loſs of the Town, before got with no ſmall charge, as for the death of his People there ſlain, to the number of about ſix thouſand and more, with the loſs of ſcarce ſix hundred Chriſtians.

Yet for all this, *Mahomet* the great Sultan ceaſed not to make great Proviſion for his Wars in *Hungary*, and that greater than before; and ſo with greater fury alſo to proſecute his wrathful Indignation to be revenged upon the Chriſtians. Whereunto, order was given unto *Ibraim Baſſa* his Brother-in-law, and General of his Army, with all convenient ſpeed to take the Field; which for all that fell out far otherwiſe; for that now thinking to have had all things in good forwardneſs, a great diſſention riſe betwixt the Janizaries and the Spahi; the Janizaries being the beſt Foot-men, and the Spahi the beſt Horſe-men of the Turkiſh Empire; both the faithful Keepers of the Perſon of their Prince, and the greateſt ſtrength of his State, whereby it cometh to paſs, that in ſetting forward towards the Wars, theſe two ſorts of valiant Souldiers, the one ſtanding upon their Strength, and the other upon their Honour, and both jealous of their Reputation and Credit, have no good liking of one the other, but oftentimes, and eſpecially of late in this corruption of their martial Diſcipline under their degenerate Emperours, fall at odds among themſelves, as now they did, to the great hinderance of their Affairs, and trouble of the General. Inſomuch, that to appeaſe this Tumult he was glad to put to death certain of the inſolent Janizaries, refuſing to ſet forward as they were by their Aga commanded. But proceeding farther, and thinking to have executed ſome others of them alſo, to the further terror of the reſt, he was by them and their Adherents put in ſuch fear of his Life, that to avoid the preſent danger, he was glad to excuſe himſelf by his Lieutenant, laying all the blame upon him as the cauſe thereof; who was therefore as a Sacrifice delivered unto the Fury of the Janizaries, by whom he was there preſently ſlain, with ſome others of the Baſſa's Followers. So theſe Broils, with much ado, overpaſt, *Ibrahim* having taken a general review of his Army at *Sophia*, there ſtayed, expecting Order from the great Sultan where to begin his Wars, in *Hungary* or in *Tranſilvania*, for as yet that was in queſtion: which could not well be before the beginning of *July*, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Victuals even then ariſing in the Camp; for the ſupplying whereof, *Mahomet* himſelf had no ſmall care. But this long delay was the cauſe that a great number of the Janizaries coming from *Hadrianople*, and hearing by the way, that the General would not as yet ſet forward, not knowing the cauſe of his ſtay, and doubting to be deceived of their promiſed Entertainment, were about to have returned back again; which known at the Court, Commandment was preſently ſent thence unto the General, without longer ſtay to ſet forward toward *Hungary*, which the more haſtened his Departure with his Army.

In this the Turks ſo long delay, the Chriſtians had good leiſure to prepare their new Forces, being now the latter end of Summer: for well they might think that the Enemy ſlept not, knowing what Proviſion he had made as well in *Conſtantinople* as in other places. Wherefore reaſonably doubting that Summer well ſpent, and *Auguſt* now at hand, he would not ſo late turn his Forces into the lower *Hungary*, they thought it beſt to provide for the Safety of the upper Country: and to the end the Enemy approaching thoſe Frontiers, might there find Forces ready to encounter him, the Lord *George Baſta*, a man of great Experience and Valour, was appointed Lieutenant-General for that Country, to the great Contentment of the Souldiers in general, all ſhewing themſelves moſt ready at his Command. The Lord *Swartzenburg* in the mean time remaining in the lower *Hungary* at *Rab*, with eight thouſand good Souldiers; and the Arch-duke *Matthias* at *Vienna* for the diſpatch of *George Baſta*, and the haſting of him forward: for that the upper *Hungary*, to the great hurt thereof began now to feel the Incurſions of the *Turks* and *Tartars*: beſides that, he was afterwards to return himſelf to ſpeak with the Emperour his Brother, ſtill expecting a Chiaus of the Turks by the Appointment of the Grand Seignior, ſent by the way of *Polonia* for *Prague*, to intreat with the Emperour concerning a Peace.

They

Buda beſieged by the Chriſtians.

1598 They of *Buda* in the mean while ſeeing the delay of the Turks, of whom, no one band yet appeared in thoſe Quarters; and on the other ſide perceiving the great Preparation of the Imperials, and the great Garriſon at *Rab* ſo near at hand; began now to doubt ſome new Reſolution of the Chriſtians: wherein they were no whit deceived; for no Army of the Turks being then in field in the lower *Hungary*, and the Country plain and open, the Lord *Palſi*, with a convenient Power, and certain pieces of Battery, ſet forward to attempt the Enterpriſe, and the 16*th* of *October*, with 16 pieces of Artillery began to batter the City of *Buda*, to the great fear and diſcomfiture of them within; having firſt taken the Fort *S. Gerard*, with hope to have gained the reſt alſo. For which cauſe, the Men, the Women, and all that dwelt in the City, moſt inſtantly beſought the Baſſa, not to endure the deſtruction of the ſame, with the Inhabitants and Wealth thereof altogether; but, being not able long to hold out againſt ſo furious a Battery, in time to hearken unto ſome reaſonable compoſition, that ſo they might yet every man at leaſt with life depart. Whereunto, the Baſſa for all that would not hearken, but put them ſtill in hope that they ſhould be preſently relieved. Howbeit, the Battery ſtill continuing, and they not able longer to endure the force of the Imperials, nor any Relief yet coming, they were glad, at length to abandon the City with the loſs of 2000 of the Janizaries, and but 300 of the Chriſtians ſlain, and 800 hurt; the reſt of the Turks at the ſame time retiring themſelves into the Caſtle, where they might for a ſpace deem themſelves ſafe. So the Lord *Palſi* poſſeſſed of the City, with all his Forces laid Siege unto the Caſtle; which, altho it were in ſome places ſhaken with the continual fury of the Canon, yet were the Defendants ſtill ready to make good the ſame: inſomuch, that *Palſi*, upon good hope of Succeſs, giving thereunto a general Aſſault, was by their Valour inforced to retire; they within in the mean time with great labour and induſtry repairing the Breaches and Gauls made by the Artillery. So that *Palſi* conſidering the difficulty of the Aſſault, thought it better, by undermining, to ſhake the Rock whereon the Caſtle ſtood, than by a new Aſſault to expoſe ſo many worthy men unto ſo manifeſt a danger: which his Purpoſe by the Enemy diſcovered, was by them alſo, by countermining, diſappointed; yet for all that were the Chriſtians ſtill in good hope, by another Mine not yet by the Enemy perceived, to ſort to the full of their deſire; and the more, for that they ſaw not ſo much bravery or ſhew of Courage in the Defendants as before: who now kept themſelves ſilent and quiet, as if they had been conſulting about the yielding up of the Caſtle, as men bereft of all hope of Relief and Succour; the Chriſtians being now poſſeſſed of a ſtrong Abbey and Fortreſs faſt by, and having broken down all the Bridges over the River *Danubius*, in ſuch ſort, as that the beſieged could not receive any relief either by Land or Water. But foraſmuch as the time of the year began now to grow tedious, and the Winter Weather ſharp, the Chriſtians thought it not beſt there long to protract the time; and therefore reſolved to preſent unto the Caſtle another general Aſſault, and at the ſame inſtant to blow up the Mine: but in giving this Aſſault, they were again repulſed with the loſs of 200 men. At which time alſo, a number of the Turks ſallying out of the Caſtle, courageouſly encountered the Chriſtians, but not with Succeſs anſwerable to their Valour, being there almoſt all cut in pieces: neither did the Mine take the deſired Effect, but being blown up did little or no harm at all. So that the Chriſtians, weary of their long ſuffering of the Extremity of the Weather, and withal conſidering the great Courage of the Defendants, were even upon the point to have riſen; yet willing to give a freſh attempt by the Mine, they began again to work in the ſame, and in hope to prevail, began to parle with the Defendants about the giving up of the Caſtle: but all to little or no purpoſe; for that the Mine having taken no effect, the Souldiers could hardly be drawn on through the deep and muddy Ditches to give a new Aſſault. In fine, ſeeing no hope to prevail, and hearing alſo of the coming of a great Army of the Turks for the relief of the beſieged, they raiſed their Siege, and at their departure burnt their Suburbs, carrying away with them a great Booty; and ſo retiring towards *Strigonium*, expected further direction where to Winter. Where, ſhortly after, Order was taken, that the Forces disbanded ſhould be diſperſed, ſome into the Garriſons, and ſome into the Country thereabout, to the intent they might ſo be in the more readineſs with the firſt of the next Spring to take the Field, or as occaſion ſhould ſerve to be otherwiſe employed.

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The Chriſtians depart from the Siege of *Buda*.

But *Sigiſmund* the *Tranſilvanian* Prince in the mean time repenting himſelf of the unequal Exchange he had made with the Emperour, in diſguiſed Apparel haſting in poſt out of *Sileſia* came to *Clauſenburg* in *Tranſilvania*; and there was joyfully received of his Subjects, and taking of them a new Oath of Obedience, by Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe certified *Maximilian* the Arch-duke (appointed by the Emperour for the Government of *Tranſilvania*, and now upon his way as far as *Caſſovia*) of the cauſes of his Return, perſuading him rather to convert his Forces againſt the Turks for the recovery of *Agria*, than to trouble himſelf to come any farther for *Tranſilvania*, now again by him, to the great contentment of his Subjects, repoſſeſſed: as did alſo the Princeſs his Wife (*Maximilian*'s Couſin-German) wiſhing him to conſider what hurt and diſhonour he ſhould do unto the Emperour's Majeſty, Himſelf, the *Roman* Empire, and the whole Chriſtian Common-weal in general, if in ſo dangerous a time he ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Prince her Husband, and unto him ſo nearly allied.

Veradinum beſieged by the Turks.

Now the Turks great Army being come into the upper *Hungary*, lay incamped under the Walls of the ſtrong City of *Veradinum*, where that worthy Captain *George Baſta* was Lieutenant-General for the Emperour; but not having ſuch Strength, as without further help to go againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, or to relieve the beſieged City, not as then furniſhed with a ſufficient Garriſon, he gave knowledge thereof unto *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, who (as is aforeſaid) with a convenient Power was but a little before come to *Caſſovia*, to have gone into *Tranſilvania*, had he not there by the way been ſtayed by Ambaſſadors from the Prince *Sigiſmund*, but lately before returned out of *Sileſia*; and having again taken upon him the Government, by theſe his Ambaſſadors requeſted him no farther to trouble himſelf with that Journey, offering to give him Aid againſt the Turks whenſoever he ſhould require it. The beſieged nevertheleſs in the mean time notably defended themſelves, and with certain brave Sallies did the Enemy great harm; ſtill expecting, that *Baſta* the Lieutenant, or the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, or *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, or they all, with their united Forces, ſhould ſend them relief: unto whom they gave knowledge the Nineteenth of *October*, how that the Turks with all the Force and Fury they had uſed, had as yet little prevailed, being by their Valour ſtill repulſed, and with many ſharp Sallies, to their great loſs encountered, and ſome of their great Ordnance cloyed, in ſuch ſort, as that they were in

1598 good hope to protract the time until they might by them their Friends be relieved; yet not doubting, but that the Turks, according to their wonted manner, would do what they might to ſubdue them. According to whoſe expectation, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, with a great Power taking the Field to have relieved them, was letted ſo to do by the *Tartars*, to that purpoſe ſtirred up by the Turks: ſo that he could by no means joyn his Forces with *Maximilian*, for looking to the Safety of his own People and Country. Yet in token of forwardneſs, he ſent certain Companies of brave Souldiers unto the Lieutenant *Baſta*; who underſtanding that of 2000 good Souldiers in Garriſon in the City at the beginning of the Siege, there were ſcarce 700 left alive, all the reſt being, with continual Aſſaults, ſlain or mortally wounded, uſed a notable Stratagem to delude the Enemy withal: for having put his men in good order, and coming bravely on, as if he would even preſently have joyned Battel (a thing which the Turks moſt deſired) whilſt they likewiſe with great ſtir were putting themſelves in order of Battel, and wholly buſied therein; he by another way (of the Turks leaſt ſuſpected) cunningly thruſt into the City eight hundred good Souldiers; and that done, preſently retired again into his Trenches, wherein he ſtrongly incamped, feared not all the Turks Forces: who thinking even then to have come to a day Battel, and ſtill in vain expecting the ſame, returned deceived by this fineneſs. And ſo ſhortly after (inforced by continual foul Weather) raiſed their Siege, not without great difficulty and danger (Relief lying ſo near at hand, and the Defendants ſtrengthened with new Supplies) to have been longer maintained. So paſſed the Troubles of this Year, with no gain but great loſs of the Turk; who, at their departure, inforced by the unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather and fear together, left behind them in their Trenches many Tents, with ſome great pieces of Artillery, being not able to convey the ſame by Water to *Buda*: and withal fearing greatly to be encountered by the Forces of *Baſta*, ſtrengthened with new Supplies even then ſent unto him from the Emperour.

A new Supply put into *Veradinum* by *Baſta*.

The Arch-duke *Matthias*, *Swartzenburg*, and the other Commanders of the Army in the lower *Hungary*, being twelve thouſand ſtrong, with the Garriſon Souldiers of *Rab*, *Strigonium*, and *Komara*, in the mean time, becauſe they would not ſtand idle, together with the *Hungarian* Horſe men, over-ran all the Country thereabout, even unto the Gates of *Buda*: in good hope alſo to have met with eight thouſand Turks (as they were by their Eſpials advertiſed) coming towards *Peſth* with Victuals for the relief of the Caſtle of *Buda*.

Whilſt things thus paſſed in *Hungary*, *Mahomet*, to ſhew his Greatneſs, as alſo the more to keep the Chriſtian Princes in ſuſpence, ſent *Cicala* (or as the Turks call him *Cigala*) *Baſſa* his Admiral, with a great Fleet to Sea: wherewith, being come upon the Coaſt of *Sicilia*, he requeſted the Viceroy of that Kingdom to ſend him aboard his Fleet the Lady *Lucretia* his Mother, which dwelt in *Meſſina*, for that he greatly deſired to ſee her, and to do her Honour; promiſing ſo quietly to depart without any harm doing. And the Viceroy again conſidering how that the angry Renegade for the like Courteſie to him at another time before denied, had in his rage done great harm all along the Sea-Coaſt; covenanting with him to ſend her in ſafety back again, ſent her honourably accompanied aboard the Admiral Gally: whom *Cicala* her Son received with great Joy and Triumph; and having kept her with him one day with all the Honour that might be, according to his Promiſe ſent her back again to *Meſſina*; and ſo without any harm done for her ſake to any part of Chriſtendom, peaceably returned back again with his Fleet. 1598

Now in the mean time, *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia*, with good Forces of his own, becauſe he would be doing ſomething alſo, reſolved to give an Attempt upon *Nicopolu*, a City of the Turks in *Bulgaria*: and ſo giving order to his People, cauſed a Bridge to be made over *Danubius* to paſs that great River by. Whereof the Baſſaes of *Siliſtria* and *Badoua* underſtanding, thought it good with all their Power to diſturb him in that work; and ſo coming, as the ſaid Bridge was by the Vayvod's Souldiers laid over the River upon Boats, without farther ſtay attempted to have broken the ſame, to the intent that the Vayvod ſhould not that way paſs. Who haſting thither with his Army, reſcued his Work, and inforced his Baſſaes to forſake the Exploit by them begun; where betwixt them for a ſpace was fought a moſt hard Conflict, until at length the Turks were with a great Slaughter overthrown, and ſo glad, ſome here, ſome there, by flight as they might, to ſave their Lives. After which Victory, he, without let paſſing over the River with his whole Forces, came and incamped under the Walls of *Nicopolis*; where they of the City underſtanding of the late Slaughter of the Turks, and finding themſelves not able to hold it out againſt the Force and Valour of the *Valachies*, and now out of hope of any help or relief in time to come from the *Turks*, without farther reſiſtance yielded themſelves into the Power of the Vayvod; who having ſacked the City and ſet it on fire, carried thence a great ſpoil and booty, with a number of the *Bulgarians*; chuſing out the beſt and moſt able Bodies amongſt them to ſerve him in his Wars, and appointing the reſt to inhabit and manure the waſted places of *Valachia*. The Report of this Overthrow given unto the Turks by the *Valachian*, with the ſacking of *Nicopolis*, running abroad, brought a general fear upon the Turks, even in the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*. For the ſtaying whereof, *Mahomet* commanded the chief of his Baſſaes, with a great power of tumultuary Souldiers, taken up in haſte, to go forthwith againſt the Vayvod, to ſtay the courſe of his farther Proceedings, to the diſmaying of his People; himſelf thundring out moſt horrible Threats againſt him: who, encouraged with his late Victory, and well acquainted with the Turks manners, little regarded the ſame, as knowing that he was not with Words, but with Arms, to be vanquiſhed.

Nicopolis ſacked and burnt by the Vayvod.

1599 Now *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour, oppreſſed with Melancholy to ſee himſelf at once aſſailed with the Plague then raging in *Conſtantinople*, the bloody Wars in *Hungary*, and the horrible mortality and loſs of his People in both places; and withal not ignorant of the evil Succeſs of his Army at *Veradinum*, and of the great harm done at *Nicopolis* by the *Valachian*; yet for all that, ceaſed not, in what he might, to provide for ſo many Evils; but gave order to *Taut Baſſa* with all ſpeed to ſet forward (as we have ſaid) from *Conſtantinople* toward *Valachia*, as from whence he feared the greateſt danger: who without delay, to make the Vayvod to underſtand how highly the great Sultan was diſpleaſed with him, put himſelf upon the way with ſix hundred Janizaries towards *Hadrianople*, with purpoſe there to winter until the Spring, and ſo to expect the coming of the reſt of the Army, that ſo with the ſame, united unto the Forces of *Mehemet Satergi* (who the laſt year beſieged *Veradinum*) he might in the Field appear more terrible unto his Enemies. The Chriſtian Emperour alſo, at the ſame time reſted much diſcontented, that his People, in ſo fair a way for the winning

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ning of the Caſtle of *Buda*, had yet failed thereof: the *Wallons* laying the fault upon the Lords *Swartzenburg*, *Palſi*, and the reſt of the Commanders, that it was not won; for that when they, as valiant men, offered to have done therein the uttermoſt of their Devoir, their Leaders had made choice, by the Spade and Mattock, rather than by the Sword, to perform the ſame.

The Turks again ſpoiled by the Vayvod.

But *Michael* the Vayvod, ſeeing the Turks not a little diſmayed with the ſacking of *Nicopolis*, began afreſh, to their greater terror and hurt, to make new Inrodes upon them, in ſuch ſort, as that he was entred an hundred miles into their Territory: againſt whom, *Mehemet Satergi* (as yet the Turks General in *Hungary*) coming with his Forces, he again retired, carrying away with him the ſpoil of the Country by him waſted.

Buda diſtreſſed.

They of *Buda* in the mean time fearing ſome ſudden Aſſault to be given upon them, and ſuffering within great want of Victuals, expected long to be relieved both with Victuals and other Neceſſaries; underſtanding yet withal, that the grand Seignior had cauſed it to be given out in *Conſtantinople*, That he was raiſing a great Power of his beſt and moſt expert Souldiers, and had therefore ſent for unto the Court all his old men of War, ſuch as had ſerved in the Wars of *Perſia*, to be now again employed in *Hungary*. Where the Turks in the mean time providing to relieve the diſtreſſed City of *Buda* both with Men and many other Neceſſaries; certain reſolute *Hungarians* underſtanding by their Eſpials, that one of the Turks Baſſaes with 3000 Souldiers was coming thither to increaſe the Garriſon, laid themſelves cloſe in Ambuſh in a place whereby the Turks were to paſs; where they had not long ſtay'd, but that the Turks, as men without fear, diſorderedly paſſing by, were by them with ſuch force and fury aſſailed, that in a moment, when they leaſt thought, they were overthrown and put to flight, with the loſs of many of their Horſes, much Money and Jewels, and many Captains there taken Priſoners, the Baſſa himſelf, with much ado, hardly eſcaping into the City. But ſhortly after, 400 Chriſtians ſcouring the Country about *Buda*, and having taken a good booty of Cattel and other Pillage, returning loaded with the Prey, were by the way aſſaulted by the Turks, and inforced to forſake the ſame, and to fight for their Lives; whom, for all that, they notably repulſed, with the ſlaughter of divers of them; and ſo again recovering their Booty, returned with Victory. And about this time, or not long after, in the upper *Hungary*, a great power of the *Turks* and *Tartars* having foraged a great part of that Country, and done the Chriſtians great harm, came before *Coſſovia*, making ſhew as if they would even preſently have beſieged that City: which put the Inhabitants in ſuch a fear, that many of them, without farther Deliberation, fled forthwith as faſt as they could into the Mountains, thinking themſelves more ſafe there than in the City. Nevertheleſs, by the perſwaſion of *George Baſta*, the Emperour's Lieutenant in thoſe Parts, 2000 valiant and expert Souldiers ſtaid there with him, expecting what the Turks would do; who approaching the Walls, demanded of them in the City a great Sum of Money by way of Contribution; threatning otherwiſe the utter Ruine and Deſtruction thereof. Which their proud Demand was by *Baſta* ſtoutly rejected, and they, with the loſs of a great many of their Lives, inforced to get them farther off. Wherefore, ſeeing themſelves not able to prevail againſt a City ſo well provided, they, for fear, by night riſe, and departed quite another way than that whereby they came, doing great harm ſtill as they went. The free *Haiducks* of *Valachia* alſo, a warlike kind of People, living for the moſt part upon Prey, and willing to ſhew ſome token of their Hatred toward the Turks, by certain Bridges paſſing over the *Danubius*, encountered with the Baſſa of *Natolia* with a great Power, whom they overthrew with much ſlaughter of his People, and the loſs of his Brother there ſlain alſo; and ſo afterwards over-running the Country, did there exceeding harm, and took the ſame Baſſa's Son Priſoner. Thus paſſed the Winter with many light Skirmiſhes and Incurſions in divers parts of *Hungary*, and other the frontier Countries; which had done great harm, had it not been before-hand well provided for by the Imperials; who in moſt places ſtrengthened with new Supplies, ſtayed the fury of their barbarous Enemies. *Maximilian* the Arch-duke in the mean time coming from *Prague* to *Vienna*, found himſelf there to have in his Camp but four and twenty thouſand Foot and ten thouſand Horſe, ready againſt the next Spring, (divers of the *German* Princes this year not ſending thither any Aid at all, by reaſon of their Troubles nearer home with the *Spaniards* in the lower ſide of *Germany*) which made him the more to dread the Enemies coming, who he knew after his accuſtomed manner would that Summer appear in the Field with a far greater number. But to have holpen this want, the great Duke of *Muſcovy*, about this time, by his Ambaſſadors, amongſt other things, requeſted leave of the *Polonian* for forty thouſand Horſemen to paſs through his Country, which Horſe-men he had determined (as he ſaid) to ſend in aid of the Emperour againſt the Turk: which his Requeſt the *Polonian* would by no means grant, as dangerous to his Eſtate. Wherefore the *Muſcovite*, offended with the *Polonian*, ſent other his Ambaſſadors unto the Emperour, by Sea; who embarqued in an *Engliſh* Ship in the Port of *S. Nicholas*, and ſailing about the Kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *Denmark*, after long trouble at Sea, at length arrived at *Stoad*, and ſo from thence by Land travelling to *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, and *Maidenborow*, and in every place honourably entertained, came at laſt unto the Emperour into *Bohemia*, then lying at *Pliſena*, for that the Plague was then hot at *Prague*: where they having with great ſtate delivered their Preſents and Letters of Credence unto the Emperour, had Audience, and were by him moſt honourably uſed. Yet the *Polonian*, having thus denied the *Muſcovite* Paſſage, ſuffered the Turks Ambaſſador, who called himſelf *Gabriel*, a Jew, to paſs through his Country unto the Emperour, to intreat with him of a Peace to be made betwixt him and the Turk. Which *Gabriel* coming to *Prague*, as Ambaſſador from the great Turk, and having no Letters of Credence to ſhew for his Negotiation (for that they were, as he ſaid, upon the way taken from him by the *Polonian* Coſſacks, and certain of his Retinue ſlain) was there taken for a Spy, and ſo ſent to *Vienna*; where, at his firſt Arrival he was well uſed in a common Inn; but the night following, being taken in his Chamber by the Martial, was ſo clap'd faſt in Priſon, with as many Irons upon him as he could bear, and all his Followers, with Gyves upon their Legs, compelled as Slaves daily to work in the Town-ditch.

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The Turks Ambaſſador taken for a Spy, and impriſoned at *Vienna*.

About this time alſo, *Sigiſmund* the *Tranſilvanian* Prince (whom hitherto all men admired, as a man even ſent from Heaven, for the benefit of his Country and of the Chriſtian Commonweal) by a wonderful change gave a moſt manifeſt token of a divers and unconſtant Nature, to the great wonder of the World: for having broken the Agreement made with the Emperour the laſt Year, and being ſecretly in Poſt returned out of *Sileſia* into *Tranſilvania*, and again taken upon him the Government (as is before declared) and having withal

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1599 al requeſted himſelf, and the *Tranſilvanians* his Country-men to be diſcharged of the Oath of Obedience and Loyalty by them before given unto the Emperour, and the City of *Veradinum*, with the Country thereabout, to be again reſtored unto him; and the Emperour pauſing thereupon, did now, (doubting of his own Ability for the keeping of that Country) in the beginning of this year 1599, by his Ambaſſadors, the Biſhop of *Alba-Julia*, and *Stephen Paſchai* his Chancellor, ſent of purpoſe unto the Emperour, requeſt him to have the firſt Agreements again renewed, and the Principality of *Trebnits* in *Moravia* to be added unto the two Dukedoms of *Oppel* and *Ratibor* in *Sileſia*, with fifty thouſand Duckats to be yearly paid unto him out of the Chamber of the Empire; and a general Pardon to be given unto all the *Tranſilvanians* that following him had of late revolted from the Emperour, and their antient Liberties to be again unto every one of them confirmed. With all which Conditions obtained at the Emperour's hands (as of him that ſaw how needful it was for him by any means to keep that ſtrong Country in his power) the ſame Ambaſſadors with their diſpatch returned from *Prague* the nineteenth of *April*.

But *Sigiſmund*, in the mean time, at home, was entred into new Conceits with certain of the *Polonian* Nobility, far differing from the former agreement with the Emperour; and having ſent for one of the Turks Chiaus from *Conſtantinople*, and for his Couſin *Andrew Bathor*, the proud Cardinal, out of *Boruſia*, and ſo meeting with them in an obſcure Village in the Confines of *Tranſilvania*, towards *Polonia*, accompanied with certain of the chiefeſt of the States of his Country; there, in the Preſence of the *Polonians* and of the Turkiſh Ambaſſador, reſigned all the Right and Title he had in the Country of *Tranſilvania*, unto the Cardinal his Couſin; commanding all the States there preſent to ſwear unto him their Obedience and Fidelity; who ſhortly after, together with the *Polonian* Ambaſſador, ſent one of his eſpecial Favourites to *Conſtantinople*, to deſire ſafe conduct for his Ambaſſadours to be ſent thither to conclude of all matters with the Turk. Which Meſſengers ſo ſent, together with the *Polonian* Ambaſſador, were both courteouſly received in the Turks Court, and, as with an eſpecial favour, rewarded with right ſumptuous Garments, and charge given them, That the Cardinal, within three Months next, ſhould ſend thither a ſolemn Ambaſſador, with the old accuſtomed Tribute by the Turk demanded. Thus through the Inconſtancy of the Prince, the Ambition of the proud Cardinal, and the foul Colluſion of the *Polonian*, the Country of *Tranſilvania* (one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes of that ſide of *Chriſtendom*) falling from the Obedience of the Emperour, and ſo in ſort bereft from the Chriſtian Common-weal, became again tributary unto the Turk; moſt good men deteſting the Lightneſs of the one, the Ambition of the other, and the Slineſs of the third.

Sigiſmund yieldeth his Country of *Tranſilvania* unto the Cardinal *Bathor* his Couſin.

Now the Turks of *Buda*, not able longer to endure the great Famine therein, had moſt earneſtly requeſted relief from the other Turks their Friends in *Hungary*; who on all hands ran to have relieved them: but coming near thereunto, could not put therein ſuch Proviſion as they had brought for the relief of the ſame, being letted ſo to do by the Imperials; who about a League off diligently attended every motion of the Enemy: from whence the Lord *Swartzenburg* in the night ſecretly approaching one of the Gates with his Followers, thought with a Petard to have broken it open, and ſo to have entered. Which his Device taking not effect, as did that at *Rab*, the Gate being within ſtrongly fortified by the Enemy, he was inforced to depart, being alſo diſcovered by the Turks from the Wall. 1599 Now ſhortly after, the Baſſa of *Buda* with ſix hundred Horſe, iſſuing out of the City to have met with Victuals that were coming thither, fell into an Ambuſh of the *Haiduckes*, who after their manner fiercely encountered him, and putting him to flight, took him Priſoner, his Horſe in his Chaſe falling under him, whom his Souldiers ſeeking to reſcue, there began a new Skirmiſh, encreaſing their former Overthrow with the loſs of the greateſt part of them that were left: amongſt whom the Baſſa's Son, with the Aga of the Janizaries there, loſt their Lives alſo. Which Conflict thus ended, the Baſſa was with ſafe Conduct brought to the Camp, and there with great Threats inforced to reveal the ſtate of his City, with other the ſecret deſigns of the Turks. Whereupon, the *Haiducks* returned again towards *Buda*, ſeeking by all means to ſtop the coming of Victuals thither, ſo in hope at length to have gained the diſtreſſed City. But whilſt they thus lay upon the Paſſages, behold News was brought unto them, how that the Baſſa of *Boſna*, with the Sanzacks of *Sigeth*, *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, and *Coppan*, with 10000 Turks, were coming to oppreſs them, and to open the Paſſages by them holden. But they knowing their own Strength, and nothing fearing ſo ſmall a Force, ſtaid not for their coming, but went to meet them; and in a place of good advantage waiting for them, upon their firſt appearance, with great Aſſurance and Courage charged them, brake their Array, and ſlew the greateſt part of them, together with the Baſſa himſelf; yet with ſo much ado, as that had not the Lord *Palſi* in good time ſent unto their Aid certain Companies of freſh men, it was not without cauſe doubted but that the *Haiducks* had been put to the worſe, about three hundred of them having there already loſt their Lives. The *Tartars* yet nevertheleſs, in good number, held on their way towards *Buda*, with purpoſe to have over-run the Country, and ſo have withdrawn the Imperials from the City: but foraſmuch as that baſe Nation was known to be good for nothing but to rob and ſpoil, the Lord *Swartzenburg*'s Regiment only going againſt them, and encountering them, overthrew them in ſuch ſort, that part of them being there ſlain in fight, and part for fear driven into *Danuby*, the greater number of them there moſt miſerably periſhed.

The Baſſa of *Buda* taken Priſoner.

The Turks overthrown, and the Baſſa of *Boſna* ſlain.

Baſta, the Emperour's Lieutenant in the upper *Hungary*, at the ſame time lay at *Caſſovia*, with eighteen thouſand men, doubting leſt the Enemies Army, which he heard to be at hand, ſhould come to beſiege that City. In the mean time, *Ibrahim Baſſa*, General of the Turks Forces, came to *Solnoch* with an Army of fifty thouſand ſtrong, among whom were ten thouſand Janizaries: but for all that, underſtanding that *Baſta* nothing diſmayed awaited his coming at *Caſſovia*, not thinking it good to go any farther (his Souldiers being already weary with long travel) neither yet ſafe there to ſtay ſo near unto his ſtrong Enemy, retired back again unto *Belgrade*, a place of more Strength and Security; expecting a great Fleet of Ships, which charged upon the *Danubius*, were to bring Victuals for the Army, as alſo for the relief of *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis*, and other ſuch diſtreſſed Places, with divers great pieces for Battery, and other leſs Artillery upon Carriages, with a number of Ladders and other Inſtruments of War, declaring their purpoſe for the performance of ſome notable Exploit, all guarded with five thouſand Turks, which conducted it up the River. Of all which the Imperials underſtanding, the Lord *Palſi* diſpatched his Lieutenant with a convenient Power, and the Captain of the *Huſſars* with his Followers, all good

1599

The Turks receive a notable Overthrow upon the River of *Danubius*.

and valiant Souldiers, to cut off this Convoy: who, to make the matter ſhort, ſuddenly aſſailing them, and ſo coming to handy blows, cut in pieces the Convoy, and rifled the ſhips, of whom the greater part were there ſunk in the deep River; and ſo took an exceeding great booty, deemed to be worth a million of Gold: where, among other things of great value, there was found a-board 100000 Dollars, which were all divided amongſt the Souldiers as a reward of their travel. This great overthrow once known at *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis*, and the Cities thereabouts, brought upon them a great fear: yea the Army of *Ibrahim* grew thereby much diſcontented, as being at once diſappointed both of their Victuals and their Pay. Beſides that, the Imperials over-ran all the Country thereabout, ranſacking, ſacking, and deſtroying the Country Villages and Caſtles without Mercy, although the poor Inhabitants offred them large Contribution to have ſtaid their Fury, which would not be accepted. Upon this notable overthrow alſo the Lord *Swartzenburg* was determined with all his Forces to come again to the ſiege of *Buda*, in hope in ſo great a diſcomfiture and want of Victuals to have had it delivered unto him; and for that purpoſe ſent for certain great pieces of Artillery to *Vienna*. But whilſt things went thus well in the lower *Hungary*, Collonel *Rodoler* of *S. Andrews*, in the upper Country, took occaſion alſo, upon this Overthrow of the Turks, with 500 Horſe and 600 Foot, to ſhew himſelf with this ſmall Company before *Agria*, having yet left the greateſt part of his Forces a little off in ſecret Ambuſh; which ſmall Company the Baſſa of *Agria* beholding, preſently put himſelf in Arms, and ſo ſallying out, began an hot and brave Skirmiſh; when ſuddenly the other Souldiers left in Ambuſh, ſtarting out, and courageouſly aſſailing their Enemies, brake their order, and put them to flight, purſuing them at the heels even to the Gates of the City: and had there been a greater force of Foot-men, it was verily thought, that the Turks (diſmay'd with the flight, and altogether confounded) had abandoned the defence of the Place, and the Chriſtians even then become Maſters of the City, which had been the cauſe of their notable Overthrow in the Year 1596. Nevertheleſs, they, with great bravery and ſmall loſs retired, having ſlain a great number of the Turks, and carrying away with them an hundred Priſoners, with a Booty of five hundred Horſe, and much other Cattel.

The free *Haiducks* alſo, ſtrengthened with new Supplies, had done great harm in the Country about *Buda*, ſcouring freely all over it, finding none to oppoſe themſelves againſt them: for which cauſe, the poor Chriſtians, which yet dwelt in that Country, riſe up againſt the Turks, promiſing their Obedience unto the Emperour: and moreover, to the intent they might be no more moleſted by the Imperials, offered to take up Arms themſelves againſt the Enemy, and to the uttermoſt of their Power to hinder his Paſſage both by Land and Water. Theſe ſame *Haiducks* alſo had broken down all the Bridges which the Turks had made betwixt *Buda* and *Alba-Regalis*, to the end they ſhould not that way commodiouſly bring either Victuals or Munition from the one place to the other: and the Lord *Palfi* and *Nadaſti* underſtanding, by their Eſpials, That the Tartars, divided into three Companies, had over-run a great part of the Country, and with a great Booty were retiring towards *Buda*, preſently went out againſt them, and inforced them to fight: which barbarous People, better inured to filch than to fight, there loſt all their Lives, together with that they had before ſtoln. After which Victory, theſe valiant men turning their Forces againſt certain other places of the Turks there by, took two of their Caſtles with much rich Spoil; which Caſtles they ſacked and burnt, together with the great Town of *Zolna*, breaking down alſo the Bridge upon the River *Trava*.

1599

The Turks, for fear, forſake the City at *Buda*, and fly into the Caſtle.

Now at this time the Turks at *Buda* held themſelves male-content within the City, having no Governour, their Baſſa being before taken by the *Haiducks*, and they themſelves pinched alſo with great want of Victuals: wherefore, doubting ſome ſudden Attempt of the Chriſtians, as men diſmayed, they for their more ſafety retired themſelves into the Caſtle, a place of great ſtrength, leaving the City unto the Imperials then ready to have beſieged it: but doubting of the Turks great Army which, as they heard, was marching thitherwards, the avantgard thereof being come to *Moatcſh*, where *Sartes Baſſa* was alſo looked for; the Report being given out, that the *Turks* having relieved *Buda*, would go to beſiege *Caniſia* or elſe *Strigonium*, they ſtayed to go any farther, as men in doubt what to reſolve upon. So were ſent certain Collonels and other Captains with their Souldiers, to fortifie certain Paſſages whereby the Turks Army was to paſs: the reſt in the mean time retiring, for that the puiſſant Enemy began now to approach; as alſo for that they knew the great deſire that *Ibrahim Baſſa* had to recover again *Strigonium*, and had therefore ſent a great number of *Tartars* to forrage and waſte the Country, and ſo ſuddenly having relieved *Buda* and *Agria*, there to reſolve whither to turn his Forces. The Imperials in the mean time incamping near unto *Hatwan* and *Zolnoc*, to hinder the Turks from victualling of *Buda*, as they deſired, cut off five hundred of them at their firſt Arrival, who to that purpoſe were going towards *Buda*; and took alſo one of the Turks Chiaus Priſoner; who, ſent from *Ibrahim* the General, was going to *Agria* to put them in hope of their ſpeedy Relief. They alſo at the ſame time attempted to have ſurpriſed *Zolnoc*; where, a good number of them, with certain Petards, approaching the Gates, in hope ſo to have broken them open, being diſcovered by the Watch, were inforced to retire, leaving forty behind them ſlain, and carrying away with them many more of their Fellows wounded: in revenge whereof, the reſt ſhewed their fury upon the Country thereabout, deſtroying the Villages, and intercepting a great deal of Munition, which, together with other Victuals, they met by the way as it was going to *Buda* and *Agria*.

The Chriſtians, upon the approach of the Turks great Army, retire.

Summer now almoſt ſpent, *Ibrahim*, the great Baſſa, in the beginning of *September*, came to *Buda* with an Army of an hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong, and from thence, in the Name of his Lord and Maſter, gave the Emperour to underſtand at *Prague*, That for the ſaving of further effuſion of innocent Blood, and not for any fear or diſtruſt of his own Strength and Power, he could be content to hearken unto ſome reaſonable Conditions or Treaty of Peace. Whereunto, both theſe great Princes (having well wearied themſelves with theſe long Wars, and exhauſted their Treaſures) ſeemed not now unwilling, expecting (as was thought) nothing more than for the Honour to be the firſt entreated; and the rather, for that the old Sultaneſs, *Mahomet's* Mother (who by the weakneſs of her Sons Government, ſuch as never was in any the *Othoman* Kings or Emperours before, did bear the greateſt Sway in his Affairs) did what ſhe might to further the ſame. Wherefore, in the latter end of *September* a place was agreed upon for a Parle for Peace, which was in an Iſland in the River of *Danuby* beneath *Strigonium*: whither the Lord *Swartzenburg*, *Nadaſti*, *Palfi*, and the Biſhop of *Vacia*, being come for the Emperour; and *Amurath* the

A Parle for Peace.

Baſſa

1599

Baſſa of *Buda*, with the Lieutenant-General of the *Tartars*, and ſome others, for the Grand Seignior; The Turks at the firſt, after their unreaſonable manner, demanded to have *Rab*, *Strigonium*, *Filek*, *Setchin*, and all the reſt of the Towns and Caſtles in five Years before taken from them by the Chriſtians, to be now again ſurrendred unto them, with a certain yearly Tribute by the Emperour to be paid unto the Great Sultan at *Conſtantinople*; as alſo there to have his Ambaſſador lieger continually attending upon the Turks Court: for which they offered to deliver again unto the Emperour the City of *Agria* only. All which their proud and unreaſonable Demands being by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners on the Emperour's behalf rejected, they were contented to come to ſome more reaſonable talk, offering to leave unto the Emperour *Rab* and *Agria* (whereof *Rab* was his own already) only for *Strigonium*, exchanging as it were *Strigonium* for *Agria*. Which when it could neither be obtained, the Parle was ſo broken off, and nothing concluded, and ſo the Wars again continued, without any memorable thing more this Year betwixt them done, either on the one ſide or on the other; the Chriſtians contenting themſelves to have diſtreſſed the chief Cities the Turks held in *Hungary*; and the Turks no leſs apayed to have relieved the ſame.

Michael the Vayvod with a great Army entreth into *Tranſilvania*.

But whilſt things thus paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks in *Hungary*, *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia*, yet the Emperour's Friend and Confederate, and under his Protection, certainly informed his Life to be ſought after in the Turks Court, by the ambitious Cardinal *Bathor*, his envious Neighbour, but lately become the Prince of *Tranſilvania* (as is before declared:) by Commandment from the Emperour, and to be revenged of ſo great a wrong, as alſo betimes to provide for his own Safety, with an Army of threeſcore thouſand ſtrong ſuddenly entred into *Tranſilvania*, in moſt horrible manner burning the Country, and killing the People before him as he went. Where, whilſt the Cardinal (who was thought to have purpoſed to have ſerved him in like ſort, had he not been by him prevented) was making Head againſt him, he in the mean time had the City of *Corona* (commonly called *Braſſo*) with the ſtrong Caſtle of *Fogaras*, yielded unto him: from whence he marching toward *Alba-Julia*, the 26th of *October*, with all his Army, before divided into three parts, but now again united, came into the Plains near *Temiſon*, about three Leagues from *Hermenſtat*; where, underſtanding that his Lieutenant, corrupted by *Ibrahim Baſſa*, had promiſed to kill him; and now well aſſured thereof, to rid himſelf of that danger, with his own hands preſently cut his Throat, and ſo diſpatched him. When by and by after came unto him the Pope's Nuntio, ſent by a fineneſs from the Cardinal, accompanied with another Ambaſſador, the better to countenance out the matter; telling him, That the ſame Ambaſſador had Commiſſion from the Emperour to will him forthwith to deſiſt from Arms, and without farther delay to depart out of *Tranſilvania*. Which thing ſeeming unto the Vayvod very ſtrange, and almoſt impoſſible, de deſired to ſee the ſaid Commiſſion. Whereunto the Nuntio, before inſtructed, anſwered, That he had left it with the Cardinal. But I (ſaid the Vayvod) have one here preſent from the Emperour of another purport, which I purpoſe fully to put in execution; yet was he for that day intreated by the Nuntio to ſtay his Army. And ſo in the mean time lying both ſtill and in great ſuſpence, the Vayvod deſired to know of the Nuntio, the cauſe why the Cardinal, forgetting himſelf, ſo troubled that Country, by intruding himſelf thereinto, to the great prejudice of them unto whom it of better Right belonged, not attending unto the Government of the Church, better beſeeming his Calling than the managing of Arms, to the diſturbance of the Chriſtian Peace. Whereunto he received no Anſwer. So the 28th of *October*, a day dedicated to the Commemoration of the Apoſtles *Simon* and *Jude*, theſe Meſſengers were ſent back again unto the Cardinal, who preſently returned them back unto the Vayvod with new Inſtructions, (being then buſie with his young Son, in ſetting his men in order of Battel preſently to go againſt the Cardinal) of whom they could get no other Anſwer, but that he was reſolved forthwith to come unto the Tryal of a Battel with him. So the two Armies lying incamped not paſt a quarter of a League the one from the other, and the ſame day meeting together, joyned a moſt terrible and cruel Battel, which for the ſpace of five hours was with ſuch deſperate Obſtinacy fought, as if they had every man vowed to have carried away the Victory over his Enemy, or there to have left themſelves dead upon the ground; until the Cardinal's People, at length overcome in a long and bloody Fight, were there utterly overthrown; amongſt whom were 30000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, ſent unto him from *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turks General. The Cardinal himſelf, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his Army, was by ſome reported to have ſaved himſelf by flight; but by ſome others was ſaid to have been drowned in paſſing a River, as he fled from the *Valachians* that had him in chace. But the Truth was, That the Vayvod, now Maſter of the Field, ſent out certain Troops of Horſemen divers ways ſtill to purſue him; and himſelf, with the reſt of his Army, proſecuting the Victory, came to the Cardinals Camp, now by the *Tranſilvanians* and *Turks* quite forſaken, wherein he found forty five pieces of Artillery, with great ſtore of Coin and Wealth, beſide a number of Tents and Horſes, all which became unto him a Prey. From thence he marched unto *Alba-Julia*, where he was with great Joy received of his Friends and Confederates there: for, though the greater part of the *Tranſilvanians*, eſpecially the Nobility, had, together with the Cardinal, ſubmitted themſelves unto the Turks Protection, and followed his Enſigns; yet were there divers others alſo, who ſtill favoured the Emperour, and therefore rejoyced not a little of this Victory. The Vayvod after that ſent his Lieutenant to *Claudiopolis*, to ſee if they would yield alſo; which they willingly did, with many other Cities and Caſtles in divers parts of that Country, which having none to reſt upon, now yielded alſo; in ſuch ſort, that ſhortly after all *Tranſilvania* ſubmitted it ſelf again unto the Emperour's Obeiſance, and ſwore unto him Obedience; moſt of the Nobility of that Country being either ſlain in the Battel, or afterwards put to death by the Vayvod: amongſt whom were five, which, corrupted by the Cardinal, had before undertaken to kill him. Now the fourteenth of *November*, after divers Reports of the Cardinal's Eſcape, his ungracious Head was for all that preſented to the Vayvod: which, to the terror of others, being for a while ſet up in *Alba-Julia*, (where he but a little before had commanded as a Prince) was afterwards taken down, and ſent for a Preſent from the Vayvod unto the Emperour and the Arch-dukes his Brethren; his headleſs Body being afterward, by the Commandment of the Vayvod, honourably buried in a Monaſtery at *Alba-Julia*, in the ſame Tomb he had before made for his Brother, beheaded by his Couſin *Sigiſmund Bathor*. The Cardinal's Treaſure alſo fell into his hands, which was ſaid to have been three millions of Gold. Thus the Country of *Tranſilvania*, lately before by the Cardinal yielded unto the

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A terrible Battel betwixt the Vayvod and the Cardinal.

The Cardinal's Head ſent for a Preſent unto the Emperour.

the Obeiſance of the Turk, was again by this worthy Vayvod recovered and reſtored unto the Chriſtian Empire; the proud Cardinal caſt out and brought to Confuſion, having not yet poſſeſſed theſe his new Honours full eight Months. His Couſin *Sigiſmund*, the late *Tranſilvanian* Prince, who almoſt all this while had ſtaſed at *Boruſia*, and in diſguiſed Apparel ſeen *Danske*, and divers other the free Cities thereabouts; Now hearing News of the Cardinals overthrow, ſecretly got him away from thence into *Polonia*, to ſeek again his new Fortunes. The Lord *Swartzenburg* at the ſame time uniting his Forces in the lower *Hungary* with them of *Stiria*, and now twenty thouſand ſtrong, ſought by all means to reduce ſo many places upon thoſe Frontiers as he could, unto the Emperours Obeiſance, and ſo took in above 200 Villages; but afterward, thinking to have ſurpriſed the ſtrong Caſtle of *Capiſuar*, and by Night ſecretly approaching one of the Gates with a Petard, which took not the expected effect, he was diſcovered by the Watch, and ſo by the Garriſon Souldiers (now raiſed with the alarum) repulſed, and enforced to retire with the loſs of about an hundred men, and divers others wounded, all men of good account; in revenge whereof, *Swartzenburg* afterwards ſent out divers Troops of Horſemen, which ſcouring all over the Country as far as *Sigeth*, burned it alſo, and ſo returning, carried away with them a great Booty.

Ibrahim Baſſa, hearing of this overthrow of the Cardinal, with all the Forces he had ſent him, much troubled therewith, ſent News thereof in poſt to *Conſtantinople*; the brute whereof brought a general fear upon the whole City alſo, inſomuch that Commiſſion was forthwith ſent unto him from the great Sultan, giving him Power (if it might be) to come to ſome honourable Peace with the Emperour, and to bring it with him to *Conſtamtinople*; whither he was ſhortly to return, being now no longer time to keep the field with his Army, which, beſide the cold ſeaſon of the year, ſuffered great want of Bread, the Plague alſo then raging therein; with the death of many of his beſt Souldiers, both Horſe and Foot, beſide the wonderful Mortality of their Cattel alſo; in ſuch ſort that the Souldiers, not able longer to endure, the famine and wants increaſing, fell to robbing of one another, and ſo at length into mutiny; wherein, divers of them being ſlain and cut in pieces by their Fellows, the reſt for the moſt part brake in ſunder of themſelves, and ſo by divers ways returned home, not well truſting one another. So that nothing more was now done with the preparation of the Turks, their Army being diſcomfited with wants and the evil Succeſs of their Affairs, as well in *Hungary* as in *Tranſilvania*. Neither did *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa, for the relief of thoſe Evils, at his return bring any concluſion of Peace unto his great Lord and Maſter, as was commonly expected.

The Turks great Army of it ſelf diſſolved.

***Cuſahin Baſſa* of *Caramania* riſeth up in Rebellion againſt the great Sultan.**

Now beſide theſe Troubles of *Tranſilvania*, and the other revolted Countries, *Cuſahin* (or as ſome call him *Caſſan*) the Son of one of the Sultaneſſes, brought up in the *Seraglio* according to the manner thereof, and having long ſerved in the Wars of *Perſia* and *Hungary*, and ſo at length made Baſſa of *Caramania*, a man of great Spirit, and not able to indure the Imperfections he daily ſaw in the *Othoman* Empire, and the Cowardiſe of the grand Seignior; upon the report of the evil Succeſs of the Affairs of *Hungary* on the one ſide, and the deſire he ſaw in the *Perſians* to recover their loſt Fortreſſes, on the other, and grieved alſo with more particular wrongs concerning himſelf; as a man altogether diſcontented, reſolved to take up Armes; and calling unto him his Souldiers, and (as he was a well ſpoken man) laying before them the deformities of the preſent ſtate, gallantly perſuaded them, with the promiſe of Honour, Sovereignty, and rich Rewards, what an eaſie thing it were to chaſe the grand Seignior out of *Aſia*, and to ſet themſelves with all that part of the Empire at Liberty. And ſo even at the firſt, having won unto him 3000 Harquebuſers and 5000 Horſemen, took the field, to the great hurt of the Turks, and trouble of the State. A ſtrange matter in that tyrannical Empire. The News whereof comming in poſt to the Court, Commiſſion was forthwith directed unto four of the Sanzacks of *Aſia*, neareſt unto him, for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of that Rebellion, but even then ariſing. Whereof *Cuſahin* underſtanding, and that they with ten thouſand Horſe and Foot were coming to ſuppreſs him; without further ſtay, went couragiouſly to meet them, and ſo encountering of them, overthrew them with a great ſlaughter, and took from them their Baggage with ſix pieces of Ordnance. And after with his People ſeiſed upon all the Caſtles thereabouts, giving whatſoever he found therein for a Prey unto his Souldiers; who alſo much enriched themſelves with the ſpoil of the *Jews*, as the People whom they moſt hated, and never reſted until he had made almoſt all the Country of *Caramania* his own. After that, he laid ſiege to *Cogna*, a City in the Confines of *Natolia*, which was forthwith yielded unto him. And yet not ſo contented, gave it out by open Proclamation, that for the reformation of the diſordered ſtate, he would e're long go to beſiege the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*; and that therefore all ſuch as would follow him ſhould of him be entreated as his Friends and Companions, threatning unto the reſt moſt cruel Death and Deſtruction. Of which his Proceeding *Mahomet* (as then diſporting himſelf in his Gardens of Pleaſure in the Country all along the ſide of *Propontis*) underſtanding, and fearing to be there ſurpriſed, or that ſome ſudden Innovation might be raiſed in the City, haſted with all ſpeed to *Conſtantinople*, and from thence in all haſte diſpatched *Mehemet*, one of the Viſier Baſſaes, the Son of *Sinan*, with all the Forces he could make to go againſt him. Who paſſing over into *Aſia* with a great Power, and yet fearing to come to the trial of a Battel with him, whom he knew to be a man of himſelf deſperately ſet, and not a little favoured alſo even of his own Souldiers; ſo ſecretly wrought by large Promiſes, that *Cuſahin*'s Footmen were even upon the point to have forſaken him. Which he quickly perceiving, fled forthwith through *Siria* into the Country of *Arabia* with his Horſemen, and the Horſemen of *Simon* the *Georgian*; purpoſing the next Spring by the help of the *Arabians* and *Perſians*, to appear in the field with greater Forces than before. After whom *Mehemet* the great Baſſa following, came with his Army to *Aleppo*, there to winter, and to expect the return of the Rebel together with the Spring. This ſo dangerous a Rebellion, with the Troubles of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, were the cauſe that the grand Seignior, ſeeing himſelf in ſo many places forſaken of his Subjects, was the readier to incline unto peace with the Emperour; whereunto for all that, the Emperour was not haſty to hearken, but upon honourable Conditions; as knowing that the *Turk* required the ſame not for any deſire he had to live at quiet, but for that his troubled affairs both at home and elſewhere abroad ſo required; his Janizaries and other men of War in this his ſo weak Government, being grown ſo inſolent, as that they were hardly to be by him commanded; openly threatning in their diſcontented humours, not only the depoſing of the principal Officers about him, but of himſelf alſo, and of the baniſhment of the Sultaneſs his Mother; ſaying, That ſhe had bewitched him, to the end ſhe

***Mehemet*, one of the Viſier Baſſaes, ſent againſt the Rebel.**

1599

might her ſelf rule, which ſhe indeed did in all his greateſt Affairs. But the Rebel *Cuſahin*, the next Year grown again very ſtrong, was now come into the Field, and even ready to have given the Baſſa Battel: who, as he was a Man of great Wiſdom and Experience, well conſidering with what a deſperate Enemy he had to do, thought it beſt again to prove if his rebellious Followers might by fair means be drawn from him; and ſo coming near unto him, by open Proclamation promiſed a free and general Pardon to all ſuch as had followed the Rebel in thoſe Wars, if forſaking him, they ſhould forthwith return home to their Dwellings, and ſo to the Obedience of their juſt and lawful Prince and Sovereign. Which general Pardon ſo proclaimed, was the Ruine of *Cuſahin*; for that the greateſt part of his Followers, now enriched with the great Booties they had gotten, and now alſo having free Pardon offered them, returned home into their own Countries, there at eaſe to live of their evil gotten Goods, leaving their Captain, with ſome few others which ſtaid with him, with little hope to be ſaved. So that within a few days after, *Cuſahin*, thus forſaken of his Followers, was himſelf taken and brought to *Conſtantinople*, where ſhortly after he was with moſt exquiſite Torments tortured to death.

Cuſahin the Rebel taken, and tortured to Death at *Conſtantinople.*

1600

The Emperour maketh Proviſion againſt the Turks.

The Troubles of this Year thus paſt, *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperour with the beginning of the next (whilſt the ground yet covered with Snow, and the unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather would not ſuffer the Souldiers to keep the Field) cauſed a Diet of the Princes of the Empire to be called, to conſider with him of ſuch helps as were by them to be given againſt the next Spring, for the maintenance of the Wars which yet he had againſt the Turk; who all promiſed to ſend their Souldiers, with their Pay, and ſuch farther Contribution as might ſerve for the maintenance of that defenſive War againſt the common Enemy: whereunto alſo, *Clement*, now Biſhop of *Rome* (this year of Jubile) put to his helping hand, as he had divers times before, by ſending thither ſuch aid both of Men and Money as he had before promiſed: ſo that by this means great Preparation was made by the Chriſtians for the taking of the Field with the firſt of the Spring. At which time the Turks alſo began to ſtir; who, altho *Ibrahim Baſſa* their General, by the appointment of his great Lord, was then in ſome Speech with the Emperour about a Peace, yet ceaſed not they in the mean time that this Treaty was from day to day prolonged, with their Companies ſcattering here and there, to do what harm they could upon the Frontiers of the Emperour's Territories, the cauſe why he with more ſpeed called upon his Friends for their promiſed Aid. And for the better managing of this years Wars againſt the Turk, he appointed Duke *Mercury* (who had drawn a great number of *French-men*, both Horſe and Foot, out of *France*) General of all his Forces, ſending *Ferant Gonzaga*, ſirnamed the Lame, (whom, for his approved Valour and Experience in martial Affairs, he had ſent for to *Mantua*) Governour into the upper *Hungary*. So the Souldiers, now day by day, by Companies reſorting from divers parts into *Auſtria*, were from thence ſent unto ſuch places as were by the Turks moſt moleſted, ſo to repreſs their often Incurſions, as in many places they did. For eight thouſand of the Turks going out upon the ſudden to have ſurpriſed *Pappa*, were by the Garriſon Souldiers of that place encountred and overthrown. And on the other ſide, whilſt *Ferdinand* the Archduke was aſſembling his People in *Croatia*, for the defence of that Country againſt the Incurſions of the Enemy, ſix thouſand Turks, without reſiſtance, entring the ſame as far as *Buccari*, and burning the Country Villages as they went, had taken many Priſoners with a great Booty of Cattel; and ſo (merry and out of fear) being about to have returned, were ſuddenly ſet upon by the County *Serinus*, in certain ſtrait and troubleſome Paſſages, where they leaſt feared any ſuch matter, and overcharged alſo with their Prey, were (I ſay) eaſily by him for the moſt part overthrown, and the reſt put to flight, and ſo the Priſoners, with all the reſt of the Booty, again recovered. At which time alſo one of the Imperial Collonels, with fifteen hundred Horſe, making an Inroad into the Country about *Alba-Regalis*, and meeting with the *Turks* and *Tartars* thereabouts, ſlew ſix hundred of them, and took divers of their Captains Priſoners. Six thouſand other *Tartars* alſo at this time returning out of *Hungary* home towards their own Country, were by the *Coſſacks*, near unto the black Sea, ſet upon with ſuch force, that many of them being ſlain, the reſt for fear ran into the Sea, leaving all the Prey they had got in *Hungary* unto their Enemies. In the heat of theſe Broils, the noble Lord *Palſi*, Governour of *Strigonium*, a Man that all his Life long had done great Service for his Prince and Country, and whom we have ſo often in this Hiſtory remembred, died the three and twentieth of *March* in his Caſtle at *Biberſpurg*, to the great Grief of many, eſpecially the *Hungarians* his Country-men. And for that *Strigonium* (ſo near unto the Enemy) required in his ſtead to have a right valiant and courageous Governour, the Emperour appointed the Lord *Swartzenburg* to that Charge; the Fame ſtill running, that *Ibrahim Baſſa* would come thither with the great Army he was in providing, if the Peace went not forward; which was now ſtill leſs and leſs hoped for, by reaſon of his proud and inſolent Demands.

1600

The Death of the Lord *Palſi.*

The French-men and Wallons mutiny in *Pappa.*

But whilſt theſe Troubles, with ſuch others, too long to rehearſe, thus paſſed in divers parts of this miſerable Country of *Hungary*, 1200 *French-men* and *Wallons* in Garriſon at *Pappa* (a ſtrong frontier Town of the Emperour's in the lower *Hungary*) for want of Pay began to mutiny: for which cauſe, it was thought good to the chief Commanders, to have them thence removed, and others placed in their room. Which they perceiving, and withal knowing themſelves too ſtrong for the reſt of the Garriſon, all *Hungarians* and *Almains*, not Partakers of their Conſpiracy; they firſt reſolved to thruſt their own Captains out of the Town, as lets unto their deſires: and then laying hands upon *Michael Marotti* the Pay-maſter, and other the *Hungarian* and *Dutch* Commanders, with their Souldiers, took from them their Weapons, and caſt the ſaid *Marotti* with the other Captains, and ſome of the better ſort of their Souldiers, into Irons, exacting of the reſt, as well *Hungarians* as *Dutch*, in number about 1000 Perſons, 1000 Duckats; threatning otherwiſe to deliver them into the hands of the Turks: and albeit that *Marotti* offered for his Liberty eighteen hundred Duckats, yet would they not be ſo contented, but ſpoiling both him and the reſt of all they had, with their Apparel and Weapons furniſhed ſuch Turks as were there Priſoners, and ſo ſent them away to *Alba-Regalis*: and afterwards, rifling every man's Houſe as if they had been Enemies, took from them whatſoever pleaſed themſelves: and that which worſe was, to increaſe theſe Outrages, compacted with the Turks of *Alba-Regalis* and *Buda*, for the Pay which they ſaid the Emperour owed them, to deliver them the Town; certifying them withal, how that the Lord *Swartzenburg* within two days was coming with Money to give them Contentment, promiſing, if he came into the Town, to deliver him with the ſame into their hands: or, to be the more ſure of him, they might, if they ſo pleaſed, intercept

him

Pappa offered unto the Turks by the Mutineers.

him at the Paſſage *Zeſneghb*, whereby he muſt needs come. For the more credit of which their wicked purpoſe, they ſent an Enſign of the Emperours, as a token unto the Turks at *Alba-Regalis*; who for all that, altogether believed them not, yet willing further to try them, ſent them for Hoſtages, two *Chiaus*; from whence the Rebels ſent alſo two others of the better ſort of them to *Alba-Regalis*; with Concluſion, that the five and twentieth of *June* at the furtheſt, the Money ſhould be paid, and the Town delivered. For the receiving whereof, and for fear of ſome hidden Treaſon, the *Turks* and *Tartars* began to make themſelves ſtrong; the Imperials alſo doing what they might for the appeaſing of ſo dangerous a Tumult. So the tenth of *June*, the Lord *Swartzenburg*, with two thouſand Horſe and Foot, came within two miles of the Town, and from thence ſent twenty four Horſemen to diſſwade the Rebels from yielding the Town unto the *Turks*, and to tell them that they ſhould ſhortly receive their pay; who ſhamefully deriding them, ſent them back again as wiſe as they came; ſo that *Swartzenburg*, perceiving himſelf with ſo ſmall forces to be able to do nothing againſt them, neither yet by fair means to perſwade them, retired again to *Rab*, until ſome greater ſtrength were come unto him. Immediately after, Doctor *Petzen*, Counſellor for the Wars, a man of great Authority, Gravity, and Wiſdom, was by *Matthias* the Arch-duke, with four hundred Horſe, conducted to *Pappa*, to ſee if he by his Diſcretion could have diſſwaded them from their ſo ungodly a purpoſe, for the yielding of the Town unto the Enemy; whom they not only refuſed to hear, although he ſpake unto them moſt kindly, but alſo bent their Muskets and Harquebuſſes upon him, threatning to kill him if he did not forthwith depart. When ſhortly after, twenty of the *Hungarians*, impriſoned in a Cellar in the Town, brake out, and comming to *Rab*, brought News thither, That the *Frenchmen* and *Wallons* in *Pappa*, were at variance amongſt themſelves about the yielding up of the Town unto the Turks, (ſome better minded than the reſt, not willing to conſent thereunto) inſomuch, that they in the Caſtle ſhot at them in the Town, and they again at them in the Caſtle; and that they had already received from the Turks twenty thouſand Duckats, with ſome proviſion of Victuals, and were ſhortly after to receive from them the reſt of the Money promiſed them, and ſo to deliver the Town. For preventing whereof, the Lord *Swartzenburg*, the two and twentieth of *June*, ſent the Lord *Sharpfenſtein* with a French Collonel, 3000 Souldiers, certain Petards, and a number of ſcaling Ladders towards *Pappa*: whom the falſe Rebels ſuffered peaceably to enter the Town the four and twentieth of *June*, ſtill encouraging them to come on, calling them their Country-men and Brethren, and in token of Friendſhip ſhaking them by the hands, telling them, that having aſſurance of their Pay, they deſired no more. But having now received in ſo many of them as they thought good, and as they knew they were well able to deal with, ſhutting the reſt out, they cut them all in pieces, and afterwards in deriſion called upon the *high Dutches* to come on in like manner. Three hundred of theſe Rebels at the ſame time had layd themſelves in ambuſh by a Mill faſt without the Town, who, by the *Wallons* and *Haiducks* without diſcovered, were alſo by them charged; upon whom for all that, by reaſon of the ſhot out of the Town, they could do no good, but having loſt three hundred men, and amongſt them *Hannibal Krales*, the Lord *Sharpfenſtein's* Lieutenant General, and one *Deſt la Margoſe* the chief Engineer, they retired; which loſs the deſperate Rebels (if it had been in their choice) had wiſhed rather to have happened unto the *Dutches* than to the *Wallons* or *Hungarians*. About three days after, three of theſe Rebels being by chance taken Priſoners by the Imperials, and brought to *Rab*, were not only apparelled, but alſo trimmed after the Turkiſh faſhion, as men not deſiring longer to be accounted Chriſtians, the reſt of their Fellows in the Town alſo imitating the Turks faſhions, as well in their Apparel as in their manner of Service; yet for all that, would not theſe metamorphoſed Monſters yield the Town unto the Turks, before they had the full ſum by them agreed upon; the Baſſa of *Boſna* being commanded from the Grand Seignior in all haſte to provide it for them, and ſo to receive of them the Town. Nevertheleſs, for their more ſtrength and more credit with the Turks, they received into the Town one Enſign of the Turks, with certain Wagons of Victuals, brought thither with ſo ſtrong a Convoy as that the Imperials durſt not meddle therewith; in which Wagons (being diſcharged) they ſent in Bonds ſix hundred *Hungarians* and *Dutch*, Men, Women, and Children, Priſoners to *Alba-Regalis*; being all of them glad to be ſo ſent away, in hope to find more Favour and Courteſie at the hands of their Enemies than they had found with theſe renegate Chriſtians. So ſhortly after, theſe Rebels ſent out certain Meſſengers unto the Governour of *Alba-Regalis*, to know his full Reſolution; which Meſſengers (conducted by certain Turks of great account) were upon the way by the free *Haiducks* all intercepted, and the Meſſengers taken, with an hundred Turks more. In the mean while, *Michael Marotti*, before impriſoned by the Rebels in *Pappa*, by Letters ſecretly advertiſed the Lord *Swartzenburg* of a certain place, whereby he might (as he ſaid) eaſily enter the Town, and the rather, for that the Rebels were at variance amongſt themſelves. Who thereupon, the twelfth of *July*, came to *Pappa* with nine thouſand Horſe and Foot; but diſappointed of his purpoſe for entering the Town, hardly nevertheleſs belayed the ſame; upon whom the Mutineers many times deſperately ſallied out, and right valiantly encountered them, albeit that they were ſtill, without any notable loſs, by their Enemies (too ſtrong for them) beaten back again into the Town. In one of which ſallies it fortuned one of their Captains to be taken, who, to the terror of the reſt, was preſently ſlain quick, and his Head and Skin upon a Pike ſet up before the Town, for his Fellows to behold. Bur the Lord *Swartzenburg*, ſtill more and more prevailing upon them, they ſent ſecretly for Aid to the *Turks*; whereof he for all that getting Intelligence, ſent alſo for three Regiments of Souldiers more to come unto him to the Siege; by whoſe comming he well ſtrengthned, and bringing his approches nearer the Town, took from the Rebels the Mill, a ſtrength which they very unwillingly loſt, as in hope thereby to have the more eaſily received Aid from the Turks, who having made preparation to have relieved them, were letted ſo to do by the riſing of the Water, which had ſpoiled all the Proviſion for their relief at the Bridge of *Eſſeg*, as alſo hindered them for marching forward. At length the Imperials were come with their Trenches even to the Town Ditches, out of which they had let out all the Water; where, ſome of the Townſmen eſcaping out of the Town, declared, how that the mutinous Souldiers within laboured both day and night to fortifie the Town, but to be in their work much letted by the continual aſſaults of the Imperials; as alſo, that they now had neither Bread nor Wine, nor other Victuals left, more than a little Salt, and threeſcore Horſe, of which they had already begun to eat; and that although they were not altogether ſo valiant, yet that they had reſolved to die by the Hands

A moſt wicked Fact.

1600 of the Souldiers, as men expecting no other Mercy. Yet ſhortly after, *viz.* the nine and twentieth of *July*, they deſperately fell out upon the Trenches of *Maſpurgiſch*, a Dutch Captain; of whoſe Souldiers they ſlew many, being drunk, and driving the reſt out of their Trenches, raiſed a great Alarm. Which the Lord *Swartzenburg* hearing, haſted thither to the Reſcue; where, with an unlucky Muſquet-ſhot he was ſtruck in the Head and ſlain: whereof the Rebels got knowledge the ſame evening, and *Del la Mota* their General, in reward of that Service gave unto them that had made that Sally a thouſand Dollars to be divided among them. The dead Body of that ſo worthy a man, as had done great Service for the Chriſtian Commonweal, was afterwards with great Solemnity brought to *Rab*, and there honourably interred. The like deſperate Sally they made again the next day, and ſlew of the Imperials an hundred and thirty, and took certain Priſoners: and in retiring back again into the Town, cried aloud, That when they lacked meat, rather than they would yield the Town, they would eat Chriſtians, whereof *Marotti* ſhould be the firſt.

The Lord *Swartzen-burg* ſlain.

The Lord *Swartzenburg* thus ſlain, the Government of the Army was by *Matthias* the Arch-duke committed to the Lord *Redern*, a Noble man, both valiant and learned; who, although he were very ſickly, came unto the Camp before *Pappa* the eighth of *Auguſt*; where, underſtanding that the Rebels, now brought unto Extremity, had a purpoſe by night to fly away and ſo be gone, he cauſed a more vigilant and ſtrong Watch to be kept, when lo, according to his Expectation, the next night after, about two hours before day they began to iſſue out; whereof the Watch giving knowledge to the General, they were indeed ſuffered to go out as unperceived, but preſently after at their heels were ſent out the Lord *Nadaſti* and the Earl of *Thurn*, with 200 *Huſſars*, and after them the chief Collonel and County *Solms*, with part of their Horſe-men alſo, who in three divers places overtaking them near unto a great Wood called *Packem*, ſlew moſt part of them; *Del la Mota*, their chief Captain or Ring-leader, being ſlain by the chief Collonel, becauſe he would not yield, and his Head afterwards by him preſented unto the General in the Camp; 200 *Wallons*, the *Huſſars* under the leading of the Lord *Nadaſti*, County *Solmes*, and County *Thurn*, found out in the Wood; who albeit that they for a ſpace made great reſiſtance, yet in the end were inforced to yield, and ſo with their two Enſigns were brought into the Camp. The *Huſſars* alſo, upon another Paſſage light upon other 200 more of theſe rebellious *Wallons*, who, becauſe they ſtood ſtrongly upon their Guard, and were more deſperately ſet than the reſt, the General ſent out other 200 of the Collonels Horſe-men upon them, by whom, and the *Huſſars*, they were almoſt all ſlain: divers others of them alſo were ſlain in coming out of the Town, and in the Mariſhes thereabouts. Their General's Lieutenant, with ſuch other of their principal Commanders as were taken, were by the Lord *Rederns* Commandment delivered unto the Provoſt Martial; the reſt of the rebellious Traitors he, at the requeſt of the Souldiers, divided into divers parts of the Army there, to the terror of others, to be executed, from whom the Souldiers could hardly be perſuaded even for the preſent to hold their hands. But afterwards having brought them to *Rab*, and leave given them to do with them their Pleaſure, they as far exceeded in the cruel manner of their Execution, as had they before in their outragious Dealings, eſpecially the *Hungarians* and *Wallons*, notwithſtanding moſt of them were of the *Wallon* Countries. Some of them they impailed, ſome they brake upon the Wheel; ſome of their Skins they cut off their Bodies as it were into Thongs, and ſo poured into the Wounds Vinegar, Salt, and Pepper; from ſome others they cut off their Privities, ſome they roſted, and ſome they put into the *Tenalia*; upon ſome they dropped molten Pitch, and then caſting Gun-powder upon them, ſo burnt them to death; otherſome they hanged upon iron Hooks, and ſome they put in the ground up to the Chin, and for their diſport, with iron Bullets bowled at their Heads: in all which Torments, no ſign of Compaſſion was to be ſeen, the Tormentors, to make their Pain the greater, doing nothing but deride them; the miſerable Wretches, in the mean time, confeſſing the heinouſneſs of their Offence, and craving for Death as a Favour. A moſt horrible thing it was to ſee, how whilſt ſome were thus tortured, others were brought to ſee the ſame miſery they themſelves were by and by to endure. Amongſt the reſt of theſe exquiſite Torments, one *Peter Orſy* cauſed one of the Mutineers to be ſewed up in the Belly of a Mare, with his Head hanging out, and ſo to be roſted; in which miſerable Torment, he lived three hours, and then died: after which, he cauſed the loathſome Body ſo roſted, to be given to them that lay ſtarving upon the Wheel, to eat. Thus was the dangerous Mutiny at *Pappa*, with much ado ended, and that ſtrong Town, like to have been loſt, preſerved: the Rebels themſelves being become a dreadful example to all Poſterity, for all them to look upon that ſhall attempt the like Villany. 1600

Pappa abandoned by the Mutineers.

Now at this ſame time alſo, though neither the Chriſtians nor the Turks had as then any great Army in the Field, yet many an hot and bloody Skirmiſh paſſed daily betwixt them in one place or other of *Hungary*; all which to recount, as it would be much tedious, ſo in ſilence to paſs them all over, were greatly to wrong thoſe worthy Perſonages by whom they were not, without their great Adventure, done. Amongſt the reſt, one *Nicholas Horbath*, County *Serinus's* Lieutenant, with 150 Souldiers, and *Andrew Thuſſi*, another great Commander, going forth to ſeek for Booty; *Thuſſi* hearing that the Turks were abroad for the ſurpriſing of certain *Haiducks* then gone out, ſtaid faſt in a ſecret place until he might hear farther News, *Horbath* another way ſtill going on. Now it happened, that the Baſſa of *Sigeth* having been abroad, in returning home, by chance met with *Horbath*, and encountering with him overthrew him, and ſlew moſt of his men, *Horbath* himſelf by flight hardly eſcaping. But *Thuſſi*, hearing this Skirmiſh, as lying cloſe not far off, and now haſting thither to have been Partaker thereof, found the Baſſa yet in the Field on foot, viewing the Bodies of the ſlain; upon whom he came ſo ſuddenly and with ſuch Force, as that the Baſſa, with his diſordered men, had much ado to take Horſe, and ſo without any great reſiſtance to betake himſelf to flight; after whom the *Hungarians* fiercely following, ſlew many of the Turks, and amongſt the reſt the Baſſa himſelf, whoſe Head, preſently cut off, *Horbath* ſent to the County *Serinus*, who ſhortly after, by *Thuſſi* himſelf, ſent it to *Matthias* the Arch-duke. This Baſſa was a man of great Strength and Courage, a moſt expert and adventurous Captain, about thirty ſix years old, and for his Valour, of a common Souldier, created a Baſſa, by the Great Sultan. His Head being brought to *Vienna*, and there ſhewed to the Baſſa of *Buda*, then their Priſoner, and he demanded whether he knew it or not, ſighing anſwered, that he knew it well, and that it was the Head of the Baſſa of *Sigeth*, a braver man than whom the Sultan had none in all his Empire, earneſtly withal deſiring to know how he

Two Baſſaes of *Sigeth* ſlain one after another.

was ſlain. And not long after, the Adventurers out of *Komara*, *Strigonium*, and other places thereabout, having made a great Party, and taken a great Booty from the Turks at a Fair at *Gombar*, and by *Tra* and *Eſſeg*, thinking to have paſſed *Danubius* in hope of a greater Booty, ſeven hundred of them being paſſed the River, were by the new Baſſa of *Sigeth* and others, with five thouſand Turks, in an hot Skirmiſh overthrown; yet not without their great loſs alſo: the Baſſa himſelf, with two other Sanzacks and five hundred Turks, being there ſlain, and but fifty of the Chriſtian Adventurers left dead in the place, the reſt diſorderedly retiring to their Boats, being for moſt part drowned in the *Danuby*. The free *Haiducks* alſo ſurpriſed *Jula*, and ſet it on fire; in which Confuſion the Turks flying into the Caſtle, for haſte thruſt one another from the Bridge into the Caſtle ditch; wherein ſo many of them were drowned, that a man might have gone dry foot over upon the bodies of the dead. They took there alſo ſix hundred Priſoners, with much other Booty, and delivered two hundred Chriſtians which were there Captives. And albeit that theſe *Haiducks* after this Exploit done, were hardly purſued by the Turks from other places, yet they in ſafety retired with ſuch booty as they had already gotten.

Jula ſurpriſed and burnt by the free *Haiducks*.

But now to leave theſe the Troubles of *Hungary* for a while, as the fore-runners of greater 'ere long to enſue, let us again look back into *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, to ſee how *Michael* the Vayvod now in the mean time behaved himſelf there. The Cardinal *Bathor* overthrown and ſlain, and the Country of *Tranſilvania* again brought under the Emperour's Obedience; the Vayvod by his Ambaſſadors gave him forthwith to underſtand of all his Proceedings, with the whole Succeſs thereof, as alſo of a purpoſe he had to invade *Moldavia*; for that it was commonly reported, and alſo believed, That *Sigiſmund* the late Prince (not a little moved with the death of the Cardinal his Couſin, and the Revolt of his Country) aided by the *Turks*, the *Tartars*, the *Polonians*, and *Moldavians*, would now attempt ſome great matter for the recovery of *Tranſilvania*: all which, was ſhortly after the rather thought to be true, for that divers of his Spies being taken, ſome at *Clauſenburg*, ſome at *Neſſen*, beſide the Letters that were found about them from him unto the Nobility and States of *Tranſilvania*, (perſuading them to revolt from the Vayvod unto him, and that his meaning was ſhortly to come with a great Army out of *Polonia* for the repulſing of him) they alſo of themſelves confeſſed, How that *Sigiſmund*, in diſguiſed Apparel, had himſelf been in *Tranſilvania*, to conferr with divers his ſecret Friends concerning that matter. Which his Ambaſſadours the Emperour honourably entertained, and by them confirmed unto the Vayvod the Government of *Tranſilvania*, ſending alſo unto him divers honourable Preſents, forbidding him nevertheleſs to invade *Moldavia*, for fear of raiſing a new and dangerous War againſt the *Polonians* alſo, under whoſe Protection and the Turks the Palatine thereof then reſted. According unto which Command, the Vayvod ſtayed his intended Expedition; yet ſending ſome good part of his Forces unto the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, for fear of *Sigiſmund*, whom he heard to be hatching ſome miſchief in *Polonia*, and even then to lie upon the Frontiers of that Country. Some few months thus paſſing, *Huſraim Aga* (a grave reverend old man, and much employed by the Turkiſh Sultan) with five other Turks of good account, Ambaſſadors from the great Sultan, and a great Retinue following him, came to *Gronſtat* in *Tranſilvania*, where the Vayvod then lay. Of whoſe coming the Vayvod hearing, with four thouſand Horſemen moſt bravely mounted, went half a mile out of the City to meet them; the Foot-men in the mean time on both ſides of the Street ſtanding in good order, from the Gate of the City whereby they were to enter, even unto the Vayvod's Lodging, where ſtood alſo his Guard all in red and white Silk. So meeting in the field, they both alighted from their Horſes, with great reverence ſaluting the one the other: when preſently the Ambaſſador embracing the Vayvod, ungirt his Scimiter, and in the Name of the great Sultan put another about him, ſo richly garniſhed with Gold and precious Stones, as that no part of the Scabbard was therefore to be ſeen: beſides this, he preſented him with a fair Plume of black Hearns Feathers mixed with ſome white, (a right goodly Ornament, in form of a great buſh) which the Vayvod would not in the Field put upon his Head, although he were thereunto by the Ambaſſador moſt earneſtly requeſted, but cauſed it to be carried before him: he alſo preſented him with two very fair red Enſigns, in token of the Turks favour and protection; the one for himſelf, and the other for his Son *Petraſco*: moreover, he gave unto him two exceeding fair Horſes richly furniſhed, with four others, and a moſt fair Faulcon. The Vayvod himſelf was moſt bravely mounted, and (after the manner of his Country) had ten very fair ſpare Horſes led before him. At whoſe Entrance into the Town, all the great Ordnance was diſcharged, with great Vollies of ſmall Shot; and ſo the Ambaſſador ſtill riding on the left hand of the Vayvod, being brought to his Lodging, had ſix of his chief Followers every one of them preſented with a rich Robe of Cloth of Gold: in requital whereof, the Ambaſſador rewarded an hundred of the Vayvod's Followers every one of them with a good ſuit of Apparel: with this Ambaſſador of the Turks was alſo the *Polonian* Ambaſſador, whom the Vayvod in like manner honourably entertained. Theſe Ambaſſadors (as was thought) did what they might to have drawn this worthy and renowned Man, together with the Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, from the Emperour unto the Turks Obeiſance: howbeit, he ſeldom or never ſpake with them, but that either before or after he had Conference with the Lords *Ungnad* and *Zeokel* (the Emperour's Commiſſioners) concerning their Requeſts; always proteſting unto them, not to yield to any thing without the Emperour's Conſent and good-liking. Whereof *Mahomet* advertiſed, and that he was not by any thing yet ſaid or done to be removed from the Emperour, gave him by the ſame Ambaſſadors to underſtand, How that he was in ſome Speech with the Emperour concerning Peace (as indeed he then was by Meſſengers from the Baſſaes at *Presburg*) which if it ſorted to effect, that then it ſhould be well; but if not, that then it ſhould be good for him, whilſt yet he had time, wiſely to conſider of his own Eſtate, and to ſubmit himſelf unto his Protection who was able to defend him, rather than for the vain praiſe of a certain fooliſh Conſtancy, to adventure himſelf, with all that he had, unto moſt certain Danger and Deſtruction: promiſing him in recompence of that his Loyalty, to give unto him for ever, the Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, and at his need to furniſh him both with Men and Money; offering moreover to make him a great Commander in his Army in *Hungary*, and the Baſſa of *Temeſwar*, as his Friend, to be at all times ready with fifty thouſand Horſe and Foot (as need ſhould be) to aſſiſt him againſt the Emperour, reſerving unto himſelf whatſoever he ſhould more win for him: for all which Bounty and Kindneſs requiring only to have him unto him loyal. All which his

The Government of *Tranſilvania* by the Emperour confirmed unto *Michael* the Vayvod.

large offers the Vayvod little regarding, declared the ſame unto the Emperours Commiſsioners: yet ſtill proteſting never to ſtart, but to ſtand faſt for the Chriſtian Emperour. Notwithſtanding, as a man deſirous to better his eſtate, he took hereupon occaſion to requeſt of the Emperour the Country of *Tranſilvania*, by him ſo lately taken in, unto him and his Son, in Inheritance for ever; with ſuch frontier Towns as in former time belonged unto *Tranſilvania*: and that whatſoever he ſhould win from the *Turks*, might be his and his Sons. He alſo requeſted, that all the Preferments and Dignities, in former time granted by his Imperial Majeſty, unto *Sigiſmund* the late Prince, might now be beſtowed upon himſelf; and for his Service done, to be furniſhed with Money for the payment of his Souldiers: And that the Emperour, with the other Princes of the Empire, ſhould aſſure him, That if he were taken by the Turk, they ſhould ranſome him; but in caſe he were by the great power of the Turk driven out of thoſe Countries, then, by the Emperours appointment, to have ſome convenient Place allotted for him in the upper *Hungary* to live in, with the yearly penſion of an hundred thouſand Dollars. All which his requeſts, if it would pleaſe him to grant, he promiſed this year to do ſo much againſt the *Turk*, as had not been done in an hundred years before; with vaunt, that if he had had the Employment of the Money which was ſpent in the time of this War, he would not have doubted but to have brought all the Countries from the *Euxine* (or black Sea) to *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis*, and *Solnock*, under the Emperours Obeiſance. A large promiſe indeed, but hardly to have been performed by a far greater Prince than he.

Thus whilſt things ſtood in diſcourſe after the Cardinals Death, *Sigiſmund*, the late Prince, in the mean time ſupported by the *Polonians*, with the Aid of the *Turks*, the *Tartars*, and the *Moldavians*, was ready to have invaded *Tranſilvania*; yea the *Tartars*, (as the forerunners of his great power) were already entered the Country, and had out of the Frontiers thereof carried away ſome booty. Whereof the Vayvod underſtanding, in great haſte aſſembled his forces out of all places, which in ſhort time was grown to ſome good head, the Country People, together with the free *Haiducks*, (an adventurous and reſolute kind of Souldiers) in great number daily reſorting unto him. So being now eight thouſand ſtrong, and moſt of them brave and luſty men, he with them and twenty pieces of Artillery, removed to *Cronſtat* the four and twentieth day of *April*, ſending part of his Army (which every day more and more increaſed) before him to *Neſſen*; where all his forces being aſſembled to the number of almoſt fifty thouſand Horſe and Foot, he with great Celerity paſſed the rough and high Mountains into *Moldavia*, without reſiſtance, but yet not without ſome trouble, his Souldiers by the way being glad ſometimes to eat the Leaves of Trees, the Enemy having of purpoſe before carried away whatſoever he could that might have yielded him relief. Of whoſe ſpeedy coming and great ſtrength, *Sigiſmund*, and *Jeremias* the Vayvod of *Moldavia* hearing, and upon the reaſonable eſtimate of their own Forces, finding themſelves too weak to incounter him, retired themſelves out of *Moldavia* into the Frontiers of *Polonia*, there to gather greater ſtrength, and ſo to meet him; for as yet *Jeremias* the Voyvod had not received from the Turk ſuch Forces as were unto him promiſed, and as he ſtill expected. *Michael* the Vayvod in the mean time (his Enemies thus fled) with Fire and Sword entering into *Moldavia*, took in the greateſt part thereof, the fearful Country People ſtill yielding unto him as he went; and the rather, for that *Jeremias* their Vayvod (placed by the *Polonian*, but tributary unto the Turk) had laid upon them a moſt grievous Impoſition, as upon every man a Duckat a Month, for which they exceedingly hated him. But here in *Moldavia*, *Michael* the Vayvod (having ſtill in his Company one of the Emperours Commiſsioners in *Tranſilvania*, moſt truſty Servants, who might faithfully report unto them the whole manner of his Proceedings) after the departure of *Sigiſmund* and *Jeremias*, his Enemies, ſtaied not long; but hearing that they were retired towards the Confines of *Polonia*, without longer delay made towards them, and the eighteenth of *May* found them by the Caſtle *Othune*, near unto the River *Neſter*, being thirty thouſand ſtrong, *Polonians*, *Moldavians*, *Turks* and *Tartars*; with whom he joyned a moſt fierce and cruel Battel, which begun about ten a Clock before Noon, was with great Courage, but greater Obſtinacy on both ſides, maintained until the Evening. At which time the Fortune of the *Valachian* prevailing, his Enemies at laſt betook themſelves to flight, of whom there were ſlain eight thouſand, beſide many others of them drowned in the River *Neſter*: where, of the *Valachians* were loſt two thouſand onely. Concerning *Sigiſmund* and *Jeremias*, divers reports were after this overthrow given out; ſome ſaying that they were ſlain, and ſome, that they were in flying drowned; howbeit the truth was, that they both by flight eſcaped, to the greater trouble of themſelves, as of their afflicted Countries alſo. *Michael*, after this ſo notable a Victory, taking in the reſt of *Moldavia*, cauſed the People to ſwear their Obedience unto the Emperour, himſelf, and his Son, to the great offence of the *Polonians*, not a little (as they took it) wronged therein; but eſpecially of the great Chancellor, an old Enemy unto the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Whereof enſued greater Troubles in thoſe frontier Countries than before, to the further effuſion of more Chriſtian Blood, much better to have been imployed againſt the fatal Enemy, in defence of the Chriſtian Common-weal. Yet thus the three warlike and frontier Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, the ſureſt Bulwarks of that ſide of Chriſtendom, and moſt expoſed unto the Fury of the common Enemy, were now once again united under the Obeiſance of the Emperor, to the great benefit (no doubt) of the Chriſtian Common-weal, and hurt of the *Turks*; if they might have ſo continued, as, God wot, they did not long.

Michael the Vayvod goeth againſt *Sigiſmund Bathor*, and the Vayvod of *Moldavia*.

Sigiſmund and the *Moldavian* overthrown by *Michael* the Vayvod.

Moldavia ſubdued by *Michael.*

Now the Vayvod, notwithſtanding this ſo great a Victory, well conſidering that he of himſelf could hardly keep this new gained Province of *Moldavia* againſt the Power of the *Turk*, (pretending that to him it belonged as his own to give to whom he pleaſed:) as alſo againſt the *Polonians*, (not more deſirous to reſtore *Jeremias* again into *Moldavia*, than the Prince *Sigiſmund* into *Tranſilvania*) without the help of ſome other more mighty Prince whom he might reſt upon; by his Ambaſſadours (ſent for that purpoſe) offered the ſoveraignty of all thoſe three Countries unto the Emperour, with Condition, that he ſhould appoint him perpetual Governour of the ſame under him. The Emperour alſo underſtood, how that *Mahomet* the great Turk had not long before again ſent unto him another of his *Chiaus*, commanding him without delay to reſtore the Country of *Tranſilvania* unto the Prince *Sigiſmund* (unto whom he was by the Mediation of the King of *Polonia* now before reconciled) threatning otherwiſe, with Fire and Sword to deſtroy *Valachia*, and by force of Arms to deprive him both of *Tranſilvania* and his Life together. Wherefore the Emperour, doubting leſt the Vayvod, either for fear, or for the better aſſuring of his own eſtate, ſhould to his Prejudice fall to ſome agreement with the Turk, yielded to all that

Michael tyranniſeth in *Tranſilvania.*

The *Tranſilvanians* rebel.

that his Ambaſſadors had of him requeſted; with Condition, that he ſhould be bound, as need ſhould require, to ſerve with his People againſt the Turk; and that in *Tranſilvania*, near unto his own Perſon, ſhould be always reſident one of the Emperour's Counſellors, as Superintendent over the whole Country. Wherewith the Vayvod being contented, the Emperour ſent thither Doctor *Petzen* with ſix thouſand Souldiers, and a great Sum of Money to pay the Vayvod's Souldiers, as he had before requeſted; and ſo take of them an Oath, That they ſhould from thenceforth become his Majeſties faithful Servants. Which Superintendent, ſo by the Emperour ſent, the Vayvod received with great Honour, as unto him of all others moſt welcome. Nevertheleſs, being again returned into *Tranſilvania*, it was not long but that (without regard of him) he began with new exactions to oppreſs the People of the Country, and in ſome ſort to tyranniſe over them; uſing great ſeverity againſt divers of the Nobility alſo, eſpecially ſuch as he knew to have taken part before with the Cardinal, or now of late with *Sigiſmund* his Couſin, or any way to have favoured his Quarrel. All which he did without the conſent or good liking of *Petzen*, contrary to his Promiſe made, No more to imbrue his hands in the blood of the Nobility of *Tranſilvania*, without the Knowledge or Conſent of his Imperial Majeſty, or the Superintendent by him appointed; which for all that, if he had not done, he could not poſſibly have kept them (diſdaining to be governed by him) under his Obeiſance. Nevertheleſs, the *Tranſilvanians*, taking it in evil part to be ſo oppreſſed, and the Nobility almoſt extinguiſhed, yea and indeed to be at all ruled by him; by general Conſent, as if it had been but one man, riſe all up in Arms againſt him; inſomuch, that he finding himſelf with his *Valachians* and other his Favourites too weak for them, retired with all ſuch as would follow him, into the Mountains; and from thence ſent preſently for Aid unto the Lord *George Baſta* (a worthy Captain, and then the Emperour's Lieutenant in the upper *Hungary*) for the ſubduing of theſe rebellious People, and the reducing of them to their former Obedience. Who, by Letters from *Matthias* the Arch-duke, at the inſtance of the Vayvod, commanded ſo to do, with about 6000 Horſe and Foot, and eight Field-pieces, removed from *Caſſovia* in the upper *Hungary* the fourth of *September*. Where, by the way, came unto him Ambaſſadors alſo from the People of *Tranſilvania*, now up in Arms, and Confederate alſo againſt the Vayvod; who in like manner alſo requeſted his Aid, pretending themſelves to be the Emperour's moſt loyal Subjects, but not under the Government of ſuch a Tyrant as was the Vayvod; alledging and exaggerating many his moſt cruel Actions, and clearly proteſting, That for the preſent want of a good Governour, they were inforced, for the ſafeguard of their Lives, to band themſelves together: which if haply it might be in any thing prejudicial unto the Emperour's claim and intereſt, which he with ſo great toil and coſt had procured in that Province, it was againſt their Wills, as inforced by neceſſity to do that they did in defence of themſelves. Which Ambaſſadors ſo ſent from the People, *Baſta* with all ſpeed diſpatched away back again, comforting them, without farther ſtir to expect his Arrival in *Tranſilvania*; yet covenanting withal, That they ſhould before conceive into writing the Oath of their Fidelity and Allegiance unto his Imperial Majeſty. Now might many and important Conſiderations trouble the Mind of *Baſta* in ſo doubtful a caſe. To give Aid unto the Vayvod againſt the People, was the expreſs Order from *Matthias* the Arch-duke, the Emperour's Lieutenant-General; but to aid the People confederate againſt him, as they had requeſted, ſeemed now both more profitable and honeſt, eſpecially having moſt certain Tokens of the ſmall and doubtful Faith of the Vayvod; who, only by diſputation intereſſed in that Province, was not ſo careful of another man's; neither ſeeming to have regard to *Petzen*, or of his own word given for not farther imbruing his hands in the Blood of the Nobility of *Tranſilvania*, without the Emperour's knowledge and leave: upon which Promiſe was likewiſe grounded the Arch-duke's Order for giving of him Aid: ſo that ſuch breach of his Faith, and contempt of *Petzen*, had haſtned the Conſpiracy of the People againſt him, deſpairing of all other Health than that which by force of Arms they could procure unto themſelves. To ſtand doubtful himſelf, or to hold others in ſuſpence, until that by Courriers in this new caſe he might receive new Inſtructions from the Emperour or the Arch-duke, had in it too much danger, as giving leiſure to each Party to make ſides, and to increaſe the ſlander of the laſt Year, That he might ſo eaſily (and eſpecially from the *Valachian*) have aſſured that Province to his Majeſty, had he not been an heartleſs man of no Reſolution, even ſuch an one as durſt not look upon a Cat, (as ſome had ſaid) all which might not a little prick an honourable Mind. To take part with the People confederate againſt the Vayvod, if it ſhould not happily fall out at the firſt Encounter, might betwixt the two Contendants give an entrance unto the third, either the *Turk* or the *Polonian*, in the ſavour of *Bathor*: but if it ſhould ſort to the quite contrary, and ſo himſelf to loſe the day; then he ſaw himſelf void of all defence againſt the malicious, eſpecially in that the World commonly meaſureth the Wiſdom uſed in any Action according to the Succeſs thereof, than which nothing can be more unreaſonable, but above all others, in matters of War. In this ſo troubled a Tempeſt of contrary Winds, of power to have driven a right good Mariner out of his Courſe, *Baſta* laid hand upon the Helm of good-meaning, and ſpread the Sails of ſuch Diſcretion, as taught him in matters of War to be lawful for a General to depart even from the Inſtructions of his Prince, not concerning the end, but the means leading to that end: eſpecially when the preſent Occaſion ſo requireth, which the Prince could not with reaſon before comprehend, as depending on the moſt mighty Fortune of War, which ſuffereth not ſo much delay as to expect Counſel from far. So in this Ambiguity *Baſta* reſolved to joyn himſelf unto the Confederates, moſt, in his Judgment, concerning his Imperial Majeſty, as being the uttermoſt ſcope of his ſo great coſt and charge, to keep the Country of *Tranſilvania* at his Devotion, which conſiſted in the People, and not in the Woods or Mountains: the matter being not great by what means ſoever it were done, ſo that it were honourable and honeſt.

Baſta taketh part with the *Tranſilvanians* againſt the Vayvod in whoſe Aid he was ſent.

Upon this Deſire *Baſta* ſet forward, and the 14th day arrived at *Torda*, and there joyned himſelf unto the Confederates, to the great wonder of the Vayvod, in whoſe help he was ſent: where, repoſing himſelf one day, conſulting and conſidering of their Forces, about 12000 ſtrong, with four Field-pieces, beſides eight of his own, with the ſix thouſand Souldiers he brought with him, in all about eighteen thouſand, he determined not to give leiſure unto the Vayvod to call unto him farther help, having now with him about twenty thouſand Foot and twelve thouſand Horſe, with ſeven and twenty Field-pieces; amongſt whom were divers of the *Siculi*, in hope of their ancient Liberty, Men of good account and ſort, with a mixture of the *Coſſacks*, *Valachians*, *Raſcians*, and *Servians*, People of Prey, ſerving only to ſpoil:

whom

1600 whom *Baſta* knew to be far inferiour in Courage to his twelve thouſand Foot and ſix thouſand Horſe; not only for the Valour of his own Men, accuſtomed unto the frontier Service, but alſo for the Confederates, who engaged with their Goods, Lives, and Honour, and deſirous to be revenged of the Vayvod, were like enough to ſtand well by it. Wherefore he ſet forward the ſixteenth day, and in two days march came within ſight of the Vayvod; who having ſent out certain great Troops of Horſe-men to take view of the Enemy, and ſeeing them repulſed, ſet fire on *Miriſlo*, a Village faſt by, out of which they had before drawn certain ſmall Field-pieces into the Camp.

Miriſlo is a Village two Leagues on this ſide of *Alba-Julia*, directly upon the High-way, ſtretching from the ſide of *Maracza* navigable River, unto the foot of an Hill; along which the River running, ſometimes nearer, and ſometimes farther off, together with the riſing of the Hill, maketh an unequal liſt of ground, in ſome places half a mile broad and more, and in ſome other ſhut up as it were into a narrow Throat, as in the ſelf ſame place where the aforeſaid Village ſtandeth, and where the Vayvod lay incamped in a place of great Advantage, behind a great Trench drawn from the River, croſs that little ſpace of ground betwixt the Mountain and the River. On this ſide, which from *Miriſlo* the farther a man goeth, the farther the Plane enlargeth, *Baſta* incamping cloſe unto the Village, oppoſed againſt the coming of the Enemy three great *Corps du gard*, two of them *Hungarians*, towards the Hill, favoured with a Church, and the third toward the River, of the *Almain* Foot-men, under the Charge of County *Tomaſo Caurioli* of *Breſcia*, Serjeant-Major of the Field, with all the Artillery; who, as in a place near and very open unto the Enemy, there intrenched himſelf, ſtill approaching nearer and nearer both on the one ſide and the other. Towards the evening of the ſelf-ſame ſeventeenth day, came to *Baſta* one *Peter Armenio*, with Letters from the Vayvod, containing, That having underſtood of his Arrival in the Camp of the Conſpirators, he now farther deſired to know whether it were by the Conſent and Commandment of the Emperour or not; and how it came to paſs that he would ſo do, conſidering the divers chances of War, the Sword hanging as it were even over his Head if he ſhould chance to loſe the Battel? Whereunto *Baſta* anſwered, That the morrow following he would ſhew him the Authority he had from the Emperour (alluding to the Imperial Standard he carried with him;) and that as concerning the Fortune and Danger to enſue, he referred that wholly unto the Will and Pleaſure of the Almighty, the juſt Judge of all Controverſies. But in the mean time he exhorted him to leave that Province he had ſo evil governed unto his Imperial Majeſty, as he was in duty bound; promiſing him free Paſſage into *Valachia*, and giving him time to conſider thereupon until Eight a clock the next Morning, after which time it ſhould be free for every Man to do for himſelf what he could. Which Anſwer the Vayvod having read, inflamed with diſdain, with many proud Words, full of Threats and Diſgrace, although it was then night, preſently cauſed, by the Sound of the Drum and Trumpet, the Battel to be proclaimed againſt the next day.

On the other ſide, *Baſta*, after he had aſſured his Camp, having not only ſent, but gone himſelf to have the counſel of his own Eyes, for his better underſtanding how the Enemy lay; and finding no reaſonable means for him there to attempt any Exploit by, as well for the ſtrength of the Trench before the Front, and in part along the ſide of the Enemies Camp, as alſo for the danger of a riſing ground on the left hand, whereunto all the Plane betwixt the Enemies Camp and the Village was ſubject, thought it beſt to remove, and make a ſhort Retreat about the ſpace of an *Italian* mile, according to the commodiouſneſs of the place; thinking it no hard matter, of ſo proud an Enemy, and not altogether ſo well acquainted with martial Stratagems, to gain a notable Victory. 1600 This his purpoſe propounded in Council, was greatly diſliked of the Captains of the Confederates; unto whom it ſeemed more ſafety to aſſault the Vayvod, yet lying in his Strength, than to retire before the face of an Enemy ſo ſtrong and adventurous; for that ſuch a Retreat, according to the manner of that Country, would be deemed no other than a plain flight; and to break his Order and ariſe, was (as they ſaid) but to diſcourage his own People, and to encourage his Enemies. But *Baſta*, the better to perſuade them, promiſed therein to ſhew to them a more cunning kind of Fight than was yet unto them known; and declared the aſſurance that he in his own Perſon, with the *Almains*, in the Rereward would give them in that Retreat, in ſuch ſort, as that they ſhould not loſe ſo much as a man, much leſs they needed to fear to fall into any diſorder in ſo ſhort a ſpace, his purpoſe being only to give the Plane unto the enemy, wherein to ſhew himſelf in the open Field. So the Retreat being agreed upon, the Morning following, being the 28*th.* of *September*, the three *Corps du guard*, (before ſpoken of) were betimes called back, and the Baggage ſent away; after which followed the *Tranſilvanians* and *Hungarians*, the *Almains* in the Rereward incloſing the great Ordnance.

The Battel of *Miriſlo* betwixt *Michael* the Vayvod and *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant.

The Vayvod, aware of their Departure, ſent forthwith a great Troop of Horſe-men, eſpecially of the *Coſſacks*, to take view of them, and to ſkirmiſh with them; which were ſo far kept off by a Company of Muſqueteers in the Rereward, as that they could not come ſo nigh as to do any harm, although that all the way they went they were by them ſtill charged, to the great Contentment of *Baſta*, to ſee ſo good a beginning of his Deſigns as might bring them all to their wiſhed Effect. But when he ſaw the great Artillery upon the Carriages to come out of the Village, a certain ſign that the Enemy ſet forward with all his Forces, he marched fair and ſoftly to give him hope to overtake him; and ſo retired as far as he thought good from the Village, having before thought of a convenient place wherein his People might, with room enough, upon advantage ſtay; whenas about half a mile from him, and as far from the Village, he might ſee the Enemy march with his People in order of Battel: then began he to march towards him alſo; and perceiving the Enemy to come on in one only thick Front, by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of the place, having on the right hand towards the River placed as it were all his Horſemen, and towards the Mountain his Foot-men alone, and 500 Foot placed aloft without any Artillery, as it ſeemed he would have done, having planted ſome below at the foot of the Hill in the way, and in the midſt, even before the Front of the Battel, where the Horſe-men came after the Foot-men; he alſo placed his Squadron in one Front only, to the intent not to be incloſed by the Enemy on the flank of his Army. The body of his main Battel conſiſted of one great Squadron of about 3000 *Almain* Footmen, flanked on each ſide with 150 *Rutters* of *Sileſia*; before the Squadron toward the right hand he had ſet a looſe Wing of three hundred Muſqueteers; in the right Wing towards the Hill he placed a Company of Launces, with two Squadrons of the Country-Footmen; and in the left Wing toward the River one Squadron of *Tranſilvanian*

Foot-

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Foot-men, and two of Launces, for that the Enemy was at that time very ſtrong in Horſe-men; the *Coſſacks*, Archers, and Harquebuſers, he placed in the Rereward; of his great Artillery he would make no uſe, for that having not much, he would not ſtand upon the defence thereof, but deſired rather, with all ſpeed, to come to the Sword with the Enemy, unacquainted with ſuch cloſe fight, foot to foot; and well the leſs fit, by reaſon of their light Armour. And therefore he thought it beſt firſt to ſet forward his Squadron of *Almains* to give the charge, bending towards the right hand, amongſt the thickeſt of the Foot-men towards the Artillery at the foot of the Hill, as there whereas was the ſtrength of the Enemies Infantry. And doubting in the performing hereof, to be charged on the left ſide with a great Squadron of about 3000 Launces, which ſeemed to ſtand upon that Wing to give the firſt charge, he gave order unto *Rodoniz*, his Lieutenant, and Colonel of the *Rutters*, which had the leading of the left Wing, that he ſhould at a certain ſign given, ſet forward towards the left hand, for the charging of that great Squadron. So his People being ſet in order, and the manner of proceeding ſet down, he putting on his Helmet, with chearful Countenance ſaid, That at that time he truſted he ſhould ſhew unto the Vayvod, that his Truncheon could do more than his Scimitar; and himſelf ſetting forward betwixt the Squadron of the *Almain* Foot-men and the Wing of the Muſqueteers, about two hours after Noon, marched fair and ſoftly towards the Enemy; who without moving, expected the diſcharging of their Artillery, whereunto the nearer that the Enemy came unto it, the leſs harm it did him, by ſhooting either over or ſhort in the Field, which eaſily aſcended. The Wing of Muſqueteers went directly to give a charge unto the Artillery; and the Squadron toward the foot of the Hill, where *Baſta* deſired forcibly to charge, that thereby they might be enforced to ſpend their firſt Vollies, and with ſome diſcouragement or diſorder to retire, preſently came in, all afront, juſt upon the ſign given; and ſo with his *Almain* Foot-men, and the *Rutters* on the right hand, encloſed and compaſſed in behind the greateſt part of the Enemies Foot-men. At which very inſtant, the *Rutters* on the left hand alſo ſo couragiouſly charged upon the three thouſand Launces, that better could not have been deſired of any band of moſt old and expert Souldiers. The Launces retiring without any hurt, and the firſt Volley diſcharged, forced the Infantry, and ſo diſordered the reſt. Whereupon the Wings charging, there enſued preſently a great ſlaughter and overthrow, only forty of *Baſta*'s men being ſlain, and as many hurt; where of the Enemies were loſt in the battel ten thouſand; and greater had the ſlaughter been, if the Village and approach of the Night had not covered many of them that fled, and ſtaied the purſuit of the Victors that followed them. Which putteth me in remembrance of the great Victory that *Scipio Aſiaticus* had againſt *Antiochus*, wherein were ſlain of the *Romans*, but three hundred (although that in the fight one of the Wings ſtood for a time doubtful) there being loſt of the Enemies above fifty thouſand. Howbeit there were afterwards found in all (as was by the Peaſants of the Country reported) twenty thouſand ſlain in this Battel. By this Victory *Baſta* recovered many Enſigns and much Armour, before ſent by the Emperour unto the Vayvod, together with all his Tents and Baggage. And preſently after the overthrow, there were many Troops of Horſemen ſent out every way with Proclamation, to ſpare the Lives of ſuch of the *Siculi* as ſhould lay down their Arms; of whom, many were ſent Priſoners unto divers Places, eſpecially to *Fogaras*, a ſtrong Town towards *Valachia*. As for the Vayvod himſelf, he with certa in *Coſſacks* eſcaped by flight.

Michael the Vayvod overthrown.

1600

The Morrow following, *Baſta* diſpatched away the County *Caurioli* to inform the Emperour of all the Particularities of the Succeſs of that Expedition; who ſeemed to be therewith pleaſed, yet neither gave Reward unto the County, neither commended *Baſta* in that he had done (foreſeeing perhaps what was to enſue thereof) although he had in Writing before approved his Reſolution and Motion made in Favour of the Confederates. Staying that day in that quarter, *Baſta* gave order unto the *Chiaki*, to ſend out a Thouſand Horſemen to purſue the flying Vayvod; who, inſtead of ſo doing, joyning themſelves with other their Conſorts, ſetled themſelves to ranſack *Alba-Julia*, under the Colour, that there was the Vayvods Wealth and Subſtance; yet (as the manner of ſuch men is) ſparing neither Merchant nor Citizen; which worthily ſeemed unto *Baſta* a great wrong, for to ſee the innocent puniſhed, and the guilty to eſcape free. And albeit that he made what haſte he might thitherwards with all his Camp, and ſo stayed one day not far from thence, to have given ſome redreſs unto the ſpoyl that had happened; yet was all that his Labour loſt, for that ſo many of the greater ſort and chiefeſt amongſt them had their hands therein, with whom he thought it more Wiſdom as then to diſſemble, than to fall into any termes of Severity, without hope of doing any good. So he reſolved in all haſte to march towards *Fogaras* (whither he heard ſay the Vayvod was come with new Forces out of *Valachia* and *Moldavia*) and in ſix days march came to *Cibinium*, where he received certain News, That the great Chancellour of *Polonia* and *Sigiſmund* (ſometime the *Tranſilvanian* Prince) were with a ſtrong Army upon the Frontiers of *Moldavia*; having ſent before them *Moyſes* the *Siculian*, with about eight thouſand of the *Siculi* (his Souldiers) to what purpoſe was eaſie to be ſeen. Which Advertiſement interrupted the Courſe of *Baſta*'s Victory; for that it ſeemed not reaſonable to purſue the Enemy, and to leave behind him a doubt of ſo great Importance; and eſpecially, for that he thought he could not aſſure himſelf of the Aid of the Country-people, in caſe that *Sigiſmund* their old Prince were once ſeen in *Tranſilvania*. Wherefore he thought good to ſtay where he was, to provide for all Events as need ſhould be; and ſo reſolved to ſend the *Chiaki*, and one *Ladiſlaus Pithi*, to Parley with *Moyſes*, who made a ſhew of no great Moment of his good will towards the Confederates. In the mean time, came two Meſſengers from the Vayvod, offering in his Name, that he ſhould do whatſoever were in the behalf of the Emperour to be impoſed upon him. Unto whom theſe Conditions were by *Baſta* and the reſt of the Council propounded; Firſt, That he ſhould for ever reſign all the claim he had or might have into the Country of *Tranſilvania*; then, That he altogether with his Army, ſhould give his Oath of Fidelity unto his Imperial Majeſty; alſo, That he ſhould forthwith through *Valachia* go with his Army unto the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, to ſtay the *Polonians* from farther entrance: and moreover, to give his Wife and little Son in Hoſtage for the performance of theſe things. With which Meſſengers was ſent one *Sebaſtian Techelli*, to receive the Oath and promiſed Hoſtages, unto whom was appointed for the place of their ſafe keeping, the Biſhops Caſtle in *Alba-Julia*, the Vayvod having before requeſted, That they might be ſo kept in *Tranſilvania*; although

The *Chiaki* was the chief man; and as it were, the Ring-leader of the *Tranſilvanians* into Rebellion.

A Reconciliation made betwixt *Michael* the Vayvod, and *Baſta*.

Baſta thought it much better to have had them kept in the upper *Hungary*. This agreement being made, *Baſta* kept on his way towards *Fogaras*, which he found already poſſeſſed by the *Chiaki*, and ſo from thence to *Corona*. After which, the Vayvod diſtruſting of the Articles agreed upon, went directly into *Valachia*, but not at all into *Moldavia*; not ſo much diſcomfited with the Forces of the *Polonians* whom he went againſt (not doubting to give them a great overthrow) as for the diſtruſt he had of *Moſes* the *Siculian*, who in the Battel might ſhew himſelf his Enemy behind him. Now whether it were for the diſtruſt he had in his own followers, or only for fear of Treaſon by the *Polonians* plotted, being not likely that they with ſo ſmall Forces were come to fight, without ſome greater ſecret deceit; he not knowing whom to truſt or to fear, of his own accord took his flight into the ſtrength of the Mountains, without any great loſs of his People, having left his Baggage behind him, which was aſſailed and taken by the *Haiducks*, and ſuch other ſharkers inured to Prey, and always ready in like occaſion, to help to ſpoil and chaſe them that are already running; although that afterwards in divers Skirmiſhes with the *Turks* (who to cauſe him the rather to turn his back unto the *Polonians*, had preſumptuouſly ſcoured up and down the Country) he loſt many. In fine, giving *Moldavia* loſt, he was now out of hope how to be able to hold only *Valachia*, his old Government. Even he which but a little before commanded above an hundred thouſand Souldiers in Field; he, which in deſpight of who ſaid nay, was able to command *Valachia* and *Moldavia*, and happily the other Countries alſo near unto him, as having received the command of *Tranſilvania*, as Governour for the Emperour; he that made *Conſtantinople* to tremble, and found no Empire equal to his Deſigns. But it fareth oftentimes with the Great, as with Birds of Prey, who greedily ſeeking to prey upon others, become themſelves a Prey unto other greater than themſelves; for they, never contented, and attributing only unto their own Valour and Wiſdom, their own proſperous Proceedings, are the true ſhewers of the unſtable wheel of Fortune: or what ſay I of Fortune? being rather the very Children of Folly. So commonly falleth it out with Princes (eſpecially the new) which in the Garboiles of War betwixt their mighty Neighbours, not governed by their own Wiſdom, reſt themſelves only upon the Advice of their Counſellors, are by them led they wote not whither, for the greateſt intereſt they have in them. For had the Vayvod had but the leaſt inſight into Political Government, he might well have underſtood, that amongſt ſo many mighty Princes he could not much grow, or yet well root himſelf, without the aſſured ſtay of ſome one or other of them. He ſhould alſo have known within what compaſs a new Prince ought to have uſed Severity and Rigour; and that he ought to abſtain from all offence in good or otherwiſe, which might any way procure unto him the diſpleaſure or hatred of his Subjects. Whereas his Counſellors, not ſo much reſpecting his Profit as their own, had not the Power, or not the Will to perſuade him ſo by good means to plant himſelf ſure in *Tranſilvania*; but ſo both caſt him headlong from his high Eſtate, and at the ſame time furthered the loſs of *Caniſia*, a matter of important Conſequence.

Michael for fear of being betrayed unto the *Polonians*, takes his flight into the Mountains.

Now lay *Baſta* encamped in the Field in *Tranſilvania*, when a Meſſenger came unto him from the great Chancellour of *Polonia*, to declare unto him, That it was not his purpoſe to trouble *Tranſilvania*, having no ſuch order from the King; albeit that he would adviſe the *Tranſilvanians*, if they wiſhed to live in quiet, to make choice of a Prince of their own Nation, and ſuch an one as the *Turk* ſhould well like of, whereas otherwiſe they ſhould but ſeek their own Deſtruction, together with their Neighbours. Which his Counſel was well marked of them all, albeit it was thought by many of the wiſer ſort, not ſo much to proceed of any good meaning he had towards the *Tranſilvanians*, as of an old grudge and inveterate hatred he had always born againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; as alſo, that he even then countenanced the Prince *Sigiſmund* with his Army to no other end, but by him to raiſe up new ſtirs in that Province, and ſo to draw it from the Emperours Obeiſance, although thereby it became again tributary unto the *Turk*, who in all theſe matters had a great hand. Yea, ſome ſticked not to ſay, That he covertly aimed at that Principality for his Son, howſoever he masked the ſame under the ſhew of *Sigiſmund* the late Prince. But unto him anſwer was given by the *Tranſilvanians*, (with thanks for his good will) That in all their Conſultations they would have a principal regard of their own welfare, together with the common. Which anſwer he having received, forthwith placed one *Simon* (the Brother of *Hieremias* the *Moldavian*) Vayvod of *Valachia* inſtead of *Michael*, by him driven out, and ſo leaving a convenient number of Souldiers with him, returned himſelf towards *Polonia*. Unto which election ſo made by the *Polonians*, the *Turks* craftily gave place, knowing well to play the Foxes where they could not play the Lyons; wiſely for a time comporting the Injury; and the old Chancellor, as crafty as they, having a ſecret purpoſe by occaſion of theſe preſent Troubles, to prefer his Son at length unto the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, and thereunto alſo to joyn the Countries of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, had therein of purpoſe placed the aforeſaid *Simon*, a man of no Valour, and of a ſmall Apprehenſion, whom he might again at his Pleaſure diſplace, and joyn thoſe Provinces unto his new purchaſe: which he could not ſo well do if he ſhould have there placed a man of greater reach and courage. So work the heads of the Great, and ſo travel the brains of the ambitious aſpiring.

The Chancellor placeth a new Vayvod in *Valachia* inſtead of *Michael*, by him driven out.

Baſta underſtanding of the retiring of the *Polonians*, entred into Conſultation with the *Chiaki*, and other the principal men of that Province, (which lodged with the Army in the Country Villages thereabout) for calling together the States and People, to make choice of ſome ſuch men as they thought meeteſt to be ſent unto the Emperour, to know his pleaſure for the Government of that Province. But now in the mean time, whilſt there was ſuſpition of the foreign Enemy, began to work certain Malecontents, which thinking with greater liberty to live under a weak Prince, than under one of greater Power; with one Voyce cryed out, That *Sigiſmund* with a great Power was entred into the Confines of *Tranſilvania*, one while towards *Valachia*, another while by the way of *Moldavia*; and that the ſtrength of the Country and others thereby ſtill reſorted unto him; with other ſuch like Inventions, of purpoſe deviſed to have made *Baſta* ſuddenly depart, or at leaſtwiſe, to have troubled the Dyet or Aſſembly called, and the Conſultation alſo. But he, well adviſed of their purpoſe, moved not out of his quarter, but there lay very privately, to declare thereby the great Confidence he had in the thankfulneſs of the Nobility of that Country, as by him delivered from the oppreſſion of the Vayvod; as alſo to make them to underſtand, That the Government to be appointed was not to be ſettled in the ſole power of a Tyrant, but in the fidelity of the Subjects, protected under a moſt gentle, royal, and moſt

False Rumours raiſed to have terrified *Baſta*.

father-like Government, not ambitiouſly ſought after, but voluntarily of themſelves offered, and for the common good, by the Emperour accepted. Beſide that, he knew right well, how that *Caſtaldo* (in like caſe before in the year 1551, ſent into *Tranſilvania* with 8000 *Almains*) left behind him his Army, and without any precedent courteſie went privately to *Alba-Julia*, where Queen *Iſabel* had for her defence aſſembled a Dyet of all the States, and there by well handling of the matter, got to *Ferdinand* the Emperour that Kingdom, which he could not by the fear of his Forces have gained; for which doing, Writers attribute unto him the name of great Wiſdom, notwithſtanding that the year following he was forced to abandon his Conqueſt, but yet not through any default in himſelf.

But it is truly ſaid, That men pleaſured, according to the occaſion change their manners, as doth the Camelion his colour, according to the place; nothing being by nature ſo ſhort, nothing of leſs Life, than the remembrance of a benefit with the unthankful; which the greater it is, the more it is repaired with Ungratitude; either by making it to have been of little worth, or to have proceeded not of Courteſie, but from ſome other more private and proper Conſiderations of the Giver. The diet aforeſaid being aſſembled, divers broils were there raiſed by the male Contents, as uſually it cometh to paſs where the People have to do with the Government; apt to be moved with every Rumour, always ready to change their Opinion, as ſtraight glutted therewith, head-ſtrong, faithleſs, all in words to no end; ſome of them in that aſſembly cryed out, that the *Almains* might be paid, diſcharged, and thanked for the pains they had taken for them as their Neighbours, with offering to do them the like Pleaſure, as their Occaſions ſhould require; otherwiſe cryed to have them put all to the Sword, ſo much they were devoid of Reaſon: others cryed out as faſt, that they were not by any means to endure the Government of *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, but by ſome, nominated unto them, would needs have a Prince of their own Country, and ſuch an one as the great *Turk* ſhould well like of, as the Chancellour had periwaded them. *Baſta* for all that not diſmaid with ſo unexpected an encounter (albeit that he began to ſuſpect that he had loſt all his Labour, if he, were not in ſhort time with greater Forces relieved) at ſuch time as the *Chiaki*, with other the chief men amongſt the People, came, as their manner was, every other day to viſit him; with couragious Speech and unappalled Countenance, told him plainly, That he well perceived their drift and purpoſe; and yet doubted not either of their Oath of Obedience given unto his Imperial Majeſty, either of the freſh remembrance of the great benefit they had from him ſo lately received; and in caſe it might happen them little to eſteem of thoſe things (greater than which could not happen amongſt men) that yet they ſhould well know, that he was not a man to be feared with words, but fully reſolved not to ſtir one foot thence with his Forces, but rather to loſe his Life, which he would for all that ſell as dear as he could. Whereunto anſwer was given with much courteous ſpeech, That he ſhould not give ear unto any the Speeches of the light vulgar people; but to content himſelf that the Nobility, in whoſe hands the chief power of that Province was, had not done any thing not beſeeming themſelves. So after much diſpute, were appointed three Perſons according to the three eſtates (the Nobility, the Commons, and the State in general) to go unto the Emperour, to requeſt of him *Maximilian* the Arch-duke of their Governour; with ſpecial requeſt alſo, that it would pleaſe him not to overcharge with foreign Souldiers that Province already ſo impoveriſhed, eſpecially having in it ſelf People ſufficient for the defence thereof, and more nimble to encounter with the *Turks*, than the heavy and ſlow *Almains*, and they alſo of double charge. Theſe difficulties with much ado thus appeaſed, by ſuch as ſtood faſt for the Emperour, *Baſta* thought it not good again to call any ſuch aſſembly, hoping that time, and the Emperours great Wiſdom, would for all theſe matters find convenient remedy. Yet ſaw he plainly, the mind of the People was to reſolve to remain for ever free, if they ſhould have come to a ſecond Conſultation; and in them a princely deſire to command rather than to be commanded; yea in that ſelf ſame Diet the *Chiaki* was declared Governour on the behalf of the People, with Authority in many things of himſelf to determine, without calling together of any aſſembly of the reſt of the States; which they ſaid they did only until they were by his Imperial Majeſty provided of a Governour. Nevertheleſs, *Baſta* well perceived more than a Tribunal Power to be now joyned by the People unto the Emperour's Commiſſioners, knowing that this *Chiaki* was in great hope to have been proclaimed Prince of the Confederates, in caſe they had not been preſently relieved againſt the *Vayvod*; and having in him yet noted ſtill his great ambition, for that marching from *Torda* toward the *Vayvod*, he cauſed to be carried before him a Spear with an *Hungarian* Cap, and a Plume of Feathers upon a Lance, in token of his chief command, albeit that afterwards, at the Complaint of *Baſta*, pretending therein a wrong to be done unto his Regiment marching under the Imperial Standard, he took it down; neither was he then a little ſuſpected to have ſuffered his Souldiers to have ſacked *Alba-Julia*, as alſo to have ſurpriſed *Fogaras*, and to have uſed divers other means all tending unto popularity and ambitious aſpiring; wherein he deemed it yet better to diſſemble than to proceed farther, and then to do it indeed when he had power ſufficient.

The ſtout Speech of *Baſta*, unto the *Chiaki*, and the reſt of the Nobility of *Tranſilvania*.

The Error of *Baſta*.

The next day following came all the Counſel of that Province, with the Deputies (appointed to have gone unto the Emperour) and the People unto the Houſe of *Baſta*, requeſting him (although ſuch their manner of coming might ſeem to exceed the bounds of requeſt) that he would ſend his *Germans* out of the Country, and ſo after ſo many troubles to give it leave a little to breath; as for himſelf, that he might ſtay at *Alba-Julia*, until the men deputed to that purpoſe might go unto his Majeſty with their requeſts. *Baſta* not a a little troubled with ſuch an Imperious Requeſt, and now (but not before) perceiving the occaſion of this great diſcontentment, ſaw himſelf much deceived in a moſt material point, and the ground of all this action, by truſting too much unto his own too ſmall Forces, too weak for the defence of his own Perſon, much leſs to keep under ſo populous a Province, ſuch as before in the year 1552, under the leading of *Caſtaldo*, had of it ſelf ſent out 70000 fighting men for the beſieging of *Lippa*, and now upon the ſudden 12000 with a few Noblemen in the face of a mighty and armed Enemy, where they now held an armed Conſultation with him, the Nobility meeting together with their great Retinues; and ſo much the greater, by how much the Suſpicion was the more by them feared, for them to be enforced to reſolve upon any thing contrary to their good liking; whereas he contenting himſelf only with their Oath, without any other Hoſtages, and ſo giving Aid unto the Confederates, had put himſelf upon their Faith, together with all his People, into the midſt of *Tranſilvania*, a matter of far greater importance than any pleadge they were able to have given him. Beſides that, of the ſix thouſand men which he had brought with him into that Country,

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1600 three thouſand five hundred of *Sileſia*, now brought to 2000, could not be perſuaded longer to ſtay without their Pay before hand, the Pay of their Country being already ſpent; and the reſt drawn out of the Garriſons of the upper *Hungary*, or elſe there preſſed, were at a certain time to return. Yet nevertheleſs he attempted in ſome ſort to ſatisfie their Requeſt, for not grieving of the Country, by requeſting of them to deliver unto him ſome ſtrong Place, whereinto he putting his men into Garriſon, they might ſo lye without any farther charge or trouble to the Country, living upon their own Wages. Which, when he could not obtain, and withal conſidering, that if thoſe few of his People which yet remained could be contented to ſtay with him, the retaining of them might give occaſion unto the deſirous of new Stirs, upon every the leaſt diſorder of the Souldiers, to alter the matter at their pleaſure, (as had hapned unto the eight thouſand *Almains* of *Caſtaldo*, driven ſometimes out of that Country under the colour of ſome Inſolency by them committed, altho others had been the chief doers thereof, namely, about ſome twenty *Polonians*) he reſolved of all theſe things to give notice to the Court, and ſo fair and ſoftly to march with his Souldiers unto the Confines of that Country, and to ſave his eight pieces of Artillery, with his other Munition, in *Samos Vivar* Caſtle, a ſtrong Fortreſs a good way within the Confines, which, together with the ſtrong Caſtle of *Kuivar*, *Aga Leche*, an *Albanoiſe*, and General of the Vayvod's Horſe-men, delivered to *Zakell* Captain of *Zaccomar*, one of his Majeſties Commiſſioners; who there provided for the Governour *Baſta*, his familiar Favourite: altho that the *Tranſilvanians* had with great Promiſes ſought to have croſſed ſuch delivery of the aforeſaid Caſtles, and to have had them in their own Power.

The Diſcretion of the doer is not always to be deemed by the event of the thing done.

Wherefore *Baſta*, not deceived, but by neceſſity inforced, yielded that he could not hold, and gave that he could not ſell, making a vertue of Neceſſity; deceived in the event of the matter which he had propounded unto himſelf from the beginning, for the aſſurance of that Country to the Emperour; by an excuſable error, if it be true that ſome wiſe men ſay, nothing to be more unreaſonable than by the Event of Matters to judge of their Wiſdom by whom they were managed; which conſiſteth not in divining before of the certainty of the Event, but in the reaſonable Conjecture thereof, by the means leading thereunto, than which nothing is more deceitful, as not depending from our own Actions only, but from other mens alſo more groſs and unreaſonable; none knowing better how much the Wiſdom of Man deceiveth it ſelf, than thoſe which are unto themſelves true Witneſſes of the event of their own Conſultations. Nevertheleſs the matter was afterward ſo well handled by *Baſta*, *Petzen*, and others the Emperour's great Favourites in *Tranſilvania*, that in a Diet holden by the *Tranſilvanians*, he was with a convenient Guard again by them received as the Emperour's Lieutenant, until further Order were by him taken for the Government and Aſſurance of that Country: the *Chiaki* and his Complices faintly conſenting thereunto, as not greatly pleaſed therewith. Neither had *Baſta* much cauſe to be proud of ſuch his Government, having thereof no longer aſſurance than pleaſed that fickle People to afford him; yet ſith no better could be had, he muſt take it as he might, deeming it better in ſome ſort for the preſent to hold it for the Emperour, than not at all: with which his weak State, amongſt more Enemies than Friends, we will for a while leave him.

Caniſia beſieged by the Turks.

But whilſt things thus paſſed (as we have ſaid) in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, (the Treaty for Peace betwixt the Emperour and the Turk being vaniſhed into Smoak,) *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turks General 1600 in *Hungary*, having all the laſt Winter made great preparation for the Invaſion of the Emperour's Territories, and the doing of ſome notable Enterpriſe for the recovery of his Reputation, ſomewhat impaired by the evil ſucceſs of the laſt Years Wars; and even in theſe his greateſt Preparations of this Year, not a little troubled by the Mutiny of the Janizaries and Spahi for want of their Pay, at *Conſtantinople*, as alſo with the Rebellion in *Caramania*: now at length in the latter end of *Auguſt* (by order from the Grand Seignior, his great Lord and Maſter) began to ſet forward with his Army from *Belgrade*, ſuppoſed to be above two hundred thouſand men ſtrong. And coming to *Babotſca*, a ſtrong Fortreſs of the Chriſtians in the nether *Hungary*, ſat down before it, and having planted his Artillery, furiouſly battered it, with purpoſe to have the next day aſſaulted it: but the Captain of the Caſtle, conſidering the weakneſs of his Garriſon to withſtand ſo puiſſant an Enemy, and that the Walls to be already ſore ſhaken with the fury of the great Ordnance, came to a reaſonable Compoſition with the Baſſa, and ſo delivered unto him the place. Which Exploit done, and the Caſtle to him ſurrendred, he marched from thence to *Caniſia*, a ſtrong Town in the Frontiers of *Stiria*, of moſt men before ſuppoſed a Place impregnable; for that it was ſcituate in a very deep Marſh, and furniſhed with a ſtrong Garriſon of valiant Souldiers, part *Hungarians* and part *Almains*: after this ſtrong Town *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa eſpecially longed, ſo to free thoſe Frontiers of the Turks from the often Incurſions that the Garriſon Souldiers of that place made therein; as alſo by the taking of that ſo ſtrong a Fortreſs from the Chriſtians, to open a more ſafe and free Paſſage for the Turks into *Auſtria*, to the indangering of other places of the Empire alſo farther off. Wherefore incamping his great Army on the ſide of the Marſh which compaſſed the Iſle round whereon the Town ſtood, he began with Faggots and Earth to fill up the Marſh, ſo to paſs over his Army; they in the Town in the mean time not ceaſing with their thundring Shot to diſturb them, and to do them what harm they might: who for all that, proceeding in their Work, had brought it now almoſt cloſe unto the Iſland, where, whilſt they were about to have landed, they were by the Souldiers of the Garriſon ſo encountered, that having loſt a number of their men, as well Janizaries as others, with two of their beſt Captains alſo, they were by plain Valour inforced to retire. But preparing themſelves againſt the next day with a greater force to have again returned unto the Aſſault of the Iſle, they ſaw the Imperial Army now at their Backs, and come ſo near them, that with their Artillery they did them great harm; which put them in no ſmall fear, ſeeing themſelves incloſed betwixt the Town and the Camp, and both out of the one and the other to receive no ſmall hurt, as well with the ſmall Shot as the great; beſides that, out of the Camp divers whole Bands ſometimes ſallied, diſcharging great Vollies of Shot even into their Trenches. In the Imperial Army were about two and forty thouſand Horſe and Foot, men of divers Nations, under the leading of Duke *Mercury*, now General of the Emperour's Forces in *Hungary*; with whom were alſo the Lords *Nadaſti*, *Eſdrin*, *Bacchian*, and the Governour of *Croatia*, with divers other famous Captains, come thither for the relief of *Caniſia*, a place of ſo great Importance for the defence of that ſide of the Country, and to help that it fell not into the Power of the barbarous Enemy. But *Ibrahim Baſſa*, underſtanding by his Eſpials the ſmall number of the Chriſtians; and well knowing how much he was too

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The Battel betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks before *Caniſia.*

Caniſia yielded unto the Turks.

Stiria forraged by the Turks.

ſtrong for them by reaſon of his great Multitude, went out againſt them, and finding them as ready as himſelf, joyned Battel with them, with great ſlaughter of men both on the one ſide and the other: which bloody Fight (the Victory yet ſtanding doubtful, but in all mens Judgment more inclining unto the Chriſtians than to the Turks) was at length, by the coming on of the night, broken off. At which time, the Chriſtians retiring themſelves into their Trenches, the Turks ſtood all the night in the Field with their Weapons in their hands, as fearing to have been again in the night by their Enemies aſſailed. Mean while the Chriſtian Captains in the Camp, at variance amongſt themſelves, and ſo not now to be commanded by Duke *Mercury* their General; at ſuch time as the Turks, preſuming on their Multitude, dared them to Battel the next day, could by no means be perſuaded to go out againſt them, or once to ſtir out of their Trenches. Inſomuch that the General of the *Tartars* thereupon taking Courage, made an Inroad into the Country thereby, and meeting with two hundred Waggons laden with Victuals going unto the Chriſtian Camp, ſlew the Convoy that guarded them, and ſo carried them quite away. Whereby ſuch want aroſe in the Chriſtian Camp, that having not what to eat, and out of hope of any new Supply of Relief in time to come, they were glad by Night to diſlodge and retire; which could not ſo ſecretly be done, but that it was by the Turks perceived, who preſently following after them in the Tail of the Army, cut off about three thouſand of them, with certain pieces of great Ordnance, and moſt part of the Baggage; the reſt of the Army in the mean time retiring farther off into places of more ſafety. From this Victory the Turks returned again to the Siege of *Caniſia*, where, after a few days, the Garriſon Souldiers, now out of hope to be in good time relieved, ſuddenly fell into Mutiny, refuſing any longer to defend the Town, now hardly laid unto by the Turks; and the rather, for that divers of the *Hungarians* were already fled out of the Town unto the Baſſa, having (as it was thought) revealed unto him the whole eſtate of the beſieged: ſo that now there was no remedy but that the Town muſt be delivered unto the Enemy, although *Paradiſer*, with ſome other of the Captains, did what they might (as they ſaid afterwards) to have perſuaded the contrary. Whereupon, they came to Parle with the Baſſa, and covenanting with him, that they might with Bag and Baggage depart, and with a ſafe Convoy be brought over the River *Mur*, promiſed to yield unto him the Town: all which the Baſſa granted, fearing how to have been able to have kept the Field, if they ſhould for any long time have holden out, Winter now ſo faſt approaching. So the two and twentieth of *October* the Town was unto the Baſſa right cowardly delivered, and the Garriſon Souldiers with their Baggage in a hundred Waggons lent them by the Turks, ſafely conducted over the *Mur*, as was unto them promiſed. After the Agreement made for the yielding up of the Town, the Baſſa, in Courteſie, ſent unto *Paradiſer* the Governour a very rich Gown of Cloth of Gold; which albeit that he refuſed, yet was it afterwards laid to his Charge as a Preſumption of ſome treacherous Colluſion betwixt him and the Baſſa for the betraying of the Town, which it was thought he might much longer have kept. *Ibrahim* now thus poſſeſſed of the Town he ſo much deſired, fortified it more ſtrongly than ever it was before; and for the more aſſurance thereof, put into it a ſtrong Garriſon of four thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe, all old expert Souldiers. And immediately after, without reſiſtance, forraged the Country round about *Caniſia*, burning all before him as he went; the poor Chriſtian Inhabitants ſtill flying as faſt as they could for ſafeguard of their Lives. But having thus with the Spoil of the Country well pleaſed his Souldiers, he, deſirous to have the ſame again in time re-peopled, as thereby to yield unto the Turks the more Profit, ſtaid their farther Outrage, upon great pain forbidding the ſame; by open Proclamations in every place ſet up, inviting the Chriſtians, without fear of farther harm, to return again into the Country, where, ſubmitting them unto the Great Sultan's Obeiſance, they ſhould under his Protection ſafely dwell, without any Tribute to be of them exacted for the ſpace of three Years next following. Which Proclamations were in his Name thus publiſhed:

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Ibrahim Baſſa, to the Inhabitants of the Country about *Caniſia*, greeting.

Ibrahim Baſſa's Proclamation.

WE Ibrahim Baſſa, *by the Grace of God, Viſier, and Couſin unto the moſt puiſſant and invincible Sultan* Mahomet, *Emperour of the Turks, unto all the Inhabitants of the Marches about* Caniſia, *and the reſt of the Country of* Steirmarck, *from the greateſt unto the leaſt, greeting: Whereas we have willingly heard, that ſome of you, willing to ſubmit your ſelves to the great Sultan, and to ſwear unto him Fealty, are again returned unto your old Dwellings: We promiſe and aſſure you, upon the Faith of the ſaid Emperour, That whoſoever ſhall be found near unto the Fortreſs of* Caniſia, *now belonging unto the great Sultan, with all Reverence ſubmitting himſelf as his Subject, under his Government, acknowledging him for his Sovereign, ſhall enjoy more Priviledges than ever he did before, and alſo be protected in the ſame. And for that we know that your Houſes are for the moſt part deſtroyed, as alſo your Poſterity, you ſhall therefore for theſe three years next following be exempted and free from all Tributes and Charges whatſoever, to the intent you may the better recover your ſelves. Of which Grace if you ſhall willingly accept, we promiſe you, that neither You, your Wives, or Children, ſhall be in any thing wronged, or your Goods in any part impaired, but ſo much as in us poſſibly is, to be defended: ſo that ſo many of you as pleaſe may in ſafety return into your own old Dwellings, giving before knowledge thereof unto the Governour of this our Fortreſs. Given in our Camp after the Conqueſt of* Caniſia.

Many of theſe poor Country People before fled for fear of the Turks, and not knowing where to beſtow themſelves, now upon this Proclamation returned again to their ancient dwelling Places, there to begin the World again under the Turkiſh Obeiſance. But for that County *Serinus* was the Man whom of all others in that Country the great Baſſa ſought after, as him whom he moſt feared after his Departure to trouble this his new Conqueſt, and to ſeek to be revenged; having in this ſo general a Calamity of *Stiria*, his Country, loſt twenty Villages of his own, quite burnt by the Turks, and the People moſt ſlain or elſe taken Priſoners: the Baſſa having many times before ſought to have perſuaded him to have yielded his Obedience unto the Turkiſh Sultan, and now in hope after ſo great loſs to bring him in, before he were come into the utter ruine of all his Fortunes, (now by the loſs of *Caniſia*, and the entrance of the Turks into *Stiria*, not a little endangered) writ unto him as followeth:

Ibrahim Baſſa's Letters unto the County *Serinus.*

WE Ibrahim Baſſa, *chief of the Viſier Baſſaes, and Couſin unto the moſt puiſſant Sultan* Mahomet; *to the County* Serinus *ſendeth greeting. We have oftentimes heretofore written unto thee concerning the matter thou knoweſt of: but what the cauſe is*

that

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that we received no Anſwer, we cannot tell. Yet could I not but write to thee again, That if yet thou canſt be content to begin the matter aright, and to ſubmit thy ſelf unto our Protection, we will be ready to receive thee. Thou ſeeſt, that what we foretold thee is now more than fulfilled both upon thee and thine, which thou wouldſt never believe. Nevertheleſs, for the ſtaying of the farther effuſion of the Blood as well of thy Subjects as ours, and to come to ſome good Attonement, it is high time for thee to lay thine Hand upon thy Heart, and to conſider how much more it concerneth thee than us, and that the benefit thereof redoundeth more unto thine than ours. What our Affection is towards thee, Hierom *the Vayvod can tell thee. Fare thou well. From our Camp after the Conqueſt of* Caniſia, *the ſeventh of* November, 1600.

Ibrahim Baſſa returneth with his Army to *Belgrade*.

But theſe Letters being alſo, as the reſt, anſwered with Silence, the great Baſſa having diſpoſed of all as he thought beſt at *Caniſia*, and in the Country thereabout, returned with his Army to *Belgrade*, there to Winter: having before fully certified the great Sultan of all his Proceedings, and the Succeſs of this War; vaunting after his vain manner, the next Spring to beſiege *Vienna* alſo, if it ſhould pleaſe him ſo to command. Of all which things *Mahomet* underſtanding, and not a little therewith pleaſed, cauſed great Triumphs to be made by the ſpace of four days at *Conſtantinople*, and in token of his Love and Favour, ſent a rich Robe of Cloth of Gold, with a leading ſtaff, all ſet with Pearl and precious Stones, unto the Baſſa, yet lying at *Belgrade*.

This loſs of *Caniſia* much troubled all that ſide of Chriſtendom, eſpecially them of the Territories belonging unto the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in a ſort diſmay'd to ſee the Turks ſo eaſily poſſeſſed of a Town, before thought almoſt impregnable, and the ſtrongeſt defence of all that Country againſt the furious Impreſſions of the Turks, to whom it was now become a moſt ſafe and ſure Receptacle, all men with one Voice blaming the diſcord of the Captains in the Imperial Army, for ſo retiring without any good doing; but above all deteſting the Cowardiſe of *Paradiſer*, who known to have in the Town a ſtrong Garriſon, with good ſtore of Munition and Victuals (as was ſuppoſed) had ſo baſely delivered the ſame unto the Enemy, not doing the uttermoſt of his Devoir as had beſeemed him for the defence thereof: whereas if he had ſo done, happily in the mean time the Cold and unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather (tho no other Relief had been) Winter being now come, might have inforced the Turks to have raiſed their Siege. Whereupon, he was for this ſo foul a Fact, by the Emperour's Commandment, apprehended and caſt in Priſon at *Vienna*, where after he had long lain, and his Cauſe oftentimes examined, he was the next year following condemned of Felony and Cowardsſe, and ſo the *15th* day of *October* executed, having firſt his Hand at four ſtrokes of the Executioner ſtruck off, and after that his Head; with him was alſo in like manner executed his Enſign-Bearer; and after them his Lieutenant with the Mayor of the Town, who both bound faſt to a ſtake, had firſt their Tongues cut out, and afterwards their Heads chopt off.

Paradiſer executed for the yielding up of *Caniſia* to the Turks.

Now the Rebellion before raiſed in *Caramania* by *Cuſahin Baſſa* (as is aforeſaid) was not with his Death altogether appeaſed. Alſo *Orfa*, a great City of that Country (which having taſted the ſweetneſs of Liberty in the time of *Cuſahin*) yet ſtill holding out againſt *Mehemet* the great Baſſa the Sultan's Lieutenant-General there. At which time alſo a Companion of *Cuſahin* the late Rebel, called the *Scrivano*, and one of his greateſt Favourites, ſeeing how hardly not only *Cuſahin* himſelf, but the reſt of his Followers, had been handled by the Turks, began to make Head, and to call unto him all ſuch as loved their Liberty; unto the ſweet Name whereof, ſo many were in ſhort time come about him, as that out of them he formed ſuch an Army, as made him now dreadful unto the Turks his Enemies. Againſt whom, *Mehemet Baſſa* going with all his Power to have oppreſſed him, found him with thoſe his rebellious Followers ſo courageous (for the deſire they all had to break out of the *Othoman* Slavery, and to live in ſuch Liberty as was promiſed them by their Captain and General) that joyning Battel with them, he received of them a notable Overthrow; inſomuch, that fearing to have loſt his whole Army, he was glad to retire, and to ſend out Commiſſions for the raiſing of greater Forces. Sultan *Mahomet* in the mean time, whether it was for fear of this new Rebellion, or for that he underſtood of the Ambaſſadors ſent from the *Perſian* unto the Chriſtian Princes, began to ſuſpect leſt that King ſhould break the League he had with him, and ſo to his farther trouble take up Arms alſo againſt him. Wherefore, upon a Turkiſh Pride, he ſent an Ambaſſadour into *Perſia*, to give the King to underſtand, That for the more aſſurance of the League betwixt them, he demanded to have one of his Sons ſent unto him in Hoſtage, as a Pledge of his Fathers Faith. Which ſo proud a Demand, the *Perſian* King took in ſuch diſdain, that he commanded in his Rage the Ambaſſador to be forthwith ſlain; but that his fury being by his grave Counſellors ſomewhat appeaſed, he remitted the Severity of this his rigorous Command, and ſparing his Life, was contented, that in deſpight and contempt of him that had ſent him, he ſhould be put to the Baſtonado only: and ſo grievouſly threatned, ſent back again unto his Maſter. Who having received this ſhameful Anſwer, and in doubt of ſome farther matter from that angry King, commanded new and ſtrong Garriſons to be put in all his ſtrong holds confining upon the *Perſian* Kingdom.

The Turks Ambaſſador evil intreated by the King of *Perſia*.

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This troubleſome Year of *Jubile* thus paſt, the Emperour much troubled with the loſs of *Caniſia*, and in doubt of worſe to come (albeit that *Ibrahim Baſſa*, whom for all that he truſted not, did afreſh intreat with him concerning Peace) and ſeeing alſo the great need he had of greater Aid to withſtand the mighty Power of the Turk, with great inſtancy requeſted Aid of the Pope and of the other Princes of *Italy*: who, conſidering alſo how much it concerned the reſt of the Chriſtian Commonweal, to have the Frontiers of *Hungary* defended, condeſcended unto the Emperour's Requeſt; and ſo the Pope with the beginning of the Spring ſent him eight thouſand Souldiers in Pay, under the leading of *Io Franciſco Aldobrandino* his Nephew their General, who with the like charge had now ſerved ever ſince the Year 1599: King *Philip* alſo, at the inſtance of the Emperour, gave Order unto the County *Fuentes* to ſend into *Croatia* certain Bands of *Dutches*; who, by direction from him, were forthwith conducted to *Millain*. The great Duke of *Florence* alſo, ſent unto him two thouſand Souldiers, under the leading of *Franciſco de Monte*; with whom alſo, by his Appointment, went the Lord *Io. de Medices*, whom *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke forthwith requeſted for to be Maſter of his Camp: thither came alſo the Duke of *Mantua* with an honourable Company both of Horſe and Foot, being forthwith by the Arch-duke made his Lieutenant-General. And ſo whilſt theſe People aſſembled together into *Croatia*, the Emperour ſent alſo another good Army into *Hungary*, drawn for moſt part out of *Germany*, which under the leading of the Arch-duke *Matthias* his Brother, and the Duke *Mercury* his Lieutenant-General, went

The Aid ſent out of *Italy* unto the Emperour.

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went into thoſe Parts to withſtand the Turk. A third Army he alſo made of the Imperials; which, ſtrengthened with the Forces of *Don Ferrant Gonzaga*, Governour of the upper *Hungary*, joyned themſelves with *Baſta* for the Recovery of *Tranſilvania*, out of which he had been of late driven, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

Ibrahim Baſſa dieth at *Belgrad*.

Alba Regalis beſieged by Duke *Mercury*.

And ſo whilſt theſe Armies were in preparing, many hot Skirmiſhes paſſed in *Hungary* betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, the loſs falling ſometime to the one ſide and ſometime to the other. But the time now come that Souldiers might well take the Field, *Ibrahim Baſſa*, being now before dead at *Belgrade*, whilſt he was yet intreating of a diſſembled Peace, and *Haſſan*, one of the Viſier Baſſaes, by *Mahomet* appointed General in *Hungary* in his place, yet delaying his coming, the Parle for Peace laid aſide (as never indeed by the Turks intended, but only by them entertained to dally off the time to their own more advantage) Duke *Mercury*, General of the Emperour's Forces, taking the offer of ſo fit an Opportunity, came with his Army from *Komara* (where he had lain expecting the Event of the Parle) and laid Siege to *Alba-Regalis*, one of the chiefeſt and ſtrongeſt Cities of *Hungary*; which, ſeated in the midſt of a Marſh, was thought almoſt impregnable, being hardly to be approached but by the Suburbs; which, ſtrongly fortified and defended by the Marſh, ſerved the City inſtead of three moſt ſure Bulwarks, within which ſtood alſo the City it ſelf, well defended with a good Wall and a Ditch. This City, the Duke for certain days continually battered, as if he had purpoſed at length to have taken it by aſſault: but, in the mean time certainly informed by a Fugitive (but lately fled out of the City) that the broad Lake on the other ſide of the City over againſt the Place where he lay, was not ſo deep, but that it was to be paſſed, (contrary to the Opinion both of the Turks Captives, and of the natural Inhabitants, whom he had upon that Point examined) and that the Turks, preſuming upon the ſtrength thereof, and thinking themſelves on that ſide ſafe, had turned almoſt all their Care and Forces unto that ſide of the City which was now by him battered, without regard of any great Peril to be from the other ſide feared; he appointed the Lord *Ruſſworm* with his Souldiers to make Proof if the *Sigeth* Suburbs (for ſo they were called) on the aforeſaid ſide of the City, ſo little regarded by the Turks, were not to be ſurpriſed; for that theſe Suburbs being taken, the City could not long hold out: for the undertaking of which Enterpriſe, *Ruſſworm* was, both by the captive Turks and Country People thereby dwelling, much diſcouraged, they all with one conſent affirming, That albeit he ſhould find no other Difficulties in the attempting thereof, yet the Lake it ſelf was not poſſible to be paſſed: who nevertheleſs not altogether truſting them, ſent certain of his Men ſecretly to try the matter; who having ſo done, brought him word, That the Lake was undoubtedly (though with much difficulty) to be paſſed. Whereupon, he with 1000 ſelect Souldiers, with every one of them a good Faggot on his Back beſide his Arms, to fill up the deepeſt of the Marſh, by night entred the ſame; wherein he had not gone far, but that he, almoſt with the danger of his Life, found it much deeper and more troubleſome than the Spies had unto him before reported: but carried with an invincible Courage himſelf, and his Souldiers moved by his Example, he ſtill went on, they alſo following of him. It is almoſt a thing incredible, to tell what theſe adventurous men endured, plunged in the deep Mud among the Flags and Bulruſhes, going ſtill up in Water and Mud unto the Waſte, even where the Marſh was the ſhalloweſt; where alſo if one miſſed but a ſtep, he was by and by over Head and Ears, and in danger to be drowned, if he were not by his Fellows preſently holden; yet at length, by God's help, having with the loſs but of ſix or ſeven men, a little before day got over, the Duke by an appointed Sign advertiſed thereof, with greater Stir and Tumult than at any time before, aſſailed that ſide of the City where he lay, as if even then and there he had only meant to have ingaged his whole Forces for the winning thereof. When in the mean time the Lord *Ruſſworm* on the other ſide with his reſolute Souldiers, with Ladders provided for the purpoſe, ſcaled the Walls of the Suburbs, and almoſt unperceived, recovered the top thereof, (the Turks being at the ſame time wholly bent for the defence of the other ſide of the City, where moſt ſtir and apparent danger was) and ſo being got into the Suburbs, with a great and terrible Cry aſſailed the Turks, who, ſurpriſed with an exceeding Fear, and not well knowing which way to turn themſelves, without any great Reſiſtance fled into the City, the Chriſtians following them at the heels, and making of them a great Slaughter. In which ſo great a confuſion, even where was leaſt feared, the Duke by other his Souldiers took the reſt of the Suburbs, as he had before determined, the Turks there alſo for fear forſaking them, and retiring with all the haſte they could unto their Fellows in the City, there to live or dye together. The Chriſtians in theſe Suburbs, beſide much other rich Prey, took alſo fourteen great pieces of Artillery, with good ſtore of Shot and Powder. The Suburbs (the greateſt Strength of the City) thus happily taken, the Duke again ſummoned the City, requiring to have it delivered unto him; whereunto the Turks gave no other Anſwer but by their Pieces, which they diſcharged upon the Chriſtians ſo perſwading them to yield. Wherewith the Duke much diſpleaſed, ſent them word, That he would ſend them other manner of Meſſengers to morrow, and by God's help ſup with them in the City, altho he were not unto them welcome. Neither failed he of that his Promiſe; for the next day, having out of the Suburbs, by the fury of his Artillery, made two fair Breaches in the City, he by the Ruines thereof, with great ſlaughter of the Enemy, entred the City, albeit that the Turks did what they might to have defended the ſame, by caſting down upon the Chriſtians, as they entred, Darts, Wild-fire, and ſuch-like things, uſually provided for ſuch purpoſe. But ſeeing now no remedy, but that they muſt needs give place to the fortune of their Enemies, they fled amain into their Houſes, there to defend themſelves, or elſe to die; many of which Houſes they had before of purpoſe ſo undermined, as that they could eaſily overthrow them, and ſo overwhelm as many as ſhould come within the danger of them: which ſo ſtrange a Reſolution was by many of them as deſperately performed; inſomuch, that the goodly Church, the Palace, with many other ſumptuous Buildings, were left unto the Chriſtians all rent and torn, not much better than rude heaps of Rubbiſh and Stones. Howbeit, the Baſſa, upon promiſe of Life, yielded himſelf, and was by the Duke preſently ſent unto the Camp; the reſt of the Souldiers being (as in ſuch caſe it commonly hapneth) all or moſt of them put to the Sword. The greateſt part of the Prey fell unto the *Wallons*; who by heaps breaking into the richeſt Houſes, not only took what themſelves light upon, but ſtrip'd the *Germans* alſo of ſuch things as they had by chance gotten, to their great heart-burning and grief: yea theſe ravenous and irreligious men not ſo contented, opened the Tombs of the *Hungarian* Kings,

there

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The Suburbs of *Alba Regalis* ſurpriſed by the Lord *Ruſſworm*.

Alba Regalis taken by the Chriſtians.

there long before buried, to ſpoil even the dead of ſuch things, as had for Honours ſake been long before interred with them, (if haply any ſuch thing were there to be found) ſhewing themſelves therein more barbarous than the Turks, who by the ſpace of ſixty years having had the City in their Poſſeſſion, had yet ſpared thoſe reverent Monuments, and ſuffered the reliques of thoſe worthy Princes to reſt in peace. Of this taking of *Alba-Regalis*, the Baſſa of *Buda*, long before taken Priſoner, and then lying at *Vienna*, hearing, abſtained from Meat, with his two Servants, a whole day, proſtrate upon his Face, praying unto his Prophet *Mahomet*, who had (as he ſaid) all this year been angry with the Turks. Which had the ſiege of *Caniſia* taken the like effect, had then undoubtedly been unto them moſt unfortunate; but God in his Wiſdom ſtill tempereth the ſweet with the ſour.

Aſſan Baſſa cometh out of ſeaſon to have relieved *Alba-Regalis.*

The Victory of the *Chriſtians* over the *Turks.*

The Baſſa of *Buda* ſlain.

Now in the mean while was *Aſſan*, the Viſier Baſſa and General of the Turks Army, with ſuch Souldiers as were already aſſembled at *Belgrade*, coming to have relieved *Alba-Regalis*; and albeit that he underſtood by the way as he marched, that the City was won by the Chriſtians, yet held he on his intended Journey; and ſo taking with him the Baſſa of *Buda*, with the other Sanzacks and Commanders of the Towns and Caſtles thereabout, had formed an Army of about threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, but for moſt part raw and unexpert Souldiers; with which power he ſtill held on his way towards *Alba-Regalis*, as well thereby to give ſome Contentment unto the angry Sultan, his Maſter, as in hope alſo to overthrow the Chriſtian Army, or at leaſtwiſe to find the City as yet unrepaired, and ſo to regain it. But vain was that his Deſignment, eſpecially for the recovery of the City; for that the Duke had no ſooner taken it, but that he forthwith cauſed the Breaches to be repaired, and for the more aſſurance of it, put into it a ſtrong Garriſon of old expert Souldiers; and being himſelf about twenty thouſand ſtrong, and hearing of the Baſſaes coming, ſet forward to meet him, and being come near unto him, began an hot and bloody Skirmiſh with him. Yet the Baſſa, to proſecute his intended purpoſe for the recovery of *Alba-Regalis*, the next day ſent away part of his Army, to make proof if happily the City might yet be again recovered; and himſelf in the mean time with the reſt of his Army, offered Battel unto the Chriſtians, ſo to buſie them, that they ſhould not be able to trouble them whom he had ſent to *Alba-Regalis*, or to relieve the City, if it ſhould chance to be by them diſtreſſed. When as the Duke, before informed of the baſeneſs of the Souldiers in the Baſſaes Army, and that although he were for number of men far above him, yet that for old, hardy, and expert Souldiers, he was ſtrong enough for him, valiantly went out and encountered him; and ſo even at the firſt onſet by plain Valour diſordering the formoſt Squadrons of the Turks Battel, inforced them to retire with the loſs of ſix thouſand men; among whom were the Baſſa of *Buda*, ſix Sanzacks, with divers other Captains and Commanders of good place and mark. At which time he alſo took from them divers pieces of great Artillery, and had undoubtedly with a notable ſlaughter overthrown all the reſt of the Baſſaes Army, had not a great Squadron of the *Tartars*, even at that inſtant, ſhewed themſelves at the backs of the Chriſtians, and ſo ſtaying them, given leiſure unto the Baſſa again to reſtore his diſordered Battel. Whereupon the Duke, contenting himſelf with the Victory he had already gotten, in good order retired again into his Trenches, having in this Conflict not loſt above three hundred of his People. But whilſt both Armies thus lay, and new Supplies ſtill repairing unto them, expecting but when they ſhould come to a general day of Battel; the Janizaries ſtill murmuring, that it was now no time of the year longer to keep the field, by their Importunity inforced the Baſſa to retire to *Buda*, and there to diſband his Army. In which his retreat many were by the Chriſtians cut off in the tail of his Army, and a number of Priſoners taken, and amongſt the reſt fifty of the french Mutineers of *Pappa*; whom the Arch-duke *Matthias*, at the inſtance of Duke *Mercurie*, afterwards pardoned. Neither ſped they much better, that were ſent by the Baſſa to have attempted the taking of *Alba-Regalis*; for being come near thereunto, they were ſo welcomed with great ſhot out of the City, and charged with often Sallies by the ſtrong Garriſon, that ſeeing no hope to prevail, they were glad to riſe and to return again unto the Baſſa that ſent them.

Caniſia beſieged by *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke.

About the ſame time that the Duke began to beſiege *Alba-Regalis*, *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke, having received great Aid from the Pope, with the other Princes of *Italy*, and the King of *Spain*, and ſo now 30000 ſtrong, by the advice of the Duke of *Mantua*, his Lieutenant General, reſolved to beſiege *Caniſia*; which to have again recovered out of the hands of the Turks, concerned much, not them of *Stiria* and *Auſtria* only, but the other Provinces adjoyning, yea, and *Italy* it ſelf alſo; whereupon he with his Army in good order came the tenth of *September* and encamped before it; the Duke of *Mantua*, and *Don John de Medices*, with 2000 Harquebuſers, and two Cornets of Horſe being come the day before to take a view of the Town, at whom the Turks made divers ſhot, but without any harm doing. And albeit that the Turks there in Garriſon (in number not paſt a thouſand, accounting amongſt them three hundred of the *Wallons*, ſometime of the Garriſon of *Pappa*) with their often and gallant Sallies greatly troubled the Chriſtians, and that great bands of other Turks came many times out of the ſtrong Towns and Fortreſſes thereby, to skirmiſh with them, and to ſee if they could put any more Souldiers into the Town for the more aſſurance thereof; yet ſuch was the carefulneſs of the Chriſtian Commanders, and Valour of their Souldiers, that the Turks, both in the one place and in the other, were ſtill repulſed and put to flight, with the loſs alſo of ſome of their ſmall Caſtles and Forts thereabout. To approach this ſtrong Town, and to plant a battery againſt it, ſeemed to be a matter of great difficulty, for that it was (as we have elſewhere ſaid) environed round with a Mariſh; yet means was found to dry it a little, and to fill it up on the one ſide, and to come ſo near the Town, that having planted three tyre of Artillery againſt it, the Chriſtians began furiouſly to batter it, beating down both the Walls, the Houſes, and other Buildings therein. Yea, at length they had brought their approaches ſo near, that they were come with their Trenches even cloſe unto the Town Ditch, perſwading the Turks, now whilſt they might upon good Conditions, to ſurrender the Town, and ſo to ſave their Lives. Whereunto their fierce and inraged Minds were ſo far from hearkening, that braving the Chriſtians, they ſaid, That they would in deſpight of all their Forces keep the place for their Sultan, do what they could. Whereupon the Arch-duke, and the Duke of *Mantua*, by the Advice of *Medices*, and the reſt of the principal Captains and Commanders in the Army, reſolved to give a general aſſault unto the Town. In the mean time News was brought into the Camp of the winning of *Alba-Regalis*, which there made great rejoycing, in ſign whereof the Chriſtians (as their manner is) in Triumph, many times diſcharged their great Ordnance; and by fit men perſwaded the Garriſon Souldiers in *Caniſia* to yield, and not to caſt themſelves into ſuch danger as had their Fellows at *Alba-Regalis*; for that in ſo doing they ſhould not only ſave their Lives, but eaſily alſo obtained ſuch other Conditions as they could reaſonably deſire; whereas, otherwiſe they ſhould to their coſt find the Chriſtians ſtrong enough to conſtrain them, which muſt needs bring with it their utter Ruine and Deſtruction. Whereunto the Garriſon Souldiers (among whom the Renegade *Wallons* were the chief) contemptuouſly anſwered, That they little feared ſuch weak Aſſailants; and with great cry and ſcorn commanding the Meſſengers to depart, in token of their Confidence, as alſo not to ſeem inferiour unto the Chriſtians, oftentimes to ſmall purpoſe diſcharged their great Ordnance, as had the Chriſtians the day before. Now though the Walls of the Town were with continual Battery ſore ſhaken, and the breaches almoſt laid open; yet was the intended aſſault for a while delayed, until the Bridges might be made that were to be laid over the Town Ditch for the Chriſtians to paſs over upon. But all things (as was thought) now in readineſs, and the *Florentines* with ſome other of the *Italians*, (whoſe Lot it was to give the firſt Aſſault) being come forward, the Bridge whereby they were to paſs the Town Ditch, was found both too ſhort and too weak for them to get over unto the other ſide by; ſo that ſinking under them, not the Souldiers only, but even the Commanders themſelves (and namely *Herberſtein*) were in great danger to have been loſt. By which means they hindered, and the Enemies murthering pieces continually flanking them, and their Muſqueteers ſtill playing upon them afront, they were inforced to retire, leaving behind them three hundred of their men ſlain. Yet were not the Chriſtian Commanders any thing therewith diſcouraged, but being generally reſolved not to give over that they had taken in hand, until they had brought it to effect, began to make ſuch Proviſion as they knew to be needful to preſerve their Army under, againſt the Violence of the Winter Weather, as alſo to hinder that no Victual might be brought unto the Town, ſo by Famine, at length to inforce the *Turks* and *Wallons* to yield; who, although they were already pinched with Wants, inſomuch that Horſe-fleſh was dainty chear with them; yet for all that, they nothing abated of their wonted fierceneſs; but being again required to yield, vouchſafed not to anſwer them one word, but inſtead thereof ſhook their naked Swords afar off at them, in token of their undaunted Courage. But yet for all this Reſolution of the Commanders for the continuance of the ſiege, *Aldobrandino*, General of the *Italians*, being now a little before, dead of an old Infirmity that he had, the *Italians* began at the firſt, ſome few of them ſecretly to withdraw themſelves out of their quarter; but afterward by greater numbers to depart, and ſo to return again into their Country; alledging for their excuſe, want both of Pay and Victuals. But the reſt better minded, underſtanding that the Turks were riſen from before *Alba Regalis*, and the reſt of their Army diſbanded, began to enter into new hope by ſome device or other, to paſs the Ditch, and ſo by force to take the Town; and the rather, for that they were by a French Fugitive informed both of the Weakneſs and Wants of the beſieged. Whereupon, they began afreſh to make new Engine for the approaching of the Walls, without danger of the Enemies Ordnance any more to flank them. At which time alſo, *viz.* the fourth of *November*, the Lord *Ruſſworm* came unto the Camp, ſent thither from Duke *Mercury*, with 8000 Souldiers, after that *Haſſan Baſſa* had broke up his Army; by whoſe coming they were alſo the more encouraged to proſecute that they had taken in hand. Neither failed the Turks in the mean time with often Sallies to trouble the Chriſtians; attempting above all things to have fired their Tents, for that ſo lying open in that ſo cold a ſeaſon of the year, they muſt thereby of Neceſſity be inforced to raiſe their Siege, and be gone. But the Succeſs of theſe their ſo great Deſigns was not anſwerable to their Hopes, being ſtill to their loſs beaten back into the Town by the Chriſtians; whom it behoved to look well about them, for that the beſieged deſperately ſet, and all reſolved rather to die than to yield, adventured themſelves to all Dangers, never ceaſing to do what they might to put the Chriſtians out of hope for winning the Town. But whilſt the Turks with doubtful, and as it were deſperate hope, ſo defend the Place, and the Chriſtians grown ſtronger by the coming of their Friends, lay in hope to win the ſame; lo, in the latter end of *November*, the *North* Wind, accompanied with a deep Snow, ſo furiouſly raged, that it overthrew the greateſt part of the Tents and Pavilions of the Chriſtians, and as it were, buried their whole Army in the Snow and Ice, in ſuch wiſe, as that in *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke's camp (being reaſonably well provided for) were 1500 men with 300 Horſes ſtarved and frozen to death. At which time the ſtate of them that came with the Lord *Ruſſworm* was moſt miſerable; who wearied with the ſiege of *Alba-Regalis*, and as it were, ſpent with the dirty Travel of the deep way, had not brought with them their Tents or other Proviſion, and were therefore inforced to lie abroad in ſo cold and unſeaſonable a time; with whoſe Miſeries, although their good General was much grieved, yet to do the Chriſtian Commonweal Service, he with them right patiently endured. In which ſo great an Extremity, the Arch-duke, with the reſt of the Commanders, upon view taken, well conſidering what ſmall hope there was in good time to take the Town, the unreaſonableneſs of the Winter-weather ſtill more and more increaſing; thought it better betime to riſe, than longer to expoſe their Army unto moſt certain Deſtruction, either of the Enemy or the Cold. Which was done with ſuch haſte and confuſed Tumult, as that their riſing ſeemed rather an haſty flight, than honourable departure; leaving behind them, for haſte, their great Ordnance, with their Tents and Baggage; a common Voice ſtill running, That they were well if they might but ſave themſelves; ſo that the Souldiers every man mindful but of himſelf, and in fear to be purſued by the Enemy, no man chaſing them, fled, but ſtill accompanied with ſuch furious Winds, Snow, and extream Cold, that with all the Labour they could take, they could get them no heat, but fell down to the Earth many of them frozen, and ſo once falling, never roſe more, being unable for want of heat to help themſelves; in which caſe they were not to expect for help from others, every man having enough to do to look unto himſelf; ſo that upon the way whereby the Army went thus diſperſed with the Weather, lay above five hundred dead of cold, beſide four hundred others left ſick in the forſaken Trenches, who forthwith after the departure of the Army, were thought to have been all put to the Sword by them of the Garriſon of *Caniſia*.

The Chriſtians by Tempeſt and Extremity of Weather enforced to give over the Siege of *Caniſia*.

But having thus paſſed through theſe Troubles of *Hungary*, it is time now alſo to look back again into the frontier Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*; which to have kept in the Emperours Obeiſance, and ſo preſerved as a lively Member of the Chriſtian Common-weal, no leſs concerned him, than the keeping of any other his frontier Territories, which are many. *Michael*, the Vayvod of *Valachia*, the laſt year for his Cruelty, firſt driven out of *Tranſilvania* by *Baſta*, and afterwards out of *Valachia* by the great Chancellour of *Polonia*, *Michael* the Vayvod ſubmitteth himſelf unto the Emperour.

Baſta taken Priſoner by the *Tranſilvanians.*

Sigiſmund recovereth his State in *Tranſilvania.*

Sigiſmund overthrown by *Baſta* and the Vayvod, flyeth out of *Tranſilvania.*

(as is aforeſaid) and another placed in his ſtead; as a man forſaken even of his own better Fortunes, and not well knowing which way to turn himſelf, thought it beſt now at laſt to ſubmit himſelf unto the Emperour, if ſo happily by his means he might in ſome ſort repair his broken Eſtate, and ſo at leaſtwiſe recover his Government in *Valachia.* So reſolved, he ſet forward, and in the beginning of this year, *viz.* the three and twentieth of *January*, with five and thirty of his Followers, and ſix Coaches, arrived at *Prague*, where he was by the Emperours appointment honoutably received, and his coſt at the Emperours charge defraied. Unto whom he excuſed himſelf of the Severity by him uſed in *Tranſilvania* (the cauſe of thoſe late Troubles in that Country) as inforced thereunto by the ſtubborneſs of the *Tranſilvanians* themſelves, whom he found ſtill inclined to rebellion, and unwilling to be commanded by any but by themſelves. Which his excuſe (as true) was well admitted, and he with all Kindneſs uſed. Now at this ſame time *Baſta* lying alſo in *Tranſilvania*, as Governour for the Emperour, right ſlenderly accompanied (as is before alſo declared) the Parliament at *Clauſenburg* being ended, and all Controverſies (as was thought) well compoſed, now without fear, one night, the watch being ſet, went to bed to take his reſt; where he had not long lain, but that certain of the *Tranſilvanian* Lords, among whom the *Chiaki* was chief, came with their Followers, and ſurpriſing the Watch, and entering the Palace, brake into the Chamber where he lay, took him out of his Bed, and ſo kept him Priſoner all that Night. And the next morning going forth, about twelve miles off met with *Sigiſmund Bator*, their late Prince, before ſecretly by them called in, whom they honourably conducted to *Clauſenburg*, and there delivered unto him *Baſta*, the late Governour for the Emperour, whom he commanded to be caſt into Irons; and ſo going to the Palace, gave like order for the apprehending and ſafe keeping of the reſt of the Nobility alſo, ſuch as had taken part with *Baſta* in the behalf of the Emperour. For now the *Tranſilvanians* were divided into three parts; whereof the one ſtood for the Emperour, the ſecond for *Iſtuan Bathor*, (pretending, that unto him belonged the Soveraignty of that Province) but the third, and far the greateſt, for *Sigiſmund*, their antient Lord and Leader, who now by means of the King of *Polonia*, reconciled unto the great Turk, and in this troubleſome time by his Favourites called again into his Country, was by them joyfully received at *Alba-Julia*, *Clauſenburg*, and the reſt of the chief Cities of *Tranſilvania.* Who now thereof again poſſeſſed, for the better aſſuring of his Eſtate, forthwith writ unto the Emperour what had happened, requeſting him to content himſelf, that he was deſirous of his Love and Favour, promiſing to be always his good Friend and Neighbour, and for ever to keep good Amity with him; giving *Baſta* alſo (whom he had now at the Interceſſion of certain great Friends again enlarged) to underſtand, That he was forthwith to depart from all the places belonging unto his Principality, as alſo to ceaſe from further moleſting of his People, that were now voluntarily again returned unto his Obedience; which his requeſt was neither of the one nor of the other much regarded or hearkened unto; For the Emperour, upon the firſt Advertiſement of this ſo great an alteration in *Tranſilvania*, calling unto him *Michael* the Vayvod (not ſo much troubled with the ſtrangeneſs of the matter, as for that his Wife and Son, whom he had left as Hoſtages with *Baſta*, were now come into the Hands of the *Tranſilvanians*, his mortal Enemies) and ſatisfying him in many things that he had before requeſted, took order with him, That with all convenient ſpeed returning home again into *Valachia*, where he was now much longed for (the People generally diſliking of the ſimple Vayvod, by the great Chancellor ſet over them) and gathering together ſuch Power as he could, he ſhould joyn himſelf with *Baſta*, his Lieutenant General, unto whom he had already ſent great Companies both of Horſe and Foot for the expulſing of *Sigiſmund* out of *Tranſilvania*, and the reducing again of that Province under his Obeiſance. Whereupon the Vayvod forthwith returning into *Valachia*, and aſſembling about ten thouſand of his Friends, all good and expert Souldiers, went to ſeek for *Baſta*, as he had with the Emperour agreed; whom he found ready in the field with about twenty thouſand Foot, and eight thouſand Horſe, but newly departed from *Veradinum*; where, muſtering their Army, they with their united Forces entered into *Tranſilvania*, there to put in Execution what the Emperour had commanded. Where the Vayvod, in diſdain of the People which loved him not, with Fire and Sword waſted all the Country before him as he went; not without the great diſcontment of *Baſta*, to whom it ſeemed not good to make deſolate that Country which he was in good hope ſhould in ſhort time be his Lord and Maſters, the Emperours. But *Sigiſmund*, underſtanding both of the coming of his Enemies, and of the harm they did in his Country, riſe from *Solnock*, where he lay encamped with his Army, and ſo to hinder their further proceeding, went to meet them; howbeit, being come ſo near unto them as that he might well diſcover them, he would not come to the trial of a Battel with them, which was by them offered; but fortified himſelf in his Trenches, ſo ſeeking but to delay the time until the coming of the *Tartars*, which were to have come unto him from the Chancellour of *Polonia*, as alſo of ſix thouſand *Turks* to have been ſent him from the Baſſa of *Belgrade.* Where having afterward underſtood that the Paſſage of the *Tartars* to have been ſent him, was ſtayed by *Don Ferrant Gonzaga*, the Emperours Lieutenant in the upper *Hungary*; and that the Turks ſtaying at *Giula*, would come no farther except they had their Pay before hand; finding himſelf too weak with his own Power to encounter with his Enemies, he riſe with his Army, with purpoſe to have retired a little back, and to have taken certain ſtrait Paſſages whereby the Enemy muſt needs paſs, ſo by the Advantage of the place to have holpen his own weak ſtrength. But *Baſta* and the Vayvod, perceiving his riſing (whereunto they were ſtill attentive) followed him with ſuch ſpeed, that they overtook him before he could get thither, and ſo hardly preſſed him, that needs he muſt turn his Face and joyn Battel, or elſe ſuffer his People altogether like Beaſts to be ſlain. In which doing, albeit that neither he nor his failed to do what was by men to be done for the obtaining of a notable Victory; yet ſuch was the Valour of the Souldiers of *Baſta*, and the Vayvod, that in a great fight having diſordered his Foot-men, they put them to flight, and ſo cut them all in pieces. Which the Prince beholding, and not able to remedy the matter, betime fled with his Horſe-men from the Fury of his Enemies, and ſo retired to the uttermoſt Confines of *Tranſilvania*, having in this Battel loſt ten thouſand of his faithful Souldiers. Whereupon *Claudiopolis*, with divers other Cities and Towns of that Country, returned again unto the Emperours Obeiſance.

In the proſecuting of this Victory, the Vayvod, to ſatisfie the hatred he had of long borne againſt the *Tranſilvanians*, did what ſpoil he could, utterly waſting all the Places whereby he paſſed; which *Baſta* not liking, requeſted him to uſe his Victory with more Modeſty, and to have more reſpect to what he did, eſpecially unto ſuch Places or Perſons as of themſelves returned unto the Emperour's Obeiſance. Whereunto he proudly anſwered, That he would do what he thought good, without his Appointment or the Emperour's either, eſpecially in that Country, which he had now with his own Sword twice conquered: and that therefore *Baſta* might command them that were by him to be commanded; as for himſelf, he acknowledged no Sovereignty that either *Baſta* or the Emperour had over him. Unto which his ſo preſumptuous a Speech *Baſta* replied not, but yet much therewith diſcontented, began to enter into a great Suſpicion from what ground thoſe his haughty Conceits (eaſily by his Words to be gathered) might grow: and ſo from that time better obſerving his Proceedings, perceived him to have Intelligence with the Turks, with purpoſe to joyn hands with them, that ſo by their help, chaſing the Imperials out of *Tranſilvania*, he might hold it to himſelf, as tributary to the *Othoman* Emperour, of all others beſt able to defend him. Which to be true (beſide divers other ſtrong Preſumptions) he certainly underſtood by certain Letters of his written to that purpoſe, intercepted by his Souldiers and brought unto him; whereupon he became very penſive and heavy, for the great Power the Vayvod was of in thoſe Countries, as alſo for the great Strength he had even then preſent about him, and wherewith he was as it were then guarded. So conſulting with certain of his Collonels and chief Commanders of his Army, what were beſt to be done in that ſo dangerous a caſe whereof ſo much depended? A *Wallon* Captain offered himſelf to go into the Vayvod's Camp, and there in his own Tent to kill him as a Traitor. Which his Offer well liked of, and he as ready to perform as he was to promiſe, going into the Vayvod's Camp, accompanied with ſome threeſcore men, and finding him in his Tent, boldly ſtepping to him, willed him to yield himſelf the Emperour's Priſoner; whereat he being about to lay his hand upon his Scimitar, the *Wallon* Captain with an Halbard thruſt him into the Breaſt; at which very inſtant, another with a Sword at one Blow clave his Head down to the Shoulders: an unworthy Death for ſo worthy a Captain, had not Ambition (the torment of great Spirits) carried him too high with the Wings of immoderate deſire, beyond the bounds of Loyalty and Reaſon! But there he lieth now dead among his Friends, whom the great Turk ſometime more feared even in his Palace at *Conſtantinople*, than he did all the reſt of the Emperour's Commanders. Preſently upon his Death a great Tumult and Hurly-burly was raiſed by the Souldiers in his Camp; but *Baſta* forthwith ſhewing himſelf with all his Souldiers in Arms, and withal producing the Letters declaring the Treaſon by the Vayvod contrived with the Baſſa of *Temeſwar* againſt the Emperour, all was again appeaſed; but eſpecially for that his Souldiers now ſaw themſelves without an Head, and too weak alſo for the Imperials there preſent and already in Arms. In the Vayvod's Tent were alſo other Letters found, ſo plainly declaring his ſecret Colluſion with the Turk, and Treaſon againſt the Emperour, that the *Valachians*, who at the firſt were wonderfully moved with his Death, and hearing the ſame read, reſted not now only contented, but ſaid moreover, that he was worthily ſlain, and that if they had known him to have had any ſuch traiterous purpoſe, they would themſelves long before have taken of him deſerved Puniſhment. Now unto his Souldiers *Baſta* offered, at their choice, either to depart whither they would without danger, or elſe taking the Oath of Obedience unto the Emperour, to enter into his Pay, which moſt part of them did. The Tumult appeaſed, the dead Body of the Vayvod was laid out a whole day for the Souldiers to gaze upon, and ſo afterward buried. So lieth he, that but of late, and many times before, had ſo fortunately overthrown his Enemies; unhappy man himſelf now overthrown by his own Ambition and Unconſtancy.

Michael the Vayvod ſlain.

The *Tranſilvanians* ſubmit themſelves unto *Baſta*.

Baſta, now delivered of the great fear he had before of the Vayvod, what by force, what by agreement, in ſhort time took in moſt part of the Country; for that the *Tranſilvanians*, ſeeing the ſmall Power of *Sigiſmund*, and well comforted with the death of *Michael* the Vayvod, ſo much of them hated; as alſo to avoid the dangers even preſently hanging over their Heads from the Imperials, if they ſhould in any thing ſhew themſelves obſtinate againſt them, ſubmitted themſelves wholly to the Courteſie of *Baſta*, ſo that the places were but few that yet held out for the Prince *Sigiſmund*; who in the mean time was doing what he might for the raiſing of a new Army (having not altogether with this late Overthrow forthwith alſo loſt his hope) by the help of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Polonians*, to recover again the poſſeſſion of his State, and by force of Arms to chaſe out the Imperials. But he being brought to ſo low an ebb, and almoſt all the Country of *Tranſilvania* poſſeſſed by *Baſta*, who would not have thought but that now after ſo long Travels it would have remained wholly at the Emperour's Devotion? and ſo many, that thought themſelves to ſee much, ſaid aſſuredly it would. But ſee the change, and what ſmall aſſurance even the greateſt have of the Conſtancy of the vain multitude; never more like themſelves, than in diſliking to morrow what they beſt liked to day, fooliſh, ſenſeleſs, improvident, raſh, headſtrong, violent, and above all things, mutable, and unconſtant. So now for all that *Baſta* had done for the aſſurance of this Country unto the Emperour (being ſo much as moſt Men thought to have been ſufficient, and indeed as much as was poſſible for him to do) even in the winding up of this Year 1601, the *Tranſilvanians*, underſtanding that *Sigiſmund*, with a great Army of *Polonians*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, was now coming againſt the Imperials, moſt part of them preſently took up Arms in his favour, ſaying, That their firſt Oath, voluntarily given unto him as their natural Prince and Governour, was more to be reſpected than any other afterwards by force extorted from them by a foreign Prince. Inſomuch that *Baſta* perceiving with what a Tempeſt he was like even preſently to be overwhelmed, to ſave himſelf and his People from the rage thereof, withdrew himſelf with his Followers unto a ſtrong Town in a corner of that Country; from whence he with all ſpeed ſent unto the Emperour for greater Aid, as well for the defence of the Place he yet held, as for the ſubduing again of that rebellious People. After whoſe departure, *Sigiſmund*, without reſiſtance, entring the Country, was of the People in general joyſully received, as their moſt lawful Prince and Sovereign, and all the Honour done unto him that was by them poſſible: in which his ſo princely, but dangerous eſtate, now twice in leſs than the ſpace of one Year by him regained, and yet thereof no whit aſſured, we will for a while leave him to joy therein with his Subjects.

The *Tranſilvanians* revolt again unto *Sigiſmund* their old Prince.

Baſta flieth.

But whilſt the State thus turneth upſide down in *Tranſilvania*, the Baſſa of *Agria* going out with 10000 Turks in hope to have ſurpriſed *Toccay* (a ſtrong hold of the Chriſtians in the upper *Hungary*, was encountered by *Ferrant Gonzaga*, the Emperour's Lieutenant there, and by him overthrown, and with great ſlaughter of his Turks chaſed to the Gates of *Agria*.

The Baſſa of *Agria* overthrown by *Ferrant Gonzaga*.

Now was *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour this Year alſo no leſs troubled with the Proceedings of the *Scrivano* in *Caramania* and *Natolia*, than with the evil Succeſs of his Affairs in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*. For, the *Scrivano* by his laſt years Victory grown into great credit with the common Peo-

1601 ple, and ſtill by them more and more followed; to maintain the reputation of his Credit, came now again this year with a great Power into the Field, to meet with *Mahomet*, the great Baſſa, and General of the Turks Army; who, with fifty thouſand good Souldiers (a Power thought ſufficient to have repreſſed him) was ready to encounter him. With whom the *Scrivano* joyning Battel, in a great Fight cut in ſunder a great part of the Baſſa's Army, and ſo became Maſter of the Field, forraged all the Countries adjoyning almoſt as far as *Aleppo*; ſtill calling the People unto Liberty, and cauſing himſelf to be proclaimed the true Defender of the *Mahometan* Faith, and of the Liberty of thoſe Countries with him combined; in ſuch ſort, as that it now ſtood the great Turk upon to ſend another great Army to the Aid of *Mahomet* the diſcomfited Baſſa. With whom alſo, the *Scrivano* (preſuming of his former Fortune) coming to a day of Battel, and overcharged with the multitude of his Enemies, was at the firſt Encounter, with his People, put to the worſe: but forthwith by his good direction having repaired his diſordered Battel, and thereby given as it were new Courage to his fainting Souldiers, he with a great Slaughter diſordered alſo the Baſſa's Army. Yet having not any other firm ſtate or ſtay to reſt upon, more than the Favour and Reputation he held with theſe his rebellious Followers, of whom he had now loſt a great many, he thought it not beſt to adventure too far (not knowing how preſently to repair his Loſſes) but contenting himſelf with what he had already done, retired with his Army into the ſtrength of the Mountains, there that Winter to live upon the Spoil of the Countries adjoyning, and the next Year to do more harm than ever he had done before.

The Janizaries in Mutiny at *Conſtantinople.*

Beſide all which former Troubles, the Plague alſo this year ſore raged in *Conſtantinople* and many other Places of the Turkiſh Empire. At which time alſo, the Janizaries at *Conſtantinople* having received ſome Diſgrace by ſome of the Great Sultan's Favourites, and with great Inſolency requiring to have their Heads, cauſed their Aga, well accompanied, preſumptuouſly to enter into the Seraglio to prefer this their Requeſt; whom *Mahomet*, to the terror of the reſt, cauſed for his Preſumption to be taken into the midſt of the Spahi, and ſo by them to be cut in pieces; which was not done without the great Slaughter of the Spahi themſelves alſo, ſlain by the Janizaries. Whereupon the other Janizaries ariſing up in Arms alſo, and even now ready to have revenged the Death of their Captain, were yet by the Wiſdom of *Cicala Baſſa*, beſtowing amongſt them a great Sum of Money, again appeaſed, without farther harm doing. Which their ſo great Inſolency *Mahomet* imputing unto their exceſſive drinking of Wine, contrary to their Law of the great Prophet; by the perſuaſion of the Mufti, commanded all ſuch as had any Wine in their Houſes in the City of *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*, upon pain of Death to bring it out and ſtave it, except the Ambaſſadors of the Queen's Majeſty of *England*, the *French* King, and of the State of *Venice*; ſo that as ſome report, Wine for a ſpace ran down the Channels of the Streets in *Conſtantinople*, as if it had been Water after a great ſhower of Rain.

1602 *Sigiſmund*, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, now of late again poſſeſſed of *Tranſilvania* (as is before declared) could not yet well aſſure himſelf of the keeping thereof; for that he, with the *Tranſilvanians* of his Faction alone, was not able to withſtand the force of *Baſta*; who ſtill ſtrengthened with new Supplies both of men and all things elſe neceſſary for the Wars, from the Emperour, was now with a great Power already entred into *Tranſilvania*; the *Polonians* buſied in the Wars of *Suevia*, and the Turks with their other greater Affairs, neither of them ſending him their promiſed Aid, the greateſt hope and ſtay of himſelf in that newneſs of his Eſtate. Wherefore ſeeing himſelf every day to loſe one place or other, and fearing alſo leſt his Souldiers for want of Pay ſhould in ſhort time quite forſake him, and go over to *Baſta*, he thought it beſt, betimes and whilſt he had yet ſomething left, and was not yet altogether become deſperate, otherwiſe to provide for his Eſtate, eſpecially having ſmall Truſt in the Turks, to whom he had been before ſo great an Enemy. Wherefore he dealt with *Baſta* for a Truce or Ceſſation from Arms, until Ambaſſadors might be ſent unto the Emperour, to intreat with him for ſome good Atonement. Wherewith *Baſta* being content, and the Ambaſſadors ſent, the matter was ſo handled with the Emperour, that *Sigiſmund*, to make an end of all theſe Troubles, was contented to the behoof of his Imperial Majeſty, to reſign unto *Baſta* his Lieutenant all ſuch places as he yet held in *Tranſilvania*, upon much like Conditions he had about three Years before made with him; and ſo in all, and for all, to ſubmit himſelf unto his Majeſty. Which intended Surrender of the Prince's being bruted in *Tranſilvania*, *Zachel Moiſes* his Lieutenant (and now in Field with the Prince's Forces) not able to endure or to hear that that noble Province ſhould again fall into the hands of the *Germans*; encouraging his Souldiers, went upon the ſudden to aſſail *Baſta*, in hope to have found him unprovided, and ſo diſcomfiting his Army, to have driven the Imperials quite out of *Tranſilvania*; but he an old and expert Commander, perceiving even the firſt moving of the *Tranſilvanians*, with great Celerity put his Army in good order, and ſo joyned Battel with them; wherein he with the loſs of ſome five hundred men overthrew *Moiſes*, with his Army of *Tranſilvanians*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, having ſlain above three thouſand of them, and put the reſt to flight; *Moiſes* himſelf with ſome few others being now glad to take their Refuge into the Frontiers of the Turks Territories towards *Temeſwar*. But when *Sigiſmund* underſtood what his Lieutenant had, without his knowledge, done, he in token of his own Innocency went himſelf unto the Imperial Camp, accompanied only with certain of his Gentlemen, and thereunto *Baſta* excuſed himſelf of that which was by his Lieutenant againſt his Will, and without his Privity done; frankly offering to perform whatſoever was on his part to be performed, according to the Agreement made betwixt the Emperour and him. And ſo preſently calling his Garriſons out of all ſuch ſtrong Places as were yet for him holden, he ſurrendred them to *Baſta*; and ſo forthwith, honourably accompanied, put himſelf upon his way towards the Emperour. After whoſe Departure out of *Tranſilvania*, all that Province voluntarily, and without more ado, yielded to *Baſta* as to the Emperour's Lieutenant; who preſently called an Aſſembly of all the Nobility of the Country, taking of them an Oath for their Obedience and Loyalty unto the Emperour. Thus by the Wiſdom and Proweſs of this worthy Commander, is the Country of *Tranſilvania* once again brought under the Emperour's Obeiſance; a matter of far greater Importance than to have won the ſtrongeſt City the Turk holdeth in *Hungary*.

Zachel Moiſes overthrown by *Baſta*.

Great Troubles in *Valachia*.

But whilſt theſe things thus paſſed in *Tranſilvania*, great troubles ariſe in *Valachia* (the Country next adjoyning) for that the People of that Province not able longer to endure the great Inſolency of the Turks (who after the Death of *Michael* had by their Power made one *Jeremias* Vayvod there) by a general conſent took up Arms, and proclaiming one *Radoll* (a favorite of the Emperours) Vayvod, chaſed *Jeremias* (before placed by the Turks) quite out of the Country; who flying unto *Simon*, Palatine of *Moldavia*, his Friend, by his means, and the help of the Turks, returning unto *Valachia*, drave out thence *Radoll* again; who being now at this preſent with *Baſta*, with about ten thouſand *Valachians*, his Followers, earneſtly requeſted of him (now that he was ſo quietly poſſeſſed of *Tranſilvania*) to help him with his Forces for the recovery of *Valachia*. And *Baſta* well conſidering how much it concerned the quiet and ſure keeping of the poſſeſſion of *Tranſilvania*, for the Emperour to have that ſo near a Province to friend, eaſily yielded to his requeſt; and gave him a great Regiment of his old approved Souldiers, and ſo ſent him away to recover his Eſtate: with whom (at his entrance into *Valachia*) the *Moldavian* meeting with a great Power both of his own, and of the Turks, come thither in the favour of *Hieremias*, there was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible and bloody Battel, the glory whereof fell unto *Radoll*, he carrying away the Victory. In which Battel, two of the Turks Baſſaes were there ſlain, with a great number of others, both of the *Moldavians* and *Turks*. After which Victory *Radoll* recovered again the Soveraignty of *Valachia*, for which he was beholding to *Baſta*; and ſhortly after with the ſame Aid cut in pieces a great power of the *Tartars*, that were coming to have aided the *Moldavian*.

Troubles in *Hungary*.

Now in the mean time in *Hungary* alſo paſſed many an hot Skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, whoſe Garriſons at *Buda*, and in other places in the lower *Hungary*, attempting to have ſurpriſed *Alba-Regalis*, and diſcovered by the Chriſtians, were with great ſlaughter enforced to retire. At which time alſo, County *Serinus* underſtanding by his Eſpials, that the Turks with two hundred Waggons, with Munition and Victuals, were going to *Caniſia*, upon the ſudden ſet upon them, and having ſlain and put to flight the Convoy that guarded them, carried the Waggons, with all that was in them, away with him. And ſhortly after, the free *Haiducks* of *Comara*, in a great party going out towards *Buda* to ſeek after Booty, and having taken threeſcore Turks Priſoners, and ſo with them about to have returned home; underſtanding by the way, that *Ali*, ſometime the Baſſa of *Buda*, and now Governour of *Peſth*, was with a ſmall retinue about to come down the River *Danubius* from *Buda*, towards *Belgrade*, there to meet the Viſier Baſſa, but then coming into *Hungary*; they ſlew all the Priſoners, and having got two ſmall Boats, about fifteen miles beneath *Buda*, lay in wait for the Baſſa; who, according to their Expectation, coming down the River, was by theſe Adventurers fiercely aſſailed, and of his thirty followers having fourteen ſlain, being himſelf alſo ſhot in two places of his Body, was there with a great Booty taken, and ſo brought to *Comara*, and ſhortly after preſented unto *Matthias* the Arch-duke at *Vienna*; who amongſt other things, certainly enformed, that *Haſſan Baſſa* was with a great Army by the commandment of the great Sultan *Mahomet*, coming to beſiege *Alba-Regalis*, and that he was now upon his way as far as *Belgrade*; preſently ſent thither the County *Yſolan*, Governour thereof, who with much ado got into the City, the Turks having already taken all the Paſſages, to have hindered the Chriſtians from puting in either Men or Munition, more than was therein already. Howbeit, the County now got in there, and being no leſs good Engineer than a valiant Commander, cauſed all them in the City to labour upon the Rampiers; ſo that beſide the natural Scituation thereof, which was very ſtrong, he had in ſhort time ſo fortified it, as that in moſt mens Judgment it ſeemed a place almoſt impregnable. This *Ali Baſſa* was ſometime the great Turks Butler, but after the taking of *Agria*, made Baſſa of *Buda*; which great place he held but three Months, being by the Envy and Ambition of ſome, but eſpecially of *Amurath Baſſa*, removed thence, and made Governour of *Peſth*; from whence now going down the River to *Belgrade*, it was his Fortune to be thus taken by the *Haiducks*, unto whom he offered for his Ranſom three hundred thouſand *Sultanies*; and had with him when he was taken, ſeventy thouſand Duckats.

Ali Baſſa taken Priſoner.

A great Ranſom offered by *Ali Baſſa*.

Alba-Regalis beſieged by the *Turks*.

Mahomet the great Sultan not a little troubled with the loſs of *Alba-Regalis* (taken from him by the Chriſtians the laſt year) and now reſolved for the recovery of the ſame, to ingage, if need ſhould be, a great part of his Forces; had cauſed an Army of an hundred and fifty thouſand ſtrong, to meet at *Hadrianople* for that purpoſe, under the leading of *Haſſan Baſſa*, one of the chief Viſiers, to be ſent into *Hungary*. Who by the way of *Belgrade* coming to *Buda*, and from thence to *Alba-Regalis*, there the twelfth of *Auguſt* incamped (as he had oftentimes before threatned) with the multitude of his Tents covering all the Country round about, as if it had been a white Snow; where having well entrenched himſelf, and planted his Artillery, he began a moſt terrible and furious Battery, in ſuch ſort as if he had not meant to have made a breach only, but to have beaten the City even from the face of the Earth, which ſeemed now to tremble under his feet, and the Clouds to rend with the thundring of his great Ordnance; and for that the Mariſh and deep Ditches were a great let unto his Men for to come unto the aſſault, he cauſed them with the number of his Pioneers to be filled up (a work thought almoſt impoſſible) and ſo brought on his Men to aſſault the Counterſcarf, which the Governour had cauſed to be made before the City for better defence thereof; which aſſault coſt him much Blood, by reaſon of the wonderful Valour of the defendants; yet in the end the great number of the Turks prevailing, the Chriſtians were inforced to forſake it and retire into the City; but ſhortly after ſallying out again, they with ſuch force aſſailed the Turks now got within the Counterſcarf, that having ſlain moſt part of them that were entered, they forced the other out again; at the brute whereof, an alarm being raiſed throughout the Camp, infinite numbers of the barbarous Enemies came runing thither with ſuch ſavage Fury, that without regard of their Lives, they as deſperate men preſſing ſtill on, fell twice as many as before; inſomuch that the Chriſtians weary of that long and bloody fight, and on every ſide charged, or rather overwhelmed with the Enemies ſhot, were glad again, but not without great loſs, to abandon the place. With which Skirmiſhes, and divers others that they had, the number of the Defendants was greatly diminiſhed, to keep a weak City, ſhewing as yet the Ruins of the late Siege, when it was by the Chriſtians won; the breaches thereof being but evil repaired, and the Mines yet gaping, requiring great and ſtrong Fortification to hold out and endure any long Siege againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy. Yet was not the Courage of the valiant County *Yſolan* the *Italian* Governour, any whit therewith abated, but by his Letters gave the Arch-duke *Matthias*, to underſtand in what caſe things ſtood with them in the City: requeſting him with all ſpeed to ſend him relief, for that otherwiſe the City, ſo weakly both manned and fortified, would be in danger to be loſt; many of the Garriſon Souldiers being already ſlain in the defence thereof, and divers of the *Hungarians* forſaking the Walls, daily flying unto the Turks Camp; promiſing yet nevertheleſs himſelf to do

A long and terrible Aſſault.

Reaſons whereby the beſieged Captains perſwaded the Governour to yield the City.

the uttermoſt of his devoir. Upon the receit of which Letters, the Arch-duke gave order unto the Lord *Ruſſworm* (Maſter of the Camp) to go forthwith to *Comara*, and there with ſuch Forces as were from divers places come thither, to go forth and to prove if by any means the weak Garriſon of *Alba-Regalis* might ſo be relieved, by putting in ſome good ſupply of freſh Souldiers. According to which Command, *Ruſſworm* coming thither, without delay took the Field with 12000 men which he found there, to ſee if he might with them, put into the City the deſired relief. But whilſt the matter was in the performance thereof too long delaied, by diſcord ariſing betwixt him and the other Colonels, about the manner of relieving the Town, the Baſſa had time to effect his purpoſe; who, the twenty eighth of the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, after a long and terrible battery, cauſed a general aſſault to be given unto the City; which the Turks from time to time renewing, continued all that Day and the next Night, with ſome part of the day following alſo, without ceaſing; ſo that the Defendants, now much weakened, and they alſo that were left, ſo wearied or wounded, as that they were not well able to make any longer reſiſtance (and the County himſelf, who gave as it were life unto them all, being now alſo carried away dangerouſly hurt in the Thigh with a Musquet ſhot) there was a ſign of Parley given unto the Enemy; which the Baſſa granting, and the Fury of the aſſault ſtaid, certain of the chief Captains and Commanders in the City, going unto the Governour, put him in mind of the weakneſs of the place, of the force of the Enemy, of the number of his moſt valiant men ſlain, of the want of the Defendants. They had (as they ſaid) done enough for their Honour, having endured ſo many and ſo great Aſſaults, in a place not defencible; and enough to diſcharge their Fidelity, having holden it out to the uttermoſt of their Power. That they could do no more than they had done, being not relieved; and that the ſame Bond which bound them to defend the place, bound the Emperour alſo to relieve them, ſeeing that otherwiſe it was not in their Power to maintain it. That they had, with the loſs of their Lives and Blood, ſhewed their Fidelity unto the Emperour, no ſufficient Army appearing from him (according to his Promiſe) for their Succour. That to fight any longer was but to increaſe the Glory of their Enemies, and their own Loſſes; ſeeing that after they had done what they poſſibly could, expoſed to a thouſand dangers, they ſhould nevertheleſs be vanquiſhed, and the City taken. That the ſame Conſideration which carried valiant Minds unto the Effects of Honour, when they are relieved with hope, diſſuaded them being out of all hope of any happy end of their Troubles; and to loſe themſelves to no purpoſe, was as great a ſign of Folly, as to let ſlip a fair Opportunity, was a ſign of Cowardiſe. That they were to expect nothing but extream Miſery, if the Enemy ſhould again force them; the breaches being ſo broad, as whereby they might eaſily enter; and their own beſt men ſlain, that ſhould keep them out. And that therefore he ſhould do well, to come to ſome good Compoſition with the Enemy, whilſt they had yet ſomething to yield up unto him, and that he ſtood in ſome fear of them; and not to expect, whilſt they were ſpoiled of all means, either to reſiſt him by force, or to bind him by Courteſie; nothing remaining for them in the place, but death, if they ſhould obſtinately ſtand to the defence thereof; nor no way left to ſave their Lives, but by yielding.

With theſe Perſwaſions, the Governour moved, came to a Parley with the Baſſa, being right glad thereof; as well knowing that a Town beſieged coming to a Parley, is commonly more than half woon; and glad by any means to gain it, for that thereof depended the aſſurance both of his Head and Honour; where, after ſome ſhort talk, it was agreed, That the County ſhould yield the Town into the Hands of the Baſſa, with all the great Ordnance, and other warlike Munition therein; and that the County with his Garriſon, ſhould with Bag and Baggage in ſafety depart with their Arms, by the Suburbs leading toward *Rab*; and with a good Convoy in ſafety to be brought half way thither. This Capitulation agreed upon, and by the Baſſa and the County ſigned, every man aſſured himſelf of the Baſſaes Faith, and thereon reſted. But what Faith is to be expected from a faithleſs man? Upon the firſt brute of this Compoſition, yea and before it was altogether well concluded; whilſt the Merchants in the Town were ſeeking for Waggons to carry their Merchandiſe, and the Souldiers for Horſes to carry their Baggage, the ſcarceneſs thereof bred a great Confuſion and ſtir among the People; as commonly it falleth out in things done in haſte, but eſpecially where men, for ſafeguard of their Lives, in their flight for haſte fall into a thouſand Errors; ſo whilſt ſome in this hurly burly were quarreling about their Horſes and Carriages, and other ſome were opening the Gates to be gone; others were as buſie in robbing and pilfering the Baggages of their Captains and Companions; miſerable men, who all appointed for a Prey unto the greedy and merciles Turks, yet fell to preying one upon another. Which Diſorders encouraged the reſt of the Souldiers to fall to Pillage alſo, ſome loading themſelves with ſuch Goods as the Merchants had for lack of Carriages left behind them; and other ſome even with the Goods of their own Captains; which the Souldiers appointed for defence of the breaches ſeeing, left their charge, and came thronging into the Town, and thruſt themſelves in amongſt the Pilferers, as if the Pillage of the Town had been unto them by triumphant Victory aſſured, and that they themſelves had been Victors, and not men vanquiſhed. The *Tartars*, lodged at the foot of the breach, ſeeing it forſaken, and without any great ſtrength to defend it, let not this Opportunity ſlip, but preſſing on without any great reſiſtance, entred the ſame; and ſo in a trice full thirty thouſand of them thruſt into the Town, and there ſurpriſed the vanquiſhed Chriſtians, at once loaded with Prey, Fear, and Deſpair. After whom, even by the ſame Breach, the Turks entered alſo, to be Partakers of the ſpoil; ſo that in a moment the Town was full of Enemies, both *Turks* and *Tartars*. The *Turks* beſide the Booty they took themſelves, fell to quarrelling with the *Tartars*, for ſome part of theirs; and ſo long as there was any thing that might pleaſe their Eyes, or fill their Hands, they abſtained from ſlaughter and bloodſhed, buſying themſelves with that which for the preſent was more for their Profit; but the pillaging ceaſing, by reaſon there was no more to be had; then the perfidious Wretches fell to maſſacring of the miſerable Chriſtians, the Sword devouring all that they could light upon, ſo that all the City flowed with Blood. Neither was there any end thereof, until that by the coming in of the Baſſa the ſlaughter was ſtayed; by which means County *Tſolan* the late Governour, with ſome other Captains and Souldiers were ſaved, having eſcaped the Enemies Fury.

The Capitulation betwixt the Baſſa and the County, for the yielding up of the City of *Alba-Regalis*.

Great Diſorder and Confuſion among the beſieged.

Alba-Regalis taken by the Turks.

The Criſtians cruelly murdered in *Alba-Regalis*.

In this Maſſacre were ſlain 3000 Chriſtian Souldiers, beſide others of the Citizens, in number not few. The Captains that were ſpared, were led Priſoners to *Conſtantinople*, there to be fed with the Bread of Tribulation; and with them the County *Tſolan*, for his Valour and noble Courage, unworthy of ſo hard a Fortune. Howbeit, that he

County *Tſolan* carried away Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*.

1602 by lively and pregnant Reaſons ſhewed both himſelf and the reſt to be unjuſtly detained, as taken Priſoners contrary to the publick Faith unto them before given; within the aſſurance of the Capitulation agreed upon with the Baſſa, and out of the Actions of War. Whereunto it was again anſwered him, That the Town when it was taken, was yet ſtill in his Power, and he at choice whether he would deliver it or no. That if he would by the yielding up of the Town challenge his Liberty, according to the Articles of the Capitulation, he ought then to have delivered it as was agreed, and not to have ſuffered it to have been taken by force, according to the ordinary proceeding of War; the Laws whereof, do juſtly condemn to Death, or to Captivity, ſuch as are by force of Arms vanquiſhed. That every Town, which during the Treaty of Capitulation is by force taken, followeth the courſe of the latter condition and ſtate, and not of the former, ſeeing that it is conquered and not delivered. That this is the reaſon that they are puniſhed by the rigour of Arms, which have not been careful to preſerve themſelves by the ſweetneſs of Peace; for that a man is not to expect of his mortal Enemy any other Courteſie than that which neceſſity cauſed him to promiſe, which he may for his own good again violate, as he for the good of his Enemy againſt his Will hath granted. With which Quirks and Quillets the County deluded, ſay what he could, was carried away Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, where we muſt for a while leave him. And ſo the Baſſa having in eighteen days taken *Alba-Regalis*, (now being eleven months poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians) cauſed the Breaches he had made to be again repaired, and the City well provided for both of Victuals and Munition, leaving therein a ſtrong Garriſon of 6000 Souldiers; and with his People having over-run all the Country as far as *Strigonium*, roſe with his Army and retired again to *Buda*; where, as he was making a Bridge of Boats over the *Danubius* betwixt *Buda* and *Peſth*, for the more eaſie tranſporting of Victual, and better relieving of the one the other, as need ſhould require; and having brought that work to paſs, and about to have gone to the Siege of *Strigonium*; Commandment came from the Great Sultan, That he ſhould with all ſpeed return to *Conſtantinople*, for that *Mahomet*, accounting of him as of a moſt valiant Man, was now minded to employ him in his Wars againſt the Rebels in *Natolia*, where things now went not well, as ſhall be hereafter declared. Upon which Commandment, the Baſſa gave leave to all ſuch in his Army as had charge of any place, forthwith to return to their ſeveral Places of Government; appointing ſome others, with thirty thouſand Souldiers, in the Company of *Zachel Moiſes* (but of late Prince *Sigiſmund's* Lieutenant) to go with him into *Tranſilvania*: who after the Overthrow he had there received by *Baſta*, was come unto this great Baſſa, offering unto him, with ſuch an Aid as was now appointed for him, and the help of ſuch other his Friends as he had in *Tranſilvania*, to chaſe *Baſta* with his *Germans* from out thence, and to reduce that Province again unto the Devotion of the *Othoman* Emperours, as it had in former time been. And ſo by the way of *Belgrade*, *Haſſan Baſſa* himſelf with the reſt of his Army haſted towards *Conſtantinople*: which he was thought the more willingly to do, for that the Great Sultan before his ſetting forth, had put him in good hope to marry one of his Aunts (a Woman of great Wealth and Honour) if by the winning again of *Alba-Regalis* he ſhould make himſelf worthy ſo honourable a Match, after which he now longed.

But long it was not after his Departure, but that the Imperials, now at laſt aſſembled together at *Komara*, to the number of about 30000 men, with twelve Naſſadies and two Gallies, ſome by Water, ſome by Land, marched down along the River to *Strigonium*; where were alſo twenty other Ships ready to receive them; and ſo all embarqued, were by the Lord *Ruſſworm* and other the Imperial Captains conducted to *Buda*, there with ſome notable Enterpriſe to redeem the Diſgrace by them before received in not relieving of *Alba-Regalis*. Whoſe coming was ſo ſudden and ſo unlooked for of the Turks there, as that they had not any time to take in any greater help or proviſion than was already in the City. And for as much as the Chriſtians knew the good Succeſs of this their Enterpriſe taken in hand, not ſo much to depend on their Strength as of their politick Proceeding and ſpeedy Diſpatch of the matter begun, they thought it not good to uſe any long delay, or to ſpare for any labour, but ſo ſoon as they might, by taking of the Water-City (or as ſome call it, the *Jews* Suburbs) ſo to cut off the Paſſage of them of *Buda* to *Peſth*, as alſo from thence to trouble them in the Caſtle and the upper City of *Buda*. Which their intended Exploit they happily attempted, and brought to paſs in this ſort: The City of *Peſth* ſtanding right over againſt *Buda*, is (as we have oftentimes before ſaid) divided from the ſame with the great and ſwift River of *Danubius*; over which the Turks upon Boats had with great Labour and Coſt of late built a moſt eaſie and commodious Bridge for Paſſage or Carriage of things from the one City to the other. This Bridge the Imperials thought neceſſary firſt to break, the more eaſie to beſiege either the one or other City; and for that purpoſe had by a ſtrange Device built a Ship, which by the force of the Stream carried down the River, and reſting upon the Bridge, ſhould by a wonderful Power break the ſame. Which Ship the Turks ſeeing coming down the River with the reſt of the Fleet after her, they ran by heaps, eſpecially out of the Water-City, to the Bridge, for the defence thereof; where, whilſt they were thus buſied, County *Sultze* on the other ſide, by Land, with a Petard blew up one of the Gates of the City; and ſo entering and killing all ſuch as he light upon, came unlooked for upon the backs of the Turks at the Bridge, of whom, ſome he ſlew, ſome he drave into the River, who there periſhed; the reſt, in number not many, by ſpeedy flight retiring themſelves into the City: whereupon he had now brought ſuch a general fear, that they all, as well the Souldiers as the Citizens, with the Chriſtians at their heels, with as much haſte as they could, took their Refuge into the upper City of *Buda*, much ſtronger and better fortified than was the lower City. At which time the Bridge was by them upon the River broken alſo, ſo that now the one City could no more thereby relieve the other as before.

1602

The Naſſadies are a certain kind of Boats which the *Hungarians* uſe upon the River of *Danubius*.

The lower City of *Buda* taken by the Chriſtians.

The Water-City thus won, and the Bridge broken, the next was for the Imperials to beſiege either the one or the other City. But for that they of *Peſth* might with their great Ordnance much annoy them in the beſieging of the Caſtle and the upper City of *Buda*, they thought beſt to begin with it firſt; which they did in much like ſort as they had before done at the lower City of *Buda*, the ſame Device again well proſpering in their hand. For the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the Fleet upon the River making a great ſhew as if he would even preſently on that ſide have entered, had with the ſtir by him raiſed, drawn down moſt part of the Garriſon Souldiers unto that ſide of the Town, where moſt ſhew of danger was; whilſt in the mean time County *Sultze*, with the Governour of *Althem*, (before undiſcovered) upon the ſudden by Land ſcaled the other ſide of the City, and

gained

The City of *Peſth* taken by the Chriſtians.

gained the Walls, the Turks yet dreaming of no ſuch matter. But hereupon began a terrible Outcry, the Turks ſtanding as men aſtoniſhed, eſpecially now feeling the Chriſtians Weapons in their Bodies, before they knew they were got into the City. In this ſo great an Amazement, ſuch of them as could, fled into the ſtrongeſt Towers, the reſt hid themſelves in Cellars and other the moſt ſecret corners they could find, out of which they were afterwards by the Chriſtians drawn and ſlain. They which were retired alſo into the Towers and other ſtrong places of the City, ſeeing the great Ordnance bent upon them, and now out of all hope of Relief, offered to yield; requeſting only, that they might with their Wives and Children, with Life depart; promiſing for that favour ſo ſhewed them, to perſuade them of *Buda* alſo in like manner to yield. Upon which Promiſe, that their poor Requeſt was granted, and the Lord *Nadaſti*, with certain other Captains, ſent with ſome of theſe Citizens of *Peſth*, with their Wives and Children, to *Buda*; who coming thither, according to their Promiſe moſt earneſtly requeſted them of *Buda* to yield, for that they were not now to expect any farther help, and that by their fooliſh Obſtinacy they ſhould be the cauſe of the death of them, their Friends, their Wives, and Children. Unto whom alſo, to move them the more, the Lord *Nadaſti* promiſed in the Name of General, That they ſhould all, excepting ſome of their chief Commanders, in ſafety depart. Howbeit, they of *Buda* would not hearken thereunto, but ſtood ſtill upon their Guard. In this City of *Peſth*, well inhabited with Turkiſh Merchants, the Chriſtians found great ſtore of Wealth, which all became a Prey unto the Souldiers, with a thouſand Horſes for Service, many great Pieces of Artillery, and much other warlike Proviſion.

The upper City and Caſtle of *Buda* beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Peſth thus won, and a ſtrong Garriſon left therein, they returned again over the River to beſiege the Caſtle and upper City of *Buda*, which they attempted by undermining the ſame, as alſo by Battery, having placed ſome of their great Ordnance ſo high, that they could at their pleaſure ſhoot into the midſt of the Streets of the City; wherewith they much troubled the Turks, not a little before diſcouraged with the loſs of *Peſth*; thundring alſo at the ſame time with their other Batteries in divers places of the Walls both of the Caſtle and of the City. Where underſtanding that the Turks Garriſons of the frontier Towns and Caſtles thereabouts (hearing of the Siege) were coming to the relief of their diſtreſſed Friends, they ſent out their Horſemen, with ſome part of their Foot-men againſt them; who meeting with them, gave them a great Overthrow, and ſo with Victory returned again unto the reſt of the Army lying at the Siege, being ſtill in hope either by Force or Compoſition to become Maſters of the City.

But whilſt they lay in this hope, and having the twelfth of *October* brought their Approaches nearer unto the Walls, had there planted certain notable pieces of Battery, with purpoſe the next day with all their Power to have aſſaulted the City; behold, the Viſier Baſſa hearing (by the way as he was going to *Belgrade*, and ſo to *Conſtantinople*) that the City of *Peſth* was won, and *Buda* beſieged, changing his Mind, returned in haſte with ſuch Forces as he had yet left; and ſo unlooked for, came and ſat down before *Peſth*, being not then above five and twenty thouſand ſtrong, but thoſe all for the moſt part old and expert Souldiers. But whilſt the Baſſa thus lay at the Siege of *Peſth* on the one ſide of the River, and the Imperials at the Siege of *Buda* on the other, divers brave Attempts were in both Places given both on the one ſide and the other. The Chriſtians in *Peſth* beſieged by the Turks, having amongſt them divers brave Captains, and deſirous of Honour, one day under their Conduct ſallied out of the City to skirmiſh with the Turks; and coming with them to the Sword, by plain Valour diſordered them, and inforced them to fly, and ſo allured with the ſweetneſs of the Victory, purſued them even to the Trenches; from whence a great Squadron of the Turks Horſe-men and Harquebuſiers at the ſame inſtant iſſuing out, and with their Multitude overcharging the Imperials, conſtrained them of force to retire: in which Retreat, County *Maximilian Martinengo* (one of theſe Adventurers) doing what he might, both with his Valour and Direction, to have ſtayed the diſordered Retreat of the Chriſtians, was with many others ſlain: wherewith the reſt diſcouraged, took their Refuge towards the City. Which they of the Garriſon beholding, ſent out certain Companies to relieve them; by whoſe coming out, the fury of the Turks was not only repreſſed, but they alſo even unto their Trenches again repulſed. Shortly after which hot Skirmiſhes, the Lord *Ruſſworm*, with the other Chriſtian Captains on the other ſide of the River, having with continual Battery made ſuch a breach into the Caſtle, as that the ſame ſeemed to be now aſſaultable, in good order came on with certain Companies of their Foot-men appointed for that Service, and ſo courageouſly aſſailed the Breach; where the Turks, who before had expected this Aſſault, having in beſt ſort they could repaired the Breach, and on both ſides thereof placed divers murthering Pieces, with great ſtore of dangerous Fire-works; at ſuch time as the firſt Companies of the Chriſtians ſought courageouſly to have entred the breach, overwhelmed them with that deadly Fire, and ſo rent them with their murthering ſhot, that they no faſter entered, but that they were forthwith cut off and ſlain; with the ſight whereof, they which were appointed to ſecond them nothing diſcouraged, but ſeeking deſperately to have entered, and with the taking of the Caſtle, and ſlaughter of the Turks, to have requited the death of their Fellows, were themſelves in like ſort welcomed. So that now a thouſand of them being loſt, the Captains conſidering how much the loſs of ſo many brave Souldiers concerned the whole Enterpriſe taken in hand, and that the breach could not be gained without the loſs of the greateſt part of them, they cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and ſo the Aſſault for that time to be given over.

A notable Skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

But long it was not that the Viſier Baſſa (thus retired as aforeſaid) had lain before *Peſth*, but that by reaſon of his ſudden Return great Wants began to ariſe in his Camp; his Souldiers for want of Food being glad to eat their dead Horſes, a pound of Bread being ſold for two *Hungarian* Duckats, and a buſhel of Oats for five, and yet hardly ſo to be gotten: which Wants in that ſo waſted a Country ſtill more and more increaſing, and many of his Souldiers ſecretly ſtealing away from him, he had much ado, by all the means he could uſe, to perſuade them there to ſtay eight days longer. Which time expired, and nothing more done than ſome few weak Attempts given, and ſome light Skirmiſhes made, rather for Faſhions-ſake than for any hope of prevailing, and the want of all things ſtill increaſing; he, with the reſt of the Commanders, fearing ſome ſudden miſchief to be done them by the hungry and diſcontented Souldiers, the ſecond of *November*, cauſing his Baggage to be truſſed up in the dead time of the dark and ſilent Night, riſe with his Army, and ſo in haſte retired directly to *Belgrade*, leaving behind him in his Camp three hundred dead Horſes, not yet eaten by his hunger-ſtarved Souldiers. Immediately after whoſe departure, the Lord *Nadaſti*, and ſome

The Viſier Baſſa raiſeth his Siege.

other

1602 other of the Commanders in the Army with 5000 Souldiers and certain great Pieces of Artillery, ſome by Land, ſome by Water, went down along the River to *Adom*, a fair well built Town upon the Bank of *Danubius*, about four *Hungarian* miles from *Buda*, and ſerving as it were for a Store-houſe for the Garriſon there; which Town *Nadaſti* ſummoned by his *Huſſars* ſent before, requiring to have it delivered unto him: which they of the Town at the firſt refuſed to do; but afterwards ſeeing a far greater Power come, provided of great Ordnance and all things elſe requiſite for a Siege, they with the ſight thereof diſcouraged, without more ado offered to yield the Town, ſo that they might with Bag and Baggage in ſafety depart; which they did, the Chriſtians conducting them as far as *Feldwar*; which Caſtle was alſo at the firſt Summons, by the perſuaſion of them of *Adom*, delivered unto them; for they of the Caſtle, by them informed of the great Strength of the Chriſtians, and of the ſtore of great Ordnance they had brought with them, and that they ſtaid therewith but faſt by, were eaſily perſuaded to hearken to their Friends, and ſo yielded. Which done, the free *Haiducks* the ſame night ſurpriſed alſo the Caſtle of *Pax*; from whence the Chriſtians ſtill marching on along the River, took in alſo the City of *Tolna*.

But whilſt *Nadaſti*, with the reſt, were thus buſied in taking theſe Caſtles and Towns along the South-ſide of *Danubius*, they in the Camp at *Buda* were advertiſed of the new Deſigns of the Turks Lieutenants and Captains thereabout, for the relief of the Beſieged; as that the Baſſa of *Boſna*, with the Governours of *Caniſia*, *Sigeth*, and others, had aſſembled an Army of thirty thouſand for the raiſing of the Siege. Wherefore the Chriſtians doubting as they lay at the Siege diſperſed, to be by them oppreſſed; leaving their Tents in their Trenches, gathered themſelves together in the Water-City; which the Turks out of the upper City quickly perceiving, as feeling themſelves now at ſome more liberty, preſently ſallying out, took both the Trenches and the Tents ſo left, with no ſmall ſlaughter of ſuch as were left for the keeping of them; and ſo poſſeſſed of the Trenches and the Tents, held them by the ſpace of two hours, until they were by ſtrong hand by the Chriſtians beaten out, and ſo with ſome loſs inforced again to retire into the City. The Lord *Nadaſti* alſo, with the reſt that had taken the aforeſaid Caſtles and Towns upon the ſide of *Danubius*, making a Road towards *Alba-Regalis*, in their Return within a mile of *Buda*, light upon a thouſand Turks there gathered together, moſt part of whom they ſlew; and having put the reſt to flight, took ſome fifty of them Priſoners. At which time alſo another of the Imperial Collonels meeting with certain other Companies of the Turks coming to the relief of the beſieged, not far from *Buda*, ſlew moſt part of them, took an hundred and threeſcore of them Priſoners, with a number of Horſes, and much other rich Booty; all which he brought into the Camp. Neither were they at the Siege in the mean time idle, their great Artillery ſtill thundring againſt the Walls both of the Caſtle and the City: ſo that by the fury of the Cannon having beaten down a ſtrong Tower next unto the *Danubius*, not far from the Kings Stable, they were a little before Night about to have there entered, when ſuddenly ſuch a Tempeſt of Wind and Rain ariſe, as that they could not poſſibly uſe their Pieces, or well any other Weapon; ſo that the Heavens as it were then fighting for the Enemy, they were inforced for that time to give over the Aſſault begun. Which Storm was no ſooner ended, but that two thouſand of the Turks, both Horſe and Foot, to keep the Chriſtians otherwiſe buſied, ſuddenly iſſuing out of the City, charged upon the *Stirian* Horſe-men; who preſently relieved by the men at Arms, ſo welcomed them, that having loſt an hundred and threeſcore of their men, they were glad with more ſpeed to ritire than they came out. But ſeeing ſome of the Chriſtians that ſo hardly purſued them, ſome ſlain, and ſome hurt from the Walls; taking heart again, the next day (being the Eleventh of *November*) they ſallied out again; where albeit that a great number of them were ſlain, yet fell they out again the third day alſo, and were again by the County *Thurne*, with great loſs of their men, beaten back unto the City; where in purſuing of them, the Chriſtians were by certain Janizaries (laid cloſe for that purpoſe) ſuddenly aſſailed and dangerouſly gauled, the County himſelf being hurt in his left Arm, and ſome other Captains ſlain. In all which Sallies, although the Turks were ſtill put to the worſe, yet thereby they gained time in ſome good ſort to repair again their Breaches. 1602

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the Siege, certainly informed that a world of the fierce and rude *Tartars*, by the Incitement of the Turk, (having made themſelves way through *Valachia*) were coming as far as *Temeſwar* to relieve *Buda*; thought it not beſt (eſpecially now that Winter was come) to abide the coming of that ſo great a Northern Tempeſt, but betimes, whilſt they had yet ſpace, to raiſe their Siege and be gone; which they did the ſixteenth of *November*, leaving the Water-City, with all that they had got about *Buda*, again unto the Enemy; only *Peſth* they furniſhed with Victuals and all things elſe neceſſary, leaving therein almoſt ten thouſand Souldiers in Garriſon, for the defence thereof againſt the barbarous Enemy. As for *Adom*, it was ſtrengthened with a Garriſon of *Hungarians* only, with their Wages offered to be paid before-hand; which for all that, they refuſed to accept; alledging, that for the great danger this Place was expoſed to above others, they could not ſafely take their Oath for the defence thereof; yet offering withal, to undertake the Charge, and to do what beſeemed valiant Souldiers, in ſuch ſort, as that all men ſhould well underſtand, that nothing evil ſhould happen thereunto thro their default or negligence.

The Siege of *Buda*, for fear of the *Tartars* given over by the Chriſtians.

The Siege of *Buda*, for fear of the *Tartars*, thus given over, and the Imperials departed and gone, the Turks forthwith came down out of the higher City into the lower, declaring their Joy for the recovery thereof, by the often thundring of their great Ordnance, with divers other Signs of Triumph. But whilſt in their Jollity they ſpared not by the mouth of the Cannon to ſend commendation to them of *Peſth*, they from them again received the like; but in ſuch rude manner, that the Turks, wearied with ſuch Greetings, requeſted them to ſpare their Shot and Powder, and quietly to live by them as became Neighbours for that Winter until the next Spring, at which time it was to be thought that this Strife ſhould be ended by their Emperours, the weaker yielding unto the ſtronger either the one or the other City. Yet for all this their great Joy, their cheer in *Buda* was not great, Victuals by this Siege being become ſo ſcarce, that it was by the Turks feared, that if the Chriſtians had there longer lain, they ſhould for very want have been inforced to have yielded the City: of which their need their Friends not ignorant, and having made what Proviſion they were able for their Relief, were with a great Convoy bringing the ſame towards *Buda*; whereof the Garriſons of *Komara* and *Strigonium* having Intelligence, went preſently out, and meeting with the Turks in the mid-way betwixt *Alba-Regalis* and *Buda*, overthrew the Convoy, and carried away all that Proviſion of Victuals; like unbidden Gueſts making them-

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ſelves merry with that which was never provided for them.

Mahomet much troubled with the *Scrivano*.

The Death of the *Scrivano*.

The *Scrivano*'s younger Brother takes upon him the leading of the Rebels in his Brother's ſtead.

Haſſan Baſſa ſlain, and his Army overthrown by the Rebels.

Theſe doubtful Wars of *Hungary*, with the general Revolt of *Tranſilvania*, much troubled *Mahomet* the great Sultan; but nothing like unto the Wars he had in *Aſia* againſt the *Scrivano* and the Rebels his Followers; the evil Succeſs whereof (as moſt dangerous to his State) ſo much tormented his haughty mind, as that it would ſcarce ſuffer him to think of any thing elſe. For the Rebel, encouraged with the ſucceſs of the laſt years Wars, and ſtill growing ſtronger and ſtronger, (by reaſon of the great number which, allured with the ſweet name of Liberty, hope of Prey, or the good Entertainment by him given, daily more and more reſorted unto his Camp) had this Year over-run a great part of the Turks Dominions in *Aſia*, putting all to Fire and Sword that ſtood in his way, ranſacking alſo divers walled and fenced Cities by the way as he went. Which he might the more eaſily do, for that the Janizaries of *Aleppo* and *Damaſco*, with many other their Partakers and Favourites, which might greatly have hindered his Proceedings, were at the ſame time alſo up in Arms, and together by the Ears amongſt themſelves, to the great benefit of the *Scrivano*; who, in the midſt of the courſe of theſe his deſired Fortunes, fell ſick of a natural Diſeaſe, and ſo died. By whoſe Death the Rebellion was no whit appeaſed, (as commonly in like caſe it falleth out, and as was then of many expected) but in ſhort time grew to be both far greater and more dangerous than before; for the *Scrivano* was no ſooner dead, but that a younger Brother of his, no leſs warlike and courageous than himſelf (to the great contentment of the Rebellious) ſtep'd up in his place, fiercely proſecuting the Wars his Brother had before him taken in hand. Againſt whom *Haſſan Baſſa*, by Commandment from the Grand Seignior, with a great Army ſetting forward, with hope in that newneſs of his Command to have oppreſſed him, and ſo to have quenched that ſo ſpreading a fire; at length met with him, that was eaſie enough to be found, and joyning Battel with him, was by him in a great and bloody Fight overthrown and ſlain, together with his whole Army, except ſuch as by ſpeedy flight ſaved themſelves from the fury of their fierce Enemies. So that *Mahomet* the Great Sultan, now inſorced to employ his beſt Commanders and Souldiers into thoſe Parts for the ſubduing of him, for that cauſe called *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of *Hungary* to ſerve againſt this new Rebel; who in the mean time following the courſe of his Victory, made havock of all as he went, taking unto his own uſe all ſuch Tribute as was in thoſe Countries, and others alſo farther off, due unto the great Sultan; having of late exacted only of the City of *Ancyra* and the Country thereabout, 300000 Duckats; ſo by exacting of great ſums of Money from the Country-People (ſuch as be his Enemies) heaping up great Treaſures for the maintenance of his Wars.

Divers Incurſions of the *Tartars* into the Frontiers of the Emperour's Territories, and much harm by them there done.

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Now, tho *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour had called home *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of *Hungary*, to go againſt the Rebels in *Aſia*, (as is aforeſaid) yet had he before provided, that for the better aſſurance of his Towns and Territories in *Hungary*, the Tartar *Han* with a great Power of his Crim Tartars ſhould even againſt that time come down into that Country. Which rough and needy People, dwelling near unto the Fens of *Meotis*, for Pay or Prey always ready to do the *Othoman* Emperours Service, ſetting forward under the leading of their great *Han* himſelf, and of his two Sons, and by plain force breaking through *Valachia*, though not without great loſs of their men (being fought with by the *Valachians* and free *Haiducks* a whole day) were now in the latter end of *December* with their huge Companies come into *Hungary*; the *Han* himſelf with forty thouſand to *Quinque Eccleſia*, and his Sons with twenty thouſand more into *Poſſega* (a fertile Country lying between the great Rivers *Sauus* and *Drauus*) where they ſpoiled all, as well the Turks as the other poor Chriſtians, pretending all that frontier Country, with the whole Command thereof, to be given unto them by *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour, in reward of their good Service. But long they lay not there quiet, but that, to ſhew for what they came, they inforced the Chriſtians thereabout to victual *Caniſia* for the Turks; and ſo breaking into *Stiria*, not far from *Caramant* (the neareſt Fortreſs of the Chriſtians towards *Caniſia*) carried away above two thouſand Chriſtians Captives; and ſhortly after ſurpriſing *Keſchemet*, a great and populous Town, ſlew moſt part of the Inhabitants, and carried away the reſt Priſoners. Other ſome of them alſo at the ſame time making an Inroad to *Sharvar*, and having burnt twenty Villages down to the ground, carried away thence about a thouſand Souls into moſt miſerable Captivity and Thraldom. They alſo at their firſt coming relieved them of *Buda*, the Lord *Nadaſti* with his *Huſſars*, who before kept them from Victuals, not being able for the great number of them, now longer ſo to do. By them alſo the Turks encouraged, took and burnt certain places poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians near unto *Buda*, putting them all to the Sword that they found therein. So that the poor Country of *Hungary* (never to be ſufficiently pittied) with the reſt of the Countries and Provinces belonging unto the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and confining upon the Turk, were not ſo much eaſed by the calling home of the Viſier Baſſa with his Army, as they were now annoyed by the coming of theſe roguiſh *Tartars*, a People wholly, even from their Infancy, given to the ſpoil. Againſt whom, for all that, the Chriſtians, beſide their ordinary Garriſons, began now, even in the depth of Winter, to oppoſe ſome other of their Forces alſo; the Palatine of *Rhine* ſending ten Companies of Horſe-men to *Poſſonium*, from thence to be ſent to *Sharvar* for the defence of *Stiria*; and *Collonitz* (but lately knighted by the Emperour) for his part raiſing four hundred Horſe, a thouſand *Huſſars*, and three thouſand of the free *Haiducks*, for the repreſſing of thoſe *Tartars*; the Duke of *Brunſwick* alſo at that time, for the ſame Service, ſending thither a thouſand Horſe, with two thouſand Foot, againſt thoſe ſworn Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion.

1603

A great Froſt.

An Army of the Turks raiſed out of their Garriſons.

The Troubles of this Year thus overpaſt, *Alba-Regalis* being by the Chriſtians loſt, *Peſth* with ſome other Places won, *Tranſilvania* recovered, *Buda* beſieged, the Viſier Baſſa returned, and the *Tartars* come into *Hungary*, *January* with a ſharp Froſt began to open the next Year; by force whereof, the Rivers in many places, but eſpecially in thoſe more eaſterly Countries, were not only frozen over, but ſeemed rather even wholly turned into Ice; *Danubius*, that great River (for all his ſwift courſe) being then alſo (as it is often) ſo hard frozen, that Men and Carts might ſafely paſs to and fro thereupon. Which ſo hard a Seaſon for all that did no whit freeze, but rather encreaſe the hot deſires of the greedy Turks, ſtill breathing after the utter Spoil and Ruine of the Chriſtians dwelling near unto them. For which purpoſe, they even in this dead time of the Year, and extremity of Nature (which commonly affordeth unto moſt mortal Enemies a Ceſſation from Arms) out of their Garriſons of *Sigeth*, *Buda*, *Caniſia*, *Alba-Regalis*, *Babotz*, and ſuch other Places, raiſed an Army of eighteen thouſand ſtrong, to have forraged and over-run the Chriſtians, with their Territories confining upon them; *Quermany*, with the

Collonitz in Arms againſt the Turks.

Country thereabout, being the Places by them aſſigned to have felt the firſt force of their ſudden rage and fury. Of which their Deſigns, *Collonitz*, Governour for the Emperour in thoſe Parts, underſtanding; to prevent the ſame, and to meet with their Forces, with all ſpeed put into the Suburbs of *Quermany* a thouſand Reiſters, and two thouſand Lanſquenets; and in the Burroughs thereabouts laded the Regiment of the County *Reingrave*, with ſix Companies of the *Coſſacks*, four thouſand *Haiducks*, four hundred Carabins, *French*, and *Wallons*, two hundred Horſe of the Regiment of *Collonitz*; with whom was *Collonitz* himſelf, commanding over all theſe Troops; a man for his Worth every way anſwerable unto his charge. Who, for the more aſſurance of this Country, over which the Enemy now hovered, commanded all the Inhabitants thereabout to take up Arms; and withal, with good and ſtrong Barricadoes to ſtrengthen the ways, and ſtop up the Paſſages into their Country; which they right cheerfully performed, with their Weapons in one hand, and their Spades and Shovels in the other. Of which their ſo great Reſolution the Turks underſtanding, changed their purpoſe. For they, conſidering the aſſured danger they were to undergo, in forcing of theſe Troops, ſtanding upon the Walls of their Defence, and ſtrong in their Reſolution, changed their former deſign, for the invading of *Quermany*, (where they for the ſpace of five Weeks together had by the Chriſtians been expected) and upon a new Reſolution marched along by *Roquesbourg*, with purpoſe to have loaded themſelves with the ſpoil of the Country thereabout. Which their new Deſign, cauſed *Collonitz* to gather together his Forces to croſs and fruſtrate them therein; which he did by favour of the River, which both ſtrengthened him againſt their Incurſions, and was well to be defended. But the Turks, whoſe Purpoſe was not to fight, but to have robbed and ſpoiled the Country at their Pleaſure, finding now, contrary to their Expectation, ſuch ſtrong Reſiſtance, and their Deſigns diſturbed, in fine, gave over the Enterpriſe, and ſo again retired; contenting themſelves to gather a Convoy of Victuals to put into *Caniſia*, which then lay in great extremity for want thereof. Which Victuals they drew out of the Villages thereabout, and ſo came to *Babotz*, to match to *Caniſia*, a Town moſt commodious for ſuch an Aſſembly, and for the relieving of *Caniſia*: Of this their purpoſe *Collonitz* (who ſpared for no coſt) by his Eſpials advertiſed, even he which before was appointed as a Prey unto his Enemies, began now to plot with himſelf, that they ſhould become a Prey unto him: their Cowardiſe, by ſo many precedent Effects declared, had given him the means to adventure upon them, and the hope to overthrow them. A neceſſary Conſideration in Martial Affairs, for Commanders to put in execution their Deſighs, at what price ſoever; for that it is better to loſe in the performance of them, with the preſervation of their Reputation, than otherwiſe to gain with the loſs thereof; for that it preſerved, ſtill ſtriketh a fear of their Valour into the minds of their Enemies, oftentimes overcome even with this their apprehenſion thereof; whereas otherwiſe they might happily overcome, in the aſſurance by them conceived of their Enemies Cowardiſe.

The Turks for fear of the Chriſtians cowardly retire.

Collonitz lyeth in Ambuſh for the Turks.

Upon which Reſolution, this brave Collonel, the four and twentieth of *March* with his Troops marched towards little *Komara*, about two Leagues from *Caniſia*, and lay with them cloſe in Ambuſh in the Woods near unto two Marſhes, over which the Turks had made two Bridges to paſs the great Artillery and Waggons upon; the Turks being well near 20000 ſtrong, and our men but 8200, whereof there were 2200 Horſe-men, and 6000 Foot, a ſmall number in compariſon of their Enemies. But whilſt that thoſe men lie thus cloſe in Ambuſh, with a purpoſe to do ſome notable Exploit; let us in the mean time run to *Peſth*, to ſee what there in the mean time paſſed.

The Turks, after the loſs of *Peſth*, much grieved to have this Impoſtume ſo near their Hearts, ſought to break it to our hurt, employing all their Treachery to gain our Garriſon Souldiers, and with their Forces to diſtreſs them of Victuals. And the Chriſtian Army was no ſooner riſen from before *Buda*, but that the Turks came down again into their baſe Town, which they found much ruinated and in evil eſtate. But the joy of their Conqueſt buried in it all the object of their Sorrow, and the feeling of their Grief; the leſſer Paſſions always giving place unto the greater, and Sorrow finding no place at all in the midſt of their immoderate Joy. Whereof they gave a number of Teſtimonies, by the thundring of their great Ordnance, by Fires of Joy and Vollies of ſmall Shot; all which their fury, they diſcharged upon them of *Peſth*; who with the like courteſie requited them, ſending them back again Bullets for Bullets. Which now became a common Exerciſe among the Canoneers, paſſing the time in theſe Actions, more upon a bravery than to any purpoſe, ſmall harm being done thereby either on the one ſide or on the other: in ſuch ſort, that in the end the Turks, better adviſed, requeſted our men to ceaſe from ſuch ſhooting, as they on their part would do likewiſe; and to expect the end of the Negotiation of Peace, of a certain begun (as they ſaid) betwixt their Princes; but meaning indeed by this means to ſpare their Powder, Shot, and Pains, and to reſerve them to their better uſes.

Buda diſtreſſed for want of Victuals.

And yet for all this triumphant Joy, the Turks in *Buda* were in great want of Victuals, the late Siege having devoured all their Proviſions, and no new ſupply thereof as yet come unto them; inſomuch, that their greateſt care was now how to come by Victuals, without which they muſt needs forſake their City. Of which their ſo great neceſſity, the other Garriſons in the places thereabout advertiſed, aſſembled themſelves to take order therefore; and having provided 200 Waggons, loaded with all manner of neceſſary Proviſions at *Alba-Regalis*; with a Convoy of 6000 Souldiers, put themſelves upon the way toward *Buda*. Of all which their Proceedings the Garriſon of *Strigonium* having got underſtanding, and joyning unto them the Garriſon of *Komara*, met with them upon the way betwixt *Alba-Regalis* and *Buda*, and charged them; and ſo with great confidence on both ſides came to handy Blows, the Turks being in number ſtronger, and our men in Valour and Reſolution; the Waggons in the mean time ſtanding ſtill, as the motive of the Charge, and appointed for a Prey unto the Victors. But our Horſe-men, being for the moſt part *Huſſars*, well acquainted with ſuch charge, with their divers Courſes greatly troubled the Enemies, our Foot-men in the mean time charging them alſo with a number of Harquebuſers; againſt whom the Turks, with the ſame Arms and like Courage defending themſelves, and many of them being ſlain, and the Waggons gained from them, gave place unto their Valour, and ſo were almoſt all cut in pieces. The Waggons thus ſurpriſed, were divided as a rich Booty among the Victors; forty whereof were ſent unto the Garriſon at *Peſth*; who were well content that the Enemies Travel and Wealth had been gathered for their good, and without their own Pains to ſolace themſelves with the fruit of their Enemies Labours.

The Turks in carrying a Convoy of Victuals to *Buda* overthrown by the Chriſtians.

But what ſhould we ſay? The moſt ſure Reſolutions are ſometimes by Chances croſſed, and Tempeſts otherwhiles overtake us, even in the entrance of the deſired Port. The Turks of *Buda*, underſtanding of the brute of this medley, and that it was for their Bread, poſted in haſte to have ſuccoured their Troops, and arrived at the ſame time that our men victoriouſly led along by the River of *Danubius* the Waggons they had before gained. At the ſight of which Object, they, animated with hunger after the Victuals, and with deſire to be revenged upon the men, charged them. But our men, who thought of nothing more, but that they were victorious, and Poſſeſſors of their Enemies Booty, ſeeing theſe new-come Enemies ſo furiouſly to charge them, daunted with the preſent Peril, and with the conſideration thereof only poſſeſſed, bethought themſelves of nothing elſe, but how to ſave themſelves, and to leave their Honour, Booty, and the Field, all as Spoils unto their Enemies. The furious Countenance of the Turks, and their number ſurmounting ours by 1500, ſo bereft them of their reſolution for to fight for their Lives and Waggons, as that they without more ado quite forſook them, accounting themſelves happy enough if they might but ſave themſelves. And the Turks without farther purſuing of them, contented to have recovered their Victuals, left them, and ſo returned homeward, driving their Waggons along the Bank of *Danubius*. But ſee the Wind, which by and by changed, and having as it were with a ſudden Tempeſt undertaken even at the entrance of the Port to ſwallow up both the one and the other, ſent the Garriſon of *Peſth* upon them of *Buda*, to ſtay them. Great changes of Fortune in one moment of time, which mocketh Men with ſhews, bringing forth effects quite contrary to their Expectation. Theſe Turks, ſtayed upon their Retreat by the coming of theſe new-come Adverſaries, did even as ours had done before. For, not willing to prefer their Goods before their Life,and more greedy of Victual than of Battel, they quitted their prize, and retired. For our men, in number two thouſand, were ſeiſed of a Foreſt about the midſt of the way whereby the Turks were to paſs, and which they could by no means ſhun; and, divided into two Companies, kept themſelves cloſe there in Ambuſh, reſolutely attending for the coming of their Enemies. Of which their Purpoſe the Turks not aware, and ſtill preſſing on forward, found themſelves hardly charged, before they could ſee them by whom they were ſo charged; one of our Companies charging them afront, and the other behind. So that the Turks, incloſed betwixt them, and in ſo great and ſudden a fear not knowing againſt whom to defend themſelves, without any great Reſiſtance betook themſelves to flight, leaving their Waggons, and caſting away their Arms; yet ſo, that a number of them were left dead upon the place, ſome others of them taken Priſoners, and the reſt chaſed even unto the Gates of their City. But our men being Victors, with the Waggons, and a number of Priſoners, returned home, and by the mouth of their great Artillery gave a thouſand Teſtimonies of their Victory unto the ſorrowful Cowards: who themſelves alſo carried the heavy News thereof unto the reſt of their Fellows ſhut up within the City of *Buda*.

The Convoy of Victuals again recovered from the Chriſtians by the Garriſon of *Buda*.

The ſame Convoy of Victuals recovered from the Turks by the Garriſon of *Peſth*.

But ſee again the change of Fortune, conſtant only in Unconſtancy, as the Sequel ſhortly after ſhewed. *Danubius*, that great River, was then alſo (as it is often) ſo hard frozen, that Men and Carts might now ſafely paſs to and fro thereupon. In which ſo hard ſeaſon, the Turks in Garriſon at *Buda*, having once upon the frozen River braved the Chriſtians in *Peſth*, and the two and twentieth of *January* in like bravery coming out the ſecond time, were by the Garriſon Souldiers of *Peſth* put to flight, and by two hundred of the moſt forward and valiant Souldiers hardly purſued; upon whom, not only they which fled, but other of the Turks alſo out of *Buda* in greater number returning, chaſed them likewiſe back again even to the Bridge, whereby they were to have paſſed into the City; which now drawn up for fear of greater harm from ſuch a number of Turks as were now come out, and were ready to have entered at the heels of the flying Souldiers, the poor Souls ſo ſhut out, and too weak for ſuch a multitude as then had them in chaſe, were there even in their Friends ſight every man ſlain, the Turks themſelves with little harm returning to *Buda*.

The Garriſon Souldiers of *Peſth* overthrown by the Turks of *Buda*.

Neither long laſted the joy of this Victory; for within a few days after, one *Lethner*, a Captain of the Chriſtian Garriſon in *Peſth*, more grieved than the reſt with the loſs of ſo many valiant men, and ſome of them his Friends and Companions alſo; certainly underſtanding that certain of the chief of the Turks of *Buda*, with two of their greateſt Commanders, and a great Train of gallant Gentlewomen, were, for their Pleaſure, the next day about to go unto the hot Baths near unto *Buda*, and taking with him threeſcore Muſqueteers, the Night before ſecretly upon the Ice paſſed over the River, and ſo not far from the Baths lay cloſe in Ambuſh, expecting the coming of their deſired Prey. In which Expectance they lay not long, but that theſe Turks, caſting no Peril,came accordingly as they could have wiſhed, and in thoſe pleaſant Baths merrily bathed and ſolaced themſelves: Fools to ſeek after the Pleaſures of Peace amidſt the Gulf of the miſeries of War, and evil adviſed to aſſure themſelves of fair Weather in a Storm ſo near at hand. For in the midſt of all their Delights theſe reſolute men came ſuddenly upon them, not fearing any ſuch danger, and ſlew all the men, ſparing none but one Boy and the Gentlewomen; who in the time of the Conflict, naked as they were, ran as faſt as they could into the City, Fear having in them overcome the modeſty of their Sex. Which Exploit done, the Captain, leaving the Turks ſlain in the Bath (now become red with their Blood) returned with his Souldiers, laden with the rich Booty, and merrily ſporting at the naked Gentlewomen: with whoſe fearful Cry they of *Buda* ſtirred up, ſent out certain of their Garriſon after them, but to no purpoſe; for why, they were in ſafety before got home. By continuance of this Froſt, by reaſon whereof Victuals could not be ſent down the River, the Souldiers in Garriſon at *Peſth* were driven to ſuch wants, as that Dogs and Cats were accounted good meat among them; the *Turks* their Enemies ſtill roaming about in the Fields to keep them from Victuals, and to increaſe their Neceſſity.

The Turks in bathing themſelves at *Buda* by them of *Peſth* ſurpriſed and ſlain.

Great want of Victuals in *Peſth*.

Of theſe Neceſſities the Turks of *Buda* were Partakers alſo, hunger-ſtarved as were the other, but yet every day in the field to ſeek relief. They knew right well, that Hunger was hard to be deceived, being ſtill in Action and vigilant: and therefore they ſought ſome means how to deceive our men, ſtill attending upon them, and ſo to aſſure themſelves of Victuals. To which end they gave it out, and made ſhew as if they would have beſieged the Fort of *Adom*, diſtant about two Leagues from *Buda*: Under the colour whereof, they received into their City a Convoy of fifty Waggons laded with Victuals and Munition; which our men hindered not, for that they had no ſuſpicion of any ſuch purpoſe of theirs. With which Relief the Turks encouraged, gave knowledge thereof unto their overthwart Neighbours in *Peſth* by a thouſand great Shot, which they in thundering manner ſent over the River unto them, as from men of Courage, and devoid of fear. Howbeit, that this Action was more vain than pro-

Buda victualled.

The Turks ſeeking to ſurpriſe *Palotta*, themſelves overthrown.

profitable unto the Turks, who, for the diſpence of their Shot and Powder, gained not ſo much as the Life of one Souldier, nor one Stone out of the Walls of *Peſth*. Upon this Jollity, theſe ſame Garriſon Souldiers of *Buda* ſhortly after thought to have upon the ſudden ſurpriſed *Palotta*,, a ſmall Caſtle of the Chriſtians, by Night, but being in good time diſcovered, were deceived of their hope, and with the loſs of an hundred and twenty of their men, inforced to retire; unto whom *Gaſpar Horwad*, Captain of the Caſtle, by a Country Peaſant, before ſworn to do the Errand, ſent a little Pot full of Salt, and a Bottle of Wine, willing them (in deriſion) with that Salt to ſeaſon the Veniſon they had taken in their late hunting, and to empty that Bottle to quench their thirſt, and to chear them up after their late Conqueſt.

A Breach made in the Walls of *Buda* by the Neglect of a Canoneer.

This Jeſt more provoked theſe Enemies, galled ſo to hear of their ſhame and loſs in ſuch ſort, that in revenge thereof, they diſcharged a ſhower of thundering great ſhot and ſmall Bullets upon the Garriſon of *Peſth*, which in great abundance fell out of the Cloud of their Rage. But all to ſmall purpoſe; for that their Cannons being evil levelled, overſhot the Town, carrying with their thundering Bullets more fear than they did hurt; yea, that worſe was, the Ruin made by their great Battery fell upon their own City. For while they were thus thundering, Fire, by Negligence of the Canoneers, fell into one of their Barrels of Powder, which taking hold of another, and ſo running along, as if it had been by a Train of purpoſe laid, burſt out with ſuch force, that it overthrew a long piece of the Wall of *Buda*, which in the fall thereof overwhelmed a great number of the Souldiers near unto it. The noiſe of this Thunder-clap was great, and the force thereof terrible, ſo that it revived them of *Peſth* with ſome good hope, by this Breach to force the Place, the Turks being from thence retired. Upon which Occaſion, the Governour of *Peſth* reſolved to give an aſſault unto the Place, and to make uſe of the means that Fortune, without his Pain or Travail, had put into his hand. Whereupon, taking with him a thouſand *Almains*, and three hundred *Hungarians*, he forthwith (in hope of good Succeſs) marched toward the Breach; and happily had prevailed, but that by the way they by chance met with a Company of *Turks*, who gave an Alarm unto them of the upper Town, who upon that brute of their approach, manned their Walls, and with great ſpeed repaired the Breach. Now all that they of *Peſth* could do, was to revenge themſelves upon theſe Turks whom they had met withal, who were there all ſlain, except ſome few, whom they ſaved, and carried Priſoners to *Peſth*, to be by them inſtructed of the Enemies Affairs.

Siliſtria ſpoiled by the Vayvod of *Valachia*.

About this time, *Radul* Vayvod of *Valachia* advertiſed, that the Turks in Garriſon at *Siliſtria* were gone abroad into the Country to ſeek after Booty and Victuals, with his Souldiers paſſed forthwith over the River *Danubius* upon the Ice, to ſurpriſe the Town, now barred of the Garriſon; whoſe men, for the deſire of the Riches of the place, and for fear leſt the Garriſon Souldiers ſhould return before they had gained the place, with redoubled Force and Courage ſo aſſailed the Town, that the Turks diſmayed, and deeming the number of the Chriſtians that ſo furiouſly aſſailed them to be greater than indeed it was, by reaſon of the greatneſs of the Enterpriſe by them taken in hand; after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, left the way open for them to enter; who forthwith over the dead Bodies of their Enemies thruſt into the Town, took the whole ſpoil thereof (which was both great and rich, as being a Town well peopled) and ſo ſet fire upon it, to the intent that it ſhould no more ſerve for a place for the Enemy to retire unto. The Vayvod thus victorious and rich, returned with his Souldiers laden with Spoyls of their Enemies, before that the Turks could gather themſelves together to hinder their retreat. And unto *George Baſta*, who was then in *Tranſilvania* in Arms againſt the Turks, for his part of the Booty he ſent him thirteen of the Enemies Enſigns.

Three of the Turks Spies taken.

But our Troops are now too long in their Ambuſh, where the valiant *Collonitz* holdeth them cloſe, attending the coming of the Turks, and of their Convoy to *Caniſia*; now we muſt draw them out of their Sentinels, and ſee what Effects their Deſigns ſhall bring forth. Theſe brave Souldiers had now lyen three days in their Ambuſhes without diſcovering of any Enemy, until that the ſixth of of *March* three Eſpies fell into their Hands, whom the Turks had ſent forth before, to diſcover what Enemies were then abroad in the field. But theſe faithful Infidels ſo taken, would not by any means diſcover any thing hurtful unto their Friends, or profitable for ours; So that in fine, the General, moved with their Obſtinacy, commanded one of their Heads to be ſtruck off, to terrifie the other two, and by force to draw from them that which fair Intreaty and Perſwaſion could not. The other two that were yet alive diſmayed with this Spectacle, and well beaten to tell the truth, were at laſt conſtrained to confeſs, that they were the Enemies Spies, ſent forth to view the Country, to ſee if the Chriſtians had any forces there, able to let their Cannons and Wagons to enter into *Caniſia*; which not appearing, and they reporting unto their Companions, that the Country was clear, that then within two days after the Convoy was to paſs even by the ſame place where they then lay, to be put into *Caniſia*, ſetting forth from *Babotz* two hours before day. Our men thus informed of the Enemies Deſigns, forced their hope to defeat them, and again retired themſelves into their Ambuſcadoes, attending for their hoped Prey, in ſuch ſort, that our men in their Conceits held the Victory now as good as gained; howbeit, that it was yet but in hope and expectation. And that which more confirmed the matter, was, that within two hours after the taking of theſe Spies, the *Haiducks* layed without the principal Ambuſcado, and hidden in the thickets and buſhes, diſcovered a Cornet of Horſemen, with five Enſigns of the Turks, come out of *Caniſia*, marching to meet with the Convoy, in ſafety to conduct the ſame into the Town. At which overture the *Hungarians* awaked, gave knowledge unto the General of the arrival of the Enemy, to the end he might reſolve what was beſt in that caſe to be done. Which Opportunity *Collonitz* embracing, and making much of time, put his Horſemen in good order, to incloſe the Turks betwixt the Mariſh and the Wood, and to cut them ſo incloſed in pieces. The Turks having diſcovered nothing but the Mariſhes and the Woods, held on their way, and ſo as men having their Hands and Feet bound, fell into the Power of their Enemies. For being come into the danger, the Chriſtian *Carabins* charged them into the head of their Companies as they marched, and diſordered them; The *Hungarians* fell upon their flancks, which they opened; and the Horſe-men preſſed them at their backs. Theſe poor miſerable men ſo incloſed, not knowing againſt whom firſt to defend themſelves, and ſeeing death upon every ſide of them, became as beaſts to be ſacrificed unto the fury of the Chriſtians. The ſmall reſiſtance that they made deſerved not the name of a fight, being all ſlain, and having themſelves not ſlain one man; layed by heaps one upon another, not having overthrown ſo much as one of their Enemies; in ſuch ſort, that of ſix hundred men that were there

The Turks by *Collonitz* overthrown.

there together, there were not four of them ſaved. Their Horſemen which followed them, ſeeing them ſurpriſed, inſtead of relieving them, ſhamefully fled; and thinking by flight to ſave themſelves, whilſt that their Companions were in maſſacring, preferred their Lives before their Honour; For if it be a ſhame for Souldiers in flight to flie with the ſafety of their Friends, it muſt needs be an irreparable diſhonour to flie and leave them to the ſlaughter. But our *Carabins*, taking the occaſion for their Advantage, no more ſpared their Horſes in the purſuit of theſe Infidels, than they had done their Hands in the defeating of their Fellows; but purſuing amain after theſe Fugitives, ſlew a number of ſuch of them as were worſt mounted, and purſued the reſt even to the Gates of *Caniſia*. Thoſe of the Town at this Tumult raiſed an Alarm, ſhot off their great Artillery, and diſcharged many Vollies of ſmall ſhot againſt our men, as well to ſtay the purſuit of our men, and to ſave their own, as to give warning unto them that were to bring the Convoy, that our men were in the Field, ready to ſurpriſe them. But during this fight, three of the Turks Horſemen paſſing well mounted, and exceeding hardy, adventured to paſs by our Troops, and upon the ſpur to meet with them which were bringing of the Convoy, and to give them warning of the overthrow, and that they ſhould again return to ***Babotz***. Which their ſo brave an attempt Fortune favoured, as not willing to fruſtrate the deſert of ſo well deſerving Valour. And the Turks upon the way with the Convoy, now upon this Advertiſement returned, and retired themſelves again into the Caſtle from whence they came.

Babotz **in vain beſieged by** ***Collonitz*.**

But our men, advertiſed of this their retreat, and as it were deceived of the hope by them conceived for the intercepting of the Convoy, undertook an exploit much more haughty, brave, and dangerous; for forthwith they made head toward *Babotz*, with a Reſolution to carry the place; and though they were almoſt ſixteen miles from it, yet they reſolved to go thither, and to make themſelves Maſters thereof. And ſo marching chearfully on, therein uſed ſuch diligence, that about nine of the Clock at night they arrived at the place; whither they were no ſooner come, but that they did what they might to daunt their Enemies, to make their Conqueſt the more eaſie. The greatneſs of the attempt it ſelf ſerved well to that purpoſe, but yet the belief more, if they could drive into their Enemies Minds the ſufficiency of their Forces, for the performance of ſo great an Exploit. Which cauſed them to ſound their Trumpets, to ſtrike up their Drums, to remove their Artillery, to ruſſle with their Arms, to keep a ſtir with their Souldiers, and to make the noiſe, not of a ſmall, but of a puiſſant and great Army. But the Turks, in number twice ſo many as were our men, and within a good and ſtrong place, were not with ſuch a brute to be carried away, but ſtanding faſt upon their Guard and Reſolution, prepared themſelves for fight, and how to receive our men, if they ſhould attempt to aſſail them. Now whilſt the Alarm thus ſounded, our Companions advanced themſelves, repeating oftentimes the name of *Jeſus*, and making themſelves ready for to fight. This Skirmiſh began with a thouſand Cannon ſhot, which the Turks out of their Caſtle delivered upon the Troops of the Chriſtians, and their Muſquets ſtill playing from the Curtain of their Walls, ſo that the Caſtle ſeemed as if it had been a Mountain of Fire. All which Terrours no whit ſtayed the hope of our reſolute Foot-men, who paſſing thwart theſe flaming ſhowers, marched along the counterſcarp of the Ditch toward the Gate of the Town, to have broken open and forced the ſame. The Turks at the ſame time were come forth out of the Town, making ſhew as if they would have ſallied forth upon our men, and have fought with them. But at the ſame inſtant that they charged the front of our Foot-men, they were by them ſo encountered and beaten back, that having loſt ſome of their men, they were glad again to retire into the Town; where they did their indeavour to defend themſelves, not daring afterward to fight without the Favour of their Walls; within which it ſtood them upon to have both Courage and Power, being ſtill furiouſly aſſailed by our men, who, planted upon the Town Ditch, with their Muſquets and Harquebuſes ſo plyed the Turks upon their Walls, and in their holds, as that they durſt not ſhew themſelves, or look out for the ſhowers of Lead which they thundered upon them. And aſſuredly, if our men had then had Inſtruments wherewith to have opened the Gates or the Walls, as well as their Muſquets and Harquebuſes had made a breach into the Reſolution of the Turks, the Town had undoubtedly been ours; but this deſign being not before foreſeen, neither intended, wanted the means to put it in Execution; ſo that, for want of Petards and of ſcaling Ladders, the place remained ſtill the Turks, and ſaved it ſelf out of our hands. In fine, our men having been four hours in fight before it, both doing and receiving harm, and finding no means to enter the place, were inforced to ſound a retreat, and to leave it.

Collonitz **retireth to** ***Comara*.**

In which retreat, the Chriſtians burnt certain Villages of the Enemies, rather to ſhew that they had been there, than for any their Valour therein; ſeeing that things inſenſible, which follow the order of their Nature, are without offence, and they which hurt them without reaſon. This done, they of purpoſe retired to little *Comara*; for the long time they had kept the field, the divers Exploits by them done againſt the Enemies, and the common report of the vanquiſhed, had ſtirred up the Enemies, ſo that they began now on every ſide by heaps to flock together to ſwallow them up, and even now preſſed upon their retreat. So *Collonitz*, in deſpight of the Enemy, in ſafety brought back his Souldiers; and being entered into *Comara*, cauſed the Heads of the principal of the ſlain Enemies to be ſet upon the Pikes of the Paliſadoes, and upon a great Pine-tree ſtanding before the Gate, which for this purpoſe had almoſt all the Branches lopped off. An action learned from the Cruelty of the Turks, and now done by the Chriſtians, more to aſtoniſh and deterr them from this their cruel Cuſtom, than for any Glory or Profit enſuing thereby; ſeeing that to tyrannize upon a dead body, is but a ſign of Cowardiſe, and an Action altogether unprofitable.

This done, our men departed from this Caſtle, as men worn, and almoſt ſpent with Travel and Wearineſs, but yet more with Famine. For why, they, thinking to have executed but that deſign which had put them in Arms, and that in ſo ſhort a time alſo, had taken no Proviſion of Victuals with them; ſo that they were all pined with Hunger, overcome with Watching, and half dead with Labour. Their Horſes alſo in like ſort languiſhed, the Country being alike cruel both to the one and to the other. For beſide that it was unfruitful for ſuch as held the field (all the Fruits thereof being gathered together and carried into the Towns by the Men of War) it was not poſſible for our men to forrage, or to ſeek for Victual there, and to come to an happy end of their deſign, for that they had raiſed an alarm abroad in the Country, and ſo perhaps might themſelves have become a Prey unto them, whom they ought to prey upon. Which was the cauſe that our Souldiers had for the ſpace of three days eaten nothing but Crabs and Acorns, which they found in the Woods which covered their Ambuſhes; ſo that being now come unto this Caſtle, they devoured a world of Victuals, and requeſted every one of them to return again unto their Garriſons; their Bodies weakened with Hunger, being ſcarce able to bear their Arms. But that was not all; for departing from little *Comara*, they were advertiſed, that the Turks ſhut up the ways whereby they were to make their retreat home; in hope eaſily to overcome men already with hunger brought low, and to kill the Bodies which travel already had ſpent. Howbeit, the great Courage of our men fruſtrated this the Enemies Deſign, and ſaved themſelves. But ſo far off was it that this Advertiſement diſmayed *Collonitz*, that even to the contrary it the more increaſed his Courage, as appointed for his Glory; being glad to have ſuch an occaſion offered him for the ſhewing of his Valour, although it were through the midſt of Danger, Death, and Slaughter. So that inſtead of ſhunning the Combat, whereas it was reported, that the Turks with great aſſurance marched near unto a Caſtle of the Chriſtians, to make head upon a Paſſage whereby our men were to retire; he turned head toward the ſame place, with a firm Reſolution, with true Valour upon the ſudden to encounter the Enemy, which had thought to have ſurpriſed him by Cowardiſe. And the Souldiers, weakened with Hunger, although they well apprehended the Danger of this Deſign; yet, reſting upon the great Reſolution of their General, and conſidering the Neceſſity they had to go farther for their ſafety, upon a good Courage were content to follow whitherſoever their General would; who led them directly unto the aforeſaid Caſtle, where it was expected that the Turks ſhould have charged them. But being come thither, there was no body to be ſeen; and yet our men, as hungry as they were, ſtayed there one day in ambuſh, expecting the coming of their Enemies; who, for all that, having no mind to meet them, appeared not, but gave them Time and Liberty in ſafety to retire themſelves every man unto his own Garriſon, to refreſh themſelves, and to recover their Strength.

The notable Reſolution of *Collonitz*.

But now whilſt our Men of War, after theſe Troubles in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, repoſe themſelves; let us in the mean time take our Journey to *Conſtantinople*, and go unto the Marriage of *Haſſan Baſſa*, one of the Viſiers of the Grand Seignior, and laſt year General of the Turks Army in *Hungary*.

Haſſan Baſſa after the wining of *Alba-Regalis*, honourably received at *Conſtantinople*.

The *Spahi* and *Janizaries* in mutiny, demand Audience of the great Baſſaes.

Haſſan Baſſa in great fear of his Life.

At ſuch time as he departed from this great City, to goe unto the Conqueſt of *Alba-Regalis*, *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour, reſolved to ſet all upon the regaining of this City, cauſed to be preſented unto him a Crown and a Sword, the one in reward of his Valour, if he returned with Victory from this exploit; and the other in Revenge of his Cowardiſe, if he failed in the performance thereof; promiſing him indeed his Siſter in Mariage, amongſt other the glorious Rewards and Trophies of his Victory; and threatning him with Death, as a Puniſhment amongſt the Griefs of his Diſhonour. But it came to paſs, that by the Cowardiſe of our men, he came unto the effect of his deſire (as is aforeſaid) and took the City, which promiſed unto him the glorious Triumph in *Conſtantinople*. And under the ſweet influence of this Planet he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he found all things in readineſs for the ſatisfying of his Expectation, and the Advancement of his Glory. He is magnificently received of his Prince, courteouſly ſaluted by all the Nobility, and with greateſt reverence poſſible honoured of the People. And as he had happily diſcharged his Charge, he found in like manner all things prepared and in readineſs for the performance of the promiſe of the Grand Seignior, his Lord and Maſter, who had cauſed them to be in moſt ſumptuous manner provided for the ſolemnizing of the Marriage, and the contentment of the Baſſa. But nothing now wanting that he could have deſired or wiſhed, more than the very ſolemnizing of the Marriage it ſelf, and that alſo every day of all men expected; the *Janizaries* and *Spahi*, with the other Souldiers of the Court, to the number of five and twenty thouſand, even upon the ſudden, when as no ſuch thing was feared, came, and in Arms preſented themſelves before the Divano, or Tribunal, holden for the chief Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Turks Palace, the firſt four days in every week; and having ſet Guards at the Court Gates, the more ſafely to execute what they were before reſolved upon, proudly demanded to have Audience for certain of the *Spahi* and *Janizaries*, of whom they had made choice, in the names of them all, to deliver unto the great Baſſaes their Grievances, and the Cauſes of that their Aſſembly. Who, as ſoon as they were entered into the *Divano* before the Baſſaes, (of whom the moſt couragious of them was not without fear, as looking for nothing but for preſent death) they at the firſt demanded to have *Haſſan Baſſa* delivered unto them; Who, thinking that his Head ſhould have ſerved for a Sacrifice to pacifie this their Fury; as a man altogether diſmayed, wan and pale, paſſed through this mutinous Multitude, to have gone unto the great Sultan, proteſting of his own Innocency, and calling upon his Prophet *Mahomet*, to diſcover unto them the truth of all things. But they, after a thouſand Injuries and Reproaches by them heaped upon him, rudely demanded of him, whence it proceeded, that whilſt he with a great part of the Forces of the Empire was buſied in *Hungary*, for the recovering of *Alba-Regalis*, there was in the mean time no good order taken for the repreſſing of the Rebel in *Aſia*; who by ſufferance was (as they ſaid) now grown ſo proud, as with Enſigns diſplayed to come within three or four days Journey of *Conſtantinople*, the Imperial ſeat of the *Othoman* Emperours. Whereunto he in ſo ſmall fear anſwered, That he for his part had done his Duty, as well while he had the charge of the Army in *Aſia*, as now of late, whilſt he had the like charge againſt the Chriſtians in *Hungary*, as even the Enemies themſelves could witneſs. But ſeeing himſelf even ready to die, he yet requeſted them, That his guiltleſs Death might be unto the State in general profitable; and in diſcharging of his Conſcience, to declare unto them the Cauſes of this Contempt and Neglect for the ſurpreſſing of the *Aſian* Rebel, which they were ſo deſirous to know. It proceeded (as he ſaid) only from the evil Government of the Grand Sultans Mother (who then all commanded) and from the negligent careleſneſs of the *Capi-Aga*. Which his ſpeech, although they with much impatience and ſtorming gave ear unto, yet hearing him ſo well to excuſe himſelf, and to lay the blame there where they were well content it ſhould reſt; they gave him leave to go to the great Sultan, to requeſt him that they might ſpeak with him; and further to deal with him, that they might have the Head of them who had been the cauſe of this diſhonourable Service, or otherwiſe cowardly behaved themſelves in the managing of the Wars againſt the Rebels in *Aſia*; Threatning him withall, That if he failed to perform this his charge, he ſhould not fail to feel the heavy Effects of their juſt Fury. An heavy charge, yet glad was the Baſſa to undergo the ſame, to rid himſelf out of their Hands, where he ſaw himſelf in great danger, amongſt them, moſt of whom had

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Haſſan Baſſa perſwadeth the Great Sultan to give way unto the *Janizaries*, and to grant them their Requeſt.

Mahomet by the perſwaſion of *Haſſan Baſſa*, ſheweth himſelf to the mutinous Souldiers of the Court.

ſometimes ſerved under him, than amongſt ſo many his moſt mortal Enemies; but what Remedy? he muſt now ſo do or die therefore; for which he was the more to be excuſed. So in great fear coming unto the great Sultan, almoſt as fearful as himſelf, he ſhewed unto him the great danger like even preſently to enſue, by the Mutiny of his beſt Souldiers, and Guarders of his Perſon; perſwading him, betime to appeaſe their Fury, before they had embrued themſelves with Blood; for fear of further danger like enough to enſue, as well unto his own Perſon, as unto the reſt of his moſt faithful and truſty Counſellor, from ſuch furious headſtrong men, up in tumult with their Arms in their Hands. And although that a Prince ought not for the Greatneſs of his Eſtate to do any thing as thereunto forced by his Subjects, leſt in ſo doing he might breed in them a Contempt of himſelf, and increaſe their Inſolency; that yet nevertheleſs, in this Action, being altogether extraordinary, he was not to reſt upon that point; for that theſe mutinous Souldiers turned not their Weapons (as they pretended) againſt his Imperial Power and Soveraignty, but rather to the contrary, againſt the Contemners thereof, ſeeking to be revenged upon them that had done him ſuch evil Service for the maintenance of his Honour and Majeſty, and for the Puniſhment of the inſolent and diſloyal. And that therefore the Juſtice of the Cauſe requiting and covering the Malice of the Fact, he was of Opinion, That it were beſt for him to yield a little unto the Zeal of theſe his beſt Souldiers, and to ſatisfie their juſt deſire, although they had by very evil and unlawful means ſought for the ſame. And therefore adviſed his Majeſty, in ſome ſort to ſatisfie the juſt Complaints of theſe men, armed for the Revenge of his Honour; and to chaſtiſe the chief Commanders of his *Aſian* Forces, ſuch as by whoſe Treachery or Cowardiſe his Service being neglected, had armed theſe men againſt them; with the ſame hand puniſhing ſuch as had wronged his Majeſty in Honour, and appeaſing the diſcontented for the good of his Service. *Mahomet* thus by the Baſſa perſwaded, as alſo to ſhew himſelf in his Majeſty unto theſe his diſcontented Subjects, one part of their deſire; the Neceſſity of the Cauſe ſo requiring, in his Imperial Seat preſented himſelf unto them, accompanied with the *Mufti*, (the great Mahometan Prieſt) and ſome few others of the Reverend Doctors of their Law; who, by the Sultan commanded to ſit down, and the Baſſaes ſtanding up (ſo great the reſpect is to men of that ſort, even in a barbarous Nation of ſo ſmall reſpect) the chief of the ſeditious ſtepping forth, demanded leave to ſpeak both for himſelf and the reſt. Which being granted, he boldly thus began;

The proud and rude Speech of one of the Mutineers unto *Mahomet* the Great Sultan.

M*Oſt happy and mighty* Emperour, *we the* Spahies *and* Janizaries, *thy obedient Slaves, full of Grief and Diſcontentment to ſee a great part of thine Empire in danger to be loſt; deſire to know of thee the cauſe why thy Greatneſs doth not remedy it, and imploy the means which God hath given thee. They ſuppoſe that the Rebels Courſes in* Aſia *are unto thee unknown, ſeeing they have been ſo hardy as to come in Arms ſo near unto thy Imperial City, the Place of thine abode, and that without any let or reſiſtance. They deſire to know if all this hath been made known unto thee, and whither thou wilt take upon thy ſelf the care of the Government of thy great Monarchy, or no; which through the negligent careleſneſs and evil Government of ſome by thee put in truſt, is like unto a body with great and well proportioned Members, but of little or no Strength or Power. Or elſe, that thou, void of care, canſt be content that all ſhould be diſmembred, and ſo every man to take unto himſelf what he can lay hands of, as the Rebels do in* Aſia.

Sultan *Mahomet* with mild Words ſeeketh to appeaſe the mutinous Souldiers of the Court.

Haſſan Baſſa excuſeth himſelf, and layeth the fault upon the Empreſs, *Mahomet*'s Mother, and the *Capi-Aga*.

Now let no man marvel at this preſumptuous rude Speech of a proud *Janizary*, unto his Soveraign; for why, they are the men which may moſt boldly ſpeak in *Turky*, they are the ſtay of the Turk's Empire, the Great Sultans Children acknowledging no other Father but them; nay rather, the Great Turk himſelf is their Creature, for they raiſe him up and confirm him in the Empire; they are his greateſt Strength, and unto them he is moſt beholden. If *Mahomet* were with ſo inſolent a Speech much moved, he was not juſtly to be therefore blamed; howbeit, being beſet with ſuch a furious tumult with Weapons in their hands, and having no means to withſtand their Fury, he wiſely diſſembled his inward Choler, and with a fair Countenance, and a Majeſty full of Mildneſs, with the beſt and calmeſt words he could deviſe, ſought to appeaſe them; imputing the Diſorder and evil Succeſs of his Affairs unto the unfaithfulneſs of his Miniſters, and the concealing of the Truth thereof from him. Saying moreover, That before this their Complaint he had reſolved to reform theſe Matters, and to take from them all Occaſions of Diſcontentment, or for them to uſe any ſuch Speech as was not beſeeming them; whoſe Obedience and Reſpect of loyal Duty unto him their Soveraign, ſhould have been an Example unto the reſt of his Subjects. Upon which Speech, they fiercely demanded of *Haſſan Baſſa*, Why he had not given an account unto his Majeſty, of the Rebels proceeding in *Aſia*. Who anſwered, That he had never failed of his Duty therein, but that he had been always hindered ſo to do by the *Capi-Aga*; ſaying, That it was not needful to trouble him their Soveraign therewith, (having committed theſe Matters to others) but to reform and amend them as well as they might otherwiſe, without giving of him any ſuch diſtaſte concerning theſe Matters. And further, That the cauſe of all thoſe Diſorders proceeded from the Empreſs his Mother, the *Capi-Aga*, and ſome few others, unto whom he had commended the managing of thoſe his Affairs. With which his anſwer the Mutineers more moved, furiouſly ſaid, That they were thither aſſembled to demand the heads of ſuch Offenders; being reſolved to take another courſe, if he ſhould refuſe to grant it them; [meaning thereby to make a new Emperour.] Whereunto for all that, the great Sultan anſwered, That it was no Reaſon, neither that he would for their Humours put ſuch as they demanded innocently to death; but willed them to reſt themſelves contented, until it might by order of Juſtice be tryed whether they had deſerved death or no, and that then he would give them even his own Son, if he were found culpable. But the Mutineers, conſtant in their Reſolution, again replyed, That he had not by Juſtice put his Brethren to death, but for the Preſervation of the State; and that thoſe whom they ſo demanded were ſo guilty of that wherewith they were charged, as that they deſerved not to have an orderly Tryal; That the Laws, how juſt ſoever, ſhould be unprofitable, and Juſtice Injury, if they were not by them to be puniſhed; and that therefore it muſt needs be ſo, or els that they would take therein a courſe themſelves. As for the Empreſs his Mother, they were contented that ſhe ſhould be confined unto ſome place farther off, and no more to meddle in Matters of State. A ſtrange thing it was, to ſee ſo great a Prince ſo to be forced by the Sedition and Mutiny of his Subjects, to deliver ſo great an Officer of his Court as was the *Capi-Aga*, with ſuch others as they required, to be uſed at their Diſcretion. But the violent Reſolution of theſe moſt inſolent men ſo up in Mutiny, made the Sultan *Mahomet* wiſely to yield to what they demanded; cauſing the *Capi-Aga*, and

The Capi-Aga, with ſome others, executed.

others to be brought forth; who preſented themſelves unto their fury as men already half dead. *Mahomet* did what he might to have ſaved them, but the Mutineers with a great and dreadful Clamour ſtill cried out to have them diſpatched; neither could they be appeaſed until they ſaw their Heads ſtruck from their Bodies. For the loſs of whom, ſo dear unto him, *Mahomet* inwardly grieved; to be in ſome part revenged, commanded the Executioner to proceed, and to do unto ſome other of the chief Baſſaes (whom he knew to be much beloved and reſpected of the Janizaries, and whom he could have been content to have been rid of) as he had done unto the Capi-Aga and the reſt; but then the murmuring and mutiny of the Janizaries was in ſuch ſort increaſed, and as it were redoubled, as that *Mahomet* was for fear forced with patience to temper his Choler, and by giving way ſo to appeaſe them. The Empreſs, the Sultan's Mother, for all that was not then confined, but reſerved to the farther troubling of the State.

Mahomet glad to give way unto his mutinous Souldiers.

Other Cruelties of Sultan *Mahomet.*

With like Tyranny, and no leſs Injuſtice, *Mahomet* but a few days before had cauſed *Capin*, one of his great Baſſaes, to be beheaded; but whether it were for the deſire he had of his Wealth and Riches, or for the envy of his Honour and Valour, was uncertain; howbeit, the former Cauſe ſeemed unto many to be the more probable, for that *Mahomet*, immediately after his death, took the whole Spoil of his Wealth, and ſeiſed upon all his Goods except 400000 Duckats, which *Caly Baſſa*, Father of the dead Baſſa, had detained for himſelf. Which his purloining, *Mahomet* having diſcovered (as the eye of the covetous man is always fixed upon his Prey) demanded one day of the Baſſa, If it were true that he had retained unto himſelf thoſe 400000 Duckats? Which Fact the Baſſa, partly for fear, and partly for Covetouſneſs, conſtantly denied, and ſwore himſelf to be guiltleſs from any ſuch Crime; whereupon, he was forthwith taken, and thinking by lying to have ſaved his Life, was for the Truth put to death, without any farther Examination of the matter, having his Head ſtruck off. Such is the ſmall aſſurance, even of the greateſt that live in Tyrants Courts. Neither reſted his greedy mind ſo contented with the Baſſa's Blood; for why, that ſerved but for a ſhew, it was his Wealth muſt work that cure, which was all forthwith ſeiſed upon, rifled, and carried away, to ſatisfie in effect the greedy Appetite of the hungry Tyrant, who changed the Dowry and Succeſſion of the Wife and Children of the dead Baſſa, into Bonds, Chains, Priſons, and Slaveries.

Mahomet Baſſa by the Janizaries ſlain.

Mahomet, another Baſſa, with theſe Cruelties diſmayed, and perceiving the like evil hap and danger to hang over his own Head that had overwhelmed *Calil* and his Son, reſolved to have provided for himſelf againſt this Miſchief, by flying unto the Rebels in *Aſia.* But this his purpoſe diſcovered by certain Spies (which ſerve as means to open a way unto the Turks cruelty) and he, with one of the chief Followers of *Capin Baſſa*, taken by the Janizaries, were both by them cut in pieces.

The Succeſs of the Rebels in *Aſia.*

But whilſt theſe things thus paſſed at *Conſtantinople*, the Rebels with all diligence proſecuted their Rebellion in *Aſia*, and bent their Forces againſt the great Towns there. Their Army was exceeding great, every man joyning himſelf unto the firſt Forces which were in good Eſtate, being not as yet by any greater Power repreſſed, and rich with the Spoils that they had taken. Theſe men had beſieged *Angore*, a great and ſtrong Town in *Aſia*, and ſeemed reſolutely ſet down for the carrying thereof. Whereof the Citizens being afraid, and out of hope of Relief, came to Parle, offering unto them a Sum of Mony to redeem themſelves and their City; and ſo in fine agreed to give them 200000 Duckats; upon the ready payment whereof, the Rebels, without more ado, preſently departed.

Shortly after, the new Captains of Sultan *Mahomet* arrived there alſo, whom he had placed in the places of them whom he had before executed for the appeaſing of the Souldiers of the Court, who would needs make it Treaſon, and put to Death the Citizens, for having given ſuch Money as is aforeſaid, unto the Rebels, tho it were done for the Preſervation of their Lives: as if the Laws were to be reſpected in the horrors of Neceſſity, or that Life were to become a Slave unto Riches, and Riches not made for the uſe of Man's Life. Well, needs they would for this ſuppoſed Treaſon (as they pretended) have put them to death, and ſacked their City; but indeed all was in their greedy fury to have carried away that which the Rebels had in their Mercy left them. Theſe poor Citizens, with this ſo cruel a Reſolution diſmayed, and out of all hope of finding favour at ſuch mercileſs mens hands, reſolved now to hazard all, and ſo upon the ſudden taking up Arms, ſtood upon their own defence. Hereupon aroſe a great and cruel Fight betwixt theſe Souldiers and the Citizens, both the Subjects of one Prince, and all of them of one and the ſelf-ſame Superſtition; but the one ſide, armed with Pride and Covetouſneſs, and the other with Neceſſity and Deſpair: howbeit, at laſt the juſter Cauſe prevailing, the Citizens overcame theſe new-come Souldiers, and having ſlain a great number of them, chaſed the reſt out of the City. This evil Encounter of theſe new Captains even at the firſt entrance into their Charges, given them by the Subjects themſelves, increaſed the Rebels Courage, ſo that they, being in number forty thouſand, under the leading of one of the *Tartar Han's* Brethren, beſieged *Burze*, a great and rich City, being the Store-houſe for the warlike Proviſions of *Aſia*, and the Place whereunto the Turks Cuſtoms, Taxes, and Subſidies of *Aſia* were brought, and there kept. Theſe men, after certain days beſtowed in the Siege, and great Reſiſtance made by the beſieged, at length by force carried the Place, ſlew the Inhabitants, and ſacked the City. Which Exploit, gracing their Fortune with Honour and Booty, increaſed alſo their Power and Reputation; ſo that re-doubled on all ſides, and increaſed with Courage and Spoils, *Mahomet* diſmayed, reſolved by fair means to appeaſe them, and to entreat with them of Peace. This good Fortune had drawn unto their part the Governour of *Babylon*, either weary of the Service of the Turk, or deſirous by the Ruine of the State in general, to increaſe his own Power; whoſe Revolt greatly increaſed the Rebels Power, and diminiſhed the Grand Seignior's. Beſide theſe Miſhaps alſo, the great Shaugh of *Perſia* (commonly called the *Sophi*) thruſting himſelf into theſe Diſorders, to make his Gain, and to fiſh (as they ſay) in a troubled Water, had now taken *Corbery*, a ſtrong Town upon the Borders of the Turk's Empire, and was making himſelf ready for new Conqueſts. All which Tempeſts ariſing as it were in one together, cauſed *Mahomet* to ſtrike Sail, and maugre his Imperial Dignity and Honour, to ſeek for Peace; which indeed could not be great in ſuch weakneſs of his nature, neither brave in ſuch his great want of Courage. For great Dignities and Honours, without Valour to maintain them, are but like rich Garments which cover Bodies almoſt rotten, but heal them not. *Mahomet*, deſirous to come to ſome good agreement with his rebellious Subjects, at length (but not without his great diſhonour) obtained the ſame; granting to them all their Demands, diſarming them by yielding unto them, and not by Valour; and giving

The Turks together by the ears amongſt themſelves.

unto *Zellalie*, one of their Chieftains, the moſt honourable place of the Baſſa of *Boſna*, to content his Ambition, and to bind him therewith to do his Service. The ready way by ſufferance to increaſe the diſloyal Subjects Courage, inſtead of ſtopping their Fury by the ſeverity of Juſtice; for to grace a Rebel with Offices of Authority, is but to arm him with lawful Power, for him the better to undertake whatſoever ſhall beſt fit his Appetite and Deſire, upon the hope of his own private and certain Profit or Advancement.

The Captains and Souldiers murmur againſt their Sultan *Mahomet*.

Mahomet's other Captains and Men of War, ſeeing this diſhonourable Peace of their Prince, and Preferment of the Rebels, honoured with Honours and Dignities, inſtead of Pains and Puniſhments which they ſhould of right have for their Rebellion indured; began to enter into great Murmuring and Diſcontentment againſt their great Sultan. They conſidered his unjuſt dealing and baſe fear, in advancing the Rebels unto ſuch Honours and Dignities, as of right belonged unto his moſt faithful and loyal Officers and Servants, by ſuch their unworthy Preferments making them Slaves unto his Enemies, and Vaſſals unto the Rebels; they, to their diſhonour and loſs, by their Inſolency and Treachery, injoying the Honours and Preferments of right due unto their faithful and loyal Services. Which dangerous Perſwaſions tranſported them ſo far from their Allegiance and Duty, as to undertake a greater and more perillous matter againſt his Crown and Dignity, than had the Rebels before by taking up of Arms in the Field againſt him, whereunto the aſſured knowledge they had of his Cowardiſe encouraged them alſo; ſo that their Reſolution was to thruſt him out of his Imperial State, and to ſet up his eldeſt Son, called alſo *Mahomet*, in his Place. Theſe are the ordinary Effects of Injuſtice and Cowardiſe, the overthrow of Princes; their Injuſtice through Cruelty arming all Creatures againſt them; and their Cowardiſe through Contempt diſpenſing with every man for his Duty; ſo that he muſt be juſt, that will keep his Subjects in order; and valiant, that muſt hold them in awe.

Mahomet in danger to be depoſed from his Empire, and his eldeſt Son ſet up in his Place.

Unto theſe Diſcontentments theſe Mutineers joyned alſo (as I ſaid) the ſlothfulneſs, effeminateneſs, and ſufficiency of *Mahomet*, unfit to deal in matters of Eſtate, and altogether unable to manage Arms. He was too cowardly, as they thought, to repreſs their Valour by force, and too weak to croſs their Deſigns by Wiſdom; which not a little incouraged them in that their ſo deſperate and dangerous a Reſolution. They drew alſo into this their Plot the Sultaneſs *Mahomet*, his chief Wife, and Mother to the young Prince; who, blinded with Ambition (the bane of great Spirits) had not the hap to reject their Perſwaſions, as dangerous unto her and her Son, but ſhutting her Eyes againſt the due Conſideration of Loyalty and Duty, caſt both her ſelf and her Son headlong into the midſt of moſt deſperate Dangers.

This Project (of no leſs importance, than of the depoſing of one of the greateſt Monarchs of the World) reſolved upon, ſome of theſe men, according to the manner of the Turks, joining Superſtition unto their Deſigns, conſulted with an Aſtrologer, concerning the Succeſs of the Actions of the young Prince, whom they were about to inſtall in his Fathers Imperial Throne. This man, to be excuſed in his Trumperies, ſeeing that to deceive is the chief point of his Art, erected the figure of the Princes Nativity, conſulted with his Spirits, conſidered the cœleſtial Bodies, and in fine, arrived at the point of his Judgment, for the good and welfare of the Prince; and thereupon diſpatched an Eunuch towards the Sultaneſs, with theſe pleaſing Speeches, That ſhe ſhould be of good courage and in aſſured hope that the young Prince her Son, within a few days ſhould have the Imperial Crown ſet upon his Head, and the Royal Scepter put into his hand; his Art (as he ſaid) promiſing unto him theſe Honours, by the Favour of the Cœleſtial Bodies, of whom he had learned theſe News; and by the Conference with Spirits, from whom he had this aſſurance. But O the vain and fooliſh knowledge of Man againſt God! attributing unto the ſecond Cauſes, that which altogether belongeth unto his own Power; robbing him of his own Providence, which extendeth over all, to give the ſame unto Creatures, which neither have their own Being, neither are able of themſelves to bring forth, or to work any Effects at all without it! and that more is, to give certain credit unto the Enemy of all Faith and Belief, even to the Father of leaſing, who taketh as much Glory in falſhood, as God himſelf doth in truth; as being the proper mark of his Power. For it chanced that theſe Letters, ſent by the Eunuch to the Sultaneſs, were intercepted and brought unto *Mahomet* the Great Sultan, whom they moſt concerned; whereupon it ſo fell out, that he which took upon him to foretell the long Life and Empire to befall to another man, could not foreſee the end of his own Life, which followed him faſt, even at the heels, being himſelf by the Commandment of the great Sultan, with the young Prince, the Eunuch, and fifty others of the Conſpirators, and ſuch as were conſenting unto the Conſpiracy, moſt cruelly ſtrangled, and the Sultaneſs her ſelf drowned. Howbeit, ſome report this young Prince to have been ſtrangled upon ſuſpicion of conſpiring againſt his Father, with the Rebels of *Aſia*; which after his Death being found not to be ſo, the Baſſa which put that Suſpicion into *Mahomets* Head, to have been therefore worthily hanged. But with theſe Contentments taken from the Croſſes of our Enemies, let us again return unto *Hungary*,

Mahomet causeth his eldeſt Son, with divers others to be ſtrangled.

The *Polonian* denieth the *Tartars* Paſſage through his Country, into *Hungary*.

The laſt year ended with the great brute of the coming of the *Tartar Han*, with a great Army into *Hungary*, and now he had diſpatched his Ambaſſadors towards the King of *Poloniæ*, to demand of him Tribute, and paſſage through his Country. Great and proud demands to be both at once required. But the King of *Polonia* requited him again with the like, denying him both the one and the other, roughly anſwering of his Threats. Which ſo reſolute and blunt a refuſal, cauſed the proud Tyrant to change his intended courſe, and for fear of being defeated by the *Polonians* in paſſing through their Country, (as the *Tartars* had often been) before he could come into *Hungary*, took another way, and turned with his Army toward *Valachia*. Of whoſe coming, *Radul* the Vayvod underſtanding, and that beſide the forraging of his Country, they had a purpoſe to diſplace him, and to ſet up another Vayvod in his ſtead; with great diligence gathered together the greateſt Power that he could, and ſo marched unto the Borders of his Country, there to attend the coming of theſe *Tartars*, and to ſtay them from entring. Which in effect fell out according to his deſire, for the barbarous People being arrived, and attempting with all their force to have entred, were by this little Army encountered; which, commanding the Country, took all the advantages of the ſtrait paſſages, and there notably repulſed the fierce Enemy. Two of the firſt encounters fell out fortunately unto the *Valachians*, who therein ſlew about 3000 of the *Tartars*; whoſe avantguard for all that ſtill came on, and at the third encounter ſo long maintained the fight, that their whole Army was now come in, and hardly charged the *Valachians*;

Divers hard Conflicts betwixt the *Tartars* and the *Valachians*, in their paſſage through *Valachia*.

whoſe

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whoſe Fortune ſurcharged, began then to change, the hardy being conſtrained to bow under the multitude, and valor forced to yield unto number. Which was not done without a long and cruel fight, both Armies encountring with great Courage and Fury, the one for the defence of their Country, and the other for an entrance unto their Conqueſts. Howbeit, the ſtrong Enemy at length prevailed, and entring into *Valachia*, brought in with it Ruine, Death, and Deſtruction.

The *Tartars* in *Hungary.*

The *Tartars* having by force thus opened themſelves a way through *Valachia*, and grievouſly ſpoiled the Country, were come with their Army to *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, a Town in *Hungary*, to joyn their Forces with *Haſſan Baſſa*, now after his Marriage returned into this Country with a great Army to continue his Charge; who cauſed the *Tartars* to be muſtered in his Preſence, and found them to be forty thouſand ſtrong. Men of great Courage againſt the weak, but meer Cowards before the Courageous; who, inſtead of aſſaulting the Walls of any ſtrong Town, fell upon the Cottages of poor Country Villages, ranſacking and pillaging the poor Inhabitants, as well in the Villages of the Territories ſubject unto the Turks, as in the Territories of the Chriſtians; conſtraining the poor People, contrary to their Conſcience, and to the Prejudice of their Faith, to ſwear to ſerve the Turk; Beſides that, they inforced them to furniſh them with all warlike Proviſion and Munition, which they put into *Caniſia*, but a while after that, our men had defeated the Garriſon there.

Great ſpoil made by the *Tartars* in *Hungary*, *Stiria*, and *Shavarie.*

Neither were they ſo contented, all the Neighhours being thereabouts ſubject to this Tempeſt; for they paſſed into *Stiria* with their Families, and over-ran a part of that Province, ſpoiling it of Men, Cattel, and Goods; leaving inſtead of them, Deſtruction, Miſery, and Death; and carried away with them two thouſand poor Chriſtians for Slaves, whom they ſold unto the Turks, and made great profit of them. From thence they went into the Country of *Shavary*, embruing themſelves with the Blood of the Chriſtians, rifling their Villages, and after that burning them; carrying away with them a thouſand Chriſtian Captives into moſt miſerable Bondage and Slavery.

Collonitz oppoſeth his Forces againſt the *Tartars.*

Which cruel Outrages, afterward thruſt the valiant Colonel *Collonitz* into the Field, againſt theſe barbarous People, to ſtay their Incurſions, and to defeat them if he could.

This worthy Commander had but a few days before been troubled in appeaſing the French light Horſemen in Garriſon in the Villages about *Roquesburg*, riſen up in Mutiny for their Pay; whoſe hot and moved Spirits, he by his Wiſdom ſo calmed, as that they were content again to be ſworn to the Emperour, and ſo joyned themſelves unto the Army of *Collonitz*, which was then 10000 good men Strong.

In the mean time, the *Tartars*, greedy of Prey, and ſtill ſeeking after Booty, ranſack'd and ſpoiled five and twenty Country Villages about *Veradin*; all which they afterward burned alſo, carrying away with them a great Booty both of Men and Cattel; no man reſiſting them. At which time, other Companies of them alſo invaded the County *Serin*'s Iſland as far as *Rackenſpurge*, made in it great ſpoil, as had their Fellows elſewhere; and beſide other Booty, carried away with them two thouſand Chriſtian Captives. Theſe outrages of the *Tartars* armed the County on the one ſide, and *Collonitz* on the other; who courageouſly oppoſing themſelves againſt theſe *Barbarians*, for a time ſtay'd their Incurſions, they not daring to abide the force of this little Army, ſufficient enough, for the Valour thereof, to have overthrown that of their Enemies, for number dreadful. This made them to turn their courſe another way into *Sclavonia*, being in number five and thirty thouſand men, leaving nothing behind them there but Death and Deſolation, for the number of Priſoners and great Booties which they carried from thence. Amongſt other their ſpoils, it was their Fortune by the way to meet with ſix hundred of the Chriſtian Souldiers, of whom not one eſcaped their hands, but were ſlain every Mothers Son. At length it ſo fortuned, that certain of their Troops in roaming abroad, fell into the danger of the County *Serin*, who with his Followers ſtill hovered aloof off, for fear to be of their great Multitude overwhelmed; a part whereof now falling into his hands, were by his Souldiers overthrown and all cut in pieces, and a number of Chriſtian Captives by them taken, delivered out of Chains, and ſet at Liberty. Which Exploit, was greater for the fear it brought upon the Enemy, than for the ſlaughter there made.

The *Tartars* repreſſed by County *Serin.*

For the *Tartars*, ſtill in doubt to meet again with the Chriſtian Troops (who left not one of them alive that they could light on) were glad now to keep themſelves cloſer together, and ſo did a great deal the leſs harm than when they, without fear roamed up and down at their Pleaſure; ſo that even by this little Victory the Country received ſome Comfort, and the Earl greater Honour; ſmall helps being infinite Treaſures in time of Neceſſity, which out of it would not be to be reckoned of.

The Garriſon Souldiers of *Caniſia*, of late defeated by *Collonitz*, in going to meet the Convoy coming towards them with Victuals (as is before declared) the reſt of the Garriſon, deſirous to be revenged were conſulting of the means how to bring the ſame to paſs. It fortuned, that at the ſame time there was a fugitive Chriſtian Souldier in the Town, who made ſhew of a man male-content, deſirous to turn Turk; of whom the Turks made much reckoning, for that he ſeemed to know much of the Deſigns of the Chriſtians, and the means how to croſs them; whereof he ſo aſſured them, as if the matter had been now already done; promiſing to bring them even into the midſt of the Chriſtian Camp, and to deliver it into their Hands and Power.

A notable Exploit done by a fugitive Chriſtian.

Howbeit, his meaning was nothing leſs; for ſeeing the Turks much buſied with carrying in of Victuals into the Caſtle, brought into the Town after the overthrow of their Fellows before ſent forth for the bringing in thereof, and wholly intentive to that Buſineſs; knowing the place in the Caſtle where the Powder and Munition lay, he at the ſame time, by a Train lay'd Fire thereunto, and afterward, amidſt the tumult and the ſtir, by a loop-hole in the Wall, got himſelf out of the Town, and came to *Collonitz*, who with his Troops lay near thereby in ambuſh, expecting the Opportunity to perform ſome notable exploit upon the Succeſs of ſo dangerous an adventure, whereunto he had before been made privy. Neither failed the fire any thing of the accuſtomed violence thereof, but ſeemed rather to redouble the ſame, it had ſo ſuddenly conſumed the Buildings, Munitions, and Perſons. All the place felt the Fury thereof; the Cannons, Canoneers, Souldiers, and whatſoever elſe, was ſubject unto this dreadful blaſt; all was ſhaken and turned upſide down, yea the fire burſt out of the Caſtle, and burnt the greateſt part of the Town alſo. There was a Confuſion of fear, miſhap, and miſery together, the Terror whereof cauſed many of the Turks to caſt themſelves over the Walls, in hope ſo to have ſaved their Lives; but whilſt they thought ſo to have eſcaped the Danger of the Fire, they preſently fell upon the edge of the Sword; for, meeting with the Souldiers of *Collonitz*, (who lying in ambuſh near thereby, awaited the opportunity in that ſo confuſed a Tumult, to have ſeiſed upon the place) they were all either taken Priſoners, or ſlain. But ſee the hap, how one croſs chance of Fortune overthrew this ſo notable a Deſign, as had it been well followed, might in one moment have recovered that ſtrong Place, which had before for the ſpace of many days indured the greateſt Forces of the *Othoman* Emperour; neither yet was then ſo loſt, but through the infamous Treachery of our own men.

A fair Opportunity for the recovery of *Caniſia*, overſlip'd through the diſloyalty of the *French* and *Wallons*.

You have heard before, how that *Collonitz* had by fair Perſwaſions, rather than by true Effects, appeaſed the *French-men* and *Wallons*, up in mutiny for their Pay; ſo that by him perſwaded, they had again given their Oath of Fidelity unto the Emperour, and to follow his Army. But now, when occaſion ſerved, and held out as it were both her Arms unto the Chriſtians, for the regaining and conqueſt of *Caniſia*, theſe *French-men* and *Wallons*, the greateſt part of *Collonitz*'s ſtrength, injuriouſly refuſed her ſo fair an offer; and at ſuch time as they ſhould rather have fought naked, then have failed in their Duty, (it being to have gained a moſt great and rich Conqueſt) for want of Pay (as they pretended) turned their backs, and being by no great intreaty or perſuaſions to be moved, to the Diſcouragement of the reſt, who were better minded, and their own eternal Infamy, withdrew themſelves from the Army: So that *Collonitz*, rather by the wicked unfaithfulneſs of his own diſloyal Souldiers, than by the Valour of his Enemies, diſappointed of his purpoſe, was to his great Diſcontentment, contrary to that he hoped, inforced to retire without any thing more doing.

The *Tartars* defeated by the *Huſſars* of the Lord *Nadaſti*.

While this Exploit, ſo well begun, but evil performed, was in hand, the *Turks* and *Tartars* aſſembled together, made a cruel ſpoil in the Country about *Rab*, even almoſt unto the Gates of the Town, carrying away with them a great number both of Men and Beaſts. In fine, it chanced that the *Huſſars* of the Lord *Nadaſti* came that way, who underſtanding what had happened, with all ſpeed made after theſe Robbers, overtook them in their retreat near unto *Alba-Regalis*, ſlew a great number of them, and inforced the reſt to leave a great part of their Prey behind them. With which Booty, recovered even out of the Lyons Mouth, they returned to *Rab*; of whom, the poor Inhabitants and Country People, with Tears ſtanding in their Eyes, requeſted to have again their own Goods. But War, the enemy of Charity, and nurſe of barbarous Cruelty, had ſo hardned the Hearts of theſe men of War, as that they were not to be moved to reſtore them their Cattel again, but that they muſt redeem them for preſent Money, which they did and ſo received them.

Now the Noble *Collonitz*, ſeeing himſelf ſo ſhamefully forſaken of his own Souldiers, and diſappointed of his purpoſe, and the *Turks* and *Tartars* in great numbers coming to the relief and repairing of this ſo ſore ſhaken a Town; and out of hope to do any good thereon, full of Grief and Indignation returned towards *Comora*: And howbeit, that evil hap had cruelly fruſtrated the glory of his Enterpriſe, yet the Heavens, in deſpight of Fortunes frown, left not this noble and valiant Captain altogether without Honour, but, as amorous of his Vertues and Valour, preſented unto him in this Winter of Fortunes diſpleaſure, ſome Trophies of Glory. For upon the way, as he was returning home, he met with 2000 Turks, whom, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance he cut all in pieces; miſerable Sacrifices, appointed unto the fury of his wrath. In this fight their Enſigns were all taken, and a number of Priſoners, the chief of whom, together with their Enſigns, he ſent to *Prague*, as a Preſent for the Emperour, and a token of his good Service.

2000 *Turks* defeated by *Collonitz*.

The report then was, That the *Turks* and *Tartars*, with their united Forces, had forraged *Sclavonia*, taken divers ſtrong Holds, burnt a number of Villages, and carried away eight thouſand Chriſtians Priſoners, beſide a great number more ſlain with the Sword, or conſumed with Fire, and all the Cattel of the Country driven away; and that being with this booty come to *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, they had there received Command with *Mahomet Baſſa*, to beſiege *Comora*, and that all the Commanders of the Turks Army were thereupon reſolved. All which reports no whit diſmayed the Valiant *Collonitz*, or any thing altered his Deſigns; but having fortified *Comora*, againſt the intended Siege of the Turks, and taken from thence four Culverins, according to a former purpoſe by himſelf intended, reſolved now to take from the Turks the Caſtle of *Loqua* and *Boulouvenar*, the Garriſons whereof greatly annoyed the Territories of the Chriſtians, and hindred the Deſigns of this great Captain. Theſe two Caſtles are ſcituate upon a great Mariſh which ſeparateth *Hungary* from *Raſcia*, and are therefore as Bounders of *Hungary*, and ſtrong enough to be defended againſt a ſmall Army.

The Caſtle of *Loqua* beſieged by *Collonitz*.

Upon which Reſolution he ſet forward with his ſmall and valiant Power, and the fourth day arrived within the ſight of *Loqua*, a Caſtle well manned, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the defence thereof. The Army lodged, *Collonitz* with a Drum ſummoned the beſieged to yield up the Place, with Promiſes of Courteſie if they ſhould now accept of the ſame whilſt it was offered them; which they ſtoutly refuſed to do, ſwearing to the contrary, That they would die and live within thoſe their Walls. *Collonitz* ſeeing them ſo reſolved, firſt cauſed a Mill to be aſſaulted, which, placed over againſt the Caſtle, and well fortified, ſerved it inſtead of a Bulwark, and ſeemed hard to be taken; howbeit his men, loth to have their good Fortune even in the beginning checked, gave thereunto ſo brave an aſſault, that after the Enemy had done what he could for the defence thereof, they became Maſters of the Place, carried it, and therein lodged; but finding it dangerous to be kept, and to ſtand them in ſmall ſtead, they ſet it on fire, and afterward planted four Culverins in battery before the Caſtle. But as they were thus buſied, the Turks couragiouſly ſallied out upon them, not doubting to adventure themſelves, for the hope they had to be in ſhort time by their great Army relieved. In this ſally they met afront with the *Haiducks*, whom they fiercely charged, and ſo gauled them, that having ſlain thirty of them, they retired without any loſs; forthwith diſcharging ſo many thundering Shot and Arrows upon our men, as that they well knew not how to ſave themſelves from the danger of them, in ſuch ſort, that all the ways to approach the place being ſtopped, they began to deviſe how to ſet the Caſtle on fire; which they by certain Fire-works attempted, but to ſmall purpoſe, the fire being no ſooner kindled, but that it was forthwith by the Turks quenched. This done, and our men diſappointed of their hope, they deviſed to ſet fire upon the timber which joyned the Paliſado to the Caſtle ſtretching toward the Port. Which their attempt ſorted but to ſmall effect alſo, the fire burning but ſlowly to do the Enemies any great harm. All which Devices failing, they reſolved by plain force to aſſault the Caſtle, and to ſcale the ſame; which Enterpriſe reſolved upon, the *Haiducks* carrying before them certain ſtrong and thick Planks of Wood, inſtead

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inſtead of Targuets, to defend them from the ſmall Shot and Arrows of their Enemies; by this Device gained the Paliſado placed upon the Ditch; and being there in ſome ſafety, with their Muſquets and Harquebuzes ſo applyed the beſieged, that they drave them from their Curtains, and made that they durſt no more ſhew themſelves upon the Walls. And immediately after, two Companies of the *Haiducks* placed ten Ladders againſt one of the Towers of the Caſtle, and ſo with their Enſigns in their hands courageouſly mounted the Ladders, in hope to have gained the Place; but the Turks, as men reſolved to live and dye in their Caſtle, valiantly repulſed thoſe *Haiducks*, and by force drew in unto them from off the Ladders, the two Enſign-bearers of the *Haiducks*, whoſe Heads they cut off, and caſt them down unto their Fellows, which were yet coming up the Ladders; and the two Enſigns ſo gained upon the Walls, they placed in the mid'ſt of their own, as the Trophies of the Spoils of them who would have ſpoiled them. With which ſo great Courage of the Enemies, and death of their Fellows, our men not a little diſmayed, kept themſelves cloſe at the foot of the Wall, as afraid any farther to force the Place, which to their loſs they ſaw ſtored with ſuch valiant men to defend it.

Notable reſiſtance made by the beſieged Turks.

Collonitz, perceiving this diſcomfiture of theſe men, and well aſſured that the Caſtle was not but by Valour to be won, immediately drew out of every Company of the County *Ringrave*, certain of the beſt and moſt reſolute Souldiers to renew the Aſſault: Which ſo honourable a Charge they cheerfully undertook, and as men of Courage, began forthwith to mount the Ladders. Which the *Haiducks* beholding, again took courage, and partly aſhamed of themſelves, and partly to be partakers of the Spoil and Prey, if they ſhould prevail, did what they might for the winning of the Place, ſtriving now who ſhould do beſt. Which Aſſault was with ſuch fury and preaſe of men maintained, that the Turks, not able longer to withſtand ſo great Forces, were conſtrained to yield both themſelves and their Caſtle unto the fury of their angry Enemies. Which Caſtle indeed coſt much Chriſtian Blood, but yet more of the Turks; for the *Haiducks*, armed with rage and revenge, ſlew almoſt all in the Caſtle, as well *Raſcians* as *Turks*, and took the reſt Priſoners. Among others, there was an *Hungarian* Renegade there taken, whom for haſte they beheaded, being not at leiſure to impale him, the ordinary puniſhment for ſuch faithleſs Miſcreants. But during this ſpoil, made by men chafed with fury, the Wind and Fire were on their part exerciſing of their rage alſo. For the Fire which they had caſt upon the Paliſado, and which they had before neglected, as of little or no force, now increaſed with the Wind, by little and little getting hold of one thing after another, having burnt the Paliſado, got hold of the Caſtle alſo; whereunto the Souldiers (loaded with Prey and Booty, the things they moſt deſired) had no regard at all; ſo that the Fire utterly conſumed the Caſtle, with whatſoever elſe had eſcaped their greedy hands.

The Caſtle of *Loqua* by the *Chriſtians* taken and ſacked.

The Turks in Garriſon at *Boulouvenar* (a Fortreſs but a League diſtant from this burnt Caſtle) ſeeing theſe Flames of Fire, and doubting what might betide themſelves, began to conſult what courſe were beſt for them to take, as either to attend the coming of the Enemy, and ſo to abide the chance of War, or elſe betimes to provide for themſelves by flight; the Conſideration of their Honour and Duty perſwaded them to ſtay, but the ruine of their Neighbours, as ſtrong and valiant as themſelves, perſwaded them otherwiſe. In fine, the care of the Preſervation of their Lives prevailed, and the Reſolution was, that they ſhould fly. And ſo puting all their Houſhold-ſtuff and Goods into certain Boats, there ready upon the Lake, they by the midſt thereof fled; fooliſhly perſwading themſelves, that our men coming thither, and finding nothing there, would not long there ſtay, but be gon; after whoſe departure they might, as they thought, return again unto their old dwellings, and in the mean time hide themſelves in the Mariſh, until that the Enemy were paſt. But our men coming thither, and finding no man in the Caſtle, neither yet any-thing elſe that could well be carried away, wondered to ſee that there were any men ſo cowardly, as for fear to abandon ſuch a Place, as for the ſtrength thereof might have been an Example to others to ſtand upon their Guard and defence, they ſought out every Corner thereabout, to find out whither the Turks were fled. At laſt, after much diligent ſearch, they found certain Boats which the Turks had ſunk in the Channel near unto the Caſtle Gate, which cauſed them to think that they were fled by Water, and happily were in ſome place not far off. Theſe Boats were forthwith drawn up out of the Water, and found furniſhed with Oars and ſuch other things as belonged unto them. Which done, *Collonitz* choſe out certain of the moſt valiant and reſolute of the *Haiducks*, whom he commanded in thoſe Boats to follow after the Turks in the Lake. Who, accuſtomed to ſuch Exploits, and not ignorant of the Places and Secrets of their Country, went aboard and did as they were commanded. Neither had they gon paſt two Leagues upon the Lake, but that they diſcovered a party of the fugitives hid in a little Iſland, awaiting the end of this Tempeſt, to recover again that which they had forſaken. The Turks, diſmayed with the ſight of theſe men, and forced by neceſſity to ſtand upon their Guard, welcomed them with certain little faulcon ſhot, which they brought with them in their Boats, thinking to have hindered them from landing. But they were too well acquainted with ſuch Muſick to be moved therewith; beſides that, the deſire of the Booty, which was by the Turks brought out of the Caſtle into the Iſle, exceedingly animated them for the gaining thereof; ſo that all fear of Danger ſet apart, they landed in the Iſle. Whom ſo landing, the Turks with great Courage received; ſo that betwixt them was fought a greater fight than is for ſo ſmall a number on both ſides to be believed, only Valour and not number holding the Balance of the Victory. But in the end, the chief of the Turks, and he which was their Governour in *Boulouvenar*, ſlain, the reſt diſcouraged, came to Parley, yielding themſelves, with their Wives and Children, and all that they had, as a Prey unto the Victors. The Priſoners were brought back again unto the Caſtle, until the next day, that our men having put a good and ſtrong Garriſon of four hundred *Haiducks*, and two hundred *Huſſars* into *Boulouvenar*, with their Priſoners and their Booty returned toward *Comara*; where they, notwithſtanding divers Reports of the aſſembly of the Turks Garriſons for the ſurpriſing of them upon the way, in ſafety arrived, with a rich Booty, and a number of Wagons loaded with the Spoils of their Enemies. The Emperour had for his part thirteen Enſigns, beſide the Places won; which being nigh unto *Caniſia*, much bridled the Spoylings and Incurſions of that Garriſon.

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The *Turks* for fear forſake the Caſtle of *Boulouvenar*.

The *Turks* fled out of the Caſtle of *Boulouvenar*, ſurpriſed and overthrown.

But leaving theſe endleſs Troubles of *Hungary* for a while, let us now again look into *Tranſilvania*, to ſee what they there do. *Moyſes* the Rebel, by *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant (as we have before ſaid) overthrown, and diſappointed of his hope, betook himſelf unto a ſtrong Caſtle of his own,

Moyſes by *Baſta* overthrown, flyeth unto his ſtrong Caſtle of *Solomoſe*.

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own, called *Solomoſe*, there in fear attending the final Succeſs of his Affairs. *Baſta* in the mean time being as wiſe to make uſe of his Victory, as he was valiant to obtain the ſame, ſubdued the reſt of the Country, repreſſed the Rebels, ſtopped the way of Sedition, and put *Moiſes* in deſpair of all Safety. Who ſeeing himſelf brought unto ſuch Extremity, offered to yield his Caſtle unto the Turks, and ſo without farther acquainting of any man with his purpoſe, thruſt himſelf, with his Wife and Family, and all the reſt of his Subſtance, into *Temeſwar*, a ſtrong City of the Turks not far off: whom the Baſſa in ſhew moſt courteouſly received, and the rather, for that he was in good hope to make a Prey of the great Wealth of this new-come Fugitive; who had not there long ſtayed, but that he had perſuaded the Captain of *Givaſgar*, a ſtrong frontier Caſtle thereby, to deliver the ſame to the Turks, and that without the Privity of the Garriſon Souldiers, for that he doubted that they would hardly be thereunto drawn; who yet getting knowledge thereof, put their Captain in remembrance of his Duty, beſeeching him not to draw ſuch an Infamy both upon himſelf and them, by committing ſo foul a Fact. But afterward finding him reſolutely ſet down for the betraying of the Caſtle, they ſuddenly laid hands upon him, and ſtruck off his Head; and ſo with the Blood of their traiterous Captain having averted the eminent danger, with great Honour held the Place.

He with his Wife and Family flieth unto the Turks.

Moiſes now, as he thought, in ſafety at *Temeſwar*, was yet ſtill plotting how to trouble the State of *Tranſilvania*, and raiſe new Stirs therein; and to that end ſent a number of Spies with Letters of Credence unto the principal men of that Country, aſſuring them of great and ſufficient Aid from the great Turk, if they would but take up Arms for their Liberty (as he termed it) and ſhew themſelves in Field againſt the Imperials. Neither was *Baſta* in the mean time careleſs of him, or negligent in his ſo weighty Affairs; but knowing that he, as a notorious Rebel, had yielded his Caſtle unto the Turks, and was himſelf retired unto *Temeſwar*, forthwith made choice of ſix thouſand of the beſt Souldiers in his whole Army, and ſo ſet forward to beſiege it; whom, at his Arrival, the Turks there in Garriſon derided, in hope to fruſtrate his Deſigns. For why, they thought that their Caſtle, ſeated upon a ſteep high Hill, fortified with good and ſtrong Walls, environed with a broad and deep Ditch, and not ſubject unto Battery, could not, but with much labour, great danger, and long time, be gained out of their hands, it being impoſſible (as they ſuppoſed) for their Enemies to make a breach, or find an entrance thereinto. And indeed our men ſeeing the Strength of the Place, and the difficulty to force it, ſtood at the firſt as men diſmayed at the foot of the Hill where the Caſtle ſtood; yet more diſcouraged with the impregnableneſs of the place, than with the Valour of the Defendants. But what cannot Induſtry and Valour do? In ſeeking about to find ſome means to make ſhew of their Courage and Valour, they diſcovered a little ſharp ſteep Hill over againſt the Caſtle, from the top whereof the Caſtle was to be battered, and the beſieged diſtreſſed; but to bring the Cannon thither, and eſpecially with Horſes, was impoſſible, by reaſon of the ſteep roughneſs of the Aſcent thereunto, with broken and hanging Rocks, over-grown with Trees and Buſhes, as if it had been another *Alps*, not but with Fire and Vinegar to be opened: yet in fine, our men reſolving to gain the Place, did themſelves that which their Horſes ſhould have done but could not, and by force of hand drew their Cannon up to the top of the Hill; and having planted it over againſt the midſt of their Enemies great Ordnance, began to batter the Caſtle: which done, they day and night made their Approaches, fortified their Forts and Trenches, brought on their warlike Munitions, and put all things in ſuch order, as if they would even by plain force have carried the Place. But the Turks more admiring the valourous Reſolution of our men, than reſolving themſelves upon their Reſiſtance, being not many in number within the place, and ſeeing themſelves to have to do with men of invincible Courage, laying aſide both their Hope and Weapons, craved to come to a Parle. Which granted, it was at length agreed, That they ſhould deliver up the Caſtle, leaving behind them their great Ordnance, their Munition and Enſigns, and ſo with their Arms and Lives only ſaved, to depart. A great and glorious Conqueſt got with ſmall charge; only by Reſolution gained by our men, without peril: thoſe being indeed the true Victories, which neither draw Blood out of the Veins, nor Tears out of the Eyes.

Baſta beſiegeth the Turks in the Caſtle *Solomoſe*.

The Caſtle of *Solomoſe* by the Turks yielded up to *Baſta*.

This ſtrong Place ſo gained, contrary to the common Opinion conceived thereof, led the whole Province as it were by the hand unto the Obeiſance of the Emperour; in ſuch ſort, that *Baſta* having called together all the principal men of *Tranſilvania*, declared unto them the Juſtice of his Cauſe, the Right of the Emperour, with the Malice and Treachery of the Turks and Rebels; how they might live in aſſurance with the one, and become miſerable with the others; That the Emperour was always armed for their Defence and Health, deſiring nothing but their Welfare and Preſervation; whereas their Enemies to the contrary, ſought altogether their Ruine and Decay; That as they were not to expect light flames of Fire out of the Sea, no more they were to look for Aid from thoſe their mortal Enemies, whom they knew to have before decreed to have put them all to death, and to have given their Country unto the *Tartars* their Enemies; That this Diſaſter had not now been to fall upon them, either ever have been by them perceived, without the Aid of the Emperour; who oppoſing himſelf againſt this Fire, had quenched it and put it out; preſerving them with his great charge, and ſaving them even in the midſt of their greateſt Perils and Dangers. That they ſhould therefore remember theſe his ſo great Benefits, to the intent to make him recompence according to the publick Faith, which bindeth us to the reward of good Deſerts; and that all the recompence that the Emperour deſired, was the welfare of the eſtate as concerning their own good; inſomuch, that he deſired nothing of them but their Obeiſance, for being bound to defend them and preſerve them to his Power; whereby it ſhould come to paſs, that he ſhould be ſatisfied for his Travels, and they preſerved from their Enemies; the Prince and the Subjects together jointly working their mutual Health and Welfare; each of them according unto their Proportion, for that this mutual performance of Duty preſerved the Scepter for the good government of their Eſtate. Whereunto their Anſwer was, That they beſought him that their Country might be relieved from the croud and cruelty of the men of War, and delivered from the intolerable Burthens of Tributes, which ſo heavily oppreſſed it; that theſe Objects and Inconveniences could not keep them conſtant in their Obedience, ſeeing that they both felt them, and received them from the hand of them, to whom they had yielded their Obedience, in hope to have been by them relieved; that the new feeling of the Wound did continually renew in them the hatred, and the Object of their Harms ſtill kept both their Eyes and their Minds occupied upon them, who were the cauſes thereof; ſo that they could not well, either look upon them or make reckoning of them;

Baſta's Admonitions to them of *Tranſilvania*.

The Anſwer of the *Tranſilvanians* unto the Admonitions of *Baſta*.

them; That therefore it would pleaſe him to eaſe them of their Grievances, in recompence whereof they would pay him 15000 *Hungarian* Duckats yearly for to pay his men of War, and would farther furniſh them with all Proviſions neceſſary; it being a thing more honourable and profitable alſo unto a Prince moderately to uſe his Subjects means to keep his State in perpetuity, than through Covetouſneſs to devour them in one day, in their loſs to undo himſelf for ever. This their Offer was by *Baſta* accepted, and the minds of theſe People, by this Contentment given them, kept in their dutiful Allegiance and Loyalty unto the Emperour.

New Enterpriſes by the Rebel *Moiſes* in *Tranſilvania.*

He with Enſigns diſplay'd entreth into *Tranſilvania.*

But whilſt *Baſta* thus travelled for the quieting of *Tranſilvania*, *Moiſes* the Rebel, in the mean time, was for his part no leſs buſied for the diſturbing thereof again; inſomuch, that having by the appointment of the Viſier Baſſa received ten thouſand *Tartars* in his Aid, and aſſiſted with a great number of Turks, he, with Enſigns diſplay'd, entred into *Tranſilvania*, proteſting there to dye, or to be revenged of *Baſta*, who had before chaſed him out thence. And the better to effect this troubleſome Deſign, he now had made choice of a moſt fit time for the Performance thereof. *Baſta*, upon the Truſt he had of the publick Faith which he came to take of the *Tranſilvanians*, for their Allegiance unto the Emperour, which aſſured him from all Stirs and Tumults in that Province, being with a ſmall Power come from *Claudiopolis* in *Hungary*, and then lying at *Wiſcebourg*, upon the Confines of *Hungary*: Which his Journey, and the neceſſity of his Preſence in *Hungary* for the defence thereof, had cauſed the *Tranſilvanians* to believe, that he ſhould for that Year ſtay in *Hungary*, as General of the Emperour's Army there. Upon which Perſuaſion of his Abſence, many of them began again to hold up their heads, and to entertain high Conceits of new Stirs, whereunto *Moiſes* by his Eſpials had prepared them, and now by his Preſence not a little encouraged; inſomuch, that many, as well of the Nobility as others, joyned themſelves unto him, and his increaſed Army, againſt the Imperials.

Moiſes with his Power being come into the Province, firſt forced a Caſtle, about three Leagues diſtant from *Wiſcebourg*, and ſlew all the Garriſon therein. Which Exploit encouraged him farther, full of hope in the abſence of *Baſta*; and ſeeing himſelf now the abſolute Maſter of the Field, which he at his Pleaſure, without reſiſtance, forraged, robbed, and ſpoiled, with his men loaded with Booty, beſieged *Wiſcebourg*, a little Town upon the Confines of *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, neither by Art nor by Nature ſtrong, but expoſed as a Prey unto him that is in the Field ſtrongeſt, if Succours be not at hand to relieve it. Howbeit, weak as it was, it held out three Weeks Siege, and having a breach made in the Walls, endured two Aſſaults againſt all the Forces of the Rebel. After which, the beſieged, thinking themſelves to have ſufficiently diſcharged their Duty in holding out ſo long, and enduring of ſo much, and out of hope to be relieved by the weak Forces of *Baſta*, came to parle with the Enemy, and their Lives and Goods ſaved, yielded unto him the Town, and ſo departed themſelves to *Varadin*.

Wiſcebourg beſieged by *Moiſes.*

Wiſcebourg yielded to *Moiſes.*

Now albeit that there were no great Forces of the Emperour's on foot in *Tranſilvania*, yet the hungry *Haiducks* for all that failed not to follow theſe Wars, even amidſt the great Clouds of their Enemies, and were ever taking of ſome Prey or Booty from the Enemy, the chiefeſt and almoſt the only means whereby they live. In which doing, as they benefited themſelves (the chief Motives of their Adventures) ſo they not a little eaſed the Country, by repreſſing the Excurſions and Pillages of the Turks, whereof the Country had endured the fury. Where, amongſt other Priſoners by them taken, it was their Fortune to light upon a Chiaus of the Turks come from *Conſtantinople*, going toward the Rebel *Moiſes* from the great Sultan *Mahomet*: Who, by them examined, confeſſed, That *Moiſes* was a man in great Grace and Reputation with his Lord and Maſter the Grand Seignior; and that he was ſent to aſſure him thereof; as alſo of all the needful Aſſiſtance of his Prince, if he ſhould faithfully and effectually ſerve him in *Tranſilvania*, and bring it under his Subjection and Power, as he had promiſed and ſworn. In which doing, he ſhould not only gain the credit of a noble and faithful Servant towards him, but ſhould farther obtain thereby the honour to be the Lieutenant General of his Army in this Province; the great Sultan (as he ſaid) having means as eaſie as words to advance his faithful Servitors, who might draw more good Fortunes in one hour out of this infinite ſource of Felicity and Greatneſs, than they could in a thouſand years out of the poverty of the Princes of *Europe*. He ſaid alſo, That the great Sultan had on foot an Army of a hundred and fifty thouſand men ſtrong, for the Conqueſt of *Peſth* and *Strigonium*, furniſhed with all things neceſſary, which had now already turned head toward *Hungary*, had it not been for the Rebellion of ſome of his diſloyal Subjects, whom for all that he would in ſhort time chaſtiſe, and ſo turn his whole Forces upon the Emperour.

Moiſes in great favour with *Mahomet.*

A General beſieged loſeth his Reputation.

Moiſes, proud of his late Conqueſt, and having found a great deal of great Ordnance in *Wiſcebourg*, reſolved to proſecute his Victory, and to beſiege *Baſta* in *Somoſinnar*, whereinto he had thruſt himſelf, with the reſt of his ſmall Forces: but *Baſta*, better acquainted with martial Affairs than he, and knowing that a General, departed from his Charge, and brought to the mercy of a Wall for his chief Defence, hath loſt his Credit and Reputation with his Friends, and they alſo in hope of Safety from him thought it beſt firſt to take order for the ſtrengthening of the Place, ſo to put *Moiſes* out of hope of the winning thereof, and afterward, as he might to provide for the ſafety of himſelf and his. Wherefore he in good time advertiſed the Governour of *Caſſovia* (who was neareſt unto him) of *Moiſes*'s Deſigns, and of the neceſſity wherewith he was himſelf incloſed. Who forthwith conceiving the conſequence of ſo great an Exploit, as concerned both the loſs of the Place, and of ſo great a Commander as was *Baſta*, a loſs irreparable; preſently commanded ſix Companies of Horſe-men to thruſt themſelves into the Place, for the better defence thereof. Theſe Horſe-men, either afraid of the Rebels Army, or elſe favouring his Proceedings, without reſpect of that they had in charge, or of their Honour (things dearer unto men of Worth than their Lives) without any Attempt at all given, returned again to *Caſſovia*; having with their Pilfering and Outrages by the way much offended and provoked the Minds of the Country People by him ſpoiled. But being now better adviſed, and repenting themſelves of their Faults, and craving Pardon of their Governour, who was about with the reſt of his Power to have cut them in pieces, they offered him for ſatisfaction ſix of the principal Authors of their Diſloyalty; who were all forthwith executed, and their Quarters (to the terror of others) hanged up upon Gibbets by the High-ways ſide. But *Baſta*, by their Treachery, lay in the mean time without ſuccour, forſaken by his Friends, and the Place wherein he lay in danger to be taken: when the *Tranſilvanians*, dwelling near thereby, reſolved to relieve him, as well for fear of the Turks Bondage, as for the Tyranny of *Moiſes*; one of whoſe Secretaries, with Letters of

Baſta prayeth Aid of the Governour of *Caſſovia.*

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of Credence then threatned all the Country with Fire and Sword, and all kind of Miſeries, if the Inhabitants helped not with all their Power to force the Place and to win it. Which Threats by *Moiſes*, publiſhed before he had any abſolute Power, diſmayed every man; for why, they could not hope for any Moderation or Kindneſs in the Proſperity of him, who in the time of his Adverſity gave ſuch apparent Teſtimonies of his Cruelty. So that the People, doubting this angry man, reſolved to prevent his ſo grievous Threats by relieving of *Baſta*, who only was able to ſtop him. Amongſt others, *Radul*, Vayvod of *Valachia*, mindful of the Aid that *Baſta* had given him againſt the *Tartars*, and willing now as a Friend to reach his hand in time of his ſo hard diſtreſs, immediately raiſed a Power of eight thouſand *Valachians*, which he preſently ſent to the relief of *Baſta*. *Moiſes* advertiſed of their coming, and farther underſtanding, that *Baſta* having well fortified the place, was departed thence, having before his Departure aſſuredly promiſed his men there left to relieve them, and that he was now in the midſt of the Field gathering together his Army, changed both his Reſolution and Purpoſe, of himſelf raiſed his Siege, and ſo departed. After which, miſhaps began to fall upon him by heaps. The Turks forthwith forſook him, taking their way to *Temeſwar*, whither they were by the Baſſa called back to repreſs the *Haiducks*, who were now every day even at the Gates of the City. Theſe active and courageous men, for their profit attending upon all occaſions, knowing that the better part of the Garriſon of *Temeſwar* was gone to aid *Moiſes*, upon the ſudden had deſperately aſſailed the Suburbs of that ſtrong City, ſlain all that they found there, rifled them and burnt them; and ſo, loaded with a great and rich Prey, both of Cattel and other things, returned to *Veradin*, no man purſuing of them: and not ſo contented, were every day abroad ſeeking after new Booty; which was the Cauſe that the Baſſa now called back the Turks from *Moiſes* home again into their Garriſons.

The Vayvod of *Valachia* ſendeth Aid to the Relief of *Baſta*.

Moiſes raiſeth his Siege.

The Baſſa of *Temeſwar* calleth home his Turks out of *Tranſilvania*, for the repreſſing of the *Haiducks*.

Moiſes, notwithſtanding this departure of the Garriſon Turks of *Temeſwar*, was yet Maſter of the Field, *Baſta* with his ſmall Forces not daring to oppoſe himſelf againſt him, yet by far too ſtrong for him, the Succours from the Vayvod of *Valachia* being not yet come, which he daily expected, howbeit that many hot Skirmiſhes paſſed between the ſtragling Souldiers on both ſides, as they by chance met together roaming abroad in the Country ſeeking after Booty. *Moiſes* therefore, ſeeing not any ſufficient Enemy to appear in Field able to ſtay him, laid Siege to *Claudinople*, a great, but weak City, and not very well manned; for that it was thought a place fitter, by the Weakneſs thereof, to weaken and deſtroy ſuch as ſhould undertake the Defence thereof, than ſufficient to be maintained by their Valour. Nevertheleſs, the Garriſon Souldiers and the Inhabitants (more to make a ſhew of their Fidelity and Allegiance toward the Emperour, than for any hope they had to maintain the Place) ſtanding upon their Guard and Defence, *Moiſes* was conſtrained to plant his great Ordnance againſt it, and to batter it; which he did, and in a very ſhort time, with the fury of the Cannon, had beaten down the Bulwarks and Slankers thereof, and made a fair breach in the Wall, ready now to have given thereunto an Aſſault, and to have entred. Whereupon, the beſieged, not ignorant of their own weakneſs, came to Parle, and agreed to give up the City, the Citizens having their Lives, Goods, Liberty, and Religion ſaved, to ſtay there ſtill, and the Souldiers with their Arms and Baggage to be in ſafety brought over the Mountains into ſome place of Surety. The taking of this City much encouraged the Rebel, reſolved there to make his Reſiſtance, and the Seat of his Principality. Full ears of Corn draw Birds to pick upon them; and the good Fortunes of Generals, Souldiers to follow them: they forſake none but ſuch as are before forſaken of their better Fortunes; to become Slaves unto Gain, and Enemies unto Honour. The *Turks* and *Tartars*, thirſting after theſe Commodities, and allured with the ſmell of Riches, repaired thither on every ſide, in ſuch ſort, that the Army of *Moiſes* increaſed in Number, his Mind with Hope, and his Fortune with Power. Armed with theſe Aſſurances, he ſent for his Wife and Family, then at *Temeſwar*, to come unto him to *Claudinople*, to be Partakers with him of his good hap. And for that purpoſe ſent a Convoy of 400 Turks to conduct them on the way thither: who being come to *Temeſwar*, and about to have led the Wife and Family of *Moiſes* out of the City, were not ſuffered by the Janizaries that had the guarding of the Town, ſo to do; who told them, That the great Sultan had in former times found ſo many Diſloyalties, Treacheries, and Treaſons, in the *Hungarians*, *Tranſilvanians*, and *Valachians*, to the great hurt and hinderance of his Eſtate, that he could no more aſſure himſelf of them: and that doubting of the Fidelity of *Moiſes*, being a *Tranſilvanian*, he was reſolved to keep this gage for his more aſſurance; aſſuring him withal, That his Wife and Family being in his Power, ſhould receive nothing from him but Favour and Grace, ſo long as he received from him the effects of his Loyalty; but, that he ſhould never hope to enjoy them but in *Temeſwar*, or ſome other ſuch-like place aſſured for his Service. *Moiſes* aſtoniſhed at this Anſwer, was much moved againſt the great Sultan, complained in his Soul, that having ruinated his Faith, his Honour, and the Welfare of his Country, to aſſure him of his Fidelity towards him, he yet doubted of his Conſtancy, as if all theſe Crimes did not bind him to ſerve him with his Perſon for ever, were it even but for fear of Puniſhment from them whom he had ſo grievouſly offended.

Claudinople beſieged by *Moiſes*.

Claudinople yielded to *Moiſes*.

Moiſes ſendeth for his Wife and Family to *Temeſwar*.

The Janizaries of *Temeſwar* refuſe to deliver *Moiſes's* Wife and Family.

In the mean time, the Succours ſent from the Vayvod of *Valachia* were upon the Borders of *Tranſilvania*, under the Conduct of *Marſa* the Vayvod's Lieutenant, and *Baſta* was gathering together his Forces, to recover again his former State; expecting every hour the coming of two thouſand Horſe-men out of *Sileſia*, with which united Power he was in good hope to diſcomfit the Rebel, and to recover his former Loſſes. All which, *Moiſes* by his Eſpials knew right well, and for the Remedy thereof reſolved to march with thirty thouſand men to meet with the *Valachians*, and to cut them off before they could come far into *Tranſilvania*, or joyn their Forces with *Baſta*. For the furthering of which his Purpoſe, he had learned the Place whereby they were to enter, their Number, and the way they were to hold, the better to conduct his Army againſt them; and being in number more than three to one, already aſſured himſelf of the Victory. All which fell out according to his Deſire: for, the *Valachians* coming on, being in number but eight thouſand, fell as it were a Prey into his Mouth. For needs fight they muſt, or die therefore, altho the Number were unequal; for that to fly was more dangerous to the *Valachians* (having the *Turks* and *Tartarian* Horſe-men at their Backs) than manfully to fight it out. Neceſſity gave Courage unto the weaker ſide, and Fear cauſed them to perform more than they would have done, had they had liberty to have fled; yet for all that, the greater number at length prevailed againſt the leſs: ſo that after a great and mortal Fight, wherein a great number of the *Turks* and

The *Valachians* by *Moiſes* put to flight.

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and *Tartars* were ſlain, the *Valachians* in the end were inforced to leave their dead Companions, their Honour, and their Tents, with all their Baggage, in the Field, and to betake themſelves to flight; but not all in rout as freſh-water Souldiers, but with often making ſtands, as men diſdaining by true Valour, but only with Number oppreſſed, to be overcome. The Rebels, proud of their Victory, and now fearing no more harm, forthwith gave themſelves to the rifling of the Enemies Camp, divided the Spoil, and filling the Heavens with the noiſe of their Trumpets, publiſhing thereby the Trophies of their Victory. Which Diſorder the *Valachians* perceiving, and thereof conceiving hope of ſome good to be done, turned head, and ſerred cloſe together, courageouſly thruſt themſelves into the midſt of theſe proud and triumphant Victors. Which unexpected thunderclap ſo diſmayed them and troubled their Wits, that, ſurpriſed in diſorder, with their hands full of Spoils inſtead of Weapons, they could neither recover their Courage, nor put themſelves again in order. Such Confuſion maketh men oftentimes to feel the blows of Death, before they are aware of the Army that giveth the ſame; ſo, of theſe men ſo confounded, ſome ſtood as men amazed, otherſome ran away to ſave themſelves, and otherſome ſtood upon their defence, but all were alike ſlain; ſo that in fine, this great Army was for the moſt part cut in pieces, and the reſt put to flight. *Moyſes* himſelf was there among the reſt ſlain, worthy for his Treaſon to have been reſerved to a more ſhameful Death.

Moiſes with his Army by the *Valachians* overthrown, and himſelf ſlain.

Of this Victory, the Vayvod, by Letters, certified *Baſta*, to whom he ſent five and twenty of the Enemies Enſigns for an honourable Preſent, with this joyful news of the Death and Overthrow of the Rebel; whoſe Body, as the Vayvod writ, was found dead among the midſt of the dead, ſlain even at the firſt Charge, wherein his Gaurd was overthrown. And for that it was commonly believed, that he was not yet dead, neither preſent at that Battel, as ſome had given it out; to manifeſt the contrary unto the World, and by his Example to terrifie others, his Head was upon a Lance ſet up at *Carolſtad* for all men to behold; a Preferment well beſeeming ſuch an ambitious Head, as had made ſo great Troubles, and been the death of ſo many Chriſtians.

Moïſes's Head upon a Lance ſet up at *Carolſtad*.

New Rebels in *Tranſilvania* diſcomfited.

This Rebel ſuppreſſed, another by and by ſtart up, called *Albert Nage*, who, gathering together the Rebels of *Tranſilvania*, mingled with certain *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Coſſacks*, and *Moldavians*, all together amounting to the number of ſix thouſand, made head towards *Lippa*. Againſt whom, *Baſta* with all ſpeed ſent forth three thouſand *Haiducks*, well acquainted with the Country, which ſometimes ſerved them to better purpoſe than their Arms, for that the Rebels ſought not ſo much to come to a ſet Battel, and to try the matter by true Valour, as by taking the Advantages of Places, to delay the time and gain Purchaſe, the chief end of their Rebellion. Theſe Rebels the *Haiducks* ſurpriſed, near unto a Caſtle called *Ferre*, where they meant to have lodged, and charged them. Who ſo upon the ſudden overtaken, and ignorant of their Enemies Power, ſuppoſing them to have been more in number than indeed they were, made ſmall Reſiſtance, but as a many of Raſcals, gathered by Villany, and without truſting of one another, by flight provided every man for himſelf as he might. In which Flight, the greateſt number of them were ſlain, and their Chieftain with much ado ſaved, to be at another time for his evil Deſerts juſtly executed.

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Baſta, by theſe good haps, and the aid of the Vayvod of *Valachia*, being again become Maſter of the Field, in very ſhort time after had again reduced all *Tranſilvania* under the Emperour's Obeiſance; unto whom, he, together with the Vayvod, for an honourable Preſent and a Teſtimony of their good Service, ſent to *Vienna*, and from thence to *Prague*, an hundred Enſigns gained from the Rebels. All which, with ſome other rich Spoils, the Maſter of the Ceremonies in great pomp and triumph led, together with *Moyſes* the late Rebels Horſe, exceeding richly furniſhed with Furniture of pure Gold; and was for his Pains by the Emperour rewarded with a Chain of Gold, ſent unto him by the County *Fuſtenberg*.

An honourable Preſent by the L. *Baſta* ſent unto the Emperour.

The Troubles of *Tranſilvania* thus once again quieted, *Baſta*, reſolving again to beſiege *Temeſwar*, with his Power marched towards *Lippa*, there to meet with the Forces of the Vayvod of *Valachia*, the better to undertake and perform the intended Exploit. His Army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men ſtrong, carrying with them five and twenty Pieces of great Ordnance, furniſhed with all things neceſſary. And of the Enterpriſe it ſelf every man had good hope, as well for the ſufficiency of him, the General that had undertaken it, as for the want of Relief, that was not any way like to be brought unto the beſieged. But while he ſo lay at the Siege thereof, his Souldiers, too greedily and exceſſively feeding upon Fruit, (whereof there was that Year great ſtore) fell ſo into the bloody Flux, and thereof in ſuch number died, (although he had given moſt ſtrait Command, That none ſhould be eaten, or upon great Penalties be brought into the Camp) that he was glad to riſe with his Army and be gone.

County *Solmes* ſurpriſing *Wiſcenbourg*, is himſelf taken Priſoner.

Whilſt this was in doing, the County *Solmes*, lying in Garriſon at *Carolſtad*, took upon him to ſurpriſe *Wiſcenbourg*, and ſetting forth but with four hundred Souldiers of his Garriſon, with wonderful Diligence ſurpriſed the Place, and without any great Reſiſtance became Maſters thereof. But the Citizens, over-grieved with the inſolent Outrages of theſe men of War, opened the Gates of their Town unto the Rebels of *Tranſilvania*, even then fled from the late Overthrow; who, full of Revenge, took the Place, and being too ſtrong for the County and his Souldiers, made ſuch ſlaughter of them in the Streets (they of the Town out of their Windows, and from the tops of their Houſes, helping them) that of all thoſe which the County brought with him, there were but ſixty left alive; who, all taken, were, together with the County, thruſt into a ſtrong and loathſome Priſon.

Now the bruit of the coming of the Turks great Army into *Hungary*, had awaked the Chriſtian Forces to aſſemble themſelves together, and to do their endeavour to withſtand the ſame; ſo that a number of Companies were raiſed in *Germany*, who came into *Hungary* marching towards *Strigonium*, where the Army was to be aſſembled. The good ſucceſs of things paſt, the Opinion men had of the Turks Troubles with his Rebels, and the great Promiſes of the Emperour, drew many into theſe Liſts of Honour; in ſuch ſort, that there were come together an Army of five and twenty thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe, all good and brave Companies, well appointed and well conducted. Of this brave and gallant Army the Lord *Ruſſworm* was for this Year appointed General; who therewith marched within the ſight of *Strigonium*, to aſſure the Inhabitants of Relief, if the Enemy ſhould chance to beſiege them, as the News then went: About three Weeks this Army lay thereby incamped, attending the coming of the reſt of the Forces, which were to ſtrengthen and make up the

A great Army of the Chriſtians.

ſame, during which time the General diſpoſed of all things neceſſary for the keeping of *Strigonium*, and put into the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, near unto it, three thouſand *Lanſqueners*, for relief of the City; which done, he removed with his Army toward *Peſth*, and incamped within a League thereof toward the *Weſt*, reſolved ſo to croſs the Deſigns of the Enemy, if he ſhould attempt to beſiege this Place; (as it was doubted he would) and in hope that the Preſervation thereof might in time be a cauſe for the winning of *Buda*, and a means to impeach the Enemies Forces.

The Turks Army of 100000 men in Field.

The Turks Army, within a few days after, upon a contrary Deſign, conducted for the winning of *Peſth*, (and reſolved to raiſe the Chriſtians Camp) in number an hundred thouſand men, came, and face to face incamped within the ſight of the Chriſtian Army on the other ſide of the River *Danubius*. In the mean time, whilſt they ſo lay, certain cowardly Souldiers of *Peſth*, more in love with their Bellies than with their Honour, by ſtealth fled out of their Garriſon in *Peſth*, to the Turks over againſt them in *Buda*, ſhamefully craving of them Victuals; whom, the Turks themſelves, being almoſt in as great want, yet bounteouſly relieved. Beſides that, the Baſſa of *Buda*, to corrupt the reſt of their Fellows, cauſed theſe renegade Fugitives to be entertained with double pay; who therefore gave the Baſſa a thouſand thanks, extolling his Bounty unto the Heavens, and from the Walls invited their Companions to do as they had done, and ſo to become Partakers of ſuch Bounty and Pleaſure as they were. Howbeit, theſe Fugitives nothing profited the Baſſa, either by their Perſwaſion or Example; for albeit that they from the Mouth of the Baſſa promiſed unto their Companions plenty of Victuals, good Entertainment, and four Months pay more, yet was there not any of them which hearkened or gave Ear unto their Allurements; but rather, the more to aſſure their Commanders of their Fidelity, of themſelves offered to be ſworn again unto their Allegiance unto the Emperour, and to dye in the place rather than to forſake it. Yet was the want of Victuals then in *Peſth* great, and the Garriſon therewith extreamly pinched, fed almoſt as much with hope, as with that little which was left them. Neither was it long after, but that according to their deſires, the fifteenth of *May*, a great Ship arrived there, laden with Wine and Victuals ſufficient for the relief of their preſent Neceſſities. Of the coming of which Ship, the Turk having heard, attended the Paſſage thereof in the Iſle, to have intercepted it. Of which their purpoſe the Garriſon Souldiers of *Peſth* having knowledge, and armed with Neceſſity, ſallied out upon them, and killing a number of them, inforced the reſt to quit the Place. This Ship was but the fore-runner of greater Succours; for ſhortly after followed a number of other Ships, which arriving at *Peſth*, laden with Victuals and other Neceſſaries, filled the Place with as great plenty, as there had been want before. Which ſupply was conducted unto *Peſth* by 500 Harquebuſiers of *Strigonium*, the Turks from *Buda* looking on, but not daring, or not able to ſtay the ſame.

The ſhameful flight of certain of the Garriſon Souldiers of *Peſth* unto the Turks at *Buda*.

Peſth victualled.

The Suburbs of *Alba-Regalis* by the Chriſtians ſacked and burnt.

It fortuned at the ſelf ſame time, that a Captain of the Turks, fled from *Alba-Regalis* to *Rab*, ſhewed unto the Chriſtians there the way and the means how they might come to the Suburbs of *Alba-Regalis*, and take the ſpoil of the ſame; yea, and happily, as things might fall out, find occaſion to ſurpriſe the Town it ſelf alſo; offering himſelf to be the Guide in the ſame Action. And albeit that this Turk was an Enemy to be feared and diſtruſted, yet the Chriſtian Souldiers, as men deſirous both of Honour and Prey, and induced alſo with the Probability of the attempt, gave credit unto him, and imbraced the ſame. Neither failed he of his Promiſe, neither the Chriſtians of their Devoir in performance of the Exploit. For the two Garriſons of *Rab* and *Strigonium* aſſembled together, by the leading of this Turk ſurpriſed the Suburbs of *Alba-Regalis*, ſlew all them that made reſiſtance, rifled them on all hands, ſet them on fire, and ſo laden with Riches and Spoil, returned home again in ſafety.

Another Convoy of Victuals by Land put into *Peſth*.

At the ſame time alſo, the Chriſtians on the other ſide *Danubins* gathered an head together to conduct another Convoy of Victuals into *Peſth*, with a Reſolution to march with the ſame through the plain field at noon time of the day, even in the Eye of the Enemy, ſo to brave him. And to this purpoſe, the Lord *Nadaſti* was there preſent with a good number of *Hungarians*, Collonel *Mesbourg* with a Regiment of *Almaines*, and the County *Thurn* with a number of *Huſſars*, all good Souldiers and Men of Courage, deſirous to have made proof thereof upon their Enemies. This Convoy, with the Trumpets gallantly ſounding, bravely marched over the Plain at mid Day, the Turks from the Walls of *Buda* beholding the ſame, but not daring to adventure upon it. And ſo *Peſth*, for want of Victuals before diſtreſſed, was now both by Water and by Land plentifully relieved.

The Caſtle of *Adom* upon a vain fear forſaken by the *Haiducks*, who had the keeping thereof.

The Chriſtians, the laſt year having left the ſiege of *Buda* for the Reaſons before written, in their return took the Caſtle of *Adom*, ſeated upon the Bank of *Danubius*, about two Leagues from *Buda*, and for the keeping thereof, left therein a Garriſon of *Haiducks*. This Caſtle was commodious for the annoying of the Turks in *Buda*, and for the relief of the Chriſtians in *Peſth*, for that it impeacheth the bringing of Victuals unto the one, and favoured the victualling of the other. The good and faithful defence of which Place, theſe *Haiducks* undertook to the uttermoſt of their Power, upon their Honour and Credit, as they would be accounted valiant and courageous men; but yet refuſed to be bound by Oath to render an account of the Place, whatſoever might befall; a thing (as they truly ſaid) above their Forces, and more than was in their Power to perform. Theſe men now, upon the brute of the coming of the Turks great Army, afraid of their Shadows, having before truſſed up their Baggage, ſet fire on the Caſtle, and ſo departed, retiring themſelves to *Strigonium*; where, examined by the Governour *Althem* of the cauſe of their flight, and what Enemies had chaſed them thence, and being not able to make therefore any excuſe, neither to yield thereof any reaſon more than their imaginary fear, were by his commandment impriſoned, there to remain until order were taken by the General of the Army for their further Puniſhment.

Sultan *Mahomet* among his greateſt Pleaſures perplexed.

Sultan *Mahomet* now wallowing amidſt his ſenſual Delights in *Conſtantinople*, yet found not therein ſo full Contentment, but that his Pleaſures had alſo their Griefs fully mixt with them. In *Conſtantinople*, the ſtrong Seat of his mighty Empire, he was in the midſt of the Inſolencies and Mutinies of his proud Baſſaes and tumultuous Janizaries; and abroad he was in Wars both againſt his rebellious Subjects in *Aſia*, and the Chriſtians in *Europe*. Unto all which Troubles he ſaw not how to give Remedy at once, and therefore reſolved (if it were poſſible) firſt to appeaſe the Troubles abroad with his rebellious Subjects in *Aſia*, as more deſirous to be at peace with his own Subjects than with Strangers; howbeit, that the puniſhing of Rebellion is more neceſſary in a Prince for the maintenance of his State, than is War againſt a Stranger for the conquering of a new Country or Kingdom; the one preventing the danger hanging

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Mahomet in vain ſeeketh to make Peace with the Rebels in *Aſia*.

over his Head, the other ſerving but his vain and ambitious deſire; ſo he, preferring Peace with the Rebels his Subjects, before Peace with the Chriſtians his Enemies, reſolved (as I ſaid) to pacifie the firſt, the more eaſily to ruinate the other. But whether he upon good Faith, or upon Policy, entered into this Reſolution, and whether indeed he meant plainly with theſe Rebels, or but only to deceive them, is hard to ſay. Howbeit, as the ſequel of the matter ſhewed, Falſhood and Treachery was the ground of all this Buſineſs both on the one ſide and the other. For theſe men, reſpecting only the ſafety and aſſurance of their Eſtate, held all other Actions to them indifferent, whether they were good or bad, ſo that they ſerved to that effect; and nouriſhed with the ſame Milk of Infidelity that their Prince was, trained up in the ſame School, and foſtered with the ſame Air, feared in him againſt them, that which they felt in themſelves againſt him. An hard matter it is to aſſure minds fraught with like Craft, Subtilty, and Deceit, and poſſeſſed with like diſtruſt one of another. Howbeit, *Mahomet* ſpared no kind of cunning to deceive theſe crafty and ſubtil men; offering unto them, together with his gracious Pardon, great Preferments, Dignities, and Honours, ſo that they would but yield to him their due Obedience, lay down their Arms, and no more take up the ſame but in his Service. But theſe wily Foxes knew right well, that the Promiſes of faithleſs Princes coſt them nothing but Words, the honour and credit whereof they regarded not, ſo that thereby they might attain unto the effect of their deſires, which they eſteemed above all other things; ſo that for them to truſt unto a thing of ſo ſmall Value, with him that was ſo prodigal thereof, and for the ſame ſo eaſily to yield up their Lives and Fortunes, which they eſteemed as their only Treaſure, they thought right worthily to deſerve all ſhame and miſhap that might betide them. So that they not only refuſed to lay down Arms, and to yield their Obedience unto him, as he deſired, but even to have Peace with him upon any Conditions whatſoever, ſeeing them dangerous unto themſelves, and good only for him their Enemy.

Mahomet, ſeeing his Offers rejected by the Rebels of *Aſia*, covertly ſeeketh for Peace with the Chriſtians.

Mahomet, finding the Rebels ſo reſolutely ſet down, as not by any means but by force to be appeaſed, thought it now beſt to turn his purpoſe unto the Chriſtians, and to offer them that which the other had refuſed, in hope that Peace made with the one, ſhould be the Ruine and Deſtruction of the other. Upon which Point he being in himſelf reſolved, ſought now but ſome honeſt means, not unbeſeeming his Greatneſs, to joyn unto this his Project, to give him a way thereunto. For the eaſing him of which care, the *French* Ambaſſador, then Lieger at *Conſtantinople*, was very fitly then entreating with the Viſier Baſſaes for the Deliverance of the County *Tſolan*, taken at *Alba-Regalis* the laſt Year, and againſt all Law of Arms detained Priſoner at *Conſtantinople*. This noble Gentleman *Mahomet* thought fit, as well for the Sufficiency of himſelf, as with Inſtructions, to deal with the Emperour concerning an entreaty of Peace to be had. Whereupon, he commanded him to be ſet at liberty, with Charge, That he ſhould both diſcreetly and faithfully deal with the Emperour concerning this matter of Peace; which, if he ſhould by his Induſtry effect, to the good liking and contentment of *Mahomet* the great Sultan, that then he ſhould become and remain free, otherwiſe to return again into his former Captivity and Bondage; for whom the *French* Ambaſſador gave his Word, and became Pledge. Upon which barbarous Conditions the Earl was forthwith delivered, who by the Law of Arms ſhould not at all have been detained. Beſides this Plot laid for the Negotiation of this Peace, *Achmet Baſſa* to this purpoſe writ to *Collonitz*, then Commander of the Emperour's Army in *Hungary*. But ſee the Copy of the Letters themſelves.

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The Letters of *Achmet Baſſa* to *Collonitz*, concerning a Treaty of Peace to be had.

To thee our Friend Collonitz, *Health and Greeting. I ſuppoſe that you yet remember the Propoſitions concerning Peace, which our Sovereign and moſt mighty Monarch not long ago cauſed to be opened and propounded unto you by certain of his Baſſaes near unto* Strigonium, *which as then remained not reſolved. But if now it ſhall ſeem unto you good, that we ſhould aſſemble our ſelves together into ſome place of Aſſurance both to the one ſide and to the other, we may again conferr about that Buſineſs, as having on my part full Power and Commandment from my Prince ſo to do; yet with Charge, That before all other things,* Strigonium *ſhould be again delivered unto us, Which being done, we may eaſily afterward determine the other Difficulties, and conclude a good and wholſome Peace. God which reigneth alone in the Heavens above, is witneſs of our faithful and juſt deſire, to aſſure a quiet and firm Peace betwixt us, and that to avert theſe floods of War from the poor People, and to give them ſome Repoſe and Reſt after ſo great Troubles. This is our Intent and Purpoſe, which God knoweth to be void of all Fraud and Guile; which we now declare unto you, in hope to underſtand yours alſo. But if you be not reſolved to render to us* Strigonium *before we begin to intreat of any other Matter, it is not needful for you to trouble your ſelf to give any Anſwer to theſe our Letters. But if you ſhall reſolve to the contrary, to deliver the ſame, with as much ſpeed as you can let us in few Words underſtand your Reſolution, the Time and the Place fit for our Aſſembly and Meeting, to the intent fully to determine of theſe Affairs. You know alſo, that you have been of long time accuſtomed to pay Tribute unto our Prince; which, if you ſhall continue to pay for the time to come, and diſcharge the Arrearages for the time paſt, it ſhall be commodious for us, and honourable for you, ſeeing that it is an Honour unto you to be Tributaries unto the Grand Seignior, it having always in times paſt been for your Good and Profit. Beſides that, Peace ſhall likewiſe be entreated of with the Great Cham of* Tartary, *who, as commanded by our moſt mighty and gracious Emperour, upon juſt and reaſonable Conditions to entertain the ſame, and never more, but in peaceable manner, to come into* Hungary. *Now if that you ſhall neglect or reject this Treaty for Peace, it is certain that you ſhall be the Author of the Miſery and Ruine of the whole Country, it being impoſſible that the Towns and Villages conſumed with Fire ſhould ever recover their former Beauty or Felicity. God which reigneth in Heaven is there witneſs unto me, and my dread Emperour upon Earth, that I ſpeak frankly with you, and without Diſſimulation concerning this matter. Now on your part, let us underſtand if you have a deſire to attend unto this Treaty of Peace, according to the purport of our Letters: for if you ſhall reſolve to the contrary, we proteſt unto you to write no more concerning theſe Affairs.*

The Emperour advertiſed of the Turks motion for Peace, giveth order to *Collonitz* for the entertaining thereof.

Collonitz having received theſe Letters, ſent them forthwith unto the Emperour, requeſting his Majeſty to conſider what Anſwer he would have given unto them. Whom the Emperour, deſirous of a good Peace, commanded to embrace the occaſion, and by Proof to learn whether the Turks deſire were indeed conformable to their Words or not: Whereupon, *Collonitz* taking unto him certain of the beſt Commanders in the Army, undertook the Buſineſs, and entered into the Treaty of Peace with the Turks; wherein he found the unreaſonableneſs of their Demands to tend ſo much unto the hurt and diſhonour of the Emperour, as that they even at the firſt Entrance ſhut up the way to all farther or reaſonable Conference; it being altogether impoſſible to bring to any Conformity Minds ſet

The *Turks* unreaſonable demands break off all the Treaty of Peace.

down upon Reſolutions ſo far different. For the Turks (as if the Emperour would have been glad of Peace upon any Condition) after their proud manner, unreaſonably demanded to have *Tranſilvania*, *Strigonium*, and *Peſth* reſtored unto them; for which they offered to deliver unto the Emperour, *Agria* and *Caniſia*, Peble for Pearls. So that upon Propoſitions ſo far different, being able to conclude nothing, they departed on both ſides as they came, to try by Arms that which by Talk and Conference they could not agree upon. But as all the Turks Treaties of Peace with the Chriſtians are indeed but falſe ſhews to abuſe the Facility of the Chriſtians by, even ſo now alſo it was known, that they in the mean time, whilſt this Treaty of Peace was in hand, gathered together great ſtore both of Men and Munition at *Belgrade*, wherewith to arm a great Convoy of Victuals, which they had thought during this Interparley for Peace to have put into *Buda*. But *Collonitz* underſtanding thereof, ceaſed further to intreat of Peace, which with the falſe ſhew thereof did but hurt and deceive the Chriſtians, and betook himſelf again to his Arms (his and their ſafeſt and ſureſt refuge) reſolving with the other Captains and Commanders of the Army to do what they might for the croſſing and hindering of the Turks in their purpoſe for the putting of Victuals into *Buda*; whereof there was now ſuch want, that the Turks in Garriſon there having already eaten all their Horſes, and for Victuals rifled the Governours Houſe, were reſolved to abandon the City, if they ſhould not be within ſome few days relieved.

Now upon this Reſolution for the keeping of the Turks from the victualling of *Buda*, the Chriſtians, for the more aſſurance of their purpoſe, prepared therefore both by Water and by Land, embarking their Foot-men upon the River, under the Conduct of Collonel *Altmeine* and *Sultze*, the one Governour of *Strigonium*, and the other of *Peſth*; whilſt that *Collonitz* with the Horſemen, ſcouring along the Banks of the River of *Danubius*, took the charge by Land. And ſo it fortuned, that upon the two and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, he with his Horſemen, near unto the Village of *Mohatſch*, (famous for the death of King *Lewis*) fell upon the head of the Turks Army, led by the Baſſa *Murat*, conſiſting of ſix thouſand Turks, two thouſand of them being Janizaries; who altogether lay encamped upon an even plain, very commodious for our Horſemen, who let ſlip neither the Time nor the Opportunity of ſo great an advantage offered them, but forthwith charged them; where, after a number of notable Charges both given and received, which ſtill abated both the Number and Courage of the Turks, they at laſt retired toward the Body of their Army, and that in ſuch haſte, as that their retreat little differed from a ſpeedy flight. After whom *Collonitz* followed, with like heat as he had charged them; but evil followed by his Friends, who evil performed their charge, ſeeking after the Spoil inſtead of purſuing of their Enemies; the Turks perceiving the ſmall number that purſued them, turned upon them, and ſo began again not only to make ſtrong reſiſtance, but even right hardly to charge them. Who ſo by them preſſed with no leſs Courage than Power, were now glad themſelves to retire inſtead of purſuing of the Victory; but yet ſo, as that the retreat was made without any great loſs therein received. Howbeit, the Turks not a little incouraged with this change of Fortune, and perceiving themſelves too ſtrong for their Enemies that charged them, came on ſo faſt and ſo couragiouſly, as that in fine they had defeated the Chriſtians, had not the *Haiducks* out of their Boats from the River in good time come reſolutely to their relief. Which Cloud the Turks perceiving, ready to pour forth a great Tempeſt upon their Heads, and not daring to abide the ſame, again retired, leaving the Chriſtians Victors both in the firſt and laſt charge; who not content with the retreat of the Turks, furiouſly charged them, and purſued them even unto their great Camp, and ſo returned, carrying back with them both the Glory of the Field, and the Spoil of their Enemies.

A notable Enterpriſe of *Collonitz* upon the Avaunt-guard of the Turks Army.

Collonitz in good time relieved by the *Haiducks*.

The *Turks* Affairs and Deſigns made known unto the *Chriſtians* by *Saxar Beg*, by them taken Priſoner.

In this Conflict, the red Cornet of *Murat Baſſa*, the Cogniſance of his great Command, was taken, with two Field-pieces, ſeven hundred Turks were left dead upon the Place, and ſixſcore more taken Priſoners; amongſt whom was *Saxar Beg*; who being a man of underſtanding, and by the Chriſtians examined, confeſſed, That *Haſſan Baſſa*, the day before this Conflict, came into the Camp, and there honourably dined with the great *Cham*; with whom, after their great chear, he entering into Diſcourſe of many great Matters, and among the reſt, concerning his return into his Country; was much againſt the ſame, until ſuch time as they had new victualled *Buda*, whereunto he was (as he ſaid) both in Honour and in Duty bound to give his aſſiſtance, the loſs of this good place being of ſo great importance unto the great Sultan. That otherwiſe his Aid had been to him rather hurtful than profitable, his People having devoured ſo much Victuals and performed nothing, if he ſhould now at this time fail to do his Prince Service, who could never think either Valour or Fidelity to be in him, if he ſhould fail in ſuch Actions as wherein his Valour and Fidelity ſhould appear; all things having no other Credit and Reputation, but according unto their Effects. And that therefore he ſhould reſolve to ſee the end of this Exploit, which required every mans helping hand for the Performance thereof, conſidering the Forces of the Enemy in readineſs to hinder the ſame. Moreover, he aſſured them, that the Baſſaes purpoſe was to new fortify *Haſwar*, *Pax*, and *Kaletſch*, frontier Caſtles, and neceſſary for this Action, and ſo to go to the ſiege of *Peſth*; and that done, to beſiege *Strigonium*; which for all that he doubted to win this year, as well by reaſon of the approach of Winter, as for that a great part of his Forces were far off, and not eaſily in a little time to be aſſembled together. That the *Tartars* were yet a great way from the Camp, where the Baſſaes of *Aſia* and *Caramania* were within a few days expected; the one of them leading with him the reconciled Rebels of *Aſia*, and the other ſix thouſand Janizaries. Which his Confeſſion, although it were not altogether true, yet it carried ſhew of ſome Probability, as time by proof afterward declared.

The Negligence of certain Chriſtian Souldiers, forgetful of divers Duties.

Some of our men were in this charge ſlain alſo, but few in compariſon of the Turks, who there loſt ſome of their beſt men. It was noted, that in this Conflict the Souldiers of Collonel *Sultze*, had ill behaved themſelves, refuſing to purſue the Enemy being in flight, whether it were for that they feared ſome ambuſh laid for them, or for that they diſdained to follow the General *Collonitz*; the reaſons perhaps for which their Collonel ſtayed them from the purſuit of the Enemy, but to evil purpoſe; for, being out of order at ſuch a time as the Turks turning back, renewed the fight, they had been all ſlain and cut in pieces, had not the *Haiducks* in good time (as we ſaid) come on to their reſcue. As for *Collonitz*, he moſt bravely bare himſelf in this Conflict, ſo much as in him was, urging his good Fortune, for the obtaining of a full Victory; ſometime performing the part of a good Captain, and ſometime of a valiant Souldier; ſometime forcing the charge, and again ſtaying his men in their retreat; inſomuch, that oftentimes loſt amongſt his Enemies, and again returning by the

The great and brave Indeavour of *Collonitz* to have obtained the Victory over the Turks.

Grace

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Grace of God, he eſcaped Death, as it were by Miracle, and from being taken Priſoner, by chance. Into neither of which dangers he could have fallen without the danger of the whole Army; which, next unto God, was for the Safety thereof beholding unto the Valour of him their ſo brave a Leader. But God in his Wiſdom createth not ſuch worthy men, but by his Providence alſo to preſerve them; wonder it were otherwiſe, that ever ſuch worthy men ſhould return from amongſt the midſt of ſo many deſperate Dangers, Death as it were envying at their Lives, and their Enemies for their Glory chuſing them out to triumph of their Spoils and Overthrow. And without doubt, had the reſt of the Chriſtians after his Example proſecuted their good Fortune, and done what good Souldiers ſhould of Duty have done, their Enemies had been quite overthrown, and they themſelves had been both victorious and rich; where now for lack of good Reſolution, the Victory was almoſt equal. For beſide the Spoils by them gotten, they might have carried away with them a whole Years Pay, due to the Garriſon of *Buda*, which the Turks (put into a fear, and careful only of their Lives) had left in their Camp; which they afterward again recovered, upon the recovery of their Force and Courage. This Money, with much more, was all appointed as a Prey unto the good Fortune of our Men, had their Valour had the Courage to have gone to fetch it; but failing of their endeavour in ſo glorious an Action, Fortune failed them alſo of her Bounty.

A great and rich Booty loſt through the negligence of the Chriſtians.

Now at length the Army of the Chriſtians was met together, about the fourth of *September*, wherein the Lord *Ruſsworm* commanded as General; who, deſirous to underſtand of the Turks Affairs and Deſigns, ſent forth two of his moſt truſty and expert Souldiers to perform that piece of Service; who in Turks Apparel being got into the Turks Army, were there eight days undiſcovered or ſuſpected of any. Where, after that, they roaming up and down, had taken a full view of the Turks Army, and in what they might diſcovered their Deſigns, they returning back, declared unto the General what they had both there heard and ſeen; as, That the Turks Army was very great, but yet not ſuch as that which the laſt Year had beſieged *Peſth*; That the Turks lay incamped at large, and not cloſe together, which cauſed their Army to ſeem the greater, taking up for the lodgment thereof half a League, being well provided of Cannon and other Field-pieces; That *Haſſan Baſſa* commanded therein as General, having brought with him twelve thouſand Janizaries, beſide his Horſemen, and the reconciled Rebels of *Aſia*, which were daily looked for, the Leader of whom was not known; ſome thinking it to be him who had always commanded them, being a moſt valiant Man, and expert Commander; but ſome other deeming him to be but one of his Captains that had forſaken him, (as indeed he was) a right valiant man alſo, but not of ſo great Experience as he: That the great *Tartar Han*, come to aid the Turks in their Wars in *Hungary*, was (to the great diſcontentment of *Haſſan Baſſa* the Turks General) now already returned towards his own Country (with ſuch Booty and Priſoners as he had got from the poor Chriſtians) to appeaſe a Rebellion there raiſed by a young *Tartar* Prince, his Nephew, who, by his Uncle the great Han, given in Hoſtage unto Sultan *Mahomet*, and kept at *Conſtantinople* as in Priſon, having found means to make an Eſcape, and to return into *Tartary*, was about to trouble his Uncles Affairs, in hope now in his Abſence to mount unto the Throne of his Eſtate: and that the *Tartar*, being come to the Bank of *Danubius*, and by the Turks denied Boats to paſs over the River in, and with many railing and opprobrious Speeches, by them charged for his departure as a Coward, had found means to make a floating Bridge of great Faggots, whereby he paſſed his Foot-men over the River, his Horſe-men ſwimming over the ſame; and ſo was by great Journeys returning home, boaſting by the way as he went, that he had rejected and troden under foot all the Prayers and Requeſts of *Haſſan Baſſa*, entreating him yet to ſtay a while in *Hungary* for the Service of the great Sultan his Maſter. Beſides that, That they had ſeen ſix great Veſſels upon the River of *Danubius*, with ten leſſer Veſſels following of them, manned with three thouſand Souldiers well armed, and men of good ſort, three hundred of them being Janizaries, appointed to ſafe Conduct the Munition to be brought up the River, and to ſerve for a Convoy unto the other Veſſels that were to follow them with Victuals, if happily the Chriſtians ſhould attempt to do any thing againſt them. And in fine, That the Turks Army could not this Year poſſibly be great, by reaſon of many great Lets wherewith the great Sultan was this Year troubled; which much abated both the Courage and Hope of his Captains, who, hanging their Heads, came unwillingly to theſe Wars, accounting themſelves happy if they might in this Expedition but take *Peſth*, that they might not return ſo much diſhonoured, as they came daunted and diſcouraged. With which News the Chriſtians were ſo much encouraged to encounter with the Turks, as if they had been aſſured to fight with men already diſcouraged and out of Heart.

The Lord *Ruſsworm*, General of the Chriſtian Army, by his Eſpials certainly informed of the eſtate of the Turks Army.

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The Turks overthrown by the Garriſon of *Strigonium*.

In the mean time, the *Huſſars* of *Strigonium*, always ready for Fight, by good fortune going forth, met with four hundred Turks ſeeking for Forrage; who encountering together, at the firſt made a moſt brave and gallant Fight, every one of them wiſhing, That their private Succeſs might be the beginning of their general Victory. But the *Huſſars*, being both more skilful in that manner of skirmiſhing and ſudden Encounter, and alſo of greater Courage, at length brake the Turks Ranks, of whom, ſix ſcore lay dead upon the ground, moſt of the reſt were taken Priſoners, with an hundred and thirty good and ſerviceable Horſes, wherewith both the glory and the profit of their Victory was increaſed. Collonel *Sultze* alſo, with three hundred men, marching out from the Camp, chanced to diſcover an hundred of thoſe brave Horſe-men which but newly came out of *Aſia* with *Zellaly* the Rebel; who having never ſeen the Army of the Chriſtians, nor yet felt of their Forces, were, with three hundred Janizaries, upon a Bravery, come over the River of *Danubius*, to take a view of the Chriſtian Camp; for the drawing on of whom, the politick Collonel had ſent forth fifty of his Horſemen a great way from the reſt of his Troop, as it were to diſcover the Country thereabout. Theſe Fore-runners failed not to meet with the Turks, as if it had been by chance, and were by them forthwith charged, as thinking to have had a great hand over that ſo ſmall a number; when upon the ſudden, *Sultze*, with the reſt of his Company coming on, and hotly charging them, encouraged his own men, and diſcouraged the Turks; who, ſurpriſed with fear, thinking the Chriſtians to be more in number than indeed they were, having left ſome fifty of their men dead upon the place, as men diſmayed and void of Underſtanding, fled. In which Flight, ſuch as were not by the Chriſtians ſlain, were in the River of *Danubius* drowned, whereinto, they for fear all headlong plunged themſelves.

The Turks defeated by Collonel *Sultze*.

All theſe little Conflicts ſerved but as Sparks to kindle the great Fire by the Baſſa intended; his firſt Purpoſe being to put a Convoy of Victuals into

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The General of the Chriſtian Army providently fortifieth upon the River of *Danubius.*

into *Buda*, which the Chriſtians thought by all means to hinder; which ſo contrary Intentions were not but by Force and Policy to be decided. The Chriſtian General, wiſely doubting leſt the Baſſa ſhould come and lodge his Army betwixt *Vicegrade* and *Buda*, and ſo victual the City at his Pleaſure, raiſed a ſtrong Fort of an old Church betwixt the ſaid two Places, and therein lodged a Regiment of Lanſquenets. Beſide which Fort, called the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, he built another at the head thereof in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, in ſuch order and proportion, that theſe two Forts might one of them defend the other, and annoy them that ſhould attempt to force either of them. Together with this commodiouſneſs, the Fort in the Iſle kept the Paſſage upon *Danubius* free and open for the bringing of Victuals and other Neceſſaries to the Camp of the Chriſtians; and was but a League and an half from *Buda*; into which Fort was put a Regiment of four thouſand *Italians*, being all very well armed. Which done, he made a Bridge of Boats upon the River, which began in the Camp, and ended at the Iſle, for the relieving of the Fort; and ſo from thence paſſed quite over the River to *Vacia*, a little Town, which it was needful for the Chriſtians to keep.

The Turks aſſailing one of the Forts of the Chriſtians, with loſs repulſed.

The Turks made a Bridge over the River of *Danubius.*

A great Ambuſh laid for the intercepting of the Turks.

Theſe Forts finiſhed, according to the Neceſſity of the time, it was not long after, but that the Baſſa ſent ten thouſand Turks both Horſe and Foot to take the firſt of them, which they ſuppoſed to have been but weakly fortified. Who coming thither, were with ſuch Courage received by the Lanſquenets with their Harquebuſes, as that the whole Fort ſeemed to have been on fire. Wherewith the Turks diſmayed, as men in their Expectation deceived, and in approaching of the ſame having ſome of their Men ſlain, and more hurt, they ſounded a retreat, and having done nothing, but loſt a number of their men, returned to their Camp from whence they came. In which Enterpriſe they failing, they reſolved upon another, and began to make a Bridge over *Danubius*, in hope thereby to paſs over, and to annoy the Chriſtians on the other ſide of the River. Whereof the General of the Chriſtians underſtanding, ſuffered them without any Interruption to ſpend the time in performing of the ſame. But certainly informed by his Eſpials, both of the Day and Hour wherein they were about to paſs over, he laid an Ambuſh of four thouſand *Lanſquenets* and two thouſand *Reiſters* for them, in ſuch Place as from whence they might without danger do great harm unto the Enemy, and aſſure the body of the Chriſtian Army. The River of *Danubius* had growing upon the Banks thereof, and eſpecially in the deſolate and unfrequented places, great ſtore of Flags and Reeds, which were now thick, and high enough to cover theſe Foot-men in, having with them four Culverins ready charged. Behind this ambuſh lay Collonel *Collonitz*, with his Regiment, and in the head of it the Prince *Joinville*, with a certain number of *French* Gentlemen, who, upon a brave Courage, and a deſire they had to ſee Service, had followed him into thoſe Wars. There was alſo the Lord of *Baſſomperre*, another *French* Lord, with his own private Followers, in Number few, but in Valour great. Upon the flanks lay four Troops of *Carabins*, *French-men*, *Loranoiſes*, and *Wallons*, moſt expert and reſolute Souldiers.

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The Turks having made their Bridge, began now to paſs over the ſame, being charged by ſome few ſtragling and looſe fore-runners of the Chriſtians, ſent before for that purpoſe; whom the Turks not much regarding, ſtill preſſed on, in hope to overtake them, and to cut them in pieces, not aware of the ambuſh laid for them, nor of their Enemies Counter-deſigns. The Foot-men in the mean time lying ſtill cloſe in the Reeds in Ambuſh, beholding how and in what order they paſſed, and expecting but the time when they were to begin their charge. But having perceived ten thouſand of the Turks to be now come over, and making head toward them, the *Wallons*, upon the Bank of the River (as was before appointed) firſt diſcharged their Pieces upon them, and ſlew ſome few of them. Nevertheleſs, the Turks ſtill paſſing on by them, ſlew of them alſo about four and twenty, and ſo keeping their way, marched directly toward the Chriſtians. But this their forwardneſs was quickly ſtayed, and their Courage abated; for in paſſing by they were upon the ſudden aſſailed by the *Lanſquenets* and *Reiſters*, now riſen out of Ambuſh, and by them hardly laid unto on every ſide; as alſo by the Horſe-men, who now come in, had put them into ſome diſorder before they were well aware of them. The *Wallons* alſo, at the firſt by the Turks ſcattered, but now again rallied, and deſirous to revenge the Death of their Friends and Fellows, now played their parts, and on another ſide right furiouſly charged their Enemies. During all which fight the Culverins ceaſed not to open the flanks of the Turks Battel, with the loſs of a number of their men by the fury of them rent in pieces. Neither did *Collonitz* foreſlow ſo fair an Opportunity, but afront charging this diſmayed Company, by plain force cauſed them to give Ground; the *Carabins* in the mean time charging them upon their flanks, and the *Wallons* behind. Who thus on every ſide beſet and hardly laid unto, as men diſcouraged, and out of hope to be relieved, turned their Backs and fled amain, to have recovered the Bridge whereby they came over. In which fight and flight two thouſand of them being ſlain, and the reſt not able to recover the Bridge, driven headlong into the River, were therein drowned and ſlain, to the number of five thouſand of them, thoſe which remained alive, being all taken Priſoners. Amongſt the reſt, one of the Baſſaes, a man of great account amongſt the Turks, was ſlain, with many other Captains and Commanders of great note, and fifteen hundred Janizaries. There were alſo four Field-pieces taken, with thirty Enſigns and two Cornets, beſide a very rich Prey of brave and couragious Horſes, with much fair Armour, rich Apparel, and good Scimitars, Weapons of no ſmall account and price among the Turks. This overthrow much abated the Courage and Hope of the reſt of the Turks for coming to the effect of their Deſigns; and increaſed the Courage and Hope of the Chriſtians, reaſonably well hereby aſſured of the good Succeſs of their Affairs for this year in *Hungary*.

The Turks falling into the Ambuſh laid for them by the Chriſtians, receive a notable overthrow.

Sultan *Mahomet* much troubled in his Affairs.

The doings of the Rebels in *Aſia.*

About this time, Sultan *Mahomet*, having put a Fleet of Gallies to Sea, to have gone againſt the King of *Fez*, was certainly informed, how that the ſame, with Tempeſt ſore beaten, to avoid Shipwrack, was again returned unto the ſame Port from whence it looſed, bringing back with it nothing for all his great Charges, but Sickneſs and great Loſſes at Sea received. The like evil hap or worſe, having at the ſame time alſo betided another Fleet, by him ſet out into the *Euxine* or black Sea, to defend thoſe Sea Coaſts from being rifled and ſpoiled by the Rebels in *Aſia*, who with their daily Incurſions did there ſtill great harm. For albeit that *Zellaly*, one of the Captains of the Rebels, allured with *Mahomet's* fair Promiſes, was by the ſtreight of the *Dardanelli* (called in antient time the ſtreight of *Helleſpont*) come with twelve thouſand good Souldiers out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, and ſo marching through *Macedonia*, was come into *Hungary*, there to do his Lord and Maſter Service; yet the chief Rebel held ſtill out, and both now, and for divers years after, maintained a moſt cruel and dangerous War, to the great trouble of the Grand Seignior, and the hindering of his Affairs. And even now the crafty Rebel having made ſhew as if he would have ſubmitted himſelf, and come over into *Europe* as *Zeilaly* did; and had therefore certain Gallies ſent unto him from *Mahomet*, to have tranſported him and his Souldiers in; he, now of them poſſeſſed, ſlew all them that were ſent therein, and kept the Gallies to himſelf. So that ſo far from was it, that the Rebellion was extinguiſhed in *Aſia*, and the Rebels ſuppreſſed, as that they were now up in greater number than ever, and ſo did alſo more harm. Whereunto they were alſo the more incouraged by the example of *Haſſan Baſſa*, (not him the General in *Hungary*, but another Baſſa of the ſame Name) who, by the Great Sultan ſent againſt theſe Rebels, had for a time kept them under, and ſomewhat repreſſed their inſolency; but now by *Mahomet* diſplaced, and another being ſent to ſucceed him; he therewith diſcontented, ſo animated and incenſed his Souldiers againſt him, as that coming to have taken upon him his charge, he found moſt part of the Souldiers ready to turn their Weapons upon him; ſo that at length they fell together by the Ears about the matter, ſome taking part with the old General, and ſome with the new. In which tumultuous quarrel a number of Souldiers were ſlain, all they of the richer ſort ſpoiled, and the great Sultans Service and Authority neglected. But the new General, armed with his Princes Authority, and ſome of the old Souldiers alſo taking his part, at laſt prevailing, *Haſſan*, the old General, with his partakers, were glad to fly and ſhift for themſelves; who for all that, having afterward gathered together the diſperſed Souldiers, and joyning with the reſt of the Rebels, held ſtill the Body of a good Army on foot; by his Example ſtirring up the People to Rebellion, croſſing the Service of his Sovereign, and doing what harm he could, ſo to ſeem unto his Followers the more valiant. The *Perſian* King on the other ſide taking the Advantage of theſe the Turks Troubles at home, as alſo of his Wars with the Chriſtians; at the ſame time with a great Army beſieged the great City of *Tauris*, as then kept by the Turks with a moſt ſtrong Garriſon. In which ſiege he for Battery uſed the help of the Cannon, an Engine of long time by the *Perſians* ſcorned, as not beſeeming valiant men; until that by their own harms taught, he was now content to uſe it; being with the ſame, as alſo with skilful Cannoneers, furniſhed by the *Portugals*; by which means he in ſhort time after again recovered this great City from the Turks, being before by Sultan *Amurath* taken from *Mahomet* the *Perſian* King, but now again reſtored unto the *Perſian* Kingdom.

The great City of *Tauris* beſieged and taken by the *Perſian* King.

Sultan *Mahomet* perplexed with the evil Succeſs of his Affairs, falleth to his ſuperſtitious Devotions.

Sultan *Mahomet* thus on every ſide beſet with Troubles, and not well knowing which way to turn himſelf for to remedy the ſame, being in mind much troubled and perplexed, began to enter into Conſideration of the Vanity of theſe Earthly things, and of the Frailty of his Eſtate; and ſo ſtruck as it were with a Remorſe of Conſcience, and a firm belief that God did thus chaſtiſe and puniſh him for his Offences, conſidering that his Anceſtors had never been troubled with any ſuch Attaints or Diſgraces, he converted all his Thoughts unto Prayers towards God; and therefore gave Commandment for publick Prayers to be continually ſaid in all the Moſquies or Churches throughout all his Dominions, giving himſelf wholly alſo unto ſuch devout Exerciſes and Works of Charity; and withal ſent two of his moſt reverend Prieſts bare-headed and bare-footed, on Pilgrimage to *Mecha* (where the chief Temple of their great Prophet is, and wherein they vainly believe their ſuperſtitious Prayers to be of him moſt ſpeedily heard) there to pray unto him for the Health and Proſperity of him their Prince and Sovereign.

A great fight of a *Flemiſh* Ship with the Gallies of *Amurat Rais*.

At the ſame time, *Amurat Rais*, an old Pyrat, the Turks Admiral for the *Weſt* part of the *Mediterraniah*, roaming there up and down, and doing what harm he could, chanced to fight upon a great *Flemiſh* Ship, which he with his Gallies forthwith incloſed, the calmneſs of the Weather then favouring him, and hindering the *Flemins*, their Ship being able to make no way. Who, ſo beſet, and having made a great fight againſt the whole Fleet, and ſlain a number of the Turks, and ſore rent divers of their Gallies, though not without loſs of many of their own men alſo; being not able longer to fight, and now ſeeing themſelves boarded by as many Turks as could well ſtand upon the Hatches of the Ship, and their Gallies hanging round about her; as men of invincible Courage, and reſolved to die, and yet to ſell their Lives at as dear a rate as they could, laid all the Powder they had left in the Ship on an heap together, and thereunto upon the ſudden put fire, by force whereof, the Turks with the Hatches were all blown up, the *Flemings* with their Ships rent in pieces, together with divers of the Gallies that were faſt grapled unto her, and an incredible harm done unto ſuch other of the Gallies as were near unto her. Men worthy always to vanquiſh, ſeeing that they fear nothing more than to be themſelves vanquiſhed; and more worthy to have lived for the Glory of Men, than by their Cruelty to have periſhed to the diſhonour of Men. The old Pyrat aſtoniſhed at ſo great and deſperate a Reſolution, having in this Exploit loſt much, and gained nothing, haſted to the ſhore to repair his rent Gallies, and ſo put to Sea again; where he had not long been, but that he by chance (and that full ſore againſt his will) met with the great Duke of *Florence's* Gallies, accounted the beſt Gallies in the World, and ſuch as now at this preſent moſt troubled the Turks Deſigns. At which meeting, after many a thundering Cannon-ſhot on both ſides diſcharged, not without the apparent loſs on the Turks behalf, when they ſhould have come to have grapled together, and to have fought hand to hand, a thing which the *Florentines* moſt deſired, as in hope to have made that famous Pyrat the prize of their Victory; he not willing ſo to do, ſuddenly turned about and fled; after whom the *Florentines* followed amain, and in the chaſe ſunk ſome of his Gallies, and took other ſome full of great Riches; and ſo brake the Credit of this old and renowned Pyrat, as that for a great while after he was little by the Chriſtians feared upon that Coaſt. But leaving *Mahomet* to his Devotions, and the old Pyrat to bewail his loſſes, let us again return to ſee what the great Armies of the Turks and of the Chriſtians did more in *Hungary*.

The Turks in a Skirmiſh by the Chriſtians overthrown.

While theſe Armies lay incamped the one attending upon the other, many an hot Skirmiſh paſſed betwixt them, moſt whereof ſorted unto the hurt and loſs of the Turks. Among others it fortuned, that a Troop of Adventurers going out of the Chriſtian Army to ſeek after Booty, fell upon a like Troop of the Turks, come out for the like purpoſe; where, after a ſharp encounter on both ſides given and received, the Turks at length put to the worſe and defeated, betook themſelves to flight, having left a number of their Fellows dead upon the place, and loſt two of their Enſigns, with an hundred and thirty Horſes of Service. In which Chace, the Chriſtians hardly purſuing them, drave a number more of them into the *Danubius*, wherein they moſt miſerably periſhed; and took a great

many

Eghty, *Italian* Renegades hanged.

many more Priſoners, amongſt whom were found above fourſcore *Italian* Renegades, who, brought into the Camp, were, as Enemies unto God, in a Martial Court all condemned to be hanged, and ſo accordingly executed, ſaving the Captain himſelf, who, for the regard of his Place, was beheaded.

The Turks Army greatly diminiſhed and diſcouraged.

Shortly after, the great Baſſa ariſing with his Army, came in the beginning of *October* and incamped near *Buda*, both for the Preſervation of the Place, and the ſafety of his Army, now greatly diminiſhed both in Number and Courage. For it was certainly known by divers Fugitives from the Turks, that in theſe many Conflicts they had loſt a number of their beſt Souldiers, but eſpecially of their Janizaries. So that the Baſſa, for the ſupplying of that Defect, was glad to make choice of 6000 of his beſt Souldiers, whom, armed with Muſquets and Scimitars, the proper Arms of the Janizaries, he entertained into the Rooms and Pay of the Janizaries that were dead and ſlain; the reſt of his Army for the moſt part conſiſting of bare and feeble, baſe raw Souldiers. Beſides this, that all the Army was full of Mourning and Lamentation, the Souldiers in all Places bewailing the loſs of their Brethren, their Friends and Companions; ſo that inſtead of their wonted Threats and bravery, nothing was to be heard but ſighing and complaining. And moreover, that the general Opinion conceived of the greatneſs of the Chriſtian Army, (imagined to be much greater and ſtronger than indeed it was) had ſtruck ſuch a fear into the minds of the Turks, as that they were reſolved, *Buda* being once victualled, to return home, all their other proud Deſigns for this year ſet apart; which was the cauſe that they had diſlodged with their Army, and drawn near unto the City, the better to attend to the new victualling thereof, and ſo to be gone; accounting themſelves right happy, if they might but perform that good piece of Service and ſave themſelves.

The Chriſtians with their Army follow the Turks.

The Chriſtians reſolve to give the Turks Battel.

The Turks ſeek to draw the Chriſtians into the danger of their Ambuſh.

A Conflict betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians, before in doubt leſt the Turks ſhould have beſieged *Peſth*, as they had before given it forth they would, and ſeeing them now to be riſen with their Army and incamped near unto *Buda*, reſolved to follow them, and in what they might to croſs their Deſigns; and thereupon leaving *Peſth*, as now out of danger, they roſe alſo, and came and incamped before the Fort in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, betwixt the ſaid Fort and *Vachia*; where they ſtayed four days, and then by a Bridge which they made upon the *Danuby*, whereby to paſs from the Iſle where the *Italians* lay in Garriſon, unto the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, kept by the *Lanſquenets*, they with the whole Army paſſed the River, and ſo came and incamped before the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, in the face of the Enemy. Now the field betwixt the heads of the two Armies was plain and open, without Woods, Buſhes, or Rivers, to hinder the joyning of a ſet Battel. In which ſo fit a Place, the Chriſtians incouraged, with the fear of their Enemies, and the diminiſhing of their Number and Courage (whereof they had got knowledge as well by their tumultuous riſing, as by other Advertiſements) were deſirous in ſo favourable Occaſions to have given them Battel; and for the deſire they had thereof, were come thither to ſeek it; which the Turks on the other ſide ſought as much to ſhun, not daring to adventure themſelves unto the Fortune of a general Battel, for all the brags they had made. Nevertheleſs, very ſhame arming them with ſome Reſolution, they put forth into the field a Battalion of five thouſand men, five days after that the Chriſtians were incamped on that ſide of the River. This Battel of the Turks came marching on, within half a quarter of a League of the Chriſtians; which they would not have done but upon the Confidence of a greater number following of them, having behind them ten thouſand men both Horſe and Foot, laid as cloſe as they poſſibly could a little out of the way. Now the Chriſtians, thinking of no other Forces ready to fight, but thoſe which appeared in their ſight, ſent forth 12 hundred men againſt theſe five thouſand Turks, to skirmiſh with them, until the whole Army were put into order, even for a general Battel that day to have been fought, if the Turks ſhould accept thereof; whereunto the General, the Collonels, Captains, and Souldiers in general, were fully inclined, the whole Army with great Chearfulneſs marching on foot at this loud alarm of their common deſire. Which had not failed to bring forth great change of effects, had the Turks been likewiſe diſpoſed for the producing of the ſame. But they be the extraordinary favours of Fortune, when fit Occaſions joyn themſelves with brave Reſolutions, and ſuch Reſolutions with means to effect the ſame. This is the let of many moſt noble Trophies, which moſt commonly fail, either for lack of fit Occaſion, or for lack of good Reſolution for the performance of them. But as moſt men judge of other mens Conceits by their own Inclination, ſo the Chriſtians themſelves, reſolved to give Battel, thought the Turks their Enemies to have been of the ſame Reſolution; and thoſe five thouſand men to have been the head of the avaunt-guard, followed with the whole Army, coming to draw them out to skirmiſh until the coming on of the reſt of their Forces. Howbeit their deſign was quite contrary to this the Chriſtians hope, for their purpoſe was only to-train them out into their Ambuſhes, ſo without danger to cut them in pieces. Of which their purpoſe they gave ſufficient Teſtimony, and cauſe of ſuſpect; for that the Skirmiſh having continued three hours, with ſome loſs on both ſides, the Turks Army appeared not; and theſe five thouſand Turks now in Skirmiſh, by little and little retiring, ſought ſo to have drawn the Chriſtians into the danger of their Ambuſh. Which their manner of fight cauſed the Chriſtians to ſuſpect the matter; for it was not like, that five thouſand men ſhould give ground to twelve hundred, if they had not had ſome ſecret meaning therein, which they ſought to effect to their more advantage. Which cauſed the Chriſtian *Carabins* which followed them, not to be too earneſt in purſuing of them, and more cloſely to ſerre themſelves together, the better to indure the ſhock of their Enemies, if they ſhould charge them. Neither were they in that their provident fear deceived; for the Turks, ſeeing their purpoſe diſcovered, and themſelves now out of hope to effect the ſame, upon the ſudden made a ſtand, and ſo preſently coming on, hardly charged the formoſt of our *Carabins*; who, as men half ſurpriſed, to ſee themſelves ſo readily and reſolutely charged, by men who but now made ſhew as if they would have fled, were not able ſo valiantly to receive the charge (conſidering the great number of them by whom they were charged) but that ſome few of them were overthrown and ſlain, with ſome of the *Hungarians* amongſt them. Howbeit they made good reſiſtance, and right valiantly repulſed their Enemies, of whom they ſlew a good number alſo. The preaſe in this Conflict was great, every one deſiring to ſhew himſelf brave and couragious in the head of his own Army. But new Supplies ſtill coming in, the Turks in fine ſhrunk back and retired, having left three hundred of their Fellows dead upon the Place, accompanied with an hundred of the Chriſtians there ſlain likewiſe. Now upon the retreat on both ſides, every man in his conceit appointed the next day for the general day of Battel; the bragging

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ging Speeches of the Turks giving the Chriſtians occaſion ſo to think; for why, they ſeldom or never refuſe Battel, being offered them by the Chriſtians, as well for the Confidence they commonly have in their multitude, as for the fooliſh opinion they have of the inevitable Predeſtination of men to Life or Death; accounting it amongſt them an eternal infamy, to refuſe any Combat againſt the Chriſtians; which, howſoever it fall out, ſhould ſort to their Advantage, by vanquiſhing, gaining the Fruits of their Victory; and by loſing their Lives in Battel, to gain the Joys of Heaven; being vainly perſwaded, no mens Souls do go more readily unto Heaven, than the Souls of ſuch as dye in Battel againſt the Chriſtians. Such Effects old ſuperſtitious Opinions are able to work in the Minds of men, even to the deſperate adventuring and ſpending of their Lives. Howbeit, that this Effect for this time witneſſeth, that theſe men, with all theſe Advantages, as much feared the danger as any other poor faint-hearted men; and that a ſtrong apprehenſion of fear is able to prevail againſt all Cuſtoms and Perſwaſions, be they never ſo old, as alſo againſt all other Accidents whatſoever. For why, the Turks, contenting themſelves with their great Braggs and vain Threats, came not forth according to their Promiſe, neither could by any means be drawn to adventure themſelves unto the hazard of a general Battel.

The Turks refuſe to come to a general Battel with the Chriſtians.

The loſs of their great and choiceſt men diſcouraged and deterred them from adventuring all to the hazard of ſo great a Peril. For (as I have ſaid) almoſt all their Janizaries and moſt valiant Souldiers were dead or ſlain, and the reſt, men of ſmall Spirit or Courage, reſerved that little which was in them, for the ſafeguard of themſelves, and not for the gaining of any notable Victory.

Erasbles, what manner of Souldiers they are among the Turks.

They had alſo in theſe often Conflicts loſt all their *Erasbles*, which are a deſperate kind of Souldiers fighting on Horſeback, without Saddles, having only a little piece of Tapeſtry upon their Horſes Backs, and by the readineſs of their Horſes, do for a long time in one ſort maintain their fight. They carry light Darts made of ſtrait and fair Canes, excellently well made, and ſtrongly armed; and their handy Weapons are good Sables, or broad and ſharp Curtleaſſes. Theſe men a great while fought moſt valiantly in the laſt Combats, but in fine, were all ſlain, except ſome few which caſt themſelves into *Danubius*, and were there drowned. The loſs of which men much diſcouraged the Turks; for why, their Service ſtood them in great ſtead in receiving the Enemies Charges, and with their Bodies covering of the Turks Squadrons in their greateſt Perils and Combats. Howbeit the Turks received not theſe Loſſes without returning of ſome part thereof to us again; for *Collonitz* had a little before fallen into great danger of his Perſon, and loſt ſome of his Followers in an Enterpriſe of great Moment, had the Effect anſwered unto the Project thereof.

Collonitz in governing about to ſurpriſe the Turks, with loſs repulſed, and himſelf indangered.

While the Turks yet lodged in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, he cauſed eight great field-pieces to be ſo placed, as that therewith he ſo much annoyed the Turks, that they were about to have forſaken the Place. And the more to force them ſo to do, the ſecond of *October* he embarqued himſelf with ſix hundred *Haiducks* upon the *Danubius*, and ſo by Night with great ſilence landed near unto the Enemies, thinking ſo upon the ſudden to have ſurpriſed them. Which for all that, could not ſo ſecretly be done, by reaſon of the coming on of the day, but that the Turks were thereof aware; who thereupon with great preaſe iſſued out of their Trenches, and with all their Force and Power charged him. Againſt whom he made head, rather upon a brave and conſtant Reſolution, than upon any Confidence he had in his own Forces, not having men enow to withſtand the leaſt part of his Enemies. Which his ſo great Reſolution ſo abated the Turks Fury, as that they ſtood a good while in doubt to charge men ſo reſolved. The Field-pieces which he had brought over with him into the Iſle, then ſerved him to good purpoſe, beating them back with their murthering Bullets, who with their number thought to have overwhelmed him. Which good help, oppoſed againſt the number of the Enemies, for a time balanced the Victory, and wrought the death of many on both ſides. This manner of fight indured the ſpace of two hours, maintained more by Reſolution, than by Strength and Power. At length for all that, the Turks with their number prevailing, the Chriſtians therewith rather oppreſſed than vanquiſhed, forſaking their Field-pieces, diſorderly retired toward their Boats. After whom the Turks eagerly following, in that purſuit ſlew 400 of the *Haiducks*, the reſt with much ado recovering their Boats, carrying with them their General, by them hardly defended from the Fury of their Enemy. Which loſs hapned not ſo unto the Chriſtians, but that it was mingled with ſome loſs of the Turks alſo, of whom, the moſt forward and courageous were in that fight ſlain, as was afterwards known by certain Priſoners of theirs afterward taken, who made report of the Loſſes by them there received. The Turks, by this ſo deſperate and dangerous an attempt warned, to prevent the like for the time to come, caſt up great Trenches in the Iſle along the Bank of *Danubius*, therein placing certain Janizaries and other their beſt Souldiers, who there lay until the diſlodgement of the Camp, to go to lie before *Buda*.

1603

The Bridge of *Lamaſcin* taken and broken by the Governour of *Stiria*.

The Turks had before built a Bridge of Boats at *Lamaſcin*, which gave them Paſſage into *Stiria*, where they did great harm; for the ſtrengthning whereof, they had built at both ends thereof a ſtrong Fort, well furniſhed both with Men and Munition. This Bridge, ſo commodious for the Turks, and hurtful to the Chriſtians, *Trantmeſtorf*, Governour of *Stiria*, and a great Commander in thoſe parts, with his *Stirian* Troops, and ſome good Aid brought unto him by the County *Serin*, undertook to break. Upon which Reſolution he upon the ſudden approached one of the aforeſaid Forts, and ſo right furiouſly aſſailed the ſame, before they in the Fort were well aware of his coming. In which doing, he cauſed the greateſt noiſe and ſtir that was poſſible to be made with Trumpets, Drums, and clattering of Armour, as if it had been ſome great Army imployed in that Action, the more to terrifie the beſieged. Which ſo great and dreadful a noiſe, joyned unto ſo brave an attempt, with ſo great Courage begun, ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Minds of the Turks, that they without any great reſiſtance quitted the place, and fled over the Bridge to the other Fort. Of which forſaken Fort the Chriſtians became Maſters, and with all ſpeed proſecuting their good Fortune, preſently drew out thereof three Cannons, and therewith battered the other Fort. In which the Turks, having no other place of Refuge to fly unto, nor hope of ſafety but in their laſt Valour, ſo well behaved themſelves, as that the Chriſtians had much ado to force them. Howbeit, a breach being made by the Fury of the Cannon, and ſcaling ladders ſet up, the Fort was on every ſide aſſaulted; which the Turks for the ſpace of five hours ſo valiantly endured, as that it was hard to ſay who ſhould prevail or have the better. In this Aſſault were many on both ſides ſlain, the Turks not being to be overcome but with the loſs both of their Lives and Honour; nor the Chriſtians able to retire without loſing the fruit of that their ſo great and rich an Enterpriſe; ſo that the aſſault was with great Reſolution on both ſides maintained, the Turks fighting for their Lives, and the Chriſtians for their Honour; until that at laſt, the Turks, with much ſlaughter overcome, the Fort was by the Chriſtians taken, and moſt of the Turks therein being ſlain, and the reſt taken Priſoners, both the Forts were forthwith razed, and the Bridge broken, which before had ſerved for an ordinary paſſage for the Turks to forrage and ſpoil the Chriſtian Territories by. The Boats whereof the Bridge was made were all burnt, and ſome great Ordnance therein found broken in pieces and caſt into the River.

Lugaze, a ſtrong Place delivered to *Baſta*.

At the ſame time *Lugaze*, a Place of great Importance for the Service of the Emperour, and ſo near unto the Turks, as that they could hardly attempt any thing thereabouts, but that it might from thence be diſcovered and known, was by the *Tranſilvanians* delivered to *Baſta*, General for the Emperour in that Country. From which place, he ſending out certain Scouts toward *Belgrade*, they brought in with them certain Priſoners; who being examined, ſaid, that *Haſſan Baſſa*, the Turks General in *Hungary*, had writ to *Giaffer Baſſa*, the Governour of *Temeſwar*, That he ſhould only attend to the Preſervation of his own, without attempting any thing further againſt the Chriſtians, the preſent eſtate of their Affairs ſo requiring; and that having revictualled *Buda*, his purpoſe was for this year to return, in hope of ſome good Peace to be ere long concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperour.

The Chriſtians offer the Turks Battel.

The two Armies of the Turks and the Chriſtians lay ſtill near the one of them unto the other, the Turks, careful for the revictualling of *Buda*, and the Chriſtians ſtill intentive to their doings, and deſirous in what they might to hinder and fruſtrate the ſame. Which, becauſe they could no way better do, than by offering of them Battel; they thereupon generally reſolved, upon a *Friday*, being the ſeventeenth of *October*, the day by them aſſigned for the Battel (having by the ſhooting off of three great Cannons, given warning unto the Souldiers throughout the Camp, for the preparing of themſelves firſt toward God, and then to the Service of their Prince) after they had well refreſhed themſelves, in good order took the field, and ſo ſtood ready ranged there, either to give or accept of Battel. Before whom, the County *Ringrave* was ſent forth with his Regiment, about half the way betwixt the two Armies, to diſcover the moving of the Enemy, and to receive his firſt charge if occaſion ſhould ſo require. Whoſe Scouts before ſent forth, about Noon diſcovered a Troop of Horſe-men come out of the Turks Camp, about ſome buſineſs they had to do, but to them unknown; whom the Scouts ſuppoſing to have been the fore-runners of the Turks Army, and by them almoſt ſurpriſed, haſtily retired back again, and by their haſty retreat put the whole Army in an alarm, which came bravely marching on, in hope now to have come to try the matter by true Valour, and by the Fortune of a general Battel to have made that day for ever famous by their Victory and the overthrow of their proud Enemies. And in the heat of their ſo great Courage, like enough it was for them to have performed the ſame, had the Turks had but ſo much Courage in them as to have met them in the Field, as was well hoped they now would. But they, with their former Loſſes diſcouraged, and reſolved only upon the ſafeguard of themſelves, and the victualling of *Buda*, had no mind to enter into theſe honourable Liſts, but kept themſelves cloſe within the covert of their Tents, and the ſtrength of their Trenches. And ſo the Chriſtians, with a falſe alarm moved, and having for the moſt part of the day in vain expected the coming forth of their Enemies, returned into their Camp deceived of their Expectation.

The Turks refuſe to accept of Battel offered them by the Chriſtians.

The ſame day there was an Eſpie taken, whom they which took him thought to have been a Turk, howbeit he was found to be one of their own men; by whom they were better informed of the Cowardiſe of the Turks, of their purpoſe for the ſhunning of Battel, and of their Reſolution for the keeping of themſelves within the ſafeguard of their Trenches; and that they ſo did, as well for the loſſes they had before received, as for divers other unlucky accidents, which cauſed them to miſdoubt ſome evil ſucceſs in the end and winding up of this their Expedition. Nevertheleſs, the Chriſtians, not greatly truſting to theſe Reports, ſtill kept their Army in readineſs, to give their Enemies Battel upon the leaſt occaſion offered them. Howbeit, that indeed they had no great cauſe of fear, the Turks having no deſire at all to come to a general Battel; ſo that inſtead of great Effects that were expected, the time paſſed but in light Skirmiſhes and vain Alarms betwixt the two Armies, until that at length the Turks, having by the River ſufficiently ſtored the City of *Buda* with Victuals, the great Baſſa ſecretly by Night roſe with his Army, and ſo retired toward *Belgrade*. Which ſo baſe a retreat differed not much from a cowardly flight, being with ſuch ſilence made under the dark covert of the Night, as that the Chriſtians had thereof no perceiving until they were quite departed and gone. This victualling of *Buda*, and ſome other few places of the Turks in *Hungary*, was all that the great Baſſa did this year with his great Army; whereas at his firſt coming it was given out, that he would therewith take both *Strigonium* and *Peſth* from the *Chriſtians*.

The great Baſſa having victualled *Buda*, ſecretly by Night riſeth with his Army, and retireth out of *Hungary*.

The next day, the haſty and ſudden departure of the Enemy being perceived, the General of the Chriſtians called together the Collonels and other great Commanders of the Army, to conſult with them, what were beſt to be done in ſo unexpected an occurrent? Of whom, ſome were of Opinion, That it was beſt forthwith in all haſte to purſue their fearful Enemies; others, for many Reaſons diſſuading the ſame, and others withal, propounding ſome other notable Exploits to be taken in hand. But in Concluſion, the ſafeſt point was reſolved upon, which was, not to hazard any of their Troops in purſuing of their flying Enemies, who were hardly to be overtaken; but now immediately after their departure to attempt the taking in of ſome one of their ſtrong holds; where, amongſt others that were propounded, *Hatwan* was thought to be the moſt neceſſary Place, being ſo ſeated, as that beſide the great harm it did to the Chriſtians thereabout, it much hindered both Advertiſements and Victuals to be brought unto *Peſth*. Which Exploit reſolved upon, they forthwith razed the Fort of St. *Andrew*, and the Fort by them built in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, becauſe they ſhould not ſtand the Turks in any ſtead after their departure, and ſo with all their Power ſet forward toward *Hatwan*. This Town is ſeated beyond the River of *Danubius* toward the *North*, about eight Leagues from *Buda*, croſſing the way to *Tranſilvania* and *Caſſovia*, upon a fair and even Plain, near unto a great and deep Mariſh, and was ſometime defended with good and ſtrong Walls, with a Caſtle, and three large and deep Ditches, for a long time in the Power of the Turks, and which, without loſs, a great while held out againſt the valiant Baron *Teuffenbach*, by whom it was moſt ſtraitly in vain beſieged; until that afterward it was again beſieged by *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, the Emperours Brother,

The Chriſtians after the departure of the Turks, reſolve to beſiege *Hatwan*.

1603

Hatwan taken and diſmantled by *Maxamilian* the Archduke, in the year 1594.

Hatwan again fortified by the Turks.

Brother, then General of his Army in *Hungary*, in the year 1594, unto whom it was by Compoſition ſurrendred, after it had for a certain ſpace been by the Turks notably defended; who, conſidering the harm this place did unto the Emperours Territories, by reaſon of the ſcituation thereof, wherein a great and ſtrong Garriſon of the Turks always lying, forraged all the Chriſtian Territories as far as the River *Vague*, yea, and oftentimes took Booties as far as *Strigonium*, and by ſpoiling of all that ſide of *Hungary*, cauſed the Country to pay Contribution as far as *Ternavie*, ſtanding within four Leagues of the Mountains which ſeperate *Hungary* and *Moravia*; all irreparable Loſſes to the Chriſtians, and hardly to be avoided; for which Reaſons he cauſed it then to be diſmantled, and to be made unſerviceable for the Wars. After which time for all that, the Turks, for the commodiouſneſs of the Place, had with great Labour again new fortified the ſame, with Walls made with great Piles of Wood and Faggots, with Earth rammed in betwixt them, a ſtronger kind of Fortification, and better able to withſtand the Fury of the Cannon, than are Walls of Stone; in which ſort the Turks uſe moſt commonly to fortifie ſuch Places as they mean to defend, and which oftentimes coſt much for the Chriſtians to gain the ſame from them.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

This Place thus fortified, and both with Men and Munition well furniſhed, and with all things needful ſtored, was able to indure a great and long Siege; whereunto the Garriſon therein was as reſolutely ſet down, as were the Chriſtians to attempt it; where now, at their firſt coming unto it, a part of the *Italian* Regiment, aſſiſted with three hundred *Lanſquenets*, under the leading of County *Sultze*, and *Graſold*, General of the *Italians*, were appointed to go before the reſt of the Army, and to begin to make the Approaches; which they did by forcing of a Water-mill, driven by the Water of the Mariſh, not paſt a Musquet ſhot from the Town. Wherein while they were buſied, the Turks ſallying out of the Town, came to fight hand to hand with the Chriſtians, and had with them a ſharp Combat, the Turks fighting for the defending of the Place, and of their Lives, and the Chriſtians for the gaining of the ſame, and for their Honour. Which ſo contrary a Reſolution in that Conflict, coſt the Lives of many; and amongſt others, the Life of *Graſold*, General of the *Italians*, there ſlain with a Harquebuſe ſhot, unto the great hurt of the whole Army, but eſpecially of the *Italians*, now deprived of ſo great and expert a Commander. At laſt, for all that, the Turks were inforced confuſedly to retire again into the Town, having in this ſally loſt a number of their men alſo. The Chriſtians nevertheleſs, having driven the Turks back into the Town, went forward with their Buſineſs in making their Approaches, and placing their Gabions to cover their Cannon; wherein the Turks with their great and ſmall ſhot did them great harm, but eſpecially with their murthering pieces, charged with Nails and other ſmall pieces of Iron. Howbeit, by the coming of the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the reſt of the Army, the Approaches were the next day brought on, and the Battery planted ſo near unto the Town, as that the Turks could not without moſt manifeſt danger and loſs, any more ſally out to trouble the Chriſtians in their Works. The firſt Inconveniency the beſieged felt, was the want of Water, which through the diligence of our men was ſoon taken from them, the Cannon right furiouſly battering the Walls in the mean ſpace. Wherewith the Turks diſcouraged, and now out of hope to be relieved, thought it not beſt for them to expect either whilſt a Breach were made, or an Aſſault given, but by Parly to prevent theſe Dangers, in hope ſo to come to ſome eaſier Compoſition, while yet they ſtood in their whole ſtrength. And ſo Parly by the Turks demanded, and by the Chriſtians granted, and Hoſtages for the ſurety thereof on both ſides given, they ſent two of the chief men amongſt them to intreat of the ſame; who at the firſt demanded, That their Lives and Liberty ſaved, they might with Bag and Baggage depart. Whereunto anſwer was given them, That they ſhould only with their Lives and Liberty be gone, with ſome few hundreds of their worſt Horſes, of Courteſie given them, to carry them to ſuch place as they meant to retire themſelves unto, and to deliver into the hands of the Chriſtians all ſuch Renegades as were in Town.

Graſold, General of the *Italians*, ſlain.

1603

The Turks in *Hatwan* crave Parley.

Now the beſieged Turks, carrying yet the marks of the Cruelty by the *Wallons* exerciſed upon them in the former Siege, when as the ſame Town was by force taken, and filled with dead Bodies of all Ages and Sexes, and doubting now this ſecond Shipwrack, with like miſery threatned unto them by the Chriſtian General, if they ſhould expect the dreadful event of a general aſſault; accepted of theſe hard Conditions, ſeeing no better could be obtained; and ſo covenanting, that they with their Families, their Lives and Liberties ſaved, might with a ſafe Convoy be conducted unto ſome place of ſurety within their own Territory, they promiſed to give up the Town. Which Agreement, on both parties reſolved upon, they full of Sorrow and Heavineſs, with their Families departing out of the Town the 29th of *November*, were by Collonel *Andaſt*, with certain *Huſſars*, ſafely conducted to *Solnoc*. The Chriſtians entring the Town, found therein great ſtore of Victuals and Munition, the Houſes full of Corn and other Neceſſaries, and the Shops ſtored with Weapons, Shot, and Powder, with 24 pieces of great Ordnance ready mounted, which might have well ſufficed for the defence of the place. But all theſe things are but Acceſſories unto one principal, that is to ſay, to Reſolution, without which they are but of ſmall force, and with which they are able to do much. Beſide that, the place it ſelf thus furniſhed well conſidered, ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to have been forced; but eſpecially now that Winter was come on, which might have brought a thouſand Storms and Difficulties, by the Chriſtians not to have been indured; ſo that every man beholding the ſame, with his Eyes caſt up towards heaven, gave God the Praiſe, for taking away the Turks Courages in their ſo great Advantages, and increaſing of the Chriſtians in their no leſs Difficulties; unto whom the glory of this Victory was wholly attributed, ſeeing that contrary to all appearance and mans forces, he had given to the Chriſtians the Victory, no way able by their own forces to have been gained. But God, which in his Providence from Heaven beholdeth all things upon Earth, diſpoſeth of the ſame as he ſeeth beſt for his Glory, and the welfare of his; ſo that in this Action he was the only Pilot which brought this our Ship into the Haven of Health; for the Hairs of our Head are of him numbred, and even the leaſt Creatures upon Earth are by him regarded.

Hatwan yielded unto the Chriſtians.

Into this new gained Town the Chriſtian General put a good and ſtrong Garriſon of a thouſand *Lanſquenets*, and 500 *Hungarians*, part Horſe-men, and part Foot-men, for the keeping of the Place and of the Country thereabout; which done, he retired with his Army toward *Peſth*, which he relieved with Victuals, and ſtrengthned with the Troops of the Collonels, *Colbnitz*, *Geisberg*, and *Rouer*, who were there billited to paſs the Winter, and to preſerve the place againſt the Devices and Enterpriſes of the Turks of *Buda*, who were ſtill deviſing and practiſing for the regaining thereof.

Eghty, *Italian* Renegades hanged.

many more Priſoners, amongſt whom were found above fourſcore *Italian* Renegades, who, brought into the Camp, were, as Enemies unto God, in a Martial Court all condemned to be hanged, and ſo accordingly executed, ſaving the Captain himſelf, who, for the regard of his Place, was beheaded.

The Turks Army greatly diminiſhed and diſcouraged.

Shortly after, the great Baſſa ariſing with his Army, came in the beginning of *October* and incamped near *Buda*, both for the Preſervation of the Place, and the ſafety of his Army, now greatly diminiſhed both in Number and Courage. For it was certainly known by divers Fugitives from the Turks, that in theſe many Conflicts they had loſt a number of their beſt Souldiers, but eſpecially of their Janizaries. So that the Baſſa, for the ſupplying of that Defect, was glad to make choice of 6000 of his beſt Souldiers, whom, armed with Muſquets and Scimitars, the proper Arms of the Janizaries, he entertained into the Rooms and Pay of the Janizaries that were dead and ſlain; the reſt of his Army for the moſt part conſiſting of bare and feeble, baſe raw Souldiers. Beſides this, that all the Army was full of Mourning and Lamentation, the Souldiers in all Places bewailing the loſs of their Brethren, their Friends and Companions; ſo that inſtead of their wonted Threats and bravery, nothing was to be heard but ſighing and complaining. And moreover, that the general Opinion conceived of the greatneſs of the Christian Army, (imagined to be much greater and ſtronger than indeed it was) had ſtruck ſuch a fear into the minds of the Turks, as that they were reſolved, *Buda* being once victualled, to return home, all their other proud Deſigns for this year ſet apart; which was the cauſe that they had diſlodged with their Army, and drawn near unto the City, the better to attend to the new victualling thereof, and ſo to be gone; accounting themſelves right happy, if they might but perform that good piece of Service and ſave themſelves.

The Chriſtians with their Army follow the Turks.

The Chriſtians, before in doubt leſt the Turks ſhould have beſieged *Peſth*, as they had before given it forth they would, and ſeeing them now to be riſen with their Army and incamped near unto *Buda*, reſolved to follow them, and in what they might to croſs their Deſigns; and thereupon leaving *Peſth*, as now out of danger, they roſe alſo, and came and incamped before the Fort in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, betwixt the ſaid Fort and *Vachia*; where they ſtayed four days, and then by a Bridge which they made upon the *Danuby*, whereby to paſs from the Iſle where the *Italians* lay in Garriſon, unto the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, kept by the *Lanſquenets*, they with the whole Army paſſed the River, and ſo came and incamped before the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, in the face of the Enemy. Now the field betwixt the heads of the two Armies was plain and open, without Woods, Buſhes, or Rivers, to hinder the joyning of a ſet Battel. In which ſo fit a Place, the Chriſtians incouraged, with the fear of their Enemies, and the diminiſhing of their Number and Courage (whereof they had got knowledge as well by their tumultuous riſing, as by other Advertiſements) were deſirous in ſo favourable Occaſions to have given them Battel; and for the deſire they had thereof, were come thither to ſeek it; which the Turks on the other ſide ſought as much to ſhun, not daring to adventure themſelves unto the Fortune of a general Battel, for all the brags they had made. Nevertheleſs, very ſhame arming them with ſome Reſolution, they put forth into the field a Battalion of five thouſand men, five days after that the Chriſtians were incamped on that ſide of the River. This Battel of the Turks came marching on, within half a quarter of a League of the Chriſtians; which they would not have done but upon the Confidence of a greater number following of them, having behind them ten thouſand men both Horſe and Foot, laid as cloſe as they poſſibly could a little out of the way. Now, the Chriſtians, thinking of no other Forces ready to fight, but thoſe which appeared in their ſight, ſent forth 12 hundred men against theſe five thouſand Turks, to skirmiſh with them, until the whole Army were put into order, even for a general Battel that day to have been fought, if the Turks ſhould accept thereof; whereunto the General, the Collonels, Captains, and Souldiers in general, were fully inclined, the whole Army with great Chearfulneſs marching on foot at this loud alarm of their common deſire. Which had not failed to bring forth great change of effects, had the Turks been likewiſe diſpoſed for the producing of the ſame. But they be the extraordinary favours of Fortune, when fit Occaſions joyn themſelves with brave Reſolutions, and ſuch Reſolutions with means to effect the ſame. This is the let of many moſt noble Trophies, which moſt commonly fail, either for lack of fit Occaſion, or for lack of good Reſolution for the performance of them. But as moſt men judge of other mens Conceits by their own Inclination, ſo the Chriſtians themſelves, reſolved to give Battel, thought the Turks their Enemies to have been of the ſame Reſolution; and thoſe five thouſand men to have been the head of the avaunt-guard, followed with the whole Army, coming to draw them out to skirmiſh until the coming on of the reſt of their Forces. Howbeit their deſign was quite contrary to this the Chriſtians hope, for their purpoſe was only to-train them out into their Ambuſhes, ſo without danger to cut them in pieces. Of which their purpoſe they gave ſufficient Teſtimony, and cauſe of ſuſpect; for that the Skirmiſh having continued three hours, with ſome loſs on both ſides, the Turks Army appeared not; and theſe five thouſand Turks now in Skirmiſh, by little and little retiring, ſought ſo to have drawn the Chriſtians into the danger of their Ambuſh. Which their manner of fight cauſed the Chriſtians to ſuſpect the matter; for it was not like, that five thouſand men ſhould give ground to twelve hundred, if they had not had ſome ſecret meaning therein, which they ſought to effect to their more advantage. Which cauſed the Chriſtian *Carabins* which followed them, not to be too earneſt in purſuing of them, and more cloſely to ſerre themſelves together, the better to indure the ſhock of their Enemies, if they ſhould charge them. Neither were they in that their provident fear deceived; for the Turks, ſeeing their purpoſe diſcovered, and themſelves now out of hope to effect the ſame, upon the ſudden made a ſtand, and ſo preſently coming on, hardly charged the formoſt of our *Carabins*; who, as men half ſurpriſed, to ſee themſelves ſo readily and reſolutely charged, by men who but now made ſhew as if they would have fled, were not able ſo valiantly to receive the charge (conſidering the great number of them by whom they were charged) but that ſome few of them were overthrown and ſlain, with ſome of the *Hungarians* amongſt them. Howbeit they made good reſiſtance, and right valiantly repulſed their Enemies, of whom they ſlew a good number alſo. The preaſe in this Conflict was great, every one deſiring to ſhew himſelf brave and couragious in the head of his own Army. But new Supplies ſtill coming in, the Turks in fine ſhrunk back and retired, having left three hundred of their Fellows dead upon the Place, accompanied with an hundred of the Chriſtians there ſlain likewiſe. Now upon the retreat on both ſides, every man in his conceit appointed the next day for the general day of Battel; the brag-

The Chriſtians reſolve to give the Turks Battel.

The Turks ſeek to draw the Chriſtians into the danger of their Ambuſh.

A Conflict betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

The Turks refuſe to come to a general Battel with the Chriſtians.

Erasbles, what manner of Souldiers they are among the Turks.

Collonitz in governing about to ſurpriſe the Turks, with loſs repulſed, and himſelf indangered.

ging Speeches of the Turks giving the Chriſtians occaſion ſo to think; for why, they ſeldom or never refuſe Battel, being offered them by the Chriſtians, as well for the Confidence they commonly have in their multitude, as for the fooliſh opinion they have of the inevitable Predeſtination of men to Life or Death; accounting it amongſt them an eternal infamy, to refuſe any Combat againſt the Chriſtians; which, howſoever it fall out, ſhould ſort to their Advantage, by vanquiſhing, gaining the Fruits of their Victory; and by loſing their Lives in Battel, to gain the Joys of Heaven; being vainly perſwaded, no mens Souls do go more readily unto Heaven, than the Souls of ſuch as dye in Battel againſt the Chriſtians. Such Effects old ſuperſtitious Opinions are able to work in the Minds of men, even to the deſperate adventuring and ſpending of their Lives. Howbeit, that this Effect for this time witneſſeth, that theſe men, with all theſe Advantages, as much feared the danger as any other poor faint-hearted men; and that a ſtrong apprehenſion of fear is able to prevail againſt all Cuſtoms and Perſwaſions, be they never ſo old, as alſo againſt all other Accidents whatſoever. For why, the Turks, contenting themſelves with their great Braggs and vain Threats, came not forth according to their Promiſe, neither could by any means be drawn to adventure themſelves unto the hazard of a general Battel. The loſs of their great and choiceſt men diſcouraged and deterred them from adventuring all to the hazard of ſo great a Peril. For (as I have ſaid) almoſt all their Janizaries and moſt valiant Souldiers were dead or ſlain, and the reſt, men of ſmall Spirit or Courage, reſerved that little which was in them, for the ſafeguard of themſelves, and not for the gaining of any notable Victory. They had alſo in theſe often Conflicts loſt all their *Erasbles*, which are a deſperate kind of Souldiers fighting on Horſeback, without Saddles, having only a little piece of Tapeſtry upon their Horſes Backs, and by the readineſs of their Horſes, do for a long time in one ſort maintain their fight. They carry light Darts made of ſtrait and fair Canes, excellently well made, and ſtrongly armed; and their handy Weapons are good Sables, or broad and ſharp Curtleaſſes. Theſe men a great while fought moſt valiantly in the laſt Combats, but in fine, were all ſlain, except ſome few which caſt themſelves into *Danubius*, and were there drowned. The loſs of which men much diſcouraged the Turks; for why, their Service ſtood them in great ſtead in receiving the Enemies Charges, and with their Bodies covering of the Turks Squadrons in their greateſt Perils and Combats. Howbeit the Turks received not theſe Loſſes without returning of ſome part thereof to us again; for *Collonitz* had a little before fallen into great danger of his Perſon, and loſt ſome of his Followers in an Enterpriſe of great Moment, had the Effect anſwered unto the Project thereof. While the Turks yet lodged in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, he cauſed eight great field-pieces to be ſo placed, as that therewith he ſo much annoyed the Turks, that they were about to have forſaken the Place. And the more to force them ſo to do, the ſecond of *October* he embarqued himſelf with ſix hundred *Haiducks* upon the *Danubius*, and ſo by Night with great ſilence landed near unto the Enemies, thinking ſo upon the ſudden to have ſurpriſed them. Which for all that, could not ſo ſecretly be done, by reaſon of the coming on of the day, but that the Turks were thereof aware; who thereupon with great preaſe iſſued out of their Trenches, and with all their Force and Power charged him. Againſt whom he made head, rather upon a brave and conſtant Reſolution, than upon any Confidence he had in his own Forces, not having men enow to withſtand the leaſt part of his Enemies. Which his ſo great Reſolution ſo abated the Turks Fury, as that they ſtood a good while in doubt to charge men ſo reſolved. The Field-pieces which he had brought over with him into the Iſle, then ſerved him to good purpoſe, beating them back with their murthering Bullets, who with their number thought to have overwhelmed him. Which good help, oppoſed againſt the number of the Enemies, for a time balanced the Victory, and wrought the death of many on both ſides. This manner of fight indured the ſpace of two hours, maintained more by Reſolution, than by Strength and Power. At length for all that, the Turks with their number prevailing, the Chriſtians therewith rather oppreſſed than vanquiſhed, forſaking their Field-pieces, diſorderly retired toward their Boats. After whom the Turks eagerly following, in that purſuit ſlew 400 of the *Haiducks*, the reſt with much ado recovering their Boats, carrying with them their General, by them hardly defended from the Fury of their Enemy. Which loſs happed not ſo unto the Chriſtians, but that it was mingled with ſome loſs of the Turks alſo, of whom, the moſt forward and courageous were in that fight ſlain, as was afterwards known by certain Priſoners of theirs afterward taken, who made report of the Loſſes by them there received. The Turks, by this ſo deſperate and dangerous an attempt warned, to prevent the like for the time to come, caſt up great Trenches in the Iſle along the Bank of *Danubius*, therein placing certain Janizaries and other their beſt Souldiers, who there lay until the diſlodgement of the Camp, to go to lie before *Buda*.

The Bridge of *Lamaſcin* taken and broken by the Governour of *Stiria*.

The Turks had before built a Bridge of Boats at *Lamaſcin*, which gave them Paſſage into *Stiria*, where they did great harm; for the ſtrengthning whereof, they had built at both ends thereof a ſtrong Fort, well furniſhed both with Men and Munition. This Bridge, ſo commodious for the Turks, and hurtful to the Chriſtians, *Trantmeſtorf*, Governour of *Stiria*, and a great Commander in thoſe parts, with his *Stirian* Troops, and ſome good Aid brought unto him by the County *Serin*, undertook to break. Upon which Reſolution he upon the ſudden approached one of the aforeſaid Forts, and ſo right furiouſly aſſailed the ſame, before they in the Fort were well aware of his coming. In which doing, he cauſed the greateſt noiſe and ſtir that was poſſible to be made with Trumpets, Drums, and clattering of Armour, as if it had been ſome great Army imployed in that Action, the more to terrifie the beſieged. Which ſo great and dreadful a noiſe, joyned unto ſo brave an attempt, with ſo great Courage begun, ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Minds of the Turks, that they without any great reſiſtance quitted the place, and fled over the Bridge to the other Fort. Of which forſaken Fort the Chriſtians became Maſters, and with all ſpeed proſecuting their good Fortune, preſently drew out thereof three Cannons, and therewith battered the other Fort. In which the Turks, having no other place of Refuge to fly unto, nor hope of ſafety but in their laſt Valour, ſo well behaved themſelves, as that the Chriſtians had much ado to force them. Howbeit, a breach being made by the Fury of the Cannon, and ſcaling ladders ſet up, the Fort was on every ſide aſſaulted; which the Turks for the ſpace of five hours ſo valiantly endured, as that it was hard to ſay who ſhould prevail or have the better. In this Aſſault were many on both ſides ſlain, the Turks not being to be overcome but with the loſs both of their Lives and Honour; nor the Chriſtians able to retire without loſing the fruit of that their ſo great and rich an Enterpriſe; ſo that the aſſault was with great Reſolution on both ſides maintained, the Turks fighting for their Lives, and the Chriſtians for their Honour; until that at laſt, the Turks, with much ſlaughter overcome, the Fort was by the Chriſtians taken, and moſt of the Turks therein being ſlain, and the reſt taken Priſoners, both the Forts were forthwith razed, and the Bridge broken, which before had ſerved for an ordinary paſſage for the Turks to forrage and ſpoil the Chriſtian Territories by. The Boats whereof the Bridge was made were all burnt, and ſome great Ordnance therein found broken in pieces and caſt into the River.

Lugaze, a ſtrong Place delivered to *Baſta*.

At the ſame time *Lugaze*, a Place of great Importance for the Service of the Emperour, and ſo near unto the Turks, as that they could hardly attempt any thing thereabouts, but that it might from thence be diſcovered and known, was by the *Tranſilvanians* delivered to *Baſta*, General for the Emperour in that Country. From which place, he ſending out certain Scouts toward *Belgrade*, they brought in with them certain Priſoners; who being examined, ſaid, that *Haſſan Baſſa*, the Turks General in *Hungary*, had writ to *Giaffer Baſſa*, the Governour of *Temeſwar*, That he ſhould only attend to the Preſervation of his own, without attempting any thing further againſt the Chriſtians, the preſent eſtate of their Affairs ſo requiring; and that having revictualled *Buda*, his purpoſe was for this year to return, in hope of ſome good Peace to be ere long concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperour.

The Chriſtians offer the Turks Battel.

The two Armies of the Turks and the Chriſtians lay ſtill near the one of them unto the other, the Turks, careful for the revictualling of *Buda*, and the Chriſtians ſtill intentive to their doings, and deſirous in what they might to hinder and fruſtrate the ſame. Which, becauſe they could no way better do, than by offering of them Battel; they thereupon generally reſolved, upon a *Friday*, being the ſeventeenth of *October*, the day by them aſſigned for the Battel (having by the ſhooting off of three great Cannons, given warning unto the Souldiers throughout the Camp, for the preparing of themſelves firſt toward God, and then to the Service of their Prince) after they had well refreſhed themſelves, in good order took the field, and ſo ſtood ready ranged there, either to give or accept of Battel. Before whom, the County *Ringrave* was ſent forth with his Regiment, about half the way betwixt the two Armies, to diſcover the moving of the Enemy, and to receive his firſt charge if occaſion ſhould ſo require. Whoſe Scouts before ſent forth, about Noon diſcovered a Troop of Horſe-men come out of the Turks Camp, about ſome buſineſs they had to do, but to them unknown; whom the Scouts ſuppoſing to have been the fore-runners of the Turks Army, and by them almoſt ſurpriſed, haſtily retired back again, and by their haſty retreat put the whole Army in an alarm, which came bravely marching on, in hope now to have come to try the matter by true Valour, and by the Fortune of a general Battel to have made that day for ever famous by their Victory and the overthrow of their proud Enemies. And in the heat of their ſo great Courage, like enough it was for them to have performed the ſame, had the Turks had but ſo much Courage in them as to have met them in the Field, as was well hoped they now would. But they, with their former Loſſes diſcouraged, and reſolved only upon the ſafeguard of themſelves, and the victualling of *Buda*, had no mind to enter into theſe honourable Liſts; but kept themſelves cloſe within the covert of their Tents, and the ſtrength of their Trenches. And ſo the Chriſtians, with a falſe alarm moved, and having for the moſt part of the day in vain expected the coming forth of their Enemies, returned into their Camp deceived of their Expectation.

The Turks refuſe to accept of Battel offered them by the Chriſtians.

The ſame day there was an Eſpie taken, whom they which took him thought to have been a Turk, howbeit he was found to be one of their own men; by whom they were better informed of the Cowardiſe of the Turks, of their purpoſe for the ſhunning of Battel, and of their Reſolution for the keeping of themſelves within the ſafeguard of their Trenches; and that they ſo did, as well for the loſſes they had before received, as for divers other unlucky accidents, which cauſed them to miſdoubt ſome evil ſucceſs in the end and winding up of this their Expedition. Nevertheleſs, the Chriſtians, not greatly truſting to theſe Reports, ſtill kept their Army in readineſs, to give their Enemies Battel upon the leaſt occaſion offered them. Howbeit, that indeed they had no great cauſe of fear, the Turks having no deſire at all to come to a general Battel; ſo that inſtead of great Effects that were expected, the time paſſed but in light Skirmiſhes and vain Alarms betwixt the two Armies, until that at length the Turks, having by the River ſufficiently ſtored the City of *Buda* with Victuals, the great Baſſa ſecretly by Night roſe with his Army, and ſo retired toward *Belgrade*. Which ſo baſe a retreat differed not much from a cowardly flight, being with ſuch ſilence made under the dark covert of the Night, as that the Chriſtians had thereof no perceiving until they were quite departed and gone. This victualling of *Buda*, and ſome other few places of the Turks in *Hungary*, was all that the great Baſſa did this year with his great Army; whereas at his firſt coming it was given out, that he would therewith take both *Strigonium* and *Peſth* from the *Chriſtians*.

The great Baſſa having victualled *Buda*, ſecretly by Night riſeth with his Army, and retireth out of *Hungary*.

The Chriſtians after the departure of the Turks, reſolve to beſiege *Hatwan*.

The next day, the haſty and ſudden departure of the Enemy being perceived, the General of the Chriſtians called together the Collonels and other great Commanders of the Army, to conſult with them, what were beſt to be done in ſo unexpected an occurrent? Of whom, ſome were of Opinion, That it was beſt forthwith in all haſte to purſue their fearful Enemies; others, for many Reaſons diſſuading the ſame, and others withal, propounding ſome other notable Exploits to be taken in hand. But in Concluſion, the ſafeſt point was reſolved upon, which was, not to hazard any of their Troops in purſuing of their flying Enemies, who were hardly to be overtaken; but now immediately after their departure to attempt the taking in of ſome one of their ſtrong holds; where, amongſt others that were propounded, *Hatwan* was thought to be the moſt neceſſary Place, being ſo ſeated, as that beſide the great harm it did to the Chriſtians thereabout, it much hindered both Advertiſements and Victuals to be brought unto *Peſth*. Which Exploit reſolved upon, they forthwith razed the Fort of St. *Andrew*, and the Fort by them built in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, becauſe they ſhould not ſtand the Turks in any ſtead after their departure, and ſo with all their Power ſet forward toward *Hatwan*. This Town is ſeated beyond the River of *Danubius* toward the *North*, about eight Leagues from *Buda*, croſſing the way to *Tranſilvania* and *Caſſovia*, upon a fair and even Plain, near unto a great and deep Mariſh, and was ſometime defended with good and ſtrong Walls, with a Caſtle, and three large and deep Ditches, for a long time in the Power of the Turks, and which, without loſs, a great while held out againſt the valiant Baron *Teuſfenbach*, by whom it was moſt ſtraitly in vain beſieged; until that afterward it was again beſieged by *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, the Emperours Brother, *Hatwan* taken and diſmantled by *Maxamilian* the Archduke, in the year 1594.

Hatwah again fortified by the Turks.

Brother, then General of his Army in *Hungary*, in the year 1594, unto whom it was by Compoſition ſurrendred, after it had for a certain ſpace been by the Turks notably defended; who, conſidering the harm this place did unto the Emperours Territories, by reaſon of the ſcituation thereof, wherein a great and ſtrong Garriſon of the Turks always lying, forraged all the Chriſtian Territories as far as the River *Vague*, yea, and oftentimes took Booties as far as *Strigonium*, and by ſpoiling of all that ſide of *Hungary*, cauſed the Country to pay Contribution as far as *Ternavie*, ſtanding within four Leagues of the Mountains which ſeperate *Hungary* and *Moravia*; all irreparable Loſſes to the Chriſtians, and hardly to be avoided; for which Reaſons he cauſed it then to be diſmantled, and to be made unſerviceable for the Wars. After which time for all that, the Turks, for the commodiouſneſs of the Place, had with great Labour again new fortified the ſame, with Walls made with great Piles of Wood and Faggots, with Earth rammed in betwixt them; a ſtronger kind of Fortification, and better able to withſtand the Fury of the Cannon, than are Walls of Stone; in which ſort the Turks uſe moſt commonly to fortifie ſuch Places as they mean to defend, and which oftentimes coſt much for the Chriſtians to gain the ſame from them.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

This Place thus fortified, and both with Men and Munition well furniſhed, and with all things needful ſtored, was able to indure a great and long Siege; whereunto the Garriſon therein was as reſolutely ſet down, as were the Chriſtians to attempt it; where now, at their firſt coming unto it, a part of the *Italian* Regiment, aſſiſted with three hundred *Lanſquenets*, under the leading of County *Sultze*, and *Graſold*, General of the *Italians*, were appointed to go before the reſt of the Army, and to begin to make the Approaches; which they did by forcing of a Water-mill, driven by the Water of the Mariſh, not paſt a Muſquet ſhot from the Town. Wherein while they were buſied, the Turks ſallying out of the Town, came to fight hand to hand with the Chriſtians, and had with them a ſharp Combat, the Turks fighting for the defending of the Place, and of their Lives, and the Chriſtians for the gaining of the ſame, and for their Honour. Which ſo contrary a Reſolution in that Conflict, coſt the Lives of many; and amongſt others, the Life of *Graſold*, General of the *Italians*, there ſlain with a Harquebuſe ſhot, unto the great hurt of the whole Army, but eſpecially of the *Italians*, now deprived of ſo great and expert a Commander. At laſt, for all that, the Turks were inforced confuſedly to retire again into the Town, having in this ſally loſt a number of their men alſo. The Chriſtians nevertheleſs, having driven the Turks back into the Town, went forward with their Buſineſs in making their Approaches, and placing their Gabions to cover their Cannon; wherein the Turks with their great and ſmall ſhot did them great harm, but eſpecially with their murthering pieces, charged with Nails and other ſmall pieces of Iron. Howbeit, by the coming of the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the reſt of the Army, the Approaches were the next day brought on, and the Battery planted ſo near unto the Town, as that the Turks could not without moſt manifeſt danger and loſs, any more ſally out to trouble the Chriſtians in their Works. The firſt Inconveniency the beſieged felt, was the want of Water, which through the diligence of our men was ſoon taken from them, the Cannon right furiouſly battering the Walls in the mean ſpace. Wherewith the Turks diſcouraged, and now out of hope to be relieved, thought it not beſt for them to expect either whilſt a Breach were made, or an Aſſault given, but by Parly to prevent theſe Dangers, in hope ſo to come to ſome eaſier Compoſition, while yet they ſtood in their whole ſtrength. And ſo Parly by the Turks demanded, and by the Chriſtians granted, and Hoſtages for the ſurety thereof on both ſides given, they ſent two of the chief men amongſt them to intreat of the ſame; who at the firſt demanded, That their Lives and Liberty ſaved, they might with Bag and Baggage depart. Whereunto anſwer was given them, That they ſhould only with their Lives and Liberty be gone, with ſome few hundreds of their worſt Horſes, of Courteſie given them, to carry them to ſuch place as they meant to retire themſelves unto, and to deliver into the hands of the Chriſtians all ſuch Renegades as were in Town.

Graſold, General of the *Italians*, ſlain.

The Turks in *Hatwan* crave Parley.

Now the beſieged Turks, carrying yet the marks of the Cruelty by the *Wallons* exerciſed upon them in the former Siege, when as the ſame Town was by force taken, and filled with dead Bodies of all Ages and Sexes, and doubting now this ſecond Shipwrack, with like miſery threatned unto them by the Chriſtian General, if they ſhould expect the dreadful event of a general aſſault; accepted of theſe hard Conditions, ſeeing no better could be obtained; and ſo covenanting, that they with their Familes, their Lives and Liberties ſaved, might with a ſafe Convoy be conducted unto ſome place of ſurety within their own Territory, they promiſed to give up the Town. Which Agreement, on both parties reſolved upon, they full of Sorrow and Heavineſs, with their Families departing out of the Town the 29th of *November*, were by Collonel *Andaſt*, with certain *Huſſars*, ſafely conducted to *Solnoc*. The Chriſtians entring the Town, found therein great ſtore of Victuals and Munition, the Houſes full of Corn and other Neceſſaries, and the Shops ſtored with Weapons, Shot, and Powder, with 24 pieces of great Ordnance ready mounted, which might have well ſufficed for the defence of the place. But all theſe things are but Acceſſories unto one principal, that is to ſay, to Reſolution, without which they are but of ſmall force, and with which they are able to do much. Beſide that, the place it ſelf thus furniſhed well conſidered, ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to have been forced; but eſpecially now that Winter was come on, which might have brought a thouſand Storms and Difficulties, by the Chriſtians not to have been indured; ſo that every man beholding the ſame, with his Eyes caſt up towards heaven, gave God the Praiſe, for taking away the Turks Courages in their ſo great Advantages, and increaſing of the Chriſtians in their no leſs Difficulties; unto whom the glory of this Victory was wholly attributed, ſeeing that contrary to all appearance and mans forces, he had given to the Chriſtians the Victory, no way able by their own forces to have been gained. But God, which in his Providence from Heaven beholdeth all things upon Earth, diſpoſeth of the ſame as he ſeeth beſt for his Glory, and the welfare of his; ſo that in this Action he was the only Pilot which brought this our Ship into the Haven of Health; for the Hairs of our Head are of him numbred, and even the leaſt Creatures upon Earth are by him regarded.

Hatwan yielded unto the Chriſtians.

Into this new gained Town the Chriſtian General put a good and ſtrong Garriſon of a thouſand *Lanſquenets*, and 500 *Hungarians*, part Horſe-men, and part Foot-men, for the keeping of the Place and of the Country thereabout; which done, he retired with his Army toward *Peſth*, which he relieved with Victuals, and ſtrengthned with the Troops of the Collonels, *Collonitz*, *Geisberg*, and *Rouer*, who were there billited to paſs the Winter, and to preſerve the place againſt the Devices and Enterpriſes of the Turks of *Buda*, who were ſtill deviſing and practiſing for the regaining thereof.

The Lord *Ruſſworm* breaks up his Army, and ſendeth the Enſigns gained from the Turks for a preſent to the Archduke *Matthias.*

The time of the Year for Souldiers any longer to keep the Field now paſt, and the great Army of the Turks riſen and gone, the Lord *Ruſſworm* breaking up his Army near unto *Strigonium*, cauſed all the Enſigns by him this Year gained from the Turks,even ſixty four in number,to be gathered together, all very brave and gallant; all which he ſent with great Pomp and Triumph to *Vienna*, for a Preſent to the Arch-duke *Matthias*; who received them with great Thanks, given both unto the General that ſent them, and the Souldiers that had gained them; and bountifully rewarding them that had brought them. They of *Vienna* at the ſame time highly commending the General, and not a little rejoycing to ſee thoſe ſame Enſigns now in their Power within the City, which not long before had proudly braved them in the Field.

Inſolent Souldiers juſtly puniſhed.

Now after the breaking up of the Chriſtian Army, a great number of inſolent and ſeditious Souldiers, eſpecially of the Regiment of Collonel *Altmein*, roaming up and down the Country to ſeek for Booty, moſt cruelly rifled and ſpoiled the Country Villages, with the Inhabitants therein, as well the Chriſtians as the Turks, ſparing no more the one than the other: whoſe Outrage not otherwiſe to be ſtayed, they were by Commandment from the Emperour, by force charged at *Widhof*, and two hundred and thirty of them being brought in Priſoners to *Vienna*, four and thirty of them were there for Example hanged, and the reſt, as men not worthy of Entertainment, caſhiered.

The Souldiers of the Regiment of the *Reingrave* evil billited, by Extremities driven to provide for themſelves.

The time of the Year having (as we ſaid) broken up the Army of the Chriſtians, the Regiment of the County *Reingrave* was put in Garriſon into the Villages of *Chiante* and *Ternavy*, always at hand with the Enemies, as fitteſt to repulſe them. Theſe Souldiers were always kept in doing, ſtill fighting whilſt others were at Peace, and managing their Arms, whilſt others hanged theirs by the Walls. For, beſide the Troubles they had with the Turks, their nigh, but bad Neighbours, the very Inhabitants of the Country (who held all that might hurt them for Enemies, were they never ſo much their Friends) oftentimes, and that for little or no occaſion at all, took up Arms, and right furiouſly charged them as their mortal Enemies. Of which Combats there was no end, the Country Peaſants ſtill ſtriving to rid themſelves of ſuch Gueſts. So that theſe valiant men, ſtill inforced to buy their Bread with the price of their Blood, as men become deſperate, uſed the Chriſtians as they did the Turks, dividing all things with them by the Sword. But in theſe ſmall and often Fights more men were ſlain and loſt than would have been in a general Battel, ſome good number, either on the one ſide or the other being every day ſlain; which daily Inconveniences cauſed theſe Souldiers to reſolve to go to ſeek their living elſewhere, rather than in the midſt of the Graves of their Fellows. Whereunto they were the rather induced, for that but a little before, the Troop of Captain *Clinchampe*, the beſt and braveſt of the whole Regiment, was one night furiouſly aſſailed, and almoſt ſurpriſed by the Country Peaſants. Wherefore they departed out of *Hungary* into *Auſtria* without Victuals, Apparel, or Money, their Pay due unto them for ſeventeen Months being kept from them. A Cruelty full of Covetouſneſs, and a Covetouſneſs full of Cruelty, by wrong and hard dealing to leave thoſe men to the deſperate extremity of Hunger, who for our Safety had expoſed themſelves to all manner of danger. For if the Prince (as he may of right) demand the Lives of his Subjects in his Service, as bound unto their Loyalty; they may alſo of Right require due Proviſion for their Maintenance: of which two Offices, where one faileth, the whole State muſt needs fall. For providing wherefore, great was the Wiſdom of *Auguſtus*, who laid up the publick Revenue apart by it ſelf, to defray the publick Charge; and that which was his own private, to ſerve his own private Uſes.

The Peaſants of *Auſtria* ſeek by force to ſtay the Paſſage of the Souldiers of the *Reingraves* Regiment into their Country.

The Churles of *Auſtria* overthrown.

Theſe poor Souldiers thus reſolved, craved leave of the Biſhop of *Presbourg* to paſs by the Suburbs of his Town, without doing therein any harm: which their Requeſt he courteouſly granted; and ſo, according to their Word, they indeed paſſed, not ſo much as once wiſhing for that they durſt not once touch. Which their ſo quiet Paſſage, cauſed the Biſhop to furniſh them with Boats, whereby to paſs over the River which divideth *Hungary* from *Auſtria*. Which once known unto the Peaſants of *Auſtria*, they aſſembled themſelves together, to the number of 1500 men, and caſt up a Fort upon the Bank of the River, with three Faulconets in it, reſolutely ſet down to keep them from coming over into their Country. Which their ſo forward a Reſolution for a while ſtaid theſe men of War; who, to avoid farther trouble, courteouſly requeſted Paſſage of theſe men, promiſing all their good Behaviour in paſſing quietly through their Country; which the Carles in moſt churliſh manner refuſed to grant, with proud Threats of the danger of their Lives, if they ſhould by force attempt the Paſſage, and not with quietneſs return. With which Bravadoes of the Country Churles theſe Troops of martial men provoked, reſolved by force to remove theſe lets, and by the Sword to open themſelves a way; ſo turning the Head of their Baggages toward the Fort, as if they would have there paſſed; while the Peaſants ſtood gazing upon them, *Camgaillard* with his Troop of Horſemen, unperceived of them took the River a little higher up, and by ſwimming gained the farther Bank; after whom Captain *Clinchamp* with his Troops immediately followed alſo. In which Paſſage, they were much troubled with great flakes of Ice, with the great deepneſs of the River, with the ſteepneſs of the Banks where they were to land, and many other Difficulties: all which they regarded not, to be revenged of their Enemies. Theſe valiant men being got over, upon the ſudden ſurpriſing theſe rude Country Churles, and furiouſly charging of them, quickly overthrew them, and cut them in pieces; of whom, 300 were left dead upon the Place, as many more hurt, and the reſt put to flight. Which was no ſooner done, but that the reſt of the Troops of the Regiment without let paſſed the River, and ſo joyned themſelves unto their victorious Companions. Seven Weeks this Regiment ſtayed in *Auſtria*; and ſo longer had, but that upon the Complaint and Requeſt of the Nobility and of the People of the Country, they having for ſeventeen Months Pay due unto them received nine Months Pay, were licenſed to depart. Which was a great Overſight in them that had to do therewith, at once to diſband ſo many good Men, as had not their like amongſt all the reſt of the Emperour's Garriſons; and who, being ſtaid with a little money, might with their good Service have ſtood the Emperour in great ſtead; as by proof afterward appeared; when as the Emperour,by neceſſity forced to call them together again, could not of all that ſtrong Regiment raiſe but three Companies; the reſt being ſome of them returned into their own Countries, other ſome of them gone to ſerve in other places, or elſe otherwiſe diſperſed. Of which three Companies, the firſt was given to *Camgaillard*, the ſecond to *Baltazar Marades*, a Spaniard, and the laſt to *John Paul*, an Italian: Which three Captains had before commanded in the *Reingraves* Regiment, and done the Emperour good Service as they did afterward alſo.

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Divers happy Conflicts of the Chriſtians with the Turks and Tartars.

The reſt of this year ended in *Hungary*, with divers other Encounters and Combats, Fortune therein ſtill favouring the Chriſtians. As three hundred *Haiducks*, going forth to ſeek for Booty, by good hap chanced to meet with a Company of the Turks, being very rich, and divers of them men of good account; amongſt whom, the Governour of *Mohatz* was one; all whom theſe *Haiducks* cut in pieces: to be borne withal, for ſhewing no favour unto them, who moſt cruelly had before ſpoiled them of their Parents, Lands, and Goods. Beſides that, they took the Governour of *Copan*, with his Son, and twenty four other very rich Turks, with 170 Horſes of Service, and eight fat Oxen prepared for their Proviſion. Which fat Booties drew forth other Souldiers alſo to ſeek out for the like; of whom, certain Troops of the Chriſtians going forth toward *Barſwar*, a Town of the Enemies, met the Governour of the Town and of the Territory thereabout, come out with his Garriſon againſt them; where betwixt them was made a right hot and ſharp fight; wherein, at the firſt encounter the Turks ſeemed to have the better, but in the end the Chriſtians taking Courage, overthrew them, and cut them in pieces. In this conflict divers Priſoners were taken, with three Enſigns, and many other rich Spoils. This happy Exploit was ſeconded with News agreeable thereunto out of *Moldavia*, whereof the Vayvod by a Curror ſent of purpoſe, gave our men to underſtand of the great and general overthrow of the *Tartars*; who, having with all manner of Cruelty waſted the Country, had in the end made the Inhabitants ſo deſperate, that repoſing more Comfort in a ſpeedy death (the end of all Miſeries) than in a lingring Life, turmoiled with ſo many intolerable Calamities, they generally arming themſelves, joyned themſelves with their Vayvod, ſo to try their laſt Fortune. With which Reſolution, they in Battel encountering with the *Tartars*, gave them a great overthrow, a number of them being left dead upon the Field, and the reſt put to flight, and chaſed out of the Country, the *Moldavians* notably revenging their former Loſſes, and in their own Territories burying their Enemies.

Beged Baſſa thinking to have ſurpriſed the Lord *Baſta*, is himſelf by him ſurpriſed and overthrown.

Neither were the Turks in this cold and hard time of the year on their parts idle, but ſtill plotting of their great and notable Deſigns, even through the midſt of the Froſt and Snow to have been performed. The Baſſa *Beged*, hearing that the Lord *Baſta* lay with his Troops diſperſed in the Country about *Lippa*, in great ſecurity, by reaſon of the Extremity of the time, altogether unfit for men to keep the field; and therefore imagining it to be no great matter, now amidſt the Froſt and the Snow to ſurpriſe him; acquainted three other of the Turks Captains and Commanders thereabout with the matter; who liking well thereof, with five thouſand men altogether ſet forward, in hope to have upon the ſudden ſurpriſed him. But he, an old expert Captain, and not ſo careleſs as they ſuppoſed, had his ſecret Spies ſtill abroad among them; by whom, he, advertiſed both of their purpoſe and of their coming, reſolved in both to prevent them; and to that end having called together his Forces, ſet forward to meet them in the mid way, and ſo before they were aware to intercept them; neither failed he of his purpoſe; for, meeting with the Turks, fearing no ſuch matter in place of diſadvantage, and upon the ſudden charging them round, they, deceived of their Expectation for the eaſineſs of the Victory promiſed them, as men diſmayed, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance fled; above eleven hundred of them being in this conflict ſlain, and the reſt put in rout, and driven into the River *Maruze*, there periſhing; ſome few only by ſpeedy flight with the Baſſa eſcaping. Twenty of the Turks Captains were here taken, with ſome few other Priſoners, and a great and rich Booty.

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Much about the ſame time *George Barbel*, one of the chief of the Rebels in *Tranſilvania*, acknowledging his fault, came to *Claudianople*, to take the Oath for his Allegiance unto the Emperour; by whoſe Example a great number of others moved, came in and ſubmitted themſelves alſo; and happily he, being a good and valiant Captain, had done much more for the Service of the Emperour, had he not been by death prevented; for ſhortly after he ſuddenly died. The other Rebels, moved neither by his Example, nor by the coming in of ſome others of their Companions, made choice of one *Bethlin Habor* (a moſt renowned Captain, and of great Reputation amongſt the Souldiers) for their Chieftain; who, proud of ſuch a choice, immediately after ſent an Herauld unto *Baſta*, to will him forthwith to deliver unto him all the Country of *Tranſilvania*, as to him that was of late choſen Prince thereof, or elſe to denounce unto him moſt cruel War; and to tell him further, That if he refuſed ſo to do, he was in good hope by his own Forces, without any Aid from the Turk, to drive him out, being well aſſured of the faithful devoir of the *Tranſilvanians*. At whoſe proud Threats *Baſta* ſmiling, only ſhewed him his open Hand in ſign that he accepted of his proud Threats, not vouchſafing him any other anſwer at all. This glorious Boaſter bare himſelf the higher, for that he had married the Widdow of *Moiſes* the chief Rebel, whereby he had gained both great Riches, and much Credit and Reputation among the common People; both which he enjoyed but a while, for the fourth day after he was married, he died, and ſo was buried. *Baſta* nevertheleſs, for the better aſſuring of the ſtrong Places of *Tranſilvania*, put into them Garriſons of his moſt faithful *Germans*, and diſpatched *Crauſenich* away toward the Emperour, to requeſt of him a ſupply of a thouſand Horſe-men, and four thouſand Foot, without which he thought it impoſſible to preſerve and keep the Province, troubled with ſo great Factions, and ſo earneſtly ſought after by the Turks; and further to certifie him, That the little Forces he had left, was not ſufficient for the keeping of the Places beſet with ſo many Enemies, and all lying as it were in their Mouths; That the Province ſwarmed with ſeditious People, one thruſting another forward in Miſchief and Rebellion, as the Ears of Wheat, driven with the Wind, do one another in the Field; that the Turks were always making of new Incurſions, which he was not able to repreſs without greater Forces, which he expected from his Majeſty with all ſpeed poſſible; proteſting, for want of ſuch ſupply to be in time ſent unto him, to lay the loſs of the Province upon the Negligence of them which might and ought to have ſent the ſame; acquitting himſelf for the loſs thereof, ſeeing that he durſt not to repoſe any Truſt or Confidence in the Faith of the Citizens and Inhabitants of the Towns, although they were diſarmed, for having ſo often falſified their Faith, and put their Province in danger of utter Ruine and Deſtruction. But leaving theſe Troubles of *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, let us a little ſtep back to ſee what hapned among the Turks themſelves, after the departure of the great Baſſa with his Army out of *Hungary*.

Bethlin Habor choſen chief of the Rebels in *Tranſilvania*.

Baſta's ſcornful Anſwer to the Meſſenger of *Bethlin*.

Baſta ſendeth for new Supplies unto the Emperour for the keeping of *Tranſilvania*.

Mahomet the great Sultan had (as is before declared) by great Promiſes made unto his Rebels, ſought to appeaſe the Rebellion in *Aſia*, and by that means drawn *Zellaly*, one of the chief Rebels, with twelve thouſand good Souldiers, out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, and ſo into his Wars in *Hungary*, upon an aſſured promiſe made unto him of the Government of *Boſna*; the hope whereof, as it had drawn

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him into theſe late Wars, ſo had it alſo encouraged him with his gallant Troops of moſt brave Horſe-men to do the beſt Service he could, ſo to ſhew himſelf worthy of ſo honourable a Preferment: which he right notably performed during all the time of the Baſſaes Abode in *Hungary*, to his own great Commendation, and the furthering of his Lord and Maſter's Service. But the Baſſa with his weak Army retired out of *Hungary*, and the Baſſa himſelf returned toward *Conſtantinople*; *Zellaly*, with three thouſand Horſe, withdrew himſelf into his promiſed Government of *Boſna*, to poſſeſs himſelf thereof: and being come near to *Bagvalue*, the chief Town of that Province, he there encamped in a fair large Meadow, within ſight of the City. Now *Zeffer Baſſa*, then Governour of the Province, and not as yet thereof diſcharged, ſeeing this Rebel thus to incroach upon his Charge, as if he would even by force intrude himſelf thereinto; with all ſpeed called together his Garriſons and men of War (ever ready at his beck) and ſo went forth againſt *Zellaly*, with a purpoſe to have quickly, and without any great Trouble, cut him, with his ſo ſmall a Company, all in pieces. But the old Rebel, not ignorant either of his own weakneſs, or of the Baſſa's ſtrength, having himſelf loſt the beſt part of his Forces before in *Hungary*, as he was a man of no leſs Wiſdom than Courage, reſolved now to attempt by Policy that which he well knew he could not by force effect. Wherefore he, as a great Prince, upon ſome brave Reſolution, began to incamp himſelf, as if he had meant there to have lain, when as immediately after, upon a fair Night, having cauſed divers great Fires to be made in his Tents, as if it had been to beguile the Enemy with, he ſuddenly roſe and departed. Of whoſe Flight (for ſo it was like) the Baſſa underſtanding, and that he had forſaken his Camp, haſted thither with all ſpeed with his Souldiers to take and pillage the ſame; not making any other account of him that was ſo fled and gone, but as of a baſe and faint-hearted Coward, who for Fear, and want of Courage, had left both his Camp and Honour as a Prey unto his Enemies; the Spoil whereof, the Baſſa (being poſſeſſed of the Camp) gave unto his Souldiers; who, glad of ſuch a Morſel, greedily ſwallowed it up, which by and by after became their bane and utter deſtruction: for, whilſt that they were charging themſelves with Booties, and every man was thinking of his Prey, nothing careful of their common Safety, *Zellaly*, with his three thouſand Horſe, all valiant and reſolute men, ſuddenly the ſame Night returning, ſurpriſed the Turks being faſt on ſleep, as buried in Security, and cut them in pieces. Some, of greater Courage than the reſt, began to make head, and to give ſome ſhew of their Valour; but, overcome with the general Fear, out of order, and not reſolved what to do, they were quickly with the reſt forced, overthrown, and ſlain. In this ſurpriſe there were of the Baſſa's men ſix thouſand found dead upon the Place; a very great ſlaughter to be made by ſo few men. But what cannot valiant Reſolution do againſt careleſneſs, lulled aſleep in the lap of Security? The Baſſa himſelf eſcaped by Flight, with ſuch as could get out of the Camp to follow him.

Zellaly cometh into *Boſna*.

By Policy overthroweth *Zeffer Baſſa* the Governour, and poſſeſſeth it himſelf.

Now *Zellaly*, well knowing how to uſe his Victory, marched in haſte to all the chief places of the Province, and with his Forces, more feared for their Victory than their Number, cauſed all the Inhabitants of thoſe Places, with moſt part of the reſt of the People of the Country, to ſwear unto him their Obedience and Fidelity. In which doing, he gathered together great ſtore of Wealth, with a great number of brave Horſes for Service; all which he put into *Balnaluc*, a ſtrong Town, whereinto he in triumphant manner entred, with a Crown of Lawrel upon his Head, and his Souldiers ſinging his Praiſes amidſt the ſmoak of a thouſand Pieces of great Ordnance, which he cauſed inceſſantly to be ſhot off for the ſpace of two days together; giving it out withal (amongſt all the joyful Feaſts and Triumphs, made for the magnifying and ſetting forth of his Praiſe and Glory) That his Reſolution was, to take part with the Chriſtian Emperour, if the great Baſſaes, or other his Enemies in great place in Court, ſhould ſeek to croſs his Deſires, or to formalize his Actions or Proceedings in this manner of the obtaining of his Government.

1603

Sultan *Mahomet* ſendeth for *Zellaly* to come unto him to *Conſtantinople*.

Now *Mahomet*, doubting what this Man, ſo well acquainted with Rebellion, would do, had by divers Meſſengers ſent for him to *Conſtantinople*, after the breaking up of the Army in *Hungary*, there of his Imperial and Infinite Bounty, to receive the honourable Rewards of his good Service and Valour, the greatneſs whereof he had (as he ſaid) already underſtood by *Haſſan Baſſa* the General; which ſo bound him to the Reward thereof, as that his Deſire and Pleaſure was, to grace him in Court with his own hands, for the greater Teſtimony of the Love he bare him, and of the eſteem he had of him. But the crafty and miſtruſtful Rebel, doubting that theſe fair Words were all but baits to draw him into his Power, to the endangering or aſſured loſs both of his Life and Liberty, ſhut his Ears againſt theſe ſo ſweet Charms, and, as a Man well adviſed, and one which knew that the hand of a Prince juſtly offended, is always open for to puniſh his rebellious Subjects, being once in his Power, with as great Juſtice in puniſhing him, as he with Wrong and Diſloyalty offended him, would in no wiſe accept of the offer; but civilly anſwered, That he moſt humbly thanked the Great Sultan for his ſo great and honourable Offers, and that he was ſo mindful of him; but that he for his part deſired not any greater reward for the Services by him done, more than the Government which his Majeſty had before promiſed him, whereof (according to which Promiſe, which he could not think but to be agreeable to his good liking) he was now poſſeſſed, with a reſolution to hold and keep the ſame for his Majeſties Service. Which was as much in effect, as for a diſloyal Subject to talk with his angry Sovereign with his hand upon his Sword: but with this ſly Anſwer, ſuch as it was, Sultan *Mahomet*, for all his Greatneſs, muſt as yet content himſelf, for fear leſt if he ſhould have ſought to have by force removed him, he might ſo have raiſed a more dangerous Rebellion in *Europe*, than was already in *Aſia*. *Zellaly*, ſo politick and reſolute a man, and not to ſeek what to do in ſuch matters, being poſſeſſed of ſo great a Government, and the Chriſtian Emperour at hand ready to have backed him, if he ſhould upon any Diſcontentment have revolted.

Zellaly refuſeth to come to *Conſtantinople* at the great Sultan's ſending for.

1604

The Troubles of this Year 1603 thus overpaſt, the beginning of the next was like unto a fair blooming Tree, which promiſing great ſtore of Fruit, but afterward blaſted with the Extremity of the Weather, proveth in effect as barren, as it before ſeemed in hope fruitful: for, beginning with the ſweet Weſtern Winds of Peace, it ended with the ſtern Northern Blaſts of War. The Turks had oftentimes the laſt Year made motion of Peace, but eſpecially toward the end thereof; outwardly making ſhew of a great deſire and forwardneſs in themſelves thereunto. Which buſineſs the laſt Year begun, was even with the beginning of this Year alſo effectually continued, that Commiſſioners were on both ſides appointed to conferr and conclude upon the ſame. Among theſe Commiſſioners, Collonel *Althem* was one; who, to perform his Charge, ha-

having taken with him the other Commiſſioners deputed with him for this purpoſe, with certain other Captains, embarqued himſelf with them in thirteen Ships from *Strigonium*, and from thence ſailing down the River, landed with his Train in the Iſland betwixt *Buda* and *Peſth*. Of whoſe Arrival there, the Turks of *Buda* advertiſed, and on their part ready, came forthwith thither alſo, with all the outward ſhews that might be of their moſt earneſt deſire for the concluding of Peace; whereas our Men, who by a thouſand effects were aſſured of the unfaithfulneſs of the Turks, and that Neceſſity, and not the deſire of any Quietneſs, had drawn them to ſeek for Peace, to the contrary ſhewed themſelves very backward in this Buſineſs.

Commiſſioners appointed to confer upon a Peace to be made betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

The Cauſes which moved the Turks to encline to Peace.

For why, they knew right well, that the Turks had not taken this matter in hand, but to overtake them, and by this time of Peace to gain a time of War more commodious and fit for their ambitious and cruel Deſigns. They had the year before made ſufficient Proof of our Forces, accompanied with good Fortune, which cauſed them to deſpair by ſtrong hand to vanquiſh and overcome us; beſides that, they ſtill every hour in one place or other received a thouſand Loſſes and Croſſes from our Garriſons, who diſtreſſed and annoyed them both with their Forces, and with driving of them unto the extremity of Wanes. Our men knew moreover alſo, that the Troubles of *Aſia*, as well from the Rebels as from the *Perſian*, which lay ſo heavy upon the Great Sultan, drew them to this neceſſity, to ſeek for a breathing time of Peace, wherein to repair that which was in their Forces and Strength by Wars impaired. And even yet alſo, the manner of the Turks demeaning of themſelves in this Action, their Delays, their Excuſes, and deferring from day to day to conclude upon ſome Point of this Treaty, gave our men good cauſe to ſuſpect them of evil meaning, as men reſpecting their Profit more than their Faith; and more ſubtil and cruel in all their Actions, than honourable and valorous.

The Baſſa of *Buda*, faileth to meet the Chriſtian Commiſſioners according to his Promiſe.

The Fifth of *January* was the day by our men expected for the Treaty; for as then the Baſſa of *Buda* had appointed with the reſt of the Commiſſioners to come into the Iſle, to hear what our Commiſſioners ſhould demand, and to intreat of the Peace. But he was too true an Infidel to fail of his Infidelity, and ſo came not at all, but deceived our Men both of their Hope and Expectation. At length, inſtead of himſelf, Letters were brought from him to Collonel *Althem*, whereby he excuſed himſelf for not coming, requeſting him, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, to come over the River to *Buda*; the more commodiouſly for them to conferr together, and ſo the better to conclude their Negotiation. Now though *Almain*, for the Majeſty of his Prince, and the Honour of the State, ought not at the Requeſt of theſe his Enemies to have put himſelf into their Power, but to have ſtood faſt upon the Terms of Honour, yet to the end that the Country of *Hungary*, ſo miſerably ſpoiled with Wars, ſhould not take occaſion to complain of his negligence in this Negotiation of Peace, he reſolved to go to *Buda*, as the Baſſa had requeſted; deeming every Action tending to the hinderance of the common Good, to be but in ſhew honourable, and in deed hurtful.

An evil Preſage of the future Peace.

Upon which Reſolution, he ſent before the Gentleman of his Stable, and his Cook, with a Gentleman of the Turks, ſent but the day before from the Baſſa: which men going aboard together, were aſſailed with ſuch a cruel Tempeſt upon the River, that neither the Skill of the Water-men, nor Goodneſs of the Veſſel, was able to reſiſt the force thereof; ſo that the Boat was ſunk, and the men drowned: an evil Preſage of the Peace to be made, the raging Water as it were foreſhewing the Troubles to come. But this Tempeſt, by the ſacrifice of thoſe poor drowned men, appeaſed, *Althem* and *Geisberg*, two of the chief Commiſſioners, embarqued themſelves, and ſo paſſed over the River to *Buda*.

The Chriſtian Commiſſioners courteouſly entertained at *Buda*.

At whoſe Arrival, the Turks gave in ſhew a thouſand Teſtimonies of their Joy for their coming. Neither did the *Germans* refuſe their kind offered Courteſies, but largely fed of the good cheer, and filled themſelves with the good Wines, whereof the Turks had given them Plenty; and they again uſing them as kindly as if they had been their Brethren, and converſing with them as with their own Countrymen.

A Truce for twelve days agreed upon betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

Amidſt this carouſing and Platters full of good cheer, the Propoſition of Peace, which the Turks meant to demand, were ſerved in alſo, and a Truce for twelve days demanded to conſider of the matter; during which time, it ſhould be lawful for every man, without let, freely to come and go whither they would; which was forthwith on both ſides agreed upon. And for better Teſtimony of the Turks true meaning in this their Negotiation of Peace, the Baſſa, in the preſence of our Commiſſioners, diſpatched a Courrier toward the great Sultan, to advertiſe him of this buſineſs, and of the proceeding therein, according to the Commandment by him before given. Which he did, to cauſe our men to believe, that the great Sultan himſelf was deſirous of Peace, and that his Captains, well affected thereunto, were willing to further the ſame.

Preſents by the Turks given to the Chriſtian Commiſſioners.

Which done, the Baſſa preſented unto Collonel *Althem* two Caſes full of Turks Arms, of all manner of Faſhions, very rich, and cunningly wrought; both carried by a Mule, with Furniture for an Horſe, embroidered with Gold and Pearl, very ſumptuous and rich, as a Preſent from the great Sultan, his Lord and Maſter, to the Emperour. And for the Archduke *Matthias*, he preſented unto the Collonel, a Robe of purple Velvet, with Sleeves cunningly embroidered with Gold and Pearl, emboſſed with fine and curious Figures cunningly wrought with the Needle; for the rareneſs thereof as admirable to behold, as for the richneſs thereof to have been deſired: which was by every man wondered at, when as ſhortly after it was by *Althem* preſented unto the Arch-duke, together with other Preſents from the Turks. Beſides that, the ſame Baſſa, in token of Friendſhip, preſented unto *Althem* himſelf another very fair and rich Robe; all the reſt of the Commiſſioners receiving alſo from the Baſſa other Robes of leſs Value, but yet all very rich and ſumptuous.

This buſineſs for this time thus ended, and the Truce for twelve days concluded, the Chriſtian Commiſſioners, loaded with Preſents, took their leave of the Turks, with the ſhews of their good Wills, and ſo returned back again to *Peſth*. Howbeit, theſe the Enemies fair Preſents ſtill ſavoured but of Enmity, being indeed but like to the Preſents of *Hector* and *Ajax*, tending rather to Wat than to Peace.

The true and juſt Commendation of the Lord *Nadaſti*.

Now the Death of the moſt valiant and renowned Lord *Nadaſti*, which at this time happened, was another evil Preſage of the bad Succeſs of this Treaty of Peace now at hand; who, having of long been a bar unto the Turks Rage in that part of *Hungary* where he dwelt, they now after his Death, with the violence of their Forces, as with an heady ſtream, bare down before them all our good Fortune in that Province. This worthy man, of great Fame and Deſert, had ſpent both his Years and Fortune in the moſt honourable Wars againſt the Turks; wherein he was ſo ſkilful and expert, that he was of them feared as another *Huniades*, and of the Chriſtians honoured as another *Matthias*. He had a thouſand times moſt valiantly fought againſt theſe Miſcreants, and as many times foiled them, to the great benefit of the Chriſtian Commonweal, the advancement of the Emperour's Service, and the relief of his diſtreſſed Country. Theſe his heroical deeds of Arms were engraven upon the Gates of the Towns and Cities of *Hungary*, and within the Rocks of *Tranſilvania*, having both in the one Country and the other right happily defeated theſe Infidels. He had the Honour to have received the firſt Incurſions and Attempts of the Turks, at ſuch time as *Amurath* the Third, having perfidiouſly broken the League made with *Maximilian* the Emperour, with his Forces invaded *Hungary*; and was the firſt of all the Chriſtian Chieftains that made head againſt them; and being by their ſudden coming in by them almoſt ſurpriſed, performed yet great and worthy Exploits and Service againſt theſe faithleſs men. It ſhould ſeem that good Fortune favoured the Country of *Hungary*, but only in reſpect of him; for he being dead, it died alſo, burying it ſelf as it were in his Grave, and him in Glory; not ſuffering him to grow old, and ſo to languiſh in the Ruines of his native Country. He died of a natural Death, about fifty and four Years old, moſt part whereof he lived in Arms, ſtill charged with the burthen of his Armour, and even at the yielding up of the Ghoſt yet breathing Wars againſt theſe the Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith. His Death was much lamented of many faithful Chriſtians, but eſpecially of his own Tenants and Subjects, whom he had always kept and preſerved in Safety, and ſtill maintained them in all Peace and Tranquility during all theſe former Wars, the Turks not daring once to aſſail them, nor to enter into their Territory, being ſtaid from ſo doing by the Bulwark of his Valour, right dreadful to their Attempts. Never Turk was buried in his Territory, no more than were the *Barbarians* upon the Banks of the River *Eurotas*, his Wiſdom had ſo wiſely provided for the Preſervation of his People, and his Valour ſo worthily aſſured them of their Health and Safety. He was for his Country another *Epaminondas*, who made his Town not only free from the Arms and Invaſions of their Enemies, but alſo dreadful to their Forces ſo long as he lived. The Turks on the contrary part no leſs rejoyced for his Death; but accounting his Country now rich and plentiful (for that it had never been by them ſpoiled) for their moſt aſſured Prey came now thither on all ſides, to have taken the Spoil thereof, and therewith to have enriched themſelves. But as they were about ſo to have done, the valiant *Collonitz*, honouring the Remembrance of the Lord *Nadaſti*, his late Fellow and Companion in Arms, and holding that for his own which he had left, oppoſed himſelf with his Forces againſt theſe ravening Wolves: ſo that they were no ſooner entered into this his Territory, but that, contrary to their Expectation, they were encountered by this new *Nadaſti*, and by him ſo overthrown and cut in pieces, that for a good while after they durſt no more attempt the like.

The Death of the Lord *Nadaſti*.

This ſo great a loſs of ſo worthy a man, was a little eaſed, by the Victory about the ſame time gained by the Vayvod of *Valachia* againſt the Turks, ſpoiling of his Country. This valiant Champion not able longer to endure the proud Inſolency and Tyranny of thoſe barbarous People, gathered together his Troops of Horſe-men, with ſuch other ſmall Forces as he had; whereof, the Turks having made ſmall reckoning, and therefore without order pillaging and ranſacking his Country, were, when they leaſt feared, by him upon the ſudden ſurpriſed and overthrown, many of them being cut in pieces, a number more taken Priſoners, with all the Spoils they had got, and the reſt with ſuch fear chaſed out of his Country, as that being glad to have eſcaped, they took no pleaſure for a great while after to look into that his Province again.

The Turks overthrown by the Vayvod of *Valachia*.

But to return again to the Commiſſioners for the Peace to be made betwixt the Great Sultan and the Emperour; The Baſſa of *Buda*, to the end that the Captains and Governours of the Turks, and Caſtles belonging to the Turks, being ignorant of the Truce, ſhould not continue their warlike Actions, to the prejudice of his Faith given; immediately after the departure of the Chriſtian Commiſſioners from *Buda*, diſpatched divers Courriers towards them, to give them knowledge thereof, and eſpecially the Governour of *Agria*, commanding them from thenceforth to abſtain from their ordinary Incurſions into their Enemies Territories, and from all other Actions of Hoſtility, and ſo to keep themſelves quiet until they were from him otherwiſe commanded. This little time of reſpite and breathing from War, gave great Contentment unto the poor Country People, now with Wars almoſt exhauſted and ſpent. And now our Souldiers, during this time of Truce, laying their Arms aſide, ran by heaps with Spades and Shovels unto the places where our Armies had ſometime lain incamped, there to delve and ſearch to find ſuch things as the Armies riſing in haſte had haply left there buried. In which Action they ſo buſied themſelves as if they had been Labourers in Harveſt, ſo that nothing was in the Fields to be ſeen, but Men digging and removing of Stones and Earth. A right fooliſh Buſineſs, and yet ſo exceedingly pleaſing the greedy Minds of theſe covetous men, as that amidſt their ſuch moiling labour they accounted themſelves at great eaſe. The Turks alſo did the like, mingled together with our Men, and our Men with them, without any injury doing one to another, either by word or Deed. And no doubt it is, but that there they found more Travel than Wealth, the greedy deſire which drew them into this Work deceiving them in effect. And in this mad Labour both the Parties ſpent many days without any let or injury doing either on the one ſide or the other. The Chriſtians of *Peſth* alſo paſſing over the *Danuby*, went into the victualling Houſes of the Turks at *Buda*, whereinto they were ſuffered to enter, and at liberty to walk up and down the Town at their Pleaſure. And ſo the Turks of *Buda* likewiſe came over the River unto *Peſth*, and there walked at their pleaſure, no man letting of them. Which manner of living was very commodious and pleaſing both for the one ſide and the other, the Chriſtians buying of the Turks ſuch things as they needed, and the Turks of them likewiſe. Through which quiet and peaceable Intercourſe and Traffick, the People in general ſeemed even in that ſhort time to have forgotten a great part of their forepaſſed Miſeries, this little time of Peace, joyned with ſecurity, having well aſſwaged the ſame. But while theſe mutual and unwonted Courteſies thus paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, and the minds of moſt men were filled with the expectation of an aſſured Peace to have been forthwith concluded, the Great Sultan *Mahomet*, in the midſt of all his Pleaſures and Delights, died in his Imperial Palace at *Conſtantinople*: the News whereof, being in the Evening brought to *Buda* by a Courrier of purpoſe ſent from *Conſtantinople*, the Baſſa forthwith ſent the Captain of the Sentinels of *Buda*, to Collonel *Geiſberg* at *Peſth*, to aſſure him of the Death of the Great Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the Succeſſion of his young Son *Achmat* into his Empire, now al-

The ſmall time of Truce yieldeth great contentment both unto the Chriſtians and Turks in *Hungary*.

The Death of the Great Sultan *Mahomet*.

ready both at *Conſtantinople* and other Places thereabout proclaimed Emperour. By which Meſſenger he alſo wrote unto Collonel *Althem*, to certifie him both of the Death of the Great Sultan, and of the Succeſſion of his Son, as alſo that he was by him commanded to continue the Negotiation of the Peace, and ſo if he could to conclude the ſame. For the more evidence whereof, behold the Copy of the Letters themſelves.

The Letters of the Baſſa of *Buda* to Collonel *Althem*.

OUR due Commendations remembred, noble Lord Governour, our dear Friend and right honourable Neighbour. We have thought good to advertiſe you, that the fourth day after your departure from this City, we received Letters from Conſtantinople, *giving us certainly to underſtand of the Death of our Moſt Mighty Emperour* Mahomet, *and of the Succeſſion of his Son Sultan* Achmat, *into all his Dominions and Empires: whereby we were, as his moſt humble Subjects, ſummoned to yield unto him our Oath of faithful Obedience, as unto our rightful Lord, and lawful Succeſſor of his Father into all his Eſtates and Dominions. Moreover, he particularly commandeth us, to give him certain Advice and Knowledge concerning the Negotiation of the Peace begun betwixt Us and You, by the Commandment of his deceaſed Father; promiſing to confirm and ratifie all whatſoever he ſhall find done and agreed upon concerning that Buſineſs, without any Qualification at all. And that if the Treaty be not yet concluded and ended, that his Will and Deſire was, that it ſhould be ſo, according to the juſt Means and Aſſurances that we ſhould faithfully and carefully together deviſe. Whereof I ſhould readily give him Advice and Anſwer; which I have deferred to do, until I have received your Anſwer, which may inſtruct me what to reſolve upon. Which your Anſwer I attending, have ſtayed the Courrier of* Conſtantinople, *to the intent he may carry backward unto our Emperour, what he is to hope for concerning this Buſineſs, by the Anſwer that you ſhall give us. Theſe are now therefore to adviſe you, as our dear Friend, and a moſt valiant Governour, to ſet down that which you ſhall think to be moſt fit and neceſſary in this Buſineſs; giving you withal to underſtand, that our new Emperour is a man of Reſolution, even in theſe his young Years, wherein he now flouriſheth, hating Idleneſs, deeming no loſs greater, and altogether irreparable, than the loſs of time. If then you be ſtill deſirous, that the Peace betwixt our Emperours ſhould be made and confirmed, I hope you will employ your whole endeavour with ſpeed to determine this moſt happy Negotiation, and ſo neceſſary for every mans good; as alſo to avert far from our own Heads the Curſes of the common People, for whom it is moſt needful that the Peace ſhould for their good and quietneſs be concluded, ſeeing that the Fruit thereof is expected to be unto them happy, and the Glory thereof for ever ours, for having by our diligence and true endeavour concluded the ſame. Which maketh me to hope, that when you ſhall find your ſelf ready to conclude this Treaty, you will not bring with you Men Enemies unto Peace, or ſuch as ſhall diſſuade the ſame; but rather, wiſe and grave men, which to the uttermoſt of their Power may advance the ſame, and find out good and reaſonable means to aſſure an eternal and faithful Peace betwixt our Emperours, unto which ſo general a good every one of us is in duty bound to imploy the uttermoſt of his Sufficiency and Power. And this is that I have of Truth to write unto you at this time: and ſo I bid you farewel.*

Now theſe Letters, although they moſt concerned the Continuation of the Treaty of Peace already begun, and were too friendly from an Enemy to have in them any good meaning, yet did they well aſſure the Collonel, to whom they were written, of the Death of the great and late Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the Succeſſion of his Son *Achmat* into his Empire, to which end they are here ſet down.

This late mighty Monarch, and now nothing but a loathſome lump of dead Fleſh, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, departed this Life about the latter end of *January*, in the Year of Grace 1604, (according to their Computation which begin the year at *Chriſtmas*) when he had lived about 44 years, and thereof reigned eight. He was a man of no great Spirit, and yet exceeding proud; which was the cauſe that he was both the leſs beloved and feared of his Subjects in general, but eſpecially of the Janizaries, and other his Souldiers and men of War, who, ſcorning his looſe Government, and griev'd to ſee even the greateſt Affairs of his State not only imparted to Women, but by them managed and over-ruled alſo (as by his Mother, the Sultaneſs his Wife, and others) not only rebelled againſt him, but were oftentimes in their Rages about to have depoſed him. He was altogether given to ſenſuality and voluptuous pleaſure, the marks whereof he ſtill carried about with him, a foul, ſwoln, unweldy, and overgrown Body, unfit for any Princely Office or Function; and a Mind thereto anſwerable, wholly given over unto Idleneſs, Pleaſure, and Exceſs, no ſmall means for the ſhortning of his days, which he ended with Obloquy, unregarded of his Subjects, and but of few or none of them lamented.

Mahomet, why he was not regarded of his men of War.

He had Iſſue four Sons, and three Daughters married unto three of the great Baſſaes.

Mahomet's Iſſue.

His firſt and eldeſt Son was called *Mahomet* (after his own Name) whom he cauſed to be ſtrangled in his own ſight, upon ſuſpicion of aſpiring to the Empire, and conſpiring with the Rebels in *Aſia*: but afterward finding him guiltleſs, cauſed his Body to be buried in his own Sepulchre, and hanged the Baſſa that had miſinformed him.

His ſecond Son died a natural Death, being yet very young.

His third Son was Sultan *Achmat*, who ſucceeded his Father, and came to the Empire by the untimely Death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt Brother.

His fourth Son, being then a Youth of about ſixteen Years old, was carefully kept within the Seraglio, with ſuch a ſtrait Guard ſet over him, as that his Name was not to be learned, even by a good underſtanding Friend of mine, of late lying above three Months together at *Conſtantinople*, who moſt curiouſly enquired after the ſame, having very good means to have learned it. He was reported to have been long ſince murthered, howbeit that he of late lived, but looking every day to be by his Brothers cruel Commandment ſtrangled, which is accounted but a matter of courſe, and a Death hereditary to all the younger male Children of the *Othoman* Emperours; the Policy for the maintenance of their great Empire entire and whole, ſo requiring.

His dead Body lieth buried at *Conſtantinople*, in a fair Chappel of white Marble (near unto the moſt famous and beautiful Church of *S. Sophia*) for that only purpoſe by himſelf moſt ſumptuouſly built, about fifty foot ſquare, with four high ſmall round Towers, about the which are certain ſmall round Galleries of Stone; from which the Turkiſh Prieſts and Church-men, at certain hours, uſe to call the People every day to Church; for they uſe no Bells themſelves, neither will they ſuffer the Chriſtians to uſe any. But the top of this Chappel is built round, like unto the ancient Temples of the Heathen Gods in *Rome*. In the midſt of this Chappel (being indeed nothing elſe but this great Sultan's Sepulchre) ſtandeth his Tomb, which is nothing elſe but a great Urn or Coffin of fair white Marble, wherein lieth his Body, covered with a great covering of the ſame Stone over it, made

Mahomet, how he lieth buried at *Conſtantinople*.

1604 riſing in the midſt, and ſlooping on each ſide; not much unlike to the Coffins of the ancient Tombs of the *Saxon* Kings, which are to be ſeen on the North ſide of the Quire of S. *Paul's* Church and. in other Places of this Land; but that this Coffin of the Great Sultan is much greater, and more ſtately than are thoſe of the *Saxon* Kings; it being above five foot high at the end thereof, and by little and little falling toward the feet, covered with a rich Hearſe of Cloth of Gold down to the ground; his Turbant ſtanding at his Head, and two exceeding great Candles of white Wax, about three or four Yards long, ſtanding in great braſs or ſilver Candleſticks gilded, the one at his Head, the other at his Feet, which never burn, but there ſtand for ſhew only: all the Floor of the Chappel being covered with Mats, and fair Turky Carpets upon them. And round about this his Tomb, even in the ſame Chappel, are the like Tombs for his Wives and Children, but nothing ſo great and fair. Into this Chappel, or any other the Turks Churches or Chappels, it is not lawful for either Turk or Chriſtian to enter, but firſt he muſt put off his Shoes, leaving them at the Church or Chappel Gate, or carrying them in his hand. Near unto this Chappel, and the great Temple of *Sophia*, are divers other Chappels of the other great Turks; as of Sultan *Selim*, this Man's Grand father, with his ſeven and thirty Children about him; of Sultan *Amurath*, this Man's Father, with his five and forty Children entombed about him. And in other places, not far from them, are the Chappels and Sepulchres of the reſt of the Great Sultans; as of Sultan *Mahomet* the Great, of Sultan *Bajazet*, Sultan *Selim* the firſt, Sultan *Solyman*; all by theſe great *Mahometan* Emperours built, whoſe Names they bear. And being all of almoſt one form and faſhion, have every one of them a fair Hoſpital adjoyning unto them, wherein a great multitude of poor People are daily ſtill relieved.

1604

Some others of the great Baſſaes have their Chappels and Sepulchres, with their great and ſtately Alms-houſes alſo, not much inferiour unto thoſe of the great Sultans; as namely, *Ibrahim Baſſa*, of all the Baſſaes that ever were amongſt the Turks the moſt magnificent, hath his ſtately Chappel, Sepulchre, and Alms-Houſes, near, both in Place and Beauty unto that of *Solyman's*. The Turks bury not at all within their Churches, neither are any at all buried within the Walls of the City, but the great Turkiſh Emperours themſelves, with their Wives and Children about them, and ſome few other of their great Baſſaes, and thoſe only in Chappels by themſelves built for that purpoſe. All the reſt of the Turks are buried in the Fields; ſome of the better ſort in Tombs of Marble, but the reſt with Tomb-ſtones laid upon them, or with two great Stones, the one ſet up at the head, and the other at the feet of every Grave; the greateſt part of them being of white Marble, brought from the Iſle of *Marmora*. They will not bury any man where another hath been buried, accounting it Impiety to dig up another man's Bones: by reaſon whereof, they cover all the beſt Ground about the City with ſuch great white Stones: which, for the infinite number of them, are thought ſufficient to make another Wall about the City. But not to ſtand longer upon the manner of the Turks Burials, leaving this great Sultan to reſt with his Anceſtors, let us now proſecute the courſe of our Hiſtory.

The Turks bury not in their Churches, neither within the Walls of their Cities, but in the Fields.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Mahomet *the Third.*	*Emperours of* Germany,		Rodolph *the Second.*	1577.
	Kings,	*Of* England,	*Queen* Elizabeth.	1558. 47.
		Of France,	Henry *the Fourth.*	1589.
		Of Scotland,	James *the Sixth.*	1567.
	Biſhops of Rome.		Clement *the* VIII.	1592. 13.
			Leo *the* XI.	1605. 26. days.
			Paul *the* V.	1605.

THE

THE LIFE OF ACHMAT,

The Firſt of that Name, Eighth Emperour of the *Turks*.

1604

Achmat, by exceſſive bounty procureth the favour of his great Courtiers and men of War.

Achmat Crowned Emperour of the Turks at *Conſtantinople*.

Achmat removeth his Grandmother from dealing with matters of State.

The Turks diverſly conceited of their new Emperour.

MAhomet, the late Sultan, in the midſt of his exceſſive Pleaſures, by untimely Death taken away, *Achmat*, the elder of his two Sons yet living, who was to ſucceed him in the Empire, to prevent the uſual and inſolent Tumults of the Janizaries, and other Souldiers of the Court at the change of the Emperours, and to take from them all Occaſions of diſcontentment; by the Counſel of the great Baſſaes (before he took upon him the Government) cauſed an exceeding great ſum of Money (*viz.* two millions and an half) as a token of his Bounty, to be diſtributed amongſt them; the *Spahi* and *Siliſtars*, his chief Horſe-men, receiving thereof ten Crowns a man, with five Aſpers a day more to increaſe their Pay; and the Janizaries thirty Crowns a man, and one Aſper a day more of ordinary pay; they of his Court, but eſpecially the chief Officers, taſting of this his bounteous Liberality alſo. With which ſo great a largeſs all men well contented, he, in a moſt rich and ſtately Chariot, ſo placed as that all men might well ſee him, was in great Majeſty carried through all the chief Streets of *Conſtantinople*, the People on every ſide gazing upon him, and ſtill as he paſſed by them, proſecuting him with their moſt joyful and happy Acclamations. Some wiſhing, that he being but young, might as another *Solyman* begin his Reign with the Conqueſt of *Malta*, as had the other with the Conqueſt of the *Rhodes*; and other ſome as heartily praying, that with glorious and victorious Conqueſts he might be like unto *Mahomet* the Great, whom he was then reported much to reſemble. In which ſo great and publick Magnificence, he, being about fifteen years old, was with all the accuſtomed Solemnities openly crowned, every man wiſhing unto him a moſt long and happy Reign. And albeit that no great fruit was for the preſent from ſo young and tender a Plant to be expected, yet nevertheleſs, by his Authority, and in his Name, many good Orders were taken for the relief of his Subjects, with moſt heavy Grievances generally oppreſſed, during the looſe and careleſs Reign of his Father. His Grandmother alſo, a moſt proud, ambitious, and imperious Woman, and withal exceeding rich, who, with great Authority, at her Pleaſure, over-ruled all in the time of the Reign of her Son *Mahomet*, he now removed from the State, as not fit for her to have to do therein, and ſo deprived her of all her former Power and Command. The *Perſian* Ambaſſadour, whom his Father in his diſpleaſure had cloſe ſhut up, he ſet at liberty, and with him ſent the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, to intreat of Peace with the great Shaugh of *Perſia*, who not long before (as was reported) had recovered the great City of *Tauris*, and was then preparing himſelf for new Conqueſts. Which Report for the motion of Peace with the *Perſian*, diſcovered in his Subjects their divers opinions concerning himſelf; ſome condemning his Patience, as not beſeeming the *Othoman* Emperours, unto whom Fury and Rage had always made them a way unto their great and dreadful Conqueſts, even againſt the moſt puiſſant Armies, and ſtrongeſt Towns and Fortreſſes of their Enemies; and ſome others to the contrary praiſing therein his Wiſdom, in ſeeking by fair means (now in the beginning of his Reign) to diſarm his Enemies when they might moſt hurt him; at his better opportunity, in his ſettled eſtate, to oppreſs them for ever. So the Actions of Princes are like unto ſtrange Lights appearing by Night in the Air, which hold mens Eyes buſied with the intentive beholding of them, ſome thereof divining well, and ſome others evil, according to the diverſity of the beholders conceits and humours.

The Treaty for Peace in *Hungary* continued.

The Turks honourably feaſted by the Chriſtians near *Peſth*.

The Treaty for Peace alſo in *Hungary*, was notwithſtanding the death of *Mahomet*, by the Baſſa of *Buda* ſtill continued, who (as he ſaid) by the new Sultan authoriſed, by Letters incited the Governour of *Strigonium* to repair unto ſome ſuch convenient Place, as wherein the matter might be ſafely concluded. Upon which motion, the Governour, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, departing from *Strigonium*, the fourth of *February* came to *Collonitz's* Camp, from whence they were by the Souldiers moſt bravely conducted along the Banks of *Danubius*, unto the Ships which lay ready for them, to carry them down the River to *Peſth*; during which time of their Paſſage, nothing was to be ſeen or heard, but Fire and Smoak, and the thundering of the great Artillery both from *Peſth* and *Buda*, the Chriſtians and the Turks both ſtriving to excell each other in theſe their ſhews of Joy and Tryumph. The Governour, with the reſt of his Company, being happily arrived at *Peſth*, met there with a number of the better ſort of the Turks, ſent thither by the Baſſa to meet him, and in his Name to greet him; who, with a thouſand Honours again received and ſaluted them. All ſhews of Kindneſs, and ſigns of the happy ſucceſs of the Negotiation begun. And now the Chriſtians, deſirous to excell the Turks, as well in Courteſie as in Valour, appointed a number of them the next day to go to *Buda*, to invite certain of the chiefeſt and moſt honourable men amongſt the Turks, unto a Banquet at *Peſth*; who willingly accepted of the offer, and ſo came ſix hundred of the better ſort of them over the *Danuby* to *Peſth*; where the feaſt was moſt ſumptuouſly and magnificently prepared for them. There were ten fair and rich Pavillions, ſet up for the Entertainment of them a little diſtant from *Peſth*, in a fair place, and fit for this purpoſe. In the firſt whereof were placed three very proud and ſtately Tables. At the firſt of which Tables, on the right hand, were ſet the Commiſſioners for the Emperour, with the two Baſſaes, and one Mufti or Arch-Prieſt, with a Mitre upon his Head, a long furred Gown upon his Back, and under that, a Robe of moſt fine and exceeding rich Silk. Upon the left hand, at the ſame Table, were placed certain of the Turks Lords, and other great men. At the other two Tables were ſet other of the beſt ſort of the Turks mingled with the Chriſtians: and ſo at all the other Tables in like order were ſet a Chriſtian and a Turk, until that the ſix hundred Turks were placed, with as many Chriſtians among them; who, by their good Countenance and Behaviour one of them to another, might have ſeemed to have been all of one and the ſame Belief, Nation, and Country. The Turks, after the manner of their Superſtition, would not ſit down before the ſetting of the Sun; which being ſet, they with a thouſand Ceremonies, to the imitation of their Arch-prieſt, ſet themſelves down at the Tables in order as is aforeſaid, and there merrily repoſed themſelves until nine of the Clock at night. At which time, the Tables with great reverence taken away, the Turks, as men well contented, and full of Joy, returned to *Buda*, the Inſtruments of Muſick, Trumpets, and Drums, on every ſide ſounding about them with much glee, and as it were witneſſing unto Heaven and Earth the great Contentment they had received. And yet was all this fair ſhew nothing elſe but deep Diſſimulation mixt with moſt foul Treachery: for, a little before their departure, they of *Peſth* were advertiſed, That the Turks in great number well appointed, were come out from *Buda* to ſurpriſe *Peſth*, during the time of the Feaſt; being in hope, that the Chriſtians, all buſied in this Action, had left the Walls of the Town unfurniſhed of defence. But they, too well acquainted with their Treacheries to put any truſt or confidence in their fair ſhews, had as well provided for the Defence and Safety of the Town, as for the Magnificence of the Feaſt abroad. By which means the Turks diſappointed of their intended purpoſe, were in the attempting thereof repulſed, and ſo glad to return as they came, back again to *Buda*.

The Turks by Treachery ſeek to ſurpriſe *Peſth*.

The next day after, the Commiſſioners for the Emperour complained unto the Baſſa and the reſt of the Turks Commiſſioners of this ſo treacherous dealing; who excuſed themſelves as altogether ignorant thereof, diſavowing the Action for want of Succeſs, which had it been effected, they would to the uttermoſt have ſhamefully maintained. An ordinary courſe among the Great, with Speech and Countenance in ſhew to condemn that for want of effect, which they in Heart and Mind could for their own Profit have wiſhed to have been performed.

The Turks Commiſſioners diſavow the Practice for the ſurpriſing of *Peſth*.

Nevertheleſs, the Turks the next day (as if no ſuch thing had been meant) requeſted the Chriſtian Commiſſioners to come to *Buda*, as they had done to *Peſth*; but they, as well by Proof as by Report, perceiving the evil meaning of the Turks, excuſing themſelves, returned to *Strigonium*, as loth any more to adventure themſelves into the Power of their faithleſs Enemies; yet left they *Geisberg* at *Peſth*, with Commiſſion to continue the Negotiation for Peace with the Baſſa of *Buda*, if he ſhould find him thereunto diſpoſed, or any hope of bringing the Treaty to good effect or iſſue.

The Commiſſioners for the Emperour refuſe any more to go to *Buda*.

Mahomet the late Sultan, had a little before his Death (as is before declared) ſet at Liberty the County *Yſolan* (carried away Priſoner to *Conſtantinople* after the taking of *Alba-Regalis*) and ſent him with Letters of Credence to intreat of a Peace to be made with the Emperour; with promiſe to yield himſelf again Priſoner, if he failed to obtain the ſame; for whom, the *French* Ambaſſador became Pledge. He having now delivered his Letters of Credence unto the Emperour, and commanded to ſay what he had farther in charge, declared, That the Great Sultan offered to deliver unto his Majeſty the ſtrong Towns of *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis*, and *Caniſia*, in exchange of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, whereunto he laid claim, promiſing on his part to make a moſt firm and ſure Peace with the Emperour for the time to come, and to give thereof ſuch aſſurance as ſhould of him reaſonably be demanded. The Baſſa of *Buda* alſo, amongſt other the fair Remonſtrances of Peace, had offered unto the Emperour's Commiſſioners to reſtore *Caniſia* and *Agria* for *Peſth*, *Hatwan*, and *Vacia*, together with the Remiſſion of all ſuch Payments and Tributes as were by the Emperour due unto the Great Sultan for the Kingdom of *Hungary*. All which fair Shews and Offers, though much unreaſonable, were nothing but windy Words to delay the time, and ſubtil Baits to deceive the Chriſtians: for the Event and Iſſue, which giveth life to all Actions, with a form unto them agreeable, hath by Experience taught the Chriſtians, That all the glorious and glozing Proceedings of the Turks in this buſineſs of the Peace, ſo much wiſhed and expected of the Chriſtians, were but Nets and Snares wherewith to intangle them with the vain hope thereof, until that they in the mean time might fortifie their Towns with new Supplies of Men, Munition, Victuals, and whatſoever elſe was needful, the more eaſily afterward to annoy them at their Pleaſure, and ſo to laugh at their Simplicity and light belief: For *Mahomet* being dead, and *Achmat* his Son (yet by reaſon of his Minority under the Tuition of his Mother and other the great Baſſaes) ſucceeding in his Place, the Turks aggravated the Conditions of the Peace, and propounded them ſo far from reaſon, as that any man might ſee them now to have no more deſire or regard of Peace, after that they had diſpatched that for which they ſeemed before deſirous thereof; inſomuch, that they ſent a Meſſenger in Poſt from *Conſtantinople* unto the Baſſa of *Buda*, to forbid him, upon the pain of his Head, any farther to continue the Treaty of Peace, but forthwith to renew the War. So this Peace, ſo much expected, and now of the People generally holden for as good as concluded, ſuddenly vaniſhed into Smoak, nothing remaining of that Body, compoſed of ſo many Wiſhes, more than a vain Expectation, now diſperſed with the Wind of the Turkiſh Treachery. And yet during the time of this Negotiation for Peace ſought for by the Turks both by often Letters and Meſſengers, many a ſolemn Oath had paſſed both from the Sultan *Mahomet*, and from the Viſier Baſſa, for their faithful and ſincere dealing in the Treaty thereof; as, *By the God of Heaven and Earth*; *By the Books of* Moſes; *By the Pſalms of* David; and, *By the Holy Evangeliſts*; Oaths much uſed of Turks, and reſerved for their greateſt Solemnities, and ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of their Leagues and Promiſes; all which, for all that, having ſerved but as Baits and Trains to beguile the ſimple and well-meaning men, lay now neglected and unregarded: ſuch is the faith and aſſurance which men have from faithleſs and untruſty men.

The Meſſage of County *Yſolan* from the Great Sultan to the Emperour.

The Turks in all the Negotiation for Peace did nothing but diſſemble with the Emperour's Commiſſioners.

The Treaty for Peace with the Turks cometh to nothing.

The Treaty of Peace thus broken off, it was forthwith by ſome bruited, That *Achmat* the Great Sultan, under the Conduct of the Viſier Baſſa, his Governour, was himſelf in Perſon, with

Divers Reports concerning the Turks great Preparations and Deſigns.

a moſt huge Army about to come into *Hungary*; ſome others in the mean time reporting, that he was letted ſo to do by reaſon of the *Perſian* Wars, whereunto he was of neceſſity to ſend the greateſt part of his Forces; ſo that he would but only ſend one of his great Baſſaes, with the remainder of his ſo great an Army, againſt the Chriſtians in *Hungary*, being before ſworn never to return again unto *Conſtantinople*, until he had brought the Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, with the remainder of *Hungary*, under the Obeiſance of the great Sultan, together with the Country of *Auſtria*, and eſpecially the ſtrong City of *Vienna*, the end of the Turkiſh Emperours Conqueſts; and that to this purpoſe the Grand Seignior had with great rigour in all places levied great ſums of Money upon his Subjects for the maintenance of his ſo great an Army. It was by others reported alſo, That only the Preparations for ſo great an Army ſhould be made this year, the Turks being reſolved to do much therewith the next year, and therefore willing to beſtow much, in hope with ſo great and puiſſant an Army as they were about to raiſe, to make an end of the Wars in *Hungary*, and not to return until they had conquered all the reſt of that Kingdom, in the rent reliques whereof the Fortune of the *Othoman* Emperours had ſtayed; ſo that all Handy-crafts men were ſet to work by Day and Night, not only to forge Weapons, to caſt great Ordnance, and to make Powder, but to prepare all other things neceſſary alſo for ſo great an Exploit.

All theſe great Preparations were made for the ſervice of the Viſier Baſſa for the War in *Hungary*, and of *Cicala Baſſa* in *Perſia*, whereof he was appointed General, having before preſumptuouſly promiſed, utterly to ruinate the *Perſians* Eſtate, and with ſo great a Power even to ſwallow him up. And indeed, theſe *Eaſtern* Wars greatly troubled the Turks; News coming ſtill concerning the Conqueſts of the *Perſian* upon his Territories; and that even of late the *Perſian* King proſecuting his Victories, had taken *Babylon*, with all the Country thereabout; and that divers other Towns and Cities, more moved with fear than with the Faith wherewith they had bound themſelves unto the Turks, now yielded themſelves unto the *Perſian*, as weary of the Turks Servitude, and deſirous of their antient Liberty. And yet for all that, the Turks (as they are wiſe to diſſemble their Loſſes, and to ſtrike a fear into their Enemies) had given it out in *Conſtantinople*, That the *Perſian* King was near unto *Babylon* diſcomfited, all his Army overthrown, and he himſelf taken Priſoner; ſo that the Turks Forces, before diſtracted, ſhould now wholly joyn together, to the utter Ruine and Deſtruction of the Chriſtians in *Hungary*. And the more to confirm this evil News, it was reported, That the Beglerbeg of *Grecia* had raiſed a great Power to joyn with the Viſier Baſſa's Forces, to the intent to leave nothing unconquered in *Hungary*. For the better effecting whereof, it was alſo ſaid, That the Viſier Baſſa had cauſed a great number of Veſſels, loaded with Powder and other warlike Proviſion, to be brought by Water out of *Egypt* to *Belgrade*, to ruinate the Eſtate of the *Chriſtians*. All which Reports, were by the Turks given out, to cover their own Miſhaps, and to terrifie their Enemies; as knowing right well, Wars to depend much upon Reports, and that a falſe brute believed, worketh oftentimes the Effect of a thing indeed done. Howſoever it was, thoſe ſo dreadful Reports might well have ſerved to have ſtirred up the Spirits of the Chriſtians to have provided for their own Defence, and to have ſtood upon their Guard; for he that faileth to provide againſt the Preparations of his Enemy, well deſerveth either Bondage or Death, which ſoever ſhall befall him, for having by his Negligence betrayed his own Ability and Power to have withſtood him.

Babylon reported to have been taken by the *Perſian* King.

The Turks wiſely diſſemble their Loſſes.

The great Report of the Turks Preparations and Forces, had now daſh'd all the Talk of Peace at *Conſtantinople*, and the hot fire of Ambition had quite ſcorched the ſweet Flowers appearing upon the overture of the late hope of the common Repoſe; ſome perſwading the Great Sultan, that he was able with his Power at the ſame time, both to ſubdue the *Perſian* King, and to confound the Forces of the Chriſtian Emperour, having ſo many Kingdoms within his Empire, ſo many Armories ſtored for his Service, and ſuch ſtore of Treaſure ready for his Deſigns, promiſing unto him moſt happy and eaſie Succeſs both in the one and the other Expedition, even at one and the ſelf ſame time; ſo that he might vanquiſh the *Perſian* by *Cicala*, Chieftain of his Army in *Perſia*, and conquer the remainder of *Hungary*, with the Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, by the Viſier Baſſa, General of his Forces againſt the Chriſtians; it being (as they ſaid) a thing both honourable and profitable for a Prince to beſtow both Men and Money, thereby to gain Men, Honour, and Empire; ſo that things which with great charge might be done all at once, were more profitable than were thoſe which with leſs charge were done at divers times; for that things ſo done at once, yielded preſent profit, as being in our Power, and recompenſing our Charge; the other in long time putting us to great charge, and yielding little or no profit at all. And indeed men ſtand in great fear of this the Turks young Emperour, being by Nature fierce, haſty, vigilant, cruel, ambitious, and proud; and who, in his Behaviour and Actions, much reſembled *Mahomet* the ſecond, he which took from the Chriſtians ſo many Kingdoms, Towns, and Cities, and amongſt the reſt, the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*. He like unto a young *Alexander*, occupieth himſelf in all the Exerciſes of War, hateth Idleneſs, his Fathers greateſt Pleaſure; he cauſeth Arms to be made, Cannons to be caſt, Ships and Gallies to be built, and taketh a Pleaſure to diſcourſe, how the ſame are to be imployed againſt his Enemies; ſo that it is greatly to be feared, that he being but a Child in *Conſtantinople*, will prove a man grown in Chriſtendome, in bringing the ſame under his Power and Obeiſance. He ſpareth no Perſon nor Means which may ſerve to ſatisfie his deſire. So that Strangers are to expect ſmall Courteſies at his hands, when as they ſee him to uſe ſuch bloody Cruelty againſt his Noblemen and domeſtical Servants, of the chiefeſt of whom ſince he was Emperour, he hath already put divers to death, with one of his Baſſaes alſo, who was the Governour of *Peſth*, when as our men won it. But as Juſtice and Clemency unto good Princes are the ſureſt Bonds to keep their Subject faſt bound unto them in their Obedience and Duties, ſo are Cruelty and Rage Bridles wherewith the Turkiſh Emperours keep their Subjects in awe and ſubjection unto them, and themſelves in their Eſtate.

The great Opinion the Turks have of the Power of their great Sultan.

The Diſpoſition of the young *Turkiſh* Emperour.

Fury and Tyranny the chief means whereby the *Turkiſh* Emperours command their Subjects.

But leaving the Turks buſie about their Preparations for the accompliſhing of their young Emperours high Deſigns, let us return into *Hungary*, taking *Tranſilvania* in our way, the woful Miſeries of which Country my Mind abhorreth to think upon, and my Pen thereof to write. This Province, ſometime much renowned for the great Victories obtained againſt the Turks by the Inhabitants thereof, under the leading of their Prince *Sigiſmund Bator*, and others, abounding with plenty of all things, was now, not by any invaſion of the Turks, but by civil Diſcord amongſt themſelves,

1604

The miſerable eſtate of the Country of *Tranſilvania.*

An horrible Famine.

An Aſſembly of the States of *Tranſilvania* for the appeaſing of the Troubles there.

The Troubles of *Tranſilvania* ſecretly maintained by the Nobility of the Country.

A ſevere and miſerable kind of Puniſhment.

ſelves, and Rebellion againſt the Emperour, now their Sovereign, ſo waſted and ſpoiled by the Souldiers on all ſides, that many of the poor Inhabitants, for want of food, fell down dead, as they went in the Streets and Fields: miſerable Wretches, always ſowing, but never reaping; always labouring, but nothing profiting; the mercileſs and greedy Souldier ſtill ſpoiling or devouring all. By long continuance of which daily Outrages, the Fields at length lay now untilled, the Paſtures unſtored and neglected, and all things elſe unmanured and quite out of courſe; by means whereof, the Famine ſo increaſed, that the poor Peaſants of the Country, having eaten up for great Dainties all the Dogs and Cats, Mice and Rats, that they could get, fell to eating of dead Horſes, and the loathſome Carrion of other hunger-ſtarved Beaſts. It is reported alſo, That one man ſhould eat another; and that at *Hermanſtat*, a Woman having ſix Children, did among them eat one another, until they were at length all ſix devoured; and to the contrary, that two men did eat their own Mother; yea, Thieves and other Malefactors, hanged for their Villanies, were by the poor and miſerable hungry People cut down from the Gallows, and devoured, the People generally living upon nothing but upon the Roots of Weeds, green Herbs, and the leaves of Trees. For remedy of which ſo extream Miſeries, it was on all Parts agreed, That a General Aſſembly of the States of the whole Province ſhould be holden at *Dewa*; wherein it was accorded, That all Hoſtility ſet apart, the Gentlemen of *Tranſilvania*, having by their Rebellion forfeited both their Lives and Lands, ſhould be pardoned their Lives, with three fourth Parts of their Lands reſerved unto them, and that for ready Money they might of the Emperour redeem the fourth part alſo. But concerning the Moveables of ſuch as were dead in the time of theſe Troubles, and already confiſcate unto the Emperour, they ſhould ſo remain; and that they ſhould pay their Diſmes, or tenth part of their Wine and Fruits, unto the Emperour. And farther, That there ſhould be no farther exerciſe of Religion permitted unto them, but only the *Romiſh* Religion: and that the Towns of *Cronſtadt* and *Clauſenburg* ſhould within the ſpace of three Weeks, pay, the one twenty thouſand Dollars, and the other eight thouſand; and the Magiſtrates of thoſe Towns ſhould deliver the Keys of their Towns, with all their Power, into the hands of the Emperour's Lieutenant; and that the Gentlemen of theſe Towns which would not be accounted in the number of the Rebels, ſhould, for the ſafety of their Perſons, take Letters of Pardon for their Rebellion, of the General of the Army. This Pacification gave ſome little time of breathing unto this poor diſtreſſed Country, which, bared of all ſtrength, and as it were upon the Graves brink, had now but even the laſt Gaſp to give; and the Country People began again to give themſelves unto their wonted Labours, in hope at length to reap the profit thereof themſelves; but alas, all in vain: for why, the ravening Souldiers, inured to Prey, after their wonted manner made havock and ſpoil of all things, leaving nothing unto the poor Countryman, but his labour for his Pain, and time enough to bewail his manifold and remedileſs Miſeries: the Cauſes whereof were the Nobility and Gentlemen themſelves; who, not liking to be governed, or rather (as they took it) oppreſſed by the *Germans*, and having, not upon any deſire that they had of Peace, but rather by neceſſity inforced, yielded unto the Pacification aforeſaid, ceaſed not ſtill under-hand to incite the Souldiers (ready enough of themſelves to do miſchief) and in what they might to trouble the Government of the State by the *Germans*, being unto them, (as they accounted of them) but Strangers. All which their doings *Baſta*, the Emperour's Lieutenant, well perceiving, cauſed three of the greateſt of the Gentlemen of the Country, and whom he moſt ſuſpected to be the Authors of theſe Troubles, to be apprehended, and faſt mured up betwixt two ſtrong Walls in an old ruinous Monaſtery; whither their Friends afterwards coming to have viſited them, and finding them ſtarved to death, were therewith much abaſhed, as were alſo other their Complices, aſſoon as they heard thereof. But leaving them to work themſelves farther Troubles, let us again return unto the Turks Affairs.

The Treaty of Peace betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks quite broken off, and the War again begun.

Booties taken from the Turks by the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians by the Turks Priſoners informed of their evil meaning in the Treaty of Peace.

Now was all the hope of Peace betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks become deſperate, the Turks making thereof no more account, ſeeing that according to their Deſire they had provided *Alba-Regalis*, *Agria*, and *Buda*, of their neceſſary Proviſions. They had in four Waggons put into *Agria* the Pay due unto their Garriſons; ſo that their Affairs being now in good eſtate, and their Courages revived, they began to ſcoff and jeſt at our Credulity, to believe that they had had any purpoſe to conclude upon any thing that was not agreeing with their Profit, how far ſoever it were differing from their Honour or from their Faith: ſo that now theſe faithleſs men began again to renew their wonted Incurſions and Pillages upon the Chriſtians, with all other manner of Hoſtility, and that in more cruel manner than ever before; and our *Huſſars* on the other ſide well requited them with the like, being as well contented as they with theſe manner of doings, their whole Fortune depending upon the points of their Weapons, and ever ready to the Service of their Prince for their Pay. Now it fortuned, that fourſcore of the Turks going forth to ſeek for Booty, chanced to meet with certain of theſe *Huſſars*, who finding themſelves too weak to encounter with our men, and betaking themſelves to flight, were certain of them taken Priſoners, and ſo brought unto the General; unto whom, they upon Examination confeſſed, That the Turks much marvelled at the Simplicity and Fooliſhneſs of the Chriſtians, to believe that they were deſirous of Peace, and not to have diſcovered their ſo manifeſt Intentions to the contrary, tending only to the pleaſuring of themſelves, and the annoying of them their Enemies, to the ſtrengthning of themſelves, and deſtruction of the Chriſtians, as by Proof it appeared, ſo ſoon as their Deſires were accompliſhed, unto the prejudice of their Enemies; and that their young Emperour was always againſt this Treaty of Peace, whatſoever ſhew he had made to the contrary, conſtrained thereunto by the Victories and Conqueſts of the *Perſian* King; all his Wiſhes and Deſires aiming at no other mark, than at the general Ruine of *Chriſtendom*. Our Garriſons alſo, ſeeing themſelves charged by the Turks, took up Arms likewiſe, and requited them with like Outrages, as they did. They of *Pappa* and *Veſprinium* were the firſt which began theſe Broils after the Treaty of the Peace; who, having joyned their Forces together, and making head toward *Alba-Regalis*, met with a number of Turks driving of Sheep and Cattel thither, whom they ſurpriſed, and, together with their Cattel carried them away with them Priſoners. Which good hap was ſeconded with the Liberty of twenty Chriſtian Priſoners from *Buda*, who one night ſeeing their Keepers oppreſſed with Sleep and with Wine, cut their Throats, and ſo happily eſcaped over the River to *Peſth*.

Now while theſe Troubles, betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks (after the Treaty of Peace broken off) thus began again in *Hungary*, the

Turks

Zeffer Baſſa recovereth the Government of *Boſna* from *Zellaly*, and ſhortly after dieth.

Zellaly made Governour of *Temeſwar*.

Turks, beſide the Rebellion in *Aſia*, were together by the Ears in the Province of *Boſna*. *Zellaly*, having by force joyned with Policy driven *Zeffer Baſſa* (as is aforeſaid) out of *Boſna*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that Province, thought himſelf now ſure enough within the ſtrength of his Government, although he being by the great Sultan ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, had refuſed to come, as knowing himſelf right well to hold that ſo great a Government much againſt his Will and Pleaſure. But *Zeffer Baſſa*, now ſupported with the Authority of the Great Sultan, and deſirous to be revenged of the great diſhonour and loſs he had before received from *Zellaly*, his Enemy, with a great Army ſuddenly entered into *Boſna*, and ſo coming unto *Zellaly*, fearing as then no ſuch matter, overthrew him with all his Power, and never left purſuing of him, until he had chaſed him quite out of the Province, and ſo again recovered the Government thereof. But ſhort was the Joy the Baſſa received of this ſo pleaſing a Victory; for within few days after he dyed, comforting himſelf only in this, that he died not unrevenged. Of all which things, the great Baſſaes of the Court underſtanding, and loth to loſe ſo great a Souldier as was *Zellaly*, (who, as a man diſtreſſed, was now making ſhift for himſelf) or by uſing him hardly, to deterr the other *Aſian* Rebels from coming in, and yet not willing to truſt him with ſo great a Government as was the Province of *Boſna*; they, to provide for all events, appointed him to be Governour of *Temeſwar*; and *Begedes Baſſa* (before Governour there) to ſucceed *Zeffer Baſſa* in the Government of *Boſna*; ſo contenting all Parties, to keep their Forces whole and intire againſt the Chriſtians.

The Miſeries of the *Hungarians*.

The Regiment of Collonel *Althem* in Mutiny.

But as the Turks were troubled with their Affairs in *Boſna*, ſo the Chriſtians were no leſs, but rather more buſied with theirs both in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*. The Eſtates of *Hungary* had appointed a general meeting at *Poſſonium*, wherein the Arch-duke *Matthias* was to ſit as Preſident, there to conſult of the means for the maintenance of this years Wars againſt the Turks. But as the Arch-duke was about to have entred into the City in the midſt of his Souldiers, ſuch a Fire upon the ſudden aroſe in the City, as conſumed the greateſt part thereof; an evil preſage of the Action then in hand, and a woful ſpectacle to behold, with the Terror whereof all mens Minds poſſeſſed, turned them from the magnificent entertaining of the Arch-duke, (as was before determined) to the quenching of the raging fire, as more neceſſary and concerning them than the other. Beſides that, the Miſeries then to be ſeen in the other parts of *Hungary* yet holden by the Chriſtians, were both great and lamentable; for beſide the harms therein done by the Turks, the Regiment of Collonel *Althem* had made ſuch ſpoil and havock all over the Country where it lay, that the Towns and People in general ſo grievouſly complained thereof unto the Emperour, that he, moved with their juſt Complaints, cauſed the Authors of theſe ſo great Outrages to be apprehended and brought Priſoners to *Vienna*, where ſome of them were beheaded, and ſome others of them hanged; beſide whom ſo condemned and executed, there were ſome other Captains and Lieutenants, of whom, ſome denying the Fact, and otherſome ſtanding upon the juſtifying of that they had done, as thereunto by extream Neceſſity inforced, were for their further tryal ſent Priſoners unto *Prague*, where they were committed unto Priſon into the Caſtle, until their Cauſes might be heard. Among which Captains and Lieutenants, and other ſuch great Officers, was one *Genderot*, Collonel *Althem's* Antient, who moſt wickedly but a little before had ſlain *Nudercy*, a Gentleman of good ſort, and his Fellow-companion in Arms; for which murther he was committed Priſoner into a very high and ſtrong Tower within the Caſtle (wherein County *Paradiſer*, who ſold *Caniſia* unto the Turks, lay ſometime Priſoner) until his Tryal might within a few days after be made. The horror of which criminal place, together with the guilt of Conſcience, ſo troubled and wounded the Mind of *Genderot*, as that all the hope now to ſave his Life, was by making an eſcape, and ſo to avoid the ſtroke of Juſtice. Which he happily brought to paſs by the help of one of his Lacquies, who had found means to bring unto him a long Cord, where, by ſtraining himſelf out at a little Window (whereby it was thought almoſt impoſſible for any man to have got out) he in ſafety got down to the Ground, and there having two good Horſes ready for him, he with his man fled amain, and ſo eſcaped, his Keepers drunken over Night, being in the Morning found yet ſleeping, without perceiving of any thing, whoſe Drunkenneſs and Favour toward the Priſoner had given him means to eſcape. The reſt of the Captains and Lieutenants in Priſon at *Prague*, were ſome of them beheaded, and ſome of them hanged, and the reſt, at the Interceſſion of the Nobility of *Auſtria*, and other great men, pardoned; yet with Condition, That they ſhould pay the fines ſet upon them, and ſerve the Emperour in his Wars three Months of their own charge without Pay; ſome few of the common Souldiers, to the Terror of others, had two of the fore-fingers of their right-hands cut off, and afterward faſt nailed unto Gibbets ſet up by the high-ways ſide.

The Regiment of Collonel *Meysberg* in Mutiny.

In like manner alſo the Regiment of Collonel *Meysberg* roſe in Mutiny for their Pay, and came and incamped at *Sneche*, about a League from *Vienna*; threatning to deſtroy the Country, and to kill the chief men therein, if they were not paid their Pay. Which rebellious Mutiny the Captains did what they might to appeaſe; they beſought them, but in vain; they intreated them, but to no purpoſe; they promiſed them pay, but prevailed not; yea, the Collonel himſelf thruſt himſelf into the midſt of them, with moſt earneſt Prayers, and his hands caſt up, putting them in mind of their Duty, and laying before them the danger of moſt aſſured Death and Diſhonour, if they continued further to proceed in that their Diſloyalty, whereunto their head-ſtrong Fury ſo diſorderedly led them. But they, as men inraged, carried headlong with their Fury, breathing nothing but Threats and Deſtruction, and by no Prayers or Perſwaſion to be moved, preſently made choice of another Chieftain, under whoſe conduct and leading they reſolved to rifle the Suburbs of *Vienna*, and with the ſpoil of them to pay themſelves. Upon which Reſolution they marched on, and ſo drew near unto the City; with which their ſo great and dangerous an Inſolency, the Governours of the City moved, (the ſufferance whereof they accounted to be unto themſelves both diſhonourable and harmful) they on the other ſide reſolved by plain force to repreſs them, and by juſt Arms to chaſtiſe them, who were not otherwiſe to be reclaimed. But ſuch be the miſerable Calamities of War, where violent Remedies muſt purge out of the body of the Common-weal the good Humours together with the bad, ſo to recover the health thereof; which Remedies, not but upon Neceſſity to be uſed, are ſo quick and violent in their working, as that they afford not lieſure to diſcern the whole and ſound from the ſick and infected, to ſave the one, and to ſpill the other; but that they muſt altogether run the ſelf-ſame way. For albeit that the whole Regiment was in this mutinous Action, and ſo all in like danger, yet were they not thereof all alike guilty, many of them being even againſt their Wills and good liking carried away head-long, as with the violent courſe of an heady River.

Now the Captains of the Town, with their Troops and Companies, ſtrengthened with ſome other Supply ſent from other Places, were to ſet forward againſt theſe rebellious Mutineers, and to fruſtrate their Deſigns; for the greater ſtrengthening of whom, divers of the Burgeſſes of the Town were inforced to enter into this Action alſo: amongſt whom, there were two, accounted very honeſt religious men, who by all means ſought to excuſe themſelves from going, labouring both by lively Reaſons, and by the Word of God, to prove, that they neither might nor ought of Right to enter into Arms againſt their Chriſtian Brethren, inforced with Extremities, for want of their due Pay, to forget their Duty, and to do that beſeemed them not. But what availeth it to alledge either Reaſon or Law amongſt the clattering of Arms; the noiſe whereof is ſo great, as that Reaſon and Law cannot there be heard. Theſe two men ſeeing themſelves inforced to go, and much grieved in Conſcience to do that they were enjoyned to do, and to help to ſhed the guiltleſs Blood of their innocent Brethren (as they accounted them) entred both of them into a moſt ſtrange and woful Reſolution, which was, to dye themſelves, rather than to embrue their hands with the Blood of the guiltleſs; whereupon, one of them, having oftentimes called upon the Name of *Jeſus*, with his own Sword thruſt himſelf through the Body, and ſo died; the other, upon the like Reſolution, threw himſelf into the River, and ſo periſhed alſo: Men worthy to be pitied for their Conſcience ſake, but juſtly to be condemned for their ſo weak and deſperate a Reſolution. In fine, the rebellious Mutineers ſeeing in what Peril they were, being even now ready to be charged, and withal conſidering the weakneſs of their Power in compariſon of them that came againſt them, thought it beſt, upon the ſight of ſo great a Tempeſt, to ſtrike Sail; and ſo changing their former Determination, and laying down their Arms, craved Pardon of the Arch-duke; who graciouſly granted it them, and ſo took them to his Mercy; yet with Condition, that they ſhould again return unto their Garriſons, and deliver into his hands the Ring-leaders and chief Authors of that Mutiny, to be puniſhed according to their Deſerts, as afterwards they were: the ordinary end of ſuch inſolent and diſordered Actions, which have nothing aſſured unto them but Death, which (all things elſe failing) attendeth only upon them.

A ſtrange Action of two of the Citizens of *Vienna*.

The Turks in vain ſeek to ſurpriſe *Lippa*.

But while the Chriſtians, thus divided, were at variance among themſelves, the Turks were ready enough to take advantage of ſuch their dangerous Diſcord. And firſt of all, *Zellaly*, the old Rebel, but now Governour of *Temeſwar*, having in his crafty Head plotted the taking of the City of *Lippa* by ſurpriſe, and to that purpoſe gathering the greateſt Power that he was able to make, in the Evening ſet forward from *Temeſwar*, and ſo travelling by Night, came to *Lippa*; unto the Walls whereof he planted ſcaling Ladders, and at the ſame time laboured to have forced the Gates, in hope ſo to have gained the Town; which was done with ſuch a terrible Noiſe and Outcry as was poſſible by the Turks to be made, after that they were once diſcovered, thereby to have diſmayed the Chriſtians within the Town; who, well acquainted with ſuch Stratagems of their Enemies, and now therewith awaked, came readily to the Walls, and there ſo well defended themſelves and their Town, that the Turks repulſed, were glad to give over the Aſſault, and having loſt a number of their men, with all ſpeed to retire; upon whom, the Chriſtians ſallying out, ſlew many of them in that their diſordered Retreat, little differing from plain flight, and took many more of them Priſoners; yea *Zellaly*, who not many hours before had thought to have ſurpriſed *Lippa*, was now glad himſelf to have recovered the Walls of *Temeſwar*. Some of the Turks that were there taken Priſoners being examined, reported, That the Army that was this Year to come into *Hungary*, was like to be very great, and that a part thereof was now come to *Belgrade*, expecting there the coming of the *Tartars*, who were together with them to enter into *Hungary*; and that by reaſon of the Wars with the *Perſian*, which devoured almoſt all the Souldiers in *Conſtantinople*, and yet could not be therewith ſatisfied, the Great Sultan had commanded, That all ſuch as were able to bear Arms, as well in *Boſna*, as in that part of *Hungary* which was ſubject unto him, and in the other Provinces thereunto adjoyning, ſhould be ready to joyn with his Army in *Hungary*, for the farthering of his Conqueſts there: and that the *Perſian* King, proſecuting the courſe of his Victories, had overthrown *Cicala Baſſa* with his Army, and taken his Son Priſoner, almoſt ſlain all his Troops, and entered into Confederacy with *Caracaſe*, chief of the Rebels in *Aſia*, a Man of great Power, who had following of him a great number of valiant Men, all reſolutely ſet down for the troubling of the Great Sultan's Eſtate.

Caſſovia in danger to have been burnt by the Turks.

About the ſame time, the Governour of *Caſſovia* (a great and ſtrong City in the upper part of *Hungary*) going forth, with ſome good part of his Garriſon, to appeaſe the Souldiers lying about in the Country (but now up in Mutiny for their Pay) and there ſpending ſome few days about this Buſineſs, in ſhewing of them the danger of their Inſolency, and perſuading them, by the evil ſucceſs and end of ſuch-like Actions, to return again unto their Duties; and they again to the contrary obſtinately urging the Payment of their Pay, or elſe to have leave to depart, as being not able longer to continue without the one or the other: and ſo the time paſſing, it fortuned that certain Turks, then Priſoners in *Caſſovia*, encouraged by the Abſence of the Governour and of the Garriſon Souldiers, to attempt the gaining of their Liberty, brake their Irons, and ſlew their Keepers, in hope ſo to have eſcaped: but being in the doing thereof diſcovered, and ſo again ſurpriſed before they could do any farther harm, and upon Torture examined, By what means they thought to have eſcaped out of the City, the Walls thereof being kept with continual Sentinels? they confeſſed, That their Purpoſe was, the ſame night to have ſet fire upon divers Places of the City (ſo to have drawn the People to the quenching thereof) and at the ſame time to have ſlain the Sentinels upon the Walls, and ſo to have made their Eſcape: for which their ſo miſchievous a Fact and Purpoſe, they were ſome of them executed, and the reſt again committed to Priſon, and more ſtraitly kept and looked unto than before.

The Cittadel of *Caniſia* by chance burnt.

Now as *Caſſovia* had, by the Providence of God, eſcaped ſo great an intended Miſchief, *Caniſia* at the ſame time alone felt the evil hap by the Turks intended both to *Caſſovia* and *Lippa*; for a Souldier of the Garriſon, in the Cittadel there, having, through Negligence or Miſhap, caſt Fire into the Powder, provided for the ſtore of the Caſtle; the Powder taking fire, blew up the Cittadel, the Towers, the Houſes, and Walls; and, to be brief, made this poor place like unto another *Rome* burnt by *Nero*. So that had any of the Chriſtian Forces been then near unto the place, it had been an eaſie matter to have won the ſame, as well for the ſmall reſiſtance that was therein to have been found in ſo great an aſtoniſhment of the Men, and Deſtruction of the Place. But ſuch accidents have no certain hours limited to their Beginnings, nor aſſurance of their coming, ſo that they oftentimes chance, without any man to make uſe of them; and again fly away, when men make their greateſt Preparations to obtain them.

The Turks of *Buda* overthrown by the Chriſtians of *Peſth.*

At the ſame time, the Turks of *Buda* ſent two hundred of the Souldiers of their Garriſon to fetch in Forrage a little from *Peſth*, who, as they were in the doing thereof too preſumptuous, ſo were they well puniſhed for their Pride; for the Chriſtians in *Peſth*, having diſcovered them in this Action, ſallied out upon them and charged them; againſt whom they for a while right valiantly defended themſelves, but at length, oppreſſed with number, and overthrown, they were moſt of them ſlain, and the reſt taken Priſoners; wherewith the Baſſa of *Buda* was ſo much offended, that in Revenge thereof, he in his Rage threatned with Fire and Sword to do what harm he might unto the Chriſtians. But, as the common Proverb ſaith, *Men warned, are half armed*; and Enemies Threats bring this Comfort with them, That in receiving of the threatned harms, we are in hope to be revenged thereof, as therefore before provided.

New Tumults in *Tranſilvania.*

The Rebels in *Tranſilvania* ſurpriſed and ſlain.

The miſerable eſtate of *Tranſilvania.*

Captain *Horwat's* Anſwer in excuſe of the *Haiducks.*

Unto theſe woful Troubles of *Hungary*, proceeding as well from the Inſolencies of the Chriſtian Souldiers themſelves, as from the Fury of the Turks, who were their antient and mortal Enemies, were joyned the like, or rather worſe Calamities in *Tranſilvania*, extream Famine and want of all things ſore raging in both *Countries*; ſo that hardly hath any Miſery or Extremity been ſeen or read of, even in Countries by the juſt and heavy Judgments of the Almighty God appointed to Deſtruction, which were not in thoſe two Countries to be found, and of many felt. For remedy whereof, *George Baſta*, the Emperours Lieutenant in *Tranſilvania*, had there done what he might for the appeaſing of the Tumults and Troubles of that Province, and now of late brought the ſame into ſome good terms, as was thought, and as is before declared. Howbeit, that in proof it fell out far otherwiſe, and that the more he therein laboured, the farther he was off from his intent and purpoſe; for the Nobility of that Province, who were generally inclined unto Rebellion, and deteſting the *Germans*, together with their Government, rejected the Decrees and Orders which were agreed upon in their late meeting together for the concluding of Peace; inſomuch, that aſſiſted by the Turks, they had taken certain Caſtles and ſtrong Places in that Province; and the better to ſupport their Rebellion and Inſolency, they had appointed a certain Place to meet at, where the Turks and they might conferr together of the means which they intended for the effecting of their Deſigns. Whereof *Baſta* having by ſecret means got underſtanding, to remedy this pretended Miſchief, he ſent away a great number of *Haiducks*, to lye in wait to ſurpriſe them upon the way. Which men, who were skilful in the Paſſages of the Country, failed not in this Action, but lay cloſe in ambuſh, very conveniently for the ſurpriſing of their Enemies; who, proceeding in their intended purpoſe, and thinking of nothing leſs than of that which was intended againſt them, were ſuddenly, before they were aware, *Turks* and *Tranſilvanians*, altogether ſurpriſed and ſlain. Which Exploit being performed, theſe *Haiducks* and other Souldiers, deſtitute of their Pay, and inraged with Fury, fell upon the Province, uſing therein all Hoſtility, as if they had been mortal Enemies unto it; puniſhing the guiltleſs for the guilty, and ſeiſing upon all mens Goods in common, to pay themſelves that which was by ſome few in private kept from them. All the whole Province was ſubject unto the Rage and Fury of thoſe and other ſuch mercileſs men of War, who, without any remorſe at all, indifferently ſlew and maſſacred all of them that came in their way; but eſpecially the poor and weak innocent People, who called upon the Almighty God for Remedy and Redreſs of theſe Evils which they ſuſtained, and cried out unto him for Revenge of their ſo great and cruel Wrongs. The high ways were every where ſo full of Thieves, that no man could travel from Place to Place, but that he was in great danger to be ſet upon, and ſpoiled. For the *Haiducks* (being men that live altogether by Prey, and roaming up and down the Country) made good Priſe and Booty of whatſoever came in their way, ſparing neither Turks nor Chriſtians; inſomuch, that they hearing, how that the *Zecclers* with a good Convoy were bringing a number of Waggons laden with Victuals, and a great many of Oxen and other Cattel to *Claudianople*, although they were of the ſame Party, Belief, and Nation, yet they lay in wait for them to ſurpriſe them; againſt whom the *Zecclers* ſeeking to defend themſelves, were by them cruelly maſſacred, and their Waggons, with their Beeves and other Cattel, all carried quite away. But what ſhould we ſay? Hunger breaketh even the ſtone Walls, and forceth men unto all Extremities; and now the Famine in that Province was ſuch, as that the People were for the moſt part glad to live by feeding upon the Roots of Hearbs and Weeds, and ſuch other unwholeſome things, whereof great Mortality afterward enſued amongſt them; which was the cauſe that *Horwat*, Captain of theſe *Haiducks*, being reproved for the Outrages by them committed, and charged to take order, that no more ſuch like ſhould afterward be done; anſwered, That it was not poſſible to keep Souldiers in any order amidſt the extremity of Famine; for that the Belly was an inexorable Uſurer, which took pity upon nothing, but with great Rage exacting that which it thought due for the Nouriſhment of it ſelf.

Two of the Turks Spies of *Buda* taken.

Amidſt theſe Troubles of *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, there were two of the Turks Spies of *Buda* diſcovered and taken; who at *Vienna* had obſerved all the Actions and Proceedings of the Chriſtians, and to the uttermoſt of their Power had informed themſelves of their Deſigns, as alſo of their Preparations and Forces to be raiſed and levied for this years Wars; of which two Spies, the one was imployed, and the other kept in cloſe and ſtraight Priſon, until that further matter might be drawn out from him.

The Forces of the Chriſtians were now beginning to gather themſelves together, and to make an head in *Hungary*; a riſe report at that time going, That they would forthwith take the field; whereof the Baſſa of *Buda* underſtanding, and deſirous in what he might to hinder that their forwardneſs (whereof he doubted the Effects) thought it beſt to betake himſelf to his old and cunning Practiſe, for the treaty and concluding of a Peace with the Chriſtians, whereof he now made ſhew himſelf, together with the reſt of the Turks, to be very deſirous; ſo by putting the Chriſtians in hope thereof, to make them the more remiſs and negligent in their doings, and to gain time of them, until that the Turks great Army (then in preparing) might be brought down into *Hungary*. To which purpoſe, he in moſt friendly manner thus writ unto the Governour of *Strigonium*.

The Letters of the Baſſa of *Buda* to the Governour of *Strigonium*.

We know right well (Noble Governour) that you are not ignorant, how that your Brother, the Governour of Strigonium *before you, hath moſt earneſtly embraced the Negotiation of Peace, in ſuch ſort, as that we cannot ſo much yield unto our ordinary Quarrels and Diſſention, but that we muſt give you to underſtand the Cauſes which have croſſed and hindered the concluding of ſo great a good the laſt year now paſſed. The firſt Let came by reaſon of the time, choſen too late to be imployed in that Treaty for Peace, when as now both the Armies were already on foot, and even in readineſs to joyn battel, and could not be then ſtayed by that Intreaty, nor be ſent back again without ſome exploit doing; each part had reſolved upon their proper Deſigns, and even choſen their Ground for Battel, and were then hardly to be turned from that whereupon they were before reſolved. And albeit, that during this laſt Winter, the Treaty for the Peace was again begun, and that the men of War on both ſides in hope thereof, reſted unarmed, and free from all Hoſtility; a moſt fit time to have begun and ended this Treaty of Peace, which hath been ſo much wiſhed for of our Sovereign Emperour, deſired of his Subjects, and requeſted by thoſe of your Emperours, with whom my dread Sovereign would confirm and contract a firm and continual Peace; yet for all that, ſince the departure of the Governour from* Strigonium, *we ſee three Months to have been paſſed without any Letters at all, or Meſſage by word of Mouth brought unto us concerning this matter; ſo that we have not any thing whereof to certifie our Sovereign Emperour. And foraſmuch as the courſe of time hath brought theſe two contrary Armies even unto the point of Battel, and that they are marching one of them to encounter with the other, and ſo enter into the liſts of Honour, we have thought good before to deſire to know of you, what we are to expect concerning the Peace: We therefore requeſt you as our very good Brother and Friend, in what we may to ſtay the coming of our Armies into this Kingdom, and to attend to that which may produce the concluſion of this Treaty, being on our part moſt ready to lend both our care and deſire to whatſoever ſhall be juſt and meet in this Treaty and neceſſary for the common good; beſeeching you to believe us in this Buſineſs, and not to doubt of our good Will, more affected to your good, than is yours to our welfare; whereof we in good time advertiſe you, for that our Army which is now before* Belgrade, *being once arrived here, and marching in Field, we cannot poſſibly cauſe it to return without ſomething doing, conſidering the great harms, which under the aſſurance of your Faith given, we have received from your People during the time of the Truce, which they have many ways violated. Which their evil dealing hath greatly incenſed us againſt your men in Captivity with us, and cauſed our Souldiers to ſhew great rigour againſt their Slaves; we therefore attend your Anſwer, and the return of your Brother, to the end we may together reſolve according unto Reaſon and Equity, of that which ſhall be needful to be done for the common good and welfare.*

Now for all this fair gloſing, it was no hard matter to gueſs at the Baſſaes ſecret meaning; for how deſirous ſoever he ſeemed to be of Peace, and willing to the furtherance thereof, yet nevertheleſs, true it is, that during the time of all theſe fair ſhews, the Turks, having aſſembled their Garriſons on all ſides, had by Night ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Simnin* upon the Chriſtians, ſlain part of the Souldiers therein, carried away the reſt Priſoners, and moſt cruelly afterwards burnt the place; ſo manifeſting by their foul deeds the evil meaning of their fair and deceitful Words. But now leaving the Baſſa for a while unto his crafty Devices, and paſſing over many ſmall Skirmiſhes which happened in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, as not beſeeming the Gravity of an Hiſtory, let us now out of *Europe* look over into *Aſia*, to ſee how the Great Turks Affairs there in the mean time went.

Cicala Baſſa with his Army overthrown by the Rebels in *Aſia*.

Cicala Baſſa again overthrown.

The Rebellion in *Aſia* was, by the coming over of *Zellaly* and his Followers, for a time ſomewhat weakened, but not ſuppreſſed, that peſtilent Humour of Diſloyalty having before infected the Minds of ſo many, as that in ſhort time after the Rebels were much ſtronger, and the Rebellion much more dangerous than before; for the appeaſing and repreſſing whereof, *Cicala Baſſa*, the old Renegade, a man of great Experience and Service, was as General ſent over with a great and mighty Army into *Aſia*, where he needed not long to ſeek for his Enemies, they being as ready as he, either to give or to accept of Battel; ſo that for men ſo on both ſides reſolved, it was no hard matter to bring them to the Tryal of Battel; which they with like deſire and equal hope joyning, there made a great and terrible fight, the Baſſa fighting for his Honour, and the Rebel for his Life. Howbeit, that at length the Baſſa, after much bloodſhed and great number on both ſides ſlain, being put to the worſe, fled with his Army altogether diſordered, and in rout, having in that ſo dangerous a confuſion of his People much ado to ſave himſelf. With which ſo ſhameful an overthrow given him by the Rebel, the Baſſa, who was more aſhamed than diſcouraged, again repaired his Army, joyning thereunto great and mighty Supplies, and ſo ſtrengthned, came now again the ſecond time to revenge himſelf of the great diſhonour which he had before received, and utterly to ſuppreſs the Rebels; who, now finding themſelves too weak to encounter with ſo great and mighty a Power, wiſely betime retired, praying Aid of the *Perſian* King, who ſent unto them his own Son with a great Army of good and valiant Souldiers; which might have given the Baſſa cauſe enough to have ſtayed his haſte, and to have been well adviſed how he joyned Battel with ſuch deſperate and reſolute Enemies, and now back'd with ſuch ſtrong Supplies; but he, being blinded with the Fury of his former loſs, and too much deſirous to be thereof revenged, with more haſte than good ſpeed came on, and joyned Battel with theſe his Enemies, now in readineſs and well provided to receive him. The two Armies were in number equal, but the Rebels of the two, more reſolute and careful of themſelves and of their welfare, as they which had repoſed all their Hope and Confidence in their own Arms and Valour, ſo that the Battel was with great Outcries and Fury begun both on the one ſide and on the other; in the beginning whereof the Turks right furiouſly charged the Rebels, and ſeemed ſomewhat to prevail upon them, until that the *Perſian* Kings Son with certain Troops of his moſt brave Horſemen charging them in the Rereward, and ſome other of the Rebels with like Fury aſſailing them upon their Flanks, their whole Army was ſo diſordered, that *Cicala* doing what he could to have put his men again in order, and ſo to have reſtored the battel, nothing therein prevailed, but was glad, together with the reſt of his Army, now all in rout, to betake himſelf to flight. In this Battel were 40000 Men on the one ſide and the other ſlain, whereof thirty thouſand were of the Baſſaes Army, and the reſt of the Rebels; who by this their ſo great a Victory, gained no leſs Honour and Reputation, than had the old Baſſa got of Contempt and Diſgrace. The

Perſian

The Succeſs of the Perſian King.

Perſian King alſo after this diſcomfiture of the Turks, continuing his Conqueſts, took in the Country of *Siruan* (a matter of great importance) being now deſtitute of all relief by the overthrow of *Cicala Baſſa*, who, had he prevailed againſt the Rebels, ſhould have marched thither againſt the *Perſian* King, to have ſtayed the courſe of his Victories; who now victorious and out of fear, made head toward *Aruſta*, a very great and ſtrong Town, near whereunto the River *Tigris* diſchargeth it ſelf into the great River *Euphrates*, which City he at laſt won, with all the Places and Countries thereunto adjoyning; and hath ſince, as a moſt happy and victorious Prince, again recovered from the Turks whatſoever they had ſince the time of Sultan *Solyman* by force of Arms taken from the Perſian Kings his Predeceſſors, two or three ſtrong Places only excepted. Of which moſt notable Wars betwixt theſe two of the moſt mighty Eaſtern Princes, *viz.* the great Turk and the *Perſian* King, I can rather wiſh than hope to be better informed, and that, not ſo much for Curioſity (although that the Knowledge of ſuch matters yield unto ſuch as be deſirous thereof much Pleaſure, with no leſs Contentment) as for that they (though far off) in ſome ſort much concern the good and quiet of the Chriſtian Commonweal, the *Perſian* Wars being the only means whereby the fury of the Great Turkiſh Sultan hath been, and yet is, for a time averted from the Chriſtians in *Europe* upon the *Perſians* in *Aſia*; as it is greatly to be feared, that ſome one or other (if not more) of the Chriſtian Princes neareſt unto him, ſhall to their great coſt and harm feel, ſo ſoon as theſe two great Mahometan Princes ſhall be at Peace between themſelves. But leave we the Baſſa a while to grieve at his overthrows, and the *Perſian* King to triumph of theſe Victories, and ſee what the Great Sultan himſelf in the mean time doth.

Sultan *Achmat* ſick of the ſmall Pox.

This young Prince *Achmat*, now one of the greateſt Monarchs of the World, had not many Months reigned, but that he fell ſick of the ſmall Pox, wherewith, he having a groſs and full Body, was ſo fouly tormented for the ſpace of fourteen days, that oftentimes fainting, it was generally thought he would thereof have died; yea, divers of the great Baſſaes were in ſpeech concerning his younger Brother to be taken out of the Seraglio to ſucceed him; which was thought would have coſt the younger Brother his Life, after that the Sultan his elder Brother was again recovered; as no doubt it had, but that he was the only Heir that was then left of the *Othoman* Family, if that his Brother the Sultan ſhould have failed. But he again recovered of his foul and childiſh Diſeaſe, to ſhew unto the Janizaries and others (who doubted thereof) that he was ſo recovered, proudly mounted upon a goodly Horſe, moſt ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and in great State and Magnificence, rid up and down through moſt of the chief Streets of the Imperial City, the People (as their accuſtomed manner is) in every Place as he went rejoycing to ſee him, and proſecuting him with their moſt joyful Acclamations, wiſhing unto him a moſt long and happy Reign. Neither is it to be marvelled, ſeeing that the Almighty God hath even in the Faces and Countenances of Princes ingraven ſome reſemblance of his own, if they become reſpectuous and admirable in the Eyes and ſight of the common People, who cannot but honour them with their Voices, whom God hath bleſſed with his Power, and other his extraordinary worldly Bleſſings.

This young Prince, ſo recovered of his Sickneſs, and having ſhewed himſelf unto his Subjects, began forthwith to give himſelf (according unto the heat of his youthful Spirit) immoderately unto the Pleaſures of the Field, and other ſuch violent Exerciſes, being in their moderate uſe wholeſome, but in their violences much hurtful, but eſpecially upon the new recovery of his late Sickneſs, the Griefs whereof came in haſte, but were to leave him at leiſure. Whereupon two of his Baſſaes, careful of his Health, were ſo bold, as out of their Love to reprove him for ſuch his violent and immoderate Exerciſes (the day not being long enough for them) and by effectual Reaſons to diſſwade him from the ſame. But ſo far off was he from hearkening unto their wholeſome Perſwaſions, as that to the contrary, he therewith inraged, thruſt them both out of their Places. So dangerous a thing it is, even in Zeal and Love to preſume to controul great Princes in their moſt vain Pleaſures; others, in the mean time not loving them at all, but only for their own profit attending upon their idle Appetites, enjoying the Preferments due unto their more faithful and loyal Subjects, and yet ſecretly in themſelves ſmiling at the Vanity of ſuch as by whom they be ſo unworthily honoured and promoted.

Good Counſel taken in evil part by Sultan *Achmat*.

But as in the immoderate uſe of all things there is a ſaciety which breedeth a diſliking and diſtaſte of them (Pleaſures being not by any means more commended, than by their novelties and ſeldom uſe) ſo this young Sultan *Achmat*, having glutted himſelf with his Pleaſures, began now to caſt his Eyes upon his other more neceſſary Affairs of State, but eſpecially upon his Wars both with the Chriſtian Emperour and the Mahometan *Perſian* King. Now he was not ignorant of the great Valour and Sufficiency of *Haſſan*, the Viſier Baſſa, for the managing of his Wars in *Hungary*, wherein he had of long time been exerciſed, and ſo therein beſt experienced. This old Captain pleaſed him beſt, whom, as an old, expert, and politick General, he reſolved to continue in his charge as Lieutenant General of his Wars in *Hungary*, and by the continuation of him in ſo great and honourable a place, to bind him to all loyal Services in thoſe Wars, even to the uttermoſt of his Power. This Great Baſſa was then at *Belgrade*, upon the frontier of his Government, in doubtful ſuſpence expecting the Reſolution of his Prince concerning this buſineſs, and yet in hope, longing after a ſecond charge; whoſe longing deſire *Achmat* quickly ſatisfied, by ſending unto him both a Commiſſion for the continuation of his Charge and Dignity, and certain honourable Preſents, in token of his extraordinary Favour towards him; which were, a Generals Enſign, with an *Hungarian* Mace of pure Gold. Now whether theſe Preſents, joyned unto the continuation of his Charge, were welcome unto him, or not, ambitious Minds (ſuch as was his) can eaſily tell; and he, to ſhew his Contentment therewith, gave thereof good Teſtimony by the publick Actions of Joy, cauſing all the great Ordnance of the Place in thundering wiſe to be oftentimes diſcharged, and the Trumpets and Drums to be moſt joyfully ſounded.

Haſſan Baſſa appointed Lieutenant General of the Turks Wars in *Hungary*.

In the mean time, News was brought unto *Conſtantinople*, how that the *Perſian* King, having muſtered his Men, was in the Field with above an hundred thouſand good Souldiers, and that *Bagages Baſſa*, one of the great Rebels in *Aſia*, had confederated himſelf with him, to the further troubling of the Turks Eſtate. Whereupon *Achmat*, although he had before given order unto *Haſſan*, the Viſier Baſſa his Lieutenant in *Hungary*, for the beſieging and taking of *Veradinum*, a ſtrong City in the upper *Hungary*; now by a Meſſenger ſent in haſte, commanded the ſame Baſſa, all other

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Haſſan Baſſa ſent for to come to *Conſtantinople.*

buſineſſes ſet apart, with all the power that he could make, forthwith to return to *Conſtantinople*, there with him and the reſt of the Baſſaes to conſult and reſolve upon the moſt neceſſary War, and of the readieſt means for the continuing of the ſame. For albeit that the Turks were moſt deſirous to have Wars with the Chriſtians, and ſo (if it were poſſible) to have conquered the remainders of *Hungary*; yet the danger of the *Perſian* Wars and of the Rebellion in *Aſia* daily more and more increaſing, ſuffered them not wholly to attend unto the Wars againſt the Chriſtians in *Hungary*, but drew them now into a doubtful Conſultation, which way firſt to turn their Forces. But the Baſſa being come to *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Seignior took the pains and did him the Honour to come unto his Houſe; whither, the Counſel for the State being aſſembled, it was there moſt proudly reſolved upon, even forthwith at one and the ſelf ſame time with equal Forces to make War both upon the Chriſtian Emperour in *Hungary*, and the *Perſian* King in *Aſia*, accounting themſelves ſtrong enough to ſubdue and bring under foot, both the one and the other, no Power upon Earth being, in their proud conceit of themſelves, able to encounter or to withſtand theirs. So for the managing of theſe Wars, and of their ſo proud a Reſolution to be performed in ſo remote Parts of the World, *Haſſan Baſſa* was continued in his charge, as General of the Army in *Hungary*; and *Cicala Baſſa* was appointed to have the command of the Army to be ſent againſt the *Perſian*; two moſt expert Captains, being to fight againſt their hereditary Enemies, *Haſſan* againſt the Chriſtians, and *Cicala* againſt the *Perſians*, by whom he had not long before been evil uſed. An ordinary Policy of the *Othoman* Emperours, not to commit the charge of their Armies againſt the Chriſtians, unto Renegades; for fear leſt they, touched with ſome remorſe of Conſcience, might betray the ſame, or otherwiſe deal unfaithfully in their charge; but ſtill to imploy them againſt the *Perſians*, of whom they have no further Knowledge, but as of their Enemies in the Field. But *Cicala Baſſa*, well acquainted both with the difficulty and the danger of the *Perſian* War, (the ſcars whereof he yet bare about with him) made ſhew as if he had been unwilling to take upon him the charge thereof; and ſo begun to excuſe himſelf, until that at length, upon promiſe made unto him, for the furniſhing of him with a ſufficient Army, and all things elſe neceſſary for ſo great a War, with a large and moſt honourable Entertainment for himſelf, and all the *Perſian* Priſoners being alſo given unto him in reward; he therewith contented, accepted of the honourable charge, whereof in his ambitious mind he was indeed moſt deſirous. And ſo receiving the Generals Enſign, with the other Marks and Cognizances of his Honour, cauſing the Drums to be ſtrucken up, and the Trumpets to be joyfully ſounded, he cheerfully prepared himſelf for that his ſo great an Expedition; expecting but the coming of his Son, who, at the requeſt of the *Venetians*, was gon forth with a fleet of Gallies, to ſcour the *Levant* Seas of the Pyrats, who then exceedingly troubled the Traffick of the *Venetian* Merchants.

Haſſan Baſſa continued General of the Turks Army againſt the Chriſtians, and *Cicala* appointed General of their Army againſt the *Perſians.*

Cicala Baſſa maketh ſhew as if he were unwilling to be General in the Wars againſt the *Perſians.*

Amidſt which the Turks ſo great Deſigns, the *Tartar Cham*, bound for his pay to ſerve the Great Turk in his Wars againſt the Chriſtians; by his Ambaſſador excuſed himſelf unto the Great Sultan, for that he could not himſelf in Perſon come this year with his Forces into *Hungary*, by reaſon that he was otherwiſe neceſſarily buſied with the moſt urgent Affairs of his own Eſtate; yet promiſing withal, inſtead of himſelf, to ſend his Son with a good power of men. Now whereas many men marvel, why the *Tartar Cham*, being ſo great a Prince, and not much in danger unto the Turk (being ſeparated from him by the black or *Euxine* Sea) ſhould be ſtill ſo ready at the Turks call, to do him ſervice in his Wars; the Cauſes thereof are divers, and thoſe not far to ſeek. Firſt, Their near Affinity (as both deſcended from the ſame beginning) by often Marriages ſtill confirmed; then, their likeneſs of Manners and Condition, no ſmall Bonds of Love and Friendſhip; And thirdly, For that the Turkiſh Empire, for want of Heirs males of the *Othoman* Family, is aſſured, and as it were, entailed unto the *Tartar Cham*; but moſt of all, for the yearly penſion and great pay which he, being a bare Prince, receiveth from the Turks; his rude and needy People being alſo ever ready, in hope of the ſpoil, to follow him into theſe Wars. But this his excuſe for not coming himſelf this year into *Hungary*, being by the Great Sultan accepted of, *Haſſan Baſſa*, reſolved upon his Expedition for *Hungary*, made great preparation for the good ſucceſs of the War there, gave great hope thereof unto the Great Sultan, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Lieutenant General of all the Great Sultans Forces againſt the Chriſtians; every man affording unto theſe good hopes a thouſand Wiſhes for his Health and Welfare; but eſpecially the Mahometan Prieſts aſſured him of their help, ſo that he would not fail to do the uttermoſt of his Indeavour againſt the Chriſtians their Enemies. For why, the Turks do account him the beſt and moſt zealous man, which can do the Chriſtians moſt harm. And ſo with theſe ſo great Acclamations of Joy and Honour, *Haſſan*, the Great Baſſa, ſet forward with his Army from *Conſtantinople* toward *Hungary*.

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The Reaſons why the *Tartar Cham* is ſo ready to ſerve the great Turk in his Wars againſt the Chriſtians.

Haſſan Baſſa ſetteth forward with his Army toward *Hungary.*

Maximilian the Arch-duke ſent Ambaſſador from the Emperour unto the Pope, to crave his Aid againſt the Turk.

The Chriſtian Emperour, not ignorant of all theſe the Turks great Preparations and haughty Deſigns, ſought by all means how to reſiſt them, ſparing nothing that might any way ſerve or ſtand him in ſtead to that purpoſe. Experience had aſſured him of the Popes readineſs in contributing to this Action, what in his power was; having before received ſo many Teſtimonies of his good Will. Which cauſed him now to diſpatch alſo his Brother *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, a good and devout Prince, unto him, with expreſs charge in the Emperours Name to yield all Submiſſion unto his Holineſs, to move him to relieve the woful Eſtate of his diſtreſſed Affairs. *Maximilian*, ſetting forward about this buſineſs, arrived at *Venice*, where he was by that State right honourably entertained. From *Venice* he travelling towards *Rome*, and with a great retinue approaching the City, was there met by a great number of Noblemen, with their Followers, ſent from the Pope, and ſo by them with great Honour was brought into the *Vaticane* Palace, to the intent that ſo he might the oftener and with more eaſe have acceſs unto the Pope, who then lay there ſick of the Gout. The next day, he being brought into the Popes Preſence, and after uſual Reverence done, having audience given him, in the Preſence of all the Cardinals he began to deliver unto him the Cauſes of his coming; which (as he ſaid) were two; Firſt, to put his Holineſs in remembrance of the manifeſt peril and danger which hung over the heads of the Chriſtians in general, from the Turk, but eſpecially over them of *Italy*, being ſo near unto the Turkiſh Empire, and a great gap laid open for the Turks thereinto to enter, by the way of *Caniſia*, the Key of *Stiria*. And then in the Emperours behalf to requeſt him to ſtretch forth his helping hand againſt this his mortal Enemy, who was now drawing all his Power together into one head, to deſtroy him; having certain underſtanding of the great Preparation tation by him made throughout all his Dominions, to thruſt him out of his, if in theſe Extremities he were not relieved by ſuch Princes as could not in the end themſelves avoid the laſt Violences of theſe harms, whereof he felt the firſt Aſſaults. Which his Holineſs conſidering, in the zeal of his Devotion, and by the increaſing of the danger, he was in hope to find of it the like Aſſiſtance in this his ſecond need, that he had before received in his former Affairs; the precious balm of his devout Charity being of greater Vertue than to ſerve but for one time, but being of ſufficient Power to ſerve for all Ages, and all times of Neceſſity. And that therefore he beſought his Holineſs to apply the ſame upon the preſent Wound, ſeeing that without his help he was more like to periſh than to live. Whereunto the Pope anſwered, That his former Actions already paſſed, ſpake enough for him in this Action to manifeſt his devout meaning; ſo that it was needleſs for him to uſe farther Words to expreſs the ſame: that the great Supplies both of Men and Money which he had ſent forth for the good of the Chriſtian Commonweal, were the ſure Teſtimonies of his carefulneſs for the ſame, And albeit that theſe evil Haps had ſo far prevailed in *Hungary*, yet that he for his part nevertheleſs had ſtill done what he might for the remedying of thoſe ſo great Evils. And that now by the Advice of his honourable Counſellors there preſent, he had appointed an hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns to be paid toward the maintenance of the Chriſtian Army in *Hungary* this Year; in hope to do more than that afterward for the Emperour in his Wars againſt the Turks; whom God had (as he ſaid) ſuffered to prevail upon the Chriſtians, not for any Goodneſs that was in them, but for the chaſtiſing of the Wickedneſs of the Chriſtians themſelves.

The Pope's Anſwer unto the Emperour's Demands.

Which ſum of an hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns was afterward, according to a Decree made by the Pope and Cardinals, levied and paid of the Tenths of the Clergy throughout all *Italy*. And ſo *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, moſt magnificently entertained and feaſted by the Pope, and by him rewarded with four thouſand Crowns, having well diſpached the Buſineſs he came for, returned again unto the Emperour his Brother.

Valachia ſpoiled by the *Tartars.*

But as the Chriſtian Emperour was thus careful about his Proviſions for the withſtanding of the Turks, they were not any whit behind him in augmenting of their Forces for the invading of him. And now the *Tartars* in great number being about to come unto their Aid into *Hungary*, being denied Paſſage by the *Polonians*, had turned head towards *Valachia*, with a purpoſe by force and ſtrong-hand to get that of theſe weak People which the Power of the ſtronger had embarred them of. And ſo, preſuming upon their number, they entered into the ſame Province, which they all over rifled and ſpoiled at their Pleaſure. Where, ſuch of the Country-people as could eſcape their Fury, fled into the Towns, leaving their Goods behind them unto their mercileſs Rage, not with any thing to be ſatisfied. *Rodolph*, the Vayvod himſelf, as a man with Fury diſmayed, fled to *Cronſtat* to *George Baſta*; where, he conſidering the danger he was now in, and that he was ſtill to expect the like ſo often as the *Tartars* were for the Service of the Turk to come into *Hungary*; before *Baſta* took a new Oath of Allegiance unto the Emperour, ſolemnly proteſting to dye and live in his Service; Neceſſity now inforcing him to acknowledge his Duty, and to ſeek for the Remedy of his Harms, which he had before oftentimes moſt proudly rejected. Upon which his ſo humble Submiſſion, *Baſta* received him and his Country into his Protection.

Rodolph the Vayvod ſubmitteth himſelf and his Country to the Emperour's Protection.

In the mean time, two Traitors were brought to *Claudinople*, who, having by wonderful Craft ſurpriſed a ſtrong Caſtle belonging unto a certain great Lady, a Widow, near unto a Burrough called *Caraſebe*, and rifled and ſacked the ſame, traiterouſly afterward ſold it unto the Turks, to the great hurt of the Emperour's Subjects near unto the place, and the no leſs advantage of the Turks. Whereof the *Haiducks* having gotten underſtanding, and cunning in ſuch matters, upon the ſudden ſurpriſed the Turks by the way, as they were coming to have taken Poſſeſſion of the Place; who ſeeing themſelves too weak to withſtand their Enemies, and out of hope to ſave themſelves by flight, were there, as men diſmayed and appointed to the Slaughter, moſt of them by the *Haiducks* cut in pieces, and the reſt taken Priſoners. The two Traitors being, according to their Deſerts, for their ſhameful Treachery, moſt cruelly put to Death, to the terror of others.

The Turks ſurpriſed by the *Haiducks.*

The *Haiducks*, having no Houſes but the Fields, nor other Trade but their Arms, ſpoiled of the one by the Turks, and armed with the other by Neceſſity, are always in readineſs for Service. In hope of Profit, it is to them a Pleaſure to paſs over the Mountains of Ice, to travel through the Storms of Thunder and Lightning, to ſwim over the deep Rivers, and to thruſt themſelves into a thouſand Dangers; which, as it is no commendable kind of Life, ſo is the practiſe of it unjuſt. For as in this, ſo in other their Actions, they ſpare neither Friend nor Foe, all that comes in their way being ſubject, and as it were appointed to their Fury; but eſpecially when they want their Pay, which affordeth unto them a thouſand Excuſes for the robbing and ſpoiling of all men, without reſpect. With which manner of fury they were even at this time enraged for want of their Pay, in ſuch ſort, as that if their right-hands ſpoiled the Turks, their left-hands robbed the Chriſtians; as upon one and the ſelf-ſame day they took from the Turks of *Agria* a number of Beaſts and Cattel, and rifled divers Villages of the Chriſtians. And not content with theſe Outrages, meeting with an hundred, or ſix ſcore Waggons, laden with great ſtore of Victuals, going toward *Alba-Julia*, conducted by the *Zeclers*, ſet upon them, ſlew them that drave them, and carried away the Waggons with them. But theſe Wrongs, by Chriſtians done unto Chriſtians, even the mortal Enemies of the Chriſtians, the Turks themſelves revenged. For the Turks of *Teneſwar* having been abroad toward *Lippa*, and found good ſtore of Booty, meeting with theſe Sharkers, were by them charged, not ſo much for that they were their Enemies, or for the Zeal of Chriſtianity, or for the deſire of Honour, as for to have had from them their Prey and Booty. But the Turks, being in number twice as many as they, and withal well acquainted with ſuch Buſineſs, were not ſo eaſily ſpoiled; but knowing their own ſtrength, with their Number oppreſſed their Enemies, moſt of whom they ſlew, and took the reſt Priſoners. God being as juſt in his Puniſhments, as he is in Works powerful, puniſhing the Wicked by the Weapons of others as wicked, or rather worſe than they.

The *Haiducks*, what manner of men they be, and their outrageous Inſolency.

The Turks in the mean time, whilſt things thus paſſed, began again to fall to their old Practice, for the ſolliciting of a Peace; but ſuch Fantaſies were too ſtale and common for them any more to deceive the Chriſtians with: howbeit that they yet gave ſome ear thereunto, to diſcover in their Policy the Commodities and Inconveniences of the Peace by them in ſhew offered, with a thouſand Proteſtations in their Words, but far differing from their Thoughts and Deeds; who, during the time of the Parle, laboured in what they might

The Turks in their Hearts meaning War, make ſhew as if they were deſirous of Peace.

1604 to benefit themſelves, and to hurt us. For even in that ſame very time they fortified their Towns and Caſtles with Men and Victuals, but eſpecially the City of *Buda*, whereinto, by a Convoy of three thouſand Turks come from *Belgrade*, they put an exceeding quantity of all ſorts of neceſſary Proviſion, ſufficient to ſerve the ſame for a whole Year. Beſides that, it was certainly known, by certain Turks taken Priſoners and brought to *Poſconium*, that all this Parle and Treaty of Peace was but of purpoſe feigned to put the Chriſtians in ſecurity; for that the Baſſa of *Buda*, who was the chief Publiſher of the ſame, had no ſuch Commiſſion from the Great Sultan for the concluding of any Peace in the Abſence of the Viſier Baſſa, unto whom the Grand Seignior had given Charge, not to make any Peace with the Emperour, but upon Condition, That he ſhould firſt deliver unto him the City of *Strigonium*: which if he would not yield, that then he ſhould beſiege it, and by force take it from him; and after the winning thereof, to refuſe all other Treaty of Peace, it being the only Cauſe for which the Turks deſired Peace. Of all which their double dealing and crafty Deſigns the Emperour underſtanding, and wholly reſolved for War, preſently ſent County *Sultze* with Commiſſion to *Vienna*, and appointed *George Baſta* Lieutenant-General of his Army in *Hungary*; adviſing them carefully to look to their Charge, and not too much to truſt unto the gloſing and flattering Speeches of the Turks.

The Caſtle of *Reovin* ſurpriſed by the *Haiducks*.

The *Haiducks* in the mean time always in Arms, as having no other Inheritance whereon to live, ceaſed not ſtill to look abroad to find that was never loſt. Now it fortuned them, in roaming abroad toward *Belgrade*, to light upon *Reovin*, a ſtrong and fair Caſtle of the Turks, wherein eight hundred of the Turks Souldiers, and other of their Country people, had their Abode, together with the greateſt part of their Subſtance. In the Strength of which Caſtle the Turks truſting, and there lying in Security, without farther care of their Safety, were upon the ſudden, before they were aware, by theſe adventurous men ſurpriſed; who for haſte thruſting one another forward, at length carried the Place, ſlew the greateſt part of the Turks, and taking the reſt Priſoners, with a great and rich Booty returned to *Lippa*. The like Exploit they of the Garriſon of *Caniſia* attempted upon the Caſtle and Burrough of *Lambac*, which they took and ſpoiled, and afterwards ſet it on fire; the Flame whereof ſerved for a Signal unto the Troops of County *Serin*, which, paſſing that way, and lighting upon the Turks over-loaded with the Spoils they had there taken, cut them in pieces, and ſo recovered from them the Booty.

Petrinia in danger to have been betrayed unto the Turks.

About this time, certain of the Garriſon Souldiers of *Petrinia*, having ſecretly conſpired with the Turks (by whom they were before corrupted) to deliver unto them that ſtrong Caſtle: and being about to have betrayed the ſame, by a Mine which they were in making under a Stable near unto a Store-houſe wherein the Powder for the Store of the Caſtle lay, with a purpoſe by firing of the ſame to have given the Turks entrance by the Ruines thereof, who lay cloſe hidden in a Wood near unto the Place; it fortuned this their wicked Purpoſe to be perceived by certain Offenders then kept Priſoners in the ſame Stable near unto the Mine:- who having diſcovered the Traitors whole Purpoſe, and in fear to be burned or blown up by the fury of the Mine ſo near unto them, diſcovered the ſame unto the Goaler, who made the Governour therewith acquainted; by whoſe Commandment they were forthwith apprehended; and being convicted of their ſo foul a Treaſon, were with exemplary Puniſhment executed.

Now as the Turks had oftentimes made ſhew as if they had been deſirous of Peace, ſo ceaſed they not yet with great earneſtneſs to ſollicite the ſame; ſo that the Emperour, although he knew it to be a thing rather to be wiſhed than hoped for, yet, leſt he ſhould ſeem careleſs of the common Quiet of his Subjects and People, and to refuſe ſo great a good ſo oftentimes offered him; now once again appointed certain Perſonages of great Place and Authority to attend the Propoſitions of Peace to be on the Turks behalf propounded. Of which Commiſſioners, *Cæſar Gallen*, Sheriff of *Strigonium*, an *Italian*, and a Man of great experience in matters of State, was one. Whom the Governour of *Strigonium* had of purpoſe ſent to *Peſth*, to conſider of ſome good means for the concluding of the Peace, whereof he himſelf in Perſon had laid the firſt Foundation; and underſtood the Turks Demands and Pretenſions, not much differing from thoſe which they had many times before demanded. Whereof the firſt was, That the Emperour ſhould for the time to come, well and truly pay unto the Great Sultan and his Succeſſors, all ſuch Tribute as he was wont to pay unto the Turkiſh Emperours, his Predeceſſors, during the time of his Leagues with them, and that without any Demand to be thereof made. The ſecond, That the Emperour ſhould always have his Ambaſſador Lieger at the Great Sultan's Court, with honourable Preſents, there to ſollicite the Continuation of his Love and Friendſhip toward the Emperour his Maſter. The third, That the Emperour ſhould deliver unto the Turks all the Towns and Caſtles which he had taken from them either by Force or by Surpriſe, during the time of this War, together with the Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*. Upon which Demands granted, they promiſed to ſend a Meſſenger unto the Great Sultan, in their Names to entreat him to ſurrender *Caniſia* unto the Emperour, but not *Agria*, which (as they ſaid) they might in no wiſe deliver, except they were thereunto by force of Arms conſtrained.

The inſolent and unreaſonable Demands of the Turks for the concluding of a Peace with the Chriſtians.

The Anſwer of the Emperour's Deputies unto the Turks proud Demands.

Unto which their ſo proud and unreaſonable Demands, the Commiſſioners for the Emperour anſwered, That the Emperour long before this time had made Peace with Sultan *Selym*, the Second of that Name, and with Sultan *Amurath* the Third, this Sultan *Achmat's* Predeceſſors: An aſſured Peace, ſworn unto and confirmed by all the juſt and ſolemn Oaths that could have been by any man deſired; and for the more aſſurance thereof, into writing conceived, and with the moſt authentick Seals of their Majeſties confirmed; whereby both Parties were moſt ſeverely and ſtraitly forbidden, one of them to attempt any thing againſt the other, or to incroach the one of them upon the other, during the time of ſuch their League: And if ſo be that contrary to the Tenor thereof, either part ſhould undertake to ſurpriſe any Place belonging to the other, and ſo become Maſters thereof, that upon the leaſt Requeſt of the Party ſo wronged, the Places ſurpriſed ſhould be again forthwith reſtored, as uſurped upon, contrary to the Publick Faith; and the Uſurpers to be ſeverely for the ſame puniſhed. And that yet the Turks notwithſtanding, thruſting by heaps, beyond the Bars of this ſo ſtrong and holy a League, had violated and broken the ſame, by ſurpriſing a number of Places both in the high and lower Countries of *Hungary*, never giving ear unto any Speech or Requeſt that could be made unto them for the Reſtitution thereof. And yet not ſo contented, had alſo taken a number of Places from the Emperour in *Sclavonia*, between the Rivers of *Culpe* and *Unna*; which Places he had oftentimes by as juſt Right re-demanded, as they were by unjuſt Forces uſurped, before the beginning of theſe Wars. Demands eſteemed juſt and reaſonable even by the Turks themſelves, and yet for all that altogether rejected by the Great Sultans themſelves; of which their ſo great Injuſtice the Emperour had oftentimes moſt juſtly complained, and ſo did even at this day, at the feeling of ſuch his Hurts and Harms. And that the Emperour having by ſo many perfidious dealings made proof of the Untruſtineſs of the Grand Seignior's Predeceſſors, what Aſſurance then can he conceive of his Fidelity? or upon what foundation of Faith can he build the ſure building of Peace, ſo much deſired of him? And yet if he might hope ſo much of the Faith of another Man, as he is aſſured of his own juſt meaning, differing much from that of the Grand Seignior's, which he knew to be never anſwerable unto his, that he for his part could be well content to embrace the Peace; provided always, That he might have *Caniſia* and *Agria* delivered unto him; or, That if they would needs ſtill hold thoſe Places, that he might likewiſe in Peace hold the Places that he had before won in that War, the Reaſons being on both ſides alike. And that as concerning *Tranſilvania*, he could not deliver that without betraying of his own Right, and the Welfare of that Province; having obtained the ſame as well by Agreements and Covenants between him and the Son of the laſt Duke, *John*, as by the free and voluntary Releaſment which *Sigiſmund Bathor*, the laſt and immediate Prince thereof, had not long before made unto him: for the defence of which his Rights, he had ſpent many Men, and great Sums of Money, and all for the keeping of that Province by force of Arms, which by ſo good Right belonged unto him. And that for *Valachia*, he could be content to yield ſome part of his Right unto that Province, ſo that the Turks ſhould ceaſe from thenceforth to demand of him any yearly Tribute, or that he ſhould, as of ordinary Duty, ſend his Ambaſſadors with yearly Preſents to the Grand Seignior, not being able, without need, to conſent unto ſuch a needleſs Servitude; ſeeing that every Prince ought to be at liberty, at his own choice to ſend his Ambaſſadors, and not at the appointment of another Man.

The Turks ſcorn and deride the reaſonable Anſwer of the Emperour's Commiſſioners.

Which Anſwer of the Emperour's Commiſſioners, ſerved to no other purpoſe, but for the Turks to laugh and ſport at, how juſt and reaſonable ſoever they were: ſtill preſſing them to yield unto their unreaſonable Demands; or elſe threatning to advertiſe the Great Sultan thereof, who by force would take that from them, to their farther loſs, which they refuſed to grant him by fair means, to their own good. And ſo the Treaty was for that time broken off, without any thing concluded: which cauſed the Governour of *Strigonium* to retire himſelf back again unto his Charge; yet for all that, leaving *Cæſar Gallen* behind him, to entertain it in ſuch ſmall hope as was thereof yet left; who afterwards ſeeing it almoſt deſperate, making a great Feaſt unto certain of the chief of the Turks of *Buda*, and having in that Merriment drawn from them a Promiſe to live as Friends with them of the Garriſon of *Peſth*, and of other Places which lay near unto that Town, he retired himſelf afterwards unto *Strigonium* alſo.

The ſhameful Cowardiſe of *Jagenreuter*, Governour of *Peſth*.

Shortly after whoſe Departure, *Jagenreuter*, Governour of *Peſth*, notwithſtanding the late Promiſes of the Turks of *Buda*, for their living by him in Peace and Amity; and the aſſured Promiſe of *Cæſar Gallen*, at his laſt Departure, for the ſpeedy furniſhing of the Town both with Men and all things elſe neceſſary for the Defence thereof, which he ought with great Aſſurance to have expected, yet, diſmayed with the brute of the coming of *Haſſan Baſſa*, the Turks General, with his great Army, and that by the ſtrait Commandment of the great Sultan, he was to begin his Conqueſts in *Hungary* with the winning of *Peſth*; as a Man afraid of his own ſhadow, thought good betime to provide for himſelf; and upon that Reſolution, having yet ſeen no Enemy at all to force him, truſſing up his Baggage, the fifth of *September* forſook the Town, with five Companies of Footmen, and ſix Troops of Horſe-men, following him; a ſufficient number to have for a time defended the Town, and endured a Siege, eſpecially in ſo ſtrong a Place, and ſo well provided both of Victuals and Munition. All which, this moſt cowardly Governour (but unworthy that Name) left together with his Honour, for a Prey unto his Enemies; having yet before his Departure out of the Town, cauſed the principal Buildings thereof to be undermined, and Barrels of Gun-powder to be laid under them, wherewith they were ſhortly after all overthrown, and moſt part of the Town burnt. But being gone not paſt half a League from the Place, he met with four hundred *Haiducks*, all well armed, whom the Governour of *Strigonium* had ſent for the relief of *Peſth*, with a number of Boats loaded with Corn, Munition, and other Neceſſaries of all ſorts, for the better aſſurance of the Place, and the performing of the Promiſe before to that end made by the Governour of *Strigonium*: which *Hungarian Haiducks* meeting with theſe diſmayed Cowards upon the way, thought it not beſt to go any farther, as thinking themſelves not able to do that with their ſo ſmall a number, which the other durſt not to undertake with their far greater; and ſo joyning themſelves with the other fearful Fugitives, they with them returned to *Strigonium*, leaving their Veſſels and Munitions unto their Enemies, who immediately after ſeiſed upon them.

Peſth moſt ſhamefully abandoned by the Chriſtians.

Peſth taken by the Turks.

The next day after, the Mines having taken their effect, the Turks wondering to ſee ſo great and terrible a Fire in *Peſth*, which ſtill more and more increaſed, there being none that went about to quench it, adventured to come over the River from *Buda*, and to draw near unto the Town, now all on a light fire. Which they finding abandoned and forſaken by the Chriſtians, they with great diligence quenched, repaired the Ruines of the Town, and ſo without any loſs became Maſters of the ſame.

Jagenreuter for his Cowardiſe worthily committed to Priſon.

Jagenreuter, the cowardly late Governour, with his fearful Troops, in the mean time coming to *Strigonium*, and by the Governour there examined of the Cauſes of his Flight, and of the ſo ſhameful leaving of his Charge, and being able to alledge no other Cauſe or Reaſon, but the great brute and report of the Viſier Baſſa's coming with his Army to beſiege the Town, was therefore committed to Priſon, and there reſerved to be afterward juſtly puniſhed for his Diſloyalty and Cowardiſe.

The Baſſa of *Buda* excuſeth himſelf for the taking of *Peſth*.

The Baſſa of *Buda*, by the Cowardiſe of the Governour, thus poſſeſſed of *Peſth*, by Letters excuſed himſelf unto the Governour of *Strigonium*, for the taking thereof, the Treaty of Peace being not as yet quite broken off; alledging for himſelf (as the truth was) That he had taken it as a Place by the Chriſtians upon a vain fear forſaken, and deſperately ſet on fire, without any ſuch cauſe given them ſo to do by the Turks, or on his behalf. And farther, offered unto the Governour, if he ſo pleaſed, to deal with him for the exchange of Priſoners on both ſides taken, offering to exchange one of them for another. And as for the concluding of the Peace ſo oftentimes treated of, and even yet in hand, that he for his part was wonderful deſirous that it might be fully concluded and ended, before the Arrival of *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa with his Army in *Hungary*; for that he being once come, there would then be no time amidſt the noiſe of ſo many Weapons, and ſo many men of War, to talk of Peace.

Haſſan Baſſa cometh into *Hungary*.

Haſſan, the Viſier Baſſa, was now for all that already entered into *Hungary*, drawing after him a world of men, and was come towards *Sexart*; for the viewing of which Army, the Governour of *Pallantwar* going forth with an hundred Horſemen, by evil hap chanced, before he was aware, upon the ſudden to meet with five hundred Turks, by the Baſſa himſelf likewiſe ſent forth to diſcover the Country, and the Paſſages thereof: by whom he charged, and with the multitude of his Enemies oppreſſed, was himſelf taken Priſoner, moſt of his men being in that Conflict ſlain, ſome few of them that were left alive by ſpeedy flight hardly eſcaping. Which evil hap on the Chriſtians ſide, was forthwith recompenced with the better Succeſs of the County *Serin*, who falling upon three hundred Turks near unto *Sigeth*, being in number ſcarce half ſo many as they, yet ſet upon them with ſuch Courage, that giving them no leiſure to conſider of the Weakneſs of his Forces, they were by them overthrown and cut in pieces, before they were well aware of him.

But, together with the time of the Year, to come unto the main point of theſe preſent Wars in *Hungary*; The Turks, finding themſelves out of hope by any Capitulations or Treaties of Peace to regain the ſtrong Town of *Strigonium* out of the hands of the Chriſtians, were now reſolved to imploy the uttermoſt of their Forces for the obtaining of the ſame; with a thouſand Proteſtations, That if by force of Arms and ſtrong-hand they ſhould gain the Place, they would never more have Peace with the Chriſtians. At which their vain Threats and Speeches, the Chriſtians, before reſolutely ſet down for the defending of the Place by them ſo much deſired, and well acquainted with their great Brags, could not but with ſcorn ſmile, as men nothing therewith diſmayed, nor ſo to be removed: nevertheleſs, the Baſſa, conſtant in his Reſolution for the regaining *Strigonium*, with all his Forces came the eighteenth day of *September*, and laid Siege unto it. Now unto this Siege, the Turks, in hope of Spoil and Booty, came flocking from all Places, as it had been to ſome great Mart; and the Fields in all the Country thereabout were covered and ſwarmed with Arms, Men, Horſes, and Tents. They incamped near unto *Charles*'s Hill, taking up with their Tents half a League of the Country round about; and at their firſt coming moſt bravely advanced their Enſigns with their Half Moons, the Arms of their ſtill encreaſing Empire. Whom the Beſieged in this Action imitated, bravely advancing their Enſigns upon their Walls, as did the Turks in the Fields; and farther braving and provoking them with a thouſand thundring Shot, diſcharged out of the Town amongſt them. All the Walls round about the Town gliſtered with Arms and flames of Fire, out of which the deadly Bullets flew, carrying with them Death and Terror into the midſt of theſe new-come Enemies, for their Welcome. The Turks nevertheleſs came ſtill reſolutely on, and as men prodigal of their Lives even in the midſt of ſo many dangers, began to make their Approaches. Upon whom, the Chriſtians with great Courage ſallied forth, to diſturb them in their Works; and ſo for the ſpace of certain hours having had with them an hot and ſharp Skirmiſh, without any great hurt received, retired again into the Town, leaving unto their Enemies, by that they had done, a good Teſtimony of their Valour and Reſolution. The Turks for all that lodged themſelves, made their Trenches, and ſo incamped before the Mount of Saint *Thomas*, where, by the placing of their Cannon, they well declared their meaning for the battering of that Fort.

Strigonium beſieged by the Turks.

The Chriſtians ſally forth upon the Turks.

The careful Endeavours of *Baſta*, the Emperor's Lieutenant General, for the Preſervation of *Strigonium*.

Againſt which their Deſigns, *George Baſta*, Lieutenant-General of the Imperial Army, right reſolutely oppoſed himſelf, having near unto *Strigonium* caſt up a ſtrong Fort, well furniſhed with Men and great Artillery; from which, he greatly annoyed the Turks with his great Ordnance, and with the fury thereof inforced them to remove farther off with their Approaches; his Army upon the River of *Danubius*, in the mean time lying betwixt the Iſle of *Strigonium*, and the old Town of the *Raſcians*, to keep the Enemy from entring either into the one place or the other.

The comfortable Speech of County *Sultze*, Governour of *Strigonium*, to his Garriſon.

County *Sultze*, Governour of the Place, alſo having taken a general Muſter of his Men, and with comfortable and cheerful Speeches encouraged his Souldiers, putting them in mind of their Duty, and of the honourableneſs of the Action now in hand, as undertaken for the Maintenance of the Chriſtian Religion, for the Service of the Emperour, and the Safeguard of their own Lives; perſuading them withal, not to put any Truſt or Confidence in the Turks Faith, or fair Promiſes, conſidering, that their Weapons were even yet wet with the Blood of their Chriſtian Brethren, moſt perfidiouſly by them of late maſſacred and ſlain at the taking of *Alba-Regalis*: encouraging them alſo with the Goodneſs of their Cauſe, with the carefulneſs of their Friends abroad for their Relief, with the regard of their own Valour, and Cowardiſe of their barbarous Enemies, whoſe only Hope and Truſt was in their Multitude: and withal comforting them, That holding out but ſome few Months, the very Elements themſelves, and the time of the Year, would as it were fight for them, and afford them Aid, their Enemies being not able with their great Army, in the Extremity of Winter Weather, without their irreparable loſſes to hold the Field. And that as for himſelf, his Honour, together with his Life, were ſo bound unto his Grave and Sepulchre, at the foot of the Walls of that Place, as that they could not be from the ſame ſeparated; having propoſed the Glory of the Preſervation of that Place, or elſe of an honourable Death, as the end of all his Actions, and conſummation of all his Hopes. And that therefore he moſt earneſtly beſought them to follow his ſo honourable a purpoſe, in aſſiſting him in that Action, ſo much concerning their Lives and Honour, and wholly depending on their Courage and Reſolution. And that for Teſtimony of his earneſt deſire to the furthering of this Service, he was willing to depart with a good part of his Subſtance and Treaſure, to be beſtowed upon them, amidſt theſe the Trophies of his Honour, having commanded them to have certain Months Pay payed before-hand unto them, which was accordingly done.

A notable Sally of the Chriſtians out of the Fort of St. *Thomas*.

Now the Turks having a purpoſe eaſily to begin the Conqueſt of *Strigonium* by the taking of the ſtrong Fort of St. *Thomas*, came the 24th day of *September* to aſſault and batter the ſame; upon whom 500 Horſe-men and 2000 Foot-men ſallying out of the Fort, cauſed them, after a ſharp and bloody Conflict, and not without ſome loſs on both ſides, to retire back again, and to forſake the Mount whereupon they were incamped. But in purſuing of them too far, they fell into a great Ambuſh, before by the Turks for that purpoſe laid to intrap them; where, betwixt them was fought a moſt ſharp and bloody Fight; the Turks preſuming upon their Multitude, and the Chriſtians ſtand-

The Chriſtians falling into an Ambuſh of the Turks, loſe one of their chief Commanders.

ſtanding upon their Valour and Honour. Until that in fine, Valour by Number being oppreſſed, ſeven hundred of the Turks being ſlain, the Chriſtians were inforced to retire, having loſt about an hundred of their Men, and amongſt them the valiant County *Caſimir* of *Holenloth*; for whoſe Body there was a notable Fight betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, not much unlike unto that which the Poet *Homer* deſcribeth, to have been fought betwixt the *Trojans* and the *Greeks*, for the Body of *Patroclus*. Howbeit that at length the Chriſtians, being over-charged with the coming on of the whole Army of the Turks, were glad (as I ſaid) to retire, and ſo to leave the dead Body of the County *Caſimir* in the power of their mercileſs Enemies; who as Dogs which revenge themſelves upon the Stones which are caſt at them, being not able to bite the hands of them that threw them, ſo did they upon the Body of this gentle Knight, by cutting off his Noſe and Ears, and afterwards his Head. But within ſome few days after, this Body ſo disfigured was again delivered unto the Chriſtians for a Turk of good account, who was about that time by them taken Priſoner. At which time the Turks ſeemed to be very deſirous of Peace, moſt earneſtly requeſting County *Frederick* of *Holenloth* (the ſlain County's Brother) not to be an hinderer thereof. Howbeit that this was but one of their old Practices, depending ſtill upon unreaſonable Conditions, whereof the yielding up of *Strigonium* was one of the chiefeſt, as the Place by them moſt deſired.

More than beaſtly Cruelty exerciſed by the Turks upon the dead Body of County *Holenloth*.

But if this Siege of the Turks availed them not againſt the Place beſieged, yet was it profitable for them againſt another Place, by them not attempted, which was the ſtrong Town of *Hatwan*, more ſubject unto fear, without any danger, than was *Strigonium* unto the Bullets and Battery of the Turks, with juſt cauſe of diſtruſt. For the Souldiers which lay there in Garriſon, terrified with the Siege of *Strigonium*, and doubting leſt the Turks leaving that Siege, ſhould come and beſiege them, truſſing up their Bag and Baggage, the Nineteenth of *September* abandoned the Place, and carrying away with them the beſt of the Great Ordnance, left the reſt altogether with the Place, and great ſtore of Proviſion, unto the Enemy, not in hope of any ſuch matter.

Hatwan moſt ſhamefully forſaken by the Chriſtians.

The bruit of the Siege of *Strigonium* had called thither all the Forces of both Parties in *Hungary*, and the Countries thereabouts, on the one ſide for the winning thereof, and on the other for the defence of the ſame. Amongſt others, the County of *Tambier*, Governour of *Lippa*, was about to have gone thither with certain of his Troops to have aided his General for the Preſervation of the Place. But in the mean time, *Bethlin Habor*, chief of the Rebels in *Tranſilvania*, aſſiſted by *Beckheres Baſſa*, with four thouſand Turks entred into the Province to have made himſelf Maſter thereof, under the Protection of the Turk. Whereof the County having got knowledge, reſolved to go and meet him, and to encounter him at the very firſt Entrance of him into the Province. This old Rebel, knowing that *George Baſta* was, by the Emperour's Appointment, gone out of the Country with the beſt Troops of his Horſe-men, the greateſt Strength of the Province, came on in great Security, thinking of nothing but of Victory, and of performing his intended Exploit, without fear of any to let him: ſo that caſting no farther Peril, he was ſurpriſed by the County before he was aware, and put to flight. Neither was the Fight long betwixt men accuſtomed to vanquiſh, reſolutely ſet down, and well armed, againſt men diſmayed, half naked, and ſurpriſed. In which Conflict, above a thouſand of them being ſlain, and a thouſand of Horſes of Service taken, the reſt fled; amongſt whom, *Bethlin* himſelf, with his Baſſa flying, were glad by ſwimming to ſave themſelves amidſt a thouſand Chances and Dangers of their Lives.

Bethlin Habor the Rebel ſurpriſed and overthrown by the County *Tambier*.

The Baſſa of *Temeſwar* advertiſed of this Overthrow by one of them that was fled from the ſame, preſently he ſent forth his Lieutenant with a good number of men, to relieve the vanquiſhed Turks: who, by the way underſtanding of the general Overthrow of them whom he was ſent forth to relieve, as alſo of the Strength of his Enemies, and that he was come too late to the relief of his Friends, retired as faſt as he could with his men back again homeward toward *Temeſmar*. But being in their Retreat diſcovered, and hotly purſued by theſe men, imbrued with the Blood of their Enemies, and yet breathing with Victory, they were by them overtaken even almoſt at the Gates of their City, and there (as men before overcome with fear, and overwhelmed with deſpair) cut in pieces, without any Fight or Reſiſtance by them made, beſeeming men of their ſort; the Lieutenant himſelf being there ſlain alſo.

Succours ſent to the Rebel by the Baſſa of *Temeſwar*, defeated by the County *Tambier*, and the Baſſa's Lieutenant ſlain.

After which Exploits done, the County turning towards *Jula*, chanced to light upon certain Companies of Turks loaded with Booty, which they had got in roaming abroad into the Country thereabout, whom he purſued even unto the Gates of the Town, which they found ſhut againſt them; for that they within the Town, ſeeing the Chriſtians even at the heels of their Companions, had ſhut their Gates, neither durſt now open the ſame, for fear leſt the Chriſtians ſhould, together with them, enter the Town, and ſo become Maſters thereof. Who, ſo ſhut out by their own Friends, were there all by the Chriſtians ſlain, even in the ſight of their Companions, not daring to let them in, nor able to relieve them. After which Maſſacre done, the Chriſtians not yet ſo contented, burnt the Suburbs of the Town, and ſo, loaded with the Spoils of their Enemies, departed. The County, after ſo many honourable Exploits in a ſmall time by him performed, returned to *Lippa*, where he arrived the five and twentieth of *September*, and from thence afterward advertiſing *Baſta*, the Emperour's Lieutenant General, of theſe his Exploits done, cauſed ten of the Turks Enſigns, all ſtained with their own Blood, to be preſented unto him, as the ſure Tokens of his good Service done.

But to return again unto the Siege of *Strigonium*, the greateſt Exploit by the Turks intended for this Year, from which we have from the occurrent of the ſame time a little ſtrayed. The Viſier Baſſa, perceiving by the valiant and reſolute Defence of our men, how little he prevailed in this Siege, and that it was like enough to tend at length to his Diſhonour, thought it good once again to prove, if he might by Compoſition gain that which he was now almoſt out of hope by Force to obtain. And to that purpoſe cauſed a motion to be made unto the beſieged, for a Treaty to be had concerning a Peace, and a Day appointed for the ſame. Unto which motion for Peace the Imperials (although they had no hope at all of any Peace to be concluded) eaſily yielded, leſt they might be thought obſtinately to have rejected the ſame. Whereupon, Commiſſioners were on both ſides appointed to meet together, to conſert of the matter. And ſo for the Emperour, *Althem* himſelf, with *Ferdinand Collonitz*, and *Frederick* of *Hohenlo*, County of *Rhene*, were appointed near unto the *Raſcian* Town to meet with the Turks Com-

The Viſier Baſſa ſeeketh to gain *Strigonium* by offering of the Chriſtians Peace.

Deputies appointed to entreat with the Turks of Peace.

miſſioners, to hear what they would ſay. Howbeit, the Commiſſioners on both ſides being met at the Place aforeſaid, all their Conference was but vain and to no purpoſe; the Turks ſtill urging the yielding up of *Strigonium*, and the Imperials as earneſtly refuſing the ſame. So that the Treaty for Peace being broken off, and the Commiſſioners departing, the Siege was more cruelly by the Turks continued than before.

The Treaty for Peace broken off.

The *Coſſacks* depart out of the Turks Camp unto the Chriſtians.

Now there were in the Turks Army lying at the Siege, certain Companies of *Coſſacks*, Men for their Pay indifferent to ſerve any Prince, of what Religion ſoever. Which ſerviceable Men, in Number ſeven hundred, had agreed together the 28*th* of *September*, by night to forſake the Turks Camp, and to come unto the Chriſtians. Of which their Purpoſe and Deſign, the Viſier Baſſa having, by ſome untruſty amongſt them, got knowledge, cauſed the Foot-men of theſe Companies to be apprehended and ſlain; the Horſe-men in the mean time making themſelves way over the Bellies of ſuch as would have ſtayed them, fled, and eſcaped, ſome of them to *Komara*, and ſome to *Dotis*. Threeſcore of theſe *Coſſacks* being by the Turks hardly purſued, adventured to ſwim over *Danubius*, and ſo all naked came to *Collonitz*, by whom they were courteouſly entertained and apparelled. And within three days after, two hundred Horſe-men more of the ſame *Coſſacks* came unto *Collonitz* alſo; who, marching in good order unto the head of the Chriſtian Camp, were there ſworn unto the Emperour's Service; and in token of their Loyalty, there diſcharged their Piſtols thrice. Which Horſe-men *Collonitz* divided among the reſt of his Troops, as having before time had good experience of the Courage and good Service of divers ſuch others of their Fellows.

The Janizaries in Mutiny againſt the Viſier Baſſa.

The Reaſon of the Mutiny of the Janizaries againſt the Baſſa their General.

By theſe fugitive Souldiers it was underſtood, that the Janizaries, in great number up in Mutiny againſt the Viſier Baſſa, would have inforced him to have raiſed the Siege, and ſo to have departed. The cauſe of their ſo great Diſcontentment (as they pretended) was the manifeſt and aſſured danger of their Lives, with little or no hope at all for the gaining of the Place; they themſelves being ſtill expoſed to the Dangers both of the Siege and of the Field, having the beſieged on head of them armed with an aſſured Reſolution, and the Chriſtian Army at their Backs, of known Valour and Experience: beſides that, the Place it ſelf was (as they ſaid) impregnable, being at all times to be relieved, by reaſon that it commanded over the *Danuby*, which might always relieve it both with Men and Victuals: and that therefore, after that they had ſatisfied their Honour, by giving of an Aſſault or two unto the Fort of St. *Thomas*, they had reſolved to ariſe, and to be gone. And much about this time, *viz.* the Nine and twentieth of *September*, in the night time, was a moſt dreadful fiery Impreſſion ſeen in faſhion much like a Rain-bow, of a fiery red colour; which beginning over *Cockera*, and riſing higher over *Strigonium*, at length vaniſhed away over the Fort of St. *Thomas*. The ſight whereof much troubled the Beholders thereof, as well the Chriſtians as the Turks; ſuch ſtrange Meteors and Apparitions being oftentimes the Preſages of the ruine of them to whom they appear.

In the mean time, whilſt the Turks thus lay before *Strigonium*, at the Siege of Saint *Thomas*'s Fort, the Lord *Baſta*, Lieutenant-General of the Emperour's Forces, to give the Turks to underſtand, How that he was always in readineſs to attend upon their doings, and to take hold of all ſuch Opportunities as ſhould by them be offered, and ſo to keep them in ſuſpence, came with ſeven thouſand brave Horſe-men, and ſhewed himſelf in the plain Field in order of Battel; ſo, as it were, braving the Turks even unto their own Trenches; where, having diſcharged their Piſtols thrice, they returned as victorious, always keeping themſelves in order, as men ready either to give or to accept of Battel. Howbeit, the Turks for the preſent keeping themſelves cloſe within their Trenches, moved not; but afterwards, being deſirous to counter-brave this the Chriſtians Preſumption, the third day of *October* they came forth of their Trenches, and gave a ſecond Aſſault unto Saint *Thomas* Fort, imploying the uttermoſt of their Power in this Action, whereupon they well knew a great part both of their Honour and of their Safety to depend. But in aſſailing the Fort, they met with them as reſolutely ſet down for the Defence thereof, and for the Maintenance of their Honour, as were they for the winning of the ſame. So the Aſſault was begun with great Fury and Adventure, as was the other before; howbeit, that it endured not long, for that the Turks fought rather for the diſcharge of their Duty, and to have ſome juſt cauſe to raiſe their Siege, than for any hope they had to prevail, or to carry the Place. For it befell them according as they had expected, ſo that after that the Fight had endured little more than half an hour, amidſt the Tempeſts of Arms and Fury, in fine, the Turks, out of hope to prevail, gave over the Siege, and retired, having in that Conflict loſt five hundred of their beſt Souldiers.

The Fort of St. *Thomas* the ſecond time aſſaulted by the Turks.

The ſhameful Treaſon of the *Haiducks* of *Strigonium*.

The Governour of *Strigonium* had in the City under his charge ſix thouſand *Haiducks*, who, attainted with Treaſon and Fear, all forſook the Place excepting five hundred, preferring their Lives, unworthy the ſaving, before their Duty, and the Life and Honour of their General. With which ſhameful Treaſon, and the Reſolution of the Great Baſſa for forcing of the Place, the *Germans* there left, ſeeing their Captains diſmayed, gathered themſelves together, promiſing, by their own Valour to ſupply what wanted by reaſon of the Treachery of the others; offering themſelves to be ſworn again unto the Service of the Emperour, and rather to dye all in the Place, than to yield it up unto the Turks, or to leave it unto their Enemies: where, by their general Conſent, a ſolemn Decree was made, That whoſoever he were which ſhould ſpeak or once make mention of yielding the Town, ſhould forthwith therefore be hanged upon a Gibbet. The Turks, although they had now in two Aſſaults been twice repulſed, came yet forth once again the fifth day of *October*, and aſſaulted Saint *Thomas* Fort the third time; wherein, they failed not to do what they might, but were by the Chriſtians therein ſo received, that deſpairing of the winning thereof, they with great Loſs and Shame retired. Which Diſgrace cauſed them to return to their old Practices, for the taking of Places by Policy. For having in many Places undermined the Walls, and filled them with Gun-powder, they were in hope by that means to have opened themſelves a way unto their Conqueſt. Of which their hope, for all that, they were deceived; for the Chriſtians, having perceived their meaning, did, by countermining, not only fruſtrate their Endeavour, but carried away the Powder alſo, which they had before layed in the Mines, reſerving it to their own farther neceſſity and uſe. Wherefore the Turks ſeeing themſelves of their hope deceived, returned again unto their old Practices, to come to a Parle for Peace. Of which their Motion the Chriſtians nothing diſliked. But the Commiſſioners on both ſides being met together for that purpoſe, in a little Iſland beneath *Strigonium*, when as the Turks had offered unto the Chriſtians the City
of

The Fort of St. *Thomas* the third time aſſaulted by the Turks.

The Turks ſeeking to undermine the Fort of St. *Thomas*, diſappointed of their purpoſe.

A Treaty for Peace.

The Treaty broken off, and nothing concluded.

of *Agria* for *Strigonium*; or if ſo be that that exchange pleaſed them not, but that they would needs keep the City of *Strigonium* ſtill, that then in conſideration of the Peace, they ſhould deliver unto them the ſtrong Towns of *Fileck*, Saint *Setſchin*, *Pallank*, and *Novigrade*; both of which demands were very unreaſonable; the Commiſſioners thereupon again departed without concluding of any thing.

The Janizaries unwilling to continue the ſiege of *Strigonium*.

The Fort of Saint *Thomas* ſix times in one day aſſaulted by the Turks.

The ſiege of *Strigonium* given over by the Turks.

Now the Army of the Turks was in it ſelf diverſly divided with quite contrary deſires, the Viſier Baſſa, with ſome other of the Commanders, ſtood ſtifly for the taking of the place, as men willing either to return from thence with Victory, or elſe there to end their days; but the Janizaries to the contrary, were as earneſt to be gon, and to raiſe the ſiege, deeming it impoſſible as then to prevail againſt a place ſo ſtrong, ſo well manned, and ſo eaſily to be ſtill relieved. With which their Reſolution ſo contrary unto his, the Baſſa enraged, and yet propoſing before his departure to prove the uttermoſt of his Forces againſt the Fort, now already by him thrice before aſſaulted, the tenth of *October* gave thereunto ſix great aſſaults, but with like ſucceſs as before, finding there ſtill the ſame Defendants, no whit diſcouraged, but armed with their accuſtomed Reſolution. For the Defendants, incouraged by their moſt valiant Commanders, with ſuch fury repulſed the Turks, that they were glad to give over aſſault upon aſſault, and with great loſs of their men to retire. Their often retreats alſo being unto them no leſs hurtful than were their aſſaults, the deadly Bullets being out of the Fort diſcharged upon them like ſhowers of hail. So that the Baſſa now, after ſo many aſſaults, out of all hope to gain the Fort, and ſtill preſſed by the Janizaries for the raiſing of the ſiege, immediately after roſe with his Army, quitted his Trenches, and retired with his Camp near unto a Caſtle about a League diſtant from *Strigonium*. From whence the Turks, the better to cover their diſhonour, and to hinder the Chriſtians from purſuing of them in their retreat, the next day after came into the Field with a good part of their Army, and ſhewed themſelves before the *Raſcian* Town, and there skirmiſhed with the Chriſtian *Haiducks*. Which manner of skirmiſhing for all that, was more in ſhew than in effect, neither Party therein receiving any great loſs or hurt. In the mean time, the beſieged which were in *Strigonium*, having gotten certain knowledge, that the Enemy had already removed his Cannon and other Proviſion for the ſiege back again into *Buda*, in token of Joy diſcharged all their great Ordnance out of the City and the Fort; by the report thereof giving Knowledge unto the other Towns and Caſtles of the Chriſtians, of their deliverance. Of which ſo common a Joy every one of them were Partakers, as delivered from ſome part of the fear which the ſiege of ſo great a City as was *Strigonium*, had brought upon them. And ſo the ſiege of *Strigonium*, begun the eighteenth day of *September*, was by the Turks given over the thirteenth of *October*; the Janizaries inſolently threatning to have ſlain the great Baſſa their General, if he had there any longer ſtayed.

Baſta purſueth the Turks Army departing from the ſiege of *Strigonium*.

Baſta, the Emperour's Lieutenant, in the mean time awaiting all Opportunities, failed not to take hold of ſo fit an Occaſion, but with his Horſemen following after the Turks Army, ſlew of them a great number, and took ſome other of them Priſoners. And afterward returning unto their Camp, found it void of men, but full of Bullets, with certain pieces of great Ordnance, which the Turks had left there, having not time to remove the ſame to *Buda*. Upon this riſing of the Turks Army, the Commanders thereof were diverſly affected unto the ſervice that was further to be done, as they had before been in the time of the ſiege. Such of them as lay in *Hungary*, or near thereunto, deſiring ſtill to hold the field, in hope of the ſpoil of the Country; but they which dwelt farther off, eſpecially ſuch as were come out of *Aſia*, deſiring as much to be diſcharged, their Horſes being almoſt all dead with faintneſs and travel, and they themſelves weary of the ſervice.

The upper *Hungary* by the Turks and Tartars ſpoiled and burnt.

The Viſier Baſſa by his Letters maketh a motion for the Treaty of Peace.

Shortly after the riſing of the Turks Army from *Strigonium*, two Fugitives of the Turks, moſt bravely mounted, came unto *Baſta*, the Emperours Lieutenant, and preſenting him with a Ring of great value, and a moſt fair Turkiſh Enſign, told him, moſt part of the Turks Army to lye then incamped in the Country near unto *Peſth*; and the great Cham, a young Prince of about twenty years old, to be come thither with a great Power of *Tartars*, to aid the Baſſa; and that the Turks, by their coming incouraged, were determined yet to make a great excurſion for the ſpoiling of the Country. All which ſhortly after was certainly known to be true. the plain Country of the upper *Hungary* about *Palanka*, *Setſchin*, and *Villecamp*, being by them, but eſpecially by theſe new come *Tartars*, all ſpoiled and burnt. For remedy whereof, *Sigefride Collonitz* oppoſing himſelf with his *Hungarian* Horſemen, againſt theſe inſolent Forragers, ſo daunted them, that ceaſing further to ſpoil the Country, they departed, carrying away with them ſuch Priſoners and ſpoil as they had there taken, and leaving behind them a ſtrong Garriſon of three thouſand good Souldiers, for the repairing and keeping of *Peſth*, but a little before cowardly (as we ſaid) forſaken by the Chriſtians. But within ſome few days after, *viz.* the four and twentieth of *October*, the Viſier Baſſa, by his Letters written unto County *Althem*, Governour of *Strigonium*, made a mention for a Treaty of Peace to be had for the comfort of the diſtreſſed People of that ſpoiled Country, ſolemnly proteſting, moſt religiouſly on his part to keep the ſame, if it ſhould be once concluded; and yet in the mean time with Fire and Sword ſpoiling all the Country by the way as he departed out of *Hungary*.

New Rebellion in *Tranſilvania* raiſed by *Iſtivan*, ſirnamed *Botſcay*.

But now, as this poor Country began to feel Relief by the departure of the great Baſſa with his Army out thereof, ſo the Country of *Tranſilvania* joyning thereunto, was at the ſame time as much with Rebellion and Diſcord diſtreſſed. *Bethlin Habor* the Rebel, with his Baſſa overthrown and driven out of *Tranſilvania* (as is aforeſaid) the Lord *Belgioſa*, *Baſta*'s Lieutenant in this Province, thinking all things now at quiet, was making himſelf ready with his Troops, to have gone to aid the Lord *Baſta*, his General, then incamped in the Plains of *Strigonium*, to hinder the Turks Deſigns for the taking of this Town. But as he was about ſo to have done, behold, even at the ſame time when he leaſt feared, a ſecond Rebel there ſtarted up, far worſe than the firſt, namely, the Lord *Iſtivan*, (otherwiſe ſirnamed *Botſcay*, or more truly * *Potſcay*) who, accompanied with great Troops of Men of War under the Protection of the Turk, and ſtiling himſelf by the Name of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, entering that Province, miſerably burnt and ſpoiled the ſame. For the repreſſing of which ſo ſudden a Rebellion, *Belgioſa* with a thouſand Horſe, under the leading of *Roſcovitz* and *Peter Laſta*, marched toward *Veradin*; and with his Troop coming to *Ador*, a Country Village about a League diſtant from *Veradin*, and meaning thither to aſſemble together his Army, he ſent to *Petſie* Governour of *Veradin*, to put him in mind of his Duty, and to crave his aid. Which valiant Captain, always preſt and

* He was in ſcorn called *Potſcay* (which in the *Bohemian* Language ſignifieth tarry or ſtay) of the long delayes he by way of diſgrace had before indured in the Emperours Court.

ready to do his Prince Service, failed not now of his Duty, calling together ſix Companies of Footmen out of *Romoſa*, and joyning unto them four Companies out of *Veradin*, together with the *Sileſian* Horſe-men of *Schuet-Kenbut*'s Regiment (whom by reaſon of his Sickneſs he was not able to lead) and with them the *Haiducks* of County *Tambier*, came unto the Place of the Rendezvous, bringing with him all warlike Proviſion in token of his Fidelity. With this Army *Belgioſa* marched againſt the Rebels, who, as reſolute men, attended his coming; for why, *Botſcay* knowing the *Haiducks* of County *Tambier* ſecretly to favour him and his Rebellion more than they did *Belgioſa* and his juſt Quarrels, ſtood in no fear of them, but aſſured himſelf of them as of his Friends; who failed not of his hope and expectation, but even at the firſt joyning of the Battel turned themſelves to his part; with the going over of whom, the number of the Rebels was much increaſed, and *Belgioſa*'s Power both in Force and Courage much weakned, ſeeing themſelves at once expoſed both unto the force of their Enemies, and to the Treachery of their Fellows, who now with conjoyned Forces moſt fiercely aſſailed them; who finding themſelves now on all ſides invironed with ſo great a multitude, and not able, with ſo ſmall a number as was left, to withſtand the violence of their Enemies, and the Treaſon of their Companions; after they had to the uttermoſt of their Power performed all the parts of valiant and courageous men, were there almoſt all cut in pieces, and there buried in the Field of their Loyalty, honoured with their own Blood, and altogether embrued with the Blood of their Enemies. In this unlucky and diſloyal Fight were divers good and faithful Captains ſlain; *Petſie*, Governour of *Veradin*, and *Pallas Lippa*, both great Captains, and grievouſly wounded, were there taken Priſoners. The Lieutenant of *Petſie* alſo, having retired himſelf with ſome of his Troops into a place of good Strength, there ſo valiantly defended themſelves, that *Botſcay*, out of hope to overcome them by force, to get them into his Power, promiſed them upon his Oath, if they would yield themſelves, to ſuffer them in ſafety to depart. But what Truſt or Credit is to be given to him who hath before broken his Faith and Loyalty to his Prince, this Rebel well ſhewed, by the Death of theſe valiant and warlike men, who, after that they had upon his Faith and Promiſe yielded themſelves, were by his appointment cruelly ſlain and cut in pieces. The *Sileſian* Horſemen were there alſo all overthrown, and buried in the midſt of their Enemies; and as for *Belgioſa* himſelf, he ſtrangely eſcaped out of the Battel, and ſaved himſelf by flying to *Veradin*. The victorious Rebel after the Battel, inſtead of praiſing God, ſacrificed to the Devil, by ſending a great part of the Enſigns by him gained unto the Viſier Baſſa, with a thouſand Praiſes of his Glory, for ſupporting of him in his Rebellion; and vaunting much of this his Victory, gave him withal to underſtand, That he had ſlain above ſix thouſand of his Enemies.

Belgioſa goeth againſt the Rebels of *Tranſilvania.*

Belgioſa in a great Battel overthrown by *Botſcay* the Rebel.

Botſcay dealeth unfaithfully with ſuch as upon his faith given them yielded unto him.

This Victory gotten, together with the humble Submiſſion of *Botſcay*, obtained of the Great Sultan, That from thenceforth he ſhould be ſtiled by the Name of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, with a farther Charge from him, to do the uttermoſt of his endeavour for the ſubduing unto his Obeiſance the reſt of *Tranſilvania*; promiſing, plentifully to ſupply his Wants both with Men and Money, and out of hand to ſend him three thouſand *Tartars* to his Aid. And indeed, this was a very great and bloody Battel, fought from the firſt break of the Day, until eleven a clock at Noon; but, whether ſo many were ſlain there or no, it cannot certainly be told, for that divers of them who were ſaid to be ſlain, and ſo accounted among the dead, had hid themſelves in the Wood there by, and ſome others of them by ſome other means eſcaped Death alſo. *Petſie* himſelf had with him when he was taken, two Monks, whom the Souldiers in deſpight cut into many pieces, and carried him faſt bound in Chains to *Derritza*, to be there cured of the dangerous Wounds by him in the Battel received.

Botſcay in his Rebellion countenanced by the Great Sultan, and called Prince of *Tranſilvania.*

But as for *Pallas Lippa*, who, being wounded, was taken Priſoner with *Petſie*, he was afterwards by *Botſcay* appointed his Lieutenant General, and ſo by his Commandment was publickly proclaimed; as he which was deſirous to take upon him the defence of the reformed Religion, and of ſuch as were willing to profeſs the ſame; who forthwith made a general Proclamation, That all they which were deſirous of the liberty of Conſcience, and to live free from the Superſtitions of the *Roman* Church, ſhould repair unto him, as unto their Head and Chieftain, ready to entertain them, and to allow to every one of them five Dollars a Month for their Pay. Upon which Proclamation made, a great Multitude of Men upon the ſudden reſorted unto him; ſo that in a ſhort time he had following of him ten thouſand *Haiducks*, beſide a number of other of the common raſcal People; yea, almoſt all the Gentlemen of the Country repairing unto him, bound themſelves by Oath to him, and one of them to another, That as they would not take up Arms to fight againſt the Chriſtian Emperour, ſo they would not ſubmit themſelves unto the Turk, but only ſtand upon the defence of their Religion, and the liberty of Conſcience.

Pallas Lippa, Botſcay's Lieutenant, pretendeth the defence of Religion for the ſtrengthening of *Botſcay* in his Rebellion.

The Rebel *Botſcay* thus wonderfully increaſed in Strength and Number, beſet almoſt all the Paſſages of the Country, and with the Sword of Rebellion in his hand, and his Souldiers following him, commanded the Cities ſtill as he went, to yield unto him: but, hearing that *Belgioſa* was after the late Overthrow gone from *Veradin* to *Caſſovia*, where his Wife lay; and being come thither, to have been by the Citizens rejected, who would not only not receive him into their City, but turned his Wife alſo out of the City unto him; he with a great Army coming thither, took the City without reſiſtance, the Citizens for the moſt part enclining unto him: of which City being poſſeſſed, he forthwith changed both the Religion and Civil Government thereof, ſlew part of ſuch as were of the *Romiſh* Religion, and thruſt the reſt out of the City, with all the Church-men; took the Biſhop and the Emperour's Treaſurer Priſoners, and ſo changed the whole Government of the Town up-ſide down. The only man he ſtood in fear of, was *Belgioſa*, for whom he laid wait by all means he could to have taken him, with a purpoſe to have uſed him moſt hardly if he had fallen into his hands.

The great City of *Caſſovia* yielded to the Rebel *Botſcay.*

Theſe things thus done in *Tranſilvania* and in *Hungary*, the Viſier Baſſa being about to return to *Conſtantinople*, to grace that little which he had done this Year in *Hungary*, and to avoid the ſuſpicion of his evil Succeſs in that Province, borrowed of *Botſcay* the reſt of the Enſigns, together with *Petſie* and other the noble Chriſtian Captives which he had taken in the late Battel with *Belgioſa*; which Enſigns and Priſoners he confidently afterwards cauſed to be preſented unto the Great Sultan *Achmat*, as taken by himſelf; and in recompence thereof, left three thouſand Turks and Tartars with the Rebel, to aid him in his Wars both in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*.

An impudent ſhift of the Viſier Baſſa for the ſaving of his Credit with the Great Sultan.

Baſta goeth with his Army againſt the Rebels in the upper *Hungary.*

Baſta, the Emperour's Lieutenant in *Hungary*, and Governour of *Tranſilvania*, hearing of the Stirs and Troubles of late raiſed in both thoſe Countries by *Botſcay* and his rebellious Followers, and having as he thought beſt ſet all things in order again at *Strigonium*, marched thence with his Army, being fourteen thouſand ſtrong, towards *Caſſovia*, with a purpoſe to have ſuppreſſed the Rebellion in the upper *Hungary*, before it ſhould have ſpread farther, to the endangering of the whole State of both thoſe Countries, as afterward it did. Howbeit, before he could come thither, the Rebels, after the taking of *Caſſovia*, being wonderfully increaſed both in Strength and Number, had taken in moſt of the ſtrong Towns and Places in the upper *Hungary*, the People almoſt generally now favouring their Quarrel, carrying with it the Face of Religion, with the ſuppreſſing of the *German* Government, both things unto them much pleaſing. And now hearing that *Belgioſa* (a man of them moſt hated, being, as we ſaid, ſhut out of *Caſſovia*) was fled into the Caſtle of *Zipze*, they by Letters required of *Turſon*, Captain of the Caſtle, to have him delivered unto them, to be according to his Deſerts puniſhed; promiſing withal, to do *Turſon* himſelf no harm, ſo that he would take part with them in the defence of their Religion, and of the liberty of Conſcience; which if he ſhould refuſe to do, yet that they would give him free liberty to depart whither he would, out of his Caſtle, and in ſafety to conduct him thither, ſo that he would forthwith reſolve what courſe he would take: but if he ſhould of this his Offer miſlike alſo, then they threatned to ſpoil his Country, to kill his People, to raze his Caſtle, and to make himſelf an Example unto others. Wherewith, for all that, he nothing moved, refuſed to deliver unto them *Belgioſa*, the Man whom they ſo much deſired, or yet to accept of any of their other Offers. Whereupon the Rebels with great labour repairing the broken way betwixt *Caſſovia* and the Caſtle, and bringing certain Pieces of great Ordnance from *Caſſovia*, in great number came and ſtraitly beſieged the Caſtle. With whoſe Attempts the valiant Captain nothing moved, with his thundring Shot out of the Caſtle ſo welcomed them, that having thereby received great harm, they thought it not their beſt courſe to ſtay any longer there with ſo great a Power, but with the greateſt part thereof to go to *Presburg*, to reform that City and ſome other Places by the way; perſuading themſelves, That the Captain of this Caſtle ſo ſhut up, and on every ſide beſet with his Enemies, would at length of himſelf yield up the Caſtle.

Belgioſa in the Caſtle of *Zipze* beſieged by the Rebels.

But while the Rebels thus lay at the Siege of this Caſtle, certain Companies of them went to have taken the Spoil of a Religious Houſe there by; but coming thither, and breaking open the Doors, and ſearching every ſecret Corner of the Houſe, they found therein nothing worth the reckoning of, but ſo returned almoſt empty handed; for the Prieſts had for fear of them before carried away with them all the beſt of their Goods and Subſtance into the beſieged Caſtle. And ſo likewiſe the rife Report of their coming to *Presburg* flying abroad, almoſt all the Prieſts and Jeſuits in *Presburg* and the Country thereabout, leaving their Churches and Colledges, fled with their Subſtance to *Vienna*, ſcarcely accounting themſelves ſafe there, until that the Garriſon of that ſtrong City was increaſed with a new ſupply of ſix hundred good Souldiers.

The Prieſts and Jeſuits for fear of the *Haiducks* fly from *Presburg* to *Vienna.*

And now the Rebels, their Number ſtill more and more increaſing, and having ſet all the upper part of *Hungary* on a Broil, were beſieging divers other Caſtles and ſtrong Places, yet holden for the Emperour; when as *Baſta*, in the mean time coming from the Siege of *Strigonium*, came, and with his Army incamped about three miles from *Filek*. Of whoſe coming the Rebels hearing, and thereupon retiring, he forthwith followed after them toward *Budnoc*, which Caſtle they alſo left, and ſo near unto *Ramoſambat*, the place of their Rendezvous, gathered together in great number, with an intent to have given *Baſta* Battel: whereof *Baſta* having knowledge, to ſpare the effuſion of more Chriſtian-blood, by an Herald ſent unto them in friendly and courteous manner, adviſed them to change their Minds, and to return again unto their former Allegiance: but finding them obſtinately ſet down in their former purpoſe, for the maintaining of their Rebellion, and the giving of him Battel, he marching forward with his Army, with great Force charged certain Companies of the Rebels, appointed to keep the Paſſage of *Filek*; who at the firſt right valiantly received the Charge, and defended the Paſſage, until that at length with number oppreſſed, and above four hundred of them ſlain, they were put to the worſe, and inforced to fly; in which flight, amongſt others there taken Priſoners, *Blaſe Nemet* their Captain was taken alſo, whom *Baſta* cauſed to be hanged up by the heels, with the Enſigns ſet up about him which he had taken from the Rebels in the late Fight; and after he had for a time ſo hung, made him to be taken down, and his Head to be ſtruck off from his Shoulders. In this Conflict fifty of *Baſta's* Men were ſlain alſo, and many more hurt, and amongſt them *Collonitz*, hurt in his Shoulder and his Foot with a ſmall Shot.

Certain Companies of the Rebels diſcomfited and overthrown by the Lord *Baſta.*

Blaſe Nemet, one of the Captains of the Rebels, taken and put to death.

Baſta, after this Victory, marching on with his Army, by the way met with certain other Companies of the rebellious *Haiducks*, as he was going to St. *Peters*, with whom he had many an hot Skirmiſh for the ſpace of three days together, being by them ſtill put to the worſe; inſomuch, that having burnt many of his Carriages, Tents, and other Luggage, he was of nothing more careful, than how well to get out of their hands. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing no other remedy, he with great Courage not only endured the often and fierce Aſſaults of his Enemies, ſtill more and more increaſing upon him, but the fourth day, after ſo many unfortunate Skirmiſhes, (being the eight and twentieth of *November*) putting his Men in order of Battel, right valiantly again charged the Rebels; who, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the Weather, it being then a very thick Miſt, being not able to perceive where the Enemies Attempts were moſt to be feared, or what way to turn their own Forces; as men diſmayed, were eaſily by them overthrown and put to flight; whom ſo flying, *Baſta* with his Souldiers fiercely purſuing, made of them a great Slaughter; ſo that in the ſpace of leſs than three hours, fifteen hundred of them were in this thick and dark Miſt ſlain, with ſome few alſo of *Baſta's* Souldiers, and amongſt them *Frederick* Earl of *Solmes*, and the County of *Erbach* wounded. Upon the report of which Overthrow, the Rebels which yet lay at the Siege of the Caſtle of *Zipze*, in hope there at length to have taken *Belgioſa*, forthwith roſe and retired themſelves to *Leuſta*. But *Baſta*, after this Victory, removing to St. *Andrews*, and having recovered that Town from the Rebels, and thereinto put a new Garriſon, and ſo by this means ſomewhat daunted and repreſſed the Inſolency of the *Haiducks* in thoſe Quarters, and being not well able longer to keep the Field with his Army in ſo unſeaſonable a time of the Year, and ſo to maintain War as it were both againſt his Enemies, and the extremities of Nature, ſought by Letters to have re-

Baſta diſtreſſed by the Rebels.

The Rebels by *Baſta* overthrown.

reclaimed them of *Caſſovia* again unto their Obedience; offering unto them Pardon for all their Offences paſt, ſo that they would now at laſt acknowledge their fault, and receive into their Town a Garriſon of the Emperours. To which purpoſe he writ alſo to them of *Eperia*; in hope that if he might ſo have gained thoſe two ſtrong Towns, to have in them wintered in ſafety with his Army. But they of *Caſſovia*, having in the City a ſtrong Garriſon of ſix thouſand good Souldiers, and out of fear to be by *Baſta* beſieged at that time of the Year, and withal in hope (if need were) to be by *Botſcay* relieved, (who was then reported to be forty thouſand ſtrong) utterly refuſed to hearken unto *Baſta*'s Motion for their Reconciliation, or at all to ſubmit themſelves again unto the Emperour. Which cauſed him with his Army to come nearer unto the City, yet ſtill ſeeking rather by fair means to have perſuaded the Citizens to have returned unto their Loyalty, than by force to have conſtrained them. But finding them obſtinately ſet down, and by no Perſuaſions to be removed, but with their great Ordnance, in what they might, to trouble his Camp, he ſent before, the County *Hohenloh* and *Rotuitz*, with part of his Army to *Eperia*, to command them, upon their Allegiance to receive the Emperour's Souldiers into the City, and to relieve them with ſuch things as they were able; and within a few days after, *viz.* the fifth of *December*, followed himſelf with the reſt of his Army. But being come thither, after much Talk had with the chief Men of the City, it was at length, contrary to all Mens Expectation, agreed, That *Baſta*, aſſuring them of the free Exerciſe of their Religion, of the good Behaviour of the Souldiers towards them, and to defend them from the Injury and Incurſions of their Enemies, they ſhould open their Gates unto the Imperials, and relieve them with what they were able, and ſo as before to continue in their Allegiance and Obedience unto the Emperour. Of all which things when *Baſta* had, upon his Faith given, aſſured them, they opened their Gates, and received in the Souldiers; unto whom (now almoſt dead and ſtarved with Hunger) nothing could have happened more comfortable or welcome. *Leuſta*, *Barbeld*, and *Zebena*, famous Towns in thoſe Places, following the Example of *Eperia*, ſubmitted themſelves in like manner, and helped *Baſta*'s Souldiers with Relief. Thither, with great danger, came unto *Baſta*, *Sigefrid Collonitz*, a Man of great Power and Authority in that part of *Hungary*, to conferr with him about the appeaſing of theſe Troubles: who afterward by his Letters unto the States and the reſt of the Nobility of *Hungary*, yea, and to *Botſcay* himſelf, in vain perſuaded them to lay down Arms, and to return again unto their wonted Obedience unto the Emperour.

The Citizens of *Caſſovia* refuſe to ſubmit themſelves, and to receive the Emperour's Souldiers into their City.

Eperia yielded unto *Baſta*.

There had been hitherto in the Imperial Camp great ſcarcity of Victuals and of other Neceſſaries, ſo that for want thereof, and for the extremity of the Cold, and other Miſeries, it was greatly feared, leſt the Camp ſhould have been broken up, to the irreparable loſs of his Imperial Majeſty, as the ſtate of things then ſtood in *Hungary*. For the remedy whereof, thirty Waggons loaded with Money and Cloth were ſent from *Vienna*, under the Conduct of County *Solmes*, Collonel *Starenberg*, the Treaſurer, and others; unto whom *Tanhuſar* joyned fifteen hundred *Huſſars* (*Hungarian* Horſe-men ſo called) to ſtrengthen the Convoy againſt the danger which was feared from the *Haiducks* which lay upon the way, and who indeed were now roaming about and ſeeking after Booty in every corner of the Country. Which *Huſſars*, being come with the reſt of the Convoy into a thick Wood, about two Miles from *Filek*, like Enemies ſet upon the Waggoners, whom they ſhould have conducted, and there made a great ſlaughter of ſuch as were about to reſiſt them; inſomuch, that the County *Solmes* had much ado to ſave himſelf, and to get out of their hands, leaving the Waggons as a Prey unto the treacherous *Huſſars*; who now become Maſters of them, drave them away to *Botſcay* the Rebel's Camp; *Tanhuſar* their Captain in vain purſuing after them, (with ſuch of his *Huſſars* as, more faithful than the reſt, had no hand in that ſo foul a Treachery) and recovering nothing but ten Waggons loaded with Cloth, which the Traitors had left behind them, having taken the Horſes out of them, and put them into the other Waggons wherein the Money was, (which was reported to be 130000 Florens) with the more ſpeed to bring them to *Botſcoy*. Who, having upon the ſudden received ſo great a Sum of Money, by him not looked for, forthwith divided the ſame amongſt his Souldiers, the more to encourage them in their Rebellion againſt the Emperour.

The *Huſſars* traiterouſly ſpoil them whom they ſhould have conducted.

The News of this ſo great a loſs being quickly ſpread thorow all the Emperour's Camp, at the firſt filled the Souldiers with Grief and Diſdain againſt the treacherous *Huſſars*, but afterwards, with Wrath and Indignation againſt their own Commanders, as deeming it to have been nothing but a falſe Report by them deviſed, and given out to deceive them, and to feed them with a vain hope. Which Perſuaſion, though not true, had now ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed their Minds, as that they were about all to have riſen up in Mutiny, and to have forſaken the Service, to the utter Peril of their Captains, and endangering of the whole Province, now upon point to have been for ever loſt. All which Miſchiefs *Baſta* foreſeeing, did firſt what he might with Words and fair Promiſes to have appeaſed them; which not ſerving, he, with certain thouſands of Duckats and Waggons of Cloth, taken up at *Leuſta* and other Towns there by, wiſely contented them, in ſome good meaſure furniſhing the old Souldiers, before half naked, both with Money and Apparel, the Souldiers greateſt Contentments.

Baſta wiſely appeaſeth his Souldiers, ready to forſake his Service.

Which Mutiny ſo again appeaſed, the Imperials ſhortly after ſurpriſing a Caſtle not far from *Eperia*, found therein a great many of *Hungarian* Gentlemen, whom they carried away with them Priſoners, to learn of them what they might concerning the Rebels Proceedings and farther Deſigns. In the mean time, the *Haiducks* on the other ſide beſieged the Caſtle of *Sedara*, which they, after many Aſſaults took, and put to the Sword all the Garriſon Souldiers therein; and departing thence, firſt rifled, and after burnt the Town of *Filek*. They alſo took the Caſtles of *Bolvar*, *Setſchin*, *Dregell*, *Burac*, *Holloc*, *Blavenſtein*, and the ſtrong Caſtle of *Cabragetia*, whither they of *Hatwan*, not long before, had carried their great Ordnance, at ſuch time as they for fear of the Turks, then lying at the Siege of *Strigonium*, had abandoned the Place; all Strong-Holds in the upper *Hungary*. After the taking of which Places, *Ferentius Radius*, and *Charles Iſtuan*, (*Botſcay*'s near Kinſman) and the chief Captains and Ring-leaders of the Rebels, exacted Contribution-Money of the Mineral Towns (as they call them) belonging unto the Emperour in the upper *Hungary*; but eſpecially of the City of *Newſol*, inforcing them alſo to ſwear to be in all things obedient to *Botſcay*, and to take his part againſt the Imperials, threatning with Fire and Sword to infeſt ſuch Places as ſhould refuſe to do the like. And to the intent that they ſhould not by *Collonitz* be encouraged or defended, who to that end was coming thither, the Rebels in great number went

Divers Places taken by the *Haiducks*.

1604

Collonitz prayeth Aid from *Vienna.*

to meet him, and having belayed all the Paſſages, enforced him to retire himſelf unto his Caſtle of *Libentſia*; where, he lying in great danger with his Wife, then in Child-bed, accompanied but with fifty *German* Souldiers only, for that he durſt not to truſt his *Hungarian* Coſſacks, now in heart altogether inclining unto the Rebels, was glad in poſt to ſend to *Vienna*, moſt humbly requeſting to have a new ſupply of *German* Souldiers ſent unto him for his relief, and the furtherance of the Emperours Service, in that ſo dangerous a time and wavering eſtate of that Country, being the beſt part of that the Emperour then held in *Hungary*.

***Copel* and *Pettinger* ſlain by the *Haiducks*.**

Now while *Baſta* thus lay with his Army at *Eperia*, and in the Country thereabout, he daily received great harm from the *Haiducks*, who were ſtill hovering about him, as Hawks over their Prey; his Souldiers by neceſſity inforced to fetch in Wood, and other things neceſſary into the Camp, being ſtill moſt miſerably ſlain and cut in pieces; yea, they were ſo bold, as oftentimes to trouble him in his Camp, and to aſſail his Souldiers where they lay quartered in their Trenches; as amongſt other times, they did in the latter end of *December*, to end the year withal; at which time, they by night breaking into the quarter where *Charles Collonitz*, with *Copel* and *Pettenger*, two Captains of *Auſtria*, with their Companies lay, they ſlew the ſaid *Copel*, with almoſt all his Souldiers, and burnt *Pettinger* in his Tent, *Collonitz* himſelf being at the ſame time in great danger, and hardly by them beſet alſo; until that incouraging his Men, by performing all the parts both of a good Captain and valiant Souldier, he by true Valour enforced them at length to retire back again into the Woods, from whence they came, having in this Conflict ſlain fourteen of them with his own hand.

A Spy taken.

About this time was a Spy taken in the Imperial Camp, one of *Botſcay's* chief men, diſcovered by one coming from *Caſſovia* to *Eperia*, which knew him; who, by *Baſta's* Commandment apprehended, and upon torture examined, and confeſſing what he had done, was for his good ſervice hanged, and afterward quartered, to the Terrour of others attempting the like.

The evil Succeſs of *Cicala Baſſa* againſt the *Perſians*.

The effect of the Ambaſſage of the *Perſian* King unto the Emperour.

1604

The Turks this year were not much fortunate in their Wars, *Haſſan*, the Viſier Baſſa, and their General againſt the Chriſtians in *Hungary*, having in vain (as is before declared) beſieged *Strigonium*, and with all his Forces done nothing worth the remembrance; and *Cicala Baſſa*, their other General againſt the *Perſians* in the *Eaſt*, being with all his great Power by the *Perſian* King overthrown and put to flight, and the City of *Babylon*, now called *Bagdat*, taken; and was firſt at *Prague*, the two and twentieth of *October*, reported by the Secretary of the Vayvod of *Valachia*, ſent thither in Ambaſſage from his Maſter unto the Emperour, and afterward confirmed by an Ambaſſador ſent from the *Perſian* King himſelf unto the Emperour; who having audience, told his Majeſty how that the King his Maſter, was not ignorant of the great and difficult War by him now for many years maintained againſt the Turkiſh Sultan, with whom, although he for his part might have lived in Peace and Amity, yet, that moved with the Zeal which one Prince ought to have to the relief of another, he had taken up Arms againſt him, ſo to avert ſome part of that heavy War from his Majeſty, even upon himſelf; and that he had already obtained many great and notable Victories and Conqueſts againſt him; and recovered a great Territory, wrongfully before taken from the *Perſian* Kings, his Predeceſſors, by the Turkiſh Sultans; and that now he was of nothing more deſirous, than to joyn in a perpetual League and Amity with his Majeſty, that ſo, in a moſt ſtrong Confederation combined together, they might never afterward be diſſevered, or ever make Peace with the Sultan, without one anothers Knowledge and Conſent. And further, That for his part he was minded never to give over the War, ſo happily by him begun, until he had driven him even into his Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, ſo that his Majeſty would on his part do the like, by continuing of his preſent Wars; it being not poſſible for the Turks to hold out againſt them both, and the only means to abate his greatneſs, and to aſſure them in their Eſtates; requeſting him withal, to ſend back with him ſome grave man, his Ambaſſadour, with ſufficient Authority and Inſtructions to conferr about theſe Matters with him; that ſo knowing and underſtanding one anothers Mind, the League and Confederation betwixt them might the more eaſily and commodiouſly be made and concluded.

The Turks troubled with Civil Wars.

Sultan *Achmat's* firſt Son born.

Neither were the Turks buſied with theſe foreign Wars only, againſt theſe ſo great and mighty Princes, in Places ſo remote and far off, but unto theſe were joyned their own inteſtine and civil Wars and Troubles alſo; the Rebels being yet up in the leſſer *Aſia*, and the Baſſaes of *Aleppo* and *Damaſco*, two of the moſt famous Cities in *Syria*, and both of them men of great Place and Command, of late up in Arms one of them againſt the other; inſomuch, that they had brought the matter to be tryed by the Sword in the plain Field, where the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, in a great and bloody Battel overcome, and flying unto his own City, was by the Baſſa of *Damaſco* purſued thither, and ſo ſtraitly by him beſieged with an Army of thirty thouſand men, that in fine he was glad to reconcile himſelf unto him, and to make his Peace, by yielding unto whatſoever the other Baſſa his Enemy pleaſed to demand of him; as being thereunto driven by the Extremity of Famine, which then reigned in the City; as alſo for that he had loſt a great number of his Men, whom he had ſent ſecretly out of the City to ſeek for Victuals, being all ſlain by the Baſſa of *Damaſco's* Souldiers. With which ſo great matters, the Baſſaes of the Court (who had the managing of the State under the young Sultan) were much troubled, he himſelf (as was fitteſt for his years) in the mean time dilighting himſelf with the Pleaſures of the Court, and much rejoycing at the Birth of his firſt begotten Son, who was born about that time.

1605

Civil Diſcord the Ruine of *Hungary*.

***Belioioſa* Authour of the great Rebellion in *Hungary*.**

The Revolution of time had now thus brought this year to an end, the Troubles of *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania* yet ſtill more and more ſo increaſing, as if that thoſe moſt miſerable Countries had by the juſt and heavy Judgments of God been now appointed unto their laſt and utter Ruine and Deſtruction; the Cauſes of their ſo great Miſeries proceeding not ſo much from the Turks their Enemies, as from the natural Inhabitants themſelves; who, in Minds divided, both in Religion and Affection, ſome of them continuing in their Allegiance unto the Emperour, and otherſome following the Enſigns of the Rebel *Botſcay*, did both unto themſelves and to their Country more harme in a little time, than had the Turks in many years before. Of which ſo dangerous a Diſſention, and of the harms thereof inſuing, *Belioioſa* left by *Baſta* as his Lieutenant, was reported to have been the firſt and chief Authour; For whereas the year before the Biſhops and other Clergy-men, in an aſſembly of them at *Poſſonium*, had, without the Knowledge of the Nobility and States of *Hungary*, publiſhed a decree by them there made, for the burning or perpetual baniſhing of all ſuch as were of the reformed Religion in *Hungary*; and that the States of that Kingdom underſtanding thereof, and ſolemnly proteſting againſt the ſame, under the Seal of the Lord *Palatine*, had publickly affirmed with juſt Arms to defend themſelves, if they ſhould for their Religion be called into queſtion, or troubled; and had again repeated the ſame their Proteſtation at *Galſet*. Yet *Belioioſa* nevertheleſs in the mean time by cunning ſeiſing upon the reformed Churches at *Caſſovia*, would not ſuffer the Citizens of the reformed Religion there to have any Sermons in their own private Houſes, or ſo much as to read on the holy Bible. Neither any whit moved with the former Proteſtations of the Nobility and States, had taken unto himſelf all the Lands and Goods of them of their Religion in *Caſſovia*, not ſuffering them to bury the Bodies of their dead within the City, near unto the Monaſteries. And requeſting to have borrowed of *Botſcay* certain thouſands of Crowns, and thereof by him denied, cauſed his Souldiers to ranſack two of his Caſtles, and to ſpoil him of all the Wealth and Treaſure he had therein. For which Indignities and Injuries *Botſcay* enraged, cauſed open Proclamation to be made, That he would give unto every *Haiduck* that would ſerve him, four Crowns a Month pay, with all the booty that they could get. Whereupon ſix thouſand *Haiducks*, which then ſerved under *Belioioſa*, forthwith revolted unto *Botſcay*, their number increaſing daily. But after that unto this extraordinary pay, *Pallas Lippa*, his Lieutenant, had alſo joyned the Protection of the reformed Religion, it is wonderful to ſay, how the *Haiducks* by heaps reſorted unto him, and how the People in all parts of *Hungary* generally favoured him and his Quarrel, being in all places whereas he came, ready to joyn hands with him againſt the Imperials. The Turks and Tartars alſo, both with Men and Money furthering him in all his doings, whoſe help he refuſed not. Whereof proceeded all the aforeſaid Miſeries both in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, with many other worſe than they, which, together with the beginning of this year, took their beginning and encreaſe alſo. Unto which ſo great Troubles, ſtill more and more encreaſing, *Baſta*, not able by force to give remedy, ſought by Lenity and fair Perſwaſions to have eaſed the ſame; by Letters oftentimes adviſing even *Botſcay*, the chief Rebel himſelf, to change his Mind, to lay down Arms, to disband his Forces, and to perſwade with the reſt of his ſeditious followers, to ſubmit themſelves unto the Emperour, and to return again unto their wonted Obedience. Whereunto he at length anſwered, That if the Government of all *Tranſilvania* might be left unto himſelf alone; if a natural *Hungarian* born might be ſtill choſen Lieutenant General in *Hungary*, if none but ſuch as were *Hungarians* born ſhould have the government and command of all the Garriſons in *Hungary*; if the *Wallon* and *French* Souldiers might be ſhut out of *Hungary*, if the natural *Hungarians* born, might from thenceforth be regarded and provided of their pay, if it might be lawful for every man to have the free Exerciſe of his Religion; if the Authours of theſe Troubles might be delivered unto the *Hungarians* to be puniſhed, if the Emperour himſelf in Perſon ſhould come and be preſent at the Parliament at *Presburg*, if the *German* Garriſon Souldiers ſhould ſtill keep themſelves within the Places whereunto they were appointed, without making of any Excurſions into the Towns or Villages near unto them, or hurting of the poor Country-men; he could then be content to come to ſuch a good Agreement for Peace. With which offer he ſent two of the Rebels, his Followers, unto *Baſta*, who not liking thereof, returned them back again, without concluding of any thing.

The chief Cauſes of *Botſcay's* Diſcontentment.

Botſcay's unreaſonable demands for to come to a Peace.

Gokara ſurpriſed by the *Haiducks.*

Palantwar taken by the Imperials.

But while things were thus in talk, ſome of the *Haiducks* in the mean time, with a number of *Tartars* joyned unto them, in ſeeking after Booty, ſurpriſed *Gokara*, a Town over againſt *Strigonium*; where, having ſlain certain *Germans* which had the keeping of the Place, and rifled the Town, as they were about to ſet it on fire, by the coming over of the Governour of *Strigonium* with his Garriſon, they were inforced to forſake the place, and again to retire. This loſs received at *Gokara*, was again by our men requited by the taking of *Palantwar*, a good Fortreſs of the Turks, after a long and cruel fight taken by Captain *Bathian*, (Commander of the Imperial Troops on this ſide of the River of *Danubius*) whereinto a number of the Turks being retired, were there together with the Garriſon Souldiers all ſlain, and amongſt them divers men of great account, who but ſome few days before were come thither. Which Fortreſs the Captain cauſed to be forthwith razed, becauſe it ſhould no more ſtand the Turks in ſtead for the annoying of the Chriſtians.

Vacia moſt ſhamefully by the *Haiducks* betrayed, and delivered unto the *Turks.*

The Turks about this time had a purpoſe to beſiege *Vacia*, a City not far from *Vicegrade*, on the other ſide of *Danubius*, a Place which ſtill did them great harm, and ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead. The Garriſon of which Place was part *Germans*, and part *Hungarians*, as the reſt of all the Garriſons in the Imperial Towns of *Hungary* were. Of which the Turks purpoſe for the ſiege, the treacherous *Haiducks* there in Garriſon having got underſtanding, conſpired to deliver unto them the Place; and yet not ſo contented, to joyn thereunto a Treaſon more bloody and treacherous than was the betraying of the Town; for finding themſelves by farr too ſtrong for the *Germans* in Garriſon in the Town with them, they fell upon them, fearing no ſuch matter, and ſlew moſt part of them, the reſt ſaving themſelves by ſpeedy flight to *Strigonium*; and ſo afterward, according to their former pretended Treaſon, delivered the Town unto the Turks, joyning with them and the *Tartars*, and directing them for the more eaſie ſpoiling of the Chriſtians and the Country thereabout.

The taking of this City of *Vacia*, had in ſhort time called together great numbers of the *Turks* and *Tartars* out of all Places of the Realm; who, together with the *Haiducks*, made a great and puiſſant Army, to the Terrour of the *Chriſtians*, not then able to hold the field againſt them, and the incouraging of the Turks, thus holpen even by the Chriſtians themſelves, to the deſtroying of one another. With this Army they turned from *Vacia* to *Gokara*, with a purpoſe from thence to have paſſed over the *Danubius* upon the Ice, and to have ſurpriſed *Strigonium*. Which Exploit they had once before attempted againſt the baſe Town, being then by the Chriſtians repulſed and beaten back with their great and ſmall ſhot out of the Town, as now they were again. Howbeit, that ſeeing the number of their Enemies daily more and more to increaſe, they in *Strigonium* ſtood more in doubt of a ſecond ſiege, than they had done of the firſt, whereof we have before ſpoken.

Strigonium in vain attempted to have been ſurpriſed by the *Turks* and the *Haiducks.*

The Report of theſe ſo great Troubles, and of the general revolt of the diſcontented *Haiducks* in *Hungary*, much troubled and grieved the Chriſtian Emperour; who, both in reſpect of his Honour, and of the ſafety of his Eſtate, raiſed what Power he might out of his Provinces thereabout, and levied great ſums of Money from his Subjects, taking a Ducket upon every Houſe in *Auſtria*, being then in great fear of theſe Miſeries and Miſchiefs ſo faſt ſpreading, and ſtill more and more increaſing and approaching that way. Unto whoſe Forces already on foot, had the Aid promiſed from the King of *Spain*, the Pope, the Princes of *Italy* and *Germany*, with ſix thouſand Footmen, and two thouſand Horſe out of *Bohemia*, been in time joyned, they might have made a ſufficient Army under the Conduct of *Baſta*, the Emperours Lieutenant, to have repreſſed both the attempts of the Enemy, and the Inſolency of the rebellious *Haiducks*. All or moſt part of which Aid this year failing, and *Baſta* with his ſmall Forces much weakened with Wants and the Extremity of Winter, and not able to keep the Field, the Enemies ſtill increaſing both in number and ſtrength, and without fear of any to encounter them, at their Pleaſure roaming up and down, began now to draw near unto *Vicegrade* (a good and ſtrong Town of *Hungary* ſtanding upon the ſide of *Danubius*, about the mid way betwixt *Buda* and *Strigonium*) with a purpoſe to have beſieged the ſame. Of whoſe coming the *Germans* there in Garriſon hearing, and warned by the Treachery of the *Haiducks* of *Vacia*, what to fear from the *Haiducks* in Garriſon with them in *Vicegrade*, betime retired themſelves out of the Town into the Caſtle. In which doing they were well adviſed, being otherwiſe like enough to have run the ſame Fortune that the *Germans* their Fellows before had done at *Vacia*. For the *Turks* with the rebellious *Haiducks* were no ſooner come thither, but that the *Haiducks* in the Town, without more ado, opened the Gates of the Town unto them, as unto their Friends, directing them in beſt ſort they could, both for the beſieging and winning of the Caſtle. Which while the Turks hardly beſieged, and *Germans* therein notably defended, *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, together with *Begedes Baſſa*, to perſwade them to yield up the Caſtle, writ unto them in this ſort.

The Town of *Vicegrade* by the *Haiducks* yielded unto the Turks.

The Letters of *Haſſan* the Viſier, and of *Begedes Baſſa*, unto the *German* Souldiers beſieged in the Caſtle.

‘Right worthy and valiant Friends, it is not to you unknown, the Caſtle of *Vicegrade*, of right to belong unto our moſt mighty and dread Sovereign, the Great Sultan. And therefore ſeeing that it is Reaſon that every man ſhould have that which of right belongeth unto him; we advertiſe and requeſt you to yield up the ſame Caſtle unto our moſt mighty Emperour, and the honourable Lord *Stephen Botſcay*, Prince of *Hungary*; and with all your Subſtance to depart thence. Promiſing you upon our Faith and Honour, to ſuffer you quietly and in ſafety with your Wives and Children, Bag and Baggage, to depart thence; and to provide you ſufficient Shipping for the carrying away of your things to *Strigonium*. And if it ſhall pleaſe you to take part with us, we promiſe you the ſame pay from our Emperour, that you had from your own; and the ſame kind Entertainment which the *Wallons* have before had with us. But if that you upon an obſtinate Reſolution ſhall refuſe this our friendly Motion and Grace offered you, blame us not, if we ſhall by ſtrong hand and force of Arms ſeek to obtain our Right. In kindneſs we offer you our Friendſhip, and ſo with ſpeed expect your Anſwer.

But the *Germans*, hearkening not unto theſe Letters, as Men reſolved, valiantly ſtood upon the defence of themſelves, and of the Place, until that by extream Neceſſity forced thereunto, they yielded the ſame by Compoſition.

Baſta perplexed, publiſheth a general Pardon unto the Rebels.

Baſta in the mean time, with his Forces much diminiſhed, lying at *Eperia*, and in the Country thereabout, ſeeing the general revolt of the *Haiducks*, of late the Emperours greateſt ſtrength in *Hungary*, and *Botſcay* the Rebels ſtrength daily to increaſe more and more, with no poſſibility for himſelf with ſuch ſmall Forces as he then had, to repreſs the Rebels Inſolency, or to remedy theſe ſo far ſpreading Evils, but for want of great Strength he muſt lie ſtill as it were a man beſieged, was therewith exceedingly grieved, and as it were almoſt overwhelmed with the heavy burthen of ſo many great Miſeries at once beſetting him. To threaten without Power he knew to be but Folly; and to ſpeak fair, to be but vain. Nevertheleſs having procured from the Emperour a general Pardon for all ſuch as having taken part with the Rebels, were willing to return again to their allegiance; he, to aſſure all them whom it might concern, of the Emperors gracious Favour, and to put them all out of fear, cauſed Letters of general Pardon to be publiſhed, for all men to take knowledge of; the purport whereof was this.

The Proclamation given out by *Baſta* for the appeaſing of the Rebellion in *Hungary*.

‘We *George Baſta*, County of *Huſt* and *Marmar*, Lord of *Sult*, Knight, Counſellor to his Imperial Majeſty, Governour of the Realm of *Tranſilvania*, and Lieutenant of the Chriſtian Armies of the Emperour, to all faithful, love and greeting. Whereas in this ſo troubleſome a State of things, ſome, as well of the Nobility as others, in theſe upper parts of *Hungary*, partly of their own accord, and partly for fear, have revolted from his Imperial Majeſty, and taken part with the traiterous *Haiducks* in their Rebellion, to the great prejudice of the Emperour's Service, and the ſtaining of their Faith; We, in the name of his Imperial and Royal Majeſty, whom we know to be greatly inclined, and ready to pardon his Subjects, even of his own natural Goodneſs and Clemency, have by vertue of the full Power and Authority, by his ſaid Imperial Majeſty granted unto us, given free Grace and Pardon to all them which have withdrawn themſelves from his Obeiſance, or forſaken the ſame, of what order, quality, or condition ſoever they be, whom we will receive into our Protection, as void of all Crime; and requeſt them, as much as in us is poſſible, to make their Profit of this Grace, and to return unto their former Duty and Obeyſance, under all aſſurance of Impunity for their forepaſſed Faults; and without any ſearch or inquiry to be of the ſame hereafter made, as well for matters of Religion, as of State; aſſuring them of their Lives, Goods, Fortunes, Dignities, Franchiſes, Priviledges, and Immunities whatſoever, as is more at large declared by his Majeſties Letters Patents which remain with us. And if any, letted either with their urgent Affairs, or with Sickneſs, cannot repair unto us within the day in the ſame Letters Patents nominated, we will accept of their juſt Excuſes. But if any, contrary to our hope, ſhall upon any indurate mind, or obſtinate Contumacy, fail to repent, and to make their appearance before us within the day limited, we denounce them to be Rebels, ſubject unto the Pain of Rebellion, and ſtained with the note of Infamy; pronouncing their Lives, their Goods, and Dignities to be confiſcate and devolved unto the Emperours Coffers; for which they ſhall by Us the Chieftains, and Captains of his Armies, with all Rigour and Extremity be proſecuted. Proteſting before the Majeſty of God, before the Majeſty of the Emperour, and before all Chriſtendom, us not to be in any ſort culpable of the Evils, Calamities, and Miſeries, which ſhall enſue of the Wars and Diſaſters which ſuch their Rebellion ſhall cauſe; but to be there-from exempt and acquitted, the only Authors of theſe Diſorders having deſerved theſe Imprecations and Calamities; upon the heads of whom we juſtly from henceforth lay them, as upon the miſerable Authors thereof, by their Wickedneſs having refuſed ſo great Grace from the Emperour and us; unto all men made known by theſe Preſents.

This Proclamation ſolemnly by *Baſta* publiſhed with the ſound of many Drums and Trumpets, the ſixteenth of *January*, and ten days Liberty given for ſuch as would come in, and again ſubmit themſelves; divers Gentlemen of the Country near unto *Eperia*, where *Baſta* with his Army lay, for fear of being ſpoiled came in, and accepted of the Grace offered: other of the ſeditious, dwelling farther off, little or nothing at all regarding the ſame. Inſomuch, that the Rebels in number daily increaſing, and the Rebellion ſtill farther and farther ſpreading, *Botſcay* was now grown ſo ſtrong, that he diſmiſſed from him moſt part of the Turks, whoſe ſervice he had in all theſe troubles hitherto uſed; reſerving yet certain Janizaries, whom he mingled with the Garriſon of *Haiducks*, which he had put into *Caſſovia*.

Baſta's Proclamation little regarded.

Pallas Lippa, before by *Botſcay* taken Priſoner, and upon his Revolt from the Emperour, by *Botſcay* made his Lieutenant-General, and a great man amongſt the Rebels (as is before declared) was now of many thought to be a moſt fortunate and happy man. But in the midſt of ſuch his Happineſs, and the greatneſs of his Command, he was, by the malice of ſome, envying at his eſtate, accuſed to *Botſcay*, as if he had had a purpoſe to have made him away; and delivering the ſtrong City of *Caſſovia* unto *Baſta*, to have gone over again unto the Emperour, and to have followed his Enſigns. Upon which ſuſpicion, he was by the commandment of *Botſcay* beheaded, with five other men more, of good place, ſuſpected to have been Partakers of the Conſpiracy with *Lippa*. In whoſe Treaſure, after that he was executed, were found an hundred thouſand *Hungarian* Duckats, with ſeven hundred Chains of Gold; all which he had ſcraped together in that ſmall time wherein he had been *Botſcay's* Lieutenant amongſt the Rebels. With which money, *Botſcay* in his Rebellion confirmed, became therein more obſtinate and furious than before, not admitting any talk with *Baſta*, concerning Peace, but upon ſuch unreaſonable Conditions as beſt ſtood with his own good liking.

Pallas Lippa, _Botſcay_'s Lieutenant, by his Commandment beheaded.

Now long and tedious it were to proſecute every particular exploit, with the divers woful events thereof, during this ſo great and dangerous a Rebellion in *Hungary*; which how heavy ſoever they were for the poor Chriſtians there dwelling to endure, as tending all to the ruine and Deſtruction both of themſelves and of their Country, (ſometime one of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms of Chriſtendom, but now become as it were a large Theatre, for all the World to behold moſt woful Tragedies and bloody Maſſacres acted in) yet for all that, unto ſome nothing is pleaſing but what is written of the greateſt Actions; as, of great and bloody Battels, of the Conqueſts of whole Kingdoms, and the ruine of moſt mighty and famous Princes; all other things elſe being unto them tedious. In ſome part to eaſe them of ſuch wearineſs, and to pleaſe their Appetites, I will briefly paſs over, and even lightly touch, ſuch things as for the moſt part of this year paſſed in this troubleſome Country, not ſtaying but upon matters of greateſt weight and importance. The *Haiducks* ſtill proceeding in their Rebellion, in the beginning of *February* beſieged the Caſtle of *Sacmar*, a place very fit for their purpoſe: which Caſtle the Souldiers there in Garriſon doubting to be able to hold out againſt them (being not paſt threeſcore ſound men left in it) and deſtitute alſo of their neceſſary Proviſion, covenanting to have their Lives ſpared, at length yielded unto them. But in going thence, meeting with certain other Companies of *Haiducks* near unto *Tokay*, they were by them moſt part of them ſlain, ſome few of them by ſpeedy flight eſcaping. The ſame *Haiducks* which had taken *Sacmar*, immediately after attempted to have ſurpriſed the Town and Caſtle of *Tokay* alſo, but the Governour of the Place, in good time advertiſed of their intent and purpoſe, cauſed the Ice wherewith the River was hard frozen, to be broken many Paces over, near unto the Caſtle, and the ſame to be lightly covered over with Straw. Whither the *Haiducks* coming by night, and finding the Ice on the other ſide the River whereunto they firſt came ſtrong enough to bear them, by heaps thruſting one another forward, to have ſcaled the Caſtle, the Ice breaking under them, they there together by heaps moſt miſerably periſhed, many of the reſt which eſcaped that danger, being with ſhot out of the Caſtle ſlain alſo. In this Caſtle was no great ſtore of Victuals: whereof *Baſta* underſtanding, with his Army marched from *Eperia* towards *Bodac*, a Town holden by the Rebels, in hope with the ſpoil thereof to have relieved *Tokay*. But the Rebels hearing of his coming, having themſelves burnt the Town, had got themſelves, with that they had, into the Caſtle, and from thence with their great Ordnance ſo welcomed *Baſta* at his coming, that, diſappointed of his purpoſe, and having loſt ſome of his men, he was glad with all ſpeed (not having ſtayed above four hours) to return again to *Eperia*; certain of the Nobility of that Country, which took part with the Rebels, being reported, in his abſence, to have made a Road towards *Eperia*, to the endangering of that City. In which his Return towards *Eperia*, the Troops of County *Turon*, and of *Charles Collonitz*, by chance lighting upon 500 *Haiducks* in a Country Village, ſet the ſame on fire, and therein burnt moſt of the ſaid Rebels, and ſlew the reſt of them that remained, in ſeeking by flight to have ſaved themſelves.

The Caſtle of _Sacmar_ yielded to the _Haiducks_.

Tokay in vain attempted to have been ſurpriſed by the _Haiducks_.

In the mean time, one of the great men amongſt the *Turks* came to *Caſſovia*, bringing with him a great ſum of money; which, being divided amongſt the Rebels there, much confirmed them both in their Rebellion and Devotion towards the Turks: which Rebellion they ſpared not for any coſt by all means to maintain, as more prevailing thereby than by the greateſt Forces they could uſe for the conquering of *Hungary*.

The Turks with money maintain the Rebellion in _Hungary_.

But *Baſta* was no ſooner with his Army returned again to *Eperia*, but that the Souldiers generally exclaiming, and calling upon him for their Pay, were about in a Mutiny to have forſaken him. For the appeaſing of which Tumult, he was glad preſently to make what ſhift he could for Money, wherewith he in ſome meaſure gave them contentment, and ſo with much ado agreed with them for ſix weeks ſervice longer; thereby delivering the Citizens of *Eperia* from a great fear, wherein they were, for being ſpoiled by thoſe mutinous Souldiers, of whom they ſtood in no leſs doubt than they did of their Enemies.

Baſta's Souldiers in mutiny for their Pay.

And now the ſeditious *Haiducks*, after their wonted manner ſtill roaming up and down the upper part of *Hungary*, the 2d. day of *March*, about ſeven of the clock in the morning, came to *Newſoll*, a Fair in that Country, and there by many Reaſons perſuading the Citizens to revolt, and to take part with them, had Parley with them until it was full twelve of the clock; but drawing ſtill nearer and nearer unto the Town: inſomuch, that *Turbelius*, Governour of the Place, perceiving a yielding Inclination in the Citizens, and doubting without their help to be able to defend ſo great a City againſt the *Haiducks* with ſo weak a Garriſon as he then had therein, he with his *Coſſacks*, for his more ſafety, retired himſelf into the Caſtle. Which done, the *Haiducks* forthwith breaking into the City with ſix Companies, ſummoned the Caſtle, requiring to have it delivered unto them. Of whom *Turbelius* ſlew divers with ſhot out of the Caſtle; and the ſame day, in the Evening, courageouſly ſallying out of the Caſtle, with certain Companies of Harquebuſiers, drave the *Haiducks* again out of the City; which he afterward better for-

Newſol ſurpriſed by the _Haiducks_, and again recovered from them.

fortified againſt their like Attemps. And the next day underſtanding by a Country-man, That certain Companies of *Haiducks* and *Turks* together, were coming to *Turtzo*, a Town not far off, carrying with them a great number of Cattel, Women and Children, which they had got out of the Country Towns and Villages thereabout; he preſently ſent forth his Lieutenant againſt them, with his *Coſſacks* (a deſperate kind of Horſemen) who meeting with theſe *Haiducks* and *Turks*, ſlew of them about an hundred and fifty, and recovered from them all the Captives, the Cattel, with two hundred Horſes, and a Mule loaded with four thouſand *Hungarian* Duckats.

Filek yielded unto the *Haiducks.*

Now had *Filek* (a moſt beautiful Caſtle, and as it were the Key of that part of the upper *Hungary*, which the Chriſtian Emperour yet held againſt the Turks) for certain Months been hardly beſieged by the *Haiducks*; which although it was ſo well ſtored with Victuals, and other neceſſary Proviſion, as that it might have holden out three Months longer ſiege, yet the Souldiers there in Garriſon, for want of Water were inforced now at length to yield the ſame. For the keeping of which Caſtle *Redeius Ferentſius*, Captain of the *Haiducks* which had woon it, placed therein a Garriſon, part *Haiducks*, part *Turks*, as not daring to truſt either of them alone; the *Haiducks* for fear of their Treachery, nor the Turks, for that he knew them to be deſirous of the place, for the commodious Scituation thereof, as giving them a way to enter farther into the Territories of the Chriſtians; which *Redeius*, though a Rebel, would not yet in any ſort grant them.

This Caſtle of *Filek* ſo (as is before ſaid) beſieged, the valiant *Collonitz* had oftentimes in vain ſought to have relieved; all the ways being ſo beſet, and as it were, fortified with the infinite number of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and Rebels, as that there was no coming unto it; and moſt part of his own Souldiers being *Haiducks* alſo, to whom he durſt not well truſt, for fear of being betrayed by them. Concerning which Matters, he ſhortly after writing to a certain Nobleman, after that he had ſhewed unto him, That he deſired nothing more of the Emperour, than to be diſcharged of his Service, he thus breaketh forth.

The Letters of *Collonitz* to a certain Nobleman, concerning the Troubles raiſed by the Rebels in *Hungary.*

I *Cannot* (ſaith he) *any more perform faithful ſervice unto the Emperour; for being attended upon with very Traitours, I am enforced to hazard even mine honeſt Reputation. I would willingly ſerve with* German *Horſemen; and I could alſo wiſh, three thouſand* Coſſacks, *and two thouſand* Polonian Huſſars *to be again raiſed; who wold do notable ſervice in purſuing of the Enemy; but every Month they muſt needs have their Wages pay'd them. The number of the Enemy increaſeth daily; and their ſtrength ſtill more and more; ſo that things cannot be in worſe ſtate than now they are. All Devices are directed to the hurt of the Emperour, neither is there any place quiet. What Courage am I of, which have loſt all my Wealth and Subſtance, is eaſie for any man to judge; all which, for all that, I could conceal and diſſemble, ſo that I might faithfully, and according to my deſire, ſerve the Emperour; which for all that, is not poſſible for me to do without a ſufficient ſtrength of* German *Souldiers. But this of all doth moſt comfort me, for that I know me to have done my Duty; for otherwiſe this Miſchief had ſpread further. Many were in hope that I would rather have revolted from the Emperour, than have loſt my Goods; and ſome there were, which doubted not to ſay ſo of me. The Enemies are now in my Dukedom of* Cleve, *and there made ſpoil of all.* Setchin, Jarmeta, Tregla, Palanka, Samoſchin, Blavenſtein, Rabenſtein, Vacia, Regiomont, Dillena, Pugantſa, Tabra, Libetna, Sitna, Dibina, Sacmaria, Sendra, Onoth, Diſgiora, Zatnar, Calo, Scharoſpotac, Budnoc, Nagibana, Filek, *and almoſt all* Tranſilvania, *are now ſubject to the Rebels; ſo that what will enſue thereof, except they ſpeedily be confronted, every many may right eaſily gheſs.*

Strong Towns and Places by the Turks and Rebels taken in the upper *Hungary.*

Now if *Collonitz*, one of the greateſt and beſt Commanders of the Emperours Forces againſt the *Turks* in *Hungary*, was thus beſet, and ſpoiled of his Subſtance, by the Rebels, as he in theſe his Letters complaineth, and as indeed he was, having at one time received from them ſo great harm as was deemed to have amounted to an hundred thouſand Duckats; and not daring to truſt his own *Hungarian* Souldiers, whoſe Hearts he knew to be with the Rebels; In what State may the reſt of the People of that diſtreſſed Province, be thought to have been, being at the ſame time expoſed unto the ſame Rebels as a Prey and Spoil, and their Country lay'd open for the *Turks* and *Tartars* to forrage and over-run at their Pleaſure.

Wiglaſe in vain attempted to have been ſurpriſed by the *Haiducks.*

But in brief, to run along with the *Haiducks*, four thouſand of them attempting to have ſurpriſed *Wiglaſe*, were ſo from thence repulſed, as that many of them being there ſlain, five and thirty Wagons were ſcarce ſufficient to carry the reſt of the wounded over the Mountains, of whom an hundred died by the way. But going from thence, they brake into *Turſon's* Country, where, they having rifled all the Towns and Villages, commanded all the States of the Country, within three days next after, to ſubmit themſelves to *Botſcay*, and to ſwear unto him Fealty, or otherwiſe to expect all Extremities; who with fear diſmayed, all promiſed to ſubmit themſelves unto *Redeius*, *Botſcay's* Lieutenant.

Now for Remedy of theſe Evils, *Napragius* and *Forgatius*, two grave Counſellors, were ſent, in the Emperours Name, to intreat of the Peace with *Botſcay*; who, the ſeventh and twentieth of *March*, departing from *Eperia*, with fourſcore Harquebuſiers, towards *Caſſovia*, before they came thither, ſent before them an Herauld, to advertiſe *Botſcay* of their coming. Which Meſſenger, ſo ſoon as he was come into *Caſſovia*, the Turks ſo ſtraitly kept, as that no man might ſpeak with him but *Botſcay* himſelf; and not he alſo, but in open place, and that in the hearing of the *Turks.*

Botſcay refuſeth to receive the Emperours Ambaſſadours.

Who at his firſt meeting with him, told him, That if the Ambaſſadours from whence he came, were ſent from the Nobility and States of *Hungary*, they ſhould be right welcome unto him, and have Audience; but if they came from the Emperour, as had *Rogatſius* and *Ciaccius* before ſent from *Baſta*, they ſhould then ſpare their Labour, and come no farther; for that all matters had with him been often enough talked upon; it being now more than time, that things ſo often conſulted upon, ſhould be no more talked of, but indeed performed. Which Meſſenger returning unto the Ambaſſadors, told them what *Botſcay* had ſaid, and that the *Haiducks* had in *Caſſovia* built a Bulwark of a wonderful height, beſet the Gates with ſtrong Guards, and ſo filled the Trenches with Souldiers, that a man could hardly enter into the City; howbeit that every man might ſafely come and go thither about his Trade and Buſineſs. He told them alſo, how that *Botſcay's* Lieutenant had called together all the Governours of the Places thereabout, and adviſed them, for the ſpace of fourteen days to beware of the Excurſions of the *Haiducks*, and in the mean time, for their more ſafety, to bring their Wives and Children, with ſuch other things as they made moſt reckoning of, into the City, for that he could not as yet (as he ſaid) repreſs the unruly and head-ſtrong *Haiducks*, being yet in their Rage and Fury, as the manner of the diſcontented Multitude is. Of which *Haiducks*, ſome going forth toward *Newhuſe*, and bringing home a great Booty of Cattel, were by *Collonitz* and *Trautmanſtorf*, purſuing them with their Horſemen, overthrown, and all the Booty again recovered.

Botſcay, about this time, *viz.* the nine and twentieth day of *March*, ſummoned all the Nobility and States of *Hungary* unto an Aſſembly to be holden at *Serentium* the ſeventeenth day of *April*, writing unto them in this ſort:

Botſcay's Letters to the Nobility and States of *Hungary*, to call them together to *Serents.*

‘YOU know (*ſaid he*) right worthy and valiant men, into what extream Miſeries our afflicted Country (all the ancient Priviledges and Immunities thereof being contemned and troden under foot) is by the coming in of Strangers brought; whoſe Inſolency is gone ſo far, that we cannot only not quietly poſſeſs our own Goods, but ſo much as enjoy the Liberty of our own Conſciences. For which cauſe, the Nobility of the whole Kingdom being the laſt Year ſent in Embaſſy, and as it were foreſeeing what was to come, the Aſſembly of the Empire being ended, openly proteſted before the whole Imperial Diet, and by their Letters oftentimes declared, That they ſhould of neceſſity be at length inforced to take upon themſelves the defence of their Priviledges and of their Religion: by which their Proteſtations for all that they ſo little prevailed, that forthwith after, ſuch an intolerable Edict was by the Emperour's Commandment publiſhed, as had expoſed us all, and every one of us, to moſt certain Death, had we not betime provided for our ſelves. All which things are unto you all moſt certainly known, both by the unlawful Acts themſelves, and the whole Proceeding of the Provoſt General. All which things conſidered, you met together at *Galeſt*, and from thence again openly ſignified unto the aforeſaid Provoſt General (unto whom his Imperial Majeſty had committed the ſhedding of our Blood, the aboliſhing of our Priviledges and Religion, *viz.* the execution of this cruel Edict) that if he proceeded to go forward in that Buſineſs, you would put into Execution what you had before publickly proteſted in the general Aſſembly of the whole Empire at *Presburg*. But what Anſwer you received from him, foraſmuch as it is not unto any of you unknown, it is not needful here to rehearſe. Wherefore, when as he, going about the execution of the aforeſaid Edict, did in forcible manner, with certain Pieces of great Ordnance, impugn the Army of his Imperial Majeſty, both in his and our dread Lord and Sovereign, and by force took from us ſome of our Caſtles, and beſieged ſome others; we found no other remedy againſt theſe ſo great Evils, but that which God himſelf even then ſhewed unto us, which was, by force of Arms to defend our ſelves ſo far as we might. In which our purpoſe, ſeeing that the Grace of God, and the good Succeſs which we have hitherto had, will us to continue, although we have ſuffered no little harm from the *Germans* and *Haiducks* (which for all that is, for the recovery of the liberty of our Country, patiently to be borne) to the intent that we, united with other our Brethren through *Hungary*, may the better withſtand our Enemies, and fight againſt them; it is moſt neceſſary that we ſhould meet together, and all matters ſet apart, enter into Conſultation, how hereafter to reſiſt our Enemies, and ſet our Country in Peace and Quietneſs. Wherefore, ſeeing that we have determin'd to hold an Aſſembly at *Serents* the Seventeenth day of *April*, we by theſe Preſents warn and requeſt you all, there at the aforeſaid Seventeenth day of *April* to make your perſonal Appearance, to joyn in Amity with us, and, after God's Name called upon, to conſult and conclude upon ſuch things as may be both acceptable and pleaſing unto God, and moſt profitable and neceſſary for the good of our afflicted Country in general. But if there ſhall be any, which upon a preſumptuous or careleſs Contempt ſhall not at the time appointed come, nor ſeem to regard ſuch things as ſo much concern the common Good and Welfare of their Native Country; let them aſſuredly know, Both themſelves to be therefore to be accounted for Enemies unto their Country, and their Goods alſo ſo to be diſpoſed of, as ſhall unto the Nobility and States then and there aſſembled, be thought meet and convenient.

A great Tumult and Fire in *Conſtantinople.*

Much about this time, a great Tumult was raiſed amongſt the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court at *Conſtantinople*; at which time a great Fire aroſe alſo in the City (as oft times the like hath before done through the Inſolency of the Janizaries, who in ſuch Confuſion of mens Minds uſe to make their own Gains) wherein many, both Men and Women, periſhed, with above five hundred Shops and Ware-houſes full of rich Merchandiſe, moſt part whereof belonged unto the *Jews*; of whom almoſt two hundred are ſaid to have been there burnt: the Deformity and Spoil made by which Fire in the City, remaining long after to be ſeen. Theſe Troubles brought a great fear upon the young Sultan, who firſt therewith half diſmayed, and ſeeing the like to ariſe in *Pera* alſo on the other ſide of the Haven, about a mile off from the Seraglio, could not otherwiſe think, but that the Souldiers were about ſome dangerous Treaſon. Which ſuſpicion, two Meſſengers, but a little before come from *Cicala Baſſa*, increaſed: who by the ſame Meſſengers deſired new Supplies to be forthwith ſent unto him; proteſting, that for as much as he had not long before in a great Battel loſt a number of his Men, if he were not with new Supplies ſpeedily relieved, he muſt of force retire, and leave all unto the *Perſian.* Howbeit, the Fire quenched, and the Janizaries and other Souldiers with the Spoil they had of the Loſſes of others gotten, ſatisfied, the Tumult was without much ado again quieted.

The Emperour's Souldiers in mutiny for their Pay, threaten their General, and ſpoil the Country betwixt *Eperia* and *Presburg.*

Now beſide the aforeſaid Troubles from the Rebels in *Tranſilvania* and the upper *Hungary*, that nothing might be wanting unto the Miſery of thoſe ſo miſerable Countries, the Emperour's Souldiers which ſerved under *Baſta*, having of long from day to day in vain expected their Pay, and ſeeing neither Pay nor other Relief to come unto them, roſe up in Mutiny, and ſo in a great Rage brake into *Baſta*, the General's Lodging; where, having heaped upon him many unworthy and deſpightful Reproaches, with their Pieces bent againſt him, and taking the ſpoil of certain Carriages loaded with many rich Commodities, they departed from him; and ſo marching thorow the Country toward *Presbourg*, by the way uſed ſuch Inſolency and Cruelty, by rifling and ſpoiling whatſoever came in their way, as that they ſeemed unto the People as they went, worſe and more inhumane than the very Turks and Tartars themſelves; where, amongſt other the Prey by them taken, which were very great, they carried away with them toward *Presburg* above ten thouſand Oxen and two thouſand Horſes; threatning by the way as they went to burn the Suburbs of the City ſo ſoon as they came thither, if they were not forthwith payed their Pay: whereupon many of the Citizens for fear forſook their Dwellings, and removed to *Vienna*.

But

Newſol taken by the *Haiducks*.

But the Rebels on the other ſide, having (as is before declared) in vain attempted to have taken *Newſol*, being forthwith driven out of it again, aſſembling themſelves in great number, came now again and beſieged it, and the ſixteenth day of *April* took it, to the great and incomparable Loſs of the Citizens; other of their Fellows in other Places having but the day before taken *Cibinium*, *Portfeld*, *Schemnitſe*, with ſome other Places alſo.

The miſerable eſtate of *Hungary* through civil diſcord.

Thus while the *Haiducks* at their Pleaſure on the one ſide ſpoil the upper part of *Hungary*, and the Emperour's Souldiers on the other ſide for want of Pay do therein no leſs harm than they, as Enemies rifling and ranſacking every corner of the Country as they went, the poor Husbandmen dwelling here and there diſperſed abroad in the Country, for fear leaving their homely Dwellings, with ſuch things as they had, fled ſome of them into *Polonia*, other ſome into the Mountains, where many of them periſhed with Hunger; the poor Husbandman not daring now to go forth to till his Land, neither the Shepheard to feed his Flock, all places being filled with Miſery, Mourning, and Heavineſs; the Turks and Tartars, the common Enemies of the Chriſtians, being not the Cauſers thereof, but even the Chriſtians themſelves, one of them even with greedineſs ſeeking the Ruine and Deſtruction of another; as commonly it falleth out in Kingdoms and States divided.

Moravia ſpoiled by the rebellious *Haiducks*.

Neither did theſe ſo great Troubles, the ground of ſo many Miſeries, contain themſelves within the Bounds of *Hungary* only, but brake out into other Countries and Provinces thereunto adjoyning alſo; but eſpecially into *Moravia*, into which Country the *Haiducks* breaking, miſerably ſpoiled the ſame, by force took certain Towns, which they robbed and rifled, carrying away with them even the very little Children, taken from their heavy Parents, to be ſold afterwards unto the Turks; a miſerable kind of Merchandiſe, and of all Chriſtians to be deteſted. For remedy of which Miſchiefs, by ſufferance ſtill more and more increaſing, *Lichtenſtein*, Governour of the Country, having raiſed all the Power that he was able for to make, went againſt them, and with much ado at length drave them out of the Country, with Fire and Sword now by them moſt grievouſly ſpoiled: they for all that carrying away with them a great part of the Wealth of that Country, with four thouſand Captives, all by them appointed unto the Turks ſlavery.

About this time alſo *Baſta*, lying at *Presburg*, and underſtanding that fourteen thouſand Turks and Tartars being come to St. *Georges*, ſix thouſand of them were gone over the *Danubius*, about a mile beneath *Presburg*, to the end that whilſt they were making a Road into *Auſtria*, the reſt in the mean time might prove their Forces upon *Presburg*; with his Horſe-men followed after them himſelf, to cut off ſuch ſtragling Companies of them as otherwiſe might have done great harm abroad in the Country, leaving behind him in *Presburg* but three hundred *Wallon* Horſe-men, with certain Companies of Foot-men for the keeping of the City. Which three hundred Horſe-men, being very good and expert Souldiers, and deſirous to be doing ſomething, by night made a Road out of the City toward St. *Georges*, where the reſt of the *Haiducks* and *Turks* in great ſecurity lay; upon whom theſe reſolute men upon the ſudden falling, brought a great fear upon the whole Camp, and having ſlain of them above five hundred before the reſt could arm themſelves, returned with a great Victory, though but with ſmall Prey, carrying with them ſome few Horſes of Service to *Presburg*; where, by that they had done, it was reaſonably thought that had they been but a thouſand ſtrong, they had diſcomfited the Enemies whole Camp.

A notable Exploit by a few performed.

In the mean time, they of the Garriſon of *Comara* underſtanding that *Begedes Baſſa* was determined with a notable Convoy to go from *Buda* with ſeventeen Waggons loaded with Money and other things of great value, to *Botſcay* the Rebel, and the Tartar Cham's Son, who with certain thouſands of Tartars was come to *Solnock*, to the Aid of *Botſcay* and the Rebels: they, in hope of ſo great a Booty, lay in wait for him upon the way whereby he muſt needs paſs, and at his coming ſet upon him, and ſlew a number of his Men; amongſt whom it fortuned the Baſſa himſelf to be ſlain, ſhot in the Breaſt with a ſmall Shot whilſt he was mounting up his Horſe; whoſe dead Body the Turks about him having taken up, and therewith about to flee, were there ſome of them ſlain, and ſome of them taken Priſoners, the reſt by ſpeedy flight eſcaping. Here were alſo all the aforeſaid Waggons taken, with an exceeding rich Booty; all which the Garriſon Souldiers, well worthy thereof, carried away with them to *Comara*, together with the Baſſa's Head, ſtruck from his Body with his own Scimitar; which Scimitar, with the Baſſa's rich Coat, *Pogranus* the Governour of *Comara* afterward ſent as a Preſent to the Emperour at *Prague*. This Baſſa while he lived was a moſt crafty and ſubtil man, the chief Plotter and Author of all the late Troubles in *Hungary*, having before put all *Tranſilvania* into moſt dangerous Stirs and Tumults, and greatly confirmed *Botſcay* in his Rebellion: he ſpake the *Hungarian* Language naturally, and was therein very eloquent, which ſerved him to great purpoſe both for the raiſing and maintaining of the Rebellion both in *Tranſilvania* and in *Hungary*. Which ſo dangerous a man taken out of the way, many were in good hope of ſome good end to be made of theſe Civil Wars, more dangerous unto the ſtate of both theſe afflicted Countries, than were the great and puiſſant Armies of the Turks, which were almoſt every Year in the heart of the one or of the other of them to be ſeen.

Begedes Baſſa ſlain.

The Name of the *Germans* odious unto the *Hungarians*.

Now was the Rebellion grown ſo great in *Hungary*, and the Rebels ſo ſtrong, that even the very Name of the *Germans* was become unto the *Hungarians* both odious and contemptible; inſomuch, that *Baſta* offering to have put new Supplies of *German* Souldiers into the City of *Tyrna*, then in danger of the *Haiducks*; the Governours of the Place not only refuſed to receive them, but alſo to let them have any thing of them for their ready money, ſaying, That they had Citizens enough in the City to defend the ſame againſt their Enemies; and that therefore, as they needed not of the help of the *Germans*, ſo they would have nothing to do with them. And yet as ſoon as *Redeius*, *Botſcay*'s Lieutenant, was with his Army come thither, they without more ado opened unto him the Gates of the City, and receiving him in, were about to have ſlain all the *Germans* there dwelling amongſt them, being well near a third part of the Inhabitants; and had ſo done, but that ſome, wiſer than the reſt, conſidering that the *Germans* having there long dwelt, were by often Marriages joyned in Affinity with the *Hungarians*, and the *Hungarians* with them, otherwiſe perſuaded them, leſt in ſo doing they might ſeem to be cruel againſt their own Blood. And ſo the matter being referred to *Redeius* himſelf, it was by him (by the Counſel of one of the greateſt men of the Turks) ordered, that the *Germans* ſhould be ſpared their Lives, ſo that from thenceforth they ſhould no more uſe the *German* but the *Hungarian* Apparel and Attire, only the *German* Attire being taken away for the *Germans* themſelves.

The *Germans* in *Tyrna* conſtrained to wear Garments like to the *Hungarians*.

But

Great Towns taken and rifled by the Rebels in *Hungary*.

But to proceed with theſe Troubles according to the courſe of the time of the Year, about the twenty fourth of *May* the Turks and Tartars joyning their Forces with the Rebels, burnt fourteen Country Villages about the lake of *Neuſdier*, and as many more in other Places alſo towards *Neuſtat*, leaving behind them moſt lamentable Remembrances and Teſtimonies of their barbarous and inhumane Cruelty, having put moſt of the Women and Children to the Sword, and impaled divers upon Stakes, carrying the Men away with them as Captives, and the Beaſts and Cattel as a Prey; and ſo leaving the Country as they went almoſt deſolate, ſcarce any being therein left to bewail the Miſeries thereof. And about the end of this ſame Month the Rebels ſurpriſed *Simega*, *Grotta*, and *Capernacum*, and a little while after, *Ginſium*: all which Places they rifled and ſpoiled, as they did alſo *Hogengoa*, a great Town of the Lord *Lichtenſteins*: and *Niderſprunga*, a Town of *Collonitzes*, which they firſt rifled, and afterward burnt; and with the terror of this their dealing inforced all the Country thereabout, both far and near, to yield unto them; only *Altſol* and *Chremnicz*, who continued in their Loyalty, and ſtanding faſt for the Emperour, did the Rebels much harm.

The *Haiducks* and *Turks* overthrown at *Presburg* by the *Wallons*.

About the beginning of *June*, certain Companies of *Turks* and *Haiducks* mingled together, came again, as they had before done, to *Presburg*: of whoſe coming the Governour of the City having Advertiſement, with three Troops of *Wallon* Horſe-men, and certain Companies of Harquebuſiers, breaking out of the City, cauſed them forthwith to retire; which the *Wallon* Horſe-men ſeeing, to prevent them in their Retreat, fetching a Compaſs about, met with them when they thought themſelves paſt all danger; and falling upon them, ſlew of them five hundred, and drave the reſt into *Danubius*; ſo that of all thoſe *Turks* and *Haiducks* none eſcaped but only fourteen, amongſt whom three Turks and one fugitive Citizen of *Presburg*, were found: whom, together with a great Spoil, the Garriſon Souldiers carried back with them into the City.

Veſprinium yielded unto the Rebels.

At the ſelf-ſame time the Citizens of *Veſprinium* favouring the Proceedings of the *Haiducks*, roſe themſelves in Rebellion alſo, and taking the Captain of the Caſtle, together with his Lieutenant and the Keys of the Caſtle, cauſed them to be carried to *Redeius*, *Botſcay's* Lieutenant; yielding themſelves into his Protection. Of which Revolt of the City the Turks took exceeding Pleaſure, and forthwith ſent News thereof unto the Sultan, wiſhing him to haſte the coming of his Army, for that the Paſſages were now laid open unto his farther Conqueſt; and farther adviſing him ſtill more and more to encourage *Botſcay* in his Rebellion.

Stiria and *Auſtria* ſpoiled by the Rebels.

And now was *Hungary* too little, or elſe too bare, to contain and ſatisfie the ſtill increaſing Rebels, who in great number breaking into *Stiria* (as they had before done on the other ſide of *Hungary* into *Moravia*) did therein great harm, waſting and ſpoiling all before them as they went; inſomuch that County *Serin*, the Lord *Nadaſti*, and *Budian*, all right worthy men, and ſuch as heretofore had done great things againſt the Turks for the Chriſtian Commonweal, ſeeing themſelves, and all that they had, in danger to be ſpoiled, being themſelves not able to withſtand the Rebels, nor any other ſtay whereon to reſt, ſubmitted themſelves unto *Botſcay*, as did many other Noblemen of that Country alſo. Out of *Stiria* the Rebels made head into *Auſtria*, and there roaming up and down the Country, did like harm.

Thus was the State of *Auſtria* and *Hungary* at this time moſt miſerable, which for that it is ſo well ſet down in certain Letters by a grave and underſtanding Citizen of *Vienna*, who was himſelf an eye-witneſs of moſt part thereof, as that it cannot well better be expreſſed; I have thought it good to referr the Report thereof unto the Letters themſelves.

The miſerable troubles of *Hungary* and *Auſtria* notably deſcribed by the Letters of a Citizen of *Vienna*.

‘ALL *Auſtria* (*ſaith he*) is full of Miſery and Calamity. From out of the Caſtle and Bulwarks here at *Vienna*, a man may ſometime at once behold fifteen Towns and Villages all on fire in the Country hereabout, kindled partly by the Rebels and Turks, and partly by our own mutinous Souldiers. *Odenburg* is yet beſieged, and the *Haiducks* have forraged the Country as far as *Hinberg*; whom had not the Regiment of *Collonitz* repreſſed, theſe out Suburbs of *Vienna* had now been taken, ranſack'd, and burn'd. *Newſtat* is on every ſide beſieged by the Enemy; all the Villages about *Vienna*, as far as *Dreſkirc*, are with Fire deſtroyed; they of *Newſtat* went about to have cut off ſome part of the Enemies Forces, but with evil Succeſs, having loſt above fifty of their own men. *Brunna* and *Entzendorfe* are alſo with Fire conſumed. The *Wallons* lye incamped at *Miedling*, moſt miſerably ſpoiling the Country People of all that they had: The *Haiducks* having by night ſurpriſed the great Town of *Altenburg*, and from thence carrying a great Prey, have burn'd it; The Caſtle had endured the like fortune, had not an hundred Harquebuſiers, that were by chance come thither, holpen to defend it. Six thouſand of the Enemies lye about *Veſſelbourg*; but whether the *Wallons* will attempt any thing againſt them or no, it is greatly doubted. *Presburg* is alſo in great danger; for the Garriſon Souldiers there do threaten the cruel Spoil of the Citizens, and all Extremities, if by a certain Day they receive not their Pay; who if they ſhall depart thence, there is no doubt but that the *Haiducks* will forthwith ſucceed them in their Places. Theſe men indeed do pretend Religion; but what Lovers they be thereof, the late Example of a Miniſter by them moſt cruelly tormented, not far from *Cobbelſdorfe*, doth manifeſtly ſhew. The Report is, That the Vayvod of *Valachia* doth favour neither part; into which Province a great number of *Tartars* are come in the Aid of *Botſcay*. All the Market-Places and Streets here in this City, lye full of poor fugitive Creatures of all Sex and Ages; a moſt miſerable Sight to behold. Our own mutinous Souldiers beſet all the ways to the City, and exclude us from all manner of Victual; and not to uſe many words, in Cruelty and Hoſtility almoſt exceed the very Enemies. The *Hungarian* Rebels, who of late forraged *Auſtria*, have carried away with them above eight thouſand Head of Cattel, which, together with the Priſoners by them taken, they have ſent into *Turkey*. The little Boys and Children, which cannot by reaſon of their tender Years go, they carry along with them upon Horſes, whoſe pittiful Mourning and Lamentation might move even the very Stones; and yet are they (inhumane men) no whit moved: yea, many of theſe poor Souls are here and there by the way found daſhed againſt the Ground, with their Brains beaten out. And theſe Rebels in their Behaviour ſhew ſuch Cruelty, as whereat the very Turks themſelves were amazed. All things about *Iſenſtad* are by the Enemies taken and carried away. They of *Neuhuſe*, beſieged by thirty thouſand of their Enemies, have hitherto played the Men, and of late repulſed the ſecond Aſſault, with much ſlaughter of their Enemies. They ſay, That two thouſand Tartars, as many Rebels, and thirteen thouſand Turks, are to be yet

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‘ expected to come unto the Camp at *Neuhuſe*;
‘ who, if they ſhall chance to come, it can ſcarce
‘ be, that they of *Neuhuſe* can long well hold out
‘ againſt them, eſpecially being not well appointed
‘ of neceſſary proviſion. The report is, that ha-
‘ ving taken *Neuhuſe*, they will remove to *Stri-*
‘ *gonium*. It is ſaid alſo, twelve thouſand Turks
‘ to have now paſſed over the Bridge at *Eſſec*;
‘ and great Supplies both of men and money to
‘ come to *Botſcay*, who lieth encamped about *Epe-*
‘ *nia*, and is ſaid to have made a Covenant with
‘ the Great Sultan, That what place ſoever either
‘ of them ſhould firſt take, he ſhould hold the
‘ ſame wholly unto himſelf. *Tanhuſer*, who of
‘ late was Governour of *Fileky*, is now (as the re-
‘ port goeth) of Counſel with *Botſcay*. *Germen-*
‘ *chius* hath put in three months Victual into *Huſt*
‘ in *Tranſilvania*. God in his mercy behold our
‘ poor afflicted and diſtreſſed Country.

Thus far he: Whereby, the Reader (as I ſuppoſe) may eaſily gather the miſerable eſtate of both the Countries of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, the Chriſtians themſelves being the chief Authors thereof.

Odenburg **beſieged by the Rebels, and by *Baſta* relieved.**

The rebellious *Haiducks* had hitherto moſt ſtraightly beſieged the City of *Odenbourg*, having aſſaulted it in five ſundry places at once: upon whom, *Trautmanſtorfe*, General of the Garriſon there, cauſing part of his Horſe-men to ſally forth, ſkirmiſhed with them from eleven of the clock in the forenoon, untill two of the clock in the afternoon; at which time the *Haiducks* beginning to prevail, the Governour, with the reſt of his Horſemen, certain Enſigns of Foot-men, with ſome of the Citizens, with three field-pieces, upon the ſudden breaking out of the Gate, diſcomfited the *Haiducks*, put them to flight, and ſlew many of them, having taken from them twelve Enſigns, with many Priſoners, whom he carried with him into the City: of which overthrow the *Haiducks* deſirous to be revenged, with their renewed Forces ſhortly after returned again unto the City, burnt the Suburbs of the ſame, and ſpoiled the Villages thereabout. But whilſt they thus lay about *Odenbourg*, *Baſta*, but with a ſmall power, drawing near unto them, they preſently roſe, and paſſing over the River *Dravus*, carried away with them two thouſand head of Cattel, with a great number of Chriſtian Captives.

The Turks ſeek to have *Caſſovia* delivered unto them by *Botſcay*.

The Turks being not to learn to make uſe of the diſcord of the Chriſtians among themſelves, had oftentimes been in hand with *Botſcay*, to deliver *Caſſovia* wholly into their hands: of which ſtrong City, being the beſt that the Chriſtians now held in the upper *Hungary*, the Turks were moſt deſirous, both for the commodious ſituation thereof, and alſo for that they deemed themſelves partly thereof already poſſeſſed, ſome good part of the Garriſon therein being Turks, as well Janizaries as others. The full poſſeſſion of which ſtrong City the better to obtain from *Botſcay*, and to get it into their own hands, they ſent unto him three Waggons loaded with money and other rich Commodities, for a Preſent, and to ſupply his wants, by a good Convoy of four hundred *Haiducks*, and ſome Turks joyned unto them. Which *Haiducks*, as they were by the way to *Caſſovia* to paſs by *Tockay*, a ſtrong Town holden by the Chriſtians, gave ſecret knowledge unto the Governour of the place, of their coming that way, and that if he would receive them into the Town, and ſo into his Protection, they would, with ſome ſmall help from him, deliver into his hands that ſo rich a booty, and ſo continue with him as his faithful and truſty Souldiers. Of whoſe offer the Governour well aſſured, forthwith ſent forth four hundred of the Souldiers of his own Garriſon to meet them; who, joyning with the aforeſaid *Haiducks* which came with the Convoy, ſet upon the Turks which came with them, and ſlew them every Mothers Son; and ſo with the rich Booty were by the Governour received into the Town, and by him courteouſly entertained: where they had not long lain, but that after their wonted manner looking abroad into the Country, they chanced to meet with certain Companies of *Botſcay's* men; with whom they encountering, and having ſlain of them near about five hundred, took from them ſeven Waggons loaded with good Proviſion, and thirty Horſes, beſide much other rich ſpoil.

The Turks with a rich Booty by 400 *Haiducks* betrayed to the Governour of *Tockay*.

Totiſa **yielded unto the Turks.**

But the Rebels, notwithſtanding theſe and ſuch other loſſes, encreaſing both in number and power, ſtill more and more in all places prevailed, but eſpecially in the upper part of *Hungary*, the Towns there, one after another, daily revolting unto them, as amongſt the reſt the ſtrong Town of *Totiſa* did; whereinto the Rebels entring, ſent from thence part of the great Ordnance, together with *Relinger*, a German Captain, Governour of the Town, and certain other German Souldiers there taken, unto *Redeius*, *Botſcay's* Lieutenant, then lying with a great Army of thirty thouſand *Hungarian* Rebels and Turks, at the Siege of the ſtrong Town and Caſtle of *Newhuſe*: which, as it had oftentimes by him been ſharply aſſaulted, ſo was it by the Souldiers therein moſt notably defended, proteſting, never to yield the ſame, but to hold it out even to the laſt man therein to be left alive: which cauſed *Redeius*, for the encouraging of his Souldiers, (who had now lain there certain months at the Siege thereof) to promiſe unto them the whole ſpoil of the Town, and of all that therein was. And yet for all that, oft times kept back the Turks from aſſaulting the ſame, for fear leſt if they ſhould by force have taken it, they would by force alſo have holden it unto themſelves, as a Place for them moſt commodious for the conquering of that which remained of the upper part of *Hungary*: which he, though one of the greateſt Rebels, was yet loth to have it to fall into their hands; and yet himſelf, with the *Haiducks*, the *Hungarian* Rebels, afterward, *viz.* the 25*th.* of *July*, gave thereunto a moſt furious Aſſault, inſomuch that having advanced ten of their Enſigns to the top of the Rampiers, they were in great hope even preſently to have taken it, but yet were by the reſolute Valour of the Defendants notably repulſed, and inforced again to retire, leaving behind them above ſeven hundred of their moſt forward men dead in the Trenches: unto which Siege the Baſſa of *Agria* came alſo afterward with three thouſand Horſe-men and a Number of Janizaries; ſo that the beſieged, partly with Mines, partly with Shot and often Aſſaults diſtreſſed, were ſo waſted and wounded, that there were ſcarcely two hundred whole and ſound men left in the whole Garriſon; beſide that, both Victuals and Powder begun now to grow ſcarce alſo, ſo that they were brought unto ſuch extremity, as that well they could not be in a worſe caſe: and yet armed with a conſtant Reſolution, they ſeemed not to be any thing therewith daunted or diſcouraged, but ſtill valiantly held it out.

Newhuſe **hardly aſſaulted and valiantly defended.**

Newhuſe **diſtreſſed.**

The Rebels in the Iſle of *Shut* ſubmit themſelves again unto the Emperour.

The *Hungarians*, dwelling in the Iſle of *Shut* in the River of *Danubius*, having before ſubmitted themſelves unto the Rebels, did with their help much trouble the Paſſages unto the Towns of *Rab* and *Comara*, and the City of *Strigonium*; unto whom certain Meſſengers were ſent on the Emperour's behalf, to perſwade them to forſake the Rebels, and to return again unto their ancient

Obedience. Who ſo well uſed the matter with them, that taking a Truce for eight days, they in the mean time ſent five of the chief men amongſt them by Ship to *Presburg*, offering unto the Governour there, That if they might be ſecured of their Goods and Safety, and that the *Haiducks* that were with them might be entertained in Pay, they would be ready again to take the Oath of Allegiance, and faithfully to ſerve him as became his loyal Subjects and valiant Souldiers; and for the aſſurance thereof, to leave their Wives and Children as Pledges at *Presburg*. Which their Offer, was unto the Governour very acceptable and welcome, who yielding unto their Requeſt, in friendly ſort diſmiſſed them. But they being returned home, and having declared to the reſt of their Fellows what they had done, it was by general conſent agreed, That four thouſand of them ſhould joyn themſelves unto the Emperours Power under the Regiment of *Collonitz*, who, to be known from others, wore in their Creſts certain ſpecial Feathers; their Wives and Children being carried to *Presburg* as Pledges of their Faith: but this Agreement by them made with the Governour of *Presburg* being once known, the reſt of the Rebels in the Country thereabout together aſſembled with the Turks, invaded the Iſle, in hope upon the ſudden to have ſurpriſed them; but, deceived of their Expectation, were by the Inhabitants of the Iſle, and by the help of certain *German* Troops, overthrown and put to flight, and three thouſand of them there ſlain.

About the beginning of *July*, certain Commiſſioners were ſent on the Emperour's behalf to *Caſſovia*, to intreat with *Botſcay* concerning a Pacification to be made, who being by him there honourably entertained, and having with him ſtayed almoſt a whole Month, were at length, the nine and twentieth of the ſame month, again diſmiſſed. Now the Articles which *Botſcay* propounded unto theſe Commiſſioners to be conſidered of for the making of a Peace, and which for the moſt part were agreed upon in the Peace afterward concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperour, were theſe:

Articles by *Botſcay* propounded unto the Emperour's Commiſſioners for the appeaſing of the Tumults in the upper *Hungary*.

Firſt, that it ſhould be lawful, for all ſuch as would, to have the free exerciſe of the reformed Religion. For although (as he ſaid) he was not ignorant that there was an ancient Decree amongſt the *Hungarians*, whereby all that profeſſed not the Catholick Religion, or that revolted from the ſame, were to be burnt, and that he deſired not to have that Article repealed; yet that his Requeſt was, That the Emperour, having regard unto the Troubles of the preſent time, would promiſe and aſſure, That from thenceforth no man ſhould be troubled for his Religion, or called in queſtion for his Conſcience and Belief. Beſides that, he requeſted to have the Principality of *Tranſilvania* during his Life; yet with this Condition, That after his death it ſhould again return unto the Emperour, ſo that the Emperour in his Abſence ſhould appoint a natural *Hungarian* to govern the ſame, as alſo to have the chief Government in *Hungary*. That there ſhould no more Biſhops ſit in Council but one, and that he, if it ſhould be ſo thought meet, ſhould bear the Office of the Chancellor. That the Liberties and Priviledges of that Kingdom ſhould be kept whole and inviolate. That it ſhould be lawful for him only to make choice of the chief Palatine of the Kingdom. That Goods confiſcated for any offence committed, ſhould not be diſperſed or ſold, but given to men of deſert. That all Offenders againſt the State from thenceforth ſhould be judged by the Council of *Hungary*. That none ſhould be preferred to Biſhopricks in *Hungary*, but ſuch as were of the noble *Hungarian* Blood. That all Injuries heretofore done, ſhould be abſolutely pardoned, forgiven and forgotten. All which things, if they might be granted, he promiſed to labour to the uttermoſt of his power, upon the beſt Conditions he might, to procure a Peace betwixt the Great Sultan and the Emperour. Laſt of all he requeſted, That the Charters of Peace, containing theſe Articles thus agreed upon, might be ſubſcribed and confirmed by the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Emperour, the King of *Polonia*, and all the Imperial Kingdoms and Provinces.

The Great Sultan loth that *Botſcay* ſhould come to a Peace with the Emperour.

The Turkiſh Sultan underſtanding of this Treaty of Peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botſcay*, by a Meſſenger ſent in haſte to *Botſcay*, ſought by great Offers and Promiſes to hinder the ſame; putting him withall in remembrance, That a little before this Treaty made, he had not only by Words, but by Letters alſo, ſubſcribed with his own hand, promiſed unto *Botſcay's* Ambaſſadors ſent to *Conſtantinople*, That he would bring to paſs, that *Botſcay*, rewarded with ſuch Priviledges as King *John* in former time enjoyed, ſhould in ſhort time be proclaimed and crowned King of *Hungary*, and that to that purpoſe he was even now ready to ſend a Scepter and a Crown, the Ornaments of a King, to *Alba Regalis*. But for the preſent, he by theſe Meſſengers ſent unto *Botſcay* two goodly Horſes, with Furniture of Gold, gliſtering with precious Stones. He ſent him alſo a rich Scimitar, a pair of golden Spurs, and a long Horſemans Coat garniſhed with Gold and precious Stones of great price; perſuading him valiantly to perſiſt in his former courſe and purpoſe. Which he failed not to do: for immediately after, he with a gallant Train went from *Caſſovia* into *Tranſilvania*, there to take of the Nobility of that Province the Oath of their Fidelity unto him; accounting no pains or labour great, which he took to turn the People from their Obedience unto the Emperour, and to ſtrengthen himſelf. At which time he alſo ſent *Redeius* his Chancellor, with ſome others, into *Polonia*, to renew the Confederation which was ſometime betwixt the *Polonians* and the *Hungarians*: who, being admitted unto the King's Preſence, and Audience given him, firſt declared the Cauſes of the Diſcord and Civil War that then was in *Hungary*, which he imputed chiefly unto the Oppreſſion of Religion, the free exerciſe thereof being forbidden them; and to the Inſolency of the *Germans*, who there at their pleaſure commanded over them. Upon which two Points he ſtood much, labouring with many Words to perſuade the King thereof; and afterwards requeſting him of his gracious Goodneſs, and of the care which he, together with other Chriſtian Princes, had for the common quiet of the Chriſtian Commonweal in general, and eſpecially of thoſe two diſtreſſed Countries, lying as it were even in the Enemies Mouth, to enter into Conſultation how the ſame Evils might be remedied, and thoſe ſo great Troubles again appeaſed, and to the effecting of ſo good a work to put to his helping hand. Whereunto the King anſwered, That the friendſhip wherein *Botſcay* offered to joyn with him being but the renewing of the ancient Amity betwixt the Countries of *Polonia* and *Hungary*, to be unto him pleaſing; howbeit, he could not for all that, (as he ſaid) well like of *Botſcay's* Revolt from that Houſe and Family, whereunto he was himſelf ſo near adjoyned in Affinity; promiſing yet nevertheleſs, that he would propound the matter unto his Nobility, to be farther conſidered of: which when he had indeed done, it was by common conſent agreed, That no Aid ſhould be given out of *Polonia* unto *Botſcay* or the Rebels; and that whoſoever ſhould from thence afford him any Aid,

Botſcay goeth into _Tranſilvania_.

He ſendeth Ambaſſadors into *Polonia*, and is there denied Aid.

ſhould therefore loſe his Head. With which anſwer the Ambaſſadours returned to *Botſcay* much diſcontented, being now with a great Power again returned out of *Tranſilvania* to *Caſſovia*.

The Lord *Ruſworm* beheaded.

About this Time the Lord *Ruſſworm* (ſometimes General of the Emperours Army againſt the Turks in *Hungary*, a Man of great Note and Valour, and of whom we have before much ſpoken) at *Prague* falling into words, and from words to blows, with *Francis* Count *Belioioſo* his Brother, and their Men taking their parts on both ſides, it fortuned the ſaid *Francis*, the Earls Brother, being grievouſly wounded, to be there ſlain, *Belioioſa* himſelf being alſo in five places dangerouſly hurt; who ſo hardly proſecuted the Death of his Brother againſt the Lord *Ruſſworm*, that within a while after he was therefore by the Emperour condemned, and at *Prague* beheaded, and divers of his Men hanged, with ſuch Weapons hanging at their heels, as wherewith they had ſlain the ſaid *Francis*, the Earls Brother.

The Turks Troubles againſt his Rebels and the *Perſians* in the *Eaſt*, an eaſe unto the Chriſtians in the *Weſt*.

Now was the time of the year come, when as the Turks great Armies were wont to be ſeen even in the heart of *Hungary*; howbeit, ſuch were their Troubles in *Aſia*, both with the *Perſian* and their own Rebels, that they were not at leiſure now to ſend ſuch great Forces as they had before uſed, into *Hungary*; neither could the Chriſtian Emperour on the other ſide now raiſe ſuch a Power as he had in former times done to oppoſe againſt them, and to hinder their proceedings. The *Hungarians* themſelves (his greateſt ſtrength in thoſe Wars) were now generally revolted from him, and for moſt part followed the Enſigns of the Rebel *Botſcay*. The Princes wont to ſend him aid both out of *Italy* and out of *Germany*, now afforded him little or none at all; and his mercinary Souldiers for want of pay were now almoſt every where up in Mutiny ready to forſake his Service, and to pay themſelves with the ſpoil of his Countries, even unto the Gates of *Vienna*. So that had not the Turks been ſo buſied in the *Eaſt*, but at leiſure to have turned their whole Power into *Hungary*, as oftentimes they had before done, it is hardly to be imagined what ſhould have letted them to have over-run, not only that which remained of *Hungary*, but even all *Auſtria*, with ſome good part of *Germany* alſo; the Emperours Preparations being then ſo ſmall, and his Forces ſo weak, as that they were not able to hold the field againſt his own rebellious Subjects, much leſs againſt ſo puiſſant and dreadful an Enemy. But God, which with his Word hath ſet bounds unto the raging Sea, beyond which it cannot paſs, and by whoſe Power Kings do reign, and Princes bear rule, had by other means averted the greateſt part of the Turks Forces Eaſtwards; ſo that *Serdar Baſſa*, Sultan *Achmat's* Lieutenant General for his Wars againſt the Chriſtians, came this year but with a right ſmall Army (in compariſon of thoſe which the Turkiſh Sultans were wont to ſend) into *Hungary*. Howbeit, with ſuch Forces as he brought, and with ſuch Supplies of the Rebels in *Hungary* as came unto him, he being grown fifty thouſand ſtrong, and out of fear of the Emperours Forces, came the nine and twentieth day of *Auguſt* to *Strigonium*, and with his Army (part *Turks*, part *Tartars*, and part diſloyal Chriſtians) encamped in the ſelf ſame place where the Turks Army had but the year before lodged; having brought with him forty great pieces of Batter, with all things elſe neceſſary for the Siege. Neither were the Turks ſooner encamped, but that the *Tartars* which came with them to the Siege (after their wonted manner) more deſirous of Prey and Booty than of Honour and Victory, paſſing over the River of *Gran* into the Territory of the Chriſtians, there ſpoiled and burnt all before them as they went.

***Strigonium* beſieged by the Turks.**

The Turks make a Bridge over the River of *Danubius*, to keep *Strigonium* from being that way relieved.

The Turks in the mean time to deprive the beſieged of all relief to be ſent unto them down the River of *Danubius*, made a great Bridge of Boats over the River, well fortified at both ends thereof on each ſide the River with a ſtrong *Corps de guard* for the defence thereof, ſo that nothing could that way paſs to or from the beſieged City. Which things much diſmaied them in the City, ſeeing no Preparations to be made on the other ſide for their Defence or Relief; yea *Baſta* himſelf, General of ſuch ſmall Forces as the Emperour had then, ſeeing the Enemy ſo ſtrong, and himſelf ſo weak, began greatly to doubt of the Event of this Siege; and yet nevertheleſs reſolutely ſet down to employ both his Valour and his Wiſdom for the ſafeguard of the Place, he, during the time of the Siege, failed not to the uttermoſt of his Power to ſhew the Effects both of the one and of the other.

The Iſle of *Strigonium* ſpoiled by the *Haiducks*.

And now the Turks, aſſiſted with the *Hungarian* Rebels, had performed an Exploit upon the Iſle of *Strigonium*, as well to take the ſame from the Imperials, as for the ſpoil and pillage thereof. The Inhabitants there had ſtill remained faithful unto the Service of the Emperour, whom the Rebels for all that had oftentimes ſought both by force and by perſwaſion to have removed from this their Loyalty and juſt devoir. Within this Iſle were 200 *Haiducks*, returned again to the Emperours Service, who were joyned unto the Iſlanders, for the better defence both of them and of the Iſland. But the Rebels knowing well the Paſſages and Entrances into the Iſle, upon the ſudden ſurpriſed the ſame, and in it theſe poor *Haiducks*, whom they cut all in pieces; which loſs cauſed *Baſta* to reſolve to ſend the *Wallons* he had in his Army into the Iſle for the defence thereof. Which they of the Iſland underſtanding, made requeſt unto the General, That he would not in any wiſe ſo do, for that they greatly feared leſt the *Wallons*, being Men altogether given to the ſpoil, not finding the Rebels to prey upon, ſhould after their wonted manner prey upon them, the Emperours faithful Subjects. At whoſe inſtance, the former purpoſe for the ſending of the *Wallons* being changed, *Collonitz* himſelf was appointed unto that Service; with whom *Monſieur de Laual*, a Noble young Gentleman of *France* (who but a few days before was newly come unto the Camp, for the honourable deſire he had to ſee Service, and to ſerve himſelf, with his Troop of Horſemen whom he had brought with him out of *France*) went over into the Iſland alſo; Whereinto when as the Rebels ſhortly after again entered, they were by *Collonitz* overthrown and driven out of the Iſle, two hundred and fifty of them being ſlain, and above fifty more of them taken Priſoners. In which Conflict the noble young Gentleman *Laual* ſo bravely behaved himſelf, as that he gained unto himſelf much Honour and Renown, every mans Mouth being full of his Praiſes, and wondering to ſee ſo great Courage in ſo young years, he being then ſcarce nineteen years old. With which loſs the Rebels rather enraged than diſcouraged, ſhortly after returned again, in greater number, and better reſolved; where, betwixt them, and them that were left for the defence of the Iſland, was fought a more ſharp and bloody fight than was the former; yet ſo, as that the Rebels were enforced again with loſs to retire. In which ſo hot and bloody a Skirmiſh, *Monſieur Laual*, having moſt valiantly born himſelf againſt the Enemy, and done enough for his Honour, but not ſo contented, but carried away with the heat of Youth, and the deſire of Glory, and not otherwiſe to be perſwaded, but ſtill adventurouſly preſſing on the retiring Enemy, was there with a ſmall ſhot ſlain, all they which knew him much lamenting his untimely Death.

The *Haiducks* invading the Iſle of *Strigonium*, by *Collonitz* overthrown.

***Monſieur Laual* ſlain.**

1605

But the Rebels not ſo diſcouraged, but ſtill in one place or other invading the Iſland, and threatning the Iſlanders with all Extremities, except they would take part with them; what by Force, what by Perſwaſion, ſo much prevailed with them, that the moſt part of them revolting from the Emperour, upon the ſudden ſet upon the Count of *Rhene*, being then in the Iſland, and having ſlain three hundred of his men, grievouſly wounded himſelf alſo. For the ſpeedy appeaſing of which Multitude, *Baſta* ſent over into the Iſland certain Companies of the *Ratzians* and *Wallons*, who not regarding that the Iſlanders were daily damnified by the Rebels, moſt miſerably ſpoiled them of whatſoever the Rebels had yet left them.

S. *Thomas's* Fort battered and aſſaulted by the Turks.

The Turks encamped before *Strigonium*, firſt planted their Battery againſt the ſtrong Fort, ſtanding aloft upon Saint *Thomas's* Hill; for that from thence they ſhould have received infinite harm, if they ſhould before the winning thereof have attempted to have won the City; it ſtanding on their Backs, and all the plain betwixt the Hill and the City wherein they were to plant their Battery being ſubject unto it. Which Fort, though very ſtrong, they with continual Battery by the ſpace of almoſt three weeks, having with infinite charge, and the loſs of a number of their Men, made aſſaultable, the four and twentieth day of *September* mounted the Hill to aſſault the ſame. Unto which aſſault they went up the Hill ſo thick, one thruſting another forward, that the Hill ſeemed now to be nothing but a mount or heap of armed Men, ſcarce any part of it being to be ſeen, it was ſo covered with them. Upon whom ſo ſwarming up, the Chriſtians in the Fort, having repoſed all the hope of their Welfare in their Valour, and reſolved thereby to die or live, courageouſly diſcharged their murthering ſhot, both great and ſmall, ſcarce any of their deadly Bullets falling in vain. Howbeit the Turks reſolutely ſet down for the performing of that they had taken in hand, without reſpect of Death or Danger, came ſtill deſperately on, until that they were come to the puſh of Pike, and ſo to handy blows even in the very Breaches, which the long Fury of the Turks Cannon had made very aſſaultable. Five hours this furious aſſault was by the Turks maintained, and by the Chriſtians with invincible Courage and Reſolution endured, many brave and valiant men falling on both ſides; and thrice the Turks repulſed, were enforced to retire, but were ſtill by their Commanders brought on again. The loſs was to both ſides common, many worthy Men there ending their Days, worthy of eternal Fame. The Chriſtians fell dead upon the Turks ſlain by their Valour, and the Turks upon the Chriſtians ſlain by their Multitude. But what ſhould we ſay? The Turks by numbers died, but not their Force, that being by their great numbers ſtill maintained even in deſpight of Death, and always living in their great Multitude yet left alive. Which was not ſo with the Defendants, but even quite contrary; who could not loſe one only man, without diminiſhing of their Forces, and means of reſiſtance; ſo that they ſtill loſt without hope of ſafeguard, and yet could not be in ſafety without continuing of their ſo great loſſes. But he that ſtill fighteth only for to ſave his Life, without hope of killing his Enemy, being too mighty for him to overcome, muſt needs at laſt die overcome, if it were but with very wearineſs. So in the end of this long and furious aſſault, nine hundred of the Chriſtians being ſlain, together with the Count *Oetingen*, their Chieftain, and his Lieutenant mortally wounded, and nothing now more left but a few ſore wounded men, and the dead Walls for the Turks to overcome, they entered the Place, ſlew thoſe few whom they found yet breathing, made booty of their Death, Blood, and Arms; and by the infinite price of their own Blood, gained that place which had now no more Blood or Life left in it. From whence they carried certain great pieces to help to batter the City withal, and to vanquiſh them, for whoſe defence they were but a little before appointed.

1605

S. *Thomas's* Fort won by the Turks.

The baſe Town of *Strigonium* battered.

The Turks having thus gained Saint *Thomas's* Fort, even as they were yet embrued with Blood, and prick'd forward with Fury, forthwith planted thirty great pieces of Battery againſt the baſe Town of *Strigonium*, ſtanding low by the ſide of *Danubius*, and commonly called the Water Town; which they with all their Force and Fury moſt terribly battered. This baſe Town was environed with a Palliſado of Wood, to defend it againſt all ſudden Surpriſes, as almoſt all the Towns of *Hungary* are; Whereunto the confuſed Multitude of the Turks carried a number of bruſh Faggots, ſtuffed with Gunpowder and Brimſtone, which being ſet on fire, preſently ſet fire upon the Palliſado alſo, and burnt it down to the Ground, making a way for the Turks to come even to the Walls of the City; which they with their great Ordnance both Night and Day inceſſantly moſt terribly battered, untill that by the Fury of the Cannon they had therein made a fair and large aſſaultable Breach. A great ſhame for our Men to ſuffer the ſame ſo to be made, and not again repaired; whereas the Turks before in the ſame place, had made it good againſt the great Army of the Archduke *Matthias*, being never to be driven and forced out of it by the Chriſtians Valour, until they were therein ſlain; and to be now by our men through their Cowardiſe not to be able to be made good. For why, it was even the ſame Place of battel, the ſame Men, the ſame Arms, and the ſame form of Fight, but not the ſame Courages. The Turks can very well learn of us that which is for them profitable, and make uſe thereof to their own advantage; whereas we can borrow nothing of them to ſerve us againſt them, and ſo profit our ſelves by their Example. Beſides that, the confidence they have in their Multitude carrieth them unto ſuch Advantages as from which the deſpair of being ſeconded and relieved keepeth us; whoſe boldneſs alſo, firmly grounded upon a Reſolution to die, paſſeth our Reſolution far, in fighting only to ſave our Lives.

The baſe Town of *Strigonium* aſſaulted.

The Breach ſo made, the Turks in good order, ſtayed upon a firm Reſolution, came bravely marching on, one of them thruſting another, and as it were, ſtriving among themſelves who ſhould have the honour to give the firſt charge, their haughtineſs of Mind animating of them to ſeek for Honour even where Perils were rifeſt; ſo to have the honour to die amongſt the moſt forward and valient men of War, rather than to live among Cowards of no Reputation or Valour. During the heat of which their ſo great and firm Reſolution, they regarded not the ſhowers of deadly Bullets falling amongſt them as thick as hail, as too weak to daunt their haughty Courages; but thruſting one another amidſt theſe ſo great Dangers, came unto the breach, there to try the matter hand to hand with our men. The Janizaries were the men eſpecially appointed to this Service, and had taken the ſame upon them; who with their great Muſquets on their Reſts cruelly galled our men, expoſed to the danger of their deadly ſhot upon the brink as it were of their own Graves. The Great Baſſa himſelf was there preſent at the aſſault, encouraging his Souldiers with Speeches full of Terror and of Comfort, as he ſaw Occaſion for either to be uſed; wherewith he ſtirred up their Valour as is a Ship with a fair or rough gale of Wind. Death it ſelf could not

A terrible aſſault.

The great Baſſa incourageth his Souldiers in the Time of the aſſault.

1605

not overcome theſe Miſcreants, their number ſtill repairing in a Moment what Death had taken away in an Hour; whereas our Men ſlew others but to be ſlain themſelves; and fought not but to become Sacrifices unto Death themſelves, and not by their reſiſtance to carry away the Victory againſt inexorable Deſtiny. The fight was great and terrible, and the bullets ſtill flew, few of them falling in vain amongſt ſuch a multitude and preaſe of men. They of the high Town, who themſelves expected the like danger wherein their Companions now floated betwixt Life and Death, ſtood above looking on, not daring to give them aid, or to remove out of their ſtrength, but reſerving themſelves with all their Forces, for the ſole ſafeguard of themſelves, and for their own defence. Howbeit, all this while the Enemies Forces ſtill increaſed, and the Chriſtians diminiſhed; for Death could not weaken theirs, whereas it ſtill deſtroyed ours, who ſailed but in number, not in Valour, and gave place but unto the force of death, and not unto the force of men. All the deadly blows appointed to be given for the defence of a Breach, had been by our men given; all the Arms neceſſary for ſuch a purpoſe had been employed, all reſiſtance that could be deſired had been made, and all the Duties of valiant and worthy men performed; ſo that nothing here wanted but number, and not valour. But in all ſuch Actions there are two things neceſſary, the one for the helping of the other, for the correſpondency of their Power; which both joyned in one Body, may do all things, but being divided, can neither of them do any thing againſt him which is poſſeſſed of both.

Power and Valour the life of great Actions.

In fine, after four Attempts in this Aſſault, moſt of the Chriſtian Defendants being ſlain, the Turks forced the reſt, and gained the Breach, treading under foot the dead Bodies both of the Turks and of the Chriſtians, to get into the City. This Place thus won, and thoſe that were left put to the Sword, and the Town rifled; the Turks yet in breath, and all embrued in Blood, gave an Attempt unto the high Town, in ſome hope, even at that time, in ſo great a Confuſion of the Defendants, to have carried the ſame alſo. Howbeit, the Defendants beholding their Weapons yet dropping with the Blood of their Friends and Companions, and ready to ſhed theirs alſo, for the preſent notably repulſed them: Who, ſo diſappointed of their purpoſe, and deſiring to gain the Place with the leaſt loſs they might, reſolved to take the ſame by undermining of it, repoſing more truſt in the Spade and the Mattock, than in their Swords and Harquebuſes, being by Experience of their former Sieges taught, how hard and dangerous a thing it was by Battery and Aſſault to obtain the ſame. This travel in the Mines took ſucceſs according to their deſire; for within a few days, the Mines, (with much labour) being brought to Perfection, and fire put unto them, they failed not to work their effect, but with their great Violence blew up the Walls, Rampiers, Men, and Munition, all together, caſting forth ſuch Smoaks and Flames as wherewith a number of the Defendants were ſmothered and burnt. Which Breaches ſo made, and the defences of the City blown up, in ſuch ſort, that the Chriſtians lay open to the Enemies deadly ſhot, being not able any more to ſhew themſelves without danger of their Lives, the Turks in order forthwith came to aſſault and force the ſame. Which the Captains of the Chriſtians beholding, prepared themſelves to withſtand them, and to that purpoſe would have given order unto their Souldiers for the defence both of the Breach and of the Walls; whom they found ſuch as *Eumenes* at his greateſt need found his, not willing in any wiſe to fight, and in the moſt aſſured peril of Death, without Courage, either to vanquiſh their Enemies, or defend themſelves; in ſuch ſort, that not one of them would put themſelves in order, ſhew themſelves upon the Breach, or come near the Walls. Lazy Cowards, chuſing rather to attend an aſſured death in their Cowardiſe and want of Courage, than to adventure their Lives into the danger of Arms; well deſerving to endure the ſame with diſhonour, ſeeing that they refuſed by honourable reſiſtance to preſerve their Lives. The Captains, for all that, by fair ſpeeches, and by threats, ceaſed not to ſtir them up; praying, exhorting, and ſometime with Death threatening them, if they thus refuſed to do their Duty, and with their naked Swords in their hands, would have enforced them to the Breach. But all in vain; their dead Courages being not to be revived or ſtirred up in their ſo great a fear of Death; Which much diſmayed the Captains, ſeeing their Lives and Honour, together with the Place, (through this Tumult and Cowardiſe of their Souldiers) to be in extream peril. During which time, the Turks coming on, had without any great reſiſtance gained the foot of the Breach; whom the Souldiers now ſeeing ſo near unto them, and out of hope to be relieved, and deſtitute of Courage alſo, inſtead of truſting unto their Arms and Valour, betook themſelves unto the refuge of their ſhame and Cowardiſe. For compaſſing in the Count *Dampierre*, Governour of the Place, they would by Reaſons have perſwaded him to have yielded, and by Threats have feared him from farther reſiſting of the Enemy. Their Fury emboldened them, proceeding not from their Valour, but from their Fear; ſtorming againſt their General for not being a Coward, as they themſelves were; trembling for fear of their Enemies, and inſulting againſt him. They had but one man of him to fight againſt, which made them furious and hardy; hardy with cowardiſe againſt one, not daring to hold up their Weapons againſt their Enemies, being many. Howbeit, the Count, in the middle of theſe Fears enraged, continued firm in his Reſolution, his Courage increaſing in this ſtorm of Mutiny, wiſhing rather to dye by the hands of his own Souldiers, in the performing of his Duty, than to be ſaved by the Turks in the bottom of his Diſhonour. Which his ſo brave a Reſolution cauſed him even in the midſt of theſe furious and tumultuous Companies, to put them in mind of their Duties, and to perſwade with them, That the Peril they ſo much feared, was greater through their own fear, than indeed it was; that only their fearful Apprehenſion made the danger, and not the Action that was by them to be performed; ſeeing, that it was impoſſible for the Enemy to overcome them, if they would but reſolutely ſtand upon their Valour to reſiſt him. That all things reſting but in Opinion, were by themſelves to be ſubdued, if they had but the deſire to overcome them, and yet of power to overthrow them, if they will yield to their diſhonour. That therefore they ſhould propound unto themſelves the Honour and the Shame that was to enſue unto them, by the different Deportment of themſelves in this Action, how much the deformity of the one differed from the beauty of the other, and aſpire unto the Honour which their Enemies had ſometimes got in the ſame Place, and in the very ſame Action wherein they were now, for having with leſs appearance of their ſafety overcome the like danger, wherein their holding out had made them Victorious with Honour, without any great fight at all. That it ſhould be an eternal Infamy unto them, That the Turks ſhould ſurmount them by their Reſolution,

The baſe Town of *Strigonium* won by the Turks.

The upper Town of *Strigonium* in vain by the Turks Aſſaulted.

Strigonium undermined.

1605

Great cowardiſe in the Garriſon Souldiers of *Strigonium.*

The Garriſon Souldiers in mutiny againſt the Governour, would enforce him to yield up the City.

The brave Reſolution of Count *Dampierre*, Governour of *Strigonium*.

His notable Remonſtrances unto his diſcouraged Souldiers, to perſuade them to hold out the Siege.

in an Action wherein they ought to ſhew themſelves moſt valorous; and by their Cowardiſe become ſubject unto them, whom at other times they had accounted unworthy to be compared with them in Valour. That they ſhould lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and remember their Eſtate and Faith; bound unto the firſt by their Honour, and to the ſecond by their Duty. That they were Men of War, living by their Pay, which bound them to the Service of him from whom they received it, even unto Death; having before obliged their Lives unto their Pay; and that they were Chriſtian Subjects, bound to keep their Promiſe given by Oath before God. That forgetting either the one or the other of theſe things, they deprived themſelves of the Pay promiſed to them which performed their Service; and loſing their Renown in this World for their Cowardiſe, and in the World to come for breaking their Faith. That therefore they ſhould continue conſtant in the performance of their Duty, reſolving themſelves rather to endure an honourable Death, unto which belonged the recompence of an eternal Fame for their Valour and Fidelity, than to prolong a miſerable Life with perpetual Infamy for their Cowardiſe; whereof for all that, they could no more aſſure themſelves by the yielding up of the place, than by the defending thereof, for as much as the Turks were oft times even as cruel upon them that yielded, as thoſe that reſiſted; keeping no Faith with the Chriſtians, but as beſt ſtood with their Profit and their Pleaſure. And that therefore for his part he was reſolved, rather to die with Honour in the Place, than to be beholden to his Enemies for an infamous and miſerable Life. And that therefore he beſought them to follow him in this laſt Action of their devoir, which carried with it all the Trophies of their precedent Actions, wherein they had oftentimes aſſiſted him in many Actions of leſs worth, and of much greater Peril.

Moſt ſhameful Cowardiſe.

This Diſcourſe grounded upon ſo good Reaſons, and proceeding from ſo great Valour, might have prevailed with any other generous Minds, except with theſe degenerate Souldiers, who by their Cowardiſe had hardened themſelves againſt all the points of Honour which might any way move them; in ſuch ſort, that they ſtood as faſt in their baſe Cowardiſe, as did their General in his valorous and conſtant Reſolution. They ſtood with their Hands behind them, without any Weapons in them, as was their Minds without any Courage at all; and as Men appointed to be ſacrificed upon the Altar of Death, attending without moving, but the Hands of them that ſhould ſacrifice them. Great and ſhameleſs Cowardiſe, not daring by reſiſtance to withſtand the Violence of their Enemies, for fear of hindering them in their deſires, being indeed ſuch as had vowed their Death to ſatisfie their own Fury. Mean while, ſome of theſe Souldiers ſeeing their Speeches to be but vain, and not able to move their Governour to ſatisfie their deſire, conceived the ſame their Requeſts, with the Reaſons thereof, into Writing, which they ſent unto him. Which the Governour having read, in their ſight tore their Letters in pieces, and trod the ſame under his Feet; rejecting as well their Demands by Letters, as he had done their Requeſts by Words. In brief, having forgotten nothing of the Duty of a worthy General, and valiant Captain, joyned now thereunto the Office of a ſimple Souldier, going himſelf unto the breach, with ſome few, to defend the ſame. But the more the Count ſtood upon this his ſo great Reſolution, the more theſe cowardly and mutinous Villains proceeded in their baſe Obſtinacy, in ſo much that they fell from Prayers to Fury and Rage, threatning to deliver him their Governour, together with the Place, unto the Enemy, to ſave their Lives, if he himſelf would not by Treaty ſave them from the imminent Perils. If theſe baſe Cowards were before deaf unto the juſt Remonſtrances of their Governour, which might have preſerved them from Death and Infamy, he was alſo as deaf as they, to conceive their Requeſts, or to be moved with their Threats; knowing that he had more Reaſon on his ſide, by conſtant Valour to withſtand the wicked and ſhameful Reſolution of his Souldiers, than they had with Diſhonour to enforce him, or to offer him Violence, to their eternal Shame and Infamy.

Moſt horrible Inſolency of mutinous Souldiers againſt their Governour.

In the mean time, theſe obſtinate and enraged Cowards proceeded from Words to Deeds, and from Requeſts to Violence, as did oft times the diſloyal Souldiers of *Rome*, in ſlaying the good Emperours. For they in cruel manner, without Reverence, by force layed Hands upon the Governour, put him in Priſon, and afterwards craving Parley, fell to Treaty with the Great Baſſa about the delivery up of the Place. Wherewith the Baſſa well contented, ſent in unto them *Haly Baſſa*, to conclude the matter. Where, after ſome little Talk, it was agreed, That they ſhould deliver up the Place (which was not indeed theirs to diſpoſe of) and that the Baſſa ſhould therefore promiſe and ſuffer them with Bag and Baggage in ſafety to depart whither they would, with their Enſigns frilled up, and Fire in their Matches; leaving behind them their great Ordnance, with all their other Munition and Warlike Proviſion. Which only Compoſition, by the perfidious Souldiers made in the abſence and in durance of their General, was by the Turks faithfully kept, amongſt a thouſand others like before by them broken; whether it were in reſpect of the eaſie Conqueſt of the City, (being one of the chief and principal Places of all *Hungary*) or for that they being overjoyed with the gaining of that which they had ſo long deſired, and now ſo little hoped for, they forgot their wonted cruelty and breach of Faith, is doubted.

The Conditions whereupon *Strigonium* was to be delivered unto the Turks.

The extraordinary Courteſie of the Turks toward the Garriſon Souldiers of *Strigonium* at their departure thence.

This City thus yielded the Third of *October*, and the Turks forgetting their wonted Cruelty, according to their Faith and Promiſe before given, in ſafety conducted theſe cowardly Souldiers within a League of *Comara*, helping them by the way to carry their ſick and wounded Men, together with their Fardles, which the Turks oft-times carried upon their own Shoulders. Theſe Cowards, which thus went out, with their Governour ſent out alſo with them, were in number a thouſand whole and ſound men, fitted, whilſt they were in the City, with all things neceſſary for their Honour and Defence of the Place, but themſelves deſtitute and void of all Honour and Courage. A thouſand, which all together were not worth their Governour alone, ſeeing that in him alone there remained more Valour, than in all that whole Multitude. Many of the Inhabitants which had there long dwelt, would not forſake the Place, but by the leave of the Turks there remained ſtill; the reſt which would not, having leave in ſafety to depart whither they would.

Thus this famous City of *Strigonium*, one of the ſtrongeſt Bulwarks of Chriſtendom againſt the Turks, which the Chriſtians had now holden by the ſpace of ten Years and one Month, after that it was by Count *Charles Mansfelt* won from the Turks, when as it had long time before been in the Turks Poſſeſſion, won from the Chriſtians by Sultan *Solyman*, now again (as is before ſaid) fell into the Power of the Turks, with threeſcore and ten pieces of great Ordnance, and a wonderful deal of other Warlike Proviſion.

Theſe

The Captains and chief authors of the Mutiny, and yielding up of *Strigonium*, impriſoned, condemned, and moſt ſhamefully, but worthily executed.

Theſe baſe and cowardly Souldiers, together with the Count their Governour, being come to *Comara*, were juſtly deſpoiled both of their Honour and of their Arms, and ſent back again to *Preſburg*, where, curſed and deteſted of all the World, and eſpecially of the *Hungarians* themſelves; (who, although they were revolted from their Allegeance toward the Emperour, yet could they not but much deteſt their ſo ſhameful and notable Cowardiſe) were there the chief of them committed to Priſon, where after they had for a certain time lain, and being brought to Judgement, and convicted of Treaſon, in delivering up the City of *Strigonium* unto the Turks, and in ſo doing, to have greatly damnified the Chriſtian Commonweal, they were therefore Condemned, and according to the quality of their offences, diverſly, in this manner Executed: Captain *Leonard Frederick Schlicker* had his Judgement, firſt to have his right Hand cut off, and his Tongue drawn out behind his Neck, and both of them nail'd to the Gallows, and afterwards to be hanged; howbeit, through the Interceſſion of many of his Friends, he was not hanged, but beheaded: *John Michael Schoner*, *John Hopſt*, *Adam Lindawar*, *Philip Dur*, and *Caſpar Lielbarter*, all Captains, were adjudged to have their right Hands firſt cut off and nail'd to the Gallows, and afterward hanged, but through the Interceſſion of County *Manſfield*, they were hanged, and their Hands not cut off: *John Lautenberger*, was condemned to be quarter'd alive, but was at the Interceſſion of County *Manſfield*, firſt beheaded, and afterward quartered: *John Diſchoff*, with eleven other, were only hanged: *Laurence Marſhal*, was enjoyned to ſerve two Years againſt the Turks, as a common Souldier, without Pay, but through the Interceſſion of County *Manſfield*, had one Year pardon'd him: *Jeremy Strelin*, with divers others, which were either fled, or elſe remained ſtill in *Strigonium*, were judged, their Names to be ſet upon the Gallows; and being afterwards caught, ſome of them to be quartered, and others their Hands to be cut off, and nail'd upon the Gallows, and afterward hanged. And thus theſe diſloyal Captains, by ſhunning of an honourable Death in defence of *Strigonium*, and performing of their Duty; by neglecting the ſame, procured unto themſelves a moſt ſhameful Death, attended upon with perpetual Infamy and Diſhonour.

But, as the loſs of this ſtrong Place was unto the Chriſtians heavy and grievous, ſo was it unto the Turks no leſs pleaſing and joyful; it being the Place they had of long above all others deſired, and whereat they had ever ſince the loſs thereof, with their great Armies in *Hungary*, for the ſpace of ten Years ſtill aimed. Howbeit, this their Joy endured not long, their Proſperity being too hot to hold out without ſome cooling blaſt of adverſe Fortune. For the ſame report of Fame, which with the right hand preſented unto the Great Sultan, at *Conſtantinople*, the pleaſing news of the winning of *Strigonium* in *Hungary*; even with the left hand delivered likewiſe unto him the melancholy report of the Overthrow of his great Armies in *Aſia*, with the loſs of *Damaſco*, the greateſt City of *Syria*. For, to begin with the greateſt firſt; The King of *Perſia*, invaded by *Cicala Baſſa*, Sultan *Achmat's* great Lieutenant in *Aſia*; and hearing that the Baſſa of *Caramania* had expreſs charge, with all ſpeed to come unto him with a great ſupply of Souldiers, to be taken up in *Caramania*, and the Countries thereabout; he then having a puiſſant Army on foot, before prepar'd for all Events, preſently ſet forward againſt *Cicala*, whom he coming upon before he was ready to fight, by his unexpected coming, and ſudden charge, overthrew his Army, and took from him all his great Ordnance; *Cicala* himſelf, with three hundred Souldiers, with much ado eſcaping, and retiring himſelf to *Adena*; which City, the *Perſian* King, purſuing *Cicala*, ſhortly after ſtraitly beſieged. With which unlucky news, Sultan *Achmat* much troubled, forthwith writ unto the Baſſa of *Trebezond*, with all ſpeed to ſend aid unto *Cicala*; who, taking unto him ſome other of the Turks Commanders, with a great Army ſet forward on his Journey. Of whoſe coming, *Cicala* hearing, the better to direct the Baſſa in his proceeding, cauſed himſelf, with ten of his Souldiers whom he beſt truſted, ſecretly by Night to be let down over the Walls of the City: And ſo coming to the Baſſa, together with him kept on his way to joyn Battel with the King, as near unto the City as he could, for that he had taken order before he came out of the City, that ſo ſoon as they ſhould perceive the Battel to be joyned, they ſhould forthwith ſally out upon the backs of the *Perſians*, and ſo by holding of them with a doubtful Battel, to further the Victory: All which, the *Perſian* King hearing of the Baſſa's coming, wiſely doubting, and not willing to forſake the Siege, divided his Army, and leaving one part thereof to continue the Siege, went himſelf with the other to meet the Baſſa; wherein he uſed ſuch Expedition and Speed, that with all his Power falling upon him before he could put his men in order, or range his Battel, he made of the Turks (now confuſedly, and without all order, fighting more for the ſafeguard of their Lives, than for any hope they had of Victory) ſuch an exceeding great Slaughter, that few of them eſcaped, but were there almoſt all ſlain; *Cicala* himſelf, but with two or three more, having much ado, by getting into a little Boat, and ſo by paſſing over the River, to eſcape the danger. After which Victory ſo eaſily gained, the King returning again to the Siege, after many ſharp and great Aſſaults thereunto given, and many Men on both ſides loſt, had the ſame at length yielded unto his mercy.

Cicala Baſſa with his Army overthrown by the *Perſian* King.

The Baſſa of *Trebezond* with his Army diſcomfited by the *Perſian* King.

Now with this news of the loſs of his Armies, and of the Victories of the *Perſian* King, Sultan *Achmat* enraged, cauſed *Cicala* Baſſa's Houſe, at *Conſtantinople*, full of Treaſure and Wealth, to be rifled; after the manner of the World, deeming of the doings of him ſo great a Captain, according to the event and evil ſucceſs thereof, though not in his power to have been remedied; nevertheleſs, ſhortly after, he cauſed great ſums of Money to be delivered out of his Treaſures, and new Forces raiſed, for the renewing of the War againſt the *Perſian* King. Unto which Service, (now become unto the Turks dreadful) when as many of the Janizaries were to be appointed, they, after their proud and inſolent manner, all ariſing up in Mutiny, ſaid flatly, That they would not ſtir one foot out of *Conſtantinople*, except they were both before hand payed, and aſſured alſo to have their Wages increaſed; complaining grievouſly withal, of the Baſſa of *Damaſco*, the Great Sultan's high Treaſurer, that he, converting the Sultan's Treaſures to his own uſe, did not pay the Souldiers their wages due. For the appeaſing of which Mutiny and Tumult, the Sultan cauſed the ſame Baſſa to be apprehended, and his Head ſtrucken off, and ſo with the price of his Blood again appeaſed them.

The Janizaries Mutiny.

But leaving the *Perſian* King triumphing in his Victories, and the Great Sultan grieving at his Loſſes, let us turn aſide into *Syria*, to ſee the Troubles the Turks had even amongſt themſelves, to the weakning of their State, and the increaſing of the Great Sultan's Cares and Grief. The two Baſſaes of *Damaſco* and *Aleppo*, had (as is before declared) been at great Diſcord and Variance betwixt themſelves, and the Baſſa of *Aleppo* in field over-

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overthrown, and in his City beſieged, glad to make Peace with the other Baſſa, by yielding unto all ſuch things as it pleaſed him to demand. Which two Baſſaes for all that being diverſly affected unto the State, long agreed not, he of *Damaſco* continuing faithful in his Allegiance towards the Great Sultan, and the other of *Aleppo* ſecretly inclining unto Rebellion. Which the Baſſa of *Damaſco* perceiving, and joyning unto him the Baſſaes of *Tripolis* and *Gazare*, with their united Forces went againſt the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, leading with them 60000 good men, with purpoſe to have beſieged the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, his Enemy, in his City. But he betimes advertiſed of this his Deſign, and not unprovided for his coming, quickly called together his Forces, and had in very ſhort time raiſed an Army of thirty thouſand valiant men, whom he encouraging, and finding them willing to follow him whitherſoever he would lead them, marched directly towards his Enemies; with whom he meeting, readily joyned Battel with them, which was fought with ſuch fury and hideous noiſe, as if it had been two thunder-claps oppoſing each other in one Cloud, ſtriving of themſelves which ſhould burſt out firſt, being like People, like Arms, and like order of fight. The medley for a great time continued ſharp and furious, the number of the one ſide countervailing the valour of the other, and the others valour ballancing the others great number; howbeit in the end the one Baſſa overcame the other three, and the ſmaller number the greater, and putting them to flight, remained ſole Victors of the Field.

The Baſſa's of *Damaſco, Tripolis,* and *Gazare*, overthrown by the Baſſa of *Aleppo.*

Now the victorious Baſſa, as wiſe to uſe the Victory, as he was valiant to obtain the ſame, ſo eagerly purſued them, that without giving them leave to breath, he beſieged *Tripolis*, the Baſſa whereof at his coming abandoned the ſame, and carrying with him all his Treaſure, fled into *Cyprus*; which made the taking of the Place unto the victorious Baſſa eaſie, who rifled and ranſacked the ſame; and not content with this Conqueſt, forthwith beſieged the great and ſtrong City of *Damaſco*, reſolved to die in the Plains thereof, or to become victorious within the Walls of the ſame. During which Siege, the Baſſa of *Tripolis* had out of the Provinces and Countries of the Turks thereabouts, raiſed another great Army, and was coming to raiſe the Siege, and to reſcue the City.

The Baſſa of *Tripolis* the ſecond time overthrown by the Baſſa of *Aleppo.*

Whereof the Baſſa of *Aleppo* hearing, roſe with the greateſt part of his Army, and meeting with him, gave him battel, and therein the ſecond time overthrew him and put him to flight. Which misfortune ſo diſmayed the Minds of the beſieged, that deſpairing of all Succour and Relief, they, by conſent of their Governour, fell to Parley with the Enemies, and ſo upon certain Capitulations yielded unto him the Place.

Damaſco taken and rifled by the Baſſa of *Aleppo.*

Whereinto the Baſſa entring, found therein great Treaſure, raiſed of the Turks Tributes, whereupon he ſeiſed, and by the means thereof reſolved to make himſelf maſter of all *Syria*, the chief City whereof he had now in his own Power; whereunto he gave free Acceſs and Traffick unto all the Merchants of *Perſia*, and of the *Indies*.

The Beglerbeg of *Natolia*'s Lieutenant with his Army diſcomfited by the Baſſa of *Aleppo.*

Now in the time of this his Proſperity, News was brought him, That the *Beglerbeg* of *Natolia* had ſent his Lieutenant with a great Army againſt him; who, knowing that Diligence was the Spirit of Conqueſt, and that to conquer was to little purpoſe, without a vigilant care for the Preſervation thereof, reſted not upon his former good Fortune, but marched directly towards his Enemies: Wherein his Succeſs was anſwerable unto his Deſign, for within the ſpace of two days he had taken all the Paſſages which might give way unto his Enemies to diſtreſs him; and in the ſtraights of the Mountains, whereby the Enemy was to paſs, layed a great Ambuſh of two thouſand Harquebuſiers, and three thouſand Horſe, who the Enemies being paſſed, and he charging them a head, ſet upon them in the Rereward, and brought ſuch a fear upon them, that having made a great fight, in fine, they having loſt a number of Men, were glad to flie, and to leave the Victory to the Baſſa. And to the increaſing of his good haps, he intercepted a Ship, caſt by Weather upon that Coaſt, laded with great Treaſure, bound from *Alexandria* to *Conſtantinople*, with the Tributes of *Egypt*, belonging to the Great Sultan. Of all which things the *Perſian* King advertiſed, ſought to joyn with him in Amity, highly commending his valiant Acts, and ſending unto him honourable Preſents; to wit, a Piſtol, an Helmet, and a Targuet, all ſet with precious Stones, eſteemed to be worth fifty thouſand Crowns. This Flame of Rebellion ſpred abroad out of *Syria* into *Caramania*, and ſo farther and farther into the leſſer *Aſia*. Which was the cauſe that the Great Sultan ſent with all ſpeed unto the Viſier Baſſa, then in *Hungary*; commanding him, now that *Strigonium* was taken, which before had hindered the concluding of Peace, he ſhould now upon reaſonable Conditions conclude the ſame, to the end, that his Affairs on this ſide of his Empire being ſet in quiet and ſecurity, he might forthwith after turn his Forces againſt the *Perſians* and the Rebels in *Aſia*.

But after all theſe great Troubles, to return again into *Hungary*. The Rebels there had of long beſieged the ſtrong Town of *Newhuſe*, as is before declared; which being hitherto valiantly defended by the *German* Garriſon therein, was now brought to ſuch Extremity, as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to be longer defended, the Garriſon Souldiers therein being with often Aſſaults for the moſt part ſlain, and the reſt of them that were left grievouſly wounded. Of which ſtrong Town (being as it were the Key of that ſide of the Country) the Turks, which together with the Rebels beſieged the ſame, were, for the commodious Scituation thereof very deſirous; and the Rebels thereunto as unwilling, for that it being once in their hand, would hardly ever be again from them recovered. For which cauſe *Illiſhaſcius*, one of the Captains of the *Hungarian* Rebels, then at the Siege thereof, perceiving it could not long be kept, to the intent that the Turks ſhould not by force obtain the ſame, by Letters requeſted of *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant, though then his Enemy, That the Town might be delivered unto *Humanoius*, another Captain of the *Hungarian* Rebels, leſt the Turks ſhould by force obtain the ſame; aſſuring him upon the Peril of his own Life, and the Confiſcation of all his Goods to the Emperour, that upon a Reconciliation and Peace to be made betwixt the Emperour and the *Hungarians* his Subjects, he ſhould again deliver the ſame Town and Fortreſs into his Poſſeſſion.

Newhuſe yielded unto the *Hungarian* Rebels.

Whereupon by commandment of the Arch-duke, and of *Baſta*, the Town was yielded up the ſeventeenth day of the Month of *October*, unto the aforeſaid *Humanoius*, and the *Hungarians* only received into the Town; yet with this Condition, That the *German* Souldiers which were yet left, and who had valiantly thus long endured the Siege, might ſtill ſtay in the Town in Pay, and keep watch and ward together with the reſt of the *Hungarians*, *Humanoius* having command over them all.

Wherefore the Turks, ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their Purpoſe, for the obtaining of this ſtrong Town, riſing by Night, and not a little diſcontented with the *Hungarians*, marched towards *Strigonium*, at the Siege whereof the Viſier Baſſa lay. Howbeit within a few days after, the

Hungarians not liking to have the *Germans* in Garriſon with them, turned them with their Captain *Strenius* out of the Town, and yet ſafely conducted them to *Comara*.

Altenſoll yielded to the *Hungarian* Rebels.

At the ſame time, they of *Altenſoll*, another ſtrong Town of the upper *Hungary*, not far from *Newhuſe*, having been long beſieged by the Rebels, and driven for want of Victual to eat their Horſes for the ſpace of five Weeks; and having now eaten them all but ſeven, and nothing elſe left, yielded themſelves, together with their Town, to the Rebels; as did alſo they of *Wiglai*, *Shemnitz*, and *Cremnitz*.

In the mean time, *Botſcay*, with a very great Army of his *Hungarian* Rebels, came to *Tyrna*, a ſtrong Town, about ſixteen Miles diſtant from *Vienna*, attended upon with a Guard of an hundred tall Souldiers, gallantly apparelled all in blew; a little before whoſe coming, *Humanoius*, unto whom *Newhuſe* was a little before yielded, had ſummoned *Preſburg*, requiring the ſame to be yielded unto him. Which thing, *Botſcay*, being now come, by Letters likewiſe required of the Citizens, threatning otherwiſe moſt ſtraitly to beſiege them. Whereupon, *Schonberg*, Governour of *Preſburg*, doubting of the faithfulneſs of the Citizens, being almoſt all *Hungarians*, retired himſelf, with a good part of his Souldiers, into the Caſtle, with Proteſtation, to ſpend his Life, and all that he had, for the keeping and defence thereof. With whoſe Conſtancy the Citizens moved, continued firm in their Allegeance to the Emperour; which *Botſcay* perceiving, and that the City was not to be got by threats, forthwith removed and went to *Peſth*, where he was moſt honourably received by the Viſier Baſſa, and by him preſented with a Crown of curious workmanſhip, and threeſcore thouſand Duckets, with five and twenty moſt goodly Horſes; and there having received from him full power to entreat of Peace, and to conclude the ſame with the Imperials, with *Haly* Baſſa, and certain other of the chief of the Turks, joyned in Commiſſion with him, again departed, and went to *Kyrpa*, unto an Aſſembly of the *Hungarians* there to be holden; whither but a little before *Sigiſmund Forgat* was come with the Emperour's Reſolution concerning the Negotiation of Peace, whenas in the mean time other Commiſſioners from the Emperour were come to *Comara* about the Treaty of Peace with the Turks, they themſelves ſo requiring. Howbeit, *Collonitz*, at the ſame time by Letters writ unto the Archduke, adviſing him that this Treaty of Peace might not, together and at one time, be taken in hand with the Turks and the Rebels; but that if it were poſſible, an Attonement ſhould be firſt made with the Rebels, and afterward a Peace concluded with the Turks; the common good of the Commonweal ſo requiring; for that he perceived the Turks indeed not to be deſirous of Peace at all, but only to go about, by keeping of the Chriſtians at variance among themſelves, and in ſuſpence between hope and fear, to do them harm, and themſelves good; which was afterward found to be ſo indeed.

Botſcay obtaineth leave of the Viſier Baſſa, to entreat of Peace with the Emperours Commiſſioners.

The *Perſian* King had ſome Months before ſent three Ambaſſadors unto his Imperial Majeſty, who being come at divers times one after another, were all with peculiar Letters diſmiſſed from *Prague*, the 29th. of *November*. Unto the firſt of which Ambaſſadors, Letters were given of this purport.

The Emperours Letters unto the *Perſian* King.

Z*inal Chan Beg, whom your Majeſty hath ſent Ambaſſador unto Us, we have willingly ſeen and received, and given him Audience, in declaring of ſuch things, as he had from you in charge. It is unto Us both acceptable and pleaſing, that your Majeſty hath regard, ſo friendly to ſalute Us, and ſo carefully to ſeek to joyn in Amity and Friendſhip with Us, whereby your Majeſty much bindeth Us unto the like deſire of mutual love and friendſhip; and that again on our parts ſhould be ready to perform ſuch things as may be unto your Majeſty pleaſing; and that we ſhould wiſh for nothing more, than that our Friendſhip ſhould daily more and more be confirmed, and for the common Good of Us both, for many years preſerved: wherein We for our parts will not be wanting. Whereas your Majeſty with great Courage hath undertaken, and with ſo happy ſucceſs of Victories continued your Wars againſt the Turk, whereof you had ſo juſt cauſe, We from our hearts in your behalf rejoyce, as all other Chriſtians worthily do; and We our ſelves are thereby much animated valiantly and conſtantly to proceed in our Wars, which we now ſo many years have made with the ſame Enemy, nothing doubting, but that God, the revenger of wrong, will ſo proſper the honourable Endeavours of your Majeſty, as that you ſhall not only recover ſuch things as have been wrongfully taken from you, but alſo weaken and deſtroy the Power of that perfidious Enemy. Which, that it may the better be brought to paſs, We alſo renew our Wars, raiſe greater Forces, and by our Ambaſſadors and Letters, exhort and incite the greateſt Chriſtian Princes and Potentates to extend their Power againſt this our common Enemy; and thereby to give fitter opportunity and occaſion unto your Majeſty, for the better proceeding of your Affairs in* Aſia. *The courſe of our notable Victories, which we have in few years paſt obtained againſt the Turks, the Tumults and Troubles which the Turks have by ſecret devices raiſed in* Hungary, *have ſomewhat hindred; howbeit, we hope by Gods permiſſion, that all things ſhall ſhortly be again reſtored unto their former eſtate, ſo that we may wholly without let turn our ſelves with our Power againſt the Turks. Yet in the mean time, we have thus much prevailed with the King of* Spain, *as that he hath already ſet forth a Fleet unto the borders of his Territories, to diſtract his Forces; the proſperous Succeſs of which Fleet we daily expect. We have alſo moved the* Pope, *that he ſhould alſo give Aid in this common Cauſe, and excite other Princes alſo to do the like, which he with great Endeavour doth. But concerning ſuch things as ſhall hereafter happen, We ſhall by Letters and Ambaſſadors certifie your Majeſty as occaſion ſhall require; as at this preſent we had appointed to ſend unto you the Baron of* Dohna, *a famous and noble Gentleman, who (all things being ready for his Journey) ſuddenly dyed; and would now have ſent another, had not the unexpected change of the Affairs of the* Muſcovites *otherwiſe diſſuaded Us, we having no other way but that, at this time, to ſend into* Perſia. *For concerning this great Prince, who is now reported there to reign, what his mind is, or how he ſtandeth affected, we have as yet no Experience. In the mean time, We ſo deſire a perpetual and firm Friendſhip to be eſtabliſhed betwixt Us and your Majeſty, with a certain ſecure and free Commerce, that if your Majeſty (which We wiſh) ſhall extend your Victories unto the Sea, your Subjects may have free Acceſs and Traffick unto all our Kingdoms and Dominions. We alſo thank your Majeſty, That you ſo kindly entertain the Chriſtians into your Kingdoms, and grant to them to have the free exerciſe of their Religion; as alſo for that you have ſent your Ambaſſadors unto the King of* France, *although without wiſhed Succeſs; whereby We eaſily gather your Majeſties great Care and Circumſpection every way. As concerning them whom your Majeſty hath ſent unto Us, they have diligently and faithfully performed their Duty, ſo that they have deſerved Praiſe and Favour, both here and in* Perſia; *whom we much Commend unto your Majeſty, to whom in all things We offer our greateſt Love and Affection.*

1605

Unto the Second Ambaſſador were alſo given Letters from the Emperour, to this effect.

Whilſt We were yet buſied in the diſpatch of Zinel Chan Beg, *your Majeſties former Ambaſſador, in the mean time,* Methi Culi Beg, *another Ambaſſador of yours came unto Us, whom we have courteouſly entertained, and graciouſly heard; by whoſe Speech, as alſo by your Majeſties Letters, We have with exceeding great Pleaſure underſtood both your friendly Greeting of Us, as alſo of the happy Succeſs of your Affairs againſt the Turks, ſince the departure of your former Ambaſſador, together with your kind Affection towards the Chriſtians in thoſe Parts. One of the Servants alſo of our Ambaſſador which dyed by the way, hath reported unto Us, how courteouſly our ſaid Ambaſſador was by your Majeſty received; and how you have ſhewed your ſelf affected againſt the common Enemy, which was unto Us a thing both acceptable and pleaſing. Unto both which your Embaſſies the more ſolemnly to anſwer, We had appointed again to ſend an honourable Embaſſage unto your Majeſty, had not theſe Lets and Impediments hapned, which in our Letters given unto your former Ambaſſador are declared. But ſo ſoon, and as often as may be, We will endeavour, either by Letters, or by Ambaſſadors, more at large to manifeſt our Love and Affection towards you. Wherefore we greatly deſire that your Majeſty may continue in perfect Amity with Us, and valiantly proceed in ſubduing of the common Enemy; We on our part being ready to perform all things whereby we may teſtifie unto you the deſire we have for the preſervation of our mutual Love and Friendſhip; as alſo of our Endeavours in our Wars againſt him. God Almighty long preſerve your Majeſty in Health, and make you ſtill Victorious againſt the common Enemy.*

Unto the Third Ambaſſador were likewiſe Letters given from the Emperour, of this purport.

Whereas Jus Baſſi Haſſan Beg, *your Majeſties Ambaſſador unto the* French *King, came this way, at the ſame time that other two of your Ambaſſadors were here preſent with Us, we received him with the ſame Courteſie wherewith we received them, making ſtay of him, until that they might all three be together diſmiſſed. And becauſe that his Embaſſage was undertaken for the furtherance of the common Good, although it wanted the wiſhed ſucceſs, yet We have thought it good to give thanks unto your Majeſty therefore, and in moſt friendly manner to greet you by this your ſaid Ambaſſador, whom we highly commend unto you, for that for the time he here ſtayed in our Court, he ſo behaved himſelf, as that he well deſerved both our and your Majeſties Favour, whereof we wiſh him to be partaker. Almighty God bleſs your Majeſty with all Felicity, and long to his good Pleaſure preſerve the ſame.*

Theſe Ambaſſadors with theſe Letters thus diſmiſſed, one of them went into *Polonia*, and there declared unto the King the great Love and Affection of the *Perſian* King towards him, offering unto him all love and kindneſs; firſt requeſting him, That he would joyn with his Majeſty in all friendſhip and brotherly love; and then, that he would take up Arms againſt the Turk, their common Enemy; promiſing on his Maſters behalf, That he ſhould not lay down Arms until that Enemy were utterly brought to nought and deſtroyed, ſo that the Chriſtian Princes would on the other ſide likewiſe impugn him. This was a ſtrange Meſſage, and not before heard of in *Polonia*, where, for all that, the Meſſenger was courteouſly and bountifully entertained, and afterward with good words put in hope of obtaining what he had requeſted, was honourably diſmiſſed.

1605

The Turks and *Hungarian* Rebels by the Imperials overthrown.

But leaving theſe Ambaſſadors unto their long Journey; to return again into *Hungary*. A great number of the Turks and *Hungarian* Rebels, meeting together at *Hidweg*, had a purpoſe ſecretly to have ſurpriſed and oppreſſed the Imperial Souldiers in their Camp. Of which their purpoſe they in good time advertiſed, and therefore keeping good Watch and Ward, ſo received the Turks and Rebels at their coming, contrary to their Expectation, as that after a ſmall fight, they cauſed them to betake themſelves to flight; whom the Imperials ſo hotly purſued towards *Caniſia*, that they ſlew of them above a thouſand, took about two hundred more of them Priſoners, with fifteen hundred Horſe, which they carried away with them, and ſo having left ſufficient Garriſons on that ſide of the Country towards *Caniſia*, returned themſelves towards *Vienna*. In the mean time, the Commiſſioners from the Emperour being met together at *Comara*, about the Treaty of Peace with the Turks and the *Hungarians*, the ſixth of *December*, receiving Letters from the Baſſa of *Buda*, certain of them, the next day after, went by water down the River of *Danubius* to *Buda*; where, they being honourably received, and having much and long Talk with the Baſſa concerning a Peace, found little difficulty therein, but that the Turks ſaid they could nothing determine thereof without the preſence and conſent of the *Hungarians*. With which Anſwer, they, full of hope, returned back again to *Comara*, as did alſo *Sigiſmund Forgat*, with the like hope of Peace from *Botſcay*. At which time, *Botſcay* being about to depart from the Aſſembly of *Kirpay* back again to *Caſſovia*, gave Power and Authority to *Illiſhaſcius* for the furthering of the Treaty for Peace; who having received Letters of ſafe Conduct from the Arch-duke *Matthias*, about the end of *December*, together with his Wife went to *Vienna*; who being admitted unto the Arch-duke's preſence, and having had an hour and halfs Talk with him, and every day after conferred with the Counſellors, from eight a Clock to twelve, at length compoſed all Difficulties and Differences touching the Treaty of Peace, excepting five Articles onely concerning Religion, the free exerciſe whereof the *Hungarians* in any wiſe required; ſo that now men began to conceive ſome good hope of a Peace to be in time concluded.

The Treaty of Peace with the Turks and Rebels begun.

1606

The *Haiducks* do great harm in the upper *Hungary*.

This Year thus ending, with the beginning of the Treaty for Peace, the next Year begun with the wonted Troubles of War, the rebellious *Haiducks* in *Hungary* doing great harm in the upper *Hungary*, tyrannizing after their wonted manner upon men of all ſort and condition. Where giving divers Aſſaults unto divers Cities, they being valiantly repulſed, were conſtrained to retire, (the *Polonians* and *Coſſacks* defending the ſame) yet did they nevertheleſs no little harm unto the Country Inhabitants. Whereof complaint being made unto the King of *Polonia*, he by his Ambaſſador ſent to *Botſcay* at *Caſſovia*, obtained, that thoſe ſpoiling *Haiducks* ſhould be called back again out of theſe Parts.

The free exerciſe of Religion granted to the *Hungarians*.

Now had *Illiſhaſcius*, the Negotiator for the Treaty for Peace to be made with the Rebels, ſo well dealt in that matter, as that the ſame in the latter end of *January* ſhould have been publiſhed at *Vienna*, but that certain of the chief of the Clergy could not be brought to conſent, that the free exerciſe of Religion ſhould indifferently be granted to all the People in general, but to the Nobility only. Whereupon *Illiſhaſcius*, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners for the *Hungarians*, with great diſcontentment being about to return home again without any thing at all concluded, the Deputies for the Emperour ſeeing that it could not be otherwiſe brought to paſs, at length agreed (although

1606

though never ſo much contrary to the liking of the Clergy-men) to ſatisfie the *Hungarians* in this their Requeſt, and that the free exerciſe as well of the Reformed, as of the Romiſh Religion, ſhould be permitted to all men throughout all *Hungary*, in ſuch ſort, as it had before been in the time of the Emperours *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*. Concerning which point for the Liberty of the Religion, Letters were delivered unto *Illiſhaſcius*; all the other points concerning the Peace being put off unto the next aſſembly of the States of *Hungary*, ſhortly after to be holden at *Presbourg*.

About the beginning of *March*, the *Spahi* at *Conſtantinople* had requeſted of the Viſier Baſſa, That it might be lawful for themſelves to take up their wonted Penſion of the Farmers and Husbandmen here and there in the Country; which although it were unto them by the Viſier Baſſa denied, who had commandment from the Great Sultan within a few days after, to give every one of them his preſent Pay in Money; yet they not ſo contented, but going out of the City, preſumptuouſly preſumed to trouble the Country-men, and to do the Farmers great harm. For which their Inſolency, the Great Sultan (the chief Captains and Leaders of them being again returned into the City) cauſed them, ſome to be beheaded, ſome to be hanged, and otherſome to be bound in Chains and drowned; whereby no ſmall fear was ſtruck into the reſt of the common Souldiers. But the Rebellion in *Aſia* ſtill increaſing, and the Rebels there ſecretly both favouring and furthering the Proceedings of the *Perſian* King, the Sultan forthwith ſent for the Viſier Baſſa, who the laſt year had ſerved in *Hungary*, to go into *Aſia*, to repreſs the Rebels there, and alſo to withſtand the Proceedings of the *Perſian* King; committing in the mean time the managing of the War in *Hungary* unto his Lieutenant.

The *Spahi* inſolently oppreſſing the Country People, juſtly puniſhed.

Rab attempted to have been by the Turks ſurpriſed.

The Treaty of Peace both with the Turks and the Rebels, was yet in hand, whereunto how much the Turks were for their part inclined, the Garriſon Souldiers of *Rab* had good proof, for the eighteenth day of *March*, being the day at their requeſt appointed for the Treaty, and whereon the Commiſſioners on both parts there meeting together, ſhould have furthered the Negotiation of the Peace, not paſt fifty of the Turks coming to the Gate of the Town, required to be let in, as if they had come for that purpoſe. Whom our men nothing ſuſpecting, were about to receive them into the Town; when as a Sentinel without the Town, it being a thick miſt, perceived three thouſand more of the Turks lurking thereby, and forthwith giving an alarm to thoſe of the Town, bewrayed the Enemies Treachery, who thereupon retired, they of the Town diſcharging their great Ordnance after them. The next Month, about the beginning of *April*, certain Meſſengers came from *Eperia* (a City of the upper *Hungary*, yet holden for the Emperour) to *Vienna*, declaring the moſt miſerable ſtate of that City; which, although the way thereunto being three or four Weeks before opened, it had received ſome good ſtore of Victual, yet now (as they ſaid) was ſo on every ſide by the Rebels beſet, as that no Proviſion at all could more thereunto come; hoping by that means to bring to paſs, that the Citizens, pinched with hunger and want of things neceſſary, ſhould at length yield themſelves together with the City into their Power. By which means they but a little before had obtained the ſtrong Town of *Tokay*; wherein the Famine was ſo great, that the Souldiers had not only eaten their Shooes and Leather Jerkins, but had now alſo kill'd two Boys to eat, and ſome others of them had caſt Lots among themſelves, which ſhould be kill'd for the other to eat. By which Extremity, *Ruber*, the Governour of the Place, was enforced to yield; unto whom *Botſcay*, who then lay at *Caſſovia*, is ſaid to have offered a great ſum of Money, with many other good things, to have taken his part; all which he moſt conſtantly refuſed, proteſting even unto Death to continue faithful in his Obedience to the Emperour.

Eperia by the Rebels diſtreſſed.

1606

Tokay by the Rebels taken.

The Letters of *Illiſhaſcius* ſent to a Noble man of *Vienna*.

About the ſame Time *Illiſhaſcius*, who had before not a little laboured about the furthering of the Peace in *Hungary*, writ Letters from *Caſſovia* unto a certain great Man at *Vienna*; whereby he declared, that *Botſcay* without the Conſent of the Eſtates of *Hungary* could of himſelf determine nothing concerning the Concluſion of the Peace; who had oft-times told him to his Face, that rather than they would again ſubmit themſelves to a foreign Governour, they would for ever put themſelves under the Turks Protection; and yet promiſed by the ſame Letters, that although he had got unto himſelf great Diſpleaſure thereby with the *Haiducks*, he would not for all that ceaſe by all means to draw the States of the Country in their next aſſembly unto his part, ſo that that which was before concluded at *Vienna* concerning Religion, ſhould not again be reverſed; for many of them (as he ſaid) were affraid that it would not be performed, which was there promiſed unto the States concerning the Exerciſe of their Religion. And that therefore they could not yet be perſwaded to put themſelves from under the Turks Protection, until they ſaw themſelves ſufficiently ſecured, both for the Liberty of their Religion, and the keeping of their antient Priviledges. And that they could not, nor would not endure a foreign Governour to rule over them, with whom they could not talk; nor yet ſuffer Clergy-men to have any Voices in their Civil Affairs. And therefore (he ſaid) he thought it very neceſſary that the Emperour ſhould not doubt in this point to gratifie the *Hungarians*. And that *Tranſilvania*, whereupon he had been hitherto enforced to beſtow ſo great coſt for the keeping thereof, being now left unto *Botſcay*, he ſhould appoint ſuch a Governour over *Hungary* as the States of that Country ſhould require. For that there was no hope of any Peace to be made with the Turks, except *Botſcay* and the States of *Hungary* ſhould undertake the Treaty thereof; ſeeing that they, but only ſeeking for a Peace in ſhew, were oftentimes diſcovered but to ſeek for their own Advantages and Profits.

Illiſhaſcius reprochfully uſed by the *Hungarians*.

But concerning *Illiſhaſcius* himſelf, the *Hungarian* Rebels ſeeing him ſo much to labour about the concluding of a Peace, in ſcorn called him by the by-name of *Cripeliſhacius*, as he that too much enclined unto the *Germans*; which by-name he took in ſo ill part, as that he departed ſtraight to *Eperia*, with a purpoſe not to have been preſent at the next aſſembly of the States; but being again pacified, and by *Botſcay* called back, he made ſuch a notable Speech unto the States in their next Aſſembly, that all men now began both to hope and wiſh more for Peace than they had before done.

In the mean time, the Turks in great numbers being gathered together to *Belgrade*, expected the end of this Treaty for Peace, and Letters from the Great Sultan to *Botſcay* were intercepted alſo; whereby he adviſeth him to proceed in his purpoſe, and joyning with his Powers, to ſeize upon *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, and *Moravia*; for that he could be contented with *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, and leave the reſt of the Provinces unto *Botſcay* as his Inheritance.

The *Tartars* about this Time were about to make a Road into *Polonia*; but when as they with

The *Haiducks* incenſed againſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*, truſt neither of them.

their often Incurſions had not a little troubled the *Haiducks* alſo in the upper *Hungary*, they reſolved amongſt themſelves to joyn their Forces together, and to fight as well againſt the *Turks* as the *Tartars*, and from thenceforth neither to truſt the one nor the other.

Hereupon, whenas the *Turks* in great number came to aſſault *Lippa*, a Town of the *Haiducks*, they forſaking the Town, fortified the Caſtle with certain Companies of armed Men, and afterwards beſtowed many others here and there in Caves and Cellars in the Town, and laied great ſtore of Gun-powder in the Streets. Unto which Town the *Turks* coming, and finding the Gates open, and none to reſiſt them, haſted to have taken the Caſtle. But in the mean time, the Powder which the *Haiducks* had laied taking fire, blew up a number of them, and they which lay hid in the Caves and Cellars forthwith breaking out, ſlew of them whomſoever they met, and ſo made of the *Turks* a great ſlaughter, and again cleared the Town.

The Inhabitants of *Auſtria* provide to ſtand upon their own ſtrength for the defence of their Country.

The Eſtates of *Auſtria*, conſidering the great harms they had in theſe late Troubles received, as well from the *Hungarian* Rebels, as from the Emperours mutinous Souldiers; and by Experience taught how dangerous a thing it was for them to reſt upon other mens Protection, being unto them ſtrangers; reſolved now in a general Aſſembly of the Eſtates by them about this time holden, to take upon themſelves the defence of their Country, againſt ſuch ſudden Incurſions and Tumults of the mutinous Souldiers, and no more to rely upon foreign Protection, ſtill to ſeek when they had moſt need thereof. Wherefore, to aſſure themſelves in their own ſtrength, they, with a general conſent, agreed to have always in readineſs two thouſand Horſe-men, and eight thouſand Foot-men, to be maintained at the common Charge; fifty of the Country Peaſants ſtill finding of one of the ſaid Souldiers.

The Biſhop of *Vienna* a great enemy to the Peace to have been concluded betwixt the Emperour and his diſcontented Subjects.

And much about this time, *viz.* the Third of *June*, *Illiſhaſcius*, a great Man amongſt the Rebels, and yet the greateſt furtherer of the Peace, (as appeared by his doings, and by that we have before of him written) having before obtained Letters of ſafe conduct from the Arch-duke, came now again with his Wife alſo to *Vienna*, there more at large to conferr upon the Articles for a Peace to be concluded, with ſuch as were on the Emperours behalf for that purpoſe deputed. Where, coming to conferr and talk upon the matter, he was ſo croſſed by *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Vienna*, who hitherto had been preſent in Council together with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, (a great enemy unto the Peace, in reſpect of the Article concerning the Liberty of Religion) he was, I ſay, by him ſo croſſed, as that there was no hope of any thing to be for the common quiet concluded, ſo long as he was there preſent. For which cauſe, he, on both ſides, and of all men deſirous of the Peace diſliked, was in the Arch-duke's name willed no more to come into the Council, for the diſturbing of the Peace. In which Negotiation for the concluding of the Peace, *Illiſhaſcins* had taken ſuch pains in travelling to and fro betwixt the Arch-duke then lying at *Vienna*, and *Botſcay* with the States of *Hungary* then lying at *Caſſovia*, and ſo debated the matter on both ſides, that all things being as good as agreed upon; for a full concluſion of all matters, he himſelf, together with *George Humanoius*, *Francis Magot*, *Sebaſtian Tockell*, *Staniſlaus Turſon*, and others, with two hundred Horſe, and two and thirty Waggons, in all, four hundred Perſons, the Seventh of *September* came to *Vienna*, with fifty *Huſſars* following of them: Shortly after whoſe coming, the Treaty for Peace was earneſtly begun with often Meſſengers paſſing to and fro betwixt *Vienna* and *Caſſovia* to *Botſcay*, lying then very dangerouſly ſick, untill that all the Articles of Peace were near about the Fourteenth of *September* fully on both parts agreed upon; moſt difference ariſing about the Article for the free Exerciſe of Religion. For although it was before declared, that men might have the free Exerciſe of Religion; yet the *Hungarians*, recalling that general word of Religion unto a particularity, would needs have it ſet down, that men might have the free Exerciſe of thoſe Religions, which are at this day called the *Lutheran*, *Calvinian*, and *Romiſh* Religion; neither would they conclude any Peace untill they were of their Requeſt in that point ſatisfied. Which Peace ſo concluded, the next day after, the Deputies for the *Hungarians* ſent an Ambaſſador to the Viſier Baſſa at *Buda*, to certifie him of all their Proceedings, and to requeſt him not as yet to attempt any thing for the diſturbing of the Peace; now the Articles whereupon the Peace was concluded, were theſe:

A Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and his diſcontented Subjects of the upper *Hungary*.

First, That from thenceforth it ſhould be lawful for every Man throughout the Kingdom of Hungary, *to have the free Uſe of his Religion, and to believe what he would.*

2. *That if the* Hungarians *ſo thought good, they might chuſe a Palatine for their Governour, and that in the mean time the Arch-duke* Matthias *ſhould no more uſe the Title of a Governour, but of a Vice-roy.*

3. *That the Crown of* Hungary *ſhould ſtill be left in the Emperours keeping.*

4. *That the Biſhops that were nobly deſcended in* Hungary, *and had Lands of their own, ſhould from thenceforth be admitted into the Council, but the other Biſhops not ſo to be received.*

5. *That* Botſcay, *for himſelf and his Heirs Male, ſhould for ever hold* Tranſilvania.

6. *That the ſame Country of* Tranſilvania *ſhould be ſtill ſubject unto the Kingdom of* Hungary.

7. *That for his Arms he ſhould bear three Royal Crowns and three open Helmets.*

8. *That he ſhould no more afterwards ſtile himſelf Prince, but Lord of part of the Kingdom of* Hungary.

9. *That they ſhould pay the* Haiducks *their Wages which had levied them.*

10. *That the Harms done on both ſides ſhould for ever be forgotten.*

11. *That* Bohemia, Moravia, Sileſia, Lauſniſium, *and* Auſtria, *ſhould not only with their Letters and Seals confirm the Articles, but alſo Swear at* Vienna *to keep the ſame ſo far as ſhould concern them.*

12. *That the* Hungarians *ſhould likewiſe ſend ſome to* Vienna, *who in their behalf ſhould with their Letters, Seals, and Oaths, confirm and ratifie theſe Articles.*

13. *That the Aſſembly of the Eſtates of* Hungary *ſhould be referred untill a more convenient time for them.*

14. *That all theſe things being done, this Agreement ſhould be publikely confirmed and enrolled in the Records of the Kingdom of* Hungary.

15. *That it ſhould be lawful for the* Hungarians *by their Ambaſſadors to invite the Princes of the Empire to the approving and confirming of theſe Articles.*

Which fifteen Articles were on the Emperours part ſubſcribed by *Tranſam*, *Mollart*, *Sigifrid*, *Pruner*, *Lichtenſtein* and *Krenberge*; and on the part of the *Hungarians*, by *Illiſhaſcins*, *Peter Erhod*, *George Turſo*, and *Sigiſmund Forgat*, and others.

The twentieth of *September* following, the Ambaſſador for the *Hungarians* and of *Botſcay*, being admitted unto the Preſence of the Archduke *Matthias*, obtained of him Pardon for the forepaſſed Rebellion, and all that was therein done; unto whom Security for the ſame was afterward given by the Provinces; thereby alſo to aſſure them, that they ſhould not be therefore afterwards troubled. But yet for all that was before done, the Title of the Prince of *Tranſilvania* was left unto *Botſcay* for Term of his Life: who feeling his Sickneſs daily to increaſe, would oftentimes ſay, That he could willingly die, ſo that it might pleaſe God before his Death to give him leave to excuſe himſelf of his Rebellion before the whole Roman Empire. And ſo about the end of *September*, all the aforeſaid Ambaſſadors for the *Hungarians* and *Botſcay*, being aſſembled into the Caſtle of *Vienna*, together with the Emperours Council, and certain other Noblemen of the Provinces belonging unto the Emperour, received every one of them the Articles of the Peace copied out, and fair written in Parchment; which done, they returned every one to his own dwelling. But *Illiſhaſcius* went from thence to *Newhuſe*, to be preſent at the Peace to be afterwards made with the Turks alſo; from whence he afterwards writ Letters unto the Viſier Baſſa, to requeſt him, not as yet to attempt any thing againſt the Emperours Provinces, but peaceably and quietly to expect his Commiſſioners, which were ſhortly to come unto him.

A great Fire at *Conſtantinople.*

But in the mean time whilſt this Peace was thus in concluding, certain *Tartars* at *Conſtantinople*, in their Inſolency, ſet fire upon a certain Jews Houſe, whereof aroſe ſuch a terrible Fire, as burnt not only many Houſes, but a great number of the Jews themſelves alſo; the harm there done being eſteemed at forty hundred thouſand Duckats. In which Tumult and Noiſe of the People running too and fro, and quenching of the Fire, the Great Sultan having a fall from his Horſe, was thereof for a while ſick.

The Turks ſeeking to ſurpriſe others, themſelves ſurpriſed.

The Turks of *Caniſia* alſo having conſpired with the Captain of the leſſer *Comora*, came to have ſurpriſed the ſame. But the Garriſon Souldiers there, having before had a Suſpition thereof, ſuffered ſo many of the Turks as they knew they were able to overcome, to enter; and ſo ſhutting the Gates of the City, kill'd them every Mothers Son, the reſt which were without returning again to *Caniſia.*

The Commiſſioners for the Emperour, to intreat of Peace with the Turks, come to *Presburg.*

Peace thus (as is aforeſaid) concluded with the *Hungarians*, *George Turſon*, *Nicholas Iſtuan*, *John Mollart*, and *Althem*, with ſome others, the Emperours Commiſſioners for a Peace to be made with the Turks, went to *Comora*; *Sigifrid Collonitz* and *Budin* following them with the Army; for as yet the ſaid Commiſſioners durſt not altogether truſt the Turks for intercepting of them by the way. Which Commiſſioners carried with them *Solyman* the Baſſa of *Buda*, who had now been ſeven years kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Vienna*, and *Aly Baſſa*, both bravely apparelled in blew Silk; ſix Waggons following of them, wherein were carried certain Preſents for the Great Sultan, to wit, a moſt curious Clock, certain fair pieces of Plate, an hundred thouſand Duckats, with divers other things of great value.

The Peace already concluded with the *Hungarians*, like enough to have again been broken off through the Inſolency of ſome few diſordered Perſons.

But whilſt they there ſtayed, expecting to hear from the Viſier Baſſa then at *Buda*, a ſudden inſolent Accident fell out, like enough to have broken off again the Peace already made with the *Hungarians*, as alſo to have utterly cut off the Treaty of Peace to be had with the Turks, and to have ſet them all together by the Ears again. For albeit that the firſt Article of the Peace made with the *Hungarians*, was, That every Man ſhould have the free Exerciſe of his Religion; yet the eighth day of *October*, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when as a certain *Hungarian* Lutheran Preacher was in the Pulpit preaching to the People in a Church, in the Suburbs of *Comora*, *Buchem* and *Knevie*, two Captains, coming from Dinner with certain of their Servants, more than half drunk, with their Swords drawn, ruſh'd into the Church, and drave out thence the Preacher, upon whom Captain *Buchem's* Trumpeter alſo diſcharged a Piſtol, and raiſed ſuch a Tumult in the Church, that divers Children were trodden to Death under foot, and the reſt put in great fear of their Lives.

Which inſolent Fact ſo moved the *Hungarians*, that *Turſon* and *Budian*, there preſent, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, ready to have gone about the Treaty of the Peace, would needs the next day have departed from *Comora*, and were hardly by *Mollart* and *Collonitz* intreated to ſtay; *Buchem* and *Knevie*, the two Captains, being bound to their appearance for the anſwering of the matter, and the Trumpeter with Irons on his heels clapt in Priſon. But the News hereof being carried to *Newhuſel*, and (as the manner of Report is) by Fame made far greater than it was, as, That an hundred and fifty Perſons were ſlain in the Church, there aroſe ſuch a Tumult among the *Hungarians* there, as that *Illiſhaſcius*, with the reſt of the Captains, had much ado to quiet and appeaſe the ſame; who, joyning with the Turks of *Strigonium*, and the *Haiducks* of the Iſland, had determined now by Night to have invaded *Comora*, where the Outrage was committed, had not *Pogrania* the elder, (a Man of great Gravity) coming from thence, declared unto *Illiſhaſcius* and the reſt of the Captains all the Matter as it was done; upon whoſe Relation the whole Tumult was again appeaſed. But foraſmuch as the two aforeſaid Captains, bound to their Appearance, were by Night fled from *Comora* to *Vienna*, the *Hungarians* were very earneſt to have them ſeverely puniſhed, as breakers of the firſt Article of the Peace, concerning Religion. *Botſcay* in the mean time beheaded *Catayus* his Chancellor, who had gon about to have poiſoned him, in hope after his Death to have been Prince of *Tranſilvania* himſelf; placing *John Januſy* in his ſtead, and giving him *Catay's* Lands.

Botſcay causeth his Chancellor to be beheaded.

Peace now made with the *Hungarians* (as is aforeſaid) and Commiſſioners appointed for a Treaty of Peace to be had with the Turks alſo, (whereunto the Viſier Baſſa, then lying at *Buda*, was as forward as any, being ſo commanded from the Great Sultan his Maſter) there wanted but a Place Commodious for the ſaid Commiſſioners, without Suſpition of Danger, and indifferent for them all to meet in. Whereupon *Caſar Gallen*, a Man of great Experience in ſuch Matters, with ſome other Captains, were appointed to find out ſome ſuch convenient Place for them to meet in, who having viewed many, at length made choice of one within half a League of *Comora*, ſo fit for that purpoſe, as if Nature had provided it for the ſame. The great River of *Danubius* being there divided into three parts, made therein three Iſlands, all compaſſed round with the Arms thereof, into which Iſlands the Commiſſioners for the Emperour, for the Turk, and for the *Hungarians*, might come without let one of another, to intreat of their Affairs, and ſo in little Boats prepared for that purpoſe, paſs over one to another, as their Occaſions required. Into this place, ſo commodious for all three parties, the Deputies for the Emperour the five and twentieth day of *October*, conducted by the

The Commiſſioners for the Emperor, the Turks, and the *Hungarians*, meet together to intreat of a Peace.

Horſemen of *Mansfeld*, *Hohenlo*, and *Bonchimin.* After whom followed *Illiſhaſcius*, and the other Deputies for the *Hungarians*, aſſiſted with the Nobility of *Hungary*, all attending the coming of the Great Sultans Commiſſioners; who likewiſe immediately after came, being brought up the River in four and twenty brave Ships well appointed.

These Commiſſioners being thus apart arrived in the Iſlands, began firſt to conſult by themſelves, every one of their ſeveral Affairs and Buſineſſes, and afterwards many times meeting together, with much Gravity conſulted and conferred of the beſt ways and means for the making of a good and aſſured Peace for the appeaſing of theſe Wars; which every one of them and all together, to that end employing the uttermoſt of their Endeavours, at laſt, the nineteenth of *November*, it was betwixt all the three Parties fully agreed upon and concluded, and Hoſtages on all parts given one to another, with Oaths and Promiſes ſolemnly on all ſides given and received, for the inviolate keeping and obſerving of the ſame; the Articles whereupon the ſaid Peace was concluded being theſe:

A Peace concluded between the Emperour and the great Sultan.

Articles of the Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Great Sultan.

‘First, That the Emperour and the Great Sultan, in all their Letters, Diſpatches, Inſtruments, and Embaſſages, ſhould not ſtile themſelves by any other Names or Additions, but by the Names of well beloved Father and Son; to wit, the Emperour calling the Great Sultan his Son, and the Great Sultan the Emperour (in reſpect of his years) his Father.

‘That in the beginning of their Letters they ſhould take upon them the Name and Quality of Emperour, and not of King, reſpectively one of them to another.

‘That theſe two Emperours ſhould take order, that the Realm of *Hungary* and the Archdukedom of *Auſtria*, might be in Reſt, Peace, and Tranquility, and altogether delivered and aſſured from all Incurſions, Oppreſſions, and Outrages of the Men of War on both Parties.

‘That it ſhould be lawful for the King of *Spain*, if he ſo thought good, to enter into this Treaty of Peace, without the Oppoſition or let of one or of the other of both theſe Emperours in any ſort.

‘That the *Tartars*, and all other People uſually wont to come in Arms into *Hungary*, ſhould be compriſed within this Treaty of the Peace, ſo to be diſarmed of all Power by their means to do harm within the Realm of *Hungary*, and they there aſſured from their Violences and Robberies.

‘That every one, both on the one part and on the other, ſhould forbear from making Incurſions and Pillages, and Enterpriſes of War, and from all Acts of Hoſtility one againſt another; and yet every one nevertheleſs to have Power to purſue Thieves and Robbers, and ſuch others ſeeking after Booty, to the diſturbing of the Peace, and injuring of the Common-weal; whereof every man ſhould have Power to give knowledge, to the intent by common force to ſuppreſs them, and to cauſe them to recompence the Wrongs and Harms by them done.

‘That all Places, Caſtles, Towns, and Forts, ſhould remain without attempt either on the one part or on the other, whether it were by Force, Surpriſe, or Treaſon, and ſo likewiſe the Goods, Families, and Cattel of the Country-men, which were of their Territories and Juriſdiction; *Botſcay* ſtill holding all that was lately to him granted by the Treaty of *Vienna*.

‘That all Priſoners taken in the Wars ſhould be ſet at Liberty, but eſpecially ſuch as had been taken in Towns and Citadels, which by their Valour and Courage they ſought to have defended; and the other Priſoners to be delivered by Exchange and Ranſom, as ſhould be moſt expedient and eaſie for both Parties.

‘That all Controverſies happening, as well on this ſide as beyond the River of *Danubius*, ſhould be peaceably ended by the Judgment of the Governour of *Rab*, of the Baſſa of *Buda*, of the Governour of *Sclavonia*, and of the Governours of other Places; and that if they ſhould chance to be of ſuch important Weight and Conſequence, as that they could not by theſe Magiſtrates be determined and compoſed, that they ſhould in that caſe be reſerved to be decided by their Imperial Majeſties; and that it ſhould be lawful both for the one party and the other to repair and build the Places ruined, but not to build Places of New, which might prejudice either the one part or the other.

‘That *Amurath* the Viſier Baſſa ſhould ſend his Meſſengers with Preſents to the Archduke *Matthias*, and that the Emperour ſhould diſpatch an Ambaſſador toward the Great Sultan with 200000 Duckats, and that the Great Sultan likewiſe ſhould ſend his Ambaſſador to *Prague* with great and rich Preſents to the Emperour.

‘That this Peace ſhould begin in the year 1607, and continue for the ſpace of twenty years, and that one of the Emperours ſhould ſend unto the other every three years their Ambaſſadors with their honourable and rich Preſents, according to the Pleaſure and Power of their Majeſties.

‘That all the Emperours Succeſſors, as alſo thoſe of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, ſhould be comprehended within this Agreement of Peace, together with all their Kinſmen, Allies and Confederates, as likewiſe thoſe of the Great Sultans alſo.

‘That the Chriſtians ſhould again have the City of *Vachia*, which they ſhould at their Pleaſure keep and fortifie, and that *Strigonium*, with all the Villages thereto belonging, ſhould remain unto the Great Sultan; yet ſo, as that no man ſhould be with any new Tribute oppreſſed; and that ſuch as had been free from paying of Tribute, ſhould ſtill keep the ſame Priviledges.

‘And that the Turks ſhould not exact their Tributes by the point of their Swords, but by the way of Juſtice, which they ſhould commit unto the Diſcretion of Judges and Receivers to that end appointed, that ſo it might be payd without oppreſſing of the People, except haply they which ſhould pay it, upon Preſumption ſhould deny it, or too long deferr the Payment of it; in which caſe it ſhould be lawful both for the one ſide and the other, to uſe ſuch means as ſhould ſeem unto them good for the obtaining thereof.

These are the Articles of this Peace, which God turn to the Glory of his Name, and the benefit of the Chriſtian Common-weal; and for which all the Towns of *Hungary* made great Joy and Triumph, which they declared by the thundering of their Cannons, which they in great number diſcharged, with many other Solemnities and Triumphs. The Commiſſioners themſelves, in token of their conceived Joy, magnificently feaſted one another alſo; which the Turks firſt began, and not content to have made them great chear, gave unto our Commiſſioners great Preſents alſo; for the Baſſa of *Buda* gave unto *Mollart*, *Althem*, *Turſon*, *Iſthuan*, *Collonitz*, *Budian*, *Hendoc*, *Ceſar Gallon*, and *Bleſchin*, brave and courageous Horſes moſt gallantly furniſhed; and to the reſt exceeding rich Garments and Tapeſtry Hangings of great value. And as at the time of this Feaſt, the Troop of *Mansfeld* had by many Sallies and Vollies of ſhot given great Pleaſure unto the Turks as they ſat at the Table; *Alla Baſſi*, to declare the Contentment and Pleaſure

Great Joy and Triumph in *Hungary* for the Peace concluded with the Turk.

ſure he had therein received, ſent to the Captain of this Troop two hundred Duckets, which he would not accept, requeſting in ſtead of them to have delivered unto him a certain Captain by the Turks then kept Priſoner; whom the Baſſa cauſed freely to be delivered unto him, and withal ſent back again the two hundred Duckets to be divided among the Souldiers; which for all that *Mansfeld* refuſed, ſending them back again unto the Baſſa. After which Actions of Joy and Peace, every man returned home well content and pleaſed.

The great Sultan giveth thanks to his Prophet *Mahomet*, for the Peace concluded with the Chriſtians.

Theſe things thus done, and the Peace confirmed, the Baſſa of *Buda* forthwith ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, certifying the Great Sultan of the Peace now made with the Chriſtians; who thereof conceiving great Joy, with a number of Janizaries and others, in great Magnificence went to the Church, to give Thanks therefore unto his Prophet *Mahomet*, and ſpent the next day with great Sport and Pleaſure, purpoſing from thenceforth to turn all his Force and Power for the ſuppreſſing of his Rebels in *Aſia*, and the ſubduing of the *Perſian* King.

The *Haiducks* begin new ſtirs in *Hungary*.

Now albeit that there was a Peace of late concluded with the *Hungarians* at *Vienna*, (as is before declared) yet divers ſtirs and Tumults were nevertheleſs by the *Haiducks* in divers Places of the upper *Hungary* ſtill raiſed; inſomuch that about the end of *November*, the Inhabitants of the County of *Bocotſie* were through their Inſolencies enforced to joyn Battel with them, wherein a number on both ſides were ſlain, and three Country Villages burnt; ſo that it ſhould ſeem, no Peace can be ſo well and indifferently made, but that ſome will be ſtill troubling and impugning the ſame.

Botſcay calleth an Aſſembly of the States of *Hungary*, and instructeth them what to do at their next general Aſſembly.

Shortly after, *viz.* the Thirteenth of *December*, *Botſcay* calling together an Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Hungary*, propounded to them to be conſidered of, firſt, That the late Revolt, almoſt generally made throughout all *Hungary*, with all the ſtirs and troubles thereby raiſed, had all been hitherto to no other end made, but for the defence of their Religion, and the maintenance of their ancient Liberty: Then, That whereas they by their general good liking had made choice of him for their Prince, and that hitherto he had done nothing without their knowledge and conſent; and that even now at this preſent he was by their conſent ready to depart from the Caſtles and free Cities in the upper *Hungary*; and had now ſent his Letters unto the Archduke *Matthias*, for the ſending of his Deputies to receive them; whether he ſhould from thenceforth relinquiſh the Title of a Prince, or not. And that for as much as no War could be made without great harm doing, that he would therefore for the avoiding of farther troubles about ſuch matters, that a Decree ſhould be made, That all ſuch Wrongs and Injuries ſhould be forgiven and forgotten, and that every man ſhould ſtill hold all ſuch Goods, whether they were moveable or immoveable, during the time of this late War. He wiſhed them alſo in the next general Aſſembly of the States, with all their Power and Endeavour, to urge the repealing of the Article concerning the burning of Hereticks, with all other Articles contrary to their Religion; and not to remit any thing concerning the choice of their Palatine, as had in former time been uſed; neither in this next general Aſſembly of the Eſtates to neglect any thing which might ſeem to concern their Priviledges and Liberty. And that therefore they ſhould be careful to ſend thither Wiſe and powerful men, ſuch as ſhould not eaſily be overcome with the Clamours and Out-cries of the contrary Part. At length he wiſhed them to conſider of this alſo, how a true and ſincere Confederation might be made betwixt *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, ſo that a ſafe and quiet Traffick and Commerce might in both Places be uſed.

Botſcay dyeth at *Caſſovia.*

Theſe things thus done, *Botſcay*'s ſickneſs ſtill more and more increaſing upon him, ſo at length prevailed, that it made an end of him, to the great ſorrow and grief of all the People in general, who had him in great Honour and Regard. He dyed at *Caſſovia* the Thirtieth of *December*, in the Year *1606*. He was honourably deſcended, and a Man of great Spirit, Ambitious, Wiſe, and Politick, a great lover of his Country, but an extreme Enemy unto the *Germans*, and their Government in *Hungary*.

A little before his Death, he earneſtly perſwaded *John Januſie* his Chancellor, to continue in his Allegeance to the Emperour, and not to raiſe new ſtirs, or ſo much as in him was, not to ſuffer any to be raiſed. Nevertheleſs, ſuch his wholeſome Counſel not regarded, there were ſome, who immediately after his death, were about to have raiſed new Forces, for to have ſeized upon *Tranſilvania*, and ſo to have ſtirred up new Troubles. For preventing whereof, *Matthias* the Archduke forthwith ſent a Meſſenger unto the States of the upper *Hungary*; adviſing them, That the great harms and miſeries conſidered which that part of *Hungary* had of late felt and indured, almoſt to the utter ruine and deſtruction thereof, (which proceeded not ſo much from the Wars with the Turks, as from their own civil Tumults and Seditions) they ſhould from thenceforth give themſelves to Quietneſs and Peace, and not again inſolently to preſcribe unto the Emperour what to do, or how he was to diſpoſe of the Country of *Tranſilvania*; aſſuring them, that the Emperour would not hereafter wink at ſuch their rebellious Plots and Devices, but forthwith turn all his Power and Forces to the utter deſtruction and rooting out of ſuch rebellious and ſeditious Perſons, the diſturbers of the common Peace and Quiet. By which the Arch-duke's warning, ſome, otherwiſe ready enough to have raiſed new ſtirs and troubles, were not therein ſo forward as otherwiſe haply they would haue been, but kept themſelves quiet.

The Emperour not to be blamed for making Peace with the Turks.

Now many there were (and yet are) which much marvelled, that the Chriſtian Emperour would thus make Peace with the Great Sultan, (as is aforeſaid) he being then ſo much troubled with Wars, both againſt his own Rebels, and the *Perſian* King, in *Aſia*, moſt part of his Forces being turned that way; ſo that a fitter time, or of more advantage, could not have been wiſhed for the Emperour to have done great matters againſt him in, and not only to have holden his own (which he did not) in *Hungary*, but to have recovered ſome good part of his Loſſes there before received alſo. And indeed true it is, that the time then well ſerved for both; but what availeth opportunity without Power? And had the *Hungarians* (the greateſt ſtrength the Emperour hath hitherto had for the defence of that little which is yet left of that ſo great a Kingdom) been at quiet, and at his Command, and he himſelf a Prince which had reſted upon his own Strength and Power, ever at his pleaſure to have been raiſed, and, as need ſhould require, ſupplied, without depending upon his Friends and Allies; then haply it might have been in him accounted a great overſight to have omitted and overſlipped ſo fair an opportunity. But the *Hungarians*, being then not only revolted from him, but taking part with the Turks, and the Turks with them, and he of himſelf with his own Power not able to hold the Field againſt them, or well to maintain a defenſive War; and his Friends and Allies, his wonted and greateſt ſtays, then at his greateſt need failing of him alſo, what ſhould

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1606 he in ſuch a caſe do but as he did? to accept of a reaſonable Peace whilſt he might have it; eſpecially againſt ſuch an Enemy, as whoſe whole Power being turned againſt him, might have eaſily endangered his whole Eſtate. For it is not reaſonably to be thought, how the Emperour ſhould of himſelf, without the great Aid of the other Chriſtian Princes, his Friends and Allies, be able to withſtand the huge and dreadful Power of the *Othoman* Emperour; as (without ominous Preſage be it ſpoken) it is to be feared it will too true appear, whenſoever his Wars and Troubles in the Eaſt being ended, he ſhall again turn his Forces this way toward the Weſt.

1607 Now *Botſcay* was no ſooner dead, but that ſome others of the Nobility, both of *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania* (happily no leſs ambitious than was he) began by divers means to ſeek after and to aſpire to that Principality. Of whom, though ſome, either with the weakneſs of their own means, or with the threats of *Matthias* the Archduke, deterred, ceaſed farther to ſeek after it; yet were there ſome others, who better ſupported, and nothing afraid of the Arch-duke's great Words, laboured under hand to have obtained it. For the croſſing of whom, and the avoiding of farther Troubles to be raiſed by theſe ambitious Competitors, certain of the Nobility of *Tranſilvania* gathered together at *Claudianople*, the Twelfth of *February*, made choice of *Sigiſmund Ragotſie* for their Governour, and their Prince of *Tranſilvania*, and the more to aſſure him of their love and affection towards him, bound themſelves unto him by the Oath of their Allegeance ſolemnly taken in the chief Church there. And afterward ſent Meſſengers to the Archduke *Matthias* at *Vienna*, to certifie him what they had done, and to excuſe themſelves thereof; who coming to *Presburg* the Twelfth of *March*, there openly proteſted this Election of *Ragotſie* for their Prince to have been made, not for that they were about to rebel, or to revolt from the Emperour, whom they would always acknowledge for their Sovereign Lord; but for that their neceſſity ſo required, many of the Nobility both of *Tranſilvania* and of *Hungary* gaping after this Principality, and going about for the obtaining thereof, to raiſe new ſtirs and troubles. Howbeit, the ſame *Ragotſie*, afterward doubting not to be able, without great trouble and danger, beſides the Emperours diſpleaſure, to hold the ſame Principality, of his own accord, about a year after, gave the ſame up again, and got himſelf out of the way to *Sarentum*, who was no ſooner gone, but that *Gabriel Bathor* was about to have ſtept into his Place; unto whom the States of *Tranſilvania* ſent word by two of the Noblemen, That the free Election of the Prince belonged to them, and that therefore he ſhould not ſeek by force to intrude himſelf into the Principality, but quietly to come unto the Election, and not to bring with him above a thouſand Horſe-men, and five hundred Foot.

***Sigiſmund Ragotſie* choſen Prince of *Tranſilvania*, afterward yieldeth up the ſame Principality again.**

***Newhuſe* again delivered unto the Emperour.**

About this time, the ſtrong Town of *Newhuſe* (otherwiſe called *Newheuſel*) the laſt year ſo hardly won by the *Hungarian* Rebels was again delivered to *Sigefrid Collonitz*, for the Emperour; who, ſhortly after coming to *Vienna*, brought news of a great number of the Turks to have riſen up in Rebellion at *Belgrade*, to have rifled the Town, and to have burnt another Town, called *Aliſchria*, down to the ground, and ſo with a great Prey to be gone over to the Rebels; and alſo *Redeius*, *Botſcay*'s Lieutenant, in going to take Poſſeſſion of certain Lands given him by *Botſcay*, to have been by his own Tenants, lying in wait for him upon a ſtrait Paſſage, ſlain.

Amongſt the Articles of the Peace before concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Great Sultan, one was for the mutual ſending of Preſents one of them unto another; with which Preſents, whenas the Ambaſſador, by the Emperour appointed for the carriage of the ſame to *Conſtantinople*, from day to day deferred to ſet forward, the Turks and *Tartars* began to doubt, or elſe ſeemed to doubt, of the good meaning of the Chriſtians, for the obſerving of the aforeſaid Peace; and thereupon began again not only to roam abroad into the Territories of the Chriſtians, but alſo cauſed the Pledges left at *Buda* for the obſerving of the Peace, to be hardly handled and clapt faſt in Priſon; whom, whenas the Baſſa of *Buda* ſhortly after ſuffered again a little to walk abroad, the proud Janiſaries were therewith ſo much offended, that riſing in a Tumult, they had almoſt ſlain the Baſſa with Stones, heaping upon him many reproachful Words, and unto his Face calling him Traytor and betrayer of his Prince and Country, one of which Pledges they grievouſly wounded alſo. Which their Inſolency the Baſſa in ſome ſort to chaſtiſe, and to deter them from doing the like again, cauſed certain of them the Night following to be ſecretly taken, and being bound, to be ſo caſt into the River of *Danubius*. And yet ſhortly after, they purpoſing to make a Road upon the Chriſtians, to colour ſuch harms as they ſhould therein do, and to lay all the blame thereof upon the Chriſtians, and to excuſe themſelves, they procured the Baſſa to write unto the Archduke *Matthias*, of great wrongs done unto the Turks by the Chriſtians, whenas there was no ſuch thing at all; the effect of which Letters were, That whereas it was in the Articles of Peace ſet down and agreed, that both Parties ſhould abſtain from Roads and Incurſions of each others Countries, yet that the Chriſtians for all that had above an hundred times ſince the concluſion of the Peace, made Roads into divers Territories of the Turks, and ſlain many of them; but eſpecially them of *Leoven* and *Serſchin*, who (as they ſaid) had ſlain divers Turkiſh Merchants of *Peſth*, and taken from them great ſums of Money, as they had alſo taken from them of *Potſen* a hundred and twenty Horſes, with divers other Cattel. Beſides that, there were (as he ſaid) four Turks more by the Chriſtians ſlain, near unto *Caniſia*, and eight and twenty more taken Priſoners; and that in the mid-way betwixt *Hatwan* and *Buda* five and twenty Turks more were ſlain, and their Horſes, with all that they had beſide carried away. Which things, for that they tended to the breach of the Peace, he could not (as he ſaid) but advertiſe his Highneſs of, for that he thought the Chriſtian Captains upon the borders of their Territories to be men that hated Peace, and to ſeek by their Excurſions, as heretofore they had done, ſo now likewiſe alſo, to diſturb this good Work begun, and by all means to increaſe their own private Profit. And that therefore, ſeeing that he and the Turks on their part wiſhed not to attempt or go about any thing contrary to the Articles of the Peace, that ſo likewiſe the Chriſtians ſhould contain themſelves within their own bounds, and with all ſpeed by Letters to give him to underſtand whether they would keep the Peace or not.

The Janizaries in Mutiny againſt the Baſſa of *Buda*.

The effect of the Letters of the Baſſa of *Buda* to the Archduke *Matthias*.

The Great Sultan (as is aforeſaid) having made Peace with the Chriſtian Emperour, and now purpoſing to turn all his Forces againſt his Rebels in *Aſia*, and the *Perſian* King, (as we have oftentimes ſaid) and deſirous to appeaſe thoſe his Troubles at home, before he had farther to do with the *Perſian*, he ſent a Meſſenger unto the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, to lay down Arms, and to deliver over his charge unto another, to whom he had appointed

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pointed the ſame; promiſing, that if he would ſhew himſelf obedient unto this his Command, he would not only pardon him all that was paſt, but receive him into his Grace and Favour alſo. Whereunto the Baſſa anſwered, That he had never taken up Arms againſt his Majeſty, but to be revenged on the Baſſaes of *Tripolis* and *Damaſco*, his ſworn Enemies; who once taken out of the way, he would not only yield himſelf unto his Majeſty, but re-deliver alſo the Tribute ſent him from *Caire* and *Alexandria*, by him before intercepted, and (if he ſo pleaſed to employ him) to bring great Forces in his Service againſt the *Perſian* King. With which anſwer, the Sultan not contented, ſhortly after ſent the Viſier Baſſa with a great Army againſt the Rebels into *Aſia*; who, by his Wiſdom and Diſcretion, more than by force of Arms, having appeaſed the Rebels in the leſſer *Aſia*, and received certain of the chiefeſt of them into his favour, with an Army of an hundred and thirty thouſand men marched directly towards *Aleppo* in *Syria*. Of whoſe coming, the Baſſa of *Aleppo* having intelligence, with an Army of forty thouſand men, moſt part of them Harquebuſiers, went againſt him, and in a place of advantage, not paſt two miles from the City, there encountred him, and in three notable Battels one after another, withſtood his whole Forces. But making himſelf ready to have encountred him the fourth time, underſtanding of great aid coming to the Viſier from the Baſſaes of *Damaſco* and *Tripolis*, he with ſpeed retired, and returning into the City, and having truſſed up his Treaſure, with ſuch things as he made moſt reckoning of, fled into the Mountains towards *Perſia*, with the greateſt part of his Army yet left ſtill following him. After which unfortunate Battel, the Viſier Baſſa with his Army coming unto the City, at length by force took the ſame, and there, to the terrour of the Inhabitants, put to the ſword all the Garriſon ſouldiers which the Baſſa had there left.

The Rebels in the leſſer *Aſia* by the Viſier Baſſa appeaſed.

The Baſſa of *Aleppo*, after three notable encounters with the Viſier, flyeth.

But the Baſſa, purpoſing with new Forces to have encountred with the Viſier, finding himſelf, together with his better Fortune, forſaken by many of his former Friends and Companions, did think it beſt at length to take his refuge unto the mercy of the Great Sultan; and ſo reſolved, by Letters requeſted the Viſier Baſſa to write in his behalf unto the Sultan; and ſo, if it were poſſible, to procure his peace. Which the Viſier having eaſily obtained, he was by Letters from the Great Sultan ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, with aſſured promiſe, that he ſhould be employed in ſervice againſt the *Perſian* King. Upon receit of which Letters, the Baſſa with an hundred horſe ſet forward; and coming to *Conſtantinople*, there, in the preſence of many other of the Baſſaes, humbled himſelf unto the Sultan; who not only kept his promiſe with him in pardoning of him, but alſo, in regard of the antient Family whereof he was deſcended, as alſo of his great valour and fair conditions, received him again into his favour, and cauſed all the goods taken from him in *Syria*, to be again reſtored unto him.

The Baſſa of *Aleppo* pardoned by the Great Sultan, and received again into favour.

Now in the mean time the great Sultan had, by the means of the great Cham of *Tartary*, endeavour'd to make peace with the *Perſian* King, but all in vain; for that he demanded the City of *Tauris*, with all the Provinces before taken from him by the *Perſians*, to be again reſtored unto him; which the *Perſian* King utterly denied, for as much as he had now by force of Arms recovered the ſame, and which in former time belonged unto his Anceſtors. At which time the ſaid *Perſian* King, the more to entangle the *Turk*, writ unto the King of *Spain*, for the turning of his Forces alſo againſt the *Turk*, their common Enemy; the Letters being to this effect: That though they were in Religion divided, yet that in Power and in common hatred againſt the *Othoman* Empire they were conjoyned: and that he, conſidering the greatneſs of his Power and Arms, whereby he was become his Neighbour in the Eaſt, could not but moſt entirely love and favour him; and that therefore he had commanded all his Provinces, as well in *India* as in other places thereabouts, that they ſhould ſhew unto his Subjects all manner of courteſie, and to demand of them no Tribute. And that he, having by force recovered the Fortreſs of *Aden*, which *Solyman* the Turkiſh *Sultan* had ſometime by Treaſon ſurprized, had appointed the ſame unto the ſervice of the *Spaniſh* Governour dwelling in *Goa*. And that his pleaſure was, That all the Chriſtians dwelling in his Kingdom ſhould enjoy the ſame liberty and priviledges which his own faithful Subjects had. And beſides declared, that he had now for ſeven years ſpace made continual Wars againſt the Turkiſh Sultan, who had by Treaſon taken from him the ſtrong Town of *Chiarnon*, for the recovery whereof, he had now divers times overthrown his Armies. But for as much as he was determined to make no end of this War, until he had driven the Sultan out of thoſe parts of the Eaſt, and recovered the Seat of *Iſmael* and *Juchel*, his Anceſtors in *Babylon* and *Caire*, he therefore requeſted him, being a King of ſo great power, to joyn in League with him, and to ſend his dreadful Fleet into the Perſian Gulf; promiſing, that by ſuch means, the *Othoman* Power driven out, he could eaſily make himſelf Lord of *Syria* and of *Egypt*. Laſt of all, he reckoneth up the Preſents he ſent him, to wit, the Images of *Iſmael*, *Juchel*, and of *Jonas*, together with his own, caſt in gold, and ſet with moſt rich precious Stones and Pearls; a Perſian writing Table, garniſhed with fair precious Stones, four Dogs, by nature wonderfully ſpotted with red, yellow, and blue ſpots, two pieces of Arras, adorned with moſt precious Stones and Pearl, wherein the worthy Acts of him that great *Tamerlane* were lively to be ſeen: four Hunters horns very ſmooth and richly garniſhed; twelve moſt gallant Plumes of Feathers of divers colours: ſix Drinking-glaſſes which could not be broken, and Couch-beds ſo cunningly made, as that they were like unto Chairs, having wrought in them the antient Wars betwixt *Aſcanius* and *Chinſa* King of the *Medes*.

The great Sultan ſeeketh in vain by the means of the *Tartar* to make peace with the *Perſian*.

The Letters of the *Perſian* King unto the King of *Spain*.

Now the Emperour, for the better appeaſing of all former troubles, and the preventing of new, and the better aſſurance of the State, had, about the middle of *Auguſt*, called an Aſſembly of the States of *Hungary* to *Presburg*; whither they being come, and having long in vain expected the coming of *Matthias* the Arch-duke, by the Emperour appointed to have been Preſident in that Aſſembly, were, in the beginning of *September*, about to have returned home, but that, requeſted by the Arch-biſhop to ſtay yet fifteen days longer, they were contented ſo to do; but yet upon condition, That if the Arch-duke then came not, they ſhould not be bound to ſtay any longer: For why, they, by Letters certified of the attempts of the *Tartars*, (who had requeſted to have a place in the Borders of *Hungary* appointed them to dwell in) were deſirous in any wiſe to have that Aſſembly of Parliament put off to a farther time, that ſo they might the better betime prevent and meet with ſuch the *Tartars* Deſigns, whom they were loth to have for their bad and troubleſom Neighbours. And now the Turks in the mean time, in hopes that the Peace betwixt them and

The States of *Hungary* about to depart from *Presburg*, by the perſuaſion of the Arch-biſhop there ſtaid.

The *Turks* in great numbers repair to *Buda.*

and the Chriſtians would not long hold, were come to *Buda* in ſuch multitudes, that the houſes in the Town being not able to hold them, they were glad to ſet up Tents for them to lye in within the City; for that the Baſſa would not ſuffer them to ſet up any Tents abroad in the Fields, leſt the Chriſtians ſhould ſuſpect them to be about the raiſing of an Army, and ſo to diſturb the Peace.

The States of *Hungary* depart from *Presburg* without any thing doing.

But the States of *Hungary*, having ſtayed full fifteen days, as the Arch-biſhop had requeſted, and the Arch-duke not coming; made a ſolemn Proteſtation before the Chapter of the Cathedral Church at *Presburg*, that they departed from *Presburg*, and ſo returned home, not upon any diſcontentment or Contumacy, but for want of things neceſſary, and other their urgent Occaſions, (having above ſeven weeks expected the Arch-duke's coming, without whom nothing could be done) and yet, that if it ſhould pleaſe the Emperour by ſolemn Summons at any time after to call another Parliament, they would be ready upon any ſuch Summons given, to return again to *Presburg*, and there to conſult of all ſuch things as ſhould be for the good and welfare of the Common-weal; ſo that nothing were propounded contrary to the Articles they the year before agreed upon at *Vienna*, which they would have in all points kept whole and inviolate; ſo that if any man ſhould go about or attempt any thing in diſpoſing and ordering of the Publick Affairs contrary to that Agreement, they would not in any wiſe ratifie the ſame, altho it were by the Emperour himſelf allowed; which their Proteſtation they requeſted to have regiſtred, and ſealed with the Chapters Seal, and ſo, not having done any thing at all for which they came, again returned.

The *Haiducks* go about to raiſe new ſtirs in *Hungary.*

After whoſe departure from *Presburg*, the *Haiducks*, (Men uſed to live by their Swords, and not by their Labour) of all others moſt diſcontented with this general Peace, began now to raiſe new ſtirs and Tumults, and daily to grow ſtronger and ſtronger, craving Aid of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and not of the other *Hungarians* their Country-men, now again returned to their wonted Allegeance unto the Chriſtian Emperour; a number of which *Haiducks* flocking to *Buda*, the Baſſa there, with ſome other of the Turks Captains and Commanders, entred into Conſultation what to do with theſe ſo fit Inſtruments for the troubling of the Chriſtians, and the diſturbing of the Peace. To entertain them he durſt not, and to caſt them off he was loth; but yet purpoſing to uſe them, and to ſet them a work as occaſion ſhould ſerve, he, to prepare an entrance thereunto, by Letters threatned them of *Comora*, that except they better kept the Capitulations and Articles of the late Peace, they ſhould ſhortly hear of new matters. But in the mean time, Letters were ſent from the Great Sultan to the Baſſa of *Buda*, with charge, that although the Chriſtians were reported to increaſe their ſtrength, he ſhould yet keep himſelf within his bounds, and to attempt nothing againſt them, except they ſhould proceed to manifeſt force; in which caſe he ſhould not fail by all lawful means to revenge himſelf. Which the Sultan's mind once made known, the *Turks* again departed from *Buda*, moſt part of the great Ordnance that they brought with them being carried back again to *Sigeth.*

The Baſſa of *Buda* forbidden to make Wars upon the Chriſtians.

An Aſſembly of the States of the upper *Hungary*, and the decrees by them there made.

But the States of *Hungary*, being returned home from *Presburg*, and again Aſſembled, the Fourteenth day of *October*, by their general conſent, decreed, That *Tokay* ſhould again be joyned unto their Juriſdiction; and that the great Ordnance throughout all the free Cities ſhould be removed and carried home unto the Places whereunto they before belonged: That the Vayvod of *Tranſilvania* ſhould be admoniſhed not to ſeparate *Tranſilvania* from *Hungary*: That the Baſſa of *Buda* ſhould be warned to keep his *Turks* within their own bounds: And that the Nobility of *Hungary* ſhould betime be admoniſhed with all their force to repreſs the *Haiducks*, and all other their Enemies. Howbeit, the *Haiducks* proceeding in their inſolent Out-rages more than before, took certain Forts, and with Fire and Sword ſpoiled many Places of the Country, cauſing the People to ſwear to be Friends to them and the *Turks*, and Enemies unto the *Germans* and *Wallons*; and demanding of *Humanoius* the Crown wherewith *Botſcay* had ſometime been rewarded from the Grand Seigniour, had a purpoſe to have crowned him, or ſome other for their King; who for all that, by a Meſſenger ſent word unto them, that he would not at their hands accept that Dignity, but faithfully continue in his Allegiance toward the Emperour. But when the States of the upper *Hungary* were about to have gone againſt theſe ſeditious and rebellious People to have ſurpriſed them; they were from ſo doing deterred by the Baſſa of *Agria*, threatning with his *Turks* and *Tartars* to take their parts if they ſhould once take up Arms againſt them.

The *Haiducks* conſpire againſt the *Germans.*

The *Turks* further the inſolent attempts of the *Haiducks.*

About the ſame time, ſix hundred *Haiducks* going to the Caſtle of Saint *Andrew*, and coming thither could not be let in by the Garriſon Souldiers, as they had deſired; and perceiving them to make no reckoning of their Service, could no longer hold, but openly profeſſed themſelves to become the Great Sultan's Servants; who from thence marching to *Budnok*, took it by force, and ranſack'd it; and ſo ſtill ſeeking after Booty, ran out towards *Tockay*, where by the way they were in a ſtrait by *Humanoius*, lying in wait for them, entrapped, and almoſt all ſlain; who afterward ſent two of the *Turks* Enſigns taken from them to *Vienna*, and to the terrour of others, empailed ſome of them upon Stakes, being brought Priſoners to *Caſſovia.* For which unfortunate Expedition, ſome other of the *Haiducks* lighting upon two of the Captains, who by chance had eſcaped out of *Humanoius's* hands, put them both to death for the evil leading of their fellows, hanging up the one, and with their Swords hewing the other all to pieces. Now by the report of ſome of the Priſoners there taken, it was known this new Rebellion of the *Haiducks* to have been raiſed by the procurement of the Baſſaes of *Buda* and *Agria*, who by their Meſſengers had promiſed unto them all help. Which Report to have been true, the Event did ſhortly after confirm; for the 27th day of *November* almoſt fifteen thouſand of theſe *Haiducks*, having before received from the Great Sultan three hundred thouſand Duckets for Pay, came and moſt ſtraitly beſieged *Filek*, a ſtrong Caſtle, the *Turks* ſending them great Ordnance from *Agria*; unto whom theſe *Haiducks* had promiſed to deliver all ſuch Places as they ſhould win. Howbeit, the Event of this ſiege anſwered not their deſire; for *Thomas Boſnius*, Captain of *Filek*, with his Garriſon all of *German* Souldiers, ſo valiantly repulſed them, and the extremity of the Winter-weather ſo diſtreſſed them, that they were glad to raiſe their ſiege, and be gone.

Six hundred *Haiducks* intercepted by *Humanoius*

The *Haiducks* in their Rebellion ſupported by the Turks.

A great Fire at *Conſtantinople.*

Now much about the ſame time, *viz.* about the beginning of *November*, a great Fire aroſe at *Conſtantinople*, wherein almoſt five hundred Shops of Wares, with many other fair Buildings were burnt, ſo that the harm there by fire done was eſteemed to amount to above two millions of Gold.

At the ſame time that the Aſſembly of the States of *Hungary* ſhould have been holden at *Presburg*, (as is before declared) the Emperour had

appointed

1607

An Aſſembly of the States of *Auſtria*, and the Emperors demands therein.

appointed alſo another Aſſembly of the Nobility and States of *Auſtria* to be holden at *Vienna*; where, after they were aſſembled, certain Articles were unto them on the Emperours behalf propounded for them in that Aſſembly then to conſider of; as firſt, that for the keeping of the Frontiers of *Auſtria* in quiet, the Contribution by them granted among themſelves the laſt year, ſhould this year following be doubled. Then, that if it ſhould fortune the Enemy to attempt any thing of new againſt that Province, that inſtead of the Horſes and Money which they were wont to ſend unto the Wars, they ſhould for the ſpace of twelve Months, or of the greateſt part thereof, as occaſion ſhould require, of their own coſts maintain ten Companies of *German* Foot-men, every Company being three hundred ſtrong; and as many Troops of *German* Horſe-men, every Troop conſiſting of an hundred Horſe. And, that if for the better defence of the Borders of *Auſtria* there ſhould happily need a greater ſtrength, the ſame ſhould be raiſed in no other ſort than was uſed in *Hungary*, nor at greater charges maintained. And, that if it ſhould continue Peace, theſe charges ſhould be converted to the payment of the Souldiers Wages: And that the States and other Subjects of that Province ſhould ſo much as might be, be eaſed from the trouble of ſending either of Horſe or Foot for the defence of the Frontiers. Thirdly, that Commiſſaries ſhould be maintained this year alſo to attend the Army, and certain skilful Captains appointed for the chuſing of a fit General for the Army. That diligent regard and care ſhould be had for the Proviſion of Corn and Victuals for the uſe of the People in General, as well in the time of Peace as of War. And that foraſmuch as it much concerned the good of the Common-weal, to have the Frontiers of the Country toward *Caniſia* diligently viewed, for fear of the Turks great Garriſon there ſtill lying, that therefore certain good and expert Souldiers, which knew thoſe places well, ſhould be choſen, who, together with the Deputies of the Emperour, *Hungarians*, and *Stirians*, riding about theſe Confines, ſhould forthwith conſider what were beſt to be done for the ſafety thereof. In brief, ſeeing that on the ſafety of *Rab*, the welfare of the City of *Vienna*, and of the Forts thereabouts depended, that for the repairing of the Fortifications thereof, and the better ſtrengthning of the ſame, the ſum of four thouſand Florens ſhould be appointed; and for the defence of the Frontiers of *Auſtria* from the incurſion of the Turks Garriſon of *Caniſia*, five thouſand; and for the furthering of the Buildings at *Nuſtorfe*, five thouſand more ſhould be paid; and that thoſe who hitherto had been ſlack in paying of their Contribution Money, ſhould forthwith be enforced to pay the ſame. And alſo that it might be conſidered of, how that too much inhauncing of the value of Monies might be reſtrained; that good orders might be kept; all the Country cleared from the Robberies of the Souldiers, ſtragling here and there up and down the ſame; that the counterfeit *Hungarian* and *Polonian* Money ſhould be prohibited, as not current; that good order might be taken for the ſtaying of the Plague, which then began in many Places in *Auſtria*.

The Aſſembly broken up, and nothing concluded.

Concerning which Articles, when as the States there aſſembled complained, all that Country to be with the long Wars againſt the Turk, the Incurſions of the Rebels, and the Outrages of the mutinous Souldiers, already almoſt exhauſted, and miſerably bared of Money; no reſolution could then, according as the Neceſſity required, be made, but was unto a further time deferred, and the Aſſembly broken up.

1608

A Diet of the Empire by the Emperour appointed at *Ratisbone*.

The Emperour at the ſame time appointed a Diet of the Empire to be holden at *Ratisbone*; wherein he, having appointed *Ferdinand*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, to be chief in his place, he with a notable train of ſeven hundred Horſe, and a gallant guard of Footmen, came thither the eight and twentieth of *November*, and was there by the Citizens honourably received. Unto which Aſſembly, when as the Deputies of the Electors, and of the other Princes and Cities of the Empire, were in great number come, at length, the twelfth of *January*, Divine Service being done in the Cathedral Church, *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke, with his Courtiers, the Emperours Counſellors, and other the Princes Deputies being there preſent, taking Horſe before the Church, with a great company of the Nobility and Princes Deputies following of him, went to the Court; the Citizens in their Arms ſtanding on both ſides; where *Godfrey Ortelius*, the Emperours Secretary, having in a notable Oration ſet forth the Emperours Love and Affection towards the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire; and why, the Emperour himſelf could not be preſent at this Aſſembly, as willingly he would have been; he propounded in his Name five Articles for them in this their Aſſembly to be eſpecially conſidered of. Firſt, how the Empire might hereafter be preſerved and defended againſt the Violence of the Turks, and the dangerous rebellions by their procurement ſtirred up in *Hungary*, to the endangering of the whole Empire; eſpecially ſeeing that the Turks themſelves (with whom the Peace was of late concluded) by their doings had heretofore more than ſufficiently declared what truſt or credit was to be given unto them; and ſeeing that it is moſt manifeſt, them therein to have ſought for nothing elſe, than that having made or rather counterfeited a Peace with the Chriſtians for a time, for the ſuppreſſing of the Rebels, and the repreſſing of the Invaſions of the *Perſians*, they might after ſuch Victory againſt them obtained, come better provided and ſtronger to overcome the Chriſtians. Which was eaſie to be ſeen; for that whilſt they were yet intreating of Peace, they had taken *Strigonium*, and having concluded Peace, they ceaſed not as yet with their Counſel and Aid to help the Rebels in their rebellious Tumults; which was manifeſtly to be perceived by the *Haiducks* themſelves, who were not aſhamed openly to profeſs themſelves to be the Great Sultans Servants, to require Cities and Fortreſſes to be yielded unto the Sultan, and to conſpire againſt the very name of the *Germans*. For the ſpeedy Remedy of which miſchief, the Emperour had thought good, that conſideration of this point ſhould ſo be had, as that the Princes ſhould either conſent unto a certain ſtanding and perpetual Contribution, whereby a ſufficient ſtrength might always be ready wherewith to withſtand the Enemies attempts; or elſe that for certain years twenty thouſand Foot men, and four thouſand Horſe might there be ſtill in readineſs, to be maintained at the common charges of the Empire; which the Emperour (need ſo requiring) might uſe againſt the common Enemy. Or, that if this were heavy or troubleſome unto the States of the Empire, yet at leaſt they ſhould conſent yearly to contribute ſuch Money as might ſuffice for the ſuſtaining of ſuch a Power. Another point of this Concluſion, was, about the correcting and reforming of the adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Imperial Chamber. For, ſeeing that in the former Aſſemblies and meetings this matter could not be fully decided, by reaſon of certain hinderances and impediments which then fell out, and that without the due Adminiſtration and Execution of Juſtice

The Articles by the Emperour propounded to be conſidered of in the Diet of the Empire at *Ratisbone*.

no Empire could long ſtand or flouriſh, no more than the World could without the Sun; his Imperial Majeſty therefore would not have the Deliberation of this ſo neceſſary a point to be put off or referred unto any other Aſſembly, but to be done and concluded in this preſent Aſſembly. The third point to be conſidered of was, the War which hath been now ſo many years made in the Low-Countries, and the inconveniency thereof redounding unto the Empire. For whereas in the Treaty of Peace in the Low-Countries, (at which Treaty both he and the whole Empire ought to have been there preſent) for the better concluding and ending of the ſame, he had heard the confederate Princes to be now acknowledged for a free State, he could not now any longer (as he ſaid) forbear, but that (ſeeing the Low-Countries to be a member and Fee of the Empire, and by the antient Records of the Empire, and of the Emperours, and by many other Proofs it appeareth, the Governours of the Low-Countries to have been Vaſſals of the Empire) he ſhould by Letters which were written unto the King of *Spain*, the Arch-duke *Albertus*, and the States of the confederate Provinces, admoniſh them, That they ſhould not proceed to do or determine any thing in this matter, which might any way tend to the hurt or prejudice of the Emperour, of the Empire, and of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. And foraſmuch as that War in the Low-Countries had hitherto done no ſmall harm unto the Empire, if happily it could not be agreed upon between the Parties, and that it ſhould happen the ſame War to be any longer continued, or rather again renewed, it ſhould then be conſidered upon, how the Empire might be ſatisfied for the great harm it had until this preſent thereby received, and how it might be from the like harm hereafter kept and preſerved. The fourth point in this Conſultation, which was to be conſidered of, concerned the Coyn. For whereas it is manifeſt, that the value of the Mony to be daily more and more inhaunced and raiſed, and that thereby not only the Magiſtrates in the publick Recipt, but the Subjects alſo in general received great and manifeſt harm, foraſmuch as the price of ſuch neceſſary things which we muſt in this Life have ordinary uſe of, muſt of neceſſity be ſtill more and more increaſed, according to the value of the Money, the Emperour thought good with mature Deliberation to remedy this miſchief in this preſent Aſſembly of the Empire. The fifth and laſt point which was to be conſidered upon, was, the perfecting of the Matriculer of the Empire, for the giving unto every Man that which of due belongeth unto him; the perfecting of which Matriculer, the Emperour would have in this Aſſembly to be amongſt them conſidered of.

Which Articles thus propounded, there fell a great Controverſie amongſt the Deputies of the Princes concerning the manner of their proceeding in theſe matters: as whether they ſhould conſider of theſe Articles in ſuch order as they were propounded, or otherwiſe. And when as many thought it beſt firſt to conſider of the Article for the Reformation of Juſtice, being the ſecond Article propounded to be conſidered of, and afterwards to come unto the reſt of the Articles to be afterward conſulted of; when as the two and twentieth day of *January* they came again to Council, a Writing was by the Emperours command read unto them, whereby it was ſignified unto the States of the Empire, the rebellious Tumults by *Botſcay* and ſome others raiſed in *Hungary* to be yet by the *Haiducks* continued, the Sultan himſelf ſending of them Rewards, and furniſhing them with Ordnance and other things neceſſary for the Wars, by the Governour of *Agria*, and the Baſſa of *Buda*, threatning all Extremities unto them which ſhould go about to reſiſt them; and then augmenting the danger which thereby might enſue unto the Empire, and eſpecially unto the *German* Name; ſeeing that it was manifeſt thoſe rebellious *Haiducks* to have eſpecially conſpired the Deſtruction of the *Germans*, and to have confirmed that their League, by drinking of an Health: It was requeſted, that leaving off theſe Contentions for the manner of their Proceeding, they would turn their Conſultations unto the firſt Article, and reſolve how Remedy might in time be given unto this miſchief, and how Aid might be ſent unto the Emperour againſt his Enemies.

The Deputies for the States of the Empire, in the Aſſembly at *Ratisbone*, at variance among themſelves.

But when as in their often meetings nothing could be concluded, by reaſon of the divers and different Opinions betwixt the Proteſtants and Catholicks, *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke again calling together the Deputies of the Electors, of the Princes, and of the Imperial Cities, cauſed it by Letters to be declared unto them, How that the Emperour, not without his great Grief and Sorrow had heard, That for certain diſſentions among them they could not yet come to conſult of the Articles propounded in that Aſſembly to be by them conſidered of, but to his great Grief to be from day to day protracted; and that therefore he requeſted them, That either they themſelves would quietly end thoſe Diſſentions amongſt themſelves, or elſe ſend their Differences, conceived in Writing, unto the Emperour to be decided, and ſo at length to come effectually to conſult of the propounded Articles. And indeed the Deputies aforeſaid had in Writing before exhibited their Minds concerning that point, for the manner of their Proceeding, unto the Arch-duke *Ferdinand*. But foraſmuch as that Writing was according to the manner of the Catholicks and the Proteſtants, of two different ſorts; the former thinking it meet to conſult of the aforeſaid Articles in ſuch order as they were propounded, and firſt of all, to conſider of the Contribution to be given againſt the Turks, and other Enemies in *Hungary*; but the other labouring, firſt for the Reformation of Juſtice, and the confirming of the Peace of Religion; and afterward to provide for Aid againſt the foreign Enemies, that ſo Remedy might firſt be provided for inward, than for outward Griefs; eſpecially ſeeing that they had no expreſs Commandment firſt to determine of the Contribution. Unto whom the Archduke by Writing again anſwered, That he had received no other Inſtruction from the Emperour, then that he ſhould conſult of the aforeſaid Articles, with the Deputies there preſent, in ſuch order as they were propounded: Neither that it was convenient, that the firſt Article concerning Contribution being neglected, they ſhould proceed unto the ſecond, ſeeing that the Enemies might eaſily, by the delay of putting off the ſame in effect take occaſion in the mean time to do the Chriſtians great harm. Beſides that, that he had ſufficiently proteſted, That Conſultation concerning the Reformation of Juſtice ſhould in this preſent Aſſembly be had alſo; neither that it was the Emperours mind to have it deferred unto any other Aſſembly. Wherefore he exhorted the Proteſtants, That they ſhould forthwith endeavour by their Letters unto the Electors & Princes, and other their Superiours, to obtain leave, that they might firſt determine ſome certainty about the firſt Article concerning Contribution; that ſo giving way to the Opinion of the other party, they might inſtantly prepare themſelves for the making of the Contribution. Howbeit, this his perſuaſion prevailed nothing, by reaſon of their Diſcord and Diſſention about the order of their Conſultation; the one part ſtill labouring for the Contribution to be firſt agreed upon, and the other part holding as hard for the Reformation of Juſtice; ſo that *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke, out of hope of concluding any thing that good was, not in vain to ſpend his coſt and time any longer, the fifth of *May* diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, and returned home, as did all the reſt of the Electors and Princes Deputies, no one Article that was propounded being ſo much as once reaſoned of, but all left undecided; ſo ſmall care was there of the common good, either for the raiſing of Money for the withſtanding of the Turks and Rebels, or for the Reformation of Juſtice; the Neceſſity of both, either on the one ſide or the other, ſo hardly urged, and yet in Concluſion be neither reſpected or regarded.

The Diet of the States of the Empire at *Ratisbone* broken off, and nothing concluded.

Matthias the Arch-duke cometh to *Presburg.*

Whilſt the Diet to no purpoſe (as is aforeſaid) was by the Arch-duke *Ferdinand* holden at *Ratisbone*, *Matthias* the Arch-duke, with a grait Train following of him, came in the mean time to *Preſburg*, where he was with much Joy and Triumph received; the Garriſon Souldiers in order ſtanding on both ſides the way as he went unto the Caſtle: *Napragius* the Biſhop of *Rab*, with an eloquent Oration welcoming of him, in the preſence of certain of the *Hungarian* Nobility, who had gone out as far as *Hainburg* to meet him, and now alſo honourably welcomed him, much rejoycing at his coming. The next day the Arch-biſhop, and Cardinal of *Strigonium*, with a notable Train of *Hungarian* Gentlemen came to *Presburg*; who, forthwith received into the Caſtle, and having ſaluted the Arch-duke, conferred with him of many things in this Aſſembly to be conſulted of. In the mean time *Illiſhaſcius* (that Noble *Hungarian* of whom we have ſo often ſpoken) arrived there alſo with twelve Coaches, ninety Harquebuſiers, and forty *Hungarian* Horſemen going before him, and three hundred *Haiducks* which had attended upon him, being at the Gate diſmiſſed. So the chief of the *Hungarian* States being come, the Conſultation was begun the three and twentieth day of *January*; where, when as the Arch-duke had propounded unto the *Hungarian* Nobility, what things they were eſpecially to conſider of; it was by them anſwered, The *Haiducks*, before their coming out, to have determined, not one whit to depart from the Articles the year before propounded and agreed on at *Vienna*; nor to admit any limitation at all of them, ſo that for the appeaſing of the Tumults of the *Haiducks*, there was no need of any new Conſultation, but only to confirm ſuch things as was then and there conſulted and agreed upon. From which their Reſolution, when as the *Hungarians* were not to be removed, and being grieved with the ſcoffing at of certain of the Clergy (thereupon refuſing in any wiſe to make their appearance, as they were commanded, before the Cardinal in the Caſtle) were about again to depart, making a ſolemn Proteſtation, themſelves to be guiltleſs of ſuch harms as ſhould thereof afterwards enſue; it was at length on all parts agreed upon, That the whole matter ſhould be committed unto ten choſen out of the *Hungarian* Counſellors, and ten more of the Counſellors of *Auſtria*, to be conſulted and determined of. By whom, being met all together the eight and twentieth day of *January*, in the Houſe of *Illiſhaſcins*, it was concluded, That ſeeing that Peace and Quietneſs in thoſe Countries of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, could not otherwiſe be made, that thoſe Articles and Conditions, concerning which no Agreement could the year before be made in the Treaty at *Vienna*, being quite left off and neglected, the reſt of the Articles which were there agreed upon, ſhould be ſtill entirely obſerved and kept; and that it ſhould be lawful for every man to have the free Exerciſe of his Religion. Which thing the Commiſſioners of *Auſtria* by a ſpecial Writing there confirmed unto the *Hungarians*. Whereby they declared themſelves, after long and mature deliberation, to have perceived, not only by the true relation and report of the *Hungarians*, but alſo by their own experience, unto how great Inconveniencies the whole Kingdom of *Hungary* hath of long been expoſed, as well for the Wars it hath had with the common Enemy of the Chriſtians, as for divers the civil Tumults and Seditions therein; and that therefore they, not willing that ſuch harms ſhould in thoſe Countries again increaſe and grow, to the infinite effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, after the Articles of Pacification agreed upon at *Vienna*, ſaw no other better Remedy for theſe ſo great Inconveniencies, than that all Parties ſhould ſtill hold themſelves contented with the ſame Articles of Pacification concluded and agreed upon in the ſaid Aſſembly at *Vienna*. And that therefore they had decreed, thoſe Articles to be ſincerely and inviolately kept; and promiſed unto the States of *Hungary*, to give their Aid for the defence of theſe Articles, againſt all their Enemies, being ready to give good reaſon thereof before God, the Church, the Emperour *Rodolph*, the Arch-duke *Matthias*, and his other Brethren, and all the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as the Neceſſity of thoſe Countries ſhould ſeem to require; hoping alſo that the States of *Hungary* would reſt themſelves likewiſe in that Pacification of *Vienna*, and the aſſurance thereof, in all points obſerving the ſame; and that they would always give their ready Help and Aid unto the Countries of *Auſtria* againſt their Enemies in like manner. All which things thus agreed upon and determined, Letters of Confederation were in the Name of *Matthias* the Arch-duke, and of all, as well the Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal States of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, to this purpoſe written, That whereas, for the appeaſing and ſuppreſſing of the Tumults and Seditions, which the *Haiducks* by the Inſtigation of the *Turks* had of late not doubted to raiſe, for the concluding of Peace with the Great Sultan; they were met together at *Presburg*, and therein altogether buſied, to deviſe how the Kingdom of *Hungary*, with the Countries adjoyning, might from Deſtruction be delivered, in the Chriſtian Religion preſerved, and from waſting and ſpoyling, whereunto they had hitherto been expoſed, ſaved; upon mature Deliberation, had as well in the Name of them that were preſent, as of them that were abſent, made ſuch a Confederation and League, That if hereafter it ſhould fortune any detriment of War to be by any man made or done unto the *Hungarians*, or the Countries thereabout, for the aforeſaid Articles of Pacification, which they had determined religiouſly to keep, that they would forthwith with their united Forces come to Aid their Confederate Brethren, and together with them to live or die.

Commiſſioners appointed for the appeaſing of the new Troubles in *Hungary*.

Letters of Confederation betwixt the States of *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, for the maintaining of the Articles of Pacification agreed upon at *Vienna*.

With theſe Letters ſigned and ſealed with the hand of the Arch-duke, and of the Noble Men there preſent, the firſt of *February*, *Illiſhaſcius*, with *George Turſon*, were ſent unto the Tumultuous *Haiducks* (who had now appointed their Meſſages to be ſent unto the Sultan and the Tartar Cham, to crave their Aid) to diſſwade them from ſuch their purpoſe, and to perſwade them to quietneſs; threatning them withal, That if they would not hearken unto ſuch honeſt Conditions, they ſhould all together, and at once, be ſet upon and oppreſſed by the whole Power of the States.

The States of *Enſeric* commanded by the Archduke *Matthias* to be always in a readineſs againſt the *Haiducks.*

The Aſſembly at *Presburg* thus ended, *Matthias* the Archduke returning to *Vienna*, and forthwith calling together the States of *Enſeric*, declared unto them all that was done in the Aſſembly at *Presburg*. And for as much as that Aſſembly was chiefly to that end appointed, That the Kingdom of *Hungary* ſhould not altogether be pluck'd away from the Empire; and that after the revolt thereof, the greateſt harm to be done by the Incurſions and ſpoyling of the Enemies, would lie upon the Countries of *Auſtria*; he adviſed them ſo to look unto themſelves, and carefully to provide for the Common-weal, as that having Money always in readineſs to maintain an Army, they might with all convenient ſpeed go to meet with the *Haiducks*, if haply they would not conform themſelves unto the Articles of the Pacification, but again raiſe new Broils; that ſo they might defend and preſerve their Country from their Outrages.

The Prince of *Valachia* dieth, whoſe Widow notably preſerveth the Country for her Son.

About the beginning of this Spring, when as *Jerome* Prince of *Valachia* was dead, leaving behind him a Son but thirteen years old, the Emperour admitted him, as yet not capable of the Government, under Tutors, unto the Succeſſion of his Heritage. Which thing the *Valachians* being by no means willing to endure, and bearing themſelves upon the help of the Turks, went about to make choice of another inſtead of their Prince of late dead. For which cauſe, the Princeſs, Widow, by Letters certified *Polloſcie*, her Son in Law, of this Outrage and Injury of her Subjects; and having obtained of him a great ſum of Money, and therewith raiſed an Army of ten thouſand good Souldiers, went forth againſt the *Valachians*, and in open field overcame them, in ſo bloody and terrible a Battel, that having ſlain five thouſand of the *Valachians* and Turks, ſhe had over them a notable Victory, and by that means preſerved the Principality of that Country for her Son.

The Duke of *Florence* in vain requeſted by the Turks to ſpare their Gallies.

The Great Duke of *Florence* had hitherto done great harm with his Fleet unto the Turks in the *Mediterranean* Sea; for which cauſe, a Meſſenger about this time coming unto him in the Great Sultans Name, promiſed him great Matters, if he would from thenceforth forbear to hurt and purſue the Turks Gallies. Which his Requeſt ſerved the Turks to no other purpoſe, but as it were to put Oyl unto the Fire. For the Duke afterward cauſed new Gallies to be made, and his Fleet increaſed, and therewith did more harm than formerly he had done.

The *Haiducks* refuſe to admit of the Pacification made at *Vienna.*

Now although that after the ending of the Aſſembly at *Presburg*, *Illiſhaſcius* and *George Turſon* had delivered unto the *Haiducks* the Articles of the Pacification, and commanded them from thenceforth to keep themſelves quiet; yet for all that could they not yet be perſwaded to hearken unto ſuch their Counſel; for that they being Men ſtill accuſtomed to the Wars, and living by their Swords, could not endure to fall to Husbandry, and ſuch other Labours. For which cauſe, they of the Country about *Gymeric*, writ unto them which dwelt in the Country about *Nuſol*, Letters to this effect: That foraſmuch as they, being divers times certified of the miſerable eſtate of their Neighbours, had refuſed to come to aid them, they ſhould yet now remember how neceſſary a thing it were, with their conjoyned Minds and Forces to help one another; for that the *Haiducks*, having now paſſed the River of *Teiſe*, were broken into that Province, and were run as far as *Budnoc*; neither were they minded ſo to ſtay, but to rob and ſpoil all the Country before them, if they were not with ſpeed encountred. And the rather, for that but a few days before they had received thirty thouſand *Hungarian* Duckats from the Turks, whom they now acknowledged for their Lords, with Horſes and other Gifts, to be divided among their Leaders and Captains; and moreover, daily expected Aid from the *Tartars*, who in great Numbers lay about *Belgrade*. Wherefore ſeeing it could not be expreſſed what great harm and loſs was by the *Haiducks* done, as well unto the Noblemen themſelves, as to the common Country-men; that they ſhould therefore thereof give their Neighbours to underſtand, and with all ſpeed to take up Arms againſt the ſame rebellious *Haiducks*.

The States of *Auſtria* warned by the Arch-duke to prepare themſelves for an Expedition to be made into *Moravia.*

Not long after, about the latter end of *March*, Proclamation was made by the Commandment of *Matthias* the Arch-duke, throughout all *Auſtria*, That every man ſhould provide himſelf to take up Arms. The cauſe whereof men diverſly ſuſpected; howbeit that unto this Proclamation was this Reaſon joyned, That the Arch-duke was determined himſelf to go about the fourteenth of *April* into *Moravia*, and there to gather together all his Power, as well *Hungarians*, as *Auſtrians* and *Haiducks*, for the War he was to take in hand. There were alſo Letters in the Arch-dukes name ſent unto the Vaſſals of *Auſtria*, to give them to underſtand, That whereas they were not ignorant, what, for the obtaining of Peace, and Defence of theſe Countries, had of late been decreed at *Presburg*; and that all the States of *Enſeric* had approved the report thereof received from their Deputies, and ſo promiſed their help and aid unto the Arch-duke, as if that he himſelf would take in hand any Expedition, they would joyn themſelves unto him, and together with him to live or dye; yet that there were ſome, which being more deſirous of War than Peace, did not only not reſt upon the former Pacification, but gathered an Army alſo in the Borders of *Moravia*, with a purpoſe to make an inroad as well into *Moravia*, as into *Auſtria* it ſelf. For which cauſe, the States of *Moravia* alſo were enforced, for defence of themſelves, to raiſe an Army, and to crave help from their Neighbours. And that therefore, ſeeing the Arch-duke, mindful of his promiſe for the common Defence of the Countrey, was reſolved to beſtow his Life and all his Fortunes, and in his own Perſon to undertake an Expedition unto thoſe Places from whence the greateſt danger was to be feared to fall upon thoſe Countreys; neceſſity then required, that the States themſelves alſo ſhould ſuffer nothing to be wanting on their behalf, but every one of them, together with their Servants, forthwith to joyn themſelves unto the Arch-duke, and, to the uttermoſt of their power, to endeavour themſelves to deliver them and theirs from death and deſtruction. That God, in whoſe name this Expedition was by them to be taken in hand, as by the lovers of Peace, might ſo in ſhort time make an end of all tumults, and grant unto thoſe Countries wiſhed Peace and quietneſs. And that therefore they were to be admoniſhed, That, according to the tenor of the Decree made at *Presburg*, they, with ſuch a number of Horſe and Foot as they could upon the ſudden raiſe at a day to be ſhortly after named unto them, ſhould joyn themſelves unto the Arch-duke, and not to ſuffer any thing to let them in ſo doing. So that if haply any chance or ſickneſs ſhould happen unto their General, yet notwithſtanding that they ſhould ſend their Power under the leading of ſome other man, ſeeing that the Arch-duke himſelf ſpared not to adventure his Life and Fortunes, and (if God ſhould ſee it ſo good) account it a great gain even to loſe the ſame, ſo that thereby he might do his Countrey good.

About the beginning of *April*, the Cardinal returning from *Prague* to *Vienna*, brought with him the Emperours Anſwer and Reſolution, *viz.* That he did ratifie and confirm all things that were done and concluded with the *Hungarians* and *Turks*; but that his Will was, That the Confederation made betwixt the States of *Hungary* and *Auſtria* at *Presburg*, ſhould be void, and of none effect. Which, the Arch-duke proteſting that he could by no means like of, or ſuffer to be done, he, the fifteenth of *April* afterwards, with a great number of the Peers, Nobility, and Counſellors, and a multitude of good Souldiers, going out of *Vienna* towards the Monaſtery of *Neoburg*, ſet forward upon his Journey, carrying with him eight and twenty Pieces of Ordnance, there expecting his Souldiers in all places levied: by publick Letters proteſting, That no man ſhould from his Army receive any harm; or if that by chance any harm were done unto any man by his Army, aſſuring his Subjects it ſhould be again unto them reſtored and recompenſed.

The Arch-duke *Matthias* prepareth himſelf for his Expedition into *Moravia*.

But the rumour of this Expedition being brought into *Bohemia*, the Nobility of the Countrey began to aſſemble themſelves the fifteenth day of *April*, whither, when as many of the Deputies of the other Countreys were aſſembled alſo, it being decreed, That the Nobility of the faithful States there preſent, ſhould with all ſpeed return home, and ſo provide themſelves and their Subjects of neceſſary Arms; that, need ſo requiring, they ſhould therewith be able to defend themſelves and their Countrey, the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed. Beſides that, the Emperour himſelf, careful for all Events, cauſed many, both Horſe and Foot, to be brought to *Prague*, and to be diverſly billeted in the Citizens houſes: and furthermore, the eighteenth of *April*, by Letters directed unto certain Princes of the Empire, and to certain Earls alſo, Citizens, and other Vaſſals of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, warned them with all ſpeed to ſend Aid unto him at *Prague*.

The Nobility of *Bohemia* are by the Emperor commanded to be ready in Arms.

But *Matthias* the Arch-duke in the mean time marching forward with an Army of twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot, the twenty fourth day of *April* came to *Zname*, a City of *Moravia*; and was there, by the States of *Moravia* (who the day before were come thither alſo with four hundred Horſe) honourably received and brought into the City. From thence, ſending out Letters into the Territories of *Bohemia*, and to the City of *Prague*, he requeſted, That they would ſend out of every place two Deputies for them, unto the Aſſembly to be holden at *Zaſlavia* the fourth day of *May*: promiſing withal, That he himſelf being there preſent, would yield unto their Deputies a reaſon of his doings, as alſo what he meant to do hereafter. Beſides that, he, by Letters ſent unto the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, declared the cauſe why he was enforced to make this Expedition; and withal ſending unto them a Copy of the Agreement made at *Vienna* the five and twentieth day of *April* in the year 1606, by the common conſent of the Arch-dukes; in moſt friendly manner requeſted them, That they would not intermeddle in this buſineſs, but rather with their Counſel and Aid to further the ſame.

The Arch-duke *Matthias* with an Army cometh to *Zname* in *Moravia*.

But the three and twentieth day of *April*, the Emperour ſent the Popes Ambaſſadours, with the Ambaſſadours of divers other Princes and States, then lying at *Prague*, with ſundry of the *Bohemian* Miniſters, in Embaſſage to the Arch-duke *Matthias*, ſtill lying at *Zname*; whom the Cardinal the next day after followed alſo, to make ſome good Pacification, if it were poſſible, with the Arch-duke. But the Emperour in the mean time calling unto him the Counſellors of the old and new Town of *Prague*, (contrary to his wonted manner) moſt courteouſly with his own hand received them, and giving them thanks for the faithful Duties by them hitherto performed; requeſted them, That hereafter they would continue in their like fidelity and Loyalty alſo; moſt liberally promiſing unto them all kindneſs, with the reſtitution of the Priviledges concerning the ſhutting of the Gates of the City; which Liberty they had before loſt in the time of the Emperour *Ferdinand*. And not long after, a general Muſter was taken, not only in the City of *Prague*, and the Towns thereabouts, but alſo throughout all the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and three hundred Muſqueteers appointed for the guard and keeping of the Caſtle, under the command of Count *Solmes*, who had Commiſſion for the raiſing of other Souldiers alſo.

The Emperour ſendeth Ambaſſadours to the Arch-duke *Matthias* at *Zname*.

At the very ſame time, it was from *Conſtantinople* certainly reported, the *Tartar* Cham to have dyed, and the Turkiſh Sultan having received news thereof, to have diſmiſſed his Son, whom he hitherto had detained as a Pledge, and with divers Ships and Gallies, to have cauſed him to be tranſported over the black Sea, unto the Borders of *Tartary*, there to take poſſeſſion of his Fathers Kingdom. It was alſo then reported, certain of the ſeditious *Turks*, making of a road to have ſurprized *Smyrna*, a rich City of *Aſia*, and to have forraged all the Countrey about it far and near, and coming unto *Magneſia*, a chief City of that Countrey, to have had ten thouſand Crowns by the Inhabitants offered, from thenceforth to ſpare the Countrey thereabouts. The Perſian King alſo, at the ſame time notably to proceed in his Wars, and to do the *Turks* great harm, the *Turks* and *Tartars* ſeeking in vain to withſtand him.

The *Tartar* Cham dieth.

The ſeditious Turks raiſe new ſtrifes in the leſſer *Aſia*, and ſpoil *Smyrna* with the Countrey thereabouts.

In the mean time, Ambaſſadours coming unto *Prague* from the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, part of them, the ninth of *May*, went unto the Arch-duke *Matthias* to *Zaſlavia*, who ſtill lay there encamped with an Army of five and twenty thouſand Men; of whom they requeſting a Truce for the ſpace of eight Days, for the making of a Pacification betwixt the Emperour and him, and for friendly ending of this buſineſs, eaſily obtained the ſame, eſpecially ſeeing that thoſe Princes Electors, being joyned and bound unto the Emperour in a double Confederation, as well for their Electorſhip, as in reſpect of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, could not, as they ſaid, otherwiſe do, but ſend preſent Aid unto the Emperour, his Neceſſity ſo requiring; to which end they had now in readineſs certain thouſands of Souldiers in the Frontiers of their Countries, to be forthwith ſent unto him: The other part of theſe Ambaſſadors in the mean time ſtaying with the Emperour, where, after the *German* manner, they were well provided of good Cheer and Wine.

Ambaſſadours ſent from the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* for the appeaſing of the troubles betwixt the Emperour and *Matthias*.

About the ſeventeenth of *May*, *Matthias* the Arch-duke, with eighteen thouſand Men, roſe and marched towards *Prague*, *Collonitz* with the reſt of the Army following him. And although that the Arch-duke had ſeverely commanded his Souldiers to abſtain from robbing, ſpoyling, and burning of the Country, and had divers times ſeverely puniſhed ſome Offenders therein, by hanging of ſome, and heading of others; yet could he by no means ſo reſtrain them, and keep them in, but that ſome of them would ſometimes be ſtragling abroad, and doing harm, eſpecially the *Hungarians*, who were ſtill running out even as far as the Emperours Camp, and the new City of *Prague*: Whom for all that, the Emperours Souldiers (being then twenty thouſand ſtrong) would not meddle withal, being ſo commanded by the Emperour. Howbeit ſome of theſe Straglers going too far abroad into the Country, were by the Country-men cut off and ſlain.

Matthias the Arch-duke marcheth towards *Prague*.

The

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An Aſſembly of the States of *Bohemia*, holden at *Prague*, in the Preſence of the Emperour.

The Requeſts of the Nobility and States of *Bohemia* unto the Emperor.

The three and twentieth day of *May*, an Aſſembly of the States of *Bohemia* was called at *Prague*, the Emperour himſelf being there preſent, *Adam Waldſteine* carrying the drawn Sword before him. In which Aſſembly, the Nobility and States of the Country with one conſent promiſed to ſpend their Goods and Lives in the Emperours quarrel; yet in the mean time requeſting theſe things following to be granted and confirmed unto them; *viz.* That Religion, according to the confeſſion of *Bohemia* and *Auguſta*, ſhould inviolately be kept, and that they which profeſſed the one, ſhould not therefore ſcoff or deſpiſe the other. That *Bohemians* only ſhould be preferred to Archbiſhopricks, Abbotſhips, and other ſpiritual Preferments. That the Archbiſhop ſhould not meddle with Civil and Political Affairs. That Eccleſiaſtical Offices ſhould be permitted unto the Proteſtant Miniſters, as in former time, the Catholicks in the mean time holding that they had. The Pontificial diſpenſation in cauſes of Matrimony, according to the Decree of the Aſſembly holden in the Year 1602, ſhould be abrogated and taken away. That it ſhould not be lawful for Prieſts and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to buy Lands or Territories, without the expreſs conſent of all the three States, but to hold themſelves contented with their Tyths and other their Revenues. That it ſhould be lawful for all men in their own Ground and Territories to build Churches for Religion, on both ſides. That Proteſtants and Patrons of the Univerſity of *Prague* ſhould be joyned to the Conſiſtory, as they were in the time of the Emperour *Ferdinand*. That one ſhould be choſen for *Burgrave* in this Aſſembly. That chief political Offices ſhould not be left void above a Month. That unto theſe political Offices men of both Religions ſhould be admitted; ſo that if the *Burgrave* were a Catholick, the chief Judge ſhould be a Proteſtant. That every man ſhould enjoy his Right, and that no Decree ſhould be publiſhed againſt the ſame; neither that they which were of the Order of Knights ſhould be raſhly ſued, or bound to any arreſt. That one of the *Bohemians* ſhould always be choſen into the ſecret Council, and made acquainted with the *Bohemian* Affairs. That every man might have acceſs to the Emperour, and not all things to be done by his Counſellors. That it ſhould be declared to all Men, what was to be underſtood by the Crime of Treaſon. That a difference ſhould be made betwixt Offences; and that no man ſhould for any light Offence, together with his Goods, loſe his Life and Reputation. That the Suits of Widows, Orphans, and others alſo, ſhould with Expedition be diſpatched, and not from day to day deferred. That from henceforth the Father ſhould not be bound to pay the Sons debt, which he was run into without his knowledge; neither yet the Son himſelf. That in political Offices Men ſhould not be too much grieved with too heavie Exactions. That Men ſued ſhould not be ſummoned but in good Terms, and that ſuch as were in any Reputation be bound unto any arreſt, without the hearing of their Cauſe, and much leſs to be impriſoned. That the Sword, upon frowardneſs or madneſs taken out of the Church of *Thine* certain years before, ſhould be again ſet in the former place. That Lawyers which pleaded mens Cauſes, ſhould be contented with ſuch Fees as were by common Decrees appointed them. And laſt of all to conclude, they in any wiſe requeſted the Emperour, that it would pleaſe him to eaſe the Nobility and States of *Bohemia* of theſe Griefs, before they were compelled to anſwer unto ſuch things as were to be propounded unto them on his behalf. Who eaſily granted unto moſt of theſe Articles, thoſe which concerned Religion only excepted, ſo that the Senators of the old Town of *Prague* obtained the deſired Sword to be again forthwith ſet in the wonted Place. But as for the buſineſs of Religion, it was altogether put off and deferred unto the next Aſſembly to be holden at the Feaſt of St. *Michael*.

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Matthias the Archdukes Ambaſſadors come to *Prague*.

About the end of *May*, the Arch-duke *Matthias*'s Ambaſſadors, having received ſafe Conduct from the Emperour and the Nobility of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, came to *Prague*; and being admitted into the Councel of the Nobility, *Charles* Count *Tiſeratin*, to whom that charge was given, having in the Archdukes Name firſt ſaluted the Nobility, cauſed what he and the reſt had in charge, to be before them out of a long Writing in the *Bohemian* Tongue read; which done, when as the Nobility ſo requiring, they were put aſide, and almoſt an hour after were called again, they received Anſwer, That the points of the Ambaſſage by them propounded, were greater, and of more weight, than that ſufficient Deliberation could thereof in ſo ſhort a time be had; and that therefore it was by the Nobility thought meet, that Commiſſioners on both ſides, meeting together in the open Field near unto *Debritſe*, ſhould there conſult of theſe Articles, and by the Conſent of the Emperour and the Arch-duke, to do what they might to end the matter; Unto which Anſwer the Arch-dukes Ambaſſadors conſenting, the ninth of *June* returned again unto the Camp. The Emperours Ambaſſadors within two days after with forty Coaches and an hundred Horſe following them unto the Place appointed; who oftentimes going to and fro, at length ſo wrought the matter on both ſides, that the Buſineſs quietly and friendly ended, they were again made Friends.

Commiſſioners appointed for the ending of the Troubles betwixt the Emperour and *Matthias* the Arch-duke.

The Articles of which Pacification and Agreement betwixt the Emperour and the Arch-duke were the ſeventeenth day of *June*, in the Caſtle of *Prague*, openly read in the *Bohemian* Tongue, *Lichtenſtein*, *Kintſkie*, and other Chieftains, the Arch-dukes Ambaſſadours, being there preſent, in order thus:

The Articles of Pacification betwixt the Emperour and the Arch-duke *Matthias*.

That the Emperour refuſed not, but that the Crown of *Hungary* ſhould be delivered into the Arch-duke *Matthias*'s Hands; and to yield unto him the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to remit unto his Subjects the Oath of their Allegeance before given unto him, ſo that the Nobility and States of *Hungary* ſhould chuſe no other King but the Arch-duke. That in the next Diet of the Empire, he ſhould propound unto the States of the Empire to be conſidered of, what Contribution they ought to make unto the Archduke for the defence of their Frontiers, if happily longer War were to be made with the Turk. That he ſhould cauſe the Writings which concerned that Kingdom of *Hungary*, within the ſpace of two Months to be delivered unto the Arch-duke. That he ſhould likewiſe alſo ſurrender up the Arch-dukedom of *Auſtria*, by himſelf hitherto poſſeſſed, unto the Arch-duke: yet ſo as that the Arch-duke ſhould take upon himſelf all the Emperours Debt, as well in *Hungary* as in *Auſtria*, and within a year ſhould cauſe ſufficient Recognizance or Caution, ſealed with his own hand, to be delivered unto the Creditors. That he ſhould cauſe all the Letters and Writings, as well concerning the upper *Auſtria*, as the nether, within the ſame time to be delivered unto him, together with a Copy of the Priviledges therein, until that Deliberation might be had concerning them, to be transferred unto him alſo. That the Nobility and States of *Bohemia* ſhould in the Emperours Name ratifie and confirm the Treaty held at *Vienna*, for the making of the Peace betwixt the Emperour, the *Turks*, and

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the *Hungarians*. That they alſo ſhould not refuſe, at the Emperours requeſt, to promiſe unto the Arch-duke a certain Succeſſion into the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; but yet with condition, ſo that if it ſhould happen the Emperour to dye without Heirs Male, before the death of the Arch-duke his Brother; but if he ſhould have Heirs Male lawfully begotten and under age; that in that caſe he ſhould only have the Rule and Government of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, yet with certain *Bohemian* Counſellers joyned unto him. That the Arch-duke ſhould by writing confirm unto the Nobility and States of *Bohemia*, That he ſhould, after the uſual manner and faſhion demand the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, being void of a King. That he ſhould take the uſual Oath of a King, and always have like regard of all their Priviledges as the other Kings his Predeceſſors had. That the States of *Bohemia* ſhould not gainſay, but that the Arch-duke might hereafter uſe the Title of the deſigned King of *Hungary*. That the Adminſtration of the Marquiſet of *Moravia* ſhould be granted unto the Arch-duke *Matthias* and his Heirs, together with the Title of a Marqueſs, until that after the death of the Emperour this Province was again to revert unto him which was to enjoy the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. But if it ſhould happen the Arch duke to dye before the Emperour, the States of *Bohemia* ſhould not refuſe, but that this Province ſeparate a-part, might (as ſhould ſeem good) chuſe unto it ſelf a Patron and Defender, unto the death of the Emperour. That the Biſhoprick of *Almits*, hitherto in Temporalities ſubject unto the King of *Bohemia*, ſhould from thenceforth acknowledge the Arch-duke *Matthias* to be the Governour thereof, leſt there ſhould be a confuſion of Suits in *Moravia*; the Biſhop in the mean time having regard unto his own Priviledges. That the Emperour at the requeſt of the Arch-duke ſhould maintain the Priviledges of them of *Sileſia*, and of the States of the ſix Cities, and augment them alſo with new Priviledges, being reaſonable and convenient. That for the defence of the borders againſt the Turks, the Nobility and States of *Bohemia* ſhould not contribute more than hitherto they were wont; yet ſaving unto the Arch-duke power and ability in the general Meetings and Aſſemblies of the Kingdom to entreat thereof, as the Emperour had hitherto had. That the Titles of all the Provinces which the Emperour did now ſurrender unto the Arch-duke *Matthias*, ſhould be ſtill unto him reſerved. That the Arch-duke *Matthias* ſhould utterly renounce the County of *Tirali*, and ſurrender his part thereof unto the Emperour. That in the Meetings and Aſſemblies to come, the Arch-duke ſhould by all means endeavour, that the Emperour ſhould receive a reaſonable yearly Contribution out of thoſe Provinces which he now departed with. That all offences hitherto committed, ſhould generally be forgiven and pardoned, all and every the Perſons on both Parties, onely *Verkavious* excepted, concerning whom, as alſo concerning his debt, the Nobility of *Moravia* had undertaken in their next Aſſembly to take order. And that Arms ſhould on both ſides be laid a part.

The Crown of *Hungary* delivered unto the Arch-duke *Matthias*.

Which Articles thus agreed upon, and on both parts accepted of, the Crown of *Hungary*, with the Ornaments thereto belonging, ſuch as are King *Stephen's* Sword, the Golden Apple, with the Croſs of the Kingdom upon it, two pair of rich Shooes, a very ancient Robe, with a Royal Scepter, were by the Emperour's chief Lieutenant carried into the Camp, and there in a broad and open Field delivered unto the Arch-duke *Matthias*; who, with his Army in order ranged, and ſixteen thouſand Horſe and Foot divided into three Battalions, after he had received theſe Royal Ornaments, commanded three great Vollies of ſhot to be diſcharged, and afterwards royally feaſted the Emperour's Ambaſſadors. Which Pacification thus made, many out of the Arch-duke's Camp, but eſpecially the *Hungarians*, went into the City of *Prague*, there to buy things neceſſary; and many came alſo out of the City to ſee the Arch-duke's Camp. But in the mean time, certain inſolent Souldiers having by night broken up certain Shops of the *Jews*, and carried out of them much rich Wares, were the cauſe of great ſtirs and Tumults in the City; inſomuch, that divers of the Souldiers were therefore caſt into Priſon.

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King *Matthias* departeth with his Army out of *Bohemia*.

The firſt of *July*, King *Matthias* riſing with his Army, departed from before *Prague*, taking his way with his chief Counſellors towards *Lintz*, and dividing his Army into three parts, that ſo they might the more eaſilier paſs through thoſe Countries home. After the riſing of which Army, a certain Noble *Bohemian*, and a good Souldier, called *Cotronits*, unto whom the *Hungarians* and *Haiducks* had in this Expedition done great harm, with ſix hundred Harquebuſiers, and a number of Country-men went forth to a Place called *Partouitſe*; where, having cut off the Paſſage, and cut down Trees croſs the ways, that none might that way conveniently paſs, he, with ſuch fury in a Place of advantage charged the *Hungarians* coming that way, that having ſlain about nine hundred of them, ſome others were alſo carried away Priſoners, with a great booty of Horſes, Waggons, and other Goods. With which deed the *Hungarians* grieved, trod down the Corn as they went, and began to ſet fire on the Villages and Houſes in the Country thereabouts. But the news thereof being brought unto the King, he forthwith by *Herbenſtein*, General of the Horſe-men, commanded the *Hungarians* and *Haiducks* not onely to deſiſt from this their Inſolency, but themſelves alſo, upon a great Penalty, to help to quench the fires by them raiſed.

The *Hungarians* and *Haiducks* by *Cotouitz* ſlain.

King *Matthias* entereth into *Hungary*, and is royally received into *Vienna*.

In the mean time, the coming of King *Matthias* being reported at *Vienna*, great preparation was there made for the receiving of him and bringing of him into the City, according to his Royal Dignity; who, the fourteenth of *July*, toward night, being come thither, with the Arch-duke *Maximilian* his Brother, and three thouſand Horſe, the Archbiſhop of *Hungary*, who, with Count *Trautſamins*, and many other the Emperour's Counſellors and Servants, went out of the City to meet him, and there amidſt eight Enſigns of *German* Souldiers, and fifteen hundred Horſe-men, as it were ſet in order of Battel, received him with a long and Eloquent Oration, as did afterwards *Trautſamius* in the name of the States of *Auſtria*; the Emperour's Counſellors alſo honourably welcoming him. Which done, mounting again to Horſe, the King, with the Arch-duke *Maximilian* his Brother, ſtaied until that two Troops of the Horſe-men of *Vienna* (each of them conſiſting of two hundred Horſe) were all entred into the City; and afterward, fifteen hundred of *Bucheime's* Horſe-men, and the aforeſaid eight Enſigns of *Germans* going before, and the Emperour's Counſellors following them, the King himſelf with the Arch-duke his Brother, and all his Train, ſet forward, and paſſing over the Bridge, whereon three triumphal Arches were moſt ſumptuouſly erected, he was by three thouſand Citizens of *Vienna*, gallantly apparelled and armed, with much thundering of the great Ordnance and Vollies of ſmall ſhot, moſt magnificently received, divers other Triumphs and Sports, to manifeſt the Joy of the People, being there made alſo, which for brevity ſake we paſs over. But being gone a little farther, he was by the Senators of *Vienna* on Horſe-back received under a rich Canopy, borne up by ſix of the ancienteſt of the ſaid Senators, and ſo brought to Saint *Stephen*'s Church; whither, he was no ſooner come, but that lighting from his Horſe, he was there received by the whole Clergy, and under a Canopy brought into the Church; where, after Service done, he was with like Triumph and Magnificence, through divers other triumphal Arches, brought to the Caſtle, the great Ordnance on all ſides ſtill thundering off from the Caſtle, the Walls, and Bulwarks of the Town.

But theſe Triumphs and Solemnities ended, ſhortly after, whenas they began to conſult about ſuch things as concerned the good Government of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and the crowning of the King, and that the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* in many Places began to Exerciſe their Religion according to the manner of the Confeſſion of *Augusta*, and that the Miniſters began openly to Preach in the Churches there, *Leopold*, the Archduke and Biſhop of *Paſſavia*, coming to *Vienna*, with *Melinus* the Popes *Nuntio*, (but a little before come to *Prague*) with Cardinal *Forgatſius*, and the Biſhop of *Vienna*, with earneſt and importunate ſolliciting of the King, obtained from him a Commandment, That that Exerciſe of Religion ſhould be again abrogated, the Churches ſhut, and publick Preaching forbidden. Which thing forthwith brought forth new ſtirs and troubles in *Auſtria*. For the Proteſtant States, forthwith calling a Counſel among themſelves, by general conſent refuſed by Oath of Loyalty and Allegeance to bind themſelves unto the new King, until they had of him obtained the liberty for the free Exerciſe of their Religion; and combining themſelves together, reſolved even with the loſs of their Lives and Goods to maintain the free preaching of the Word, and the Exerciſe of their Religion, according to the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*; and to that end commanded all their Subjects and Tenants to be ready in Arms, that, need ſo requiring, every thirtieth man, tenth, or fifth, might be preſs'd to come forth unto the Wars. But having ſent a Supplication unto the King, whereunto 180 of the Nobility had ſet their hands, and receiving no anſwer, but that they ſhould deſiſt from their purpoſe, and without delay to make their appearance to take the Oath of their Allegeance unto the King, they forthwith, the fourteenth of *September*, going to *Horne*, by Letters ſent unto the reſt of the *Roman* Catholick States, proteſted themſelves to be clear before God and the whole World of all the evils and miſchiefs that were afterward to enſue, if thoſe States, not regarding the appeaſing and ending of thoſe Troubles, or the ſafety of them their Country-men, ſhould take their Oath of Allegeance unto the King. And ſo forthwith raiſing an Army, leſt upon the ſudden they ſhould be at *Horne* oppreſſed, they began by all means to provide for their Affairs. But the report thereof coming unto the States of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, their Neighbours, they were from them given to underſtand, that they would become Interceſſors for them unto the King, and yet not to be wanting unto them at their need, as occaſion ſhould require.

The Proteſtant States in *Auſtria* require to have the free Exerciſe of their Religion granted unto them.

The Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* refuſe to take their Oath of Allegeance unto the King until they might be ſecured of the free Exerciſe of their Religion.

In the mean time, Letters were brought from *Conſtantinople* to *Vienna*, declaring King *Matthias's* Embaſſadors (having audience with the Great Sultan) to have in an Eloquent Oration on the King's behalf promiſed religiouſly to keep the Peace, of late made betwixt him, the *Othoman* Emperour, and the *Hungarians*; and afterward, in the King's name to have offered his Preſents unto the Sultan, and he, in the preſence of his chief Baſſaes, to have received them. But when he came to requeſt the Government of *Tranſilvania*, he would in no wiſe thereto conſent, but gave the ſame to *Gabriel Bathor*, with commandment unto the Baſſa of *Buda* for the eſtabliſhing of him in this Principality.

Preſents ſent unto the Great Sultan from King *Matthias*.

About the beginning of *October*, the Counties of *Trautſone* and *Furſtenburg* were from King *Matthias* ſent unto the Proteſtant States at *Horne*, and ſhortly after them, *Maximilian* the Arch-duke followed alſo; who, although they with moſt glorious promiſes ſought to appeaſe them, and by all means to draw them to take the Oath of their Allegeance; yet could they with them no whit prevail, without granting of them the free Exerciſe of their Religion. But the ſixteenth of *October*, the Catholick States, not expecting the conſent of the Proteſtant States, at *Vienna* took the Oath of Allegeance unto *Matthias* the new King of *Hungary*, the great Ordnance in the mean time thundering off, with Drums and Trumpets in every place of the City ſounding, and the reſt of the day being with great Feaſting, Triumph, and Solemnity ſpent.

Matthias ſendeth unto the Proteſtant States at *Horne*.

The Catholick States take the Oath of Allegeance unto King *Matthias*.

King *Matthias*, having thus at *Vienna* received the Oath of Allegeance of the Catholicks, ſhortly after departing thence, the twenty ſecond of *October* coming to *Presburg*, was there by the Nobility of *Hungary* received, and brought into the City with ten thouſand Souldiers; which States afterwards, *viz.* the ſixth of *November*, offered in writing unto the King certain Articles, whereof they deſired to be by him aſſured; moſt of which Articles were drawn out of the Pacification made at *Vienna* the twenty third day of *Auguſt*, in the year 1606, the chief effect whereof was this: That the free Exerciſe of Religion ſhould be permitted unto all Men in all the Cities and Towns of *Hungary*, not ſo much as that City excepted wherein the King ſhould be reſident: That no *German* Captain ſhould be ſuffered in any the ſtrong Forts of *Hungary*, but that the ſtrong Towns of *Rab*, *Comora*, *Vivaria*, and others, ſhould be committed unto the Government of natural *Hungarians* born: That the Crown of *Hungary* ſhould ſtill be kept in *Hungary*, and committed to the keeping of temporal Men: That firſt, and before all other things, a Count Palatine ſhould be choſen: That the King himſelf ſhould always reſide in *Hungary*; or if not, that the Palatine ſhould in his abſence have full power, with the Counſellers of Eſtate of *Hungary*, to determine and conclude of all things, and that the King ſhould therewithal hold himſelf contented: That no publick Office ſhould be beſtowed upon any, but upon ſuch natural *Hungarians* as had of their Country well deſerved; nor permitted unto any for Money: That no Jeſuits ſhould be ſuffered in the Kingdom, neither that Eccleſiaſtical men ſhould be ſo much favoured as formerly they had been: That Officers ſhould not be bound to give account of the Adminiſtration of their Offices, but before the Treaſurers of *Presburg*, being natural *Hungarians* born: That from henceforth Money ſhould not be carried out of the Kingdom, as hitherto it had been: That the Palatine being dead, the King ſhould within a year chuſe another, the chief Juſtice in the mean time after the old manner ſupplying his room.

King *Matthias* goeth to *Presburg*.

Articles by the *Hungarians* preferred unto King *Matthias* at *Presburg*.

The Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* had a little before ſent their Ambaſſadors unto the Nobility and States of *Hungary*, then gathered together at *Presburg*; with requeſt, that foraſmuch as they could not by any intreaty obtain of the King the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as well within their Cities as without, and that very neceſſity had driven them by force of Arms to ſeek for the ſame, that they would, by ſending of them Men, afford them ſuch Aid as was unto them due by the former Pacification made at *Vienna* in the year 1606. Which troubles of *Auſtria*, the Nobility and States of *Hungary* deſiring to have appeaſed, ſent *George Turſon*, and ſome others, with Letters of Interceſſion in their behalf unto the Arch-duke *Maximilian*; which

The Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* crave Aid of the Nobility and States of *Hungary*.

when they had delivered unto him, they received from him this anſwer, That King *Matthias* never thought to diſturb the common quiet of that Country, or to attempt any thing againſt the Priviledges thereof, granted by the Emperour *Maximilian* of happy Memory; but to grant unto the Cities the liberty of Religion, he could by no means, partly in reſpect of Conſcience, partly for the danger that might thereof enſue from the *Pope* and the King of *Spain*, and yet nevertheleſs, that he would promiſe to ſuffer and tollerate the free Exerciſe of Religion without the Cities, and in the beſtowing of publick Offices to have no reſpect of Religion; yet with this Condition, that they ſhould lay down Arms, ſubmit themſelves unto the King, acknowledge their Fault, and crave Pardon for the ſame; for that in ſo doing, the States ſhould haply prevail more than by force of Arms.

The Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* by the *Hungarians* adviſed to lay down Arms, and to ſubmit themſelves unto the King.

With which anſwer, ſeeing no better could be got, the *Hungarian* Ambaſſadors going unto the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*, began by divers reaſons to perſwade them to ſubmit themſelves unto the King. If the *Hungarians* ſhould (as they ſaid) give aid unto them of *Auſtria*, they ſhould in ſo doing, inſtead of helping them, but do them more harm; for that the *Hungarian* Power could not be brought into *Auſtria*, but to the utter deſtruction thereof. That the League betwixt the *Hungarians* and them of *Auſtria* was a general League, and concerned as well the Catholicks as the Proteſtants. That the Chriſtian Religion was never with the Sword planted or defended, Chriſt himſelf ſaying, them to be happy which therefore ſuffer Perſecution, and commanding *Peter* to put up his Sword into his Scabbard. That it was an eaſie matter for every man to raiſe Stirs and Tumults, but that again to appeaſe them was a far harder matter. That by the taking up of Arms, the free exerciſe of Religion could not be furthered or provided for, it being rather dangerous, leſt the contrary part prevailing, it ſhould be utterly ſuppreſſed. That by this means, *Hungary* it ſelf ſhould be expoſed to many dangers, for that not only new Stirs might upon this occaſion by the Subjects thereof be raiſed, but other foreign Princes take up Arms againſt it alſo; the Emperour, by force of Arms, ſeeking for his Right, and the Turkiſh Sultan, by a new Invaſion, going about to bring the ſame under his Subjection; and telling them farther, the Arch-duke to have promiſed to take good order for all things, ſo that they would lay down Arms; and that the Clemency and Bounty of thoſe Princes being known, they were not to doubt but that they would indeed perform what they had in word promiſed; and that the *Hungarians* could not now do or attempt any thing againſt the King: but that if it ſhould happen theſe two Arch-dukes being dead without Heirs-male, the Government of theſe two Provinces ſhould come unto the Arch-duke *Ferdinand*, that then they ſhould have more cauſe to help them of *Auſtria* againſt him: *Moravia* they ſaid to be a free Country, and yet the King to have thereunto given no more aſſurance for the liberty of Religion, more than his bare promiſe. Wherefore ſeeing that both the fortune and chance of War was doubtful, and that War was not without the great expence of Money to be maintained, that they were of opinion, it to be beſt for the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* to lay down Arms, and by way of requeſt to ſollicite their cauſe with the King.

Illiſhaſchius choſen *Palatine* of *Hungary*. *Matthias* at *Presburg* crowned King of *Hungary*.

In the mean time, the Griefs whereof the *Hungarians* complained being taken away, and all Controverſies happily ended, *Illiſhaſcius* was, by a general conſent, choſen to be Palatine; and *Matthias*, the 14th of *November*, openly proclaimed King of *Hungary*; and the 19th of the ſame Month in St. *Martins* Church at *Presburg* in this manner crowned: firſt, the Royal Crown was in a ſtately Chariot carried out of the Caſtle unto the Church, with a great number of the Counſellers and Nobility of *Hungary* attending the ſame; in which Chariot were alſo carried ten Enſigns, with the Arms of the Kingdom in them frilled up, four of the *Hungarian* Counſellers taking it out of the Chariot in a little Cheſt covered with Cloth of Gold, and ſo carrying of it into the Chancel of the Church. After which, King *Matthias*, together with the Arch-duke *Maximilian* his Brother, followed on Horſe-back, both attired in *Hungarian* Apparel, and ſo going into the Chancel, there ſtayed about half an hour, until that he was by two Biſhops brought forth unto the Altar, before whom ten of the *Hungarian* Nobility carried the ten aforeſaid Enſigns; after whom followed the Palatine with the Crown, *Endeodius* with the Royal Scepter, *Forgatſie* with the Apple of the Kingdom, *Turſo* with King *Stephens* Sword, *Tſechius* carrying the Pax, as they call it; *Budian* the Croſs, the Cardinal *Forgatſie* ſaying Maſs, with divers Biſhops and Prelates helping of him, by whom the King was at the beginning of Service anointed with Oyl; where, while the Epiſtle and Goſpel were in reading, the Cardinal ſet the Crown upon the King's Head, all the People crying out, *Long live* Matthias, *the King of Hungary*. But the King, with the Crown upon his head, taking a drawn Sword out of *Sigefred Collonitz* the Marſhal's hand, thrice brandiſhed it a-croſs over the Clergy-mens heads, and received the Sacrament at the Cardinals hand. The Maſs being ended, he, by an high-way covered with Cloth, going in his royal Robes from *S. Martins* Church unto the Bare-foot Friers Church, as he went, cauſed money to be caſt abroad among the People. In which Church, after the firſt Chapter of the Goſpel of St. *John* being read, he made 28 Knights. From thence the King, with the Crown yet on his Head, and in his ſtately Robes, went out of the City at St. *Michael's* Gate, and there on Horſe-back was brought unto an high Stage covered with cloth, whereon he was ſworn unto the *Hungarians* as their King, and they unto him as his Subjects: and afterward thrice mounting up to Horſe upon a little Hill made for that purpoſe, and ſo down again, and thrice brandiſhing his Sword a-croſs, he returned back again into the Caſtle, where he with *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, Cardinal *Forgatſie*, the Pope's Nuntio, and the Palatine, ſat down at one Table, the reſt of the *Hungarian* Nobility, to the number of 70, ſitting down at ſix other Tables, and ſo dining with great mirth; the *Haiducks*, and common ſort of People, being there bountifully feaſted alſo: where many of them, in ſcrambling for the money that was caſt abroad, and in taking up of the Cloth from the Scaffold, having their hands and fingers cut off, and ſo lamed, carried from thence the woful remembrance of that was there then done.

The Solemnity of this Coronation thus paſt, King *Matthias* thought it good for him yet for a time to ſtay at *Presburg*, untill that the new building in the Caſtle was ended, which the Nobility of *Hungary* had appointed for the keeping of the Crown of *Hungary*, to the intent that he himſelf might ſee the ſame, with other the Royal Ornaments put thereinto, and ſealed up with his own Seal; he in the mean while labouring to appeaſe divers Contentions, and to place fit men again in the great Offices of the Commonweal; for that the *Hungarians* would by no means ſuffer the *Germans* to enjoy any of the ſame: for which cauſe, many of the chief Officers, men of great Authority, were diſplaced; and amongſt them, *Sigifrid Collonitz* alſo, a man who had moſt well deſerved of the Kingdom of *Hungary*: howbeit, ſhortly after, he by the Counſel of *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, was by the

1608

Illiſhaſcius and others in vain intreat for the States of *Auſtria.*

Hungarians themſelves (repenting them of that they had done) not only reſtored unto his former Offices, but had by them (and that not without his juſt deſert) even greater Preferments offered him alſo; ſo mutable a thing the Judgement of the common People is. But *Illiſhaſchius*, now the Palatine of *Hungary*, the 28*th* day of *November*, talking with the King *Matthias* at large, and earneſtly intreated with him in the behalf of the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*, eſpecially for that the other Proteſtant States of *Hungary* ſeemed now in their behalf to be much moved alſo; and the *Moravian* Ambaſſadors openly at the ſame time proteſting, that their States could in no wiſe forſake them their Friends, the States of *Auſtria*, if their need ſo required. And albeit that both the Elector of *Saxony*, and other Princes of the Empire, were become earneſt Interceſſors alſo unto the King for them, yet the Popes *Nuntio* ſo hardly withſtood them, as nothing could as then be granted.

About the beginning of *December*, the King returning again from *Presburg* to *Vienna*, about the ſixteenth of *December* the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* at length ſent *Erneſtus* the free Baron of *Landau*, *Maximilian Polheime*, *Sebaſtian Grobner*, *Charles Forberger*, *Pilgram Sitſendorff*, and *Chriſtopher Buchner*, their Ambaſſadors unto the King, to bring them anſwer whereunto to truſt; who, the 27*th* of *December* received anſwer, That they ſhould hold themſelves contented with ſuch anſwer as they had before received, and to ſubmit themſelves to the Kings pleaſure, or elſe, to do what they themſelves ſaw good. With which anſwer they returning, the States forthwith began to levy new Forces, and to perſuade their Souldiers, that, mindful of their Oaths, they ſhould faithfully ſerve whitherſoever, and againſt whomſoever they were led.

The States prepare themſelves for War.

1609

And now a great Army of the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* lay in the Villages about *Crembſa* and *Spaine*, ſo that thoſe two Towns were thought to be in great danger of them; for the ſtrengthning of which Places, *Bucheime* was by the King ſent thither with 1500 Horſe and certain pieces of great Ordnance, and an Edict withal publiſhed the 10*th* of *January*, charging the States to be preſent at *Vienna*, the 21*th* day of the ſame Month, to take the Oath of their Allegeance to the King. Howbeit, they moſt ſtifly ſtill refuſed ſo to do, or to remit any thing of that which they had before required; inſomuch, that *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, who, hitherto had not a little laboured in this cauſe, was quite out of hope to bring them to any Conformity, or make any good end thereof. In the mean time, certain of *Bucheime's* Horſe-men on the King's part being about to have taken up a Place, ſuch as they thought convenient for them for to lodge in, had like to have been diſappointed of the ſame by the Horſe-men of *Gerrane*, on the States ſide. About which matter, *Bucheime*, coming forth with ſeven Troops of Horſe-men, and *Gerrane* but with three Troops of Horſe, and three Companies of Foot, there was betwixt them a hot Skirmiſh for the time, fought the 13*th* of *January*; in which Skirmiſh an 100 of *Bucheime's* Horſe-men were ſlain, but of *Gerrane's* Men not ſo many, they having the advantage of the Ground, and ſo therewith in the Skirmiſh holpen both for the defence of themſelves and the annoying of their Enemies. Whereof the King having knowledge, and therewith much moved; beſide the aforeſaid Edict, cauſed another to be proclaimed at *Vienna*, againſt ſuch Souldiers as ſerved the Proteſtants; proſcribing them all, and pronouncing them Rebels, except before the 21*th* day of *January*, they laying down Arms, departed out of the Proteſtants Camp. Howbeit, the Proteſtant States were ſo far from diſmiſſing their Forces, as that they with new Supplies ſtrengthned the ſame; and having taken an Hill not far from *Hallenbynne*, and from thence diſcharging three tire of 20 pieces of great Ordnance, ſtruck a great fear and terror into the Minds of the King's Souldiers within the Town.

An hot Skirmiſh.

1609

The States of *Moravia* make Interceſſion for the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria.*

About this time alſo the States of *Moravia* (that nothing might on their part be wanting for the making of an Attonement betwixt the King and the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*) ſent ſome of their Ambaſſadors unto thoſe States at *Horne*, and otherſome unto the King at *Vienna*; who, having acceſs unto the King, declared unto him, the States of *Moravia*, from whom they came, to be earneſtly importuned by the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*, to ſend them Aid, according to the Agreement made with them the year before; and told him moreover, That this manner of his proceeding tended not unto Peace and Quietneſs, but rather unto the Trouble and Deſtruction both of the Kingdom, and of all the other Provinces to him belonging; all that Error, the ground of thoſe Troubles, they ſaid, to depend on a perverſe interpretation or miſconſtruing of words, rather than of the matter it ſelf; ſo that it might by Men deſirous of Peace eaſily be compoſed and ended. And that therefore their requeſt unto his Majeſty was, That he, having regard not only unto the good and welfare of his Provinces and Subjects, but even of himſelf, and of his Honour alſo, would of his Clemency and Goodneſs vouchſafe to give remedy unto the preſent danger, and avert the miſerable Calamities now hanging over them, and even ready to fall upon their heads. The Proteſtant States they ſaid to be content to put the Controverſie to be decided and compoſed by certain grave and wiſe Men, to be choſen Arbitrators on both parts; yet with this Condition, That for the ſpace of fourteen days, no Hoſtility ſhould on either ſide be uſed; that the Inhabitants, both above and beneath *Amiſum*, ſhould be compriſed within this Truce; that ſuch as were kept in durance for their Religion, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that all High-ways and Paſſes ſhould be from all Ambuſhes, and other dangers cleared. Unto which their requeſt the King condeſcending, gave leave unto the States of *Moravia*, upon the moſt equal Conditions they could deviſe, to compoſe and end all matters; who ſo laboured in this buſineſs betwixt the King and the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*, that at length, *viz.* the twelfth of *March*, a Pacification was made betwixt the King and them his Subjects; *Leopold* the Arch-duke, *Melinus* the *Popes Nuntio*, the Biſhop of *Vienna*, and other great Men of the contrary Religion and Faction, ſeeking in vain to have letted the ſame; the chief Articles and points of which Pacification were theſe: That the Nobility in their Caſtles and Towns, as alſo in their Houſes in the Cities, ſhould for themſelves and their People have the free Exerciſe of their Religion: That the free Exerciſe of Preaching might be uſed in the three Churches at *Iſerſdore*, *Tribelſuincel*, and *Horne*: That other Churches ſhut up, might again be opened by three of the *Romiſh* and three of the Reformed Religion, and the free Exerciſe of Religion in them uſed: That Counſellers and other publick Officers ſhould from thenceforth indifferently be choſen of men of both Religions; but that ſuch Offices as were hereditary ſhould ſo ſtill remain: That the Election of Magiſtrates and other publick Officers in Towns and Cities, ſhould from thenceforth be made by the Magiſtrates and Citizens themſelves, and not to be nominated from the Court as hitherto they had been: That no Church ſhould hereafter be ſhut againſt either part, but their own Churches to be left unto them both quietly to uſe: That the Towns-men and Citizens in their Towns and Cities ſhould from thenceforth have power to make choice of their Miniſters and Preachers, and that for them it

The Articles of the Pacification in *Auſtria.*

ſhould be lawful to viſit the Sick, and to adminiſter unto them the Lords Supper: That the Oath of Allegeance ſhould be taken of them of the Reformed Religion, in like manner as it had been betaken of them of the *Romiſh*, but yet not with the ſame Ceremonies of the *Romiſh* Church; all union and confederation with them to be had, to be taken away; that all grudging, hatred, and quarrel ſhould be on both ſides forgiven, and for ever forgotten; *Wolfgang* of *Hoffkirch*, *Volſagnes*, and others, removed and put from their Offices, for not taking the Oath of Allegeance, being again received into Favour, and reſtored into their Places: That it might be lawful for the Towns and Cities above *Aniſum* to have the free Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion in their Suburbs and Hoſpitals.

The States of the reformed Religion in *Auſtria* take the Oath of Obedience unto King *Matthias*.

It was not long after this Pacification ſo made, but that King *Matthias* the ſeventeenth of *May*, going to *Lintz* with three hundred Horſe, was there with eight Troops of Horſe-men, and fifteen Companies of Foot, by the States ſent forth to meet him, moſt honourably received, and by three triumphal Arches brought into the City; where he received of the States of the Religion, the Oath of their Obedience; which with much Joy, Triumph, and Feaſting performed, the ſeven and twentieth of the ſame Month again returned to *Vienna*. The aforeſaid States of *Auſtria* in the mean time with great zeal continuing the free Exerciſe of their Religion at *Horne*, a great multitude of People daily reſorting unto the Sermons there made; they of the *Romiſh* Religion much grieving and fretting thereat. The King himſelf alſo being come to *Vienna*, put divers *Romiſh* Catholicks out of their Offices, and placed thoſe of the Reformed Religion in their rooms, to the great diſcontentment of many.

The Turks ſeek ſecretly to encroach upon the Chriſtians, and the Chriſtians ſeek again to annoy them.

About this time, the Baſſa of *Agria*, notwithſtanding the Peace, had for the ſum of twenty thouſand Crowns before hand paid, ſecretly compacted with one *Andrew Drake*, to have the ſtrong Town of *Fileck* in the upper *Hungary* delivered unto him. Which the Traytor had intended (as he himſelf confeſſed) to have performed, by ſetting of the Houſe wherein he himſelf dwelt by night on fire; unto the quenching whereof the Garriſon Souldiers reſorting, his purpoſe was in the mean time to have ſecretly let in the Turks, and ſo to have delivered the Town into their Hands. But this his ſo wicked a purpoſe in good time diſcovered, and by him confeſſed, he was therefore, as he had well deſerved, alive cut in four pieces; a juſt reward for his foul intended Treaſon. The Baſſa of *Buda* alſo, contrary to the Treaty of Peace, about the ſame time went about to have exacted the Oath of Allegeance of above four hundred Country Villages of the Chriſtians, being not compriſed within the foreſaid Treaty. But as the Turks for their part were ſecretly plotting how to encroach upon the Chriſtians, and to do them harm; ſo the *Haiducks* on the other ſide in great numbers gathered together in the upper *Hungary*, began here and there to moleſt and trouble the Turks, until they were by their Superiours commanded to deſiſt from ſo doing, for diſturbing of the Peace.

Illiſhaſcius the Palatine of *Hungary* dieth.

Now about this time alſo, *Illiſhaſcius* the County Palatine of *Hungary* died at *Vienna*; a man much beloved of the *Hungarians*, his Countrymen, and now by them no leſs lamented for: whoſe dead Body was with great Honour afterward conveyed from *Vienna* unto his own Territory in *Hungary*, and there with all funeral Pomp buried with his Anceſtors. In whoſe ſtead *George Turſon* was afterward, by the general conſent of an hundred and fifty of the *Hungarian* Nobility, choſen County Palatine of *Hungary*, and ſo with the univerſal and ſolemn Acclamations of the People ſaluted.

New Troubles for Religion ariſe in *Bohemia*.

And now the Troubles for Religion were ſcarcely well ended in *Auſtria* (as is aforeſaid) but that the like, or rather worſe, began forthwith, even for the ſame quarrel, to ariſe in *Bohemia*; the *Huſſites* (as they call them) moſt earneſtly importuning the Emperour for the free Exerciſe of their Religion, or rather for the taking away of certain grievances done to their Religion; and the Roman Catholicks even at the ſame time leaving nothing unattempted, which might ſerve to bring them of the Religion into hatred with the Emperour, and others ſitting at the Helm of the Government of the Eſtate, and ſo to fruſtrate whatſoever the Emperour had in the general Aſſembly of the States the laſt year granted unto them of the Religion, for the free Exerciſe and Advancement thereof. The compoſing of which Controverſie, (tending unto the rending in ſunder of the whole Kingdom) when as the Emperour had referred unto certain of his chief Counſellors, and they altogether favouring the Roman Catholicks, would give them of the Religion no certain Anſwer whereon to reſt: they therewith much diſcontented, as out of hope to be by them relieved, and in great fear to be by their Adverſaries, as Enemies unto the State, oppreſſed, layd their heads together, and after good Deliberation taken, what were beſt for them to do, both for the ſafety of themſelves, their Wives, Children, and Religion; they, by a general conſent of themſelves appointed the fourth of *May* to hold a general meeting of them of the Religion in the new Court at *Prague*, there to conſult of all matters concerning the buſineſs of Religion. And yet in the mean time openly in Parliament proteſting, by the Mouth of *Wenceſlaus Bodouinſius*, a Baron of *Bohemia*, Them to have appointed this Aſſembly for the Emperors goods, and for the common quiet of the whole Realm; as alſo for the better informing of the Emperour of all Matters; and to provide that the Emperour and the Kingdom might not through the means and perſwaſions of thoſe his evil Counſellors be brought into extream Peril and Danger. Immediately after, the States of the Religion with all ſpeed diſpatched their Ambaſſadors unto King *Matthias*, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Brunſwick*; to requeſt them, by their interceſſion to become Mediators for them unto the Emperour, for the obtaining of the free Exerciſe of their Religion, which in all points agreed with the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*, and which long before was exhibited unto *Maximilian* the Emperour, and by him allowed. Now in the mean time, theſe the States of the Religion were by ſome for theſe their proceedings commended; but by other ſome not only blamed, but alſo accuſed of Rebellion againſt the Emperour and the State.

The States of the Religion appoint an Aſſembly of themſelves to be holden in the new Court at *Prague*.

The Emperour maketh fair weather with the States of the Religion in *Bohemia*.

But the matter being declared unto the Emperor, he complaining unto himſelf of the inconſiderateneſs of his Counſellors; to maintain his Authority, cauſed the Parliament then in hand to be prorogued; and to ſeem of himſelf to grant that which he could not well withſtand, commanded by a Decree, that ſame very day to be appointed for the concluding of that Article of Religion, on which the States themſelves had before appointed for their Aſſembly to be holden in the new Court at *Prague*. Notwithſtanding which Decree, many troubleſome Spirits publickly ſet forth other their Conceits in Writing, to far other purpoſe, grievouſly therein reprehending the States of the Religion, for that of themſelves they had appointed a day for their Aſſembly into the new Court at *Prague*; Which (as they ſaid) was nothing elſe but in a rebellious manner to riſe againſt the

Laws of the Kingdom, and the Authority of their lawful Prince; and therefore adviſed them to forbear from making any ſuch Aſſembly as was by them appointed. Hereof aroſe great troubles, even under the Emperours noſe, in *Prague* the chief City of *Bohemia*, they of the Religion not daring to truſt the *Roman* Catholicks, neither they them; being ſtill ready upon every falſe report, or vain ſurmiſe, to go together by the ears; until that the Emperour, for the ſtaying of theſe Troubles, and the avoiding of farther danger, was glad to cauſe it to be openly proclaimed in the new Court at *Prague*, That his Imperial Majeſty, having received and underſtood the Apology of the States, now did abrogate that his Edict publiſhed againſt them but a few days before; and now by this his new Edict did account all the States of the Religion for his faithful and well beloved Subjects; and, as of them unto whom the right of the Kingdom, and the King's Oath belonged, as well as to all other States of the Kingdom. And that he alſo had thoſe the ſame States excuſed, in that they for the good of his Majeſty, and of the whole Kingdom, had appointed their Aſſembly in the new Court at *Prague*; and that therefore he denounced them in ſo doing, not in any thing to have done any thing contrary unto his Majeſty. And that he appointed the five and twentieth day of *May* for the general Aſſembly of Parliament to be holden in the Caſtle of *Prague*, for the ending of the Article concerning Religion, and the reforming of other the publick Grievances of the Common-weal: yet with this proviſo, That the ſaid States ſhould ſafely and quietly come unto the ſaid Parliament, without entertaining of any foreign Souldiers; as that his Majeſty ſhould alſo, not by himſelf nor any other, for pay entertain any, or ſuffer any foreign Souldiers to come into the Kingdom. Which the Emperours Edict being proclaimed, the States of the Religion having made their publick Prayers, and ſung certain Hymns and Pſalms unto the Glory of God, for the good ſucceſs of their buſineſs, left the new Court at *Prague*, and returned every man home to their own Houſes, to make themſelves ready to come unto the Parliament to be holden at the appointed day.

The States of *Bohemia* by writing declare unto the Emperour their purpoſe for the defence of their Religion.

But the day appointed for the Parliament being come, and the Emperour ſtill delaying the matter, the States of the Religion, weary of ſuch long delays, and in doubt to be therewith deluded, as having not received from the Emperour any ſuch anſwer as whereon to reſt, the third of *June* offered unto the Emperour a ſhort writing, concerning their Grief and farther purpoſe, to this effect. They had (as they ſaid) expected, and well hoped, that regard being had, not only of ſo many requeſts of ſo great and moſt noble Princes, made in their behalf; but even of the Emperour's promiſe alſo, made unto them, both in the general Aſſembly of the States the laſt year, and in the late Precept of the Emperour's alſo, they ſhould at length have received ſuch anſwer unto their Petition, concerning the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as whereon they might have ſafely reſted. Which, for that it had not been yet done, they referred the doing thereof unto God and future time; imputing the blame thereof, not unto his Imperial Majeſty, but unto the unquiet and troubleſome Natures of ſome as well the Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal Magiſtrates and Perſons. But foraſmuch as they meant not longer to be deluded by their Enemies, and much leſs to be defrauded of his Majeſties Royal Promiſe, which was now unto the World known, they had thought good to offer and preſent unto his Majeſty a Writing conceived in the *Bohemian* Tongue; according unto which they deſired to be ſecured, concerning the free Exerciſe of their Religion; moſt humbly requeſting his Majeſty to accept of the ſame, and at length to ſatiſfie their requeſts. Which if it might not be granted, (the Emperour's Majeſty, having more reſpect unto the troubleſome Clergy-men, and ſome other his evil affected Counſellors, than to the faithful States and Subjects of his Kingdom) that then they would reſt themſelves upon the Decree made in the Aſſembly holden in the year 1608. and upon the laſt Edict of his Majeſty; yet with this ſolemn Proteſtation, That ſeeing they had by certain Information underſtood much Warlike Preparation (but eſpecially in *Bavaria*) to be made, and divers Conſultations in many Places to be holden againſt the States of the Religion, (his Imperial Majeſty, and the other his faithful Counſellors, thereof not knowing) which might tend unto the Ruine and Deſtruction both of his Majeſty and of the whole Kingdom; they themſelves would take upon them the defence thereof, and do their endeavour, that, furniſhed with Men and Arms, they might to the uttermoſt of their power defend him their Sovereign, together with themſelves, and the whole Kingdom, againſt the Force and Invaſion of their foreign Enemies.

Ambaſſadors from the Duke of *Saxony* in the behalf of the States.

In the mean time, while theſe things were thus in doing, an Ambaſſador came from the Duke of *Saxony* to *Prague*, to intreat the Emperour for the States, and for the granting of them the free Exerciſe of their Religion; the Ambaſſadors of the States of *Sileſia* forthwith following of them alſo; who, in like manner requeſting alſo of the Emperour, to have the liberty for the free Exerciſe of their Religion by him confirmed unto them; promiſed their moſt ready help and aid unto the States of *Bohemia*, if need ſhould ſo require. But the States of *Bohemia*, having from day to day in vain expected anſwer from the Emperour, turning themſelves unto their former Reſolution for the defence of themſelves and of their Religion; forthwith raiſed a great number both of Horſe and Foot, whom, with their well-known Captains and Commanders, they brought even unto the City of *Prague*. Howbeit, at length, (*viz.* the eleventh of *July*, the *Saxon* Ambaſſador earneſtly ſolliciting their Cauſe, and urging their requeſt, they, according to their deſire, received anſwer from the Emperour, by Letters from his Majeſty written to this effect.

The States of *Bohemia* raiſe their Forces.

The Emperours Letters unto the States of the Religion in *Bohemia*, for the free Exerciſe of their Religion.

He gave all Men (as he ſaid) to underſtand, and by theſe his Letters witneſſed to eternal Memory, That after that all the free States of his Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which, in the receiving of the Lord Supper, participate the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt under both kinds, his faithful Subjects, had in the Aſſembly holden in the Caſtle at *Prague* in the year 1608, in all humility requeſted, That it might be lawful for them to hold, and freely to Exerciſe their Religion, according to the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*, (as ſome call it) exhibited unto his Father *Maximilian* the Emperour of moſt happy Memory, and by him unto the ſaid States allowed; and that he then and at that time, by reaſon of other moſt weighty buſineſs, for which that Aſſembly was then called, and ſuch as could ſuffer no Procraſtination or delay, had thought it good to deferr the allowing and ratifying of this their Petition, unto this preſent Aſſembly of Parliament; and that the ſame States now again aſſembled, inceſſantly renewing this their former Petition and having thereunto joyned alſo the requeſt and Interceſſion of certain Noble Perſonages, had requeſted to be therein ſatisfied; and that he with his Counſellors would conſult how Proviſion might be made for his Subjects in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, as well Communicating under both kinds, as under one; now

The Turks Ambaſſadour commeth to Vienna, and from thence to Prague.

at length to have effected the ſame. Wherefore ſeeing that his Will and Deſire was, that both in theſe and future times, Peace and Quietneſs might for the increaſing of the Kingdom be preſerved and kept amongſt his Subjects of all the three Eſtates of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, communicating as well under the one, as under both kinds; that both parties might freely, and without any impediment or let, have the free Exerciſe of their Religion, whereby they were both in hope to obtain everlaſting Salvation. And to the intent that Accompliſhment and Satiſfaction might in all points be made, as well according unto the breaking up of the Aſſembly of Parliament in the year 1608, as to the performance of his own Precept, of late publiſhed, (whereby he hath acknowledged, and even yet acknowledgeth, thoſe ſame Eſtates communicating under both kinds, and ſubſcribing to this Confeſſion, for his faithful and loyal Subjects, unto whom the Rights and Immunities of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* belonged) He by the common conſent of the Counſellors, and other Magiſtrates of the Kingdom did determine, That his Subjects, communicating both under one and both kinds, ſhould friendly and peaceably live together, without wronging or reviling of one another; and that upon the Pain and Penalty in the Law ſet down, to be inflicted upon them that ſhould otherwiſe do. And moreover, ſeeing that they which communicated but under one kind, enjoyed the free Exerciſe of their Religion in all points throughout the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, that he gave leave, and commanded, that they alſo which communicated under both kinds, *viz.* all the States of the Religion, with all ſuch as embraced the Confeſſion of *Bohemia*, ſometime exhibited to *Maximilian* the Emperour, his Father, in the Parliament holden in the year 1575, and now again to himſelf preſented, ſhould every where, and in all places of the Kingdom, have the free Exerciſe of their Religion, without the let or interruption of any; to attain the ſame, until a general Union of Religion, and an ending of all Diſſention and Controverſies might be made. Moreover, That He did grant unto the States of the Religion this Favour, That they ſhould have the lower Conſiſtory at *Prague*, with Power to conform the ſame according to their own Confeſſion. That they might lawfully make their Prieſts, as well in the *Bohemian* as *German* Tongue, and ſet them over their Churches, without any let of the Arch-biſhop of *Prague*. That he did alſo reſtore unto them the Univerſity of *Prague*, which for many years ago belonged unto the States of the Religion under both kinds; giving them Power again to open the ſame, to furniſh it with grave and learned Men of their own Confeſſion, to beautifie it with good Laws, and to appoint certain of their own Company and Profeſſion for Governours and Defenders as well of the Conſiſtory as of the Univerſity; whom, ſo by the States appointed and choſen, he without any ſtay or delay, or other inſtruction or information than they ſhould from the States receive, would confirm in that their Office, and pronounce them for the lawful Defenders; yet ſo, as that if he, being letted by other greater buſineſs, cannot perform the ſame within the ſpace of fourteen days, they ſhall nevertheleſs continue Defenders, and as well enjoy the charge of the Office committed unto them, as if they had been therein by him confirmed; and that one or other of their number being dead, it ſhall be lawful for the States to chuſe others in their Places. And if that, beſide the Churches which they now hold, they would build other more, or erect more Schools for the inſtructing of the Youth, it ſhall be lawful for them freely, and without any let ſo to do, as well in the Cities as in the Country Towns and Villages. And foraſmuch as in ſome of the Cities of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, Men of both Religions dwelt together, he therefore did will and command, That for the preſervation of Peace and Quietneſs, either part freely exerciſing their Religion, and obeying their Prieſts, ſhould by no means either hurt or trouble them on the other part; and much leſs to hinder them to bury their dead in their Churches or Church-yards, with the ringing or tolling of the Bells, or go about to turn any Man from his Religion, of what ſtate or condition ſoever he be, whether he dwell in the City, or in the Country Town or Village; or by force to draw them to their Opinion, or to take their part. For that he only reſpected, that Peace and Quietneſs might be kept, and that mutual Love might ſtill grow amongſt all the three States: Unto which end and purpoſe, that He for himſelf and his Heirs, and the Kings of *Bohemia* his Succeſſors, in the Faith and Word of a King, did grant and promiſe unto the States of the Religion, unto whom this common Peace of Religion (as they call it) belongeth, as to a principal member of the Empire, all theſe things to be for ever inviolably kept (the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Perſons whoſoever in vain reſiſting) ſo that no contrary Precept or Edict, ſhould either by himſelf, or any other his Heirs or Succeſſors be publiſhed againſt the States of the Religion; or being publiſhed by any, ſhould be accounted effectual and ſtrong; eſpecially, ſeeing that he by theſe his Letters, pronounceth all the Edicts hitherto publiſhed againſt theſe the States of the Religion, to be void, fruſtrate, and of none effect. Neither would that any thing of thoſe which were done by the States of the Religion, whilſt they ſought for the Confirmation of this Article concerning Religion, ſhould for ever be layd to their charge, or by any man by way of reproach objected unto them. And that therefore he ſtraightly charged and commanded all Magiſtrates, and ſuch as bare rule in *Bohemia*, to the uttermoſt of their Power to protect and defend all the three States, together with them of the Religion; and neither themſelves to trouble them, nor ſuffer them to be by any others for the Exerciſe of their Religion moleſted or troubled: For that he and other the Kings of *Bohemia*, his Succeſſors, would moſt ſeverely chaſtiſe all ſuch as ſhould offend againſt theſe his Majeſties Letters (which, to be for ever remembred, he would cauſe the ſame to be enrolled in the publick Records of Parliament) whether ſuch Offenders were Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal Men, to be ſharply puniſhed as the Troublers of the Common Peace.

This was the ſum of his Majeſties Letters, which he cauſed to be publickly ſet up in the Caſtle of *Prague* the thirteenth of *July*, that it might be to all men known, this Article of Religion, which was the firſt of the Articles in this Parliament propounded, to be concluded and agreed upon according to the Mind of the States of the Religion, and ſo their Requeſts to be in all points ſatisfied. Who forthwith thereupon, the fifteenth day of *July*, cauſed the firſt publick Sermon according to the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*, to be preached in the *German* Tongue in a Church of them of the Religion, which had for a long time before been ſhut up. At which time, they alſo ſent nnto the Elector of Saxony, to ſend unto them certain learned men, for the ſetting up of the Univerſity, and the governing of the Conſiſtory at *Prague*. And yet for all this, the Ambaſſadors for the States of *Sileſia*, ſtill earneſtly labouring with the Emperour for the Liberty of Religion to be granted to the ſaid States and the reſt of the Inhabitants of the Province; the States of *Bohemia* refuſed in any wiſe to diſmiſs their Souldiers whom they had muſtered near unto *Roggenſon*, until the *Sileſians* were of their requeſt in that point ſatisfied; offering alſo unto the Emperour a large Libel of the Griefs of them the ſaid States.

Now it may be that ſome having read ſo much as is before written concerning theſe late Troubles about the free Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion, but eſpecially in *Bohemia*, *Auſtria*, *Moravia*, and *Sileſia*, may deem the ſame both tedious and beſide our purpoſe; unto whom indeed it is not written; but rather unto ſuch, as who, together with my ſelf (the Wars betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks ended, and the Peace concluded as is aforeſaid) deſire yet to know in what ſtate thoſe frontier Countries ſtand; which being the greateſt Bulwarks on that ſide of Chriſtendom, and the chief Territories of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, are (the peace being either expired, or otherwiſe broken off) moſt ſubject unto the Fury of the puiſſant Enemy, as neareſt unto him, and ſo like ſooneſt to feel of his great Force and Power, prefixing unto it ſelf neither bounds nor meaſure, ſo long as there is any thing farther. Againſt whom the Chriſtian Emperour had no other Forces of his own to oppoſe, more than ſuch as he could raiſe out of the Reliques of *Hungary*, and the aforeſaid Frontier Countries. All together but weak helps againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy, as never cometh into the field but with a world of Men following of him; but yet much weaker, being (as now of late they were) every one of them apart divided in themſelves about matters of Religion, the incurable malady of the Chriſtian Eſtates and Common-weals; the heavy and lamentable effect whereof too much of late appeared in the loſs of *Strigonium*, won by the Turks with a far leſs Army than ever the Grand Seigniors Lieutenant General was wont to come into *Hungary* withal; and yet the Chriſtian Emperour, by reaſon of the revolt of the *Hungarians*, (upon a diſcontentment about the Exerciſe of their Religion) not able of himſelf to relieve the diſtreſſed City of *Strigonium*, or yet to put an Army of any ſtrength into the Field, for the defence of the reſt of his Cities or Territories. So weak are even the greateſt Princes, their Subjects being among themſelves in Minds divided.

But not to ſtray farther, the Turks Ambaſſador in the mean time with a notable train of an hundred and fifty Turks coming from *Vienna* the one and twentieth of *September*, and there having ſaluted, and with great Gifts preſented the King, ſet forward toward *Prague*, where he was by the Citizens and certain Noblemen of the Emperours Council the twelfth of *October* honourably received; and the nineteenth of the ſame Month admitted unto the Emperours Preſence, firſt preſented unto him from the Great Sultan his Maſter, a rich Tent of divers colours, moſt curiouſly wrought with fair Orient Pearl of great value; and then four couragious Horſes, all furniſhed with moſt rich and ſumptuous furniture. He preſented unto him alſo certain Turkiſh Weapons ſet and garniſhed with precious Stones, and a Princely Turks robe, ſuch as they uſe at their Marriages, gliſtering with Gold and precious Stones, with divers other rare things of leſs value; together with which he delivered unto him the Great Sultans Letters, and withal deſired the Confirmation of the Peace before made for twenty years, to be now again renewed. Unto which Ambaſſadour Letters were afterward delivered from the Emperour, together with certain other rich Preſents to be by him preſented unto the great Sultan: *viz.* certain Caroches lined within with Damask, and covered without with black Velvet; ſix fair and gallant Horſes moſt richly furniſhed; a Clock of wonderful Workmanſhip; two fair Desks to write upon of Ebony; with divers other like Preſents of no ſmall price. Who ſo charged with Preſents, and bountifully rewarded, and to his good liking anſwered, was afterward, in the beginning of *January*, with a train of two hundred Horſe from *Prague* honourably diſmiſſed.

The Turks Ambaſſadour cometh to *Vienna*, and from thence to *Prague*.

HERE

A
CONTINUATION
OF THIS
PRESENT HISTORY,

(Containing thoſe Occurrents which have happened to the *Turkiſh* Empire ſince the Year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred and nine, unto the Year, one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventeen, &c.)

By EDWARD GRIMSTON, *Serjeant at Arms.*

1610

The *Perſians* enter into the Province of *Babylon.*

The Turks defeated.

The Turk makes *Gambolat* General of his Army.

He commands him to be ſlain.

THE *Turkiſh* Emperour, having been freed ſome years from the care of Wars in *Hungary*, in regard that he had concluded a Truce for twenty years with the Emperour *Rodulphus*, he now bent all his Forces againſt his Rebels in *Aſia*, and the Sophie of *Perſia*, where he had no good Succeſs this year. For the *Perſians*, having formerly extended their Monarchy far into the Turkiſh Empire, and defeated *Cicala Baſſa*, and others in divers Battels; now they entered into the Province of *Babylon*, with a deſign to joyn it to *Perſia. Achmat*, to ſtay the courſe of their Proſperity, ſends a mighty Army thither, under the command of *Naſſut Baſſa*; but his fortune was no better than thoſe that went before him. The *Perſians* came to meet him, gave him battel, defeated him, and ſlew twenty thouſand of his Men. Theſe mournful News coming to Court, did much diſtemper the Sultans Mind; he could not endure it ſhould be ſaid, that the *Perſian* had defeated his mighty Armies thrice in open Battel; and much leſs that it ſhould be ſo, and that he ſhould ſeiſe upon his Countries: wherefore, to repaire this loſs, he levies new Forces to be commanded by *Gambolat Baſſa* of *Aleppo*, who had been the moſt powerful Rebel in *Aſia*, and was newly reconciled and brought into favour with the Grand Seignior. This man came to the Port to receive the Sultans Commandments, and to paſs his Army into *Aſia*; but, whether having ſome ſuſpition that he had intelligence with the *Perſians*, or that ſuch as envied his Greatneſs, had given ſome bad impreſſion of his Loyalty to the Sultan; within ſome few days after his arrival, *Achmat* cauſed him to be ſlain by his *Capigi.* Whereby we may well obſerve, that he that is a Rebel to his Prince, which hath ſo violently oppreſt his Subjects, and ſet his Countries on fire by Sedition, the which he hath been forced to quench with the blood of Innocents, cannot but end his days violently and miſerably, ſeeing that God revengeth the Blood of Innocents upon the guilty.

Ambaſſadors come from the *Perſian* to the Emperour.

The *Perſian*, ſeeing what advantage he had gotten of the Turk, laboured by the bruit of his Victories to draw the Chriſtian Princes unto his party, and with them wholly to ruine the *Othomans*; the which he had ſo happily begun. For the effecting whereof, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Emperour being at *Prague*, to perſwade him to break the Peace with the Turk, and to joyn with him. The Ambaſſadors arrived at *Prague* this year with rich and rare Preſents; firſt, a Croſs of Gold inrich'd with many precious ſtones; amongſt which there was one piece of Amber, whereon was ſeen the figure of the Virgin *Mary*, holding her young Babe in her Arms; the which was ſo artificially graven, as it might be thought the work of Nature; a Topas of exceeding greatneſs, given to the King of *Perſia* by an *Indian* King; two Knives of Damask, with hafts of Jaſper, and their ſheaths covered with Diamonds; a certain kind of *Indian* Wood of moſt excellent vertue, moſt ſovereign to cure the pains of the Breaſt, and to purge the Stomach; the gall of a Pellican, excellent to cure the Pleuriſie, Apoplexy, and Fever; two Topazes, the one white, and the other violet, this laſt was ſo big, as it was capable to make a Cup; an Amathiſt as big as a Hens Egg; a *Perſian* Bow inlaid with the Veins of a Cammel, and a rough Diamond exceeding great; a white ſtone of the colour of Water, which was a preſervative againſt the Plague, being hung about ones neck; three Oriental Pearls exceeding big; three rich Eſcarbuncles, and three marvellous fair Diamonds; and with all this a Serpents Horn, much eſteemed for the rare Vertues. All theſe Preſents were very well accepted, and the Ambaſſadors much honoured. But what appearance was there for the Emperour, who had ſo great Differences with his Brother *Matthias*, King of *Hungary*, who ſaw the greateſt part of his Subjects rebelled againſt him, his Provinces in diviſion, *Tranſilvania* in Combuſtion by the Conſpiracy which had been diſcovered againſt *Battory*, and finally a general Diſorder over all, to break the peace with the Turk, (who was at his Door, retained only with this Bar) and to allie himſelf with the *Perſian* ſo far from his Countries, from whom he could draw no Succours, but only that he might keep the *Othomans* buſie in *Aſia*? Thus the Ambaſſadors returned, carrying home nothing but good Words.

1610

Preſents ſent to the Emperor.

His Affairs will not ſuffer him to joyn with the *Perſian.*

The Proceedings of *Leopold* in *Bohemia.*

Since the Troubles which hapned in *Bohemia* made him ſee of what importance it was to entertain Peace with the Turk; for if he had broken it by the *Perſians* Perſwaſion, he had given his Enemy an aſſured means to ruine him; for

1610 the Arch-duke *Leopold* entred into *Bohemia* with an Army of nine thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe; he ſurpriſed petty *Prague*, attempted the old Town, and ſeeking to force it, he ſlew many which made reſiſtance. *Matthius* King of *Hungary* advertiſed of this Diſorder, parts from *Auſtria* with a powerful Army, and advanceth ſpeedily towards *Bohemia*. It was to be feared, that if *Matthias's* Army and *Leopold's* had met near unto *Prague*, it had been the loſs and overthrow of the one, and the deſolation and ruine of the Country. The Emperour foreſeeing this Danger, cauſed 300000 Florens to be delivered to *Romeo*, *Leopold's* Lieutenant, for the payment of his Army, and ſo ſent him out of *Bohemia*. This diviſion betwixt the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, grew by the Practices of ſome of the Emperours Counſel, who being delegated Judges to compound the Differences of the *Bohemians* of divers Religions, inſtead of labouring to reconcile and unite thoſe People, for the good of the publick, they made themſelves Partiſans to the one, to oppreſs the other; and thereby they drew the Princes into a dangerous diviſion, for the ſupport of Parties. And moreover, the Arch-dukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold*, practiſed to deprive *Matthias*, King of *Hungary*, of the Succeſſion which he pretended of *Bohemia*; leſt that being Maſter, he ſhould take revenge upon their Partiſans for the Troubles wherewith they had formerly afflicted the Country. Such was the Eſtate of Affairs in *Germany*, giving the Turk a fair Opportunity, if he could have embraced ſo rich an occaſion, to make his Profit of their Combuſtions. But the Confirmation of the Truce, and the Affairs of his Houſe, kept him in *Thrace*.

Cauſes of the Troubles of *Bohemia.*

The Gallions of *Malta* defeated by the Turks.

Let us ſee how the Turk ſpeeds at Sea; where he hath the Knights of *Malta*, the *Sicilians*, and *Neapolitans*, and the *Florentines*, vigilant and valiant Enemies, to annoy him, and croſs his Deſigns. The laſt year, which was 1609, the Chriſtians had no good Succeſs, loſs fell particularly upon the Knights of *Malta*; for he that fights often, can hardly vanquiſh always. The Gallion of the Order, commanded by *Chivalier Guidoti*, an *Italian*, had made two Voyages to Sea very fortunately, and brought to *Malta* three hundred Turkiſh ſlaves. The incouragement of this good Succeſs engaged many Knights to divers Enterpriſes. They armed certain Gallions, and made a Fleet of ten good Ships of War, as unfortunate in their Courſes as the Gallion of the Order had been before ſucceſsful; for, meeting with the Turks Fleet in the Seas of *Cyprus*, they were ſet upon, and moſt of them ſlain or made ſlaves. The Knight *Freſſinet* was ſlain, and the Red Gallion, wherein he commanded, taken by the Turks; but it was after a whole day Fight. *Ambuſon*, otherwiſe called *Fueillade*, another Knight, was made a Slave, and his Gallion taken; the Knight *Ouges* ran the ſame fortune, with the loſs of a Gallion. *Freſſinet* having brought a Pinnace with him to attend his Ship, after ſome fight near unto the Gallion, it eſcaped by night. In this Voyage, unfortunate for them of *Malta*, the Gallion of the Order would needs ſeek ſome better adventure; the Knights of *Bailou* and *Rhodes*, did accompany him either of them with a ſmall Gallion. He ſet upon the Caravan of the Turks Fleet, near the Iſland of *Rhodes*, his ſucceſsful beginning of this Combat made him hope for Victory, and the number of the Enemies Veſſels for a rich Booty; for there were among the reſt two great Gallions of the Sultans; theſe are Ships which belong to the great Seignior's Women, loaden commonly with great Riches; but twenty Gallies of *Rhodes* ſeeing this fight, came out of their Port to ſuccour them, and by the favour of a fair Wind, drew them into ſafety.

The Gallion of the Order ſets upon the Turks *Caravan.*

At *Malta* the bruit was, That the Turks Army conſiſting of fourſcore Gallies, ſhould go and beſiege the Iſle of *Goza*, whereas a Knight called *Saint-Liger* commanded. Whereupon, the Great Maſter had reſolved to fortifie the Caſtle of the Iſland, with a good Counterſcarfe, which he cauſed to be made, ſending thither two hundred Souldiers, and thirty Knights for ſupply, all brave Souldiers, who might have made a great reſiſtance, if the Turks had attempted it; but the Enemies Fleet paſſed on, and gave them time to reſt. 1610

But this Year 1610, *Vignancourt*, the Great Maſter of *Malta*, ſent the five Gallies of the Order into *Barbary*, towards the Port *Farino*, memorable, for that it was the Haven where Saint *Lewis* the French King ended the Navigation of his days, and at his return from *Hieruſalem* and *Paleſtina*, went to receive in Heaven the glorious palms of his holy Actions. The Gallies of *Biſerta* had been accuſtomed to fetch Palms there in that ſeaſon (which was in the Spring time,) whom the Gallies of *Malta* had a deſign to ſurpriſe. But the contrary Winds, and the tempeſtuous Seas overthrew that Enterpriſe; yet their Voyage was not altogether unprofitable; for returning toward *Malta*, being within the Channel which divides the Iſland from that of *Sicily*, they encountered with a great Gallion of *Tunes*, armed by a Turk called *Carouſinan*, being in view of the Gallies of *Malta*: The *Raiſe* (who commanded) aſſured his Company, and (ſmiling) promiſed to free them from their Enemies. Being ſo tranſported with Vanity, as he ſpake confidently, that he would not fear twenty of the Gallies of *Malta*; but this his pride was ſoon abated with his ruine; for the five Gallies came cloſe under him, and plied him ſo furiouſly with their Cannon, as they ſunk him. The Gally wherein *Verdelli*, an *Italian* Knight, commanded, had like to have been loſt, for being grapled with the Gallion, if the diligence of *Verdelli* had not ſpeedily retired it. The Turks, after the loſs of their Veſſel, began to ſwim away, but they were all made Slaves to ſerve in the Gallies of *Malta*, who this year had no other Fruits of their generous Enterpriſes.

The Gallies of *Malta* go to ſurpriſe them of *Biſerta.*

They ſink a Gallion of *Tunes.*

The Courſes of the Duke of *Tuſcany's* Gallies. They take a Turkiſh Ship.

The Gallies of *Coſmo de Medicis*, Great Duke of *Tuskany*, parted from *Ligorn*, under the Conduct of the Commander and Admiral *Inghirami*, and running along the Coaſt of *Barbary*, they took a Turkiſh Ship in the ſight of *Algier*, laden with Merchandiſe, Arms, and Munition of War, freeing many Chriſtian Slaves which were in it. This happy beginning promiſed them better fortune. They paſs on, and ſome twenty five Leagues beyond *Algiers*, they go to ſurpriſe the Town of *Biſquerre*, a ſmall Town in Circuit, but ſtrong and well walled. *Inghirami* drawing near unto the Coaſt, took down his Maſts, leſt they ſhould diſcover his coming. In the mean time, he ſent two long Boats to find ſome place fit for their landing; the which being carefully obſerved, Collonel *Bindii* landed his Men, and about eleven a Clock at Night marched in good order towards the Town, and forced it. The Darkneſs of the Night kept them from ſpoiling it; being content only to ſet their Guards and Sentinels in the moſt important Places of the Wall; but day being come, the Souldiers made themſelves Maſters of the Town, which they ſacked and ſpoiled. Certain Moors and Turks, during the Obſcurity of the Night, had retired themſelves into a Moſque which they fortified: They were ſummoned to yield; but the fear of being Slaves, (which they could not avoid) made them reſolve to die in their own defence; ſo as the *Florentines* having forced the Place, put them all to the Sword; and then embarqued their Troops, having filled *Biſquerre*

Biſquerre taken by the *Florentines.*

with

They take divers *Turkiſh* Veſſels.

with Fire and Blood. The Night following, being in the Gulph called the *Bad Woman*, they met with a Pinnace loaden with Corn, the which they took, and ſent to *Ligorne*, and then they paſt on to encreaſe their Conqueſt. Being upon the Coaſt of *Sardinia*, two Galliots of *Biſerta* did furniſh them with a fair Occaſion. *Inghirami* ſendeth his Gallies to purſue them, who having had them in chaſe threeſcore Leagues, took the one, wherein they had one hundred and twenty Slaves, and freed many poor Chriſtians from the Chain, who ſuffered the Tyranny of the Turkiſh Servitude. They alſo took a Turkiſh Galley within half a League of *Algier*, and ſpoiled it. And thus triumphing over their Enemies, they took their Courſe towards *Ligorn*, having taken four Turkiſh Veſſels, ſpoiled the Town of *Biſquerre*, and twice braved that of *Algier*.

The *Moriſques* or new Chriſtians chaſed out of *Spain*.

This year was fatal for the Moriſques or new Chriſtians in *Spain*, who being in number nine hundred thouſand Perſons, as the original writes, and had continued there from Father to Son, for the ſpace of almoſt nine hundred years, were now in an inſtant baniſhed, and made Vagabonds with the blaſt of the Kings Mouth: Men diſcourſed diverſly hereof. Some ſaid, that the King had reaſon to do it, for that they had ſecret Practices and Intelligence with the Turk, his capital Enemy. Others affirmed, that he did wiſely to prevent their Attempts againſt his Eſtate, which were to be feared, conſidering their Numbers were ſo great. And ſome ſaid plainly, that it was to have their Lands and Inheritances, which had continued ſo long in their Races. But the King declared his own intent by his Edict, the which he publiſhed in theſe Terms.

The King of *Spain's* Edict.

The King: For that reaſon doth in Conſcience bind a good and Chriſtian Government, to expel out of all Realms and Common-weals thoſe things which breed ſcandal, and bring hurt to our good Subjects, and Danger to the Eſtate, but eſpecially which are offenſive to God, and prejudicial to his Service; for this cauſe, Experience having taught us, That the reſidence of the new Chriſtian Moriſques, and their abode in the Realms of *Granado*, *Murcia*, and *Andeloſia*, hath been the cauſe of all theſe Inconveniences: For that beſides the manner of their proceeding, which joyned in the Rebellion of *Granado*, the which began by cruel Murthers of all the Prieſts and old Chriſtians which lived amongſt them, calling the Turk in to their Aid; yet having drawn them out of the ſaid Country, and ſuffered them to live in our other Provinces, ſo as they would repent them of their Faults, and live faithfully and Chriſtian like, according to the Precepts and juſt Ordinances which were given them: They have not obſerved and kept them according to the ſtrict and direct Rules of our Holy Faith; but have always made ſhew to contemn it, and to have no fear to offend God; as hath been ſeen by the great numbers which have been puniſhed by the Inquiſition; and beſides, they have committed many Thefts and Murthers againſt the old Chriſtians. And not content herewith, they have conſpired againſt my Royal Crown and Realms, ſeeking Aid and Succours from the Turk, certain interpoſed Perſons being ſent to that effect, and doing the like with other Princes, promiſing unto themſelves Aid and Aſſiſtance, offering unto them their Perſons and Means. And ſeeing that during ſo many years, in which they have practiſed theſe Treaſons and Conſpiracies, not any one hath come to reveal them, but they have always covered, concealed, and denied them; it is a moſt apparent ſign that they have all been of one Mind and Will, againſt the Service of God and of me, and againſt the good of this Realm; yet they might have imitated many Knights of theirs, of generous extraction, who have done ſervice to God, to the Kings our Progenitors, and to us, like good Chriſtians, and moſt loyal Vaſſals.

Wherefore conſidering all this, and how much I am bound to ſet down ſome good order, and to procure the preſervation and increaſe of my Realms and Subjects, and deſiring to provide for all; I have decreed, with the Advice and Counſel of many judicious learned men, and others, that are very religious, wiſe, and jealous of Gods Service and mine, to chaſe out of the ſaid Realms of *Granado*, *Murcia*, and *Andeloſia*, and out of the Town of *Hernache* (although it be not within the Limits of the ſaid Realms) all the new Chriſtians Moriſques, both Men, Women, and Children. For when as a great or deteſtable Crime is committed in any Colledge or Communalty, it is fit that Colledge or Communalty ſhould be ruined, and that the leſs for the greater, and one with another ſhould be puniſhed; and that ſuch as pervert the good and ſincere Life of Common-weals, and of their Towns and Cities, ſhould be baniſhed from other Inhabitants, leſt their Contagion infect them.

For this cauſe, by vertue of theſe Preſents, we ordain and command, That all the new Chriſtians Moriſques, without any exception of Age or Sex, of thoſe that live and reſide in the ſaid Realms, and in the Town of *Hernache*, except ſuch as be Slaves, ſhall within the ſpace of thirty days after the Publication hereof, depart out of all our Realms and Dominions of *Spain*, with their Wives, Children, Servants, and others of their Nation; and that they ſhall not preſume to return nor make any reſidence in them, in any ſort whatſoever; And we forbid them to depart by the Realms of *Valencia*, or *Aragon*, nor to enter into them, nor to ſtay in any of our Realms or Countries after the time prefixed, upon pain of Death, and confiſcation of all their Goods. And we command, that no Perſon within our Realms and Seigniories, of what Eſtate, Qualities, or Condition ſoever, ſhall preſume to receive, conceal, or defend publickly nor ſecretly any Moriſque Man or Woman after the ſaid term, upon pain to loſe all their Goods, Vaſſals, Forts, and Lands; and moreover to loſe all the Graces and Benefits which they have from me, to be applied to my Exchequer.

And though I may juſtly confiſcate all the Goods moveable and unmoveable of the ſaid Moriſques, as belonging to Traitors, and guilty of high Treaſon; yet uſing Clemency, I am content, that during the ſaid term of thirty days, they may diſpoſe of their moveable Goods, and carry them away, not in Gold, Silver, Jewels, nor Letters of Exchange, but in Merchandiſe, which is not prohibited, bought of the natural Subjects of this Realm, and not of others; or in the Commodities of the ſaid Country. And to the end they may during the time of thirty days diſpoſe thereof, and of their moveable Goods, and employ it in Merchandiſe, or in the Commodities of the Country, and tranſport what they ſhall buy; (for as for their Lands, that muſt be annexed to my Revenues, to be employed in the Service of God and the Common-weal, as I ſhall think moſt fit) I declare by theſe Preſents, that I take them into my Royal Protection, and aſſure them and their Goods, That during the ſaid time they may go and come, to ſell, exchange, and alienate all their moveable Goods, and to employ their Mony, Gold, Silver, and Jewels, in Merchandiſe not prohibited, or in the Commodities of the Country, and to tranſport the ſame freely, without any let or interruption, by

Land or by Sea, paying uſual Cuſtoms; ſo as they carry no Gold or Silver coined, or to coin, nor any other thing prohibited by the Laws of my Realm. Yet we are content, they ſhall carry ſo much Money as ſhall be needful for their Paſſage by Land, and embarking by Sea; commanding all our Officers and loving Subjects to ſee this preſent Edict duely obſerved, &c. Signed, *I the King.*

After the Publication of this Edict, the term of thirty days was reſtrained to twenty, ſo as the *Moriſques* were haſtened to depart; and the Ships and Veſſels of what Country ſoever were ſtayed in all the Ports of *Spain*, to tranſport them whither they would go. Many paſſed from *Spain* into *Barbary*; but during this year there came above 150000 of theſe *Moriſques* into *France*; the King ſending Commiſſaries, to ſee them well uſed, and orderly tranſported away.

War in *Barbary.*

Deſcription of the Town of *Arrache* or *Allarache.*

There was a War fallen out in *Barbary* betwixt *Muley Xeqny*, King of *Fez*, and *Muley Sidan* his younger Brother, both Mahometans; in which War the younger forced the elder to flie his Country, and to come and crave Aid from *Philip* King of *Spain*; But the unfortunate loſs of *Don Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, was a good Preſident for the *Spaniard* not to truſt in barbarous Kings, without good aſſurance; He treated with the *Barbarian*, and promiſed him Succours, with an hundred thouſand Duckats to return to *Alarache*, (a place which held for him) where by Money or other Practiſes, he ſhould draw unto him as many Souldiers as he could; and that for the ſafety of the Succours that he ſhould give him, he ſhould put *Alarache* or *Arrache* into his Hands. This *Arrache* is a ſtrong Town in the Realm of *Fez*, in the Province of *Algar*, ſeated upon the Ocean, at the Mouth of the River of *Lucus*, whereon part of it is built, and the other part upon the Ocean: It hath a goodly Port, and hard to take for that it is defended by a Fort, in the which the Kings of *Fez* do uſually entertain a Gariſon of three hundred light Horſe, and three hundred Harquebuſiers; for that the *Portugals* and *Caſtilians* hold in a manner all the Sea Towns of the Provinces of *Habat*, and *Erif*, where they have great Gariſons. This Province is from the River of *Nocor* along the *Mediterranean* Sea, unto the ſtraight of *Gibralter*, the other is upon the Ocean from the ſaid ſtraight unto the River *Lucus*, in the which the King of *Spain* holdeth at this day the ſtrong Towns of *Tanger*, *Arzilla*, and others. According to the former accord, the *Barbarian* returned to *Arrache*, with his Money in one of the King of *Spain*'s Ships; to whom in a ſhort time repaired many of his Friends and Servants. The *Spaniard* in the mean time having prepared a Fleet of a great number of Gallies and Ships, and embarqued ten thouſand Souldiers therein, he gave the command thereof unto the Marqueſs of Saint *Germaine*, who arrived on the twentieth of *November* in the Evening at the Port of *Arrache*, and there rode at Anchor all the Night. The next day in the Morning, the Marqueſs, calling all the Captains to a Council, imparting unto them his Deſign for to force *Arrache*, in caſe that the Mooriſh King did not keep his Promiſe; they gave him aſſurance, that they would carry themſelves like unto brave and valiant Souldiers. But ſee what happened; The King of *Fez*, having no means to go from his word, ſeeing the Spaniard ſo ſtrong as he might well force it, many of his Followers and People, fearing to fall under the Power of *Spain*, they would have abandoned him; but having the Governour of the Caſtle at his Devotion, he thruſt out the Gariſon, and delivered the Keys himſelf unto the Marqueſs of Saint *Germain*. Upon the firſt bruit that the *Spaniards* were entred into the Caſtle, all the Inhabitants ran to Arms, and thinking to reſiſt them, after that many of them had ended their days valiantly, during three hours Combat, they were forced to yield unto the Marqueſs, who preſently planted the Croſs and Arms of *Caſtile* upon all the Towers and Steeples. Thus this ſtrong Town, which the *Caſtilians* and *Portugals* had ſo long deſired, and whereby the Inhabitants received a great ruine, is in the end fallen under the Domination of their King. The News of this Exploit being brought into *Spain*, pleaſed the King much, and the People made bone-fires for joy; theſe are the Alterations of times. The *Moors* in old time were wont to over-run *Spain*, and now the *Spaniards* take their Pleaſures in *Mauritania*.

Arrache in *Barbary* taken by the *Spaniards.*

A great Battel in *Tartarie.*

About the end of this year, News came to *Conſtantinople*, of the great Wars which had been between the Uncle and the Nephew, by the death of the Great Cham of the *Tartars*; the Son, who during his Fathers Life time had continued at *Conſtantinople* as an Hoſtage, and was now ſent back into his Country by the Sultan *Achmat*, thinking to enjoy his Fathers Eſtate; his Uncle, Brother to the deceaſed Cham, practiſed to ſeize upon the Crown; but either of them having drawn an Army of 60000 Men together, in the end, they joyned battel, whereas after the ſlaughter of 40000 Men upon the place, the Son had the Victory, and by that means obtained the Crown of *Tartaria*.

I will conclude this year 1610, with the Relation of a particular Buſineſs, to ſhew the greedy deſire of the Turks to get by any unjuſt means whatſoever, and their Infidelity and Falſhood to ſay and ſwear any thing for Bribes. Some years before, one Maſter *Willaughby*, an Engliſh Gentleman, having rigged up a Ship for war into the *Levant*, he came into *Algier* in *Barbary* to ſell his prize, where at that time one *Solyman Catania* was Baſſa. This Ship was ſuddenly ſeiſed on, and rifled by the command of this Baſſa, upon no other Subject, but that the Baſſa pretended this Ship had burnt a Caramouſal of his, which in truth the Baſſa himſelf had cauſed to be ſet on Fire, that under colour thereof he might ſeiſe upon the Ship and Goods. Maſter *Willoughby* went to *Conſtantinople*, and there made his complaint to Sir *Henry Lilloe*, then Ambaſſador for the Engliſh; but yet could get no ſatisfaction; whereupon he returned into *England*, and obtained Letters from his Majeſty to the Grand Seignior, and to Sir *Thomas Glover*, then Ambaſſador, reſiding at *Conſtantinople*; which having received, he went preſently to the Chimacham (who was Lieutenant to *Murath Baſſa* the Grand Viſier, he being then imployed in the Wars againſt the *Perſian.*) The Chimacham having read theſe Letters, would not ſuffer them to be delivered to the Grand Seignior; promiſing to do Juſtice upon *Solyman Catania*, whom he diſcharged from his Place, and ſent for him to *Conſtantinople*; who being come, and called in queſtion, he denied the Fact; Maſter *Willoughby* (having no certain proof of his loſs) ſuborned one *Ofiſh Baſſa* a Turk, who had been at *Mecha*, and was therefore held a very holy man, who ſet a Brother of his to procure falſe Witneſſes, upon promiſe to have the tenth part of what ſhould be recovered; The Witneſſes being ready to ſwear to his Aſſertion, *Solyman Catania* hearing their Oath, compounded with Maſter *Willoughby*, and gave him four or five thouſand Dollars; ſo the buſineſs ended. Which ſhews the Corruption of the Turks, and that the holieſt of them for Money will not ſtick to bear falſe Witneſs, and take falſe Oaths.

A great Plague in *Conſtantinople.*

200000 perſons died of the plague.

The *Turks* obſtinate belief touching predeſtination.

This year 1610, the City of *Conſtantinople* was wonderfully afflicted with the Plague, the which diſperſed it ſelf over all, and crept into the Grand Seignior's Seraglio, wherein one of his Sons died of that Infection; whereupon the Grand Seignior was forced to retire for his ſafety, and to paſs the remainder of the Summer in his Palace or Seraglio of *Darut Baſſa,* about a League and a half diſtant from the City; this violent Contagion did ſo rage in *Conſtantinople* for the ſpace of five Months, as there were numbred two hundred thouſand Perſons dead within the time, and they did commonly carry every day twelve or fifteen hundred Bodies to be buried. The greatneſs of this Mortality is not to be imputed ſo much to the Corruption of the Air, as to the wilful Negligence of the Turks, who would not vouchſafe to turn away from a Body dead of this Diſeaſe, when it goes to burial, nor to forbear to viſit their Friends being infected. The obſtinate belief they have of Predeſtination maketh them bruitiſhly contemn all ſorts of dangers: For, ſay they, aſſoon as man comes out of his Mothers Womb to injoy the Light of the World, God writes in his Forehead all the good or evil ſhall happen unto him, and particularly of what Death he ſhall dye, the neceſſity whereof no humane power can avoid. All is governed (ſay they) by Deſtiny, and therefore they regard not any Infection, but contrariwiſe when any one is dead, another takes his Clothes and wears them; which is the cauſe that *Conſtantinople* and the Grand *Caire* are ſeldom free; and whenas the Air is any thing diſpoſed to Contagion, there dyes ſuch multitudes of People, as they do not number them but by hundred thouſands.

Death of the *French* Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople.*

Before the beginning of this Plague, the Baron of *Salignac,* Ambaſſador for the *French* King at *Conſtantinople,* ended his Embaſſage with his Life. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſent the Baron of *Mole,* eldeſt Son to the Baron of *Sanſie,* to ſupply his Place. He arrived at *Pera* this Year in the beginning of *September,* and about the end of *October* the Sultan being returned to *Conſtantinople;* after that he had viſited the Muphti, (who is the chief of their Law) the Grand Viſier, the Deſtorda, (who is the Sultan's high Treaſurer) the *Boſtangi* Baſſa his chief Gardiner, with other great Men of the Port which were highly in Favour; in the end he was admitted to Audience, and to kiſs the Sultan's Hand. A Ceremony, which in mine opinion I owe unto the Hiſtory, to ſhew that the Majeſty of the Turkiſh Emperours is ſo great, as to approach near unto them the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes are forced to diſguiſe themſelves, and leaving the Habits of their Nation, to attire themſelves and their Train after the Turkiſh manner. Thus the Ambaſſador of *France* parted from his Lodging at *Pera,* wearing upon his *French* Apparel a long Turkiſh Robe of Cloth of Gold curled, furred with Sables; his Gentlemen and Secretaries, to the number of ſixteen, had the like Robes, but of meaner ſtuff, wearing Caps of black Velvet; he had twenty Servants in long Caſſocks of Scarlet, called in Turkiſh, Ferrages, and upon them long Robes of the ſame ſtuff, with Caps of Taffata; the four Dragomans, or the Kings Interpreters, the Captains, Maſters of Ships, and other *French-men* attired all in long Robes, accompanied the Train. He paſt the Channel which doth ſeparate *Pera* from *Conſtantinople;* being come to the other ſide, he found many goodly Horſes for him and his Train, which ſome Turks, that were Friends to *France,* had ſent him to conduct him to the City; at the Gate whereof many Chiaus and Janizaries attended him to conduct him to the Seraglio; two Chiaus Baſſaes went of either ſide him, accompanying him thither, the reſt of the Turks going before. His arrival was no leſs honourable at the Palace Royal, than his coming to the Town: Two Capigi Baſſaes, or chief of the Porters, received him at the entry of a great Court, and conducted him to the Grand Viſier, who attended him at Dinner in the Hall, where he was feaſted, being accompanied only with one Dragoman or Interpreter; the reſt of his Train were conducted into a low Gallery, whereas Dinner was prepared for them after the Turkiſh manner: That is to ſay, a great Tapeſtry upon the Ground without Cloth or Napkins, and ſome Diſhes thin ſet. The Meat was Water-gruel with Sugar, and ſome Pottage with Pullets; there were two Men either of them holding a certain Inſtrument of ſodden Leather, in which there was a Beverage which they call Cerbet, made of the juyce of Lemons, Water and Sugar, and withall, they held a Cup of blanch'd Copper, giving to every one Drink, and going among the Diſhes to ſerve them more commodiouſly. From this Feaſt, diſtaſteful to them that had lived after the *French* faſhion, they paſs'd into another Gallery, whereas the Ambaſſador and ſixteen of his Company received each of them a Robe of Tinſel, the which having put on upon their other, they were conducted thorow a little Court paved with Marble, towards the Grand Seignior's Chamber, which was inriched on the out-ſide with many Pillars of Marble, and ſquare Stones of the ſame ſtuff, and beautified with two little Fountains on either ſide: The Chamber within was about ten paces ſquare, the Planchard was gilt, the Walls enamelled with flowers after the Turkiſh manner, and the Floor covered with Tapeſtry of Gold and Silk. At the entry of this Imperial Chamber ſtood ſix Capigi or Porters, whereof two of them took the Ambaſſador under the Arms, and led him to kiſs the Sultan's Hand, or rather his Robe; for having ſaluted him from the greateſt of Chriſtian Kings, he kiſt but his Robe, and then was led on the one ſide, going backwards, to the end he ſhould not turn his back to the Emperour. The *French* Gentlemen were conducted after the like manner to kiſs his Robe. But they could hardly ſee the Sultan, for his Face was turned towards a Window that was grated, before the which, during the Ceremony, there paſt 30 Capigi, every one carrying a piece of the Preſents which the Ambaſſador had brought; during the which, the *Frenchmen* could not ſee him but on the other ſide. This Salutation being ended, the Ambaſſador made a ſhort Speech, and preſented unto the Sultan the principal Letter of his Embaſſage, written in the Turkiſh Tongue.

The Ceremony of Ambaſſadours at their firſt Audience.

The *Turks* feaſt the *French.*

The Sultans Chamber.

Troubles in *Tranſilvania.*

The *Valachian* expelled his Countrey by *Battori.*

This paſt at *Conſtantinople,* whereas the Sultan did willingly ſee an Ambaſſadour, his Allie, whom he honoured above all others. But in *Tranſylvania* the Affairs went after another ſtrain; the combuſtions which ſeemed inſeparable to this miſerable Province, made it ſtill the Theatre of all diſorders. *Gabriel Battori,* who governed it ſince the ceſſion of *Ragotzi,* had put himſelf into the *Turks* Protection, againſt King *Matthias,* who pretended a Title, by reaſon of the ceſſion made by Prince *Sigiſmund* unto the Emperour, as King of *Hungary,* and had recovered *Hermſtad,* and chaſed *Raduille* Vayvod of *Valachia* out of his Countrey; where, having ſetled a new Governour, and filled the Garriſons with *Haiducks* he returned toward *Tranſilvania,* to oppoſe himſelf againſt *Fortgatſie,* King *Matthias* his Lieutenant, who came with Troops out of high *Hungary,* and paſs'd the River of *Tibiſce.* The Vayvod *Raduille* had retired himſelf into *Moldavia* to Prince *Conſtantine,* whom he gave to underſtand, That *Battori* had an intent to ſeize upon his Country, and to make but one Monarchy of their three Provinces: whereupon they

Battori defeated by the *Valachian.*

joyned their Forces together, and in the end of *June* entered into *Valachia*, from whence they expelled *Battori* his Lieutenant with all the Garriſons. This Exploit made them to hope of a continuance in the Proſperity of their Arms; they entered into *Tranſilvania*, whereas they purſued *Battori* with ſuch diligence, as they forced him to come to a Battel near unto *Cromſtat*, the which he loſt with part of his Troops, being conſtrained to ſave himſelf with his Horſemen in *Hermſtad*, whereas ſome of the chief Inhabitants ſeeing him receive this Diſgrace, attempted to ſubmit themſelves under the obedience of King *Matthias*: but the Practice being diſcovered by him, he did ſuch Execution, as he purchaſed to himſelf the Name of Cruel.

Fortgatſie, Lieutenant to King *Matthias*, enters *Tranſilvania.*

In the mean time *Fortgatſie*, Lieutenant to King *Matthias*, maketh uſe of this defeat to ſeiſe upon *Tranſilvania*: he made an Accord with *Andrew Nage* (who had drawn high *Hungary* into Rebellion, and cauſed the *Haiducks* to revolt) ſo as being freed from that fear, he entereth into *Tranſilvania*; where, having taken ſome Towns and Caſtles, he layd ſiege to *Clauſenburg*, the which he battered ſo furiouſly, as the Garriſon and Inhabitants ſeeing themſelves ready to be forced, yielded, and took the Oath of Allegiance to King *Matthias* the five and twentieth of *July*. But as theſe Proſperities of *Fortgatſie* were humane, ſo did they not long continue. *Battori* being ſhut up in *Hermſtad*, conjures all his Friends to come unto him, and entreated the Baſſaes of *Buda* and *Temeſwar* to ſuccour him, according to the commandment which they had received from the Grand Seignior; he practiſed with *Nage* (a man which did ſwim continually in the floats of Inconſtancy) and makes him to revolt again in high *Hungary*, upon a ſurmiſe, That *Fortgatſie* had not kept promiſe with him; ſo as *Nage* took Arms again, ſeiſed upon the Fort of *Bayens*, and filled all High *Hungary* with Combuſtions; ſo as *Fortgatſie* could expect no Succours at his need from thence; then having received ſome Forces from the *Turks* and *Tartarians*, he went to field, purſuing *Fortgatſie* with ſuch heat and fury, as he forced him to abandon all that he had taken in *Tranſilvania*, and to retire into *Valachia*. What Deſolations did this War bring unto theſe Provinces by ſo many Priſes and Repriſes? *Battori* going with a thouſand Horſe to ſurpriſe *Toeai*, upon the Frontiers of *Valachia*, whereas they then held a great Fair, he found the Garriſon ſo watchful upon their Guard, as having loſt part of his Horſemen, he was forced to return into *Tranſilvania*.

Battori's Practiſes.

Fortgatſie expelled *Tranſilvania*, by *Battori.*

Fortgatſie's miſerable retreat.

On the other ſide, *Fortgatſie* with his *Hungarians*, thinking from *Valachia* to recover High *Hungary* by the Country of the *Zeclerians*, could not effect his Deſign; for *Battori* being advertiſed thereof, ſtopped his Paſſage; and in like manner the Earls of *Bucheime* and *Dampier* had paſſed the River of *Tibiſce* to meet him; ſo as *Battori* ſet ſuch Guards in all the Paſſages and Streights, that *Fortgatſie* was forced to retire towards *Polonia* by the ſteep Mountains, and deſart Places; whereas his Army was ſo oppreſt with Famine and all other Neceſſities, as they periſhed miſerably, there remaining few alive; with the which he ended his Paſſage into *Polonia*, and from thence ſoon after he returned into *Hungary*, but with a very poor Equipage.

Troubles in *Moldavia.*

Thus the ſtorm ceaſing in *Tranſilvania* by the reſtraint of *Fortgatſie*, a more violent Tempeſt riſeth in *Moldavia*, to the end that theſe unfortunate Regions ſhould never be without ſome touch of Miſery; For the Turk having underſtood, That *Conſtantine*, Prince of that Country, had relieved the *Valachian* againſt *Battori*, his Allie, or rather his Tributary, he ſends a new Prince into *Moldavia*, the ſuppoſed Son of one *Thomas*, or *Aaron* as ſome write, who had in former time commanded there, and with him fifteen hundred Souldiers, with Letters of command to the *Turks* and *Tartarians* thereabouts, to aſſiſt him with their Forces. This new Prince was ſometime in *France*, and afterwards detained Priſoner in the Fort of *Jaques* in *Spain*, within the *Pyrenean* Mountains. Thus two Princes contend for *Moldavia*, the one ſupported by the *Polonian*, and the other by the *Turk*. But behold, a third Prince cometh in and pretends a Title, being Son to one *Janicolo*, who had commanded there. This Man had been a Priſoner in the black Tower at *Conſtantinople*, to which he was committed by the Sultan *Amurath*, for that he had loſt a Battel in the year 1601, againſt *Michael*, who then poſſeſt *Moldavia*; who eſcaping from thence, wandred through divers Countries, and at laſt coming into *England*, his Majeſty of *Great Britain* pitying his miſerable Eſtate, recommended him by Letters to Sir *Thomas Glover*, his Majeſties Ambaſſador, then reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, with commandment to aſſiſt him, and to ſollicite his Reſtitution with the Grand Seignior. Upon the receipt of which Letters, he retired this wandering Prince into his Houſe at *Pera*, where he entertained him, with many of his Friends and Followers which repaired unto him, for a long time; and in the mean time, he ſollicited the Grand Seignior for his Reſtitution, having good Acceſs unto him, by reaſon that he ſpake the *Turkiſh* Tongue perfectly, and needed no Dragoman or Interpreter. To whom the Sultan ſtill gave good Anſwers, but with Delays, that it was not yet time; but he ſhould have ſatisfaction. His Competitor (who was in Poſſeſſion of *Moldavia*) hearing of this Practice, made Friends at the Great Turk's Court, and corrupted ſome of the Baſſaes by Bribes, (they being all by Nature very covetous) to the end he might croſs his deſign, and make him away if it were poſſible; and among the reſt, he had won *Murath Baſſa*, the Grand Viſier, a Man of great Power and Authority, who practiſed many means to get the *Moldavian* into his Hands. Firſt, he ſent word unto the Ambaſſador, That the Sultan, having a meaning to reſtore him, deſired to ſee the man, if he were capable of the place or no; but being advertiſed of their intent, and well acquainted with their Practices, he refuſed to ſend him. After which, he wrote unto him, That it was the Grand Seignior's Pleaſure, he ſhould ſend the *Moldavian* unto him, that he might confer with him. To whom the Ambaſſador made anſwer, That unleſs he might ſee a Warrant under the Grand Seignior's own Hand, he would not deliver him. *Murath Baſſa*, ſeeing that none of theſe Practices could prevail, reſolved to fetch him out by force. For the effecting whereof he drew together two thouſand Janizaries. The Ambaſſador hearing of his intent, fortified his Houſe, and armed his People with the *Moldavians* which were with their Prince, meaning to ſtand upon his defence. *Murath Baſſa*, deſirous to know what the Ambaſſador did in his Lodging, diſguiſed a Janizary like unto a Greekiſh Shepheard; who entering into the Ambaſſadors Houſe, found them all in Arms; then returning unto the Baſſa, he told him that he had to do with a mad Man, and if he proceeded in his Enterpriſe, he would hazard the loſs of many Janizaries; whereupon he gave it over. After which, the Ambaſſador being called home into *England*, the *Moldavian* deſpairing of Reſtitution from the *Turkiſh* Sultan, he turned Turk; and being preſented to the Grand Seignior, was made Bey of *Burſia* in *Aſia*; the which he enjoyed not long;

Three Princes pretending to *Moldavia.*

The Negotiation of the Ambaſſador of *England*, for one of the Princes of *Moldavia.*

long; for *Naſſuf* coming from the *Perſian* Wars, diſcharged him. Thus *Moldavia*, having many pretending Sovereigns, ſuffered many miſeries, and was a Prey to *Turk*, *Tartarians*, and *Polonians*, all Partiſans to theſe Sovereigns.

The Voyage of the Gallions of *Florence* againſt the Turks.

The Enterpriſe to take the Caravan of *Egypt*.

Theſe were the Troubles which the Turks cauſed at land for the Ruine of the Chriſtians. But behold what he ſuffered at Sea by the Gallies of *Florence*, *Malta*, and *Naples*: the *Florentines* made their Enterpriſe apart. The great Duke of *Tuſcany* being advertiſed, That the Caravan which tranſported the Tribute of *Ægypt* to *Conſtantinople*, prepared to put to Sea, he reſolved to divert this Tribute, and by the Valour of his Arms to bring it to *Legorn*: and for the effecting hereof, he ſpeedily armed four Gallions, under the Command of *Beauregard*, a French-man, who was Admiral. The firſt was called the new Gallion, in which the ſaid Admiral went; the ſecond, the Great *Legorn*, commanded by *Brandequedor*, General at Land, and allied to the Duke; and the other two were commanded by two French Captains. *Beauregard* having received Commandment to paſs with this Fleet into the *Levant*, to meet with the Caravan, he bent his courſe towards *Candy*, a fertile Iſland inhabited by the *Grecians*: Being arrived in the Port of *Caliſmene* to water, he continued there ſix days. Leaving this Iſland, he ſailed towards *Cyprus*, which is held by the Turks; and ſo coaſting *Syria*, they learned of a Ship of *Marſeilles*, that the Caravan was yet in the Port of *Alexandria*, where they prepared for their Voyage to *Conſtantinople*. To attend them, the Admiral *Beauregard* went and caſt Anchor at the Fort of *Sidon*, called *Sarepta*, governed by *Emir*, or *Armil Facardin*, a Rebel to the Turk, and a great Friend to the *Florentines*, where he ſtayed twelve days, to take in Bisket, Fleſh, and other neceſſary Refreſhings. And having made a more ſtrict League of Friendſhip with *Facardin*, he honoured him with a Coffer full of Arms, whereby the *Florentines* Ships came as freely into thoſe parts, as into their own Country.

The *Florentines* meet with the Turks Fleet.

The Turks aſſail the Gallions of *Florence*.

Beauregard, having well victualled and munitioned his Gallions, returned towards the Iſle of *Cyprus*, whereas he found a Chriſtians Ship, called the Flying Dragon, which came from *Damietta*, by whom he was aſſured that the Turks Army, conſiſting of a great number of Gallies, was gone out of the Port of *Rhodes*, and had taken a Flemiſh Ship. Theſe News made him think that he ſhould meet the Fleet, and that he muſt of force defend himſelf. Wherefore he made all things ready, and preſcribed the Order which his Captains ſhould hold during the Fight; cauſing his Ordnance to be mounted as if they were to joyn. He had four as good Gallions, and as well furniſhed, as any in the Levant Seas, either of them being armed with forty Pieces of Ordnance, and four hundred good Souldiers. Betwixt the Iſland of *Cyprus* and *Caramania* they encountered this Turkiſh Fleet, conſiſting of forty Gallies and two Galliaſſes, under the Command of Baſſa *Muſtapha Grego*, who was General of this Fleet, which was in ſight of the *Florentines* Ships: the Galliaſſes advance to take view of them, and to find how far their Cannon would reach: and in the mean time the Gallies put themſelves into the form of a Croiſſant, ready for the Combat. *Beauregard*, an old Sea-Captain, and well practiſed in Sea-fights, would not make a ſhot againſt the Gallies, but attended until the whole Fleet came cloſe up to him; which being near, he ſaluted them ſo furiouſly with his Cannon, giving them the broad ſides, as the Turks (who expected no ſuch Reception) were all amazed, and making a ſtand, would proceed no farther. Their General having well obſerved the reſolute Countenance of the *Florentines*, divided his Gallies into two Squadrons, giving charge to the one to give an Aſſault to the *Florentines* Gallions, and in the mean time the reſt ſhould prepare themſelves to fight.

Five Turkiſh Gallies ſunk.

The Turks put to flight.

Being thus divided, they came one after another to the Aſſault, the which continued for the ſpace of ſix hours, and yet could not board them; *Muſtapha* ſeeing five of his Gallies ſunk by the Enemies Cannon, with the loſs of all the men that were within them: but ſuddenly the Wind changed, and proved favourable to the *Florentines*, who embraced this Advantage, giving chaſe to the Turks Gallies, forcing them to ſeek their ſafety in the Haven of *Famaguſta*, the chief Fort of *Cyprus*; ſo of Aſſailants (being beaten) they became Run-a-ways: ſo inconſtant are the accidents of War, and eſpecially at Sea, whereas the good or bad Succeſs many times dependeth of a little Wind.

The *Florentines* take a rich Ship of the Turks.

This Turkiſh Fleet having loſt five Gallies, and recovered a Port in *Cyprus*, the Admiral *Beauregard* ſeeing his Deſign againſt the Caravan diſappointed, he reſolved to return towards *Legorn* with his Gallions. Being at Sea, he encountred a Turkiſh Veſſel called a Caramouſal, which came from *Rhodes*, to go unto *Cyprus*: they chaſed it, and in the end overtook it; which they preſt ſo with their Ordnance, as they ſlew one hundred and thirty Turks, and took three hundred Slaves. The Booty was very rich, being valued at fourteen hundred thouſand Crowns. After this Prize, their Victuals beginning to fail, having been ſo long at Sea, they bent their Courſe for *Legorn*: but the Wind falling contrary, they were forced to ſtay eight days in the Iſland of *Scarpante*, paſt the Bar of *Meſſina*; and having given chaſe to certain Gallies of *Tunis*, they arrived at *Legorn* the fifteenth of *June*, where there was great joy for their Return, and the Prize which they had brought, the which, according to the Cuſtom, was to be divided; one third to the Souldiers and Mariners, and the other two parts imployed for the Entertainment of the Ships, and the payment of the Captains.

This Caravan, which goes from *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*, is every Year attended for, not only by the Gallions and Gallies of *Florence*, but by thoſe of *Malta* and *Naples*, and by all the Pyrates of the *Mediterranean* Sea: like unto the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, who yearly lay in wait for the *Indian* Fleet before the concluſion of the Peace and Truce with the *Spaniard*. And although their principal Deſign was to take ſome part of the Caravan, yet they had other Enterpriſes upon the Turks Country, beſides the ſpoil of Merchants which they met by chance, which many times payd the charge of their Voyage; and ſometimes, they that thought to take, were taken, and loſt both their Ships and Lives.

The Exploits of the Gallies of *Malta* and *Naples*.

A *Venetian* Ship taken.

The Gallies of *Malta*, commanded by the Bailiff of *Venouge*, and thoſe of *Naples* by the Marqueſs of S. *Croix*, joyned together ſoon after, with a deſign to ſet upon the Caravan, which carried the Revenue and Tribute of *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*, or elſe to put in execution the enterpriſe which they had long before projected, upon certain places of *Albania*, or to ſurpriſe or ſpoil ſome Iſland in the *Archipelague* which might pay their Charges. But the firſt failing, they met with a *Venetian* Ship laden with Merchandiſe, to the value of one hundred thouſand Crowns. The *Spaniards* who commanded in the Gallies of *Naples*, ſeiſed upon this Ship; but the General of *Malta* would by no means conſent unto it, nor ſuffer any of the Merchandiſe to be put into his Gallies, for that he would not unjuſtly violate the Friendſhip which was betwixt his Order and the State of *Venice*.

Venice. This Example did touch the *Spaniards* Conſciences, ſo as within few days they ſent away the *Venetian* Ship, but in courteſie they had unladen all the merchandiſe.

The Chriſtians Gallies go to the Iſland of *Lango.*

After this Prey of a Chriſtian Ship, the Fleet diſcovered two Sails at Sea, ſending preſently after them, they were two Barks, the one coming from *Candia* laden with Wood, and the other from *Scarpante* charged with Wine, the which being brought unto the Generals, gave them to underſtand, that the Caravan of *Ægypt* was not yet paſt, being advertiſed that fifty Chriſtians Gallies attended them in their Paſſage. Upon this advice, the Chriſtian Generals, being out of hope to ſurpriſe the Caravan, preſently reſolved to undertake a more great and glorious Enterpriſe, and to ſurpriſe the Iſland and Caſtle of *Lango* in the *Archipelague*, upon the Coaſt of *Natolia*; and about ſeven of the Clock at Night they ſet Sail with a good Wind, but being changed in the Morning, they were forced to return to the Iſland of *Porcherne*; from whence they parted again at eight of the Clock at Night, and continuing their courſe, in the Morning they diſcovered three *Florentine* Ships, who told them, that they had entred into the Iſle of *Nigropont* with ſeven Gallies; but having been diſcovered, they could not effect any thing; and that their Gallies were ſeparated from them in the chace of four Galliots. The Chriſtian Fleet continuing their courſe, they arrived about eleven of the Clock in the Morning at St. *Jean de Seruaë*, where having caſt Anchor, there was a Council called in the Admiral; where they reſolved to Petard the Caſtle of *Lango*, toward the Sea; for the Execution whereof they ſhould land two hundred men, *viz.* thirty Knights and fifty Souldiers out of the Gallies of *Malta*, and one hundred and twenty *Spaniards* out of the Gallies of *Naples*; and that they ſhould carry two Petards with them, the one given in charge to Captain *Beaulaigue* in the Troop of them of *Malta*, and the other was conducted by the *Spaniards*; the reſt of their Men which they ſhould land, ſhould go and Aſſault the Town of *Lango.* With this Reſolution they parted from St. *Jean de Seruaë*, with a good Wind, and arrived at the Iſland of *Lango* on the ſixth of *June*, an hour after mid-night, whereas they landed three miles from the Town; they that were appointed for the Enterpriſe, march'd on with their Petards, according to direction; but the Night being very dark, the Troop of *Malta* ſtraied from their Guide, but their Valour brought them directly to the Walls of the Town; where, after many turnings and windings to find a fit place to plant the Petard, (notwithſtanding that they were diſcovered and much ſhot at) *Beaulaigue* ſet it to a Port next the Sea, well flanck'd with the Caſtle, the which he forced, and his Men entring with fury, went from Street to Street, and put all to the Sword that made reſiſtance. The *Spaniards* on the other ſide made another Breach with their Petard, and entred the Town; notwithſtanding that at their firſt approach, the Turks (having diſcovered them) plaid upon them with their great Ordnance and ſmall ſhot. The Troops being joyned together, having cut all the Turks in pieces they met with, they came to the place before the Caſtle, which they thought to ſurpriſe; but the Bridge was drawn, and they lay open at the mercy of their ſhot; ſo as there were fifteen Knights of *Malta* hurt, one ſlain, with a *Spaniſh* Captain, and ſome ſix and thirty Souldiers of the Gallies of *Naples*, and as many wounded. Day being come, the Bailiff of *Venouge*, General of the Gallies of *Malta*, came unto the Town with the foreward, wherein were 150 Knights, and 450 Souldiers; the Marquiſs of St. *Croix* followed him, with the two Sons of the Viceroy of *Naples*, and fifteen hundred *Spaniards*, who ſpoiled the Town and Suburbs, and took all that were living Captive; but the Caſtle being well fortified, they found it impoſſible to force; whereupon, embarking their Men and Spoil, they reſolved in their return to *Malta* and *Naples*, to make an Enterpriſe upon ſome Towns of *Albania*; but upon the way they were advertiſed, That the Turks had diſcovered the Intelligence which the *Spaniards* and Knights of *Malta* had with the *Grecians* of the Country; whereupon they took Revenge upon them, putting many of them to death, and amongſt others a Patriarch, who being accuſed to have practiſed the Chriſtians revolt againſt the Turks, was cruelly fleyd alive, and his Skin ſent to *Conſtantinople.* So dangerous a thing it is to ſeek for Liberty with this *Mahometan* Nation.

Lango forced by the Chriſtians.

An Enterpriſe upon *Albania* diſcovered by the Turks.

A Patriarch of *Greece* fleyd alive.

The Caravan of *Ægypt* was ſtill in the Port of *Alexandria* attending a Paſſage, and to be freed from ſo many Chriſtian Gallies which lay in wait for it; and it ſtaid the longer by reaſon of the great Plague, wherewith *Conſtantinople* was afflicted. But in the end of *October*, *Mechmet* Baſſa of *Caire*, (who would conduct it in Perſon) having a Convoy of fifty Gallies well armed, put to Sea, and arrived at *Conſtantinople* without any Encounter. At his Landing, this Baſſa cauſed to march before him ſixty Mules, every one laden with 20000 Sequins in kind, being a whole years Tribute of the Kingdom of *Ægypt*, the which he cauſed to be carried to the Sultan's Serail. This Money was welcome to the Port: for the former Wars, both in *Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, in *Aſia* againſt the Rebels, and in *Perſia*, had ſo waſted the Emperour's Treaſure, as it would hardly entertain one of his Armies. The Baſſa, who had gathered this Tribute together faithfully and with great diligence, was at his coming to the Sultan's Port honoured with the charge of Baſſa of the Sea, (he, who had it before, being advanced to the Dignity of Viſier) and moreover the Sultan promiſed him his Daughter in marriage, being but three years old.

The Caravan of *Ægypt* arrives at *Conſtantinople.*

The Baſſa's recompence that brought it.

The Turks are in fear of the Chriſtians Gallies.

News came to the Port, that certain Ships, Gallies, and Galliaſſes of the Chriſtians, to the number of fifty, came near unto the *Helleſpont*; which put the Turks in great fear: and complaints being brought unto the Grand Seignior, That certain *Caramouſals* had been taken by the Chriſtian Gallies; he ſent preſently for the Captain Baſſa, or Admiral of the Sea, demanding of him, Whether the Report of theſe loſſes were true or no? To whom he anſwered yes. Why are not you then at Sea, ſaith he? He anſwered, For that I can get neither Men nor Money. Whereupon the Deſtorda or Treaſurer was ſent for, who had loſt his head, had not the Aga of the Grand Seignior's Women intreated for him.

Graſhoppers at *Conſtantinople*, ſpoil the Country.

This Summer, *Conſtantinople* and the Country thereabouts was ſo plagued with ſuch clouds of Graſhoppers, as they did ſhadow the very Sun beams, and fell upon the City and Country round about. The Turks conſulted with their Wiſe-men, what it might portend: Who anſwered, That they did foreſhew great Plenty to follow. But indeed they left not a green Herb nor Leaf in all the Country adjoyning, nor in the City, where they entred into their very Chambers, and annoyed them much, being almoſt as big as Dormice, with red wings. And ſoon after there fell ſuch extraordinary great Hail in *Conſtantinople* and *Gallata* with ſuch abundance of Rain, as the violence of the Water did ſuddenly ſhut up one of the Gates of the City, and ſo rebounding, filled their Shops and Houſes, that very many were in great danger of drowning. Some Houſes fell down, and ſome People were ſlain; the pavements of the ſtreets were torn up, and the ſtones carried together into great heapes.

Violent Rain in the City.

1610 We have formerly made relation of the *Perſians* Victories, and of the defeat and death of *Cicala* General of the Turks Army, in the year 1605. And that the year following, the Sophy, having recovered whatſoever the Turks had taken from his Predeceſſors, had extended the bounds of his Empire up to the black Sea, from whence he ſent an Ambaſſador unto the Grand Seignior, to let him underſtand, that having recovered what had been unjuſtly uſurped from him, he would proceed no further, but deſired to live in Peace; the which might now be the better aſſured, the one holding nothing from the other. Moreover, this *Perſian* Ambaſſador, having remained ſeven Months at the Sultans Port, was in the end forced to retire into *Perſia* without audience. And laſtly, That *Amurath Serder* the Grand Viſier, was afterwards forced to convert his Arms againſt *Gambolat* and the Rebels of *Aſia*, and to neglect the War of *Perſia*.

1611

A *Perſian* Ambaſſador comes to *Conſtantinople.*

Notwithſtanding the *Perſian* War, there arrived this year at *Conſtantinople* an Ambaſſador from *Perſia*, who, according to the Turks manner, was attended on by a great Troop of *Chaoux* on Horſeback, Capigi's, Janizaries, and other Captains, ſent by the Sultan to conduct him to his lodging. Within few days after his arrival, there was a great ſhow made in *Conſtantinople*, by the ſeveral Trades of the City, every one marching by themſelves before the Grand Seigniors Serrail, and repreſenting unto him their manner of marching in the Wars, and the order of their Proviſion; ſome carrying on their Shoulders Sheep, others Lambs, Calves, Beef, *&c.* All which was done of Policy to daunt and diſhearten the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, and to encourage their own People; and withal, to let him know, that there ſhould be as great plenty in their Camps, as he ſaw at that preſent. And to abuſe him ſtill with the Imagination of their great Preparation, the Chimacham or Viſiers Lieutenant, ſent the next day for this *Perſian* Ambaſſador, and during their Conference had taken order, That the Emperour of *Tartaria*'s Brother (who was then in the Sultans Court) ſhould come in; at whoſe entrance the Chimacham aroſe from his Place; *Oh* (ſaid he) *I know for what you come, It is for Money for your Souldiers; you ſhall receive it at ſuch a Place.* Which words were heard by a Dragoman to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, being then preſent; the which was done to terrifie the *Perſian* Ambaſſador; and at the ſame time, and to the ſame end, they ſent over divers Troops of Souldiers to *Scudaret*, as if they had been ready to march with an Army.

The Turks Army againſt the *Perſians.*

The Turks great Armies are not raiſed in haſte, neither do they march in poſt; when as the *Spahi's*, that is to ſay the Horſemen, which make the greateſt part of his Army, and have no other Pay or Entertainment than the Revenues of certain Land, are diſcharged, they muſt have a whole year to recover their Revenue, and to put themſelves in Equipage; and moreover, it is threeſcore days march for an Army from *Conſtantinople* into *Perſia.*

Alſo in the year 1609, and 1610, the Turk had not attempted any thing againſt the *Perſian*, who ſtill ſollicited him for Peace. The greatneſs of the *Othoman* Empire could not reſolve to make a Peace, having receiv'd ſo great defeats; they would give it but as Victors, not as vanquiſhed. But this year *Achmat* reſolved to ſend a puiſſant Army of above 150000 men, againſt this antient Enemy of his Houſe, under the command of *Amurath Serder*, his Grand Viſier: But before the Army entred into *Perſia*, it was without a Commander, by the death of *Serder*, in the end of *July*, ſo as they were forced to ſtay and attend the Sultans pleaſure from *Conſtantinople*.

The Death of *Amurath Serder*,

1611

It was ſuſpected that he had been poiſoned by *Naſſuf Baſſa*, one that ſtood out in Rebellion againſt the Grand Seignior, and yet he had many Friends in the Turks Army; wherefore, to prevent all Mutinies, and conſequently, the overthrow of the whole Army, *Amurath Baſſa* in his Sickneſs adviſed the Grand Seignior (by Letters which he ſent unto him) to make *Naſſuf* General of the whole Army, and ſo by fair means to draw him home, and then to diſpoſe of him at his pleaſure. The Sultan with his Baſſaes approved well of this Advice, and choſe him Grand Viſier, and General of the Army; who having received the Seal and Authority, did forthwith put many of *Amurath*'s friends to death, and with their money paid all the Souldiers, which had wanted pay, whereof ſome had been without five years before: he alſo ſent unto the Grand Seignior threeſcore and ten Mules laden with money of *Amurath*'s treaſure, and threeſcore with goods; all which the Sultan gave to *Amurath*'s Wiſe and Children.

Severity of the Sultan.

It is ſtrange to read, how the Grand Seignior doth tyrannize over his Subjects, and how ſeverely he doth puniſh the leaſt omiſſion in any of his Officers: for I find it obſerved, that the ſeventh of *January* in the end of this year 1611, the Grand Seignior being abroad in the Snow, and not well provided for of fuel, he cauſed *Stambol Aga*, who had that charge, to be ſtrip't naked, and ſet in the Snow four or five hours. Indeed this Winter was very rigorous, and there fell abundance of Snow throughout all *Turkie*, with great Storms, many Houſes were beaten down; and amongſt others, the *French* Conſul at *Aleppo* was ſlain with the fall of his own houſe.

The *Perſian* offers Conditions of Peace, and a Tribute.

Naſſuff parted from *Aſia*, and marched with his Army unto the Frontiers of *Perſia*, where he committed ſuch Spoils, as the Sophy was conſtrained to draw all his Forces together, to prevent the ruine of his Countrey, being then about the midſt of *Auguſt*. But when they were come to a Battel, the *Perſian*, finding the Party unequal for him, and dangerous, offered Conditions of Peace, and promiſed to give the *Turk* a quantity of Silk which ſhould make the charge of two hundred Camels, for a yearly Tribute, in acknowledgment of ſome Countreys which he had conquered from the *Othomans*. Theſe offers were accepted at *Conſtantinople*, but there was added, that the *Perſian*'s Son ſhould be called *Baſſa* of *Tauris*, and that the Magiſtrate and Judge of that City, called the *Cady*, ſhould be ſent from *Conſtantinople*. We ſhall ſee in the following year the Effects of theſe Propoſitions, by the Ambaſſadour of *Perſia*, whom *Naſſuff* ſhall bring to *Conſtantinople*; in the mean time, let us return to the *Mediterranean* Sea, to take a ſurvey of the valiant Exploits of the Knights of *Malta* againſt the *Turks*.

The falſehood of a Turk puniſhed by the Juſtice of God.

On the twenty ſixth day of *April*, a Turk, having lent a good Sum of Money to a Chriſtian, to be paid at a certain day; he came before the appointed day with another Turk, and willed the Chriſtian to pay the Money to that other Turk when the day came; which the Chriſtian promiſed to do, and performed it accordingly: but the Turk denied the receit thereof; whereupon he to whom the Money was properly due, came and demanded it: to whom the Chriſtian anſwered, that he had paid it to that Party to whom he had aſſign'd it: whereunto the Turk replied, that if it were ſo, he was ſatisfied: but yet the other *Turk* denied it: whereupon the matter was brought before the Judge, and the Turk who had received the Money, taking an Oath to the contrary, the Chriſtian, according to the Turkiſh Juſtice,

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was enforced to pay the Money again; the which he did, but withal, he praid God to ſhew ſome publick ſign which of them had done the wrong. And thereupon, the Turk going forth to repair home to his Houſe, fell down dead in the Street.

The Great Maſter *Vignancourt*, continuing his generous Deſigns to ruine the Turk, had an Enterpriſe againſt *Navarrin*, a place importing this common Enemy of Chriſtians; for the Execution whereof, he ſent the five Gallies of his Order, under the charge of *Vaqueras*, great Commander of the Order, and chief of the Nation of *Provence*. They came within ſome miles of the Shore, but found their landing very difficult, for that they had been diſcovered by one of the Caſtles of *Navarrin*, which had given the alarm unto the whole Country, ſo as they were forced to paſs on to ſome more eaſie Conqueſt, to the end their Voyage might not prove unprofitable; wherefore they ſailed into the *Archipelague*, and came near to the Coaſt of *Morea*, ten Leagues from *Corinth*, where in the Night they landed 800 Men under the Conduct of the Commander of *Cremeaux*, General at Land; this Troop marched towards *Corinth*, and an hour before day were at the Town Gates to force them. Some Turks took Arms, but their weak reſiſtance could not ſtay the Knights from entering with their Troops; they ſack'd the Town, and having taken what ſpoil was portable, they carried away with them 500 Slaves. After this Triumph, the Chriſtians made a happy retreat, and in good order, notwithſtanding all the attempts of the Turks Horſe and Foot, who were drawn together in great numbers, making 10000 Souldiers, for the Country is very populous; in view of whom they imbarked their Spoil and Slaves. Hereby it appears, that this was one of the moſt deſperate Enterpriſes that hath been of long time ſeen. For to attempt a Place ſo far from their retreat, in ſo populous a Country, which upon the leaſt alarm may draw together ten or twelve thouſand Turks, and to make their retreat with ſo ſmall a number, againſt ſuch great Troops which purſued them; doubtleſs we muſt confeſs, that as they ſhewed great Valour, and had good Fortune, ſo they undertook a very dangerous Enterpriſe. Thus the Knights of *Malta* vanquiſhed, whom we might term the Maſters of the *Mediterranean* Sea, if the Revenues of their Order would ſuffer them to ſet forth Shipping and Forces equal to their Valour.

Corinth taken and ſpoiled by the Knights of *Malta*.

But to follow the variable courſe of the Hiſtory, let us obſerve the different Occupations of Chriſtians. At *Prague* the *Germans* entertained themſelves with the conſideration of a Crown which appeared in the Firmament, over that City about the midſt of *October*, giving a very great Light, and about it Armies of Men fighting who ſhould have it. At that time the Emperour *Rodulphus* was upon the *Weſt*, or declining of his days, and *Matthias* who ſucceeded him in the Empire, then King of *Hungary*, was upon the Sun-riſing of his Triumphs. Many expounded this heavenly Apparition, as a Preſage of Happineſs and good Fortune to *Matthias*; he enjoyed the Crown of *Hungary* already, and by Deſignation that of *Bohemia*, and now they did prognoſticate unto him that of the *Romans*. Doubtleſs men which aſpire after great Fortunes, do rather adorn the Sun-riſing, than the ſetting; and Mans Life when it declines, taſts of the Lees. The flouriſhing Glory of *Matthias*, his Age, and his Actions in the Wars, did add nothing to the Authority of other Men in the Country, but did mightily ſettle his own. Three Suns which were ſeen in the Firmament over *Vienna*, the chief City of *Auſtria*, confirmed the *Germans* more in this their hope, that he ſhould have the third Crown of the *Romans*. This laſt Apparition happened the year following.

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About the end of the year, ſome of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors Men entering into quarrel with certain *Jamoglans* of the next *Serail*; from words they fell to blows; during which tumult one of the Ambaſſadors Men threw a Stone, and ſmote a *Jamoglan* on the Fore-head, whereof he died within few hours after. The *Aga* of the Serail complained hereof to the Grand Viſier, who preſently ſent the Subbaſſa of *Galata* to make inquiry of the Fact; the Ambaſſador went himſelf to the Serail, and ſent for his Men which had been in the quarrel, willing the Turks to deſign the party which had thrown the Stone; who all with one ſhout ran upon one *Simon Dibbius*, a man that was newly come from *Candy*, where he had ſerved in the *Venetian* Garriſons, and was now entertained into the Ambaſſadors Service. This *Simon* was not he that threw the Stone; notwithſtanding the Turks would none but him; on him they laid hands, and dragged him away. The Ambaſſador interpoſing himſelf, and offering to pledge for him, was thruſt away by them, his Men beaten, and one of his Pages wounded; whereupon he complained to the Grand Viſier, but prevailed little; for to Priſon they dragged this *Simon*, and there kept him a whole Month; neither could he be releaſed, albeit the *Engliſh* Nation offered great Sums to ranſom his Life; for the Turks would needs have Blood for Blood. The day of Execution being appointed, the Ambaſſador ſent his Chaplain to the Priſon where this *Simon* was, to prepare him for Death; unto whom (examining him how he had formerly lived) he confeſſed, that in *England* ſome few years before he had killed a Man, for which fact he fled thence into *Candy*; from whence he came to *Conſtantinople*, where he was to ſuffer for that which he did not; the juſt Judgment of God purſuing him to the ſhedding of his Blood in *Conſtantinople* among Turks undeſervedly, for the Blood which he had ſhed in *England* wilfully. He was hanged at the Ambaſſadors Gates, his Head and Heels the next Night were ſtolen away by the Turks, as it was thought, to uſe in ſome kind of Sorcery; the other parts of his Body they had leave to take down and bury.

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This year 1612 they did celebrate at *Conſtantinople* a double Nuptial Feaſt; for the Marriages of Baſſa *Mehemet*, Son to the deceaſed *Cicala*, with the Sultans Siſter; and of Baſſa *Mechmet*, Admiral at Sea, he whom we have ſeen lately return from *Egypt*, and bring to *Conſtantinople* the Revenues of that rich Kingdom, with the eldeſt Daughter of his Emperour. For the Feaſts of young *Cicala*, the *Spahi* made Courſes on Horſeback with Battle-axes and Bars, in the open place near unto the Serail, where they made divers fire-works of very great charge, but of ſmall Invention; and they gave Preſents to above 20000 Perſons, beſides the charge of the banquetting ſtuff which amounted to above 20900 Crowns. The Pomp was double; for the Sultans Women did celebrate that day with the greateſt Ladies of the Port, and the Men ſeparated in other Places did ſolemnize it in like manner. But the magnificence of the Marriage of the Baſſa Admiral at Sea with *Achmats* eldeſt Daughter, had far more luſtre at the Port. The Ceremony was performed on the thirtieth of *June*, twenty days after the other; and the order of this Pomp, as well as ſome other which we have deſcribed in this Hiſtory, requires a particular Relation.

The Ceremonies of the Daughters Marriage.

The day before the Conſummation of the Marriage, they ſent the Brides moveables and Jewels, from

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The Order of the Brides truſs or moveables.

from the Serail to the Bridegrooms Lodging, with this Order and State as followeth; Firſt, there marched 500 Janizaries on foot, being followed with the Grand Provoſt of *Conſtantinople*, and the general Serveiour, both on Horſeback, and attired in Cloth of Gold; the Aga, or Collonel of the Janizaries, very proudly adorned, and environed with ſome Janizaries, marched alone on Horſeback; after theſe two hundred men of Quality well mounted, and richly attired, followed with a ſlow pace. The laſt which march'd in this Pomp or Ceremony, were the Taliſmans, Centons, Emirs, and other Miniſters of *Mahomets* Clergy. And preſently followed after the Baſſa *Achmat*, Deſtarda, or High Treaſurer, who conducted the moveables, as choſen by the Sultan to be Godfather or Sagois to the Bride, being environed with twelve Footmen attired in long Robes of Gold. After him followed the moveables, Apparel, and Jewels, which made the Brides truſs, having in the Head excellent Muſick after the Turkiſh manner, of Hoboyes and Kettle-drums on Horſe-back.

Wherein the Brides moveables conſiſted.

Theſe Moveables, or this Truſs, conſiſted of twenty ſeven Preſents. The firſt was a little Hat all of Gold, covered with precious Stones, and with Pantoffles or Womens Shoes, after the Turkiſh faſhion, of pure Gold, enrich'd with Turquoiſes and Rubies; a Book of *Mahomets* Law, the covering whereof was of Maſſie Gold, all ſet with Diamonds, many Bracelets, and other rare Devices for Women, of pure Gold, with many precious Stones; a little Coffer a Cubit long, and half as broad, all of Chriſtal of the Rock, having the corners of Gold, in the which were to be ſeen great Diamonds and huge Pearls, to the value of 80000 pounds ſterling: after this precious Coffer, were carried many Smocks embroidered with Gold and Pearl, and Head-bands for the Fore-head, with many Robes of Cloth of Gold. All this was diſtributed into twenty ſeven Preſents, as we have ſaid, and carried with great Pomp by twenty ſeven Men on foot.

The Brides Slaves.

After theſe Preſents followed eleven Caroches full of young Maidens, Slaves to ſerve the Bride; theſe Caroches were covered and ſhut, and either of them attended by two Eunuchs *Moors*; and after theſe followed twenty eight Virgin Slaves, attired in Cloth of Gold, and accompanied by twenty eight black Eunuchs all on Horſeback, and richly clad. After which were ſeen 240 Mules, loaden with Tents of Tapeſtry, Cloth of Gold, Satin, Velvet, with the ground of Gold, with many Cuſhions, which are the Chairs the Ladies of *Turkie* uſe; with many other rich and ſumptuous Moveables. Such was the Truſs which this young Princeſs brought to her Spouſes Houſe. Doubtleſs this Equipage was ſtately, and did well become the Pomp and Greatneſs of the *Othoman* Houſe, from whence ſhe had iſſued, the mightieſt and richeſt of all the Royal Houſes in *Europe*, yea, I dare boldly ſay, of all the World.

The Order of the Brides conducting to her Husband.

Emirs and their Priviledges.

The Marriage day being come, the Bride was conducted to her Husbands lodging with no leſs Pomp and State than her Moveables. The Janizaries marched firſt, as they had formerly done, being followed by the Grand Provoſt, the Surveior, their Aga, and many other Officers of the Port. The Emirs (who are deſcended from *Mahomet*, and alone carry green Turbants) marched after to the number of eighty; this Name of Emir is as much as to ſay Lord. They which wear them anſwer not, and obey none but their Chief, called *Mirabachi*, and their Voice in Judgment ſtands for two; they were followed by the Taliſmans or Prieſts of *Mahomets* Law, and by a great number which ſtudy it, and which aſpire to the Offices of Cadies or Judges, of Cadileſquiers or Mufti. The Viſiers or ſupream Judges of the Turks Eſtate, who judge of all Affairs in Council, came after with the Grand Viſier, who is Lieutenant General to the Turkiſh Emperor throughout his whole Empire, and keeps the Seals of his Empire. He had on his left hand (which is the moſt honourable rank in *Turkie*) the Grand Mufti, or ſupream Biſhop of their Law. The Muſick followed after on Horſeback, conſiſting of thirty Men with Drums and Hoboys, being followed by eight *Egyptians*, which carried *Biſcain* Tabors, and did a thouſand Apiſh Tricks. Theſe were followed by forty Muſicians, marching two and two, ſome playing on Citerns, others on Harps, and ſome on Lutes after the Turkiſh manner. A Fool (held for a Saint amongſt them) being mufled with a Cap and a Cloak covered with Mutton bones, danced and ſung with theſe Inſtruments; fifty of the chief Officers of the Arſenal march'd after them, and thirty Men with Hammers and other Iron Inſtruments, to break down whatſoever advanced too far in the Streets, and might hinder the free Paſſage of two Trees of an immenſe height, laden with divers ſorts of Fruits all of Wax, carried by many Men, and ſupported from the top and the midſt with Ropes. After theſe Trees came twenty Officers belonging to *Achmat Baſſa* the high Treaſurer, Godfather to the Bride. And he himſelf alone richly attired, and proudly mounted; after whom came two great Torches light, carried by many Slaves, and then a third torch of a wonderful bigneſs, all covered with plates of Gold, and ſhining more with precious Stones than the Flame which burnt. The *Raiſſer Aga* with fifty of the Princeſs's Officers, followed theſe Lights, and after them was carried a great Canopy of Crimſon Velvet, and after it another greater, covered with plates of Gold, whoſe Curtains being ſhut on all ſides, hung down to the Ground. Under this Canopy was the Princeſs on Horſeback, with ſome of her black Eunuchs, her Caroch followed covered with Cloth of Gold, and drawn by four great white Horſes, wonderful beautiful. Then followed eight other Caroches, in which were a great number of the Brides Maids, with many Negroes gelt; and finally, twenty five Virgin ſlaves, choſen amongſt the faireſt, all on Horſe-back, having their Hair confuſedly hanging upon their Shoulders. Such was the Pomp of this Marriage; but many times the Nuptial Feaſt is intermixt with Funeral mourning. For not many days after, the Sultans ſecond Daughter, promiſed to *Naſſuf Baſſa*, was carried to her Grave without any Pomp or Honour; for the Turks make no great eſteem of Women.

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The Death of the Sultans Daughter.

The Grand Seignior beats his Sultana.

The day after the marriage, the Grand Seignior did cruelly beat his Sultana, the Mother of this Daughter, whom he had married to the Captain Baſſa; he ſtabbed her with his Hand-jar or Dagger through the Cheek, and trod her under his Feet. The reaſon was, becauſe ſhe had ſtrangled a Favorite of his, which was one of his Siſters Slaves, whom the Grand Seignior having ſeen, and beeing enamoured with her, ſent for her. The Sultana hearing thereof, cauſed her to be brought to her lodging, where ſhe ſtript her of her Apparel, ſtrangled her, and put her Cloths upon one of her own Slaves, whom ſhe ſent to the Sultan inſtead of the other, and at her return ſtrangled her alſo; as ſhe had done many others when they once appeared to be with Child by the Grand Seignior.

A great Plague at _Conſtantinople_.

The Plague beginning furiouſly to ſpoil the City of *Conſtantinople*, the Sultan was forced to return to his Country Palace, called the Serail of *Darut Baſſa*, to avoid the danger of this violent Contagion; the which makes me think, that the Turkiſh Emperours for their own profit diſpenſe with ſome Articles of their Faith; for, as we have ſaid before, The Turks are ſo obſtinately tied to the belief of Predeſtination, as they will not vouchſafe to turn from a peſtiferous Body, when it is carried to the Grave, and much leſs forbear to viſit his Friends being ſick of the Plague, for that (ſay they) if we muſt needs die of this Contagion, it is in vain to flie it, for it will find us whereſoever; if not, our Health ſhall never be empaired, altho' we converſe with thoſe that are ſick of this Diſeaſe. But their Sultans know well how to flie the danger; yea, and to cauſe them to be led under the Arms that come to kiſs his Hand, leſt they ſhould offer him ſome violence. Thus we ſee the defect of falſe Religions, when as we ſee this mark of Univerſality in the Faith taken away; for there every Man believes according to his private intereſt, as well among many others which have ſeparated themſelves from the Truth, to canton themſelves in their Errors, where we do often try the diverſity of their belief.

A *Deruis* ſeeketh to kill the Emperor.

Sultan *Achmat*, being in his Palace of *Durat Baſſa*, and going to viſit a ſtately Moſque which he cauſed to be built there, a *Deruis* or religious Turk, thruſt on by ſome deviliſh Fury, caſt a great Stone at him to beat him down; but the blow of this deteſtable Traitor, fell upon his Shoulder, and hurt him but lightly. *Achmat* commanded they ſhould draw from this wretch the Confeſſion of his Confederates: but the Officers of the Port cauſed him to be executed the next day, ſomewhat too ſuddenly, and by a Death too honourable for a Crime ſo full of Abomination, for they cauſed his Head to be cut off. A *Deruis* of the ſame Order had in former times ſought to murther the Emperor *Mahomet* the Second.

The Funeral of the Lady *Glover*, the Ambaſſador's Wife.

On the fourteenth of *April*, the Lady *Ann Glover*, Wife to Sir *Thomas Glover*, Ambaſſador reſiding at *Conſtantinople* for the *Engliſh*, was buried with very great Solemnity, the like had not been ſeen in the Country ſince the Turks conquered *Conſtantinople*. There were preſent at this Funeral of moſt Nations in the World; the Sermon was preached in a large Garden under a Cypreſs Tree; and although but few of thoſe preſent did underſtand it, yet it wrought this effect, that whereas the Jeſuits and Friers had formerly poſſeſt both Turks, Jews, and other People, that the *Engliſh* Nation ſince the change of their Religion, had neither Churches, nor any form of divine Service; hereby they perceived, that they had both, and ſerved God far more decently and devoutly than they themſelves; inſomuch that the Jeſuits, being aſhamed of their Impoſtures, and ſlanderous Untruth, durſt not for a while after walk the Streets for fear of the Turks, who threatned them for ſo much belying the *Engliſh*. The Sermon being ended, the Body was carried from *Pera* unto the *Engliſh* Graves, which were almoſt a mile from the Place; it was cloſed in Lead, and laid in a Caroch covered over with black Velvet, and the Horſes with black Cloth. The *Dutch* Ambaſſador, the *Hungarian* Agent, the *French* Collonel, with a great number of all Nations both Men and Women followed her to her Grave. The Tomb was of fair Marble built four ſquare almoſt the height of a Man, having an Epitaph engraven thereon.

The Caſtle of *Lango* taken by the *Florentines*.

We have ſeen the year before, the Iſland and Town of *Lango* ſpoiled by the Gallies of *Malta* and *Naples*, but the Caſtle was ſaved from Ruine by the reſiſtance it made againſt the Chriſtians Attempts; but this year, in *June*, the great Duke of *Tuſcans* Gallies running over the Archepelague, aſſailed it ſo furiouſly, as they forced and ſpoiled it, carrying away twelve hundred Priſoners. *Mechmet Baſſa*, Admiral at Sea, whom we ſaw even now buſied at his Nuptial Pomp with the Emperours eldeſt Daughter, being advertiſed of theſe Spoils of the *Florentines*, by the daily complaints of the Turks which loſt their Shipping, and of many other Enterpriſes attempted upon his Maſters Countries lying near the Sea ſhore; he departed from *Conſtantinople* in *Auguſt* with three and thirty great Gallies, having commanded all the Beyes of the Iſlands and Towns in the Archipelague to joyn with him, with as many Gallies as they could make, to ſtop the Chriſtians Courſes in the *Weſt*. But whilſt that he is buſied in thoſe Seas, the Pirats of *Raſcia* deſcending into the Euxine Sea, by the Mouths of thoſe Rivers which diſcharged their Waters into the Sea, over-ran and ſpoiled the Turks Coaſts in thoſe parts.

Courſes of the *Ruſſians* and *Tartars* upon the Turks.

At the firm Land *Conſtantine*, one of the pretending Princes in *Moldavia*, annoyed all that had any dependance upon the Turk. A part of that great Army of the King of *Polands*, which had mutinied for their Pay, ſpoiled *Podolia*; and a Prince of the *Tartarians*, diſcontent for that *Achmat* had preferred a Couſin of his before him in the Inveſtiture of the Realm of the *Tartars Precopians*, with 5000 Souldiers ſpoiled the Rivers of *Moldavia* under the Turks Dominion, and he did the like in the Gulph of *Nicopolis*.

Troubles in *Moldavia*.

This was at ſuch time when as miſerable *Moldavia* was the Theatre whereas the *Turks*, *Tartarians*, and *Moldavians* acted a bloody Tragedy at the Coſts and Charges of the poor Country-men. For *Tomſho*, having been choſen Vayvod or Prince of that Province by the Turk, *Conſtantine*, who could not endure that he ſhould reign, armed the Country, over-ran it, ſpoiled it, and made havock of all, detaining two Capigi Priſoners, whom the Sultan had ſent unto him, with commandment to obey his Will, and a prohibition not to trouble *Tomſho* in the Poſſeſſion of his Province. But this was a Meſſage of hard Digeſtion to *Conſtantine*; he could not with Patience yield to this Ceſſion of *Moldavia*: and inſtead of ſending theſe Meſſengers back to the Turk with an Anſwer, he carried them with him into *Polonia*, whither he went to demand Succors, and cauſed them to be guarded as Priſoners. In the mean time, by the Support and Aid of *Potosky*, Governour of *Velin*, his Brother-in-Law, he obtained from the King of *Poland*, that he ſhould be ſupported againſt Prince *Tomſho*, his Competitor, whom the Turk had advanced; and to make his entry into *Moldavia* more eaſie, they reſolved to ſend an Ambaſſador unto *Conſtantinople*, to entreat *Achmat* to call back *Tomſho* to his Port, that *Conſtantine* might quietly enjoy *Moldavia*, and to acquaint him with the right and intereſt the *Polonians* had by their Capitulations with the Turks, to name a Vayvod or Prince in that Province, to the end no wrong might be done unto them.

A *Polonian* Ambaſſador arreſted at *Conſtantinople*.

This Polonian Ambaſſador being arrived at *Conſtantinople* (thinking to be preſently diſpatched, either by a grant or denial of his demand, and not to ſtay above fifteen or twenty days) being viſited at his arrival by all the Ambaſſadors of Chriſtian Kings and Princes which remained there; but inſtead of Audience, after ſix weeks attendance, he was arreſted and detained Priſoner: underſtanding from the Turks, that he ſhould have no Liberty until that the two Capigi, whom Prince *Conſtantine* carried into *Poland* were releaſed.

The Troubles and Diviſions among Chriſtians, Neighbours to the Turk, have always ſerved as a Bridge for this Infidel to invade them, and by this Advantage to uſurp ſuch Towns and Countries as lie fit for him. Now that *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, yea and *Tranſilvania*, are toſt and turmoil'd with continual Diſorders and Combuſtions; the Sultan ſeems to embrace this Occaſion, to make himſelf Sovereign of theſe Provinces, and to get

Poſſeſſion

1612

The Turk arms to invade *Moldavia.*

Cromſtad beſieged by *Battori.*

He demands Succours from the Turk, and is betray'd.

Poſſeſſion of all that lies betwixt the River of *Danow*, the Mountains of *Sarmatia*, the River of *Tibiſcus*, and the *Euxine* Sea. He employs all his Thoughts and Inventions upon this Subject, to bring his Deſigns to effect. He arms and draws Forces about *Belgrade*, under the Conduct of Baſſa *Mahomet Belzergi*; He commands the *Tartarians* to enter into *Moldavia*, and he ſent a Naval Army towards the Mouth of the River *Danow*, which made the Frigots of *Ruſſia* to diſlodge, the which had continually made Inrodes and Spoils upon his Lands. *Battori*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, was at that time before the Town of *Cromſtad*, which he had beſieged, but the tediouſneſs of this Siege made him reſolve to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, to demand Succours from the Grand Seignior, to the end he might be able to continue this Siege, and to take the Town; he gave this charge to *Andrew Giezy*, and ſent him to the Sultans Port; but inſtead of ſerving his Maſter faithfully, he practiſed a deteſtable Treaſon againſt him, to put the Turk in full Poſſeſſion of *Tranſilvania*, and to make him abſolute Sovereign. The practice was concluded after this manner, That the Baſſa *Mahomet Belzergi* ſhould enter the Province with his Army, and that *Giezi* ſhould joyn with him with certain Troops, and ſhould deliver unto him *Veradin*, *Lippa*, and ſome other ſtrong and important Places, and for recompence he ſhould inveſt him in the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, in the place of *Battori*, and under the Authority of *Achmat*.

This Treaſon might have drawn this miſerable Province into Ruine, and it may be the reſt near adjacent, if it had taken the Effect which the Treachery of *Giezi* had promiſed unto himſelf. But the Baſſa of *Buda*, underſtanding that *Battori* had ſome vent of the Practice at the Port, and that being now in great fear and Perturbation, he had raiſed the ſiege from before *Cromſtad*, and was ready to caſt himſelf into the Arms of the Palatine of *Hungary*, and to crave relief from him; the crafty Baſſa knowing that this courſe would be prejudicial for the Sultan, and finding that the depoſing of *Battori* would be more difficult than they expected, he diverted *Mahomet Baſſa* from attempting any thing againſt *Battori* or *Tranſilvania.* This act ſhews ſufficiently, that Chriſtian Princes which think to ſhelter themſelves under the ſhadow of the Turkiſh Creſcent, are very ill aſſured; for he never fails to ſtir up Enemies againſt them, to make them ſue for Succours, and himſelf Neceſſary; Then in the end he expels them, and becomes abſolute Maſter of their Countries. It was alſo ſaid, That the Baſſa *Mahomet* would not attempt any thing in *Tranſilvania*, by reaſon of the Election of the Emperour *Matthias*, whereof the Baſſa of *Buda* was aſſured by the Ambaſſador which the ſaid Emperour ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to carry the Preſents unto the Sultan; which Ambaſſador was honourably entertained at *Buda* by the ſaid Baſſa, and from thence conducted ſafely to *Conſtantinople*.

But not to keep theſe *Turkiſh* Troops idle, *Mahomet Baſſa*, being advertiſed that *Conſtantine*, the pretending Prince in *Moldavia*, had been in *Poland* to crave ſome aſſiſtance from thence, he reſolved to employ his Forces that way, to diſpoſſeſs him and ſettle another.

1612

Conſtantine Son to *Jeremy* enters the Government.

But the better to underſtand the beginning and ſucceſs of theſe *Moldavian* Wars, we muſt make a Repetition of that which paſt ſome years before. In the year 1608, *Jeremy Mobyla*, Prince or Vaivod of *Moldavia* died; committing the Government to his Brother *Simeon*, during the Minority of his three Sons, *Conſtantine*, *Alexander*, and *Bougdan*, the eldeſt being but eight years old. He left three Daughters, married to three generous Princes of *Polonia*, *Potosky*, *Viſinousky*, and *Corresky*. Prince *Simeon* continued in the Government until the year 1611; after whoſe deceaſe the young Prince *Conſtantine*, by the Perſwaſion of his Mother, that he might ſafely take upon him the Government of *Moldavia*, and not attend any Confirmation from the Sultan, for that Prince *Simeon*, who had been confirmed by the Turk which then reigned, was but Tutor to his Nephew; entred the Government. At this time there remained at *Conſtantinople*, one *Stephano* or *Tomſho*, who had of a long time practiſed the favour of one of the Viſiers called *Mehemet*, an Eunuch of *Georgia* (who was then Chimacham, or Lieutenant to the Grand Viſier) and of ſome other Baſſaes, as well by Money as by other Practices, ſuggeſting falſely that he was Son to Prince *Aaron*, who had been Vaivod of *Moldavia* before the deceaſed *Jeremy*; and he prevailed ſo by his Practices and Corruption (whereunto the Turks are more ſubject than any Nation in the World) as he was admitted to the Principality by the Grand Seignior, and having given him to underſtand by the Viſier, that *Conſtantine* had thruſt himſelf raſhly into the Government, and that he would not acknowledge him for his Lord and Sovereign, not pay the yearly Tribute, which was 40000 Chequines, he ſent *Fouſſeyen Aga* with 20000 *Turks* and *Tartarians* to ſettle *Stephen* or *Tomſho* in *Moldavia*, and to expel Prince *Conſtantine*. Which Army marched ſo ſecretly, as they had in a manner ſurpriſed him; yet drawing together a head of 10000 Men, he reſolved to attend the event.

Stephen made Vayvod of *Moldavia* by the Turk.

Conſtantine's Anſwer to the Turks *Aga.*

The Aga ſent to acquaint him with his Commiſſion, and among other things threatned him, that if he would not ſuffer him to proclaim *Stephen* Vayvod of *Moldavia*, and yield him the City of *Yas* free, he would cut him in pieces. Whereunto *Conſtantine* made anſwer, by the advice of the Prince *Potosky* his Brother-in-Law, That the Grand Seignior had been abuſed; for if he had underſtood, that his Predeceſſor had granted unto the deceaſed Prince *Jeremy* his Father, and to Prince *Simeon* his Uncle, That he ſhould ſucceed his ſaid Father in the Government; it was not credible that he would ſeek to diſpoſſeſs him by force, without hearing, and inſtall in his place an unknown Perſon, who had falſely ſuppoſed himſelf to be the Son of a Prince of *Moldavia*; neither ſhould they find, that he had refuſed to acknowledge the Sultan for his Sovereign Prince, or denied to continue the ſame Tribute which his Father and Uncle had paid; but if the Aga would proceed without any reſpect of his Offers, he did hope that the true God of Battel would maintain him in his juſt defence, and would not ſuffer an Uſurper to prevail over a lawful Prince. *Fouſſeyen Aga*, who had no will to capitulate with Prince *Conſtantine*, being corrupted by *Stephen* with Preſents and Promiſes, advanced with his Army, ſo as the next day they joyned battel; but the *Moldavians*, oppreſt with Multitudes of *Turks*, *Tartarians*, and *Valachians*, could not make it good. Wherefore *Potosky* entreated Prince *Conſtantine* to ſave himſelf, and to ſuffer him to finiſh the Battel; but he could by no means perſwade him, ſtill reſolving to attend the event. Whereupon they went both again to the charge with ſuch Troops as they had left, and defeated many of the *Turks* Forces; but being oppreſſed with a new ſupply of 2000 Horſe which the *Aga* ſent by *Stephen*, they were conſtrained to yield themſelves to the Mercy of their Enemies. Prince *Conſtantine* fell to the *Tartarians* ſhare, either for that he had been taken Priſoner by ſome of them, or elſe was given them by *Fouſſeyen Aga*, to draw a ranſom from him, and be inſtead of their Pay.

Conſtantine and *Potosky* taken Priſoners.

But they made no great uſe of him; for as they led him away, paſſing the River of *Nieſtre*, he leapt into it, thinking either to ſave himſelf by ſwimming, or unwilling to ſurvive his Diſgrace. And as for Prince *Potoſky*, he was carried to *Conſtantinople*, and was put into the black Tower, which is a Priſon appointed for Men of Quality, where he continued until the year 1616. The loſs of this Battel by *Conſtantine*, gave an eaſie entrance to *Stephen* into *Moldavia*, no Man daring oppoſe himſelf againſt the Turks Forces; ſo as *Fouſſeyen Aga* cauſed *Stephen* to be proclaimed Prince of *Moldavia* in the City of *Yas*, and then diſmiſſed his Army, and returned to *Conſtantinople*. Such was the Fortune of the Prince of *Moldavia*, ruined by the Turks, and ſuch was the Diſorder and Confuſion of his miſerable Country.

Stephen proclaimed Prince of *Moldavia*.

Conſtantinople afflicted with *Graſhoppers*.

This Summer *Conſtantinople* and the Country round about, was annoyed with abundance of Graſhoppers, as it had been in the former year; but to free themſelves from this devouring Vermin, about the midſt of *July*, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria*, with divers other Biſhops, and Calloires attired in their Copes and other Ornaments, went forth in ſolemn manner at the Gate of *Adrianople*, being the *North* Gate of the City. Whereupon (ſaid the *Greeks*) they all periſhed; and indeed about this time infinite heaps of them were found dead; but not by reaſon of their Curſe, for moſt were dead before they curſed them, and were to be ſeen dead upon every buſh and twig of a Tree before their curſe, and many lived after their Curſe, and continued until the next Summer. The cold dews which fell this Summer (being extraordinary) were thought to be the natural cauſe thereof; God cauſing thoſe dews to fall, to free the Country from theſe devouring Creatures.

The Troubles of *Tranſilvania*.

Let us now deſcribe the Miſeries of the *Tranſilvanian*, and of his Province, a Table ſo often repreſented in this Hiſtory. *Gabriel Battori*, who governed *Tranſilvania*, as lawfully deſcended from the Sovereign Princes thereof, having made himſelf a Tributary unto the Turk, and by his impious Actions mingled *Mahomets* Impiety with the Chriſtian Religion; and moreover, exceeding in his Cruelty, became a memorable Example to all Poſterity, that Princes which carry the glorious Name of Chriſtians, when they have once laid aſide all fear of the Sovereign of Princes, cannot attend, but a miſerable end in their Reign, conformable to the courſe of their Enormities. So *Gabriel Battori*, holding it a Law of State to ſettle his Affairs with the ruin of Religion, allies himſelf with the Turk, and with him afflicts the Chriſtian Provinces. But ſeeing many Factions made againſt him, as well by the deſcendents of *Botſcay*, as by *Gieni*, *Bethlem Gabor*, and ſome other, he ſupports himſelf with the Forces of *Andrew Nage*, the head of the Rebels in *High Hungary*, who came unto him to the ſiege before *Cromſtad* to aſſiſt him in his Affairs. *Battori* entertained him with all ſhews of Courteſie, invited him to dinner in his Tent; and for a greater Demonſtration of Friendſhip, after Dinner they two went to take the Air on Horſeback. *Nage* had drunk after the *Hungarian* manner; *Battori* entreated him to run his Horſe a carreer, and he refuſed it; the which *Battori* taking for an Offence, ſpake many words of contempt unto him, and he anſwered him in the ſame manner, being more inflamed with Wine, than governed by Reaſon. *Battori* being wonderfully offended, that a Man of no ſort, being but a poor Souldier of Fortune, crept up to ſome Authority among the Souldiers but by Degrees of Rebellion, ſhould give him ſuch words of Indignity, gave him three blows on the Head with a Battle-axe which he held in his Hand, and ſlew him. Thus *Nage* ſwims juſtly in his own Blood, having wickedly and to the ruine of his Country floted in the ways of Inconſtancy, and popular Tumults; and ſo he died as he had lived.

Battori kills *Nage*.

Parties againſt *Battori*.

But *Battori* found himſelf daily oppreſt with many Affairs, which drave him inſenſibly to his Ruin. *Peter Decaci*, Kinſman to the deceaſed *Botſcay*, annoyed him on the one ſide with Troops of Souldiers. *Andrew Gieni* (who had betrayed him in his Embaſſay to *Conſtantinople*) levied Forces to proſecute him; and *Bethlem Gabor*, a Nobleman of *Tranſilvania*, and aſſiſted by the Turk, took many Places from him, after that *Gieni* had forced him to raiſe his ſiege at *Cromſtad*, and generally all *Tranſilvania* revolted againſt this Prince. To ſee more plainly in the Obſcurity of theſe confuſed Diſorders, you muſt underſtand, that this Province is peopled by three ſeveral Nations, the *Sicules*, *Saxons*, and *Hungarians*. The *Sicules* (deſcended from the *Scithians*) came with *Attila* King of the *Hunnes*, in *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*, and taking their way towards their Country, they inhabited that part of *Tranſilvania* which lies next to *Moldavia*, and dividing themſelves into ſeven Colonies, they built the Towns of *Kiſdi*, *Orbai*, *Scipſi*, *Cykuduarbeb*, *Aranios*, and *Maros*. The *Saxons* (mutinying againſt the Government of the Emperour *Charlemaigne* King of *France*, for certain Impoſitions wherewith he had charged them) retired into *Tranſilvania*, and by force ſeiſed on that part of the Country which confineth upon *Valachia*, where they built the Towns of *Hermenſtad*, (otherwiſe called *Cibin*) *Cromſtad*, *Nezen* (or *Biſtric*) *Medwiſch*, *Scieſpourg*, *Clauſenbourg*, and *Alba-Julia*. The *Hungarians* inhabited this Province from the time of Saint *Stephen* King of *Hungary*; and having maſtered the other Nations, they obtained ſuch Preheminence among them, as ſince their Succeſſors have cauſed themſelves to be called Nobles of *Tranſilvania*, and the Vayvods or Princes of the Country have been taken from among them. The Towns of *Varradin*, *Dever*, *Zilahi*, *Gela*, and ſome others, owe their beginnings unto them. The greateſt part of theſe three Nations which inhabit *Tranſilvania* were revolted againſt *Battori*; but particularly the *Saxons* had taken Arms againſt him, his great Cruelty having forced them to this extream Remedy.

Diviſion of the People of *Tranſilvania*.

All the three Nations againſt *Battori*.

Battori being thus abandoned by his Subjects, proſecuted by his Nobility, and forſaken of all the World, knowing not whither to flie for Succour, and not daring to truſt unto the Turk, who openly favoured *Gabor*; he reſolved to try if he could by Preſents draw the Emperour *Matthias* to give him any Aſſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent Ambaſſadors unto him, to promiſe all Subjection and Obedience; and he ſent for Preſents, a long Robe or ſacerdotal Cloak of Gold, ſet with Pearl and precious Stones, certain Plumes of black Herons, adorned with precious Stones, a Turkiſh Sword, the Scabberd being of Silver richly ſet with Jewels, ten black Horſes with rich furniture embroidered with Gold and Silver, and a Turkiſh Horſe, having half the Body and Legs of the colour of Gold, with his Furniture of Crimſon richly embroidered. He laboured to have the Emperour give notice to the Baſſa of *Buda*, That this Attempt of the Turks againſt *Tranſilvania*, was againſt the Articles of Peace; but the Baſſa made anſwer, That his Emperour was not to be blamed if he ſeiſed upon that Province, which did immediately belong unto him, and kept it quiet from the Practices of others. But *Battori*, relying not wholly upon this ſupport, but deſiring to have more ſtrings to his Bow, ſent Ambaſſadors to the

Battori ſends an Ambaſſador to the Emperour *Matthias*.

Sultan, with rare and rich Preſents, who had ſecret Treaties and Councils with the Baſſa's; the which *Negronius*, the Emperours Ambaſſador reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, diſcovering, he ſent word unto the Emperour, that he entertained a Monſter among Men.

Cruelty of *Battori.*

About the ſame time there came Ambaſſadors from the *Saxon* Towns of *Tranſilvania*, complaining much of the Cruelty and Tyranny of *Battori*. The *Saxons* (ſaid they) living many years in *Tranſilvania*, had beautified the Provinces with Towns, Villages, and Markets, and had by their vertue obtained many Priviledges from former Emperours; but *Battori*, againſt his promiſed Faith, and the Oath which he had taken, had deprived them of their Priviledges, and afflicted them in ſuch ſort, as they were in a manner ruined; that from his firſt entrance he had ſought to root out the antient Family of the *Saxons*; that he had afflicted them with Impriſonments and miſerable Servitude, and had detained *John Benner* three years in Priſon, for no other cauſe, but for that he knew he had brought a great Eſtate out of *Germany*; he had deprived honeſt Widows of their Eſtates, and had oppreſt others with unjuſt Exactions; he had ſurpriſed *Hermſtad*, the chief City of the *Saxons*, and ſuffered the *Haiducks* to ſpoil it, and to commit all ſorts of Inſolencies. That he had expelled the Magiſtrate, baniſhed honeſt Citizens, raviſhed Women, ſlain the Parents, to deprive the Children of their Inheritance, and committed all the barbarous Cruelties that could be deviſed. That he had ſent three hundred Captives to the Sultan for a Preſent; many he cut into ſmall pieces, ſome he had thrown down from the tops of Mountains and Towers; ſome he had hung up by the Feet, others he had drawn in pieces with Horſes and Trees, and to conclude, he had practiſed all kinds of barbarous Cruelties. That having expelled Religious Princes out of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, he had made them ſubject to the Turk, for no other end, but getting an occaſion to circumvent the Chriſtians, he might waſte all with Fire and Sword, having Multitudes of *Barbarians* to ſecond him; and for a Concluſion of his notable Cruelty, having freed the Town of *Gaudin*, he made choice of twenty of the principal Inhabitants, and delivering to every one of them a Pike, he forced them in his Preſence to kill one another in the midſt of the Market-Place.

Gabor and the Turk preſs *Battori.*

But God revengeth his Exceſs by his Ruine, whereinto we ſhall preſently ſee him run headlong miſerably; for, *Bethlem Gabor*, his capital Enemy, having joyned his Forces with thoſe of Baſſa *Serder*, they both entered together into *Tranſilvania*, forced *Lugaſti*, took *Deve*, and ſtruck a great Terror into the whole Country. *Ogli Baſſa* on the other ſide ſurmounts the difficulty of the ways, and lodgeth with his Troops in the Suburbs of *Cromſtad*, and from thence went and camped over all the Tract of *Barry* or *Barſac*. Thus *Battori* ſees himſelf oppreſt by an Enemy from whom he can expect nothing but his Miſery and Ruine; he attended Succours from the Emperor, under the Conduct of the Palatine of *Hungary* and *Fortgatſie*; they came, but not ſuch as were able to reſiſt the Turk. This made him write to *Trinan* for the levying of Souldiers; but the hatred they bare him generally, deceived his hopes, no man would march under his Enſigns. This refuſal makes him diſtruſtful, he dares not confer with any man touching the Affairs of the War. A treaty of Peace ſeems more fit for his Affairs; he makes an overture to his moſt familiar Friends, and tells them, that he holds it neceſſary to purchaſe his Peace with *Serder Baſſa* at what price ſoever; yea, were it in delivering into his hands the Places of greateſt Importance. But he receives no other Anſwers from them, but that they had rather die than adviſe him to it. Thus he ſees himſelf void of all hope of ſafety in his Affairs; he wanted Money, his Subjects, yea, even his Souldiers hated him, as a Prince abandoned to all Cruelty; and for his laſt Remedy, and the moſt ordinary in baſe and cowardly Minds, he fell into deſpair, intreating one of his Servants to kill him; but the other refuſed him that honour, ſuffering him to draw on his miſerable Life, till that within ſome few days after, going forth to view where his Troops were lodged, being in an open Chariot, accompanied only with two Gentlemen, fifty of his Souldiers (which attended him in an ambuſh) ſhot at him, ſlew him, and hurt thoſe that did accompany him. It is true, this accident hapned in the year 1613, when as this unfortunate *Battori* went to give an account unto God of the bad Government of his Eſtate.

The Miſeries and Deſpair of *Battori.*

Battori ſlain by his own Souldiers.

Bethlem Gabor made Prince of *Tranſilvania* by the Turk.

Some few days after, *Bethlem Gabor* was declared Prince of *Tranſilvania* by Baſſa *Serder*, who gave him this adviſement at his Introduction; *Battori ſhall ſerve for an Example to bad Princes; I do not think that you will follow his Steps. Beware you attempt not any thing without the Privity of my Maſter; Maintain Peace with your Neighbours, and make Men of Experience and Honeſty of your Council.* *Tranſilvania* did yet fear the continuance of a ſtorm of a fatal War, when as in leſs than forty days it ſaw it ſelf ſettled in the calm of ſweet Peace, by the acknowledgment which all the Towns made unto *Bethlem Gabor*, and the Oath of Fidelity which they took unto him, as to their elected Prince; notwithſtanding that the Emperour Employed all his Credit to hinder it. But the deſire of Peace, and the fear of the Turks Armies, drew all the Governours of Towns to acknowledge *Gabor*; ſuch were the Affairs of *Tranſilvania*, diſordered by the Turk. Let us now make an end of the remainder of the year 1612, the which we have deferred, for that we would not interrupt the relation of the Affairs of this Province.

A *Perſian* Ambaſſador comes to *Conſtantinople.*

We have ſaid elſewhere, That the King of *Perſia* had offered Conditions of Peace to Sultan *Achmat*, much to his Advantage, ſeeing that he yielded himſelf the Turks Tributary, in regard of certain Lands which he had conquered from them. Now the Viſier *Naſſuf*, General of the Army againſt the Perſian, brings his Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, to conclude this Peace. *Naſſuf* arrived with his Army and the *Perſian* Ambaſſador at *Scudaret*, right over againſt *Conſtantinople*, whither moſt of the Baſſaes of the Port went to ſalute him, and then returned. But the Grand Viſier ſtayed there two days; on the third he paſt over to *Conſtantinople*, where he was entertained at the water ſide by all the Baſſaes which accompanied him; an infinite number of Janizaries going before with their Pieces, and ſome of them in Armour, after whom followed their Aga on Horſeback; then came a great number of *Jamoglans*, and the Emirs or Kindred of *Mahomet* with their green Turbants, with many blind men ſhouting aloud; theſe holy men carried the banner (as they ſay) of *Mahomet*, and the People ſtanding by kiſſed it with great Devotion as they paſt; after them came the Chaoux on Horſeback, the Baſſaes, then the chief Muphti, and laſt of all *Naſſuf Baſſa* himſelf; after whom followed the Treaſure which he brought with him for the Emperour, being two hundred thirty four Moyles laden with Gold and Silver. The Viſier, as he paſt by the Sultans Window, bowed himſelf very low unto him, from whom he had a nod with his Head, and ſo ſet Spurs to his Horſe and rode away faſt, as the manner of the Turks is when they ſalute a greater man than themſelves, preſently to run or ride away apace. The Viſier being come to the Serail, went in to the Sultan to kiſs his Hand, where he continued a whole hour, the reſt of the Baſſa's attending without. There were preſent at this days Pomp the Emperours Ambaſſador, the *French*, the *Engliſh*, *Polonian*, *Low-Countries*, and *Venetian*; the *Perſian* remaining ſtill at *Scudaret*. The Grand Viſier, as he paſt by the Emperours Ambaſſador, put off his Hat and ſaluted him, but not the reſt. The ſame day *Tomſho*, who had been lately made Prince of *Moldavia* by the Grand Seignior, ſent many *Polonians* to *Conſtantinople*, whom he had taken in the Wars. All which (notwithſtanding they threw down their Caps and offered to turn Turks) were put to death. And within few days after, the Viſier *Naſſuf*, ſitting in the publick Divano, had three Robes ſent him from the Grand Seignior to grace him.

The Sultan enters in ſtate into *Conſtantinople*.

The Order how his Houſhold marched.

Achmat, having a Will to let the *Perſian* ſee the Magnificence of his Court, went out of *Conſtantinople*; and under a pretext to go take the Air at his Country Palace, called *Darut Baſſa*, he takes occaſion at his return to make a ſtately entry at his Imperial City. The general Surveyour being advertiſed of his will, cauſed the ways from his Palace of *Darut* unto the City, to be covered with Sand; the which contains two *French* Leagues, or four *Engliſh* Miles. This done, the Emperour parted from his retinue, and entered in Pomp into *Conſtantinople*. The order of his entry was in this manner: A great number of Men at Arms marched firſt on Horſeback, and after them ſome Troops of Foot, the Cadis of *Conſtantinople*, or Men of Juſtice, and all the Taliſmans, or thoſe of *Mahomets* Law, in very great numbers followed after, and after theſe march'd the Viſiers and Baſſaes in great Pomp; after whom followed the Sultans Houſhold, that is to ſay, ten Men leading in their Hands ten goodly Horſes richly capariſoned, the laſt of which had the Bridle and Saddle all covered with precious Stones; the Sultans Targuet was made faſt unto the Saddle, and upon it did hang even to the Ground a great taſſel of Pearls; and over all this, a long Horſe-cloth or covering for a Horſe, the which was embroidered ſo thick with Pearl, as the ground could not be diſcerned; after which followed the reſt of the Emperours Houſehold in divers Troops; firſt, fifty Janizaries on foot, every one leading Dogs in Leaſhes, Maſtiffs, or *Iriſh* Grey-hounds, the goodlieſt of all were thoſe which the *French* Ambaſſador had preſented unto the Sultan. Secondly, the Grand Seignior's Footmen called *Peiks*, *Perſians* by Nation, all well attired, wearing on their Heads Bonnets of Silver, and gilt, in form of Pots. Thirdly, threeſcore Archers on foot, in the midſt of which the Sultan came, attired in a rich Robe of Cloth of Gold imbroidered with Pearls and Diamonds, his ſlaves were enrich'd after the ſame manner; his Turbant covered with five Plumes of black Herons Feathers inrich'd with great Diamonds, and a Chain of the ſame Stones about the lower part of his Turbant; upon his little Finger he had a Diamond of a large bigneſs and eſtimable price, the which gave a marvellous great Light; he was proudly mounted upon a goodly Horſe richly capariſoned, Emperour like, the Saddle was embroidered with Gold, Pearl, and Diamonds, the Stirrups of pure Gold ſet with many Diamonds, and from the Horſe Neck did hang a great taſſel of Pearl, the which were ſo great, as they were eſteemed very rich and pretious. Fourthly, After the Grand Seignior followed three Men on Horſeback, carrying in their Hands, the one his Arms, the other his Cloak, and the third his Imperial Turbant, and theſe were attended on by certain Eſquires and Gentlemen all on Horſeback. Fifthly, Then came the Muſick after the *Turkiſh* manner, conſiſting of threeſcore Men on Horſeback, which played upon Phiefs, Clerons, and Trumpets. Sixthly, There followed an hundred Pages of the Sultans, bravely mounted, and followed by many Eunuchs, fifty of which Pages carried every one a Faulcon upon his fiſt, having their Heads enrich'd with Diamonds, and theſe were followed by thirty Guards of the Port. Seventhly, Fifty Faulconers and Huntſmen richly attired and well mounted; four whereof had either of them before him upon his ſaddle bow, a Leopard covered with Cloth of Gold. Eighthly, A great number of other Pages, fairer than the Pictures of *Adonis* or Love, choſen amongſt the Infants of the Tribute, and unfortunately appointed for the filthy and unnatural Pleaſures of their Maſter, whoſe Garments after the Turkiſh manner were pretious, and made of rich Cloth of Gold curled. They were followed by a great Troop of young men plainly attired in Cloth, having upon their Heads yellow Caps pointed in form of a Sugar-loaf, and theſe were ordained to ſerve the Sultans Pages.

Pages choſen amongſt the faireſt for the Sultans Pleaſure.

There were moreover attending the Sultan in this Pomp divers Beglerbegs, as of *Boſna*, *Buda*, *Romania*, *Natolia*, and others; every Company going diſtinct, both of Horſe and Foot, with the Baſſaes Servants all gallantly attired and well mounted; and after them followed *Naſſuf's* Attendants, being five hundred in number richly armed; there were alſo the Kings Fire-men, Calkers, Azappes, the Rices or Officers of Gallies with Spears in their Hands; all that belonged to the Arcenal, the Carters which governed the Carts going to War, and their Captains: then the ſhot-men with their Banner, and the Armourers all in Armour, with their Banner. There were alſo the Banners of the Grand Seignior *Mahomet*, and of the Grand Viſier, every one in his order before the Grand Seignior,; and after all followed the Capigies and Officers of his Kitchen. The number of all ſorts of Attendants in this Pomp was ſo great, as it was eſteemed to amount to the number of forty thouſand Perſons.

A largeſs of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador when as the Sultan paſt.

The *Perſian* Ambaſſador, for whoſe ſake the Emperour *Achmat* had made this ſtately ſhew, to the end he might carry back into his Country a pattern of the *Othoman* State and Greatneſs, cauſed to be caſt out before his Lodging when as the Sultan paſſed by, an hundred pieces of Silk, the which were gathered up by the Archers of his Guard, whereof they made good purchaſe. All theſe Magnificencies, added to thoſe which we have formerly related at the Marriages of the Sultans Siſter and Daughter, with other Pomp celebrated in *France*, *Spain*, *Naples*, and *Germany*, for the Marriages of *Lewis* the Thirteenth, King of *France*, with *Ann* of *Auſtria*, Infant of *Spain*; and of the Prince of *Spain* with the Lady *Elizabeth* of *Bourbon*, the Kings eldeſt Siſter, and for the Coronation of the Empreſs, and the Emperours entry into *Nuremberg*, may give unto this year 1612, the Title of magnifique or ſtately.

The *Perſians* Preſents to the Turk.

Four days after Sultan *Achmats* entry into his Imperial City, the *Perſian* Ambaſſador had audience, and was received to kiſs his Hands; he preſented unto his Majeſty in the behalf of the King of *Perſia* his Maſter, four hundred balls of Silk, a Beſonard Stone as big as a mans fiſt, with ſome others that were leſs; nine bags of Leather full of Turquoiſes, the which were a foot and an half long, and above four fingers broad, a great number of Tapeſtries of Wool, Silk, Cloth of Gold

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and Silver, with many other things of great price, and very rare. The Complements being ended, they began to treat ſeriouſly of a Peace betwixt two great and antient Enemies, the *Turk* and the *Perſian*; the which, after ſome Difficulties, was concluded upon theſe Conditions: That the *Perſian* King ſhould pay yearly unto the *Turkiſh* Emperor, by way of Tribute, a quantity of Silk to the burthen of two hundred Camels; that the King of *Perſia's* Son ſhould be called Baſſa of *Tauris*, and that the Cadi or Sovereign Judge of that Town ſhould be ſent from *Conſtantinople*. This Peace thus concluded to the *Turks* Advantage, the *Perſian* Ambaſſador returned to his Maſter, having left moſt of his Train dead of the Plague at *Conſtantinople*. Being arrived at *Tauris*, the King of *Perſia* ſeeing this Peace to be ſo diſhonourable and burthenſome for him, he cauſed his Ambaſſador's Head to be cut off; and ſent back the Chiaux, who was come from *Conſtantinople* to ſee him ſwear the Peace. Some write that he did him ſome Indignities, which made theſe two great Monarchs return again to Arms.

The Chimacham put from his Place.

The Grand Viſier *Naſſuf*, after his return to *Conſtantinople*, to ſhew his Great Power and Authority, procured means to have the Chimacham (who had formerly ſupplied the Place of the Grand Viſier in the abſence of *Amurath Baſſa*, and until the return of *Naſſuf*) to be deprived of his Baſſaes Place, and ſent preſently over unto *Scudaret*, under pretence of preferring him to a Government near unto *Trebizond* in the Confines of *Turkey*, but with an intent to deprive him of his Head. The Friends of this Chimacham, (who were many, and great in Court) ſeeing him ſo diſgracefully ſent away, and doubting *Naſſuf's* purpoſe, procured leave from the Grand Seignior to have him ſent for back again, for that he was an old Man, and might from thenceforth live at home in quiet; and for his former Services a thouſand Aſpers a day allowed him for his Entertainment; which *Naſſuf* took very diſcontentedly.

During the *Perſian* Ambaſſador's abode at *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor *Matthias* (Succeſſor to *Rodulphus* his Brother) ſent an Ambaſſador to the Sultan, to complain of the Enterpriſes which were made daily upon *Tranſilvania*, a Province which he ſaid belonged unto him, as a dependance of his Realm of *Hungary*. This Ambaſſador, called *Negroni*, was received at the Court, and admitted to kiſs the Sultans Hand; but his Preſents were little eſteemed, for that they were of leſs value than thoſe which they had lately received from the *Perſian*. His demands to have the Province of *Tranſilvania*, were grounded upon an Article inſerted among thoſe of the Peace betwixt the Emperor and *Botskay*, at that time choſen Prince of *Tranſilvania*; that is to ſay, *That* Botskay *dying without Iſſue Male*, Tranſilvania *ſhould remain at the Diſpoſition of his Imperial Majeſty.* This Article being read by *Negroni* in the Turks Council, whither he had been admitted; the Muphti or Soveraign Prieſt of *Mahomets* Law, anſwered, That it was contrary to his Law; ſo the Demands of this Ambaſſador touching *Tranſilvania* were rejected, ſeeing that *Botskay* had no Power from the Sultan (ſaid the Grand Viſier) to treat with the Emperour, and to give him *Tranſilvania* after his Death. *Negroni* grounded this Gift of *Botſcay* (mentioned in the ſaid Article) upon the eighth Article of the Peace betwixt the Turk and the Emperour, concluded in the Iſle of *Danow*, by *Amurath* Viſier, and the Deputies of his Imperial Majeſty, in theſe words: *That all which had been granted in the Treaty of Peace made at* Vienna, *to* Botskay, *ſhould be duely and faithfully obſerved.* *Naſſuf*, the Grand Viſier, replied, That the Baſſa *Amurath* being then Viſier, might err in ſigning theſe Articles of the Peace upon the *Danow*; and at the ſame inſtant he ſhewed forth ſome other Articles whereas that was not inſerted; ſaying, That the Sultan would faithfully perform thoſe and no others, preſſing the Ambaſſador *Negroni* to ſign them; the which he refuſed to do; ſo as *Naſſuf* uſed ſome Threats to terrifie him; but *Negroni* replied, That he was in their Power, and that in this caſe he had rather loſe his Life, and die glorioſly for the good of his Maſters Affairs, than to have it taken from him at his return to *Vienna*, with Shame and Infamy, having ſigned thoſe Articles. Finally, he promiſed to advertiſe his Imperial Majeſty, and to certifie them of his Pleaſure: which promiſe for this time ended the Contention.

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The Emperor *Matthias* ſends an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*.

The malice and falſhood of the Turks.

In the beginning of this year, Sultan *Achmat*, after the Reception of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, and the ſtately entry he made into *Conſtantinople*, went to lie at *Adrianople*, where his Janizaries and Spahies began to mutiny, ſpurning at their Bread and Rice which was given them for their daily Entertainment: and being demanded the Reaſon of this their Inſolency, they anſwered, that no Emperor before him had ſo carried out his Men in the depth of Winter: which anſwer did much incenſe *Naſſuf Baſſa*. This Viſier was in ſuch Credit with the Grand Seignior, as during his abode at *Adrianople* he came three times in Perſon privately to viſit him, who grew ſo powerful over his Maſters Affections, as he obtained a priviledge, That it might not be lawful for any Man to ſpeak with the Grand Seignior privately, but himſelf. Being returned to *Conſtantinople*, there happened a great Fire, in which there were five hundred Houſes burnt. The Viſier *Naſſuf* coming to ſee it quenched, and finding ſome Janizaries more careful to break open Locks, and rifle Shops, than to do any good Service, he ſtruck out the Brains of one of them with his Mace, and brake the Arm of another.

It had been an ancient Cuſtom in *Conſtantinople*, that the owner of the Houſe with all his Family where the Fire began, ſhould be put to death for their Negligence: but it happening that the Emperours own Serail, in the time of *Mahomet*, Father to *Achmat*, being ſet on fire, *Cicala Baſſa* preſented a Petition unto him, that this Cuſtom might be aboliſhed, holding it unjuſt that other Men ſhould be put to death, and the ſame let paſs in the Emperours own Houſe: whereunto he yielded, holding it reaſonable. And ſoon after there happened another great Fire, at which the Viſier cauſed many of the Janizaries to be hanged: finding them too buſie in rifling Houſes: and he went up and down the Streets with his Scimitar in one Hand, and a Janizaries Head in the other, which he had cut off. The Grand Seignior ſent Holy Water unto the Viſier, wherein he had dipt a piece of *Mahomets* Garment, the which being poured into the Fire, the Turks ſaid it ceaſed preſently; yet by the Report of viſible Witneſſes, it burned four hours after. The Grand Viſier *Naſſuf* was a cruel Enemy to the Janizaries, of whom he ſent ſixteen thouſand away into *Aſia*, and would not ſuffer any more to be made, but only Spahies: and over ſuch Janizaries as remained he made his own Servants to be Churbagies, and Agaes or Captains over fifties and hundreds; fortifying himſelf by all the means he could deviſe againſt the future time, to prevent his ſudden Ruine; but all this could not preſerve him from a ſhameful fall, as you ſhall hereafter hear.

In the mean time let us paſs unto *Affrick*, to obſerve the Troubles which fell in the Realms

of

Troubles in the Realm of *Fez* and *Morocco.*

of *Fez* and *Morocco*; the Quarrels betwixt Prince *Xerif Muley Cidan*, and the *Xerif Muley Achmet*, *Ben-Abdalla* his Nephew, and the Victories of *Cidan* againſt *Abdalla*.

The beginning of the *Xerifs* of *Fez* and *Morocco.*

The Family of the *Xerifs*, Princes of *Fez* and *Morocco*, took its beginning ſome hundred and four years ſince, from *Mahomet Xerif*, born at *Tigumedet* in *Dara*, at this preſent one of the Provinces of *Morocco:* he was Alfaqui or Preacher of *Mahomet*'s Law, who, ſeeing the Diviſions betwixt the Soverign Princes of thoſe Realms, and that the *Portugals* had ſeized of the chief Forts of *Morocco*, he began with three of his Sons, *Abdalla*, *Hamet*, and *Mahomet*, to lay the Foundation of a new Monarchy, ſupported by three Pillars: that is to ſay, by a counterfeit Piety and diſguiſed Religion; upon a godly Pretext to make War againſt the *Portugals* Chriſtians which were in *Affrick*, and upon a paſſionate deſire to retire the *Mahometan Moors* which were in their Pay, to the end they might by that means weaken them, and chaſe them with more eaſe out of the Territories of *Morocco*. The King, who at that time held the Scepter of *Fez*, (ſeeing nothing but the out-ſide of the *Xerifs* Deſigns) ſuffered his three Sons to diſplay their Standard againſt the Chriſtian *Portugals* in the Realm of *Morocco*: Innovations and Novelties are commonly pleaſing to the common People.

The Children of the *Xerif* grow potent.

At this beginning, theſe three Leaders were followed by a great number of Souldiers: they vanquiſhed in many Encounters; and the bruit of their new Victories flying into the Realm of *Morocco*, retired the *Moors* from the *Portugals* Service, whom they defeated ſoon after, with their Commander *Lopes Bariga*. True it is, that it was to their loſs; for *Abdalla*, the eldeſt of theſe three Brethren, loſt his Life in this Combate. But they ſeiſed upon the great Town of *Taradente* in the Province of *Sus*, and of the Provinces of *Herra*, *Idevaca*, *Vbidevaca*, *Cus*, *Guzule*, and in a manner of the whole Country betwixt *Morocco* and Mount *Atlas*, ſettling their Principality in *Taradente*, whereas the *Xerif* their Father carried the Name of the Governour of the Province of *Sus*.

They kill the King of *Morocco.*

The King of *Morocco*, fearing the Greatneſs of theſe new Conquerours, diſſembled the deſire he had to bring them under, aſſuring himſelf that Time would preſent him ſome good occaſion; ſo ſuffered them to enter into *Morocco:* but they prevented him; they took away his Life by Poyſon, and ſeiſed upon his Realm.

The King of *Fez* begins to fear them.

The King of *Fez*, who had by an indiſcreet Simplicity ſuffered them to take Arms, and by that means to open the way to a great Fortune, he ſaw a far off the Tempeſt of theſe unjuſt Spoilers to fall upon *Morocco* and other Places. The fear of the like Calamity did much afflict his Mind: but the *Xerifs* entertained this idle Prince with fair ſhews; they abuſed his Bounty, and with the fourth part of the rich Spoils which they had taken in ſo many Towns and Provinces, they lull his diſtruſt aſleep; moreover, they ſend him the Tribute due for the Realm of *Morocco*. *Hamet* takes upon him the Name of King of *Morocco*; *Mahomet* that of King of *Sus*, in the Town of *Taradente*; and by a good Intelligence betwixt them, they make themſelves fearful to all thoſe Countries; ſo as they have nothing more to fear, than the Threats and Vengeance of Heaven. They then began to contemn the King of *Fez*, and plainly to deny the Tribute of *Morocco*, pretending for their Reaſon, that they were iſſued from the Line of *Mahomet*.

The King of *Fez* beſiegeth *Morocco*, and is defeated.

This Contempt made the King of *Fez* to open his Eyes: he finds the Faults paſt, by the Intereſt of the preſent: he ſees the *Xerifs* had abuſed the Liberty which he had given them: whereupon, he went to Field with an Army of eighteen thouſand men, and planted his Siege before *Morocco*; but, as his Enemies Party was ſtronger than his, ſo he was chaſed away, and his Army defeated at the Paſſage of a River. Thus the *Xerifs* became peaceable Poſſeſſors of *Morocco*.

Quarrels betwixt the *Xerifs*, and the eldeſt taken by his Brother.

The Peace of the Country made theſe men idle, and Idleneſs drew the two Brethren into Quarrel: they muſtered up their Forces and came to fight; where, after two bloody Battels, *Mahomet* being Victor, he took his eldeſt Brother *Hamet*, deprived him of his Realm and Liberty, and made him end his days miſerably in Priſon. Thus God doth puniſh the unjuſt Spoiler of another mans Good. We ſhall ſee in their Poſterity the continuance of the ſame Quarrel.

The *Xerifs* aſſault the King of *Fez*.

Mahomet, ſettled Sovereign in *Morocco* by Blood and Fratricide, as monſtrous in Ambition as in Cruelty, he turned the ſame Arms wherewith he had beaten and vanquiſhed his Eldeſt Brother againſt the King of *Fez*, (whoſe Improvidence had ſuffered *Mahomet* and his Brethren to take Arms, under the deceitful Title and Pretence of making War againſt the Chriſtian *Portugals*) he aſſaulted him with great Forces, vanquiſhed him, took him Priſoner, and deprived him both of Realm and Life. Thus the *Xerifs*, in the Perſon of this *Mahomet*, became Sovereign Princes of *Fez* and *Morocco*. The Victory ſo happily gotten of ſo many Nations, made him fearful; but by his Cruelty he drew upon his Deſcendants the juſt Judgment of him who puniſheth the exceſs and enormity of Crimes unto the fourth Generation.

Cidan and *Kequi*, Brethren, expell one another.

His Poſterity was miſerable, the unjuſt deſire of Reign, (one ruining another) entertained the Brethren in perpetual Diſcord: for *Cidan*, now King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, was lately expelled by his Brother *Kequi*; but afterwards, Fortune changing her inconſtant Favour, *Kequi* was purſued by *Cidan*, defeated, and forced in the Year 1610 to ſave his Life in *Algarbe* in *Portugal*. *Abdalla*, the Son of *Kequi*, ſeeing his Fathers Affairs thus deſolate, retires himſelf towards the Mountains in the Province of *Sus*; where, finding opportunity to annoy his Uncle *Cidan*, he made daily Incurſions upon his Territories, with ſome Troops of *Arabians*, who had joyned with him, being two hundred Horſe and two hundred Foot. But finding this to be a long courſe to attain unto the Conqueſt of the Realm from whence he had been expelled, he bethought himſelf, that ſome certain counterfeit Fictions in Religion, had in former times brought in his Grand-father, and made him abſolute Lord of a great Country; wherefore he made uſe of a Prophecy, forged in his ambitious Spirit:

A Prophecy invented by *Kequi*, and preached by religious Turks.

and to work an Impreſſion in the Peoples Minds (eaſie to be moved with a Paſſion of Religion) he ſent certain religious Mahometans through the Country, with a ſhew of holy Simplicity, who went preaching from place to place, That one *Falquere*, a Man of holy Life, had given unto a Son of his a Drum of an admirable power and vertue, commanding him expreſly, to keep it carefully, untill that a Prince called *Abdalla* ſhould come into *Morocco*, being expelled by the Injuſtice of his own Blood; and that then he ſhould beat his Drum, and that the People at the ſound thereof might go to the War with all ſafety; that it ſhould be helpful to them, give Peace to the Realm, and ſettle all the Cuſtoms and ancient Laws to their common content. Thus they preached this Prophecy, the which they ſaid was now accompliſhed, ſeeing that this Prophetical Drum had been found, that *Abdalla*, the eldeſt Prince of the Houſe of the *Xerifs*, had cauſed it to be beaten, exhorting all men to follow the War for the common good of the Country.

Theſe Vanities being preached by theſe ignorant and malicious religious Turks, increaſed the Number of *Abdalla*'s Party: whereof *Cydan* being advertiſed, he ſent a great Army againſt him into the

Abdalla defeated and ſlain notwithſtanding his falſe Prophecies.

the Province of *Sus*, under the command of *Alcas Elmye*, to hinder the progreſs of his Deſigns: But *Abdalla* finding theſe Forces to approach, retired himſelf towards the Mountains, from whence he might charge the Enemies Army; the which he did ſo happily, as within few dayes he cut off five thouſand of his men. This ſucceſs did ſo advance his Affairs, as his Troops increaſed daily, ſo as *Cydan* was forced to go with new Forces to fight with him, the which was the cauſe of his ruin: for at this time he was inveſted, and notwithſtanding the good ſucceſs of his falſe Propheſies, lightly grounded upon the ſound of a Drum, he was defeated, and ſlain in this year one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve.

The miraculous King of *Mauritania.*

Cydan, King of *Fez*, overthrown.

Gotardus, diſcourſing of this miraculous King of *Mauritania*, whom he calls *Muley Hamet*, writeth, that he was charmed with devilliſh Incantations, and freed from all outward force, carrying himſelf for a Divine Prophet; That with one hundred and eighty Horſe, and two hundred Foot, he went to make Head againſt *Cidan* King of *Morocco*, having forty thouſand men; That his Souldiers, (who were ſo few in number) being ready to flye, he perſuaded them with a cunning ſpeech to prepare to fight; That comming near to *Cidan's* Camp, they might ſee a great Army of Enemies fighting againſt them, in which there were five thouſand of *Cydan's* Army overthrown, and the reſt in great diſorder put to flight, and yet *Muley Hamet* had not advanced with his Troops; That within a few dayes after, comming with his Troops tired to a River ſide, he commanded them not to drink, nor waſh in that River, which if they did they would die: but ſome neglecting his command, thinking to quench their thirſt, died ſuddenly. He took many places in thoſe mountainous Regions, which no man had formerly ſubdued; his Forces increaſing daily, having five and twenty thouſand men, and vowing to go againſt the Chriſtians, more came unto him; ſo as he went againſt *Cidan* with a good Army, who likewiſe attended him, *Hamet* perſuaded his Souldiers that no ſhot could hurt them; ſo as they aſſaulted *Cydan's* Camp with ſuch fury, as within leſs than an hours ſpace they had ſlain above ſix thouſand men, and put the reſt to flight. They write, that *Hamet* loſt not above four or five, and that ſuch as were ſtruck with any Bullet, ſhewed Marks but no Wounds; and that the great Ordnance either ſhot over them, or the Powder vented out at the Touch-hole, and wrought no effect. *Cydan*, having loſt his Brother in the Fight, fled with all his Treaſure, to recover new Forces, and in the mean time *Hamet* made himſelf Maſter of the whole Country. There were certain *Hollanders* admitted unto him, whom they found ſitting upon a Carpet made of the Bark of Trees, having a white Shirt, and a long Garment upon it, a red Cap on his Head, bare Thighs and red Shooes, a Bag about his Neck, and in it he hid his Alcoran, a ſhort crooked Sword and a Dagger hanging by him. Being ſaluted by the *Hollanders*, he willed them to ſit down by him, telling them that he was ſent from Heaven, to purge the World from evil, and to prepare the Law of God; to expel *Cydan* out of his Kingdom, and to reſtore Peace unto the World: wherefore he adviſed them not to have any commerce with *Cydan*, nor to aſſiſt him in any ſort. They obſerved many marks upon his body; he had one blue Tooth, all the reſt being white, Hair upon either Shoulder, a red Circle in the Palm of his right-hand, and the proportion of a Spur upon his right foot. Having gotten ſome Victories againſt *Cydan*, and taken the Town of *Morocco*, in the end his devilliſh Art failing him, he was ſlain, as you have heard. Such were the Affairs of *Africk*, in the Realms of *Fez* and *Morocco*.

A great Drought and Sterility at *Algier.*

But in *Algier* a wonderful drought had cauſed cruel Combuſtions; it had ſo devoured the fruits of the Earth before their Maturity, as there followed a wonderful Famine throughout the whole Land. The Turks attributed the cauſe of their Miſery ſometimes to their Sins; then to the coming of the *Moors*, who had been expelled out of *Spain*, as a pernicious Vermin; and ſometimes to the licentiouſneſs of Chriſtians, which lived in thoſe Places. Wherefore in the beginning of *May* this Year, the Judge of the Town ordained, That all the Turks ſhould make their devout Prayers to *Mahomet* their Prophet, to obtain Rain, ſo neceſſary in that Country; that the *Moors* ſhould depart the Town within three days upon pain of death; and that all the Chriſtians, as well free as bond-ſlaves, ſhould cauſe their Heads and their Beards to be ſhaven: this was ſpeedily executed; for the Turks Decrees require a prompt Obedience. But the miſerable *Moors*, which could not get out of *Algier* within their three days prefixed, detained either by Sickneſs, or ſome other Impediment, were all cut in pieces. For thirteen days, there was nothing ſeen within the Town but Proceſſions of Turks without Turbants, crying and howling, after their manner, to obtain Rain from their falſe Prophet: but he which commands Sovereignty over times, from whoſe hand proceeds fair Weather and Rain, and which makes the Earth fruitful, held the Pipes of Heaven yet ſtopped, to open them at more religious and holy Vows than the ſuperſtitious Clamours of theſe Infidels. For *Bernard Murroy*, of the Order of the Redemption of Captives, hearing that the Turks meant to revenge their Miſeries upon them, and to ruine a little Chappel which the Chriſtian Slaves had in the Priſon, for the pious Exerciſes of their Religion, obtained (by the means of *Bius*, Conſul of the French in *Algier*) permiſſion from the Dovan, or Turkiſh Judge, to make Proceſſions, and to pray unto God to ſend them the dew of Heaven, which was ſo neceſſary for them. All the Chriſtian Slaves which were Priſoners continued their Devotions for the ſpace of five days: but on the fourth day, being the Eighth of *May*, there fell ſuch abundance of Rain upon *Algier*, as theſe poor Chriſtians, ſeeing their Prayers heard in the midſt of the Enemies of their Faith, gave infinite Thanks unto God for his great Mercy and Grace.

Proceſſions of the Turks.

The devout Prayers of the Chriſtians obtain rain.

Theſe miſerable Chriſtian Slaves were ſtill detained in Irons and cruel Servitude, by this Accident. This *Murroy*, of the Order of the Redemption of Captives, accompanied with two others of the ſame Order, had redeemed to the number of one hundred thirty and ſix: but when he was ready to embarque them, their evil Fortune would have it, that the Gallies of *Genoa* running along that Coaſt, landed ſome men near unto *Algier*, where they took the Baſſa's Son of that Town, with many other Turks, and amongſt this number a Virgin of *Algier*, of a very noble Family, and of as rare a Beauty, for the miſery of theſe Slaves: for that when as the Baſſa's Son and the others were redeemed by a Frigot which the Father had ſent, the fair *Algerian* Virgin was ſtill detained by a Captain of the *Genowayes*, who had retired to *Calvy*, an Iſland adjoyning, there to ſatisfie his Deſires with more eaſe, upon the frail and fading perfection of this fair Slave, which had deprived him of his Liberty. In the mean time the Baſſa of *Algier*, ſeeing his Son returned with the other Turks, and not the *Algerian* Virgin, commanded that the hundred thirty and ſix

Slaves ſhould be put again into Irons, with the three religious men which had redeemed them. Thus this feminine Beauty, or rather, the Paſſion of this *Genoways*, who holds the Poſſeſſion ſo dear, makes a great number of Chriſtian Souls to ſuffer by inſupportable Servitude, howſoever they of his Nation (flattering his diſordered luſt) ſay, that his Deſire to win her to God, and to make her a Chriſtian, cauſed him to keep her ſo carefully.

A Capuchen of *Florence* in captivity at *Tunes*.

Theſe ſuffered in *Algier* the loſs of their Liberty; but a *Capuchen* Friar, a *Florentine* by Nation, endured at *Tunes* the loſs of his Life, by the Cruelty of the *Moors* chaſed out of *Spain*, and retired into thoſe Countries. This religious Man, being a Slave among the Turks, attended daily from *Florence*, or from ſome other place, money to redeem his Liberty: but it happened, one day diſputing in a Barbers Houſe with a Moriſque concerning Chriſtian Religion, the Zeal of his Faith tranſported him ſo far, as to ſay among divers Turks, That his Religion was better than that of *Mahomet's*. Theſe Words, took criminouſly in that place, were reported by the Moriſques to the Cadi, or Judge of the Town, whom they preſt with ſuch horrible Clamours and Cries, as he pronounced Sentence of Death againſt this *Capuchen*. He was delivered unto them, and they ſtripped him naked, leading him with Infamy through *Tunes*, ſome ſpitting in his Face, others caſting Dirt at him, and ſo they led him out of the Town, where they tied him unto a Poſt; and they, being cruelly incenſed by a Speech which a Mortabour or religious Turk ſaid unto them, *That he among them that gave him not one Blow with a Stone, ſhould be no good Turk*, ſtoned him to death, where afterwards they burnt his Body, and threw the Aſhes into the Wind.

He dies gloriouſly for the faith.

An enterprize of four ſlaves.

The Martyrdom of this *Capuchen* was followed by the conſtant Confeſſion (amidſt the violence of Torments) of a penitent Renegado, a *Florentine* by Nation, and Captain of the chief Gally of *Chio*: Four French-men being Slaves in the Iſland of *Chio*, in the Patron or chief Gally, belonging to the Bey or Governour of the Iſland, they reſolved to recover their Liberty with the hazard of their Lives, to return into *France*, and carry into ſome Port of Chriſtendome that Gally, being the beſt appointed in the whole Haven. They drew unto their Party the Captain which commanded, being a *Florentine* Renegado. Their Enterpriſe ſhould have been executed when as they ſhould go to Land to cut Wood. But whether that the Scribe were treacherous to his Companions, or tranſported with ſome raſh Indiſcretion, being on Land, he ſpake theſe Words aloud, the which overthrew both the deſign, and them that projected it; *Ho, we ſhall return into Chriſtendom.* A Turk which was near, taking hold of theſe words, reported them unto the Patron; who preſently laid hold upon the Scribe, and drew from him the confeſſion of all the Enterpriſe. He preſently ſends an hundred Men towards the Gally, to ſeiſe upon the four *French* Slaves and the Captain. But theſe five made ſuch a generous reſiſtance, as if the other Slaves, who were for the moſt part *Moldavians*, or of the Provinces which border upon the black Sea, had had the Courage to fight for their Liberty, without doubt the *French-mens* Enterpriſe had ſucceeded happily. But what could five Men do againſt an hundred? yet they ſlew fifteen, and wounded many: the four *French-men* were all ſlain, and the *Florentine* Captain was taken alive, and reſerved to the rigour of a cruel Death. For they continued him ſix hours together in moſt violent Torments, he ſtill calling upon the holy and ſacred name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, even to the laſt gaſp, and deteſting the Errours and falſhood of the Law of *Mahomet*. This happened in *October* this Year.

They are diſcover'd.

They defend themſelves, and kill many.

The Captain cruelly executed.

The United Eſtates ſend an Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople*.

A little before, the Eſtates of the united Provinces, and Count *Maurice*, ſeeing the loſſes which the Ships of *Holland* ſuffered in the *Mediterranean* Sea, many of them being taken by the Turkiſh Gallies, and a great number of their men made ſlaves; to the end they might be freed from that danger, and have a ſafe Paſſage for their Ships, and procure liberty for their Captives, they reſolved to make a League with the Turk. Wherefore they ſent *Cornelius Hage* to *Conſtantinople*; who, not only willingly accepted of that Embaſſy, but performed it with ſuch diſcretion, as he purchaſed great credit and commendation to himſelf, and much profit to the Provinces. He had reſolved at firſt to paſs through *Hungary*; but he found ſo many croſſes and obſtacles, by ſome that were Creatures to the Pope and *Spaniard*, as he was forced to turn out of the way, and fetch a great Circuit. Firſt of all, he fell into the hands of the Arch-duke *Ferdinand*, who cauſed him to be examined, and admoniſhed to deſiſt from his purpoſe: After which he was toſt at *Sea*, and in the end, having ſurmounted all dangers, he recovered *Conſtantinople* the firſt of *May*. He had expreſs charge from the United Eſtates to labour for three things. The firſt was, to treat of the deliverance of the *Hollanders* that were Slaves. The ſecond, to make a League with the Turk. And the third, to obtain from him a free Navigation for the *Hollanders* throughout all the Seas and Ports of his Empire.

Preſents ſent from the United Eſtates to the *Turk*.

This Ambaſſador was brought to kiſs the Sultan's hands, and was favourably received; he preſented unto his Majeſty, in the name of the Eſtates of the United Provinces, his Letters of Embaſſy, with the Preſents which follow: Three Birds of Paradice, of rare and precious Plumes, wonderful goodly to behold, and valued at eight hundred pound ſterling; two Veſſels of Chriſtal, wonderful rich and beautiful; four other Veſſels made of Fiſhes Bones, whereas the art ſeemed miraculous in the graving; forty pieces of Cloth of Gold of divers colours; five pieces of Silk, five of Damask, five of Silk watered, and five plain; a Staff of an Elephants Tooth graven with admirable induſtry; a Parrat ſhut in a Cage of Chriſtal, ſo artificially done, as no man could diſcern the entry; and many fair and rich Table-cloths of *Holland* Cloth, moſt part powdred with flowers to the Life, and wrought in their lively colours. The which the Sultan did accept with admiration. All theſe things ſhew ſufficiently, That the Eſtates from the beginning, or ſoon after, have raiſed Handy-works as well as Traffick and Navigation to the higheſt point of Perfection.

A League betwixt the Turk and the Hollanders.

The ſixth of *July* following, the League was ſworn betwixt the *Othoman* Emperour and the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, by the which *Achmat* promiſed to cauſe to be ſet at liberty all the *Hollanders* that were detained ſlaves within his Empire: That the Traffick ſhould be free for the *Hollanders* Ships throughout all his Seas and Havens; and moreover he granted, That the Eſtates ſhould have an Ambaſſador reſiding at his Port. This alliance with the Turk, for the which they have ſo often, and with little reaſon blamed the *French*, hath been affected and ſought by the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, as we have ſaid elſewhere; and now by the *Hollanders*, whoſe Eſtates proceed in all their Affairs with ſuch weight and meaſure, as it ſeems they do nothing but with great Reaſon, and to good purpoſe.

1612

The Moriſques chaſe the Jews out of *Pera.*

About the end of this Year, the Jews, whoſe long Slavery throughout the World reproacheth their wretched and miſerable Obſtinacy, received at *Pera*, near *Conſtantinople*, the weight of a furious Tempeſt which fell upon them, ſtirred up againſt them by the malice of the *Moriſques Granadines* chaſed out of *Spain*, and retired into the *Levant.* Theſe, having by Preſents won the favour of the Cadi, or Judge of the Place, who was a Negro, newly ſettled in that Charge by the Grand Viſier *Naſſuf*; they obtained Power from him to thruſt all the Jews out of *Pera*, and to ruine their Synagogues. This Power they executed with all violence: And yet theſe miſerable Jews durſt not make their Complaints unto the Magiſtrate, except one of their Sect which dwelt in the Iſle of *Chio*; who, being then at *Conſtantinople*, and ſuppoſing he had more credit than the reſt, went to complain to this Cadi Negro, who preſently cauſed to be given unto him five hundred Blows with a Cudgel, inſtead of doing him Juſtice; ſo dangerous a thing it is to have to do with ſuch unjuſt Magiſtrates.

The Practices of the Moriſques againſt the Chriſtians of *Pera.*

The Inſolencies of the Moriſques tranſported them farther; for after they had expelled the Jews out of their Dwellings, they threatned to do unto the Chriſtians at *Pera* as much as had been done unto them in *Spain*; and they bragged, That they would ſeiſe upon their Churches, and eſpecially on that of the Franciſcan Friars, the which was reaſonable fair for the Place. But the *French* Ambaſſador, having made his Complaint to the chief Viſier, he prohibited them to make any attempt againſt the Chriſtians, upon pain of rigorous Puniſhment. This Prohibition ſtayed their fury; but they did not forbear in all other occaſions to ſhew the cruel Hatred they owe unto Chriſtians: ſo as through all the *Levant*, in all Encounters where they came, they did a thouſand times more miſchief than the Turks themſelves.

The Turks Army for *Tranſilvania.*

At the ſame time the Sultan *Achmat* had drawn together a mighty Army to go into *Tranſilvania*; he cauſed it to camp in Tents near unto *Conſtantinople*, about his Palace, called *Darut Baſſa*, whither the People of *Conſtantinople* went to walk, and to ſee his Forces; within few days after, he went to *Adrianople*, meaning from thence to proceed in his Voyage, carrying with him all the chief Men of his Port, except the Baſſa of the Sea, or Admiral, who remained at *Conſtantinople*, to have a care of the City. And, for the greater ſafety thereof, this Baſſa cauſed an Edict to be publiſhed, That no man ſhould go out of his Houſe, nor keep any Light in it after the ordinary Cry, which is made an hour within night, when as the *Taliſmans* crying from the tops of their Moſques, invite the People to make the Sala, or Prayer. After the Publication of this Ordinance, he ſent certain Chaoux to intreat all the Ambaſſadors reſiding at the Port, not to ſuffer their People to go out by night, to the end that their liberty might not ſerve as a dangerous Example to others. But notwithſtanding all the Baſſa's Entreaties and Prohibitions, three Engliſh-men of the Ambaſſador's Train went out by night into the Street, where they were met by the Provoſt of *Pera*, who took them, and preſently (without reſpect of the quality) cauſed either of them to have an hundred and fifty blows with a Cudgel, and then committed them to Priſon, the doors whereof are never opened but with a ſilver Key: ſo ſtrictly do they obſerve in *Turkey* the orders of the Princes Lieutenants, without exception of Perſons.

A Queſtion for the Patriarchſhip of *Conſtantinople.*

About the end of the Year, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* (by reaſon of divers Complaints made againſt him, was deprived by the Grand Viſier, and one *Cyrillus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, (a learned and religious Biſhop) was (much againſt his Will) preferred to the place. The former Patriarch hereupon excommunicated all ſuch as had wrought his Overthrow, but he himſelf was baniſhed into the Iſle of *Rhodes.* In his Paſſage, the Bark wherein he went was caſt upon *Mytilene*, in which Place he renounced all Right and Claim to the Patriarchſhip before the Biſhop of that Place, and reſigned it to the Biſhop of *Patras*: whereupon the Biſhop came from *Patras* to *Conſtantinople*, and laboured with the Viſier *Naſſuf* for the place; who, upon promiſe to pay him fifteen thouſand Chequines (which is ten thouſand more than they were wont to pay) made him a Grant thereof: which *Cyrillus*, the late elected Patriarch, underſtanding, he came with all the *Grecians* to expoſtulate the Buſineſs with the Grand Viſier; who anſwered, That he was to do what he could for the Emperour's Profit, and nothing againſt it; wherefore, if they would give ſo much as the other had promiſed, *Cyrillus* ſhould continue in the Place: which the People were very willing to perform, but *Cyrillus* refuſed it; and ſo the other was made Patriarch; who preſently ſent for the old Patriarch to come from *Rhodes* to make Peace with him, for that they held not his Excommunication juſt, being not deprived by a Council, but only by the King. About the ſame time, *Naſſuf* the Grand Viſier, ſent for the four Ambaſſadors, of *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and the States of the Low-Countries; and the reaſon why he ſent for them, was, to raiſe their Cuſtom One in the Hundred more than the Merchants had formerly paid.

The Enterpriſe of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* upon *Agliman*

Whilſt that the Sultan *Achmat's* Army drew near to *Tranſilvania*, and fortified the Places which he held in thoſe Countries, *Coſmo de Medicis*, Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, bent his generous Deſigns againſt the Fort of *Agliman* in *Caramania*, in old time called *Cilicia*, a Province, which in the Writings of Antients, hath been honoured with two famous Cities, that is to ſay, *Tharſis*, the Country of St. *Paul*, and *Seleucia*, the Fort and Port whereof is called *Agliman*, a Haven which in old time hath contained within its boſome the fearful Forces of the Pyrates of thoſe days; from thence, in former times, hath come forth a powerful Army of Pyrates with a thouſand Sail, ſo proudly rigged, as many of them had their Sails of Purple, the Tackling of Gold Thread, and the Oars garniſhed with Silver, marks of the Spoils of above four hundred Cities ruined by thoſe Pyrates, who ſtruck a terror even to the *Romans*, and forced them, to avoid their Fury, to ſet to Sea that great Fleet whereof *Pompey* the Great was General.

1613.

The number of the Dukes Gallies, and the Commanders.

The Trophy, erected upon the Walls of *Agliman*, of the Heads of forty *Florentines*, loſt in a Ship called the Proſper, by the ignorance of the Captain which commanded in it, made the Great Duke to ſtudy to have his Revenge for this Affront; and his deſire to abate the Pride of the common Enemy, elevated his Mind to generous Enterpriſes. In the end of *March*, this preſent Year 1613, he armed ſix Gallies, under the Command of the Admiral *Inghirami*, the which he manned with ſix Companies of Foot, commanded by *Julio de Conty*, called *Montano*, General at Land, beſides forty Knights of the Order of S. *Stephen*, and a good number of Gentlemen Adventurers, among the which was *Don Petro de Medicis.* This Fleet parted from *Ligorne*, and came to *Civita Vecchia.* In the beginning of *April* they took in many Noblemen and Gentlemen of *France*, which attended them, and would be Partakers in the Enterpriſe; the which were, the Earl of *Candale*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, *Cipierre*, *Themines*, *De Vic*, *Monterrault*, *De la Tour*, and his Brother *Boiſſiere*, *Villandre*, *Vertegue*, *Du pleſſis*, *De la*

They land at *Jeronda.*

The ſtate of the Fort of *Agliman.*

The Chriſtians land at *Agliman.*

Motte magnus, *Avenes*, *Del Tour*, *Sainct Cyre*, *Monplaiſir*, and *Loyres*. About mid *April* the Gallies landed in the night near unto a little Town in *Aſia* the Leſs, called *Jeronda*, held for that *Geronda* of the Antients: but their Deſcent was fruitleſs, they found it deſart by the flight of the Inhabitants, who had prevented all Surpriſes. They returned again to their Gallies, and ſailing towards the Eaſt, they encountred three Veſſels like unto their Caramouſals, the which they ſet upon and took; and about the Fifteenth of *May*, having ſcoured the *Levant* Seas, they reſolved to attempt *Agliman*. Upon the way they took a Veſſel called *Grippe*, which inſtructed them of the Eſtate of the Fortreſs. They underſtood there were two Gallies of *Cyprus* in the Port, that the Place was well furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and guarded without by a good number of Horſe-men, and that within few days after, one of the ſaid Gallies ſhould come out of the Port of *Agliman*, and go to the Iſland of *Pappadula*, to fetch a new Maſt. *Inghirami* thought to prevent it, carrying his whole Fleet thither, the which he laid cloſe in the Iſland to ſurpriſe the Turkiſh Galley; but it having diſcovered his Fleet, put out to Sea, and with ſpeed returned to the Port of *Agliman*; to give the alarm unto the Country. Notwithſtanding the Chriſtians reſolved to aſſault it, they went with their Fleet to the Port *Cavalier*, twelve miles from *Agliman*, from whence they ſent a Long-boat to diſcover; the which brings them word, that the whole Country was in Arms. Theſe News might well have daunted the Courages of ſome that had been leſs generous; yet they paſs on, and about three of the Clock in the Morning they came near the Shore, being covered with the ſilence of the Night, ſo as before ſix of the Clock they had made their Landing about a mile and a half from the Port. The Seignior of *Montano*, and the Earl of *Candale*, with ſome few choice men, landed firſt, to diſcover: a mile from the ſhore they encountered the Turkiſh Horſe-men, yet notwithſtanding *Montano* commanded they ſhould finiſh their landing, leaving twenty men for the Guard of every Gally.

The Deſcription of *Agliman.*

The Fortifications of the place.

The Order given to aſſault the Fort.

This Fort of *Agliman* is ſeated upon a little pleaſant Hill, which looks towards the South. It extends from the Hill unto the Sea-ſhore: the form is oval: that part which is next to the Sea is altogether Meridional, and the other, which riſeth upon the top of the Hill, looks towards the North. The Walls are built of good Stone and Lime, the which are five Fathom high, and one broad. Within there was a Wall drawn from the Eaſt to the Weſt, which divides it into two unequal parts, the which they enter by a Port ſet in the midſt. The Circuit of the Wall is fortified with eight Towers, whereof five be whole, and three are but half Towers; thoſe which be whole are of a ſquare form, and have five fathom in breadth on either ſide; the half Towers have the ſame greatneſs on the one ſide, and half as much on the other: their height exceeds not the Wall, unleſs it be that which is built on the top of the Hill, which is raiſed about eight foot above the Wall. Within the place were above three hundred fighting men, with ſtore of Victuals, Munitions for War, and many pieces of Ordnance; without, there were an hundred Horſe ſcouring up and down for the Guard of the Place; and within the Port there were two Gallies, a Caramouſal, and a Greek Brigandine, with ſome hundred and fifty fighting men. The Order of the Combate was divided after this manner, by the Seignior *Montano*, General at Land. For the principal Port, and that of the Retreat, he ſent two Companies of Foot, which were thoſe of the Admiral's Gally, of the Captains Gally, and of *S. Stephen*, with the Petards, all under the charge of the Earl of *Candale*, who leading this forward, diſcovered a *Corps de gard* of Turks, Horſe and Foot together; whereof he preſently advertiſed the General, ſending him word, That he would march on towards the Fort, and if the Turks came to charge him, he would cut them all in pieces. Many adviſed him to return to the Gallies: but *Montano* allowed the Reſolution of the Earl of *Candale*, who paſt on without Charge untill he came within one hundred and twenty Paces of the Wall, where he was charged before by the Musket-ſhot of the Fort, behind by the Gallies, and in flank by them of the Mountain, with ſuch horrible howling and crying out, as the Marriners which carried the Petards being wonderfully amazed and terrified, let them fall to the Ground, and fled away. The Baron of *Mont Terault*, and *Tiel*, a Souldier of *Langueza*, took them up. They continued their way untill they came within fifteen Paces of the Walls, whenas twenty Turks ſallied forth, with a ſhew to make Head againſt the Earl of *Candale*'s Troops: but ſeeing themſelves too weak, they fled preſently again back to the Town. The Earl advanced to enter with them, but the Port was ſo ſoon ſhut as they were in; wherefore they muſt of force ſet the Petard to work. But whilſt they were making it faſt unto the Gate, there fell a ſhower of great Stones upon the Troop, wherewith *Don Pedro de Medicis* (who would needs be preſent) was overthrown and half ſlain; *Callonge*, *Mont-terault*, *La Tour*, *Davanes*, and *Deltour*, had taken upon them the Charge of the Petard, every one carrying a part, to put it ſpeedily in Execution.

The Turks come from their Gallies to charge the Chriſtians.

Whilſt they were thus buſied to force the Port, the Serjeant-Major came unto the Earl of *Candale*, and told him, that there was a Troop of three hundred Muſqueteers come to charge him: theſe were two Beys which came out of the Gallies with their Troops, by reaſon of the bad Guard which the two Companies that *Montano* had left to hinder their Landing, had kept. The Earl of *Candale* had left part of his Troop with the Petard, and turned Head with the reſt againſt theſe Beys, to charge them; but they had no meaning to fight, but only to make a ſhew; and ſeeing they ſhould be forced, if they ſtaid longer, they took their way towards the Mountain, and in their Retreat made many ſhot. The Chriſtians purſued them not, holding it fitter to return to the Petard, the which played ſo happily, as it made a Breach capable for three men to enter in front.

The Turks retire to their Towers and Walls.

The Squadron of the Knights of *S. Stephen*, commanded by the Commiſſary *Lenzoni*, and the Company of the Gallies of *S. Mary Magdalen*, with two Ladders were to aſſault the High Tower. The Company of the Admiral-Gally, with one Ladder, had Charge to force the Port of the Retreat; and the Company of the Gally of *S. Jean* was to fight with the Gallies and Veſſels in the Haven: all theſe Troops (being led by the General *Montano*, and by Captain *Alexander* of *Tarentum*, Serjeant-Major) marched in order towards the Fort. But the Petard, having effected, as we have ſaid, the Earl of *Candale* entered firſt with all his Troop, and ſuddenly ran unto the Port of the Retreat, there to apply a Petard, the which alſo very fortunately made a Breach. The Turks, amazed at the noiſe and forcing of their Gates, fled unto their Walls; ſome retiring into their Towers, and others into the Barricadoes which they had made in the Street. At the ſame inſtant they planted two Ladders on the lower part of the Town ſomewhat near adjoyning to the Sea, whereof one was broken, with the loſs of them that were upon it; by the other (notwithſtanding

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that the Turks Horſemen charged them behind) a good number of Chriſtians got up to the Walls, making their way by their Arms, whilſt that the reſt put the Turks to rout; having taken their Cornet, they forced the reſt for to flie unto the Mountains. The ſquadron of Knights, with the Company of the Gally of Saint *Mary*, having had a longer way to march, came not to the Tower upon the Hill, until that after the Petards had wrought their Effects, ſo as the Turks being retired thither, they found very great reſiſtance, beſides the attempts of the Enemies Horſe which charged them behind; thrice they planted their Ladders againſt the Wall, and could not make them hold. Wherefore the Commiſſary *Lanconi*, having performed as much as a brave and reſolute Man could do in that Extremity, reſolved to leave that Place, and go unto ſome other where he might be more neceſſary; but being the laſt to make the retreat, he was ſhot through with two Muſquet Bullets, and ſuddenly ſlain. The Company of the Gally of Saint *John* vanquiſhed the two Gallies in the Port, whereof *Inghirami* the Admiral at Sea went to take poſſeſſion as ſoon as they had given him a ſign, having the other two Veſſels at Liberty.

The Commiſſary of the Knights of St. *Stephen* ſlain.

A bloody Combat within the Fort.

Within the Fort, in the Towers, and at the Barricadoes, the Combat was hot and dangerous, the Turks had deſpair and the advantage of the place on their ſides, The Chriſtians, thruſt on by their Valour and conſtant Reſolution, preſt them on all ſides; there was nothing to be ſeen but Blood, wounded or dead men; but much more of the Turks ſide than of the Chriſtians. In the end, after a Combat of four hours, the Turks fainted, ſome were taken, many were ſlain, and the Chriſtians obtained an abſolute Victory; but as it could not be made without loſs of their Enemies, who made great reſiſtance; ſo there were five and fifty Chriſtians wounded, of which number *De Vic*, a *French* Gentleman was one, who had a Muſquet ſhot through his Thigh, going to charge a Troop of Turks which were retired into a Tower; and ſome Gentlemen were ſlain; among the which was young *Boiſſierre*, a *French* Man, whoſe Valour in this Action made them that ſaw him fight ſo generouſly, conceive a certain hope, that he would have proved a valiant Captain, if Heaven had lent him longer Life. The ſorrow for his Death was general, as well among the *Italian* Troops, as among thoſe of his own Nation. *Vernegue* and *Villandre*, two other brave *French* Gentlemen were alſo ſlain. The dead and the wounded were carried unto their Gallies; they emptied the Fort of all the Artillery, Munition for War, and Victuals; the Trophy of forty *Florentines* Heads was beaten down, and all the Houſes ſet on fire. *Agliman* being thus ruined, they ſhipped their Booty, with three hundred and fifty *Turkiſh* Slaves, having freed about two hundred and forty Chriſtians which were in Irons. The two *Turkiſh* Gallies were drawn out of the Port, and carried away with eight other Veſſels. In this Triumph, as the Admiral *Inghirami* bent his Courſe towards *Ligorn*, upon the way a *Turkiſh* Caramouſal came into the midſt of the Fleet, as into a Toil; it prepared to defend it ſelf, the Patrons Gally inveſted it, but not without loſs; for the Turks made ſo great reſiſtance, as there were above fourſcore Chriſtians hurt or ſlain; the Earl of *Candale* fighting alone at the Prow of the Gallie, by the Permiſſion of the General. But this Caramouſal being taken, and the *Florentine* Mariners entered, it ſplit and ſunk ſuddenly. The great Dukes Gallies encountered ſome other ſmaller Veſſels, the which they took, and afterwards arrived happily at their Port.

The Chriſtians get the Victory.

Agliman ruined.

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The Voyage of the Gallies of *Sicily* in the *Levant*.

The twelfth of *Auguſt* following, *Octavio* of *Arragon*, General of the Gallies of *Sicily*, by the Commandment of the Duke of *Oſſunna*, Viceroy in that Realm, parted from the Haven of *Palermo*, with eight Gallies well armed and manned, to ſail into the Levant. His firſt touch was upon the Iſland of *Cerigo*, where he underſtood that the Admiral Baſſa of the Sea was gon from *Conſtantinople* with thirty Gallies, bending his Courſe to the Iſland of *Negropont*, whereas ſixty others attended him in the Haven; and moreover, that the Gallies of *Rhodes* prepared to go and joyn with him, all which Naval Fleet was to fall upon *Soria*, againſt the Turks Rebels.

They ſet upon the Turkiſh Gallies.

Notwithſtanding theſe News, *Octavio* continues his Courſe unto the Iſland of *Nicaria*, where he underſtood by a Greek Veſſel, that the Turkiſh Admiral meant to ſend twelve Gallies to *Rhodes*, to guard certain Veſſels of the Fleet, which came from *Alexandria* by the Channel of *Samos*. True it is, that of twelve which were together when they parted, two were ſent by the Bey, or Captain which commanded them, into the Iſland of *Chio*, ſo as there remained but ten together. *Octavio* reſolved to charge theſe ten, cauſing his Fleet to row that Day, and almoſt a whole Night as ſecretly as they could, along the Shore of the firm Land of *Natolia*, and at the break of day he arrived at the Cape of *Corvo*, twenty Miles from *Chio*; from whence he ſent his long Boat to diſcover. But in the mean time he himſelf eſpied the ten Turkiſh Gallies not far from him; at ſight whereof he ordered his Gallies for Battel, with ſuch Diligence, as at Sun riſing he was about the Enemies Gallies, and had inveſted them. At his firſt approch he diſcharged all his Ordnance, and then with his Admiral-Gallie he joyned with the *Turks* Gallie which carried the Standard; the *Spaniards* entered, ſlew and maſſacred all that made reſiſtance; the Combat began at the *Prow*, from whence they went to the *Poop*, whereas the Bey, or Commander of the ten Gallies ſtood, whom they forced to yield. In the mean time the other Gallies of *Sicily* charged the Turks ſo furiouſly, as they took five, all great Veſſels carrying Lanthorns; two fled towards the Land, hoping to ſave themſelves, but the Turks had ſcarce lieſure to leap to Land, and to flie into the Country, abandoning their Veſſels to the *Spaniards*, who purſued them; the other three Gallies having gotten ſome advantage eſcaped by flight; ſo ſeven only came into the *Spaniards* Power, in the which they had a very rich Booty, freeing above a thouſand Chriſtian Slaves, which were at the Chain, and by a ſtrange change of Fortune, putting into their Places the Turks which had inchained them. Among the moſt remarkable of the Priſoners, were the Commanders of the ten Gallies, called *Sinan*, Bey of *Grigna*, in the Iſland of *Cyprus*; the Bey of *Alexandria*, (Son to *Pial Baſſa*, who was defeated in the Battel of *Lepanto*, by *Don John* of *Auſtria*) and ſome Beyes or Captains, and Patrons of Gallies.

Sigiſmund Battori, Prince of *Tranſilvania* dies at *Prague*.

This Summer, the Emperour *Matthias* being gon to an Aſſembly of the States at *Presburg* in *Hungary*, in the mean time *Sigiſmund Battori*, who had been Prince of *Tranſilvania*, and ſo great a Terror and Scourge unto the *Turks*, as he made *Sinan Baſſa*, having an Army of one hundred and fifty thouſand Men, to flie thrice within ten days from before him, and would never endure the ſight of him, he having but forty thouſand Men in his Army. But afterwards, being the Author of his own Miſfortunes and Miſeries, by his inconſtant Humors, he came and lived a private Life at *Prague*; and there died of an Apoplexy. At the Eſtates of *Presburg* they conſulted of the for-

The Turks threaten War in *Hungary.*

A great Plague at *Conſtantinople.*

fortifying of their Frontier Towns, and manning them with good Garriſons, knowing the Infidelity of the Turks, and doubting they would not obſerve the Truce. But there was ſome queſtion in the Aſſembly, touching the Admiſſions of *Germans* into their Garriſons; for that the *Hungarians* maintained they had a decree to the contrary; and yet they could not defend themſelves without the aſſiſtance of *Germans*; but in the end it was concluded, That the *Germans* ſhould be admitted equally with the *Hungarians* into their Garriſons, but all other ſtrange Souldiers ſhould be excluded. The Turks in the mean time had burnt and ſpoiled many Villages in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, carried away many Chriſtians captive, and committed many other Acts of Hoſtility, ſo as all Men feared a new War in *Hungary*, but by the Providence of God it was diverted. For Sultan *Achmat*, marching toward *Tranſilvania* with a mighty Army, hearing upon the way that *Bethlem Gabor* was acknowledged Prince, under his Protection, he turned head toward *Conſtantinople*. But rather for the Affairs of *Aſia*, whereas the Rebels of *Natolia* had ſpoiled and burnt many Places; and a certain *Arabian* had revolted againſt him, and uſurped the Title of King, having drawn unto his party fifty thouſand Rebels, the which did over-run and ſpoil the Country which yielded Obedience unto him, threatning his Dominions with a greater Ruine. Moreover, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* had made many Incurſions upon his Places joyning to the *Red-Sea*, and had taken and ſpoiled *Aden*, a Place of importance; ſo as all theſe Diſorders haſtened his return into *Thrace*, to ſend Forces againſt his *Turkiſh* Rebels, and his *Spaniſh* Enemies. But approaching near unto the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, the Plague was ſo violent, as he ſtayed at *Adrianople* until the end of this year, when as that horrible Contagion ceaſed. He then came unto the City, whereas he made a very ſtately entry; before him there marched his ordinary Guard of five and twenty or thirty thouſand Janizaries, all the Baſſaes of the Court followed him in very great Pomp, and before him there marched on Horſeback two of his Sons, the Pillars and hope of his Affairs, the eldeſt being about ſeven or eight years old. Paſſing before the Moſques, the Taliſmans or Prieſts of his Law, made Sacrifices in his Preſence for his Proſperity, they ſlew Sheep and Oxen upon Altars erected for that purpoſe, then they cut them in pieces, and gave them unto the People.

All the Dogs ſent out of *Conſtantinople.*

The Grand Seignior being returned to *Conſtantinople* after the great Plague, notwithſtanding the Turks hold a firm Opinion of Predeſtination, and that they ſhall not die before their appointed time, and that the time of their Death is written in their Fore-heads; yet, apprehending the Infection, by the Advice of ſome about him, he commanded all the Dogs in the City of *Conſtantinople* to be tranſported unto *Scutary* in *Aſia* (a Town antiently called *Chriſopolis*) and for the due Execution thereof, every Houſholder was to bring his Dog firſt to the Cadi (which is the Judge of the Place) and to receive from him a Tuſcary or Ticket for his Paſſage, or elſe he was to pay four Chequines; by which means there were tranſported to the number of fifty thouſand Dogs. The reaſon of his ſending them away, was, for that reading the Acts of his Father, he found, that thirty years before, he had ſent away all the Dogs for fear of the Infection. The Sultan commanded allowance of Bread and Fleſh to be carried every day to ſuſtain them, which not ſufficing, the Inhabitants were much oppreſſed, and ready to fall into Mutiny; but by the Advice of his Muphti, they were at length tranſported from thence to an Iſland that was not inhabited, ſome ſixteen miles from *Conſtantinople*, where they all periſhed. Before their ſending away, the Grand Seignior had propounded to his Muphti, to have them all ſlain; who made anſwer, That every Dog had a Soul, and therefore it was not fit to kill them.

The care of the Turks to win Men to their Religion.

The Turks are wonderful glad when they win any one to their Religion, and ſeek by all means to ſeduce Men either by Force or by fair Perſwaſion; whereof you may ſee an aſſured Proof, by a Jew, who being turned Turk, ſoon after buying of Grapes of another Turk, fell at variance with him about the weighing of his Grapes; from words they fell to blows, and the Jew-Turk beat the other, which he endured very patiently, to encourage him as it ſeemed in his new Religion. Soon after, another Jew came to the Turk who had been beaten, and demanded of him why he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſo abuſed? Who anſwered, You ſhall beat me as much if you will turn Muſulman; ſo zealous they are to win Proſelites.

A ſevere Puniſhment of a Drunkard.

This year, in *October*, the Turks obſerving their Feaſts of *Bairan*, (which is our *Eaſter*) the which they obſerve twice a year; a Turk having drunk Wine too freely (the drinking whereof is forbidden amongſt them, although they love it well, and drink in private) was apprehended, and carried before the Grand Viſier; who ſeeing the fact verified, inflicted this Puniſhment upon him, to have boiling Lead poured into his Mouth and Ears, the which was ſpeedily executed.

The Sultan admoniſheth the *Tranſilvanians* to obey *Bethlem.*

Bethlem Gabor, as you have heard, was ſeated quietly in the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, the Sultan ſupported him, and had ſent *Sarder Baſſa* with an Army againſt *Gabriel Battori*, who was then in Poſſeſſion; but, weak both of Men, Money, and Friends, he was not able to make head againſt them; ſo as being abandoned of his Friends, and hated of his Subjects for his Tyranny, he grew into deſpair, and was ſlain by his own Souldiers. Whereupon, the Country yielding Obedience to *Gabor*, *Sarder Baſſa* retired out of *Tranſilvania* with his Turks. Yet afterwards, ſome neerly allied to *Battori*, (deſiring to revenge his death) cauſed ſome alterations; and others, ſeeking to get the Province from the Emperour, had ſurpriſed *Huſt* and other Places in his Name. The Sultan hearing this, wrote his Letters to the Noblemen and States of the Province. They were not ignorant, he ſaid, that ſince the time that *Tranſilvania* yielded obedience to his Predeceſſors and him, they had always lived in peace under his Protection, and had often deſired and obtained Succour againſt their Enemies: That, when as *Botſcay* had been annoied by the *Germans*, aſſiſting him with great Forces, he had ſhaken off the Yoke: That when as *Battori*, his Succeſſor, had lived after his own Will, they ſent *Bethlem Gabor* with Complaints to his Court by their general conſent, and did eaſily obtain Forces to free the Province from Tyranny. He being taken away, now a wiſhed day began to ſhine, the Clouds of Tribulation being all diſperſed; That he had held *Bethlem* worthy to ſucceed *Battori*, and to enjoy that Province: Wherefore he had commanded all the Noblemen to ſubmit themſelves unto him, and to enjoy a wiſhed Peace: That *Bethlem* had ſent to advertiſe him of the new Practices of the *Germans*; wherefore he had given charge to the Baſſaes of *Temeſwar* and *Agria*, and to the Prince of *Valachia* to be watchful to repell all theſe Injuries; admoniſhing the Noblemen to yield ſpeedy Obedience to *Bethlem*; to which end he had ſent them thoſe Letters, that upon the ſight thereof they might be admoniſhed of their Duties; and if the *Germans* ſhould attempt any thing, they ſhould

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make reſiſtance until the coming of his Forces: and following *Bethlem* in all things, they ſhould acknowledge him for their true and lawful Prince, and continue conſtant in their Fidelity, leſt they ſhould provoke his wrath againſt them, and draw upon themſelves ſome great miſery; writing much more to the like effect; concluding, That he had fully purpoſed and reſolved, not to ſpoil any one Village, or any Fort in *Tranſilvania*, not to do any wrong to any man, nor ſuffer it to be done by any other, but would defend that Province from all oppreſſion. Wherefore he would have the Emperour advertiſed, that if he meant to have the Peace inviolably kept, he ſhould cauſe the ſaid Places of *Tranſilvania* to be preſently reſtored unto the Prince, or ſignifie his mind unto him by Letters.

Emir Facardin abandoned *Sidon.*

Emir retires to *Florence.*

The great Duke receives him courteouſly.

Of theſe Rebels of *Aſia*, whereof we have made mention, the Governour of *Sarepta* or *Sidon* in *Syria*, called *Armil* or *Emir Facardin*, he, who gave entrance into his Port to the *Florentines*, and received them in their Courſes to the *Levant*; hearing that the Baſſa of *Damas*, and the Baſſa of the Sea, with the Gallies which he brought from *Conſtantinople*, and the threeſcore which he took at *Negropont* (whereof we have made mention) came to fall upon him with a mighty and fearful Army, he left his eldeſt Son within *Sidon* with Forces to command there, and in other Forts about it, and, flying from a furious tempeſt of Enemies, he went to Sea with three Ships, to retire himſelf into *Europe*, with his four Wives, ten Children, ſeventy Turks, and fourteen thouſand pound weight in Gold. He arrived at *Legorn*, and went from thence to *Florence*, under the Protection of *Coſmo de Medicis*, Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, whoſe hands he kiſſed, preſenting unto him a Cuttelas very curiouſly wrought, and inriched with Stone, and two Jewels to the Great Dutcheſs, to the value of ſix thouſand Crowns. This Turk, though he had no Faith, yet he found Faith with this Prince of *Tuſcany*. *Coſmo* received him, defraied him and all his Train, furniſhed him with Money, whether it were by way of Gratification, or that *Emir* had conſumed his own; and by all kind of Courteſies made this Infidel ſee what difference there is to fly unto the Protection of a Chriſtian Prince, or to have recourſe unto a Mahometan. They ſay that *Emir* made many goodly overtures for the ſettling of the Chriſtians in *Aſia*; but to attempt it with a good and happy Succeſs, it ſhould be neceſſary that moſt of the Chriſtian Princes would joyn their Wills and Arms together for the general good of Chriſtendom. It is true, that the Great Duke *Ferdinand*, deceaſed, and *Coſmo* his Succeſſor had made proof of their good Intentions, by many generous Enterpriſes againſt the Turk. But one Prince alone cannot do all.

A horrible tempeſt in the *Mediterranean* Sea.

Theſe things paſt in the Year 1613, the end whereof concludes with the Fury of terrible Tempeſts in the *Mediterranean* Sea. The Tenth of *November*, a fearful Tempeſt, full of Lightning, Thunder, and furious Winds, was the cauſe of the loſs of many Gallies and Ships in the Port of *Genoa*, with a great number of Perſons which were miſerably drowned; which loſs was valued at above 800000 Crowns. The Port of *Naples* was not free from this Storm, and the Gallies of *Malta*, with a great number of other Veſſels received great loſs.

The Grand Seignior, having this Year and the Year before ſuſtained great loſs of his Gallies and Frigots in the *Mediterranean* Sea, by the Gallies of *Naples*, *Malta*, and *Florence*; and in the black Sea by the *Coſſacks*, who had taken two Gallies well manned and richly laden; he now impoſed a great Tax upon all his Chriſtian Subjects towards the reparation of that loſs, ſo as he charged the *Armenians* to build him nine Gallies at their own coſts, and the *Grecians* twenty; ſuch is the Tyranny of the Turk, as he ſuffers not the poor Chriſtians to injoy any thing, but he finds means to pull it from them.

A conſpiracy againſt the *Viſier Naſſuf.*

The Grand Viſier *Naſſuff* held his credit with the Prince, at whoſe return from *Adrianople*, many Janizaries (to whom the Viſier was very odious) conſpired to kill him as he ſhould enter in at the North Gate coming from *Adrianople*, and had placed themſelves there for the effecting of what they had intended; but coming near unto the Gate, the Sultan (being ignorant of what was intended againſt the Viſier) called for him to ſpeak with him, keeping him by him until he was entred into the City, by which means he eſcaped the pretended practice. Soon after, *Naſſuff* invited the Sultan to a ſumptuous Feaſt, and within few days after the Emperour feaſted the Viſier; who, preſuming upon his great credit, cauſed all the Croſſes in the Church of St. *Sophia* (which is one of the goodlieſt Monuments in *Conſtantinople*) to be thrown down, and all the Images to be defaced, the which had ſtood intire ever ſince the Chriſtians Government.

The King of *Perſia*'s cruelty againſt the *Armenians.*

The Year before, the King of *Perſia* had put to death 1200 *Armenians* upon a falſe Sugeſtion, as if they had intended to reconcile themſelves to the Pope: that King hating the Papiſts, and yet ſuffers divers Jeſuits to live in his Dominions. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Chaplain, deſirous to know the reaſon of the *Perſian's* Cruelty, conferred with the Patriarch of the *Armenians* which reſided at *Conſtantinople*, (for there are two Patriarchs, whereof the one is under the *Perſian*, and the other at *Conſtantinople* under the Turk) who told him, that it was true he had miſerably ſlain many of their Nation by the cunning practiſes of an *Armenian*, who had counterfeited Letters from the Patriarch of *Armenia* to the Pope, by which the Patriarch, with his whole Church of *Armenians*, made offer to reconcile themſelves to the Church of *Rome*, and to acknowledge the Pope as their head; intreating the Pope to write to the King of *Perſia* to give them leave to do it freely; which Letters the Pope receiving, he rewarded the Meſſenger bountifully, and returned Letters by him to the King of *Perſia*, whereby he intreated him to ſuffer the *Armenians* in his Country to uſe their Conſciences freely. The King of *Perſia* having received theſe Letters, grew into a great rage, cauſing many of them to be put to death, ſaying, *That if they would be obedient to the* Pope, *he could expect no ſervice nor obedience from them*; notwithſtanding the Papiſts ſaid that this was done directly by the Patriarch; but the *Armenians* affirm that it was the practice of a counterfeit Rogue. Soon after there arrived three Ambaſſadors at *Conſtantinople*; the one was a *Circaſſian*, the ſecond a *Georgian*, (and this was a Biſhop) and the third a *Mingrelian*, all of them to complain of the *Perſians* Oppreſſion and Cruelty, imploring Succours from the Grand Seignior for their ſupport. Preſently after them arrived a *Perſian* Ambaſſador, whom the Sultan would not admit to Audience, until all Controverſies were concluded betwixt himſelf and the Emperour, which was then in queſtion, the Sultan having ſent one *Gaſparo* (ſometime a Servant in the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Houſe) to treat with the Emperour, by whoſe means at length all matters were reconciled betwixt them.

1614

The fall of *Naſſufs* fortune.

The Year 1614 began by the horror of great Prodigies, which were ſeen in divers parts of *Hungary* and *Sileſia*. Over the Town of *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, the Heavens grew ſo red and fearfully dark-

The fall of *Naſſufs* Fortune.

The beginning and progreſs of *Naſſufs* Fortune.

darkned, as they feared that either the laſt day was come, or elſe there would follow ſome horrible Effuſion of Blood. But all theſe ſigns had no other effect this year, than the ruine of the great Fortune and prodigious Authority of *Naſſuf Baſſa*, Grand Viſier of the Turkiſh Empire, formerly one of the greateſt and moſt fearful Rebels which had carried Arms in *Aſia* againſt the ſovereign Power of their Sultan; but to comprehend more plainly the fall and declining of his Fortune, let us behold him in his beginning and firſt riſing. He was the Son of a Greek Prieſt, born in a little Village near unto *Solonica*, and having been taken by the Tribute, which the Turks exact from Chriſtians upon their miſerable Children, taking one of three; he was carried very young to *Conſtantinople*, and there ſold for three Chequines or Sultanins (every one of which is not above eight Shillings ſterling) to an Eunuch of the Sultans, who nouriſhed and bred him up till he came to the age of twenty years, and afterwards ſold him to a Steward of the Sultanaes Houſe, to ſerve him in his charge; who finding this Slave to have a Spirit capable of greater Affairs than the Houſehold, employed him in the overſight of the building of a rich and ſtately Moſque, which the Sultana cauſed to be erected at her charge: In this place he gave ſuch proof of his Wit and Judgment, to the Sultanaes content, that ſoon after ſhe gave him the Government of her Houſhold.

He is made Governour of *Meſopotamia*.

Naſſuf made Grand Viſier and General of the Army.

The Sultan had a will to employ him in his Service, and retired him from the Sultanaes Houſe into his Seraglio, where he was honoured with the charge of the Capigi Baſſa, or Captain of the Porters or Uſhers of the Seraglio; from thence he was advanced to the Dignity of the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, and ſoon after he was made Governour General of *Meſopotamia*. The Commodity of his Government (frontiring upon *Perſia*) ſtirred up his ambitious Thoughts, and his diſordinate deſire to become Sovereign of that Country, and made him to entertain many Practices with the King of *Perſia*, an antient Enemy to his Maſter. The report of his Practices came to *Conſtantinople*, the Sultan is advertiſed, he knows the ambitious and ſtirring Spirit of this *Naſſuf*, and finds that he is very profitable for his Service, if he can by any mild courſe withdraw him from his Diſloyalties and Intelligences with the *Perſian*: wherefore he diſſembled the Knowledge of his treacherous Deſigns, and to gain him the more powerfully, he gorged his ambitious Appetite with the greateſt Dignity of his Empire. After the Death of *Murath Baſſa*, he honoured him with the Place of Grand Viſier, and gave him all his Goods, and in his Place made him General of the Army againſt the *Perſian*, with promiſe to give him his Daughter in Marriage. Thus was *Naſſuf* advanced by his Dexterity, Wit, Diligence, and Treachery, to the greateſt Charges of the greateſt Empire of the World.

He forceth the *Perſian* to a Peace.

He entered into *Perſia*, as Lieutenant General of his Maſters Army, with the which he made ſo great a ſpoil, as he forced *Ka Abbas*, King of *Perſia* then reigning, to demand a Peace; and after that he had granted him a ſurceaſe of Arms, he brought his Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, to conclude this Peace to his Maſters benefit, as we have formerly obſerved. He enters in Pomp, preſents a Million of Gold unto his Emperour, is well received at the Seraglio, much made of by the Baſſaes, but more by the Sultan, who cauſed him to marry his Daughter. Fortune having thus advanced him to the height of Greatneſs, not being poſſible to climb higher, ſhe overthrows him, and doth precipitate him to the loweſt degrees of Miſery. The Sultan fears his Spirit, too head-ſtrong by reaſon of his Ambition; he grows jealous of his Actions, and about the end of the year concludes his Ruine and Death. The commandment is given to *Boſtangi Baſſa*, that is to ſay, the Sultans chief Gardiner, and overſeer of his Seraglio, and all his Houſes, one of the goodlieſt Dignities of the Court. *Naſſuf* was at that time ſick in his Houſe, *Boſtangi* goes thither to viſit him, and to cauſe him to be ſtrangled, being accompanied only with ſeven or eight Men; for that he would not give any ſuſpition of the commandment he had received from his Maſter. Being come unto his Lodging, he demanded to ſpeak with him, and *Naſſuf* excuſed himſelf by his Servants, by reaſon of the diſcommodity of his Health; but the *Boſtangi* (who would needs execute his Commiſſion) replied, that he could not return to the Sultan (who had ſent him to have certain News of his Health) before he had ſeen him, to be the better aſſured. At this reply *Naſſuf* grew diſtruſtful, and would without all doubt have been far from thence in ſome place of *Meſopotamia*; but, believing whatſoever happened to him was inevitable, he commanded them to ſuffer the *Boſtangi* to enter; who at his firſt approach entertained him with many Complements of Courteſie; and having demanded ſome queſtions of him touching his Health, he drew out of his Pocket a commandment from the Sultan to *Naſſuf*, to deliver unto him the Seals of the Empire; the which being preſently done, he drew out another commandment unto him, by the which he was enjoyned to ſend him his Head; then *Naſſuf* cryed out aloud, and deſired to ſpeak with the Sultan; but the *Boſtangi* anſwered, that he had no Commiſſion to conduct him to the Seraglio, but to cauſe his Life to be taken away preſently: upon this refuſal, he intreats him to give him leave to waſh himſelf in the next Chamber, to the end that his Soul (ſaid he) ſhould not depart this World in the Eſtate of Pollution, according to the Turks belief, who hold the waſhing of the Body for a true Purification. This Favour was alſo denied him; he ſaw there was no Remedy in his Miſery, nor any hope of Grace; *Boſtangi Baſſa's* Followers (which were ſeven or eight Capigies) being come to take away his Life, and environing his Bed, which was an undoubted ſummons that he muſt die; in the end he reſolves, and turning himſelf unto theſe Executioners, he willed them to do their Duties; whereupon they fell to work, and caſting themſelves upon him, they put a Cord about his Neck, and ſought to ſtrangle him; but ſeeing that the fatneſs of his repleat Body would not ſuffer them to take away his Life preſently, they cut his Throat with a Knife. His Death could not be diſpleaſing to the Chriſtians, ſeeing that all his Deſigns tended to their Ruine; he had perſwaded his Maſter to break the Peace with the Emperour, the French King, and the *Venetians*, promiſing him to make him Sovereign Monarch of the whole World, to the end he might keep his Spirit in Action, and make himſelf neceſſary to his Maſter, and live more ſafely in Combuſtions than in a Calm; whereas the Envy and Malice of his Enemies gave him a thouſand furious Aſſaults. Thus *Naſſuf Baſſa* ended his Days and Fortune; before Governour of *Meſopotamia*, General of an Imperial Army, and Grand Viſier of the Turkiſh Empire; advanced to theſe ſuperam Dignities, by the great Actions of his Mind, but overthrown ſhamefully to his Ruine by his boundleſs Ambition. Doubtleſs it is a difficult thing for a Favorite that is inſolently audacious, to continue long in Grace with his Prince, eſpecially when his unreſtrained Ambition hath once broken the Bounds which Reaſon pre-

The Sultan reſolves to be rid of him, and concludes his Ruin.

Naſſufs Throat cut.

An inſolent Favorite continues little.

preſcribeth to thoſe that Fortune advanceth by the Favour of her blaſts; and that he follows obſtinately that pernicious Curioſity to know by Experience how high Fortune can advance him; for then the deſire to enjoy that which is above his Condition, blinding the Eyes of Reaſon, he doth precipitate himſelf by his raſh and inſolent Actions, to the loweſt ſtep of ſhameful ruine. The Riches of *Naſſuf* were ſo great and proportionable to his Fortune, as after his Death, they found about two Buſhels of Diamonds and Pearls. Doubtleſs this rich and ſtately ſpoil deſerved to be enjoyed by ſome great Prince. So the Emperour *Achmat* ſeiſed thereon, and applyed it to his Chaſna, or Treaſury.

The Treaſures of *Naſſuf.*

Another Diſcourſe of *Naſſufs* Death.

This Death of *Naſſuf* is related after another manner by one who was then preſent in *Conſtantinople*; the which I have thought good to ſet down as I have received it from him. The Grand Seignior being much diſcontented with his Viſier; whether incenſed with ſuch as were near about him, who both hated and feared *Naſſuf*, or doubting his great Power; he diſſembled his ſpleen, until he might find ſome Opportunity for Revenge; yet it was not ſo ſecretly carried, but *Naſſuf* had diſcovered the Sultans Diſcontent, and laboured by great Gifts both to the Sultana and others to pacifie him, providing notwithſtanding in the mean time for his own ſafety, ſending Horſemen daily over into *Aſia*, meaning to paſs himſelf when he had gathered together a ſufficient ſtrength. But it fell out on the ſeventh day of *October*, it being the Turks Sabboth, that the Moon about eight a Clock at Night was much eclipſed, which made the Turks expect ſome great accident. The Grand Seignior having formerly cauſed it to be bruted, That he would about that time paſs to viſit a new Moſque which was then in building; whereupon all the Streets were hanged with Cloth and Arras, and as the Cuſtom was, a cry went before, that *The King cometh*; at the noiſe whereof *Naſſuf* (being then in his Houſe) could not but deſcend to ſalute the Sultan as he paſſed by: But it was not the Grand Seignior himſelf, but his *Boſtangi Baſſa*, whom he had cauſed to be attired like himſelf, who being come before *Naſſufs* Door, and finding him ſtanding there, he ſuddenly leapt unto him, and told him that the Sultans Pleaſure was he ſhould deliver up his Seal; whereat *Naſſuf* being amazed, demanded what the Sultan meant to do? to whom the *Boſtangi Baſſa* replied, That he knew not what the Princes Pleaſure was, but if he would not deliver it, he would return with that Meſſage unto him. Whereupon *Naſſuf* drew the Seal out of his Boſom, and delivered it. Then the *Boſtangi* Baſſa ſhewed him a Warrant for his Head, whereunto he preſently ſubmitted himſelf, and then two Jamoglans ſtrangled him; his Head was preſently cut off, and carried to the Grand Seignior, and his Body thrown into the Street to be trampled on.

It was thought his Death was procured by the Wife of *Cicala*, Baſſa of *Babylon*, who had been manzoled or depoſed from his Government there by *Naſſuf*, and was a little before returned to *Conſtantinople*, but could not be allowed by *Naſſuf* to have any acceſs unto the Grand Seigniors Preſence; whereupon he wrote a Letter unto the Sultan, wherein he accuſed *Naſſuf* to have conſpired with the *Perſian* to kill him, charging him with many things that were Capital. This Letter he ſent by his Wife, who was Siſter to the Grand Seignior; who coming to his ſpeech (although ſhe were watchfully obſerved by *Naſſuf* who was then preſent) left the Letter in his Chamber, and ſo departed. The Grand Seignior finding this Letter, and reading it, was much incenſed againſt *Naſſuf*, and never quiet in Mind until he had his Head. He writes, that there were found in *Naſſufs* Houſe eighty Bags of Gold, each Bag containing ten thouſand Chequinos. After *Naſſufs* Death, *Mechmet* Baſſa, Admiral at Sea (who had married Sultan *Achmats* eldeſt Daughter) was made chief Viſier; he was born in *Conſtantinople*, and the firſt natural Turk that was ever Viſier ſince *Conſtantinople* was won.

You have heard in the laſt years Relation, of ſome Combuſtions which were growing in *Tranſilvania*, and how the Sultan had written his Letters of an imperious ſtile unto the Nobility and States of the Country, which Letters were fixed up in form of a mandate throughout all *Tranſilvania*, and in Places that were neareſt unto thoſe Noblemen which held the Emperours party againſt *Bethlem*. At the ſame time *Bethlem* defeated certain Troops of the Garriſons at *Lippa* and *Genoa*, which over-ran and ſpoiled the Country, ſo as the Governours of thoſe Places were forced to ſend to *Vienna*, to demand Succours of Men and Money. A Chiaus arrived at that time at *Lintz*, bringing Letters unto the Emperour from the Grand Seignior; the firſt point contained in them, was, That his Imperial Majeſty ſhould have a care, that the Peace made betwixt them for twenty years ſhould not be violated; and that for his part he deſired to obſerve it faithfully. Secondly, That in the name of his Imperial Majeſty they had ſeiſed upon certain Places in *Tranſilvania*, a Province which had been always under his Protection, which received her Princes from his Hand, and the which he was bound to defend againſt all her Enemies. Thirdly, That the Tyranny of Prince *Battori* had conſtrained him to give Forces to *Bethlem Gabor* to diſpoſſeſs him of the Principality of *Tranſilvania*: That after the death of the ſaid *Battori*, he had inveſted *Bethlem* to govern it in Peace. Fourthly, That ſince he had been advertiſed how that ſome Troops of Souldiers in the Name of his Imperial Majeſty, contrary to the Articles of Peace, had by force ſeiſed upon the Forts of *Huſt* and *Vivar*, and the Towns of *Nagipan* and *Tonaſe*. Fifthly, That he had given expreſs charge to *Bethlem*, not to ſuffer any Enterpriſe, no not upon the leaſt Village of his Principality, to the end that nothing might be ſeparated; but that he ſhould repell the Injury of the Aggreſſor by force. Sixthly, That he exhorted his Imperial Majeſty, if he deſired the continuance of the Peace, to command his People to make Reſtitution of the places uſurped, or to ſignifie his Intention by the ſame *Chiaus* which he had ſent, to the end he might be fully aſſured: for the miſchief increaſing daily, the affection which he bare to the good of Peace might grow cold:

Letters from the Sultan to the Emperour.

The Emperours anſwer to the Turk.

The Turks Courſes in *Hungary.*

The Emperour received the Chiaus at *Lintz* very honourably, and gave him an anſwer to his Letter wrapt in a piece of Cloth of Gold; the ſence whereof was, That this buſineſs being of great importance, his Imperial Majeſty deſired to confer with the Princes Electors, and States of the Empire to hear their Advice; after which he would acquaint him with his laſt Reſolution; and finally, that he ſhould reſt aſſured, that for his part he would not attempt any thing contrary to the Peace. In the mean time there was a petty War in *Hungary*, the Incurſions and Spoils betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks beginning again. The Turks of the Garriſon of *Agria* going forth, took a great number of Cattel from the Chriſtians; eight hundred *Haiducks* advertiſed of this Spoil, purſued them ſo ſpeedily, as they met them before they came within half a League of their retreat, when they made them to leave their prize, and put them to flight. The Baſſa of *Agria* advertiſed of the defeat of his out-riders, goeth forth with one thouſand Men, to recover the Booty from the *Haiducks*, which they had newly taken from his Souldiers; but after a ſharp encounter he loſt his Horſe, and two hundred of his Men, being forced to make his retreat. From thence the *Haiducks* went and ſpoiled the Country about *Solnoc*; ſome others holding the ways of *Strigonium* or *Gran*, took a Turkiſh Bride with her Baggage, who was going from *Gran* to *Buda*; and four hundred Boothalers (ſome of them *Haiducks*, and the reſt *Turks*, Men which hold no party but their own, to rob with the more impunity) ſeiſed upon *Balaſter*, *Micolut*, and *Felac*; but at the recovery of them, they were ſo ill intreated by the *Hungarians*, as moſt of them loſt their Lives there, and the reſt were taken Priſoners.

The Eſtates of *Bohemia*, *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, and others.

But the Emperour, who deſired to be reſolved in the important Buſineſs of *Tranſilvania*, aſſembled the Eſtates of *Bohemia*, *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Sileſia*, *Luſatia*, *Moravia*, and *Hungary*, his Hereditary Countries; whom he gave to underſtand, That the Peace was violated in *Hungary*, by the Hoſtilities of the Turks upon the Chriſtians; to whoſe Prejudice Sultan *Achmat* had ſubjected unto himſelf the Provinces of *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Tranſilvania*; this laſt, under the Government of *Bethlem Gabor*, who had made himſelf his Vaſſal. That the Sultan had ſent word unto his Imperial Majeſty, that he ſhould not pretend any thing there, to the end this Country might be wholly united to the Turks Empire. Whereupon he earneſtly exhorted the Aſſembly to conſider wiſely: Firſt, whether *Tranſilvania* ſhould be left wholly in the Turks Power: Secondly, why the Sultan would not conſent to the ratification of the Truce: Thirdly, of the means to make War, if the Neceſſity of his Affairs ſhould force him: Fourthly, to what end the Turk would hinder his Imperial Majeſty, that he ſhould pretend no right to *Tranſilvania*: Fifthly, that the Turk had ſent him an Ambaſſador, who, contrary to the Articles of Peace, had not brought any Preſents: Sixthly, if they ſhould make a new accord with the Turk, to conſider adviſedly, what aſſurance they might take, ſeeing that he would not conſent unto the ſixth Article of the Peace.

The Reſolution of the Eſtates.

The Deſigns of *Bethlem* upon divers places.

Their opinions were divers upon theſe Propoſitions; but all joyntly conſented to maintain the Authority of the Imperial Majeſty. The *Hungarians*, only intereſſed in their reſolutions to War, by reaſon of the Spoil of their Countrey, as a paſſage for all their Troops, they beſought the Emperour, that if he meant to ſend any Forces into *Tranſilvania*, they might have commandment to march ſome other way, and not over their Lands. *Bethlem Gabor* in the mean time laboured to recover thoſe places which had been loſt. Wherefore he provided himſelf to make ſome attempts upon *Lippa* and other places; as at *Borene*, *Genoe*, and *Arach*. The Governours of theſe places gave advice unto *Forgatſie*, Lieutenant General to the Emperour in high *Hungary*, repreſenting unto him the eſtate of their Gariſon, and the fear they had, that if *Bethlem* ſhould once get them into his poſſeſſion and power, he would deliver them over unto the Turk: That if they would ſend them Succours, they would rather endure all extremities than yield to the Enemy. Yet for all this they made no haſte to ſend them Succours; and *Sander Baſſa*, according to the commandment he had received from the Sultan, having brought Forces to *Bethlem*, the ſiege of *Lippa* was reſolved in the Eſtates of *Tranſilvania*. On the five and twentieth of October, the Cannon being drawn out of *Veradin* to batter the Fort, *Bethlem* went to inveſt it, made his approches, and battered it ſo furiouſly, as having made a reaſonable breach, it ſerved firſt for a Paſſage for four hundred Men to eſcape, who left the Governour with very ſmall means to defend the Place, and without hope of Succours from *Hungary*; which made him come to a Parley, promiſing to yield the Place, to have their Lives and Goods ſaved. The Forts of *Genoe* and *Arach*, were delivered by the ſame Capitulation. That theſe three Places ſhould not be put into the Turks Hands, but ſhould remain perpetually united to the Principality of *Tranſilvania*: and to take all intereſt from the Turks, the Eſtates of the Country ſhould pay unto *Sander Baſſa* the Charges and Entertainment of his Troops. Theſe Places thus gotten by *Bethlem*, he manned them with new Garriſons; the Imperials which were within them being retired to *Fortgatſie*, the Emperours Lieutenant in High *Hungary*. But the Eſtates of *Tranſilvania* being aſſembled at *Veradin*, diſputed diverſly, whether they ſhould reſign theſe three Places into the Sultans Power; ſome repreſented the Diſcontentment he would have if they were refuſed, and the Inconveniency that might enſue; others were not of Opinion that the Province ſhould be ſo diſmembred, giving the moſt important Places thereof unto Infidels. Thus without conſenting or refuſing the delivery of theſe Places to the Turk, the Eſtates concluded, that Prince *Bethlem* ſhould do therein what he held moſt Neceſſary for the Tranquility of the Country; beſeeching him moſt humbly, to free them from the Imperials, who had ſeiſed upon *Huſt* and *Vivar*. Such were the Affairs of *Tranſilvania* this Year, a Province diſtracted from the Emperours Power by the Turks Practices.

He receives Forces from the Turk, and beſiegeth *Lippa*.

The Sultan cauſeth a Platform to be made at *Conſtantinople*.

At *Conſtantinople*, Sultan *Achmat*, deſirous to beautifie the outward part of his Seraigle with a goodly and Spacious Place upon the Sea ſhore, he cauſed a Platform to be made within the Sea, being eight hundred Paces long, and one hundred and twenty broad. The Provoſt of *Conſtantinople* cauſed this Reſolution to be proclaimed, when as preſently every Houſe ſent forth a Man, and the chief of Families themſelves laboured there in Perſon. There might you ſee the Baſſaes ſerve as overſeers of the Workmen, and the Janizaries and Spahies carrying Scuttles with a wonderful Alacrity; and at all hours of the day there was Muſick of divers ſorts of Inſtruments, to eaſe their Labour, and to encourage them to continue. The Viſiers going to viſit the Work-men, cauſed a largeſs of pieces of Silver to be caſt amongſt them. Thus the Sultan being ſerved with admirable Diligence in this his work of Pleaſure, he ſaw it finiſhed in three Months, having been begun in *October* this year.

Certain Jeſuits go to *Mingrelia* or *Cholcos*.

Whilſt that the Sultan imployed his leiſure after this manner, in the ſtructure of a Platform within the Sea of *Conſtantinople*, certain religious Men parting from *Pera*, had a deſign to build another in the Waves of Infidelity; but more profitable for the Health of Souls. This was an Imployment of Jeſuits into the Country of *Mingrelia*, in old time called *Cholcos*; *Lewis Grangier*, a Prieſt of this Society, with two others of his Order, and an *Armenian* for their Interpreter, parted from *Thrace* with this godly Reſolution, to preach unto the People far from God, the Truth of his Holy Word, and to guide them happily in the way to Heaven. He paſſed the the *Boſphorus* of *Thrace*, and the famous Caſtles of *Leander* and *Hero*, and cut through thoſe Waves, whereas he that could not quench the Fire of his

Paſſion,

1614 Paſſion, quenched the flame of his Life; he paſſed beyond *Pompey's* Pillar, or rather that of the moſt happy *Daniel Stylita*, who erected his towards this Mouth of the Sea: and about the ſixth of *June* this ſame year they arrived at *Verna*, a famous Town in *Thrace*, whereas a Company of *French* Souldiers (whom the violence of Neceſſity had ſome years ſince forced to leave the Emperours Service in *Hungary*) were in Garriſon for the Turk, to defend his Subjects againſt the Incurſions of the *Coſſacks*; yet theſe *Frenchmen* do ſtill obſerve the Catholick Religion inviolably. From thence he ſailed towards *Cordula*, and by the encounter of a little Gallion he entered into the Port of *Trabizond*. Within few days after he was carried in the ſame Veſſel to *Eriſſa* in the Country of *Laxia* or *Laſſia*, which on the one ſide looks towards the Country of the *Georgians*, and the other that of *Trabizond*. The Chriſtian Religion hath been for a long time planted among thoſe People, but very ill manured; for the Fathers, to free their miſerable Children from the Tribute wherewith the Turks oppreſs them, cauſe their Children to be circumciſed after the Mahometan manner, and for the ſame Conſideration they marry their Daughters unto Janizaries. Moreover they abandon themſelves to the Mahometan Impiety, to the end they may be delivered from their inſupportable Oppreſſions, and their Turkiſh Yoke. The Jeſuits found there a good Subject to work upon for the Health of Souls; during their abode there for certain days they catechiſed the Men, baptized the Children, and advertiſed the Women married unto Turks, what they were to do for the maintenance of their Faith: But for that their Commiſſion or Charge was to go unto *Mingrelia* or *Cholcos*, they went again to Sea, and ſailed towards *Govea*, which is the furtheſt Corner of the *Black Sea*: this Haven being very unfit to caſt Anchor in, they followed the Gallies which carried a Baſſa called *Oneze* from *Conſtantinople*, who ſhould treat a Peace on the behalf of Sultan *Achmat*, with the Prince of the *Mingrelians*, and diſpoſe him to pay a Tribute; with theſe Veſſels they went into a Port called *Maurogali*, nine Miles from that of *Govea*, holding this Place more ſafe than the other: but in Truth there is little aſſurance whereas the Waves and Winds command Sovereignty. A *North-weſt* wind riſing about Midnight on the fifteenth of *September*, drave their Gallies near unto the Shelfs and Rocks, whereas one was broken and caſt away. This Tempeſt continued many days, and during the Violence thereof, another Gallie was loſt, in the which the Jeſuits had been, by good advice they had retired to Land during the Fury of the Sea and Winds. The Jeſuits imputed the cauſe of this loſs, to the Prohibition which *Oneze* the Baſſa had made unto them, not to paſs into *Mingrelia* before the Peace were concluded with the Princes of that Country; the which grew long, by reaſon of the Difficulties which happened in the Treaty. In the end thoſe Princes reſolving to pay the Tribute unto the Turk, it was concluded.

The Shipwrack of certain Gallies.

A Peace betwixt the *Turks* and the *Georgians*.

The Salutation of the *Georgians*.

The Liberty of Travell follows Peace. *Grangier* and his Companions proceeded in their Journey; twenty days after their departure from *Maurogali* they arrived at *Satrapella*, a place of *Georgia*, whereas the Prince's Viſier came to viſit them, and after the *Georgian* manner ſaluted them, bare-headed, and kneeling upon one knee. *Gorel*, Prince of the *Georgians* (who was then at *Barlet*, whereas the Court was to paſs the Feaſts of *Chriſtemas*) being advertiſed of the arrival of theſe new Chriſtian and French Preachers, ſent for them, received them favourably, and ſaluted them bare-headed, and kneeling. After that he had made them to bleſs his Court, he held many Diſcourſes with them of the Truth of the Roman Church: and of the Popes Power, as the Father of all Chriſtendom; being moved partly thereunto by a feeling of Piety to the Church, and partly from the Inſtructions he received from theſe Jeſuits, ſo as enlightned with a new Beam of the true Light, he intreated *Grangier* to crave Abſolution of his Sins from the Pope, the which (ſaid he) he may give me by the Power he hath from God; promiſing to ſend him his Confeſſion in writing. But underſtanding that the Jeſuit had Power from the Pope to abſolve him, he purged his Conſcience of all his Sins, by a general Confeſſion of his Life. Without doubt the Zeal of theſe Souls, ſo far from Succour, ſhews plainly what the Harveſt would be, if ſo many Labourers were ſent as are neceſſary. A Monk of *Georgia*, who had lived at *Rome* for the ſpace of twelve years, had in former times planted Piety there; the which they of this miſſion did now alter. This Prince *Gorel* intreated the Jeſuits, to ſend him ſome of their Company at their return into *Europe*, promiſing to make great eſteem of them, and to give them a Church, a Houſe, and all things neceſſary for their maintenance. The Prince offered them Silver, which they refuſed, modeſtly excuſing themſelves upon the Rules of their Inſtitution, which forbids them to receive any temporal recompence for the Adminiſtration of Holy things. Thus they parted from this Prince, who commended much their manner of living, and cauſed them to be conducted to *Satrapella*, to continue on their Journey into *Mingrelia*.

1614 The Reception of the Jeſuits by a Prince of *Aſia*.

1615 The third of *February*, in the year 1615, they parted from this Town with the Turks who came to conclude the Peace, and paſſing by the Banks of *Faſſo* (a River which doth water the Country of *Cholchos*, now called *Mingrelia*) they arrived at *Herailcano*, otherwiſe called *Heraclia*, and from thence to *Margoula*, whereas the Prince of the *Mingrelians* (called *Dodran*) then remained, being buſie in the Reception of *Threbis Cham*, King of *Georgia*, who was come thither to viſit him, being expelled his Country by the King of *Perſia*. The Jeſuits were brought to kiſs the Hands of Prince *Dodran*, and of *Lipartia* his Uncle, who was Regent of the Realm during his Minority. They both promiſed them aſſiſtance in their Affairs, ſending them to the Town of *Macaury*, to make their abode there whilſt they were buſied in the Affairs of their Country, the which at that time were ſomewhat confuſed. The Biſhop of that Place entertained them with great Demonſtration of Love, and ſoon after, making a Feaſt to *Threbis Cham*, or Prince of the *Georgians*, he would needs have the Jeſuits aſſiſt at this Banquet, for a great Teſtimony of his Love. It is the manner of thoſe of *Cholchos*, or the *Mingrelians*, as well as the *Georgians*, to ſing at their Meat. The *Threbis Cham* deſired, that the Jeſuits might ſing ſome note when it came to their turn, whereof they excuſed themſelves divers times; But there was no Remedy, they muſt do as others have done; whereupon they ſung the Hymn of *Plange lingua, &c.* appointed for Holy Thurſday. Being thus favourably entertained in *Mingrelia*, they make their reſidence at *Macaury*, with hope to labour profitably for the Health of Souls, which err in that Country through the Darkneſs of Ignorance, for want of Men to teach them the way of Truth. They are Chriſtians of the Greek Profeſſion, under the command of divers Princes, always in war either againſt the *Turk* or the *Perſian*: They carry the Name of Cham, which is as much

The Cuſtom of the *Mingrelians* at their Feaſts.

to ſay, as King or Soveraign Prince. The Sophy had diſpoſſeſt *Threbus Cham*, chief King of *Georgia*, of all his Countries, in the Year 1613, who had retired himſelf into *Mingrelia*, as you have heard.

The Hiſtory of Sultan *Jacaia*, held by many to be Emperour *Achmat*'s Brother.

His Mother was a Chriſtian.

She paſſeth out of *Aſia* into *Europe*.

She diſcovers her ſelf and him to an Arch-biſhop.

Jacaia becomes a Chriſtian.

He joyns with the Rebels of *Aſia*.

The Rebels defeated, and *Jacaia* wounded.

Whilſt thoſe men labour to ſow the Seeds of true Doctrine of the Apoſtles in the Soil of *Mahometiſm*, a Turk paſſing out of *Aſia*, comes into Chriſtendome to ſeek the light of Truth, and demands favourable aſſiſtance and ſuccours from Chriſtian Princes, to enter into the Poſſeſſion of the Empire, whereunto his Birth and the degrees of a lawful Succeſſion ſeemed to call him by a juſt Title. The diſcourſe of his Birth, of his Fortunes, and of his Pretenſions to the Turkiſh Empire, is comprehended in this following Relation. He termed himſelf the Son of *Mahomet* the Third, Father to *Achmat*, now ſitting in the Imperial Throne at *Conſtantinople*; he maintained, That his Father by four Wives, or Concubines, had had four Sons; that is to ſay, *Muſtapha*, who was ſtrangled, for that he would have diſpoſſeſſed his Father of his Kingdom; *Jacaia* (which was himſelf) *Achmat* now reigning, and *Oſman*: yet it ſeems, by the ſequel of the Hiſtory, that he had another *Muſtapha*; that having been ſent for to come out of *Magneſia* to *Conſtantinople*, his Mother (who had been a Chriſtian, and baptized under the Name of *Hellen*, but was afterward engaged in the Company of *Mahomet* the Third, for the worth of her Beauty, and known in *Turkey* by the Name of the Sultana *Lalpare*) could not conduct him to his Father, for that he was dangerouſly ſick of the Small Pox. And this Princeſs deſired much to find ſome favourable occaſion, whereby ſhe might be freed from the damnable Errors of *Mahomet*'s Law, and return to the wholſome way of the Chriſtian Faith, and retire her Son *Jacaia* far from the power of thoſe bloody Laws, which ſprinkle the Imperial Scepter of him that comes unto the Crown with the blood of his Brethren; ſhe well foreſaw, that *Jacaia*, being but the ſecond of *Mahomet*'s Sons, ſhould one day by his Death ſecure the life of *Muſtapha* his elder, and that the only means to preſerve him, was to retire him into Chriſtendom: wherefore ſhe laboured ſeriouſly in this Deſign, and made uſe of a favourable Fiction; giving it out, that her Son *Jacaia* was dead of the Small Pox; and having ſuppoſed in his place the Son of an Eunuch dead of the ſame Diſeaſe aſſiſted at his Funeral, and by her conſtrained tears ſubtilly diſguiſed her deſign. An Eunuch, called *Aſtam Mehemet* was the faithful Secretary of her Enterpriſe; with him ſhe leaves *Magneſia*, a Province in *Aſia*, and under Pretext to go unto certain Baths thereby, ſhe gets her down to the Sea-ſide, paſſes into *Europe*, and tranſports her Son into *Morea*, ſometimes called *Helleſpont*, and lodgeth him (as unknown) in the Biſhop's Palace in the Town of *Miclo*. *Jacaia* was above nine years old; ſhe held him not ſecure at *Miclo*, but tranſported him into *Macedonia*, under the Habit of a Greek Monk, and retires him into the Town of *Caſſandria*, where ſhe diſcovers unto the Arch-biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, a Man learned and of a holy Life, the quality of her Son, and the deſire ſhe had to make him a Chriſtian; intreating him, in Charity, to take them both into his Protection. This Arch-biſhop lodgeth the Mother in the Monaſtery of religious Women of our Lady of *Theſſalonica*, and gives the cuſtody of the Son unto an Abbot of St. *Michael*, a man learned in all the Sciences, under whom he profited wonderfully, as well in the Greek Tongue as in many goodly Arts. I do well know this to be true, for that I have converſed with him for the ſpace of ſix months, and have ſeen him often in the Company of learned men ſpeak the Greek, with as great facility as his Turkiſh and Mother Tongue. He continued in this Monaſtery, under the Care and Government of this learned Abbot, untill the Age of ſeventeen Years; that is to ſay, for the ſpace of eight whole Years; during which time, his Mothers Tears, the holy Inſtructions of the Abbot (but rather the Divine Favour) made him to enter into the way of his Souls Health, and become a Chriſtian. The Arch-biſhop of *Theſſalonica* cleanſed his Soul from the Pollutions of the Law of *Mahomet*, and baptiſed him in the Church of St. *Anaſtaſius*, without the City of *Theſſalonica*; yet ſecretly, for fear leſt the Eunuch coming to diſcover this Myſtery, ſhould abandon him, and publiſh abroad the place and eſtate of his ſolitary abode, and ſo be miſerably taken. Thus *Jacaia* calling himſelf Sultan, being already in ſome aſſurance of the Crown of Heaven by the promiſes of holy Baptiſm, whilſt that he was in the beginning of his Pretenſions to that of the Turkiſh Empire, he leaves the Monaſtery where he had been inſtructed, and in the Company of the Eunuch travels up and down *Greece*, paſſing away (in the length and variety of his Voyage) the impatiency of his Age and Deſires; and for that he would not be known, he takes upon him the Habit and the Licenſe of a Dervis or religious Turk. But when he came to the City of *Siopia*, he underſtood the News of the Death of the Emperour *Mahomet* the Third, his Father, and the rejoycing for the new Advancement of Sultan *Achmat* to the Empire; learning at the ſame inſtant, that *Muſtapha*, his elder Brother, had been ſtangled by the Commandment of his Father. The Diſpleaſure which he conceived for that he had not been bred up at *Conſtantinople* with the reſt, to receive ſo rich a Crown as that of the Turkiſh Empire, made him to waver in divers irreſolutions: ſometimes he would go into *Perſia* to the Sophy, to have Succours from him, and with him to make War againſt his Brother: ſometimes he would ſerve for a ſupport and countenance to the Rebels of *Aſia*, and juſtifie their Party. After many Diſcourſes with the Eunuch touching his Affairs, he ſends him unto the Son of *Peri Baſſa*, a Rebel againſt the Emperour *Achmat*: the Eunuch treats for his Maſter, and receives for him the Rebels Oath; and returning to *Tarlis*, where the Sultan *Jacaia* remained, he conducted him to *Peri Baſſa*, to be the Head of his Troops. *Jacaia* arrives and ſees himſelf obeyed by an Army ready to fight: for the Deſtarden or Treaſurer being ſent againſt the Rebel *Peri* by the Grand Seignior, with ſeven thouſand Horſe and three thouſand Foot, was already upon the Banks of the River *Bardate* ready to give him Battel. The Baſſa's Troops (being leſs in number of fighting men) went to aſſail him. There was a ſharp Encounter; but in the end the Deſtarden was Victor, and the Troops of *Peri Baſſa* defeated, and *Jacaia* being wounded in four places of his Body, was forced to ſave himſelf on the other ſide of the River, where, wandring up and down the Fields, he found relief with a poor Peaſant, and ſoon after with an Abbot there by, who entertained him, and cauſed him to be cured, holding him to be one of the Deſtardens Pages, as he himſelf ſaid.

He ſends to *Conſtantinople*, and corrupted the Viſier.

His Wounds being cured, *Jacaia* returns again towards *Greece*, where he finds his Mother, confers with her, and ſoon after with the Eunuch, of the eſtate of his Affairs; and concludes with both of them, to ſend to *Conſtantinople*, to the Viſier Dervis (who at that time was diſcontented with the Emperour *Achmat*) to ſound his Diſpoſition, and to ſee if he might gain him to his Party. The Eunuch undertakes the Voyage; he ſpeaks with the Dervis, and finds him diſpoſed to entertain the Offers of *Jacaia*. The Conſpiracy was concluded,

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and they ſwear to kill *Achmat*, and to ſettle *Jacaia* in the Imperial Throne. Hereupon he tranſports himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, in a diſguiſed Habit: but when as they were ready to execute their Enterpriſe (ſay they) the Dervis died, be it that the Emperour *Achmat* had diſcovered their Deſign, or otherwiſe. Thus *Jacaia*, being fruſtrate of his hope to effect any thing by this means, left the City, and fled towards the black Sea, and then wandred into the Countries of *Valachia* and *Moldavia*, following the Carock of a *Poland* Ambaſſador on foot, untill he came unto the City of *Cracovia*, whereas Fortune had laid a ſnare for him, which brought him in danger of his life; for a Chiaus being come from *Conſtantinople*, and knowing him, he deſired the King of *Poland*, in his Maſters Name, to ſtay him, aſſuring him, that by this means he ſhould ſtrictly bind unto him the Affections of Sultan *Achmat*: The King refuſed his unjuſt Demand, holding himſelf much honoured to ſee his Court the Refuge of unfortunate Princes. After this Refuſal, the Chiaus flies to Treachery: he corrupts certain *Tartarians* of the King's Guard with money, who promiſed to murther *Jacaia*; and doubtleſs they had performed it, if a Flemiſh Embroitherer had not advertiſed him, and lent him his Lodging for certain days to hide himſelf; after which he freed himſelf from danger, and paſt to *Prague* towards the Emperour *Rodolphus*, who was then living.

Jacaia in danger of his life at *Cracovia*.

He retires to *Prague* to the Emperour.

In this Imperial Court he found Relief, and means to eaſe his fore-paſt Miſeries: The Emperour furniſhed him with all things neceſſary: He ſpent a whole year there, and was acknowledged during his Abode, by many Turks which came to *Prague*, for Brother to their Emperour *Achmat*. There wanted nothing but Succours to effect his Deſigns; but he finds nothing but fair Words and good Wiſhes at *Prague*, ſo as he was forced to ſeek the effects elſewhere. Certain *Saxons*, that were his Friends, adviſed him to paſs to *Florence* to *Ferdinand* the great Duke of *Tuſcany*: He takes Directions from that Prince's Ambaſſador reſiding at *Prague*, and goes on his Journey; but entering into *Italy*, he hears that *Ferdinand* was dead: theſe mournful News made him to reſolve to ſeek ſome other place, if *Coſmo*, Succeſſor to *Ferdinand*, and the great Dutcheſs his Mother, had not called him back. He came then to *Florence*, where he was honourably entertained, and lodged, for the ſafety of his Perſon, in the Fort of *S. John*, where he was ſupplied with all ſorts of Commodities. The great Duke *Coſmo* gave him the Title of Excellency, appointed him Horſes and Caroches, and ſuch Company as he delighted in, for the Pleaſure of Hunting. He had not ſtaid long at *Florence* but he ſaw himſelf aſſiſted with ſuch Forces as he deſired. The great Duke *Coſmo* cauſed his Gallions to be armed, ſending them into the Levant, under the Command of the Knight *Beauregard*, where he had Conference with *Naſſuf Baſſa*, at that time chief of the Rebels of *Aſia*. He offers him Men, Arms, and Money, if he would come to land and march towards *Perſia*, whither many Rebels were retired. But he who commanded the Florentine Gallions had no Commiſſion to leave him in the hands of *Naſſuf*, wherefore he carried him back to *Florence* to his Highneſs.

He comes to *Florence* to the great Duke of *Tuſcany*.

He maketh a Voyage into the *Levant* in the Duke's Gallions.

During the time that *Jacaia* was aboard the Gallions, the great Duke ſent divers Perſons into many parts of the Levant, to inform themſelves carefully of theſe things which he had delivered, not only touching his own Perſon, but alſo of his Mother; and they all brought back certain proofs of the truth of his Diſcourſes. This gave the great Duke ſubject to impart this fair occaſion unto *Spain*, to labour for the common Good of Chriſtendome. He wrote unto the Catholick King, and informed him of the quality of *Jacaia*, to the end, that contributing Succours to his Perſonage, they might undertake ſome happy Enterpriſe againſt the Turk. The King of *Spain* was content he ſhould be ſent to *Naples*; commanding the Viceroy to give him a Reception fit for his Quality. *Jacaia* went on his Journey, being accompanied by ſome, by the great Duke's Commandment; but according to the News which he received from *Naples*, he ſtayed at *Averſo*, where he was received by the Governour with much Honour. The Viceroy came to viſit him, gave him the right-hand, and the Title of Excellency. But as the Counſel of *Spain* was tedious in their Reſolutions, and delayed too long (as *Jacaia* ſuppoſed) the Succours which he expected; he parted from *Averſo* to go to *Millan*, and from thence in a diſguiſed Habit paſt again into the Levant, to ſound their Wills that might advance his Pretenſions, and bring them to a happy end: but he prevailed as little as he had done before. Beſides all theſe Voyages which we have deſcribed, to the end he might leave no means unattempted to advance his Affairs, he went to *Rome* to kiſs his Holineſs's feet. Cardinal *Bellarmine* received him, gave him the right-hand, and the Title of Excellency: the Pope aſſured him of his Affection and Succours; but it was neceſſary the ſecular Powers ſhould begin to levy men, and make the firſt Overture to War.

1615

Jacaia goes to *Naples* and *Millan*.

He comes to *Rome*.

Since, we have ſeen him in *France*, and at *Paris*, under the Protection of the Duke of *Nevers*, entertained by the Bounty of this Prince, and aſſiſted by his Council; and doubtleſs if the troubleſome Combuſtions of a Civil War had not directed the Armies of this Duke, we had ſeen ſome happy ſucceſs of the Affairs which he treated in *Lorain*, *Germany*, and other Places, to the ruine of the Turks, and the good of Chriſtendome. Finally, as for this Turk called *Jacaia*, terming himſelf eldeſt Brother to the Emperour *Achmat* now reigning at *Conſtantinople*, and for ſuch acknowledged by many; yet ſome affirm (yea ſuch as have converſed in the Eaſt) that Sultan *Mahomet* had but three Sons, which were *Muſtapha*, *Achmat*, and *Oſman*; notwithſtanding, it is hard to diſcover in this Perſonage any ſigns of an Impoſture: I have often frequented with him, and carefully obſerved his Carriage and Actions; and have always noted in him a Carriage and Mind borne to great matters. This is all that we could learn of this man.

Stephano or *Tomſho*, of whom we have made mention in the year 1612, having overthrown *Conſtantine* the lawful Prince, and made himſelf Vayvod of *Moldavia* by the Support and Tyranny of the Turk; as he held it by Uſurpation, without any juſt Title, ſo he governed with all Cruelty and Inhumanity, preferring Cruelty before Clemency, and imitating that Tyrant, who ſaid openly, *That he reſpected not the Love of his Subjects ſo as they feared him.* Even ſo this *Stephano*, at his firſt Entrance, plotted how he might root out all the Noblemen in the Country, whom in their Language they call Boyers, with all others of Credit and Authority in the Country, both for that they ſupported *Conſtantine*, as for the Jealouſie he had of them, being beſt able to reſiſt his tyrannous Deſigns; being alſo the common Diſpoſition of ſuch as uſurp any Eſtate by wicked Practices, to be always in fear to be diſpoſſeſſed, and to be entreated according to their Merits. He began firſt with the Lord of *Botaean*, Brother to the Princeſs, Widow of *Jeremy*, whom he cauſed with two others of the chief Noblemen to be miſerably and inhumanely impailed, as if they had been two notable Thieves and Murderers; and not con-

Tyrannies of *Stephano*.

1615 tent herewith, ſoon after he cauſed threeſcore and fifteen Boyers to be apprehended, cutting off all their Heads, and would not pardon any one, notwithſtanding the great inſtance that was made by their Kinsfolks, charging them with the Crime of Treaſon, as if they had conſpired againſt his Perſon, having no proof at all: but theſe his Cruelties did nothing daunt the Boyers, as *Stephano* had perſuaded himſelf, but contrariwiſe, they were the more incenſed, and many of them took Arms openly, and had then ſeiſed upon him, been revenged of his Cruelties, and ſet their Country at liberty (which had not been ruined as it was afterwards) if he had not been aſſiſted by the Citizens of *Yas*, whom he conjured to ſecond him in this occaſion, promiſing them immunities of all Subſidies; in regard of which promiſe, theſe poor Wretches, preferring their private Profit before their publick Safety, employed themſelves in the Service of this Tyrant, and fought valiantly againſt the Boyers, who were come to aſſault him in the City of *Yas*: but finding that he was better aſſiſted than they expected, after ſome light Skirmiſh they retired as well as they could, whereof many were taken Priſoners, whom the Tyrant cauſed to be ſlain in cold blood, or empailed to terrifie the reſt.

The Noblemen revolt againſt *Stephano*.

Prince *Alexander* called into *Moldavia* by the Boyers.

The Boyers which eſcaped from this Defeat, knowing that there was no hope of Mercy in *Stephano*, who was full of Revenge, nor by conſequence any Safety in *Moldavia* during his Government, they reſolved to have recourſe unto the Princeſs (Widow to *Jeremy*) who had fled into *Polonia* when as ſhe received News of the taking of her Son *Conſtantine*. This Princeſs, underſtanding from the Boyers of the tyrannous Government of *Stephano*, and that moſt of the *Moldavians* were reſolved to ſhake off the Yoke of his Tyranny, and deſired to have Prince *Alexander* in his place, remembring the good uſage they had received from the deceaſed Prince *Jeremy* his Father. Theſe Conſiderations, together with a deſire of Command under her Son (who was then but ſixteen years old) were ſtrong Motives to perſwade both her and her Son to embrace this occaſion, the which they imparted to Prince *Viſinouisky*, Son in law to the Princeſs, and to Prince *Corresky*, who at that time aſpired to marry her youngeſt Daughter: Theſe Princes not only allowed of this Deſign, but they offered themſelves willingly to accompany Prince *Alexander* into *Moldavia*, and to take the whole care of his Army. This Reſolution being taken, they preſently employed all their credit to levy men, and had within leſs than two Months drawn together ten or twelve thouſand Foot and Horſe, *Polonians*, *Coſſacks*, and *Tranſilvanians*: whereof the Vayvod *Stephano* being advertiſed, he preſently levied what Forces he could, of *Moldavians*, *Tartarians*, and *Valachians*, having drawn together an Army of almoſt twenty thouſand men, which he kept about *Yas*, and there reſolved to attend the Princes of *Polonia*.

The fort of *Cochina* yielded unto Prince *Alexander*

Prince *Alexander* being advanced with his Army within two Leagues of *Caminithe* in *Podolia*, he was much troubled to paſs the River of *Nieſtre*, which divides that Country from *Moldavia*, fearing the Fort of *Cochina*, in the which there was a ſtrong Garriſon of *Moldavians*, and ſtore of Munition to defend the Paſſage of the ſaid River: but it fell out happily for Prince *Alexander*; for the Captain which commanded in the ſaid Fort being much diſcontented at the Cruelties of the Vayvod *Stephano*, came voluntarily of himſelf to offer his Service to *Alexander*, and brought him the Keys of the Fort, leaving all to his Diſpoſition; ſo as he paſt his Army eaſily into *Moldavia*, and in ſign of joy diſcharged many Vollies of his great Ordnance, which made *Stephano* diſtruſt the Affections of the *Moldavians*, and to feel a pricking in his Conſcience, which doth never abandon Tyrants and Uſurpers.

1615

Fifteen hundred *Tartarians* defeated by the *Coſſacks*.

Prince *Alexander*, making ſome ſtay with his Army at *Cochina*, in the year 1615, advanced towards *Yas*, and being come within half a days Journey, he ſent forth eight hundred *Coſſacks*, (choſen out of a great number) to diſcover the Countenance of his Enemies Army: but they were not far advanced, before they encountered fifteen hundred *Tartarians*, ſent by *Stephano* to give ſome charge to the *Polonians*. Although the *Coſſacks* were fewer in number, yet finding the *Tartarians* in diſorder, they charged them ſo reſolutely as they defeated a great part, and put the reſt to rout. After which Exploit, they brought word to Prince *Alexander*, that *Stephano*'s Army might be about the number of fifteen thouſand men; but they were ſuch as were gathered up in the Country, and not trained up to Arms, who were rather drawn to it by conſtraint than of their free will, and therefore were not much to be feared. This happy Succeſs, together with the Report made by the *Coſſacks*, did greatly encourage *Alexander's* Army, being alſo much incenſed againſt *Stephano* for certain Letters which he had written to their Prince, full of Threats, as if both he and they had been already at his mercy; the which did the more encourage the *Polonians*, and made them reſolve rather to dye fighting, than to fall into the hands of this cruel Tyrant. The ſame day there came certain Deputies of the *Moldavians* to Prince *Alexander*, without the privity of *Stephano*, to know what his Deſign was, and to intreat him to take pity of *Moldavia*, which was threatned with a ſpeedy ruine, if the War continued any longer; to whom the Prince made Anſwer, That his Intent was not to oppreſs *Moldavia*, but to free it from the Tyranny of *Stephano*; that he had been invited by a great number of the Boyers, who had come unto him into *Polovia* to that end, and had given him aſſurance, that it was the common deſire of the *Moldavians*: That upon this confidence he had marched with what Forces he could draw together; and that if he did prevail in his Deſigns (as he aſſured himſelf with their aſſiſtance) he would govern them with no leſs mildneſs than his Father Prince *Jeremy* had done, whoſe Son and lawful Succeſſor he was. The Deputies returned well ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and having publiſhed it in divers places, many *Moldavians* came and joyned with the Prince's Army, and aſſiſted him faithfully in this Action.

Deputies ſent from the *Moldavians* to Prince *Alexander*.

In *October*, Prince *Alexander* advancing about three Leagues with his Army, he made a ſtand in a fair Champian, where there were good Springs to refreſh them; and in the mean time he called a Council at War, to reſolve what courſe he ſhould take, and when he ſhould draw the Enemy to fight. In the mean time he had ſent a Troop of *Coſſacks* to diſcover the Army, who brought word that they were ranged in Battel, and that they had twenty Cannons ready in front, the which did not much amaze Prince *Alexander*, for that ſome days before, the General of *Stephano's* Artillery had ſent to aſſure him, That if he gave Battel, he would annoy his Men as little as he could, having a deſire to ſerve the Prince, and by this means be revenged of *Stephano*, who had cauſed his Brother-in-law's Head to be cut off, upon a falſe ſuſpect which he had conceived againſt him being innocent. The which ſhould teach Princes, that nothing doth procure them more ſecret Enemies than Cruelty, and that at one time or other they in whom they moſt relye abandon them when as they leaſt expect it. The Vayvod *Stephano*

The General of *Stephano's* Artillery reſolves to betray him.

A ſecond Defeat of *Stephano's Tartarians*.

phano meaning to make a ſecond Diſcovery of the Prince's Army, ſent twelve hundred *Tartarians*, and two or three hundred *Moldavians*, who being ſeen afar off (for that it was in a plain Champain) the Prince ſent five hundred *Coſſacks* with four hundred *Polonian* Lances, to encounter them: The *Tartarians* perceiving it, made a ſhew at the firſt, as if they would retire, to draw them by little and little from their Camp; and being about a League off, they made a ſtand, thinking that they durſt not charge them: but they were ſoon deceived; for, the *Polonians* fell upon the *Tartarians* with ſuch fury, as they overthrew them, and ſlew moſt of them, ſo as there eſcaped not above five or ſix hundred, who retiring to their Camp, cauſed a great Amaſement. The Prince's Army was much encouraged by this Exploit, and increaſed daily in number, as it is uſual in Civil War to follow that Party which hath the firſt advanced.

A thouſand of *Stephano's* Horſe defeated.

Preſently after this Execution, the Prince, meaning to advance his Army towards the Enemies Camp, his foreward was ſtayed by a Battalion of one thouſand Horſe, who had the night before ſeiſed upon a narrow Paſſage, betwixt a Pool and a Mariſh, by the which they knew the *Polonian* Army muſt paſs: but this Obſtacle was ſoon taken away, by the Advice which was given by certain *Moldavians*, to ſend a Company of Horſemen by a way unknown to the Enemy; by which means they might ſurpriſe them behind, before they ſhould be diſcovered. The Execution of this Stratagem was given to the *Coſſacks*, who ſpeedily went, being guided by certain *Moldavians*; who coming within fifty Paces of the Enemy undiſcovered, they charged them, and were ſeconded ſo fitly by the forward, that ſtaid on the other ſide, as of one thouſand Horſe there returned not above fifty to their Camp, to carry news of their bad Succeſs.

Prince *Alexander*, having happily opened this Paſſage, advanced with his Army within Cannon-ſhot of *Stephano's* Camp. Prince *Viſnouiſky* was of opinion, that they ſhould make a kind of Incloſure with their Carts, which might ſerve them as a Fort, having no place of Retreat within ten Leagues; the which being diſcovered by *Stephano*, he ſhot certain Vollies of Cannon through their Fort, ſo as there were ſome Souldiers ſlain, and ſome hurt: and the Prince anſwered him with the like, but to ſmall effect, for that night ſurpriſed them, neither had they above eight ſmall Pieces.

Prince *Viſnouiſky* incourageth his Souldidiers.

Prince *Viſnouiſky* ſpent the night to encourage his Souldiers, letting them underſtand that they had no reaſon to be amaſed, although their Enemies were more in number, for that moſt of them were Peaſants, never trained up in Arms nor ſeen Battel; whereof they had had good proof in many Encounters, where they had ever been Victors over their Enemies, although they were inferiour in number: That they were ſo many Teſtimonies and Aſſurances that God did fight for them, and would uſe them to puniſh the Tyrannies of *Stephano*, and his Cruelties againſt *Moldavia*. Finally, if they were Victors (whereof he doubted not, if they did their Duties) there was not any one but ſhould return loaden with rich Spoils and Recompences from Prince *Alexander*. This did ſo encourage the Souldiers, as they proteſted all with one Voice, rather to dye than to fail of their Duties. Moreover, the Princes gave the Collonels and Captains to underſtand of the Intelligence they had with the General of *Stephano's* Artillery, wherewith they were much comforted.

The diſpoſition of the two Armies.

The next day, being the Eleventh of *October*, they began to put their Armies in Battel, during the which there were divers Skirmiſhes, wherein *Alexander's* Party had ſtill the Advantage; ſo as it ſeemed they were ſo many Preſages of good Fortune which ſhould befall them that day. The Prince's Army was ordered by *Viſnouiſky*, to whom Prince *Alexander* had given the Charge of General, as moſt capable, having ſundry times given ſufficient Proofs of his Sufficiency and Valour in other Battels. This General, ſeeing *Stephano's* Horſe-men divided into three Squadrons, and the *Tartarians* moſt advanced, he appointed the *Coſſacks* to encounter with them; the which was judiciouſly and diſcreetly done, for they both go freely to the Charge, neither are they covered with any Arms, but only with the Skins of certain Beaſts, wherewith they make themſelves to ſeem as fearful as they can, obſerving no order in their fighting, and uſing Cries which are fearful to ſuch as are not accuſtomed unto them; and being once broken, they ſeldom return again to the Charge. The *Polonian* Lanciers, called in their Language *Houſſarsky*, being about one thouſand and five hundred men well armed, made the ſecond Battalion of *Alexander's* Army, led by Prince *Coreſky*, and were placed on the right-hand againſt three thouſand *Tartarian*, *Valachian*, and *Moldavian* Horſe-men. The *Hungarian* Foot, being about three thouſand men, were in the midſt of Prince *Alexander's* Army, with the Cannon, upon a little Hill of ſome advantage; and on the left hand was the reſt of the Chavalry, who were led by the Princes *Alexauder* and *Viſnouiſky*; and the Baggage was a little behind the Foot in the Camp where they had lodged the night before.

The Battel betwixt Prince *Alexander* and the Vayvod *Stephano*.

The Tyrant *Stephano*, having diſpoſed his Army into divers Squadrons, began, about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, to play with his Cannon upon *Alexander's* Army, who found that the General of the Artillery had kept his Promiſe, for moſt of the Bullets flew over his men, and hurt them not; upon which Confidence, he commanded the *Coſſacks* to charge the *Tartarians* which were advanced, whom they ſoon defeated. At the ſame Inſtant two thouſand light Horſe gave charge to the *Hungarian* Foot-men which guarded *Stephano's* Cannon, and in an inſtant cut moſt of them in pieces, and the reſt yielded themſelves; ſo as *Alexander* became Maſter of his Cannon. The Tyrant, ſeeing his Infantery in danger to be defeated, and his Cannon loſt, cauſed a Battalion of three thouſand *Valachian* and *Moldavian* Horſemen to advance, who without doubt had recovered the Cannon, but the generous Prince *Coreſky*, with his *Polonian* Launciers, charged them ſo furiouſly in the Flank, as that they ſlew almoſt the one half of them upon the place, and put the reſt that remained to rout. Preſently after this followed another Squadron; the which *Coreſky* perceiving, he wiſely retired towards his Camp, ſeeing his men wearied and tired with the ſlaughter of their Enemies, and not able to maintain the Fight without ſome reſt. Then came Prince *Alexander*, and *Viſnouiſky* who was his faithful Guide, with the reſt of his Horſe-men, to encounter this laſt Battalion of the Enemy, whereunto they went with greater Courage, for that they were aſſured the Vayvod *Stephano* was there preſent; which Charge continued for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, during which time Prince *Coreſky* had leiſure to take breath, and to gather together what poſſibly he could of thoſe of his Party, to ſuccour them that were then in fight, who were almoſt tired, and Prince *Alexander* far engaged. But ſeeing theſe unexpected Succours, he and his Men recovered their Forces, and their Enemies were ſo much amaſed at it, as that all them that remained alive were put to rout, and fled.

Stephano's Army defeated.

1615

The flight of *Stephano.*

But *Stephano* (being naturally a Coward) apprehending blows, had retired himſelf to the reſt of his Foot-men, who had not yet come to fight, making a ſhew that he would rather dye with them than fly away: but ſeeing the Event of this laſt Charge, and his Horſemen all in rout, he ſoon reſolved to ſave himſelf by flight, having never given one ſtroke in this Battel. The Footmen which remained, being about four thouſand men, ſeeing the ſucceſs of the Battel, yielded to the mercy of the Victors, and cryed out, God ſave *Alexander*, Vayvod of *Moldavia.* The day of the Victory, Prince *Alexander* made his Entry into the City of *Yas*, having the Princes *Coreſky* and *Viſnouisky* on either ſide, after whom followed his whole Army. Entering into the Caſtle, he was there proclaimed Prince and Vayvod of *Moldavia* by all the Nobles and Boyers of the Country, the which he would never accept untill that time. The next day, Prince *Alexander* underſtanding that a great number of the chiefeſt of the Inhabitants of *Yas* were fled into the Mountains and Forreſts to attend the Events of theſe Troubles, he ſent certain Boyers to invite them to return back again (with all aſſurance) to their Houſes, cauſing part of his Army to diſlodge, and to be quattered in the Country thereabouts; and there were one thouſand and five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horſe (under the leading of Prince *Coresky*) ſent to the City of *Vaſſelloy*, for that *Stephano* had fled that way, and might return back again into *Moldavia.* As for the Artillery, ſome were ſent into *Polonia*, and ſome were put into the Fort of *Cochina*, the which is as it were the Arſenal of *Moldavia.*

Alexander proclaimed Prince of *Moldavia.*

Ambaſſadors ſent by Prince *Alexander* to the Grand Seignior.

At the ſame time, Prince *Alexander*, knowing that it was no leſs Glory to preſerve than to get, he called the chief Noblemen of his Court to Counſel, to reſolve what was fit to do to maintain him in his Eſtate, which he had newly gotten by the Sword: where it was concluded among other things, that he ſhould ſpeedily ſend an Ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior, to let him underſtand that he had never any intent to take Arms againſt his Majeſty, nor to withdraw *Moldavia* from his Obedience; but that he had been ſought unto being in *Polonia*, and invited by the Boyers of *Moldavia*, for the unſpeakable Cruelties of the Vayvod *Stephano*, who had reſolved to root out the Nobility of the ſaid Country, having put many of the chief to death without any occaſion. They had alſo charge to give the Sultan to underſtand, That when his Majeſty advanced *Stephano* to be Vayvod of *Moldavia*, he had falſely ſuggeſted that he was Son to a Prince of *Moldavia*; that he was not truly advertiſed by his Baſſaes and Counſellors, that his Predeceſſor had promiſed to the deceaſed Father of Prince *Alexander*, and to Prince *Simeon* his Uncle, that after his Deceaſe his Sons ſhould ſucceed him in the ſaid Eſtate, if they ſhewed not themſelves unworthy, and did pay the yearly Tribute of forty thouſand Chequines, which Tribute, ſince the Death of *Jeremy*, had been offered by Prince *Conſtantine* his eldeſt Son, to *Houſſine Aga*, when as he was ſent to ſettle the ſaid *Stephano*, as alſo that Prince *Alexander* promiſed to pay it hereafter; and if need ſhould be, he would give Prince *Bougdan*, his Brother, as a ſure and certain pledge for the performance of his Promiſes during the firſt year.

Prince *Alexander*'s Ambaſſadors put to Death by *Stephano.*

The Ambaſſadors having received theſe Inſtructions, they took their Journey ſpeedily to *Conſtantinople*; but inſtead of paſſing through *Thrace*, which was their directeſt courſe, they were forced to go by *Tranſilvania*, fearing to be hindered by the men of War which then troubled all *Thrace.* Coming to *Buda*, they went to ſalute the Baſſa which commanded there, who being a ſpecial Friend to *Stephano*, put them in Priſon, violating the Law of Nations obſerved by the moſt barbarous; and afterwards he ſent them to *Braille*, whither the Tyrant *Stephano* had fled. They ſay he gave fifteen thouſand Chequino's in recompence to the Baſſa, and to revenge himſelf in ſome ſort of Prince *Alexander* in the Perſons of his Ambaſſadors, he cauſed their Heads to be cut off one night after Supper, and their Bodies to be caſt into the *Danowe.* The Deaths of theſe Ambaſſadors were very prejudicial to Prince *Alexander*, by means whereof the Grand Seignior was not truly advertiſed of what had paſt in *Moldavia*, nor received the Complements, Offers, and Submiſſion of Prince *Alexander*, ſo as he was wonderfully incenſed againſt him, and ſware his Ruine, as you ſhall hear hereafter.

1615

Stephano returns into *Moldavia.*

Stephano having received four thouſand men from *Michna* Prince of *Valachia*, and gathered together the Relicks of his ſcattered Army, he marched toward *Valachia*; whereof Prince *Alexander* being advertiſed, he ſent Prince *Coresky* with ſix thouſand Horſe, *Polonians* and *Coſſacks*, to *Ticouch*, a ſtrong Frontier Town, to guard that Paſſage: And Prince *Alexander* and *Viſnouisky* they ſtayed at *Yas* with the reſt of the Army to preſerve the Country, and to prevent all Alterations in favour of *Stephano*, who had ſome Intelligencers. Within few days after, the Prince had news that the Inhabitants of *Horreova* (a Country in *Moldavia* containing about fifteen or ſixteen French Leagues in Circuit) were in Arms, and had joyned with a great Troop of *Tartarians* to come and inveſt him, knowing well that Prince *Coresky* was otherwiſe employed with part of the *Polonian* Army. *Alexander* ſtayed not to have theſe Rebels come to *Yas*, but ſent *Viſnouisky*, his Brother-in-law, with ſuch Forces as he could draw together, to encounter with them. They met together within two Leagues of the City, where *Viſnouisky* charged the *Tartarians* with ſuch fury, as half of them were ſlain upon the place, and the reſt of them fled: there were a great number of Priſoners taken, and all the poor Inhabitants of *Horreova* were brought unto *Yas* in token of triumph. The dead being numbred, there were found about eight hundred *Tartarians* and others ſlain, and of the *Polonians* only fifty, and ſome hundred hurt.

The Inhabitants of *Horreova* defeated with the *Tartarians.*

Prince *Alexander*, having received News of this Defeat, was wonderfully glad, and went preſently to Horſe-back with his Company of French, which he had only reſerved about him, to go and meet with *Viſnouisky*, and to congratulate his happy Victory. This being done with many Complements and Embracings, he caſt his eye upon the poor Inhabitants of *Horreova*, whom they led like a Troop of Sheep, and had ſuch Commiſeration on them, as he preſently ſent them back again, having taken their Oath of Fidelity, hoping that this his Clemency would draw the moſt Factious to Obedience, having formerly tried the Oppreſſions of a moſt cruel Prince. Prince *Alexander* having given Thanks to God for this new and unexpected Victory, he ſent a Gentleman unto Prince *Coresky*, to advertiſe him thereof, who at the ſame inſtant was buſie to diſpoſe of his Troops to meet with *Stephano*, who returned into *Moldavia.* The Encounter was in a plain Champaine, having on the one ſide the River of *Sirette*, the which divides *Moldavia* from *Valachia*: the Skirmiſh continued from ten of the Clock untill it was Noon, with like advantage; but Prince *Coresky* being advertiſed that *Stephano* was in a Squadron of Horſe which was ſome two hundred Paces diſtant from him, he joyned unto his Troop four hundred Gerbeys, who were well armed, and led by a very valiant Captain, with the which he charged him with ſuch violence and fury, as he forced them to give back, yet fighting in ſuch ſort, as the Event ſeemed to be doubtful: the which being diſcovered by another of the Prince's Captains, who led a Troop of five hundred light horſe, he came ſo fitly to ſuccour him, as *Stephano* and his Horſe-men were forced to fly, whom the Prince purſued and cut in pieces. *Stephano* eſcaped with a Troop which he had reſerved rather for the guard of his Perſon than to fight. Prince *Coresky*, at his return from the chaſe of his Enemies, cauſed the dead to be numbred, where he found, that of *Stephano*'s ſide were three thouſand and four hundred men ſlain upon the place, beſides thoſe that were Priſoners and wounded; and of his part only three hundred and fifty.

Stephano defeated the ſecond time.

Preſently after this Victory, the ſeaſon of the year being cold (it being the twelfth of *November*) Prince *Coresky* put his Troops into Garriſon, and returned with one hundred and fifty Horſe to *Yas*, where he was received with much Honour and Joy. The Princeſs, Mother to *Alexander*, was yet in *Poland*; but being advertiſed of her Sons fortunate Succeſs, ſhe returned to *Yas*, and brought with her Prince *Bougdan* her youngeſt Son, with *Alexandrina* her Daughter, who was yet to marry. At whoſe Arrival there was great feaſting and joy; then they began to treat of a Marriage betwixt Prince *Coresky* and the Princeſs *Alexandrina*, the which had been then conſummated, if *Bellona* had not oppoſed it, ſtirring up new and more powerful Armies than the precedent, to exerciſe the Virtues and Valours of the ſaid Princes, and to try the Patience of the two Lovers, who loved one another reciprocally from their Youth.

A falſe Alarm given to *Alexander*.

To continue the deduction of new Affairs which troubled the quiet of the ſaid Princes more than ever, you muſt underſtand, That about the end of *November* this Year 1615, they were advertiſed, that *Michna* Prince of *Valachia*, with a Baſſa called *Hebraim*, came againſt them with an Army of forty thouſand men, *Turks*, *Tartarians*, and *Valachians*, to ſuccour the Vayvod *Stephano*; and moreover, that *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, had Charge from the Grand Seignior to arm againſt them, and to aſſail them; which in effect was a falſe Alarm; for the ſaid Baſſa had been ſent by the Grand Seignior to bring Caphtanes (which are Robes of Cloth of Gold which the Grand Seignior doth uſually ſend in favour to Princes that are under his power) both to *Michna* and *Stephano*, who he held to be in peaceable poſſeſſion of *Moldavia*, but not with any Army, nor with an intent to make War againſt the ſaid Princes; for he was yet ignorant what had paſſed againſt *Stephano*. Notwithſtanding, the Princes holding this Advertiſement to be true, aſſembled a Council of the chief Noblemen in Court, where it was reſolved, That an Ambaſſador ſhould be ſpeedily ſent to Prince *Michna*, both to know his Intent, and to diſcover whether he marched toward *Moldavia*, and with what Forces. This Charge was given unto a brave Gentleman of *Polonia* called *Boyartſtky*, who parted preſently from *Yas*; and being entered into *Valachia*, he underſtood that Prince *Michna* was then in his Town of *Bonza*, ſome twenty French Leagues diſtant from the Frontiers of *Moldavia*. The Ambaſſador being arrived, demanded Audience before *Michna*, by whom he was ſent unto the Baſſa, who at his firſt Entrance (without hearing the Subject of his Ambaſſage) demanded who had made his Maſter *Alexander* ſo bold, as to carry Arms in the Country of the Grand Seignior without his Authority; for the which he ſhould be puniſhed, and thoſe that did aſſiſt him; commanding the Ambaſſador preſently to be put in Irons, as if he had been a Thief, or ſome miſerable Caitiff. The Ambaſſador's Servants, ſeeing how they entreated their Maſter, eſcaped as they could, fearing the like; who returning to *Yas*, informed Prince *Alexander* what had paſſed, aſſuring him, that *Michna* had no Army ready, nor any intent to enter into *Moldavia* at that time. The Baſſa, diſdaining to ſpeak any more to the ſaid Ambaſſador, he gave charge to ſome of his Officers to examine him particularly of all matters concerning *Alexander*, and what Forces he had: and within few days after he returned to *Conſtantinople*, leading the ſaid Ambaſſador thither with him. But as ſoon as they were arrived, they ſent the Ambaſſador unto the Divano, where he was again examined by a Viſier, and in the end he was condemned by him to the Gallies, there to remain perpetually. So little account do theſe barbarous People make to violate the Law of Nations, eſpecially with Chriſtians, preſuming that all the World ſhould bow unto them, as if they were Gods upon Earth.

An Ambaſſador from Prince *Alexander* to Prince *Michna*.

Alexander's Ambaſſador put in Priſon by the Baſſa.

There was another Ambaſſador ſent by Prince *Alexander* unto *Bethlem Gabor*, who was Prince of *Tranſilvania*, being at *Furevar* or *Alba-Julia*, whom he received very courteouſly; to whom the Ambaſſador delivered the Subject of his Charge: That Prince *Alexander*, his Maſter, had been advertiſed, that he made ſome levy of men to joyn with *Michna* Prince of *Valachia*, and to make War againſt him; the which he could not eaſily believe, for that he had made profeſſion of Friendſhip to his deceaſed Father, and had no cauſe now to leave it; intreating and conjuring him, not to meddle in the Affairs which he had to decide with *Michna*; and that in requital (if any occaſion were offered to ſerve him) he would employ all his means. The Ambaſſador having ended his Speech, he delivered his Princes Letters of Credit; to whom *Bethlem Gabor* made this Anſwer, That he never had any intent to take Arms, nor to attempt any thing againſt Prince *Alexander*, whoſe Father was his true Friend; neither would he ever give any cauſe to diſcontinue this Love and Friendſhip betwixt them, whereof he would give good proof in all occaſions, eſpecially in this Subject now in queſtion. The Ambaſſador was much ſatisfied with this Anſwer, the which was alſo confirmed by Letters; yet notwithſtanding he afterwards levied Forces againſt Prince *Alexander*, but he would not joyn with *Michna*'s Army.

Prince *Alexander* ſends an Ambaſſador to *Bethlem Gabor*.

To return to the courſe of our Hiſtory; Preſently after the Baſſa's Departure from *Cicouch* to return to *Conſtantinople*, Prince *Michna* ſent an Ambaſſador to *Alexander* with Letters, by the which he excuſed himſelf for the ill uſage of his Ambaſſador by the Baſſa, proteſting, that he was much grieved, and that it was not with his Conſent that he had carried him with him, promiſing him to employ his beſt means to mediate his Delivery. Moreover, that he was not ignorant what Authority and Power the Grand Seignior had over him, whom he might not reſiſt, nor by conſequence his Baſſaes; that he had no Army on foot, as he was given to underſtand, and that his deſign was not to ſupport the Cauſe of the Vayvod *Stephano*, unleſs he were forced by the Commandment of the Grand Seignior. And whereas he intreated him to deliver his Enemy *Stephano* into his hands, he could not do it, unleſs he ſhould violate the Laws of Hoſpitality, in betraying his Friend, who had fled unto him for ſuccour, and withal, he ſhould incur the Indignation of the

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Sultan, and be in danger to be diſpoſſeſſed of his own Eſtate, having no ſufficient means to maintain himſelf againſt ſo great a Power. Prince *Alexander*, having heard this Ambaſſador, and received an Anſwer from the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, by the Advice of his Council diſmiſſed all his Foot-men, and part of the *Coſſacks*, retaining only five or ſix thouſand men with him during the Winter.

Prince *Viſnouisky* poiſoned by a Prieſt.

About this time there was one of the moſt curſed and impious Acts committed that ever was heard of. Prince *Viſnouisky*, who was a Proteſtant of the Greek Church, having prepared at *Chriſtmas* to receive the Communion after their manner, the Prieſt (who had uſually ſerved him in that Devotion, being corrupted with money by his Enemies) poiſoned the Bread; which the Prince having received, he ſuddenly fell ſick, and his Torments were ſo violent, as he died the next day. This bred a ſuſpition that he had been poiſoned; whereupon the Prieſt was apprehended, who preſently confeſſed that he was guilty, and had been provoked by his Enemies. As his offence was terrible, being committed by a man of that Coat, who had made uſe of ſo reverent a Sacrament to poiſon a Prince beloved of all men for his rare Virtues; ſo his Puniſhment was very ſevere and long, being bound in a Chair made of Copper-wire, and a fire made round about him, ſo as he was heard for twelve hours crying out fearfully for the inſupportable Pains which he endured. Whilſt that Prince *Alexander* and his whole Court mourned for this fatal and unexpected accident, there arrived a Spy which he had ſent into *Valachia* to obſerve the Actions of Prince *Michna*, who gave him to underſtand, that there was a Baſſa arrived called *Skinder*, with a great and powerful Army, and that *Stephano* was there in like manner, who preſſed them daily to march into *Moldavia*; and to begin the War, he ſent four hundred men to ſurpriſe the Town of *Berlada*, whereas Prince *Coresky* had left part of his men in Garriſon during the Winter; who keeping bad guard, were ſurpriſed, and moſt of them cut in pieces; which ſo puffed up *Stephano* with Pride, as he aſſured himſelf of an eaſie Victory. But Prince *Alexander*, hearing of this Defeat, he ſent four hundred *Coſſacks*, who made ſuch ſpeed, as within three days after they arrived at *Berlada*, a Town not walled, no more than the reſt; where, having ſet fire in many places, they forced his men to come forth, cutting them in pieces, and the reſt were burnt; ſo as there eſcaped not above five or ſix to carry this bad news unto their Maſter, who was much afflicted.

Skinder Baſſa comes with an Army againſt Prince *Alexander*.

Stephano's men defeated by the *Coſſacks*.

A Defeat of Turks at *Vaſſelloy*.

At the ſame inſtant, when as the *Coſſacks* were ſent upon this Expedition, Prince *Coresky*, deſiring to be revenged for the Defeat of his men, took two thouſand and five hundred choice Horſe, and put himſelf into *Vaſſelloy*, fearing the Garriſon he had left there would be in like manner ſurpriſed; whereof the Baſſa being advertiſed by ſome of the Country-men, he ſent his Son (being twelve or thirteen years old) and gave him an old Turk, of great experience, for his Conductor, with ſeven thouſand men, holding this a good occaſion to get Reputation to his Son. Prince *Coresky* being advertiſed of his March by ſome *Moldavians*, and that they ſhould ſurpriſe them early in the morning, knowing that they were of neceſſity to paſs a Bridge of Wood over a River that runs by the Town, he diſpoſed his men in ſuch ſort, as that the Enemy could hardly diſcover them; ſome of them were lodged within *Vaſſelloy*, and the reſt were covered with a little mountain that adjoyned upon the Town: when as ſome of the Turks had paſſed the Bridge, two Squadrons ſallied from the Town, and charged their foreward ſo furiouſly, as they were in a manner all put to the Sword, and amongſt them the Conductor of the whole Troop, the which was no difficult thing to execute; for that the Turks, who had marched in a manner all night, to arrive early in the morning, were benummed and half dead with Cold: the reſt of the Turks which had not yet paſt, hearing the noiſe of this hot Alarm, durſt not advance, but retired ſpeedily, fearing perchance that the Baſſa's Son might be loſt as well as his Conductor. Prince *Coresky* purſued them unto a Village four Leagues diſtant from *Vaſſelloy*, killing and taking Priſoners all he found in the way. Among the Priſoners there was one who gave it out that he was near Kinſman unto the Baſſa; who being brought to Prince *Alexander*, he received him very courteouſly, and gave him a Garment fit for him, having been ſtript of his own; he alſo gave him a Horſe, and ſent him back unto the Baſſa with a good Convoy, to whom he ſent a Letter, by the which he intreated him not to advance in favour of *Stephano*, promiſing, that if the Grand Seignior would ſuffer him to enjoy *Moldavia* quietly, he would be moſt faithful unto him afterwards, and pay him the yearly accuſtomed Tribute: whereof the Baſſa made no great account; for he was wonderfully incenſed, both for his Sons bad ſucceſs in this Enterpriſe, and for the death of his Turkiſh Captain.

1615

The Baſſa's Kinſman taken.

Eight hundred of Prince *Alexander*'s men ſlain by their Hoſts for their Inſolencies.

Upon the day of this Victory, Prince *Alexander* ſent fifteen hundred Horſe to fortifie Prince *Coresky*, whereof eight hundred were lodged in a certain Borough ſix Leagues from *Ticouth*, whereas the Baſſa and *Michna* were then with their Army; being about five and twenty thouſand men. Theſe eight hundred men neglecting their Guards, did nothing but drink drunk, and moleſt their Hoſts with all kind of Inſolencies, and forcing their Wives and Daughters, which made them take a Reſolution to be revenged, and to that end they called unto them certain Boyers out of the Country, who chuſing their time, cut all their Throats when they were aſleep, and moſt of them drunk.

Prince *Alexander* retires to *Cochina*.

About the end of this Year, Prince *Alexander* called a General Council, whereas the Princeſs, his Mother, Prince *Coresky*, and all the chief Noblemen and Captains aſſiſted, where it was reſolved that they ſhould retire to *Cochina*, being thirty French Leagues off; for that it was the ſtrongeſt place and the beſt furniſhed of all *Moldavia*, and withal they ſhould be far from their Enemies, and near unto *Polonia*. According to this Reſolution, Prince *Alexander* parted the next day with his whole Army, and came in four days march to *Cochina*, in the extreameſt cold Seaſon that could be; having lodged his Troops, the Princes ſent divers Gentlemen to all their Friends and Confederates, to conjure them to come ſpeedily to ſuccour them; and in the mean time they gave order to make proviſion of Victuals, and of all other things neceſſary for their Army. The Baſſa being advertiſed of this Retreat, he marched with *Michna* and *Stephano* towards *Yas*, notwithſtanding the extremity of the Cold, which was ſo violent, that many died upon the way; whereupon they ſtayed untill the time was more mild.

Succours come to Prince *Alexander*.

In the beginning of *March*, the Lord of *Tiſchevich*, came unto Prince *Alexander* with 3500 *Coſſacks*, and within few days after arrived the Lord *Potosky*, Nephew to him who had been taken at the firſt Battel, and carried Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, who brought with him a Troop of fifteen hundred *Polonians* well armed; there came alſo other Succours unto him, ſo as by the end of that

Month

1615

Month the Princes Army was ten or twelve thouſand ſtrong Foot and Horſe.

Prince *Alexander*, hearing of the Enemies approach, ſent forth 1000 Horſe with his Company of *French* Cavaliers to diſcover the Enemies Army, who ſtaying to refreſh themſelves within half a League of the Town of *Eſpanocha*, whereas *Michna's Tartarians* were lodged:

Some of them defeated.

they were diſcovered and preſently inveſted by them and by a great number of Turks; and although that there were little hope to reſiſt ſo great a Multitude, yet *Alexanders* Men (who had always been accuſtomed to vanquiſh) behaved themſelves very valiantly, deſiring rather to die, than to yield baſely without giving proofs of their Valour. This fight continued from ten of the Clock in the Morning, until Night; and of the whole Troop there eſcaped but twelve, ſeven *Polonians*, and five *French*, the reſt were either ſlain or taken Priſoners, among the which was the Captain of the French Company called *Mounteſpin*, whom they would have ſent with the reſt unto the Grand Seigniors Gallies: But *Stephano* preſerved him, upon promiſe that he would do him good Service. Here Fortune (which hath hitherto been favourable unto Prince *Alexander*) began to ſhew her Inconſtancy, to teach Princes not to run raſhly into Dangers, although they have had ſome Advantage over their Enemies.

1616

Jeſuits at *Conſtantinople* accuſed.

At *Conſtantinople*, about the end of *Auguſt* this Year 1616, Envy, the moſt furious of all the Winds that ſhake the Affairs of the World, ſtirred up a horrible Tempeſt, whoſe violent Guſts fell dangerouſly upon the Jeſuits ſetled at *Pera* by the Sultans Permiſſion, at the Perſwaſion of *Henry* the Fourth, the French King; and labours to caſt them upon the Rocks where they might ſuffer Shipwrack, ſhameful to their Order, and prejudicial to the Chriſtians, which live in the midſt of Mahometiſm. And to ruine them without all hope of help or relief, they accuſed them before the Grand Viſier, to be Spies to *Spain*; to give Abſolution to Renegadoes; to baptize Turks, to conceal fugitive Slaves, and to ſend them into Chriſtendom; and withal they objected the Doctrine of killing of Kings, if they were Tyrants, the which had been raſhly written by a *Spaniard* of their Coat: all which Crimes are commonly puniſhed at *Conſtantinople* with Death.

They are impriſoned.

They ſeiſed upon their Perſons, and lodged them in a Dungeon, they were ſix in number, that is to ſay, *Francis Bouton*, *Denis Guilier*, *Dominick Maurice* of *Chio*, and *John Baptiſta Jobert* their Superiour, all four Prieſts, and two Aſſiſtants, and with them a Franciſcan Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. A ſuſpition of Danger in an Eſtate is eaſily believed upon the leaſt accident. In the mean time the Emperours Ambaſſador came to *Conſtantinople*, to renew the Truce; they entered with their Drums beating, and their Enſigns diſplayed. They which thought to erect Trophies to their Glory by their Ruine of the Jeſuits, made uſe of this entry, and gave falſe Advertiſements to the Seraglio, that there were in *Conſtantinople*, and at *Pera*, many thouſands of Chriſtians diſguiſed in the Habits of Greeks and Turks, which came with this Ambaſſadour, with an intent to put that in Execution which the Jeſuits had projected. Moreover, they informed the Grand Viſier, and the Muphti, that the Churches in *Pera*, and the Ambaſſadors Houſes were full of Arms; and that now when as the Turks Eſtate, and eſpecially *Conſtantinople*, was unprovided of Forces, having employed their Armies in divers Places, and at one inſtant, as in *Poland*, *Perſia*, and both the Seas, that they meant to draw the Greeks into Rebellion, and give an entry to the *Coſſacks*, by the black Sea.

1616

The Sultan and his Baſſaes took an alarm, they commanded every man to wear the Habit of his own Nation, with a prohibition to wear any Hat except the *Franks*, and they to wear a *Grecian* Habit; they alſo enrolled all the Chriſtians in *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*. But the Sultan did not think his City of *Conſtantinople* free from the danger of ſurpriſe by this diligent ſearch, but he would ſeek his aſſurance in the Blood of Chriſtians; ſo as he commanded that all the *Franks* ſhould be ſlain, without exception.

The Turk commands all the Chriſtians to be ſlain.

But yet this Commandment took no effect, by reaſon of the Remonſtrances which the Grand Viſier and the Muphti made him, repreſenting unto him, that by this Cruelty he ſhould draw upon his Eſtate a dangerous War from all the Chriſtian Princes in General. But all this freed him not from fear, he walks all Night on Horſeback up and down the City, contrary to his Cuſtom, and he cauſeth a Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch, who had been taken with the Jeſuits, to be executed in his Preſence; and he doth expreſly forbid the Paſſage from *Conſtantinople* to *Pera*, and from *Pera* to *Conſtantinople*. During this Prohibition, the French Ambaſſador had paſt from *Pera* to the City, to ſollicite the Jeſuits Liberty. At his return he found the Paſſage ſtopt, he goes unto the Muphti, and leaves his People in the mean time at the Sea ſide (for it is the Cuſtom, to go to the Soveraign of *Mahomets* Law with a ſmall Train) during the time of his being there, a Multitude of People ran down to the Shore, to ſee theſe Men, thinking for certain, that they went to put them to Death: They lamenting their miſerable Fortune, and the Turks charging them furiouſly with Injuries, as the Men whom they thought practiſed by Conſpiracy their ruine. But the Grand Viſier having written with his own Hand, and ſent one of his People to them that kept the Paſſage, the Ambaſſador with his whole Train was ſuffered to paſs to *Pera*, but he found the Storm as raging at *Pera*, as from whence he came:

A Tumult at *Pera*.

for one Night after, the People of that Place fell into ſuch a Fury, as it was to be feared the Law of Nations would have been violated by the Inſolency of ſome furious People, although the Subject were of ſmall Importance. About five hundred Paces from the French Ambaſſadours quarter, there fell out a Diſpute in a Lodging, betwixt ſome who ſpent the Night in ſome kind of Employment; the Turks that dwelt near, being awaked with this Noiſe, ran to Arms, and trooped together in the Street, being in all 1000 men armed, crying out, that this Noiſe came from the *Francks*, (that is to ſay, from the Chriſtians in the *Weſt*, as *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniſh*, *Engliſh*, and others) who meant to riſe; and they reſolved to force the Ambaſſadors Houſes, and to put all to Fire and Sword, if ſome better adviſed of the Troop had not perſwaded them to delay the Execution until day, the which being come, the French Ambaſſador had means to get the Sultan to interpoſe his Sovereign Authority, to bridle the Inſolency of a Multitude inconſiderately incenſed. Such is the danger, in the which many times the Miniſters of Chriſtian Princes find themſelves, who for their Maſters Service live at the Mercy of a Nation barbarouſly furious, as the Turkiſh:

The Jeſuits ſet at Liberty.

The Jeſuits in the mean time continued Priſoners in the Dungeon, until that the Baron of *Sanſy*, Ambaſſadour for *France*, had let the Grand Viſier ſee their Innocency, and procured their Liberty, and the Sultan by his Letters Patents did publiſh the falſhood of the malicious Accuſations invented againſt them; but to avoid the Fury of a Multitude, blind in their Paſſions, and dangerous

1615

Sultan, and be in danger to be diſpoſſeſſed of his own Eſtate, having no ſufficient means to maintain himſelf againſt ſo great a Power. Prince *Alexander*, having heard this Ambaſſador, and received an Anſwer from the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, by the Advice of his Council diſmiſſed all his Foot-men, and part of the *Coſſacks*, retaining only five or ſix thouſand men with him during the Winter.

Prince *Viſnouiſky* poiſoned by a Prieſt.

Skinder Baſſa comes with an Army againſt Prince *Alexander.*

Stephano's men defeated by the *Coſſacks.*

About this time there was one of the moſt curſed and impious Acts committed that ever was heard of. Prince *Viſnouisky*, who was a Proteſtant of the Greek Church, having prepared at *Chriſtmas* to receive the Communion after their manner, the Prieſt (who had uſually ſerved him in that Devotion, being corrupted with money by his Enemies) poiſoned the Bread; which the Prince having received, he ſuddenly fell ſick, and his Torments were ſo violent, as he died the next day. This bred a ſuſpition that he had been poiſoned; whereupon the Prieſt was apprehended, who preſently confeſſed that he was guilty, and had been provoked by his Enemies. As his offence was terrible, being committed by a man of that Coat, who had made uſe of ſo reverent a Sacrament to poiſon a Prince beloved of all men for his rare Virtues; ſo his Puniſhment was very ſevere and long, being bound in a Chair made of Copper-wire, and a fire made round about him, ſo as he was heard for twelve hours crying out fearfully for the inſupportable Pains which he endured. Whilſt that Prince *Alexander* and his whole Court mourned for this fatal and unexpected accident, there arrived a Spy which he had ſent into *Valachia* to obſerve the Actions of Prince *Michna*, who gave him to underſtand, that there was a Baſſa arrived called *Skinder*, with a great and powerful Army, and that *Stephano* was there in like manner, who preſſed them daily to march into *Moldavia*; and to begin the War, he ſent four hundred men to ſurpriſe the Town of *Berlada*, whereas Prince *Coresky* had left part of his men in Garriſon during the Winter; who keeping bad guard, were ſurpriſed, and moſt of them cut in pieces; which ſo puffed up *Stephano* with Pride, as he aſſured himſelf of an eaſie Victory. But Prince *Alexander*, hearing of this Defeat, he ſent four hundred *Coſſacks*, who made ſuch ſpeed, as within three days after they arrived at *Berlada*, a Town not walled, no more than the reſt; where, having ſet fire in many places, they forced his men to come forth, cutting them in pieces, and the reſt were burnt; ſo as there eſcaped not above five or ſix to carry this bad news unto their Maſter, who was much afflicted.

A Defeat of Turks at *Vaſſelloy.*

At the ſame inſtant, when as the *Coſſacks* were ſent upon this Expedition, Prince *Coresky*, deſiring to be revenged for the Defeat of his men, took two thouſand and five hundred choice Horſe, and put himſelf into *Vaſſelloy*, fearing the Garriſon he had left there would be in like manner ſurpriſed; whereof the Baſſa being advertiſed by ſome of the Country-men, he ſent his Son (being twelve or thirteen years old) and gave him an old Turk, of great experience, for his Conductor, with ſeven thouſand men, holding this a good occaſion to get Reputation to his Son. Prince *Coresky* being advertiſed of his March by ſome *Moldavians*, and that they ſhould ſurpriſe them early in the morning, knowing that they were of neceſſity to paſs a Bridge of Wood over a River that runs by the Town, he diſpoſed his men in ſuch ſort, as that the Enemy could hardly diſcover them; ſome of them were lodged within *Vaſſelloy*, and the reſt were covered with a little mountain that adjoyned upon the Town: when as ſome of the Turks had paſſed the Bridge, two Squadrons ſallied from the Town, and charged their foreward ſo furiouſly, as they were in a manner all put to the Sword, and amongſt them the Conductor of the whole Troop, the which was no difficult thing to execute; for that the Turks, who had marched in a manner all night, to arrive early in the morning, were benummed and half dead with Cold: the reſt of the Turks which had not yet paſt, hearing the noiſe of this hot Alarm, durſt not advance, but retired ſpeedily, fearing perchance that the Baſſa's Son might be loſt as well as his Conductor. Prince *Coresky* purſued them unto a Village four Leagues diſtant from *Vaſſelloy*, killing and taking Priſoners all he found in the way. Among the Priſoners there was one who gave it out that he was near Kinſman unto the Baſſa; who being brought to Prince *Alexander*, he received him very courteouſly, and gave him a Garment fit for him, having been ſtript of his own; he alſo gave him a Horſe, and ſent him back unto the Baſſa with a good Convoy, to whom he ſent a Letter, by the which he intreated him not to advance in favour of *Stephano*, promiſing, that if the Grand Seignior would ſuffer him to enjoy *Moldavia* quietly, he would be moſt faithful unto him afterwards, and pay him the yearly accuſtomed Tribute: whereof the Baſſa made no great account; for he was wonderfully incenſed, both for his Sons bad ſucceſs in this Enterpriſe, and for the death of his Turkiſh Captain.

1615

The Baſſa's Kinſman taken.

Eight hundred of Prince *Alexander's* men ſlain by their Hoſts for their Inſolencies.

Upon the day of this Victory, Prince *Alexander* ſent fifteen hundred Horſe to fortifie Prince *Coresky*, whereof eight hundred were lodged in a certain Borough ſix Leagues from *Ticouth*, whereas the Baſſa and *Michna* were then with their Army; being about five and twenty thouſand men. Theſe eight hundred men neglecting their Guards, did nothing but drink drunk, and moleſt their Hoſts with all kind of Inſolencies, and forcing their Wives and Daughters, which made them take a Reſolution to be revenged, and to that end they called unto them certain Boyers out of the Country, who chuſing their time, cut all their Throats when they were aſleep, and moſt of them drunk.

Prince *Alexander* retires to *Cochina.*

About the end of this Year, Prince *Alexander* called a General Council, whereas the Princeſs, his Mother, Prince *Coresky*, and all the chief Noblemen and Captains aſſiſted, where it was reſolved that they ſhould retire to *Cochina*, being thirty French Leagues off; for that it was the ſtrongeſt place and the beſt furniſhed of all *Moldavia*, and withal they ſhould be far from their Enemies, and near unto *Polonia*. According to this Reſolution, Prince *Alexander* parted the next day with his whole Army, and came in four days march to *Cochina*, in the extreameſt cold Seaſon that could be; having lodged his Troops, the Princes ſent divers Gentlemen to all their Friends and Confederates, to conjure them to come ſpeedily to ſuccour them; and in the mean time they gave order to make proviſion of Victuals, and of all other things neceſſary for their Army. The Baſſa being advertiſed of this Retreat, he marched with *Michna* and *Stephano* towards *Yas*, notwithſtanding the extremity of the Cold, which was ſo violent, that many died upon the way; whereupon they ſtayed untill the time was more mild.

Succours come to Prince *Alexander.*

In the beginning of *March*, the Lord of *Tiſchevich*, came unto Prince *Alexander* with 3500 *Coſſacks*, and within few days after arrived the Lord *Potosky*, Nephew to him who had been taken at the firſt Battel, and carried Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, who brought with him a Troop of fifteen hundred *Polonians* well armed; there came alſo other Succours unto him, ſo as by the end of that

1615

Month the Princes Army was ten or twelve thouſand ſtrong Foot and Horſe.

Some of them defeated.

Prince *Alexander*, hearing of the Enemies approach, ſent forth 1000 Horſe with his Company of *French* Cavaliers to diſcover the Enemies Army, who ſtaying to refreſh themſelves within half a League of the Town of *Eſpanocha*, whereas *Michna's Tartarians* were lodged: they were diſcovered and preſently inveſted by them and by a great number of Turks; and although that there were little hope to reſiſt ſo great a Multitude, yet *Alexanders* Men (who had always been accuſtomed to vanquiſh) behaved themſelves very valiantly, deſiring rather to die, than to yield baſely without giving proofs of their Valour. This fight continued from ten of the Clock in the Morning, until Night; and of the whole Troop there eſcaped but twelve, ſeven *Polonians*, and five *French*, the reſt were either ſlain or taken Priſoners, among the which was the Captain of the French Company called *Mounteſpin*, whom they would have ſent with the reſt unto the Grand Seigniors Gallies: But *Stephano* preſerved him, upon promiſe that he would do him good Service. Here Fortune (which hath hitherto been favourable unto Prince *Alexander*) began to ſhew her Inconſtancy, to teach Princes not to run raſhly into Dangers, although they have had ſome Advantage over their Enemies.

1616

Jeſuits at *Conſtantinople* accuſed.

At *Conſtantinople*, about the end of *Auguſt* this Year 1616, Envy, the moſt furious of all the Winds that ſhake the Affairs of the World, ſtirred up a horrible Tempeſt, whoſe violent Guſts fell dangerouſly upon the Jeſuits ſetled at *Pera* by the Sultans Permiſſion, at the Perſwaſion of *Henry* the Fourth, the French King; and labours to caſt them upon the Rocks where they might ſuffer Shipwrack, ſhameful to their Order, and prejudicial to the Chriſtians, which live in the midſt of Mahometiſm. And to ruine them without all hope of help or relief, they accuſed them before the Grand Viſier, to be Spies to *Spain*; to give Abſolution to Renegadoes; to baptize Turks, to conceal fugitive Slaves, and to ſend them into Chriſtendom; and withal they objected the Doctrine of killing of Kings, if they were Tyrants, the which had been raſhly written by a *Spaniard* of their Coat: all which Crimes are commonly puniſhed at *Conſtantinople* with Death. They ſeiſed upon their Perſons, and lodged them in a Dungeon, they were ſix in number, that is to ſay, *Francis Bouton*, *Denis Guilier*, *Dominick Maurice* of *Chio*, and *John Baptiſta Jobert* their Superiour, all four Prieſts, and two Aſſiſtants, and with them a Franciſcan Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. A ſuſpition of Danger in an Eſtate is eaſily believed upon the leaſt accident. In the mean time the Emperours Ambaſſador came to *Conſtantinople*, to renew the Truce; they entered with their Drums beating, and their Enſigns diſplayed. They which thought to erect Trophies to their Glory by their Ruine of the Jeſuits, made uſe of this entry, and gave falſe Advertiſements to the Seraglio, that there were in *Conſtantinople*, and at *Pera*, many thouſands of Chriſtians diſguiſed in the Habits of Greeks and Turks, which came with this Ambaſſadour, with an intent to put that in Execution which the Jeſuits had projected. Moreover, they informed the Grand Viſier, and the Muphti, that the Churches in *Pera*, and the Ambaſſadors Houſes were full of Arms; and that now when as the Turks Eſtate, and eſpecially *Conſtantinople*, was unprovided of Forces, having employed their Armies in divers Places, and at one inſtant, as in *Poland*, *Perſia*, and both the Seas, that they meant to draw the Greeks into Rebellion, and give an entry to the *Coſſacks*, by the black Sea. The Sultan and his Baſſaes took an alarm, they commanded every man to wear the Habit of his own Nation, with a prohibition to wear any Hat except the *Franks*, and they to wear a *Grecian* Habit; they alſo enrolled all the Chriſtians in *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*. But the Sultan did not think his City of *Conſtantinople* free from the danger of ſurpriſe by this diligent ſearch, but he would ſeek his aſſurance in the Blood of Chriſtians; ſo as he commanded that all the *Franks* ſhould be ſlain, without exception. But yet this Commandment took no effect, by reaſon of the Remonſtrances which the Grand Viſier and the Muphti made him, repreſenting unto him, that by this Cruelty he ſhould draw upon his Eſtate a dangerous War from all the Chriſtian Princes in General. But all this freed him not from fear, he walks all Night on Horſeback up and down the City, contrary to his Cuſtom, and he cauſeth a Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch, who had been taken with the Jeſuits, to be executed in his Preſence; and he doth expreſly forbid the Paſſage from *Conſtantinople* to *Pera*, and from *Pera* to *Conſtantinople*. During this Prohibition, the French Ambaſſador had paſt from *Pera* to the City, to ſollicite the Jeſuits Liberty. At his return he found the Paſſage ſtopt, he goes unto the Muphti, and leaves his People in the mean time at the Sea ſide (for it is the Cuſtom, to go to the Soveraign of *Mahomets* Law with a ſmall Train) during the time of his being there, a Multitude of People ran down to the Shore, to ſee theſe Men, thinking for certain, that they went to put them to Death: They lamenting their miſerable Fortune, and the Turks charging them furiouſly with Injuries, as the Men whom they thought practiſed by Conſpiracy their ruine. But the Grand Viſier having written with his own Hand, and ſent one of his People to them that kept the Paſſage, the Ambaſſador with his whole Train was ſuffered to paſs to *Pera*, but he found the Storm as raging at *Pera*, as from whence he came: for one Night after, the People of that Place fell into ſuch a Fury, as it was to be feared the Law of Nations would have been violated by the Inſolency of ſome furious People, although the Subject were of ſmall Importance. About five hundred Paces from the French Ambaſſadours quarter, there fell out a Diſpute in a Lodging, betwixt ſome who ſpent the Night in ſome kind of Employment; the Turks that dwelt near, being awaked with this Noiſe, ran to Arms, and trooped together in the Street, being in all 1000 men armed, crying out, that this Noiſe came from the *Francks*, (that is to ſay, from the Chriſtians in the *Weſt*, as *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniſh*, *Engliſh*, and others) who meant to riſe; and they reſolved to force the Ambaſſadors Houſes, and to put all to Fire and Sword, if ſome better adviſed of the Troop had not perſwaded them to delay the Execution until day, the which being come, the French Ambaſſador had means to get the Sultan to interpoſe his Sovereign Authority, to bridle the Inſolency of a Multitude inconſiderately incenſed. Such is the danger, in the which many times the Miniſters of Chriſtian Princes find themſelves, who for their Maſters Service live at the Mercy of a Nation barbarouſly furious, as the Turkiſh:

They are impriſoned.

1616

The Turk commands all the Chriſtians to be ſlain.

A Tumult at *Pera*.

The Jeſuits ſet at Liberty.

The Jeſuits in the mean time continued Priſoners in the Dungeon, until that the Baron of *Sanſy*, Ambaſſadour for *France*, had let the Grand Viſier ſee their Innocency, and procured their Liberty, and the Sultan by his Letters Patents did publiſh the falſhood of the malicious Accuſations invented againſt them; but to avoid the Fury of a Multitude, blind in their Paſſions, and dangerous in their fury, they went to Sea, to return to *France*; but after they had ſojourned ſometime at the Dardanels, they were again committed to Priſon, by reaſon of ſome certain advertiſement that was given to the Sultan of the ſame ſubſtance: The Sultan informed himſelf truly of their Probity, gave them their liberty, calling back two to *Pera*, to live there, with the ſame Priviledges they formerly had, and ſuffered the reſt to return into *France*.

Michna fears to fight with the *Polonians*.

Alexander, Prince of *Moldavia*, having loſt a thouſand Horſe near unto *Cochina*, the laſt year, as you have heard, the Baſſa and *Stephano* were puft up with this good Succeſs; but *Michna* had no joy of it, who, hearing that the Princes attended him at *Cochina*, with a Reſolution to defend themſelves, remembring that a certain *Italian* making a Profeſſion to foretell future things, had told him, That if he ever came to fight with the *Polonians*, he would be in danger of his life: wherefore, by the Advice of his Chancellor and Camp-Maſter, called *Spaterlecha*, he pretended, that he had received News from his Lieutenant, that there was a great Troop of *Tartarians* entred into *Valachia*, and ſpoiled the Country; upon which Pretext he took leave of the Baſſa, and returned, leaving all his Souldiers in the Army, reſerving only an hundred Horſe for his Guard. Being in *Valachia*, *Stephano* wrote unto him, that he had defeated the *Polonians* in Battel, in the which there were ſlain ſix thouſand men upon the place, and had taken a great number of Priſoners, which they meant to ſend to the Grand Seignior: all which was but a mere Invention to mock *Michna*, and to make him ſorry that he was not in the Action: whereupon he was ſomuch diſcontented, as he cauſed the Heads of his Chancellor and Camp-maſter to be cut off, for their bad Counſel, charging them that they had ſome ſecret Intelligence with the *Polonians*.

The *Baſſa* and *Stephano* defeated at *Cochina*.

About the end of *March*, the Baſſa, with *Stephano*, and a *Tartarian* Prince called *Monoza*, reſolved to advance with their whole Army (being twenty thouſand men) towards *Cochina*; and being within two Leagues, they made a ſtand a whole day to refreſh their men. In the mean time the Princes put their Army in order of Battel, in a little Plain within a quarter of a League of *Cochina*, leaving a thouſand choice Horſe within the Town under the Command of Prince *Coresky*, aſſuring themſelves that the Turks would not fail to camp betwixt the Town and the Prince's Army, that if they were defeated, they might have no means to retire into the Fort, which was held impregnable. The Princes drew eight pieces of Cannon out of the Fort, which they planted within a Trench which was covered with a Wood. The Baſſa on the other ſide thought that he had the Princes at his mercy, being advertiſed that they had not half ſo many men in their Army: early in the morning he cauſed his men to march in good order, who arrived near to *Cochina* by ſeven of the clock in the morning, where, having made a ſtand to diſcover the Princes Army, he went and incamped betwixt them and the Town, as it had been foreſeen. His men being put in order, the *Tartarians*, who had a great deſire to be revenged of the *Coſſacks*, who had defeated them in many Encounters, intreated to have the Point; the which was granted, and the Trumpets ſounding, they advanced towards a Battalion of *Coſſacks*, nothing diſtruſting the Cannon which was planted on that ſide, and not ſeen. Coming within the ſhot, they preſently played upon them, and overthrew a great number of the *Tartarians*, and terrified the reſt, the which the *Coſſacks* perceiving, they charged them furiouſly, and cut the reſt in pieces, and ſo retired towards their Army, ſeeing another Squadron of *Valachians* and *Moldavians* come to ſuccour the *Tartarians*. The Lord of *Tiſchevich*, with his Troop of fifteen or ſixteen hundred Horſe well armed, went to encounter the ſaid Squadron, which advanced bravely towards the Princes Cannon. The Combate was long without any ſhew of Advantage, which made the Marſhal of the Turks Army to ſend three thouſand Turks to ſuccour them: and the Princes cauſed a Squadron of *Coſſacks* and *Moldavians* to advance, who carried themſelves ſo valiantly, as they forced the Turks to retire above an hundred Paces. Then Prince *Alexander* cried out, Now my Companions, behold the Enemy is in diſorder, let us charge them reſolutely, and the Victory is certain. After which he advanced with the reſt of his Army, commanding two Cannons to be ſhot off together, for a ſign to Prince *Coresky* that he might ſally forth, and charge the Turks Rereward, as it had been reſolved: but he ſtayed not for the Signal, being already advanced above three hundred Paces, fearing that the Party would be ended without him, or that he ſhould fail at need.

The Baſſa ſeeing this Stratagem, which he feared not, and the bad ſucceſs of his men which he had ſent to fight, and that he was charged both before and behind, he began to be amazed, and having cauſed a Squadron of two thouſand Horſe, *Turks* and *Valachians*, to advance to ſecond his Troops, he retired apart with *Stephano* (who was no leſs afraid than himſelf) with the reſt of the Turkiſh Cavalry, to attend the event of the Battel. There was never a more furious Combate ſeen (which continued for the ſpace of two hours) full of fearful Howlings of Turks, who in the end fainted, ſeeing no Succours come unto them; whereas if the Baſſa and the cowardly *Stephano* had joyned with them, they had without doubt fortified their Carriages, and renewed their Forces, and by all appearance won the Victory, which they loſt beyond all mens Expectation. When as the Baſſa and *Stephano* ſaw that their Forces were in rout, and no means to draw them again together, they began to make a Retreat with above two thouſand Horſe, which had not yet fought: in the mean time, the Princes *Tiſchevich* and *Coresky*, (like two Thunderbolts of War) cut all in pieces they could meet; and fearing leſt they ſhould make a new head, the Princes drew all their men together, and made a ſtand upon the Place of Battel, not ſuffering their Souldiers to go to the Spoil, before they were aſſured that the Enemy was retired in great haſte, fearing the Princes would have purſued them, the which they would willingly have done, if their Men and Horſes had not been almoſt tired in the former Battel, in which there was ſlain above twelve thouſand men, beſides the Wounded and Priſoners.

Flight of the Baſſa and *Stephano*.

Prince *Alexander* being returned to *Cochina*, with the other Princes and Noblemen, they gave Thanks to God for the Victory they had obtained againſt the Turks and their Confederates; and there was much joy with the Princeſs and all the Ladies, who were retired into the Fort, attending the Event of this fearful Battel. Prince *Coresky* burned with deſire to enjoy his Miſtreſs, whom he loved as his own life; ſo as by a free conſent of all Parties, they were married within two days after the Victory, to the great content of all the Court.

Prince *Coresky* marries with the Princeſs *Alexandrina*.

Whilſt that the Princes began to enjoy the Fruits of their Victory, the Baſſa and wretched *Stephano* returned to *Yas*; but finding no ſafety there, they parted preſently; the Baſſa to *Conſtantinople*, and the Tyrant into *Valachia* to Prince

Michna,

A Defeat of 400 of *Michna*'s men.

Prince *Michna* and *Stephano* fly from *Bonza*.

Michna, who was his only ſupport, notwithſtanding that he had mocked him apparently. But before this Wretch departed from *Tas* (having no hope ever to return again) he cauſed the Town to be ſet on fire in many places; ſo as of two and twenty thouſand Houſes, there were not above ſix hundred untouched. The Princes having advice hereof, in the beginning of *April*, they marched ſpeedily thither; where finding it ſo deſolate, they reſolved to purſue *Stephana* into *Valachia*, and puniſh him according to his deſerving. The next day they marched towards *Valachia*, being to paſs the River of *Siretta*, there being on the other ſide a Borough in which *Michna* had four hundred men in Garriſon, to keep the Frontiers. The Princes arriving at this place, the Garriſon put themſelves in defence; but they were ſoon forced and cut in pieces, ſo as there eſcaped not one; and as for the Inhabitants, they were well intreated, having made no reſiſtance, and withal, they hated *Michna* for the Vexations they received from the ſaid Garriſon. The Army having reſted there three days, advanced with all ſpeed towards the City of *Bonza*, whereas *Michna* then remained with wretched *Stephano*, who had no care but to make good cheer. The Army being come within a League of *Bonza*, it was diſcovered by ſome Country-men, who ran to advertiſe their Prince, wiſhing him to ſave himſelf ſpeedily, for that they had diſcovered the *Polonian* Army near the City. *Michna* was ready to ſit down to dinner, having invited *Stephano* to accompany him; but he was ſo amazed at this unexpected coming of the Princes, as he ran himſelf to his Stable, and mounted upon the firſt Horſe he could find, without Saddle, and ſo took his way towards *Tergoviſt*, being followed by few of his People, one of which gave him his own Horſe, which was better furniſhed; and as for *Stephano*, having ſadled his own Horſe, he fled all alone towards *Nicopolis*.

Prince *Alexander* refuſeth the Eſtate of *Valachia*.

The Princes being entred *Bonza* without reſiſtance, they were wonderfully grieved that they had not found *Stephano*, which was their whole Deſign, and that Prince *Michna* (to whom they intended no harm) had been ſo amazed. The Army, at their firſt Entrance, ſpoiled the City, which the Princes could not hinder, nor yet the raviſhing of many Wives and Virgins, which drew the Wrath of God upon them, and in all appearance was the true cauſe of the Miſeries which afterward befell the Princes. During their Abode at *Bonza* to refreſh their men, many Boyers or Noblemen of the Country (deſiring to ſhake off the Yoke of Prince *Michna's* Command, who governed inſolently) came unto Prince *Alexander*, beſeeching him to ſtay in *Valachia*, promiſing that the whole Nobility would willingly yield him all Obedience and Fidelity. But the Prince (having no intent to diſpoſſeſs *Michna*) thanked them for their good will; the which the Boyers underſtanding, they told him, that they would be glad (ſeeing he refuſed it) that Prince *Cherbanne* (who had been their Vayvod before *Michna*, and had been expelled *Valachia* by *Bethlem Gabor*, and forced to retire into *Germany* to the Emperour) might return and take upon him the Government of *Valachia*, intreating him to give him Paſſage through *Moldavia* if he preſented himſelf; the which Prince *Alexander* willingly granted, deſiring much that Prince *Cherbanne* were reſtored, for that *Michna* favoured his Enemy, and had himſelf a deſign upon the Eſtate of *Moldavia*, which in the end he obtained.

Michna ſends an Ambaſſador to Prince *Alexander*.

Prince *Michna* being come to *Playa*, which is betwixt *Bonza* and *Tergoviſt*, he ſtayed ſome days there attending his Train, during the which he ſent ſpeedily to his Wife, being at *Tergoviſt*, willing her to go with all ſpeed to *Nicopolis*, for that he feared the Princes would ſeiſe both upon them and their Eſtates, as they might eaſily have done if they had foreſeen what afterwards befell them. *Michna* being come to *Tergoviſt*, he preſently ſent an Ambaſſador to Prince *Alexander*, to know upon what Deſign he had entered *Valachia* with an Army, having no cauſe; but contrariwiſe, that he had given good Teſtimony that he was his Friend, for that he would not aſſiſt the Baſſa and *Stephano* when they purſued him to *Cochina*, notwithſtanding that they were much ſtronger in ſhew; That if his Intent were only to ſeiſe upon *Stephano*, he aſſured him that he was not with him, but was fled another way, promiſing, that if he could ever take him, he would deliver him into his hands; intreating him withal, to retire out of his Eſtate, not ſuffering his Army to ſpoil it any more, and that they might continue good Friends. Prince *Alexander* received this Ambaſſador very courteouſly, who hearing the Subject of his Embaſſy, made Anſwer, That he had the day before ſent unto his Maſter to inform him of his Intent, which was, not to attempt any thing againſt his Perſon nor Eſtate, but only to purſue *Stephano*, who had ſet fire on the City of *Tas* before he parted; and to let *Michna* know, That he meant not to wrong him, nor to inrich himſelf with any thing that was his, he had ſent him back his Plate, with all his rich Moveables. *Michna*'s Ambaſſador having thanked Prince *Alexander*, returned to *Tergoviſta*, and found all true that the Prince had ſaid; the which freed *Michna* from farther fear.

Fifteen hundred *Tartarians* defeated by *Troianoskey*.

Before Prince *Alexander's* Departure from *Bonza*, he ſent the Lord *Troianosky* with two thouſand Horſe to purſue *Stephano*: but it was without effect; for he underſtood that he had paſſed the River of *Danow* with his Wife, and a ſmall train. At the ſame time a Troop of fifteen hundred *Tartarians*, being advertiſed that the *Polonians* purſued *Stephano* only with a thouſand Horſe, and that they were tired with their long Marches, advanced to charge them; but it was not with that Succeſs they expected: for *Troianosky* diſcovering them afar off in a plain champian Field, had leiſure to put his men into four Squadrons, and there attended them, who approaching near to diſcover the number of the *Polonians*, would gladly return without blows, but it was too late; for *Troianosky* commanded two of his Squadrons to charge them ſuddenly, ſo as within leſs than a quarter of an hour they were defeated, and above four hundred ſlain upon the place; the reſt fled the ſame way that they came: of the *Polonians* there were not above five and twenty ſlain, and about fifty hurt.

The Inhabitants of *Horreova* revolt the ſecond time.

The Princes had reſolved to leave *Valachia*, forbidding all Captains and Souldiers, upon pain of death, to carry away any *Valachian* of either Sex with them, hearing they had ſeiſed upon ſome, and meant to draw a Ranſome from them: after which they began to march; and being upon the way, they were advertiſed that the Inhabitants of *Horreova* were again revolted, and in Arms, refuſing to acknowledge Prince *Alexander*, or to pay the accuſtomed Tribute, unleſs he would make it appear that he was confirmed by the Grand Seignior. Prince *Coresky* was ſent thither with five thouſand men; whoſe coming did ſo amaze them, as they yielded without any reſiſtance. This Prince, being loth to loſe any time, laid Siege to the Town and Fort of *Bjaligront*, ſeated upon the River of *Bohou*, the which was held by the *Tartarians Præcopences*, in which Fort there was a Garriſon of Janizaries, and many

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Boyers of *Moldavia*, who defended themſelves valiantly, and made many Sallies, in which they ſlew above three hundred of the Prince's men, and he himſelf was in danger to be taken, if he had not been ſpeedily delivered by the Lord of *Tiſchevich* and his Troop, who charged the Janizaries ſo reſolutely, as they forced them to retire, leaving many of their men dead upon the place. The Prince ſeeing there was no hope to take the place without Cannon, raiſed his Siege, and returned to *Yas* to Prince *Alexander*.

Hebraim Baſſa writes to Prince *Alexander*.

Soon after, *Hebraim Baſſa* wrote to Prince *Alexander*, (as if he had been his friend) giving him to underſtand, That from thenceforth he ſhould live quietly in *Moldavia*, for that the Grand Seignior's Lieutenant-General, or chief Viſier (from whom *Stephano* had always drawn his chief ſupport) was in diſgrace, promiſing the Prince to imploy himſelf for him to his Maſter: the which he did either to make him careleſs of his own Strength, or to draw ſome Recompence or Reward from him, if the Grand Seignior ſhould confirm him in *Moldavia*, as there was ſome likelihood, ſeeing that *Stephano* had made himſelf altogether unworthy, as well by his flight, as by his wicked Actions, which made him in the end ſo odious to the Grand Seignior, as he reſolved to ruine him. So as ſoon after they were advertiſed, that the Grand Seignior had given Commandment unto the ſaid Baſſa to ſeize upon *Stephano*, who had retired himſelf to *Brahile*, and to bring him unto him alive or dead, with whatſoever did belong unto him; the which he executed after this manner: The ſaid Baſſa marched with all diligence towards *Brahile*, carrying a Chiaus with him; and being within four or five Leagues of the Town, he ſent one of his people to advertiſe *Stephano* of his coming, and that he meant the next day to dine with him. *Stephano* (who diſtruſted nothing) holding the Viſier to be ſtill his friend, parted early in the morning to meet him, and coming near him he alighted from his Horſe to do him reverence, and the Baſſa did the like; where, after ſome little Conference together, he drew out the Commiſſion he had to ſeiſe upon his Perſon, and to carry him to *Conſtantinople*: the which *Stephano* perceiving, he turned him to his Servants, and willed them to ſhift for themſelves, for that he ſaw he went to his death. His men being retired, the Chiaus, who had his Mace in his hand, gave him a blow betwixt the Shoulders, and then cauſed him to be bound hand and foot, and caſt into a Cart drawn by four good Horſes: and in this manner they carried him to *Conſtantinople*; where being arrived, to avoid the Puniſhment he had deſerved, he denied his Faith, and became a Renegado: and withal, he became very poor and miſerable; for at the ſame inſtant that he was taken, the Baſſa ſent to ſeiſe and carry away whatſoever he had at *Brahile* and *Nicopolis*, where his Wife remained, ſo as he had nothing left him but the remorſe of Conſcience that tormented him continually, for the barbarous Cruelties which he had practiſed in *Moldavia*. Some of his men returned to *Yas*, and there declared what had befallen *Stephano* in their Preſence, for which they generally gave thanks unto God, and were very joyful.

Stephano in diſgrace with the Sultan.

Stephano carried to *Conſtantinople* and turns *Turk*.

Soon after, News came to *Yas*, that the Sultan had appointed Prince *Michna* to ſucceed *Stephano* in the Principality of *Moldavia* (which is very much better than that of *Valachia*) and that he ſent *Skinder Baſſa*, his General in *Europe*, with a powerful Army to ſettle the ſaid *Michna*, and to expell *Alexander*: the which proved ſo true, as on the 25*th* of *June* this year 1616, the ſaid Baſſa came to *Tergoviſt*, where Prince *Michna* attended him, with great Preparatives both to receive him, and to refreſh his Army. The Baſſa making his entry into *Tergoviſt*, had amongſt other things of note, thirty or forty Muſicians on Horſe-back, playing upon certain Inſtruments almoſt like unto Gitterns, which made but ſilly Muſick; he had alſo many Pages, who inſtead of Cloaks ware the Skins of Leopards, Lions, and Tygres, as if they meant to terrifie the World; and his Army conſiſted of about twenty thouſand men, ſome *Turks*, ſome *Tartarians*, to whom *Michna* joyned his Forces, having 10000 Horſe and Foot, which he had drawn from *Valachia* and the neighbour Countries. The Baſſa being entred the Caſtle, whereas Prince *Michna* attended him, after many Complements, they entred into a great Hall well appointed, where the Baſſa preſented him his Letters Patents, and a Robe which his Maſter had ſent to *Michna*, which he cauſed to be put on in the preſence of all the Noblemen of his Court, proclaiming him Prince and Vayvod of *Moldavia*, with many Ceremonies too long to relate. After which, Prince *Michna* led the Baſſa into another great Hall where a Feaſt was prepared, as well for himſelf, as for ſuch as he would admit to his Table; *Michna* offering to ſerve the ſaid Baſſa, but he would not ſuffer him, cauſing him to ſit down right againſt him. On the Second of *July* they parted from *Tergoviſt*, and marched into *Moldavia*, whereof the *Polonian* Princes were advertiſed: but the Princeſs, Mother to *Alexander*, maintained, That the Baſſa came only to bring the Patents to Prince *Alexander* her Son; which dangerous Opinion of hers grew by reaſon of the Letters which *Hebraim Baſſa* had ſent to Prince *Alexander*, not remembring that it came from a Turk, his ſworn Enemy, and therefore not to be credited, eſpecially in a matter of that importance, ſo as ſhe was the cauſe of their utter ruine.

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Michna proclaimed Prince of *Moldavia*.

The Treachery of the General of *Polonia*.

About this time, the General of the King of *Polonia*'s Army, called *Zolkelchy*, envying the Honour which the *Polonian* Princes had gotten by ſo many Victories, and withal drawn by his own private Intereſt, writ to Prince *Michna* and the Baſſa, that if they would promiſe to procure the Sultan to advance the eldeſt Son of the deceaſed Prince *Simeon* (who lived with him) to be Prince of *Valachia* (whereof his Father had been formerly Vayvod) he would ſo weaken the Prince's Army, as they ſhould be forced to yield or fly. Whoſe Demand being eaſily granted, this Traitor writ to certain Captains of the *Coſſacks*, that they ſhould leave the Prince's Army, and come with all ſpeed into *Poland*, to accompany *Vladiſlaus* their King's Son, who had been choſen Duke of *Muſcovy*, and meant to go thither with a great Army by reaſon of ſome Croſſes, and that they ſhould be very well paid. The *Coſſacks* (who depend upon the Crown of *Poland*, ſerving thoſe that promiſe moſt) began to mutiny, ſaying plainly, That if they had not money ſpeedily, they would retire into their Country, yet concealing that they had been called to any other Service; and without any long ſtay, there parted early in a morning about 8000, carrying with them great ſtore of Oxen, Sheep, and other Cattel; with all the Spoils they had got in the precedent Victories.

The *Coſſacks* mutiny, and leave Prince *Alexander*.

Bicho, General of Prince *Alexander*'s Army, forſakes him treacherouſly.

After their Example, *Bicho*, General of Prince *Alexander*'s Army, whether corrupted by Bribes, or for that he had an apprehenſion of this powerful Army which came againſt them, retired alſo ſecretly toward *Michna* and the Baſſa, being followed by 2000 Horſe. This was a Subject of great amazement to the Prince's Army; and yet, as if they had been inchanted by ſome devilliſh Charms, they could not reſolve to make a Retreat as they might eaſily have done without danger. Many adviſed Prince *Alexander* to this courſe, even Prince *Michna* writ unto him, adviſing him to retire into *Polonia* before that his Army approached nearer to *Yas*; the which he did for fear of the Succeſs, whereof his falſe Prophet had forewarned him, as we have formerly obſerved: whereupon *Alexander* went to Council on the 25*th* of *July*, but they could not reſolve, the Commanders and Souldiers being much divided, moſt of them demanding their Pay, elſe they would not fight; the which they took for a Pretext of their Retreat. In the mean time the *Tartarians*, which made the Vantguard of Prince *Michna*'s Army, approached; which made the Princes to leave *Yas*, and to march toward *Cochina*: but they could not do it ſo ſecretly, but the *Tartarians* were advertiſed, who paſt ſpeedily through the City, and charged them in the Rear, in which Encounter *George Potosky*, Nephew to him that was taken with *Conſtantine*, having fought valiantly, and ſlain many *Tartarians* with his own hand, was in the end ſhot thorow the body with an Arrow, whereof he died preſently. The Lord of *Tiſcheuich* came ſpeedily to the Charge with a Troop of *Coſſacks* which he had ſtayed, and charged the *Tartarians* ſo furiouſly, as he ſlew eight hundred upon the place, and put the reſt to rout.

Prince *Alexander*'s Anſwer to Prince *Michna.*

Alexander, having received the Letter above mentioned from Prince *Michna*, made Anſwer, that (contrary to his promiſe to continue his friend, and never to take Arms againſt him) he had craved aid from the Turk to diſpoſſeſs him of *Moldavia*, to the which his Predeceſſor had never pretended, neither could they according to the fundamental Laws of the Country, and the Conventions accorded by the Grand Seignior, when as the *Moldavians* ſubmitted themſelves under his Sovereignty, by the which no man could be Vayvod of *Moldavia* unleſs he were born in the Country. Moreover, he ſhould remember, that it was in his power to diſpoſſeſs him of *Valachia*; when as he entred *Bonza* with his Army in purſuit of *Stephano*; the which he would not do, nor detain any of his precious Moveables, which he had reſerved and ſent unto him; that if he abuſed the Power which he then had, God would not ſuffer ſo great an Ingratitude and Uſurpation to remain unpuniſhed. And although his Army were far inferiour to his, yet he would let him know, that he neither feared him nor the Baſſa, putting his chief Confidence in the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, who had in many occaſions uſed them to abate the Turks pride, which he ſhould abhor, if he were a true Chriſtian, rather than to joyn with them to ſatisfie his Ambition.

Prince *Michna* having ſent this Letter to *Skinder Baſſa*, General of the Turks Army, he was ſo incenſed, as he preſently commanded his Lieutenant to purſue the *Polonians* with twelve thouſand choice men, they being then at *Cotnard*, betwixt *Yas* and *Cochina*. Prince *Alexander* being advertiſed hereof, he ſuddenly cauſed his Army to advance towards the Fort of *Cochina*. At the ſame time, the Chancellor to Prince *Cherbanne*, who came with one hundred and fifty Horſe to Prince *Alexander*, to aſſure him that his Maſter was coming to his aid with five or ſix thouſand men, was purſued by the Turks near unto *Yas*, whereas he thought to have found the ſaid Prince, and of all his Troop only himſelf and one more eſcaped, ſo as the Prince could have no certain news of the ſaid *Cherbanne*. Prince *Coresky*, who had remained with two thouſand five hundred Horſe not far from *Cotnard*, was alſo encountred by a great Troop of *Turks* and *Tartarians*, which he could not well diſcover by reaſon of a little Mountain that covered them: the Prince ſeeing ſome of them appear, charged them; but finding, that as he defeated one Troop, a freſh ſucceeded in his place, he was forced to make his Retreat, with this advantage, that he had almoſt ſlain ſix thouſand of his Enemies, having not loſt above two hundred and fifty of his own men. But the Prince was wounded with two Arrows, one in the Thigh, and the other in the Back, which was a great diſaſter for himſelf and for the whole Army. He which commanded this Troop of Turks being much amazed at this unexpected Encounter, having gathered his men together, and joyned them to fifteen thouſand others whom the Baſſa had ſent, he being yet at *Yas*, he cauſed this Army to approach within a quarter of a League to the *Polonians*, where, having encouraged his men in what he could, he told them, that to ſhew his Affection unto the Sultan's Service in this occaſion, he was reſolved to ſend a Challenge to Prince *Coresky*, whom he confeſt to be the moſt valiant of all the *Polonian* Army, ſo as he preſently diſpatched one of his Captains to go unto the Prince, and to call him in the behalf of his General. The Captain coming to *Alexander*'s Camp, demanded to ſpeak with Prince *Coresky*, who being brought unto him, delivered the Charge he had from his General. The Prince, although he were neither able to ſtand nor to ſit on Horſe-back, by reaſon of his Wounds, yet would he needs have accepted this Challenge, if Prince *Alexander*, and the chief Noblemen of the Army, had not conjured him to excuſe himſelf by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition; letting him know, that the event of ſuch a Combat did not only import him, but all thoſe of his Party who had their chief hope in him; whereunto the Princeſſes added their inſtant Intreaties; and among others, his dear Spouſe, who was much afflicted for his Wounds. The Lord of *Tiſcheuich* (a brave and valiant Gentleman) being then preſent, intreated Prince *Alexander* to give him leave to accept of the Challenge for Prince *Coresky* his Couſin; the which was willingly granted: ſo as he ſent a Gentleman with the ſaid Turk, to know if the General would yield thereunto, which he did willingly, not being ignorant of the Quality and Valour of the ſaid *Tiſcheuich*. It was agreed that the Combate ſhould be betwixt both Armies, lying in a plain open Field, within a quarter of a League one of another, with promiſe, that neither Party ſhould be aſſiſted.

A Challenge ſent to Prince *Coresky* from the Turks General.

A Combat betwixt *Tiſcheuich* and the General of the Turks Army.

Theſe two brave Warriours having taken leave of their Friends, came to the place appointed, in view of both Armies. The Turks General being about fifty Paces from his Army, cauſed Water to be brought, with the which he waſhed his Mouth, Eyes, Noſe, Ears, and Privy Parts, believing (according to his Law) that this waſhing would ſerve as a purifying; then turning toward the Eaſt, he made his Prayer: after which he went to Horſe-back, being richly armed and furniſhed, and then marched ſoftly towards his Adverſary, who attended him well mounted and armed, and ſo they began their Combat, their chief Arms being Bows and Arrows, which they ſpent without hurting one another; till at laſt *Tiſcheuich*, having a Petronel, ſhot the Turk thorow the Body, and overthrew him, who ſtriving to riſe again, *Tiſcheuich* paſſed over him with his Horſe, and wounded him in the right Arm, and at the next blow ſlew him: after which he cut off his head, and carried it to Prince *Alexander*.

The Princes of *Polonia* environed by their Enemies.

The *Polonians* were very joyful of the happy Succeſs of this famous Combate; and the Turks being much amazed, advertiſed the Baſſa and *Michna*, that it was neceſſary they ſhould bring

The Princes Army ſummoned to yield.

A brave retreat made by *Tiſchevich*.

the reſt of their Army and their Cannon, if they would be revenged of the *Polonians*. In the mean time the Traitor *Bicho*, who had abandoned Prince *Alexander*, with a Troop of two thouſand *Tartarians* and *Moldavians*, found means to get before the *Polonian* Army, and to cut off the way betwixt *Cotnarde* and the Town of *Bothocan* ſix Leagues off. The *Valachians* and *Tranſilvanians*, led by the General of *Michna*'s Army, inveſted them upon the right hand, and the body of the Turks Army followed behind; ſo as there remained nothing but upon the left hand a Wood of Timber-trees which might favour their Retreat. *Skinder* Baſſa, hearing the Succeſs of the Combate, commanded his Army to advance preſently with ſixteen Cannons. The Princes ſeeing themſelves environed by ſo many Enemies, they reſolved to fortifie themſelves with their Carts and Carriages, and to defend themſelves; but what could five or ſix thouſand men prevail againſt two or three and twenty thouſand; for ſo many were thought to be in the Turks Army: True it is, they expected daily Prince *Cherbanne*, and the Lord *Boſſi*, who were within two days Journey, and brought with them ten or twelve thouſand men. This made the Baſſa and *Michna* to advance, to force the *Polonians* to yield or fight. Coming near unto their Camp, and ſeeing them inveſted on all ſides but towards the Wood, they approached their Cannon, which had been able to have ſpoiled their Camp, but it was not their deſign; they only deſired to take the Princes and Princeſſes Priſoners, with the chief Noble-men: Whereupon they ſent to ſummon the *Polonian* Army to deliver into their hands the ſaid Princes and Lords, promiſing that the reſt of the Army ſhould depart with Bag and Baggage; whereunto they would not yield, but made an Anſwer all with one conſent, That they would rather dye than commit ſuch Baſeneſs and Treachery. This being reported to the Baſſa and Prince *Michna*, they commanded that ſome of their Cannon ſhould be charged with ſmall Bullets, and diſcharged through the *Polonian* Army; whereby there were a great number ſlain and wounded. The Princes, who had but ſome ſmall pieces, made certain Vollies, but to ſmall purpoſe; neither had they any more Bullets left, and little Powder; for that by ill chance part had been burnt ſome few days before; ſo as all things ſeemed to foretell their ruine at hand The Lord of *Tiſchevich*, having judiciouſly obſerved, that remaining in that incloſure, he could not eſcape Death, or at leaſt Captivity, reſolved with five hundred Horſe (the moſt valiant among the *Polonians*) to force through three or four Squadrons which were ſet in guard by the Wood ſide, to the end none might eſcape, that Place being moſt ſuſpected to the Turks; the which they executed with ſuch fury, as they overthrew all they encountered; ſhewing, that it is a very dangerous thing to make head againſt thoſe who are reduced to that Extremity, as they muſt either vanquiſh or dye. Prince *Coreſkie* would not have failed to have made the like Retreat, and to have carried Prince *Alexander* with him; but he could not ſit on Horſe-back by reaſon of his Wounds; and beſides, he had rather have died than to leave his Wife in that Extremity. His laſt refuge was to diſguiſe himſelf as well as he could, giving it out, that he had eſcaped with *Tiſchevich*, to the end he might paſs for a common Souldier, if the Priſoners were put to Ranſome. In like manner the Princeſſes diſguiſed themſelves in the beſt manner they could, for the like intent.

The Princes taken Priſoners, and carried to *Conſtantinople*.

Prince *Coreſkie* being diſguiſed is diſcovered.

The Turks Cannon having overthrown many of their Carriages, which ſerved as a Rampier, two Squadrons, one of *Tartarians*, and the other of Turks, preſented themſelves at one inſtant in two ſeveral places to force the *Polonians* Camp; who ſeeing no means to make reſiſtance, and to repell the Enemy, laid down their Arms, crying out with a loud Voice, That they yielded; whereat their Enemies were exceeding glad, deſiring nothing more than to take theſe Noble Princes Priſoners, and to diſpoſe of the reſt at their pleaſures. The Turks and *Tartarians* having entred their Camp, making ſpoil of all, and ſeiſing upon what they could lay their hands on, beginning to ſhare their Priſoners, the Princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*, with their Mother, were delivered unto *Skinder* Baſſa, who led them to *Conſtantinople*, whereas ſoon after their arrival they forſook their God, denied their Faith, and became Renegadoes, for fear of perpetual Impriſonment, wherewith they were threatned. For which Infidelity *Bougdan* was preſently puniſhed; for having cauſed himſelf to be Circumciſed according to the Law of *Mahomet*, he died, and the Princeſs his Mother was confined to the old Seraglio. As for Prince *Coreſkie* (in this general ruine of a Chriſtian Army being forced to yield and ſubmit it ſelf to the Turks Tyranny) he had ſo diſguiſed himſelf, as he paſt for a time unknown, and was led to *Tu* among the common Souldiers, where he was afterward diſcovered by a Souldier of his own Party, who obtained his liberty by this baſe treachery. The Turkiſh Captain who had gotten this Prince, hearing of his quality by the aforeſaid Villain, he led him to *Skinder* Baſſa his General, who recompenced him well, and made both him and the Souldier who diſcovered him, to take ſolemn Oaths not to impart it to any man; for he had an intent to draw ſome great Ranſome from this Prince, and to reſtore him to his former liberty, knowing well, that if he carried him to *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Seignior would confine him into his Priſons, by which means he ſhould make no uſe nor benefit by his taking. But it happened, that another perfidious of the *Polonian* Army advertiſed *Michna* of *Coreſkie*'s Captivity, and in whoſe hands he was; who was ſo jealous, as he croſt and overthrew the good deſign of *Skinder* Baſſa, telling him plainly in the preſence of many, that he knew for certain, Prince *Coreſky* was amongſt his ſlaves, and that he ſhould beware he did not eſcape, for that the Grand Seignior would call him to account. The General made anſwer, that he would be glad it were ſo, but he had not yet any notice of him, thanking *Michna* for his good advice. But, fearing that if he did what he intended, ſuffering Prince *Coreſky* to eſcape for a Ranſom, the Sultan coming to the knowledge thereof, would be much incenſed, and puniſh him with diſgrace or death, the next day he told Prince *Michna* plainly, that the advice he had given him was true, and that *Coreſky* had been found diſguiſed among his other Priſoners, whom he would preſent unto his Maſter, with the Princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*, as he did, of whoſe delivery you ſhall hear hereafter. The young Princeſs, Wife to *Coreſky*, having diſguiſed her ſelf, and disfigured her face with her Nayls, and other helps, fell into the hands of a *Tartarian* Captain, with many others, who carried her into *Tartaria*, whereas ſhe was moſt inhumanely intreated.

The courſes of the *Florentine* Gallies.

In the *Mediterranean* Sea, *Coſmo* great Duke of *Tuſcany* continued his Enterpriſes this year againſt the Turks: his Gallies part from *Ligorn*, and run into the *Levant*, in queſt of ſome occaſions to annoy theſe Infidels. They drew near unto *Cerigo*, in old time *Citharea*, the five and twentieth of *April*,

April, where, meeting with certain Chriſtian Ships, ſome *Venetians* advertiſed them, that in the Iſland of *Chio*, the Turks had prepared two Gallies to paſs into *Barbary*. *Inghirami* (Admiral to the Great Duke) reſolved to ſet upon them; being on the way, he turned with his Fleet where they were to paſs, and being covered by the Night, he caſt Anchor under Caſtle *Roux*. But as he attended a favourable Occaſion, the Moon ſhining, diſcovered him to the Turks, and the Guards having advertiſed the Turks Gallies, they preſently began to fly, the one rowing amain towards Land, and the other continued her courſe at Sea with all ſpeed. *Inghirami* with his Admiral Gallie got before that which was going to Land, inveſted it, being followed by the Gallie called St. *Stephen*, and three hours within Night grapled with it, and laboured to enter it; but the Turks (who were all good Souldiers) defended it valiantly, ſo as they were above an hour faſtned together, hewing one another furiouſly; yea, the Turks (who were entered into *Inghirami's* Gallie) fought valiantly upon the Hatches; but in the end the *Florentines* had the Victory, and took this Gallie, yet with much loſs of Chriſtian Blood. It was the Patron Gallie of that famous Pirate *Amurath Raiſe*, which was commanded by the Son of *Mammi*, a *Portugal*, called *Muſtapha Celebi*, who was taken alive, but ſore wounded. The other Gallie which had fled to Sea, and was the Captain Gallie of the ſaid *Amurath Raiſe*, commanded by the Bey of *Mitilene*, Nephew and Son-in-Law to that Pirate, called *Amurath*, who had married his Daughter, being his Mothers Son, was inveſted by the Gallies of Saint *Marie Magdalene*, and the Patron Saint *Coſmo*; the Combat was no leſs furious than the other, the Turks making a wonderful defence; but after ſome hours fight, in the which the Blood of either ſide was abundantly ſpilt, the *Florentines* had the Victory; *Amurath*, Bey of *Mitilene*, was ſlain, and *Muſtapha*, whom theſe Turkiſh Gallies carried to *Algier* in *Barbary*. They were of five and twenty banks a piece, carrying Lanthorns, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and manned with four hundred and twenty Janizaries, all men of Action, and practiſed in Piracies with that Pyrat *Amurath Rats*. In this prize the *Florentines* took two hundred and forty *Turks*, and free'd four hundred and thirty Chriſtians; among the Artillery of theſe Gallies, they recovered a Cannon and two Sacres of the Gallie of Saint *John*, and a Sail belonging to the Great Dukes Captain Gallie, which the Pyrat *Amurath Rais* had formerly ſpoiled. Theſe Turkiſh Gallies were laden with great ſtore of rich Commodities, the which was valued at two hundred thouſand Crowns. But this Conqueſt was gotten with the loſs of much Blood; for the *Florentines* had two hundred twenty three men wounded, and five and thirty ſlain in thoſe two Combats; the which made the Admiral *Inghirami* to reſt ſatisfied in this Voyage with the taking of two Gallies, after which he returned to *Ligorn*.

The Turkiſh Gallies taken by the *Florentines*.

Deputies meet at *Vienna* to confirm the Peace betwixt the Emperour and the Turk.

We have formerly made mention in the Jeſuits Buſineſs, being preſented at *Conſtantinople*, of the entry which the Emperors Ambaſſador made into that City. And this was the Effect of his Ambaſſage. The Peace concluded at *Situa Torok*, in the year 1606, betwixt the Emperour and the Sultan, was ſomewhat altered by the divers Interpretations and Explications, which they made of the Articles therein contained. But this year 1616, in the Month of *March*, the Ambaſſadors of both their Imperial Majeſties aſſembled at *Vienna* in *Auſtria*; that is to ſay, the Cardinal *Forgatſie*, Arch-biſhop of *Strigonium*, and Chancellor to the Emperour, the Cardinal *Kleſſel*, Biſhop of *Vienna*, the Baron of *Rainek*, Count *Adolph Althen*, the Earl of *Solmes*, the Earl of *Thoron*, and *Pauli Apponi Nagi*, for the Emperour; *Hali* Baſſa of *Buda*, *Achmat Tihaia*, and *Gaſper Gratſiani*, for the Turk; where they concluded theſe following Articles, to take away all pretext of Controverſie in the Explication of thoſe which were agreed upon at *Situa Torok*. But it was after that Ambaſſadors had been ſent of either ſide, as well to *Conſtantinople* as to *Prague*, with royal and rich Preſents.

Articles extracted out of the Letters Patents of *Achmat* Emperour of the *Turks*.

Articles touching the differences of the Peace.

1. *Foraſmuch as many things have happened of either ſide, contrary to the Peace concluded at* Situa Torok, *it hath been neceſſary to confirm it anew, and to reduce it into the right courſe: Wherefore this holy Peace, made and concluded at* Situa Torok, *ſhall be obſerved for twenty years compleat, to begin at the date of theſe preſents. Given in the month of* Chomazilabil, *in the year of the Prophet*, 1024.

2. *That the Peace heretofore concluded at* Situa Torok, *ſhall remain firm in all its Articles, according to the Treaty which the Emperour* Rodulphus *did ſend unto Us, ſigned with his hand, and ſealed with his ſeal, the which we have received willingly, and the ſame Treaty we alſo ſent back confirmed to the Emperour of the Romans, the which he received in like manner. And this Treaty which was ſent unto Us bare date the ninth of* December, *in the year* 1606 *of* Jeſus, *of reverend and happy memory; and that which we ſent unto the Emperour of* Romans, *wherewith he was ſatisfied, was dated in the year of the Prophet One thouſand twenty one.*

3. *Since the time that* Agria, Caniſe, Alba-Regalis, Peſth, Buda, Zolnok, Hatwan, *and other places have been taken, that the Villages which were of their appurtenances ſhall hereafter remain annexed unto them. But thoſe Villages, which ſince the Peace of* Situa Torok *have been hindred from paying their Tribute by either ſide, or have been held by force, contrary to the Treaty of Peace, that thoſe Villages ſhall be viewed by Commiſſaries appointed by Us and the Emperour of the* Romans, *and preſently ſhall be ſet at liberty, and reſtored to their Lords and right owners. As for the Villages which pay Tribute to either part, thoſe which are ſcituate upon the Frontiers of the Emperour of the* Romans, *towards* Novigrade *and other Places, ſhall be viewed by Commiſſaries thereunto deputed, who ſhall take a Regiſter, to the end thoſe Villages may not be moleſted by our Neighbours. In like manner, the Commiſſary ſhall make a Regiſter of the Villages which pay to both ſides, lying near the Towns of the Emperour of* Romans, *of* Strigonium *and other Places; to the end they may take notice what Villages are bound to the one or the other Party, that hereafter there might grow no Controverſie. And for that which concerned the* 158 *Villages about* Strigonium, *for the which there was ſome controverſie, the ſixty lying neareſt to the ſaid Town ſhall be adjudged as it hath been agreed, and the Commiſſaries of either ſide ſhall take order for it. The foreſaid Villages lying near to* Strigonium, *and all others of the Realm of* Hungary, *which ſhall be adjudged to the one or other Party, ſhall not in any ſort be diſquieted, more than of ancient Cuſtom, and there ſhall be nothing exacted from them more than the Tribute.*

The Judges of Villages ſhall pay unto the Lord the Tributes according to the ancient Cuſtom; if the Judges do not bring the Tribute, the Baſſa or Beg of the Place ſhall ſummon the Inhabitants thrice, to the end their Judges may come and pay the Tribute, and if they do it not after theſe ſummonings, he ſhall write unto the next Governour for the Roman Emperour, that the Judges of the Villages may be ſent unto him with the Tribute: And finally, if after all theſe Formalities it be not paid, the Baſſa or Beg may uſe force to fetch in theſe Inhabitants, and make them Slaves; the which ſhall be obſerved throughout all the villages which owe us tribute in the Realm of Hungary, yet nothing ſhall be exacted or demanded of them more than they have been accuſtomed to pay in antient times. The Commiſſaries deputed ſhall view and ſet down by a joynt conſent the limits and bounds of the Lands and Seigniories, which are held by either part in the upper or lower Hungary, and in the Realms of Croatia and Sclavonia.

4. They that ſhall break the Peace of either part, if they cannot be convicted and puniſhed inſtantly; we have decreed, that there ſhall be order taken of either ſide, and Juſtice ſhall be done within three Months. All Priſoners of War and others which have been taken ſince the Peace of Situa Torok, ſhall be ſet at liberty without ranſome.

5. Achmet Tahaia hath preſented unto us a Roll of Places built and fortified ſince the Peace, for the retreat of Souldiers. Whereupon we have ordained, that Informations ſhould be taken of all Fortifications made on either ſide ſince the Peace of Situa Torok; and if it be found that any Fortification hath been made contrary to the Peace, it ſhall be viſited within four Months by the Captains on both ſides, or by a Nobleman of either Party, and the Fortifications which ſhall be found to have been thus made contrary to the Peace, ſhall be demoliſhed.

6. And, for that ſome wicked and malicious Spirits have attempted many things unjuſtly to infringe this holy Peace and good Amity; we have ordained, that if hereafter any Perſons of either ſide ſhall attempt or practiſe any thing that is wicked and lewd, contrary to the Peace and mutual Correſpondency, we will advertiſe the Emperour of the Romans thereof; and in like manner the Roman Emperour, King of Hungary and Bohemia, ſhall write unto us to our Court, and no credit ſhall be given to the Reports of ſuch Perſons.

7. The Prieſts, religious Men, and Jeſuits, among the People of holy Jeſus, which follow the Popes Religion, may build Temples in our Realms, there to ſay divine Service after their manner, and read the Goſpel. We will yield them all favour, and will not ſuffer any one to diſturb them contrary to Law and Equity.

8. It ſhall be lawful for the Inhabitants born in the Realm of Hungary of either part, to re-edifie the Villages ruined and laid waſte, and after they are inhabited, they ſhall pay Tribute to the one and the other, if they be ſuch Villages as have been accuſtomed to pay to both.

9. Merchants ſhall have free leave to traffick, paſſing from our Port into thoſe Countries, and the tranſport of Merchandiſe ſhall be free to ſuch as ſhall take Letters from the Governours of the Frontiers, or from the Receivers of the thirties; the which they ſhall repreſent in paſſing, and the Lord of the Place or the Receiver ſhall atteſt the ſaid Letters by his manual ſign or ſeal; for the which they ſhall not take any thing of the Merchant. If the Merchant be to paſs by any dangerous Place, they ſhall give him a ſufficient Convoy to conduct him in ſafety; and after that the Merchant hath paied of either ſide the thirtieth, which is the full due, no man ſhall moleſt him nor hinder him to go where he pleaſeth.

10. The Merchants which would paſs from the Realms and Seigniories of the Emperor of the Romans, and the Houſe of Auſtria, into our Kingdoms, with Merchandiſe or Money, ſhall come under the Enſign of the Emperour of Romans, and ſhall have his Letters patents to us, without the which they ſhall not be ſuffered to paſs. And if they enter without Enſign, or the ſaid Patents, the Agents and Conſuls of the Roman Emperour may ſeiſe upon their Veſſels, Merchandiſe, and Money, and ſhall give advice thereof unto their Emperour; wherefore all the Merchants of the Emperours Countries, of the Houſe of Auſtria, and of the King of Spain, both as well thoſe of the Low-Countries, as his other Realms, may come with all aſſurance into our Realms, with their Ships, Money, and Merchandiſe, paying three in the hundred. And as for the Agents and Conſuls of the Roman Emperour, they ſhall pay unto them two Aſpers for the hundred; and in doing ſo the ſaid Agents and Conſuls of the Roman Emperour ſhall have a care of the Merchants Affairs. If any Merchant chance to die, the Emperours Agent and Conſul ſhall cauſe his Goods to be ſealed up, and ſhall take them into their Poſſeſſion, to the which our Treaſurer ſhall have no colour or pretenſion. And when as the Merchants have paid the Cuſtom of three for the hundred in one place, they ſhall not be bound to pay it in another for the ſame Merchandiſe. If the Merchants have any Controverſie amongſt themſelves, or with others, the Cadi, or Judge of that Place, may take knowledge of the cauſe, if it exceed not the value of 4000 Aſpers, but it ſhall be judged by the Cadi of our Port.

11. As long as this holy Peace ſhall continue, the Poſts which ſhall be ſent with Letters by the Baſſaes, Begues, Lords and Agents, or by the Viſiers, on our behalf to the Emperour of the Romans; and reſpectively from him to our Court, ſhall be honourably entertained by our Officers; and if the way be dangerous, they ſhall give them aſſiſtance to conduct them into a place of ſafety with their Letters. And if the Agent which is with us deſire to write any particular Letter unto the Emperour, and not ſend an expreſs Meſſenger, that this Letter ſhall be carried by the poſt, and delivered ſafely where it is directed. That the Meſſengers of the Baſſaes and Begues ſhall go no more into the Villages, but the Judges ſhall bring the Tribute and deliver it where they ought.

An Accord for the Execution of the Articles touching the Villages in Controverſie, and the raiſing of Fortifications.

To conclude all Differences touching the diviſion of Villages, and demolition of Fortifications made in prejudice of the Peace of Situa Torok: We the Commiſſaries deputed, had agreed upon the time of four Months: But, for that all Controverſies cannot be decided within that time, by a common conſent we have concluded the time of twelve Months, for the Expedition of all that ſhall remain undecided; all things remaining in the ſame Eſtate during the time. For the ending of theſe Affairs on the behalf of the Majeſty of the Roman Emperour, ſhall be ſent the Noble Lord Adolph of Althen, Earl of the ſacred Empire, with others, according to his Maieſties good Pleaſure. And on the behalf of the Othoman Emperour hath been named the Noble Lord Ali Viſier Baſſa.

For the greater aſſurance of theſe things, we the ſaid Commiſſioners have cauſed ſix Copies of this Treaty to be diſpatch'd, in the Italian, Hungarian, and Turkiſh Tongues. And we the Director or Preſident of the Privy Council to his Imperial Majeſty, and Cardinal, with other Counſellors of his Privy Council and Commiſſioners, having full Power and Authority, have confirmed theſe Preſents under our Hands, and the Seals of our Arms.

As alſo We Ali *Baſſa of* Buda, *Viſier to the moſt powerful Sultan* Achmat, Tyhaia Mutafaraga, *and* Gaſper Gratiani, *Ambaſſadors to the Turkiſh Emperour, with the Imperial Majeſty of the Roman Emperour, having full Power and Authority to conclude this Treaty, have ſigned it with our Hands, and ſealed it with our ordinary Seals; whereof there were three Copies delivered to either party. Given at* Vienna *the firſt of* March, 1616.

This new Declaration of the *Othoman* Emperour, upon the firſt Articles concluded at *Situa Torok*, ſhews plainly how much the Turks are of late days refined from their antient barbariſm and rudeneſs, having made themſelves capable of great Affairs. And theſe frequent meetings betwixt the Emperour of the *Romans*, and the Sultan, by their Ambaſſadors, as a holy watering of the Olive Tree of Peace, ſeems to make it ſo flouriſhing, as the ſweet ſavour may pierce further, and make us hope that God will make uſe of this peaceful Union, to prepare unto himſelf ſome means to a new Harveſt, or a healthful Conqueſt of Souls wandering amidſt the falſhoods of the Alchoran.

Prince *Coreskie*'s Wife carried into *Tartaria.*

Alexandrina, Wife to Prince *Coreskie*, having been taken at that unfortunate overthrow of the *Polonian* Princes in *Moldavia*, by *Skinder Baſſa* and Prince *Michna*; ſhe was carried away (as you have formerly heard) by a *Tartarian* Captain, and led Captive unknown to *Bialigrot*, where ſhe received many Indignities, being with Child; yea during the time of her lying in, which was five or ſix Months after her taking: all which time ſhe bethought her ſelf of a means to haſten her own Delivery, and withal, to free a *Polonian* Souldier called *Jaques*, who had carried Arms under Prince *Coreskie*. This man, although he knew the Princeſs well, and might by her diſcovery have purchaſed his own Liberty, yet he would not do it; wherefore the Princeſs having tried his Fidelity, taught him a means how to work his own Liberty, and hers in the end, by his Care and Diligence. The *Tartarian* being one day abſent from his Lodging, *Alexandrina* took occaſion to talk with *Jaques* the *Polonian*; telling him, That having found him faithful unto her, ſhe would direct him a courſe whereby he might redeem himſelf from Captivity; ſo as he would principally obſerve what ſhe did preſcribe. *Jaques* having promiſed to execute whatſoever this Lady ſhould enjoyn him, yea, with the hazard of his Life; ſhe then ſaid unto him: You know the *Tartarian*, whoſe Captives we are, hath an elder Brother, a very rich Man, who of late is become blind and deaf, by reaſon of a great Catarr and Defluction which is fallen down into his Eyes and Ears, wherewith his Brother ſeems to be much afflicted: I have a Jewel, which my great Lord and Husband gave me when we were made ſure, the which I have kept carefully, hiding it ſometimes in my Hair, ſometimes in my old tatter'd Rags which I have worn ſince my Captivity, the which I have much eſteemed; for that my dear Spouſe had aſſured me, that the Stone which was ſet in this Jewel had many and ſingular Virtues, and amongſt others, that it would reſtore the ſight, which had been loſt by Defluction, and cure Deafneſs, ſo as it were not natural, or too inveterate. I am reſolved to take out the Stone, and deliver it thee; after thou haſt ſounded the *Tartarian*, whether he will ſet thee at Liberty if thou doſt cure his Brother of his Infirmities; making him ſwear ſolemnly not to retain the Stone, but to ſuffer thee to carry it away, to the end thou mayeſt reſtore it unto me without his knowledge. Having reſolved upon this Plot, the Lady ſaid unto him, You muſt alſo demand of the ſick Man a Horſe, and ſome Money, with Paſs-ports to go into your Country, to the end thou mayeſt go ſpeedily to my dear Husband, whereſoever thou ſhalt hear of him, and to deliver him my Letters, and bring me an anſwer if it be poſſible. The *Polonian* having ſworn to perform whatſoever the Lady commanded him, being at Liberty; the Princeſs delivered him the Stone, he ſwearing to reſtore it unto her again, as ſoon as he had done his cure, if it were not taken from him by Violence.

The *Polonian* attended with impatience until the *Tartarian* did talk unto him of his Brothers Infirmity; who finding him one day much afflicted, took occaſion to tell him, that he knew a certain means how to cure his Brother, without any Pain, or taking any thing inwardly; I believe nothing, reply'd the *Tartarian*; for all the Phyſicians in the Country could not do it; but if he could effect his ſaying, he promiſed to ſet him at Liberty without ranſome, and to give him wherewithal to conduct him into his Country; It is the recompence, ſaid the Priſoner, I meant to demand, and that you ſwear unto me by your great God, not to fail of your promiſe when I have performed mine, and not to retain, nor ſuffer any one to take from me the thing I ſhall uſe in the cure. The *Tartarian* having ſolemnly ſworn, and laid his right Hand upon his Heart, the *Polonian* took a time to make preparation for his cure. The *Tartarian*, although he diſtruſted his new Phyſitian, yet he acquainted his Brother with the Project, who, being deſirous to recover his Sences, intreated his Brother not to neglect the offer, promiſing to ſave him harmeleſs, both in regard of the ranſome which he expected from the *Polonian*, and for the Money he ſhould give him. The day appointed being come, the *Tartarian* preſt the Priſoner to perform his Promiſe; to whom the ſick man alſo promiſed a Horſe and fifty Chequines to return into his Country, taking the ſame Oath which his Brother had formerly done. All things being ready, he applyed his phyſical Stone, binding it faſt to one of his Eyes for the ſpace of ſeven hours, after which, being taken away he ſaw clearly, and in like manner he recovered his other Eye, and afterwards his hearing by the like Application: whereat the *Tartarians* much rejoyced; giving unto the *Polonian* what they had promiſed, and procuring him paſs-ports from the Governour, without which he could hardly get out of the Country.

Jaques ſeeks out *Coreskie.*

The *Polonian* before his departure told the *Tartarian* Captain that he had a ſuit unto him, that was, that the *Polonian* Woman, which was alſo his Priſoner, was his near Kinſwoman, intreating him that in reſpect of his good Office he had done to his Brother, he would uſe her and her little Infant better, and that as ſoon as he were returned into his Country, he would take a courſe for her ranſome, and it might be would bring it himſelf. The *Polonian*, having acquainted the Lady with what had paſt, and delivered her Jewel faithfully unto her, having received her Letters to Prince *Coreskie*, and vowed to find him out, he took his leave. This *Polonian* travelling towards his Country, met with one of the ſame Nation, who having been taken Priſoner with Prince *Alexander*, made an eſcape; theſe two diſcourſing freely of their Adventures, *Jaques* inquired carefully what was become of the Princes which had been carried Priſoners to *Conſtantinople* by *Skinder Baſſa*, and eſpecially of *Coreskie*; and hearing that he was in the Priſons of the Black Sea, he inquired by what means he might ſpeak with this Prince, or at leaſt how he might convey ſome Letters unto him; to whom he anſwered, that

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it was very difficult, for that he was ſtraightly guarded. But he underſtood that the French Ambaſſador had ſometimes leave to ſend to viſit him, whereof he might inform himſelf more particularly. After this, *Jaques* intreated his Countrymen to deliver certain Letters which the Princeſs had written unto her Kinsfolk, the which he promiſed to perform faithfully, and ſo they parted. *Jaques* coming to *Conſtantinople*, he grew acquainted with one of the French Ambaſſadors Men, who was ſometimes employed to viſit the Prince, and to carry him Money and other Neceſſaries; by whoſe means he got acceſs unto the Prince, and delivered his Letters, the which he received with much Joy, hearing of his Wives Health. Eight days after, the *Polonian* coming to viſit the Prince, he received from him an anſwer to his Wife, and ſo took his leave; who after many troubleſome Encounters, returned to *Bialigrot*, where, finding the Lady all alone (the *Tartarian* and his Servants being gone a hunting) he gave an account unto her of his Negotiation, and delivered his Letters, whereat ſhe was much joyed, hearing that he was alive, though infinitely grieved for his Captivity, underſtanding that the Grand Seignior had refuſed to put him to ranſome. After their Diſcourſe, the Princeſs advertiſed her faithful Agent, That ſince his departure, the *Tartar* had grown jealous of her Quality, and had enquired of her what her Husband, her Kinsfolks, and their Eſtates were; to whom ſhe had anſwered, that her Husband was a Captain who had been taken Priſoner with Prince *Alexander*, and carried with him into *Turkey*; and as for her other Kinsfolks they were all Souldiers, which had been ruined during the Troubles of *Moldavia*: deſiring the *Polonian* to remember it well, leſt they ſhould be found to differ when they ſhould come to treat of her Ranſome. The *Tartarian* returning ſoon after to his Houſe, he found *Jaques* the *Polonian* there, whom he entertained very kindly, both in reward of the good Offices he had done to his Brother, and for the hope he had of his Priſoners ranſome, remembring that *Jaques* had told him that ſhe was his Kinſwoman, and that it might be he would bring it. After ſome little Diſcourſe, *Jaques* asked him, What ranſome he would require for his *Polonian* Priſoner? To whom the *Tartarian* anſwered, That he would have ſix thouſand Chequines for her and her Son, unleſs he would give him the Stone with the which he had cured his Brother; to whom the *Polonian* replyed, That as for the Stone it was not in his Power, having reſtored it to a Nobleman whom he had followed when he was taken Priſoner. And as for the ranſome which he demanded for his Priſoner and her Child, it was more than ſhe and all her Kindred were worth, ſhe being Wife to a Captain who had been taken Priſoner at the defeat of *Alexander*, and for want of means was ſtill detained. The *Tartarian* interrupted him, ſaying, That he underſtood ſhe was of noble extraction, and that ſhe had rich Kinsfolks, who would not ſuffer her to ſpend her Life in Captivity. I confeſs, ſaid the *Polonian*, that ſhe is iſſued from Noble Parents, but they are ruined during the Troubles of *Moldavia*; adding withal, that he would not have returned if he had thought he would have demanded above a thouſand Chequines, the which he offered him, intreating him to accept it, in regard ſhe was his Kinſwoman, and for the good Office he had done for his Brother. You have been ſatisfied, reply'd the *Tartarian*, and have no cauſe to complain: Notwithſtanding, after ſome conteſting, by the mediation of the Captains Brother, who had been ſo well cured, the Ladies ranſome was ſet at three thouſand Chequines, whereof her faithful Agent gave preſent Intelligence to Prince *Charles*, Brother to prince *Coreskie*, who ſent this ſum with all poſſible ſpeed; and ſo the Princeſs and her little Infant were redeemed from Captivity, and conducted into *Polonia* by their faithful Sollicitor: From whence ſhe advertiſed the Prince, by Letters, of her delivery. This relation was written by a Frenchman, who, by his report, was preſent in all the Troubles of *Moldavia*: but as touching her delivery by means of the Cure, I cannot warrant it, but leave it to the cenſure of Phyſicians and Naturaliſts, who can beſt judge of the Virtues of Stones, Herbs, and Plants; but it is certain that ſhe was impriſoned and ranſomed as an unknown Perſon.

He returns into *Tartary.*

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Prince *Coreskie's* Wiſe redeemed from the *Tartarians.*

1617

A Chiaus ſent from *Conſtantinople* to *Paris.*

In the year 1617, there came to *Paris* a Chiaus, a *Spaniſh* Renegado, called *Solyman*, ſent from *Conſtantinople* with Letters from the Emperour *Achmat* to the King, for the delivery of eight and twenty Slaves, who had redeemed their Liberty for Money in divers Ports of *Italy*, and in their return to *Conſtantinople* had been taken by the Ships of *Merceilles*; the King cauſed them to be ſet at Liberty. But the Chiaus had alſo charge to intreat his Majeſty to cauſe Juſtice to be done unto the *Moors Grannadines*, expelled out of *Spain*, and wronged in their Goods and Perſons, upon their Paſſage into *France*; wherein he had what contentment he could expect of Juſtice. Notwithſtanding he did witneſs openly his amazement at their long delays in the diſpatch of Suits; ſaying plainly, That *France*, which had the Reputation throughout the World, to maintain every mans right inviolably, did no Juſtice, but after long and tedious Purſuits; and that the Execution of decrees, was many times longer than the Suit it ſelf. Whereas the Turks Juſtice (ſaid he) was ſpeedily adminiſtred to every Man; and within eight days they ſaw an end of the greateſt and moſt important Suits. This Chiaus was favourably entertained, and defraied with his Train for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven Months at the Kings Charge.

The cauſe of the Voyage.

The Eſtate of the Turks Empire this Year.

As the Turks Eſtate hath not grown great but by Combuſtions, ſo it is ordinarily full of Troubles; whereby it ſeems that the Preſervation thereof depends in making War upon others, or to ſupport it, when as neighbour Princes ſeek to recover that which they had unjuſtly wreſted from them by the *Othoman* Force. So this great Eſtate entertained this year four great Armies, two at Land, the one againſt the *Perſians*, his antient Enemy, the other (conſiſting in a manner all of *Tartarians*) againſt the King of *Poland*, as ſupporting the part of the Vayvod of *Moldavia* againſt the Turk, who had ſettled another in that Province: And two naval Armies, the one in the Black Sea againſt the *Coſſacks* or *Ruſſians*, who made daily Incurſions into the *Othomans* Country, Men wholly given to Arms, which go to Sea in ſmall Boats, able to carry but five or ſix Men, made of the Bodies of hollow Trees; but they are in a manner invincible with theſe kind of Boats; for when as the diſadvantage of a Combat forces them to ſound a retreat, they retire near unto the Land, and in ſuch Places whereas the Turkiſh Gallies cannot approach; and ſo they eaſily prevent a total overthrow. Finally, in caſe of Neceſſity they carry their Veſſels with them. For in the end of the laſt year, finding the paſſage of the Black Sea ſtopped at the mouth of the River of *Danow* by the Turkiſh Gallies, they put their Boats into Carts, and taking the way by the Mountains, they brought them eaſily into the Sea. The Turks fourth Army is in the white Sea, as they call it, employed either to conduct the Caravan, which

He entertains four Armies.

brings

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brings the Tribute from *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*, or in ſearch of the Gallies of *Malta* and *Florence*, which ſcoure thoſe Seas continually to annoy the Turk. The Army againſt the *Perſian* is led by *Haly Baſſa*, Succeſſor to *Mehemet Baſſa*, he who fled into *Perſia* after that he had loſt threeſcore thouſand men in a ſet Battel; after which, being ſent for to come unto *Conſtantinople*, fearing that the Sultan would take revenge of ſo great a loſs upon his life, he retired to the Sophy, where he now remains.

The Turks complain to the *Venetians* of the *Vſcoques* Spoils.

The beginning of the *Vſcoques*.

Enemies to all Art and Induſtry.

1617

They rob the Turks and Jews trafficking to *Venice*.

They ſpoil the Turks Country and the *Venetians*.

The Turks being much annoyed both at Sea and Land by the *Vſcoques*, made great Complaint to the Eſtate of *Venice*, with whom they are in League, being greatly grieved at their Thefts, and complaining much that they could not paſs by Sea without danger of Servitude or Death: adding withal, that theſe Pyrates having gotten a way into *Turkey* by the *Venetians* Territories, they were by them made Slaves, and ſlain in their own Countries: and although they went not from their Houſes, nor undertook any Voyages, yet they were ſtill in alarm, and ſubject unto ruine: That the ſmall Reſiſtance which was made, gave great cauſe of jealouſie, that there was ſome ſecret Intelligence betwixt the Subjects of the Seigniory of *Venice* and the *Vſcoques*, and that they divided the Spoil betwixt them: finally, That in what ſort ſoever the matter paſt, they held them inſupportable to all men, but eſpecially to themſelves. The Turks threatned to take their juſt Revenge; the which being impoſſible to effect in the Country of the *Vſcoques* (for that by the Letters of the Commonwealth of *Venice* their Paſſage was ſtopped) they reſolved to be revenged upon their Subjects, and recover a part of their Goods which they had loſt. Finally, they prepared to come into the Gulph of *Venice* with a mighty Army, the which, without doubt, had brought that State into great Extremities, and been very prejudicial to many Provinces of *Chriſtendome*. But, for that the Inſolencies and Thefts of the *Vſcoques* had like to have ingaged the *Venetians* in a dangerous War againſt the Turk with whom they were in League, it ſhall neither be unpleaſant nor unprofitable to make a little Digreſſion, and ſhew what theſe *Vſcoques* were. About the Year 1550, there aſſembled together in certain places near the Sea belonging to the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, People (who were cruel, violent, and infamous) from divers parts of the Country of *Chi*~~*mera*, *Dalmatia*, and the other Confines of *Hun*~~*gary*, and ſuch as had been baniſhed from the State of *Venice*; whoſe delight was only to live upon Spoil and Blood. All theſe Thieves being thus gathered together (whom they called by a general Name *Vſcoques*) as enemies to all Art and Induſtry to live honeſtly by their Labours, retired themſelves into a deſart Country, receiving no Pay from the Princes of *Auſtria* who command there. Being thus by their natural Inclination given to Spoil, adding thereunto the ſpur of Poverty, nothing moved them to ſtay in thoſe places, but all liberty was left them to rob and ſpoil: whereupon they applied all their Minds and Forces; ſo as having made certain light Foiſts, they began to make Courſes at Sea, with the moſt barbarous and impious Cruelty that ever was practiſed amongſt the *Scythians*, *Tartarians*, or any other inhumane Nation whatſoever. And, for that it is an ordinary courſe for any one that will commit a great Villany, to ſeek out ſome goodly Pretext to cover it; ſo they concluded among themſelves, to ſhadow their Inſolencies and Thefts with a colour to go againſt the Infidels: wherefore, in the beginning, there were no Merchants, were they Turks, Jews, or Subjects to the Turk, although they were Chriſtians, but if they entred into the Gulf, either to traffick, or to furniſh *Venice* with Proviſion and Merchandiſe, they were taken by them, their Goods divided amongſt them, and they forced to pay a great Ranſome, or to dye miſerably. All the Ports of the State of *Venice*, both of *Iſtria*, *Dalmatia*, and the Iſlands from whence they received their Victuals and Proviſion, were ſoon after ſhut up by theſe Pyrates, who, not content to ſpoil the Turks (which trafficked no more by reaſon of their great Dangers and Loſs) allured by the rich Spoils which they took, and the deſire they had to encounter them, they began to ſet upon the *Venetian* Ships, forcing the Merchants whom they took, to confeſs by Torments, that the Goods belonged to Turks, although in effect their chief Booty came from Chriſtians. Having drawn many unto them of their own Humours, and thinking their Spoils at Sea not ſufficient to ſatisfie their covetous Deſires, nor the Preſents which they were to give to others, to be favoured and ſupported in the Courts of Princes, they ſtayed not long before they entered with all violence into the Turks Country, through the *Venetian* Territory, to whom they were as hurtful as to the Turks; from whence they carried away rich Spoils and many Priſoners. There was nothing that was precious, rich, or good, but was ſubject to the inſatiable greedineſs of thoſe pittileſs Thieves and Pirates, if paſſing by Sea they came near unto the Maritine Coaſts. Whereupon grew the great Complaint you have heard made by the Turks, threatning to be revenged upon the Eſtate of *Venice* for the inſolency of the *Vſcoques*, which afterward bred a cruel War betwixt that State and the Arch-duke *Ferdinand* of *Grets*, now Emperour, who ſeemed to ſupport them, thereby to ingage the State in a War with the Turk. But for that the Succeſs thereof doth not belong to our Hiſtory, we will leave it to them that have written it at large.

Death of *Achmat*.

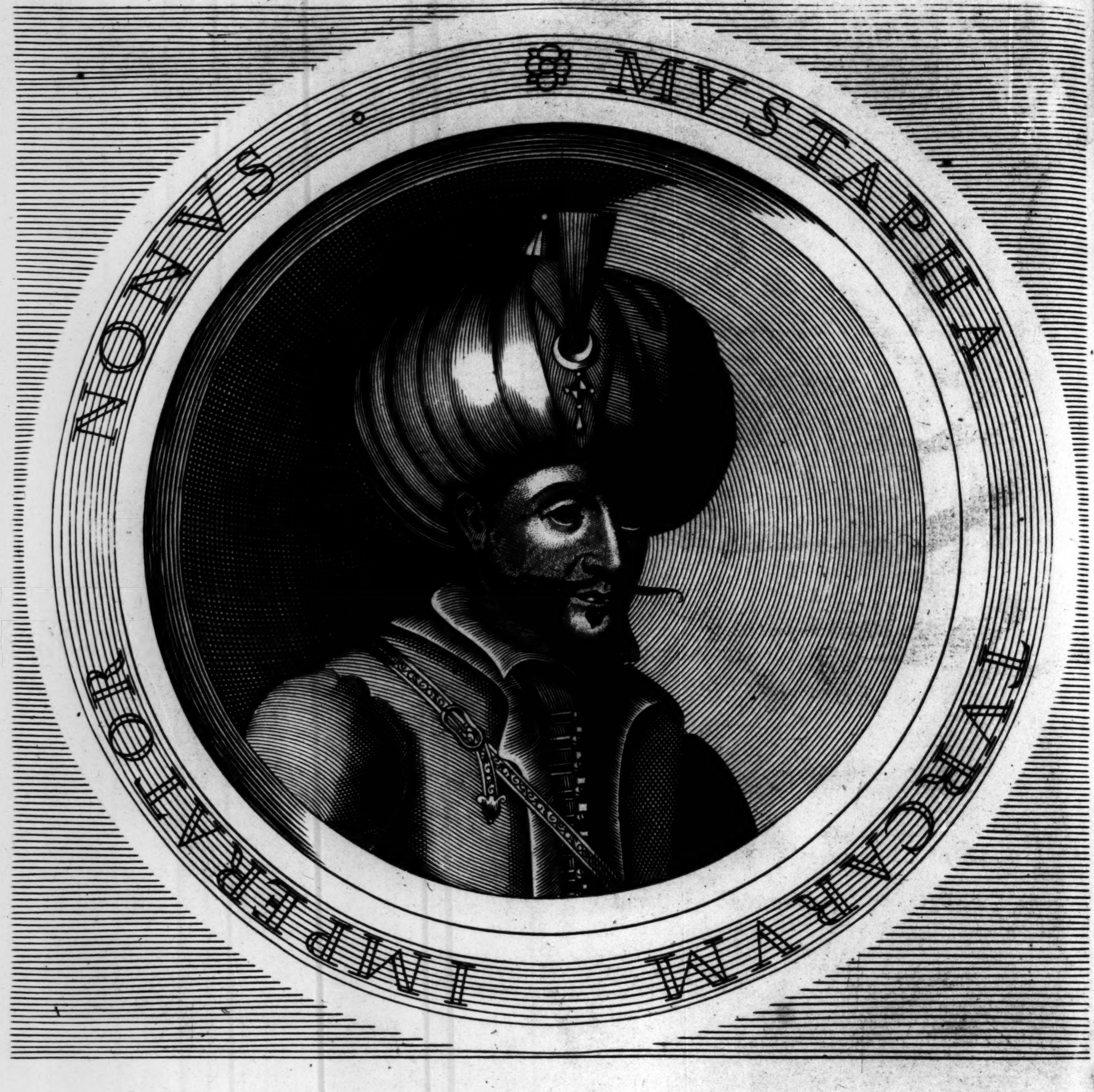
The Diſpoſition of Sultan *Achmat*.

On the fifteenth of *November* this year, Sultan *Achmat Chan*, having lived thirty years, and governed that great Empire of *Turkey* fifteen, died. When he came to the Empire he was but fifteen years old. He was of a good Conſtitution, well complexioned, and ſomewhat inclined to be fat, ſtrong, and active, which appeared by his Exerciſe in caſting of a Horſe-mans Mace of nine or ten pounds weight, wherein he exceeded any one of his Court; in memory whereof there are two Pillars ſet up in one of the Courts of the Seraglio at *Conſtantinople*, with an Inſcription, as marks of his Dexterity. He was by nature ambitious and proud, which ſome hold qualities befitting his great Eſtate. He was not ſo cruel as many of his Predeceſſors: but he was much given to Senſuality and Pleaſure; for the which he entertained three thouſand Concubines and Virgins in a Seraglio, being the faireſt Daughters of the Chriſtians. His Mother was a Chriſtian of *Boſna*, or of *Cyprus*; and therefore it is thought he was ſomewhat favourable to Chriſtians. He was much delighted in Hawking and Hunting; and namely for Hawking he kept in *Grecia* and *Natolia* 40000 Faulkoners, who attended his coming, and kept his Hawks in their ſeveral places of Charge, and had good yearly Penſions. Neither were his Huntſmen much fewer in number, or of leſs Charge. As the Turkiſh Emperours are bound, by the Law of their Religion, once every day to practiſe ſome manual Trade, ſo *Mahomet*, his Father, gave himſelf to the making of Arrows, and *Achmat* to the faſhioning horn Rings, ſuch as the Turks wear when they draw their Bows. This they do in the morning: after they are ready and have ſaid their Prayers, then they call for their Exerciſe, but it is only for form, for they ſcarce make an Arrow or a Ring in a whole year.

Christian Princes at the same time with Achmat.

- *Emperours of* Germany,
  - Rodolph *the Second.* 1577. 35.
  - Matthias. 1612.
- *Kings,*
  - *Of* Great Britain, *King* James
    - *Of* England. 1602.
    - *Of* Scotland. 1567.
  - *Of* France,
    - Henry *the Fourth.* 1589.
    - Lewis *the Thirteenth.* 1610.
- *Bishop of* Rome.
  - Paul *the* V. 1605.

THE



Nought but affliction thundring out of Heaven,
Makes men on earth to any goodneſs given.
Nor longer than she thunders, any fear
That any heav'n holds any Thunderer.
So Mustapha, while heaven restrain'd his state,
And held him fetter'd in his brothers hate,
To vertuous actions did his studies drive,
Was curteous, pious, and contemplative.
But when his brother could no longer live,
And liberty did to him power give;
Then pride and tyrannie his horses were,
And drive him alwaies past heav'ns love or fear,
Greatneſs, on Goodneſs loves to slide, not stand,
And leaves, for fortunes ice, vertues firm land.
Honour had rather be with danger driven,
Than stay with vertue on the hand of Heaven.

pag: 945.

THE REIGN OF MUSTAPHA,

The Firſt of that Name, Ninth Emperour of the *Turks*.

1617

Muſtapha advanced to the Empire.

Depoſed again.

OSMAN, the eldeſt Son of *Achmat*, being not above twelve years old, *Muſtapha*, Brother to *Achmat*, being five and twenty, was drawn out of a Cell where he lived as it were religiouſly and in Contemplation, and proclaimed Sultan *Muſtapha Chan*. They write of him, that he grew cruel, cauſing young *Oſman* to be kept under ſure Guards, putting to death his Brethren: He alſo did many indignities unto the Chriſtian Ambaſſadours; and to confirm him in his Throne, he gave great Sums of Money to the Janizaries and Spahies; and ſent a Meſſenger to *Vienna* to the Emperour, to aſſure him, that he would maintain inviolably whatſoever had been concluded betwixt him and his deceaſed Brother *Achmat*. But, growing odious by reaſon of his Tyranny, the Grand Viſier came out of *Perſia* with an Army and depoſed him, forcing him to return to his Cell, ſetting Prince *Oſman* at liberty, and ſeating him in the Imperial Throne. But, for that it may ſeem ſtrange, that *Muſtapha* ſhould be preſerved alive during the Reign of his Brother *Achmat*, (contrary to the cuſtom of the *Othoman* Emperours, who do uſually kill all their Brethren at their firſt coming to the Crown, thinking thereby the better to aſſure their Eſtates) it ſhall be fit to make mention thereof. *Mahomet*, the third of that name, dying in the year 1602, and leaving *Achmat* and *Muſtapha*, his Sons by the Sultana *Flatra*, a Lady of *Cyprus*, ſome ſay of *Boſna*, *Achmat*, the eldeſt, was ſent for ſpeedily out of *Magneſia*, by the Baſſaes, to take poſſeſſion of his Father's Crown, being the firſt Emperour of that Name. And, for that the cuſtom of the Turkiſh Emperours was (as we have ſaid) to have neither Brother nor Nephew alive, unleſs they could ſave themſelves by flight; yet the Viſier Baſſaes, and other Officers of the Court, concluded in Council, that it was not fit that *Muſtapha* Brother to *Achmat* ſhould dye; grounding their opinion upon a good reaſon of State, for that their Emperour being but fifteen years old, they feared (that dying in his Nonage, without children able to govern) the Empire might fall into Combuſtion, and ruine it ſelf by reaſon of Civil Wars. Whereupon they decreed, that *Muſtapha*'s Life ſhould be preſerved; but with that caution and reſtriction, that he ſhould remain ſtill a Priſoner in ſome Chambers of the Emperour's Seraglio at *Conſtantinople*.

During *Achmat*'s minority, and before he had Children, there was no cruel Decree made againſt *Muſtapha*, but he only continued in his Contemplation without any liberty: But when as the Emperour ſaw himſelf fortified with Iſſue, and remembring the cruel Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, he many times propounded the putting of his Brother to death to his Council; the which may ſeem very ſtrange it took not effect, having been often concluded. Among others, it is written, that his Death was concluded one Evening, and that it ſhould have been put in Execution the next day: But *Achmat* was ſo frighted in the Night with Apparitions and fearful Dreams, as day being come, he ſaid, Seeing that the only Reſolution to put his Brother to death had ſo terrified him, he did believe that his Torments would much increaſe if he ſhould put it in Execution; and therefore he commanded his Brother ſhould live, more in regard of the Terror of his Mind than for any brotherly Affection. Another time, Sultan *Achmat* being in one of the Windows of his Seraglio, he beheld his Brother *Muſtapha*, who by his permiſſion was walking in the Gardens with his Guard: Some one of his Baſſaes or other Officer that was near unto him, and willing to flatter his Humor, told him, that it was a matter of dangerous Conſequence to ſuffer him to have ſo great Liberty. *Achmat* (moved with jealouſie and diſtruſt) grew into rage at his Words, whereupon he ſuddenly took his Bow and Arrow, (being a very expert Archer, as all the Turkiſh Nation generally are) and aimed at his Brother to kill him; but at that very inſtant he felt ſo great a pain in his Arm and Shoulder, as, not able to let looſe his Arrow, nor to perform what he had intended, he ſaid with a loud Voice, That *Mahomet* would not have *Muſtapha* to dye. This Prince had three Chambers in the Seraglio, where he remained a Priſoner fifteen years, and ſpent his time in a Contemplative kind of Life, after the manner of the Muſulmans; his whole delight was to read the *Arabian* Books of their Doctors in divers Sciences. The Grand Seignior gave him leave ſometimes to take the Air of his Gardens with his Guard, and called him to conſult with him of Affairs of Eſtate, taking his Advice many times, knowing him to be of a ſound Judgment.

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After a long impriſonment, and a daily apprehenſion of death, the Emperour *Achmat* falling grievouſly ſick in *November*, as you have heard, his Baſſaes and other Counſellors about him (ſeeing the danger he was in) perſwaded him to take ſome good courſe for the ſucceſſion of his Empire. He had Children by the Sultana, but they ſo young as they were not capable to govern the Empire. Moreover, this Sultana was dead, and the Children left Friendleſs, and none to ſpeak for them. But on the other ſide, the Sultana *Flatra*, Mother to the Emperour *Muſtapha*, was yet living, who thought, that if the Baſſaes

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ſhould undertake to govern the State during the minority of the Emperour's Children, her Honour would be much eclipſed: wherefore ſhe favoured *Muſtapha*, and perſuaded the dying Emperour to make him his Succeſſor. On the fifteenth of *November*, *Achmat*, ſeeing his End grow near, he called for his Brother, and told him, That ſeeing Death approached, he deſired to provide for the Preſervation of the Empire, and therefore had made choice of him to ſucceed him, intreating him to take the Government upon him preſently after his death. *Muſtapha* was much amazed at his Speech, and anſwered him with Words full of Fear and Humility, That he might not accept of the Honour which he did him, ſeeing that the Empire did rightly belong unto his eldeſt Son. *Achmat* diſabled his Son for ſo great a Government, both for his Age and Capacity; being neceſſary for the maintenance of ſo great a Monarchy, that he (who was of ripe years and deep judgment) ſhould take upon him the managing thereof; recommending the Children he had by the Sultana, unto him; intreating him to uſe them in the ſame manner that he had uſed him; leaving the other Children which he had by Concubines, being his Slaves, to his Diſcretion. Soon after theſe Words, *Achmat* dyed, and *Muſtapha* was generally acknowledged for Succeſſor to the Turkiſh Empire; who at the firſt was ſo amazed, as he thought he had been in a Dream, to ſee himſelf advanced to ſo great a Power and Soveraignty, from a ſtraight Priſon, and a daily apprehenſion of Death. At his firſt coming to the Empire, he cauſed the *Perſian* Ambaſſador to be ſet at liberty, whom his Brother *Achmat* had cauſed to be reſtrained, contrary to the publick Faith; for that News came unto the Court of ſome Combuſtions raiſed by the *Perſian*. After which he ſent ſpeedily to the Baſſa of *Buda* in *Hungary*, commanding him to entertain the Treaty of Peace, made by his Predeceſſor with the Emperour, inviolably. Yet notwithſtanding he carried himſelf, during the ſmall time of his Reign, inſolently and cruelly; for, violating the Laws of Nations, he had ill intreated the Baron of *Môle* or *Sancy*, Ambaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian King, ſetting Guards upon him as a Priſoner, having cauſed his People to be put in Priſon, and tortured after their manner. The reaſon of this Indignity which *Muſtapha* did unto the French Ambaſſador, and to his People, grew upon an occaſion which will require an ample Diſcourſe, for the better underſtanding of that which hath gone before. After the Overthrow and taking of the Princes of *Moldavia*, Prince *Coresky*, as you have heard, was brought by *Skinder Baſſa* to *Conſtantinople*, whereat the Grand Seignior was wonderfully well pleaſed, for that he was held (even by his Enemies) for one of the moſt valiant and redoubted Princes of Chriſtendom; wherefore he was ſent away Priſoner, and confined to the Towers of the black Sea, the which are diſtant five miles from *Conſtantinople*; a place appointed for the guard of Priſoners of great Quality and Importance, ſuch as he was. He was ſhut up with a French Captain called *Rigaut*, in a little Chamber which was on the top of one of thoſe Towers, in which Chamber there was a Window capable for a Man to paſs through, and yet it had no bars, for that the height of the place freed it from all ſuſpicion. This Prince was much ſollicited by the Turk to become a Renegado, as the Princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*, his Brothers-in-law, had done; but he reſiſted it with a generous Reſolution, reſolving rather to die in that tedious Captivity, than to commit ſo baſe an Act againſt God and his Conſcience: The which being made known unto the King of *Polonia*, it moved him to compaſſion, and made him write to the French Ambaſſador, and to intreat him to be a means that this Prince might be put to Ranſome, and freed from Captivity, at what price ſoever; the which the Ambaſſador durſt not undertake, although he deſired it much, for that he had no Charge from the King his Maſter. The Emperour's Ambaſſador did what poſſibly he could, knowing how much the Liberty of this Prince might be available to Chriſtendome: for which Conſiderations, the Turk would not yield in any ſort to ſuffer him to be releaſed; ſo as the Friends of this Captive Prince were out of hope ever to ſee him at liberty. But moſt commonly in ſuch Extremities the Almighty works by the ſecret Inſtruments of his divine Providence, and gives aſſiſtance unto them that fear him, when as all humane help and hope fails, as you may underſtand in the ſequel of this Hiſtory: whence grew the Ambaſſador's Affront which he received.

The generous Reſolution of Prince *Coreskie.*

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About the ſame time, there had been a Lady taken out of *Podolia*, with a fair young Daughter of hers and a Maid-Servant, by the *Tartarians*, who ſold them unto a Turk, and he brought them unto *Conſtantinople* to make his Profit. This Lady, who was a Chriſtian, hearing nothing from her Husband for the ſpace of nine months, went, accompanied with her Daughter, to the French Ambaſſador's Houſe, which was at *Pera*, to crave his Aid and Aſſiſtance; where his Secretary (who was called *Martine*) moved with Compaſſion and Love, promiſed unto them all Service, and afterwards aſſured the Mother, That if ſhe would promiſe he ſhould marry her Daughter, he would endeavour to redeem them from Captivity: whereunto the Ladies yielded, and they paſſed their Promiſe in Writing to the Secretary; whereupon he payed two thouſand and five hundred Crowns for their Ranſome, and ſent them home into their Country. Being returned, the Lady made her Husband and the reſt of her Friends acquainted how they had been freed from Captivity, and of the Contract of Marriage which was paſt between her Daughter and the French Ambaſſador's Secretary; but the Father did altogether diſlike of this Marriage, for that *Martine*, he ſaid, was no Gentleman, and had not an Eſtate to entertain his Daughter according to her Quality. The Mother advertiſed *Martine* ſoon after of the Father's Refuſal, proteſting unto him, That he alone was the hinderance: and as for the Mony which he had disburſed for their Ranſome, they would ſend it unto him, if he pleaſed, to *Conſtantinople*, with Intereſt. *Martine* was much diſcontented, and divers Letters and Expoſtulations paſt betwixt them, but he could not obtain the Execution of his deſire, and their promiſe; whereupon he grew full of Grief and Melancholy, and thereupon went to viſit Prince *Coresky* who was in the Black Tower, to make his Complaint unto him, and to take his Advice what courſe were beſt for him to follow. He made his Excuſe that he had been ſent by his Maſter to carry the Prince ſome Money, as he had done at other times, who making the Prince acquainted with his Diſcontent (for that he knew theſe *Podolians*, and had formerly allowed of the Suit which he had made to this Virgin) he comforted him, ſaying, That if he might by any means get out of Priſon, he would willingly ſupply the Defects which they objected againſt him, and would maintain him againſt

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A Device to free Prince *Coreskie* from Priſon.

Prince *Coreskie* eſcapes out of Priſon.

all that ſhould oppoſe themſelves againſt his accompliſhing of his Deſires. This made *Martine* ſtudy by what means he might free the Prince, to the end he might bind him to ſuccour him when he was at liberty, and Love, which is many times the Author of many goodly Inventions, ſuggeſted one unto him which was very ſubtile and difficult to execute; which was, to ſend unto Prince *Coresky* a bottom of Packthread in a little Pye, which he ſent him with other meat, advertiſing him by a Letter, that upon a certain night concluded betwixt them, he ſhould put down the Packthread at his Chamber-Window, whereunto a Ladder of Cords ſhould be tied, by the which he might deſcend from the Tower: the which was afterwards punctually effected, not by *Martine* himſelf, but by a Greek Prieſt, who lived in *Conſtantinople*, to whom he had imparted his Enterpriſe, and had ingaged him upon hope of great reward from the Prince. In the mean time, *Martine*, doubting that he ſhould be ſuſpected to practiſe this Eſcape, reſolved to be gone, and took leave of the Ambaſſador, whom he gave to underſtand, that he had ſome ſpecial urgent Affairs which did preſs his ſpeedy Return into *France*; and therefore he left the Execution of his Deſign to the Greek Prieſt, who failed not at the time appointed to do as the Secretary had directed him. The Prince having drawn up this Ladder of Ropes with the help of his Packthread, and being come to the foot of the Tower, with his Chamber-Fellow, he found the Greek Prieſt attending for them, who told him, that he had charge from *Martine* to conduct them to a certain Cave, which was in a great Rock a League from thence, where they muſt remain all the day, and that in the Evening he would not fail to come unto them, and bring them Habits like unto his own, that being ſo diſguiſed, he might conduct them to his Lodging in *Conſtantinople*, and there conceal them as long as they ſhould think fit. This Device pleaſed them well, and ſo they went all three unto the ſaid Cave, whereas the two Cameradoes hid themſelves, and the Prieſt returned to his Houſe.

The French Ambaſſador's men tortured by the Turks.

At the break of day, it being the three and twentieth of *November* 1617, ſome of the Guards entering the Priſoners Chamber, ſaw that they were eſcaped, and found the Ladder of Ropes which they had uſed tied to the Window; whereat they were much amazed, knowing well that they ſhould ſmart for it: notwithſtanding, he who had charge of the Priſons, ſent ſpeedily to *Conſtantinople*, to give notice of their Eſcapes. As ſoon as this was known, they ſent Poſts ſpeedily to all parts, to make inquiry of theſe Fugitives, eſpecially at the ports and paſſages, giving them ſpecial charge to obſerve all men that paſſed, if there were not one who had the little finger of his right hand ſhrunk up, as Prince *Coresky* had by a Wound which he had received. Within few days after, the Turk ſeiſed upon the Servants of the Baron of *Sancy* or *Mole*, Ambaſſador for the French, torturing two of them after their manner; which is, to lay the Party upon a Table on his Belly, and to give him three or four hundred blows with a ſtaff upon the ſoles of their Feet, the calves of their Legs, and their Buttocks, yet could they not make them ſay any thing that might charge their Maſter, as theſe Turkiſh Tormentors did hope. Not content herewith, they did as much to a poor Turk, who was a Weaver by his Trade, and dwelt near unto the Ambaſſador, thinking to force him by this cruel torture to depoſe falſly, that he had ſeen the Secretary *Martine* going and coming to his Maſter's Lodging, untill the time of the Priſoner's Eſcape: but God would not ſuffer the Weaver to depoſe any thing but the Truth, notwithſtanding all the miſerable and cruel Torments which he had ſuffered. The which is worthy the Obſervation, for that the Turks do generally hate Chriſtians mortally, and do greatly rejoyce at their Diſaſters. As for the Guards of the Towers, ſome of them were empailed, and ſome were pounded or beaten to pieces in great Mortars of Iron, wherein they do uſually pound their Rice to reduce it to Meal.

The French Ambaſſador impriſoned by the Turks.

The Ambaſſador ſet at liberty.

Three days after, the Chiaus Baſſa had charge to ſeiſe upon the Perſon of the French Ambaſſador, the which he performed very ſeverely and uncivilly, without any reſpect unto his quality. Having taken him, the ſaid Chiaus led him unto the Viſier's Houſe, where, having been examined upon many Circumſtances touching the Eſcape of Prince *Coresky*, they left him as a Priſoner in the hands of the ſaid Chiaus, where he continued for the ſpace of three days; during the which, the ſaid Ambaſſador deſiring to write to ſome of his Friends, and alſo to ſpeak with the Mufti, which is the Turks High-prieſt, to acquaint him with his juſt grievances, he could not obtain leave, but by giving two thouſand Crowns unto his Jaylor: True it is, that this Preſent made the Chiaus tell the Ambaſſador, that if he would obtain any favour from the Mufti, he muſt procure it by Money; according to which Advice, he gave three or four thouſand Crowns, whereupon the Mufti became tractable, acquainting the Grand Seignior *Muſtapha* with the Ambaſſador's juſt Complaints, and of what Importance his Detention was, ſeeing there was nothing found to charge him, That he had favoured the Eſcape of Prince *Coresky*, as it was ſuſpected; and that his Secretary, who had practiſed it for his own private profit, had left his Maſter above ten or twelve days before the ſaid Eſcape, with an intent, as he ſaid, to return into *France*. Finally, That all the World would tax him to have violated the Law of Nations, and that no Chriſtian Prince, nor other, would hereafter put any confidence in him; and it was to be feared, that they would all joyn together, and make War againſt him; and in truth the Ambaſſadors, both the King of *England*'s and the Low Countries, were much diſcontented at this unworthy uſage of the French, proteſting openly, That if he were not ſpeedily ſet at liberty, they would retire themſelves into their Countries. All which Conſiderations, repreſented by the Mufti, moved the Grand Seignior to command, that the ſaid Baron of *Mole* or *Sancy*, ſhould be ſent back to his Houſe without any farther Diſpleaſure. But all this could not free his Houſhold Servants from their Impriſonment, but he was forced to pay two or three and twenty thouſand Crowns for their Redemption; for elſe they ſhould have been ſo tormented, as their Lives had been in danger; for ſo they were threatned. Soon after, the Grand Viſier hearing of the tyrannous Government of Sultan *Muſtapha*, returned from *Perſia* with his whole Army towards *Conſtantinople*, where he forced him to leave the Empire, and to retire to his Cell, having reigned but two months and ſome odd days.

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Prince *Coreskie* eſcapes from *Conſtantinople.*

But to return to Prince *Coresky*, whom we left with Captain *Rigaut* in the Lodging of the Greek Prieſt at *Conſtantinople*, whereas they lay hidden for the ſpace of two Months, untill that their good Hoſt got leave from the Parriarch of *Alexandria*, as well for himſelf, as for two others (who he ſaid were of his Society) to go and confine themſelves in the Deſarts of the *Archipelagus*, with many Hermits which lived there after the manner of the ancient Anchorites. Having gotten this leave and paſport, they embarqued, being diſguiſed like Prieſts, and arrived at *Etchut*, where they found an Engliſh Ship ready to ſet ſail for *Meſſina* in *Cicily*, from whence he went by Land to *Naples*, where he made himſelf known to the King of *Poland*'s Ambaſſador, who was wonderful glad of his Liberty, leading him to the Duke of *Oſſuna*, then Viceroy of *Naples*, who furniſhed him with all things neceſſary, and a good Convoy to go to *Rome*, where the Pope received ſingular content to ſee him, and to hear of his ſtrange Adventures. From thence he paſt to *Vienna*, where the Emperour entertained him according to his merits: after which, he retired to his own houſe, full of Honour, gotten by his Valour and Conſtancy in his Afflictions. Our Ambaſſador that was lately in *Conſtantinople* ſaith, he eſcaped by the black Sea, and ſo into *Polonia*.

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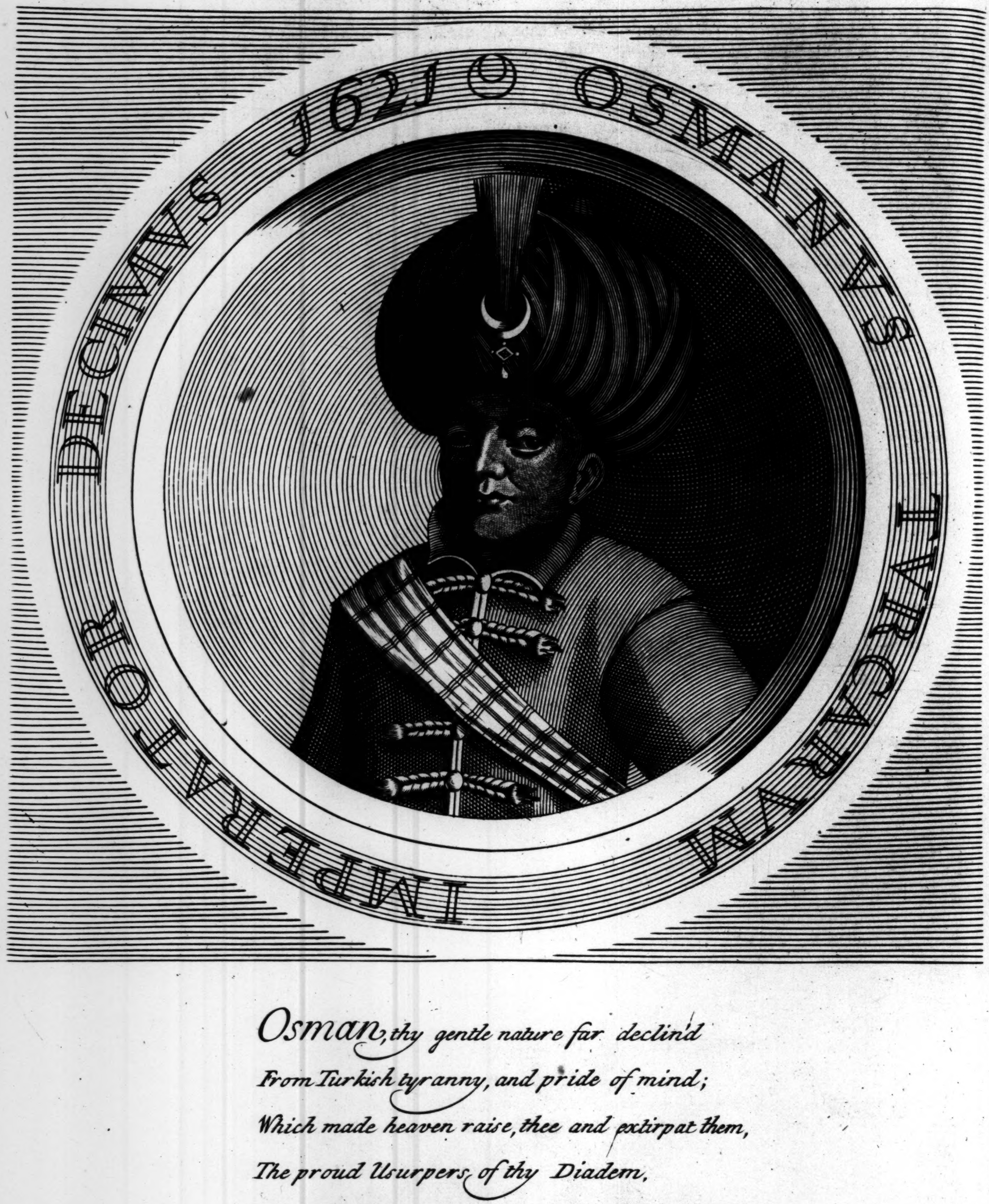

Osman, thy gentle nature far declin'd
From Turkish tyranny, and pride of mind;
Which made heaven raise, thee and extirpat them,
The proud Usurpers of thy Diadem.
O! would all Princes, when their States are blest
With power, and empire, think their interest
In those their bleſsings, held but by the grace
Of Gratitude, and Goodneſse, and no place
Is held without them long, they soone would trie,
That Truth prevailes past all their Policie.

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THE REIGN OF OSMAN,

The Firſt of that Name, Tenth Emperour of the *Turks.*

PRince *Oſman* being ſet at Liberty by the Grand Viſier, he cauſed him to he proclaimed Sultan, and ſeated in the Imperial Throne of the *Othomans*, with the general Applauſe of all the Baſſaes and Army. The French Ambaſſador being by the ſame means freed from his Guard, advertiſed the King his Maſter, how barbarouſly he had been entreated by *Muſtapha*, entreating his Majeſty to revoke him from that charge. Whereupon the King ſent two Gentlemen to *Conſtantinople* to the new Emperour *Oſman*, to demand reparation of the Indignity done unto his Ambaſſador and Secretary; and to let him underſtand, that he could not ſend any other Ambaſſador to his Court to condole the Death of Sultan *Achmat* his Father, nor congratulate his coming to the Eaſt, until that he had received ſatisfaction from him befitting his Dignity, and the wrongs he had received in his Ambaſſador. The Grand Viſier and the Muphty hearing this Embaſſy, and conſidering of the Actions which had paſſed, adviſed the Emperour *Oſman* to ſend an Ambaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian King, to confirm their League, and to teſtifie both by Word and Letters how much he was diſpleaſed for his Diſcontent.

The French King ſends to *Conſtantinople.*

The Turk ſends an Ambaſſador into *France.*

The Grand Seignior, by the Advice of his Viſier and others, ſent *Vri* Chiaus into *France*, to confirm the Articles of Peace betwixt the *French* and the *Turks.* At his firſt Audience he preſented a Letter unto his Majeſty with this Superſcription.

To the moſt glorious and puiſſant Prince of the belief of Jeſus, Arbitrator of all the Differences which happen among the Chriſtian Nations, and of all the moſt noble, and the moſt antient, the Emperour of *France*, to whom we wiſh the end of his Days to be happy, and his Deſires accompliſhed.

His Letter to the French King.

KNow, that I ſend unto you the Capitulations and Treaties of Peace which are betwixt our Majeſties; giving you to underſtand, that there is not any thing firm or ſtable in this World, neither King nor Beggar, although they live long; that which pleaſeth God cannot fail. If all Mens deſires ſhould ſucceed, without doubt all men would go to Heaven. Man whatſoever he doth, or in what Dignity ſoever he be, ſhall not remain in this frail Life; wiſe men know it, and it is apparent to the learned. By that which we have ſaid, we deſire to let you know, that he who was in Health, hath encountred Death, and is gone to a goodlier Place, to Paradiſe, my Father Sultan Achmat Chan; *the God which hath no reſemblance, have mercy on him. No man ſhall remain in this lying World: And in Paradiſe are the Approaches to the Almighty God, where there is no Death. Finally he is gone.*

Since the beginning of the Othomans, *until this preſent, the Empire of my Fathers and their Countries from Father and Son, from Hand to Hand, and from Father to Son, the Inheritance coming ſo unto us; Our Vncle Sultan* Muſtapha Chan, *for that he was elder than our ſelf, was preferred before us to the Throne of the* Othomans, *and was ſome days in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Empire, yielding Juſtice equally to all men both great and ſmall. But as he was ſhut up many years in ſecret Places, praying unto God continually; ſo of himſelf he hath relinquiſhed the Dignity of the Emperour, and contemned it. The Empire then belonging to thoſe of our high Lineage, and for that by right it ſhould come unto me, the Almighty God by his infinite Bounty and Mercy hath reſtored it into my Hands, my Viſiers, Baſſaes, Lieutenants, the Mufti, and other great Perſonages, and they that are in any reſpect with me; and finally, all my Subjects and Vaſſals, by a general conſent have acknowledged me for Emperour, in the happy year 1627, about the firſt day of the Moon of* January, *in a good hour. Wherefore I am ſeated in the great Throne of the* Othomans, *like unto that of* Solomon, *a powerful and able Emperour, and in all our Countries and Cities; All the Muſulmans being aſſembled together in their Churches to preach, the greatneſs of my Name hath been proclaimed, and through all the Mints of mine Empire they have graven it in their Stamps, to coin pieces of Gold and Silver. Finally, whereſoever there are any Muſulmans, and in what Places there are Men, my Name ſhines like Gold. Hereafter Injuſtice nor Impiety ſhall have no Place, but Juſtice ſhall be done equally. Now we are in Joy, and for that our natural Diſpoſition is good, and the ancient Friendſhip betwixt us is perfect, I therefore thought good to advertiſe you of all that hath paſſed here, and to ſend you our Letters of Imperial Alliance by* Ureiu *Chiaus, who is my antient Servant, having had the managing of my Treaſure, whereof he hath given me good account, being arrived at your Court, carrying my ſaid Letter, he deſerves to be received with Honour: ſwearing and proteſting again unto you, to obſerve in all points the full Capitulation made betwixt my Predeceſſors and your Great Grandfathers, and for Our part, you may be aſſured, that the Faith promiſed ſhall be maintained as it hath been heretofore by our Predeceſſors. And from the day I entered into my Throne, I have made my will known to all my Viceroys, and other Officers which do my Juſtice, and generally to all thoſe of my Obedience; intreating you to give the like Commandment to your Governours of Provinces, and other Officers of Juſtice, as in like manner to all your Subjects. And as your Grandfathers have taken the Faith of our High Family, ſo it may pleaſe you to continue with me, and we deſire that on both ſides it may be good and firm. Know then that for my part it ſhall be obſerved, ſo as of your ſide, there be nothing done contrary to the promiſed Faith.*

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And if before we came unto the Imperial Throne, your Ambaſſador, which did your Affairs, hath received received any diſtaſte, and hath not received the Honour and Friendſhip accuſtomed, in my time he ſhall be the more honoured and reſpected, as the chiefeſt Ambaſſadors have been: I have commanded, that he ſhall be greatly favoured, and our Reſpect ſhall be unto him as Quineo, that is to ſay, Gold, *and doubt nothing of it: for I do certifie you.*

The French King having received by this Action a full ſatisfaction for the Indignity done unto his Ambaſſador, ſoon after he called the Baron of *Mole*, or *Sancy*, home into *France*, ſending the Earl of *Sezi* to ſucceed him as Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*.

A Battel betwixt the Turks and the *Perſians*.

The War continuing ſtill betwixt the *Turks* and the *Perſians*, the Grand Viſier was ſent to invade *Perſia* with a great Army; where, after many Exploits of War, News came to *Conſtantinople*, That the Viſier had gotten a great advantage upon the Sophy of *Perſia* in a Battel which had been fought, wherein there had been an hundred thouſand men ſlain. And although the Turks loſt the greateſt number, yet they remained Maſters of the Field, and ſpoiled the *Perſians* Camp, who was retired or fled: for that the manner of the Sophy is, to fight with the Turks in retiring or giving way a little; and with this manner of fighting they have always made Head againſt the Turks. After this Overthrow, the Viſier advanced with his Army, and entred far into *Perſia*, which made many doubt that his Return would prove difficult: yet ſoon after there came Letters to *Conſtantinople*, importing, That the Turks being in *Perſia* in great diſtreſs for Victuals, the Sophy had ſent an Ambaſſador to the Viſier to demand Peace, promiſing hereafter to ſatisfie the Tributes of Silk which he ought yearly unto the Turk; and that the Viſier (in regard of the neceſſity of his Army) had accepted his Offer, and granted him Peace, the which Sultan *Oſman* did afterwards ratifie. After the concluſion whereof, the Sophy ſent many Camels loaden with Victuals unto the Turks Army, which was in great diſtreſs and want.

A Peace concluded betwixt them.

A Comet ſeen over *Conſtantinople*.

During the Turks War in *Perſia*, upon the Anniverſary day of Sultan *Achmat*, there appeared in the Night a Comet over the City of *Conſtantinople*, in form like unto a crooked Sword, or Turks Scimiter; and it was ſo great as it extended from the Meridian near unto our Zenith, unto the Horizon: the point began to ſhew it ſelf an hour after midnight, and then it appeared little and ſomewhat whitiſh, and gave but a glimpſe; after an hour it was more apparent, and of a deeper colour, and the more it did riſe, the redder it was, and like unto blood; but at the break of day it vaniſhed by little and little in the light; and it was ſo big when the point approached near unto the Zenith, as the Hilt was hidden under the Horizon: The Mathematicians did obſerve, that it followed the motions of the Heavens; it did always riſe in one place, and the bending of the ſaid Sword was toward *Crates*, more Southerly than it. It did appear directly in the Eaſt a quarter toward the South, the point coming directly towards *Conſtantinople*, and the Blade extending it ſelf to the ſaid Eaſt a quarter to the South, which is juſtly the part where *Perſia* is ſituated. The Edge looked directly towards *Conſtantinople*, the which made men diſcourſe diverſly, and many were amazed, fearing that it did ſignifie the loſs and defeat of their Army in *Perſia*, whoſe Return they feared much.

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Vri or *Huſſeine* Chiaus, having finiſhed his Embaſſy in *France*, came into *England* with the like Charge, and had Audience from his Majeſty at *White-hall*, Sir *Thomas Glover* being Interpreter; from whom I received a true diſcourſe of his whole Speech, as followeth.

The Turkiſh Ambaſſador's Speech to his Majeſty.

H*Ac ſubhanehu, ve Allahuteale, Saadetlu, ve izzetlu Padiſhah hazeretlerinung vmriny ve deuletiny ziyad ve berziyad eileie, Amen yah Rabil alemin.*

Ziyade cudretlu ve ſaadetlu Sultan Ali Oſman Chan *Padiſhah Hazeretleri; ſaadetlu Padiſhah Hazeretlerine juzbin ſelamler ve doaler idub, bu namei humaiun ſaadet maakrunile, Sultanum Hazeretlerine irſal idub: vmidleri oldurchi, madbenilerinde munakid olan ſulhu ſelah, bu anedeghin, ne veczuzre chywz olundiſe, halia dachi ol vſlub vzre her daim giunden ginne artirub mucarer olmaſina murad humaiunleridur.*

Ali Oſman, *Padiſhahung dachi Lala ve Baſh vezirazam Baſſa hazeretleri, ſaadetlu Sultanum hazeretlerine juz bin ſelamber idub, bu mektub ſheriſleri dachi haki pay ſherislerine irſal idub doaler ider.*

Aſſitanei ſaudette dachi mutemekin olan elezighiz nam Paulo Pinder *Cullighiz haki pay ſheriſlerine juz kylyndikdenſongra, mubarek aiaghyn puſſe idub, bu mektub Sultanum hazeretlerine irſal eiledy ler.*

The Interpretation hereof is thus:

THat moſt true, incomprehenſible, and moſt high God, increaſe and multiply your Majeſties Years in all Happineſs and Felicity: Amen, oh thou Lord of the World.

The moſt invincible, moſt mighty, and moſt happy Sultan *Oſman Chan*, of the *Othoman* Empire Monarch, ſendeth unto your excellent Majeſty a hundred thouſand Salutations and Greetings, evermore praying the moſt high God for your Majeſties Happineſs, ſendeth unto your Highneſs, with all poſſible Honour and Renown, this his Imperial and moſt noble Letter, and withal hopeth, that the ſacred bond of Peace, which hath been hitherto inviolably on your Majeſties parts kept and obſerved; your Majeſty will be well pleaſed ſtill on your part, with daily increaſe more and more of Friendſhip, earneſtly to continue therein. And his Imperial Majeſty, on his behalf, is alſo reſolved in like manner evermore punctually to keep and obſerve the ſame.

Alſo the moſt mighty Emperour's Tutor, and his chief Viſier Baſſa, hath addreſſed to the duſt of your noble Feet, this his moſt honourable Letter, with a thouſand Commendations, praying everlaſtingly that mighty God for your Majeſties long Life and Happineſs.

Alſo your Majeſties Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, your Slave *Paul Pinder*, bowing his Forehead to the duſt of your Majeſties Feet, and moſt humbly kiſſing your Highneſs bleſſed Feet, hath directed unto your Majeſty this his ſubmiſſive Letter.

This that now followeth is the ſaid Ambaſſador's Speech to his Majeſty at the taking of his Leave at *White-hall*.

S*Aadetlu Padiſhahum, Nitekim bu kullighiz haki pay ſheriſlerine effendimuz olan Cudretlu ve adaletlu Ali* Oſman *Padiſhah Hazenetlerinung name humaiunlerin deſtimuzile teſlin eileduk: Regia ve temenamuz budurki Sultanum hazaretcleri dachi angha gio-*

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The Interpretation *verbatim* is thus:

MOST happy Emperour, As I have with mine own Hands, bowing my ſelf to the duſt of your Princely Feet, appreſented unto your excellent Majeſty the moſt mighty and high Sultan *Oſman*, my Lord and Maſter, his Imperial Letter; ſo likewiſe, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed, in conformity thereof, to vouchſafe your princely Anſwer by your noble Letter, and to deliver the ſame into the hands of me your Slave; and be ever Partaker of all Bleſſedneſs and Happineſs.

A Copy of the Letter of Sultan *Oſman*, the *Othoman* Emperour, written to the King's Majeſty, and preſented by *Huſſein* Chiaus.

A*lthough in this tranſitory World, if the King or the Beggar ſhould enjoy the longeſt term of Life that might be, and obtain all that his heart could wiſh, yet it is moſt certain, that in the end he muſt depart, and be tranſported to the World Eternal; and it is well known unto the wiſe, that it is impoſſible for man to abide for ever in this World. The occaſion of this Prologue is, that the immortal, omnipotent, and only* God, *hath, by his divine Will and Pleaſure, called unto himſelf our Father, of bleſſed Memory, Sultan* Achmat Chan, *who in life was happy, and in death laudable; and departing out of this momentary World to be nearer the merciful Creator, being changed into perfect Glory and eternal Bliß, hath his habitation on high, and his reſt in Paradiſe. This Paternal Empire and Monarchical Kingdom, hath almoſt untill this preſent bleſſed time been always hereditary, from Grandfather to Father, from Father to Son, and ſo curſively on that manner: but, having regard unto the Age and Years of our great and noble Uncle Sultan* Muſtapha, *he was preferred and honoured to ſit on the* Othoman *Throne, and being ſettled for ſome time, took care for the Affairs of the Empire, and for all that might concern the People both in general and particular. But he, having been many years retired in Solitarineß, and given to* Devotion *and Divine Obedience, being alſo as it were wearied with the cares of the Empire, of his own accord withdrew himſelf from the Government, for that the* Diadem *and Scepter of the Empire of the ſeven* Climates, *was the true* Right *and Inheritance of our moſt excellent Majeſty, of the which (with the meeting and conſent of all the Viſiers, and other* Deputies *of State, of the Primate of the* Muſſulman *Law, and of the other honourable Doctors, of the Souldiers, and of all Subjects both publick and private) the Almighty* God *hath made an high Preſent and worthy Gift unto us. And in the happy day in the beginning of the Moon* Rebea-il-evel *of this preſent Year* 1027, *in an expected time, and in an acceptable hour, was our bleſſed and happy ſitting eſtabliſh'd upon the moſt fortunate* Othoman *Throne, the Seat and Wiſdom of* Solomon. *In the Pulpits of all the Moſques, the Congregations of the faithful, and* Devotion *of the Muſſelmen, throughout all our* Dominions, *is read to our Imperial Name the* * Hutbeh. *And in the Mints (where innumerable Sums of money are coined, as well upon the Silver as the Gold) our happy Name and Stamp is ſigned. And our moſt powerful Commandments are obeyed in all the Parts and* Dominions *of the World: and the brightneß of the Light of the Sun of Juſtice and Equity, hath cauſed the darkneß of Injuries and Moleſtations to vaniſh away.*

* *Hutbeh* is a Prayer only for the Proſperity of the King.

Now ſeeing it hath been an ancient Cuſtom of our famous Predeceſſors to give notice of the ſame unto ſuch Princes as are in ſincere Friendſhip, and do continue it with the Houſe of great Majeſty and our Imperial Court; *We alſo have written theſe our princely Letters, and appointed for their Bearer the choice among his Equals* Huſſein *Chiaus (whoſe Power is great) one of the honoured and reſpected Servants of our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World, to the end that ſuch News might cauſe great joy of our moſt honourable Aſſumption. And we do hope, that when they ſhall come to your hands (in conformity of the well grounded friendſhip upon the ſure League, Articles, and Writings, which hath been eſtabliſhed of old with our moſt Royal Race and permanent Empire) you will manifeſt infinite Joy and Gladneß, and certifie as much to the Rulers and Governours of the Dominions and Countries under you, that they may know, that the Articles of Peace and League, and the points of the Oath which are firm and to be deſired on both parts, from the time of our Grand-father and Predeceſſor of Royal Stock, now in Paradiſe (whoſe Souls God inlighten) undoubtedly, during the time of our Reign, ſhall be obſerved with all reſpect. And let there not be the leaſt imagination of any want of due obſervance of the ſigns of Friendſhip on our part, or by any manner of means on your part, for the violating the Foundation of the Peace and League.* 1618

The Copy of a Letter written by *Halil Baſſa*, chief Viſier, and General in the Expedition againſt the *Perſian*, at his Return from the Wars to the City of *Senit*, in *April* 1618, unto Sir *Paul Pinder*, Knight, then Ambaſſador for the King's Majeſty at *Conſtantinople*.

The Humble Viſier *Halil Baſſa*,

T*o the courteous Lord of the Nation of the* Meſſiah, *both great and honourable among the people of* Jeſus, *and the true Determiner of Chriſtian Affairs, our good Friend* Paul Pinder, *the* Engliſh Ambaſſador, *whoſe latter days be with all felicity: To whoſe noble preſence (after our many kind Salutations, tending to all good Affection and manifeſtation of Joy, worthy and beſeeming our Friendſhip) our loving Advice is this, That if you deſire to hear of our Eſtate and Being, you ſhall underſtand, that after we departed from the happy Port with the Army for the Wars of* Aſia, *we arrived and wintered in* Meſopotamia, *and removing thence in the Spring with all the Muſſelman Hoſt (always victorious) we went to* Van, *from which place, untill we came to* Tauris, *the Muſſulman Army went on always ſacking and deſtroying all thoſe Places and Towns of the* Perſians *which we met withal by the way in thoſe parts, where were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, ſome thouſands of Villages, and tormenting all thoſe people that came to hand. And when we were come near to* Tauris, *the General of the* Perſian *Forces (of perverſe Religion) called* Carelghai Han *(the accurſed) retired himſelf into the ſaid* Tauris, *where, beating up his Drums in every quarter, he made a ſhew that he had a will to fight: ſo we ſent a little before us ſome* Tartars *and others of our Army to hearken out and take notice of the Enemy; who meeting with ſeven or eight hundred* Perſians *of note, put them to the Sword, very few eſcaping, and that with very great difficulty and hazard: by which the ſaid General finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the power and fury of the Muſſulman Hoſt, or to ſtay any longer in the ſaid place, the very ſame day that we arrived there, the ſaid General, having ſpoiled all the City, fled away; ſo we took the place, ranſacked it, and burned all the Buildings, Towers, Gardens, and whatſoever elſe we found in it. And thus the great City* Tauris, *by Divine Favour and Grace, became ours. Then forthwith we ſent after the Enemy, the* Tartar *with ſome Beglerbegs, who overtaking them gave them Battel: and albeit ſome of ours did fall, yet they which fell on the Enemies ſide were innumerable. And ſo going forward*

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towards Erdevil *(their obſcure Reſidence) about ten days Journey of the Country, we went burning and ſpoiling it, and killing all the* Perſians *that we met, that indeed there was ſo much glory and honour won, as that all the ancient men of the Country do affirm, there was never ſeen the like; inſomuch, that from the Confines of* Erdevil, *twenty days Journey of the Country was on that manner by us deſtroyed. Thus afterward the King cauſed to empty the ſaid place of* Erdevil, *and fled into a place called* Hulchal, *and cauſed his Army to go to the top of a high Mountain, from whence, having ſent three or four times men of Quality unto us, ſeeking and intreating for peace, with promiſe to give yearly to our Emperour an hundred Somes of Silk, and all ſuch places as are upon the Confines gotten in the time of Sultan* Solyman, *except* Der Ne *and* Der Tink; *wherewith we were contented with the peace, and his Ambaſſador is upon the way coming toward us. And ſo we returning the ſame way again (always ſpoiling) we came to* Erzirum. *And this our preſent Letter is written unto you for the Reſpect and Preſervation of our Friendſhip: and even as our Amity hath ever been hitherto ſincere and firm, ſo likewiſe, by the Grace of God, at our arrival in the happy Port, it ſhall be in like manner maintained and continued, that more cannot poſſibly be. And ſo God keep you in Health.*

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Bethlem Gabor undertakes to ſuccour the *Bohemians* with the Turks conſent.

The Wars growing hot in *Bohemia* againſt the Proteſtants, and the Emperour raiſing what Forces he could to ſuppreſs them, the Directors or Governours of the Country wrote their Letters to *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, to acquaint him with the eſtate of their Affairs. To whom he made anſwer, That his Country ſtanding even in the very Jaws of the Turks, whoſe Councils were never quiet, but ever working like to the Waves of the vaſt Ocean, and always watchful to embrace all occaſions upon any diſcord of the Chriſtians, eſpecially now when they had pacified all Quarrels with the *Perſian*, and had no Rebels in *Aſia*, againſt whom they might imploy their Forces; he had propounded to himſelf to attend the Conſent and Favour of the *Othoman* Emperour, whereby he might take from him all occaſion to make any irruption into the neighbour Countries, and have the better means to imploy his beſt means to reconcile the Diſcords among the Chriſtians: wherefore having ſent unto *Conſtantinople* to acquaint the Grand Seignior with his Intent, and to crave his Favour, he received Letters from thence the 17*th* of *Auguſt*, whereby he was aſſured of the Grand Seignior's Conſent and Favour. Whereupon, he reſolved (notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Pope of *Rome*, and others of that Faction) to take Arms in defence of the *Bohemians*, promiſing to be in *September* following upon the Confines of *Moravia*, unleſs he found ſome ſtay in *Hungary*. Being advertiſed of the State of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, he levied an Army at *Clauſenburg*, and entered into the Upper *Hungary*, whereas moſt of the Barons ſubmitted themſelves unto him; only *Humanoie*, a great man in that Country, oppoſed himſelf: but not able to make his party good, he fled into *Polonia*. After which, he ſent his Army (being eighteen thouſand ſtrong) and took *Filek*, *Ternau*, *Vacci*, *Novigrade*, and others: after which he ſeiſed upon *Neubeuſal*, the Governour being delivered bound unto him. The Palatine of *Hungary* wrote Letters to *Redei*, General of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*'s Army, wiſhing him to conſider what the Forces of the Kings of *Spain* and *France* were, with the Houſe of *Auſtria* and their Allies, and that the Electors of the Empire (ſome excepted) would ſend Aid unto the Emperour: who anſwered, That he doubted not of the Power of thoſe Kings, and that the Electors would ſend Supplies unto the Emperour; yet he hoped that before they came, all ſhould be ended, and their Dinners ſhould be provided.

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Bethlem Gabor takes many Towns in *Hungary*.

Soon after, the Prince of *Tranſilvania* came to *Presburg* with his Army, a Town of note in *Hungary*, whereas their Kings are uſually crowned. The News thereof coming to *Vienna*, they ſent 3000 Souldiers with three pieces of Ordnance down the River of *Danow*, who entred the Suburbs on the 13*th* of *October*, the Night was very ſtormy and rainy, and the *Tranſilvanians* taking this Opportunity, charged them, and ſlew the greateſt part, their Commander flying away with ſome few. The Suburbs being taken, *Bethlem Gabor* ſent to the Palatine, to know whether he would yield the Town and Caſtle without force, giving him ſome time to reſolve; who, after Conſultation with ſome Noble-men, they reſolved to yield, and ſo the Town was delivered into his hands. After which he ſent part of his Army under good Commanders into *Auſtria*, to the Gates of *Vienna*, where they committed great ſpoil, the particular relation whereof I leave to the Hiſtory of the Emperour's Lives, to which it doth properly belong.

Propoſitions made by the *Tranſilvanians* and *Hungarians* to the *Bohemians*.

In *November*, *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, and the Eſtates of *Hungary*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Prague*, where they propounded divers Articles unto the Council, and amongſt others, That they ſhould joyntly ſend Ambaſſadors to the Grand Seignior, and that the Prince of *Tranſilvania* ſhould negotiate the Buſineſs. And for that the Kingdom of *Hungary* was much exhauſted, whatſoever ſhould be taken in *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, ſhould be united unto it, to the end it might be the better able to reſiſt the Turk; all which tended to the prejudice and ruine of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The Prince of *Tranſilvania* having taken divers Towns in *Hungary*, belonging to the Emperour as King of *Hungary*, and entred *Auſtria* in hoſtile manner in favour of the *Bohemians*; knowing that he had thereby much incenſed the Emperour, and the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that if he ſhould prevail over the *Bohemians*, the whole burthen of the War would lye upon him, he therefore in the end of this year ſent an Ambaſſador with Preſents to *Conſtantinople*, to crave aſſurance of the Grand Seignior's Aid and Support (upon whoſe Favour he had always depended) in caſe the Emperour ſhould invade *Tranſilvania*; where, being countenanced by many of the chief Baſſaes, he had aſſurance of Sultan *Oſman*'s Support and Protection, the which he confirmed by a ſolemn Oath under his hand, as followeth.

The Great Turk's Oath to *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*.

Sultan Oſman,

B*Y the Grace of God unconquerable* Turkiſh *Emperour, ſwears by the Higheſt, Almightieſt, and Almighty Gods Holineſs, by his Kingdom, by the ſubſtance of the Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, by the Earth, and by all under the Earth, by the Brains and all the hairy Scalp of my Mother, by my Head, and all the ſtrength of my Soul and Body, by the holy great* Mahomet, *and by my Circumciſion, That I, thee my Brother and Son* Bethlem Gabor, *ſucceeding King of* Hungary, *in no manner of way, in thy great and weighty Affairs will leave, though it be to the Overthrow of my Kingdom, to be brought to nothing, untill there ſhall be no more left but my ſelf, or four or five Turks at the moſt, yet will I be ſtill obli-*

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ged to defend thee, and all thoſe that do any ways appertain unto thee: And if thou ſhalt have need of me, I will be always ready to go with thee. And in caſe this my promiſe ſhall in any wiſe be fruſtrated, then let Gods Juſtice fall upon my Head and deſtroy me and my Poſterity, and wipe away whatſoever belongeth unto me, and gather it together into a Rock of Stone, or ſubſtance of Earth, and that the Earth may cleave in ſunder, and ſwallow me up Body and Soul.

Dated at *Conſtantinople* the
fifth of *January*, 1619.

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A League betwixt the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, *Bohemians*, and *Hungarians*.

Bethlem Gabor, being aſſured by this Oath of Protection made by the Grand Seignior, in the beginning of the year 1610, he called an Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Hungary* at *Presburg*, whither Ambaſſadors were ſent from the King of *Bohemia*, and the States of that Country, with the incorporated Provinces, where a perpetual League was concluded betwixt them, and afterwards concluded at *Prague*; where, among other Articles, it was concluded, that foraſmuch as Neceſſity did chiefly require, that a Peace ſhould be concluded and inviolably kept with the Turk, therefore a new Ambaſſie ſhould be ſent to the Grand Seignior from all the confederate Kingdoms and Provinces; and that *Bethlem Gabor* ſhould take upon him the chief care of that buſineſs; but yet in ſuch ſort, as the *Bohemians* and incorporated Provinces ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadors with the *Hungarians*, and bear their ſhares of all that ſhould be disburſed, as well for the Preſents, as for the Ambaſſadors Charges.

An Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Hungary* at *Neubuſal*.

In *June* following, *Bethlem Gabor* went to an Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Hungary* at *Neubuſal*, where he propounded divers heads unto the States: That he deſired nothing more than to reſtore the Kingdom of *Hungary*, ſo miſerably afflicted, to Liberty; and that they might enjoy their Religion and Priviledges: That he had ſpared no coſt for the lawful defence of the Country; and for a Teſtimony that he deſired Peace, he had refuſed the Crown which the Eſtates offered him at *Presburg*: That the ground of Peace was to maintain the League which they had begun with the *Bohemians*: That he had always deſired Peace with the help of other Princes, ſo as it were ſincere and without Fraud or Deceit, for the obtaining whereof he had aſſiſted his Confederates miſerably afflicted: That he knew for certain the Emperour deſired not Peace, but War, having ſuffered the *Coſſacks* to enter into *Hungary*, and to ſpoil many Places with Fire and Sword, and denied paſſage for the Ambaſſadors of *Bohemia* and *Auſtria*; for this cauſe they were not now to treat of Peace, but of War, and to conſult how it might be begun and maintained; for the levying of Money, which is the ſinews of War; for the furniſhing of their Forts upon the Frontiers, and for the ſpeedy ſending of Ambaſſadors to the Turkiſh Emperour, leſt being engaged in an inteſtine War, there might be ſome attempts made upon thoſe bordering Forts. Having delivered his Mind unto the Eſtates, there came divers Ambaſſadors thither from *Bohemia*, *Auſtria*, *Sileſia*, and *Luſatia*, *Venice*, *Poland*, and *Turky*: The *Venetian* Ambaſſador was content their Commonwealth ſhould enter into the League, and the Turk made offer to conclude a perpetual League with them.

Bethlem Gabor proclaimed King of *Hungary*.

On the five and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, was proclaimed King of *Hungary* by the Palatine, at the inſtance of the Turkiſh Ambaſſador, and with the conſent and applauſe of moſt part of the Eſtates of the Country: After which, he levied a great Army of thirty (ſome ſay fifty) thouſand Horſe and Foot, and made many Enſigns with divers Emblems and Devices; which being known, the Proteſtants of *Vienna*, with the Conſent of the Emperour, wrote unto him, humbly entreating him to ſpare the City and Country, for their innocent Wives and Childrens ſakes; but in the mean time all the Citizens were commanded to make Proviſion of Victuals for ſix Months.

1620

A Viſion ſeen at *Medina Talnabi*.

There came News to *Conſtantinople* of a ſtrange Apparition or Viſion, which was ſeen at *Medina Talnabi* in *Arabia*, whereas *Mahomet* their great Prophet was buried; to viſit whoſe Tomb the Turks uſe to go in Pilgrimage, but they muſt firſt go to *Mecha*, which is ſome few days Journey off, and there they take a Ticket from the Grand Seigniors Beglerbeg, elſe they are not allowed to go to *Medina*. This Viſion continued three Weeks together, which terrified the whole Country, for that no Man could diſcover the truth thereof. About the twentieth of *September*, there fell ſo great a Tempeſt, and ſo fearful a Thunder about Midnight, as the Heavens were darkned, and thoſe that were awake, almoſt diſtracted; but the Vapours being diſperſed, and the Element clear, the People might read in *Arabian* Characters theſe words in the Firmament, *O why will you believe in Lies!* Between two and three in the Morning, there was ſeen a Woman in white, compaſſed about with the Sun, having a cheerful Countenance, and holding in her Hand a Book; coming from the *North-weſt*, oppoſite againſt her were Armies of *Turks*, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and other Mahometans, ranged in order of Battel, and ready to charge her; but ſhe kept her ſtanding, and only opened the Book, at the ſight whereof theſe Armies fled; and preſently all the Lamps about *Mahomets* Tomb went out; for as ſoon as ever the Viſion vaniſhed (which was commonly an hour before Sun riſing) a murmuring Wind was heard, whereunto they imputed the extinguiſhing of the Lamps. The antient Pilgrims of *Mahomets* Race, who after they have viſited this Place, never uſe to cut their Hair, were much amazed, for that they could not conceive the meaning of this Viſion; only one of the *Dervices* (which is a ſtrict religious order amongſt the Turks, like unto the *Capuchins* among the Papiſts, and live in contemplation) ſtepped up very boldly, and made a Speech unto the Company, which incenſed them much againſt him, ſo as this poor Prieſt for his plain dealing loſt his Life, as you ſhall hear.

A *Dervice* Speech unto the Turks.

The ſum of his Speech was this: “ That the
“ World had never but three true Religions,
“ every one of which had a Prophet; firſt, God
“ choſe the Jews, and did Wonders for them in
“ *Ægypt*, and brought them forth by their Pro-
“ phet *Moſes*, who preſcribed them a Law,
“ wherein he would have maintained them, if
“ they had not been obſtinate and rebellious,
“ and fallen to Idolatry; whereupon he gave
“ them over, and ſcattered them upon the face
“ of the Earth. Then preſently after he raiſed
“ a new Prophet, who taught the Chriſtian
“ Religion. This good man the Jews condem-
“ ned and crucified for a ſeducer of the People,
“ not moved with the Piety of his Life, his great
“ Miracles, nor his Doctrine. Yet after his
“ Death, the preaching of a few Fiſhermen, did
“ ſo move the Hearts of Men, as the greateſt
“ Monarchs of the World bowed to his very
“ Title, and yielded to the command of his Mi-
“ niſters. But it ſeems they grew as corrupt as

“ the *Jews*, their Church being diſmembred “ with the diſtinction of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, committing “ Idolatry again by ſetting up of Images, “ with many other idle Ceremonies, beſide the “ corruption of their Lives, ſo as God was “ weary of them too, and not only ſent diviſions “ among them, but forſook them, diſpoſſeſſing “ them of their chiefeſt Cities, *Hieruſalem* “ and *Conſtantinople*; yet God is ſtill the Governour “ of the World, and provides himſelf of “ another Prophet and People, raiſing our “ great *Mahomet*, and giving way to our Nation, “ ſo as no doubt we ſhall be happy for ever, “ if we can ſerve this God aright, and take Example “ by the fall of others. But, alas! I tremble “ to ſpeak it, we have erred in every point, “ and wilfully broken our firſt Inſtitutions, ſo as “ God hath manifeſted his Wrath by many “ evident ſigns and tokens, keeping our Prophet “ from us, who prefixed a time to return with “ all happineſs to his People, ſo as there are “ now forty years paſt by our account. Wherefore “ this ſtrange and fearful Viſion is a Prediction “ of ſome great Troubles and Alterations. “ For, either the opening of this Book in “ the Womans hand, doth foretel our falling “ away from the firſt intent of our Law, whereat “ theſe armed Men departed, as confounded “ with the guilt of their own Conſciences; or “ elſe it ſignifies ſome other Book in which we “ have not yet read, and againſt which no “ power ſhall prevail; ſo as I fear our Religion “ will be proved corrupt, and our Prophet “ an Impoſtor, and then this *Chriſt* whom they “ talk of, ſhall ſhine like the Sun, and ſet up his “ Name everlaſtingly. Hitherto the Company was ſilent, but hearing him ſpeak ſo boldly, they charged him with Blaſphemy; and knowing their Law, which makes all Blaſphemy capital, they preſently condemned him, and having the Beglerbegs conſent and Warrant, they put him to death.

The *Dervice* put to death for his Speech.

As their Rage againſt him was violent, ſo their Execution was extraordinary, for they neither cut off his Head nor ſtrangled him, as they uſually do to Malefactors, but they tortured him by degrees; for, ſtripping him firſt naked, they gave him an hundred blows on the ſoles of his Feet with a flat Cudgel, until the Blood iſſued forth, the poor Prieſt crying continually on the Woman that opened the Book. After which they took a Bull's Pizzle, and beat all his body until the Sinews crack'd, and in the end they laid him upon a Wheel, and with an *Indian* Sword made of Sinews, they brake his Bones to pieces, the poor Man crying to the laſt gaſp, *O thou Woman with the Book, ſave me*, and ſo he dyed: At which time there was a fearful Tempeſt. The Beglerbeg ſent certain Spahies to the Port of *Sidon* to imbark for *Conſtantinople*, to the end, they might advertiſe the Emperour of theſe Tidings.

Sultan *Oſman*, from the firſt entrance into his Reign, was freed from all Cares of foreign War, or inteſtine Combuſtions; for he had that happineſs, (being himſelf very young, and not able to Govern ſo potent an Eſtate) as by the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of *Halil* Baſſa, his Grand Viſier, he had forced the King of *Perſia* to demand a Peace, and to pay the Tribute which had been formerly promiſed. His Rebels in *Aſia* were all pacified, and the Truce with the Emperour (which had been ſomewhat interrupted by miſinterpretation, or the practiſe of bad Miniſters) was newly confirmed a little before his coming to the Crown, onely *Moldavia* had been the Theatre of War for ſome years, where his Father had exerciſed his Arms, and imployed his Forces, to advance whom he pleaſed to be Vayvod of that Countrey, againſt another party that was ſupported by the *Polonians*, as you have formerly heard. *Michna*, Prince of *Valachia*, being made Vayvod of *Moldavia* by *Achmat*, and the *Polonian* party wholly overthrown in the Year 1616, he enjoyed it not long; but whether he dyed of a natural Death, or fell into diſgrace with the Grand Seignior, I do not read; yet I find, that after him there was another Vayvod or Prince of *Moldavia*, who is yet living, but in diſgrace with the Sultan, his Name is *Caſparo Gratſiani*; and to the end you may underſtand, that the Turks never reſpect the Birth and Quality of any Man in their Advancements, I will relate what this Man was from the mouth of him that knew him very well.

This *Caſparo* was born at *Gretz* (a Town of great ſtrength belonging unto the Arch-dukes of *Auſtria*, by the which a Branch of that Houſe is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, and whereof the Emperour now reigning is the head) but being a Man of ſmall Fortune, and little expectance in his own Countrey, he went to *Conſtantinople*, and put himſelf in Service with Sir *Thomas Glover*, before that he was Ambaſſador for his Majeſty to the Grand Siegnior, under whom he learned both to write and read the Turkiſh Tongue. After which he came with him into *England*, and there by his recommendation was imployed to *Conſtantinople* for the redeeming of young Sir *Thomas Sherley*, who was then a Priſoner among the Turks. Having performed his Charge orderly, and being come to *Venice* with the young Knight, hearing that Sir *Thomas Glover* was ſent Ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior, he left Sir *Thomas Sherley*, and went to *Conſtantinople* to his old Maſter, where he was imployed yearly to buy or exchange Chriſtians for Turks, carrying the Chriſtians into *Italy*, and ſo returning Turks for them. About the end of *Achmat's* Reign, arriving at *Conſtantinople* with a Ship full of Turks, which he had exchanged, he acquainted the Baſſa Viſier with the good Service he had done unto the Grand Seignior; who, demanding of what Countrey he was and his Breeding, asked him if he would undertake a Service which ſhould be for his Advancement, which was to go unto the Emperour to reconcile all Difficulties concerning the Peace, wherein he carried himſelf ſo diſcreetly, as Commiſſioners were appointed, who concluded all Difficulties, as you have heard. But before his return home, the Grand Seignior was dead; yet he preſſed the Baſſa for the performance of his Promiſe, deſiring him, that he might be made Vayvod of *Moldavia*, which the Baſſa effected; but the Preſents he gave advanced him more than his Merits. Since he grew into ſome diſgrace; ſo as the Grand Seignior, making choice of another Vayvod, gave Charge to certain Capigies, to go into *Moldavia* to ſtrangle *Caſparo*, and that they ſhould take four hundred Turks upon the Frontiers to aſſiſt them: But *Caſparo* having good Spies at *Conſtantinople*, who advertiſed him of their Deſign, reſolved to prevent them; wherefore, taking ſome Troops with him, he met them upon the way, and cut them all in pieces; then returning to *Yas*, he ſlew one thouſand Turks. After which he fled into *Poland* with two thouſand Horſe; from whence they write, that he hath made divers Incurſions into *Moldavia*, and committed great Spoils upon the Turks, being aſſiſted by the *Coſacks*, and

Caſparo made Vayvod of *Moldavia*.

He is in diſgrace, and flies into *Polonia*.

and keeps poſſeſſion of the Countrey, although there be another Vayvod made by the Turk.

The Turks preparation to Arms.

Sultan *Oſman* ſeems to be much incenſed againſt the *Polonians*, as well for this ſupport, as for former quarrels, making it his colour for the levying of the greateſt Army that hath been ſeen ſince that *Solyman* went unto the Siege of *Agria*, conſiſting, as it is ſaid, of three hundred thouſand Men, having drawn down all his Forces out of *Aſia*, God knows where he will imploy it, but it is much to be feared, that he will make uſe of this diviſion betwixt Chriſtian Princes, who ſhould unite their Wills and Forces, to oppoſe them againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom, who watcheth only to get an Advantage, little regarding his Word and Promiſe.

Manfredonia taken by the Turks.

Iuiſa taken by the Turks.

The Turk, having no imployment for his Forces by Land, ſent threeſcore Gallies to Sea, to make ſome Enterpriſe upon the Chriſtians. They came into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and having coaſted the Iſland of *Sicily*, they ſent twenty Gallies to land in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where they ſurpriſed the Town of *Manfredonia*, and ſpoiled it, carrying away fourteen or fifteen hundred Captives, and ſo retired again to Sea. The reſt of their Fleet lay about *Vellona* in the Gulf, which made the *Spaniards* jealous that the *Venetian* had been acquainted with this Enterpriſe. And ſince there is News, That the Gallions and Galliots of *Algiers*, have taken *Iuiſa*, a ſmall Iland of four miles compaſs, near unto *Majorca*: It is a Place of great Importance, for that it hath a Haven able to contain much Shipping; for the Guard whereof the King of *Spain* entertains a great Garriſon, and it did much annoy them of *Algiers*. They took the Town; but it is not yet certain whether they have taken the Caſtle.

The greatneſs of the Turks Empire.

This is all I could learn of the Turks Affairs ſince the Year one thouſand ſix hundred and nine untill this preſent. The Reader may obſerve, that ſince the Reign of *Ottoman* their firſt Emperour, this great Empire of the Turks is proudly built upon the four Monarchies of the World; that is to ſay, of the *Aſſirian*, *Perſian*, *Greek*, and *Roman*. For they injoy *Babylon*, and all *Chaldæ*, with the Countrey of the *Medes*: We have ſeen them in *Tauris*, the Capital City of *Perſia*; *Greece* is ſubject to the yoke of their Command; *Conſtantinople*, ſometimes called New *Rome*, by the tranſport of the Imperial Seat, is now made their Throne; and ſo many Provinces and Realms which in former times depended upon the *Roman* Empire, do now acknowledge their power; they are Maſters of the Realms of *Ægypt* and *Cyprus*; the Iſlands of *Rhodes*, *Metelene*, *Negropont*, *Chio*, and many others acknowledge them; the Empire of *Trebiſond* is theirs; the Realm of *Colchos*, now called *Mingrelia*, pays them Tribute; they of *Tunis* and *Algier* in *Affrica* obey them; *Dalmatia*, the *Illyrians*, *Triballians*, the Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia* do them Homage; and we ſee them Command even in the chief Towns of the Realms of *Hungary*: But all this Power of the *Ottomans* had never been ſo great nor ſo fearful, but by the diſcord, diviſion, and bad intelligence betwixt Chriſtian Princes, as you may read in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, as well in *Greece*, at *Conſtantinople*, as in other parts of *Europe*, whereas theſe Princes, contending one with another, have furniſhed matter and means to the Turk to diſpoſſeſs them of the chief pieces of their Monarchies. They meaſure the continuance of their Empire by the diſcord betwixt the Princes of the Belief of the Name of Jeſus, and they confeſs truely, that this Diviſion is the onely cauſe of their Greatneſs, the which hath made them believe, that among Chriſtians there was a bad Angel, enemy to peace, which they call *the ſtronge or powerful Spirit*, which, kindling the fire of Revenge and Ambition in the Hearts of great Men, draws from their Affections the good of their Belief, to entertain them in perpetual Diſcord; during the which, they promiſe unto themſelves a firm and an aſſured Reign. So the Mufti, and the Taliſmans praying on Friday in their Moſques, demand of their Prophet the Circumſtance of this bad Intelligence betwixt the Chriſtian Princes, to the end they may injoy the Empire which they have unjuſtly uſurped. Yet their Prophecies do not promiſe them a perpetual Poſſeſſion; behold one in their own Tongue, which hath always made them fear the union of Chriſtians.

A Turkiſh Prophecy.

Patiſſæ homomos ghelur, caiferun menleker alur keuzul almai alur kapze iler ie di yladegh Giaur Keleci cſikmaſſe on ikigladegh on laron Begbhgheder. Enſi iapar, baghi diker batheſai baglar, ogli keſi olar; onichi ylddenſora Hriſtianon-keleci cſcchar, al Turkci ghereſſine Tuſchure.

That is to ſay:

Our Emperour ſhall come, he ſhall poſſeſs the Realm of an Infidel Prince, he ſhall take the Red Apple, and make it ſubject to his Power; if, at the ſeventh Year of his Command the Chriſtians Sword doth not advance, he ſhall Rule unto the twelfth Year, he ſhall build Houſes, plant Vines, compaſs in Gardens with Hedges, and beget Children; but after the twelfth Year that he hath held the Red Apple, the Chriſtians Sword ſhall appear and put the Turk to ſlight.

The Expoſition of their Prophecy.

By the *Infidel* Prince, they underſtand a Chriſtian Prince, (for ſo they call them) and by the *Red Apple* an Imperial Town, ſtrong and important; in the which, and elſewhere the Turks ſhall *build Houſes*; that is to ſay, convert Holy Temples to the Uſe of the Mahometan Impiety; for by this Word *to build*, they that have Commented upon this Propheſie underſtand, Uſurpation of the Houſes of God: *Plant Vines*, by theſe Words they ſignifie the Extent of the Turkiſh Empire, and the ſettling of their Colonies, as we ſee in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*: *Compaſſing in Gardens*, that is to ſay, they ſhall fortifie the Towns which they have taken from their Enemies: *Beget Children*, extend the Mahometan Religion, far in the Chriſtians Countries. *But after the twelfth Year, &c.* within a certain time beſt known to God, his Divine Majeſty opening the Eyes of his Clemency upon the Chriſtians, will unite the Wills of their Princes, kindle their affections with a holy zeal, and, bleſſing their Arms, will make them victorious over the Turk, whom he will baniſh out of the Eaſt, and chaſe into *Scythia* from whence they came to be a ſcourge unto Chriſtendom. Theſe are my Wiſhes, wherein I hope all good Chriſtians do concurr.

The Beginning of the Turkiſh EMPIRE.

HAving run over the Occurrents which have happened in the *Turks* Eſtate for the ſpace of eleven years, I muſt, according to Maſter *Knolles* his Method, conclude the Work with a deſcription of the Grand Seignior's Port or Court, of his Government, Officers, Riches, Force, and Religion.

The *Turks*, (a People of *Scythia*) having like a violent Deluge overthrown a great part of the Eaſt, and taken divers Provinces, being expelled from *Hieruſalem* by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, and the Chriſtians, their remainder retired to *Nicea*, where they lived without any head or ſovereign Commander, until that *Ottoman*, about the Year of our Redeemer one thouſand three hundred, by Practice, made himſelf ſole and abſolute Monarch. His Son conquering divers Provinces, removed his Imperial Seat to *Pruſia*, now called *Burſia*, the chief Abode of the Kings of *Bythinia*. *Amurath* the Firſt (being drawn in by the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* to ſuccour him, and allured with the Wealth of *Europe*) turned his Arms againſt him, taking divers Provinces and Towns from him, amongſt others, *Adrianopolis*, which he made the Seat and reſidence of the Turkiſh Emperours, in the Year one thouſand three hundred ſixty three. But *Mahomet* the Second, having taken the City of *Conſtantinople*, and expelled the Emperour, in the Year one thouſand four hundred fifty three, he made it the Royal Seat of the *Othomans*, for which he had great reaſon, being one of the faireſt and ſweeteſt Seats of the World.

Deſcription of *Conſtantinople*.

Conſtantinople hath in circuit, by the opinion of ſome Writers, fifteen or ſixteen miles, and is called by the Turks themſelves *Stambull*, or *Stambolda*, the Sea beating upon it upon the North and South ſides: Towards the Eaſt it is divided from *Aſia* by a large Channel, which runneth from the one Sea to the other, and is about ſeven miles in length. The City is built upon the declining of a Hill, in which there are many rare ſingularities, which I omit, being deſcribed elſewhere. There are in this City ſeven little Hills, upon the which are built ſeven principal Moſques or Churches, by ſeveral Emperours, whereof, the faireſt and moſt ſtately is that of Sultan *Solyman*. Upon the North ſide of the City ſtandeth the Grand Seignior's Palace or Seraglio, commonly called by the Name of the Port: The which hath on the one ſide thereof the Sea, and on the other ſide of it the Haven, the other two being towards the City, being about three miles in compaſs, ſome write of four. It is walled about, and within it are many Gardens, Orchards, Medows, and Woods. Being entred into the firſt Port (which hath double Gates of Iron) into a large Court, on the left hand there ſtands a building like unto a Turkiſh Moſque, which now the Grand Seignior uſeth for a Store-houſe, wherein are great ſtore of Arms, which are for the defence of his Seraglio. And on the other ſide of this Court are ſeveral Gardens walled in, from which they paſs to another Court with a Gate like unto the former, where are Targuets and Cimitars hanging, and many Porters attending, as at the former. After this, they paſs into another large Court, which is planted with Cypreſs Trees, and full of Graſs, where Deer feed; but round about it is a Cloiſter, which is in length about ſix hundred and fourſcore Foot, and above five hundred in breadth, paved with Stone, and covered with Lead, it being ſupported with one hundred and forty Pillars of white and gray Marble, ſtanding upon Baſes of Copper, with Capitals of the ſame; upon the North ſide whereof ſtands the Divano, whereas the Viſier Baſſa and the other Baſſaes ſit in Council, and hear Cauſes of Importance, whereof we will ſpeak hereafter. In this Seraglio the Grand Seignior hath many Chambers, which are richly appointed, wherein he remains; and there he hath ſix young Men which attend his Perſon and the Service of his Chamber, whereof two wait daily, and at Night they watch when he ſleeps, the one of them at his Head, the other at his Feet, with two Torches burning in their Hands. In the Morning (as *Sanzovino* writes) when the Grand Seignior attires himſelf, they put into one of his Pockets a thouſand Aſpers, and into the other Pocket twenty Duckets of Gold, the which, if he give not away that Day, is their Fee at Night, neither (as they ſay) doth he ever put on the ſame Clothes: and whenſoever he goes to Hunting, or to any other Exerciſe, (beſides the Money which he hath with him) his Caſnadar Baſſa, or chief Treaſurer, ſtill follows him with great ſtore of Money to give away. The Office of theſe ſix young Men, (who are changed as it pleaſeth the Grand Seignior) is diſtinct, for the one carries his Shooes, the ſecond his Bow and Arrows, the third his Veſt, the fourth a Veſſel with Water, the fifth carries a Seat, and the ſixth, called *Oda Baſſa*, is head of the Chamber.

Attendants upon the Grand Seignior.

The chief Officers of his Houſe.

He hath daily a great number of Perſons reſident in his Palace, imployed in their ſeveral Charges, ſome in one place, ſome in another, under their ſeveral Commanders. But among all the great Men in his Court, theſe are of chiefeſt Eminency and Note.

Firſt, the *Capi Aga*, that is to ſay, the mouth of the Grand Seignior, by whom the Sultan ſpeaketh to ſuch as have any great ſuit unto him; for no Ambaſſadour is admitted unto him, but at his firſt arrival, when he delivers his Letters of credit and his Preſents, and when he hath any buſineſs to treat of, he repairs to the Viſier Baſſa or his Aga.

The ſecond is *Caſnadar Baſſa*, the chief Treaſurer of the Houſhold, or Superintendent of the Treaſure.

The third, *Chilergi Baſſa*, chief Cup-bearer.

The fourth is *Seraglio Agaſi*, Steward or Maſter of the Houſhold.

The fifth is *Chiller Agaſi*, or *Saraidar Baſſa*, Overſeer of his Seraglio of Concubines, who is always an Eunuch as the reſt be.

The ſixth and laſt is *Boſtangi Baſſa*, chief Gardiner, and Overſeer of all his Gardens, Captain of his Jamoglans, and Steerer of his Barge whenſoever he goeth by Water. He hath a Protogero or Lieutenant, and many Gardiners under him, which are called Boſtangi, who, when they come out of the Seraglio, become Janizaries, Solacchi, or Capigi, according to their Qualities.

Theſe ſix Officers of the Sultans Houſe above mentioned have no authority out of his Palace, yet the greateſt Baſſaes ſtand in awe of them, and fear them, for that they have free acceſs unto the Sultan, and have daily opportunity to incenſe him againſt them; for by their ſecret Suggeſtion and falſe Informations, many of the greateſt Baſſaes are many times ſuddenly and undeſervedly cut off in the height of all their pomp and glory.

The Sultan's dumb Men.

He hath many Mutes or dumb Men attending about him, whereof eight be his daily Companions and Play-fellows in the Seraglio, in whoſe company he takes great delight: beſides many others to the number of forty, which attend upon him as Pages. They are all born deaf and dumb, yet by long Practice they grow ſo perfect, as they will underſtand any thing that ſhall be acted unto them by Signs and Geſtures; and will themſelves by the geſture of their Eyes, Bodies, Hands, and Feet, deliver matters of great difficulty, to the great admiration of ſtrangers.

A Seraglio of young Men.

The Grand Seignior hath within his Palace a Seraglio of young Men, to the number of five hundred, from eight years of Age to twenty; theſe are the well-favoureſt and beſt proportioned of all the Tribute Children which he draweth from *Græcia* and *Natolia*, and they are choſen out of his Seraglioes at *Pera*, *Adrianopolis*, and other Places, and brought to this to be bred up, where they are inſtructed in divers Arts, according to their Diſpoſition, but eſpecially to Read and Write, and in the Doctrine of their Law, and to Ride, there being a great number of Horſes kept within this Seraglio, for their Exerciſe, and for the Eunuchs. They never go out of the Seraglio till the Sultan thinks them to be of fit Age to undergo ſome Charge, and then he makes them Spacoglani, or Silichtari, and to ſome he gives greater Places, according to their Valour, or the favour they have gotten with him.

They that carry his Lance.

He hath in like manner about fourſcore Mutaferache, that is to ſay, Lance-bearers to the Grand Seignior; which carry his Lance whenſoever he goeth to field, and acknowledge no other Commander, and in time, by his Favour or their Merits, are made Captains.

The Sultan's Eunuchs.

He hath always above one thouſand Eunuchs entertained in ſeveral Places, whereof ſome of them are in very great credit with him, and can prevail much; they are called Hudurni, many of them are employed to attend his Concubines and Virgins in his Seraglio. They are not only deprived of their Genitors, but in their Youth they have their whole Privities ſmoothed off by their Bellies, and in their Turbants they bear ſhort Quills of ſilver, through which they make Water. This inhumane Cuſtom was firſt invented by Sultan *Solyman*, who ſeeing a Gelding make offer to cover a Mare, grew ſuſpitious that they were able to do ſome ſmall thing, notwithſtanding the loſs of their Genitors.

The Sultan's Seraglio of Women.

The Grand Senior hath a Seraglio for his Women without his Palace, in the which there are always four or five hundred young Virgins, the faireſt of the Chriſtians Children, which he gathereth up out of *Græcia* for Tribute. The Sultan repairs ſometime thither to make choice of ſuch as he ſhall like beſt for his Pleaſure; whereof they are advertiſed the day before by the Eunuchs, that they may prepare themſelves in their beſt Habits to give him content. Being all in a Room, and ſtanding upon either ſide, the Sultan enters, attended by an Eunuch or two, and views them; to her that he likes he caſts a Handkerchief, (whereof he hath many hanging at his Girdle) and in this manner it may be he makes choice of half a dozen, the which his Eunuchs obſerving, they put them preſently into a Coach, and are carried into another little Seraglio within his Palace. In this Seraglio they have good Entertainment, and are apparelled in Silk twice a Year, and are taught to make divers Works by ancient Matrons, and are attended on by the younger ſort. They have many Eunuchs with their Aga or Captain, and they have one hundred Capigies and Janizaries, which keep their Gates. When as the number of theſe Virgin ſlaves decreaſeth, and they have not wherewithal to ſupply them with their Tributary Children, they ſend to the Market in *Conſtantinople*, where they ſay there are daily ten thouſand Slaves of all Ages and Sexes to be ſold; and there they buy the faireſt they can get, but they will not have them above eight Years old, leſt they ſhould be corrupted before they come into the Turks Seraglio.

The eſtate of his Concubines.

As for the other Seraglio within the Sultan's Palace, there remains the Sultanaes with their Children, and ſuch other Concubines as he hath made choice of for his Delight. He never marries, but when any one is brought unto him, he gives her an attire for her Head, of Gold, and ten thouſand Aſpers, cauſing her to live in a Chamber a-part, increaſing her daily Maintenance. The firſt that bears him a Child, is called Sultana, and is Miſtreſs of all the reſt, and moſt favoured by him, as the chiefeſt of all his Women, the reſt, as they are favoured by the Prince, are brought unto him to have his Pleaſure, and then returned back again; if they chance to be with Child, they are put into the number of the Sultanaes, and are much reſpected by him. Such as the Prince hath had the uſe of, but no Children by them, are given in marriage to his Slaves, who are advanced to Dignities, and made Governours of Countries.

His Guard, Foot-men, and Porters.

He has three hundred Sollacchi, which march continually about his Perſon, and make as it were his Guard, being under the command of the Aga of Janizaries; they are richly attired, having Lawn Garments hanging down beneath their Knees, and over it a quilted Waſtcoat with half ſleeves of Taffaty, Damask, or Satten, and on their Heads, Caps and Feathers, like unto the Captain of the Janizaries, and they attend on him with Bows and Arrows. He hath alſo ſtill about him when he Rides abroad forty Peichi, that is to ſay, Foot-men or Poſts, which run wonderful ſwiftly, and are ſtill at hand to attend his Commandments, where he ſhall pleaſe to imploy them; they wear long Coats of Cloth of Gold, with a broad Girdle of the ſame, and Caps like unto Womens Thimbles, with a Horn of Silver and gilt ſtanding up before. There are about four thouſand Capigies or Porters which continually attend his Palace and Seraglioes, they are attired like unto the Janizaries, and have over them three Capigi Baſſaes. Theſe Men are many times imployed to execute the Grand Siegnior's Commandments, when he will have any great Mans Head, or his Throat cut, as we have ſeen of late years in *Gambolat* Baſſa, and in *Naſſuf* Baſſa, who was Grand Viſier to *Achmat*.

The Turks Government.

The Grand Seignior's Government is ſo abſolute, as they all term themſelves his Slaves, and no Man, how great ſoever, can aſſure himſelf of his Eſtate, no not of his Life, but by the Great Turks ſpecial Favour. He commits the managing of his Eſtate to ſuch as have abjured the Chriſtian Religion, and have been brought by way of Tything in their Infancies from *Greece* and *Natolia*, and afterwards, for their Merits, are advanced to great Dignities, as Baſſaes, Beglerbegs, and ſuch other. The Prince hath a Court or Council, which they call Divano, and this is held within the Seraglio four days in the Week; that is to ſay, Saturday, Sunday, Munday, and Tueſday, where they treat of matters of State, and afterwards of the Affairs of private Men. To this Council are admitted the Grand Viſier, eight or nine Baſſaes, who are alſo called Viſiers, and are continually reſident at *Conſtantinople*, (for there are many more which are imployed abroad in the Conduct of Armies or Government of Countries) the Beglerbegs and others. At the riſing of the Court or Council, the Grand Viſier informs the Sultan of all the Proceedings in particular; wherein he dares not diſſemble, for that the Prince hath a Window joyning to the Divano, where he may hear and ſee any thing and not be ſeen. He ſeldom impugns what they have reſolved, unleſs it be to moderate ſome rigorous Sentence, or to give anſwer to ſome Ambaſſadour, and what he himſelf concludes is irrevokable.

The Turks Juſtice.

Their Suits are very ſhort, for they have no Advocates to breed delaies, as they have in Chriſtendom; yet commonly he that bribes moſt ſpeeds beſt; for the Turks are the moſt covetous and corrupt Nation in the World, neither will they do any man a kindneſs without a Fee; and yet they are not ſure to injoy any thing they get no longer than it ſhall pleaſe the Prince. They puniſh Crimes with great ſeverity, and ſpeedily, the Fact being proved, which doth ſo terrifie them, as by the report of ſuch as have converſed long there, you ſhall ſeldom ſee a Murther or a Theft committed by any Turk; and if any foul Fact be committed, it is moſt commonly done by *Grecians*.

The Grand Viſier.

The chief of the Grand Seignior's Council, is the Grand Viſier, who wears the Princes Signet, and is as it were the Lieutenant-General of the whole Monarchy; he hath authority over the other Baſſaes, and they are bound to yield him an account of their Imployments. He is ſtill about the Prince's Perſon, and is not ſent abroad for any Imployment, unleſs it be for an important War, as they have done of late years againſt the *Perſian*. When the Viſier is ſent abroad, he makes choice of one of the Baſſaes to be his Lieutenant, and to execute his Authority, and he is called Chimacham. *Mechmet* Baſſa, was at that preſent chief Viſier.

The Beglerbegs and Sanzacks.

Next unto the Baſſa (which is as much as to ſay, great Lord) follow the Beglerbegs, and have their places in Court next unto them. They are Men of great Authority, and have the command of great Kingdoms and Armies, under whoſe Obedience are divers Sanzacks, which are ſent as Governours into Provinces during the Princes Pleaſure. Theſe are Men of great Experience, and have command over the Spahi and Timariots, the Turks chief Forces on Horſe-back, whom they call continually to exerciſe their Arms. There is one Beglerbeg of *Greece*, which hath all the Countries in *Europe* in the Turks Dominions under his Charge, and this is the firſt of all the Beglerbegs, who hath under him above thirty Sanzacks. There are ſix other Beglerbegs in *Aſia*, whereof the firſt is he of *Natolia*, or *Aſia* the leſs. He hath the Government of *Pontus*, *Bythinia*, and other Kingdoms, and hath under him twelve Sanzacks. The Beglerbeg of *Caramania* with ſeven Sanzacks. The Beglerbeg of *Aladuley*, under whoſe Command are ſeven Sanzacks. The Beglerbeg of *Amazia* and *Toccato*, having four Sanzacks. There is alſo one in *Meſopotamia*, and under his command twelve Sanzacks or Governours of Provinces. There is likewiſe a Beglerbeg of *Damas*, *Suria*, and *Judæa*, who hath under him twelve Sanzacks. And there is one of *Caire*, who commands over ſixteen Sanzacks, his Charge extends to the *Arabians*, but they are not ſo Obedient as the Turks other Countries.

The Great Turks Forces.

The Timariots.

The Spahi.

As for the Turks Forces, they conſiſt of Horſe-men, Foot-men, and Fleets at Sea. His Horſemen conſiſt of Spahi, Timari, Spachoglani, Silictari and Olofagi, who have Aſſignations of Lands for the Entertainment of them and their Horſes. For no Man can injoy any Poſſeſſions, but he is injoyned to entertain a certain number of Souldiers proportionable to the Revenues of the Land; ſo as the Governour or Baſſa is always bound to have this number ready to march when they are called. Of theſe Timariots they are able to raiſe about an hundred and fifty thouſand Horſe, always ready at the firſt call, for the which the Prince diſburſeth not a penny; for, in regard of the Land which is alotted them, they are bound to maintain themſelves, their Horſe and Arms in the War. Whereſoever the Turk conquereth any Countrey, he divides it among his Souldiers; aſſigning four thouſand Aſpers yearly (which is little above ten pound ſterling) to every one for himſelf and his Horſe, and ſo proportionably if he have more Land. Theſe Horſe-men are much peſtered with Arms when they go to War; for they have a Jack, a Spear with a little white Banner, a Caliver hanging under his left Arm, a Cimitar, a Bow and Arrows at his Girdle, and a Battel-axe at his Saddle bow. And of theſe kind of Horſe-men they ſay there are eighty thouſand in *Greece*, beſides an infinite number in his other Countries. This Turkiſh Cavalry work two great Effects, for they ſerve as a ſupport to his Eſtate, to ſuppreſs all Seditions, and they are ready to undertake any Enterpriſe. Beſides theſe, he entertains many Horſe-men about his Perſon, whereof ſome are Spahi, and theſe are Chriſtian Slaves bred up young in the Princes Seraglio, who by their Merits attain to that degree, and afterwards to greater Dignities. They are always attending about the Princes Perſon whereſoever he goes, being commonly thirteen hundred.

The *Caripices* and *Spachoglans*.

The *Caripices* are held for the flower of all his Horſe-men, being in number about eight hundred, who march ſtill about the Princes Perſon during the Wars. The *Spachoglani* which is as much as to ſay, young Men on Horſe-back, are above three thouſand, who have yearly penſions in Money, which they are bound to receive yearly at *Conſtantinople*, or elſe they are held as dead Men. In the Wars they march on the right Hand of the Grand Seignior, and are known from the Spahies by the Banners of their Lances, which have two points and of divers colours, the others being pointed and all white, but they are armed alike. They are Men at Arms of a good faſhion, and are commonly advanced by the Sultan to higher Places. They have a Captain or Aga of great Eſteem, with a Lieutenant, and every twenty have a Boluch Baſſa.

The *Salichtari.*

The *Salichtari* are alſo Horſe-men, and lodge upon the left Hand of the Prince, being in number about three thouſand: Their Breeding is like unto the Spahi, and there is no difference betwixt them but in their March, the one having the right Hand, and the other the left, which is the more honourable among the Turks.

The *Olofagi.*

There is yet another ſort of Horſe-men, which they call *Olofagi*, being about two thouſand in number, and they march on the right and left Hand of the Prince. Theſe ſeveral Troops are as it were a Nurſery for all the chief Officers of that Empire; out of which they do commonly chuſe their great Commanders. Beſides, they have their mercinary Souldiers, called *Alcanzios*, which come to ſerve the *Turk* from *Tartaria*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*.

The *Janizaries*, and their Breeding.

As for his foot Forces, they conſiſt chiefly in *Janizaries*, into which number they have not uſed to inroll many of *Aſia*, whom they have held faint-hearted, but thoſe of *Europe*, who have always had the Reputation to be Valiant. Their manner to entertain this Diſcipline, is, to ſend every three years into all the Provinces of *Europe*, from whence they bring ten or twelve thouſand Chriſtian Children as a Tribute, making choice of ſuch as have any ſhew of Magnanimity, Agility, or Courage, which are Parts fit for a Souldier. Theſe Children being brought to *Conſtantinople* and viſited, ſome of them are ſent into *Natolia*, *Caramania*, and other Provinces, to dig and weed the Ground, where they forget their Parents, Countrey, and Faith, and learn the Language and Vices of them with whom they converſe, and ſo become Mahometans. They continue in thoſe places three or four years, without any charge to the Prince, being entertained by them for whom they Labour; after which time they are called home, and put into the Sultan's Seraglioes at *Pera*, *Adrianopolis*, and other Places. But they that have the beſt Faces, and are moſt active, are reſerved for their Princes Service.

The *Aiamoglani.*

Theſe Children, being brought into the Princes Seraglioes, are of two ſorts; the one are called *Aiamoglani*, that is to ſay, ſimple Boy; they are inſtructed by ſevere Maſters in divers manual and painful Exerciſes, as Shoomakers, Gardiners, and ſuch like baſe Trades. Their Feeding and Apparel is very mean; and for the moſt part they lie in great and ſpacious Rooms, like unto Religious Men, having a Light continually burning, and Guards about them. Theſe have liberty to go abroad, who after the Age of twenty years, are diſmiſſed: whereof ſome are ſent into the Sultan's Gardens, which are many and great; others are imployed as Car-men to carry Wood, Hay, Water, and other Proviſion for the Palace, and ſome are ſent to the Kitchins and Stables; yet when Places fall, they are preferred to be Janizaries, and have competent Penſions to maintain them during their lives. The leaſt hath five Aſpers a day, and there's none have above eight, and the Spahies ten. They are attired in long blew Gowns girt with a broad Girdle, and on their Head they have long yellow Caps without brims, and ſharp like unto Sugar-loaves; and of theſe *Aiamoglanes* there are always above twenty thouſand which ſerve to ſupply his Armies.

The *Ich-Oglani.*

The other ſort of Youths, which are bred up in the Turks Seraglioes or Nurſeries, are called *Ich-Oglani*, that is to ſay, Chamber-Pages, being the choice of all the Chriſtians Children for Proportion and Favour, and theſe *Ich-Oglani* are better bred up than the *Aiamoglani*, and come to better Preferment, of whom we have formerly made mention; for the meaneſt Places theſe young Men attain unto at the firſt is to be Spahies, or to attend upon the Grand Seignior, as his Chamberlains and Pages. And many of them having extraordinary Parts are ſuddenly advanced to Places of great Dignity. Of theſe, the Prince hath ever five thouſand, who until they come unto the Age of twenty years are never ſuffered to go out of their Seraglio, nor to ſee any Perſon but ſuch as inſtruct them and attend upon them.

The *Janizaries.*

The *Janizaries* (who are the Grand Seignior's chief ſtrength on foot) are raiſed out of Chriſtians Children, bred up in theſe Nurſeries, as we have ſaid, where they are taught to ſhoot with their Bows and Arrows, to uſe the Harquebuſe, and all other Weapons fit for Service; and are at length inrolled among the *Janizaries*, and are held the moſt valiant and reſolute Souldiers among all the Turks. There are commonly reſident in *Conſtantinople* and thereabouts twenty four thouſand of theſe *Janizaries* whenas the Grand Seignior is there, (for in his whole Eſtate he hath a far greater number) under their Aga or Captain General, which is a Place of great credit, but not like unto any of their Baſſaes; the Great Turk fearing to joyn Power and Authority together. Being once *Janizaries*, they are either ſent to the Wars, or put in Garriſon, or elſe they remain at the Sultan's Court, (which they call Port) where they have certain ſpacious Places for their Dwelling, like to religious Houſes, where they live under their Commanders; and the younger ſerve the ancient with great reſpect. All the *Janizaries* of one Squadron eat together at one Table, and ſleep in certain long Halls, and if any one chance to be abſent all Night, he ſhall (the next Night) be beaten with a Cudgel, which he takes ſo patiently, as he kiſſeth his Hand that hath thus corrected him. They are much reſpected and feared of all men, and are diverſly imployed in the City; as to ſee the Peace and good Orders kept, to look to the prices of things, to arreſt Malefactors, and to guard the Gates. If they buy any thing they will have it at their own rate; they cannot be judged but by their Aga or Captain. There is ſeldom any one puniſhed with death by the courſe of Juſtice, without danger of a Mutiny; and therefore they execute them very ſecretly. They have many means to get money; for ſome attend upon Ambaſſadours, and keep their Houſes; others go with Travellers, to guard them ſafely through the Turks Eſtate. They have a great power in their Princes Election; ſo as to win their loves, every new Emperour at his firſt coming to the Crown gives them a Donative, and increaſeth their Pay, preſuming upon their Valour and Multitude. They many times commit ſtrange Inſolencies upon any Diſcontents; as in firing of Houſes, braving the Baſſaes, and ſometimes bearding the Sultan himſelf, as you may read in this Hiſtory.

Acovizes.

Azapi.

Topagi and *Jebegi.*

The chief ſtrength of the Turks Forces conſiſts in the *Janizaries*; and yet there are other ſorts of Foot-men, whereof ſome are called *Acovizes*, which is a forlorn Hope, and receive no Pay, but march before the Army, and have leave to ſpoil; ſo as they give the fifth part of their Booty to the Prince. There is another kind called *Azapi*; theſe are Souldiers of ſmall effect, and ſerve rather with the Pick-axe and Spade than with the Sword; they are fitter to tire an Enemy with their numbers, than to vanquiſh them with their Valour; and they are accuſtomed to fill up Ditches with their dead Bodies to make a Paſſage for the Janizaries to aſcend unto a Breach. The Grand Seignior hath ever ſix thouſand Gunners in pay whom they call *Topagi*. And for the Guard of the Powder and Shot when the Army marcheth, there are always twelve thouſand Men in pay, whom they call *Jebegi*.

The *Chiaus.*

The Grand Seignior hath alſo certain Officers attending on him to the number of three thouſand, whom they call *Chiaus*, which are as it were Sergeants at Arms. Theſe are Men well eſteemed, and are often imployed in Embaſſies to foreign Princes: They alſo carry Letters and Commendations from the Prince or his chief Viſier, and they apprehend Offenders. Theſe never go to the War but whenas the Sultan is there in Perſon. They are commanded by a *Chiaus* Baſſa, who is of ſo great credit with all men, (as *Sanzovino* writes) that when he is ſent by the Grand Seignior to any Baſſa, Sanzack, or Cadi, with order to have any Mans Head cut off, he is obeyed, although he have no Warrant in writing, as if the Prince were there himſelf, and commanded it.

The Turks Diſcipline in their Armies.

Thus we have ſet down the Grand Seignior's Forces at Land, whoſe numbers are ſo great, as in ſhew they ſhould breed confuſion and ruine themſelves; but they keep very good Order and Diſcipline, ſo as in that point they yield not to any. They live of a little Bread baked in the Aſhes, with Rice, and the powder of Fleſh dryed in the Sun: They may drink no Wine, and there are no Women ſeen in their Armies; they obſerve a wonderful Silence, and all the Souldiers are governed by the beck of the Hand, or any ſhew of the Countenance. Quarrels and Thefts are ſeverely puniſhed. When they March, they dare not enter into any Corn Fields nor Vines. The Valiant are aſſured of Preferments, and Cowards of Puniſhment.

Having ſpoken ſufficiently of their Land Forces, let us ſee what ſtrength he hath at Sea; they have great ſtore of Foreſts for the building of Ships; neither want they good Shipwrights, for that Covetouſneſs hath drawn many Chriſtian Carpenters into the Grand Seignior's Arſenal: And he hath great numbers of Men trained up in Marine Affairs, in regard of the Gallies which he hath at *Mitilene*, *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, and *Alexandria*, and for the retreat he gives Pyrates at *Tunis*, *Bona*, *Bugia* and *Algiers*, from whence he draws Commanders and his beſt Mariners, as hath been ſeen by Experience in the Enterpriſes of *Malta*, *Gulette*, and elſewhere.

The Turks Revenues.

To maintain theſe great Forces, it is requiſite he ſhould have the ſinews of War; yet his ordinary Revenues (conſidering his large Dominions) are not ſo great, as in reaſon they ſhould be; for ſome are of opinion, that he hath not above eight millions of Gold for his ordinary Revenue; for which they give divers reaſons; firſt, That the Turks have no care but of Arms, the which do rather ruine than inrich a Country: ſecondly, They conſume ſo many men in their Enterpriſes, as they ſcarce leave ſufficient to manure their Land, ſo as the Subjects (deſpairing to enjoy their Wealth and neceſſary Commodities, which they might get by their Labour and Induſtry) imploy not themſelves to work nor traffick; no more than neceſſity ſhall conſtrain them; for to what purpoſe is it, *ſay they*, to ſow that another man muſt reap? or to reap that which another will conſume? And for this reaſon you ſhall ſee in the Turks Eſtate whole Countries lie waſte, and many times great Dearth, which grows by the want of Men to manure their Land; for that the Countrymen, for the moſt part, either die in the Voyages which they make, or in carrying of Victuals, and other neceſſary things for their Armies; for of ten thouſand which they draw from their Houſes to row in their Gallies, ſcarce the fourth part returns to their Houſes, by reaſon of the great Toyles they indure. Another reaſon why the Sultan's Revenues be no greater, is, for that when he conquers any Country, he aſſigns the Lands to his Timarri, who are bound to maintain ſo many Men, and ſo many Horſes, according to the proportion of Land which he gives them, reſerving no Rent.

But although his ordinary Revenues be no greater than we have ſpoken, yet he draws great profit by his Extraordinaries, eſpecially by Confiſcations and Preſents; for being all his Slaves, no man enjoyeth any thing longer than it pleaſeth him; yea, the Baſſaes and greateſt Officers of that Crown, which oppreſs his Subjects, and gather together ineſtimable Wealth, in the end, for the moſt part, it comes into the Turks Caſna or Treaſury. It is not ſtrange there to ſend for any Subjects Head, upon any ſuggeſtion whatſoever, which no man dare contradict; after which Execution, his Slaves and Goods are ſold in the Market at *Conſtantinople*, and the Money applyed to the Prince's Coffers. His Preſents alſo amount to great ſums, for no Ambaſſadour may come before him without a Preſent, neither may any man expect any Office or Dignity without Money; no Governour being returned from his Province, dares preſent himſelf to the Sultan empty handed, neither are their Preſents of ſmall price. The Sultan's Exchequer is governed by two Treaſurers called *Deſtardari*, who are more rightly governours of the Revenues, for that they keep an account of the Prince's Caſna or Treaſure, the one hath charge of the Revenues which are raiſed in *Natolia*, the other in *Europe*. Alſo they draw great profit from their tributary Provinces, eſpecially from *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Tranſilvania*, where the Princes maintain themſelves by Preſents and Gifts: ſo as they change daily, for that they that offer moſt are advanced, whereby they are forced to ruine the Country to perform what they have promiſed.

The Laws whereby the Turks are governed.

But having ſpoken of the Turks Forces and Revenues, whereby they maintain their Armies to invade their Neighbours, we muſt now ſpeak ſomething of their Laws whereby the Subjects are governed, which are Inſtitutions and Anſwers of Wiſe men, the which they hold as an Interpretation of their Alcaron, which is the ground of their Law. Theſe Inſtitutions are contained in twelve Volumes, treating of all things belonging to civil Converſation. Some Provinces of *Turkey* are governed by Cuſtoms, and enjoy their Priviledges, and their Wiſe Judges ſupply many things which are not written. The Sultan makes choice of the wiſeſt and worthieſt Perſon that can be found, of a ſincere Life, according to their Law, and he is called *Mufti*, that is, Interpreter of their Alcaron; he is (as it were) their High-prieſt, attending only matters of Religion and Faith; he is Head of the Church among the Turks, and decideth all queſtions of their Law. He is of ſuch eminency, as all the Baſſaes are ſubject to his direction; he abaſeth not himſelf ſo much as to ſit in the Divano, only paſſeth through it when he is ſent for by the Sultan, who (ſo ſoon as he ſeeth him) riſeth from his ſeat, as it were to honour him, and then they both ſit down face to face, and ſo conferr together.

The *Mufti.*

They make trial of the ſufficienteſt of their Judges, before they chuſe any, for which there are two *Cadileſquiri Taliſmani*, that is, Doctors of the Law, and Examiners, at *Conſtantinople*, or whereſoever the Prince remains: Theſe examine the Judges or Cadies of divers Provinces. The one hath his charge over *Europe*, and is called *Cadileſquirie Romly*, before whom (after good information of his Life and ſufficiency) he ſwears that he will do Juſtice to all men, and yield an account of his Charge when he ſhall be called. The other *Cadileſquirie* is for *Natolia*; they are ſovereign Judges in all Cauſes, and, as it were Patriarchs. They are of great Authority, and have place in the Divano with the Baſſaes, to conſult of weighty matters.

The *Cadileſquiri.*

There is a Third degree of their Churchmen, belonging to their Law, called *Mulli*, which are Biſhops, and chief Governours under the *Mufti*; and their Office is to place and diſplace Church-men at their diſcretion. Next are the *Nuderiſi*, who are Suffragans to the Biſhops, and their Charge is to ſee the *Cadies* do their duties. Next come the *Cadies*, who are Judges to puniſh Offenders, of which there is one in every City under the Seignior's command.

The *Mulli, Nuderiſi,* and *Cadi.*

Under theſe are another kind of young Doctors of the Law, called *Naipi*, who are not ſo well read as to be abſolute Judges, but yet ſupply their places in their abſence.

The *Naipi.*

After theſe are the *Hogi*, who write their Books, for that they allow no printing; and inferior unto them are the *Calſi*, who read unto them that write. And the youngeſt of all are called *Soſti*, who are young Students or Novices in their Law.

The *Hogi, Calſi,* and *Soſti.*

Theſe are their ſeveral degrees of Lawyers or Church-men; for the Turks are governed by a kind of Eccleſiaſtical Law, according to their Alcaron. They have Colledges (called *Medreſſæ*) at *Conſtantinople*, and in other places, where they live and ſtudy their Law and Divinity, and ſo they aſcend by degrees to the higheſt Dignity of their Profeſſion.

The Turks Religion.

As for their Religion, it began in the time of the Emperour *Heraclius*, whenas the Empire was much diſmembred by the Hereſies of *Arrius* and *Neſtorius*. *Mahomet*, born in *Arabia*, embraced this opportunity, ſeeking to overthrow the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which was oppoſed by the *Jews* and *Arabians*; he was aſſiſted by two Hereticks, the one was *John* a *Neſtorian*, and the other *Sergius* an *Arrian*. After which (being aſſiſted by many ſlaves, to whom he allowed all that was pleaſing to the ſence and fleſh if they ſhould receive this Law) he obtained many Victories. By *Mahomet's* Law they make a Diſtinction of clean and unclean Meats to content the *Jews*, and alſo it maintains Circumciſion, but not at the eighth day of their Birth, as the *Jews* uſe it, but after the eighth year, when the Infant is able to make Confeſſion of his Faith, where, lifting up his Finger, he ſpeaks theſe Words, which are graven in their Temples in the *Arabian* Tongue: *There is but one God, whoſe Prophet* Mahomet *is, one God and equal Prophets.* The Circumciſion being ended, they feaſt three days together, and then they carry the Circumciſed to a Bath with great pomp; after which, the Gueſts conduct him to his Houſe, and preſent him with Gifts. The Women are not circumciſed, but onely ſpeak the words. If any Chriſtian abjure his Faith, and indure Circumciſion, (as they often do by reaſon of their Tributes and Vexations) they are led through the Town with great honour and rejoycing of the People, who do alſo give unto them, and they pay no Tributes. *Mahomet's* Law denies the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to pleaſe the *Arrians*, who were then powerful: It is full of Fables to pleaſe Idolaters, and it gives liberty to the fleſh, which is pleaſing to moſt men.

They confeſs one God, and honour *Jeſus Chriſt*, not as the Son of God, but, as a Prophet, born of the Virgin *Mary*. They neither honour nor allow Images. Friday is their Sabbath, as Sunday is ours. They obſerve a *Lent* of thirty days, which they call *Ramadan*; during which, they eat nothing in the day time, but when night comes all meats are indifferent, but Swines fleſh; yet they abſtain from Wine and Women. They have their *Eaſter*, called *Bayran*, which continues three days, in which they enjoy all pleaſures; but this Feaſt is not always prefixed, for that they account not the day according to the courſe of the Sun, but of the Moon; and therefore they do carefully obſerve the New-Moon, and ſalute it.

They have no Bells in their Moſques, neither do they ſuffer the Chriſtians which live there to have any. They put off their Shooes when they go into their Moſques, and take them again at their coming forth. Whereſoever they ſit in their Churches or Houſes, they have Tapeſtry Coverlets or Mats under them; they are not much given to Contemplation or Learning, yet the Turkiſh Women, being married, and having Iſſue, are careful to breed up their Children, and to be inſtructed; for the which there are many Schools, where they read their Laws, to the end they may ſerve in their Moſques, and be able to govern the Common-weal.

The Turks, by *Mahomet's* Law, have leave to marry as many Wives as they can maintain; and a Turkiſh Woman being once with Child, her Husband never toucheth her untill ſhe be delivered, but lies with his ſlaves out of the Houſe where his Wife remains. They have a certain kind of marriage made at pleaſure, which they call Kebin, the which is many times practiſed by Strangers, who being out of their Country, contract with Women, whom they are to enjoy during their pleaſure, and when they caſt them off, they give them a certain ſum of Money, and keep the Children. The Cadies or Judges allow not this kind of contract, eſpecially amongſt

Chri-

1620 Chriſtians, unleſs it be with an Oath of marriage. A Turk having had the Uſe of a Chriſtian Woman, they are both condemned to dye, unleſs ſhe will abjure her Faith; the like is obſerved betwixt a Chriſtian and a Turkiſh Woman, if they have been found together. Divorce is allowed among them in caſe of Barrenneſs and Incontinency.

There are four orders of Religious Men among the Turks, which differ in their Living, Habit, and Ceremonies. Theſe be the *Terlaques*, *Deruis*, *Kalenders*, and *Huquiemales*, and theſe laſt are very vicious, and wicked Impoſters, deceiving of the common People. The *Deruis* is a ſtrict Order, living in Contemplation, much like unto the *Capuchins* among the *Romiſh* Papiſts. The Turks forbear to blaſpheme either God, Chriſt, or *Mahomet*, or any other Saint whatſoever, and they puniſh blaſphemy ſeverely. They converſe with Chriſtians, and Eat and Traffick with them freely; yea ſometimes they marry their Daughters, and ſuffer them to live after their own Religion. But they hate the *Jews*, and deſpiſe them as the baſeſt people in the world. They have an aſſured Confidence, that he that ſhall duely obſerve the Laws of *Mahomet*, ſhall have eternal Life, and a Paradiſe full of Delights; and contrariwiſe they that ſhall break the Laws of their Alcaron are threatned with Hell and eternal Death; yet they have an Opinion, that he that believes in the Alcaron when he dyes, ſhall be undoubtedly ſaved.

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The diſpoſition of the Turks.

To conclude this Relation with ſome few lines of their Humours and Diſpoſitions; they write of them, that they are groſs witted, idle, and unfit for Labour. They are exceeding covetous and corrupt, above all other Nations; for Juſtice is ſold to him that offers moſt. They are humble among themſelves, and obey their Superiours with great ſilence. They are proud and inſupportable to Strangers, thinking none fit to be compared with them. They are given to Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, and will ſpend whole days together in Feaſting, and will drink with exceſs, if it be in private, for that it is forbidden by their Law. They are vain-glorious, proud, and deceitful, never keeping their words, but when it may be to their profit. They are much inclined to Venery, and are for the moſt part all *Sodomites*. They are very ſuperſtitious, giving credit to Dreams and Divinations; and they hold, that every mans Deſtiny is written in his Forehead, which cannot be altered or avoided.

Thus I have continued this Hiſtory for eleven Years, having informed my ſelf out of the beſt Authors and Intelligencers I could find that concern this ſubject; I ſhould have been glad that ſome which have reſided at *Conſtantinople* moſt part of this time, would have aſſiſted me with their Obſervations, which ſhould have been for the general good of our Nation; but I hope notwithſtanding the Reader ſhall find content and ſatisfaction.

A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
TURKISH HISTORY,

From the beginning of the Year of Our Lord, 1620, until the ending of the Year of Our Lord, 1628.

Collected out of the Papers and Diſpatches of Sir *Thomas Roe*, Knight, his Majeſties Ambaſſador with the Grand Seignior, during that Time.

By *M. B.*

1620

BEfore we come to ſpeak of the great Preparations made by the Grand Seignior in the Year 1621, to invade the Kingdom of *Poland*, and thoſe by that King to reſiſt him; I hold it neceſſary briefly to ſet down the Cauſes and Reaſons of the enſuing War.

The cauſe of the War between the King of *Poland* and the Grand Seignior.

The *Chrim* Tartar, confining upon the Dukedom of *Ruſſia*, and Borders of *Poland*, made many Incurſions, and did great ſpoil upon the *Coſſacks* within that Province of *Ruſſia*, and other parts belonging to the Kingdom of *Poland*, and carrying away People of all Ages and Sexes, made ſale of them within the Turkiſh Empire. Now *Jean-beagh-Ghiray-Han*, Prince of the *Tartars*, being wholly dependent on the *Ottoman* Emperours, his Majeſty of *Poland* ſent many ſeveral Ambaſſadors to complain at that Port; That notwithſtanding the ancient League between him and the *Ottoman* Family, the *Tartars* greatly ſpoiled his Countries; which was both unjuſt and unreaſonable. Howſoever the Complaints were many and great, yet the King of *Poland*'s Miniſters found no redreſs for thoſe their alledged Wrongs; but were anſwered, That the *Tartars* were abſolute Lords over themſelves, and that they pretended to have an annual Tribute of forty thouſand Dollars from the King of *Poland*; which being denied them, they had reaſon ſo to do; and that the Grand Seignior could only intreat, but not command them to ſurceaſe. The *Tartars* ſeeing the *Polack* thus ſlighted at the Port, grew more inſolent and outrageous; wherewith the Turks were well content, for the great benefit they received by Slaves which were continually brought to be ſold in their Dominions, finding for the moſt part, that thoſe men had able Bodies, and fit to be applied to the Oar. It is true, that the *Chrim Tartars* in antient time, being ſo near Neighbours, were wont to receive ſuch a ſum from the Crown of *Poland*, for which they were obliged to ſerve in every occaſion of War. But of later years that payment diſcontinued, becauſe they rather received hurt, than any aſſiſtance of that vagabond and predatory People.

When the *Coſſacks* ſaw, that after ſo many Complaints they could not live in quiet, nor procure Reſtitution of their Wrongs, nor take their Revenge upon the *Tartar* (being a flitting and fugitive People, who had no certain place of abode) they reſolved to fall into the Dominions of the Grand Seignior, who ſeemed, if not to protect, yet to connive at Injuries they received from theſe their Neighbours. The *Coſſacks* then that inhabited upon the Banks of the River *Boriſthenes* (which emptieth it ſelf into the Black Sea) were conjectured to be fitteſt for the Execution of this Revenge; and therefore they prepared a great number of well armed *Barques*, and falling down the ſaid River, did very great damage to the Turk, by robbing, burning, and ſpoiling divers Towns and Villages bordering upon the Black Sea. This News being brought to *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Seignior took it in great ſcorn, that ſuch a baſe and rude People ſhould come and affront him ſo near his Doors. Therefore he cauſed ſome Gallies to be armed forth with ſpeed to ſuppreſs them; but his Forces were four or five times valiantly repulſed, and ſtill the *Coſſack* went ſafely home with his Prey. Now the tide of Affairs was turned, and this great Emperour, who was formerly petitioned by the *Polack*, is now become a Suitor to him himſelf, and finds his Miniſters meaſured by the anſwer the Grand Seignior had given concerning the Wrongs done by the *Tartars*: That though the *Coſſacks* adhere to the Crown of *Poland*, yet they are free People of themſelves; but when the *Tartar* ſhall ceaſe from his Hoſtility, it is like enough the *Pole* will intreat the *Coſſack* to do the ſame; and that is all the Authority he can exerciſe over them.

The preparation of the Grand Seignior for the War with the King of *Poland*.

Affairs ſtanding thus, no accommodation for Wrongs on either ſide could be made; and the Grand Seignior, although he was but now fifteen years of age, yet was he ſtrong, vigorous, and of a high Spirit, and more than deſirous of a War, but eſpecially with the King of *Poland*, from whom he looked for better Satisfaction. This deſire was nouriſhed in him by the Counſels of *Ali Baſſa*, Great Viſier; and notwithſtanding it was utterly diſliked by all the reſt of the Miniſters of State, and Officers of War in that Empire. A War was nevertheleſs thereupon proclaimed throughout all the Turks Dominions, which did in general diſpleaſe the common Souldier alſo.

The Grand Seignior, the four and twentieth of *April*, commanded payment to be made to all the Souldiery, and the day following cauſed all his Tents and Pavilions, with thoſe of his Viſiers and other Officers, to be ſolemnly pitched without the City, with thoſe of all Trades that were to attend his Royal Camp.

The Grand Seignior, having now gathered of Foot and Horſe three hundred thouſand (though reported to be ſix hundred thouſand) ſet forward, together with his Court and Train, out of *Conſtantinople*, the Nine and twentieth of *April*, with three hundred Field-pieces, beſide an hundred double Cannon ſent unto the Frontiers by Sea; leaving *Achmet Baſſa* and the *Boſtangi Baſſa* Governours of the City till his return.

The beginning of the War with the King of *Poland*.

When he was arrived at the Confines of *Poland*, he firſt attempted the Fortreſs of *Cotyn* in the Province of *Moldavia*, lately given by *Gaſparo Gratiani* to the *Polacks*. The which being ſtrong of Scituation, and well furniſhed for defence, the Turk, finding it difficult to carry in few days, left it beſieged; and paſſing the River of *Boriſthine*, found there the Chancellor of *Poland* intrench'd upon the borders, in a ſtrong Place, and of good advantage, kept with forty thouſand *Polacks* and *Coſſacks*, and eight thouſand High *Dutch* ſent by the Emperour in Aid of the King of *Poland*. The Prince was incamped at *Caminitza*, and ſtrongly intrenched with ſixty thouſand Souldiers; the King abiding in *Cracovia* with the Nobility and his Court. The Grand Seignior, facing the Trenches upon *Boriſthine*, with the multitude of his Army incloſed them round, and ſhut up all the Paſſages; ſending preſently the Prince of the *Tartars*, *Jeanbeagh-Ghiray-Han* with thirty thouſand light-horſe to make Incurſions within the heart of *Poland*; who did great ſpoil, and brought away Captives twenty five thouſand Souls of all ſorts; which dammage did not ſo much proceed from the Will of the Prince, as from a Captain of his, a Nobleman of *Tartary*, called *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, in great Favour at that time with the Emperour; for it was thought that between the King of *Poland* and the Prince of *Tartary*, there was ſome ſecret Intelligence by the virtue of Money.

During the ſpace of four and thirty days that the Grand Seignior held theſe Trenches beſieged, almoſt every other day he gave them terrible aſſaults, but was alway forced to retire with loſs. The *Polack* in bravery making ſome ſallies and encounters, were alſo glad to recover their ſtrength; only once they ſo far advanced in the Evening with their ſhot upon the quarter of the Janizaries, that they made a great Execution, and almoſt put the whole Camp into diſorder; and, as the Turks themſelves did confeſs, if this ſally had been given in the Night, it had hazarded the Confuſion of the whole Army; All which being ſeen by the Grand Seignior, and little hope of advancing further, for divers reaſons he was enforced to treat a Ceſſation of Arms with the Chancellor. The firſt was, That conſidering he had ſpent ſo much time without any advantage, and the Winter approaching, whereby his Army ſuffered great Extremities of Cold and other Miſeries, by reaſon of terrible Rains which had carried away divers Tents, Horſes, and other Cattel, and ſome part of his Cannons. Secondly, the proviſion of fodder was become ſo dear, that divers forſook their Horſes for want of means to feed them; beſides the great Mortality of Men, of Fluxes, Feavers, and Colds, and the Horſes of *Aſia* not uſed to ſuch a Climate, that many Men of Quality that came out with ten and twelve, were compelled to return on foot. Thirdly, the Army, either for Wearineſs, or for diſcontent received from the Emperour himſelf, for his narrowneſs and Avarice ſhewed to the Souldier, contrary to the glorious Example of his Anceſtors in like Enterpriſes, not only refuſed to fight, but were little leſs than mutined. Fourthly, this attempt from the beginning, proceeding meerly from the obſtinacy of the Grand Seignior, contrary to the Counſel of all his Viſiers, who deſired generally a Peace; at their Sollicitation, and by the Mediation of *Radula* Prince of *Valachia*, both parts were eaſily induced to Treaty, and the Chancellor was drawn to ſend a Secretary to the Grand Seignior; where it was agreed, as followeth.

Firſt, That the Emperour ſhould raiſe his Army, and retire from the Confines of Poland; *and the* Tartars, *as the occaſioners of this War, ſhould ſend an Emirze to reſide as a pledge from enſuing Incurſions. The Chancellor promiſing in the Name of the King of* Poland, *to keep another in the Court of the Prince of* Tartary, *with Condition to pay yearly as aforeſaid forty thouſand Florins (an antient pretenſion of the* Tartars) *as a donative from the King of* Poland; *promiſing moreover, for the better Confirmation of the future Peace, to maintain a Reſident in the Port of the* Ottoman *Court, and upon the arrival of every ſuch Ambaſſador to ſend a Preſent conformable to the Ledgiers of other Chriſtian Princes; And, as the Grand Seignior was obliged for the* Tartars, *that they ſhould forbear all Invaſions upon the* Polack; *ſo the* Polacks *ſhould bind themſelves in behalf of the* Coſſacks, *that they ſhould commit no Robberies in the Dominion of the Grand Seignior. And further covenanting in the Name of the* Poliſh *Merchants for the Privilege of free Traffique, to make a preſent of an hundred thouſand Chequins in Plate, Sables, and* Bulgary *Hides; alway intended with this reſervation, that this Treaty ſhould not prejudice or bind, until the Grand Seignior did ſend a Chiaus to the King of* Poland *with theſe Overtures, that he might have time to aſſemble his Parliament, and there reſolve to ſend an Ambaſſador with ample Authority to treat and conclude a final Peace in the Port.* Whereupon the Grand Seignior, being ſatisfied with theſe Conditions, did diſpatch preſently his *Nuntio* into *Poland*, and ſuddenly, to the great content of all his Army, he raiſed his Camp and returned to *Adrianople*.

The loſſes in the *Turkiſh* and *Poliſh* Armies.

By relation of divers preſent in that War, it was reported, That there died in the Turks Camp, by the Sword, Famine, Sickneſs, and Cold, about eighty thouſand Men, and above an hundred thouſand Horſe; and the remain at their return appearing ſo naked, ſickly, and poor, made evident demonſtration of the great loſs and miſery ſuſtained. The *Polacks* in their Trenches loſt above twenty thouſand by the famine ſuffered in their beſieging; ſo that if the Winter, and other wants had not conſtrained the Grand Seignior to riſe with ſome pretence of Honour, and that he had ſtaid a few days longer, they had been enforced to render or periſh; which is evident, in that they were glad and prompt to accept of any agreement, although as yet there was nothing fully concluded.

The Grand Seignior inraged that the Emperour had ſent Aids to the *Pole*.

The Grand Seignior, being informed that the Emperour of *Germany* had ſent Aid of eight thouſand *Dutch* to the King of *Poland*, and enraged that he had ſo little advanced in that attempt; pretending that the Emperour by giving Succors had broken the Peace; to vent his Choler, contrary to the advice of his Council, preſently upon his ariſing from the Confines of *Poland*, in his Camp proclaimed War againſt *Germany* for the next Spring; commanding upon great Penalty, all his Souldiers and Slaves to be ready for that Invaſion: Which gave great diſcontent to the Army, inſomuch as they did almoſt publickly profeſs, they neither could nor would follow him. And

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conformable to this his raſh Reſolution, he gave order to *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, a *Tartarian* Captain, then Baſſa of *Siliſtra*, to winter with twenty thouſand of his Souldiers in the Countrey. Preſently hereupon, *Cæſar Gallo*, the Emperour's Ambaſſadour, was ſtaid at *Buda*; the Grand Seignior pretending, that the ſaid *Cæſar Gallo* had promiſed upon his Life, That the Emperour would give no Aid to the King of *Poland*. Not conſidering, that he himſelf, contrary to the Peace, the Summer before had ſurpriſed *Vatz*, a Town of *Hungary*, and had permitted many of his Souldiers to follow the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, as Voluntiers againſt the Emperour.

The Grand Seignior changeth his Mind of making War againſt the Emperour.

The King of *Poland*, hearing of this Reſolution againſt the Emperour, called the Chiaus, ſent about the Treaty, before him, and told him, That if the Grand Seignior ſhould proceed to make War upon the Emperour for his occaſion, that he could conclude no Peace with him, being obliged to take part with the Emperour, as his dear Brother and Confederate. Which Meſſage the Chiaus ſent to the Grand Seignior, when he was yet at *Adrianople*, where he either purpoſed to winter to affright the Emperour, or to quicken the *Polack* to a concluſion of Peace; cold in his ſudden Pretence, by the perſwaſions of the Viſiers and Mufti, he changed his Reſolution, and took his way to *Conſtantinople*, where he entred the laſt of *December*.

Now it being given out, that the Emir of *Sidon* in *Siria* was in Rebellion, and that he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the City and Caſtle of *Tripoly*, the Grand Seignior pretended to go in Perſon againſt him, and gave out 60000 Checquines to prepare his Carriages and Pavilions; and took order to provide his Palace in *Aleppo*, determining to paſs that way to amuſe and raiſe ſuſpition in the *Perſian*; and likewiſe commanded the Army of *Aſia* to be in readineſs by the end of the Month of *April*; and gave out Commiſſion for Victuals, Munition, and other Neceſſaries. The Mufti, Hoja, and other the Viſiers (who knew not the myſtery) miſliking this Counſel, with great Inſtances and Reaſons diſſuaded him, as being a Courſe very dangerous to his Eſtate. Firſt, That his Majeſty ſhould go in Perſon, leaving all *Greece* deſolate, and commit the Care and Government of his Imperial Seat to a poor Chimacham or Lieutenant; it not being probable that the Emir of *Sidon* would ſtay to oppoſe himſelf againſt the force of his Royal Army, but rather make an eſcape, and retire himſelf to ſome part of Chriſtendom; and that a General by Land, and the Captain Baſſa, Admiral of the Sea, with his Fleet of Gallies, would ſuffice to puniſh and deſtroy him. Beſides, if his Majeſty undertook the Journey in Perſon, it was neceſſary that all his Souldiers ſhould attend him, which were a Charge ſuperfluous and above the Enterpriſe, and almoſt impoſſible for them, having been ſo harraſſed and diſtreſſed in the late Invaſion of *Poland* (who did even publickly murmure that they would not go.) For which reaſons the King ſeemed to change his Reſolution, and was content to make a General by Land with the Army of *Aſia*; to which charge was named the Baſſa of *Cairo*. The next day after the Grand Seignior's coming to the Arſenal, he called the Viſier Baſſa, the Admiral, and the great Treaſurer before him; where it was concluded to make ready at leaſt an hundred Gallies: for the preparation whereof ſixty thouſand Chequines were then delivered; the Viſier promiſing to furniſh the reſt of the whole charge with expedition, of his own purſe, and to take it up upon the King's Aſſignations. Whereupon, the Grand Seignior with great content did veſt them as a mark of favour, and gave preſent Commiſſion to the Admiral to be ready to depart by the midſt of *April* following; and for his better ſtrength, he gave a command to ſend for Aids to *Tunis* and *Algier*: which was thought requiſite, becauſe it was reported, that the Prince *Philibert* of *Savoy*, then Viceroy of *Sicily*, had in readineſs ſixty Gallies and ſix Gallions at *Meſſina*, which force was doubted would be employed to give Succour to the Emir of *Sidon*, or to revenge the attempt and late ſack of *Manfredonia*; ſo that they were with all expedition rigging and preparing the Armado in the Arſenal: and for proviſion and prevention of the worſt, there was ordained twelve ſmall Gallies, and the ordinary Fleet of Frigots, to keep the black Sea from the incurſion of the *Coſſacks*. And though it was given out, that this Army was only prepared againſt the Emir, yet many that underſtood the ſecrets of that Empire, knowing it to be too great, did believe it ſhould be ſent to prevent a general revolt, which was then murmured and ſuſpected in *Aſia*.

The Grand Seignior married,

About this time, contrary to the counſel and will of all his Miniſters, the Grand Seignior married the Grand-child of a Sultana, Wife to *Pertau Baſſa*, only for her Beauty, without any Pomp, which was ill interpreted in that Court; his Anceſtors of late years not uſually taking Wives, eſpecially of a Turkiſh race, for reſpect of Kindred. This and other inconſtancies, with extream Avarice, made him odious with the Souldier; and his daily haunting the Streets on foot, ſometimes diſguiſed, with a Page or two, prying into houſes and Taverns, like a petty Officer, increaſed his contempt even in the City.

Secret order to make War upon the Emperour.

Secret Order was given about the ſame time to *Diac-Mahomet*, the Baſſa of *Caniſia*, and to *Gelut-Emirze*, a Tartarian, to unite themſelves with *Bethlem Gabor* againſt the Emperour of *Germany*: But the Baſſa of *Buda* did advertiſe the Grand Seignior, that *Bethlem Gabor* had concluded Peace with the Emperour; which news did greatly diſpleaſe him, being ardent in the deſire of War.

His Majeſty of *Great Britains* Ambaſſador arrived at the Port.

The Peace between the Grand Seignior and the King of *Poland* was not yet fully concluded; but Ambaſſadours were weekly expected at the Port from *Poland* and other places, to haſten a full conſummation thereof. Amongſt which, Sir *Thomas Roe*, Knight, Ambaſſadour in ordinary from his Majeſty of *Great Britain* to the Grand Seignior, arrived there the firſt of *January*, and had his firſt audience of him ſpeedily, when he made this Speech unto him in Engliſh, which immediately followeth.

Moſt High and Mighty Emperour, his ſacred Majeſty the King of Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *my moſt gracious Lord and Sovereign, according to the antient League of Friendſhip and Amity, of long time begun and continued between the moſt noble Anceſtors of your Majeſties, and in his* Royal *Perſon confirmed by his ſundry Ambaſſadors and Letters, both to your renowned Father, and your Imperial Majeſty; being fully determined on his part, to maintain, and inviolably to hold a fair and good Peace and Correſpondency with your Majeſty: hath commanded and ſent me with his Letters of Credence and friendly Preſent, to reſide as his Ambaſſador in your* Royal *Court; Not doubting but your Imperial Majeſty will accept them, and receive me, his unworthy Servant, with your wonted Honour and Favour; and that you will give Credit unto me in divers matters of importance which he hath commanded me to deliver in his Name, comprehended in five Articles written in this Memorial. And that you will be pleaſed to do therein according to the* Royal *Friendſhip of his Majeſty, and your Princely Wiſdom and Juſtice.*

The particulars whereof, I deſire your Majeſty to read and conſider at your eaſe and leiſure; and to afford me your Royal anſwer, his Majeſty reſting aſſured he ſhall receive Content and Satisfaction worthy his Royal Friendſhip.

The Letter of Credence ſent by Sir Thomas Roe.

His Majeſties Letter to the Grand Seignior.

JAMES by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, againſt all thoſe that falſly profeſs the Name of *Jeſus*, &c. To the moſt High and Mighty Prince, Sultan *Oſman Han*, chief Lord and Commander of the *Ottoman* Kingdom and Empire of the *Eaſt*, ſendeth Health and Greeting.

WE doubt not but you received our Letters ſent you by our Subject John Chapman, *whereby we ſignified unto you our Royal Pleaſure to recall and diſcharge our Ambaſſador Sir* John Ayre *from his Employment and Reſidency in your Court, whom we deſired you in your Princely Favour to diſmiſs for our eſpecial Service, and to receive the bearer of our ſaid Letters as Agent, to remain in your Protection; for the better ſupport and maintenance of our Subjects, which do trade and abide in your Dominions, and for the advancement and continuance of the mutual Commerce and Friendſhip, which hath been a long time contracted between your Predeceſſors and ours, until the arrival of our Servant Sir* Thomas Roe; *of whom as then we made choice to ſend unto your Port as Ambaſſador; as well to propound unto you divers things neceſſary for the general Peace, as to reſide in your Court for our particular Service. Notwithſtanding, leſt the ſaid Letters ſhould not come ſafely to your Royal Hands, we have thought fit again to make known our purpoſe of recalling our former Ambaſſador Sir* John Ayre, *and to deſire you to diſcharge and diſmiſs him from your Port, and to receive and admit in his room our truſty and well beloved Servant Sir* Thomas Roe, *one of the principal Gentlemen of our Court, and of our Privy Chamber, whom we have now expreſly ſent, and whom we authoriſe under our great Seal of* England, *as our Ambaſſador to reſide at your Port, and to negotiate in our Name, and in the behalf of our Subjects abiding within your Kingdoms; of whoſe Fidelity and Diſcretion, as we are well aſſured, ſo we doubt not but he will give you good content in his Demeanour and Negotiation with you: We have alſo thought fit to put you in mind of thoſe common Rovers upon the Seas, who are Enemies to the Laws of Nations, and ſpoilers of the quiet and peaceable Merchant, by whom Amity and Friendſhip is maintained between Kings and Princes: That you would pleaſe to exerciſe your Great and Mighty Power to chaſtiſe and deſtroy them, as Traitors to your Honour, and infringers of the ſacred and publick Peace. In full aſſurance that you will extend the ſame good reſpect unto us, as your Royal Anceſtors have done unto our moſt renowned Predeceſſors, whereby that antient League and Commerce may be inviolably maintained between both our Kingdoms, which on our part we ſhall be very loth to infringe or diſſolve. We do by theſe our Letters recommend unto your princely Favour, this our ſaid truſty Servant and Ambaſſador, to reſide and remain in your Port, on our behalf to treat with you in all Affairs for the publick Weal of our Dominions, and for the general Peace of us both, and our Allies and Friends, as alſo for the ſupport and aid of all our Subjects, which do live and trade within your Eſtates and Countries; to whoſe good Diſcretion we recommend their Affairs, and by whoſe Induſtry and Mediation we conceive our People may be relieved in their juſt and reaſonable demands, to the perfect maintenance and aſſurance of that mutual Commerce which hath ſo long time been continued between our Royal Progenitors. And as we have great cauſe to profeſs our grateful Acknowledgement for many Favours which our former Ambaſſadors and all other our Subjects have, and do receive from your Royal Hands, ſo in our Princely love we do intreat you to take knowledge of, and to command redreſs for divers Oppreſſions and Wrongs done unto ſome of our ſaid Subjects Perſons and Goods, that live under the aſſurance of your Friendſhip with us, which we have formerly ſignified to our Reſidents at your Port; but as we verily believe they have never come unto your Ears, that are open to the juſt Complaints of all Strangers; whereof we have now given charge to our Servant and Ambaſſador to acquaint you with more at large, unto whom we deſire you to give Protection and Credit in whatſoever he ſhall move and propound, for the eſtabliſhing, confirmation, and inlargement, in all Occaſions, of thoſe Liberties and Priviledges which our Subjects have antiently enjoyed by the Benignity of your ſelf, and of your Royal Anceſtors. And in all other things and occaſions, wherein he hath or ſhall receive our Commands, as if our ſelf did communicate them with you, which we doubt not ſhall redound to the great Utility and Honour of both our Empires. And ſo we wiſh you Health and true Felicity. Dated at our Royal City of* London, *the ſixth day of* September, Anno Dom. 1621, *and of our Reign of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *the nineteenth.*

Articles propounded by the Ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior.

“ FIrſt, his Sacred Majeſty of *Great Britain*, ac-
“ cording to the moſt noble and renowned
“ League of Amity between your Majeſties and
“ your Crowns and Dominions, hath commanded
“ me to renew the antient Capitulations and Pri-
“ viledges granted by your Imperial Majeſty and
“ your Royal Anceſtors, and therein to move
“ your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed to in-
“ large and extend your Favour to our Nation
“ that live under your Protection, and to give
“ Remedy to divers Injuries done unto them by
“ the Cuſtomers of this Royal Port, *Aleppo*, *Smir-*
“ *na*, *Scio*, *Patras*, and other Places, contrary
“ to the Juſtice and Honour of your Majeſty;
“ and that you will be pleaſed to give order for
“ ſeveral Commands to theſe Places, in all our
“ juſt Occaſions; that both the Fame of your Ju-
“ ſtice may be renowned, and the Friendſhip of
“ your Majeſties confirmed, and the Correſpon-
“ dence and Commerce between your Domini-
“ ons eſtabliſhed and increaſed.

“ Secondly, his Majeſty hath commanded me
“ to offer himſelf as a Mediator of Peace, to ac-
“ commodate the late breach with the Kingdom
“ of *Poland*, the King of *Poland* having ſent his
“ Ambaſſador expreſs into *England* to deſire his
“ Aid, he hath thought it more agreeable to his
“ Honour, and to the antient League of Friend-
“ ſhip, to uſe his Credit with your Majeſty to
“ procure the general quiet and peace of the Prin-
“ ces of Chriſtendom, deſiring your Majeſty to
“ conſider his Intereſt in the publick cauſe, and
“ not to deſpiſe the Forces of ſo many as may
“ partake in the quarrel; which if your Majeſty
“ ſhall hearken unto, the rather for his ſake, as
“ your Royal Anceſtor hath done in the like
“ Occaſion, his Majeſty will accept it as a reſpect

“of your Love, which will aſſure and increaſe the Commerce and Friendſhip of your Dominions; in which his Maieſty hath given me more particular and full Inſtructions to treat and mediate in this Buſineſs.

“Thirdly, his Majeſty hath commanded me to move your Imperial Majeſty for the releaſe of divers of the *Poliſh* Nobility, now your Captives; and for one *Scottiſh* Gentleman, a Subject of his Majeſty, my Royal Maſter.

“Fourthly, his Majeſty deſires, that you will take ſome order with the Pyrats of *Tunis* and *Algier*, who ſhelter themſelves under your Royal Protection, (to the great Diſhonour of your Majeſty) and do many Robberies upon the Subjects of Kings and Princes in Amity and League with your Empire, and take even the Ships ſent unto your Royal Port; admoniſhing your Majeſty to conſider, that if they be ſuffered to continue, they will occaſion the diſſolution of all Commerce and Trade; being common Enemies to all honeſt Merchants, by whom the Friendſhip of theſe Kngdoms are maintained and increaſed. And that if your Imperial Majeſty pleaſe not to exerciſe your Royal Power and Authority to bridle or deſtroy them; that then you will not take it in ill part, that his Majeſty, with other Princes his Allies, ſhall make an Army to puniſh both them and all others that receive and cheriſh them; which hath hitherto been forborn in reſpect only of your Majeſty, and that the Towns where they harbor themſelves are, or ought to be under your Imperial Command.

“Fifthly, his Majeſty hath commanded me to require Juſtice and Reſtitution of a great ſum of Money taken from *Arthur Garaway*, here impriſoned by force and Injury in the time of *Achmet Baſſa*; whereof his Majeſties former Ambaſſadors have complained to Sultan *Achmat*, your Majeſties renowned Father; and to *Mehemet Baſſa* Viſier, to *Huſſen Baſſa*, to the Hoja of the King, and to the Mufti; wherein your Majeſties moſt noble Father gave Command for our Satisfaction. All the ſaid great Officers having heard the cauſe, upon Examination giving their Teſtimonies of the great wrong done unto him; *Mehemet Baſſa* alſo writing a Letter, by the order of your Majeſties Royal Father, promiſing Juſtice and Reſtitution, which his Majeſty doth yet expect, and again demand. And having ſo often written in this cauſe, his Majeſty will not believe, but that in Juſtice and Honour this Royal Court would do right; imputing the Fault to his own Miniſters and Ambaſſadors, that they never complained to your Imperial Majeſty, according to his Highneſs Command. Alſo his Majeſty hath commanded me to require and deſire your Majeſty to give him your Royal Anſwer in all theſe Particulars, by your Letters in Writing, as ſhall be fit for your own Honour, and conformable to the antient League of Amity and Friendſhip between your Royal Majeſties.

His Majeſties Ambaſſador not many days after ſent to the Viſier, who had promiſed him an anſwer unto theſe Articles; who returned him this that followeth.

The Grand Seigniors Anſwer.

To the Firſt, he ſaid, That the Emperour his Maſter had given him order to renew the Capitulations, and to make any ſuch Additions as ſhould be requiſite, agreeable to their Law, and conformable to the antient League; and that therein his Majeſties Ambaſſador ſhould find no Difficulty; for they honoured his Majeſty, and were reſolved to give him aſſurance of their will to maintain a true Friendſhip; and therefore deſired the Ambaſſador to draw and prepare the Capitulations, and ſend them to him and the Chancellor, who would conſider them, and being ſuch as were fit to be granted, the Ambaſſador ſhould have ſpeedy order.

To the Second, the Viſier anſwered with great Subtilty; Firſt, juſtifying the occaſion of the War, and imputing the Fault to the *Coſſacks*, maintained by the *Pole* to rob even at the Port of *Conſtantinople*; therefore, that the Emperour could not in Honour but chaſten and deſtroy them, having firſt by meſſage demanded Juſtice againſt them; and now his Maſter being ingaged with great charge, and in his Honour he could make no Peace with them who had beguiled him; pretending that they had no other intention but the War, becauſe, having raiſed his Camp, and diſſolved his Army, the *Polacks* now ſcorned him, and kept no Faith, neither ſending Ambaſſador nor Meſſenger, no not any Letter ſince their return. That therefore they could not hearken to any Condition; and that his Majeſty of *Great Britain* did not value the Honour of the Grand Seignior in this motion.

To the Third he replied, That the motion for the Priſoners was unſeaſonable, becauſe in order it ſhould follow the general Treaty, and making Peace; which, if finiſhed, his Majeſty of Great *Britain* ſhould find, that for his ſake, all thoſe mentioned in the Memorial ſhould be free, except only the Prince *Coreskie*, who had been the cauſe of many Troubles, and had made eſcape from Priſon formerly.

To the Fourth, he made Proteſtation in the Grand Seignior's name againſt the Pyrats, offering, that his Majeſties Ambaſſadors ſhould have what Commands, what Meſſage he would deſire in company of any *Engliſhman*.

To the Fifth he replied, It was an old obſolete Quarrel, and that the Ambaſſador did him Injury to preſs him, when in the time of three former Viſiers, his Predeceſſors could obtain no Relief; therefore he would not look back upon the Actions of other Men, nor rake among the Bones of the dead; but he deſired the Ambaſſador ſhould reſt ſatisfied, that while He had the Honour to govern, there ſhould no wrong be done unto the Engliſh Nation, and that he would hear all Complaints, ſo as no man ſhould need to look back upon his Actions.

This perfunctory Anſwer, did not much ſatisfie his Majeſties Ambaſſador, but that he deſired ſome other of Effect, being loth to accept of Generalities, and therefore required a direct reply for his own diſcharge; which was promiſed after much preſſing, by the Viſier who had firſt undertaken the ſame.

The *Poliſh* Ambaſſador expected at the Port.

The long ſtay of the Duke of *Sbaraskie* (choſen extraordinary Ambaſſador by the King of *Poland*, to conſummate the Peace between him and the Grand Seignior) did much trouble the Emperours Court; and eſpecially the Viſier, who procured the Ceſſation of Arms, but that a Letter was writ by the King of *Poland*, which did a little prolong their hopes. In the mean time, the Emperour divulged a pretence to viſit *Mecha*, the Tomb of *Mahomet* his great Prophet; contrary to the Counſel and inſtance of all his Viſiers that knew not the ſecret, and even to the hazard of a general revolt; for they were jealous, that under colour of that Voyage, he had ſome other deſign; and it was feared, the Duke would not proceed to follow him at random, nor treat with his Deputies left at the Port: For the *Polacks* ſeemed in performing and aſſuring the Peace, a little too glorious of their good Succeſs; and the Nobility not ſo obedient to the King, as that he could abſolutely command; which did both trouble their Agents at the Port, and diſcontent the Turks; ſo that a little motion of the *Coſſacks* or *Tartars* at that time (ſpoil being both their livelihoods) had kindled new Fires, and had diſturbed or quite broken the Peace.

In the mean ſpace, the Grand Seignior writ his Letter to his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, in anſwer to his Royal Letter by his Ambaſſador; wherein was contained a Satisfactory reply to all the particulars of thoſe five Articles delivered unto him. And the Grand Seignior made ſuch demonſtration of great care to give his Majeſty all content and ſatisfaction, that his Letter was preſented to the Ambaſſador with Ceremonies of Honour, requiring that it ſhould be ſent by an expreſs Meſſenger; and gave command for a ſafe conduct for that purpoſe. The true tranſlated Copy whereof doth immediately follow.

Prince Oſman *ever victorious.*

The Grand Seigniors Letter to his Majeſty of great *Britain.*

To the Mighty Prince, renowned among the Majeſties of the Princes of the Law of *Jeſus*, obeyed of the great Potentates followers of the Meſſiah; the only director of the important Affairs of the *Nazarene* People; Sovereign of the Limits of Power and Honour; Lord of Advancement and Authority, the moſt Glorious *JAMES*, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*; to whoſe laſt days We wiſh all Felicity.

T*HIS our Imperial Letter arriving, you ſhall know, that your Honourable and Famous Ambaſſadour, and worthy Knight, Sir* Thomas Roe, *is with your Royal and acceptable Letter come unto our happy Port, the refuge of the Princes and Commanders of the World. Whereof the ſincere Contents and Subſtance was, That our antient Capitulations ſhould be renewed, and divers Articles therein reformed and explained, and ſome others inſerted. And whereas certain Cuſtomers and other Officers of our Empire, have often tranſgreſſed our Royal Agreements, and done many Violences and Injuries to the Merchants, your Subjects, that for the time to come they may be ſecured from all Oppreſſion; and concerning the Affairs of the* Polacks, *that the Enmity and War lately begun between us and them, might be converted into Peace and Friendſhip; and that there ſhould be eſtabliſhed a ſincere League and Amity, as in the Time of our Anceſtors. And that divers Noblemen of* Poland, *and one of your Majeſties Subjects, now detained in our Captivity, ſhould be ſet at Liberty. Complaining alſo againſt the Inhabitants of* Tunis *and* Algier, *That they who have violated our Imperial Capitulations, Amity, and League, ought to be duly puniſhed. And laſtly, That whereas one of your Subjects, named* Arthur Garaway, *from whom, upon a pretenſion there was a great fine taken, and other wrong done unto his Perſon, you deſire that his cauſe may be with Juſtice renewed; All which being made known unto us; with prudent and mature Deliberation we have duely weighed, and perfectly conceived them. Wherefore, by the favour of the great and proſperous God we do promiſe, that in all theſe matters propounded, we will imploy our Imperial Care and Diligence: And we have already given our high and expreſs Command, that our antient Capitulations ſhould be renewed and confirmed. And ſuch Conditions as are correſpondent to the Peace, Amity, and League between us, ſhall in due form be granted. And there ſhall be ſent with all Expedition, our Royal Edicts to all our* (a) *Beglerbegs,* (b) *Begks,* (c) *Cadees, Governours, Cuſtomers, Farmours, Superintendents, and Commiſſioners of our Revenues, that from henceforth none of them ſhall give any Moleſtation to any of your Merchants or other Subjects. And inſomuch as our happy Gates are ever open to any, who with ſincerity ſeek our Friendſhip, good Will, and Favour; and the Table of our lively Graces is always prepared for all men: Therefore, whenſoever on the behalf of the* Polacks, *an Ambaſſador ſhall arrive at our high Court, and kiſs the hem of our Veſture, and repent them of their former Errors, and preſent unto us a good Friendſhip and ſincere League, and ſhall deſire our Favour and Amity; by the Mediation of your Reſident now in our Imperial Port, all matters ſhall be pacified and ended, and with a Pen we will blot out all former Differences. And the Peace being ſo eſtabliſhed, your inſtances and deſires for them ſhall have grateful acceptance with us, and we will give fit order for the Priſoners.*

(a) Viceroys.
(b) Preſidents.
(c) Judges.

To the Beglerbeghs of Tunis *and* Algier, *and to all other our Slaves in thoſe parts, we will preſently ſend our expreſs and high Commands, and other Orders, that they ſhall never hereafter tranſgreſs the tenor of our Imperial Capitulations, nor commit any Injuſtice, nor do any Violence to the Subjects of your Majeſty. And concerning the buſineſs of the Merchant* Arthur Garaway, *wherein you have informed us, that there hath been taken from him by Oppreſſion a great eſtate and faculty, in the time of our Father* Achmat Han, *of happy Memory (the Viſier* Achmet Baſſa *being then Deputy here) upon pretence that divers Muſſulmens* Goods *were found in his Hands; which cauſe being now overpaſſed many years, you require a new hearing and inquiſition. By the Grace of the great God it ſhall be renewed and examined with all Juſtice; in the proceſs and Iſſue whereof you ſhall be aſſured to receive a right and fit anſwer from your Ambaſſador now remaining in our Court. And in our time we ſhall never permit, that any the leaſt Injury or Injuſtice ſhall be done to any. Giving you aſſurance on our behalf, that the Foundation and Nerves of Peace, Friendſhip, and League between us, are of us ſtraitly preſerved, continued, and increaſed; and our Amity, Correſpondence, and Love, is ever reſpected, eſteemed, and precious with us. Therefore in the mean time, while our Capitulations are making perfect, and that the full Concluſion may be certified unto you, your Ambaſſador having ſollicited us for an Anſwer to the Propoſitions made by you, by an expreſs Meſſenger,* Robert Roe, *this our Imperial Letter is written and ſent unto you. Which arriving, we hope, that as in times paſt, the antient, perfect, and acceptable courſe of Friendſhip, Amity, and League, adorned with abundant Sincerity, reſplendent Love, and benigne Correſpondency on your part, hath been alway obſerved and maintained; ſo it is now alſo requiſite, that you preſerve the ſame Affections, with all pure, firm, and conſtant good Will, Grace, and Goodneſs; or rather, that you advance and increaſe therein, as we will ever do by all ſincere ways of Loyal Friendſhip and Holy Peace, nouriſhing it with our perfect Intention and affectionate Diligence, never admitting any occaſion that may be thereunto prejudicial.*

Given in our Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, the firſt day of the Month *Gemaziel Achir* (or *April*) in the year of the departure of our Prophet *Mahomet*, 1031; that is, *Anno Chriſti Dei pari*, 1622.

The Grand Seignior, diſcontented ſince his diſgrace in *Poland*, as ſoon as he came to *Conſtantinople*, meditating Revenge upon his Souldiers, and alteration; and finding that his Pretence for *Mecha* did not reliſh, gave out that he would paſs into *Aſia* to ſuppreſs the Emir of *Sidon*, who had taken Arms, and was reported to rebell; but indeed having ſecret Intelligence with *Oſman* and

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the Viſier *Delavir* Baſſa. But from which purpoſe being diſſwaded by the great inſtance of the Viſier, and that it would not ſo well ſerve his ſecret Deſigns, he returned to his firſt colour, that he would viſit *Mecha*, the Tomb of his falſe Prophet.

The Grand Seignior deſirous of Peace with the *Polack*.

To make this Voyage the more ſecure in apparence, he ſeemed content to accept of any Treaty with the *Polacks*, even to Conditions both of Diſadvantage and Diſhonour; for his Eſtates in *Hungary*, he re-inforced the Frontiers with divers Troops; and though he were much troubled at the League between the Emperour of *Germany* and *Bethlem Gabor*, yet he diſſembled it ſo, as that he would not diſpleaſe the *Tranſilvanian*, but rather offered new Succours, and forbearance of his Tribute. From the Incurſions of the *Coſſacks* he hoped to aſſure himſelf by the Treaty of the *Poles*; and in occaſion of Breach, he had the *Tartars* ready to requite them; and for more ſecurity, he added to the number of his Gallies appointed to keep the Black Sea. The common People and Viſiers of the Port that loved reſt, and knew not the deſign, were much troubled and diſcontent at this Journey; and made many Remonſtrances to him of the Inconveniency and Danger, to leave the ſeat of his Empire to the truſt of a Deputy, in a time when *Bethlem Gabor* was newly reconciled to the *German* Emperour, and therefore not to be truſted; and the *Polacks* newly reconciled to him, and therefore to be miſtruſtruſted. Divers other reaſons were made to him, many Petitions delivered from the Church-men, Lawyers, and from all Eſtates. But melancholy Revenge had wholly poſſeſſed him, ſo that by no means he could be perſwaded to deſiſt. The Souldiery paſſed ſo far as to threaten publickly, and to proteſt they would not follow, but rather ſet up another King in his abſence that ſhould ſtay among them. In concluſion, carried by his own fate to Deſtruction, having firſt commanded away his Armado to the *Levant*, and thereby diſpoſed many of his Souldiers, upon *Wedneſday* the ſeventh of *May*, he began to paſs over his Tents and Pavilions to *Aſia* ſide, with great quantities of Treaſure. The Janizaries and Spahies, who had alſo ſecret Intelligence, upon the King's own Words and Actions betraying ſome further project than a Pilgrimage (for he made Preparations to carry away all his Jewels and Treaſure, even defacing his Palace, and taking from Churches and his Ward-robes whatſoever could be converted to *Bullion*) ſuddenly met at the Hippodrome in the City, upon a word given; and from thence ran to the Seraglio in Tumult, but without Arms, and there, according to their barbarous Mutinies, cryed out for the King; (having firſt taken order to ſtop the paſſage of any thing upon the Water) who appearing to them, asked, What this Inſolency meant, and what they pretended? They then, by the mouth of a Multitude (for they had no head but that of the Monſter) demanded firſt, That he ſhould not proceed in his purpoſe to go to *Mecha*, nor into *Aſia*; but that he would abide in the City. Secondly, they required to have delivered to their Fury, the Great Viſier *Delavir* Baſſa, the Hoja, or Confeſſor of the King, the Caſlariaga Governour of the Women, the Tefterdar or Treaſurer, the Cadde leſchar or chief Juſtice, and ſome others, as Enemies to the State, and conſenting to this Voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The firſt, after a little diſpute, the King granted unto them, promiſing to give over his Journey; but they not content, exacted it in Writing. To the ſecond he replyed, That it was diſhonour to him to have his Servants ſo uſed without order of Juſtice; but perſwaded them to have Patience, to ſtay until *Saturday*, the next Divan or publick Council, where they ſhould appear, and if they were found culpable, they ſhould receive puniſhment; not meaning to perform any of this, but to get time, and allay their preſent Fury. Theſe Fellows, not content with this moderate Anſwer, undertook to know that they were guilty, and therefore that they needed no other Witneſs, Tryal, nor Judge, but themſelves; and with extream clamour called to have them rendred. But the King refuſing to give them any other Satisfaction, and they unprepared for force, returned into the City, which now was all in fear, every Houſe and Shop ſhut up, expecting a general ſack. But they followed the way of their own hatred, and firſt went into the Houſe of the Hoja, which they brake and pillaged: But not finding him, they proceeded to the great Viſiers, who made ſome defence, and they (being unarmed) beat them off; and ſo they ſeparated, being now Evening, but yet kept a Guard in ſome parts of the Town.

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The Janſzaries mutiny againſt the Grand Seignior.

That Night the King made an attempt to ſend over to *Aſia* ſide, but was prevented; and to fortifie and defend the Seraglio, which was ſtrongly walled about, and had alway in it of houſhold Servants about three thouſand; but it ſeemed no man would arm himſelf in his Cauſe; for the next Morning the Mutineers aſſembled again, and taking their Arms, went firſt to the Mufti, or Arch prieſt among them, and enforced him and divers others to accompany them to the Court, where they a-new demanded theſe Men, but with more Inſtance and Fury. In the mean time, the Hoja, Caddeleſchar, and Tefterdar fled, and were not in long time diſcovered. The Viſier retired to the King, and perſwaded him earneſtly to go over in Perſon in his own Boats (which from his Garden he might eaſily do) to *Aſia*, and there to take Horſe, and he would ſecure him from all Peril; but the King would not move, bidding him ſtay, confident and aſſured that he would puniſh theſe Rebels.

The great Viſier ſlain by the Janizaries.

The Wiſe old Man, ſeeing this Conſtancy or Obſtinacy, deſired leave to ſhift for himſelf; which he took or obtained, and ſo got away to the Hermitage of a Saint renowned amongſt them; who (like himſelf) betrayed him, yet did him the favour, as not to deliver him to the Multitude, but perſwaded and carried him back to the King's Houſe. At this time it was diſputed in the Seraglio about the delivery of thoſe Officers; the Emperour refuſing, the Rebels clamouring and threatening; inſomuch as he began to fear they would break in, and in their Rage do worſe than was yet pretended. Whereupon (whether by the King's order, or by his own conſent, willing to be the Peace-Offering) the brave Viſier went out to them, and with a good aſſuredneſs, demanded what they ſought of him, and wherein he had offended. At firſt they were amazed: but one Inſolent Villain, breaking the general Modeſty, they anſwered him with their Swords, and ſuddenly cut him in pieces.

The Emperour, ſeeing their Fury ſo outragious, had now more cauſe to doubt, and retired himſelf, then too late, when he had loſt his faithful Counſellor; and would have fled into *Aſia*, but could not, yet he conveyed himſelf into a private Place, prepared by his Boſtangi Baſſa, or chief Gardiner. The Rebels continued without in their madneſs, asking for the King, and for more Sacrifices. But the Servants proteſting they knew not where he was, they ſaid they muſt have a King, and if he would not appear they would make another; and having a while attended, they reſolved to enter the Palace, (but firſt took a general Oath not to ſack the Imperial Throne, which they called their Houſe and their Honour) and there ſeeking for the King, not able to find him, they extorted by confeſſion the Caſlariaga, and ſlew him; and then they demanded for *Muſtapha*, Uncle to *Oſman*, by him formerly depoſed, a Man eſteemed rather Holy (that is, Frantick) than Wiſe, and indeed fitter for a Cell than a Scepter. The King, the firſt day of this Tumult had put *Muſtapha* into a Vault with two *Negro* Women, without bread or drink; in which eſtate theſe new Electors found him, almoſt naked, and half pined. At firſt ſight he thought they had been the meſſengers of Death; but that fear paſſed over, and his firſt requeſt was a Cup of Water. Whom they took up, and inſtantly proclaimed him their Emperour; which he was loth to accept, in a manner aſhamed to be raiſed to that Dignity. How unſtable are the Eſtates of the greateſt Princes! for he that was but even now in the Jaws of Death, naked, ſtarved, and dying for Thirſt, is become a great Monarch, and may drink Gold, or innocent Blood.

The Janizaries demand *Muſtapha.*

They as yet not knowing what was become of *Oſman*, and loth to truſt *Muſtapha* in the Palace, carried him in Triumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him; departing to the ſack of the Viſiers Houſe, and ſo in the Evening to their Rendezvous, where they kept both good guard and good order in the City, from Fires and other Inſolencies. Sultan *Oſman*, amazed with theſe News, ſo ſoon as they had left the Court, came out, and called to Counſel in the Night *Huzein Baſſa*, late Viſier in the *Poliſh* War, and the Aga of the Janizaries, both faithful to him, and demanded their advice; firſt having ſent to the old Seraglio, to practiſe the Women there to ſtrangle *Muſtapha*; but ſome of them taking his part, a new uprore began in the Houſe between that Sex; and the Souldiers that kept watch hearing the noiſe, entred in and reſcued him, and from thence removed him to the Chambers of the Janizaries, where they guarded him for that Night in an ill lodging. All this while *Oſman* conſults what courſe to take. Theſe two his Friends, and ſome others, tell him that the caſe was deſperate, and could not be cured but by a deſperate Remedy; and therefore they agreed, that the Aga ſhould go and perſwade with the Mufti; and that the King in the Morning ſhould ſuddenly preſent himſelf to the Souldiers at their own Door, and make experience what his Preſence, his Submiſſion, and his Benevolence promiſed, could work, to move them to Loyalty or Compaſſion. Which Counſel early in the Morning they put in practiſe. The King, accompanied with the Mufti (who never conſented to his depoſing, though he favoured the Souldiers againſt the Viſier) with *Huzein* Baſſa, and about twelve Horſemen, went directly to the Janizaries Colledge, where *Muſtapha* was kept, and there in Tears made them an Oration; offering great Recompence, repenting of his Error, and finally invoked them by the Merits of his Father and all his Anceſtors, to have ſome pity upon their true Maſter. The Multitude (*tam prona in miſericordiam, quam immodica ſævitia fuerat*; ſometimes as prone to pity as they were before to hatred) now knew not what to do; a ſilent murmur now ran among them, and they were half converted; but the Aga of the Janizaries thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead unſeaſonably for him, with ſome harſh words of upbraidure (*ut natura maris omni flatu venti turbida*; as the Nature of the Sea is to ſwell with every blaſt of Wind) anew moved their Fury, ſo that they cried out Treaſon, and fell upon him and *Huzein Baſſa* and cut them into pieces, every man taking a part of their Fleſh to ſatiate their Revenge. The Mufti would ſpeak, but was withdrawn by ſome, for reſpect to his Place, and with Difficulty was conveyed away. Now the poor *Oſman* ſaw his Friends ſlain, and knew not which way to convert himſelf, but binding up his Eyes with a Napkin, expected Death as the laſt of their Fury. But they carried him firſt before *Muſtapha*, and accuſed him as the Diſturber of the Peace of the Empire, and demanded ſentence againſt him (*More vulgi ſuum quiſque flagitium alijs objectans.*) The forſaken Prince pleaded for Life, and the new King knew not how to condemn, but nodded and agreed to all that was propounded. At laſt they conſulted with themſelves, and put him upon an Horſe (an inſolent Spahi changing Turbants with him) and ſent him away Priſoner to the ſeven Towers, under good Guard (in his Paſſage begging a draught of Water at a Fountain) and then returned to their new Maſter, and placed him in the Seraglio and Imperial Throne; where he had need to have good Broaths and Nouriſhment to reſtore his decayed Body.

Daout Baſſa ſtrangleth Sultan *Oſman* in Priſon.

The Souldiers now thought all was done, and (only ſacking the Houſes of *Huzein* Baſſa and ſome others their conceived Enemies) returned in quiet to their ſeveral Lodgings, and had no further Malice. But the new Viſier *Daout* Baſſa, made by *Muſtapha*, knew well, if *Oſman* lived, that this ſtorm might paſs over, and he would as eaſily, and by the ſame means return to his eſtate, as he fell from it (*vulgus ut mos eſt cujuſque novi motus cupidum*:) Therefore he conſulted with ſome few intereſſed in *Muſtapha's* Preferment, and thereby obnoxious to *Oſman*, to ſearch how many of the Royal Blood were left alive, and reſolved if there remained two, to make an end of *Oſman*. Two of his Brothers were found, the one about twelve, * the other about ſeven years of Age; and thereupon the Viſier went himſelf to the Priſon with a pack of Hangmen, and gave order to ſtrangle the unfortunate Prince; who now having had no reſt in two Nights, and thinking himſelf ſecure for a ſeaſon, was newly fall'n aſleep; but awaked by the coming of theſe Meſſengers, asked, *What News*? ſaying he did not like their ſudden Intruſion. They at firſt ſtood amazed, and the King made ſhew to defend himſelf; But a ſtrong Knave ſtruck him on the Head with a Battle-ax, and the reſt leaping upon him, ſtrangled him with much ado. Thus one of the greateſt Monarchs in the World was firſt affronted by mutined Troops, his own Slaves, almoſt unarmed, and few in number, no man taking up a Sword to defend him; and they who began this madneſs, not meaning to hurt him, by the increaſe of their own Fury, which had no bounds, depoſed him againſt their own purpoſe, and at laſt expoſed his Life, againſt their Will, to the Counſels of other men whom they equally hated. And now they mourned for their dead King as freſhly as they raged unreaſonably; knowing they had ſtained their Honour, being the firſt of their Emperours they ever betrayed, and that they had ſet up another that in all likelyhood they muſt change for diſability, *Nunquam tulit documenta fors majora quam fragili loco ſtarent ſuperbi.*

* *Morat.*

This was the laſt Act of the Life of Sultan *Oſman*; but his Intents and great Deſigns, which drew upon him this fatal blow, will not be unworthy the Communication; the Practiſes, Reaſons, Secrets, and Counſels, of all Actions, being the Soul of Hiſtory, and *res geſtæ* but the bare

Carkaſs;

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The Grand Seignior's Deſign to conquer *Europe.*

Carkaſs; and, as many Ages have not produced ſo ſtrange an Example of the incertainty of humane Greatneſs, ſo in the diſpoſition thereof, and in the ways leading thereunto, there was ſeen evidently the wonderful Providence of God, in confounding the Counſels of the worldly wiſe, who had laid a Foundation of new greatneſs, whereby this Prince aſpired the univerſal Monarchy. And laſtly, the World may ſee upon how weak Foundations this Monarchy was at firſt builded, how eaſily it was now ſhaken and corrupted; how their Kings are ſubject to the Rage of a few Slaves, how Anarchy hath prepared it an eaſie prey to any able hand that would attempt it. From the Invaſion of *Poland* all theſe changes took their beginning. Sultan *Oſman*, advanced to the Throne in his Youth, full of heat and Blood, being of a great and haughty Spirit, very courageous, ſtrong of Body, and a mortal hater of Chriſtians, envious of the Glory of his Anceſtors, and ambitious to raiſe his Name above any of theirs, had projected in himſelf the Conqueſt of the remains of the bordering *Europe.* But to ſo great Deſigns, he had one Vice that reſiſted all hope of Proſperity, which was, extream Avarice; unnatural to Youth, and a ſymptom of the decrepit Age of Monarchy; *Ubi vires luxu corrumpebantur, contra veterem diſciplinam & inſtituta majorum apud quos virtute quàm pecunia res militaris melius ſtetit.* His firſt Enterpriſe was that of *Poland*, moved by the Incurſions of the *Coſſacks*; which then he undertook of his own Head, without the Counſel of any of his Viſiers, (who, in a Tyranny grown to the height by Eaſe and Wealth, are ever corrupt and lazy) and againſt the liking of all the Souldiers, who (contrary to their Inſtitution, being married, and Fathers of Families, entered into Trades, receiving nothing in War more than in Peace, beſides Danger and Travel) are not eaſily drawn from their own Chimnies. This Action he thought ſo eaſie, as he had diſpoſed of his Conqueſt, and divided the live Lyons Skin. But being met upon the Borders with a poor Army in Compariſon, he was firſt arreſted at *Chotyn*, a little Fortreſs, which he was fain to leave behind him untaken; and then ſeeking to advance into the plain Country, by forcing the Trenches of the Chancellor of *Poland* oppoſed againſt him, he could never procure his Janizaries to fight, though ingaging his Perſon once or twice beyond the regard of his Quality, and his own Troops ready to mutiny againſt him, and to forſake him, he was at laſt inforced to raiſe ſhamefully his Camp, and to accept of any Treaty to ſave his outward Honour. In this attempt he loſt above an 100000 horſes for want of Fodder, and eighty thouſand men for want of fighting: for they would rather dye running, or pillaging, or eating, than in the face of the Enemy. For this diſgrace he conceived ſo inward and rooted an indignation againſt the Janizaries, and ſo juſtly, that he often lamented himſelf, and complained he was no King that was ſubject to his own Slaves, upon whom he ſpent great Treaſures, and yet they would neither fight in War, nor obey in Peace, without exacting new Bounties and Priviledges. *Delauir Baſſa*, a man of great Wit and Courage, lately called from the Eaſtern Parts, where he had long governed with honour, who came in, though late, yet in a very brave and warlike Equipage, above all other his Captains, was ſuddenly made great Vizier, the former, *Huzein Baſſa*, being in the ſame diſgrace common with the Souldier, though not in the ſame fault. This man was never bred at Court, but had lived many years in action, and ſo had neither faction nor dependance at the Port, but ſtood upon himſelf and his own merit: and being now unexpectedly advanced to this high Dignity, he wrought upon the King's diſcontent, and nouriſhed it: and in concluſion brake with him, That it was true he was no Emperour, nor could be ſafely alive, while the Janizaries had the Power which they lately uſurped; informing him, That they were corrupted from their antient Inſtitution, and were lazy Cowards, given over to Eaſe and luſt: *Et animi per libidines corrupti nihil honeſtum inerat.* But if his Majeſty would pull up his Spirits, and follow his Advice, he would provide him a new Souldiery about *Damaſcus*, *Coords*, of Men ever bred in the frontier, with hardneſs and War, of great Courage and Experience; and that of them he ſhould erect a new *Militia*, that ſhould wholly depend on him, entertaining only 40000 in pay, which ſhould alway be his Guard; and that in the Diſtribution of every Province, he ſhould conſtitute, that the Beglerbeg in his Government ſhould train ſome of the Inhabitants, who in all occaſions of making a great Army, ſhould be in readineſs, and thereby he ſhould ſpare infinite Treaſures ſpent upon theſe drones that eat up his Eſtate; and with Men of new Spirits and Hopes, he ſhould be enabled to do greater matters than any of his Anceſtors; but withal, he deſired the King to communicate this Counſel to no man; nor to truſt his Life upon anothers ſecreſie. *Delauir Baſſa* never revealing himſelf to any but the King, who, extreamly pleaſed with this advice, that flattered his own humour, conſented, and remitted all to the Viſiers direction, who was a true Souldier, and a very wiſe man, able by his Credit in *Aſia* to perform all he had undertaken; for he was exceedingly beloved in thoſe parts, very rich, and had kept *Damaſcus*, whereof he was Governour, for himſelf in a late Rebellion. Upon this Concluſion between them, it was firſt agreed, That the King ſhould pretend to go in Perſon either to viſit *Mecha*, or againſt the *Emir de Sidon*, who was moved to take Arms really to aſſiſt in the deſign; but they uſed it to colour the departure of the Emperour; which, when it was well weighed, was found, that then the Army of the Janizaries muſt be kept together, which could not agree with their ends. Hereupon the Journey of the Pilgrimage was divulged, That the King might under the Shadow of an holy Devotion go out with a ſmall Train, and diſperſe thoſe who were ſuſpected to him. And for this, Preparation was made, but ſomewhat too groſly; by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, furniture of Houſe, Lamps of Churches, and whatſoever could more eaſily be conveyed away in Metal, with all the Jewels and Treaſury. This gave the firſt ſuſpition, which was confirmed by divers unadviſed words let fall from the King; of diſdain againſt the Cowardiſe of the Janizaries, and that he would ſhortly find himſelf Souldiers that ſhould whip them: and laſtly, diſmiſſing all his Houſhold, except ſome few elect; the diſcontented ſort obſerved this and betrayed him. *Delauir Baſſa* kept his own ſecret, and in the mean time prepared by his Friends in *Aſia* ten thouſand men; about *Damaſcus* ten thouſand, from the *Coords*, beſides thoſe in readineſs of the *Emir de Sidon*; and all upon pretence of defending the Borders of *Perſia*, who might make ſome advantage of the changes in thoſe parts: and gave order, That all theſe ſhould meet the King at *Damaſcus*, where he would preſently cut off his Guard, and ſtay there until he had regulated his new Army and Diſcipline, and then to return triumphant to *Conſtantinople*, and utterly root out the order of Janizaries, Spahies, and Timariots, and to exauctorate all their Captains and Officers, to ſettle a new Government, and to change the Name of the City. And theſe things ſucceeding, he then reſolved with

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his new Souldiers to attempt the recovery of his Honour in Chriſtendom; in the mean time to hold a diſſembled Friendſhip there in all parts. Certainly this was a brave and well-grounded deſign, and of great conſequence for renewing of that decayed Empire, languiſhing under the Inſolencies of lazy Slaves, if God had not deſtroyed it; it being very true, That the Turkiſh Emperour ſtands at the Devotion of his own Troops for Peace or War, Life or Death, and is in effect nothing but the Steward or Treaſurer of the Janizaries. If this project had taken effect, what events it might have produced by a Civil War, is not eaſie to judge. For doubtleſs the Souldiery would have ſet up another King, and maintained him as well as they could; and the *European* part had been in danger to have been torn away by the diviſion. Beſides, *Delauir Baſſa* having the King and the Treaſury in his Poſſeſſion, and his own credit ſo great, and his Inclination *velle imperare*, ſo willing to bear rule, once diſcovered, it might well be thought that he had ſome ends of his own to ſhare a part of this mighty Eſtate; if on the other ſide the Viſier had proved true and faithful, the reformation and new erection of the Diſcipline of War, and the increaſe of Treaſure conſequent to the diſmiſſion of the old *Militia*, would have been fearful to all Chriſtendom; but *ubi eſt ſapiens? ubi diſquiſitor ſeculi hujus? Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum, & vanam reddam intelligentiam, intelligentium.* It is a great queſtion whether then was the wiſer wiſh, That theſe Counſels had ſucceeded, or not; for either diviſion and ſubverſion, or a new proſperity and enlargement of their Dominion had neceſſarily followed.

Obſervations upon Sultan *Oſman.*

Some Obſervations upon this Occaſion will not be impertinent to thoſe that deſire to know as well the Diſpoſition and uſe, as the things themſelves. Firſt, in the purpoſe of the Souldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much leſs to depoſe and murder him; but only to take away thoſe about him whom they thought aſſiſtants in this project; yet the fury once on foot, they proceeded by inſenſible ſteps to the uttermoſt of outrage, againſt many Innocents in that Buſineſs, though otherwiſe obnoxious, and againſt the Throne and Life of their own Emperour, *Ubi furor ingruat, innocentes ac noxios juxta cadère*; where Rage and Fury hath got the upper hand, there the innocent and nocent fare alike. Secondly, in the degrees; that yet the King had not fallen thus low, if firſt he had not loſt that awe and reverence which alway attendeth upon Majeſty, if it be kept up, by unſeemly Offices done by him in the Streets and Taverns, apprehending many Souldiers for petty faults, like a Conſtable; making his Perſon common, cheap, and deſpiſed among them; which was wont only to be ſeen and feared, as ſomewhat above humane greatneſs. And this he did alſo in hatred and diſdain of thoſe that had in the War forſaken him. And now in this laſt act, if his own obſtinacy had not plunged him into Deſtruction, but that he had ſoftned them by a ſeaſonable yielding to time, he had prevailed only by time. Thirdly, in the order, that theſe Mutineers having no Head or Direction, kept that relegement, that they took Oath in their Fury, in hot Blood, in the Kings yard, not to diſhonour, ſpoil, nor ſack the Imperial Throne; neither committed nor ſuffered any inſolency or violence in the City to the Neutrals, but rather proclaimed Peace and Juſtice. Fourthly, in the Conſequents, that at the third days end all was quiet, and all Men in their Trade, as if no ſuch thing had hapned; only the Janizaries ſuffered no Divan nor Council until they had received a donative as Guerdon of their Iniquity. In which alſo the infinite waſte of Treaſure is worthy the Conſideration, which was exceedingly exhauſted by three changes in four years, and by the late Wars in *Perſia* and *Poland*; for every Janizary in the City, abſent or preſent (whoſe roll was about forty thouſand) received twenty five Chequines of Gold; beſides the Spahies, Jamoglans, and other Orders, at every alteration; which amounts in all near to two Millions. And now thoſe Fellows that had taſted the ſweet of proſperous Mutinies (*haud ignari ſumma ſcelera incipi cum periculo peragi eum præmio*) took ſuch a Head, as could not ſafely be ſuffered on, nor ſecurely be taken off. Fifthly, of certain Preſages that fore-ran; for *Oſman* dreamed in the Night, *That he thought he rid a Camel, and being mounted, he could not force him to go by fair means nor ſtripes; and that then he deſcending in a Rage, the Body of the Beaſt vaniſhed, and left the Bridle and Head in the Kings Hand.* Who next day, troubled at this Fancy, ſent to a learned Man, familiar with him, for the Interpretation. He excuſed himſelf, as unfit to give Opinion in a matter of that Conſequence; but perſwaded *Oſman* to enquire of the Mufti. He alſo craved pardon; but withal ſaid, there was none ſo fit to interpret it as *Muſtapha* the Kings Uncle, who was eſteemed a holy man, that had Viſions and Angel-like Speculations, (in plain terms, between a Mad-man and a Fool.) The King repaired to *Muſtapha*, who briefly told him, *The* Camel *ſignified his Empire, his* riding, *abuſe in Government; his* diſſention, *his Diſpoſition; the* vaniſhing of the Body, *the revolt of his Subjects; the* Head remaining in his Hand, *only a bare Title; and that he ſhould ſhortly die within a few Months, and loſe his Kingdom, but the empty Name of Emperour ſhould accompany him to his Grave.*

The Engliſh Ambaſſadors Advice to *Delauir Baſſa.*

A ſecond of leſs conſequence in the Viſier *Delauir Baſſa*, from whom his Majeſties Ambaſſador having received particular Friendſhip, about ſix days before this uprore, he went to viſit; and having no other buſineſs but to perſwade him to ſtay the King from his intended Pilgrimage, the Ambaſſador gave him many Reaſons in the preſent Eſtate of their own Affairs; eſpecially, the Treaty of *Poland* yet depending. To which the Baſſa replied very gravely. Then the Ambaſſador urged the fear of ſome Tumult, collected from the licentious Speeches rumoured in the Town: And he was bold to deal plainly, ſincerely, and friendly, That if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, the fault would be imputed to the Baſſa, as being of authority to perſwade the King; whom his Quality and Youth would excuſe, but all the Fury would be diſcharged upon the greateſt Miniſter; deſiring him to conſider the event, at leaſt to take his Affection in the beſt part.

The Baſſa's Reply.

The old *Reinard* ſtayed a while from reply; at laſt, ſmiling to himſelf, that he ſhould be perſuaded againſt that which was his own Counſel, he gave a final anſwer, That there was no Remedy, he durſt not hazard himſelf to oppoſe the Kings Reſolution: but aſſured him he would ſo order the matter, as this Journey ſhould not proceed ſo far as was expected. The Ambaſſador concluded for himſelf, deſiring then that he would leave him a particular recommendation to the Chimacham or Deputy as his Friend. To which he ſuddenly replied, *Trouble not your ſelf, nor fear; I will never remove ſo far but that I will leave one of my Legs in this City to ſerve you.* Which the poor man fulfilled; for being murthered within few days after, one of his Legs whole and entire was hanged in the Hippodrome, the moſt publick place of the City.

The reading of Hiſtory, to know what is done and paſt, having in it no Recompence but Delight, unleſs it look forward to Uſe and Action, either to correct Errors, or by that light to gather advantage in future, it will not be an unprofitable digreſſion to obſerve what was like to ſucceed theſe monſtrous Alterations. It was feared by contemplative men, that the Souldiers in *Aſia*, who had loſt their hope, would not ſit down with this affront, but rather attempt ſome revenge for the Death of the King, who was their Martyr; or that ſome great Baſſa, far removed from Court, might apprehend this occaſion, not to obey an Uſurper, ſet up by Treaſon; and under that colour to hide their own Ambition; or laſtly, that the whole State would fall into Combuſtion, and inteſtine War. This they themſelves foreſaw, and it came to paſs, as will appear in the Story; for within few Months *Abaſſa Baſſa* of *Arzirum* declared himſelf revenger of his Princes Blood, and troubled, and almoſt hazarded the whole Empire. The *Perſian* apprehended the Opportunity, and recovered the Province and City of *Babylon*: and the ſame Souldiers that had betrayed their Prince, were never quiet until they had made ſome ſatisfaction, by reſtoring his Brother and right Heir; only it pleaſed not God to open the Eyes of Chriſtian Princes to ſee the Inconveniency of their own uncivil Quarrels, while the diſtractions of this mighty Empire did invite to conquer it, and to divide it as a proſtituted Prey.

A practiſe to murther the Brethren of Sultan *Oſman.*

On *Saturday* Evening, the firſt of *June* following, the *Capi-aga* or *Major Domo* of the Seraglio, having received a ſecret order to remove the Brethren of *Oſman* from their Lodgings, and in the Night to ſtrangle them; as he was performing his Command, aided with a few of his Carnifices to carry away the Princes, they cried out; the Pages running to the noiſe, and incouraged by the *Caſliaraga*, who had ſome Suſpition, without further Examination killed the *Capiaga*, now almoſt every Order having riſen againſt their own Head. That Night they ſent ſecretly to the Janizaries and Spahies, to inform them what they had done; and in the Morning early hanged his Body in the Hippodrome for a publick ſpectacle. The Souldiers returned in Fury to the Court, in favour of the Pages, and demanded Juſtice againſt thoſe that had conſented to this wicked order, which had made an end of all the *Ottoman* race; only this *Muſtapha* being left alive, who was ſo holy a Saint, that he would not People the World with Sinners, nor endure any Woman near him. The innocent King proteſted he knew nothing of this purpoſe; and if ſuch command were procured, it was gotten by ſubreption; and he was eaſily believed. But his Mother, another *Livia*, and the new Viſier, *Daout* Baſſa, who had her Daughter to Wife, were vehemently ſuſpected. It was a day of Divan or Council; but the Souldiers would ſuffer none, until they had an account of this Treaſon. The Viſier denied all; the Mother was a Woman, and hidden in the Houſe; yet it is very likely, they both were guilty, to uphold and ſecure their own Authority; it being rumoured, that the Viſier determined to place ſubditiouſly in the room of the Elder Prince, his own Son, and very like him, and ſo to govern *Muſtapha* for a time, and by his remove to eſtabliſh himſelf and his race for ever. But now ſomewhat muſt be done to appeaſe the People; therefore *Daout Baſſa*, was degraded from his Office, and one *Huzein Baſſa*, newly arrived from the Government of *Cairo*, advanced to his place, with promiſe of further Examination. But the fury once over, there was no great ſearch nor diſcovery made, for perhaps the Sultans Chequines quieted the matter. The new Viſier was a man without Friends, yet very rich, of a ſtubborn and obſtinate Nature, reported juſt in his ways, but peremptory and unflexible (*Audax ferox, ac prout animum intendit, pravus aut induſtrius eadem vi*) one from whom all men might expect much good, or much ill; he begun his Government roughly, and undertook to puniſh Inſolencies early, and profeſſed a Reformation, or to be a Sacrifice: A man fit for thoſe times that were deſperate; for the worſt was, that he muſt at laſt endure their Fury. In the mean time he procured a little awe, and reſtored the face of Juſtice; yet it was thought it could not laſt long, the Ghoſt of *Oſman* would not be at reſt until there were ſome *Parentalia* made unto him. The Nature of the Viſier was unſupportable, but if he prevailed, and were once ſetled, he reſolved anew to change the King, and lay an Obligation upon the Brethren of *Oſman*; for he did never think himſelf ſecure under a man governed by an inſolent Woman, *dominandi avida*, deſirous to rule. And what aſſurance could he have in that Prince, in whom there was neither Judgment nor Hatred, but as it was infuſed? And though the particulars could not be foreſeen, nor where the ſore would break out, yet the whole body was ſick, their King being *mentis inops*, an Ideot; and the next in expectation a Child unfit for Action, and all the great Men and Souldiers decay'd, mutined, and corrupted.

The *Poliſh* Ambaſſador approcheth upon the Confines, and writeth to the dead Viſier.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Sbarasky* came near unto the Borders of the Turkiſh Empire, and, ignorant of thoſe great changes which had hapned, ſent a Servant with a Letter to the dead Viſier *Delauir* Baſſa, with whom only the *Poles* had treaty. The contents were, That the King of *Poland* had ſent him to conclude a Peace, upon ſuch Conditions as were agreed upon by the Viſier and the Commiſſioners of *Poland*, ſigned on both parts; but that it was reported upon the Death of the Grand Seignior, that the new Government was varied from ſome of them; and that he had no other Inſtructions to treat anew; but if he would give his word to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, that there was no alteration in the intents of Peace, he was ready to ſet forward on his Journey. This Letter received by the new Viſier, was Greek to him, who was lately come from *Cairo*, and underſtood no article nor piece of the buſineſs; which was ſo ſecretly carried by *Delauir* Baſſa, that Sultan *Oſman* and he being dead, there was no man had ſo much as a Copy, or knew the ſubſtance of that agreement; ſo that the Viſier giving good Words, aſhamed to confeſs his Ignorance, promiſed all things, but knew not what to write in particular anſwer, and therefore was at a ſtand. The Meſſenger nevertheleſs importuned a diſpatch, the which he had in general terms, and ſo returned again to the Duke his Maſter upon the Confines.

With this Nuntio, the Duke wrote to Sir *Thomas Roe*; and being very doubtful to intangle himſelf in this unſetled Government, deſired him both to counſel him, and to tell the Viſier, that he would not advance unleſs he might receive ſuch aſſurance of ſafety and publick Faith, as that he might engage his credit to him; hoping thereby to have both aſſiſtance and witneſs in all his proceeding. Which gave the Viſier occaſion to intreat the Engliſh Ambaſſador, both to promiſe for the good uſage of the Duke, and to haſten him, and alſo to inform himſelf by him of the ſubſtance of the Treaty of *Chotyn*; which being by him undertaken, it turned to the great advantage of both, eſpecially of the Peace it ſelf.

The ſeventeenth of *June* in the Morning, the Prince *Coreskie*, one of the Lords of *Poland*, taken Priſoner in the late War, recommended by his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, who had formerly made an eſcape from the Turks Captivity, was ſtrangled in the Priſon, after two years of durance. This put all into murmure, and deep conſideration, for what politick end this ſhould be done, even when they themſelves deſired a Peace with the *Pole*, and yet did that which might utterly break the ſame; but it ſeemed they were at that time either carried with a brutiſh Fury, or that the Prince was betrayed from home, by intimation that his remuant Nature would never ſuffer the Peace long to continue between the Crown of *Poland* and the Grand Seignior.

The Prince *Coreskie* ſtrangled in Priſon.

The Viſier attempteth to ſet up *Morat* the Brother of *Oſman*, and to depoſe *Muſtapha*.

The Viſier (who cauſed this *Polack* Prince to be ſtrangled) upon ſome ſpleen towards the Aga or chief Captain of the Janizaries, took this occaſion to caſt the fault on him, and to caſhiere him; and ſent him to the Iſlands to be ſtrangled; and gave order to murder ſome other Baſſaes and Officers, and that way being made to depoſe the Emperour *Muſtapha*, to ſet up *Morat* the Child, and Brother of *Oſman*, many being of his party. Whereupon the Souldiers roſe all in Arms at the Seraglio, taking the alarm at the medling with their Aga, reſcued their Captain, and the reſt, and demanded the Head of the Viſier; whereupon he fled, and order was given to kill him where he could firſt be found. The Souldiers alſo required the Life of *Morat*, Aga Cuſtomer, and divers others; but for fear of other Complices, they durſt ſearch no further into the Conſpiracy; only the Viſiers Houſe was ſacked, and infinite Treaſure taken, ſo that the Souldier was quiet for a day or two by making a new Viſier, *Muſtapha Baſſa*; who was of a ſoft Nature, and ſcarce durſt do Juſtice for fear of offending any Man. Now a new Faction was made between *Muſtapha* and *Morat*; and it was expected hourly when there ſhould be ſome great ſlaughter or maſſacre in the City; for of Neceſſity one ſide muſt fall.

There was then no ſecurity for any Man; when the King and Viſiers, and all Officers held their Lives and Dignities at the courteſie of the mutined Souldier, who had taſted the ſweet of Rebellion, and caſt off all Awe and Reverence, and could not eaſily be reduced to order, without much blood and hazard of the whole. Therefore the wiſer men retired from Office and Imployment, and the inſufficient did cauſe their own daily change and ruine. The Souldier adhered to the King of their own creation, and he was in effect their Creature, for they did wholly govern him. But the Lawyers and Church-men made ſecret conventions, and ſtill practiſed ſome great alteration, and feared not to ſay openly, that the foundation of their State was diſſolved, the King unlawful, and all that had adhered unto him lapſed into Hereſie, having deſpiſed the Inſtitutions of *Mahomet*. They wrought by wiſe Counſels, and held a large Correſpondency with thoſe of their own Coat, and ſpread their Confederacy to all parts of the Empire to procure a Faction, and kindle a greater Fire than that of the Souldiers; for at *Bagdat* the Captain of the Janizaries roſe and ſlew the Baſſa, burnt the Mufti and all his Kin, and gave his Daughter in marriage to one *Aſlan Begh*, a pretender to the antient Inheritance of a bordering Province, to cautionize that part. All *Aſia* was in doubt whom to obey; and *Cairo* was eaten up with Oppreſſion; and that which was moſt dangerous, they had no ſence of the ſickneſs in the Court, to cure it, nor any of them ſo wiſe as to diſſemble it.

The Prince of *Tranſilvania*'s Ambaſſador arrived at the Port.

The two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, the extraordinary Ambaſſador of *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of *Tranſilvania* arrived at *Conſtantinople*; who, amongſt other Inſtructions, had order to excuſe his Maſter, and to declare the Reaſons why he had made Peace with the Emperour without the knowledge of the Port: which were, That the War had continued three years in the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and had ſo conſumed and deſolated the Country, that it was impoſſible for him to ſtay longer in the Field, and to maintain an Army, for the great Famine and ſcarcity of all things which the Souldiery ſuffered, and could from no place be ſupplied; ſo that if he had not accepted of Peace offered, he had been enforced to quit the Country of Neceſſity, and by his ſeeming flight have left the Enemy Victor. Therefore he was conſtrained to win time, and to return into *Tranſilvania*, to refreſh his men of War, and to re-inforce them; as alſo his own preſſing Affairs calling him back, his Brother, whom he had left Governour in his abſence, having adviſed him, That the King of *Poland*, by the Inſtigation of the Emperour, by intelligence with ſome of the principal Lords, did practiſe a revolt, and promiſed Aid to make a new Prince that ſhould wholly depend upon the Empire and *Poland*. Laſtly, ſeeing the Grand Seignior had ſuddenly concluded a Peace with the *Poles*, he feared he ſhould be left alone to the burthen of the War, in which the King of *Poland*, being at eaſe, might aſſiſt the Emperour, which he was not able to ſuſtain: Therefore he was content to take the Opportunity to accept of that, at the inſtance of the Emperour, which he ſhould have been forced to do by Neceſſity.

Yet afterward, although he made this Apology for his Maſter, for concluding a Peace, he aſſured the Port, that his Maſter meant not long to keep the ſame; informing them, that the Emperour had made a League (being at that time quiet in *Germany*) to invade the *Ottoman* Empire; perſwading the Port to grant a Commiſſion with full Power and Authority to him and the Baſſa of *Buda* (who had been twenty years in that charge, and knew all the Borders) if they ſaw it fit, to prevent the Enemy, and to invade the Empire or the Kingdom of *Poland*. This demand was made by *Gabor*, to inſinuate with the State of *Turky*, and to get a Power dormant in his Hands, to advance into *Hungary*, if he ſaw advantage, or to oblige the Emperour; and to aſſure his Peace, by having means not to care if it were broken. But the Grand Seignior finding himſelf, by reaſon of civil Diſtractions at home, unfit for a War abroad, and that they ſaw *Bethlem Gabor* had no other thing in recommendation than his own Deſigns and Fortune, his Ambaſſadors Propoſitions began to be altogether ſlighted and neglected.

The *Poland* Ambaſſador arriveth at the Port.

The Duke of *Sbarasky*, who came to conclude the Peace between his Maſter the King of *Poland*, and the Grand Seignior, after long ſtay upon the Confines, did at length arrive at the Port; but they made him ſtay five Weeks before he could have audience, forcing him to give a Preſent, contrary to his Inſtructions. Notwithſtanding he could not get them to enter into a Treaty, finding nothing but falſhood and uncertainty among them, no Promiſe nor Faith kept, no Priſoners delivered, nor indeed any thing at all performed; for now that they had him within their Liberties, they hoped to work their own ends, and to weary him out, who had twelve hundred of his ordinary train. They threatned to keep him, and to denounce a War againſt his Maſter; yet, by the mediation of the Engliſh Ambaſſador, the Miniſters of the Port and he were peeced again, and the Peace concluded, as ſhall be hereafter ſet down at large.

After many Difficulties to obtain admiſſion to the preſence of the Grand Seignior, cauſed by the frowardneſs of the old Eunuch *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa*, then Great Viſier; who, diſcovering that the Duke would complain againſt *Tomſha* Vayvod of *Valachia*, and his Creature, endeavoured by all fraud, cunning, threatning, and faſtidious delays, to divert him from that purpoſe; being loth that the Actions of him whom he had foſtered and maintained in many Tyrannies, eſpecially in the occaſion of the laſt War, ſhould be examined or layed open to Juſtice. But when he ſaw that nothing could prevail, but that he muſt hazard a direct breach by the diſcontent of the Duke; and that the People began to murmure, and the Engliſh Ambaſſador to protect him, he was admitted, and nobly received, according to the pompous cuſtom of that Court; and with his Letter of Credence he ſpake theſe following Words.

The Oration of the Duke of Sbaraſky *to the Grand Seignior.*

SIGISMUND, by the Grace of God, King of *Poland*, *Sueden*, *Gothia*, *Vandalia*, Great Duke of *Lituania*, and of many other Provinces Prince and Lord: To your moſt Renowned Majeſty, moſt Mighty Emperour of *Aſia* and *Europe*, and King of many Kingdoms and Provinces, ever moſt happy, wiſheth Health; and by me his Great Ambaſſador ſalutes you with all convenient Reverence and Honour; deſiring to your Majeſty from the moſt high God, the fulneſs of all Proſperity, Happineſs, long Life, Triumph above your Anceſtors, Princes worthy of all Memory.

HIS High Majeſty of Poland, *conſidering the depth and height of the decrees of the Great God, marvelling with all the World, and praiſing his High Name; doth comfort and joy himſelf, being more than certain, that, that eternal Power which hath preſerved your Majeſty from all evil deſtinies of Men, and from the Bowels of the Earth, and hath placed you in the ſhining Throne, hath not done it but for the publick good; and like a wiſe Gardiner, who hath weeded out all venemous and noyſome Plants, that he hath placed your Majeſty in their room, as a noble and ſweet ſmelling Flower, full of Virtue, Clemency, and Peace, deſired of all the World. His Majeſty, my Lord and Sovereign, hath always wiſhed, that not only the Actions of later years, but of many Ages paſt, might have been forgotten; and that that Friendſhip and Peace begun with the Renowned* Ottoman *Kings two hundred and more years ſince, might have been without interruption continued. But ſeeing that the Great God hath been pleaſed to chaſtiſe the People of both parts, by the means of wicked men, that muſt be accepted for good which commeth from his divine Will; and therefore, blotting out of Mind whatſoever is paſt, doth now return to deſire the continuance of the firſt antient Peace, and doth offer himſelf to your high Majeſty to keep it inviolably, as it was maintained in the time of Sultan* Amurath *of happy Memory. In witneſs of which his Sincerity, he hath not apprehended the Opportunity of the breach begun by the* Perſian, *the expiration of the Truce with the Emperour of* Germany, *nor the many Revolts and Troubles in* Aſia, *nor hearkened to the Inſtigation of many Chriſtian Princes, his Friends and Allies, nor to the* Tartar *diſcontented; but rather, having refuſed all other ways, hath with the Blood of his own Subjects, and the charge of his Purſe, regained from the Rebel* Valachia, Moldavia, *and a part of* Tranſilvania, *and rendred thoſe Provinces into the Hands of your Majeſties Father, and ſuffered no man at any time to diſturb on that ſide the Friends of your Empire; giving Intelligence, like a good Friend and a Neighbour to your Anceſtors, of all your Enemies Deſigns and Machinations, and in as much as was poſſible endeavoured to preſerve a good Peace and Friendſhip; which he offereth to your moſt ſerene Majeſty, contenting himſelf with the Capitulations treated at* Chotyn, *and thoſe of your moſt happy Father and Brother; praying your Majeſty that they may be confirmed and maintained. And not doubting but your Majeſty will reſtrain the* Tartars, *as he will do the* Coſſacks; *and that you will ſuffer no occaſion of kindling new Fires, he beſeecheth your Majeſty to do what Juſtice you think meet upon* Cantemir *and* Tomſha, *who, contrary to the agreements and publick Faith, have made ſpoil and new Incurſions into* Poland, *even ſince my departure from thence; and with many Deceits and falſe Advices have deſired to diſturb the happy beginnings of Accommodation. And ſeeing that by the antient Capitulations made with the moſt warlike Sultan* Solyman, *and his Succeſſors, the Father and Brother of your Majeſty; the Princes of* Moldavia, *the Baſſaes of* Siliſtria, *and the Beghs of* Ackirman *ought to keep the Paſſages of the Rivers to reſtrain the* Tartars; *and that thoſe now in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Governments are already known, and grown old in their rapine and ſpoil, the King my Lord deſireth your renowned Majeſty, that they may be diſmiſſed, and their Provinces given to ſome others more inclined to Peace. For* Cantemir, *it is a true rule obſerved, That one* Tartar *can hardly govern another, where both live upon ſpoil; and how eaſily upon any occaſion new Troubles are apprehended by thoſe who are antient Enemies, I leave to your Highneſſes Wiſdom; in which his Majeſty is ſo aſſured, that he doubteth not, that for the publick good, and for the Complaints and Tears of both Subjects, you will alſo vouchſafe to accept the requeſt of your Friend, and a King your Neighbour. And if all the World, and the People thereof rejoyce and praiſe God for the Friendſhip and Peace between your Majeſty and the King my Maſter begun and concluded, he hopeth that the poor and miſerable Priſoner ſhall participate of your Clemency, that they may joyn in the general care to pray to the eternal God for increaſe of your Greatneſs. The King my Maſter doth therefore deſire your Majeſty to grant Liberty to thoſe who are in your Captivity, as he bindeth himſelf to ſet free all ſuch of your Majeſties Subjects as are now his Priſoners; and I do promiſe on the behalf of my Maſter, that he ſhall be a Friend to your Friends, and an Enemy to your Enemies. In concluſion, he deſireth all Happineſs and Proſperity to your Majeſty, from a clear Heart; in ſign and teſtimony whereof, and of the Friendſhip begun on his part, he honoureth you with a Preſent, which you may be pleaſed to receive with your accuſtomed benignity; and ſhutting your Ears to ſuch Informers, Enemies of Peace, as are found at your Port, that you will eſteem him for a Friend and Neighbour of the moſt Royal and Antient Kings of your moſt Princely Family.*

The Souldiers continued ſtill in their mutinous Diſpoſition, even in *Conſtantinople*, the Head City of the Turkiſh Empire, and grew to that height of Inſolency, that going in Troops to the Court, they demanded all Offices of gain; to be Stewards to the Revenues of the Churches, which are great; to take the Farms of Cuſtoms; and there committed many other Outrages which were unſufferable. The Viſiers durſt deny them nothing;

they drunk Wine in the Streets without Prohibition, contrary to their Law; and ſtood in Companies in the open day exacting Money of all Chriſtians to pay for their Wine; and being denied it, ſtabbed and murthered without any Puniſhment; and when complaint was made to the Viſier, or Magiſtrate, they anſwered, None durſt meddle with them, who had murthered their own King; and the Baſſaes themſelves deſired the Complainants patience, and that they would bear a part with the general ſufferance.

The Janizaries aſſault the Houſes of the Chriſtian Conſuls at *Smirna*.

About the ſame time, the Janizaries in the Gallies which rid before *Smirna*, commanded by the Captain *Halil Baſſa*, aſſaulted, againſt his Will, the Houſes of all the Chriſtian Conſuls there. The Engliſh, with all thoſe of the Nation, were forced to run naked from their Lodgings, and to ſwim to the Admirals Galley to ſave their Lives; they ranſacked the lower parts of the Houſe, and carried away to the value of two thouſand Dollars; the French ſuſtained more loſs; and the *Venetians* at leaſt ten thouſand, and one of the Subjects of that State cut in pieces. The General had much ado to appeaſe them by Entreats or Perſwaſions, or to ſave the lives of all; inſomuch as they miſcalled and threatned him, becauſe he would not conſent to their madneſs. In concluſion, he was fain preſently to put to Sea, or elſe they had finiſhed the Trade at that Place.

In *Aſia* there was then three open Rebellions, one at *Babylon*, another at *Arzerum*, upon the borders of *Perſia* near *Tauris*, and the third in *Meſopotamia*. The Viſiers at the Port diſſembled all this, and durſt take no knowledge thereof, nor ſo much as to ſend a command thither, for fear of blowing the Fire, which would have put all into Combuſtion; whereupon they held a ſecret Counſel, and conſented to remove themſelves, to prove if they could recover the deſperate Eſtate of that Empire, and took Reſolution to make *Halil Baſſa* (the beſt Souldier and moſt beloved) great Viſier; and in his room *Daout Baſſa* Captain of the Sea; and the preſent Viſier, Chimachan or Lieutenant at the Port; and in the Spring following, they reſolved to ſend the Viſier into *Aſia*, with all the force they could make; to which end they ſent into *Græce*, to warn all the Souldiery to be ready at *Adrianople*, not daring to make a rendezvouſe at the Port, for fear of new Trouble; and ſo to paſs the Helleſpont, wide of the City, to appeaſe (if they could) thoſe Revolts, and by that way to draw the Mutineers from the Court into Action, and to reduce them unto Obedience. And notwithſtanding that there was no other ſymptom or prediction but ſuch as threatned the ruine of that Empire, yet were they never prouder nor more ſeeming not to diſtruſt themſelves, their only ſecurity being, that they had no Enemy but themſelves.

The Grand Seigniors Treaſure exhauſted.

The Treaſury was far exhauſted, the Revenue abated by the Oppreſſion of every Baſſa in his Government; the Souldier increaſed both in pay and number; and ſo impatient of delay, that at every quarter, (beſides borrowing and taking up of the Farmes of the Cuſtoms before-hand) there were ſo many intolerable Exactions to raiſe Monies, that the appearance of domeſtick quiet could not long endure between two extreams; for means could not be found, and the Janizaries would not be retrenched nor deferred; and this was their general Eſtate at that time.

An Ambaſſador from the Great Duke of *Muſcovy* arrived at the Port.

While the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador was treating the Peace at the Port, whereof there was no great doubt, becauſe neither ſide was fit for War, there arrived an Ambaſſador from the Great Duke of *Muſcovia*, which gave ſome Interruption therein, preſſing the Grand Seignior to continue the War for ſeven years againſt *Poland*, according to the promiſe of Sultan *Oſman*; offering that his Maſter ſhould enter into *Poland* with an Army, and that they would divide the Country between them; but his Propoſition was rejected, becauſe they had had ſufficient Tryal of his Maſters cunning proceedings in the laſt War. For the *Muſcovite*, having made Peace with *Poland* (before the Invaſion of *Oſman*) for fourteen years, and being invited by him to break it and to invade that Country, upon promiſe that he would continue the War for ſeven years, and make no agreement without their comprehenſion; firſt anſwered, That he could not break the Peace; thinking that the other was but a flaſh of a young Prince; but ſo ſoon as he ſaw the Turks in the Field and Borders of *Poland*, then he began to hope he might make advantage; and therefore promiſed Sultan *Oſman*, on the Conditions mentioned, to enter into the Quarrel. And to that end diſpatched an Ambaſſadour to *Poland*, with Inſtructions to demand three things. Firſt, that the Prince of *Poland* ſhould renounce the Title of *Elect Duke of Muſcovia*. The ſecond, That the *Poles* ſhould reſtore a Territory in the Border of *Lituania*, taken in the late Wars. Laſtly, that the Peace ſhould be perpetual; threatning, that if they refuſed thoſe Conditions, he would enter into the Country with an Army, and get what he could. This Ambaſſador being arrived in the Confines, heard News that the *Poles* had repulſed the Turk at *Chotyn*, that he was retired, and a Peace treated; whereupon he feigned himſelf ſick, and ſent back a Poſt with this Advice and his old Inſtructions, deſiring in this alteration ſome new order from home. The Governour of the Town where he lay, ſuſpecting ſomewhat, intercepted the Meſſenger and his Packet, and ſent it preſently to the King. The man returned to his Maſter the Ambaſſador, as robbed; and was again diſpeeded the ſecond time, and ſent back with another Stile, to wit, with Letters of Congratulation, Joy, and Offers of all help and continuance of the Peace; with theſe the Ambaſſador went forward to the Court; and having audience, the King anſwered him, That if his Meſſage were ſincere, it had been very acceptable; but he knew it to be a ſugred Treaſon, and no Faith intended from the *Muſcovite*, and therefore commanded him to depart.

The Ambaſſador proteſted, vowed, and uſed all means to aſſure the Integrity of his Meſſage; until he was confronted by the Chancellor, with his own Letter and his Maſters Inſtructions. Hereupon was this other diſpatched to the Port to hinder the Peace, and to offer all their help to continue an Invaſion. In the mean time the *Muſcovite* neglected no means to ſecure himſelf, and by renewing two Ambaſſadors, obtained a Peace with *Poland*, which was then again confirmed. To which the *Poles* were the willinger to agree, not knowing what effect the Negotiations of the Duke of *Sbarasky* might produce at the Port. And now the *Muſcovite* was forced to diſſemble again with the Turk, and make his preparation to depart.

The Great Viſier practiſeth to put *Daout Baſſa* to Death.

The Great Viſier *Georgi*, envying the Authority of *Daout Baſſa*, the beloved Son of the Queen Mother, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperour *Muſtapha* (which had formerly been depoſed) who had been both the Inſtrument and the Counſellor to murther Sultan *Oſman*, ſcorning that he ſhould underhand govern in his Reign, eſpecially becauſe he countenanced in oppoſition the Duke of *Sbaraskie's* buſineſs, he therefore practiſed to put him to Death; but not daring to do it by his own Authority, and in vain to procure it from the Court, he ſtirred up the Spahies to demand Juſtice of him for the Death of the laſt King. This looked further than the firſt aſſent; for the ſubtil Viſier, who was faithful to his true Lord, and knowing the rage of an unguided Multitude, aimed at a by-revenge upon others, whom he hoped would be involved and accuſed of the Murther; and the Souldier ſoon raiſed and mutined in the Seraglio, they demanded him. *Daout* fled, but now that the buſineſs was on foot, if he were not found the Viſier himſelf was in danger; but the poor man was taken and brought to the Divan, and there being called to the publick Juſtice, he muſt excuſe himſelf upon ſome greater Perſon; wherein the Emperour and his Mother ran a new hazard, which was the ſecret end. Therefore both of them forſook him, and left him to the Law; and without any Trial he was brought before the Souldiers, ſtripped, his Turbant taken off, and on his Knees ready to receive the ſtroke of Death; but ſuddenly the Janizaries came to his reſcue, and carried him away to their Chambers. The Spahies, who began this Action, took it in ill part, and followed with great outcries, That they would have him die; the others demanded that he might be heard in publick Juſtice. Thus thoſe two mutined Factions were ready to come to blows. *Daout* Baſſa, now in ſome hope of Life, bribed the Janizaries, and that day diſtributed forty thouſand Chequines of Gold, and they promiſed to protect him. Who did not now think but he was taken away for ſafety? But the Spahies followed their firſt Reſolution; and to appeaſe the fear of that Diſſention, it was agreed he ſhould die. They that meant to ſave him, could not, but preſerved him for a greater example of Juſtice. They would not now let him loſe his Head in the Court, for that Death was too honourable for him that had murthered his Prince. Then the Janizaries put him ſecretly into the ſame Coach wherein he had ſent Sultan *Oſman* to Execution; twice in the way, being dry with Sorrow, he drank at the ſame Fountains where his laſt Maſter begged drink, and ſo was conveyed into the ſame Chamber where he had murthered him. The Executioners beginning to tye him, himſelf ſhewed the very corner where he had committed that foul fact, and deſired that there he might (if poſſible) expiate it; and ſo he was at laſt miſerably ſtrangled. Thus he had his Reward, and God was juſt alſo even for the wicked.

About the twentieth of *February*, the Peace (after many rubs) between the Grand Seignior and the King of *Poland*, by the Mediation of the Engliſh Ambaſſador (who was choſen by the Grand Seignior as Arbiter of all differences) after many meetings with *Diac Mahomet Baſſa*, Commiſſioner for the Treaty, was concluded; the Duke having firſt been forced to ſend this following Remonſtrance for his Expedition, which much moved the Viſier, and quickned the Concluſion.

The Duke of *Sharaskie*'s Remonſtrance to the Great Viſier.

YOur Excellency may be pleaſed to remember the happy and honourable Treaty made before Chotyn; *In which a Peace was concluded between the* Ottoman *Empire and the Kingdom of* Poland, *ſigned by Commiſſioners on both parts; wherein (with reference to other antient Treaties) it was agreed, That a great Ambaſſador ſhould come to the Imperial Port, as well to confirm and ſwear the Peace, as to ſet in order ſome other incident Circumſtances, as then not fully taken into Conſideration. Since which, the King and Republick of* Poland, *having elected me for that Imployment, his Majeſty and my ſelf have received many Letters from* Delauir, Daout, Huzein, *and* Muſtapha *Baſſaes, all great Viſiers; not only promiſing a ſpeedy end and diſpatch of the Concluſion of Peace, which on both parts is ſo much deſired, but alſo the releaſe of our Captives, and all other reſpects of Love and Friendſhip, according to the antient Honour of the Imperial Port; deſiring me upon that aſſurance to proceed with Alacrity and Expedition. And further, it having pleaſed his Majeſty of* Great Britain *(a Friend to both) to mediate in this pious Office, by his Ambaſſador reſident, and ſent to that end; who hath given me by his Letters great encouragement and hopes of a real and true proceeding in this buſineſs, agreeable to divers Promiſes made unto him, which he accordingly hath informed his own Maſter; I was very glad of this honourable function, and hoped to have found as ready performance as is by his Majeſty and all the World expected.*

To this end I am come to the Port, with full Power and Inſtructions from his Majeſty and the Republick of Poland, *to conclude and finiſh a full and perpetual Peace, with all ſincerity and heartineſs, and in his Majeſties Name to ſwear the ſame; offering to be Friend to the Friends, and Enemy to the Enemies of this Imperial Port reciprocally, and to be ready to treat and accommodate all or any other Circumſtances incident to a buſineſs of ſo great Conſequence.*

Since my arrival, notwithſtanding that I have produced both the mentioned Treaty at Chotyn, *and Letters how little I have advanced in the main Affairs, and the doubtful Conſequences of a long protraction. I deſire you to conſider, having as yet proceeded no further in ſubſtance, than the delivery of my Letters and Preſents; and to that end, that there may never be imputed to the King and Republick of* Poland *any ſlackneſs in preſent, or any breach in future, out of a ſincere and good deſire to eſtabliſh this Treaty ſure and firm, and to open a clear and true Heart, I am enforced to make this true Declaration; and deſire your Excellency to weigh maturely the motives following.*

I do not repine at mine own ſtay at this Imperial Port, where I receive all Honour; I do not doubt of the ſincere and faithful meaning of the Empire to conclude the Peace; but the deferring hereof may, againſt our Wills, breed three Inconveniencies.

Firſt, your Excellency doth know, that the Coſſacks *are a People not eaſily to be reſtrained, if they be once at Liberty, and that they live upon their Arms. They have ready eight hundred Boats to make an Invaſion into the Black Sea. In the Winter they cannot move; they attend only the advice of the Concluſion of Peace; therefore now is the ſeaſon to finiſh and publiſh it; for if by long delays it ſhall be deferred unto the Spring, and that Jealouſie or their own deſire ſet them free, your Excellency doth know in Wiſdom how difficult it is to reduce into order a People of that Condition, which for our parts we are now able and ready to prevent; the State having ordained to ſatisfie them, and to buy their Boats upon the firſt intimation of a Concluſion.*

Secondly, it is the order of our Nation every Spring to call a Parliament for the relegement of all publick Affairs; of which aſſembly I am a Member; if I ſhall be ſtaied here, and not able to render a reaſon thereof, it will breed great ſuſpition and diſturbance in the general Reſolution; you may conſider, that in all parts there are ſome unadviſed Men, Friends of Sedition and War, and many that make advantage of others Troubles, who may do ill Offices, ſuch as the innocent may be ſorry for but cannot help.

Thirdly, the Eyes of all Princes are ſet upon the Honour and Faith kept on both parts in this Treaty, and accordingly will govern their own Occaſions.

For theſe Reaſons I do in his Majeſties Name deſire your Excellency to give me a diſpatch, ſuch as may bring Joy and Content to all, by avoiding the Miſeries of War; and in ſuch time, that the Snows and Diſcommodities of Winter ſhut me not up; but that I may return as well to ſatisfie his Majeſty and the Republick in our general Aſſembly, as to retain thoſe, who may be cauſe of much trouble, without our Conſents.

There is no Difficulty that I underſtand; I am content to accept the antient and honourable Treaties made with the famous Emperour Solyman *and his Succeſſors, and now laſtly at* Chotyn; *if there be any other difference, I have Power, and am ready to accommodate it.*

My deſire then only is, That a preſent End and Concluſion be made of a Peace, firm, and perpetual; and that the Emperour will be pleaſed, according to many promiſes, to deliver and ſet free the Captives taken in the laſt Wars; as I do in his Majeſties Name give my Word that all others taken on our parts ſhall have Liberty and Paſport to return. And if there have been any Difficulty made by occaſion of my preſſure for the rejection of Tomſha, *and* Cante-Emir-Emirze, *I do make this true Proteſtation, That as it is the Requeſt of his Majeſty, my King, in Friendſhip, ſo there is no other end nor cauſe of that deſire, but only to remove all occaſion of offence and breach with this Imperial Port, which thoſe ill Neighbours are ever ready to miniſter; But if that be any great Inconvenience to this Imperial Port, I only then ſeek, that better order may be taken with them for the future, that they may live quietly without offence of the publick Peace.*

> *I deſire your Excellency to weigh and conſider theſe my Reaſons and Proteſtations, which proceed only from a good and ſincere Heart, to promote and maintain an inviolable and good Friendſhip with this Imperial Port.*

Within two days after, the Duke of *Sharaskie* took his leave of the Emperour, to the great Joy of himſelf and his Train, who thereby ſaw themſelves delivered out of Captivity. The three great and noble Priſoners were ſet free, and did make a publick acknowledgement of his Majeſty of *Great Britains* Favour, to whom both the Ambaſſador and they attributed the beſt part of their good Succeſs, and gave particular Thanks by Letter.

Articles Contracted between the Grand Seignior *and the King of* Poland.

HIS Majeſty of *Poland*, having ſent into our happy Port his well deſerving and famous great Ambaſſador, the moſt Illuſtrious Duke of *Sharaskie*, to offer us ſincere Peace, loyal Friendſhip, and good Correſpondence, and to ſeek that the antient Peace and Friendſhip ſhould be of us anew confirmed, and the old Capitulations renewed, and that for the time to come there might be eſtabliſhed an eternal Peace and Friendſhip: His Kingly inſtance hath been moſt pleaſing to us, and the Peace and Friendſhip of us accepted; and we have ordained, That all the antient Treaties ſhall be renewed, and at the preſent have given this our Capitulation with the following Articles.

F*Irſt, That never upon our part, nor of any of our Viſiers, Beglerbeghs, Beghs, Cadees, Officers, nor Souldiers, any harm ſhall be done to the Provinces, Cities, Caſtles, Towns, Villages, and other Places pertaining to the King and State of* Poland. *And likewiſe upon the part of his Majeſty of* Poland, *that by his Princes, Miniſters, or Coſſack, nor any other his Subjects, there ſhall be no wrong done in any part of our Empire, City, Caſtle, Town, or Village, but that both parties ſhall always remain Friends to Friends, and Enemies to Enemies.*

II. *And ſeeing that the* Tartars *of* Dobrirza, Biaolograd, Keil, Ozu, *and* Siliſtra, *and the People of* Moldavia, *do enter, invade, and damnifie the State of* Poland; *We command, that for the time to come, our Beglerbeghs of* Siliſtra, *and all other Beglerbeghs of* Bender, *ſhall take care to keep all thoſe Paſſages and Rivers, to the end that hereafter the ſaid Nations ſhall have no paſſage by thoſe ways to damnifie the State of* Poland; *and whenſoever it ſhall be known that the ſaid Miniſters have uſed Negligence in keeping thoſe Paſſages, according to the Treaty with Sultan* Solyman, *of happy Memory, that ſuch Miniſters be degraded and ſeverely puniſhed.*

III. *The Vayvod of* Moldavia *likewiſe ſhall never grant any Paſſage to the ſaid Nations; and whenſoever it ſhall be known that the ſaid Vayvod hath tranſgreſſed in this our Will, he ſhall be degraded and ſeverely puniſhed.*

IV. *And whenſoever the ſaid* Tartars *and others, contrary to this our Will, ſhall make any Invaſion or Spoil in the State of* Poland, *all our Miniſters and Governours ſhall apprehend and ſeverely puniſh them; and, as it is ſet down in the Agreements with Sultan* Solyman, *all the Slaves and Priſoners which ſhall by ſuch Malefactors be brought into our Dominions, ſhall be ſet at Liberty, and their Goods reſtored to them again, and the Malefactors puniſhed for having tranſgreſſed our Imperial Capitulations.*

V. *And if any of our Subjects ſhall buy any Perſon or* Poliſh *Goods, unjuſtly taken by ſuch Malefactors, and it ſhall be made known unto us by the King of* Poland; *the buyers, for having bought unlawful Goods, their Eſtate ſhall be confiſcate, and they themſelves ſeverely puniſhed.*

VI. *The Prince* Chrim Tartar *ſhall be obedient to us, and all the* Tartarian *Nation under his Command.* Kalgha *Sultan, and other Emirs and Princes of his Blood, from henceforth ſhall never enter into, nor invade any part of the State of* Poland, *nor ever do any Dammage, either by the way of* Moldavia, *the open Field or Deſart, nor ſhall ever enter into or invade any part or juriſdiction of the ſame. And at all times that his Majeſty of* Poland *ſhall give notive, That the ſaid Prince, or others above mentioned, have broken this our Will and Capitulations, and entered and damnified his State; for their Diſobedience, the ſaid Prince, as well as the others, ſhall be by us puniſhed and chaſtiſed; and we command, that never any one, in any part of our Dominion, ſhall ſell either People or Goods robbed from the State of* Poland; *and finding that there be any one that hath dared to buy Men or Goods, robbed from them, ſuch ſhall be immediately puniſhed with confiſcation. And, as before mentioned, the Beglerbeghs of* Siliſtria, *with all Diligence ſhall keep the Straights of* Oſue, *and never ſuffer the ſaid People to paſs; and if it ſhall be known they have tranſgreſſed, they ſhall be puniſhed with loſs of their Charge and Office.*

VII. *And whenſoever the ſaid Prince* Chrim Tartar, *or his Kalka, Emirze, or others, ſhall by our order be called and commanded in their proper Perſons to go to any part of the War in our Service, if by chance they ſhould paſs by the Confines of* Poland, *as it is ſet down in the Capitulations of my Father of happy Memory, They ſhall not enter into any Village, Borough, Caſtle, or City of* Polonia, *or do any kind of dammage to the People thereof; and finding that they have given any moleſtation or hurt, they ſhall be corrected, as is aforeſaid.*

VIII. *And in Conformity of my Fathers ſaid Capitulation, every time that his Majeſty of* Poland *ſhall*

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invite and call the ſaid Prince Chrim *Tartar in his Occaſion of War, whilſt he giveth him his annual ſtipend, the ſaid Prince with all his Forces and Army, ſhall go help and aſſiſt his Majeſty in every ſuch Occaſion, and ſhew all Friendſhip and Sincerity; to which effect we have given order, that our Imperial Letters be written to the ſaid Prince, in this particular, who ſhall obſerve all according to our Will and Pleaſure.*

IX. *And for the better eſtabliſhing of this our Peace and Amity according to the antient Capitulations and Obſervance, his Majeſty of* Poland *promiſeth to ſend his Great Ambaſſador to the ſaid Prince of* Tartars; *and (beginning from this preſent, the* 24th *of the Month of June) to pay yearly to the ſaid Prince his accuſtomed ſtipend in this form following. Every year his Majeſty ſhall ſend the ſaid ſtipend into the Caſtle of* Chotyn *in* Moldavia, *and the Vayvod thereof ſhall certifie the ſaid Prince* Chrim, *who ſhall preſently ſend his Ambaſſador to receive the ſame, by the hands of the Vayvod. The which Prince ſhall always obſerve this form, and ſhall be always obedient to this our Imperial Will.*

X. *And in caſe that his Majeſty of* Poland *ſhould fail any year to ſend the ſaid ſtipend, the Prince Tartar ſhall not ſuddenly riſe with his Army and invade* Poland; *but, according to the agreements of Sultan* Solyman, *continuing ſtill in his Obedience, he ſhall certifie us, and we will procure and recover his right.*

XI. *His Majeſty of* Poland *doth promiſe, that from henceforward the* Coſſacks *ſhall not enter nor come into any part of our Empire by the Rivers of* Oſue *or any other, nor make any ſpoil therein; and if the ſaid* Coſſacks *do enter into any part of our Dominions and do any hurt, we certifying his Majeſty by our Imperial Letters, he promiſeth to correct them ſeverely, and to put to death the Malefactors for breaking the Capitulations, and violating the Peace and Amity.*

XII. *And all our Subjects which ſhall be made Slaves, and impriſoned by the ſaid* Coſſacks, *ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty; and the Miniſters of his Majeſty ſhall always be diligent to puniſh the Tranſgreſſors, and wholly reſtore thoſe Perſons and Goods which they ſhall have taken from our ſaid Subjects, and that never any Subject of the King of* Poland *ſhall buy any ſtollen Goods; and if any have preſumed and bought, that he be ſeverely puniſhed; and in general all that which we have promiſed concerning the* Tartars *and* Moldavians, *ſo his Majeſty alſo doth promiſe to us for the* Coſſacks *and other his Subjects.*

XIII. *After the Concluſion of this Peace, if upon the Confines or open Fields, Fiſhers or Hunters on either part meeting together, ſhall happen to fall out, or be at difference by their own Occaſion, it ſhall be no diſturbance to this our Peace and Amity.*

XIV. *Always, according to the antient Agreements, the Princes or Vayvods of* Moldavia, *ſhall ſhew to his Majeſty of* Poland *all due Reverence and reſpect, good Amity and Neighbourhood; and ſeeing that the ſaid Vayvods have ever been as it were Inſtruments of Preſervation, or of the breach of the Peace; therefore we command, that for the time to come, neither the ſaid Vayvods, nor other of our Beglerbeghs or Miniſters, ſhall build in thoſe Confines any new Caſtle, Fort, or Bridge; and that in thoſe Caſtles or Forts of thoſe Frontiers which are already built, there ſhall never any other Garriſons be kept but* Moldavians; *and according to the antient Capitulations, the* Tartars *ſhall not inhabit, dwell, or till within thoſe Confines, of both Nations.*

XV. *And to the end this Peace and Amity may be always kept between us, we ſwear by the Name of God, and aſſure by this our Imperial Article, that all the Ambaſſadors, great or inferiour, which ſhall be ſent from us to his Majeſty, or thoſe great or leſs which ſhall be ſent from his Majeſty to us, ſhall always be ſafe and ſecure, as well in their coming as their return; and that there ſhall never be need of any other paſport, but that they ſhall be of us by all ways honoured and well received.*

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XVI. *Concerning Merchants, Paſſengers, and other* Polack *Negotiators, they ſhall always come ſafely and ſecurely by Sea and Land into all the parts of our Empire; and for Cuſtoms, Tolls, and other Duties of their Merchandiſe, and in caſe of Debt, Credit, Suretiſhip, and ſuch other like Accidents concerning the courſe of Juſtice and Law, we command that it ſhall be always obſerved according to the Agreements with our Father of happy Memory, Sultan* Achmat. *Which Articles we at this preſent accept and confirm, ratifie, and command that they be of all our Subjects for ever punctually obeyed and obſerved.*

XVII. *Furthermore we promiſe, and in the Name of God ſwear, to obſerve and maintain for ever all thoſe Covenants and Articles agreed upon and written in our Capitulations, by our Great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father, and never to diſannul any of them.*

XVIII. *And whereas to ſhew greater deſire of Sincerity concerning this Peace, his Maieſty of* Poland *hath ſought of us by his ſaid great Ambaſſador, that the Subjects of* Poland *may ſafely and ſecurely come by the River of* Turla *with divers Merchandiſe, and ſell, buy, and traffick in* Ackirman, *which traffick being uſed, will be of great benefit to both Eſtates. We ordain and command from henceforward, that the ſaid Nation may come and negotiate ſafely and ſecurely in the ſaid* Ackirman. *And to the end that this buſineſs be eſtabliſhed and concluded in a good manner, we will give order to our Ambaſſador, whom we intend to ſend ſhortly to his Majeſty for the ratification thereof.*

XIX. *Which preſent Articles, Capitulations, Peace, Amity, League, and Correſpondence, by the Grace of God we promiſe undoubtedly to maintain ſo long as we live in this World; and do hereby conclude between us and our Poſterity, and the King and State of* Polonia, *an everlaſting Peace; Sealing it and confirming it with theſe Words,* Friends to Friends, and Enemies to Enemies.

Some of the Capitulations of Peace altered by the Turks.

Notwithſtanding all this, after the Duke was departed one days Journey, where he ſtayed to receive the Treaty ſigned, they altered ſome of the Articles to their own advantage, without his Knowledge. Which when he heard, he complained anew by his Letters to the Port of the abuſe offered unto him, and made haſte rather to eſcape than return. But the *Coſſacks* at the ſame time being ſtirred about the Black Sea, the Viſier and State (having nothing more in care than to ſhut up that back port, whereby they ſuffered much loſs and Diſhonour, and could not revenge it upon a fugitive People: which divided their Naval Army, being forced to ſend a portion of Gallies to defend the Trade, the beſt part of relief of the City of *Conſtantinople* coming from thoſe Coaſts) reſolved to give content to the *Poles*, and to aſſure the Peace; that they might with more Security attend their Affairs in *Aſia* and *Hungary*; which Action was favoured vehemently by the preſent Viſier. To which end, he ſent anſwer into *Poland*, with Promiſes of Faith, and Reparation for the Injuries committed by the *Tartars*; laying the fault of miſwriting the Treaty upon the Chancellor, which though they amended not, yet they did explain and interpret; and for better eſtabliſhment and ſecurity on their behalfs of the Peace, they reſolved to depoſe *Jehan-Beg*, Prince of *Tartaria*, and ſent *Mechmet Gheray* his Couſin German, and firſt of the Blood, late Priſoner in the *Rhodes*, to take Poſſeſſion of his Dominion; who undertook to quiet and reſtrain that People; which he cauſed to be ſignified to *Poland*, that the King might ſee theſe alterations were only for the full ſecurity of the Peace on their ſide, that the *Pole* might take the like courſe with the *Coſſacks*, who were not as yet reclaimed.

The Souldiers ſtill continue in their Fury.

The Souldiers continued ſtill in their height of Fury and Madneſs, and thoſe that were to go upon the Gallies for the defence of the Black Sea and other Deſigns, being ready to depart, robbed, ſlew, brake Houſes in the Face of the Magiſtrate in the open day: What was it not lawful for them to do that had ſlain their King, and made and deſtroied the great Miniſters at their Will and Pleaſure, as their Stewards and Servants? and God did ſo blind them, that they ſhould not ſee, that they digged up their own roots, and were made by God the blind inſtruments of their own Ruine. The Mint alſo was removed into the Seraglio, where was brought forth all the Saddles, Bridles, Stirrops, that had any Gold or Silver upon them, with all old Plate, to make Money to patch up a quiet, and to ſatisfie and content the Souldiers, and all little enough for the preſent to ſave the City from a total ſack.

The Ambaſſadors of the Prince of *Tranſilvania* departed from the Port.

The Ambaſſadors of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, having changed their Stile of excuſing a firm Peace with the Emperour by the change of the Viſier, and finding the Opportunity of a Friend now in place to aid their Prince, they negotiated new matter, aſſuring the Port, that by the troubles of *Germany* a fair occaſion was given to recover *Hungary*, and to ſet the Crown upon their Maſters Head; and that therefore if the Grand Seignior would be pleaſed to grant unto their Prince the aid of the Græcian Army, that he would make another attempt to weaken the greateſt Enemy of that Empire, which they eaſily obtaining (the ignorance and avarice of the Turk opening a way to credulity which was the conſtant advantage of *Gabor*, who could conquer both their Underſtandings and Forces to his own ends) being in all fully ſatisfied, they departed the twentieth of *April.* Which Reſolution of the Port was much wondered at by all wiſe men, who knew how unfit the Turk was at that preſent for a War. The Prince was then at *Caſſovia*, expecting the iſſue of his Ambaſſage, and in hope of Turkiſh Aid; which being granted and gathered upon his frontier, and joyned at laſt with his own Forces, his whole Army was not very great, nor had he any Cannon to march withal to beſiege any place; his chiefeſt truſt conſiſting in his Intelligence in *Hungary*, where he expected a general revolt, and that all the Garriſons would open to him, or at leaſt ſome diverſion in *Sileſia* (which he was promiſed) facilitate his ways; and he was not in deſpair, that upon the firſt appearance of an Army, *Moravia*, by the favour of the Count of *Tourn* and his Friends, would follow the ſame Example; and this was the deſign which his Ambaſſadors had ſo long ſollicited at the Port, and diſſembled at their firſt coming. Now there was nothing expected but a War; but not long after there arrived a new Ambaſſador from the Prince, without any mention of the Affairs of thoſe parts; which made all men inquiſitive, thinking he was either come to haſten the Succours, or to change ſomething in the manner and other Circumſtances depending thereon; but it was found that the States of *Tranſilvania* had aſſembled at *Alba-Julia*, and were very loth to entertain a War, or to break with the Emperour; and therefore diſpeeded two Commiſſioners towards him, who were well received and treated at *Vienna*; and from the Emperour was ſent to *Tranſilvania* the Biſhop of *Nitria*. Whereupon a new Peace was treated, and this Ambaſſador ſent to procure the recall of the former Commands given to the Baſſaes to move with their Armies. Whereby it was ſuſpected he never had any purpoſe to make a War, but only to ballance by the continuance thereof his Fears and laſt Agreements with the Emperour.

The Baſſa of *Arzirum* in Rebellion.

All Men prophecied (by reaſon of daily Diſorders) the fall of the *Ottoman* Empire. But now the Baſſa of *Arzirum*, who was joyned with divers others, and had made a great Army, was in his march toward *Angria*, the direct way to *Conſtantinople* (*Babylon* yet reſting in Rebellion) with a pretence of Reformation; who took nothing by force but the Treaſure of the Empire. He held a general Council in his Camp, and ſent to the Port to require the Preſence of the Mufti, Cadees, Baſſaes, and antient Beghs, to take knowledge and to puniſh the Traitors that murthered the late King, and to ſettle a new one lawfully that ſhould be able to govern; to reduce the mutined City-Souldier to Obedience and Diſcipline, and to place about the Emperour ſome Great Viſier, choſen by the State, able to direct and apply Remedies to the Diſeaſes then grown to a Chryſis; complaining, that every three or four Months, by the change of the Viſier, the Provinces were deſtroyed, (for they placed and diſplaced the Governours according to their own Factions) and ſo contrary orders were ſent abroad daily, inſomuch as no man knew who was King or Viſier, nor whom they ſhould obey. Theſe were his Pretences, and if the preſent State would not conſent to this Aſſembly, he then reſolved to come to the Port, and ſettle all things at his Pleaſure by the Sword. The great Officers in poſſeſſion of the Empire and Government, loth to be called to an account by the Souldier, took a worſe Reſolution, To make a War; and made choice of *Cigala Baſſa* for General; which he refuſed upon the ſame pretence, that in his abſence alterations would be ſo frequent; and that he ſhould not pleaſe, or at leaſt uncertainly, and according to Interpretation. Therefore he would have an abſolute Dictatorſhip for the time, equal to that of a great Viſier, or elſe he would not ſtir. This was granted him, and money given out, and order to paſs the Water ſpeedily; inrolling for his Army fifteen thouſand Janizaries, and thirty thouſand Spahies. But thoſe did demur, and alledged it was a War againſt their own Brethren, and ſought any Excuſes rather than to come to blows. But the ſecret was, it was then *Ramazan*, or their Holy Lent, at the end of which they were to receive their Pay; and therefore they would not move, but pretended Religion. Next day after their Feaſt, when they ſhould march, they ſhewed themſelves in their Colours, (having firſt held many Conſultations,) and would not march at all, unleſs the Emperour or Great Viſier would go in Perſon. So every day brought forth new ſubject of Trouble, and the Empire to a great deal of hazard and danger.

A

A
BRIEF DISCOURSE
OF THE
GREATNESS
OF THE
TURKISH EMPIRE:

As alſo wherein the greateſt Strength thereof conſiſteth; and of what Power the bordering Princes, as well *Mahometans* as *Chriſtians*, are in Compariſon of it.

By *RICHARD KNOLLES.*

1623

THE Hiſtory of the Turks (being indeed nothing elſe but the true Record of the woful Ruines of the greater part of the Chriſtian Common-weal) thus, as before paſſed through, and at length brought to an end; and their Empire (of all others now upon Earth far the greateſt) as a proud Champion ſtill ſtanding up as it were in defiance of the whole World: I thought it good for the Concluſion of this my Labour, to propoſe unto the view of the zealous Chriſtian, the Greatneſs thereof; and ſo near as I could to ſet down the Bounds and Limits within the which it is (by the goodneſs of God) as yet contained, together with the Strength and Power thereof, as alſo in what regard it hath the Neighbour Princes bordering or confining upon it, with ſome other Particularities tending unto the ſame purpoſe. All or moſt part thereof, although it be by the conſiderate well to be gathered out of the whole courſe of the Hiſtory before going, yet ſhall it more plainly here together in the full thereof appear, than by the long and particular conſideration of the riſing and increaſe thereof be perceived; not much unlike the overgrown Tree, at the greatneſs whereof every man wondereth, no man in the mean time either perceiving or marking how by little and little in tract of time it grew up to that bigneſs, as now to overtop all the reſt of the Wood. The Imperial Seat of this ſo great and dreadful an Empire, is the moſt famous City of *Conſtantinople*, ſometime the Glory of the Greek Empire, but now the Place where *Achmat*, the firſt of that Name, and fourteenth of the *Othoman* Emperours, acknowledging no man like unto himſelf, triumpheth over many Nations; a City fatally founded to command, and by the great Conqueror *Tamerlane*, of all others thought to be the beſt ſeated for the Empire of the World. In which City (taken from the Chriſtians by *Mahomet* the ſecond, by the Turks ſirnamed the Great, and the Greek Empire by him ſubverted) as the *Othoman* Emperours have ever ſince ſeated themſelves, ſo have they wonderfully, even to the aſtoniſhment of the World, out of the Ruines of that ſo glorious a State, increaſed both their Strength and Empire, almoſt altogether fixed even in the ſelf ſame Kingdoms, Countries, and Regions, as was ſometimes that; though not as yet (God be thanked) able to attain to the uttermoſt bounds that that Empire ſometimes had, eſpecially in *Europe*, albeit that it hath oftentimes in pride thereof moſt mightily ſwoln, and in ſome few places thereof ſomewhat alſo exceeded the ſame. Amongſt the reſt of the *Othoman* Emperours, this great Monarch of whom we ſpeak (namely *Achmat* the firſt, which now reigneth in that moſt ſtately and Imperial City) hath at this preſent under his Command and Empire, the chief and moſt fruitful parts of the three firſt known parts of the World; only *America* remaining free from him, not more happy with the rich Mines thereof, than in that it is ſo far from out of his reach. For in *Europe* he hath all the Sea-Coaſt from the Confines of *Epidaurus* (the uttermoſt bound of his Empire in *Europe* Weſtward) unto the mouth of the River *Tanais*, now called *Don*, with whatſoever lieth betwixt *Buda* in *Hungary*, and the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*; in which ſpace is comprehended the better part of *Hungary*, all *Boſna*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, with a great part of *Dalmatia*, *Epirus*, *Macedonia*, *Græcia*, *Peloponneſus*, *Thracia*, the *Archipelago*, with the rich Iſlands contained therein. In *Affrica* he poſſeſſeth all the Sea Coaſt from *Velez* (or as ſome call it *Belis*) *De Gomera*, or more truly to ſay, from the River *Mulvia* (the bounder of the Kingdom of *Fez*) even unto the *Arabian* Gulf, or Red-Sea, Eaſtward; except ſome few Places upon the Rivage of the Sea, holden by the King of *Spain*; *viz.* *Merſalcabir*, *Melilla*, *Oran*, and *Pennon*; and from *Alexandria* Northward unto the City of *Aſna*, called of old *Siene*, Southward; in which ſpace are contained the famous Kingdoms of *Tremizen*, *Algiers*, *Tunes*, and *Ægypt*, with divers other great Cities and Provinces. In *Aſia* all is his from the Streights

Conſtantinople the Seat of the Turks Empire.

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The bounds of the Turks Empire in *Europe*, *Affrica*, and *Aſia*.

The Greatneſs of the Turks Empire.

of *Helleſpontus* Weſtward, unto the great City of *Tauris* Eaſtward; and from *Derbent*, near unto the *Caſpian* Sea Northward, unto *Adena* upon the Gulf of *Arabia* Southward. The greatneſs of this his Empire may the better be conceived by the greatneſs of ſome parts thereof; the *Meere* of *Meotis*, which is all at the Turkiſh Emperours command, being in compaſs a thouſand miles; and the *Euxine* or *Black*-Sea in circuit two thouſand and ſeven hundred; and the *Mediterranean* Coaſt, which is ſubject unto him, containing in compaſs about eight thouſand miles. But to ſpeak of his whole Territory together; he goeth in his own Dominion from *Tauris* to *Buda*, about three thouſand two hundred miles. The like diſtance is from *Derbent* unto *Adena*. From *Balſera* upon the *Perſian* Gulf unto *Tremiſena* in *Barbary*, are accounted little leſs than four thouſand miles. He hath alſo in the Sea the moſt noble Iſlands of *Cyprus*, *Eubœa*, *Rhodus*, *Samos*, *Chios*, *Lesbos*, and others of the *Archipelago*. In this ſo large and ſpacious an Empire are contained many great and large Countries, ſometime moſt famous Kingdoms, abounding with all manner of worldly Bleſſings and Natures ſtore: For what Kingdom or Country is more fruitful than *Ægypt*, *Siria*, and a great part of *Aſia*? What Country more wealthy or more plentiful of all good things, than was ſometime *Hungary*, *Græcia* and *Thracia*? In which Countries he hath alſo many rich and famous Cities, but eſpecially four, which be greateſt for Wealth and Trade; namely, *Conſtantinople*, *Caire*, *Aleppo*, and *Tauris*. *Conſtantinople*, for multitude of People, exceedeth all the Cities of *Europe*; wherein are deemed to be above ſeven hundred thouſand Men; which if it be ſo, is almoſt equal to two ſuch Cities as *Paris* in *France*. *Aleppo* is the greateſt City of *Syria*, and, as it were the centre whereunto all the Merchandiſe of *Aſia* repair. *Tauris*, of late the Royal Seat of the *Perſian* Kings, and one of the greateſt Cities of that Kingdom, from whom it was in this our Age taken by *Amurath* the Third, hath in it above two hundred thouſand Men. *Caire*, amongſt all the Cities of *Affrica* is the chief, leaving all others far behind it, (although that ſome make the City of *Cano* equal unto it in greatneſs) being as it were the Store-houſe, not of *Ægypt* onely, and of a great part of *Affrica*, but of *India* alſo; the Riches whereof being brought by the *Red*-Sea to *Sues*, and from thence upon Camels to *Caire*, and ſo down the River *Nilus* to *Alexandria*, are thence diſperſed into theſe Weſtern Parts; albeit, that this rich Trade hath of late time been much impaired, and ſo like more to be; the Chriſtians (eſpecially the *Portugals*) trafficking into the *Eaſt-Indies*, and by the vaſt Ocean tranſporting the rich Commodities of thoſe Eaſtern Countries into the Weſt, to the great hinderance of the Grand Seignior's Cuſtoms in *Caire*.

The four chief Cities for Trade in the Turks Empire.

The *Othoman* Government meer tyrannical.

The *Othoman* Government in this his ſo great an Empire, is altogether like the Government of the Maſter over his Slave, and indeed meer tyrannical; for the Great Sultan is ſo abſolute a Lord of all things within the compaſs of his Empire, that all his Subjects and People, be they never ſo great, do call themſelves his Slaves and not his Subjects; neither hath any man power over himſelf, much leſs is he Lord of the Houſe wherein he dwelleth, or of the Land which he tilleth, except ſome few Families in *Conſtantinople*, to whom ſome few ſuch things were by way of reward, and upon eſpecial favour given by *Mahomet* the Second, at ſuch time as he won the ſame. Neither is any man in that Empire ſo great, or yet ſo far in favour with the Great Sultan, as that he can aſſure himſelf of his Life, much leſs of his preſent Fortune or State, longer than it pleaſeth the Sultan. In which ſo abſolute a Sovereignty (by any free born People not to be endured) the Tyrant preſerveth himſelf by two moſt eſpecial means; firſt, by taking off all Arms from his natural Subjects; and then by putting the ſame and all things elſe concerning the State and Government thereof into the Hands of the Apoſtata, or Renegade Chriſtians, whom for the moſt part every third, fourth, or fifth Year, (or oftner, if his need ſo require) he taketh in their Child-hood, from their miſerable Parents, as his Tenths or Tribute Children; whereby he gaineth two great Commodities: Firſt, For that in ſo doing he ſpoilleth the Provinces he moſt feareth, of the flower, ſinews, and ſtrength of the People, choice being ſtill made of the ſtrongeſt Youths, and fitteſt for War; then, for that with theſe, as with his own Creatures, he armeth himſelf, and by them aſſureth his State; for they, in their Childhood, taken from their Parents Laps, and delivered in Charge to one or other appointed for that purpoſe, quickly, and before they are aware, become Mahometans; and ſo no more acknowledging Father or Mother, depend wholly on the Great Sultan; who, to make uſe of them, both feeds them and foſters them, at whoſe hands onely they look for all things, and whom alone they thank for all. Of which Fry, ſo taken from their Chriſtian Parents, (the only Seminary of his Wars) ſome become Horſe-men, ſome Foot-men, and ſo in time the greateſt Commanders of his State and Empire, next unto himſelf; the natural Turks, in the mean time, giving themſelves wholly unto the Trade of Merchandiſe, and other their Mechanical Occupations; or elſe to the feeding of Cattel, their moſt ancient and natural Vocation, not intermedling at all with matters of Government or State. So that if unto theſe his Souldiers, all of the Chriſtian Race, you joyn alſo his Fleet and Money, you have as it were the whole ſtrength of his Empire; for in theſe four, his Horſe-men, his Foot-men, his Fleet and Money, eſpecially conſiſteth his great Force and Power: whereof to ſpeak more particularly, and firſt concerning his Money. It is commonly thought, that his ordinary Revenue exceedeth not eight millions of Gold; and albeit, that it might ſeem, that he might of ſo large an Empire receive a far greater Revenue, yet doth he not, for that both he and his Men of War (in whoſe power all things are) have their greateſt and almoſt onely care upon Arms, fitter by nature to waſte and deſtroy Countries, than to preſerve and inrich them; inſomuch that for the preſervation of their Armies, and furtherance of their Expeditions, (every year to do) they moſt grievouſly ſpoil even their own People and Provinces whereby they paſs, ſcarce leaving them Neceſſaries wherewith to live; ſo that the Subjects, deſpairing to enjoy the Fruits of the Earth, much leſs the Riches which by their Induſtry and Labour they might get unto themſelves, do now no farther endeavour themſelves either to Husbandry or Traffick than they needs muſt, yea, than very neceſſity it ſelf inforceth them. For to what end availeth it to ſow that another man muſt reap? or to reap that which another man is ready to devour? Whereupon it cometh, that in the Territories of the *Othoman* Country, yea, even in the moſt fruitful Countries of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, are ſeen great Foreſts, all every where waſte, few Cities well peopled, and the greateſt part of thoſe Countries lying deſolate and deſart; ſo that Huſbandry (in all well-ordered Common-wealths the Prince's greateſt ſtore) decaying, the Earth neither yieldeth her Increaſe unto the painful Huſbandman, neither he matter unto the Artificer,

The means whereby the Turkiſh Emperours preſerve themſelves in ſo abſolute a Sovereignty.

Four things wherein the greateſt ſtrength of the *Othoman* Empire conſiſteth.

The Turks ordinary Revenues, and why they are no greater.

neither the Artificer Wares to furniſh the Merchant with, all together with the Plough running into ruine and decay. As for the Trade of Merchandiſe, it is almoſt all in the hands of the *Jews*, or the Chriſtians of *Europe*, *viz.* the *Raguſians*, *Venetians*, *Genowaies*, *French*, or *Engliſh*; the natural *Turks* having therein the leaſt to do, holding in that their ſo large an Empire no other famous Cities for Trade, more than the four above named, *viz.* *Conſtantinople*, *Tauris*, *Aleppo*, and *Caire*; whereunto may be added, *Caffa*, and *Theſſalonica* in *Europe*; *Damaſcus*, *Tripolis*, and *Aden* in *Aſia*; *Alexandria* and *Algiers* in *Affrick*. In our Countries here in this Weſt part of *Europe*, of the abundance of People oftentimes ariſeth Dearth; but in many parts of the Turks Dominions, for want of Men to manure the Ground; moſt part of the poor Country People, drawn from their own dwellings, being inforced with Victuals and other Neceſſaries to follow their great Armies in their long Expeditions, of whom ſcarce one of ten ever return home to their dwellings again, there by the way periſhing, if not by the Enemies Sword, yet by the wants, the intemperateneſs of the Air, or immoderate pains taking. But to come nearer unto our purpoſe; Although the great Turks ordinary Revenues be no greater than is aforeſaid, yet are his extraordinary eſcheats to be greatly accounted of, eſpecially his Confiſcations, Forfeitures, Fines, Amerciaments (which are right many) his Tributes, Cuſtoms, Tyths and Tenths of all Preys taken by Sea or Land, with divers other ſuch like, far exceeding his ſtanding and certain Revenue; his Baſſaes and other his great Officers like ravening Harpies as it were ſucking out the Blood of his poor Subjects, and heaping up ineſtimable Treaſures, which for the moſt part fall again into the Grand Seignior's Coffers. *Ibrahim* Viſier Baſſa (who lived not long ſince) is ſuppoſed to have brought with him from *Caire* to the value of ſix millions; and *Mahomet*, another of the Viſiers, was thought to have had a far greater ſum. His Preſents alſo amount unto a great matter, for no Ambaſſador can come before him without great Gifts, no man is to hope for any commodious Office or Preferment without Money, no man may with Empty Hands come to the Preſence of him ſo great a Prince, either from the Province he had the charge of, or from any great Expedition he was ſent upon; neither unto ſo great and mighty a Prince are Trifles preſented. The Vayvods of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Tranſilvania*, before their late revolt, by Gifts preſerved themſelves in their Principalities, being almoſt daily changed, eſpecially in *Valachia* and *Moldavia*; for thoſe Honours were by the Grand Seignior ſtill given to them that would give moſt; who, to perform what they had offered, miſerably oppreſſed the People, and brought their Provinces into great Poverty. In brief, an eaſie thing it is for the great Tyrant to find Occaſion for him at his Pleaſure to take away any Mans Life, together with his Wealth, be it never ſo great; ſo that he cannot well be ſaid to lack Money ſo long as any of his Subjects have it. Neverthe leſs, the late *Perſian* War ſo emptied the moſt covetous Sultan *Amurath's* Coffers, and exhauſted his Treaſures, that all over his Empire the value of his Gold was beyond all credit enhanced, inſomuch that a Chequine was twice ſo much worth as before, beſide that, the Metal whereof his Gold and Silver was made was ſo embaſed, that it gave occaſion unto the Janizaries to ſet fire upon the City of *Conſtantinople*, to the great Terror, not of the vulgar ſort only, but of the Grand Seignior himſelf alſo. And in the City of *Aleppo* only were in the Name of the Great Sultan ſixty thouſand Chequines taken up in preſt of the Merchants there, which, how well they were repayed, we leave for them to report.

The Turks Caſualties more than his ordinary Revenue.

The Turks Timariots of greater value than his Revenues.

Now albeit that the Turks Revenues be not ſo great as the largeneſs of his Empire and the fruitfulneſs of his Countries might ſeem to afford, all the Soil being his own; yet hath he in his own Dominion a Commodity of far greater value and uſe than are the Revenues themſelves; which is, the Multitude of the Timariots or Penſioners, which are all Horſemen, ſo called of *Timaro*, that is, a ſtipend which they have of the Great Sultan, *viz.* the poſſeſſion of certain Villages and Towns, which they hold during their Life, and for which they ſtand bound for every threeſcore Duckets they have of yearly Revenue to maintain one Horſeman, either with Bow and Arrows, or elſe with Targuet and Launce; and that as well in time of Peace as War; for the *Othoman* Emperours take unto themſelves all ſuch Lands as they by the Sword win from their Enemies, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, all which they divide into Timars, or as we call them Commendams, which they give unto their Souldiers of good deſert for term of Life, upon Condition that they ſhall (as is aforeſaid) according to the proportion thereof keep certain Men and Horſes fit for ſervice always ready whenſoever they ſhall be called upon; wherein conſiſteth the greateſt Policy of the Turks, and the ſureſt means for the Preſervation of their Empire. For if by this means the care of manuring the Ground were not committed unto the Souldiers, for the profit they hope thereof, but left in the hand of the plain painful Husbandman, all would in that ſo warlike an Empire lie waſte and deſolate; the Turks themſelves commonly ſaying, That whereſoever the Grand Seignior's Horſe ſetteth his Foot, the Graſs will grow no more there; meaning the Deſtruction that their Great Armies bring in all Places where they come. The Inſtitution of theſe Timariots, and the taking up of the Azamoglans, (for ſo they call thoſe Children which are taken up from their Chriſtian Parents to be brought up for Janizaries) are the two chief Pillars of the Turks Empire, and the ſtrength of their Wars; both which ſeem to be deviſed unto the imitation of the Romans, as are divers things more in the Turkiſh Government; for the Roman Emperours uſed their own Subjects in their Wars, and of them conſiſted the Prætorian Army, which never departed from the Emperours ſide, but were ſtill to guard his Perſon, as do the Janizaries the Great Turk. And in the Roman Empire Lands were given unto Souldiers of good deſert, for them to take the profit of during their Lives, in reward of their good Service and Valour, which were called *Beneficia*, and they which had them, *Benificiarii*, or as we term them Benefices, and beneficed Men. *Alexander Severus* granted unto ſuch Souldiers Heirs that might enjoy thoſe Lands and Commendams, upon condition alſo, That they themſelves ſhould ſerve as had their Fathers, otherwiſe not. *Conſtantine* the Great alſo gave unto his Captains that had well deſerved of him, certain Lands for them to live upon during the term of their Life. The like Fees in *France*, which they called *Feuda*, were of Temporaries made Perpetuities by theſe their late Kings. Theſe Timariot Horſemen in the Turkiſh Empire, ſerve to two great and moſt notable purpoſes; whereof the firſt is, That by them the Grand Seignior, as with a Bridle, keepeth the reſt of his Subjects in every part of his great Empire in awe, ſo that they cannot ſo ſoon move, but that they ſhall have theſe his Timariots as Faulcons in their Necks; for to that purpoſe they are diſperſed all over his Dominion and Empire.

The two chief Pillars of the *Othoman* Empire.

The great uſe of the Timariot Horſemen in the Turks Empire.

pire. The other uſe of them (and no leſs profitable than the former) is, for that out of them he is always able to draw into the Field an hundred and fifty thouſand Horſemen well armed, ready to go whitherſoever he ſhall command them; with all whom he is not at one farthing charge. Which ſo great a power of Horſemen cannot continually be maintained for leſs than fourteen Millions of Duckets yearly. Wherefore it is to be marvelled, that ſome, comparing the Turks Revenues with the Chriſtians, make no mention of this ſo great a part of the *Othoman* Emperour's Wealth and Strength, ſerving him firſt for the ſuppreſſing of all ſuch Tumults as might ariſe in his Empire, and then, as a moſt principal ſtrength of his continual Wars, always ready to ſerve him in his greateſt Expeditions. The number of theſe Timariot Horſe-men is now grown very great, taking increaſe together with the Turks Empire. It is reported, That *Amurath* the Third, Grandfather to *Achmat* that now reigneth, in his late Wars againſt the *Perſian*, ſubdued ſo much Territory as ſerved him to erect therein fourty thouſand Timariots; and appointed at *Tauris* a new Receit which was yearly worth unto him a million of Gold. Theſe Timariots are in all accounted to be ſeven hundred and nineteen thouſand fighting Men; of whom two hundred and fifty ſeven thouſand have their Aboad and dwelling in *Europe*, and four hundred ſixty two thouſand in *Aſia* and *Affrick*. Beſide theſe Timariots, the Grand Seignior had a great number of other Horſe-men alſo, unto whom he giveth Pay; which are his Spahi, Ulufagi, and Carapici of his Court, being indeed the Nurſeries and Seminaries of the great Officers and Governours of his Empire; for from among them are ordinarily choſen the Sanzacks, which afterwards, through their good deſerts, or the Sultan's great favour, become Viſiers, Beglerbegs, and Baſſaes, the chief Rulers of that ſo mighty a Monarchy. He hath alſo ſtill in his Army a great multitude of other Horſe-men called *Acanzii*, being indeed but rural Clowns, yet for certain Priviledges which they have are bound to go unto the Wars, being even of the Turks themſelves accounted of ſmall worth or value in compariſon of the Timariots. He receiveth great Aid alſo from the *Tartar* in his Wars, as alſo from the *Valachians* and *Moldavians*, (until that now of late, by the Example of the *Tranſilvanians*, they have to the great benefit of the reſt of the Chriſtian Common-wealth revolted from him) all which are to be accounted as the *Romans Auxiliarii*, that is to ſay, ſuch as come to aid and aſſiſt him. And thus much for his Horſe-men.

The number of the Timariots.

The Spahi, Ulufagi, and Carapici, Seminaries of the great Offices in the Turks Empire.

The *Acanzii.*

The Janizaries the ſecond ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire.

Another great part of his ſtrength conſiſteth in his Foot-men, and eſpecially in his Janizaries; in whom two things are to be conſidered, their Nation and Dexterity in Arms. Concerning their Nation, ſuch of the *Azamoglans* as are born in *Aſia* are not ordinarily inrolled in the number of the Janizaries, but ſuch as are born in *Europe*; for they of *Aſia* are accounted more effeminate, as they have been always, more ready to fly than to fight; whereas the People of *Europe* have even in the *Eaſt* been accounted for better and more valiant Souldiers, having there, to their immortal Glory, ſet up the notable Trophies of their moſt glorious Victories. The Souldiers of *Aſia* be called Turks, after the name of their Nation, and not of their Country, (no Country being indeed ſo properly called) and they of *Europe*, *Rumi*, that is to ſay, *Romani*, or *Romans*; as the Country, eſpecially about *Conſtantinople*, is called by the name of *Rum-Ili*, that is, the *Roman* Country, as it was in ancient Time, of the notable *Roman* Colonies therein, known by the name of *Romania*. Now, as concerning their Dexterity, ſuch male Children are culled out from the Chriſtians, as in whom appeareth the greateſt ſigns of Strength, Activity, and Courage; for theſe three Qualities are in a Souldier eſpecially required. This choice is made every third Year, except neceſſity inforce it to be made ſooner, as it happened in the late *Perſian* War; wherein, not only oftener choice was made, but they were glad to uſe the Azamoglans alſo, a thing never before by them done; for thoſe Youths, the Children of Chriſtian Parents, being by them that have taken them up brought to *Conſtantinople*, are taken view of by the Aga of the Janizaries, who cauſeth to be regiſtred the name of the Youth, with the name of his Father and Country wherein he was born; which done, part of them are ſent into the leſſer *Aſia*, (now called *Natolia*) and other Provinces, where, learning the Turkiſh Language and Law, they are alſo infected with the Vices and Manners of them with whom they live, and ſo in ſhort time become true Mahometans. Another part of them, and thoſe of the moſt towardlieſt, is divided into Cloyſters, which the Grand Seignior hath at *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*, of whom the faireſt and moſt handſome are appointed for the Seraglio of the Great Sultan himſelf. All the time that theſe Youths, thus ſent abroad, live in the leſſer *Aſia* or other the Turks Provinces, they are not appointed to any certain Exerciſe, but ſtill kept buſied, ſome at Husbandry, ſome in Gardening, ſome in Building, ſome in other domeſtical Services, never ſuffered to be idle, but always occupied in painful Labour; where, after certain years they have been thus inured to labour and pains-taking, they are called thence into the Cloyſters of the Azamoglans, (for ſo they are called all the time untill they be inrolled into the number of the Janizaries) and are there delivered unto certain ſpecial Governours appointed to take charge of them; who keep them ſtill exerciſed in painful Work and Labour, intreating them evil enough, as well in their Dyet, as in their Apparel and Lodging; they ſleep together in large Rooms, like unto the Religious *Dormitories*, wherein are Lamps ſtill burning, and Tutors attending, without whoſe leave they may not ſtir out of their Places. There they learn to ſhoot both in the Bow and Piece, the Uſe of the Scimitar, with many Feats of Activity; and being well trained in thoſe Exerciſes, are inrolled amongſt the Janizaries or Spahi, of whom, the Janizaries receive no leſs than five Aſpers, nor more than eight for their daily Pay, and the Spahi ten. Being recorded among the Janizaries, they are either ſent away into the Wars, or into ſome Garriſon, or elſe attend at the Court. Theſe laſt have for their Dwelling three great Places like unto three Monaſteries, in the City of *Conſtantinople*, there they live under their Governours to whom they are deputed, the younger with great obedience and ſilence ſerving the elder, in buying of things for them, in dreſſing their Meat, and ſuch like Services. They that be of one Seat or Calling, live together at one Table, and ſleep in long Walks. If any of them upon occaſion chance to lie all Night abroad without leave, the next Evening he is notably beaten, with ſuch Nurture and Diſcipline, that after his beating, he, like an Ape, kiſſeth the Governour's Hands that ſo corrected him. Theſe Janizaries have many large Privileges, are honoured, although they be moſt Inſolent, and are feared of all men, yea, even of the Great Sultan himſelf, who is ſtill glad to make fair weather with them. In their Expeditions or Travel, they rob the poor Chriſtians Cottages and Houſes, who muſt not ſay one word

What manner of Children are taken up to make Janizaries of.

The Azamoglans are ſuch untrained Youths as are taken up to become Janizaries, but yet are not of their Order.

The manner of their bringing up.

The daily Pay of the Janizaries and Spahi.

The Janizaries Inſolent.

1623

Their great Priviledges and Royalties.

The Order of the Janizaries in our time much imbaſed.

The Turks *Aſapi* in what ſmall regard they are had.

to the contrary. When they buy any thing they give for it but what they liſt themſelves; they can be judged by none but their Aga, neither can they be executed without danger of an Inſurrection; and therefore ſuch Execution is ſeldom done, and that very ſecretly. They have a thouſand Royalties; ſome of them are appointed to the keeping of Ambaſſadors ſent from foreign Princes; other ſome of them are aſſigned to accompany Strangers, Travellers, eſpecially them that be men of the better ſort, to the intent they may ſafely paſs in the Turks Dominions; for which Service they are commonly well rewarded. They have made choice of their Prince, namely of *Selymus* the Firſt, his Father *Bajazet* yet living; neither can any of the Turks Sultans account themſelves fully inveſted in the Imperial Dignity, or aſſured of their Eſtate, until they be by them approved and proclaimed. Every one of their Sultans at his firſt coming to the Empire doth give them ſome great Largeſs, and ſometime the better to pleaſe them, increaſeth alſo their Pay. In every great Expedition ſome of them go forth with their Aga, or his Lieutenant, and are the laſt of all that fight. There is no Office among the Turks that is more envied than the Office of the Aga of the Janizaries, for the greatneſs of his Authority and Command; onely he and the Beglerbeg of *Græcia* chuſe not their own Lieutenant, but have them nominated unto them by the Grand Seignior. Unto this great Man, the Aga of the Janizaries, nothing can portend a more certain Deſtruction than to be of them beloved; for then is he of the Great Sultan ſtraightway feared or miſtruſted, and ſo occaſion ſought for to take him out of the way. The number of the Janizaries of the Court is betwixt ten and fourteen thouſand. This Warlike Order of Souldiers is in theſe our days much imbaſed; for now natural Turks are taken in for Janizaries, as are alſo the People of *Aſia*; whereas in former times none were admitted into that Order but the Chriſtians of *Europe* onely; beſide that, they marry Wives alſo, contrary to their ancient Cuſtom, which is not now forbidden them. And becauſe of their long lying ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, (a City abounding with all manner of Pleaſure) they are become much more effeminate and ſlothful, but withal moſt Inſolent, or more truely to ſay, Intolerable. It is commonly reported, the Strength of the Turkiſh Empire to conſiſt in this Order of the Janizaries, which is not altogether ſo; for albeit that they be indeed the Turks beſt Foot-men, and ſureſt Guard of the Great Sultan's Perſon, yet undoubtedly the greateſt Strength of his State and Empire reſteth nothing ſo much in them, as in the great multitude of his Horſe-men, eſpecially his Timariots. Beſides theſe Janizaries, the Turkiſh Emperour hath a great number of baſe Foot-men, whom the Turks call *Aſapi*, better acquainted with the Spade than with the Sword, ſerving rather to the wearying of their Enemies with their multitude, than the vanquiſhing of them with their Valour; with whoſe dead Bodies the Janizaries uſe to fill up the Ditches of Towns beſieged, or to ſerve them for Ladders to climb over the Enemies Walls upon. But, as the *Romans* had both their old Legionary, and other untrained Souldiers, which they called *Tirones*; of whom the firſt were the chief Strength of their Wars, and the other but as an Aid and Supply; even ſo the Turk accounteth his Timariot Horſe-men the ſtrength of his Army, and the Acanzii, (which is another ſort of baſe and common Horſe-men) but as an Acceſſory; and ſo amongſt his Foot-men he eſteemeth of his Janizaries, as did the *Romans* of their *Prætorian* Legions, but of his *Aſapi*, as of Shadows. The Janizaries are by none to be commanded more than by the Great Sultan himſelf, and their Aga; as for the Baſſaes, they regard them not much, but in their rage oftentimes foul intreat even the greateſt of them. The *Aſapi*, as they are but baſe and common Souldiers, ſo have they alſo their ordinary Captains and Commanders, Men of no great place or mark.

1623

The great Commanders of the Turks Empire.

The great Authority of the Viſier Baſſaes.

The great Authority of the Beglerbegs.

The whole State of the great Empire of the Turks is commanded by the Great Sultan, by the grave Advice and Counſel of his Viſier Baſſaes, which were not wont to be in number above four, ſo providing for the ſecrecy of his high Deſigns or important Reſolutions, hardly by a greater multitude to be concealed; howbeit that the Sultans of later times have had ſometimes more, ſometimes fewer, as their pleaſure was. Theſe Men are of all others in that Empire the greateſt, and for their high Places moſt honoured; unto them even the greateſt Princes that have any thing to do in the Turks Court, ſue and ſend their honourable Preſents. By their Advice the Great Sultan taketh his Wars in hand, neither without them concludeth he any Peace. They give Audience unto the Ambaſſadours of foreign Princes, and from them receive their diſpatch. The greateſt Honours and Preferments (which are many in that ſo great and large an Empire) are all by their means to be obtained; which maketh them of all others to be ſought unto. Some one or other of them are ſtill Generals over the great Armies of the Turks, eſpecially in theſe their late Wars, their three laſt Emperours never themſelves going forth into the Field (excepting once that *Mahomet* the Third, for the maintenance of his Credit with his Men of War, came down into *Hungary*, and there won the City of *Agria*:) which leading of ſuch mighty Armies is ſtill with great Emulation and Ambition of the Viſier Baſſaes amongſt themſelves ſought after, as well for the great profit thereby unto them ariſing, as for the Honour thereof, which is of all other the greateſt. But leaving theſe great ones, the chief Counſellers for his State; the whole body of his ſo large and mighty an Empire (all in the hands of Martial Men) is governed by other great Baſſaes, whom they by a moſt proud and barbarous Name call Beglerbegs, that is to ſay, Lords of Lords, every one of them having under him certain Begs or Sanzacks, who are Lords and Rulers alſo over ſome particular Cities and Countries, with the Timariots therein; yet all ſtill at the command and beck of their Beglerbeg. In ancient time there was wont to be but two of theſe proud Beglerbegs in all the Turks Empire, the one commanding over all the Provinces the Turk had in *Europe*; and the other, over all that he had in the leſſer *Aſia*, now of the Turks called *Natolia*. But the Turkiſh Empire, greatly augmented in *Aſia* by *Selymus* the Firſt, and alſo afterwards much enlarged both in *Europe* and *Aſia* by *Solyman* his Son, the number of the Beglerbegs were by him increaſed, and in ſome ſort alſo changed; who, although that they be all Beglerbegs, and that one of them (eſpecially in the time of Peace) in the managing of his Souldiers and Affairs of his Country, is not ſubject to any other, but is onely at the command of the Great Turk; yet notwithſtanding in the time of War, where the Beglerbeg of *Romania* is, all are obedient unto him, as the chiefeſt of the reſt; inſomuch that none of them but onely he and the Baſſa of *Natolia* are called by the ſtately name of Beglerbegs, the others being then onely called the Baſſaes of ſuch and ſuch Places, as of *Buda*, *Aleppo*, and ſuch like; although indeed they are in nature Beglerbegs, and ſo written in their Records. For the more manifeſting of which their Government, as alſo that they which come hereafter may be comparing of that which is here written with the ſtate that then ſhall be, ſee how much this great Empire in the mean time increaſeth or diminiſheth, I have thought good here briefly to ſet down all the ſaid Beglerbegs, with their Sanzacks and Timariots, and, as near as I could (either by reading, or the credible relation of others well travelled in thoſe Countries) together, and as it were at one ſhew, ſet forth the whole Strength and Power of this ſo mighty an Empire, as alſo in what Countries and Provinces the ſame is eſpecially placed.

The Beglerbegs or Great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Europe.

1. The Beglerbeg of *Romania*, chief of the Beglerbegs of the Turks Empire in *Europe*.

The firſt and chiefeſt of all the Beglerbegs in the Turks Empire, is the Beglerbeg of *Romania*, or *Græcia*, called of the Turks *Rum-Ili* (as we ſay the *Roman* Country) the principal reſidence of whoſe Beglerbegſhip is at *Sophia*, a City of *Bulgaria*, ſo appointed for the commodious ſcituation thereof, for the better command of the reſt of the Provinces of *Europe*; howbeit that he for the moſt part, or rather altogether abideth at the Court, which the other Beglerbegs cannot do; for they are bound not to depart from the Government of their Provinces; in which charge they ordinarily continue but three years only, the great Sultan ſtill changing and altering them at his Pleaſure. This Beglerbeg hath under his own Enſign and Command forty thouſand Timariots always ready at his call, under the conduct of theſe one and twenty Sanzacks following; namely the

Sanzack of
1 *Sophia* in *Bulgaria*.
2 *Nicopolis*.
3 *Cliſſe*, or *Quadraginta Eccleſiæ*.
4 *Vyza* in *Thracia*.
5 *Kirmen*,
6 *Siliſtria*,
7 *Giuſtandil*,
all in *Macedonia*.
8 *Bender*, near unto the *Euxine*.
9 *Acherman*, in the Confines of *Moldavia*.
10 *Vſcopia*.
11 *Priſrem*,
12 *Salonichi*,
13 *Trichala*,
all in *Theſſalia*.
14 *Miſitra*, of old called *Sparta*, in *Morea*.
15 *Palæopatra*, in the ſame Province.
16 *Joannina*, in *Ætolia*.
17 *Delvina*.
18 *Elbaſſan*.
both in *Achaia*.
19 *Avelona* or *Aulona* in *Albania*.
20 *Ducagin* in *Epirus*.
21 *Iſcodra*, or *Scodra* in *Albania*.

2. The Beglerbeg of *Buda*.

The Beglerbeg of *Buda*, who there reſideth in the Frontiers of the Turkiſh Empire, having under his charge eight thouſand Timariots, beſide 12000 other Souldiers, which in continual pay lie ſtill ready in Garriſon in the Confines of *Hungary*, *Croatia*, *Stiria*, and other Places bordering upon the *Chriſtians*, but eſpecially the Territories belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. He had of late under his Enſign and Command theſe fifteen Sanzacks, *viz.* the

Sanzack of
1 *Novigrade*.
2 *Filek*.
3 *Zetſchen*.
4 *Zolnock*.
5 *Gran* or *Strigonium*.
6 *Segedin*.
7 *Alba Regalis*.
8 *Sexard*.
9 *Simontorna*.
10 *Copan*.
11 *Muhatz*.
12 *Zigeth*, or *Saſwar*.
13 *Petſcheu* or *Quinque Eccleſiæ*.
14 *Sirmium*.
15 *Semendria*.

Of which, *Filek*, *Zetſchen*, and *Strigonium*, are in theſe late Wars won from the *Turks* by the Imperials, and ſo yet by them holden; as was alſo *Alba Regalis*, which but of late was by the *Turks* again recovered.

3. The Beglerbeg of *Temeſwar*.

The Beglerbegh of *Temeſwar* in *Hungary*, who there hath his abode, having under his command ſeven thouſand Timariots, with theſe eight Sanzacks; the

Sanzack of
1 *Temeſwar*.
2 *Mudava*.
3 *Vilaoſwar*.
4 *Tſchinnad*.
5 *Wiſchitirni*.
6 *Iſwornick*.
7 *Vidin*.
8 *Lippa*.

4. The Beglerbeg of *Boſna*.

The Beglerbegh of *Boſna*, who lyeth at *Bagnialuca*, hath under him theſe Sanzacks, the

Sanzack of
1 *Bagnialuca*.
2 *Poſchega*.
3 *Cliſſa*.
4 *Hertzegovina*.
5 *Lika*.
6 *Sazeſchna*.
7 *Giula*.
8 *Briſrem*.
9 *Alatſchia Chiſſar*.

5. The Beglerbeg of *Coffe* or *Capha*.

The Beglerbegh of *Coffe* or *Capha*, who there reſideth in *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, and beſide the Country thereabout, commandeth over all the Sanzacks near unto the great River *Tanais*, and the Fens of *Meotis*. It was at firſt but a Sanzackſhip, ſubject to the Beglerbeg of *Gracia*; and is in truth rather a Beglerbeghs place in Name, than in Strength and Power.

The Beglerbegs or Great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Aſia.

The Beglerbegs of the *Turks* Empire in *Aſia*.

The Beglerbeg of
1 *Anatolia*, who hath his reſiance in *Cutay*, the Metropolitical City of the greater *Phrygia* (called in antient time *Catyai*) and hath under his Enſign and command thirty thouſand of the Timariot Horſemen, with twelve Sanzacks.
2 *Caramania*, who hath his abode at *Caiſaria* (in antient time called *Caſaria*) a City of *Cilicia*, and hath under him ſeven Sanzacks, with twenty thouſand Timariots.
3 *Sivas*, who hath his abiding at *Sebaſtia*, a City of the leſſer *Armenia*, and hath under his Government ten thouſand Timariots.
4 *Tocatun*, who reſideth at *Amaſia*, the Metropolis of *Capadocia*, and hath under him five Sanzacks.
5 *Dulgadir*, ſometime part of the Kingdom of *Aladules*, and commandeth over four Sanzacks.
6 *Halep*, commonly called *Aleppo*, a City of *Syria*, and one of the moſt famous Marts of the Eaſt, who hath under his Regiment five and twenty thouſand Timariots.
7 *Sham*, otherwiſe called *Damaſco*, a moſt famous City of *Syria*, who commandeth over forty thouſand Timariots.
8 *Tarapolos*, or *Trapolos*, commonly called *Tripolis*, another famous City of *Syria*.
9 *Maras*, a City upon the great River *Euphrates*, betwixt *Aleppo* and *Meſopotamia*, who hath under his command 10000 Timariots.
10 *Diarbekir*, otherwiſe called *Meſopotamia*, who maketh his abode at the City of *Amida*, or, as the Turks call it, *Cara-hemid*, who commandeth over twelve Sanzacks, and thirty thouſand Timariots.

11 *Bag-*

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The Beglerbeg of

11 *Bagdat*, or new *Babylon*, where he reſideth, not far from the Ruines of old *Babylon*, who hath under him forty thouſand Timariots.
12 *Balſara*, not far from *Bagdat*, upon the *Perſian* Gulf, who hath under his Rule or Government fifteen thouſand Timariots.
13 *Laxa*, towards *Ormus*, and near unto the *Perſian*, hath under his Regiment ten thouſand Timariots.
14 *Gemen* and *Aden*, two famous Cities in *Arabia Fœlix*, upon the Coaſt of the Red-Sea, who hath under him thirty thouſand Timariots.
15 *Chebetz*, or *Zebet*, upon the Coaſt of the *Arabian* Gulf, near unto the Kingdom of the great *Æthiopian* King *Prejanes*, commonly (but corruptly) called *Presbiter John*.
16 *Cyprus*, who lieth at *Nicoſia* or *Famaguſta*, commanding over all that great Iſland, ſometime of it ſelf a Kingdom.
17 *Scheberezul* in *Aſſyria*, bordering upon the *Perſian*, who hath under his Government ten thouſand Timariots.
18 *Wan*, a City in the Confines of the greater *Armenia* toward *Media*, who hath under him twelve thouſand Timariots.
19 *Artzerum*, or *Erzerum*, in the Borders of *Armenia* towards *Capadocia*, about four days Journey from *Trapezond*, who commandeth over twenty thouſand Timariots.
20 *Teflis*, near unto the *Georgians*, erected by *Muſtapha Baſſa*, General of *Amurath* the third's Army againſt the *Perſian*, in the year 1578.
21 *Siruan*, or *Media*, erected by the ſame *Muſtapha*, and at the ſame time, commandeth over all that great Country, ſometime a famous Kingdom.
22 *Temir-Capi*, or *Derbent*, near unto the *Caſpian* Sea, taken by *Oſman Baſſa* the ſame year 1578; who, having ſlain *Schehemet Chan*, his Father-in-Law, reduced that Country into the form of a Beglerbegſhip.
23 *Cars*, a City of *Armenia* the greater, diſtant from *Artzerum* four days Journey, by *Muſtapha Baſſa*. made a Beglerbegſhip in the year 1578.
24 *Tſchilder* or *Tzilder*, in the Confines of the *Georgians*, erected by the ſame General *Muſtapha*, in the ſame year 1579.
25 *Faſſa*, or *Phaſis*, in *Mengrelia*, near unto the *Georgians*, erected by *Uluzales* the Turks Admiral, the ſame year 1579.
26 *Sochum*, in the Borders of the *Georgians*, erected by the great Baſſa *Sinan*, in the year 1580.
27 *Batin*, there erected alſo by the ſame *Sinan Baſſa*.
28 *Reivan*, erected by *Ferat Baſſa*, General of the Turks Army, taken from *Tochomac Chan* the *Perſian*, in the year 1582, whereof *Cicala Baſſa* was the firſt Beglerbeg.
29 *Sumachia*, in the Country of *Media*, erected by *Oſman Baſſa* in the year 1583.
30 *Tauris*, a moſt famous City of *Armenia* the greater, ſometime the Regal Seat of the *Perſian* Kings, but of late taken from them by *Oſman Baſſa*, and converted into a Beglerbegſhip in the ſame year 1583.

But theſe late erected Honours, namely the Beglerbegſhips of *Teflis*, *Siruan*, *Temir-Capi*, *Cars*, *Tſchilder*, *Faſſa*, and the reſt, gained by *Amurath* from the *Perſians* and the *Georgians*, although they contain a great Territory, are not of themſelves any of them worthy of thoſe proud Titles, or yet able to maintain the ſame (*Siruan*, *Reivan*, and *Tauris* only excepted) but were by the great Baſſaes, *Muſtapha*, *Sinan*, *Ferat*, and *Oſman*, *Amurath's* Lieutenants, for their own great Honour, and the encouraging of them which were to defend thoſe their new Conqueſts, erected; being indeed nothing either in Power or Strength comparable with the other more antient Beglerbegs either in *Europe* or *Aſia*. But, having thus paſſed through the great Kingdoms and Provinces by the Turks holden in *Europe* and *Aſia*, with their proud Honours therein, let us go forward toward the South, to ſee what great Kingdoms and Territories they at this preſent hold in *Africk* alſo.

The Beglerbegs or Great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Africk.

The Beglerbeg of

1 *Miſſir*, who ſtill making his abode at the great City of *Caire*, hath under his command all the Kingdom of *Ægypt*, with ſixteen Sanzacks, and an hundred thouſand Timariots.
2 *Ceſair*, in antient time called *Julia Cæſaria*, but now commonly *Algiers*, where the Beglerbeg ſtill reſiding, commandeth over all that Kingdom, wherein are forty thouſand Timariots.
3 *Tunis*, where he ſtill remaining as a Viceroy, commandeth all that great and large Kingdom.
4 *Tripolis*, the Seat of his Beglerbegſhip, by *Sinan Baſſa* taken from the Knights of *Malta* in the year 1551.

There are beſide theſe, two other Kingdoms in *Africk* inrolled in the Turks Records as their own, although they be not as yet by them brought into the form of Beglerbegſhips, namely the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, but are as yet holden by them as their Tributaries and Vaſſals.

But, having thus as it were taken view of the Greatneſs and Forces of this ſo mighty a Monarchs Empire by Land, and ſo in ſome ſort bounded it out, let us conſider alſo his Power by Sea. With the great Ocean he much medleth not, more than a little in the Gulfs of *Perſia* and *Arabia*, moſt of his Territories lying upon the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas, or elſe more inwardly into the heart of *Aſia* near to no Sea. Now for theſe Seas, no Prince in the World hath greater or better means to ſet forth his Fleets than he; for the overgrown Woods of *Epirus* and *Cilicia*, and more than they, thoſe of *Nicomedia* and *Trapezond*, are ſo great and thick, and ſo full of tall Trees fit for the building of Ships and Gallies of all ſorts,

The great Power of the Turk in the Mediterranean and Euxine Sea.

From whence he hath his chief Seamen.

6. The Denizi Beglerbeg, the Turks great Admiral, to be accounted ſixth of the Beglerbegs.

as is almoſt incredible. Neither wanteth he ſtore of Shipwrights and Carpenters for the framing of that ſo great ſtore of Timber, large pay drawing even the Chriſtian skilful Carpenters and Workmen into his Arſenals at *Conſtantinople*, *Synope*, *Callipolis*, and others. For proof whereof it is worth the noting, that *Selymus* the ſecond, in our freſh remembrance, the next year after that notable overthrow by him received at the *Echinades* (commonly called the battel of *Lepanto*) rigged up a Fleet, wherewith *Uluzales* his Admir al was not afraid to face the whole Power of the confederate Chriſtian Princes at *Cerigo*. Neither hath the Turk ever wanted good ſtore of expert Seamen, after the manner of thoſe Seas; for beſide thoſe he hath in ſtore at *Callipolis* and *Sinope*, out of his Gallies, which he hath always in readineſs at *Lesbos*, *Chios*, *Rhodus*, *Cyprus*, and *Alexandria*, and from the Pyrats which he continually receiveth into the Ports of *Tunis*, *Bugia*, *Tripolis*, and *Algiers*, he can and doth from them when need is, chuſe Captains, Mariners, and Rowers ſufficient for the manning and ſtoring of his Fleet. What he is able to do in thoſe Seas was well ſeen in our time, by thoſe Fleets which he had at *Malta*, *Cyprus*, the *Echinades*, and *Guletta*. He hath beſide of all neceſſary and warlike Proviſion abundant ſtore, and of great Ordnance to furniſh himſelf withal both by Sea and Land an infinite quantity. Out of *Hungary* he hath carried away above 5000 great pieces, out of *Cyprus* 500, and few leſs from *Guletta*, not to ſpeak what he hath more got from the Chriſtians in divers other places alſo. What ſtore he hath of Shot and Powder he ſhewed at *Malta*, where he diſcharged above 60000 great ſhot; at *Famaguſta*, where he beſtowed 118000; and at *Guletta*, where, in the ſpace of nine and thirty days, he by the fury of his great Ordnance overthrew the Fortifications which the Chriſtians had been forty years in building. So that, to return again to our purpoſe, the Great Turk ſo well provided of Men, Money, Shipping, and great Ordnance, and having done ſo great Matters at Sea, as is before reherſed, is not in reaſon otherwiſe to be accounted of, than as of a moſt mighty and puiſſant Prince as well by Sea as Land; which to be ſo, the Greatneſs of his Denizi Beglerbeg, or great Admiral (commonly called *Capitan Baſſa*, of whom we have not yet ſpoken) well declareth. This great Man having charge of all the Grand Seigniors Strength at Sea, is alway one of the Viſier Baſſaes, not bound ſtill to follow the Court, as the other Viſiers be, but always, or for the moſt part reſiant at *Conſtantinople* or *Callipolis*, ſo to be the nearer unto his charge. He that now hath this honourable Place, is called of the Turks *Cigala Baſſa*, deſcended of an honourable Family of that Name in *Genoa*; who commonly reſiding at *Conſtantinople* or *Callipolis*, hath under him fourteen Sanzacks, all of them great Commanders, and Men of great Place; namely the

Sanzack of
1 *Gallipolis*, or *Callipolis*.
2 *Galata*, or *Pera*.
3 *Nicomedia*.
4 *Limnos*, or *Lemnus*.
5 *Mitylene*, or *Lesbos*.
6 *Chios*, or *Scio*.
7 *Nexia*, or *Naxus*.
8 *Negropont*, or *Eubœa*.
9 *Rhodus*.
10 *Cavala* in the Frontiers of *Macedonia*.
11 *Napoli di Romania*.
12 *Lepanto*, or *Naupactus*.
13 *S. Maura*.
14 *Alexandria*.

The Greatneſs, Wealth, and Strength of this ſo mighty an Empire, as well by Sea as Land, thus in ſome ſort declared, let us now ſee upon what Princes it alſo confineth, and of what Power every one of them is in compariſon of that ſo great and overgrown a State. The Turks toward the Eaſt border upon the *Perſians*, according to a right line drawn by Imagination from *Tauris* to *Balſara*; upon the *Portugals* at the *Perſian* Gulf, and ſo there likewiſe toward the South; at the Red-Sea, upon the great *Æthyopian* King *Prejanes*, commonly called *Preſter John*; towards the South, in *Affrick* upon the Kingdom of *Morocco*; and in *Europe*, upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, with ſome part of the *Venetian* Seigniory; toward the North upon the *Polonians*, and the Territories of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Now to begin with the *Perſian*; the great Turk no doubt is in Field too ſtrong for him, as by proof hath been oftentimes ſeen; for *Mahomet* the Great in plain Battel overcame the valiant *Uſun Caſſanes*; *Selymus* the firſt, and after *Solyman* his Son put to flight the noble *Hyſmael* and *Tamas*, the two great and famous *Perſian* Kings; and now of late in our time, *Amurath* the Third by his Lieutenants hath taken from the *Perſians* all *Media*, with the greater *Armenia*, both ſometimes famous Kingdoms, together with the Regal City of *Tauris*. That the Turk ſo prevaileth, is by reaſon of his Foot-men, which the *Perſian* wanteth; and of his great Ordnance, whereof the *Perſian* hath neither ſtore nor uſe; and although the *Perſians* by Valour of their Horſemen have ſometime in open Field foiled the Turk, yet have they ſtill loſt ſome part of their Country; *Solyman* taking from them *Meſopotamia*, and *Amurath*, *Media* and *Armenia*. Neither did the *Perſians* alone feel that harm, and loſe their own, but undid their Confederates alſo; *Selymus* the Firſt ſpoiling the *Mamalukes* of *Egypt* and *Syria*, and utterly rooting them from off the face of the Earth; and *Amurath*, by his Lieutenants having brought to a low ebb the Warlike *Georgians*, both of them the *Perſian* Kings Friends and Confederates. Now is not the Turk ſo much too ſtrong at Land for the *Perſian*, but that he is as much too weak at Sea for the *Portugals*; in thoſe Seas I mean where their Forces have more than once to the Turks coſt met together in the *Eaſt-Indies*; the *Portugals* having in thoſe rich but remote Countries many ſure Harbours and Ports, yea, fair Countries and Territories abounding with Victuals and all Proviſion neceſſary for Shipping, with ſome alſo of thoſe great Eaſtern Princes their Allies and Confederates; whereas the Turk on the other ſide hath nothing in the *Perſian* Gulf ſtrong, beſide *Balſara*; the Sea Coaſt of *Arabia*, which might ſtand him in beſt ſtead, having no more but four Towns, and thoſe but weak and of ſmall worth. So that there, as alſo in the Red Sea, it is a matter of exceeding charge and difficulty for him to ſet out any great Fleet into thoſe Seas, for that thoſe Countries are utterly deſtitute of Wood fit to make Ships. For which cauſe, thoſe few times that he prepared his Fleets into the Red Sea (to have cut off the *Portugals* trade into the *Eaſt-Indies*) being not able to perform the ſame in the *Perſian* Gulf, he was inforced to bring the Timber for the building of his Gallies out of the Ports of *Bithinia* and *Cilicia* (out of another World as it were) up the *Nile* into *Caire*, and from thence upon Camels by Land to *Sues*, where he hath his Arſenal, a thing almoſt incredible. And yet having done what he could, as oft as he hath made Expedition againſt them, he never gained any thing but loſs and Diſhonour; as in the year 1538 at the City of *Dium*; and in the year 1552, at the Iſland of *Armuz*; and after that at *Mombaza*, where four of the Turks Gallies, with one Galliot, which by the favour of the King of *Mombaza* had thought to have ſtaid in thoſe Seas, were

The Princes, as well *Mahometans* as *Chriſtians*, upon whom the great Empire of the Turk confineth, and of what Power they be in compariſon of the Turk.

The *Perſian* too weak for the Great Turk.

The *Portugals* too ſtrong for the Turk in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

by the *Portugals* taken; who ſtill have a ſpecial regard and care that the Turks ſettle not themſelves in thoſe Seas; but as ſoon as they perceive them to prepare any Fleet, they forthwith ſet upon them, and to that end oftentimes without reſiſtance enter into the *Red-Seas*.

Preſter John too weak for the Turks.

Preſter John, of whom although men ſpeak much, yet is he nothing in ſtrength to be compared unto the Turk, but far inferiour unto him both for Commanders and Souldiers, as alſo for Weapons and Munition; for that great Prince hath a great Kingdom without Fortification, and a multitude of Souldiers without Arms; as appeared by the overthrow of *Barnagaſſo* his Lieutenant towards the *Red-Sea*; who, having loſt all that Sea coaſt unto the Turks, was brought to that extremity, that to have Peace with them, he yieldeth to pay unto them a yearly Tribute of a thouſand ounces of Gold.

The King of *Morocco* and the Turk both in doubt of the King of *Spain*.

In *Affrick* the Turk hath more Territories than hath the King of *Morocco*, otherwiſe called the *Xeriſe*; for he poſſeſſeth all that there lyeth betwixt the *Red-Sea* and the Kingdom of *Fez*; but the *Xeriſe* hath the better part, the richer, ſtronger, and more united; yet dare neither of them well make War upon the other, for the nearneſs of the King of *Spain*, Enemy unto them both. Now then there remaineth the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes bordering upon the Turk; and firſt the King of *Polonia*.

The King of *Polonia* unwilling to meddle with the Turk, or the Turk with him.

What theſe two Princes can do the one againſt the other, hath been ſeen in ſome former Expeditions, wherein the *Polonian* had ſtill the worſe; yet it ſhould ſeem, that of later time the Turk hath not been greatly deſirous to move the *Polonian* too far, for that being provoked by divers occaſions, (namely in the Reign of *Henry* the Third, in the Wars that *John* the Vayvod of *Valachia* had with the Turks, many *Polonian* Horſe-men ſerved the ſaid Vayvod, though not indeed ſent from the King; and in the time of *Sigiſmund*, the *Polonian Coſſacks* have with divers Incurſions not a little troubled them; beſide the late motions of *John Somoſchie*, the great Chancellor and General of the *Polonian* Forces, for the ſtaying of the *Tartars* by the *Turks* ſent for, he hath been content to comport the ſame, and not with his wonted pride ſought to be revenged thereof, as he hath for far leſs upon ſome other Princes. And on the other ſide, the *Polonians*, ſince the unfortunate Expedition of King *Ladiſlaus*, never took upon them any Wars againſt the Turks, neither gave ſuch Aid as they ſhould unto the *Valachians* their Confederates, but ſuffered to be taken from themſelves whatſoever they had toward the *Euxine* or *Black-Sea*; a thing imputed rather unto the want of Courage in their Kings, than in the Nobility of that Kingdom. *Sigiſmund* the Firſt, being by Pope *Leo* the Tenth, invited to the Wars againſt the Turks, anſwered them in theſe few words: Set you the Chriſtian Princes at unity amongſt themſelves, and I for my part will not be wanting. *Sigiſmund* the Second ſo abhorred, the Wars, that he not onely declined the Turks, but, provoked by the *Muſcovites*, never ſought to revenge the ſame. King *Stephen*, (by the commendation of *Amurath* choſen King of *Polonia*) an indifferent eſteemer both of his Enemies Forces and his own, thought it a moſt dangerous thing to joyn Battel with the Turk, and yet in private talk with his Friend, would oftentimes ſay, That with thirty thouſand Foot joyned unto his *Polonian* Horſemen, he durſt well to undertake an Expedition againſt the Turk; which he was ſuppoſed oftentimes to have thought upon.

The Emperour, with the reſt of the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, together with the Aid of the *Germans*, have much ado to defend themſelves againſt the Turk.

The Emperour, with the reſt of the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, are by a longer tract of ground joyned unto this great Empire of the Turks, than any one other Prince of the World, and beſtow in Fortifications and the maintenance of their Garriſons, (wherein they have continually above twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot) the greateſt part of their Revenues, even in the time of Peace, much more in theſe their long Wars; and with the *German* Forces joyned unto their own, are more careful how to defend that they have yet left, than how to recover that they have already loſt, or to inlarge their Empire. The Emperour *Ferdinand*, with greater force than ſucceſs, undertook the unfortunate Expeditions of *Bada* and *Poſſega*; which ſo evil fell out, not for that his Forces were not ſufficient or ſtrong enough, but for that they wanted Agility and Dexterity. The truth is, thoſe his Armies were ſtrong enough, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſary, but conſiſted for the moſt part of *Germans* and *Bohemians*, ſlow and heavy People, unfit to encounter with the Turks, a more ready and nimble kind of Souldiers.

The *Venetians* by Policy rather than by force, maintain their State againſt the Turk.

The *Venetians* alſo confrontier the *Turks* by many hundred miles, both by Sea and Land, and defend themſelves rather by peaceable Policy than force of Arms; notably fortifying their Strong-holds upon their Frontiers, declining by all means the Dangers and Charges of War, by Ambaſſages and rich Preſents, leaving nothing unattempted, (their Liberty and State preſerved) rather than to fall to Wars. To ſay the truth of them, although they had both Coin and War-like proviſion ſufficient, yet want they Men and Victuals anſwerable to ſo great a War againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy.

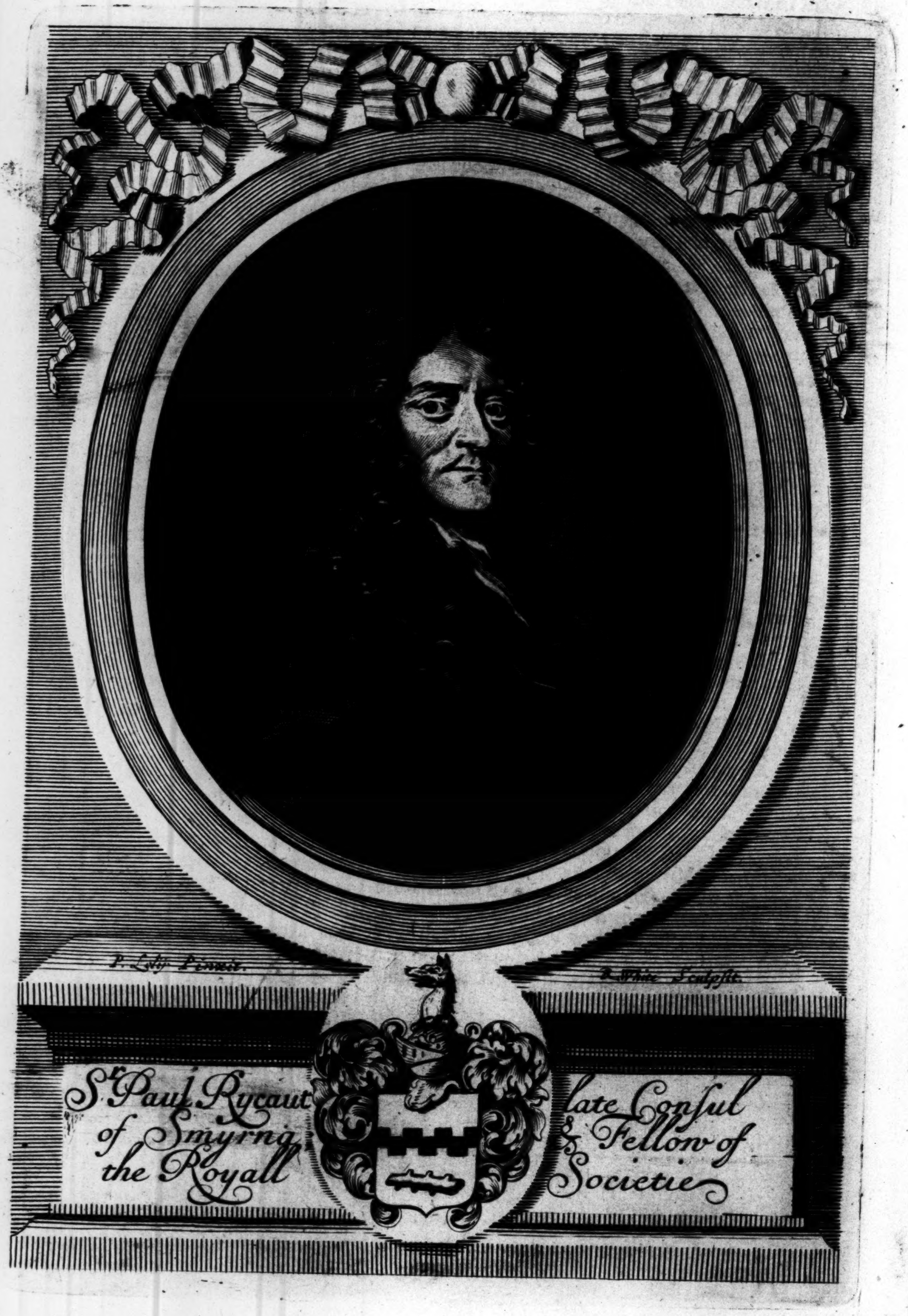
The King of *Spain*, of all other Princes that border upon the Turk, beſt able to wage War with him.

There remaineth onely the King of *Spain*, of all other the great Princes either Chriſtians or Mahometans bordering upon him, the beſt able to deal with him; his yearly Revenues ſo far exceeding thoſe of the Turks, as that they are alſo probably thought to countervail the greateſt part of his Timariots; and his great Dominions in *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Naples*, *Sicilia*, *Millain*, *Sardinia*, and the Low Countries, (if they were with him at unity) able to afford unto him ſo great and powerful a Strength both by Sea and Land, as might make him dreadful even unto the Great Turk when he ſwelleth in his greateſt Pride; but conſidering how his Forces are diſtracted for the maintenance of his Wars at once in divers places; as alſo for the neceſſary defence and keeping of his ſo large and diſperſed Territories, not all the beſt of themſelves affected to the *Spaniſh* Government, he is not to be thought of himſelf ſtrong enough againſt the united Forces of the Great Turk, whenſoever they ſhall chance to be imployed upon him. So that by this we have already ſaid, is eaſie to be gathered, how much the Turk is too ſtrong for any one of the neighbour Princes, either Mahometans or Chriſtians, bordering upon him, and therefore to be of them the more feared. Yet, leſt ſome miſtaking me, might think, What, is then the Turk invincible? Far be that thought from me, to think any Enemy of Chriſt Jeſu (be his Arm never ſo ſtrong) to be able to withſtand his Power, either quite to devour his little Flock, rage he never ſo much about it.

Why the Turk is not to be thought invincible, neither his Power ſo ſtrong, as in ſhew it ſeemeth to be.

As for the Turk, the moſt dangerous and profeſſed Enemy of the Chriſtian Common-weal, be his ſtrength ſo great, yea, and haply greater too than is before declared, (the greatneſs of his Dominion and Empire conſidered) yet is he not to be thought therefore either Invincible, or his Power ſo great, as it in ſhew ſeemeth for to be; his Timariot Horſe-men (his greateſt ſtrength) diſperſed over his whole Empire, being never poſſibly the one half of them by him to be gathered into the body of one Army; neither if they were ſo, poſſible in ſuch a multitude long to be kept together, living upon no pay of his, but upon ſuch Store and Proviſion onely as they bring with them from their *Timari*, never ſufficient to maintain them long. Beſides that, the policy of his State hardly or never ſuffereth him to draw above a third part of his Timariots out of his Countries where they dwell, for fear leſt the reſt of the People, by them ſtill kept under, ſhould in their abſence take up Arms againſt him in defence of themſelves and their ancient Liberty; whereafter, the greateſt part of thoſe poor oppreſſed Souls, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians in every Province of his Empire, awaiting but the opportunity, moſt deſirouſly longeth. So that more than two parts of them being always to be left at home for neceſſary defence of the ſpacious borders of his ſo large an Empire, as alſo for the keeping in Obedience of ſo many diſcontented Nations; it is a great matter, if he, even in his greateſt Wars, draw together of theſe kind of Souldiers the full number of an hundred and fifty thouſand ſtrong, making up the reſt of his huge Multitude with his Acanzii, living of no pay of his, but upon the ſpoil of the Enemy onely, the fifth part whereof they pay unto him alſo. All which put together, what manner of men they be, and of what Valour, not onely the ſmall Armies of the Chriſtians, under the leading of their worthy Chieftains, *Huniades*, *Scanderbeg*, King *Matthias*, and others, have to their immortal Glory in former times made good proof; but even in this our Age, and that as it were but the other day, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, with divers other Captains and Commanders yet living, have done the like alſo, as well witneſſeth the late Battel of *Agria*, wherein the Chriſtians, in number not half ſo many as the Turks, by plain Valour drave the Great Sultan *Mahomet* himſelf (with *Ibrahim* Baſſa his Lieutenant General) out of the Field, and had of him had the moſt notable Victory that ever was got againſt that Enemy, had they not by too much careleſneſs, and untimely deſire of ſpoil, themſelves ſhamefully interrupted the ſame. But thus to let his Horſe-men paſs; the chief ſtrength of his Foot-men are his Janizaries, never in number exceeding twelve or fourteen thouſand, yet ſeldom times half ſo many even in his greateſt Armies, except he himſelf be there in Perſon preſent in the midſt of them; who, beſide the ſmall number of them, in the time of theſe their late voluptuous and effeminate Emperour, corrupted with the Pleaſures of *Conſtantinople*, and for want of their wonted Diſcipline, have, together with their ancient Obedience and Patience, loſt alſo a great part of their former Reputation and Valour; all the reſt of his Foot-men filling up the Body of his populous Army, being his Aſapi, rather Pioneers than Souldiers, men of ſmall Worth, and ſo accounted of both by the Turks and their Enemies alſo. So that all things well conſidered, his beſt Souldiers being the leaſt part of his greateſt Armies, and they alſo far unlike their Predeceſſors, the ſtern followers of the former *Ottoman* Kings and Emperours, but Men now given to Pleaſure and Delight, it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but that he bringeth into the Field far more Men than good Souldiers, more bravery than true Valour, more ſhew than Worth, his Multitude being his chiefeſt ſtrength, his ſuppoſed greatneſs the Terrour of his Neighbour Princes, and both together the very Majeſty of his Empire. Which, although it be indeed very ſtrong, for the reaſons before alledged, yet is it by many probably thought to be now upon the declining hand, their late Emperours in their own Perſons far degenerating from their Warlike Progenitors, their Souldiers generally giving themſelves to unwonted Pleaſures, their antient Diſcipline of War neglected, their Superſtition not with ſo much zeal as of old regarded, and Rebellions in divers parts of his Empire of late ſtrangely raiſed, and mightily ſupported; all the ſigns of a declining State: Which, were they not at all to be ſeen, as indeed they be very pregnant; yet the Greatneſs of this Empire being ſuch, as that it laboureth with nothing more than the weightineſs of it ſelf, it muſt needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it ſelf fall, and again come to nought, no man knowing when or how ſo great a Work ſhould be brought to paſs, but he in whoſe deep Counſels all theſe great Revolutions of Empires and Kingdoms are from Eternity ſhut up; who at his Pleaſure ſhall in due time, by ſuch means as he ſeeth beſt, accompliſh the ſame, to the unſpeakable comfort of his poor afflicted flock, in one place or other, ſtill in danger to be by this roaring Lyon devoured. Which work of ſo great wonder, He for his Son our Saviour Chriſt's ſake, the glory of his Name, and comfort of many thouſand oppreſſed Chriſtians, fed with the Bread of carefulneſs amidſt the Furnace of Tribulation, in mercy haſten, that we with them, and they with us, all as Members of one Body, may continually ſing, ***Unto him be all Honour and Praiſe, World without end.***

The ſigns of the declining of the Turks Empire.


P. Lely Pinxit.
R. White Sculpsit.

S.^r Paul Rycaut late Consul of Smyrna & Fellow of the Royall Societie

THE HISTORY OF THE Turkiſh Empire,

From the YEAR 1623, to the YEAR 1677.

CONTAINING THE

REIGNS

Of the Three laſt

EMPERORS,

VIZ.

SULTAN MORAT,
OR
AMURAT IV.
SULTAN IBRAHIM,
AND
Sultan MAHOMET IV, his Son,
The Thirteenth EMPEROR, now Reigning.

By Sir *PAUL RYCAUT*,
Late CONSUL of *Smyrna*.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D.* for *Tho. Baſſet*, *R. Clavell*, *J. Robinſon*, and
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The Epiſtle Dedicatory to the KING.

May it pleaſe Your most Excellent Majeſty,

I Cannot, without ſome deſpondency of Mind, and awful fear of the Greatneſs of Your Majeſty, make an Offering at Your Sacred Feet of ſo ſmall an Eſteem and inconſiderable Value, as theſe following Hiſtories. For having travelled long in remote Countries, and reſided no leſs than eighteen Years in *Turky*, the World may reaſonably expect ſome rich Returns unto Your Majeſty in Perſian Silks, and Tyrian Purples, or in the fineſt Carpets, and other Gayeties, in which the ſoftneſs and luxury of the Leſſer *Aſia* did anciently abound; and may now judg me a Bankrupt, or ill Husband of my Talent, when they ſee me at Home trembling in Your Royal Preſence, with a Gift no more worthy than a few Sheets of Paper; which being a Sacrifice inferior and beneath the acceptance of ſo Great a Monarch, I might reaſonably fear, that they would take fire at the heat of Your juſt diſpleaſure, were they not with all humility and reverence conſecrated to the Royal Clemency. For in this glorious Title and Attribute, Your Majeſty (as is notorious to the World) exceeding all the moſt Serene and moſt Clement Emperors that ever were, expects not from me, either Gold or Jewels, but rather a true Account of my Time, how I have ſpent it in the Service of God, and of your Majeſty: and how I have adminiſtred that Publick Truſt and Intereſt which was committed to my Management. Accept therefore, *GREAT SIR*, theſe following Diſcourſes, to diſcharge part of the Account of my Time, with other Treatiſes which have been the Employment to fill up my vacant Intervals: the remaining account of my Hours are not to be juſtified by my own Report, but by the Teſtimony of others, whoſe Wiſdom and Goodneſs will be as ready to own my Induſtry and Faithfulneſs in their Concernments, as they will be to excuſe and pardon my Infirmities.

Ever ſince the time of Your Majeſty's happy Reſtauration, my Lot hath fallen to live and act within the Dominions of the Turk, and there to move in a Publick Capacity; which though it was in an Adminiſtration of one of the loweſt Note and Degree, yet the great Influence which the flouriſhing Eſtate of that Trade hath on the common Good of *England*, nouriſhed in me a ſecret Pride and Satisfaction in that Employment, which called and raiſed up all my Endeavours to acquit my ſelf therein with Prudence, Faithfulneſs, and Induſtry; there being the ſame Regularity required in the Stars of the lower, as in thoſe of higher Magnitude.

This hath been the firſt, and indeed the only Affair I ever managed for the Publick: for before Your Majeſty's bleſſed Return, the Character noted on my Family of being Loyal, as it made them at firſt active and zealous in the Service of Your Glorious Father, ſo afterwards it famed them for their Sufferings, and rendred them and me uncapable of Office. But Your Majeſty returning like the Sun, to animate and cheriſh all living Creatures, with an equality proportioned to their ſeveral Capacities, hath been pleaſed alſo to beſtow a Ray of Your benign Influence on my ſelf; whereby having received Comfort and Refreſhment, I do with all ſenſe of my Duty, and with entire Devotion, pray unto the King of Kings for the Happineſs, long Life, and immortal Glory of Your Majeſty, and with all reverence and humble ſubmiſſion, devote and conſecrate my ſelf, for ever to remain,

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble, moſt Dutiful,
and moſt Obedient Servant,

PAUL RYCAUT.

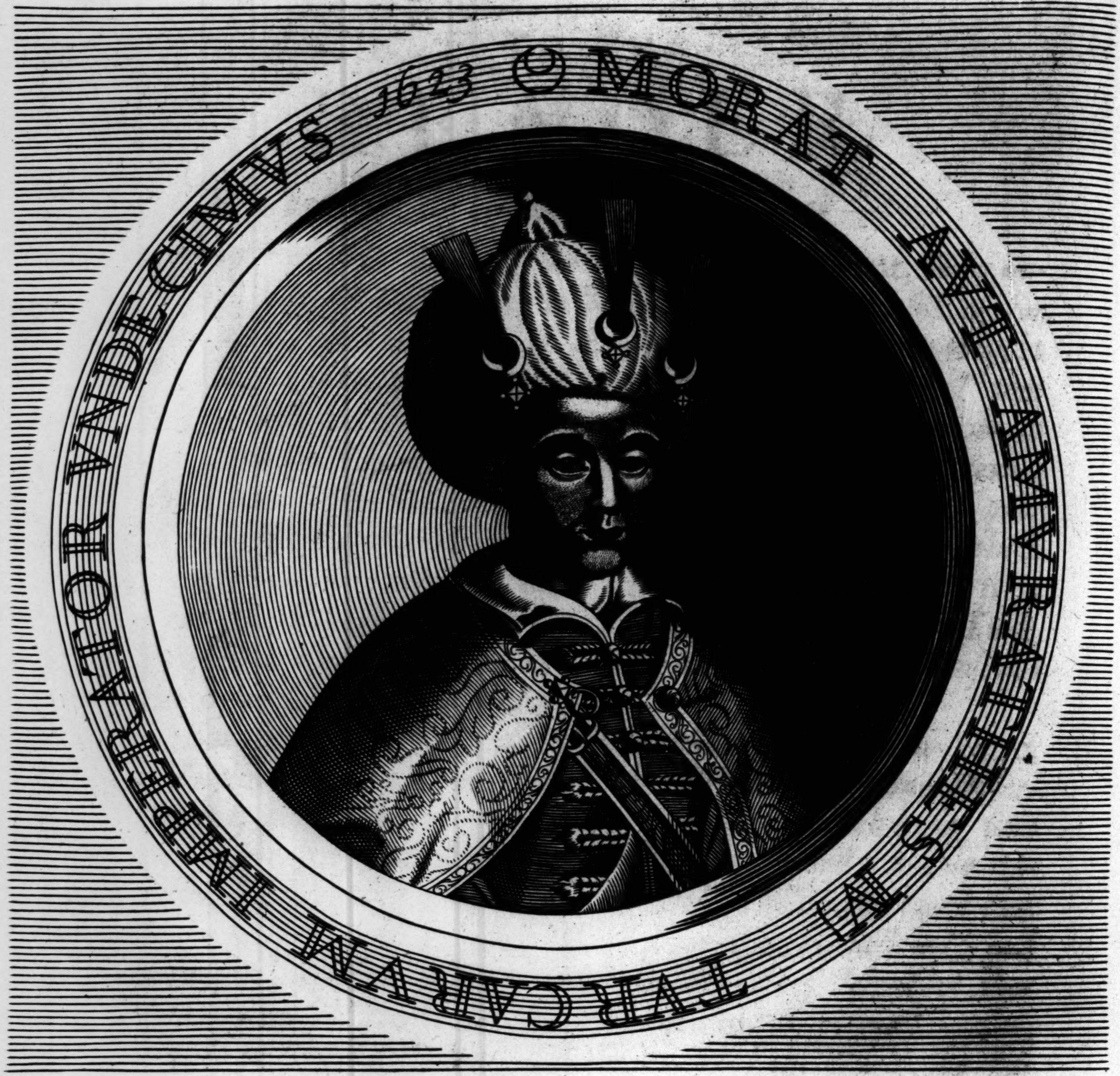
TO THE
READER.

Reader,

THE Reign of Sultan Amurat, *or* Morat, *being imperfectly wrote in* Knolls *his Hiſtory, conſiſting for the moſt part of abrupt Collections; I have thought fit, for the better compleating of the Reign of that Sultan, and the whole Body of our Turkiſh Hiſtory, to deliver all the particular Tranſactions thereof with my own Pen: whereunto alſo I have added the Reign of Sultan* Ibrahim, *never before publiſhed in the Engliſh Tongue; the particular Occurrences of which being acted before my time, were for the moſt part extracted from Venetian Writers, who by reaſon of their Vicinity to the Turk, have been always moſt curious, and concerned to note and obſerve the Affairs of that Empire.*

But the other part of this Hiſtory beginning from the Year 1660, and continued to the Year 1677, is the Product of my own Obſervations, being Matters tranſacted in my time, which being part ſeen by my ſelf, and in part received from good and probable Advices, I call by the Name of my MEMOIRS, *in regard that I am little obliged to other Writers for thoſe Collections; and therefore, by God's Aſſiſtance, aſſume the chief Merit of that Work to my ſelf: which I deſire and heartily wiſh, good Reader, might, for thy ſatisfaction, and the benefit of the World, be ſtill continued, and the Thread of Hiſtory drawn out unto future Ages: as alſo that thoſe Errors and Miſtakes, of which I have been guilty herein, might be corrected and amended.* Farewel.

THE


1623 MORAT AVT AMVRATHES IV TVRCARVM IMPERATOR VNDECIMVS

My Brothers folly, and my want of years
Let loose the reignes of Rule to Mutiniers;
But as wth. time my strength, and wit improve,
I all reforme wth feare, and not by love.
By! mighty force I Babylon subdue,
From whence a peace with Persia doth ensue,
And when 'gainst Christiã foes, I do designe
To turn my armes, dye with excesse of wine.

THE REIGN OF Sultan MORAT, OR AMURAT IV.
The Eleventh EMPEROR, AND Twenty firſt MONARCH OF THE TURKS.

THE weak Underſtanding of Sultan *Muſtapha*, and his inability for Rule, cauſed the Affairs of State, both at Home and Abroad, to move diſorderly and irregular. *Where Violence and Injuſtice prevail, there is ſo little diſtance between the moſt eminent Height of Grandure, and the loweſt Abyſs of Miſery, that a Prince may in a moment ſtep from one unto the other.* The Janiſaries and Military Officers commanded more now than the Civil, all things being guided by the Air and Fancy of the Souldiery, who placed and diſplaced with that wind of Favour and Diſpleaſure, which is agreeable to the Humour of a Multitude, and the Licentiouſneſs of Arms. For at the ſame time there were three Emperors, ſeven Great Viziers, two Captain-Paſha's, five Aga's of the Janiſaries, three Treaſurers, ſix Paſha's of *Cairo*; and in proportion, the Changes and Alterations were as many in all the Provinces of the Empire. All this Confuſion evidently proceeding from the weak and almoſt ſenſleſs Underſtanding of *Muſtapha*; the Miniſters and People concurred, as it were, in an univerſal Conſent to dethrone him a ſecond time, and exalt into his Place Sultan *Morat* Brother to *Oſman*, who was murdered the Year before. The Principal Actors in this Contrivance, were *Kioſem* the Mother of *Morat*, and the Mufti. But in the execution hereof, three Difficulties occurred: The firſt was *Chuſatin* Paſha the Great Vizier; who by reaſon of the Inabilities of *Muſtapha*, being become abſolute Lord and Soveraign of all, would be unwilling to aſſent unto that Propoſition, which might degrade him of his Dignity, and diveſt him of his Power. A ſecond Obſtaſtacle was the Fancy and Humour of the Souldiery, who having with much Zeal and Paſſion exalted *Muſtapha* to the Throne, it might be doubted, that in maintenance of the ſame Humour, they would with equal obſtinacy perſevere in their Election. A third was the Poverty or low Ebb of the Exchequer, which at that time was in no capacity to ſupply that Donative to the Souldiery, which was uſual and cuſtomary at the Inauguration of every Sultan. To forward and haſten this Change, and ripen this Plot, the News of the Rebellion of *Abaſſa* did much contribute; who with a Body of fifteen thouſand Horſe, roved over all the Plains of *Kara-hiſar*, calling himſelf Avenger of Sultan *Oſman*'s Murder, and Enemy of the Janiſaries; by whoſe Mutiny and Conſpiracy he was put to Death: in ſatisfaction for which, he not only killed all Janiſaries which fell into his hands; but their Wives, Children, and thoſe allied to them, he deſtroyed with implacable Malice and bloody Rage. Upon this Advice, the Janiſaries at *Conſtantinople* being moved with equal Fury and deſire of Revenge, applied themſelves to their Aga, propoſing a ſpeedy Union with the Spahees, for ſuppreſſing this Rebellion before Time gave it greater growth, and made the Humour more ſtubborn and difficult to be purged. At the ſame time alſo came Letters from *Cicala* Paſha, (who was diſpatched into *Aſia* with a ſtrong Party, to give a ſtop to the farther Progreſs and Advance of *Abaſſa*) adviſing that upon his near approach to the Enemy, ſo general a Fear poſſeſſed his Souldiery, that moſt of them

1623.

diſbanded and forſook their Colours; and that at preſent he had no more than five hundred Janiſaries, and two hundred Spahees under his Command, which he found to be an unequal Match to contend with the increaſing Power of *Abaſſa*. This Intelligence ſerved happily the occaſion of the Mufti, Vizier, and Aga, to give a turn to the deſired Change, and ſupplied them with an Anſwer to the Janiſaries, that they were ready to yield compliance unto their Addreſs; but that the Incapacity of their Soveraign obſtructed their Proceedings, and that the Defect in the principal Wheel diſordered all the Motions of good Government. At which Reply the Janiſaries becoming more unquiet, aſſembled themſelves in a tumultuous manner at the Moſch of Sultan *Solyman*; where making an * Ayack Divan, (ſo called, becauſe they ſit not down, but ſtand on their Legs, to denote the preſent haſte and urgency of their Affair) it was enacted, by an unanimous conſent of the Civil and Military Power, That young *Morat*, or *Amurat*, ſhould be promoted to the Throne, and that *Muſtapha* ſhould be depoſed: And becauſe the Exchequer was at its loweſt Ebb, and wholly exhauſted by miſcarriage of the Officers, the Souldiers were contented to diſpenſe with their Donative; which they relinquiſhed in conſideration of the Publick Good, reſerving ſtill their Title and Claim thereunto at times of a more happy Inauguration. With this News the Vizier immediately mounted on Horſe-back to ſignify this Univerſal Decree to *Muſtapha*; but he found him ſo ſtupid, as if he had been inſenſible of the Meſſage; and his Mother wanting Power to reſiſt this ſtrong Convulſion, gave way to Neceſſity, and ſeemed to embrace what ſhe could not oppoſe.

* Ayack in *Turkiſh ſignifies a Foot.*

Thus *Muſtapha* falling from the Heaven of his Throne to the Abyſs of his Priſon, ſeemed to return unto his Centre; for being only by the Wild-fire of Fortune carried as far aloft, as the force of popular Powder could reach, he afterwards by the meer weight of his earthly Temper returned with the like quickneſs of Motion to the place from whence he aſcended.

Hereupon Sultan *Amurat*, a Youth of about fourteen years of Age, was brought forth to the People, and placed in the Throne with all the Acclamations and Rejoycings of the People. And being taught by his Mother in a feigned manner to refuſe acceptance of the Empire, he pretended that the Exchequer was exhauſted, and that therefore he was not able to demonſtrate the Affection and Eſteem he had for them; and that ſince they had killed their former Sultans, he was fearful leſt the tenderneſs of his Age ſhould betray him to the like Violence: but the Souldiery having not the patience to hearken to his Excuſes, immediately carried him to the Divan, where having cloathed him in White, they ſeated him on a Safraw, erected with four Pillars, ſtudded with precious Stones; the Covering of which was of Crimſon-Velvet, richly embroidered with Gold and Oriental Pearl. And being ſo ſeated, the Mufti with all reverence approached, and kiſſed his Hand; and then turning to the People, he demanded of them, If they were contented with that Prince whom they now beheld in the Seat of the Ottoman Kings? To which they having given aſſent by their loud Acclamations; *Morat*, with a becoming gravity, encharged the Mufti to take care that Juſtice and the Law be executed, and ſo retired to his Lodgings with general ſatiſfaction. The next morning he was carried by Water to the Moſch of *Jub* in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, where according to the Solemnity of the Ottoman Empire, having performed his * *Corban*, or Sacrifice, and having his Cemiter girt to his Side by the Emirſheriff, he mounted on Horſe-back, and with a magnificent Train entred by the Gate of *Adrianople*. In the mean time *Muſtapha*, who was more worthy to bear a Fool's Cap than an Imperial Diadem, was conducted to Priſon, and more narrowly guarded than formerly; howſoever no Man offered to take away his Life, the Perſons of Fools and Idiots being ſacred in eſteem of the Turks, and the leaſt Injury offered to them accounted Irreligious and Unlucky.

Amurat inſtalled.

1623.

* *Which is a diſpenſing of Mutton to the Poor.*

Morat was of a lively Countenance, fair-fac'd, dark Hair, of a black and lively Eye, ruddy and ſanguine Complexion, and in every degree of a promiſing and hopeful Aſpect: but his exteriour appearance did not correſpond with the internal Cruelty of his violent Spirit, having ſome ſimilitude with the Swan, which hath white Feathers and black Fleſh.

The Great Vizier who aſſiſted at this Solemnity, was (as we have ſaid) *Chuſaein* Paſha, a Perſon of Self-intereſt, who had waſted and conſumed the Treaſury, and converted a great part thereof to his own Benefit; he was a Tyrant, hated of all Men, and ſupported himſelf by no other Art than bribing of the Souldiery: And to his other Crimes he added, that of having unjuſtly perſecuted *Halil* Paſha, and deprived him of his Office, his Power not reaching to the taking away his Life; which being reſerved for better Times, he was again recalled from his Retirement, and by ſpecial Command of the Sultan, was unwillingly reſtored to the Office of Vizier, being but pleaſed with a quiet and pacifick Life, to which his melancholy Temper had naturally diſpoſed him. In the mean time *Chuſaein* Paſha being terrified by the ſenſible touches of his own Conſcience, took his flight by way of the Black Sea; and being out of the reach of Juſtice, a Fine was ſet of Five thouſand Zechins, and of Lands to the Revenue of an hundred thouſand Aſpers a Year, to be given unto him who ſhould bring his Head. Many of thoſe who had ſold him their Friendſhip and Favour, being affrighted with this Sentence, voluntarily diſgorged the Rewards they had received; and amongſt the reſt, the laſt Aga of the Janiſaries, who had been his Kahya or Steward for the ſpace of three months, reſtored 8 hundred thouſand Dollars as an Atonement for his Sin, and a Ranſom for purchaſing his own Life and Office. At length, by force of the foregoing Reward, *Chuſaein* Paſha was betrayed and taken alive; and being brought to *Conſtantinople*, was immediately ſtrangled before the Gate of the Divan.

Many were the Difficulties which this young Sultan was to encounter; the greateſt of which was the Inſolence of the Janiſaries, who feeling themſelves empty of Mony, began to repent of the prodigal and eaſy remiſſion of their Donative, and in a tumultuous manner to redemand it again. There was no Argument or Debate to be uſed againſt Men of the Sword, who hearkned to no other Reaſon than their own Wants, and to ſatisfy them, there was no other Remedy than Compliance; wherefore all Officers and Perſons not employed in Military Affairs were forced to contribute towards a large Tax, and a ſhameful Demand was made for the Loan of Thirty thouſand Zechins from the four Chriſtian Ambaſſadors reſident at the Port, that they alſo as Friends might yield an aſſiſting hand towards the preſent Urgency of Affairs: ſo little conſideration

1624. deration and ſhame have Turks to lay open the Nakedneſs and diſtreſs of their Country even to Strangers and Enemies of it. And indeed ſuch was the Inſolence and uncontroulable Power of the Souldiery, that their Deſires and Commands were Laws, and their Determinations Rules for their Sultan and his Subjects.

This Humour of Uſurpation and unlimited Power, wearied all the Officers of the Empire, and inclined them ſecretly to approve the Cauſe of *Abaſſa* Paſha of *Erzirum*, who declared and ſtiled himſelf Enemy to the Janiſaries; and of *Bechir* Paſha of *Babylon*, who was joined with him. The Vizier alſo finding his Power abridged by the Arbitrary Will of the Souldiery, moved ſlowly and coldly into *Aſia*, where all the Force he could make, conſiſted of no more than fifty thouſand new and unexperienced Men, ſuch as were uncapable to contend with a more numerous Army of veterane Souldiers; to which alſo the Beglerbei of *Anatolia* joined himſelf, as did all other the chief Timar-Spahees, who conſpired together to confound and deſtroy the Pride and Government of the Janiſaries. The Vizier alſo was of the ſame Party, and coldly at firſt anſwered the Requeſt of the Janiſaries, when they earneſtly preſſed him to lead them againſt *Abaſſa* their common and mortal Enemy: At length, being fortified with the Force of the Timar-Spahees, he told them plainly, That if they would go and fight, he would be a Spectator of the Succeſs, but would not engage himſelf in a Quarrel wherein the Blood of *Muſſelmen* might be ſpilt on one ſide and the other: by which means the Rebels in *Aſia* took Head, increaſed in Force, and every day rendred them in a more formidable and dangerous poſture.

But this was not all the Trouble which enſued; for the Tartars having refuſed that King whom the Grand Signior had appointed them to receive, declared for *Mehmet* his Brother: who was ſeconded by the Votes of the Generality, and maintained by the ſtrongeſt Nerve of that Nation. The Vizier was unwilling to ingage in this Quarrel, alledging, That a Civil War was the worſt of Evils, and that it was better to connive at a preſent Inconvenience, than in this diſtracted Time of Affairs, to pollute the Empire with the Blood of Tartars, who were their Brethren, and of the ſame Religion and Alliance with them. Howſoever the Divan was of another Opinion, and reſolved to diſpeed the Captain-Paſha with a Force ſufficient to re-inſtate *Gherey* (for ſo the Elder Brother was called) in the Government of that Kingdom. But yet the Inſtructions given, rather directed him to act with Dexterity than with Force, ſuppoſing that the Authority of the Turks abetted with the preſence of a conſiderable Force, would create an inclination in the Tartars to Obedience, ſo ſoon as they diſcovered them to appear on their Coaſt. The Captain-Paſha being arrived at * *Caffa*, declared, That he was ſent by the Grand Signior, not to exclude either one or other of the Pretenders, but only to be Witneſs of a free and fair Election; that ſo all Civil Diſcord ceaſing, that Party might be choſen who was moſt pleaſing to the generality of the People. To which end two Standards were erected, one for † *Gherey* the Elder Brother deſired by the Turks, and the other for *Mehmet* beloved of the Tartars. The People in multitudes ran to the Standard of *Mehmet*, and but few to that of *Gherey*; which demonſtrated at how mean a rate the Tartars eſteemed the Protection and Favour of the Port. The Captain-Paſha vexed hereat, denied to give his Aſſent to the Confirmation, on pretence, that he was firſt to demand the Grand Signior's Pleaſure; but at length was perſwaded by *Gherey* to land a Force of about eight thouſand Men to own and maintain his Cauſe, on hopes, that rather than ingage againſt the Turks, the People would condeſcend to Terms in his Admiſſion and Favour. 1625. The Tartars not being in the leaſt diſmayed hereat, arrayed themſelves in a warlike Poſture, and feigning Fear and Flight, allured the Turks to a purſuit of them, until they had brought them to a place where thirty thouſand Horſe lay in ambuſh; which on a ſudden ariſing and encompaſſing them round, had entirely deſtroyed them, had not *Salil* the Brother of *Mehmet* given a ſtop to the ſlaughter, on hopes, that ſuch a teſtimony of Friendſhip would reconcile the Spirits of the Turks, at leaſt might render his Brother's preferment more tolerable and grateful to the Turks. In this conflict, *Ibrahim* and *Chuſaein* who were Viziers of the Bench, the Kahya and a Capigibaſhe of the Seraglio were ſlain, whoſe Bodies were afterwards tranſported to *Conſtantinople*, ſix hundred Janiſaries and as many Sea-men were killed, and fifteen hundred Priſoners were taken, whoſe Liberty was procured at a mean Ranſom, for the ſake of that Faith and Religion which they jointly profeſſed; they alſo took thirty Pieces of Cannon, and might alſo have become Maſters of the whole Fleet conſiſting of thirty ſix Gallies, had they been deſirous to have proſecuted their Victory to the utmoſt advantage: and moreover in that conjuncture of Affairs, when a general conſternation had overſpread the principal parts of the Ottoman Dominions, when the Councils were feeble and faint, and that a languiſhing Pulſe beat in all the Government, had the Tartar with an Army of fifty thouſand Horſe then ready to march, made up to the Walls of *Adrianople*, it might have proved ſuch an opportunity for dividing and deſtroying this Empire, as hath not offered at any time ſince that Occaſion. But the two Brothers, *Mehmet* and *Salil*, ſtiling their War forced and defenſive, uſed that moderation in their Victory, which might not provoke a deſire of Revenge in the Turks. The Captain-Paſha being thus permitted to depart from *Caffa* with his Fleet, ſailed to *Varna*, a Port in the Black Sea, about two hundred miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*; where the News of this Defeat being arrived, put all the City into confuſion, and raiſed the Viziers at midnight to conſult of thoſe Remedies and Expedients which were agreeable to the preſent emergency of Affairs. The Great Vizier *Ali* was of opinion, that the Grand Signor ought to condeſcend to Terms of Accommodation, tho to the diſadvantage and diſreputation of his Power; and that accordingly a Letter ſhould be wrote to *Mehmet* the Tartar, beginning with the uſual Complements of Friendſhip and Salutation; and afterwards declaring, That it was never the intention of the Port to ingage in a War againſt him, the late conflict having only proceeded from a miſtake and miſinterpretation of Orders; and that there was no other deſign, than to compoſe the Civil Differences amongſt themſelves, by advancing that Prince to the Kingly Dignity who was moſt pleaſing and grateful to the People. This Advice was approved by the reſt of the Council, and a Meſſenger diſpatched with the Letter, accompanied with a Cemiter and Veſt of Sables, which are the Signals of the Sultan's Favour. In the mean time the People murmured at the puſillanimity of the Govern-

* *The chief City of the* Krim *Tartar.*

† Gherey *the Name of the Family.*

1625.

Government, ſaying, That they had ſent an Ambaſſador to thank the Tartar for not ſeizing their whole Fleet, and acknowledg their Obligation to him for the Blows and Wounds he had given their Army. The Tartars alſo gloried in this ſubmiſſion, and took the boldneſs to vaunt of their Linage and Deſcent to be more Ancient and Noble than that of the Ottoman Family; and that in this time of decay and degenerate procedure of that Monarchy, it appertained to the Greatneſs of the Tartars to ſtir up the Fire and ſnuff the Lamp, that the Splendor of that Empire might become more bright and ſhining than in former Ages. And ſo little reſpect did they now maintain for the Port, that they ſurpriſed two Ambaſſadors ſent from the Moſcovite in their way to *Conſtantinople*, robbed and killed them, as alſo the Turkiſh Chiaus that was with them, leſt his Teſtimony ſhould be brought in for an evidence againſt them.

1626.

The form of the Coſſacks Boats.

During theſe Troubles, the Coſſacks taking advantage of the Captain-Paſha's abſence in *Tartary*, entered the *Boſphorus* with about an hundred fifty Sail of Saicks and Boats; theſe Boats and Veſſels which the Coſſacks uſe, are built long and light, with ten Oars of a ſide, and two Men to an Oar; the Head and Stern are not unlike, ſo that they hang the Rudder ſometimes at one end, and ſometimes at the other, being not obliged to turn their Veſſel, but without loſs of time to proceed with that end which happens to be foremoſt. Each Boat carries fifty ſelect Men armed with Fire-arms and Cemiter, in the management of which they are very expert; and are a People ſober, enduring Labour and hard Diet; and ſo ſpeedy in their Incurſions, that they foreſtal the Advices, and commonly ſtrike before they threaten. With theſe Boats and People (as we have ſaid) they entred the *Boſphorus*, where they burnt ſeveral Villages and Houſes of Pleaſure; on the Grecian ſide they burnt *Boyucderi* and *Tenichioi*, on the Aſian ſide *Stenia*. The appearance of this Enemy ſo near the Imperial City, cauſed a general Conſternation, not unlike that at *London*, when the Dutch entred the River of *Chatham*. To oppoſe this Force, there was not one Gally in readineſs, ſo that Saicks, Chimbers, and ſmall Boats were armed, to the number of four or five hundred, and man'd with ſuch people as the preſent haſte and expedition offered; the great Chain was then brought forth to croſs the *Boſphorus*, which the Grecian Emperors uſed at the Seige of *Conſtantinople*: and Ten thouſand Men were iſſued from the City to defend the Shoar from depredation and farther miſchief. The Turkiſh Fleet faced the Coſſacks to give them a ſtop, whilſt they hovered about the middle of the Chanel in form of a Half-Moon, and ſo continued the whole day until Sun-ſet; when with the night they returned into the Sea, carrying with them, beſides their Booty, Glory ſufficient to have entred the Chanel, and without blows or oppoſition, to have braved the Capital Seat of the Ottoman Monarchy, and the moſt formidable City of the whole Word. Not many days after they returned again with a greater Force than before, which put the City into the like conſternation; and having hovered about three or four days at the Mouth of the Black Sea, they burnt the Pharos or Lantern with certain Villages thereabouts, and being laden with Spoils and Glory, they again returned into their own Country. Thus we may obſerve, how bold Enemies are made with the weakneſs of a State: a Horſe is ſoon ſenſible of his Rider, when backed by a faint Hand, and an unaccuſtomed Lightneſs, but a ſtiff Rein and a cloſe Knee makes him obedient to his Ruler. All people having diſcovered the imbecillity of the Government, made head againſt it: and the young Sultan had thoſe for his Enemies in the time of his Nonage, which in his ſtrong and fiercer years became the moſt ſubmiſſive and Fawning Slaves in the World.

1626.

Bethlem Gabor *deſires aſſiſtance againſt the Emperor.*

And though at this time the Turkiſh Miniſters were corrupt and rebellious, and the Souldiery mutinous; yet *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of *Tranſylvania*, a Chriſtian, was obſervant to the Port, demanding Licence to wage War againſt the Emperor, which was eaſily granted, and upon paiment of the uſual Tribute of Ten thouſand Hungars, the Ambaſſador, with thirteen of his Followers, received Coftans or Veſts of Honour, and a promiſe of Succour and Protection, as the Condition of his Affairs ſhould require. Thus we ſee, that whilſt the Turks themſelves endeavoured to rent in pieces their own Monarchy, to which one would have thought, that the Chriſtians had moſt reaſon to contribute; yet ſuch was the unhappy Fate of Chriſtendom, that *Gabor* was the only Perſon at that time to court the Turks; and that for no other Reaſon, than that he might be ſupported and abetted in a War againſt the Emperor and other Chriſtian Princes of *Germany*.

The Army of *Bethlem Gabor* conſiſted of above Thirty thouſand Men, with which he marched over all *Hungary*, having taken moſt Towns of conſideration, unleſs *Presburg*, alias *Poſſonium*, *Rab*, and *Komorra*. But if we penetrate into the depth and foundation of this War, we ſhall find that it had a deeper Intereſt than that of *Gabor*, and had its Original from the Diſcord and Civil War of *Germany*. For the Houſe of *Auſtria* being at that time in a condition to render it ſelf formidable, and in a poſture to create a jealouſy in all the Princes ſubjected to it, did under colour of ſubduing the Palatine of the *Rhyne*, oppreſs alſo the Liberty of the Empire, and of the ſeveral States which compoſed it. For after the Emperor, againſt the Conſtitutions of the Golden Seal, and the Senſe of the Electoral Colledg, had diveſted the Palatine and his Children of their Eſtates and Dignity, not ſo much by Force of Arms, as by Deceit and Breach of Promiſe; inſtead of disbanding the Army, which was to have been performed according to Agreement, new Troops were added; and though the Proteſtant League was diſſolved, yet the Catholick Combination, with all its Adherents, remained armed and immoveable to compel the Proteſtants to a reſtitution of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue, notwithſtanding the Articles of Peace to the contrary: ſo that the Princes and Towns of the Lower *Saxony* entring into a new League, raiſed an Army under the Command of *Chriſtian* of *Brunſwick* Biſhop of *Alberſtadt*. *Bethlem Gabor* having his Intereſt adjoyned to this Party, entertained the ſame Deſires and Intentions, to ſuppreſs the Greatneſs of the Emperor; and having the juſt complaint to alledge of wanting his annual Penſion of Fifty thouſand Crowns, as was agreed by the Treaty of *Nichalbourg*, he reſolved to force it by Arms, and take part with the Princes of the Proteſtant Religion which he profeſſed: but becauſe his Srength and Power was not ſufficient, without the aſſiſtance of the Turks, he not only obtained their permiſſion and approbation of this War, as we have ſaid before, but by paiment of Fifty thouſand Dollars preſented to the firſt Vizier, and of Forty thouſand by way of annual Tribute, he procured an

Auxiliary

1626. Auxiliary Force of Fifty thouſand Turks and Tartars; with part of which, commanded by *Budiani*, he made an Irruption into the Lower *Auſtria*; and with the other, *Bethlem* himſelf, about the beginning of *October*, entred into *Moravia*, defeated the Regiment of *Tiffenbach*, retook the Town of *Turnova*, and routed the Count of *Montenegro* General for his Imperial Majeſty before the Town of *Ghoding* on the Frontier of *Moravia*, which he afterwards beleagured and held beſieged until the 20*th* of *November*, when *Staniſlaus Turzow* a Hungarian Palatine became Mediator of the Peace, and at length obtained a Truce: the principal Articles of which were as followeth.

1. That on both parts Arms be laid down for ten months, and all Acts of Hoſtility ceaſe; that on neither ſide any attempt ſhould be made either by force or fraud to take any Caſtles, Forts, Cities, or places of Defence during this time; and that both Germans, Hungarians, and Turks ſhould be alike comprehended.

2. That if the Emperor were deſirous to treat and conclude a final Peace with the Grand Signior, he ſhould uſe *Bethlem Gabor* as Mediator, and do nothing therein without his privity.

3. That all Places and Forts taken by the Prince of *Tranſylvania* in his late Expedition, and that all Cities and Caſtles now in poſſeſſion of either, ſhould ſo remain without any alteration.

4. That all Paſſages ſhould be open for free Trade of Merchants, and all other the Subjects and Friends of either ſide.

A Truce being thus concluded, the Turks in their return made great havock, carrying with them great numbers of poor Chriſtians into Slavery, which *Gabor* out of compaſſion ſeemed willing to redeem with a low price at his own charge; which the Turks refuſing, carried thoſe miſerable Wretches into Captivity. The Count *Eſterhaſi* Governour of *Newhauſel* for the Emperor, being highly incenſed at this treacherous Action, contrary to the Truce ſo lately concluded, having drawn out a ſufficient Force from the neighbouring Gariſons, fell on the Rear of the Turks in their March towards *Buda*, and charged them ſo home on the Banks of the River *Niter*, that he killed five hundred of them on the place, took all their Baggage, with divers Priſoners, and gave liberty to many Chriſtian Slaves. The next day but one after he charged another Party of them, as they attempted to paſs a Bridg, which the night before he had cauſed to be broken down; of which having killed a great number, the reſt ſaved themſelves by ſwimming: howſoever many Chriſtians procured their liberty thereby, and a conſiderable Booty was made of Horſes, Camels, Waggons, and all Proviſions. The other Troops conſiſting of greater numbers, were worſe treated than the former; for *Eſterhaſi* having received a Recruit of Horſe from *Reiffemberg* Governor of *Komorra*, and *Breuner* of *Jaruarin* or *Rab*, he proceeded boldly to meet the Turks, and joyning Battel with them, he ſlew twelve hundred on the place, gave liberty to fourteen hundred Chriſtians, took divers of their principal Commanders, with all their Bag and Baggage, beſides a conſiderable quantity of Gold and Silver, in Plate and Mony. Nor were *Reiffemberg* and *Breuner* leſs ſucceſsful over thoſe who paſſed through their Quarters to joyn with the Gariſons of *Alba Regalis* and *Caniſia*, having killed ſeven hundred of them, and taken all their Baggage. Moreover Count *Serini* in his Journey towards *Vienna*, defeated ſix hundred of them, and preſented their Colours to the Emperour: and *Eſterhaſi* in like manner after his ſeveral Exploits, offered thirty Cornets at his Feet, with ſix Priſoners of Quality, one of which was Kinſman of *Bethlem Gabor*. 1626.

Theſe Rebuffs cooled the courage of the Turks a little, and altered the reſolution of the Council for carrying forward the War on the ſide of *Germany*, as was intended, had the Succeſs anſwered expectation: For theſe Misfortunes abroad, and inteſtine Troubles at home, with Peſtilence and Famine, which at the ſame time greatly afflicted the parts of *Conſtatinople* (whereby an hundred thouſand People died) abated the Mettle of the Turks, and cauſed them to take new Meaſures in all their Determinations: and for that reaſon Ambaſſadors were ſent both to *Vienna* and into *Poland* to renew the Articles of Peace, and ſo to confirm the League, that whilſt the Sultan was imployed in his Wars with *Perſia* and the Eaſtern Countries, nothing ſhould intervene from the Weſtern Parts to trouble or obſtruct his Progreſs, or recal him from his Enterpriſe. For now the Rebellion of *Abaſſa*, joined with *Bechir* Paſha of *Bagdat*, growing daily more conſiderable, and his ſtrength increaſing to that condition, that he was able to keep the Field in deſpight of the Grand Signiors Forces, he adventured to quarter within five days March of *Conſtantinople*: and at the ſame time Letters coming from *Haſiſh* Paſha General of the Army in the Province of *Bagdat*, that the King of *Perſia* was entred into the Dominions of the Turk with a powerful Army, a general Conſternation ſeized the whole Turkiſh Court, the wiſeſt and ſtouteſt having occaſion to call up for all their Wiſdom and Courage to aſſiſt at a Time when the Government was aſſailed on all ſides, both at home and abroad. Various were the Counſels and Propoſals in what manner to proceed in Times of ſuch emergency. Firſt it was reſolved to proclaim a War both againſt the King of *Perſia*, and the Rebels in *Aſia*, and that whoſoever took of the Grand Signior Pay, from one Aſper a day to higher value, ſhould be in readineſs to ſerve in the War, upon penalty of loſing his Eſtate, of being accounted a Rebel, and his Wife and Children ſold for Slaves. But the more ſober and moderate ſort judged it policy to take off *Abaſſa*, by ſending him a general Pardon, with a conceſſion of all his Demands, upon condition, that he ſhould turn his Arms upon the King of *Perſia*, who was the common Enemy of their Country and Religion: but the Janiſaries would by no means aſſent to this Agreement, with a Perſon to whom they bore a more inveterate hatred, than to the Perſian himſelf, as he did alſo to the Janiſaries. For that he might better juſtifie his pretence of Revenge, he declared, That being one day in a Moſch at his Prayers, the murdered *Oſman* appeared to him, and taking him by the hand, ſaid, My faithful *Muſſulman*, ſince thou art the moſt generous of all my Slaves, I command thee to revenge my Death, with the Blood of ſixty thouſand Janiſaries and Spahees; good Fortune ſhall accompany thy Arms, and Victory ſhall crown thy Labours. During theſe Intrigues and Difficulties of Reconciliation, *Abaſſa*, ſpoiled the Leſſer *Aſia*, and the Perſian King conquered the City and Province of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, took *Kur Aſan* Paſha, an old Souldier, Priſoner, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Moſul* and *Leska* on the Perſian Sea; and meeting no conſiderable oppoſition, he divided his Army into four parts. The firſt was diſpatched into *Meſopotamia*, commanded by the King himſelf. The ſecond made Incurſions into *Paleſtine*. The third infeſted the

Coaſt

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Coaſt of the Black Sea: and the fourth marched towards *Mecha*, with hope and deſign of ſharing all the parts of the Eaſtern Empire.

Ali Paſha, who oppoſed the King in *Meſopotamia*, was ſlain, and his Army wholly defeated, ſo that the Province became a Prey to the Enemy: the ſucceſs in *Paleſtine* was equally fortunate by the revolt of *Damaſcus*, a place of great Riches and Importance; the Coaſt of the Black Sea was greviouſly infeſted, and a Port taken near to *Trapezond*; and little oppoſition being made at *Balſora*, the Town was taken by that Army in their March towards *Mecha* and the parts of the Red Sea, where they rendered themſelves Maſters of *Medina*, the City of their Prophet *Mahomet*.

The Siege raiſed at Bagdat, *& the Turks overthrown.*

To repair theſe loſſes, and to encounter numbers ſo ſtrong and valiant in all parts, the Vizier was diſpeeded with a powerful Force to the Town of *Bagdat*; but by reaſon of Mutinies and Tumults amongſt the Souldiery, Matters found not the ſucceſs expected: and the Gariſon making valiant and vigorous Sallies againſt the imbecility of the Turkiſh Souldiery, which were always moſt obſtinate and ſtout to oppoſe their own Commanders, obtained an advantage in every Attempt; by which diſcouragement many forſaking their Colours, the Siege was raiſed with diſhonour, and the Intereſt of the Turk impaired, and almoſt irreparably loſt in thoſe Provinces. This News arrived at *Conſtantinople*, that the Camp was riſen and fled by Night, that they were forced to burn their Tents and Proviſions, and to break their great Artillery and caſt them into the *Euphrates*: that the Miſeries in the Army had been ſuch by Famine and Peſtilence, and want of all Proviſions and Ammunition, that the like was never known: that the Vizier had beheaded three of his Paſha's, that ſo he might caſt the whole blame upon them; and that now retreating with his Army into the Turkiſh Dominions, the Perſians purſued them in the Rear, and for ten days did execution on them, making the beſt uſe they could of their Victory; which Relation filled the Hearts of all People with ſadneſs, and diſordered the Counſels with confuſion. The Cauſe of which ill Succeſs, according to cuſtom, being imputed to the General, he was deprived of his Office, and ſacrificed to the Fury of the Janiſaries.

Duke of Weymar *and Count* Mansfelt *join with the Prince of* Tranſylvania.

Theſe Troubles were increaſed at *Conſtantinople*, by the Addreſſes which the Prince of *Tranſylvania* made unto the Port by his Kapi-Kahya or Agent, repreſenting to the Grand Signior, That he wanting Heirs Male to ſucceed him in his Principality; the States at a Diet had, with common conſent, elected his Lady for his Succeſſor; and therefore deſired confirmation from the Port. In excuſe of her Sex, he alledged the urgent Neceſſity of the preſent Times, which perſwaded rather to admit of the Government of a Woman, than that his Principality ſhould, for want of an Heir, fall into the Hands of the powerful Family of *Auſtria*. To make good this Demand, Duke *John* of *Weymar*, and Count *Mansfelt*, arrived in *Siliſtria*, to whom the Prince of *Tranſylvania* joined his Troops: and *Morteza* Paſha of *Buda* wrote to the Port, that he was marching towards *Vatz* to meet the Prince, and confer with him concerning theſe Deſigns. The Emperor's Reſident at *Conſtantinople* greatly exclaimed againſt theſe Proceedings; which ſomething troubled the Counſels of the Turks, who in that Conjuncture were unwilling to give beginnings to a new War; ſo that beſides fair Words, they promiſed to write ſuch Letters to the Paſha of *Buda*, as ſhould give a ſtop to the Inveſtiture of the Princes. But, to ſay truly, the Inſtructions given were in ſuch ambiguous terms, that they in effect left the whole Matter to the Diſcretion of *Morteza* to act, as he judged moſt agreeable to the State of Affairs on the Frontiers, and ſecurity of the preſent Peace.

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Thus did the Turkiſh Court ſeek to ward off the blow of a War with *Germany*, and yet ſecretly nouriſhed and encouraged it, by giving Orders to the Paſha of *Buda* to take up his Winter-quarters with the Prince of *Tranſylvania*, and to follow his Directions; but yet ſo to govern Matters with Caution, as not to engage too far on uncertain Grounds or doubtful Hazard, but to embrace Propoſitions of Peace, if offered with Honour and Security. In proſecution of theſe Rules, *Morteza* obſerving, that *Weymar* and *Mansfelt* having united their Forces with *Gabor*, had formed a conſiderable Army, and were able to fight with *Walleſtein* General of the Imperialiſts; joined alſo his Forces to theirs, judging it a prudent and politick Deſign to wage a War at the Blood and Expence of others.

The Emperor's Army defeated.

With theſe Encouragements, and with the favour of a good Opportunity, the Confederates fell upon the Army of *Walleſtein* near the River *Gran*; who not being able to withſtand their Force and Fury, was put to flight, and purſued in the Rear with great ſlaughter; and endeavouring to paſs the River on two Bridges of Boats, were cloſely followed by the Prince's Forces, who gaining the Paſs, put the whole Army into great amazement, and reſolved to purſue them to the Gates of *Presburg*, or *Vienna*.

Peace concluded between the Emperor and Gabor.

Notwithſtanding this Succeſs, the Prince of *Tranſylvania* obſerving the backwardneſs of his Allies to contribute the Succours of Men and Mony which they had promiſed; and fearing that the unfortunate Eſtate of the Turkiſh Affairs ſhould cauſe the Sultan to diſown the War, diſpeeded a Meſſenger to the Emperor in the Winter-ſeaſon, to excuſe the Conſtraint upon him of taking up Arms, and to offer Terms of Accommodation and Peace. But the Emperor refuſed all Treaties, until ſuch time as *Gabor* had ſeparated himſelf from his Allies, and from aſſociation with the Turk: Upon which Anſwer, *Gabor* retired to *Caſſovia*, and *Morteza* to *Peſth*. This Compliance gave beginning to a Treaty at *Komara*, where the Commiſſioners on part of the Emperor, of the Grand Signior, and Prince of *Tranſylvania*, aſſembled. All Parties ſeemed inclinable to War, and yet with occult Intentions to make Peace, being neceſſitated thereunto by the urgency of their diſtinct Intereſts. The Emperor was urged by his Wars with the Proteſtants of *Germany*, and apprehenſion of Forces from *England* in favour of the Elector Palatine, then King of *Bohemia*. The Grand Signior was encumbred by the unfortunate condition of his Wars in *Aſia*: And *Bethlem Gabor*, jealous of being diſowned by the Port, deſerted by his Allies, and expoſed to fight and contend ſingly with the Emperor. In ſhort, *Gabor* concluded a Peace wich the Emperor apart, which gave ſome Jealouſies and diſpleaſure to the Grand Signior: Howſoever he diſſembled his Diſcontent, and willingly intereſſed *Gabor* with *Morteza* as Commiſſioner for him; who being variouſly diſpoſed, yet moved with the conſiderations of their common Advantage, work'd all Differences into a Compoſition of Peace; the Articles of which being brought to *Conſtantinople* by an Internuncio from the Emperor, and delivered in preſence of the two Ambaſſadors of *Gabor*, they were

1626. accepted by the Chimacam, and ratified by the Grand Signior.

Articles of Peace concluded between the Emperor of *Germany Ferdinand* the Second, and *Bethlem Gabor*, in the Month of *December* 1626.

I. THE *Prince of* Tranſylvania *doth promiſe, by the Faith of a Chriſtian, never to move Arms, or uſe any Hoſtility againſt the Majeſty of the Emperor, or the Houſe of* Auſtria, *or their Succeſſors, much leſs to enter into their Dominions with an Army; nor to aid his Enemies, or keep a Correſpondence with them: Not to plot any Innovation in the Kingdom of* Hungary, *or other Christian Countries: Nor to ſtir up or provoke the Turks, Tartars, or others, to invade them: Not to entertain or aſſiſt in any evil Counſel againſt his Majeſty, nor to give ear to the Requeſts and Deſires of his Enemies; but rather to reveal all their Conſpiracies and Wickedneſſes, which ſhall be made known unto him; and by all means to demonſtrate and ſhew a ſincere mind truly deſirous of Peace, and ſollicitous of the Common Good.*

II. *That the Prince ſhall inſtantly depart with his whole Army, out of the Territories and Cities of the Emperor; and that he ſhall reſtore as well all Goods belonging to the Imperial Treaſure, as thoſe of his faithful Subjects.*

III. *That he ſhall remove from him the Rebel* Mansfelt, *and all other his Followers and Adherents, deſirous to invade the Dominions of the Emperor: And that he ſhall not aid any Stranger whatſoever, who at his Inſtance hath entred into the Territories of his Majeſty with Count* Mansfelt; *to whom Letters of Publick Safety ſhall be given, that they may return by twenty or thirty in a Troop, conditionally, that in no place of their Retreat they ſhall joyn with the Enemies of the Emperor.*

IV. *That ſeeing it is fit, for Eſtabliſhment of the Peace, that the Inhabitants of Countries and Cities belonging to the Prince, by conſent of the Emperor, ſhould remain, during his Life, in Obedience and Fidelity to him; and that thoſe Inhabitants ſhould do Homage to the Emperor, (ſaving their corporal Oath to the Prince) to keep inviolate theſe Articles, That they ſhould have leave, by Letters of full Authority and Power, granted them by the Prince in their firſt Aſſemblies and Conventions, to make ſuch Oath of Homage.*

V. *That at the ſame time of performing the Homage and Oath, beſides the Oath before the laſt War, they ſhall take a new Oath according to the Agreement between the Prince and the Commiſſioners of the Emperor.*

VI. *The Prince ſhall procure, that all Places upon the Confines, which were taken by the Turks in the laſt War, be reſtored; and that all Captives, taken Priſoners, ſhall be ſet at liberty: And that the Prince ſhall procure the freedom of all ſuch the Emperor's Subjects as ſhall be in the Turkiſh Captivity.* 1626.

VII. *That all the Subjects of the Emperor, lately incited and drawn to the Service of the Prince, ſhall be free from their Oath: and if the Prince hath any of their Writings Obligatory in his Hands, that he ſhall reſtore them: And that theſe Conditions being confirmed, all other things formerly treated, ſhall remain in their former State and Vigour.*

VIII. *That if any other Difficulties ariſe, they ſhall be accommodated with Fidelity and Quietneſs by Commiſſioners on both Parts: And that all thoſe who in the laſt Commotions have ſerved the Prince, ſhall be abſolved according to the Treaty and Agreement at* Vienna.

IX. *That all the Inhabitants of Cities and Countries, which have ſerved the Prince, ſhall be abſolved; only thoſe excepted, who have voluntarily taken up Arms againſt the Emperor; for whom the Prince only ſhall intercede, excuſing always private Men, who have done private Wrongs; for they ſhall, according to Law and Cuſtom, ſeek their Reſtitution by Civil Action.*

X. *That all other Articles of Peace concluded at* Nichilsburg *and* Vienna, *ſhall remain in their former Vigour and Force: And that all Goods of the Emperor's Clergy, poſſeſſed by the Prince from the Year* 1619, *to this preſent Day, ſhall be reſtored; except the Abbies of* Replana *belonging to the Seminaries of* Strigonium, *for which the Prince ſhall pay yearly to the Emperor five hundred Florens.*

These Articles being thus agreed, and ſigned, and approved by the Sultan, in the Month of *September* following 1627, the Articles between the Emperor and the Grand Signior were alſo agreed at *Komara*; the which are as follow, tranſlated out of the Turkiſh, word for word.

THAT *ſeeing the Peace eſtabliſhed formerly at* Zitwar, Vienna, Komara, *and* Chiarman, *hath remained in the ſame State, and in the ſame Articles, without any alteration, it ſhall not be violated by any new occaſion of Contention.*

That the Differences of Vatz, *whereof is made mention at the preſent, ſhall reſt in the ſame State that the Commiſſioners on both ſides ſhall agree.*

That the new Forts built upon the Confines of Croatia, *contrary to the Peace, ſhall be demoliſhed. To which purpoſe our ſaid Deputy* Mehmet, *and our Viſier* Mortela *Paſha, ſhall meet upon the Frontiers of* Buda *with*

1626. *your Deputies, at the Time appointed by the Treaty; and thereupon the places on both ſides ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed the Forts built contrary to the Peace: Wherein if they find any Impediment, they ſhall chuſe able and valiant Men to perform and execute the ſaid Service.*

That after the Approbation of this happy Peace, your great Ambaſſador ſhall come to Komara, *and ours ſhall repair with our Imperial Letters to* Strigonium: *and there one of them adviſing the other, yours ſhall ſet forward to our happy Port, and ours ſhall advance to you. For ſo it is agreed by our Imperial Order, both carrying with them the new Imperial Capitulations.*

That all Complaints of Villages ſubject to both parts, ſhall be laid aſide, and no Violences, Taxes, or Contribution, contrary to our former Convention, ſhall be exacted. And all Forts built in the common Confines, ſhall be raiſed. And reciprocally it ſhall be made known, according to the ancient Treaty, what great Men do dwell amongſt our Tributaries. And for the execution of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Articles of the Peace of Zitwa, *the Tenth of* Vienna, *and the Fourth of* Komara *and* Chiarman *(for ſuch was then the Agreement) two Capigi-Paſha's of our high Port ſhall be deputed and diſpatched, the one to this ſide, and the other to that ſide of the* Danube. *And upon your part you ſhall ſend two ſuch qualified Perſons to the ſame places: who being met together with the Deputies of* Morteſa *Paſha, and the Palatine of* Hungary, *ſhall rectify all Diſorders, and ſee that good Juſtice be done on both Parties; for ſo it is our moſt High Pleaſure.*

That the Slaves which have been taken during this our Treaty, ſhall be freed and ſet at liberty without any Ranſom: And thoſe who were taken before the ſaid Treaty, ſhall be exchanged and Redeemed, according to their Qualities and Eſtates, by the interpoſition of Morteſa *Paſha, and the Palatine of* Hungary *deputed for that purpoſe.*

For the Good of poor People on both ſides, the Commiſſioners have thought fit to conclude this renewed Peace for Twenty five Tears, from 1627. *Whereunto we have given our Imperial Aſſent.*

That all Merchants, and other our Subjects on both parts, ſhall have ſafe paſſage and conduct through both our Dominions: And we have given command to our Paſha's, Beglerbeghs, Generals, Beghs, and Captains, upon our Confines, to apprehend, bring into Juſtice, and puniſh all ſuch as ſhall any way diſturb or moleſt them contrary to the Peace. As likewiſe the Palatine of Hungary, *and other your Miniſters ſhall do on your part, if they find any ſuch Offenders.*

That our Beglerbeghs, Sanzacks, Captains, and Governors; and your Generals, Commanders, and Captains, ſhall upon occaſion imploy all ſuch Perſons as are lovers of the Peace and Common Good.

That there ſhall be no Damage or Hurt done to any of our Subjects in any of your Kingdoms or Dominions, neither by Sea nor Land; as there ſhall none be done to yours in our Dominions. 1626.

That all by-paſt Wrongs, Enmities, and Unkindneſſes, on both parts, ſhall be forgotten and laid aſleep: and that this happy Peace ſhall be ſincerely and firmly continued and kept inviolate.

Upon Condition that the Emperor perform and obſerve all the aforeſaid Articles, and that there follow no Action from any Miniſters, contrary to the ſaid Peace: We promiſe and ſwear, by God our Creator, who made the whole World of Nothing; and by the Honour which we bear to our moſt high Prophet Mahomet Muſtapha, *That there ſhall not be done, during the whole Term of the ſaid Peace, the leaſt Hurt or Damage to the Subjects, Countries, Kingdoms, Caſtles, or Forts of the ſaid Emperor, by any of our Miniſters or Armies, nor to any Chriſtian Slaves ſubject to our happy Port.*

By theſe Articles we may obſerve, that both Parties were deſirous of a preſent Peace, rather than one which was durable; for things are ſo ſlubber'd over to ſerve the preſent Occaſion, that they leave all Diſputes undecided, till Time ſhould happen more proper to interpret them with the Sword, than with the Pen: like Sores obducted by an unskilful Chirurgion, which feſtering within, muſt be again opened before they are cured: howſoever they ſerved the turn of *Gabor*, whoſe Intereſt it was to maintain an ill Correſpondence between the two Emperors.

Peace being thus concluded between *Ferdinand* the Second and Sultan *Morat*, gave ſome reputation to the Affairs of the Turks: ſo that notwithſtanding the late ſucceſs of the Perſian in their War, by raiſing the Siege of *Bagdat*, and overthrow of the Turkiſh Army; yet that King finding himſelf now engaged alone, and ſingly to contend with the Ottoman Power, feared the Puiſſance of that Empire, leſt being rouſed and heated with the ſenſible Pinches of the late Diſgrace, they ſhould call up and invigorate all their Forces to a Revenge, which might at length tend to a ruin and deſtruction of *Perſia*, unleſs Fortune, which attended the firſt auſpicious beginnings with Succeſs, did alſo continue conſtant, and ſtill accompany their Arms, which could hardly be expected. 1627.

Wherefore on theſe Conſiderations becoming more faint in proſecution of the War, the Perſian diſpatched an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, furniſhed with various Propoſals and Projects for a Peace; but ſtill Mattters driving ſo as to reſerve the City and Province of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, in the hands of the Perſian, the Treaty became ineffectual, in regard the Vizier (who was then called *Halil* Paſha) judged it a high and an irrecoverable diſreputation to the Empire, to be diſmembred of ſo principal a part of it. Wherefore the Ambaſſador being diſpatched away with ſome neglect, the Turks armed with that diligence and heat, that they entred *Perſia* with an Army of an hundred and fifty thouſand Men; with which appearance the people being diſmayed, ſuffered *Tauris* to be taken without much oppoſition. From hence marching to *Bagdat*, they found the City well provided and defended with a numerous Gariſon, from whence many Sallies were made with variety of Fortune, till at length the Turkiſh Souldiers being wearied and tired with inceſſant labour and watchings, many of them fled from their Colours: and with ſuch diminutions, the Army being much abated in its Numbers, the Vizier withdrew them from the Perſian Dominions.

Another Expedition into Perſia.

Some Months after the Turkiſh Army being reinforced, the Vizier entring again into *Perſia*, overthrew the Trucmen who oppoſed him in his March, and deſtroyed the Gregorians, who were Friends to the Perſian, with a very great ſlaughter; took *Moroc* their General, and cut off his Head: And adding to theſe Victories, the report of having taken ſome few inconſiderable Towns, his Expedition ended without other Advantages, or Progreſs of their Arms. This ill Succeſs much troubled the Councils at *Conſtantinople*; for they conſidered that they had now waged an expenſive, laborious War, for the ſpace of three Years, without any Effect agreeable to the Blood and Charge which maintained it, but rather to the Loſs and Damage of the Empire. The Souldiers abhorred the length and tedioùſneſs of the Way, and the miſery of the March, being to paſs over vaſt Countries and Deſarts, where there was nothing beſides Rocks, Sands, and Barrenneſs. Many Horſes, Camels, and other Beaſts of Burden, periſhed for want of Nouriſhment; and where Proviſions were to be had, the Price was ſo exceſſive, that the Timariots and other Souldiers had not a Purſe to defray their Charges. The Enemy likewiſe was very ſtrong, for the Sofi was at the Head of forty thouſand brave Horſe, which daily infeſted the Ottoman Camp, beat their Convoys, and cut off their Proviſions, and ſo obſtructed them that they could not advance.

Propoſition made by the Perſian for a Peace.

The Vizier *Halil*, then General, being diſcouraged by theſe Diſaſters, was inclinable to accept of the Propoſition made by the Perſian, *viz.* That *Babylon* ſhould remain to his eldeſt Son in Fee, and to his Heirs and Succeſſors, acknowledging to the Grand Signior a Tribute as great as the yearly Revenue which proceeded from it, at the time when it was in the Hands of the Sultan. But this middle Way ſeemed an Expedient diſhonourable to the Greatneſs of this Empire, and that which argued puſillanimity and want of courage in the Government, and therefore was rejected by the Council of State, as well as by the Military Men. Howſoever the Perſians taking their Meaſures by the diſpoſition they diſcovered in the Vizier thereunto, adventured to diſpatch an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople* with tender of the ſame Project; but as he was coldly and faintly received, ſo he was in a few days diſpatched with few words, and little reſpect, as if he had been ſent as a Spy to diſcover the State and Condition of the City, and the Inclination of the Prince, rather than to obtain any Benefit by the Treaty. For now *Amurat* growing into Years, increaſed in Spirit, and diſcovered a Martial Courage; he began to leave his Delights, and Walks in Gardens, and the ſociety with his Mother and Women, and to aſſume thoughts of War and Government: ſuch as entertained him in ſoftneſs and luxurious Paſtimes, were reproved by the Miniſters about him, and by them perſwaded to buckle on his Armour, and to delight in Martial Exerciſes: So that now new Meaſures were taken in all Affairs: And in the firſt place, *Halil* the Great Vizier was recalled from being General in *Perſia*, and the Paſha of *Darbiquier* put into his Place; and though he was Brother-in-Law to the Grand Signior, yet being eſteemed at Court as a Perſon who had amaſſed great Riches in his Employment, he was forced to diſgorge five hundred thouſand Crowns as an eaſe of his Burden, and an Atonement to pacify the Sultan for the Fault of his Misfortunes and ill Succeſs.

Rejected by the Turk.

The Pirats of Tunis *and* Algier *trouble the Seas.*

In theſe Times of Licentiouſneſs and Revolt, the Pirats of *Algier* and *Tunis*, began alſo to caſt off their Reſpect and Reverence to the Ottoman Empire; for being become Rich by the Prizes they had taken on Chriſtian Veſſels, they reſolved to ſet up for themſelves, and to eſteem the Peace which Chriſtian Princes had made with the Grand Signior, not to concern them; but as if their Governments had been independent, demanded a particular Treaty, and diſtinct Articles with themſelves: So that now daring to do any thing, ſix Veſſels of *Tunis* chaſed ſome Chriſtian Ships into *Rhodes*, and there attaqued them, notwithſtanding that the Caſtle ſhot at them. They afterwards took a Dutch Ship, which had laden at *Alexandria*: and entring the Port of *Salines* in *Cyprus*, they engaged with two Venetians; the leſſer Ship made a good reſiſtance, but having no help, ſhe was thrice fired, and at laſt burnt: the other being a Ship of eight hundred Tuns, was cowardly ſet on fire by the Mariners, and abandoned, eſcaping aſhore with their Boats. Then they ſailed for *Scanderone*, where finding a Dutch Ship and a Polaca, they took both, and then landed. The Aga of the Scale, with all the Inhabitants, fled; ſo that finding no oppoſition, they ranſacked and robbed all the Ware-houſes, and afterwards ſet them on fire: The greateſt Loſs fell upon the Engliſh and Dutch, the firſt loſt about ten thouſand Dollars, and the latter about thirty thouſand.

Of theſe Loſſes, and breach of Peace, the Chriſtian Ambaſſadors much lamented; and complained, that if ſome Remedy were not applied thereto, all Trade muſt be given over, no Security being to be expected in the Articles and Faith of the Grand Signior: To which, though the Vizier and Great Men did ſeem to yield a favourable Ear, and promiſe Redreſs: Yet being corrupted with ſome ſhare of the Spoils, and ſweetned with part of the Robbery, they began to reject the Memorials of the Ambaſſadors, and to allow the Pleas of the Pirats, as grounded on ſome ſolid Foundation of Reaſon and Religion: ſuffering them to publiſh Diſcourſes, that the Turks were obliged to maintain a perpetual War with the Chriſtians, as Enemies to their Law and Alchoran; and though Policy may ſuggeſt ſome Conveniencies by Peace with them, yet thoſe Conſiderations are Matters of Sin rather than of Reaſon.

To make all this good, the Divan of *Tunis* ſent two Deputies to remonſtrate the great Benefit and Advantage the Port received by the Depredations and hoſtile Acts which they committed on the Chriſtians: And to inculcate this Argument the better, they declared, That they had lately taken two Gallies of *Malta*, out of the Spoils of which, they preſented unto the Sultan two Stirrups of Gold, with divers Slaves; two of which were Cavaliers, one of the Roman, and the other of the French Nation: thoſe which were Youths, and comely in ſhape and feature, were entred into the Service of the Seraglio; and the more ſtrong and robuſtous, were committed to the Service of the Gallies; ſo that the Turks were inwardly pleaſed with theſe Piracies, howſoever gave good words to the Chriſtian

1627. Ambaſſadors, promiſed much, and effected nothing.

At that time Trade flouriſhed greatly in thoſe Parts, and had done much more, had it not been interrupted by the Piracies of *Barbary*; and the Trade was eſpecially ſo great with *Venice*, that a Turkiſh Merchant called *Kodul* Aga, whoſe whole Negotiation and Dealing was for that place, died worth a Million of Soltanees; of which, for want of Children, the Grand Signior became the ſole Heir.

A Fight at Sea by miſtake.

But one Accident happened about this Time on the Seas, worthy to be recounted: The Seas (as we have ſaid) ſwarming then with Pirats, the General of *Candia*, with three Gallies, coaſting on the Seas for defence and protection of Merchant-Ships, arrived in the Port of *Andro*; from whence eſpying a Gally plying cloſe under the Shore, and believing her to be a Corſaire, or Pirat, made up to her; and becauſe it was about the glimpſe of the Evening, ſo that ſhe could not be well known or diſtinguiſhed, the General raſhly charged her; and meeting a ſtout reſiſtance, many were killed before it was known that the Gally belonged to the *Archipelago*, commanded by *Dervis Bei*, one of the Grand Signior's Captains: but ſo ſoon as the Miſtake was diſcovered, the Candiot General demanded of the Turk a thouſand Excuſes, returned him his Gally and Slaves again, and whatſoever was taken from him, beſtowing with them an infinity of Complements, ſuppoſing that thereby the Spirit of the Turk being ſomewhat appeaſed and mollified, he would repreſent this Encounter with the more favourable Terms and Advantage at the Port. Notwithſtanding which Offices of Kindneſs, *Dervis Bei*, without farther loſs of time paſſed up to *Conſtantinople*, bringing his Gally in without Lantern, ſhot thorough, ill treated, and ſhattered, feigning himſelf alſo to be wounded; related, that he had loſt forty four Levents, and ſeventy ſeven Slaves which were killed; and that all the Haratch or Tribute-Mony, which was collected for the Grand Signior's Service from the ſeveral Iſlands, was robbed and embezled by theſe Candiots. His Complaints were aggravated by many Circumſtances, and being aſſiſted with the Clamours of other Beys or Captains of Gallies; the Noiſe and Diſpute was exceeding high in the Divan, urging, that the Venetians were obliged to make good a Loſs, which they had cauſed rather out of Malice than Miſtake.

At that time *Georgio Giuſtiniano* reſided at *Conſtantinople* for the moſt Serene Republick; who to oppoſe the high Clamours of theſe Complainants, ſhewed Courage, and accompanied his Anſwers with Prudence and Reſolution, which are often very convincing in the Turkiſh Court. They alledged, that the Peace was broken. He anſwered, That it would not be the firſt time; and that they ought not to yield entire Credit to the Relation of Perſons paſſionate and partial in their own Cauſe: that ſuch Accidents as theſe, were as ordinary and common in the World as Cold and Heat, as fair and foul Weather; and that ſo ſoon as the Error was diſcovered, and the Gally known not to belong to *Barbary*, but to the Grand Signior, it was punctually and entirely reſtored, with all the Excuſes imaginable.

In ſhort, this Buſineſs which had ſo bad an Aſpect at the firſt, by the dexterity of this Miniſter, and giving ſomething to *Dervis Bei*, whereby to ſtop his Mouth, the Complaint ceaſed, and all farther Proceedings were ſuperſeded.

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Propoſals of Accommodation with Abaſſa.

The Wars in *Perſia* being unſucceſsful, it was propoſed in Council, that a Peace ſhould be made, if poſſible, with *Abaſſa* Paſha; that his Demands, whatſoever they were, ſhould be granted, and promiſes given him of Honours and Preferment: But the inveterate Enmity and Hate which the Janiſaries bore him, and the difficulty there was to perſwade *Abaſſa*, that the Overtures made him were free and candid, and not mixed with Treachery and Deſign, were Obſtructions not to be obviated or overcome. Wherefore *Abaſſa* keeping mutual Intelligence with the Perſians, and receiving aſſiſtance and ſuccours from them, was become very formidable and ſtrong, and the Town of *Erzirum* well fortified with Works and a numerous Garriſon. Howſoever the Janiſaries, his mortal Enemies, preſſing the Vizier to proceed againſt him, at length obliged him to beſiege the Place; which having done, and cloſely begirt it, the moſt forward and brave amongſt the Janiſaries, were the firſt to ſcale the Walls, but were repulſed by the valour of ſtout and reſolute Souldiers; for they knowing that there was no other ſafety but in their Arms, and no other Mercy than an ignominious Death, being the juſt Reward of their Rebellion, refuſed to give or receive Quarter: Wherefore they made frequent Sallies on the Enemy, and as many Janiſaries of them as they took Priſoners, they immediately hanged about the Walls, as a Spectacle of Horror to their Aſſociates. This Reſolution and Cruelty, deterred the Turks from their frequent Aſſaults and Storms made upon the Town; and the many Batteries and Fortifications, rendred the Place almoſt impregnable; ſo that there ſeemed no other hopes to remain, but to overcome them by a long Siege and Famine: But *Abaſſa* had ſo well provided againſt this Danger, with ſuch plenty of Proviſions, that the Turkiſh Army began to be more ſtraitned for want of Suſtenance than the Beſieged: ſo that becoming weary and diſcouraged amidſt ſo many Difficulties, they raiſed the Siege with ſuch diſorder and haſte, that they left ſeveral Pieces of Cannon behind them; and retiring with ſome confuſion, were charged in the Rear, ſo that many Janiſaries fell a Sacrifice to the hate and revenge of the Enemy.

Erzirum *beſieged.*

The Siege raiſed.

The News of this Succeſs coming to *Conſtantinople*, was ill received; but the Diſaſter thereof, according to the uſual Cuſtom, was attributed to the Vizier who was General; for which Cauſe he was deprived of his Office, and the Selictar Aga (who carries the Sword before the Grand Signior) was put into his place, a Perſon of a fierce, bloody, and cruel Diſpoſition.

New Troubles from Tattary.

To theſe, new troubles were added out of *Tartary*. For *Mahomet* the King of that Country, exalted to the Princely Dignity (as we have already declared) by the Favour and Election of that People, though contrary to the ſenſe and pleaſure of the Port, was now fallen from the good eſteem which they conceived for him, becauſe he gave ſome hindrance to their uſual Incurſions on the Polonians and Coſſacks, out of memory and gratitude to the aſſiſtance they had contributed towards his Election; for which reaſon being, as it were, famiſhed for want of their uſual Depredations, they refuſed to obey his Commands; and then openly threw off their Obedience to him as their Prince. The Turks, who always envied this Dignity to *Mahomet*, rejoiced to ſee this Diſcord between him and his People, and therefore thought it time to make uſe of this occaſion to re-inſtate *Gherey* the elder

1627. Brother into the poſſeſſion of his Kingdom; whom the Turks, for his better ſecurity, having placed at *Rhodes*, the uſual Retirement of the Tartarian Princes, diſpatched a Squadron of Gallies to fetch him from thence to *Conſtantinople*, where being arrived, he was received with a magnificent and Princely Entertainment by the Sultan; that ſo the Fame thereof forerunning his arrival in *Tartary*, the people might be better prepared to comply with the Port in their acceptance of him for their King. He was afterwards conducted to *Caffa*, the Grand Signior's Town in *Tartary*, with a ſtrong Fleet of fifty Gallies; where at his firſt landing he was received by *Can-Emin*, a rich and powerful Tartar, and Chief of the Turkiſh Faction, and by many others with great honour and ſolemnity, with whom alſo a conſiderable Party moſt willingly engaged. But the Coſſacks of *Poland* and Circaſſians, Friends to *Mahomet* the Brother, joyning their Troops to his Forces, became too ſtrong for the Turks; for giving them Battel near the Incloſures of the *Danube*, at a place called *Biandec*, they defeated them, and killed three or four thouſand of their Men, putting all to Fire and Sword round about; and entring on the Seas with their Fleet of Boats, took five of the Turkiſh Gallies: with which ill Succeſs, the Tartars, which took part with *Can-Emir*, being diſcouraged, abandoned their Colours and fled; ſo that *Can-Emir* was forced to take Sanctuary in *Caffa*, which being a Town belonging to the Grand Signior, it was hoped, that the reverence they owed to that Name, would cauſe them to refrain all Violence thereunto. But the Tartars, provoked by this late effuſion of Blood, loſt all reſpect to that Government; ſo that beſieging the Town, they aſſaulted and took it, and therein the Son of *Can-Emir* whom they cut in pieces, the Father eſcaping in a diſguiſe from the City.

The News hereof arriving at *Conſtantinople* was greatly diſpleaſing, and cauſed many ſerious Debates and Conſultations thereupon; the wiſeſt and moſt ſober of the Council was for diſſembling the Matter, and with their uſual dexterity to ſuffer what they could not remedy: for that it was by no means adviſable in the preſent conjuncture of Affairs, to proceed unto an open Rupture with the Tartars, fearing leſt the Chriſtians, Perſians, and other Enemies ſhould make a benefit of this Occaſion, and joyning with a Nation ſo ſtrong in Horſe, ſhould dangerouſly preſs upon the Empire, and force them to the ultimate extremity of Affairs. Wherefore an Envoy Extraordinary was ſent to the Tartars, who covering the inward ſentiments of Regret and Anger, which the Sultan conceived for the late Diſgrace, ſeemed to wonder at the Cauſe and Reaſon of the laſt Engagement, as if it had been acted without the knowledg or order of the Grand Signior; and thus with gentle Terms inſinuating, that the Surrender of *Caffa* would be very acceptable to the Port, and that which would atone for all miſcarriages, and be ſuch an offering of Pacification, as would reconcile all paſt Differences, and reſtore a perfect Correſpondence between the Sultan and them: the Tartars readily aſſented to the Demand, upon condition, that the Turks ſhould impoſe no other King upon them than him, whom by general conſent they had elected for their Prince.

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But the grand Concernments which buſied the Thoughts of the Turks, was the Rebellion of *Abaſſa*, and the War in *Perſia*, the management of which was the charge and care of the Selictar Aga lately made Vizier, called *Serches* Paſha. His Head-quarters were at the beginning of this Year taken up at *Iconium*, called by the Turks *Conie*; and *Abaſſa* was encamped at *Kaiſaria*, againſt whom the Vizier marched; and being nearly approached, the Janiſaries earneſtly urged, that Battel might be given the Enemy; but the Vizier having received Inſtructions not to engage, if poſſible, but rather to enter into a Treaty, and to propoſe Terms of Accommodation, delayed the Time, and with various Excuſes, eluded the preſent premures of the Janiſaries; at which they became ſo angry, that they flew into an open Mutiny, cutting the Cords of his Tents, ſtoning him, and wounding him in the Head: by which open Violence, the Vizier being compelled to make known his Orders, he aſſembled the chief Commanders of the Spahees and Janiſaries, giving them to underſtand, that the Grand Signior's Pleaſure was, to make up the Difference with *Abaſſa*, as the only means to conclude an inteſtine and unnatural War, and to be able to withſtand the Perſians, and regain the Country and Reputation which the Turks had loſt. This Propoſition ſeemed plauſible to the Commanders at the General Aſſembly, and more eſpecially, becauſe it was the Pleaſure and Injunction of the Grand Signior; but more difficult it was to incline the rough and obſtinate minds of the Janiſaries to a reſolution ſo different to their Natures, and ſo contrary to that Revenge which they had deeply rooted in their Hearts, and ſworn to execute: howſoever the perſwaſions which the Officers uſed to their inferiour Souldiers, putting them in memory of the Blood of their Companions, and how deſtructive the continuance of ſuch a War muſt neceſſarily prove for the future by thoſe large effuſions of Blood which they muſt expect farther to make, were ſo prevalent upon them, that at length they condeſcended to a Treaty, and to receive *Abaſſa* for a Friend and a Fellow-Souldier. *Abaſſa* at firſt ſuſpecting ſome Treachery, refuſed to give a private meeting to the Vizier; but the Vizier giving his Brother the Beglerbegh of *Caramania*, and the Paſha of *Anatolia* for Hoſtages, the Day and Place for a Conference was appointed; where both Parties meeting, Articles were agreed, That *Abaſſa* ſhould ſtill continue to be Paſha of *Erzirum*, his Son Paſha of *Boſra*, his Cahya, or Lieutenant, to be Paſha of *Maraſch*, (all which were Places on the Confines of *Perſia*) a general Act of Pardon and Amneſtie was to be given to *Abaſſa* and his whole Army, and the Articles ſworn unto in the moſt ſolemn manner by the Vizier, and confirmed in the publick Camp of the Janiſaries, who alſo promiſed to maintain this Word and Promiſe of the Vizier; to all which the Grand Signior gave his Hand, and affixed his Royal Signature.

The Janiſaries mutiny.

They conſent to treat with Abaſſa.

Abaſſa *reconciled to the Grand Signior.*

A Reconciliation being in this manner compleated, the City of *Erzirum* reſigned it ſelf to the

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the Obedience of the Grand Signior, and the Army of *Abaſſa* was employed on the Confines of *Perſia*, and converted againſt the Enemy. The Vizier alſo was appointed to proceed on the ſame Enterpriſe; but his Army was ſo ill provided of all Neceſſaries, that he made his Excuſe, and refuſed to march forward: But on the contrary, he returned to *Conſtantinople* in company with *Abaſſa*; where, with many demonſtrations of Friendſhip and Reſpect, he was conducted to the preſence of the Grand Signior to receive Honour, and the Reward of his Penitence, and return to Obedience. The approach of theſe two great Perſonages near to *Conſtantinople*, made much noiſe and rumor in the City; ſome blamed the weakneſs of the Government for accepting an Enemy unto Favour, and that the crowning of his Rebellion with Rewards, was to encourage others in the like Practices.

The Vizier and Abaſſa *make their Entry into* Conſtantinople.

The Vizier was alſo murmured againſt for leaving the Army and the War, contrary to the Royal Command, by ſuch as were emulous of his Greatneſs: But as Envy is converted into Veneration, and ceaſes as Smoke doth, when it is blown up by the Flame of Succeſs and Glory; ſo thoſe who were emulous of theſe Perſons, ſubmitted to all obſequious Offices towards them; and diſſembling their Malice, went to meet them as far as *Scutari*, that they might add to their Train and Equipage, and help at the Solemnity of their Entrance. All People now caſt their Eyes on the Vizier and *Abaſſa*, as the two great Men of this Age; the firſt was eſteemed for his dexterous and ſucceſsful management in bringing over *Abaſſa* to his Submiſſion and Obedience; for though he was not famed much for his great Feats of Arms, yet this Reconciliation of *Abaſſa* was accounted a Maſter-piece of Policy, and better Service than a Victory. *Abaſſa* alſo drew the Eyes of the People, who crowded to ſee ſo great a Captain, that could contend with the Port, and put all *Aſia* into Diſturbance, and in concluſion could make the ſame Arms ſerve his Maſter, which had lately before given a check and ſtop to all the Ottoman Force. The Vizier was the firſt introduced to the Royal Preſence, where being graciouſly received, he was preſented with a Veſt of Sables and a Cemiter ſet with Jewels. *Abaſſa* was afterwards admitted, and having performed his Obeiſance by touching the Ground with his Forehead after their faſhion; he declared, That he never was other than a faithful Vaſſal to the Sultan, and that he had taken up Arms for his ſake, that he might ſubjugate the inſolence of the Janiſaries, and with their Blood revenge the Death, and ſacrifice to the Ghoſt of his murdered Brother *Oſman*, that they might learn to reverence their Princes for the future, & learn to know how ſacred the Blood is of their Soveraign. The Grand Signior ſeemed kindly to accept this Apology, and as a Token thereof, beſtowed three Veſts upon him; which was a treble Honour of that kind, and made him Paſha of *Boſna*; on which employment he immediately entred: And though when ſuch offices are beſtowed, it is commonly the cuſtom for that Perſon, who is inveſted in the Employment given, to kiſs the Sleeve of the Grand Signior publickly by way of Thanks: Yet, leſt ſuch Demonſtration of Honour ſhould ill affect the Eyes of the Janiſaries, and cauſe murmuring and repinings amongſt the moſt envious of the Souldiery, his laſt Audience was deſigned privately, and his Diſpatch procured in more ſecret and familiar manner, and therefore more obliging than was uſual.

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The Jews at Conſtantinople *how treated*

To yield ſome aſſiſtance to the preſent growing Charges of the Empire, the Vizier impoſed a heavy Tax on the Chriſtians and Jews; on the firſt it was levied with all ſeverity; but the Jews found more favour by their Arts, and ſecret management of Affairs, for they are a People of ſome Authority and Power in *Turkie*: they are curſed by particular Perſons, but careſſed by the generality: they are Slaves in all Countries, and yet acquire ſomewhat of Maſterſhip and Propriety: they are Vagabonds, and yet every Country is their own: they cannot buy Lands, and yet daily increaſe their Fortunes: they multiply in abundance, becauſe they all marry, and are not deſtroyed by Wars: they are great Confidents of the Turks, and Enemies to the Chriſtians. In ſhort, Covetouſneſs in *Conſtantinople* is like a publick Courtiſan, to whom the Jews are the Panders and Ruffians.

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The Grand Signior paſſing one day through the Streets, unhappily met with the Ambaſſador of the Prince of *Tranſylvania*; who becauſe he did not immediately deſcend from his Horſe in token of Reverence, he cauſed him and his whole Family to be impriſoned; but being afterwards excuſed by the Chimacam, to have only been a matter of inadvertency, his Omiſſion was pardoned, and ſo releaſed from his Reſtraint.

The Souldiery having for a long time been governed by a looſe and gentle hand, continued their licentious way of living, committing many outrages on the Merchants and Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*; againſt which many Decrees having been publiſhed, and Proclamations made, without any effect or notice of the Souldiery, the Vizier was unwilling to dally longer; and therefore taking a Spahee and a Janiſary, hanged them up, and cut off their Heads: and with ſuch courſe and method of Severity, he ſo abated the haughty Stomachs of the Souldiers already mortified by the aſſumption of *Abaſſa* into favour, that they began to yield unto Command, and to behold their Rulers with an eye of Reſpect, as thoſe which were ſeated in ſome degree above themſelves; for till now there was ſcarce a common Janiſary, but who thought himſelf to be the Creator or Elector of his General, and therefore to be little inferior to him in Power and Dignity.

And as this Vizier was ſevere towards the Souldiery, ſo he demeaned himſelf with equal rigour towards the Paſha's and Grandees of the Court; which though it was an Humor in the Vizier at that conjuncture, laudable and neceſſary, yet it procured him ſuch enmity, as removed him at a diſtance, and cauſed him to be ſent into *Perſia* to command the Army, and by that means to expoſe him to the hazard and difficulties of doubtful Succeſs in a dangerous War.

The Vizier being departed, the Grand Signior appeared in publick on Horſe-back, together with his Brother by his ſide, an unuſual ſight amongſt the Turks: But the Queen-Mother, who in abſence of the Vizier ruled much, commanded that it ſhould be ſo. The Grand Signior had this Year a Son born, which cauſed great rejoycing at *Conſtantinople*, becauſe there were few Males at that time ſurviving of the Ottoman Line; but ſcarce was the Feſtival ended before the Child died.

But let us now for a while withdraw our Diſcourſe from the Wars of *Perſia*, and look to the Actions in *Poland* and *Tranſylvania*. *Mehmet* the late King of *Tartary*, who was ſo diſpleaſing to the Port, (as we have already related) was now dead; to whom ſucceeded a Kinſman

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of his called *Jembeg Gheray*, univerſally pleaſing and acceptable to that People.

This new King, to demonſtrate his Prowefs, and to act ſomething acceptable to the Port, diſpatched forty thouſand Horſe into *Podolia* and *Ruſſia* to ſack and ravage the Country; which dividing themſelves into ſeveral Parties, made their Incurſions as far as *Socal*. But in the mean time the Polonians and Coſſacks having formed a ſtrong Body of Horſe under the Command of *Stephen Chmieleſkie*, met them at their return near to *Burſtinow*, where they gave them a total overthrow. And in like manner *Staniſlaus Lubomiſkie*, encountred another Party, and overthrew them, leaving thirty thouſand ſlain on the place, and taking two thouſand Priſoners, amongſt which was the younger Brother of the Tartar King.

The Tartars overthrown by the Polanders.

This Defeat, as it was the greateſt that ever was given to the Tartars, ſo it is probable, that had it been well proſecuted at that time by the Polonians, they might have entred the *Cherſoneſus Tauricus*, and without much oppoſition have put an end to that Kingdom: But *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland* had other Deſigns in hand; ſuch mixed Monarchies as that, being better able to defend their own Dominions, than to acquire or conquer others.

To this News ill received at *Conſtantinople*, ſupervened the unexpected Death of *Bethlem Gabor*; unexpected, I ſay, becauſe that though he had been long labouring under the Diſeaſes of Dropſy and Aſthma, yet the greatneſs of his Soul, and activeneſs of his Spirit, maſtered for a long time his Indiſpoſition, ſo that he ſeldom or never omitted his Counſels and Buſineſs; and to the very time of his Death, was meditating and contriving Deſigns, whereby to preſerve his Dominions, and enlarge them. And indeed the Government of *Tranſylvania* required no leſs than ſuch a ſtirring Spirit: for being ſeated between two ſuch powerful Monarchs, as the Emperor and the Turk, there was need of dexterity and courage to ſteer between the Rocks of ſuch oppoſite Intereſts: Sometimes it was neceſſary to join with one, and anon with the other. So *Sigiſmond Battori* Prince of *Tranſylvania*, uniting his Forces with the Emperor's, in ſeveral Conflicts overthrew the Turk, and kept the Scale in an equal Ballance. *Gabor* on the contrary inclined to the Turks, and ſupported his Intereſt with the Ottoman Power, following ſuch Maxims as had been more ruinous to Chriſtendom, had he transferred them to a Son to imitate and purſue; but dying without Iſſue, the Government devolved to his Princeſs, by Vote of the States of the Country, and by Confirmation of the Turk, as we have already intimated.

The Death of Bethlem Gabor.

Gabor knew ſo well how to deal and treat with the Turks, that he gained an abatement of ten thouſand Dollars of the annual Tribute; he managed his Affairs ſo ſubtilly with the Emperor, that he was always invited to a Peace, and accordingly made his Advantage by the Treaty.

The other Princes of Chriſtendom in like manner courted him, and particularly the Cardinal *Richelieu* employed one *Bornemis*, a Gentleman of *Tranſylvania*, a Lover of the French Intereſt, to be always about him; by whoſe means, and with the aſſiſtance of twenty thouſand Crowns of yearly Penſion, he obliged him to make War on the Emperor, at ſuch Seaſons as it ſhould be intimated unto him to be moſt conducing to the advantage of *France*.

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At length, as we have ſaid, giving way to mortality, he died on the 15*th* of *November*, after he had reigned eighteen Years: he was a Prince of great Abilities, but exerciſed them ill to the dammage of Chriſtendom; howſoever he was a Souldier of extraordinary Courage and Conduct, having begun to manage his Sword at ſeventeen Years of Age; and as it is ſaid, had been engaged in forty two ſeveral Fights. His Widow *Katherine*, Siſter of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, rendred an account to the Port of this Accident, and the Grand Signior immediately returned Anſwer by *Sulficar* Aga, condoling the Misfortune, and encouraging her to a dependence on the Port: which ſhe accepting with due Reſentment, promiſed Obedience to the Grand Signior, and begged his Protection. But the weather was too boiſterous and rude for a Veſſel to be navigated well under the Pilotage of a Woman; for the ſituation of the Country, between two mighty and potent Monarchs, required more than a Feminine Mind and Courage to free and defend it from the Plots, Snares, and Violence with which it was, as with a toile, encompaſſed by thoſe two great *Nimrods* of the Eaſt and Weſt. And though the Sultan undertook to defend his Female Ally, yet the diverſion of the Ottoman Arms in *Perſia*, the inteſtine Diſtractions, and the Minority of the Emperor were ſuch burdens on the Foundation of Empire, and obſtructions to great and Heroick Atchievements in behalf of the diſtreſſed Princeſs, that all the Promiſes made to her were unavailable and ineffectual. For *Stephen Bethlem*, a Kinſman of the deceaſed Prince, a Man conſpicuous in his own Perſon and Eſtate, as well as for the ſeveral Governments divided amongſt his Sons, and the intereſt he had gained in his Country, procured means to convoke the States at *Claudiopolis*; and inſinuating the foregoing Inconveniences of a Female Government, ſo prevailed with the Aſſembly, that they perſwaded the Princeſs to yield up her Sovereignty to *Stephen Gabor*, as one better capacitated for Rule and Sovereignty than her ſelf. *Stephen* having thus obtained his intent, entred into a ſerious Conſultation with his Friends and Relations, whether he ſhould labour to confirm the Government to himſelf, and entail it to the Family, or renounce it to ſome other. The firſt ſeemed a Matter very dubious and difficult; for that *Bethlem Gabor* his Predeceſſor, had diſobliged the principal Boyards or Barons of the Country, and thereby derived an envy and hatred to all his Family: His long and violent Government annexed to the Intereſt of the Turk, had not only rendred his Memory odious to his own People, but likewiſe to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which would be ready to continue the like prejudice and averſion to any of the ſame Family, as it did to the laſt thereof.

The Widow of Bethlem Gabor *perſwaded to quit her Government.*

For which Reaſons, after due and mature conſideration, it was reſolved to offer the Government to *George Ragotskie*, a Perſon rich in Mony, and of great Intereſt, by reaſon of the Juriſdiction and Caſtles which he poſſeſſed in *Hungary*, belonging to his own paternal Inheritance; and in purſuance thereof, they ſent *Stephen* the ſecond Son, and *Solomon* a Kinſman of that Family, for Ambaſſadors to *Ragotski*, repreſenting to him, that they had preferred his Merit before the Intereſt of their own Family; and therefore deſired him, that he would be pleaſed to take upon himſelf the Regency of the Principality.

The Principality offered to Ragotski.

The offer of Government was a ſavoury Bait to the Palate of *Rogotski*; which he embraced

with

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Ragotski was ſtrangely ſurpriſed with this Intelligence, and the Ambaſſadors were put to the bluſh to ſee their Negotiations under ſuch a ſhameful defeat: Howſoever reſolving to continue conſtant to their firſt Election, and to renounce the Intereſt of their own Family, they ſtill maintained the ſame obſequious Offices of Honour and Reverence towards *Ragotski* as formerly.

And notwithſtanding the Orders received from the States to abſtain from any other demonſtrations of Honour to *Ragotski*, than what were ordinary towards a private Perſon of his Quality and Riches; and that he ſhould retire from the Confines of *Tranſylvania* to the Precincts of his own Caſtles: yet they ſtill perſiſted to execute their firſt Commiſſion, and ſo to attract People to his Party; that the number thereof daily increaſing, it was at length agreed, that the firſt Election not being fair, the Point in Controverſy ſhould be determined at *Saxburg*, a City of *Saxony*.

The States General being aſſembled, *Ragotski* accompanied his Pretenſions with a large effuſion of Gold, the moſt powerful and moſt convincing Argument imaginable: to which he added, That he had no deſign to affect the Principality, had not the ſame been firſt offered to him from *Stephen Gabor* the Father by the Hand of his Son: That it was very improper for that Perſon to offer a Digni[illegible] to another, which he affected for himſelf: that it was in the power of the Tranſylvanians; not to have offered him the Principality; but having once choſen him to it, they could not, without his diſparagement and prejudice, retract from their Election.

In ſhort, theſe Conſiderations, aſſiſted by the Intereſt of the Princeſs Dowager, ſo far prevailed, that *Stephen Bethlem* was put aſide, and *Ragotski*, who attended the ſucceſs of this Matter at *Waradin*, was with common conſent elected Prince; from whence being with great Acclamations, and a general concourſe of the People, conducted to *Albu Julia*; he there took the uſual Oath with much Solemnity and Magnificence: and with Princely Magnificence, entertained and treated the two Ambaſſadors, *Stephen* and *Solomon*, and diſpenſed freely his Mony unto divers, who before being Enemies, were now reconciled, and become his Friends and Admirers. Liberality in a Prince, is the moſt reſplendent Gemm in all his Crown, and is a Light ſo forcible, that it dazles Envy it ſelf, and puts out all the Eyes of Suſpicion and Jealouſy.

Ragotski *choſen Prince.*

1630. By this time the Great Vizier was far advanced with his Army into *Perſia*, having been encouraged to proceed by the feigned Flight, or rather Retreat of the Enemy,, who burned, deſtroyed, and laid waſte all round them, as they retired; which put the Turks to ſuch inextricable Difficulties, that in two months March, they had all the Inconveniencies and Miſeries to contend with, which commonly attend Armies in ſtrange Countries; the Plains through which they travelled were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and void of Proviſions; the Mountains were covered with Snow and comfortleſs: and what was worſt, the Perſians kept all the narrow Paſſages ſo ſtrongly guarded, that the Vizier was now more in danger of Famine than of the Sword: but being a Perſon of great Senſe and Experience in Military Affairs, he prudently diſingaged himſelf from the intricacy of theſe Dangers; and encamping his Army in the Plain of *Amedan*, he ſo provoked the hot Spirits of the Perſians, that they reſolve to aſſault him on that ſide of his Camp, which they judged to be the moſt weakly defended: of which having ſome advertiſement, he ſecretly laid an Ambuſcado in the way; which ſo happily ſucceeded, that he killed eight thouſand Perſians on the place: but howſoever the Victory coſt ſo dear, and was ſo bloody, by the loſs of the ſtouteſt Janiſaries, and the braveſt of the Souldiery, that the News thereof made little noiſe or rejoycing at *Conſtantinople*.

A Victory gained by the Turks over the Perſians

With this Intelligence the Vizier demanded new Recruits; for that beſides the abatement of his Numbers by the laſt Engagement, the Multitudes of the Enemy increaſed, and his own Souldiers fled from their Colours; of which many being obſerved to enter *Conſtantinople*, notwithſtanding the ſevere Decrees of Martial Law publiſhed againſt them, put the Grand Signior into a high Cholor and Indignation. And being deſirous to reinforce the Vizier's Army with all the Recruits that he was able, Proclamations were made, that all the Militia at *Conſtantinople* ſhould immediately paſs over unto *Scutari* under their reſpective Commanders; and that whoſoever received one Aſper of Pay from the Grand Signior in quality of a Souldier, ſhould immediately paſs the Chanel into *Aſia*, and follow their Leaders to the War. But ſo great was the abhorrency which the Souldiers had to this March into *Perſia*, calling it the Sepulchre and Cemetery of the Turks, that few or none would obey, every one flying, hiding, and ſhifting for himſelf as well as he could: During which Fears and Troubles, the Ways from *Perſia* were ſo obſtructed by the *Curdes*, that in the ſpace of three or four Months, no News arrived at *Conſtantinople* from the Army; which cauſed as great apprehenſions and affrightments there, as if the Empire had been reduced to the utmoſt extremity. Nor did the Sultan want Jealouſies and Fears of receiving Affronts from the Emperor, and King of *Poland*; the firſt of which had a fair opportunity preſented of regaining all *Tranſylvania*, eſpecially at a time when that Country was divided by two ſeveral Factions: but more preſſing and troubleſom were the Coſſacks, who daily infeſted the Black Sea; and to the great reproach of the Imperial City, perpetually diſturbed it with Alarms, paſſing up almoſt in ſight of *Conſtantinople*. Of which Complaints being made to the Polonian Ambaſſador, he anſwered with ſome indignation, That the Coſſacks had reaſon for what they acted; for that ſince the Tartars had, by Orders from the Grand Signior, made their late irruption into that Country, as they could well prove from the Commiſſion taken amongſt the Baggage of the Prince of *Tartary* in the laſt Defeat, the Coſſacks might with all juſtice aſſume to themſelves a method of Revenge.

The difficulty of ſending Men into Perſia.

The Coſſacks trouble the Turks.

But the Grand Signior not being able to ſupport this Affront, or to ſee himſelf braved on the very Banks of his Imperial Seat, and his

Villages and Towns round about burnt and pillaged by a crew of Free-booters and Pirats, caſt all the blame on the Chimacham; to whom, in his rage, he gave ſuch a blow with his Fiſt on the Face, that Blood iſſued from his Noſe; and had not the Queen-Mother interceded for him, he had been delivered into the Hand of the Executioner to take away his Life. Nor was the Captain-Paſha in leſs danger at his return; becauſe, that upon his aſſurance, that the Coſſaks would not for that Year make any attempt in the Chanel of *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Signior had aſſented, that the Fleet of Gallies ſhould that Summer make a Voyage into the *Archipelago*: Which Miſtake having been the cauſe of all this Affront, the Captain-Paſha was to ſhare in the blame, and had likewiſe in the puniſhment, had not good Friends interpoſed between him and Danger.

Nor were the Coſſacks ſatisfied with their late Plunder, but ſpeedily made another return with two hundred Boats; and though the whole Fleet of Gallies were then in Port, yet they had the boldneſs to proceed as far as *Pompey*'s Pillar, and thereby to hinder all Proviſions from paſſing to *Conſtantinople* by way of the Black-Sea. And what gave greater fear than all this, was the News which came at the ſame time, that the Poles were on the Frontiers with thirty thouſand Horſe; to whom immediatly a Chaous, or Envoy was diſpatched with Propoſitions very advantagious to the Crown of *Poland*, conditionally, that the continual Irruptions made by the Coſſacks ſhould be ſtopped, and they reſtrained within the due Terms of Peace and Moderation.

The Chaous found a civil Reception from the *Poles*, and promiſes of Compliance, in regard that the King had ſome Intentions of making War upon the Muſcovite.

But whilſt theſe things were in agitation, and that the Chaous was ready to return, behold, on a ſudden News came, that ten thouſand Tartars were broken into *Podolia*; which put all things back again, and ſo changed the ſtile of Affairs, that inſtead of Articles of Peace, the Chaous was again returned with the Menaces of War, and with Reproaches for the laſt perfidious Action.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Troubles abroad, the puiſſance of the Ottoman Empire might have been able to have ſtruggled with greater Difficulties, had not its own Inteſtine Diſtractions rendred all things dangerous, and of a malevolent Aſpect.

The Diſorders in the Ottoman State.

The Government was at that time chiefly in the hands of the four Brothers-in-Law, who had married four Siſters of the Grand Signior's; and for that reaſon were powerful, and employed in the principal Offices of State, and commonly drew contrary to the Opinions of the Mufti and Chimacham; which two laſt were not well accorded between themſelves, for that the latter encroached on the Office of the Mufti, to the great ſcandal and diſcontent of all the Religious and Literate Men in the whole City; howſoever they both joined in conſultation by what means they might beſt ſecure themſelves and the Government from the Luſts and evil Deſigns of this quadruple Fraternity; but their Wiſdom and Intereſts were too weak to contrive Remedies againſt ſuch high Oppreſſions; for beſides the Violences daily practiſed by the Brothers, the extravagant Humors in the Sultan himſelf, added to the Diſorders of State, and increaſed the Diſcontent and Diſſatisfactions of the People: For though *Morat* was naturally endowed with a good Wit and Parts, was ſtout, and of a good Courage; yet as his perpetual Debauchery in Wine rendred him in appearance but of a weak Underſtanding, mixed with much Levity, ſo it cauſed his Acceſſions of the Falling-ſickneſs (to which he was ſubject) to return often, whereby the ſtrength of his Brain was daily weakened and impaired. He was negligent alſo in the performance of thoſe Ceremonies which his Anceſtors were accuſtomed to obſerve; nor did he live with that gravity and regular Courſe which is agreeable to the Grandeur of ſo great a Prince: for ſometimes he would go out of his Seraglio with no other Attendance than of three or four Men, which were for the moſt part Buffoons, players upon the Gittern, and Eunuchs; and with no better an Equipage would he ſometimes be ſeen on Horſe-back, or in his Boat rowed on the *Boſphorus* with ſix Oars only: by which Actions, and other ſallies of Youth, he created ſuch a contempt towards his Perſon, that evil Men grew factious and weary, and entred into Conſpiracies againſt his Life, whilſt the good Men feared and preſaged the ruin and downfal of the Empire; for neither Juſtice, nor Order, nor Obedience, prevailed; no Offices were conferred for Merit, but by Mony, or ſome other unlawful Means; there remained no Counſellors of true Faith and Integrity, nor Souldiers almoſt, either of experience for Sea or Land-adventures. The People, being burdened by double Taxes and Impoſts, were mutinous, and ready to take the leaſt Fire of Rebellion; the Souldiery were diſorderly for want of Diſcipline and their conſtant Pay: the Paſha's of remote Provinces grew inſolent, taking upon themſelves rather an abſolute than a depending Soveraignty.

In ſhort, all things looked with that black appearance, that nothing ſeemed to keep the Frame of Empire together, but only the expectation of good Succeſs to the Army in *Perſia*; the which, as it depended on uncertain Events, ſo the Ottoman Monarchy was then ſhaking, and ſtood tottering on its deepeſt Foundation.

The Vizier prepares to beſiege Bagdat.

Wherefore all People being intent to hear of good News from *Perſia*, were much pleaſed to underſtand, that the Vizier having, by advantage in the laſt Engagement, laden his Army with Plunder and Spoils, was now preparing to beſiege *Bagdat*; for whoſe good Succeſs, Prayers were daily made in the Moſchs; and the Schoolmaſters ſurrounded the Streets with their young Scholars, ſinging out Prayers with the *Amen* at every Period, according to the Cuſtom of that Country.

The Vizier marched towards *Bagdat*, and began to beſiege it about the 10*th* of *September*: In order whereunto, he amaſſed great abundance of all ſorts of Proviſions, and made his Magazine of them at *Moſul*, two thouſand Camels, each laden with two Sacks of Cotton, every Sack being of about ten foot long, were carried to the Siege, for ſhelter of the Souldiery, and to fill the Ditches.

The Vizier having paſſed part of his Army over the River *Tigris*, the reſt with the Cannon remaining on the hither ſide, he diſpatched *Naſuf* Paſha of *Aleppo*, with ſix thouſand Spahees, to take a view of the Place, and to diſcover the Avenues unto it. In his way thither, he met with eight thouſand Perſian Horſe ſent to reinforce the Gariſon, which he valiantly engaged; but being dangerouſly wounded, was forced to retreat, with the loſs of almoſt half of his Men, part killed, and part taken: thoſe which

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were carried Priſoners to *Bagdat*, were treated with all civility by the Governor, who gave them a view of the Gariſon, which conſiſted of twenty thouſand effective Men; ſhewed them their Stores and Proviſions, and that there was ſcarce an unuſeful Mouth in all the City to devour them.

The Siege.

Notwithſtanding this Diſaſter at the beginning, the Vizier nothing diſmayed, proceeded on his Deſign, ſpending the whole Month of *September* in making his Approaches. In the Month of *October*, he mounted eighteen Pieces of great Cannon, which for the ſpace of twenty five days battered continually the Curtain between the two Baſtions, on which were four Pieces of Cannon not perceived by the Turks; there was alſo a deep and large Ditch not diſcovered by them, for that it was planked over with Boards, and covered with a green Turf, ſo that it appeared like plain and firm Ground: the Breach being made, and ſeemingly undefended, the Turks reſolved to make an Aſſault; wherefore the Vizier, on the 20*th* of *November*, commanded the Spahees, under the Conduct of the Beglerbei of *Anatolia*, accompanied with Paſha's, Sangiacks, and other Perſons of Note; as alſo with Janiſaries, to the number of thirty thouſand, to enter the Breach: which being performed, and great numbers crowding on the Turf, the weight of them preſſed down the Planks; and therewith the whole Engine giving way, five or ſix thouſand were in a moment taken, as it were, in a Pit-fall, and ſwallowed up without any poſſibility of Succour to be yielded from their Companions. After which on an inſtant there appeared fifteen thouſand Men on the Breach and on the Baſtions; which with their Cannon, and continual Vollies of Musket ſhot, ſo galled the Spahees, that they broke their main Body, and killed the Beglerbei of *Anatolia*, with other Perſons of Note and Quality, and made the whole Army to retreat.

The Siege raiſed.

Two days after this Diſgrace, the Vizier raiſed the Siege, and marched towards *Moſul*; and the Perſians encouraged with this Succeſs, purſued the Turks with eight thouſand Horſe, aſſailed the Rear-guard of the Enemy; and thongh the Conduct and Care thereof was committed to the charge of the Paſha's of *Aleppo* and *Damaſcus*, yet the Perſians killed three thouſand Turks, and had defeated the whole Rear of the Army, had not the Spahees turned their Horſes, and withſtood the ſhock with great Valour.

Notwithſtanding this diſhonourable Retreat, the Vizier loſt not his Courage, or hopes of taking the Town; in order unto which, he appointed all things neceſſary to renew the Siege again in the Months of *September* and *October* following, for that the foregoing Months are either too rainy, or too hot in thoſe Countries, to undertake a Deſign or Enterprize of that Nature: He fortified all the ſmall Places in thoſe parts round, and quartered his Souldiers in them; ſo that having all conveniencies of living, they might be induced to continue, and not abandon their Colours: eſpecially he took care to fortify *Illay*, a place of about two days journey from *Bagdat*, reinforcing the Gariſon with ſix thouſand Men, under the command of three Beglerbegs, in regard that it was a very conſiderable Paſs, and the principal Magazine and Granary of Corn and other Proviſion.

At the ſame time he ſent Letters to *Conſtantinople*, repreſenting the ſtate of his Affairs to be in a hopeful condition; and deſiring Recruits both of Men and Mony, gave great aſſurances of conquering the City at the next Attempt.

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The Poles and Turks make Peace

In this perrilous Condition of the Ottoman State, one would have imagined that Chriſtian Princes would have ſeen their own Intereſt, and made uſe of their advantage; but God not having as yet fixed a Period to the Bounds of this Empire, was pleaſed, by his ſecret Providence, to divert both the Emperor and King of *Poland* from making War with the Turk, inclining them to employ their Arms on their Chriſtian Neighbours. For though the Chaous (as we have ſaid before) was returned from *Poland* with diſdain, and an angry Meſſage, yet the Chimacam, when he made *Moſes* Vayvod of *Moldavia*, encharged him to perform all Offices of Mediation between the Grand Signior and the Poles, perſwading them to reſtrain the Incurſions of the Coſſacks, and to ſend an Ambaſſador to the Port. In which Affair *Moſes* ſo well performed his Negotiation, that applying Lenitives to the Anger of the Poles, he reduced them to Articles of Peace, and to promiſes of reſtraining the Coſſacks, on condition, that the Turks reciprocally forbid and withhold the Tartars from joining or affording aſſiſtance to his Enemies the Muſcovites.

The Coſſacks and Tartars compared.

Theſe Conditions being agreed, the Ambaſſador was ſent from *Poland* to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with as much Joy, as he was expected with Impatience. The Coſſacks and Tartars were two ſorts of people which lived equally on Spoils and Booty; the firſt as offenſive to the Turk, as the latter to the Pole; and therefore as it was an equal Benefit, ſo it was an Agreement of even Terms, to counterchange the Caution given reciprocally for one and the other.

But the Engagement for ſuch wild People, was more eaſily given than performed; which becauſe it was a Point agreeable to both Parties, it was expreſſed with the moſt clear Words and ſtrict Terms poſſible.

The Poles were weary and grieved to ſee their Provinces depopulated by the Tartars, who yearly carried away ſome thouſands of Souls. The Turks on the other ſide were not leſs infeſted with the Coſſacks, who captivated their People, burnt their Towns and Villages, and kept them in continual Alarms.

But becauſe theſe People are hardly reſtrained from their Robberies and Pillaging, the Poles, as a Remedy, reſolved to carry the Coſſacks to the War againſt the Muſcovite; and better to ſecure the Tartar, the Poliſh Ambaſſador was obliged to pay them twenty thouſand Florins yearly, and ſix thouſand pair of Boots, according to the ancient Articles of Peace. On which Conſiderations the Tartars were engaged never to enter *Poland* in a hoſtile manner, but to ſerve that King in his Wars againſt all Nations whatſoever, the Turks only excepted.

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Troubles in Hungary.

In this manner were the Turks this Year freed from all apprehenſions of Alarm from the Coſſacks, and of War with *Poland*. And the Emperor was ſo buſied concerning the ſurprize of *Mantoua*, and engaged in the Quarrel about that Dutchy, and with ſome ambitious thoughts relating to *Italy*, that the Turks hoped to have proſecuted their Wars in *Perſia* without fear of Diverſion from the Weſtern Parts. But yet the Affairs towards the parts of *Germany* were not ſo well ſecured, but that the turbulent Spirit of *Ragotski* adminiſtred ſubject for Diſſention; for being lately ſeated (as we have ſaid) in his Principality, he was doubtful whether it were

moſt

1630. moſt for his Intereſt to incline unto the Emperor, or to the Turk; and whilſt both Parties courted his Friendſhip, and cheapned his acknowledgments, (for of neceſſity he muſt be a Vaſſal to one or the other) the Heyducks who were Tenants to the Lands of *Gabor*, refuſed to return to the Obedience of the Emperor, demanding protection from the Grand Signior. The jealouſy of thoſe ill Conſequences which this Commotion might produce, alarmed all the Country: and the Emperor and *Ragotski* being hereby raiſed to a mutual Defiance, advanced their Troops one againſt the other upon the Frontiers: But all *Hungary* trembling with fear of thoſe Calamities which enſue from War, ſeveral of thoſe concerned, interpoſed ſo far towards an Accommodation, that Deputies were appointed to meet at *Caſſovia* to treat of Peace. But in the mean time the Palatine of *Hungary* paſſing eight thouſand Men over the River *Tibiſcus*, to make ſeiſure of a certain Fort built by *George Baſta*, ſo alarmed and awakened *Ragotski*, that he diſpatched a Gentleman to him to demand the Cauſe of this Motion; and not receiving an anſwer agreeable to his expectation, he advanced upon him with an Army of ten thouſand Men, and engaging him with great reſolution, killed four thouſand on the place, and ſo cauſed him to retire: from theſe beginnings all the miſchiefs of a bloody War had certainly enſued, had not *Ragotski* refuſed to receive Succours from the Turk; but he depending on his own ſtrength (having fifteen thouſand Men in Arms for defence of his Hereditary Lands in *Hungary*) contemned all external Aſſiſtances, as ſavouring too much of vaſſalage and dependance: howſoever the Paſha's of the Frontiers aſſembled their Forces, and yet acted with ſuch caution, as not to proceed to an open Rupture; for the Wars in *Perſia* being unſucceſsful and preſſing, required moderation and Lenitives on this ſide, that ſo the differences now on the Frontiers might be transferred to an opportunity more ſeaſonable for diſpute.

1631.

The G. Signior affrighted with Lightning.

In the month of *September* Sultan *Morat* being at his ſmall Seraglio called *Daout* Paſha, and ſleeping there one night in his Bed, he was on a ſudden awakned by a terrible Lightning; which entring his Chamber, ſurrounded his Bed, leaving ſeveral Marks on his Sheets and Quilts; and whilſt he ſought ſome place to hide himſelf in, it paſſed under his Arm, and burnt part of his Shirt; the afrightment of which ſo aſtoniſhed him, that he remained for ſome time in a ſwound, which for ever after did much impair the ſtrength of his Brain: He now began to be ſenſible that there were other Thunder-bolts than thoſe that proceeded from his own Throne; and, like *Tiberius*, learned to tremble at the Voice of God, whilſt he heard him ſpeak in the Clouds: *Nec Deum unquam niſi iratum pertinuit, & turbatiori Cœlo fulminantem.* And ſo affected was the Sultan with this Accident, that afterwards he diſmiſſed divers of his Buffoons from the Court; and particularly a Mute, whoſe ridiculous Geſtures were his common Divertiſement, and for ſome time cauſed him to abſtain from Wine; and as a farther token of his Converſion and Thankfulneſs to God for this eſcape, he ordered five thouſand Dollars to be given in Alms to the Poor, and Korban to be made of three hundred Sheep; and the Friday following, he ſolemnly went to the Moſch, to render Thanks unto God for having ſo prodigiouſly preſerved him from the Executioner of his Vengeance.

During all this time the Great Vizier wanting Succours and Supplies of Men and Mony, had great difficulty to contain his People in their due Obedience, or within the Bounds of their Quarters; for they were apt to leave their Colours, and would really have disbanded, had not their Spirits been daily held up with the hopes and amuſements of Pay and Recruits. 1631.

The four Brethren-in-Law, which greatly apprehended leſt their Power and Authority ſhould be abated by the return of the Vizier, exerciſed all the diligence they were able to make new Levies, the reinforcement of which might inſtil new Courage into the Souldiery, and be a means to continue the Vizier in thoſe parts; but the Mufti obſtructed all Levies on the ſide of *Greece*, and the Frontiers of Chriſtendom, alledging, That the beſt Souldiers being ſent from thoſe parts, would hazard the Empire, by expoſing and laying it open to the Incurſions of the Chriſtians: by which contrary Opinions and Delays, the Vizier wanting the Aſſiſtance expected, the *Perſians* recovered all the little Fortreſſes which they had loſt the Year before, with the conſiderable place of *Illay*; which being taken by Aſſault, and by an abſolute force of Sword and Arms, the greateſt part of the Garriſon conſiſting of eight thouſand Men, commanded by the three Paſha's before-mentioned, were cut off; which was an important loſs to the Turks; not only for the ſlaughter of ſo many brave Souldiers, but alſo for the quantities of Proviſions, being the Granary and Magazine for the whole Army. Therein were likewiſe taken forty Field-pieces carrying eight pounds Bullet; with a great Chain of Iron, which uſually encompaſſes the Treaſury which is carried into the Field. With this ill ſucceſs the Vizier retreated from *Moſul* as far as *Mirdin*, from whence he redoubled his Inſtances for Supplies for Men and Mony.

Illay *retaken from the Turks.*

At length it was agreed, that an Army of thirty thouſand Tartars ſhould be ſent thither; but *Ragotskie* adviſing, that he was upon the point of breaking with the Emperor, it was ordered, that their number ſhould be reduced to ten thouſand: the which taking their Journey into *Perſia*, by the way of *Circaſſia*, were there encountred by *Han Gherey*, the Prince of *Tartary*, (whom we formerly mentioned to have been depoſed by that People) and by him obſtructed in their paſſage, the Van-guard of their Army being cut off by him; ſo that they were forced again to retreat and to embark their Men and Horſe at *Caffa*, to be tranſported by Sea to *Trapezond*; which as it was a matter of great trouble, ſo it was a courſe unpractiſed by the Tartars. The Grand Signior being unable to render a more conſiderable Succour than this unto his Army, which was now reduced to the weak number of two thouſand Janiſaries, and three thouſand Spahees, he reſolved to condeſcend to Terms and Articles, as the only means to ſave his Honour, and the remainder of his Forces.

In order unto which, he releaſed a Perſian Lord from his Impriſonment in the Seven Towers, and qualified him with the Title of Ambaſſador, beſtowing upon him an Equipage of Men and Horſe agreeable to his Character, with four thoſand Dollars to defray his Expence. And that the King of *Perſia* might be aſſured of the Sultan's real Intentions and deſires of Peace, he recalled his Army in the Spring, whereby all Acts of Hoſtility ceaſed: And thus the Vizier being returned to *Conſtantinople*, that Pride and Rigour which he exerciſed towards all in the time of his proſperity, laid him low by Misfor-

1631. tunes in the eſteem of his Enemies; who gladly embracing the opportunity to diſgrace him, with all the terms of Obloquy and Detraction, deprived him at length of his Office. One of the four Brothers-in-law married to one of the Grand Signior's Siſters, and Prime of the Cabal, being conſtituted Vizier in his ſtead. Nor did the late Vizier eaſily eſcape with his Life, until he had repreived it with an Atonement of an hundred thouſand Zechins of Gold, and ſome choice Horſes which he preſented to the Sultan; the like Example other Paſha's his Companions followed in proportion to their Eſtates and Employments; by which Preſents the empty Treaſury was in a manner recruited, and the preſent Neceſſities of the Sultan relieved.

The Vizier deprived of his Office.

But this new Vizier enjoyed not long either his Honours, or his Life; for the firſt Act he performed, was to mitigate the *Valedé Sultana*, or Queen-Mother, to obtain a Hatteſheriff, or Writing, under the Grand Signior's Hand for cutting off the Head of *Caſref* Paſha, the *Spaheeler Agaſi*; or General of the Spahees, which being executed by *Morteſa* the Commander in Chief in *Perſia*, his Head was brought and thrown at the Gates of the Divan.

1632. The Spahees aſtoniſhed at this Spectacle, and enraged to ſee that Head on the Ground which they ſo much eſteemed and loved, forgot all the Terms of Duty and Obedience to their Superiors; and without regard to the Place wherein they were, even within the Walls of the Grand Signior's Court, they threw Stones at the Vizier, and beat him from his Horſe; which though the Grand Signior, and all the Viziers highly reſented, as the moſt ſcandalous Indignity that could be offered to the Majeſty of a Supreme Ruler, and to all Government, yet their Counſels rather ſought Remedies to ſuppreſs the Mutiny, than to make Propoſals of executing Juſtice on the Offenders; for the Spahees ſeconded by the Janiſaries, (who were glad of any cauſe to make a Commotion) aſſembled in the *Hippodromo*, from whence they ſent an Arz to the Sultan, requiring the Heads of the Great Vizer, and of divers others, as well within as without the Seraglio. The Grand Signior denying poſitively to aſſent hereunto, the Souldiery as plainly threatned to depoſe him, and place his Brother in the Throne; at which barbarous Reſolution the Grand Signior being affrighted, his youthful conſtancy was ſo ſhaken, that he wrote to his Mother to deſire her excuſe, in caſe he aſſented to the death of her Son-in-law the Great Vizier; for that the Storm of the Military Fury was ſo great, that he could not endeavour to protect him without the loſs of his Life and Crown: wherefore the Vizier being turned out of the Gates of the Seraglio, he was immediately butchered in the preſence of the Sultan.

Mutiny of the Spahees joined with the Janiſaries.

Nor did the impetuous Rage of the Souldiery end here, but they proceeded farther to demand the Head of the Janiſar-Aga, or General of the Janiſaries, who was reputed the chief Inſtrument of the Death of *Caſref*, becauſe he was a principal Favourite to the Grand Signior; but he wiſely taking divers off with Mony and Preſents, ſowed diviſion between the Janiſaries and Spahees; ſo that ſome Difficulty ariſing hereupon, the determination of his Death was deferred for a while; howſoever they proceeded to demand, that the Mufti ſhould be diſcharged of his Office, and that the Teſterdar, or Treaſurer, ſhould be delivered into their hands.

To the firſt the Grand Signior aſſented, but being willing to ſave the other, he pretended, that he was eſcaped and fled; but when he was found, he ſhould run the ſame Fate with the Vizier. But the military Sedition not being appeaſed with this Anſwer, they roved through the whole City, and *Galata*, and other parts of the Suburbs: the Spahees perſiſting to require the Head of the Janiſar-Aga, and not finding him in his Houſe, they plundered it, and departed; and meeting with a Youth, a Favourite of the Grand Signior's, they killed him; and ſo returning with the like Fury to the Seraglio, they required admiſſion to the New Vizier and Mufti. *Regep* Paſha, another of the Brothers-in-law, was then made Vizier, who with the new Mufti trembling at theſe Tumults, were careful to treat the Souldiery with all lenity and condeſcenſion imaginable, deſiring them to declare their Grievances, and whatſoever might give them Satisfaction ſhould be granted. The ſeditious Souldiers replied, That they were reſolved to ſee the Grand Signior's Brother, for that when the preſent Sultan did not govern well, they might know from whence to produce another of better Abilities, and more agreeable to the Deſigns of the Empire. 1632.

That neceſſity which cauſed the late eaſineſs of condeſcenſion to former demands, made way alſo for compliance with this; ſo that the young Prince being brought forth, they obliged the Sultan not to attempt any thing againſt his Life, and cauſed the Vizier and Mufti to become Caution and Security for it.

Nor did theſe Conceſſions contribute towards a Pacification; but rather their Inſolence increaſed thereby, renewing their Exclamations at the Gates of the Seraglio for the Heads of the Janiſar-Aga and the Teſterdar; not would they be ſatisfied with anſwer, that theſe Men were not found in the Seraglio, but ſtill perſiſted in their rude Out-cryes and Menaces, loſing all reſpect and reverence to the Sultan and the Superiors; ſo that the Grand Signior reſolved once to ſally out upon them with his own Guard; but trying their Temper and Reſolution, he diſcovered moſt of them to be poiſoned with the like Spirit of Sedition, and combining with the others as Aſſociates in the Treaſon.

The Viziers, and other principal Officers, perceiving the Mutiny to increaſe daily, and not knowing to what degree it might ariſe, made it their buſineſs to ſearch out for thoſe proſcribed by the Souldiery: at length the Aga was happily diſcovered by a certain Perſon, to whom a Reward was given of a thouſand Zechins, with the Office of Zorbaſi or Captain; and the Aga confeſſing that he had counſelled the Death of *Caſref*, he was immediately ſtrangled, and his Body hanged upon a Tree to publick view. The like Fate befel the Teſtardar, who being alſo taken, was killed and hanged up together with the Body of the Aga.

All which Perſons thus inhumanely murdered by the Souldiery, were the Enemies of the preſent Great Vizier *Regep*; for which cauſe the Grand Signior ſuſpecting that he ſecretly contrived and nouriſhed theſe Rebellions, never after looked on him with a gracious eye. Of which the Vizier being ſenſible, combined with the Souldiery; and judging it almoſt impoſſible to ſet himſelf right in the Affection of his Maſter, he courted the Favour of the Militia, as the only means to protect his Life, and maintain his Power. But as the revenge of Princes is not like a Thunder-bolt, which wounds on a ſudden, but rather like a Mine which requires time to form, and is then ſprang, when it may do the

beſt

1632.

The Vizier ſtrangled by Order of the Grand Signior.

beſt execution: ſo in the ſame manner, the Grand Signior diſſembled his hate towards the Vizier, until one Night being preſent with him in the Seraglio to ſee certain Fire-works, he called him aſide, and whiſpered to him, that he ſhould go into his private Lodgings; where being entred, the Door was ſhut upon him, and he ſtrangled by certain Eunuchs, who were appointed to attend him for that purpoſe. But little benefit or riches did the Grand Signior reap by his death; for the Vizier having for ſome time expected this Blow, had concealed his Treaſure, and conveyed it away for the uſe of his Poſterity.

The like hatred did the Sultan conceive againſt the Souldiery, reſolving in his mind to execute his Revenge, eſpecially on the Janiſaries, as the moſt turbulent Fomenters of Rebellion and Treaſon, and to vent his Anger, either by the Cord or Sword, or ſome other more expedite way, as opportunity preſented: and to prevent or oppoſe the like Seditions for the future, he fortified the Seraglio, and brought Arms in thither by night, chuſing into his Guard ſelect Men of Courage and Faithfulneſs: and being ſenſible, that the being of his Brother attempered his Soveraignty, and drew away the Hearts and Eyes of his Souldiers and People from fixing entirely on his own Perſon; he therefore intended to cut him off; but the Caution and Security given by himſelf, and chief Miniſters, to preſerve his Life, diverted him from this Reſolution.

In place of the deceaſed Vizier, *Mehmet* late Paſha of *Cairo* was conſtituted, and the Seal conſigned to him; with whom the Grand Signior conſulting of the preſent Emergency of Affairs, often uttered his diſpleaſure againſt the late Seditions, and ſignified his Intention to redreſs them for the future; in order unto which, he cauſed the Heads of the moſt mutinous Spahees to be cut off, and on various Pretences ſeparated the Souldiery each from other into divers Parts; ſome numbers of Janiſaries he commanded to march to the Confines of *Perſia*, and cauſed many others of them to be killed by Night; and by various other Means greatly weakned the Chambers, both by diminiſhing the Numbers, and taking off ſuch who were the Men of beſt Courage and Conduct: many Bodies were found ſwimming in the *Boſphorus*, and known to be Spahees; great part of the Lands belonging to the Timariots was taken away, and the Pay of the Spahees was abated; and divers Offices of Profit and Honour were taken from the Militia, that ſo Men might be made ſenſible of the Indignation of their Prince, and that there is no Sport or Jeſting with the Anger of a provoked King, who knows no other mean of his Paſſion, than the total evaporation of his Choler and Vengeance.

To maintain and make good theſe ſeveral Acts of Juſt Puniſhment, young *Morat* growing in Courage with his Years, mounted on Horſe-back, well Armed, and like a Souldier, attended with a ſelect Party of Cavalry, paſſed through the moſt publick Streets of the City in a huffing manner, and caſting a ſtern Eye upon the Souldiery and People as he went, and making a hundred Paſſes through the midſt of them, ſtruck them with an awe of his Majeſty, and admiration of his Warlike and Martial appearance; with which Severity and Gallantry the Souldiery being affrighted, began to conſider, that they were not longer to be governed by a Woman, or a Child, but by the moſt brave Prince that ever ſwayed the Ottoman Scepter; and thereupon for the future reſolved upon an impartial Submiſſion and Obedience unto him. To encourage them in which, and to reconcile their Spirits and Affections to him, *Morat* oftentimes aſſembled his Souldiery at *Ackmeidan*, where he exerciſed with them, ſhooting with the Bow at Marks and at Rovers, rewarding thoſe who ſhot beſt, with adding an Aſper a day to their Pay; beſides which, he diſtributed ſix thouſand Hungars amongſt them, to demonſtrate that wiſe Princes are uſed to mix Lenitives with their Rigour.

1632.

Rebellion in Anatolia.

Theſe Mutinies and Seditions in the Capital City, encouraged Rebellious Spirits in divers other places: ſo that a certain Bold and Audacious Fellow, drawing a number of Miſcreants after him, poſſeſſed himſelf of the City of *Pruſa*: another of the ſame Temper, called *Elia* Paſha, made himſelf Maſter of *Magneſia*, where he committed all the Outrages which Enemies inflict on a Conquered People; and being about twenty four miles diſtant from *Smyrna*, ſo afrighted the People of that Place, who were Merchants, and ſuch as lived by Trade, that they fled with their Wealth, and ſuch Things as were portable, leſt they ſhould be expoſed to the Robbery and Spoil of Thieves and Rebels. But the Beglerbey of *Anatolia* ſuffered not *Elia* to reign long in his luſt, but giving him Battel in thoſe Plains, wholly defeated him, and ſent twenty of the Heads of the chief Commanders to the Sultan for a Preſent; and purſuing *Elia* and the reſt of his Army to *Magneſia*, beſieged him in that City. The Grand Signior being adviſed hereof, and fearing leſt the Siege ſhould take up too much time, and move other ill Humors in that Country, diſpatched Orders to offer Terms and Conditions of Accommodation with *Elia*, which were ſecretly treated, and great Promiſes made him of Favour and Rewards from the Grand Signior. The eaſie Fool accepted the Conditions, and embraced the Promiſes; and leaving his City of *Magneſia*, proceeded confidently to *Conſtantinople* to receive the gracious Rewards of the Sultan for his paſt Services. At his Entry into the Seraglio in place of the *Kapiſlar-Kahyaſee*, or Maſter of the Ceremonies, he was received by Officers with a Cord in their Hands, who beſtowed on him the gracious Reward of his Maſters ultimate Favour.

Mutinies at Buda.

Theſe Rebellions were no ſooner ſuppreſſed in *Aſia*, but that other Mutinies of the Janiſaries, for want of Pay, began at *Buda* in *Hungary*, where they threw Stones at their Aga, and purſued him to the very Palace of the Paſha, electing another into his place. They alſo cut in pieces the Governour of *Peſt*, and beſtowed his Office upon his Lieutenant.

To remedy theſe Diſorders, and extinguiſh the Mutiny, the Grand Signior ſent Commiſſioners to examine the Matter, and to render him an account of the Grievances and Demands of the Souldiers: but they fearing to be ſurpriſed with ſome ſevere Acts of Juſtice, prevented or foreſtalled the Inquiries of the Commiſſioners, by acknowledging their Fault, and demanding Pardon, with ſurrender of four of the Ring-leaders to Puniſhment; declaring, That by their ſeducement and evil perſwaſions, they were debauched into that diſorderly courſe of Proceedings: the Sultan accepted the Sumiſſion, and all things were quieted in *Hungary*.

Troubles in Moldavia.

Howſoever new Troubles aroſe in *Moldavia*: for that People being oppreſſed over-much by their Prince *Alexander*, made an Inſurrection againſt him, and drove him out of the Country, who for refuge fled to *Conſtantinople*. And the

1632. People deſirous that one *Bernoſchi*, a Polonian by Nation, might be put into his Place. To obtain his Confirmation, he came to the Port, and offered himſelf before the Grand Signior; but *Morat* ſuſpecting, that to obtain the Principality for himſelf, he had ſecretly inſtigated and nouriſhed the late popular Commotions, cauſed his Head to be cut off in the Publick Divan.

Amurat had now born to him a ſeventh Daughter, by his Slave called the *Shining Star*; and though he was much troubled that ſhe had not brought him forth a Son and Heir, yet ſo much was ſhe beloved by him, that he reſolved to create her Queen, had not his Mother declared againſt it, as a thing not uſual for any Woman to be honoured with that Title before ſhe had ſupplied the Inheritance by the Birth of a Male Child.

And that he might now totally extinguiſh the Fire of Sedition amongſt the Souldiery, he cauſed *Ferdum Efendi* and *Saluc* Aga, two prime Chiefs of the Spahees, with eight principal Janiſaries, to be put to Death; after which ſeverity, fearing another Inſurrection, he paſſed the Water, and retired to his Seraglio at *Scutari*, where he fortified himſelf.

It happened about that time, that a Turkiſh Woman, a Slave, was found aboard a French Ship, ready to ſail from *Conſtantinople*; which the Turks highly reſented, and aggravated the Crime ſo much againſt the French Ambaſſadour, that they impriſoned his Son then embarqued, and would have confiſcated the Veſſel and her Lading. In thoſe days the Chriſtian Ambaſſadors reſident at that Court, kept better Union and Correſpondence among themſelves than they do at preſent; ſo that all of them, as concerned, joined together to repreſent before the chief Miniſters, that ſuch a Fault merited not ſo grand a Forfeiture, for that it was moſt probable to have been committed without the privacy either of the Ambaſſador, or Commander of the Ship. The Ambaſſadors then reſident were Sir *Peter Wych* for *England*, the Sieur *Marcheville* for *France*, and *Pietro Foſcarini* for *Venice*; at whoſe warm and urgent Inſtances the Turks condeſcended to releaſe the Veſſel, and the Goods laden upon her, with free liberty to depart. Howſoever it being repreſented to the Grand Signior by the Captain-Paſha (who is Admiral of the Seas) that one *Baldaſar*, an Armenian by Nation, but Dragoman or Interpreter to the French Ambaſſador, was a principal Inſtrument to move the Ambaſſadors to unite in this Pretence; and being obſerved to manage the Intereſt of his Maſter with warm and earneſt Sollicitations, the ſurly Sultan grew ſo angry, that one of his own Slaves ſhould preſume to manage a Diſpute with him, in Fury and Rage, commanded that he ſhould be immediately empaled; and that he might be aſſured that his Sentence took effect, he would ſee him with his own Eyes on the Stake before he would paſs the Water to his Seraglio at *Scutari*. The reſolution was ſo ſudden, and the Execution ſo ſpeedy, that there was neither Ear lent to hear, nor Time given to mediate in his behalf; and the Act being performed, complaints would not ſerve to redreſs a tyrannous Action now paſt Remedy, and not to be recalled: Wherefore as the Ambaſſadors were forced to acquieſce, and patiently endure the Affront; ſo if they would have reſented it, they could ſcarce have found one amongſt their Interpreters of ſo bold a Spirit, who durſt have opened his Mouth after ſo terrifying an Example. The truth is, the Dragomen, or Interpreters to Ambaſſadors at *Conſtantinople*, are required to be Men of Learning, Courage, and Courtſhip; their ſtudies ought to endue them perfectly with the Turkiſh, Greek, and Arabick Languages, with ſome knowledg alſo of the Perſian, and with good Elocution, and readineſs of Tongue: their conſtancy and preſence of Mind is always neceſſary at their appearance before thoſe Grandees or Great Men, who are ever proud, haughty, and arrogant in all their Expreſſions and ways of Treaty, the which they commonly manage towards Chriſtian Miniſters with the ſame reſpect which we uſe towards our Servants, or our Slaves. And therefore by reaſon of this and other Preſidents of like nature, Dragomen have been always timorous in repreſenting the true ſence of the Ambaſſadors and Conſuls; at leaſt have ſo minced and tempered their words, that they have loſt much of that Vigour and Accent which is neceſſary to inculcate perfectly a Buſineſs into the Underſtanding of a Turk, eſpecially if you intend to incline him to Reaſon and Juſtice. Wherefore it would be an excellent Qualification for an Ambaſſadour himſelf to underſtand and ſpeak the Turkiſh Language, or at leaſt to have a young Man by his ſide of the Engliſh Nation, educated in the Turkiſh Court, who ſhould be ready to explicate thoſe Matters which are too thorny and prickly for Subjects of that Country to handle.

The French Interpreter impaled.

1632.

1633. Had all the foregoing Troubles, Mutinies, and Misfortunes encountred the Spirit of an eaſie and a gentle Sultan, certainly the Fate of this *Amurat* had been the ſame with that of *Oſman*, who retiring within his Seraglio, could never have appeaſed the Seditious Humor with all the Conceſſions he could give an unreaſonable multitude: but being a reſolved and buſling Prince, he at firſt gave ſome few ſteps backwards, as if he would yield ſomewhat to the impetuoſity of that Torrent which he could not reſiſt; yet it was only like a Ram, who retires, that he may butt with the greater force. Howſoever the Politicians and ſober Men attributed the true cauſe of all theſe Commotions in the Souldiery, to have no other Foundation than the ill ſucceſs and miſeries which attended the War in *Perſia*; for the way being long, and the Countries hot, barren, and for the moſt part void of all comfort, the Souldiers abhorred the Fatigues and March thither; and hated to conſider, that they ſhould be made a Sacrifice to the luſt of voluptuous Miniſters, who, to gain Eſtates and Riches out of thoſe Monies which were deſigned to carry on the War, did not care, whilſt they lived at Eaſe and in Delights, what Labours, Wants, and Dangers attended the Militia.

Theſe Conſiderations made likewiſe ſome impreſſion in the Sultan, who therefore inclined to hearken unto thoſe Propoſitions of Peace which were brought him by an Ambaſſador from *Perſia*; and being accompanied with very great Preſents, the Peace was clapt up and concluded on a ſudden. But as Things quick in their Birth and Production, are not long-liv'd, nor long durable; ſo this Peace was broken the ſame Year with an inconſtancy equal to that inconſideration with which it was agreed and ſigned. For no ſooner was the News hereof flown into the Eaſtern World, than the Great *Mogol* diſpatched his Ambaſſador with Letters to the Grand Signior, perſwading him to make War again with the Perſian, promiſing to aſſiſt him therein, by ſtopping up the Paſſage of *Nachivan*, which is a City in the Leſſer *Armenia*, built upon the River *Aranes*, and is the common Road into the *Indies*.

The Peace made with Perſia, *and ſpeedily broken.*

Indies. The which Motion, as it was pleasing to *Morat*, so being accompanied with Indian Curiosities and Presents of an inestimable Value, the Ambassador was graciously received, and treated with such Feasts and Entertainments as are not usually known amongst the Turks; and returned again with Letters, giving hopes, that he would speedily take an occasion to break with the Persian. But those who had experienced the Difficulties of a War with *Persia*, and observed, that in the present Conjuncture of Affairs it might be more easily and with advantage waged on the side of *Hungary*, endeavoured, with many pregnant Arguments, to perswade the Grand Signior thereunto, giving him to understand, that *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, being victorious over the Emperor in *Germany*, had taken many Towns and Cities of great strength; and having overthrown him in divers Battels, had slain or taken his best Captains and most Martial Men of Valour; and that other Christians, who were desirous to abate the pride of the Austrian Family, were ready to embrace the same Conjuncture, whereby they might entirely shake off the Yoke and Servitude to the Imperial Tyranny.

Perswasions for a War against the Emperor.

These Advantages being well represented, took place easily in the mind of *Morat*, so that he dispatched express Orders to the Pasha of *Buda* to assemble his Forces, and put all things in a readiness on the Frontiers: in compliance with which, though the Pasha set forth his Tents, and made great appearance of a March, yet some secret Designs caused him to move slowly, and to affect a Peace rather than a War; so that receiving an Ambassador from the Emperor at *Pest*, he readily Admitted him, and gave him safe Conduct and Convoy unto *Constantinople*: at which time Advices coming, that the Great *Gustavus Adolphus* was slain, and that the Affairs of the Swedes went backwards and unsuccessfully in *Germany*, altered all the Measures of the Ottoman Counsels; and though *Ragotski* endeavoured all he was able to foment the Differences, and encourage the Turks to a War, having besides other specious Pretences, an Army of thirty thousand Men in a readiness to joyn with the Turks against the Emperor; howsoever the Turks looking on the Condition of the Swedes as desperate, and the Proffers of *Ragotski* to be uncertain, and of no true Foundation, and the State of Affairs amongst themselves to be turbulent and unsetled, gave a kind Reception to the Emperor's Ambassador, and signed the Agreement for continuance of the Truce.

A Peace made between the Emperor and Grand Signior.

By this, and other Actions of like Nature, *Ragotski* lost much of his Esteem with the Emperor and the Grand Signior; the first always looked on him as an Ambitious Prince, exciting the Turk against him, and ready on the least Occasion to enter his Country with Fire and Sword: The other looked on him as a False Friend, who never made Proffers, but those which squared with his own Designs and Interest; and particularly he had disgusted the Port, by presuming to instate one *Matthias* in the Principality of *Walachia*, and to eject another constituted there by Authority of the Grand Signior, called *Strilia Bei*, or Lord *Oysters*, because his Father was a Fisher-man, and gained a good Estate by the Trade of Oysters; howsoever it being the Grand Signior's Pleasure to ordain such a Person to that Office, it was a Presumption, and a bold Piece of Usurpation in *Ragotski*, to dispose of that Government, by virtue of his own single Power: Howsoever the Grand Signior, to avoid Contention with the resolved Spirit of *Ragotski*, confirmed *Matthias*, upon Condition of a double Tribute paid for the Investment to the Principality.

But besides these Reasons for a Peace with the Emperor, the Designs the Grand Signior entertained of making War upon *Poland*, with the Assistance of the Muscovites and Tartars, and of dispossessing *Emir Facardin* of his Government, were strong Inducements to make fair Weather on all other sides of the Neighbouring Princes. The Envy which the Riches and Greatness of *Emir Facardin* (who was a Prince inhabiting in the Parts of *Arabia*, to whom a large Tract of Land, with several Fortresses did belong) had contracted to him from the Pasha's of *Damascus*, *Tripoli*, and *Gaza*, caused them to accuse him before the Grand Signior of Rebellion, and other enormous Crimes: The Plea against him was managed especially by the Pasha of *Tripoli*, who alledged, That he was an Enemy to the Mahometan Law, destroyed the Moschs, kept correspondence with the Malteses and the Corsairs of *Ligorn*, permitting them freely to take Water in his Country; that he openly favoured the Christians, suffering them freely to build Churches in his Country. That he continually fortified his Castles, and encroached on the Lands and Territories of the *Emirs* his Neighbours. In short, his Riches were so great, that every one feared and envied him, and therefore represented his Case in that Manner, that the Grand Signior resolving to destroy him, sent great Forces into those Countries, under the Command of the Pasha of *Tripoli*, to whom he commanded the Pasha's of *Damascus*, *Gaza*, *Aleppo*, and *Cairo* to join their Forces: and for better expedition, the Captain-Pasha was appointed to equip his Fleet, to transport Men and Ammunition into those parts.

Preparations of War made against Emir Facardin.

A Fight of the whole Turkish Fleet against two English Ships.

The Captain-Pasha in his Passage by Sea, encountred two English Ships lading Corn in the Gulph of *Vola*, called the *William* and *Ralph*, and *Hector*: this being a prohibited Commodity, not to be transported under penalty of forfeiting Ships, Goods, and Liberty of the Men, moved the Pasha, with the sight of such a Booty, to command his Gallies to seize the Vessels; which being only two, it was imagined that they would immediately yield and surrender without contest. But these bold Brittons knowing the Consequences of such a Surrender, resolved not tamely to yield themselves, at least to sell their Liberties, Lives, Ships and Goods to the Turks at the dearest Rate they were able: wherefore cutting their Cables, put themselves under Sail, and got into the main Sea, fighting with the whole Fleet above three hours; sometimes they were boarded by one Gally, sometimes by two at once; but plying their Quarter-deck Guns with small Shot, and defending themselves manfully with their half-Pikes, they often cleared their Decks, and put off the Enemy with great slaughter: the Captain-Pasha being ashamed to see such Resistance made by two such Vessels against his whole Force, resolved to enter his Men at the Gun-room Port of one of the Ships, and running the Prow of the Gally into the Stern-port, the valiant Crew of the Gun-room clapt an Iron Spike into the Trunnel-hole of the Prow, whereby the Gally being wedged fast to the Timbers of the Ship, they brought their Stern-chase laden with cross Bars, pieces of Iron, and Parteridge-shot to bear upon them; which raking them fore and aft, killed the Captain-Pasha himself, with near three hundred out of the

The Capt. Pasha slain.

1633. the Baſtard Gally. At length having ſpent all their ſhot, they charged their Guns with pieces of Eight, and being over-powered by numbers of their Enemies, and not able farther to reſiſt, they ſet fire to their Ships, which blowing up, deſtroyed two or three of the Gallies which laid by their ſides, together with thoſe Men which were then fighting aboard at handy-blows on the Deck with the Defendants; ſo that none of the Engliſh were taken, unleſs three or four fiſhed out of the Water.

An end being in this manner put to the Fight, the Turks gained the Victory, with the loſs of twelve hundred Slaves killed and wounded, beſides Turks, and were forced into Port, where they remained a full Month to repair their Gallies; the which Fight affected all Turks with an aſtoniſhment of the Engliſh Bravery, or Obſtinacy; (as they call it) and is a Matter remembred and talked of to this Day, eſpecially by the Son of the Captain-Paſha who was ſlain, called *Omem*, Paſha *Ogli*, who is Paſha of *Rhodes* at preſent, (as I remember) and commands three or four Gallies; for which reaſon he is ſo inveterate an Enemy to the Engliſh, that to ſatisfie his Revenge, he buys what Engliſh Slaves he can get into his Gallies, and ſells none out under a double Price or Ranſom.

The News of this Fight coming to *Conſtantinople*, provoked the Grand Signior to the height of Indignation; howſoever the Officers either being aſhamed of their Loſs, or entertaining ſome ſecret admiration of the Engliſh Bravery, ſuffered the Matter to be compounded for the Sum of forty thouſand Dollars, of which the Engliſh paid only their ſhare with the French and Venetians, whom (for I know not what Reaſon) the Turks equally concerned in the Occaſion.

Whilſt the Turks were appointing a new Captain-Paſha, and again refitting their Fleet, the Paſha of *Damaſcus* diſpatched a Summons to *Facardin* to ſurrender *Seida* up to him, with other Caſtles and Places of Strength. The Old Man reſided then a *Barut*, where pretending to be retired from all Buſineſs, anſwered, that he had reſigned the whole Government into the Hands of his Son *Ali*, as he had already teſtified by Publick Acts: that he was but a Subject, and a Souldier under his Son, and therefore to him they ought to make their Applications. *Facardin* had at that time an Army of twenty five thouſand Men, the which he divided into two Bodies, commanded by his two Sons. *Ali* his eldeſt he ordered with twelve thouſand Men (a thouſand of which were Maronites, and two thouſand Druzes) to march to *Saphet* for hindering the conjunction of the Emirs of *Feruc* and *Therabith*, and the Paſha's of *Gaza* and *Damaſcus*, whoſe Forces being joined together, did not compoſe a greater Number than that of *Facardin*.

Ali entercountring with them, and being a brisk and hot-metled Prince, engaged and charged them ſo whom, that he defeated them, and killed eight thouſand of their Men; but ſuch a Victory as this not coſting him leſs than ſeven thouſand of his Men, was in effect his own Overthrow; for being the next day charged again by the Enemy, both ſides fought with that obſtinacy, that (as is reported) there remained not above an hundred forty ſix of all the Souldiers which followed *Ali*; and he himſelf having his Horſe mortally wounded under him, and being out of Breath, Weary, and Faint, yielded himſelf to a common Souldier, who promiſed him Quarter; but afterwards having him in his power, he ſtrangled him with his Match, and cut off his Head and his little Finger on which he wore his Seal-Ring, and ſo preſented both to the Paſha. But this proud Conquerour refuſed to accept this Preſent without Ceremony, until firſt the Head had been perfumed with Sweet Waters, the Beard combed out, and covered with a rich Turbant, and having kept this Trophy for ſome days by him, he ſent it afterwards to *Conſtantinople*.

The Son of Facardin *overthrown*

1633.

And is ſtrangled.

But before the News of this Defeat reached the Ears of old *Facardin*, the Captain-Paſha with his Fleet of Gallies arrived at the Port of *Tripoli*, to whom *Facardin* being deſirous to ſhew all Friendſhip, and profeſs Loyalty to the Grand Signior, he cauſed his Army to retire into the Parts of Mount *Libanus*, whilſt he himſelf, with about three thouſand Men, between Domeſtick Servants and his Guards, went to *Seida*, from whence he ſent two * *Caramuſauls* laden with Proviſions and Refreſhment to the Captain-Paſha for a Preſent, aſſuring him, that he was an humble Vaſſal to the Grand Signior, and was ready to obey all his Commands; and becauſe the Sultan may probably have received ſiniſter Reports relating to the Arms he had taken up, he aſſured him, that they were no otherwiſe deſigned, than to ſuppreſs the Robberies of the Arabs, and the Incurſions of their Kings; and that he was ready to conduct his Army to any Place, where his Maſter the Grand Signior ſhould think fit to employ them. But theſe fair words could not divert the Captain-Paſha from his Reſolutions to enter the Port of *Seida*, nor from his Inſtructions of demanding, and upon refuſal of forcing poſſeſſion of the Caſtle; which as it was the moſt conſiderable Fortreſs, and the moſt pleaſant Seat of all his Dominions, ſo he could not, without much regret and ſorrow, hearken to ſuch a Propoſition: wherefore that the Paſha might not perſiſt in this Demand, he ſecretly proffered him an hundred thouſand Zechins as a Bribe to himſelf, and his Son *Manſour* to be carried for a Hoſtage and Earneſt of his Faithfulneſs to the Grand Signior. The Captain-Paſha liked well the hundred thouſand Zechins and the Hoſtages, but ſtill required the Surrender of the Caſtle with them; on which whilſt *Facardin* deliberated, News came of the Death of his Son *Ali*, and the Deſtruction of his Army, with which, loſing all Courage, he yielded his Caſtle of *Seida* to the Captain-Paſha, retiring himſelf to his City of *Barut*: nor could he reſt quietly at that Place; for being purſued, he was forced to quit it, and retire with his Maronites and Druzes into the Mountains, leſt being incloſed within the Walls of a City, he ſhould fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies.

* *A ſort of Veſſel or Ship ſo called by the Turks.*

And now all good Fortune forſaking unhappy *Facardin*, the Maronites and Druzes his Subjects revolt to the Paſha of *Damaſcus*, his Palaces and Gardens of Pleaſure were all ruined, his Friends forſook him, his two remaining Sons were loſt, one carried to *Conſtantinople* for a Hoſtage, and the other ſlain in Fight; his Towns of *Gazir*, *Saphet*, St. *John d'Acria*, and others were ſurrendred to the Paſha of *Damaſcus*: only ſome few ſtrong Places in the Mountains remained to him, where living in League with *Reba* a King of the Arabs, he committed all the Spoils he was able on the Lands belonging to the Paſha of *Damaſcus*. But being hunted from one Mountain to another, and from one Cave to another, he was at length forced to ſurrender upon Conditions, that he ſhould have liberty to proceed unto

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1633. the Grand Signior with his own Equipage of three hundred Men, and Trumpets ſounding, and that he might carry with him all his Treaſure conſiſting of a Million of Zechins all in Gold, together with other Riches, which were carried by fourteen Camels; and that he ſhould not be conducted as a Priſoner in Triumph, but that he ſhould with freedom approach the Preſence of the Sultan, like other Paſha's, who are in Grace and Favour.

Theſe Propoſals being granted, *Facardin* with his two young Sons began his Journey to *Conſtantinople*, and being about two days journey from thence, he diſpatched eight Cheſts of Gold before him, to prepare and make his way to the Grand Signior; who being pleaſed with the Gold, and greatly rejoyced to receive the Submiſſion and Homage of one who had ſo long ſtood out in Rebellion, he went out in a Diſguiſe and Habit of a Paſha to ſee and diſcourſe with that Perſon, of whom there had been ſo general a Rumor: and having accordingly encountred with the Emir, he ſate down in his Tent with him, deſiring him to relate the Story of his Life, with the ſeveral Particulars of his late Misfortunes. Emir *Facardin* well knew the Perſon of the Grand Signior; but feigning as if he was unacquainted with whom he diſcourſed, and that he took him for ſome Paſha, began to recount the Courſe of his Life, the Reaſons why his Enemies falſely ſuggeſted evil Reports of him to the Grand Signior; how he was forced, for defence of his Life, to take up Arms, and what ill Succeſs accompanied his Affairs; all which he repreſented with ſuch Quickneſs and Eloquence, that the Grand Signior pitying his Misfortunes, promiſed to be his Advocate, and mediate with the Grand Signior in his behalf.

The day following *Facardin* made his Entry in a Triumphant manner, and received a moſt favourable Audience from the Grand Signior; and all the Paſha's and great Men in conformity to their Maſter, and in hopes of ſharing ſome part of his Gold, ſhewed him a like kind favourable Countenance and Aſpect.

But finding afterwards that *Facardin* increaſed daily in the eſteem of the Grand Signior, and that the old Rebel was become a new Favourite, and that he was likely to over-top and out them, they generally conſpired together, taking the Mufti on their ſide, to accuſe him of many Crimes, and more particularly that he was a Chriſtian, and an Apoſtate from the Mahometan Faith. This Point of Religion ſo ſenſibly touched the Grand Signior, that he reſolved to condemn him in a manner Solemn and Extraordinary; for mounting one Day on his Throne, he commanded *Facardin* to be brought in, and placed on a low Chair; where ordering his Crimes whereof he was accuſed to be recited, he paſſed a formal Sentence of Death upon him: but *Facardin* ariſing to juſtifie himſelf, was not permitted to ſpeak, only he obtained a quarter of an hours reprieve to make his Prayers, and afterwards was ſtrangled by the hands of two Mutes.

1634. *Morat* growing now into Years, took into his own Hands the Reins of Government, reſolving to rule Singly and Abſolutely, and to make himſelf rather Feared than Beloved: He degraded four Viziers at once, and baniſhed them into *Cyprus*, confiſcating their Eſtates, for no other Reaſon, than becauſe they had denied him the uſe of their Mules and Camels on occaſion of his Service.

1634. *Morat exerciſes ſeveral Acts of Tyranny.*

He became extremely ſevere againſt the Souldiery, cruſhing them with all imaginable Rigour on the leaſt appearance of Reluctancy to his Commands; declaring, That he expected Blind and Silent Obedience from all, but eſpecially from his Souldiery.

He impoſed a great Tax upon Copper; and becauſe he had ſeveral Warehouſes filled with that Mettal, which had for many Years lain by, he forced the People to buy it at his own Rates. At which Aggrievance the Commonalty growing deſperate, began to Mutiny and Rebel; but *Morat* put a ſpeedy ſtop thereunto, by cutting off the Heads of fifty of the moſt Seditious, and ſo paſſed to *Pruſa*, with the Attendance of ſix Gallies.

He cauſed a Kadi to be hanged, to the great Diſpleaſure and univerſal Reſentment of the Ulemah, who are Students in the Law; who to make known their Aggrievance, and Conſult a Remedy, aſſembled in great Numbers at the Houſe of the Mufti.

The Queen-Mother being acquainted with this Meeting, and fearing the ill Conſequences thereof, gave immediate Advice to the Sultan; who with like Expedition diſpatched a Boat to bring over the Mufti and his Son to *Pruſa*; who were no ſooner arrived, than they were ſtrangled, not being permitted to ſpeak for themſelves, or to alledge any Plea or Excuſe for their Lives. This Act of Cruelty, beyond the Example of former Ages, and never practiſed by the moſt tyrannical of his Predeceſſors, ſtruck a Terror on the whole Empire; for Men obſerving the unjuſt Rigour which was executed on the Head and Chief of their Law, the Oracle and Mouth which reſolved their difficult Problems, and whom the World ſo reverenced and honoured, that few Examples have been of Capital Puniſhment executed on his reverend Head, feared, that Innocence was not ſufficient to ſecure their own leſs conſiderable Eſtates from his Fury and Violence.

There is a particular Death allotted for Mufties, which is, by braying them in a Mortar, which is kept in the ſeven Towers at *Conſtantinople*, and there ſhewed to Strangers; which Inſtrument hath been ſeldom made uſe of.

Morat deſtroys the Taverns.

Morat being greatly addicted to Wine, was ſenſible of the ill Effects of it in himſelf, and that the heat of debauchery inclined him to Violence and Cruelty, and from hence collecting how dangerous this Humour of Drunkenneſs was in his People, eſpecially in his Souldiery, for that much of the late Seditions might be attributed thereunto, he publiſhed a moſt ſevere Edict againſt Wine, commanding all Taverns to be demoliſhed, the Butts to be broken, and the Wine ſpilt. It was the common Cuſtom of the Grand Signior to walk the Streets in diſguiſe; when meeting with any drunken Perſon, he would impriſon him, and almoſt drub him to Death. It was his fortune to meet a Deaf Man one day in the Streets; who not hearing the Noiſe of the People, nor the Rumor of his Approach, did not ſo readily ſhift out of the way, as was conſiſtent with the fear and dread of ſo awful an Emperor, for which default he was ſtrangled immediately, and his Body thrown into the Streets.

All People feared and trembled at theſe Practices, and were as careful to look out abroad for the Grand Signior, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed with the bluſter of his preſence, as Mariners are of being taken unprovided by ſome ſudden Guſt or Hurricane; for there was ſcarce a Day, that one Innocent or other was not ſacrificed to his Fury and tyrannical Fancy.

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One *Thomas Zanetti*, a Venetian Merchant, who had built a lofty Jardac, or a high Room of Proſpective on the top of his Houſe, was accuſed to the Grand Signior to have deſigned that Place for no other end, than that he might with a long Glaſs overſee the Chambers of the Ladies, and the Gardens, and Walks of the Seraglio: For which Reaſon, without farther inquiry, he was hanged in his Shirt on the top of his Jardac, with a red Streamer in his Hand, that ſo the Grand Signior might be ſure that the Sentence was executed. The Eſtate of *Zanetti*, whether belonging to himſelf or Principals, was confiſcated; but in regard the Goods, for ſecurity, were privately conveyed to the Ware-houſes of ſeveral Frank Merchants, ſtrict ſearch was made for them; but in regard the Marks and Numbers were altered, they could not be diſtinguiſhed: wherefore the Grand Signior concluding, that all the Frank Merchants had combined together to deceive him, he impriſoned every Man of them; nor would he releaſe them, until they had paid forty thouſand Dollars for their Ranſom and Liberty.

Hangs a Venetian Merchant.

After which, upon pretence of a Plot, or Agreement of the Franks to defend themſelves from the leviation of this Tax, the Turks ſearched their Houſes for Arms; in taking of which they were ſo rigorous, that they ſpared not ſo much as a Birding-piece; nor yet the Sword of Sir *Peter Wych*, then Ambaſſador for *England*, though he alledged, that it was the very Sword with which his Majeſty had conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon him.

But from theſe Tranſactions at Home, let us paſs to the Wars in *Poland* and *Perſia*. That Invincible Prince, *Vladiſlaus* King of *Poland*, had gained ſuch good Succeſs againſt the Czar of *Muſcovy*, that the Czar was forced to demand Aſſiſtance from the Turks. The Grand Signior, though he had lately made a Peace with *Poland*, and ſworn to maintain the Articles of *Chocin*, concluded by his Predeceſſor Sultan *Oſman*; yet the continual Depredations which the Coſſacks made, did always adminiſter reaſonable Pretences for a War: To which *Abaſſa*, one of his chief Counſellors, a valiant and preſumptuous Captain, did much incite him; for promiſing to himſelf the Conduct of that Army deſigned againſt *Poland*, did much flatter the Sultan and himſelf with the Fancy of mighty Succeſs.

The Turks make War on the Poles.

The War being thus reſolved upon, the Turk, who commonly ſtrikes before he Quarrels, gave Orders to *Abaſſa* to make Levies of Men in *Moldavia* and *Valachia*; and to put the Tartars in Arms, and the Militia of *Buda*, and of the Parts along the *Danube* into a warlike Poſture, and with all Expedition to enter *Poland*.

Abaſſa who had with wonderful diligence put his Troops in readineſs, ordered the Tartars, with a Body of fifteen thouſand Men to enter *Poland*; which they performed with ſuch celerity, that paſſing the River of *Tyre* above *Chocin* and *Rinczug*, they in a few hours laid waſte for the ſpace of ten Leagues round *Kemenitz*, and ſo retired with their Booty into *Moldavia*: howſoever their haſte was not attended with ſuch good ſpeed, but that they were overtaken on the *4th* of *July* by *Staniſlaus Koniſpolzki*, General of the Poliſh Army, with no greater Force than two thouſand five hundred Horſe; howſoever ſurpriſing them whilſt they were feeding their Horſes, he put them into ſuch Confuſion and Diſorder, that he eaſily recovered all their Booty, and took five of their chief Men Priſoners; of which the Son-in-Law of the *Cantemir* was one. But this was a faint Refreſhment in reſpect to that terrible Storm of ſixty thouſand Men, compoſed of Turks, Tartars, Moldavians and Valachians; which under the Command of *Abaſſa* had already paſſed the *Danube*.

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Koniſpolzki the Poliſh General, having not ſufficient Force to oppoſe them in open Field, nor time to aſſemble a greater Army, gathered what Supplies he could from the Coſſacks and Lords of that Country, and therewith encamped himſelf upon a Hill between the River *Tyr* and the Town of *Chocin*, that he might be the better able to ſuccour *Kemenitz*, which the Enemy deſigned to aſſault.

A Fight between the Turks and the Poles.

Abaſſa who contemned this weak Force of the Poles, reſolved, without farther conſideration, to attack them in their own Camp, and force them to fight; of which the Poles being well adviſed, placed ſeveral Pieces of Artillery, and lined all the Hedges and Ditches with Muſquetiers, where the Turks were neceſſarily to paſs, drawing out their whole Army into Batalia; the Turks who haſtened the neareſt way to charge the Enemy, fell into the Ambuſh, where having loſt about five hundred Men, they began to make a ſtand, and to conſider of ſome more advantageous way to their Deſign. Wherefore *Abaſſa* taking another Courſe, which he judged to be free from all concealed Dangers, ordered the Tartars to charge the Right Wing, and the Moldavians and Valachians the left of the Enemy, and he with his Turks would fight the main Body. The Tartars with great Reſolution performed their part, and had wholly defeated that Wing, had not *Wiſnovitzki*, with ſome Troops and a Train of ſmall Artillery, come in ſeaſonably to their Succour: The Moldavians and Valachians fought ſo faintly againſt the Enemy, whom they conſidered to be Chriſtians, Brothers, and Neighbours, that they ſoon turned their Backs and fled, but were not far purſued by the Poles.

Abaſſa receiving this Repulſe, ſounded a Retreat, and immediately repaſſed the River *Tyr*, and marched with all the haſte he was able, ſtopping no where, until he arrived at *Rinzur*, about thirty Engliſh miles from the place of the Fight; and arriving at length on the Banks of the *Danube*, he gave Licenſe to his Souldiers to diſperſe into their Winter-Quarters; in the mean time *Abaſſa* diſpatched Advice to the Grand Signior of the Particulars of the Fight, and of his great Victory, by an entire defeat of the Poliſh Army. The Grand Signior believed the Report, which none durſt to contradict, and which was confirmed by the Rumour of an Ambaſſador coming from *Poland*. For the Poles being at that time engaged in a War with *Muſcovy*, and apprehenſive of another with *Sweden*, judged it not ſeaſonable to provoke the Turk, but rather, by way of Accommodation, diſpatched an Ambaſſador with a Train of three hundred Men, to make Complaints againſt the late Acts of Hoſtility committed by *Abaſſa*, as if he had moved his Arms without the Orders or Knowledg of the Sultan.

An Ambaſſador ſent to the G. Signior from Poland.

About that time that the Ambaſſador approached near to *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Signior had another Son born, but of a weakly and ſickly Temperament, howſoever great Joy was expreſſed, and all the City was enlightned with Torches, Bonefires, and Fire-works; and that the Grand-Signior might evidence his Greatneſs and Magnificence to the Ambaſſador, he took this Occaſion of the Birth of a Son, to make a ſolemn Entrance into the City, and to make

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Before the Grand Signior would grant Audience to the Ambaſſador, he ordered that *Abaſſa* ſhould treat with him, and underſtand his Buſineſs and Deſires. *Abaſſa* carried himſelf high in the Negotiation, he pretended the Damages and Charges of the War, the Demoliſhment of certain Palancas, which were the Places of Refuge for the Coſſacks; and the Tribute of ten Years paſt, with Security of paiment for the Time to come. The Ambaſſador poſitively refuſed to hearken unto any Terms about Tribute; and that for other Matters, the Preſents which he had brought to the Grand Signior, would reaſonably anſwer.

His Preſents were,

A Coach lined with Velvet, with ſix very fine Horſes.

A Baſon, and Candleſticks of Silver richly gilt.

Four Clocks, ten Veſts of Sables, ſix Quivers of Arrows, with ſome Hunting-Dogs.

Being at length admitted to Audience, and thereunto conducted by the Aga of the Spahees, and the Chaous Baſſee: The Grand Signior asked the Ambaſſador, which was not uſual, *For what Reaſon he was come thither?*

To which he anſwered; *That he was come to bring his Majeſty Advice of the Coronation of the King; and to eſtabliſh a Peace, if his Majeſty ſhould judge fit to accept thereof.*

To which the Sultan replied; *That all Chriſtian Kings ought either to receive the Ottoman Laws, or pay him Tribute, or try the ſharpneſs of his Sword.* And taking a Cemiter in his hand which hung by him, he drew it half out, and ſaid, *With this I will ſubdue my Enemies; and though my War in* Perſia *continues, I do not fear to undertake another in* Poland.

To which the Ambaſſador returning a modeſt Anſwer, was diſmiſſed of the Royal Preſence.

And now the Grand Signior, to put a good face on the Buſineſs, and to make the World believe, that he deſigned what he ſpake, he proclaimed a War with *Poland*, and ordered his Tents to be carried abroad, ſuppoſing hereby to draw the Poles to his own Terms of Agreement. And in purſuance hereof he mounted on Horſeback, and rode in ſtate through the City, his upper Veſt was made after the Hungarian Faſhion lined with Sables; in his right hand he carried a Quiver of Arrows, in his left two drawn Swords; on his Turbant he wore a large Plume of Feathers, encompaſſed with a Circle of Diamonds; and in this manner entring his Tents, he proceeded to *Adrianople*. But before his departure, the Count *Puchon*, Ambaſſador from the Emperor, arrived with other ſumptuous Preſents, offering Incenſe and Gifts of Peace at the Throne of this Greatneſs.

But before we relate the Tranſactions at *Adrianople*, and the Succeſs of Affairs at that Place, let us recount ſeveral diſmal Accidents at *Conſtantinople*.

The ſeveral Miſchiefs by Water and Fire.

The Grand Signior returning by Sea from a place called *Stravoſta* in the Bay of *Iſmit*, anciently the Bay of *Nicomedia*, where he had for ſome time held his Court and great Divan, he was followed by ſeveral Veſſels appointed to tranſport the People, in one whereof were ninety five Perſons embarked, all of them Paſha's, Aga's, and chief Officers of the Court; the Veſſel was over-ſet by a ſudden guſt of Wind, 1634. and all the People drowned, excepting three Sea-men which ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. More conſiderable were the Miſchiefs by Fire; For on occaſion of ſome Fire-works made in one of the Grand Signior's Chiosks, or Houſes of Pleaſure, the Fire took ſo fiercely on the Tavan, or wooden Works of the Sieling, that it endangered the whole Palace, and had conſumed all, but that many Hands and active Men gave a ſtop to the farther Progreſs.

A terrible Fire at Conſtantinople.

This Fire was but a fore-runner of a greater, which began the 16*th* of *September* in that part of the City of *Conſtantinople*, which is called *Aikcab*, being between the Wall and the Port, where live Taverners, Butchers, Fiſhmongers, and others who ſell Proviſions. The Fire took firſt in one of thoſe Houſes which had been a Tavern, and are Buildings only made of Deal-boards and Timber; which combuſtible Matter flamed out ſo violently, that it took hold on all the Houſes round, and was ſo quick in its Motion, as if it had taken by a Train, or that ſome wicked People with Fire-balls had employed themſelves in the Miſchief; the Fire took its Courſe againſt the Wind, burning on one ſide and the other to the Hiſtorical Pillar, and to the Moſchs of Sultan *Mahomet*, and Sultan *Selim*; ſo that in a ſhort time one third of the City was reduced to Aſhes.

It is difficult to expreſs the lamentable Deſtruction was made hereby, what Riches, what Palaces, and Moveables were conſumed in it, there being twenty thouſand Houſes reported to be burnt; which Miſery is beſt repreſented by the remembrance of our calamitous Incendiation at *London*; the greateſt difference between one and the other was, that that at *Conſtantinople* was more quick in its Motion; for it burnt a larger compaſs of Ground in one third of the Time, than ours did at *London*; for that City for the moſt part conſiſting of ſlight Buildings of Wood, met not the reſiſtance which ours ſometimes did againſt the Walls of Brick and Stones.

The Fire being extinguiſhed, and Men having time to lament and think, began to impute the Cauſe and Fault to thoſe whom they moſt ſuſpected; ſometimes they accuſed the Perſians for having fired the City, for which Crime one of them the next Year ſuffered Death. Some attributed the Cauſe of all to the Janiſaries; and that they, out of hatred to the Inhabitants, or for the ſake of Plunder, if they did not begin, yet at leaſt increaſed the Fire; which they the more ſuſpected, becauſe the Janiſaries refuſed not only to work themſelves, alledging, that they expected Orders from their Aga, but likewiſe hindered and diſcouraged others. Howſoever the Grand Signior not wanting on his own part to contribute all Aſſiſtance poſſible, ſent four thouſand Men out of his Seraglio to work about the Fire, not excuſing the very Officers of his Royal Chamber from contributing their Authority and perſonal Aid; ſome of which ventured far into the Fire, to demonſtrate their Courage, Activeneſs, and Obedience to the Commands of their Emperor: but all this was too little againſt an obſtinate and an invincible Enemy, for the Fire flamed, and proceeded, until it wanted Nouriſhment and Food to conſume.

In fine, twenty thouſand Houſes were burnt, two hundred Moſchs, and the Library of the Mufti, which for the Number of the Arabick and Perſian Books, was curious, and of high eſteem. The Aibeags, or Habitation of the

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Janiſaries containing three hundred Chambers, of which each Chamber was capable to receive four hundred Men, were all burnt and reduced to Aſhes.

The which fatal and miſerable Spectacle, did a little touch the Heart of Sultan *Morat*; ſo that he gave out conſiderable Sums to comfort the Diſtreſſed, who had moſt ſuffered by this Calamity, and to raiſe from its Aſhes his conſumed and languiſhing *Conſtantinople*; which being revived and flouriſhing, was again miſerably conſumed by Flames, in the Month of *April* 1660. But ſuch is the beneficial and commodious ſituation of that Place, and the Riches thereof by Trade, and the Preſence of the Ottoman Court, that the Inhabitants again rebuilt it in fewer Years than could be imagined.

Reaſons for a War with Poland.

But now to return to the Grand Signior at *Adrianople*, we find him reſolutely deſigned to make a War upon *Poland*, to which he was induced by the Perſwaſions of *Abaſſa*, and the preſent conjuncture of Advantage to join with the Moſcovite, it ſeeming great Policy not to ſuffer the Countries of *Moſcovy* to be over-run; or the Poles, who is a warlike and dangerous Nation, to grow Puiſſant and Powerful by his Succeſs and Conqueſt over his Neighbours: Wherefore Preparations were made on all ſides for the War; great Quantities of Proviſions and Ammunition were ſent into *Moldavia* by way of the Black Sea and the *Danube*.

The Tartar *Han* ſent word that all his Forces were in readineſs, and expected nothing but their Orders to march. The Beglerbey of *Greece* made his Rendezvous at *Philippolis* with an Army of thirty thouſand Men, where he attended to join with the Forces of *Boſna*, *Siliſtria*, and other parts of *Europe*. *Moldavia* and *Walachia* made an appearance of Levying Men, and joining with the Turk; but their Hearts were towards the Poles, with whom they kept a ſecret correſpondence, and would be ready to adhere on the leaſt Opportunity.

In ſhort, the Army of the Turks was ſo great, and all his Affairs in that readineſs, that he ſcorned to incline an Ear to Propoſitions of Peace; in which Opinion *Abaſſa* humoured and perſwaded him, that the Poles were ſo fearful of his Forces, that they had already yielded to Terms of compounding for a yearly Tribute. All which proved falſe; for in the mean time *Uladiſlaus* King of *Poland*, remitting nothing of the Heat and Vigour of his War againſt the Moſcovites, he was ſo ſucceſful therein, that he forced an Army of eighty thouſand Men, which he had beſieged in their Camp, to lay down their Arms, and ſurrender themſelves; which was an Action ſcarce to be credited, at leaſt to be parallel'd in any Hiſtory: and with this Conqueſt he might have proceeded to the Capital City of *Moſco*, and concluded the War and that Empire: But God's Providence, which governs all things, altered this Counſel, and diverted thoſe victorious Arms to the Siege of *Bial*; which Town being well fortified and gariſoned, withſtood many Aſſaults of the Enemy, and blunted the Spirits and Swords of the Conqueror; for loſing much time in this Siege, other Towns made uſe of the Opportunity to provide and fortify themſelves; whilſt the Poles growing weary, and wanting Pay, raiſed divers Mutinies and Seditions in the Camp. Theſe Difficulties and Inconveniences inclined the King *Uladiſlaus* to bend a favourable Ear to the many Supplications and Inſtances which the Moſcovites made for Peace: So that the Plenipotentiaries being aſſembled, it was agreed, that the Dutchy of *Smoleſco* and *Czernieſchou*, which two hundred Years paſt had been taken from *Poland* and *Lituania*, with many other Towns and Countries, to the extent of two hundred Leagues, ſhould be reſtored to the Kingdom of *Poland*.

The Victory which the Poles obtained over the Moſcovites.

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They make a Peace.

The News of this ſudden Peace coming unexpectedly to Sultan *Morat*, cauſed his Bravadoes againſt *Poland* to ceaſe, and to turn the ſtile of his Fury and Indignation againſt the Moſcovites, whom he vilified with all imaginable Terms of Perfidiouſneſs and Cowardiſe, and abuſed and impriſoned their Ambaſſadors. He conſidered that he had provoked an Enemy who was Victorious, Valiant, and Powerful, and one who at any time was able to contend with his united Force, much more whilſt it was ſeparated and disjoined by his War in *Perſia*: wherefore in all haſte he diſpatched an Ambaſſador into *Poland*, called *Shabin* Aga, deſiring to renew the ancient League and Articles of Peace. This Ambaſſador found the King at the Diet in *Warſaw*, where he publickly endeavoured to excuſe his Maſter for the late Acts of Hoſtility; aſſuring them, that they were not performed according to his Maſter's Deſires, and Original Intentions, but as they were moved and guided by the evil Suggeſtions and Artifices of *Abaſſa*, who being ſolely culpable of this Fault, by giving ill Counſels to his Maſter, he aſſured them, in the Name of the Sultan, that he ſhould receive ſuch Puniſhment as they ſhould think fit to inflict upon him. Hereupon the King *Uladiſlaus* gave this Anſwer; That ſince the Grand Signior could ſo eaſily infringe the Articles of that Peace which had been ſolemnly and ſacredly eſtabliſhed, it was now his Part, and the Wiſdom of that grave Aſſembly, to contrive ſuch Conditions and Bonds wherewith to oblige his Maſter, as could not eaſily and at his Pleaſure be broken or avoided: And at the ſame time the Poliſh Ambaſſador being returned from *Conſtantinople*, and diſcourſing in the Diet of the Pride and Perfidiouſneſs of the Turks, and the Scorn wherewith they received Chriſtian Ambaſſadors, ſo incenſed the Spirit of the whole Aſſembly, that with a general Conſent they approved the words of the King, adding, That they would no longer be ſubject to the Inſults and Falſities of that Tyrant, whom they would make to know, that they wore as well Offenſive as Defenſive Arms; and were not of that abject Spirit, or mean Condition, to permit the Sultan to violate the moſt Sacred Articles of Peace, and then at his pleaſure to ſalve them with a fawning Acknowledgment, or a flattering Speech. In this manner the Turkiſh Ambaſſador was returned, whilſt the King *Uladiſlaus* went into *Podolia* to take a view of his Armies; which he found to conſiſt of eighty thouſand fighting Men, all well accoutred, of good Courage, and ready to follow their King to the Walls of *Conſtantinople*.

The Turk ſends an Ambaſſador into Poland *to deſire a Peace.*

The fear of the Motion of this great Army, in a Conjuncture when the Wars broken out again in *Perſia* were not proſperous, affected the Mind of *Morat* with much terror; ſo that he became very ſollicitous to find out, and make ſome ſubſtantial Propoſition in order to an Accommodation. One of the Viziers called *Morteza*, was very active in this Buſineſs, plying continually the General *Koniſpolcki* with Letters, Offers, and Expedients for a Peace. To facilitate which, and ſhew that the Grand Signior did heartily relent, *Abaſſa* was ſtrangled by two Kapugees, and given for a Sacrifice to appeaſe the Anger of his Enemies; a Perſon who was a

Abaſſa *ſtrangled.*

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ſtout Souldier, and one who had performed great and ſignal Services in the War of *Perſia*.

But the Poles not being pacified with this ſingle Act of Penitence, but thirſting farther after the Blood of the Turks, deſired to Spoil and Pillage their Richer Provinces. Howſoever at length the Council of *Poland* entring into more ſerious Debates, conſidered, that the Troops lately come from *Muſcovy*, were but in a bad condition; that the part of their Army, which conſiſted of Voluntiers, would not endure a long and tedious War; and that the Expence and Charge of this great Army was immenſe and almoſt inſupportable: for which Reaſons it was reſolved, that a Peace ſhould be made, which was ſoon afterwards concluded, and agreed on theſe following Articles.

Articles of Peace agreed between the Poles and the Turks.

That the Vaywods of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, ſhould be confirmed by the Grand Signior, with the Conſent and Recommendation of the King of *Poland*.

That *Cantemir* and his Tartars ſhould abandon the Country of *Buckzac*; and in caſe of refuſal, that then the Turk and Tartar *Cham* ſhould join their Forces to expel them from thence.

That the Poles ſhall ſuppreſs all Acts of Hoſtility of the Coſſacks in the Black Sea.

That the Turks renounce for ever all Demands, or future pretence of Tribute from *Poland*: and that they ſhall build no new Forts on the Frontiers.

That the Navigation on the River *Nieper* ſhall remain free and undiſturbed to the Poles. That all other Articles ſhall remain as formerly in their true Force and Virtue.

A Difference between the French Ambaſſador & the Captain Paſha.

In this Year happened out great Differences between the French Ambaſſador and the Turkiſh Officers. The firſt Diſguſt had its Original from the Year 1631, when the Marqueſs of *Marcheville* going Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, was in his Voyage met off of *Scio* by the Captain-Paſha and his Fleet of Gallies, who immediately ſent off a Boat to adviſe him, that he ſhould ſtrike his Flag, and make ready the Preſents which were due to the Grand Signior's Admiral. *Marcheville* duly conſidering, that this Submiſſion would blemiſh the Honour of his Maſter, and the Dignity of his Character, refuſed Compliance either in one or the other; howſoever that he might teſtify the Friendſhip and good Correſpondence which he came to confirm between the two Kings, he ſtood off at ſome diſtance, and fired five Guns to ſalute the Grand Signior's Standard: But the Captain-Paſha not contenting himſelf herewith, required the Ambaſſador to come aboard and ſpeak with him; which after divers Meſſages from one Veſſel to another, the Ambaſſador was counſelled to perform, not knowing how far otherwiſe he might engage the Honour of his Maſter. *Marcheville* being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, did greatly complain of the Affront and Violence he received from the Captain-Paſha; which though the Grand Signior and other Miniſters ſeemed not to approve, yet the Ambaſſadour received little other ſatisfaction than fair Words and Promiſes, that his Honour ſhould be again repaired.

At the Arrival of the Sieur *Marcheville*, the Count *Ceſi*, who was the former Ambaſſador, was to return into *France*; but the Debts which he had contracted by a certain way of living, were ſo great, that the Creditors would not ſuffer him to depart without paiment; for Default of which, he endured many Affronts offered to his own Perſon, and was detained at *Conſtantinople* until this Year 1634; during which time the Marqueſs *Marcheville* managed all the Affairs of the Embaſſy; who keeping ſtill in mind the Affront offered him before *Scio*, watched all Opportunities to diſparage the Actions and Perſon of the Captain-Paſha; who at length returning from the Black Sea, where he had ſome Succeſs againſt the Coſſacks, was graciouſly received by the Grand Signior; and being advertiſed, how, during his abſence, the French Ambaſſador had endeavoured to blaſt his Reputation by many Inſtances of Diminution, which he often inculcated by his Druggerman, took Advantage of the Grand Signior's good Humor, to vent before him the reſentment which he conceived thereof: The Grand Signior, to gratify the Paſha, promiſed to hang the Druggerman; which the Paſha acknowledged as a ſingular Favour, and returned from the Preſence of the Sultan full of Joy and Contentment. But better to cover his Malice, and to enſnare the poor Wretch, he ſent a Meſſenger to the Ambaſſador, aſſuring him that he deſired his Friendſhip; and that there might be a right underſtanding between them, he perſwaded him to ſend his Druggerman to him, that by his Mouth he might ſignify the eſteem he had for the Ambaſſador, from whoſe Spirits he was willing to take off all Jealouſies and Umbrages of Diſcontent.

The French Druggerman hanged

The Ambaſſador not ſuſpecting the perfidiouſneſs of the Paſha, ſent his Druggerman to him; who being come within his Power, was immediately hanged by the Grand Signior's expreſs Command, and ordered that he ſhould remain on the Gallows with his Velvet Cap on his Head, which in this Sultan's Reign all Druggermen wore to diſtinguiſh them from others.

The Ambaſſador complained greatly of this Affront, and Violation of Articles, to the Chimaçam and other Officers, but could receive no other Anſwer or Satisfaction, than that the Grand Signior might execute Juſtice as he pleaſed on his Subjects, without asking leave, or concerning the King of *France* or his Ambaſſador in the Matter.

The Sieur Marcheville *forcibly ſent away.*

But *Marcheville* not reſting ſatisfied with this Reply, ſtill proſecuted his Pique and Animoſity to ſuch a height, that the Captain-Paſha farther incenſed thereat, obtained Authority from the Grand Signior to diſpatch him away: ſo that ſending one day for *Marcheville*, and firſt reproaching his Contrivances and Deſigns againſt him, told him plainly, that it was the Grand Signior's Pleaſure that he ſhould depart at that inſtant; to which he conſtrained the Ambaſſador ſo precipitately, that he would not give him time to advertiſe his Servants, or make up his Baggage, but forced him aboard a French Ship then in Port, which he immediatly compelled to ſail; and the Wind being contrary, cauſed the Veſſel to be toaed abroad by two Gallies into the open Sea of the *Propontis*.

After the injurious departure of this Ambaſſador, the Count *Ceſi*, who had been detained at *Conſtantinople*, for the Reaſons before denoted, took again upon him the Function of Ambaſſador. To execute which, in better advantage of Trade and Commerce, he was adviſed to a compliance with the Captain-Paſha, and to uſe ſuch Means as might mitigate that Acrimony of Spirit which this Paſha nouriſhed againſt the French Nation.

Theſe Diſputes between the French and the Turkiſh Officers, revived certain Diſguſts and Averſion againſt all the Frank Nations, which favoured the Latine Rites; ſo that in deſpight

1634. to them, the Grand Signior reſtored again *Cyrillus* the Patriarch to the Patriarchal Juriſdiction, who had long been perſecuted by the Jeſuits, and by their Means been depoſed, promiſing that for the future he ſhould continue undiſturbed, in oppoſition to all thoſe of the Roman Religion.

Acts of Cruelty.

The Peace (as we have ſaid) being concluded with *Poland*, the Grand Signior was more at leiſure to attend the Wars in *Perſia*; with the Labours and Toils of which the Janiſaries being wearied, began new Troubles and Seditions in the Camp; the which Diſorder *Morat* attributing to the negligence or cowardiſe of the Officers, as wanting Courage to ſuppreſs them, ſummoned the Janiſar-Aga to appear before him, and without long Proceſs or Excuſe cut off his Head, and confiſcated his Eſtate to the Exchequer, which amounted to a Million and ſeventy thouſand Dollars: another Janiſary alſo, more rich than ſeditious, was in like manner ſacrificed, and an hundred and ſixty thouſand Dollars of his Eſtate added to the Treaſury of the Sultan. The Paſha alſo of *Damaſcus*, with ſeveral other Officers of the Army enriched with Spoils of the People, fell a Sacrifice to *Morat*'s Avarice and Cruelty; to whom Riches and Blood were ſo pleaſing, that none acquired a higher degree of Grace in his Favour, than thoſe who could give him notice of opulent Men, who having found Riches, he undertook to find them Guilty, and to prove their Wealth ſo corrupted by extortion and violence, that nothing could hallow or purifie it but his Coffers.

The G. Signior returns to Scutari.

The next News from *Perſia* brought advice, that that King at the Head of a powerful Army was encamped in the Country about *Van*, with which the Turks not having ſufficient Force to fight, the Vizier wrote to the Grand Signior, that his Preſence was neceſſary to increaſe the Army, and encourage the Souldiery; whereupon he reſolved to leave *Adrianople*, and transfer his Court to his Seraglio at *Scutari*, that ſo remaining on the Banks of *Aſia*, he might be nearer to his Buſineſs, both to receive Intelligence, and adminiſter Supplies; and becauſe Seditions and Diſcontents in the People do always obſtruct the Motion of Publick Affairs, he not only ruined the Taverns and Tabacco-ſhops, but forbid Coffee-houſes, and other idle Places of Concourſe; nay to Barbers Shops no more than one was ſuffered to enter at a time; for thoſe being places of reſort, Treaſon was frequently vented there, Men of that Profeſſion being notorious through the World for their Talk and Intemperance of Language: And farther, to reſtrain Meetings and ſecret Conventions, ſtrict Orders were given, that after an hour and half in the Night, all Fires and Candles in the City ſhould be extinguiſhed, which was the general Diſcontent of all People.

But what ſhewed much of the fierce Spirit of the Sultan, was a certain Fury which he conceived on this occaſion. On a certain day, riding on his Horſe, thirty Indian Pilgrims met him in the way to demand his Charity, and being in a different habit to what the Turks wear, and not accuſtomary in that Country, the Grand Signior's Horſe ſtarted at the ſight of them; and being ſpurred for bogling in that manner, the Horſe capred and reared an end, ſo that he threw his Rider; at which the Grand Signior being highly enraged, drew out his Cemiter, and with his own hand killed his Horſe, and inſtead of Alms, prepared a place of Entertainment in the Gallies for thoſe unhappy Indians.

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The G. Signior reſolves to go to Perſia *in Perſon.*

The Grand Signior being returned to his Palace at *Scutari*, which is ſeated on the Aſian ſide oppoſite to *Conſtantinople*, applied his whole Mind entirely to the Affairs in *Perſia*; and being reſolved to march thither in Perſon, he put abroad the Horſe-tail, which is a ſignal of departure, he viſited the Sepulchres of his Anceſtors, made his Corban, which is a diſtribution of Fleſh to the Poor, for a Bleſſing on his Enterpriſe. The Officers of the Army contended to out-vy each the other in their Preſents to the Grand Signior, ſome furniſhed him with Royal Tents, others with curious and light Arms; and others with Horſes and Furnitures of value. Great Sums of Mony were extracted out of the Exchequer for Military Preparations and Paiments of the Souldiery. The Charge of Affairs, in abſence of the Grand Signior, was committed to the Boſtangi-baſhee, who was made Chimacam of *Conſtantinople*; and ſo with a fierce Spirit, and aſpect full of Indignation and Anger, he mounted his Horſe at the Head of an Army of an hundred thouſand; he departed from *Conſtantinople* about the end of *April*.

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But before we recount the particulars of what ſucceeded in *Perſia*, it is requiſite to caſt our Thoughts back to the Troubles of *Tranſylvania*, occaſioned by the competition of *Stephen Bethlem* and *George Ragotski*, for that Principality.

Bethlem *renews his Complaints to the Grand Signior.*

His Reaſons to be re-inſtated.

Bethlem (as we have ſaid before) being grieved and diſcontented at his hard Fortune in being put by the Government, and reſenting the Puniſhment which *Ragotski* inflicted on his Son for the Crime of Manſlaughter, he went to *Buda*, and there renewing his old Complaints to the Paſha, he was, with Recommendations from him, accompanied to the Port; where being introduced to the Preſence of the chief Miniſters, he at large declared the Merits and good Services of his Family towards the Sultan: ‘That for this Reaſon only, in diſhonour and deſpight to the Ottoman Empire, he was excluded from the Government, and therefore challenged its Aſſiſtance to re-eſtabliſh him therein; in conſideration of which, he promiſed the ſame Faithfulneſs and Devotion to the Sultan, which was profeſſed and maintained by his Anceſtors, and was natural to the Family of *Gabor*. That as to *Ragotski* it was apparent, that he entertained different Principles; that he was a Perſon of elated Thoughts, and a Turbulent Spirit, and was ever united in Combination with the Emperor, Germans, and other Enemies to the Ottoman State.

The Turks ſend an Army into Tranſylvania.

The Turks moved with theſe Reaſons, reſolved to favour *Stephen*, and to diſcountenance *Ragotski*; and though the Conjuncture of Affairs was ſuch, as that any other Engagement in War, beſides that of *Perſia*, did not ſquare with the preſent Deſigns; yet at all times it was judged convenient to ſow the Tares of Diſcord, and promote Differences amongſt Chriſtians, which have ever produced Advantages to the Mahometan Cauſe. And likewiſe the Paſha of *Buda* was commanded to enter *Tranſylvania* with a Force ſufficient to contend with *Ragotski*; and leſt the Emperor ſhould be allarm'd with this Commotion, a Chiaus was diſpatched to give him a perfect underſtanding of the Reaſons, why an Army marched into *Tranſylvania*; the Deſign of which was not intended in the leaſt manner to impeach the Articles of Peace between him and the Grand Signior, but only to diſplace a Man of a furious and turbulent Spirit, and to ordain another in his ſtead of a more ſober and quiet Temper, by whoſe Moderation and Prudence, the Peace between

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tween the two Empires may be improved and continued.

Ragotski implores *Aid from the Emperor.*

Ragotski ſtartled at this Deſign intended againſt him, aſſembled the States of his Country, to determine and conſult concerning a Remedy, and immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger to the Emperor, to deſire and implore his Imperial Succour and Protection: and though *Ragotski* was ſenſible of the diſparity of his Strength, in compariſon of that of the Turks; yet neither did his Counſels nor Behaviour betray Fear or want of Conſtancy.

It is debated in Council.

The Hungarians ſeconded thoſe Inſtances which *Ragotski* had made at the Imperial Court, and the Party which he had made at *Vienna* brought the matter to a debate in Council, which was argued on both ſides with ſolid and convincing Reaſons. Thoſe who ſpake in diſfavour of *Ragotski*, alledged, That all Aſſiſtance contributed to him would be a juſt Cauſe and Pretence to the Grand Signior to make War with the Emperor. That *Ragotski* himſelf was of an unquiet Temper, not unlike to *Gabor* his Predeceſſor, who had often bid Defiance to the Emperor, and over-running all *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, had often erected his Standard in the ſight of *Vienna*. To protect and cheriſh a Perſon of this Diſpoſition, was no other than to nouriſh a Serpent or Viper in their Boſom; who being elevated at the expence of the Empire in ſucceſſes againſt the Turk, would convert that Power which he had gained to the damage of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, combining with the Faction of other Princes to procure its deſtruction. Let us therefore, ſaid they, ſtand at a gaze, and as Men on the Shore, or in a good Port, behold the agitation of Ships in the Ocean; perhaps the change of a Prince in *Tranſylvania* may turn to our Benefit, and one may ſucceed into the place, of ſuch a mild Temper and ſerene Diſpoſition, as may better agree with the Maxims of this Court, and may cultivate that Peace which can only render theſe Countries happy.

Howſoever there were other Opinions to the contrary, amongſt which it is ſaid, that D. *Annibal Gonzaga*, a Perſon acquainted with the State of *Tranſylvania*, and of the Turks, and Director of the Imperial Army, delivered himſelf in this manner.

May it pleaſe Your Sacred Imperial Majeſty.

IF Ragotski *had been the Lawful Son and Hereditary Succeſſor of* Gabor, *who was an Enemy to your Majeſty, we might then apprehend the evil Conſequences of a Son, that traces the ſame Path and Footſteps of his Father. But here is another Perſon, another Prince, in Emulation different, and by Enmity hating the Houſe of* Gabor; *wherefore I cannot imagine how this Prince can poſſibly entertain Maxims of like Nature with the other. For my part I believe, that it behoves your Majeſty to maintain a good Correſpondence with the Princes of* Tranſylvania, *by a cloſe Union againſt the Turk; your adjoining Countries being like contiguous Buildings, which are ſtrengthned by a mutual Support: Let us therefore ſupport it; for if it depends not on us, it will be overrun, and remain oppreſſed without us. To aggravate the Faults of* Gabor *to the diſparagement of* Ragotski, *is no Logical Conſequence, unleſs you will argue, That the Faults of the Guilty are to be puniſhed on the Innocent. Let us therefore conſider, which agrees beſt with the Security of the Empire; that* Tranſylvania *ſhould remain in the Hands of* Ragotski, *or of the Turk; or that we had better ſtrike againſt the Rock of Jealouſie, which we conceive againſt this Tranſylvanian, or on that ruinous Rock of the Turkiſh Power. The Ottoman Councils commonly look aſquint, they caſt their Eye on the Prince, when their ſight aims at the Principality; and threaten the Perſon, when they deſign to vent their Fury to the ſubjection of his Country. The true Intent of the Turk is to reduce* Tranſylvania *to the ſame Condition with* Moldavia *and* Walachia, *and to incorporate this, with infinite other Provinces, into the groſs Body of his Empire. It is notorious to all the World, that the Emperors, your Predeceſſors, have loſt a large Tract of Land by the Turks; and your Loſſes will every day be greater, as their Conqueſts increaſe: And when their Dominions in* Europe *are ſo enlarged, that they are able to quarter their Aſiatick Cavalry in theſe Countries, your Dangers muſt neceſſarily be inevitable and full of Terror. For I compute, that when the Turk deſigns to make War upon us, he marches with an hundred thouſand Men, and perhaps ten thouſand Camels, beſides other Beaſts of Burden: ſo numerous a Body as this cannot be maintained until the Graſs be fully grown, which is not until the middle or end of* June; *and from that time they have more than a month or ſix weeks March before they arrive upon our Confines; the which conſumption of Time, prolongs their Enterpriſes, and protracts the time of our Damages. But if once they become Maſters of* Tranſylvania, *and that that Country be laid to* Moldavia, Walachia, *and other parts of* Hungary, *they may then commodiouſly winter amongſt us, and begin their Wars and Attempts upon us early in the Year, and purſue them until the laſt ſeaſon of the Autumn: and in this manner, whilſt we are debating and taking our Meaſures in our Diet, they will fatten themſelves, and ſatiate their Appetites with our Spoils. It is good therefore for us to defend* Auſtria *in* Tranſylvania, *keeping the Fever as far from the Heart as we are able. Let us ſuppoſe, that* Ragotski *is the moſt ungrateful Man in the World; and that after we have ſupported and ſuccoured him, that he will reverſe his Arms upon us: Howſoever he is not ſo ſtrong and conſiderable as to do us much hurt, and therefore it were better to have him our Neighbour and our Enemy, than the Turk, though our Friend; the firſt can only adminiſter ſome little cauſe of Jealouſie, but the other may deſtroy and ſupplant us; the firſt is but like a putrid Fever, which is cured with every ſmall Evacuation; but the latter is a Peſtilence, which dilates and diffuſes it ſelf, and is deadly and irrecoverable. Let not the Scruple neither of breaking with the Turk trouble us; for*

for we may adminiſter Aſſiſtance under-hand, and without noiſe effect our Buſineſs, without arriving at the extremity of a Rupture. It is folly and weakneſs in us to be charmed by the Flatteries of the Turks, and the fair words of this Chaous; or to imagine, that when they have over-run all Tranſylvania, *they will ſtop in the midſt of their Career, before they arrive at the Gates of* Vienna; *no, their Intentions are to lull us aſleep, and to deſtroy our Neighbour firſt, and then us; they cannot devour us both at once, but husband their Diet, and reſerve us for another Meal. The Turk is like a Serpent, who lies quiet and coiled up all the Winter; not becauſe he wants either a Sting or Poiſon, but being benummed with cold, wants warmth and heat to give it Motion and Operation. This is my Senſe and Opinion, which I moſt humbly tender before the greater Wiſdom of Your Sacred Majeſty.*

The Emperor refuſes Succour to Ragotski.

Notwithſtanding theſe convining Arguments, the Reſult of the Council determined otherwiſe, and *Ragotski* was left to ſhift for himſelf, and to ſtand upon his own Legs; which was a pernicious Reſolution, and that which was afterwards the cauſe of the ſubjection of *Tranſylvania* to the Turk, and the Original of many Miſchiefs to the Empire; but thus was the Fortune of the Turks, more favourable to them than to the Chriſtian State.

Ragotski being thus abandoned by the Imperialiſts, and expoſed to the Mercy of an inſatiable Enemy, though his Courage was good and reſolute, yet he began to deſpond of his Force, unable to deal with ſuch an unequal Match as that of the Turks; And his Subjects being fearful of the Event, perſwaded him to give way, and reſign his Rule to the hands of *Gabor* his Competitor; *Ragotski*, that he might not ſeem to neglect the Counſel of his Subjects and Friends, and to gain Time, pretended to hearken to their Advice; and accordingly entred into a Treaty with *Gabor*. During which Debate he ſecretly obtained ſome Forces from *Poland*, by connivance of that Government: and the Hungarians being his Friends, privately favoured him, knowing that the Conqueſt of *Tranſylvania* would be a ſtep to their Deſtruction; and being at length well fortified and recruited, he began to declare openly, that he found no ſecurity to himſelf in this Surrender, for that a Place was denied him, wherein he put his chief hopes of Defence; and therefore that he was reſolved to ſupport and maintain his State and Cauſe in the beſt manner that he was able.

Ragotski *obtains Succours under-hand.*

The Turks enter Tranſylvania.

Hereupon the Turks entred *Tranſylvania* with an Army of twenty five thouſand Men under the Command of the Paſha of *Buda*: *Ragotski*, to obſtruct their March, diſpatched his General *Cornis* with ſeven thouſand Men, to prepoſſeſs an advantageous Ground, with Order to entertain, but not fight the Enemy, until he could come up to him with the groſs of his Army.

The Turks perceiving their advantage in number, reſolved to engage the Enemy before they were reinforced with new Succours; to perform which they made a Detachment of twelve thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Janiſaries, and ſome Field Pieces, commanded by the Paſha himſelf and *Stephen Gabor*. *Cornis* not being able to diſingage himſelf, or avoid fighting, made a Vertue of Neceſſity, and put his Forces into form of Battel; and exhorting his Men to follow his Example, aſſured them, that Victory was ſooner acquired by Valour than Numbers, and that Fortune was always more favourable to the Valiant and Brave, than to the Cowardly and puſillanimous.

They fight with Cornis.

Cornis unſheathing his Sword, fought in the Head of his Men, and led them through the thickeſt of his Enemies; the firſt rank of which not being able to ſuſtain the furious Charge of the Chriſtians, gave way; and being diſordered, the firſt Squadrons ran foul of the ſecond, and at length all of them betook themſelves to a ſhameful flight. The Tranſylvanians took all their Canon and Baggage, with ten Enſigns, and killed three thouſand Turks. The Paſha of *Agria* was wounded, and *Olac* Bei of *Temiſwar* was taken Priſoner; and the whole Army had that day been defeated, had not the Janiſaries, who fortified themſelves in a thick Wood, given a ſtop to a farther purſuit. *Ragotski* likewiſe in divers ſucceeding Skirmiſhes overthrew the Turks, killing many Paſha's and Souldiers of Quality, and at length remained ſole Maſter of the Field.

Are overthrown.

The Turks retired to *Lippa*, and *Stephen* to *Temiſwar*, whilſt *Ragotski* made his Incurſions into the Country of the Turks, burning and ſpoiling two thouſand Villages; with which being terrified and beaten into terms of Reaſon, they agreed to ſuffer *Ragotski* to injoy his Government, conditionally, that the Goods and Eſtate of *Gabor* in *Tranſylvania* ſhould be reſtored unto him: and thus *Ragotski* eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Government, and obtained a Confirmation thereof from *Conſtantinople* to his Son, accompanied with Preſents and Ornaments of a Prince. And this Example ſhews us in what manner we are to deal with Turks; Reſolution and Rigour are better Arms againſt them than Complements; and with an Enemy it is more advantageous to make Peace with Weapons in our Hands, than to condeſcend to the hard Terms which a Tyrant pleaſes to impoſe on an eaſie and unprovided People.

Peace is made.

So ſoon as this News arrived the Ears of the proud Sultan, he was ſo incenſed, that in a fury he would have deſiſted from his preſent War in *Perſia*, to vent his Revenge upon *Tranſylvania*; but the cooler and more moderate Counſels of wiſer Friends, adviſed him to defer the execution of his Anger, until he could diſcharge it more to the purpoſe, and in a Conjuncture when it would fall more eaſy on himſelf, and more heavy on his Enemy: Howſoever in the mean time *Ragotski* made ſuch uſe of this remote Diverſion of the Ottoman Arms, by advantaging himſelf of an Alliance with the Coſſacks, and by the ill Correſpondence and Diffidence which at that time intervened between the Tartars and the Port, that he not only avoided the Revenge threatned by *Morat*, but obtained an eſtabliſhment of the Inheritance to his Son.

Morat *at* Erzrum.

By this time Sultan *Morat* was arrived at *Erzrum*, which is a City belonging to the Turks on the Confines of *Perſia*; where the firſt Act which he performed of Juſtice, was to cut off the Head of the Paſha for his Oppreſſion and Extortions inflicted on his People.

Entring into *Armenia*, he was grieved to ſee the upper and lower Provinces ſo miſerably deſtroyed and waſted by the War; to recover which, he commanded the People, under pain of Death, to return again to their Ancient Habitations within the ſpace of twenty days; but

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they being ſetled in other Cities, where perhaps they had purchaſed Houſes and Lands, could not poſſibly comply with the Severity of this Decree; and therefore were conſtrained to buy a Diſpenſation and releaſe from the Penalty for a Sum of Mony.

About the beginning of *July*, in the parts of *Erzrom*, *Morat* made a general Review and Muſter of his whole Army; with which thoſe he brought from *Conſtantinople* joined to Recruits by the way, and thoſe Forces which had waged War in *Perſia*, amounted to near the number of three hundred thouſand fighting Men, but ſuch as were admirably well diſciplined, not only by the Severity of their Soveraign, but by the example he ſhewed them of Frugality and Patience: for he often marched afoot in the midſt of the Heats; he was very temperate in his Diet, though he was naturally of a gluttonous and luxurious Palate: for ſeveral Months he made uſe of no other Pillow for his Head than his Saddle, no other Blanket or Quilt than the Covering or Foot-cloth of his Horſe.

The Grand Signior's Patience & Labours.

Being arrived near to the City of *Revan*, he beſtowed that Largeſs on the Souldiery of a Dollar a Man, which is accuſtomary to be given at all times, when the Grand Signior marches in Perſon, and then made known to them his Intentions of beſieging that Place; and in caſe he took it not in the ſpace of ten days, that then he would leave it begirt with forty thouſand Men; and dividing his Army into three Bodies, he would enter the Bowels of *Perſia* by divers ways. The Tents of the Grand Signior, and of all the Camp, were pitched, Batteries raiſed, the Trenches opened, and all Matters laid in the formal manner of a Siege. The Gariſon within, commanded by Emir *Gamir*, conſiſted of fifteen thouſand Men, fitted and provided with all ſorts of Ammunition, and wanted neither Courage nor Proviſions; howſoever at the end of nine days, the City was ſurrendred to the Sultan, upon Terms of Quarter to the whole Gariſon, both for Life and Freedom of Eſtate: And becauſe this Governour Emir *Gumir*, a principal Noble-man of *Perſia*, had by corruption thus voluntarily delivered up the City, he acquired a place of high Grace and eſteem in the Favour of the Grand Signior; to which his courtly manner of indulging his Humour, and complying with him in his Wine and Feaſts, (to which the joy of this preſent Succeſs priviledged him to return) gave him daily a new Title to receive extraordinary Honours from him.

Revan *betrayed and ſurrendred by Emir* Gumir.

The News of this proſperous Succeſs was poſted to *Conſtantinople*, as the firſt Eſſay of the good Effects of the Sultan's Preſence, and was there celebrated with Feaſts, Joy, and Lights, according to the Turkiſh Faſhion, called *Danalma*; to perform which, the Turks obliged likewiſe the Chriſtian Ambaſſadors, ſaying, That if they were Friends, they ought to evidence their Satisfaction, by demonſtrations of Joy in the proſperity of their Ally.

Rejoycing and a Feſtival kept for it at Conſtantinople.

The Feſtival was kept for the ſpace of four days; during which two Brothers of the Sultan, *viz.* *Bajazet* and *Orchan* were ſtrangled; the latter of which, as is ſaid, was ſo brave, and of that Courage, that he killed four of his Executioners before he ſubmitted his Neck to the fatal Cord.

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The Turks entring farther into *Perſia*, inconſiderately fell into an Ambuſh, where twelve thouſand of their Men were defeated; howſoever the remainder of the Army not being diſcouraged with this Encounter, proceeded on their March, making moſt miſerable Havock and Deſtruction of all before them, carrying that Dread and Terrour to the Countries round, that all People fled, leaving their Houſes and Things not portable, to the poſſeſſion of the Enemy. Howſoever the Turks found greater Difficulties than they expected; for meeting frequently Parties of the Perſian Cavalry, which were practiſed to manage their Horſe and Sword, were often defeated, at leaſt endured and ſuſtained the ſhock of Bloody Skirmiſhes; and then the Perſians retiring into the Mountains, known to them, but unknown to the Turks, which ſerved them better than fortified Places, returned again when any Advantage or Booty appeared, which perpetually vexed and wearied the Enemy; and burning all Things which might afford them relief, rendred that fruitful Country more Deſolate and barren than the Deſarts of *Lybia*, or the Sands of *Arabia*.

The Turks enter farther into Perſia.

In this manner the Turkiſh Army being deſtitute of all ſorts of Proviſions and Refreſhments, were forced to retire to the Country of *Tauris*; which being haraſſed and impoveriſhed like other Provinces, cauſed a miſerable Famine in the Camp, whereby Multitudes of Horſes and Camels periſhed for want of Nutriment; at which the Grand Signior being highly incenſed againſt the Inhabitants of *Tauris*, committed their City to the Will and Mercy of the Souldiery, who having pillaged and ſacked it, left it a miſerable ſpectacle of Fire and Sword.

Tauris *deſtroyed.*

The King of *Perſia* ſeeing in what manner the Troops of his Enemy were wearied and conſumed, took hold of this Opportunity as ſeaſonable to propoſe certain Articles of Peace by an Ambaſſador, to which *Morat* ſeemed to incline a flexible Ear; but lodging his Souldiers in their Winter-quarters in the parts of *Damaſcus* and *Aleppo*, he took his way towards *Conſtantinople*, with intention to eaſe the Hardſhips and Labours of the Summers War, by a voluptuous Eaſe and Winters paſtime in the delights and ſoftneſs of the Seraglio.

The 16*th* day of *December* he arrived at *Conſtantinople*, having paſſed from *Iſmit* through the Gulph of *Nicomedia* with the attendance of fourteen Gallies; he made his Entry by the Jews Gate, and not by that of *Adrianople*, as was accuſtomary; he was mounted on one of the beſt of his Horſes, and cloathed with a Coat of Mail, a Casket on his Head, with three Feathers adorned with Pearls and precious Stones; his Sword was girt to his ſide with his Bow and Quiver, his Beard was in a rough and neglected manner, which made him appear more Fierce and Martial; the Chimacam came after him, accompanied with the Traitor who ſurrendred *Revan*. This Feſtival for his return was celebrated for the ſpace of a whole week, during which time the Shops were ſhut, the Doors and Outſides adorned with green Boughs and Paintings, and by Night the Streets with Torches were made as clear as the day: howſoever the People ſecretly murmured, that the War was not proſecuted, and the Advantages taken, when Fortune began to ſmile and favour their Enterpriſes; and that now deſiſting in the middle way, the Work was again to be begun, and all the foregoing Blood and Treaſure was ſpent and conſumed to no purpoſe. Theſe Murmurings of the People were not without ſome Ground and Cauſe; for after the departure of the Grand Signior, the Perſians put themſelves again into the Field, and recovered the Country which they had loſt; and having

Feſtival for return of the G. Signior.

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offered a Sum of Mony to *Morteſa* Paſha to ſurrender *Revan*; which he refuſing to accept on Principles of Fidelity and Honour, they prepared to lay cloſe Siege to the Place: the Janiſaries were alſo diſpleaſed to ſee themſelves neglected, and caſt out of the Guard, and their Places ſupplied by the Boſtangees; nor leſs diſguſted were the Lawyers to ſee ſeveral of their Judges and Kadies hanged, and their Heads cut off, upon pretence of Sedition and Faction. His ill Humor more increaſed to the height of Tyranny, by reaſon of certain twinges which he ſuffered of the Gout, which is not uſual in Perſons of his Age, not ſurpaſſing twenty ſix years; and becauſe his Phyſician, a Jew, forbid him wholly to drink Wine, as poiſon to his Diſeaſe and Complexion, he was ſo enraged, that he drove him from his Preſence with Indignation; and immediately conceived ſuch Anger and Prejudice againſt the whole Nation, that he cauſed their Houſes to be ſearched, and their Jewels taken from them. But what was moſt ſtrange, was his horrid averſion to Tobacco, the taking of which, by any Perſon whatſoever, he forbid upon pain of Death; which Sentence he ſo rigorouſly executed, that he cauſed the Legs and Arms of two Men, one that ſold Tobacco, and the other that took it, to be ſawed off, and in that manner expoſed to the view of the People: he alſo cauſed two others, a Man and a Woman, to be impaled alive, for the ſame Offence, with a Roll of Tabaco about their Necks.

His averſion to Tobacco.

As the Gout cauſed him to be froward and illnatur'd, ſo more eſpecially when ill news came from *Perſia*, he was obſerved to be more raving and tyrannical than ever. His Army in *Perſia* wanting Proviſions, diſbanded; *Morteſa* Paſha Governour of *Revan* being killed, the Souldiers rebel, open the Gates, and yeild themſelves to the Perſian; for which Offence the Janiſaries fearing the Juſtice of their Maſter the Grand Signior, two thouſand of them took up Arms in Service of the Enemy: the ſenſe hereof vexing *Morat* to the Soul, he cauſed the Regiſter of the Janiſaries to be hanged, and another of their principal Officers to be beheaded, and ſtrowed the Streets of *Conſtantinople* with dead Bodies, ſome for one cauſe, and ſome for another, which ſtruck the whole City with a general Dread and Conſternation.

Revan *regained by the Perſian.*

The Grand Signior's Severity & Cruelty.

He often walked in the night, puniſhing Quarrels and Diſorders of the Streets, and meeting two Women wandring in the dark, he cauſed them to be cut in pieces.

He put his Cook to Death for not dreſſing his Meat well, or not ſeaſoning his Sauces according to his Palate.

In his Seraglio ſporting with his Arms, he wounded himſelf with a Dart in the thigh; and by accident wounded the Son of *Mahmet* the late Vizier with a Carbine-ſhot, of which in a ſhort time after he died.

The Perſians having taken *Revan* (as we have ſaid) inſtituted Chambers of Janiſaries in that place after the Turkiſh faſhion, paying them in the ſame form as at *Conſtantinople*, and to allure the Spahees to enter into his Service, he offered to all that came in twelve Aſpers a day of conſtant Pay; and declared, That their Faith and Law had no difference from the Mahometan.

The Grand Signior receiving theſe Advices with extreme indignation, proclaimed his Intentions to return again into *Perſia*; and though the Deſign pleaſed not the Militia, who were weary of the War, yet his Power was too great to be reſiſted, and his Humors too violent to be diverted by ſober Counſels; for having ſubjected and abſolutely ſubdued the Inſolence of the Souldiers, and ſuppreſſed the Arrogance of the Lawyers and Church-men, he ordered every thing according to his Arbitrary and Uncontroulable Pleaſure; which being rendred Extravagant and Unſupportable, by reaſon that in his Cups, and at the time of his Debauchery, he would often take his Counſels and determine his Reſolutions, were notwithſtanding with more patience endured, upon hopes that they would not be laſting, and that Exceſſes would accelerate his Death, and the end of their Oppreſſions.

The Paſha's of greateſt Note and Riches he put to Death, and confiſcated their Eſtates to his Exchequer; and whereas Avarice and Cruelty were equally predominant in his Nature, there was ſcarce a day wherein he made not ſome demonſtration of thoſe Diſpoſitions.

The Engliſh Amballador making ſome inſtances for the releaſement of Engliſh Slaves from Captivity, was forced to purchaſe their Liberty by giving two Ruſſians, or other Slaves in the place of one Engliſh-man.

He took a ſingular delight to ſit in a Chiosk by the Sea-ſide, and from thence to ſhoot at the People with his Bow and Arrows, as they rowed near the Banks of the Seraglio; which cauſed the Boat-men afterwards to keep themſelves at a diſtance from the Walls of the Seraglio. And as he likewiſe took pleaſure to go from one Garden to another on the *Boſphorus*, ſo if he obſerved any ſo bold, as to put forth his Head to ſee him paſs, he commonly made him pay the price of his Curioſity by a ſhot from his Carbine.

In all his Gardens and places of Pleaſure, his chief Recreation was Drinking, in which his principal or almoſt ſole Companions were Emir *Gunie* the Perſian who betrayed *Revan*, and a Venetian of the Family of *Bianchi*, who having been taken by the Turks, when he was young, was placed in the Seraglio, and educated in all the Learning and Cuſtoms of it, and becoming as well a Proficient in Drinking, as in other Vices, he was made a Favourite and Companion to *Morat*. And thus did they follow this trade of Drunkenneſs ſo conſtantly, that the Health of the Grand Signior began to impair; and at length he became ſo ſenſible of his Extravagancies, that he incharged the Chimacam not to obey him after Dinner: and when in the heat of his Wine he took a humor to ride through the Streets, the Janiſaires and Officers would ſometimes run before to adviſe the People to withdraw, and ſometimes drive them away with Stones, that ſo they might eſcape the hazard of this capricious Tyrant.

As it cannot be expreſſed in what Dread and Fear the People ſtood of him, ſo neither in what Veneration he was with his Servants, who obſerved the looks and every caſt of his Eyes; had learned his Nods, and the meaning of every Motion and Geſture of his Body. It happened once, that a Paper falling caſually from his Hand out of a Window, the Pages ran in all haſte down the Stairs, ſtriving who ſhould be the firſt to take it up; but one more deſirous than the others to evidence the Zeal of his Service, took the neareſt way and leaped out of the Window; and though with the fall he broke the Bone of his Thigh, yet being the firſt that took up the Paper, he came halting to preſent it with his own Hand: this bold readineſs in his Service ſo pleaſed the Grand Signior, that being cured, he was afterwards preferred to one of

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the moſt conſiderable Offices of the Empire. Thus was *Morat* revered in his Seraglio, as he was feared abroad, his Servants having the ſame awe of him, as *Bagotes* the Eunuch had of *Alexander* the Great, who holding the Pot of Incenſe and Perfumes whilſt his Maſter ſlept, ſuffered his Hands to burn to the Bone, rather than to awaken him by moving out of his place. *Q. Curtius.*

But it is time now to leave off farther Diſcourſe of the Extravagancies of *Morat*, and to return to the Wars in *Perſia*; howſoever before the departure of the Grand Signior, it will be requiſite to recount ſomewhat of the State of Affairs in *Europe*.

Diſturbances in Poland and Hungary.

On the Frontiers of *Hungary* and *Poland*, there wanted not Exerciſes and Skirmiſhes to employ and practiſe the Souldiery, and keep them in Breath.

The Poles heightned with their good Succeſſes, would not longer endure the Incurſions of the Tartars, complaining againſt the Turk, that he had given Orders, and ſecretly abetted them in their Robberies and Invaſions, againſt the Articles of the laſt Peace; and therefore to avenge themſelves, the Poles appeared on the Frontiers with forty or fifty thouſand Horſe: but the Grand Signior not willing in this Conjuncture to break with the Poles, abſolutely diſowned any ſuch Order or Permiſſion given to the Tartars; and being willing to continue the League, that he might oblige the King of *Poland*, gave liberty to all the People of that Nation, and to the Ruſſians, who had been taken ſince the laſt Treaty, poſitively prohibiting all People from buying, or keeping any of the Subjects of that Country for Slaves, during the continuance of this Peace.

The Turks confirm the Peace with Poland.

In *Hungary*, though the Ambaſſador had but lately brought a Confirmation of the Peace from *Conſtantinople*; yet the Turks pretending that the Articles were not complied with, continued to trouble and diſturb thoſe Frontiers; for four thouſand of them being gotten into a Body, burnt certain Villages, made divers Slaves, and battered the Caſtle of *Raab*; but being repulſed by that Gariſon, and by that of *Komorra*, they again made Head, and encamped within three Leagues of *Presbourg*: The which gave great trouble to the Emperor, both becauſe he had lately declared a War againſt *France*, and becauſe he apprehended, that thoſe Commotions of the Turks were deſigned to no other end, than to engage him to renounce all aſſiſtance and ſuccour to be given unto *Ragotski*.

Send Forces againſt Ragotski.

We have already recounted in what manner the Turks had eſpouſed the Quarrel of *Stephen Gabor*, and reſolved to eſtabliſh him in the Principality of *Tranſylvania*, with the Ruin of *Ragotski*; which now being deſigned to be done by open Force, ſeveral Troops were ſent to the Frontiers of *Tranſylvania*; which ſo alarmed the Hungarians, that they put themſelves on their Guard, and obliged the Eſtates of *Auſtria* and *Hungary* to contribute toward the Succour of the Tranſylvanian Prince.

The Emperor remained long in ſuſpenſe what courſe to ſteer, until at length the Perſwaſions of the Confederate Princes, the ſhame of abandoning a Friend and an Ally for a Prey to the Turks, and the fear of diſpleaſing his Hereditary Dominions in *Hungary*, who conſidered *Tranſylvania* as the Bulwark of their Country, induced him to promiſe ſecretly, and underhand, Aſſiſtance to *Ragotski*.

As to the Turks themſelves, the Effects did not correſpond with their Menaces: for though they had gathered an Army of twenty thouſand Men at *Buda*, they not only were diſappointed of their Deſign upon *Newhauſel*, but were openly repulſed, and ſhamefully expelled the Frontiers by the Palatine of *Hungary*: And *Ragotski* being recruited by Succours from the Emperor, and by an Alliance with *Poland*, defied the Forces of the Turk, and contemned the Reports of ſixty thouſand Men preparing to march againſt him.

For indeed the Grand Signior had too great an Incumbrance on his Shoulders by the War in *Perſia*, to attend unto a perfect and ſtudied Revenge againſt *Ragotski*; for *Revan* being recovered by the Perſian, (as we have already declared) was a Matter of high Moment; and what diſtracted all his Counſels, and weakened his Hopes.

Mutiny in the Turkiſh Army.

When News came firſt of the Siege of *Revan*, Orders were given to the Vizier to Beſiege *Bagdat*, as a means to cauſe a diverſion of Arms; but the Souldiery entertaining an averſion to this Enterpriſe, unanimouſly refuſed to March, or to proceed farther than *Erzrum*. *Jambolat Ogli*, who commanded the Army before the Arrival of the Vizier, had ſtrangled a Paſha, and taken his Eſtate to ſupply the Wants of the Army; and had likewiſe put to Death ſeveral Spahees and Janiſaries for Mutiny, and becauſe they had declared an unwillingneſs to this War. The Souldiery prepared to addreſs themſelves to the Vizier for Juſtice againſt theſe violent Proceedings: but he not willing to hear them, endeavoured to divert their Complaints, which cauſed a greater Commotion and Storm than before. And though *Jambolat* pleaded his Orders and poſitive Commiſſion from the Grand Signior for what he had acted; yet that Allegation not being accepted by the Multitude as a juſtifiable Plea, the Vizier was forced to condeſcend to their Deſire, and ſtrangle *Jambolat*, as he had done the others, being the only Means to quiet and compoſe this Trouble of his Army.

But as after ſome great Storm, there is always remaining for a while a ſwelling and fluctuation in the Waters, ſo there ſtill remained on the Spirits of the Souldiery, Diſcontents and unquietneſs of Mind: Wherefore the Vizier fearing leſt the Enemy taking advantage of the preſent Seditions, ſhould charge them at a time of Diſorder, he retired at a diſtance from them into the Plains of *Erzrum*: But he was not able to continue long in thoſe Parts for want of Fuel, and of Wood and Planks to ſecure them againſt the Rains and Snow; for it being Winter, which is rigorous and cold in that Country, their Tents were not ſufficient proof to defend them againſt the Extremity of the Weather.

Van *beſieged by the Perſians.*

Whilſt the Turkiſh Army remained at this Place, advice came, that the Perſians had Beſieged *Van*, which is a ſtrong Fortreſs ſituate on an inacceſſible Rock, on the Frontiers of the Province of *Diarbequir*. And though the Perſians were not able to take this Place, neither by Storm nor Famine, yet during this Siege, they made uſe of their time to ruin all the Country of *Diarbequir*, which they left ſo deſolate, that the Turkiſh Army could not quarter there, nor extract the leaſt Proviſion or Subſiſtence from thence.

To all theſe Miſfortunes a greater was added by the Treachery of a certain *Curd*, one who pretending to be ill-ſatisfied with the Perſian Party, voluntarily offered himſelf to the Service of

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the Turks; and having done them ſome little Services, by being their Guide through certain difficult Paſſages, he gained a confidence ſo far with them, as that deſigning to ſurpriſe a quarter of the Enemy, they committed themſelves to his Guidance and Conduct; who having brought them into a narrow Paſſage, where an Ambuſh of the Enemy lay, he then turned his Coat, and fought againſt the Turks, of whom 15000 were killed and taken in this Snare.

Fifteen thouſand Turks killed in an Ambuſh.

In ſhort, all Matters of this War proceeded croſs and unfortunate for the Turks; for beſides their unlucky Fights with the Enemy, their own Seditions in the Camp were greater Miſchiefs; for now enduring no longer theſe pungent Miſeries, under the pretence of wanting Pay, they cut in pieces the Treaſurer of the Army, two Aga's of the Spahees, and the Chaouſbaſhee of the Janiſaries.

Mutiny of the Souldiers.

This News arriving at *Conſtantinople*, when *Morat* was afflicted with a grievous acceſſion of the Gout, ſerved to redouble his Pains; in which raving againſt the Conduct of his Officers, he immediately deprived the Vizier of his Charge, and ordained *Biram* Paſha, late Chimacam, to ſucceed him in his Employment.

A new Vizier ſent to the Army.

The new Vizier immediately ſet forth the Horſes Tail, which is a ſignal of departure, with ſound of Drums and Trumpets, making Corban, which is a diſtribution of Mutton to the Poor, in divers Places: His Retinue was ſpeedily equipped with ſuch ſumptuous Magnificence, that it looked rather like the Train of an Ambaſſador, which intended to make Peace, than to the Troops of a General, whoſe Buſineſs was nothing but Blood and Deſtruction. And indeed Matters ſeemed to be inclining that way, the Perſians having far advanced in this Negotiation; for they wiſely pondering the immenſe Force of the Ottoman Empire, with which they were now contending, judged it the moſt politick courſe to make Peace, under the auſpicious Planet of their good Fortune; for not knowing how long that might remain conſtant, they might, ſo ſoon as the Wheel turns on the other ſide, be forced to accept Terms of leſs Advantage than at preſent they might promiſe to themſelves under their happy Stars.

A Perſian Ambaſſador ſent to the G. Signior.

Wherefore a Propoſition being made of ſending an Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior, he accepted of it; and accordingly arrived at *Conſtantinople* in the Month of *Auguſt*, when the Vizier was ſcarce in the middle of his Journey. The Grand Signior entertaining ſome real Inclinations to Peace, laid aſide ſomething of his uſual Grandeur and State, giving the Ambaſſador Audience in a few days after his arrival; and as nothing mollifies the hard Mettle of a Turk's Spirit, like a gentle Shower of Gold, and the emulgent ſoftneſs of Rich Preſents; ſo *Morat* underſtanding of Gifts with which he came accompanied, afforded to the Ambaſſador an eaſy Ear and a pleaſing Countenance.

The Preſents for the Grand Signior, beſides thoſe for the Court, were theſe that follow.

- Eight Indian Horſes of great Price.
- Forty Dromedaries.
- An hundred and fifty Meticals of Muſk. As much Ambergrieſe made up in ſeveral Bags; all ſealed up with the King's own Seal.
- Thirty bundles of the beſt black Sables.
- Eight large Carpets mixed with Gold and Silver; with divers others of Silk, very rare and precious.
- Many Pieces of the fineſt Linnen to make Turbants.
- A great number of the rareſt Girdles. Porceline to a great value.
- Divers Pieces of Satin and Velvet, with Golden Flowers.
- Fifty Pieces of Silken Stuffs.
- Eight Bows of excellent Work.

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Theſe Preſents ſo well diſpoſed and prepared the Mind of the Grand Signior towards an Accommodation, that he beſtowed a kind Aſpect and gentle Words on the Ambaſſador, ſo that all the World expected that a Peace would have enſued.

And indeed one might well have believed his Reality in this Intention, ſince the ardent Paſſion he had to be revenged of *Ragotski*, availed more with him than all other Conſiderations in the World. His Honour alſo called him to give a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Moſcovites, who had taken *Aſac*; and the Tartars and Coſſacks gave ſome ground of Jealouſy, that before long they deſigned ſome Action on the Turkiſh Territories: the Reaſons whereof we ſhall diſcourſe in this following Year.

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We have already related, ſome Years paſt, on what Terms the Tartars ſtood with the Turk, how they refuſed to accept that King which the Port recommended to them, though the eldeſt and firſt of the true Line: how they fought and overthrew the Forces which the Grand Signior ſent to compel them to the Election he deſired; and this laſt Year, upon pretence of a War with *Cantemir*, they refuſed to ſend their Army againſt the Perſian, as had always been accuſtomary to do againſt the Enemies of the Sultan, whenſoever required.

Troubles in the leſſer Tartary.

The Paſha, Muftee, and Kadi of *Caffa* (which is the Grand Signior's Town in *Tartary*) urged the Tartar *Han* to prepare and forward his Forces, according to the Duty and Obligation which was incumbent on him; and enlivening their Arguments with Reproaches of Cowardiſe and Ingratitude; ſo far provoked the *Han*, that he cauſed them all three to be ſtrangled.

Notwithſtanding this high Provocation, the Grand Signior diſſembled the Injury, leſt a due Reſentment ſhould raiſe them into an open Rebellion: and diſſembling an approbation of the Fact, as done with Reaſon and Juſtice, ſent to the Tartar *Han* a Sword and a Veſt, as Signals of his Favour: And farther ſuſpecting, leſt in proſecution of ſo ſenſible a Blow, the Tartar joining in League with the Coſſacks and Moſcovites, ſhould make himſelf Maſter of *Caffa*, he prudently touched the Wound with a gentle Hand, offering to ordain ſuch a Paſha, as ſhould be warranted with his Aſſent and Approbation.

The Tartar being overcome by ſuch Lenitives as theſe, proteſted that he never entertained other Thoughts, than to maintain his Faith and Allegiance inviolable towards the Grand Signior; and that the Alliance he had made with the *Nogay* Tartars, and the Forces now raiſed, were maintained with no other Deſign, than to ſuppreſs the Rebellion and Inſolence of *Cantemir*.

This *Cantemir* being a Perſon of a bold Spirit, and daring in all his Actions, did oftentimes, by virtue of his own Authority, lead a ſtrong Party to the Field, being followed by the braveſt and ſtouteſt Souldiers of *Tartary*; for which Reaſon being hated by the Tartar *Han*, and his Life often attempted, and his own Spirit not ſupporting a Subjection to any other, he paſſed the

Cantemir makes a new Colony.

1637.

the *Nieſter*, and retired with his own Troops, and ſuch others as would follow him, into the Country of *Budziak*, near to *Beliegrod* and *Kilia*, confining on the Frontiers of *Moldavia*; where he intended to plant and form a new Colony and Government.

In a ſhort time, divers chief Captains being deſirous to follow the Enſigns of ſo famous a General, came in to him; and multitudes of People forſaking the Sands and barren Rocks of *Tartary*, came crowding into this Country; that the Plains of *Budziak* not being capable to contain them, they paſſed into *Moldavia*; where incroaching on the Lands of the proper Inhabitants, gave a Jealouſie as if they intended to take poſſeſſion of the whole Province.

The Poles being jealous of theſe ill Neighbours, which lay at the Gate of their Country, ready to enter on all occaſions, had made Proviſion in their laſt Articles of Peace with the Grand Signior, that he ſhould force them to return, and urged that Point by the Ambaſſador with all earneſtneſs.

The Tartar *Han* alſo finding his Countries depopulated and weakened by ſo large an Evacuation, made alſo his Complaints and Addreſſes to the Port. But the Grand Signior looking on this Colony, as an increaſe of his Dominions, and to be compoſed of ſuch People whom Neceſſity muſt render obedient; and that they could eaſily, at his Command, make Irruptions into *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Tranſylvania*, ſeemed deaf to all Applications in this Buſineſs; and as if they were a People in whom he had no part, ſhewed no concernment for them, though ſecretly he promiſed them his Protection.

He is overthrown by the Tartar Han.

Hereupon *Uladiſlaus* King of *Poland*, being wearied with Delays, reſolved by force of Arms, to drive out this deteſtible Neighbourhood: But the Tartar *Han*, whom this Buſineſs more nearly concerned, being more ſpeedy in execution than the Poles, having raiſed an Army of thirty thouſand Men, encountred *Cantemir* with twenty thouſand, and charged him ſo furiouſly, that he killed ſeven thouſand of them on the Place, and put the reſt to flight, purſuing them through the Plains of *Dobruc* on the other ſide of the *Danube*.

The Grand Signior, who had all this Time remained a Spectator of this Succeſs, began now to take the part of *Cantemir*, and ſeverely to reprove the Proceedings of the Tartar *Han*, for having diſturbed *Cantemir*, whilſt he was preparing to ſerve him in the Wars of *Perſia*. But the Tartar, having ſhaken off much of his Reſpect and Reverence towards the Grand Signior, deſpiſed the Menaces which he vented againſt him, and proceeded in his own Buſineſs, compelling his People to return again to their Country, and to their Ancient Habitations. *Morat* being forced to ſuffer what he could not remedy, ſummoned *Cantemir*, with all diligence, to render himſelf at *Conſtantinople*; where being arrived, he was at firſt regarded with a favourable Eye; but his Son ſoon after having in a private Quarrel killed a Tartar near the Walls of the Seraglio, was for that Fact juſtly ſtrangled by Order of the Grand Signior; the day following, *Cantemir* was alſo impriſoned, and in a ſhort time underwent the like Fate with that of his Son.

Cantemir *put to death.*

During theſe Troubles, a Nephew of *Cantemir* feigning himſelf to be diſguſted with his Uncle, revolted to the Party of the Tartar *Han*, with no other than a treacherous Deſign to take away the Lives of the two Brothers; the which he compaſſed at a time of their hunting, when being far remote from their Attendance, following their Game in untroden Paths, he ſet upon them with an hundred Villains, and perfidiouſly took away their Lives. The News hereof was highly applauded at *Conſtantinople*, and the Traitor extolled as a Perſon of mighty Courage and wonderful Ingenuity; ſo that now different Counſels, and new Meaſures, were taken concerning the Affairs in *Tartary*.

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The King of Tartary *killed.*

Bechir Gherey *ordained K. of* Tartary.

Bechir Gherry, Brother to thoſe Princes of *Tartary* which were killed, was then at *Jamboli*, a City in *Thrace*, retired thither under the Protection of the Grand Signior, for fear and jealouſie of Treachery from his elder Brother. *Morat* cauſed him to be brought to *Conſtantinople*, where he was ſumptuouſly received, and conducted to Audience by the Chimacam, who gave him the upper-hand, which is the Left amongſt Men of the Sword, as the Right is amongſt Men of Learning or of the Pen; for as the right Hand governs the latter, ſo the firſt is appendent to the left Side.

The Bodies of the two dead Brothers were brought to *Conſtantinople*, where fetulent or ſtinking, they were expoſed to the ſight of *Morat*; who to gratify his own Humour of Revenge, cauſed them to be thrown into the Sea.

Aſac beſieged.

This good News from *Tartary*, was attempered with a worſe from *Aſac*, which the Moſcovites and Coſſacks had beſieged. This Town is ſituated at the Mouth of the River *Tanais*, upon the declining of a Hill; it is in form fourſquare, and may be about twelve hundred Paces in Compaſs. Before it fell into the Hands of the Turks, it was a famous Scale for all ſorts of Merchandiſe, eſpecially for Butter, Cheeſe, ſalt Fiſh, Leather, Slaves, and other Commodities brought hither by Turks, Tartars, and Moſcovites. The Venetians when they addicted themſelves more to Traffick and Commerce than they do at preſent, took this Scale for their Way into *Perſia*. The Town was fortified with ancient Walls, flanked with capacious Towers, and with a Caſtle which being in the middle, and on the ſide of the Water, divides the Town, as it were, into two equal parts. The Gariſon conſiſted not of above three or four hundred Men; for being a place remote from powerful Enemies, it fell not under any great jealouſie, nor was it deemed worthy of the Charge of numerous Defendants.

Is taken by the Coſſaks.

The City being in this weak Condition, the Coſſacks ſoon made themſelves Maſters of it; which after they had ſacked and pillaged to the utmoſt, they conſidered it as a place worthy of better Fortifications; and therefore applying themſelves to raiſe new Works, and repair the Old, they ſoon made it a Fortreſs of Strength and Conſideration. This happening at a time when the Turks were diverted by the Perſian War, the Coſſacks injoyed this new Conqueſt for the ſpace of four Years without moleſtation, until that in the Year 1641, it was recovered with much Blood and Slaughter by the Arms of Sultan *Ibrahim*, as we ſhall hereafter recount in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

And now becauſe the taking of this Place was the Original from whence the Diviſions and Civil Wars between the Poles and Coſſacks derived their beginning, and was the Occaſion that the Coſſacks revolted from their juſt Obedience, to the Protection of the Turks; the Relation will not only be curious, but a digreſſion neceſſary to the clearer Light of the preſent Hiſtory.

The Cauſe of the Civil War between the Poles and Coſſacks.

The Coſſaks Country deſcribed.

Uladiſlaus the Fourth King of *Poland* being wearied with conſtant Compleints of the Robberies and Incurſions made by the Coſſacks upon the Turks, contrary to Articles and Treaties of Peace, was at length perſwaded by his Barons and Counſellors, that the only Means to ſuppreſs the Violence of this unruly People, was to diſarm them; and taking away their Weapons of War, to ſupply them, in lieu thereof, with the Shovel and Mattock, with Ploughs and Pruning-Hooks: by which induſtrious Diververſion, from a wicked Life of Blood and Robbery, to honeſt Husbandry and lawful Arts of living, they might with time be rendred uſeful to their own Prince, and capable of Faith and juſt Communication with their Neghbours. It is not one Age paſt ſince theſe people were called Coſſacks, derived, as is ſuppoſed, from *Coſai*, a word in their Language which ſignifies a Goat, perhaps becauſe of their Agility of Body, or becauſe their Garments are chiefly made of Goats Skins.

Pellibus & laxis arcent mala frigora bracchis,
Oráq; ſunt longis horrida tecta comis.

The Country inhabited by them, was at firſt on the Banks of the River *Boriſthenes*, about fifteen Leagues in length to the entrance into the Euxine Sea, where it is reported, that *Ovid* was baniſhed; and ſome ſay, that from him a Village thereabouts called *Ovidoua* derives its denomination; and hereunto we may afford the greater belief from one of his Elegies, in his Book *De Triſtibus*, which ſeems to deſcribe this Country, and the fierceneſs of the Inhabitants. *Eleg. 8. lib. 5.*

Quam legis à Scythicâ tibi venit Epiſtola terrâ,
Latus ubi æquoreis jungitur Iſter aquis.
Miſta ſit hac quamvis inter Gracóſq; Getáſq;
A malè placatis plus trahit ora Getis;
Sarmaticæ major Geticæq; frequentia gentis,
Per medias in aquis ítq; reditq; vias.
In quibus eſt nemo, qui non Coryton, & arcum,
Teláq; vipereo lurida felle gerat.
Vox fera, trux vultus, veriſſima mortis imago,
Non coma, non ullâ barba reſecta manu.

At preſent the name of Coſſacks, and their Country alſo, is of a far greater extent than it was formerly; for they call now all ſuch in *Poland* Coſſacks, that are light Horſe armed with Bow and Arrow and Fire-arms: and their Country ſince the late Commotions is meaſured from the fartheſt parts of the Palatinate of *Chiovia*, for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty Leagues on one ſide, and the other of the *Boriſthenes*, which comprehends likewiſe all the Country of *Ukrania*. This Country was always inhabited by the moſt Warlike People of *Ruſſia*; for that being ſubject to the frequent Incurſions of the Tartars, neceſſary Defence, and conſtant practice in Arms, endued them with a Bold and Martial Spirit.

Ukrania is a Country ſo fertile, that it may compare with the moſt fruitful Soil in the World, producing ſuch quantities of Corn, with little labour, that the Husband-men being made negligent by their abundance, produced with little Toil, have leiſure to apply themſelves to Violence and Rapine. They have no Wine, but uſe themſelves much to Strong-waters. Their Houſes are not built of Wood or Stone, but of Oſiers, interwoven and daubed over with Earth and Lime; ſo that they uſe no Nails or Iron: they have no Merchants unleſs in *Kiow*; nor do they ſerve themſelves of Phyſicians or Apothecaries. Their learned Language, or the Tongue wherein they write, is the Sclavonian, anciently called the Illyrian: ſo that in all things this People is rude and barbarous; and though their manner of Government and Policy is not refined or methodically diſpoſed, yet nevertheleſs it is ſolid and of deep Foundation, appropriated to the nature and diſpoſition of that People.

This honeſt Deſign of King *Uladiſlaus*, to reduce this People to a juſt and an induſtrious courſe of living, not agreeing with their Temper and Cuſtoms, they rather reſolved to leave their Country, and betake themſelves to various Fortunes; ſome of them paſſed into *Moſcovia* to plant a Colony in thoſe uninhabited Parts: a Body of them, to the number of ſix thouſand, joining together, reſolved to paſs into *Perſia* to offer their ſervice unto that King; and being on their Journey, as far as the *Tanais*, they encountred with a Party of Moſcovite Coſſacks, who inhabited certain Iſlands of that River; with whom entertaining Diſcourſe, they underſtood that *Aſac* might eaſily be ſurpriſed by them, if they could agree to unite Forces, which together might compoſe a Body of ten thouſand Men: The Importance of the Place being well conſidered, it was reſolved, that the March into *Perſia* ſhould be ſhortned, and this City be ordained for the ultimate End of their Travels and Place of Repoſe. According to this counſel *Aſac* being aſſaulted and taken, (as we have already intimated) the Coſſacks fortified it in the beſt manner that they were able, making an Arſenal for their Boats and Saicks, whereby afterwards they did much more infeſt the Turks than before.

The other Coſſacks who continued in their Country, being much perſecuted by the Poliſh Nobility, choſe *Kilminieſchi* for their General, (the Son of a Noble Family in *Lituania*, but baniſhed and degraded of his Honour for his Criminal Offences) and rebelled againſt the Government. At firſt not being able to reſiſt the Force of *Poland*, they retired within the Woods; but joining afterwards with other Coſſacks, they iſſued forth at the beginning of the Spring, beat the Poles, and carried away a conſiderable Booty. Afterwards joining with the Tartars, they made their Incurſions as far as *Zamoſca*, within twenty Leagues of *Warſaw*; and ſo Matters continued with various Succeſſes not appertaining to this Hiſtory. Only thus far it is pertinent to the Matter diſcuſſed for us to have ſhewn, That the Counſels of *Poland* were in a great Error, when they reſolved to change the Life, and alter the Humour of this Warlike People, which being protected in their Priviledges, and encouraged in their Wars, would at all Times, as occaſion ſerved, have been ready to have ejected great numbers of good Souldiers into the Ottoman Territories, and might ſtill have been conſerved to ballance the Power of the Tartars, which now daily infeſt and ruin the Borders of *Poland*.

Theſe People were like ill Humors, which being vomited out into the Dominions of the Turk, eaſed and made healthy the Body Politick of *Poland*; but being conſerved within the Stomach, cauſed Syncopes, Convulſions, and ſuch Commotions, as have of late Years ſhaken the whole Body of the Poliſh Kingdom: and at length withdrawing themſelves entirely from all Obedience, together with that large Province of *Ukrania*, as they have weakned that

1637. Government; ſo now of late years ſeeking protection from the Turk, have added to his Kingdom, and enfeebled that of *Poland.*

When the News arrived firſt at *Conſtantinople* that *Aſac* was beſieged, the Captain-Paſha going then to inſtate *Bechir* into his Kingdom of *Tartary*, received Orders to relieve *Aſac*, and if poſſible, to raiſe the Siege; but the Succours coming too late, and the Town being taken, the loſs thereof was not eſteemed important enough to divert either Thoughts or Forces from the Perſian War.

Preparations for the War in Perſia.

For now *Morat* reſolving to proſecute the War in *Perſia*, which could not be ſucceſsful without the united Power of his whole Empire, conducted by his own Perſon, he reſolved to make a ſecond Journey into thoſe Parts, and with his own Hand to knock at the Gates of *Babylon.* To prepare and diſpoſe all matters in order hereunto, he in the firſt place countermanded his Decree, which prohibited a farther increaſe of the number of Janiſaries; for now being deſirous to augment his Army beyond the account of ancient Regiſters, he opened the Janiſaries Door, (as they call it) and enrolled ſix thouſand more into that Order.

To conſerve ſtill the Order of this Militia, he appointed Officers ſtrictly and ſeverely to take the Decimation of the Chriſtian Children in *Europe*, and leſt (as was uſual) they ſhould be corrupted by the Parents, who often give Preſents, whereby to blind the Eyes of the Miniſters, that ſo they may overſee their Children, or in lieu of the comlieſt and moſt fit for Service, accept of the Sickly and Impotent, or ſuch as are unworthy of the Bread and Education given them by the Sultan, he moſt ſeverely injoined this Service, and under a thouſand Menaces encharged the care hereof to be executed without Favour or Partiality to any. He carefully reviewed the Books of the Timjar-Spahees, counting the number exactly that every Country yields, and comparing them with thoſe muſtered in the Field, he confiſcated the Lands of thoſe that wanted, being forfeited for non-appearance: he would admit of no Excuſe or Delay to the Matter in hand. The Superintendant of the Ordnance but making a Scruple about the Proportion of ſome Guns, as too weighty and unwieldy for ſo long a March, loſt his Life, for doubting or making a difficulty in what the Grand Signior propoſed or deſigned.

And that no Commotions at home might divert or call him back before his Buſineſs was perfected, he encharged his Paſha's of the Frontiers to live quietly with their Neighbours, and to be ſure to give no occaſions of Complaint, or Cauſe for War during his abſence; recommending to the prudence of the Paſha of *Siliſtria* the care of compoſing certain Differences between the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia.*

Having ſecured Matters as well as he could at home, he ordered the Horſe-tail to be ſet forth at the gate of the Divan, and all Paſha's and Officers of the Army did the like at their own Doors. His Troops began now to grow numerous; the Spahees and Timariots appointed for the Guard of the Grand Signior's Tents, together with other Cavalry, which hold their Lands under Service, amounted unto two hundred thouſand. From the hundred ſeventy two Chambers of Janiſaries he drew forth thirty thouſand. From the Topgees or Gunners, whereof there are no more than twelve hundred in their Chambers at *Conſtantinople*, yet make up twelve thouſand in other parts, he drew out three thouſand for the preſent Service. The Shepherds and Plough-men of *Bulgaria* made up twenty thouſand; which with Water-bearers, Smiths, Bakers, Butchers, and all other Tradeſmen which followed the Camp, were in vaſt Numbers: ſo that the whole Army, with the Attendants belonging thereunto, were at a moderate calculation computed to amount unto near five hundred thouſand Men; whereof three hundred thouſand were fighting Men. 1637.

The Peſtilence, which is the Epidemical Diſeaſe of *Turkie*, and which abates the Numbers and Pride of that People, raged this Year greatly in *Conſtantinople*, and in the parts of *Romagnia*; it entred into the Seraglio, and amongſt others, took away the only Son of the Grand Signior of two or three Years old. This cauſed *Morat* to paſs moſt part of the Summer at a Palace on the *Boſphorus*, where he recreated himſelf with his drunken Companion the Perſian Traitor; and hereby he contradicted the Proverb, *That Princes love the Treaſon, but not the Traitor*; for *Morat* it ſeems loved them both, entertaining this Fellow in his Boſom: His Cloaths, his Garb, his Horſes, and Equipage, might rival with that of the Sultan's; He took place of the Chimacam in all Publick Appearances; and what was moſt ſtrange, he preceded the Mufti; which was a new Form never before practiſed, and would have afforded matter of Wonder and Diſcourſe, but that the World conſidered this Novelty, as a Method agreeable to the extravagant Humor of the Sultan.

The extravagant Pleaſures and Cruelties of Morat.

Amongſt his Paſtimes, nothing was more pleaſing than ſome Divertiſement acted with Blood; he ſhot the Son of a Paſha with his Gun, for daring to approach near the Walls of his Seraglio, ſuppoſing that he came with curioſity to diſcover his Pleaſures, and manner of voluptuous Recreations: For the ſame Reaſon he would have ſunk a Boat laden with Women, as it glided ſlowly by the Banks of the Garden. He would himſelf behold two Thieves impailed, which were condemned to die for robbing ſomething out of his Seraglio. He commanded the Head of the Treaſurer of *Cyprus* to be cut off in his preſence; as alſo the Maſter of his Muſick, for daring to ſing a certain Air which ſeemed Perſian, and to praiſe the Valour of that Nation. The Paſha of *Temiſwar* he put to Death at a full Divan, for fighting unfortunately againſt *Ragotski.*

To theſe ſevere Acts of Cruelty, which he called Juſtice, he added one not unpleaſant; A certain Greek called *Stridia Bei*, or Lord *Oyſters*, who had been Prince of *Walachia*, and one whom we have before mentioned, having, by his oppreſſion and haraſſing that People, amaſſed a conſiderable Sum of Mony, eſſayed a ſecond time, by force thereof, to obtain the Principality; and making his Offer and Requeſt before the Grand Signior, he was heard with ſome raillery: At length the Grand Signior told him, That he was too proud and aſpiring, and therefore ordered the tips of his Noſe and Ears to be cut off, telling him, that that was to clip the Wings of his Ambition.

But that before his departure for *Perſia*, he might conſummate his Acts of Tyranny, he practiſed one upon his Brother, a Youth of twenty two Years of Age, of great Hopes, and good Endowments. He was conducted to the preſence of his Brother, at the Biram, to pay his Reſpects, as is uſual at that Feſtival; and having performed the Ceremony, he enlarged himſelf in high Praiſes and Admiration of the Grand

Signior's

1637. Signior's Generoſity and Bravery; who for recovery of *Bagdat*, was contented to expoſe his Perſon to the Inconveniences of a long Journey, and the Dangers of a hazardous War, and that therein he equalled, if not ſurpaſſed, the Glory of his Anceſtors: Which courtly and rational manner of Diſcourſe did not pleaſe *Morat*, but rather adminiſtred Subject of Jealouſy, fearing that he knew too much; and that as he could Speak well, ſo he might Act accordingly; wherefore the ſame Day he cauſed him to be ſtrangled, to the great Sorrow of the People, and deteſtation of his Abominable Tyranny: But to amuſe the Minds of the Multitude, and ceaſe their Murmurings, he cauſed it to be divulged abroad, that fourteen of his Women in the Seraglio were with Child: which was all falſe, there remaining none of the Ottoman Race beſides his Brother Sultan *Ibrahim*, who was Weak, as well in Body as Underſtanding, and whoſe Imperfections ſecured and compounded for his Life: And to ſuppreſs the Diſcourſe about his Brother's Murder, he changed it into a talk about his Preparations for War, and his departure for *Perſia*. Wherefore the Forerunners and Harbingers of the Army being ſent away with Labourers to repair Bridges, and to level the Ways for the more eaſie paſſage of the Cannon. *Morat* paſſed over to his Tents at *Scutari*, cloathed in a Coat of Mail, and with a Head-piece ſet with Precious Stones, and his Sargouch or Feathers claſped to it with Buckles of Diamonds.

As he landed at *Scutari*, he was received by three Squadrons of Souldiers, each Squadron conſiſting of four thouſand Men well Armed, and richly Attired; the Garments of one Squadron of which were provided at the Expence of the Grand Signior, and of the other two at the Charge of his Favourite, and of the Captain-Paſha: the latter of which preſented to the Grand Signior thirty Purſes of Mony, for beſtowing on him the Honour to command that Gally which tranſported him to the Aſian Coaſt. The Ambaſſador ſent from *Perſia* was detained at *Conſtantinople* until this time, and after the Turkiſh Faſhion not permitted to depart at his own liberty; but being now ordered to follow the Camp, his Port and Quarters were aſſigned, that ſo he might be a Spectator of that Tragedy which was now to be acted. All things were now diſpoſed in good Poſture, with much Solemnity, in order to a March; the Conacks, or days Journies, with their Places of Quarters, were laid out in an hundred and twenty days of March from *Scutary* to *Babylon*, and ſeventy days of Otorack or Repoſe. The Journies with the groſs Body of ſuch an Army could not be long; and the joyning with other Forces in the way, required leiſure and time.

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The March of the Turkiſh Army.

In ſhort, the Horſe, after the Turkiſh manner, having eaten their Graſs and been ſoiled, this powerful Army decamped from *Scutari* about the end of *May*. The firſt day of Otorack or Repoſe was appointed at *Iſmit*, where the Grand Signior made a review of his Army; ſuch as were Aged, and unable to endure the Fatigues of a long March, he diſmiſſed, giving them half Pay for their Lives, with the Name of Otoracks, which is the ſame with *Milites Emeriti* among the Romans: with exact Order therefore and ſevere Diſcipline, to which their fierce Monarch had reduced them, marched this numerous Army; no Villages were abuſed, nor Country-people plundred, and all things were purchaſed with ready Mony: And the Grand Signior himſelf being rendred more gentle and tractable in the Field than in his Seraglio, heard all Complaints, and diſtributed Juſtice with an equal and impartial Hand. 1638.

In the mean time, at *Conſtantinople*, due care was taken to keep things Quiet and in Order; the Boſtangibaſhee, like Lord High Chamberlain, had the Charge committed to him of the Seraglio, and the Moveables of it; he frequently made his Rounds both by Sea and Land, puniſhed thoſe whom he found in Taverns; nor would he ſuffer any Candles to be lighted after two hours in the Night. The Chimacam, and the Captain-Paſha, likewiſe executed their Offices with all care and ſeverity in their reſpective Stations.

Cyrillus the Patriarch ſtrangled.

At this time, to the great diſſatisfaction of the Greek Nation, *Cyril* the Patriarch, who had been in *England*, and greatly affected with the Diſcipline of our Church, was depoſed, impriſoned in the Seven Towers, and ſtrangled: in his place one *Carſila* was ordained Patriarch, and his Commiſſion or Baratz obtained from the Grand Signior at the expence of fifty thouſand Crowns, one Moity whereof was paid from *Rome*, the whole Deſign againſt *Cyrillus* being managed by the Jeſuits and other Religious living at *Galata*, who accuſed him before the Turks, of keeping a ſecret Correſpondence with the Moſcovites and Coſſacks; for which loſing his Life, *Carſila*, a pretended Friend to the Roman Faction, was inſtituted Patriarch.

The Grand Signior marching with his potent and numerous Army, all the World remained at a gaze what the Iſſue ſhould be of this mighty Enterpriſe; yet moſt were of Opinion, that the Honour and Riches of the Ottoman Empire being now at Stake, the War could not otherwiſe conclude than with the Conqueſt of *Babylon*. All that could be feared, was ſome diverſion by the Chriſtian Princes; who taking hold of the preſent Conjuncture, ſhould enter the Frontiers, with a powerful Army, and thereby force the Sultan to return. But as to *Poland*, the Jealouſy ſoon vaniſhed. When the News came of a Civil War between the Poles and the Coſſacks, and that ten thouſand of the latter were ſlain in a Battel, this Intelligence came moſt ſeaſonable and grateful to the Port, expecting now a Meſſage from the Coſſacks, deſiring Succour in their Extremity; for ſuch Accidents as theſe have nouriſhed the Turkiſh Intereſt, which hath grown out of the Civil Diſcords of Chriſtian Princes.

The Pirats of Algier *and* Tunis *infeſt the Gulf of* Venice.

By this means, as the Apprehenſions of War by Land ceaſed, ſo there appeared ſome Clouds of Storm at Sea; which doubtleſs might have produced a War with *Venice*, had the Turks been at leiſure to attend it; for ſixteen Gallies belonging to *Algier*, *Tunis*, and *Biſerta*, well armed with Slaves and Souldiers, and provided ſufficiently with Cannon, Powder, and Bullet, Commanded by *Ali Picenin*, united together and formed a ſmall Fleet, with deſign to rove over the Adriatick Sea, and infeſt the Coaſt of *Italy*. Their Intentions were to plunder the Riches of *Loretto*; but being hindred by contrary Winds, from entring ſo high into the Gulf, they made a deſcent in *Puglia*, and ſacked all the Country of *Nicotra*, carrying away a great Booty, with Slaves, and amongſt them ſeveral Nuns which they proſtituted to their Luſt; thence they paſſed over to the ſide of *Dalmatia*, and in ſight of *Cataro* took a Veſſel, and made Prize of all Ships which they met in thoſe Seas; the Rumor of which made great noiſe over all *Italy*, the People exclaiming againſt their Princes for ſuf-

fering

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fering their Lives and Eſtates to remain ſubject to the petty Force of a few Pirats. For the Veſſels of *Malta* and *Florence* were disjoined, and roving after purchaſe in the *Archipelago*, took little notice of what was acted in the Gulf. The Spaniards, after their faſhion, were ſlow in Arming, and ſpent the Summer in Preparations, till the Pirats, laden with Booty, were departed towards the Winter; ſo that none remained to take care of *Italy*, and the Venetian Gulf, but *Venice* only, to whom the Dominion of thoſe Seas are rightly appropriated.

To ſuppreſs therefore the Inſolence of theſe Pirats, the Republick ſet forth a Fleet conſiſting of twenty eight Gallies and two Galleaſſes, under the Command of *Marin Capello*, with Inſtructions to ſink, burn, and deſtroy thoſe Pirats, either in the open Seas, or in Harbour of the Turks; for that by the Articles of Peace, between the Grand Signior and the Venetians, it was agreed, That no Port or Harbour of his ſhould be priviledged to afford entertainment or protection to any Free-booter or Pirat of that nature.

It happened about that time, that the Malteſes and Florentines cruſing in the *Archipelago*, had done great Miſchief to the Turks in thoſe Seas; to revenge which, and to prevent farther damage, the Captain-Paſha ſent Orders to theſe Veſſels of *Barbary* immediately to come to his Aſſiſtance; to which they were now more eaſily perſwaded; for being already laden with Booty and Spoils, they contented themſelves with a change of their Station. But to give a farewel to thoſe Parts, they firſt reſolved to ſpoil, and plunder *Liſſa*, aliàs *Leſina*, an Iſland belonging to the Republick; but being overtaken by the Venetian Fleet in their Voyage thither, near to *Valona*, a Port and Harbour belonging to the Turks, they put themſelves under the Defence of the Town and Caſtle, which received them willingly to their Protection, notwithſtanding all Articles and Agreements to the contrary. The Venetian Fleet ſaluted the Caſtle without a Shot, deſiring, that according to the Capitulations of Peace, the Pirats might be rejected, and commanded to abandon their Port: in anſwer hereunto the Turks replied with a Shot, making known their Intentions to defend their Friends: wherefore the Venetians retiring at ſome diſtance came to an Anchor, deſigning to block up the Port. Many days had not paſſed before the Pirats endeavoured, by help of their Oars, and a gentle Gale, to make their eſcape; and being, with the gray of the Morning, advanced without the Port, they were eſpyed by the watchful Venetians, who dividing their Fleet into two Squadrons, charged them with high Courage; the Fight continued for the ſpace of two hours, during all which time the Caſtle of *Valona* fired at the Venetians, and ſhot down a Maſt of one of the Galleaſſes, a Splinter of which wounded *Lorenzo Marcello* the Commander; at length five of the Gallies of the Pirats being diſabled, and many of their People killed, they began to fly, and retire again under the Protection of the Town; as alſo did the Venetians to their Place of Anchorage.

Capello *blocks up the Pirats in* Valona.

A diſtinct Advice of all Particulars being diſpatched to *Venice*, the Senate wrote to *Capello*, That ſince the reſpect which the Republick owes to the Ottoman Court was not unknown to him, he ſhould by no means make any attempt againſt thoſe Pirats upon the Land, but meeting them fairly at Sea, he ought then to make uſe of all the valour and force he was able.

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In the mean time the Duke of *Medina las Torres*, Vice-King of *Naples*, diſpatched an Expreſs to *Capello*, with Letters applauding the generoſity of the Deſign, wherein he was now engaged for the Glory of his Republick, and the Common Good of all Chriſtendom, proffering to ſupply him with Refreſhments and Ammunition, and what elſe might ſupply his Occaſions; expecting, that by ſuch Encouragement as this, he might be induced to Aſſault the Enemies in *Valona*, without reſpect to the Grand Signior, or any Inconveniences which might ariſe thereby. On the contrary the Governour of the Caſtle, and Kadi of the Town, wrote a Letter to *Capello*, putting him in mind, that he was within the Grand Signior's Dominions, and that he ſhould be careful how he offered any Violence to thoſe Places, which would certainly prove a Violation of the Peace, and be the Original of an inevitable War.

Capello had now lain a whole Month before the Port, having all the time injoied fair Weather, and a ſmooth Sea, againſt the hope and deſire of the Turks, who expected that by means of ſome Storm, the Enemy would be forced to remove their Quarters to ſome ſecure Harbour, and thereby afford them an opportunity to eſcape. But *Capello* growing weary of ſuch tedious Attendance, reſolved to expect no longer, nor yet to loſe the preſent Advantage of rendring himſelf Maſter of the Veſſels of the Enemy: wherefore dividing his Fleet into ſeveral Squadrons, he advanced near the Port, firing ſeveral Shot at the Tents of the Pirats, of which one from a Galeaſs ſtruck a Moſch; and arming with ſtore of Men the Galeots and Brigantines, they entred the Port, and to the aſtoniſhment and vexation of the Turks, poſſeſſed all the ſixteen Veſſels, and brought them to their Admiral: which though they had diſfurniſhed of all their chief Booty, yet their Cannon and Arms remained, of which there were twelve Pieces of great Braſs Guns, beſides others of Iron, with divers Falcons and leſſer Arms.

He aſſaults them in the Port.

The Intelligence hereof being carried to *Venice*, Orders were given, that all the Veſſels ſhould be ſunk in the Port of *Corfu*, excepting only the Admiral of *Algier*, which was to be brought to the Arſenal of *Venice*, there to remain as a Trophy of Victory, and for a perpetual Memory of this Glorious Atchievement. Howſoever this Exploit was variouſly interpreted at *Venice*, and approved, or diſproved, according to the diverſity of Humors. The younger Men applauded it as an Action of great Gallantry, excuſing his Tranſgreſſion of the Senats Orders by a tranſport of Paſſion and Zeal towards his Country, and deſire of Glory. But the Senators, and Men of mature Judgments, highly reſented this Breach of their Orders, which as they are ſtrictly Enjoined, ſo they expected that they ſhould be punctually Obeyed. That this action was a ſufficient and Juſt Cauſe alone to kindle a War, and that it was a matter intolerable, that a ſingle Citizen ſhould of his own Head and Humor, preſume to act ſuch things, as muſt neceſſarily involve the Publick in a War, contrary to their Pleaſure, and in oppoſition to their expreſs Commands. For which Crime and other ſubſequent Defaults, *Capello* was afterwards forced to juſtify himſelf, as will be ſignified in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

The Particulars of this Advice, were by an expreſs Meſſenger diſpatched to *Luigi Contarini* the Bailo or Ambaſſador for the Venetians at *Conſtantinople*, a Perſon of great Reputation and

Eſteem;

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Eſteem, having been converſant in the principal Courts of Chriſtendom, and employed for the ſpace of ſeven years at *Munſter*, where he was Aſſiſtant with the Nuntio *Chigi*, afterwards *Alexander* the 7th, in the general Peace of *Europe*.

The Turks alſo receiving this News aggravated to them with all the foul Circumſtances imaginable, the Chimacam immediately ſummoned the Bailo to Audience, and with an Angry Countenance began to exclaim: "That taking advantage of the Grand Signor's abſence in remote Parts, the Venetians had, in a perfidious and hoſtile manner, aſſaulted and deſtroyed the Fleet of *Barbary*, which were his Subjects, and ſuch as he had called to his aſſiſtance againſt the Corſares of *Malta* and *Ligorn*. That being accidentally compelled by ſtorm to enter into the Port of *Valonia*, they were forcibly taken thence, and violence offered to the Grand Signior's Port and Caſtle, by way of a manifeſt and open Breach. If this preſumption were grounded on the long diſtance of the Grand Signior from theſe parts, the Venetians would do well to conſider, how that they provoke an angry Prince, and one who eſteems neither Expence, Hazards, nor Labours to compleat his Revenge. If this were a deſign to divert the Grand Signior's Arms from *Perſia*, they would do well to conſider, that the Sultan was not ſo far advanced, but that he could turn a Current, if he pleaſed, ſufficient to drown, and in an inſtant to overwhelm the Dominions of *Venice*; or could at leaſt collect Forces from nearer parts able to revenge his Quarrel, and vindicate his Honour from the Diſdain and Scorn of ſuch petty Neighbours.

Hereunto the Bailo or Ambaſſador made this Reply: "That this Piratical People was the ſame which the Year before had landed in *Candia*, and made ſpoil of the Eſtates of the Inhabitants, and carried many of them into ſlavery; and not contented with this Booty, they entred the Gulph, and penetrated into the very Bowels of *Italy*, with deſign to Sack and Plunder the Iſland of *Liſſa*, which was under the Dominion of the Republick. That the Venetian General friendly ſaluted the Caſtle of *Valona*, which was returned with ſeveral Shots from thence; that had it been his intention to have attempted the Port in the beginning, he would not have lain thirty ſeven days in expectation of the forth-coming of thoſe Pirats, it being only reſpect to the Grand Signior, which obliged him to that attendance. At length being wearied, and provoked by the inſolenee of that People, he forcibly entred the Port, knowing, that by Capitulations with the Grand Signior, it was agreed, That all Ports ſhould be forbidden, and that to theſe Pirats, unleſs they firſt gave Security and Caution not to injure and make Prize of the Subjects of the Republick.

The Chimacam replied hereunto, "That there were ten thouſand Souldiers and Slaves belonging to thoſe Gallies, which had taken their Refuge in *Valona*; and therefore he required the Venetians to permit them free paſſage into their own Country, and to reſtore their Gallies, unleſs they intended to come to an open Rupture with the Grand Signior.

The Chimacam alſo preſſed more urgently for reſtitution of the Gallies, in regard, that having adviſed the Grand Signior of this Diſaſter, he had at the ſame time given him hopes, and almoſt aſſurance to believe, that by his Negotiations he ſhould recover them out of their Hands: But the Senate was of a different Opinion; and therefore gave expreſs Orders to their Officers of the Marine Affairs, immediatly to ſink all thoſe Veſſels; that ſo the expectation of the Turks being diſappointed by an impoſſibility of recovery, might not, by the rude Inſtances and Threats of *Morat*, oblige them to a diſhonourable and an undecent Reſtitution.

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The Algerines angry at this News.

The News of this Misfortune made greater noiſe and diſturbance in the Divan of *Algier* than at *Conſtantinople*, that rude Rabble raved, and railed, and threatned, laying the blame ſometimes on one, then on another, being ready to come to blows amongſt themſelves; but that being obliged, by order of their Divan, to keep their Thumbs within their Girdles, they durſt only expreſs their Anger by Punches and Thruſts of their Elbows. At length coming to cooler Terms, they charged all the Fault on their Admiral *Ali*, and reſolved to make Applications to the Grand Signior for Redreſs, and Reparations on the Eſtates af the Venetians in his Dominions.

The G. Signior's Anger againſt the Venetians.

The News alſo hereof overtaking *Morat* in his March into *Perſia*, angred him to the Heart, and tranſported him to that heat of Indignation, that he immediately ordered, that the Venetian Bailo, with all his Nation in the Ottoman Dominions, ſhould, without exception, be cut to pieces; but the Great Vizier, and his Favourite, ſuffering him for ſome time to vent the impetuoſity of his Fume and Rage without contradiction, gave a ſtop for thirteen days to the diſpatch of theſe fatal Orders; until taking him in a more gentle mood, they perſwaded him to change this Sentence of Death, to the impriſonment only of the Bailo; and ſuch care was taken, leſt the News of a War with *Venice* ſhould fly into *Perſia*, and thereby prejudice the Terms of Peace, that this Accident was kept as a Secret, and communicated to none, but ſuch as were nearly concerned in the Government.

The Command for the Bailo's Impriſonment being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, he was ſummoned to Audience by the Chimacam; and though at that time he was exceedingly afflicted with the Gout, yet the Turkiſh Obedience to Imperial Commands admitting of no Excuſe, he was forced to an attendance; and being brought in his Sedan, he was carried to the Chamber of Audience, where he expected ſome time until the Chimacam came to him: in the interim being entertained by ſome Aga's, whom the Chimacam had employed to ſound him touching the reſtitution of the Veſſels; who finding by his Diſcourſe that they were ſunk, without poſſibility of recovery, and that there could be no compenſation made for them, they returned with this Anſwer to the Chimacam: of which being now informed, he came in, and having no farther to expoſtulate on this Matter, produced the Grand Signior's Command for his Impriſonment, and kiſſing it firſt, cauſed it to be read. The Bailo replied, That he was ready to ſubmit, being not only willing to ſuffer Impriſonment, but alſo Martyrdom, accompanied with the ſevereſt Pains, for the ſake of his Prince and his Country.

The Venetians Bailo impriſoned.

To ſoften and mitigate Matters, the other Chriſtian Ambaſſadors then reſident at the Port, had made Arz to the Grand Signior, wherein, with all reverence and reſpect, they offered themſelves for Mediators in this Difference, engaging themſelves, but not the Parole of their

Princes, for the Perſon of the Bailo, that he ſhould not fly from the Port, nor yet refuſe any reaſonable Terms by way of Accommodation. This Mediation of the Ambaſſadors, ſeconded with ſome Preſents from the Bailo to the Turkiſh Miniſters, ſo facilitated Matters, that the Bailo at firſt was conducted to the * Kahya's Chamber, and afterwards was confined to his own Houſe in *Galata*, guarded by four Chiaouſes, with free Liberty to all Viſitants whatſoever.

* *The Chimican's Steward.*

There was now no other Rumour or Diſcourſe in *Conſtantinople*, but of a War with *Venice*, ſo ſoon as that with *Perſia* was concluded: And in the mean time the Grand Signior gave Orders, that ten Gallies ſhould be built in his own Arſenal at his Charge, and preſented to the Barbarouſes, with condition that they ſhould ſtay until the Spring, and accompany his Fleet to Sea. But *Ali Picenin* the Admiral ſuſpecting that this was only a Snare to engage him and his Men for ever in the Grand Signior's Service, refuſed the Obligation, and ſet two Gallies on the Stocks for his own Account.

Advice of the Bailo's Confinement being come to *Venice*, with a Report of the Paſſion and Rage of the Sultan, they expected nothing more than a War with the Turk, which they communicated to all Chriſtian Princes, requeſting their Succours and Aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy. Theſe Addreſſes produced rather Compaſſion of their Caſe, than ſubſtantial Contributions: Pope *Urban* himſelf giving them great Aſſurances of ſome help from the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, beſides Proceſſions, Maſſes, and Benedictions for their good Succeſs, in as great a Number as they could deſire: Notwithſtanding which due Care was taken to make ready and provide againſt all Encounters. Letters were wrote to the Captain-General in the Levant, to make due Preparations againſt the Enemy: Sixteen Gallies were armed out of *Candia*, to which were joyned other Galleaſſes under the Command of *Antonio Piſani* and *Sebaſtiano Veniero*: Souldiers were levied in every Place, and all Garriſons provided with Ammunition and Victuals, and reinforced with Numbers of an Auxiliary Militia. Howſoever it was not the Buſineſs nor Advantage of the Venetians, to make a War with the Turks, but rather, whilſt they feared the worſt, and made Proviſions againſt the utmoſt Extremities, they endeavoured to enter into Treaties of Peace, and to qualifie the hot Spirit of the Grand Signior with the gentle Lenitives of fair Words, and proffers of making Atonement with the Sacrifice of Gold and other Preſents: In order unto which they wrote a Letter to the Grand Signior to this Effect.

" That being provoked by the Inſolence and
" frequent Robberies of the Pirates of *Barbary*,
" who did not eſteem Faith or Obedience to his
" Majeſty, nor the Commands which he had of-
" ten ſent to reſtrain them, they were induced,
" out of natural Defence of themſelves, to cha-
" ſtiſe and correct them; but as this was acted
" without intention to diſoblige his Majeſty, ſo
" they were ready to maintain and cultivate that
" ancient Friendſhip and Correſpondence which
" was ingrafted on the firm Root of his Glorious
" Progenitors.

Morat, though he received this Letter in an huff, and gave an Anſwer to it with Diſdain, which breathed nothing but Threats of Revenge, and total Deſtruction; yet he ſent it by an Expreſs of his own to *Venice*, couching ſomething within the Terrour of his Words, as if there was place left for an Accommodation, if the Venetians knew what Salve was to be applied to obduct the Skin of this bleeding Wound. The Venetians quickly apprehended, that Gold was the only Remedy, of which they were ready to contribute freely; ſince they could make no better a Purchaſe with their Money than Peace, nor could make a better Bargain than with ſuch a Sum as would ſerve only to make the firſt Preparations of War, to evade all Hazards, Troubles, and Calamities by a happy and ſafe Concluſion of Peace. The which notwithſtanding took no Effect, until the Return of *Morat* from *Perſia*; and therefore we ſhall defer Diſcourſe thereof to its proper place.

Morat *marches to* Perſia.

Amurat marched now at the Head of a formidable Army, cloathed in the Habit of a Janiſary, to render himſelf acceptable to the Militia; whom having ſubdued by Rigour and ſevere Diſcipline, he would now oblige by Courteſie and fairer Treatment: With Courage and great Patience he marched through ſandy Deſarts and unfrequented Places; and being the firſt who offered to expoſe himſelf to Dangers and Sufferings, the Souldiery followed willingly his Example, eſteeming no Attempts either hazardous or tedious, in which they ſaw themſelves preceded by their Valiant General. In this March he was overtaken by one who rode hard to demand *Moſtaluck*, which is the Reward of good News for the Birth of a Son, of which one of his Sultana's was delivered at *Iſmit*: the Meſſenger was ſecured until the News was confirmed; which being afterwards turned to the Birth of a Daughter, the poor Man ſuffered Death, being cruelly impaled for his unadviſed haſte and exceſs of officious Reſpect towards his Prince.

The Great Vizier met his Maſter at *Iconium* with a moderate Equipage, to give more Room for the Quarters of the Army, and rendring himſelf more gracious in his Eyes by a Preſent of fifty thouſand Dollars, he was again remunerated with a Cemiter and a Veſt of Sables, which are the uſual Signals of the Sultan's Favour.

A Shegh rebels.

All *Aſia* was now in Arms, and the Princes and great Men came in to perform their Duty, accompanied with their Forces and Attendance: Only Complaints were made of a certain Shegh, Santone or Preacher belonging to the Mountains of *Anatolia*, who had refuſed to do Homage, or ſerve in the War: He was one, who by a feigned Sanctity had acquired a great Reputation amongſt his People; and having declared himſelf to be the *Mehedy*, or the Mediator, which, according to the Mahometan Doctrine, is to fore-run Antichriſt, for reducing all the World to one Unity of Faith: He had perſwaded his People, that he, and they under him, were by Priviledge of his Office, exempted from all Taxes, Contributions, or Impoſitions by any Secular Power whatſoever. The Grand Signior who could not underſtand or believe this Doctrine, preſently detached a ſtrong Body with ſome Cannon under Command of the Captain-Paſha (who, as we have ſaid, was to accompany the Grand Signior in the War) to confute the Principles of this Rebel, and to reduce him to Obedience. Theſe Forces being entred on his Dominions, Proclamation was made to the People, that they ſhould deliver up their Impoſtor into the hands of Juſtice; which if they refuſed to do, then Fire and Sword was to be their Portion, and Deſtruction to extend even unto their Children of ſeven years of Age. This terrible Denunciation of the Sultan's Sentence ſtruck all the People with cold Fear and Amazement; howſoever, the Shegh availing himſelf on certain Prophecies, which he

He is overcome, and puniſhed.

interpreted in his own Favour, adventured to ſtand a ſhock with the Grand Signior's Forces; but being overcome by them, the Shegh was taken alive and carried to the Grand Signior; who having given a ſtop to his March at *Iconium*, until the end of this Buſineſs, he condemned him to be flead alive; and in this Guiſe being a horrid Spectacle to all Beholders, he was carried upon an Aſs to the Wheel, on which he ſeemed to endure the Remainder of his Puniſhment without any ſenſible Touches or Pangs in the Torments.

This Succeſs being attained, *Morat* proceeded in his March, and paſſing through *Alexandretta* or *Scanderone*, he was there ſaluted by the Guns of all the Engliſh and Dutch Ships then in Port, and preſented by the Merchants and Conſuls, eſpecially by the Venetian called *Marco Foſcolo*, whoſe Preſents were computed to amount unto the Value of ten thouſand Dollars. Thence he proceeded to *Antioch*, where he refreſhed his Army for a few days, obſerving the Antiquities of that Place. At *Aleppo* he was met by the Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, who brought with him a rich Tribute, accompanied with an Army of twenty four thouſand Souldiers, all choice Men well armed and well cloathed; at the ſame Place alſo the Forces of *Paleſtine* joyned with him, ſo that his Army was now increaſed to a vaſt Number. Proceeding forward new Sangiacks came in daily belonging to the Countries through which they marched, and a ſtrong Party of Tartars deſpairing of being able to act any conſiderable Matter againſt *Aſac*, offered themſelves to the Service of the Grand Signior.

The Perſian Army dares not give Battel to the Turk.

The King of *Perſia* entred the Field at the Head of an hundred and twenty thouſand Horſe; but being inferiour in Force, made only uſe of them to reinforce his Garriſon of *Bagdat* with an Addition of thirty thouſand Men; which now being well provided, he judged that the Force within, and the Strength of the Place would be able to endure a long Siege, and with time weaken, if not deſtroy the vaſt numbers of the Turks, of which there were former Examples: With the reſt of his Forces he returned to encounter the Great *Mogul*, who (as we have ſaid) promiſed *Morat* to aſſiſt him in this War, and attack the Perſian on the other ſide of his Dominions, which ſerved for an advantageous Diverſion to the Turk. This was the Reaſon that no memorable Battels ſucceeded in the Field, there being none of greater Note than a Fight which *Quinan* Paſha had with two thouſand Perſians belonging to *Revan*, with whom accidentally encountring, he killed fifteen hundred of them on the Place, and took the reſt Priſoners, which being five hundred in number were brought before *Morat*, and all barbarouſly put to death by him.

During the time of this March, *Morat* often exerciſed himſelf in Feats of Arms, to ſhew his ſtrength of Body and dexterity of Hand; amongſt other things wonderful to the Souldiers, he pierced a Suit of Arms of Musket-Proof, with a Dart, called by them a *Gerit*, thrown from his Hand; for evidence of which, the Armour is placed on one of the Gates of *Aleppo*, with an Inſcription under it.

The Turks paſs the River Euphrates.

About the Beginning of the Month of *Auguſt* the Turkiſh Army paſſed the River *Euphrates*, by means of a Bridge, which was not ſo well built, but that it ſunk under the weight of Horſes, Camels, and Baggage, by which Diſaſter many periſhed in the Water, which great Rains had ſwelled above the Bounds of its Banks. As this numerous Army proceeded, ſo all Petty Princes applied themſelves to perform their Homage; amongſt which one *Tarpos* a King of the Arabs came with his Wife, Mother, and Son to proſtrate himſelf before the Sultan: He was entertained in the Tent of the Favourite, who being always in company with *Morat*, was never ſuffered to ſeparate from him, and his Tent, more for Oſtentation, than to ſerve his occaſion. *Tarpos* being admitted to Audience, was received with Reſpect and a favourable Countenance, and preſented with a Veſt of Cloth of Gold lined with Sables, and a ſmall Purſe of Gold: In recompence whereof the Arab Prince returned certain choice Horſes and two Leopards. In like manner the Georgians and Mengrelians, who are Tributaries to Turk and Perſian, and commonly incline to the ſtrongeſt ſide, whoſe Nations we have deſcribed *in the preſent State of the Ottoman Empire*, would not be wanting at this time to bring their Tribute of eighty thouſand yards of Linen-cloth, which they pay every three year, with ſome Children of both Sexes choſen out of the comelieſt and moſt healthful amongſt them.

The Turkiſh Army at Moſul.

At *Moſul* the Army lay encamped for ſome time, where was a general Rendezvous and Confluence of People from all Parts, and every thing ordered and modelized for a War. Severe Diſcipline was kept amongſt all, Offenders were Impaled, Flead alive, their Bowels ript out, and thrown into the publick Ways: Nor did Takers of Tobacco eſcape with leſs Puniſhment than the reſt. In the mean time Wine was forbid to his whole Camp, unleſs to himſelf and his Favourite, being a Royal drink; and when the chief Phyſician commended the admirable vertue of Opium, adviſing *Morat* to uſe it in the place of Wine, he enjoyned him to make his Words good by his own Example, and thereby forced him to take ſo much, that he was overcome, and died by ſwallowing too great a quantity.

From *Moſul* the Army marched in due order to *Babylon*, where the Great Vizier arrived with thirty thouſand Men about the 19*th* of *October*: But by reaſon of the great weight of Artillery, and the many Impediments which attend ſuch vaſt numbers, the Grand Signior came not thither till the 5*th* of *November*, and on the 9*th* the whole Turkiſh Army preſented it ſelf before the Walls of *Babylon*.

The Deſcription of Babylon, *or* Bagdat.

Babylon the ancienteſt City of the World, reported to be built by *Nimrod* on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, and afterwards beautified and enlarged by *Semiramis* the Wife of *Ninus*, is recorded in Hiſtory for the vaſtneſs thereof to be one of the ſeven Miracles of the World. Afterwards the furious Inundations of the River, and the Iron Teeth of devouring Time, and the ſubjection thereof to the Macedonian Empire, did much eclipſe the Glory of that City, and cauſed *Seleucus Nicanor*, one of *Alexander*'s Captains, to build a new one where the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet, forty Miles more Northwards than the old *Babylon*, which he therefore called *Seleucia* after his own Name. In the Year of our Lord 753, *Abugiafer Almanſor*, an Arab King, enlarged this City to the Eaſtern ſide of the *Tigris*, as being leſs ſubject to the Inundations of the River, giving it the Name of *Badgat*, or the place of Gardens; but his Son *Almolied* being more pleaſed with the Weſtern ſide, encouraged People to build the ſtatelieſt Palaces and beſt Fabricks near the place where he delighted to keep his Court, ſo that the River *Tigris* divided the City. The which with the Country thereabouts was ſubdued by *Solyman* the Magnificent; and afterwards in the Year 1625, it was re-

1638. recovered by *Abas* King of *Perſia*, until at length in this of 1638. it was vanquiſhed by the mighty Force and Prowe∫s of this Magnanimous Sultan, as we ſhall now underſtand.

Bagdat *beſieged.*

The numerous Troops of the Ottoman Army covering all the Plains, a General Council of War was called of the Chief Commanders of the Janiſaries and Spahees, eſpecially of ſuch who had been practiſed in the Sieges of the ſtrong Fortreſſes in *Hungary*. After ſome Debate and long Conſideration, it was agreed, That the City ſhould be battered in three Places. One Battery of twelve Pieces of Cannon commanded by the Great Vizier was to be erected againſt the Bright Gate; the ſecond againſt the Dark Gate of ten Pieces of Cannon, under the Command of the Captain-Paſha: and a third of eight Pieces directed againſt the Gate of *Perſia*, under the Government of *Chuſaein* Paſha Beglerbei of *Anatolia*. The Grand Signior in the mean time habited like an ordinary Souldier, that he might be the leſs expoſed to Danger, viſited all Poſts and Places, encouraging them with his Words and Preſence, proteſting that he would not change his Cloaths for ever in any place but within the Walls of *Bagdat*. In the ſpace of three days the Trenches were opened, the Batteries raiſed, and the Cannon planted; and *Morat* having made Korban, gave fire to the firſt Cannon with his own Hand, as he had brought the firſt Basket of Earth to raiſe the Works. The Defendants within conſiſted of eighty thouſand fighting Men, with which they made frequent Sallies of four and five thouſand Men at a time, who being retired, were again ſeconded by another of the like Number, which put the Turkiſh Camp into much Confuſion, and into danger of having their Trenches levelled, and their Cannon ſpiked; but the Turks valiantly fighting, the Slaughter proved bloody on both ſides; and being guided rather by the Bravery of their Courage, than by Art or Experience in in War, they carried their Works forward to the very Brink of the Ditch, having an Italian and a Candiot for their chief Engineers; who though they were not Perſons of that Ability, as our modern Times have produced, yet they were ſuch, as for want of better, ſerved the preſent occaſions, where Force and Numbers, with ſmall Additions of Art, were the moſt available. For in this Siege the Sword was more exerciſed than the Spade or Mattock, and there was more need of Arms than Works; for the conſtant Sallies kept the Turks always watchful and imployed, and perpetually diſturbed them, until at length they were forced with great Labour to raiſe a high Circumvallation, with a very deep Ditch, defended by ſeveral Redoubts; whereby the Beſieged being kept in, their Numbers decreaſed by former Sallies, and their Courages abated by deſpair of Relief, they began to grow cold in the Acts of Bravery, and to reſerve their Men for the ultimate and laſt Efforts of Defence. In the mean time the Turks plied their Batteries ſo hotly, that in a few days the Walls were laid open almoſt fifty paces wide. In this Condition the Defendants having no other Refuge than ſome ſmall Retrenchments, which they had made during the Siege, were expoſed to the open Force of the Enemy. For now the Turks having filled up the firſt and ſecond Ditches with Sacks of Wool, Faggots, and other Rubbiſh, crowded in vaſt Numbers to enter the Breach, which the Perſians defended as ſtoutly with Stones, Bullets, Artificial Fires, and all Inſtruments of Death, which fell like Showers of Hail on the Heads of the Enemy. The Great Vizier ſignalizing himſelf above all by his undaunted Courage, commanding with his Hand and Voice, was unhappily ſhot by a Musket-bullet, and fell on the heaps of the dead, amongſt whom there is no diſtinction between the common Souldier and the braveſt Captain. 1638. This Fight within the Breach continued for five days, where both ſides fighting like Men in deſpair, the dead Bodies lay in heaps, and Blood was ſtagnated like a Pool to wade thorough. At length the Numbers of the Turks prevailing, commanded now by *Muſtapha* the Captain-Paſha, entred the Town by force of Arms on the twenty ſecond of *December* about the time of Sun-ſet, when the Royal Standard of the Turks was planted in this City. Howſoever twenty four thouſand of the Perſians remaining ſtill alive, and united in a Body, capitulated for Quarter, otherwiſe threatning not to die unrevenged: Pardon, and Quarter for their Lives was readily granted, on Confidence of which the Perſians threw down their Arms, and ſubmitted to the Publick Faith, or the Sultan's Clemency. But the Grand Signior afterwards conſidering, that the granting Quarter at *Revan* had been the cauſe of the Loſs of the City, he repented him of his Promiſe, and gave Order to the Janiſaries moſt inhumanely to open a Torrent of Blood, and make a barbarous Maſſacre of thoſe who had newly thrown down their Arms at his Feet, not ſparing either Woman or Child, either Sex or Age; the which Slaughter, like a Work of Darkneſs, was acted in the Night by the light of Torches and Lanthorns, and appeared a horrid Spectacle to all, eſpecially to the Perſian Ambaſſadour, who being conducted like a Priſoner in the Camp, was a ſad Spectator of his Countries Deſtruction on the horrid Theatre of its Capital City.

Bagdat *taken.*

So ſoon as *Bagdat* was taken, *Morat* diſpatched away Poſts immediately with the News into all Parts, and wrote a Letter with his own Hand to the Chimacam, ordering a *Dunalma* or Feaſt of Thankſgiving, and rejoicing for the ſpace of twenty Days; during which time no Buſineſs was to be acted, the Houſes were to be adorned both without and within with the beſt Furniture, and every Houſe was to ſet forth Lights, Torches, and Fire-works agreeable to the Condition and Ability of the Perſon. The People exclaimed hereat as too great an Expence, and the Vacation from Buſineſs ſeemed too long for thoſe who lived by their daily Labour. The chief Miniſters and Grandees evidenced external actions of Joy, but inwardly feared and trembled, ſuſpecting that the fierce and cruel Humour of their Sultan would be elated, and rendred more tyrannical and untractable by Succeſs and a favourable Fortune. The Chriſtian Princes received this Intelligence like bad News, and as an Alarm to awaken them from the eaſineſs of Peace, to expectations of War: For War with *Perſia* was like an Ulcer in the Bowels of the Turkiſh Empire, which gangreen'd and conſumed the Strength and Marrow of their Power; which now being cured, and the Body Politick rendred healthy by ſuch a ſeaſonable Succeſs, would convert it ſelf to Enterpriſes pernicious and dangerous to the neighbouring States.

After the Conqueſt of this City, *Morat* gave out, That he reſolved to procced with his Army into *Perſia*, and to enter the Walls of *Spahan*; but having ſome indiſpoſitions of Health upon him, and recalled by the charming Letters of a Favourite Miſtreſs, whom he had left at *Diarbechir*, he inclined to return again to *Conſtantinople*. Wherefore muſtering firſt his Army,

1638. he found that it was abated near an hundred thouſand Men, two thirds whereof being killed in the War, the reſt periſhed by the Peſtilence, and other Diſeaſes and Maladies incident to Camps; a great part of the Slaughter fell on the moſt veterane Souldiers of the Janiſaries and Spahees, of which many of the Chief being ſlain, their Lands and Revenues returned to the Grand Signior, and gave him both Opportunity and Ability to reward many with ſuch Offices and Gifts as came by the Death and Fall of other Commanders. Thus the Captain-Paſha, whoſe Valour had rendred him Famous, was made Great Vizier in the place of him that was ſlain, and the Perſian Favourite was conſtituted Captain-Paſha; and though many repined at this Advancement, as conferred on a Stranger, and a Perſon without Merit, yet the Grand Signior conſidered him as one whoſe Experience in that Country, and the Information he had given him of the Scituation and Strength of *Babylon*, had made abundant Compenſation for the Favour and Honour he had beſtowed upon him.

1639. The Grand Signior having left a Gariſon of thirty thouſand Men in *Bagdat*, diſpatched the Great Vizier with a conſiderable Army to penetrate far into the Country of *Perſia*. And having now releaſed the Perſian Ambaſſadour, giving him liberty to return to his Maſter, wrote by him this braving Letter.

I *That am Lord of Lords, and Conquerour in the parts of* Arabia, Perſia, *and* Greece: *King that Commands with eminent Rule in the World, exalted by Divine Aſſiſtance to the Empire of the Univerſe; the moſt Invincible Poſſeſſor of the White and Black Seas, and of all the Cities and Fortreſſes which encompaſs them. Lord of the Divine and Prophetick Temple, that is, of* Mecha *and* Medina; *as alſo of* Jeruſalem, Aleppo, Damaſcus, *and of all thoſe Holy and Venerable Countries, of Grand* Cairo, *Salutiferous* Babylon, *and of* Van, *of* Ethiopia, Balſora, *and the Leſſer* Aſia; *of all the Countries of the Curds, Georgians, and Tartars; of* Moldavia, Walachia, *and univerſally of all the Provinces and Regions of* Greece *and* Anatolia. *And in ſumm, Supreme Lord of the Seven Climates, the Victorious and Triumphant King in the Service of God Sultan* Amurat Han, *to the Kalmut* Sofi, *to whom may God give Peace, if he deſerve it. This Imperial Letter worthy of Obedience being come to thee, Be it known unto thee, That the Ambaſſador which Thou didſt ſend to my happy Port with deſires of Peace, I have detained until this time in which I have ſubdued* Bagdat, *by means of the keen Edge of my Invincible Scimiter. If Thou deſireſt Peace, ſurrender thoſe Provinces which belong to the Dominions of my Victorious Predeceſſors, into the Hands of my Beglerbeys, who are now Marching at the Head of my Victorious and Inexpugnable Army: Otherwiſe expect me next Spring with my Troops more numerous than the Sands of the Sea, within the Bowels of thy Dominions; where I will appear on Horſe-back to unkennel Thee from the Caverns wherein thou now lurkeſt, not daring to manage thoſe Arms, which are unworthily girt to thy Side. That afterwards ſhall ſucceed, which was determined from all Eternity. Peace be to him who directs his ways aright.*

1639. This Letter being diſpatched, the Grand Signior recalled the forty thouſand Men which he had lent, from the Service of the Great *Mogul*, which he quartered about *Bagdat* to hinder the Attempts of the Perſians, in caſe they ſhould deſign to purſue him in the Rear, and diſturb his return into *Europe*. By reaſon of the Rigour and Extremity of the Winter, and a certain Defluxion which falling on his Nerves, made him ſomething Paralytical, the Grand Signior departed not from *Bagdat* until the 15*th* of *April*, and then for recovery of his Health, and to ſoil the Horſes by the way with convenience of Graſs, ſhort Days Journeys were appointed.

The Grand Signior returns to Conſtantinople.

The Grand Signior's Indiſpoſition encreaſing, with ſome cold and ſhivering Fits, gave the firſt Symptoms of a Feaver; but afterwards it plainly appearing to be a paralytical Diſtemper, ſuſpected by the Phyſicians to end in an Apoplexy, it was rumoured abroad, that *Morat* was dead; but it was whiſpered with ſuch Caution, as if they had feared leſt the Grand Signior would have over-heard them, and riſen from his Grave to puniſh their ſecret and inward Joy. Being ſomewhat recovered from the laſt Acceſſion of his Palſie, the Humour fell into his Legs, and ſwelled ſo much, that he could ſcarce ſit upon his Horſe; howſoever he haſtened as faſt as he could to *Conſtantinople* to diſprove and confute the falſity of that Report concerning his Death.

In the mean time it is not to be expreſſed with what Fear and Terrour the Chimacam and other great Miniſters of State expected the return of their formidable Prince, not knowing where the Thunderbolt of his cruel Diſpoſition would ſtrike, until at length it fell on the Head of the poor Sultan *Muſtapha*, whoſe weakneſs, as it rendred him unable for Government and Command, ſo it made him ſtupid and inſenſible of Death.

The Grand Signior's Entry into Conſtantinople.

At length on the 10*th* of *June* the Grand Signior arrived at *Conſtantinople*: The Favourite *Sultana*, which had accompanied him to the War, paſſed by Water from *Iſmit* attended with ſix Gallies, and took her Lodging the firſt Night of her arrival at a ſmall Chiosk or Houſe of Pleaſure under the Wall, ſo as to make a magnificent Entry the Day following. Her Coach was covered with Cloth of Gold, and the Spokes of the Wheels were gilded, and the Wheels ſhod with Silver; ſhe was followed by twelve Coaches, and the Mufti, Paſha's, Kadees, and other Officers went before to conduct her to the Seraglio. The Grand Signior, who arrived the ſame Day, attended with fifty ſix Gallies, made not his ſolemn Entry until two Days after, being performed with all the Ceremony, State, and Magnificence which could be contrived. The Grand Signior in his own Perſon appeared in the Perſian Habit, with a Leopard's Skin thrown over his Shoulders, after the manner of a Kauſee (as they call them) or a brave huffing Champion, having his Stirrup attended with twenty two of the chiefeſt Nobles, whom he had reſerved at *Bagdat*, purpoſely to lead in Triumph when he made this Entry. The Treaſure brought to *Conſtantinople*, was landed at the Seraglio out of ten Gallies, and calculated to amount to a greater Sum than that which was carried from thence; for beſides the

Riches taken in the Plunder of *Babylon*, ſeiſure was mad in divers places of the Eſtates of Paſha's and other Great Men, which by Death, or for Crimes, eſcheated to the Grand Signior.

An Ambaſſador ſent from Perſia *to the Grand Signior.*

After the Grand Signior's Departure out of *Perſia*, little of Action ſucceeded, as if by mutual Agreement, a Truce or Ceſſation of Arms had been contrived. The Perſians deſired a Peace, becauſe they were enfeebled and tired with the War: The Turks had regained their Honour by the Conqueſt of *Badgat*; and being unwilling to loſe it by change of unconſtant Fortune, and longer conſume their Riches and Men in a tedious and remote March, were attending to receive Propoſitions of Peace firſt offered by the Perſian. To effect which the Great Vizier, who was left at *Badgat* to command the Army, intimated to the Governours of the Frontiers, that a proffer of Peace ſhould be accepted; which being made known to the King of *Perſia*, he immediately diſpatched an Ambaſſadour to the Grand Signior to propoſe Terms of Accommodation. The Ambaſſadour being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, was grateful and acceptable to all, and his Day of Audience appointed after the uſual manner on the Pay-day of the Janiſaries, when the Floor of the Divan is covered with Sacks of Mony; before the Door of the Chamber of Audience ſtood the Perſian Captives all cloathed in rich Veſts. The Ambaſſadour being conducted to the Royal Preſence with the uſual Ceremonies (of which we have given an Account in another place) was received by the Sultan ſitting upon a Saſſaw covered with Crimſon Velvet, embroidered with Pearl; his Turbant was encompaſſed with a Chain of Diamonds, cloathed with a rich Veſt lined with Sables; he caſt no Pleaſantneſs of Aſpect on the Ambaſſadour, but beholding him with a fierce and ſcornful Look, received the Letter in a kind of careleſs Diſdain, behaving himſelf in every Motion, as if he neither eſteemed the King, nor his Ambaſſadour; or as if the Perſian had been wholly conquered by him, had ſent to beg Peace, and Pardon for his Life: The Ambaſſadour was ſoon diſmiſſed from his Preſence; and matters being referred to the Negotiation of the Chimacam, no other difficulty aroſe beſides the Diſpute concerning *Revan*, which at length was agreed by another Ambaſſadour ſent to the Vizier on the Frontiers to remain unto the Perſian, as *Bagdas* was confirmed to the Turk: And ſo Peace was without long Debate clapt up; the Grand Signior, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition which increaſed upon him, being not inclinable to trouble his Head with the Burden of Buſineſs.

A Peace concluded.

Troubles in Moldavia *and* Walachia.

Peace being thus concluded with *Perſia*, there appeared a perfect Sun-ſhine and fair Weather in the Ottoman Court, neither Diſſenſions at home, nor Wars abroad troubling the Quiet and Repoſe of the Sultan: Until ſome Differences happening between the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia* exhaled the firſt Cloud of Diſturbance. At that time *Lupulo* was Prince of *Moldavia*, a Perſon of evil Principles, covetous, and unjuſt. *Matthew* was Prince of *Walachia*, a good Man, zealous for the Chriſtian Religion, and one who adminiſtred equal Juſtice to his People. *Lupulo* not contenting himſelf with his own, but deſirous alſo of his Neighbours Poſſeſſion, made inſtances to the Port to have the Principality of *Moldavia* conferred upon his Son, alledging that thereby he ſhould be better enabled to balance the Power of *Ragotski* in *Tranſylvania*, and on all occaſions be rendred more ſerviceable to the Grand Signior's Deſigns and Intereſt: And ſeconding this Propoſition with a Preſent of fifty thouſand Dollars to the Chimacam, and promiſe to increaſe the annual Tribute, he obtained the Chimacam's Friendſhip, at whoſe Inſtance the Grand Signior was perſwaded to write unto *Matthew* to ſurrender up his Province into the hands of the Son of *Lupulo*; declaring, That it having been accuſtomary to change the Princes of thoſe Countries every three years, he ought after an Injoyment of above ſeven years to content himſelf with a quiet and voluntary Reſignation, unleſs he would deſire to draw upon himſelf a Ruin by the Anger and Diſpleaſure of the Sultan. *Matthew* having no Poſterity, reſolved not to ſurrender his Government but with his Life; and having a particular Animoſity againſt *Lupulo*, could by no means incline his Mind to make his Enemy happy with the Spoils of his Eſtate. Wherefore having obtained Aſſiſtance from *Ragotski*, he reſolved to withſtand the Forces of young *Lupulo*, and engage with him: And being ready to mount on Horſe-back, and begin the Battel, he firſt diſpatched an humble Meſſage to the Grand Signior, acquainting him, “That he was ready at his Command to reſign his Principality into the Hands of the meaneſt Greek his Majeſty would appoint; who being the Source of all Equity and Juſtice, he hoped that he would not oblige him to ſuch Terms as would raiſe his Mortal Enemy upon his Ruin; a Man ſo intent to his own Intereſts, and ſo unconſcionable to compaſs them, that all late Revolutions, Wars, and Commotions have been raiſed either by him, or by his Inſtruments.

This Letter being received and read by the Grand Signior, was ſeconded in a few hours after, with News of the total Defeat of young *Lupulo*; which put the Grand Signior ſo much into choler, that he immediately committed the Chimacam to the ſeven Towers, for being the Projector and Author of this Counſel. It was ſuppoſed however, that *Morat*'s Anger would not proceed to that degree, as to extend to his Life; but being informed, that he was rich, and that he was poſſeſſed of two Millions of Dollars, which lay by him in ready Mony, it was concluded, that ſo vaſt a Wealth could not in a ſhort time be honeſtly gained; which appearing as an undeniable Evidence and Teſtimony of his Violence and Oppreſſion, the Grand Signior made no Difficulty to paſs the Sentence of Death againſt him, nor to condemn the Mony to his own Exchequer: His Office was given to *Sinan* Paſha, and the Principality confirmed unto *Matthew*.

The Chimacam put to Death.

During all this Time, the Quarrel which the Turks conceived againſt the Venetians, for violating their Port of *Valona*, was not yet compoſed; but now having time to peruſe and conſider old Accounts, the Venetian Bailo was called by the Chimacam to Audience, and to a Conference with him concerning this Matter. In the firſt place therefore the Bailo alledged, “That the Pirates of *Barbary* had for the ſpace of twenty Years roved in the Venetian Gulf, and made Prize in that time of ſo many Ships and Goods belonging to Merchants, that the Republick had been prejudiced by them in ſeveral Millions; which alſo did in ſome manner prejudice the Cuſtoms of the Grand Signior, to whom the Venetian Merchants pay for the moſt part yearly the Sum of an hundred thouſand Dollars in Cuſtom for their Goods, beſides the benefit which the Ottoman Dominions receive by ſo profitable a Commerce.

Here-

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Hereunto the Chimacam replied: “That the damages which the Turks received by the Corſairs or Free-booters at Sea under the Colours of *Malta*, *Leghorn*, *Majorca*, and other places, were greater and more diſhonourable to the Majeſty of the Ottoman Grandeur, than the depredations of the other ſide were to *Venice*: And therefore it would be neceſſary for the good of the World, that ſuch Violences were prevented in all places: and that Men of ſuch wicked Profeſſion ſhould be eſteemed for univerſal Enemies, and to have no other Quarter, nor Articles granted them, than what we give to wild and hurtful Beaſts, whom we deſtroy by Snares and Gins, and all Advantages. The which alſo was never denied to the Venetians, whilſt they encountred and took them in the open Seas; but to enter into priviledged Places, and violate a Sanctuary of the Grand Signior's, without reſpect to the mighty Power of ſo dreadful a Monarch, was an act ſo inſolent, as could never obtain Pardon without due Compenſation for the Offence; which could not be done, but either by a Reſtitution of the Veſſels, or elſe of a like Number in the places of them.

Hereunto the Bailo replied: “That if an Accommodation could not be made on other Terms, nor Peace maintained, but by a ſubmiſſion to Pyrats, and ſupportation of all their Injuries and Robberies, a War muſt inevitably enſue; for the good ſucceſs of which they depended on the Bleſſing of God Almighty, and the general Aſſiſtance of all Chriſtendom, which will eſteem it ſelf univerſally concerned in this Cauſe, and obliged as well to make good this Quarrel againſt Pirates, as to preſerve *Venice* for their main Bulwark and Defence againſt the Ottoman Force.

“You make me Smile (anſwered the Chimacam) when you tell me of the Power of Chriſtendom, which contains nothing more of Terrour than the Name. Do not I know, who have been Paſha of *Buda*, that the Emperour hath no Mony; and that when the Swedes, a ſmall and inconſiderable People, have made War upon him, they have almoſt over-run his Country? As for *France*, if they underſtand their own Politicks, they will ſcarce be perſwaded to lend aſſiſtance to the Empire, when we make War againſt it. The *Spaniards* have ſo much to do at Home, and to conſerve themſelves from the Incroachments of their powerful Neighbour the French, that they are wholly unable to lend Forces to wage a War at ſuch a diſtance from their Dominions. Wherefore conſidering the Advantage we have upon you, which we well know and underſtand; you muſt either have War on theſe hazardous Terms, or elſe purchaſe your Peace with a conſiderable Sum of Mony. In making of which Bargain you muſt conſider, that you have to deal with a mighty Prince, and not with a Merchant; and therefore your Offer ought to be large at firſt, ſo as it may gain Credit, and be received with a favourable Ear; for a ſmall Sum to him is like a little Morſel given to an hungry Stomach, which ſerves only to increaſe the Appetite. And you know, that we our ſelves are often forced to ſacrifice to the Avarice of our Prince, by effuſions of vaſt Sums of Money, which are always beſt compounded for, when they are done readily, and at firſt, before we give our Maſter time to conſult with his Pillow, and to make up our Accounts according to the Calculation of his own Reckoning. Let me therefore exhort you to follow the like Example, and immediately make an Offer of three hundred thouſand Zechins of Gold, which if you will do, and employ my Intereſt to make this Compoſition for you, I hope, though with ſome difficulty, to gain its acceptance. To talk and reaſon of Things paſt is but to beat the Air, becauſe the time is vaniſhed and gone; but you may conſider of the preſent, that you may ſecure the future. We ſell you Peace at this Price; if it be worth your Mony, take it; if not, refuſe it, as you judge the Purchaſe moſt agreeable to your Intereſt.

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At this time Chriſtendom was embroiled in its uſual Combuſtions, ſo that Aſſiſtance from other Princes was not only uncertain, but without all Foundation; ſo that the Venetians could have no ſure Truſt to any other than their own Force. In regard that many were deſirous at that time to ſee the Venetians engaged with the Turk, that ſo they might not be able to concern themſelves in the War of *Italy*, which then grew hot by the Wars of *Savoy*, *Modena*, and *Matoua*, favoured by the Protection of the Spaniards, by whoſe means all the Differences aroſe about the Valtoline. Conſidering which, the wiſe Senate being willing to purchaſe ſo great a Bleſſing to their Country by a moderate Price, gave Liberty to their Bailo to compound for it at what rate and terms he was able; which by the Bailo's Dexterity in the Management, was concluded for the Sum of two hundred and fifty thouſand Zechins, which was eſteemed for a great Service, and redounded much to the Reputation of the Bailo: after which Concluſion, the former Articles were ratified, and theſe which follow added thereunto.

“That the Ambaſſadour or Bailo ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and permitted to return to his own Habitation: That Commerce be renewed as formerly between the Subjects of both Countries: That all Controverſie about the Maters happened at *Valona*, for ever be ſilenced and forgotten. When at any time the Pirats of *Barbary* ſhall happen to enter within the Ports of the Grand Signior, they ſhall give Security, that they will commit no Damage or Spoil on the Subjects of *Venice*. And in caſe they ſhall have taken any Prizes belonging to the aforeſaid State, they ſhall not be admitted nor protected in the Ports belonging to the Grand Signior. Wherefore in virtue hereof all Aga's, Captains of Caſtles, and other Miniſters who ſhall not obey and obſerve this Capitulation, ſhall be deprived of their Office; and if the Venetians ſhall then enter violently into the Port, where ſuch Enemies have taken Refuge, it ſhall not be imputed to them for a Crime, or eſteemed a Breach of the Capitulations. And farther, if the Venetians ſhall at any time encounter the aforeſaid People of *Barbary* in the open Sea, it ſhall be lawful for them to aſſault, take, and deſtroy them without notice, or exceptions of the Ottoman Port. And laſtly, the new Bailo lately elected, ſhall pay unto the Grand Signior five hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, which make two

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“ hundred and fifty thouſand Zechins of Gold. “ This Writing was firmed and ratified about “ the middle of the Moon *Rebiul* in the *Hegeira* “ or Year of *Mahomet* 1049. Hereof Authentick Copies were immediately diſpatched to the Beglerbeys, Sangiacks, and Kadi's on the Coaſts of the Mediterranean Sea, and to the Baſha of *Boſna*, for better Publication of the Peace, and free Traffick and Commerce between the Subjects of both People.

September 1639.

An Envoy ſent from the Emperor to the Grand Signior.

The Baron *Chinski* arrived at that time from the Emperour in Quality of Envoy Extraordinary, to congratulate the Grand Signior's Succeſs in taking *Bagdat*, and making a Peace with *Perſia*; but not bringing with him Preſents to that value, which on this occaſion were expected, he was not looked on, nor conſidered with that Favour and Reſpect, as was agreeable to his Character and Quality. And there happening a Diſpute between this Envoy and the Engliſh Ambaſſadour concerning Precedency of place; the Turks yielded it to the Engliſh, being made to underſtand the Difference which Chriſtian Princes make between the Title of an Ambaſſadour and that of an Envoy, though the Turks uſe but that one word of *Elchi* to expreſs both. And though the Baron *Chinski* laboured to diminiſh the Dignity of an Engliſh Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*, by alledging, that he was elected by the Company of Merchants for Conſervation of their Trade only, and afterwards confirmed and honoured by the King: yet this Argument was in no wiſe prevalent with the Turks, who eſteeming the Commiſſion of the Prince, and the Charge of an Office the only Qualification to ennoble a Perſon, made no Difficulty to determine the Point in behalf of the Engliſh. And though ſome Italian Writers ſay, that the Engliſh Ambaſſadour gave fifteen Purſes of Mony, or ſeven thouſand five hundred Dollars to the Chimacam for this Favour; yet thoſe who underſtand how unwillingly the *Turky*-Merchants part with their Mony on defence of ſuch Punctillio's and Niceties, eſpecially where the Ambaſſadour might have avoided the bringing them into Diſpute, will more readily believe, that the Turks from free motives of their own Juſtice and Reaſon judged this Honour due to the Ambaſſador, than that he ſhould purchaſe this indiſputable Point by the diſgraceful means of Mony.

1640.

The Turkiſh Counſels uncertain about a War.

All matters being now determined between the Turks and *Perſia*, and the black Clouds blown over from the Venetians, the Grand Signior ſtudied how and where he might turn his Arms with moſt Advantage: he had conceived an irreconcileable pique againſt *Ragotski* and *Matthew* for the Cauſes before related; but having an intention to make uſe of their Force againſt *Poland* or *Germany*, or againſt them both together, he diſſembled the Paſſion he conceived againſt them, and rather deferred his Revenge, than pardoned the Liberty which they had exerciſed without his Licence or Aſſent. Sometimes he reſolved to recover *Aſac* out of the hands of the Coſſacks; ſometimes he thought of making War upon *Poland*, judging himſelf much affronted by that King, for not ſending an Ambaſſadour to congratulate his late Succeſſes: Then he ſuppoſed, that a War in *Germany* would be more eaſie, and the Conqueſt more profitable by reaſon of the Riches of the People, and the Fertility of the Soil, to which pretences could never be wanting on the ſcore of thoſe Differences which always ariſe amongſt the People of the Frontiers. During theſe Debates and Counſels, Preparations were made for War both by Sea and Land, as yet uncertain where they ſhould be imployed: To command them the Great Vizier was ordered to haſten his Journey from *Perſia*, whoſe Arrival was celebrated at *Conſtantinople* with a ſolemn Entry; and for a particular and diſtinguiſhing Honour, the Grand Signior ſent him a Veſt from his own Back to wear on the day of his Triumph. This Vizier was a Perſon very auſtere in his Behaviour, bold and valiant, as he evidenced by his Actions in taking *Bagdat*, zealous for his Maſter's Intereſt; and, what is rare in a Turk, not much addicted to his own: He had acquired a great ſhare in the Eſteem of his Maſter, and his Authority increaſed, as the daily Decay of the Grand Signior's Health rendred him leſs able for Government: For now the ſtrong Complexion of *Morat* began to grow feeble by exceſſes of frequent Debauchery, his Stomach was become cold and weak, not able to digeſt the lighteſt Meats, his hand ſhook, and a paralytical Diſtemper ſeized him in every part; ſo that his Mother and the Phyſicians perſwaded him to forſake the uſe of Wine, as Poyſon and Deſtruction to his Health; and he, whilſt he was ſenſible of his languiſhing Condition, like a true Penitent, made many Proteſtations and Vows againſt it, forbidding the accurſed Poyſon to be received within the Walls of the Seraglio: Howſoever his kind Heart could not poſſibly withſtand the Temptation of a Banquet, to which his Pot-companions did ſometimes invite him; amongſt which the Great Vizier would not be wanting alſo to pleaſe and cajole the Humour of his Maſter with the Liquor that he loved. But his chief and conſtant Camerades in drinking were his Perſian Favourite, and *Muſtapha* Paſha of *Boſna*, one educated in the Seraglio, promoted to the place of Selictar Aga, to whom he gave the ſtately Palace of *Ibrahim* Paſha on the *Hippodrome*, together with his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage. Theſe two ſtout Sons of *Bacchus* perſwaded the Grand Signior to appoint one ſolemn Drinking-day in time of the Biram, which is the great Feſtival of the Year, and introduced by their Prophet in imitation of our *Eaſter*. *Morat* being at this time poſſeſſed with the Spirit of Debauchery, accepted the Motion, and invited the two Drunkards to dinner with him. The Perſian provoked his Pleaſure of drinking by ſalt Meats, and by peppered and ſpiced Diſhes; the ſort of Wine they moſt uſed, was a ſweet Malvoiſia, ſometimes twiſted, and encouraged with the ſtrong Waters, called *Roſa Solis*, of which they ſucked ſo long, and with ſuch Exceſs, that falling under the force of it, they were inſenſibly carried away to their ſeveral Beds. This diſſolute Repaſt became fatal to the Grand Signior; for a Fire being kindled in his Veins and Bowels, he fell into a violent and continued Feaver. The Phyſicians being called, were fearful to adminiſter Remedies, leſt proving unſucceſsful, their Lives ſhould pay for the ineffectual Operation: At length they agreed to let him blood, but this haſtened his Death. For he died the fourth Day of his Feaver, being the 8th of *February*, in the ſeventeenth Year of his Reign, and the one and thirtieth of his Age, having ruled in the height of all Diſorders and irregular Ex-

1640.

The Vizier returns from Perſia.

The death of Sultan Morat.

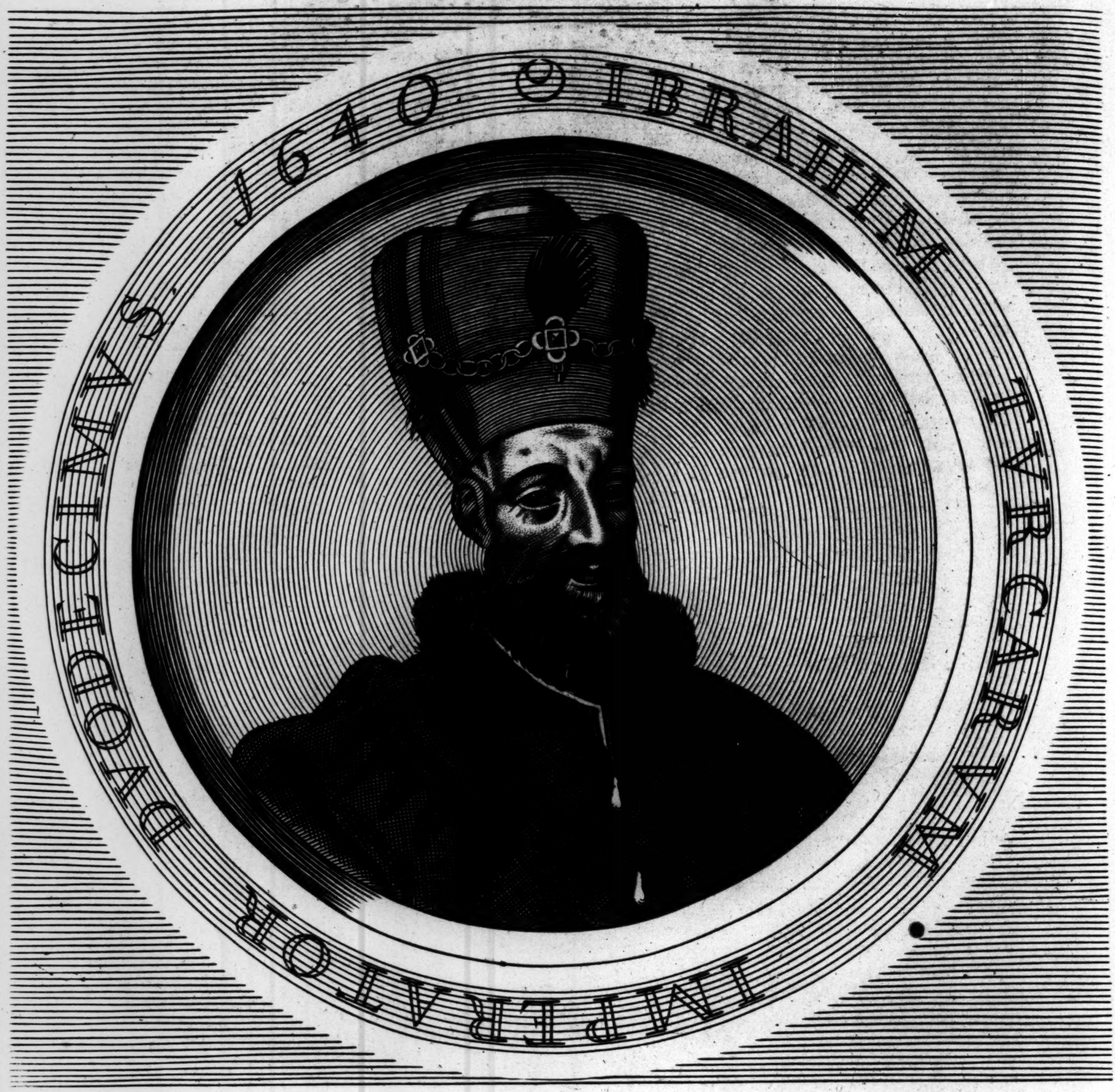
1640. ceſſes, which his youthful Years enabled him to ſupport. With his Death all his thoughts and Deſigns of making a War againſt Chriſtendom periſhed, having ſworn after his Return from *Perſia* to reduce all his neighbouring Countries to the Mahometan Law. He was of a moſt cruel and implacable Diſpoſition, having amongſt his other Acts of Tyranny imbrued his Hands in the Blood of his two Brothers, *Orchan* and *Bajazet*; as alſo ſtrangled his Uncle *Muſtapha*, whoſe innocent Weakneſs had been ſufficient to ſecure his Life againſt any, but the moſt horrid Monſter of human Tyranny. He left no Son; for though he had divers, they died in their Infancy, notwithſtanding which his Kindred were ſo deteſted by him, that he envied the Deſcendence of Monarchy on his Brother *Ibrahim*, who was preſerved by a ſtrange Providence from his Fury: often ſaying, that he wiſhed that he might be the laſt of the Ottoman Line, that the Empire of that Family might end with him, and devolve unto the Tartar. He was certainly the moſt abſolute Prince that ever ſwayed the Ottoman Empire; but of no Religion, ſeldom faſting in the Month of *Ramaſan*, contemning and laughing at the Santones, and others of their Religious Orders. He was very inquiſitive into all Actions of the City, for which he maintained his Spies, and oftentimes took his Rules and Meaſures from Diſcourſes of People concerning his Government. He was a great Diſſembler, ready, active, and revengeful, covetous to Extremity, having left fiteen Millions of Gold in his Treaſury, which was empty when he entred upon the Soveraignty. In ſhort, he was ſo bad, that he had ſcarce any Allay of Vertue; being ſo great a Tyrant, that at length he became his own Aſſaſſinate, and fell unlamented by all but the two Companions of his beſtial Exceſs.

His Character.

1640.

The End of Sultan Morat's Life.

THE


IBRAHIM TVRCARVM IMPERATOR DVODECIMVS 1640

I that of Ott'man blood remain alone,
Call'd from a Prison, to aſcend a Throne.
My easy mind I bend to soft Delights,
Hateing th' unpleacent thoughts of Naval Fights.
Till mad with wanton Loves, I fall at first
Slave to my owne, then to my peoples lust.

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THE REIGN OF Sultan IBRAHIM, TWELFTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Sultan *Ammath*, or *Morat*, after a Fever of eight Days continuance, cauſed by an exceſs of Debauchery in Wine, having on the eighth of *February*, 1640, according to the New-Stile, expired his laſt Breath. His Mother, called *Kinſem*, comforted her ſelf with the thoughts that her Son *Sultan Ibrahim* ſtill lived, and was the ſole Surviver, and undoubted Heir of the Ottoman Family. To whoſe Succeſſion, that ſhe might make the more facile and undiſturbed Entrance, ſhe conſulted with all the Viziers, requeſting their Conſent and Aſſiſtance, in the lawful promotion of her remaining Son to the Throne of his Anceſtors: For ſhe had underſtood, that *Morat*, who always abhorred the ill-ſhap'd Body, and weaker Mind of his Brother, envied him the Dignity of the Ottoman Scepter, and therefore had bequeathed the Succeſſion to the Tartar, having, in the Heat of a Debauch, and Fumes of Wine, compelled his Paſha's to ſwear to the performance of his Teſtament.

Vid. *the* Ott. State.

Wherefore the Queen, aſſembling them together, with gentle Words, deſired them to remember, That *Ibrahim* was the Lawful Heir, and their true Emperor; that the Tartar *Han* was a Stranger, odious to the Souldiery, and not beloved by the People: that an Alteration of this Nature could never be contrived and executed, without danger to the Actors, and that they, to whom ſhe aſſured the continuance of the ſame Honours and Offices, in Reward of their conſtant Allegiance, would be in hazard of loſing all, by the coming of a Foreign Prince, who having Confidents of his own to prefer, and grand Neceſſities to ſatisfy, would make bold even with Eſtates and Provinces to prefer his Favorites, his Kindred, and Country-Men, and eſtabliſh the firmneſs of his Government on their Ruin. Yet, ſetting aſide thoſe Conſiderations, touching their own Safety and Intereſt, ſhe promiſed, That if they would reach out their Hands unto her Son, for to lift him unto the Throne, he ſhould acknowledg his Empire from them, and accordingly love, tender, and eſteem ſuch faithful Subjects.

The Viziers, after ſome Reflections on the Tye and Obligation which Sultan *Morat* had cauſed them to make to him, declared, and publiſhed it to be unlawful, and void; proteſting, That they were reſolved to maintain inviolable the Allegiance they owed unto Sultan *Ibrahim*, deſcended from the Ottoman Blood, which they reverenced and adored, with an Awe equal to the Religious Eſteem which their Fore-fathers had of it; and therefore, with one Voice they cried out, *Let Sultan* Ibrahim *live*.

Herewith the Council breaking up, the Viziers, accompanied with all the Officers and Attendants of the Seraglio, went with Shouts and loud Acclamations, to the Priſon of *Ibrahim*, to ſalute him Emperor; for he, poor Prince, had now for four Years remained a ſad Recluſe in a dark Room, where he had received neither Light nor Air, but what came from a little Window, which ſometimes in favour was opened to him from Above; and what was worſe, the continual expectations, and fear of Death, without Friends, Converſation, or Hope, rendred thoſe Apprehenſions worſe than Death it ſelf; which daily were repreſented to him in that Solemnity, as might terrify a Mind more conſtant and firm than his.

So ſoon as he heard the Shouts and Voices of a Multitude near his Door, he immediately conceived, that the Fate was now come which he had ſo long expected, and therefore he barred his Door, and denied to give Entrance: And when the Viziers proclaimed him Emperor, (fearing it might be ſome Artifice of his Brother, to ſee with what Joy he would entertain the News) he anſwered, That he did not ſo much as think of the Empire, nor deſire it, but only prayed that Sultan *Morat* might live, to whom he pretended not to be a Brother, but a Slave: And when he perceived that they began to force the Door, though with terms of Reſpect and Obſervance, he ſtill endeavoured to keep it cloſe; for Nature had taught him to conſerve a Life, howſoever Miſerable, and void of Conſolation.

He continuing thus reſolute not to open, Reverence to his Perſon commanded them to forbear any ruder Violence; until the Queen-Mother over-hearing all this Stir, deſcended her ſelf in Perſon; and firſt cauſing the dead Corps of Sultan *Morat* to be extended before his Door, with gentle Compellations, and confident Aſſurances, averred the Death of his Brother. The Voice of his Mother began to diſſipate the Fears, and being in part already convinced by his Ears, he adventured to peep at the Door, and giving then entire Credence to his Eyes, his Heart and Spirits conſented to revive; and ſo retiring back into his Chamber, he willingly received the Congratulations of the Miniſters and Souldiers; which being paſt, he readily applied his Shoulders to the Coffin of his dead Brother; and having bore his ſhare of that dear Burden to the Gate of the Seraglio, he there reſigned it to his Domeſtick Officers, who buried him in the Sepulchre of Sultan *Achmet*.

From thence he took Boat, and paſſed to the Moſch of *Jub's* Seraglio, where in the ſpace of eight days, he compleated all the Ceremonies of his Coronation; and afterwards, according to the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, he rode through the City to his great Palace; but whether it were for want of practice, or by reaſon of a Poſture natural unto Fools, he ſat ſo ridiculouſly on his Saddle, as moved rather the Laughter than the Acclamation of the People.

In fine, being entred the Seraglio, he began to breath, and enjoy the Air of Liberty, with ſo much contentment and ſatisfaction, that he unwillingly would empair the leaſt Particle of his late acquired Freedom, by thinking, or attending to Buſineſs, and as if he enjoyed ſufficient, committed all to the management of his Mother; howſoever, being deſirous to handle ſomething of the Government, he did it with ſo little Grace and Dexterity, that it plainly appeared, that that Soul animated a Body not fit to ſway or wield a Scepter.

The Queen-Mother, to maintain the Word ſhe had given to the Viziers, continued them all in their reſpective Offices; ſo that, though there was great diſproportion in the Mind of the two Princes, yet the Miniſters being the ſame, there ſeemed to be little or no Alteration in the Government.

Reaſons for a War with the Coſſaks.

The Great Vizier remembring well the thoughts of War which Sultan *Morat* meditated againſt the Coſſacks, and being deſirous of Glory, and continuance of his Power, reſolved to proſecute the ſame Deſign, hoping to meet a Spirit in *Ibrahim* equal to the Generoſity of his Brother. To this War many and various were the Motives; as firſt, A natural deſire of Revenge on the Coſſacks, for having infeſted the Black Seas, that they might thereby provoke *Poland* to a War, which when they had reduced to ſome Extremity, the Emperor would conſequently fall in to their Aſſiſtance, and thereby create Quarrels, which muſt neceſſarily open a large Field of Troubles; which being ſown with the Seed of Diſcord, could not fail to produce Cauſes and Pretentions for a War.

It being thus reſolved, to which the Vizier neither wanted Eloquence nor Reaſons to perſwade, great Preparations were made for a War, which was intended to be maintained for many Years: During which time, God, who diſpoſes all Things at his Pleaſure, permitted a falſe Report to fly, that the Perſians were providing a great Army to beſiege *Bagdat*; to which the Turks giving entire Credence, it was reſolved in the Divan, that thoſe Preparations againſt Chriſtendom, ſhould be diverted towards the Parts of the Eaſtern Countries. By this vain Rumour only were all theſe Grand Deſigns diſappointed, and all farther Thoughts vaniſhed for the preſent of moleſting the Chriſtians. From whence it is obſervable, how neceſſary are the Foreign Reſidences of Miniſters, and how abſurdly the Turks err; who, by reaſon of their Pride, vouchſafe not to entertain Ambaſſadors in the Courts of Strangers, being beholden to the Jews, or Armenian-Merchants for all their Intelligence they receive touching the Affairs of Neighbouring Kingdoms.

The Wars being thus ſuſpended, the Great Vizier had time to caſt his Eyes about him, and contrive the Ruin of ſuch whom he ſuſpected moſt dangerous to his Condition. Amongſt the reſt, none appeared more formidable than *Muſtapha* Paſha, Captain-Paſha, a young briſk Perſon, and Favourite of the Queen-Mother, whom to remove was difficult and dangerous, being a Vizier as well as he, and in one of the moſt eminent Degrees of Dignity in the whole Empire: And therefore that he might touch him with ſmooth and gentle Terms, he practiſed upon him the ordinary Decoy of Preferment, proffering him the Government of *Buda*; which whilſt the one ſeemed out of modeſty to refuſe, the other with the greater force of Complement, and obliging expreſſions of Friendſhip, preſſed him to accept. At length, overcome with importunity and kindneſs, *Muſtapha* received the Proffer; whereby being diveſted of the Queen's Protection, he was ſoon after overtaken in his Journey towards his Principality, and by another Mandate required to take his way to the Province of *Siliſtria*, the ſmalleſt, and moſt inconſiderable of the Empire: in which he was no ſooner inveſted, than a ſecond Edict took off his Head.

But another *Muſtapha*, more fortunate, was ſent Paſha to *Grand Cairo* in *Ægypt*; he was a mortal Enemy to the *Crim Tartar*, of whom he ſhewed his hatred at *Rhodes*, by putting his Son to Death, for having ſaid, That Sultan *Morat*, and Sultan *Ibrahim* dying without Iſſue, the Empire was to deſcend to his Family. This Son of Tartar was then at *Rhodes*, it being a Cuſtom always to have one of them as a Hoſtage for the Father's obedient Comportment towards the Turks, their place of Reſidence being either at *Rhodes*, or ſome Town on the Black Sea, as we have elſewhere declared.

The Sultan in this Interim had little regard unto the Government, both for want of Capacity, and by reaſon of his luxurious and wanton Appetite, the which he indulged in the higheſt exceſs of Senſuality; for having been accuſtomed to a Priſon, and Reſtraint, he knew not how to enjoy that freedom he had recovered, but by ſubjecting it to the imperious ſervitude of his Luſts. This Humor the Vizier and great Miniſters cheriſhed in him, by continual Banquets, Feaſts, and Entertainments, in which he always

1640. took high contentment and ſatisfaction. His other Recreations were, Horſe-races, and Shooting with the Bow, rewarding the moſt dexterous Archers. Buſineſs was a Stranger to him, he knew not what it meant, nor thought there was other Employment for the Emperor than to ſtudy thoſe Paſtimes, which moſt correſponded with his Youth and Nature: only the Vizier would ſometimes, in Matters of high Importance, demand his Aſſent, which was either out of formality, or elſe to ſecure himſelf with the Name and Authority of his Maſter.

Ambaſſadors ſent to complement Sultan Ibrahim.

The News of Sultan *Ibrahim's* promotion to the Throne being arrived at *Venice*, the moſt ſerene Republick diſpatched *Pietro Foſcarini* as their Ambaſſador Extraordinary to complement the Sultan. The Prince of *Tranſylvania* in like manner ſent his Tribute, which was ſome Hawks, and twelve Veſſels of Gilded Plate, as feudatary Acknowledgments for the Lands held, and for his Confirmation in the Principality.

The Miniſters of other Princes having paſſed the like Addreſſes, which were cuſtomary, the Ambaſſadors of *Poland* made Complaints of the Tartars, whoſe Incurſions againſt them, the Turks, by Conditions of Peace, were obliged to reſtrain; but in this, as in other Occaſions ſince that time, the Poles could obtain no Redreſs from the Turks, who willing to have the Chriſtians oppreſſed or ruined, either ſeemed not to give Credit to the Subject of Complaints, or elſe to find out Excuſes to acquit the Tartar; which being ſo known and common a Practice with the Turk, it is to be wondred why the Poles have ſent ſo many late Meſſages of this Nature, which in former, as well as in this preſent Age, have proved fruitleſs; a pregnant Example of which we ſhall find in the Reign of Sultan *Mahomet*, Son of this *Ibrahim*.

Amongſt other Corruptions of theſe Times, Aſpers were ſo cut and clipt, that the Dollar roſe from eighty to an hundred and twenty Aſpers; which Irregularity being complained of in the Divan, all Monies were reduced to their intrinſick Value; and the Aſpers called in to be coined in the Mint, to the great Damage of the People.

But this Matter will not appear ſtrange, if it be compared to the Vellion of *Spain*, and to the Permiſſion in *Turkey*, of the baſe Alloy of Temins, by which never any Nation before was ever ſo cheated and abuſed.

And now the Storms of War, which threatned from *Perſia*, being blown over, it was judged ſeaſonable to reaſſume the thoughts of War ſo long meditated againſt the Coſſacks: In order unto which, Gallies were commanded to be built, which ſhould draw little Water, and purpoſely made to paſs the Shoals on the Black Sea near *Aſac*, for the recovery of that Place out of the Hands of the Enemy. Another Squadron alſo of Gallies was deſigned for the *Archipelago*, to oppoſe the Gallies of *Malta* and *Naples*, which much infeſted thoſe Seas.

To the firſt Enterpriſe, the Tartar much excited the Turk, by reaſon that *Aſac* did not only hinder his Incurſions by Land, but rendred his Navigation in the Black Seas very unſecure. To the ſecond, The Gallies of *Malta* much provoked them, under the Command of *Frederick* the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; who by the Perſwaſions of the Cardinals of *Savoy*, and *Barberini*, from a Proteſtant was become a Roman Catholick, and had obtained the great Croſs of *Malta*; and with ſeveral Gallies and Ships, performed ſome Exploits at *Biſerta*, and at the *Golletta* near *Tunis*.

1641. The Year 1641 being now entered, the Sultan paſſed a moſt Luxurious Life in his Seraglio, conſuming an immenſe Treaſure on his Women; and whilſt theſe two Fleets were preparing to proceed on their reſpective Expedition, that intended for *Aſac* had almoſt been diverted by the Rumors and Diſturbances on the Frontiers of *Hungary*; but they were ſoon afterwards appeaſed, by an appearance of an Envoy from the Emperor, and return of a Chiaus to *Vienna*, with Ratification of all the former Articles and Conditions of Peace. Howſoever the German Internuncio was braved at the Port, for not appearing ſooner with his Preſents and Complements of Congratulation, for the happy Entrance of Sultan *Ibrahim* to the Ottoman Throne; ſo apt are the Turks to believe Acts of Civility, or Ceremony, to be Parts of Obedience and Submiſſion; and what Chriſtians have once given them voluntarily, is afterwards exacted as a Matter of Debt or Duty.

And being thus freed from a Suſpicion of Troubles in *Hungary*, and exempted from the Fears of waging two Wars at once, (which the Turks always ſtudiouſly avoid) they diſpatched a Letter into *Poland*, to demand paſſage for their Army, through that Country, to the Siege of *Aſac*; but that not being conſented unto, the Turks prepared to open their way by Force, and the Poles to defend the Paſſage. In which interim, many Diſaſters concurred, ſufficient to diſcourage the Turks in their Deſign; who are a People, that ſuperſtitiouſly calculate the Succeſs of their Enterpriſes, by the difficulty or ſmooth ſucceſs of their firſt beginnings: For when the Vizier was ready to depart, a dreadful Fire happened in *Conſtantinople*, to the quenching of which, applying not only his Orders, but his own Perſon; he adventured ſo far, that he burned both his Hands, and ſinged his Beard in that manner, that he was forced to take his Bed for ſeveral Days, where he was honoured with a Viſit of the Sultan.

News alſo came at the ſame time, that *Tauris*, or *Ecbatan*, on the Borders of *Perſia*, was miſerably ruin'd by an Earthquake; and what was worſe, the Sultan himſelf was ſeized with an Apoplexy, which turned to a Paralytical Diſtemper, the Cauſe whereof was attributed to his exceſſive uſe of Women; to whom he was ſo immoderately addicted, that he conſumed his Days and Nights in their Apartments. This Diſeaſe, which is rarely or never cured, being joined to a Report given out by his Ladies, that notwithſtanding his Venereal Heat, he was yet Impotent as to Women; created a Belief, or at leaſt a ſtrong probability, that he might die without Iſſue, which cauſed high Confuſion in the Counſels of the Grandees, that no Deſign could make any chearful Progreſs, until Proviſion was firſt made for Supply of the Ottoman Houſe; for the Succeſſion of the Tartar was in no manner convenient or ſecure; but rather that the Throne ſhould be furniſhed with the Son of a Siſter, or of a Niece, than to ſubject themſelves to the Rule and Paſſions of a Foreign Prince. And though the Sultan did afterwards recover his Health, yet all ſuſpected and feared, that by the immoderate Heat of his Venerial Inclination, he would die without Children; every one diſcourſing, as moved by his Paſſion, or his Intereſt.

About this time arrived an Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople* from the Softa of *Perſia*, bringing a Ratification of the Peace; who was ſo much the more welcome, by how much more the pre-

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ſent Conjuncture rendred it advantagious; and being uſhered in with exceeding rich Preſents, raviſhed the Hearts of the Turks, whoſe good Nature melts and diſſolves with the ſight or hopes of Gifts.

In *Dalmatia*, near the Confines of *Zara*, the Turks made Incurſions on the Venetian Territories, and cauſed ſome Diſturbances: but being chaſtiſed by an Ambuſh laid for them, whereby about two hundred of them periſhed; all Matters were again reconciled, and the Peace renewed.

And now one would imagine, that the Deſign againſt *Aſac*, by ſuch diverſity of Obſtructions, were abſolutely laid aſide; which though they were of that Importance, and eſpecially the fear of *Ibrahim*'s Death, to detain the Vizier at Home; yet he thought fit to proſecute the Deſign under the Command of the Paſha of *Siliſtria*, to whom he had committed the Conduct of this War.

The Siege of Aſac.

The Paſha proud of his Charge, rejoiced to be imployed in a War, wherein he apprehended ſo little difficulty, and prognoſticated to himſelf nothing but Glory and Victory; eſteemed the Defendants for no other than Fiſhermen, and better experienced to ſail their Boats, and govern their Saiks in the Black Seas, than to draw up an Army in the Field, or defend their Walls. This Confidence was farther increaſed, by an Embaſſy at the ſame time from the Moſcovite, who not only renounced all Aſſiſtance or Concernment for that Town, but renewed with them his Friendſhip, and Articles of ancient Agreement.

The Ottoman Army, beſides Janiſaries, and other Turks, conſiſted of Moldavians, and Walachians, and a great number of Tartars, which at firſt entred into their Trenches, and beſieged the Town; but here they reſted not ſecurely, by reaſon of the frequent Sallies the Beſieged made upon them; and more eſpecially by the Mines which they ſprang, to the terror and damage of their Enemies. The Turks moved hereat, made furious Aſſaults, but were as valiantly repulſed by the Defendants, who threw ſcalding Water, and Pitch, and burning Sulphur upon the Aſſailants; ſo that not being able to take the Town by Force, they retired to their Trenches, and deliberated in what manner, by fair Promiſes, and Mony, they might invite them to Surrender. Hereupon the Captain-Paſha, the Tartar *Han*, and others, tried the Efficacy of large Proffers of Priviledges to the Town, their Country, and Inhabitants; with a Gratuity of twelve thouſand Hungers of Gold: But theſe Promiſes could make no more entrance into their Hearts, than the Turks could do into their Walls, which they ſeemed reſolute to defend, wanting neither Proviſion, nor Ammunition, nor courage for the War: but on the contrary ſide, all theſe were wanting in the Turkiſh Camp; ſo that fifteen days paſſed without any Action, until they were ſupplied by the arrival of certain Brigantines, and light Veſſels, diſpatched with all expedition with the neceſſaries of War: At the coming of which, the Turks prepared for another Aſſault, which they continued unceſſantly for the ſpace of ſeven days, but were received with that vigour by the Beſieged, that they could not gain one palm or inch of ground; So that at length with diſgrace, and diſcouragement, they were forced to give over their Attempt, deſpairing to gain the Town in the time, and with the Force which was allotted for this Enterprize.

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With this ill Succeſs, Extremity and Famine pinched the Turks in their Trenches ſo much, that an Ox was ſold for fifteen Zechins, a Lamb for three, and a Meaſure of Barley, which ſerved a Horſe for one time, for a Dollar; ſo that at length they were forced to raiſe the Siege; and the Captain Paſha, by tempeſtuous Weather, was conſtrained to ſhelter his Fleet in the Port of *Caffa*. In their return Home, the General was fearful of having forfeited his Head; the Commanders were ſilent, and aſhamed of their Succeſs, and the Souldiers diſcouraged, famiſhed, and poor; for they had loſt three thouſand Spahees, ſeven thouſand Janiſaries, and eight hundred other Souldiers, beſides Moldavians, Walachians, and Tartars; thoſe that ſurvived of the Foot were naked, and many ſick; the Spahees were without Horſes, with which they were ſupplied by the Tartars; and in fine, ſo unſucceſsful were all Matters, that the Veteran Souldiery avouched, that they never endured a more cruel, nor a more miſerable War.

The juſt puniſhment of a Perſian Traytor.

And now we ſhall end this Year 1641, with the ruin of *Emir Guſmir*, a Perſian by Birth, a Favourite, and yet Traitor to his Natural Prince. This *Emir*, in the laſt Wars which Sultay *Morat* waged againſt *Perſia*, was entruſted with an Embaſſy, and with Conduct of part of his Army, but he betrayed both to the Turk, under whoſe Protection he took Sanctuary, and obtained great Gifts and Preferments, for a Reward and Price of his Treachery. Sultan *Morat* afterwards beſtowed a magnificent Seraglio upon him, ſituated on the *Boſphorus*, enriched him with a vaſt Treaſury, and what is more, with his Favour, making him his Companion in his Paſtimes, and his Confident in his ſerious Counſels: It was he that firſt perſwaded the Sultan to drink Wine, in which both of them were beaſtly intemperate, and mighty and valiant to bear, until the heat thereof having extinguiſhed the natural heat of their Stomachs, it became too cold and crude, unleſs corrected, or fortified with Rach, or diſtilled Spirits. The Fumes of ſuch ſtrong Drinks, were the cauſe of the extravagant Actions which *Morat* practiſed in his Life, and afterwards became the means to haſten his Death; whoſe days being ended, it was time alſo for proſperous Wickedneſs to expire, and to meet a Puniſhment equal to its Demerits. Wherefore one day, (having deſired Licenſe of the Vizier to return to his own Country, where it is believed he had, by Mony purchaſed his Pardon) he was called to the Vizier's Preſence, and there, without any Impeachment, Proceſs, or Accuſation, had the String applied to his Throat, and ſtrangled on the place; the reaſon hereof ſome give, to be the immenſe Riches which Sultan *Morat* had beſtowed upon him, though there wanted not many Cauſes to render him ſuſpected, and obnoxious to the preſent Government; firſt, becauſe he was too well acquainted with the Secrets of the Seraglio, and of that State, to live in any other Country than the Turkiſh Dominions; then it was feared that the Perſian Ambaſſador might make uſe of this Perſon to act what Treaſon he pleaſed on the remainder of the Ottoman Family, on promiſe that ſuch an Attempt ſhould expiate his former Villany, and regain the favour of his natural Prince. But ſuch ſignal Actions as theſe, are commonly wrote in ſuch large Characters of Divine Juſtice, which never left Treaſon unpuniſhed, either in this Life or the other; that we need not ſearch or enquire for a further Cauſe or Occaſion of this Puniſhment.

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The Year 1642 being now entred, and the Turks deſirous to repair their laſt Years Diſgrace, reſolved again, with better Preparation and Conduct, to attempt *Aſac*; but before they would engage, according to their uſual Cuſtom, they determined to conclude all Umbrages, and Matters of Diſpute ariſen on the Confines of *Hungary*. To which end, the Emperor deputed the Baron of *Queſtemberg*, with other Barons; and the Turks on their ſide commiſſionated the Paſhaws of the Confines, with Inſtructions not to inſiſt too ſtrictly on the Conditions, leſt it ſhould retard the Peace, and obſtruct the other Deſign of War: Wherefore the Turks condeſcending to Matters reaſonable, and yielding up part of their Uſurpation, a Peace was concluded for twenty Years, much to the Advantage and Favour of the Chriſtians.

The Birth of Sultan Mahomet.

And now, to give farther Courage to the Proſecution of higher Attempts, the whole Turkiſh Empire was repleniſhed with Joy, for the Birth of a young Prince Sultan *Mahomet*, that now reigns; ſo that the ſuppoſed Impotency of the Father (whereby the Ottoman Family might have been extinguiſhed) was proved otherwiſe by plain Effect; and the fear of thoſe that ruled the Empire vaniſhing by the Riſing of this new Star, all places were filled with Joy and Triumphs; only the Tartar *Han* finding himſelf thus diſappointed, was ſuppoſed not willing to concur heartily in this common Joy. In this manner vaniſhed the appearance of Civil Diſſention in that Family, which now flouriſhes and encreaſes every day, and inſenſibly creeps forward to the Deſign (which they hope) of an Univerſal Monarchy. Pardon me, O Chriſtian Kings, if I ſay inſenſibly, for methinks you are ſenſible of the leaſt touch you receive from one another, but feel not the gripes and pinches of your Common Enemy, who like a Hectick Feaver hath mingled with your Blood, and ſtolen into the Marrow of your Strength, where he will lurk until he hath diſſolved the Fabrick of your Chriſtian World, unleſs expelled by Concord amongſt your ſelves, and the Divine Aſſiſtance favouring your united Forces.

*The War renewed againſt A*ſac.

But now to return again to the famous Siege of *Aſac*; It being the cuſtome to caſt all Miſcarriages in War on the General, the Viſier diſplaced the Captain-Paſha, taking upon himſelf that Office and Title, of which there was never any former Example. In the Place likewiſe of the Paſha of *Siliſtria*, was conſtituted *Muſtapha* Paſha of *Ægypt*; which Government, though much inferiour to his former, yet was received without ſence of Diſgrace, it not being the Riches or Power of any Office that confers Honour, but the Favour and good Will of the *Sultan*. Nor did only the Miſcarriage of the late War tend to the diſrepute of the former Paſha of *Siliſtria*, but the Report of his having poiſoned the Tartar *Han* encreaſed the difficulty of reconcilement with his Superiors, which being a Matter rather ſuſpected than proved, excuſed him from farther puniſhment than only a deprivation of his Office.

The new Paſha of *Siliſtria* thus taking upon himſelf the Command of the Army, and Conduct of this War, aſſembled a Force of *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Moldavians*, and *Walachians*, far exceeding the number of the laſt Year. At the News of which, and of the Fleet of Gallies deſigned to beſiege them by Sea, they apprehended their Danger ſo great, that without the Aſſiſtance of the Moſcovite, they concluded it impoſſible to defend their City; to him therefore they made Applications for Succour, repreſenting unto him the extremity their Affairs were in, by reaſon of that powerful Enemy which threatned them; and that having always acknowledged him for their Protector, there was no Refuge left them but under the defence of his Arms. But hereunto the Moſcovite gave a brief reply, That he had lately concluded Peace with the Turk; ſince which, having received from him no occaſion of breach, he could not with any Juſtice engage ſo ſoon againſt him in a War.

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The Inhabitants abandon Aſac.

The Coſſacks being thus diſappointed of their principal Hopes, reſolved to abandon their City; but to make the beſt advantage of their flight, they carried with them all their Moveables; and demoliſhed their Walls, and ruined their Houſes, leaving the Place a notorious Spectacle of Deſpair and Ruin; and no other Poſſeſſion to their Enemies, than the compaſs of ſo much ground peſtered with Rubbiſh, and rude heaps of Stones. The Paſha howſoever abundantly contented, that his very Name was ſufficient to affright his Enemies, entred the City with Triumph, where he began to repair the Walls, and invite the Inhabitants to return, with all aſſurance of Security, and Protection. This gentle Treatment recalled many back to their Homes, ſo hardly are Men weaned from their Native Country; and in a ſhort time the City beginning to fill, all Matters ſeemed to return to their priſtine State and Condition.

The Perſian renews his League.

About this time the Perſian, by his Ambaſſador, renewed his League with the Turk, and confirmed it in the Name of the new King; which was performed on condition that the *Sofi* ſhould demoliſh the Fortreſs of *Fortrina*, which he had, contrary to Articles, built on the Frontiers, not far from the Caſpian Sea; which that it might aſſuredly be performed, a Capugibaſhee was diſpatched to ſee it effected.

The Turks ſeek to take Rab *by Stratagem.*

And in this manner, *Aſac* being ſubdued, and a Peace ſecured with the Perſian; The Turks, who can neither live in quiet with their Neighbours, nor obſerve Capitulations longer than they turn to their advantage, contrived to take *Giavarino*, alias *Rab*, a ſtrong Fortreſs on the Confines of *Hungary*, by a Stratagem which they deſigned in this manner: Certain Souldiers habited like Peaſants, were crouded into ſeveral Carts, covered with Hay, which being entered within the Walls, were immediatly to leap forth, and ſurpriſe the Centinels and Guards at the Gates (which might eaſily be executed on Men, whom twenty Years before of Peace had made ſecure) theſe were to be ſeconded by four thouſand Souldiers, which lay ready in a Neighbouring Vally; but it happened, That an Officer of the Garriſon returning from Hunting, had by chance diſcovered this ſtrong Party of Turks, which cauſed him to quicken his pace towards the Town, and overtaking in his way certain Carts of Straw, which appearing to be laden in a form different to what was uſual, increaſed in him a farther ſuſpicion of Treachery; howſoever, he proceeded forward with the more haſte, yet without any appearance of Jealouſy: until being entred into the Town, he declared what he had ſeen, at which the Gariſon was immediately in Arms; and having permitted the Carts to enter, the Bridg was drawn up, and the Carts being ſearched, the whole Fraud and Treachery was diſcovered; and having made the Turks Priſoners, and armed the Walls with Souldiers, the whole Deſign was diſappointed; ſo that thoſe who lay in Ambuſh returned to their own Cities. The Emperor hereupon reſolved to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, to complain of this Treachery; whereof the Turks being aſhamed, and the more becauſe it did not ſucceed; refuſed to admit the Ambaſſador, unleſs the Emperor would firſt agree to pay a yearly Charge of an hundred thouſand Rix-Dollars to the Port; not by way of Tribute, but of Preſent; in which unreaſonable Demand, they took more confidence, in regard they perceived that the Emperor was engaged in a War againſt the *Swede*. Upon this diſhonourable Demand, the Emperor deferr'd the Embaſſy intended, ſuppoſing it leſs perilous to adventure a War in *Hungary*, than diſhonourable to condeſcend unto a Propoſition ſo derogatory to the Majeſty of his Ceſarean Greatneſs.

1643. This Year 1643 being entered, the Prince of *Tranſylvania* conveyed his Annual Tribute, being ten thouſand Zechins, to the Port; which when the Agents of that Prince preſented before the Vizier, he ſeemingly refuſed it; pretending that the compleat Tribute was to be fifteen thouſand, according to Agreement: but the Agents replied, that five thouſand had been remitted unto *Bethlem Gabor*, not by way of Gratuity or Recompence for his Service, but in Exchange, or as the price of two Cities, which the Prince had yielded to the Sultan, out of his own proper Eſtate in *Hungary*: With which Anſwer the Vizier remained ſatisfied, being jealous of the Turbulent and active Spirit of that Prince.

During all theſe Wars and Revolutions in Kingdoms and States, Sultan *Ibrahim* contained and contented himſelf within the Precincts of his Seraglio; where becoming a faithful and valiant Soldier of *Venus*, he conſumed more Treaſure in that War, than his Brother *Morat* did in Foreign Conqueſts; and being, as it were, entered into the Mahometan Paradiſe, where the Company of fair Women is the chiefeſt Felicity promiſed, he laboured to increaſe the Ottoman Family, and to acquit his People of the apprehenſion they had of wanting an Heir to ſucceed in the Throne; ſo that on the 15*th* of *February* he had a ſecond Son born, and a third on the 12*th* of *March* following; which abſolutely took away the Reproach of his Frigidity or Impotence, proving afterwards the moſt laſcivious and devout Sultan that ever aſpired to the Mahometan Heaven.

This Year the Turks armed out twenty Gallies more than uſual, beſides thirty Sail of Ships, and Gally-Groſſes; in the beginning of *June*, riding at the Seraglio Point (where the Commanders in Chief came to take their leave of Sultan *Ibrahim*) they divided into two Squadrons; one of which conſiſting of twenty Gallies, under the Command of *Beker* Paſha, took their Voyage into the Black Sea; the remainder under the Captain Paſha, ſailed for *Cyprus*, with intention to do Juſtice on the Paſha of that Iſland, whoſe Riches gained by Oppreſſion, had debauched him from due Obedience towards his Prince; and being arrived there, without Rumor or Noiſe, giving ſigns of good Will and Reſpects towards the Paſha, one day he ſent to invite him Aboard to banquet with him; where the Paſha fooliſhly coming, and having well eaten and drank with him, his Entertainment had not time time to digeſt, before he breathed his Laſt; for being on his departure, the Slaves aſſaulted him, and ſtrangled him by Order of the Captain-Paſha.

No other Matters remarkable did the Turkiſh Fleet perform this Year at Sea, before they returned again to their Winter-Quarters. Howſoever this Year proved favourable to many poor Chriſtians in Slavery; for there happening a moſt miſerable Plague in *Alexandria*, which relaxed the Spirits of Men, and rendered every one ſo negligent in his Office, that about four-thouſand Slaves taking advantage of ſuch Remiſſneſs in their Guardians, ſeized a Ship in Port, and crouding themſelves therein, ſet Sail, and landed ſome of their People at *Candia*, others at *Malta*, the reſt at *Marſeillia*, by which means they happily regained their Liberty: on which incouragement eight hundred more adventuring to perform the like, and fighting in a Body at the Gate of *Alexandria*, three hundred of them were ſlain, the reſt leaped into a Gally, which though without Oars, had yet her Sails to the Yard, and having the fortune of a favourable Wind, arrived ſafe at *Candia*; in like manner they became free, taking convenient paſſage from thence to divers parts of Chriſtendom: Theſe Slaves were all redemanded by the Grand Signior from the Venetians; in which no Satisfaction being given, was one Cauſe and Original of that War which afterwards enſued.

And now the Year 1644 being begun, *Ragotski*, who was never contented but in Combuſtions, and never at eaſe but when he was proving new Projects, made Demands of certain Places on the Confines of *Moravia*, ſcituated within the Mountains, which he challenged as the Inheritance of his Son; beſides other Pretences which he made in right of *Bethlem Gabor*. To forward which Deſigns, moved with an inveterate Enmity to the Auſtrian Family, he endeavoured to win the Hearts of the Commonalty with a plauſible Declaration for Liberty, and to throw off the Yoke which had ſo long gauled the Neck of *Hungary*; whereby having raiſed an Army of twenty thouſand Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foot, he entred, and ſpoiled the Country of his old Enemy and Neighbour the Count of *Humanay* an Hungarian, took *Solnock* by force, and beſieged *Fileck*, and *Caſſovia*: For ſuppreſſion of which Inſurrection and Rebellion of *Ragotski*, the Emperor was forced to a War; and having Rendezvouſed his Army at *Presbourg*, the Conduct thereof was committed to the Charge of Count *Pucain*. 1644.

The Turks having intelligence of theſe Preparations for War, commanded twenty thouſand Men to march into thoſe Parts to oppoſe theſe Combuſtions on the Frontiers; with ſix-thouſand of which the Count *Puecaim* encountering furiouſly, aſſaulted and routed them. And in the mean time *Ragotski* laying aſide all care for the War in *Hungary*, applied himſelf to relieve *Olimz* in *Moravia*; but in his March thither he was recalled by the Inhabitants of *Sendar*, which is a Caſtle erected on a Hill near *Caſſovia*, offering to ſurrender unto him; but the Governor *Forgatz*, and the German Gariſon oppoſing this Mutiny of the People, a Civil War began amongſt themſelves, but at length the advantage falling unto *Ragotski*, the Gates were opened unto the Tranſylvanians; with which Succeſs their Spirits being raiſed to higher Matters, they proceeded forward, until General *Getz* with a ſtrong Body, gave a ſtop unto their Progreſs. And thus was the Fire of War rekindled again in *Hungary*, by means of *Ragotski*; to whom notwithſtanding the Turks would never adhere, being well acquainted with his turbulent and unſteady Humour. In the mean time the Emperor diſpatched his Ambaſſador with rich Preſents to the Sultan, deſiring him to forbear giving farther Aſſiſtance unto *Ragotski*; but what between

Skirmiſhes,

1644. Skirmiſhes, Propoſitions, and Treaties, Matters were not compoſed until the 14*th* of *Auguſt* 1645, at which time all Articles were concluded and ſigned between the Emperor and *Ragotski*.

But to return now to the Affairs of *Conſtantinople*; Sultan *Ibrahim* having the Fortune of Active and Prudent Miniſters, attended entirely to his Paſtimes and Pleaſures, without Prejudice to his Intereſt, and the State of his Empire; for the firſt Vizier being Faithful and Vigilant, immediately cut off thoſe Members with the Sword, which he ſuſpected in the leaſt manner inclinable to Sedition; amongſt which were the Paſhaws of *Aleppo* and *Caffa*. For by this kind of ſeaſonable and ſpeedy Remedies, the Plethory of the Ottoman Empire is commonly evacuated, and the Body Politick thereof reſtored to its priſtine ſtate of Health and Safety.

In like manner the *Valede Sultana*, being a Woman of great Courage and Abilities, attended carefully to the Welfare of her Son, whom ſhe ſometimes decked up, and ſet forth as a Property of Majeſtick Gravity to the People, whilſt ſhe her ſelf aſſumed the Authority, and carried all things with a high and imperious Spirit; and being ambitious to be feared as well as honoured, ſhe laid violent Hands on the firſt Vizier, called *Muſtapha*, and ſtrangled him; for though he was an Active and Faithful Miniſter, yet becauſe he paſſed ſomething on her which ſhe imagined did ſavour of neglect, and becauſe ſhe apprehended his Power, which was greatly confirmed by the Intereſt and Favour he had with the Janiſaries, and their Favourers, ſhe reſolved to make him an Example, as well of her Revenge, as her Power; after whoſe Death the Charge of firſt Vizier was conferred on *Mahomet* the Paſha of *Damaſcus*.

The ſame Fate befel the Captain-Paſha, who was likewiſe ſtrangled for having over-boldly, or peremptorily, made anſwer to ſome Impertinencies of the Grand Signior; and his Office was afterwards conferred on *Beker* Paſha of *Rhodes*. With ſuch Rigour as this do the Sultans govern, who reſolve to be obeyed, and to have their Commands executed without delay or contradiction.

The Tartars make Incurſions into Poland, notwithſtanding the Peace.

Whilſt theſe Matters were in agitation, the Tartars forgetful of their Peace, made another Incurſion with thirty thouſand Men into *Ruſſia*, againſt whom *Koniſpolski* having made Head with twenty thouſand Men only, overthrew them, and killed twelve thouſand, and took three thouſand Priſoners, purſuing the reſt to the Borders of *Walachia*. In like manner *Wiſnowick*, a noble Polander, happily encountred another Party of Tartars, as they were on their return from ſpoiling the Countries of *Moſcovia*; of whom having killed 10000 Men, he recovered their Booty, and ſent the reſt Home naked and empty. This was the true and moſt effectual Means for the Polanders to avenge and right their Injuries, and more prevalent than Ambaſſies and Meſſages of Complaint unto the Port; which we have experienced ſince, and in the preſent Reign of the Son of *Ibrahim*, to have been ſo far from producing Matter worthy ſo much as the Charge of the Ambaſſador, that they have been retorted with Ignominy and Affronts.

But here *Ibrahim* perceiving how the Poles had avenged themſelves with their own Sword, would ſeem to approve of the Action, which he could not hinder; and to appear a ſincere Obſerver of the Peace, he depoſed the Tartar *Han* for his unlawful Incurſions; which was ſuch a ſatisfaction to the Crown of *Poland*, as they never could obtain by force of Juſtice, Complaints, and Vertue of paſſive Valour, until their active Fortitude took their Cauſe in Hand, and pleaded for them.

1644. On the 19*th* of *March* of this Year, a fourth Son was born to Sultan *Ibrahim*; and on the 19*th* of *February* following, being in the Year 1645, notwithſtanding all the Reports of his Impotency, was born a fifth Son, named *Solyman*, to the great contentment of his People.

The Turks Gallies this Year, under the Command of *Beker* their new Captain-Paſha, made an Attempt on the Coaſt of *Calabria*, bringing from thence two hundred Slaves; and attempting the like near *Corton*, paid for their former Booty, with the loſs of five hundred Men.

Howſoever, the Gallies of *Malta*, being ſix in number, had better Succeſs as to themſelves, though the Conſequences thereof proved fatal to the Venetians, having given the firſt occaſion of that long War, which afterwards enſued between the Turk and them.

The Story of Kuzlir Aga, his Slave and Son taken by the Malteſes.

The truth of which Story is this, free of all Romance or Fable, which the Knights of St. *John* or *Malta* would mix therewith: It happened that the Kuzlir Aga, or chief Eunuch, which governs the Women in the Signior's Seraglio, having caſt his Eye on a fair Slave, then ſet to ſale by a Perſian Merchant, became ſo enamoured of her, that he purchaſed her for himſelf, under the Notion of a Virgin, at the price of four hundred and fifty Dollars: But the Eunuch had not long entertained this Lady in his Service, before ſhe proved with Child; not by him (you may conceive) if you underſtand how the Eunuchs of this Country are diſarm'd of their Virility: At which he was ſo greatly offended, that he baniſhed her from his Society, and confined her to the Houſe of his Steward. The time being come for her to be delivered of her great Belly, it proved a Son; and ſome Months after, the Aga being deſirous to ſee the Babe, was ſo pleaſed with the Aſpect of it, that he reſolved to adopt it for his own, ordering it Cloaths, and other Neceſſaries agreeable to its Condition. It happened that about that time Sultan *Mahomet* (which now reigns) was then born; and there wanting a Nurſe for the Child, this beautiful Slave was preferred to the Honour; ſo that ſhe was entertained near two Years in the Seraglio: During which time Sultan *Ibrahim* took ſuch an affection to the Nurſe's Boy, that he loved him better than his own eldeſt Son, who was of a bad Complexion, and of no better Air in his Face than his Father, and took great delight to play and ſport with him; at which the Mother of Sultan *Mahomet* was ſo diſpleaſed, that ſhe could not longer endure either Nurſe or her Boy; and for her ſake, took ſo much diſpleaſure againſt the Kuzlir Aga, who preferred her, that neither his Preſence nor Service were acceptable; and ſo violent ſhe was in her Paſſion, that one day, when Sultan *Ibrahim* was playing with his Women and Children in the Garden, according to his uſual Cuſtom, throwing them one on the other into the Water, the Queen grew ſo furious, that ſhe could not contain longer from venting her Anger in unhanſome Terms, and jealouſy againſt the Nurſe and her Son. At which the Sultan being much diſpleaſed, and being ill-natured, (if we may ſpeak boldly of an Emperor) took her Son (which is now Sultan *Mahomet*) out of her Arms, and with ſome few Curſes ſwung him into a Ciſtern; where he had been certainly drowned, had not every one in that inſtance applied themſelves to ſave him; at which time he received the Mark or Scar he wears at this day in his Forehead.

All theſe Matters ſerved for farther Fuel to nouriſh the implacable Spirit of the Queen; which the Kuzlir Aga well obſerving, judged it prudence to give way to her Fury, and ſo begged his Diſmiſſion from the Court, together with his Slave and Son; and that having viſited *Mecha*, according to his Law, he might enjoy a Retirement in *Egypt*, which is the Portion of baniſhed Eunuchs.

The Engagement of the Turkiſh with the Malta *Gallies.*

The Queen eaſily conſented hereunto; nor was it difficult to procure the Licence of the Sultan, who was as eaſily perſwaded to any by thoſe who were about him; wherefore the Eunuch having provided to be gone, ſhipped himſelf with his great Treaſure, on the Fleet which was now deſigned, and ready to depart for *Alexandria*, which conſiſted of three Ships; one a great Gallion, and two others of leſſer Burthen, and ſeven Saiks; theſe having at the beginning of their Voyage found contrary Winds, put into *Rhodes*; from whence looſing with more favourable Weather, they unfortunately met with ſix *Malta* Gallies, excellently well manned, and provided. The Admiral Gally immediately Boarded one of the Saiks, and took her, manned only by Greeks; by whom they were informed of the Condition, Quality, and Cargo of the greater Ship, which gave Heat and Reſolution to the Souldiery. In like manner, with little Oppoſition, the Gallies called the St. *John*, and *Joſeph*, poſſeſſed themſelves of one of the leſſer Ships, which being laden only with Timber, brought from the Black Sea, to build Ships at *Alexandria*, was of little value, having forty Turks aboard, eight Women, and a Child which ſucked at the Mother's Breaſt. In the mean time, the three other Gallies, called the St. *Mary*, St. *Lorenzo*, and *Victory*, attacked the great Gallion, and having caſt their Iron Graples into the Ship, with the Motion of the Ship, the Irons gave way and broke, only that of the St. *Lorenzo* held faſt, ſo that the whole force of the Ship, both of ſmall and great Shot, was poured in upon the Gally, to their damage and loſs of Men. In the mean time the Admiral Gally came in to their Aſſiſtance, and Aſſaulting the Ship on the other Quarter, made a Diverſion of their Men; and having thrown in their Graples, they ſcaled the ſides of the Gallion, as if it had been a Fortreſs; where being entred, they remained for ſome time at handy-blows with the Turks; but at length, all the Gallies coming to their help, having made an end of ſubduing the other Ships, the Turks were forced to retire under Covert of their Decks, which they defended ſtill with ſingular Valour, wounding the Chriſtians with their half Pikes through the Gratings.

But, in fine, the Captains of the Gallies, perceiving that this was not the way to compel them to a ſpeedy Surrender, ordered ſeveral Muſquetiers out of every Gally, to fire in at the Windows and loop-holes of the Ship; by which having killed their Commander in Chief, their Valour and Conſtancy began to fail, and deſirous to ſave their lives with loſs of Liberty and Eſtates, they caſt down their Arms, and begged Mercy.

In this Engagement were killed the Captain of the St. *Mary*, and ſeven Cavaliers, of which five were French, one Italian, and one German; the Admiral himſelf, and the Captain of his Gally were both wounded; ſeventy nine Souldiers and Mariners killed, and an hundred thirty two wounded: Of the Turks it is not certain how many fell, in regard as they were killed, according to Cuſtom, they caſt them over-board; the Eunuch himſelf, though always educated in the ſoftneſs of the Seraglio, and in the Converſation of the Female Court, yet in the end concluded his days like one of the Maſculine Sex, fighting valiantly with his Sword, until overwhelmed by his Enemies: by which it is obſervable, that thoſe Perſons loſe not their Courage with their virile Parts; for it hath been known in former days, how that Eunuchs have been Generals in the Turkiſh and other Armies, and conducted their Affairs with admirable Courage and Succeſs.

The Prize which the Chriſtians had gained in this manner, was very conſiderable; for beſides the Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which were the Treaſure this Eunuch had amaſſed in the Reign of three ſeveral Sultans, they gained three hundred and fifty Slaves, beſides thirty Women, ſome of which were young and Virgins; ſo that there was not a Souldier or Seaman who had not a conſiderable ſhare of benefit proportioned unto him. With this Fortune, towing their Prizes, they in a ſhort time came to an Anchor in the Port of *Caliſmene*, in the Iſland of *Candia*, called anciently *Phenice*, on the South-ſide of the Iſland, remote from all Venetian Gariſons; and where (as it is reported) they were ſupplied with no Proviſions, excepting a ſmall quantity of Bisket, which was furniſhed by a Country Fellow, who for that very Cauſe was ſhot to Death. From hence the Gallies departing, arrived in *Malta* with their Prizes, where they were received in great Triumph. The young Son of the Eunuch (for ſo we call him) was reported to be a Son of the Grand Signior, ſent into *Egypt* to be Educated, and was accordingly ſaluted, treated, and reverenced by the Grand Maſter; the ſame Opinion was diſperſed and confirmed in all parts of *Europe*, and the Errour for many Years maintained at the Expence of the * Religion, until the Boy growing up to a good Age, and not judged worthy of a Ranſom, or enquiry after by the Turks, it was thought convenient for him to put off his State, and Greatneſs, and become a Fryer, and I think a Dominican, and this is he who now goes under the name of the *Padre Ottomano.*

* *Of the Knights of* Malta.

The News hereof arriving at the Ottoman Court, Sultan *Ibrahim* was tranſported with Anger, threatning Deſtruction and Ruin unto *Malta*; beſides he ſhewed a moſt inveterate Paſſion againſt the Venetians, for not guarding the Seas from his Enemies, and for relieving them in their Ports. In which Rage and Fury, he put his own Captain Paſha to death, and Summoned the Chriſtian Ambaſſadors, braving them all for the little reſpect was ſhown to his proper Shipping; and in ſhort, was angry with all, but reſerved the Effect of his Wrath to be poured on the Venetians, to which this Accident adminiſtred the firſt Original, and will afford us ample matter of Diſcourſe in this enſuing Hiſtory.

For the Grand Signior firſt made his Complaints againſt *Venice*, to their Miniſter, or Bailo, then reſident at *Conſtantinople*, called *Soranço*; alledging, that contrary to the Articles of Peace, they had afforded Proviſions and Entertainment to his Enemies in *Candia*, and at a time when having made Prize of his own Ship, and Domeſtiques of his Seraglio, they ſeemed, with more extraordinary demonſtrations of Hoſpitality than uſual, to receive them into their Harbours.

1644 To which the Bailo made Anſwer, That his Majeſty was ill informed of the true ſtate of thoſe Matters; for that the Port to which the Malteſes came, had neither Caſtle nor Fortreſs belonging to it, but was an open, wide, and unfortified place; for if the Grand Signior is not able to defend thoſe Ships from careening, as they have often done before *Rhodes* it ſelf, how was it poſſible for the Venetians to drive them from the Seas, and deny them the uſe of that Salt Water, which hath neither Fort nor Caſtle to reach and command them? With which Anſwer *Ibrahim* ſeemed to remain ſatisfied; and Matters appeared ſo appeaſed on the ſide of the Venetians, that *Soranço*, though a Perſon of a moſt acute and penetrating Judgment, imagined nothing leſs than a War: and though he was aſſured otherwiſe, by ſomething that the Engliſh Ambaſſador had diſcovered in that Matter; yet becauſe it came not firſt from the Report of one of his own Interpreters, he would not ſeem to believe or give credit thereunto, notwithſtanding the ſtrong Probabilities that might perſwade it.

Indeed, Chriſtian Miniſters muſt neceſſarily, with much Difficulties, and leſs Inſpection, govern and penetrate Affairs in the Turkiſh Court than in any other; becauſe acceſs to the great Miniſters is ſeldom privately or familiarly admitted, from whence wiſe Men moſt commonly take their Meaſures and Obſervations; but on the contrary, are forced to act all by the Negotiation, of their Druggermen or Interpreters; and as they hear with their Ears, ſo are they often-times beholden to their Reflections; which how ſubject they may be to Error, is beſt known to thoſe Miniſters who have practiſed much and long in that Court.

And in this manner *Ibrahim* covered his Deſign againſt *Candia*, by pretence of making War upon *Malta*, to which he had lately received ſo juſt a provocation.

To this Enterprize, none inſtigated him more than a certain Hagia, or Tutor, which had accompanied him in the time of his Solitude, and had inſtructed him in the firſt Principles of the Mahometan Doctrine; he was a ſubtil and underſtanding Man, and one who kept a ſecret Correſpondence in the Chriſtian Courts; for being Maſter of what Gold he pleaſed, he paid for his Intelligence with Liberality and Secreſy; and though he was no Prophet, yet he pretended to be a Magician, or Conjurer, or one that had a Command or Soveraignty over Familiar Spirits; an Excellency greatly admired and reverenced by the Turks. This Man had for a long Seaſon attended an opportunity to promote a War againſt *Venice*; eſteeming their Territories very convenient to be laid to the Turkiſh Dominions, and their Force an under-Match for the Puiſſance of the Ottoman Empire. And now this Accident provoking the Deſire of the Turks to this War, and the Opportunity appearing commodious to cover the Deſign, under pretence of Aſſailing *Malta*, it was ſecretly reſolved to attempt the Iſland of *Candia*; for as its Strength and Situation made it the Key to all the other Iſles of the *Archipelago*, ſo it would be the Bulwark of the Maritime Countries, from whence the Paſſage would be ſhort and eaſy into *Africa*; from whence the Gallies might advantagiouſly relieve *Cyprus*, and guard the Fleet from *Egypt*, and from thence might be opened a Door to invade *Sicily*, and the other parts of *Italy*. On theſe Conſiderations, War being reſolved againſt *Candia*, Reports divulged the Deſign only againſt *Malta*, and for that end, Orders were iſſued for building and fitting an hundred Gallies, and as many Ships of War; and Commands ſent into *Barbary* for aſſiſtance of all their Naval Forces, and the Day appointed for Rendezvous and Departure; all which time the Enterprize was kept ſecret, and by no more Symptoms ſuſpected, unleſs by the unuſual Careſſes the Turks at that time over-acted in their officious kindneſs towards the Venetian Bailo.

The Report of theſe great Preparations flying over all Parts of *Europe*, was entertained at *Malta*, with ſome Apprehenſions, as being the Place on which all the Storm was to refund its Fury.

Whereupon the Cavaliers or Knights of that Place, ſummoning a Council, reſolved to cite all the Fraternity to repair to the Defence of their Capital Seat, and of their Order and Patrimony. Likewiſe Letters were directed to the ſeveral Officers, to prepare and ſend Powder, Match, and Lead, Iron Buckets, and Timber to make Carriages for Cannon, and for other Uſes; as alſo Corn, Bisket, Salt, Fleſh and Fiſh, Vinegar, Wine, and all other ſorts of Ammunition. They likewiſe inſtituted ſome Officers over the Waters, to ſee that the Fountains and Conduits ſhould be made clear which were to ſerve the City; and that thoſe without, that were to remain in the poſſeſſion of the Enemy, ſhould be carefully and artificially poiſoned; all the Mills remaining in the Fields were tranſported into the Town; the Doors and Windows of Wood belonging to the Peaſants Houſes, were taken down and carried into the City, with all their Utenſils, and what elſe was portable, ſo that nothing remained but the wide Fields, and an open Air to breath in.

In the mean time, the Venetians being a wiſe and jealous State, ſuſpected the worſt of all Events, and feared what their Miniſter at *Conſtantinople* could not diſcover; which cauſed them to make ſome Preparations, but yet with that dexterity and ſecreſy, as not to render them diffident of the Turks Proceedings. For to be jealous of a Friend, is ſometimes to make him an Enemy; and Diſtruſt always argues Diſaffection, which Prudence teaches to conceal from thoſe who are more powerful than our ſelves. Some were notwithſtanding of Opinion, that the Complaints of *Ibrahim* were only Artifices to extract the Blood of Gold, which they judged fit to adminiſter, if it were poſſible to ſatisfy the Appetite of thoſe Leeches. Others were of a contrary ſenſe, and would by no means admit it for good Counſel, or Policy, to buy their Peace of the Turk; for, beſides that it was diſagreeable to the Grandeur of *Venice*, it was but a Shadow that they purchaſed, ſince their Enemies could on every ſlight Occaſion reaſſume what they had ſold, and make the Menaces of War, and the Sale of Peace, ſerve them for a perpetual Fountain and Mine of Gold and Treaſure; and that ſince it was neceſſary, at one time or other, to caſt off this Yoke of Tyranny; the ſooner it was done, the Advantage would be the greater, and the Honour more apparent to the World, ſeeming to make War rather their Choice, than their laſt Remedy. Howſoever Orders were given to the Bailo, with all Prudence and Art, to touch gently the Pulſe of the Turks, to diſcover if Mony would redeem the preſent Quiet of their State.

But the Reſentment that the Turks had conceived, was grown apparent in the comportment towards the Bailo; for having one day demanded

1644. Audience, he attended ſeveral hours without admiſſion; yet when the Ambaſſador of *Ragotski* come to the Vizier, he no ſooner entred the Houſe than he was received: and at the ſame time it was told the Bailo, that he might retire, for that there was no Place nor Seaſon at preſent to afford him Audience. In the mean time *Ibrahim* himſelf walked often to the Arſenal, to forward and haſten his Preparations, laying an Embargo on all Strangers Veſſels in all Ports of the Ottoman Dominions. Orders were likewiſe diſpatched to *Thebes*, *Negropont*, and other Parts of *Greece*, for making Bisket; and to the *Morea* for cutting and ſquaring of Timbers, and ſacking Wools to fill up Trenches; in all which Rumor and Stir, there was no other diſcourſe but of *Malta*, and of throwing that Iſland into the Sea with the Shovel and Mattock, and rendring it the moſt dreadful Example in the World of the Ottoman Rage and Greatneſs.

With ſuch Preludes as theſe, began a War of long continuance, maintained with various Succeſſes for divers Years; the fatal Iſſue whereof, we our ſelves have ſeen and heard. But it is ſtrange to conſider, that an Exploit ſo Martial as this, ſhould commence in the Reign of a Sultan wholly given up to his Pleaſures, and ſo ſwallowed in Senſuality, that all thoſe luxurious and wanton Actions which are recounted of *Sardanapalus* and *Heliogabalus*, are flat and faint Similitudes of that prodigious Effeminacy, in which this Sultan outdid all other Examples of former Ages.

Amber was the common Perfumes which burned perpetually in the Womens Apartments, and the common Sauce to moſt of his Viands; not perhaps becauſe it ſo much pleaſed his Palate, as that it was a provocative, and incitement to his Luſts.

And this puts me in mind of a Story I have heard of an Engliſh Merchant, living then at *Galata*, who was Maſter of a rare piece of Ambergrieſe, which was in form like a Pyramid; the News whereof was told to the Grand Signior late at Night, when the Smoke of the Perfumes began to abate: Which ſo ſoon as he heard, though it was near Midnight, he diſpatched a Meſſenger to call the Merchant with his Ambergrieſe; who being knocked out of his Bed in haſte, by the importunity of the Officer, came to the Seraglio Gate two hours before Day; where he attended until it was broad Light, and then, without more words, found a Market for his Amber, and before his departure received 13 thouſand Dollars. The Female Court was then extreamly rich and ſplendid, all *Italy* was ſcarce able to ſupply it with Silks, and Cloth of Gold; ſo that the Trade was in thoſe days flouriſhing above other Times, and gave great employment to Engliſh Shipping: and ſo impatient were the Women for their Gay Cloaths, that ſo ſoon as the News of a Ship from *Italy* came, and that ſhe was arrived within the Caſtles of the *Helleſpont*, but there detained by contrary Winds, Gallies were immediately diſpatched to bring up their Silks, which they oftentimes forced away without any Account or Price made with the Merchant; of which that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* then Ambaſſador, complaining to the Vizier, and finding no other Relief than good Words, reſolved on an Expedient of making known his Cauſe to the Grand Signior, which was this.

In *Turkie* they have a Cuſtom, that when any one receives a notable Injury, or Injuſtice, from the Chief and Great Miniſters of State, they put Fire on their Heads, and running to the Grand Signior, no Man can hinder or deny them acceſs to his preſence. In like manner the Engliſh Ambaſſador not being able to obtain Satiſfaction from the Vizier, in return to his many Complaints, drew out all the Engliſh Ships in *Galata*, which were then thirteen in number, and drawing in their Guns, and ſhutting the Ports, put fire on every Yard-Arm of their Ships, and came to an Anchor juſt before the *Seraglio*. The Cuſtomer being the firſt that eſpyed this unuſual ſight, immediately apprehended the Reaſon, and ſent to acquaint the Vizier thereof in all haſte; the Vizier likewiſe fearful leſt the Complaints ſhould by this means come to the Grand Signior's Ear, ſent the Cuſtomer aboard with a conſiderable part of the Mony, and deſired that the Fires might be extinguiſhed, promiſing faithfully to comply in paiment of the reſt; hereupon Conſultation being had between the Ambaſſador and the Merchants, the Ships returned to their Stations, not ſeeming to have been taken notice of by thoſe in the Seraglio. 1644.

And notwithſtanding the great number of Women within the Seraglio, all which were at the Devotion of the Sultan; yet *Ibrahim* not being contented herewith, paſſing one day to *Scutari*, had by chance caſt his eye on an object which much pleaſed him: what it was, becomes not the modeſty of my Pen to relate; but being returned to his Seraglio, he ſent Orders to the Vizier, to ſeek out for him the biggeſt, and beſt proportioned Woman which was to be found in all *Conſtantinople*, and the parts thereabouts. Hereupon Emiſſaries were diſpatched into all Quarters of the City; at length they happily procured a huge tall Armenian Woman, well proportioned according to her height, and a Gianteſs for her Stature; which being found, ſhe was preſently waſhed and perfumed in the Bath, and as richly Cloathed and Adorned as the ſhortneſs of time would permit: There was no great difficulty to perſwade her to become Turk, having ſo high preferment in her proſpect. So that being introduced to the Grand Signior's preſence, he became immediately Enamoured, and was ſo pleaſed with her Society, that he preferred her before all the Women of his Court; an Evidence whereof he gave, in that he could not deny her in any requeſt ſhe could make, and particularly about that time the Paſhaluck of *Damaſcus* being void, this Woman begged it for her ſelf, ſubſtituting another in the Office, who was accountable to her for all the Profits and Emoluments thereof: By theſe particulars of favour the Queen-Mother becoming jealous, one day inviting her to Dinner, cauſed her to be ſtrangled, and perſwaded *Ibrahim* that ſhe died ſuddenly of a violent Sickneſs, at which he poor Man was greatly afflicted.

But not to inſiſt long on theſe luxurious Paſtimes, we ſhall return again to Matters of higher Concernment: *Ibrahim* had now underſtood, that the Venetians growing jealous of his Preparations, began likewiſe to Arm, and provide for the worſt; which being in no wiſe pleaſing to the Turks, who were apprehenſive that their Marine Forces conſiſted moſt in ſurprize, cauſed *Ibrahim* to complain of the Defenſive Poſture in which they Arrayed themſelves, alledging, that Suſpicions of this Nature argued no hearty Diſpoſition towards their Friends; nor was any thing more contrary to a good Correſpondence, or more diſobliging than ſuch like Jealouſies, which oft-times beget that Enmity which was never deſigned; and farther it was judged neceſſary,

1644. ſary, if poſſible, to diſſwade the Bailo from a belief of any Hoſtility deſigned againſt his Republick; to inculcate which, none was eſteemed ſo proper an Inſtrument as the old cheating *Hogia*, who was the firſt Motive to the War; a Preacher who imagined that the excellency of his Religion afforded him a priviledg to falſify, lye, and commit any Act for advantage thereof, though never ſo contrary to Truth and Morality. This *Santone*, with the Teſtimony of one or two more grand Profeſſors, with many Aſſeverations and Vows, endeavoured to perſwade the Bailo, of the Grand Signior's good Intentions towards *Venice*, and his fixed Reſolutions to deſtroy *Malta*. And though the Concernment which thoſe godly Elders ſhewed, and the earneſtneſs they uſed, whereby to inculcate a Credence to what they affirmed, were enough to diſcover their contrary Intentions; and though it is ſaid, that the Venetians could not heartily believe what they ſo ſtrongly ſuſpected; yet hereby, and by the common vogue of the People, they abated much of their Caution and Heat, which they otherwiſe had uſed in due Preparations and Proviſions againſt an Evil ſo fatal and deſtructive in the ſequel.

The beginning of the War.

The firſt Act of Hoſtility was committed by *Giacomo da Riva*, who being ſent for Sopraveditor to *Tino*, was in his way to touch at *Candia*, there to deliver Ammunition and Proviſions for War; but being encountered by ſome barbarous Veſſels, who aſſailed him for a Merchants Ship of ſmall Force, were received ſo warmly that he ſunk one of them, with which the reſt left him and fled, relating at *Conſtantinople*, that they had been ill treated by the Venetians, and that they gave the firſt Aſſault upon them, becauſe they were called to the Aſſiſtance and Service of the Grand Signior.

The Fleet and Land Forces being already put to Sea, the Report and Opinion ſtill continued, that the War was deſigned againſt *Malta*; wherefore ſuch as apprehended the Hazard, and were acquainted with the Difficulty of ſuch an Enterprize, began to inform the Grand Signior how impoſſible it was that this Action ſhould be accompanied with good ſucceſs. To which Arguments he made no other reply, than by a ſeeming obſtinacy, reſolved with the Ottoman Sword, to cut all thoſe Knots and Difficulties which oppoſed him in the Work. At length one *Salee Efendi*, a Preacher, who had obtained ſome more than ordinary Eſteem with the Grand Signior, adviſed him, That before he commenced a Work of that importance, he ſhould inform himſelf of the true ſtate of that Place, from a certain Aga, who was lately returned from *Malta*. The Grand Signior being very willing to hear any thing of this nature, called the Aga, who related to him how impregnable both the City and Caſtle were; how the Knights were provided againſt all Aſſaults; that the Iſland it ſelf is only a Rock, not containing Earth enough for an Army to intrench; that the Approaches muſt be made by the Pick-Axe and Mattock, it being all Stone. In ſhort, it was not a place to be taken in one Summer, and the Winter coming on, it affording no ſhelter, nor proviſions of it ſelf, was not capable of relief in Seas ſo ſtormy, and from Countries ſo remote, without hazards, loſſes, and frequent Shipwracks. *Ibrahim*, who had deſigned all along to make War upon *Candia*, ſeemed little concerned or moved at this Diſcourſe. The Gallies and Ships which were now all in a readineſs, being come forth to the Seraglio point, the Grand Signior entered his Grand Chiosk; 1644. ſituated on the Bank of the Sea; where the Selictar Aga, General, and all the Chief Commanders, came to perform the uſual Ceremonies of Obedience and Duty before their Departure. At this ſolemn Aſſembly the Grand Signior declared, That his Intentions were to make War upon the Infidels, according as every one ſhould underſtand by his reſpective Commiſſions, which ſhould now be delivered unto them: That he expected the higheſt Demonſtrations of Courage in them imaginable, and what was agreeable to the Conductors of the Ottoman Armies: That Reward and Puniſhment were in his Hands, and that he reſolved to diſpenſe them according to their Merits: That they ſhould not doubt of all due Aſſiſtance and Succours; for he had ſo well contrived, and ſo juſtly fitted all his Meaſures, that he was already provided of Men, Timber, Ammunition, and Mony ſufficient to maintain and carry on this War for ſeven Years. At which they all gave a ſhout, and declared, that they were ready to ſpend their Blood and Lives in Execution of his Commands. Whereupon every one received a rich Coſtan, or Veſt, and the General a Scimitar ſet with Diamonds; who being a young Man of about 26, or 27 Years of Age, had a Council of ſix graver Paſha's allowed him; and then the Commiſſion for the War was brought forth ſealed, with Orders not to open it, until they were paſt the *Dardanelli*. Hereat the noiſe of great and ſmall Shot from the Gallies and Ships, reſounded through all *Conſtantinople*, and the Commanders repairing to their Veſſels, the Aſſembly broke up, and every thing was put in a poſture to make Sail.

1645. It was now the laſt day of *April*, 1645, old Style, when the Fleet firſt broke ground, which conſiſted of 73 Gallies, beſides the 8 Gallies of *Barbary*; 2 Mahons, or Galleaſſes, one great Gallion called the *Sultana*, 10 Ships of *Alexandria*, 2 of *Tunis*, and 10 of Engliſh and Dutch Ships, which coming to *Conſtantinople* for Trade, were there preſſed into the Service, with about 300 Saiks and Caramuſſals, which carried Souldiers, Proviſions, Ammunition, and Uteſils for War. Their Militia conſiſted of 7000 Janiſaries, 14000 Spahees, and about 50000 Timariots, and other Souldiers, with about 3000 Pioniers; theſe all were to Rendezvous at *Scio*; where they arrived the 7*th* of *May*. But before their departure from *Conſtantinople*, the Bailo *Soranço*, or the Venetian Ambaſſador, thought fit, in Complement, and for diſcovery, to make a viſit to the Captain-Paſha, by whom he was received with frank Courteſy, and aſſurance of Friendſhip; ſo that though he ſuſpected the worſt, yet could he collect no certain aſſurances of Peace, or War; however he adviſed Signior *Cornaro*, then Governour of *Candia*, that though he could not certainly penerate into the bottom of the Turks Deſign, yet he apprehended that the Storm might fall on that Kingdom, underſtanding that the Captain-Paſha was not well inclined towards the moſt Serene Republick: wherefore, he ought to be watchful and circumſpect, yet with as little demonſtration of jealouſy as was poſſible; ſo that if the Turks ſhould there arrive, he ſhould afford them all conveniencies of Watering, Proviſions, and other Refreſhments.

The Fleet being departed from *Scio*, for *Napoli di Romagnia*, the Northern Wind ſo freſhned, and blew ſo hard, that the Gallies were ſeparated, and forced to put into divers Ports, and the Saiks and Caramuſſals to Anchor at *Micono*

1645. and *Tino*. At the latter of which, belonging to the Venetians, they had licence to Water, and and were refreſhed with ſuch proviſions as the Iſland afforded; and now after this flurry of Wind, the Fleet being again united, they were ſeen off at Sea from *Cerigo*, an Iſland of the Venetians at the Mouth of the *Archipelago*; and ſailing towards the Channel of *Braccio de Maina*; and the next day 9 Gallies, a Gallion, and a Brigantine, made towards the Iſle of *Cerigo*, and ſent a Letter a ſhore by a Boat to the Proveditor, from the Paſha of *Rhodes*, demanding their uſual preſent of Coffee and Sugar, which was given them, they aſſuring all Friendſhip, and real good Intentions towards the People, and Dominions of *Venice*.

But in the mean time a Satia laden with Arms and Ammunition from *Venice*, bound for *Retimo*, unhappily falling into the Turkiſh Fleet, was intercepted by them, and taken, which unmasked all the Deſign, and made the Turks appear in their true Colours, notwithſtanding all their religious Proteſtations, and outwardly fair Comportment, the uſual diſguiſe of the Mahometan Sincerity.

Towards the end of *May* the Turkiſh Fleet was diſcovered from *Carabuſo*, a ſmall Fortreſs of the Venetians, ſome diſtance off at Sea, ſtanding to the Weſtward, which gave ſome jealouſie to them at *Candia*; and being compared with ſome precedent Acts, as that of ſounding the depth of Water about St. *Theodoro* with a Brigantine, (which is a ſmall Rock lying off of *Canea*) which pretended to come from *Sancta Maura* with Turky Merchants, afforded undeniable grounds of aſſurance to thoſe in *Candia*, that the War was deſigned againſt them; howſoever, the Ottoman Fleet rendezvouſing again at *Navarino*, a place far diſtant from *Candia*, altered their Apprehenſions at *Venice*, and elſewhere of this War, deeming it now certain, that this Deſign had no other aim or mark but that of *Malta*.

But this opinion was no ſooner entertain'd, than it was confuted by open Acts of Hoſtility; for the Captain-Paſha being arrived at Cape *Colonna*, by ſome called *Sunio*, immediately diſpatched a Brigantine to *Conſtantinople*, with advice of his Proceedings and Intentions to paſs directly for *Candia*; whereupon it was thought ſeaſonable to publiſh the War againſt *Venice*, which was performed with committing the Ambaſſador *Soranço* to Priſon, and giving Orders through all the *Archipelago* to deſtroy or enſlave all the Subjects of that Republick. And here the Turk practiſed his uſual beginnings of War with more than ordinary Caution; for though with other Princes, whoſe Territories border on him by Land, he uſually endeavours to ſtrike at the ſame time when he gives the Salutations of Peace; Yet here being to contend at Sea, where he is conſcious his Forces are inferiour to thoſe of *Venice*, he practiſed all thoſe feigned Artifices, confirmed with as many holy Vows and Proteſtations, as their Religion hallows, and makes lawful, when they can bring advantage and encreaſe to the Mahometan Faith.

But though the Venetian Republick was ſo politick as outwardly to demonſtrate a Religious Confidence of their potent Neighbour, whom they were conſcious not to have provoked by any breach of Capitulations; yet were not ſo ſecure of his Faith, and ſo eaſie to believe his fair Diſſimulations, as not prudently to provide againſt the utmoſt Effects of his Power and Treachery. Wherefore, whilſt the Turk prepared, 1645. they armed likewiſe ſecretly, made conſiderable Levies without noiſe, commiſſionated thirty extraordinary Commanders of Gallies, took up ſeventeen Engliſh and Dutch ſhips into their Service, armed out two Galliaſſes extraordinary; and when the Turk had unmasked his Deſign, they then imparted their Condition to all the Chriſtian Princes, craving their Succour and Aſſiſtance to maintain the common Bulwark of *Chriſtendom* againſt the common Enemy. The Galleaſſes were commanded by *Girolamo Moroſini*; the Gallies, of which fifteen were made ready, and afterwards put to Sea, all commanded by Noblemen, were under the Conduct of *Antonio Capello*. *Franceſco Molino* was made Proveditor General, a Perſon of untainted Juſtice and Honour, and extraordinary zealous and vigilant in the Publick Intereſt, whoſe indefatigable Labours and Care of his Country, promoted him afterwards to be Doge of *Venice*. By his Order and Counſel, extraordinary Proveditors were ſent to *Candia*, *Cerigo*, and *Tino*, as Places moſt feared, and in danger; and Orders were diſpatched to *Andrea Cornaro*, then General and Inquiſitor in *Candia*, to arm out twenty Gallies from the Arſenal of *Canea*; and to promote this Deſign the better, he hired two Engliſh, and one Dutch Ship, then in Port of *Malomocco*, to carry unto *Candia* Timbers fitted, and already ſquared at *Venice*, for building Gallies; beſides which he ſent Cannon, Corn, and all Ammunition of War, with fifty thouſand Zechins in Gold for encouragement of the Militia, with a recruit of two and twenty Companies of Foot, formed and collected out of divers Nations.

Intelligence being come of the impriſonment of the Bailo at *Conſtantinople*, the Senate by a common and unanimous Suffrage elected *Franceſco Erizzo*, then Doge, General of the Sea; judging, that their Arms would proſper under his Command, which had formerly been ſucceſsful under the auſpicious Conduct of his Anceſtors; and he, though a Perſon of ſeventy four Years, worn out with Age and Cares of the Publick, did yet chearfully conſecrate the remainder of his days to the Service of his Country. But whilſt he prepared to crown the end of his Life with the Glory of this important and generous Enterprize, Death terminated all his Intentions, leaving him with the honourable memory of his paſt Actions, and with a Lawrel hanging over his Head, which had his Life continued, had been planted on his Brows. But that this Accident might not give interruption to the weighty Affairs now in hand, *Molino* took his place, and proceeded in his Voyage and Deſigns, and arrived with the Venetian Fleet at the Iſland of *Corfu*. In the mean time the Turkiſh Fleet careened and fitted themſelves at *Navarine* with all Neceſſaries to aſſault *Candia*; in which interim advice came to *Canea*, that the the Bailo was impriſoned at *Conſtantinople*, by a Letter from *Soranço* himſelf; which he had dropped from the Window of his cloſe reſtraint, and diſpatched by one of his Confidents with a Veſſel expreſs; which was not ſooner arrived, than it was that Night confirmed by all the Beacons or Watch-Towers of the Country; who having diſcovered the Turkiſh Fleet far diſtant at Sea, gave a general Alarm by the Fires they made.

The next Morning being the $\frac{13}{23}$ of *June*, they diſcovered the whole Fleet, near Cape *Spada*, which being drawn up in the form of an half Moon, took up a vaſt tract of

1645. Sea; and ſailing ſlowly with fair Weather, and a ſmooth Sea, diſplayed themſelves with the greateſt terrour imaginable to the Iſlanders. At length the lighter Veſſels began to edge in with the Bank of *Gogna*, (which is a place diſtant about eighteen miles from *Canea*) and were followed by the groſſer and heavier part of the Armata.

And now, before I proceed farther, I ſhould make a pauſe, and deſcribe the Antiquity, the Geography, and the preſent State of this famous and renowned Iſland, but that is already performed ſo diſtinctly and elegantly by other Pens, that it ſhall be ſufficient for me to declare here in brief terms, how this Kingdom became the Patrimony or Poſſeſſion of *Venice*. In the Year 1204, a Sale thereof was made to this Republick, by the Marqueſs *Bonifaccio* of *Montferratto*, by an Inſtrument ſealed the 12*th* of *Auguſt* at *Adrianople*, and ſigned, and delivered, in the preſence of *Marco Sanudo*, and *Ravano du Verona*, Ambaſſadours in the time of *Enrigo Dandola* Doge; but the People of this Iſland not conſenting unto the ſale, oppoſed themſelves againſt it, until the Venetians by force of Arms procured their Obedience, and confirmed their purchaſe by a double Title. Hereupon ſuch noble Citizens as adventured their Lives in this acquiſition, obtained the Eſtates of the Rebellious Greeks, being obliged in proportion to the Lands they held, to maintain Men and Horſe at their own Charge, and are therefore called the Feudatary Cavalry. So that the whole Country is divided into three parts; *viz.* the noble Venetians or Cavalry; ſecondly, the noble Candiots, or Colony, which were Infantry that came to inhabit from *Venice*; and thirdly, the Greeks or Natives of the Country which never rebelled, but took part with the Venetian State: the firſt two ſpeak Italian, and are of the Roman Church; the others ſpeak Greek, and conſerve the Right of that Religion.

The Ottoman Fleet now touching the Shoar at *Gogna*, took Livery and Seizin quietly of that flouriſhing Iſle of *Candia*, where they Encamped a while to refreſh their Forces, and prepare all things in order to their Conqueſt. In the mean time, the news hereof alarmed all *Venice*, and not only haſtened them in the expedition of their Fleet, but warmed their applications to all Chriſtian Princes, from whom they craved help in the general defence of Chriſtendom: which ſome at firſt imagined would have been granted, as it was once in the time of the Holy War; or that thoſe whom the Declaration of a common Cruſada, or Devotion, or ſenſe of Religion could not move, yet at leaſt the conſideration of their Countries Defence, or the maintenance of a Bulwark of Chriſtendom, might perſwade to wage Arms againſt the Turk, as a Common Enemy: but what cold Apprehenſions the Chriſtian Princes entertained hereof, both the faint Supplies and Aſſiſtances they adminiſtred, and their bloody and vigorous Wars one againſt another, have abundantly teſtified, to the fatal loſs and ruin of that Country. And though in the beginning there were better hopes, by means of the Pope's earneſt interceſſion with all the Princes of *Italy*, to whom he ſhewed a fair Example, by uniting his own Gallies with the Venetian Fleet, and amongſt the reſt prevailed alſo with the Republick of *Genoua*, to employ their Gallies in this Noble Enterprize, which tended to the Glory of God, and the common Safety and Preſervation of *Italy*: yet that Leaven of vain Punctilio's, which hath ſo often betrayed the Chriſtian Cauſe to the advantage of the Turk, 1645. gave a ſtop for ſome time to theſe Proceedings. For before they would enter into Arms, they deſired the Genoeſes, that the right of bearing the Flag ſhould firſt be determined in favour of their Admiral, before that of *Toſcany*, or *Malta*: And though the Pope, to take away this occaſion of diſpute, propoſed to have no other Flag worn beſides his own, under which all Italian Princes, without impeachment of their Honour, as Auxiliaries, and Military Adventurers might promiſcuouſly wage War; yet this could not appear ſatisfactory to the Genoeſes, who not only took this occaſion to demand the precedency before *Toſcany* and *Malta*; to which the G. Duke (who was not inferiour in State, and ſuperiour in Title) and the Malteſes (who time out of mind, and by Decree of *Charles* the Fifth, claimed Precedency on the Seas before them) would never aſſent; but alſo thought fit to avail themſelves in this Conjuncture, to obtain from the Pope the Grant of a Royal Court, and that Treatment which is given to Kings, or Crowned Heads. But becauſe theſe Demands ſeemed to contain thoſe Difficulties in them, which could not be granted without the manifeſt diſpleaſure of other Princes, the Pope reſolved to afford what aſſiſtance he could from himſelf, and therefore granted a Levy of a thouſand Foot out of his own Dominions, with free liberty to buy what Ammunition and Proviſions were to be found in the Eccleſiaſtical State, with impoſition of a double Tithe or Tenth on the Goods and Dominions of the Clergy; ſo that theſe Succours of the Pope, and the Auxiliary Forces of *Naples*, *Toſcany*, and *Malta*, under the Command of Prince *Ludoviſio*, General of the Church, being united to the Venetian Fleet, did ſpeedily compoſe a moſt puiſſant and formidable Force; however, by reaſon of Diſſentions amongſt the Commanders, and other Misfortunes derived from thence, to the Chriſtian Arms, nothing ſucceeded fortunately this Year. For the Turks having gained their landing at firſt without oppoſition, overthrew the Chriſtians in ſeveral ſmall Skirmiſhes, and afterwards forced *Canea*, the ſecond City of that Iſland, which they took with much blood and ſlaughter of the Chriſtians.

1646. The Turks having made ſo ſucceſsful a progreſs this firſt Year, as to poſſeſs themſelves of one of the moſt conſiderable Cities, took Courage to proceed in their Conqueſts; in which they had the fortune to make themſelves Maſters in the next place of *Retimo*; in defence of which, the General *Andrea Cornaro*, loſt his Life by a Musket ſhot. Nor more ſucceſsful were the Venetians this Year at Sea; for what with Quarrels among the Commanders, and with their coldneſs and negligence in their Buſineſs, they ſuffered the Turkiſh Veſſels to paſs freely, without giving them that interruption which was very facil to Men reſolute and concerned: Nor was the opportunity which preſented to ruine the Turkiſh Fleet made uſe of, then lying half diſarmed, and ill provided, at the Iſle of St. *Theodoro*, (which is a Rock oppoſite to *Canea*) where at that time, it is believed, they might all have been burned, had the occaſion been improved, agreeable to that Advantage which then offered: ſo that towards the latter end of the Year, the General *Molino* returning Home, either by reaſon of ſome diſtemper, or by revocation from the Senate, which ſeemed to be ill ſatisfied with his ill Fortune, or his ill Management of the Publick Affairs; he was diſmiſſed

1646. from his high Charge. And *Gio. Capello*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, was conſtituted in his place.

This Year was remarkable for the ruinous Differences between Sir *Sackvile Crow* Baronet, our King's Ambaſſador then reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, and the Turky Company. The Original of which ſeemed to ariſe from the Civil Diſſentions at Home; for ſo unhappy were thoſe Times, and ſo ill affected were Engliſh Minds with Rancour and Malice againſt each other, that this Leaven of Diſcord could not be confined within the Banks of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, but ſeemed to diffuſe it ſelf over the Seas, and as a Contagion, infected the Minds, Goods, and Intereſts of the Engliſh, to what Quarter or Climate ſoever they were tranſported.

In the Year 1638, Sir *Sackvile Crow* was, with the Conſent and Approbation of the Turky Company, dignified by his Majeſty with the Title and Authority of his Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior. For Maintenance and Support of which, the ſaid Company were to pay him the yearly Sum of five thouſand Zechins, in four equal Proportions, which is above the value of two thouſand Pounds *Sterling*. And farther, before his departure from *England*, paid him ſix hundred Pounds *Sterling* towards the Furniture of his Houſe, Plate, and other Neceſſaries; defraying all the Charges expended for Tranſportation of his Lady, Followers, and Proviſions to *Conſtantinople*.

Sir *Sackvile Crow*, from the time of his arrival at the Ottoman Court, until the end of the Year 1645, managed the Affairs of the Company to their general Satisfaction, and with the Eſteem and Honour of the Turkiſh Miniſters, who conſidered him as a Perſon of Courage and Reſolution, and in every way qualified for that Employment.

At length Differences aroſe between this Ambaſſador and the Company, touching the Right and Title to that Benefit which is called ‖ *Strangers Conſulage*; the firſt pretending to the ſame on a Grant made to him thereof by his Majeſty, and the Cuſtom of Sir *Peter Wych*, and other preceding Ambaſſadors. The others challenging the ſame, as the chief and principal Means they had to eaſe the vaſt Expences they were at, for maintenance of their Trade and Government; for which they had always contended and ſtrugled with the Power of preceding Ambaſſadors, and which Sir *Sackvile Crow* himſelf ſeems, by an Article which he had made with the Company to have relinquiſhed to them in theſe words.

‖Strangers Conſulage *is 2 in the hundred, in the value of all the goods belonging to Stranger-Merchants, laden on Engliſh Ships, and all other Ships which not being in amity with the G. Signior, ſet up the Engliſh Colours, & come under the Engliſh Protection, as is lawful by our Capitulations.*

That during the time of his Employment as Ambaſſador, he would content himſelf with ſuch Allowance from the ſaid Company for his Pains and Care to be taken in their Buſineſs, as is ſpecified in the ſaid Articles, being 5000 Zechins *per Annum*.

This Right of *Strangers Conſulage*, is now confirmed to the *Turky Company*, by virtue of their Charter which his Majeſty was pleaſed, in the Year of his Happy Reſtauration, graciouſly to Renew, Confirm, and Amplify to them; the which was more eaſily granted, by the concurrent Aſſiſtance of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Winchelſea*, then deſigned for Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, who on ſome Conſiderations offered from the ſaid Company, aſſented thereunto.

But Matters of a higher Nature than this, inflamed the Accounts and Differences between the Ambaſſador and Company. For firſt, one *John Wolfe*, at that time Treaſurer at *Conſtantinople*, becoming Inſolvent for great Sums of Mony, Sir *Sackvile Crow* alledged, that thoſe Debts were National, ariſing from the late Changes of State Officers, their extravagant Exactions, and Avanious Practices: and therefore to extinguiſh this Publick Debt, he made a Leviation of one hundred and ten thouſand, nine hundred and fifty Dollars on the Engliſh Eſtates at *Conſtantinople* and *Smyrna*, detaining the Companies Ships in thoſe Ports, until the aforeſaid Debt was ſatisfied and cleared. The Ground and Cauſe of which, will more plainly appear by this following Warrant. 1646.

Sir *Sackvile Crow* his Order, dated in *Pera* of *Conſtantinople* the 26*th* of *January* 1645. Directed to all Captains, Commanders of Ships, *&c.* Prohibiting the lading of any Goods or Eſtate on their Ships.

W*Hereas by the unhappy failings of ſome of our Nations here, and at* Smyrna, *and through the many late Changes of this State's Officers, and their extravagant Exactions on us in thoſe Difficulties; and by ſundry other avanious ways, our Nation is brought into a great Debt: For which We, or thoſe, and that Eſtate which ſhall remain on the Place, who, and whatever, in caſe of Exigent, and force of Paiment, when-ever that ſhall happen, muſt (if not otherwiſe provided for) in all probability, and according to the rude Cuſtoms of this State in like caſe, look to be made liable unto. There being at preſent a full and competent Eſtate of the* Levant *Companies arrived here, and at* Smyrna, *which as well by the Obligations of their Charter, as by the Laws of* England, *the ſaid Companies own Inſtitutions and Cuſtoms in caſes of like Nature, ought as well to bear the ſaid extraordinary as ordinary Charges, and ſo pay thoſe Debts, which either are, or ſhall be adjudged and declared to belong unto them. We having taken pains in drawing the ſaid Accompts to a Head, and for diſcovery of the Truth thereof; and (after a Certificate being directed thereon) for the more formal Satisfaction only of the ſaid Company, being advertiſed that ſome of thoſe who with us have had the view, and been preſent at the Examination of the ſaid Accompts, whom it concerns on the Companies behalf to make ſuch Certificate, on our Order; for ſome private Reſpects, make ſcruple to certify the ſaid Debts, as they appeared before us and them: And hearing alſo that the General Ships here in Port, and that at* Smyrna, *prepare, and make haſte to be gone: In Providence, as well for own ſafety in the Premiſſes, as for that due regard we owe to his Majeſty's Honour, and the Publick Intereſt for the future, We find it requiſite, and hereby order and require, that until the ſaid Debts ſhall be fully declared, and their paiment ſetled by Leviation, and the ſame paid* *or undertaken, in, and by ſome ſuch fitting and ſecure way, or ways, as in ſuch caſe is requiſite, and by us ſhall be determined and ſo declared: That none of the Factors of this Scale, or that of* Smyrna, *by themſelves, or others whoever, after publication hereof, here and there reſpectively, lade on Board either of the General Ships, or other Ships whatever, any Goods, Faculty, or Eſtate whatever, for themſelves or other whoever. And that the Captains and Commanders of the ſaid Ships, in the mean time, and until Our farther Order in this behalf, not only forbear to take in, and lade aboard either of their Ships any ſuch Goods or Faculties for any of his Majeſty's Subjects, or other Strangers whoever; but alſo that they abide and depart not, either this Port, or that of* Smyrna *Reſpectively, until our farther Order and Licence in that behalf: Whereof not only the Merchants, Factors, Maſters, and Commanders aforementioned; but our * Druggermen, and other Under-Miniſters here or there, are to take notice, and obſerve accordingly; as they, and every of them concerned herein, will anſwer the contrary at his or their Peril. Dated in* Pera *of* Conſtantinople *this 26th of* January, 1645.

* Interpreters.

To all Captains, Commanders of
Ships, Merchants, Factors, Druggermen, and all other his Majeſty's
Subjects and Miniſters whoever,
in the Ports of *Conſtantinople* and
Smyrna.

SACKVILE CROW.

The *Turkie* Company was altogether unſatiſfied with this Leviation, alledging that a great part of this Debt aroſe from Monies lent by Sir *Sackvile Crow* himſelf to *Wolfe*, at a high Intereſt; for ſecuring of which, and of his Principal, he had in this manner taxed and charged their Eſtates. But Troubles and Differences ended not with this Paiment; for ſtill the Controverſy about Strangers Conſulage was depending, which with other Matters, cauſed great Heats and Animoſities on both ſides: So that ſome of the *Turkie* Company, Men of the better Principles, thought it moſt adviſable to Petition his Majeſty to conſtitute another Ambaſſador, with Letters of Revocation, to recal this; but others, who were the zealous Men of thoſe Times, who had taſted the ſweetneſs of Sequeſtrations, and proved it to be the Grand Catholicon of all Remedies, perſwaded that his Eſtate ſhould be Sequeſtred. This, I ſay, may perhaps have been the attempt of ſome few; though the generality of the Company have ſo far diſavowed the Seizure of his Lands and Eſtate in *England*, that they declared themſelves ignorant of any Eſtate he had there. Howſoever this Apprehenſion being fixed in the Mind of Sir *Sackvile Crow*, he proceeded to ſtrange Extremities againſt the Company: For he not only cauſed all the Goods and Monies belonging to them, within the Grand Signior's Dominions, to be ſequeſtred and ſeized by his Agents, but alſo impriſoned the Perſons of all the Engliſh Merchants and Factors which were conſiderable, either at *Conſtantinople* or *Smyrna*. The Particulars of all which will appear with more clearneſs by this following Warrant.

Sir *Sackvile Crow* his Second Warrant, dated in *Pera* of *Conſtantinople* the 30th of *April* 1646, directed to *John Hetherington*, *Lorenzo Zuma*; Enordering (upon falſe Pretences) the Sequeſtration of the Merchants Eſtates at *Smyrna*, according to a Schedule.

W*Hereas the* Levant *Company, ſometime before our coming to this Place, by a Court of their Aſſiſtants, thereunto eſpecially authorized, treated with Us touching a yearly Allowance for our Care and Pains during our reſidence here as his Majeſty's Ambaſſador; to be had and taken in ſuch Particulars as might have relation to their Trade and Occaſions: And for a concluſion of ſuch Treaty as aforeſaid, did offer unto us the election of any one of their Agreements, formerly made with any of our Predeceſſors in like occaſion. And for a further manifeſtation of their ſincerity in their ſaid Offer, upon our accord thereunto, did, at the Court aforeſaid, in publick give into our Hands and Poſſeſſion the Copies of five of their Agreements, made with our ſaid Predeceſſors, with Power to chuſe which of them we ſhould beſt like of, to be a Rule and Pattern for an abſolute Concluſion and Condition to be drawn up between us and them; thereon alſo promiſing that they would make, grant, and confirm the like unto us. And whereas we thereon, and to the Purpoſes and Ends aforementioned, choſe and fixed upon that Agreement, which the ſaid Company had made with Sir* Thomas Glover, *formerly Ambaſſador, Reſident for the Crown of* England, *with this State: And his Majeſty by his Favour, did aſſure the ſame unto us, graciouſly promiſing to make his Employment of us here, as good and beneficial in all the Allowances and Perquiſites thereof, as it had been to any of our Predeceſſors whoever, and we expected no leſs. The ſaid Company finding themſelves miſtaken in their Offer, (as they pretended) firſt retired from the ſame, denying their ſaid Agreement, (though ſufficiently proved before his Majeſty); and then by force of Preſents and Mony given under-hand to the Officers of that Time, ſo prevailed againſt us, that we could not only not obtain that Right, which ſince hath appeared unto us, and (as well by their own Agreement, as by his Majeſty's Judgment then, Cuſtom, and their former Contracts) was due unto us; but were forced after to other Agreements with the ſaid Company, by which (over and above all ſuch Rights, Priviledges, and Perquiſites, as then were and ſhould be granted unto*

1646. unto us by his Majeſty's Capitulations; and beſides all other Gratifications and Allowances accuſtomed to be given to his Majeſty's Ambaſſador, (which in Houſhold Proviſions only the ſaid Company aſſured us, were to the value of 800 l. per Annum Sterling, at leaſt) and over and above ſuch Plate and Houſhold-Stuff as they aſſured us, we ſhould find of theirs here, and hold to our uſe during our Reſidence, (of which we found not the value of an Aſper) the ſaid Company did covenant with us, (for and in reſpect of our Pains and Care only therein agreed to be taken by us, in their Affairs and Occaſions as aforeſaid, for and during all our time as his Majeſty's Ambaſſador with this State) they would pay, or cauſe to be paid unto us, the Sum of 5000 * Chickeens per An. to be paid by equal Proportions quarterly before-hand; by their failing wherein (beſides our other Engagements for them to a very good Value) twenty and five thouſand Dollars or thereabouts, reſts at this day due and unpaid unto us: And whereas alſo after the Agreements aforeſaid, upon ſeveral Arguments held before his Majeſty, concerning the Rights of that Conſulage, which amongſt other things is granted by the Grand Signior, and payable by his Capitulations to his Majeſty's Ambaſſador Reſident at this Imperial Port from Strangers, (to which the ſaid Company could ſhew no likely or probable Title) the ſaid Company were adjudged to relinquiſh their Pretences to the ſaid Conſulage; and a Grant thereof under his Majeſty's Royal Hand and Signet, was thereon made and given to us, for our better ſupport during the time of our Reſidence here. The ſaid Company (upon Conditions between them and us agreed) did alſo promiſe to give us Content therefore; with intent nevertheleſs thereby to get advantage of our credulity and abſence, and to draw us out of ſuſpect of their evil Intentions towards us, which hath ſince (as well by their ſeveral interruptions and hinderances here in the Collection thereof, as their practices, and endeavours at Council Table before his Majeſty, and by their other Appeals to the Courts of Parliament, where in theſe Times of Diſtractions, they preſumed of ſome better advantage) hath appeared unto us: Whereby, and by ſuggeſting ſeveral Untruths againſt us, and by other falſe ways they have endeavoured not only to deprive us of the Strangers Conſulage, and benefit thereof; but under that colour alſo, and theſe their Pretences, to keep themſelves from paying, as us from taking ſuch other Conſulage, as was, and is as much our right and due unto us from themſelves, by the ſaid Capitulations, and the Grand Signior's Grant thereon, for all their own Goods traded in: And now of late, but ſuſpecting our juſt Intentions of making a claim thereto, (for until this preſent day we never made any demand thereof, or publick pretence therein) to prevent what they ſuppoſe we might juſtly do in our own Right, (for we take God to Witneſs we knew no other cauſe); under like unjuſt and ſcandalous Pretences, we are certified, that they not only go about to get us removed from our Employment here, but upon falſe Suggeſtions, looſe and bare Suſpicions only, have gotten Order for the ſeizure of all our Lands and other Eſtates in England into their power; as ſome of their own Servants and Factors here have the confidence to report and affirm: and as we are aſſured from thence, without hearing of us; nay, ſo much as intimation to us of the Grounds thereof, or ſuch Matters and Things as they pretend at leaſt to have againſt us, whereby we might anſwer for our ſelves; and ſo, whilſt we are labouring (as for theſe many Years we have done, with all fidelity) for them and their publick Intereſt (whereof, as we have proof ſufficient in our Actions, ſo we have him that is Judg of the World for Witneſs to our Conſcience) they are contriving the ruin of us and our Poſterity. 1646. Which manner of proceeding, ſo unjuſt, horrid, and odious before God and Man (as in all reaſon we ought) taking to heart, and our ſerious conſideration, and as well that Violence which is offered to the Laws, and his Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt therein, as our Self and our Family; not pretending to extend that Authority which his Majeſty hath put into our Hands to unlawful Ends, but only to make a juſt uſe of it for the right and lawful defence of our ſelves and it, in the ſeveral Occaſions aforementioned; finding by Accompt under the Hands of the Treaſurer of the ſaid Company here, that for ſuch Goods as they have brought in and carried out from the Port of Conſtantinople, there is due unto us according to the Capitulations, and the Grand Signior's Grants therein, to the value of Dollars Ryals of ^{8}, ſeventy four thouſand: and that for the like in Smyrna there is due Dollars Ryals of ^{8}, one hundred thouſand in circa; and rating that Eſtate in Land which they have gotten into their power as aforeſaid, but at the value we were offered for it, viz. at ninety ſeven thouſand and five hundred Dollars; in all, two hundred ſeventy one thouſand and five hundred Dollars. Beſides, (for ought we know to the contrary) they may elſe have prevailed themſelves upon of ours, and as due to us by Privy Seal to the value of one hundred thouſand Dollars: and Leaſes under the Great Seal to near as great a value more. We hereby enorder Sequeſtration of all Monies, Merchandizes, and other Goods and Faculties whatever, within the Dominions of the Grand Signior whereever, belonging to the Parties and Members of the ſaid Company, in the Schedule hereunto annexed, the chief Fomentors, Contrivers, and Abettors of theſe unjuſt and horrid Proceedings; requiring you, John Hetherington, and you Lorenzo Zuma, or one, or both, or either of you, by the help and

* VIII ſterling.

1646. *and means of that Officer ſent by the Vizier, and thoſe Commands in your Hands, (being now at* Smyrna *on other like Occaſions) according to your Inſtructions herewith ſent, to board and enter all Ships and Veſſels, and to break open, and enter into all and every of the Houſes, Ware-houſes, Counting-houſes, of all and every of the Parties in the Schedule hereunto annexed and aforementioned; and there to Attach, Arreſt, and take into your cuſtody and poſſeſſion; and as arreſted and ſequeſtred, to take, carry away, and put into ſafe cuſtody, all ſuch Monies, Merchandizes, other Goods and Faculties of what Nature ſoever that you ſhall diſcover, find out, and get into your power, belonging to any of the Parties, or under the Marks of the Schedule hereunto annexed; and the ſame to keep, ſo arreſted and ſequeſtred, for our better Indemnity, Satisfaction, and Defence, againſt all Pretences of the* Levant *Company beforementioned whatever, until we may be heard therein by due courſe of Law, and till farther Order from us in that behalf; for which this is to be your Warrant. Dated in* Pera *of* Conſtantinople, *this 30th of* April, Anno. 1646.

To our loving Friends and Servants, *John Hetherington*, and
Lorenzo Zuma.

Sackvile Crow.

To perform and put in execution the foregoing Warrant, it was neceſſary to make uſe of the Turkiſh Officers Power and Authority: Wherefore Sir *Sackvile Crow* demanding Audience of the Grand Vizier, and repreſenting Matters unto him in that manner, as he judged moſt agreeable to his Cauſe, was heard by him with a gentle and gracious Ear; and aſſurances made to him of all Reſpect, Favour, and Aſſiſtance imaginable. For the Turks had now ſmelt out a Cauſe in Tranſaction, which with good improvement might be worth them many Purſes of Mony; and was of ſuch a Nature, as that their Religion, and Doctrine, obliged them to nouriſh, having the proſpect of gaining Mony, and enflaming Chriſtian Diſcord. On theſe Grounds Sir *Sackvile Crow* eaſily obtained Commands from the Vizier, directed to the Kadi of *Smyrna*, to act all things according to direction of him the Ambaſſador; and to enforce Matters with better execution, a Chaous, or Purſuivant, accompanied with *John Hetherington*, and *Lorenzo Zuma* Interpreter, was diſpatched to *Smyrna*, with Commands to carry up the Conſul and Factors to *Conſtantinople*, and to break open the Ware-houſes, and make ſeizure on ſuch Eſtates belonging to the *Turkie* Company, as would anſwer the Demands and Pretentions of the Ambaſſador. Accordingly the Conſul and Factory were carried up, and with that other of *Galata*, impriſoned in the Ambaſſador's Houſe.

In the mean time the Agents at *Smyrna*, with aſſiſtance of the Kadi, ſealed up all the Merchants Ware-houſes; but when it came to execution and Seizure, more Difficulties aroſe; for the Turks, Armenians, and Jew-Merchants, made high Clamours to the Juſtice, that many of the Goods belonged unto them, ſome were not yet paid for, others were only Pawns in the Engliſh Hands; and all the Town being deſirous to favour the Cauſe of the Merchants, a great Uproar and Hubbub aroſe amongſt the People: The Kadi affrighted hereat, grew more ſlack and faint in his Proceedings; but the Cordial of 1500 Dollars, and Gratuities to his Servants, overcame the Difficulties, and gave him new Reſolution; ſo that at length, being attended with the Principal Officers of the Town, he began firſt with the Conſul's Houſe, making Seiſure, and delivering out of the Ware-houſes all the Goods found there; with ſome Caution howſoever, and reſpect to thoſe Pretenſions which Stranger-Merchants made thereunto; as appears by the following Letters. 1646.

Joh. Hetherington *and* Lorenzo Zuma, *their Letters to Sir* Sackvile Crow, *adviſing further of their Proceedings; dated in* Smyrna, June 16. 1646.

Right Honourable;

YEſterday we received your Lordſhips of the *4th* preſent, being the Copy of the *3d*: And to day we received your Lordſhips's of the *8th*, and rejoice to hear your Lordſhip is in ſuch a readineſs for your juſt Demands, and wiſh your Lordſhip leſs Trouble, and better Succeſs than we this day have had, and we doubt for many days ſhall incounter here. This morning the Cadie's Son, with his Neipe and principal Officers came; and we began firſt with the Conſul's Houſe. But before we began, 'twas ſpoken in the Kaddie's own Houſe, and all over the Town, our Deſign to ſeize what we could find; about ſeven a Clock his Son came and entred the Conſul's Houſe, and opened all the Warehouſes, and took from thence, with *Elford*'s and *Keeble*'s, ſome four hundred Clothes, and nine Bales Mohairs; we left behind us 38 Bales of Silk, 13 Bales his Servant pretended were ſold by his Maſter to Mr. *Brent*, to be paid by Bill of Exchange at *Conſtantinople*, and when advice came the Bills were paid, the Goods ſhould be delivered; in the mean time they lie in Mr. *Lancelot*'s Warehouſe, with ſome 40 Clothes, 60 Barrels of Tin, which Tin belongs to Mr. *Sainthill*, and ſealed up by the Neipe and us. Before we had ended at this Houſe, the whole Town was in an Uprore, being fomented by Jews, and ſome of the young Fry left behind, and proclaimed in the Streets, that the Town would be undone, the Trade loſt and go to wrack, if this was ſuffered; ſo that before the Conſul's Door were ſo many of the ſcum of the Town, the Streets were packed thick of them. On the other ſide, a more unruly Enemy threatned worſe things, the Maſter of the Golden Lion, who had before given *Barnardiſton* 9000

Dollars at *Cambio*, and had no Goods in his Poſſeſſion, hearing how it would fare with them, Lands forty Men at *Barnardiſton*'s Houſe, and vowed he would have his Mony or Goods, or ſwore he would beat down the Town; ſo likewiſe the *Jonas* got her Sails to Yards, that the Kaddie's Son and the Chiouz, deſired to let it alone until another day, for fear of worſe Events: So when they had made an end at *Lancelot*'s Houſe, would ſtay no longer, but promiſed to come another day. The Eſtate before mentioned we carried away in ſpight of Envy, and have put it up in a ſafe Cane. As ſoon as this was done, becauſe the Captain would not come aſhore, I got *Jordan* to go aboard the Golden Lion, and know the Maſter his Intent, and to acquaint him with the Danger might enſue thereon; all we could urge was nothing, except he had ſatisfaction for his 9000 Dollars; at laſt told him, if we knew where his Eſtate lay, we would endeavour to help him to it; ſo he found it out, and we delivered it to him, and the Man was very well ſatisfied. And now we hope to find little Impediment, and to morrow Morning the Caddie's Son promiſeth to come again, and we doubt not the ſame day but to make an end. If your Lordſhip ſaw the little regard theſe People bear to the Grand Signior's Commands, the Caddie, or ought elſe but their private Ends, your Lordſhip would (as we hope your Lordſhip will) not blame us if we procured but the half of what your Lordſhip's Letter mentions. To morrow (if God bleſs us) we ſhall ſend your Lorſhip more punctual Advice, and for the preſent crave leave to ſubſcribe our ſelves,

Smyrna, June 16. Your Honours
1646.
Moſt faithful, moſt obliged,
and moſt humble
Servants,

John Hetherington.
Lorenzo Suma.

John Hetherington, *and* Lorenza Zuma's *Letter to Sir* Sackvile Crow; *dated in* Smyrna, *June* 19. 1646.

Right Honourable,

OUrs of the 16*th* adviſed your Lordſhip, how with the Caddie's Son, his Niepe, and Chia, we had entred the Houſe of Mr. *Lancelott*, and taken into our poſſeſſion the Goods we found therein, not pretended unto by Strangers; and how by the inſolency of *Nicholas Terrick*, Maſter of the *Hopewell*, (formerly the *Golden Lion*) we were interrupted that day from proceeding any farther; and how by the means of Captain *Jordan*, we had pacified that young, raſh, and undiſcreet Man; and that we hoped the next Morning to proceed without interruption, but it fell not out ſo: for the next Morning we went to *Barnardiſton*'s Houſe, thinking to make all ſure there; and when we had begun, in comes the Maſter with a Crew of his own, and ſaid, thoſe Goods he had received were not ſufficient to give him ſatisfaction, and demanded of us the reſt. We anſwered, We could not give him theſe Goods we had ſealed up before he came into Port, for what he demanded; but aſſured him, if he knew of any thing ſtanding out, we would endeavour, the beſt we could, for his Satisfaction: Upon this, as we underſtood ſince, a young Man of the Houſe whiſpered the Maſter in his Ear, and told him, if he were not ſatisfied before the Goods went out of the Houſe, all was loſt, he would never have a Penny of it: Upon this, away goes the Maſter aboard, with this young Man in his company, and looſed his Sails, but threatned nothing. Upon this comes in the Jews, and told the Niepe and the Chia, that the Maſter would ſhoot down the Town; but for all our perſwaſions that he durſt not, away runs the Niepe & his Company, and leaves us there alone: ſo we reſolved to have done it our ſelves; but the Merchants had ſo worked with the Hamalls, that there was not one to be ſeen; ſo being alone, and ſeeing his Boat coming aſhore, well mann'd, and fearing a ſurprize, we preſently repaired to the Chiouzes, and deſired him to go with us to the Caddies, to ſee if we could have any better aſſiſtance from him. By this time the Town was in a great Uproar, and the People ſomething too inſolent; the Caddie, to prevent the worſt, preſently cauſed the Shops to be ſhut up, and immediately ſent for all the chief Men of the Town, (who by Preſents before we had made our Friends) and there before them all, and a great company of the Townſmen, cauſed the Commands to be read, and told them how much they were bound to ſee the Grand Signior's Commands put in execution, and what diſhonour it would be for one Ship to command the Town. So after they had diſputed the Buſineſs, the Caddie ſends an Officer aboard (accompanied with the Druggermen to the Nation) to know whether he would hinder the proſecution of the Grand Signior's Command, or no, and to know his Anſwer? He preſently denied he ever intended to ſhoot at the Town, only deſired his own: So preſently after the People were a little appeaſed, we went to work again, and ſo this day have finiſhed all: it being done in ſuch confuſion, we cannot give your Lordſhip that exact Accompt

1646. you may expect within a day or two; for then we will ſend your Lordſhip the Particulars, with the Values; in mean time we ſtand upon our Guard, having ſome 20 or 30 of the Souldiers of the Caſtle to keep watch every night; for (my Lord!) here is no ſmall Hubbub in the Town, and threatning both of us and the Eſtate, but we will ſecure both as well as we can. We have ſent your Lordſhip a rough Draught of what we have, and what we have left ſealed up, and find it fall ſhort far of what your Lordſhip expected: the ſooner your Lordſhip diſpoſes of it, the better; for aſſure your ſelf, there is daily ſome Deſign or other hatching: We ſhould be very ſorry, after all this, to have it miſcarry, therefore pray (my Lord!) diſpoſe of it (to prevent the worſt) as ſoon as you may. Your Lordſhip was pleaſed to inorder us to change our Lodging, being too near the Water-ſide, and in a Merchant's Houſe; which, as ſoon as we can get a ſecure Houſe, we will; but the farther from the Water-ſide, the more dangerous, if the People of the Country ſhould intend us any ill.

The French, and many others, pretend Debts of many of thoſe People that are gone up, and would know who ſhall pay them, and pretend to be paid out of their Eſtates; but we have put them off, telling them, we believe your Lordſhip will hardly let your Eſtate go to pay their Debts; nevertheleſs, ſhall adviſe your Lordſhip of it: ſo have ſecured none, only to one ***Huzoone Amet*** Aga, one of the chief Men in the Town here, Mr. ***Lancelott*** having given him a Bill of Exchange for 475 Dollars, and the Bill returned unpaid, we were forced to deliver into the Hangee's Hands, for his Security, 10 Cloathes.

We have given the Ships liberty to lade, by reaſon of their continual grumbling, but fear our Deſign on the *Jonas* will not take; for the Caddie ſeeing the ſtubbornneſs of *Terrick*, will not aſſiſt us as he promiſed. We have not ought to inlarge at preſent, but to ſubſcribe our ſelves,

Your Honours,

John Hetherington,

Lorenzo Zuma.

Matters running thus high, and the Breach made ſo wide, there remained little hopes of an Accommodation: For now the Merchants at *Galata*, having obtained their Liberty from the Ambaſſador's Houſe, by the Vizier's Command, entred into a Conſultation in what manner to govern their Affairs, electing ſome particular Men to that Employment, which they called by the Name of the *Sealed Knot*, which much provoked the Anger of Sir *Sackvile Crow*, and more, because that deſerting his Protection, they made Applications to the Heer *Coppes*, Agent for the States of *Holland*; who readily embraced the defence of their Cauſe, and willingly repreſented to the Grand Vizier the Aggrievances, and ill Treatment of which they complained. The French Ambaſſador, on the other ſide, being a great Favourer of Sir *Sackvile Crow* and his Proceedings, aſſiſted him both at *Smyrna* and *Conſtantinople*. All which will more particularly appear by the following Letters.

1646.

The Factors General Letter to the Levant *Company, dated the* 28*th of* June, 1646, *in* Conſtantinople.

Right Worſhipful,

SIrs, at preſent we have our Heads and Hands full, and all little enough to preſerve your Eſtates from devouring, and our ſelves from that Evil Conſequence might enſue upon ſuch unheard-of Proceedings and Intentions, as have been long in private agitation; but when the Monſter came to the Birth, there wanted ſtrength to bring forth; ſo, in a good hour we may ſay, the Snare is broken, and doubt not the Devices of the Crafty is fruſtrate by him, whoſe Almightineſs ſhews it ſelf moſt, when we Mortals are leaſt capable to help our ſelves. We ſhall, according to our Obligation, give your Worſhips ſome account of the laſt Progreſſions of his Lorſhip Sir *Sackvile Crow*, whom his Majeſty ſent hither Ambaſſador, and to be a Protector of your Eſtates, and our Perſons; how he hath performed this Charge and Duty formerly, your Lorſhips have in part heard; what hath happened of late, we ſhall now chiefly inſiſt upon.

After his Lordſhip had cauſed the ſtay of the Ships in this Port, and at *Smyrna*, under pretence of this State's requiring it, in reſpect of their Wars with the Venetians, the *Sampſon* and *Smyrna* Merchant, having been here almoſt ſeven Months, to the great loſs and damage of Ships and Goods; he picks a quarrel with the Factory of *Smyrna*, for not complying according to his Order, in the paiment of their Parts of the laſt Leviation-Mony; and hereupon ſends down *John Hetherington* one of his Servants, a moſt lewd, debaucht, prophane, riotous Fellow, (yet his Lordſhip's Kinſman) accompanied with two Chiouzes, two Druggermen, a Janizary, and other Servants, to proceed with thoſe who ſhould refuſe to pay their Leviation according to the Inſtructions he had given the ſaid *Hetherington*, and *Lorenzo Zuma*, Druggerman: But before the arrival of theſe Agents, the Nation there had undertaken the paiment by an Obligatory Letter to his Lordſhip; this would not ſatisfy, nor depoſition of Goods for Security, until Anſwer ſhould come from hence of the paiment of their Bills of

Exchange, which was tendred; but the ſecond day after their arrival, *Hetherington* and his Retinue goes to the Caddie's, and thither cauſes the Conſul and all the Nation to come; where it was pretended they had laden the *William* and *Thomas* with Corn, and ſent her away; and therefore, by virtue of an Imperial Command, (very privately here procured) the Conſul, and ſix more of the Nation, were delivered into the Hands of the Chiouz, and ſo brought up hither, not being ſuffered to return to their own Houſes, but put a day and a night into an offenſive dark place, the Doors and Windows not only ſhut, but nailed upon them, not ſuffering either their Friends or Servants to come at them, or a Window open till the evening, for which alſo they paid Dollars 100. In this diſgraceful manner they were brought hither, where they have been ſince the 22*d* of the laſt Month, Priſoners in his Lordſhip's Houſe to the 21*ſt* preſent, notwithſtanding they had complied in paying the Leviation Monies in leſs than a Week after their arrivals; and by fair Promiſes, put off from day to day, for their diſpatch to their Buſineſs at *Smyrna*, which could not but much ſuffer by their abſence: Their Magazines and Counting-houſes continued ſealed from the time of their Attachments; the Ships not permitted to lade, or depart, though empty; and no Debts due to them would be paid in this their Abſence and time of Diſtraction.

The Leviation Monies being ſatisfied, (of which Dollars 31000, his Lordſhip forced into *Cancellaria*); and we of *Smyrna* expecting no more rubs in the way, his Lordſhip, the 16*th* Inſtant, calls a Court, and there declared, That of what Monies had been collected, there would not remain much on the old Accompt; therefore proviſion muſt be made for the future growing Charge, for ſo much as upon this pretended Imbargo, no Ships would come in haſte, and he and his muſt be maintained, which he would provide for: Hereupon, when we could not do otherwiſe, Dollars 25000 was promiſed, half by this Factory, for which his Lordſhip cauſed us to enter into Bond, as he did thoſe of *Smyrna* for the other half; this being effected, which we ſhould not neither altogether have been ſo ready to have complied in, but thereby to put a period to all other Demands, and enable our ſelves to proceed in our Buſineſs for your Worſhips better Service.

The 18*th* preſent his Lordſhip calls another Court; and after arguing of ſome General Matters, with a ſeeming ſadneſs, tells us how that he had been wronged by falſe Information from hence and *Smyrna*, (but he was ſo far from proving it, as that he would not diſcover ſo much as whom he ſuſpected) and thereupon the *Levant* Company at Home had, by means of the Parliament, procured Sequeſtration of his Eſtate and Lands in *England*, and endeavoured to ſurprize his Perſon; and therefore, according to Religion, Reaſon, and common Policy, he ought to ſecure himſelf and his Hoſtages; and thereupon he departed from us, requiring the Nation ſpeedily to reſolve of ſome preſent Satiſfaction that might ſecure his Eſtate at Home, and Perſon here, otherwiſe he vowed to God, he would ſuddenly do it himſelf, with no little diſadvantage to our ſelves and Principals. Theſe ſtrange, unreaſonable, and unexpected Demands, filled us with amazement, not knowing what Anſwer to give to ſuch a groundleſs demand; we deſired the Secretary Signior *Dominico* to know his Lordſhips more particular Deſires therein, that ſo we might better underſtand him, and to put his Demands into ſuch a moderate way, as he might receive ſome Satiſfaction. He returned us Anſwer, that we muſt reſolve to ſatisfy his aforeſaid Demands before we went thence: Whereupon the Gates were ſhut, and alſo Guards ſet upon us, that we ſhould not converſe with any, or convey ſo much as a Paper out of Doors. Thus we are all ſurprized, made cloſe Priſoners, and our Counting-houſe, Ware-houſe, and Chambers ſealed up, to make ſure of our Goods and Eſtates there alſo. Continuing in this ſad Condition all Night, and finding no Motion to proceed from his Lordſhip to declare himſelf farther, four or five of us was appointed by the generality, perſonally to crave his Lordſhip's particular Deſires and Demands of us: Whoſe Anſwer was, That the loweſt value he could put upon his Lands the Company had ſequeſtred, was 25000 pounds *Sterling*; and for the loſs he ſhould ſuſtain by being put out of the Ambaſſadorſhip, which he ſaith his Majeſty hath granted him for his Life; therefore the Strangers Conſulage he rates at Dollars 5000 *per Annum*; which for the clear Gain of ſeven Years to come, is Dollars 35000; for which he declared that he would not accept of any Perſonal Security or Obligation whatſoever, but a preſent diſpoſition of Dollars 160000 in Mony or Goods, into his own hands muſt be made. And if to this we would not condeſcend, he told us, That he at the laſt Sacrament had vowed to God (as he doth now) to ſacrifice his Eſtate, Himſelf, Wife and Children, for the execution of this his abſolute Intent; and till then, neither our Perſons, Eſtates, Ships here, or at *Smyrna*, ſhould be free. We told his Lordſhip, that finding not any of us had heard of any ſuch Things was (or intended to be) done againſt him by the Company, it would give us great Satiſfaction, to ſhew

us

1646. us thoſe Advices he grounded this Pretence upon. To this no Anſwer was then given by himſelf, but diſmiſſed us, leaving it to our laſt and ſpeedy Reſolution, becauſe he was reſolved to ſtrike home. Immediately after he ſent us word by a ſecond, That he could not let his Honour deſcend ſo low, as to ſhew his Advices to any. This empty Reply, gave us too much reaſon, not only to conclude this to be a feigned Pretence, but made us ſuſpect his Intention and Aim was at all the Nation's Eſtate in the Country; and therefore we returned him this reaſonable and defenſive Anſwer, as your Worſhips will particularly perceive by the incloſed Paper: whereunto is adjoined his Reply to that our Anſwer, as he pretended; tho it appears it was intended before, it being dated a day before our Anſwer. Whilſt thus we continued, it happened that thoſe four of us were fortunately abſent from Court that day, who hearing of our Conditions, wherefore, and why we were thus detained, and what an ill Period theſe Proceedings tended unto, if not timely and prudently prevented; they uſed their beſt endeavours to free us and your Livelihoods from the Claws of Tyranny and Covetouſneſs; they applied themſelves to Signor *Illuſtriſſimo Coppes*, the States of *Hollands* Agent: who as he was ever a Friend and Favourer of the Nation, ſo now he gave us good and great teſtimony thereof in this our greateſt Need and Extremity: and chiefly by his means with a Sum of Mony; together with the Clamors of the Jews, and many other of the Grand Signior's Subjects againſt this our preſent Abuſe, and deſtruction of future Trade: The Vizier (whom they had well and fully poſſeſſed with the Truth of all Things) after three days Impriſonment, ſent a Chiouz for us to his Lordſhip's Houſe, from whence we were carried before the Vizier, who much upbraided his Lordſhip, ſaying, He never gave him Commands for ſuch Proceedings, notwithſtanding his Lordſhip's avaneous Allegations againſt his own Nation, by ſaying, an Engliſh Ship at *Smyrna* was laden with Powder, Ammunition, *&c.* and there reſided for aſſiſtance of the Turks Enemies; and other the like Abuſes, and deſtructive Courſes againſt thoſe here; tending not only to the confiſcation of Ships and Eſtates, but the riſgo of enſlaving our Bodies, if not the loſs of all or ſome of our Lives, had his Helliſh Plots taken effect. The next day after our general Commitment, arrives five more of our fellow Factors from *Smyrna*, there ſeized upon and made Priſoners; and ſo by his Lordſhip's Command, in that nature brought to his Houſe, and put amongſt us, notwithſtanding the advice from their Correſpondents hence was at *Smyrna*, (before their departure thence) that their part of Leviation Mony was all paid in here; yet their Leviation, with one third more in Monies and Goods, was taken again from them by his impudently impious Miniſters there, and all the reſt of their Goods continued ſealed up: So the Intent (as your Worſhips may plainly perceive) was no other than firſt to get the Monies here paid, then to ſeize upon their Perſons, and next to take away and ſecure their Eſtates; thereby to prevent a juſt, reaſonable, and natural Defence; and now it too plainly appears, (becauſe his Lordſhip's Imployers had taken courſe no Meſſengers ſhould come unto us); Horſemen are daily diſpatched unto us by our Friends at *Smyrna*, adviſing us to the 20*th* Inſtant, of the unnatural and devouring Progreſſions they had there made; which was done by the aſſiſtance of the Caddie, whom they had well bribed, beginning to act there at the ſame time as we were here all impriſoned; ſo there was no intent of ſtaying for our Anſwer to his extravagant Demands. They firſt fell upon Mr. *Lancelot's* Houſe, thence proceed all throughout the Nation; ſo that they have not only taken away all the Goods, Monies, and Effects whatſoever they could find in their Houſes, at Home or Abroad, but broke open and ranſack'd all our Chambers, Trunks, and Counting-houſes, which mounteth to a far greater value than his demands of Dollars 160000; and by large Promiſes to Informers, endeavour to diſcover and take what is owing them abroad by People of the Country; and have ſo threatned our Friends and Servants to deliver our Books, and declare where's more of our Eſtates, that they are conſtrained to leave our naked Houſes to the open World, and betake themſelves to the Ships in Port for Refuge. All this it ſeems contents them not, but are contriving Proviſions, by policy and force of ſome Rogues of the Country, to unlade what Goods the Nation had put on board the *Jonas*. For all which, we have not only the advice of our diſtreſſed Friends there, but ſuch infallible Information, as your Worſhips may perceive by the incloſed authentick Copies of Letters from his Inſtruments at *Smyrna* to his Lordſhip here; by which you will too plainly perceive his Lordſhip did, and ſtill doth aim at all the Eſtate the Nation had in the Country; and for that cauſe he was ſo much enraged for the departure of the *Hertules*, and *William* and *Thomas*, whoſe Goods he eſteemed as ſo much loſs to him. 1646.

We have been now ſeven days out of his Lordſhip's hands, and are endeavouring to free that Eſtate they have already taken at *Smyrna*, as alſo to defend

our

1646. our Selves and your Eſtates in future from him, and free the Ships out of Port, (which no queſtion at laſt will be proved have been detained by his Lordſhip to this ill purpoſe) and if poſſible, to procure the return of Dollars, 20 in 30000, his Lordſhip hath unavoidably forced from us in the Leviation Accompt, upon ſtrange Pretences. All which (by the aſſiſtance of our obliged and worthy Friend *Signior Illuſtriſſimo Coppes*; together with the expence of Dollars 30 in 40000, to the Vizier and other Turkiſh Miniſters) we doubt not but ſpeedily to effect; for without this honeſt defenſive Remedy, we can expect nothing but ruin to all your Eſtate in the Country, which ſtill he threatneth, and endeavours by all his deviliſh Policy and Means to effect: But the Vizier, and the two Caddeleskiers, who are our Judges, are ſo poſſeſt with the Truth and Reaſon of our Cauſe, as well by the People of the Country, as our Selves, that they have given us full aſſurance, by Promiſes, Proteſtations, and ſound Probabilities, that our juſt Demands ſhall be accompliſhed; for which we all faithfully and earneſtly endeavour Night and Day, and ſo do hourly expect a good determination of it: and till there be an Iſſue or Settlement given to this our confuſed Condition, (which we hope will not continue for many days) no particular Principal muſt expect Advice from any Factor here, becauſe no private Man can fitly adviſe any thing, till the general Buſineſs be better ordered: And as we proceed therein, we ſhall by all Ways and Conveyances give your Worſhips a true and exact Account. We do humbly beſeech your Worſhips to acknowledg the good Offices of the State's Agent to their Ambaſſador with you, and ſo fully certify him, that Illuſtr. Sign. *Coppes* appeared no ways againſt his Lordſhip as Ambaſſador, or trenching on the King's Honour, but reſpectfully and modeſtly for the ſafety of your Eſtates.

To particularize all Paſſages and Circumſtances in this Buſineſs, would prove more troubleſom than needful to your Worſhips, ſo pleaſe to accept of this Relation; for this is the preſent ſtate of yours and our Condition; which though not ſo well as we could wiſh, yet better than we could imagine; for the Hand was up, the Match lighted, and a little more time would have blown up all. We need not put your Worſhips in mind ſpeedily to ſend us another Protector, ſeeing the Neceſſity of your Occaſions craves it too plainly; and in confidence of your ſpeedy Reſolution thereof, we ſhall continue, hoping our Deſires will be ſatisfied, and the Eſtates in better ſecurity, by his ſpeedy arrival here; which God in Mercy grant.

His Lordſhip's Cauſe is ſo bad, that Signor *Dominico* your Secretary, Signior *George*, and all other Druggermen, have not only declined his Lordſhip, but apply themſelves to us, (and eſpecially the former). In fine, we conceive his Lordſhip finds his former bad Proceedings have made him uncapable to return into *England*, and alſo uncertain of his Reſidence here; which, together with the improvident uſe he hath made of his Golden Time, that he intended to ſeize upon all He and his unworthy Inſtruments could catch hold of; for to this purpoſe he diverted the *Golden Fleece's* advantagious Deſign for *Venice*; which at firſt was approved and cauſed by his own conſent; and occaſioned her Factor here, to whom ſhe was conſigned, to let her him to fraight, that ſo Himſelf, Family, and undue gotten Eſtate, may be conveyed (as is ſuppoſed) into *France*, with whoſe Ambaſſador, there hath been often a more than ordinary correſpondency of late. 1646.

Galata of *Conſtantinople*,
June 28. 1646.

Before the ſealing up of our Letter, we have procured an Imperial Command for the recovering of the Eſtate into our Hands, taken away at *Smyrna*; as alſo for the attaching the Perſons, and bringing thoſe good Agents of his Lordſhips hither, to anſwer their Proceedings and Behaviour: the obtaining of which Command, we are not a little glad of, being our Obligatory Teſtimony of the Vizier's being our Friend, and ties him thereby to continue ſo, which we hope effectually to find, two days hence, when his Lordſhip is to appear with us before him; but in caſe he refuſeth (as already he hath done) the Vizier will give Sentence againſt him.

Your Worſhips may be pleaſed to take notice, that his Lordſhip's chief Counſellor, in theſe his undue Proceedings, is Mr. *Henry Hyde*, of whoſe good Service in your former Occaſions at the *Morea*, we need not to give teſtimony; but can aſſure your Worſhips, that ſince his coming hither, he hath occaſioned great Diſturbance among the Nation; and now at laſt (had the Deſign before mentioned taken effect) might have raiſed his decayed Fortunes, by the ruin of Yours and our Eſtates; but, thanks be to God, the Counſel of *Achitophel* is turned into Folly. And for your late Treaſurer *John Woolf*, the ſatisfying of whoſe Debts hath ſo mounted the laſt Leviation, he is ſo far from acknowledging the Courteſies done in acquitting him from his Creditors, that he is become Aſſiſtant (though a weak one) to his Lordſhip in the Proceeding aforementioned: And having deſerted *Galata*, with Mr. *Henry*

1646. *Hyde*, reſides at his Lorſhip's, laying their Heads together in contriving Miſchief againſt thoſe from whom they have had their Maintenance.

In caſe your Worſhips ſhould not be in a poſture to procure an Ambaſſador ſo ſoon as you may deſire, that you would pleaſe in the interim, and as ſoon as may be, to obtain a Letter from his Majeſty to the Grand Signior, or Vizier, in approbation and acknowledgment of what is done; and that his Lordſhip be not nimbler than your Worſhips in getting the like againſt us, which doubtleſs he will endeavour. We ſhall not farther inlarge at preſent, but intend ſhortly, when all things ſhall be fully and abſolutely ſetled, to write to your Worſhips again. So we reſt.

At Inſtant a Copy of his Lordſhip's Letter, with others directed to him, being come to hand, we ſend them herewith; and from *Smyrna* are adviſed that the Perſons of *Hetherington* and the Druggerman are detained aboard our Ships there; and by this time the Command is with them, which will warrant the bringing them up with their Papers, that are alſo aboard; by which the Plot will more plainly appear. To morrow we expect his Lordſhip's appearance before the Vizier, when we have hopes to reward the Trouble he intended others, *&c.*

Kept until the 6th of
July, *1646.*

Your Worſhips moſt obliged and
humble Servants,

John Wyld,
John Lancelot,
Nicholas Read,
William Aſbley,
Thomas Berkley,
Dixwell Brent,
Nath. Barnardiſton,
James Moyer,
James Modyford,
Daniel Edwards,
William Chappel,
Roger Fouke,
Gyles Ball,
John Tye,
John Ball,
William Pearl,
John Pixley,
George Hanger,
Samuel Barnardiſton,
John Swift,
William Gough,
Thomas Pigot,
John Abney,
Francis Aſbwell,
Robert Frampton,
Gyles Davis,
John Plomer,
James Daviſon,
William Osburn,
Henry Davy,
Richard Strode,
Philip Farewell,
John Eriſey,
Jonathan Dawes,
Ralph Goſnold.

Your Worſhips moſt obliged, moſt
humble, and faithful Servant,

Dominico Timone,
Secretary.

1646.

The Factors General Letter from Smyrna, *dated the* 4*th of* July, 1646, *to the* Levant *Company.*

Right Worſhipful Sirs,

IT may pleaſe you, our laſt from hence was by the Ship *William* and *Thomas*, adviſing his Lordſhips Proceedings for another Leviation, for diſcharging your Debts at *Conſtantinople*, being then informed that the whole amounted unto Dollars 118109; and how we were reſolved to withſtand it, until your Worſhips further Pleaſure ſhould be ſignified unto us concerning the ſame, for ſuch Reaſons as we then preſumed to lay open unto you; and that in the mean time we had preſented our Grievances to his Lordſhip's gracious peruſal, the Copy whereof went annexed to our ſaid Letter, to both which you may pleaſe to have reference.

The 24*th* of *March* following, our Conſul called a Court, and declared his Lordſhip's Anſwer to our ſaid Letter, diſliking our Proceedings; and by a new Order prohibited the lading of Goods, and receiving them on Board, and the departure of Ships, until the ſaid Leviation were paid, according to his former Order, and Schedule now ſet down, ſhewing each Man his proportionable part for his Factory of *Smyrna*, amounting in all to Dollars 54950, and for the Factory at *Conſtantinople*, to Dollars 56000, is together Dollars 110950. Whereupon, we generally deſired that his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to ſuſpend the execution of the ſaid Order of Leviation, until ſuch time we ſhould receive your Worſhips farther Order about it, without which we our ſelves were like to pay it out of our own Purſes, as in the laſt Leviation; receiving ſince particular Orders from ſome of our Principals, not to pay any Leviations, otherwiſe it ſhould be for our own Accompts, and not theirs.

The 24*th* of *April*, the Conſul called another Court, ſignifying unto us, that his Lorſhip did require an account for the departure of the Ship *William* and *Thomas*, and *Succeſs*, contrary to his Lordſhip's Commands, there being an Officer of the Vizier's come down to apprehend Captain *Tho. Porter*, and to carry him up to *Conſtantinople*, (which Ships departed at their own pleaſures, being not in our powers to ſtay them). And that concerning the Leviation it was inevitable, and his Lordſhip was reſolved upon it, and therefore would force us unto it, and expect repair of Honour from the Delinquents. Whereupon fearing his Lordſhip's farther diſpleaſure, which might beget ſome greater Inconveniences amongſt us, we preſumed to yield unto his

1646. Lordſhip's Commands, by way of a ſubmiſſive orderly complyance, and conform our ſelves unto the paiment of our parts of the ſaid Leviation, in proportion to the Eſtates were received on the laſt general Ships, *Hercules*, *Sampſon*, and *Smyrna-Merchant*, according to our particular Aſſeſſments; as appeareth by our general Letter preſented to his Lordſhip, and entred in *Cancellaria*, grounded upon the reſult of this days Court; deſiring his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to allow us four Months time for paiment, for ſuch Reaſons as we have alledged in the ſame.

The *6th* of *May*, the Conſul told us he had received other Letters from his Lordſhip, prohibiting not only the Lading of Goods, and the Departure of any Ships, until the Leviation be ſetled; but alſo therein more fully ſignifies and declares, That until the Grand Signior's Fleet be gone forth, he cannot permit any Ship, either at *Conſtantinople*, or here, to lade or be diſpatched; and that accordingly his Lordſhip is ſo required of this State. And in like manner hath ordered and commanded thoſe whom it concerns, both above, and in this Port, to obſerve the ſame. And moreover farther witneſſing, which accordingly (as he ſaid) he was bound to acquaint us, how that the Embargo at *Conſtantinople*, and here, was ſeconded; and his Lordſhip, to avoid farther Dangers and Inconveniences to the Publick, could not refuſe his Conſent thereunto.

The 10*th* of *May* arrived here Mr. *John Hetherington*, a Servant to his Lordſhip, and Signior *Lorenzo Zuma* a Greek, one of his Lordſhip's Druggermen, from *Conſtantinople*; who the next Morning moved our Conſul to call a Court for the Nation; where being aſſembled, the Conſul told the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*, That their Deſires were performed, and therefore required them to deliver what they had in Commiſſion from his Lordſhip: who produced an Order of the 27*th* of *April*, directed to the Conſul and Us, for paiment of the ſaid Leviation forthwith, or elſe to proceed according to his farther Order, Warrant, and Inſtructions in ſuch behalf; and we to be anſwerable to ſuch Loſs, Damage, and Inconveniencies as may enſue thereby. To which we anſwered, That the Leviation was ſubſcribed unto, and therefore deſired the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo* to ſtay four or five days, until his Lordſhip ſhould return Anſwer to our Letter of the 24*th* of *April*. The ſaid *Lorenzo* told us, He would retire and peruſe his Lordſhip's Commiſſion, and in two hours return, to have a more full and ſatisfactory Anſwer from us: which being expired, he declared, That his Lordſhip's Commiſſion required forthwith ready Mony or Goods, (being his Inſtruction, from which he could not vary). 1646. Whereupon Mr. *John Lancelot* firſt anſwered, (as he was a Merchant) He could not depoſit his Cloth, for his Credit's ſake, but would give his Bills for his and Mr. *Dixwell Brent*'s proportionable part of the Leviation, payable at *Conſtantinople per* Mr. *Thomas Pigot*, at five days ſight, into his Lordſhip's *Cancellaria*; which was refuſed, unleſs they would depoſit the value in Cloth, and one third part more towards Charges, in the poſſeſſion of him the ſaid *Lorenzo*; which they ſaid again, for their Credits ſake (as they were Merchants) could not conſent unto; ſo referred themſelves unto the ſaid *Lorenzo*'s farther proceedings, if theſe Proffers would not be accepted of, being not poſſible for them at preſent to procure Monies at Intereſt, or otherwiſe.

The like Conditions we all in general proffered for our proportionable parts, but were refuſed by the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*. Whereupon the Conſul told them, they had all our Aſſents for paiment of the Leviation; and if that, with ſuch Reaſons and Proffers as we propounded, might not be ſatisfactory, the Conſul, and we in general, referred our ſelves to the ſaid *Lorenzo*'s farther Proceedings.

After this, the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo* preſently repaired to the Caddies, accompanied with a prime Chiouz of the Vizier's, and declared their farther Commiſſions: After publication whereof, the Caddie ſent for the Conſul, and all our Nation, where the Capitulations were firſt taken away by Warrant, and the Conſul in a moſt barbarous manner was laid hold on, with *Dixwell Brent*, *Daniel Edwards*, *John Pixley*, *Samuel Barnardiſton*, *George Hanger*, and *James Moyer*, and committed Priſoners into the Cuſtody of the ſaid Chiouz and Officers, and tranſported to a Houſe (taken by them on purpoſe) where they were violently, and in a formidable manner, thruſt into a dark Chamber, and at length were forced to preſent Dollars 300, to have a Window ſet open to give them Light and Air; the Conſul telling the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenza*, before he was ſurpriſed, in the preſence of the Caddies, That neither he, or the Nation, had any ways tranſgreſſed the Grand Signior's, or his Lordſhip's Commands, and that he did not fear what they could do unto him, no not ſo much as to die, in performance of his Faith and Truſt to the *Levant* Company, whom he had truly ſerved; as likewiſe for his Love and Affection he bore to the Nation here under his Charge, whom he would never betray, hoping ſhortly to ſee his own Country again. And in two hours after, the ſaid *Hetherington*, *Lorenzo*, and Chiouz, Caddie,

1646. and Neipe, ſealed up all the Counting-houſes, Magazines, and ſome Chambers; and in two days after, tranſported the Priſoners over-land up to *Conſtantinople*, where they were delivered to his Lordſhip's Power and ſafe Cuſtody; we in the mean time being left like ſo many Sheep without a Shepherd, and ignorant where to ſeek protection.

The next day after departure of theſe Priſoners, the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo* ſealed up our Cloth in our own Warehouſes, for what concerned our proportionable part of the Leviation, at the rate of Dollars 45 *per* Cloth, and one third part more towards Charges.

The 18*th* day of *May*, at the inſtance of the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*, the remainder of us left here behind met together, where the ſaid *Hetherington* told us we had not brought in our Bills of Exchange for *Conſtantinople*, for the parts of our Leviation, and one third part more; unto which we anſwered, We had complyed with his Lordſhip's Commands, in all willing and obedient manner, according to our preſent Poſſibilities, until we ſhould be able to ſatisfy the ſame with our ready Monies here, or by our Bills payable in *Conſtantinople*, at five days ſight, wherein we promiſed to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours, hoping to redeem our Cloth again, which we had depoſited, and they ſealed up, for our proportionable Parts of the Leviation.

In few days after arrived here one of the principalleſt Chiouzes of the Grand Signior, with new Commands ſent down by his Lordſhip; by virtue whereof the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo* ſeized upon the Perſons of *John Ball*, *Henry Davey*, *Phillip Farwell*, *Nathaniel Barnardiſton*, and *John Ingoldsby*, who were committed Priſoners to the ſaid Chiouz, who uſed them with ſome humanity, and ſent up the next day to *Conſtantinople*, to be delivered unto his Lordſhip's Power; after whoſe departure (all Law being ſet aſide) the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo* by this Command came down, opened all our Warehouſes, and by Violence carried all our Goods away into ſeveral Canes of the Turks; as well what they had ſealed up, for the Leviation, as all other Goods of what nature ſoever they could find, unleſs it were ſuch as was ſealed up, and belonged to Turks, and other of the Grand Signior's Subjects; and left many of us ſo bare, that we had not wherewithal to afford us a piece of Bread to keep Life and Soul together, only bare Promiſes. The ſaid Chiouz remaining behind, put us daily into great Fears that we ſhould all be ſent up, or clapt up here in Priſon, which cauſed many of us to repair on board the Ship for Succour, here being in Harbour the Ships *Rainbow*, *Jonas*, *Hopewell*, and *Triangle*. 1646.

In all which time of this Diſtraction and Sufferings, our Miſeries have been much condoled by the chief Turks and Inhabitants of this Place, who ſeem to ſympathize with us in our ſad Conditions; and had not the Commands been ſo powerful, the whole Town would have riſen up in our Defence and Protection, who have privately adviſed of theſe Abuſes; which as they themſelves confeſs, are like to ruin, not only this Scale, but that of *Aleppo* and *Conſtantinople* alſo, to the Diſhonour of the Grand Signior, and ruin of many of his Subjects; and of a profitable and acceptable Friend (our Nation) to become a potent Enemy againſt them.

The 28*th* of *June* came Letters from *Conſtantinople*, adviſing the Vizier's Order for reſcuing both Factories from his Lordſhip's Impriſonment, and particular Advice to ſome of us here left, for apprehending the Perſons of the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*, and to keep them in ſafe Cuſtodies on board our Ships, fearing (we having no Order as yet to receive our Eſtates out of their Poſſeſſions) they might convey our ſaid Eſtates away, or ſell them for half their Worth, and ſo make their private eſcapes out of Town, expecting daily a Chiouz to carry up their Perſons to *Conſtantinople*, and to free our Goods, hoping all will go well again for us. Hereupon the very ſame day, the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*, (without any noiſe or rumour) were by the Mariners conveyed on board ſeveral Ships from the ſaid *Hetherington*'s Lodging, *viz.* *Hetherington* on board the *Triangle*, *William Hodges* Commander; and *Lorenzo* on board the *Hopewell*, *Nicholas Terrick* Commander; where now they remain, to the contentment of the Inhabitants here, who daily expect their ſending up to the Port, there to anſwer to ſuch Crimes and Inſolencies as ſhall be objected and proved againſt them.

Thus we have preſumed plainly and diſtinctly (accordingly as we conceive it becomes us) though briefly, to preſent unto your Worſhips peruſal, the whole Proceſs of his Lordſhip's Proceedings againſt us here in *Smyrna*, (ſince our laſt) according to our experience of the Paſſages; by which your Worſhips may eaſily conjecture his Lordſhip's farther Intentions. And for what hath occurred at *Conſtantinople*, your Worſhips will receive by this Conveyance, adviſe to both which we pray you to be referred; which being taken into your deliberate Conſiderations, may afford ſuch future Means of Protection, and incouragement to enter into a way of ſetling this Turky Trade in ſuch a

1646. poſture, that we hope theſe Loſſes may be repaired with advantage.

And ſo we humbly take our leaves, having given your Worſhips teſtimony of our Concordance, in the diſcharge of our Obligations and Duties; and in conformity we ſubſcribe, evermore reſting,

Smyrna, July 4.
1646.

Your Worſhips humble and
obliged Servants,

Robert Keble,
Thomas Lancelot,
John Wild junior,
Lawrence Chambers,
Will. Oxwieck,
Arnold White,
Daniel Baſſano,
William Whetcombe,
Robert Dawes,
Samuel Browning.

But not to inſiſt long on a Subject ſo ungrateful, as the Difference was between the Ambaſſador and his Merchants; the Concluſion, and Iſſue of all was this. After Sir *Sackvile Crow* had ſpent at the leaſt ſeventy thouſand pieces of Eight of good ready Mony, and the Turky Company two hundred thouſand; the Turks finding the Ambaſſador's Exchequer to be almoſt exhauſted, for that Preſents and Purſes of Mony came not in ſo plentifully as at firſt; and on the contrary, feeling the Spring of the Levant Companies Treaſury ſtill to run freſh and quick, their Inclinations towards the Ambaſſador grew more cold and faint, his Agents were not admitted ſo readily to Audience as formerly, nor his Petitions and Addreſſes received with that candor, as when Mony and Intereſt made their entrance eaſy; in the mean time, the Merchants were heard with great patience, their Cauſe and Complaints eſteemed reaſonable; and in ſhort, Sir *Sackvile Crow* was diſmiſſed from *Conſtantinople*, in a manner not uſual for Ambaſſadors, nor agreeable to that Quality and Character: and was ſucceeded by Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, who was Authorized and conſtituted in that Embaſſy, by Commiſſion from his Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt of ever bleſſed and glorious Memory.

1647. *Gio Capello* being conſtituted General in the place of *Molino*, as we mentioned at the end of the preceding Year, departed from *Venice* early in the Spring, having under his Command fifty Gallies, ſix Galleaſſes, and forty Ships of War, and four Fire-ſhips, beſides other Veſſels, which are neceſſary Attendants on ſo great an Armata; which grand Preparations raiſed the Minds of the Chriſtian World to expect the abatement of the Ottoman Pride, and other Effects equal to the magnificent Oſtentation, and triumphing Glory of this mighty Power: But God, who gives not always Succeſs to the Powerful, nor the Battel to the Strong, was not, it ſeems, ſo well ſatisfied for the Sins of Chriſtendom, as to judge it worthy to be delivered from the Scourges of its Grand Oppreſſor.

Whilſt *Capello* remained with the beſt part of the Fleet at *Candia*, *Tomaſo Moroſini*, Admiral of the Ships, ſhewed himſelf in a Bravado with twenty two Sail before the Caſtles of the *Helleſpont*, called the *Dardanelli*, defying the whole Turkiſh Power, with Colours flying, and Drums beating: nor did they dare to anſwer the bold Challenge, until in a dead Calm, ſome few light Gallies preſented themſelves in a ſeeming Battel, with whom, for want of Wind, the Ships were on the diſadvantage, and rather received Prejudice than gave it; ſo that both ſides were contented with the Action. 1647.

Moroſini withdrew from that Station, and returned to his General at *Candia*; to whom having joined his Forces, he earneſtly perſwaded him, together with the Proveditor *Grimani*, to engage the Turkiſh Fleet, which they aſſured him was much inferior to them, both in number of Veſſels, and in Skill and Courage of the Combatants; and that the Succeſs of this Year conſiſted in the cutting off the Enemies Succours, which was their ſole Relief and Dependance, without which they could not longer maintain the Ground they poſſeſſed, but muſt deliver up that and themſelves to their pleaſure. But the cautious General would not aſſent to this Reſolution, judging it over-raſh and precipitate; for that the Fortune of *Candia*, and other Iſles of the *Archipelago*, was not to be hazarded on the Succeſs of one Battel.

During which Diſpute, and irreſolution of Affairs, the Turkiſh Fleet, conſiſting of three hundred Sail, arrived at *Canea*, where they landed forty thouſand fighting Men, which turned the Scale of the War, and rendred the Turks ſo powerful, as not ever more to be expelled, or their Off-ſpring extirpated from the Confines of that Iſland. By this time the Pope's and *Malta* Gallies were come to their Aſſiſtance, and united with the Venetians; ſo that *Capello* ſetting ſail from the Port of *Suda*, reſolved to engage the Enemy at St. *Theodoro*; which was effected accordingly, though with little Succeſs, for the Turks had fortified themſelves, and ſecured their Gallies with that advantage, that they could not be aſſaulted without great hazard of the Chriſtians; and when they endeavoured to burn them, their four Fire-ſhips took fire too ſoon, and proved of more fear and aſtoniſhment to the Turks (to whom this Invention was as yet unknown) than of real dammage. After this the Venetians returned again to *Suda*, where having intelligence that thirty Turkiſh Gallies, with Men and Proviſion (which they had collected in ſeveral parts of the *Archipelago*) were on their Voyage to *Canea*, *Capello* preparing to intercept them with a Force of Galleaſſes and Gallies, and leaving *Grimani* and *Moroſini* to command the main Body of the Fleet, he in Perſon bent his Courſe towards *Cerigo*.

In the mean time *Muſtapha* Paſha departed from *Canea*, in order to his return to *Conſtantinople*, with fifty ſeven light Gallies, two Ships, two Galleaſſes, and many Saiks; but meeting in his Paſſage with a hard ſtorm of Northerly Winds, he loſt ſeven of his Gallies, and ſeveral other Veſſels, ſo that he reſolved to divide his Fleet, and ſend part of them to *Scio*, and himſelf with the other part to make for *Negropont*. This Fleet was followed by ſome other Veſſels under the Command of *Mahomet Celebee*, Brother of the Paſha of *Algier*, who being as far in his way as the narrow Streights of *Andra*, he was there ſtopped by the Fury of the Northern Winds, (which are the Maſter-Winds of thoſe Seas) and by the impetuous rage thereof, was carried to the Iſland of *Zia*; where having given Licence to the greateſt part of his Souldiery to Land, they careleſly ſtrayed abroad, and without ſuſpicion of Surprize, merrily paſſed their time in eating and drinking. In the interim, advice hereof being carried to *Tomaſo Moroſini*,

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roſini, then with ſome Ships in the Port of *Milo*, he immediately, without loſs of time, applied himſelf to aſſault the Turks; and being followed by the Proveditor *Grimani*, he took two of their Ships, whilſt *Mehmet Celebee*, with about two hundred of his Men, betook themſelves to the weak ſhelter of an old demoliſhed Fort, and afterwards ſurrendred themſelves to the diſcretion of the Conqueror.

Moroſini and *Grimani*, encouraged with this Succeſs, reſolved to purſue the Enemies Fleet; in order unto which, *Moroſini* firſt putting out to Sea, was inſtantly carried away by a fierce gale of Wind towards *Ambro*, and ſeparated from the reſt of his Fleet, and thence again was toſſed by the impetuoſity of the Storms unto *Raſti*; of which *Muſtapha* Paſha having Intelligence, made haſte to attack this ſingle Veſſel, with forty Gallies; giving order to the Bey of *Rhodes*, to lay him aboard with fifteen Gallies, the ſtrongeſt and beſt armed of all their Squadron: *Moroſini* nothing diſmayed, bearing the ſame conſtancy of Mind in the midſt of his Enemies, as at a diſtance, boldly ſhewed himſelf on the Quarter Deck, encouraging his Men with his words, and by his Example, to Actions worthy their Religion, Faith, and Country for which they contended. The Turks continued for ſome time to batter the Ship at a diſtance with their Cannon, but with little dammage to the Chriſtians; who returned their Shot to better advantage. Hereby the Turks perceiving that Blows given ſo far off did little Execution, reſolved to Board the Veſſel, and ſubdue Her by force of Arms, and being come to the ſide of the Ship, the Souldiers were fearful to enter, ſuſpecting ſome trains of Powder to blow them up, until *Emurat*, one of the Captains, ſtruck off the Head of one or two of his own Men, whom he perceived backward in the Aſſault, which affrighted the reſt into the greater danger, and forced them to enter the Ship, who were ſoon followed by the Gallies of the Bey of *Rhodes*, of *Milo*, of *Mehmet* Bey, and others; ſo that now two hundred of the Enemy were Combating with Swords and Half Pikes upon the Deck; in which ſtorm, *Moroſini* fighting amongſt the thickeſt, was ſhot through the Head with a Musket Bullet, and ſo glorioully finiſhed his Days in the Service and Defence of his Country; gaining to himſelf a Laurel, and an Immortal Name of Glory and Renown.

Moroſini *ſlain.*

The Chriſtian Souldiers little regarding all this time the fall of their General, ſtoutly maintained their Fight, in which they received encouragement from the proſpect they had of two Galleaſſes making haſte to their Succour; at whoſe nearer approach, the Turks deſiſted from their farther Attempt, being unwilling to purchaſe a Victory at the dear rate it would coſt them.

The Body of *Moroſini* was tranſported to *Venice*, and his Obſequies Celebrated in a manner more Triumphant than Funebrous; the Proveditor *Grimani* was likewiſe declared Captain General in the place of *Capello*; who having, as it were, Beſieged the Caſtles at the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*, taken ſeveral places in the *Archipelago*, and put the Enemies Fleet often unto flight, he, thereby, and by other Acts of Valour, rendred him juſtly renowned through all Chriſtendom.

Theſe were the chief and moſt memorable actions by Sea, performed this Year; Thoſe by Land were acted chiefly in *Dalmatia*, where the Turks poured in their Forces on the Venetian Dominions, but were bravely repulſed by *Leonardo Foſcolo*, who took *Ali* Bey Priſoner, the Commander in Chief of the Sangiac of *Licca*, and ſlew his Son; beſides which, he took *Saccovar*, *Poliſſano*, *Iſlan*, and other Fortreſſes and Caſtles, full of Arms and Ammunition, which were the Magazines of the Country; he alſo recovered *Novegrade* out of the hands of the Turks, which was afterwards demoliſhed by Order from the Senate; which Victories were followed with other Succeſſes; nothing being able to oppoſe the Valiant and Proſperous Arms of *Foſcolo*; for beſides the taking and ſacking of ſeveral other Forts and Caſtles in *Dalmatia*, *Obraozzo*, *Carino*, *Ottiſſina*, *Velino*, *Nadino*, *Urana*, *Tino*, and *Salona*, in the Confines of *Croatia*, and *Boſna*, became a Prey to the Venetian Arms.

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But to this ſucceſsful Progreſs of the War, a ſtop was given for ſome time by the ſickneſs of *Foſcolo*; in which interim, the new Paſha of *Boſna*, called *Mahomet Techli*, a Circaſſian born, a Perſon both Generous and Valiant, with an Army of forty thouſand Men, beſieged the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Sebenico*; but was bravely repulſed by the Valour of the Inhabitants, the very Women exceeding the imbecillity of their Sex; and Children and old Men, with the weakneſs of their Age, ſtrengthened themſelves with Reſolution againſt their Enemies, and ſo valiantly behaved themſelves in defence of their City, that the Turk was forced to raiſe his Siege, having gained nothing but the loſs and ſlaughter of many of his People, and the beſt of his Souldiery; whereby he gained an aſſurance of the Invincible Strength of that place, and the Valour of the Inhabitants.

Sebenico *beſieged.*

Foſcolo in like manner recovering his Health, continued the un-interrupted courſe of his Victories, and thereunto added the taking of *Scardona*; ſo that in *Dalmatia* the Venetian Affairs ran ſo proſperouſly, that nothing could be deſired to render them more happy and glorious. For the Turks not only were expelled from the Confines of *Dalmatia*, but likewiſe that Province became more quiet and ſecure than ever it had been in the Times of Peace.

But the joy of theſe Succeſſes was very much allayed by the unhappy Fate of a great part of the Venetian Fleet, at the Iſland of *Pſara*; which being lanched from *Candia* with intention to aſſault the Turks within the *Dardanelli*, unfortunately were driven by contrary Winds to that unſecure ſhore; where contending with a moſt furious Storm, a great part of the Fleet was caſt away, and the General *Grimani* himſelf drowned. About which time, the Turks, for the greater Terror of the Chriſtians, laid cloſe Siege to the City of *Candia*, and made many and various Attempts thereupon, carrying on their Aſſaults with the height of bravery and Reſolution, the Particulars of which require a diſtinct Hiſtory; but by the invincible Fortitude and Courage of the Chriſtians, they were repulſed with that ſlaughter, and with the loſs of ſo many Men, by Sallies and other Stratagems of War, that the Turks were at length conſtrained to raiſe their Siege with diſhonour and confuſion; during which time many of the Nobility and Perſons of Quality loſt their Lives; amongſt which, the principal were, *Vicenzo della Marra*, Governour General of the Arms of *Candia*, and Count *Remorantino*, natural Son of the Duke of *Loraine*, Commander in Chief of the Forces that came from beyond the *Alpes*.

The ruin of the Venetian Armata at Pſara.

1647. Cliſſa *taken.*

General *Foſcolo* encouraged by the many glorioes Enterpriſes that he had obtained, reſolved to conſummate all by taking the ſtrong and famous Fortreſs of *Cliſſa*, ſcituate in the Confines of *Dalmatia*, and Borders of *Boſna*, on the top of a ſharp and craggy Mountain, invironed with Rocks and unacceſſible Paſſages; the difficulty of the attempt rather inflamed than abated the Courage of *Foſcolo*, ſo that he Valiantly Beſieged and Aſſaulted that Place; during which time, the Prieſt *D. Stephano Sorich*, Captain of the Morlachs, intercepted the Succours which were ſent thither, and *Georgio* the Proveditor, overthrew *Teccheli* Paſha in a Field Battel; ſo that the Inhabitants deſparing of Relief, ſurrendered up themſelves to the mercy of the Venetians; and thus *Cliſſa* being taken, the Senate Commanded that it ſhould be more regularly Fortified.

And here the Chriſtian Arms met ſome interruption. For the Morlachs deſirous to caſt off the Turkiſh Yoke, and return to the protection of the Venetians, deſigned to ſurprize *Scutari*; and at the ſame time the Arch-biſhop of *Durazzo*, with ſeven thouſand Albanians, was to ſeize upon *Croia*, and *Aleſſio*; but the Deſign being diſcovered by the traiterous practices of ſome falſe Brethren, before Matters were maturely grown, or the time of Execution, it had certainly coſt the Life of all the Morlachs, and ſeven hundred Venetian Souldiers joined with them, had not the increaſe of the Waters hindered the ſpeedy March of the Turks, who reſolved to cut them all off without mercy, or regard to any; ſo that having time to diſperſe themſelves, and take refuge in the Mountains, the moſt of them preſerved their Lives from the Cruelty of their Enemies; only ſome certain Eccleſiaſtical Perſons falling into their Hands, they imputed unto them the cauſe of the Rebellion, and in a barbarous manner impaled them on Stakes.

The Turks enraged for the loſs of *Cliſſa*, diſpatched *Dervis* Paſha into the parts of *Boſna*, with a potent Army, threatning to Aſſault *Spalatro*; whom to divert, *Foſcolo*, together with Prieſt *Sorich*, Captain of the Morlachs, entered into the Enemies Country; ſpoiling, burning, and deſtroying whereſoever they came. The Morlachs more greedy of Prey than ambitious of Glory, divided themſelves into ſmall Parties to rob and pillage; in which interim they were aſſaulted by the Turks, but being ſcattered, were ſo far from making a ſtout reſiſtance, that they committed themſelves to a ſhameful flight, in which great numbers of them were miſerably Butchered; nor could the valour of *Sorich*, nor of the Governour *Poſſidaria*, reduce them by their Examples into any Order: whilſt together with ſome few valiant Dalmatians, and Morlach Captains, they endured the ſhock of all the Enemies Fury; in which Skirmiſh the Turks loſt ſeven Agas, and about ſeventy Souldiers: On the Chriſtians ſide were killed four hundred, ſome few Slaves, and about ſeventy Enſigns taken; amongſt the reſt the good Prieſt *Sorich* ſcorning to turn his back, had the miſfortune to fall into the Enemies hands, whom they flead alive, and afterwards impaled; and though they ſubdued his Body, yet he was ſtill maſter of his mind; bearing the ſame conſtancy in his Torments, as he had ſhewed Magnanimity and Courage in the Face of his Enemy.

Whilſt theſe Martial Affairs were tranſacting, with the Blood and Life of many thouſands on both ſides, Sultan *Ibrahim*, like a ſtout Souldier of *Venus*, waged another War in the Elyſiums of *Cupid*; and caſting aſide all thoughts of *Candia*, remitted the ſole care and management thereof to the Vizier and Paſhas of the Divan; following a Life ſo laſcivious and ſenſual, as can neither be imagined with a chaſt Fancy, or deſcribed by a modeſt Pen.

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A principal Inſtrument of his Delights, and Engine to compaſs his Amorous Deſigns, was a certain caſt Wench of his, which he named *Shechir Para*, which ſignifies a little piece of Sugar; for it ſeems ſhe was ſo complaiſant and dulcid in her Humour and Diſcourſe, as merited that apt Name to expreſs the ſweetneſs of her Converſation; this Woman having the convenience to viſit all the Baths in Town, took notice of every Woman which ſhe ſaw of more than ordinary Features and Proportion, and having enquired her Condition and Dwelling, preſently reported the ſame with all advantage to her Sultan, who having heard the Beauty deſcribed, became paſſionately Enamoured, and could find no repoſe in his Fancy, until his Inſtruments, either by fair words or violence, had ſeduced her, or forced her to his Bed. But growing now extravagant and over-wanton in his Amours, he fell in love with the Sultana, or Widow of his Brother Sultan *Morat*: To win her Affections he had recourſe to his Dear *Shechir Para*; who uſed all her Arts in this Service: but her pretty wheedling Terms could prevail nothing on this Lady, who anſwered her in ſhort, That at the Death of her Lord Sultan *Morat*, ſhe had reſolved upon a perpetual Widowhood, for that the memory of him was ſtill ſo lively in her, that ſhe could not entertain the thoughts of admitting any new Embraces. This repugnancy and oppoſition inflamed the heat of *Ibrahim* like a Feaver, ſo that he reſolved to aſſault her himſelf one day by force, and took his time juſt as ſhe came out of the Bath; but ſhe being a bold Woman, and diſdaining the wandring loves of *Ibrahim*, laid her hand upon her Dagger, (which Sultana's and great Ladies uſually wear) threatning to wound him in her own defence; the noiſe and brawling hereof being over-heard by the Queen-Mother, called her from her Retirements, and concerned her in the Quarrel; who whilſt ſhe reproved her Son, for the rape he intended on his Brother's Wife, gave opportunity to the Sultana to eſcape; and ſo delivered her out of the hands of this Satyr. But *Ibrahim* mad with love, and fuming with diſdain to be checked and oppoſed by his Mother, Commanded her immediately to the old Seraglio, where he confined her to ſeveral days Impriſonment, during which time he underſtood in what manner ſhe had treated his large-ſiz'd Armenian, of whom we have already ſpoken; whereof the Queen-Mother being conſcious, ſubmitted her ſelf with all humility to her Son, begging his Favour and Pardon; and ſo well acted her part by thoſe who carried her Addreſſes, that ſhe overcame quickly his eaſy Nature, and was again reſtored to his Grace, and her Lodgings in the new Seraglio.

In the mean time *Shecher Para* travelling over all the Baths in Town, to diſcover new delights for her Maſter, at length had the fortune to caſt her Eyes on a Daughter of the Mufti, a Maid of Incomparable Beauty and Features of Countenance, and proportion of Body, which ſhe reported to *Ibrahim* ſo ſenſibly, as if ſhe her ſelf had been in love; and after ſhe had praiſed every Part and Member of her, ſhe concluded in ſum, that ſhe was the moſt Excellent and admirable

1647. Piece that ever Nature framed. The Sultan had no ſooner heard the Story, but according to his uſual Cuſtom, fell moſt deſperatly in love, and had immediately, without farther conſideration or counſel, diſpatched his Emiſſaries; or without other Preamble, Ceremony, or Courtſhip, to have fetched her to him; had not the ſenſe of the late Rebuff he had received from his Brother's Wife, made ſome impreſſion of fear in him; and the apprehenſion he had of the Power of the Mufti, created in him a certain Caution and Reſpect in the treatment of his Daughter: wherefore he rather reſolved to ſend for the Mufti, with whom he treated of honourable Terms concerning Marriage; promiſing to take her into his Boſom, and prefer her in Honour equal to any other of his Sultana's.

The old Man who was tender of, and doated on his Daughter, knowing well the wandring humour of the Sultan in his Amours, intended rather to marry her to ſome great Perſonage, with whom ſhe might be more happy, than in being a Soltana: for he conſidered, that *Ibrahim* having already other Sons, her Iſſue would either be Sacrificed for ſecurity of their Brothers, or elſe ſpend their days in a Priſon, and become Grey-headed, whilſt they breath in a *medium* between Life and Death, and are ſad Recluſes in the Grave of their unhappineſs. Theſe conſiderations were well imprinted in the mind of the Mufti: but becauſe he durſt not deny his propoſal, he dealt with him as Inferiours uſually do with their Lords and Superiours; that is, he returned him thanks, expreſſing infinite Obligations, that he would vouchſafe to caſt his Princely Eyes on the unworthineſs of his Family: however he adviſed him, that according to the Canons of their Law, of which he was the Expoſitor, and obliged to be a ſevere and preciſe Obſerver; it was great Impiety in a Father to impoſe on the Affections of his Child; ſo that though he could heartily wiſh that his Daughter would embrace this Honour, to which he would exhort her with all the earneſt Perſwaſions of a Father; yet if ſhe proved refractory thereunto, it would not be becoming his Power to force her; and therefore hoped his Majeſty would believe, that in proceeding thus far, he had performed that Duty which became him, both as a Father, and a Loyal Subject.

Ibrahim ſuppoſing that by this Conceſſion he had gained his Deſign, thanked and imbraced the old Man, whom diſmiſſing with plenary ſatiſfaction, he remained now with an impatient expectation and hopes of enjoyment. Next Morning the Mufti returned early to the Grand Signior, and having firſt ſufficiently inſtructed his Daughter to refuſe the Sultan's Proffers, told him plainly, that he had uſed all his paternal Authority and intereſt with his Daughter, that he might induce her to accept this mighty Fortune, which caſt it ſelf upon her; but that it found not that ready acceptance with her as he expected; what could be the reaſon he knew not how to conjecture, ſince Women are commonly irregular, and unreaſonble in their Affections.

Ibrahim being in this manner diſappointed, and more angry to encounter any boundary or reſtraint to the imperious violence of his Luſts, than oppoſition againſt the puiſſance of his Arms; diſmiſt the Mufti with ſome neglect and diſdain, whom he reſolved to treat with Rigour, and his Daughter with Courtſhip. In order to the firſt, he baniſhed him the Court, and forbad him his preſence in any other place, 1647. grew ſullen and unſatisfied at all his adminiſtrations of Juſtice, intending thereby to induce him to a reſignation of his Office, there being nothing more irkſome to an ingenuous Spirit, than to ſerve and not to pleaſe. On the other ſide he dealt with the young Lady in a different manner, by the crafty and flattering inſinuations of his truſty *Shechir Para*, who ſo forcibly managed her Tongue full of curious Words, mixed with Threats, repreſenting the Storms and Fury of the Sultan's Rage; and again, the Glory, Splendour, and Happineſs of the Seraglio; where ſhe ſhould Reign as Empreſs and Soveraign of the World: all which ſhe expreſſed with that paſſion, and laſcivious enticement, as would have ſhaken a firmer Conſtancy, than the Vertue of a Turkiſh Maid: but ſhe being well admoniſhed by her Father, remained obſtinate in her Denial: but to quiet the importunity of this Seducer, ſhe begged her not to ſollicite her Father in this Requeſt, but rather that ſhe would intercede in her behalf with the Sultan ſpplicating him with all humility to pardon her Childiſh refuſal, and to leave her unto her unto her own Liberty and Choice, and a ſingle Life: to obtain which favour from her, ſhe produced a Diamond of conſiderable value, deſiring her to accept of that from her, and to become her Friend, her Aſſiſtant, and Protectreſs. *Shechir Para* being overcome by her Maiden Modeſty, could no longer reſiſt ſuch forcible Entreaties; and having her Eyes obſcured with the luſtre of the Jewel, promiſed to change her Note, and excuſe her refuſal with all the advantagious and compaſſionate Terms poſſible; and ſo taking her leave with a courteous farewel, repaired to the Sultan, to give an account of her Negotiations.

Ibrahim having with more doubtful Fear attended the Iſſue of this laſt Conference, than he did the Succeſs of his War with *Venice*; received his *Shechir Para* with exceeding joy, who being come in, began to recount all the Particulars that had paſſed: but the ſum of all was, that this ſilly Maid was ſufficiently ſenſible of the honour of being a Soltana, of being Courted by his Majeſty, of the Joys, Delights, and Glory of the Seraglio; but that when ſhe reflected, how that ſhe was to bring forth Children to die by untimely Deaths, and to end their Days by Poiſon, or the Bow-ſtring, or at leaſt to live miſerable Lives ſeparated from Mankind, and immured within Walls, and Intombed whilſt they breathed; ſhe could not but tremble with ſome horrour, and judg, that all the blandiſhments of Worldly Fortune were but a tranſient Paradiſe; which could not poſſibly recompence, or out-weigh the ſenſe and tenderneſs ſhe conceived for the miſery of her unfortunate Off-ſpring. Howſoever ſhe ſo couched her Diſcourſe, that ſhe gave *Ibrahim* ſome hopes to overcome at length; by which ſhe appeaſed a little his Fury and Deſpair, and extracted ſome Jewels and Gifts in reward of her paſt Labour, and encouragement for her future Service. In this manner *Ibrahim* had patience awhile, expecting ſomething farther from the induſtry of *Shechir Para*; but finding no effect of all his expectations and gentleneſs, at length reſolved to break through all Conſiderations of Reſpect, either to the Father as the Mouth and Oracle of the Law, or to the ſimple and fooliſh innocence of the Maid; and therefore ordered the Great Vizier to cauſe a Watch to be ſet on the Girl, either going in, or coming out of the Bath, and without farther Ceremony to bring

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Thus full of indignation he applyed himſelf, and made his complaint unto one *Mahomet* Paſha, a principal Member of the Divan; one of great Wiſdom and Practice in the Conduct of Affairs, and one with whom he had a particular Friendſhip and Intimacy. Nor leſs intereſt had he with Janiſar-Aga, or General of the Janizaries; to both whom, with tears in his Eyes, and with ſuch words as the ſenſe of his injuries ſuggeſted, he railed at the Vizier, and aggravated the Raviſhment of his Daughter with all the circumſtances of Villany and Violence.

Theſe two Friends heard the Story with a ſenſible remorſe, and immediately concluded, That for the Honour and Security of the Empire, it was neceſſary to depoſe Sultan *Ibrahim*, and for the ſame Reaſon to cut off the firſt Vizier; agreeing amongſt themſelves that *Mahomet* Paſha ſhould receive the Seal and the Office. To effect which, they deemed it neceſſary to draw the Queen-Mother into the Conſpiracy, being a Woman of great Authority, and having, as it were, the Reins of Government in her Hands, by reaſon of the weak Judgment of her Son. But becauſe it was difficult to perſwade the tenderneſs of a Mother to the ruin of her Son, the wiſe Mufti reſolved firſt to ſound her Inclinations and diſpoſition towards this Deſign: and being well informed of her fierce Circaſſian Nature, and the Jealouſy and Anger ſhe conceived againſt *Shechir Para*, obtained Licence to be heard by her, as if he would beg her Interceſſion with her Son in his behalf; and being admitted to diſcourſe with her, he thereby plainly diſcovered her moſt inveterate hatred and diſpleaſure againſt her Son; not only for this, but for many other Actions of like nature.

This diſcovery which the Queen had made, gave him the boldneſs to propoſe the confinement again of *Ibrahim* to his old Priſon; not that he ſhould be abſolutely laid aſide and depoſed, but only corrected awhile, and being put in remembrance of his paſt Condition, might be taught Wiſdom, and inſtructed for the future, what moderation and juſtice Sultans are obliged to exerciſe in the Adminiſtration of Government; and ſo ſubtilly did he inſinuate his Diſcourſe, that the Queen-Mother aſſented to the Propoſal, and that the Seal ſhould be conferred on *Mahomet* Paſha; for ſhe had conceived an irreconcileable hatred againſt *Achmet* the Grand Vizier, by whoſe Counſel ſhe was ſent to the old Seraglio, and was united in Confederacy with the deteſted *Shechir Para*.

The Mufti greatly ſatisfied to have gained ſo conſiderable a Conſpirator to the Party, communicated the whole Buſineſs, with the Progreſs of it, to the two Kadileſchers, or Lord Chief Juſtices of *Romelia* and *Anatolia*; who approving thereof, and promiſing their utmoſt aſſiſtance, the 7*th* of *Auguſt* was the Day appointed for the Inſurrection of the Janizaries, who being all in a readineſs on that day, went in a tumultuary way to call the Mufti, the Kadileſchers, and other Officers and Miniſters of the Law, whom they ſeemingly forced to accompany them to the preſence of the Grand Signior, of whom they demanded, that the preſent Vizier *Achmet* ſhould be deprived of his Office, and that *Mahomet* Paſha ſhould be conſtituted in his place. The Grand Signior at firſt refuſed their Demand, but being perſwaded by his Mother that it was neceſſary to content the Militia in that tumult; he conſented thereunto, and having called *Achment*, he took from him the Seal, and conferred it on *Mahomet* Paſha, and therewith the Office of Grand Vizier. *Achmet* trembling at the conſequences hereof, reſolved to commit himſelf to the Mercy of the Mufti, and therefore haſtned to his Houſe to attend his return, hoping to find him his Protector, under whoſe Shadow and Roof he fled for Sanctuary. 1648.

The Souldiery having thus obtained the firſt-fruits of their Inſurrection, accompanied the Mufti unto his Home, where finding the depoſed Vizier *Achmet*, the Janiſar-Aga immediately Commanded him out of Doors, from whence he had no ſooner drawn his Foot, than that he was ſeized upon and ſtrangled, and his Body thrown before the Gate of the new Moſch.

The next day being the 8*th* of *Auguſt*, 1648, the Janizaries again ariſing in the like Tumult as before, came to demand of the Mufti, Whether that according to their Law, Sultan *Ibrahim* as a Fool, and a Tyrant, and unfit for Government, ought not to be depoſed? To which the Mufti giving Anſwer in the Affirmative, ſent to cite Sultan *Ibrahim* the day following to appear in the Divan, to adminiſter Juſtice to his Souldiers and Subjects, who expected it from him. But *Ibrahim* ſuppoſing that he had ſufficiently ſatisfied the Souldiery, by putting the Vizier out of Office, laughed at the Summons which the Mufti made him; which being ſeconded by a Fetſa, which is a point of Law reſolved by the Mufti, who is the Mouth or Oracle thereof, *viz.* That the Grand Signior being called to account, is obliged to appear before the Juſtice; the Sultan in high diſdain tore the Paper, threatning the Head of the Mufti: but it was now too late, he having already ſufficiently fortified himſelf with the Power and Strength of his Rebellious Companions. This Fetſa was immediately ſeconded by another of a higher nature, which declared, That whoſoever obeyed not the Law of God, was not a true Muſſulman or Believer; and though that Perſon were the Emperor himſelf, yet being become by his filthy Actions a Kafir or Infidel, was *ipſo facto*, fallen from his Throne, and no farther capable of Authority and Government. This Fetſa being ſeen by *Ibrahim*, he tore it in pieces, commanding the Grand Vizier inſtantly to put the Mufti to Death, as guilty of Treaſon againſt his Prince: but having now loſt his Authority, his Commands were not longer regarded, nor any reverence had of his perſon: For the Janizaries being again aſſembled about five a Clock in the Afternoon, came with their uſual tumult to the Gates of the Seraglio.

And now Sultan *Ibrahim* loſing all Courage at this third attempt, fled into the Arms of his Mother, begging her Aſſiſtance and Protection.

She

1648. She being a bold and ſubtle Woman, employed all her Rhetorick and Eloquence to perſwade the Souldiery not to offer Violence to the Perſon of their Lord and Maſter; promiſing that he ſhould relinquiſh the Government, and retire himſelf with a Guard into his old Lodgings. *Ibrahim* comforted a little, that he ſhould ſave his Life, ſhrunk himſelf willingly into his old Shell, wherein he had ſo long conſerved his Life.

In the mean time the Conſpirators taking forth his eldeſt Son Sultan *Mahomet*, ſet him on the Throne of his Father, and planting the Sargouch, or Imperial Feathers on his Head, ſaluted him for Emperor with loud Acclamations. *Ibrahim* continued his Impriſonment for ſome days with great patience, but at length growing deſperate and furious, often beat his Head againſt the Wall, until at length, he was on the 17*th* ſtrangled by four Mutes.

In this manner Sultan *Ibrahim* ended his Days, which puts me in mind of the ſaying of a wiſer and a better King than he, *That there is little diſtance between the Priſons and the Graves of Princes.* And this Example made a great Officer underſtand how King *Charles* the Glorious Martyr was put to Death. For he, I think it was the Great Vizier, falling into Diſcourſe with the Chief Engliſh Interpreter at *Conſtantinople*, not then calling to mind the Fate of Sultan *Ibrahim*, demanded, How, and when King *Charles* was put to Death? Sure, ſaid he, Your King muſt have no Power, or your People muſt be more Rebellious and Mutinous than other Nations of the World, who durſt commit an Act ſo horrid and vile as this. See, ſaid he, How our Emperor is revered and obſerved; and how ſubmiſſive and obedient half the World is to the Nod of our Great Monarch. To which the Interpreter replyed, that to recount unto him the Hiſtory and Occaſion of this prodigious Fact, would be too long and tedious for him to hear: but that the time it happened, was ſome Months after the Death or Murder of Sultan *Ibrahim*; which was an *Item* ſufficient to give him a perfect underſtanding of what he required.

Sultan *Ibrahim* having in this manner ended his Days, the Government was committed into the hands of the Grand Vizier, and the old Queen-Mother (which is ſhe whom we call *Kioſem* in the Ottoman State) and of twelve Paſhaws; who were to manage all Affairs with ſupream Power, during the Minority of Sultan *Mahomet*, who now Reigns.

Ibrahim was the fifth Son of Sultan *Achmet*, born of the ſame Mother with Sultan *Morat*, Educated like the other younger Sons of the Ottoman Family, within the Walls of an obſcure and unhappy Priſon; ſo that 'tis no wonder, if wanting the advantages of ſeeing and practiſing in the World, he ſhould neither have ſtudied Men, nor been experienced in the Art of Government. Nor leſs ſtrange is it, being natural to humane Infirmity; for Men who have lived under Reſtraint, Affliction, and fear of Death, to become licentious and immoderate in all kind of Pleaſures, whenſoever they paſs on a ſudden from the depth of Miſery to ſome tranſcendent degree of Happineſs and Proſperity; which as, I ſay, all Men are naturally ſubject unto, ſo more eſpecially thoſe whoſe Religion indulges them all kind of ſenſual Carnality in this Life. 1648.

Ibrahim was in his own Nature of a gentle and eaſy Temper, of a large Forehead, of a quick and lively Eye and ruddy Complexion, and of a good Proportion in the Features of his Face, but yet had ſomething in the Air of his Countenance, that promiſed no great Abilities of Mind. And giving himſelf up to all kind of Effeminacy and Softneſs, attended not unto the Government of his Affairs; and therefore it was his greateſt misfortune to be ſerved by wicked and faithleſs Officers to whom he truſted, and to whom he gave Credence, wanting in himſelf the Talents of Wiſdom and Diſcretion to diſcern their Malice.

The continual apprehenſions that he entertained of Death during his Impriſonment, had ſo frozen his Conſtitution with a ſtrange frigidity towards Women, that all the dalliance and warm Embraces of the moſt inflaming Ladies in the Seraglio, could not in a whole Years time thaw his Coldneſs; which was the occaſion at firſt of that Report, which ſpoke him to be impotent towards Women: during which time he attended to his Miniſters of Juſtice, and to a management of the Affairs of his Empire, which in the beginning of his Reign gained him a Credit and Reputation, and raiſed a great expectation of his goodneſs and Care of his Subjects Welfare; an evidence of which, he gave in his Charge to the Great Vizier, that he ſhould put no Man to Death unleſs for Capital and Enormous Crimes. But at length loſing himſelf in Luſts and Senſualities, he forſook the Helm of his Regency, committing the guidance of his Empire to other Hands: and as he was ignorant of War, ſo he fooliſhly ſported in the Calms of Peace; and ſuffering himſelf to be guided only by Fortune, felt the Stroke thereof in his laſt Unhappy Fate.

1648. she being a bold and subtle Woman, employed all her Rhetorick and Eloquence to perswade the Souldiery not to offer Violence to the Person of their Lord and Master; promising that he should relinquish the Government, and retire himself with a Guard into his old Lodgings. She also contrived a Device that he should surrender himself willingly into his old [illegible], wherein he had so long [illegible].

In the mean time the Conspirators brought forth his eldest Son Sultan *Mahomet*, [illegible] the Throne of his Father, and placing the [illegible] Imperial Feather upon his head, Saluted him for Emperor with loud Acclamations. *Ibrahim* continued his Imprisonment for some days with great patience, but at length growing desperate and furious, often beat his head against the Wall, until at length, he was [illegible] strangled by four Mutes.

In this manner Sultan *Ibrahim* ended his Days, which puts me in mind of the saying of a wiser and a better King than he, *That there is little distance between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes*. And this Example made a great Officer understand how King *Charles* the Glorious Martyr was put to Death. For the Turkish Minister, the Great Vizier, falling into Discourse with the Chief English Interpreter at *Constantinople*, not then calling to mind the Fate of Sultan *Ibrahim*, demanded, How and when King *Charles* was put to Death? Sure, said he, Your Kings must have no Power, or your People must be more Rebellious and Mutinous than other Nations of the World, who durst commit an Act so horrid and vile as this. See, said he, How our Emperor is revered and observed; and how submissive and obedient half the World is to the Nod of our Great Monarch. To which the Interpreter replyed, that to recount unto him the History and Occasion of this prodigious Fact, would be too long and tedious for him to hear: but that the time it happened, was some Months after the Death or Murder of Sultan *Ibrahim*; which was an *Item* sufficient to give him a perfect understanding of what he required.

Sultan *Ibrahim* having in this manner ended his Days, the Government was committed into the hands of the Grand Vizier, and the old Queen-Mother (which is she whom we call *Kiosem* in the Ottoman State) and of twelve Pashaws; who were to manage all Affairs with supream Power, during the Minority of Sultan *Mahomet*, who now Reigns.

Ibrahim was the fifth Son of Sultan *Achmet*, born of the same Mother with Sultan *Morat*, Educated like the other younger Sons of the Otto[illegible] Family, killing the Wife [illegible] and unhappy Woman [illegible] in averting the advantages [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] which was the occasion at first of that Report, which speaks him to be impotent towards Women; during which time he attended to his Ministers of Justice, and to a management of the Affairs of his Empire, which in the beginning of his Reign gained him a credit and Reputation, and raised a great expectation of his goodness and care of his Subjects welfare; an evidence of which, he gave in his Charge to the Great Vizier, that he should put no Man to Death, unless for Capital and enormous Crimes. But at length falling himself in Lusts and Sensualities, he forsook the Helm of his Regency, committing the guidance of his Empire to other Hands; and as he was ignorant of War, so he foolishly sported in the calms of Peace; and suffering himself to be guided only by Fortune, felt the strokes thereof in his most Unhappy Fate.

THE REIGN OF Sultan MEHMET, OR MAHOMET IV. THIRTEENTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

ANNO 1649.

SUltan *Ibrahim* periſhing in this manner, by the mutinous Violence of the Souldiery, his Son *Mehmet*, or *Mahomet*, being a Child of ſeven Years of Age, ſucceeded in the Throne: During whoſe Minority, (which was to continue for the ſpace of ten Years longer) his Mother, who was the firſt *Sultana*, aſſiſted with the Counſel of twelve Paſhaws, took upon her ſelf the Regency, and in the firſt place reſolved to continue the War againſt the Venetians, which *Ibrahim* intended to conclude, having engaged himſelf far in a Treaty of Peace with the Bailo or Ambaſſador, which reſided at the Port for that Republick.

Whilſt theſe Matters were tranſacting, and Preparations making to proſecute the War; the Malignant Humours of the Empire began to ferment unto that degree, as affected the Body Politick at firſt with unnatural Heats, which ſoon afterwards proceeded to a Feaver, and then to a dangerous Convulſion. The ill-affected Part was the Militia, which is the Heart and Principal of the Life of that Government. For the Spahees and the Janiſaries, being the Horſe and Foot, entred into a deſperate Controverſie.

The firſt judged it their Duty to revenge the Death of their Soveraign, Sultan *Ibrahim*; and in order thereunto demanded the Head of the Great Vizier, as the Chief Author and Contriver of the Death of his Lord and Maſter. The others being conſcious to themſelves of having, by their Arms, carried on the Conſpiracy, not only declared their Reſolutions to defend the Vizier, but owned that what he had acted was by their Order, and at their Requeſt and Inſtigation.

The Spahees being highly provoked with this Declaration, ſwelled with Anger and Malice againſt the Janiſaries; and both ſides being equally proud and rich, could not bear each others Reproaches. The Spahees being Men of Eſtates in Land, looked on themſelves as the Gentry, and to have the greateſt Share in the concernment of the Empire. The Janiſaries living regularly in their Chambers, or Martial Colledges, looked on themſelves as the better Souldiers, and the more formidable Party; and the truth is, both of them were proceeded to that height of Command and Authority in Government, that had they not been ſuppreſſed by the cruel Hand, and bloody Diſpoſition of *Kuperlee*, as ſhall be more largely related hereafter, this Empire was then in danger of falling into as many Diviſions, as there were at that time Paſhaws, or great Captains. The cauſe here-

1649. of proceeded from the warlike diſpoſition of Sultan *Morat*, who being the moſt Martial Man of his Age, preferred none but Men of great Courage, and ſuch as had ſignalized their Valour by undoubted proofs; And ſuch Men as theſe he loaded with Honour, and raiſed them to the higheſt and moſt eminent Charges in the Government.

But *Morat* dying ſoon afterwards, theſe Great Men had time to enrich themſelves during the gentle and eaſie Reign of Sultan *Ibrahim*; which being ſeconded by the Minority of this Young Sultan, their Pride knew no bounds, either of Modeſty towards their Commanders, or Reverence towards their Sultan. Hence it was that the Souldiery dividing, ſo great a Sedition aroſe amongſt them, that at laſt they came to Blows, reſolving to decide the Controverſy by the Sword. But the Quarrels of Turks amongſt themſelves not being commonly of long durance, the Care and Vigilance of the Magiſtrates prevented all open defiance in the Field; but yet could not ſo pacifie their Animoſities, but that ſeveral Skirmiſhes, or Rencounters, paſſed between them in the Streets, wherein the Spahees were always worſted, and at length were forced to abandon the City, ſcarce daring for ſome time to own the Name of Spahee within the Walls of *Conſtantinople*.

Theſe Diſturbances gave the Venetians ſome hopes to accommodate their Peace with better Advantage; but the Reply to this Propoſition was more fierce and poſitive than ever, and ſo ill reſented, that the Bailo going from his Audience, was on the 27*th* of *April* ſeized on, and with all his Retinue clapped into Priſon and Chains; being ſent to thoſe Caſtles which are ſcituate on the *Boſphorus*, in the middle way between *Conſtantinople* and the Black Sea. But this furious ſeverity, by the interceſſion of other Chriſtian Miniſters, continued not long, before the Bailo received more gentle Treatment, by the Sacrifice which the Turks made unto themſelves of *Grillo*, his Interpeter, who being called down from the preſence of the Bailo, was immediately, by two Officers, ſtrangled, and his Body thrown out at the Window of the Caſtle; the which act, though it may ſeem unjuſt and barbarous to us, hath yet been frequently practiſed amongſt the Turks, being to this day their common uſe to threaten the Druggermen, or Interpreters, which is the cauſe that they often mince, or wholly alter the ſenſe or meaning of their Maſters, on thoſe Occaſions, when words are ſpoken by them ungrateful to the Turks.

The Turks bearing this Diſdain to the Venetians, laboured to re-enforce their Armies in *Candia*, and ſupply them with Ammunition and Proviſions; and though the Venetians lay before the Mouth of the *Dardanelles* to intercept all Succours which might be carried thither; yet the Turks, notwithſtanding their Diviſions, having recruited their Fleet with forty Gallies, and ten Great Ships, broke through the Venetians, and in deſpight of them, convoyed five Gallies laden with Souldiers and Ammunition, and landed them ſafe at *Canea*; and about the ſame time ſix Gallies, and ten Ships of *Barbary*, entered into the Port of *Suda*.

The General which commanded in Chief was named *Chuſaein* Paſha, a Perſon of great Courage and Experience; he had for ſome time beſieged the City of *Candia*, but for want of Men and Ammunition was forced to riſe from that Place, and retire to *Canea* and *Retimo*, whilſt in the mean time the *Candiots* received recruits of Men, and ſupply of Proviſions, improving their leiſure-time to fortifie their Town with ſuch Works as rendred it almoſt impregnable, and made it become the Wonder and Diſcourſe of the World after ſome Years ſucceeding. 1649.

Nor was the War only carried on in *Candia*, but alſo in *Dalmatia*, *Morea*, *Boſna*, and *Albania*. For *Foſcolo*, the General of *Venice*, deſigning to force ſome Corn from the Parts of *Caſtel-nuovo*, he landed ſome Men there, but was ſo ill received by the Turks, that he was forced to retreat unto his Veſſels with great diſorder, and no leſs diſhonour. But he had better fortune in the Parts of *Boſna*, where he repulſed the Enemy to the very Gates of *Sarſay*, the Capital City of that Province, and took upon compoſition the Fortreſs of *Riſano*, which is ſcituate between *Cataro* and *Caſtel-nuovo*; but at length the Turks receiving an additional Aid of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Men, the Venetians were forced to quit their new Conqueſts, and retire into their own Country.

During the time that theſe Affairs were in agitation, the young Emperor was proclaimed, and his Inauguration celebrated with the uſual Ceremonies, but with Rejoicings, and hopes extraordinary; who being yet ſcarcely arrived to eight years of Age, many Mutinies and Troubles aroſe in divers Parts of the Empire, as in *Damaſcus*, *Syria*, *Anatolia*, and other Countries, where the Paſhaws refuſed to pay in the cuſtomary Taxes and Tribute, declaring, That they would keep the Mony in their Hands during the Minority of the Grand Signior; and that when he came to Age of Government, they would be accountable to him both for the Principal and for the Improvement.

The Turks in *Hungary* making incurſions into the Territories of the Emperor, were overthrown by the Count *Forgatz*, near *Buda*, where the Paſha was taken Priſoner, and his Son ſlain.

Nor better fortune had they in the Aſſault they made on the Fortreſs of *Cliſſa*, where having loſt five thouſand Men, they were forced to retire with great diſhonour.

The *Coſſacks* alſo in this Conjuncture grew more bold, ſo that they covered the Black Sea with their Boats, doing great damage to the Saicks, and other Veſſels, which traded in that Sea; and at length came up the *Boſphorus* above *Therapea*, giving a great Alarm, with much Fear and Confuſion to all *Conſtantinople*.

Amidſt theſe Misfortunes, and inteſtine Troubles, new Diſorders, aroſe in the Ottoman-Empire; For, as commonly, all the blame of miſcarriages and ill ſucceſſes in *Turkie* are caſt upon the Head of the Commander in chief; ſo the Enemies of the Great Vizier took the advantage in this conjuncture to reproach his ill Government, and carried the accuſation ſo far, as to depoſe him from his Charge and Office; in whoſe place the Aga, or General of the Janiſaries, ſucceeded.

The Spahees in *Aſia*, being diſpleaſed with this Election, aſſembled in a Body of ſeven or eight thouſand, and marched towards *Conſtantinople*, pretending to revenge the Death of Sultan *Ibrahim*; their Numbers daily encreaſing, the Divan very much feared leſt the Party which favoured the Spahees in *Conſtantinople*, ſhould join themſelves to the Aſian Mutineers; to prevent which it was judged good Reaſon and Policy, to anticipate the Juſtice they demanded,

1649. manded, by taking away the Life of the depoſed Vizier; which being eaſily aſſented unto, and without much heſitation performed, gave ſome little ſtop to the Fury and Heats of the Spahees.

Notwithſtanding all which, as the Diviſions which the Turks entertain amongſt themſelves, were never ſo great as to afford the Chriſtians any Advantage thereby, ſo the Venetians did not reap any Benefit from theſe Quarrels; but on the contrary, the Turks ſtudiouſly attended to their Affairs in *Candia*, paſſing thither with ſixty Gallies, thirty great Ships, and twenty five other ſmaller Veſſels, laden with Men, and all ſorts of Proviſions and Ammunition for War; ſo that in this Year 1649, the Affairs of the Turks remained in that Iſland in this happy and hopeful poſture. Amongſt theſe Ships were thirteen Engliſh, which the Turks took up at *Smyrna*, and forced into their Service. For though the Ambaſſador, Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, then Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, oppoſed the Engagement of theſe Ships what was poſſible, and alſo the Commanders and Seamen were very unwilling and diſſatisfied to undertake the Deſign, yet the Turks with Menaces, and Promiſes of Reward, forced them to carry Men and Ammunition to *Candia*; ſo that, making a Virtue of Neceſſity, they complied with that which they could not reſiſt.

ANNO 1650.

CHuſſein Paſha, Governour of the Iſland of *Candia*, having received theſe Succours and Recruits, reſolved to beſiege the Chief City of *Candia*; to which intent, drawing out from the Ships, and Gariſons of *Retimo* and *Canea*, what Men he was able, he formed an Army of thirty thouſand Men, with which he marched, and pitched before the Town. He was provided alſo with twelve Pieces of Cannon, four thouſand Sacks of Wooll, three thouſand Ladders, and with a good quantity of Granadoes; with this Force he attaqued the City in two places, *viz.* on the Forts of *Martinengo*, and *Mocenigo*; and preſſed ſo hard on the latter, that notwithſtanding the generous reſiſtance of the Defendants, he won the Fort, and there planted the Ottoman Colours; fortifying it with more Cannon, and a good number of Men.

Count *Coloredo*, Governour of that Place, was then ſick, the Gariſon very weak, and things reduced to the laſt terms of extremity; when General *Balbiani*, Admiral of *Malta*, arrived with ſix Gallies, and there landed ſix hundred Men, and ſixty Knights; which with great Courage mounted the Guard of the Fort *Martinengo*, which was the place of moſt Danger and Honour. The Turks excited with a deſire to welcome the new Gueſts, made three deſperate and furious Aſſaults on this Fort, but were with equal Valour repulſed by the Defendants; at which Diſgrace and Foil being highly enraged, they reſolved on a fourth Attempt, which they purſued with that Courage and Succeſs, that the Venetians were forced to give way to their Violence, with the ſlaughter almoſt of all thoſe which defended this Fort; until the Cavaliers of *Malta*, who having no greater Glory, nor readier Will, than to ſpill their Blood for the Chriſtian Cauſe, rallied all the Force they were able, and made ſo proſperous an Attaque upon the Fort, that they recovered it again, with the Blood and Deſtruction of all thoſe who defended it; but they enjoyed it not long, before the Turks regained it with the like ſucceſs and ſlaughter: which variety of Fortune the Venetians being ſenſible of, and that they could not bear ſuch coſtly Interchanges with the Turks, had recourſe to their ultimate Remedy of Mines, which ſucceeded ſo happily, that the whole Fort was carried into the Air, and therewith two thouſand good Souldiers of the Turks; with which Deſtruction, and other Repulſes in divers places, they were ſo weakned and diſcouraged, that they raiſed the Siege on the fifth of *October* new Stile. 1650.

In this Interim, the Tartar *Han*, called the *Krim*, demanded the Guardianſhip of the young Sultan, as of right belonging unto him; but the Council anſwered hereunto, That their Maſter was already in better Hands than thoſe into which they deſired to transfer him; and that his Grandmother, and the Divan, wanted neither Wiſdom nor Fidelity to direct his Affairs: with which anſwer the Tartar being forced to remain ſatisfied, was able to revenge himſelf no farther, than by exciting the Coſſacks to infeſt the Seas; which gave ſome diverſion to thoſe Arms, which otherwiſe had all been employed againſt the Venetians.

But theſe Deſigns from *Tartary* did little trouble the Council, in compariſon of that Spirit of Diſcord which was ariſen between the Spahees and the Janiſaries; for both Parties being emulous of each others Greatneſs, endeavoured on all Occaſions to elevate their Chief Commanders to the higheſt and moſt profitable Places of the Empire: which Diſſention touching the principal Miniſters of State, who were all engaged on the one ſide or the other, adminiſtred great Troubles, and retarded the execution and ſucceſs of all the grand Deſigns of the Empire. Nor was it of leſs importance and diſhonour to the Divan, that their Fleet was hindred paſſage by the Venetians, who blocked up the Mouth of the *Dardanelles*; whereby all intercourſe with *Candia* was interrupted: but being reſolved to remove this Obſtacle, they commanded the Captain-Paſha to force his Paſſage; which he accordingly performing, was ſo warmly received, that he quickly loſt two Gallies, and after much Blood, and loſs on both ſides, was forced at length to retire again within the Streights. But what was of worſe conſequence to the Turks, was the inveterate Diſcord between the Spahees, and Janiſaries; who having been unadviſedly embarked promiſcuouſly together, came oftentimes to Words, and then to Blows; which ended not without the Blood and Death of divers of each party. Theſe miſchiefs increaſed the rage which the Turks at *Conſtantinople* conceived againſt the Venetians; who were all thereupon (not excepting the Bailo *Soranzo*, nor his Secretary *Ballarino*) interdicted the Territories of the Grand Signior; and ſent back into their own Country.

The Captain-Paſha, that he might be in a capacity to make a ſecond Attempt to force his paſſage, ſent to *Conſtantinople* for new Recruits: when News came that the Siege of *Candia* was raiſed, and that the Turks had loſt the Fort of St. *Theodoro*; which ſo angred the Spirit of the Queen-mother againſt the Vizier, that ſhe immediately depoſed him from his Charge, and therewith had taken away his Life, had not the Faction of the Janiſaries protected him in this Extremity.

The Paſha of *Buda* was introduced into his place, a Perſon of a turbulent and ambitious

Spirit, who to increaſe his Favour with his Miſtreſs the Sultana, evidenced his Heat and Zeal againſt the Venetians, and to that end ſent immediately expreſs Orders to the Paſha of *Boſna*, to inveſt *Cliſſa* with all the Power he was able; and therewith he preſented him with a Cimeter, and a Halter; the former to be his Reward in caſe of good Succeſs, and the latter to be his Puniſhment in caſe of Misfortune. But this furious Vizier continued not ſo long, as to experience the Iſſue of this Command; for he was in a few days laid aſide, and *Chuſaein* Paſha, the General of *Candia*, was placed in his ſtead; howſoever his Orders were to remain with the Army, by which means, much Emulation and Conteſt was prevented, which might otherwiſe have happened between the Spahees, and Janiſaries, at the Election of a new Vizier; and thereby all excuſes taken from the Souldiery of abſence from the War, who could now pretend nothing of Reaſon to withdraw themſelves, on ſcore of attendance on the Vizier's Perſon; and to ſupply his Authority at the Regal Court, a Chimacam was ſubſtituted to adminiſter Juſtice in place of the Vizier, which is uſual on ſuch Occaſions.

Notwithſtanding all which, Affairs ſucceeded not extraordinary well for the Turks in *Candia*; for being ſtraitned for Proviſions in *Canea*, by the near approach of the Chriſtians, the Turks were forced to make a Diverſion, by appearing in great Troops before *Candia*; which they were enabled to do, by the Supplies they had lately received, with the arrival of their Fleet of Gallies; for the Winter Seaſon approaching, the Venetians were conſtrained to abandon their ſtation before the *Dardanelles*, and to leave the Paſſage open for the Enemy. And ſo this Year ended, rather with Advantage than Diſgrace to the Chriſtians.

ANNO 1651.

With theſe great Succours and Supplies ſent to *Candia* by the Turks, Affairs muſt neceſſarily have ſucceeded proſperouſly to their Deſigns, had not inteſtine Diſcords at Home interrupted their proceedings; which aroſe from a Jealouſy and Emulation between the Grandmother and Mother of the young Sultan. For each of them pretending to the tuition or guardianſhip of the Emperor, during his Minority, divers Parties and Factions formed at *Conſtantinople*, from whence all that Trouble and Combuſtion aroſe, which we have at large related in the third Chapter of the Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire.

So that now it was no time to talk to the Souldiers or People of a War in *Candia*; For the firſt thought themſelves engaged to contrive a Settlement and Determination of Diſputes at Home: and the latter being irritated with a new Tax laid on them, for want of Mony in the Treaſury, exclaimed, and talked loud, and at length, inſtead of paying, broke out into open Rebellion; which by aſſiſtance of the Souldiery, was appeaſed, under no leſs Terms than the Death of ſeveral principal Miniſters of State.

During theſe Diviſions, the Venetians had time to arm out a very conſiderable Fleet for defence of *Candia*; *Foſcolo*, who had been General in *Dalmatia*, being ſent thither with title of *Generaliſſimo* in the place of *Mocenigo*: But theſe Diſſentions amongſt the Turks, according to their uſual Cuſtom, laſting not long before they came to a Concluſion, by the entire deſtruction of one of the Parties; the Chief Miniſters began to reaſſume again the thoughts of proſecuting the War in *Candia*, and to ſend Recruits to reinforce the Army under the Command of *Chuſaein* Paſha, who was returned with new Forces and Courage to aſſault the City of *Candia*.

At this time a certain Greek, pretending to be a Perſon of Quality, and diſcontented with the Turks, fled from them to the Chriſtians, where being received with all kind and obliging entertainment, he had thereby liberty of ſeeing and viſiting all the Fortifications of the Place. After he had obſerved and diſcovered as much as he deſired, this traiterous Fugitive fled again to the Turkiſh Camp, where he revealed what places were moſt ſtrong or beſt fortified, and where the Town was weakeſt, and moſt eaſily to be aſſaulted. The Venetian General being awakened at this Diſcovery, and conſidering the numbers of his People to be few, in reſpect of the Enemy, and that the Outworks could not be maintained without a more numerous Gariſon, he reſolved to deſtroy ſome of thoſe Forts; and accordingly blew up with Mines four Baſtions, which being at a diſtance could not be relieved without much danger. The Turks hereby making conjectures of the weakneſs of the beſieged, cheerfully aſſaulted the Fort of St. *Demetrio*, thinking to carry it without much trouble; but contrary to their expectation, they encountred ſo bold a reſiſtance, that they loſt three thouſand Men on the Place.

At *Conſtantinople* they were ſtill ſo intent to carry on this War, that having prepared, and laden on the Fleet great quantities of Granadoes, Bomboes, and Mortar-pieces, with other Fire-works, the Captain-Paſha, with hopes agreeable to his Force, ſet forth to Sea, with eleven hundred Sail, conſiſting of Gallies, Ships, Galleaſſes, Saiques, Brigantines, and ſmaller Veſſels, with reſolution to engage the Venetian Fleet, whoſe Commanders alſo were equally deſirous and ready to conſent with them to a Battel.

On the *7th* of *July*, the Venetians being at an Anchor in the Port of St. *Ermina*, diſcovered the Turkiſh Fleet, to which, as they were much inferiour in number, ſo they were ſuperiour to them in the agreement and experience of their Commanders. The Turks having paſſed forward on their way, the Venetians purſued them, and the better to draw them to a Battel, *Mocenigo* ordered two Ships, commanded by *Barbaro* and *Dolphino* to croſs the Turks at the point of the Iſland; and his Vice-Admiral, *Bataggio*, with four Ships to engage the main Body of the the Turkiſh Fleet; to whoſe aſſiſtance many other Veſſels coming in, he ſo rudely treated ſeveral Gallies, that they were forced to ſeek harbour in the Port of *Chios*, now *Scio*, with the loſs of *Mahomet*, Paſha of *Anatolia*, who was ſent to ſucceed in the Office of *Chuſaein* Paſha, the General of *Candia*; but Night coming on, the reſt of the Fleet retreated to the Iſles of *Naxia* and *Paros*.

On the tenth day the Turks having watered their Fleet, gave a ſignal of defiance to the Venetians, by diſcharge of two pieces of Cannon; and the Venetians accepting the Challenge, both Fleets gave a furious charge one to the other; but the Turks were not able to withſtand the Courage and Skilfulneſs of the Venetians; for the Captain-Paſha having loſt many of his Men, and the Poop of his Gally being carried away with a Cannon-ſhot, the whole Fleet was put into Diſorder, and then unto flight, ſo that the Gallies began to employ themſelves in toaing the Ships. But one of their Mahones being ſeparated from the reſt, was aſſaulted by two Galleaſſes, and ſome Ships, and finding none to come in for Succour, the Captain was killed, with four hundred Souldiers, and two hundred were taken Priſoners.

A great Victory obtained by the Venetians over the Turks.

In the mean time *Mocenigo*, the General, gave chaſe to the Gallies, which two to a Ship were toaing the heavier Veſſels as faſt as they could; but being hardly purſued, were forced to caſt off the Hauſer, and ſhift for themſelves as well as they were able. The Turkiſh Ships ſeeing themſelves thus abandoned, fired whole Broadſides upon the Enemy; but the Venetian Gallies leaving their own Ships aſtern, that they might purſue their advantage, *Quarini* boarded a Great Galleaſs, called the *Soltana*, upon which were three hundred Souldiers, who offered to ſurrender upon promiſe of Quarter for their Lives. But the Chriſtian Souldiers heated with fight, and not then underſtanding any thing of Conditions, deſperately boarded the Veſſel, whereby the Turks being reduced to an extremity of deſpair, gave fire to the Powder, and therewith carried, as well the Vanquiſhers, as the Vanquiſhed, into the other World.

According to this example four other Veſſels burnt themſelves, one of 60 braſs Guns, and three others of 40 to 44. Fifteen Veſſels of the Starboard Wing ſaved themſelves by good ſailing. Of the Larboard Wing, Captain *Nicolo*, a Renegado, with his Ship, was taken by the Admiral of the Galleaſſes, likewiſe another Great Veſſel by *Lazaro Mocenigo*, and another by Proveditor *Molino*. In ſhort, there was not one Veſſel which remained in ſight of the Venetians, which was not either taken, ſunk, or burnt. Notwithſtanding all which, conſidering the Veſſels which were eſcaped, and the 3 thouſand Men which the Turks had landed at *Nuxia*, in order to their being tranſported unto *Candia*, the Victory ſeemed to be very imperfect; wherefore the Venetians attending another encounter with the Turkiſh Fleet, did happily meet them in a few days after; and being encouraged with the late Succeſs, as the Enemy was low in their Spirits and Reſolution, they bravely attaqued the Turks, and took 39 Gallies, 23 Ships, three Galleaſſes, together with the three thouſand Souldiers which were then embarked from *Naxia*: Thoſe which eſcaped took Refuge in the Port of *Rhodes*.

After this great loſs, the Turks entertained no great Deſigns of the Conqueſt of *Candia*; but only to conſerve *Canea*, and the footing that they had won in that Iſland: nor did ever the Turks after this, dare to ſtand a formal Battel with the Venetians at Sea, but rather contriving to eſcape than to fight, did ever after build light Gallies, for tranſporting of Men and Ammunition, with intention to wage their War only at Land, and not at Sea; it being a ſaying ever after common in their Mouths; *That God had given the Sea to Chriſtians, and the Earth to the Turks.*

To theſe ill Succeſſes abroad, were added great Diſſentions at Home; for the mutinous Spahees in *Aſia*, having united into a ſtrong Body, marched towards *Conſtantinople*, to join with their other Brethren in thoſe Parts. The Janiſaries on the other ſide, not leſs diligent to oppoſe their Enemy, to revenge the Outrages committed on their Brethren, whom the Spahees had ill-treated, having cut off the Noſes and Ears of ſeveral of them; beſides all which, they proceeded to that height of Inſolence, as to demand the Heads of the Great Vizier, and of the Aga of the Janiſaries; and being now by their numbers rendered formidable to the Court, it was judged agreeable to the preſent Conjuncture, to ſatisfy in ſome meaſure theſe Mutiniers, by diſcharging theſe two Officers of their employment, which did in ſome degree for the preſent qualify and appeaſe theſe Tumults.

ANNO 1652.

THE Seditions at *Conſtantinople* were ſcarce quieted, before advice came of a Rebellion of the People of *Grand Cairo* and *Damaſcus*, who both at the ſame time conſpired, as if they intended to caſt off Subjection to the Ottoman Family; the which Mutiny and Diſturbance aroſe to that Head, as gave great cauſe of fear to the Divan; and employed all their Counſels and Contrivances for this whole Year, in what manner they might reduce this People to their Duty and Obedience. During which time, the Chriſtians in *Candia* had time to breath, and opportunity to provide themſelves with all Ammunition and Proviſions; and to repair their old, and add new Fortifications to their Town.

ANNO 1653.

BUT theſe Troubles being with time compoſed, the Grand Vizier deſired greatly the Conqueſt of *Candia*, which being by experience proved to be with difficulty gained by the Sword, he endeavoured to win it by fairer Terms; and to that end wrote a Letter to the Republick of *Venice*, in Letters of Gold; wherein he declared, that it ſeemed ſtrange to him, that the Senate had not diſpatched their Ambaſſador to him with the ſurrender of *Candia*, in regard that thereby they might aſſure themſelves to purchaſe a certain Peace, which they vainly retarded by ſuch delays. Howſoever in theſe Letters no mention was made of the Cauſes, or Reaſons, why Signior *Capello*, who was an eminent Perſon, being Procurator of St. *Mark*, and ſent thither for Bailo, was ſo ill treated with Impriſonment at his Arrival, notwithſtanding the permiſſion and encouragement which was given for his kind reception, obtained at the inſtance of the French Ambaſſador; but this Reſtraint continued not long upon him, before he was releaſed with a daily Allowance (which continued for ſome time) of 1200 Aſpers a Day; and afterwards the Court returning from *Adrianople* to *Conſtantinople*, he was permitted to lodg in the Palace which belongs to the Bailo's of *Venice*.

The Venetian Fleet being Victorious at Sea, made it their work to keep the Mouth of the *Dardanelles* always blocked up, whereby they hindered all Succours from *Candia*: notwithſtanding which diligence, the Venetians being ſometimes forced, for the ſake of Water and Proviſion, to abandon that Station; the Turks took hold of the opportunity to eſcape forth; but being eagerly purſued by the Venetians, they were forced to take Sanctuary in *Rhodes*, where being again blocked up, the affairs in *Candia* ſuffered much, and the Complaints from thence were loud at the Court. So that Orders were ſent, and often repeated unto the Captain-Paſha, that he ſhould ſpend no longer time in

Rhodes, but that in deſpight of all Difficulties, he ſhould immediately proceed to *Candia*, and fight through the Venetians in caſe they remained in the way to interrupt his paſſage; but the Captain-Paſha notwithſtanding theſe Orders, and Menaces which accompanied them, could not perſwade himſelf to the Hazard of a Battel; till at length, the ſeaſon of the Year ſpending, and being wearied in the Port of *Rhodes*, he reſolved to adventure abroad; but inſtead of going to *Candia*, he plundered the Iſlands as he paſſed, and returned to *Conſtantinople*, with 40 Gallies, where he hoped with the Booty he had plundered, to appeaſe the anger of the Divan againſt him: but this Sacrifice did not much avail, for he was not ſooner arrived, than his Perſon was ſeized, and Goods ſealed up for the uſe of the Grand Signior; the which Seal his Sons broke open, and taking with them the richeſt and moſt conſiderable part of their Father's Eſtate, laded it on one of the Gallies, and fled therewith into Foreign Parts, little regarding that danger in which they had left their Father to periſh. During which time the Venetians ſtill maintained their Guards on the Coaſts of *Candia*, not ſuffering any Recruits of Men, or Proviſions for War, to be tranſported thither; ſo that if the Turks deſigned to proſecute this War, it muſt be by new Forces, and ſuch as were able to encounter the Marine Power of the Enemy; the which being reſolved upon by the Council, a heavy Tax was laid on the people to carry on the Deſign, which they not willingly ſupporting, made a publick Inſurrection in the City; and at the ſame time alſo the ancient Quarrel between the Spahees and Janiſaries, began again to ferment; which Troubles being added to a Rebellion raiſed by the Paſha of *Aleppo*, who increaſing in ſtrength and number, came marching towards *Conſtantinople*, put that great City into a horrible Fear and Confuſion.

ANNO 1654.

THE Venetians judged that theſe Troubles would naturally produce ſome Advantage to them, and much facilitate the Peace which they had long deſired: but as Seditions amongſt the Turks are always too violent to continue; ſo theſe Diſcontents evaporated in a ſhort time, and new Reſolutions were taken to proſecute the War in *Candia*; for notwithſtanding that *Monſieur de Ventelay*, Son to the French Ambaſſador, mediated with agreeable prudence to compoſe Matters in order to a Peace, yet his Endeavours were all inſignificant; for neither had Signior *Capello* Audience granted him, nor that liberty which was promiſed before his Arrival; the Turks ſtill inſiſting on the Surrender of *Candia*, would not underſtand any Terms which did not entirely inveſt them in that Conqueſt.

To effect which by Force, which could not be performed by Compoſition; the Paſha of *Buda* was Elected for Captain-Paſha, or Commander in Chief of the Seas; and Orders given to equippe a new Fleet of Ships, and Gallies, for tranſporting the Succours of Men and Proviſions to *Candia*: where *Chuſaein* Paſha the General, being wearied with his long Siege of the Town, withdrew his Men at ſome farther diſtance for their better refreſhment; for they wanting all Conveniencies in their Trenches, began to Mutiny, and to refuſe the performance of their Duty, until the General ſatisfying their Pay, and diſpenſing liberally Largeſſes to the Officers, gave them new Encouragement and Satiſfaction; with which, being a little enlivened, *Chuſaein* ſent a Herald, with a defiance to thoſe in the City, challenging them to fight a pitcht Battel with him: but the Chriſtians refuſed the Offer, thinking it more prudence not to accept, than loſs of Honour to deny an Anſwer to the Challenge. Then the Turks ſought ſome means to effect their Deſign by Treachery; to which end, they treated with a certain Captain for delivery of one of the Gates of the City; which he promiſed to do unto the Turks, but gave Advertiſement unto the Governour. The Paſha the night following advanced with ſome Troops, hoping to find one of the Gates opened to him; but inſtead thereof, the Defendants having prepared a Mine to receive them, ſprang the ſame ſo opportunely, that it carried away the moſt of thoſe who were engaged in the Deſign, and therewith their hopes of becoming Maſters ſpeedily of that impregnable Fortreſs. Wherefore they reſolved for a while to repoſe, and attend thoſe Succours which were now preparing at *Conſtantinople*.

The Fleet being put into a readineſs, the Souldiery departed with their uſual hopes of Succeſs; but meeting with their Enemy again at the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*, the Fight was furious and hot for a long time between them, but concluded to the diſadvantage of the Turks, who there loſt 6000 Men, two Gallies, three Ships, and a Mahone: howſoever they broke through the Venetians, and landed 12000 Men in the Iſle of *Candia*. The News of this defeat, and the Confirmation thereof, by the wounded Men which were landed at *Conſtantinople*, made a great noiſe amongſt the people. Howſoever the Turks perſiſting conſtant to their Intentions of proſecuting the War, ſent Orders to the Captain-Paſha again to fight the Venetians ſo ſoon as the Fleet was refitted, and reſtored to a condition to engage in another Battel; but the Venetians ſcarce gave them the leiſure to repair, before they attacked them again, whereby they put them to ſuch diſorder, that they were forced to take refuge in the firſt convenient Port; where having attended a favourable Wind, they haſtned to *Conſtantinople*; and from thence were diſpatched into the Black Sea againſt the Coſſacks, who very much infeſted thoſe parts.

The Captain-Paſha being arrived, extolled his own great Services and Adventures, and on the contrary vilified the Great Vizier, diſparaging all his Actions, as mixed with weak Counſels, and proſecuted with Cowardiſe, or want of true Reſolution: the which took ſuch deep impreſſion in his abſence, having none to anſwer for him; that all being given for granted which was alledged againſt him, Orders were diſpatched to *Candia* by an Officer to take off his Head, in whoſe place this Captain-Paſha ſucceeded.

Amidſt of all theſe Combuſtions of War, the mediation of Peace was carried on by the French Ambaſſador: For though Signior *Capello* was actually Reſident on the Place, qualified with the Character of Bailo for the Republick of *Venice*; yet the Turks would ſcarce vouchſafe to Treat perſonally with him; and indeed his ſufferings by Impriſonment, and other barbarous Uſages, had affected him with ſuch a melancholy, as rendred him uncapable for ſome time of adminiſtring publick Affairs; for having loſt his Reaſon, by giving way to ſad and black Thoughts, he laid violent Hands on

1654. himſelf, by wounding himſelf in two or three places of his Belly; but the Wounds proving not Mortal, he was in a ſhort time reſtored again to a ſound Eſtate both in Mind and Body; as I ſhall ſome few years after have occaſion to relate from the words of his own Mouth, which he was pleaſed to utter to me on his Death-bed, the day before he departed this Life.

ANNO 1655.

THE Great Vizier after all his evil Inſinuations againſt *Chuſaein* Paſha, fell very ſick and infirm; ſo that the Court conſidering him as a Perſon uncapable of farther Service, caſt their eyes on the Paſha of *Aleppo*, who being a daring Martial Man, was eſteemed to be the better Chief in ſuch a hazardous War, which for being on the Sea, was unuſual and diſpleaſing to the Turks. Againſt him nothing could be objected beſides his Rebellions and Contrariety to the Government; but hereunto it was preſently anſwered, that the extravagance of his humour proceeded only from his Ambition of being Great Vizier; which when he had attained, that thirſty deſire of Glory, which he exerciſ'd for acquiring this Office, would be buſied in thoughts to advance and improve his Honour in Actions beyond his Predeceſſors.

Letters being arrived at this Paſha's hands, which called him to Court to accept this Charge, did ſecretly pleaſe the humour of his haughty Spirit; howſoever, he remained for a while in ſome ſuſpence and irreſolution, not being aſſured whether ſome Deceit might not be concealed under this ſpecious appearance of Preferment: But conſidering, that the way unto Gains and Advantage was by daring Adventures, he reſolutely accepted the Proffer, and put himſelf in his March towards *Conſtantinople*, with a glorious Equipage of forty thouſand Men, thinking therewith to make good his Retreat, and ſecure his Perſon in caſe that Deceit were diſcovered which he rationally ſuſpected. Being arrived near unto *Conſtantinople*, he received from the Great Signior ſeveral Meſſages of Kindneſs, and a good welcome; and was accordingly received into the City, and inveſted in the Office, with all the Circumſtances of Favour and Honour imaginable.

Having thus taken poſſeſſion of his Charge, he promiſed the Grand Signior that he would employ all his Endeavours to reſtore the decayed Eſtate of Affairs, and reform the Government. And as an earneſt thereof, he began to remove ſuch Miniſters from the Court which were ſuſpected by him; and to render himſelf the more Abſolute, he cut off ſeveral others, whom he imagined might in any wiſe diſturb or controul him in the management of his Affairs.

After which he diſpatched his Orders to all Maritime Towns of the Empire, to fit and make ready what Gallies and Ships were poſſible to be provided, intending thereby to ſet out the greateſt Fleet that ever was ſeen in the *Levant*: but to compleat this Work, two great Difficulties aroſe; The firſt was, to find a wiſe and well experienced Commander; and the next was in what manner to perſwade the Spahees and Janiſaries to embark; for they having heard and ſeen in what manner their Companions had periſhed in this miſerable War, abſolutely refuſed to go; and though the Animoſities of theſe two orders of Souldiers were irreconcileable one to the other, yet in this common Cauſe being united, they raiſed ſo horrible a Sedition, that they aſſaulted the Mufti in his very Houſe, and purſued him within the Gates of the Seraglio with a thouſand reproaches and injuries, as an Author of evil Counſels, and a Diſturber of the common Peace and Quiet of the Empire. Nor was it poſſible to appeaſe this Tumult, but by anticipating to them four months Pay; with which their Minds being made more pliable, they gently yielded to Obedience, and ſuffered themſelves to be embarked for *Candia*. 1655.

Zarnozau Muſtapha was made Captain-Paſha, or General of the Fleet, which was very numerous, and well equipped, conſiſting of ſixty Gallies, eight Mahones, thirty great Ships of War, and ſixty one Gallies belonging to the Beys. After having remained three days at the Mouth of the *Dardanelles* near the Caſtles, they went out in this Order; The Bey's Gallies were the firſt, then followed the Ships, next the Mahones, and the Rear conſiſted wholly of the Grand Signior's Gallies. The Van of the Fleet being the Bey's Gallies, which are always the beſt manned, and provided, were ordered to attack the main Body of the Chriſtian Fleet, for that, being ſeconded with the Ships, they would be able to ſuſtain the Shock until the Mahones could come up, which were directed againſt the Starboard Wing of the Enemy, compoſed of Galleaſſes. The Venetians, though much inferior in Number, yet as great in Courage, gave evident Signs of their deſire to fight, with hopes, by God's Bleſſing, to obtain a Victory. The Venetians whilſt the Turks paſſed, remained ſtill with their Anchors apique, which the Turks interpreting as a token of their Courage and Boldneſs, were ſo daunted, that they began to ply towards the Coaſt of *Greece*; but being forced to paſs under the Guns of the Venetian Admiral, they were ſo ill treated by his Broadſides, that they were diſcouraged from making a ſecond Charge. The Ships, and other Veſſels fared little better, being forced to paſs under the Guns of the Enemies Fleet. The Captain-Paſha attempted to paſs on the Coaſt of *Anatolia*, with his lighter Gallies, but being hindred by a ſtrong party of the Enemy, he was forced to follow the reſt of the Fleet, taking his Courſe with them by the Coaſt of *Greece*. In this Charge one of the Turks Mahones was ſunk, and two diſabled: But the greateſt Fight happened between a Squadron of the Turks Ships, and four of the Venetians, which had been hard put to it, had not the Captain *Mocenigo* come in to their Aſſiſtance; howſoever, the Venetian Captain of the Ship, called the *Crown*, was ſlain by a Muſket ſhot.

In ſhort, the Chriſtians boarded the Turks with ſo much Vigour and Reſolution, that they took ſeveral of their Ships, and mixing with the thickeſt of their other Veſſels, they put many Aſhore, and others eſcaping in their Boats, left their Slaves and Gallies to the diſpoſal of the Enemy; ſo that the Venetians obtained that day a hundred braſs Guns, with a ſignal Victory, having had no other important Loſs, unleſs the Ship called the *David* and *Goliah*, which being overpowered, was burnt by the Turks.

The People of the Turks, who were in daily expectation to receive intelligence of a Succeſs, agreeable to ſo great Preparations, were much troubled to hear the News of the Defeat given to their Naval Forces; of which Miſcarriage, the World dividing it ſelf into different Conjectures, the moſt part, eſpecially thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, attributed the Miſfortune of all to the ill Government, and want of Experience in the General. Wherefore to appeaſe the People, eſpecially the Merchants, who were weary of this Marine War; from whence they reaped nothing but Loſſes of their Ships and Goods; It was thought fit to enter into a Treaty with Signior *Capello*, the Venetian Bailo, concerning a Peace; but he having his Commiſſion taken from him, for the Reaſon before related, his Secretary *Ballarino* ſupplyed his Office; and in Order to an Accommodation, had two Audiences with the Great Vizier, to whom, and to others of the Divan, he made Preſents of rich Pieces of Cloth of Gold, in the Name of the Republick. Howſoever the Turks thinking it diſhonourable to accord unto other Terms, than the intire Reſignation of *Candia*, proceeded in their Preparations as formerly; at which the Merchants and Tradeſmen at *Conſtantinople* received ſuch matter of Diſcontentment, that in Tumults they cryed out for Peace at the Gates of the very Seraglio; and behaved themſelves with that Inſolence, that the Janiſaries were called to drive them from thence by force of Arms; howſoever this Tumult and Riot of the People ended not without the Life of the Great Vizier, to whoſe fury he was made a Sacrifice. And though his Son appeared at the Gates of the City with forty thouſand Men, to demand Juſtice on the Murderers of his Father, yet the People were ſo far from being diſmayed thereat, that their Fury and Rage encreaſed to a greater height, and required the Authority of the Divan to keep things from running into the Inconveniences of a Civil War.

ANNO 1656.

THeſe Diſorders induced the chief Miniſters to enter into another Treaty with *Ballarino*, propoſing to withdraw their Forces from *Candia*, and make a Peace, upon the paiment of ten Millions for the Charge of the War: And to incline the Venetians hereunto, the Turks gave ſevere Orders to their People living about *Corfou*, to moleſt the Inhabitants of that Iſland with all Acts of Hoſtility imaginable: and farther publiſhed, That their Intentions were to ſet out a more numerous and ſtronger Fleet, than any which from the beginning of this War had ſailed on the Seas; and in order thereunto, great Numbers of Slaves, conſiſting of Coſſacks and Moſcovites, were bought of the Tartars, and tranſported to *Conſtantinople*.

The Venetians were not in the leaſt affrighted at theſe Boaſtings of the Turk, but on the contrary, knowing that their Affairs in *Candia* were well ſecured and provided, gave Orders to *Ballarino* to deſiſt from farther Treaties, and to procure his Licence to depart. And the Turks, to evidence their intentions to proſecute the War, entered into *Canea* with twenty eight Sail, laden with Arms and Proviſions, on which alſo were fifteen hundred Men. By this conveyance was ſent a Janiſar-Aga with Orders from the Grand Signior, to conſtitute *Chuſaein* Paſha in the place of Captain-Paſha, or Admiral of the Seas; but he judging this to be a Deſign, or Lure, to draw him from his Poſt, or Office, wherein he was more ſtrong and ſecure, acknowledged the Honour of the Employment, but framed Excuſes to continue his Seat and Place of Reſidence, which the Chief Miniſters were forced to accept; it being a Conjuncture more ſeaſonable to diſſemble, than to reſent his refuſal.

Whilſt new Preparations were making againſt *Candia*, ſo horrible a ſtorm of Mutiny and Sedition aroſe at *Conſtantinople*, as conſtrained the Grandees of the Council to quit for the preſent all thoughts of providing for the War againſt the Enemy, that they might defend and ſave themſelves from the Fury of their own People; For the Spahees and Janiſaries joining together, pretended to reform the Abuſes of the State; to perform which, in a furious Tumult, putting themſelves in Arms, they ran to the Divan, where they depoſed the Great Vizier, and diſcharged divers other Officers of their Employment; The Mufti was conſtrained to fly to *Jeruſalem*, and the Queen-Mother ſcarce remained ſecure in her old Seraglio. And to ſo great a height their Rebellion proceeded, that they propoſed even to dethrone the Grand Signior himſelf. And having thus caſt off all Reſpect and Duty to their Prince, they entred the Imperial Palace, and forcing the Guards, broke up the Treaſury, and carried two millions from thence.

A Rebellion at Conſtantinople.

Amidſt of this horrid and affrighting Confuſion, Merchants and well-meaning Citizens remained in the moſt aſtoniſhing apprehenſions imaginable; for all Laws being broken, and Juſtice unregarded, the whole City laid open to be pillaged and ſacked by the licentiouſneſs of an unbridled Souldiery. For ſeveral days the Offices both of the Mufti, and Great Vizier remained vacant, by reaſon that the two Factions of Janiſaries and Spahees could not agree upon the Election. At length the moſt ſeditious amongſt them wearying out the others with Quarrels and Conteſts, advanced a Fellow of no Underſtanding or Reputation to the eminent degree of Great Vizier; in which condition he remained not long. For the Fire of the multitude being with time quenched, and the popular Heat abated, this new Vizier was diſplaced, all things returning to their uſual Channel, and Authority to its Fountain.

And that Matters might more eaſily be reſtored to their ancient order, the Grand Signior called for the Paſha of *Damaſcus* to receive the Dignity of Great Vizier; for he being a Perſon of eighty Years of Age, and of long Experience in Affairs, having managed the moſt weighty Charges of the Empire, was looked on by all as the moſt proper Perſon to compoſe and heal theſe great Diſtempers in the State; and this was that famous *Kuperlee*, who was Father to him who ſucceeded him in this Office. The Paſha of *Siliſtria* was alſo conſtituted Captain Paſha, and *Chuſaein* was confirmed in his Government of *Candia*.

And now the bright Beams of Juſtice and Government having diſſipated the Storms and Fury of popular Sollevations; the Grand Signior in Perſon mounting his Horſe, accompanied with his principal Miniſters of State, viſited all the Parts of *Conſtantinople*, where making Inquiſition for the principal Leaders and Fomenters of this Rebellion, he ſeized on ſome, and without further proceſs, boldly executed them in the Face of the People.

But before things were reduced to this condition, four Months were ſpent in this horrid Confuſion; and what is moſt ſtrange, this Great Empire for ſo long time remained without a Pilot, toſſed on the Waves of popular Commotions; all which ſerved to give eaſe and reſpite to the Venetians in their War, but not to operate towards a Peace; ſo reſolute were the Turks in their Deſign of making an entire Conqueſt of *Candia*.

For having again Equipped a moſt formidable Fleet, conſiſting of ſixty light Gallies, twenty eight Ships, and nine Galleaſſes; they attempted to make their way for *Candia*, and therewith to fight the Venetians in caſe they ſhould oppoſe them in their Voyage, to which they were the more encouraged upon ſight of the Venetians, who appeared at the Streights of the *Dardanelli*, with no more than twenty nine Gallies, and ſome Boats, or Brigantines; howſoever the Turks were not ſo confident in their numbers, but that they judged it requiſite to fortify themſelves with two Batteries; one on the Coaſt of *Anatolia*, and the other on the European ſhore; whereby they imagined, that they might cauſe the Venetians to give way, and open a Paſſage to their Fleet.

Engagement between the Turks and Venetians.

But notwithſtanding the continual ſhot which the Turks made upon them, they ſtill kept their Station from the 23*d* to the 26*th* of *June*; when the Wind coming about to the North, which was favourable for the Turks to Sail out, and to bring them nearer to their Enemies, they began gently to approach; and the like the Chriſtians endeavoured, being deſirous to join Battel; at which firmneſs of Reſolution, the Turks being a little ſtartled, became willing to avoid the Fight, and to creep under the ſhelter of the point of *Babiers*, which locks in one of the Bayes between the Caſtles and the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*. But the Wind on a ſudden turning favourable for the Venetians, the Prior of *Rochelle* with his Squadron, and *Mocenigo* with three Ships under his Command, made up towards the Caſtles, with deſign to cut the Turks off from their Retreat; the others valiantly aſſailed the Turks, who defending themſelves like thoſe, whoſe chief ſecurity conſiſts in their Arms, there enſued a moſt miſerable ſlaughter on one ſide, and the other; at length the Succeſs of Victory happened to the Venetians, who were animated by the couragious Example of their General *Marcello*, though he having Boarded, and become Maſter of a great Ship called a *Soltana*, with the Gally which attended her, was ſhot in the thigh with a Cannon Bullet, and thereby gained the glory to die Conquering, and Triumphant.

The Venetians obtain the Victory.

After whoſe Death, the Proveditor taking upon him the Command of the Fleet, proſecuted the Victory ſo cloſe, that excepting fourteen Gallies which eſcaped with the Captain-Paſha, and four Gallies of the Bey's; all the whole Fleet was either taken, ſunk, or burnt. The Venetians not being able to man all the Veſſels that they had taken, ſet many of them on fire in the Night, excepting only twelve Gallies, four Ships, and two Galleaſſes, which they reſerved for a Demonſtration or Evidence of their Victory. With this glorious ſucceſs five thouſand poor Chriſtians obtained their Freedom, and had their Chains and Shackles knocked off. What number the Turks might have loſt is uncertain; but as to the Venetians, it is reported, that beſides their General, there were not above three hundred Men in all killed and wounded.

The Venetians being encouraged by this Succeſs, attacked the Iſland of *Tenedos*, and in the ſpace of four days became Maſters of it; as alſo in a ſhort time afterwards of *Stalimene*, antiently called *Lemnos*; the which ſhameful Loſſes and Overthrow, ſo irritated the Mind of the Grand Signior, that he gave Orders to carry the War into *Dalmatia*, intending the next Summer to go thither in Perſon; and in the mean time Commanded by the Paſha of *Boſna*, that the City of *Raguſa* ſhould be put into a readineſs to receive his Troops, being judged a convenient Place for the Seat and Magazine of Arms for thoſe Countries.

But the poor Republick greatly apprehending this Miſfortune, than which there could be no greater Miſchief, nor Ruin to their Country; diſpatched certain Deputies with their yearly Tribute to the Port, with Inſtructions, that in the way thither, they ſhould ſupplicate the Paſha to intercede with the Grand Signior in their behalf, repreſenting to his Majeſty, that they paying their annual Tribute for Protection, ought not in juſtice to be expoſed to the licentiouſneſs of an Army, which their little Territories were not capable to receive, nor provide with convenient Quarters: at which Meſſage the Paſha being highly incenſed, anſwered rudely, and impriſoned them; threatning to ſtrangle them, in caſe their Government did not obey the Commands of the Sultan.

ANNO 1657.

BUT the chief Miniſters at the Port, taking into their conſideration the preſent State of Affairs; that the City of *Conſtantinople* was full of Diſcontents; the Perſian on one ſide, and the Moſcovite on the other, ready to invade divers parts of the Empire; that there were Deſigns to depoſe the Grand Signior, and ſet one of his Brothers on the Throne; beſides a multitude of other Dangers; the reſolution of the Court's removal, and of the Grand Signior's March into *Dalmatia*, was ſuſpended; his Preſence and Authority being eſteemed moſt requiſite in ſuch a conjuncture of Troubles at the Heart and Center of his Empire. After which, the appearance of the Grand Signior in Publick was leſs frequent; for that he might haſten the departure of the Spahees and Janiſaries for *Candia*, he deferred his Journey to *Adrianople* for ſome time; but they being averſe to this War, refuſed to march, until firſt they had received all Arrears which were due to them; the which audacious Propoſal ſo incenſed the Grand Signior, that he cauſed the Heads of two of the moſt forward Mutineers to be cut off in his preſence.

This unſeaſonable rigour rather provoked the Spirits of diſcontented Men, than abated them; and the continual Prizes which the Venetians made on the Turks, and ſtoppage of Proviſions, which did uſually ſupply *Conſtantinople* from the *Archipelago*, raiſed the price of Bread, and of all Victuals in that populous City; ſo that the People murmured and exclaimed, as if they had been reduced to their laſt Extremity.

The Grand Vizier conſidering that the loſs of *Tenedos* was the cauſe of all theſe Inconviences; promiſed the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, that he would regain it in a ſhort time; in order to which, he ſet forth a very numerous Fleet to beſiege that Fortreſs; but contrary Winds, and bad Weather, forced them into a Neighbouring Port, where they attended the conjunction of the Bey's Gallies with them.

The General of the Venetians having received advice hereof, put to Sea, that he might hinder theſe two Fleets from joining; and was no ſooner in the Channel of *Scio*, than that he met with ten Sail of Barbery Men of War, convoying a great number of Saiques, and other Veſſels, of which fourteen were laden with Proviſions, carrying alſo with them two hundred

1657. thouſand Crowns, which was the Tribute of *Rhodes*: Theſe the Venetians aſſailed with ſuch Courage and Succeſs, that they burnt the ten Ships, and many of the Saiques; killed a thouſand Turks, took four hundred Priſoners, delivered three hundred Chriſtians; with the loſs only of an hundred killed, and three hundred wounded.

This and other Loſſes augmented the Diſcontents at *Conſtantinople* ſo that the Grand Vizier, to hold up the Spirits of the People, reſolved to go in Perſon to *Tenedos*; and accordingly equipped a Fleet of eighteen Ships, thirty Gallies, ten Galleaſſes, with an innumerable Company of Saiques, and other Veſſels, whereon he embarked twenty thouſand Horſe, and eighty thouſand Foot; with which Army the Vizier ſailed out of the *Dardanelli*, on the 17*th* of *July*, having firſt received Intelligence, that *Mocenigo* was not returned from the *Morea*, where he had been for ſome time in chaſe of certain Ships. Howſoever the Turks found not the Paſſage ſo clear, but that they encountred with a Squadron of eighteen Sail of Men of War, under the Command of Signior *Bembo*; the which ſeeming an inconſiderable number to the Turks, they aſſailed them with undoubted hopes of Victory. The Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Turks, with five other great Ships, charged the Venetian Admiral, who defended himſelf ſo bravely, that for three hours they lay Board and Board; the reſt of the Turkiſh Fleet aſſailed the other part of their Enemies Fleet ſo cloſe, that the Fight became terrible and bloody, both for one and the other, until at length the Turks being worſted, were put to flight, and in the purſuit, a great Turkiſh Sultana was put aſhore near *Troy*; one of their Galleaſſes was diſabled, two of their Ships ſunk, and the reſt were chaſed as far as *Metylene*, being put by the Iſland of *Tenedos*.

In this Interim, the General *Mocenigo* was on his Voyage towards the *Dardanelli*; and being come within the noiſe of the Cannon, he haſtened with more diligence; and arrived ſo ſeaſonably to the aſſiſtance of *Bembo*, that at his appearance moſt of the Turkiſh Gallies began to turn their Sterns, and make towards the Shore of *Anatolia*, with ſuch diſorder, that of twenty eight Gallies, and two Galleaſſes, there were but five only which kept company with the Baſtard Gally of the Captain-Paſha, and entred with him under the defence of the Caſtles. The reſt of the Fleet was chaſed by *Mocenigo*; but the Turks being to windward, the Chriſtians were not able that day to come up with them. The next day the Wind being more favourable, a Council of War was held aboard the Venetian General; during which Conſultation, they eſpied five Gallies making towards the Point *Baba*, there to ſecure themſelves under the Shore: and thereupon reſolved, that whilſt the Captain General, with a Squadron of *Malta*, attempted thoſe five Gallies, and others which had taken the ſame place of Refuge, the reſt of the Fleet ſhould keep firing at thoſe without.

Accordingly the Captain-General made towards the Point *Baba*, where paſſing within Musket-ſhot, and under the reach of five Batteries, an unfortunate Shot in the Powder-room blew up the Ship, and therewith ended the Days of this valiant *Mocenigo*, who died full of Honour and Glory; his brave Actions continuing his Memory in all the Hiſtories of *Venice*. The Proveditor ſucceeding in his Command, proſecuted the ſame Deſign; and as if he would imitate the ancient Funeral Piles, he celebrated the Obſequies of his General, by burning the Admiral Gally of the Turks, and thence retired towards *Tenedos*. 1657.

After the Turks had refitted their Veſſels, and put their Fleet in a reaſonable poſture, they departed from *Metylene* the 28*th* of *July* at Night, and on the 30*th* were on the Coaſt of *Tenedos*; where immediatly landing five thouſand Men, and great numbers approaching ready to ſet their foot on Shore, the Defendants of the Fortreſs ſummoned a Council of War; at which all agreeing that the Iſland was not tenable againſt ſo great a Force, embarked their Men, Ammunition, and Artillery, and reſigned their place to the diſpoſal and command of the Enemy. After which Succeſs the Turks in like manner landed ten thouſand Men on the Iſland of *Lemnos*; where, having laid a formal Siege to the Caſtle, they made a general Aſſault, but were repulſed with the loſs of five hundred Men, leaving their Scaling-Ladders to the Beſieged. They made afterwards divers Attempts, but in all were beaten off with conſiderable loſs; ſo that they had abandoned the Enterprize, had not the greater fear and apprehenſion of the Divan at Home, confirmed their Courage againſt the Enemy; until at length the Chriſtians being wearied with two Months Siege, without hopes of Relief, were forced to a Surrender; which was performed on Articles, That they ſhould depart with Arms, Baggage, and have free liberty to embark themſelves for *Candia*.

Tenedos *taken by the Turks.*

Lemnos *retaken.*

Theſe two important Places being regained by the Turks, were the Subject of great Joy to the Court, and of Courage and Satisfaction to the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*: So that the Grand Signior apprehending that by theſe Succeſſes, the Seditions and Mutinies of the City were appeaſed, he took his Journey to *Adrianople*; where to evidence his Grandeur to the Bailo *Capello*, and the Secretary *Ballarino*, he made his entry with an Army of twenty thouſand Men, beſides the ordinary Attendance of the Court, and uſual Concomitants of the Ottoman Train.

After which Oſtentation, the Grand Signior encharged *Ballarino* to write to the Senate, That though he was able to over-run all their Country, and take from them their Capital City, yet ſuch was his Clemency, that he was contented to grant them Peace, on Conditions that they ſurrendred to him all the Iſland of *Candia*, with the Fortreſs of *Cliſſia* in *Dalmatia*, and paiment of three Millions of Gold for the Dammages of the War.

But theſe ſeemed to the Senate to be ſuch unreaſonable Propoſitions, and ſo prejudicial to their Honour, that they reſolved to maintain the War, and to defend themſelves more vigorouſly than ever.

ANNO 1658.

NOtwithſtanding the Deſigns of the Turks againſt *Dalmatia*, they were not leſs intent to their Affairs in *Candia*, deſigning to try their Fortune once again in the Siege of the principal City of that Name, for that falling into their Hands, the whole Iſland would quickly be reduced, and with that Conqueſt an end would be put unto the War.

The Venetians, on the other ſide, attended to their Buſineſs with all diligence, not neglecting any Proviſions which might ſecure their Intereſt

in

1658. in that Country; and that they might regain what they had loſt, they held Intelligence with ſome Perſons in *Canea*, hoping by their means to ſurpriſe the Town; but the Turkiſh Governour, being very vigilant, reinforced his Gariſon with five hundred Men: and *Chuſaein* Paſha coming to his Aſſiſtance with thirty Gallies, diſappointed the Venetians of landing at that place.

The Rendezvous of the Army which was to march into *Dalmatia*, was ordered to be at *Adrianople*, where the Brother-in-Law of the Paſha of *Aleppo*, who was Commander of the Forces of that Place, arriving later than the day prefixed, was for that reaſon put to death by the Great Vizier.

This Severity ſo enraged the Paſha, that immediately he raiſed an Army of forty thouſand Men, and marched towards *Scutari*, threatning *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, unleſs the Head of the Great Vizier were given him by way of reprizal for that of his Brothers. The Divan being ſtartled hereat, returned him a gentle Meſſage, neither denying nor granting his Demand, as if they intended to amuſe him with Hopes; But he interpreting this Delay for a Refuſal, did not only perſiſt in requiring the Head of the Vizier, but of four other principal Counſellors, whom he judged to have concurred in the Sentence for his Brother's Death; and in farther proſecution hereof, he burnt and ſpoiled all the Country about *Conſtantinople*; and the Plague raging at the ſame time in the City, affected the Inhabitants with ſuch Sadneſs and Diſcontent, that the chief Miniſters apprehended more Evil from thence, than from the Enemy without.

The Army of the Paſha daily increaſing, and being grown from forty to ſixty thouſand Men, cauſed the Vizier to abandon all other Thoughts and Deſigns but thoſe which tended to the deſtruction of the Paſha, and his Complices; ſo that there neceſſarily followed a Revulſion of the Forces from *Dalmatia*; the Vizier himſelf diverting them from thence and *Tranſylvania*, marched with the whole Army towards *Conſtantinople*.

Yet before the Great Vizier departed from *Adrianople*, he perſwaded the Grand Signior to ſet the Bailo *Capello*, and the Secretary *Ballarino* at Liberty, that thereby he might give ſome jealouſy to the Rebels, as if he deſigned to make a Peace with *Venice*, to have more Power, and better leizure to make his War againſt them. This Counſel, though prudently given, had yet little Influence on the Humor of the Paſha, who continued his March, fortifying himſelf in the moſt advantageous Paſſes of the Country: But what was moſt bold of all his Actions, and rendred his Pardon beyond the Clemency of his Soveraign, was the proclaiming a Youth of twenty Years of Age, then with him in his Army, to be the Son of Sultan *Morat*, and conſequently the lawful Heir of the Crown; and that in right of him, he had taken poſſeſſion of a great part of *Aſia*, and was marching towards *Conſtantinople*, with reſolution to diſpoſſeſs Sultan *Mehmet*, and exalt this lawful and undoubted Heir on the Throne of his Anceſtors.

This and other Rumors from *Perſia*, that that King taking the advantage of theſe Diſorders, was making Preparations to regain *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, and revenge himſelf of all thoſe Cruelties which the Turks had inflicted on his Subjects and Country, increaſed the Fears and Cares of the chief Miniſters of State.

Notwithſtanding which, *Chuſaein* Paſha proſecuted his Buſineſs no leſs in *Candia* than formerly, in hopes to put an end to the War there before the end of the Summer; and in order thereunto, he received a Recruit of five and twenty thouſand Men from the *Morea*. But the daily increaſe of the Paſha's Forces, and his approach towards *Conſtantinople*, as it was a Matter of the higheſt Conſequence, ſo it required the moſt prudence and caution in the management. 1658.

In the firſt place therefore by *Fetfa*, or Reſolve from the Mufti, the Paſha was declared a Rebel, and guilty of High Treaſon againſt the Sultan; notwithſtanding which, a Chaous was diſpatched with Letters of Pardon, if now repenting of his Fault, he would diſband his Army, and return to his former Obedience, he ſhould be received into Grace and Favour. The Paſha received the Chaous with the ſame Ceremony and Honour, as if he had been an Ambaſſador, being willing to conſider him under that Character, rather than under the Notion of a Purſuivant, or Officer ſent to affright him into his Duty; and in Anſwer to the Meſſage, replied, That it was not in his power to condeſcend to any Conditions, for that ſince he had aſſumed the Cauſe of this Youth, who was the Son of Sultan *Morat*, concealed to that Age by his Mother, for fear of the Power of his Uncle, he could not aſſent to any Terms or Conditions leſs than the Exaltation of him to the Ottoman Throne. And ſo carrying this Young Man with him, as a Property, whereby to cover his Rebellion with the Guiſe of Juſtice and Duty, he maintained a Court for him after the Ottoman Faſhion; and cauſing the Tagho, or Standards, to be carried before him, he permitted him to give Audiences, ſend Diſpatches, and to take on him all the Royal Marks of Empire.

The Army of the Paſha was by this time encreaſed to ſeventy thouſand Men, one part of which he ſent towards *Scutari*, and another towards *Smyrna*, which alarm'd all the Countries round about, and gave the Grand Signior ſuch cauſe of Apprehenſion, that he tried divers Means, and made many Propoſitions of Honours and Benefits to the Paſha, whereby to allure him to Obedience: One while he offered to him the Government of *Grand Cairo*: but that being rejected, he endeavoured to raiſe Men in *Aſia* to oppoſe the progreſs of his Arms; of which ſome numbers being got into a Body, and perceiving the formidable Force of the Paſha, revolted, and joined themſelves to his Party.

This Extremity of Affairs, cauſed the Grand Signior not only again to proclaim the Paſha a Rebel, but to give liberty to his People to deſtroy him and his Souldiers in any parts where they ſhould encounter them. In purſuance of which Licenſe, a Village in *Aſia* having killed twenty five or thirty of the Paſha's Men, which came thither to refreſh themſelves; the Paſha was ſo enraged thereat, that he cauſed his Souldiers to put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword throughout the Village. And in this manner the Affairs of the Turks remained in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable through the whole courſe of this Year 1658.

ANNO 1659.

NOR did this Year begin with better Omens of Succeſs, for to the other Dangers, was added a Report, that the Perſian had taken the Field with two hundred thouſand Men, for re-

1659. covery of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, which was the ancient Patrimony of his Forefathers; ſo that the Grand Signior being rendred thereby more willing to agree and accommodate Affairs with the Paſha, proffered to him the Government of the Province of *Soria* for ever, paying only a yearly Homage of an hundred thouſand Sultanees, in lieu of three hundred thouſand, which that Country always yielded. But the Pride of the Paſha ſcorned a Proffer of ſo mean a Conſideration, having nothing leſs in his Thoughts than the entire enjoyment of the Empire, or at leaſt to partake an equal ſhare thereof with the Sultan.

For the Hopes of the Paſha encreaſing with his Army, which was now grown to eighty thouſand Men, he took up for ſome days his Head-quarters near the Fortreſs of *Tocacaia*, within ten days march of *Smyrna*; and thence approaching towards *Conſtantinople*, the chief Miniſters concluded, that there was no other Safety but in their Arms; and that the Paſha was not to be reduced to any terms of Gentleneſs or Moderation. Accordingly the Great Vizier paſſed into *Aſia* with a numerous Army, and ſpeedily joined Battel with the Paſha, which continued for ſome Hours with great ſlaughter on one ſide and the other; but at length the fortune of the Day turned in favour of the Paſha; and the Vizier's Army being routed, he loſt all his Cannon and Baggage, and he himſelf was forced to ſave himſelf in the Neighbouring Countries; where not being purſued by the Paſha, he had time again to collect his torn and ſcattered Troops. The News hereof multiplied the Diſorders and Confuſions at *Conſtantinople*, to which being added the Motion of the Perſians, and that they were to join with the Paſha; as alſo ſome Troubles in *Tranſylvania*, cauſed by the unquiet Spirit of *Ragotski*, together with the ill Humour of the Male-contents in the City, made all things appear with equal or greater Danger at Home than Abroad.

Wherefore, as the ultimate Remedy of theſe imminent Dangers, it was reſolved, that the Grand Signior ſhould go in Perſon to the War, on ſuppoſition that Reverence to his Royal Perſon would produce that awe on the Spirits of his Subjects, which was not to be effected by Violence, or force of Arms. According to this Reſolution the Grand Signior paſſed into *Aſia*, and joining his Forces with thoſe of the Vizier, compoſed an Army of ſeventy thouſand Foot, and thirty thouſand Horſe; with which marching boldly towards the Enemy, the Heart of the Paſha began to fail him; ſo that calling a Council of his Officers, he propoſed his Inclinations towards Terms of Agreement, rather than to hazard all on the Uncertainties of a Battel; the Spirits of the Souldiery being now become tractable by the appearance of ſo great a Force, aſſented to the Propoſition; and thereupon Articles being ſpeedily drawn up, were ſent to the Grand Signior for his Approbation; who, though he would not ſeem to refuſe any thing therein contained, yet declined a perſonal Treaty, as being a Matter too mean for his Imperial Perſon to capitulate with his Vaſſals; and therefore ordered, that *Mortaza* Paſha ſhould Treat in his behalf, promiſing to confirm whatſoever Act *Mortaza* Paſha ſhould conclude in this Matter.

Mortaza being thus made Plenipotentiary, refuſed to treat with the Paſha, until ſuch time as he had retreated with his Army at a diſtance of ſome days March from the Grand Signior's Camp; which being performed near a Town called *Alexandria*, he fooliſhly ſuffered himſelf to be ſeparated in a private Place from his Army, on pretence that Peace was more aptly concluded in a free Retirement, than under the conſtraint and force of the Souldiery. Here *Mortaza* meeting the Paſha, forcibly ſtrangled him, with ſeventeen of his Complices, whom he had brought with him for Witneſſes to his Capitulations with the Grand Signior. With the news hereof the Army of the Paſha ſoon disbanded, every one with ſhame and ſilence ſhifting for himſelf, retired to his own Country and Home. And herewith eaſily ended this Civil War almoſt in a moment, which but now threatned the Extirpation of the Ottoman Race. 1659.

The cruel Vizier retained his thoughts of Revenge, which we ſhall ſhortly hear in what manner he vented on the great Spahees and rich Men in *Aſia*, who had joined themſelves with the Paſha in this Rebellion. This good Service promoted *Mortaza*, and rendred him more conſiderable to the Grand Signior; ſo that he was employed in the Aſſiſtance of the Tartars, againſt *Ragotski* in *Tranſylvania*, and afterwards preferred to the important Charge of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, of whoſe Succeſs, and Fate, we we ſhall hear in the Sequal of a few Years.

But as yet the Commotions of *Aſia* were not ſo wholly extinguiſhed, but that the Nephew of the Paſha of *Aleppo*, in revenge of the treacherous Death of his Uncle, took up Arms, and was followed by the People of the Territories depending on *Aleppo*. To his Aſſiſtance came in alſo the Son of *Chuſaein* Paſha, late General in *Candia*, whom the cruel Vizier had put to death, notwithſtanding the merit of his late Services, which might ſeem to atone for his former Miſfortunes, and make ſatisfaction for non-compliance with Inſtructions; but this Vizier, who never pardoned any Perſon, would not begin with an Act of Clemency towards one who was none of his Creatures or Confidents depending on him.

To theſe joined the Bey of *Torgue*, who caſting off his Obedience to the Paſha of *Cairo*, entred into the Cabal with ten thouſand Horſe; ſo that a formidable Army being compoſed by this Union, gave a new Subject of Fear and Apprehenſion at *Conſtantinople*. But the Great Vizier ſo dextrouſly managed his Affair, by ſowing Diſſention between the Chiefs, and beſtowing Largeſſes on the Souldiery, that the Army unſenſibly mouldred away, leaving their Generals, and Commanders to ſhift for themſelves, and expoſing them to the Juſtice of a Vizier, who was unacquainted with Mercy, and never pardoned any who was either guilty of a Fault, or ſuſpected for it.

Towards the end of this Year, the Vizier built the lower Forts, which are ſcituated at the entrance into the *Dardanelles*, commonly called by the name of the Queen-Mother's Caſtles. And diſpatched a Chaous to the Paſha of *Canea*, to put all things in a Readineſs for the Siege of *Candia*; Orders were alſo given to the Paſhaws of the Inland Countries to prepare themſelves for the Wars againſt *Dalmatia*, and *Tranſilvania*.

ANNO 1660.

THE Rendezvous of the Army being appointed at *Belgrade*, the Vizier haſtened thither in Perſon to quicken the Preparations,

1660. and March of the Souldiers, which were flocking thither from all parts. This Vizier *Kuperlee*, though aged, was yet very active and vigorous, by which he created ſo much confidence of himſelf in his Maſter, that he acted nothing in all the Government but by his Counſel and Direction: which being always jealous and bloody towards thoſe who had any Power in the Empire, he for that Reaſon cut off the Caſir of *Damaſcus*, who though he was a good Governour, and a faithful Servant, yet becauſe he was a Favourite of the Queen-Mother, and conſerved the State of his Affairs in a laudable poſture, he grew jealous of his Power, and therefore ſacrificed his Blood to his own Security and Bloody Diſpoſition.

The which act of unjuſt Cruelty ſo enraged the Queen-Mother, that ſhe for ever after bore a mortal hatred to this Vizier, and continued the ſame to his Son, which was the famous *Kuperlee*; but his Moderation and Diſcretion was ſo well tempered with reſpect towards her, that She at length not only pardoned the Sin of his Father in him, but became his Friend, and reliſhed the Services which he performed for his Maſter.

The Venetians having about this time received conſiderable Succours, namely four thouſand French Foot, which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, after the Concluſion of Peace at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, had moſt generouſly Spared to that Republick, were enabled to attempt ſome notable Enterpaize; and thereby ſo hardly preſſed the Paſha of *Canea*, that he earneſtly wrote to the Grand Signior for Succours; aſſuring him, that without preſent Relief, he ſhould be forced to ſurrender his Town to the Mercy of the Enemy. The Grand Signior promiſed him ſpeedy Relief, and for his better encouragement ſent him the Preſent of a Sword and a Veſt of Sables; in the mean time the Venetians took three Forts, *viz.* *Calamo*, *Calegro*, and *Epicarno*, and proceeded to lay Siege to *Canea*; but the Enemy having received a Supply of three thouſand Men into the Town, the Chriſtians quitted this enterprize in hopes of beating the Turks out of new *Candia*; which was lately built near to the old *Candia*, with deſign to keep that Town ſtraitned by perpetual Alarms; and by the vicinity of ſo bad a Neighbourhood. 1660.

The Grand Vizer being very Aged, was ſubject to many Infirmities, and falling ſick at *Belgrade*, he was adviſed by the Phyſicians to change the Air, as the beſt Remedy for his Diſeaſe; and indeed they were all careful to give him the beſt and ſafeſt Counſels, for that he often threatned them, if he died of that Sickneſs, he would ſend them all to the next World before him. The Vizier following the Advice of his Phyſicians, returned to *Adrianople*, where having in a good meaſure recovered his Health, he ſent Orders to *Hali* Paſha, then General of the Forces in *Hungary*, to haſten the Siege of *Waradin*, being eſteemed by the Turks an advantagious Fortreſs for carrying on their Conqueſts in that Country; of the taking of which Town, and of all the Trouble in *Tranſylvania*, cauſed by the ambitious humour of *Ragotzki*, we ſhall treat at large in the following Hiſtory. For being come to that time, in which Providence allotted me a charge at *Conſtantinople*; I was thereby ſomewhat elevated on a riſing Ground, whereby I could with my own Eyes ſurvey the Tranſactions of that great Empire; and for that Reaſon I call them my Memoirs; which for being Matters tranſacted in my own Time, I have thought fit to introduce them with a ſhort Advertiſement to the Reader.

THE MEMOIRS OF Sir Paul Rycaut,

Containing the

HISTORY OF THE TURKS,

FROM THE
YEAR 1660, to the YEAR 1678.
With the moſt Remarkable Paſſages
Relating to the
ENGLISH TRADE
In the ſpace of Eighteen Years.

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TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

THIS following Hiſtory is ſome part of thoſe fruits ariſing from my vacant hours of eighteen Years reſidence in Turky, ſeven whereof I compleated at Conſtantinople, in quality of Secretary to the Lord Ambaſſador; and for eleven Years I exerciſed the Office of Conſul at Smyrna. In the firſt times of which, I had great advantages to obſerve, and make my Annotations; having for the moſt part been acquainted with the perſons as well as with the affairs of thoſe concerning whom I write; and indeed the incumbence which was then upon me, obliged me to a knowledg both of perſons and buſineſs. My latter time, which was that of being Conſul, conſtrained me to an attendance on matters relating to the government of our Trade; and therefore it is not to be expected, that at that diſtance from the Court, I ſhould lay down Tranſactions ſo poſitive, and particular, as in the preceding Years; yet the acquaintance, and correſpondence I afterwards continued at Court, and the care I took to inform my ſelf of what occurred, qualified me in ſome meaſure for an Hiſtorian; at leaſt put me into a condition to make a Breviate, or Collection of certain Obſervations occurring in the Turkiſh Court.

When I firſt entred on this work, I was carried with a certain emulation of French and Italian Writers, of whoſe Miniſters few there were employed in the parts of Turky, but who carried with them from thence, Memoirs, Giornals, or Hiſtorical Obſervations of their times. In which our Nation hath been ſo defective, that beſides ſome ſcattered and abrupt Papers, without coherence, or method, adjoined to the end of Knoll's Hiſtory of the Turks (which is an excellent collection from divers Authors) one ſhall ſcarce find five ſheets of Paper wrote by our Countrymen in way of Hiſtory. At which omiſſion having often wondred, I reſolved from my firſt entrance in thoſe Countries, to note down in a blank Book what occurred in that Empire, either as to Civil, or Military affairs; with what Caſualties and Changes beſel our Trade, that ſo both one and the other might ſerve for Examples and Precedents to future Ages; the which after ſome years afforded me materials to compoſe and frame this following Diſcourſe. In which, having by Gods aſſiſtance thus far proceeded; As it may be an Example to my Succeſſors, to ſpin and draw out the thread of this Hiſtory through Ages to come; ſo it will be a good part, and office, of thoſe who reſide there at preſent, by a more diligent enquiry to correct, and amend what I have miſtaken, or miſunderſtood.

For next to the immediate attendance to the Charge and Truſt impoſed upon me, I judged it a chief duty towards my Country, to denote and Record certain Tranſactions relating to Trade, which is the grand Intereſt that hath engaged England to a Communication and Correſpondence with theſe remote Parts: nor doth the World perhaps expect much leſs from me, than that I ſhould add ſomething to the Hiſtory of the Turks in our time; which howſoever imperfectly I may perform it, yet the Offices which I have exerciſed, and the impartiality with which it is wrote, may gain it ſome credit and reputation in the World. For in the writing hereof, I cannot be taxed with animoſity to any perſon; nor am I to be eſteemed as poſſeſſed with affection, or partiality to any ſide; which is a point of ſobriety, and good temper, neceſſary for all Hiſtorians: For we who lived in thoſe parts, were little concerned for the Houſe of Kuperlee, or for the Favourites of the Court; nor was it of any moment to us, whether the Faction of the Spahees, or Janizaries prevailed; or whether the Courtiers, or the Soldiers, ruled the Empire: only we eſteemed it our duty, to ſpeak beſt of that Government under which our Trade thrived moſt. And tho the times of Sultan Ibrahim were the golden days for Merchants, which employed our Navigation beyond the memory of any times, either before, or ſince; and conſumed of our Manufactories (tho not in greater quantities yet) perhaps with better advantage and profit to our Nation: Yet I ought not to be ſo injurious, or ungrateful to Sultan Mahomet the Fourth, as to accuſe his Government of Oppreſſion, or Violence towards us, or of any breach of Articles, and Priviledges, which he had granted to his Majeſties Subjects; but ſhall rather applaud, and be ready to own that Juſtice which our Complaints have found, and met at the Ottoman Court, under the protection of thoſe worthy Ambaſſadors ſent by his Majeſty to ſtand Centinel on the Guard of their Country.

For whereas in the time of Sultan Morat, when the Military men bore the ſway; Injuſtice and Violence, which mingled in all the actions of Rule, had an influence alſo on the Engliſh *affairs: And when in the time of* Sultan Ibrahim, *that the Female Court had gained the predominancy, and that vaſt Treaſures were expended in Riot and Luxury; the prodigality of great perſons made it neceſſary to be rapacious and unjuſt: But in theſe more moderate times of this preſent Sultan, when neither exceſſive Wars abroad, nor Luxury nor immoderate expence at home, exhauſted the Coffers; We may eaſily imagine, that the diſorders of State did not drive the Rulers to a neceſſity of exerciſing unjuſt Arts, which are always moſt certain Symptoms, either of a bad Government, or a vicious incliuation in the Prince.*

The Engliſh Trade, according to the Chronicles of Sir Richard Baker, *was firſt introduced into the Country of the* Turks, *in the Year* 1579. *but* Sagredo *an* Italian *Writer, accounts only from the Year* 1583. *perhaps before that time Overtures were only made for a Trade, which might be ſo inconſiderable, as that until then it was not eſteemed worthy to be adorned with an Ambaſſador, or to be oppoſed by the Miniſters of Foreign Princes. For ſo ſoon as an Ambaſſador from* England *appeared at the Ottoman Court, with Credential Letters from Queen* Elizabeth, *the* French *and* Venetian *Miniſters took the Alarm, and oppoſed his reception, eſpecially the* French, *who (as* Sagredo *reports in his Hiſtory of the* Turks) *repreſented unto the G. Vizier, how much this new Friendſhip with the Engliſh would obſtruct that ancient Alliance which was made with his King, and would impeach and leſſen the Priviledges and Trade which they enjoyed in thoſe parts: To which the Vizier anſwered, according to their uſual phraſe and ſtile; That the happy Imperial Seat where his Maſter reſided, was called the* Port, *becauſe it was free and open to all ſuch who deſired to take refuge and ſanctuary therein, and therefore the Engliſh without juſt reaſon ought not to be excluded. That the Sultan ought not to be denied that freedom of love and hatred, which was common to all Mankind; and that he was as well reſolved to chuſe and cheriſh his Friends, as to proſecute and deſtroy his Enemies. Whereunto the French Ambaſſador urged, That ſince it was the pleaſure of the Grand Signior to admit the Engliſh; that at leaſt they ſhould be obliged to enter* Conſtantinople *under the French Colours. But the Engliſh Ambaſſador replied, that his Miſtreſs who was ſo potent, ſcorned all Dependencies on other Nations, and would rather abandon the Friendſhip of the Sultan, than admit the leaſt diminution of her own honour: And embelliſhing his Diſcourſes (as* Sagredo *proceeds) with the repreſentation of that advantage and profit, which the Engliſh Trade would bring to the Ottoman Empire; he ſo enſnared the hearts of the Turks, that they preferred the admittance of new Gueſts, before the Alliance of ancient Friends. Since which time our Commerce and Trade with the Turk hath been in its increaſe, and being governed by a Wiſe and Grave Company of Experienced Merchants, hath by Gods bleſſing brought an ineſtimable Treaſure and advantage to the Engliſh Nation, which that it may ſtill continue, increaſe, and flouriſh in all Ages and times to come, is the hearty deſire, and Prayer of him, who is a true, and faithful Servant to that worthy Society, and a ſincere Wellwiſher to his Country.*

Farewel.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS, Beginning in the NINTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

The Firſt BOOK.

Anno Chriſti, 1661. *Hegeira*, 1072.

IT was now the beginning of this Year, when the Earl of *Winchelſea* arrived at *Conſtantinople*, the firſt Embaſſadour ſent abroad from His Majeſty of *Great Britain*, *Charles* the Second, after his happy Return to the Glorious Throne of his Anceſtors, to *Sultan Mahomet*, the Thirteenth Emperour of the Turks; it being judged fit, that amongſt other Alliances which were to be contracted with Foreign Princes, and States, this of *Turkey* ſhould not be omitted, but rather in the firſt place conſidered: In regard, that as the flouriſhing Eſtate and Proſperity of *England*'s richeſs depends abſolutely on her Foreign Trade, ſo on none more particularly than on that of *Turkey*, which conſumes great quantities of her moſt ſtaple and ſubſtantial Manufactures, and makes returns in whatſoever Employs, and gives Bread to the poor and induſtrious of the Nation.

But before we come to treat of the Succeſſes of this Ambaſſador, and the various Tranſactions in the *Turkiſh* Affairs; we ſhall relate ſome accidents which beſel us in our Voyage by Sea to *Conſtantinople*. The Earl of *Winchelſea* and his Lady, with a numerous Retinue being embarked on the *Plymouth* Frigat, commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen*, and accompanied with a Catch and two Merchants Ships, the *Proſperous* and *Smyrna* Factor for *Turkey*, ſet ſail from the *Downs* on the Twentieth of *Octob.* 1660. And proceeding with a favourable Gale, and fair Weather, until we were come to the heighth of the Norward Cape, or Cape *Finiſterre*; we then contended with ſo ſevere a ſtorm, that we were forced to bring our Ship under a main courſe, to faſten our Helm, and lye, and drive. In the Twenty nineth about Five in the Morning, our main Tack flew, which ſhook and ſtrained our Maſt ſo violently, that it was ſhivered in two places between Decks: The danger hereof might have proved of ill conſequence, had the Maſt gone by the Board; for in all probability it would have carried up our Decks, unfixed both our Pumps, and laid us open to the Sea; but the Providence of God, and the diligence of our

Lisbon.

Seamen was ſuch, that we ſoon ſtruck our Top Maſt, boared our main Yard, and ſo fiſhed the Maſt it ſelf where it was defective, that with the help of our fore-Sail, and the benefit of better Weather we ſafely arrived on the Thirty firſt in the Port of *Lisbon*. The Match being then in Treaty between *Charles* the Second our Dread Soveraign, and *Catherine* the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, now our gracious Queen; all the concernments of *England* were extreamly acceptable to the Court of *Portugal*; and particularly the Perſon of the Earl of *Winchelſea*, a Peer of *England*, qualified with the Character of Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the *Ottomon* Port. For at our firſt arrival there, I being then Secretary to the ſaid Earl, was employed to carry a Letter to the King, which was received by the Councel of State then ſitting: After the Letter had been read and conſidered, I was called in, and an anſwer given me by the *Marquis de Niſſa*, and *D. Gaſper Faria de Sevarin* then Secretary of State, to this purpoſe, That they were glad, ſo grateful an opportunity preſented, whereby they might Demonſtrate their warm and real affections towards the King of *England*, by ſerving his Ambaſſadour in ſo neceſſary a piece of Service as that which was required: That Orders were given to furniſh the Ship with a Maſt, and what ſhe wanted, out of the Kings Stores; and that both his Excellency and Lady, with all their Retinue ſhould be welcomed a ſhore, with due regard to their Quality and Condition. The Day following his Excellency was complemented from the King, by a *Maeſtro de Campo* ſent to him on Shipboard; and being come aſhoar, and lodged at the Houſe of Mr. *Maynard* the *Engliſh* Conſul, he was viſited by *D. Franciſco de Melo*, (who had before, and was afterwards employed Ambaſſadour into *England*) and by *D. Antonio de Saouſa* and others. After Eight days his Excellency had Audience of the King, and the Queen Mother, and was received by both, with many demonſtrations of a hearty deſire to contract a firm Alliance with *England*. He was afterwards invited by the *Conde de Odemira* Governour of the young King, and Chief Miniſter of *Portugal*, to a *Quinta*, or Garden-houſe at *Bellain*: where were preſent the Duke of *Calaval*, the *Viſconde de Caſtel Blanco*, and *D. Franciſco de Melo*; the entertainment was very ſplendid, with variety of Diſhes, and Wine, correſponding rather with the inordinate Tables of *Engliſh*, than with the frugality, and temperate Diet of *Spaniards*. Our Ship being in this interim refitted, we returned aboard on the Twelfth of *November*; the Earl of *Winchelſea* being preſented by the King, with ſeveral Hampers of ſweet-Meats, Veſſels of Wine, and other Proviſions for his Voyage; and his Lady by the Queen Mother, with a Jewel of conſiderable value, and with diverſe boxes filled with Purſes of perfumed Leather, and Amber Comfits.

Algier.

On the Thirteenth we ſet Sail, being deſign'd by Order of his Majeſty for *Algier*, to ſettle a Peace with that unſetled People; where arriving on the Tewenty ſecond day about Three a Clock in the Afternoon, we came to an Anchor about Two Miles diſtant from the Town, which we ſaluted with Twenty one Guns, but received none again in anſwer thereunto; it being the cuſtome of that People, not to acknowledge Civilities, but to repay injuries, and not requite benefits. We found that they had already begun to break the Peace: Having brought in thither an *Engliſh* Ship, which lay between hope and fear of freedom, or ſeizure: So ſoon as we had dropt our Anchors, a Boat came from that Ship, acquainting us of the State of *Algier*, and how near Matters were to a Rupture with them; by this Boat my Lord Ambaſſadour ſent a Letter to the Conſul, appointing him to come aboard; who the next Day, being the Twenty third, appeared accordingly; to whom his Excellency imparted the Inſtructions and Orders from his Majeſty to renew the Peace on the former Articles; and particularly to inſert a Caution, That the *Algerines* ſhould on no terms ſearch our Ships, but that the Paſſengers, and goods thereon, whether of *Engliſh* or Strangers, ſhould be free and exempted from all ſeizure, and Pyracy whatſoever. I being appointed to aſſiſt the Conſul in this Treaty, accompanied him aſhoar, and in the firſt place we applyed our ſelves to *Ramadam Bullock-baſhee*, then the Chief of their Divan, and Head of their Government; whom we acquainted, that on the Ship in the road, was an Earl of *England*, ſent Ambaſſadour by his Majeſty our King to the Grand Signor, and in his way thither was appointed to touch at *Algier*, and to inform the Government of that place of the happy Reſtoration of his Majeſty to the Throne of his Father, and to confirm the ſame Peace which was before concluded with uſurped Powers, and ſo delivered him the Letters from his Majeſty, which were ſuperſcribed in this manner:

To their Excellencies the Aga, Jiabaſhees, and reſt of the Honourable Council of State and War, in the City and Kingdom of Algier.

Ramadam anſwered us, that he was well ſatisfied with the Propoſal; that there was a Peace already with the *Engliſh*, and that they were Brothers; that the next Day was appointed for a general Divan of great and ſmall, at which we might freely open our breaſts, and declare whatſoever was committed to us by our King and his Ambaſſadour.

But for the better underſtanding of the State of *Algier*, at this time, we muſt obſerve, that for many years before, this government was compoſed of a Divan, the Chief and Head whereof was a Paſha ſent every Three years to preſide there, and had ſo continued, until that ſome few Months before this time one *Halil* a poor Fellow, who had no better Eſtate than the Sixteenth part of a Veſſel, but bold and deſperate, complained one Day in open Divan againſt the Paſha, accuſing him of many miſcarriages, with which he ſo affected the Divan; that he rudely threw him from his Seat, drubbed him, trampled on him, and plucked the Hairs out of his Beard, which is the greateſt mark of ignominy and contempt that any Perſon can offer to another; and having committed him to Priſon and Chains, he with the Divan took upon himſelf the unlimited Power of an Arbitrary Government: And thus for the ſpace of Six or Eight Months this Miſcreant tyrannized, and ruled without controul: Until an obſcure and contemptible Moor, an ordinary Jerbin or Countryman, inſtigated (as was ſuppoſed) by the Aga, or General of the Souldiery, approaching near him in the Streets, under pretence of kiſſing his Veſt, ſtruck him with a long Knife between the Ribs; which boldneſs of the Moor ſo aſtoniſhed the Attendants which were about him, that none had power to lay hands on the Murderer, but ſuffered him to depart, and fly unpurſued: Of this wound *Halil* dyed in Two days, in which time he nominated *Ramadam* his Kinſman to be the moſt proper, and fit Perſon to ſucced him in the Government;

Halil killed by a Moor.

1661. vernment; and this recommendation ſo prevailed on the Divan, that he was elected for their Chief: A Perſon of a moſt ſordid, and Mercenary Soul, immerſed in Covetouſneſs, and Gluttony, guided by his Luſt and Intereſt, unleſs ſome times reſtrained by the Authority of the Divan, and the fear of popular Inſurrection.

The *Algier* Divan.

This *Ramadam* according to his Promiſe before recited, ſummon'd us the day following, being the Twenty-fourth to the Divan; which conſiſts in all of Twenty-four Bulluck-baſhees, who are Officers of the Souldiery, each commanding Twenty-four Souldiers under him, * Twenty-four Jiabaſhees, and Eighteen Ancients or grave Seniors: Though for that preſent, there appeared no more than Forty-five, the others being at Sea, or abroad; *Ramadam* was placed in the Chair, or in a Seat at the upper end, and the Aga ſate by him, the others ſtood on their feet, and put themſelves into Two Files, or Ranks; and then *Ramadam* began with a loud Voice to cry, The *Engliſh* are come to treat a Peace with you, and have brought Letters from their King, and from their Ambaſſadour now aboard going for *Conſtantinople*; which very words every one diſtinctly pronounced, and repeated them, carrying the Voice from the lower to the upper end; I fancied, that it was after the manner of our repeating Syllogiſms in diſputations, that ſo no miſtake might be, and that the Reſpondent might have time to conſider and weigh the argument. Then *Ramadam* demanded, whether they were pleaſed to enter into Treaty with the *Engliſh*; which words being repeated as before, and anſwered in the Affirmative, the Letters were read in the *Turkiſh* Tranſlation; with the Articles of Peace propoſed, which were as followeth:

I. T*Hat the* Engliſh *ſhall be obliged to protect all Paſſengers belonging to* Algier, *aboard their Ships, to the utmoſt of their power, againſt any of their Enemies. And in like manner all forreign Paſſengers, Merchants and others, their goods, and Eſtates embarked, and laden on* Engliſh *Ships, ſhall paſs free, and be protected from the Ships of* Algier, *and be ſuffered to paſs without moleſtation.*

II. *No Shipwrack of* Engliſh *on the coaſt of* Algier, *ſhall become prize, nor their goods forfeited, nor their men made Slaves, but the People of* Algier *ſhall do their beſt endeavour to ſave both them and their goods.*

III. *That neither the Conſul, nor other* Engliſhman, *ſhall be obliged to ſatisfie the Debts of another* Engliſhman, *unleſs he hath been bound, or become Security for him.*

IV. *That no* Engliſhman *in matter of difference ſhall be ſubject to any Judgment, but that of the Divan.*

V. *That the* Engliſh *in differences amongſt themſelves ſhall be ſubject to no determination, but to that of the* Engliſh *Conſul.*

VI. *That either ſide are to furniſh men of War with all neceſſaries their Ports afford, at the Market rates, without paying cuſtom.* 1661.

VII. *If any grievance happen, neither party ſhall break the Peace until ſatisfaction be denied.*

Theſe Articles being read, were all approved except the firſt; for they declared, that they would have a Liberty to ſearch our Ships, and take out the Goods and Perſons of Strangers; for that otherwiſe, we having this priviledge, might carry away the Trade of the whole World in our Shipping; and that *French*, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Dutch*, and all other Nations, had no need of other protection and ſafeguard for their Perſons and Goods, than to put them under the *Engliſh* colours: And that then their men of War might rove the Seas to no purpoſe, their City become poor, and their Souldiers ſtarve, when they returned home. We on the other ſide, being ſenſible how prejudicial and diſhonourable ſuch an Article as this would be, and how ruinous to our Navigation, and having his Majeſties Command to the contrary, abſolutely refuſed to aſſent, or agree thereunto. Whilſt we were thus arguing, a great fat *Turk* appeared with two young men his Slaves, one a *Frenchman*, and the other a *Dutchman*, requeſting *Ramadam* to recommend him to us for paſſage to *Smyrna*; and having performed his requeſt to him by kiſſing his Hand, *Ramadan* made it his requeſt to us in behalf of that his Kinſman, recommending him to our care and protection, and conjuring us thereunto, by that Sacred league of Peace that was between us: We readily aſſented thereunto, and at the ſame time took hold of the Example to repreſent the reaſonableneſs of that Article on which we inſiſted. For ſhall we (ſaid we) protect your People, and will you require, and impoſe it upon us as a matter Juſt and Sacred? And ſhall not the greatneſs of our King have a Liberty to diſpence the like Priviledge to other Nations, his Neighbours, and Allies, governed by Kings and Princes, who are Chriſtian, and of his Kindred, and near Relations? But neither this, nor any other argument was Reaſon, or Sence to them; nor did they care to anſwer it by other arguments, than that of their own diſadvantage thereby; and that if they aſſented thereunto, their Ships might better rot in the Mould, than to venture them out at Sea with expectation of booty. They told us alſo ſtories of *Engliſh* Ships which had delivered ſome *Algerines* to their Enemies; and one particularly, who had ſold a Hundred *Turks* to the *Venetians*. In anſwer hereunto, we aſſured them, that upon complaints and proofs made hereof to our King; his Juſtice was ſuch, as that he would not ſuffer a piece of ſuch Treachery to eſcape unpuniſhed. And as to that argument, which they urg'd, that in this Caſe none would be employed beſides *Engliſh* ſhips; we largely repreſented the neceſſity of employing *French*, and *Dutch*, and the Ships of other Nations. But theſe People being Deaf and Blind to any Reaſon, but that which agrees with their intereſt, we concluded nothing; for after a long and loud diſcourſe, and repetition of the ſame things over and over again, we at length told them, that it was not in our Commiſſion to conclude on theſe terms; but that we ſhould inform the Lord Ambaſſadour of their deſires, and reſolution, and that we would return the next Day with his peremptory Anſwer; not but we knew, that the Inſtructions from his Majeſty extended not ſo far; but that we might have occaſion to leave matters, as it were in ſuſpenſe, and part fairly from them, at the preſent. For

as

* Jiabaſhees are of another degree; it may be in good *Turkiſh* Odabaſhees, or Captains of the Chambers of Janiſaries.

1661. as to my own particular, I did not like to remain with ſuch Company, not knowing how far the perfidiouſneſs of that People might tranſport them to a Barbarity againſt the Laws of Reaſon and Nations.

The wind blew all this day ſo hard at Weſt, that our Ship drove, and a great Sea went; ſo that there was ſome difficulty for me to get aboard; howſoever in regard it was neceſſary to render his Excellency an account of the proceedings of that Day, I eaſed the Pinnace of all Proviſions, and unneceſſary Company, and ſo by God's Providence got ſafe, though wet, aboard that Evening. I did not fail immediately to render an account moſt exactly, how every thing paſſed, to the Lord Ambaſſadour, letting him know, what fruit was to be expected by a farther Treaty with this People. Wherefore it was thought fit rather to keep the buſineſs in ſuſpence, than to come to an open rupture with them; and rather than to uſe long diſcourſe to them, or perſwaſions to little purpoſe, to write them this ſhort Letter, the ſuperſcription of which was to *Ramadam* their Governour in Chief, and to the reſt of the Divan.

The laſt Letter to the Divan.

We are ſorry that there ſhould be ſtill one difference in our Treaty, relating to the ſearch of Ships, and delivering up Merchants Forreigners, and Strangers goods. This is an Article which the King my Maſter did not think you would have inſiſted upon, becauſe it was granted to others, who were Uſurpers, and his Subjects, and therefore did not impower me to conclude with you in it. Howſoever, I ſhall acquaint the King my Maſter of your earneſt Deſires, and Reſolves in this Buſineſs, and doubt not, but what is Juſt and Reaſonable, will be aſſented unto. Wherefore in the mean time we muſt deſire you, whilſt his Royal aſſent is expecting to your propoſals, that the Peace may continue on the ſame Terms that it now ſtands. Let your Friend and Kinſman come aboard, (as is deſired) and he ſhall be welcome, and we ſhall protect him to the uttermoſt of our power. And on this Promiſe and word of ours, you may rely on, as of a Chriſtian, and a true Engliſhman. *Our deſire alſo farther is, that the Lord* Obryan *may remain in the Conſuls Houſe until ſuch time as his Ranſom comes. And ſo we wiſh, that a hearty and long Peace may be continued between the two Nations.* Given aboard the *Plymouth* Frigat, *November* 25. 1660.

Winchelſea.

Upon delivery of this Letter, it was concluded, that the former Articles ſhould ſtand in force; only that difference about ſearching our Ships ſhould remain in ſuſpence, and be ſpecified, as not fully agreed on: Howſoever they would ſearch our Ships, and it ſhould not be accounted a breach of our Capitulations, until the King ſhould intimate his diſlike thereof. And that when Notice ſhould come from his Majeſty to *Algier*, that he approved not thereof, then it ſhould be lawful for both ſides to break into Acts of Hoſtility. This moderate courſe we thought to be leſs prejudicial to us for the preſent, than an open, and ſudden War: For by this means we gained the releaſement of two ſmall *Engliſh* Ships which their Men carried in thither, and had time to give notice to our Merchants in all Ports and places, of the true ſtate of our buſineſs with *Algier*.

On the Twenty-ſeventh of *November*, we departed from the bay of *Algier* with a proſperous, and ſteddy Gale, ſteering N.E. and N.N.E. for *Meſſina*, from whence we intended to diſpatch Letters unto all places, rendring advices to his Majeſty, and the Merchants, of the State and Condition of our Affairs, and Negotiation at *Algier*: And whilſt we pleaſantly ſail'd with a proſperous wind, on a ſudden a cry was made of Fire, in the Ship, which aſtoniſhed us all with a great amazement. For the Cooper it ſeems, going into the Steward's Room to ſtave a Cask which formerly had ſome Brandy in it, by chance a Snuff of the Candle fell in at the bung, which put the whole Veſſel into a Flame: But the ſame Man immediately ſtopping the Bung, ſoon ſmothered the Fire, and therewith extinguiſh'd that and our fears. As to other Matters, our Voyage to *Meſſina* was ſpeedy and happy, for we arrived there on the Second of *December*. 1661. **Meſſina.**

Some Days paſſed before we could get pratick; for having touched at *Algier*, a place always ſuſpected for the Plague, great ſcruple was made of admitting us to free converſe in the Town: Until the Lord Ambaſſadour gave under his Hand and Seal an aſſurance of the Health of our Ship; on confidence of which we received Pratick, and the Palace called Paradiſe, where commonly the Vice-Kings are lodged, was appointed to receive his Excellency and his Retinue, and the Furniture thereof ordered by *D. Franciſco de la Villa Padierna*, a *Spaniard*, who was *Stratago*, which is as much as Commander in chief of all the Caſtles and Forts in and about *Meſſina*. So ſoon as his Excellency landed, this *Stratago* made him a Viſit, and at his departure left his Guard with him in a Complement, but in the mean time the *Jurati*, who were ſix in number, choſe (as I think) every year, or every third year by the Citizens for Government of the City, were wanting in the like civility towards our Ambaſſador; four of which are choſen out of the Burgers, and two out of the Gentry, for they took no notice of him, nor ſent him any meſſage until the hour that he was about to depart, when his Excellency refuſed to receive their viſits, excuſing his neglect of attendance to matters of Ceremony, at a time when buſineſs urged his departure: whence this omiſſion on the Jurats ſide proceeded, may in probability be deriv'd from the antipathy they have to the *Spaniards* and their Government, always running contrary to that, unto which they find the *Spaniſh* Miniſters moſt inclined. During our abode at this place, his Excellency having returned his Viſit to the *Stratago*, accompanied with *D. Joſeppe de Luna* a Cavalier of *Maltha*, and having wrote a Letter to the *Conde de Ayala* then Vice-King of *Sicily*, reſiding at *Palermo*, he gave advices unto all places of the doubtful ſtate of our affairs with *Algiers*, that ſo Ships might be cautious of that people, and how they adventured themſelves abroad without Convoy; and having compleated theſe Diſpatches, we again returned aboard on the ninth of this Month; when the *Stratago*, abounding in all points of civility, ſent an honourable preſent of all ſorts of freſh proviſions aboard Ship, and ſoon after came himſelf in perſon to bid Farewel to his Excellency. At his coming aboard we gave him nine Guns, and at his going off fifteen, and ſo ſoon as our Anchors were away, and our Fore-top-Sail filled, we bid adieu to the Town with twenty one Guns more, which they returned by firing all the Guns of the five Caſtles, under command of the *Stratago*, which is an honour they ſeldom pay to any other, than the *Generaliſſimo* of *Spain*, the Vice-King, and the Popes Admiral.

We had ſo fair a Wind, and ſo proſperous a paſſage, that we arrived at *Smyrna* on the 14*th* of *Decem-*

1661.

Smyrna.

A miraculous eſcape from ſhipwrack

December, where we found the *Proſperous* and *Smyrna* Factor, the Merchants Ships which we had loſt in the Storm, happily arrived. Here we remained for ſome days to order and ſettle ſeveral affairs according to Inſtructions given by the *Turky* Company., And on the ſixth of *January*, being Sunday and Twelfth-day, we returned aboard to proſecute this Ultimate ſtage of our Voyage to *Conſtantinople*; our Frigat the *Plymouth* Anchored near the Town within the very Port of *Smyrna*, from whence ſailing with a freſh Eaſterly Wind from the ſhore, we were carried without the Port, and out of command of the Caſtle; where the wind failing, and being wholly calm, we Anchored until the next morning, when with a gentle gale at South-Eaſt we proceeded forward, and being as high as *Cape Caraborno*, towards night the Wind came about to the *N. E.* with ſo ſtrong a Gale, that with ſome difficulty we weathered the *Cape*, and making over for the Iſland of *Mytilene*, and bringing our Ship under a main courſe, we intended to paſs the night under the ſhelter of that Iſle: All this night the wind ſo increaſed one hour more than another, that in the morning it was grown to a perfect ſtorm, and the Sea into a breach; the sky was ſo black, and thick, and the Sun ſo red and louring, as ſignified the continuance of it; and the ſpray of the Sea was ſo forcibly carried by the wind over the Ship, that Maſts, Yards, and Decks were querned with a white Salt. This extremity of weather made us think of ſome Port, or Harbour, wherein to ſecure our Ship. The Iſland of *Ipſera* lying *S. B. W.* about eight Leagues from *Mytilene*, was judged by our Maſter to be the moſt convenient and ſafe place, wherein we might ſpend the fury of this ſtorm; wherefore putting before it with our Foreſail, and our Mainſail in the Brailes, the wind was ſo forcible, that it carried away our Foreſail like Paper from the Yard; and bringing another in the place thereof, it had the misfortune to be foul of the flook of our Anchor, and ſo became as unſerviceable as the former: being thus deprived of the benefit of our commanding Sails, we ſet our Spritſail, and Main-courſe, and ſo ſteered in between the two Iſles of *Ipſera* the greater, and the leſs. Being ſhot within, and keeping as near aluff as we could to the ſhore, we on a ſudden ſtruck upon a Rock, which aſtoniſhed us all with a ſtrange amazement; the Ship fetched five Sallies, or Seeles upon it with ſuch violence, that we expected to ſink immediately into the deep; and indeed if we conſider the forcibleneſs of the wind, the turgency of the Sea, and the weight of our burden, having four hundred perſons aboard, and ſixty Guns mounted, it will appear little leſs than a Miracle, that the Ship broke not into more pieces than our numbers were aboard. I ſtood then by the Mate, when he fathomed our depth of water by the Lead and Line; and we had then ſeventeen foot and a half by the ſide, but the Ship drawing eighteen foot, we began to fear a total ruin, and ſhipwrack, and with caſt-up eyes, and ſtretched out arms, thought now of no other than of our laſt and ultimate Port. But in the midſt of this horrid conſternation and diſtreſs, it pleaſed God, who was our beſt Pilot, and guided us to the edg of the Rock, to bring us clear of it; when we ſoon eſpied ſome of our ſheathing to ſwim upon the Sea, and running down to the Well of our Pumps, we perceived a great increaſe of water; but not ſo much but that Pumping once every half hour, we kept our Ship in a condition of ſafety. Being thus by Gods Providence come to a convenient place of Anchorage, being well furniſhed with ground-Tackle, we rode for two days in a ſtreſs of wind, with two Anchors a-head, of which our ſheet-Anchor was one, and with our Top-maſts and Yards ſtruck, Afterwards the wind abating ſomething of its late fierceneſs, though continuing in the ſame quarter, we had opportunities to go aſhore and to make ſome Proviſions of Wine, of which that Iſland yields an admirable ſort, and as rich as any in the *Archipelago*, though the people are as poor, or rather more miſerable than their Neighbours. In three or four days, by the ſullage and weeds which the Leak had ſucked in, the water began to ſtop, and our Ship became ſo perfectly tight, that our Captain judged it not neceſſary to enquire, when we arrived at *Conſtantinople*, into the damage which we had received from the Rock; and the Ship afterwards by Gods Providence arriving ſafe in the River of *Thames*, was brought into the Dock at *Woolidg*, where upon ſearch was diſcovered a great piece of the Rock, as big as a mans head, ſtruck into the bilge of the Ship, and ſo firmly fixed, as if it had been riveted within; which ſeemed ſo ſtrange a thing, that the Shipwrights before they would take it from thence, firſt thought fit to acquaint the King thereof; who was pleaſed in perſon to go and ſee it; which appearing a ſtrange, and almoſt a miraculous accident, His Majeſty commanded it to be taken out, and (as I am informed) it is kept in his Cloſet. And now for the better deſcription of this Rock, and for the avoiding of it, Seamen may obſerve, and take notice of it in this manner.

1661

Rocks about *Ipſera*.

The ſhallow water, or the Rock whereon we ſtruck, bore N. N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. from the place where we anchored on the North of Great *Ipſera*, and lyes about half a mile from the ſhore. The mark is, the falling away of the South-end of the firſt gray-cliff, with a gall upon the foot of the high hill, on which is a houſe, there is alſo a white ſand by the gray cliff; the longeſt way of the Rock is N. W. and S. E. and the length not longer than the Ship; the water in the ſhalloweſt part thereof is about thirteen or fourteen foot, with a Northerly wind; and ſeventeen foot or more in the deepeſt, which is the place where we ſtruck; yet as the people of the Iſland report, it hath ſix foot more with a Southerly wind; ſo that it is not ſtrange, that our Maſter, though he had frequented this place with the *Venetian* Fleet, ſhould not have knowledg of it, for ſuch a depth of water is ſeldom noted in Waggoners for a place of danger.

There is alſo another Rock near the Town about half a mile diſtant from the ſhore, bearing N. B. E. of the Point, the neat fluff point E. N. E. the Northermoſt point of little *Ipſera* N. W. B. N. the Southermoſt point of little *Ipſera* S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. the Southernly point of Great *Ipſera* S. E. 1 S. upon it, there is not above four foot water.

We rode here until the 14*th* day, when between one and two in the morning, the wind ſprang out of the W. S. W. with an eaſie gale, with which we weighed our Anchors, and put to Sea; the next morning early being the 15*th* day, we were up with the Iſland of *Tenedos*, and towards Noon we entered the *Helleſpont* with a freſh gale, which was neceſſary to ſtem the ſtrength of the current; and about three a Clock we paſſed the Caſtles of *Seſtos* and *Abydos*; from whence came off a boat with a Druggerman, and Janizaries, bringing Letters from Sir *Thomas Bendiſh*, then Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, congratulating the Arrival of his Excellency, and ſoon returned again aſhoar to carry the news of our entrance within the Caſtles.

Salutation of the *Seraglio.*

On the Seventeenth Day about Noon, being juſt Three months ſince the Lord Ambaſſador with his Family embarked, we came to an Anchor near the Seven Towers, from whence we gave notice to St. *Thomas Bendyſh* of our near approach; and having given Two hours ſpace for to carry the intelligence, we weighed our Anchors, and ſtood in for the Port of *Conſtantinople:* At this time, a *Boſtangee,* one belonging to the Grand Signior's Garden, came aboard, ſent by the *Boſtangee*-baſhee or Head of the Gardeners, to diſcover, and know what Ship it was of ſuch Equipage, and greatneſs; adviſing us alſo, that the Grand Signior was ſeated in a Chiosk or Summer-houſe on the corner Wall of the *Seraglio.* Having thus our Anchor aboard with a freſh and favourable gale, our Flags and Enſigns diſplayed, and a Streamer at every Yard-arm, our Guns and Waſt-clothes out; and being near the Wall of the *Seraglio,* the ſame *Boſtangee* came again aboard, acquainting us, that it was the Grand Signior's pleaſure, that we ſhould rejoyce with Guns, (which was his expreſſion;) the Ship having her Sails ſwelled out with a gentle Gale, and the ſwiftneſs of her motion retarded by the current, gave the Turks an opportunity to take a full proſpect of her, the decks being full of men; we fired Sixty one Guns, as we paſſed, and with that order, that the Veſſel could never appear with better advantage, had ſhe been deſcribed by the Hand of the moſt skilful Painter: And thus we came to an Anchor on *Toppennau* ſide, where Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* came immediately aboard to congratulate the ſafe arrival of this new Ambaſſador: And now here it may be enquired, whether the *Seraglio* returned any anſwer to this ſalute by thoſe Guns which lye under the Garden-wall, of which moſt, or all are diſmounted: I anſwer, not; for this having been the firſt Man of War, or firſt Royal ſhip, that ever carried up an *Engliſh* Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*; it having been the cuſtom formerly to have them tranſported thither on ſome goodly Merchant-ſhip laden with the rich Commodities of our Country, a return of Guns was never demanded, or expected; and perhaps it was a matter not then thought of; which if it had, and been required, it is probable, in that conjuncture (if ever) it would have been granted; both becauſe old *Kuperlee* the Father, then governed, who was a great friend to the *Engliſh,* and Enemy to the *French,* whoſe Ambaſſador was then under reſtraint, would have in meer oppoſition and hatred to them, beſtowed thoſe honours on our Nation, which at another time could not have been extorted for a great Sum of Money; and ſo much I collect from the very words of *Kuperlee,* who after our Lord Ambaſſador had made his Entrance in a more ſplendid manner than uſual, as we ſhall underſtand by the ſequel, he demanded of our Chief Druggerman, how the *French* reſented this treatment? He anſwered, not well, but with an envious Eye, as he ſuppoſed; let them burſt with malice, replied the Vizier. Of late years ſince the glory and greatneſs of *France,* their Ambaſſadors have been always tranſported up to *Conſtantinople* in the Kings Ships. Monſieur *la Haye* the younger came on a Man of War of the Kings, and a Fireſhip; Monſieur *de Nointel,* with Two men of War and a Fireſhip; and now lately Monſieur *de Guilleragues* with no leſs an Equipage than the former. All which before they entered *Conſtantinople,* made a ſtop about the Seven Towers, capitulating firſt to have a re-ſalute from the *Seraglio,* before they would paſs their Complement to that place; which being denied, as a thing never practiſed; the *French* Men of War have of late paſſed with ſilence, without giving, or receiving a ſalute: Howſoever, as things ſtand now, I ſhould ſcarce adviſe, that *Engliſh* Men of War ſhould inſiſt upon the like, for we having once done it, a cuſtom may be pretended; and that may give a beginning to ſuch a diſpute which a new Ambaſſador ought ſtudiouſly to avoid, the preſent circumſtances of *France* not ſuiting exactly with the ſole Intereſt of Trade which is exerciſed by *England.*

The Lord Ambaſſador landing at *Conſtantinople.*

Againſt the next Day, being the Eighteenth, things were provided for the entrance of his Excellency; and indeed with that ſtate and handſome Equipage, that neither any Embaſſador from *England,* nor yet from the Emperor, paſſed with greater Splendor and Honour than this: For when his Excellency firſt deſcended from the Ship into his Boat, the Ship fired Fifty one Guns, ſo leiſurely, that they ſo continued, until he ſet his Foot on the ſhoar; where mounting on Horſe-back covered with a rich Velvet Foot-cloth, the whole Equipage marched in this Order, on Horſe-back alſo;

First, The *Vayvod* of *Galata,* and his Men.

2. The Captain of the Janiſaries with his Janiſaries.

3. The Chaous-baſhee with his Chaouſes.

4. The *Engliſh* Trumpeters.

5. The *Engliſh* Horſemen, Merchants of *Conſtantinople,* and thoſe of *Smyrna,* which came to attend his Excellency by order of the Factory, being in number Six, with their Servants.

6. The Embaſſadors, Druggermen and Janiſaries.

7. His Excellency with St. *Thomas Bendyſh,* attended with their Pages and Footmen.

8. The Secretary and Gentlemen.

9. The Counteſs of *Winchelſea* in her Coach, and Three other Coaches following with her Women, covered with Red-cloth, made after the faſhion of Waggons, lying on the carriages unhung.

10. Which were followed by ſome Officers, and Reformadoes of the Ship. Such an appearance as this being Extraordinary, the Streets were crouded with People, and all Windows filled with Spectators; and that which made the paſſage more uneaſy, was the Rabble ſcrambling for Five Sol-pieces, of which ſort of Money, 500 were by Order of the Lord Ambaſſador ſcattered amongſt the People, who regarded not the danger of being trampled under foot, whilſt they had the Silver in their Eye.

His Excellency being thus lodged at his Houſe at *Pera,* he was immediately ſaluted from the Emperors Reſident by his Secretary, and ſoon after by Signor *Padavino* Secretary to their Excellencies *Ballarino* and *Capello,* of whom we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to name, being thoſe who negotiated the Affairs of the *Venetian* Republick. And the next Day following, the like Complement was paſſed from the *French* Ambaſſador, and the *Dutch* Agent.

The Grand Signiors preſent to the Ambaſſador.

Three days after, the Grand Signior ſent a Preſent to his Excellency of Ten Sheep, Fifty Hens, a Hundred Loaves of Bread, Twenty Sugar-loaves, Twenty Wax-candles, Ten whereof were white, and Ten yellow. This we mention particularly, becauſe it was a Gift anciently beſtowed in the times of the firſt Ambaſſadors; and though it had not been of late years practiſed, yet being found in the Old Regiſters, the cuſtom was again revived, becauſe the *Turks* were in an humour to gratifie, and ſhew all the Honour they could to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador.

His firſt Audience with the Vizier.

On the Twenty eighth of this Month of *January*, his Excellency had his firſt Audience of the Great Vizier; and being attended thither, and met by the *Turkiſh* Officers on *Conſtantinople* ſide, (in the ſame manner, as when he firſt landed) he was conducted to the Viziers Palace; and being held up under the Arm by Two of his Gentlemen (that being the faſhion of great men amongſt the *Turks*) he was introduced to the Preſence of the Vizier; who being aged and decrepit, was ſitting on Cuſhions in a little Room with a Fire, and his Feet covered, ſeveral Paſhaws, Pages, and other Officers ſtanding by him. His Excellency and Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* were ſeated on Two Velvet ſtools; where firſt the Earl of *Winchelſea* having preſented the King's Letters to the Vizier wrote in Parchment, and put into a Bag of Cloth of Gold; Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* began to inform the Vizier, that this was that honourable Perſon, of whom he had formerly acquainted him, was coming to reſide for Ambaſſador in his place: That he was of that Nobility, and relation to our King, that had not his Majeſty intended highly, and in an extraordinary manner to Honour, and oblige the Grand Signior, he would not have expoſed his Kinſman, and a Perſon extraordinary, to the hazard of a Voyage ſo long and dangerous as this. Then the Earl of *Winchelſea* began to ſpeak, and relate the happy reſtauration of the King his Maſter to the Throne of his Anceſtors; extolling his Power, Greatneſs and Clemency in pardoning all, but ſuch, who were engaged in the Blood of his Father. That in his paſſage to *Conſtantinople*, he had by Command of the King touched at *Algier*, endeavouring to renew the former Articles of Peace, and releaſe an *Engliſh* Lord (meaning the Lord *Obryan*) taken Captive by them contrary to the Articles of Peace, but without ſucceſs, not being able to reduce them to any Terms of Reaſon, or Juſtice: And enlarging in his Complements with aſſurances of the friendſhip which the King his Maſter deſired to conſerve, and maintain with the Grand Signior, as a token thereof, he acquainted him, that he was the firſt Ambaſſador ſent abroad by his Maſter, ſince his happy return, before he had deſigned, or appointed any to Chriſtian Princes. The Vizier readily anſwered: *That it was but Reaſon it ſhould be ſo; ſince the Grand Signior was an Emperor, and they but Kings; and he the greateſt, and moſt Soveraign Potentate of the World: And that as to the Buſineſs of* Algier, *he would take care of it, and do him Juſtice.* This having paſſed, Two *China* diſhes with Sherbet were brought forth, and given to the Two Ambaſſadors, and Two larger bowles of the ſame to their Attendants: Then the Preſent was brought forth, and laid before the Vizier, conſiſting of Twenty Veſts; Four of them were of fine *Engliſh* Cloth of ſeveral colours; Four of ſeveral coloured Velvets: Four of ſeveral flowred Stuffs with Gold and Silver; Four of watred Tabbies, and Four of Sattins: In recompence hereof both the Ambaſſadors were veſted, with Six others, which Veſts are of no great matter of uſe, or value, more than that they are evidences and badges of the Vizier's favour. After this his Excellency with Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* aroſe, and departed, wearing theſe Veſts, until they were paſſed without the Gates of the Viziers Palace, and then they delivered them to be carried by their Servants, as the others did; and ſo his Excellency returned to his Houſe at *Pera*, with an appearance of a fair Correſpondency, and with aſſurances that the Capitulations and friendſhip ſhould be maintained, and conſerved with a ſtrict and inviolate Faith.

The day of giving pay to the Janiſaries drawing near, the Ambaſſador's Audience with the Grand Signior was deferred until that time, for with that occaſion the Court would appear in the moſt ſolemn manner, and the attendance of the Soldiery would render all things more great and powerful: In the mean time the Grand Signior often took a view from his *Seraglio*, of the *Plymouth* Frigat, and frequently rowed round her in a Boat; and ſome ſay, he once came *Incognito* aboard to ſee her; at length he was ſo pleaſed with her, that he fancied her to be a very proper Veſſel to carry Soldiers and Ammunition for *Candia*; but propoſing his Thoughts and intentions to the Vizier, he was diſſwaded from the demand, or conſtraint of the Ship, being admoniſhed, that this was a matter unpracticable, and uncivil towards a Prince, who on confidence of Amity and Alliance with him, had adventured his Ship within his Port.

Audience with the Grand Signior.

The Twenty ſixth day of *February*, being Pay-day of the Janiſaries, the Lord Ambaſſador had Audience of the Grand Signior, which was performed in this manner. His Excellency, with Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, departing from his Houſe, with his retinue on Horſe-back, by break of day in the Morning, was met on *Conſtantinople* ſide by the Chaous-Baſhee, and his Chaouſes, and by them conducted to the *Seraglio*. We rode through the firſt Court which was very ſpacious, and then we alighted from our Horſes, and walked through another Court leading to the Divan, or place of Judicature; at the upper end of which the Great Vizier was ſeated; on his right Hand ſate Five Viziers of the Bench, of which the Captain-Paſha, or Admiral of the Seas, was one; on the left were the Two Kadileſchers or Chief Juſtices, one of *Anatolia*, and the other of *Romelia*, and by them the Teſterdar Paſha or Lord Treaſurer, with Three other Paſha's: The floar of the Divan was covered with Carpets, and on them a richer covering of Bags of Money, for payment of the Janiſaries. The Two Ambaſſadors with about Six or Seven of their retinue (amongſt which I was one) being admitted in, and placed at the lower end, their Excellencies approached toward the Vizier, and were ſeated near unto him on Two ſtools covered with Crimſon Velvet, and ſome Diſcourſe and Complement having paſſed between them, they retired to another part of the Room, that they might give way to Buſineſs. In the mean time the payment of the Soldiers went forward, every Churbagee, or Captain, taking from the heaps, the Pay of his Soldiers, and laying the Bags on their Shoulders, made up to the Vizier, and having kiſſed the Hem of his Veſt on his Knees, he retired with great Humility and haſt from him, paſſing away with his ſide towards him, it being very unſeemly amongſt them to turn their backs to Perſonages of that Dignity.

The Payment being over, Three ſmall Tables were brought in; the firſt of which was covered with a Silver Voyder, at which the Two Ambaſſadors ſate with the chief Miniſters; but the Great Vizier by reaſon of his Age and Weakneſs, retired into another Room. The other Two Tables were covered with a mixed Mettal, which ſerved in the place of a Table-Cloth, at which the others ſate: We had no Knives, Forks, nor Plate; but only Wooden Spoons were laid for us, which was ſufficient in that manner of eating, for their Meats are moſt boyled, and conveniently received by the Spoon; or are ſo well roaſted, that they are eaſily parted with the Fingers. The diſhes were ſerved in by one at a time, but ſo faſt, that we had ſcarce taſted of one, before it was ſnatched away to make place for another; and I think there might be about Twenty ſeveral changes, in this manner; at the end of all, to conclude our Feaſt, a great Bowl of Sherbet was brought in, and we drank of it, as large draughts as we pleaſed. Being riſen from the Table, Eighteen Coſtans, or Veſts, being the uſual number given to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, with one extraordinary in favour to the New Ambaſſador, were brought forth, and beſtowed; and in the mean time, the Preſent from our King to the Grand Signior, provided at the expence of the *Turky* Company, conſiſting of Fifty Veſts, *viz.* Ten of Velvet, Ten of Sattin, Ten of Cloth of Gold, Ten of Tabbies, and Ten of fine *Engliſh* Cloth, were brought forth and diſplayed in the open Court by Fifty men which carried them, and Four *Engliſh* Maſtiffs, which were more acceptable to this Grand Signoir than all the reſt. The whole body of Janiſaries then payed, conſiſting of about Five thouſand, were drawn up in a body, and ranged on one ſide of the Court-yard; amongſt them there was that ſilence, that the leaſt whiſper, noiſe, or motion was not heard; and as their Janiſar Aga, and other Commanders paſſed, the bowings they made in ſalute were ſo regular, and at the ſame time, as may well teſtify the exactneſs of their Diſcipline, and admirable obedience, which hath in a great meaſure contributed towards their Conqueſts and Enlargement of their Empire.

Being thus Veſted, and ranked in Order, the Great Vizier entered into the Preſence of the Grand Signior; and then Two Capugi-baſhes or Chief of the Porters of the Gate, with long Silver Staves, took the New Ambaſſador under each Arm to conduct him to the Chamber of Audience; thoſe permitted to accompany him were Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, the Earl of *Winchelſea*'s Brother, Sir *Thomas Allen* Captain of the *Plymouth* Frigat, the Interpreter, and my ſelf, who then being Secretary, carried the Credential Letters made up in a Purſe of Cloth of Gold. We gently knocked at the firſt Gate, which was immediately ſet wide open to us, in the Porch whereof Forty white Eunuchs attended, clothed in Veſts of Sattin, and Cloth of Gold of divers colours, and ſtood with their Hands before them with marvellous ſilence, and modeſty. Coming near to the Preſence-door, where the Kapi-Aga or Chief of the white Eunuchs attended, we made a pauſe in the Porch, and trod very ſoftly, ſo as not to diſturb with the leaſt motion, the greatneſs of that Majeſty; and ſo profound was the ſilence, that nothing was heard beſides the murmurings of a Fountain adjoining hereunto. Juſt at the entrance of the Chamber, hung a gilded Ball ſtudded with divers precious Stones, the Floar was covered with Crimſon Velvet; embroidered with Golden-wyre. The Grand Signior himſelf ſate in a Throne raiſed a ſmall heigth from the ground, ſupported with Four Pillars plated with Gold; from the top hung ſeveral gilded Balls twined with Maſſes of Pearl; the Cuſhions he ſate upon, and thoſe alſo that lay by, were richly embroidered, and beſet with Jewels, and on his right hand ſtood the Great Vizier. And having made a conſiderable ſtop at the Door, the Two Capugibaſhees, who held his Excellence under each Arm, brought him to the middle of the Room, and laying their Hands upon his Head, made him bow, until he touched the Carpets with his forehead; and then raiſing him again, they retired backward with him, unto the fartheſt part of the Room; and in like manner they took all the others ſingly and in order, placing them behind the Ambaſſadors. The Credential Letters from our King were then preſented, and appointed that they ſhould be delivered to the hands of the *Reis-Efendi*, or Secretary of State.

Then the Druggerman or Interpreter, by Order of the Lord Ambaſſador, read a Paper in the *Turkiſh* Language to this Effect.

Firſt, Declaring how the King of Great *Britain* our Soveraign Lord and Maſter, was reſtored to the Throne of his Anceſtors without War, or any Conditions: And the great Clemency of His Majeſty in pardoning all, but thoſe who had a hand in the Murder of his Father.

Secondly, Recommending the Merchants and their Intereſt to the continuance of his uſual Favour and Protection.

Thirdly, Begging the freedom of all *Engliſh* Slaves, as a particular Teſtimony of Favour, and Grace to this New Ambaſſador.

Theſe Ceremonies being performed, and the Paper read, we immediately departed, paſſing to our Horſes by the ſame way which we came: And being mounted, we drew up a little out of the paſſage to ſee the Soldiers march by us, which indeed appeared to be a very flouriſhing Militia of young Men, robuſt, and well clothed; many of them running with Bags of Money on their Shoulders, and all of them chearful, and glad of the charge they carried with them; after them followed their Commanders exceedingly well mounted: And laſt of all came the Great Vizier attended with many Paſhaes, and a goodly Equipage: And then his Excellency, with Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, and attendance, proceeded forwards, and returned to their home. After this Two viſits were made: Namely, to the Captain-Paſha or Admiral of the Seas, and the other to the Muftee; at the firſt, Six Veſts were preſented; and at the latter, Five; and both were performed, and accepted with ſuch mutual kindneſs, that never did the *Turkiſh* Miniſters caſt more ſerene countenances on the Trade and Concernments of *England*, than on this conjuncture.

And thus the Earl of *Winchelſea* being very ſucceſsfully, and with ſignal Demonſtrations of Honour, and a good correſpondence, ſeated in the uſual reſidence of Ambaſſadors, the Grand Signior, as a particular Note and mark of his favour preſented him with Three *Engliſh* Slaves, and returned a kind and friendly anſwer to his Majeſties Letters, by Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, who embarked on the *Plimouth* Frigat, and departed the Eleventh of *March*. And thus having given the Reader a Relation of the State of the *Engliſh* concernments in *Turky*: Let us view and conſider the Condition of the *Turkiſh* Affairs amongſt themſelves.

At the arrival of this Ambaſſador, the important affairs of this vaſt and ſtill growing Empire, were governed by the Great Vizier *Kuperlee*; a Perſon decrepit and infirm in body, by reaſon of his great Age, but of a ſolid and ſubtle judgment; by Nature cruel, and by Years froward; which diſpoſition was ſingularly well fitted to do ſervice to his Maſter, againſt the impetuous ſtorms of the Faction of thoſe times, in which the Paſhaws, and Chiefs of the Soldiery (as often it happens in Empires, whoſe Body is grown too vaſt to be ruled by a weak Head) became rich and powerful, and by the long Vacations of Peace, inſolent and wanton; for as then the Wars with *Venice* were carried on faintly, only by ſending forth an Armata of Gallies in the Spring; and the preparations became rather accuſtomary, returning with the Year, and made for

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for exerciſe of the Arſenal, and amuſement of the People, than deſigned with any probable expectation of ſucceſs or Victory, proportionable to that Treaſure and Trouble, which maintained them. So that to encounter ſo many difficulties, and predominancy of Ambition and Avarice, the Prince himſelf being young, the Fortune of his Empire had more than urgent neceſſity of ſuch a rough and cruel diſpoſition as was found in *Kuperlee*; who ſo ſeaſonably made uſe of it, to the deſtruction of all ſuch, who might either endanger his Prince, or himſelf; that in two or three Years time he became Maſter of the Lives and Eſtates of the Grand Mutiniers; confiſcating their richeſs and fortunes to the uſe and ſecurity of his Maſter; having in his time put to Death thirty ſix thouſand perſons, whom he proſcribed in ſeveral Countries, and privately ſtrangled in the City, by vertue of his abſolute and uncontroulable Authority, without giving the Offenders liberty of Proceſſes, or Pleas for their Lives, or the ſolemnity of Scaffolds, or applauſe of a Funeral Oration at the Gallows, whereby to win the affections and compaſſions of the vulgar, but went through with his bloody and tragical buſineſs, without noiſe, or rumour, or knowledge almoſt of the Souldiery, or the people; whilſt the great Perſonages, whoſe rapine and pride had contracted them envy and hatred from their inferiours, ſtood confuſed and amaſed, not having power to rebel, nor Sanctuary to fly unto.

Such is the effect of an abſolute, and arbitrary power, which is Maſter of times and affairs, and rather fits and ſquares Enterprizes to Counſels, than Counſels to Enterprizes. *Reges Hercule non liberi ſolum impedimentis omnibus, ſed Domini rerum, temporumq; trahunt Conſiliis cuncta, non ſequuntur. Liv. lib.* 9. The Grand Signior in the mean time applauded the diligence and circumſpection of his Miniſter; and though yet trembling with the memory of late ſollevations amongſt the Janizaries; yet being young, and active, addicted himſelf wholly to the delight of Hunting, and to follow the Chace of fearful, and flying Beaſts; whilſt his Vizier ſo cloſely follow'd his game of Bloud, that he left no Perſon conſiderable in the Empire, who was not a Creature made by, or depending on him; unleſs the Kahyabei, or Lieutenant General of the Janizaries; *Mortaza* Paſha of *Babylon*, now called by the *Turks Bagdat*, and the Paſha of *Magnaſia*; Men, whoſe bravery, and generous Juſtice, or elſe their Guards, or Fortune, had only ſeated beyond the reach and Sword of this Tyrant. This was then the State of the *Turkiſh* Affairs amongſt themſelves; As to Foreign, and Chriſtian Princes; the Emperor, the King of *England*, the *French* King, and the States of *Holland*, had their Embaſſadors and Reſidents at the *Otteman* Court, with whom as yet paſſed a fair and amicable correſpondence, excepting with the *French*; whoſe Embaſſadour had then lately obtained his releaſe from Impriſonment, to which he was confined contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Cuſtom of the wiſeſt, and moſt generous People of former Ages; and compelled to return into *France*; an Agent being there ſetled by the Merchants, to Negotiate their Affairs; the occaſions and grounds whereof we have at large ſignified in another place: which unlawful treatment of a Perſon Sacred, none will much admire, who conſiders the humour of ſupream Miniſters that judge themſelves under no reſtraint or limits of Law, either Civil, or National.

This Embaſſador from *France* was call'd Monſieur *le Haye*, the Father, a Perſon excellently well qualifi'd, having with ſucceſs paſs'd in that capacity for the ſpace of 25 years, until ſome miſunderſtandings paſſing between him, and this Tyrannical Vizier, he ſuffered many indignities from him, which being added to the extream torment of the Stone, under which he laboured, made him willing on any terms to return to his own Countrey.

The *Venetians* notwithſtanding the War, had two Miniſters there reſident; the *Eccellentiſſimo Capello*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, a right worthy and noble Perſon; and Signior *Ballarino*, a Perſon vigilant, and ſubtle, who omitted no opportunities to advance his own Fortunes, and with that the benefit of his Republick. The Emperors Reſident, called *Simon Renninghen*, a Perſon ſincere, free, and open hearted, agreeable to the Nature of the *Germans*; had for ſome Years, tho with ſome difficulty, continued the Peace, or rather matters from breaking out into an open War; the Incurſions on the Frontiers, and other accidents, always adminiſtring occaſions of diſcontent, and complaints to both parties.

The hiſtory of Prince *Ragotzki*.

But that the Series of this Hiſtory may be continud with an even Thread, and clear light to the Reader, we muſt caſt back our Eyes to the Year 1657. when the Ambition of *George Ragotzki*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, began New troubles in his own Principality, and laid the Foundation of a future War between the Emperor and the *Turks*. For now *Poland* was ſo wearied with the inceſſant Wars of *Muſcovy* (the inveterate Enemy of that Crown) with the frequent Rebellions of the Coſſacks, and the invaſion of the *Swedes*, whom the traiterous Vice-Chancellour, and his Adherents, had invited to the ſpoils of their own Countrey; that King *Caſimirus* was reduced to the ultimate extremity of his Affairs; the publick Exchequer, and private Treaſuries were exhauſted, the Villages diſpeopled, the Fields uncultivated, Traffick and Commerce ceaſed; nothing but Wars, Robberies, and Confuſion filled the Diurnals with News, and the hearts of the Inhabitants with Sorrow and Calamities: Wherefore *Caſimer* King of *Poland*, vexed on all ſides, and not knowing where or how to apply a remedy, diſpatched his Great Chancellor *Albertus Praveſmoski*, in Quality of Embaſſador, to demand aſſiſtance from *Ragotzki*, promiſing in recompence thereof, to adopt his Son to ſucceed him in that Kingdom. No Meſſage could arrive more grateful to ambitious *Ragotzki*, who by ſo deſired a proffer, ſeemed to arrive to the Zenith of his Proſperity; which like the Land of Promiſe, being only ſhewed to his Father in a long Proſpective, ſeemed now as it were, by Inheritance, to devolve upon his Son; in order unto which, many days of Treaty and Conferences were held between *Ragotzki*, and the Poliſh Miniſters; but *Ragotzki* inſiſting on certain particulars, which were not in the Power of the King or his Commiſſioners to grant without the approbation of a Diet, the Treaty was diſſolved, and *Ragotzki* remained diſpleaſed, and angry; pretending himſelf to have been deluded and ſlighted, reſolved to avenge the Affront, and by his Arms gain to himſelf the Crown of that Kingdom; ſo that raiſing a ſtrong Army, and joining himſelf in a Confederate League with *Sweden*, he invaded *Poland*, waſting all the Frontiers with Fire and Sword. The *Ottoman* Port, growing jealous of the ſucceſſes of theſe Affairs, and not ſo much of the Advance of *Ragotzki*, as of the growing greatneſs of the *Swedes*, with whom unwillingly they would be Borderers, iſſued an expreſs Command, That without contradiction or delay, he ſhould immediately give a ſtop to his March, and return with his Army into *Tranſilvania*. And though the Emperor of Germany, and the *Krim*

Ragotzki joins with the *Swedes* againſt *Poland*.

1661.

Tartar declared their diſlike of his proceedings, threatning to invade his Principality at home, unleſs he retracted himſelf, and deſiſted from this enterprize; yet *Ragotski* having his underſtanding blinded with Ambition, and the luſt of Rule and Government, ſtopped his ears to the menaces of his Enemies, and the counſel of his Friends. This *Ragotski* enjoyed a State moſt happy, large, fertile, and populous, in Power inferior to few, ſuperior to many; ſo that he might have paſſed peaceably and honourably with all, could his great ſpirit have bowed to, and complied with his Potent Neighbours. For on the one ſide the Puiſſant power of the *Turk* threatned him, to whom the leaſt Ombrages of diſpleaſure adminiſter occaſion of War; On the ſide of *Hungary* the Emperour over-awed him: On the ſide of *Valachia*, and *Moldavia* he lay open to the incurſion of the *Tartars*. So that a man might rationally expect, That this Prince ſhould have eſteemed it honour enough to have conſerved his own without rendring himſelf obnoxious to the jealouſie and ſuſpicion of his Neighbours. But his great ſpirit was ſo enamoured of a Crown, and ſo bewitched with the hopes of obtaining it, that nothing ſeemed difficult or improbable to the acquiſition of his longing deſires, which were the occaſion of all thoſe calamities and miſeries in *Hungary*, which afterwards enſued.

The difficulty of *Ragotski*'s Affairs.

In contemplation of all which foreſeen evils, his *Cæſarean* Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the *Ottoman* Port, declaring againſt the temerity and audacionſneſs of *Ragotski*; who in the mean time ſubdued the Fort of *Briſtia*, invaded with Fire and Sword the Province of *Ruſſia*, plundered *Podolia*, and advanced as far as *Camonitz*, a Fortreſs ſtrong by Art and Nature; and joining afterwards with the *Swedes*, aſſiſted them in the ſubjection of *Cracovia*. About this time the Emperour *Ferdinand* the third began to ſend ſuccours into *Poland*, and to proteſt againſt the proceedings of *Ragotski*, but being ſurprized by ſickneſs, ſoon after paſſed to a better life; which for ſome time, giving a ſtop to the aſſiſtance of *Poland*, was interpreted by *Ragotski*, as a happy Omen of his good Fortune.

But how vain and deceitful are humane hopes, whoſe foundations are Ambition and Violence! For *Leopold* ſucceeding in the place of his Father to *Hungary*, and the Empire, immediately proſecuted the deſign in favour of *Poland*, and in the firſt place beſieging *Turone*, one of the chief Cities of *Pruſſia*, taken by the *Swedes*, forced it to a Surrender. The King of *Denmark* alſo growing jealous of the encreaſing greatneſs of the *Swedes*, nouriſhed by ancient grudges, and National Emulations, took up Arms in defence of *Poland*, and being at firſt, fluſh of Money, gave conſtant pay and large donatives to mercenary Soldiers, which encreaſed his Army, drawing great numbers from the Swediſh Colours; ſo that being ſtoutly recruited, he entered into the Enemies Countries, poſſeſſed himſelf of the important Fort of *Olme* in *Norway*; overthrew the Swediſh Army at *Vorgaſt*, and obtained a victory over their Fleet in the Baltick Sea. The *Poles* alſo themſelves, who at firſt revolted from their Prince, and favoured the *Swediſh* proceedings, perceiving the Wind change, and become contrary to that Party, began to abandon the intereſt they profeſſed, and by degrees to return to the due obedience of their King. *Zerneski* alſo the General, and *Lubomiski* the Great Chancellour of *Poland* met the *Swediſh* Forces near *Cracovia*, where giving them Battel, diſcomfited the whole Army, killed fourteen thouſand upon the place, took all the Cannon and Baggage, and won that day a moſt ſignal Victory.

Ragotski perceiving the face of things thus changed, and being by Command of the Ottoman Port abandoned by his Moldavian and Walachian Forces, began to turn his face towards *Tranſilvania*, where now he wiſhed himſelf and Army lodged in ſafety. But being overtaken by General *Zerneski* near the Mountains of *Tranſilvania*, he was, tho unwillingly, engaged to fight, and was with that fury aſſaulted by the *Poliſh* Horſe, that tho according to his uſual Bravery, he charged in Perſon at the head of his Troops, yet he was not able to withſtand a violence ſo diſadvantageous in number, but that his men being firſt put into diſorder, then to a Retreat, and then to open flight, his whole Army was defeated, many of them periſhed by the Sword, others flying through the Woods and Mountains, died with famine; and he himſelf obliged to buy a ſhameful Peace, engaging by Word and Oath to the payment of a great ſumm of Money, was permitted with a mean Retinue to return into his own Country. Nor did theſe misfortunes end here; but the *Tartars* commanded by the *Turks*, in revenge and chaſtiſement of *Ragotski*'s Enterprize without their conſent, entered into his Principality with conſiderable Bodies of Horſe, againſt whoſe ſudden Invaſion, an Army under the Conduct of his General *Kemenius* could not be ſo ſoon collected and diſciplined, as to be able to reſiſt that fury of *Tartars*, who at their pleaſure burned the Towns and Villages, and carried away multitudes of people of both Sexes, and all Ages for Captives into their own Country, amongſt which ſome were of Quality and Condition. Amidſt which troubles came Letters from the *Ottoman* Port, directed to the Nobles of *Tranſilvania*, declaring *Ragotski* a Rebel, and commanding that according to the Laws and Priviledges of that Principality, they ſhould proceed to the Election of a new Prince, and in caſe of refuſal, all the ruins and calamities were threatned, which they might juſtly expect in puniſhment of their diſobedience from a ſevere and angry Emperor.

Ragotski over-thrown by the *Poles*.

The *Turks* threaten *Ragotski*.

Ragotski being well informed what was deſigning againſt him at the *Ottoman* Port; and knowing that his power was not able to oppoſe ſo much puiſſance, reſolved to give way to neceſſity, and voluntarily depoſe himſelf, before he ſhould be engaged thereunto by the Imperial Decree; ſo that he calmly receded from his Principality, hoping that his humility and ſubmiſſion might procure his pardon at the Court. The Nobility of *Tranſilvania* being as well deſirous to evidence their affection to their old Prince, as their obedience to the Grand Signior, did immediately appoint a day for Election, but with Proviſo, that a general Petition ſhould be made in behalf of *Ragotski*, that he might be again reſtored unto ancient Grace and Favour with the Port, who in the mean time ſwore to live peaceably in a quiet and private condition, without making diſturbance, or innovation in the Government, and that when this Grace ſhould accordingly be obtained, then that the new Prince ſhould recede, and ſuffer things to return to their former and priſtine Eſtate. For which purpoſe there was choice made of one *Francis Redeius*, a Perſon of a peaceable and gentle temper, who would eaſily condeſcend to the terms agreed, and as willingly reſign up his Government again, as he unwillingly received it. But though *Ragotski* had renounced, promiſed, ſwore, and in appearance ſeemed to recede from his Government, and ſurrender all at the irreſiſtible Decree of a ſuperior power; yet

He depoſes himſelf.

Redeius made Prince of *Tranſilvania*.

1661. his high Spirit, and working Brain could not diſlodg that Ambition of his Heart, which at firſt privately countermined and enervated the Power of the new elected Prince; but afterwards his towering Thoughts ſwelled too big to be ſuppreſſed under the cover of Diſſimulation, yielded juſt Reaſon to the *Ottoman* Port to ſuſpect his deſigns; who not being ignorant of what was paſt, diſpatched Orders to the Paſha of *Buda* to demand the ſtrong Fort of *Janoua* for Caution and Security of the good Behaviour of the *Tranſilvanians.*

Ragotzki again declares himſelf Prince.

Ragotzki ſeeing himſelf thus diſcovered, unmasked himſelf openly, and threw away his Vizard, and with a vigorous Force and Courage reaſſumed the Rights and Standard of his Principality, forcing *Redeius* not only to relinquiſh his Power, but to ſwear never again to uſurp it, tho enforced upon him by the Authority of the *Turks.*

Theſe Extravagancies ſo exaſperated the minds of the *Turks*, that whereas before they began to entertain tender thoughts towards *Tranſilvania*, they now meditated its entire Ruin and Conqueſt; and ſo laying aſide Arguments and Treaties, they made Levies of Horſe and Foot both in *Europe* and *Aſia.* *Ragotzki* foreſeeing how unable he was to reſiſt a Force ſo unequal as the puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire, without the ſuccor of Foreign Force, reſolved, like the Prodigal Son, to throw himſelf into the compaſſionate Arms of the Emperor, as his Father; earneſtly ſupplicating, That whereas before, his diſorderly and diſobedient Liſe had rather merited Puniſhment than Favour; yet in this Cauſe, wherein the Intereſt of *Chriſtendom* was concerned, he would compaſſionate the common Good of the Chriſtian Church, rather than chaſtiſe his particular Miſdemeanours. With this meſſage *Michel Meſzes*, his Chancellor, being diſpatched, was graciouſly received by the Emperor, and readily aſſured of powerful Aid and Protection.

Ragotzki elevated with this courteous Treatment and Promiſes, had his whole mind enflamed with hopes and deſire of Revenge; ſo that aſſembling ſuch Forces as he could, he entered boldly into the Field againſt the Paſha of *Buda*, who with a conſiderable Army, was ordered to March before, and enter the Confines of *Tranſilvania*, and there unite with the Paſha of *Temiſwar.*

1658. In the Tranſaction of all theſe Paſſages, *July* was well entered, when both Armies met in open Field; and tho the Forces of the *Tranſilvanians* were much inferior to thoſe of the *Turk*, yet *Ragotzki* full of his wonted Courage and Heat, ſo vigorouſly aſſailed the Enemy, that he quickly broke and diſordered their Ranks, put them to flight, and killed three thouſand upon the place. But little did this advantage benefit poor *Tranſilvania*, for the Great Vizier ſoon after following with the groſs of his Army, conſiſting of little leſs than an 100. thouſand Men, provided accordingly with Artillery, and all other Military Ammunition; ſeconded by the *Tartars*, and aſſiſted by the *Moldavians* and *Valachians*, and a Rout of other barbarous Nations; laid Seige to the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Janoua*; of which and of ſeveral others, in a ſhort time he rendered himſelf Maſter, laying waſte and deſolate all the Countries round with Fire and Sword. The Nobles of *Tranſilvania* ſenſible of theſe imminent and approaching Miſchiefs, diſpeeded three Perſons of conſiderable Quality amongſt them, in an Embaſſy to the Vizier; viz. *Francis Daniel*, *John Lues*, and *Acatius Berclay*, who greatly laboured by their Oratory to perſwade the Vizier, that they were in no wiſe conſenting to the diſobedience of their Prince, but did always readily ſubmit to the *Ottoman* Servitude; imploring his Clemency and Commiſeration of their diſtreſſed and ruined State. The Vizier inclining his Ear to their Petition, ſtopped the Progreſs of his Arms, but increaſed their Tribute to ſuch an exceſſive rate, that the burden of it became inſupportable; and appointed *Berclay*, one of the Embaſſadors, to be Prince; taking thereby from the People, the free Priviledg of Election; Commanding them to accept him without farther Diſpute or Repugnancy. It is uncertain whether *Berclay* deſigned the Principality to himſelf by any inſtance he made to the *Turks*, or whether his Election proceeded meerly from the Vizier himſelf; yet this is certain, that returning home, *Berclay* applied himſelf to eſtabliſh his own Dominion, and to diſappoint the deſigns of his Predeceſſor, and his party.

The Vizier beſieges *Janoua.*

1661. *Berclay* made Prince of *Tranſilvania.*

The *Turks* being ſatisfied with this Submiſſion, with the Subjection of ſeveral places of Importance, with depoſing of *Ragotzki*, and eſtabliſhment of a new Prince, began to diſband a great part of their Forces; and the Great Vizier, with the remainder, returned towards *Conſtantinople*; ſuppoſing the Fire of this War to be totally extinguiſhed.

In this condition of Repoſe, matters continued for about the ſpace of two Years, when *Ragotzki* impatient of his loſſes, and of the exchange of his publick State to a private Condition, inveterate in his hate towards his Rival and Competitor, reſolved to tempt Fortune once more, and make his ultimate Aſſay, either to eſtabliſh himſelf in his Principality, or at leaſt to render himſelf equal with other mortal Princes in the Grave; and ſo relying with much Confidence on the zealous Affection of his Subjects, and the promiſe of powerful Adherents, he once again juſtled himſelf into the Government, by the Expulſion of his Rival; whom he could not behold with other than with an emulous and unpleaſing Eye. *Berclay* perceiving himſelf thus enſnared, neglected, and perſecuted by all Parties, repreſented theſe Innovations to the *Ottoman* Port, with the moſt aggravating Circumſtances imaginable; beſeeching them to afford him aid, and vindicate their own Honour in maintenance of him, whom they had conſtituted a Prince, and was a Creature formed by their own favour. The *Turks* immediately touched with the Senſe hereof, Iſſued out Orders to *Ciddi Ahmet*, the new Paſha of *Buda*; Commanded him without delay, to gather what Forces he could to interrupt the deſigns of *Tranſilvania*; and to put matters unto a ſtand, until a greater Army could ſecond him, under the Command of *Ali* Paſha, appointed General for this Expedition. The Paſha of *Buda* readily obeyed, and aſſembling what Forces he could in *Hungary*, and joining with the Paſha of *Temiſwar*, paſſed the *Danube*, and with a very conſiderable Army entered *Tranſivania.* *Ragotzki* undaunted at the near approach of his Enemy, boldly entered the Field with his Forces, and joined Battel with them in the Month of *May*, 1660. between the Cities of *Clauſenburg*, and *Giulia Alba.* At firſt the Chriſtians endeavoured to have intercepted the Enemies paſſage, by ſome Ambuſcado or Stratagem of War; but the *Turks* ſtill advancing, were at length met by the Van-guard of the Chriſtians; to aſſiſtance of which ſeveral Bodies following one after the other, it became a general Engagement of both Armies; in which Battel,

Ragotki makes new Troubles.

Ragotzki

1661.

The death of *Ragotzki.*

His Character.

Ragotzki gave his uſual proofs of Valour; declaring by his Actions, that he was reſolved to dye, or to Triumph. But being at length wounded in four parts of his Body, and his Army overpowered with Numbers, he was forced to yield the Fortune of the Day to the *Turks*; leaving 8. pieces of Cannon, and his Standard in their hands; and the greateſt part of his Army being either killed or taken, he himſelf with a few of his Attendants, recovered *Varadin*; where after 18. Days diſtemper of his Wounds, he expired his unquiet and troubled Soul. This was the end of that vain *Icarus*, who attempted to fly with feigned Wings and borrowed Feathers; this is the fate of ambitious Spirits, whom Pride elevates and exhales like a Vapour, unto that height, until it diſſolves them into Showers, or precipitates them into the abyſs of all Confuſion. This *George Ragotzki* was of a tall and well proportioned Stature, black Hair, and a friſled Beard: his Eyes quick and lively, of an active Body, and healthy Conſtitution: his Spirit was high and great, which betrayed him to Extravagancies; his Comportment was generous and courteous towards all, which rendered him exceedingly beloved and eſteemed by his Nobility: he was free in his Speech, and eloquent in his Expreſſions, prudent in his Counſels and Enterprizes: had not the quickneſs and vivacity of his Soul made him ſomething raſh and violent in his Attempts: he was of the Proteſtant Religion, leaving behind him a Widow, and a Son of hopeful and happy endowments.

After the Death of *Ragotzki*, it might well be expected that theſe Storms of War ſhould be diſperſed, and that *Tranſilvania* ſhould at length enjoy the Sun-ſhine, and calmer Weather of Peace and Repoſe. But *Ali* Paſha, General of the *Turkiſh* Camp, being by this time arrived the Confines with his powerful Army, reſolved not to return empty or in vain, without advantaging the *Ottoman* Intereſt, and making ſome Satisfaction towards the Expence and Trouble of ſo great an Army. Wherefore taking pretence againſt *Varadin*, for receiving *Ragotzki* after his Defeat, abetting his party, and following his Intereſt, deſigned to ſummon that important Fortreſs to ſurrender, which is ſituated at the foot of thoſe Mountains which open a Paſſage into *Tranſilvania.*

The People of *Varadin* crave aid of the Emperor.

The Inhabitants of *Varadin* terrified at the approach of this formidable Enemy, diſpatched a Meſſenger to the Emperor, imploring with moſt effectual Arguments his Sacred Protection and powerful Aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy to *Chriſtendom*, repreſenting to his Ceſarean Majeſty, how that the *Turks* in their Capitulations with him, had agreed to Build or Erect no new Fort on thoſe Frontiers: and whereas it was the ſame thing to force and uſurp a Fortreſs already made, as to form a new one; the taking of *Varadin* was to be eſteemed a real Violation of the Articles of Peace. That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to reflect on the fatal Conſequences which the loſs of *Varadin* might prove to *Hungary* as well as *Tranſilvania*; being that Gate, which obſtructed, cuts off all Intercourſe between them and *Germany.* Theſe Conſiderations with ſeveral others, were exceeding prevalent in the Imperial Council; ſo that it was reſolved, that General *Souches* ſhould prepare his Army, and put all things in readineſs to afford the Aſſiſtance which was deſired; ſuppoſing that with the *German* Regiments, and *Hungarian* Forces, might be formed an Army of about 25. thouſand fighting men. But in regard in thoſe Inſtructions given to *Souches*, there was a Clauſe, that he ſhould be careful not to engage his Forces in any attempt, where the event might be doubtful; he aſſembled the principal Perſons of that Country, and the Militia, to conſult whether ſuccor and relief might be given to *Varadin*, without hazarding the Army in a doubtful and a dangerous Adventure: in conſideration of which point, a true Computation being made of all the Imperial Forces, they were found much inferior to that calculate which was made of them at *Vienna*; For that ſince *Tockai*, *Zatmar*, *Kalo*, and other places belonging to the State of *Ragotzki*, had been Garriſoned by *German* Soldiers, there remained not of them above 4000. effective Men; the *Hungarian* Forces which were ſuppoſed to have conſiſted of 2000. Men, could not form 600.; the Haiducks which were computed to be 6000. Men, did not appear in the Perſon of one; being all diſperſed and retired to their own homes. The additional Forces from the Princes of the Empire were as uncertain, as the Expectation of them long and tedious; for tho the Imperial Forces united are of puiſſance ſufficient to bid Battel, and Defiance to the numerous Troops of the *Ottoman* Power; yet in regard the Union of that Body depends on the Aſſembly of Diets, Treaties, and long Debates, which are ſubject to time and delays, cauſed by different Factions, (which are impoſſible to be avoided amongſt different States) whoſe Diſunions, Competitions, Emulations and Pretences, always in ſuch meetings abound, and prejudice the common cauſe and benefit of the Empire; the raiſing of ſuch a formidable Army, becomes a matter always of time and difficulty. Howſoever the Emperor, whoſe Hereditary and Elective Poſſeſſions bordering on the Confines of the Enemy, is neceſſarily engaged to be the ſtanding Bulwark of the reſt, and a Bank againſt the Inundation of barbarous Nations; whilſt other Princes whoſe Dominions are more Remote and Secure, apprehend not the Premures and Storms that the Emperor ſuſtains, and is enforced to expel with the loſs and diminution of his own People, and impoveriſhment of his peculiar Treaſure; To theſe Conſiderations, which rendered theſe pious Intentions towards *Varadin* almoſt impoſſible, there wanted Money, which is the Sinews of War, and the Soul of all Enterprizes: And that which farther retarded thoſe Succors and Proſecution of the deſign in hand, was the departure o His *Ceſarean* Majeſty from his Court at *Vienna*, on occaſion of a Progreſs as far as *Trieſte*, to take Homage of his Provinces of *Stiria*, *Carinthia* and *Cragno*; which was an Action much againſt the Counſel and Advice of the Arch-Duke *Leopold* his Uncle; who foreſaw how great diſorders would enſue by the Emperors abſence, in this Conjuncture, from his Imperial Court. Upon which Conſiderations, Count *Souches* ſent a true Liſt of all his Forces, with an account of the ſtrength of his Enemy; remonſtrating that it was impoſſible to convey Forces into *Varadin*, without hazarding a Battel with *Ali* Paſha, which would prove an abſolute Breach of the Peace; which in this Conjuncture, and want of Preparation, was neither honourable, nor ſafe for the Empire.

The difficulty of making War with the *Turks.*

Varadin beſieged.

In the mean time *Ali* Paſha proceeded and encamped with his Army before *Varadin*, breaking firſt Ground the 4th of *July*, 1660. and beginning a formal Siege, he ſoon begirt the Town, and continually labouring in making Trenches, Batteries and Approaches, they arrived in a few days to the Counterſcrap of the Wall. But the better to deſcribe the Siege and Aſſaults on this famous City, it will be neceſſary firſt to explain the Condition and Scituation of the place.

Varadin therefore is ſeated in a Plain, on the Banks of the River *Chryſe*; to the Eaſt it is environed with ſuch craggy and rough Mountains, as render it almoſt on that ſide unacceſſible; to the South the Town extended it ſelf moſt; to the North it is waſhed with the River, over which ſome ſmall, yet fruitful, Hills raiſe themſelves; it is encompaſſed with a Wall filled with Earth, after the faſhion of Modern Fortifications, and ſtrengthened with five main Bulwarks, and a very deep Ditch filled with the River Water: It was well provided both of Victuals and Ammunition, and armed with Ordnance both great and ſmall, as was ſufficient to have repulſed a puiſſant Enemy, & have ſuſtain'd a long & ſtrait Siege. But the Gariſon within conſiſted only of 850 Soldiers, an inconſiderable number, both in reſpect of the Circuit of the Fortreſs, & of that groſs Army which encompaſs'd it.

The Enemy being now, as it is ſaid before, under the Counterſcarp of the Wall, they perceived that the Ditch was ſo deep, and filled with Water, that though their great Guns had made open Breaches in the Walls, yet there was no poſſibility to ſtorm them, or bring the Soldiery to ſcaling Ladders, or handy blows. The beſieged alſo made ſuch continued Sallies, with ſucceſs and ſlaughter of the Enemy, that after Three and Twenty days of vain labour to ſew the Ditch, *Ali* Paſha was at length almoſt reſolved to have raiſed his Siege, and given over the Enterprize; upon which whilſt he conſidered and ruminated (as ill Fortune would have it) a certain Maid, which formerly had been a ſervant to the Governour of the Gariſon, then a Captive in the *Turkiſh* Camp, having obſerved how on occaſion the Citizens uſed to empty and drain the Ditch, revealed the ſecret to the *Turks*, hoping thereby not only to purchaſe her Liberty, but with that alſo a Sum of Money for price of her Treachery; ſo that diſcovering where another Ditch was to be opened, the courſe of the Water was ſoon diverted, and the Walls of the Town laid dry and open to the Aſſailants. As this happened without, ſo another accident within, equally dangerous, beſel the Beſieged; for one day an Officer of the Ammunition going into the Stores with a lighted Candle, by chance dropped a ſpark of fire from his Lanthorn into the Powder, which taking fire, blew up the Powder, Granadoes, Fire-works, and all other military Stores, with the neighbouring houſes, and above a hundred men; which loſs alone was ſufficient to have dejected the minds of frail men; yet they ſo valiantly bore up their courages, that they ſeemed not in the leaſt abated, but rather animated with the height of anger and deſpair. The *Turks* having now free acceſs to the Walls, undermined ſome ſmall Forts, which they blew up, and thereby made ſo great a Breach, that with facility hoping to gain the Town, if they made uſe of the occaſion, they poured in ſuch multitudes of People as the Beſieged were ſcarce able to withſtand; and the *Turkiſh* Soldiery being alſo weary of their ſufferings, and irkſomneſs of their tedious leagure, reſolved now or never to put an end to their labours; ſo that advancing with their open Breaſts to the top of the Battlements, without fear either of Cannon, or Musket-ſhot, they entered within the Walls, and planted the *Turkiſh* Banners on the Works; but being afterwards received by a reſolute Company of the Deſendants, they were again thrown from the Walls, and tumbled back into the Ditch with an incredible Slaughter. It is impoſſible here to deſcribe the anger, the courage, the deſpair which was apparent in the faces of the Beſieged, enflamed by the love of their own Country, and hatred of the *Turks*; ſo that three or four ſuſtained ſometimes the Aſſault of a Troop; and a ſmall number united, oppoſed a whole Sangiack of the Enemy. The Women alſo forgetting the imbecillity of their Sex, renewing in themſelves the Courage and Vigour of the Ancient Amazons, expoſed themſelves without fear upon the Walls, throwing ſcalding Water, Stones, burning Pitch, and whatſoever came next to hand, upon the Aſſailants; whom they ſo valiantly repulſed from the riſing of the Sun till twelve at Noon, that after much ſlaughter on both ſides, the *Turks* growing faint, retreated, and took breath a while within their Trenches. And now the Soldiery conſidering the Obſtinacy of the Chriſtians, began to mutiny, and reſolving not to caſt away their lives in vain, motioned to raiſe the Siege, and be gone; which when the General oppoſed, they threatned to ſacrifice his Life to the Ghoſts of their departed Brethren. But ſee, how many times the Devil ruines the fortune of the Chriſtians! for whilſt they were in this deliberation to depart, behold, a certain *Thracian* one of the Gariſon Soldiers, adviſ'd the *Turks* that there were not above Three hundred ſound Men remaining in the whole Gariſon, that they were now reduced to their ultimate *Criſis*; ſo that if they appear'd only before them and would but terrifie them with another aſſault, the Town was their own, without the leaſt doubt of Surrender. This advice retarded the haſty departure of the Camp; inſtead of which they again muſter'd themſelves before the Walls, and prepar'd to aſſault the Breach, reſolving to put all to a ſecond extremity. The Chriſtians within perceiving the reſolution of their Enemy, and being ſenſible how much they were infeebled by the laſt Convulſion, and loſs of blood, and as yet ſore of their wounds, immediately ſpread a white Flag of Treaty, which was as readily accepted by the *Turks*, and all Articles agreed on the 17*th*. of *Auguſt*, and on the 20*th*. the Gariſon marched freely out with Colours flying, and Drums beating, with liberty to go whereſoever they pleaſed, without hurt or injury; which Conditions were fully and faithfully performed and maintained.

Two ill accidents to the Gariſon.

A *Thracian* betrays the weakneſs of the Town.

Varadin ſurrendred.

Varadin being thus yielded, afforded matter of diſcourſe, of diſcontent, of fear, and apprehenſions at *Vienna*; ſome argued, That it was but common and natural Reaſon, when our Neighbours houſe is on fire, to look to our own; others blamed the ſlow and phlegmatick proceedings of the *German* Miniſters, who in ſuch urgent emergencies as theſe, could ſit as unconcerned, as Spectators at a Theatre, who regard nothing, which way the prize is carried; and in ſhort, the whole Chriſtian World ſtood Admirers of this ſottiſhneſs, eſteeming either thoſe Borderers aſtoniſhed and ſtruck into a ſtupid timidity, or moved by principles of Policy, which none beſides themſelves either underſtood, or penetrated. Only Count *Nicholas Serini*, a Prince who had a fair and Soveraign Inheritance in thoſe parts, Commander of *Croatia*, and the Confines under his *Ceſarean* Majeſty, a moſt mortal and inveterate Enemy of the *Turks*, could not endure their inſults, bravadoes and daily encroachments, but watching his occaſion of advantage, when *Caniſia* was almoſt deſtroyed by a dreadful fire, and thereby their Ammunition, and Proviſion for the moſt part conſumed, he gathered what Forces he could poſſible, and made uſe of the opportunity to lay Siege unto it, not doubting but in that Conjuncture, and miſerable Calamity of all things, to promote the Intereſt of his Maſter, and the common cauſe of *Chriſtendom*; which as ſoon as he had done, he wrote a Letter to the Emperor

Vienna troubled for the loſs of *Varadin*.

Count *Serini* deſigns againſt the *Turks*,

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peror, acquainting him that God had opened him a Gate and Path to his Intereſt, and to a juſt revenge of the *Ottoman* perfidiouſneſs: Who having violated their Faith, and the mutual Peace in taking *Varadin*, would be juſtly and glorioully recompenſed by the loſs of *Caniſia*; which being now, as it were by miracle, put into his hands, it were a neglect of the Divine Providence not to improve with advantage an opportunity ſo cheerful and ſo promiſing: to which, beſides other arguments, he added, That if his *Ceſarean* Majeſty ſhould not think fit to concur herein with aſſiſtance of his Imperial States, yet at leaſt he would be pleaſed not to interdict him from the Glory of that deſign, in which he queſtioned not but to ſucceed, and in a ſhort time to render not only to his Majeſty, but alſo to the whole Chriſtian World, proofs of his Valour, and a good account of his Enterprize. Howſoever, the Emperor's Council ſeriouſly conſidering that *Serini*'s State could not be engaged with the *Turk* without involving his Intereſt; and that the Princes of the Empire, though when aſſaulted, would willingly contribute their Forces in the defenſive part, yet would be backward to be the Aggreſſors, and engage their States in an offenſive and provoking War, did therefore not only deny to ſecond, or abet his deſigns with Military ſuccours, but poſitively commanded him to retire, and deſiſt from his reſolution againſt *Caniſia*; with which Anſwer, the Zeal and Spirit of *Serini* was ſo inflamed, that throwing in paſſion his Cemiter on the Ground, he raiſed his well-formed Seige, and retired to his proper Reſidence at *Chiacaturno*.

—is forbidden by the Emperor.

The *Tranſilvanians* conſult their ſafety.

They beg aſſiſtance of the Emperor.

Prince *Gonzaga*'s Letter to the Paſha of *Buda*.

The loſs alſo of *Varadin* moved the *Tranſilvanians* to conſult their ſafety in this extremity of their Affairs, which now amidſt theſe dangers and ſtorms which threatned them, appeared in a deſperate and languiſhing Condition, unleſs remedied by a deſperate Cure, and the reſolves of ſome wiſe and valiant Counſel. Wherefore in the firſt place, they concluded to depoſe *Acatius Barclay*, the Favourite of the *Turks*; and in his ſtead they conſtituted *John Chiminianus*, or *Kemenius*, the late General of *Ragotski*'s Army. In the next place, they made their Addreſſes and Applications to the Emperor for aſſiſtance, ſupplicating, as *Ragotski*, and thoſe of *Varadin* had done before, the powerful protection, and ſacred Patronage of the Imperial Eagles, alledging thoſe Arguments of common ſafety, and mutual intereſt, which apparent reaſon ſuggeſted, and which were the preſent Subject and Theme of all the Courts in *Chriſtendom*. To this Demand the Emperor aſſented, promiſing readily his aſſiſtance, but with Proviſo, that for his ſecurity, the Cities of *Zechelhid*, *Chowar*, *Julia*, and other places, ſhould receive Gariſons of *German* Soldiers. The *Tranſilvanians* willingly accepted the Propoſitions, ſo that ſoon after thoſe places were ſupplied with *German* Gariſons. But as yet no effectual Forces came from the Emperor, nay rather the *German* Councils ſeemed willing to perſwade the *Turks*, that there was no deſign, but to maintain the ancient, friendly and amicable Correſpondence; to which end it is ſaid confidently, that the Prince *Gonzaga*, wrote to the Paſha of *Buda*, That thoſe Gariſons ſent to poſſeſs certain places of *Tranſilvania*, were only in appearance, and not to create Diſſentions between the *Auſtrian* Court, and the *Ottoman* Prince; which Letters *Ali* Paſha ſent to the *Tranſilvanians*, with deſign, that diſcovering unto them an evident reaſon to diſtruſt the Emperor, they ſhould wholly reſign themſelves to the good will and diſpoſition of the Port. But notwithſtanding, theſe verbal aſſurances prevailed not ſo much with the *Turks* on one ſide, as the *German* Gariſons adminiſtred jealouſie on the other: So that the Vizier raged furiouſly againſt the Emperor, for encouraging *Kemenius*, who had treacherouſly murdered his two innocent Brothers in his Rebellion againſt *Barclay*, the only true and lawful Poſſeſſor. Nor did the *Turks* only vent their anger and diſdain in words, but alſo by the ſad and calamitous effects of War; paſſing without farther parly into the Emperors Dominions in *Hungary*, where they put all to fire and ſword. Count *Serini* perceiving evidently hereby that the War was broken forth, and that it was not longer time to ſtand at a gaze, and not make neceſſary Proviſions for defence; about the beginning of *June*, he laid the foundations of a Fortreſs on the Banks of the River *Muer*, within the Dominions of the *Turks*, about a League diſtant from *Caniſia*, and in memory of his Family and Name called it *Serinſwar*, a place convenient to aſſault, and offend the Enemy, and to fix the Bulwark, or Redoubt, of the Province of *Stiria*, which work was laid with that ſecreſie, and executed with ſuch expedition, that it was almoſt finiſhed before it was known, or notice taken thereof by the *Turks*; but ſo ſoon as it was diſcovered, and the News arrived at *Conſtantinople*, the old Vizier *Kuperlee* ſtormed with rage, and in his height of paſſion, ſigned a Command for ſtrangling the Paſha of *Caniſia*, for not timely preventing the Erection of that Fort in its beginning. In like manner this work was an occaſion of diſguſt at *Vienna*; for though the *Turks* were the firſt who had broken the Peace, and given juſt cauſe to the Chriſtians to provide all cautions imaginable for their ſafety; Yet I know not why, nor wherefore, there wanted not certain perſons in the Court either emulous of *Serini*'s Glory, or zealous of the Emperors Intereſt, who interpreted the activeneſs, and forward heat of this Count to be like fire to enflame the Fuel of Controverſie between the two Empires; yet certainly we cannot but meritoriouſly applaud the Heroick Spirit of this Prince, who was provident of his Countries ſafety, watchful of the Enemies Motion, ſoon touched with the ſenſe of the *Mahometan* infidelity, and in fine, a zealous Champion of the Chriſtian Cauſe. But now, with what Salve or Balſome ſoever the *Italian*, or *Spaniſh* Chirurgions of Politick Government, imagined to obduct a callous over the ſmarts of wounds of theſe differing States; the Breaches grew every day too wide to be drawn up, or cemented by artificial compliances, or verbal lenitives; for now the ſuccours promiſed by the Emperor were arrived in *Tranſilvania*, under the Command of Count *Montecuculi*, and joining with the Forces of *Kemenius*, formed ſuch a numerous, and well compoſed Army, as was judged not only ſufficient to contend for the intereſt of the Chriſtian Cauſe, but alſo for the entire deciſion of the Worlds Dominion: So that both Generals with an unanimous conſent, confident of Victory, agreed, not to expect the approach of *Ali* Paſha, but boldly to meet and provoke him to Battel.

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Count *Serini* builds a Fortreſs on the *Turks* Dominions. 1661.

The juſt commendation of Count *Serini*.

The Emperor ſends Forces to *Tranſilvania*.

Ali the *Turkiſh* General perceiving the ſtrength and reſolution of the Chriſtians, thought it prudence for a while to detract from Engagement, and temper the uſual mettle of the *Ottoman* fury with cooler Counſels of advantage, which delays and opportunities of time would adminiſter: for obſerving that the *Tranſilvanians* were divided into Factions, he humoured the diſſenting party, by conſtituting *Michael Apaſi* their Prince; a perſon in the flower and ſtrength of his Age, of great parts and abilities; and one who violently

The *Turks* Policy.

affected

1661. affected the Principality, having but lately purchaſed his freedom from ſlavery. In this manner *Apaſi* paſſing from his Priſon and Chains, to the glory and trouble of a Throne; poor *Tranſilvania* remained divided, and taking Arms againſt her ſelf, went daily working and contriving her own ruine. This hath always been the Maſter-piece of the *Turkiſh* Policy, and this diſunion amongſt Chriſtians hath availed the *Ottoman* Intereſt more than their Swords, and confirmed their obſtinacy in Religion with a Miracle, as if the diviſion of Chriſtian Princes (which in late Ages have fruſtrated the holy deſigns againſt this common Enemy) had been an effect of their Prayers, and a Conceſſion of Divine Providence to their daily Petitions. So now the *Tranſilvanians* being divided, great numbers of them revolted from *Kemenius* to *Apaſi*, which not only weakned, but diſcouraged the Chriſtian Army with fear and confuſion; amidſt of which, *Ali* Paſha took his time to aſſault them, not far from *Cladiopolis*; and being aſſiſted by the advantagious conjuncture of the preſent opportunity, ſo wholly diſcomfited them, that he killed and took 50000 perſons, which was the Iſſue of the preſent union, and the excluſion of *Kemenius*, who was now forced to abandon *Tranſilvania*, and ſeek his refuge in *Hungary*.

Kemenius routed.

Howſoever *Kemenius* could not here reſt ſatisfied, but revolving in his mind certain ways to recover his Principality, obtained from *Montecuculi* ſome *German* Troops; with which, and with his own ſcattered Forces, which at length he had collected into a Body, he reſolved to try his Fortune once more with the *Turks*; and joining Battel with them, not far from *Presburg*, he fought with a reſolution becoming the deſperateneſs of his deſign; either that day to Die, or to Triumph. The Fortune of that days conflict remained a long time doubtful; ſo equal they ſeemed on both ſides to be in their Courage, in their Force, and in their Conduct, until at length the advantage of the *Turks* number prevailing, *Kemenius* was forced to a diſorderly retreat, and afterwards to a confuſed flight; in which, being by one of his own Soldiers knocked from his Horſe was trampled under foot, & the greateſt part of his People remain'd a Sacrifice to the enraged Weapons of the *Turks*.

Kemenius a ſecond put time to flight

Apaſi's party being greatly encouraged with this ſucceſs, joining with a body of the *Turks*, laid Siege to *Claudiopolis*, the Court of the *Tranſilvanian* Princes, now Gariſoned by *German* Soldiers, and Governed by *David Retani*, a right valiant and truſty Soldier, who omitting nothing which might conduce to the defence and maintenance of the Town, either by his care or valour, made many ſucceſsful Sallies upon the Enemy, and tired and wearied them out in their Siege; until at length General *Schenidau* then in *Hungary*, gathering what force he could, which were not above 6000 Men, marched with all haſte poſſible to the relief of *Claudiopolis*; the report of whoſe approach arriving the *Turkiſh* Camp before his Perſon, or Army, and the common rumour and fear augmenting much their number; the *Turks* were ſo terrifyed hereat, that in haſte and diſorder they forſook their Siege after three Months continuance; leaving great quantities of Victuals behind for want of Carriages, and Beaſts of burden. *Schenidau* having gained this ſucceſs and honour with ſo much facility, he reinforced the Gariſon, and returned with Triumph home; carrying with him great Booties of Cattle and other ſpoils of the Enemy. The defence of this place was accounted almoſt miraculous; for beſides that the Fortifications were after the Ancient Model, it was unprovided of Cannon and other warlike Ammunition; and therefore we are not to paſs by the Governour *Retani* without due Commendations; whoſe valiant and generous ſpirit, with courage equal to his diligence, knew how to fortify and to defend his Walls; For out of the Town Bells he founded his Artillery; he daily wearied the Enemy with Sallies, ſurpriſed one of their Batteries, which moſt annoyed the City; compoſed the Mutinies of the Citizens within; and in ſhort, againſt the Opinion of all, he defended and maintained it in the poſſeſſion and right of the Emperor.

Claudiopolis beſieged.

The Siege raiſed.

Claudiopolis being thus relieved, the *Turks* ſtomached inwardly the diſgrace, and yet thought it prudence for the preſent to diſſemble; and therefore upon ſome addreſſes made for Peace from *Tranſilvania*, and certain Propoſitions tendered by the *German* Reſident; the Vizier counterfeited his inclinations thereunto ſo far, that he prohibited all farther Acts of Hoſtility upon the Frontiers.

Notwithſtanding which, the rumour at this time running, of a Combination of all Chriſtendom againſt the *Turk*, with Men or Money, forwarded by the endeavours of the Pope, and the contrivances of *Venice*, encreaſed the former jealouſy, and cauſed the Skirmiſhes on the Frontiers to be more hot and frequent: And the Vizier being froward and cholerick, and by nature jealous; matters had immediately proceeded to an open rupture, had not the *German* Reſident, by his Moderation and Prudence, repreſented affairs iu the ſmootheſt guiſe of Peace, and delayed the War rather than compoſed it; ſo that this whole Summer was ſpent in diſputes, meſſages, and debates on both ſides.

The *Turks* jealouſy.

The Vizier deſigning this War in his Eye, and deſirous to comply with the vagrant humour of his Maſter, who was weary of his *Seraglio* at *Conſtantinople*, reſolved to transfer the *Turkiſh* Court to *Adrianople*, ſo that toward the end of *June* they entered their Tents without the City. But before they could diſpoſe their affairs for to depart, the Plague, which is the Epidemical Diſeaſe of this Country, and the common diſtemper of the Summer Seaſon, began to break forth and diffuſe it ſelf through all parts of the City; that in a ſhort time the Keys of many Houſes were brought to the Grand Signior for want of Pretenders and Heirs ſurviving to poſſeſs them: In greater Houſes of Paſha's and others, where have been a Hundred and fifty perſons, ſcarce five have remained alive for burial of the others; what the fury of that Mortality might be, was beſt conjectured by the daily account was kept of the Corps carried out of the City, by the Gate only of *Adrianople*, which for ſome Weeks amounted (I ſpeak moderately) to Twelve or thirteen hundred a Day; it being obſerved amongſt the *Turks*, when above a Thouſand in a Day are carried forth Dead by that Gate, that then Prayers are to be made to Almighty God to withdraw that heavy judgment. At which time the *Greek* and *Armenian* Patriarchs are likewiſe deſired to offer up their Devotions, and intercede with God for mitigation of the Peſtilence; and the ſame Day in a Field called *Okmaidan*, do all aſſemble, though divided apart, to pray againſt the common Calamity, it not ſeeming vain to them, that every one ſhould call upon his God. Nor did the Plague rage only in the City, but the Ships and *Turks* Saykes were infected in parts remote on the Black Sea, and the *Propontis*, ſo that above a Hundred Sail were reported to be lodged at ſeveral Ports for want of Seamen to navigate them home. The Camp alſo where the Grand Signior, and Vizier remained, was not exempted from this common

The *Turkiſh* Court removes to *Adrianople*.

A great Plague at *Conſtantinople*.

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Contagion, for the neceſſary intercourſe between that and the City communicated the evil equal unto both, ſtrowing the ways with dead Bodies, in that manner as repreſented a paſſage conducting to a Cœmetery, or Charnel-houſe, rather than to a Martial Camp or Court of a Great Emperor. This mortality haſtned the Grand Signior with his Army and Attendances into a better Air, the Vizier was to follow a few days after, but before his departure he ſetled and conſtituted his Son *Chimacam*, or Governour of *Conſtantinople*. Things in this confuſion and haſte not being well provided for, the Grand Signiors reception at *Adrianople* cauſed him to prolong his Journey by taking a compaſs round by the Caſtles at the mouth of the *Helleſpont*, and from thence went to *Dimotochum*, where having lingered out eight or ten days more, he made a ſolemn entrance into *Adrianople*, which will for ſome years following be diſcourſed in this Hiſtory as the Seat of the *Ottoman* Empire.

The G. Viziers juſtice towards our Ambaſſador.

The time of this great Mortality was no ſeaſon for us to move in buſineſs or action, we and all other Chriſtians avoiding common converſation, every one conſulting his particular ſafety. Howſoever two buſineſſes brought our Lord Ambaſſador to Town from his Country Retirement. One was to obtain juſtice from the Vizier, on two miſcreant *Turks* who had committed a Robbery on his Page and Steward, as they were drinking at a Fountain near a place called *Bauchaſarai*, a Village inhabited by *Greeks*; the Steward by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe eſcaped, but the Page being ſickly and weak fell into their hands, and was grievouſly wounded by them. Complaints hereof being made to the Grand Vizier, he ſeemed much concerned at the evil treatment of the Ambaſſadors ſervants; and therefore ſent the Nayp of the Kadi of *Galata* to take notice, and write down the Wounds which the Page had received; and at the ſame time diſpatched Officers into all parts adjacent, to take the Thieves, and to examine, and torment the people in places where it might be ſuſpected only that they were harboured, and that nothing ſhould be neglected in order to this diſcovery. It is incredible with what diligence, ſeverity, and violence this command was executed, the people in the Villages where they had lodged or been, or but paſſed through, were all ſeized; and the men examined under the Cudgel, with Drubs on their feet; the men, women, and children of *Bauche-ſarai* were carried, and ſome of them in Chains, to our Ambaſſadors Houſe at *Pera*; and all the Countries round were ſo ill treated, that their common ſafety was concerned in the taking of theſe Thieves, and the allarum was by this time ſo far ſpread, that it was more preſſing and urgent than our *Hue-and-Cry*; in ſhort, one of the Thieves was taken; and he diſcovered the abode of his Companion, and both were brought to our Ambaſſadors Houſe, and there put into the Stocks, laden with Chains, and guarded by the *Turkiſh* Officers. The next day they were carried before the *Stambol-Efendi*, or Recorder of *Conſtantinople*, they confeſſed the fact, and Hoget or Sentence paſſed upon them, which by Law could reach no farther than to the Gallies; but being brought before the Vizier, he had a mind to ſtretch the Law, and their necks to a farther extent, and ſo without other demur calling the Hang-man, ordered him to put Ropes about their necks, and to carry them to the Lord Ambaſſador, following his directions for their execution, and ſo accordingly one was hanged by the Fountain, and the other on a Tree at the entrance into the Village of *Bauche-ſarai*. This Exemplary juſtice raiſed the reverence, and fear of the Country-people towards our Ambaſſador unto that degree, that during the time of the Earl of *Winchilſea*, nothing of this nature ever paſſed again, but on the contrary, the Paiſants, and the people in the Countries round, honoured and feared him like one of their Paſha's, or great men.

The other buſineſs was of a different nature relating to the Emin, or Cuſtomer of *Aleppo*, who being diſmiſſed of his Employment was now come to *Conſtantinople*; before his departure from *Aleppo*, he had demanded of our Merchants there 16000 Dollars for Arrears of Cuſtom due to him, on Silk and other Goods; his pretence was falſe and unjuſt, howſoever it being uſual for *Turks* upon every demand to gain an advantage, the matter was compounded with the Sum of 2500 Dollars, and ſo the Cuſtomer departed with an appearance of perfect ſatisfaction; notwithſtanding which coming to *Conſtantinople* he renewed his pretenſions again, and by the favour of the *Reis-Efendi* or Secretary of State, ſo proceeded in his buſineſs, that the Lord Ambaſſador was forced to make a ſecond compoſition with 2000 Dollars.

The Grand Signior and Vizier, as we ſaid before, being now at *Adrianople*, the Viziers Deputy, called by the name of the *Caimacam*, governed *Conſtantinople*, to whom our Ambaſſador, according to cuſtom made a viſit, preſenting him with eight Veſts.

Likewiſe in abſence of the Vizier, it being uſual for the Ambaſſador to make a Viſit to the *Boſtangee-Baſhee*, or Head of the Gardiners; his Excellency paſſed that Complement on him, and preſented him with four Veſts. This perſon though entitled Head-Gardiner, is yet of great power, making a conſiderable figure at Court; for he not only commands all the Gardiners belonging to the many *Seraglio's* of the Grand Signior, which are very conſiderable in number, but his Juriſdiction reaches all along the *Boſphorus*, and commands the Villages, Woods and Countries at a far diſtance, ſo that he may in *Engliſh* be compar'd to the chief Ranger.

Kuperlee ſends for his Son.

It was now towards the Winter, when this Vizier *Kuperlee*, finding himſelf mature with Age, and ready to fall like Autumn Fruit, ſent for his Son from *Conſtantinople* to bear a ſhare with him in the Burden of the Empire. This he did with the conſent of the Grand Signior, for he alledged, that being now feeble and decayed, he could not make his perſonal Addreſſes as formerly, nor attend at the Court to render his Majeſty an account of his Affairs; and therefore had need of ſo truſty a Meſſenger as his Son, to carry his advices and directions, and faithfully to communicate what he ſhould encharge to his Relation; all others being on ſome conſideration or other ſuſpected, and at leaſt Enemies to him, or to the Grand Signior. The Sultan accepting the propoſition and the Perſon, had often occaſions of diſcourſe and familiarity with the Son, called *Ahmet*, who deported himſelf with that faith and prudence in the management of all his Affairs, that the old Vizier had no great difficulty to procure a Grant of ſucceſſion for him in that Office: For though there were many obſtacles therein, as the abhorrency of the *Turkiſh* Policy from all hereditary ſucceſſion in places of truſt; and the Youth of his Perſon, not exceeding thirty two years of Age, and ſome emulous, powerful, and ancient Competitors, who hated the Father; Yet the old Fox had ſo ingratiated himſelf with his Maſter, for (to ſpeak truly) he had been the only inſtrument that had preſerved him and his

Procures Succeſſion for his Son.

Empire

Procures the Succeſſion for his Son.

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Rules given to the Grand Signior.

1. Never to give Ear to the Counſels and Advices of Women.
2. To amaſs what Treaſure he could poſſible into his Coffers, though with Oppreſſion, and impoveriſhment of his People.
3. To be continually on Horſe-back, and keep his Armies in conſtant Action.

Kuperlee dies.

On the 19*th* of *October*, *Kuperlee* having ended his days, whoſe Diſeaſe was Old Age, and a Gangrene in his Legs, his Son by Hatteſheriff, or the Grand Signior's Patent under his hand, taking the Seal, was conſtituted Vizier in the place of his Father, to the admiration and diſappointment of the graver Seniors, who were diſcontented, not only to perceive themſelves neglected, but that perſon alſo to ſupplant them, who was judged uncapable of the Office, according to the Canon, and ancient Precedents of this Government.

The Body of *Kuperlee* was tranſported to *Conſtantinople*, where in his life time he had erected a very ſtately and magnificent Structure, and his Monument over the Grave, or Vault, where he deſigned to be interred. In his life time he had filled it with Corn, which daily was diſtributed to the poor, and being emptied after his death, received his Corps, over which a ſmall Moſch was endowed with Oyl for Lamps, and maintenance of certain Taliſmans and Softaes, to make Prayers and Offerings for his Soul.

Paſha of *Magnaſia* cut off.

The Father being thus interred, *Ahmet* his Son began to contrive his own eſtabliſhment, and to ſettle his Greatneſs on the foundation of his Fathers Rules of Policy, from whom not to degenerate in cruelty of Nature, or leave his Legacies unpaid to thoſe he had proſcribed, he in the firſt place ſacrificed the Blood of the Paſha of *Magnaſia* to his Fathers Ghoſt, with ſome other petty attendences; ſo that the World perceived that they had changed the Vizier, but not his tyranny, or at leaſt the ſame ſpirit of the Father ſeemed to be renewed, tranſmitted again into the Perſon of the Son. But more difficult it was to obtain the like ſucceſs againſt *Mortaza*, the Paſha of *Babylon*, and the *Kayab-begh*, or Lieutenant General of the Janiſaries, who were long before (as we have ſaid) marked out for deſtruction by his Father. For the firſt was the moſt powerful Paſha of all *Aſia*, vigilant, and active, and had done and merited great rewards from his Maſter, and particularly in decoying, and cutting off the Head of the Grand Rebel *Aſan* Paſha, who dared the Sultan at the Gates of his Seraglio; but underſtanding the ill will of the Houſe of *Kuperlee* againſt him, ſtood always on his Guard, lodging without the Wall of the City, and under the protection of his Arms and Souldiers, who were greatly affected to the generoſity of his Perſon; ſo that, though many attempts were made upon him, and that Officers, or Executioners came from the Court, openly tendring from the Sultan the Preſent of a Sword, and Veſt of Sables, the uſual Signals of the *Ottomon* Grace, but privately bringing a Bowſtring, or a Halter; yet they were all entertained at a diſtance, and returned again with the ſame diſſimulation they had uſed in their feigned Addreſſes. In like manner the *Kayab-begh*, an ancient, prudent, and experienced Commander, beloved by the Soldiery, and ſecured by the Priviledge of his Office, (for a *Kayab-begh* cannot be cut off during his Command, without infringement of the honour and order of the Janiſaries) preſerved ſtill his Station, and Command in deſpight of the Viziers hate and endeavours. But what could not be done by meer virtue of the abſolute Power, was effected under the appearance of honour and favour of the Sultan, who by his Royal Commiſſion, having made him Paſha of *Damaſcus*, he was at the ſame inſtant deprived of his Military Power and Priviledge, and lay now naked and expoſed to the Arbitrary Pleaſure and will of his Adverſary. Nor could his prayers or tears incline the Grand Signiors mind to reverſe his Order, who, together with the Vizier, rather inforced it with the ſpecious pretext of Favour and Grace for his former merits, and with commendation of his Abilities agreeable to the importance of ſo conſiderable a Government, encreaſed the juſt ſuſpicion of *Solyman*, (for ſo the *Kayab-begh* was called) not being ignorant of the *Turkiſh* Proverb, A *Kayab-begh* is like a Fiſh in the Water, which out of its Element immediately dies. Howſoever, *ut finis omnium cum dominante, grates agit*, he acknowledges the favour of his Maſter, and gave thanks for it, according to the Duty of a good Subject, who ought to acquieſce in the ſentence of his Prince, which, though never ſo full of ſeverity, ought to be believed, and called Clemency. The Vizier now haſted *Solyman* Paſha to depart with all expedition, not allowing him above Four or Five days time to make preparation for ſo long a Journey, which otherwiſe he would have prolonged, as one, like the reſt of Mankind, deſirous to protract the thread of Life, imagining that in his journey, at ſome diſtance, where his Death might be moſt obſcure, and leaſt noted, the Edict of the Grand Signior might overtake him, and find a Grave for him in ſome ſolitary Deſert, or unfrequented Mountain. Wherefore he made one Day an Addreſs to the Vizier, under pretence of taking his laſt farewel, and freely acquainted him with his apprehenſion and his

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Solyman Paſha in diſgrace.

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fears, deſiring that he would deal as frankly with him, in letting him know the utmoſt of his Fate, for that now he was in his hand, and was ſo good a Proficient in the *Mahometan* Religion, as to oppoſe nothing which was his Deſtiny, or inconſiſtent with the Decree of the Sultan. The Vizier reverencing the Years, and pitying the Condition of ſo worthy a Commander, abaſed ſolely by his Power, bid him be of good cheer, aſſuring him of his Life, ſo long as he acted nothing contrary unto his, which he confirmed by Vows, and all imaginable Proteſtations, encouraging him to proceed forward to his Government with thoſe cheerful Words and Aſſurances, that *Solyman* Paſha taking his farewel with more eaſe of mind, and confidence of Life, departed *Adrianople* in three days after his deſignment to the new Office: But not many days journey had he advanced into *Aſia*, before the Grand Signiors and Viziers Commands overtook him, altering his deſign for *Damaſcus*, and inſtead thereof ordered him a Pilgrimage unto *Mecha*, and exile into the remote and deſert parts of *Arabia*, until he ſhould be thought worthy to be recalled by that power which baniſhed him. In like manner ſome few days after, the Mufti being on a *Friday* ſeated in his place, in the Moſch of Sultan *Selim* (a very noble and famous Fabrick) and attending there the Grand Signiors entrance, that he might begin his Prayers, was unexpectedly whiſpered in the Ear, that he ſhould retire and give place to another Mufti; which immediately he obeyed, and in four hours departed *Adrianople*, being baniſhed to *Gallipoli*, for his Friendſhip (as was ſuppoſed) to *Solyman* Paſha, and for not paſſing the *Fetfa* for his Death, according to the will and deſire of the Grand Signior.

He is ſent away.

During the Tranſaction of theſe affairs in divers parts, the Wars againſt the *Venetians* were carried on faintly; the Gallies had no other deſign, or employment, than to tranſport recruits of Men and Ammunition to *Canea*, that ſo the *Turks* might rather keep the ground that they had gained in that Iſland, than add thereunto by new Conqueſts, until ſuch time as that being freed from other Wars, they might have leiſure and opportunity to attend unto that alone. Accordingly the Captain Paſha ſet forth at the uſual Seaſon from *Conſtantinople*; and arrived at *Scio* with twenty three Gallies, beſides his own called the *Baſtard-Gally*, or Admiral; the advice of which, coming to the Captain-General of the *Venetians*, he haſtned thither with all his Fleet to beſiege him in the Port: but this ſeeming after ſome days a tedious work, and what might loſe too much time; he reſolved to depart from thence, and ſo leaving a ſufficient Guard before the Port, he ſet Sail with two Galleaſſes, thirteen light Gallies, and ſeven Auxiliaries for the Coaſt of *Rhodes*; where his Brigantines adviſed, that the remainder of the *Turkiſh* Fleet were Anchored, and were taking aboard two thouſand Soldiers for reinforcing *Canea*; but before the *Venetians* could arrive, intelligence was given them by the way, that the *Turks* were looſed from *Rhodes*, and were Anchored under the Iſland of *Patmos*; wherefore altering their courſe, they ſteered for *Nio*, and there watering their Veſſels, ſailed near to *Nixia*, where the Van-guard diſcovered five and thirty Gallies of the Enemy, which had made prize of a Tartana laden with Proviſions deſigned for the *Venetian* Fleet, and having taken out her lading, had ſet her on fire. The *Venetians* having their Enemy in their Eye, gave them chaſe until the Evening, when the Night coming on, put an end to the purſuit: but keeping their courſe towards *Candia*, they had ſight again of them the next Morning, and coming nearer, the *Turkiſh* Admiral put forth his Flag of Defiance, as if he intended to come to a Battel; but the Wind blowing hard, and the Sea increaſing, both Fleets were ſeparated until the Morning; when the *Venetians* diſcovered certain of the Enemies Gallies to Leeward of *Milo*, where bearing down before the Wind upon them, five of them ran aſhore; one was ſunk, and four were taken by the *Venetian* and *Malteſe* Gallies, three of which fighting with great Courage and Valour, killed divers brave Cavaliers of one and the other Country. The men which ran the Gallies aſhore at *Milo*, did it with deſign to ſecure themſelves in that ſmall Fort which the *Turks* poſſeſſed in that Iſland; but they were not able to withſtand the valour of the *Venetians*, who having firſt recovered the Cannon of the Gallies which were ran aſhore, with their rigging, and what elſe was uſeful, they ſet the Hulls on Fire; and immediately entering the Port, the Captain-General landed two hundred ſelect men, and veterane Soldiers to beſiege the Fortreſs, giving Orders to one *Manolacchi Macchiotti*, who was well acquainted with the *Turkiſh* Language, to ſummon them to a Treaty, the which they readily accepted, and were received to quarter at diſcretion of the General; the next Morning they were brought down to the Sea-Coaſt to the number of about nine hundred, amongſt which there was a Janizar-Aga, a Bey of *Rhodes*, and three of *Conſtantinople*, beſides Captains, and other perſons of condition and quality. Theſe Priſoners being divided into ſeveral Gallies and Ships, the *Venetians* departed, and cruiſing about the Coaſt of *Candia*, to hinder the importation of all ſuccours, they encountered with *Antonio Priuli*, with a good Squadron of Veſſels under his Command.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS.

The Second BOOK.

Anno Chriſti, 1662. *Hegeira*, 1073.

AT the beginning of this Year the People of *Algier* ſent Meſſengers and Preſents to the Grand Signiors Court, then at *Adrianople*, complaining againſt the Actions His Majeſties Fleet, under the Command of the Easl of *Sandwich*, had done againſt their Town and Caſtles, pretending thoſe Forts to be the Grand Signiors, and the Affront offered to him, as willing to intereſt him in thier Quarrels and Piracies. And that thier Addreſſes might be more graciouſly received, they brought with them certain Preſents, which tho in former times were Yearly, were now only as their Affairs required, and on this occaſion were doubled: for beſides their Preſents to the Miniſters and Officers of State; they brought to the Grand Signior a Ship made in Silver, beſet with Emrods, Rubies, and other Stones; fourteen young and hanſom Boys, and a Neger Eunuch for the *Seraglio*. But the Earl of *Winchelſea*, His Majeſties Embaſſador there Reſident, being then at Court, had ſo well prepoſſeſſed the Vizier with the Ground and Reaſons for the War, that the complaints of *Algier* were judged in no wiſe touching the *Ottoman* Intereſt, or the breach of Peace, any Impeachment of the good Correſpondence and Friendſhip which then intervened between the King of *England* and the Grand Signior. But their Preſumption to ſearch *Engliſh* Ships, and take out Strangers Goods, was objected as an Argument of their Diſobedience and Rebellion, contrary to the Grand Signiors Capitulations, which alſo was aggravated by their ill Treatment of the Grand Signiors Paſha, whom they had beaten, impriſoned, and caſt out of all Power and Authority; which ſevere Reprehenſions ſo terrified and diſcouraged them, that they not only deſiſted from their Pretenſions againſt the *Engliſh*, but began to fear, leſt the Power and Intereſt of the Ambaſſador at Court, ſhould contrive ſome miſchief to their own Perſons.

The Gr. Signior perſwaded to return to *Conſtantinople*.

Soon after this the Vizier eſteeming it neceſſary towards his better eſtabliſhment to gratifie the City of *Conſtantinople*, and the Grandees of the Empire, by the Grand Signiors return to his Imperial Seat, prevailed with him, (as a matter wholly neceſſary) to adorn and comfort that place by his Preſence; for now he began to declare a kind of abhorrency to it, in regard the memory of thoſe Rebellions which were nouriſhed in that place, to the Deſtruction of his Father, and to the great hazard and narrow eſcape afterwards of himſelf, had taken that Impreſſion on his Fancy, that the Chamber of the Seraglio appeared melancholly and diſmal, and the Walks of his Garden ſolitary, and the noiſe of the Rooks and Daws amongſt his Trees, were like the croakings of Ravens or unlucky Birds. Howſoever the Vizier had ſo far entered into his Affection and Eſteem, that his Perſwaſions were ſtronger than his own abſolute Dominion; and prevailed ſo with him againſt the force of his own Fancy, that about the Equinoctial he began his Journey

towards

The Gr. Signiors extravagant Hunting.

towards *Conſtantinople*, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of his People: But by the way lingring out his time in Hunting and other Paſtimes of the Woods and Fields; it was the 30*th* of *March* before he made his Entry, for never was Prince ſo great a *Nimrod*, ſo unwearied a Huntſman as this; never was he at quiet, but continually in the Fields on Horſeback, riſing ſometimes at Midnight, to ride up the Mountains, that he might more early diſcover the Sun in the Morning; by which extravagant courſe of Life, he wearied out his Court and Attendants, who began to believe the amorous humour of the Father more ſupportable, than the wandring Vagaries, and reſtleſs Spirit of the Son. But not only were his Huntings tedious to his Court, but troubleſome and expenſive to the whole Country, which were all ſummoned in whereſoever he came, and ſometimes thirty or forty thouſand men appointed to beat the Woods for three or four days, carrying before them the compaſs of a days Journey about, incloſing all the Game and wild Beaſts within that Circuit, which on the day of the Hunt, the Grand Signior kills and deſtroys with Dogs, Guns, or any other way, with abundance of noiſe and confuſion; which Paſtime, tho lawful in it ſelf, and commendable enough in ſo great a Prince, yet the frequent uſe of it, was a burden and an oppreſſion to his People, whilſt in the Winter they paſſed many cold Nights in the Woods, and being unuſed to that hardſhip, many of them paid for their Emperors Paſtime with their own lives.

The Vizier endeavours to eſtabliſh himſelf.

The Grand Signior being now at *Conſtantinople*, the Vizier judged not himſelf ſo well fixed in his Government, but that through the Malice of his powerful Enemies, who were familiar to the Grand Signiors Ear, he was then in danger to be ſhaken; the principal of which was *Kuzlir Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women of the *Seraglio*, who by means of the Valede, or Queen Mother, was ill-affected to him, being both inclined to prefer ſome Favourites of their own, for the Diminution and Eclipſe of the Viziers Power, one whereof was the *Tefterdar* Paſha, or Lord Treaſurer, placed in Office againſt the Viziers Approbation, which the Vizier underſtanding, made ſhort Work with him, depriving him of his Office, commanded him in a few hours to quit *Conſtantinople.*

But the Queen Mother, and *Kuzlir Aga* reſenting this Affront to their Favourite, reſolved to even ſcores in a piece of the like Nature: Wherefore they obtained for the Viziers *Kahya*, or Steward, the Paſhalick of *Darbiquier*, a rich and honourable Government, not for any diſaffection or hatred they had unto him, but only to deprive the Vizier of the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of ſo knowing and faithful a Servant; for he was a Perſon, who by his own Eſtate and Friends had raiſed the Houſe of *Kuperlee*, having in the time of his Poverty and Meanneſs lent him that Sum of Money, which gave him the firſt Riſe to his Richeſs and Authority; for Recompence and Intereſt of which, old *Kuperlee* made him his Steward, and ſhared to him his Honours and Proſperity; in which deporting himſelf towards all People with the ſame modeſty and evenneſs of Temper which he uſed in his former Condition, he procured no Enemies to his own Perſon, and ſuch as hated the Intereſt he ſerved, only wiſhing him diſobliged from it, ſo as to be able to diſpenſe their Malice on the Vizier, without concerning him in his Maſters ruin. This conſideration moved the angry Lady, and the envious Eunuch to vex their Adverſary by the removal of his moſt faithful Creature and Servant.

A notable Robbery.

Mahomet Kahya now Paſha of *Darbiquier*, after a reaſonable and convenient time allowed him for his Preparations, being very rich, ſet forward towards his Goverment, with a very noble and numerous Retinue, having amongſt the reſt five hundred Perſons young, well mounted, and well armed; which notwithſtanding were not ſo ſtrong, but before they were advanced many days Journey into *Aſia*, were encountred by a greater force of bold and deſperate Robbers, who engaging with him, killed two hundred of his People on the place, rifled his Baggage, and conſtrained the Paſha himſelf to fly to the next City. This ſtrange and audacious Robbery produced many Commands and Orders for Seizure and Suppreſſion of Theives in the leſſer *Aſia*. And becauſe the cuſtom is, that ſomething muſt be done in Compliance with the Imperial Commands, many poor innocent Men were taken in the Fields and Mountains, and perhaps without any other Crime againſt them, than that they were not maſters of a thouſand Aſpers to bribe the Officers, were for want thereof ſent as Thieves to the Port, where without further Conviction or Tryal they were executed.

The Queen Mothers Enmity to the Vizier.

The Vizier being thus weakned by the removal of his faithfulleſt Friend, his Condition was given over as deſperate by the generality of the World, and ſeveral appearances of Troubles ariſing from the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* parts, gave occaſion to the Queen Mother, and her Party, to diſparage his Abilities in the eſteem of the Sultan: Wherefore they exhorted him to imitate the Example of his Renowned Predeceſſors, who made uſe of their Viziers only to eaſe them from the troubleſom part of their Government, but did not entirely throw off the Knowledg and Privity of the important Tranſactions and State Affairs in the whole Empire. This Leſſon awakened the Grand Signior a little, ſo that he declined ſome days his Sports abroad, and Exerciſe on Horſe-back, and inſtead thereof paſſed much of his time in a *Chiosk*, or Garden-houſe on the Wall of the *Seraglio*, juſt oppoſite to the Viziers Gate, where his chief Buſineſs and Concernment was to obſerve ſuch as went in, or came out; and when at any time he eſpied thoſe enter, remarkable for their Attendance, or difference of Habit, he would ſend to know of the Vizier, what occaſion drew thoſe People thither, what their Buſineſs was, and the like, by which he gave himſelf that Satisfaction as to believe that he had now found the true way of inſpecting his Affairs, and taking care of his Empire. The Vizier was not inſenſible from whence this humour of the Gr. Signior proceeded, nor ignorant what ill Conſequences ſuch petty matters might produce; wherefore he reſolved, if poſſible, to reconcile the favour and good will of the *Valede*, or Queen Mother, but all his Addreſſes (it ſeems) were returned fruitleſs; ſo difficult was it to appeaſe the Malice of a feminine Spirit; and this malice She ſo ill concealed, that it was often ſaid by *Turks* of Quality and Judgment, That the Great Viziers Mother, who entertained a Familiarity with Spirits, as they believed, had by their Enchantments procured the Office of Vizier for her Husband and Son ſucceſſively, and prevailed ſtill to preſerve her Son in the favour of his Maſter, yet could not by force of Magick get Power or Dominion over the *Valede*; No Spells, it ſeems, had virtue enough to qualifie the Spirit of that angry *Juno*. Some hereupon judged, that the Vizier

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might have thoughts to make Reſignation of his Office, and to content himſelf with ſome Paſhalick of a higher and more eminent Degree; but Apprehenſions and Jealouſies of their Dangers, and his own natural Ambition, ſoon ſtifled thoſe Conſiderations, reſolving to continue his Charge in Oppoſition to all the Difficulties and Dangers he might encounter. And perhaps he gave himſelf the ſame Counſel which the *Vitellian* Soldiers did to their General. *Nihil atrocius eventurum, quam in quod ſponte ruant, moriendum victis, moriendum deditis; id ſolum referre, noviſſimum Spiritum, per ludibrium & contumelias effundant, an per Virtutem.* Men who muſt dye, whether they yield or are conquered by force, have the ſame Fate; all the difference is, that the one dies with Valour and Reputation, the other with Reproach and Cowardice. But to execute this ſtout Counſel with Prudence and Wiſdom, he conceived it neceſſary, if poſſible, to reconcile the ſincere Friendſhip of *Samozade*, the *Reis Effendi*, or Chief Secretary of State, a Perſon the beſt practiſed of any, in the Affairs and Nogotiations of the *Ottoman* Empire, and one much in the Eſteem and Favour of the Queen Mother, and in order thereunto treats him with more Familiarity and Condeſcenſion than was ordinary, or by many judged agreeable to the Greatneſs of a Grand Vizier; for always when he came into his Preſence, he aroſe up, calling him ſecretly Father, Tutor and Companion, in ſupporting the Burden of the weighty Government, and ſuch other Compellations, as the Grand Signior vouchſafed only to the Vizier: for tho this *Reis Effendi* was of the greateſt Abilities, and this preſent Vizier the moſt youthful and unexperienced of later Times, yet it may be accounted one ſpecial mark and token of his Prudence, in knowing how to elect ſo uſeful a Friend, and of his Policy in procuring his ſincere faithfulneſs towards him, and making him really his own. To which end he converſed much with him, communicated all his thoughts, freely demanded his advice, received his private Entertainments, and in fine, was wanting in no points of affable Courteſy and Compliance, whereby he might create him his own, contenting for ſome time himſelf with the name of Vizier, tho the other as one, who beſt knew how to manage it, enjoyed the Power.

Tacit. Lib. Hiſt. 3.

That is, of the *Hazoda*, or Royal Chamber.

The Chief Officers of the *Seraglio*, inſtigated by the Queen Mother to diminiſh ſomething the Power of the Vizier, put often the Grand Signior in mind, as a matter agreeable to his Dignity, to have a regard to his Government, which cauſed him more frequently than his humour ſerved, to betake himſelf to his *Choisk* over againſt the Viziers Gate, to make his uſual Obſervations; and perceiving ſome Chriſtians to enter the Court with red Calpacks or Caps, and yellow Shooes (prohibited to Chriſtians by orders of inferior Magiſtrates, but never until now thought worthy the Imperal Obſervance) immediately called for the Subaſhee or Conſtable of *Conſtantinople*, and from the Window commanded him with great Fury to enter the Viziers Court, and ſuch Chriſtians as he ſhould find there with yellow Shooes and red Caps he ſhould firſt beat, and then ſend uncovered and barefooted home. The Subaſhee armed with a Power in this matter as high as the Viziers, entered the Houſe without Complement or Licence, and encountring firſt the *Kapikabya*'s or Agents of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* negotiating the Affairs of their Prince and Country, he rudely layed them down, and without Reſpect to their Perſons or Office, beat them on the Feet, tore off their red Stockins and Caps, and ſent them home with their Heads and Feet bare, derided by the People, and lamenting the Affliction of that Tyranny to which they were ſubjected. This inhumane Treatment of Perſons in a manner ſacred, was ſeconded by publick Proclamations, ſtrictly prohibiting all Chriſtians from wearing red Caps, yellow Shooes, ſcarlet Veſts, and the like; and *Janizaries* from the uſe of Hanjars or Daggers, and ſilk Turbants, upon pain of Death; which Order was ſo ſtrictly enjoyned, that the Corners of every Street were furniſhed with Officers to obſerve, and puniſh ſuch as were found to offend. The Grand Signior himſelf judged alſo the Execution of this Order of that importance, as to deſerve his own proper Care and Inſpection; wherefore walking abroad, as his manner was, in diſguiſe, with his Executioner at hand, encountred in the Streets an unfortunate Bridegroom, an Armenian, who that day, on priviledge of his Eſpouſals, had adventured to dreſs himſelf with yellow leathern Soks: nothing was, or could have time to be pleaded in his behalf, before the fatal Blow was ſtruck, which ſent him to his Grave inſtead of his Nupital Bed. This fury continued ſome few days with much rigour, and ſtrict obſervation, but afterwards growing cold again, all care was neglected, happening herein, as commonly it doth in all things, which have no other foundation than humour and fancy.

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The Gr. Signiors ſevere Prohibition of yellow ſhoes, and red Calpacks to Chriſtians.

But this inſpection into petty matters did not ſo much diſturb the thoughts of the Vizier, as did the power and greatneſs of *Mortaza* the Paſha of *Babylon*, by the Turks called *Bagdat*, a perſon of an undaunted Courage, and greate Conduct, whom he had hitherto ſuffered to live, contrary to the true knowledge of his intereſt, and the Rules his Father had left him: wherefore he reſolved to renew his deſign and attempts againſt his Life; one I remember was in *December* of the paſt Year, when in our Journey to *Adrianople*, we met a Meſſenger on the way, who amongſt other Diſcourſes informed us, that he was then going to *Bablyon* for confirmation of *Mortaza*, and as a teſtimony of the G. Signiors favour and good will towards him, he carried him a Sword, and a Veſt of Sables: we immediatly, and that truly, gueſſed for what Preſent the Sword was ſent; for in ſome Months after the Chaous-baſhee, or chief of the Purſuivants, returned without delivery of his Preſent. For the wiſe *Mortaza* was ſo juſtly Jealous, that he would not ſo much as admit him to his Preſence, but returned him again with his Sword and Sables for thoſe who were more eaſy and credulous, and who believe to dye by Command of the Sultan to be Martyrdom, and the only Crown of all their Merits and Deſerts: and knowing that he could not long ſubſiſt in Oppoſition to ſo great an Enemy; he contracted an Alliance by Marriage with a Daughter of one of the *Gordean*, or *Curdean* Princes, and in Dowry had one of the ſtrongeſt Forts of thoſe Mountains delivered into his hands.

The Vizier ſeeks to cut of *Mortaza* the Paſha of *Babylon*.

The Vizier finding himſelf thus foiled in his occult Artifices, began publickly to profeſs his Enmity; and therefore in the firſt place perſwaded the Grand Signior, that the long continuance of *Mortaza* in that Government, beyond the uſual term, ſo Opulent and Powerful, and of a Spirit ſo Ambitious and Rebellious, could not but prove dangerous to himſelf, and in time give him Confidence of Competition for the whole Empire; which hazard to prevent with moſt prudence and advantage, (there being a preſent occaſion of good Soldiers for relief of *Candia*) *Mortaza* and

his

1661. his Complices could not be better beſtowed than upon that Employment. The Grand Signior readily conſented to his Counſel, being naturally very apprehenſive of Danger, and in his place conſtituted the *Aga*, or General of the *Janizaries*, poſting him away with all ſpeed poſſible to his Government; who did not run ſo faſt in his Journey, but that the advices of the coming of a new Paſha, arrived timely the Ears of *Mortaza*, who judging it an unequal match to contend with the whole Empire, gave way to his Succeſſor, but withal, kept himſelf ſo on his Guard, that his Adverſary could not reach his Head, and ſend it as the firſt-fruits and Tribute of his new Office. For yielding up his command as in an honourable manner of Retreat, he gave out, that with his Army (reported to conſiſt of Forty thouſand Men) he was on his March to *Candia*, but ſoon after his deſign was diſcovered to be otherwiſe; for believing his own Force unable to contend with his Maſters, he retired with his richeſs, and ſome of thoſe moſt faithful to him, unto his Fort on the Mountains, and to the Protection and Country of the King of the *Curdi*, whoſe Daughter he had Married, and remained in Epectation of time and opportunity, to take his revenge on the Vizier, hoping that with time this ſtorm would blow over, and that the Beams of his Princes Favour would again ſhine upon him. Theſe *Curdi* are called by ſome Writers *Cordiæi*, from whence the Province had the name of *Gordiene*, bordering on *Aſſyria*, the Kingdom once of *Zabienus*, who ſiding with *Lucullus* againſt *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, was by *Tigranes* murdered with his Wiſe and Children. Theſe People inhabit the Mountain *Amanus*, dividing *Syria* from *Cilicia*, which by reaſon of the difficult acceſs thereunto, was never yet ſubjected to the *Ottoman* Yoke; they are ſaid in former times to have worſhipped a black Dog, and dare not ſpeak ill of the Devil, not for love, but fear. But ſome report, that have lately been amongſt them, that they have left off that helliſh Superſtition, and embrace a certain ſort of Religion mixed with Chriſtianity and Turciſm; but yet without Baptiſm or Circumciſion. In brief, they are a bad ſort of groſs People at the beſt, contenting themſelves with little Religion, addicted to Blood and Robberies. Theſe *Curdi* or *Gordeenes*, being a people retired, keep within their Mountains, are ſhy in their Converſation and Diſcourſe, and afford us little ſubject, or opportunity of knowing with any Satisfaction, their Religion or Manners; but from ſuch of our Country-men, as have lately entertained Society with them, we have this account. They are ſeated on thoſe Mountains, as we have ſaid before, which of old are called *Cordiæi* or *Gordiai*, beginning near *Aleppo*, but running out as far as *Perſia*; they make ſhew of the *Turkiſh* Religion for fear, but have in reality another of their own, which permits them to eat Swines Fleſh, and drink Wine, as the *Druſes* and *Kalbeenes*; Bacon being eſteemed by them a particular Cordial, or Reſtorative for the Sick. The chief Country and City of thoſe near *Aleppo*, is called *Jeumee*, where they have a Convent of twelve Prieſts with a Superior over them, and another of the like ſort near *Moſul* or *Nineveth*. The two Chiefs of theſe Monaſteries meet at fixed times to conſult for the good of the Common-weal. Their Devotions are private in a Cave; they tell us of but one Book, which contains both their Law and their Rituals; being asked what they thought of our Saviour, they anſwered, he was their Breath, and their Soul; at the name of *Mahomet* they Spit, and with *Nicodemus* his Circumſpection and Aſſurance of Secrecy, 1661. they declared, themſelves and Chriſtians the ſame, which they would make appear ſo ſoon as they were delivered from their fear of Bondage to the *Turk*. They ſay that they worſhip God, and will not curſe the Devil, to which no Force or Power can compel them; partly, perhaps becauſe they have heard of our Saviours Precept, *Bleſs, and Curſe not*; but rather, becauſe they hold, that the Devil and his Followers ſhall one day be reſtored to their former ſeats of Bleſſedneſs and Dignity. When their Prieſts are together, and Wine brought in amongſt them, the Superior makes a ſign for Silence, and afterwards a ſhort Admonition, that Wine is the Blood of God. I have heard that a *Capuchin* Fryer was once invited amongſt them, with Promiſe to give him a ſight of their Book of Rituals, and being come to *Jeumee*, was detained a day or two in a Cave, on pretence that the other Superior of *Moſul* was then amongſt them, who being a ſevere Perſon, if he knew of his being there, would certainly put him to Death, as one who came to alter their Religion; upon which Suſpicion the *Capuchin* forgetting his Curioſity, fled for ſafety, with all ſpeed poſſible. Their Prieſts are ſaid to be Grave, wearing black throughout; their Garments plaited or quilted; the Veſtures of the Commonalty are agreeable to Mountainiers, whoſe Natures are Rough and Boiſterous, addicted to Blood and Robbery, the common Vice of thoſe People. I have heard, that the Son of a *Gourdeene* Widow being killed by ſome of that Country, She aſſembled her neareſt Kindred, and required them to bring her the Windpipe of the Murderer, which when they had done, She together with her Friends, eat it in Revenge. In fine, their Religion may have ſome ſmall Reliques of Chriſtianity, but mixt with the dregs of other Religions. 'Tis poſſible they may be of the *Manichee* Race. Their Opinion of the Devils Reſtoration, was once held in part by *Origen*: that of Wine (that it is the Blood of God) was the *Heatheniſh* conceit of the *Egyptian* Prieſts. Their whole Nation, if well united, may compoſe an Army of thirty or forty thouſand Men.

Curdi.

But to return to our purpoſe. The news of the Flight of *Mortaza* to this Ignoble Prince, troubled the Grand Signior, who ſtill retained ſome Impreſſions of kindneſs to his Perſon, remembring his Generoſity, Valour, and former Deſerts, the memory of which was encreaſed alſo by the Friends of *Mortaza*, who wanted not in the Court to repreſent them with ſome Compaſſion, arguing that his flight was not of Contumacy or Contempt to his Maſters Protection, but an effect of natural Preſervation; which worked ſo far on the Grand Signior, that he immediately ſent for the Vizier to enquire of him the State and Condition of *Mortaza*. The Vizier to defend himſelf, and make good what before he had counſelled his Maſter, aggravated his Adverſary's Crimes, and his Diſobedience and Flight to an inconſiderable King; with which, and ſome other light Excuſes and Perſwaſions, that the removal of ſuch a Perſon was agreeable to the preſent State of Affairs, and conducing to his own Security, eaſily pacified the Mind and Affections of the Grand Signior; but no ſooner was he returned to his Houſe, but advice was given him, that the *Emaum* of *Mortaza*, or his Prieſt or Chaplain, was then at *Conſtantinople*, whom the Vizier immediatly ſent for, and without any Plea or Indictment, ſtruck off his Head, and threw his Body into the Sea, on pretence that he was ſent thither, as a Spy for his Maſter, and to give Intelligence, and a

beginning

1662. beginning to Rebellion: Theſe were his colours and allegations for his deſerved Death; for Governours though never ſo wicked and ſo abſolute, and that have no need to render any other cauſe to the World of their actions, than their own will, yet eſteem it neceſſary to act under the ſpecious guiſe of juſtice, and in the good opinion of the multitude. The Aga of *Babylon* encountred the ſame Fortune; for *Mortaza* giving place, he thought it fit for himſelf to do the like; reſolving for *Conſtantinople*, but being intercepted in his Journey by the new Paſha, his Head was ſtruck off, and his Journey ſhortned.

But that which again renewed the trouble and fears of the Vizier, was a report that the late *Kahya-begh* degraded at *Adrianople*, was ſecretly returned to the City, and lived concealed, giving ſuch Orders to the Janizaries as tended to Mutiny and Inſurrection, and that the pretences and reports of his being gone to *Damaſcus*, and thence in his holy Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, were but all falſe ſtories to conceal his Reſidence at *Conſtantinople.* This ſet the Vizier all on fire, and made him tremble with the thoughts of it; wherefore ſearch was made for him day and night, but not found; for in reality he was gone on his deſigned Journey, only it was the misfortune of his Kahya, or Steward, as before it was of *Mortaza*'s Emaum, to fall into the Viziers hands, who being beaten to confeſs where his Maſter was, died afterwards of the blows.

The Provinces of *Georgia* in diſturbance.

But notwithſtanding that *Mortaza* was fled, yet the Vizier laid not aſide his fears and thoughts concerning him, not knowing how ſoon he might be recalled home, and ſeated in his place; of which various Examples are extant in *Turkiſh* Hiſtory; and therefore he ſent orders to *Mahomet* Paſha, his late Kahya, now Paſha of *Darbiquier*, as General (with the knowledge and conſent of the Grand Signior) and to the Paſhaws of *Aleppo*, *Erzirum* and others near adjacent, to prepare and aſſemble what Force was neceſſary to conſtrain the King of the *Curdi*, to ſurrender *Mortaza* into their hands: But whilſt theſe matters were in agitation, ſome unexpected troubles in *Georgia* diverted their Arms, and held them for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, not knowing what the iſſue might be. The Original and Ground thereof was this: After *Sultan Solyman* had taken *Erzirum*, it was agreed in the Capitulations between the *Turks* and *Perſians*, that of the ſeven Provinces of *Georgia* (anciently called *Iberia*, but now as ſuppoſed to have received the Denomination from St. *George*, the Cappadocian Martyr, there had in great eſteem and reverence) three ſhould be tributaries to the *Turk*, and three to the *Perſian*, all govern'd by *Achic-baſh* as head and ſupream Prince, to whom the Seventh ſhould alſo be ſubjeſted, without acknowledgment to either; in payment of which Tribute, they continued moſt willingly, leſt for default thereof, the importation of Salt, of which their Provinces afford none, ſhould be hindred either from the *Turkiſh*, or *Perſian* Dominion. And now it happened that *Achic-baſh* dying, his Wife married again, who to gratifie her new Lover, was contented to have the eyes of her Son put out, who was the lawful Heir to the Government. This Fact was ſo hainouſly received by the Princes of the three Provinces under the *Perſian*, that with common conſent, they elected one to ſucceed *Achic-baſh*, and extorted the power out of the hands of the Amorous Traitor. The Princes of the three Provinces under the *Turk* alarm'd hereat, made inſurrection, reſolving rather than any Foreigner, to ſet up one of the Kindred of *Achic-baſh*, which the *Perſian* Provinces better underſtanding, approved likewiſe, and for confirmation, and maintenance of their choice, aſſembled an Army of Threeſcore thouſand men. The Paſhaws tending towards *Curdi*, were ſurprized in their March with the news of theſe diſturbances in *Georgia*, and not rightly apprehending the cauſes of theſe ſudden commotions, gave an arreſt to the progreſs of their Arms, inclining towards the parts of *Georgia*, to be in a readineſs to ſuppreſs all deſigns againſt the *Ottoman* Dominions, ſo that the thoughts of War againſt the *Curdi* was for ſome time laid aſide. The news of theſe troubles did alſo alarm the Port, with which alſo came a report, That ſix hundred Tents of the *Kuzilbaſhees* (which are the beſt ſort of *Perſian* Horſemen) were pitched nigh the Confines of the Grand Signiors Territories; ſo that Orders were diſpatched to the aforeſaid Paſhaws to watch the motion and iſſue of thoſe Affairs, but thoſe ſtorms blowing over by the eſtabliſhment of *Achic-baſh*, the *Turkiſh* Forces proceeded on their firſt deſign againſt *Mortaza*, marching to the paſs of the Country of the *Curdi*, which is very ſteep, aſperous and rough. The whole Kingdom being, as it were, one Mountain of dangerous and difficult acceſs, hath hitherto preſerved the Inhabitants from the *Ottomon* Subjection. The entrance thereunto being ſtrong by Nature, is alſo fortified with ſeveral Caſtles, the chief of which, poſſeſſed by *Mortaza*, is called *Zizri*, and the People there abouts *Zezidi*. The *Turkiſh* Army being arrived at this paſs, *Mahomet*, the Paſha of *Darbiquier*, appointed General, as we have ſaid before, ordered five hundred of his ſelect men to enter within the paſs, which the *Curdi* perceiving, with little oppoſition, put to flight, being ſo commanded by the General; the unadviſed *Curdi* eagerly purſuing the enemy, left the paſs naked, and undefended, ſuppoſing their whole victory and ſucceſs to conſiſt in the Rout of thoſe few: Whereupon the *Turkiſh* Army wiſely poſſeſſed the paſs, and got between the *Curdi*, and their place of Retreat, and laying the Siege to the Caſtle, required them either to ſurrender themſelves, or elſe *Mortaza* and his Complices into their hands.

The *Turks* Stratagem againſt the *Curdi.*

The *Curdi* perceiving themſelves thus hardly beſet, and in a manner defrauded, their Gariſon which poſſeſſed the paſs without the Confines, the Enemy gotten poſſeſſion of the Gate which opened to their Country, their Caſtles beſieged, and in danger to be gained, and an inlet made to an Inundation by their Enemies, cauſed them to requeſt a three days truce for Conſultation, which being granted, they began to conſider, whether it were better to hazard the welfare of their Country in a dangerous War, of which the *Turks* having already compaſſed the paſſage, had made half the Conqueſt; or to ſurrender up *Mortaza* to his own King, one in whom they had no part, no intereſt, nor relation. The latter Counſel was moſt generally pleaſing; wherefore they ſeized *Mortaza*, promiſing at firſt to conduct him through the Mountains to the *Perſians*; but afterwards being on Horſe-back, and about a Mile diſtant from the Camp, they bound his hands behind him, and with his Steward, the Maſter of his Horſe, and a Page, delivered him into the hands of the *Turks*, who immediately ſtruck off their heads, and ſent them to *Conſtantinople*, where for three or four days they lay before the Door of the Divan, with Inſcriptions on them whoſe they were, and afterwards were thrown into the Sea.

The ſurrender of *Mortaza* into the *Turks* hands, and his death.

And thus ended this famous *Mortaza*, who had in like caſes, by order of this Viziers Father, been an active Executioner of other Paſhaws, and now included in the ſame Fate, by means of the Son, being proſcribed (as we have ſaid before) by Teſtament, and the moſt likely of any Paſha in the Empire to ſtand in competition for the Office of Vizier.

The Vizier upon this ſucceſs began to ſhew a more cheerful Countenance than formerly, ſuſpecting leſs of danger upon removal of ſo ſuſpicious an Enemy. And truly it was now hard to ſay where in the whole Empire was a generous, bold, or ambitious ſpirit remaining, who had Reputation and Authority enough to attempt a priority, ſuch havock was made by this Viziers Father of all hopeful and daring diſpoſitions, and ſuch an Addition made to the ſlaughter by this man in preſent Office, that whether mens ſpirits were vanquiſhed, and cowed with former Examples, or that the Age really afforded not ſuch Heroes, it is hard to ſay: None now appearing other than obſequious to this Vizier, and to fear, and court him.

The Vizier having thus ſucceſsfully contrived his Eſtabliſhment, and ſecurity at home, had time to confirm it by his Wars abroad, well judging that foreign Wars allay Civil Diſſentions, and the Proſperity thereof doth both produce reputation and terrour of his Perſon amongſt his Enemies, as well as reconcile affections, and increaſe Authority amongſt his ſubjects at home. Wherefore he meditated on a War againſt the Emperor, and was glad to embrace the occaſion from the late Diſturbances made in *Tranſilvania* by *Kemenius*, as we have related in the former Year. But yet like a crafty Politician, who looketh one way, and ſteers another; ſo the Vizier, that he might the better lull the *Germans* into a ſleep, and apprehenſions of ſecurity, he diſſembled his inclinations to Peace, and to hearken to ſuch propoſitions as were tendered him by the *German* Reſident, namely, that the Fort of *Serini* ſhould be demoliſhed; being built againſt the intention, and without the knowledge or conſent of his Imperial Maſter; that the Gariſons of *Zechelbid*, *Coloſwar*, and other places ſhould be removed, with other overtures, and the faireſt Propoſitions imaginable, which might give the *Turks* ſatisfaction, and by ſome means or other reconcile the differences, if poſſible. To which counſel the Emperor was the rather inclinable, in regard that a Treaty at that time was on foot between the *French* King, and the Duke of *Lorain* for *Alſatia*, and that the reſult might prove prejudicial to the Empire, ſhould he at the ſame time be engaged in a War againſt the *Turk*, whilſt as dangerous a friend as the other was an Enemy, crept eaſily into a ſuſpected Neighbourhood. But the other Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially *Rome*, and the Allies, engaged in the *Venetian* Quarrel, perceiving the Emperor to detract from his reſolutions of War, upon this ſuſpicion, endeavoured to clear him from all jealouſie in reference to the *French* deſigns, and for better evidence thereof, had their own engagements ſeconded by Proteſtations from that King, not only not to moleſt the Empire during this War, but to afford him conſiderable aid and aſſiſtance both in Men, and Money. Theſe Negotiations and incitements to a War, encouraged the Emperor, and the *German* Princes in that manner, that whilſt the *Turks* expected the return of the Currier from *Vienna*, as it were with an Olive Branch of Peace, and Confirmation of all Articles, which before were eſteemed to be concluded, and agreed; the Scene was wholly changed, and the Letters contained new demands and propoſitions, and in fine, made all doubtful and unſatisfactory. The *Turks* penetrating rightly into this Affair, preſſed hard to have a ſpeedy Peace, or War; wherefore the *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State, did at a private Conference with the *German* Miniſter in name of the G. Signior, and in few words declare, That three months were allotted to demoliſh the Fort built by the Count *Serini*, and for coming of an extraordinary Ambaſſador to confirm the Articles: Notwithſtanding which, the Grand Signior unmindful of the time, and of the Conditions he had given, and prefixed for Peace, ordered the Vizier immediately to prepare for the War, declaring that he would in Perſon accompany him in part of his March, and remove his Court to *Adrianople*; for this being a Country, champian, and plain, full of Game of all ſorts, ſo drew the heart and delight of the Grand Signior, that his Seraglio at *Conſtantinople* ſeemed as a Cage, or Priſon, in reſpect of thoſe deſired Plains of *Thrace*: His Women were no paſtime or recreation to him, in whoſe Apartments he ſpent little time: For this exceſſive humour in Hunting made him daily to preſs the Vizier to depart for *Adrianople*, not that he had ſo real a deſire to the War, as he had to his Game; which gave occaſion to that ordinary Saying amongſt the Turks, *That the Grand Signior had left ſome Hares behind him at* Adrianople, *and would return to ſeek them.* At length the Vizier not longer able to reſiſt his importunity without his diſpleaſure, ſummon'd a Council of all the Viziers of the Bench, where alſo the Janiſar Aga was preſent, to conſult concerning the time of their departure, at which they unanimouſly concluded, that for divers Reaſons, it was moſt neceſſary to defer this expedition until the next Spring. Firſt, Becauſe that three months time were already given to the Emperor for ſending his Extraordinary Ambaſſador. Secondly, Becauſe in ſo ſhort a time, Proviſions could not be ſent into thoſe Parts for relief of the Camp. Thirdly, Becauſe the Souldiers which were abroad could not have timely notice to repair to their Colours. Fourthly, Becauſe many Souldiers had begun to rebuild their houſes deſtroyed by the late Fires, which by the Spring they might ſee finiſhed. And laſtly, That the Summer being now almoſt ſpent, was not ſo fit for action, as the Spring, which gives new life and blood to men, as well as ſap and moiſture unto Vegetables. Theſe Reaſons being repreſented with all humility to the Grand Signior, he ſeemed to reſt ſatisfied, and his heat of viſiting *Adrianople* for the preſent allayed. And in the mean time, that the deſign againſt *Germany* might be the more covertly carried, it was given out that the preparations were intended againſt the *Venetian* Territories in *Dalmatia*, (*viz.*) *Zara*, *Sebenico*, and *Cataro*, and Proclamation was made that all Souldiers ſhould prepare themſelves for the Wars againſt the next Spring. In which Interim no accident intervening which might bring matters to an accommodation and better underſtanding, the daily Skirmiſhes on the Frontiers made the Controverſie every day more difficult to be reconciled, and the breach the wider. The Count *Serini* alſo proceeded in finiſhing the Fortification he had lately raiſed near *Caniſia*; and the other Commanders of the *Ceſarean* Army ſeeing the great progreſs of the *Turks* in *Tranſilvania*, ſecured *Claudiopolis*, *Somoſwar*,

The reſolution of War uncertain.

The Reaſon why the *Turks* deferred the War with the *German*.

Sechilhid,

1662. The ſad Condition of *Tranſilvania*. *Secbilbid*, *Clewar*, alias *Coloſwar*, and *Betlem*, with ſome other Towns and Fortreſſes. The *Turks* on the other ſide, under the Command of *Ali* Paſha, penetrate into the very Center of *Tranſilvania*, and conceiving a jealouſie of War from the paſſages before mentioned, loſt no time to take their advantages, ſo that the Paſha of *Varadin* not contenting himſelf with that Country, and limits formerly preſcribed for maintenance of his Fortreſs, adjoined to his Juriſdiction what Villages and Towns he thought fit, the whilſt the poor Prince *Michael Apaſi*, though made by the Turks, durſt not lift a hand, or interpoſe the leaſt Obſtacle or Impediment to his quiet progreſs, or peaceable poſſeſſion, which ſo harraſſed the People of the Country, and wrought that miſery and deſtruction therein, that the Prince, deprived of his power in Government, and diſabled by oppreſſion to pay his Annual Tribute, had no hopes of redreſs, but from the aſſiſtance of Divine Providence, governing the hearts of Chriſtians and Turks to compaſſionate the miſery of his Country. Wherefore he craved the aſſiſtance of the Emperor, and of the King of *Poland*, acquainting other Chriſtian Princes more remote of the ſad eſtate of the Chriſtian Cauſe; he ſent alſo his Ambaſſadors to the Port with moſt ſubmiſſive Letters to the Vizier, complaining againſt the Paſha of *Varadin*, and craving his Commands for retirement of his Army, within their due and ancient bounds. Letters were alſo directed to the Publick Repreſentatives of Chriſtian Princes reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, one of which was directed to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, His Majeſties Ambaſſador, which being that which may conduce to the more full underſtanding of the preſent deplorable Condition of *Tranſilvania*, I thought fit to be here mentioned.

Excellentiſſime Domine, & Amice obſervandiſſime,

The Prince of *Tranſilvania*'s Letter to His Majeſties Ambaſſador. *AFflictiones Regni Tranſilvaniæ quibus per complures annos juſto Dei Judicio caſtigatur, toti Orbi Chriſtiano manifeſtæ ſunt, nec poſſumus non fateri, inter duos Potentiſſimos Monarchas adeo indies hoc Regnum coanguſtari, ut niſi extraordinaria Dei clementia aliquod ſubſequatur levamen, vix, immo ne vix quidem, diu duraturum credamus. Sed ut ad rem proximius collimemus. Potentiſſimus Imperator per Legatos Regni, & noſtros nunc reduces Clementiſſimum ſuum patrocinium pollicetur, interim autem Paſſa Varadinenſis non contentus Villis ac Pagis ad dictam Arcem pertinentibus, uſque ad meditullium plane Tranſilvaniæ, metu Mortis, integras ad deditionem cogit Regiones, quæ nunquam eidem Arci applicatæ fuerant, nec poſſible eſt Principatum Tranſilvaniæ iis ademptis, ulterius perſiſtere, Tributumq; annuum perſolvere poſſe. Qua de re tam Potentiſſimum Imperatorem quam Supremum Vezirium denuo requirere cogimur, veſtram quocirca Excellentiſſimam Dominationem confidenter rogamus, eo quo convenientius putaverit modo continuo noſtro Oratori opitulari, eaq; qua pollet Authoritate Cauſam promovere, ne gravetur rem non ſaltem Tranſilvaniæ, verum quoque Chriſtianitati perutilem factura, noſq; ad vincula amicitiæ arctiſſime devinctura, cui felicem vitam precamur, & manemus indubitati.*

1662.

Datum in Caſtris ad Pagum
Koczard poſitis die 26 *Septembris*, An. Dom. 1662.

Excellentiſſimæ Dominationis veſtræ
Amicus Benevolus,
Michael Apaſi.

In *Engliſh* thus.

Moſt Excellent Lord, and moſt worthy Friend,

‘THe Miſeries of *Tranſilvania*, with which for many years, by the juſt Judgment of God, we have been afflicted, are manifeſt to all the Chriſtian World; nor can we but confeſs, how between two moſt Potent Monarchs, our Principality is ſo daily ſtraitned, that unleſs through the extraordinary Mercy of God, we obtain ſome relief, we believe not our ſelves longer able to ſubſiſt. But to come nearer to our Buſineſs. The Moſt Potent Emperor, by his own Ambaſſadors, and ours now lately returned, hath promiſed us his moſt Gracious Protection; yet notwithſtanding, the Paſha of *Varadin* not content with the Towns and Villages appropriated unto his Caſtle, hath entered into the very middle of *Tranſilvania*, and hath compelled, for fear of death, thoſe Provinces entirely to yield themſelves, which never before were belonging to his Fortreſſes, which being taken away, it is impoſſible for the Principality of *Tranſilvania* longer to ſubſiſt, and pay its annual Tribute; wherefore we are conſtrained again to beſeech the moſt Potent Emperor, and the Supream Vizier, as alſo we confidently deſire your Excellency, in that manner which your Excellency judges moſt convenient, to be aſſiſtant to our Agent, and with your Authority to countenance our Cauſe, in which your Excelleney will not only perform a matter beneficial to *Tranſilvania*, but to all *Chriſtendom*, and oblige us for ever with the Bonds of friendſhip; and praying for all happineſs of Life and Proſperity to your Excellency, we remain your undoubted Friend.

Given in our Camp at the Village
Koczard *the five and twentieth day of* September, 1662.

Tour Excellencies
Loving Friend,
Michael Apaſi.

This Letter was received by His Majeſties Ambaſſador with that humanity as was agreeable to his Noble Nature; and with that ſenſe of the Chriſtian Cauſe as became a Religious Miniſter of the Faith's Defender, and an Anſwer returned thereunto full of affectionate Piety and Compaſſion. But it was feared that the time was elapſed, and the Diſeaſe proceeded too far to admit a gentle Cure; for it could not probably be expected, that the Vizier ſhould, upon fair words or perſwaſions, or by the force of paſſionate and Rhetorical expreſſions, be induced to let ſlip the fair opportunity of an intire and total ſubjection of *Tranſilvania*. And the truth is, herein lay the ground of the great Quarral between theſe two Emperors; for ever ſince the Defeat of *Chimianus* (or as the *Tranſilvanians* call him *Kemenius*) the *Turk* ſwallowing in his thoughts the intire ſubjection of that Country, deſigned to reduce it to the Government of a Paſha, rather than of a Chriſtian Prince, though elected at the *Ottomon* Port; and in order thereunto, advanced beyond the Limits of the ancient bounds, and pitched his Camp in the very Bowels of the Country. Theſe proceedings giving matter of jealouſie to all the Captains of the bordering Chriſtians; the Count *Serini* firſt haſtned the finiſhing of his Fort, as much as was poſſible; and next, according to his example, the *Imperialiſts* in all parts of the Borders fortified their Towns and Caſtles, and reinforced their Gariſons; which was anſwered by the *Turks* in the like preparations. And thus mutual fears and jealouſies effected that ill Correſpondence, in which the State of Affairs then remained.

And ſince *Tranſilvania* is the preſent Scene of Action, it will not be much from our purpoſe to digreſs a little in declaring the ſtate of that miſerable Principality, and by what ways and means the *Turks* encreaſed their Tribute, and encroached on their Liberties; the which Relation I received from one of the *Tranſilvanian* Agents, to this effect.

A Hiſtory of *Tranſilvanian* Miſery.

In the time of *Sultan Solyman*, *Tranſilvania* was governed by her own Laws, and her natural Prince, paying then only Thirty Thouſand Dollars of yearly Tribute. After which *Ali* Paſha taking *Varadin* on the Frontiers, had ſome part of the Country alloted him for maintenance of his Gariſon, and at that time ſolemnly ſwore, That beyond thoſe Limits allotted to *Varadin*, the *Turks* ſhould not farther enter into *Tranſilvania*, but that Oath being little regarded, they have ſince that time poſſeſſed themſelves of ſix Provinces, (*viz.*) *Bichar*, *Doboka*, *Halnock*, *Colos*, in which is *Claudiopolis*, and of the beſt part of *Zarand*. Nor were the *Turks* ſatisfied herewith, but in the year 1658. the Vizier *Kuperlee* entered *Tranſilvania*, and by force of Arms took the ſtrong Town of *Janova*, and demanded the Surrender of *Lugas* and *Karanſebes* into his hands. Nor could the allegations of the Oath of *Sultan Solyman*, or of *Ali* Paſha, or any other perſwaſions or ſubmiſſion induce him to moderate any part of his ſevere demands; until firſt having miſerably deſtroyed the whole Country, and ſatiated himſelf with blood, he was contented, upon the ſad and humble ſupplication of the Ambaſſador from that Prince, to withdraw his Army out of *Tranſilvania*, on condition that Fifty thouſand Dollars of yearly Tribute ſhould be added to the former Thirty thouſand, and that *Lugas* and *Karanſebes* ſhould be wholly abandoned by the native Inhabitants, and deliverd into poſſeſſion of the *Turk*: And as a mark of his abſolute Dominion over that Country, he forced one *Achacius Barcley*, employed before as Ambaſſador to him, to take on him the Government, threatning that if he accepted not of the Charge, he would inveſt a Carter in the Principality: Notwithſtanding all this Treatment; and though the *Tranſilvanians* comply'd with all the propoſitions offered them by the *Turk*, yet not long after the *Tartar Han* paſſed twice through the Country, miſerably harraſſing, ſpoiling, and killing, or making Captives all he met, whoſe departure alſo from this Country was purchaſed with a conſiderable Sum of Money. And this was the ſtate of the miſery of *Tranſilvania*, when the troubles raiſed by *Ragotzki* and *Kemenius* added to the other diſcontents, and adminiſtred farther occaſion to the enſuing War.

The *Alexandrian* Fleet encountred by the *Venetians*.

But whilſt the thoughts of the *Ottoman* Court were intent on their preparation for the next years War in *Hungary*, advice came that the *Turkiſh* Fleet, conſiſting of Seventeen Ships, and Thirty ſeven Saiques, lately departed from *Conſtantinople* bound for *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, and convoyed by ſix Gallies, which met them at *Scio*, very rich with Money, and other goods, (whoſe returns are yearly for the moſt part made in Sugar, Coffee, Rice, and other Commodities) were encountred near *Rhodes* by the *Venetian* Armata, and ſuch ruine and prize made of them, that of the Threeſcore Sail, Twenty eight Saiques, & 4 Ships were ſunk and taken: (*viz.*) 18 Saiques taken, & 10 burnt, 3 Ships taken, and one burnt, and thereon Two hundred and ſeventy Slaves, among which there were of note, *Arnout Aſan Aga*, Eunuch of the Seraglio, *Mahomet Aga*, *Baſcut Agaſey* of *Grand Cairo*, and *Emin Reis*, Captain of a Ship. When this news arrived, I happened to be at the Viziers Court, and perceived a ſtrange diſturbance and alteration in the faces of all then preſent; but more particularly the Grand Signior ſeemed to be heated with fury, and preſent reſolution of revenge; ſo that he had almoſt forgotten his deſigns againſt the Emperor; and quitting his paſtime in Hunting, he began to talk of tranſporting his Arms into *Dalmatia*, and thereupon ſent Orders to one *Beco* a Begh of the *Morea* to cauſe a ſurvey of the High-ways, Paſſages, and Bridges towards *Dalmatia*, as if he had intended immediately to march, and either to defer his *Hungarian* War, or wage both at the ſame time. But his graver, and more ſober Council moderated his heat with Reaſon, knowing that the deſigns of Princes, though never ſo abſolute, muſt be ſubject to times and ſeaſons, until their Powers can extend to Omnipotency, which never yet could exceed the abilities of a mortal man, though ſome have affected Divine Honours, and by Flatterers have been ranked after death in the number of the Gods. The *Venetians* loſt Seventy men only, or thereabouts, and amongſt them *Giacomo Semitecolo*, a noble *Venetian*, with other Braves and Souldiers of Fortune. The *Turks* horribly touched with this loſs and diſgrace, eſpecially the Grand Signior, who had an Intereſt in the *Caravans* had a mind to vent ſome of their fury on Signior *Ballarino*, the *Venetian* Miniſter to the Port, like thoſe (as we ſay) who cannot beat the Horſe, will beat the Saddle; ſo that they intended to impriſon him again in ſome dark Cell, or obſcure retirement, of which, or of ſome other rigor Signior *Ballarino* was ſo ſenſible, that he wrote this enſuing Letter to the Senator *Nicolo Contarini*, which may ſerve to explain the anguiſh and ſorrowful apprehenſions of his Soul.

IF my Mind were capable of Comfort, I could not in the midſt of ſo much anguiſh entertain a more efficacious Motive thereunto, than thoſe obliging Expreſſions which your Excellency uſes towards me, who like a Terreſtrial Deity is pleaſed to protect me. But alas, I am too much overwhelmed with Grief to diſcover any Subject which may cauſe me to dry my Tears. I find no ſhelter againſt that Storm which I foreſaw. Nor is it ſufficient for me to diſcover the Tempeſt before it arrives: It is

not

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This Letter ſeems to be wrote in the ſtile of a deſpairing Perſon; yet if it be well conſidered, the meaning is no other than what the Iſſue of Affairs ſome years afterwards did evidence; and his Intentions were no other than to deſcribe the ill nature of the *Turkiſh* Miniſters, and their obſtinacy of continuing a War, until they had wearied out the *Venetians* into an Humour of ſurrendring the whole Iſland of *Candia* unto them. I had the Honour to be well acquainted with the Perſon of Signior *Ballarino*, and I always eſteemed him in his external Behaviour accompliſhed with the Exceſſes of *Italian* Civility; he was endued with great fluency of Language, both in Diſcourſe and Writing; he was Jealous, Acute and Wary; and in ſhort, was a proper Miniſter for that Republick, well practiced and verſed in the manner of Treaty with the *Turkiſh* Court. He at firſt was ſent from *Venice* to *Conſtantinople* in quality of Secretary to the Excellentiſſimo *Capello*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, a Perſon eminent for his Office, and the ſeveral great employments which he had exerciſed in that State; he was ſincere, and of a generous Soul; his comely Looks, and grave Habit ſpoke him to be a Gentleman, and a Senator. In ſhort, he was ſo well eſtemeed of at *Venice*, that he was thought worthy to be imployed in this Embaſſy to the Grand Signior, which is commonly granted to Perſons after they have run through all Services of the Commonwealth, as a Conſummation of their Honours and Richeſs. This Gentleman then had the misfortune to be inveſted in this Honour in the worſt of Times, when the War was broke forth, and being thereby expoſed to their cruelty, he was put into Priſon, where paſſing for ſome time a Life of Sorrow and Sadneſs, he fell into a Melancholly, which repreſented all things to him in the blackeſt manner; ſo that, I know not why his fancy ſuggeſted to him, that he was not only miſerable in his Impriſonment and Reſtraint amongſt the *Turks*, but that he was fallen alſo into diſgrace, and diſpleaſure of his Prince at home. I will not ſay that Signior *Ballarino* did nouriſh the Operation of this black humour in him; but I have heard that he did not adminiſter that comfort to him, as might ſerve to diſpel the thickneſs of that Vapour which obſcured the generous temper of his Soul. In ſhort, he gave ſuch way to this melancholly, that he laid violent hands upon himſelf (as we have ſaid before); but afterwards by the Care of his Friends and Servants, being cured of his wounds, he lived ſome years after, by his Sorrows and Repentance for it, to give Satiſfaction to God and the World. Howſoever, the Senate being informed thereof, and judging this Act to be the effect of a violent Phrenſy, appointed

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ed *Ballarino* to take on himſelf the intire management of Affairs, reſerving only the Title and Honour to Signior *Capello.* *Ballarino* now manageing all Affairs, *Capello* looked on himſelf as neglected and laid aſide, howſoever comported his Condition with Submiſſion and Gentleneſs, never openly reſenting the Honours of *Ballarino*, or to ſee him preferred before himſelf; Howſoever, ſecretly nouriſhing an inward Diſcontent, his robuſtious Nature, upwards of eighty years of Age, was forced to give way to its final Diſſolution; and falling Sick, he ſent to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, then Ambaſſador for his Majeſty at *Conſtantinople*, to acquaint him of his Diſtemper, deſiring him to ſend me, who was then his Secretary, unto him. At theſe Summons I was eaſily perſwaded to go, having always had his Perſon in great Reverence; and being come to his Bed-ſide, he raiſed himſelf upon his Pillows, and embracing me in his Arms, I fancied my ſelf to receive the Benediction of one of the Ancient Patriarchs. He began with a weak Voice to ſay to me, Sir, I am near my end, expecting every Minute to render up my laſt Breath, and therefore as a dying man, I deſire of your Maſter, the Ambaſſador, that ſo ſoon as I am dead, he would be pleaſed to deliver this poor Carcaſs of mine from under the covering of this accurſed Roof. For Anſwer whereunto I did not ſtand to expoſtulate the Reaſons with him, well knowing the cauſe of his diſcontent; but that I would communicate his deſires to my Lord Ambaſſador, and ſpeedily return with my Anſwer to him. Accordingly I departed from him, and quickly brought from my Lord a Promiſe to endeavour his utmoſt to comply with his requeſt; at which he ſeemed to be much ſatisfied, and commanded his Servants then preſent, eſpecially one called Sig. *Tomaſo Gobbato*, his great confident, to be Witneſſes thereof. The next day he expired his laſt Breath, and the day following his Body being embalmed, his bowels were buried, and the Funeral Rites performed with ſuch order and decency as was ſeemly in a Country where he lived rather like a Priſoner than an Ambaſſador. All things being thus prepared, the Earl of *Winchelſea*, according to the Will of the Deceaſed, ſent for his Body, already embalmed, which was immediately without oppoſition or ſcruple ſent to his houſe; where it remained for ſome months, in expectation of a conveyance for *Venice.* At length a Dutch ſhip, being bound from *Conſtantinople* thither, it was deſigned that the Body ſhould be thereon imbarked; but I know not for what reaſon, the Cuſtomer refuſed to ſuffer it to paſs; though it may well and rationally be conjectured, That *Ballarino*, who was ſenſibly touched to have the care of the Body of his Maſter, his Countryman and Colleague taken from him, did with Preſents prevail with the Cuſtomer to put difficulties in the way, which he ſuppoſed might vex thoſe who were thought worthy of this employment. This oppoſition being made, and not to be overcome without much Money, it was contrived that the Ship departing ſhould attend the Corps at *Tenedos*, which was without the command of the Caſtles; and the Body being divided from the Legs, was packed up in a *But* of Cavear, and ſo ſent down by a boat with Licence of the Cuſtomer, as a parcel of Goods and Merchandice; and ſo ſafely arriving aboard, the Corps were ſeparated from their adjuncts; and being laid decently in a Coffin, covered with a Pall of black Velvet, with Scutcheons, and other ornaments appertaining to the Funerals of ſuch great Perſonages, it arrived ſafely at *Venice*, where it was interred with the uſual ceremonies, in the Tomb of the Anceſtors of that Ancient Family.

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The Vizier deſtroys the Chriſtian Churches rebuilt after the Fire.

The Zeal of a *Turkiſh* Preacher.

But the heads and thoughts of theſe Governours were not ſo employed in their preparations of War, but that the Vizier could lend an ear to the ſuggeſtions of ſome malicious Phariſees, who, under pretence of Religion, informed him, That the Chriſtian Churches, burnt down in *Conſtantinople* and *Galata* by thoſe dreadful Fires in the year 1660, were again re-edified againſt his command, and the Law of the *Turks*, which allows the reparation of Churches, and continuance of ſuch which were found ſtanding when *Mohometaniſm* was introduced; but not to erect new, or rebuild what are either by time, fire, or other accidents fallen to ruine. And being farther informed, that though thoſe Churches were reſtored under the notion of Dwellings, or Ware-houſes, yet ſecretly ſerved for Celebration of Divine Service, and thereby his Decrees and Edicts were fruſtrated and diſappointed: Wherefore, furiouſly tranſported with a *Mahometan* Zeal, commanded immediately that the Authors of thoſe Buildings ſhould be impriſoned, the Churches themſelves levelled to the Foundation, and the ground whereon they ſtood confiſcated to the Grand Signior. This action, though naturally agreeable to the diſpoſition of the Vizier, who was a perfect *Turk*, zealous in execution of all points of the *Mahometan* Law, being educated after the ſevereſt ſort of Profeſſors, and one of thoſe whom they called Softaes; yet he was chiefly prompted unto this, and to a greater abhorrency of Chriſtianity, by one *Vanni Effendi*, a Shegh, or Preacher, one who was as inveterate and malicious to the Chriſtian Religion, as any *Enthuſiaſt* or Fanatick is to the Rites of our Church and Religion. And thus we may ſee how troubleſom Hypocriſie and *Puritaniſm* are in all places where they gain a Superiority; for this Preacher not contented only to ruine the Chriſtian Churches, but perſwaded the Vizier that the terrible Fires in *Conſtantinople* and *Galata* in the year 1660, and the laſt years unparallel'd Peſtilence, and the inconſiderable advance of the *Turks* on the Chriſtians for ſome years, were ſo many parts of Divine Judgments thrown on the Muſſulmen or Believers, in vengeance of their too much Licence given to the Chriſtian Religion, permitting Wine to be ſold within the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, which polluted the Imperial City, & enſnared the faithful by temptation to what was unlawful: Wherefore a command was iſſued, That no Wine ſhould be henceforth ſold within the Walls of the City. And it was farther intended, that *Greeks* & *Armenians*, & all other Chriſtians, who had Dwellings or Poſſeſſions within the Walls of the City, ſhould within Forty days ſell thoſe habitations, and depart; which otherwiſe ſhould be confiſcated to the Grand Signior; but God who ſupports the Faithful in Tryals of Perſecution, moderated this Decree, and reſerved ſtill this Church in the midſt of Infidels; not ſuffering this City to loſe the Name nor Religion of that holy Emperor, who both erected, and chriſtned it; as alſo to preſerve moſt of the Churches, which though again uncovered, yet were redeemed for Money from the poſſeſſion of the *Turks*. Nor was the *Mohometan* Zeal ſatisfied in Demoliſhment of the Churches themſelves, unleſs it vented part of its fury againſt the poor Workmen, which for their hire and days Wages erected them; ſuch as *Greek* Labourers, Maſons, and Carpenters, who were all beaten and impriſoned. But it happening at that time that the Queen Mother building a ſumptuous Moſch, and having occaſion of many Labourers and Artiſts to forward ſo vaſt a Work, ſent to the Maimarbaſhee (who is

1662. the Maſter work-man, or Cape, over all ſuch who are employed in Building) to ſupply ſuch a number of Carpenters, Maſons, and others, as were convenient to carry on that Fabrick with expedition; who readily replyed, That he would provide all that was poſſible, but could not promiſe a ſufficient number, unleſs thoſe *Greeks* were ſet at liberty, who were impriſoned by the Grand Vizier for building the Chriſtian Churches; which anſwer being reported again to the Queen Mother, ſhe interceded with the Vizier in their behalf, who being glad of any occaſion to gratifie ſo great a Lady, immediately releaſed them, without any fine or reward, which he deſigned to obtain for their liberty. Howſoever the Vizier not well brooking ſuch an indignity (as he ſuppoſed) put upon him by ſo mean a Slave, as the Maimarbaſhee, dealt with ſome of the impriſoned Labourers to accuſe him, as the Author and Licenſer of building the Chriſtian Churches. The *Greeks* eaſily enough perſwaded to pleaſe ſo great a Perſonage, accuſed him accordingly, whoſe Evidence, though nor paſſable againſt a *Turk* by the *Mahometan* Law, yet ſerved the Viziers revenge for the preſent, who immediately commanded his head to be ſtruck off, and his Eſtate confiſcated; which was reported to conſiſt of Two thouſand Purſes of Money, every Purſe importing Five hundred Dollars, then found actually in his Houſe, which, if true, is a ſtrange Wealth for ſo ordinary a Perſon. But by this, and by many other inſtances, we may perceive that there is no People in the World more covetous and deſirous to amaſs Wealth than the *Turks*, nor none more uncertain to enjoy it.

The Viziers revenge on the Cape of the Builders.

Meſſengers from *France* to introduce a new Ambaſſador.

About this time the *French* Merchants in the *Levant*, having adviſed his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty that the *Turks* were ſenſible that the affront to the Perſon of *Monſieur la Haye*, his Ambaſſador, was contrary to the Law of Nations, and ſuch an injury as could not but provoke the Choler of ſo puiſſant a Prince to a juſt revenge; and knowing that his Majeſty being powerful at Sea, was able to extend his Arms to the utmoſt Confines of his Empire, whilſt the interpoſition of other Countries limited the *Turks* march by Land, and their ignorance and inability in Marine Affairs rendred them uncapable to arrive thoſe Banks of *France*, which the Sea waſhes: Theſe Conſiderations the *French* Merchants having perſwaded the King to be the thoughts of the Grand Signior, and that he deſired the continuance of the Peace and Traffick with *France*, and as an evidence of his remorſe and diſpleaſure for the injury to Monſieur *la Haye*, the Father, his Majeſty was contented in ſatisfaction thereof to redreſs this injurious tranſgreſſion of the Law of Nations, by ſome extraordinary marks of favour and honour to the Perſon of Monſieur *la Haye* the Son; that ſo exceeding the uſual method and rule of Ceremony towards this Ambaſſador at his arrival, the World might be convinced of the real affection, and hearty deſire the Grand Signior had to renew his Peace, and preſerve his Commerce with *France*. This is ſuppoſed to be what the Merchants of *Marſeille* and *Lyons*, governed by the Intereſt of their Trade, ſuggeſted to their King, to induce him to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*; for at this time Monſieur *Roboli*, a Merchant, remained only as Conſul or Agent for the Affairs of Commerce. Things thus repreſented at the *French* Court, the King diſpatched away two Gentlemen to *Conſtantinople* with Letters to the Grand Signior and Vizier, and one to the *Sieur Roboli*, the Agent, declaring that if the *Turk* would make amends for the laſt Affront done to the Ambaſſador, by ſome ſignal notes of Honour in the abuſed Perſon of Monſieur *la Haye*, the Son, he would then condeſcend to confirm the Ancient League and Amity. The Letters tranſlated out of the *French* Tongue, were as followeth.

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To Our Dear and Well Beloved *le Sieur Roboli*, Agent for Our Affairs at *Conſtantinople*.

By the King.

Dear, and Well Beloved,

THe Inclination We have to continue that Amity with the Emperor of the Turks, which hath remained ſo long between Us, and Our Empires, and maintain the ancient Alliances, hath cauſed Us to write to Him, and his Great Vizier, to know the Entertainment and Reception that they will give to the Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, in ſatisfaction of the violence exerciſed before on his own Perſon, and the Perſon of the* Sieur de la Haye, *the Father, our Ambaſſador, againſt the Law of Nations. We write to You this Letter, to give you Order to conduct and preſent before the Vizier, the Secretaries* du Preſſoir, *and* Fontain, *which We have ſent to carry him our Diſpatches, and return with the Anſwers, which you ſhall ſolicite without loſs of time, the which you ſhall bring your ſelf, in caſe they be not agreeable to that reſolution we have taken not to receive any ſatisfaction, but in the Perſon of the ſaid* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, which is due to Us, for that Inſolency and Affront which hath been done them. Willing alſo notwithſtanding, that before you depart, you aſſemble the* French *Merchants in* Conſtantinople *together, that they may chuſe amongſt themſelves one for their Chief; but if the Anſwers be ſuch as We have cauſe to expect, We approve that you remain in the Station where you are, in Quality of Our Agent, until the arrival of the ſaid* Monſieur de la Haye, *and that you ſend them by the ſaid Secretaries* du Preſſoir, *and* Fontain, *of which you ſhall not fail, for ſo is Our Pleaſure.*

Given at *Paris* the Twentieth of *January*, 1662.

Signed,

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

1662. *The King of* France *his Letter to the Great Vizier.*

To the Moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent Lord, the Chief Vizier of the Sublime Port of the Grand Signior.

Moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent Lord,

ALthough the Indignity offered to the Perſon of the Sieur de le Haye Venteley, *Our Ambaſſador, and to his Son, which We have deſigned to the ſame Charge, have touched Vs as far as becomes a victorious Prince, who holds the firſt rank over Chriſtian Kings, and who hath under his Power one of the moſt warlike Nations of the World; Notwithſtanding after being informed, that the diſgrace which the ſaid Gentlemen have incurred, hath proceeded rather from malice, and the ill Offices of ſome Perſons, who have endeavoured to diſturb, by this ill Treatment of them, the good Correſpondence which hath been between Vs, than from any deſign on the Grand Signiors part to offend Vs; and that on the contrary, there continues in His will an intention to maintain the Ancient Friendſhip which remains between Our Eſtates and People after ſo many Ages We being not deſirous to eſtrange Our ſelves, ſhall ſend an Embaſſador in ordinary to his high Port, and having caſt our Eyes upon the ſaid* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, We are much inclined to diſpatch him for this employment; but as We deſire to be aſſur'd of the good reception that ſhall be made him, We give You advice of Our intentions by this Letter; that according to the deſire You have teſtified of the continuance of Our friendſhip, and Our Ancient Alliances with His Highneſs, ſhall pray God to have You, Moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent Lord, in His holy and worthy Protection.*

Written at *Paris* the twelfth day
of *January*, 1662.

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The King of France *his Letter to the Grand Signior.*

To the moſt High, moſt Excellent, moſt Puiſſant, moſt Magnanimous, and Invincible Prince, the Great Emperor of the Muſſulmans, *Sultan Mahomet*, in whom all Honour and Virtue abound. Our moſt dear and perfect Friend.

MOſt High, moſt Excellent, moſt Puiſſant, moſt Magnanimous, and Invincible Prince, the Grand Signior, Emperor of the Muſſulmans, Sultan Mahomet, *in whom all Honour and Vertue abound. Our moſt dear and perfect Friend. May God encreaſe Your Greatneſs and Majeſty with a happy end. We have not known how to impute the ill uſage, which hath been offered to the Perſon of the* Sieur de la Haye, *our Ambaſſador, and to his Son, deſigned by Vs to the ſame employment, to any cauſes and motions in Your Highneſs, but rather to the Inſtigation of ſome People which would trouble that good Correſpondence, which hath been ſo long eſtabliſhed between Vs, and our Empires. And as we have cauſe to believe that Your Highneſs deſires much to continue this friendſhip and good underſtanding, upon what hath been wrote Vs on Your Part; and to concur with You herein, we deſire much likewiſe to continue to maintain an Ambaſſador at Your High Port, in place of the ſaid* Sieur de la Haye. *And ſince We have none of Our People that is more intelligent than the* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, in what concerns the Affairs and Functions of this Embaſſy; We have elected him for this employment, to which we We ſhall willingly diſpatch him, if We may be aſſured of the good uſage and kind reception which ſhall be given him. This is that which We expect from Your Highneſs, reſerving a more particular information to be ſent by the* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, of the good Correſpondence which We deſire always to have and maintain with You. And hereupon We pray God, That You may be moſt High,* &c. *as above, in his Holy and Worthy Protection.*

Written at *Paris* the twelfth day
of *January*, 1662.

Your true and perfect Friend,

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The Viziers Anſwer to the foregoing Letters.

TO the moſt Glorious amongſt the Sublime Chriſtian Princes, choſen amongſt the Great and Sublime of the Religion of the Meſſiah, *Mediator of the Affairs of all the* Nazarene *Nation, Lord of Majeſty and Reputation, Maſter of Greatneſs and Power,* Louis *Emperor of* France, *the end of whoſe days be happy. The Salutations which reſpect Friendſhip, and are deſired from Love and Affection, being premiſed. Your Majeſty ſhall know that the Letter which was ſent to Your Friend, by the Honourable* du Preſſoir *and* Fountain *hath been delivered me by the* Sieur Roboli, *Agent and Attorney of the Embaſſy, at the High and Imperial Port; the Contents whereof We have apprehended to be as Your Majeſty gives to underſtanſtand, touching the intire*

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tire Amity and good Correſpondence. Certainly Your Majeſty knows, that the Augmentation, and daily Encreaſe of that Amity, proceeds from the protection and honourable Obſervance of Conditions and Capitulations between both Parties. By the Grace of the Moſt High GOD, the Sublime and Imperial Port of the moſt Happy, moſt Puiſſant, moſt Valarous, moſt Magnificent, and moſt Strong Emperor, Support of the Muſſulmans, My Lord, whoſe Arms God proſper with double Force, is always open for our Friends, and others, without any Obſtacle, as all the World knows, and particularly for Your Majeſty, Who is our Friend, and hath been long in Amity with the moſt Serene Ottoman *Family, whom God eſtabliſh until the day of the Ballance. It being a moſt certain Truth, that there hath happened neither on one ſide or other any Action contrary to the promiſed Faith,*

And now, ſince Your Majeſty deſires for a new Ornament of the Ancient and Good Correſpondence, and to the end that the Agreement and Conditions thereof be honoured as they ought, that the conſiderable Perſon amongſt the Nobles of the Court of Your Majeſty, the Sieur Denys de la Haye, *Son of the late Ambaſſador, a Subject of Reputation, Your Gentleman of Credit, whoſe Days may they conclude in happineſs, be ſent to reſide at this Happy and Imperial Port, for Your Majeſty, according to the ancient cuſtom; to the end that the Intention of Your Majeſty may be performed, We have expoſed it at the High Throne of the thrice Happy, moſt Myſterious, and moſt Great Emperor, My Lord, Who with an Imperial regard of courteous Demonſtration, hath accepted the ſaid Demand with willingneſs, and therefore in ſignification of his Pleaſure, We write You this Our preſent and friendly Letter; and if it pleaſe God, according to the ancient Cuſtom, when the ſaid Embaſſador ſhall arrive at this High Port with the Letters of Friendſhip from Your Majeſty, he ſhall be honoured on the Imperial part, and entertained according to the ordinary cuſtom, the Imperial Capitulation ſhall be renewed, the Ornament of Affection on one ſide and the other ſhall be confirmed; and for an efficacious Confirmation of a good Peace between both Emperors, an Imperial Letter ſhall be ſent to Your Majeſty, whoſe health be happy and proſperous.*

From the Imperial City
of *Conſtantinople.*

The Poor *Hamet* Paſha.

The Vizier ſtiles himſelf, The Poor, in reſpect to the Greatneſs of his Maſter.

In Anſwer to the Kings Letters, the Grand Signior made no reply, but only by his Vizier, by reaſon that in all the Ancient *Turkiſh* Regiſters and Archives, there was no example found, that the Grand Signior ever wrote to any King, who had not an Ambaſſador actually reſident at his Port. But this Negotiation about a *French* Ambaſſador took not effect, until ſome time after, in which other Letters and Meſſages intervened, as will appear by the following Sequel of this Hiſtory.

1662.

The return of the *Turkiſh* Armata to winter at *Conſtantinople.*

It was now towards the beginning of Winter, when the Seaſon of the Year compelled the *Turkiſh* Fleet of Gallies to return according to cuſtom, to the Port of *Conſtantinople.* The whole Summer before, they had for the moſt part paſſed in ſome Harbour or Creek amongſt the *Greek* Iſlands, having afforded nothing of Convoy or ſuccour towards the ſafe Conduct of the Fleet of *Grand Cairo,* but ſuffered them to fall into the hands of the Enemy, as before mentioned, and indeed for ſeveral years the Marine Affairs of the *Turks* have always gone decaying in Fame and Force; and the preparations of the Armata every Spring, have been of Form and Courſe, rather than with hopes of ſucceſs correſpondent to the expence. In their return home, near *Conſtantinople* they encountred a fierce ſtorm, ſo that three Gallies were caſt away at *Ponte Piccolo*, (by the *Turks* called *Cucucchbckmage,* about four Leagues diſtant from *Conſtantinople.*) Howſoever the Weather clearing, the remainder of the Fleet got into Port; entring with Joy, with Vollies of great and ſmall Shot, with Streamers flying, Pipes ſounding, and all other ſorts of their Country Muſick, bringing with great Oſtentation a ſmall Flyboat, which had been a Ligorneſe Man of War, taken by them as ſhe was cruiſing ſingly in the Arches of *Pelago*; which was brought in with ſo much Ceremony uſed in toaing her into Port, decking her with Streamers and Pendants, with ſuch ſigns of Victory and Triumph, as if they had led Captive the whole *Venetian* Armata. But I muſt not omit the relation of what befel one of the Beghs Gallies, deſigned, with the reſt, to rendezvous at *Conſtantinople*, whilſt ſhe loitered amongſt ſmall Iſles in the Gulf of *Nicomedia.* It was a Gally, the Commander of which had newly received as the Portion of his Wife, being a Young man lately married, who entertained great thoughts of raiſing his Fortunes by the ſpoils and prize he was to make. At theſe iſles ſeveral of the Officers, and * Levents went on ſhore; where whilſt they entertained themſelves with Wine and merriment; the Slaves made an inſurrection in the Gally, ſeized the Captain, cut off his Head, and threw his Body into the Sea; and ſo becoming Maſters of the Veſſel, weighed Anchor, and ſet ſail. Thoſe on the ſhore admiring at the unexpected departure of the Gally, accompanied her with their Eyes and wonder as far as they could perceive her in ſight, but obſerving her to ſteer a different courſe from the Port, to which they were deſigned, ſuſpected much of the truth of what had ſucceeded; wherefore taking their Boat immediately, they haſtned to *Conſtantinople* to give advice of what had paſſed, that (if poſſible) Orders might timely arrive the Caſtles on the Helleſpont, which might obſtruct their farther paſſage. But alas! the poor Slaves were ſo diſmayed with their own action, and ſo tranſported with a ſlaviſh fear and apprehenſion of what might ſucced, ſhould their eſcape not be effected; that they knew not what courſe to ſteer: All things ſeemed to contradict their liberty, the Wind proved contrary, their Spirits dejected, their underſtandings void of counſel and contrivance; ſo that wandring three or four days in the *Propontis*, at laſt ran their Gally aſhoar on the *Aſian* ſide, near *Palermo*, from whence they were brought back to *Conſtantinople*, and there, by ſentence of the Captain Paſha, fourteen of them had their Legs and Arms broken, and ſo ſuffered to die in that torture, and afterwards their Bodies were thrown into

The Slaves make an Inſurrection in one of the Beghs Gallies.

* The Soldiers at Sea called by that name

the Sea, to the terrour of all other Slaves, who prefer a miſerable Life at the Oar, before the torments of ſome hours in dying.

The Preparations for the German War.

Though the *Turks* have their Affairs but ill managed at Sea, and their ſucceſs accordingly fortunate; yet their preparation for Land ſervices are more expedite, and executed with that ſecreſy and ſpeed, that oftentimes Armies are brought into the Field, before it is ſo much as rumoured by common Mouths that any deſigns are in agitation: For though it was now Winter, yet the deſign againſt *Germany* went forward, Forces were daily ſent to the Frontiers, Cannon, and Ammunition for War, tranſported by way of the black Sea, and the *Danube*. Orders iſſued out to the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* to repair their Wharfs and Keys along the River, for the more convenient landing of Men and Ammunition, and to rebuild their Bridges for the more commodious paſſage of the *Tartars*; that Horſes ſhould be provided againſt the next Spring, for drawing all Carriages of Ammunition, and Proviſions; their Magazines ſtored with quantities of Bread, and Rice, their Fields well ſtocked with Sheep, and other Cattel, and that no neceſſaries be wanting which concern the victualling, or ſuſtenance of a Camp. The *Tartars* were appointed to have in a readineſs a Hundred thouſand Horſemen, to make Incurſions on the Frontiers; likewiſe the Paſhaws of *Darbiquier*, *Aleppo*, *Caramania*, and *Anatolia* received their orders; and ſeven and twenty Letters, accompanied with as many Veſts, after the *Turkiſh* manner, were ſent to as many Paſhaws of the Empire, to diſpoſe the ſtrength of their Countries in a Warlike poſture, ſo as to march when the Grand Signiors Commands ſhould require them to attend his deſigns: And that the occaſion of the War might appear the more juſtifiable, it was reſolved, That no Acts of Hoſtility, or other Breaches of Peace ſhould be pretended, than the Fort built by the Count *Serini*, being a matter really againſt the Articles of the laſt Peace; the Demoliſhment whereof, the *Ottomon* Force intended to make the principal end of their firſt Enterprize, in which if they encountred any oppoſition from the Emperor, the Cauſe of their War would be then the more plauſible; for as yet the Emperour had not fully declared his approbation of that Work, raiſed by *Serini*, as agreeable to his Aſſent, or Pleaſure. On the other ſide with no leſs caution and labour did the Chriſtians endeavour to ſecure their Frontiers, by raiſing their Militia, and reinforcing their Gariſons, and eſpecially to perfect the new Fort near *Caniſia*, which, as it was thought ſo conſiderable, as to countervail the inconveniencies and miſeries of a War, ſo the Turk thought it neither honourable, nor ſecure, until he had ſeen it razed, and levelled with the ground.

An Accident diſpoſing the Chriſtian Affairs to a peace with the *Turk*.

All things thus growing black and ſtormy round about, that nothing ſeemed leſs probable, and it may be ſaid, leſs poſſible, than an accommodation; behold, on a ſudden, an Accident fell out at *Rome*, from whence this War with the Turks received its life and heat, which becalmed much of the fury and ſtorm on the Chriſtian Confines, and inclined matters in *Germany* towards propoſitions of Peace, fearing that *Italy*, who had begotten this War, was not able (as things ſtood) to contribute towards its maintenance and ſupport. The occaſion was this. It happened that in the ſtreets of *Rome* the *French* Ambaſſadours Coach was aſſaulted by the *Corſi* Natves of the Iſle of *Corſica*, which are of the Popes Guard, the Page killed at the Boot of the Coach, and the Ambaſſadors Lady wounded; whether this barbarous act was deſigned againſt the Perſon of the Ambaſſador by any Perſons of Eminency, or malice of the People, is little to the purpoſe I have now in hand; only the King took this Affront ſo heinouſly, that for the preſent no acknowledgments or ſatisfaction the Pope could make, could allay his juſt reſentment, or any thing be imagined poſſible to expiate this indignity, beſides a VVar. This News of this Diviſion between the Son, and the ſpiritual Father, filled all the Miniſters of *Conſtantinople* with much Joy, and with ſubject of Laughter, and expectation of the Event, judging now that their daily Prayers for the Diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes amongſt themſelves, were heard and granted, ſince they had ſo far availed, as to diſunite the very Oeconomy of Chriſtendom. And now they imagined that this difference would have a forcible influence on their Affairs in *Hungary*, and either incline the Emperor ſpeedily to a Peace, or otherwiſe to undertake a War on diſadvantageous terms. Things had an iſſue accordingly, for in a few Weeks after, advice came by Poſt from *Ali* Paſha, then at *Temiſwar*, that is *Salam-Chaous*, called *Chuſaein*, who had long ſince been ſent to *Vienna*, with more diſtinct Demands of what the Turks propoſed, and being ſuppoſed, through his long ſtay, to be detained a Priſoner, was again returned, and with him had brought the Baron of *Goez*, as Internuncio, ſent to *Ali* Paſha, to receive a more particular Imformation of the Turks propoſitions, for that the Emperor pretended, he was not as yet throughly ſatisfied therein. And thus matters, beyond all expectation, began to incline to an agreement, in regard that *Rome* being now in danger her ſelf, not by the Turks, but by the Chriſtians, held her ſelf uncapable to adminiſter that Fuel to the Fire of War which ſhe had promiſed; ſo that the League treated there beginning to fail, the Emperor grew faint, and the Princes cold, in their Preparations, wiſhing ſome Courſe could be effected, which might bring matters to an accommodation. Such were the Diſcourſes and imaginations of the Turks; in which condition we leave the ſtate of Affairs until the beginning of the next year; and in the mean time it may not be from our purpoſe, nor tedious to the Reader, to record what befel this year moſt remarkable to the *Engliſh* Nation, and their Trade in *Turky*, which alſo may be beneficial, by inſtruction of paſt examples, to ſuch who ſhall for the future be concerned in the Traffick and Buſineſs of the Levant.

The Baron of *Gowez* ſent to *Ali* Paſha.

What Remarkable accidents befel the ENGLISH *Nation, and their Trade this Year in* TURKEY.

THE Meſſengers from *Algier*, as before related, having promiſed better Obedience for the future to the Commands of the Grand Signior, obtained a new Paſha for their City, and Country thereunto belonging; who before his departure, was enjoyned by the Grand Signior to diſpoſe Affairs with the Earl of *Winchelſea*, his Majeſties Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, as might demonſtrate his diſpoſitions towards a Peace, and his deſire that the *Algerines* ſhould do the like, and aceept of that Clauſe in the Articles,

1662. prohibiting the ſearch of *Engliſh* Ships, either for their own or Strangers Goods. The place appointed for the meeting between the Embaſſador and the Paſha, was a certain Chiosk, or Garden houſe, belonging to an Eunuch, the *Aga* of a Seraglio at *Pera*; where both parties being met, the Paſha declared that the Grand Signiors deſires were, That a Peace ſhould be concluded on the Ancient Capitulations, and that by him theſe Orders were to be carried unto *Algier*, from whence he was adviſed, that the *Algerines* were ready to accept thoſe Articles, if one of his Majeſties Ships ſingly appeared about the Treaty; ſo that the World might not eſteem their condeſcenſion to proceed from Force and Compulſion. Hereof Advices being ſent into *England*, a Peace enſued in ſome Months after; but what faith theſe Infidels kept will be related in the Sequel of this Story; the Memory of which is engraven with the Point of a Diamond, and the Loſſes which enſued thereupon to the Exchange at *London*, deſerve a particular Treatiſe, which in the mean time many Families retain in a ſad remembrance.

In *May*, Advice was brought to the Lord Ambaſſador, how that the *Ann*, a Frigat of his Majeſties Royal Navy, commanded by Captain *Jonas Pool*, which had convoyed the general Ships to *Symrna*, in her paſſage homewards ſtopped at the *Morea*, and came to an Anchor near a place in that Country, called the Black Mountain, commodious to Wood and Water in; to which end were landed threeſcore men, armed with Swords and Firelocks; theſe made havock of the Woods on all ſides, loading their Boats away as faſt as they could, and not only ſo, but ſet great Trees on Fire, which in that dry Seaſon of the Year diſperſed it ſelf far and wide; which being ſeen at a diſtance in the Night, alarmed the People of the Country, ſo that the Begh; or Governor came down with ſome Force to diſcover the matter, ſuppoſing that ſome *Malteſes*, or *Venetians* might be landed. At the approach of this Body of *Turks*, our Men quitted the Woods, and ſhifted away as faſt as they could to their Boats, of which Thirty eight eſcaped, the reſt falling ſhort were intercepted by the *Turks*, and Eleven of them were killed, and Eleven taken Captives; and of the *Turks*, two Aga's, and Two or Three others had the fortune to fall by ſome Musketſhot from our men, whilſt in this confuſion they endeavoured to defend themſelves. On the news hereof, our Lord Ambaſſador repreſented the whole matter to the Vizier, declaring, That it was lawful according to our Capitulations, to take refreſhments, and ſupply our wants in any part of the Grand Signiors Dominions; and that therefore he demanded Juſtice on the Begh of the *Morea*, and reſtitution of the Captives. But the Vizier underſtanding that ſome *Turks* were killed in the skirmiſh, lent not ſo ready an ear to theſe Complaints; howſoever, to be acquitted of the Ambaſſadors ſolicitations, referred the buſineſs to the Examination and Juſtice of the Captain Paſha: But it falling out that at that time the Conſul and Merchants at *Smyrna* had an unhappy difference with the Captain Paſha, (which ſhall in the next place be related) was the Cauſe, that all Applications to his Favour and Juſtice were ſuſpended, and a ſlow progreſs made towards obtaining the liberty of thoſe poor unfortunate men. Howſoever, ſome months after it happened that the Begh of the *Morea* being removed from that Government, and coming to *Conſtantinople* with his whole Eſtate, brought with him the Eleven *Engliſhmen*, which he had taken, and offered them to ſale unto the Ambaſſador, who conſidering that they were *Engliſhmen*, and ſuch as had been enſlaved in actual Service of their King, he eſteemed himſelf obliged both in Charity and Honour to redeem them. But the Caſe appeared too foul to demand their Liberty by ſtrength of the Capitulations; for beſides that, the cutting Wood in places inhabited without permiſſion, is a Robbery and a Crime in its ſelf, not to be maintained by the Law of Nations, the killing of a principal Aga, and wounding others, might ſufficiently warrant the *Turks*, without any Breach of Peace, to detain theſe men as lawful Captives: Wherefore the Lord Ambaſſador deeming it unſeemly, that thoſe who had ſerved in his Majeſties Navy ſhould be condemned to the *Turkiſh* Gallies, diſburſed Fourteen hundred Lion Dollars, which was demanded for them, which was afterwards repay'd him by his Majeſty; and having cloathed, and provided them with neceſſaries for their Voyage, conveyed them with the firſt occaſions into *England*.

1662. The difference between the *Engliſh* Nation, and the Captain Paſha which impeded the Liberty, for ſome time, of theſe Captives, had its Original at *Smyrna*, where ſome *Engliſh* Merchants making Collation one Evening in a Garden were aſſaulted and beaten by certain drunken * Levents, belonging to a Gally then in Port, in whoſe Company was a *Portuguez* Slave. The News hereof flying to the Frank Street, put all the Neighbourhood into an uproar, ſo that divers People with ſuch Weapons as came next to hand, in a fury went in purſuit of the Levents, and unhappily meeting one, drew him into the *Engliſh* Conſuls houſe, where they treated him with ſuch blows as abated much of the heat and fumes of his Wine; during which diſturbance and confuſion, the *Portuguez* Slave found an opportunity to make his eſcape. The Conſul knowing it ſome advantage in *Turky* to complain firſt, ſent to the *Kadi*, giving him to underſtand the ill uſage of Four of his Merchants (whoſe names he gave in writing) by the unruly Levents, whilſt they innocently, and without injury to any, divertiſed themſelves in a Garden; to which, for the preſent, little more was given in anſwer, than that on a farther examination of the Buſineſs, the Conſul ſhould receive Juſtice In the mean time the Turk, who had been beaten in the Conſuls Houſe, reſolved not to leave the Gate till he had received ſatisfaction for his blows; and the others that were his Comrades demanded their Slave from the *Engliſh*, which was loſt, by whoſe means and aſſiſtance (as they pretend) he had made his Eſcape. The matter came now to high Demands on both ſides, which the *Kadi*, either not being deſirous, or not of ſufficient Authority to compound, the Gally departed without any agreement, and the complaint was carried by the Turks to the Captain Paſha, who then being with his Fleet at *Mytiline*, with little other thoughts or buſineſs, was glad of this occaſion to get Money, and therefore ſuddenly returned the Gally again, with Orders to bring before him the Four Merchants, whoſe names he particularized, to make anſwer to their accuſation of having beaten his Levents, and contrived the eſcape of the ſlave. The Conſul and Merchants being affrighted by this Meſſage, and Command of ſo great a Perſonage, endeavoured with Money to accommodate the Buſineſs, by force of which it was at length taken up, coſting in all the ſumm of Two thouſand ſeven hundred Dollars, or thereabouts. The which paſſage

* Soldiers belonging to the Sea.

The Garden Avania.

1662. may ſerve for an example to ſuch as live in *Turky*, that all troubles of this nature are beſt compounded for at firſt; for at the beginning nothing more was demanded than the price of the Slave, & of the broken pate of the Levent: But being ſuffered to come under the Cognizance of powerful and covetous Tyrants; as there is no fathoming their unſatiable deſires, ſo there is no proſpect into what inconvenient dangers ſuch Affairs will involve, and entagle themſelves.

The Vizier's Edict, againſt Dollars of ſix Drams.

As *Turky* hath been ſeldom or never without having falſe Money currant, ſo the beſt ſort of Silver hath been ſo clipped by the Jews, *Armenians*, Merchants, and others; that the Dollar was brought at *Conſtantinople* to ſix Drams, and at *Smyrna* to ſeven, which made great confuſion in the Trade of theſe Countries. Wherefore the Vizier as he had already given proof and teſtimony to the World of his ſtrict obſervance, and adherence ro the *Mahometan* Law, ſo he was deſirous to appear highly careful and ſenſible of the Publick Intereſt: And therefore as the moſt neceſſary work, he began with the Dollars of ſix Drams, proclaiming that they ſhould no longer paſs in payments, and that thoſe in whoſe hands they were found, delivering them into the Mint, ſhould receive a; 80 in return of every ſuch Dollar, by which means the Mint would advance a Fourth on every Dollar, eſteeming every Dram worth Fourteen Aſpers, and that for the preſent no Dollar being currant under ſeven Drams, it might afterwards be brought to Lyons, and Dollars of nine Drams; which regulation, though at firſt grievous to ſome particular perſons, would afterwards redound to the common advanrage and benefit of Trade. To forward which Deſign the Grand Signior, and Queen Mother ſent all their Dollars of ſix Drams to be new coined into Aſpers at the Mint, ſo likewiſe did the Vizier, intending to be very ſtrict in prohibition of that Money. But a while after it happened that the Treaſurer of the Viziers Steward having occaſion to pay Monies, either for his own or his Maſters account, forced ſome Bags of Six Drams on thoſe to whom payment was to be made; the Receivers denied to accept them; but he being a powerful man, and very urgent, forced the Mony upon them, with which laden, as they had received them, they went directly to the Vizier, acquainting him that they were deſirous to obey his Commands, as to the ſix Dram Dollars, but his Stewards Treaſurer had forced on them that ſort of Money, which if it was his pleaſure that they ſhould ſtill paſs, they were contented to receive; if not, they deſired him to give Command for their payment in other Money. The Vizier being highly enraged, that the firſt Violation of his Commands ſhould begin in his own Family, immediately ordered, without farther proof or proceſs, that the Offenders Head ſhould be ſtruck off, and his body thrown into the Sea; which Sentence was executed in the ſame hour for example and terror of others, and to expiate the crime, and take away the ſcandal from the Fountain of Juſtice, whoſe ſtreams can never be eſteemed to run clear when the ſource is corrupted. In like manner the Overſeer of the Mint was ſtrangled, and *Emir* Paſha, formerly Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, was baniſhed to the Iſle of *Lemnos*, for making the Coin of Aſpers 5 *per Cent.* worſe than their true value.

Merchants of *Aleppo*.

The Merchants at *Aleppo*, being far from the Court, are more ſubject to troubleſom Avanias than others, who are nearer to the Head or Fountain, from whence Juſtice ſhould proſeed, as may appear by many examples, and particularly by an accident which fell out there this year. For it happened, that a Janiſary which ſerved the *Engliſh* Nation, riding abroad with ſome of the Merchants, for want of heed, or the unrulineſs of his Horſe, chanced to hurt a Youth playing in the ſtreets. Whereupon the Merchants, and the Janiſary, not to ſuffer this buſineſs to come within the knowledge of the Cities Officers, immediately for ſome Money quieted the complaints, and ſtopped the farther demands of the Father; and to make the buſineſs more ſecure, cauſed the Father to make Hoget before the *Kadi*, that he was well ſatisfied, and remained without farther pretence, either on the Merchant, or the Janiſary, for the hurt which his Child had received. But the Paſha, who had for a long time attentively watched an opportunity to extort Money from the *Engliſh*, was reſolved not to let paſs this fair occaſion; and therefore ſent to demand from the Conſul thoſe Merchants, which he called Acceſſories to this miſchief, and the Aſſaſſinates of a *Muſſulman*. The Conſul appearing in Perſon before the Paſha, denied to deliver up the Merchants, being guiltleſs of any crime; and that for hurt to the Child, the Father had received full ſatisfaction from the Janiſary, and given a diſcharge before the *Kadi*. Howſoever this reaſon would not pacifie the Paſha, who could acknowledge no other argument available than a Sum of Money; and therefore in proſecution of his deſign produced Ten falſe Witneſſes, that the Child was dead of its hurt, and that *Engliſh* men had done the miſchief. The Conſul had now no other anſwer than a flat denial; for the Paſha had forced by threats the Hoget from the Janiſary, and perſiſting with conſtancy in defence of his Merchants, the Paſha confined him for an hours time in a Chamber of his Houſe, and beat, and impriſoned his Druggerman. The Conſul afterwards returned home; and perceiving a difference between the Paſha and the Mufti, purchaſed the favour of the Mufti on his ſide, and procured from him an Hoget of the ſeveral proceedings in this buſineſs, which was diſpatched away with all expedition to *Conſtantinople*, that a redreſs of this injury might be obtained from the Superiour Power. Whilſt the Lord Ambaſſador in due manner reſented this breach of Capitulations, and prepared to make his complaints to the Vizier, it happened that certain Chriſtians of *Aleppo*, from whom the Paſha had forced 18000 Dollars by unjuſt extortion, were then at Court ſolliciting the reſtauration of their right. The Ambaſſador judging this a convenient and opportune preparation to prepoſſeſs the mind of the Vizier with a true apprehenſion of the injuſtice of this Paſha, encouraged and pricked forward theſe abuſed and oppreſſed Chriſtians in their complaints; and the next day preſented his Memorial to the Vizier, containing all the particulars of the late paſſages at *Aleppo*: Which with the other Crimes alledged the Day before, ſo moved the mind of the Vizier, that he promiſed the Ambaſſador to ſend a Kapugibaſhee of the Grand Signior to enquire into the Truth of theſe Allegations; and that he might be ſatisfied of his real intentions to do him juſtice, he adviſed him to ſend a Meſſenger in company with this Officer, who might witneſs the reality of his proceedings. The Kapugibaſhee being in this manner diſpatched, and arriving at *Aleppo*, made the Paſha refund the Money he had unjuſtly taken from the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians of that Country; in which good action my Lord Ambaſſador had been an uſeful inſtrument, having encouraged the Agents 1662.

of

1663. of thoſe Chriſtians at *Conſtantinople*, counſelled them what Courſe to take, and introduced them by his Chief Interpreter to the Preſence of the Vizier, for which he received the thanks of the *Greek* and *Armenian* Patriarchs, who gratefully acknowledged to the *Engliſh* Conſul at *Aleppo*, how much they were engaged to the charity and favour of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador: But whilſt all mens eyes were in expectation what farther proceedings were deſigned againſt the Paſha in favour of the *Engliſh*, the Officer denied to have received any inſtructions therein, and ſo returned to *Conſtantinople* without taking notice of the *Engliſh* Concernment. The Ambaſſador judging himſelf herein ſlighted, ſent to the Viziers Kahya to know the myſtery of this neglect; for the Vizier and himſelf having pawned his word and promiſes to do him juſtice againſt the Paſha of *Aleppo*, it ſeemed ſtrange that his aſſurances ſhould vaniſh into nothing; and that he ſo meanly eſteemed his Quality and Office, as to diſparage it with ſo much diſrepute and contempt as muſt neceſſarily befal him, ſhould this Paſha eſcape without exemplary puniſhment; for then the World might with reaſon believe his Applications of no prevalency, and his Merchants fear the inſufficiency of his protection. To which the Kahya anſwered, That it was true, that the Kapugibaſhee was not inſtructed in the Concernments of the *Engliſh*, in regard a more ſolemn and eminent piece of Juſtice was deſigned for the Ambaſſador, than any that could be performed by the Kapugibaſhee, and that in twenty or thirty days at fartheſt, the Paſha ſhould be deprived of his Office. The next day following the Kahya adviſed that the Hatteſheriff, or Imperial Command for depoſing of the Paſha, was ſigned, and that old *Mahomet* Paſha of *Darbiquier*, was conſtituted in his place; which News was highly pleaſing to the Lord Ambaſſador, in regard he had been an ancient Friend to the *Engliſh*, under whom he preſaged to our Nation at *Aleppo* all ſecurity and contentment. By which Story it is obſervable, That though the Supream Officers amongſt the *Turks* are willing to ſatisfie Chriſtian Ambaſſadors reſident with them, in the Care they have of their Welfare, and maintenance of their Capitulations; yet are not deſirous to publiſh to their own People the puniſhment of their Grand Officers, at the inſtigation or for the concernment of a Chriſtian: And that tho the *Turks* are apprehended amongſt us for a People of great Morality, and ſingleneſs in their Dealings; yet it is obſervable in this, as well as in other their actions, that they have double Tongues and Faces, and know how to act with as fine a Thread, and plauſible pretences, as are accuſtomary in the moſt politick and refined Courts of *Italy*.

Reflections on the Premiſes.

Anno Chriſti 1663. *Hegeira* 1074.

THE Baron of *Goez*, which at the end of the laſt Year arrived at *Buda* with ſeveral overtures of Peace, had ſo far proceeded in his Treaty with *Ali* Paſha of *Buda*, that all Articles ſeemed almoſt concluded, and ſcarce any difficulty to remain, unleſs the Surrender of *Zekelbyd* on the Confines of *Hungary*; which alſo was afterwards accommodated by Agreement, That the City ſhould be reſigned into the hands of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, as the moſt equal Condition between the Emperor and the Turk. So that, matters thus ſeeming to be compoſed, all People talked of Peace with *Germany*, and that the force and miſeries of Wars were to be turned upon *Dalmatia*: And though the *Turks* had no deſign leſs in their thoughts than this, or any intentions towards a Peace, as will be proved by the Sequel; howſoever, the *German* Miniſters, as men credulous of what they deſire, gave the Peace for certainly concluded, in which conceit the *Turks* ſo humoured and indulged their fancy, that they perſwaded Prince *Portia*, the Chief Miniſter of State to the Emperor, in that manner of the reality of their intentions, that he neglected the neceſſary Proviſions and Preparations of War. And though he was often adviſed by the Reſident at the *Ottomon* Port, that all theſe Demonſtrations of Peace were only Artifices of the *Turk*, to delude the Emperors Council; yet ſo tenacious was he of this Opinion, that though it be but common reaſon, and the vulgar Rule of Policy for a Prince to arm, and ſuſpect his Neighbour, who puts himſelf into a Warlike poſture; yet this Great Perſonage, though in other things profoundly wiſe, and circumſpect, was ſo deluded, that he replyed to the Reſidents Advices to this effect, That it was the Office of a prudent and experienced Miniſter to diſcover with diligence the reſolution of the Cabinet Councils of Princes, and not to give ear or credit to what is the common Voice or vogue of the Vulgar. 1663.

The *Turks* with words deceive the *German* Miniſters.

The Spring drawing near, the Vizier prepared all things for action, nominating and appointing ſuch, who in his abſence were to ſupply the Offices of State: *Iſhmael* Paſha, then Paſha of *Buda*, was deſigned for *Chimacam*, or Governour of *Conſtantinople*, and *Muſtapha* Paſha, Captain Paſha, Brother in Law to the Grand Vizier by Marriage of his Siſter (and now the preſent Vizier) was made *Chimacam* at *Adrianople*, near the Perſon of the Grand Signior. All other preparations for War went forwards, Thirty pieces of Cannon from *Scutari*, and fifty from the Seraglio, moſt of a vaſt bigneſs and weight, which had ſerved in the taking of *Babylon*, with great ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſions of War, were tranſported up the *Danube* to *Belgrade*, and the Princes of *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, had now Commands ſent them to quicken their diligence in making their preparations of War, and in providing Sheep, Beef, Rice, and all ſorts of Victuals for ſupply of the Camp; and general Proclamation was made in all places, That all Soldiers, who received one Aſper of pay from the Gr. Signior, were to prepare themſelves for the War.

The Gr. Signior impatient to leave *Conſtantinople.*

About the middle of *February* the Horſe Tail was ſet forth at the Viziers Gate; (which is the uſual ſignal of the Camps motion within the ſpace of a Month) ſo that none may excuſe himſelf from the War for want of due and timely intimation. And though the time for departure nearly approached, yet the Grand Signior was ſo impatient, that he would ſcarce expect until the Equinoctial, which was the Term formerly appointed and publiſhed for this expedition; reſolving ſometimes to proceed before, and leave the Vizier to follow him, letting fall words often, That ſuch as loved and honoured him would keep him company. But this haſty reſolution, and eager deſire of his Journey, the Vizier, Mufti, and others of his Counſellours, did moderate, perſwading him to a little longer patience: to which, though with ſome difficulty, he aſſented; yet he could not forbear from his Horſes back, and conſtant exerciſes abroad, nor could he be induced to take one Nights repoſe longer in his great Seraglio at *Conſtantinople*, but lodged at *Daout* Paſha, a ſmall Palace about four miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*. Which extravagant manner of living moſt People attri-

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tributed to his wandring humour, and delights in hunting, riding, and ſuch like exerciſes, having his ſole pleaſure in the Woods and Fields: But others, who judged with better Foundation, did conceive, That the Grand Signiors choice of other places of Reſidence rather than his Imperial Seraglio, proceeded not ſo much from his own unſetled humour, and courſe of living, as from an apprehenſion of ſome Deſigns, and mutinous Treaſons of the Janiſaries againſt him: For to ſpeak the truth, ſince the death of *Kuperlee*, the Militia began again to be corrupted; and if we may believe the opinion of the moſt principal *Turks*, the Vizier undertook this War to employ the buſie ſpirits of the Soldiery, which began to grow reſty and inſolent through idleneſs, and by that means ſecure his own life, and eſtabliſh his Condition and Fortune.

March.

The Equinoctial being come, the Grand Signior would not have one days longer patience; for though the Seaſon was wet and rainny, yet the Tents were pitched; and though the Wind was ſo violent and forcible as overturned almoſt the whole Camp, yet no difficulties and inconveniencies of Weather could give one hour of intermiſſion to the Sultans deſires: Wherefore on the Ninth of this Month, the Grand Signior departed from *Conſtantinople*, attended with his Court, his principal Officers of State, and with what part of his Army was then a in readineſs to march. The magnificence of the ſhow they made, was according to the uſual Solemnity, yet worthy the ſight of a Stranger, and perhaps not incurious to the Reader in its Relation.

The Cavalcade which the Gr. Signior made when he departed from *Conſtantinople.*

Firſt, marched with a ſingular Gravity, the ſeveral and diſtinct Orders of Civil and Military Officers in their proper Habits and Capariſons, the Santones in their wild dreſs followed by the Emirs, or ſuch as are of the Kindred of their falſe Prophet; the Great Vizier and Mufti rode in rank together, the Vizier on the left hand, the moſt honourable place amongſt the Soldiery, being the ſide to which the Sword is girt, as the right is of greateſt eſteem amongſt ſuch as are of the Law, being that hand which guides the Pen: The Trappings of the Viziers Horſe were plated with Gold, and before him were carried three Horſe-tails, called in *Turkiſh* (*Tugh*,) and behind him came about Three hundred and fifty Pages, all Young men well mounted, and armed with Jacks and Coats of Male: Next followed the Minions of the Court, or Seraglio, (*viz.*) the Paicks with Caps of beaten Gold, and embroidered Coats, the Solacks with Feathers, armed with Bows and Arrows; theſe two laſt are of the higheſt degree of Lacqueys, which more nearly attend the Perſon of the Grand Signior; theſe were followed by Nine led Horſes of the Grand Signior, richly adorned with precious Stones, and Bucklers all covered with Jewels of an unknown value. Immediately before the Perſon of the Grand Signior was led a Camel carrying the Alcoran in a Cheſt covered with cloth of gold: The Gr. Signior himſelf was clothed in a Veſt of cloth of gold lined with a Sable incomparably black, held up from the ſides of his Horſe by four Pages; his Perſon was followed with great numbers of Eunuchs, and Pages with long red Caps wrought with Gold about the head, carrying Lances and Mails, with two Locks, one on each ſide of their Head, which are worn by ſuch only as are of the Royal Chamber: After theſe crowded great numbers of Servants, with the chief Comp. of Saphees, commanded by the *Selictor Aga*, in number about 1800. And in this manner and order they marched to their Tents.

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The richneſs of *Turkiſh* Tents.

The Tents were raiſed on a ſmall Hill as may be judged about Four Miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*, and about Two Thouſand in number ranged at that time without order, only the Grand Signior's ſeemed to be in the midſt, and to over-top all the reſt, well worthy obſervation, coſting (as was reported) One hundred and eighty thouſand Dollars, richly embroidered in the inſide with Gold, and ſupported by Pillars plated with Gold. Within the * Walls of this Tent (as I may ſo call them) were all ſorts of Offices belonging to the Seraglio, all Retirements and Apartments for the Pages, *Chioskes* or Summer-houſes for pleaſure; and though I could not get admittance to view the innermoſt Rooms and Chambers, yet by the outward and more common places of reſort, I could make a gueſs at the richeſs and greatneſs of the reſt, being ſumptuous beyond compariſon of any in uſe amongſt the Chriſtian Princes. On the right hand hereof was pitched the Grand Viziers Tent, exceedingly rich and lofty; and had I not ſeen that of the Sultans before it, I ſhould have judged it the beſt that my eyes had ſeen. The oſtentation and magnificence of this Empire being evidenced in nothing more than in the richeſs of their Pavilions, ſumptuous beyond the fixed Palaces of Princes, erected with Marble and Mortar.

The *Turks* begin their March.

On the Sixteenth of this Month the *Aga* of the Janiſaries firſt raiſed his Tents, and began his march; the next day followed the Grand Signior, Vizier, and other Officers, and Spahees. At which time all *Aſia* was full of Soldiers flocking from all parts of the Eaſt, as from *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, *Arabia*, *Erzirum*, and *Babylon*: So that for a long time Boats and Barks were continually imployed to ferry the Souldiery from *Scutari* into *Europe*: And the High-ways, Villages, and all parts of the Road towards *Adrianople* were filled with Soldiers, as if all *Aſia* had iſſued out to devour and inhabit the *German* Poſſeſſions. And for greater expedition in the march of the Army, Proclamation was made of a general Rendezvous at *Sophia* at the * *Biram*, then within Three weeks time, where they deſigned to ſoil their Horſe, and refreſh themſelves before they fell in earneſt to their buſineſs. But before the Grand Vizier departed from *Adrianople* to proſecute a War in *Hungary* againſt the Emperor, he called Signior *Ballarino* to his preſence, as if he would treat with him of matters tending to an adjuſtment with *Venice*; when at the ſame time he had 20000 men in a readineſs at *Scutari* to march into *Dalmatia*, and to joyn with other Forces in *Boſna* and *Croatia*; but this diſſimulation and appearance of Treaty ſerved only to diſcover on what Terms a Peace might be obtained, in caſe Affairs in *Hungary* ſhould be ſo preſſing as to require an application ſolely of Arms to that Country.

Not only had Signior *Ballarino* Affairs of publick trouble, but likewiſe ſomething touched him of private concernment in his own Family; where the *Turks*, I know not upon what information coming to ſearch, found in his Houſe two figures, one of a man, and the other of a woman made of Linen cloth, ſtuffed with Wool and Cotton; the which were interpreted by the *Turks* to be Images of Sorcery and Inchantment; one repreſenting the Grand Signior, and the other his Mother, were deſigned in a ſecret manner, by thruſting Needles and Pins into thoſe parts, where the Heart and Liver is, to cauſe thoſe whom they repreſent to dye with macerations and conſumptions, according to the Inchantment of *Medea*. *In jecur urget acus.* And this ſuſpicion was

*In *Turkiſh* Perdeh.

* The *Turks* Feaſt.

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was augmented by the reports of the Neighbourhood, who hearing the Prieſt often recite his Litany, and ſing Evening-ſong, avouched that they conſtantly over-heard the Charms muttered in ſuch forms as are uſed by Magicians and Sorcerers: Wherefore deſigning to take the Prieſt, who was the Father Provincial of St. *Francis*, and puniſh him for his Witchcraft, the good man fairly fled, and kept himſelf out of harms way, until Signior *Ballarino* could quiet the minds of the *Turks* by ſome Art, which he more forcibly practiſed upon them by a ſtronger charm of Money and Preſents than that which was the ſubject of their complaint.

In the mean time all fears and dangers of *Candia* vaniſhed, becauſe the *Turks* bent their Forces and chief of their ſtrength againſt their Enemies at Land: To provide againſt which, the Senate of *Venice* ſent into *Dalmatia* the Baron *Spaar* for General, with many other Officers under him, namely the Marqueſs *Maculani*, Count *Ettore Albano*, *Carlo Martinengo*, and *Roverelli*, Count of *Caudes*, the Cavalier *Grimaldi*, *Echenfels*, and others. Into *Friuli*, *Franciſco Moroſini* was diſpatched in quality of Proveditor General with ſupream Power and Authority, and in this manner all matters were as well provided and ſecured by Land, as they were by Sea.

The *Biram* chanced to happen out this Year towards the end of *April*, by which time the Vizier, and moſt of his Army, aſſembled according to Proclamation at *Sophia*; where having continued ſome time, and conſulted well in what manner to put their deſigns in execution, they proceeded in their March towards *Buda*, and the Confines of *Hungary*; but in the way the Vizier was encountred by a Meſſenger from the Emperor, offering all reaſonable Propoſitions of Peace, if poſſibly a ſtop might be given to the farther progreſs of that vaſt and formidable Army. All matters were propoſed which probably might give ſatisfaction; the Fort of Count *Serini* (the grand Eye-ſore of the *Turks*) was proffered to be demoliſhed, with other Conditions which before the March of the Army were never propoſed or demanded. But the Vizier gave little ear to theſe fair Overtures, but proceeded forwards in his Demands, as he did in his March: Requiring now, not the demoliſhment of the Fort, but the Surrender of it entirely with all the Strength, Artillery, and Ammunition into the hands of the Grand Signior. Had this condition been granted, it is probable the deſires and pretenſions of the *Turks* would not have ſtopped here, but have riſen, as the ſpirits of their Enemies had condeſcended, and exceeded all the hopes and advantage which they imagined probable and feaſible to be obtained by the War. Wherefore this Meſſage proving fruitleſs, the Bringer of it was permitted Licence to return into *Germany*: But the Reſident was refuſed diſmiſſion, being detained in the *Turkiſh* Camp, as an Inſtrument to mediate a Peace, when both ſides ſhould grow weary of the War.

The Coſſacks infeſt the *Tartars*.

About this time the *Tartars* were greatly infeſted by the Coſſacks, who were then very formidable and ſtrong, approaching near the City of *Oſac*, the Key and chief Fortreſs of *Tartary*, under the Command of a Fiſherman of the *Boriſthenes*, who having had great ſucceſſes, and collected a conſiderable ſum of Money, became a dangerous Enemy: By Sea alſo they commanded abſolutely, roving uncontrouled, having a Fleet of Saykes and Gallies near an hundred and fifty Sail, againſt whom the Tartar *Han* or King of *Tartary* craved of the Grand Signior forty ſail of Gallies that year to oppoſe them. But this Force of the Coſſacks was ſoon abated; for it pleaſed God, that paſſing out of the *Palus Mæotis* through the narrow paſſage of *Colchos* into the Black Sea, the beſt part of this Fleet ſuffered ſhipwrack; with which they were ſo diſmayed, that the twelve ſail of Gallies (which was the whole Force the *Turks* could ſpare this year for that Sea) gave a check to the remainder, and forced them again to the Banks of the *Boriſthenes*. The reſt of the *Turkiſh* Fleet, conſiſting, together with the Beys Gallies, in all but of thirty Sail, departed from *Conſtantinople*, with deſign rather to make ſome appearance of a Fleet, and a noiſe amongſt their own people, and collect the Contributions of the Iſles in the *Archipelago*, than out of hopes of effecting any thing againſt the *Venetians*; and ſo it ſucceeded; for this Fleet remained the whole Summer at *Mytilene*, not daring to appear abroad for fear of the Enemy.

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Though the *Tartars* were ſo hardly beſet by the Coſſacks, yet their danger at home was not a ſufficient excuſe to diſingage them from their aſſiſtance in the War of *Hungary*. For the Vizier marching towards the Frontiers, ſent one Meſſenger after the other to haſten the Tartar *Han* with all ſpeed poſſible to the Wars. But the *Tartars* ſeeming not ſo willing, or ſo ready as the *Turks* expected, more poſitive commands, and ſevere threats, were diſpatched than before, that laying aſide all excuſes or delays, they ſhould with all the Force of their Country attend in this preſent War againſt the Emperor, or otherwiſe the Tartar *Han* was to be deprived of his Government, and his Son conſtituted in his place. Theſe ſevere menaces reduced the *Tartar* to great ſtraits; fearful he was to diſpleaſe the Sultan, not knowing what ill conſequences might proceed from thence; but more apprehenſive he was of the approaches of the Coſſacks, and of the diſpleaſure of his own People, who were reſolved to ſee this fire of War extinguiſhed in their own homes, before they would attend the deſigns, or ſatisfie the Luſts of a ſtranger Prince. In this Dilemma the Tartar *Han* finding himſelf, made uſe of fair words and promiſes, ingaging his word, That after the harveſt was paſt, no obſtacle ſhould prevent his compliance with the Sultans expectations; for at preſent it was impoſſible, in regard that ſhould their People at this ſeaſon be diverted from gathering the harveſt, the Corn and Fruit would remain on the ground, and ſo occaſion a Famine and deſtruction of their Country. And herein the *Tartar* had ſome reaſon; for theſe People go not to the Wars, as other Nations, who leave a ſufficient number behind to cultivate their Country, and perform all other Offices and Imployments in a Common-wealth: But theſe making their chief livelihood and ſubſiſtence on the prey and robberies they make on their Neighbours; as many as reſolve to eat Bread and live, who are men not old or impotent, able to bear Arms, betake themſelves to their Horſe and Bow; ſo that when their Army is abroad, their Towns and Villages are only inhabited, and defended by their Women. But the *Turk* whoſe deſires are never ſatisfied with reaſons, or withſtood by words, or with any thing beſides the execution of his Commands, diſpatched another Meſſage more full of threats and reſolution than formerly, carried by the Embrahor, or Maſter of the G. Signiors Horſe, menacing nothing but Fire, and Sword, and Deſtruction to the *Han* and his Country, if he longer delayed to perform his Duty. But by this time the

The *Tartar* unwilling to go to the War.

The courſe of life amongſt the *Tartars*.

They are threatned again.

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They ſend an Army into *Hungary*.

the Harveſt being almoſt gathered, and their fears againſt the Coſſacks partly extinguiſhed, the *Tartar* promiſed with all expedition an Army of Seventy Thouſand men, under the Conduct of the Prince his eldeſt Son, who whilſt they were putting themſelves in order, and aſſembling for the War; reports were murmured, as if the *Turks* were in a Treaty of Peace with the Emperoor, and matters in a fair likelihood of compoſure: At this news the common Souldiers amongſt the *Tartars* were not a little ſtartled, fearing that they who are free Booters, and have no other pay than their purchaſe, ſhould by ſuch a Treaty be forced to return empty; and therefore before they would proceed, ſent to adviſe the Sultan of theſe their fears; ſupplicating him, that if he ſhould think fit to conclude a Peace, and ſo oblige them to return into their own Country, that he would not take it amiſs, if upon their march home, they ſhould make themſelves good upon his Subjects of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, whoſe perſons and Eſtates they reſolved to carry with them, as a juſt prey and recompence for their loſs of time and labour. The Sultan who ſets a ſmall value on the Lives and Eſtates of his Chriſtian Subjects, judged this Propoſition but reaſonable, ſo long as upon theſe terms he might obtain the benefit of the *Tartars* aſſiſtance, who are the beſt Horſe to forage, deſtroy, and make deſolate a Country.

The Story of Aſan *Aga the Moſayp or Favourite, and other inſtances of the uncertainty of the* Turkiſh *Richeſs, and Glory*

THE Great Vizier being by this time arrived on the Frontiers with a very conſiderable Army; the G. Signior at *Adrianople* continued his uſual pleaſures in Hunting, Riding, throwing of the Gerit or Dart, and in other paſtimes and ſports of this nature; at which time caſting his Eyes upon one *Aſan* Aga, a ſprightly youth of his Seraglio, a *Polonian* by Nation, to be more forward and active than any of his Court, took an affection to him, ſo ſudden and violent, as might be judged neither well founded, nor long durable; for the Grand Signior having heard, that there were examples amongſt the Emperors his Predeceſſors, not only in the abſence, but in the preſence alſo of the Vizier, of maintaining and conſtituting a Favourite, in Turkiſh called *Moſayp*, did own publickly the Election of this perſon for his Friend and Companion; ſo that this Minion was on a ſudden ſo highly ingratiated in the favour of his Prince, that he always rode equal with him; Cloathed as rich, and mounted as well, as the Sultan himſelf, as if he had been his Coadjutor, or Companion in the Empire. The Queen Mother, the *Kuzlier* Aga, and other rich Eunuchs of the Seraglio, the Chimacams of *Adrianople*, and *Conſtantinople*, with all the Great Officers and principal Miniſters, were commanded to make Preſents of Money, Jewels, and other Sacrifices, to this riſing Sun; whom now every one ſo courted and adored, that he became the only talk and admiration of the whole Town; no other diſcourſe there was, but of *Aſan Chelabei*, *Aſan* the fine accompliſht Gentleman, *Aſan* the only Creature of Fortune, and Idol of the whole World. This high and ſudden promotion of this Youth, greatly diſpleaſed the Queen Mother, *Kuzlier* Aga, who had Creatures of their own to perfer, and by their means became the Envy and Emulation of the whole Court, ſo that there wanted not ſuch who poſted the news to the Vizier, as him, on whom the growing greatneſs of *Aſan* might have the moſt dangerous reflection: But the Vizier duly conſidering, that the deep impreſſions this Youth had made in the affections of his Maſter, were not to be removed by plain dealing, but by ſome more occult Artifice and diſſimulation, took occaſion to write to the Grand Signior, in favour of *Aſan* Aga, extolling the prudence of his choice of ſo compleat and hopeful a Youth for his Favourite; but that it was pity, ſo pregnant parts as thoſe with which *Aſan* was endued, fit to promote his Maſters Service and Intereſt, ſhould be Encloiſtred, and Buried in the ſoftneſs and delights of his Seraglio; and therefore his Counſel was, to have him preferred to ſome government, and degree of a Paſha, to which his Abilities and Education, in the Nurſery and Diſcipline of the Court, had abundantly accompliſhed him. *Peſſimum genus inimicorum, laudantes.* Nor were the Queen Mother, and *Kuzlier* Aga, all this time wanting in their contrivance to undermine him, but not with a deſign ſpun with ſo fine a Thread, profeſſing themſelves openly his Adverſaries: For which Courtly Policy, the Vizier only received a check, and ſome few verbal reproofs, for intermedling with what ſo nearly concerned his Maſters Fancy and Affection: But the *Kuzlier* Aga, was by one word from *Aſan* (whom he had diſcovered to be his Enemy) deprived of his Office, and had therewith loſt his Life; had not the Queen Mother powerfully interceded for him, and gained an exchange of his puniſhment from death to baniſhment in Grand *Cairo* in *Ægypt*. The Baltagibaſhee alſo (who is the Captain of that part of the Grand Signiors Guard, who carry Hatchets, and are empyloyed in cutting Wood for the uſe of the Seraglio) being diſcovered to be a Confederate in the ſame Plot againſt the Favourite, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment, and immediately both of them diſpeeded away to the place, where they were to ſpend the remainder of their days. Grand *Cairo* hath always been the place of Baniſhment for unfortunate Courtiers, or rather of ſuch who have with much greatneſs, plenty, and contentment ſometimes enjoyed the Fruit of their great Richeſs, gained in the Sunſhine and ſummer of their Princes favour. To this City alſo was this *Kuzlier* Aga exiled, who in the enjoyment of his Office for ſeveral years, had amaſſed a moſt vaſt Wealth, incredible to be ſpoken, and much to be wondred, that a Negro, whoſe hue and perſon is contemptible amongſt all, whom God hath created of a Colour different from thoſe who partake more of Light, and are of nearer ſimilitude with the Sun, and Nature of an Angel; one whoſe Original was a Slave, and his price never above a Hundred Pieces of Eight, ſhould be loaded with ſuch Goods of Fortune, and enriched with the Treaſury of a Prince: His Retinue conſiſted of about 900 Horſe, (beſides Camels, and Mules for his Baggage) amongſt which a Hundred were led Horſes, worth Seven or eight hundred Dollars a Horſe, and that he might ſtill ſeem to live by his Princes Bounty, a thouſand Aſpers a day was to be his conſtant pay, to be iſſued out of the G. Signiors Revenue in *Egypt*; by which we may in part calculate the greatneſs of this Empire, when ſo vaſt Richeſs is accounted but a reaſonable proportion for ſo vile and

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Tacitus.

The *Kuzlier* Aga baniſhed to *Cairo*.

As alſo the Baltagibaſhee.

mean a Slave: Howſoever the Grand Signiors Treaſury ſuffers little hereby, for this wealth and pomp is but lent him to keep, and look on; he is uncapable to make a Teſtament, or conſtitute an Heir; the Grand Signior himſelf ſucceeding to all the Eſtate he hath given him, and the improvement of it. This Negro being proceeded as far as to *Conſtantinople*, had his Companion the Baltagibaſhee, recalled from him with deſign to be put to Death, but afterwards by mediation of ſome powerful Friends, who took advantage of the gentle and benign humour of the Sultan, his pardon was obtained, and he preferred to a ſmall * Paſhalick in the leſſer *Aſia*. Howſoever the Eunuch proceeded in his Journey to *Grand Cairo*, where being arrived, after three Days, was by the Imperial Command ſtript of all his wealth and greatneſs, which amounted unto Two Millions of Dollars, to be reſtored again to their firſt Maſter, who uſes to lend his Slaves ſuch gaieties and Ornaments, only to afford the World occaſion to ſee and admire the vaſtneſs of his Wealth, and contemplate the vanity and unconſtancy of Richeſs and Worldly glory. This poor Negro thus deveſted of all, returned to his primary condition of a Slave, in which he was born, and for many years had lived, and was now baniſhed, forſaken, and diſconſolate in the upper *Egypt*; whither going ſcarce with ſufficient to preſerve him from Famine and Beggery, the Beyes of *Egypt*, out of compaſſion, beſtowed on him an Alms of twelve Purſes, being Eight Thouſand four hundred Dollars, according to the Account of *Cairo*, now the only ſupport and ſuſtenance of his Life.

* Government of a Paſha.

This Victory gained over theſe great Perſonages, and foyl given to the Queen Mother her ſelf, was not carried by this young Favourite with that prudent equality of mind as was decent; but being puffed up with pride and glory, adventured to a judgment and cenſure of the deepeſt matters of State, which touched not a little the jealouſie and ſcorn of the Great Vizier, who therefore wrote to all thoſe grave Sages, to whoſe Counſel he conceived the Sultan gave any ear or credit; repreſenting with extraordinary paſſion and ſervency the dangers he apprehended might beſal his Maſter, and his Empire, whilſt both were ſubject to the unexperienced Counſels of *Aſan*, a Youth both in years and knowledge. That it was much to the diſparagement of the Supream Office of Vizier, whilſt he was with Thouſands of *Turks* on the Frontiers contending for the Glory and Enlargement of the *Ottoman* Dominions, ſubjected to millions of dangers and labours; to be ſupplanted by a Boy, fit only for an attendants in his Maſters Chamber; and to have the privacy of the Emperors State Counſels and policy rifled by a Youth, whoſe years had not fitted him for the knowledge and continence of an ordinary Secret. Theſe reaſonable Complaints of the Vizier's were by ſome of his wiſe Friends, whoſe Age and Gravity had produced ſomething of Reverence towards their Perſons, not without hazard and fear communicated unto the Sultan, the violence of whoſe Love being with time moderated and abated, he began to conſider the reaſonableneſs of this Diſcourſe, and ſo on a ſudden, to the great admiration of all, caſt off his Favourite, creating him a Kapugibaſhee, or chief Porter, with a hundred and fifty Aſpers a day Sallary.

The Ruine of Samozade, *the Reis Effendi, or Chief Secretary of State to the Great Vizier.*

AND ſince we have related a Story which partly repreſents the unconſtancy and tyranny of the *Turkiſh* Greatneſs, it may yet pleaſe the Reader, ſhould we add another, tho' a little out of its due order, not leſs remarkable, and worthy of Record, than the former.

When *Newhauſel* was beſieged, called by the *Turks* and *Hungarians*, *Oyar*, and divers attempts made on it in vain; *Samozade* the Reis Effendi, with leſs caution and wiſdom than he did uſually practiſe in other matters, wrote a Letter to the Chief Eunuch of the Women, then in the Seraglio at *Adrianople*, to this effect. That if the Grand Signior deſired to have that Fortreſs taken that was then beſieged, he ſhould chuſe a more able Captain for his Army than the preſent Vizier, a Perſon who had only been educated in a Tekeh, or Colledge, and ſtudied in the ſpeculations of Law, and not in the Oda's of the Janiſaries, or Cuſtomes and Exerciſes of the Camp: And therefore if his Majeſty thought fit to chuſe another General, he could not caſt his eyes on any more able and deſerving than *Ibrahim* Paſha his Son in Law, a Perſon qualified for the Office of Vizier, being skilful in all points both of War and Peace. This Eunuch being the perſon that had ſucceeded to the former lately exiled, having received this Letter, immediately without farther Art or Prologue, read it to the Grand Signior, at which though at firſt he was ſtartled, yet not as yet weary of the Vizier, but ſtill conſerving a kindneſs and eſteem for him, took the Letter from the Eunuch, and ſent it to the Vizier, permitting him to inflict what puniſhment he judged moſt agreeable to his own preſervation and vindication of honour. The Vizier, having received this Letter, ſeemed not in the leaſt to be ſurprized with the perfidiouſneſs of *Samozade*, but in a cool temper recollecting all the Applications and Addreſſes (which we have mentioned before) at his firſt entrance into this Supream Office, and judging from thence, that he was not a Perſon capable of friendſhip, or a ſteadineſs to his Intereſt, ſent for him, and for *Ibrahim* Paſha his Son in Law to his preſence, and firſt having upbraided his Treachery, and want of Integrity, in return to all the Careſſes and Endeavours he had uſed to win his Faith, cauſed both their heads to be ſtruck off by the Executioner.

This *Samozade* was one of the moſt wiſe and beſt practiſed Secretaries of State that ever ſerved the *Ottoman* Empire, and one whom our *Engliſh* much lamented, being perfectly acquainted with the particulars of our Capitulations, and Conſtitution of our Trade; and had not his extraordinary Covetouſneſs blemiſhed his other moral Vertues, he might have been eſteemed a man rare, and a Miniſter not unworthy the greateſt Monarch of the World. The Richeſs he had collected during the time of his State-Negotiations were incredible and immenſe, for he ſpared and loſt no opportunity of gains, which rendred him the more liable and obnoxious to the ſtroke of Juſtice. His Goods were now ſeiſed on for ſervice of the Sultan, his Maſter, as juſtly confiſcated for Treaſon; his Eſtate was found to amount unto three Millions of Pieces of Eight in ready Money; he had ſixteen hundred Camels, four Hundred

Mules, Six hundred Horſes of the beſt ſort, beſides ordinary Horſes of ſervice proportionable to thoſe of value. In his Cheſts and Stores were found Four thouſand Girdles, or Saſhes, of the beſt ſort of Silver, never worn; Seven and twenty pounds weight of Pearl, three hundred Daggers (or *Turkiſh* Hanjars) moſt ſet with Diamonds and Rubies, beſides Ninety Sable Veſts, each whereof might be valued at a Thouſand Dollars; his Swords and rich Furniture were without number, or account, with a Cart-Load of the beſt and fineſt *China*; over and above all this, remained to his Son a Revenue of about Ten pounds Sterling a day, who being condemned to the torture to confeſs the hidden Riches of his Father, at his firſt examination diſcovered One hundred and twenty five thouſand Zaichins of *Venetian* Gold.

Of an Avania brought upon the Dutch *Nation.*

BEfore we proceed on with the Relation of the War in *Hungary*, where we for a time ſhall leave the Great Vizier, it will not be from our purpoſe to digreſs a little in recounting certain intermediate Accidents, which had reference to our own and the *Dutch* Nations Intereſt at the *Ottoman* Court. And firſt I ſhall begin with the *Dutch*, to whom a conſiderable trouble and misfortune befel, by means of a Ship of theirs called the Emperor *Octaviano*, which deſigning to lade *Turks* Goods at *Alexandria* for *Conſtantinople*, had her Licence and Diſpatches obtained by means of the *Holland* Reſident, the Sieur *Warnero*. This Ship being accordingly laden at *Alexandria*, whereon alſo the Grand Signior himſelf had Thirty thouſand Dollars Intereſt, and being ready to depart, was near the Port ſurprized by the *Venetian*, and *Malteſe* Corſairs, and ſo taken. This News was poſted over land from Grand *Cairo*, and the Cargo ſent of the Goods, importing Fourſcore and four thouſand Dollars, which in the Month of *June* arrived at *Conſtantinople*. The perſons intereſted in this loſs being many, in the nature of a Tumult applied themſelves to the Grand Signior, and demanded ſentence againſt the *Dutch* Reſident for reparation, alledging that he had recommended the Ship, and Commander, who had combined with the Corſairs to ſurprize him, and that the Reſident had engaged for the faithfulneſs of the Captain, who had betrayed their Goods, not endeavouring to defend himſelf ſo much as by the ſhot of one Musket. The Grand Signior being likewiſe concerned herein himſelf, was eaſily perſwaded to grant his Order and Sentence, That the loſs of all ſhould concern the *Dutch* Reſident, and his Nation, requiring the Chimacam of *Conſtantinople* to ſummon the Reſident, and intimate his pleaſure therein, exacting a time limited for the payment. The Reſident being called to ſeveral Audiences thereupon, denied to have had any hand in the employment of this Ship on the this Voyage, and that their Capitulations, to which the Grand Signior had ſworn, acquitted him from being reſponſible for the miſdemeanors of any of his Nation, for whoſe fidelity and good behaviour he had never perſonally engaged, and thereupon poſitively refuſed to make himſelf liable for payment of this Money, to which he was neither obliged by the Law of Nations, nor his own private Act. Notwithſtanding which, the *Turks* ſentenced the Reſident to be liable to make ſatisfaction, in regard that when the Ship was firſt freighted, he appeared before the Chimacam at *Conſtantinople*, and being asked whether the Commander of this Ship was an honeſt man, and one who might be intruſted with ſuch a concernment of the *Turks*; his Anſwer was, That he believed he might, and that he was always eſteemed faithful and honeſt to his Truſt: which in the *Turkiſh* Law amounting to as much as if he had ſaid, he would become his ſecurity, the Grand Signior confirmed the former ſentence againſt the Reſident, and with haſte and fury diſpatched a Kapugibaſhee to bring his Perſon to *Adrianople*; where being arrived, and continuing as yet conſtant to his firſt Anſwer, was committed to cuſtody of the Chaousbaſhee, or Chief of the Purſuivants, where they gave him time until after the Feaſt of the little *Biram*, to conſult his own good and ſecurity of his Nation within the *Turkiſh* Dominions. The Feaſt was no ſooner ended, but the Grand Signior ſent immediately to know his ultimate reſolution, declaring, That if he continued ſtill obſtinate againſt his Power, he had commanded that he ſhould be committed to that Dungeon which had ſome few years before been the Lodging of other Chriſtian Miniſters. The Reſident terrified at the thoughts of ſuch an Impriſonment, declined from his former conſtancy, ingaging to pay the Money in an Hundred and five days time, for no longer would be granted; ſo violent and unreaſonable the *Turks* were in their demands, againſt the Law of Nations, the particular Capitulations, and the common reaſon and juſtice of the World. This Money was for the moſt part taken up by the *Dutch* Nation in *Turky* at Intereſt, and afterwards the debt extinguiſhed by Money lent them by the States, for payment of which a particular Impoſition was granted on all Goods brought from *Turky*, until the Debt to them was cleared, with an Intereſt of one *per cent*. for the year. By which it may be obſerved, how little are eſteemed the Perſons of Chriſtian Repreſentatives in the *Turkiſh* Court; who having proved with what tameneſs ſome Princes have taken the affronts offered to the Perſon of their Ambaſſador in former times, and now obſerving with what patience the States of *Holland* have ſuſtained the like inſolence and injury in their Reſident, they may poſſibly profeſs their Function ſacred, but yet in matters of their own intereſt will never be induced to vouchſafe them that reſpect or juſt treatment which is due to them.

In what ſtate the Affairs of England, *in reference to the* Turkiſh *Court, ſtood about this time with* Algier, *and other Parts of* Barbary.

IN the preceding year we declared how a Peace was concluded between *England* and *Algier*: For better confirmation whereof, and ſecurity of our Merchants Eſtates in the *Levant*, upon occaſion of a future breach, it was judged neceſſary by His Majeſties Council, That the reſpective Articles laſt made and concluded with *Algier*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, ſhould be diſtinctly de-

1663. deſcribed and ratified by the Grand Signior, with this Clauſe at the Concluſion of each, *viz.* “That “in caſe the foregoing Articles were not kept by “theſe his Subjects reſpectively, but ſhould con“trary to the meaning thereof through Piracy “be broken, that then it ſhould be lawful for “the King of *England* to chaſtiſe thoſe People by “his own Arms and Force, without Impeachment “or Breach of that good Peace and Amity which “Intervenes between His Majeſty of Great *Britain* “and the *Ottoman* Emperor: And this was ſuppoſed might always be a Plea in defence of the *Engliſh* Nation in *Turky*, when at any time His Majeſty provoked by the Injuries of thoſe faithleſs and piratical Nations, ſhould take due Revenge upon them, not only on the Seas, but alſo on the Land, ſubverting thoſe very Cities and Fortreſſes, which are the Neſts of Piracies, and the common Chaſtiſement and Gaols of Chriſtendom. When theſe Articles came to the hands of His Majeſties Ambaſſador the Earl of *Winchelſea*, with Orders to have them ratified and ſubſcribed in the manner foregoing, the *Turkiſh* Court was then at *Adrianople*, to which place on this occaſion the Lord Ambaſſador made a Journey from his uſual Reſidence at *Conſtantinople*; and having acquainted the *Chimacam* with the whole matter; and the Propoſitions rightly apprehended by him, they were offered, and the next day communicated in behalf of the Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior, who readily promiſed compliance with His Majeſties deſires, ordering the Articles and Concluſion of them, to be ingroſſed and prepared for the Imperial Aſſent. Howſoever ſome conſiderable time ran on before they were delivered out, in regard that being matters of State relating to War and Peace, they could not be fully granted without Privity and Knowledg of the Grand Vizier, who was the ſupreme Counſellor, and therefore we were forced to attend thirty five days before an Expreſs could go and return from the Frontiers with the Anſwer expected, which was as eaſily granted by the Vizier, as before it was entertained by the Grand Signior. On *Auguſt* 5. the Confirmation of the ſeveral aforeſaid Articles were conſigned unto my ſelf in preſence of our Lord Ambaſſador by the hands of the *Chimacam*, being my ſelf deſigned in Perſon to deliver them; for which Service a Frigat of His Majeſties Navy attended at *Smyrna*: ſo that very Evening I departed, and arrived at *Smyrna* the 15*th* of *Auguſt*.

In my Journy from *Adrianople* to *Smyrna*, omitting the Geography of the Countries, and the pleaſent view I had from the top of a Mountain between *Malagra* and *Gallipoli*, from whence I could ſurvey all the *Helleſpont*, and at the ſame time take a proſpect of the *Propontick* and *Ionian* Seas, I ſhall only relate two paſſages which befel me in this Journey, not unpleaſant to be remembred.

The firſt was at a ſmall Village called *Iſhecle*, at the foot of the Mountain *Ida*, not far from the Ancient *Troy*, now named by the *Turks* *Kauz-dog*, which ſignifies the Mountain of Geeſe; the People that inhabit here, are of a rude Diſpoſition, great Thieves, and of a wild and ſavage Nature; at my entry thereupon I was adviſed by thoſe that were with me, that it was neceſſary to take Mules to carry my Baggage through the Mountains, and to preſs the People to convoy me to the next Government by Virtue of a Command the Grand Signior had granted me for the ſecurity of my Travels; ſo that arriving at this place by break of day, I went directly with all my Attendance, being about eighteen or nineteen Horſe, to the *Kadi*'s Houſe, where knocking hard at the Door, a Servant looked out at the Window, and ſpying ſo great a company, wholly affrighted, ran to his Maſter, and awakening him with ſuch dreadful news, he had ſcarce any Soul or Life remaining to render an Anſwer; for he was one of thoſe, who three times a day was uſed to take his Doſe of *Opium*, which gave him a ſtrange kind of Intoxication or Drunkenneſs; during the Operation of which, men have their Spirits violently moved and agitated, that afterwards it leaves them ſo wearied and languid, that in the morning when they firſt awake, they remain like dead Stocks, their Members are benumbed, and can ſcarce turn from one ſide to the other. In this condition the News of new Gueſts ſurprized this *Kadi*, when wholly feeble he called to his Servant to reach him his Box of *Opium*, of which when he had taken his uſual Propotion, and that it began to work, his Life returned again to him, and he began immediately to recover; ſo that he had Courage to open his Gates and receive us in: when he had read the Command, and found no hurt in it, the Man was tranſported with Joy and *Opium*, and was ſo kind, chearful, and of a good humour, that I could not but admire at the change; he told me, that he lived in a barbarous Country, and was forced to uſe that for Divertiſement, and as a Remedy of his melancholly hours. I eaſily perceived the effect it had upon him, for he ſeemed to me like a Bedlam; in which humour he called all his Neighbours about him, and after a wiſe Conſultation, they provided me with two Mules, and five Men on foot with ruſty Muskets without Powder or Shot, to guide and guard me through the Mountains. I had not travelled two Miles before all my Guard were ſtollen aſide, and taking advantage of the Woods and Mountains, were fled from me, ſo that I found my ſelf with no other than my own People, in an unbeaten Path, and a way unfrequented; the man excepted who drove the Mules, who for ſake of his Beaſts was obliged to a farther attendance. We travelled in this manner through the Mountains about four hours, when near a Village called *Suratnee*, we met one of the Principal men on Horſe-back, carrying a flead Mutton behind him, which upon Examination we diſcovered to be carried for a Bribe to the *Kadi* of *Iſheclee*, that ſo he would be his Friend, and favour him in his Cauſe: And further upon inquiry, finding that our Entertainment was likely to be mean at *Suratnee*, we forced the Gentleman to return with us, and to ſell us his Mutton at the market-price, and ſo for that time we diſappointed our *Kadi* of his Fee or Reward: and being upon the riſe of a Hill deſcending to *Suratnee*, ſo that the People could ſee us at a diſtance, they like true Sons of *Kauz-dog* forſook their Habitations, and fled, which we perceiving poſted after them, and catched two of their men, whom we brought under Shart, (or the Country-mans Oath, which they account very ſacred, and will by no means break) to be true and faithful to us, to ſerve, and not leave us for ſo long time as we ſhould remain in their Village; and accordingly theſe men were not only ſerviceable, but diligent: ſo ſoon as they diſcovered me to be one who would pay juſtly for what I took, and was not a *Turkiſh* Aga, or Servant of Great men who harraſs the People, and take their Service and Meat on account of free Quarter, the whole Village returned again from their places of Refuge amidſt the Woods, ſo that I neither wanted Proviſions nor Attendance. 1663.

Another paſſage happened unto me of better Civility and Entertainment in the Plains of *Pergamus*, where not many Miles from that Ancient City, I arrived about ſix a Clock in the Evening at certain Tents or Cots of Shepherds, being only Hurdles covered with Hair-cloth, lined within with a ſort of looſe Felt, a ſufficient defence againſt the Sun and Rain; the *Turks* call theſe People *Euruchs*, and are Shepherds who with their Wives, Children and Cattel, Live and Inhabit, where they moſt delight, or like the Shepherds of Ancient days, remove their dwellings to thoſe Places where they find moſt plenty of Water and Paſture. Amongſt theſe Cots ſo ſoon as I alighted from my Horſe, I was received and ſaluted by the Aga or Chief, with great Humanity and Kindneſs; for ſo ſoon as he underſtood who I was, and that I was imploied in publick Affairs, he preſently placed me under ſome neighbouring Trees, and called for Carpets and Cuſhions to ſit on, which were more Fine and Rich, than agreed with the outward appearance of Men wholly unaccuſtomed to a City-life. After ſome Diſcourſe had with me, which I remember to have been very Courteous and Inquiſitive of my Condition and Buſineſs, he provided Provender for our Horſes, and in a ſhort time ordered Bread and Eggs to be brought for to ſtay my Stomach, ſuppoſing that hard Travels had ſharpened my Appetite. About an hour after that, he invited all my Company, and then we fed very plentifully of ſeveral Diſhes, which the good Houſwives had dreſſed within the Precincts of their poor Tents; whilſt the Shepherds had in the Field killed a fat Kid, and were then roaſting it whole at the fuel of a Tree which they had fell'd; this Roaſt-meat they cut into quarters, and with Bread and Salt put it into a Linen-cloth, delivering it to one of my Servants for our Breakfaſt the next morning. Having thus well refreſhed my ſelf with the Charity of theſe good Shepherds, I aroſe with the Moon about eleven a Clock at Night; but before my Departure, I demanded what I had to pay; to which the generous Shepherd replied, That my Acceptance was a ſufficient Payment, for that all Men were obliged to be Civil and Hoſpitable to Men who travelled the World like me for publick Service; and withal deſired me to ſpeak well, whereſoever I came, of ſuch poor Men who led their Lives in the Fields, who were inſtructed in theſe Principles, *viz.* to hurt none, and to be humane and helpful to all Mankind.

In a ſew days after my Arrival at *Smyrna*, I imbarked on the *Bonaventure* Frigat, Commanded by Capt. *Berkeley*, afterwards Sir *William Berkeley*, and ſhaping our courſe firſt for *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, we came to Anchor before the Town the 29*th*; and immediately going aſhore, we were conducted to the Preſence of the Paſha of that Country, whom I acquainted with the occaſion of this Addreſs, delivering into his hands two Copies of the late Treaty of Peace, one confirmed by the Hand and Seal of His Majeſty our Gracious Soveraign, and the other of the Sultan; both which he received with ſingular Reſpect and Reverence, promiſing to maintain the Peace ſacred and inviolable; and ſo being diſmiſſed fairly from him, we ſpeedily repaired on Board, and ſetting Sail again that Night with a proſperous Gale, we anchored in the *Bay* of *Tunis* on the ſecond of *September*; and the next day being landed, we in the firſt place made our Addreſſes to the *Dey*, who bears the Office of Prince or Governor in chief, tho in the *Arabian* Language the word ſignifies as much as Uncle, to whom I tendred the Confirmations of Peace in the ſame form and manner as before at *Tripoli*: the *Dey* received them with Reſpect and Honour, promiſing to continue the Peace; that part which was from our King, he received himſelf; but that which was from the Grand Signior he adviſed me to deliver to the Paſha; for coming from his Maſter, it might more nearly concern him than any other; the Paſha having ſeen and read, the Hatteſheriff returned it again to the *Dey* to be placed amongſt the Records and Regiſters of the Divan, and ſo making a Viſit to all the great Men in Power, giving them notice of our Buſineſs, that ſo none might take Exceptions, or judg themſelves neglected for want of Addreſſes; we the ſame Night departed from *Tunis*, and proceeded forward in our Voyage to *Algier*. But before we arrive there, I have time to acquaint the Reader of the Peſtilential Fever which then affected our whole Ship. When we departed from *Smyrna*, we had fourteen Sick of the Autumnal Diſtemper, but before ten Days, we had ninety five out of a hundred and ſixty Men, which lay Sick on their Beds and Hamocks; and we feared ſo general a Weakneſs, that we ſhould not have had Strength ſufficient to have Sailed our Ship; for I think there was ſcarce any amongſt us in perfect Health. But God ſhewed his Strength in our Weakneſs, ſo that in ten Days, having buried nine of our Men, he was pleaſed with the change of our Climate, to renew our Health, and in Anſwer to our Prayers, as it were by a Miracle, to reſtore us to all the Health, and Strength, and Comfort, that we could deſire.

Tripoli.

Tunis.

At *Algier*, that Den of Thieves, and Harbour of Faithleſs Men, and all Impiety, we arrived the 10*th* of *September*, where immediately with aſſiſtance of the Conſul, we deſigned to tender the Confirmations of the Peace unto the Divan; then the ſupreme and Abſolute Power. But whilſt we imagined the Peace firm, and improbable that thoſe Articles which were concluded and agreed but the laſt Year, ſhould ſo eaſily and ſoon be forgotten; we found the Scene of Affairs greatly altered, and fears of an unexpected Rupture; for the Ships of *Algier* roving in the Seas, had lately ſent in nine ſmall *Engliſh* Veſſels without a Paſs from the Duke of *York*, for want of which, they pretended by a new Agreement they ought to be prize; of which, ſix by means of the Conſul being releaſed, three only remained under Detention at our Arrival; when immediately we applied our ſelves to *Shaban* Aga, a *Spaniſh* Renegado, then Cape or Chief of their confuſed Divan; to him we firſt diſcloſed the import of our Meſſage, and ſhewed the Confirmations of our Peace ſubſcribed by the King of *England*, and the Grand Signior. After he had read them, a Divan was called, and the Confirmations openly publiſhed; at which time it was aſſented and agreed, that the Articles ought to be maintained, and the Peace continued; but to have this eſtabliſhed by firm Authority, it was farther referred to the Great Divan, which is a Grand Aſſembly of the People, who uſually meet together every *Saturday* of the Week. In the mean time, having had an Acquaintance formerly with the Paſha of this Place, ſent hither by the Grand Signior, we were deſirous to make him a Viſit, the better to diſcover in what nature they Honour and own the *Ottoman* Port; but before we could be admitted to his Preſence, we were obliged to demand Licenſe of the Divan, which they granted with ſome unwillingneſs, and with the caution of two or three Witneſſes of our Diſcourſe. [illegible] were ſcarce welcomed into the Room, and the uſual Salutations paſſed, before we were interrupted by the Officers, and not ſuffered to proceed; ſo little eſteem they made of the Paſha, to whom notwithſtanding they allowed twelve thouſand Dollars a Year for his Maintenance, ſo as to carry the fair and ſpecious outſide at the *Ottoman* Court, of receiving a Paſha from thence; but were ſo far from permitting him to intermeddle in the Government, that they confined him like a Priſoner, not ſuffering him to ſtir Abroad without Permiſſion and Conſent of the Divan, and that very ſeldom, tho he often pleaded his Health was much impaired by his Reſtraint, and craved Enlargement, rather for neceſſity than his Pleaſure.

The unconſtancy of the popular Government at *Algier*.

The Day of the great Divans Aſſembly being come, the Confirmations of the Peace was again read, and well approved, and ſo laid up in the Repoſitory of their Writings; and promiſe made us for Releaſement of our Ships. But let us now obſerve the levity and unſteadineſs of this popular Government; for being the day following appointed to receive our diſpatches, and diſcharge of the three Ships; there aroſe unexpectedly at the Divan, certain Scruples and Jealouſies amongſt them, which immediately quaſhed all our Negotiations, and inſtead of confirming the Peace, produced a War. For the Divan being met, they were afraid to releaſe the Ships, leſt the Soldiers who had ſent them in, being then abroad, ſhould call them to queſtion for it at their return; and not to releaſe them, might be an occaſion of a War; which not ſucceeding according to their deſire, the cauſers thereof might be called into queſtion, and puniſhed for it; of which ſtill remained the freſh memory of late Examples. In this *Dilemma* of their Affairs, they reſolved to make the Act herein, to be of general and publick Aſſent; and to that end they Aſſembled a Grand Divan, calling the Captains of Ships and Gallies, then in Port, unto their Council; who without Heſitation, or queſtioning other Matters, declared, that the three *Engliſh* Ships were lawful Prize; and that it was no longer requiſite to maintain the ſecond Article of freeing Strangers Goods on *Engliſh* Veſſels; it neither being the deſign nor intereſt of *Algier*, to benefit all Chriſtendom by their Peace with *England*: this Sentence was followed by the whole Rabble of the Divan, with cry and noiſe; to which the wiſer ſort, notwithſtanding our Plea, and Reaſons to the contrary, which laſted for full two hours, were forced to condeſcend, and concur in the ſame Vote. Howſoever by Importunity, and ſomething of the force of Reaſon, which in the moſt blind and obſcure minds of Men, hath ſomething of forcible Violence; we obtained the releaſe of the three Ships, upon diſcharge of the Strangers Goods, and payment of their Freight. But the ſecond Article of Peace, forbidding the ſearch of *Engliſh* Ships for Strangers Eſtates, or their Perſons, was declared null, and no longer to be maintained; nor the Peace likewiſe, unleſs His Majeſty would accept it upon that Condition, to which end, they wrote this following Letter.

The Letter of the Government of *Algier* to His Majeſty.

Great and Chriſtian Prince, King of England. *After Health and Peace*, &c. *Since we have made Peace with You, unto this day there have no Injuries nor Damages been offered by Us. Your Ships that have been as Prizes, for Your ſake we have let free, not offering them the leaſt Injury, nor diminiſhing any thing from them in the leaſt, until ſuch time as Your Conſul gave Us Counter-paſſes, that what Ships were found with them, to be let free, and thoſe that are without them, to be brought in: And we have found divers without them, which for Friendſhip ſake which is between Us, We have let go free. Now from henceforth, if that we find any of our Enemies Goods or Men in Your Ships, we ſhall take the Goods and Men, paying the Freight to their Port. And we ſhall deſire you, as ſoon as you ſhall receive this our Letter, that you will ſend your anſwer hereunto, for we ſhall think it long until we receive it from You; and for the future, what Ships ſhall be brought in without a Paſs-port, we ſhall take them, and detain them here, until ſuch time as we have an anſwer from You; which pray ſend without delay. The end of the Month* Sefar, 1074. *which was then in the Month of* September, 1663.

In this manner a ſecond War broke forth in the ſpace of two Years, by which a Perſon may judg of the inconſtancy and unſteady humour of this People; who but three days before, gave us all the evidence of fair Correſpondence and Friendſhip; and it is probable, that when they entered the Divan, they came not with Reſolutions or Thoughts of War; however accidents and occaſional Diſcourſes each with other, following the cry and humour of ſome rude Savage Perſon, which leads the reſt, carried all things with Violence towards a Breach: So that by what preceded, and from theſe following Reaſons, it may be concluded impoſſible to maintain a firm and laſting Peace with this People.

Firſt, Becauſe theſe People are compoſed of the worſt Sort or Scum of the *Turks*, and worſt of Chriſtians, which are Renegadoes, who have renounced God and their Country, and a Generation of People who have no Religion, nor Honour; Peace cannot be longer expected or maintained, than fear or intereſt enjoins them to compliance.

Secondly, The Government of *Algier* being popular, and in the hands of a vile Commonalty, who are ignorant Perſons, guided by no Rules or Principales; unſteady in all their Councils, not reſolving or conſulting any thing before they enter the Divan, do commonly follow that Reſolution, which they perceive to be carried on with the greateſt noiſe; and therefore are a People not capable of Peace or Friendſhip.

Thirdly, This irrational Commonalty is overawed by a heady Soldiery, who are only then affrighted into a Peace, whilſt a ſtronger force compels them into good Manners. But when that Power and Puniſhment is withdrawn, they again harden their hearts like *Pharaoh*, and then when the Temptation of rich Merchant-men preſents it ſelf, their natural Inclination to Piracy returns, and their Covetouſneſs again prevails, and then they curſe the Peace, and the makers of it, and without remorſe break their Articles, and their Faith, having neither Honour nor Conſcience to reſtrain them. Wherefore unleſs the

Heads

1663. Heads of the chief Cauſers of the War be given in ſatisfaction, or Money paid for the expence, and Hoſtages given for ſecurity of it, it can never be expected that a laſting Peace ſhould be maintained with this People; the proof of which, hath been made appear by the ſequel of affairs, and by thoſe Wars which have enſued ſince this time. And now let us return to the Wars in *Hungary*, and become Spectators of thoſe Tranſactions, which were then the general concernment of the Eaſtern and Weſtern World.

The Proceedings of the War in HUNGARY.

The Vizier deſires a Treaty to amuſe the Chriſtians.

WE left the Grand Vizier on his March towards the parts of *Hungary*, with an Army, as computed, to conſiſt of Eighty Thouſand fighting men, and of about Seventy Thouſand deſigned for Pioniers, and other neceſſary ſervices of the Army. In this march the Vizier out of deſign to ſlacken the warlike Preparations of the Chriſtians, and to diſcover the inclinations of the Emperor to Peace, deſired a Treaty, that if poſſible, matters might be reduced to terms of accommodation. The Reſident of *Germany*, was then in the Army, but he, not being impowered ſingly for any ſuch Treaty, the Baron of *Goez*, then with *Ali* Paſha at *Temeſwar*, was ſent for, and being arrived, were both called into the Viziers Tent at *Belgrade*, to whom it was propoſed, That in Caſe the Emperor deſired a Peace, he ſhould reſign into the hands and poſſeſſion of the Sultan *Zekelhyd*, *Zatmar*, *Clauſenburg*, alias *Coloſvar*, with the late built Fort of Count *Serini*, without which, no Sacrifice could appeaſe the anger, and give a ſtop to the progreſs of the *Ottomon* Arms. Whilſt theſe Propoſitions by Poſt were diſpatched to *Vienna*, the Vizier proceeded in his Journey to *Strigonium*, now called *Gran*, to which place, after ſixteen Days time, the Meſſenger returned with an Anſwer from the Emperor, which ſhowed an inclination towards an acceptance of Peace on the terms propoſed, but with inſtructions to his Miniſters to moderate by their diſcreet management (what was poſſible) the rigour of the demands. For by reaſon of the diſaffection of the *Hungarians*, whom the Emperor had lately diſguſted by demoliſhing ſeveral of their Churches, and diſcountenancing the *Proteſtant* Religion which they profeſſed; and by reaſon of the Phlegm of the Princes of *Germany*, whom different intereſts made ſlow and unactive in their preparations againſt the common Enemy; the Emperor was wholly unprovided to oppoſe the violence of this over-flowing Torrent, and became an unequal match for the *Ottoman* Force. The *Turks* perceiving that the *Germans* began to condeſcend, and yield to any conditions, which might purchaſe their quiet, ſtarted a farther demand of Fifty thouſand Florins of Yearly Tribute, and two Millions of Crowns for expence of the War, to be paid by the Emperor to the Sultan. Theſe proud and unexped Propoſals ſtartled not a little the Baron of *Goez*, who readily made anſwer, that he clearly perceived now, that there were no intentions to a Peace, ſince the Vizier was pleaſed to make the matter ſo difficult and impoſſible, for that it were as eaſy to bring Heaven and Earth to meet, as his Maſter to meet the G Signior in the Conceſsion of this particular. Theſe extravagant demands awakened the Imperial Court, who now obſerving the *Turks* without their Vizard, to march haſtily to ſurprize them, vigorouſly rouſed themſelves to make that convenient proviſion and defence by War, which the ſtraitneſs of time permitted them: So that in the firſt place they Aſſembled a Diet at *Ratisbonne*, where it was reſolved to raiſe four Armies; the firſt for the Guard and defence of *Moravia* and *Sileſia*, under the Command of Count *Suſa*, a Native of *Rochel*. The ſecond under the Command of Count *Raimond Monteculi*, for ſafety of *Raab*, *Newhauſel*, and *Komorra*, and the Frontiers of *Hungary*. The third under Command of Count *Nicholas Serini* for defence of *Croatia*. The fourth compoſed ſolely of *Hungarians*, commanded by the Palatine of that Country, which they reported to conſiſt of Thirty thouſand fighting men. Fifthly, It was ordered that all Gariſons ſhould be well provided of Victuals and Ammunition; and that the Inhabitants of *Vienna* ſhould take into every Houſe a proviſion for a years maintenance, and ſuch as were not able at their own Coſt, were to abandon their Dwellings. And in the mean time the Villages round about were demoliſhed, to the great amazement and confuſion of the People.

This Tribute was paid by the Emperor to Sultan *Solyman*.

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Raab. Komorra. The *Turks* deliberate of the method to be uſed in War.

The *Turks* now bearing in their thoughts nothing but War, began to deſign and chalk out the beſt order and method for its proſecution. The principal places then in eye of the Vizier, were *Raab*, and *Komorra*, Fortreſſes of conſiderable ſtrength, maintained and defended by Souldiers of known proweſs and conduct, and provided equally with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions, agreeable to ſuch conſiderable Bulwarks and Walls, not only of the *German* Empire, but (I may ſay) of all Chriſtendom. *Raab*, called by the *Italians*, *Javarin*, and by the *Turks*, *Yanick*, is ſcituated in a plain, level, and Champion Country; the Town it ſelf very regular and compact, the Fortifications moſt exact according to the new Model, and much improved in its ſtrength ſince the recovery of it from the hands of the *Turk*, by whom it was once taken, in the year 1594. it hath its name from the River *Rab*, on which it is ſeated juſt on the meeting of the *Danube*. *Komorra* is a ſtronger Fortreſs, erected in an Iſland of the River *Danube*, called after the ſame name, which hath often been attempted by the *Turks*, but with ill ſucceſs; at both which places I have perſonally been, and viewed them with much delight. Wherefore the Vizier conſidering the ſtrength and difficulty of theſe places, reſolved to take due and mature conſideration before he engaged himſelf in any enterprize, and to that end aſſembled together in Conſultation with him the moſt ancient and grave men, that were Natives of the Country; ſome of theſe being ſuch who had lived in *Rab*, been Slaves there, and had well marked and obſerved the ſtrength of that Fortreſs both as to Nature and Art, aſſured the Vizier, That the Work was immenſe, difficult, and dangerous, and not to be accompliſhed in the ſpace of one Summer; and that the Winters in that Countrey were very cold and rigid, and ill agreeing with the temperament of the Aſiatick Souldiery. The Vizier, though he farther conſidered that his Souldiers were as yet young and unexperienced, and that a foyl encountred at the firſt Enterprize, might be a diſcouragement from following the continued Tract and Courſe of this War, which muſt be ſuſtained with labour and patience, and that to withdraw his Forces in the Winter would be a diſhonour to the *Ottoman* Arms, a blemiſh in the beginning to his own Reputation, and an encouragement of the Enemy: Howſoever, having a vio-

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violent Ambition and Deſire to become Maſter of *Rab*, he could not reſt ſatisfied in this Counſel before he had conſulted with *Ali* Paſha, and other Paſhaws of the Frontier Countries, who duly conſidering the matter as it ſtood, concurred in the ſame judgment that was formerly made of the difficulty of this deſign; and herein they were the more ſtrongly confirmed, by the report of certain *Hungarians*, whom ſome parties of Horſe, under the Command of *Ali* Paſha, roving and ſallying out near the Walls of *Rab*, had ſurprized and taken, who being brought bound before the Vizier, related, That the Town was well provided with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions, and the Gariſon reinforced by Count *Montecuculi* with ſupply of four Thouſand men, and in this manner reported the Work as difficult as the *Turks* of the Countrey had formerly ſignified. This relation confirmed by ſo many hands, diverted the Vizier from this Deſign: for before that time imagining it a place which might eaſily be ſubdued, he propoſed to himſelf, without any interruption, a clear and undiſturbed March to the Gates of *Vienna*, which he ſwallowing alſo in his thoughts, hoped by his own ſucceſs to repair the ſhame of *Solyman*'s flight from the Walls of that City, and beſides the glory of forcing the Emperor from his Imperial Seat, he ſhould atone for the ſin of the *Ottomon* Cowardice, and be the firſt who undertook to mend the actions, and outvie the prowess of the moſt magnificent, and moſt ſucceſsful of their Sultans.

New-hauſel.

But the Ambition of this grand deſign giving way to neceſſity, and to thoſe other impediments which obſtructed it, after due and mature Conſultation, *Newhauſel*, called by the *Hungariaus Oywar*, was fixed upon as the place to be firſt attempted, and held up to the eye of the Souldiery, as the reward and prize of their valour and hazard. Wherefore Boats were provided, and Planks, and Timbers for a Bridge to paſs the *Danube*, which the *Turks* in a few days, according to their uſual expeditions, had raiſed; ſo that the Army both Horſe and Foot began to tranſport themſelves as faſt as was poſsible to the other ſide, but the multitudes crouded over in that diſorder and haſte, that Three or four Thouſand men had ſcarce paſſed the River before the Bridge was ſo broken and ſhattered, that ſome time was neceſſarily required to repair it, before the reſt of the Army durſt adventure to follow their Companions. The Approach of the *Turkiſh* Army alarmed all that ſide of *Hungary*, but eſpecially the Inhabitants of *Newhauſel*; who obſerving the *Turks* to bend their Courſe that way, plainly fore-ſaw the Storm of VVar to be breaking on them: The News alſo of the fall of the Bridge, and thereby the Separation of about Four thouſand *Turks* from the Body of the Army, was brought in by the Countrey people, who forſaking their Villages, fled for ſuccour to the ſtronger Fortreſs of *Newhauſel*.

Forcatz the Governour of *Newhauſel*, ill adviſes a Sally.

Hereupon *Forcatz*, the Governour of *Newhauſel*, a valiant and experienced Souldier, though eſteemed by the *Turks* unfortunate, taking this Alarm, judged that this occaſion of cutting off that part of the *Turkiſh* Army which had paſt the River, was in no wiſe to be omitted, and therefore aſſembled a Council of VVar, which conſiſted of all the principal Officers and Commanders of the Gariſon; (amongſt which was Colonel *Volter*, that commanded the Four thouſand men, lately ſent to reinforce the Town) he declared that his Opinion was, immediately to make a Sally on that part of the *Turkiſh* Army, which had already paſſed the River, before the Bridge was repaired for Tranſportation of the others; which endeavours, by God's Aſsiſtance, ſucceeding well, might not only diſcourage the Enemy, but be a means to divert them from their preſent deſign upon their City. This Advice, though he preſſed with heat of Argument, and violence of Speech, yet could it not prevail with the reſt of the Council, which ſeemed wholly averſe thereunto, eſpecially *Volter*, who declared, That his Commiſſion was not to fight in the Field, but to conſerve himſelf within the Walls, for maintenance of his Gariſon: Some days paſſed in this Diſpute, whilſt *Forcatz* growing more eager and hot on this deſign, uſed opprobrious Terms, and expreſsions of infamy towards the other Officers, accuſing all ſuch of Cowardice and Treaſon, who refuſed to concur with him in this Enterprize and advantage on the Enemy, which Heaven ſeemed to reach out to them for their Deliverance, if their wiſdom and courage afforded them only will and grace to lay hold on the opportunity. Theſe ſharp words and reſolution of the Governour provoked the minds of the Officers to a condeſcention, and thereupon about Eight thouſand men of Choice, and approved Souldiers, well armed with ſtout hearts, and hard Iron; not ſuffering themſelves to be upbraided with ſuch reproach, in the ſilence of the Night, under the Conduct of *Forcatz*, (their own Commander, *Volter* remaining in the Town) took their way towards the *Turkiſh* Camp, and being armed with Firelocks, marched with all privacy, without lighted Matches, or ſound of Drum or Trumpet. But whilſt the foregoing Diſpute laſted, the *Turks* had tranſported the groſs of their Army over the River, and then lay on her Banks, reſting ſecurely under their Pavillions.

Fortcatz ſurpriſes the *Turkiſh* Camp.

The Chriſtians approaching near the *Turkiſh* Camp, with the firſt twilight, and dawning of the Morning, (perceiving the Enemy unprovided, but not diſcovering their Force) dealt at firſt on-ſet, their ſhot moſt plentifully amongſt them, and proceeding amidſt the thickeſt, cutting, ſhooting, killing, and making havock of all before them. The amazed *Turks* having many of their Companions brought to their laſt ſleep, before themſelves were throughly awake, and ſome flying before they diſcovered the reaſon or the danger, an Alarm was given by the confuſed murmur of *Allah*, *Allah*, and that the Chriſtians were upon them, reached the fartheſt Quarters of the *Turkiſh* Army, which immediately put themſelves into Battalia, and order of fighting, whilſt this handful of *Germans* proceeded forwards, dealing their blows amongſt their Enemies, cutting the Cords of the Tents, and deſtroying all before them. But by this time the *Turks* having put themſelves into a poſture of Defence, the Horſe and Foot came marching in a Body, extending their Wings in the form of a half Moon, ſo as to encloſe this ſmall number, and on all ſides to aſſail them.

The *Germans* are routed, and fly.

The *Germans* ſeeing this formidable ſight approach, and no ſafety in flight, encouraged each other to ſell their Lives at as dear a rate as they could; all hopes of eſcape ſeeming deſperate, they fought with that courage and obſtinacy as amazed the *Turks*, and yielded not until their Spirits fainted with labour, and their Swords were blunted by the Bodies of their Enemies. The Count *Forcatz* hardly eſcaped, but by the help of his Horſe, with ſome few others, fled to *Newhauſel*, which unwillingly received him, wiſhing that the raſhneſs of his Counſels had only proved his own deſtruction, and not involved ſo many brave and innocent Souldiers, who were only unfortunate for being

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The Vizier deals not like a Souldier with his Priſoners of War.

over-powered by his command and perſwaſions: The reſt overwhelmed with multitudes, yielded; for though they behaved themſelves beyond the power and courage of men, yet the numbers of the Enemy prevailed at length over theſe Chriſtian Champions, whoſe Gallantry was more eminent and conſpicuous in being ſubdued, than the Glory of their Enemies in the Victory. In this Skirmiſh few eſcaped, amongſt which Four hundred Gentlemen were ſlain, and about eighteen hundred Priſoners reported to be taken, a bad *Omen* at the beginning of this War. This Rout being given, the *Turks* triumphed in Blood, and ſucceſs, and returned with their Captives, and Trophies back to *Strigonium*, where the Vizier mounting a Throne of State and Majeſty, treated theſe valiant Souldiers, not like men of War, or Captives takrn in open Field, but as a Judge condemned them to dye by the hand of the Hangman or Executioner, paſſing a formal Sentence of Death upon them, as if they had been Thieves or Aſſaſſinates arreſted by the hand of Juſtice. The Sentence being paſſed, and the *Turkiſh* Army drawn up, theſe valiant Chriſtians were ranked in order and file to dye, who had ſo lately with Swords in their hands, ranged themſelves in Battel againſt their Enemy; and ſo ſoon as the Executioners fell to their work, and the horrid Maſſacre was begun, the Guns were fired, and the whole Camp reſounded with barbarous Muſick and ſhouts. In the mean while the moſt ſuperſtitious amongſt them triumphed, that God was now deſtroying the Infidels, manifeſting the truth of their Prophet, and doing his own work; not unlike the aſſertions and doctrines of thoſe Pretenders to Religion, who have always hallowed and excuſed their cruelties with the Name of God, and ſanctified the blood they have ſhed by making their Enemies *Amalekites*, and by pretence of falſe Lights and Prophecies countenanced their moſt impious Sacriledge in God's Churches, and Invaſions of their Neighbours Rights. The mercileſs Executioners had proceeded to bereave of life about Thirteen or Fourteen hundred perſons, the Vizier ſtanding a Spectator with zeal to his Sect and Prophet, until the *Turkiſh* Souldiery who inhabit the Borders, glutted with ſo much cruelty towards their Neighbours, began to murmur, and at length to ſpeak aloud, That to deſtroy Captives in cold Blood was an action againſt the Law of Arms, and might be revenged by their Enemies with like examples of cruelty, ſince none there preſent, being all Souldiers, were ſecure from the misfortunes and mutabilities of War. The Vizier over-hearing theſe whiſpers of the Soldiery, gave a ſtop to the cruelty of the Executioners, and ſent ſuch as ſurvived to different Priſons in *Buda*, *Adrianople*, and *Conſtantinople*. I have ſeen not far from *Strigonium* the heads of theſe Wretches thus miſerably butchered, thrown up into a heap, the Beards and Hair of thoſe that lay undermoſt ſtill growing; the Earth which ſucked in their blood, became thence ſtenched up and barren, and the white bones and carkaſſes of their bodies lay diſperſed and ſcattered in a large Field; ſo that I could not but call to mind the maſſacred Legions under the Conduct of *Quintilius Varus* in *Germany*; and thoſe *albentia oſſa*, and the barbarous Altars flowing with the *Roman* blood; and I could as paſſionately fancy to have ſeen the angry *Germans* return to appeaſe the Ghoſts of their Country-men with decent Burial, as I was ſenſible of *Germanicus* in zeal, when he adventured to contaminate his Augurs Office by his too forward Humanity and Religion towards his Country and Parentage. But this cruelty of the Vizier was recompenſed by Count *Serini* not long after, who having had ſome ſucceſs againſt *Arnaut* Paſha and his Army, of whom he had ſlain ſix hundred men, and ſuch as he took alive, in cold blood he diſmembred and tortured, and having of ſome cut off their hands, and plucked out their eyes, ſent them to report the reaſon of this inhumane and mercileſs uſage to the Vizier.

The *Turks* approach to *Newhauſel*.

The *Turks* Summons.

In the mean time *Forcatz* adviſed General *Montecuculi* the Governour of *Rab* of this defeat, and how the flower and ſtrength of his Gariſon was deſtroyed; and that if he were not immediately ſupplied, he ſhould be forced to abandon his Fort, and leave all to the fury and mercy of the Enemy. Hereupon a Thouſand *Germans* were ſent for ſuccour with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions requiſite; but the *Turks* after their Triumph before *Strigonium*, returned and marched on ſo faſt towards *Newhauſel*, having paſſed the *Danube*, that certainly they had intercepted this Recruit, had not *Forcatz* amuſed their minds, and for a while ſtopped their haſty approach, by advancing a white Flag to the top of the Walls, as if he had had a deſign of Treaty and Surrender of the Town upon Conditions: So that here the *Turkiſh* Army made a halt, and for Three or Four hours time remained with expectation when Conditions for the Surrender ſhould come; every one wondering to ſee the Flag of Truce erected, and ſo much ſilence in the Fort, and yet no appearance of a Meſſage. In this interval and breathing of time, the Succour ſafely arriving within the Town, the white Flag was changed to colours of defiance, to the great aſtoniſhment and anger of the *Turks*: Whereupon the Vizier drawing ſomewhat nearer, began to intrench and begirt the Town on the 4th of *Auguſt*, which was defended by three principal Officers, *viz.* Count *Adam Forcatz*, the Marqueſs *Pio* an *Italian*, and one *Lucatelli* an old and experienced Souldier. But the Vizier, before he would offer any violence to the Town, thought fit to ſummon them in this ſtile: *That through the Grace of God and the Miracles of our Prophet, who is a Son of both Worlds, and by whom there is Happineſs and Glory, I that am the firſt of the Council, and General of the moſt Mighty Emperor of the Turks, that is the King of all Kings on the Earth, To you* Adam Forcatz *that are the Chief among all the Nobility of* Hungary, *do make known, That through the Command of my moſt Gracious Lord, the moſt terrible, the moſt puiſſant, and moſt myſterious Emperor, I am come with his Forces before* Newhauſel *to reduce it to his Obedience. Wherefore if you ſhall deliver up the place to Us, you ſhall have liberty to march out with what belongs unto you from the higheſt to the loweſt, and he that would rather ſtay ſhall keep his Goods and Eſtate: But if you will not yield, we will take it by force, and every man of you, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſhall be put to the Sword. If the* Hungarians *did but know the good intentions of the mighty Emperor, they and their childrian would bleſs God for him. Peace be to the Obedient.* The Chriſtians not ſubmitting to theſe Summons, the *Turks* continued to make their nearer approaches, and being now at a convenient diſtance, raiſed two great Batteries, on which they mounted a Hundred Pieces of Cannon; and from thence made ſuch conſtant ſhot as ſhaked the Churches, and almoſt levelled the moſt lofty Buildings with their Foundations. The 14th. of *Auguſt* was deſigned for a general ſtorm, ſo that before break of day Faggots and Rub-

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The *Turks* ſtorm the Town.

biſh were brought to fill the Ditches, and ſcaling Ladders to aſcend the Walls; but though the *Ottoman* Forces were puiſſant, and their Aſſault they made fierce and brisk, yet they were received with that gallantry by the Defendants, that the Trenches early in the Morning were filled with the Carkaſſes of the Dead, and at laſt the *Turks* forced to give over the Aſſault, with the loſs of great numbers of their men.

The Siege ſtill continuing, and the *Turks* angry, and inflamed with the diſgrace of their late foil, endeavoured to redeem their Honour by their Attempts, filling up the Ditches with Rubbiſh, ſerving themſelves therein of the Chriſtian Captives lately taken: The Defendants on the other ſide, by the dictates of Nature and Reaſon, were directed to maintain their Houſes, Wives, and Children from the rapine and violence of an unjuſt Enemy; ſo that both Parties moving from different Principles, uſed all the Art and Valour poſſible for deſtruction each of other: The noiſe of Cannon from the Forts raiſed by the *Turks*, reſounded continually in the Air, and from the Town the ſhot were often ſo fortunately placed, that daily, beſides great numbers of ordinary Soldiers, many Perſons of Note and Quality amongſt the *Turks* were ſlain.

The *Turks* enter *Moravia* and *Auſtria*.

But the *Turks* having before this Town a greater number of Soldiers than either could come to fight, or what was thought neceſſary to ſubdue it the Vizier ſelected from his Army a very conſiderable Force to enter and ſpoil *Moravia* and *Auſtria*; of theſe were Six hundred *Tartars* joined to a ſtrong Force of *Turks*, who by the guidance of the Natives paſſing the River *Waegh*, ſpoiled and deſtroyed all the Country round about, carrying men, women, and children into ſlavery, leaving what was not conveniently portable, in aſhes. But in paſſing the River, they incountred a conſiderable Body of *Germans*, both Horſe and Foot, and being oppoſed by them, were at firſt forced to retreat again over the River with the loſs of about Eight hundred Janiſaries; but the next Day renewing the Fight with better courage and ſucceſs, paſſed the River in deſpight of the Imperialiſts, whom they purſued almoſt as far as *Presburg*. Theſe *Turks* were ſeconded by a greater Body of *Tartars*, every one after the manner of his Country, leading one or two ſpare Horſes, made Inroads within five miles of *Vienna*, deſtroying and laying in aſhes all places before them; things there reſembling Dooms-day, conſumed with fire, and not ſo much almoſt left as marks or appearance of habitation.

The confuſion of the *German* Councils.

Theſe Troubles and Confuſions in *Hungary* were the talk and amazement of all Chriſtendom, and indeed little more they were than talk; for the Chriſtian Princes farther diſtant, as leſs concerned ſtood at a gaze, expecting the iſſue of that Treaty which was between the King of *France*, and the Pope; and the Princes of *Germany* (whatſoever was reſolved at the Diet) like men ſurprized, knew not what Succours to afford: Some thought it now time to treat with the Emperor, and recover the Rights and Priviledges they thought their due, and to condeſcend to no Terms of confederate aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy, unleſs with advantageous conſiderations to their State; and all in general acted with that negligence and coldneſs, as if only the State of *Auſtria*, and not the common Cauſe of *Germany* had been concerned. The Election of a General for the Imperial Army admitting long debate, was another retardment to the Preparations for the War; the Duke of *Brandenburg* was nominated, and ſollicited to accept the ſupream Command; but the Title of being General of the Empire, or the Imperial Army, was a diſpute undeterminable, and a difficulty not to be overcome: And though the Enemy had paſſed their Frontiers, and triumphed in their Poſſeſſions, and threatned the ſubverſion of all Chriſtendom, yet Jealouſies, Niceties, and aery Formalities took up all the time; ſo that at length their Councils had no other reſult than an increaſe of Animoſities and Difficulties amongſt themſelves. The Emperor alſo terrified with the Siege of *Newhauſel*, and the near Incurſions of the *Turks*, abandoned his City of *Vienna*, carrying with him the Records and greateſt of his Richeſs to *Lintz*, to the greater apprehenſion, diſcouragement, and fear of the whole Country in general, and was an act which might have produced very fatal effects, had not the Winter approached, and the progreſs of the Infidels been interrupted by the Valour, Vigilance, good Fortune, and Conduct of Count *Serini*, who in requital of thoſe Incurſions the *Turks* made into the Chriſtian Territories, entred the *Turkiſh* Borders near *Komorra*, and there with Fire and Sword deſtroyed all before him, defeated a Party of about Three thouſan Janiſaries, taking from them a good Booty of Money and Proviſions deſigned for Relief of the League before *Newhauſel*.

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The Emperor removes to *Lintz*.

The *Turks* make another aſſault on the Town.

During theſe varieties of ſucceſs, the *Turks* ſtill continued the Siege, and having now made a breach, and almoſt filled the graft with rubbiſh, Faggots and other implements, attempted a ſecond ſtorm on the *28th* and *29th* of *Auguſt*, but were repulſed with an extraordinary loſs, by the couragious Gallantry of the Defendants: On the *9th* of *September* was given another more furious Aſſault, every Paſha leading his men in the Front, ſo that the Action this Day was ſo violently and couragiouſly performed, that the *Turkiſh* Enſign was advanced to the top of the Rampire of the Fort *Frederick*, where both ſides coming to handy blows, the diſpute continued a long time; but the courage of the Defendants at length prevailing, the *Turks* were driven headlong from the Walls, and their Colours wreſted from them with the loſs of about Five thouſand men, and Four hundred Chriſtians. Though the *Turks* were much abated in their courage by this days work, yet the Vizier obſtinately continued the Siege, preparing ſpeedily for another ſtorm, in which he hoped to force the Chriſtians to a Surrender. In the mean time, to facilitate the deſign of the *Turks*, on the *15th* of *September* the chief Magazin of Powder (none knows how) took fire, and blew into the Air, by which blow fifty Soldiers and ſeveral Officers were ſlain; but the worſt was, that the beſieged were deprived of all their Powder, unleſs what remained in private houſes, which ſo diſmayed the Inhabitants, that immediately with one voice they demanded a Parly: The Women alſo began a confuſed tumult, crying out for a Surrender, in which they were ſo impetuous and violent, that they threw ſtones from their windows on the Souldiers. Amidſt of this confuſion the *Turks* diſpoſing their Companies to make another ſtorm, the Officers reſolved upon a Treaty, which concluded with theſe following Conditions.

***Newhauſel* yielded.**

Firſt, *That the Commanders and Gariſon ſhould march out on the Seventeenth of* September, *with Bag and Baggage, and have ſafe conduct as far as* Komorra: *And that for a convenience of the*

ſick

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Sick and Wounded, the Vizier ſhould be obliged to provide Four hundred Carts and more, if there ſhould be occaſion.

Secondly, *That as ſuch as deſire to abandon their dwellings, may have liberty to depart, ſo ſuch as deſire to abide may continue their habitations: And that the Religious and Eccleſiaſtical perſons may perform their Functions as in former times.*

Thirdly, *That upon the Surrender of the principal Works, no* Turk *ſhall enter within the Town, until all ſuch as intend to depart have quitted their ſtations.*

Fourthly, *That for performance of Articles, two Aga's ſhould be given for Hoſtages; and that until the foregoing Articles were fully accompliſhed, all acts of Hoſtility ſhould ceaſe.*

Fifthly, *That the Gariſon might not be neceſſitated to march through the* Turkiſh *Camp, the* Turks *themſelves were obliged to make them a new Bridge, or repair the old to paſs the* Niter.

Theſe Articles, though punctually obſerved by the *Turks*, yet the *Tartars*, who are of a faithleſs and barbarous nature, upon certain pretences aſſaulted the Gariſon, as they marched out, and had doubtleſs moved the reſt of the Camp Rabble to imitate their example; had not many of the Paſhaws at the Head of their Troops, killed the moſt forward in this Rebellious attempt, whoſe perfidious inſolence and riot could not yet have been reſtrained, had not the Gariſon quickned their pace, more like a flight than an orderly March. But the Vizier on the contrary, diſtributed Money to the Gariſon, and eſpecially to the *Hungarians*, with deſign (as is ſuppoſed) to allure and attract their minds to a belief of the gentleneſs of the *Turkiſh* Yoke; as if he compaſſionated the miſeries of that Country, which was the Stage whereon the Tragedies of ſo many miſeries and ſlaughters were acted. This Siege continued about the ſpace of Forty three Days; of the Gariſon marched out Three thouſand five hundred ſound men, and about Five hundred wounded; thoſe Inhabitants who would remain, had protection and liberty. The Army which beſieged the Town, conſiſted of Fifty thouſand men. In the Town were found Sixty pieces of Braſs Cannon, but moſt broken and unſerviceable, with little Ammunition, but with great proviſion of *Hungarian* Wines. The loſs the *Turks* might receive, is computed to have been of about fifteen thouſand men, amongſt which was ſlain, the Spaheelar Agaſee, or General of the Horſe, *Beco* Paſha, Beglerbeg of *Romalia*, *Uſaff*, Paſha of *Anatolia*, and *Ibrahim* Paſha of *Seyda*, with ſixteen Captains belonging to *Buda*, and nine to *Conſtantinople*.

The loſs of *Newhauſel* affected the *Auſtrian* Court with ſo dreadful apprehenſions of the *Ottoman* Fortune and Fury, that they haſtened the finiſhing of the Works, and Fortifications of *Vienna*; cutting down all the Woods and Boſcage thereabouts, which might benefit or ſhelter the Enemy; and ſo great an impreſſion did the fear of the *Turks* prevalency and power work on the minds of the *Germans*, that they not only Fortified the Frontiers, but ſecured the innermoſt parts of *Auſtria*, which extend along the River, as far as within three Miles of *Lintz*.

Poſſonium garisoned.

But above all, *Poſſonium*, which was upon the Frontiers, though not an open Town, yet of no ſtrength or reſiſtance, was not neglected, but reinforced with a conſiderable Gariſon, and the Works reſtored and repaired, with as many additional Fortifications as time would admit. But the Inhabitants had loſt ſo much of their Spirit and Courage, by the melancholly relation of the fate of *Newhauſel*, and the apprehenſion of the dreadful advance of the whole *Turkiſh* Force, that their conſtancy to the Emperor began to waver, and to entertain ſome thoughts of ſubmitting to the mercy and clemency of the *Turks*, who had newly declared, that ſuch as voluntarily ſubmitted to the *Ottoman* Obedience, ſhould for Three years be exempted from all Tribute or Taxes. This conſideration adjoined to fear, ſo prevailed on thoſe of *Poſſonium*, that they ſhut the Gates againſt the Gariſon which was ſent to recruit and defend them; ſome publickly declaring the extremity of their affairs had no other ſafety than in a ſurrender of themſelves to the mercy and protection of the Vizier. Howſoever the Count *Strozzi*, with his *Italian* Artifices, ſo wheedled the groſſer humour of the *Hungarians*, that they were perſwaded to admit him and his Regiment within the Town, where he diſpoſed all things with that Conduct, and built thoſe Forts, and in a ſhort time ſo apparently render'd the Town tenable, that the Inhabitants taking Courage, reſolved to defend themſelves, in obedience to their Prince, to the ultimate point of Eſtates and Lives.

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Count *Strozzi*.

Leventz taken by the *Turks*.

In the mean time the *Turks* made themſelves Maſters of *Leventz*, a Town, though tenable, and not contemptible for its ſtrength, yet was by the Peoples fears, and allurements of the Viziers promiſes and fair Propoſitions, committed to the mercy of the *Turks*, and ſwore in Fealty to them the 23*d* day of *September*.

Feſtivals for Victory amongſt the *Turks*.

By this time the news of the taking of *Newhauſel*, was arrived at the *Ottoman* Court, where it was entertained with ſo much joy, that a Dunelma, or Feſtival, was appointed for the ſpace of ſeven days through the whole Empire; which according to the faſhion of the *Turks*, is Celebrated by adorning the Gates, and outward Walls of their Houſes, ſo ſoon as it begins to be dark, with grate ſtore of Lamps and Candles, during which time the Nights are ſpent with Muſick and Banquets, as the Days are with Viſits and Preſents, and *Corban*, (which is an Alms which rich men make in fleſh to the poor ſort, and is given either at the little *Biram*, which is called the Feaſt of *Corban*, or upon ſome publick Thankſgiving, which is performed in this manner.)

The manner of *Corban*.

He that makes the *Corban*, firſt lays his hand upon the head of the Sheep, or Lamb, makes a ſhort Prayer, and then in the Name of God cuts the throat, the Butcher afterwards fleying off the skin, the Corbaniſt divides the fleſh into ſmall pieces, to as many poor as flock to receive it. In the heat of theſe Revels, and Banquets, every one ſpake high in praiſe of their fortunate Arms, and Congratulated each with other, the proſperous beginnings of this War, promiſing to themſelves the following year, rather a time of Peregrination or Travel through the pleaſant Countries and Cities of the Chriſtians, than blood and ſweat in obtaining the poſſeſſion of their Enemies. Nor were ſuch imaginations vain or abſurd for the Commonalty to entertain; in regard it was evident to the World, in what manner the *Ottoman* Arms roved through *Hungary* uncontrouled, without an appearance of any conſideraable Force to give them the leaſt ſtop or interruption; ſo that under the very Walls of *Rab* and *Presburg*, and on the Banks of the *Danube* near *Komarra*, Incurſions and depredation were made, and great numbers of People of both Sexes, and of all Ages, were carried into ſlavery, the Country all round laid waſte, the Corn and Hay burnt; with all other miſerable effects and Concomitants of War.

In this manner all places ſeemed to fall down and yield at the very rumour of the *Turks* approach; for not only *Leventz* ſurrendred it ſelf, but likewiſe *Nitra*, though over-topped by a ſtrong and an impregnable Caſtle, was by the Cowardice of the Commander betrayed at the firſt Summons of the *Turks*; for which action, the Captain afterwards, by expreſs Command of the Emperor, ſuffered Death.

After all theſe ſucceſſes, though no oppoſition appeared in the Field, to obſtruct the luxuriant and wanton march of the victorious Squadrons of the *Ottoman* Army; and not only *Hungary*, but *Auſtria*, and the lower *Germany* was Alarmed and terrified with the rumour of the *Turkiſh* numbers; and though the Vizier (as it is ſaid) began this War with the ambitious thoughts of poſſeſſing *Vienna* it ſelf, and out-vying the Acts of *Solyman* the Magnificent: Yet it ſeemed ſtrange, that being come thus far, and almoſt in proſpect of his hopes, that he ſhould give a check to his Fortunes, and not advance towards *Vienna*, to which now the paſſage ſeemed wide and open; but it was almoſt a miracle, that he ſhould not make a Viſit to *Poſſonium*, before which, had he only diſplaid his dreadful Arms, it had ſurrendred at his firſt Summons and Appearance. Inſtead whereof he attempted *Schinta*, the Magazine of the Emperors Arms and Artillery, but found not the ſame eaſy entrance as he did with the Governour of *Nitra*; but inſtead thereof, being ſtoutly repulſed after ſeveral Aſſaults, concluded the enterprize too difficult, and requiring more time and blood than could be countervailed by the acquiſition of that place. Wherefore raiſing his Camp, he employed a conſiderable Party to take *Novigrade*, a Caſtle ſcituated on a high Rock, encompaſſed with a Ditch of 34 Foot deep, Gariſoned with Six hundred Soldiers, and provided ſufficiently with Victuals and Ammunition; howſoever by ill fortune, and worſe Conduct, this place alſo was reſigned into the hands of the *Turks*.

The Vizier aſſaults *Schinta*, but beaten off.

Novigrade taken by the *Turks*.

The Vizier retreats to his Winter Quarters.

By this time the Winter approaching, and the ſeaſon of the Year beginning to be unfit for action, the Great Vizier retreated as far as *Belgrade*, to take up his Winter Quarters with the groſs of his Army: Where remaining with full ſatisfaction and glory, contemplating the ſucceſſes of the paſt Year, and promiſing to himſelf greater renown, and exaltation of his mighty acts, for that inſuing; he ſo contemned the Force of his Enemies, that he Licenſed great numbers of the *Aſian* Spahees, who came as far as from *Baylon* and Grand *Cairo*, to return home to their own poſſeſſions. Howſoever, to vex the Chriſtians with continual Alarms, the Vizier ordered a flying Body of *Turks* and *Tartars*, to the number of 30000. under the Command of * *Chengiogli*, to paſs into *Stiria* and *Craotia*, the Country of Count *Serini*, and there to burn, lay waſte, and depopulate all before them. Count *Serini* was now newly returned from *Hungary*, and ſuppoſing the ſeaſon for action finiſhed, had lodged the greateſt part of his Forces within their Winter Quarters, and ſecurely laid himſelf to repoſe; when an Alarm came of the approach of Thirty thouſand Horſe; the Count rowſing his great Spirit from its eaſe, collected as many of his People into a Body, as the ſhortneſs of time would permit, which were not above 480 men; and with theſe he betook himſelf to the River *Muer*, to give a ſtop (if poſſible) to the paſſage of the Enemy, placing Centinels in all places where the River was fordable. On the Seventeenth of *November*, the Chriſtians eſpyed the *Turks* Encamped on the other ſide, and at the ſame time diſcovered Two thouſand of them to have paſſed the River; on which, *Serini* immediately made that furious Aſſault, aſſiſted with the Courage of Captain *Chirfaleas* (a Perſon who had oftentimes given glorious proofs of his valour againſt the *Turks*) that he ſoon put them to open flight, and they ſeeking to paſs the River, and miſſing the place where the River was fordable, threw themſelves headlong into the Water where the moſt part of thoſe periſhed who eſcaped the Sword. The *Turks* on the other ſide were ſo amazed at this ſtupendious Valour of *Serini*, that their Courages failing them, they deſiſted from their farther attempt upon *Croatia*; ſo that this poor Country ſeemed as it were for the preſent, to be reprieved, by Miracle, from a total deſtruction.

Count *Serini* overthrows a Party of *Turks* and *Tartars*.

* Paſha of *Temiſwar*.

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS.

The Third BOOK

Anno Chriſti, 1664. *Hegeira*, 1075.

Zechlbyd revolts to *Apafi*.

THE Month of *January* was now well entred with its rigid Froſts, when *Apafi* Prince of *Tranſilvania*, beholding his Souldiers in their Winter Quarters, and all things quiet and ſtill about him, judged it ſeaſonable for his eſtabliſhment to diſcover himſelf with ſome luſtre to the World, ſeated in the uſual Throne of the *Tranſilvanian* Princes; which ſight appeared ſo univerſally grateful to the People, that they began to be enamoured of their Prince, and to applaud his Perſon, hisÁroweſs and Vertues, and to caſt an ill and envious Eye on thoſe Cities which were Garriſon'd with *German* Souldiers. About which time the Fortreſs of *Zechelbyd* revolted from Obedience of the Emperor unto *Apafi* the Prince: For the Souldiery of that Garriſon having long Arrears of pay due to them, made a Mutiny, and expelled their Collonel *Dempenbal* from his Office, and pillaged his Houſe, placing the Quarter-Maſter of *Strozzi*'s Regiment in his ſtead. The news of this Sedition flew quickly to *Vienna*, from whence immediately a Meſſenger was diſpatched with an Act of Pardon from the Emperor, upon ſubmiſſion, and proffers of full ſatisfaction of all Arrears; but the Souldiery finding themſelves only paid with words, hearkened to the more effectual Propoſitions of *Apafi*, who taking hold of this opportunity, ſent every Souldier ten Dollars with a Suit of Cloaths, promiſing larger and more conſtant Pay than they received from the Emperor, with which the Garriſon being ſatisfied, ſurrendred up their City on the 20*th* of *January*. But whilſt other Armies remained in their Quarters, and other Commanders gave themſelves up to eaſe, and drowned themſelves in Wine and Banquets; and whilſt Jealouſies, Envies, and Ceremonies, diſturbed and confuſed the reſolves of Diets and private Councils; the generous and vigilant *Serini*, having received advices from *Adrianople*, that the *Turks* deſign in the next Campagna, was to convert the whole heat and fury of the War upon *Croatia*, and through that Country to open a paſſage unto *Friuli*; his active ſpirit conceived that heat and flame, that the Winters cold could not chill his hot and eager deſires from entring into the open Field, and commencing ſome attempt and enterprize on his Enemy. Wherefore on the 16*th* of *January*, he began his march from *Serinſwar*, with an Army of about 25000 men; and in the firſt place, marching along the Banks of the *Dravus*, ſhewed himſelf before *Berzenche*; which upon conditions of marching away with Arms, Bag, and Baggage, was ſurrendered to him. *Bakockza* was likewiſe yielded, and a Palancha on the River quitted upon report of the Counts approach, leaving behind them Eight braſs Guns in the Fort. From hence he marched towards *Eſſeck*, otherwiſe called *Oſeck*, which is the only paſs from the upper to the lower *Hungary*, having a Bridge of Wood over a Moor or Fen, about ſix or ſeven miles in length, which once I remember, with my Horſe, I was an Hour and three quarters in paſſing (as I obſerved

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Oſieck.

The Bridge burned.

Quinq; Eccleſiæ taken by Serini.

obſerved by my Watch), and reported to have been ſix years in building. This Bridg *Serini* reſolved to burn, which coſt the *Turks* 300000. Dollars, and ſix years time to build; imagining that to rebuild it again, was a Work of that time, as could not be repaired in one Summer, and that by this means the *Turks* would be diſappointed of all Action the following Year, and the Empire have time to breathe, and aſſemble the utmoſt of their Strength and Force together; wherefore taking opportunity of the hard Winter, when the Marſh was frozen, and a ſtrong Wind to carry the Flame; he ſent before him 2000. Dragoons, and 3000. Croats, which encountring 6000. *Turks* at the foot of the Bridg, ſet for Guard of that place, were ſo ill treated by them, that they had been wholly cut off, had not a conſiderable Force of Horſe and Dragoons come in to their aſſiſtance, by whoſe Reſolution they not only routed the *Turk*, but took the *Palancha*, which was the Defence of the Bridg, and having gained it in hot Blood, put all to Fire and Sword; after which, Fire being ſet to the Bridg in divers places, in a ſhort time it was conſumed, and remained in Aſhes. The news of this Exploit was received at *Vienna* with great Joy; believing that for the following Year, they had diſappointed the *Turks* of a Paſſage; but by the ſequel it will appear, how much they erred in the account made of the Diligence of the *Turks*, who in forty days repaired that which they eſteemed a work of ſome Years; and as I obſerved, it was all built of new Timber, and on another Foundation different from the old. From this place *Serini* marched to *Quinq; Eccleſiæ*, or *Five Kirk*, at whoſe near approach, the *Turks* ſet out a white Flag on one of the Towers, ſignifying a deſire of Parly, as if they had had intentions to ſurrender on Terms and Articles of Agreement; the Chriſtians with this Confidence marched near the Walls, where the *Turks* eſpying their Advantage on their Enemies now under command of their Guns, fired upon them, and did ſevere Execution, killing amongſt others, ſeveral principal Officers, of which were General *Hammerling*, and Count *Harberſtein*; which perfidious Action ſo tranſported *Serini*, that he reſolved on a furious Aſſault, and performed it with that Gallantry, that on the 5*th* of *February* he took the Town by Storm and Force of Arms, and in Recompence of their treacherous Stratagem, put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and gave up the Town to the Pillage and Plunder of the Souldiery, and afterwards ſetting it on Fire, rendred it the moſt horrid Spectacle of Fire and Sword that had as yet been ſeen or known in this preſent War.

Sigeth Beſieged.

The Siege raiſed.

Claudiopolis yields it ſelf to Apaſi.

1664.

Theſe Succeſſes of *Serini* gained him the Reputation of a valiant and fortunate Prince, and his liberal hand in frankly beſtowing the Booty and Pillages amongſt the Soldiery, invited great numbers to follow his Banner. His active Spirit and Vigilance gained him likewiſe a Reputation amongſt the *Turks*, that their principal Fear and Dread was of *Serin-Ogli*, as of a watchful and politick Enemy; for in every place he made great Havock and Spoil, being reported to have laden two thouſand five hundred Carts with Slaves, Goods and Ammunition, and to carry with him an hundred fifty five Pieces of Cannon taken out of ſmall Forts and *Palancha's*, and to have laid waſte all the Country between the *Dravus* and the *Danube*. In theſe Incurſions, and victorious and dreadful Travels through the Enemies Country, the valiant *Serini* at length arrived at *Sigeth*, a Fortreſs conſiſting of a new and old Town conjoyned by a Bridg which croſſes a famous Marſh or Fen, ennobled by the Attempt made thereon by *Solyman* the Magnificent in the year 1565. with an Army of ſix hundred thouſand Men; in defence of which *Nicholas Serini*, the great Grandfather of the preſent Count, immortalized his Fame and Memory with the loſs of his Life, and renowned the Place it ſelf by his Feats at Arms. At this place *Serini* was reſolved to revenge the Blood of his Anceſtors, and ſacrifice great numbers to the Ghoſt of his Grandfather; to which end he ſent the Count *Olack* before him with part of his Army, to Summon the Enemy, and prepare the way to his own more effectual Force; *Olack* had ordered all things accordingly, when *Serini* full of Glory and Spoils arrived him in his Leagure, and joyning together, appointed a day for a general Storm; but whilſt theſe things were meditating, and that *Sigeth* was reduced almoſt to the laſt Extremity, advice came of the near approach of a Body of twelve thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*; to encounter which, the Attempt was accounted difficult, conſidering the loſs and diminution of the Chriſtian Forces, which by continual Actions, and the bitter Sufferings of the Winter Seaſon, were reduced to a number inferior to that of their Enemies; and wanting all ſorts of Proviſion and Ammunition, it was reſolved, as moſt expedient, to raiſe the Siege, which was the next day performed, and the Soldiery taken into Gariſons to Repoſe and Recruit themſelves. But whilſt by the active and zealous Spirit of this great Champion, moſt matters proceeded ſucceſſfully on the ſide of *Croatia*, the Chriſtian Affairs on the other ſide, by the negligence of ſome Miniſters, ran into evident Ruin and Diſorder. For *Claudiopolis*, which not many years paſt had defended it ſelf ſo valiantly againſt the *Turks* under the Command of the Governor *Retani*, did now, wanting pay, (the Sinew and Life of the Soldiery) follow the late Example of *Zechelbyd*, and ſurrendred it ſelf into the hands of *Apaſi*; and tho the Complaints and Murmurings of the Soldiers gave a ſufficient time of warning to make due Proviſions againſt a Misfortune ſo imminent and plainly appearing; yet the want of Expedition at *Vienna*, and the unprofitable Application only of empty Words and Air to feed the penury, and ſatisfie the Appetite of ſtarving Men, was a Remedy ſo little available, that the Gariſon ſubmitted to *Apaſi*, and yielded to Conditions whereby they might Eat and Live: the Story of which Place, compared with that of *Zechelbyd*, was ſo ſhameful and pungent to Men capable of any impreſſions of Honour or Duty, that at length it awakened the *Germans*, and admoniſhed them to provide better for *Zacmar* and *Tockey*, and other Frontier Gariſons, leſt they alſo ſhould incur the like Fate and Misfortune with the two former.

By this time the Actions of *Serini* were rumoured in the Grand Signiors Seraglio, and the report of them became common in the mouths of the Vulgar; wherefore full of Anger and Diſdain, the Sultan wrote ſeverely to his Vizier, reproving him of negligence for ſuffering *Serini* ſo freely to Range his Countries without controul, to the great Diſhonour of his Empire, and Damage of his People: whereupon the Vizier not as yet having received his Recruits, nor prepared ſo early for the March of the groſs of his Army, diſpatched notwithſtanding a conſiderable Force to precede him, with Orders either by ſtealth to ſurprize *Serinſwar*, or elſe to lay Siege unto it. This Army marching by the way

of

1664.

Count *Peter Serini* defeats the *Turks* in the Streights of *Morlac.*

of *Boſna*, the news thereof was brought to Count *Peter Serini*, appointed by his Brother to ſtand Centinal on the Guard of his Country, whilſt he in Perſon was buſied in *Hungary*, who immediately thereupon, with what Force he could collect, ambuſhed himſelf at the narrow Paſs of a Mountain called the *Morlac*, where he had not long attended, before the *Turks*, without order or care, entred with their whole Body; but being on a ſudden ſurprized by the Count, were wholly defeated, leaving two thouſand dead on the place, with many Priſoners.

The danger of *Serini.*

The Month of *March* being now well entred, the Froſts began to thaw, and the Air become more mild and moderate, when Count *Nicholas Serini* entertained thoughts of laying Siege to *Kaniſia*: But to lay the Foundation of this Deſign with the better Judgment, it was thought firſt neceſſary to view the State and Scituation of the Place; wherefore the Count in Perſon, accompanied with about fourteen Officers, went one day to take a ſurvey thereof; but he was not ſo private in his Deſign, but that it was known to the *Turks*, who ſecretly laid five hundred Men in wait to take him, and upon the near approach of *Serini*, ſtarted from their Holes with Shouts and Out-crys; but the Count was ſo well mounted on his *Croatian* Courſer, that he out-ran them all, and got Refuge in the Thickets of a neighbouring Wood, where three hundred of his own Horſe alarmed at a diſtance by the Echo's of the cry, came in to his Succor, and making Head againſt the *Turks*, routed and defeated them, killing and taking many Priſoners; amongſt the Slain was found one armed Cap-a-pe, with a ſilk Twiſt, or Cord of divers Colours about his Waſte, who was, as reported by the Captives, to have been one who reſolved to have taken *Serini*, and with that Cord to have brought him bound to the Feet of the Vizier. *Serini* having thus eſcaped, reſolved to Revenge himſelf of the Affront, and therefore made moſt dreadful Spoils and Confuſion in all Places round *Kaniſia*; ſo that the People flying thither for Sanctuary, were refuſed Entertainment by the Paſha, who at that time labouring with ſcarcity, and expecting a Siege, had no need of unneceſſary Gueſts.

Serini makes known to the Emperor his deſign againſt *Kaniſia.*

Serini having now fully reſolved to lay Siege to *Kaniſia*, thought fit firſt to ſignifie the Deſign to his Imperial Majeſty; for which purpoſe he diſpatched away the Engineer General with Letters to the Council of War of the Lower *Hungary*, containing a perfect Relation of the Succeſs and Progreſs of his Arms in that Winter, and how he had laid waſte and deſolate all that circumference of Land which lies between the River *Dravus* and *Serinſwar*, by which means *Kaniſia* was already ſtraitned with Famine, and that now was the only Seaſon to recover that Fortreſs, if the Deſign were put into immediate Execution, before the *Turks* aroſe from their Winter-quarters, or had time to afford a powerful Relief. The Reſolution of *Serini* was ſo well pleaſing to the Council, that by the ſame Meſſenger they ſignified their Approbation thereof to the Emperor, then at the Diet at *Ratisbone*, humbly deſiring, that this Deſign might proceed, which would undoubtedly take effect, if the Count were provided only with thirteen thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe; but then the Siege was to be laid before the beginning of *April*, leſt the early motion of the *Turkiſh* Camp ſhould blaſt and defeat the too late beginning of this Action. The particular Journal of *Serini*'s Succeſs was not leſs pleaſing to his *Cæſarean* Majeſty, than his preſent Heroical Reſolution againſt *Kaniſia*; who thereupon gave Orders to the General Council to ſupply him with all Proviſions, Ammunition and Men which were requiſite for this Siege, and was graciouſly pleaſed himſelf to expreſs in a Letter to the Count, the Senſe he had of his Merits and Valour, which he applauded and extolled in the Words following.

1664.

Poſtquam mihi Architectus Militaris de Vaſſemboij eximios Veſtros progreſſus famoſique Pontis Eſſolcienſis exuſtionem, & cætera a Vobis edita Virtutis Militaris ſingularia ſpecimina longa ſerie expoſuiſſet, ſupervenerunt Veſtræ de 19. *Februarii, & omnia breviori, quam tantorum geſtorum magnitudo capit, enarratione confirmantes. Poſuit fortunatus iſte progreſſus labeſcenti rei Hungariæ firmum adminiculum, erexit conſternatos meorum fidelium animos, & futurorum fœlicium ſucceſſuum non exiguum jecit fundamentum. Proinde hæc Veſtra egregia facta non minus mihi grata & accepta accidunt, quam in Nominis Veſtri perennitatem, & augendam apud Poſteros memoriam redundant. Spero omnino per Divinam aſſiſtentiam, virtutemque, & experientiam Veſtram ejuſmodi ultiores fœlices ſucceſſus, atque hoſtilium armorum debellationem.*

Kaniſia beſieged.

According to this Order of the Emperor, the Reſolution of the Council of War was eſtabliſhed on the 10*th* of *March*, and *Serini* publiſhed, That on the 8*th* of *April* he would begin the Siege; but in regard the *Germans* in *Stiria*, and the Forces of the *Rhyne*, by reaſon of the Abſence of their General, the Count *Olack*, could not be ſo ſoon ready, the time of the Siege was deferred until the 30*th* of *April*, on which, or the firſt of *May*, the Town was formally beleagured, not ſo much with hopes of Succeſs, as with Deſign to maintain the Reputation of the Imperial Arms, and to divert the groſs of the Enemies force from the more eaſie and delightful Plains of *Hungary*, or the plenteous Confines of *Vienna*, to a Country leſs happy or fruitful, encompaſſed with Fens and Marſhes, poiſoned with bad Airs and Vapours, and made more miſerable already by the Deſolations of War. But let us leave *Serini* at his Siege before *Kaniſia*, and travel a while with our thoughts to the Diet at *Ratiſbone*, and underſtand what is there forming and deſigning towards Preſervation of the Commonweal of the Empire. The taking of *Newhauſel*, and the Progreſs of the *Ottoman* Arms, had awakened the *German* Princes with that Senſe of the common Danger, that a Diet was aſſembled at *Ratisbone* to conſult of the moſt effectual means that might give a ſtop to the uncontrouled Incurſions of the *Turk*. And not to trouble the Reader with the Names of all thoſe Princes and Ambaſſadors which there appeared, it will be ſufficient to ſignifie, That beſides his *Ceſarean* Majeſty, there were preſent, as his Plenipotentiaries, the Elector of *Mentz*, and Arch-Biſhop of *Saltzburgh*: And tho many Princes ſhowed themſelves with Glory and Splendor; yet none appeared with that Pomp and Magnificence as the Elector of *Bavaria*, who for number of Coaches, richneſs of his Liveries, and compleat Government of his Retinue, was ſo neat and polite,

The Diet at *Ratiſbone*

1664.

The ſtrength of the Chriſtian Army.

lite, that he ſeemed not only to exceed every Court in particular, but in Elegance and Magnificence to equalize them all together. Upon Debate of matters in reference to this War, the Count of *Olack* was unanimouſly choſen General for the Confederates of the *Rhine*; but the more hot diſputes between the Proteſtants and Papiſts about Election of other Generals kept matters in longer ſuſpence; yet at length the Marqueſs of *Baden* was choſen Marſhal General in behalf of the League, the Marqueſs of *Durlach*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter* his Councellours, and Directors of the War; and Count *Francis Fucher*, General of the Ordnance. But in the Levies of their Forces they concurred more freely and willingly; for beſides the Imperial Forces, which conſiſted of 41600 Foot, and 13900 Horſe, the Allies and Confederates furniſhed 13850 Foot, and 3350 Horſe; the Auxiliaries of the Empire made up a Body of 16991 Foot and 4037 Horſe, beſides the Forces of *Saxony*, and *Brandenburgh*, and the Succours of *France*; ſo that, by Gods Providence, the Chriſtian Army was this year eſteemed equal, if not more numerous than the multitudes of their Enemies.

Italy.

The next matter under conſideration was the nomination of Miniſters to be ſent abroad to implore aſſiſtance from Chriſtian Princes more remote; the Count *Piccolomini* was to negotiate in the Courts of *Italy*; but having taken a Diſtemper in his Journeys, died after a ſhort ſickneſs at *Milan*.

England.

Alſo the Count *Colalto*, ſent to his Majeſty of Great *Britain*, died in his Journey before he arrived at *London*; notwithſtanding which the generous Piety of His Majeſty was not wanting with a liberal Hand to contribute towards the Promotion of the Chriſtian Intereſt.

Poland.

From *Poland* nothing more could be obtained than Terms of Courteſy, and Demonſtrations of Good Will and Deſires, for that their Forces being employed againſt the *Moſcovite* to recover the loſt Countries of *Lituania*, could not poſſibly attend the Service and Command of his Imperial Majeſty, tho they could not but at the ſame time reflect on their Premures and Neceſſities with Shame and Confuſion, which diſabled them from anſwering with like returns, the grateful Memory they ſtill retained of the aſſiſtance againſt *Sweden*.

France.

To his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty Count *Strozzi* was employed, before whoſe Arrival at *Paris* the common Report and Vogue was, That that King reſolved to contribute an effectual Aſſiſtance to the Chriſtian Cauſe in that preſent Conjuncture; which pious Diſpoſition *Strozzi* ſo happily improved, that he obtained from his Majeſty a Grant and Promiſe of four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, raiſed and payed at his own Charge, to be united with the Troops of the Rhiniſh League: And farther, His Majeſty was ſo gracious herein, that he publiſhed a Declaration, That what Perſon ſoever would ſerve the Emperor againſt the *Turk*, his Reſolution and Action therein ſhould be accepted by him, in the ſame manner as if the Service were immediately tendered to himſelf. Upon which many Perſons of Quality reſolved upon this Expedition, amongſt which was the Duke of *Buglion*, the *Marquis de Villeroy*, the Abbot of *Richelieu*, and many other Heroes, and Perſons of Bravery, who ventured their Lives with no other Conſideration than that of Honour and Religion. But before I paſs from this Embaſſy, give me leave to report a Complement which Count *Strozzi* paſſed upon this King, which ſome ſay did ſavour a little too much of Flattery and Affectation.

1664.

Count *Strozzi*'s Speech to the *French* King.

The matter was this: Count *Strozzi* being admitted to his Audience, ſo ſoon as he entered into the Chamber, I know not whether it was feigned or real, he ſeemed to be ſtruck with ſuch an Amazement and Fear, that for a while he was not able to pronounce a word Articulate or Intelligible; but at length recollecting himſelf, he began with a trembling Voice to excuſe this Heſitation of his Speech, having his Senſes diſſipated, and his Eyes dazled with the Rays and Splendor of ſo much Majeſty; and with that, as in a Rapture or Ecſtaſie, broke out into an Admiration of the *French* Monarchy, the report of whoſe Greatneſs and Glory, tho arrived to the utmoſt Confines of the Univerſe, came yet far ſhort of that real Majeſty which he ſaw and admired, whoſe dreadful and myſterious Throne was ſufficient to revive the dead Aſhes of the *Sabean* Queen to proſtrate her ſelf before this new *Solomon*, much excelling the Wiſdom, the Richeſs, the Virtue, and Happineſs of the former. And thence deſcending with the like ſagacious Obſequiouſneſs, to confute the malicious Reports of malignant Tongues, who, envious of the harmony of Chriſtian Spirits, repreſented His Majeſty as ill-affected to the *Auſtrian* Family; whereas to the contrary, he could teſtifie to have found that exceſs of Affection, and admirable Diſpoſition in His Majeſty towards the Emperor his Ally, as rendred his Embaſſy abundantly happy and ſucceſsful, which joined to the Zeal His Majeſty had towards the Chriſtian Cauſe, was like Friendſhip united to Charity, and moral Virtues made perfect by ſpiritual Qualifications. In fine, he compared his Chriſtian Majeſty to that Glorious Sun, which communicating his light to the Chriſtian World, affords the moſt benign Influence to the Catholick Climate; with much better reaſon therefore ought *Germany* to participate ſo great a Circle of thoſe Rays, as may ſerve wholly to obſcure and darken the dim and barbarous Light of the *Ottoman* Moon. In ſum, *Strozzi* knew ſo well how to manage his Diſcourſe, and play the Orator, that he obtained conſiderable Aſſiſtances, and returned to his Maſter the Emperor with full Demonſtrations of all obliging Terms, and courteous Treatments. And having thus underſtood what Preparations are making in *Chriſtendom*, let us paſs over into the *Turks* Quarters, and ſee what is in the mean time tranſacting in thoſe Dominions.

Rebellion of the *Beghs* in *Egypt*.

At this time the Rumour of a Rebellion and Mutiny amongſt the Great *Beghs* at Grand *Cairo* in *Egypt*, afforded matter for Trouble and Conſultation at the *Ottoman* Court; for that thoſe *Beghs* who have great Poſſeſſions and Power in that Country, made Seizure of *Ibrahim* Paſha, and impriſoned him, being about the Expiration of his three years commonly allotted to that Government; and therefore near upon departure. The demands they had upon him was for no leſs than three thouſand Purſes of Money, which according to the *Cairo* Account, are reckoned ſeven hundred and fifty Dollars a Purſe; and pretended to be taken from them againſt Law and Juſtice; and that without Reſtitution thereof they reſolved not to reſtore him his Liberty. This Inſolence againſt ſo eminent a Paſha, qualified with ſuch abſolute Power in his Government, and one related to the Grand Signior by Marriage of his Siſter, compared with the late neglects and diſobedience of that People who for ſome years had failed in the full payment of their Tribute, were interpreted as evident Symptoms of Diſaffection and Malignancy, which that People entertained againſt the *Ottoman*

1664. Subjection. Wherefore the Sultan immediately diſpatched away the Maſter of his Horſe to *Cairo*, with full Power to apeaſe this Rebellion, and with Lenitives to moderate the Fury of the People, who ſeemed to be too Licentious and Unbridled to be governed by a Muſſelim or Deputy: Wherefore the Selictar Aga was elected Paſha, and to depart with all Expedition. In the mean time this Meſſenger, to make greater haſte, took poſt through *Aſia* with thirty in his Company, and in a ſhort time arrived at Grand *Cairo*, where, with fair terms, and Reſtitution of ſome Money from the Paſha, all matters were reduced to an amicable compoſure, only the puniſhment of the chief Mutiniers, with a fair Countenance, deferred for a Seaſon, was afterwards according to the *Turkiſh* Faſhion, when time and opportunity preſented, remunerated to thoſe factious Spirits with a ſevere Intereſt, and Satisfaction to Juſtice.

Ibrahim Paſha fined,

and impriſoned.

Not long after, *Ibrahim* Paſha having obtained his Liberty, returned from his Government of *Cairo* to *Conſtantinople*, where refreſhing himſelf ſome time with the Embraces of his young Sultana, an Imperial Command for immediate payment of four hundred Purſes of Money to the Grand Signiors Treaſury, diſturbed his delightful quiet. The Paſha made a preſent payment of one half, but deſired time for the Remainder, either for want of that inſtant ſupply, or elſe in hopes of eaſe of his Fine. But the Sultan, who is impatient of any delay in his Slaves, which ſavours of obſtinacy or diſobedience, tho never ſo reaſonable, diſpatched another Command, enjoining preſent Compliance, and as a Penalty for the late Neglect, raiſed the Demand from four hundred to ſix hundred Purſes, which if not as readily payed as required, the Kimacham of *Conſtantinople* was impowered to commit him Priſoner within the four Gates of the Seraglio, the fatal Priſon, from whence few find other Releaſe than by Death. The Paſha not being able to comply, was there reſtrained of his Liberty; and yet had the good fortune in a few days to obtain his freedom, by the endeavours (as ſome ſuppoſe) of the Great Vizier, who having by this Act weakened his Power and Treaſure, did afterwards as an inſtrument of his Deliverance, conſerve his Life, and obtain for him the Government of *Darbiquier*, where being remote and obſcure at ſo far a diſtance, could never be capable to ſhadow, or by his great popularity and affable comportment endanger the preſent happy ſtate of the Viziers Office.

A Diſpute between the Mufti and a Shegh.

Matters growing now towards Action, by return of the Spring, the Grand Signior, to incourage his Vizier in a continuance of his duty, ſent him a Horſe and a Sword as a Teſtimony of his favour and good eſteem of his Perſon; and Orders were iſſued out through all the Empire for publick Prayers to be made ſome days before the Vizer began his March towards the Enemy. This appointment of publick Devotions occaſioned matter of argument and diſpute between the Mufti, and a Shegh or Preacher, one that was always near the Grand Signiors Perſon, and therefore on Confidence of his familiar Acceſs to the Preſence of the Sultan, and on Preſumption of his Sanctity and Priviledg of his Office, took Liberty to oppoſe and contradict the Oracle of the *Ottoman* Law. The Problem in queſtion was, Whether Prayers appointed for ſucceſs of the *Ottoman* Arms, according to the Law of their Prophet, were to be made privately, and in every Moſch or Oratory apart, or in a general Aſſembly of the whole City. The Mufti maintained the laſt Poſition, citing in favour of his Opinion the Teſtimony of divers *Arabick* Doctors, and the cuſtoms of the preſent and paſt times. The Shegh on the contrary was for Devotions to be performed in every Moſch, declaring, That the Aſſembly of all the People of a City into one Body did nothing avail or inforce the Power of Prayer; for they being true Believers, were all illuminated, and had no need of helps to make their Prayers more fervent or more acceptable. The Argument was hot on both ſides; and tho the Mufti had got another Shegh on his part, who might pretend to as much of Illumination as the other, and joyned to the Mufti's Opinion, who is the Mouth and undoubted Interpreter of the Law, might ſeem able not only to reſolve the knottieſt difficulties, but to impoſe an Aſſent on them with greater Authority; yet the Shegh having the Grand Signior on his ſide, preſently got moſt of Reaſon, and forced the Mufti to recant his former Opinion as Erroneous and to baniſh the other Shegh his Companion, pretending that he was now convinced, and had ſooner diſcovered the truth, had not the Impoſtor, the falſe Preacher deceived him by his feigned Illuminations. This Victory gained the Shegh much applauſe and eſteem with the Grand Signior, ſo that he vented what Doctrine he pleaſed and all he ſaid was taken for Divine Rules and Precepts He was born about *Van* on the Confines of *Perſia*, ſo that he is called *Vanni Efendi*, and is of the *Armenian* Race: he preached every Friday at *Adrianople* in one Moſch or other, where the Grand Signior was for the moſt part preſent; and tho the greateſt part of his Sermons were ſtuffed up with Praiſes of the *Mahometan* Religion, and Invectives againſt Chriſtians, ſentencing all polluted and profane who aſſociate with them, and exclaiming againſt the Abomination of Wine; yet it is confidently reported, that he is no ſtrict Obſerver of the Law he profeſſes, the which his Diſciples and Familiars are ready to excuſe in him, ſaying, That it may be lawful for him to diſpenſe with ſuch matters, in regard his Illuminations and high Prerogatives of Sanctity have infranchiſed him from obſervance of the meaner and leſs ſubſtantial points of their Law.

Predictions amongſt the *Turks*.

The *Turks*, who are as much given to Predictions and Interpretations of old Prophecies, as ever the *Egyptians* were, buſied themſelves this year more than ever, to know the Event of this War. Some, who had ſtudied ancient *Arabick* Predictions, had extracted certain Aſtrological Figures, and from thence framed ſtrange Fancies, according to the humour or melancholly of the Aſtrologer; one whereof coming to the Grand Signiors ears, mentioning divers things obſcurely, and in general of the great Effuſion of Blood, but that at laſt the Advantage and Victory ſhould remain to the *Turk*, and that the Grand Signior himſelf ſhould ſhortly make a Journey; the Grand Signior troubled hereat, as much as ever *Pharaoh* was about the Interpretation of his Dream, ſent for one of the Chief Juſtices of the Law, called the Kadileſcher, and with him conferred concerning this Prediction: all things pleaſed him well, but only the latter part of making a Journey. Whither that Journey ſhould be, he could not imagine, his Arms were ſo proſperous in *Hungary*, that he conceived the Vizer had no need of his Preſence either to animate or recruit his Army; and to any other part, he knew not what could move him from his delightful and beloved City of *Adrianople*. The Kadileſcher ſuppoſing that he might put that Interpreta-

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The Grand Signiors averſion to *Conſtantinople.*

A ſmall Seraglio by that name near *Conſtantinople.*

tion thereon which might not be ungrateful, replied, Perhaps, O Emperour, he may mean that you ſhall again return to your ſublime and happy Port of *Conſtantinople.* The Grand Signior ſuddenly touched herewith, burſt into choler; How, ſaid he, to *Conſtantinople*! what joy, what comfort can I have there? Hath not that place been fatal to my Father? What benefit had my Uncle from thence? or any of my Race? Have not all my Princes Anceſtors been ſubject to a thouſand mutinies and Rebellions in that place? I ſhall ſooner than return thither, ſet fire to it with my own hands, and rejoyce to ſee that City with my Seraglio brought to aſhes. And that we may farther diſcover the ſtrange averſion the Sultan had to *Conſtantinople*, and his reſolution to change the Seat of his Empire, it is obſervable, that he built a ſmall Seraglio not far from *Adrianople*, in imitation of that near *Conſtantinople*, called *Odout Paſha*; the place to which he moſt frequently reſorted after that City fell under his diſlike and hatred. The Village where his Pallace was built was called *Chiomlichoi*, or the Village of Pots where earthen Veſſels were made: but the Grand Signior changed the name, and called it *Odout Paſha*, with which name before the People were well acquainted, and that it was accuſtomed to their mouths, two poor ſilly Country-men miſtaking, and calling it ſimply by the former name, were apprehended by ſome of the Boſtangees, and brought before the Grand Signior as contemners of the Imperial Command, and by his immediate Sentence were put to death.

A Son born to the Grand Signior.

About the end of *May* the Grand Signior had a Son born to him of one of his Women, for joy of which ſeven days of *Dunalma*, or rejoycing were appointed through all the *Ottoman* Dominions; but eſpecially at *Adrianople* the Solemnity was greateſt, all ſorts of Artiſans endeavouring to outvy each other in their Shows and Paſtimes to entertain the City. At the Gate of the Seraglio was erected a magnificent Pavilion for the Grand Signior, before whom were ſhown rare artificial Fire-works invented by the moſt ingenious Maſters thereof amongſt the *Jews*; one of which firing a Rocket, which not aſcending with uſual ſtrength, unhappily fell on the Veſt of the Grand Signiors Favourite, ſtanding at the door of the Tent; at which the young Man being ſurprized, ſent to find out him who fired it, which happening to be a poor *Jew*, was condemned immediately by the Grand Signiors Sentence to receive eighty Blows on the Soals of his Feet; but as report went, this young Favorite not appeaſed with this ſlender Puniſhment, obtain'd the Sultans command to put him to Death.

The Siege of *Kaniſia.*

But to return to the *Turkiſh* Camp. The Vizier was aſtoniſhed to underſtand that *Kaniſia* was beſieged, and wondred much at the raſhneſs of *Serini*, in attempting a Work ſo difficult without probability of ſucceſs; howſoever being adviſed, that the Gariſon was ill provided of Victuals and Ammunition, he gave order for its ſupply. In order to which eighty Carts laden with Proviſions convoyed by a conſiderable number of Turks, were conducted by way of *Sigeth*; but being interrupted in their paſſage by *Serini's* Soldiers, were routed, put to flight, and their Proviſions taken. In the mean time the Beſieged made many vigorous Sallies, and ſome not without loſs to the Chriſtians; and to defend themſelves the better, uncovered the tops of their Houſes, and made their Lodgings under ground, ſecure from Granadoes, or ſhot of the Enemies Batteries. On the other ſide the Ammunition and Artillery from the Emperour came not ſo timely as was expected; nor were the Bomboes and Granadoes ſo artificially made, but that many of them ſpent themſelves in vain: the Succours likewiſe of men fell very ſhort of the numbers promiſed; and Souldiery being drawn from their Winter Quarters before the colds were paſt, or the paſture grown, began to murmur; but nothing diſcontented them ſo much as want of Pay, the juſt complaint of Souldiers, which diſcouraged them more than the difficulty of their adventure: againſt all which *Serini* provided as much as he was able out of his own Purſe, continuing the Siege more out of reputation than probable hopes of ſucceſs; for his Army was at leaſt diminiſhed two thouſand in its number, of which four hundred Hungars, and two hundred Germans were loſt in the firſt Aſſaults made upon the Suburbs, and the reſt periſhed by ſickneſs, and the vigorous and frequent Sallies of the Enemy. Howſoever *Serini* ſeemed not to doubt of the ſucceſs, if he could but be for ſome time ſecured from the advance of the Vizier, who now began to draw his groſs and numerous Army out of their Winter Quarters into the open field; and therefore with the other Officers before *Kaniſia*, ſignified their advice to the Emperour and General Council of War, That it was neceſſary that the Imperial Army ſhould be as early in the Field as the Ottoman; and for the more methodical government of Affairs, that the Army ſhould be divided into three Bodies, one to recruit the Forces before the Town, a ſecond to march to *Oſek*, and hinder the Enemies paſſage over the *Dravus*, and a third to take the Field, and apply aſſiſtance where it was judged moſt uſeful. This counſel being well accepted by the Emperour, Orders were immediately iſſued forth to General *Montecuculi* to begin his March, with deſign to obſtruct the Turks paſſage over the *Dravus*; for that the ſucceſs againſt *Kaniſia* was of that high importance, as might juſtly require the imployment of all the Chriſtian Forces in its concernment. Wherefore one Poſt was diſpatched after the other to *Montecuculi* to ſollicite his ſpeedy March, and to give a ſtop to the Viziers Progreſs. But he anſwered, That he attended General *Sporch*, whom he every day expected to joyn with him; but this Anſwer proving by the effect to be nothing more than a preſent excuſe, gave occaſion of ſuſpicion, and produced that diſcontent in the minds of the moſt zealous, as ſpread a rumour through all *Germany* much to the diſreputation of *Montecuculi.* Time thus being protracted, and no Forces appearing to recruit the League, at length advice came to the Generals, when they were juſt going to dinner, that the Vizier with a moſt numerous Army was within * three Leagues of the Town. For the Bridge of *Oſek* was againſt the common opinion again rebuilt, planked, and compleated with new Timbers in the ſpace of forty days, many hands making light work; which when firſt founded, was the work of ſix years: which Expedition was the more remarkable, in regard that this Bridge was not formed out of the Ruines of the old, nor founded on the ſame ground, but new framed out of the Woods with as much comlineſs and order as befits a Bridge of that nature and length, paſſing over a wild Marſh or Fen. The news of the Viziers ſo near approach was ſtrange to *Serini*, who by the calculation made of his March, did not yet expect him for ſeveral days; but the Vizier apprehending the ſtraitneſs in which *Kaniſia* might be, leaving the groſs of his Army, made more expidite Journeys with a Body of twenty thouſand Horſe, which not being unknown to *Serini*, his daring ſpirit was once reſolved to give him Battel, in which opinion was alſo Count *Strozzi*;

* Fifteen Engliſh Miles.

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The Siege of *Kaniſia* raiſed.

but *Olach* diſſenting, and refuſing to ingage his Forces, the Siege was raiſed, and all the Forces with good order retreated to *Serinſwar*, where they arrived the day following, leaving to the Enemy a great quantity of Powder, Match, Shovels, 20 Carts of Meal, and Two Iron Guns broken.

The *Turks* purſue the Chriſtian Army.

No Pilgrim ever followed his way with more devotion to the ſacred Shrine, than the Vizier was willingly led in purſuit of his Enemy to the Walls of *Serinſwar*, being the place to which his intentions inclined, as the beginning and conſummation of the War. Over againſt this envied Fort there is a little Hill ſtrong by Nature, incompaſſed with a narrow Ditch, yet not ſo narrow, as that a Horſe can leap over it, nor yet ſo ſhallow as to be forded. This Hill *Serini* propoſed to the reſt of his Collegues or Coadjutors, *viz. Olach* and *Spaar*, as a place commodious to incamp their Army, becauſe lying open to the River, could eaſily be relieved, and would ſerve as a Redoubt or Out-work to the Fort, in which upon all extremities they might find Sanctuary and refuge: But the apprehenſion of the Viziers Numbers, and his near approach had made that impreſſion of fear in their minds, that no ſafety ſeemed to remain, unleſs they could ſee the River *Mura* between them and their Enemy. Nor was *Serini* more ſucceſsful in his perſwaſions to aſſault the Enemy, whilſt they were wearied with their March, and buſied in extending their Tents, the other Generals being of opinion, that it was too great a hazard for them alone to venture their Forces in ſo unequal a Combat, but they ought rather to expect *Montecuculi*, by the addition of whoſe Forces the lot of War would be leſs hazardous, if not wholly certain. In this manner great Enterpriſes have been diſappointed, which have wanted only reſolution to make them ſucceſsful, Fortune being commonly favourable, if not a Servant, to bold and daring Spirits; the diſunion alſo of Generals hath been the overthrow of the wiſeſt Counſels, and Wars have been obſerved never to have thrived where the Heads of Armies have been of diſſenting humors or different intereſts.

The *Turks* intrench before *Serinſwar.*

This timidity on the Chriſtian part raiſed in that manner the ſpirits of the *Turks*, that without ſtop or oppoſition paſſing the River *Muer*, they arrived at *Serinſwar*, where they immediately fell to their Mattock and Spade, breaking ground for their Trenches, which by continued labour they ſo diligently attended, that in Seventeen days they arrived at the very Ditch of the Fort: Only whilſt the *Turks* were tranſporting their Numbers over the River, the generous ſpirit of *Strozzi* not enduring to ſee their paſſage ſo eaſie and open, valiantly oppoſed himſelf and his ſmall Force againſt the greater power of the Enemy, and ſo reſolutely performed the Action, that he killed Five hundred upon the place, till at length being unfortunately ſhot by a Musket-bullet in the Forehead, he glorioully, together with one *Chisfareat*, a renowned *Croatian* Captain, ended his days in defence of his Countrey and the Chriſtian Cauſe.

Count *Strozzi* ſlain.

In this interim General *Montecuculi* arrived with his Army, and was received by Count *Serini* with all evidences and demonſtrations of reſpect and hearty welcome, and between both paſſed an appearance at leaſt of friendly correſpondence. But as to the preſent Engagement, *Montecuculi* was of opinion, That the opportunity was over ſlipt, which ſhould at firſt have been performed, rather by way of ſurprize than open Battel, before the *Ottoman* Army had arrived to its full numbers, conſiſting now of an hundred thouſand fighting men. To which reaſons *Serini* replied, That the Chriſtian Cauſe, and the States and Confines of the Empire were not to be maintained by men that carry their thumbs at their girdles, or by Armies made reſty with eaſe, and wanton with luxury. That thoſe Armies were raiſed not to conſume and exhauſt the Revenues of their Princes, and Exchequers of their States, without making ſatisfactory amends by a valiant defence of that intereſt which they owned. That the Enemy had not been before that time attempted, was no fault or neglect of his, who under the very Walls of *Kaniſia* reſolved to give them Battel; but that the other Generals ſuppoſed it more prudence and caution to protract the Engagement till his Arrival, who being now happily conjoyned with them, nothing ought to deter them from a glorious Attempt on the *Turks*, who not conſiſting of above Thirty thouſand men, ill diſciplined, and worſe armed, were not able to withſtand the proweſs of their Veterane Army, which far exceeded them in number, diſcipline, and courage. Theſe or ſuch like expreſſions *Serini* uſed; and to prove what he averred, he diſpatched a confident Perſon of his own, who ſpake naturally the *Turkiſh* Language, with a Letter to the *German* Reſident, then entertained under cuſtody in the *Turkiſh* Camp, to know of him the true ſtate and number of the *Turks*, which Meſſenger ſoon after returned with this ſhort account.

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***Serini's* Reaſons to fight with the *Turks*.**

The *German* Reſidents Letter to Count *Serini*.

Niſi memortuum veſis, amplius non reſcribas, hic vix ſunt triginta millia, nec illa ſatis electa, quid vos a pugna deterret? Tormenta Arcis nimis in altum exploduntur. Which in *Engliſh is* thus. *Unleſs you deſire my death, write not back to me again, here are ſcarce Thirty thouſand men, and thoſe ill provided, what then ſhould deter you from an Engagement? The Cannon in the Caſtle are too high mounted, or ſhoot over.* *Serini* gave this Letter to *Montecuculi*, who replied, That ſo ſoon as General *Sporch* came up with his Forces, he would immediately draw up the Army into Batalia; *Sporch* being arrived, he then reſolved to expect Marqueſs *Baden*, and ſo deferred the Battel from time to time, until the *Turks* advantaging themſelves by theſe delays, had worked themſelves under ground to the very Walls of the Caſtle. At length *Montecuculi* entring into *Serini*'s Fort (it is not known upon what reaſons of jealouſie, or diſcontent) cleared *Serini*'s Forces of the Gariſon, and diſpoſſeſſed the Governour; which when *Serini* perceived, full of anger and diſpleaſure, he quitted the Camp, and retired himſelf to his Reſidence at *Chiacaturno*, with intent to make his juſt Appeal and Complaint to the Emperor's Court.

Montecuculi contrary to the opinion of *Serini* declines the Battel with the *Turks*.

Serini retires from the Wars.

The *Turks* availing themſelves of theſe delays and diſcontents, proceeded forward in their work, ſo that having Mined to the very Walls, on the *9th* of *June*, they blew up one of the half Moons, at which the Defendants were ſo terrified, that with amazement they left open one of their Sally Ports, at which the *Turks* entring, put the whole Gariſon into diſorder, conſiſting of 1900 fighting men; ſo that now no ſafety remaining, but in flight, they forſook their Fort, and crouding over the Bridge in confuſed heaps, broke it down with the over-preſſure of its burden; by fall of which, many periſhed in the Waters, and about Three hundred and fifty which remained, were cut off by the Sword; this was the fate of *Serini's* Fort, built with Art, and loſt by Cowardice and ill Conduct, which the Year before, only with Twenty *Germans*, and One hundred and fifty *Hungarians*, withſtood a moſt impetuous and fierce ſtorm of the Enemy, but

Serinſwar taken.

1664. now was leſs tenable than a Palancha, tho Gariſoned with 1900 Men, of whom in this laſt Aſſault one alone had Courage to fire his Muſket, but none adventured to draw a Sword; unleſs certain Voluntiers, and *French* Officers, whoſe Courage only renowned their own Deaths, and ſerved to upbraid the Cowardice of their Companions. In the Fort were only found five ſmall Field Pieces, one whole Cannon, a great Mortar Piece, and two ſmall ones belonging to Count *Serini*; there were alſo one Mortar Piece, and two ſmall Field Pieces, like to thoſe of *Serini*, belonging to the Emperor; tho other Guns of weight or value, were carried out of the Fort, as being judged not long tenable, and decreed to be abandoned to the Enemy. *Serinſwar* being thus taken was immediately demoliſhed by the Vizier, and razed to the Ground; either becauſe he would ſeem to maintain his Word or Vow he had made; or becauſe he would not multiply Gariſons, when the preſent Occaſions required rather the active Force of a moving Army.

Reflections on the diſgrace of *Serini*.

But before we proceed farther, it ſeems pertinent to our purpoſe, to declare the Reaſons and Grounds of the preceding neglects and diſcountenance paſſed upon *Serini* by the Grandees of the Imperial Army, which not being vindicated by the Emperor, ſeem to have been caſt upon him by his expreſs Order, or at leaſt to have been willing for ſome private reſpect, to have the Perſon of *Serini* abaſed, and his Actions obſcured. It is therefore to be noted (what before hath been ſaid) That the firſt pretence the *Turks* made for this War, was this Fort of *Serinſwar*, raiſed againſt the Capitulations and Articles of the laſt Peace; for which, tho the Violence againſt *Varadin* may be pleaded as equal, if not exceeding the preſent Breach, to which this was only ſubſequent, and ſeemed to be but a juſt Recompence or Effect thereof; yet becauſe it was that ſtone of Scandal and Offence, which drew after it that deadly War, in which the Emperor unwillingly engaged againſt the *Ottoman* Power, and cauſed him freely to intimate unto *Serini*, his deſire rather to ſee that Fort demoliſhed, than the Peace interrupted; to which *Serini* yielding no Ear, drew upon himſelf the deſerved diſpleaſure of his moſt gracious Prince, who permitted the act of his Obſtinacy and Diſobedience, to become a juſt Snare to his own Folly. But perhaps, that Diſpleaſure which was Juſtice in the Emperor, might be Envy, and Emulation in his Miniſters, who beholding with jealous Eyes his Actions and Succeſſes the Winter before, which enraged his Enemies, and exalted his Name to that Glory in all the Courts of Chriſtian Princes, that the Pope honoured him with Medals of Gold; the King of *Spain*, with the Order of the Golden Fleece; the *French* King as a Demonſtration of his Eſteem, with a Token of ten thouſand Crowns; and Cardinal *Francis Barberini*, with a Penſion of eight hundred Crowns a Month; and all other *European* Princes, at leaſt made the moſt part Applications to him by Congratulatory Letters, admiring his Virtues, and applauding his Succeſſes; permitting their Gazets and Diurnals, Weekly to divulge and publiſh his Praiſes. From whence may rationally be collected, the true occaſion of that Envy, which by cold aſſiſtances, and ſlow ſuccors, obſtructed as well the taking of *Kaniſia*, as the valiant defence of *Serinſwar*, which was decryed, not only as a Fort erected without due and mature Conſideration, but without art, or regular Proportions, which might render it tenable; accuſing at the ſame time as well the Raſhneſs and Temerity of *Serini*'s Counſels, as his want of Judgment and Experience in Military Affairs.

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But to leave now the ſad ſubject of the Chriſtian misfortunes, occaſioned by their own quarrels and diſſentions, which the Grand Enemy of Gods Church always endeavoured to ſow for advancement of his own Kingdom: Let us caſt our Eyes on the other parts of unhappy *Hungary*. The Siege of *Kaniſia* being raiſed, and *Serinſwar* taken and demoliſhed, ſucceſs had ſwelled and puffed up the minds of the *Turks* to a height that nothing ſeemed difficult or impoſſible to their deſires. On the other ſide, controverſies and delays gave that advantage to the Enemy, that nothing could be expected, but loſſes, ſlaughter, and in the end, a total ruin. But God who pitied the miſeries of poor *Chriſtendom*, caſt his Eyes of mercy on the Frontiers of the upper *Hungary*, granting ſome more happy ſucceſſes to the Chriſtian Arms, conducted by the Valour and Fortune of Count *Soiſe*, a *French* Gentleman, who having the Command of an Army diſtinct from that of *Montecuculi*, began his firſt attempt and enterprize upon *Nitra*, where ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and Officers of the *Turkiſh* Army, were aſſembled to conſider of the Affairs of War. *Soiſe* having taken his convenient meaſures, and made his due approaches, began to batter the Walls, a great part of which in a ſhort time he ſhook ſo ſhroadly, that he opened a very wide Breach, and continually plying Granadoes into the Town, ſo affrighted the beſieged, that immediately they offered a Parly, which *Soiſe* accepted, (and the rather, upon advice, that *Varadin*, *Solnoc*, *Temiſwar*, and the places adjacent, were collecting Forces to raiſe the Siege, and relieve the Town) entered into Treaty, and concluding upon Conditions, the Town ſurrendered, and the *Turks* marched out with the Colours folded, and Muskets under their Arms, leading their Horſes, had Convoy as far as *Chomar*.

Nitra taken by the Chriſtians.

Soiſe having obtained this ſucceſs, entered into Conſultation about recovery of *Newhauſel*, but having not Forces judged ſufficient to attempt the difficulty of that place, he turned his endeavours and deſigns upon *Lewa* or *Leventz*; but in the way thither, he was caſually engaged with a Body of fourteen thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*, who were marching to the relief *Nitra*, and fell in unawares upon his Rereguard; whereupon *Soiſe* commanded the Regiments of his Major General *Guarnieri*, and of the Collonels *Caprara* and *Zeitſch*, and the Horſe and Dragoons of *Brandenburgh*, then marching in the Van, to face about, and Charge the Enemy, which they performed with that Courage and Vigour, that they routed and purſued them as far as the River *Giava*. At which place *Soiſe* Encamped with his Army, and in an advantagious Situation made a line of Circumvallation about his Camp, ſtrengthening it with ſome Pieces of Cannon. The *Turks* having recovered a convenient Retreat upon the River, remained oppoſite to the Chriſtians, and having there reinforced themſelves with additional Recruits, returned again to give them Battel, and in three places with extremity of Fury and Deſpair, aſſaulted the Chriſtian Camp: Fortune for a long time remained doubtful on both ſides, till at length the admirable Reſolution of the Chriſtians overcame, leaving a thouſand *Turks* extended on the place; many were drowned and the reſt fled, leaving a rich Booty for reward to the Conquerors.

The *Turks* aſſault *Soiſe*.

Lewa taken.

The Chriſtans in this manner being ſucceſsful, reſolved not to check the current of their Fortune, but without delay, proceeded to *Lewa*,

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which having been for ſome time battered with great Guns, ſurrendred it ſelf to the mercy of the Conqueror; in which was found a conſiderable quantity of Meal, and twenty great pieces of Artillery.

In the mean time, the difference between the King of *France* and the Pope (on occaſion of the inſult offered at *Rome* by the *Corſi*, to the Embaſſadors Houſe and Perſon) being this Year compoſed; thoſe Forces of the *French* being in all about 3000. Horſe, ſent firſt into *Italy* to avenge this Affront, under the Command of the Count *Coligni*, were ordered to paſs into *Hungary*, by way of *Venice*, to the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor; to which, ſeveral Gentlemen, Voluntiers of the ſame Nation, joining themſelves, formed a Body of 4000. Horſe well appointed, Valiant and deſirous of Action. The Pope alſo, whoſe words expreſſed and breathed out nothing but holy Zeal againſt the common Enemy, promiſed a ſupply of 10000. Foot, and 3000. Horſe, which were to paſs by way of *Trieſte* into *Croatia*, according to the Promiſe and Aſſurance of the Nuntio at *Vienna*: for acknowledgment of which religious and conſiderable Succour, Count *Leiſle* was diſpatched from the Imperial Court, in a private Character, to paſs thoſe Offices of grateful Acceptance, as were due to ſo high a Merit and Senſe of the Chriſtian Cauſe. But ſcarce was *Leiſle* arrived at *Venice*, before he underſtood (to his great Admiration) that the holy Army was by Order of the Pope disbanded, for which no other Cauſe was aſſigned, than only, that at *Rome* it was ſeriouſly debated, and in the end, it was concluded, that the Expence was too great to be charged on the Eccleſiaſtical State; and that the Soldiery alſo were themſelves unwilling to be ſo far ſeparated from their own Country; all which at *Vienna* were underſtood to be frivolous Pretences, and the cauſes thereof attributed to the ſiniſter Offices of a Perſon ill affected to the Emperors Intereſt, by which the Pope and *Don Mario* his General, falling from their Reſolutions and Promiſes, Count *Leiſle* was revoked from his Employment, and the Imperial Intereſt, and hopes diſappointed of ſo conſiderable a Succour.

The Pope recals his Forces from aſſiſtance of the Emperor.

Howſoever, that the Paſtoral care might not ſeem to be altogether dormant and careleſs of the Univerſal Flock, the Pope having disbanded his Army, could not do leſs than to ſupply the defect thereof with Money; for raiſing of which, he charged the Eccleſiaſtical State through all *Italy* (the Dominions of *Venice* only excepted, whoſe Wars already with the *Turks* exempted them from farther Taxes) with an Impoſition of 6 *per Cent.* of their yearly Revenue, under the notion of Tenths or Tithes, which in all amounted to the ſum of 700. thouſand Dollars, which by Bills of Exchange, was remitted by way of *Venice* to the Imperial Court. In the mean time, the French Troops were arrived in *Hungary*, under the Command of the Count *Coligni*, which joining themſelves with the General *Montecuculi*, followed the motion of the Viziers Army. The *Turks* deſigned to paſs the *Danube*, for recovery of *Lewa* or *Leventz*, and in their way to deſtroy and lay deſolate the Country of Count *Badian*, and in virtue and ſtrength of that and former Succeſſes, to paſs forward to the Subjection of *Poſonium* and *Vienna*. But God who diſpoſes the Affairs of this World, and gives Laws and Bounds to the Licentiouſneſs and unlimited Pride and Avarice of Mankind, took off the Wheels of the *Turkiſh* Chariots, and cauſed them to move ſlowly and warily, having an Eye always barckwards to the Forces of *Montecuculi*, who attended them along the Banks of the River *Muer*, or *Mura*.

The Pope ſupplies the Emperor with Money, but not with men.

Count *Soiſe* marches to raiſe the Siege of *Leventz*.

But whilſt theſe two great Armies marched in view of each other, the *Walachian* and *Moldavian* Forces joining with a conſiderable number of *Turks* and *Tartars*, under the Command of *Chuſagin* Paſha, reſolved to Aſſault, and again to recover *Leventz*, which tho ſcarce ſetled, being ſo lately taken by the Chriſtians, yet valiantly repulſed two fierce Aſſaults of the Enemy, with that Courage and Bravery, that 2000. were Slain under the very Walls. By which time, it being the $\frac{5}{15}$ of *July*, Count *Soiſe* paſſed the *Nitra* with his Horſe and Foot, and thence haſtning his March with all Expedition, he firſt Encamped at the Foot of a Hill called St. *Binet*, from whence he diſcovered the Enemies Body from the Top of a Mountain, and thence approaching nearer, threw up ſome Earth and Works by the Banks of the River *Grava*; the next day having found a fordable place of the Water, *Soiſe* in leſs than two hours paſſed the groſs of his Army; which the Enemy obſerving, left their Siege, abandoned their Trenches, and diſplaid their Army in open Field, which conſiſting of 25. or 30. thouſand fighting Men, appeared much more numerous than the Chriſtians. For to theſe Forces, under the Conduct of *Huſaein* Paſha of *Buda*, were joined the Paſha of *Anatolia* and *Cidizade*, the Paſha of *Temeſwar*, four Boluchees of Spahees, and a good Force of *Tartars*, together with the Militia of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, under their reſpective Princes, which compoſed an Army, as was computed, of above 25000. Men. Upon approach of *Huſaein* Paſha, the Chriſtians gave way, and retreated, intending to receive their Enemies in a larger Field, and afford an occaſion to them of greater Confidence in Execution of the Deſign they came to Act. The *Turks* ſuppoſing the Chriſtians to be fled for fear, with more boldneſs marched forward. And believing this Retreat to proceed rather of Fear than Policy, continued to contemn the Puſillanimity of the Chriſtians; and leſt it ſhould argue too much regard and eſteem of their Force, vouchſafed not to ſend Scouts abroad, either to view their Camp, or to prevent ſurpriſal; but ſome of their Officers wiſely conſidering, that a Soldier ought never to deſpiſe his Enemy, they were perſwaded to ſend a conſiderable Body of Horſe, to view and diſcover the Enemies Force, who in the way, meeting with a party of the Chriſtians, after a ſmall Skirmiſh put them to Flight, and taking ſome Priſoners, brought them before the General; the Priſoners upon Examination confeſſed, that Count *Suſa* was fully reſolved the next Morning to give them Battel, and declared the number and courage of his Army to be ſuch, as altered the Opinion *Huſaein* had conceived of the Cowardice and Weakneſs of the Chriſtians power; ſo that that whole Night the *Turks* paſt with watchful and vigilant Guards, their Arms ready, and the whole Camp in a poſture of Defence.

The *Turks* before *Lewa*.

The Chriſtian Army put themſelves into Battalia.

The next Morning being the 9*th* of *July*, the day breaking diſcovered the Chriſtian Army at ſo near a diſtance, as that their ſeveral Motions might be diſcerned; and putting themſelves in Array for the Battel, made two Wings of Horſe; each Wing conſiſting of 3000. Horſe the moſt armed Cap-a-pe, and well provided; the Foot marched in the Body of the Army, well appointed and fitted with all ſorts of Ammunition and Arms, and ſo raiſed with chearful Courages, as rendered them in appearance to the *Turks*, a Warlike and formidable Army. The *Turks* likewiſe

1664. wiſe drew themſelves into Battalia, deſirous to try the fortune of the day; the right Wing was Commanded by the Prince of *Valachia*, and the left by the Prince of *Moldavia*. The Body of the Army was compoſed of *Turks* and *Tartars*, almoſt all Horſe, except 2 or 3000. Janizaries, ſent as an Auxiliary Force from *Newhauſel* and *Strigonium*. Theſe two Armies thus ranged in a Poſture of Defiance, ſtood in view each of other, until *Huſaein* Commanded his Men to paſs the Marſh or Fen, which was between them and the Chriſtians: but ſeveral would have perſwaded him the contrary, leſt the ſucceſs of the day not proving to Expectation, the Marſh ſhould be a diſadvantage to their Flight, and an occaſion of greater Slaughter in the purſuit; to which *Huſaein* Couragiouſly anſwered, That Men who would Conquer were to look forward, and not behind them; thoſe that would ſave their Lives by flight, were fit to periſh in it; and that for his part, he was reſolved to cut off all hopes of ſafety from his Army, but what conſiſted in their Swords and Victory over their Enemies. The *Turks* having thus paſſed the Marſh, made a halt and faced the Chriſtians until Noon; who moved not a foot from their ground, that ſo they might obtain the advantage of the Sun; which in the Morning being in their Faces, would upon declining be an offence unto the *Turks*. In the mean time, no queſtion but both Generals made their Orations to their Soldiers, encouraging them to Fight in Defence of their Faith and Religion; of their Countries Glory and Safety; ſuggeſted with thoſe Arguments and Rhetorick, as was agreeable to the Principles and Condition of both Parties; and which we may well ſuppoſe according to the Licence of Hiſtorians, to have been in theſe words, or to this effect.

The Speech of Count *Suſa* to his Army.

WHen I ſee, and conſider before us (Fellow Soldiers) thoſe Enemies who are the object of our Fury and Rage, I conceive words more neceſſary to moderate the heat of your Anger, ſo as to Fight with Diſcretion, rather than to raiſe your Spirits to that height of Warlike Courage, in which conſiſts the ſafety and glory of this days Fortune. For theſe are they, who lately in cool Blood againſt the Laws of Arms and Nations, unhumanely butchered our Countrymen and Kindred, and made no difference between Captives of War, and Malefactors; but like Thieves and Murderers, ſentenced brave Men to Death, who had no other crime, than that they unhappily fought in defence of their Country. Theſe are they, who in the very times of Peace, conſume your Borders, and rob your Markets; and whoſe Capitulations of Peace, make yet all acts of hoſtility lawful: Theſe are the grand Enemies and Deſpiſers of the Croſs of Chriſt; againſt whom whoſoever dies, is both a Conqueror and a Martyr. This Army before your Eyes, conſiſts in part of Moldavian, *and* Valachian *Chriſtians, forced to this War by compulſion, not of choice; the reſt are either* Turks *educated in the ſoftneſs of* Aſia, *or* Tartars *who never made advantage by Battel, but by flight; theſe are they with whom you have this day to contend before the Walls of* Lewa, *where many of your Wives, and Children, and Friends, are immured, and are Spectators of your Virtue and Courage: Let us therefore valiantly addreſs our ſelves to this Battel, on the ſucceſs of which the fortune of* Hungary *and* Germany *depends.*

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The Speech of *Huſaein* Paſha to his Soldiers.

WHilſt our General the Grand Vizier is ſo ſucceſsful in his Arms abroad, having ſubdued the ſtrong Fortreſſes of Oywar *and* Serinſwar, *and ſtruck a Terror and Amazement to all the Enemies of our formidable Emperor; let not us be unactive, or want our ſhare in the renown and fame of Triumph and Victory. I ſhall not need to put you in mind of the glorious Exploits of your Anceſtors, whoſe Valour and Virtue, which formed this vaſt Empire round about us, you ought now to imitate, and give the World new proofs, how emulous you are to exceed the Courage and Bravery of former times. The other Diviſions of the* Ottoman *Power have contended hitherto with their Enemies on unequal terms, and droven them forth from their ſhelters of Trenches and Bulwarks; but here you have an open Field to fight, nothing between you and the naked Breaſts of your Enemies; we ſtand in equal numbers and terms with them; nothing can win the day but only Valour; and nothing loſe it but meer Cowardice. Theſe are the ſhattered Companies we have expelled laſt Year from* Oywar, *and the Companions of thoſe, whoſe Bodies and Heads we have heaped before* Strigonium: *ſhould we ſubmit to be ſubdued by theſe whom our* Oſmanlees *have ſo often Conquered; we ſhould not only ſtain our ſelves with the higheſt infamy and ſhame, but give a turn to the Univerſal Fortune of the* Ottoman *Arms.*

By this time it was Noon, and the Sun turning it ſelf from the Chriſtian to the *Turkiſh* Army, a warning Piece was fired from the Chriſtian Camp, at which ſign their whole Army began to advance, and with chearfulneſs to approach the *Turks*, who ſtood ready to receive them. At the firſt onſet the Chriſtians poured a plentiful Volly of ſhot on the *Turks* and *Tartars*, which compoſed the main Body; at which immediately they put themſelves to Flight, leaving the two Wings to an unequal Battel, who reſiſted not long before they followed the Example of their Companions, leaving their Baggage and Cannon, with the Honour of the day, unto the Chriſtians; who in the purſuit ſlew the *Turks* without Compaſſion or Reſiſtance; filling the Fields with dead Bodies, and the Rivers with Blood, until Night, which is the ſhelter of the diſtreſſed, gave a ſtop to their farther Slaughter: ſuch as eſcaped betook themſelves to *Strigonium*, where they were refuſed either paſſage over the Water or Proviſions, or any other Refuge or Entertainment after their weariſome Flight; for *Strigonium* it ſelf was judged now in Danger, and the next attempt after the foregoing Victory; and therefore there

Huſaein Paſha routed and fled.

Refuge denied them at *Strigonium*.

The *Moldavians* and *Valachians* return home.

there was no Reaſon or Policy to unfurniſh themſelves of neceſſary proviſions to ſupply or relieve a diſcouraged and cowed Army. Whereupon the *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*, finding themſelves half famiſhed, forced their Princes to return home, being glad of the occaſion to acquit themſelves of the *Turkiſh* Wars, in which they were uſed more like Slaves than Soldiers. The Princes though ſenſible of the danger this unlicenſed departure, and deſertion of the Wars might bring upon their perſons, were yet neceſſitated to yield to the violence and mutiny of their Soldiery: In their march homewards they encountred no difficulties or oppoſition, unleſs at the *Tibiſcus*, where a ſmall number of *Turks* would have denied them paſſage, but were ſoon diſperſed by the Sword of the reſolved Soldiery, who having conducted their Princes to their uſual Courts, made an end betimes of this years Campagna. *Huſaein* Paſha in the mean time, being denied entrance at *Strigonium*, fled to *Newhauſel*, where his preſence was moſt acceptable for reinforcement of that Gariſon, which now was in ſome danger of being recovered by the Chriſtians. Of the *Turks* were killed in this Fight 6000, of the Chriſtians 150; none of Quality, excepting one *Kovari*, a worthy and ſtout *Hungarian* Captain; 4000 Carts were taken, laden with all ſorts of Proviſion and Ammunition for War; about 100 Colours, and a great number of Tents, and Arms of all ſorts; twelve pieces of Cannon, about 1000 Horſe, and 140 Camels, ſtraying in the Fields, without care of Keepres, or Riders, with great Droves of Cattel of all ſorts, and other good booty and ſpoil, which remained as a reward to the Conqueror. The number of Priſoners was not great, by reaſon that the Souldiery, in heat of the purſuit, and in revenge of the *Turks* Cruelty towards the Gariſon of *Komar* the leſs, whom lately in a barbarous Cruelty they had put to the Sword, were wholly inclined to ſlaughter and deſtruction, only about 700 *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*, were ſpared until they came in ſight of *Strigonium*, where they erected ſeveral Gibbets, and hanged them thereupon, with their Muskets about their Necks, requiting (as they ſuppoſed) part of the Viziers Cruelty, and executing part of God's Juſtice upon thoſe who profeſs the Name of Chriſt, and yet fight under the Banner of *Mahomet*.

Soiſe aſſaults *Barcan*.

Soiſe animated with the foregoing ſucceſs, deſigned to attempt *Barcan*, a Palancha oppoſite on the other ſide of the *Danube* to *Strigonium*, and to that end embarked Ten thouſand five hundred of his men on Four Gallies, and Forty Galliots, carrying the Teutonick Colours, in regard that religious Order had amply contributed towards the building of thoſe Veſſels, when they were on the Stocks in the Arſenal of *Vienna*. The Soldiers were ſo fleſhed with the former Victory, that nothing ſeemed difficult or hazardous; ſo that that Count *Marſet*, without Orders of the General, raſhly in a Bravado fell in upon the Town, without any advantage of Earth, or other ſhelter, but with open Breaſts expoſed himſelf and Soldiers to all dangers; but the attempt being too difficult, he was, in fine, ſhot through both the Cheeks, and forced to retire with loſs and diſreputation: This attempt was ſeconded by the Duke of *Holſatia*, and his Infantry, who bringing ſome ſmall pieces of Cannon to the very Palizadoes, began to batter the houſes, during which about a Hundred and fifty Janiſaries made a vigorous Sally, but were repulſed with a ſufficient loſs, ſo that the Chriſtians making good their ground, brought up and planted four Cannons, and two Mortar Pieces, and firing at the ſame time ſome Granadoes, ſo plyed their work, that the Inhabitants looking on their condition as deſperate, gave fire themſelves to their Wooden Buildings, paſſed the Bridge, and recovered *Strigonium*. The Town thus abandoned, the Chriſtians had no difficulty to get poſſeſſion, but entring quietly in, ſeized what was remaining of value, and adding to the flames, by other fires, in a few hours reduced all to Aſhes; which being done, *Soiſe* marched back to *Komorra*, to refreſh his men, and take Counſel what ought to be the next deſign and enterprize to be taken in hand. And here for a while was a pauſe, or full point of the actions of *Soiſe*, who not wanting Adverſaries in the Imperial Court, emulous of his happineſs and fortune, inſtilled ſuch ſuſpicions and ſcruples into the mind of the Emperor and Council, as cauſed *Soiſe* to give up his Commiſſion, that he might ſeek a life private, and free from the evil Tongues of the envious, until afterwards his Virtues diſperſing thoſe malignant Clouds, he was reſtored to the good Opinion of his *Ceſarean* Majeſty, and honoured with the Charge and Command of the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Komorra*, where I my ſelf had once the honour to make him a Viſit, and was courteouſly received by him. This ill ſucceſs of the Paſha of *Buda* arrived the Viziers ears, whilſt he was attempting to paſs the River *Rab*, in which were many difficulties, in regard the Banks were defended by the Chriſtian Palancha's, which in every adventure cut off conſiderable numbers of men. At which loſs of men, and time, and the ill ſucceſs near *Lewa*, the Vizier being greatly moved, made another attempt on the 27*th* of *July*; advancing with the Groſs of his Army as far as *Kemend*, where the River runs narrow and ſhallow, but by the valour of the *Hungarians*, *Germans*, and *French* conducted by General *Montecuculi*, an *Italian* Born, were repulſed with ſome Slaughter.

Barcan burnt.

The *Turks* with part of their Army paſs the *Rab*.

On the firſt of *Auguſt*, the *Turks* made another conſiderable attempt, having planted Guns on the Banks of the River, which ſhot into the Chriſtian Camp, and paſſed over in one place Six thouſand Janiſaries and *Albanians*, and near a Village called *Chiesfalo*, where the Water was narrow and ſhallow, very conſiderable numbers of Horſe crouded over. At which formidable ſight, the Chriſtians collecting their Forces together, retreated to a more ſpacious place, where might be open Field ſufficient for both Armies to draw up and join Battel. About half the Army having now paſſed the Water, the other part, in which was the Vizier, remained ſtill on the other ſide, intending the next Morning to follow and advance to the Body, which was gone before; but it happened, by God's Providence, that that very Night there fell ſuch a Deluge of Rain, as immediately made the River to ſwell above its Banks, and become altogether unpaſſable without a Bridge or Floats; ſo that the *Turkiſh* Army being now divided by the Waters, were uncapable of yielding any ſudden aſſiſtance each to the other. Howſoever, the Vizier judging that that part of his Army which had already paſſed, was an equal Match for the Chriſtians, entertained not the leaſt diffidence of good ſucceſs, at leaſt ſuppoſed they might be able to decline a Battel, until by abatement of the Waters (which could not be long at that Seaſon of the Year) he were enabled to paſs, and join his main Body with them; and therefore full of hope and confidence, having at firſt diſ-

The *Rab* ſwells with immoderate Rains.

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comfited the forlorn hope of the Chriſtians, which conſiſted of a thouſand men, diſpatched immediately Meſſengers to acquaint the Grand Signior of his ſucceſs and paſſage, which News he knew would be the more grateful, becauſe the Grand Signior by daily Letters and Commands urged him to proceed in his March, and not to ſuffer the impediment of a narrow Ditch to be an interruption to the whole *Ottoman* Force, which in former times was not reſtrained by the depth or breadth of the Ocean. The Grand Signior having received this Intelligence, as if the intire Victory and Triumph over the World conſiſted in the paſſage over the *Rab*, was tranſported with ſuch an extraordinary joy and aſſurance of Victory, that to anticipate the good News a ſolemn Feſtival was ordained for the ſpace of ſeven days, and ſeven nights, called by the *Turks*, *Dunalma*; in which time the whole nights were made light with Lamps and Candles, and made chearful with great Guns, Vollies of Muskets, Sound of Drums and Trumpets, revellings and what other Solemnities might teſtifie joy and triumph. But ſcarce three Nights of this vain Dream had paſſed, before the Grand Signior awaked by intelligence, contrary to his aſſured expectation, of the Defeat and Deſtruction of a conſiderable part of the Viziers Army, ſhamefully commanded the Lights to be extinguiſhed, and the remaining four Nights deſigned for Joy, to be converted to Melancholly and Darkneſs: And though the raſhneſs and vain fancy of the Governours was the ſole cauſe of this precipitate mirth, yet as great men love always to charge their errours and follies on the ſhoulders of others, ſo the Sultan accuſed the Chimacham, through falſe Information, to have been the Author of this ſhameful Decree; and in that fury, calling the Executioner, had certainly taken off his head, had not his young Minion or Favourite, now called *Kul Ogli* (promoted to the Perferment of *Aſan*, before mentioned) with much earneſtneſs and Prayers interceded for his Life.

The *Turks* vain joy.

Signifies the Son of a *Kul*, or Slave.

And indeed this Joy and Triumph was ſo much more ridiculous and ſhameful, by how much more fatal and deſtructive was the enſuing Event. For the *Turks* being now got over the River, had not, at firſt, time enough given them to caſt up Earth, but were forced by the Chriſtians to an Engagement; for the Chriſtian Army was drawn into Batalia to receive them. The right Wing conſiſted of the *Auſtrian* Forces, commanded by *Montecuculi* himſelf; the Left was formed of the Confederates of the *Rhine*, commanded by Count *Olac*, to which was adjoined Forty Troops of the *French* Cavalry, conducted by Monſieur *Coligni*, and the main Body was commanded by the Marſhal General Marquis *Bada*, which compoſed a very formidably Body, and aſſailed the *Turks* with extraordinary Valour; the Fight was very furious, and began about Nine a Clock in the morning on the third of *Auguſt*, and continued till Four in the Afternoon with variable fortune; during which time the Waters being abated, the Spahees paſſed over in ſeveral places, and charged the left Wing of the Chriſtians, and in other places they made attempts, only to divert the Army, whilſt the Janiſaries threw up Earth to ſecure a paſſage for the reſt; which when the Chriſtians eſpied, they at firſt reſolved to ſound a Retreat, but afterwards perceiving that the Trench was but newly begun, *Montecuculi* drawing up the Body of the Army into a half Moon, attacked the Janiſaries on all ſides with that fury, ordering the Bodies of Horſe to contend with the Spahees; that the *Turks* now faintly fighting began to give ground to their Enemies, at which inſtant turn of Fortune, an outcry was heard, That *Serini* on the other ſide had ſet on the Viziers Camp; which ſo animated the Chriſtians, and terrified the *Turks*, that the latter began to give back, and put themſelves to ſhameful flight, leaving dead upon the Place Eight thouſand of their Companions, and the Glory of the Day to the Chriſtians. The *Turks*, who always fly diſorderly, not knowing the Art of a handſome Retreat, crouded in heaps to paſs the River, the Horſe trampling over the Foot, aud the Foot throwing themſelves headlong into the Water, without conſideration of the depth, or choice of Places fordable; thoſe ſinking catching hold on others who could ſwim, ſunk down, and periſhed together; others were carried away by the rapidneſs of the Stream, and both Men and Horſe were carried down the River, and ſwallowed up in deeper places: The Water was died with Blood, and the whole face of the River was covered with Men, Horſe, Garments, all ſwimming promiſcuouſly together; no difference was here between the valiant and the Cowardly, the Fooliſh and the Wiſe, Counſel and Chance, all being involved in the ſame violence of Calamity, *Non vox & mutui hortatus juvabant adverſante unda, nihil ſtrenuus ab ignavo, ſapiens a prudenti, conſilia a caſu differre, cuncta pari violentia involvebantur*; ſo that the Waters devoured a far greater number than the Sword, whilſt the Vizier ſtanding on the other ſide of the River, was able to afford no kind of help or relief, but as one void of Counſel and Reaſon, knew not how, nor where to apply a remedy. This defeat though in Chriſtendom not greatly boaſted, by reaſon that the deſtruction of the *Turks*, which was moſt conſiderable by the Water, was partly concealed to them, yet the *Turks* acknowledg that Ruine and Slaughter to have been of a far greater number than what the Chriſtian Diaries relate, confeſſing that ſince the time that the *Ottoman* Empire arriv'd to this greatneſs, no Stories make mention of any Slaughter or Diſgrace it hath ſuffered to be equal unto the calamity and diſhonour of this. On the *Turks* ſide were ſlain that day, *Iſhmael* the late Paſha of *Buda*, and Kimacham of *Conſtantinople*, by a ſhot from the Enemy paſſing the Water; the Spaheelar Agaſee, or General of the Spahees; the Janiſar Aga, the younger Son of the Tartar *Han*, and ſeveral othes Paſhaws; *Alibegh*, General of *Boſna*, Thirty Capugibaſhees, Five and thirty Pages of the Vizier's, and Three hundred of his Guard, Five thouſand Janiſaries, Three thouſand Spahees, Fifteen hundred Boſnacks, Eight hundred *Albanians*, Six hundred *Croats* and *Hungarians* of the *Turks* Subjects, Two hundred and fifty *Valachians* and *Moldavians*, Six hundred *Tartars*, of *Anatolia* fifteen hundred, and about Four thouſand other *Aſiaticks*, from the fartheſt parts of the *Turks* Dominions, Eaſtward; ſo that in all we may account Seventeen thouſand ſlain on the *Turks* ſide; beſides which were taken Sixteen pieces of Cannon, a Hundred and twenty ſix Colours, with the Standard of the Viziers Guard, Five thouſand Cemiters, moſt of which were emboſſed with Silver, and ſome beſet with Jewels, with many Horſes, of which ſix were ſent as a Preſent to the Vizier. Of the Chriſtians were ſlain near Three thouſand Men, thoſe of note were, The Count *Naſſau*, Count *Charles* of *Bracondorf*, Captain of the Guards to Count *Montecuculi*, Count *Fuchier*

The defeat given the *Turkiſh* Army by the River *Rab*.

Tac.lib.1.

The ſlain on the *Turks* ſide.

General of the Artillery of the Empire, Collonel *Pleiter*, with his Lieutenant Collonel and Serjeant Major, and with many other Gentlemen of the *French* Nation, who deſerve for ever to be chronicled for their Virtue and Valour. For herein the *French* Nation ought not to loſe their juſt praiſe, having made proofs of their Valour, as well in this, as in other Battels; it being reported, That Monſieur *Coligni* their General, killed Thirty *Turks* with his own hand.

The News of this Victory being poſted to *Vienna*, it is wonderful to conſider with what Applauſes, with what Honours, with what *Encomiums* the Fame of *Montecuculi* was celebrated; for beſides the Triumphs, with Fires, ſounding of Bells, Banquets, and other demonſtrations of ſolemn Joy; the Glory of *Montecuculi* was the Theme of every Ballad ſung in the corners of ſtreets; which Honours of the Commonalty were ſeconded by greater and more ſubſtantial of the Imperial Court, who conferred upon him the Title of Lieutenant General of the whole Army, a Dignity ſo eminent as is inferiour to none, except the Emperor, in order of the Militia; and was not without ſome ſcruple granted to the Arch-duke *Leopold* by his Brother *Ferdinand* the Third; and withheld from *Piccolomini* Duke of *Amalfi*, until he had highly merited it, and made his way to it through bloody fields, where Providence firſt crowned him with Laurels of Succeſs and Victory.

And here is juſt occaſion for us to doubt, why *Montecuculi* ſhould be thus admired and loaded with Honours, whilſt the ſervices of *Serini* and *Soiſe* were ſo far from being taken notice of, that they ſeemed to effect the diſgrace and ruine of theſe Worthies, rather than to produce the favour of their Prince, and the applauſe of their Country, the natural Rewards of Valour and Virtue. And indeed I cannot but confeſs, I my ſelf have wondred, when in the Court of *Vienna*, I have heard the Actions and Zeal of *Serini* ſo ſlightly ſpoken of, or contemned, when a Stranger took the liberty but to deſcant on his actions, and to vent any thing which but ſavoured of his commendations. The reaſon of which, I adventure to aſſign unto two cauſes. The firſt is, that Antipathy or natural averſion the *Germans* have to the *Hungarians* and *Croatians*, theſe endeavouring to maintain the Priviledges of a People, who have a free liberty of the Election of their Prince; whilſt the others deſirous to take occaſion to weaken and impoveriſh them, would neceſſitate them to yield their Kingdom to the Emperor by an hereditary Right. The ſecond is, the fury of *Serini* and *Soiſe*, whoſe zeal without conſideration of irritating the *Turk*, or fear of moving the paſſion of the Lyon beyond the terms of an eaſie pacification, tranſported them to commit all damage and ruine, which are the juſt concomitants of War; which rage ſeemed over violent to the Court at *Vienna*, and not to ſuit with the preſent Policy of the War, which was deſigned to be carried on rather in a defenſive than in an offenſive poſture; imagining perhaps, that the good nature of the *Turk* might be complemented into Peace, and that gentleneſs and generoſiry might have the ſame effect upon them, as it had upon *Saul*, when *David* had his life at his mercy, and yet ſpared him: according to which counſels of the Court, *Montecuculi* ſquaring every particular of his motion, and thereunto adding ſucceſs, mounted on the wings of Fame, and had his Glory celebrated without diminutions; but the hot and zealous temper of *Serini*, which Souldier-like underſtood nothing but down-right blows, knew not how to uſe that moderation and caution, which the Imperial Court judged an ingredient ſo requiſite to the prudent management of the preſent War, that he was eſteemed uncapable of command, who had not diſcretion enough to practice it: And this was the true reaſon that *Serini* was diſcountenanced, and that his Command was taken from him, and that his Appeal to the Court was without redreſs: Howſoever in regard that the Fame he had won carried him high in the eſteem of all Chriſtendom, he was entertained with hopes and fair promiſes; and even after the very Battel of *Rab*, nothing was more commonly diſcourſed than the giving *Nicholas Serini* a command independent of any other General: But in the end it proved nothing but vain Propoſals to humour the fancy of *Serini* himſelf, and to ſatisfie the World, which admired a Perſon ſo qualified and deſerving as he, ſhould be made a ſubject of ſo much diſgrace and neglect.

Reaſons why the Services of *Montecuculi* were accepted better than thoſe of *Serini*.

With this News the *Turks* remained greatly aſhamed and dejected, having but two days before demonſtrated exceſſes of joy, congratulated the happy News one to the other, and after their manner ſent Preſents abroad, derided the Chriſtians upon the News, exprobriated them with a Thouſand injuries, and applauded their own Virtue, Valour, and the righteouſneſs of their Cauſe and Religion: But on a ſudden Intelligence coming contrary to their expectations, ſuch a dampneſs fell upon their ſpirits, that for ſome days there was a deep ſilence of all News at *Conſtantinople*; they that the Day before ſought for Chriſtians to communicate to them the Miracles of their Victory, now avoided their Company, aſhamed of their too forward joy, and the liberty they had taken to contemn and deride the low condition of the Chriſtian Camp. And now the ill News not being able longer to be concealed, Prayers and Humiliation were appointed publickly to be made at all the great Moſchs of *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople*, where all Emaums with their young Scholars were commanded to reſort, and ſing certain Prayers appointed for ſuch occaſions.

Sedition in the *Turkiſh* Camp.

The minds of the Soldiery after this defeat were very much diſcompoſed, tending more to ſedition than obedience. Every one took licence to ſpeak loudly and openly his opinion, that the War was commenced upon unjuſt and unlawful grounds. That the total Eclipſe of the Moon, which portends always misfortunes to the *Turks*, ſhould have cauſed more caution in the Commanders in ingaging the Armies this year, until the malignancy of that Influence had been overpaſſed. All generally accuſed the firſt Vizier as the Author and ill Manager of the War, *Iniquiſſima bellorum conditio eſt, proſpera omnes ſibi vendicant, adverſa uni imputantur*, and calling to mind the ſolemn Oath with which Sultan *Solyman* confirmed his Capitulations with the Emperor, particularly vowing never to paſs the *Rab*, or place where the *Turks* received their defeat, without a ſolid and reaſonable ground of War, concluded that this Invaſion was a violation of the Vow, and an injury to the ſacred Memory of that fortunate Sultan; and therefore that all Enterpriſes and Attempts of this War would be fatal and deſtructive to the Muſſulmen or Believers, and the end diſhonourable to the Empire.

Tac. in Vita Agricolæ.

This opinion was rooted with much ſuperſtition and ſtrength of fancy in the minds of the Vulgar: And the rumors in the Camp that the Vizier upon a falſe Alarm of the approach of the Enemy towards his Quarters, had commanded the Army to retreat, adminiſtred fury and courage to the Chriſtians, and fear and amazement to his own; from which errour and timidity was occaſioned that ſlaughter which enſued; on which diſcourſes and reports dangerous diſcontents daily increaſing in the hearts of the ſouldiery, it is thought they would have vented their paſſion and revenge on their General, had he not at a publick Aſſembly of all the Heads and Commanders of the Army cleared himſelf freely, by charging the miſcarriage of all upon the Grand Signior, having acted nothing but with Authority of the Imperial Command; promiſing with as much ſpeed as honour and ſafety would permit, by agreement and compoſition of Peace, to bring the War to a concluſion. And this contrivance and art was that (as is ſuppoſed) which for the preſent ſecured his life; for the Soldiery were greatly terrified and poſſeſſed with a dread of the Chriſtians, and amazement upon every Alarm. For the old and experienced Commanders and Veterane Souldiers were either deſtroyed by the ſecret Proſcriptions of the Vizier *Kuperlee*, or ſlain in the Engagements of this Year; and the *Aſian* Spahees and other Soldiers having Wives and Children, and Poſſeſſions to look after, were grown poor, and deſired nothing more than in peace and quietneſs to return to their homes: So that nothing could come more grateful to this Camp, no largeſſes or donatives could pacifie the minds of the Soldiery more than the promiſes and expectations of a Peace.

The Grand Signiors hunting at *Tamboli.*

The Sultan during theſe diſturbances and miſfortunes was preparing for a hunting Journey to an obſcure Village called *Tamboli*, about three or four days travel from *Adrianople*, deſigning to drive all thoſe vaſt Woods along the Black Sea for Game, where he had a ſmall ruinous Seraglio. The Queen-Mother, the Chimacam, with all the Court, were to accompany him. The Equipage and Pomp he went in, perſwaded many, that the deſign of that Journey was grounded on other cauſes of Policy, than what were generally penetrated: Some conceived, that the Vizier contrived his Journey thither, to divert him from opportunities of receiving intelligence from Spahees, and others of the true ſtate of the Camp, and management of Affairs: Others judged it might be to avoid in that obſcure place the mutinous ſeditions of the Soldiery. On what conſideration ſoever it might be, the Grand Signior having ſpent ſome time abroad, returned again to *Adrianople* with all his Retinue, without doing any thing more important than killing great numbers of wild Beaſts, and ennobling thoſe Wilderneſſes and Woods about *Tamboli* with the fame of his renowned Hunting. *Keblelee* Paſha being ſlain (as we have ſaid) before *Serinſwar*, who was Husband to the Viziers Siſter, the Vizier beſtowed the Widow on *Huſaein* Paſha of *Siliſtria*. And much about the ſame time the Grand Signior conſidering that his own Siſter, by the death of her old Husband *Iſhmael* Paſha, ſlain in the laſt Battel, led a ſingle life, conferred her in Marriage upon the old *Mahomet* Paſha, whom before we have related to have been *Kabya* to the Vizier, late Paſha of *Darbiquier*, and now of *Aleppo*, who as an Honour charged with a weight of troubles and other inconveniences, ſeemed thankfully to receive her; and though he was a man of Ninety years of age, and had long ſince forgot the ſolaces of the bridal Bed, yet according to the cuſtom of Marriage with a Sultana, he was ingaged to divorce his former Wife, with whom he had paſt the Summer and Winter of his age, and as a conſtant Husband, was ſtill uxorious in his love. So that in the midſt of Wars, where ſome found Graves, others found Marriage-beds, and reaſon of State found a Vacation to conjoyn *Mars* and *Venus* without interruption of ruder Enterpriſes.

The Great Vizier after his defeat marched to *Stultweiſſenburg* or *Alba Regalis*, to recruit and refreſh his Army, and expect the Recruit of the Paſha of *Aleppo*, who was ſaid to bring with him about Eight thouſand Soldiers.

Vizier ſends for the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia.*

From *Sulkweiſſenburg* the *Turks*, with the groſs of their Army, returned to *Strigonium*; and here the Vizier not unmindful of the ſhameful flight, and rebellious return of the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* to their own Countries without his order or permiſſion, ſent one Meſſenger after the other in great haſte and fury, after the *Turkiſh* manner, to recal thoſe Princes to the War; and that laying aſide all excuſes whatſoever, they ſhould immediatly, with what Forces they could collect, repair again to the Camp. The Princes weary of the War, and fearful of the Viziers evil intentions to take away their lives, endeavoured to excuſe their flight, alledging, that their People would not obey, or follow them to the Wars in any conſiderable numbers, and that now it being the end of the Summer, new Levies would be of great expence, and of little benefit, and diſenable them from paying their yearly Tribute; of which (notwithſtanding their conſumption of Treaſure in the laſt Expedition) they were like to find no eaſe or relaxation, though a burden too great for their haraſſed and impoveriſhed Country to ſupport. But theſe excuſes were no arguments to reſolved *Turks*; ſo that Commands came doubled and trebled one after the other full of threats and menaces, to march forward with what Forces they could collect, the Meſſengers aſſuring them, That there was no deſign prepared againſt them by the Vizier, but what was friendly and of good intention. At length the Princes not able to remain longer without a cenſure of Rebellion to the Port, with heavy Hearts and light Purſes ſet forwards with about fifteen hundred men apiece, ſending before ſuch ſums of Money and Preſents, as they hoped might mollifie and prepare their acceſs to the Vizier, whilſt they themſelves marched ſlowly, to afford longer time to the Operation of this Phyſick. The Prince of *Valachia* had intruſted about Forty thouſand Zaichins to an Officer of his called his Veſtiario, or Maſter of his Wardrobe, whom he had ſent before him, therewith to make his acceſs eaſie and ſafe to the Vizier: Of whoſe faith that he might aſſure himſelf the better, he made him ſwear before the Holy Altar, and take the Communion thereupon, that he would be faithful and active in this Negotiation. The Veſtiario thus departing, added to his religious Vows, common promiſes and proteſtations; but no ſooner was he a few Miles diſtant from his Maſter, before he tired in his Vows, and altered his road from the Vizier, to the way leading to *Conſtantinople*, declaring as he went, That his Prince was become Rebel, and was fled, and that he, not to be Partner in his perfidiouſneſs, was haſting to *Conſtantinople*, there to give evidence of his faith and ſubmiſſion to the *Turks*. This unexpected news coming to the Prince, cauſed him to deſpair of all ſecurity and reconciliation with the Vizier, and force him by flight to make good the words of his treacherous Servant; ſo that taking with him his Wife and remainder of his Wealth, paſſed through *Tranſylvania* with much difficulty, and at length arrived within the Emperors Territories, reſolving

The Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* recalled to the Wars.

Fides Græca, or the honeſty of a Greek.

ving to exchange an inconſtant and dangerous Principality for a more ſecure and private courſe of life. But this impious *Greek* did not reſt quiet with his ill acquired Eſtate without receiving diſturbance from the Boiars or Nobles of the Country; and *Stridia Bei* the new-made Prince, juſtly accuſing him for having robbed the Publick Treaſury, extorted from him the Sum of 150000 Dollars towards his Inveſtment in the Principality, and eaſe of the Country, which was now wracked for payment of old debts, and the growing charges of the new Prince. And thus much of the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*.

At *Strigonium* great were the Conſultations, what courſe was to be taken: The Chriſtians were now Maſters of the Field, and the *Turks* diſcouraged, and now the Summer was ſo far ſpent, that it was too late to think of recovering their reputation that year with the hazard of a Battel. So that at length it was reſolved to unite the ſhattered Forces of *Chuſaein* Paſha, lately defeated by Count *Suſa*, to the Army of the Vizier, and attend to ſecure *Oywar* or *Newhauſel* with Proviſions, Ammunition, and Reinforcement of that Gariſon, whereby this War might conclude with ſome Trophies of advance, and inlargement of the *Ottoman* Borders, which in all their Wars is the deſign and Maxime of the *Turks*. So that marching thither, they gathered and collected all the Proviſions poſſible, and having ſupplied the Gariſon, they returned again to *Strigonium* with all expedition, retaining ſtill impreſſions of terror from the late ill ſucceſs. And that they might march with leſs impediment, they ſent their Artillery and heavy Baggage down the *Danube*: Such was the fear of the *Turkiſh* Army at preſent, that it is ſuppoſed, had the Chriſtians eagerly purſued their Victory, they had not only defeated the whole *Turkiſh* Force with little oppoſition, but alſo without any impediment marched to the very Walls of *Buda*.

But what infatuation ſoever blinded the Chriſtian Counſels, little or no advantage was taken, as if the deſign of the Emperor had only been to repel the Enemy from his Borders, or that he feared to irritate the *Turks* with a too inveterate and pertinacious proſecution of his Victories. Inſtead of which, the Vizier making ſome Overtures of Peace, and evidencing the realty of his intentions by his Preſents of a Veſt of Sables, and a Horſe richly furniſhed, with which he flattered and careſſed the *German* Reſident, the Articles were accepted and embraced at *Vienna* with much greedineſs, and the Peace almoſt wholly concluded and clapped up in a moment, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole World. But as matters of this nature cannot ſucceed without juſt and due conſiderations, ſo on both ſides certain cauſes concurred which inclined and diſpoſed things to an accommodation. For on the *Turks* part there wanted not ſuch in the *Ottoman* Court, who emulous of the Grand Viziers fortune and charge, endeavoured to remove him from the favour of his Prince, by accuſing him in many particulars of negligence, and imprudence in the conduct of his Affairs. To anſwer which, his return with the Olive-branch of Peace in his mouth, and yet the Laurels of Conqueſt on his head, having added ſo conſiderable a Fortreſs as *Newhauſel* to the Dominions of the Empire, and demoliſhment of *Serinſwar*, the Original cauſe of the War, were a ſufficient conviction of the evil accuſations of his Adverſaries, and an argument irreſiſtible, when inforced by the Authority of his own Preſence. On the Emperors ſide, the demand of the City of *Erfurt* by the Elector of *Mentz*, ſituated on his Confines, at a time of ſo much exigency as this, and ſeconded by hopes of aſſiſtance from *France*, and the Hans Towns on the *Rhyne*, whereby it was probable great turbulences might reſult, inclined the Emperor with much reaſon to Propoſals of Peace; inſtructions for which, being conveyed to the Reſident then in the *Turkiſh* Camp, from the *Cæſarean* Court, after a ſhort Treaty the Articles were agreed and concluded, as followeth.

The reaſons which inclined both Parties to Peace.

Firſt, *That* Tranſilvania *remain with its ancient Limits and Priviledges under the Command of Prince* Michael Apafi.

Secondly, *That the Emperor of* Germany *have liberty to fortifie both* Gutta *and* Nitra.

Thirdly, *That the* Turks *ſhall not alter or innovate any thing on the Confines of* Hungary, *or any other part bordering on the Emperor.*

Fourthly, *That* Apafi *pay Six hundred thouſand Dollars to the* Ottoman *Port for expences of the War.*

Fifthly, *That all acts of Hoſtility between the Emperor, and the Grand Signior, and their Subjects, for ever ceaſe.*

Sixthly, *That the two Provinces of* Zatmar *and* Zaboli, *granted to* Ragotzki *by his Imperial Majeſty during life, return again to the Emperor, to which neither the Prince of* Tranſilvania, *much leſs the* Ottoman *Port, ſhall ever pretend.*

Seventhly, *That the ſtrong Caſtle of* Zechelhyd, *which revolted from the Emperor, be demoliſhed, in regard neither Party will relinquiſh his Right thereunto.*

Eighthly, *That* Varadin *and* Newhauſel *remain to the* Turk, *having conquered them by force of their own Arms.*

Ninthly, *That for confirmation of this Peace, Ambaſſadors be interchangeably ſent with Preſents of equal value.*

On theſe Terms (of which none ſeems diſadvantageous to the Chriſtian Intereſt, unleſs the fourth Article, the diſhonour of which ſeems to be covered with the name of *Apaſi*, though the ſcore was paid by the Emperor) the Peace was eſtabliſhed, and the Vizier, as a beginning thereof, gave liberty to many Chriſtian Captives; ſome whereof were of Quality, and Proclamation was made through all the Confines for a Ceſſation of Arms. Howſoever, ſome petty matters remained undecided, which were deferred until the Arrival of an extraordinary Ambaſſadour, who was to exchange with the *Turks* another Ambaſſadour in the Month of *May* following; and in the mean time ſuſpenſion of Arms, and all other Hoſtilities was confirmed. At which News all ſorts of People amongſt the *Turks* were greatly rejoyced, and the Publication thereof the more welcome, by how much the more unexpected. Whereby we may obſerve the alteration of that ancient Martial diſpoſition, which was natural to this Empire, which whilſt it was exerciſed in War, grew hardy, active and inured to warlike exerciſe, but now through idleneſs and want of War (except the *Venetian*, which affords the Soldiery no conſiderable employment) their minds became reſty, wearied with one year and a halfs labour, and dejected with the unproſperous ſucceſs of one Summer.

The *Hungarians* oppoſe the Peace.

But what Conſiderations ſoever the Emperor might have to conclude this Peace, the *Hungarians* were highly diſſatisfied with it, becauſe it was founded on their proper loſs; and that *Newhauſel* was given for a price of the common quiet, which none but themſelves paid

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and yet all *Germany* enjoyed the benefit. That that Town was an appendage to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to which the Emperour having only the claim (as they pretended) of an Elective Prince, could not diſmember any part without conſent of the States thereof; and this poſition they maintained with that heat and fury, that they declared themſelves diſobliged from obſervation of the Articles, reſolving to vindicate their own right in deſpight of all oppoſition whatſoever; and that ſince the Emperour had undertaken their Protection, he was bound to aſſert their freedom, and defend their Cities, even with the expence of his own Treaſury, and at the hazard of his own hereditary Poſſeſſions. But to theſe exorbitant Demands, the Emperours Council replyed with theſe following reaſons and moderation; That they themſelves were the firſt Beginners and Promoters of this War; That His Majeſty at their inſtance and requeſt condeſcended to protect them as Subjects, not only with draining of his own Exchequer, and Blood of his Patrimonial Dominions, but with the charge of hired and mercenary Strangers. In the mean time what aſſiſtance had the Hungarians brought to this War, or to their own defence? What Contributions did they ever make? What Forces did they ever unite in the Field by a general aſſent of their whole Kingdom? Notwithſtanding his Majeſty was ready to continue the War, could they themſelves propoſe either a ſafe way for the maintenance of it, or that the preſent Conjuncture did not offer honourable Conditions of a happy Compoſure. Moreover, That the King of *Spain*, his Uncle, and Father in Law, being aged and decrepit, leaving no other Heir than an infirm and ſickly Child, to ſupport the charge and weight of all his Kingdoms, it was requiſite that at ſuch a time as this, he ſhould be free from all incumbrances, either to aſſiſt the Infant in Adminiſtration of the Government, or to aſſert his own Rights (if ſo it ſhould pleaſe God) in the Succeſſion. And that now, ſince a Treaty was on foot for Election of a Succeſſor to the Kingdom of *Poland*, it was neceſſary for his Imperial Majeſty to bear his part in that Tranſaction; but above all, it was conſiderable, That the common Enemy being Rich and Powerful, God had ſeemed to put his Victory into their Hands to no other end than to improve it unto a Peace, which being at this time neglected, the beſt that could enſue would be the miſeries of War, which turning on the inconſtant Wheel of Fortune with variety of ſucceſſes, is always attended with Slaughter, Captivity, Fire, Sword, and a thouſand other Calamities. Theſe, and ſuch like reaſons, moderated and mollified the exaſperate ſpirits of the Hungarians, ſo that they ſeemed to aquieſce and be ſatisfied, and making a Vertue of Neceſſity, had patience where there was no other remedy.

The Emperors Reaſons for a Peace.

The ſudden News of this unexpected Peace did in like manner affect the French King, and the States of the Empire, judging it unreaſonable for them to be intereſſed in the War, and yet unconcerned in the Concluſion of the Peace. Howſoever, things being well repreſented, and as well received and underſtood; his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty accepted of the Reaſons as juſt and ſatisfactory. In the mean time the French had a free liberty to make choice of their Winter Quarters, which they fixed upon in *Bohemia*; but their King being unwilling to burden the Country with his Souldiers for a longer time than they were ſerviceable to them, he ordered them to march, and quarter in *Alſatia*; but before their departure the Emperour honoured Monſieur *de Coligni* with his Picture incircled with Diamonds, and the other Officers with Gold Chains and Medals; ordering the Troops not to march above ten miles a day, and every Third to be a Day of repoſe, and to be entertained all the way at free Quarter, ſo as to return into *France* jocund and healthy, as they departed thence. But before they would bid adieu to thoſe Countries, the General and Officers paid their Viſit to Count *Nicholas Serini*, preſenting him with a Horſe, Furniture, and Piſtols, as a ſmall Tribute to that Great Captain, whoſe Fame was celebrated through the whole World; ingenuouſly confeſſing, That the rumour of his name ſtruck more amazement and terrour in the Enemy, than the Armies that actually faced them, and was more inſtrumental in obtaining the Victory on the Banks of *Rab*, than their weapons or courage which fought againſt them. But not long after this worthy Heroe *Serini* hunting one day ſeparated from the reſt of his Attendants in the Thickets of a Wood, behold, on a ſudden was ſurprized by the ruſhing forth of a wild Boar, which raging, and made furious by ſome Wounds he had received, firſt ſtruck him in the Knee, with which falling to the ground, the fierce Beaſt not giving him leiſure to recover himſelf, ganched him again in the head with his broad Tusk, which proved ſo mortal, that in a ſhort time he expired in the Arms of one of his Pages. This was the end of this valiant Captain, who unconquered in many and redoubled Conflicts of his Enemies, was made the prey of an ignoble Beaſt. Such are the ſecret and occult Providences of Heaven, which men interpret or reflect on as they are governed by prejudice or intereſt. And ſo did the *Turks* attribute the Fall of this their Grand Adverſary to the righteouſneſs of their Religion, and juſtneſs of their Cauſe; as if he had been a Perſon unworthy to dye by the hand of a man, was condemned to be executed by that Beaſt, which is moſt abominated and deteſted by the *Turkiſh* Rites. He was a Perſon as mortal an Enemy to the *Turks*, as ever *Hannibal* was to the *Romans*; in Dangers moſt couragious, in War valiant, and patient of labour; in Peace courteous, and moderate in his pleaſures; his Diet was natural, rather than artificial; in Banquets, or Drinking Meetings, after the faſhion of that Country, was ſparing in Wine, and rather abſtemious than intemperate; Muſick and Dances were the Entertainment of the ſofter and effeminate part of his Court, rather than his own Paſtimes, whoſe Recreations were chiefly in the Woods, and in ſuch Huntings as had ſomething in them of ſimilitude with Martial Exerciſes; his Judgment was profound and deep, and yet his familiar Diſcourſe facetious; his Converſation obliging, his humour affable, and yet ſevere and majeſtick; he ſpake much, and yet well; his diſpoſition was liberal and generous, eſpecially to his Soldiers, whom he never reſtrained or defrauded of their Booty and Prey, but contented every one with a juſt and exact Diviſion. In ſhort, he was one of thoſe zealous Champions of the Chriſtian Cauſe, who in the Chronicles of paſt Ages ought to be placed and numbred amongſt the worthieſt Heroes.

The French Army march homeward.

Serini's Death.

The Character of *Sirini.*

The Winter now approaching, and a concluſion in all appearance made of the War, the Vizier returned to *Belgrade*, deſigning to remain there until the *German* Ambaſſadour had entered the *Turkiſh* borders, and in the mean time ſent for his Mother thither, pretending that in an un-

The Vizier ſends for his Mother to *Belgrade.*

uncertain and changeable eſtate the Maternal Bleſſing is of higheſt Conſolation, it being eſteemed pious amongſt the Turks for a man to dye at the Feet of his Mother. This Mother of his was eſteemed a cunning or wiſe Woman, by whoſe Charms and Incantations his Father and he were ſuppoſed long to have conſerved the Office of Vizier; and as my own Ears can witneſs, the common Souldiers Diſcourſe, That his Mothers Art conſiſted much in Philtrums and Charms, reconciling affection and friendſhip, and had a power over the Grand Signiors Inclinations and Underſtanding, rendring all things and actions the Vizier had performed in this War full of merit and admiration. This I ſay was the Diſcourſe of ſome common Soldiers.

The Blazing Star.

In the Month of *December*, that Blazing-ſtar which appeared formidably to moſt parts of the known World, was alſo ſeen within the Turkiſh Empire, not without a general terrour of all, as prognoſticating diſaſters of Sword, Peſtilence, and Famine; and ſet the Turkiſh Aſtrologers at work to find out the myſtery it portended: from whoſe Art moſt commonly was divined the death of ſome great Perſon in the Empire, which ſome would have to be the Grand Signior, others the Viſier; others both, as they deſired alteration and change of Government.

The Sultans hatred to *Conſtantinople* increaſes.

The Grand Signior continued all this time at *Adrianople*, taken up with an extraordinary delight and pleaſure in his Court there, with which his averſion to *Conſtantinople* ſo much increaſed, that he could not endure ſo much as the name of the place: and if accidentally in his Hunting (as is reported) he chanced to fall into the road which led thither, and remembring himſelf thereof, would immediately turn thence, as one that corrects himſelf of ſome deſperate errour, or avoids a path which tends to an evitable deſtruction. The Kadeleſcher and the other grave Judges of the Law obſerving this unreaſonable hatred of their Prince to his Imperial Seat, conſidered how prejudicial it was to him and his People to have a City of that renown, antiquity, and commodiouſneſs of living, deſpiſed and abandoned: and that perhaps the Souldiery now upon their March from the War, might be impatient of returning home, as all the Dependants on the *Divan*, and Perſonages of great Quality, deſired to injoy their Habitations and Gardens at *Conſtantinople*; from which diſcontents on all ſides it was concluded, That there might reſult dangerous Seditions and Mutinies, and therefore reſolved (and as ſome ſay alſo at the inſtigation of the Vizier) to proſtrate themſelves before the Grand Signior, and tender him their opinions and ſence in that particular, which they accordingly performing and aſſigning the Kadeleſcher, or the Chief Juſtice with all humility to be their Mouth in this Petition, their counſel was received with that indignation, that they were chaſed from the Grand Signiors preſence with fury and high diſpleaſure, and the Kadeleſcher at that moment deprived of his Office.

The Sultan ſeeks to deſtroy his Brother,

To theſe other extravagances the Grand Signior would have added another of a higher nature and cruelty, by cauſeleſly putting to death his Brother *Solyman*, whom all the time of his Reign, together with another Brother, he had kept Priſoner in the Seraglio: for now having a Son of his own, he conceived it more ſecure to remove all competition that might be for the Government, according to the example and cuſtom of the Ottoman Princes; but ſuffering ſome remorſe of conſcience in the thoughts of imbruing his hands in the blood of his guiltleſs Brother, conceived it more juſtifiable to perform the Fact by proceſs of Law, and to that end ſent to the Mufti for his Fetfa or Sentence, *viz.* That in ſuch a caſe, where there is a ſufficient proviſion for continuance of the true Lineage of the Ottoman Family, whether it may be lawful, according to their Law and ancient Preſidents, to take off ſome as ſuperfluous Suckers, that draw not only nouriſhment from the root, but endanger alſo the life of the Tree. But the Mufti was not ſo cruel or unjuſt as to paſs this Sentence, but rather ſupplicated the Grand Signior to defer this reſolution; for having but one Son, and that a Child, which was ſubject to the common chances of mortality, the *Ottoman* Family was not ſo ſufficiently provided of Heirs, that he could paſs his Sentence for taking away one, who was ſo neceſſary a reſerve and member of it; with which reply the Grand Signior ſuffered himſelf to be overcome, having ſome touches of Conſcience, and perhaps, not being naturally cruel, ſome ſence of compaſſion towards his innocent Brother.

But returning now to the Great Vizier, we find him in his Winter-quarters at *Belgrade*, where having taken an affection to the elder Son of the Tartar *Chan*, or elſe having conceived ſome hatred or diſpleaſure againſt the Father, frankly proffered to depoſe the Father, and confer the Government upon him who was the Son. But it ſeems this young *Tartar*, though barbarous, had yet ſo much of filial obedience and reverence inſtamped on him by nature, that he modeſtly refuſed the proffer, and immediatly diſpatched a Meſſenger with ſecret Advices to his Father. The Tartar *Chan* received this Intelligence with great indignation, and purpoſing to play that game in reallity with the Vizier, which he had paſſed on him only by way of overture, wrote a Letter to the Paſha of *Buda*, a man of great abilities and courage, advertiſing him, that hearing a true and worthy character of his proweſs and wiſdom, he could not but deſire to be his friend; and that he might make demonſtrations of his being ſuch, he proffered all the intereſt he had at the Ottoman Court to promote him to the ſupreme Officeof firſt Vizier. What Fate ſoever accompanied this matter, either from the Confidents of the Tartars, or of the Paſha, the ſubſtance of the Meſſage came to the knowledge of the Vizier, who obtaining a private Commiſſion immediately from the Grand Signior therein, ſent for the Paſha, and without farther proceſs, or evidence of proof, or accuſation, ſtruck off his Head.

The Vizier offers to depoſe the Tartar *Chan*.

Anno Chriſti 1665. *Hegeira* 1076.

The Turkiſh Ambaſſadour departs.

THE Peace thus happily concluded with *Germany*, was a ſubject of ſingular contentment to the People, and not leſs readily embraced by the Grandees, who haſtened ſo much the conſummation thereof, that in the beginning of *January* one *Mahomet Beigh*, of the Order of the Mutafaracaes (who are thoſe that attend the Services of the *Divan*, and are of a Degree ſomewhat above the Chaouſes) a man of conſiderable Richeſs, was deſigned Ambaſſadour for *Vienna*, and qualified with the Title of the Paſha of *Romelia*. In the Month following, being *February*, this Ambaſſadour having received his Preſents and Inſtructions, departed, with Orders to remain on the Frontiers, until the Emperours Ambaſſadour met him at the place of Exchange, where according to cuſtom at the ſame time that one enters into the Dominions of the Emperor, the other paſſes into thoſe of the Grand Signior. The Preſents that one Emperor ſends to the other are according to the ancient Canon, and are to be of equal value, and are commonly eſtimated to be an Hundred thouſand Dollars. Thoſe ſent by the Grand Signior to the Emperor, were:

Three Horſes with their Furniture adorned with precious Stones.
Twelve other led Horſes of great price.
A Royal Tent with all the Apartments, valued at Eighty thouſand Dollars.
A Royal Feather ſet with Jewels.
Ambergreeſe of a conſiderable value.
Bezor-ſtones.
Twenty Cods of Muſk.
Seventy Coſtans or Veſts of Three ſorts.
Six *Perſian* Carpets.
Forty very fine Turbants, with other *Perſian* Commodities of divers ſorts of Linnen.

The Spring being now well forward, the time of action, and the Summer at hand, the *Turks* remained with great expectation of the *German* Ambaſſadour; and with greater impatience, in regard that their Ambaſſadour had for ſome time continued upon the Frontiers. It was now *May*, and yet no news from *Germany*; ſo that many began to doubt the reality of the Peace, others reflected on the diſhonour of the Grand Signior, in having his Ambaſſadour ſo long on the Frontiers, as if the Peace had been precarious, and deſired by the *Turks*: Some conſidered the preſent ill conſequences, in caſe the War ſhould break out again; for that licenſe was given to the greateſt part of the Army to return home, and all ſuch as came as far as from *Babylon*, *Damaſcus*, and *Egypt*, to the Frontiers in *Hungary* were departed; and to recal theſe again, and other Zaims and Timariots from remote parts, required a conſiderable time, of which their diſtreſs would not admit, ſhould the Chriſtians prove deceitful in their Treaty. Beſides which, reports were ſpread abroad, that the *French* had intercepted the Ambaſſadour in his paſſage about *Komorra*, and had given an interruption to the Peace. Others reported, that the Ambaſſadour was dead in his Journey, and that the *Hungarians* were again in Arms, as wholly diſſatisfied with the Peace. Theſe rumours flying about, all People blamed the facility of the Great Vizier in being too credulous and confident of the Faith and Morality of the Chriſtians; and the Enemies of the Vizier more boldly adventured to accuſe his ill management of Affairs, which did not a little tickle the ambition of *Muſtapha* Paſha, then Captain Paſha, and Chimacam of *Adrianople*, ſuppoſing that all the diſgraces and ill ſucceſſes of the Vizier prepared a way for his aſcent unto that Office. And to become more popular, being a man naturally of an affable and plauſible carriage, inſinuated himſelf into the favour and good opinion of the Great men and principal Favourites of the Seraglio, over-acting his part in ſome meaſure by condeſcenſions unbeſeeming the degree and dignity of a Chimacam, being obſerved one day to kiſs the Veſt of the Kuzlir-Aga, too apparent a piece of adulation and meanneſs in ſo great a Subject, who in thoſe parts repreſents the Perſon of his Maſter. Theſe paſſages were not altogether unknown to the Vizier; and though at a diſtance he could not perfectly view, and diſcover particularly the comportment of this Chimacam, yet being by converſation well acquainted with his ſubtle diſpoſition, gueſſed at his thoughts, and the reſt of his actions, and to deal with him in the ſame terms, wrote a Letter to the Grand Signior, bewailing the ill ſucceſs of the War againſt *Venice*, and the ill eſtate and condition of the Fleet; to repair which, and to give courage to their men, and reſtore the Diſcipline in Marine Affairs, the preſence of the Captain-Paſha was neceſſary in the Fleet, who had now for Two years enjoyed the benefit and the title without perſonal attendance on that important Charge. The Grand Signior having received this Letter, concurred in the ſame opinion with his Vizier, and gave Orders to the Chimacam to prepare himſelf to ſerve that Summer at Sea; for that now it was neceſſary he ſhould be in Perſon there, and leſs requiſite his preſence in the City, where his Office would ſpeedily be made void by return of the Vizier. The Chimacam immediately in obedience to his great Maſters command, put himſelf in a poſture for his Voyage, and in the firſt place ſent away his Women to *Conſtantinople*, and appointed the Fleet not to depart until his farther order: Yet in the mean time ſo ſecretly and under-hand made uſe of the friendſhip of the Court-Favourites, repreſenting as from themſelves, how uſeful the ſervice and attendance of the Chimacam was as yet in the City, by reaſon that the delays of the *German* Ambaſſadour made the Viziers return uncertain, and that this Office would ill be ſupplied by any another; they obtained licenſe for his continuance in Office, and diſappointed the intentions and deſigns of the Vizier.

Rumours of the People on occaſion of ſtay of the *German* Ambaſſadour.

Muſtapha Paſha's affectation and popularity.

About the end of *May*, after long expectation arrived the *German* Ambaſſadour at *Buda*, to the great joy of the *Turkiſh* Camp. I then was there my ſelf, and obſerved the general ſatisfaction at this news: ſo that now the Ambaſſadour being entred the Frontiers, and his arrival ſecured, on the Twenty ninth of *May*, the Vizier began his March from *Belgrade* with the whole Army, and I kept company with them for thirteen days. On the laſt of *June* the Vizier arrived within ſix hours Journey of *Adrianople*, intending in Two or Three days to prepare for his ſolemn Entrance. But it is reported, That the Viziers Mother had by her Art ſo affected the heart of the Grand Signior towards her Son, that he could not longer want his preſence, and therefore in the way diſpatched frequent Meſſages to him to haſten him as faſt as his convenience would permit. And better to aſſure him of his grace and favour, ſent his young Favourite, a handſom Youth of about Twenty years of age, to meet him with a Preſent of five Horſes richly adorned and furniſhed, and to feaſt him plentifully on the way: And being come within a few hours Journey, the Grand Signior could not contain his deſire of ſeeing him, until the day of his Entry; but ordered him immediately to come to him, being impatient of a private Conference. The Vizier accordingly obeying, and being come to the Royal Preſence, the Grand Signior kiſſed him on the ſhoulder, and honoured him with a * Topooſe of Gold ſtudded with precious Stones, with a Sword, a Dagger, and a Horſe richly furniſhed, with which Regal Munificence he returned triumphing to his Tents, being now fully aſſured of the real grace and conſtant favour of his Maſter. The ſecond of *July* the Vizier made his Entrance with ſolemn Pomp and Glory through part of the City, paſſing again into the Field to remain under Tents with the whole Camp, being ſo ordered by the Grand Signior, in regard the City was neither capable to contain ſo great a number without diſpoſſeſſing the greateſt part of the Inhabitants of their Houſes, nor in this hot ſeaſon of the Year was it ſo wholeſom and cool as the open

* It is in the faſhion of a Mace, which the *Turks* wear at their Saddles.

open air of the Country. Beſides, matters would be in a far greater readineſs for a departure towards *Conſtantinople*, to which place, the Vizier had perſwaded the Grand Signior to make a Viſit after Audience given to the *German* Ambaſſadour, whom the People now expected with wonderful impatience.

Not many days after arrived Count *Leſly* the Ambaſſadour Extraordinary from his *Cæſarean* Majeſty to the Grand Signior, who made a ſolemn Entrance into the City, paſſing firſt through the *Turkiſh* Camp, where the Grand Signior remained, and thence to the Houſe furniſhed and appointed for him at the expence of the Sultan. The Cavalcade was as ſolloweth: In the Front of all were the Ten Chaouſes which had attended the Ambaſſadour through the whole Journey, theſe were followed by an Hundred fifty five other Chaouſes with Muzevege, with ſome Captains over the Janiſaries. The Ambaſſadour had of his own Retinue about a Hundred and fifty Perſons on Horſe-back, well mounted, and cloathed after the *Hungarian* faſhion; his proper Guard conſiſted of Four and twenty Perſons armed with Partiſans; before him went his Trumpets, and Kettle Drums, but not ſounding, with Two Banners of ſpread Eagles flying, one of them richly embroidered, carried by a Count of the Empire. The Ambaſſadour himſelf was cloathed with a Cloth of Silver Veſt, lined with Sables, on his Cap he wore a Feather after the *Turkiſh* faſhion, adorned with Jewels, which they call (*Sargouch*) and is only uſed by the Grand Signior, and his principal Vizier; before him went Eight led Horſes richly furniſhed; immediately after him followed the Pages and Servants of the Spaheelar Agaſee, and of the Aga which conducted him from the Frontiers. Next came his Litter covered with Violet coloured Velvet, and carried by Mules; then his three Coaches with ſix Horſes a piece, one of which being richly gilded, and made chearful with Glaſs Windows after the new mode, the Grand Signior became much pleaſed with it, and at his requeſt it was preſented to him: after theſe followed four or five other Coaches of Four Horſes, in which were Churchmen and unfirm perſons; and laſt of all came the *German* Wagons, and other Carts with thoſe of the Countrey with Baggage.

The *German* Ambaſſadors Entrance.

Audience given to the *German* Ambaſſador.

This Ambaſſadour was not long arrived before he was admitted to Audience with the Prime Vizier, who beſtowed on him a Veſt of Sables, with a Horſe and Furniture of conſiderable value, and a Hundred of his Retinue were veſted with Coſtans, which amongſt the *Turks* are teſtimonies of ſavour and acceptance. About Four days after, the Ambaſſadour had Audience with the Grand Signior himſelf, at which were only Forty Coſtans given out, which coming from ſo Grand a Perſonage, were in value multiplied much above the number given by the Vizier.

The Preſents brought hy the Amdaſſadour were as followeth:

A Looking Glaſs of about a man's height, in a ſilver Frame, ſtanding on a pedeſtal of Silver, turning round on every ſide.

Two great Baſons of Silver, ſupported with three Pillars at three Corners, a man's Body and a half high, adorned with ſeveral Figures; at one Pillar was faſtned a gilded Baſon, over which was a Fountain Cock for the Water to run through.

Two great gilded Baſons full of holes at the Bottom to make a Paſſage for the Water.

Twelve Silver Candleſticks, every one about Two Ells high.

Six Silver Flower-Pots.

Twelve gilded Ewers for ſweet Waters.

Twelve Silver Diſhes with Covers made after the form of *Turkiſh* Turbants, all gilded within ſide.

Twelve gilded Diſhes for Confects, ſet upon Pedeſtals of Silver.

One round Table of Silver upon a Pedeſtal of about half an Ell, after the manner of the *Turkiſh* Tables, with many Devices.

Four Guns with Silver Stocks, and one Cutlaſh of Silver.

Two great Writing Desks of Jaſpar-Stone, with Proſpectives within.

Two other of Ebony Wood, and Tortoiſe ſhell, in-laid with Gold and Silver.

One great Ice Veſſel, and one great Drinking Pot of Silver.

Four Pieces of *Spaniſh* Tapeſtry wrought with Silver.

Fourteen Clocks with *Turkiſh* and *Chriſtian* Figures.

A Grota with a Clock in it, and a Caſe of Virginals which ſound with the motion of Water that runs through it.

A Cupboard an Ell high adorned with Boſſes of Silver, in which was a Salt-box, Candleſticks, and other appurtenances thereunto.

A large Cheſt with Figures of Silver gilded.

A high Writing Desk of Silver gilded, with many Boxes and Drawers, which for the Art and Invention is not to be deſcribed.

Preſents to the Valede or Queen Mother.

An embroidered Cuſhinet to ſow upon, in which was a Looking-Glaſs, and a Virginal ſounding of it ſelf.

A large Looking-Glaſs in a Silver Frame.

Two Silver Candleſticks of an Ell and half high.

A Basket of Silver rarely worked and engraven.

Four great Cups.

To the Great Vizier.

Twelve Silver Platters with Covers.

Two Silver Candleſticks $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Ell high.

Twelve Silver Plates handſomly worked for Confects.

One Basket of Silver engraven.

Fourteen very large Silver Cups.

For other Miniſters to be beſtowed as occaſion was.

Thirty two Clocks of ſeveral ſorts, ſome with *Turkiſh*, and others with Chriſtian Figures.

Twenty one Watches gilded.

Seven gilded Baſons and Ewers.

The Weight of the Silver all together amounted unto Three thouſand five hundred pound weight. Theſe were the Parriculars of the Preſents ſent from the Emperor to the Grand Signior, from whom he received the live value by the *Ottoman* Ambaſſadour. And though this Relation may ſeem impertinent to the Weight of Hiſtory, yet in regard on ſuch minute things many times greater matters depend, and thereby the curioſity of the Reader ſatisfied, I thought it not from our purpoſe to inſert a Liſt thereof.

The *Genoeſe* make Peace with the *Turk*.

This year gave the firſt Beginning to trade between the *Ottoman* Dominions, and that of *Genoua*. For in Company of the *German* Ambaſſadour, in condition of a private Perſon, came the Marqueſs *Durazzo* a Nobleman of *Genoua*, with Letters from that Republick to the Grand Signior, and Great Vizier, importing their deſire of friendſhip and commerce with the *Ottoman* Port. This deſign of opening a door to a new Trade was commenced and carried on wholly by the contrivance and power of the Family of the *Durrazzo's*, falſly founded on the courſe allay of Money, then currant in the *Turkiſh* Territories, which proved not long durable, as will appear by the Sequel. This Marqueſs being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, declared his Meſſage, which if favourably accepted, an Ambaſſadour or Reſident with Merchants ſhould be ſent to hold a Trade in the *Turkiſh* Dominions. In anſwer whereunto the Vizier replied according to the uſual complement, That the Arms of the Port are always open to thoſe who deſire to entertain a friendſhip and correſpondence with it. But becauſe in former days Ambaſſadours from *Spain* and *Genoua* having like promiſes of admiſſion, were notwithſtanding, through the union of the *Engliſh*, and *French* and *Venetians*, obſtructed in their paſſage, and forced to return home, though one of them as far as *Scio* in his way, and the other as *Raguſa*; therefore this Marqueſs in remembrance hereof preſſed the Vizier farther in his promiſe, deſiring him to give him the aſſurance, that what oppoſition might be made to the contrary by other Miniſters, he would yet keep firm to that word he had given to his Republick: The Vizier conſtantly promiſed that he would; and if any other Ambaſſadours were not pleaſed with the friendſhip and Treaty of that day, they might ſeek their remedy as they pleaſed, and if they pleaſed might have liberty to depart. The Marqueſs being ſatisfied with this aſſurance, took Letters to his Republick in aſſurance thereof, and Articles were given, and Priviledges for Trade ſigned according to the Tenour of other Capitulations: And being herewith diſpatched, he returned home by Land, and the next year appeared again himſelf in the Perſon of Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the *Ottoman* Court; where after high and conſiderable Preſents and great Expences made, chiefly ſupported by the Houſe of *Durazzo*, a Reſident was ſeated at *Conſtantinople*, and a Conſul at *Smyrna*, where we will leave them for a while, and ſome years after (God willing) take an account of the profit and loſs this progging Nation had made by this Embaſſy and Trade. But before we leave this point, it will be worth our noting, how hainouſly the *French* Ambaſſadour Monſieur *La Haye* took this entertainment of the *Genoeſe*, in regard he was ſo concerned againſt his admiſſion, that he declared to the chief Miniſters of State, how he had received Orders to oppoſe the entrance of the *Genoeſe* Nation, as highly prejudicial and obſtructive to their Trade; and in fine, to acquaint the Grand Signior, that in caſe he reſolved to entertain them, his Maſter would withdraw his Ambaſſadour and Nation; and therefore they ought to conſider, whether a new Friend and an inconſiderable Republick ought to be perferred before the known and approved acquaintance of the powerful Empire of *France*. But whatſoever the *French* Miniſters were able to act to the contrary, the *Genoeſes* kept their ſtations, in which they were the better ſecured by thoſe frequent occaſions of diſguſt his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe, had given to theſe Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith.

The *Genoeſe* received.

The Great Vizier and the *German* Ambaſſadour being now both at the *Ottoman* Port, the Wars were concluded, and every one began to diſpoſe his affairs to a quiet and a repoſed life. But this Empire being ſtill by God's Providence in a condition of growth and augmentation, could not remain long in Peace, nor long in health without exerciſe and action. Wherefore no ſooner was *Germany* at eaſe, than the Viſier began to move the proſecution of the War in *Candia*, deſiring to obtain the glory of ſubjecting totally that Iſland, which for the ſpace of Twenty five years had been the principal ſubject of the *Ottoman* deſign and exerciſe, and acquire to himſelf the Fame in Hiſtory of being Conquerour of *Candia*, and Concluder of the *Venetian* War. Wherefore the Vizier with ſeveral other principal Perſons, aſſembled in a Garden near the City of *Adrianople*, ſent for the Signior *Ballarino* Repreſentative for the Republik of *Venice*; where being come, at the firſt word demanded of him the Surrender of the whole Iſland of *Candia*. To which he modeſtly replied, That ſo great a gift was not in his power to give, and that his office was only to be aſſiſtant to that happy hour, wherein all matters might concur towards Peace, and that his Mediation might contribute towards a concluſion of this long and tedious War. In the mean time he ſhould acquaint his Prince with the demand the Vizier was pleaſed to make. To which the *Turks* added menaces, with high and inſolent words, deſigning to bend their whole force and power againſt *Candia*, the effect of which will hereafter be a material ſubject of our Hiſtory. And thus much, to my beſt remembrance, I received from the mouth of that *Venetian* Miniſter.

The *Turks* reſolve to proſecute the War in *Candia*.

In the mean time the Grand Signior, though he continued his Sports and Hunting, without regard to the violent heats of the Summer; yet he began to entertain ſomething more of warm affection towards his Women, and to be reconciled to that Sex, in contemplation of his little Son, who beginning now to play and prattle, afforded him matter of entertainment in the Apartments of his Women; ſo that he affectionately doting on his Queen, gave order for increaſe of her Revenue and Attendance, and appointed the beſt Artiſans of *Adrianople* to make her a Crown ſtudded with very precious Stones to adorn her Head, of which he was ſo impatient, that he ordered the Goldſmiths to work in the Seraglio, permitting them ſcarce time to eat or ſleep until it was finiſhed. In recompence of which affection of her Sultan, this Lady ſo correſponded, that ſhe appeared paſſionately in love, practiſing certain pretty tricks of ſwooning and of an uneaſie condition in his abſence, which ſo endeared him in all reſpects to her, that it was ſaid the Sultan kept himſelf conſtant to this Queen only, and contrary to the cuſtom of other Emperors, and permiſſion of the *Turkiſh* Laws made uſe of the multitude of his other Women only for Slaves, or Attendants to the greater ſtate and adoration of his beloved Queen.

The G. Signior paſſionately loves his Queen.

And now the Grand Signior, at the perſwaſion of the Vizier and others of his Council, reſolving to winter at *Conſtantinople*, certain Women of the lower rank were diſpatched before, as forerunners of the removal of the Court: And being in the Seraglio at large without obſervance and awe of their uſual Spies, two of the boldeſt Wenches finding a Cradle, wherein the Royal Infants were uſually laid, adventured to pick out the beſt Jewels, of which ſome were very good Stones, and afterwards laid it up again in a private place, where it was not eaſily found. Not many days after the Queen-Mother wanting the Cradle of ſo much value and antiquity, where many of the young Sultans had lain, ſent to the Seraglio at *Conſtantinople* to fetch it thence. But it not being found, inquiſition was made into all ſecret corners, the Wardrobes were ſearched, but nothing appear'd, to the great fear of thoſe to whoſe care it was committed, one accuſing the other to acquit himſelf. In fine, the matter was ſo traced, that ſome whiſpers there were concerning thoſe in whoſe hands the Cradle not long before was ſeen to remain. The Women having guilty conſciences were amazed in being ſo cloſely followed, and fearing the matter ſhould be perfectly diſcovered, entred into conſultation what courſe they ſhould take to ſave their lives and their honour. In fine, they both concluded, that in ſuch an extremity deſperate remedies ought to be uſed, than which none was better than to ſet fire to the Seraglio, by which means, either the thing ſought for, would be eſteemed for burnt and conſumed by the fire, or in ſo great a loſs it might be hoped that matters of ſmaller moment would not be remembred. Wherefore the bold Wenches without other conſideration gave fire with their Candle to the roof of Cedar, of which wood moſt of the Womens rooms in the Seraglio are made, which in a moment made ſuch a flame, as with the help of a little wind, was carried through all the quarters of the Womens Apartments, and thence took its way to the *Divan* Chamber, and other conſiderable parts of the Court, where many Records and Regiſters of Law were conſumed to aſhes, together with one of the leſſer Treaſuries, where much richeſs, which endured not the teſt of fire, periſhed: And the whole Seraglio had run an evident hazard, had not the Boſtangees and other Servants of the Court ventured far into the flames, in which many of them miſerably periſhed. The fire being quenched, and the Women afterwards (I know not how) detected to have been the Authors thereof, were ſent to *Adrianople*, and being there accuſed, were ſtrangled by the immediate order of the Grand Signior.

The Seraglio at *Conſtantinople* ſet on fire.

But the deſtruction of that conſiderable part of the Seraglio was no impediment to the Grand Signiors return to *Conſtantinople*, being rebuilt with that ſpeed and induſtry, equal or excelling the magnificence of the former, that the day prefixed for the Journey thither was not prolonged by reaſon thereof. Howſoever the Grand Signiors averſion to the place made the wheels of his Chariots move ſlow, and the quickneſs of his Attendants grew ſlack and cold, obſerving ſo much diſpleaſure in their Emperor to the place deſigned. For though he was preſſed by the Vizier to begin his Journey, and could not handſomly refuſe to comply with the time appointed; yet to defer this reſolution as long as was poſſible; he contriv'd a long way of Meander towards *Conſtantinople*, forming his Journey in Company with the Great Vizier by way of the *Dardanelli* upon the *Helleſpont*, on pretence of viewing the Fortifications of the new Forts raiſed at the entrance of that Streight, and ſending ſome Proviſions from thence for Relief of *Candia*; wherefore the Captain-Paſha was commanded to Sea with three Gallies, and at *Gallipoli* to attend the Grand Signiors arrival, being to tranſport him thence to the Caſtles, and back again. And the deſign being now reſolved, and hot to proſecute the VVar in *Candia*; for tranſporting thither a numerous Army, it was concluded, That the Captain-Paſha ſhould propoſe to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour the Grand Signiors deſire of Fifteen Sail of Ships, with conſent of our King, for this Service, the *Turks* paying what reaſonable Rates ſhould be demanded. But the Earl of *Winchelſea* then Lord Ambaſſadour, modeſtly replied, That though His Majeſty of *England* did always entertain a good affection and a zealous diſpoſition towards the Affairs of the Grand Signior; yet at preſent the VVar with *Holland*, and ill underſtanding with *France*, made his occaſions for his own Shipping more urgent than uſual, and the time moſt unſeaſonable to preſs his Majeſty in this particular: by which reply and ſeveral other excuſes of the Ambaſſadour, the Captain-Paſha perceiving an averſneſs to the Propoſition, and that Chriſtians unwillingly arm *Turks* againſt the Croſs, gave an account of this diſcourſe to the Grand Signior and Vizier, who immediately gave order for the building of ſixty Gallies againſt the next Spring, which with what they had before would make up above an Hundred Sail. The Rendezvous of this Fleet, together with Saykes and other *Turkiſh* Veſſels, from thence to tranſport the Vizier and his Army for *Candia*, was appointed to be made at *Malvoiſia* of the ſucceſs of which we ſhall have occaſion (God willing) to diſcourſe in the following Year, which gave a beginning (as we may ſay) to the total loſs of that Country, and to that famous Siege, which in Hiſtory will bear the Fame of one of the moſt memorable in the World. And as a preparation thereunto, and as a ſupply of the preſent urgent neceſſities, three Ships, *viz.* one *Engliſh*, another *French*, and a third *Dutch* were laden with Corn, and thirty Sail of Beys Gallies, with all ſorts of Arms and Ammunition, with a Recruit of a thouſand Janiſaries, were diſpeeded from *Conſtantinople* for Reinforcement and Succour of that Iſland.

The *Turks* prepare for a War on *Candia*.

And now at length the Grand Signior after his long circuit arrived at *Conſtantinople*, where he made his ſolemn Entry the Third of *October*, but not with that Joy and Pomp, which uſually attended other Sultans in their return from the Wars and labours to their Imperial City; but all things ſeemed like the Sultans humour, ſullen and diſpleaſed; for he ſeldom lodged in his Seraglio, or ſlept there, but at a ſmall Palace called *Daout-Paſha*, where he for the moſt part made his abode; only ſometimes in the day he paſſed a few hours at his Seraglio, but reſted not there in the Night: The reaſons hereof ſome attributed to the remembrance of thoſe dangers and troubles which he had ſeen in that Court, and which made ſo deep an impreſſion on his fancy, that he could never enter within thoſe Gates without ſome ſenſe of terrour for the late diſorders.

The G. Signior arrives at *Conſtantinople*.

The *German* War being thus concluded, the Sultan returned to *Conſtantinople*, and Affairs diſpoſing themſelves to ſpend their fury againſt *Candia*, all things growing black and tempeſtuous towards that Coaſt, the *Venetians* prudently provided to oppoſe the ſtorm. And as an able General, and wiſe and experienced Captains, are the ſupports of an Army; and that the ſucceſs of War depends much on Martial Diſcipline, and on the vigilance and wiſdom of the Commanders, the Senate gave order to their Ambaſſadour at *Turen*, called *Catarin Belegno*, to offer unto Marqueſs *Ghiron Franceſco Villa*, a Native of that Country, the honourable charge of General of the Foot, with a ſtipend of 12000 Crowns of yearly Pay; the ſaid Marqueſs obliging himſelf to bring with him Four Captains, and two Lieutenant-Generals, for entertainment of whom the Republick allowed Five thouſand Ducats, beſides Seventy Ducats a Month pay to an Engineer. To this Marqueſs *Villa* a power was given to command in chief over all, without ſubjection to any other than to the Captain-General, and to the Proveditor General in *Dalmatia*, when he waged War in that Province: And in ſhort, his actions were not to be queſtioned or examined by any other than the Senate it ſelf, to whom he was immediately ſubjected, and a Gally was

Marqueſs *Villa* received into ſervice of the *Venetians*.

to be allotted purpoſely to tranſport him and his Family to *Candia*. Upon theſe conditions agreed at *Turen*, Marqueſs *Villa* took his Journey to *Venice* about the beginning of *April*, being accompanied with his Kinſman *Franceſco Villa*, his Nephew *Benedetto* Count of *Lagnaſco*, Count *Lodovico Saluzza*, and Count *Bernardino Barretta*, which Four ſerved in quality of Captains, together with *Gio. Franceſco Puſſerla*, and *Aleſſandro Negri*, who were Lieutenant-Generals, and *Gio. Girolamo Quadruplano* Engineer. With theſe Companions and ſeveral other Voluntiers, Gentlemen of Quality, the Marqueſs *Villa* was received with much honour by the Nobility and People of *Venice*; and being introduced into the Colledge, with a ſingular grace and fluency of Language he began to ſpeak in this manner.

The Speech of Marquis *Villa* to the Senate.

If thanks, moſt Serene Prince, and moſt Excellent Sirs, ought to be equivalent to the benefits we receive, I muſt of neceſſity (not to appear ungrateful) refuſe thoſe favours, which this moſt Serene Republick is pleaſed to confer upon me; or reſolve to appear ungrateful, becauſe I am unable to make a compenſation. But I ſatisfie my ſelf in this, That as the mind which receives favours, and returns thanks is the ſame; ſo that mind which makes acknowledgments with a due ſenſe of them, doth in ſome meaſure equal the benefit, though it prove defective in expreſſions to declare it. I do therefore confeſs and acknowledge, that the Election you have been pleaſed to make of me amongſt ſo many conſpicuous Perſons, unto a Charge graced by moſt renowned Predeceſſours, and in it ſelf moſt honourable, is a moſt ſingular favour, and an effect of your immenſe Bounty to me; which though it be limited with ſome ſubordination, yet it may ſerve for the ultimate Goal to a glorious Courſe of Military labours. I muſt alſo farther acknowledge, That as it is the property of this moſt Serene Republick to receive momentary Services, and to render them Eternal by Records in Hiſtory; ſo they have been pleaſed to adjoyn unto my mean deſerts a remembrance of the humble devotion which my Anceſtors profeſſed towards them: I mean Alfonſo Villa *my great Grand-father, who in that moſt glorious Fleet at* Lepanto, *whoſe Sails were the wings of Victory, evidenced his Chriſtian Zeal againſt that People, which iſſuing from the bowels of Sea-monſters, continue to vent their ancient rage againſt your moſt Serene Highneſs. Nor with leſs promptneſs of mind, had my Grandfather* Franceſco Villa, *and my Father* Guido Villa, *conſecrated their Powers to your Command: but that the unparallel'd Equity of this moſt Serene Republick gave permiſſion, that one of them ſhould take the charge of General of the Artillery of the Holy Church under the Pope his Supream Lord, preferring a natural duty before a voluntary ſervice; and that the other being entertained in ſervice of the moſt Invincible* Charles Emanuel *in* Piedmont, *you were pleaſed to judge, That the ſervice done to a Prince your Confederate, and Son of this Republick, was a ſervice and duty rendred to your ſelves: ſo that this Election made of me by this moſt Serene Republick, and approved by the ſingular goodneſs of that* Charles Emanuel, *who now reigns, evidences the Deſtiny of my Family, and obliges me to ſatisfie that hereditary debt by performances, which my Anceſtors entertained only in their wiſhes. Hence it is, that to this my Election ſome celeſtial influence hath concurred, by which I am clearly aſſured, that your more than humane Power is deſirous to imitate the Divine, which oftentimes makes uſe of weak means to operate miraculous effects, that to you only the ſucceſs may be acknowledged, and to you only the thanks be returned: That if the Providence of your Serenity, and of this moſt Serene Republick will be pleaſed (as I am aſſured you will) to imitate the Divine Providence, which co-operates with means, the number and quality of your Troops and plenty of your Proviſions, which are the Nerves of War, are thoſe means which correſpond with the ends you deſign: And therefore I dare preſage, that I ſhall not only ſee the threatning horns of the changeable* Ottoman *Planet precipitated into the Sea by the* Venetian *horn of ſtrength; but thoſe glorious Conqueſts renewed, which rendered your Name more bright and reſplendent than the Sun it ſelf in his Oriental parts. With theſe auſpicious Preſages, I feel already in my breaſt an impatient heat to ſacrifice my life in ſo worthy a Cauſe, fancying that I ſerve the Univerſe, whilſt I am engaged in the ſervice of the greateſt of Republicks, which communicates delicious Fruit to all People, gathered from thoſe triumphant Palms, which were planted and watered with her own ſweat and labours; and reſembles her own generous Lion, which continually ſtands on the Guard in oppoſition to the common Enemy, that all other People may reſt quiet, and repoſe ſecure. And thus much, Moſt Serene Prince, and Moſt Excellent Sirs, ſhall ſuffice to have been ſpoken by a Soldier, not acquainted with Eloquence, to whom Courage is more requiſite than Words, and to fight well with the hand, is more laudable than to utter florid Speeches with the Tongue.*

According to the preceding counſel and deſire of Marquiſs *Villa*, the Senate ſent by divers Convoys great plenty of Proviſion and Ammunition to *Candia*, and fitted their Fleet with all things neceſſary; and ſtrengthened their Forts both with Horſe and Foot drawn out of their Gariſons on the *Terra Firma*, being aſſiſted with Men and Money from other Princes and States. The Pope gave them liberty to levy Four thouſand

ſand men out of his Countries, the Emperour alſo furniſhed them with a conſiderable Force, to which were made Additions from other parts of *Germany*.

In this manner the prudent Care of the Venetians provided for their own ſafety: But at *Conſtantinople* things were more quiet, for it being Winter, the Turks made Entertainments for the German Ambaſſadour, who was firſt feaſted by the Chimacham, and twice afterwards, with much Magnificence, by the Great Vizier at his own Garden, ſeated on the *Boſphorus*, all difficulties being before overcome, and agreed, unleſs the deliverance of the poor Captives from the Priſon and the Oar, who continued in the torment of expectation between hope and fear, either of liberty or perpetual ſlavery. Which Treaty though it properly belonged to the Vizier, to whom the abſolute power is derived, yet in formality it was reſerved for matter of the laſt Audience with the Grand Signior, who being deſirous to attend his Hunting and Paſtime abroad, was in pain, until he had complyed with his Office towards this Ambaſſadour, whoſe departure though not ſome time after deſigned; yet being often called upon to receive his Diſpatch from the Grand Signior, was admitted on the 31th of *October* to his Audience with the ſame formality and feaſting as is common to all other Ambaſſadours in the Divan, or place of Judicature, and received three and forty Coſtans beſtowed on himſelf and his retinue, and thence being conducted to the Chamber of Audience, with ſome of the principal Noblemen of his Company, they preſented themſelves on their Knees, with their Faces on the Ground, according to the Cuſtom of the Eaſtern Courts; with which occaſion the Heer *Reningen*, who had for ſixteen or ſeventeen years been Reſident for the Emperor, a perſon grown infirm with Age and the Gout, and his Knees not ſo active and pliable as the younger ſort, coming alſo to take his turn in this proſtrate manner of Worſhip, was ſo rudely handled by the Kapugibaſhees, who aſſiſted on each Arm at the Ceremony, that he not being able to bow his head ſo eaſily as others, was thruſt down by them with ſo little conſideration or reſpect, that his Brows and Forehead were broken on the Flour; which miſchance ſo diſordered him, as put him beſides that Speech which he had premediated in Turkiſh to addreſs to the Grand Signior; and though he curbed what was poſſible his paſſion, whilſt he remained in the Royal Preſence, yet in vain afterwards he vented his Choler with words againſt thoſe unmannerly Officers without other remedy or ſatisfaction. The Demands of the Ambaſſadour were in writing read before the Grand Signior, according to the cuſtom of the Court, and principally concerned the freedom of the Slaves, ſome of which were then in the Gallies, and Banniard, and others of the moſt principal in the ſeven Towers. Other Demands there were in relation to the State of *Tranſylvania*, that for the future it might be free from Incurſions, in which particular the Turks had already violated the Peace; and that a more orderly Government of Affairs might be obſerved on the Frontiers, than uſually had paſſed, as agreed by the laſt Capitulations. To which the Grand Signior gave no Anſwer, referring all to the Vizier, only told the Ambaſſadour in ſhort, That he ſhould counſel his Maſter to beware of invading the Ottoman Dominions, or acting any thing in prejudice of the Peace.

The German Ambaſſadors laſt Audience with the Grand Signior

The Articles of Peace made between the Two Emperors were for the moſt part a confirmation of the ancient Agreement, only it was provided as a new Addition, That the Armies ſhould depart from the Confines of *Tranſilvania*. Secondly, That the Caſtles and Forts gariſoned with *German* Soldiers in that Countrey ſhould be reſigned into the hands of the Prince. And Thirdly, There were other particulars added in reference to *Newhauſel*, and the Countries adjacent lately conquered, and the Limits of both Emperors, as before declared.

But whilſt theſe things were in agitation, and Ambaſſadours interchangeably at either Court, the *Turks* of *Varadin* and *Janoua* made frequent incurſions into *Tranſilvania*, deſtroying the Villages, and carrying away great numbers of Captives; and ſo lately, as about the beginning of *Auguſt* laſt, thoſe of *Varadin* conveyed themſelves privately under the Caſtle *Cſeb*, and robbed the Horſes belonging to that Gariſon, killed ſome, and carried others into ſlavery; at which time alſo Two thouſand *Turks* beſieged the Caſtle *Valko*, which they took, and razed to the ground; which Complaints of their Countries Aggrievances the *Tranſilvanians* intimated to the *German* Ambaſſadour, as matters already acted contrary to the late Articles of Peace, requeſting farther to interpoſe for a moderation and abatement of their Tribute, which *Kuperlee* had, contrary to Oath and reaſon, unjuſtly augmented. But the Ambaſſadour ſeemed ſo coldly to interpoſe in this behalf, as taught the *Turks* to deny his Requeſts, acquieſcing with this Anſwer, That it was no breach of Peace then to make incurſions on the Frontiers, as alſo without Cannon to rob, and ſpoil, and skirmiſh, not exceeding Five thouſand men in number. For it appeared that the Ambſſadour was moſt deſirous to ſecure the main points of the Peace, which concerned moſt the Intereſt of the Empire, and not hazard it for ſuch like Concernments of *Tranſilvania*; for though it ſeemed ſtrange to the World to ſee a Peace haſtily clapt up with diſadvantageous Terms on the Emperors ſide, whilſt he was victorious and fortunate in ſeveral Enterprizes; yet they that penetrated farther into the State and Condition of the Empire, report, That there was a neceſſity of making a moderate uſe of theſe ſucceſſes by a fair accommodation, rather than to tempt Providence by a too eager and continued proſecution of the War. For it was obſerved that the Deſigns of making the Duke of *Anguien*, Son to the Prince of *Conde*, King of *Poland*, proceeded forward; and that there was a Combination of a dangerous League amongſt the Princes of the *Rhine*. The Diviſions between the *Germans* and the *Hungarians* encreaſed; the latter of which are known to be an obſtinate ſort of People. The Army alſo of the *French* was feared in the Bowels of the Empire, under the Command of Monſieur *la Feuvillade*, who under pretence of applying themſelves to the aſſiſtance of Chriſtendom, were ſuſpected to come with intentions to advance the intereſt of their King, and force the next Diet to elect him King of the *Romans*; in order whereunto, and in conſideration of farther aſſiſtance, they demanded ſeveral Towns in *Hungary* to be delivered into their hands, and made extravagant Propoſitions for Winter Quarters; all which conſidered, made the *German* Ambaſſadour more tender how he entred into Diſputes with the *Turk*, which might prejudice the eſſential points of the Peace, or occaſion a new War more deſtructive to *Germany* through the dan-

The Reaſons why the *German* Ambaſſadour interpoſed not in behalf of *Tranſylvania*.

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The German Ambaſſador's Audience with the Vizier.

dangers before intimated, than by the Arms and Hoſtility of the common Enemy. Theſe Conſiderations made the Ambaſſador leſs zealous in the matter of *Tranſilvania*, and in all others which were not really conducing to his Maſters immediate ſervice; ſo that having no other difficulty remaining, than the liberty of the Captives, on the day of his laſt Audience with the Vizier, being the 8*th* of *November*, he urged with more earneſtneſs their Releaſe, which was in part granted; thoſe of the Gallies were delivered from their Chains and Oars; but ſuch as were of greater Quality in the ſeven Towers were detained, until the Emperor had on his part releaſed the *Turks* of Quality in like manner; and though it was agreed in the Article, That Captives ſhould on both ſides be releaſed, yet the Vizier interpreted it to be in reſpect to Number and Quality, of which I remember to have heard often Complaints, and eſpecially of thoſe poor Gentlemen, then under Irons and reſtraint, who though afterwards received their freedom, yet for the preſent endured more torment in their minds, than if they had never been put in expectation to enjoy their hopes. At the end of the Audience the Ambaſſadour propoſed ſomething in behalf of the Religious of *Jeruſalem*, That certain places of Devotion might be reſtored them, which were injuriouſly taken from them by the *Greeks*; and alſo that Licenſe might be granted for re-edification of ſome Churches, and Monaſteries deſtroyed in *Galata* by the late Fire: To the firſt of which, the Vizier anſwered, That the *Franks* with the *Greeks* of *Jeruſalem* ſhould have a fair and equal Tryal at Law about the poſſeſſion of thoſe places in difference, and Juſtice and Right ſhould be done unto the injured; but the latter Propoſition he poſitively denied, for being a matter contrary to their Law and Religion, was not diſpenſable by his Power, nor ought he to expect a Complement from him, or Gratuity of that nature, which was inconſiſtent with the honour and conſcience of the Donor; but that in any thing elſe he was ready to yield to his Deſires, whereby he might underſtand the value he put upon his Perſon; uſing this Expreſſion, That he was more ſatisfied that the Emperor had deſigned ſo illuſtrious and worthy a perſon to this Embaſſy, than if he had ſent him a Hundred thouſand Dollars more of Preſent, and at the Concluſion of the Audience, veſted both the Ambaſſadour and Reſident with Sables, which ended with all imaginable ſatisfaction, and mutual contentment.

An Ambaſſadour arrives from *France*.

On the 21*th* of the Month of *November* arrived at *Conſtantinople* Monſieur *De Ventelay*, Ambaſſadour from the *French* King to the Grand Signior, who was Son to the Sieur *De la Haye*, the former Ambaſſadour, a Perſon much talked of before he arrived; a generous and an accompliſhed Gentleman, and one well practiſed in the Affairs of that Countrey. To underſtand which ſtory the better we muſt look back to the former Year, at the beginning of which during the *German* War, and that the Vizier remained in his Winter-quarters at *Belgrade*, a Courier with Letters from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to the Firſt Vizier arrived, who concealed not the occaſion of his coming, nor the contents of his Letters with that ſecrecy, but that thoſe who were imployed in the Tranſlation of the Papers into *Turkiſh*, made it publickly known to be no other than a recital of the many provocations his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had received from the Pirates of *Barbary*, containing a Liſt of the Ships, Men, and Goods they had from time to time ſeized and made Prize: in vindication of which indignities to his Honour, and in protection of his People, he could not do leſs than make a War upon thoſe Pirates (for as yet the advice was not come, that the *French* had deſerted *Gigeri*) in which for the foregoing reaſons the Grand Signior ought not to judge himſelf concerned. And for the Succour given the Emperor, it was not afforded as King of *France*, but as one of the Princes of the Empire, in which capacity, by virtue of his Tenure, he was obliged to contribute ſuch Forces on the like emergencies and diſtreſſes of the Empire. And if the foregoing reaſons were available with the Sultan to induce him (as in reaſon he ought) to believe he continued in perfect friendſhip with him, without breach of Articles, he was then ready to ſend his Ambaſſadour to reſide at the Port, provided it might be Monſieur *De Ventelay*, Son to Monſieur *De la Haye* late Ambaſſadour there, who was the Perſon that had ſome time ſince received indignities from the Vizier *Kuperlee*, that ſo his Majeſty might receive ſatisfaction, by having the very Perſon of Monſieur *De Ventelay* honoured by extraordinary demonſtrations of reſpect, in reparation of the former affronts. This Meſſenger having tranſlated his Papers, obtained licenſe to ride Poſt to the Vizier, and in the froſts and extremities of the weather in *January* ſet forward on his Journey; but in his paſſage through *Adrianople*, viſiting the Chimacam, and deſiring his licenſe in like manner to ride Poſt to the Vizier on publick affairs, received ſuch a leſſon of ſcorn and diſdain, vented with the extremity of choler againſt the *French* Nation in publick Divan, with terms undecent to be repeated: And that in farther reſentment, if he were Firſt Vizier, he would refuſe to accept any friendſhip or alliance with them; but ſince he was inferiour to the Great Vizier, he would diſpeed him to the Camp, and grant him a Command for his Poſt. But it ſeems this Courier being arrived at *Belgrade*, was received with better terms, and more courteſie by the Vizier, who had learned by experience of the late Chriſtian Wars, and proof of the Valour of the *French* Nation, that the Propoſitions of that King were not lightly to be contemned. And therefore conſented that Monſieur *De Ventelay* might freely come (uſing their common expreſſion) that the Arms of the Port are always open to receive the addreſſes of Friends, Allies, and Confederates. With this Meſſage and Letters the Courier was diſpatched by way of *Raguſi* with ſafe conduct, and what elſe was requiſite for his ſecurer paſſage. No doubt but his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was the more urgent, that the Perſon of Monſieur *De Ventelay* (who was the ſubject on whom formerly the *Turks* had exerciſed ſuch injurious violence) ſhould be accepted for Ambaſſadour, and reſolved, unleſs they received him, he would ſend no other, that ſo his Honour which ſuffered before in this Perſon, might be repaired again by the reſpect and reverence they were to ſhew to him as Ambaſſadour, as if in repentance of their former unkindneſs, they ſhould now ſtrive to make amends by extraordinary demonſtrations of honour to this Repreſentative. For it was judged in *France*, and there concluded, That there was no other means to repair the Kings Honour than by the Embaſſy of Monſieur *De Ventelay*; to which that a greater reputation might be added, he was tranſported in one of the Kings Ships called the *Cæſar*, accompanied with a Fire-ſhip, and a ſmall Patach for a Victualler, and for

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Reflexions of the Turks on the Embaſſy of Monſieur *De Ventelay*.

1665. his better Equipage was attended by four or five Marqueſſes and Perſons of Quality. Being arrived at the farther part of the City called the Seven Towers, the Ships came to an Anchor, from whence the Ambaſſadour ſent to adviſe the Vizier of his arrival, deſiring as one mark of the extraordinary honour promiſed him, that a return might be made to the Salute of his Ship from the Seraglio, by the Cannon which lay under the Wall, a Ceremony before never demanded, or practiſed with reſpect to any Chriſtian or Turkiſh Veſſel; and that his landing might be honoured with a more than uſual reception by the attendance of Officers, or at leaſt equalled to the Formalities of the late Engliſh Ambaſſadour. But the Vizier it ſeems judged, that the reception of the Engliſh, ſtrained on a particular occaſion, was not to be brought into example, and that a Salute from the Seraglio was ſo beſides the ordinary cuſtom, that he eſteemed the demand to be extravagant, and that ſuch a Preſident would be diſhonourable to his Maſter. And therefore reſolving not to exceed the perticulars of former cuſtoms, offered at his landing to have him accompanied to his Houſe with ten Chaouſes, only the Ambaſſadour not accepting hereof, in a diſcontented manner entred with his Ship the day following, and giving the uſual Salutes to the Seraglio, landed at *Topenau*, a place near to his own Dwelling, from whence with no other attendance than his own Company, privately walked up, and with no farther ceremony took poſſeſſion of the place of Reſidence of former Ambaſſadours from *France*.

Notwithſtanding this ſlight treatment, the Ambaſſadour was not ſo much mortified, but he conceived hopes, that the Turks would at length in contemplation of his Maſters greatneſs, gratifie him with ſome ſignal demonſtrations of extraordinary honour, by conceſſions of unuſual Priviledges, and greater facility in his Negotiations: and therefore was induced, though as yet he had not had a perſonal Audience of the Vizier, to deſire a revocation of the Agreement made with the Genoeſe, (the Marqueſs *Durazzo*, of whom we have ſpoken before, being juſt upon his departure) proteſting againſt it with all earneſtneſs, as a matter ſo prejudicial to the French Traffick and Commerce in thoſe Dominions, that if admiſſion were given to the Genoeſe, they muſt expect to loſe friendſhip and commerce with *France*. But notwithſtanding this heat and other proteſtations againſt it, the Vizier who inherited his Fathers ſpirit, little regarded the diſcontent of the French, but calmly anſwered, That the Grand Signior was Maſter of himſelf and Country, and might make Peace or War at his own pleaſure without licence or permiſſion of the French king; and that ſuch as were envious, or diſcontented at the Peace, had free liberty to depart and take their remedy as they eſteemed moſt beneficial.

A ſtrange accident befallen the French Captain of the Man of War.

In this manner matters paſſed between the time of this Ambaſſadours Arrival and his Audience. In which interim the curioſity of Monſieur *Abermont*, Captain of the French Man of War, had like to have proved fatal to him; for whilſt he viewed from the Gallery of his Ship the pleaſant ſituation of the Seraglio, and the Proſpect of the *Boſphorus*, behold at a diſtance appeared certain Galkes gently gliding down the ſtream, dreſſed up with Flags and Streamers, which all Ships and Saykes ſaluted with their Guns as they paſſed. This Captain being informed that the Grand Signior was there in perſon, and returned from his Hunting, which he had made in certain Woods not far from the City, ſaluted him alſo as he paſſed with twenty five Guns; but being not able to diſcover his perſon, preſently fitted his Boat and followed him, hoping to receive that ſatisfaction at his landing; for conceiving, that acceſs to the Ottoman and Eaſtern Princes is as facile and grateful, as it is to thoſe of Chriſtendom, with all confidence endeavoured to accoſt the Perſon of the Grand Signior as near as was poſſible. The Grand Signior turning his eyes, and ſeeing a man habited (as he conceived) in a barbarous and extravagant dreſs, apprehended the Majeſty of his Perſon violated by ſo near and bold an approach of the curious Stranger; and thereupon, without farther inquiry, being moved with ſcorn and indignation, called for the Executioner, who is ever ready at his hand; but ſome perſons then preſent, eſpecially the Boſtangibaſhee, being of more moderation, beſeeched the Grand Signior to have a little patience, and to enquire of the Ghaur or Infidel (as they call'd him) the cauſe of this his boldneſs: with which the Grand Signior ſuppreſſing a little his paſſion, and having patience until one was ſent to expoſtulate with the Captain, who all this while, though he perceived ſome diſturbance, was yet ignorant that the matter ſo dangerouſly concerned himſelf; and not being able to underſtand the Meſſenger, nor to be underſtood by him, rendred the buſineſs more confuſed, and leſs underſtood: which the Meſſenger obſerving; and knowing the danger of this worthy and innocent Gentleman, being perhaps of a compaſſionate nature, and prudent, framed this excuſe to the Grand Signior, That he did not well underſtand the Infidels language, but what he conjectured was, That he being Captain of that Veſſel, which had newly ſaluted his Majeſty as he paſſed with twenty five Guns, was now come in confidence of his Royal bounty and clemency to receive a Coſtan, as a ſign of his Majeſties favour, and reward of his own reſpect. The Grand Signior having by this time his choler ſomewhat abated, was better pacified with theſe gentle words; the Boſtangibaſhee alſo interceding at the ſame time in his behalf, that he was a ſtranger, and ignorant of the cuſtoms of their Court, and that if he deſerved puniſhment, he might be remitted to the examination of the Vizier, who might chaſtiſe him, as he found it reaſonable. The Grand Signior contented herewith, the rude Boſtangees ſeized the Captain and hurried him to the Viſier, who all this time was ignorant of his errour or his danger, more than that he perceived by accent of their words, and by their geſtures, that ſomething was amiſs, and debated in reference unto him. The Drugger-men, or Interpreters of the French Nation being ſent for, and the Viſier and the Captain both underſtanding the matter, the crime appeared only to be an abſurdity committed through ignorance: yet to pleaſe the Grand Signior, and to make an appearance, as if ſomething were done in chaſtiſement of this bold curioſity, the Viſier ordered, that the Captain ſhould be conducted by two Chaouſes to the Ambaſſadour, there to be put in Chains and in Priſon, until ſatisfaction was made for his fault. The Captain being thus brought before the Ambaſſadour, this honeſt Gentleman was puniſhed in the ſame manner as we do thoſe in Chriſtendom, who crowd to ſee their Prince.

The Ambaſſadour had his firſt Audience with the Vizier on the 7th of *December*, which being inſignificant to any other buſineſs more than to the delivery of his Maſters Letter, and other matters

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ters of Form and Ceremony, we ſhall need to inſiſt the leſs upon it.

The French Embaſſadours ſecond Audience.

His ſecond Audience before that of the Grand Signior, was in the beginning of *January*, at which time the Ambaſſadour began to declare what he had in Commiſſion from his King, which principally related towards a ſatisfaction for thoſe Affronts formerly offered him in the perſon of his Father, and himſelf inculcating into the Viſier a true apprehenſion of the greatneſs of his Maſter, his force by Land, his powerful Fleet which ſhould that following year be ſet forth in the Mediterranean Seas, with other arguments which might challenge due reſpect and honour to ſo great a Prince. Theſe Propoſals and Diſcourſes, though the Vizer ſeemed not to entertain with that benign and flexible ear as was expected or thought ſatisfactory, and thereupon ſeveral diſguſts did afterwards ſucceed; howſoever in the end all matters cleared up again, and his Excellency was permitted to return to his own Houſe with all imaginatble ſatisfaction, as he was pleaſed to intimate to the Ambaſſadour for his Majeſty of great *Britain*. Soon after followed his Audience with the Grand Signior according to the uſual Ceremonies, ſo that all things run ſmoothly with the French for ſeveral years after. And here by the way it is obſervable, That an Engliſh Ambaſſadour once arguing hotly with the Vizier on ſome points of the Capitulations, in which judging himſelf wronged, threw the Capitulations to the Vizier, telling him, that he might keep the Writing and Paper, ſince he reſolved not to obey the Letter. The Vizier hereupon calmly took the Capitulations, and laid them behind his Cuſhion, which the Ambaſſadour in a more conſiderate temper could not again recover under an expence of fifteen hundred Pieces of Eight.

The Grand Signiors Huntings.

During the time of theſe Negotiations the Grand Signior wholly imployed his time and thoughts in Hunting, ranging all the Woods for ſeveral days journies round *Conſtantinople*, in which Exerciſe twenty or thirty thouſand men were imployed, collected from the Cities and Villages round about, all which were paid at the publick expence and charge of Houſe-keepers both Turks and Chrſtians; which in one hunt might amount to thirty or forty thouſand Dollars. With this burden the people being often opppreſſed, and many periſhing in the Woods with cold and hunger, began to murmur at the exceſs of Tyranny, curſing their Princes madneſs and folly, maintained with the life and ruine of his Subjects. But notwithſtanding all theſe whiſpered curſes and ſecret menaces the Grand Signior followed his delights with ſuch frequency, and with that heat and eagerneſs, that the people perceiving no end of their miſery, began to ſpeak loudly and plainly, and by ſome principal Perſons gave the Viſier to underſtand, That the people would not longer endure the extravagant Vagaries of their Prince at ſo dear a rate, of which he that was his chief Councellour ought to inform and adviſe him. The Vizier, who was before ſenſible of the exceſs of his Maſters humour in this particular, and that immoderation, even in lawful and innocent exerciſes, may become a Vice, and when acted with oppreſſion of the Subject as dangerous as other terms which ſound more of Tyranny and Violence, reſolved with courage and humility to repreſent to his Maſter the danger of ſuch expenſive Huntings, eſpecially when over frequent; and therefore aſſured thoſe who made their Complaints, That for the future all matters ſhould be redreſſed, and the Grand Signior ſhould not be ſo prodigal in his Huntings on the Purſe of his Subjects. And ſo ſenſible was the Vizier of the diſorders which might ariſe from hence, if ſome remedy were not ſpeedily applied, that he immediately departed *Conſtantinople* to find out the Grand Signior, who was lodged in ſome retired cool place, environed with Woods and Mountains; leaving *Solyman* Paſha for Chimacham, or Deputy, in his place, in whoſe former Government many terrible Fires had happened in *Conſtantinaple*.

The *Nogay* Tartar deſires Lands of the Grand Signior.

About this time Advice came to *Conſtantinople* of certain Addreſſes the *Nogay* Tartar had made to the Paſha of *Siliſtria* to obtain a Country to live in between the Rivers of *Boriſthenese* and the *Danube*; for that their own Country being full, they were forced to abandon and empty it of forty or fifty thouſand Families, who lived in Waggons, and had about a hundred thouſand head of Cattel, all which with their ſubſtance, they proffered for Subjects to the Grand Signior, if he pleaſed to afford them protection, and Land for Paſture and habitation. The Paſha approving hereof, gave them aſſurance of ſecurity under the ſhadow of his Maſters favours, ſending information thereof to the Port, who willingly embraced theſe new-come Gueſts, and entered into conſultation what Country and limits ſhould be aſſigned them. In the mean time the *Krim* Tartar jealous of this people, and not knowing what inconvenience ſuch Neighbourhood might produce, fell upon them, and cut off a great number of them, forcing the reſt to reurn into their own Country, which though ill taken at firſt by the Turks, was yet afterwards excuſed by the Tartar, and diſſembled by the Port.

Marqueſs *Villa* ſurveys the Forts in *Dalmatia*.

Spalato.

Though all things appeared quiet at *Conſtantinople* after the Peace concluded with the Emperour, and that the German Ambaſſadour was returned back to his Maſter; yet the Turks proſecuted their deſigns againſt *Venice*, aad made great preparations in the Provinces of *Albania*, *Boſſena*, and *Licca*, which confine on the Venetian Territories; and though in reality thoſe Forces were not intended againſt thoſe parts, but in order to a more warm proſecution of the War in *Candia*, whether the Vizier intended to tranſport himſelf in Perſon; yet the Venetian State not fully penetrating the Deſign, took the Alarm chiefly in *Dalmatia*, and reinforced their Garriſons of *Cataro* and other Fortreſſes. And that matters there might be well provided, and all things acted with due circumſpection; Marquiſs *Villa* was ordered to viſit thoſe Garriſons in his Voyage to *Candia*; ſo that departing from *Venice* attended with two Gallies, he arrived in a few days at *Zara*, and thence proceeding to *Spalato*, where the Proveditor General, *Catarin Cornaro*, made at that time his reſidence; they both joined together to ſurvey the moſt important places of that Province. They began with the City of *Spalato*, which rather ſeems a place intended by Nature for a Palace of delights, than a Garriſon of Arms; being the Seat which *Diocleſian* (who was born at *Salona*, ſix miles diſtance from thence) choſe for his Garden of retirement, after he had renounced the Empire, and is now turned into a ruder ſhape of War, ſince the invaſion of the Turk made it neceſſary to be fortified for ſecurity of it ſelf, and the parts circumjacent, *Spalato* is now very ſtrong, being ſecured by divers Redoubts; the chief of which is ſcituated on a little riſing, called *Grippe*, diſtant about a Musket-ſhot from the Town, is ſtrengthened with four Royal Baſtions, and with good Artillery; there is alſo a new Line of Fortification drawn round the Town, which renders it the ſtrongeſt, and moſt conſiderable of all *Dalmatia*:

But to make this place the more impregnable, theſe Generals laid the foundation for another Bulwark; and as an evidence of their Union, they caſt a Medal with a ſtamp on one ſide of *Cornaro*, and on the other of Marquis *Villa*, and ſo rendring thanks to God, the Service ended with firing all the Guns of the Town.

Curzola. Afterwards both the Generals Embarking, paſſed that Night to *Curzola*, anciently called *Corſina Negra*, which is one of the greateſt and beſt of the Iſles of this Gulf; Thence paſſing by *Raguſi*, where the Deputies of that Government, in recognition of that Soveraignty which the *Venetians* have over the *Adriatick* Seas, preſented the uſual refreſhments to the General of the Province; and in a particular manner treated Marquis *Villa* with a Preſent in name of their Republick. That Night they arrived at the Entrance *Cataro & Peraſto.* of the Channel of *Cataro*, and taking *Peraſto* in their way (which is a ſtrong Fortification about ſix miles diſtant from *Cataro*) they were received there with firing all the Guns of the Town, which were doubly multiplied by an Eccho returned from the ſound of the neighbouring Mountains. Thence they proceeded to viſit *Budua*, a place well fortified, as alſo Fort St. *George* in the Iſland *Lieſina*, which is the uſual Rendezvous of *Brigantines*, and armed Barques; at length they went to *Almiſſa*, where they made a general Muſter of all the Forces of the Province; in all which places having viewed and amended the defects in Fortification, and given order for ſupplying them with Ammunition and Proviſions neceſſary; they returned back to ſee the famous For- *Cliſſa.* treſs of *Cliſſa*, the Situation of which ſeems to have been planted when Nature deſired to ſport, and be wanton; for it iſſues, as it were, out of the Boſom of two Mountains, which are at an equal diſtance from the Town, and then drawing themſelves at each end into the faſhion of a Bow, ſeem to form a Triumphal Arch. The paſſage through theſe Mountains is ſo narrow and crooked, that it appears like a Labyrinth; and being ſupplied with plenty of Fountains and Ciſterns both within and without the Fortreſs, the Suburbs demoliſhed, and no incumbrances to cloy and weaken its ſtrength, is certainly more obliged to Nature for its defence than to Art. *Sebenico.* From hence they proceeded to view *Sebenico*, which is another ſtrong Fortreſs, ſituated on a riſing Hill, and overviews a ſpacious Port, the entrance to which is ſecured by the Fort St. *Nicholas*; and the City it ſelf, beſides its own Walls, is guarded by a Cittadel, and by the new works of St. *John*, ſituated on two Hills: From hence the Generals returning to *Zara*, the Capital City of the Province, which being encompaſſed by the Sea, annexed to the Land only by a Bridg, which is alſo defended by a Fort, is rendered the ſtrongeſt and moſt impregnable of all the Fortreſſes. And here having made a general Muſter of all the Forces, and viſited the Country of *Novigrade*, and *Poſſidaria*, the habitations of the *Morlach* Militia, the Marquis returned again to *Venice*, being called thither by the Senate; for the Year being now well ſpent, and the Winter approaching too near to admit of any conſiderable action; the time grew ſeaſonable for Counſels, in which manner the Affairs of Wars might beſt and moſt advantageouſly be directed for the ſucceeding year. Yet in regard Advices were come from *Candia*, That the *Turks* were much afflicted with the Peſtilence, and ſcarcity of all Proviſions; it was judged requiſite to proſecute the War the more eagerly againſt them, before the Great Vizier arrived there with ſuch an Army as commonly attends his Perſon; it being adviſed from Count *Leſlie*, the Emperors Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, that the whole force of the *Ottoman* Armes was to refund it ſelf ſpeedily on that Iſland. This Intelligence haſtned the departure of Marquis *Villa* from *Venice*, with ſuch Force as was then in a readineſs, being directed with neceſſary Inſtructions of what he ought to act in *Candia*. In his Voyage thither he touched at *Corfu*, *Cefalonia*, and *Zant*, and afterwards happily arrived on the ſixth of *December* at the Iſle of *Paros* or *Pareſi* in the *Archipelago*, where he met with the Captain-General, and other Chief Commanders of the Fleet, together with *Vuertmiller* the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; and here the Marquis reforming ſeveral Companies, which were much diminiſhed in their numbers, a general Muſter was made of all the Forces, which being ranged in form of Battel, they were accounted to amount unto eighteen hundred Horſe, and eight thouſand two hundred ninety five Foot. This Army had ſome want of Fire-Arms, and other Neceſſaries, of which the Senate being adviſed, they promiſed to ſupply all by a Convoy, then preparing; and congratulating in their Letters to Marquis *Villa* the good News of his happy Arrival at *Paros*, raiſed and prompted him to Atchievements worthy his Courage and Grandeur; for being a Perſon now elevated on the Bulwarks of *Candia*, he ſeemed to ſtand on that Theater, where he had all *Europe* for his Spectators.

The Troubles which the English *Trade found this Year in* Turky.

THE Currant of our Negotiations ran ſmoothly this year without any conſiderable interruption in all parts of *Turky*, unleſs at *Aleppo*, where the Emim, or Cuſtomer, according to his uſual practice, began a new pretence, not only againſt former Preſidents, but alſo againſt the very Letter of Capitulations, demanding 2 ½ *per Cent.* Cuſtom at *Scanderoon*, and 3 at *Aleppo*; a matter againſt which our Articles of Peace and Commerce have made many and ſundry Proviſions: Notwithſtanding the Cuſtomer (like others of his Predeceſſors, who have ever at *Aleppo* made Diſputes about their Cuſtoms, without being reſtrained by the moſt ſtrict Imperial Commands, and plaineſt Deciſions of the Law) reſolved to make good his pretence by a ſequeſtration on the whole Cargo of two general Ships, then under his Cuſtody in the Cuſtom-houſe. The Conſul hereupon had recourſe to the Juſtice of the Kadi, and there produced the Capitulations, the Hatteſheriff, or Royal Signature, under the hand of Sultan *Ibrahim*, wherein the particulars of Cuſtom were regulated, a Command from the preſent Vizier, and his Father, and other Commands from *Adrianople* and *Conſtantinople*, all of the ſame tenour. The Emim on the other ſide, had no other Argument than his Baratz or Patent from the Teſterdar or Lord Treaſurer, which was ſo prevalent, and of that force with the Kadi, joined with the fear and favour he bore towards the Emim; that it was judged by him to ſtand in ballance with all the other Imperial Signatures; and therefore left the buſineſs (which was as much as the Cuſtomer deſired) undecided, making a Declaration, that the reaſons on both ſides were ſo forcible, and the arguments ſo equal, that he concluded it more proper, that a matter of ſo great importance ſhould be reſerved for the determination of more

powerful

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The Vizier and his Army being then upon their return, we found no opportunity to renew our ſollicitations, until we came to *Niſſa*, where the Army had two days of repoſe, and there again as in other places before, we urged the Teſterdar ſo importunately, that at length we compelled him to acknowledg to the Vizier, that our affairs were not Regiſtred in his Office. So that now we took liberty to declare our Reaſons to the Vizier; which we drew from our Capitulations, the ancient Hatteſheriff of *Aleppo*, the Vizier and his Father's own Commands, and Copies of others of the like tenour, not omitting other Arguments and Evidences, which rendered the buſineſs not a little clear and apparent to the capacity of the Vizier: who thereupon reprehended the Teſterdar, for ſeeking by his Command to introduce an innovation contrary to our Capitulations, and promiſed us Commands in our favour; but we replied, that we had already Commands, and the Grand Signiors own Royal Signature on our ſide, and that our Ambaſſador had not ſent us ſo many days Journey to ſeek another, which perhaps would as ill be obſerved as the former; But it was the puniſhment of the Cuſtomer which the Ambaſſador expected, who againſt ſo many clear Evidences, durſt proceed to the violation of them all. Many other words were added pertinent and forcible to the preſent purpoſe. To which the Vizier anſwered, that he was now upon his Journey, where buſineſs of this nature was ill diſpatched. And therefore ordered us to proceed to *Adrianople*, where he ſhould have more leiſure to conſider what was fit to be done in order to juſtice and ſatisfaction of the Ambaſſador. Hereupon I left the Army, wherein I was much incommoded, and proceeded with all haſte to *Adrianople*, where the Great Vizier in ſome days after me arrived, and there we renewed our wonted endeavours, and ſollicitations, that we might come to an end of this buſineſs, and that juſtice might be done us: But the Vizier willing to gratifie the Teſterdar, was not forward to paſs his Sentence, but put us again off to *Conſtantinople*, where the Books ſhould be peruſed, that were laid up amongſt the Regiſters of the *Divan*: For that this matter was a concernment of the Grand Signiors, in determination of which, he ought to be tender and conſiderate. That for ſending for *Ibrahim* Aga, the Cuſtomer (which was one of the principal of our demands) to anſwer for the injuries he had done our Nation, he was already ordered to appear at Court, where he ſhould be ready to ſtand to judgment for what the Ambaſſador ſhould object againſt him: and this had been the anſwer which was contrived to be given to the Ambaſſador himſelf, in caſe he had (as once he deſigned) appeared at *Adrianople* in perſon on this occaſion. 1665.

The Vizier arriving at *Conſtantinople* ſome few Months after; the Lord Ambaſſador obtained Audience of him on the 15th. of *October*, preſſing ſtill for juſtice againſt the Cuſtomer of *Aleppo*: but nothing thereof could be procured, beſides a Command for reſtitution of the fifty Bales of Cloth, detained in the hands of the Emim, upon the pretence before related, and that the payment of Cuſtoms ſhould be regulated after the rate of three *per Cent.* according to the ancient uſance. For putting this Command in execution, an Aga was ordered to be diſpatched, for whoſe ſervice herein the Vizier allotted a thouſand Dollars ſhould be paid him, which though an extravagant reward, yet to put an honour and authority on the buſineſs, and not to diſpleaſe the Vizier, it was granted to him, and ſo he was diſpatched the 25th. for *Aleppo*: But the troubles of our Merchants at *Aleppo* ended not here: For the Teſterdar greatly enraged to ſee his deſigns againſt us to have no better iſſue, thought to trouble us by a new invention of prohibiting the Scale of *Scanderoon* to all *Engliſh*, and other Chriſtian Veſſels, and that the Factories ſhould be transferred again over to *Tripoli* in *Soria*; a place formerly frequented by our Merchants, but by reaſon of the danger and inconvenience of that Port, the Trade was tranſported to the Scale of *Scanderoon*. This alteration the Teſterdar pretended to have been granted to the Merchants at their earneſt Petition, and promiſe to the Grand Signior, of payment of 13000 Dollars Yearly, for diſcharge and maintenance of thoſe Guards which were requiſite in that place for ſafety of the Coaſt, and defence of the Caravans which paſs with Merchants goods to *Aleppo*; but time and corruption of the Miniſters had deprived the Grand Signior of the benefit of that duty. And this he urged with the greater inſtance and eagerneſs, knowing that the Scale of *Scanderoon* being prohibited, the Hatteſheriff whereon conſiſted the priviledg of the Merchants, and their ſole ſecurity muſt conſequently fall, and they forced to a new agreement. On this occaſion our Lord Ambaſſador had Audience with the Vizier, and inſiſted on that point of our Capitulations, which gives us liberty to Trade in any part of the Grand Signiors Dominions; and therefore to conſent to be reſtrained, or confined to any particular place, was to aſſent to a breach of the Capitulations, which was out of his power, and only to be diſpenſed with by his Maſter the King of *England*, and the Grand Signior, by whom they were eſtabliſhed; and to connive or aſſent to the breach of one particular clauſe, was to hazard the loſs and breach of the whole: for that our Capitulations (to uſe the *Turks* ſaying) are like a ſtring of Beads, of which, when one link is broken, the others drop off. To which the Vizier replied, that the Scale of *Scanderoon* was open, and clear as before for the *Engliſh* Trade; but becauſe the Teſterdar, and Cuſtomer, pretended that the Grand Signior was put to great expences for maintenance of a Watch and Guard at that Port, which was only in reſpect to the ſecurity of the Merchants Goods; Orders ſhould be given for taking away thoſe Officers, as unneceſſary and inſignificant to the publick Service; no Guards having ever been in that place, the Embaſſador judged his buſineſs to be granted, and ſo thanked the Vizier and departed. But not many days after the Teſterdar procured a Command for ſhutting the Scale of *Scanderoon*, and tranſporting the Factory to *Tripoli*: which Command was rather intended to affright our Nation into ſome compoſition, than really to be put in execution, as appeared by the ſequel; for the Teſterdar better conſidered than to bring ſo great an *Odium* upon himſelf from the whole Country and City of *Aleppo*, and to enforce the Embaſſador to have recourſe to the Grand Signiors own perſon, for redreſs of an abuſe of ſo high a nature, in derogation of his Imperial Capitulations. Howſoever it is obſervable in the tranſaction of all this buſineſs, that it is difficult to bring a corrupt *Turkiſh* Miniſter to Juſtice or puniſhment, meerly for breach of our Capitulations, or in reſpect to any difference or abuſe offered to Chriſtians, unleſs the complaint be accompanied with Preſents or Money, which are moſt prevalent Arguments in the *Turkiſh* Court; and in this caſe I really believe, that had three or four thouſand Dollars been offered as a reward for bringing the Cuſtomer to capital puniſhment, the complaint had found acceptance, and honourable ſucceſs: for default of which, the Cauſe was ſtarved, and naked, and carried no fire or heat in thoſe aggravations with which it was repreſented. It is likewiſe obſervable, that buſineſs in the *Turkiſh* Court doth not always find that diſpatch, or expedition, as is generally believed in *Chriſtendom*, unleſs it come accompanied with the intereſt of the Miniſters themſelves, and then it is tranſacted in a moment, which otherwiſe languiſhes with delays, and will never want excuſes to defer it.

Anno 1666. Hegeira 1077.

WE ſhall begin this Year with the ſtrange rumour and diſturbance of the *Jews*, concerning *Sabatai Sevi*, their pretended Meſſiah, which for being moſt principally acted in *Turkey*, may properly belong to the Hiſtory of this time and place; which therefore for delight of the Readers, I ſhall here inſert: for though it may have been elſewhere publiſhed, yet being an iſſue of my Pen, I may lawfully now own it, and annex it to this Hiſtory, in reſpect of that near coherence it may have therewith; and that many other particulars have been added thereunto, which ſucceeded until the Death of this *Sabatai*.

According to the Predictions of ſeveral Chriſtian Writers, eſpecially of ſuch who comment upon the *Apocalypſe* or *Revelations*, this year of 1666. was to prove a year of Wonders, of ſtrange Revolutions in the World, and particularly, of bleſſing to the *Jews*, either in reſpect of their Converſion to the Chriſtian Faith, or of their Reſtoration to their Temporal Kingdom. This opinion was ſo dilated and fixt in the Countries of the Reformed Religion, and in the heads of Fanatical Enthuſiaſts, who dreamed of Fifth Monarchies, the down-fall of the Pope and Antichriſt, and the greatneſs of the *Jews*, inſomuch, that this ſubtil people judged this Year the time to ſtir, and to fit their Motion according to the ſeaſon of the Modern Prophecies. Whereupon ſtrange reports flew from place to place, of the March of multitudes of People from unknown parts into the remote deſerts of *Arabia*, ſuppoſed to be the Ten Tribes and a half, loſt for ſo many Ages. That a Ship was arrived in the Northern parts of *Scotland*, with her Sails and Cordage of Silk, navigated by Marriners who ſpoke nothing but *Hebrew*, and with this Motto on their Sails, *The Twelve Tribes of Iſrael.* Theſe reports agreeing thus near to former Predictions, put the wild ſort of the World into an expectation of ſtrange accidents this Year ſhould produce in reference to the *Jewiſh* Monarchy.

In this manner Millions of people were poſſeſſed when *Sabatai Sevi* firſt appeared at *Smyrna*, and publiſhed himſelf to the *Jews* for their Meſſiah, relating the greatneſs of their approaching Kingdom, the ſtrong hand whereby God was about to deliver them from Bondage, and gather them from all the parts of the World. It was ſtrange to ſee how this fancy took, and how faſt the report of *Sabatai*, and his Doctrine flew through all parts where *Jews* inhabited, and ſo deeply poſſeſſed them with a belief of their new Kingdom and Riches; and many of them with promotion to Offices of Government, renown and greatneſs; that in all places from *Conſtantinople* to *Buda* (which it was my fortune that Year to travel) I perceived a ſtrange tranſport in the *Jews*, none of them attending to any buſineſs, unleſs to wind up former Negotiations, and to prepare themſelves and Families for a Journey to *Jeruſalem*; all their Diſcourſes, their Dreams, and diſpoſal of their affairs, tended to no other deſign but a re-eſtabliſhment in the Land of Promiſe, to Greatneſs and Glory, Wiſdom and Doctrine of the Meſſiah, whoſe Original, Birth and Education is firſt to be recounted.

Sabatai Sevi was Son of *Mordecai Sevi*, an Inhabitant and Natural of *Smyrna*, who gained his Livelihood by being Broker to an *Engliſh* Merchant in that place; a perſon who before his Death was very decrepit in his Body, and full of the Gout and other infirmities: But his Son *Sabatai Sevi* addicting himſelf to ſtudy and learning, became a notable Proficient in the *Hebrew* and *Arabick* Languages; and eſpecially in Divinity and Metaphyſicks, he was ſo cunning a Sophiſter, that he vented a new Doctrine in their Law, and drew to the profeſſion of it ſo many Diſciples, as raiſed one day a tumult in the Synagogue; for which afterwards he was by cenſure of the Kockhams (who are the Expounders of the Law) baniſhed out of the City.

During the time of his Exile he travelled to *Theſſalonica*, now called *Salonica*, where he married a very handſom Woman; but either not having that part of Oeconomy as to govern a Wife, or being impotent as to Women, as was pretended, or that ſhe found not favour in his eyes, ſhe was divorced from him. Again, he took a ſecond Wife more beautiful than the former; but the ſame cauſes of diſcontent raiſing a difference between them, he obtained another Divorce from this Wife alſo. And being now free from the incumbrances of a Family, his wandring head moved him to travel through the *Morea*, thence to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, *Gaza* and *Jeruſalem*, and by the way picked up a *Ligorneſe* Lady, whom he made his third Wife, the Daughter of ſome *Polonian* or *German*, her Original and Country not being very well known. And being now at *Jeruſalem*, he began to reform their Law, and to aboliſh the Faſt of *Tamuz*, (which they keep in the month of *June*) and meeting there with a certain *Jew* called *Nathan*, a proper Inſtrument to promote his deſign, he communicated to him his condition, his courſe of life, and intentions to declare himſelf the Meſſiah of the World, ſo long expected and deſired by the *Jews*. This deſign took wonderfully with *Nathan*; and becauſe it was thought neceſſary, according to Scripture and ancient Prophecies, that *Elias* was to precede the Meſſiah, as St. *John Baptiſt* was the Fore-runner of Chriſt, *Nathan* thought no man ſo proper to act the part of the Prophet as himſelf; and ſo no ſooner had *Sabatai* declared himſelf the Meſſiah, but *Nathan* diſcovers himſelf to be his Prophet, forbidding all the Faſts of the *Jews* in *Jeruſalem*, and declaring that the Bridegroom being come, nothing but joy and triumph ought to dwell in their habitations; writing to all the Aſſemblies of the *Jews* to perſwade them to the ſame belief. And now the Schiſm being begun, and many *Jews* really believing what they ſo much deſired, *Nathan* took the courage and boldneſs to propheſie, That one year from the 27th of * *Kiſlau*, which is the Month of *July*, the Meſſiah was to appear before the Grand Signior, and to take from him his Crown, and lead him in chains like a Captive: *Sabatai* alſo at *Gaza* preached Repentance to the *Jews*, and Obedience to himſelf and Doctrine, for that the Coming of the Meſſiah was at hand. Which novelties ſo affected the *Jews*, Inhabitants of thoſe parts, that they gave up themſelves wholly to their Prayers, Alms, and Devotions; and to confirm this belief the more, it happened that at the ſame time that news hereof with all particulars were diſpatched from *Gaza*, to acquaint the Brethren in foreign parts; the rumour of the Meſſiah had flown ſo ſwift, and gained ſuch reception, that intelligence came from all Countries, where the *Jews* ſojourn, by Letters to *Gaza* and *Jeruſalem*, congratulating the happineſs of their deliverance, and expiration of their time of ſervitude by the appearance of the Meſſiah. To which they adjoyned other Prophecies relating to that Dominion the Meſſiah was to have over all the World, that for nine Months after he was to diſappear; during which time the *Jews* were to ſuffer, and ſeveral of them to undergo Martyrdom; but then returning again mounted on a Cœleſtial Lion, with his Bridle made of Serpents with ſeven heads, accompanied with his Brethren the *Jews*, who inhabited on the other ſide of the River *Sabation*, he ſhould be acknowledged for the ſole Monarch of the Univerſe, and then the Holy Temple ſhould deſcend from Heaven already built, framed, and beautified, wherein they ſhould offer Sacrifices for ever. And here I leave the Reader to conſider, how ſtrangely this deceived People was amuſed, when theſe confident and vain reports and dreams of Power and Kingdoms had wholly tranſported them from the ordinary courſe of their trade and intereſt.

This noiſe and rumour of the Meſſiah having begun to fill all places, *Sabatai Sevi* reſolved to travel towards *Smyrna*, the Country of his Nativity, and thence to *Conſtantinople*, the capital City, where the principal work of preaching was to be performed: *Nathan* thought it not fit to be long after him, and therefore travels by way of *Damaſcus*, where reſolving to continue ſome time for better propagation of this new Doctrine, in the mean while writes this Letter to *Sabatai Sevi*, as followeth.

22. *Keſvan of this Year.*

To the King our King, Lord of our Lords, who gathers the diſperſed of Iſrael, *who redeems our Captivity, the Man elevated to the height of all ſublimity, the Meſſiah of the God of* Jacob, *the true Meſſiah, the Cœleſtial Lion,* Sabatai Sevi, *whoſe Honour be exalted, and his Dominion raiſed in a ſhort time, and for ever,* Amen. *After having kiſſed your hands, and ſwept the duſt from your feet, as my duty is to the King of Kings, whoſe Majeſty be exalted, and his Empire enlarged; Theſe are to make known to the Supreme Excellency of that place, which is adorned with the beauty of your Sanctity, that the Word of the King and of his Law hath inlightned our faces, that day hath been a ſolemn day unto* Iſrael, *and a day of light unto our Rulers, for immediately we applied our ſelves to perform your Command, as our duty is. And though we have heard of many ſtrange things, yet we are couragious, and our heart is as the heart of a Lion, nor ought we to inquire a reaſon of your doings, for your works are marvellous and paſt finding out, and we are confirmed in our fidelity without all exception, reſigning up our very Souls for the Holineſs of your Name. And now we are come as far as* Damaſcus, *intending ſhortly to proceed in our Journey to* Scanderoon, *according as you have commanded us, that ſo we may aſcend and ſee the face of God in light, as the light of the face of the King of life: and we ſervants of your ſervants ſhall cleanſe the duſt from your feet, beſeeching the Majeſty of your Excellency and Glory, to vouchſafe from your habitation to have a care of us, and help us with the force of your right hand of ſtrength, and ſhorten our way which is before us. And we have our eyes towards Jah, Jah, who will make haſte to help us and ſave us, that the children of iniquity ſhall not hurt us, and towards whom our hearts pant, and are conſumed within us, who ſhall give us talons of Iron to be worthy to ſtand under the ſhadow of your Aſs. Theſe are the words of the ſervant of your ſervants, who proſtrates himſelf to be trod on by the ſoals of your feet.*

Nathan Benjamin.

And that he might publiſh this Doctrine of the Meſſiah and himſelf more plainly, he wrote from *Damaſcus* this following Letter to the Jews at *Aleppo*, and parts thereabouts.

To the Reſidue or remnant of the Iſraelites, Peace without end. Theſe my words are to give you notice, how that I am arrived in peace at Damaſcus, *and behold I go to meet the face of our Lord, whoſe Majeſty be exalted;*

* June.

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* Sabatai wrote a Letter to elect one man out of every Tribe.

And now I come to make known unto you, That tho you have heard ſtrange things of our Lord, yet let not your hearts faint or fear, but rather fortifie your ſelves in your faith, becamſe all his actions are miraculous and ſecret, which humane underſtanding cannot comprehend; and who can penetrate into the depth of them? In a ſhort time all things ſhall be manifeſted clearly unto you in their purity, and you ſhall know and conſider, and be inſtructed by the Inventor himſelf, and bleſſed is he who can expect and arrive to the Salvation of the true Meſſiah; who will ſpeedily publiſh his Authority and Empire over us now and for ever.

Nathan.

And now all the Cities of *Turkie*, where the Jews inhabited, were full of the expectation of the Meſſiah, no Trade or courſe of gain was followed; every one imagined, that daily Proviſions, Riches, Honours, and Government were to deſcend upon him by ſome unknown and miraculous manner. An Example of which is moſt obſervable in the Jews at *Theſſalonica*, who now full of aſſurance, that the reſtauration of their Kingdom, and the accompliſhment of the times for the Coming of the Meſſiah was at hand, judged themſelves obliged to double their Devotions, and purifie their Conſciences from all ſins and enormities; which might be obſerved by the ſcrutiny of him who was now come to penetrate into the very thoughts and imaginations of Mankind. For which work, certain Kochams were appointed to direct the people in the regulation of their Prayers, Devotions, and Faſtings: but ſo forward was every one now in his acts of Penance, that they ſtayed not for the ſentence of the Kocham, or Preſcriptions or Rules, but applied themſelves immediately to Faſtings, and ſome in that manner beyond the abilities of Nature, that having for the ſpace of ſeven days taken no ſuſtenance, were famiſhed: others buried themſelves in their Gardens, covering their naked bodies with earth, their heads only excepted, remained in thoſe beds of dirt, until their bodies were ſtiffned with the cold and moiſture: others would endure to have melted wax dropt upon their ſhoulders: others to roul themſelvs in ſnow, and throw their bodies in the coldeſt ſeaſon of the winter into the Sea, or frozen waters. But the moſt common manner of Mortification was firſt to prick their backs and ſides with thorns, and then to give themſelves thirty nine laſhes. All buſineſs was laid aſide, none worked or opened ſhop, unleſs to clear his Ware-hoſe of Merchandiſe at any price: who had ſuperfluity in Houſhold-ſtuff ſold it for what he could, but yet not to Jews, who were interdicted from all bargains or ſales under pain of Excommunication, pecuniary mulcts, or corporal puniſhment; for their comportment as to buſineſs and imployment was eſteemed the

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In the heat of all this talk and rumour came *Sabatai Sevi* to *Smyrna*, the City of his Nativiry, infinitely deſired there by the common Jews, but by the Kochams or Doctors of their Law, who gave little or no credence to what he pretended, was ill received, not knowing what miſchief or ruine this Doctrine and Prophecy of a new Kingdom might produce. Yet *Sabatai* bringing with him Teſtimonials of his Sanctity, holy Life, Wiſdom, and gift of Prophecy ſo deeply fixed himſelf in the heart of the generality, both as being holy and wiſe, that thereupon he took courage and boldneſs to enter into diſpute with the Grand Kocham (who is the head or chief Expoſitor of their Law, and Superintendent of their civil Government) between whom the arguments grew ſo high, and language ſo hot, that the Jews who favoured the Doctrine of *Sabatai*, and feared the Authority of the Kocham, doubtful what might be the iſſue of the conteſt, appeared in great numbers before the Kaddee of *Smyrna*, in juſtification of their new Prophet, before ſo much as any accuſation came againſt him; the Kaddee according to the cuſtom of the Turks ſwallowed money on both ſides, and afterwards remitted them to the determination of their own Juſtice: In this manner *Sabatai* gained ground daily; and the Grand Kocham with his Party, loſing both the affection and obedience of his People, was diſplaced from his Office, and another conſtituted more affectionate and agreeable to the new Prophet, whoſe Power daily increaſed by thoſe confident reports of his Enemies being ſtruck with phrenſie and madneſs, until being reſtored to their former temper and wits by him, became his Friends, Admirers, and Diſciples. No invitation was now made in *Smyrna* by the Jews, nor Marriage, or Circumciſion held, where *Sabatai* was not preſent, accompanied to the ſolemnities with multitudes of his Followers, and the ſtreets covered with Carpets or fine Cloth for him to tread on; but the humility of this Phariſee appeared ſuch, that he would ſtoop and turn them aſide, and ſo paſs. And having thus fixed himſelf in the opinion and admiration

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L'Unico Figliolo e Primogenito di Dio Sabatai Sevi, il Meſſiah e Salvatore d'Iſrael, atutti li Figlioli d'Iſrael eletti di Dio, Pace. Eſſendo che ſette fatti degni di veder quel gran giorno della deliberatione e ſalvatione di Iſrael, e conſummatione delle Parole di Dio promeſſe per li ſuoi Profeti, e Padri noſtri, per il ſuo diletto Figlio di Iſrael. Ogni voſtra amaritudine ſi converta in allegrezza, e li voſtri digiugni ſi faccino feſte, per che non piangerete, O miei Figlioli di Iſrael, havendoſi dato iddio la conſolatione innarabile feſtegiateri con Timpani, Organi, e Muſiche, ringratiando quello chi ha adempito il promeſſa dalli ſecoli, facendo ogni giorno quelle coſe che ſolete fare nelle Calende, e quel giorno dedicato all' afflittione e meſtitia, convertite lo in giorno giocondo pro la mia comparſa. E non ſpaventateri niente, per che haverete Dominio ſopra le Genti, non ſolamente di quelle,che ſi vedono in Terra ma quella che ſono in fondi del Mare. Il tutto pro voſtra conſolatione e allegrezza.

Which tranſlated into *Engliſh* runs thus.

“THE only and firſt-born Son of God *Sabatai Sevi*, the Meſſiah and Saviour of *Iſrael*, to all the Sons of *Iſrael*, Peace. Since that you are made worthy to ſee that great day of Deliverance and Salvation unto *Iſrael*,and accompliſhment of the Word of God promiſed by his Prophets and our Forefathers, and by his beloved Son of *Iſrael*, let your bitter ſorrows be turned into Joy, and your faſt into Feſtivals, for you ſhall weep no more, O my Sons of *Iſrael*; for God having given you this unſpeakable comfort, rejoyce with Drums, Organs, and Muſick, giving thanks to him for performing his promiſes from all Ages, doing that every day which is uſual for you to do upon the Calends, and that day dedicated to affliction and ſorrow, convert you unto a day of mirth for my appearance.And fear you nothing, for you ſhall have Dominion over the Nations, and not only over thoſe who are on Earth,but over thoſe creatures alſo which are in the depth of the Sea. All which is for your conſolation and rejoycing.

Sabatai Sevi.

Notwithſtanding the Diſciples of *Sabatai Sevi*, were not ſo numerous, but many oppoſed his Doctrine, publickly avouching, that he was an Impoſtor, and deceiver of the people, amongſt which was one *Samuel Pennia*, a man of good Eſtate and reputation in *Smyrna*; who arguing in the Synagogue, that the preſent ſigns of the Coming of the Meſſiah were not apparent, either according to Scripture, or the Doctrine of Rabbins, raiſed ſuch a Sedition and Tumult amongſt the *Jews*, as not only prevailed againſt his arguments, but had alſo againſt his life, had he not timely conveyed himſelf out of the Synagogue, and ſo eſcaped the hands of the Multitude, who now could more eaſily endure Blaſphemy againſt the Law of *Moſes*, and Prophanation of the Sanctuary, than contradiction or miſbelief of the Doctrine of *Sabatai*. But howſoever it fell out, *Pennia* in a ſhort time became a Convert, and Preacher up of *Sabatai* for the Son of God, and Deliverer of the *Jews*; and not only he, but his whole Family, his Daughters Propheſie, and fall into ſtrange ecſtaſies: and not only this houſe, but above four hundred men and women Propheſie of the growing Kingdom of *Sabatai*, and young Infants who could ſcarce yet ſtammer out a ſyllable to their Mothers, repeat and pronounce clearly the Name of *Sabatai* the Meſſiah and Son of God. For thus far had God permitted the Devil to delude this people, that their very children were for a time poſſeſſed, and voices heard to ſound from their ſtomacks and entrails: thoſe of riper years fell firſt into a Trance, foamed at the mouth, and recounted the future proſperity and deliverance of the *Iſraelites*, their Viſions of the Lion of *Judah*, and the Triumphs of *Sabatai*. All which were certainly true, being effects of Diabolical deluſions, as the *Jews* themſelves ſince have confeſſed to me.

With theſe concomitant accidents and ſucceſſes *Sabatai Sevi* growing more preſumptuous, that he might correſpond with the Prophecies of Greatneſs and Dominion of the Meſſiah, proceeded to Election of thoſe Princes which were to govern the Iſraelites in their March towards the Holy Land, and to diſpenſe Judgment and Juſtice after their Reſtauration.

In this manner things ran to a ſtrange height of madneſs amongſt the *Jews* at *Smyrna*, when appeared ſuch Pageantry of Greatneſs, that no Comedy could equal the mock-ſhows they repreſented. And though none durſt openly confeſs any ſcruple or doubt of this common received Belief, yet for confirmation of the *Jews* in their Faith, and aſtoniſhment of the Gentiles, it was judged no leſs than neceſſary, that *Sabatai* ſhould ſhew ſome Miracles, whereby to evince all the World that he was the Meſſiah. And as the preſent occaſion ſeemed to require an evidence and conviction infallible of this truth, ſo it was daily expected by the Vulgar with an impatience ſuitable to humors diſpoſed to Novelty, who out of every action and motion of their Prophet, began to fancy ſomething extraordinary and ſupernatural. *Sabatai* was now horribly puzzled for a Miracle, though the imagination of the people was ſo vitiated, that any legerdemain or ſlight of hand would have paſſed more eaſily with them for a Wonder, than *Moſes* ſtriking the Rock for water, or dividing the Red-Sea. And an occaſion happening,that *Sabatai* was in behalf of his Subjects to appear before the Kaddee or Judg of the City,to demand eaſe and relief of ſome oppreſſions which aggrieved them; it was thought neceſſary a Miracle ſhould be worked now or never, when *Sabatai* appearing with a formal and Phariſaical gravity which he had ſtarched on, ſome on a ſudden avouched to ſee a Pillar of Fire between him and the Kaddee, which report preſently was heard through the whole room, filled with *Jews* that accompanied *Sabatai*. Some of whom, who ſtrongly fancied it, vowed

1666. and ſwore they ſaw it; others in the outwrad Yard, or that could not come near to hear or ſee for the crowd, as ſpeedily took the Alarm, and the rumor ran, and belief received by the Women and Children at home in a moment. So that *Sabatai Sevi* returned to his houſe triumphant, fixed in the hearts of his People, who now needed no farther Miracles to confirm them in their Faith. And thus was *Sabatai* exalted, when no man was thought worthy of communication, who did not believe him for the Meſſiah: others were called Kophrim, Infidels, or Hereticks, ſubjected to the Cenſure of Excommunication, with whom it was not lawful ſo much as to eat. Every man produced his Treaſure, his Gold, and Jewels, offering them at the feet of *Sabatai*; ſo that he could have commanded all the Wealth of *Smyrna*; but he was too ſubtle to accept their money, leſt he ſhould render his deſign ſuſpected by any acts of covetouſneſs.

Sabatai Sevi having thus fully fixed himſelf in *Smyrna*, and filled other places with the rumours of him, declared that he was called by God to viſit *Conſtantinople*, where the greateſt part of his work was to be accompliſhed; in order whereunto he privately ſhipped himſelf with ſome few Attendants on a Turkiſh Saike in the month of *January* 1665, leſt the crowd of his Diſciples, and ſuch who would preſs to follow him, ſhould endanger him in the eyes of the Turks, who already began to be ſcandalized at the Reports and Prophecies concerning his Perſon. But though *Sabatai* took few into the Veſſel with him, yet multitudes of Jews travelled over land to meet him again at *Conſtantinople*, on whom all their Eyes and expectations were intent. The Wind proving Northerly, as commonly it is in the *Helleſpont* and *Propontis*, *Sabatai* was thirty nine days in his Voyage, and yet the Veſſel not arrived: So little power had this Meſſiah over the Sea and Winds. In which time the News forerunning to *Conſtantinople* that the Jews Meſſiah was near, all that people prepared to receive him with the ſame joy and impatience as was expreſſed in other parts where he arrived. The Great Vizier then alſo at *Conſtantinople*, (being not yet departed on his expedition for *Candia*) having heard ſome rumours of this Man, and the diſorder and madneſs he had raiſed amongſt the Jews, ſent two Boats, whilſt the Saik was detained by contrary Winds, with Commands to bring him up Priſoner to the Port, where accordingly *Sabatai* being come, was committed to the moſt loathſome and darkeſt Dungeon in the Town, there to remain in farther expectation of the Viziers Sentence. The Jews were not at all diſcouraged at this ill Treatment of their Prophet, but rather confirmed in their belief of him, as being an accompliſhment of the Prophecy of thoſe things which ought to precede his Glory and Dominion; which Conſideration induced the Chiefeſt Perſons amongſt the Jews to make their Viſits and Addreſſes to him with the ſame Ceremony and Reſpect in the Dungeon, as they would have done, had he then ſate exalted on the ſublime Throne of *Judah*. Several of them, with one *Anacago* by name, a Man of great eſteem amongſt the Jews, attended a whole day before him, with their Eyes caſt down, their Bodies bending forward, and hands croſs'd before them; (which are poſtures of humility and ſervice in the Eaſtern Parts) the undecency of the place, and preſent ſubjection, not having in the leaſt abated their high thoughts and reverence towards his perſon.

1666. For the *Jews* in *Conſtantinople* were become as mad and diſtracted, as they were in other places, all Trade and Traffick forbidden, and thoſe who owed Money, in no manner careful how to ſatisfie it; amongſt which wild Crew, ſome were indebted to our Merchants at *Galata*, who not knowing the way to receive their Money, partly for their intereſt, and partly for curioſity, thought fit to viſit this *Sabatai*, complaining, That ſuch particular *Jews*, upon his Coming, took upon them the boldneſs to defraud them of their right, and deſired he would be pleaſed to ſignifie to thoſe his Subjects, his pleaſure to have ſatisfaction given.

Whereupon *Sabatai*, with much affectation, took Pen and Paper, and wrote to this effect.

To you of the Nation of the Jews, *who expect the appearance of the Meſſiah, and the Salvation of* Iſrael, *Peace without end. Whereas we are informed, That you* ——— *are indebted to ſeveral of the* Engliſh *Nation, It ſeemeth right to us to enorder you to make ſatisfaction to theſe your juſt Debts: which if you refuſe to do, and not obey us herein; know you that then you are not to enter with us into our Joys and Dominions.*

In this manner *Sabatai Sevi* remained a Priſoner at *Conſtantinople* for the ſpace of two Months; at the end of which the Vizier having deſigned his expedition for *Candia*, and conſidering the rumour and diſturbance the Preſence of *Sabatai* had made already at *Conſtantinople*, thought it not ſecure to ſuffer him to remain in the Imperial City, whilſt both the Grand Signior and himſelf were abſent; and therefore changed his Priſon to the *Dardanelli*, otherwiſe called the Caſtle of *Abydos*, being on the *Europe* ſide of the *Helleſpont*, oppoſite to *Seſtos*, places famous in *Greek* Poetry. This removal of *Sabatai* from a worſe Priſon, to one of a better Air, confirmed the *Jews* with greater confidence of his being the Meſſiah, ſuppoſing that had it been in the power of the Vizier, or other Officers of the *Turks*, to have deſtroyed his Perſon, they would never have permitted him to live unto that time, in regard their Maximes enforce them to quit all jealouſies and ſuſpicions of ruine to their State by the death of the Party feared; which much rather they ought to execute on *Sabatai*, who had not only declared himſelf the King of *Iſrael*, but alſo by Prophecies publiſhed fatal things to the Grand Signior and his Kingdoms.

With this Conſideration, and others preceding, the *Jews* flocked in great numbers to the Caſtle, where he was impriſoned, not only from the Neighbouring parts, but alſo from *Poland*, *Germany*, *Ligorn*, *Venice*, *Amſterdam*, and other places, where the *Jews* reſide; on all whom, as a reward of the expence and labours of their Pilgrimage, *Sabatai* beſtowed plenty of his Benedictions, promiſing encreaſe of their Store, and enlargement of poſſeſſions in the Holy Land. So great was the confluence of the *Jews* to this place, that the *Turks* thought it requiſite to make their advantage thereof, and ſo not only raiſed the price of their Proviſions, Lodgings, and other neceſſaries, but alſo denied to admit any to the preſence of *Sabatai*, unleſs for Money, ſetting the price ſometimes at Five, ſometimes at ten Dollars, or more or leſs, according as they gueſſed at the abilities and zeal of the Perſon; by which gain and advantage to the *Turks*, no Complaints or Advices were carried to *Adrianople*, either of the Concourſe or Arguments

1666. amongſt the *Jews* in that place, but rather all Civilities and Liberties indulged unto them, which ſerved as a farther Argument to enſnare this poor People in the belief of their Meſſiah.

During this time of Confinement *Sabatai* had leiſure to compoſe and inſtitute a New Method of Worſhip for the *Jews*, and principally the manner of the Celebration of the Day of his Nativity, which he preſcribed in this manner.

Brethren, and my People, Men of my Religion, inhabiting the City of Smyrna *the Renowned, where live Men, and Women, and Families; much Peace be unto You from the Lord of Peace, and from Me his beloved Son King* Solomon. *I command you, That the Ninth of the Month of* Ab (which according to our account anſwered that Year to the Month of *June*) *next to come, you make a Day of Invitation, and of great Joy, celebrating it with choice Meats, and pleaſing Drinks, with many Candles and Lamps, with Muſick and Songs; becauſe it is the day of the Birth of* Sabatai Sevi *the High King, above all the Kings of the Earth. And as to matters of labour, and other things of like nature, do as becomes you upon a day of Feſtival, adorned with your fineſt Garments. As to your Prayers, let the ſame Order be uſed as upon Feſtivals. To converſe with Chriſtians on that day is unlawful, though your Diſcourſe be of matters indifferent; all labour is forbidden, but to ſound Inſtruments is lawful.*

This ſhall be the method of your Prayers on this day of Feſtival. After you have ſaid, Bleſſed be thou, O Holy God; then proceed, and ſay: Thou haſt choſen us before all People, and haſt loved us, and haſt been delighted with us, and haſt humbled us more than all other Nations, and haſt ſanctified us with thy Precepts, and haſt brought us near to thy Service, and the Service of our King. Thy Holy, Great, and Terrible Name thou haſt publiſhed amongſt us; And haſt given us, O Lord God, according to thy love, times of Joy, of Feſtivals, and times of Mirth, and this Day of Conſolation, for a ſolemn Convocation of Holineſs, for the Birth of our King the Meſſiah Sabatai Sevi, *thy Servant, and firſt-born Son in love, through whom we commemorate our coming out of* Egypt. *And then you ſhall read for your Leſſon the firſt, ſecond, and third Chapters of* Deuteronomy *to the Seventeenth Verſe; appointing for the reading thereof Five men, in a perfect and uncorrupted Bible; adding thereunto the Bleſſings of the Morning, as are preſcribed for Days of Feſtivals. And for the Leſſon out of the Prophets, uſually read in the Synogogue every Sabbath, you ſhall repeat the Thirty firſt Chapter of* Jeremiah *to your Prayer called the Muſſaf (uſed in the Synagogue every Sabbath and ſolemn Feſtival.) Inſtead of the Sacrifice of Addition at the returning of the Bible to its place, you ſhall read with an audible Voice, and clear Sound, and with holy Harmony, the Ninty fifth Pſalm. And at the firſt Praiſes in the Morning, after you have ſung Pſalm Ninty one, and juſt before you ſing Pſalm Ninety eight, you ſhall repeat Pſalm One hundred thirty two; but in the laſt Verſe where it is ſaid,* As for his enemies I ſhall clothe them with ſhame, but upon himſelf ſhall his Crown flouriſh; *in the place of [upon himſelf] you ſhall read, Upon the Moſt High; after which ſhall follow the One hundred twenty ſixth Pſalm, and then the One hundred and thirteenth, to the One hundred and Nineteenth.*

1666 *At the Conſecration of the Wine upon the Vigil, or Even, you ſhall make mention of the Feaſt of Conſolation, which is the Day of the Birth of our King the Meſſiah* Sabatai Sevi, *thy Servant, and firſt-born Son; giving the Bleſſing as followeth. Bleſſed be thou, our God, King of the World, who haſt made us to live, and haſt maintained us, and haſt kept us alive unto this time. Upon the Eve of this Day you ſhall alſo read the Eighty one Pſalm, as alſo the One hundred thirty two, and One hundred twenty ſixth Pſalms, which are appointed for the Morning Praiſes. And this Day ſhall be unto you for a remembranee of a ſolemn Day unto eternal Ages, and a perpetual Teſtimony between me, and the Sons of* Iſrael.

Audite audiendo, & manducate bonum.

Beſides which Order and Method of Liturgy for Solemnization of his Birth, he preſcribed other Rules for Divine Service, and particularly publiſhed the ſame Indulgence and priviledge to every one who ſhould pray at the Tomb of his Mother, as if he had taken on him a Pilgrimage to pray and ſacrifice at *Jeruſalem*. The Devotion of the *Jews* towards this pretended Meſſiah, encreaſed ſtill more and more; ſo that not only the chief of the City went to attend and proffer their ſervice towards him in the time of his Impriſonment, but likewiſe decked their Synagogue with S. S. in Letters of Gold, making for him on the Wall a Crown, in the Circle of which was wrote the Ninety one Pſalm at length, in a fair and legible Character; attributing the ſame Titles to *Sabatai*, and expounding the Scriptures in the ſame manner in favour of his appearance, as we do of our Saviour.

Howſoever ſome of the *Jews* remained in their Wits all this time, amongſt which was a certain Cocham at *Smyrna*, one zealous of his Law, and of the good and ſafety of his Nation; and obſerving in what a wild manner the whole People of the *Jews* was tranſported with the gronndleſs belief of a Meſſiah, leaving not only their Trades, and courſe of Living, but publiſhing Prophecies of a ſpeedy Kingdom, of reſcue from the tyranny of the *Turk*, and leading the Grand Signior himſelf captive in Chains; matters ſo dangerous, and obnoxious to the State wherein they lived, as might juſtly convict them of Treaſon and Rebellion, and leave them to the mercy of that Juſtice, which on the leaſt jealouſie and ſuſpicion of matters of this nature, uſes to extirpate Families, and ſubvert the Manſion houſes of their own People, much rather of the *Jews*, on whom the *Turks* would gladly take this occaſion to deſpoil them of their Eſtates, and

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1666. condemn the whole Nation to perpetual Slavery. And indeed it would have been a greater wonder than ever *Sabatai* ſhewed, that the *Turks* took not advantage from all theſe extravagancies to drain the *Jews* of a conſiderable Sum of Money, and ſet their whole Race in *Turky* at a Ranſome, had not theſe paſſages yielded them matter of paſtime, and been the ſubject of the *Turks* laughter and ſcorn, ſuppoſing it a diſparagement to the greatneſs of the *Ottoman* Empire, to be concerned for the rumours and combuſtions of this deſpiſed People. With theſe Conſiderations this Cocham, that he might clear himſelf of the blood and guilt of his Countrymen, and unconcerned in the common deſtruction, went before the Kaddee, and there proteſted againſt the preſent Doctrine, declaring, That he had no hand in ſetting up of *Sabatai*, but was an enemy both to him and his whole Sect. This freedom of the Cocham ſo enraged and ſcandalized the *Jews*, that they judged no Condemnation or Puniſhment too ſevere againſt ſuch an Offender, and Blaſphemer of their Law, and Holineſs of the Meſſiah, and therefore with Money and preſents to the Kaddee, accuſing him as diſobedient in a Capital nature to their Government, obtained ſentence againſt him to ſhave his Beard, and commit him to the Gallies.

There wanted nothing now to the appearance of the Meſſiah, and the Solemnity of his Coming, but the preſence of *Elias*, which the *Jews* began to expect hourly, and with that attention and earneſtneſs, that a Dream or Phantaſm to every weak Head was judged to be *Elias*, it being taught and averred, that he was ſeen in divers Forms and Shapes, not to be certainly diſcovered or known before the Coming of the Meſſiah. For this Superſtition is ſo far fixed amongſt them, that generally in their Families they ſpread a Table for *Elias* the Prophet, to which they make an invitation of poor People, leaving the chief place for the Lord *Elias*, whom they believe to be inviſibly preſent at the Entertainment, and there to eat and drink without diminution either of the Diſhes or the Cup. One Perſon amongſt the *Jews* commanded his Wife, after a Supper of this kind, to leave the Cup filled with Wine, and the Meat ſtanding all Night for *Elias* to feaſt and rejoyce alone, and in the Morning ariſing early, affirmed, That *Elias* took this Banquet ſo kindly, that in token of gratitude and acceptance, he had repleniſhed the Cup with Oyl inſtead of Wine. It is a cuſtom amongſt the *Jews* on the Evening of the Sabbath to repeat certain praiſes of God, (*Haudola*) which ſignifies a diſtinction or ſeparation of the Sabbath from the prophane days (as they call them;) which praiſes or bleſſing they obſerve to perform in this manner. One takes a Cup filled with Wine, and drops it through the whole Houſe in the name of *Elias*, ſaying, Elias *the Prophet*, Elias *the Prophet, come quickly to us with the Meſſiah the Son of* David. And this, they affirm, is ſo acceptable to *Elias*, that he never fails to preſerve that Family ſo devoted to him, and augment it with the Bleſſings of encreaſe. Many other things the *Jews* avouch of *Elias*, ſo ridiculous, as are not neceſſary to be declared, amongſt which this one is not from our purpoſe, That at the Circumciſion there is always a Chair ſet for *Elias*. And *Sabatai Sevi* being once invited at *Smyrna* to the Circumciſion of the firſt-born Son of one *Abraham Gutiere*, a Kinſman of *Sabatai*, and all things ready for the Ceremony; *Sabatai Sevi* exhorted the Parents of the Child to expect a while until his farther order. After a good half hour *Sabatai* ordered them to proceed, and cut the Prepucee of the Child, which was inſtantly performed with all joy and ſatisfaction to the Parents: and being afterwards demanded, wherefore he retarded the performance of that Function; his anſwer was, That *Elias* had not as yet taken his Seat, whom as ſoon as he ſaw placed, he ordered them to proceed: and that now ſhortly *Elias* would diſcover himſelf openly, and proclaim the news of their general Redemption. This being the common opinion of the *Jews*, and that *Sabatai Sevi* was the Meſſiah, being become an Article of Faith, it was not hard to perſwade them that *Elias* was come already, that they met him in their diſhes, in the dark, in their Bed-chambers, or any where elſe inviſible, in the ſame manner as our common People believe of Hobgoblins and Faries. For ſo it was, when one *Solomon Cremona*, an Inhabitant of *Smyrna*, making a great Feaſt, to which the principal *Jews* of that City were invited, after they had eaten and drank freely, one ſtarted from his ſeat, and avouched that he ſaw *Elias* upon the VVall, and with that bows to him, and complements him with all reverence and humility: ſome others having in like manner their fancies already prepoſſeſſed, and their eyes with the fume of VVine ill prepared to diſtinguiſh ſhadows, immediately agreed upon the object, and then there was not one in the Company who would ſay, he did not ſee him; at which ſurpriſe every one was ſtruck with reverence and awe, and the moſt eloquent amongſt them having their tongues looſed with Joy and VVine, directed Orations, Encomiums, and acts of thankfulneſs to him, courting and complementing *Elias*, as diſtracted Lovers do the ſuppoſed preſence of their Miſtreſſes.

1666. Another *Jew* at *Conſtantinople* reported, That he met *Elias* in the ſtreets, habited like a *Turk*, with whom he had a long communication, and that he injoin'd the obſervation of many neglected Ceremonies, and particularly the Zezit, *Lev.* 15.38. *Speak unto the Children of* Iſrael *and bid them, that they make fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the border a Ribband of Blue.* Alſo the Peotz, *Levit.* 19.27. *Ye ſhall not round the corners of your Head, nor mar the corner of your Beard.* This apparition of *Elias* being publiſhed, and as ſoon believed, every one began to obey the Viſion, by fringing their garments; and for their heads, though always ſhaved according to the *Turkiſh* and Eaſtern faſhion, and that the ſuffering hair to grow, to men not accuſtomed, was heavy and incommodious for their health and heads; yet to begin again to renew, as far as was poſſible, the ancient Ceremonies, every one nouriſhed a Lock of hair on each ſide, which was viſible beneath their Caps, which ſoon after began to become a ſign of diſtinction between the Believers and the Koparims, a name of diſhonour, ſignifying as much as Unbelievers or Heretick, given to thoſe who confeſſed not *Sabatai* to be the Meſſiah. VVhich particulars, if not obſerved, it was declared as a menace of *Elias*, That the People of the *Jews* who came from the River *Sabation*, as is ſpecified in the 2: *Eſdras Cap.* 13. ſhall take vengeance of thoſe who are guilty of theſe omiſſions.

But to return again to *Sabatai Sevi* himſelf, we find him ſtill remaining a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Abydos* upon the *Helleſpont*, admired and adored by his Brethren with more honour than before, and viſited by Pilgrims from all parts, where the Fame of the Coming of the Meſſiah had arrived: Amongſt which one from *Poland* named *Nehemiah*

1665. *hemiah Cohen* was of ſpecial note and renown, learned in the *Hebrew*, *Syriack*, and *Chaldee*, and verſed in the Doctrine and Kabala of the Rabbins, as well as *Sabatai* himſelf: One (of whom it was ſaid) had not this *Sevi* anticipated the deſign, eſteemed himſelf as able a Fellow for to act a Meſſiah as the other. Howſoever it being now too late to publiſh any ſuch pretence, *Sabatai* having already prepoſſeſſed the office, and with that the hearts and belief of the *Jews*, *Nehemiah* was contented with ſome ſmall appendage or relation to a Meſſiah; and therefore to lay his deſign the better, deſired a private Conference with *Sabatai*. Theſe two great Rabbins being together, a hot Diſpute aroſe between them. For *Cohen* alledged, That according to Scripture and Expoſition of the Learned thereupon, there were to be two Meſſiahs, one called *Ben Ephraim*, and the other *Ben David*: The firſt was to be a Preacher of the Law, poor and deſpiſed, and a Servant to the ſecond, and his Forerunner; the other was to be great and rich, to reſtore the *Jews* to *Jeruſalem*, to ſit upon the Throne of *David*, and to perform and act all thoſe Triumphs and Conqueſts, which were expected from *Sabatai*. *Nehemiah* was contented to be *Ben Ephraim*, the afflicted and poor Meſſiah, and *Sabatai* was well enough contented he ſhould be ſo; but that *Nehemiah* accuſed him for being too forward in publiſhing himſelf the latter Meſſiah, before *Ben Ephraim* had firſt been known to the World. *Sabatai* took this reprehenſion ſo ill, either out of pride and thoughts of his own Infallibility, or that he ſuſpected *Nehemiah* being once admitted for *Ben Ephraim*, would quickly, being a ſubtle and learned Perſon, perſwade the World that he was *Ben David*, would by no means underſtand or admit of this Doctrine, or of *Ben Ephraim* for a neceſſary Officer: And thereupon the Diſpute grew ſo hot, and the Controverſie ſo irreconcileable, as was taken notice of by the *Jews*, and controverted amongſt them as every one fancied; but *Sabatai* being of greater Authority, his Sentence prevailed, and *Nehemiah* was rejected as Schiſmatical, and an Enemy to the Meſſiah, which afterwards proved the ruine and downfal of this Impoſture. For *Nehemiah* being thus baffled, and being a Perſon of Authority, and a haughty Spirit, meditated nothing but revenge; to execute which to the full, he took a Journey to *Adrianople*, and there informed the chief Miniſters of State and Officers of the Court, who (by reaſon of the gain the *Turks* made of their Priſoner at the Caſtle on the *Helleſpont*) heard nothing of all this concourſe of People, and Prophecies of the Revolt of the *Jews* from their obedience to the Grand Signior. And taking likewiſe to his Counſel ſome certain diſcontented and unbelieving Cochams, who being zealous for their Nation, and jealous of the ill conſequences of this long continued and increaſing madneſs, took liberty to inform the Chimacam (who was Deputy of the Great Vizier then at *Candia*) that the *Jew*, Priſoner at the Caſtle, called *Sabatai Sevi* was a lewd perſon, and one who endeavoured to debauch the minds of the *Jews*, & divert them from their honeſt courſe of livelihood, & obedience to the Grand Signior, and that therefore it was neceſſary to clear the World of ſo factious and dangerous a Spirit. The Chimacam being thus inform'd, could do no leſs than acquaint the Gr. Signior with all the particulars of this mans condition, courſe of life, and Doctrine; which were no ſooner underſtood, but a Chaouſe or Meſſenger was immediately diſpatched to bring up *Sabatai Sevi* to *Adrianople*. The Chaouſe executed his Commiſſion after the *Turkiſh* faſhion in haſte, bringing *Sabatai* in a few days to *Adrianople*, without farther excuſe or ceremony, not affording him an hours ſpace to take a ſolemn farewel of his Followers and Adorers, who now were come to the vertical point of all their hopes and expectations. 1666.

The Grand Signior having by this time received divers informations of the madeſs of the *Jews*, and the pretences of *Sabatai*, grew big with deſire and expectation to ſee him; ſo that he no ſooner arrived at *Adrianople*, but the ſame hour he was brought before the Grand Signior. *Sabatai* appeared much dejected, and failing of that courage which he ſhewed in the Synagogue. And being demanded ſeveral queſtions in Turkiſh by the Grand Signior, he would not truſt ſo far to the vertue of his Meſſiahſhip, as to deliver himſelf in the *Turkiſh* Language, but deſired a Doctor of Phyſick (who had from a *Jew* turned *Turk*) to be his Interpreter, which was granted to him, but not without reflection of the ſtanders-by, that had he been the Meſſiah and Son of God, as he formerly pretended, his Tongue would have been looſed into Eloquence and perfection of Languages. But the Grand Signior would not be put off without a Miracle, and it muſt be one of his own chuſing; which was, that *Sabatai* ſhould be ſtripped naked, and ſet as a mark to his dextrous Archers; if the arrows paſſed not his body, but that his fleſh and skin was proof, like Armour, then he would believe him to be the Meſſiah, and the Perſon whom God had deſigned to thoſe Dominions and Greatneſs he pretended. But now *Sabatai* not having Faith enough to ſtand to ſo ſharp a tryal, renounced all his Title to Kingdoms and Governments, alledging that he was an ordinary Cocham and Jew, as others were, and had nothing of priviledge and virtue above the reſt. The Grand Signior notwithſtanding, not wholly ſatiſfied with this plain confeſſion, declared, That having given publick ſcandal to the Profeſſors of the *Mahometan* Religion, and done diſhonour to his Soveraign Authority, by pretending to withdraw from him ſo conſiderable a portion as the Land of *Paleſtine*, his Treaſon and Crime could not be expiated without becoming a *Mahometan* Convert: Which if he refuſed to do, the Stake was ready at the Gate of the Seraglio to impale him. *Sabatai* being now reduced to his laſt game and extremity, not being in the leaſt doubtful what to do, for to dye for what he was aſſured was falſe was againſt Nature, and the death of a mad man: Replied with much chearfulneſs, that he was contented to turn *Turk*, and that it was not of force, but of choice, having been a long time deſirous of ſo glorious a profeſſion, he eſteemed himſelf much honoured, that he had an opportunity to own it firſt in the preſence of the Grand Signior. And here was the *Non plus ultra* of all the bluſter and noiſe of this vain Impoſtour. And now the Reader may pauſe a while, and contemplate the ſtrange point of conſternation, ſhame, and ſilence, to which the *Jews* were reduced, when they underſtood how ſpeedily their hopes were vaniſhed, and how poorly and ignominiouſly all their fancies and promiſes of a new Kingdom, their Pageantry and Offices for Devotion were paſt like a tale, or a midnights dream. And all this was concluded, and the *Jews* ſunk on a ſudden and fallen flat in their hopes, without ſo much as a line of comfort or excuſe from *Sabatai*, more than in general to all the Brethren, that now they ſhould apply themſelves to their callings and ſervices

of

1666. of God, as formerly; for that matters relating to him were finiſhed, and the ſentence paſt.

The News of *Sabatai* turning Turk, and of the Meſſiah to a Mahometan, quickly filled all parts of *Turky*; the *Jews* were ſtrangely ſurpriſed at it, and aſhamed of their eaſineſs of belief, of the arguments with which they had perſwaded others, and of the Proſelytes they had made in their own Families. Abroad they became the common deriſion of the Towns where they inhabited, the Boys houted after them, coining a new word at *Smyrna* (*Pouſtai*) which every one ſeeing a Jew, with a finger pointed out, would pronounce with ſcorn and contempt; ſo that this deceived People for a long time after remained with confuſion, ſilence, and dejection of ſpirit. And yet moſt of them affirm, That *Sabatai* is not turned Turk, but his ſhadow only remains on Earth, and walks with a white head, and in the habit of a *Mahometan*; but that his Body and Soul are taken into Heaven, there to reſide until the time appointed for accompliſhment of theſe Wonders: And this Opinion began ſo commonly to take place, as if this People reſolved never to be undeceived, uſing the Forms and Rules for Devotion preſcribed them by their *Mahometan* Meſſiah. Inſomuch that the Cochams of *Conſtantinople* fearing the danger of this Errour might creep up and equal the former, condemned the belief of *Sabatai* being Meſſiah as damnable, and injoyned them to return to the ancient Method and Service of God, upon pain of Excommunication. The Stile and Tenour of their Letter was as followeth.

TO you who have the power of Prieſthood, and are the knowing, learned, and magnanimous Governours and Princes reſiding in the City of Smyrna, *may the Almighty protect you,* Amen, *for ſo is his will.*

Theſe our Letters which we ſend in the midſt of your Habitations, are upon occaſion of certain Rumours and Tumults come to our ears from that City of your Holineſſes. For there is a ſort of men amongſt you who fortifie themſelves in their Error, and ſay, Let ſuch an one our King live, and bleſs him in their publick Synagogues every Sabbath day; and alſo adjoyn Pſalms and Hymns invented by that man for certain days, with Rules and Methods for Prayer, which ought not to be done, and yet they ſtill remain obſtinate therein. And now behold it is known unto you, how many ſwelling waters have paſſed over our Souls for his ſake; for had it not been for the mercies of God which are without end, and the merit of our Forefathers which hath aſſiſted us, the foot of Iſrael *had been raſed out by their enemies. And yet ſtill you continue obſtinate in things which do not help, but rather do miſchief, which God avert. Turn you therefore, for this is not the true way, but reſtore the Crown to the ancient cuſtom and uſe of your Forefathers, and the Law, and from thence do not move.*

The *Jews* ſcruple to ſay the head of *Iſrael.*

We command you, That with your Authority, under pain of Excommunication and other Penalties, all thoſe Ordinances and Prayers, as well thoſe delivered by the mouth of that man, as thoſe which he injoyned by the mouth of others, be all aboliſhed and made void, and to be found no more, and that they never enter more into your hearts; but judge according to the ancient Commandment of your Forefathers, repeating the ſame Leſſons and Prayers every Sabbath as hath been accuſtomary; as alſo the Collects for Kings, Potentates, and Anointed, &c. and bleſs the King Sultan Mahomet; *for in his dayes hath great Salvation been wrought for* Iſrael, *and become not Rebels to his Kingdom, which God forbid. For after all this which is paſt, the leaſt motion will be a cauſe of jealouſy, and you will bring ruine upon your own perſons, and upon all which is near and dear to you; wherefore abſtain from this man, and let not ſo much as his name proceed out of your mouths. For know, if you will not obey us herein, which will be known who, and what thoſe men are who refuſe to conform unto us, we are reſolved to proſecute them, as our duty is. He that doth hear and obey us, may the bleſſing of God reſt upon him. Theſe are the words of thoſe, who ſeek your peace and good, having in* Conſtantinople, *on* Sunday *the 5th of the month* Sevat, *under-wrote their names.*

Joam Tob, *Son of* Hanania Ben Jacar.
Iſaac Alnacagua.
Joſeph Kazabi.
Menaſſe Barudo.
Kaleb *Son of* Samuel.
Eliezer Caſti.
Eliezer Gherſon.
Joſeph Accohen.
Eliezer Aluff.

1666. During the time of all theſe tranſactions and paſſages at *Conſtantinople, Smyrna, Abydos* upon the *Helleſpont*, and *Adrianople*; the *Jews* leaving their mercantile courſe and advices what prices Commodities bore, and matters of Traffick, ſtuffed their Letters for *Italy* and other parts with nothing but wonders and miracles wrought by their Meſſiah. As that, when the Grand Signior ſent to take him, he cauſed all the meſſengers immediately to die; upon which, other Janizaries being again ſent, they all fell dead with a word only from his mouth; and being deſired to revive them again, he immediately recalled them to life, but of them only ſuch, who were true Turks, and not thoſe who had denied that Faith in which they were born, and had profeſſed. After this they added, that he went voluntarily to Priſon, and though the Gates were barred, and ſhut with ſtrong Locks of Iron, yet that *Sabatai* was ſeen to walk through the ſtreets with a numerous attendance; and when they laid ſhackles on his Neck and Feet, they not only fell from him, but were converted into Gold, with which he gratified his true and faithful Believers and diſciples. Some Miracles alſo were reported of *Nathan*, that only at the reading of the name of any particular Man or Woman, he could immediately recount the ſtory of his or her Life, their ſins or defaults, and accordingly impoſe juſt correction and penance for them. Theſe ſtrong reports coming thus confidently into *Italy*, and all parts, the *Jews* of *Caſal di Monferrato* reſolv'd to

1666. ſend Three perſons in behalf of their Society, in the nature of extraordinary Legates, to *Smyrna*, to make enquiry after the truth of all theſe rumours, who accordingly arriving in *Smyrna*, full of expectation and hopes, intending to preſent themſelves with great humility and ſubmiſſion before their Meſſiah, and his Prophet *Nathan*, were entertained with the ſad news, that *Sabatai* was turned Turk; by which information, the Character of their Embaſſy in a manner ceaſing, every one of them laying aſide the formality of his Function, endeavoured to lodge himſelf beſt to his own convenience. But that they might return to their Brethren at home with the certain particulars of the ſucceſs of theſe affairs, they made a viſit to the Brother of *Sabatai*, who ſtill continued to perſwade them, that *Sabatai* was notwithſtanding the true Meſſiah; that it was not he who had taken upon him the habit and form of a Turk, but his Angel or Spirit, his Body being aſcended into Heaven, until God ſhall again ſee the ſeaſon and time to reſtore it; adding farther, that an effect hereof they ſhould ſee by the Prophet *Nathan* veriſyed, now every day expected, who having wrought Miracles in many places, would alſo for their conſolation, reveal hidden ſecrets unto them, with which they ſhould not only remain ſatisfied but aſtoniſhed: with this only hope of *Nathan*, theſe Legates were a little comforted, reſolving to attend his arrival, in regard they had a Letter to conſign into his hands, and according to their inſtructions, were to demand of him the grounds he had for his Prophecies, and what aſſurance he had that he was divinely inſpired, and how thoſe things were revealed unto him, which he had committed to Paper, and diſperſed to all parts of the World.

166$^{6}_{7}$. At length *Nathan* arrived near *Smyrna*, on *Friday* the 3d of *March*, towards the Evening, and on *Sunday* theſe Legats made their viſit to him, but *Nathan* upon the news of what ſucceſs his Meſſiah met with, began to grow ſullen and reſerved, ſo that the Legats could ſcarce procure admitttance to him; all that they could do, was to inform him, that they had a Letter to him from the Brotherhood of *Italy*, and Commiſſion to confer with him concerning the ground and foundation of his Prophecies: But *Nathan* refuſed to take the Letter, ordering *Kaim Abolaſio*, a Cocham of the City of *Smyrna*, to receive it; ſo that the Legats returned little contented, but yet with hopes at *Nathans* arrival at *Smyrna*, to receive better ſatisfaction.

But whilſt *Nathan* intended to enter into *Smyrna*, the Cochams of *Conſtantinople*, being before adviſed of his reſolution to take a Journey into their parts, not knowing by which way he might come, ſent their Letters and orders to *Smyrna*, *Pruſſia*, and every way round, to hinder his paſſage, and interrupt his Journey, fearing that things beginning now to compoſe, the Turks appeaſed for the former diſorders, and the minds of the *Jews* in ſome manner ſetled, might be moved, and combuſtions burſt out afreſh by the appearance of this new Impoſtor, and therefore diſpatched this Letter as followeth.

TO *you who are the Shepherds of* Iſrael, *and Rulers, who reſide for the Great God of the whole World in the City of* Smyrna, *which is a Mother in* Iſrael, *to her Princes, her Prieſts, her Judges, and eſpecially to the perfect wiſe men, and of greateſt experience; may the Lord God cauſe you to live before him, and delight in the multitude of Peace,* Amen. *So be the will of the Lord.* 1666.

Theſe our Letters are diſpatched unto you, to let you underſtand, that in the place of your Holineſs, we have heard, that the learned man which was in Gaza, *called* Nathan Benjamin, *hath publiſhed vain Doctrines, and made the World tremble at his words and inventions. At this time we have received advice, that this man ſome days ſince departed from* Gaza, *and took his Journey by the way of* Scanderone, *intending there to Embark for* Smyrna. *and thence to go to* Conſtantinople, *or* Adrianople. *And though it ſeems a ſtrange thing unto us, that any man ſhould have a deſire to throw himſelf into a place of flames and fire, and into the ſparks of Hell: Notwithſtanding, we ought to fear and ſuſpect it,* for the feet of man always guide him to the worſt. Arab. Prov. *Wherefore, we underwritten, do advertiſe you, that this Man coming within the Compaſs of your Juriſdiction, you give a ſtop to his Journey, and not ſuffer him to proceed farther, but preſently to return back. For we would have you know, That at his Coming he will begin again to move thoſe tumults, which have been cauſed through Dreams of a new Kingdom,* And that miracles are not wrought every day. Arab. Prov. *God forbid, that by his Coming, the People of God ſhould be deſtroyed in all places where they are, of which he will be the firſt, whoſe blood be upon his own head; for in this Conjuncture every little errour or fault is made Capital; you may remember the danger of the firſt Combuſtion, and it is very probable, that he will be an occaſion of greater, which the Tongue is not able to expreſs with words. And therefore, by virtue of ours, and your own Authority, you are to hinder him from proceeding farther in his journey, upon pain of all thoſe Excommunications, which our Law can impoſe, and to force him to return back again, both he and his Company. But if he ſhall in any manner oppoſe you, and rebel againſt your word, your Endeavours and Law are ſufficient to hinder him, for it will be well for him, and for all* Iſrael.

For the love of God, let theſe words enter into your ears, ſince they are not vain things, for the lives of all the Jews, *and his alſo conſiſt therein. And the Lord God behold from Heaven, and have pity upon his People* Iſrael. Amen. *So be his holy will written by thoſe who ſeek your Peace.*

Joam Tob *Son of* Chanania Jacar.
Moiſe Benveniſte,
Iſaac Alnacagua,
Joſeph Kizbi,
Samuel Acazſina,
Kaleb *Son of* Cocham,
Samuel *deceaſed*,
Moiſe Barudo,
Elihezer Aluf.
Jehouſual Raphael Benveniſte.

1666.

By theſe means *Nathan* being diſappointed of his wandring progreſs, and partly aſhamed of the Events contrary to his Prophecies, was reſolved, without entring *Smyrna*, to depart thence; howſoever he obtained leave to viſit the Sepulchre of his Mother, and there to receive pardon of his ſins (according to the inſtitution of *Sabatai* before mentioned;) but firſt waſhed himſelf in the Sea, in manner of purification, and ſaid his *Tevila*, or Prayers, at the Fountain, called by us the Fountain of *Santa Veneranda*, which is near the Cœmetery of the *Jews*, and then departed for *Xio* with two Companions, a Servant and three *Turks* to conduct him, without admitting the Legates to audience, or anſwering the Letter which was ſent him from all the Communities of the *Jews* in *Italy*. And thus the Embaſſie of theſe Legates was concluded, and they returned from the place to whence they came, and the *Jews* again to their Wits, following their Trade and Profeſſion of Brokage, as formerly, with more quiet and advantage than the means of regaining their poſſeſſions in the Land of Promiſe And thus ended this mad phrenſie amongſt the *Jews*, which might have coſt them dear, had not *Sabatai* renounced his Meſſiahſhip at the Feet of *Mahomet*. Theſe matters were tranſacted in the Years 1665 and 1666; ſince which *Sabatai* hath paſſed his time devoutly in the *Ottomon* Court, educated at the Feet of the learned *Gamaliel* of the *Turkiſh* Law, (*viz.*) *Vanni* Effendi, Preacher to the Seraglio, or as we may ſo term him, Chaplain to the Sultan, one ſo literate as to be eſteemed the Grand Oracle of their Religion; ſo preciſe, and conceited of his own Sanctity as a Phariſee, and ſo ſuperſtitious, that nothing ſeemed more to unhallow his Worſhip than the touch or approach of a Chriſtian. To this Maſter, *Sabatai* was a moſt docil Scholar, and profited, as we may imagine, beyond meaſure in the *Turkiſh* Doctrine; ſo that in exchange of ſuch impreſſions *Vanni* thought it no diſparagement, from ſo great a Rabbin as his new Diſciple, to learn ſomething of the *Jewiſh* Rites, and rectifie thoſe crude Notions he had conceived of the *Moſaical* Law. In this manner *Sabatai* paſſed his days in the *Turkiſh* Court, as ſome time *Moſes* did in that of the *Egyptians*; and perhaps in imitation of him, caſt his eyes often on the Afflictions of his Brethren, of whom, during his life, he continued to profeſs himſelf a Deliverer, but with that care and caution of giving ſcandal to the *Turks*, that he declared, Unleſs their Nation became like him, that is, renounce the Shadows, and imperfect Elements of the *Moſaical* Law, which will be compleated by adherence to the *Mahometan*, and ſuch other Additions as his inſpired Wiſdom ſhould ſuggeſt, he ſhould never be able to prevail with God for them, or conduct them to the Holy Land of their Forefathers. Hereupon many *Jews* flocked in, ſome as far as from *Babylon*, *Jeruſalem*, and other remote places, and caſting their Caps on the ground, in preſence of the Grand Signior, voluntarily profeſſed themſelves *Mahometans*. *Sabatai* himſelf by theſe Proſelytes gaining ground in the eſteem of the *Turks*, had priviledg granted him to viſit familiarly his Brethren, which he employed in Circumciſing their Children the Eighth day, according to the Precept of *Moſes*, preaching his new Doctrines, by which he hath confirmed many in their Faith of his being the Meſſiah, and ſtartled all with expectation of what theſe ſtrange ways of Enthuſiaſm may produce; but none durſt publickly own him, leſt they ſhould diſpleaſe the *Turks*, and the *Jews*, and incur the danger of Excommunication from one, and the Gallows from the other.

The courſe of life which *Sabatai* led after he turned Mahometan.

Howſoever in *January* $167\frac{1}{2}$ appeared another bold Impoſtor amongſt the *Jews* in *Smyrna* from the *Morea*, as it was ſaid, or not known from whence, who in deſpight of *Sabatai*, and his own Governours, pretended to be Meſſiah; but with ſo inconſiderable and petty a Deluder as this, the *Jews* thought to make quick work; but being aſhamed at firſt to bring another Meſſiah on the Stage, by help of money they accuſed him of Adultery, and procured a Sentence from the Kadi, condemning him to the Gallies; in order unto which, and in proof of his good behaviour he remain'd ſome time in Priſon, in which Interim he found means to clear himſelf of that Crime by open evidence to the contrary, and had for the preſent eſcaped out of the power of the Synagogue, had not their Authority & money prevailed more than the Friends or Diſciples of this Impoſtor; whom we will leave in priſon, and *Sabatai* in the houſe of *Pharaoh*; where he continued until the Year 1676, and then died. And ſo we return to more important matters of the *Turkiſh* Affairs.

1666.

Since that we have ſo long inſiſted on the phrenſie of the *Jews*, let us return to matters of greater conſequence, and more general concernment; & look back to Count *Leſlie* the Emperors Ambaſſador, who having departed from *Conſtantinople* the 11th of *Decemb.* of the laſt Year, we find on the 10th of *March* of this year on the Frontiers ready to make exchange with the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador. The night before, Count *Leſlie* was lodged at a Village called *Elmas*, where the Inhabitants, as in the moſt parts of upper *Hungary*, are Calviniſts in Religion; and though they live between two Swords, do yet in time of War, by paying a Tribute to both Parties, and providing Forage for both, remain more ſecure than in the Villages ſubjected to either; which are often Burnt, or in ſome other manner miſerably deſtroyed. The next day the Emperors Ambaſſador, conducted by the Paſha of *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, with about three hundred Horſe, arrived at the place for many years obſerved for exchange of Ambaſſadors, which is about an hour and halfs Journey, or five miles (as we may ſo ſay) diſtant from this Village, where in open Fields upon the Brink of the *Danube*, are ſet three Poſts; the two Ambaſſadors meeting at that in the middle, after ſome Complements, take their leaves each of other, and ſo exchange. The *German* Ambaſſador that day arrived near his Poſt about ſeven a Clock in the morning, but the *Turkiſh*, not being as yet come from *Komara*, he could not proceed farther. After ſome expectation here, advice came, That the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador was reſolved not to depart from *Komara* until he was ſatisfied for the allowance of eighteen days, at a hundred Dollars for every day, which he had ſpent at his entrance into *Chriſtendom*, between the frontiers and the City of *Vienna*. But to this was replied, That it had never been the cuſtom to allow the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador mony for his daily proviſions, until he entred the Emperors Court; and in the mean time the expences and charge of his journey were to be defrayed by the Imperial Officers, who had performed the ſame in a moſt ample and plentiful manner. But the *Turk* was reſolved not to be ſo ſatisfied, and therefore declared he would not depart without full payment; hoping the more eaſily to prevail, in regard the *German* Ambaſſador was already in the Field, expoſed to the cold and ſharp weather, without proviſions either for himſelf, Attendance, or Horſes, whilſt the *Turk* remained warm in his Boat, accommodated with his Stove, and wrapt in his Furs, ſo that he hoped there might be a neceſſity of granting what he reſerved for the rear-guard of his pretenſions. The matter ſeemed unreaſonable to the *German* Ambaſſador, as alſo to the *Turks* that attended him, who being in the open and cold Air, judg'd it in an unſeemly time to capitulate. But in fine, the *German* gave

The manner of exchange of the Emperors and *Turks* Ambaſſadour.

1666. gave him this Anſwer, That an Ambaſſador ought to be contented with that hoſpitality and entertainment which was accuſtomary, as he himſelf had done; for that ſince his departure from *Buda*, which was then ſeven days, he had not receiv'd one Aſper of allowance, reſting ſatisfied with the Paſha's word, that from *Buda* homewards it was not accuſtomary to receive a farther treatment; ſo that if he inſiſted on the firſt, he was to be allowed the latter, ſince both Ambaſſadours are to be uſed with terms of equality; and therefore to find an expedient to give him ſatisfaction, he was contented to reſign his ſeven days allowance from the Grand Signior; and if any thing farther was really owing he would engage his parole of honour for the payment. And farther he added, That none but a corrupt Miniſter would make his private Intereſt to ſtand in Competition with a publick Deſign, and make the pretence of a few Dollars an interruption and impediment to the progeeſs of the great Affairs of the Two Empires; profeſſing that he would have quitted all his right, rather than the leaſt concernment of his Maſter ſhould have received a prejudice, on confidence of whoſe gracious favour he depended for reparation of whatſoever he ſuffered for his ſervice. He thanked God that he had happily managed his Embaſſy to the ſatisfaction of the Grand Signior, and the approbation of his Maſter, and was now ready to perform the laſt office and ceremony, in which if he did fail, or was impeded, the fault was not his, being ready to return to *Buda*, ſo the other in like manner did to *Vienna*, there to remain until this difference was decided by their Maſters. The Turkiſh Ambaſſadour's Kahya or Steward who was preſent, and heard all this diſcourſe, ſeeming not pleaſed to hear of a return to *Vienna*, immediately replied, That he conceived his Maſter would not remove from *Komara*; to which it was anſwered, That a man who ſo little underſtood the office of an Ambaſſadour, as it appeared his Maſter did, was to be treated with ſome other kind of ſtile than was agreeable to the reſpect due to a publick Miniſter, and ſhould therefore be forced to it in caſe he ſhould refuſe. The Turkiſh Ambaſſadour having his ſtomach ſomething taken down with the threats of returning to *Vienna*, that afternoon looſed from *Komara*, and between three and four a clock arrived at the place of Exchange; but the wind blowing hard, had put ſome of his Boats aſhore, which were moſt laden; and feweſt men to govern them, which afforded him occaſion of farther delay, pretending that his Goods might be arreſted at *Komara*; and until he was ſatisfied to the contrary, he was reſolved not to make the Exchange. The German Ambaſſadour was more moved with choler at this humor than at the former; and the Turks that attended, growing more hungry and more cold, beſtowed on him a million of curſes. The Sun now declining towards its ſetting, Count *Leſlie* ſent word to the Turk, That he was reſolved not longer to abuſe his own patience, but immediately to proceed forward, giving order to his Coach to drive on, proteſting, That if any miſchief was derived from this irregular proceeding, the fault was not his, nor would he anſwer for any of thoſe fatal conſequences which might enſue; to which alſo being added ſome perſwaſions of the Paſha of *Quinq; Eccleſiæ*, the Turk at length came out from his Boat and went to his Poſt. The Turks were drawn up on their own Quarter to the number of about three hundred, and the Hungarian Huſſars or Horſe-men on the other to about two hundred; the two
1666. Ambaſſadours making a ſtand at their reſpective Poles, proceeded with equal paces to meet in the middle, where ſome few Complements having paſſed between them, and Salutes interchangeably ſent to the chief Miniſters of each Empire, the German Ambaſſadour entred his Coach, and the Turk his Boat, and ſo both returned to their reſpective Courts. Such as was the ſordid and intereſſed humour of the Turkiſh Ambaſſadour in this tranſaction, ſo no leſs diſhouourable was his way of living at *Vienna*, where he ſojourned with that miſerable famine and penury in his houſe, as diſcontented all his family, cauſing ſome to leave him and return home; others with better motives (as it is hoped) to the number of thirty became Chriſtians, and imbraced the Faith; at the ſame rate he was generous in his Preſents: for to the Maſter of the Houſe where he lodged he gave two five-Senars or eighteen Pence Engliſh, and to the Commiſſary who conducted him to the Frontiers, he preſented a Bag of Rice, which was not accepted but returned with the like complement, as that with which it was tendered.

The Turks meditate a new War.

But no ſooner was this Peace concluded, and the Ceremonies thereof thus happily finiſhed, but the Turks, attentive to another War, which is the life of their Empire, and their only ſecurity againſt inteſtine Diſcords, made all the Preparations and Proviſions this Year, that were poſſible, for the total ſubjection of *Candia*, of which this Vizier was highly ambitious, deſigning thereby to gain unto himſelf that renown of which his Predeceſſours had been in purſuit for the ſpace of twenty five years; ſo that all Ammunition, Victual, and whatſoever was neceſſary, was in great quantities ſupplied from all the circumjacent parts of the Empire.

The City of *Candia* was ſome time before governed by the Proveditor *Priuli*; but afterwards the Venetians, apprehenſive of the ſucceeding War, conferred the Charge on Marqueſs *Villa*, a worthy and experienced Souldier, with Title of General of the Venetian Infantry, as we have before intimated; and having left him and his Forces in the month of *December* laſt, on the Iſland of *Paros*; where having, as is ſaid, muſtered his Forces, he imbarked them on ſixteen Gallies, five Galleaſſes, and thirty five Men of War; with which ſailing in company from *Anti-Paros*, the whole Fleet on the 12th of *February* made their Rendezvous at *Argentiera*; during which time the Turks landed eighteen hundred Janiſaries at *Canea*, being tranſported thither on thirty five Gallies, which having incountred with the Cavalier *Hoquincourt* in the channel of *Scio*, received ſome damage and loſs of men in their way, though this Cavalier himſelf was wounded in the Engagement, and forty of his men ſlain. The Venetian Fleet departing from *Argentiera* on the 23th of *February*, came in ſight of *Candia*, when a very great ſtorm ariſing with Thunder and Lightning, put the whole fleet in danger of ſhipwrack; but by Gods Providence, though toſſed with contrary winds, they arrived on the 26th in ſafety in the Port of *Suda*, being directed thither in a dark night, by thoſe Lights which the Fortreſs had put abroad, though the Turks on the other ſide had put out falſe Fires to deceive them. The Army being landed at this place, and a Muſter made of the Forces, Pay was given to the Souldiery; with which being become the more couragious, they marched towar[illegible] *Canea*, with hopes to perform ſome memorable Enterpriſe at that place. The Lieutenant-General *Vuerſmiller* led the Van, conſiſting of ſix-hundred Foot, and an hundred and eighty Horſe,

An Engagement near *Canea*.

1666. and advancing beyond thoſe bounds which Marqueſs *Villa* had preſcribed him, was incountred by a more numerous Force from the Garriſon, by which being at firſt put into ſome diſorder, had been intirely defeated, had not the Marqueſs opportunely arrived to his Succour: howſoever the Venetians loſt in this Skirmiſh three hundred Souldiers, forty Horſe, and twelve Officers, amongſt which the Murqueſs *Ceva* was ſlain upon the place, and Captain *Scot* a Scoth-man taken Priſoner, whom the Engliſh Factory redeemed at *Smyrna*; of the Turks ſeven hundred were computed to have been killed, with the Aga of the Janiſaries, a ſtout and a well experienced Souldier. And as this beginning was not very auſpicious to the Chriſtians, ſo neither did the Heavens ſeem much to favour them; for an unuſual rain with few fair days continued almoſt for the ſpace of three months, which filled all Rivers, Marſhes, and Ditches with ſo ſtrange an inundation, that the Army beginning to want Forage for the Horſes, and all other Proviſions for their Men; and the Garriſon of *Canea* being reinforced from *Retimo*, *Chiramo*, *Armiro*, and other places, diſcouraged the Commanders in that manner, that they thought it more convenient to retire and incamp in the pleaſant and fruitful Vallies of *Spina Longa*, until better weather, and other Recruits of their Army ſhould open a way either to make another Attempt on *Canea*, or new *Candia*. But Fortune did not favour theſe deſigns; for the Captain-general *Andrea Cornaro* arriving with his Fleet, part at *Candia*, and part at *Standia*, (which is an Iſland or Rock about two Leagues diſtant from this City) a new reſolution was taken to remain on the defenſive part, and to attend wholly to the guard of the City: for as in the natural body, when it is aſſaulted by acute and hot humors, the ſpirits retire to the heart to comfort and ſecure that from the violence of the diſtemper; ſo the Venetians perceiving that their Enemies daily grew more numerous, reſolved to contract their Force into one Body for defence of that City, which was the heart or the moſt principal inſtrument of life in that Iſland: Wherefore Recruits both of Men, Ammunition, and Proviſions were daily ſent thither; and the Captain of the Gulf arriving at *Suda* with eleven Gallies and one Galleaſs, carrying fifteen hundred Soldiers, with three hundred Pioniers, joyned his Forces to the Body of the Fleet; and all imbarking in divers Squadrons, made haſte to land their men in the City of *Candia* with all poſſible expedition.

Marqueſs *Villa* lands at the City of *Candia*.

The Marqueſs *Villa* landed here the firſt of *March*. being conducted from the Mole by the Proveditor to the Palace, which was provided for him; where having been complemented, and having received and returned the uſual Viſits, he in the firſt place took care to quarter the Horſe, and the new Forces lately arrived with due convenience; next he viſited the Garriſon and every Fort in particular, where he amended what was amiſs, and added what was defective. The Captain-General by this time arriving with the remainder of the Militia, a general Muſter was made in the Trenches of the Fort *Panigra*; of which the Turks having advice, fell unexpectedly upon them with a ſtrong Body; the Chriſtians being ſurpriſed hereat; and *Verſama* a valiant Collonel being ſlain, they began ſhamefully to run, nor could either the Bravery of the Marqueſs or his Authority ſtop their flight; howſoever the Musket-ſhot and great great Guns from the Walls were ſo plentifully beſtowed on the Turks, that few of thoſe who were over-forward in the purſuit, returned to their Companions.

1666.

The Venetians incamp.

The Turks aſſault them.

On the 12th of *April* a Fleet of Gallies arrived with new Recruits, with which the Chriſtians being reinforced, Marqueſs *Villa* reſolved to take the Field; ſo that marching out of the City by night with ſeven thouſand Foot and ſix hundred and fifty Horſe, he incamped between that and the Valley of the River *Gioffiro*, drawing his Trenches juſt oppoſite to the the Enemies Camp; in the mean Time two Squadrons of Ships were ſent abroad, one towards the *Crociere*, and the other towards the Coaſt of *Canea*, to intercept and hinder ſuch Succours as might be ſent to the Enemies Camp. Nor were the Turks leſs vigilant or valiant on their ſide; for a Party of about two thouſand men ſallying from their Trenches, and marching ſecretly under the covert of a Mountain, unexpectedly aſſailed the Out-guards of about fifty Foot belonging to the Regiment of *Friſchein*, commanded by Captain *Rades*; which after a ſtout reſiſtance retreated into another Body of fifty Muſquetiers, and twenty five Arquibuſiers of the Regiment *Arborio*; who alſo being aſſiſted by other detachments, recovered their firſt Poſt; but being afterwards overpowred by great numbers of Turks, were forced to quit the place, which Marqueſs *Villa* obſerving, ordered fifty Horſe under Lieutenant-Collonel *Mattiazzi*, and ſeventy Foot under *Blane* Sergeant Major of the Regiment *Arborio* to their aſſiſtance, by whom the Poſt was again recovered with great ſlaughter of the Enemy: but this advantage was of little other benefit than to inflame the ſpirits of the Turks, who rallying again their Force with freſh courage and extraordinary valour came to handy-blows with the Venetians, forcing them to another Retreat with the death of Lieutenant *Ceruſa* a Savoyard, and ſome common Souldiers; but the Turks injoyed not long this advantage; for the Muſquetiers from the line with ſome ſmall Guns, and the Groſs Artillery from the Walls did much execution on them; and at the ſame time being charged by a Party of Horſe under Command of Collonel *Rades*, the Venetians with glory and incouragement recovered their Poſt, driving the Turks in diſorder and confuſion to their Trenches. This ſucceſs of the Chriſtians ſerved to heat the ſpirits of the Turks, and animate them to another Engagement: for having by private ways of hidden Vallies conducted their Men, about four hours before night made another Aſſault upon the *Venetians*, I will not ſay ſurpriſed them; becauſe remaining always in apprehenſion of the Enemy, they kept themſelves ſo watchfully on their Guard that in a moment they were ready to receive them; and that ſo warmly, not firing until they came within the length of two Pikes, that in a moment the Field was covered with the bodies of Horſe and Men; the Turks ſtartled hereat, not knowing whether it were better to ſtand to it, or fly, until incouraged by their Leaders, they kept their ground for a time: but being galled by the continual Vollies of ſhot, and charged by a Body of Horſe led by Count *Sforza Biſſaro* and Captain *Caſick*; they were ſo ſhaken, that they turned their backs, and began to run until falling in with the groſs Body of their Party, they made head again; and mixing both Horſe and Foot with the *Venetians*, they forced them to retreat to the ſide of their Trenches; and ſo cloſely plyed them, that the freſh Troops of the Turks on the right and left wing had cut them off, had not the Count *Corradini*, by order of Count *Sforza* with a Regiment of Curaſſiers, and likewiſe Colonel *Scoppa* with his Lieutenant-Colonel *Tadeo Motta*, with a

The Turks make another aſſault.

good

1666. good number of Archibuſiers, aſſiſted by a Squadron of the Regiment of Count *Baſſaro*, ſallied from the Line, and being ſuccoured on all ſides, forced the *Turks* at length to ſound a Retreat. The night coming on, diſſwaded any purſuit of the Enemy, leſt unknown ways and darkneſs ſhould betray their men into ambuſhes or other ſnares. The *Turks* loſt a thouſand men, with divers Commanders of Quality and Note: Of the *Venetians* were killed Lieutenant *Ceruſa*, *Gio. Teſſari*, Captain to *La Motte*, eleven Horſe, and ſome few Foot: *Motte*, *Corradini*, *Soupe*, Count *Corbelli*, and ſome others were wounded.

About this time advice being come to the Captain-General, That the *Turks* were diſpeeding fifty Gallies laden with Men and Ammunition, he reſolved to incounter them at Sea with four Galleaſſes, and twenty Gallies, reinforcing his Fleet with twelve hundred men, which he took from the Camp; which being thereby conſiderably diminiſhed, as alſo by the late Engagements: yet Marqueſs *Villa* kept his ground, but contracted the compaſs of his Trenches, and raiſed a Fort in ſight of the Enemy, who had not the courage to give him the leaſt interruption; but rather after this example fortified their own Trenches, ſhutting all Avenues or paſſages to Renegadoes, whom they ſuſpected might fly, and give advice to the Chriſtians: howſoever ſome of them eſcaped to the *Venetian* Camp, declaring that the Cannon from the Town did much incommode the *Turks* in their Trenches; upon which Intelligence Marqueſs *Villa* ordered forty eight ſhot to be made at that place, where they were moſt offended, which put the *Turks* into great conſternation: after which no conſiderable Engagements happened, beſides ſome few Skirmiſhes and Rencounters of no memorable note, in which one *Antiquario* a Quarter-maſter, Count *Pio Ferretti*, and others ſignalized themſelves by particular Acts of Valour, as alſo Captain *Vimes* who killed *Mehmet Bey*, a *Turk* of great eſteem, with his own hand.

But now the *Turks* receiving daily Recruits, as of eight hundred Janizaries, and ſix hundred Spahees, landed at *Gira-petra*, and ſeventeen hundred more disbarked at *Chiſſamo*; and advices daily coming of great numbers of Galeots and Brigantines providing in the Gulf of *Lepanto*, and of eighteen Ships of *Barbary*, all ready to tranſport Soldiers to *Candia*, moved the Captain-General to perſwade the removal of the Camp for better ſecurity of the moſt important places; the which Marqueſs *Villa* performed accordingly in the night preceding the firſt of *June*, with much order and care; for firſt he cauſed the Artillery to be withdrawn, with the Mortar-pieces, Ammunition, and Proviſions of War, and placed in the Fort of *Mocenigo*; then he cauſed half the Army to work in filling the Trenches, whilſt the other half remained in form of Battel, and two hours before day blew up the Fort; which having done, they marched in three Bodies to the City, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of the *Turks*, who on that occaſion made a day of Feſtival.

The *Venetian* Camp raiſed.

Theſe particulars of Action having paſſed under the Conduct of Marqueſs *Villa* without any ſignal Victory or advantage over the *Turk*, adminiſtred ſubject to ſuch who in the parts of Chriſtendom were emulous of his glory, and envious of his eminent charge, to give liberty to their tongues to diſparage the management of his Affairs, as not agreeable to that high expectation of ſucceſs which the World conceived thereof, when he firſt entred on this imployment: But here it is obſervable at what rate men who lye ſoft and warm in their beds at home, unconcerned in the dangers, labours, and hazards of thoſe who live and act abroad, can make their reflexions, and paſs their cenſures on active and ingaged men, not conſidering the ſtate of affairs, the uncertainty of Succours in ſo long and diſtant a tract of Sea, as paſſes between *Venice* and *Candia*, ſubjected to Winds, and a thouſand Caſualties; nor yet the numerous Troops of the Enemy, nor the Puiſſance of that Empire, which for its Power, Richeſs, and the Valour of its Soldiery, may be eſteemed the moſt Potent and conſiderable of all the Monarchies and known Kingdoms of the Univerſe. But what conjectures ſoever envious men might make of the Conduct of Marqueſs *Villa*, yet the Senate of *Venice* appplauded his labours, and owned his ſervices, as being ſuch, which having merited the admiration and eſteem of all the World, did in a particular manner challenge their thankfulneſs and acknowledgments. About this time the Gallies of *Malta* arrived at *Candia*, where ſome diſpute ariſing touching the place of precedence in the Fleet, which the *Venetians* denied to them: they departed thence with ſome diſſatisfaction, and returned to the Weſtward to tranſport the young Empreſs out of *Spain* into *Italy*. 1666.

And now intelligence coming to *Candia* by divers Letters, that the Great Vizier was departed from *Adrianople* with a numerous Army, and was already arrived at *Thebes*, where a general Rendezvous was appointed of the whole Army, with reſolution to be tranſported from *Malvoiſin* to that Iſland; the *Venetian* Generals and Commanders in chief concluded it neceſſary, if poſſible, to hinder their paſſage, and rather to fight them at Sea, which was their more propitious Element, than to attend their Landing, where they would be forced to diſpute with unequal numbers, and on diſadvantageous terms. Accordingly the Captain-General reinforced his Fleet with two thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe under the Command of Count *Licinio Martinoni*, appointing the Rendezvous to be at *Argentiera*, to which place alſo Marqueſs *Villa* repaired, touching by the way at *Milo* for refreſhment of his Horſe, it being an Iſland abounding with Herbage; the Captain-General being for ſome days detained at *Standia* by contrary Winds, a Conſultation was held for the more advantageous management of the War; after which the whole Fleet making Sail, was on *Auguſt* the ninth ſcattered by a furious ſtorm, and not being able to recover *Santoxini*, they by good fortune fetched *Stampalia*, an Iſland abounding with generous Wines, excellent Fruit, Partridges, and other Proviſions; at length after various fortunes arriving at *Andra*, which is a great and populous Iſland, another Council of War was held, where it was again concluded, That all care was to be taken to intercept the Succours which the Enemy daily ſent to *Candia*; to which end the Cavalier *Grimani*, Captain of the Galleons, was ordered to cruiſe about the Coaſt; and hearing that twelve *Turkiſh* Ships were lading Proviſions in the Gulf

TheGreat Vizier arrives at *Thebes*.

of

Twelve *Turkiſh* Veſſels taken.

of *Volo*, he repaired thither, and had the good fortune to take them with all their lading; but the other Squadrons miſſed of the like ſucceſs; for notwithſtanding the care and vigilance which was uſed, all matters ſeemed to ſucceed proſperous for the *Turks*, and adverſe to the Chriſtians; the deſigns of the firſt having an iſſue agreeable to their intentions, whilſt thoſe of the latter were always diſappointed either by Nature or by Fortune, or rather by that ſecret hand of Providence, which had allotted that Iſland for a Prize to the *Ottoman* Arms.

By this time the *Turkiſh* Army being at their Rendezvous at *Thebes*, the Great Vizier prepared to imbark; and conſidering the difficulty of the paſſage, thought it prudent firſt to make new Propoſitions to Signior *Ballarino* before he entred on this hazardous attempt, ſuppoſing perhaps, that the rumour of this March might have affrighted the *Venetians* to a Surrender of that Kingdom, that they might ſpare the blood and charge of that War which afterwards enſued: wherefore *Ballarino* being called from his Houſe at *Conſtantinople*, began his Journey towards *Thebes* on the twentyfifth of *Auguſt*, accompanied by a Capugibaſhee, and three Janizaries: and in twenty three days arriving at *Theſſalonica*, now called *Salonica*, he fell ſick of a violent Feaver, cauſed by that agitation of body in his Travels to which he was unaccuſtomed, and for want of that ſleep which he uſed to take after his ſlender dinner, paſſing the reſt of the day and night in continual watchings: at firſt he felt only ſome little alterations, which he hoping might paſs over, reſolved to proceed on his Journey notwithſtanding the perſwaſions to the contrary of Signior *Patavino* his Secretary, with whom I was well acquainted, and ever eſteemed for an honeſt and a worthy Perſon: but he continued reſolute to proceed, fearing leſt his delays by the way ſhould loſe him the opportunity of that moment of Treaty, which was impoſſible afterward to be retrieved; for in his Journey he would often reaſon in this manner: If I ſhould ſtop here, what cenſure would the World paſs on me? I may poſſibly excuſe my ſelf; but in the mean time the Vizier may ingage too far in his deſign, and fruſtrate all thoſe methods and foundations which I have laid towards a Peace: and then if I live, I ſhall be over-burdened with the reproaches of the World, for having abandoned the grand incumbance in its ultimate neceſſity, which is charged upon me, which will be a more ſenſible affliction than the agony of death. My ſickneſs will be eſteemed by many to be rather diſſembled than real: The dead man lives in the memory of his faithfulneſs and conſtancy, and the living man dies in the indelible characters of his cowardiſe and miſfortune. Theſe were his own words.

And thus travelling forward his Feaver daily increaſed to that exceſs, that on the ſixth day he was forced to ſtop at a City called *Iſdino*, where having inſtructed Signior *Patavino* in what manner he ought to manage affairs, and recommending his ſervices and children to the favour and protection of the Senate, he paſſed to the other World, being honoured by a ſolemn Funeral at the publick Expence, and Interred in the Church of St. *Mark*, his Son *Domenico Ballarino* ſucceeding into the Office and Inheritance of his Father. The Senate underſtanding by advices from Signior *Padavino*, That the Vizier deſired another Envoy, qualified with the Character of a publick Miniſter to reſide with him in *Candia*, diſpatched the Secretary *Girolamo Giavarina*, a Perſon of good abilities, to that place. And at the ſame time the Captain-General *Andrea Cornaro* preſſing the Senate for licenſe to return to his own Country; his requeſt was granted, and *Franceſco Moroſini* was appointed to ſucceed him in that important Charge, and was accompanied at a time of ſo great emergency with powerful Convoys, and with Recruits of Men, Proviſions, and Ammunition fitting to carry on ſo preſſing a War.

The Vizier paſſes over into *Candia*.

On the Month of *October* the Great Vizier in perſon imbarking himſelf and Army at *Malvoiſia* with many Paſha's, and men expert and active in the War, paſſed over to the Iſle of *Candia*, reſolving by ſtrength and dint of Sword to force that ſtrong City to obedience, the main Bulwark of Chriſtendom, ſituated at the Entrance of the *Archipelago*; of the ſucceſs of which famous Siege we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe more at large and more particularly hereafter; in order unto which the Great Vizier on the laſt day of this Year, went in Perſon to take a view of this City, and having ſurveyed all ſides of it, apprehended that the Siege would be long and tedious; and therefore returned again to *Canea* to take thoſe meaſures which were requiſite for an Enterpriſe of that weight and conſideration.

In the mean time the Princes of Chriſtendom being for the moſt part either in that diſcord amongſt themſelves, of which the *Turks* have always made their advantage; or elſe living in parts remote, did not conſider *Candia* as a Bulwark to their Dominions; and therefore rendred little other aſſiſtance to the *Venetians* than good words, and vain wiſhes for their ſucceſs and Victory. The Popes Forces only under Command of *Muzeo Mattei* which were in *Dalmatia*, were tranſported to *Candia*, and five hundred Foot belonging to the Grand Duke of *Toſcany*, came into their places for defence of that Country. The moſt Chriſtian King in return to the Embaſſy of *Venice* performed by the Cavalier *Alviſe Sagredo*, remitted to that Republick an hundred thouſand Crowns, and Cardinal *Barberini* at his expence ſupplied four thouſand Meaſures of Corn. But the preſent Conjuncture did not ſeem to ſmile on the *Venetians*, for all the Gallies belonging to *Spain* and *Italy*, as well as thoſe of *Malta*, were employed in the Tranſportation of the new Empreſs *Margerita* of *Auſtria*. The Pope was infirm, and diſtracted with his own Domeſtick Affairs. The Emperor was a young Bridegroom, and beſides the Diverſion which a Wife gave him from Cares, he apprehended that he might ſpeedily receive ſome diſturbance from the Princes of the *Rhine*, and from *Sweden* in the Dukedom of *Bremen*. The King of *Spain* was a Child of five years old, labouring at the ſame time under a War with *Portugal*, and threatned by the more powerful Arms of *France*, on the pretence of *Flanders*. Beſides all which, the *Turks* were as well in quietneſs amongſt themſelves, as they were at peace with all other Princes; ſo that we may expect that the force and power of the *Ottoman* Empire ſhould now be turned, like a Torrent, to overwhelm this ſpot of Land, which ſeemed to be ſo ſituated, as well to reſiſt the Waves of the Seas, as the Inundation of this mighty and Martial People.

Anno

Anno 1667. Hegeira 1078.

AT the Beginning of this year the Winter and Cold which chilled and benumbed the Earth, encreaſed the heat, and gave vigour and action to the Tartars, who made ſuch an unexpected incurſion into *Poland*, that they carried with them near a hundred thouſand captived Souls, as they were numbred before *Jaſh*, in their return home. The Polanders, awakened hereat, but ill adviſed, reſolved on a Treaty where there was more juſt cauſe for an open War, and in order thereunto diſpeeded an Ambaſſadour to the Sultan, to expoſtulate the reaſon of this breach of Peace, and require juſtice and ſatisfaction on thoſe his Subjects, who had, contrary to the Articles of Peace, committed ſuch actions, and outrages of open hoſtility; or at leaſt, that the Turk would not take upon him to abet the cauſe of the Tartars, whilſt the Polanders took juſt revenge for their late injuries. The Ambaſſadour with this Meſſage put himſelf in a readineſs, and with a retinue of about two hundred and fifty Perſons, begun his Journey towards the end of *April*, and on the ſecond of *May* croſſed the River *Nieſtro*, which divides *Poland* from *Moldavia*, where he was received by two of the Boiars, or Moldavian Noblemen, and thence conducted to *Jaſh*, where the Prince of that Country reſided. The Ambaſſadour expected the Viſit of the Prince, according to Cuſtom and Articles of Peace; but the Prince being either forbidden by the Port, or rather out of an ignorant ſtiffneſs and pride, omitted to paſs the Civilities of that Office, but yet ſupplied the Ambaſſadour with Plenty of Wine and Proviſions; which the Polanders enjoying freely, diſpenſed perhaps more eaſily with other neglects and omiſſions which concerned Formalities and Ceremonies.

The ninth of *June* the Ambaſſadour arrived at *Adrianople*, and thence was called to *Demitochum*, a City about a days Journey diſtant, where the Grand Signior, for the ſake of his hunting and divertiſement, remained under Tents, as the moſt convenient Lodging in that Seaſon of the Year; the 25*th* the Ambaſſadour had his firſt Audience with the Chimacam, at which thirty five of his Retinue were veſted with Coſtans, nothing paſſing but the uſual Ceremonies and Complements. The 28*th* he had Audience of the Grand Signior; but firſt made tender of his Preſents as followeth.

By the number of Coſtans is to be eſteemed the honour the Turks bear to one Prince above the other.

A Cryſtal Cup in a Caſe of Gold, adorned with Rubies and Diamonds.

2 Baskets rarely woven with a very fine Ruſh.

A Clock.

A Cabinet of Ebony ſupported with four Eagles made of Silver, in which alſo was a Clock with a perſpective Looking-Glaſs.

2 Silver Cups of conſiderable bigneſs.

2 Silver Flaggons.

A Gun which diſcharged twenty times.

2 Spotted Dogs.

4 Maſtiffs.

100 Ells of Holland.

The Poliſh Ambaſſadours Audience.

Theſe Preſents preceding, made way for the Ambaſſadours Audience, at which he declared, That the Commiſſion from his Maſter the King of *Poland*, was to make Complaints unto his Majeſty of the grand Incurſions the Tartars had made into *Poland* without any reaſon or cauſe of War; and that therefore his Maſter did expect from him, as from a juſt and vertuous Prince, a permiſſion for revenge, and ſatisfaction of his injuries, to enter *Tartary*, without aſſuming it as any ground of Breach or Infringement of that Peace which he held with him; or elſe that he would by his authority enjoyn the Tartars to reſtore their Captives, and their ſpoils, and render them a reaſonable ſatisfaction. The Grand Signior returned no reply hereunto, but referred that to be done by his Chimacam, ſilence being eſteemed ſome part of his Majeſty and State, which he ſeldom breaks but with few and haughty words.

This Ambaſſadour was a man of a bold and daring Spirit, a fit Orator for ſuch an Embaſſy, had not his immoderate Covetouſneſs, the Vice and Folly commonly incident to Old Age, much eclipſed many of theſe Vertues of which he was Maſter. He was alſo a Man of a violent temper, feavered to a madneſs in the height of his Choler, which ſtrangely betrayed him to many undecencies in his Language and Comportment. For at his Audience with the Chimacam, when he came to receive the Grand Signior's Anſwer, his words were vented with that heat, and ſo like to menaces, that the Turks taking exception thereat, returned his courſe Speeches with the like Dialect, at which the Ambaſſadour ſwelled with that indignation and anger, as became not the Moderation and Gravity of his Office; adding in Concluſion, That he was an Aged Man, full of Years and Corporal Infirmities; that nothing could arrive more happy to him than a Death in which he ſhould triumph to ſuffer for the benefit and glory of his Country. This exceſs and intemperance of Language moved the Turks to ſet a Guard upon him, and confine him to his own Houſe in the nature of a Priſoner; which violation of his Sacred Office, ſo worked upon his Spirits, that he often vented ſome part of his fury in words and blows on the Officers of his Guard; for which rude behaviour having received ſome reproofs from the Chimacam, his paſſion not knowing which way to eaſe it ſelf, feavered him into a deſperate ſickneſs, of which in a few days, phrenſical and diſtracted, he departed this life.

The Death of the Poliſh Ambaſſadour.

The Secretary of the Embaſſy, being the next in Office, took upon him the Function and Charge of the Ambaſſadour, and having now nothing to act, but to receive the Anſwer to the Meſſage of his Maſter, for which a Day being appointed, he was preſented with a Horſe and Furniture by the Chimacam, of whom having Audience, he received no other ſatisfaction to the Complaints againſt the Tartars than theſe following, which were related to me by the Secretary of the Embaſſy, who did me the honour to make me a Viſit, when I was on my recovery from a dangerous Sickneſs, at *Conſtantinople*.

Firſt, That no compenſation or pretence be ever hereafter demanded for the late incurſions made by the Tartars into *Poland*.

Secondly, That the Polanders make not War upon the Coſſacks, who had lately renounced their ſubjection, and were fled for protection to the Ottoman Power.

Thirdly, That the Poles immediately make War upon the Muſcovite.

Fourthly, That the Turk Merchants have free Trade into *Poland*, and that the Turkiſh Merchants receive ſatisfaction for what injuries and loſſes they lately ſuffered.

With theſe Propoſitions and Conditions of Peace, the Secretary was diſpatched, which did not ſo well pleaſe the Poles as to return thanks for them, or a Meſſenger with Advice of their Acceptance or Ratification; and though they could not but be ſenſible of the ſcorn and yoke the Turks would impoſe upon them, yet having ſtill remaining amongſt them certain Reliques of their former diſſentions and diverſity about election of a Succeſſour to their King, and there being a certain Spirit of Luxury, Pride, and Sedition which was crept in amongſt the Nobility, they conſidered not the advantage of the preſent time, but willingly preferred a preſent eaſe, and enjoyment of their Feaſts and Banquets, before the hazards and uncertainties of benefit, which they might receive by the doubtful lot and fortune of War; and though never any Seaſon appeared more opportune and advantageous to the Pole than this, when the flower of the Turkiſh Youth and Force was employed in *Candia*, and all places, in part, diſmantled of their uſual ſtrength and complement of Souldiers to defend their Frontiers; yet they ſeemed reſolved to paſs by the former Incurſions, and Spoils, and Robberies made on their People, ſo the Turk would but ſtop here, and permit them, without farther provocation, to enjoy their quiet, and debauched way of living: Only ſome of the Borderers on the Turks, who had deeply ſuffered by the late Incurſions, moved with the loſs of their Eſtates, and the Captivity of their neareſt Relations, joyned with a conſiderable number of the Muſcovites, entered *Tartary* in the months of *October* and *November*, and burned about three hundred Villages, carrying away Captives, and other prey, from under the very Walls of *Coſſa*.

The Revolt of the Paſha of *Balſora*.

At this time alſo the Paſha of *Balſora* began new rumours and an unſeaſonable Rebellion, who being reported to have an Army of Horſe and Foot conſiſting of forty thouſand men, gave no ſmall diſturbance and apprehenſion to the Turks; who with their difficulties of War in *Candia*, and the jealouſies of a ſtorm from *Poland*, remained with ſome doubts and heſitancy about the way of their proceedings. At length Orders were diſpatched to the Paſhaws of *Erzirum*, *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, and *Darbequier*, to unite againſt the Rebel, to diveſt him of his Government, and to ſend his forfeited head to his Maſter. Theſe Paſhaws accordingly joining their Forces, defeated the Rebel; and as all Conſpiracies of open Rebellion diſtant from the Court, have had but ill ſucceſs in theſe Countries againſt the true Prince, ſo this Paſha was routed, and being forſaken by his Servants, fled with a few Horſe to the Protection of the King of *Perſia*. The principal Cauſe which moved the Paſha of *Balſora* (as I was informed from the mouth of the Paſha of *Damaſcus*) to this Rebellion, was the Confidence he had in his own ſtrength, and the fidelity of his people, to whom of ancient right, that Government was of hereditary Succeſſion, deſcended to him by his Anceſtors for many Generations: by which means he challenged ſuch abſolute intereſt in his Principality, that for many Years he refuſed to acknowledge the Grand Signior by any other tokens of homage, than in the bare name of his Protector, and in making Publick Prayers for his Proſperity and Victories. But at length the Grand Signior coming to impoſe farther on him, ſtirred his hot deſires into Rebellion, and to an open defiance.

About the beginning of this Year the Captain-General *Cornaro*, with the Proveditor of the Armata *Franceſco Barbaro*, returned to *Venice*, bringing with them one *Ramadam* a Sangiack of *Egypt*, and other Slaves taken by the Captains *Grimani* and *Molini*. The manner was this: *Ramadam*, with three and twenty Ships, laden with Men and Ammunion, endeavoured to enter into *Canea*, but being charged by the Venetians, and overcome, ſet fire to their Ship, and leaping into the Schiff to ſave their Lives, were taken by the Boat of *Molino*; and though fourteen Gallies came out of *Canea* to their aſſiſtance, yet they could not hinder the taking of five of their Ships, beſides ſeveral others which were put aſhore and ſtrand by four Malteſe Corſairs, who entered into the Fight, being called at a diſtance by the ſound of the Cannon. About that time alſo a Turkiſh Gally was ſurrendred by the Induſtry and Ingenuity of the Slaves, who having ſecretly boared ſome holes in the bottom of the Gally, and plugged them up afterwards, ſo as that they might let in the Water, or ſtop it when they pleaſed; it happened that the Gally being near the Rock, which is called *Polycandro*, they ſecretly drew out the plug, whereby ſo great a Flood of Water on a ſudden came in, that the Gally being ready to ſink, the Turks affrighted forſook the Gally to ſave themſelves on the Rock, leaving the Slaves in the Gally to ſhift as well as they could. The Slaves being thus freed of their Maſters the Turks, plugged up the holes again, and clearing the Gally of Water, rowed away, and delivered themſelves into the hands of the Venetians; upon which advice, the Captain General diſpatched the Captain of the Gulf *Lorenzo Cornaro* with two Gallies to that Rock, where they became maſters of all the Turks except two, who threw themſelves into the Sea, preferring Death before Slavery.

In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* recalled Marqueſs *Villa*, who was his Subject, from *Candia*; the reaſons for which was attributed to an appearance of Breach with *Geneva*, the Switzers and the Valtelines, who were his Subjects, or rather to the ill Offices of thoſe who envied his preferment, being deſirous to have him recalled from a place of ſo much honour and reputation. In obedience to this revocation Marqueſs *Villa* taking his leave of General *Cornaro*, returned from *Candia* as far as *Zant*; where meeting the new Captain General *Franceſco Moraſidi*, and being by him aſſured, That the Pope, and Senate of *Venice* repreſenting the difficulty of Affairs in *Candia*, and the preſent urgency and neceſſity for his preſence there, had obtained Licenſe from the Duke of *Savoy* for his continuance in that employment; upon which aſſurance, Marqueſs *Villa* took a reſolution to return again to *Candia*, being accompanied with a ſtrong Squadran of Veſſels carrying conſiderable quantities both of Amunition and Proviſions.

The

1667.

The Hiſtory of the famous Siege of Candia.

On the 27th of *April* the Forces from *Egypt* under the Command of *Meſſir Bey* appeared in the field, and on the 5th of *May* N.S. the General of the Janiſaries incamped on the right ſide of New *Candia*, that he might better view and ſurvey the ground near the *Lazaretto*.

1667. At the beginning of the New Moon of this Year's *May*, being the $\frac{12}{22}$th day of the month, publick Prayers being firſt made through the moſt principal places of the Empire for the ſucceſs of the Ottoman Arms, and ſo ſolemnly continued every *Monday* and *Thurſday* for the ſpace of a year; the Great Vizier firſt appeared before the renowned Fortreſs of *Candia*, and began the memorable Siege of that City, which for the ſpace of twenty five years preceding had been the ſubject to which the ſpecial care and expence of *Venice*, and the Art of the moſt ſubtle Engineers of the World, as far as humanely was poſſible, did concur to render it the moſt impregnable Fortreſs of the Univerſe.

The Town was fortified with ſeven great Baſtions, *viz.* the *Sabionera*, *Vetturi*, *Jeſus*, *Martinengo*, *Betlem*, *Panigra*, and St. *Andrea*; theſe were all incompaſſed with a large and deep Ditch, of which were the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, the Revelin of *Panigra* flanked to the right with the Half-moon of *Mocenigo*: next hereunto was the Revelin of *Betlem* bordering on the Work of St. *Maries*, which to the left had the Revelin of St. *Nicholas*, and this adjoyned to the Fortification of *de Palma*, next whereunto was the Revelin of *Priuli*, with the Redoubt of *Crepa-cuore*; and over all was the Royal Fort of St. *Demetrio*, which commanded the Work of *Molino* and *Sabionera* unto the very Sea.

Marqueſs *Villa* at his laſt return was chiefly intent to ſtrengthen the Fortifications, and repair the Out-works, eſpecially that of St. *Andrea* which was almoſt ruined, and the old ſubterranean Traverſes were ſo full of water, and the old Galleries ſo high, that the Enemy could eaſily paſs under them, all which he repaired and amended in a ſhort time. In confidence of gaining this ſtrong Fortreſs, the Turks demoliſhed New *Candia*, ſituate about two miles from the Old, which the Vizier now pointed out to them as a better Seat, and incouraged them to win and inhabit it; ſo that $\frac{14}{24}$th of *May* the Turks incamped over againſt St. *Maries* along the Valley of *Gioffiro* with the ſound of their Drums and Trumpets, and firing great Guns and Vollies of Muskets. Their Forces at firſt conſiſted of about forty thouſand fighting Men, and eight thouſand Pioniers, but ſoon afterwards increaſed to ſeventy thouſand, and ſo for the moſt part were maintained during the Siege.

The diſpoſition of the Turks Camp.

The firſt Traverſes began from the ſide of St. *Maries*, and were carried to the Sea, the Great Vizier took his Quarters over againſt *Panigra*, the Janiſar-Aga againſt *Martinengo*, and other Paſha's between that and *Betlem*. On the other ſide the Paſha of *Romelia* incamped againſt the *Lazaretto*, and *Catirgi-Oglé* Paſha of *Canea* againſt *Sabionera*, *Achmet* Paſha Vizier of the Camp, and *Zagargibaſhee* Major General of the Janiſaries, who had the reputation of old ſouldiers and good Engineers, were ordered to inlarge and lengthen the Traverſes on the ſide of the Half-Moon of *Mocenigo*. Quarters being thus aſſigned, they raiſed three *Batteries, the firſt againſt the Baſtion of *Martinengo*, and the right ſide of the Work St. *Maries*; a ſecond againſt *Panigra*; and ſoon after a third againſt the Half-moon and Bulwark of *Betlem*, from whence they continually thundered with their great Cannons, ſhooting Bullets of ſixty, ninety to an hundred and twenty pound weight.

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The Batteries raiſed by the Turks.

Nor were the Beſieged within leſs induſtrious or wiſe in the diſpoſition of their Affairs; for Marqueſs *Villa* took his Quarters at the entrance of the Bulwark *Jeſus*, Proveditor *Barbaro* at *Panigra*, the Proveditor General of the Kingdom at *Martinengo*, the Duke of *Candia*, *Franceſco Battaglia*, in the Fort of *Sabionera*, and other Officers between the Curtains of St. *Andrea*, *Betlem*, and *Sabionera*.

Things thus diſpoſed on both ſides, many and various were the valiant Aſſaults and Sallies, the Traverſes extraordinary, the Rencounters bloody, the reſiſtance vigorous, not known or recorded in any Siege before; which though they can never be fully expreſſed, or particularly denoted, yet I ſhould do injury to the aſhes of thoſe Heroick Chriſtians who ſo freely entred the Liſt, and on this Theatre of the World ſacrificed their lives in defence of Chriſtendom, ſhould I not ſignalize ſome of them of divers Nations for their Proweſs and Valour. And here pardon me, good Reader, if I come ſhort or fail in this relation, where many of unparalleled Valour and Vertue dyed obſcurely and unknown, and the numbers of others ſo great, that to ſpecifie them all, were to ſwell this Work to a larger Volume than the Book of Martyrs. Here was that Martial field into which remote Nations and unconcerned deſcended, carried thither by zeal to the Chriſtian cauſe, or by certain Principles of Valour and Magnanimity; ſo that though the War bore no other denomination than of the Venetian and the Turk, yet ſo great was the confluence of both parts of the World to this little Iſle, as if it had been choſen by unanimous conſent for a Stage to try the Title to the Univerſal Empire. The Town being thus beleagured on all ſides, but where * *Neptune* the Spouſe of *Venice* kept it open, the Chriſtians endeavoured firſt to diſturb the Traverſes of the Turks by a Mine of Powder which they blew up; but through the neglect or little experience of the Engineer, it being the firſt which they had fired, reverted, and did more hurt to themſelves than to the Enemy; the errour of which being obſerved, another Fornello was fired, which taking its due place and meaſures, ſo affrighted the Turks, as yet not acquainted with this manner and invention of War, that they began at the firſt onſet to be diſcouraged, conſidering that if the ground was unſecure and unſtable at that diſtance what abyſſes and chaſmes muſt there be prepared to make them graves under the Walls or entrance to the City. To ſecond and juſtifie this Gunpowder Plot the Chriſtians made two Sallies, one by the Savoyards under Command of Colonel *Proſito Torſe*, who iſſued forth from the Revelin of *Betlem*, and made great ſlaughter of

The firſt Mine blown up.

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Two Sallies made by the Chriſtians.

the Turks with Granadoes on the ſide of *Panigra*; another was performed by Colonel *Arberio* and Colonel *Marini*, accompanied with Count *Bruraſco* Captain of the Guards to Marqueſs *Villa* who aſſaulted two Redouts of the Turks, and forced them to flight, and afterwards with ſome *loſs* retreated victoriouſly to their Works. In like manner Colonel *Frigeri* Commander of St. *Demetrio*, made a Sally on *Caſergi-Oglé* near the *Lazaretto*, and with ſome loſs returned triumphant.

The Captain-General diſarms his Gallies.

Five Mines the Chriſtians ſprang.

About this time arrived at *Standi* the Captain-General *Franceſco Moroſini*, who after ſome Conſultation diſarming his Fleet of about a thouſand men, entred with that Succour into the Town, and yet fitted out a convenient Squadron of Gallies and Galleaſſes to rove in the *Archipelago* to hinder the Enemies Succours and Recruits, which were deſigned for *Candia*. In this interim the Turks repaired the old Battery againſt the *Lazaretto*, and laboured continually in their Galleries and ſubterranean Works; ſo that by that time that the Chriſtians had ſprang five Fornelli upon them towards the point of the Half-moon of *Mocenigo*, the Turks had advanced ſo well towards the Borders of *Panigra*, that they ſprang two Mines; but theſe being but the firſt proofs or eſſays of this kind of invention, reverted on themſelves with the loſs of two hundred of their men, and again fired a third with little ſucceſs: which the Chriſtians anſwered to better purpoſe, blowing up ſixty or ſeventy Turks. Wherefore the Turks made a farther tryal of two Mines by the Half-moon, rather to their own loſs, than to the damage of their Enemy.

Attempts of the Turks on the ſide of Panigra.

In all the month of *July* paſſed not a day without ſome conſiderable action, ſometimes to good, ſometimes with bad ſucceſs to both Parties; every day Mines were ſprank on both ſides, deſtroying the Lines, and overthrowing the Galleries; but the main force and heat of the War as it were concentring it ſelf towards the Quarters of *Panigra*, in defence thereof the Engineer *Caſtellan* as freely as couragiouſly proffered the uſe of his Art, and the hazard of his Perſon. In which whilſt he imployed himſelf, and endeavoured to cleanſe the Galleries of their rubbiſh, which the Enemies Mines had thrown down, the Turks threw ſuch quantities of Bomboes and Stink-pots into thoſe Caverns, as made the ſtench thereof ſo ſuffocating and noiſom, that two Officers were choaked or ſmothered that went to view the place, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cavalli* and the Engineer *Caſtellan* himſelf were brought away half dead, poyſoned with Sulphur and peſtiferous ſmoke; to purifie which Grota, nothing could render the air more wholeſom, in expulſion of the preceding vapour, than the ſmoke of Juniper and burnt Aqua vitæ, which being made uſe of with good ſucceſs, the Chriſtians fired two Mines, which opened ſo dreadful an abyſs, as ſerved for the grave of great numbers of Infidels.

Arrival of Gallies from the Pope and Malta.

During this time daily rencounters arrived the Auxiliary Gallies from the Pope and *Malta*, commanded by Prior *Bichi* and *Bali del Bene*, as alſo the Gallies of *Naples* and *Sicily* commanded by *Gianettino Doria* and the Duke of *Ferrandina*, of whom the Captain-General would have borrowed ſome Forces to have ſerved at Land; but their Commiſſions it ſeems or their courages were too ſtrait to afford any ſuch Supplies, being deſigned to cruiſe in the *Archipelago*; only the generous Chevalier *d'Harcourt* with ten other Camerades that were imbarked on the Gallies of *Malta* agreed to enter the Garriſon, having come with no other deſign from *France*, than to offer themſelves in defence of the Chriſtian cauſe, and in a time of Peace, when their Prince had no need of their aſſiſtance and ſervice, to give the World true evidences and proofs of the value and greatneſs of their ſouls. In all Enterpriſes this Perſon, worthily deſcended of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, was a Companion to Marqueſs *Villa*, and one day venturing on a deſign to diſturb the Enemies approaches, was ſhot in the face with a Musket-bullet; of which wound recovering ſome time after, he with his Companions returned to *France* having like Cavaliers Paſſant acted the parts of true Chivalry. But neither did the Prior *Bichi* Commander of the Popes Gallies, nor *Doria* Admiral of thoſe of *Naples*, act agreeable to the bravery of thoſe French Gentlemen; for they not only denied, as we have ſaid, to land a ſmall number of their men, but as if they came only to make them a viſit, ſent this ſhort Letter of Advice dated the 24th of *Auguſt*, in theſe words. *The Auxiliary Gallies are obliged to depart this night and to return to* Suda, *where they are to remain until the expiration of that time which is appointed for them in theſe Seas.* Prior *Bichi* likewiſe ſent word to Marqueſs *Villa*, That he judged it fit to depart, by reaſon that no action preſented for them to undertake: to which the Marqueſs replied, That he who ſeeks may find, and that ſuch opportunities never offer to thoſe who endeavour to avoid them. *Doria* alſo, to colour his excuſes, ſaid, That his Orders were not to land men, unleſs the Town were in the extremity of danger of being taken; to which *Villa* replyed, That he could not well be aſſured in what condition the Town was, ſince he never vouchſafed to ſet his foot aſhore, or conceived a curioſity of ſeeing the greateſt and the moſt famous Siege that ever was in the World. In ſhort, theſe Holy and Catholick Squadrons departed without contributing any aſſiſtance to the Chriſtians, incurring thereby the ſevere cenſure of the Commanders in chief, with the anger and diſdain of of the Souldiery.

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Chevalier d'Harcourt.

An Agent arrives at Candia *to treat with the Vizier.*

The Venetians have always thought it Policy to maintain an Agent in the Ottoman Quarters, perhaps with deſign to afford them Intelligence, or to be ready to apply Terms of Peace in times of moſt urgent neceſſities. According to which Rule Signior *Giavarina* was ſent to *Candia* upon the Venetian Armata, now governed at Sea by one *Paſqualino*, with Inſtructions to treat with the Vizier, and perhaps to grant him any thing beſides *Candia*, though without this nothing could come either welcome or ſatisfactory to the Turks. Howſoever to introduce him into the Camp, a white Flag was diſplayed on the ſide of the *Lazaretto*; which when the Turks perceived, they flocked in great numbers to know the myſtery of this Signal of Pacification. And though nothing appeared, beſides a Letter directed to the Great Vizier, yet they hoped it might portend ſomething of Treaty, which in the end would produce a Peace, and a concluſion of their labours, before the Winter ſurpriſed them in

their

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their colder Lodgings. The Vizier having read the Letter, had his thoughts raiſed as high as was poſſible in hopes of a Surrender; and therefore moſt freely ordered, That Signior *Giavarina* ſhould the Sunday following come to the Valley of *Gioffiro* with what Attendance and Followers he judged fit, proffering at the ſame time a ceſſation of Arms and all acts of Hoſtility: but the Chriſtians who were not reduced to that extremity as to crave Peace, or a reſpite from action, kindly refuſed his gentle proffer, which ſo inraged the Vizier, that in a fury he gave fire to a Mine on the left ſide of *Panigra*, which was ſeconded with that furious aſſault, that *Panigra* had been put into great danger, had not the courage of the Defendants been ſupereminent, and repulſed the Enemy with ſo great a ſlaughter, that the earth round about was covered with dead bodies: which action was ſeconded by a brisk Sally performed by ſome Knights of *Malta*, as *la Maiſon Neufve*, *de Langaron*, *de Clement*, *de Monnoſier*, *de Charbonniere*, and *de Blanbuiſſon*, though againſt the advice and counſel of Marqueſs *Villa*; of which the two firſt were ſlain, and the reſt returned with honour and ſucceſs.

The Turks aſſault Panigra.

At the end of this month of *July* the Garriſon received a Supply of ſix hundred Foot under Command of *Ottavio Abia*, a noble Venetian, who likewiſe made his entry more acceptable by twenty thouſand Ducats which he brought with him. At the time of his arrival the Chriſtians fired a Mine with good ſucceſs, but the Enemy had prepared another in revenge, which took ſuch effect on the right Angle of *Panigra*, as broke the Counterſcarp ten paces, and filled the Ditch with Earth, on advantage of which the Turks came to an Aſſault, but through the courage of *Luca Grandis* Serjeant Major, and other gallant Officers, a ſtop was given to the Enemies fury, and they beaten off with conſiderable loſs.

And now for the preſent all Sallies ceaſed, whilſt both ſides carried on their deſigns under ground, thwarthing and croſſing the Mines, each of other, in which ſubterranean Travels and Paſſages, the Miners often met, and had frequent and bloody Encounters, thoſe that were ſtrongeſt robbed the Powder and Utenſils of the weaker, ſo that the Scene of War ſeemed to be transferred *ad inferos*, and to be carried on with more fury and violence in the Grave, or the other world, than it was in the open Air of the Cydonian Fields. The Turks becoming now as expert as the Chriſtians in their ſecret and hidden Traverſes, had penetrated ſo far, that on the *8th* of *Auguſt* they fired a moſt dreadful Mine on the ſide of the half Moon, which made ſo great a Breach in that work, that eight men could march a breaſt; which ſo animated the Enemy with the advantage, that immediately in great numbers they mounted the breach to give an Aſſault; but ſupplies being timely afforded in aſſiſtance of the Guard, the Enemy was precipitated headlong, and overwhelmed with ſuch ſhowers of Musket ſhot, that the Retreat into their works was not only diſorderly, but the number of thoſe who ſurvived ſo few and diminiſhed, as gave proof how hazardous it was to attempt other more difficult and better fortified Baſtions.

The Turks fire a dreadful. Mine.

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Nor was the ſucceſs of the Turks leſs on the ſide of *Panigra*, where having made a Breach, they endeavoured to make good their ground under ſhelter of Sacks of earth, which the Chriſtians drew away from them with long iron hooks, which was ſuch a piece of ſport to the beſieged to ſee their Enemies diſmantled of their ſhelter, and lye open to their ſhot, that a young Page of Marqueſs *Villa*, called *du Clos*, venturing in this action beyond his years, was ſhot with a Musket Bullet in the head, and ſo haſtned to the other World covered with glory and renown.

There was ſcarce now a day which paſſed, that was not ſignalized with the ſpringing of ſeveral Mines both on one ſide and the other; moſt of thoſe made by the Chriſtians were ſeconded with Sallies, and thoſe of the Turks with Aſſaults and Stormings of one Fort or other. On the 10*th* of *September* Signior *da Riva*, a noble Venetian, arrived with a Recruit of five hundred Souldiers, and a great number of Pioneers, and the ſame day was celebrated, after the uſual manner, by ſpringing of Mines; one of which threw a Turk on the Fort of *Panigra*, and ruined the Galleries of the Enemy; the next day likewiſe ſeveral Fornelli, were fired by the Enginier *Lubatiers* from the parts of the half Moon, and of *Panigra*, which filled up the Line, and ſpoiled the Redoubts of the Turks.

On the 15*th* the Chriſtians vigorouſly ſallied out with ſeventy Foot, under the Command of Colonel *Vechia*, and two other Captains from the Revelin of *Panigra*, who after a valiant skirmiſh, orderly retreated under the rampart of the Revelin; to which place the Turks eagerly purſuing them, were entertained with a Mine, and toſſed into the Air; which being done, the Venetians returned again, and were in the ſame manner encountred by the Turks, whereby a very hot fight began; during which time the Captain General, who ſtood on the Baſtion of *Betlem* to obſerve the motions of the Enemy, ſaluted them with a plentiful ſhower of Musket ſhot. In ſhort, after the Venetians had for the ſpace of an hour reſiſted the Force of the Enemy with much ſlaughter, they retired with good order into the Ditch of the City.

On the 18*th* Captain *Fedeli*, with a hundred Souldiers, made another Sally, but being wounded, he retreated with ſome loſs; which was retured again on the Enemy by a Mine which the Enginier *Quadruplani* ſprang with happy ſucceſs on the Quarter of *Panigra*; and on the ſame day the Captain of the Galleaſſes, called *Gioſeppe Moroſini*, arriving with five hundred men, and two hundred thouſand Ducats together with good quantities of Ammunition and Victuals, gave encouragement and relief to all the City; with whom alſo came the Cavalier *Gonges* and his Brother, in quality of Adventurers for Honour and Religion. There was not one day in all this Month, but divers Fornelli and Mines were fired on one ſide and the other; and though, the Chriſtians exerciſed as much military Art, Induſtry, and Valour, as men were capable to perform, yet the Turks ſtill gained ground, and daily advanced their works upon the Chriſtians; wherefore the Captain General ordered that a Mine and three Fornelli ſhou'd be fired, by which a ſmall Fort of the Turks,

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near the Counterſcarp, was overthrown, with divers other works lately raiſed.

The Turks ſpring another Mine.

Two Mines of the Chriſtians.

Four Mines and a Sally of the Chriſtians.

The Turks had ſuch good ſucceſs with their laſt Mines, that a Week after they fired another, which was calculated ſo well that it ruined the Gallery of Communication between *Pamgra* and its Out-works, and threw the Counterſcarp into the Ditch of the Town. For the neceſſary repair of which Breach, and clearing of the Ditch, the Governors gave immediate Order, and appointed a ſtrong Guard for defence and protection of thoſe that laboured; and to make better diſpatch, a moſt ingenious Engine was contrived to remove and rid the Ditch of Earth, which whilſt it worked with admirable ſucceſs, the Turks, by help of a Mine, blew it into the *Air*, and ſhattered it into a thouſand pieces. Howſoever, the Chriſtians deſiſted not from their intended work, but ſtill laboured with Baskets, Sacks, and Wheelbarrows to carry away the Earth; which that they might do quietly and undiſturbed, the Savoyards and Sclavonians made a furious and deſperate Sally, which continued for the ſpace of two hours; and though in that time the Enemy had opportunity to collect their greater Force into a Body, yet the Chriſtians were not put to flight, but retreated orderly, and in a fighting poſture, though with the loſs of ſeveral Officers, of which were Captain *Rè*, and others. To revenge theſe mines of the Turks, the Chriſtians fired two others as dreadful as the others; the firſt near *St. Spirito*, which being under the Enemies Traverſes, performed its deſired Effect; the ſecond was on the ſide of the half Moon, which ſwallowed up two of their Redoubts; And on the third of *October* they fired four other mines on the ſides of *Pamgra* and *Betlem*, one of which conſiſted of ſix and thirty Barrels of Powder, and another of fourteen, ordering at the ſame time a furious Sally from divers places; as namely, Captain *Gambo* ſallied from the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, Serjeant Major *Araſt* from under the Bulwark of *Pamgra*. Colonel *George Maria* was ordered to aſſault the Redoubts which were oppoſed to the Breach, Colonel *Vecbia* to attaque the Redoubts between *Pamgra* and the half Moon, Colonel *Cremaſco* and *Marini* to aſſault the redoubts between the half Moon and *Betlem*. Count *Bruſaſco* defended the work of St. *Maria*, Colonel *Inberti* defended the Revelin of St. *Nicholas*, and Serjeant *Motta* with thirty able Souldiers advanced to the fartheſt Lines of the Enemy, killing and putting to flight all before them. Colonel *Frigeri* Captain of the Fort *St. Dimetry*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Vimes* poſſeſſed ſeveral Redoubts; and in the concluſion all retreated in excellent order with ſucceſs and triumph, to yield the Turks evident arguments of their fortitude and courage; and that the Town was ſtill ſo well provided, as not only to be in a Condition of defending it ſelf, but offending the Enemy.

Yet the Turks were ſtill labouring to countermine the *Fornelli* of the Enemy, and to revenge the former Plots; to which end they had penetrated to the moſt inward works of *Pamgra*; but the Pioniers, employed by the Engineer *Quadruplani*, diſcovering their Gallery, entred boldly in, and drove away the Turks, from whom they took thirty two Barrels of Powder, and by that means for the preſent preſerved that work, and the Lives of many Souldiers.

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Two Mines of the Chriſtians.

The 17th of *October* the Chriſtians ſprang two Mines, one of thirty, and another of five and thirty Barrels of Powder, which did the deſired execution upon the Turks, which ſome brave ſpirits ſeconded by a bold Sally, amongſt which none was more eminent than a Greek Prieſt, who moved with zeal to his Country, entred far into the Enemies Trenches, where having killed a Perſon of Quality hand to hand, he was returning with the Trophy of his head; but being in the way intercepted by three at once, he was unequally matched, and ſlain, and died with the higheſt honour imaginable under the Walls of his Native City.

One Mine of the Chriſtians.

Soon after the Cavalier *Verneda*, another Engineer, fired a Mine of forty Barrels of powder, which made the very City and Works tremble, like an Earthquake; for whereas this Mine ſhould have taken its effect on the Enemies Redoubts, Providence ordered that it ſhould take its paſſage through an old Gallery with ſo much violence and Smoak that it ſuffocated the Miners, Carpenters, and Maſons, to the number of ſixty men.

The G. Signior ſends a Meſſenger to bring him certain information of the State of his Camp in Candia.

Towards the end of this Summer the Turks at *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople* grew big with the expectation of the happy News and Arrival of that meſſenger that ſhould declare the taking of *Candia*, and the end of the Venetian War; to entertain which joy with the more readineſs, they had prepared Lights, and Lamps, and artificial Fire-works to ſolemnize their * *Donalma*, and made publick prayers and proceſſion of the youth of the City twice a week; but finding their hopes fruſtrated, and their joys from Month to Month deferred, their expectations became tyred and wearied, and growing almoſt aſhamed of their diſappointment, began to throw the blame of the miſcarriage of their Affairs on the ill Conduct of the Vizier, and the ſluggiſhneſs of their Souldiery. The Grand Signior alſo more impatient than the reſt, diſpatched away a Meſſenger with Letters to the Vizier, reproaching his cowardiſe and ſloth, that being provided with a moſt puiſſant Army, and with all other appointments of War, ſhould ſuffer the Ottoman Forces to be baffled and entertained in taking a ſingle Fort for longer time, than formerly it had been in ſubduing whole Provinces and Kingdoms; and moreover charged the Meſſenger to bring him a faithful and true Relation of the ſtate of all Affairs, and what was the real cauſe and difficulty that ſo long obſtructed the progreſs of his Arms; but yet ſent the Vizier for his encouragement a Sword, and a Veſt of Sables, as tokens of his favour. The Great Vizier moved with this meſſage, reſolved to give ſome certain proofs of his induſtry and valour, and either to take the place, or elſe at leaſt to convince his Maſter, by the knowledge and teſtimony of his Inquiſitor, that the Work was of more hazard and longer time than was apprehended in the Seraglio. Whereupon preparations were made, and the time of aſſault was appointed chiefly on the ſide of *Pamgra*, ſo that preſſing valiantly forward, they planted ſix of their Colours on the ruines of that work; ſo that now, full of hope and courage, they adventured to deſcend into the Ditch, but being prevented by three

** Which is their Triumph for Victory.*

Mines,

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Mines, which contained ſeventy Barrels of powder; they were mounted in the air with ſo much noiſe and violence, that many Bodies were toſſed off the Rampire of the Town, many of their greateſt Redoubts overthrown, and Graves made for multitudes of the Aſſailants. This Aſſault as it began with great fury, ſo it continued for many hours, in which action Signior *Biſani*, Proveditor General of the Kingdom, was killed by a Granado. However, the Enemy was repulſed by the valour of the Chriſtians, inſomuch that the Turks growing faint were preſſed forward by the Vizier, who, to encourage his Souldiers, promiſed an extraordinary reward of honour and mony to him who ſhould but firſt touch the Walls with his hands. The hopes of riches and honour ſo pricked forward all conditions of the Souldiery, that the Commonalty deſperately threw themſelves at all, and endangered ſo far the taking of *Panigra*, that they had certainly poſſeſſed themſelves of it, had not the Venetians had recourſe to their laſt refuge of Mines, and blown the whole Work into the Air, by which periſhed three Baſhaws, and great numbers of common Souldiers. And this for the preſent aſtoniſhed the Turks, and gave a ſtop to the farther proceedings of this Aſſault. This proof gave an evident Conviction to the Grand Signior's Inquiſitor of the ſtrength of the place, and difficulty of the Work; and having been an Eye-witneſs of all, returned with diſmal Stories of a cruel War, reporting perhaps, and it was related in the parts of Chriſtendom, That this was a place where blood was ſpilt day and night, where Gallant Men had forgot to ſleep, living in perpetual labours, enured to intolerable ſufferings and hourly dangers, there being none ſecure either in the Church, in the houſe, or in the ſtreet; for Granadoes rained, Cannons thundred, Arrows flew, with ſtones like a Tempeſt; ſo that there was none in that place, but who quartered on the Brink of the Grave.

It now grew towards Winter, and yet the Vizier thought of no other Quarters than his Trenches, judging that if he ſhould quit his ſtation, the labours and progreſs of the former Summer would be loſt, and the Work to be again begun in the Spring. Wherefore reſolving to keep his Works, provided all conveyances to carry away the Water, and ſheds to caſt off the Rain, and warmer Tents for the Soldiery, which yet could not ſo artificially be contrived, but that the Camp was full of mire and dirt, tedious and troubleſome to Man and Beaſt, and the Quarters of the Souldiery, ſo damp between their Banks of Earth, as cauſed Catarrhs, Fluxes, Feavers, and other Camp Diſeaſes with much mortality.

The Winter cauſes all Action to ceaſe.

It was now the dead of Winter, and yet Martial Exploits were as frequent as they had been in Summer; and though the great rains and floods of water extinguiſhed the fires, and made, as it were, a ceſſation of Arms, and of all acts of hoſtility; yet this interval of calmneſs and tranquillity the Chriſtians made uſe of to repair the Paliſade of St. *Andrea*, and the Lines of Communication within the Ditch. And becauſe the main Bulwark was alſo ſhaken, and in ſome danger, all the Chiorma or ſlaves of the Gallies were commanded a-ſhore to labour in the reparation, and to make an inward retrenchment, which in ſhort time, with admirable diligence, was perfected, and on all ſides compleated.

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The Turks in the mean time carried their Traverſes forward as much as they could, for they were now entered into the very Ditch of the Town; and becauſe there was no poſſibility to work in the Mines, by reaſon that the Galleries were filled with water, they attended wholly to employ their great Guns, and fire Granadoes, ſo that they raiſed a new Battery near the Work of *Mocenigo*, which began to batter the lower parts of St. *Andrea*, and raiſed another Battery on the ruines of the Revelin of *Panigra*, which being lower ground could not much prejudice the main Bulwark.

The Sultan ſatisfied with the Relation given by his Meſſenger concerning the progreſs his Vizier had made upon the Town, and of the hopes there was in time to gain it, encouraged him with a Letter of Praiſe, accompanied with a Sword, and Veſt of Sables, the magnificent Signal of the Sultans favour. And now beſides the Force of Fire-Arms, the Turks made uſe of Arrows, ſhot into the Town, carrying papers written in Italian and French, perſwading the Souldiers to fly to their Camp, where they ſhould receive civil treatment, and a ſecure refuge; which gave that encouragement to thoſe wearied with the labours of the Siege and hard uſage, that many of them made Tryal of the Turks entertainment, and eſcaping out of the Works, fled to the Enemies Camp, where they were cloathed, received Conduct Mony, and were permitted Licence to embark themſelves for what place they pleaſed.

General Barbaro *and* Uvertmiller *departed from the Army.*

About this time the Proveditor General *Barbaro* and the Lieutenant General of the Artillery *Uvertmiller* having obtained licence from the Senate, returned to *Venice*; the firſt was diſpleaſed, that Marqueſs *Villa* ſhould take the precedence of him; and the other, becauſe his opinion of making a general Sally of all the Garriſon on the Enemy was not followed, but rejected by the Council of War, as a deſign pernicious and over-hazardous; for that the fighting with an Enemy more numerous than themſelves, fortified in their Redoubts and Works, and hidden under ground in inextricable Labyrinths, was an Enterpriſe ſo raſh, that no man wiſhing well to the Garriſon, and of ſound judgment ought to adviſe.

The deaths of Secretary Giavarina *and* Padavino.

The Turks having in this Campagne fixed themſelves well in a formal Siege, and gained ground, and many advantages on the Chriſtians, of which the deſtruction of the Work of *Panigra* was none of the leaſt: the Vizier ſuppoſed it a ſeaſonable time to enter into a Treaty by the hand of the Secretary *Giavarina* who was there entertained for that purpoſe but he falling ſick of the Camp-diſtemper dyed in a ſhort time, whoſe death was ſoon after followed by that of Signior *Padavino*, who finiſhed his days at *Canea*; the Plate, Money, and Houſhold-ſtuff of both were carefully inventoried, and by the juſtice of the Vizier duly accounted for, and adminiſtred to the Venetians. The Inſtruments of Treaty being thus taken away, the Captain-Paſha was diſpatched to *Conſtantinople*, carrying with him four thouſand wounded and ſick men, and a Letter to the Grand Signior and Divan, ſignifying his reſolutions to win the place, or dye

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1667. under the Walls of it; and to that end deſired them to ſend him ſuch Recruits of men and ſupply of Proviſions as were requiſite. He complained of the cowardiſe of thoſe to whom they had incharged the Convoys; that he wanted both Powder and Bullet, for default of which they could neither ply their great Guns, nor go forward in their Mines; that bread was ſo dear, that no price could be ſet to it; that his Souldiers by ſlaughter and ſickneſs did daily diminiſh, ſo that his Army was reduced to twenty three thouſand Foot, ſeven hundred Horſe, and two thouſand Pioniers; and in fine concluded with urgent inſtances to have Recruits of all diſpeeded to him, without which it was impoſſible to gain the Town, or ſave himſelf. Hereupon Recruits came from all parts, both of Men, Ammunition, and Proviſions, eſpecially from the Frontiers or adjacent places, which by ſuch vaſt evacuations were almoſt diſpeopled, more particularly in *Albania* and *Caſtelnuovo* extraordinary Preparations were making both of Men, Horſe, and Camels; and a report was ſpread, that the Grand Signior intended to paſs over in Perſon to *Candia*; but this was ſoon diſproved by his reſidence at *Lariſſa*, where he remained to render aſſiſtance more eaſily, and receive advices more ſpeedily than could be performed at *Adrianople*.

Great quantities of Corn were alſo ſent from divers places, particularly from *Smyrna*, where Engliſh, French, and Dutch Ships were taken up for that ſervice, to the prejudice of the Trade, and damage of the concerned: ſome of which Veſſels were taken in their paſſage to *Candia*, whilſt others arrived in ſafety through the negligence, as was ſuppoſed, of the Commanders at Sea. And indeed the Turks plyed their buſineſs with that induſtry and diligence, that notwithſtanding the Force which the Venetians had at Sea, their Recruits for the moſt part arrived ſafe, and Corn began to be ſo plentiful, that the Vizier gave a prohibition againſt having more imported; and in ſhort, nothing wanted for proſecution of the War, which was carried on in the Winter, as far as the ſeaſon or the weather would permit; ſo that ſcarce a day paſſed without ſomething of action, either of ſtorming or blowing up of Forts, overthrowing Galleries, filling Trenches, the particulars of all which are ſo numerous, that to recount them would fill a Volume, and are more proper to be related in a Journal than a Hiſtory, in which minute matters ought to be paſſed by, and nothing but acts of greateſt moment be recorded.

Howſoever great Actions at this ſeaſon ceaſed for a while on one ſide and the other, only continual diſcharges of great ſhot and Bomboes were practiſed. And the Turks endeavouring with artifice to cover their deſigns, diſpatched a Letter to the Senate of *Venice* by way of *Suda*, and thence in a Galley to *Candia*, touching certain Motives of Peace, ſuppoſing that Propoſitions and Offers of Accommodation would looſen the minds of the Officers, and render them leſs intent and diligen in their Affairs; on receipt of which Letter, though Marqueſs *Villa* replied, That he had as much power from the Senate to conclude a Peace, as the Vizier himſelf had from his Maſter, yet the Vizier would not treat with him, but ſent a Letter which was conſigned 1668. by an Aga at the Bulwark of *Palma* under the caution of a white Flag, deſiring that it ſhould be forwarded to *Venice*. About this time arrived to the great comfort of the Beſieged the new Proveditor *Barnardo Nani* with five hundred Souldiers, and *Matteo Matheus* Sergeant General with ſome Recruits from the Pope, bringing with him three hundred Medals of Silver to beſtow on ſuch as deſerved them, with Jubilees and Indulgences without number, and thus ended the Action of this Year.

Anno Chriſti 1668. *Hegeira* 1079.

Formality in making Janiſaries in theſe days.

THE Spring approaching, toward the end of *January* the Turks full of hopes to compleat their Conqueſt, vigorouſly in all maritime Ports of the Empire made proviſions of Corn and other Victuals to be ſent to the Camp, when occaſion ſhould require, and opened a door for Janiſaries according to the Turkiſh phraſe, the Formality of which is in this manner: The Cheif Officer appointed for that purpoſe asks ſeverally ſuch as come to be liſted, Of what Chamber they deſire to be; to which they making reply, That they will be of the fifth, ſixth, or ſeventh, or the like, the Officer gives them a blow under the ear with the palm of his hand, and bids them repair to their Chamber, with which they nimbly paſs away. But herein the due form and order of Janiſaries was corrupted; for in former days Janiſaries were educated in that condition from children, and from thence named *Yeniſheri* or *Tyrones*, or the young Souldiery; but now on this neceſſity of raiſing Forces, ancient men, Fathers of Families with long beards were admitted, to the diſparagement of that Order, and corruption of the exactneſs of that Diſcipline. Conſiderable Supplies alſo were ſent of Beldargees or Pioniers; ſo that this year from ſeveral parts, according to the beſt computation, the Forces of *Candia* were recruited with a Supply of ſeventy thouſand men, for tranſportation of which and of their Proviſions, all Chriſtian Ships were imbarged at *Smyrna* and *Conſtantinople*, ſeveral of which in their voyage to *Candia*, were intercepted by the Malteſe Corſaires, and particularly a French Ship called the Arms of *France*, on which were between four and five hundred Turks, was taken, and in bording of her about an hundred Turks were killed upon the Deck: ſome other ſmall Veſſels (one of which was a Ligorneſe under Engliſh Colours) were taken. the French Barks which had in this manner loſt their Corn, unadviſedly returned to *Smyrna*, ſuppoſing the excuſe of having done their endeavours, and of being over-powered by a ſtronger Force was ſufficient: But the Turks who judge of nothing well, but by the ſucceſs, having gotten them into their hands, made them not only return their Freight, but ſatisfie the loſs of the Cargaſon.

A Fight at Sea.

In the Month of *March* the Vizier having intelligence of ſix or ſeven Venetian Gallies to be at *Fodile*, not far from *Standia*, under the Command of the Proveditor of the Armata *Lorenco Cornaro*, gave order to *Regep* Paſha of *Romelia*, who was Captain of the Souldiery, and *Durach* Begh, who commanded a Squadron of twelve Gallies, to weigh Anchor in

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1668. the night, and there ſurpriſe them: *Durach* Begh, though ſore againſt his will, doubting the truth of the report, yet readily obeyed and fitted his Gallies for the Enterpriſe. The Captain-General having intelligence of the deſign, prepared four Gallies in Port, and imbarked that night with a French Regiment and ſome Italians to the number of ſix hundred, beſides two Companies of the Guards, and one of the Proveditor *Nani*, under the Command of Colonel *Andre Facele* and *Montialto*, accompanied alſo with the Proveditor Extraordinary *Daniel Juſtiniani*, Commiſſary of the Treaſury of the Militia, with ſeveral other Captains and Officers: and arriving at *Sandia*, found the Proveditor General *Cornaro* newly entred there from cruſing the Seas with ſixteen Gallies, to whom having communicated the deſign, they immediately looſed from the Port, and arrived at *Fodilè* before midnight. The Turks having from the place of their Anchorage diſcovered two Sail, hoped there might be no more, and therefore came forth to fight them; but ingaging farther, met ſuch a number as evidenced the danger, and the little hope there was in other than in their Courage and Arms. The night being dark, the Venetians not to miſtake each other, carried ſuch great Lights on their Maſt-heads, as not only diſtinguiſhed them from the Enemy, but alſo directed them to give battle to the Turks, which they proſecuted ſo home, that they took and ſunk five of the Turkiſh Gallies, of which the Admiral commanded by *Durach* Bey was one; the reſt, though much ſhattered, and for the preſent unſerviceable, did yet by the help of their Oars,and the darkneſs of the night, find a way to eſcape: nor was this Victory gained by the Venetians in a Fight of ſeven hours without the loſs of two hundred Souldiers killed, and about five hundred wounded, beſides ſome Perſons of Quality and Command, *viz.* the Cavalier *Araſi Juſtiniani*, the Commiſſary *Franceſco Cornaro*, *Foſcarini*, &c. the wounded were *Georgio Greco*, *Lorenco Bembo*, and *Marco Balbi*. The Turks loſt many of their beſt Sea-men and Souldiers, beſides Slaves and others, counting on every Galley one with another three hundred perſons; amongſt the Priſoners which amounted to four hundred and ten, the Beys of *Cyprus* and *Navarine* with *Muſtapha* of *Anatolia*, and the Chiaus of the Paſha of *Aleppo* were taken, together with eleven hundred Chriſtian Slaves who were all freed, on condition that they ſhould ſerve the Summer following in the Venetian Armata. Of the Turks were ſlain *Durach* Bey, the Bey of *Coron*, and *Huſtum* formerly Bey of *Coron*. The Great Vizier from the Camp could all the time behold the flaſhes of the ſmall and great ſhot,and by help of the Venetian Lights perceive the ſucceſs of his own Fleet, not anſwerable to his expectation. What loſs the Turks ſuſtained with Slaves and Souldiers is incertain, only an hundred Chriſtian Slaves were releaſed, and four hundred Turks captivated, and amongſt the ſlain was *Durach* Bey himſelf, a ſtout Sea-man, and a known Pirate, who from a ſmall Brigantine had raiſed himſelf to be Begh of the *Morea*, and to command four or five Gallies of his own. In like manner, and not long after, a Squadron of Venetian Ships were forced by ſtorm in the night to anchor under Cape *Spada*, 1668. where accidentally ſix Turkiſh Gallies were riding. The Sky being very dark and cloſe, the firſt Ship ran foul of a Galley, and ſo ſhattered and cruſhed her ſides, that being ready to ſink, the Turks forſook her, and run aboard the Ship to ſave a life which was to be afterwards miſerable and ſlaviſh. The others affrighted at the arrival of theſe unexpected gueſts, ſlipt their Cables to ſeek harbour in a tempeſtuous Sea; but the weather being too boiſterous for Gallies, one of them was caſt away, and about an hundred and ſeventy men loſt: the news hereof being brought to *Venice* by Colonel *Vecchia* with the Enſigns and Spoils taken from the Enemy, the Senate beſtowed the honour of Knighthood on the Captain-General, comforting the families of the ſlain and wounded with ſignal marks of Honour and Glory.

The ſucceſs of the Turks at Sea.

The Captain-Paſha put this year to Sea more early than was uſual, deſigning to make as many Voyages to *Candia* as was poſſible, with Succours both of Men and Ammunition; his deſign and work was wholly to avoid the Venetians, and to ſteal aſhore his Recruits; to which end he made ſuch expedition in every Voyage, that ſcarce could the Chriſtians have advice of his arrival in any part of the Iſle of *Candia*, before he was well forwarded in his return: yet his haſte was not ſo great, but one time having fifty three Gallies in his Company, he adventured to look into the Port of *Nio*, where he met four Corſaires or Free-booters under Malteſe Colours, commanded by two Brothers *Themericort*, and by the Knights *Verva* and *Bremont*: two of the Ships were on the Careen waſhing and tallowing their Veſſels, whilſt the other two, *viz.* the *Themericort* Brothers were on the Guard, being at anchor in the narroweſt entrance to the Harbour. The Turks ſuppoſed at firſt, that ſo formidable an appearance of their Fleet would affright the Chriſtians to a Surrender, rather than to contend on thoſe unequal terms. But it ſeems the Corſaires were more reſolute than was imagined; for no ſooner did the Turks approach, than the Chriſtians diſcharged their Cannon and Vollies of ſmall ſhot ſo plentifully, as cauſed the Gallies to diſpute at a farther diſtance, where ſhooting as it were at rovers with their long Caſhee Pieces (not adventuring to come to a nearer Fight) for the ſpace of eight hours made (as reported) about eight thouſand ſhot, with little or no execution; ſo that the Captain-Paſha made his ſign of Retreat, and forſook the Engagement, as being too dangerous and difficult an Enterpriſe. But better ſucceſs had the Turks the next month at Sea againſt Captain *Georgio*, an old and ſubtle Pirate,who for many years had vexed and pillaged,not only the Turks, but Chriſtians on all Iſles of the *Archipelago*: great fortune he had in taking Turkiſh Saiks and Veſſels; and ſome of them conſiderably rich, and when that prey failed him, or was ſcarce, he purſued his game on the ſhore, from whence he often carried men, women, and children into ſlavery, and oft-times had the fortune of conſiderable Booty. The Iſlands which lay open and ungarded were his common Rendezvous, where the men attended his ſervice, and the women his luſt. In this manner the Pirate paſſed for ſeveral years, have obtained unto himſelf a fame and terror with the Turks, and riches at home: the place which he commonly choſe to waſh and tallow his Veſſels, was amongſt certain ſmall Iſles in the Bay of *Edremit*, anciently *Adrimetum*, oppoſite unto *Mytilene*, from whence he had as from a Thicket or Wood a view of ſuch Veſſels as paſſed the great Road towards *Conſtantinople*: theſe frequent ſucceſſes rendred him ſo confident and ſecure, that he ſtill continued his ſtation, notwithſtanding the Turkiſh Naval Forces, which in the Summer ſeaſon made their Rendezvous at *Scio*. But at length the Captain-Paſha with the whole Turkiſh Armata being at *Scio*, and with him three Ships of *Tripoli*, advice came that Captain *Georgio* had not forſaken his little Iſles, but was there careening his ſmall Fleet which conſiſted of two Ships and a Brigantine: hereupon the Tripoleſes were commanded out to encounter the Enemy, whom the next day they found ſo ſecure and negligent, that he diſcovered not his Foes before they were ready to attaque him. The Captain Paſha alſo fearing that the Tripoleſes were not of ſufficient Force to encounter ſo valiant and experienced a Commander, both to make the Enterprize the more eaſie and certain, and to gain the reputation of that buſineſs to himſelf, went out in perſon with all his Gallies. The Tripoleſes had began to fire on Captain *Georgio* before the Paſha came in to their aſſiſtance, but it falling calm, and the Ships not able to joyn in a nearer fight, gave way for the Gallies, which being above fifty in number, overpowered the Chriſtians on all ſides; howſoever, the two Ships defended themſelves againſt all this Force, until the Captain himſelf being killed, his own Ship ſurrendred, but ſo ſhattered, that ſhe was ſcarce able to ſwim above water. This Ship being overſome, the Turks boarded the other, commanded by Captain *de Leſcaſes*, who ſeeing no remedy to avoid being taken, he leaped into his Boat, and blew up his Ship; howſoever could not eſcape his deſtiny, for having his Arm broke, he became a prey and a ſlave to his Enemy.

Captain Georgio *taken by the* Turks.

The News of this Victory was celebrated with ſo much the more joy, by how much this perſon was feared and hated, and was not only a ſubject of rejoycing to the Turks, but alſo to the Chriſtians, whoſe Parents and Relations this Corſaire had pillaged and enſlaved; ſo that the Inhabitants of the *Archipelago* for the moſt part were pleaſed with the revenge, and promiſed more ſecurity and quietneſs to their open Coaſts. With no leſs triumph was this News poſted to the Grand Signior, who rewarded the Meſſenger with two thouſand Dollars gratuity, and cauſed demonſtrations of joy to be made through the whole Court; ſo dreadful was grown the Name of ſo inconſiderable a perſon, in reſpect of the greatneſs of the Ottoman Empire.

But the ſucceſs of this advantage did not heighten the courage of the Captain Paſha to that pitch, as to make him more bold with the Venetian Armata; for in the month of *July* having great Recruits of Men and Proviſions to land, and hearing that the Venetians lay before *Canea*, having fortified a Rock, called St. *Todoro*, at the mouth of that Port, he reſolved for *Retimo*; but purſuits, or intelligence of the Enemies being in the way, or his own fears ſtill prevented him, until at length he was forced to *Gira-Petra*, a ſmall and obſcure place, far diſtant from the City of *Candia*, and the way thither by land rocky, and almoſt unpaſſable for Beaſts of Burden; howſoever, the Men and Ammunition were there landed with that haſte and expedition, that in leſs than thirty hours time the Captain Paſha was again upon his return for *Scio*, leaving the Souldiery, and the Ammunition he had diſbarked to find a paſſage through the Rocks and Mountains: At which the Vizier was ſo diſpleaſed, that he ſent the Captain Paſha this Meſſage, That the next time he ſhould forbear to bring farther ſupplies, until he could find a more commodious Port wherein to land them.

In this manner the Marine Affairs paſſed this year at Sea, the Turkiſh Fleet having, beſides other ſuccours, tranſported *Ibrahim* Paſha of *Damaſcus* with eight hundred Spahees unto *Candia*, whom we mentioned formerly to have been Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, and married to the Grand Signior's Siſter; and being one with whom I had a former acquaintance, and who was a great friend to the Engliſh Nation, I made him a viſit as he paſſed through *Smyrna*.

Whilſt theſe matters were tranſacting at Sea, on the *7th* of *January* arrived the new Proveditor General *Bernardo Nani*, and Sergeant General *Muteo Matei* with five hundred Foot, ſent by the Pope, who gave Licence for deſtruction of ſome Monaſteries, whoſe Orders were judged leſs neceſſary in the Venetian State, that their Revenue might be applied to the ſervice of this War; after Arrival of which ſuccours, a general Muſter was made of the whole Garriſon, and the number thereof reckoned to amount unto eight thouſand fighting Men; though ſoon afterwards continual action and exploits of War decimated the number, and many of the brave Commanders being taken off, every tenth man periſhed, and rendred the place in a condition which required continual ſupplies.

For many and various were the attempts and actions performed on both ſides under the Walls of *Candia*; and firſt the Turks began to make appear a Battery which they had raiſed on the ſide of the *Lazaretto*, which ſo offended tho Port, that there was no harbour or acceſs for Veſſels. On the contrary to which, by the Fort of St: *Andrea* another Battery was raiſed, which offended *Tramata* very much, which was another ſmall harbour, capable only to receive Boats or Barks; the paſſage to which was ſo annoyed now by the Enemies Cannon, that no Veſſel could go in or out, unleſs in the Night, and that too with ſome difficulty and danger.

The Turks reſolve to make their paſſage by St Andrea.

The Turks gaining advantage on the ſide of St. *Andrea*, applied their whole ſtrength and diligence to that part; and one dark Night paſſing undiſcovered along the Seas, they ſilently fixed a Cord to the Paliſade of St. *Andrea*, and with an Engine ſtrained it ſo violently, that they tore away ſeveral of the main Stakes of the Work without being perceived by the Centinels, who paid for that neglect with the price of their lives; upon which ſucceſs they continued to advance their lines on that ſide, which Marqueſs *Villa* perceiving, reſolved to hinder by ſome valiant ſallies. And firſt two hundred brave men ſelected out of ſeveral Regiments,

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A Sally made by the Christians.

giments, conducted by Sergeant Major *Motta*, iſſued out from *Panigra*, and taking their way along the Sea, bravely mixed with the Turks, and put them to flight; and though the Alarm thereof brought a Concourſe of Turks from all parts of the Camp, yet the Chriſtians ſtood ſo ſtoutly to it, that they ſtruck a terror to their Enemies, and once forced them to a Retreat within their Trenches; and at length, after they had overthrown certain Redoubts and Traverſes, they gave back with good order, returning with Victory and Glory; which bravery the Captain General acknowledged to all, and encouraged in the common Souldiery with a Preſent of fifty Zechins. This ſucceſs gave the beſieged opportunity to finiſh their Platforms which they had raiſed on the ſide of the Ditch adjoining to the Bulwark of St. *Andrea*, on which they planted two pieces of Cannon which carried fifty pound Bullet a piece; which much diſturbed the Enemies Traverſes. Howſoever, the Turks with indefatigable pains, and invincible patience battered the little Tower of *Priuli*, the Curtain, and Revelin of St. *Andrea*, and employed all their power and attention to fill the Ditch with Faggots, Earth and other Rubbiſh.

Another Sally.

On the 29*th* of *February*, after the Chriſtians had firſt made a Breach on the Enemies Redoubt, which confronted the Revelin of St. *Andrea*, and ſprang five Mines one after the other, a ſecond Sally was made by a conſiderable Body of the beſieged, conſiſting of two hundred French and Savoyards, three hundred Italians, two hundred Germans, and a hundred and twenty horſemen, who iſſued forth with that Gallantry, that driving the Turks under Covert, advanced far within their Works, with which Demonſtration of honour the Captain-General being ſatisfied, they made the ſmoke which was a Signal for their Retreat; ſo that returning victorious without much loſs, that day was remarkable, and numbred amongſt the other days which were eſteemed ſucceſsful and fortunate in that Siege.

Howſoever, the Turks with admirable patience and aſſiduity crept forward by their Traverſes, and help of their great ſhot on the Baſtion of St. *Andrea*, which whilſt *Augustine Roſtayne*, Adjutant of Marqueſs *Villa*, conſidered, he was taken off by a Cannon Bullet; and yet the Turks could not advance ſo faſt, but that the Engineer *Maupaſſan* gave ſome retardment to their progreſs by firing a Mine, which overthrew two of their Redoubts, and afforded them new work to repair them and the adjoining Traverſes.

Marqueſs Villa *returns into* Italy.

This was the preſent ſtate of the miſerable *Candia*, when the Duke of *Savoy* recalled his Subject Marqueſs *Villa* from his honourable employment; and a Ship, called *Alexander* the Great, by appointment of the Venetian Senate arrived at *Standia* to tranſport him and his Family to *Venice*; ſo that on the $\frac{2}{12}$ of *April*, accompanied to *Tramata* by all the principal Officers of the Garriſon, he embarked in order to his Voyage, whoſe place was about two Months after ſupplied by the Marqueſs St. *Andrea Montbrun*, a Nobleman of *France*, with whom the Venetian Ambaſſadour at *Paris*, by order of that Republick, had prevailed to take upon him the defence and protection of that deplorable City, reduced now almoſt to its ultimate Criſis.

Cauſes of Marqueſs Villa'*s departure.*

I cannot adventure to aſſign the reaſons that might induce the Duke of *Savoy* to recal the worthy Governour from this glorious action. Some ſay, that thoſe who were emulous of his glory procured his revocation; Others, that the Marqueſs himſelf deſired it; and that finding the Forces of the Town to decline, and the Turks to encroach and penetrate daily into the innermoſt parts of ſtrength, he was deſirous, after ſo long a Siege, to return with untainted glory; or perhaps weary of a Siege ſo tedious and perilous, he might deſire to retire, having performed ſufficient already in his own perſon, and enough to make all Chriſtendom his Debtors and Admirers. So that I cannot but reproach thoſe tongues and pens, which in report and writings attribute the cauſe of Marqueſs *Villa's* retirement to certain juſt occaſions of diſcontent given him by the Captain General *Franceſco Moroſini*, who, envious of his Fame and actions, and unwilling to have a conſharer with him in his honours, did uſually thwart his Counſels and Propoſals; and more particularly contemned a Redoubt which Marqueſs *Villa* had built, and of which he had a ſingular eſteem. Yet that *Moroſini* might evidence the unſufficiency thereof, 'tis reported that he wrote a Letter to the Vizier, to aſſault that Redoubt; for if he did, he promiſed to afford him opportunity to take it, by withdrawing all Forces from thence; which Letter it is ſaid, was betrayed to Marqueſs *Villa*, and brought to his hands, which he with great prudence and moderation diſſembled until the hour of his departure, and then produced it to the aſtoniſhment and ſhame of *Moroſini*. To this particular I give the leſs belief, becauſe I find it wrote in a Journal of this Seige by a perſon who was a great Favourer of the French, and willing to ſhare the intire glory to that Nation, and the miſcarriages to the Italian. Whatſoever might be the motive to Marqueſs *Villa* to perſwade his return, is uncertain; howſoever, it is reported, that being arrived at *Zant* in his way to *Venice*; and there meeting a ſtrong Convoy bound for *Candia*, with recruits of Men, and plenty of proviſions, he conceived new thoughts of the greatneſs of the Republick; and beholding alſo with what vigour and vigilance they attended to the conſervation of that place, he began to teſtifie ſome remorſe and diſſatisfaction for having abandoned a Charge which rendred his Fame great through the World; and the continuation of which labours being crowned with that ſucceſs which his courage and conduct merited, might have brought a Bleſſing to all Chriſtendom, and perpetuated his honour and glory to all poſterity. The Marqueſs being arrived at *Venice* was received with the uſual Ceremonies and Honours from the Publick, and being introduced, after private Audiences, into the Colledge, he ſpake in this manner.

Marqueſs Villa's *Speech.*

If the thanks which I render to your Serenity, and to your Excellencies could equal the greatneſs of thoſe favours which I have received from you, it would have been but an ordinary glory to you not to have infinitely ſurpaſſed the bounds of my acknowledgments, as you have infinitely outdone the ut-

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The Senate, that they might teſtifie the eſteem they entertained of the perſon of Marqueſs *Villa*, preſented him with a Baſon of Gold valued at ſix thouſand Ducats, together with a Patent recounting at large the many famous Exploits which he had performed in their Service, which they expreſſed with a ſtile ſo generous and obliging, as may ſerve for a Record to tranſmit the Fame of his Merits to all Poſterity.

Marqueſs *Villa* being departed from *Candia*, the Captain-General recalled all his Forces from divers parts of the *Archipelago*, which he had ſent thither with the Soldiers wounded in the laſt Battle; and being returned, they brought with them great numbers of Pioniers and Workmen to labour in the Fortifications and Mines: at the ſame time alſo the Captain-Paſha arrived at *Canea*, bringing two thouſand Janiſſaries with him.

Marqueſs St. Andrea *viſits the Works.*

The Marqueſs St. *Andrea Montbrun*, a Gentleman of the French Nation, was tranſported to *Candia* by the General Proveditor *Cornaro*, where being entred into the Charge and Office of Marqueſs *Villa*, wanted nothing of the vigilance and circumſpection of his Predeceſſour: And therefore in the firſt place having viſited all the Forts, Out-works, and Retrenchments of the Town, ordered what was neceſſary for repair of the breaches, and amended what was deficient in the moſt diſtreſſed Fortifications. And though the Turks fired a Mine the 22th of *Auguſt* at the point of the Fort St. *Andrea*, which made a moſt dangerous breach; yet it was ſo valiantly defended, and ſo ſpeedily repaired, that the Enemy gained little or no advantage, and all by the extraordinary diligence of this Marqueſs St. *Andrea*, who paſſed whole months without uncloathing himſelf; and as his nights were without ſleep, ſo his days conſumed without repoſe, applying himſelf perſonally to all places where was moſt of danger, eſpecially at the Fort of St. *Andrea*, where he took up his conſtant Quarters.

The Turks now daily preſſing the Town more nearly than before, Skirmiſhes and Sallies were more frequent and more bloody; ſo that about this time the Proveditor General *Bernardo Nani* applying himſelf with all earneſtneſs in the performance of his Charge, was ſlain by a Musket-ſhot in his head; his death was much lamented by all, being a Gentleman who was born (as may be ſaid) in the Fleet, having had his Education there, and paſſed his youth in Wars and dangers, for the ſafety and honour of his Country. *Girolamo Bataglia* was elected by the Republick to ſucceed him in the Office, whoſe death was alſo ſeconded by that of *Franceſco Bataglia*, Brother of the Duke of *Candia*, being ſhot in the breaſt with a Musket-bullet; and though he was ſent thither to adminiſter Juſtice to the People, yet his zeal and courage carrying him to Martial Acts beyond his duty, made a grave for him amongſt the other Heroes and Worthies of that place.

The Turk, approaching daily nearer with their Works, infeſted very much the paſſage of Veſſels to the Town, and ſhot ſo directly into the Port, that no Ship, Galley, or Bark could remain in any ſecurity from their Cannon; to remedy which, a ſmall Redoubt was raiſed at *Tramata*, which being well and ſtrongly fortified

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The long continuance of this Siege, and the fame thereof noiſed through the whole World, moved the heroick and gallant Spirits of our Age, to deſcend into this *Campus Martius*, this Field of War, and give proofs of theirÁroweſs and Valour in defence of the Chriſtan Cauſe; ſome being moved by a principle of vain-glory, proceeding from the briskneſs of a youthful and aery Spirit, and others from the ſenſe of Devotion and fervour towards Religion: amongſt which none were more forward than ſome Gentleman of the French Nation, as namely Monſieur *La Fueillade*, *alias* Duke of *Roanez*, with the Count St. *Paul*, a young Cavalier; to forward which deſign, taking firſt the Licence and Benediction of their King, they appointed their Rendezvous at *Tolon*, where they liſted two hundred Gentleman, Cadets or younger Brothers, who went in queſt of Honour, and not of Pay, with four hundred ordinary Souldiers who expected their maintenance from the bounty of their Leaders. The chief of whom was Monſieur *La Fueillade*, and his Lieutenant the Chevalier *De Treſmes*.

Some French Gentlemen, Adventurers for honour, arrive at Candia.

Their whole Body was divided into four Bridgades.

The firſt commanded by Count St. *Paul*.

The ſecond by the Duke *De Card[illegible]uſſe*.

The third by the Count *De Villa Maur*.

And the fourth by the Duke *De Cheateau Tiery*.

When theſe Perſons of Honour and Courage arrived at *Candia*, they found the City hardly beſet, and reduced to a ſtrait and difficult condition; for the Turks were advanced ſo near to the Fort of St. *Andrea*, that the Souldiers within and without could croſs their Muskets, and reach Tobaco one to the other; howſoever this breach was ſo well repaired with a good Paliſſado fortified with ſeveral Bonnets, and a double Retrenchment on the Baſtion, it ſelf, and a third Retrenchment of ſquared ſtone withal, that the courage of the Beſieged being nothing abated by the many and furious aſſaults of the Enemy, the Town ſtill remained in a defenſible poſture, and ſtill capable with good Succours and Supplies to yield matter of imployment for ſeveral years to the Ottoman Forces. Theſe worthy Champions, as I ſaid, being arrived, moved with the ſenſe of Religion, and deſire of glory to themſelves, challenged the priviledge of mounting the Guard of St. *Andrea*; but that being already prepoſſeſſed by the Knights of *Malta* and other Officers of the place, was refuſed to them. Howſoever the Captain-General *Moroſini* was pleaſed to gratifie them with the Guard of a ſmall Chapel over that Baſtion on the right hand of the breach, a place of no leſs danger, and therefore of no leſs honour than the other; with which the Cavaliers being ſatisfied, Monſieur St. *Paul* mounted the Guard one day at ſix a clock in the morning, and continued there until the ſame hour of the day following, during which time he loſt his Major *Dupre* and Monſieur *De Marenval*, the latter of which had his brains knocked out with ſo violent a blow of a great ſhot, that ſome pieces of his skull dangerouſly wounded the Sieurs *De Chamilly* and *De Lare*, who were near to him: and more maliciouſly did the Turks ply the ſtations of theſe new-come Gueſts than any others, throwing Bomboes, Granadoes, Stink-pots, and other ſorts of artificial Fire without ceſſation into their Quarters, notwithſtanding which, this young Prince and Monſieur *La Fueillade* expoſed themſelves like common Souldiers, animating their men more with their example than their words.

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And now by this time by ſo many Works and removals of Earth, by ſo many Traverſes and Mines under ground, and throwing up the caverns and bowels of the Earth into the Air, the ſoil became ſo brittle, crumbling, and as it were ſandy, and like aſhes, that it ſeemed not capable longer enduring of the Pick-ax or the Shovel, and was ſo porous, that the light of ſome Mines glimmering into the others Traverſes, eaſily diſcovered each others Mines, whereby it became equally a trade and cuſtom to ſteal Powder. Howſoever the Venetians ſo cloſely worked with thoſe Props and Arts, that they formed a conſiderable Mine, which on the firſt of *December* they ſprang with ſo much ſucceſs, that they wholly overthrew a Battery of the Turks directed againſt St. *Andrea*, and buried all their Cannon.

The Chriſtians overthrow a battery of the Turks.

But theſe French Gallants intended not from the firſt of their deſign to make this War their Trade, or the Town of *Candia* their place of habitation, but as Paſſengers or Pilgrims, whoſe ſouls are active, and hate idleneſs, to give the World ſome proofs of their Valour, and ſo away: wherefore *La Fueillade* their General preſſed *Moroſini* to give leave, that he and his Fellow-Souldiers might make a Sally, and enter into the Enemies Trenches, ſo as to yield a divertiſement to thoſe on the Walls, and perform that Action and Enterpriſe for which they had deſigned and undertaken this Voyage: of which ſome of them were ſo impatient, that they would not expect Orders for their Sally, as the Chevalier *De Treſmes*, who alone entred into the Enemies Works, and returned with his Sword all bloody; at which *La Fueillade* his Commander was ſo incenſed, that he reproved him with this ſhort reprehenſion, *I would as gladly ſee a Butcher as you.* Others by this example ſcarce refrained from the like; amongſt which Monſieur *De Ville Francke* drew a Turk by force from his Trench, and brought him to the foot of the Baſtion; but there he was forced to quit his Prize, for being ſhot in the Leg with a Piſtol-bullet, ſoon after dyed of the wound: By theſe examples the Commanders ſeeing it impoſſible to repreſs or abate the mettle of theſe vigorous Spirits, their bridle was taken off, and licence given to make their excurſion; ſo that all things being ordered and contrived for a Sally, before break of day in the morning they freſhly iſſued forth, and leaping into the Enemies Quarters, valiantly mingled with them, cutting and hewing down all before them; their Banner was a Crucifix carried in the Front by Father *Paul* a Capuchin Fryer, who little regarding thoſe who followed him, proceeded with his Enſign as unconcerned, as if he had been in Proceſſion; which ſo ani-

A Sally made by the French.

mated the Souldiery, that like men conducted by miracle, they broke through the groſs Body of the Enemies Force: and ſo violent they were in their combate, and ſo intent to their buſineſs, that they neither obſerved the multitudes of the Enemy which came upon them, nor the ſignal of their Commander for a Retreat; until at length diſcovering their danger, they made ſpeed with ſome diſorder to return, having loſt an hundred and twenty Gentlemen in this rencounter, whoſe heads being cut off (as the cuſtom of the Turks is) were pitched upon the Pikes end, and ranked before the door of the Viziers Tent, amongſt which the head of the Marqueſs *Doradour* did beyond all the others draw the eyes of the Turks, who admired the clearneſs of his complexion, and fairneſs of the hair; which being breaded in treſſes for the more convenience in fighting, made death it ſelf beautiful, and was at the ſame time both his Enemies glory and their compaſſion. The French having thus evaporated their fury with this Phlebotomy, there not remaining above two hundred and thirty after this Sally of all thoſe ſix hundred brought into *Candia*, Monſieur *La Fueillade* with his reliques departed: at which time the whole ſtrength of the Town conſiſted of about ſeven thouſand ſtranger Souldiers, four thouſand Inhabitants, and two thouſand Savoyards, which was too weak a Garriſon to reſiſt ſo potent an Enemy, ſo formally and ſtrongly incamped, unleſs ſupplied with new Recruits. Wherefore the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg* mindful of their Chriſtian Brethren in this diſtreſſed Siege, contributed three Regiments towards their relief, conſiſting in all of three thouſand three hundred men. The firſt under Count *Waldeck*; the ſecond under *Molleſon*, and the third under Count *Radesfeld*. They made their Muſter firſt at *Verona*, and imbarking at *Venice* the 28*th* of *March*, on the 12*th* of *May* 1669. they arrived at *Candia*. Theſe valiant Souldiers deſiring to eaſe the long beſieged Companies, demanded the Guards of *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea*; which being by this time become hot and dangerous ſtations, were not diſputed with that heat of honour as formerly, but were eaſily yielded to the freſh and new-come Souldiery. Many now and various were the aſſaults which the Enemy made upon the Town, hoping to carry it by dint of Sword; but the Chriſtians unweariedly maintained their valour and courage, and particularly the Lunenburghers, whoſe gallantry deſerved its due praiſe and reward. Their General Count *Waldeck* whilſt he undauntedly incouraged his men, and openly expoſed himſelf on the Works, received a mortal wound, of which ſoon afterwards he dyed; but before he expired, he aſſembled together his Fellow-Souldiers, and incouraged them in the Holy cauſe they were come to maintain, giving them as a Farwel-Sermon, inſtructions, and perſwaſive arguments to a godly life, and having confeſſed his owns ſins in the preſence of them all, he reſigned his ſpirit into the hands of his Creator, leaving not only his own Forces, but the whole Town diſconſolate for the loſs of ſo able a Commander.

The Dukes of Brunſwick *and* Lunenburg *ſent Forces to relieve* Candia.

Count Waldeck *dyes of his wounds.*

And now the time of year approaching, wherein the Town expected its ultimate Relief, and the Union of all the Princes of Chriſtendom for raiſing the Siege, which had continued for the ſpace now of about two years; the valiant Chriſtians full of hopes, daily animated each other, caſting their eyes to Sea-ward, promiſed a reward to the firſt Deſcryer of the long deſired Fleet. The Turks alſo being adviſed of the expected Succours, reſolved if poſſible to perform the buſineſs deſigned before their arrival; and thereupon made one of the greateſt aſſaults that ever was yet given to the Town, in which though the Chriſtians behaved themſelves with all valour imaginable, yet the Turks ſtill gained farther footing and advantage. And now it fared with the Town after every ſtorm, as it doth with a phyſical body after every acceſſion of a Feaver, which though it intermits for ſome time, yet it leaves the Patient always more weak and debilitated than before. Wherefore the Chriſtians increaſing in care and diligence, the Captain-General diſarmed ſeveral of his Gallies to ſupply the Town with what Force he could poſſibly contribute, and the Engineers imployed their brains for deſtruction of the Enemy, ſo that they fell again to their Mines, and ſprang one which took good effect; ſoon after they ſprang ſeven others, after which four more near the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, which blew up many Turks, ruined their Lodgings, and buried one of their Batteries: theſe alſo were followed by another Mine of an hundred and ſixty Sacks of Powder, which took its way between St. *Andrea* and the Revelin of St. *Spirito* with extraordinary execution and violence, throwing up that vaſt quantity of Earth and Timber, that it not only overwhelmed the Enemy in the neighbouring Trenches, but overthrew a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, which the Turks had raiſed on the Revelin of St. *Andrea*: yet all this ſerved to increaſe the heat and fury of the Enemy rather than abate it; for they imagining this to be the ultimate force and the laſt blaſt of the expiring Fortreſs, plyed their aſſaults with the more fury and madneſs, preſſing forward the crowds of the Souldiery collected lately in Villages, and the Janiſaries newly created taken from the Plough to be matter and fuel for the Chriſtians Powder.

A Mine of an hundred and ſixty Sacks of Powder fired by the Chriſtians.

Winter now approaching, and the Vizier reſolving to quarter a ſecond year under the Walls of *Candia*, began to provide againſt the weather, and reſolved to lye ſtill until the Spring ſhould renew the time for action, but never intermitted his imployment of plying conſtantly his Batteries, and ſhooting Bomboes into the Town. In the mean time the Beſieged being animated by their new additional Forces, whoſe ſpirits alſo were high, and deſirous of action; the Commanders thought it not policy to ſuppreſs the heat and mettle of their courage at the beginning, but gave way to the Souldiers propoſition of a Sally, which was effected in the month of *December* with no bad ſucceſs. For the Chriſtians ſurpriſing the Turks unawares, little dreaming of any ſuch deſign, fell in amongſt them on the ſide of *Sabionera*, where they took a Battery, diſmounted and ſpiked the Cannon, with the loſs of the Duke of *Candia*, being ſhot in the breaſt with a Muſket-bullet; of the Turks near three thouſand were killed, amongſt whom was *Benglee* the *Sampſongibaſhee* or Major General of the Janiſaries, and *Katirgi-Ogli* Paſha of *Canea*, whom we have already mentioned, and ſo returned with Triumph into the Town. This *Katirgi Ogli* which ſignifies the Son of a Mulatier,

The Chriſtians ſally on the ſide of Sabionera.

1668.

Katirgi-Oglé his original and life

Mulatier, was formerly a common Thief, who robbed on certain Mountains near *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, called *Ock-ſhaker*, which now have their names from him: and being a couragious man and fortunate, drew a conſiderable number of Miſcreants from all parts to follow him in his Enterpriſes. His profeſſion was not to rob Caravans or Merchants travelling in their honeſt imployment; but Knight-Errant-like pretended to revenge the Injuries and abuſes of his Country by the unjuſt and corrupt Miniſters, whom for robbing and oppreſſing the people, he eſteemed it Juſtice and Vertue to deprive of their ill gotten Wealth. In which Trade he gained ſuch Riches and Power, that at length he came to *Scutari*, from whence acquainting the Grand Signior of the abuſes of his Officers, and his own courſe of living was upon promiſes of duty and ſubmiſſion received into Grace and Favour, and not only obtained pardon, but preferment. For the Grand Signior diſcovering in him a ſpirit of much reſolution and bravery ſent him unto *Candia*, and conferred on him the Paſhaluck of *Canea*, in which on all occaſions he comported himſelf with much bravery, dying at laſt before the Walls of *Candia*.

Various were the Sallies and Conflicts the Chriſtians made upon the Turks towards the end of this Year; one of which, after that foregoing, was made by Marqueſs *Villa*, who with a thouſand two hundred men fell in upon the Turks Trenches, where he had ſo good ſucceſs, that he brought back with him a hundred Turks heads, which he planted on the Walls.

The Turks ſtorm three Baſtions at once.

The Turks alſo as they had made ſtrong Aſſaults, and gained on the Fort of St. *Andrea* to the Eaſt, ſo they undauntedly preſſed forwards on the Baſtion of *Sabionera* to the Weſt, with a Force of ten thouſand men, having the advantage of three Batteries, each conſiſting of ten pieces of Ordnance. The next Night the Turks gave a general Aſſault with all their Forces to the Baſtions of *Panigra*, *Sabionera*, and St. *Andrea*, and the great Fort St. *Demetrius*; but the Beſieged were armed with all caution and vigilance againſt ſurpriſe, and with that Conduct and Valour, that they gave the Enemy three Gallant Repulſes with much ſlaughter and confuſion; but yet this ſucceſs was diminiſhed by the loſs of the Count *de Mure*, an experienced Venetian Souldier, who, after proofs of an invincible Valour, loſt his life in defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe. But not long after the Marqueſs *Cornaro*, and the Baron *Spar* arriving with a Recruit of three thouſand Men, as if they intended to requite the Turks laſt Aſſaults, made ſo reſolute and ſo ſucceſsful a Sally, that they left above two thouſand Infidels dead upon the place, with a conſiderable number of their Officers.

1668.

The State of Affairs in the Turkiſh Court, and other Parts of the Empire during the War in CANDIA.

The Female Court ſent to Conſtantinople.

The Janiſaries jealous of the ſafety of the Sultans Brothers.

BUT whilſt we are in relation of the Wars abroad, we muſt not forget the proceedings of Affairs at home. The Grand Signior now weary of his repoſe and aboad in his Seraglio at *Adrianople*, and impatient of the delays in his Affairs at *Candia*, judged it as well agreeable to the preſent convenience of his Empire, as to his own humour, to ſeat himſelf in ſome place of nearer diſtance from *Candia*, than his preſent abode; from whence by his preſence and authority, his Army might with better expedition be ſupplied with all neceſſaries of War and proviſion. After various Arguments about the choice of the place, *Lariſſa* was fixed upon, a City anciently renowned for Antiquity and Plenty. And that the Court might not abound with unneceſſary Attendants; the Queen Mother, and *Haſaki* Sultana, with all the Ladies of their Retinue, were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, a policy perhaps to amuſe the minds of the people, and afford them an occaſion of diſcourſe, and hopes that the Grand Signior himſelf might ſhortly follow: But before the departure of this Female Court, the diſpoſal of the Grand Signior's Brothers was moved and queſtioned by the Janiſaries, who having long ſince been jealous and doubtful of their ſafety, did demand, that the protection and cuſtody of them ſhould be committed to the Queen Mother; who willingly received the Charge, and gave ſecurity by Hoget to defend and preſerve them from all private Treachery, or publick Attempts with the ſame tenderneſs and care as ſhe ſhould her own life, or the life of her Son. In this manner theſe Princes and Princeſſes departing, made a ſolemn and magnificent entrance into *Conſtantinople*. The chief of the Cavalcade was *Kul-ogli*, the Grand Signiors Moſayp, or Favourite, attended with a hundred and fifty Pages in Coats of Male, and Satten Veſts; in one Coach was the *Valadè* Sultana, or the Queen Mother, in the next was the *Haſaki* Sultana, or the Grand Signior's Queen, in the third were the Brothers, in the fourth was the young Prince, or the Grand Signior's Son, after came the Coaches of more ordinary Ladies attended with about a hundred and fifty black Eunuchs, in Veſts of white Satten.

The Grand Signior diſpleaſed with Tobacco.

The Grand Signior alſo preparing for his journey to *Lariſſa*, pitched his Tents without the City; from whence one day viewing round the Camp from a Jardac, or Tent, elevated above the reſt, he eſpied with a Proſpective Glaſs a certain perſon taking Tobacco in his Tent, whilſt a Slave rubbed his Legs: His Attendants not able or willing upon his Demands to inform him who he was, he ſent an Officer to make Enquiry, who returned with Anſwer, that it was *Ibrihim* Aga, the Kahya or Steward to the Chimacam, and in effect Chimacam himſelf, having a great ſhare in the mannagement of Affairs; but the ſmoke had like to have ſmothered him and all his Fortunes; for this Grand Signior, who is as great an Enemy to it as King *James* was, or Sultan *Morat*, would have made him the Sacrifice to that Incenſe, had not thoſe preſent interceded for him; who with the Chimacam's own mediation, and the coſt of fifty Purſes, or five and twenty thouſand Dollars, ranſomed his Life.

An Ambaſſador ſent from Venice.

The Sultan being arrived at *Lariſſa*, News came of the near approach of the Excellentiſſimo *Alviſe de Molino*, Ambaſſador from the Venetian Republick, with propoſitions of peace. But the Turks before they would admit the Embaſſy, or the perſon which brought it, to a nearer approach than a Days Journey from the Court, would be reſolved firſt whether he brought with him the Keys of *Candia*; To which it was replied by the Interpreter, That he was not able to give them ſatisfaction in that particular, being but a mean and ordinary ſervant, to whom the Secrets of State, and reſolutions of great men were not committed; his Office being only to render faithfully the words and ſence of his Maſters, and not to enter into the private thoughts and Cabinet of their Counſels. To which the Chimacam proudly and barbarouſly made anſwer, Go tell thy Maſter, that unleſs he brings the Keys of *Candia*, thy head ſhall pay for it. And that he preſume not in perſon to approach nearer unto this Court. So the Ambaſſadour remained at a diſtance for ſome weeks, and at length was transferred over to the Vizier at *Candia*; who being more ready to hearken to propoſitions, in hopes by ſome overture or other to hook in *Candia*, gave an eaſie Audience to the Ambaſſador, and controverted ſeveral Articles and Propoſitions with all freedom and patience. So that on the Venetians part, the Surrender of *Suda* was offered, and a Sum of mony, in compenſation of the War. The Vizier on the other ſide would be contented with nothing leſs than the Surrender of *Candia*; and in lieu thereof to grant a Licence to rebuild *Paleo Caſtro*, an ancient Fortreſs. But the Fortreſs it ſelf of *Candia* being the prize and aim of both, nothing could be concluded without that; ſo that, the Ambaſſador in fine, declared plainly, That the City of *Candia* was maintained and defended by the Arms of Foreign Princes, without whoſe conſent it could not be reſigned; all the reſt of the Iſland ſhould be the reward of their bloud and labour, only *Candia* was capable of no Conditions, but what were impoſed on it by force of Arms.

The Vizier, whoſe honour could be ſalved, and the glory of the Ottoman Empire maintained, at no other rate than the ſubjection of *Candia*, would hearken to no other terms or propoſals; ſo that the Treaty broke off, and the Ambaſſadour returned to *Canea*, there to remain until farther Overtures of an Accomodation ſhould preſent.

French Ships of War ſail to Conſtantinople.

It was now towards the depth of Winter when three men of War and a Fire-Ship, ſent by the moſt Chriſtian King, ſteered up the Helleſpont with words and boaſtings as full of Wind as their Sails; and being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, vaunting of their Force, as if ſufficient to ſubdue the Turkiſh Dominions; they uttered certain rumors, that they were come to revenge the late affront offered to their Merchants, to cauſe that mony to be repaid, which in late and frequent Avanias had been extorted from their Nation; and to renew their Capitulations with more advantageous terms. As namely, That their Cuſtoms from 5 be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* as the Engliſh, Dutch, and Genoeſes pay. That their King be treated by the Sultan with the equal Preſents and Gifts, according to the Cuſtom uſed with the Emperor; and that at all times interchangeably Ambaſſadors be ſent to reſide in each others Dominions; with other propoſitions which ſeemed as extravagant to the Turks, as they appeared to others vain, and to have no foundation but in the report of the Vulgar.

But that which was reported by the moſt judicious concerning theſe Ships, was, That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty being made to underſtand perfectly the affronts put on his Nation by the Turks; and not fully ſatisfied (as is ſuppoſed) with the reſpect they had ſhown to his Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, made it the chief Deſign of his Ships to withdraw him from thence, ſuppoſing it a leſs diminution to his honour, to have the perſon of his Agent ſubjected to affronts, than of his Ambaſſador, to which (it was imagined) he might be obnoxious, in conſideration of thoſe great ſupplies, which were in the following year deſigned for *Candia*. In what manner ſoever the Turks deemed of this appearance of Men of War to hector and brave them at their Imperial City, they did yet for the preſent cunningly diſſemble the matter, giving the *French* fair Words, and what plenty of Proviſions their occaſions did require. In what manner this Affair was tranſacted, I ſhall not adventure to relate, nor is it well or certainly known; Yet not long after came Orders for the Ambaſſador to repair to the Court at *Lariſſa*; and that until the Grand Signior's pleaſure was farther known, the Ships of War were to be detained. The Commander in chief, called Monſieur *d' Almeras*, was not a little troubled to have his Ships thus embargued, and labouring in his thoughts between the time limited in his Inſtructions by his Maſter and the reſtraint by the Turks, he once bravely reſolved to hazard his paſſage through the Caſtles; but protracting the execution thereof from day to day, even until the end of *April*; at length Licence came for their departure, and Orders to repair unto *Vola*, near *Lariſſa*, there to take an Ambaſſador, or Agent, or Envoyé from the Sultan to their King. For it ſeems, the Vizier had intimated to the Grand Signior, That it was not time to diſguſt the French King, and to bring him under the notion of a declared and publick Enemy, or at leaſt to irritate him ſo far as might provoke him to ſend greater Forces, than perhaps he deſigned the next year, for *Candia*: and that he ought to comply with the preſent conjuncture, and ſalve that up for a time, which he might afterwards open at his pleaſure. This counſel ſeeming reaſonable to the Grand Signior, and agreeable to the preſent neceſſity, he ordered (as I was credibly informed) a thouſand Dollars only to adorn his Ambaſſador; ſo pitifully do the Turks eſteem of Chriſtian Princes, and ſo highly do they value themſelves, as if a Meſſage from them would be reverenced in Chriſtendom as a favour, though brought by a Porter or a Slave. But the French Ambaſſador

The Grand Signior ſends a Meſſenger to the French King.

1668. dor conſidering this allowance too mean a proviſion for a perſon qualified to appear before his Maſter, did (as it is ſaid) out of his own Purſe and generous Soul contribute a far greater Sum, with two Veſts of Sables towards his better Equipage. In this manner the Sultan diſſembling an appearance of good correſpondence with his Chriſtian Majeſty, diſpatched away his Envoyé on the Ships of War, being a Perſon in quality of a *Mutaferaca*, one of the ſame degree with a Chaous, to expoſtulate with the King concerning ſeveral Particulars, and eſpecially his Reaſons for ſending for his Ambaſſador, without ſending another, according to ancient cuſtom to ſupply his Office, wondering much at this ſudden alteration of friendſhip, without any cauſe given on the Ottoman ſide: and with theſe ſmooth and fair words the Turks imagined they might charm the Spirit of the King for a while and ſuſpend his Succours from *Candia*, until at laſt it were beyond his power and wiſdom to relieve. In the mean time the Ambaſſador from the moſt Chriſtian King, was detained as an Hoſtage for the other, of whoſe return we ſhall ſpeak in its due place.

1668.

Sir Daniel Harvey *Ambaſſador from his Majeſty.*

Towards the end of this year Sir *Daniel Harvey* Lord Ambaſſador from His Majeſty of Great *Britain* arrived at *Conſtantinople*, ſucceeding in the place of the Earl of *Winchelſea*, who could not obtain Audience with the G. Signior until the end of the following year, by reaſon of the Sultans unſetled abode and far diſtance; who at length coming to *Salonica*, ſummoned the Ambaſſador thither, and there conferred on him the uſual Ceremonies and Honours due to the Ambaſſador at firſt Reception.

A Relation of the ſtate of Candia *toward the end of this year.*

Candia was now hardly aſſailed in four places, *viz.* on the ſide of *Betlem*, *Panigra*, St. *Andrea*, and *Sabionera*. Theſe places being twice ſtormed, in which the Turks loſt thirty thouſand men, ſo many Mines and Fornelli were fired, that the ground lay open like a vaſt abyſs, with ſtrange heaps of confuſed and undigeſted Earth, and hindred the Enemy from approaching to the Wall; but *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea* being eſteemed the moſt weak, becauſe they were not fortified by any conſiderable Out-works, or compaſſed with any depth of Ditch, were preſſed and forced upon by the Turk with more violence than any parts of the City. The Enemy having by their great number of Pioniers elevated the confuſed Earth, they formed ſome Batteries, fortifying them, and ſheltering their people with Sacks of Wool, and a Labyrinth (as we may ſay) of Redoubts, they advanced foot by foot upon the Revelin of St. *Andrea*, being deſtitute of all Mines to ſtop their proceedings; and having at length blown up the Revelin, and with fire and earth having taken the Out-work, they penetrated into the Ditch (which was not deep) with four Traverſes, and came now to the very foot of the wall of the Bulwark, fortified with eighteen pieces of Cannon, ſix of which carrying fifty pound Bullet ſhot into the Ditch, eight flanked that ſide which was oppoſite to *Panigra*, and four on that part towards the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, notwithſtanding which they ſtormed the Walls in nine places. And beginning to make a breach by firing certain Mines, which opened a wideneſs of forty two paces at the point of that Bulwark; 1669. and continuing their breaches towards the Sea, breaking in their way the Front of the Fort *Priulo*, they proceeded almoſt to the Gate of St. *Andrea*, and opened forty eight paces more, in all ninety paces. Afterwards they ruined the remainder of the Wall, and that which was called the Scotch Fort to the very Sea; ſo that the Chriſtians were forced to retire from their Out-works, and contract their Precincts to the Walls of the City.

To add unto the miſery of this place, an unfortunate ſhot from the Turks Camp entred that Magazine which was near St. *Peters* Church, where the artificial Fires were made; and meeting ſeveral ſhells of Granadoes already charged, with thirty Barrels of Powder; all took fire and blew into the air, and burned all the houſes which were near thereunto. At this unlucky accident the Beſieged fearing a general aſſault, and ſeeing the Turkiſh Horſe draw into a Body near *Sabionera*, the whole Garriſon ran to the Walls; but no farther Attempt being made, towards evening they blew up a Lodge of the Enemy, with all the people that were therein.

Anno Chriſti 1669. *Hegeira* 1080.

The ſtory of the falſe Reaux or Temins.

TOwards the end of the laſt Year, and at the beginning of this the Turks began to open their eyes, and find themſelves defrauded with the groſſeſt cheat that ever was impoſed on a people who had either reaſon or humanity. For now three or four years had ran on, that the French, Dutch, Italians, and other Nations had introduced into all parts of the Turkiſh Dominions (unleſs in thoſe Eaſtward, as *Aleppo*, and farther) a ſort of ſmall Mony called by ſome *Luigini*, by others *Ottani*, and by the Turks *Temins*, worth about five pence Engliſh; which appearing pleaſant and bright to the eye, and commodious for change, and common expences, ſo bewitched the Commonalty, that Pieces of Eight, Zaichins, and other merchantable Money were laid aſide, as neither currant or valuable. At firſt about nine years paſt they were of good and warrantable Silver, but afterwards with time by little and little grew worſe and of baſer alloy; at length the people doting more and more upon them, they came coarſer every day than other; and being ſtill currantly paſſable, every perſon that was failed, and of bad reputation entred into the Trade, who knowing no bounds of honeſty or of gain, compoſed their Mony wholly of Copper or coarſer Metals, with a fair gloſs and reſemblance of Silver, buying therewith the Commodities of the Country; and at length amaſſed up all the Gold, Silver, and whatſoever came to hand was the price of their falſe and baſtard Coin, with which they filled and abuſed all *Aſia*: nor was this Money only of one Mint, but of divers Stamps and Mottoes reproachful to the Turks, and it is pity they had not wit enough to underſtand them, as namely, *Volunt hanc Aſia mercem. De procul pretium ejus*, and ſuch like, which were ſo various, that many who had the curioſity to make a collection of them, found no leſs than an hundred and twenty ſeveral Stamps. The Commonalty ſtill enamoured with the brightneſs of their colour, and commodiouſneſs of their change, little reflected on the ill conſequence to the generality, having ſeldom more than to ſupply

their

1669. their daily wants. And the Officers of the the Cuſtoms finding a benefit extraordinary to themſelves upon the vaſt Sums of Money imported, little cared how it fared with the publick. In the mean time the whole currant of Merchandiſe in the Levant was diſpoſſeſſed of its ordinary and true chanel; for vaſt quantities or a glut of Turkiſh Goods filled all Chriſtendom, the prices low and cheap, and no profit to any Merchant dealing upon the ſquare, or upon the old and legal way of Traffick. At *Ligorne* and other parts of *Italy* complaints were made, That the Silver and Bullion of the Country were melted down to make a compoſition with baſer Metals for *Turkie*, and exchanged for decaying and periſhable Commodities. In ſhort, no man ſeemed ſatisfied with the Trade, and yet the World, like their ſins, which they diſapprove, purſued it with all heat and violence imaginable. This Trade being thus over-laid, and vaſt heaps of adulterate Mony imported daily worſe and worſe, cauſed the Jews and other Merchants at firſt to except againſt ſome ſorts, and admit of others. This ſcruple, together with the prohibition of them two years before by the Engliſh Factory at *Smyrna*, obliging themſelves unto the Levant Company under a conſiderable penalty not to receive this mony for Cloth or other Commodities of the growth of *England*, together with the circumſpection and contrivance of the Engliſh Conſul, awakened firſt the blind minds of the Turks, who having long been infatuated with this beloved mony, began now to reject and abhor it like the falſe and farded countenance of a Courtiſan: ſo that from eleven they fell to twelve, and ſo to thirteen and fourteen to the Lion-Dollars. In which conjuncture a Dutch Convoy arrived at *Smyrna*, importing vaſt Sums thereof; which for a Bribe to the Officers of the City, or what the Cuſtomer would ask, were permitted Licence to be landed; which overflowing in great abundance, and rather of a worſe than better alloy, went declining to eighteen, and ſo to twenty, at which Rate for a ſhort time they paſſed currant. And now at this price the Officers did what was poſſible to keep them up, conceiving it impoſſible, in a time of ſo much ſcarcity of all ſorts of other Coins, that the Countries could ſubſiſt, or that Trade in buying or ſelling could proceed, if this mony ſhould wholly loſe its eſteem and value: nor were the people ſo much the care of the Governours, though for many years they had known no other price or reward of their labours, as were the vaſt damages of the Sultan, in whoſe Coffers were conſiderable Sums, which were never known to have been placed unto the loſs of the Exchequer; for it is a Proverb amongſt the Turks, *That the Grand Signiors Lead cannot ſink*. But that which raiſed moſt of tumult was the rigour of the Tax-gatherers, who refuſed to take that mony from the people for their Duties to the Grand Signior, but demanded of them Lion-Dollars, *Sevil* and *Mexico* Pieces of Eight, or the like, which they not being able to find, beat and impriſoned them in all places, where this queſtion came into diſpute: the people hereupon, though patient, and accuſtomed to violence and burden, could not yet ſupport longer an oppreſſion ſo unreaſonable, but that Inſurrection was made in all places where this came into diſpute: and as injured patience turns to fury, at *Pruſa* and *Angora* the torrent of the peoples rage was not appeaſed without the blood and lives of ſome of their Officers, alledging with good reaſon, That their Miniſters and Governors having introduced or permitted this mony amongſt them, and allowed it as currant in that manner, as that they had for ſome years known no other, nor received other for all the fruits of their labour or poſſeſſions, they ought not now to refuſe to receive that which they themſelves had made paſſable: which argument and reaſon was preſſed in ſundry places with that violence, that the Officers were forced to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times, and the fury of the multitude. And now this mony had wholly loſt its reputation, and began to be refuſed generally at any rate whatſoever; ſo that though the Government thought fit to licenſe them at thirty to the Dollar; yet the people proſecuting the abaſement of it with a hate and diſaffection equal to their former deſires, refuſed generally and abſolutely to accept them in payment. Wherefore the Sultan perceiving that the power of his Officers was not ſufficient to render this mony longer paſſable at any rate, at length he commanded, that every one ſhould bring in his mony of theſe ſorts into the Mint where it ſhould be melted down, and the Silver it produced ſhould be delivered to the Proprietor. At which Summons ſeveral Great men voluntarily brought in their mony, others had it ſeized and condemned to the Furnace, amongſt which was a French Merchant ingaged to the import of ſixty thouſand Dollars. As yet the News of this alteration not having reached Chriſtendom, divers Ships arrived at *Conſtantinople* with vaſt Sums of this mony, which were all ſeized and forced to the Mint. In like manner other Ships arrived at *Smyrna* with the ſame Commodity, which my ſelf would not ſuffer to be landed, and ſome of them having no other foundation of Stock or Freight, returned empty, to the great loſs of the Employers. It was ſtrange to ſee, how on a ſudden all Trade ceaſed, no mony being left in the Country, few Bargains were made but by Barters; and though all this ruine might wholly be attributed to the ill Government, yet the people were contented, and ſate down with the loſs. And thus concluded this extravagant Trade of falſe Mony, being ſuppoſed to have wrought more of deſtruction and loſs at the end, than it brought of benefit at the beginning; memorable for nothing more than for expiring ſo quietly, though it had the chief part of the Turkiſh Empire to ſupport and defend it.

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The Grand Signior deſigns to cut off his Brothers.

choly apprehenſions and fears he had for the ſtate of his Affairs, imagining that the long delays and ill ſucceſs at *Candia*, and defaults in Government had begotten in his Subjects a hate towards his Perſon, and a deſire of alteration. Wherefore the Spring approaching, he retired into a ſolitary but pleaſant ſhade amongſt the Mountains, where ſprang cool and cryſtalline waters, about ſixteen hours Journey from *Lariſſa*. In this ſolitude his melancholy thoughts again diſquieted him with a jealouſie and ſuſpicion, leſt his Brothers now at *Conſtantinople* ſhould take their advantage, and one of them be by the Peoples conſent and aſſiſtance placed in his Imperial Seat: which imagination made that impreſſion in him, that he immediately diſpatched away a truſty and valiant Officer with all ſecrecy, without making any noiſe, to bring him their Heads, directing his Commands to his Mother, in whoſe cuſtody they were; not doubting of her help and aſſent, as being moſt nearly concerned in his intereſt, expected every hour the return of his Meſſenger with that grateful Preſent, which could only cure the torture of his jealouſie, and alleviate his cares. But no ſooner was this fatal Command arrived at the hands of the Queen, but ſhe trembled ſo much, that ſhe could ſcarce hold the Paper. At length conſidering, that (as hath been ſaid before) ſhe had given in caution to the Janiſaries for the lives of theſe Princes, and that to her care they were committed ſhe immediately diſcloſed and publiſhed the deſign of the Grand Signior to the Janiſar-Aga, craving his help and protection, proteſting that ſhe was reſolved to maintain the faith ſhe had given to thoſe Princes, whoſe life ſhe tendered equal with her own. This advice and reſolution of the Queen-Mother being brought to the Janiſaries, was heartily approved, and proteſtations given that they would never abandon her, nor the lives ſhe preſerved. The rumour hereof in an inſtant flew through the ſtreets; but with ſuch variety of reports, that nothing of certainty was known, only in general ſome great ruine was apprehended to threaten the City; whereupon a ſtrange outcry was made to ſhut up the ſhops, and every one to conſult the ſafety of the Publick. But ſome few hours after, it being more diſtinctly known, that the Grand Signior had ſent for the Heads of his Brothers; the People of *Conſtantinople*, whoſe ſole hopes of ſeeing the Royal City reſtored to its ancient Honour, was by the conſervation of theſe Princes, were in a greater combuſtion than before; for every one then betook himſelf to his Arms: ſo that in a ſhort time were aſſembled forty thouſand men at *Okmedon* well appointed, where confiding in the ſtrength of a general Cauſe, in which they were ingaged, they vented many opprobrious ſpeeches againſt the Government, calling the Chief Miniſters *Orlyſler*, which is unfortunate Fellows, a term amongſt the Turks, of the greateſt ignominy, eſpecially to a Governor, and loudly exclaimed and wiſhed for a reformation. In the mean time the Queen-Mother deſired aid from the Janiſaries, and Guards about the Apartments of the Princes, leſt the Boſtangees, who are the Creatures of the Grand Signior, ſhould aſſault their Quarters. The Conſultations alſo amongſt the Janiſaries were long and ſecret, and the Queen-Mother diſpatched ſeveral Meſſages to the Grand Signior, adviſing him to forſake the Mountains, and repair to one of his Imperial Cities, as became the Majeſty of ſo great a Sultan, being the only means to ſecure to him the eſtabliſhment of his Crown. And now the Reader will with impatience attend the concluſion and iſſue of ſo great rumours and diſturbances; but it is now, as it hath been experienced in other Commonwealths, *acribus, ut ferme talia, initiis, incurioſo fine*, matters violent in their original, ſpend themſelves at firſt, and produce nothing remarkable in their end. And ſo was the effect of theſe receſſes, and mutiny of the people at *Conſtantinople*, whoſe humour of novelty and change venting it ſelf, and in four or five days tired with expectation, at length every one began to return to his dwelling and employment. The face likewiſe of things at *Conſtantinople* ſeemed quiet and appeaſed, carrying with it, as it were, a ſtill modeſty and ſhame for the late diſorders; and nothing was heard or murmured for the ſpace of twenty or thirty days after, until the Grand Signior trembling with the fears of this confuſed Rebellion, kept more ſtrict Guards than ordinary within his mountains, and after being better recollected, entered into Conſultation, and being adviſed of the Heads and Leaders of the late Inſurrection, proſcribed ſuch as were the prime Actors, and having diſpatched away two or three Meſſengers on this Errant, they entered ſecretly in the Night to their Lodgings, where they quietly, and without noiſe, took off the heads of four or five of them, and baniſhed as many without the leaſt noiſe, or notice taken thereof by the Vulgar. And becauſe this diſorder happened at *Conſtantinople*, for which the chief Commander ought to anſwer, the Chimacam paſſed not without a jealouſie either of negligence or conſent; wherefore the Vizier ſent for him and the Janiſar-Aga to *Candia*, as if he had occaſion of their ſervice, though not without their own fears and ſuſpicion of others, to anſwer and make ſatisfaction for the late mutiny. And thus for a while this Flame is extinguiſhed, and the fire raked up in the Embers. We muſt expect a while and obſerve when and where it will again burſt forth.

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Tac. Lib. 6.

The Turks ſtorm again the Fort of St. Andrea.

The Spring now approaching, which ſupplies new Spirits, and warm and freſh bloud into the Veins of Man, as well as ſap in Trees, and life in other Vegetables; let us return again to the Wars, and ſurvey the Camp, and poſture of Affairs before the walls in *Candia*. The Turkiſh Army, which, like worms benummed with the Cold of Winter, had lain immured between their Banks of Earth, did not ply their Aſſaults ſo frequently as they had done in Summer, only for a Winters exerciſe, battered the inward Works of St. *Andrea*'s Fort, which as we ſaid before, they had hardly beſet. And now the time for action being again come about, they renewed their ſtorm on that ſide ſo violently, preſſing forward the leaſt eſteemed of their Souldiery, that with the help of Spade and Mattock, and blowing up of ſome Mines, they penetrated forty paces within the Walls of the City. But the Chriſtians having long ſince forſeen the weakneſs of that ſide, made it part of their winters labours to draw another Wall from the Fort *Panigra* (whoſe Revelin or Out-work was before blown up) croſſing over almoſt to the *Tramata*, which they fortified as well as could be expected, and

1669. made conſtant and bold reſiſtance againſt the Enemy. Notwithſtanding which the Turks preſſed ſo conſtantly and boldly forward, that though the Chriſtians were ſtrong within, and provided with all ſorts of proviſions both of war and ſuſtenance, yet nothing ſupported their Courages and Spirits more than the expectation of promiſed Succours from *France* and *Italy*; it being reported, and generally believed, that they would be ſo numerous as might be able to give Battel in the Field unto the Turk, and force them out of their Trenches; for by no other means was it poſſible for this City to be relieved: for it might fare with this place, as it did formerly with *Rhodes* and *Oſtend*, which, though wanting neither men nor proviſions, were yet taken by palms and inches of ground, till not ſo much was left, as would hold men to defend them. A pregnant example (as St. *William Temple* well obſerves) how impoſſible it is to defend any Town that cannot be relieved by an Army ſtrong enough to raiſe the Siege. Whilſt the Chriſtians were entertained with theſe hopes, the Turks fortified themſelves without as ſtrongly as the beſieged had within, heaving like Moles with their numerous Army of Pioneers, whoſe lives being not valued, they were wholly intent unto Mines, blowing up all before them, in that manner that every day they gained a pace of ground within the City. So that in effect (as will be ſeen by the Sequel) this moſt impregnable Fort of the World was forced and taken by the Spade and Shovel, and by a Crew of unarmed Labourers, who underſtood nothing more than the Plough and Harrow. So that now this Town ſeemed to be reduced to its utmoſt Criſis, either of being taken, or for ever freed of this malignant Enemy. And indeed the Turks had ſo far advanced upon the Bulwark of St. *Andrea*, that now nothing remained of it, more than ruines, and undigeſted heaps of Earth and ſtone, in defence of which the chief Commanders applying themſelves in perſon with all diligence, the Marqueſs St. *Andrea Montbrun* was wounded by a ſtone in the face, the Cavalier *de Bret* was buried in the ruines to the very Neck, and with difficulty drawn out of the Earth by Aſſiſtants about him; two other Cavaliers were wounded with Granadoes, and the Cavalier *Fuillere*, who carried the Standard of *Malta*, was ſhot into the Eye with a Musket. The Proveditor General *Carnaro* ſerving at the repair of the Breach, was ſo wounded in the Belly by a Granado, that his Bowels burſt, of which he died in three hours; and with a piece of the ſame Granado the Count *Vigniole*, a French Gentleman of great Valour, was likewiſe ſlain: And ſo hotly the Turks plyed this Breach, that from the 28*th.* of *May* to the 2*d* of *June* they ſprang five Mines, which brake all the Paliſades of the Chriſtians; the which the Turks ſeconded with that fury and mettle, as if they intended to win the place and make an end of their work, before the arrival of the Forces expected from Chriſtendom. And this Poſt was now grown ſo dangerous and weak, that the Captain-General, the Marqueſs of *Montbrun*, and all the chief Officers took up their Quarters at this place, where his Excellency kept an open Table, and the Marqueſs took up his Lodgings at Night, that ſo the other Officers might have no excuſe on account of attendances or orders to abandon theſe Quarters.

Succours ſent out of Chriſtendom.

1669. The Princes of Chriſtendom all this time forgot not their beſieged Brethren in *Candia*. Pope *Clement* the IX. preſſed the moſt Chriſtian King to make ready his ſuccours in due time, who had already himſelf prepared all things, and elected the Duke of *Beaufort* his General of all the Forces by Sea, whether of French or other Nations. This Duke, like a couragious and brave Prince, thinking it little glory to command at Sea, where the Enemy was of an inferiour and unable Force to encounter him, did therefore deſire Licence from his King to make tryal of his Fortune in the Field, where he might evidence his Valour in the face of the Infidels, and ſignalize his Fame either by Death or Victory. The King, unwilling to hazard ſo worthy a perſon of his bloud out of his due Command in the rank of an ordinary Souldier, at firſt denied his requeſts; but the Pope interceding for him, whoſe General he was, with holy Arguments, and devout Contemplations of Martyrdom, and glory of dying for the Chriſtian Cauſe, at length obtained a conceſſion from the King, who of himſelf was flexible to ſo pious a requeſt, eſteeming it unholy to deprive his Kinſman either of the Palm of a Martyr, or the Lawrel of a Conqueror.

The French Fleet looſe from Tolon.

The Summer being come, and all things provided, the Duke aſcended his Ship at *Tolon* a City in *Provence*, the 6*th.* of *June*, *New-ſtyle*, with about ſeven thouſand Land Souldiers, commanded by the Duke of *Nevailles*, with the Marſhals *Lebret* and *Colbert*, and ſeveral other Worthies and Heroes of undaunted Courage, and arrived before the Town of *Candia* the 19*th.* of the ſame Month, having caſually encountred together in the Seas on the 17*th.* with fourteen Sail of Venetian Ships, laden with Horſe and Ammunition to mount the Troops, and relieve the Town: which happy encounter and ſpeedy paſſage, ſeemed a happy Omen of the future ſucceſs. The appearance of this ſuccour ſeemed to the Beſieged as ſent from Heaven, and adminiſtred unto them new hopes and courage; and the ſalutes paſſed between the Town and the Fleet with the uſual Ceremonies, and all the imaginable teſtimonies of joy and triumph.

They arrive at Candia.

No ſooner were they arrived than the two Generals, with other principal Officers, immediately in their Shallops took the beſt view and ſurvey they could of the Enemies Camp, and the Condition of the Beſieged; in which whilſt they entertained themſelves, they eſpied a ſmall Veſſel making towards them with St. *Mark's* Colours, in which was the famous Engineer Signior *Caſtellano*, diſpatched by the Captain General *Moroſini* with an exact plat of the Town, and diſpoſition of the Turkiſh Camp, which being particularly viewed and conſidered, it was evident, That if the Turks ſhould make ſome very forcible Attempt before the new Forces could be landed (as it was very probable they might) they would put all in hazard of being loſt; wherefore the Captain General preſſed to have ſome ſuccours immediately ſupplied to be aſſiſtant in that caſe of extremity; To which the Duke of *Navailles* immediately conſented, and landed himſelf that Night in perſon with ſufficient Force to mount the Guard on the Breach of St. *Andrea*, whoſe firſt Retrenchment was continually battered by the Turks, and though there was a ſecond Retrenchment in hand, yet time being required for compleating thereof, that part of the Town would be re-

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The French Forces landed.

duced to its ultimate hazard; for ſhould the Enemy ſpring a Mine (which they feared was already formed under the preſent Work) it would lay all open and naked, without other Fortification. The Duke being aſhoar, was received by *Moroſini* with all demonſtrations of Civility and Reſpect due to a perſonage of his Quality and Employment, and with a welcome ſuitable to the preſent extremity of his Affairs: all Ceremonies and Complements were ſoon paſſed over, the urgency of matters not permitting them time to be long impertinent; ſo that falling into the Diſcourſe of the common ſafety, it was reſolved that the ſuccours ſhould be immediately landed, which was performed with that diligence and expedition, that in two days the whole Army came ſafe on ſhore, excepting only ſome few, cut ſhort by ſhot from the Enemies Camp.

A Council of War held in Candia.

On the 23*d.* the Generals and other Officers, held a Council of War, amongſt whom was alſo the Marqueſs of St. *Andrea*; and did unanimouſly conclude, that the Town was no longer tenable, or to be maintained unleſs by ſome extraordinary enterprize attempted on the Enemy, and by ſome furious Sally performed with reſolution, and ſtratagems of War, in order unto which it was reſolved, That the 27*th.* ſhould be the day of ſally both with Horſe and Foot, and that the Fleet not to loſe their part in this action, ſhould play with their great Guns on that ſide of the Turkiſh Army which lay incamped on the Quarters of St. *Andrea*.

The order of the Christian Army to make their Sally.

All the Forces were landed on the 26*th.* and the whole night following was ſpent in preparations for the next days ſally: the Army being drawn up made four Batalions, the firſt called the Admirals commanded by the Sieurs *Martel*, *Vandre*, and *Gravier*; the ſecond was the Vice-Admirals commanded by the Sieurs *de la Monthe* and *Planta*; the third was the Rere-Admirals under Command of Chevalier *de Bouillion*, *Garbaret*, and the Chevalier *Dailly*; the fourth was the Batalion of the Sieur *d'Almeras* commanded under him by the Sieurs *Panetier*, *de la Rogue*, *Fontier*, *Bitault*, and the Chevalier *de Nemond*; and on the left hand of theſe aforeſaid Batalions, the Guards of the Duke of *Beaufort* were diſpoſed. The Duke of *Beaufort* unwilling to be a Spectator in this glorious Action, without bearing a part in his own perſon, after he had given order to the Fleet to accoſt the ſhore on the ſide of St. *Andrea*, as near as conſiſted with their ſecurity, and from thence with their great Guns to annoy the Enemies Camp as much as was poſſible, came that night on ſhore, reſolving to fight in the Head of the Forlorn Hope, from which hazardous adventure no intreaties or counſel of his friends could prevail to diſſwade him.

The Forlorn conſiſted of 400 men, on the head of which marched fifty men with hand Granadoes, flanked with three Troops of Horſe, Commanded by Count *Dampire*: the Regiments of Guards, with four Troops of Horſe for their Wings, flanked alſo with three Regiments of Foot, followed the Forlorn. The Reſerve conſiſted of the Regiments of *Harcourt*, *Conti*, *Lignieres*, *Roſan*, *Montpeſat*, and *Vendoſme*, flanked with four Troops of Horſe under Command of the Count *Choiſeul*, which placed themſelves on a riſing ground, to hinder all Communication between the Vizier, whoſe Camp was before St. *Andrea*, and the Janizar Aga, who lay before *Sabionera*. Between the firſt and ſecond line, were placed fifty Musketiers of the King, to be aſſiſtant on occaſion, and the other Troops of Horſe were to take the left hand along the Trench leading to the *Sabionera*: the Regiment of *Montpeyroux* was to mount the Guard on the Fort of St. *Demetrius* to ſecure the Retreat, if occaſion ſhould require. In like manner five hundred Pioniers were ordered to level the Trenches of the Enemy on the Quarter of St. *Andrea*, whilſt the Body of the Turks Army was imployed in repulſing the violence of the Sally.

The Christians ſally at the Gate St. George

Things being diſpoſed in this manner, and the morn approaching, the Forces marched out by the Gate of St. *George* with all ſilence poſſible; covering their Matches, that the fire might not alarm the Enemy; the Onſet was to begin with the dawning of the day, and the Signal was to be given by firing of the chief Mine Royal; which being large, and furniſhed with a great quantity of Powder, might (as was ſuppoſed) make way to the ſlaughter of the Turks whom the Chriſtians might find terrified and diſordered by ſuch an unexpected accident. This Mine was reſerved for the laſt extremity, but being low was full of water; ſo that the Powder was ſtowed on floats and rafts to ſupport it, but yet received ſo great a damp and moiſture, that when they came to ſpring it, the Powder took not fire, which was the firſt diſappointment of this Enterpriſe. Though ſome are of opinion, that the Mine was ſo vaſt, and contained ſuch a quantity of Powder, that the Engineers were timorous to ſpring it, leſt it ſhould reverſe on the Beſieged, as well as take effect on the Enemies Camp.

The Christians fall upon the Turks.

But be it how it will, a quarter of an hour before day the Generals expecting no longer, the Forlorn Hope which lay within half a Musket-ſhot of the Enemy, aſſaulted two Redoubts, took them, and put them all to the Sword: with the like courage the other Regiments entred the Line, and making themſelves Maſters of the Trenches after much blood and ſlaughter, and ſtorming a Fort on which was the Battery directed againſt St. *Demetrio*, poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and therewith of a great Magazine of Powder belonging to the Enemy, ſpiking all the Cannon that were found therein.

The day by this time being clearly broken out, diſcovered the action; ſo that the Turks with all expedition put themſelves into a Body on the Hill near New *Candy*, from whence obſerving and contemning the ſmall number of the Chriſtians, came thundring down in great numbers to regain their Trenches. The Duke of *Navailles* perceiving his Forlorn hardly beſet, came in to their aſſiſtance with two Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, which behaved themſelves with that gallantry, as ingaged the Turks again to quit their Trenches. But whilſt ſucceſs ſeemed thus to ſmile on the Chriſtians, the Magazine of Powder which was newly won, containing an hundred thirty four Kintals of Powder (by what accident is not known) took fire, and blew up all into the air, by which many were deſtroyed and wounded, eſpecially of the Battallion of the Guards, with many Officers. This fatal blow quite turned the Scale of Fortune. For the

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The Chriſtian Army in confuſion.

Souldiers hearing the dreadful clap, and feeling as it were the Earth to tremble under them, ſuppoſed it to be the eruption of ſome Mine near them, with which they were ſo amazed, that they began with confuſion to diſperſe to the right and left, and put themſelves into ſhameful flight. In like manner the Forces near the Sea ſenſible of the blow, began to retreat, and abandon their deſign, which no perſwaſions of their Officers, or other incouragement could animate them to proſecute; but that the faintneſs of a ſecond Attempt (an infirmity accorded of ancient Times to be incident to the nature of the French Nation) prevailed upon their ſpirits, beyond any poſſibility of arreſt, ſo that in a diſorderly manner they fled into the Body of the firſt Battalion, where being now united with the Reſerve, they for ſome time ſuſtained the ſhock of the Enemy; until other Bodies of the Turks from New *Candia* and St. *Andrea* over-powered them with greater multitudes, ſo that then they wholly abandoned the field, and every one as well as he could, ſought his Sanctuary and refuge within the Precincts of the Fortifications. Howſoever *Choiſeul* and *Lebret*, each of which had a Horſe killed under him, incouraging their Troops, diſputed the caſe yet longer, and ſtill with other Officers made head upon the Enemy; but at length with the Duke of *Navailles*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, who made their way through the Enemy with their Swords, they were forced to retreat honourably into the Town. The Duke of *Beaufort* was ſaid to have laboured much in reſiſting the ſhameful flight of his men, and venturing his Perſon into danger, from whence he reſolved never to retreat, was overwhelmed with unequal numbers, and ſo fell amongſt the common heaps: but his body, though much ſought after, being not found, it was believed rather, that he periſhed by that fatal Magazine of Powder, which blowing up, affrighted and diſordered the whole Chriſtian Army.

But not only did misfortunes attend the Land-Forces, but the Fleet at Sea ſhared in the diſaſters. For ſome few days after the wind blowing hard from the Sea, cauſed the Ships to ride at a diſtance from the ſhore. The whole Fleet conſiſted of eighty Ships ſmall and great, fifty Gallies, and ſix Galleaſſes, being the whole Force of that Year from *France*, *Italy*, and *Malta*. All which being at Anchor in due order as near the ſhore as was ſafe or convenient, made many ſhot into the Turks Camp, but with little execution: during which Action, the *Santa Tereſa*, a French Ship of ſeventy Braſs Guns blew up, and her whole Company loſt, being about three hundred men, of which ſeven only were ſaved; the Admiral of *France* being near to this Ship, received five ſhot from her which paſſed through her, and by the Splinters and fall of Timbers, the Veſſel called *La Reale* had ſix Cavaliers killed, and forty Souldiers Slaves were killed and wounded. After this it was propoſed in Council, That another Sally ſhould be made of ten thouſand French; to which the Duke *De Navailles* aſſented, on condition that they might be preceded in the Van by four thouſand Venetians, who were well acquainted and verſed in the nature of the place, and knew the ſeveral Redoubts, Galleries, and Trenches of the Enemy. But the Captain General being deſirous to reſerve his own experienced Souldiers to the ultimate and laſt occaſion of emergency, refuſed to aſſent thereunto.

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French Officers ſlain.

The loſs the Turks ſuſtained that day was uncertain, of the French were only an hundred thirty five heads brought in by tale, as I was informed from one who was preſent when they were counted, amongſt which were many principal Officers. For beſides the Duke of *Beaufort* were ſlain the Count *Roſan*, the Chevalier *de Villarceaux*, the Chevalier *de Quelas*, the Sieur *de Guene-gaud*, Marquis *de Fabert* Major of the Regiment of *Lorrain*, the Sieurs *de Montreuil* Captain of the Guards, *de Beauvais* and *Du Garnier*, *La Paniere*, *Touvenin*, *Lanſon*, *Bellebrune*, *Hautefage*, *d'Avenne*, *Marin de S. Jean de Chauveniere*, *Goindreville* Captain of the Regiment of *Bretagne*, *Forcan*, *du Boulet* Captains of the Regiment of *Harcourt*, *Choiſelet*, *Martinval de Boſſemont*, *de la Haye*, *de Bourneuf*, *de Vandre Martel* Captain of a Ship, the Chevalier *Lodeve* with nine Captains and eight Lieutenants Reformades of the Brigade of *Picardy*, *Navarre*, and *Normandy*. The Sieur *Lebret* was ſhot through the Buttocks with a Musket-bullet; beſides whom were wounded the Sieurs *de Montagne* Colonel of a Regiment, *de Caſtelan* Major of the Guards, *de Caviſon*, *Croiſelles*, *de Montigny*, and *de Moiſſac* by the Battery which blew up: the Chevalier *d'Alleurs* was hurt with an Arrow through the Arm. *De la Marliere* Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of *Lorrain* with five or ſix Officers of that Body, and *Villiers* Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment *Jonzac* were all wounded. The Marqueſs of *Ligniers* had his Thigh broken and a Finger ſhot off, and his Lieutenant-Colonel had his Arm broken. The Marqueſs of *St Vallier* Collonel with five or ſix of his Officers, the Chevalier *de Noiſon* Colonel with ſeveral Officers of the Regiments of *Bretagne*, *Montpezat*, *Harcourt*, and *Conti* were all wounded, with four other Captains of Horſe, and four Lieutenants; alſo the Marqueſs of *Uxelles*, the Chevalier *de la Haugette*, the Count *de Loſſe* Captain of the Guards to the Duke of *Navailles*, the Count *de Montbrun* Commander of the Kings Muſquetiers, and the Sieur *de Tagni* Quarter-maſter-General were wounded; who being Perſons of great Quality as well as Courage that left their Country, and expoſed themſelves to dangers, with no other motive than their own gallantry or defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe, ought be numbred amongſt the Heroes and Champions of our Age. Of Priſoners there were not above ſeven or eight taken, amongſt which were the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin* a Norman, and Son of a Marſhal of *France*, and the Sieur *de Chateau Neuf*, the firſt for his Youth, Beauty, and Courage greatly eſteemed by the Turks, and both entertained by the Vizier with more generoſity than uſually poſſeſſes the Nature of Turks: who after this ſucceſs, having gathered and thrown the heads of the ſlain according to their manner into a heap, did one day in merriment pitch them upon the points of their Lances, and ranking them in file and order, with Hats and Feathers on them, beat the French March amongſt them with ſhouts and Vollies of Muskets.

Matters ſucceeding in this manner unhappily, and the Enemy already almoſt in the midſt of the Town, being come to the laſt Retrenchment, beyond which could be raiſed no more

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The French leave the Town.

inward Fortifications; the Officers as in like caſes of misfortune began to throw the blame upon each other, and the conteſt between the French and Italians grew as hot within the Town, as the War was without; ſo that the Duke of *Navailles* appearing diſcontented, though in reality he might well be diſcouraged, and might be apprehenſive with due reaſon that the Town was in a deſperate condition; howſoever he pretended, that the time was almoſt expired, which the King had prefixed for the continuance of his Forces in *Candia*, and that therefore he could not think of any other deſign for them, than that which was in order to their imbarking. The Captain General being greatly surpriſed at this reſolution, endeavoured to perſwade him to the contrary, and being accompanied with the General of *Candia*, and the Proveditor General waited on the Duke at his own Quarters, where he repreſented to him in the moſt efficacious terms poſſible the preſent dangerous condition to which the City was reduced; until which time, under the Providence of God, they acknowleged the preſervation thereof to the magnanimous Arms of their religious King; and therefore in ſuch a conjuncture of misfortunes and extremity they knew not unto whom they might have recourſe for aſſiſtance, but to the Generoſity of his Excellency, and of thoſe Gentlemen, who for no other end but that of Religion and Honour, had undertaken ſo great a Voyage, and had voluntarily caſt themſelves into the hourly dangers of this Siege: That the Succour they demanded was really great and moſt important for defence of the place, in regard that thereon their whole ſafety depended. Howſoever it might have coſt ſome labour, though not much blood to the French Forces, if they would have worked on a new Retrenchment with the ſame celerity and diligence, as they formerly uſed, whereby the Siege might be prolonged until the the Winter, or till the Chriſtian Princes might take new meaſures, and ſend greater Recruits. Hereunto *Navailles* gave anſwer, That the zeal which the King his Maſter conceived for the conſervation of *Candia*, was evidenced by better effects, than the empty promiſes without fruit of other Princes; and that accounting the preſent number of Forces and Gentlemen of conſiderable Quality which were ingaged in this War, together with the great expence and charge his Majeſty had been at in maintenance of a Fleet to tranſport them, his Majeſties affection to the Republick was unqueſtionable: and that both he and his Officers who had the honour to command thoſe Forces had undertaken a long Voyage, and entred into dangers with conſtancy and readineſs of mind, and had aſſaulted the Enemy almoſt before they ſaw them, and given relief to the Town before they ſet their foot in it: but if the iſſue of affairs did not correſpond with a ſucceſs agreeable to their good intentions, and the primary deſign of this Enterpriſe, they muſt have patience, ſeeing that it coſt no other than the ſlaughter of Frenchmen, and that there had been a large effuſion of the Noble and Illuſtrious as well as of the common blood. It was a ſpecies of ingratitude not to remain contented with ſuch forcible arguments of friendſhip; and it was a breach of modeſty to pretend, that becauſe his King had lent them eight thouſand men, that therefore they ſhould continue in *Candia* ſo long as one remained alive. It was true, that beſides the Kings ſervice he was acted by ſome inward motives of Religion, but that he could not tranſgreſs the Commands and Inſtructions of his Majeſty, which injoyned him to imbark his Forces in order to their return about the 20*th.* of that preſent month of *Auguſt*. In reply to which, though the Captain-General and the other Venetian Officers, and alſo *Bali Roſpiglioſi* the Admiral of the Popes Gallies urged his ſtay with all the inſtances and arguments imaginable, yet nothing could prevail to detain him until the arrival of other Forces, only he was contented to leave ſix hundred men in the Town during the time that he continued at *Standia*: ſo that by this time having imbarked his Forces, and laſtly the ſix hundred men left on the Works, the Duke took his farewel and departed: ſo that the Town being as it were deſerted and forſaken of its chief hopes, all things were given for deſperate, and men began to be weary of their lives, as well as of the War and of their labours; and whereas with the aſſiſtance of the French, (as it was ſaid in the Council) the Town might have held out until the next Spring, it was now by this grand revulſion reduced to its laſt Criſis, and ſo weakened, as that no poſſibility of preſervation remained but in honourable terms of Surrender. And though the French in their Voyage home about *Maſta* encountred poſitive Orders to remain on the place, yet judging the Town might already be ſurrendered, and ſo the return diſgraceful and in vain, proceeded notwithſtanding in their courſe for *France*, for which default and want of conſtancy the Duke of *Navailles* being arrived at *Tolon*, ſuſtained the puniſhment of his Princes diſfavour, and ordered for ſome time not to approach the Court.

The Turks make an aſſault.

The Turks, by departure of the French, increaſing in hopes and courage, made an aſſault on the Quarters of *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea*; and firſt attaquing ſome Souldiers to the number of about thirty, who were placed on the Guard at the Poſt of St. *Pelagia*, they cut moſt of them off, and put the reſt to flight; with which the Turks being more animated, advanced to the Paliſade of the new Rentrenchment; but Vollies of Cannon, and ſhowers of Musket-ſhot, and ſtones pouring on them, gave ſome ſtop to the fury of their career. *Grimaldi* obſerving that the Enemy was at a ſtand, brought up his Voluntiers and Cavalry which ſerved on Foot, and together with the Forces from *Brunſwick* ſo plyed the Turks with ſtones, Granadoes, and ſhot, that the Fight was confuſed, bloody, and horrid; howſoever the Enemy ſo perſiſted, that the Commanders gave Order, That the groſs of the Army ſhould fall on; but the Souldiers were ſo broken and torn, that they refuſed to advance, though thruſt forward with the point of Sword and Spear. The Captain-General in the mean time taking his courſe along the Marine, on which part alſo the Turks were far advanced, cauſed a Mine to be ſprung under the thickeſt crowd of the Turks: which conſiſting of an hundred Barrels of Powder, made ſuch a deſtruction, as abated much of the ſtorm, and induced the Enemy to retire within their Redoubts. The Marqueſs St. *Andrea*, in like manner performing the office of a valiant and experienced Souldier, applied himſelf to all

places

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Nor was the ſtorm leſs furious and bloody on the part of *Sabionera*, nor was the ſucceſs and advantage on the Chriſtians ſide leſs conſiderable, in all which the Souldiery deſerved great commendations and renown; the two French Regiments of *Peraſt* and *Jonſac* under the Command of the Sieur *Choiſeul* did wonders; as alſo thoſe few which remained of the Regiments of *Savoy* commanded by Signior *Arborio*: Signior *Rados*, *Micolo Polani* a Noble Venetian, the Proveditor *Cornaro*, the Colonels *Gabriel*, *Givii*, and the Sergeant Major of the Troops of *Brunſwick*, and Serjeant Major *Bellegarde*, as alſo the Commander in cheif of *Malta* gave honourable teſtimonies of their Bravery and Valour. In ſhort the Captain-General praiſed them all, which was the beſt reward he could beſtow on ſuch generous Souls; and then ſent Orders to *Standia*, That the Forces arrived with the Duke *Mirandola* ſhould immediately be landed: theſe Forces, which when they were firſt imbarked, amounted to the number of a thouſand five hundred men, were now by Calentures and other ſickneſſes cauſed by the exceſſive heats of the ſeaſon reduced to ſix hundred; and though they were unhealthy and unexperienced Souldiers, yet the extremity of Affairs was ſuch, as called them to immediate ſervice, and to be placed on the Guard of the new Retrenchment.

But all this could give little relief to the periſhing condition of this miſerable Town; which was not only weakened by departure of the French, but by at leaſt five hundred others, ſuch as Swedes and Germans, and other Nations, who notwithſtanding all care and endeavours to the contrary, crowded under the French Banner. Likewiſe the Batalion of *Malta* imbarked, which though reduced to a ſmall Body, was yet very conſiderable for the Quality and Valour of the Cavaliers; which example all the Voluntiers followed, and thereby reduced the Town to a condition beyond all poſſibility of defence; for that in actual ſervice not above four thouſand men remained, and of theſe at leaſt an hundred a day being killed, the Town muſt neceſſarily in a ſhort time become a prey to the Enemy; wherefore the Captain-General called a Council of the moſt eminent Officers; and becauſe the matter was of great importance, he judged fit alſo to have the opinion of the Commanders of the Galleaſſes, and of the other Captains of the Fleet. At this Council were preſent.

A Council for to conſider of the ſtate of Candia.

Franceſco Moroſini Captain General.

Giacomo Contarini Duke of *Candia*.

Girolamo Battaglia Proveditor General of Arms.

Daniel Moroſini Proveditor } of the Kingdom.
Giacomo Cornaro Proveditor }

Alviſe Minio Commiſſary of the Ammunition and Proviſion.

Marquis St. *Andrea Montbrun* General of the Army.

Marquis of *Frontenac* Lieutenant General.

The Baron *Frederick de Spaar* General of the *Tramontani*.

The Cavalier *Bartolomeo Variſano Grimaldi* Sergeant General.

Baron *Chilmerſeck* Serjeant General.

Count *Francia Salviatico* Governor of the Arms of the City.

Cavalier *Verneda* Chief Engineer, and Superintendent of the Artillery.

On the other ſide ſate the Commanders at Sea, which were as followeth.

Lorenzo Cornaro Proveditor of the Fleet.

Alviſe Magno Captain in Extraordinary of the Galleaſſes.

Iſeppo Moroſini Captain in Ordinary of the Galleaſſes.

Georgio Benzoni Captain of the Gulf.

Aſcanio Giuſtiniano Governor of the Gulf.

Angelo Moroſini Pay-maſter.

Gio. Batt. Calbo Commiſſary of the Ammunition and Proviſions.

Alexandro Locattelli Cancellier.

All which having taken their places, the Captain General began to declare, That the extremity of the place was ſo well known and evident to them all, that there was no need for him to inform them of the particulars; only that he had called them together to know their opinions and counſels in what manner the defence of the Town might be beſt prolonged, and what advice they would give him touching the preſent premures and emergency of Affairs. He added further, That he had by good experience proved them to be as well judicious and wiſe in their Counſels, as they were valiant in the Execution; and that now was the time to lay aſide all oſtentation of ſpeech, and to attend unto that which was ſolid reaſon and advice, which he deſired every one to deliver freely with a clear and real ſenſe and affection towards the grand Concernment. Then he ordered the Cancellier to read a ſhort preamble of the matter on which they were to deliver their opinions, deſiring every one to expreſs his judgment in Writing; But after ſome few had ſubſcribed their Declaration, ſo much time was ſpent therein, that it was conceived more expedite for every perſon to declare his opinion by word of mouth.

As to the firſt point all generally concurred, that conſidering the ſmall number of the Defendants, the Town could not hold out much longer; for that the Enemy on the ſide of St. *Andrea* was arrived to the laſt Retrenchment, which being low, weak, and compoſed of bad matter, could not long reſiſt their power; that on the ſide alſo of *Sabionera* they were ſo far advanced by the lower grounds towards the Arſenal, that in a ſhort time they would block up the Port, and cut off all proviſions and ſuccours from the Town; and that if the Enemy were reſolved to adventure the loſs of two or three thouſand men by a general ſtorm; there would remain no poſſibility of withſtanding their Force. This being generally aſſented unto, and concluded on all hands, another Queſtion was propounded; namely, That conſidering the premiſes, what was to be done which might render the moſt effectual ſervice to the Republick; it was well known how important that place was to the Publick, and what vaſt Treaſures of Gold and Silver, and what plentiful Effuſions of bloud had been expended and poured forth in defence thereof; and that therefore it ought to be maintained to the utmoſt and laſt gaſp of ſtrength; but

that

1669. that it ought alſo to be conſidered, That the Town being either taken by aſſault, or the Port blocked up, there would certainly enſue ſuch deplorable Conſequences as every perſon may imagine; and the Republick be damaged by loſing all that which is now in a poſſibility of being ſaved. It was therefore put to the Vote, beginning on the ſide of the Inferiors, as the cuſtom is, and ſo aſcending to the chief; and it was reſolved that they ſhould capitulate, and enter into a Treaty with the Turks. When it came to *Grimaldi's* turn to ſpeak, he confeſſed clearly, That the Town could not hold out for many days, and though it was more glorious to the Defenders to dye on the Walls of it, yet it would be of worſe ſervice to the Publick; howſoever he was of opinion, that rather than ſurrender, it would be better to burn it, or blow it up with Mines; in execution of which, the wounded and unſerviceable people ſhould in the firſt place be ſhipped away, then taking the opportunity of a dark and quiet Night, the Infantry might be all embarked; it was true, as he confeſſed, that the action was difficult and full of hazard; howſoever, two things moved him to this Counſel; One was, The little aſſurance he conceived of the faith of the Turks; and the other was, The gloriouſneſs of the action: for as this City had been in an extraordinary manner defended, and of which the World cannot give the like example; ſo the end thereof would not be leſs renowned and famous, it not being a greater triumph to drive the Enemy from the Walls, than being vanquiſht, to leave a bloudy Victory, and inſtead of a Palace a heap of ſtones and aſhes. Many of the Council, and amongſt them Marqueſs St. *Andrea Montbrun* was of the ſame opinion, and the Commiſſary *Minio* endeavoured to ſecond it with efficacious Arguments; But in fine, after a long Diſcourſe, they all concluded that the reſolution was more generous than practicable; by reaſon that ſo many people could not be embarked without knowledge of the Enemy, who was not only quartered near, but within the very Walls of the City.

The Captain General was of a different opinion; for that beſides the difficulty of embarking the Souldiery, there were alſo ſome other conſiderations which might diſſwade this reſolution, and render it more prejudicial to the Publick than a Surrender by Compoſition. After ſome ſhort debate, all at length concurred in the ſame ſentiment, from which alſo *Grimaldi* did not much diſſent, confeſſing that the propoſition he had made would prove difficult in the Execution; howſoever, conſidering the little faith which the Turks obſerve, he thought it more ſecure to confide their ſafety to Fortune and their own Swords, than to the engagements and moderation of a perfidious and enraged Enemy. In ſhort, he ſubmitted wholly to the better judgments of the Council, and more particularly to the Captain-General, and the Marqueſs of St. *Andrea*, who were beſt acquainted with what more nearly concerned the ſervice and intereſt of the Prince.

In fine, the concluſion was, That they ſhould enter into a Treaty with the Vizier, and endeavour to obtain the moſt advantageous Conditions poſſible. Howſoever, it was thought fit to advertiſe firſt this their determination to the Auxiliary Forces at *Standia*; and to renew the inſtances they had formerly made to them for three thouſand men, with which, and with two thouſand Gally Slaves they would endeavour the making of another Retrenchment, whereby the Town might be conſerved for ſome time longer. Howſoever, in this Interim the Captain General being willing to touch the Viziers pulſe, that he might better diſcover in what manner he ſtood affected towards a Treaty, diſpatched one Colonel *Thomas Anand*, an Engliſhman, of courage, and of able Parts, and of intire honeſty, together with one *Stefano Cordili*, an intelligent young man to the Vizier's Camp; and that his deſign might not be diſcovered by thoſe of the Town, they were ordered to paſs from *Standia* with a white Flag up the River *Gioffiro*; and that being come to a Treaty, they ſhould only diſcover the mind and inclinations of the Turks, without making known their Intentions, or entering into particulars. 1669.

Reſult of the Council.

Being come in this manner prepared to the Vizier's Camp, they told the Turks, That they were come to renew the Treaty begun by Signior *Molino*, which had been broken off by the Arrival of the French and Pope's Forces; to which a Turk, then come from the Vizier's Tent, reſolutely anſwered, That they ſhould think of no Articles nor Treaty without a Surrender. To which *Anand* replyed, That they would do well to acquaint the Vizier ſo much, for that perhaps he might be of another opinion; and ſo not urging farther they departed; but returning after Dinner the ſame Turk came down again, called *Achmet* Aga, a Confident of the Vizier's together with *Panaiotti* the Vizier's Interpreter; and then with more earneſtneſs declaring, That nothing would be heard, unleſs in the firſt place they were reſolved to deliver the Town, and threatned them in caſe they returned without this Propoſition. The Captain General being adviſed hereof, the next morning *Anand* and *Scordili* went again on the ſame meſſage; and meeting the Turks under *Paleocaſtro*, they acquainted them that they had orders to treat about a Surrender, but firſt deſired to know what Articles they would give them, and what Town in exchange for this. In this manner a Treaty being begun, it was reſolved for better expedition to erect Tents nearer to the Town for the place of Conference, where the Plenipotentiaries on both ſides were to meet. *Ibrahim* Paſha, late Paſha of *Aleppo*, *Achmet* Aga, the Kahyabegh of the Janiſaries, the Spahyler *Agaſi*, and the Interpreter *Panaiotti*, were the perſons choſen by the Turks: on the part of the Chriſtians, after ſome Debate, no other perſons were choſen beſides *Anand* and *Scordili*, who meeting the Turks at the time and place appointed, demanded of them ſome other place in exchange for that of *Candia*. To which the Turks with ſome heat replyed, That it was againſt their Law to deliver Towns where Moſchs were built, into the hands of Chriſtians. To which the others anſwered, That this could not be their Law, ſince that in a Treaty ſome months paſt begun by the Cavelier *Molino*, they had offered to deliver up into the hands of the Chriſtians *Candia Nuova*, *Sitia*, and *Girapitra*, all places where Mahometan

Moſchs

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Moſchs were erected; and though the Turks might now imagine it eaſie to win the Town by force, they aſſured them that greater difficulties remained; and that if they remembred what bloud, what labours, and what Treaſures their ſmall acqueſts and advance had coſt them, they might thence calculate what Force ſtill remained to conquer, and that the laſt gaſp of this dying Fortreſs would ſpend it ſelf with more ruine and deſtruction than they had felt in all the other approaches and aſſaults thereunto. In fine, the Turks ſeeming reſolved to be ſole Maſters of the whole Kingdom of *Candia*, the Venetians began to condeſcend to receive ſome compenſation in another manner.

Howſoever, the difficulties were not yet ended but greater appeared, for the Turks demanded ſatisfaction for the charge of the War; and the Haratch or head-mony, which for all thoſe years of the Wars they had not received from the people of the Iſles of the *Archipelago*; they demanded alſo a Tribute for the Forts and Iſlands of *Cerigo, Tino*, and *Cliſſa*, and the other Conqueſts in *Dalmatia*; all which points cauſed new Diſputes, which were maintained with thoſe heats, and with that obſtinacy, as if it had been impoſſible for both parties ever to meet in a concluſion. Notwithſtanding, after long Debates, on the fourth of *September* they came to agree of giving hoſtages, and to certain propoſals concerning the manner of ſurrendring the place. The Turks demanded to have the Outworks put into their hands, with one of the Gates of the City, and the Paliſade of the new Retrenchment: To which *Anand* and *Scoradili* anſwered, That this was not a propoſition to be made to the Captain General, for that they were aſſured, the Garriſon would ſooner ſuffer themſelves to be cut in pieces, than to commit themſelves to the mercy of the Turkiſh Souldiery; whoſe faith is recorded in the Hiſtory of *Famaguſta*, and may ſerve for a true example and mirror of their treachery and faithleſneſs to all Ages. In this manner the Treaty had like to have been broken off; but at length they concluded, That it was neceſſary to render an account to the Vizier of the particulars of this Conference, adjourning the Treaty until the next Morning.

Notwithſtanding all which, the Turks did not abate in the leaſt point their progreſs in the War, labouring in their Works, and fighting with more heat than ever. The Venetians on the other ſide were not leſs active, firing continually their Cannon and Granadoes, and making ſome little Sallies, endeavoured as much as they were able to cover the weakneſs of their Forces. The Turks had raiſed a new Battery which broke a great part of the Paliſade of the new Retrenchment, upon which it was expected that they ſhould make a ſtrong attempt, for whoſe better entertainment two Mines were prepared to receive them; but they deferring the aſſault, the Captain General gave orders to fire both the Mines at once, which conſiſting of a hundred and fifty Barrels of Powder, made the ground to tremble both in the City and in the Camp, overthrowing ſeveral works with miſerable ſlaughter of the Enemy.

The Turks obſerving this reſolution in the defendants, became more tractable, and leſs ſevere in their demands; ſo that *Ibrahim* Paſha with the reſt contented themſelves with no other ſecurity for performances of Conditions than Hoſtages; of which three were conſigned mutually on both ſides. After which, other Articles were, with leſs Difficulty, concluded; ſo that in the morning of the *6th* of *September* the Turks demanded that the Chriſtians ſhould give all their Articles in Writing; whereupon the Council ordered *Grimaldi* to draw them up; which were in ſubſtance as followeth.

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The Conditions of Peace.

Firſt, That for obtaining a good and laſting Peace, it is agree'd, That the City of *Candia*, with all its Cannon which were planted there before the time of the War, be conſigned into the hands of the Vizier.

Secondly, That quiet poſſeſſion be given to the Republick of *Suda*, *Carabuſa*, and *Spina Longa*, with the Territories thereunto belonging, with the Fortreſs of *Cliſſa* in *Dalmatia*.

Thirdly, That the Venetians may carry away all the Cannon which have been brought into the Town ſince the beginning of the War.

Fourthly, That for embarking the Souldiery, Pioneers, and Inhabitants of all Qualities and Conditions, with their Arms, Proviſions, and Baggage twelve days time ſhall be granted and aſſigned.

Fifthly, That what ſhall remain unſhipped at the end of the twelve days aforeſaid, the Vizier ſhall, with his own Boats, aſſiſt to the lading thereof.

Sixthly, That during this time of truce, no perſon whatſoever ſhall tranſgreſs his Limits, or paſs the bounds of his Station or Quarters; and that he who doth ſhall be treated as an Enemy.

Seventhly, That ſo ſoon as theſe Articles ſhall be ſubſcribed under the white Flag, all Acts of Hoſtility ſhall ceaſe both on one ſide and the other.

Eighthly, That for ſecurity of performance of theſe Articles, three Hoſtages be mutually given on one ſide and the other.

Ninthly, That for better aſſurance, that the Venetians will uſe all their endeavours to embark their Men and Goods, the Turks may employ two Officers for Eye-witneſſes of the ſame.

Tenthly, That for better effecting hereof, all Ships, Gallies, and other Veſſels may freely approach near unto the ſhore, and enter into the Port both by Day and Night.

Eleventhly, That the Venetian Fleet may remain at *Standia*, or at any other Iſland in the *Archipelago*, until ſuch time as they are diſpatched, or that things are duly prepared for their departure.

Twelfthly, That all Commiſſions given by one ſide and the other be revoked, and that whoſoever ſhall after the ſpace of forty days commit any Act of Hoſtility againſt the tenor of theſe Articles of Peace, ſhall be puniſhed with capital puniſhment.

Thirteenly, That ſo ſoon as an Amballador from *Venice* ſhall arrive at the Port, all Slaves or Priſoners of War taken under the Venetian Colours ſhall be freed and releaſed.

Fourteenthly, That what depredations ſhall be made at Sea or Land after theſe Articles

1669. are ſubſcribed, and before the publication thereof, ſhall be faithfully made good and reſtored.

Fifteenthly, That a general pardon be given to the Subjects of both ſides, who have acted contrary to their Faith and Allegiance, during this War.

Sixteenthly, That in Vertue of theſe Capitulations the former Articles be likewiſe confirmed which were made in the Year 1571, and that no Tribute or Preſent be demanded from the Port, unleſs as hath formerly been paid for ſuch Iſlands as the Venetians hold in the *Archipelago*.

Seventeenthly, That of theſe Articles two Copies be made, one in Turkiſh with its Tranſlation into Italian, ſubſcribed by the Vizier, and ſealed with the Grand Signior's Signet; and the other in Italian underwrote by the Captain-General, and ſealed with the Seal of the Republick.

Theſe Articles being ſigned, the Hoſtages were given both on one ſide and the other. Thoſe given by the Venetians were *Fauſtino da Riva* Lieutenant-General, *Giovanni Battiſta Calbo* Commiſſary, and *Zaccaria Mocenigo* who had been Duke of *Candia*. Thoſe given by the Turks were *Belin Aſſan* Paſha, *Mahomet* Aga of the Janiſaries, and *Gurgi Bei* Teſterdar or Treaſurer.

During this Siege, of the Venetians ſide there were killed and wounded thirty thouſand nine hundred eighty five, of the Turks one hundred eighteen thouſand ſeven hundred fifty four.

The Batteries which the Turks raiſed againſt *Sabionera* and *St. Andrea*, conſiſted of fifty nine Pieces of Cannon, carrying from fifty to an hundred and twenty pound weight of Bullet.

The Storms which the Turks made upon the Town were fifty ſix.

The Combats under ground forty five.

The Sallies made by the Venetians ninety ſix.

The Mines and Fornelli ſprang by the Venetians eleven hundred ſeventy three, by the Turks four hundred ſeventy two.

The Venetians ſpent Barrels of Powder fifty thouſand three hundred and ſeventeen.

Bomboes of all ſorts by the Venetians of fifty to five hundred weight, were forty eight thouſand an hundred and nineteen.

Granadoes of Braſs and Iron an hundred thouſand nine hundred and ſixty; Granadoes of Glaſs eighty four thouſand eight hundred ſeventy four.

Cannon-ſhot of all ſorts two hundred ſeventy ſix thouſand ſeven hundred forty three.

Pounds of Lead eighteen millions forty four thouſand nine hundred fifty ſeven. Of Match pounds thirteen millions twelve thouſand five hundred.

What quantities the Turks might conſume of Ammunition is not certain; only it is obſervable, That the Braſs taken up in the ſtreets which came from the Enemies Bomboes was ſo much, that whole Ware-houſes were filled with the Metal, and ſo much ſold as yielded many thouſands of Crowns.

The Articles being ſubſcribed, and Hoſtages given, the Captain-General attended with all application of mind and induſtry imaginable to imbark the Men and Ammunition, committing in the mean time the care of the City to *Cornaro* the Proveditor of the Fleet. 1669.

During theſe days that all things were providing in order to a Surrender, there was great ſilence in the Turkiſh Camp, and no diſorder in the City; the Souldiers on the Ramparts, and the Turks in their Trenches ſaluted each other with civility, and entertained communication and diſcourſes together with friendſhip and freedom of ſeveral paſſages relating to their War, nothing of quarrel, or ſcuffle, or rude words happening out between them in all the term of the twelve days. The Vizier ſent divers times civil Meſſages and Preſents of refreſhment to the Captain-General and Marqueſs *St. Andrea*, which they returned with equal reſpect and generoſity; and ſo exceſſive were the Turks in theſe offices, that the Venetians began to be jealous, leſt under this mark and guiſe of courteſie ſome fraud or deſign ſhould be covered according to their own Proverb: *Chi ti fa piu carezze che ſuole, ó ti ha engannato ó enganar ti vuole.*

In ſhort, all things were diſpatched with that diligence and care, that on the 27*th* of *September* the City was conſigned; all the Inhabitants departed thence, not one remaining in the City, except only two Greek Prieſts, a Woman, and three Jews.

The War began in April 1645.

In this manner the Whole Iſle of *Candia*, the cauſe and occaſion of all that Blood and Treaſure that was ſpilt, and exhauſted in twenty five years War, fell at length to the fortune and increaſe of the Turkiſh Empire, with its moſt impregnable Fortreſs of the World, ſtrengthened with as much Art and Induſtry, as the human Wit of this Age was capable to invent, after a ſtrait Siege of two years, three months, and twenty ſeven days.

Candia *delivered.*

For the ſpace of twelve days allotted for the Surrender being expired, on the $\frac{27}{17}$*th*. of *September* being Friday, the great Croſs erected on the Wall was after midnight taken down, and advice given to the Venetians, ſo ſoon as the morning dawned, that the Turks did that day attend the Surrender, which was accordingly performed by the Principal Citizen about nine of the clock of the ſame morning who offering the Keys of the City to the Great Vizier in a Baſon of Silver on the breach of St. *Andrea*, was by him preſented with a Veſt of Sables, and five hundred Zechins in Gold, and to his Servants were given two hundred. To *Moroſini* alſo a Preſent was offered worthy his Quality; but he refuſed it, ſaying, That he would never give a ſeeming occaſion to the malicious World to ſlander him with the leaſt appearance of having ſold his important Charge. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting on the breach, ſome of the moſt cowardly and diſorderly amongſt the Janiſaries preſſed forward to have entred by force, in violation of the Articles ſo lately agreed and confirmed; but ſome of the Garriſon not yet imbarked, keeping themſelves ſtill on the Guard, repulſed the moſt forward in the Riot by killing three or four of their Companions: which diſturbance and inſolence of the Souldiery, when made known to the Vizier, he aſſembled the diſorderly together; and firſt upbraiding their cowardiſe, who durſt not enter in the time of War, would now counterfeit Valour in the time of Peace, ſentenced fifteen of them to be impaled on the breach, which piece of Juſtice

1669. and Gallantry was immediately executed. This rumour being appeaſed, the *Topegibaſhee* and *Cebegibaſhee*, or the Generals of the Ordnance and Arms took quiet poſſeſſion of the Forts and Cannon of the City, and whilſt the Turks entred over the breach, the Chriſtian Army withdrew and imbarked themſelves as faſt as convenience and decency would permit, who after the departure of the French, and of ſuch who accompanied them, were not computed to be above two thouſand five hundred men, and thoſe ſickly, ill accoutred, and half naked; and thus this City and whole Iſland became ſubject and a prey to the Ottoman Arms. Amongſt the Officers which took poſſeſſion of the Town were the Teſterdar and the Aga of the Janiſaries. The Teſterdar as he paſſed over the breach of St. *Andrea*, and obſerving how low and weak the Works were on that ſide, turned to the Aga of the Janiſaries, and with ſome diſdain ſaid to him, We have here ſpent ten days in the Surrender of this Town which we might have taken in two hours.

The Turkiſh Army taking poſſeſſion on Friday the $\frac{27}{17}$*th.* of *September*; the Vizier made his Entry on Friday the *4th.* of *October*; in which time they had erected a triumphant Bridge over the breach of St. *Andrea*, on which the Vizier entred into the Town, and paſſed directly to the Church of St. *Francis*, which was converted to a Mahometan Moſch, where having ſaid his Namaz or Prayer, he went to the houſe where the Marqueſs St. *Andrea* was lodged, which was prepared for him, with a ſumptuous Entertainment of five hundred Diſhes at the expence of the Grand Signior.

This City in four parts of five was ruined and demoliſhed in the time of the Siege, all the Bells and Ornaments of the Churches and Houſes to the very Locks of the doors were carried away; the Arms remaining were old and ruſty, and not above three hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon left on the Walls, and thoſe for the moſt part very ſmall: the Inhabitants remaining were only five, as we have ſaid before, unleſs ſome few decrepit Jews and Greeks, which might make up the number of about thirty; ſo that never could be a more ſad ſpectacle of deſolation, nor a more clear Mirror of the miſeries of War.

The Great Vizier being poſſeſſed of the Town, diſpatched away an Expreſs with the good News thereof to the Sultan, who poſted as faſt as wind and weather would permit. And here the Reader may eaſily apprehend what joy poſſeſſed the minds of the Turks in all places where the rumour flew of this Cities Surrender, which had for ſo many years baffled and put a ſtand to the Ottoman Sword. And though the joyful tidings added wings to the Meſſengers haſt, yet the uncertainty of the Grand Signiors abode retarded ſome days the arrival of the News: which will ſeem very ſtrange to him that conſiders, that the motion of ſo great an Emperour in the Glory of his Fortunes ſhould be leſs obſcure than the light of the Sun, perceptible by all conditions, who inhabit that ſide of the Globe, where his rays are viſible. At length the Meſſenger found the Sultan within the Woods and Mountains of *Negropont* where he had paſſed the heats of the Summer, and ſome part of his diſcontent in thoſe ſolitary retirements; it being now towards the end of *September*, and the Winter approaching, the Iſle was incapable to entertain ſo great a Court, and to return back ſeemed as diſhonourable as it was dangerous, the Souldiery and People being equally diſcontented, the one by the ill ſucceſs and government of Affairs, and the other by oppreſſion of Taxes: but this joyful News cleared all thoſe clouds and ombrages of doubtful and diſconſolate thoughts, which the Grand Signior received like a dream, being at firſt ſo ſurpriſed with ſuch an unexpected happineſs, that he could ſcarce believe it; but at length recollecting his ſcattered ſpirits, without delay returned the Meſſenger again with his Embrahore or Maſter of his Horſe to the Vizier with the Preſent of a Sable Veſt, a Dagger, and a Sword, being the uſual ſignals of the Sultans favour, and with a Letter freighted with Encomiums and Praiſes of his Valour and Fortune. And whereas the Vizier had perſwaded him to return to *Conſtantinople*, he anſwered, That he was reſolved to winter at *Salonica*, where with the Spring he expected his preſence, and from thence in company with him, ſhould be ready to chuſe any Seat, which in his judgment the Vizier apprehended moſt conducing to the benefit of the Empire.

The News brought to the Grand Signior at Negropont.

1679.

The Captain-General *Moroſini* having in the mean time imbarked his Forces, ſailed to *Suda* to provide and fortifie that place, *Spina Longa* and *Carabuſa*, poor Rocks and Appendages to the greater Iſle of *Candia*, with all neceſſary ſupplies of Victuals and Ammunition: which only ſerve for a Proſpect into *Candia*, and to keep alive the Title of the Venetian Republick to that Kingdom. *Suda* is the moſt conſiderable of the three, but yet not ſtrong, the Sea being fordable between that and *Candia*, and not of long reſiſtance, whenſoever the Turk ſhall think it worth his time to ſubdue. Here *Moroſini* attended the Ratification of the Peace from *Venice*, and the diſbanding of the Turkiſh Army, in which time four French Ships with Succours of Men and Ammunition arrived at *Candia*, but coming late were diſappointed of their deſign, and ſo returned back into their own Country.

The Venetians at Suda.

The Turks having now finiſhed their work, diſpeeded a way their Janiſaries and Pioniers by all occaſions of ſhipping: thoſe that remained were imployed all the Winter in filling the Trenches without the City, and many Slaves taken out of the Gallies to repair the breach of St. *Andrea*; in which work, whilſt they threw up the diſordered rubbiſh, ſo poyſonous a ſtench evaporated from the bodies of the ſlain, which lay buried in thoſe ruines, as begat a Peſtilence and other diſeaſes in the City and in the Gallies; but labouring continually on that work, they ſoon acquitted themſelves of the contagion, by help of the Winters cold which then approached.

In this manner expired the Action of this Year, fortunate in its ſucceſs to the Turks; for though they gained but thirty Acres of Land with expence ineſtimable of Blood and Treaſure, yet the Glory and Fame which attended it, being the conſummation of twenty five years Wars, and the Theatre where the whole World were Spectators, was of greater value to the Turks than any other conſideration, and may with time prove a place of advantage to the farther increaſe of their Weſtern Empire,

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unleſs God Almighty by his Mercy and Providence give a ſtop to the progreſs of this Grand Oppreſſour.

Serini *and the Nobles of* Hunga*ry offer themſelves to the Turk.*

But before this Year ended, behold the miſery of Chriſtendom, by reaſon of diſcontents and animoſities in the Imperial Court, the Count *Serini* Prince of *Croatia*, the Marqueſs *Frangipani* and Count *Nadaſti*, joyned with other Nobles of *Hungary*, ſent Meſſengers to the Grand Signior offering themſelves Subjects and Tributaries to the Turk, deſiring his Protection of their Religion and Liberties, deſigning to act the part of *Bethlem Gabor*.

The Great Vizier imployed himſelf this whole Winter paſt in repairing the Fortifications of *Candia*, regulating them in ſome meaſure according to the Turkiſh Model, and in repairing and beautifying the Town, which was done with ſuch admirable expedition, that in a few months moſt of the houſes demoliſhed in the time of the Siege were again erected, and the Churches converted into Moſchs and adorned, three of the principal whereof took the Names of the Grand Signior, Great Vizier and Captain Paſha, and were endowed by them with an honourable Revenue, ſufficient to maintain them in Reparations, Lamps, and Taliſmans. But the Turks were not more pious towards their Moſchs than the Chriſtians were careleſs and cold towards their Churches; for the Venetians inſerted not one Article in favour of a Chriſtian Church or a Religious Houſe, which would have been granted as ſoon as demanded, only a Greek who was Interpreter to the Great Vizier called *Panaiotti*, a Perſon of Parts and Learning, at the expence of two thouſand two hundred Dollars; and an Armenian Merchant called *Apro Chelabei* at the charge of a thouſand four hundred purchaſed two Churches for their reſpective Nations.

The G. *Signior returns to* Salonica, *and hunts.*

Sir Daniel Harvey, *his Majeſties Ambaſſadour, hath his Audience of the* Grand *Signior.*

The Grand Signior in the mean time returned to *Salonica* to paſs the remainder of the Winter, which place being famous for multitude of all ſorts of Game, drew is heart, and made him impatient till he arrived thoſe Plains, more deſired by him than the Elyſian fields; for having made his Entry into that City, the next day he deſigned to hunt: but being put in mind that the Engliſh Ambaſſadour Sir *Daniel Harvey*, who (as we ſaid) arrived at *Conſtantinople* the year before, attended his Audience, he was contented to grant it to him the next morning. But yet not to loſe his hunting, at midnight he ſent Officers to the Ambaſſadour to prepare for the next days Audience very early; and to gain time, ordered his Horſes to be all ready, that ſo having diſpatched that Ceremony, he might immediately mount into the Saddle and purſue his Game. Howſoever he was not in ſo much haſte, but he teſtified due reſpect to His Majeſty of Great *Britain*, and the eſteem he had of the Engliſh Nation, ordering the Capitulations to be renewed; and commanding the Chimacam, that if any one ſhould break or infringe them, that he ſhould cut him off without farther argument. But as to renewing the Capitulations, the Chimacam falling at the Grand Signiors feet, beſeeched him, That that particular might be deferred until the arrival of the Great Vizier, whoſe proper power and act it was to make War and Peace; and therefore for him to intermeddle about Capitulations was to invade the Viziers Authority, which he durſt not do without putting his life in danger, or at leaſt rendring his Perſon obnoxious to his irreconcileable diſpleaſure; with which the Grand Signior being ſatisfied, ordered that the renewing of the Capitulations ſhould be deferred until the return of the Viſiier, and ſo diſmiſſed the Lord Ambaſſadour from his Preſence; but this work of renewing the Gapitulations was reſerved for the care and conduct of Sir *John Finch*, who ſucceeded in the Embaſſy after the death of Sir *Danil Harvey*.

The Grand Signior ariſing from his Throne mounted into his Saddle to follow his exceſſive delight in Hunting, which now he purſued every day without reſpect of cold or wet, or Horſes or Attendants; but like an impetuous *Nimrod* raged amongſt the timorous Hares and flying Harts, over-ſpreading the Woods with vaſt numbers of poor Jews and Peaſants, which he had commanded forth to drive for Game, not reſpecting the extreme rigour and Froſts of Winter, by which many of thoſe poor Wretches lying abroad in the nights, were benumbed, and dyed. And ſo far did his humour tranſport him in this Recreation, that he was diſcouraged at no inconvenience or labours which attended it; for one day appointing his Hunting at a certain place, which to paſs on Horſe-back was a great circuit, but a nearer cut over a Gulf or Arm of the Sea, he ordered his Horſes round, whilſt he in Perſon attended with the Chimacam and ſeveral of his Grandees, paſſed over to the other ſide in a Gally. But being impatient of his Sport, and not able to give time to his Horſes to make their way, aſcended his Gally, commanding them to row away with all ſpeed; and arriving at the other ſide ſome hours before His Horſes could come, would yet land: and being weary of expectation, reſolved to meet them on foot through all the dirt and mire of a low and rich ſoil: where whilſt he travelled heavily, and almoſt tired, by good fortune they eſpied a Miller driving his Horſe laden with two Sacks of Meal; whom when they had called, and made him to lighten his burden, and take off the Pack-ſaddle, the Chimacam himſelf ſtripped off his own Sables Veſt, and covered the Horſe with it, on which the Grand Signior mounting in great ſtate, rode like a Prince till he met his own Retinue, which paſſage ſerved to fill the diſcourſe at night of that days Hunting, and deſerves to be chronicled with our Engliſh Dialogue between the Miller and the King: howſoever we make uſe of it here to demonſtrate the ſtrange and paſſionate humour which poſſeſſed this Sultan in his Hunting.

The G. Signior delights ſolely in his Queen.

Little other recreation did this Grand Signior take, unleſs it were in the Company of his chief Sultana, called the Haſaki Sultana, by whom having had a Son, which beginning now to play and ſpeak, reconciled much of his affection to the Female Sex, but yet with that moderation and well regulated love, that he confined himſelf wholly to this one Woman, having ſent for her to be his Companion in all journies and adventures of Errantry, whilſt the other Ladies as incumbrances and impediments to the ſpeedy motions of the wandring Court, were diſpeeded to *Conſtantinople* under the Government of the Queen Mother, as we have before declared; of which priviledge this Sultana beginning to be

1669. ſenſible, endeavoured to encreaſe and conſerve the Affections of her Lord by all the arts and tricks of love imaginable; for ſhe was really, or elſe feigned to be, ſo enamoured of him, that ſhe pined and macerated away her ſelf for his abſence; and when he was indiſpoſed in his health, or intended a long Journey from her, ſhe would fall into Swoundings, and Paralytical Fits, or ſomething elſe, which was an undoubted ſymptom of true affection, ſuch as commonly intervenes amongſt us in the chaſt embraces of ſingle marriage; that the Grand Signior, whoſe love to Women were not naturally as vagrant as his delights after the chaſe of wild Beaſts, was ſo much ſatisfied in her alone, that he could be no more without her than ſhe without him; ſo that, like *Diana*, or ſome Mountain Nymph, ſhe became a Huntreſs after her Prince, as he a Ranger after his Game.

And now in this place it may be pertinent to add; that on the 30*th.* of *December* of this year 1669. Sir. *Daniel Harvey* his Majeſties Ambaſſadour, being then on his departure from *Salonica*, Mr. *Willam Hedges* who was with him there, being the Treaſurer to the *Levant* Company in *Turky*, and *Signior Antonio Perone*, the Druggerman or Interpreter, having occaſion of buſineſs attended that day on the *Keis-Efendi*, or chief Secretary; who ſo ſoon, as they came into his preſence he called out to them, I hope ſaid he, that you are come to turn Muſſelmen, or believers; for your great Champion *Serini Ogly*, (for ſo they call *Serini*) is become Feudatary, having ſubmitted, and put himſelf under protection of the Grand Signior. It was but the night before, that certain Meſſengers from Count *Serini*, and his adherents arrived at this Court, proffering to accept the Standart from the Grand Signior, and pay him Tribute, ſo they might obtain the power and protection of the *Ottoman* Arms againſt the Emperour. This propoſition though in appearance ſo advantagious, that it might ſeem to admit of no doubt in the acceptance; yet both the Grand Signior and the Chimacam were ſo ready after the late ſucceſs at *Candia* to joyn in their Complement to the Vizier, that they would neither conclude, nor give anſwer to theſe Meſſengers, until firſt they had conſulted his ſence, and opinion on the proffer, wherefore to looſe no time according to the uſual expedition of the *Turks*, two gallies were the very ſame night diſpatched with theſe Meſſengers to the Vizier at *Candia*, to give him notice of this tender, and to demand his counſel, and aſſent thereunto: with like ſpeed the gallies were returned with the Viziers approbation, though afterwards on better conſiderations the *Turks* touched this cauſe ſo tenderly, that *Serini* and his complices being detected, the plot Miſcarried and the Conſpirators brought to condigne puniſhment, as ſhall hereafter be related; what ſuſpition the Counſel at *Vienna* might have of this deſign is uncertain, yet this is out of all doubt, that they had no aſſured knowledge thereof, until it was firſt brought them by Mr. *Hedges*; and yet ſo much time was taken up herein, as that he travailed from *Salonica* to *Conſtantinople*, where he arrived the 13*th.* of *January*, and there remaining ſome time for the better Setlement of his affairs before his journy thence for *England*, by Land he departed on the 14*th.* of *Feburary*, and on the

1670. 29*th.* of *March* following, was by Leiutenant General *Eſterhas* received in to *Raab*, to whom giving this firſt Intelligence about *Serini*, and his adherents, was courteouſly treated, but yet detained, until advice was given hereof to General *Monteoculi* then at *Vienna*, and his licenſe, and paſs given to Mr. *Hedges* for his farther proceedings in his journy. Anſwer hereof being returned, he had licence given him to depart, and a guard to conduct him ſafe to *Vienna*, which is very neceſſary on thoſe Frontiers. At *Vienna* Mr. *Hedges* being examined upon Oath by Count *Capelliers* to the truth of the foregoing Relation, Troops were immediately diſpatched to the Caſtle of *Serini*, where they ſo ſeaſonably arrived, as to take poſſeſſion of it for the Emperour ſome few hours before the Turkiſh Forces, (having received a ſtop by cutting of the bridge) came to ſeize it for the Grand Signior: Count *Serini* perceiving by this *Act*, that his deſign, was diſcovered, fled with *Frangipani* his Father-in-law towards *Tranſilvania*, but being on his way thither overtaken by the Emperours Edict, he was together with *Frangipani* ſeized at Colonel *Careis* Houſe, and thence brought to *Vienna*, and lodged at the Convent of Father *Nicholas Donilard* an Iriſh Frier in the Suburbs of that city; where *Serini* having ſeen, and diſcourſed perſonally with Mr. *Hedges*, he declared to him, *That if the Turks had been, as good as their words, he had not been there a priſoner at that time.* In this particular two things ſeem ſtrange, and unuſual. Firſt on the *Turks* ſide, that a matter of this ſecrecy ſhould be ſo openly divulged and diſcourſed by them at *Salonica*: And ſecondly, on the Emperours part, that a buſineſs of this Importance commonly known at the Grand Signor's Court, ſhould want a perſon to advice, and transfer it to *Vienna*; until it came accidentally to be publiſhed by a ſtranger, who having taken a circuit with it by way of *Conſtantinople*, and his leiſure there to accomodate his own affairs, vented it rather as a Subject of diſcourſe, then a new diſcovery. 'Tis true, the *Turks* are very commonly open in their counſels, and have a qualitie to keep nothing ſecret though recommended to them under never ſo many Injunctions of privacy: yet that the Emperour who commonly maintains a Miniſter tending at the *Ottoman* Court, ſhould have no other intelligence hereof, then ſuch an accidental, and unexpected conveyance, is a matter which affords occaſion to upbraid the Negligence of the *Germans*, and at the ſame time to admire and praiſe the divine Providence and Juſtice.

Anno Chriſti 1670. *Hegeira* 1081.

THE Spring coming forward, the Great Vizier declared, That after St. *George's* day, which is the 23*d* day of *April*, (called by the Turks *Caſſim gheun*) he reſolved to depart from *Candia*; and therefore ordered, That all Ships, Saiks, Brigantines, and other Veſſels, which were found in any Port of the Grand Signior's Dominions, ſhould be ſent to *Candia*,

to

1670. to tranſport him and the remainder of his Army to *Rhodeſto* in *Romelia*, from whence he deſigned his March to meet the Grand Signior at *Adrianople*. But before his departure he took a view of the Iſland, taking his progreſs through the whole circumference of it, and numbring all the Inhabitants which paid Harach, or Pole-mony, found them not to exceed two and twenty thouſand perſons. For though in the time of *Dellee Mehmet* Paſha, who was the firſt that brought the Ottoman Sword into that Country, there were liſted fifty five thouſand, who paid duties of Harach; yet now the Plague, the Sword, and other miſeries of War had reduced them to that ſmall number, of whom ten thouſand (as is reported) periſhed in the Mines, and before the Walls of their own City; and great numbers of Olive-Trees being cut down and burned by the Souldiery in time of the War, is the reaſon that that Iſland yields not half the quantity of Oils as in former times.

The Vizier takes a ſurvey of the whole Iſle of Candia.

The Ambaſſador of *Venice* Signior *Alivuiſé Molino*, before mentioned, was now at *Candia*, deſigning to accompany the Vizier in his Voyage to the Grand Signior; for adorning which Embaſſy the Republick had appointed a Ship to carry the Preſents and ſeveral Perſons of Quality for attendance of the Bailo (for ſo their Ambaſſador is called;) and in regard in that paſſage the ſhip was to touch at *Zant*, they laded on her a hundred thouſand Zechins for payment of that Souldiery, which with the Captain General were returned from *Candia* to that place, with Preſents for the Grand Signior and his Court; but it pleaſed God, that this Ship ſailing down the Gulf, met with ſo furious a ſtorm of Wind, that ſhe ſuffered ſhipwrack on the Coaſt of *Italy*, where not only the ſhip and goods were loſt, but every ſoul upon that ſhip periſhed; amongſt which was *Lorenzo Molino* Son of the Ambaſſador, and *Ottavio Labia*, another noble Venetian.

The Vizier departs from Candia, *and arrives at* Scio.

The Great Vizier entertained himſelf ſo long in *Candia* that the month of *May* was well entered before he departed thence; and by the way touched at *Scio*, where he was met by all the Officers and Governors of the adjacent Juriſdictions, who came to make tender of their Preſents and Services; but the Vizier in a plauſible manner, accepted of their courteous Offers, but returned their Gifts, ſaying, That he was ſo ſenſible of the great oppreſſions and expences the neighbouring Countries had ſuffered by reaſon of the War, that he was reſolved to ſuperinduce no new Charge by Victory and Peace.

In like manner from all parts was a confluence of poor oppreſſed people, who came to petition for juſtice and relief againſt the corruption and tyranny of their Governors in the reſpective Countries. But the Vizier admitted no Audience for Complaints, whether it were to maintain an apprehenſion of his clemency and gentleneſs, by acting nothing that was cruel or ſevere, or to enjoy himſelf after his cares and turmoils in the War; he almoſt for fourteen days continuance entertained himſelf in private by the cool and cryſtalline Fountains of *Scio*. Some report, that he gave himſelf at that time ſo exceſſively to Wine, being overjoyed at his ſucceſs, and concluſion of the War, that he was never capable, during his abode there, of ſerious thoughts or counſels; ſo that his Kahya, or Secretary, could never be admitted acceſs, unleſs he were called, though on the moſt urgent occaſion of buſineſs. Others interpreted his retirements to be in order to ſerious conſiderations about the management of Affairs at his return; as how to ſatisfie the expectations of the Grandees, who patiently attended an amendment of abuſes in the Government; how he might pacifie the minds of the Souldiery, who were jealous of Conſpiracies againſt the lives of the Royal Brothers, and how to ſteer in an even courſe at Court between the ſecurity of his Maſter, and ſatisfaction of the Vulgar; for all the World lived in hope that alteration of times would amend abuſes, and that the laſt remedy of all was the return of the Viziers Authority, Howſoever, it is certainly reported, That the Vizier was become exceedingly intemperate in wine, and drowned much of his cares in the fumes and vapours of it, ſuppoſing himſelf, as *Tiberius* did in *Caprea*, exempt from the eyes of the World, whilſt he remained in *Scio*, which the Sea had ſeparated from the greater Continent. And yet the Vizier, is believed, never to have taſted Wine, or known whether it was bitter or ſweet, till the pride of his ſucceſs in *Candia* tranſported him to make his joy extravagant, to which the Officers about his Perſon invited him, as that which cheared the ſpirits, ſtrengthened the Nerves, and induced a ſtrange kind of delight and pleaſure in the fancy, beyond any thing of Poppies, or Opiate Compoſitions, or *Biram-*Paſha's Pills, or Berſe, or a thouſand other inventions, fit only to confuſe mens reaſon, and ſtupifie the brain, and benumb all the ſenſes, in which ſome, as I have heard, had ſo practiſed themſelves by degrees, that they could ſwallow five drams in twenty four hours, though I never knew any, unleſs one Turk, whom I ſaw eat above three; but then they could eat nothing elſe, nor were they fit afterwards to receive or digeſt any other nouriſhment, Nature being uſed to that poyſon, rejected all other ſounder nutriment. But Wine (they ſaid) cheared the heart in that manner, and comforted the ſtomach, that the Turks began now generally to drink it, unleſs he were ſome Phariſaical Hypocrite of the Ulamah, or ſome ſuperſtitious aged and ignorant Profeſſor. So that the vice of drunkenneſs became more common amongſt the Turks, than amongſt the Germans, or our ſelves: I am ſure more intolerable, and adminiſtred to more miſchiefs, by how much the Turks being unaccuſtomed to Wine, knew leſs how to comport the heats of Intemperance.

The Great Vizier perſwaded to drink wine.

The Souldiers and other Turks drink Wine to exceſs.

And here I ſhall make a little digreſſion from my purpoſe in hand to acquaint my Reader of the effects which I have obſerved to be produced in thoſe who accuſtom themſelves to the uſe of Opium. In all the Country Villages amongſt the Turks, the more aged ſort of men who have moſt leiſure, and leaſt neceſſity to work, addict themſelves to Opium for alleviation (as they ſay) of their cares, and to forget their ſorrow, for pleaſure in the taſte there can be none, being very bitter to the palate; which being taken in a morning in a ſmall quantity, about the bigneſs of a Tare, ſuperinduces at firſt a ſtrange chearfulneſs about the heart, and thence raiſes a more pleaſing vapor to the head, than any

A digreſſion about Opium.

can proceed from the ſpirits of the beſt and the higheſt Wines: but afterwards as it begins to digeſt, the vapour becomes more groſs, and conſequently a kind of ſtupefaction is induced over the brain and nerves, which with drowſineſs and ſleep paſſes away like a drunken fit. The Youth amongſt them which drink Wine abhor Opium, until growing into years, and to the care of a family (as a ſign of which they ſuffer their beards to increaſe) they are taught by their Imaum, and more by example of others, that Wine being againſt their Law, is only diſpenſable in wild and unbridled Youth, but in thoſe of riper age is a vice to be reproached by all ſober and well-governed men. In the place of which they take up the lawful and innocent Pill of Opium, which makes men ſerious and ſetled (as they ſay) becauſe that it operates not like Wine, which makes men mad, and raſh, and violent, but diſpoſes them to be Sots, and to ſit grave and quiet without doing hurt to any man, which is a qualification accounted very laudable amongſt them, and is one of the greateſt Vertues which they endeavour to acquire in their Tekeés or Monaſteries. This being the reaſon for which it is taken and allowed, it is grown a common cuſtom almoſt amongſt all the Country-people, who in the morning before they go to work take firſt their Opium, and upon it three or four diſhes of Coffee; for it is obſervable, that none eats Opium but who accompanies it with great quantities of Coffee, which is doubtleſs a kind of Opiate in it ſelf, and partakes very much of a Narcotick Quality; by this means and conſtant uſe ſome arrive to take ſtrange quantities; the moſt that ever I knew any man take was three drams in twenty four hours, *viz.* a dram and a half or thereabouts in the morning, and as much an hour afternoon: the which for more exactneſs I had the curioſity to ſee weighed. The ſame perſon offered for a ſmall reward to take five drams in twenty four hours; but then he ſaid, it required a long time to digeſt, and did not doubt but to overcome it: but I was too ſcrupulous to put a man into a ſleep, from whence I feared he might never awake. This perſon was of a thin and livid complexion, his skin ſhriveled, no more beard than a few hairs, his mouth commonly open, becauſe his chap was fallen; his countenance putting me often in mind of the Picture I have ſeen of the *Gorgons* head; for had it been incompaſſed with Snakes inſtead of his Turbant, it might have ſerved for a perfect Original. He had arrived to the years of forty eight, and from the years thirty he had entred into Opium from great exceſs of Wine: in which condition he found that his ſtomach required littled other nouriſhment, being content with a ſmall quantity of bread and water for his other Diet, Opium ſupplying him with all the other Delicacies he could deſire: he was the father notwithſtanding of two or three children, which he confeſſed to have begot in the ſtrength of his Opium, having no deſire to accompany with his wife, until he was firſt invigorated with his uſual Doſe, being till then like a Trunk or Log, wanting ſpirits almoſt to turn his body. For his Opium was that only which could revive all, which about a quarter of an hour after it was taken began to operate, and then we diſcovered in his eyes, which before were dull and heavy, ſcarce opening, a certain quickneſs and ſparkling, and then ſoon after he was fitted for the work of the day, and could labour as others, and take a journey on foot of ſeven or eight miles to Market, and return home at night: his body was always bound, or his belly conſtipated with the hardneſs of his excrement, and yet he was ſubject to no other ſickneſs, unleſs his vitiated deſire to this Poyſon which can nouriſh no wholeſome or healthful body. The Turks, as I have learned, make little other uſe of Opium than this; yet ſometimes they will put it into their Camels ears, and the noſtrils of their Horſes, when faint and weary, wherewith they revive again, and ſoon recover their ſtrength and force to travel.

The Vizier having thus paſſed ſome days of Entertainment at *Scio*, entred again his Gally, and paſſing through the Streights of the *Helleſpont* arrived at *Rodeſto*, where having landed many of his Janiſaries and ſuch of the Army as remained with him, after a few days continuance he marched to *Adrianople*, where he was received by the Grand Signior with all evidences of ſatisfaction, and entred the City triumphant after the manner of the Turkiſh *Allai*.

The Ceremonies and Complements being paſt, which uſually intervene between Great Perſonages after a long abſence, the grand Conſultation was, In what manner to prevent the ſeditious irruptions of the Souldiery, and how to reconcile the Jealouſies between the Grand Signior and his Brothers. For the former, two things were concluded neceſſary. Firſt, to divide the Militia of the Janiſaries, which was immediately executed, and eight thouſand of them, under pretence of Incurſions, were ſent through *Moldavia* to remain on the Frontiers of *Poland*. Secondly, it being obſerved, that moſt of the Souldiery drank Wine, from whence in ancient times aroſe many Mutinies and Seditions of the Souldiery, dangerous to the Ottoman State, as namely in the time of *Mahomet* III. when the Janiſaries in the heat of drunkenneſs entred the Seraglio by force, and demanded the Heads of the chief Favourites: And as then it was judged the beſt Expedient to cool the hot brains of the Janiſaries, to proclaim a Prohibition of Wine at *Conſtantinople*, and to command upon pain of death, That thoſe who had any Wine in their Houſes ſhould bring it forth, and ſtave it; ſo now the uſe of it was univerſally forbidden in all the parts of the Grand Signiors Dominions, and a ſpecial Command was ſent to all places reſpectively under the penalty of death, and a thouſand maledictions, curſing Wine as come from Hell, and as a Liquor produced by the Devil to enſnare mens ſouls, and inebriate their heads, and confound States. And ſo generally was this Prohibition enjoyned, that his Majeſties Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople* with long ſolicitation and charge obtained licence for his Family, and the Merchants there to make Wine; but for the Merchants at *Smyrna* there was more difficulty, and this year Wine was not made in their Houſes according to cuſtom, and not without ſcruple permitted to be imported from the Greeks Iſlands, and other parts where the Command extended not its force; for the Prohibition was to all places where Moſchs or Turks Inhabitants, the Villages or Iſles where Chriſtians only lived were not included. To

this

1670. this Prohibition were added on every Friday Sermons to the People inveighing againſt Wine, and curſing the Drinkers of it, in which affair *Vanni Efendi* the Grand Signiors Preacher was much concerned, from whom the Original of this Counſel was judged to proceed. And now to pleaſe the Reader, who perhaps may be curious to know the ſtile of this Prohibition, I have here inſerted the Command *verbatim* as tranſlated out of the Original, and directed to the Kadi of *Smyrna*.

The Command againſt Wine.

TO *the moſt perfect of the Judges amongſt Muſulmin (or Believers) the moſt worthy amongſt thoſe Powers which profeſs one God, the Mine of Vertue and Wiſdom, the Exemplar of Juſtice to all People, the Inheritor of the Sciences of the Prophets and Apoſtles, the Ornament of his Office and (through the Grace of God aſſiſting) our Preſident in* Smyrna, *whoſe Vertues may they ever be augmented. At Receipt of this my Royal Command know, That Wine and Games at Dice, and figured Cards, and of Arrows without feathers, which are Lotteries, are the filthineſs of Diabolical work (according to the teſtimony of the miraculous Revelation) are Fomenters of malice and wickedneſs, and are the ferment of that Faction and Sedition which corrupt and ſeduce the Servants of God, which being prohibited by Authority, and yet uſed, provokes the anger and diſdain of Almighty God againſt us: And whereas by this Mother of all wickedneſs (that is, Wine) the Muſulmin Kingdoms are defiled, there appears an evident alteration of the Muſulmin Law and Faith, and an inlet to actions of foul impreſſion. Praiſed be the high and moſt great God, that in the days of my years abounding in Felicity, the obſervation of lawful Precepts hath been confirmed, and unlawful things have been prohibited; and now I know that this is the ſum of the moſt important Affair conducing to my Kingdoms and my own Felicities, and in general the principal and greateſt care, and the beſt and moſt neceſſary Canon of my Empire: ſo that being deſirous to ſatisfie the Creator of the World, my Royal and immutable Will reſolves to cleanſe and purifie the Muſulmin Kingdoms of this prohibited and filthy abomination; wherefore when this Royal Command comes to your hands, whereſoever there are Taverns of Wine, let them be raſed and thrown down in all Cities and Towns ennobled with Muſulmin Moſchs, let the buying and ſelling thereof be prohibited, with all drinking and uſe of Wine; and likewiſe I command, That in* Conſtantinople, Bruſa, *and* Adrianople *the Impoſition thereupon be wholly taken off. And that in all other Cities and Towns adorned with Muſulmin Moſchs, there be not a drop of Wine ſuffered or admitted in; and that Muſulmins neither privately nor ſecretly drink Wine; and whoſoever is or ſhall be Author of this ſin, and to alter my Command in this particular, either now or hereafter, may he be puniſhed by the Univerſal Lord of all the World. Likewiſe when this my Command of high Reputation appears, which is a Royal Writing, let it be annexed to the Decretal Rolls, and be put in execution according as it is obligatory. And when this Command comes to your hands, you are to have all due care of this injoyned particular, That it operate according to the Tenor of this Royal Injunction, participating of Proſperity and Majeſtick Power, by virtue of which you are to reprove, reprehend, hinder, and prohibit, according to the Law of God, the drinking of Wine; and that it may be wholly taken away, let the Tax and Revenue which proceeds from thence be taken off, and in all guarded and governed Cities and places of my Kingdoms, let the Taverns be ruined and overthrown. And therefore you are to make known and publiſh to all Citizens and Inhabitants the force of this my Royal Command, as well in the City of* Smyrna, *as in other Cities and Towns ennobled with Muſulmin Moſchs, and you are to ruine the Taverns which are found there. And you are to take away the Houſes of Entertainment amongſt the Franks which are in* Smyrna *that ſell Wine, nor ſhall they ſell Wine in their own houſes, but you ſhall hinder and prohibit them; and if thoſe Taverns ſhall be the Poſſeſſions of private men, you ſhall adviſe the Owners of them; or if they be bequeathed by Teſtament to the Deputies of the* Muteveli, *you ſhall admoniſh them with earneſtneſs and threats, That in the place of Taverns they raiſe other more profitable and lawful Buildings, and that they re-edifie them in a different form from the firſt. And the Taverns being ruined and demoliſhed according to my Royal Command, and the Butts and other Utenſils thereof taken away, you ſhall make a publick Arz thereof, and ſend it to my Royal Stirrup; and you being admoniſhed thereof by my Royal Admonition, you are to have a care that neither in the City nor Suburbs thereof, nor in Cities adorned with Royal Moſchs any perſon whatſoever bring in Wine, or one drop thereof, or that the buying or ſelling thereof be admitted, and that no Muſulman drink Wine. For if after this I come to underſtand, That any perſon have brought in Wine, though it be but one drop, I ſwear by the Holy Souls of my Grandfathers, and great Grandfathers that thoſe who bring it in, or ſell it, or drink it, ſhall be puniſhed with ſuch tortures, as were never inflicted on any before. In ſhort, this being a buſineſs ſo important as to the Faith, as to my Empire, my ſtrong intention and firm reſolution is to cleanſe and purifie in the higheſt degree as well the Frontiers, as the Royal Seats of my Empire from ſo foul a* 1670.

ſink,

1671. *ſink of ſo much filthineſs and diſſention; and therefore do injoyn this Royal Writing of high felicity ſo far, that nothing ſhall be able to change or alter it, or revoke this Command of Majeſtick Reputation. And for the future, let him be who he will, that ſhall offer to oppoſe, or alter, or change this my Command declared by theſe Preſents, or have intention or deſign to the contrary, may the curſe of God be upon him. In conformity hereunto know you, that are Judges, that this being my Will and Pleaſure, and ultimate Reſolution, you are to regiſter this noble Command in the Book of publick Acts and Decrees, that ſo it may be preſerved; and for execution thereof, you are to uſe all your diligence and power, and therein to take due care; for if after theſe Admonitions, Confirmations, Menaces, and Rigors, Wine be either bought or ſold in the Cities or Suburbs, or other places, as before; or that there remains any Tavern not ruined, or if in any wiſe a drop of Wine be bought or ſold, you ſhall receive due puniſhment, and your ſelf ſuffer the ſame torments which are threatned againſt thoſe who are publickly guilty of the tranſgreſſion of this Law. Therefore know this, and knowing it, give credit to my noble Firme.*

Dated In the Month *Rabiul Evel,*
Hegeira 1081. in *Adrianople.*

And now one would imagine that this Command being a Hatteſheriff ſigned with the Grand Signior's own hand, would have been of durable and perpetual Force and Authority. But experience hath ſhewed us the contrary, that in one Year after, Licence being firſt given to Franks, to make Wine in their own houſes, and eſpecially to all Chriſtian Miniſters; in one year more the indulgence became univerſal, and Taverns were again admitted, and ſtill continue as common and free as in former times.

Anno Chriſti 1671. *Hegeira* 1082.

THE Ship which carried the Preſents for the Turks and deſigned to tranſport the Ambaſſadour, being caſt away, new preparations were made, and the Gally *Brazzana*, commanded by *Alexandra Zeno*, a noble Venetian, was diſpatched with them, being ordered to tranſport Signior *Molino* the Ambaſſadour to the Port, who was received with the uſual honours due to his Quality and Character; all which Ceremonies and Offices being paſt, ſeveral matters occured which were not ſo well expreſſed in the Capitulations, but that they needed an explication; and new Orders and Models for redreſs of Affairs in *Dalmatia*: For the Morlacchs, who in the time of the War had ſubmitted themſelves to the obedience of the Venetians, began now to infeſt the Country, and to enter into thoſe places, which in the firſt years of the War they had deſtroyed and abandoned; the Turks on the other ſide oppoſed them, and the Country being open, many skirmiſhes happened, and as 1671. many troubles enſued as in the time of the War. For adjuſting theſe differences *Mahomet* Paſha of *Boſna* was diſpatched into thoſe Countries with Authority and Inſtructions; where on the other ſide he was met by *Antonio Barbaro*, Proveditor General of *Dalmatia* and *Albania*, appointed by the Senate to accord and ſettle the differences of the Confines; and the place deſigned for meeting of the Commiſſioners was appointed to be between *Climno* and *Cliſſa*; but ſuch was the fury of the people, and the paſſion that both parties had to recover their ancient poſſeſſions, that the Turks in the Month of *November* by force of Armes made themſelves Maſters of *Obronzo* and *Dernis*, which were ſurrendred without much oppoſition, by reaſon of the ſmall numbers of the Morlacchs, who neither having Garriſon nor Fortifications were eaſily ſurprized, under the pretence of peace. But it ſucceeded otherwiſe at *Scardona*, where by the aſſiſtance of a Gally and ſome Brigantines, the Turks, who were the Aggreſſors, were repulſed; and in like manner at *Riſano* they were beaten off, and put to flight with much confuſion and ſlaughter, with the death alſo of *Uſuff* Bey, their chief Commander, and Author of all theſe troubles.

The Relation of theſe diſturbances was carried to the Port by the Boſnacs, who were concerned in theſe Affairs, with all circumſtances of aggravation which might incenſe the Grand Signior, and move the Vizier to take part in their Quarrel; But he being deſirous to maintain that Peace which he himſelf had concluded, moved the Grand Signior to diſpatch a Haſachee, or one of his Royal Officers, to render him an exact account of the true ſtate of the Affairs of that Country. In which Interim *Mahomet* Paſha of *Boſna*, the Commiſſioner happening to dye, the Vizier moved, That the Morlacchs ſhould ſurrender up thoſe places which they had lately poſſeſſed, and that new Commiſſioners ſhould be again ſent for adjuſting the Limits of the Confines, and the Poſſeſſions of the Inhabitants. The Senate of *Venice* accepting this propoſition, gave Orders to their General *Barbaro* to withdraw the people from the places in diſpute; and in the Month of *May* 1671 made and confirmed the Cavalier *Nani* Procurator of St. *Mark*, their Plenipotentiary, with full authority to compoſe all differences touching the Frontiers. On part of the Turks one *Mamut*, once Paſha of *Buda*, and late Chimacam of *Conſtantinople*, was nominated and impowred with like faculty; he was a perſon with whom I was well acquainted, and of whom we have had occaſion to diſcourſe, when he was Kahya to old *Kuperlee*. He was a Native of the Country of *Boſna*, who are reputed for men of much more affable and courteous diſpoſition, and of more pleaſing Converſation, than the common temper of the Turks who are for the moſt part of haughty, ſullen, and ſaturnine Complexions.

Theſe Commiſſioners, with *Thomas Tarſia* Interpreter, met about the end of *July*, in the plains of *Iſland* between *Zara* and *Sebenico*, under Tents erected for that purpoſe: At this meeting were preſent alſo the Mufti, and Treaſurer of *Boſna*, and all the Kadi's and Military Officers of that Province, which might make a Body of four or five thouſand men, ill armed, and badly accoutred: With *Nani* the Commiſſioner for *Venice*, were preſent, *Alberto Magno* Captain of *Zara*, *Farſetti* Proveditor of *Cliſſa*; divers military Officers, ſuch as the Cavalier *Variſano*, *Grimaldi* Serjeant General, Count *Rados*, the Count *Scorto*, *Vimercato*, *Ceſarini*, with divers other Colonels, and Perſons of Quality, and Nobles of the Province, ſome of which were Repreſentatives for their principal Cities, ſuch as *Zara*, *Sebenico*, *Spalato*, and *Trau*. His Excellency the Commiſſioner *Nani* had three Troops of Horſe, and as many Companies of Foot, for his Guard, and at *Poſſidaria* were two Gallies and four Brigantines to attend him: ſo that his Equipage appeared as well Martial, as agreeable to a place ordained for a Treaty of Peace.

On the 27*th*. of *July* the Commiſſioners had their firſt Conference in the Paſha's Tent, the Debate continued many hours with much heat; which did not only relate to the late Conqueſts, but new difficulties aroſe in regard that *Ferat* Aga, appointed Commiſſioner for the Port, had in the year 1573 aſſigned Bounds and Limits to the Confines, according to his pleaſure and arbitrary will, which not being aſſented unto by the Venetians, a new regulation was made by the ſaid *Ferat*, together with Cavalier *Soranzo* in the year 1576. Time afterwards, and the turbulent ſpirits of the Inhabitants had altered theſe Limits, and by reaſon of the long War the Land-Marks and Bounds of the Confines were removed or wholly deſtroyed. The original Copies of the Writings of Agreement were rotted, and much defaced, the names of the places and the ſcituations being wrote in divers Languages, were confuſed; and the reports of the people were ſo different, proceeding from the diverſity of their Intereſts, that little of judgment could be founded on their relations. At length, as to the Confines of *Zara*, it was agreed, That they ſhould be regulated according as they were limited by *Soranzo* and *Ferat*; for better ſettlement of which, and to avoid all doubtfulneſs or miſtake, the Commiſſioners took the pains to travel ſeveral days journey in perſon to erect the bounds and Limits of each people; in which though many conteſts and differences aroſe between particular perſons, yet at length perſonal intereſts were forced to give way to publick determinations.

In like manner the Confines of *Sebenico* were determined, being bounded by the River *Checa*, and being arrived at *Scardona*, the Paſha *Mamut* deſired that he might have the convenience of paſſing in the Gally, and accordingly he was received aboard, and treated with that generous entertainment which is agreeable to the magnificence of the Republick; and landing at the River of *Belulla* on the Banks of the Vally *Daniel*, where the Paſha had placed his Tents, the Turks who with a greedy eye ſwallowed in their thoughts the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of all theſe Plains, would have enlarged their Confines to thoſe marks which *Ferat* Aga had ſingly placed according to his own arbitrary pleaſure, including alſo *Verpogly* within their Limits. This *Verpogly* was a ſmall Redoubt on the top of a Hill once belonging to the Venetians, which at the begining of the War they abandoned, as coſting more to maintain and defend, than the value or conſideration of it; the Turks afterwards poſſeſſed it, when they had a deſign to beſiege *Sebenico*, but afterwards forſook it, and retired; upon this place *Mamut* much inſiſted, producing a Command from the Grand Signior, ordering that it be taken in, fortified, and garriſoned. But *Nani* with more force of Argument inſiſted on the contrary, producing ancient Writings, and undeniable Teſtimonies to prove that this place did really, and of right belong to the Republick; by which though the Paſha was fully convinced in his own mind; yet being over-awed by the inſolent importunities of the Inhabitants, he was cautious and fearful of declaring his true ſenſe in the caſe; but rather endeavoured to overcome the Venetians ſometimes with flatteries, and anon with menances, having to that purpoſe, beſides his own Forces, ordered the Beglerbey of *Greece* to approach thoſe Confines with an Army of about ten thouſand men. But all this did not move the ſteddy Conſtancy of the Venetian Commiſſioner from his reaſon and right; for maintenance of which he appeared firm and reſolute, and being neceſſitated for convenience of Water to remove his Quarters to the Lake *Rebenich*, gave ſome jealouſie to the Paſha by this retirement of an intention to break the Peace; howſoever, *Nani* declared his meaning to the contrary, and that there might be no interruption to their proceedings, propoſed that theſe differences might be remitted to the Supreme Powers; and that in the mean time, until anſwers came, they might proceed in the adjuſtment of other parts of the Confines. But the Paſha aſſented not hereunto, but deſired rather the diſpute ſhould be referred to the Port, and that in the mean time he himſelf ſhould retire to *Cettina*, and the other to *Spallato*. Scarce were the Meſſages ſent, and the Diſpatches made (by *Iſaac* Aga, a Perſon whom I well knew) before *Mamut* Paſha, after a ſhort indiſpoſition ended his days: he was a man of about ninety two years of age, at which years I have admired to ſee him ride abroad, and tranſact his affairs with great dexterity, with a ſtrong memory, and a ſound judgment. And here it is admirable to obſerve with what conſtancy and patience the Turkiſh Officers do uſually ſupport their laborious employments; they contemn all difficulties and incommodiouſneſs of living, as if they did not feel them, inuring themſelves to colds and hearts, to watchings and labours, being abſtemious in their diet, and as occaſions require, not indulging to ſleep; and no queſtion but this aged man travelling in the ſcalding heat of the Sun, and ſuffering much for want of plenty, as well as of good water, dried up that little radical moiſture which remained, and cauſed this Autumn-fruit to fall, which perhaps might have continued a ſhort time longer on the tree, had it not been deſiccated by drought, and ſhaken too hard by the motion of travels and labour.

The difference about Verpogly.

Mamut *Paſha dyes.*

The News of *Mamut* Paſha's death being arrived at the Port, a Commiſſion was immediately granted to *Chuſaein* Paſha Imbrahor, or Maſter of the Horſe to the Grand Signior, to ſucceed in his government and buſineſs of Treaty concerning the Limits of the Confines; with which Authority and Inſtructions *Chuſaein* poſted away, and being well informed by *Iſaac* Aga of the ill nature and rapacious diſpoſition of thoſe Borderers, arrived with intentions to agree, and with courteous and benign thoughts towards Cavalier *Nani*, who had gained a great eſteem and repute amongſt the Turks of a generous and noble diſpoſition.

On the $\frac{4}{5}$ of *October* the Commiſſioners met

A new Conference of the Com miſſioners.

1671. in the Valley of St. *Daniel*, ſhewing a courteous and kind aſpect each towards other. Wherefore laying all conſiderations concerning the Limits aſſigned by *Forat Aga*, and the Conteſts about *Verpoglie*, the Line drawn from the Mountain *Tartarus* was agreed, and determined to be the true and undoubted Confines of *Sebenico*. The Valley of St. *Daniel*, for the pleaſure and fruitfulneſs of it, adminiſtred more of difficulty; but at length the Arguments of *Nani* prevailed, and induced the Paſha to aſſent to thoſe Bounds, which had been aſſigned by *Soranco* in the year 1576. giving, to avoid future miſtakes, the true names to thoſe places, which the Turks for their advantage, and to confuſe things, had altered and diſguiſed, that they might not be known. Thence proceeding to the Teritory of *Trau*, where was leſs of difficulty or trouble; for the Wars not having made much alteration in that place, the Lines were evidently deſcribed by *Soranco*, according to whoſe deſcription the Fields, Plains, Rocks, and Mountains were meaſured out an,d allowed.

Laſtly, They came near to *Spalato*, where before the War there was little of any Territory aſſigned; but now by the Conqueſt of *Cliſſa* there was aſſigned unto it a ſpatious and fruitful Country, extending it ſelf to the foot of the Mountains. As to *Cliſſa* there was no difference at all: howſoever the Turks would on no means admit, that the Venetians ſhould keep *Salona* and *Vragnizzo*, becauſe by that they would cut off all communication between *Cliſſa* and *Spalato*, and thereby render it a place uſeleſs, and of more charge than benefit; and becauſe thoſe two places of *Salona* and *Vragnizza* had been the Dowry of a Sultana Wife of *Raſſen* Paſha, and by her given to endow a Moſch, which therefore according to their Religion could not be given away,, nor alienated. But *Nani* inſiſting as vigorouſly on this, as on other points, ſhewed himſelf reſolute to maintain this particular, as being that, which if not granted, would certainly in a ſhort time be occaſion of thoſe quarrels and diſſentions, which muſt neceſſarily break forth into an open War: for that there could be no ſecurity of Peace to the Inhabitants of *Salona*, whilſt they lived amidſt their Enemies, and juſt on the Skirts of *Cliſſa*, *Spalato*, and *Saſſo*. *Chuſaein* having well comprehended this conſideration, and being deſirous to diſpoſe matters towards a durable Peace, ſlighted the opinion and ſenſe of the Borderers, and ſo concluded all matters, and in preſence of *Nani* ſubſcribed the Agreement on the *24th.* of *October* in open Divan held in the Campagne of *Salona*; the which was alſo mutually ſubſcribed, and Copies interchangeably given. And in this manner the difference about the Confines was concluded, and the long War between *Venice* and the Turks had an end.

Whilſt all things were reducing themſelves into a poſture of Peace, the Timariots disbanded, and the Janiſaries retired to their Chambers, in the month of *October* returned the Turks Envoyé from *France*, bringing with him an Ambaſſadour from that King called Monſieur *De Nointel*, a Perſon of an excellent temper, grave and ſerious in his Treaties and comportment; and to give this Embaſſy the greater reputation, he was attended with three Men of War and a Fire-ſhip, which ſailing along the *Helleſpont* and *Propontick* without oppoſition, came to an Anchor near ſeven Towers, from whence ſending advice of their arrival to the Chimacam demanded to be reſaluted by the Seraglio, they promiſing as they paſſed to ſhew the firſt demonſtrations of courteſie; but that being denied, as not uſual or cuſtomary, the French Ships paſſed the Seraglio ſilently without firing a Gun, or any ſignifications on either ſide, whether of Friendſhip of Hoſtility: the Ships came to an Anchor at *Fonducle*, where the Ambaſſadour remained aboard unſaluted and unacknowledged by the publick Miniſters of the City; until the Great Vizier, who ſuppoſed that a breach with *France* ought to have better foundation than a meer Punctilio of Honour, ſeemed more to deſpiſe than take notice of the affront. For he who knew ſo well to diſſemble, after he had ſeen the French Troops ranged both in *Hungary* and *Candia*, againſt the Ottoman Forces, and yet politickly connived thereat, and acepted an excuſe, did not eſteem it prudence to ground a War for want of the ſmoke of a few Guns; but on the contrary ordered, That the Ambaſſadour ſhould be received with the uſual Form and Solemnity of Reception. The French having the advantage by this ſucceſs, the Souldiers and Sea-men belonging to the Ships committed many inſolencies in *Pera* and *Calata*, which never were revenged or accounted for; and when the Ships departed, above an hundred Slaves eſcaped from the Gallies and parts of *Conſtantinople*, and gained Sanctuary aboard: amongſt the reſt one Monſieur *De Beau-jeu* a Knight of *Malta*, who had for a long time been Priſoner in the ſeven Towers; but at length knocking off his Irons, and by help of a Cord letting himſelf down from one of the higheſt Towers in the night, recovered the Ships, and regained his liberty. Nor yet did this nor other affronts, whereby the French did really brave the Turks, adminiſter ſufficient ſubject of choler to the Vizier; for paſſing all by, as if nothing had been done, or nothing worthy his notice, frankly gave his Orders to let the Ships paſs the Caſtles, which upon the foregoing cauſes and pretences had been before detained: adding, That it was natural, as well for men as for birds, to endeavour to procure their liberty, and therefore were not blameable but that thoſe to whoſe care they were committed, wanting due circumſpection and vigilance in their Office, ſhould pay for the eſcape of their charge by the price of their own lives or liberties. 1671.

The French Ambaſſadour in the mean time proceeded in his Journey to *Adrianople*, where the Court reſided; and having paſſed through the ſeveral degrees and Punctilio's of Viſits and other Ceremonies, at length deſcending to matters of buſineſs, propoſed the renovation of the Articles of Peace, with an addition of thirty two Particulars to be altered or adjoyned. The Vizier who all this time kept more in his heart than he evidenced in his countenance, refuſed to condeſcend to a conceſſion of the moſt eaſie and reaſonable of their demands, offering only to renew the Capitulations *verbatim* according to the Tenour of the ancient Cannon, without other alteration than the Name of the preſent Sultan, and the Date of the Month and Year, and herein he was ſo conſtant and fixed, that no arguments or colours of reaſon could ſeem to move him in the moſt minute and leſs important points of circumſtances; and this perhaps leſt the World

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ſhould imagine, that the Turks were affrighted into Terms and better Treatments of Friendſhip, or that Immunities and Privileges in the Ottoman Court were acquired rather by rude uſage adjoyned with menaces and neglects, than by more candid and fawning Addreſſes.

In this manner the French Affairs rather went back than forwards in the Ottoman Court, and it ſeemed that the Turks late Embaſſy into *France* and of the French to the Port ſerved to augment the differences more than allay them. For the new Ambaſſador falling ſhort in his expectation, having obtained nothing of thoſe many Particulars which he demanded, retired male-content from *Adrianople* to his uſual Reſidence at *Conſtantinople*, where he reſolved to attend what farther Inſtructions ſhould be given him from *France*; and ſuppoſing his Maſter would ill reſent his uſage ſo contrary to what was promiſed in general terms, did ſuppoſe, that his next Orders would be of revocation, and that thoſe frequent diſguſts and diſreſpects ſo often received, and given on one ſide and the other, would at length burſt out into an open defiance. The Turks apprehended ſo much themſelves, and as their affairs and deſigns proved afterwards with *Poland*, they were diſpleaſed that they had given the moſt Chriſtian King ſo juſt an occaſion of quarrel: for underſtanding towards the latter end of the Year 1671. that great Preparations for War were making in *France* both by Sea and Land, they were conſcious that their demerits had juſtly deſerved the chaſtiſement of the French Arms, in revenge of the many injuries they had offered that Nation, and therefore pauſed a while, and obſerved the motion of theſe Enemies, before they would engage themſelves in a War with *Poland*. But at length the beginning of the Year 1672. having diſcovered the deſigns of *France* to be only intended againſt *Holland*, the Turks reaſſumed their purpoſes ſo long premeditated againſt *Poland*, with an arrogance natural to Turks, and with a ſcorn not only of *France*, but of all Chriſtendom. For his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty judging perhaps, that the rude treatment of an Infidel Prince ſo far remote, intrenched not ſo much on his Honour and Intereſt, as the quarrel he had with the neighbouring States, ſeemed to contemn for the preſent, or rather to defer the revenge of former injuries until a more fit and commodious ſeaſon; wherefore in the mean time his Ambaſſador upon new Inſtructions from *France*, brought purpoſely by a Man of War, repaired a ſecond time to *Adrianople*, where he intimated unto the chief Miniſters the great deſire his Maſter had to maintain that League and Friendſhip, which for above an hundred years had continued inviolate and uninterrupted: and therefore waving all other former Particulars of demand, declared himſelf ſatisfied, only to renew the Capitulations, with that ſingle alteration of their Cuſtoms from five to three in the hundred, according to that Priviledge which the Engliſh and all other Chriſtian Merchants enjoyed, whoſe League and Friendſhip was ſubſequent to that of others. The Great Vizier being now freed of that ſuſpicion and fear he apprehended of the French Fleet, and being aſſured that their Arms were not now probable to diſturb him in his deſigns intended, he ſeriouſly ſmiled in his ſleeve at theſe Addreſſes, and with a kind of ſcorning neglect bid the Ambaſſador welcome to the Court, ſaying, That he ſhould have what he deſired. Wherefore the Capitulations were tranſcribed, and the alteration made in the value of their Cuſtoms; but the Vizier who meant nothing leſs than to yield them this Priviledge, deferred the ſigning thereof from day to day, pacifying the daily importunity of the Ambaſſador with dilatory excuſes, until at length having protracted the time to the very day that the Grand Signior and he began their March towards *Poland*, without ſo much as granting the Ambaſſador a perſonal Audience, did then with ſoft and gentle words ſignifie to the Interpreters the grand preſſures of his Affairs at preſent, that would not permit him time to perfect all matters with the Ambaſſadour, whom they ſhould aſſure, that at his return with Glory and Victory from the Enterprizes in hand, thoſe requeſts ſhould be granted, and his promiſes performed; and in the mean time his Nation ſhould remain ſecure in theſe Dominions, as in former times, and the League and Friendſhip continued and maintained. The Ambaſſador was ſtrangely ſurpriſed at this laſt Farewel; but being a Gentleman of great Morality and Vertue, knew, no doubt, how to bear ſuch a diſappointment with an equality of mind agreeable to the greatneſs of his Soul; and therefore with a due reſentment of the injury received, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, whilſt the Sultan and his Vizier proceeded in their March towards the Confines of *Poland*.

But before I enter into a relation of the motives of that War, and the ſucceſs thereof, which is the Subject of the following Year, let us return to the place from whence we have digreſſed, and obſerve in this Year of Peace and repoſe of this Empire, what the Sultan contrived for ſecurity of himſelf by the death of his Brothers.

We acquainted you formerly in what manner the Sultan was diſappointed in his deſigns againſt his Brothers, by means of his Mother, to whom the Janiſaries had committed the care of their ſafety, which ſhe according to her promiſe had maintained, and tendered equally with her own. But now the Vizier being returned from the Wars, and the moſt ſeditious amongſt the Janiſaries withdrawn from *Conſtantinople*, it was thought fit to make a new attempt on the Princes ſtill reſiding in the old Seraglio, which was performed with thoſe due preparations and ſecrecy, that it took effect on Sultan *Orchan*, the eldeſt of the two, who in the Month of *September*, 1671. dyed by a draught of poyſon, which was adminiſtred to him as a Preſent from his courteous Brother; ſome ſay he was ſtrangled, and that before he ſubmitted his neck to the Bowſtring, he killed one of the Executioners with his Hanjarre. This Prince was reported by the people to be a comely Perſon, of a ſtrong and robuſtious body, of large and black eyes like Sultan *Morat*: his death was lamented by all, and preſaged as fatal to the Empire, in regard that that very night that he was murthered the Moon ſuffered a greater Eclipſe than it had done for many years before, which happening out in this conjuncture was interpreted as ominous, and ſerved to increaſe the maledictions and evil ſpeeches, which the Turks in all places

Sultan Orchan *put to death by his Brother.*

caſt out upon thoſe who gave this counſel to the Sultan.

A new Reſident ſent from Genoua.

About this time the State of *Genoua* deſirous to change their Officers in *Turkie*, ſent a new Reſident to *Conſtantinople*, and a Conſul to *Smyrna*, which change was principally obtained at the requeſt of the old Miniſters, who weary of an employment ſo tedious, without a benefit correſponding to their melancholy life, and perceiving their Trade decline before it was arrived to any tolerable ſtate or degree of reputation, by the aſſiſtance and mediation of friends ſollicited their Letters of Revocation. For the Trade of *Genoua* being cheifly founded on hopes of thoſe advantages which they expected from a coarſe or baſe alloy of mony, did inſtantly decay ſo ſoon as the Turks diſcovered themſelves to be abuſed by the vaſt quantities of Temins imported, as we have before related: after which their profit failing, the Conſulage conſequently decayed, which is the only ſubſiſtence and encouragement of ſuch Officers as are neceſſary to reſide for the continuance of that Peace, which but a few years before they unadviſedly made with the Turk. The new Reſident had no ſooner arrived at *Conſtantinople*, and conſidered the poor and mean eſtate and ill foundation of their Trade, the growing charge of the Reſidency, and the great debts thereof that were to devolve upon him from his Predeceſſor; but he perceived into what a Labyrinth of troubles he had ingulfed himſelf, inſtead of being preferred according to his hopes into a place of Honour and happy retirement. In which confuſion of thoughts ariſing one morning before day from his bed, and ſitting on his Cloſe-ſtool (as the ſervants of the houſe report) reached at a Towel, which being intangled within the Lock of a Carbine that hanged always charged near his bed, unfortunately drew the Trigger too hard, which with that gave fire, and ſhot the poor Gentleman into the belly with a brace of Bullets, of which being mortally wounded, after Confeſſion and ſome Prayers in a few hours he paſſed to another life: unhappy miſchance, if it may be called a chance; for I have underſtood from a ſober perſon of that Nation, that the anguiſh of mind which he conceived at the evil condition of his Affairs, wrought in him a deepneſs of melancholy and deſpair, under which languiſhing ſome days, did at laſt moſt miſerably lay violent hands upon himſelf.

The Conſpiracy of Serini, Frangipani, *and* Nadaſti.

And now it is time to recal to mind the Conſpiracy of Count *Serini*, Marqueſs *Frangipani*, and Count *Nadaſti*, Perſons of Quality and of great Power in *Croatia* and *Hungary*, who (as we ſaid before) had ſent their Meſſengers to the Great Vizier then remaining in the Leaguer of *Candia*, with overtures of ſubmiſſion to the Ottoman Power. It was ſtrange News to the World to hear that the Houſe of *Serini* ſhould abandon the Chriſtian Party, and thoſe renowned, Defenders of their Country ſhould apoſtatize, though not from Chriſtianity, yet from that Cauſe and Liberty which their Anceſtors and themſelves had defended with Blood, Treaſure, Valour, and Conſtancy. But diſſentions and animoſities ſown by Satan, the Enemy of the Chriſtian Church, did ſtrangely corrupt the minds of thoſe famous Perſons, and raiſe in them a Spirit reſolved to avenge the neglect and injuries put upon them by the Miniſters of the Imperial Court, though at the expence and hazard of their fortunes and lives, and ruine and ſhiprack of their Honour and Conſciences: For the neglects and affronts undeſervedly caſt on *Nicholas Serini* during the late War (as before related) and the contempt and ſcorn put on the Croatian and Hungarian Nobility, was ſuppoſed to have fired the hot and ambitious Spirits of theſe Perſons, who could more eaſily endure the ſlavery of the Turkiſh yoke, than condeſcend to the Government and prevalency of a contrary Party. Wherefore in proſecution of their deſign, the complices of *Serini* being reſolved to ſubmit to the Turk, diſpatched two other Gentlemen to the Ottoman Court (beſides thoſe which were ſent the year before to *Salonica*) who arrived at *Adrianople* the 11*th* of *February* 167$\frac{0}{1}$ demanding the protection of the Sultan, for which they promiſed a Tribute of thirty Purſes, or fifteen thouſand Dollars every year for thoſe Lands they held in *Croatia*. To make Anſwer hereunto a Divan or Council was called, in which were weighed all the Arguments and Reaſons on one ſide and the other. The Muftee oppoſed their receiving into protection, as being againſt the Capitulations and Agreement ſo lately concluded with the Emperor, wherein the receiving or abetting of Rebels is expreſly forbidden, and provided againſt by one ſide and the other; but *Vanni Efendi* the Preacher who uſed to be always of a different opinion to the Muftee, urged to have them received, becauſe that the advancement of the Mahometan Cauſe, and enlargement of their Empire was more ſacred than the conſervation of their League with an Infidel Prince. And that the Ottoman Court was no longer to be termed the Refuge of the World, if it could not yield that protection which oppreſſed Kingdoms and diſtreſſed Princes petitioned to obtain. In this manner the matter being controverted without Agreement, it was in fine reſolved to refer the matter to the determination of the Grand Vizier, who was now a few months paſt return'd triumphant from *Candia*. But by this time Intelligence being come by way of *Boſna*, that the Emperor had already entered *Croatia* with thirty thouſand men, that he had taken *Chiachetурno* in *Cotoriba*, and that *Serini* and his Aſſociates were taken already or fled, either to *Vienna* to beg pardon of the Emperor, or *Tranſylvania*, or to ſome other place, that the Marqueſs of *Bada* had fortified *Sequas* and other Caſtles of *Serini* with German Garriſons; the Turks eſteemed it too late to adminiſter help to this deſperate cauſe, and therefore refuſed to own the Patronage of a People, to whom they could neither pretend by Reaſon, nor defend by Arms. The Vizier alſo like the Fox, contemned thoſe Grapes which he could not reach, and with an abhorrency as it were of the Revolt or the Rebellion, as a zealous Hater of all perfidiouſneſs, refuſed to afford protection to any of the Complices in the late Confederacy, which he politickly deſigned in reference to the Emperor, whoſe friendſhip he would ſeem to conſerve moſt faithfully, leſt he ſhould interrupt him in the carrying on of that War, which he then meditated againſt *Poland*. But what became afterwards of theſe Conſpirators is the ſubject matter of the German Hiſtory, it is ſufficient to acquaint the Reader here that their deſign being

1672. ing, ſeaſonably diſcovered, they were interrupted by the hand of Juſtice, and met that Fate which is due to Traitors and Rebels to their Country, having abuſed the goodneſs of their Prince, to whom clemency and mercy are connatural. We ſhall therefore leave theſe men to render the next account to the Judge of all things, and proſecute our Relation of the Wars of *Poland*, which now was the next prize held up to the Turkiſh Militia, and was that adventure which was to conſummate the glories of the Great Vizier. Howſoever, this gave beginning to that Rebellion in *Hungary*, which to this Year 1679 hath been continued, without proſpect how far it may proceed, and what may be the iſſue of ſuch direful Effects.

Anno Chriſti 1672. *Hegeira* 1083.

The Turks deliberate of a War.

WE have formerly acquainted you how coarſely the Chimacam of *Adrianople* had in the year 1667 treated the Ambaſſador of *Poland*, who came to complain of the incurſions made into their Country by the Tartars; deſiring that not only ſatiſfaction might be made for the late ſpoils, but that that unruly and ſavage people might be reſtrained from the like Attempt for the future. But the Vizier being now returned in perſon it was thought neceſſary, That to preſerve this groſs Body of Empire from corruption, it ſhould be exerciſed with motion, and the vigorous agitations of a new War. To what place they ſhould now convert or employ their Arms, was the important ſubject of a grand Conſultation; they had lately made up a peace with the Venetians, ſo that on that ſide it was too early to make an irruption, the parts of *Perſia* were too remote and diſtant to carry on a War with ſucceſs and pleaſure; the fields of *Hungary* had been lately traced, and they were ſatiated with the blood of *Auſtria* and *Germany*; ſomething now of novelty muſt be propoſed, and the forgotten ways of *Poland* muſt be again opened, there being ſomething, it ſeems, of wantonneſs in proſperous Arms, which delight in variety, and abhor as much to fight often in the ſame Country, as Travellers do to ſee the ſame place twice. The Polanders had unto this day ſo preſerved the Limits of their Country with honour and gallantry, that the Turks could never ſecure to themſelves one palm of Land within their Territories, until the civil and moſt deteſtable Diſcords of that Country laid them open to the fury of their Enemies, who embraced this moſt grateful opportunity, which facilitated their Deſign, and made that eaſie which they had ſo long deſired, and with care ſtudied and contrived. But for the better underſtanding of theſe Affairs it is convenient for us to take the Thread of Hiſtory at ſome diſtance off, that ſo we may with better light comprehend the Cauſes, Original, and Occaſions of this War.

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The Cauſes of the War with Poland.

The hatred and jealouſies which the Ottoman Port hath always nouriſhed and conſerved againſt the Kingdom and Dominions of *Poland*, are ancient and inveterate, having their riſe from the valiant oppoſition and ſucceſsful repulſes it always made againſt the various attempts of the Turks; whereby the Poles were animated to treat always at equals with them, and with terms agreeable to that vain glory and ſwelling pride, which are natural to their Nation. But that which renewed the memory of paſt actions, and raiſed an expectation in the Turks to avenge the injuries by ſubjugating the Coſacks, was one *Bogdan Chimilniczki* General of the Coſacks, who growing powerful in that Country, with the ſtrength of a numerous Army, abhorring the Pride of the Poliſh Nobility, denied obedience to their Kingdom, reſolving to make himſelf the abſolute Prince of that Province, from whence various fortunes of War ſucceeding, he was at length forced to join himſelf to the Tartars, and crave the protection of the Turkiſh Arms. In the mean time, *Poland*, invaded by the Swedes, Moſcovites, and Tranſilvanians, was diſmembred of *Livonia*, and a great part of *Lituania* and *Verania*, the firſt poſſeſſed by the Swedes, and the latter by the Czar of *Moſcovy*, and the Rebel Coſacks; which confuſions rejoyced the Turks, and gave them the firſt hopes, not only to free themſelves from the frequent Piracies the Coſacks committed on them in the Black Sea, but to impoſe upon them the Ottoman Yoke; to which end they maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the Generals of that people, promiſing them the aſſiſtance of Men, Mony, and Arms, but yet with that caution, that they would not ſeem unprovoked to quarrel with the Poles, or without juſt cauſe to violate the peace of *Choccin*, to which they pretended a moſt religious and reverend regard.

Wherefore, that they might not appear cauſeleſs Actors againſt that ſolemn League, they ſecretly encouraged thoſe Incurſions, which in the Years 1666 and 1667 we have already mentioned to have been made by the Tartars into *Poland*, as far as the Walls of *Leopolis*; which action, that the Tartars might not have occaſion to abett and maintain, the Poles reſolved to ſend a moſt ſplendid Embaſſy to the Turks, deſiring that the Tartar *Han* might be depoſed, for having unjuſtly violated the ſacred peace of *Choccin*. For that as the Poles were obliged to reſtrain the Piracies and Depredations of the Coſacks in the Black Sea, ſo the Turks were become ſecurity againſt the incurſions of the Tartars. Scarce had the Ambaſſador *Radiowski* delivered this meſſage, before he unhappily died at *Adrianople* (as we have before ſignified,) to whoſe Complaint and Demand, after many delays, no other anſwer was given, than that the Poles ſhould firſt break their League which they had contracted with *Moſcovy* for thirteen years, without the conſent, and againſt the pleaſure of the Port, and then after that they might expect and promiſe themſelves all due ſatisfaction.

In this manner Affairs ſtood when King *Caſimir*, weary of the Factions and Diſcords of the Nobility, reſigned up his Crown to retire unto a private life. And now it being neceſſary to proceed to a new Election we may conſequently expect various Commotions and Diſturbances in this State, ſufficient to attract the eyes of the Turks, and encourage the Coſacks in their intended Revolt. At length Prince *Michael Korebut Wiſnowietki* being elected King, it ſeemed agreeable to reaſon, that all *Verania* ſhould have returned to obedience of

1662. him, to whom the beſt part of that Country did by right of patrimony, and natural inheritance belong; but the ſucceſs thereof fell out contrary to all expectation, for *Doroſensko*, then General, deſigning to uſurp that Government, propoſed the project of uniting *Verania* to the Body of *Poland*, as a member of the Crown, by which means that Province would not only become free from its Vaſſalage to the Nobility, but obtain equal ſuffrages in the Diet, with all the other more free and priviledged Countries; and in this manner he might not only compel *Poland* to condeſcend to his deſigns, but confirm himſelf in the abſolute and ſupreme Authority of the Coſacks: This propoſition therefore ſeemed ſo inſolent, and ſavouring of Rebellion to the Poliſh Court, that a ſevere and menacing Meſſage was diſpatched to *Doroſensko*, threatning to take from him his Bulaua, or Truncheon of General, if ever he entertained any ſuch imagination ſo highly derogatory to the Majeſty of the Poliſh State; he therefore thought it his time to caſt himſelf wholly into the Protection of the Sultan, and accordingly diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to the Port to ſignifie their ſubmiſſion, begging to be received into the Arms of the Ottoman Power; and as an aſſurance thereof, that he might receive the (Tough) which is the Enſign of Authority, carried by Paſhaws. The Vizier at the firſt motion hereof, reflecting on the evil conſequences, in caſe the Grand Signior's honour ſhould be ſoiled in this action, ſuſpended a while a compleat anſwer thereunto; but at length being inſtantly ſollicited, and perceiving the Diſorders and Factions of *Poland* to encreaſe, the Coſacks were received for Subjects of the Empire, and obliged to wage War againſt all Enemies to the Ottoman Power.

Duke *Michael* being elected King, the firſt Act he performed was to ſend an Ambaſſador extraordinary to the Grand Signior, with no other Deſign than to acquaint him of his Election to the Crown, only in caſe an opportunity preſented, then to move for a ratification of the Articles concluded at *Choccin*. This Ambaſſador, called *Wiſozki*, being of a haughty and proud ſpirit, became the Author of all the miſchief which enſued; for being of a temper which could not equally bear the honour of his important Office, lanched out into matters beyond his Commiſſion, and inſtead of imparting his Meſſage, would become ſole Arbitrator of all the differences between thoſe two powerful Princes; for he being unacquainted with the Power or Affairs of the Turks, ſuppoſed nothing in this World comparable to the number, riches, and valour of his own Nation, and therefore gave himſelf that liberty of arrogant Language, that by way of Command and Menaces he rather ſeemed to act the part of a Governor or Umpire in the differences of State, than of an Orator or Suppliant for peace. In his conceit the Turks wanted both courage and power to invade *Poland*, and therefore ſuppoſed he might ſafely brave them into a ratification of former Articles, eſpecially when he mentioned a hundred thouſand Horſe, which he undertook before the Vizier to be able on his own account to conduct as far as the Walls of *Adrianople*. It was a ſtrange humor of *Rodomontado* that inſpired theſe two laſt Ambaſſadors, and if from them we may take a pattern 1672. of the diſpoſition of the reſt of the Poliſh Nobility, it will be no wonder to hear and read the Deſtractions that are amongſt them, that they carry themſelves with diſreſpect to their Prince, are emulous and factious amongſt themſelves, and that their pride and ignorance, which have flattered their humour, and triumphed amidſt their Tenants and Vaſſals, ſhould betray them to all thoſe evils which we may fear may be the conſequences thereof.

The Great Vizier, conſidering the confidence which this perſon uſed in his Diſcourſe, imagined that the differences in his Country might be compoſed, and therefore in compliance with his deſire, offered in general terms to confirm the peace made at *Choccin*, without Addition of any new Article in reference to the Coſacks, being a buſineſs of that nature which admitted of no preſent determination; this, he ſaid, was his ultimate reſolution, which if the Ambaſſadour approved not, he might then adviſe it home, and expect a farther reſult of their Counſels. *Wiſozki* being really poſſeſſed in his fancy of the Turks weakneſs, gave way to his paſſion, and with little judgment replied, That he approved not of the Propoſition, nor needed he to tranſmit any ſuch advice into *Poland*, he himſelf being a Plenipotentiary of as full a Power as the King and Council; for being a Nobleman, he was by conſequence that neceſſary Member of the Republick, that nothing could paſs without his *Suffrage*.

The Vizier amazed at this extravagant way of diſcourſe, the which he ſupported with moderation and contempt, diſpatched away a Chiaus into *Poland* with Letters, deſiring that this Ambaſſadour ſhould be recalled, as being a Perſon unable to manage matters of the leaſt concernment; and if they ſupplied his place with an other, he ſhould be received with due reſpect, and a plain way laid open to conclude his Negotiations to the ſatisfaction of both Parties.

Wiſozki abounding in his own ſenſe and humor, repreſented matters in a far different manner into *Poland*, alledging, That the Law of Nations was impeached by the violence offered to his Perſon, being impriſoned, and the uſual Tain or Allowance of Ambaſſadours withheld from him; both which were not abſolutely true: for the maintenance he refuſed as too mean for his Quality and Office; and for his Impriſonment, it was no other than Confinement to the City of *Conſtantinople*, with a prohibition only from paſſing over unto *Pera*, where formerly in a houſe he had taken, he committed a thouſand irregularities and diſorders, which cauſed the Vizier to recal him again over to *Conſtantinople*, denying him the liberty of paſſing more to the other ſide. Theſe were the injuries which he complained of into *Poland*, ſtill fancying, That if the Nobility were aſſembled to conſider of theſe matters, the Turk would be ſo affrighted at it as to condeſcend unto any terms he ſhould propound. Theſe reports of *Wiſozki* took that impreſſion with the Court, that eſteeming all authentick which he ſaid or wrote, without farther examination iſſued out Orders for a general Inſurrection, and that all people ſhould prepare for the War, rendring the Vizier no other anſwer, than that when their Ambaſſadour was ſet at liberty,

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1672. and had licence to depart, the like ſhould be permitted unto theirs; and in the mean time the Chiaus was committed to ſafe cuſtody, The Grand Signior highly angred at this obſtinate miſunderſtanding, immediately ordered that *Wiſozki* ſhould depart, and at the ſame time commanded his whole Militia to riſe and follow him to the War; and ſo much the rather was he animated by the reports ſent him from *Doroſenzko*, ſeconded by the Vayvods of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, whoſe Letters declared the miſerable confuſions in *Poland*, divided into divers Factions and Parties, their want of money, and the mutiny of the Souldiery inclined rather to betray than defend *Verania*. And now a Sword and other Preſents uſual in theſe caſes, being ſent to the Tartar *Han*, he was ordered to unite with the Coſſacks, and to invade *Poland*, where being encountred near *Batowa*, by a Body of Horſe under the Command of *Luzecki* Governour of *Podolia*, the Poles were defeated, and was the firſt bad Omen of the ill ſucceſs of this unhappy War.

To ſecond theſe beginnings, the Grand Signior having raiſed an Army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, marched towards *Poland* already ſick and languiſhing with its own inteſtine diſtempers, and unable to contend with a Body united within it ſelf, wanting neither internal vigour, nor nouriſhment to maintain its ſtrength; the firſt Enterpriſe was the impregnable Fortreſs of *Caminiecz*, which had often in former times baffled the Ottoman Arms; but now being ill provided, deſtitute of Arms, Ammunition, Proviſions, and but weakly manned, and what was worſt, deſpairing of any Relief, after eleven days Siege ſurrendred it ſelf to the pleaſure of the Conquerour. Hence the Turks had an open paſſage through all *Podolia* and *Volhinia* to the very Walls of *Leopolis*, which they paſſed over like Travellers rather than Enemies, there not appearing one perſon in Arms to oppoſe them, delighting and ſporting themſelves in theſe moſt fruitful and delicious Countries of *Europe*: thus had private animoſities and civil rancour poſſeſſed the minds of the Poles one againſt the other, that they had rather yield themſelves to the ſervitude of an Enemy, than condeſcend to the humor or counſel of a Citizen. Thus had the Turks paſſed all this Summer in the Plains and Cities of *Poland*, where it ſeemed rather Peace than War, all places ſubmitting without difficulty unto the Grand Signior as to their true and natural Lord and Soveraign, by which means the Inhabitants redeemed their Lives and Eſtates; for the Sultan willing to demonſtrate his clemency, and to ſpare thoſe who voluntarily yielded, and encourage others to ſubmit to ſo gentle a yoke, forbad all the common outrages of Souldiers, not permitting Plunder or Booty to be brought into the Camp; nor greater Spoils to be committed, than if his Army had paſſed through his own Dominions; whether this obliging or winning manner of proceedings overcame the ſtout hearts of the Polanders more than blows, will be experienced in the ſequel of this ſtory; it is certain the Militia returned home poor and weary, and more broken by this years Expedition than by the long and tedious March to *Perſia*, and hazardous Battles during the Siege of *Babylon*; but the Sultan was deſirous to return home, and give this firſt proof and teſtimony to the World of his war-like and invincible Spirit, of his 1672. clemency and of his ſucceſs in Arms, that at his firſt appearing in the Field, all Armies and Fortreſſes ſubmitted to his Power. The Poles on the other ſide being of an opinion and temper far different to that of their Ambaſſadour *Wiſoski*, reſolved to purchaſe the departure of their new Gueſts on any terms; ſo that theſe following Articles were agreed and concluded.

That the King of *Poland* ſhould quit all Claim to *Ukrain*, *Podolia*, and *Ruſland*.

That for *Leopolis* and the Country thereabouts ſhould be paid a Tribute of ſeventy thouſand Dollars a year; all other Capitulations formerly made were to ſtand in force and virtue.

Theſe Articles being ſigned, the Grand Signior committed the Government of *Verania* and *Podolia* to *Doroſenzko*, and the defence of *Caminiecz* to *Chaſaein* Paſha with a Garriſon of twelve thouſand Janiſaries; ſo that now being returned home, the Militia was permitted to repair to their ſeveral Countries and Dwellings, the following year being dedicated to the repoſe and eaſe of the Souldiery.

Towards the end of this Year, when the Ships of *Barbary* returned home, thoſe of *Tripoli* conceived a certain diſcontent againſt their Paſha named *Oſman* for his covetous behaviour towards his Souldiers; for having that Summer taken very rich Prizes from the Venetians and other Nations, the Souldiers expected at their return home to receive a diviſion of their Spoils according to their juſt and equal ſhares. But the Paſha grown old and covetous, getting the whole into his hand, appropriated the greateſt part to his own Coffers, diſtributing to the Souldiers an inconſiderable proportion of what they had gained the year before. Hereupon the chiefeſt Commanders amongſt them becoming greatly enraged began to incenſe the Souldiery, which for intereſt or want of Pay, being always ready to mutiny, took fire immediately, and eaſily were blown into a Rebellion; ſo that firſt making Parties, and retiring into ſecret Junto's and Councils, they reſolved to deſtroy the Paſha, and alter the Government, and thereby make themſelves Maſters of all the Treaſure and Riches which *Oſman* Paſha had in the ſpace of thirty years amaſſed together. The Paſha having notice of all that paſſed, and apprehending the Conſpiracies of this unbridled People to be dangerous, began to provide for his ſafety, and getting together ſo many as he ſuppoſed of his Party, and that were, or might be faithful to him, which joyned with his Slaves and Servants, made up a ſmall Garriſon, wherewith to defend and preſerve himſelf within his Caſtle, which being well provided of Ammunition and Victuals, he ſhut his Gates, denying acceſs or admittance unto all perſons upon pretence and account whatſoever. Hereupon the Mutiny appearing, the Souldiery drew into a Body in the open field, againſt whom ſeveral ſhot were made from the Caſtle; ſo that now the Civil War was begun, and the whole Force of *Tripoli* raiſed againſt the Paſha and his Caſtle, which being ſtraitly beſieged the Defendants who were for the moſt part Servants and Slaves, failing in their courage, reſolved to make Conditions for themſelves to the beſt advantage; wherefore conſpiring againſt their Maſter, entred his Chamber

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1662. and ſtrangled him in the night; and the next morning opening the Caſtle-gates, received the Enemy within the Walls, making manifeſt the death of their Maſter and their own Treachery. *Oſman* Paſha being dead, every one acted for a time what the wildneſs of an unruly multitude could ſuggeſt, till ſuch time as the Heads of the Rebellion could frame themſelves into ſome form of Government, which for the preſent was reſolved to be by a *Dei*, as moſt convenient for commanding of the Souldiery, intending for the future to take the *Algier* Government by a Divan for their Pattern and Model of Rule, under which the people of that place had found and experienced the ſweetneſs of liberty, riches, and ſucceſs. Theſe matters being agreed upon, ſome of their Men of War were ſent to give advice unto the Grand Signior of the revolutions of their City, ſupplicating him to pardon the violence uſed againſt their Paſha *Oſman*, whoſe Covetouſneſs and Tyranny forced them for ſelf-preſervation to precipitate that Authority, which they knew on their complaints, his Majeſty would have granted them; and that he would be pleaſed to receive them into his protection and favour, as his faithful and humble Subjects and Slaves, and as an evidence thereof would grant them a Paſha confirmed by his Royal Signature. The Sultan, though at firſt ſhewed himſelf much diſpleaſed with this manner of proceeding againſt *Oſman* Paſha; yet ſeeing that there was no remedy, ſuffered himſelf to be mollified by their Preſents and ſubmiſſion, granting them a Paſha for their Governour, whoſe power proved as unſignificant as his doth, who bears that Title at *Algier*. Matters being thus reduced to ſome tolerable condition amongſt them, they concluded, That the moſt beneficial courſe of life to render them conſiderable, as well as to amuſe and divert the minds of their rude people from innovations againſt their Governours, was to grant free liberty to whomſoever pleaſed to arm out Ships of War; which Priviledge *Oſman* Paſha reſerved to himſelf and his Confidents; and finding at preſent that they were able to ſet out ſix Sail from forty to fifty Guns, and four more from twelve to thirty, intending to accompliſh in all the full number of fifteen Sail; thoſe who traded in the Levant Seas began to apprehend, that this faithleſs and heady people would at a time, when they found their advantage and the temptation of a rich Prize, break their Peace with his Majeſty our King, the which *Oſman* Paſha had notwithſtanding conſerved for ſeveral years without violation, moved perhaps thereunto out of an apprehenſion, that in ſuch troubles which a War with *England* might bring upon them, he might loſe or impair his riches, and bring the like confuſion on his people, as he had lately heard of in *Algier* on the like occaſion: but how and in what manner theſe matters ſucceeded, and how at length this people broke their Peace and Faith, we reſerve to be recounted at the end of the Year 1674.

Towards the end of the month of *Auguſt* it pleaſed God to take out of this life unto a better Sir *Daniel Harvey* his Majeſties Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*: a man whoſe perſon being comely, was extremely grateful to the Turks; and for the experience he had at the Ottoman Court, was equal in the happy management of Affairs to any of his Predeceſſours.

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BUT it ſeems the Turks had made too much haſte in their return to digeſt a Conqueſt of ſo large Extent, ſo that they were ſcarce well warmed by their Winter-fires, before they were alarmed again with Jealouſies of *Poland*, and the Seditions amongſt the Coſſacks, whom *Doroſenzko* wrote he could not keep in ſubjection, unleſs he had ſome Succours ſent him from the Port. The rumors likewiſe, that the Muſcovite armed, and was reſolved to Aſſiſt the Poles in recovery of their loſt Country, increaſed the apprehenſions of the Turks, who too late perceived the errour they had committed in ſo ſoon disbanding their Army, which before ſome were ſcarce got home, they were forced to recal. But now the year was well begun, and no grand preparations made; ſo that it was impoſſible to collect an Army in ſo ſhort a time conſiderable enough to be honoured with the Conduct of the Sultan; wherefore it was reſolved, that all things this year ſhould be diſpoſed in a readineſs againſt the next. But the Grand Signior had a project of his own to depart ſpeedily with his Court, and to paſs the heats of the Summer in the Mountains of *Zegna* about five or ſix days Journey on his way towards *Poland*, which being reported to be a place well planted with Trees, watered with cool and freſh Springs, and abounding with all ſorts of Game, made him impatient to take up his Summer-quarters in a Country ſo agreeable to his humor; and that he might cover the deſign of pleaſure with that of profit and policy, he pretended that the report of his proceeding ſo far would both haſten the Army, and give a terrour to the Enemy. But the Great Vizier and his Council who weighed all things better, were of another opinion, judging it neither honourable for the Court to be retired into Woods and Mountains, nor the advantage of ſuch a ſurmiſe able to countervail the expence and inconveniences of that Journy; and therefore it was concluded to ſtand unto the firſt reſolution, That the Grand Signior with the main Body of his Army ſhould not move until the following year, but that in this interim all preparations ſhould be made for Proviſions and Ammunition, in order unto which three thouſand Janiſaries were already ſent away to *Keminiecz* under the Command of the *Sampſongibaſbee* and ſix thouſand more under the *Zagargibaſbee* were to be landed on that *Iſthmus*, which joyns the *Crim* Tartar unto the Main, from whence they had a ſhort March to the aſſiſtance of *Dorhſenzko*. *Chaſaein* Paſha lately come from *Damaſcus*, was nominated for General to be ſent into *Siliſtria*, and there to command in Chief over the Militia of *Dobriza*, *Boſna*, and *Rumelia* in caſe of any alteration and diſturbance in *Poland*: this Perſon was always accounted a ſtout and valiant Souldier, though ſeldom fortunate, and was the ſame that loſt the Battel before *Lewa* in the laſt German Wars, as we have before intimated: he was about this time grown infirm by a hepatical Dyſentery, which reduced him to a weak condition of body, with little hopes of recovery.

In the mean time arrived at *Adrianople* an Ambaſſadour from the great Czar of *Muſcovy*, bringing

The unſeaſonable Addreſs of the Moſcovite Ambaſſadour.

bringing Letters dated in *April* of the preceding year, which was before the time that the Turks had entred *Poland*, the contents of which were, That the Grand Signior would do well to deſiſt from his deſign againſt that Country; for that if he did proceed and invade thoſe Dominions, he ſhould find himſelf obliged to make War upon him, and with his mighty and puiſſant Power to drive him back to his own Juriſdiction. This Meſſage appeared very unſeaſonable, and cauſed much laughter at firſt; for that the Turk had ſince the Date of that Letter invaded *Poland*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of vaſt Countries, and yet neither encountred any oppoſition from the Muſcovite, nor ſo much as heard any rumor of his Motion. Wherefore the Turks with ſcorn forbad the Ambaſſadour any farther Addreſſes, and commanded him to be gone ſpeedily, ſaying, That his Maſter had neither courage nor force to maintain his word of War, nor wiſdom to manage a Treaty of Peace.

The Reports now from the parts of *Poland* ſpake matters to be in a quiet poſture, and not likely to concern the Turks much for this year; wherefore the Grand Signior began again to renew his purpoſes of paſtime and pleaſure in the Mountains of *Zegna*; but becauſe no true or perfect account could be given of the delights, refreſhments, and ſituation of that place, the *Olack Celebi* or chief Poſtmaſter was ſent to ſurvey the Country, and to return with a relation of all matters: but in the interim the deſign was altered; for the Grand Signior having begun a Fabrick in which he had expended about eighty thouſand Dollars, at a ſmall Village about nine or ten miles from *Adrianople*, the place and novelty of the Building ſo well pleaſed him, that he found in himſelf an inclination to paſs the whole Summer there; and becoming likewiſe enamoured of a young Lady in his Seraglio, notwithſtanding his former tenderneſs to his Queen, and late averſion to all other Women, he judged it was poſſible to divertiſe his time well in thoſe parts, and more to his contentment, than in wild woods and uninhabited mountains. Whereupon the intentions of *Zegna* were laid aſide, and nothing thought of but the reſt and quietneſs of the Court for this year.

The Alexandrian *Fleet taken by the Malteſes.*

But becauſe it was reported, That the Czar of *Muſcovy* made great Preparations for War, it was judged neceſſary to command the *Crim* Tartar to be watchful of his motion by Land, though the natural ſlothfulneſs of that people gave them no apprehenſion of their Arms for this year; howſoever it being probable, that they might prove more active and forward in the Black Sea, than they were capable to do by Land, by ſending forth their ſmall Boats down the *Volga* to take and pillage the Saiks and Veſſels belonging to *Conſtantinople* and other parts; the Captain-Paſha was ordered to paſs into that Sea with thirty five or forty Sail of Gallies for defence of the Coaſt, and for fortifying and repairing *Aſac*, and the Fortreſſes thereabouts: but whilſt theſe Preparations were making for the Euxine or Black Sea, the other Seas were neglected and undefended; for the *Alexandrian* Fleet conſiſting in all of eight Sail, were encountred not far from *Rhodes* by ſome Malteſe and Ligorneſe Corſaires: the Ships of the Turks were moſt of them very great and potent Ships, one of them was at leaſt fifteen hundred Tuns, and was capable to carry an hundred Guns, the others of eight hundred or a thouſand Tuns, able to have reſiſted and overcome, had they been well armed, double the force that aſſaulted them; but being now engaged with an Enemy, though not ſo ſtrong, yet better experienced in marine Affairs than themſelves, they fought with them ſtoutly the firſt day; but the next day ſix Gallies coming to the Chriſtians aſſiſtance, (which had been harboured in ſome Port not far diſtant, and led thither by the noiſe of the Cannon, to which alſo a calm giving the greater advantage) the Turks began to faint in their courage, ſo that four Gallions and two Saiks yielded to mercy, which was a Prize of ſo great value, that it was ſuppoſed never to have been equalled ſince the time of Sultan *Ibrahim*, when the loſs of the grand Sultana and other Ships gave the firſt occaſion of War with *Venice*. This great Ship which was reported by thoſe who ſaw her to be both longer and broader than the Soveraign, carried only ſixty Guns, and was manned accordingly only with about an hundred Seamen, and about two hundred more which were Landmen, wholly unacquainted with the Sea or with Naval Fights: the biggeſt Ship amongſt the reſt was belonging to the Queen-Mother, and the others to the Grand Signior, being freighted principally with Sugar, Coffee, Rice, and other Proviſions for the proper maintenance of their Courts, which we may ſuppoſe will highly inflame theſe grand Perſonages, with anger and diſdain, when they reflect on their own proper loſſes which touch them ſo nearly as their peculiar Goods and the Furniture of their Kitchins.

The Poles refuſe to pay their promiſed Tribute.

The Turkiſh Court now angered with this loſs, was more moved in the midſt of *May*, when a Meſſenger from *Poland* arrived with Letters from the Grand Chancellour, declaring with modeſt terms, That their Kingdom was unable or unwilling for many reſpects to pay the promiſed Tribute; ſo that if they did not judge fit to wave or lay aſide thoſe pretenſions, they ſhould be forced to take up Arms in defence of their Honour, Safety, and Priviledge of their Dominions. The Turks ſurpriſed with this unexpected Meſſage, too late perceived the errour of the laſt years proceedings, which were carried on with a clemency and confidence not agreeable to the diſpoſition and humor of ſuch an Enemy, as is unacquainred with ſervitude, and ſo far from being able to ſupport a Foreign Yoke, that they cannot endure ſubjection to their own Civil Government, every Nobleman (of which there are many in *Poland*) being ambitious to be a Prince, judges himſelf better than his elected King. Hence proceeded all thoſe diſſentions which laid them open to the late invaſion of their powerful Enemy, the apprehenſion of whom having obducted for a while thoſe ſores of Faction which feſtered amongſt them, and that principle of ſelf-conſervation, which by a forcible nature inclined them to Union, at length armed them with a reſolution to avenge the Liberties of their Country, and aſſured them of the Truth of that Saying, That *a Kingdom divided againſt it ſelf cannot ſtand.*

The Turks now wiſhed that they had either made a true uſe of their Victory, and the op-

The Rebels in Hungary *renew their Petition to the Turks for aſſiſtance.*

portune Conjuncture of the laſt years Affairs to have ſerled and ſecured their Conqueſts, or that they had never begun the War; for now finding themſelves engaged in it, they were in honour obliged to proceed, and loſe the fair opportunity which preſented to make their advantage in *Hungary*; to which place they had been, and were ſtill invited by the Rebles of that Country, who to revenge the Cauſe of *Serini*, *Nadaſti*, and ſome other Diſcontents and Aggrievances of which they complained, and to defend the Proteſtant Religion, in which by the zeal of ſome Churchmen, they were diſturbed, reſolved to abandon their Allegiance to their natural Prince, and rather ſeek a protection for their Eſtates, and allowance for their Religion under the Turks, than remain beholding for either to a prevailing party at the Imperial Court. The chief Authours of this Rebellion were *Petrozy*, *Sepeſi*, *Tende*, *Gabor*, *Sutrey*, and other principal perſons amongſt the Hungarians, who having on their own ſtrength oppoſed themſelves againſt the Emperour the laſt year were defeated in divers engagements, and at length reduced to a very low and miſerable condition. Wherefore they renew again their Petitions and Preſents to the Sultan, ſent by their Agents about the beginning of this Month of *April*, begging his aſſiſtance and protection, repreſenting the eaſineſs of the Conqueſt, and how large a Gate they were able to open to his Armies, and make a plain way for him into the moſt fertile and opulent Countries of the World, of which he ſeemed already half poſſeſſed by reaſon of thoſe Diſcontents and Factions that were amongſt them.

The rage of the Turks againſt Poland.

The Turks though well ſatisfied of the reaſonableneſs of the deſign, yet being engaged in honour againſt *Poland*, knew not how to retract, and therefore diſpatched away the Meſſengers for the preſent with fair hopes and ſecret promiſes, well treated in private, though they received rather a Denial than Encouragement in publick. For the expedition againſt *Poland* was that which employed ſolely the wiſeſt heads of the Empire, who as it were in fury iſſued out immediate Orders, That all thoſe who eat the Grand Signior's Bread, ſhould without farther delay prepare themſelves for the Wars againſt *Poland*; and that Proviſions and Ammunition ſhould be ſupplyed in all places according to the uſual proportions; The Tugh, or Horſe-Tail, (the Signal for departure) was ſet forth, the Tents ordered to be carried into the Field, and ſuch haſte made in all parts, as if the raiſing of an Army were the buſineſs, but of one day; reſolving immediately to proceed againſt their Enemies, to whom the Sultan returned a moſt dreadful and menacing Letter, full of expreſſions agreeable to the Turkiſh Style, which threatned Confuſion, Sword, Famine, Fire, Deſtruction, and a thouſand other more direful Judgments: but the Collection of this great Army, and the appendages belonging thereunto, were not ſo ſuddenly provided as to admit of ſuch a diſpatch as the Sultan's fury pretended; wherefore in cooler blood it was concluded, That for this Summer they ſhould not paſs much beyond the other ſide of the *Danube*, that the Winter Quarters ſhould be deſigned in *Siliſtria*, from whence they might more effectually threaten and affright their Enemies with their near approach.

About this time the French found an opportune ſeaſon to accommodate all their Affairs with the Port, and to put a period to the ſeveral Articles and particulars they had for many years demanded. For now the French King not only appeared very formidable by reaſon of his ſucceſs againſt *Holland*, but likewiſe inſtrumental to promote the deſigns of the Port, whilſt he kept the Brandenburghers employed, and diverted the whole Armies of the Empire; and now alſo that they might engage him not to contribute aſſiſtance to the Poles, they judged it reaſonable policy to evidence to that Ambaſſadour more external demonſtrations of kindneſs, and ſtrain their courteſie beyond the terms which they could cordially, and in reality afford them. Wherefore, at length the Capitulations were renewed, and ſome Articles and Priviledges ſuperadded, which are theſe that follow.

F*Irſt, That all religious Perſons and Biſhops of the French Church ſhall remain and continue quiet and unmoleſted in their reſpective Habitations and Dwellings, with liberty to perform all their Eccleſiaſtical Rites and Ceremonies.*

Secondly, That the Religious of Jeruſalem *and of* Bethlem *ſhall conſerve thoſe religious places which they have anciently poſſeſſed, and there may continue to celebrate their Worſhip of God, and all their Devotions, without any diſturbance.*

Thirdly, That if theſe Religious of Jeruſalem *or* Bethlem *have any difference or diſpute with the Officers thereof, it ſhall be remitted to the deciſion of the Port.*

Fourthly, All Frenchmen, and all under their Banner, ſhall ſafely at all times go to Jeruſalem, *and return without moleſtation.*

Fifthly, The two Churches in Galata *belonging to the Jeſuits and Capuchins, and anciently poſſeſſed by them, are now again confirmed by theſe Preſents; one of which belonging to the Capuchins having been burnt, free liberty is given for the rebuilding thereof, and to remain as formerly in the hands of the French; and in the Hoſpital in* Galata, *if they will read the Goſpel after their faſhion, none ſhall give them diſturbance or hinder them.*

Sixthly, Whereas the French Nation formerly paid 5 per. Cent. *Cuſtom, now in regard they have been ancient friends to the Port, and that they have renewed their Capitulations, they ſhall pay no more than* 3 per Cent. *and accordingly let no more be demanded.*

Seventhly, All Portugueſes, Sicilians, Catelans, Meſſineſes of Ancona, &c. *that have no Ambaſſadors at the Port, if they come under the French Banner, ſhall pay no more than* 3 per Cent. *according as the French pay.*

Eighthly, In payment of their Cuſtoms, they ſhall pay the Currant Mony ſuch as paſſes in our Treaſury, and the Farmers

of

1673. *of the Cuſtoms ſhall not refuſe the ſame.*

Ninthly, The Meſteria they ſhall pay according to what the Engliſh Merchants pay, and no more.

Tenthly, All the Merchandiſe they bring, or ſhall bring, ſhall be valued according to the preſent eſtimation, and no more pretended of them, and if the Cuſtomers will notwithſtanding raiſe the eſteem of the Goods above the value, then if the Merchant will pay his Cuſtom in ſpecie, *it ſhall not be refuſed.*

Eleventhly, The Cuſtom of Silk being paid —— a new Cuſtom ought not to be demanded.

Twelfthly, The Cuſtom being once paid, the Cuſtomer ſhall not refuſe to give his Teſchare, and the Merchant being willing to tranſport his Goods to another Scale, another Cuſtom ſhall not be demanded.

Thirteenthly, The Officers and Cuſtomers at Sidon, Birut, Aleppo, *or* Cairo *ſhall not compel the Merchants to take Goods by Force, not under any pretence whatſoever take one Aſper from them, nor demand mony to be lent unto them.*

Fourteenthly, The French Veſſels may bring Goods from the Indies, *by way of the Red Sea, unto the Port* Suucis, *and having paid their Cuſtom once there, whatſoever Goods they cannot ſell in that Country, they may have liberty to tranſport over land to* Alexandria, *and there relade them again on their own Veſſels without paying another Cuſtom, or receiving moleſtation from any perſon. Howſoever, this Capitulation is to be underſtood with this condition, that this point ſhall be ſignified to the chief Officers of* Cairo, *who having called a Council of the moſt knowing and experienced perſons to conſider hereof, and they concluding that this point is in no wiſe prejudicial to that Country, nor to the Intereſt of the Believers then this Article to be of force, but if they adviſe the contrary, then this to be of no effect.*

Fifteenthly, If the Fryars, or Merchants, or Druggermen will make Wine, and tranſport it abroad, none ſhall hinder them.

Sixteenthly, The French Conſuls, and all under their Banner, having a difference with any of or above, four thouſand Aſpers, it ſhall be decided at our publick Divan.

Seventeenthly, If any man-ſlaughter ſhall happen in the ſtreet where French dwell, they ſhall not be liable to pay the price of the Blood, unleſs it be proved before the Juſtice that a Frenchman was guilty thereof.

Eighteenthly, The Druggermen in ſervice of the French Nation ſhall enjoy the ſame priviledges, as before ſpecified.

Nor was the French intereſt only available at that time to obtain the foregoing Articles, and renew their Capitulations with ſuch Additions: but likewiſe to procure Licence for the Ambaſſador to travel into the remoteſt parts of the Ottoman Dominions; for though it were a thing never practiſed before, and denied (as is well known) to other Chriſtian Ambaſſadors; yet it was granted to Monſieur *de Nointel* with ſo much freedom, that firſt in a Brigantine he went to *Scio,* thence viſited the chief Iſles of the *Archipelago,* thence croſſed to *Rhodes,* and ſo proceeded to *Satalia, Cyprus,* and *Jeruſalem*: ſo much confidence had the Turks, contrary to their cuſtom, in this Ambaſſador: for as they ſtile all Repreſentatives from Foreign Princes their pawns or pledges of Peace, ſo had not the Turks in that conjuncture thought the intereſt of *France* worth the obliging, they would never have deviated from their ancient Cuſtom, and given an example for other Miniſters to demand a priviledge of the like nature.

1673. *The French Ambaſſador obtains licence to travel.*

But to return again to the deſigns againſt *Poland,* the Sultan about the end of *July* marched with ſuch Forces as were then in a readineſs towards the Confines of that Country; and though he had not with him above fifteen thouſand men, yet it was concluded that the Fame and terror of the Grand Signior's motion would either abate and bring low the ſpirits of the Poles, and induce them to diſpatch an Ambaſſador with terms of Peace, or at leaſt this readineſs of the Turkiſh Camp would be an early preparation for the deſigns of the next year, and put the whole Empire into a timely motion, and that uniting with the Forces of the Frontiers, they might make a Body ſufficient to reſiſt any ſudden Incurſion. This reſolution being taken, the Great Vizier led the Van, and encamped on the Banks of the *Danube* near a place called *Iſacgee,* where he with all diligence built a Bridge of Boats to paſs his Forces with the greateſt facility to the other ſide, on which lies the Country of *Moldavia.* The Sultan about a days journey ſhort of the Vizier, fixed his Court and Camp at a place called *Babadog*; with intention after ſome days to croſs the River, and proceed as far as *Kemenitz,* that by the influence of his powerful Preſence he might encourage his Army there, and provide all things neceſſary for ſecurity of that Garriſon. But in the mean time advices coming that the Poliſh Army, conſiſting of about twenty thouſand men, was roving about the Confines of *Leopolis,* under the Command of General *Sobieski,* and that a reconciliation was paſſed between the King and him; and that *Zircha,* Commander of the Coſacks, joyned to conſiderable forces of the Moſcovite and Calmuck Tartars, had made incurſions into the parts about *Oſac,* cauſed the Sultan to deſiſt from his deſigned progreſs to *Kemenitz,* and to paſs no farther than over the River into *Moldavia* for hunting or other paſtimes. By theſe matters the Turks being fully convinced, that the Poles reſolved not to pay their promiſed tribute, nor to ſend an Ambaſſador with propoſitions, which were condeſcending or ſupplicating for Peace; the Sultan himſelf diſpatched away an Aga with Letters into *Poland* full of threats, menaces, and proteſtations of bringing all that ruine, miſery, and deſtruction on their Country, which always attends the moſt cruel and bloudy War, if they did not retrieve their error by a ſpeedy

The Turks reſolve on a war againſt Poland.

1673. ſubmiſſion and compliance with thoſe Articles which were the laſt year accorded. And this was the laſt motion the Turks made towards a Peace, which they were deſirous to embrace on any terms honourable, that ſo they might have opportunity to divert their Arms to the more mild Climates of *Hungary*, where, beſides the entertainment they expected to receive from friends, who invited them, they ſhould not be liable to half thoſe inconveniences of Cold, Froſts, and Famine, as they were probable to meet in the parts of *Poland*.

But the Poles were ſo much in earneſt, and ſo little eſteemed the menaces of the Sultan, that they anticipated his threats by ſome acts of hoſtility, and ſhowed that they ſo much ſcorned his anger, that they were reſolved to be the firſt Aggreſſors. For the great Mareſchal *Sobieski* with his Lieutenant General *Wiſnowitzki* marched forward, and boldly paſſed the *Nieſter* with fifty thouſand ſelect Souldiers. The General of the Turkiſh Army, *Chuſaein* Paſha, alarmed hereat, immediately iſſued forth ſuch Orders for preparing and fitting his Camp as were agreeable to a ſpeedy Battel; and that he might underſtand the ſtate of his Camp, he called the Prince or Vayvord of *Moldavia* to examine him concerning the ſtate and condition of his Forces; the anſwer he gave proving not ſatisfactory to the expectation of the Turk, who was enraged at the approach of the Enemy, with high and proud words inſulted over the Prince, giving him no better terms than Dog and Infidel, and at length ſtruck him over the head with his Pole-Axe; notwithſtanding which, and the diſgrace he put upon him, imprudently that night committed unto him, and to the Prince of *Valachia*, the care of the Guards, which conſiſted of three thouſand Men. The Valachians as near Neighbours and Aſſociates with the others, ſeemed at firſt more grievouſly to reſent the affront, than did the Moldavians, and therefore that Night took their Prince by force and carried him to the Poliſh Army. The Prince, that he might make a Vertue of Neceſſity, complained of no force or violence offered unto him by his Souldiers, but as if he had voluntarily revolted, ſhowed outwardly a fair and ſerene countenance towards the Poles, until ſuch time as with forty of his Men, he found an opportunity to eſcape; but being by next morning at break of day overtaken by five Troops of Polonian Horſe, his whole Retinue was ſlain by them, excepting five of his men, who with himſelf, ſaved themſelves by the ſwiftneſs of their Horſes; Howſoever, the Prince received a wound on his left hand with a Sword, with which preſenting himſelf before the Great Vizier, and by that teſtimony boaſting of his Faith and Loyalty to the Ottoman Houſe, was conducted by him to the preſence of the Sultan, who, in reward of his fidelity and valour, veſted him with a rich Coftan, and reſtored him again to his Principality with addition of three hundred Aſpers a day pay. His Wife and Children which remained as Hoſtages at *Conſtantinople*, being upon the News of the Princes Revolt clapt into the ſeven Towers, were again releaſed, and conducted to their houſe with all imaginable honour and magnificence.

The Poles paſs the Neiſter.

The Prince of Valachia *carried by his own Souldiers to the Poles.*

But the Moldavian Prince was more in earneſt, and heartily diſdained the affront offered him by *Chuſaein* Paſha, towards whom, and the other Turks, though he carried a ſerene and calm countenance, yet he nouriſhed a ſecret flame and ſtorm within himſelf; to vent which, and revenge the affront, he maintained a correſpondence with *Sobieski*, giving him intelligence of all matters in the Turkiſh Camp, how he might moſt eaſily ſurprize the Forces of the Paſha of *Sivas*, and the four Generals of the Spahees of *Alchabolick*.

The Prince of Moldavia *revolts.*

The Chriſtians made uſe of this intelligence accordingly, by making their aſſault on the Enemy on the weakeſt ſide, when the Prince having reſerved his anger until an opportune Seaſon, turned his face againſt the Turks, and with a courage agreeable to his ſpirit and command, he entered the Tabor, or Intrenchment of *Chuſaein* Paſha, and wounded him with his own hand. The heat of the Fight continued fourteen hours, in which none behaved himſelf more valiantly than did *Solyman* Paſha the Beglerbeg of *Boſna*, who though he was as brave and fought as ſtoutly as any man could having ſix Horſes that day killed under him, he was at length forced to fly and abandon the field, following *Chuſaein* Paſha, of *Sivas* and *Ciddioglа*, who made better uſe, in ſaving themſelves, of their horſes heels, than their own Arms; But in this Flight his Horſe pitching his foot into the hole of a wooden Bridge, which he was to paſs, was there ſtopped until he was overtaken by a Souldier with a Hat, who ſhot him through the Body; ſo that continuing his flight more faintly than before, he was overtaken by a Polonian Huſſar, who with a Lance bore him to the Ground, where he was trod under foot, and cut in pieces by the Enemy: The other three Paſhaws were wounded; the Generals of the Green and Yellow Sangiacks of the Spahees were taken Priſoners, and two other principal Commanders of the Spahees were killed. The Zagargeebaſhee, who commanded eighteen Chambers of Janiſaries, was taken priſoner, the Standard of the Janiſaries taken, and they wholly cut in pieces and deſtroyed, conſiſting of eight thouſand five hundred men; all the Troops and Attendants of thoſe Paſhaws, with four Sangiacks of Spahees, were ſlain upon the place, which in all were computed to be about twenty five thouſand men. The booty taken was very conſiderable, for beſides the ordinary Baggage they took two thouſand purſes of money, then newly brought for payment of the Souldiery, and twenty five thouſand Waggons of Proviſions and Ammunition.

The Turks overthrow.

After this ſucceſs and important Victory the Poles became Maſters of the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Chotin*, and other ſmaller Palanchas, on the Banks of the *Nieſter*, making their Incurſions into *Moldavia*, as far as *Jaſſo*, which is the principal City of that Country. And thus far was *Kaplan* Paſha proceeded with the Recruits of about four thouſand men, when the News came of the fatal Rout, and the fame thereof encreaſing by the fearful Relations of ſuch as fled from the Battel, alarmed the Turks with ſuch frightful apprehenſions, that they retreated back again to the other ſide of the *Danube*, and united themſelves to the Forces of the Vizier. But *Chuſaein* Paſha, though he ſaved his life, yet could not con-

1673.

Chuſaein *Paſha impriſoned.*

ſerve the Air of the Sultan's favour; for ſo ſoon as he arrived at the Court, he received an ill welcome; for according to the manner of Turks, who puniſh the ill ſucceſs of a General equal to Crimes committed, he was immediately put into Chains, deprived of his eſtate and honours, and ſent priſoner with the attendance only of two ſervants unto the Caſtles of the *Dardanelli*, where the diſturbance and unquietneſs of his mind reduced him to an infirmity of Body; ſo that being ſick, and without Friends or Phyſicians, he ſent to Sir *John Finch*, his Majeſties Ambaſſador, as he paſſed up the *Helleſpont*, to afford him the uſe and aſſiſtance of his Phyſician; but the Ambaſſador excuſed himſelf, letting him know, that his Retinue being paſſed before on another Veſſel, he was ſorry it was not in his power to accommodate him in the manner he deſired.

The King of Poland *dies.*

The Winter being now well entered, which is very wet and cold in thoſe Countries, cauſed the Armies on both ſides to draw into their warmer Quarters, there to meditate and contrive their deſigns for the more active ſeaſon. During theſe Affairs the King of *Poland* died; ſo that the Election of a new Prince, the manner of reconciling their inteſtine Differences, and the means to defend their Countries, were Subjects of important Conſideration, and matters more than ſufficient to employ the wiſeſt heads of that Nation for a longer time than their common Enemy was reſolved to afford them. The Turk on the other ſide though full of revenge and anger for their laſt misfortune, yet patiently took this loſs as the paring only of his Nails, that his Claws might grow the longer, and was ſo rowſed with this blow, that he ſummoned all the Nations of his large Empire to come in to his aſſiſtance, towards which forty thouſand Carts laden with Proviſions were appointed to rendezvous on the Banks of the *Danube* towards the end of the month of *March*. Yet in the mean time the Turks not having patience to ſee their perfidious Prince avail himſelf of his Revolt, and in Deſpight of the Ottoman Power to to ſeat himſelf in his Principality of *Jaſh*, were reſolved to drive him thence; and in order thereunto not expecting a milder ſeaſon, immediately diſpeeded ſome Troops of Tartars, and two thouſand Spahees under the Command of a new Prince, to drive him out of the Country. In the mean time the Poles, ſince their late Victory, kept the Fortreſs of *Kemenitz* ſtraitly blocked up on all ſides, and thereby reduced them to ſuch a want of food and other proviſions, as might probably cauſe them to ſurrender before the Summer could open a way to their relief.

But before I conclude this Year, I muſt not omit to acquaint the Reader, that in the month of *September* an Engliſh Factor at *Smyrna*, deſcended of good Parents, and educated under a ſevere and religious Maſter, one who had a reaſonable Eſtate of his own, and in good buſineſs and employment, did notwithſtanding in the abſence of his Partner, with whom he was joyned in Commiſſion, carry out of the houſe 225½ fine Cloths belonging to ſeveral Principals of *England*, with a conſiderable Sum of ready Mony, Jewels, and things of value: of which having poſſeſſed himſelf, he went before the Kadi, and there in preſence of divers Officers of the City turned Turk, hoping by the Priviledge of the Mahometan Law, whereby no Chriſtian teſtimony can paſs againſt a Turk, to appropriate unto himſelf that whole Eſtate, which he had thus treacherouſly got into his ſole cuſtody. And it being impoſſible for Turks to atteſt the Marks, Numbers, or know the Eſtates of Perſons being in *England*, he judged himſelf out of the reach of any Power or Art to diſpoſſeſs him of his unjuſt and wicked acqueſts. Howſoever the Conſul did ſo cloſely purſue him both at *Smyrna* and at the Turkiſh Court, that in the ſpace of ſeven months he regained all the Cloth, and the beſt part of the Mony and Jewels out of his hands: and in fine reduced this Renegado to ſo low a condition, that he humbly ſupplicated the Conſul to contrive a way for his paſſage into *England*: at which time His Majeſties Frigate the *Centurion* being then in Port, he was imbarked thereupon, and ſo returned into his own Country.

1674.

The Particulars of all which having been amply related in Writing and Letters to private Friends, I purpoſely omit the ſame in this place, that ſo I might caſt a veil over the nakedneſs and ſhame of our Nation in that City. Howſoever I judge it requiſite to recount this Story in brief and in general heads, That men may know there is a God who rules above, who rejects impious and licentious perſons, confounding the deſigns of thoſe who betraying their Truſt, deviate from the common Rules of Morality and Honeſty.

Anno 1674. *Hegeira* 1085.

THis Year began at *Smyrna* with the happy Arrival of Sir *John Finch*, ſent by His Majeſty for Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior in the place of Sir *Daniel Harvey*, who dyed in *Auguſt* 1672. at his Country-houſe not far from *Conſtantinople*. His Excellency entred the City on the firſt day of *January* 167$\frac{3}{4}$ rejoycing the Engliſh Factory with the ſight of their new Ambaſſador, (that Office having been now void for the ſpace of ſixteen months) who was welcome alſo to people of the Country, judging him fortunate for arriving at the Feaſt of their great *Biram*: nor leſs pleaſing was the News thereof to the Court, eſpecially to the late Paſha of *Tunis*, whoſe Goods and Monies taken by one *Dominico Franceſchi*, out of an Engliſh Ship called the *Mediterranean*, in her paſſage from *Tunis* to *Tripoli*, this Ambaſſador had recovered from *Ligorne* and *Malta*; which being an action without example, was greatly admired and applauded by the Turks, and eſteemed an evident demonſtration of that great Intereſt and Power which the Glory of our King hath acquired in Foreign parts, and of the ſingular dexterity of ſuch a Miniſter.

About the 18*th* of *March*, Sir *John Finch* arrived at *Conſtantinople* being tranſported to the *Dardanelli* on his Majeſties Fregat the Centurion; and thence on a Gally hired at *Smyrna* for that purpoſe. Some few days after his arrival, the Grand Signior and Vizier being at *Adrianople*, the Lord Ambaſſador had audience of the *Chimacam* whom he ſaluted with this ſpeech.

1674. *I am come Ambaſſadour from Charles the Second King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *ſole Lord and Soveraign of all the Seas, that environ his Kingdoms, Lord and Soveraign of vaſt territories, and poſſeſſions in the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies, *Defender of the Chriſtian Faith againſt all thoſe that Worſhip Idols or Images. To the moſt Powerful and mighty Emperor of the* Eaſt, *to maintain that peace, which hath been ſo uſeful, and that commerce which hath been ſo profitable to this Empire: For the continuance, and encreaſe whereof I promiſe you in my ſtation to contribute what I can, and I promiſe to my ſelf, that you in your will do the like.*

But to proceed to the Wars. The Polanders being thus proſperous, made uſe of their ſucceſs, and the ſharp cold of the Winter-ſeaſon to make their Incurſions, and Winter-quarters through all the Principalities of *Moldavia*; for they being born in cold Countries, and accuſtomed to the Snows and Froſts, were more patient and enduring of extremity of weather than were the Turks, who were brought forth from more mild and moderate Climates: ſo that neither could the Poles be driven out from thoſe Countries, nor *Keminitz* be relieved by them, until ſuch time, that the Sun getting high, and thawing the Snows, and warming the Earth, prepared a ſeaſon fit for return of the Turks who marching according to their cuſtom with an Army compoſed of great multitudes, quickly compelled the Poles to retire. For the Grand Signior and Vizier having both ſeated their Winter-quarters on the Banks of the *Danube*, were ready at the firſt opening of the Summer to enter their Arms into the Enemies Countries; and having called the Tartars to their aſſiſtance, did according to the uſual cuſtom make Incurſions for depredation of Slaves, Cattel, and whatſoever elſe was portable in a running March.

A Journy into Tartary.

The *Chan* or King of this People was at that time greatly indiſpoſed in his health, of which he adviſed the Great Vizier, as if he intended thereby to obtain a releaſe from his perſonal attendance that year in the War: But the Vizier, who either ſuppoſed this excuſe to be only a pretence, or that he had a kindneſs for his Perſon, immediately diſpatched away his own Phyſician called Signior *Maſſelini*, an Italian born, a worthy Learned man, a good Chriſtian, and my intimate Friend: with whom maintaining a conſtant correſpondence by Letters, he wrote me, That from the Grand Signiors Quarters which were at *Batadog* near the Banks of the *Danube*, he arrived after ſeventeen days Journey in *Chrim*, where (he ſaid) he was received with ſingular honour and kindneſs by the Great *Chan*, whom he found to be a Prince of admirable prudence, gentleneſs, and generoſity, but greatly afflicted with a Hypochondriacal Melancholy; which being an infirmity of ſome years ſtanding, was with the more difficulty removed; howſoever he was ſo far from being uncapable to follow his Army, that he adviſed him to divert his mind with the thoughts of War: which counſel having taken, after thirty days abode in the Camp, he found himſelf much more chearful than before, and greatly relieved of that preſſure of Melancholy and caliginous Vapours which offended his Brain. "We are now (ſaid he) at "*Uſſia* at the Mouth of the *Boriſthenes*, which "we have paſſed from the other ſide unto this, "where the River is nine miles bread, from "hence we are marching towards *Bender* upon "the *Nieſter* to paſs into *Moldavia*, and there "to joyn with the Ottoman Army. The Poles "have ſent to demand Peace, but with con"dition, that *Kemenitz* be reſtored to them; "which Propoſition was with great diſdain re"jected, and will never be granted whilſt this "Emperour reigns. Theſe people greatly de"ſired a Peace with *Poland*, which the Electi"on of *Sobieski* for King may probably facili"tate; for not only they, but the Turks alſo "dread a March into *Poland*, and are ſo in"veterately bent to take revenge on the Muſ"covites and Coſacks, who lately became "their Subjects, that they could accept of any "reaſonable Terms of Accommodation with "*Poland*. I for my part found *Tartary* a very "pleaſant Country, plentiful of all Proviſi"ons, and the people much more courteous "and obliging to the Strangers and Chriſtians, "than thoſe Turks with whom you and I have "converſed. Thus far *Maſſelini* writes in commendation of the Tartars, and in farther confirmation hereof, I have read in ſome Books, That as to their Morals, there are very few Nations to be found leſs vicious, they are extremely ſevere and faithful, they have no Thieves or falſe Witneſſes amongſt them, little Injuſtice or Violence, and live in union and great tranquillity: the marvellous fidelity of the Captive Tartars in *Poland* is every day to be obſerved, who never fail to return at the time appointed, when they are licenſed upon their word to go and procure their Liberties by the exchange of Poliſh Priſoners, which they execute punctually, or return themſelves, not failing a minute. And it is obſerved, That the Poliſh Gentlemen do rather truſt the young Tartars, which are in their Service, with the keys of their Money and Jewels, than any of their Houſhold.

1674.

Kemenitz relieved.

The time for Armies to draw out of the Winter-quarters, and take the Field being now come, the Grand Signior and Vizier, with great numbers both of Horſe and Foot paſſed the *Danube*, and proſecuting their March to the Confines of *Poland*, they relieved *Kemenitz* in the firſt place, the Poles at the News of their approach raſing the Siege. Thence they proceeded to *Chuzim*, a ſtrong Fortreſs on the *Nieſter*, taken from them in the laſt year by the Chriſtians, after the defeat given to *Chuſaein* Paſha, as before related, the which was ſurrendred without much difficulty on Articles, which were ill obſerved, the whole Garriſon being afterwards put to the Sword. Nor had they worſe ſucceſs againſt the Muſcovites, who retreated backward as the Turk advanced, leaving *Aſac*, after it had been ſacked and almoſt deſtroyed, to be again rebuilt, which was ſpeedily effected by the aſſiſtance of the Captain-Paſha, who was that year with thirty nine Gallies diſpeeded into the Black Sea, and with great numbers of Slaves and Souldiers repaired the ruines which the Muſcovites had made. In the mean time, whilſt the chiefeſt ſtrength of the marine Force was thus employed, a ſmall Squadron of about ten Gallies were ordered for the

Archipelago

1674. *Archipelago* and the Levant, under the Command of one *Mahomet* Paſha, a Perſon that managed ſundry great Employments; but his prodigality and profuſe way of living was the cauſe that he could thrive in none, only he thereby gained ſo much intereſt and credit with the Grandees and Monied men of the Court, who are the Pages and Eunuchs, as ſerved him to contract a debt of a thouſand Dollars without any ability of his own to give them ſatisfaction: of which theſe Creditors being aſſured, made it their Petition to the Grand Signior to grant him the Command of that Squadron of Gallies, which was that year deſigned for the *Archipelago*, ſuppoſing that he in this Expedition being to paſs unto many Iſlands and Conurries, knew how to make ſuch uſe of his time, and the advantage of his Employment, as would gain him a ſufficient benefit whereby to ſatisfie and clear all ſcores and accounts with them. This Office being accordingly conferred, *Mahomet* Paſha prepared himſelf to depart, whilſt the Creditors remained in full expectation of a profitable Voyage and ſpeedy returns; which to improve to the beſt advantage, the Paſha firſt viſited the open and undefended Iſles, from whence with the greateſt ſeverity and rapine imaginable he pillaged and plundered what he was able, making ſome of them to ranſom their whole Country with mony. Thence he proceeded to *Scala Nova*, called by the Turks *Kouſh-adaſee*, a place on the Coaſt of *Aſia*, not far from *Epheſus*, where he demanded of the people (though all Turks) the Sum of five thouſand Dollars, which they not finding to pay, were treated with all kind of force and violence, till at length paying down 1500, and engaging to pay the reſt in a months time, the Paſha departed, leaving an Aga, a Servant of his, to receive the money at the time agreed. In that interim, the Kadi coming to be changed, and another of more courage and ſpirit ſucceeding in his place, believed that the beſt ſervice at his beginning and entrance into Office which he could perform towards the people, was to relieve them from the oppreſſion of the Paſha, and perſwade them poſitively to refuſe the payment; who taking courage from their Chief, drove the Aga out of Town, with a thouſand menaces and reproaches. Upon this News *Mehmet* Paſha returned again full of anger and indignation, but found not that eaſie reception nor kind entertainment, as before; but on the contrary, the Gates were ſhut againſt him, and the people abandoning their Habitations, with common conſent reſolved to make a Journey, to the Grand Signior: and to ſhew they were in earneſt, proceeded ſo far in their way as to *Epheſus*; which is about ten miles diſtant from thence: the prejudice and danger of which complaint *Mahomet* Paſha greatly fearing, ſent Meſſengers to pacifie them with good words and promiſes to relinquiſh his pretenſions, in caſe they would return; but the uproar was ſo great, that they found as much difficulty to quiet it, as the Town-Clerk in ancient times had to appeaſe the Tumult raiſed by the Silverſmiths about *Diana* of the *Epheſians*. Being thus baffled at *Kouſh-adaſee*, he vented his fury on ſome poor Iſlands which he could more eaſily maſter, and thence proceeded to *Napoli di Romania*, where the people being already alarmed with his behaviour, and violence of his actions in other places, and encouraged by the example of *Kouſh-adaſee*, upon his arrival there, without farther ceremony ſhut their Gates, and appeared armed againſt him upon the Walls; at which entertainment and unexpected oppoſition, the Paſha fearing ſome evil conſequences, ſet ſail from thence, and croſſing again the Seas into *Aſia*, made *Rhodes* his next Port. Thence he paſſed to *Satalia*, to *Cyprus*, and *Scanderone*, and ſo again returned for *Conſtantinople*, taking *Smyrna* in his way, committing moſt extreme rapine and violence on the people, whoſe complaints having gone before him to the Court, he was immediately cut off at his arrival; but in the firſt place, his gains and ill gotten goods were ſeized on to ſatisfie the Grand Signior, and his Creditors of the Seraglio, who being ſent to fiſh for Wealth, was ſerved like the Cormorants in the *Indies*, which being made tame, and taught to fiſh for the benefit of their Maſters, have a Ring clapped about their necks to prevent them from ſwallowing the prey they take.

Mahomet *Paſha ſent with a Fleet of Gallies into the Arches.*

But to return to the Actions at Land, which were matters of the greateſt importance. The Turks had no ſooner relieved *Kemenitz*, recovered *Choczim*, and cauſed the Muſcovites to retreat, and draw their Forces into their Country; but being Maſters of the Field, and having the choice of acting according to their own pleaſure, reſolved to ſecure the places they already poſſeſſed, eſteeming it more wiſdom to make ſure their late acquiſitions, than to add thereunto new conqueſts, which they could not maintain. And therefore conſidering the inconſtancy of the Coſacks, who having abandoned their ſubjection to *Poland*, had ſubmitted themſelves to their yoke; and alſo how unable *Doroſenzko* their Governour was either to keep them in obedience, or elſe to defend them from the Polonian Incurſions; they reſolved for prevention of theſe inconveniences, and for a ſecure remedy againſt any ſiniſter accidents of this nature, to make ſeiſure of that Party of the Coſacks, who had not ſubmitted to them, and tranſport them into other parts, which they accordingly put into execution, and ſweeping all the Countries as they paſſed, carried away men, women, and children into Captivity: part of which, ſuch as belonged to the Grand Signior, had ſome Lands aſſigned them along the Coaſt near the Black Sea; the Armenians, who were a Trading people, and lived at *Kemenitz*, were tranſported to *Philipopoli*; of the Jews ſome were carried to *Adrianople*, and others to *Conſtantinople*; but the younger ſort of both Sexes were permitted to the Souldiery to carry them for Slaves to their own homes; and were in great numbers diſperſed through all parts of the Empire: a Policy anciently uſed by *Pharaoh* to his Egyptian Subjects, who having bought their Lands of them, did afterwards tranſport them from one end of the Land unto the other, that ſo he might keep them in the greater ſervitude and ſubjection, *Gen.* 47. 21. *And as for the people, he moved them from one end of the borders of Egypt to the other.* And in this manner the ſucceſs concluding the year, without any great Enterpriſe or Feats of Arms, the Sultan returned to his Court at *Adrianople* about the end of *November*, licenſing all the Aſian Horſe and Souldiers of remoteſt parts to return to their own Countries, with liberty to appropriate the the following year to their repoſe and care for their peculiar concernments.

The Turks ſecludetheir Conqueſt.

1674.

The difference between the Latines and Greeks at Jeruſalem.

To theſe Wars amongſt ſecular Perſons and men of Arms were added Differences, and never to be decided Controverſies between the Religious of the Roman and Greek Churches at *Jeruſalem*, who contending for the poſſeſſion of the Holy Sepulchre of the King of Peace, rent that ſeamleſs Coat of Chriſt, and managed their Controverſie with more malice and rancour each againſt other, than Princes do, who invade one the other with Fire and Sword. For the Franks or Weſtern Chriſtians ſubjected to the Popes Dominion, had poſſeſſed for ſeveral Ages a right to the Holy Sepulchre, and enjoyed the honour of the cuſtody thereof, notwithſtanding the pretences of the Greeks thereunto, who for many years in vain attempted at the Ottoman Court to obtain that Priviledge; for the Franks being ever more powerful by charitable contributions brought from Chriſtendom, beſides large Sums of Money from the King of *Spain*, did always outbid the Market of the Greeks, and conſequently made uſe of ſtronger arguments, than the adverſe Party could produce in defence of their cauſe. Until ſuch time, that one *Panaioti*, a Greek born in the Iſland of *Scio*, having by his parts and excellent addreſs arrived to the honour of being Interpreter for the Weſtern Tongues to the Great Vizier, at length obtained that favour with his Maſter, that he ſeldom refuſed whatſoever he with reaſon and modeſty requeſted; and being a great Zelot in his Religion, and eſteemed the chief Patron and Support of the Greek Church, he ſecretly begged in behalf of his Country, the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre at *Jeruſalem* out of the hands of the Franks; which the Vizier would not deny him, both to reward him for ſome ſervices already performed, and likewiſe becauſe he knew that a conceſſion of this nature would again raiſe the ſpirits and animoſities of Chriſtians; the allaying and appeaſing of which being an office ſolely in the power of himſelf, and the ſupreme Authority, would certainly prove beneficial to the Ottoman Court. *Panaioti* having obtained this Command, and conſidering that the defence thereof would be a trouble to him, for that thereby he ſhould create Enemies which were no leſs than Kings and Princes to contend with, and perhaps ſhould live to ſee it reverſed, wiſely laid it by him, there to remain dormant until the time of his death; which happening the year paſt, the Command was produced and brought to light, and was before the *Eaſter* of this year ſet on foot at *Jeruſalem*, and by virtue thereof the cuſtody of the Sepulchre ſentenced by the Paſha and Kadi of that place to belong unto the Greeks, the which was occaſion of ſo great trouble and confuſion, as diſturbed the Holy Feaſt, and polluted the Sacrifices with the blood of one or two perſons, who moſt earneſtly contended for the Priviledge of their Nation and Religion. Nor could this difference be decided here, but both ſides appealed to the Court above; which being heard and debated in publick Divan, the poſſeſſion of the Sepulchre was adjudged in favour of the Greeks; the Franks being only to injoy a precarious uſe thereof, as Pilgrims and Strangers to the Country. Howſoever the Fryers of *Jeruſalem* would not tamely yield up their Right, but again reſolved to try their Fortune at the Court, having by means of *F. Caniſaries* their Commiſſario with expence of a great Sum of Money obtained a review of the caſe, but without ſucceſs; for all theſe endeavours and charge proved fruitleſs, the former ſentence being confirmed in favour of the Greeks; and the Franks having no other Expedient, applied themſelves to the aſſiſtance of the French Ambaſſadour, to whoſe protection the Holy places are aſſigned by Capitulations. But neither the power of the French Ambaſſadour, nor of any other Chriſtian Repreſentative was available; for the Vizier either mindful of his promiſe to *Panaioti*, or being reſolute to maintain the Command he had given, would on no terms be perſwaded to revoke it, the which intention of the Vizier being made known to the Greeks their Patriarch earneſtly preſſed a hearing of the caſe; but the Fryars not willing to abide the ſhock, retired to *Conſtantinople*, leſt the Greeks forcing them to Juſtice, they ſhould be condemned *in Judicio contradictorio*, and a Hoget or Sentence paſſing, they ſhould be condemned in Law as well as by Authority of the Hatteſheriff. Which to put in execution, the Patriarch took out a Command whereunto was added, That the Fryers in token of their ſubjection, ſhould pay a Drachm of Silver a head to the Patriarch, and hold all their places of them. This was the iſſue of the preſent controverſies, which is certainly determined for the time of the Vizier without revocation, yet perhaps in the time of another, it may admit of a review for money, eſpecially being received when as yet the new Miniſter hath not ſatiated his covetous deſires; howſoever, the expence will always be chargeable, and the ſucceſs uncertain. Thus have I ſeen and obſerved in this particular the effect and experience of two things; *viz.* The covetouſneſs and pride of Fryars, and the concluſion of their Law-ſuits before Infidels. The Franks, or the Weſtern Chriſtians, had until this time the cuſtody of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Greeks that of the Chappel of *Bethlem*, but the uſe was free to both; but the Franks not being able to enjoy the Sepulchre with contentment, whilſt with envious eyes they beheld the Greeks in poſſeſſion of *Bethlem*, were always contriving deſigns by force of money, and power of Chriſtian Miniſters to eject them from that Right; until that now in theſe contentions they have loſt both; being neither able to recover the one, nor conſerve the other.

1674

Before we end this year of 1674. and begin that of 1675; it will be neceſſary for us to diſcourſe of the cauſe, and original of that War which *England* had with the Government of *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, and the ſucceſs and concluſion thereof.

War with Tripoli.

In the year 1672. Old *Mahomet* boar at *Scio* and of the *Greek* race who for many years by *Baratz* or commiſſion from the Grand Signior had boaren the Office, and Title of Paſha of *Tripoli*; and being grown very rich, and covetous by the Pyracies his Ships made on the Chriſtians, and oppreſſion of his people, not dividing amongſt the Souldiery, that juſt proportion of the prey, which of right belonged to them, ſo incenſed the minds of that people, that conſpiring againſt him they murdered him in his Caſtle, and ſeized all his riches, to the uſe of the Publick. The Paſha being dead all his creatures, and perſons that boar Office in his time were diſplaced, and others of more juſtice, and bravery (as they imagined,) 1674 imagined), put in their places, and a New Governor being ſet up, he began to make a through Reformation, and to alter and change every thing according, to his own humor, and pleaſure. In the firſt place he gave leave to all people to Arm in *Corſo*, or to ſet out Private Men of War, as every one pleaſed, and was able; different to the practiſe of the former Paſha, who reſerved that benefit, and priviledge to himſelf; and next it was propoſed to conſtitute a Divan after the manner of *Algier* in whom the ſupream power of all ſhould be lodged. In order hereunto they immediately, ſet forth to Sea ſix Sail of Ships from forty to fifty Guns, excellent Saylors, and armed them with the beſt and ſtouteſt of their Men, together with four more from twelve to thirty Guns; with theſe Ships they took many prizes belonging to *French*, *Venetians*, and other Nations; and though they had long deſired to taſte alſo of the ſweetneſs of *Engliſh* Eſtates; yet not encountring a prize worthy the trouble and evil conſequences of ſuch a breach; they for ſome time deferred the deſign which they had long meditated. Till at length about the Month of *Auguſt* 1674. they unhappily encountred the *Martin*, a rich Ship bound from *Venice* to *Cadiz*, which they carried to *Tripoly*; and on the 17*th* of *September* following, they ſeconded this outrage, by other of the like nature, committed on the *Hunter* Fregat, *Thomas Parker* Commander bound from *Ligorne* to *Smyrna*; whom the *Tripolines* meeting with ſix Men of War at the entrance into the *Arche-pelago*, they brought her into the Port of *Tripoly*; where having plundered all the ſtrangers goods laden upon her, to the import of forty thouſand dollars, the particulars of all which were given under Oath of the Commander, the Ship was diſmiſſed, and diſpeeded on her Voyage to *Smyrna* with no other damage to the *Engliſh*, then the embezelment of 726 dollars, robbed, or pilfered by the Souldiery, together which ſuch charge, as the Conſul of *Tripoly* challenged for his ſervice therein. This news being adviſed into *England*, as a breach of Peace, his Majeſty out of his uſual and gratious care of the welfare of Trade, was pleaſed to order Sir *John Narbrough* his Commander in chief in the *Mediterranean* Seas, to demand ſatisfaction from that people; who accordingly Sailing thither, and requiring reſtitution of the goods injuriouſly taken, received a denial, and denunciation of War. Whereupon Sir *John Narbrough* wrote to the Conſul of *Smyrna* in this manner.

Theſe are to advertiſe you, that the people of Tripoly *have broken the peace with his Majeſty; they are reſolved to take all the* Engliſh *Ships they can meet, and overcome. I have been there with a Squadron of his Majeſties Ships to demand reſtitution of the goods taken out of the* Martin: *and* Hunter: *they refuſe to make any, ſo that now it is open War with thoſe people: I am now at* Malta *taking in water, I intend to fit at* Ligorne; *I ſuppoſe his Majeſty will have a Squadron of Ships to look after theſe people of* Tripoly *this Summer. Sir, I pray ſignify this to my Lord Ambaſſador at* Conſtantinople, *and to all others his Majeſties Subjects where you converſe, that they may prevent falling into their hands; in haſt I conclude, and kiſs your hand, and I remain* 1674.

On board his Majeſties Ship
Henrietta at *Malta. March* 15*th*
167$\frac{4}{5}$.

Your
Humble
Servant
John Narbrough.

Sir *John Narbrough* having fitted himſelf at *Ligorne*, and recruited with an additional Squadron of ſix or ſeven Men of War he departed for *Tripoly*, taking under his Convoy, the *Vyner*, *Briſtol* Merchant, and Mediterranean for *Smyrna*; and now appearing before the Port of *Tripoly* in a formidable manner, the *Pyrates* began to repent of their late violation, knowing that they muſt now either diſgorge their ill got goods, or prove the evil effects of War; their hearts began now to fail them, ſo that they unrigged all their Ships, laying them up cloſe in the harbour, and with them for the preſent all thoughts of roving on the Seas; for ſuppoſing, that the *Engliſh* Ships could not lye alwaies in that Station, but that bad weather or want of proviſions would enforce them ſome time to retire, they hoped in that interval to find an opportunity to lanch into the Seas, where being clear, and good Saylors, they might have room enough to eſcape. Howſoever Sir *John Narbrough* with his Squadron, continued with ſuch diligence on the coaſt, plying them with continual allarms, ſtanding off to ſea at night, and towards the land in the day; that they found not the heart, nor opportunity to adventure abroad; until one of their Ships, which had formerly been their Rere-Admiral, bound with Negroes for the *Morea*; reſolved to hazard an eſcape; but not being able to make her paſſage good, ſhe was forced aſhoar, and burnt by our Ship, moſt of the Negroes falling into the *Engliſh* hands; ſome few days after Sir *John Narbrough* fired three of their Galeots, burnt a Satee, took a fiſher-boat and a Sambechin; with which ſucceſs being encouraged, and the Enemy affrighted, their Ships were blocked up in Port for ſome months, whilſt ours found free paſſage on the Seas; until that at length growing weary of ſo long a demorage, neceſſity drove them to adventure abroad, which two of their beſt Men of War ſucceſsfully effected on the 8*th* of *September* in deſpight of the *Engliſh* 1675. Squadron, being aſſiſted with calm weather, and help of their Oares: four others obſerving the ſucceſs of the former in a few days after attempted the like, and eſcaped in the ſame manner. And now the Commanders of *Engliſh* Ships in diverſe Ports, taking falſe meaſures, on confidence that the *Tripolines* were blocked up in their Ports, truſted themſelves with unadviſed ſecurity into the Seas; amongſt which none was ſo unfortunate, as a Ship called the *Briſtol* Merchant one *Plummer* Commander, laden with eighty two Bales of Silk, beſides other rich commodities bound from *Smyrna* to *Ligorne*, whereon were ſeveral Merchants, ſome of which having lived many years in *Smyrna* had acquired plentiful Eſtates:

1674. namely Mr. *John Foley*, Mr. *Thomas Laxton*, Mr. *Jacob Turner*, Mr. *Phillip Gell*, and Mr. *Tiſon* Nephew to Mr. *Foley*; Perſons who expected a proſperous Voyage, and a happy arrival in their own Country: But obſerve here the courſe of humane diſappointments, for being imbarked on the Ship aforeſaid they ſet Sail from *Smyrna* the 10*th* or 11*th* of *September* in company with the *Vyner* which happened to be about two or three days after the *Tripolines* had firſt broken out of their Port; theſe two Ships by bad weather, or want of due care loſt company each with other in the *Arche-pelago*, which proved a happy fortune to the *Vyner*; for the *Briſtol* Merchant, ſome few days after being off of *Cape Sapientia* encountred the two *Tripolines* which firſt came out of Port, and being Veſſels of forty to fifty Guns, ſoon made themſelves Maſters of a Merchant-ſhip laden, and of mean force. The *Tripolines* were greatly elevated with this rich prize which they immediately carried to a place called *Derno*; and there landing their goods, and men; for better ſecurity tranſported them over land to *Tripoli*. The Perſons we mentioned before, were forced for the moſt part to walk all the way a foot, being thirty four days journey, unleſs ſome times, they were favoured to mount a Camel, which is ſuch an unpleaſant way of riding, that walking is much more eaſie; and travailing in a ſandy, dry Country, water was very ſcarce, the days journies being commonly proportioned according to the diſtance of the Wells of Water; which they drank with better Appetites, and Pleaſure, then they formerly reliſhed the moſt pleaſant Wines. Being arrived at *Tripoli* they were ill wellcomed by the ſevere looks, and hard diet which they received from their Hoſts; and the Plague raging greatly in the City, added to the miſeries, and dread of the place.

The *Tripolines* encouraged with this prize, and with the expectation of the farther ſucceſs of their Ships abroad, hoped to weary out the *Engliſh* Squadron, which ſtill continued to infeſt and trouble their coaſts taking their Corn, Boats, and interrupting all Commerce which that Town had with the Sea. At length the *Engliſh* reſolved to make an attempt on the Ships in Harbour which they reſolutely performed in the night, and with great ſucceſs according to this relation which Sir *John Narbrough* gave under his own hand.

Friday the 14th *of* January 167$\frac{5}{6}$.

I *Being before* Tripoli, *in* Barbary *with his Majeſties Ships under my command, namely theſe,*

Harwich
Henrietta } Fregats
Portſmouth

Anne and Chriſtopher
Holmes. } Fire ſhips.

Guinny } Merchants Ships attending for
Martin } Convoy.

And ſeeing four of the Tripoly *Ships of* 1674.
War in the Port *of conſiderable force preparing to go out, and cruiſe, I fitted a fire-boat out of the fireſhips; and commanded, that all the boats of my Squadron being twelve in number, ſhould be manned, armed, and fitted with Fire-works alſo; I ordered a conſiderable Officer to be a Commander in every boat, and my Leintenant* Cloudiſly Shovel *to be Commander in chief of them all; for being reſolved by* Gods *permiſſion to attack the Enemy that night in* Port, *I gave inſtructions requiſite for ſuch a deſign. About twelve a clock in the night my boats reſolvedly entred the* Port, *took and ſeized the guard boat, and killed the people in her, boarded the Ships, and fired them, and utterly deſtroyed them all, ſome Turks and Moors ſlain, the reſt fled to ſave themſelves. Theſe four Ships lay under the Dey's Caſtle Walls, which was all that were in* Port, *except a* Tunis *Merchant Ship, which I ordered ſhould not be medled with and ſo eſcaped firing. This Action was performed in leſs then an hours time without ſuſtaining the leaſt damage on our ſide, then the expence of ſome Ammunition, Fire-works, and Fireboat, which were effectually beſtowed, as deſigned, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Turks, who endeavoured to impede our deſign, by plying ſeveral great and innumerable ſmall ſhot at our boats, and men, which were within Piſtol-ſhot of the Dey's own Caſtle, and Palace. Such was the wonderful mercy of* God *towards us, that not one man of ours, was killed, wounded or touched; nor a boat any way diſabled, but all returned in ſafety, bringing the Guard boat, two Moors, and the Turkiſh Colours of the four Ships in triumph along with them to my Ship. Our men employed in the boats on this occaſion were one hundred fifty and ſeven, they all behaving themſelves, as became Engliſhmen.*

To God alone be the Glory.

Names of the *Tripoly* Ships of War that were burnt with their Guns.

	Guns
White crowned Eagle	50
Looking-Glaſs	34
Sta Chiara	24
French Petach	20

Guard boat brought off with one Peterero, and two Moors in her.

I verily believe that in caſe I had landed at that time with five hundred men only I might have carried the City, for the Turks were ſo amazed, that they fled out of

1674. *it, they fired ſeveral great and ſmall ſhot all at random, without hurt to any of our men, God being pleaſed ſo to direct it.*

The 26th of January *I fired about one hundred ſhot into the City of* Tripoly *amongſt the Inhabitants.*

The firſt and third of February *I took and deſtroyed five Corn boats twenty Leagues to the Eaſtward of* Tripoly, *and landed and burned a Stack of wood and Timber, which was for building their new Ship, and ſome ſmall Maſts, and Yards, and ſome bags of bread brought off, and two Guns ſpiked, which could not be got off; it beginning to blow, and likely to be bad weather; ſo I was conſtrained to leave them, and repair on board, and leave the coaſt. The tenth of this Month the* Portſmouth *took a Sambechee in her ballaſt thirty Leagues to the Eaſtward of* Tripoly, *ſhe belonging to that Government, the Moors got all aſhoar but the Sambechee was brought to* Malta.

From aboard his Majeſties
Ship, *Harwich March*
the 18*th* 167¾.

John Narbrough.

The *Tripolines* being diſcouraged, and affrighted with this boldneſs and diligence of the *Engliſh*, and apprehending that they would always infeſt their coaſt, which would be an utter ruine, and deſtruction to them; and being touched in the moſt ſenſible parts of their intereſt, and welfare; they generally concluded, that there was now no ſafety, but by making a peace with the *Engliſh*: To farther which, and to aſſiſt in the Office of Mediation; it happened, that there was at the ſame time at *Tripoly*, one *Haſſe* bey, a great man of *Tunis*, who had been Dei of that Country; but being droven from thence by his Nephews, was come to *Tripoly* with an immenſe treaſure, intending afterwards to Tranſport himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, to make his aggreivances known at the Grand Signiors Court. Of this perſon we ſhall diſcourſe more at large hereafter; but in this place it is pertinent to relate, how inſtrumental he was to effect this peace in which he laboured with the greater zeal, that ſo by aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, he might find a ſpeedy and ſafe conveyance on their Ships of his Perſon, Goods, and Servants, into the *Morea*, from whence he deſigned by land to *Conſtantinople*. The Treaty being thus began; a peace was concluded between his Majeſties of Great Britain, *&c.* and *Halil Paſha*, *Ibrahim Dey*, *Aga*, *Divan* and Governors of the Noble City, and Kingdom of *Tripoly*, Dated the fifth of *March* 167¾. Being the laſt day of the Moon *Zelhedga*, and *Hegeira* 1086. By this inſtrument all the former Articles were again confirmed with addition of two others.

Firſt, that all Perſons taken under Engliſh Colours ſhould be delivered to Sir John Narbrough *and ſet at liberty without payment of any ranſom for them; under which notion, Mr.* Foley, *Mr.* Laxton, *Mr.* Turner, *Mr.* Gell, *and Mr.* Tiſon, *with the Captain and Sea-men taken on the* Briſtol *Merchant were freed; whoſe ranſom otherwiſe might have coſt dear, and perhaps almoſt the value of their private Eſtates.* 1674.

Secondly, That eighty thouſand Dollars (which was the account made of the value of goods, and Mony taken on the Martin *and* Hunter) *ſhould be made good to Sir* John Narbrough, *in Mony, or Goods, and Slaves. To which was adjoyned ſuch a ſubmiſſion, recantation, and acknowledgment for their late offence, and outrage, as teſtifyed the ſorrow of their true repentance, as we ſhall ſee more at large in their following Articles.*

And now the peace being concluded; Sir *John Narbrough* returned to *Malta*; and ſoon after came back to *Tripoly* to receive the remainder of the monies, and goods agreed for, the Slaves being delivered already. In this interim the ſix Ships which had formerly broken out of the harbour, and ſailed to the *Levant*, hearing of the peace, returned to *Tripoly*; where great feuds and diſſentions aroſe; the Souldiery accuſing *Ibrahim Dei*, nick named *Miſſer ogli* as the beginner and Author of the War, and for continuing it ſo long with obſtinacy, until they were reduced to their laſt extremity. In fine they threatned to cut him in Peices; but at length they were contented to caſhier him only from his Office; after which he fled into the *Morea* and their Vice-Admiral *Muſtapha Grande* was made *Dei* in his place; with whom, and with the Souldiers in general now returned; Sir *John Narbrough* renewed the Articles of Peace, and dated them the firſt of *May* 1676; which are theſe that follow,

Articles of Peace and Commerce between, *&c.*

Articles of Peace, and Commerce Between the moſt Serene, and Mighty Prince Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland* Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, *&c.* And the Moſt Illuſtrious Lords *Halil Baſſa*, *Ibraim Dei*, *Aga Divan*, and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of *Tripoly* in *Barbary* concluded by Sir *John Narbrough* Knight, Admiral of his Majeſties Fleet, in the Mediterranean Seas.

1. IN *the firſt place, It is Agreed, and Concluded, That from this day and for ever forward, There be a true, firm and Inviolable Peace, between the Moſt Serene*

1674. *King of* Great Britain France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Christian Faith,* &c. *And the most Illuſtrious Lords,* The Baſſa, Dai, Aga Divan, *and Governors of the City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary, *And between all the Dominions and Subjects of either ſide; And that the Ships, or other Veſſels, and the Subjects and People of both ſides, ſhall not from henceforth, do to each other, any harm, offence, or Injury in word or Deed, But ſhall Treat one another with all poſſible reſpect and Friendſhip?*

II. *That any of the Ships, or other Veſſels, belonging to the ſaid King of Great Brittain, or to any of his Majeſties Subjects, may ſafely come to the Port of* Tripoly, *or to any other Port or Place of that Kingdom, or Dominions thereunto belonging; freely to buy, and ſell without the leaſt Diſturbance; paying the uſual Cuſtoms as in former times hath been payd, for ſuch goods as they ſell; And for the goods they ſell not, they ſhall have free Liberty to carry on Board their own Ships without paying any Duties for the ſame; And when they pleaſe they ſhall freely Depart, from thence without any ſtop, hindrance or moleſtation whatſoever.*

III. *That all Ships and other Veſſels, as well thoſe belonging to the King of Great Brittain, or to any of his Majeſties Subjects, as alſo thoſe belonging to the People and Kingdom of* Tripoly, *ſhall freely paſs the Seas, and* traffick *where they pleaſe without any ſearch, hinderance, or moleſtation from each other; And that all Perſons and Paſſengers of what Country whatſoever; And all Monys, Goods, Merchandize and Moveables, to whatſoever People or Nation belonging; being on board any of the ſaid Ships or Veſſels, ſhall be wholly free, and ſhall not be ſtopped taken or* Plundred, *nor receive any harm or Damage whatſoever from either Party.*

IV. *That the* Tripoly *Ships of War, or other Veſſels thereunto belonging, meeting with any Merchant Ships, or other Veſſels of the King of Great Brittains Subjects, not being in any of the Seas appertaining to his Majeſties Dominions may ſend on board one ſingle boat, with but two Sitters, beſides the ordinary Crew of Rowers, and no more but the two Sitters to enter any of the ſaid Merchants Ships or any other Veſſels; without the Expreſs from the Commander of every ſuch Ship or Veſſel; And then upon producing them a Paſs under the hand and Seal of the Lord High Admiral of* England, *the ſaid Boat ſhall preſently Depart; And if the Merchant, Ship or Ships, Veſſel or Veſſels produce no Paſs from the Lord High Admiral of* England, *yet if the Major part of the ſaid Ships or Veſſels Company, be Subjects to the ſaid King of Great Britain, The ſaid Boat ſhall preſently Depart, And the Merchants Ship or Ships, Veſſel or Veſſels, ſhall proceed freely on her, or their Voyage, And if any of the ſaid Ships of War, or other Veſſels of his ſaid Majeſties meeting with any Ship or Ships, Veſſel or Veſſels belonging unto* Tripoly; *if the Commander or Commanders, of any ſuch Ship or Ships, Veſſel or Veſſels, ſhall produce a Paſs, Signed by the chief* Governor *of* Tripoly *and a Certificate from the* Engliſh *Conſul, living there, Or if they have no ſuch Paſs or Certificate yet if the Major part of their Ships Company or Companies, be Turks, Moors, or Slaves belonging to* Tripoly, *Then the ſaid* Tripoly *Ship or Ships, Veſſel or Veſſels ſhall proceed freely.* 1674.

V. *That no Commander, or other Perſon, of any Ship, or other Veſſel of* Tripoly, *ſhall take out of any Ship or Veſſel of his ſaid Majeſties Subjects, any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever to carry them any where, to be examined, or upon any other pretence, nor ſhall uſe any Torture or Violence to any Perſon of what Nation or quality whatſoever, being on Board any Ship or Veſſel, of his Majeſties Subjects upon any pretence whatſoever.*

VI. *That no Ship-wrack belonging to the King of Great Brittain or any of his Majeſties Subjects, upon any part of the coaſt belonging unto* Tripoly *ſhall be made or become a Prize. And that neither the goods thereof ſhall be ſeized, nor the Men made Slaves; But that all the People of* Tripoly, *ſhall do their beſt endeavours to ſave the ſaid Men and their Goods.*

VII. *That no Ship or any other Veſſel of* Tripoly *ſhall have permiſſion to be Delivered up, or to go to any place in* Enmity *with the ſaid King of Great Brittain, to be made uſe of as Coſairs or Sea Rovers againſt his ſaid Majeſties Subjects.*

VIII. *That none of the Ships or other ſmaler Veſſels of* Tripoly *ſhall remain Cruiſing, near his Majeſties City and* Garriſon *of* Tangier *or in ſight of it, nor any other way Diſturb the Peace and Commerce of that place.*

IX. *That if any Ship or Veſſel of* Tunis, Argier, Tittuan, *or* Salli, *or any other place being in War with the ſaid King of Great Brittain, bring any Ships or Veſſels, Men or Goods belonging to any of his ſaid Majeſties Subjects to* Tripoly, *or to any Port or Place within that Kingdom; The Governors there ſhall not permit them to* *to be ſold within the Territories of* Tripoly.

X. *That if any of the Ships of War, of the ſaid King of Great Brittain do come to* Tripoly *or to any other Port or Place of that Kingdom, with any Prize, they may freely ſell it, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of it, at their own pleaſure, without being moleſted by any; And that his Majeſties ſaid Ships of War, ſhall not be obliged to pay Cuſtome in any ſort; And that if they want Proviſions, Victuals, or any other things they may freely buy them at the rate in the Market.*

XI. *That when any of his ſaid Majeſties Ships of War ſhall appear before* Tripoly, *upon Notice thereof given to the* Engliſh *Conſul, or by the Commander of the ſaid Ships, to the chief Governors of* Tripoly; *Publick Proclamation ſhall be immediately made, to ſecure the Chriſtian Captives, And if after that any Chriſtians whatſoever make their eſcape, on board any of the Ships of War; They ſhall not be required back again, Nor ſhall the ſaid Conſul, or Commander, or any other his Majeſties Subjects, be obliged to pay any thing for the ſaid Chriſtians.*

XII. *That if any Subject of the* King *of Great Brittain, happen to dye in* Tripoly, *or its Territories, his Goods or Monys, ſhall not be ſeized by the Governors or any Miniſters of* Tripoly, *but ſhall all remain with the* Engliſh *Conſul.*

XIII. *That neither the* Engliſh *Conſul, nor any other Subject of the ſaid King of Great Brittain ſhall be bound to pay the Debts of any other of his Majeſties Subjects; Except that they become ſurety for the ſame by a Publick Act.*

XIV. *That the Subjects of his ſaid Majeſty in* Tripoly, *or its Territories in matter of Controverſie, ſhall be lyable to no other Juriſdictions but that of the* Dai, *or* Divan, *except they happen to be at Difference between themſelves; In which caſe they ſhall be lyable to no other Determination, but that of the Conſul only.*

XV. *That in caſe any Subject of his Majeſty, being in any part of the Kingdom of* Tripoly, *happen to ſtrike, wound or kill, a* Turk *or a* Moor *(if he be taken) he is to be puniſhed in the ſame manner, and with no greater Severity, than a* Turk *ought to be (being guilty) of the ſame offence; But if he eſcape, Neither the ſaid* Engliſh *Conſul, nor any other of his ſaid Majeſties Subjects, ſhall be in any ſort queſtioned or troubled therefore.*

XVI. *That the* Engliſh *Conſul, now or at any time hereafter living in* Tripoly *ſhall be there at all times, with entire freedom, and ſafety of his Perſon and Eſtate, and ſhall be permitted to chuſe his own Druggerman, and Broaker, And freely to go on board any Ship in the Road, as often, and when he pleaſes; And to have the Liberty of the Country; and that he ſhall be allowed a place to pray in; And that no Man ſhall do him any Injury in Word or Deed.*

XVII. *That not only during the Continuance of this Peace and Friendſhip, but likewiſe (if any Breach or War) happen to be hereafter between the ſaid King of Great Brittain, and the City and Kingdom of* Tripoly, *The ſaid Conſul and all other his ſaid Majeſties Subjects, ſhall always and at all times, both of Peace and War, have full and abſolute Liberty to Depart and go to their own, or any other Country, upon any Ship or Veſſel of what Nation ſoever, they ſhall think fit, and to Carry with them, all their Eſtates, Goods, Families, and Servants, (although born in the Country,) without any Interruption or hindrance.*

XVIII. *That no Subject of his ſaid Majeſty being a Paſſenger, from, or to any Port ſhall be any way moleſted or medled with, although he be on Board, any Ship or Veſſel in Enmity with* Tripoly.

XIX. *That whereas a War hath lately happened, between the moſt Serene King of Great Brittain, and the moſt Illuſtrious Lords* Halil Baſſa, Ibraim Dai, *The Aga* Divan, *and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary; *by reaſon of the Injuries done unto the King of Great Brittain and his Subjects, by the Government and People of* Tripoly *contrary to the Articles of Peace; We* Halil Baſſa, Ibraim Dai, Aga Divan, *and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary, *do acknowledge the Injuries done; And that the Breach of the Peace, between his moſt Excellent Majeſty of Great Brittain, and Us of* Tripoly *was committed by our Subjects, for which ſome are baniſhed and ſome fled from our Juſtice; And for further Satisfaction to his moſt Excellent Majeſty for the Breach of Articles we are ſorry for the ſame, and do by theſe engage to ſet at Liberty and Deliver unto the Right Honourable Sir* John Narbrough *Knight, Admiral of his Majeſties Fleet, in the Mediterranian Sea; All Engliſh Captives, Reſiding in the City and Kingdom of* Tripoly, *and Dominions thereunto belonging, without paying any Ranſom for them; And likewiſe by ſetting at Liberty and delivering unto the ſaid Sir* John Narbrough *Knight,*

all

1674 *all other Perſons taken under* Engliſh *Colours without paying any Ranſom for them, And by paying eighty thouſand Dollars in Mony, Goods, and Slaves, to the aforeſaid Sir* John Narbrough *Knight: And moreover we do engage our ſelves and ſucceſſors, That if any Injuries for the future be done, contrary to theſe Articles, by the Government and People of* Tripoly, *to the King of Great Britain and his Subjects, if upon demand of ſatisfaction from the Government, and people of* Tripoly; *We, or they refuſe, or deny to give ſatisfaction therefore, ſo that a War be occaſioned thereby, between the King of* Great Britain, *and the Government and people of* Tripoly; *We do engage our ſelves and ſucceſſors to make reſtitution for the Injuries done, and likewiſe to make ſatisfaction to the King of Great Britain for the full charge and damage of that War.*

XX. *That no Subject of the King of Great Britain*, &c. *ſhall be permitted to turn Turk or Moor in the City and Kingdom of* Tripoly, *being induced thereunto by any ſurprizal whatſoever, unleſs he voluntarily appear before the* Dei, *or Governor with the* Engliſh *Conſuls Druggerman three times in twenty four hours ſpace, and every time Declare his Reſolution, to turn Turk or Moor.*

XXI. *That at all times, when any Ship of War of the King of* Great Britain, &c. *carrying his ſaid Majeſties Flag at the main-top-maſt-head, appear before the City of* Tripoly, *and come to Anchor in the Road, That immediately after notice thereof given, by his ſaid Majeſties Conſul or Officer from the Ship, unto the* Dei *and Government of* Tripoly; *They ſhall in honour to his Majeſty cauſe a Salute of one and twenty Cannons to be ſhot off, from the Caſtles and Forts of the City, and that the ſaid Ship ſhall return an Anſwer by ſhooting of the ſame Number of Cannons.*

XXII. *That preſently after the Signing and Sealing of theſe Articles, by us* Halil Baſſa, Ibraim Dei, Aga Divan, *and Governors of the Noble Kingdoms and City of* Tripoly, *all Injuries, and Damages ſuſtained on either part, ſhall be quiet taken away and forgotten, and this Peace ſhall be in full force and vertue, and continue for ever, And for all Depredations, and Damages, that ſhall hereafter be Committed, or done by either ſide, before Notice can be given of this Peace, full ſatisfaction be immediately made, And whatſoever remains in kind ſhall inſtantly be reſtored.*

1674 XXIII. *That whatſoever ſhall happen hereafter, that any thing is done or committed, by the Ships or Subjects of either ſide contrary to any of theſe Articles (Satisfaction being Demanded therefore) ſhall be made to the full, and without any manner of Delay, and that it ſhall not be Lawful to break this Peace, unleſs ſuch ſatisfaction be denyed, and our Faith ſhall be our Faith, and our word, our word, and whoſoever ſhall be the Cauſe of the breaking of this Peace ſhall aſſuredly be puniſhed with preſent Death.*

Confirmed and Sealed in the Preſents of Almighty God, the fifth day of *March* Old Stile, and in the year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, one thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy five, Being the laſt day of the Moon *Zelheldga*, and the year of the *Hegeira* on thouſand and eighty ſix.

Whereas there were ſeveral Articles of Peace and Commerce, between the moſt Serene and Mighty Prince Charles *the Second, by the Grace of God King of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Chriſtian Faith*, &c. *And the moſt Illuſtrious Lords* Halil Baſſa, Ibraim Dei, Aga Divan, *and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary, *lately made and concluded by the ſaid Lords, on the one part; And by Sir* John Narbrough *Knight, Admiral of his ſaid Serene Majeſties Fleet in the Mediterranean Seas, on the other part, and by them confirmed and Sealed in the Preſence of Almighty God, the fifth day of* March, *Old Stile, And in the year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt* 167$\frac{4}{5}$ *being the laſt day of the Moon* Zelhedga, *And the year of the* Hegeira 1086.

Since which time of Confirming and Sealing the aforeſaid Articles of Peace, and Commerce, The aforeſaid Lord Ibraim Dei, *being fled away from the Government, of the City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary.

Now we Halil Baſſa, Aga Divan *Governors, Souldiers and People of the aforeſaid City and Kingdom of* Tripoly, *have Chooſen and Elected Vice Admiral* Muſtapha Grande *to be* Dei *of the aforeſaid City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *to ſucceed* Ibraim Dei, *in the aforeſaid Government.*

And now we Halil Baſſa, Aga Divan, *and Governors, Souldiers and People of* Tripoly *aforeſaid, having ſeen the aforeſaid Articles*

Articles of Peace and Commerce which were lately made and concluded as aforeſaid; And having ſeriouſly perus'd and fully conſidered all particulars therein mentioned, Do fully approve of all and every the aforeſaid Articles of Peace, *and we and every one of us do now by theſe preſents, conſent and agree to and with Sir* John Narbrough *Knight aforeſaid, for the juſt and exact keeping and performing of the ſaid Articles; And do accept, approve, ratifie, and confirm all and every of them in the ſame manner and form as they are incerted and repeated in the preceding Articles aforeſaid; hereby firmly engaging our ſelves, and ſucceſſors, aſſuring on our faith ſacredly to maintain and ſtrictly to obſerve, perform, and keep inviolably all and every the aforeſaid Article and Articles of* Peace *and Agreements for ever. And to cauſe and require all our Subjects and people of what degree or quality whatſoever, within the City or Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary; *or Dominions thereunto belonging, both by Sea and Land punctually, inviolably, carefully and duly to obſerve, keep, and perform all and every the aforeſaid Article, and Articles, thereof for ever: And our Faith ſhall be our Faith, and our word our word, and whoſoever ſhall at any time violate and break any part of the ſaid Article, or Articles of* Peace, *they ſhall be aſſuredly puniſhed, with greateſt ſeverity, and his or their heads ſhall be immediately cut off; and forthwith be preſented unto any Officer whom the moſt Serene King of* Great *Britain,* &c. *ſhall Authorize, to make Demand thereof.*

It is further agreed that the Subjects belonging unto the moſt ſerene King of Great Britain &c. *Trading unto the Port of the City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary *aforeſaid, or to any Port or Place of the Dominions thereunto belonging; in any Merchants Ship or other Veſſel belonging to the ſaid Serene Kings Subjects ſhall not pay ſo much Cuſtom by one* per Cent. *for whatſoever* Goods *or Merchandize they ſell or buy; as other Nations do for the Cuſtoms of the like Goods, or Merchandize, notwithſtanding whatſoever is Specified in the Second Article aforeſaid to the contrary.*

And that the moſt Serene King of Great Britains Conſul reſiding in Tripoly *aforeſaid, ſhall have Liberty at all times, when he pleaſeth to put up his ſaid Serene Majeſties Flag, on the Flag-ſtaff on the Top of his Houſe, and thereto continue it ſpread as long time as he pleaſeth; likewiſe the ſaid Conſul to have the ſame Liberty of putting up and ſpreading the ſaid Flag in his Boat, when he paſſeth on the Water, and no Man whatſaever to* Oppoſe, *Moleſt, Diſturb, or Injury him therein either by Word or Deed.*

Theſe and all other preceding Articles are to remain firm for ever, without any alteration; and in all other particulars not mentioned in any of theſe Articles, the Regulation ſhall be according to the Capitulation general with the Grand Signior.

Confirmed likewiſe and Sealed in the Preſence of Almighty God, at our Caſtle in the noble City and Kingdom of Tripoly *in* Barbary, *the firſt day of* May *Old Stile, and in the year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt* 1676, *being the twenty ſixth day of the Moon* Zaphire, *and the year of the* Hegeira 1080.

Halil Baſſa's Seal, Muſtapha Dei's Seal,
Aga's Seal, Ally Admiral's Seal.

A True Coppy Examined out of
Sir John Narbroughs.

Thomas Fowler.

HAving thus related the original cauſe, proceedings, and concluſion of our War with *Tripoly*. Let us Travel to *Tunis*; which though ſince the year 1655 hath ever maintained Peace with *England*, yet the civil diſſentions among themſelves have adminiſtred unto us Subject of diſcourſe, and more eſpecially, ſince it hath ſome relation to *Hoſſe-bey*, whom formerly we named, as Mediator of the Peace between Us, and *Tripoly*.

Civil War at Tunis *in* Barbary.

On the ſixth of *September* 1675. *Morat Bei* General of all the Land Forces in the Kingdom of *Tunis* dyed, the moſt Politick, and Popular Perſon, that ever mannaged that Office, his Sons *Ciddi Mehmet* and *Ciddi Ali* by the general approbation, and conſent of the Souldiery joyntly ſucceeding him in that charge. But the ambition of theſe two young Gallants would admit no union in the Government; the Elder would know no equal, and the younger no ſuperior, ſo that it was neceſſary for one to govern, or both to be laid aſide: the deciſion of which was referred to a full Aſſembly of the *Turks*. In the mean time *Hoſſey-bey* Brother to *Morat* deceaſed, and Uncle to the two Competitors, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, offered himſelf a Candidate for the place; and ſo operated with the force of mony, and with aſſiſtance of the younger Nephew who would rather yield to an Uncle, then to a brother, that he clearly carried the election by the common ſuffrages of the people. The Elder Son *Ciddi Mehmet* not enduring the indignity to be thus degraded took the field and ſet up his ſtandard; After him followed all his Fathers Old *Spahees* and the *Moors* abroad came into him, ſo that in a few days he became ſo formidable as to give Laws to the *Dei* and People of *Tunis*; obliging them immediately to baniſh his Uncle, and to receive him as ſole, and abſolute General of all the Land Souldiery in thoſe Dominions *Hoſſe-bey* not being able to reſiſt this force,

poſted

1674 poſted away with ſuch expedition that he adventured to embark himſelf, retinue and treaſure (which as was reported being modeſtly calculated, amounted to three millions of Dollars) on no better a Veſſel, then a *French Satee* for *Tripoli*; where he was honourably received by that Government; and Letters ſent from them to the young *Bei* at *Tunis*, mediating for the return of his Uncle, with promiſe, that he ſhould live quietly, and give no interruption to the courſe of his Government; but *Ciddi Mehmet* reſolving not to truſt him, poſitively declared againſt his readmiſſion, as not conſiſtent with his Government, and Safety.

It happened at this time that the *Engliſh* had War with *Tripoly*, and blocked up the Port; and that afterwards a Peace enſuing; (*Hoffſe-bey*) (as we ſaid before,) ſhowed himſelf very forward, and zealous in the Mediation; which taking effect; he was afterwards together with his retinue tranſported on the *Briſtol Fregat* Commanded by Sir *John Berry* to *Modon* in the *Morea*, from whence he went by Land to carry his Complaints to *Conſtantinople*; whilſt the *Briſtol Fregat* proceeded to *Smyrna*, to receive the *Turky* Companies Ships under Convoy for *England*.

Hoffſe-bey being arrived at the Grand Signiors Court prepared an eaſie and ready acceſs to the Grandees, by the great Preſents, he ſent them; which being the only means to mollify and make tender the hearts of *Turks*; he found upon all his addreſſes ſuch reſentments, and compaſſionate feelings of his aggreivances that if aſſurances in words, and promiſes would do his work, he might be aſcertained of engaging the entire power, and puiſſance of the Empire for his re-eſtabliſhment. The news of *Hoffſe-bey*; being gone to addreſs himſelf to the Turkiſh Court for relief much perplexed the Government at *Tunis*; and at the ſame time the plague deſperately raging there, made them ſick, and infirm both in body, and mind: wherefore after ſerious conſiderations and debates hereupon; it was concluded neceſſary, to Fight *Hoffſe* with his own Weapons; and immediately to diſpatch away four Ships for *Conſtantinople* with Meſſengers, and Preſents to the Grand Signior and his Officers being the only means to open the reaſons and underſtandings of the *Turks*, and make them as well capable to comprehend the juſtice of their cauſe, as to reconcile their affections. The four Ships arriving at *Conſtantinople*, were ſeized on, at the inſtance of *Hoffſe-bey*; and he declaring, that thoſe Ships were belonging to him, and his own proper Eſtate, eaſily procured a judgment in his favour; and the Captains of them being called to the *Divan*, were Commanded to own *Hoffſe-bey* for their Maſter, and to obey him as their Paſha, and abſolute Lord under the Grand Signior. It was too late, when at *Tunis* they apprehended the Error they had Committed, in ſending theſe four Ships to *Conſtantinople*; which now upon more ſerious conſideration then the former they expected to return freighted with armed Men, and Imperial Commands to re-eſtabliſh *Hoffſe-bey* in the Government of which, and of what was farther preparing at the Ottoman Court, that they might have good advice; they diſpatched two Meſſengers for *Conſtantinople* on a French *Satee*, which they had freighted for that purpoſe, to Land them at *Smyrna*; where being 1674 arrived they addreſſed themſelves to me, then Conſul there, bringing me Letters of recommendation from friends at *Tunis* to aſſiſt and help them in all their occurences. I was well informed in all particulars concerning the ſucceſs, and motions of *Hoffſe-bey* at *Conſtantinople*, and I did not omit to relate all matters diſtinctly to them; for not long before, I had occaſion to be acquainted with *Hoffſe-bey* himſelf having at his earneſt requeſt found means to furniſh him with the Sum of three thouſand Dollars, upon a good Pawn of Gold, and Jewels; amongſt which there was a Fetlock of Gold enameled, and ſet with Diamonds, juſt in the form and faſhion of thoſe, which we put on our horſes, when they go to graſs; and this, I underſtood, was one of the Ornaments, which they put on the Ancle of the Bride on the marriage day; I know not whether it were to grace her legs, as bracelets do our wriſts, or to put her in mind of her ſervitude, ſo ſoon as ſhe ſubmits to Wedlock. I acquainted them, as I ſaid, with all matters: That the Grand Signior, and his Officers, had greatly reſented the ſufferings of *Hoffſe-bey* and that they owned his cauſe, having ſtopt the four Ships of *Tunis* at *Conſtantinople*; and had promiſed to furniſh him with a whole Chamber of Janiſaries, with a Licence to raiſe ſuch Voluntiers on the Sea-coaſt of *Aſia*, as would willingly, and of their own accord follow his Colours. I had not many days given them this intelligence, which others confirmed in like manner; before *Hoffſe-bey* himſelf with his four men of War and two other hired Ships arrived in the Port of *Smyrna*: where having ſtayed ſome days to take in proviſions, and embark thoſe who had liſted themſelves for his ſervice in thoſe Parts; they departed for *Tunis*, touching at *Scio*, *Navarine*, and *Tripoly*, in their Way, reinforcing themſelves with ſuch, as voluntarily followed their Standard. The Meſſengers poſted back with all ſpeed, on a Veſſel hired at *Smyrna*; and arriving ſome time before *Hoffſe-bey*, rendered an account of the treatment which he had found at *Conſtantinople*, with the particulars of the forces he brought with him. The *Tuneſines* being prepared with this intelligence, took courage to oppoſe a handful of men, to whom they refuſed Licenſe ſo much as to one man of them to land; only out of reſpect to the Grand Signior's Commands, they were willing to admit *Hoffſe-bey* to a treaty; and to receive him aſhoar with three or four Servants and Companions; They ſleightly peruſed his Papers, rather to diſcover his ſtrength, and the progreſs of his negotiations, then with intentions to condeſcend in the leaſt to his deſires; which having done, and given permiſſion to ſee his houſe, and viſit his wife, and children; they haſtned him again aboard; and all the Country being in Arms, they threatned to treat him and his People, as Enemies, if they adventured to make a deſcent. *Hoffſe-bey* being diſcouraged with this rude Treatment, and with the Union, and general Confederacy of the people againſt him contrary to his expectations; returned to *Navarine*; where he landed, diſcharged his Ships, and Souldiers, which lay too heavy upon a Private Purſe, and retired himſelf for ſome time with much melancholy and diſcontent; at length he travelled again to *Conſtantinople*, where the Turkiſh Officers attended

1675. tended his coming with open mouths, expecting to ſhare once more in the recruits he had brought with him from *Tunis*. But his ſtock being low, he was not able to diſpenſe his mony, and preſents ſo generouſly, and plentifully as before; which the *Turks* perceiving fell much in their reſpects for him, and ſtrangly on a ſuddain loſt wholly the zeal and compaſſion for his cauſe; ſuffering him to live at *Conſtantinople* in the Condition of a private Aga. In the mean time the diſturbances, and civil diſſentions ran high at *Tunis*: the two Brothers waging War with various and interchangeable ſucceſs, cauſed ſuch agitions in the State, that in three months time four *Deys* were cut off. At length the younger Brother *Ciddi Ali* gaining the Victory, and always inclining towards his Uncle, conſented that he ſhould be recalled from *Conſtantinople*; whereupon four Ships were fitted at *Porto Farina*, to carry preſents of atonement to *Conſtantinople*, and to bring *Hoſſey-bey* from thence with Title of Paſha; whom the people now, expected with great impatience, as the only Perſon, whoſe Preſence and Authority was able to ſettle, and reſtore them to their former quietneſs and union. This happened in the year 1677; when the Country was ſo harraſſed with Civil Wars, that a miſerable Famine enſued; ſo that a Caffice of Wheat which was ten Buſhels, was ſold for twenty eight Dollars, and of Barly for fourteen: and the ſcarcity of this Country which is commonly the Granary of *Italy*, had ſuch influence on thoſe parts and *Spain*, in the years 1677 and 1678 that the State of the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany* ſuffered much thereby; and had more, had not the State of *Luca* out of Friendſhip, and on the ſcore of Neighbourhood relieved their neceſſities.

Anno 1675. *Hegeira* 1086.

Propoſitions of peace not being ſo earneſtly preſſed, nor ſo advantageouſly proffered by the Poles, as the pride of the Turks did expect, the War ſtill continued, but not proſecuted either on the one ſide or on the other with the ſame violence with which it began. For the Sultan deſigning this year to circumciſe his Son, the young Prince, now about twelve years of Age, and to marry his Daughter of ſeven to his Moſayp, or Favourite, Paſha of *Magnaſia*, commonly called by the Name of *Kul-ogli*, which ſignifies the Son of a Slave, he reſolved to dedicate this whole Year to quiet repoſe, mirth, and jollity at home, only two thouſand Janiſaries were ſent to *Ibrahim* Paſha to recruit the Souldiers on the Frontiers of *Poland*, and the Tartars were reinforced with ſome Turkiſh Troops under *Uſuff* Paſha to aſſiſt *Doroſensko* againſt the Poles, who were with a conſiderable Army fallen into *Ukrania*; And the Captain Paſha, with twenty eight Sail of Gallies, was diſpeeded into the Black Sea for carrying of ſuch Proviſions and Ammunition for War as was neceſſary for ſupply of the Army: Beſides which, no preparations of War were deſigned, theſe being judged ſufficient, though not to conquer, yet at leaſt to repreſs the Incurſions, and amuſe or keep the Armes of the Enemy employed.

1675. *The happy State of the Ottoman Court.*

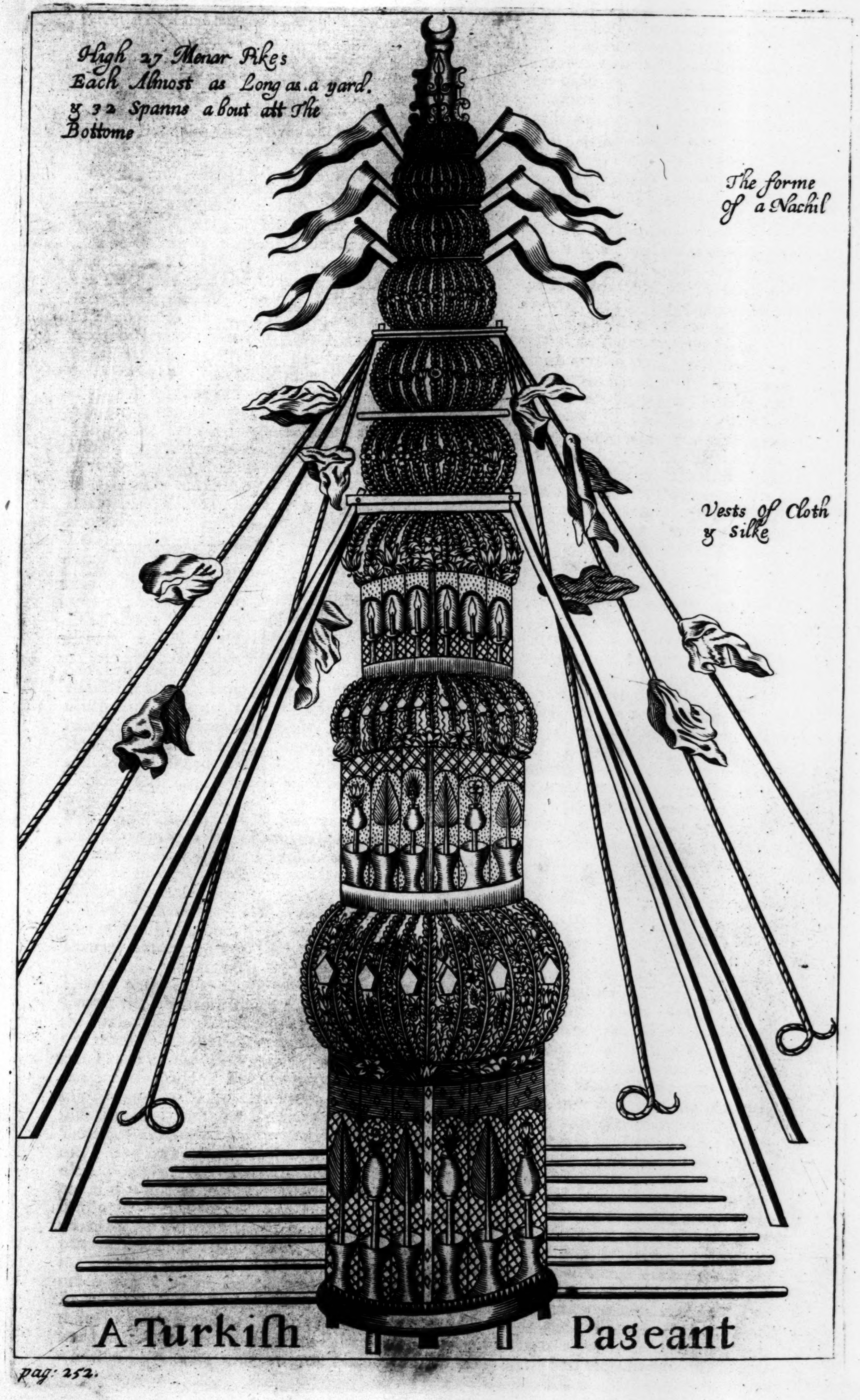
For at the Ottoman Court the face of all things was become ſerene and calm, no Seditions of great men, nor diſcontents of the people, nor black and cruel deſigns of State diſturbed or clouded the ſplendour of the Solemnities, or the brows of the great Statiſts, but all matters ran in an uninterrupted courſe of Joy and Feſtivity. The Sultan, who in his action ſhewed himſelf a moſt benign Prince, ſparing and compaſſionate of the blood and miſery of his Subjects, hath, ſince his arrival to a mature Age, exerciſed a wiſe manner of Government, ſevere and juſt, and yet void of the cruelty and tyranny of his Anceſtors; under whom the trading Chriſtian enjoyed the privilege of their Capitulations with more juſtice, and leſs frequent Avanias. The Vizier alſo, and other great Officers, being ſenſible of the benefit which Trade begat, treated Merchants with more gentleneſs and reſpect than in former times, their Ships not being forced on every occaſion into the Grand Signior's ſervice, but rather perſwaded to it by rewards and fair promiſes, otherwiſe than in the times of former Viziers; and it is to be wiſhed alſo that the like might be ſaid under the Government of thoſe which are to ſucceed; though if we look forward to the years 1678 and 1679 we ſhall find the Scene of things altered, and not only Merchants, but even Ambaſſadors, and the Repreſentatives themſelves, remain under ſad diſcouragements. Amongſt theſe joys and gentle ways of Government, the manner of this Court was much altered; the Divan had not for two months ſpace been opened for buſineſs, to the great prejudice and interruption of Juſtice. Wine, that great abomination to the Turkiſh Law, which four years paſt was by the Imperial Decree forbidden under pain of Death and a thouſand Execrations and Curſes, was now the common Drink, and divertiſement in faſhion, uſed immoderately by all, excepting the Grand Signior, the Mufti, and Reis Effendi; the Vizier himſelf having been exceſſively intemperate therein, had extinguiſhed the natural heat of his ſtomach, which could be warmed by no leſs heat than what proceeds from *Aqua Vitæ*; by which debauchery and indiſpoſition all Buſineſſes were ſlowly and negligently diſpatched, and according to his example the Officers and Miniſters acted in their Affairs, which in former times being always diſpatched by nine a Clock in the Morning, that became now the time and hour of riſing.

The Grand Signior himſelf, though not taught by his Attendants to drink Wine, leſt it ſhould perhaps betray him to ſome actions dangerous to them, gave himſelf to Amours; for falling in love with a Poliſh Woman, lately captivated at *Kemenitz*, he made her his Second Haſakee or Sultaneſs; for having had the good fortune to bring him a Son, that honour was the reward of her fruitfulneſs; and that he might give other teſtimonies of his favour, he caſt his eyes on a poor Chinganee, or Gipſy Boy, who with ſinging and dancing ſo pleaſed him, that he gave him ſix purſes of money containing three thouſand Dollars, with Horſes and Servants, and took him into the Seraglio. Amidſt theſe Delights the Grand Signior gave order to the Vizier not to ſpeak to him of three things: Neither of returning to *Conſtantinople*, nor againſt his Favourite, nor againſt his Hunting; in other matters he might uſe freedom.

Another alteration of a better nature, with reference to Learning and Knowledge, ſeems alſo remarkable in this Court; for the Grand Signior having been ſome years paſt preſented by the Dutch Reſident, with twelves large Volumes of the new *Atlas*, upon an accidental ſight thereof was ſo pleaſed, that he commanded it ſhould ſpeedily be tranſlated into Turkiſh; to which Work Dr. *Alexandro Mauro Cordato*, the Viziers Interpreter, who ſucceeded in the place of *Panaioti* deceaſed, was nominated; but he finding it too unweildy for him, deſired the aſſiſtance of a French Jeſuit, then at *Scio*, skilful in the Turkiſh and Arabick Languages, who was immediately ſent for, and therein employed; and though it is thought, that this buſineſs is above their Element, and that it will ſoon cool and be neglected, yet it ſeems to be the firſt ſtep which the Turks have made unto Learning, and therefore is the more obſervable.

The great Feſtivals in what manner celebrated at the Turkiſh Court.

And now the Feſtivals beginning on the 16*th*. of *May*, we muſt for ſome days lay aſide all buſineſs, and obſerve with what order and form theſe Solemnities were performed. In the firſt place. On this day the Grand Signior, with the young Prince his Son, went to their Tents, which were pitched very ſumptuouſly in the Plain near the City, and indeed were truly ſtately and magnificent; all the great men, as the Vizier, Mufti, and others, having their Pavilions erected; amongſt which was raiſed a very ſtately Throne, with a Canopy of Cloth of Gold, extended under the ſhady leavineſs of two tall Elms, which, ſet off with many Lamps, in the Night repreſented a very pleaſant and glorious Scene. On this Seat of State the Sultan placed himſelf in the morning, being accompanied thither by all the Paſhaws then preſent, and by the Rrepreſentatives of thoſe who were abſent; who according to their Degree, in order kiſſing his Veſt, delivered in a Silk Purſe, a Note or Schedule of their Preſents, which were afterwards put into the Tefterdar's or Lord Treaſurers hands to ſee and compare them with the particulars received; which were ſo great and conſiderable, that they far ſurpaſſed the Charges and Diſburſments of the Solemnity. Oppoſite to the Tents were ſeveral poles fixed, between which at Night were hung Lamps of ſeveral ſhapes, which being varied every Night made a very pleaſing and magnificent Object; by light of which in the Evening were exerciſed ſeveral tricks of Activity, as Wreſtlings, Dancing, and Singing, and ſometimes were acted Turkiſh Comedies, which conſiſt only of Farces, and ſome ridiculous Dialogues, and at laſt the divertiſements of the night concluded with Fire-works, which were ſo many, that (as reported) 240 men were employed for four months time in the making of them, and yet there are better made in Chriſtendom; only one ſeemed to excel the reſt, being a ſort of Rocket, which went up very high, without any tail of fire, like the common ones, carrying only a ſmall compacted Globe of red fire like a Star, and making no noiſe in mounting, but raiſed to its height, breaks. Theſe were the paſtimes of the Night; in the day time all the ſeveral Arts and Trades, ſome one day, and ſome another, paſſed before the Tents, every one offering their Preſents, as they paſſed, repreſenting by ſome kind of Pageant and Proceſſion their diverſities of Trade: this continued for fifteen days. On the 25*th*. of this inſtant *May*, was a ſolemn Cavalcade, in which marched the Janiſaries with all their chief Officers, Chiauſes, and Mutafaracas, &c. And of the Great Men, the Vizier, Mufti, and *Kul-ogli* the Favourite, the firſt on the right hand, and the ſecond in the middle; after them followed the young Prince who was to be circumciſed, extraordinary rich in the Furniture of his Horſe, and the number and largeneſs of the Diamonds, which were on his Tulbant and Breaſt. In this Cavalcade were carried twenty four ſmall Nachils, and two large ones, as high as the Maſt of a Ship, which were carried by a hundred Slaves, and ſet before the Seraglio, which are in form of triumphant Pyramids, adorned with Tinſils in thirteen Diviſions, according to this following Form or Deſcription.


High 27 Menar Pikes
Each Almost as Long as a yard.
& 32 Spanns a bout att The
Bottome
The forme
of a Nachil
Vests of Cloth
& silke

A Turkiſh Pageant

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On the 27*th.* being the day of *Mahomet's* Birth, the Grand Signior rode publickly to the Moſch of Sultan *Selim*, having no other attendance than the Retinue of his own Court; his Pages were very rich in Cloth of Gold, each carrying a Feather ſtudded with a rich Jewel on his Head; after the Grand Signior rode the young Prince, who that Night was circumciſed. During this Feſtival, a vaſt number of people was fed at the charge of the Grand Signior, and about two thouſand circumciſed, every one of which had a Quilt given him, with a ſmall pay of three Aſpers a day for his Life.

The manner of the Marriage of the Grand Signior's Daughter.

This Solemnity for the Circumciſion being ended, on the 10*th.* of *June* began the Feaſt for the Marriage. The Kuzlir Aga, who is the black Eunuch of the Women, was Bridegroom or Compare to the young Princeſs, and the Teſterdar or Lord Treaſurer to *Kul-ogli*, both which in the name of the Bride and Bridegroom went before the Lord Chief Juſtice called the Kadeleſcher, and by him had the Articles of Marriage wrote, and paſſed into publick Act; which being done, the Preſents were ſent, and firſt thoſe from the Bridegoom to the Bride, which were theſe, a great number of Beaſts and Birds ill-favouredly made in Sugar, thirty Mules laden with two Cheſts of Sweet-meats a piece, and about their necks each carried a Veſt of Sattin for the Muletiers, then were carried a great many Pots of Sherbet, then an hundred and twelve men carrying Veſts of Silk, Cloth, Velvet, and Cloth of Gold, ſome had three, ſome five or ſix at leaſt wrapt up in Linen; then went five Horſes, one with rich Furniture; then followed a noble Veſt of Cloth of Gold lined with Sables and nine Buttons and Loops on a ſide embroidered with large Pearl, on the top of which on the one ſide was a very large Diamond, and on the other a Saphire, with Shoes, Boots, and Pattens for the Bagno, all covered with Pearl; likewiſe two Dreſſing-boxes, with Looking-glaſſes, and a Cap in form of a Crown, a little Cabinet embroidered all over with Pearl, eight Girdles ſet with Emeralds, Rubies, and Diamonds, a large Diamond-ring, a pair of Pendants of two great Emeralds, with many other particulars, which in paſſage were impoſſible to be remembred.

Theſe Preſents being thus performed on the part of the Bridegroom to his Bride, the next Preſents concerned the Grand Signior to his Daughter, which were in place of her Dowry according to the cuſtom of the Eaſtern Countries: wherefore the 19*th.* of this month the Preſents were uſhered with a moſt ſolemn Cavalcade of all the Grandees of the Court to the Houſe of the Bridegroom, which were two Gardens made of Sugar, forty little Nachils, eighty ſix Mules laden with Houſhold-ſtuff, ten men with her Dreſſings, as Boots, Shoes, &c. embroidered with Pearl as the former; then were carried her Jewels ſet in Girdles, Bracelets, &c. promiſcuouſly together, not in that rule as thoſe were which were ſent her by the Bridegroom. The Houſhold-ſtuff was made up with coverts, yet howſoever ſome parts were left open on the ſides, to ſhew that the Cuſhions were embroidered with Pearl, and others were of Velvet embroidered with Gold. At laſt came twelve Coaches with Slaves and thirty ſix black Eunuchs. The 23*d.* the Bride was conducted to her Bridegrooms Palace with a ſolemn Cavalcade, with two great Nachils of the ſame form and bigneſs as thoſe carried at the Cavalcade of the Prince, with two ſmaller ones of Silver. The Bride was ſeated in a handſom Coach drawn with ſix Horſes, and covered with Plates of Silver, and the ſides adorned with long Streamers of Tinſel: before which went the Kuzlir Aga or chief black Eunuch of of the Women: after followed four Coaches, with Six Horſes apiece, and twenty one more with four Horſes, each carrying two Eunuchs: than at ſome diſtance off came the Haſakee or Queen-Mother to the Bride in a Coach all covered with Plates of Silver, and attended with ten other Coaches more: the night following the Bride was conducted to the Nuptial Chamber in ceremony only, ſhe not being yet ripe for conſummation of Marriage: all which Solemnity was attended at the Bridegrooms Court, with the ſame Sports and Fire-works which were made at the Tents, with an addition of dancing on the Ropes, and ſliding down a Rope faſtned to the top of the Steeple of the Moſch of Sultan *Selim*, which had like to have proved fatal to one who came down with a Boy at his back; for when he was about twenty yards from the ground, the Rope broke, but falling on a tree firſt, and then on a man, he was taken up with little hurt. The moſt remarkable of all theſe Shows was a man that walked up a Rope as high as the ſecond Balcony of the Menateh or Steeple of Sultan *Selim*, which is as high as commonly our Spire-Steeples are in *England*: And another hanging on a Rope with his hands, with his body extended, turned himſelf twelve times round with his hands: at all which Sights the Grand Signior was a conſtant Spectator. In this manner theſe Solemnities ended, the Moſayp or Favourite rich in the eſteem of his Prince, and in high honour with all, had yet ſome allay to attemper and moderate his joy; for the Princeſs not yet fit for conſummation, in caſe ſhe dyed before that time, all her Jewels and Goods muſt return to the Grand Signior, notwithſtanding which he would be obliged to pay her Dowry, which was ſaid to be the Sum of two years Revenue of Grand *Cairo*, but let it be what it will, he will be inſolvent, being, as reported, three hundred Purſes already in debt. And now to demonſtrate the uncertainty of the Courts of Princes, as well as of all other places and conditions of the World, the Great Teſterdar or Treaſurer, who had for the ſpace of thirteen years managed this Office with ſingular induſtry and advantage, was now removed from thence, and under a ſpecious ſhew of Preferment, was advanced to the Dignity of Paſha of Grand *Cairo*: this change was the more wondered at, becauſe he was a Perſon ſo acute and ſo proper for the Office, that no man that held the place did ever manage it with greater reputation, nor with greater benefit to the Intereſt of his Prince; for beſides his good husbandry in other matters, he was ſo skilful in knowing the price of Commodities, and ſo near in making his Bargains, that the Merchant could ſcarce live by him, which in that conſumption of Goods made in the Seraglio, will produce a conſiderable abatement, when all things are bought at the beſt hand; conſidering which, many reaſons were alledged, and conjectures made of his removal: ſome ſaid, That the Grand Signior having a liking to a young Man of his, to prevent his being taken into the Seraglio, the Teſter-

The Teſterdar put out of his Office.

dar gave him a Wife, and thereby greatly diſpleaſed the Grand Signior, as if he had purpoſely contrived it, to defeat his deſires: others ſaid, That the Grand Signior would have borrowed money of him to pay the Arrears of the Spahees, which he refuſed to lend: but others talked, and that with beſt reaſon, That *Kara Muſtapha* the old Chimacam, who is always with the Grand Signior, had found an opportunity to repreſent him amiſs, ſuggeſting, that the Teſterdar ſhould ſay, That want of money in the Treaſury was cauſed by the vaſt Sums conſumed in the fooleries of the late Feaſts: and the Vizier, though he entertained no perſonal animoſity againſt him, yet was willing to ſacrifice him to the friendſhip of *Kara Muſtapha*. And ſo being diſpoſſeſſed of his Office, thereunto ſucceeded the Janiſary *Efendi* or Judge-Advocate of the Janiſaries, a great Drinker of Wine, and one not to hold any compariſon with the parts and abilities of his Predeceſſour. Money now wanting greatly in the Treaſury, ſeveral ways were ſought to bring it in, and to ſave expences. The firſt of which was, that a review be made of all Otoraks, ſuch as *Milites emeriti*, who are excuſed from the War, and yet receive their pay; from which number thoſe were excluded who had bought it, or were not come legally by it, which would ſave the Grand Signior a vaſt Sum of Money yearly: and to help at this time of need, the late Treaſurer muſt refund and eaſe himſelf of money, before he enters on that rich and important Office of Grand *Cairo*. And *Chuſaein* Aga the chief Cuſtomer, who was a man that had inriched himſelf by many bad ways and arts, was diſplaced from his Office, and cauſed to diſgorge great Sums of Money to add unto the Supplies of the Treaſury. He was a Perſon of a ſubtle diſpoſition, raiſed from the mean degree of a Shoemaker, and being well acquainted both with good and bad ways of gaining money, was a proper Inſtrument for the Turkiſh Government, it being his fortune to fiſh riches rather for others than himſelf. And now being deprived of his Office and the beſt part of his Wealth, he reſolved, like all other diſcontented Miniſters, to take a Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, and to that end made a ſolemn Viſit to the Paſha of *Cairo*, then in his Tents near *Scutari*, acquainting him of his intentions to wait on him, and perform his Reſpects in his paſſage to the Holy *Keblech* or *Mecha*.

Ways for raiſing Money.

The Turks have not of late years been very prodigal of the blood of their Subjects, not have thoſe Executions been done of late on any Officer, unleſs his Tyranny and Oppreſſion of the people did juſtly draw due puniſhment upon himſelf. And ſuch was the caſe of the Kahya or Secretary of the Chimacam or Governour in the Viziers abſence of *Conſtantinople*, who taking on himſelf the management of all the Affairs of his Maſter, acted every thing according to his own pleaſure; for finding that whatſoever he did or propounded, was always confirmed and aſſented unto by his eaſie Lord, he aſſumed a boldneſs to undertake any thing upon the proffers of mony, ſo the Sum was in any manner agreeable to the greatneſs of the matter required, or to the danger he incurred; by which means he involved his careleſs and unwary Maſter in ſuch intrigues, as could have no excuſe beſides his own ſupineneſs, and the corruptneſs of his Servant. At this manner of adminiſtring Juſtice, the people being diſcontented, haſtened the removal of the Chimacam: and now another entring on the Office, the Kahya remained expoſed to the malice and complaints of all his Enemies, amongſt which none was of greater force than an accuſation laid againſt him, for having granted leave to the Armenian Chriſtians at *Conſtantinople* for a Sum of Money to erect a Church; for which, though a Command was granted by the Great Vizier, obtained at a good price, to build one there of Timber, but of a low and mean Fabrick; yet the Kahya for a greater Sum of twenty Purſes of Money, or ten thouſand Dollars, improved this Command, and changed their Materials from Timber to Stone and Mortar: the which Building beginning to riſe with ſome magnificence, offended the neighbouring Turks with ſo much ſcandal, that great numbers of them carried the Complaints thereof to the Grand Signior; who calling the Vizier, and examining the Caſe, the Vizier would own no other Command, than for repairing of an old Church, but not building one new. Whereupon Sentence of Death being paſſed on the Kahya, an Officer was ſent to execute it. And in his way to *Conſtantinople*, at a place called *Selebrea*, meeting with the Offender, he cauſed him to return again with him to *Conſtantinople*, where having ſtrangled him, his Body was thrown into the Sea.

The Chimacam of Conſtantinople *his Steward cut off.*

We have thus far diſcourſed of the Affairs at home, which conſiſted for the moſt part in jollities and divertiſements; let us now look on the enterprizes and attempts abroad, and we ſhall find no great matter of action this year performed againſt *Poland*, more than ſome incurſions made into *Ukrania* by the Turks and Tartars under the Conduct of *Ibrahim* Paſha, in which we have no Battels, nor great Skirmiſhes to recount, only a ſeizure or ſurprize of thoſe Coſacks, which were not under the juriſdiction of *Doroſensko*, who like ſheep were driven from their paſtures, and Men, Women, and Children carried away into Captivity, and tranſplanted into Countries, where they might better ſerve the purpoſes and deſigns of the Turkiſh Empire; to which ends alſo vaſt numbers of Tartars with their Families, were called to inhabit the circumjacent parts of *Kemenitz*, for better ſecurity of that Conqueſt, to which the Tartars moſt willingly concurred, eſteeming it a happy Bargain to exchange the Soil of *Tartary* for the fruitful Plains, and more gentle Air of *Poland*. And thus we may conſider what the inteſtine Diſcord of the Poles hath brought upon themſelves; that they, who in former days maintained their honour and reputation with the Turks, beyond any of the bordering Nations; not having ever ſuffered them to continue in their Country, much leſs to ſojourn or poſſeſs one palm of Ground therein; can now more eaſily ſee them before the Walls of *Leopolis* or *Cracovia*, and planted in the very Bowels of their Countrey, rather than a King of their own Countrey ſet over them not agreeable to their own humour and fancy; or perhaps rather than behold the envied exaltation of ſome perſons to dignity, or ſome little diſorders in their Government; of which the Turk knows well to make uſe, it being no new Leſſon for him, to profit himſelf of the Diſcord and Animoſities of the Chriſtians.

1675. In like manner the Marine Affairs of the Turks this year afforded little worthy of obſervation, unleſs it were, That the Captain Paſha was employed with about thirty Sail of Gallies into the Black Sea, for tranſporting of Ammunition and Proviſions to thoſe Forces in *Ukrania*; but he returned not with an equal number of Gallies, with which he departed, having loſt five of them by ſtorm, and then arrived at *Conſtantinople* on the *26th.* of *October*, called by the Greeks the Feaſt of St. *Demetrius*, and by the Turks *Caſſin-glutan*, a day which is commonly remarkable for Storms at Sea; of which the Turks and Greeks are ſo aprehenſive or ſuperſtitious, that on that day or near that time, either before or after, until the ſtorm hath vented its fury, and taken its courſe, they will not adventure themſelves unto the Sea, upon the moſt preſſing occaſion, or hopeful inducement whatſoever.

The Trade of Genoua.

And here I judge it requiſite to conclude this Year with two matters very obſervable relating unto Trade; The firſt is with reference unto the Genoueſes, who in the Year *1666.* firſt ſent their Ambaſſador Signior *Durazzo*, with many Preſents and great Magnificence to conclude a Peace with the Ottoman Empire, with the ſole deſign and intention of Trade; which having been eſtabliſhed on no other foundation at the beginning, than that of their Temins, and the Fabrick of their own Cloth, when the firſt failed, as it did in two years after, and that their Cloth turned not to account, but was out-ſold by the Engliſh and Dutch, then their Trade began to decay, or rather never came to perfection, like the fruit of a young tree, which buds fairly, and produces fruit, but hath not ſtrength to digeſt or bring it to maturity: Even ſo it was with the Genoueſes, who having been at the charge of an Ambaſſadour Extraordinary, and ſetled a Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, and a Conſul at *Smyrna*, and all the other Formalities of Trade, wanted that nouriſhment thereof from their own ſoil, which produces the true and natural fruit of Commerce, which is gain and profit; and being out-done by other Nations in ſhipping, there could little or no benefit be expected from their own Navigation in the Levant. For theſe reaſons, their Trade failing, the Duties of Conſulage on Goods appointed to maintain the Officers, and defray the publick Expences, were conſequently wanting; ſo that the Count *Fieſchi* Reſident for that Republick at *Conſtantinople*, finding himſelf in great diſtreſſes and neceſſities, and unable to maintain himſelf and his Attendants agreeable to his Character and Quality, often adviſed his Prince and the Senate of the unhappy ſtate of their Affairs, deſiring from them either to provide a Supply agreeable to the occaſions, or to recal him from that Office, where he could no longer live in that Honour required. This importunity produced the exchange of Officers, and the Miſſion of Signior *Giuſtiniano* to reſide at *Conſtantinople*, and Signior *Gentile* at *Smyrna*; the firſt of which, ſome few days after his arrival, being unfortunately killed with a Carabine in his Chamber at *Conſtantinople*, as before related, the Office of Reſident came to be ſtill continued in the perſon of *Fieſchi*, who remaining without proviſions neceſſary to maintain his degree, and the annual Preſents expected by the Turks, which they eſteem as due as their Income, and as part of their Revenues, was forced to take up money on Pawns, and his own Credit at the Intereſt of 20, 25, or 30 *per cent.* according as his neceſſities increaſed; and the apprehenſions men conceived of an inſufficiency and hazard in their ſecurity, was the cauſe that the debt, which in the beginning was inconſiderable, increaſing with Intereſt upon Intereſt, came at length to the Sum of ſixty or ſeventy thouſand Dollars, which the Republick of *Genoua*, attributing in a great meaſure to the ill Conduct of *Fieſchi*, and judging the greateſt part of this debt to be feigned, ſent another Reſident called Signior *Spinola* to ſucceed him in his Office, who arriving at *Smyrna* in the month of *May* of this preſent year, on a ſtout Ship hired of the Venetians, and under the notion of a Man of War accompanied with a Merchant Ship, and a new Conſul (the old one dying the year before) ſetled there ſuch Orders, as were judged neceſſary for the government of their Affairs. But before theſe Genoueſes arrived, a report had fore-ran them from *Ligorne* and other parts, that their Ships brought great quantities of falſe Gold and falſe Pieces of Eight: the which coming to the ears of the Turks, Commands were provided againſt their arrival to ſearch their Ships, and try their Monies; to which the Genoueſes not condeſcending, Arz or teſtimony was made thereof by the Kadi unto the Grand Signiors Court. In the interim whilſt this Arz went up, and the anſwer expected, the Genoueſe Reſident deſigning to proceed forward on his Voyage to *Conſtantinople*, demanded the Kadi's Moraſelau or Ticket of Licence for the Man of War on which he came, to paſs the Caſtle, (for that Ship had entred within the Port.) The Kadi judging it neceſſary, that both the Reſident and Ship ſhould attend the arrival of the anſwer from above, refuſed to grant this Licence; whereupon the Reſident all in a rage imbarked himſelf, and immediately ſet ſail, and having a fair Breez out of the Port, gently ſlided along by the ſide of the Caſtle without any ſtop or interruption.

1675.

1 6 7 5.

This affront being put upon the Kadi, greatly diſpleaſed him; ſo that calling the Lieutenant and Gunner of the Caſtle into queſtion, and not admitting of their Plea, that the Ship was a Man of War, and the perſon thereon a Reſident, both which were privileged, and both going up to the Grand Signiors Court, were to anſwer there for what was laid againſt them; but this I ſay, not being admitted for reaſon, the Kadi committed them both to Priſon, from whence with ſome charge afterwards they releaſed themſelves.

The new Reſident being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, the Creditors of Count *Fieſchi* demanded payment of the debts owing to them, which was given in, to amout to ſixty thouſand Dollars, and ſo much was to be paid before *Fieſchi* ſhould be permitted to depart, or at leaſt that part thereof being ſatisfied in hand, the new Reſident *Spinola* ſhould give ſecurity for payment of the remainder: the which he refuſing to do, as not owning the accounts which *Fieſchi* had given in, in regard he judged them to be compoſed of extravagant Intereſts, and to ariſe on charges not allowable by that Republick, who after the death of *Giuſtiniano* diſowned *Fieſchi* for their Miniſter; hereupon great diſturbances and commotions aroſe amongſt the Creditors, ſome of which being in great Power, as the Janiſary-Aga and others,

1675. Sequeſtration was laid on their Man of War; ſo that ſhe was toaed away to the Arſenal, and there laid up, and attached for payment of the debt: which ariſing on the account of the Publick, the Goods of the Common-wealth was juſtly eſteemed liable to the Sequeſtration: during which time the Peſtilence, the Epidemical diſeaſe of that ſeaſon at *Conſtantinople*, affecting with its contagion the Ships company, about eighteen or twenty of them dyed thereof, and all their affairs reduced to a ſtrange conſternation.

In this interim many and various were the diſputes and conteſts between the two Reſidents; ſometimes they propoſed to refer their differences to the deciſion of the Engliſh, French, and Venetian Miniſters; ſometimes again, finding the diſtance ſo wide and ſpatious between them, they reſolved to have their matters determined by Turkiſh Sentence. At length the new Reſident perceiving no end of this buſineſs, and that the Ship lay ingaged at a great charge, and as it were captivated to the great diſhonour of the Republick, came to an agreement to pay thirty three thouſand Dollars, one third whereof was to be paid in hand, and the other two thirds by equal portions in the ſpace of one year; the firſt payment to be made after ſix months, and the other ſix months after; to which not only the Reſident, but their Merchants alſo entred perſonally into obligation. In this manner the Ship being cleared, and taking ſuch Lading as offered for *Genoua* at *Conſtantinople* ſailed for *Smyrna*; where taking another Ship of the ſame Country into her company, departed with the Dutch Convoy for Chriſtendom. But having remained ſix months in Port, ſubjected to much charge and trouble, and not finding a Freight equal to the time and expence, was no great incouragement to the Genoueſes to continue this Trade; which by good experience appears in no manner agreeable to their Country, nor yielding ſucceſs anſwerable to the long expectation of ten years paſt.

In this Year it was, that the Grand Signior and Great Vizier at the inſtigation of *Chuſaein* Aga the chief Cuſtomer (whom we have before mentioned) caſting their eyes on *Smyrna*, and finding it a place of a great Trade, and a convenient Port, for which in ancient times it was always famous, and for the ſame cauſe was frequented by Merchants both from the Eaſtern and Weſtern parts of the World; ſo that it was become the only great and conſiderable Mart or Scale within the Precincts of the Turkiſh Empire: conſidering it (I ſay) in this manner with a benign eye, as bringing great profit and advantage, they began to think it worthy the Ornament of ſome publick Edifices, founded with that Magnificence as might endure long, and renew the ancient Honour and Reputation of *Smyrna*: Hereupon they erected in the firſt place a Beſaſteen, which is in the nature of our Exchange, where ſeveral Shops are made, and variety of Goods ſold; and to make the better Front towards the Sea, it was founded therein on vaſt Stones and Piles, fit to ſupport a weighty Building.

A Beſaſteen and new Cuſtom-houſe, and a Royal Chan built at Smyrna.

The next Edifice erected was a Cuſtom-houſe built into the Sea only on Piles of Timber, with a handſom Front towards the Sea; and this the Great Vizier judged to be a work not only neceſſary, but alſo agreeable to the Majeſty of his Maſter; for until this time the Cuſtomer lived in a hired Houſe not unlike the others which Merchants inhabit. 1675. And now this Houſe being compleated, a Hatteſheriff or Royal decree came down from the Court, commanding that all Ships that came into that Port either to lade or unlade, ſhould lay their ſides to that Cuſtom-houſe Scale, and thereon diſcharge their Goods, and receive others.

And now whereas the Merchants injoyed at all times in former days the convenience of having their Goods landed on, and laden from their own Keys or Scales, they greatly reſented this innovation; and as they unwillingly quit any Priviledge, ſo they judged this not unworthy to be contended for with ſingular conſtancy and reſolution: the commodiouſneſs of which was thought ſo conſiderable, that it not only cauſed this place in former days to flouriſh, and to be diſtinguiſhed from all the Marts in the World; but alſo the injoyment thereof invited the Inhabitants from the more elevated parts of *Smyrna* (where was health and pleaſure) to the lower Bogs and Mariſhes, exchanging health and chearful air for profit and convenience of Commerce. Hereupon applications were made by all the Conſuls of the Frank Nations to their Ambaſſadours and Miniſters at the Grand Signiors Court. In the mean time Trade by common agreement was interdicted, at leaſt as to the lading or unlading of Ships, which continued for ſeveral days, and touched ſomewhat grievouſly the Engliſh and Dutch Nations: the firſt having two Ships, and the latter ſix Merchants-ſhips in Port. The Engliſh Ambaſſadour being then perſonally at *Adrianople*, was the firſt who without the aſſiſtance of any other Miniſter, moved in this affair, but found great oppoſition in it from the Turkiſh Officers; who with ſome reſentment of the preſent reluctancy of the Merchants, declared not without paſſion, the reſolution the Grand Signior had to conform the honour of the Cuſtom-houſe in ſome ſemblance with thoſe of Chriſtian Princes; and therefore did wonder that the Chriſtian Merchants could ſo eaſily condeſcend to the rules of thoſe Cuſtom houſes in their own Countries, where they were Natives, and yet could not ſupport the ſame in theſe parts where they were Aliens and Strangers. And as a farther evidence of the Turks reſolution to maintain this point, it was ſaid by the Vizier's Kahya, that the Grand Signior was reſolved to blow up both Port and Town, rather than not be obeyed in his own Dominions; with this Anſwer, Merchants deſpairing of the ſucceſs, began to unlade their ſhips at the Cuſtom houſe, or to give an account there of the Goods in their Boats; for the Cuſtomer was become ſenſible, there was not ſufficient Water for ſhips to ride at the Key of the Cuſtom houſe, and did alſo indulge unto the Merchants ſeveral other particulars herein, that ſo the innovation might ſit the more lightly on them, which he perceived was ſo ill reſented and taken to heart. And this was the firſt beginning in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*, when this priviledge was taken from the Merchants. And in this Year alſo the Great Chan next to the Beſaſteen was in Building, and the firſt Foundation thereof laid, and the great Aquaduct brought from the Plains of *Bogiaw*, and little *Harchi-bonar*.

At the end of the year 1674, we have related the beginning proceedings, and concluſion

1675. of the War, which our Gracious King was pleaſed in defence of his Subjects, and Commerce to make on *Tripoly*; which we brought down to this year 1676; when Sir *John Narbrough* Sailing home for *England*, touched in his way at *Algiers*, for better underſtanding of the State of all matters with that Government. Things had for ſome time remained in a doubtful condition between *England*, and that people; who having lately proved the ſmart effects of War with us, were not very forward to make a breach. Howſoever it being that time, when by means of a General Peace, which we enjoyed with all the World, and of a War in which the reſt of Chriſtendom was involved, that our navigation flouriſh'd, and that few other Ships beſides *Engliſh* paſſed the Seas; the *Algerines* grew weary of a Peace with us. And herein they ſeemed to have ſome more reaſon then uſual, becauſe that when it was their fortune to meet with ſtrangers, they were ſo diſguiſed with *Engliſh* Colours, and Paſſports ſurreptitiouſly, and fraudulently procured, that they could not diſtinguiſh their Friends from Enemies, whereof they made frequent Complaints, and addreſſes to his Majeſty. The King out of a ſence of Juſtice, and a tender care of his Subjects welfare, knowing that ſuch indirect practiſes muſt neceſſarily produce a War was pleaſed by a Letter to that People, to ſignify his care in that particular, and recalling all Paſſports formerly given, promiſed a better regulation of them for the future; as appears by the Proclamation here following, which was incloſed, and ſent in the Letter to *Algiers*.

By the King.

A PROCLAMATION,

Relating to the Articles concluded between His MAJESTY, and the Government of *Algiers*.

CHARLES R.

Whereas by the late Articles of Peace concluded between His Majeſty, and the Government of Algiers, His Majeſty out of His Royal Care of the Perſons and Eſtates of His Subjects, did agree and provide, That none of His Subjects employed or trading in any Engliſh Ship or Veſſel, ſhould for the future be taken and ſold as Slaves, or his or their Goods made Prize by any of the Subjects of the ſaid Government of Algiers; And alſo, that any of His Majeſties Subjects going in Foreign Ships, as Paſſengers only, and having Authentick Paſſports teſtifying the ſame, ſhould have the like freedom for their Perſons aud Goods aboard ſuch Foreign Ships: And whereas His Majeſty is informed, that divers of His Subjects, contrary to the effect and true meaning of the ſaid Treaty, do take upon them to colour and conceal the Ships of Foreigners, with whom the ſaid Government of Algiers is in War, and to that end do either wholly Navigate the Ships of ſuch Foreigners, or otherwiſe ſerve in the ſame as Mariners or Souldiers: Which way of proceeding, as it doth for the preſent adminiſter juſt cauſe of Complaint from the ſaid Government of Algiers, ſo will it in a ſhort time (if not prevented) indanger the Security intended by the ſaid Articles for the Ships, Perſons and Eſtates of His Majeſties Subjects: His Majeſty doth therefore by this His Royal Proclamation, ſtrictly forbid all His Subjects, that they do not for the future Navigate the Ships or Veſſels of any Foreigners in War with the ſaid Government, nor preſume to ſerve in the ſame either as Mariners or Souldiers. And His Majeſty doth hereby further Declare, That if any Offenders contrary to this His Royal Proclamation, ſhall be taken, His Majeſty will not require any releaſe of their Perſons or Eſtates from the ſaid Government of Algiers; but that they muſt expect to be excluded (as they were intended) out of the benefit of the ſaid Articles; His Majeſty alſo ſtrictly charging ſuch perſons as ſhall hereafter go as Paſſengers in Foreign Ships or Veſſels, to take care that they have Paſſports with them, ſigned by His Majeſties proper Miniſters in England, or His Miniſters or Conſuls abroad, expreſſing the Names of their Perſons, and the Contents and Qualities of their Goods, at their perils. 1675.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, this Two and twentieth day of *December* 1675. in the Seven and twentieth year of Our Reign.

God ſave the King.

1676.

This Care and juſt Expedient of his Majeſty to prevent Fraud and Abuſes in this buſineſs, was otherwiſe conſtrued by the *Algerines*, and made uſe of, in a contrary ſence, then was intended by his Majeſty. For now whatſoever Ships they met with, without theſe new Paſſes, they began to ſend to *Algier*, and make prize of their goods; not conſidering that the meaning of the King was by theſe Paſſes to determine doubtful caſes about Ships; and not to make a ſnare to entrap Ships *Engliſh* built, manned with *Engliſh* Men, and freighted with the goods of his Subjects. But theſe Pyrates, and ungracious Villains would find a knot in a Bull-ruſh, and a ſcruple where none was; for now they ſeized moſt *Engliſh* Ships they met with; for few had been ſo cautious, as to procure the new Paſport; ſo that by this pretence having made themſelves Maſters of a conſiderable Eſtate belonging to *Engliſh* Merchants; and denying to reſtore the ſame, a War was the neceſſary conſequence of their refuſal, which broak out in the year *1676*, the ſucceſs of which we may perchance have occaſion to relate in the following years.

Anno Chriſti 1676. *Hegeira* 1087.

The G. Signior returns to Conſtantinople

THis Year began with joyful News to the whole Turkiſh Empire, all Places and Cities of leſs renown rejoycing to hear the intentions of the Sultan to refreſh and adorn again his Capital Throne of *Conſtantinople* with the Imperial Preſence; for that City (which is the moſt proper Scituation of the World, to be made the head of a great Empire) having now almoſt for fixteen years wanted the Rays of Majeſty, and the Countenance of the Sultan, became almoſt abandoned and forſaken of its Inhabitants, ſo that the ſpacious Seraglios or Palaces of the chief Miniſters and Officers of the Empire began to decay and run to ruine, and the Artiſans and Shop-keepers to leave their dwellings, and to follow their Trade at *Adrianople*, or in the Camp. But now the News of the deſigned return of the Grand Signior to his ancient Seat, filled all places with joy and triumph, eſpecialy at *Conſtantinople*, which was not more ſatisfied with the conſideration of the benefit and advantage it was likely to receive by the Royal Preſence, than that thoſe ſuſpicions and jealouſies which formerly poſſeſſed the mind of the Sultan with a prejudice againſt this place, did ſeem now to vaniſh, and that he reaſſumed a confidence of his Royal City equal to that love and eſteem which his Anceſtors had of it; ſo that the humour which then poſſeſſed *Conſtantinople* appeared like that of *London* at our Kings Reſtauration, all joy, even to tranſport, for this unexpected Return; the people in the ſtreets congratulating their mutual happineſs, thanked God, that they had lived to ſee that happy day and bleſſed hour.

Conjectures concerning the reaſons of the Grand Signiors return to Conſtantinople.

The occaſion of this unexpected and ſudden reſolution cauſed many roving gueſſes and opinations of the reaſons of it. Some ſaid a Dream which the Grand Signior had, and which gave great diſturbance to his thoughts, until he reſolved for *Conſtantinople*. Others ſaid, the revolt and troubles at *Cairo*, of which we ſhall preſently have occaſion to diſcourſe, and ſome added certain Commotions at *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*; ſome reported, that *Xeriff* of *Mecha* wrote him a Letter, that he could not acknowledge him the Head and Protector of the Muſſulmin Faith, ſo long as he had abandoned his Imperial City, and lived in the mountains and unknown places. Others ſaid, that the Janiſaries and Militia murmured, and that his Coming to *Conſtantinople* was ſorced and not to be avoided; and that the Sultan being now out of love with *Adrianople*, had curſed it, and ſworn never more to ſet foot in it, having ordered the materials ſent for the building of the Great Seraglio at *Adrianople*, to be ſtopped on the way, and returned back again. At this rate all the World talked and diſcourſed, joy and hopes made the people fancy every thing according to their wiſhes. The Grand Signior being approached near to *Conſtantinople*, fixed himſelf in his Camp in the Fields, near a ſmall Seraglio of his own, called *Daout Baſha*, from whence the people for many days expected, that he ſhould, according to the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, make a ſolemn Entry; inſtead whereof he made ſome Salies with a ſmall Company through the Streets, as it were *incognito*, taking his paſtime on the Water, and on the ſides of the *Boſphorus* in his Gallies and Boats, but moſt commonly frequented his Place of *Scutari* on the Aſian ſide, where with much delight and confidence he lodged and repoſed his Court, but made no ſolemn Entry through the City, nor frequented his great Seraglio; where though he might perhaps dine, and paſs certain hours, yet he ſlept not one Night there; of which the people took eſpecial notice, and thereby received confirmation of the jealouſie their Soveraign had of them, to their extraordinary grief and diſſatisfaction; however it was ſome contentment to the people, and renown unto the City to have their Emperour ſo near, though it was rumoured as if the Court towards the approach of Winter intended again to return unto *Adrianople*. In the mean time the Grand Signior took his chief delight and divertiſement on the Water, paſſing in his Gallies and Pleaſure-Boats up the *Boſphorus* to the mouth of the Black Sea; and thence returning, much frequented the Gardens, and Houſes of Delight upon the Banks of the River; and viſiting all places, a Country Houſe called *Therapea*, belonging to the Dutch Reſident, received the honour of his Preſence, which he liked ſo well, that he took it from the Proprietor, and conferred it without any conſideration of money on one of his Courtiers, giving out a Proclamation, That no Chriſtian Miniſter ſhould poſſeſs any Seat or Habitation on the ſide of the *Boſphorus*. A ſtrange thing, and what is not to be paralleled in any part of the World.

About the beginning of this Year the Captain Paſha died, and *Zaid Ahmet* Paſh-ogli, then at the Camp, ſucceeded him; his Father was a famous Man, and in the ſame Charge, but cut off by old *Kuperlee*. Soon after *Ibrahim* Paſha, General of the Army at *Kaminitz*, likewiſe died, and his Office was conferred on *Ibrahim Paſha*, that was Paſha of *Candia*, of whom we have had often occaſion to ſpeak, being a great friend to the Engliſh Nation. The Great Vizier alſo was not far remote from the Confines of Death, being now fallen, by reaſon of immoderate drinking of Wine, and chiefly of hot Cinamon Waters, into a formed Dropſie and Jaundice.

In the preceding year we touched on the removal of the Teſterdar or Treaſurer from his Office to the Government of Grand *Cairo*, and the reaſons for it, which though it might be a preferment (being the richeſt and moſt important Charge of the Empire) to which the eſteem the Sultan had of his parts and abilites, might probably advance him; yet the imploying of him at a diſtance ſo remote, was certainly an effect of ſome diſpleaſure, whereby he or his Favourites judged him a Perſon not fit to remain longer near the Royal Preſence. Wherefore having commenced his Journey (as before mentioned) he arrived at Grand *Cairo*, where he had not long continued before he began, according to the natural acuteneſs of his mind and hugſtering manner, to pierce with a narrow inſpection into all Affairs of that Government, and particularly into the Revenue and Treaſure of the Country, contriving with himſelf by what means the diſorders might be corrected, and the Revenue and Tribute improved; for he had an excellent Genius or Spirit in the matters of Money, nothing in advantage of Intereſt could ever eſcape him; ſo that he began to lay a new foundation in all proceedings; he would not be contented with the old Taxes and Impoſitions, and where he found Lands improved, or the Cuſtoms augmented, he would put in for a ſhare of the Benefits, and would reform every thing wherein he judged his Maſter to have been abuſed. But though he was acute and ſharp-ſighted in ſuch matters as theſe, yet he wanted experience in the Government of *Egypt*; for theſe great Beghs of this Country being alarmed with the innovations, began to ſtand upon their Guard, and to enter into private Conſultations, in what manner to oppoſe themſelves to this new way of Government, which looked like ſlavery, and deſigns of bringing them into ſervitude, and a ſubjection unknown to them and their Fore-fathers. For indeed the Government of *Egypt*, if well conſidered, is rather Ariſtocratical than Monarchical; for though they acknowledge the Sultan to be their Head, and accept his Paſha for Ruler, and pay a yearly Tribute, yet the Beghs which are great Lords in their reſpective Countries, carry the ſway and Dominion in all other matters, and will endure nothing with favours of oppreſſion or innovation; ſo that theſe perſons grown jealous by the proceedings of the new Paſha, flew into open Sedition, and immediately to Arms, with force of which they aſſaulted the Paſha's Palace, took him and threw him into Priſon. The News whereof flying with all haſte to the Ottoman Court, appeared at the firſt apprehenſion or ſurpriſe as if all *Egypt* had revolted, and gave the World occaſion to diſcourſe, That the Wars were to be carried Eaſtward, and that the ſudden reſolution of removing the Court to *Conſtantinople*, was in order to a farther March into thoſe parts. But frequent Meſſages with time making the buſineſs to be better underſtood, cauſed the Grand Signior to diſpeed with all haſte another Paſha, with Commiſſion to remove the former, and to continue all the ancient Cuſtoms and Priviledges from the beginning indulged to the Beghs of *Egypt*: with which Meſſage and gentle words of grace and favour from the Sultan, all diſcontents being pacified, the former Paſha was releaſed from his Impriſonment, and ſuffered to depart, and thence proceeded to the Iſland of *Candia*, where he entred on that Paſhaluck, ſuceeding *Ibrahim* Paſha in Charge, who (as before related) was ſent to *Kemenitz* to be General of the Army, in place of the Paſha lately deceaſed.

The Hiſtory of Soltana Sporcha.

But here I muſt not forget a ſtory which happened during the time of this Summer, whilſt the Grand Signior had his abode and injoyed his Recreations in the circumjacent parts of *Conſtantinople*; there was a certain Sultana which had been a caſt Wench of Sultan *Ibrahim*, who after his death, having been married to ſome Paſha, obtained her releaſe from the old Seraglio, and being alſo a Widow by the death of this Husband, had liberty to take her habitation on the Banks of the *Boſphorus*, or where ſhe thought fit. This Lady was called *Soltana Sporcha*, in Turkiſh *Modar*: how ſhe came to be ſo nominated I cannot tell, perhaps ſome Italian Pages of the Court might in reſpect to her way of living impoſe this Name upon her, for ſhe was no other than a Bawd, or ſomething worſe, making it her Profeſſion to buy young Girls, and to educate them in ſinging, dancing and in all the ways which beſt accompliſh Courtiſans. Amongſt this Train of Scholars, ſhe had one more brisk and aery than the others, which could ſing, and dance, and prate incomparably, and was ſo quick in her Reparties, that ſhe greatly delighted the Paſha's and Lords, whoſe pleaſures ſhe attended, bringing from them conſiderable Gifts and Preſents to the enriching of her ſelf and Miſtreſs; and became ſo much the talk of the Court, that at length the report of her arrived the ears of the Grand Signior, who being alſo deſirous to injoy ſome divertiſements by the pranks of this witty Girl, ſent to the Sultana one of the black Eunuchs for her: which Imperial Command ſhe not daring to diſobey, conſigned her with great ſubmiſſion into the hands of the Meſſenger; but with this caution, that ſhe humbly deſired the Sultan not to make any attempt on her Chaſtity, in regard ſhe was both a Virgin and Free-woman. The Grand Signior having pleaſed himſelf with the wantonneſs of this Wench, began to take a fancy to her, and reſolved to take her into the Seraglio; but ſhe ſhewing a kind of nicety and coineſs, the Grand Signior, who perhaps was better accommodated, ſent her back again to her Miſtreſs, reflecting (as was ſuppoſed) with ſome diſguſt on the caution which accompanied her. It happened not long after, that this Girl exerciſing her Art in the preſence of ſome great Perſons, one *Cheſmé* Aga, a Boſnian by Nation, Captain of the Great Viſiers Guard, a ſtout and valiant man, happening to be a Spectator one night, became unfortunately enamoured of her, and from that time not being able to remove the impreſſion ſhe had made in his heart, reſolved, if poſſible, to make her his Wife, and to that end made his affections known and his intentions of Marriage, both to her and to her Miſtreſs. The Girl was well enough pleaſed to become the Wife of ſo honourable a Perſon; but the Sultana unwilling to loſe the profit and benefit ſhe daily brought her in, refuſed the Match, declaring, That ſhe was a Slave, and not at her own diſpoſal, and therefore in no capacity of beſtowing her ſelf any way without her conſent. This impediment giving a ſtop to the Marriage, put the two Lovers on plots and contrivances in what manner to injoy each other, and Love being ingenious, quickly found out a means to bring them together; for the Girl eſcaping from her Miſtreſs, lodged her ſelf in thoſe Chambers which her Lover had found for her. And being now miſſed, none but *Cheſmé* Aga was charged with her, of whom ſhe complained to the Grand Signior, and cited him before his Maſter the Great Vizier to anſwer for her; but he denying to know any thing of her, and no witneſs appearing againſt him, all farther proceedings were ſuperſeded for the preſent: But *Soltana Sporcha* keeping watchful ſpies upon all the motions of *Cheſmé* Aga, at length found him and his Miſtreſs together, and by the Authority of Officers brought them both before the Vizier: to whom the Sultana ſent a rude meſſage, That *Cheſmé* Aga ſhould be puniſhed, and that her Slave ſhould be returned. The Viſier hereof acquainted the Grand Signior, and gave him to underſtand the meſſage which the Sultana had ſent him, deſiring to know what puniſhment he was pleaſed ſhould be inflicted on them. In which interrim *Cheſmé* Aga told the Viſier, That he expected no other than a ſentence of death from the Grand Signior, only he deſired that his beloved Miſtreſs might be ſpared, for he was ſure he ſhould live in her. It was not long before the fatal Decree came for putting *Cheſmé* Aga to death, and ſending the Woman to the Seraglio, which was immediately executed; which act might ſeem to denote a natural cruelty in the Sultan, being in reality very ſevere, though the whole courſe of his Reign hath been more gentle and mild than of any of the Ottoman Emperours; only this fact proceeded rather from diſdain than thirſt of blood, being angry that this Girl ſhould prefer the Love of one of his Vaſſals before the Honours of the Seraglio, and that her Miſtreſs the Sultana ſhould charm him with a lye of her being free, when ſhe was no other than a ſlave, and not long before bought for an inconſiderable price.

The Grand Signior returns again to Adrianople.

Not long after this, and towards the *11th*, or *12th*, of *September*, when the Sun was come to the Equinoctial, the Grand Signior prepared to depart. The rumour of which diſpleaſing and making ſad the peoples hearts, as much as his preſence before comforted them, it was given out, That the Grand Signior intended to return with the Spring, and divide the conſolation, which his reſidence produced, between the two Regal Cities, and for an evidence thereof, he ordered a Platform to be laid for erecting a new Seraglio at *Scutari*, and the Viſier deſigned another at *Bezick-raſh*, and the Palaces of the Paſha's and great Men were all putting into a way of Reparation, which for ſome time amuſed and contented the minds of the Commonalty.

The Death of the Vizier Achmet.

About the beginning of *October* the Grand Signior ſet forward towards *Adrianople*, being accompanied with the Moſayp, which is his Favourite, and *Kara Muſtapha* who was his Chimacam, taking his recreation by the way in Hunting; but the Great Vizier *Achmet* Paſha continuing ſtill ſick of his Dropſie and Jaundice, took his Journey by Water as far as *Selebra* for his better eaſe, and thence proceeding in a Horſe-litter to *Churlu*, which is the half-way to *Adrianople*, on the twenty third of *October* expired his laſt; his Diſeaſe, though heightned by Wine and hot Spirits, yet was in ſome part hereditary, his Father dying of the Dropſie. His Body was on the twenty fifth brought back again in a Coach to *Conſtantinople* with a ſmall Attendance, and buried in the ſame Sepulchre with his Father.

His Character.

He was a Perſon (for I have ſeen him often, and knew him well) of a midle ſtature, of a black beard, and brown complexion; ſomething ſhort-ſighted, which cauſed him to knit his brows and pore very intently when any ſtrange perſon entred to his preſence: he was inclining to be fat, and grew corpulent towards his latter days. If we conſider his age when he firſt took upon him this important Charge, the Enemies his Father had created him, the contentions he had with the *Valede Sultana* or the Queen-Mother, and the Arts he had uſed to reconcile the affections of theſe great Perſonages, and conſerve himſelf in the unalterable eſteem of his Soveraign to the laſt hour of his death, there is none but muſt judge him to have deſerved the Character of a prudent and politick Perſon. If we conſider how few were put to death, and what inconſiderable Mutinies or Rebellions happened in any part of the Empire during his Government, it will afford us a clear evidence and proof of his gentleneſs and moderation beyond the example of former times; for certainly he was not a Perſon who delighted in bloud, and in that reſpect of an humor far different from the temper of his Father; He was generous, and free from Avarice, a rare Vertue in a Turk! He was educated in the Law, and therefore greatly addicted to all the Formalities of it, and in the Adminiſtration of that ſort of Juſtice very punctual and ſevere; He was very obſervant of the Capitulations between our King and the Grand Signior, being ready to do Juſtice upon any corrupt Miniſter, who pertinaciouſly violated and tranſgreſſed them, of which I could give ſeveral inſtances, but theſe being improper for this place, are only in general to be mentioned with due gratitude in honour to his Memory. As to his behaviour towards the neighbouring Princes, there may, I believe, be fewer examples of his breach of Faith, than what his Predeceſſors have given in a ſhorter time of Rule. In his Wars abroad he was ſucceſsful, having upon every expedition enlarged the Bounds of the Empire; He overcame *Newhawſel* or *Oywar*, and laid thereunto a conſiderable part of *Hungary*, which to this day continues ſubject, and pays contribution to the Turk.

He concluded the War with *Venice* after twenty ſeven years continuance, by an intire and total ſubjection of the Iſland of *Candia*, having ſubdued that impregnable Fortreſs, which by the reſt of the World was eſteemed invincible.

He won *Kemenitz*, the Key of *Poland*, where the Turks had been frequently baffled, and laid *Ukrania* to the Empire, reducing the Coſacks, thoſe mortal Enemies, to ſubjection, and to a deſire of taking on them the Ottoman Yoke: and finally, he impoſed a new Tribute on all *Poland*. After all which Glories he dyed in the *47th* year of his Age, and *15th* year and *8th* day of his Government; a ſhort time, if we conſider it, for ſuch great actions; howſoever, if we meaſure his triumphs, rather than count his years though he might ſeem to have lived but little to his Prince and People, yet certainly to himſelf he could not dye more ſeaſonable, nor in a greater height and eminency

676. nency of Glory. *Utcunque Principi, & Reipublicæ parum, ſibi certè ſatis ſuaq; Gloriæ vixiſſe videbitur.*

The Great Vizier having in this manner expired his laſt breath, the Seal was immediately carried by his Brother to the Grand Signior, who upon Receipt thereof, according to common expectation, conferred the ſame on *Kara Muſtapha* Paſha, who had for ſo many years formerly exerciſed the Office of Chimacam, which is as much as Deputy to the Great Vizier, of whom in other places we gave a Character of being a wiſe and experienced Perſon, of a ſmooth behaviour, and a great Courtier; agreeable to which temper of mind, ſo ſoon as he attained this promotion, he ſent an obliging and courteous Meſſage to the Servants of the deceaſed Vizier, condoling with them the death of their Maſter, promiſing to take them and their Concernments into his Care and Protection; according whereunto he advanced *Solyman* Kahya (who was the late Vizier's Subſtitute,) and for ſome years had managed all Affairs to the Office of Embrahore, which is chief Maſter of the Grand Signiors Horſe, and is a place not only of honour, but of great ſecurity. He that was his own Kahya he made a Vizier of the Bench, and Chimacam in the ſame manner as he was to *Achmet* Vizier; by which point of policy he ſeemed to have ſtrengthened himſelf againſt all Enemies, for having two Creatures of his own ſo well diſpoſed; one near the Perſon of his Prince, who would be able to do him all good Offices; and the other (whenſoever the Wars or other occaſions ſhould cauſe him to be abſent from the Royal Preſence) might ſupply his place without attempting to ſupplant him. The Kapiſler-Kahyaſee, or Maſter of the Ceremonies to the late Vizier, he made his own Kahya, and all the other Agas which depended on that Court, he received into his own ſervice; ſo that in effect there ſeemed, by this great chance of Mortality, to be little other alteration in the Court, than of the ſingle perſon of the deceaſed Vizier; of whoſe Memory, that the Grand Signior might evidence the love and eſteem that he retained, he did not intermeddle or appropriate unto himſelf any part of his Eſtate, or diſanulled his Teſtament; but reſigned all into the hands of his Relations, challenging no ſhare or proportion thereof: And whereas the Vizier left no Children, the Eſtate fell to his Brother and Siſters, who to evidence their Devotion to Religion, and good will to the Publick, and to pleaſe the eyes of the envious World, conferred on *Mecha* the Rent of the new Cuſtom houſe, the Beſaſteen, and new Chan built at *Smyrna*, and finiſhed in the year 1677.

Kara Muſtapha made *Vizier*.

At this firſt change there were rumors, that the new Vizier had begun his Government in blood, having cut off ſeveral Heads lately in Authority; but all was falſe, and only grounded on a diſpleaſure which he was known to have conceived againſt certain perſons. Only one act he performed rather of juſtice than ſeverity, having cut off one of the Pay-maſters of the Exchequer for falſe Money. The occaſion was this: Certain Muletiers having received mony from the Exchequer in Venetian Zechins, and finding ſeveral of them falſe, returned them again, but could not prevail to have them changed; whereupon having made

1676. their Memorial thereof, they carried them to the Vizier, and upon examination, the Paymaſter declared, That he received them from the Great *Ibrahim* Han-ogli, who being for that Cauſe ſent for and accuſed, was put into a fear, which proved as dangerous to him as a Diſeaſe, the apprehenſions of Death being worſe than the reality; but the Great Teſterdar ſoon cleared him of this Accuſation, having atteſted, That to his knowledge the mony received from him was good, and diſpoſed on other occaſions; ſo that the whole blame lying now on the Pay-maſter, and upon farther ſearch more of the ſame ſtamp being found in his hands, he deſervedly ſuffered the puniſhment of Death, the which had likewiſe been inflicted on another Officer of the ſame rank, but not being found ſo culpable as the other, he was permitted to redeem his life with forty Purſes of Mony, or twenty thouſand Dollars.

Thus far we have ſeen the gentle and ſmooth behaviour of the preſent Vizier towards the Friends, Relations, and Servants of the deceaſed, and with what Acts of Juſtice he began his Government. But, behold, on a ſudden the face of the whole Court was changed, every Officer thereof putting on a Countenance of fierceneſs, pride, and arrogance, beyond the manner and cuſtom lately practiſed. For the Great Viſier took on himſelf the State and Grandeur of the Sultan, (the acceſs being as difficult to him as to his Maſter) his Kahya that of the Viſier, and ſo every inferior Officer advanced himſelf into a fancy of poſſeſſing the next and immediate Degree above him. This haughty behaviour had a more particular influence on the Miniſters and Repreſentatives of Foreign Princes, whoſe Interpreters were not admitted, as formerly, to private Audiences or Conferences about their Affairs, but only at the Publick Divan, where their Arzes or Memorials were to be preferred in the ſame manner as was practiſed by the Subjects of the Country, and thoſe of conquered Nations; who petition for Juſtice. The which abaſement was not only caſt on the Interpreters, but on the Perſons of the Repreſentatives themſelves; an example of which we have in the French Ambaſſador; who coming at the time appointed to receive his Audience of the Viſier, was forced to expect a long time before he could have admittance, and then entering into the Chamber of Audience, was rudely crouded, and ruſhed upon by a Crew of unmannerly Chaouſes, who no otherwiſe regarded the Perſon of the Ambaſſador, than if he had been one of the Grooms or Lacquies. Being come to the Seat of Audience, the Ambaſſador obſerved, That the Stool for the Great Viſier was ſet upon the Soffrá, and that for Him below, or at the foot of it; the which being an unuſual and unpractiſed diminution of the ancient honour given formerly to Ambaſſadors, he ordered one of his Servants, To ſet it again on the Soffrá equal with that of the Viſier's; the which being done, was again brought down by one of the Viſiers Pages, and placed as before; whereupon, the Ambaſſador ſeizing the Stool with his own hand, carried it on the Soffrá, and ſate upon it; which being reported to the Viſier, then in his retiring Chamber, he ſent twice to him to remove, letting him know, That unleſs the Stool were returned into the Place appointed by him,

Alterations with the new Vizier.

1676. he would not appear in the Chamber of Audience. Whereunto his Excellency returned this prudent Anſwer, That the Viſier might diſpoſe of his Chair as he pleaſed, but not of his Perſon. In which Interim the Chaouſ-Baſhee came in, roaring out, *Calder, Calder*, which is, Take it away, Take it away, (meaning the Stool) at which noiſe the Ambaſſador ariſing to ſee what the matter was, had the Stool taken from under him; whereat being greatly enraged, he threw out of the Room in a high paſſion, and cauſing the Preſents which he brought to be again returned with him, he mounted his Horſe, and departed.

Afterwards it was intimated unto the Engliſh Ambaſſador, That he might, if he pleaſed, receive Audience of the Great Viſier; But his Excellency, underſtanding in what manner the French Ambaſſador had been treated, excuſed his going, on pretence of an Indiſpoſition of health. Howſoever, the *Venetian* Bailo, and the Reſidents of *Holland* and *Genoua* were contented to be admitted unto Audience on thoſe terms which the Viſier was pleaſed to allow. And though during the time that he was Chimacam, and bore other inferior Offices, and Charges of Truſt, his behaviour was gentle, affable, and civil; yet I fear, that now having changed his Office, he will have altered his humour, and that his Greatneſs will have encreaſed his Pride, Avarice, and Fierceneſs: thus, no man knows what another will be, when he ſhall enter into power.

Dic mihi ſi fueris tu Leo, qualis eris.

And as *Magiſtratus indicat Virum*, ſo in the actions of his management the temper and conſtitution of this great Perſon will be diſcovered. And thus having given a ſhort Account and Character of this preſent Viſier, his future Acts and Monuments muſt be the Subject of other Pens.

FINIS.

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE CONTINUED,

From the Year One thouſand Six hundred Seventy ſix, to the Year One thouſand Six hundred Eighty ſix.

By Sir *ROGER MANLEY*, Knight.

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE CONTINUED,

From the Year of Our Lord, 1676, to the Year 1686.

By Sir *Roger Manley*, Knight.

1676 THE Hiſtory of the Turkiſh Empire, having been transferr'd to us by Mr. *Knolles* very methodically and well, and continued by the deſerving Pen of Sir *Paul Rycaut*, to the Year 1676, being the Twenty eighth of *Sultan Mahomet* the Fourth, now reigning: We have, as well by inclination, as to ſatisfie the deſires of ſome Friends, thought fit to proſecute ſo laudable a Deſign, by extending the Hiſtory of that great Monarchy to our preſent Times. And though we may be defective in skill for ſo Eminent an Undertaking, we ſhall notwithſtanding add Induſtry to our Endeavours, and compenſate our Failings by the candour and ingenuity of our Narrative.

Achmet, the great *Viſier*, being dead in his way to *Adrianople*, was ſucceeded by *Kara Muſtapha*, his Brother-in-Law, aged about fifty, and who had exerciſed the Office of *Caimacan* for many years. The Grand Seignior, to indear him the more to him, married him to one of his Daughters, though very young, not exceeding five years of age, according to the cuſtom practiſed by the *Sultans*, to be rid of their Daughters betimes, which are always numerous, by reaſon of the multiplicity of their Concubines, and by this means to eaſe themſelves of the Expence which they are obliged to be at in maintaining them according to their Quality.

In the ſame Month of *January*, the ſtrong Gariſon of *Caniſia*, having drawn out a Party to attack the Iſle of *Sexin*, allarmed all *Croatia*, by their Military Executions exacting Contributions, and pillaging and burning ſuch places as did not ſubmit to their tyranny. The Turks of *Newhauſel* did alſo ravage the Countrey on their ſide as far as *Fryſtat*. But before we enter upon this ſtage of War, it may be requiſite to ſay ſomewhat of the Troubles of *Hungary* which preceded, and their cauſes, and how the Infidels came to be Principals in a War of Religion between Chriſtians.

The Kingdom of *Hungary*, being ſubdivided into Counties, as in *England*, or Communities, have right to ſend their Deputies to the Dyets or Conventions of the Eſtates, which ought to be ſummoned every three years, according to the Laws of the Kingdom. This Aſſembly is 1676 compoſed of the Clergy, the principal Lords, the Gentry, and the ſaid Deputies of the Counties. It hath the right of chooſing a Palatine, who ought to be an *Hungarian* according to the priviledges of the Nation, and to have the intire direction of War and Juſtice. The great Lords have ſo great Authority over their Vaſſals, that they are look'd upon as ſo many leſſer Sovereigns in their ſeveral Territories. They have alſo great Revenues, which inables them upon occaſion to raiſe conſiderable Bodies of Men, the People in general being ſtrong, active, and valiant, but covetous, vindicative, and inconſtant.

The great Employments of the Kingdom were alſo inveſted in the Natives, and no Strangers were to be impoſed upon them, or Foreigners enquartered amongſt them; all which the Emperour, upon his Election to the Crown, was obliged to obſerve by the ſolemnity of an Oath. But on the other ſide, there being very many *Arrians*, *Calviniſts*, and *Lutherans* in the Countrey, they added to the averſion the Natives have to the *Germans*, having been, as they thought, too ſeverely uſed by them; complaining, that they were hindred in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, their Churches violently taken away from them, and their Miniſters forced from their Duty. It was farther complained, that the Grandees of the Kingdom were not permitted to injoy their Priviledges, of which one was, *That none of them ſhould for any Crime whatſoever be convened before any Judges but thoſe of their own Nation.*

Notwithſtanding all this, as the Emperour had ſworn to maintain their Priviledges, he had likewiſe promiſed to defend their Country, which could not be done againſt the Inſults of ſo powerful an Enemy as the Turk, without an Army; and thoſe ſtrangers living ill with the Inhabitants, and they again ſhutting their Towns againſt them, occaſioned infinite Violences and Diſorders on both ſides, which Repugnancy was the ſource of all the Troubles in *Hungary*.

The Emperour, beginning to ſuſpect the fidelity of the *Hungarians*, by reaſon of the obſtinacy wherewith they refuſed to lodge his Troops, began ſeriouſly to think of ſecuring the Kingdom to himſelf, which being perceived, he aug-

1676. mented by that Precaution the hatred which the Nation had conceived againſt him; which was re-doubled by the refuſal of his Generals to withdraw their Troops out of their Fortreſſes. Theſe Grievances did ſo far agitate theſe Spirits, already jealous and diffident, that they at length reſolved to ſhake off a Yoke that ſeemed ſo inſupportable. Many great Lords by their particular Intereſt were glad to entertain this averſion, which might ſerve for the Execution of the Deſigns they had already formed. And thus the Spirit of revolting did inſenſibly diffuſe it ſelf through the whole Kingdom, and the general averſion grew to that height, that they of the Religion ſaid openly, that they would rather live under the Domination of the *Turks* than the Tyranny of the *Germans*, whilſt one of their Preachers did dare maliciouſly to inſinuate, *That theſe Infidels would at leaſt grant them the liberty of their Religion, whilſt the* Dutch *would rack their Conſciences, under pretence of reforming them.*

The Emperour being informed of theſe murmurings, thought it expedient to ſecure the *Lower Hungary*, and ſo ſtrangle the Rebellion in its birth. Their reiterated preſſing to have the German Troops removed out of the Kingdom, gave him juſt cauſe of jealouſie: and beſides, he would not loſe the expence of all his toyls, and thoſe vaſt charges he had been at in fortifying the Frontier places, and entertaining Armies capable to oppoſe the Invaſions of the Turks. Finally, he judged it abſolutely neceſſary, to reduce a Nation to their duty, that gloried in their diſobedience to his Orders: being a King is no farther a Sovereign, than whilſt he obliges his Subjects to pay obedience to the Laws, and his Commands.

And thus in ſhort we have ſhewed the cauſe of this Revolt (which yet laſts) on both ſides, and though perhaps this digreſſion may ſeem foreign to ſome, yet, being the Turks have been ſo mainly concerned as to become Parties in it, we thought it reaſonable to ſubjoyn it to their Hiſtory.

And now to come nearer to the matter in hand, we will ſay ſomewhat of the Maxims of theſe Infidels, which will give us ſome light into their Policies; And firſt, it is a fundamental one to keep their Men perpetually imployed; for Idleneſs ingenders indigeſted Humours in the Politick, as well as the Natural Body, which renders it infirm. Another Maxim is, that they do never imploy their Forces more than in one War at one time, unleſs againſt weak Princes; Nor do they deſire to continue long in Arms againſt the ſame Enemy, unleſs conſtrained by their conſtancy, to the end they may not grow too warlike and expert; but leaving them by Treaties and Pacifications to their eaſe, keep themſelves ſtill employed, and conſequently diſciplined, and their Sables from ruſting, by continual managing of them. They moreover never break out into a diſtant War, before they have compos'd Affairs with their Neighbours. Thus when they tranſport their Armies toward the Frontiers of *Perſia*, they make Peace with the Princes of *Europe*, and ſo on the contrary. But the unhappy *Europeans*, giving them more opportunities by their diſſention to inlarge their Empire than any other, they, as well out of Ambition, as an irreconcileable Enmity to the Name of Chriſt, purſue the ſame with equal violence and hate. Hence it was, that though they had a Peace with the Emperour, they did not ceaſe to countenance and aſſiſt his Rebels in *Hungary* underhand with their Forces and Protections, receiving them, when cloſely purſu'd, into their own Quarters, where, being followed by the Imperial Troops, ſeveral Hoſtilities were committed by them, which produced in ſome time an open rupture between the two Nations. The Emperour, to hinder this Commerce betwixt them, diſpatch'd *Meninsky*, his Interpreter for the Oriental Languages, to the *Port*; with inſtructions to diſcover whether the Hoſtilities which were committed upon his Subjects, were done by command of the Miniſters at that Court? But he could effect nothing. He had indeed had Audience of the Viſier at *Adrianople*, who only told him, That the Grand Seignior would ſend a Chiaux of his own to his Imperial Majeſty, who ſhould inform him of his Intentions.

The Emperour hereupon diſpatched an Expreſs to Count *Schaffgots*, his Envoy in *Poland*, with orders to endeavour to break the Negotiation of Peace betwixt that Crown and the Sultan, though this Precaution proved of no effect, the Treaty betwixt thoſe Potentates being ſigned preſently after, and very ſeaſonably on the *Poles* ſide, who, having an Army ſcarce of 15000 Men, were ſurrounded near *Zorawno*, by well nigh 200000 Turks, who yet gave them Peace when they leaſt expected it, tho' upon Conditions then not ungrateful, tho' afterwards quarrell'd at. The *Tranſilvanians* did alſo joyn with the Malecontents, for Prince *Abaffi*, having diſcovered a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, in *April*, and ſuſpecting the *Germans* 1677. to have deſigned it, it contributed much to engage him againſt them. About the end of this Month the Baſſa of *Buda* was ſtrangled by order of the Grand Seignior, perhaps by reaſon of his immenſe Riches; for they found two Millions of Money, which was brought into the Sultan's Treaſury.

In the beginning of *Auguſt*, there happened an Encounter betwixt the *Malecontents* and the *Croats*, where the firſt were worſted; but the Turks at the ſame time pillaged a Town near *Raab*, putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword; and 4000 of theſe Infidels, having gained the Paſſage of the River *Hydrousk*, upon the Frontiers of *Croatia* and *Styria*, ravaged the Country even to the Gates of *Papa*, of *Veſprin* and of *Legrat*, driving away a great number of Cattel, and burning a great many Houſes.

Prince *Abaffi*, finding that the Grand Seignior did approve of the aſſiſtance he gave the *Hungarians*, ſent them freſh Troops, with twenty pieces of Cannon. Their Army being commanded by Count *Weſſelini*, their Palatine, amounting to 16000 Men, deſigned to beſiege *Zatmar* and *Kalo*, which Major General *Smith*, who commanded the *Germans*, perceiving, he ſent a Convoy with Artillery and Ammunition to the firſt of theſe places, which was defeated and taken by the *Malecontents*. But my deſign not being to deſcribe this War, I ſhall only mention it, as far forth as I find the Turks, whoſe Hiſtory we write, concerned in it. Upon concluſion of the Peace in *Poland*, the *Hungarians* had ſent thither to engage part of the Troops which that King had diſbanded, to their Service, and obtained 6000 of them, commanded by the Count of *Boham*, who joyning with the *Hungarian* Horſe, defeated *Smith*, with part of the Imperial Army, who deſigned to obſtruct their Conjunction with *Weſſelini*; which however being effected, they could ſcarce ſuffice to withſtand General *Kops*, in ſo much that being aſſured that the Peace was not only concluded betwixt the *Poles* and the *Turks*, but that the

Palatine

1677. *Palatine of Culm* was ſent to *Conſtantinople* to ſee it ratified, they alſo deputed one of their principal Officers to endeavour to oblige the *Grand Seignior* to turn his Arms againſt the *German Empire.* But being the Turks were in actual War with the Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, they would not (being already engaged againſt ſo powerful an Enemy) intangle themſelves in a new War: And yet this *Envoy* obtained ſo much, that Orders were ſent to the Baſſaes of *Buda*, of *Belgrade*, *Waradin*, and other Places in *Hungary*, to aſſiſt them with all their Power. And they were aſſiſted by them, for theſe Infidels, not content to ſend Troops to joyn with them, they themſelves made ſeveral Incurſions in their favour. Four hundred Men of the Garriſon of *Nieuhauſel* took ſeveral Priſoners by *Neutra*, and beat the *Huſſars* of *Comorra* who would have oppoſed them; two thouſand Turks entred into *Croatia*, and having ſpoiled the Country about *Zaklholm*, they defeated a party of Imperialiſts near *Carlſtat*. And thus theſe Infidels made War without declaring it, pretending they did not violate the Peace by theſe particular Encounters. But the Emperour being of 1678. another opinion, diſpatch'd *Hoffman*, his Secretary of State and War, to complain to the *Grand Seignior*, how his Baſſaes did daily aſſiſt his Rebels, againſt the purport of the Peace betwixt the two Empires. Being admitted to audience by the Grand Viſier, that Miniſter made him ſome propoſitions for the renewing of the Peace, but ſo diſadvantageous to his Maſter, that it ſeemed apparent, that the Turks ſought for nothing more than a pretence to break. And yet the Secretary effected ſo much for the preſent, that the Baſſa of *Waradin* was arreſted, and afterwards ſtrangled by order of the *Grand Seignior*, who yet would give that ſatisfaction to the Emperour upon the preſſing Inſtances of his Secretary, who alſo had made rich Preſents to all the Miniſters of the Port.

Whilſt *Hoffman* negotiated with ſo little ſucceſs at *Conſtantinople*, the States of *Hungary* aſſembled at *Altemburg*, where it was reſolved, that the Churches which had been taken from the Proteſtants, ſhould be reſtored to them, and many other points remitted in their Favour, in hopes theſe conceſſions might oblige them to return to their Duty, and break thoſe Engagements they had entred into with the Infidels. But this paſſed no farther, for the Miniſters endeavoured to elude the ſaid Article, though the moſt important of all, and therefore the more inſiſted upon by the *Malecontents*. This gave the Deputies of the Diet ſubject to believe that though the Miniſters of the Emperour ſeemed to deſire an Accommodation, yet they did not ſearch the means to effect it. And now the *Malecontents*, inſtead of conforming to the Emperour's Intentions, reſolved to elect another King, and ſome of them propoſed one of the Houſe of *Frangipani*; though it did not take, being they could not agree upon the choice of their Sovereign.

The Truth is, the Palatines and great Men of the Kingdom, being weary to ſee the Crown as it were Hereditary in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, made uſe of the pretence of Religion to ſtir up the People, and oblige them to take Arms for defence of their Liberty, both Spiritual and Civil. And this averſion was the true Cauſe of the War.

The Emperour was no leſs diſſatisfied with the Turks; for General *Kops*, having ſent complaints to the Baſſa of *Waradin*, for that he had given Quarters to the *Hungarians* in Places which depended on his Government; the Baſſa told him, 1678. That he look'd upon them as Paſſengers, who paid for what they took for their ſubſiſtance, and that conſequently he could not look upon their Reception into his Territories as any violation of the Peace.

The Hoſtilities betwixt the Imperialiſts and the Turks did ſtill continue notwithſtanding their Negotiations. Five hundred Chriſtian Horſe, commanded by *Azos Benas*, advancing towards *Erlaw*, were cut in pieces by the Infidels. Another Party, commanded by Collonel *Wolping*, was likewiſe defeated by a Detachment from the Garriſon of *Newhauſel*, with the loſs of above 200, the Commander being alſo much hurt. A few days after this Encounter the Baſſa of that City dyed, which occaſioned an Accident which did well-nigh make a rupture betwixt the Emperour and the Port. The Imperialiſts had unadviſedly attack'd the new Baſſa which the *Grand Seignior* did ſend to *Newhauſel*, and defeated his Convoy conſiſting of 200 Horſe, by way of Repriſal, as they gave out, for the Damages which had been done them by the Garriſon of that Place, without conſidering that this new Governour had had no ſhare in theſe Violences. The Baſſa of *Buda* ſent his complaints of this Affront to the Imperial General, with threats that he would acquaint his Maſter with it, and exact ſatisfaction by all the ways imaginable. And they did ſo, for, drawing out ſtrong Parties from the Garriſon of *Erlaw* and *Waradin*, they reſolved to revenge the Inſult done to the Baſſa of *Newhauſel*, and marching towards *Sando* near *Butrac*, which they pillaged, they returned with above 200 Priſoners. Count *Wourmb*, the Emperour's General, demanded Juſtice for this Violence from the Baſſa of *Buda*, but received no other anſwer, but that what was done was by way of Repriſal.

During theſe Traverſes Count *Paul Weſſelini* dyed, who had Commanded the Army of the *Malecontents* with great ſucceſs, but is ſucceeded by Count *Tekeley*, young, yet wary and brave; who, to this day heads the however broken diſcontented Party. The Emperour, who knew that the greateſt force of *Tekeley's* Army came from *Tranſilvania*, would divert *Abaffi* by re-eſtabliſhing the Party of *Pedipold*, who had formerly conteſted for the Sovereignty of that Principality. To this end he obliged that Prince to ſend four Deputies to *Conſtantinople*, to implore the protection of the Grand Seignior, but the Viſier cauſed them to be put into the Caſtle of the ſeven Towers, which extremely ſurpriſed the Emperour's Reſident, who had orders to Negotiate that Affair joyntly with them. The Emperour being informed hereof, ſent *Monſieur Jullies* with ſecret Inſtructions to the Port, but he dyed by the way, which did not a little trouble his Imperial Majeſty, being all this Envoy's Papers fell into Count *Tekeley's* Hands, who drew no ſmall advantage from the lights he received by them. *Hoffman*, Secretary of State, returning from *Conſtantinople*, was ſtopped at *Belgrade*, being the Baſſa of that Place refuſed to furniſh him with neceſſaries for the continuation of his Journey. But the Emperour, having diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Baſſa of *Buda* to complain of this incivility, he obtained what he deſired. Being upon his departure from *Belgrade*, he was informed that the Great Viſier was arrived upon the Banks of the *Danube* with a great Army, and deſign to enter into the Province of *Ukraine* to fight the *Muſcovites*; he ſent to demand Audience of him, but this Miniſter returned him for anſwer, That

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1678 he ſhould have it at *Conſtantinople*, when the Campaign was ended. Many and great were the Encounters betwixt the Imperialiſts and Malecontents, the latter being for the moſt part ſucceſsful, who alſo ravaged *Moravia*, being aſſiſted by 2000 *Tartars*, and *Auſtria* it ſelf, under the Command of Collonel *Joſua*, ſometimes a Prieſt, known by the Name of Father *Joſeph*, who turning Proteſtant, raiſed 6000 Men at his own Charges, and joyning with the Malecontents, grew formidable even to the Gates of *Vienna*. But the Imperialiſts had alſo their turn, and Count *Eſterhaſi*, Governour of *Papa*, attacked 2000 Janizaries and 500 Spahies, near *Veſpren*: He took ſeveral Priſoners, and amongſt them ſome Agas. As this Action might cauſe a Rupture, if miſ-repreſented betwixt the two Empires; his Imperial Majeſty diſpatch'd a Courier to the Port, to inform the Grand Seignior with the particulars of this Combat.

1679. The conſtancy of the Malecontents, and their Intelligence with the Turks did not a little diſquiet the Emperour, but he was more troubled when he heard that theſe Infidels were upon the point of agreeing with the *Muſcovites*, which would put them into a Condition to turn all their power againſt him. He thought he could not do better than to divert them by obliging the King of *Perſia* to break with them, and therefore ſent the Baron of *Meierburg* to *Hiſpahan* to negotiate that Affair.

The Diet of *Tranſilvania* being held at *Clauſenburg*, the Grand Seignior, as well to ſecure his own Intereſt, as being diſſatisfied with Prince *Abaffi*'s Conduct, ſent the Baſſa of *Waradin* with a ſtrong Army to preſide at that Aſſembly. But things being accommodated betwixt them, to the ſatisfaction of the ſtrongeſt; the *Tranſilvanian* and the Baſſa's bordering upon his Principality, who had been at the Diet, had no other thoughts but of deliberating with the Deputies of the *Hungarians*, of the means how to aſſiſt them. The Emperour being advertiſed hereof, ſent Doctor *Ferling* to *Conſtantinople*, to endeavour to penetrate into the Intentions of that Monarch, and hinder that the Baſſaes ſhould not ſuccour the Rebels. There was alſo ſome under-hand dealing with the great ones of the Party, to make their particular Peace with the Court. Amongſt others, the Propoſition being made to *Palaffi Imbre*, he found ſo little ſecurity in it, that to ſhew his Companions he would never accommode himſelf with the Emperour, he treated with the Baſſa of *Buda*, to deliver all the Places that were in his power, into his hand and poſſeſſion, the which alſo he put in Execution, tho' his Caſtle of *Devin* was in the mean time inveſted by Count *Straſoldo*, before the Turks could enter it, and together with the City forced by him, 500 of the Garriſon being made Priſoners.

The Grand Seignior, to ſhew the eſteem and ſatisfaction he had of the Perſon of *Abaffi*, ſent him a Sable as a token of his Favour; and gave Orders at the ſame time to all the Baſſaes of *Hungary*, to ſend Troops and Forces as oft as he ſhould require them, being abſolutely reſolved to aſſiſt the Malecontents, which he alſo effectively did.

There had happened a great Battel between the *Turks* and *Muſcovites* near *Czecherin*, which the firſt had beſieged. The Turks had been worſted at firſt, but rallying their Forces, they came before *Czecherin* again, where, after playing eight or nine Mines, they ſo furiouſly aſſaulted the Place, that they carried it, with the ſlaughter of the Garriſon, which was great; 1679 for all that, after many Skirmiſhes, they were forced to retire for want of Proviſions. Hereupon the Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, knowing that the Emperour, not without reaſon, apprehended that the Turks would declare War againſt him, ſent him a ſolemn Embaſſie, with offer of making a League Offenſive and Defenſive with him againſt the Infidels; but the Emperour, contrary to the advice of *Montecuculi*, who offered to Command the Army in Perſon, tho' his great Age might juſtly diſpence with the Fatigues of War; did not think it adviſable to break with the Port. The Baſſa of *Buda*, being informed of the arrival of the Ambaſſadour, ſent a Chaoux to *Vienna*, under colour of complaining of ſome Inroads which the Imperialiſts had made into the Grand Seignior's Territories, but indeed to obſerve the motions of the *Muſcovites*. Nor were they the onely motives that exhorted the Emperour to Arm againſt the Turks. The King of *Poland* ſent Prince *Radzivil* to aſſure his Imperial Majeſty, that he would willingly enter into a League againſt the Infidels, if he could reſolve to declare War againſt them: And however, two Nuntios of the Pope's, who were then at Court, did preſs this Prince to determine to prevent the Enemy, who would not fail to attack him, when a favourable Occaſion preſented it ſelf; they could not perſwade him to embrace a Propoſition ſo favourable for the repoſe of *Hungary*.

The Emperour, not finding himſelf in a Condition to reduce the Malecontents by force, reſolved to grant what they demanded, provided they would permit him to levy in *Hungary* the ſame Contributions and Taxes which were exacted in the Hereditary Countrey. Count *Leſley* had ſeveral Conferences with Collonel *Joſua* thereupon; and having diſcuſſed this Affair, the principal points were agreed upon, which being communicated to *Keski* and *Tekeley*, they promiſed to procure the conſents of the other Chiefs to agree to them. Upon this favourable diſpoſition, *Leſley* had orders to ſend his Troops into Winter Quarters; but the precipitate departure of the Emperour to *Mazianzel*, and thence to *Prague*, by reaſon of the Plague at *Vienna*, this Affair was interrupted, and all the meaſures taken in it changed.

The Plague ſpread alſo into the Turkiſh Countries, and conſtrained 500 Families to quit *Newhauſel*. Theſe were ſcarce got a League from the Town, but they were ſurpriſed by five hundred *Huſſars* or *Haiducs*, who took from them all they had, of which the Turks made great complaints, which ſeemed the more reaſonable, being they were ſo civil to Count *Leſley*'s Troops; for he being obliged by the Contagion to change Quarters, encamped betwixt *Chemnitz* and *Strigonium*, for the better ſubſiſtance of his Army. The Baſſa of this laſt place, to ſhew the Count that the Grand Seignior did not approve of his Subjects joyning with the Malecontents; permitted him to buy ſuch Proviſions as he wanted in the Territories of his Juriſdiction, and alſo preſented him with ſeveral refreſhments himſelf.

The *Muſcovites* preſſed the King of *Poland* to 1680. conclude a League Offenſive and Defenſive with them againſt the Grand Seignior; this Prince being not averſe to the propoſition, commanded his Reſident to repreſent to the Emperour, that being he would not engage in this Union, he ought at leaſt to keep a ſtanding Army in *Hungary* of 30000 Men, to oppoſe the

1681. Malecontents, and keep the Turks in ſuſpence on that ſide, and his Majeſty promiſed to do it; but the want of Monies hindered him to execute a Deſign ſo honourable for himſelf, and ſo adventageous for Chriſtendom.

However, he endeavoured by the Baron of *Kaunitz*, his Reſident at the Port, to negotiate a Continuation of the *Trevis*; but the Grand Seignior would not conſent to it but upon condition, that he ſhould be at liberty to aſſiſt the Malecontents at pleaſure; which indeed had been to augment the Evil, not heal it. This Prince was at the ſame time advertiſed, that the Port had concluded a Peace with the *Poles* and the *Muſcovites*; which gave him occaſion to judge that he had a Deſign to turn his Arms againſt him.

Many were the Treaties betwixt the Emperour and the Malecontents, and his Majeſty's conceſſions ſuch, that the Grand Seignior began to apprehend, that *Tekeley* had ſome inclinations to return to his Obedience to his Sovereign; to prevent which, he ſent a Baſſa to divert him, by offering him the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, after the deceaſe of *Abaffi*. This Baſſa had ſeveral Conferences with him and with the other Chiefs of the Faction, and did ſo well manage them, with the pretended advantages that they would find by putting themſelves under the Protection of the Port, that eighty of them did promiſe, in the name of all the Kingdom, to pay to his *Ottoman* Highneſs a Tribute of eighty thouſand Crowns, provided he would powerfully aſſiſt them. This Intrigue being made known to the Emperour, he received it with much Indignation, commanding, that none of the contrivers of it ſhould appear at the Diet. In the mean time he ordered the Marqueſs of *Baden*, and the Count of *Staremburg*, to cauſe *Raab* and *Vienna*, whereof they were Governours, to be fortified, to prevent any Deſigns of the Turks upon thoſe Places. And now his Imperial Majeſty did no more queſtion but that the Infidels would tranſport the War into *Hungary*, eſpecially, being informed by his Reſident *Kaunitz* at *Conſtantinople*, that the Port, after many and long Diſputes, had at length concluded a Ceſſation with the *Muſcovites* for twenty years, upon Condition, that beſides *Kiovia*, they ſhould enjoy *Tripol*, *Staiki* and *Vaſikow*, which had always been dependants upon *Kiovia*. The Grand Viſier received theſe Propoſitions with joy, and writ to the *Czar* thereupon, with very extraordinary Praiſes and Titles, aſſuring him in the name of the Grand Seignior, that he would ratifie the Conditions agreed upon, and that he might ſend his Ambaſſadour to finiſh the Treaty. In the mean time, the Viſier, to prevent the *Czar's* refuſal of ſending another Miniſter before his, which reſided at the Port, (who had been kept under reſtraint for ſome time) was returned into *Muſcovy*, he forthwith diſmiſſed him, with magnificent Preſents for his Maſter. The Grand Seignior, who ſeemed reſolved to invade *Hungary*, ſtaying his removal to *Adrianople* but till the return of this Ambaſſadour, did emit a Maniſeſt or Mandate directed to Prince *Abaffi*, in theſe following terms.

1681. *Foraſmuch as thoſe of* Hungary, *who have received the Emperour of the* Nazarien *Nation to be their Lord, have been ſpoiled of their Country and Caſtles by the* Germans, *and have therefore had recourſe to our Clemency for Protection; it is Our pleaſure, in regard of their long and piteous miſeries, and being thereunto moved by their reiterated Prayers and Supplications, graciouſly to affranchiſe them from the Yoke of that Nation. 'Tis therefore that We communicate this Deſign to you, as Our faithful Miniſter, by the Baſſa* Caput, *and the Aga* Starra, *with expreſs Command, that you make your ſelf forthwith ready to deliver the* Hungarians *from the Oppreſſion of their Enemies, with all the Forces of* Tranſilvania, *which ſhall be immediately reinforced with thoſe of* Valachia, *and of the Baſſa of* Siliſtria, 13003 *Janizaries, and* 20000 *Horſe; for We have promiſed them Our Imperial Protection in conſideration of the Fidelity which they have manifeſted to Us, which We have ſince had experience of. And therefore We Command you yet again to neglect nothing that may tend to the Execution of Our Pleaſure and good Will, to the end, that by the Aſſiſtance of the moſt High and moſt Mighty God, this People, ſo cruelly oppreſſed, may be forthwith delivered from the Bondage of the unmerciful* Germans. *In the mean time, you ſhall from time to time inform Our great* Ottoman *Mightineſs with what ſhall happen, and what you ſhall have done purſuant hereunto. And you are farther enjoyned to take heed that you do nothing that may be diſadvantageous to Our Incomparable Greatneſs.* 1681.

Abaffi, animated with this Mandate, and having received the Orders that were neceſſary, drew his Troops together, and joyned with *Tekeley*, with the *Turks*, the *Valachians* and the *Moldavians*, emitting withal a Declaration, That he did not Arm againſt the Intereſt of Chriſtendom, but only to deliver the Proteſtants of *Hungary* from the Oppreſſion they laboured under, by reſtoring them in their Poſſeſſions and their Churches, and re-eſtabliſhing them in their ancient Priviledges. He added, that the Grand Seignior had expreſly commiſſioned him for this Expedition, which he alſo undertook with the conſent of all the States of *Tranſilvania*. He had beſieged *Zatmar*, and preſſed the place vigorouſly, to ſhew the Defendants that he was in a Condition to force them if they would not voluntarily Surrender. A few days after, he received a recruit of 8000 Men, which the Baſſa of *Buda* ſent him, who had already aſſembled an Army of 40000 Men, which he incamped near the place of his Government.

Whilſt *Abaffi* was engaged in the aforeſaid Siege, 3000 Turks made an Inroad into *Styria* near *Gratz*, where they took a 1000 Priſoners, which they made Slaves, and very much Pillage. And now the Grand Seignior reſolves not only to aſſiſt the Malecontents, but joyntly with them to force the Places of *Hungary*, until they were in a condition to pay him the Tribute they were engaged to do. In the mean time, *Abaffi*, having made his Circumvallation about *Zatmar*, divided his Army into four Bodies: The firſt was compoſed of the *Tranſilvanians*, the ſecond of the *Moldavians*, the third of *Turks*, and the fourth of the *Malecontents*; and he forced the City, but could not take the Citadel, which obliged him to raiſe his Siege. Many were the Diſcourſes of this Action, and ſome gave out, that *Abaffi* had no mind to take the Place, upon a Surmiſe, that the Grand Seignior pretended it ſhould be delivered into his Hands upon Surrender. However it was, it is certain that the Baſſa which commanded the *Ottomans* at this Siege, ſent great Complaints to *Conſtantinople* againſt this Prince, which obliged him to return into his own Countrey, leſt his Enemies ſhould take advantage by his abſence. Thus this great Army vaniſhed, as well by the miſintelligence of the Chiefs, and the rigour of the Seaſon, the Winter approaching; as by the Vigilancy of Count *Caprara*, the Imperial General, who, tho' he was not able to fight the Enemy,

did

1681. did notwithſtanding perpetually incommode them with Parties and Detachments. *Tekely* hereupon having pillaged and burnt *Kalo*, except the Citadel, which he garriſoned, put his Troops into their Winter quarters. But the Turks, to finiſh their Campania would ſurpriſe the Caſtle of *Pettinia*, upon the Borders of *Croatia*, but their deſign being diſcovered, the *Militia* of the Country drawing into a body, forced them to retire.

On the ſide of the Chriſtians, the Winter was ſpent in fruitleſs Treaties and Conteſtations betwixt the Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars; ſave that the Empreſs was crowned Queen of *Hungary*, which was effected with great Magnificence and 1682. Pomp. On the other ſide, the Turks having agreed with the *Muſcovites*, the Grand Seignior reſolved by the Council of his great Viſier, to carry his Arms into *Hungary*; in order to which, vaſt Magazins were made at *Belgrade* and other places of his Obedience. He ſent ſuch Bodies of Men thither, that the Souldiers were forced to lye in Tents and Baracks. *Hali Baſſa*, being ſent thither in the Spring with Monies to pay theſe Forces, behaved himſelf with ſo little Prudence, that he had well nigh occaſioned a great Mutiny amongſt them. In his review of them he cauſed the *Spahies* to paſs before the *Janizaries*, who being extream jealous of their rank, mutinied, and threatned to kill him. To repair this fault, he would reſtore them to their Precedence, but the Spahies took alſo their turn to mutiny; nor did he appeaſe them but by a conſiderable gratuity above their pay. Beſides theſe, the preparations for War through all the extent of the *Otthoman* Empire were ſo vaſt, that they did not ſuffice only to protect the *Malecontents*, but to attack that of *Germany*, and now they lay a Bridge over the *Danube*, and another at *Zolnock* over the *Teys* or *Tibiſcus*, capable of bearing their great Cannon.

Tekely, however well informed of the Deſigns of the Port, did notwithſtanding agree to a prolongation of the *Trevis* with Count *Caprara*, which was ended the laſt of *March*, to the firſt of *July*; but the *Malecontents* ſlighting the Treaty, did in the beginning of *May* ſeize upon all the Corn which the Emperour had bought upon the Frontiers of *Poland* to furniſh his *Magazins* withal. The Turks alſo attacked and forced a Commiſſary who conducted many Wagons loaden with Cloths for the Imperial Army.

Tekely, being to act as ſoon as the Treaty was ended joyntly with the Turks, judged it proper for him to take his meaſures from the Baſſa of *Buda*, in order to which he went to wait upon him with a Convoy of 3000 Horſe, the Baſſa being advertiſed of his arrival, gave his Son orders to go and receive him at the Gate of the City, at the Head of the *Spahies*, on Horſe, to complement him in his Name, and to regale him with refreſhments according to the Cuſtom of that Nation. Being enter'd the City, he was received by the Baſſa at the head of all his Janizaries, and after reciprocal Civilities, he aſſured him of the Protection of the Grand Seignior when ever he had need of it. His Troops in the mean time were lodged near *Peſth* along the River ſide in Tents. The Baſſa, cauſing *Tekely's* Bonnet to be taken off, put another after the Turkiſh faſhion upon his Head, enrich'd with precious Stones and a Heron's Feather. He further made him a Preſent from his *Otthoman* Highneſs, of a Sable, a Pole-ax, and a Colours. He gave him alſo upon his own account, ſome Horſes richly harneſſed; ſome affirmed that his Civilities paſſed further, and that *Tekely* was declared King of *Hungary* by the Baſſa, who put the Crown upon his Head, and cloathed him in Royal Habiliments, in preſence of all the Officers of the Garriſon, and ſeveral Baſſaes, who had been expreſly commanded thither to aſſiſt at the Ceremony.

Tekely having ſatisfied his Ambition, would now content his Love. He had ſent his Secretary to *Vienna* to obtain the Emperours Permiſſion to eſpouſe the Princeſs *Rogotski*. His Imperial Majeſty, thinking he ought to manage this Count in a time wherein he endeavoured to make him break his Engagements with the Port; and further perceiving that it was but a Civility done him, and that if he did not conſent, they would effect it without him, granted his Envoy whatever his Maſter had deſired. *Tekely* gave immediately advice hereof to the Princeſs, and prayed ſhe would not defer his Happineſs any longer. She, who as ſhe had not deſired to ſee him a King, but to prevent her deſcent into a lower rank then that wherein Prince *Rogotsky* had placed her, ſent him word that he might come to *Montcatz*, where, after his return from *Buda*, their Marriage was celebrated with great Pomp. This Lady was Siſter to Count *Serin*, a Roman Catholick, but in ſome few Weeks after her eſpouſals with Count *Tekely*, ſhe turn'd Proteſtant, and thereupon diſcharged all her Catholick Servants. This gave ſo much ſuſpition to the Imperial Court, that no more good was expected from that Alliance; nor were they deceived, his Attachments to the Port being too ſtrict, and his jealouſie of the *Germans* too great. He for all that treated ſtill with Count *Saponara* the Emperours Envoy, but it was to amuze him, in expectation of the Turks taking the field to ſecond his Deſigns. The Emperour did alſo employ Count *Serin* to his new Brother-in-Law, but he, inſtead of ſerving his Sovereign, enter'd into new Engagements, as ſhall be declared hereafter.

In the beginning of *July*, the *Tartars* made inrodes as far as *Trinchein*, from whence they brought more than 18000 Slaves, killing all the old men, from whom they could expect no Service. The Palatine would have raiſed the *Militia* of the Country to oppoſe them, but the Proteſtants refuſed to obey his Orders, until the Emperour would give them Satisfaction upon all the points that had been propoſed in their Name the laſt Diet. About the end of the ſame Month his Imperial Majeſty received Letters from Count *Albret Caprara*, which ſignified to him that he had received Audience from the Great Viſier, and that he could not obtain a prolongation of the *Trevis*, but upon the following Terms, *viz.*

That Hungary *ſhould be put into the ſame ſtate that it was in the year* 1655;

That this Kingdom ſhould pay his Otthoman *Highneſs a Tribute of* 50000 *Florins yearly*;

That the Fortreſſes of Leopolſtat *and* Gratz *ſhould be demoliſhed*;

That Neutra, Schults, Eckoſ, *and the Iſle of* Schults *near* Presburg, *with the Fort of* Muran, *ſhould by a formal ceſſion be delivered to Count* Tekely;

That a general Amneſty *or Act of Oblivion ſhould be granted to the* Malecontents, *and that they ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in all their Goods and Priviledges.*

1682. Theſe Conditions ſeemed ſo harſh to the Emperour, that he rejected them, preferring a War before ſuch a ſordid accommodation.

The Ceſſation betwixt *Tekely* and the *Germans* being ended, he joyned Forces with the Turks near *Peſt*, conſiſting of 40000 Men. He paſſed near *Caſchaw* or *Caſſovia*, and turning ſuddenly, ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Zatmar*, and in a few days after took the City. *Caſſovia* and other conſiderable Places ran the ſame fate. And now the Turks act by themſelves, *Tokai* rendring it ſelf to them as ſoon as they appeared before it. The Emperour ſent to complain to the Baſſa of *Buda* of theſe Acts of Hoſtility; but he anſwered, that he did not pretend to break the Ceſſation in attacking theſe little places, which were but receptacles of Robbers, the Inhabitants thereof daily pillaging his Highneſſes quarters. Thus the ſtrongeſt ſeldom fail of pretences to oppreſs the weakeſt.

On the other ſide, the Baſſa of *Waradin* having beſieged *Fileck*, preſſed it hard. He had already aſſaulted the place thrice, and though *Strazoldo*, *Caprara*, *Staremberg*, and the *Palatine* advanced with deſign to relieve it; yet all theſe Generals, however brave, durſt not attempt the Enemies Lines; and it might be ſaid, that they were come ſo far but to be witneſſes of the Victory, by the loſs of the place which ſurrendred it ſelf. The ſixteenth of *September*, the *Hungarians* entred into the Turkiſh Service, but the *Germans* and all the Officers were made Priſoners, becauſe they refuſed to ſign the Capitulation, and the Women were made ſlaves, the Turks loſt 2000 Janizaries in this ſiege, which obliged them to treat the Officers with ſo much Rigour, and perhaps the place which they demoliſhed was therefore razed, or rather to prevent the Malecontents (who demanded the poſſeſſion of it) from enjoying it.

The ſaid Baſſa, after the forcing of *Filek*, went with 40000 Men and inveſted *Lewentz* and *Neutra*, which ſurrendred to him upon demand: And *Tekeley*, taking advantage of the abſence of *Straſoldo*, rendred himſelf Maſter of the High-land Cities. The Baſſa of *Buda* advanced alſo towards *Gran*, with deſign to make a Bridge there over the *Danube*, to the end he might open a paſſage into upper *Hungary*.

Tekeley, ſeeing himſelf Maſter of the upper *Hungary*, eſpecially of the Cities thereof, which by their Mines of Gold made up a great part of the Revenues of the Crown, and now having refreſhed himſelf in theſe rich Quarters, he cauſed Moneys to be coined, repreſenting on one ſide his Effiges with this Inſcription: *Emericus Comes* Tekeley *Princeps* Hongariæ; and on the reverſe theſe words: *Pro Deo, pro Patria & pro Libertate.* The Winter being now advanced, he ſent his Secretary to *Vienna* to offer a Ceſſation of Arms. This propoſal was not diſagreeable to the Imperial Court; but they could not reſolve to leave the ſaid upper Cities in his poſſeſſion; his Deputies repreſented thereupon, That their Maſter could not part with them without the conſent of the Baſſa of *Buda*, but that he would favour the Imperial Work-men, and ſuffer them to labour for his Majeſties profit, provided he might be allowed a Compenſation for his Protection, if not, he threatned to deſtroy the ſaid Cities, worth 200000 Crowns yearly to his Imperial Majeſty; after ſome altercation the Ceſſation was again agreed upon, and the Directors of the Mines were obliged to pay *Tekeley* ſix hundred Crowns every Week; this *Trevis* did not hinder ſeveral Encounters betwixt the Chriſtians and Turks. A Party of *Huſſars* in *November* defeated a Detatchment of the Infidels, commanded by an Aga, who was kill'd there. There were found in his Pockets nineteen Letters of the Baſſa of *Buda's*, writ to Officers of that Nation, ordering them to cauſe the Grand Seignior's Subjects to pay the Extraordinary Tribute, which his Highneſs was not accuſtomed to exact, but when he undertook ſome great War. Thus the Emperour was aſcertained that the Turks deſign was to draw together all their Forces to attack him the next Summer. He was confirmed in this Opinion by Letters from his Ambaſſadour at the Port, who writ to him, that the Grand Seignior was gone from *Conſtantinople* on the twenty eighth of *October* to *Adrianople*; that the great Viſier followed him the next day; that Count *Tekeley* had complained at the Port of the Baſſa of *Buda*, accuſing him for having ſeparated his Troops too far from his, and ſo hindered him from making ſuch conſiderable progreſſes in *Hungary* as he might otherwiſe have done; and finally, that the ſaid Baſſa was ſummoned up by the Grand Seignior to anſwer this Accuſation. 1682.

The great Viſier, being expected at *Belgrade*, the Emperour ſent *Saponara* to meet him, to obtain more favourable Conditions than thoſe propoſed to Count *Albret Caprara*. He ſent alſo Count *Martinitz* to the *Pope*, and to the other Princes of *Italy* to ſollicite for Succours in this extremity. Count *Kaunitz* was likewiſe ſent to *Bavaria*, and many other principal Men to the other Electors and Princes of the Empire, to invite their aſſiſtance in ſo preſſing an Exigence. To theſe Count *Walleſtein*, a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, was deputed into *Poland*, to be preſent at the Diet of *Warſaw*, to negotiate a League with that Crown; and the Emperour commanded all his Regiments to be compleated and augmented, his Garriſons to be fortified, and his Magazins to be filled for the better oppoſing ſo powerful an Enemy.

Whilſt both parties are preparing for a War with great Vigour, it will be conducible enough to the deſign of our Hiſtory, to ſubjoyn an Accident which had like to have made an abſolute breach betwixt the *French* and the *Ottoman* Port. *Monſieur du Queſne*, having given chace to ſeven *Corſairs* of *Tripoly*, forced them into the Haven of *Chio*, placing themſelves under the Cannon of the Fortreſs, to cover themſelves from the Enemy, but to no purpoſe, although the Governour of the Place ſent the *French* Admiral word, that they were under the Protection of the Grand Seignior; for *Monſieur du Queſne*, in proſecution of his Deſign, when he was come up with them, fired upon them, the Governour did the ſame upon the *French*, but to no great purpoſe, being they were ſo ill treated, that three of their Veſſels were diſabled, and all of them forced under the very Walls of the Fortreſs, one of the Baſtions of the ſame being likewiſe almoſt ruined. *Du Queſne* not yet ſatisfied, blocked them up there, until the News thereof was come to *Conſtantinople*. The Alarm was great there, and they were upon the point of falling upon them of the *French* Nation, untill their Ambaſſadour there declared, that what was done, was in no wiſe acted againſt the *Ottoman* Port, but only againſt the aforeſaid *Corſairs*, who took the Veſſels belonging to his Maſters Subjects, and therefore ought not to be received into the Grand Seigniors Ports. Though this did for the preſent in ſome ſort appeaſe them, yet the *Capitain Baſſa* was ſent to *Chio* with eight and forty Gallies, to make a Peace betwixt the *French* and the *Tripolins*; much time was ſpent

The French force the *Tripolins* into the Haven of *Chio*;

1682.

before it could be effected, which being concluded, they of *Tripoli* had liberty to repair their Veſſels.

The Grand Seignior highly offended thereat.

For all this the *Ottomans* were highly offended with the dammage *Du Queſne* had done at *Scio*, and demanded reparation from the Ambaſſador of *France* at *Conſtantinople*, who at firſt would give no hearing to ſuch frivolous Complaints, but fearing the *French* Merchants in *Turkey* might be incommoded by it, he ſince offered to make them a Preſent of his own accord, not by any order from the King his Maſter. The Turks judging the ſaid Preſent too ſmall, were in no wiſe ſatisfied with it; ſo that the Ambaſſador thought fit to make ſome addition to it, which did as little ſatisfie them. In the mean time *Du Queſne* being ſailed out of the *Archipelague*, there came an Officer to the Ambaſſador, telling him, that the Grand Seignior was in no wiſe ſatisfied with his Offer, as being in no wiſe proportionable to the dammage committed at *Scio*, adding, that the whole Empire was offended at it: But yet in conſideration of the ancient Amity betwixt the two Nations, they would paſs it by, provided the dammage were repaired, alledging by way of ſimilitude, that if our party ſued a Thief into a Friends Houſe, and that ſomething were broke in it, the Purſuer would be obliged to pay it. The Ambaſſador replyed, that the harm which was done at *Scio* might be repaired with leſs than what he had already offered of his own, which was more than he could well bear, and that the Grand Seignior and Great Viſier ought to be ſatisfied, that he ruined himſelf to conſerve the Peace betwixt the two Empires, becauſe he much feared, leſt the Preſent he had offered might not pleaſe the King his Maſter, to whom he never had made any mention of it. The Turkiſh Officer hereupon being angry, told him in the Name of the Grand Seignior and Great Viſier, that they were reſolved to put him into the *ſeven Towers*, and the *French* Merchants in Priſon; the *Port* knew very well that the *French* King did never diſapprove of what his Ambaſſadors did. The Grand Seignior and his Viſier were not to be mocked by a preſent of a few Clocks, Watches, Stuffs, and Diamonds of ſmall value, in compenſation of dammages of ſeven hundred *Purſes*, ariſing for the murther of 400 Turks, the ruine of a whole City, the deſtruction of many *Moſques*, and the Caſtle. The Ambaſſador replyed, that he was not at all ſurpriſed at his Choler, but that he ſhould have been afraid if he had ſpoke in theſe Terms to the Chiaux, whoſe ſubſtitute he was; that the lives of Turks had never been valued ſo high; that the number of the ſlain at *Scio* was not ſo great, and that there had not been one man killed, if they had not received the Pyrats there with the French Priſes; and finally, if they would put him into the ſeven Towers, he would not come out of it but by expreſs order from the King his Maſter, and that he was ready to follow him thither. The Officer being moved with the Reſolution of the Ambaſſador, aſſured him, he ſhould not fail to be conducted thither the next Morning, whereupon he replyed, he could not believe it, becauſe he knew the Sultan was juſt, the Viſier prudent, and his King a powerful Prince. The Turk interrupting him here, told him, that he talk'd as if he had 100000 men with him, to whom the other added, that his Maſter had 400000 men, and always victorious, and as for him, he ſpoke like one that would be as good as his Word. The Viſier, highly offended with the Ambaſſadors Diſcourſe, cauſed him to be told by a *Kiaia*, that he muſt add to his Preſent, or that he ſhould be obliged for his Reputation to ſend him to the ſeven Towers: but the Ambaſſador continued poſitive. Sometime after, it was ſignified to him, that the Viſier had obtained a conſiderable abatement of the 700 Purſes, and that he would be content, if beſides the Clocks and rarities, he would yet give 40000 Livers in Diamonds; but the Ambaſſador returned anſwer, that in complizance to the Great Viſier, he would yet add 1200 Crowns, and no more. Some time after, the Viſier let him know that he would ſpeak with him himſelf, which the Ambaſſador denied, becauſe he had already refuſed him the *Sofa*. However he did ſo far comply as to go to him about the end of *May*, where after many Conteſtations about increaſing the Preſent, the Turks deſcended to 350000, and afterwards to 100000 Crowns, to 10000, and finally agreed upon 15000 Livers. The Turkiſh Officers having had the moſt trouble in the World ſo to content the Grand Viſier that the *French* Ambaſſador ſhould not be diſpleaſed. A few days after, the Moneys, together with the Preſents, conſiſting of a ſmall thread of Diamonds, two ——— a *Venice* Looking-glaſs, five Chamber Clocks, one Carpet, ten embroidered Habits, ſome pieces of Cloth, Satins, and other Stuffs were exhibited, whereby this affair of *Scio* was accommodated, but not the difference about the *Sopha*, which continues ſtill.

1682.

But is appeaſed.

Fautevil.

1683.

The Emperour being ſufficiently ſatisfied of the Deſigns of the Mahometans upon *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, order'd all his Collonels to compleat their Regiments by the firſt of *May*, and gave out new Commiſſions for ſix Regiments of Horſe, and ſeveral of Foot to be raiſed with all imaginable ſpeed. Theſe Levies were not only deſigned to reinforce the Army of *Hungary*, but alſo to incamp near *Vienna*, to cover that City and the Neighbouring Countries from the Invaſion of the Turks. He further commanded the Peaſants of all the Neighbouring Villages to cut down Oaks to make Pallizadoes, and to carry them to *Vienna* for the repairing of the Fortifications of that City. The Inhabitants of the Suburbs had likewiſe order to empty their Cellars, that they might be filled with Earth, but deferred the pulling down of the Houſes until they were aſſured that the City ſhould be beſieged. Ambaſſadors being alſo ſent to the Electors, the Circles, and Princes of the Empire, to invite them to joyn with his Imperial Majeſty for the Preſervation of *Hungary*. *Conte Albret Caprara* received likewiſe order to return from his Embaſſie, unleſs he could obtain a Prolongation of the *Trevis*; but the Grand Seignior would not ſuffer him to depart, but obliged him to follow him to *Adrianople*, and thence to *Belgrade*, cauſing him to be obſerved with much exactneſs. In the mean time, as alſo the whole Winter, the Citizens of *Vienna* had been trained and exerciſed with great diligence, the better to enable them to reſiſt, in caſe of a Siege, which their fears and the Enemies braggings gave them juſt occaſion to apprehend. They alſo were commanded to lay up Proviſions for twelve Months; and not only they, but all the frontier Places were ſtored with Magazins, the Iſle of *Schut* was alſo fortified, where it was expoſed to the Enemies Surpriſes, and a Regiment of Foot added to defend the entry againſt the Infidels. There was alſo a great Redoubt made on the further ſide the *Danube* to cover the Bridge lately made, and to favour a retreat in caſe of neceſſity. At the ſame time there happened a Skirmiſh betwixt the *Huſſars* of the Gariſon of

1683.

The Plague rages in *Hungary*.

Comorra, *Papa*, *Veſprin*, and *Raab*, againſt a Detachment of the Army of the Turks, who loſt 1200 men in the Encounter. But if the Wars cauſed great ruines in *Hungary*, the Plague laid it well nigh deſolate; it raged in *Caſſovia* about *Papa*, and in many places poſſeſſed by the Turks; inſomuch that *Tekely* was obliged to retire to *Montcats* to his Wife, and to chuſe another Place than *Caſſovia* to convene the Diet which he had ſummoned. He had by Ceſſations and Treaties kept the Imperial Court in ſuſpenſe, propoſing his Mediation at the Port for a Prolongation of the twenty years *Trevis*, for which end he ſent *Schirmay* his Secretary with others thither. Nay, the Propoſitions he made were thought ſo reaſonable, that the Baron *Zaponara* was ſent with new inſtructions to carry on this Peace as well with *Tekely*, as with the Viſier of *Buda*; but whether *Tekely*, inſtead of advancing this Affair, did not retard it, or that the Turks would not conſent to any further Prolongation of Peace with the Emperour, this commerce vaniſhed. This laſt Obſtacle was ſooner believed than the other, by reaſon of the detention of *Caprara* in *Turky*, and the vaſt Preparations of the *Ottomans*, who would liſten to no Ceſſation but upon Terms ſo diſadvantageous that his Imperial Majeſty could in no ways aſſent to.

Zaponara, who had ſpent much time with *Tekely*, being returned the beginning of *January* to *Vienna*, reported, that the Count *Tekely* having been ſick at *Montcatz*, he had entertained many fruitleſs Conferences with him, and now he was well, and ſeeing no hopes of an accommodation with a man who was entirely engaged with the Turks, as was viſible by all his advances, he could continue there no longer. And this gained credit by the appearing of a certain project granted by the Grand Seignior to the *Hungarians*, which we will alſo inſert, to ſatisfie the curious, though we dare not aſſure them that it was exactly ſuch:

1. *That the Count* Emmeric Tekely *of* Ritsmark, *of the Illuſtrious Houſe of* Gabriel Bethelem, *ſhall be inſtalled King of* Hungary, *and in caſe he come to dye, the Grand Seignior will take the Queen his Wife, as well for her Perſon as Goods, into his Protection.*

2. *That after the Death of Count* Tekely *and his Children, the* Hungarians *ſhall chooſe ſuch a King as ſhall ſeem good to them, provided they acquaint the* Ottoman *Port with it.*

3. *That the Preſent, which the* Hungarians *have promiſed to give to the* Ottoman *Port, ſhall never be raiſed in any manner whatſoever.*

4. *That they ſhall entirely enjoy their Priviledges, Liberties, Immunities, and Franchiſes for ever, without any diminution.*

5. *That they ſhall be protected by the* Turks *from all their Enemies, who, or whatſoever.*

6. *That the Turks will religiouſly obſerve the Conditions of Peace made with the* Germans *at St.* Gothard, *ſo far as they concern* Hungary.

7. *That the Jeſuits, as diſturbers of the publick Repoſe, ſhall be driven out of* Hungary, *and never received there again.*

8. *That the Tributes of the ſurrendred Places ſhall never be raiſed; but that what they have contributed to the* Turks *and to the* Hungarians *hitherto, ſhall continue to perpetuity in the ſame ſtate.*

9. *That the Treaſurers of* Hungary *ſhall have free paſſage through all the parts of the* Ottoman *Dominion.*

10. *And when they carry to the Port the Preſent of Honour which they have promiſed, or ſhall come there upon any other occaſion, they ſhall be received magnificently.*

11. *And finally, the Preſent of 40000 Crowns, ſhall, as is already mentioned, never be augmented.*

1683.

Theſe and ſeveral other Paſſages fill'd the Imperial Court with diffidence, notwithſtanding *Tekely*'s fair words, and yet the Negotiations were ſtill continued, the Emperour having propoſed to an *Officer* that *Tekely* had ſent him, to grant to his Maſter the Soveraignty of all he poſſeſſed in upper *Hungary*, with ſeveral other Demeanes, ſo willing they were to have detached this ſubtile and brave Enemy from his intelligence with the Turks, who at length declared, that he could not ſeparate his Intereſts from the Port, which obliged *Hoffman* and *Saponara* to retire.

The 18 of *January*, 6000 Turks entred into *Caniſia*, moſt Janizaries, and the Gariſons of *Belgrade* and *Newhauſel* were alſo augmented with great numbers of this Militia. The 25*th* of *January*, 5000 *Tartars* arrived at *Buda*, who were ſent to *Newhauſel*, and 12000 Foot came in their place, who by reaſon they could not lodge in the City, encamped at the foot of the Walls.

Upon this News order was given to break the Ice round the Iſle of *Schults* to keep the River open, the better to oppoſe the irruptions of the *Turks* and *Malecontents*. The Ice, which was of an extraordinary thickneſs, broke the wooden Bridge at *Vienna*, with the loſs of three Charets loaden with Wine and Oates, which fell in. The Inhabitants of the aforeſaid Iſle of *Schults* were by reaſon of the oppreſſion of the Imperialiſts forc'd moſtly to abandon it; the noiſe whereof being ſpread through the Kingdom, had like to have cauſed a general Inſurrection.

The beginning of *February*, the Turks entred into the Iſle of *Serin* in *Croatia*, where they committed great diſorders. One of their parties defeated a Convoy with Munitions of War, and other proviſions deſigned for *Zendra*, *Loſſenhilts* who commanded the ſame, being ſlain.

The Turks, who provided all things neceſſary to attempt the ſiege of *Vienna*, laid in at *Buda* vaſt ſtores of Ammunition and Materials to make Bridges of; nor were they leſs vigilant on the other ſide, the Suburbs were demoliſhed round within a hundred paces of the City, and the great Iſland was fortified and put into a Condition to lodge a whole Army. Redoubts were built at both ends of the wooden Bridge, which is on the ſide neareſt the City, and the Bridge which traverſed the great Arm of the *Danube* was taken down to build another on the other ſide of the Favorites, with ſeveral other ſmall Forts for its ſecurity. Two hundred thouſand pallizadoes were ſent from *Newburg* to ſerve for the Fortifications of *Vienna*, whereof every Citizen undertook to maintain a Souldier well armed in caſe the City ſhould be beſieged. All Boats were alſo ſtopped at *Vienna*, being deſigned to tranſport Proviſions and Ammunition into *Hungary*.

However *Tekely* continued to block up the Places which remained in the Emperours Obedience in upper *Hungary*, and to ſhut up the Paſſages that no relief might be ſent to them; he did not ceaſe howſoever to teſtifie to the Deputies of the Loyal Countries, that he did deſire with Paſſion that his Imperial Majeſty would grant him reaſonable Conditions, that might reſtore him to the obedience which he owed him; and to make it appear to all the World, that he had not taken Arms againſt him out of any animoſity, he releaſed an hundred *German* Priſoners without Ranſom, and ſent to aſſure the Emperour, that he had diſpatched *Fagou* and *Sirmay*, his two chief Miniſters, to the Port to endeavour to ob-

1683. tain a prolongation of the Trevis. He ſpake to the ſame purpoſe at the Diet he had convened, and releaſed yet again eighty Priſoners which he had taken at *Tokay*, and gave Count *Herberſtein* his Liberty upon his parole.

The Turks, about the later end of *February*, made a new attempt upon the Iſle of *Schults* with 1000 men of the Garriſon of *Newhauſel*, conducted by an *Hungarian* Renegade; but the Ice, which was not ſtrong enough, breaking, a great number of them were drowned: the Imperialiſts took many Priſoners, and amongſt others the Sub-governour of *Newhawſel's* Son. A Turkiſh Officer that offered ten thouſand Dollars for his Life had his Head chopt off. At the ſame time ſeveral new Troops of the Infidels arrived, who lodged at *Eſſek*, and along the Rivers *Savus* and *Dravus*. They armed ſeveral *Brigantines*, which vogued upon the *Danube*, to hinder the Imperialiſts to ſend any Succours or Ammunition to their Garriſons. The Baſſa of *Belgrade* received orders to repair an ancient Palace ſeated upon a Hill near the Town, to lodge the Grand Seignior there, who deſigned to ſtay there during the Campania.

In *March*, *Tekely*, with a conſiderable body of the Turkiſh and his own Troops, endeavoured to Surpriſe *Tirnaw*, to cut off the Communication of the Fortreſs of *Leopolſtat*, with the River *Waagh*. But this Enterpriſe failing, this Count ſummoned a ſecond Diet in upper *Hungary*, though thoſe of the Loyal Counties were admoniſhed not to appear there. At the ſame time Collonel *Albert Caprara* advertiſed the Emperour, that the Grand Seignior offered to prolong the Ceſſation if he would ſurrender to him the Iſles of *Schults*, of *Serin*, and of *Raab*, with the Fortreſſes of *Raab* and *Comorra*; but his Imperial Majeſty did not think it expedient to accept of ſuch diſadvantageous Terms, which rendered the Turks entire Maſters of *Hungary*, and gave them an open paſſage to the very Walls of *Vienna*. After that, it was impoſſible for this Miniſter to write any more to his Maſter, for the Turks kept ſo ſtrict a Guard about him, that he was ſuffered to have no Communication with any, for fear of informing the Emperour with the vaſt preparations of War which were made in all the extent of the *Ottoman* Empire.

The Turks at the ſame time ſurpriſed a Quarter of the Dragoons, kill'd forty, and took many Priſoners; they lodged 15000 men in the Neighbourhood of *Eſſek*, to hinder the Imperialiſts from burning the Bridge, and by that means hinder their Paſſage into the lower *Hungary*. The Emperour on the other ſide cauſed all his Forces on the ſide of the *Rhine*, except four Regiments which he left for the Frontiers, to march towards *Vienna* and *Hungary*. His Troops alſo that were in *Bohemia* under the command of Count *Taff*, were commanded that way.

In the beginning of *April*, the Grand Seignior ſent the Baſſa *Zanko*, who, though he had but one hand, was one of the beſt Officers in the Turkiſh Army, to *Caſſovia*, to command under Count *Tekeley*. At the ſame time the Emperour made a great Detachment of all the Regiments that were in *Hungary*, to march toward *Treinſchin*, under the Command of the Count of *Schults*, to go meet a great Body of Succours which came out of *Poland* under the Conduct of *Lubomirski*. The Count *Herberſtein* had Orders to paſs into *Croatia* with all the Troops of the lower *Auſtria*, to oppoſe the Enemy, who pretended to make an Irruption into that Province.

The Grand Seignior ſhewed ſo much paſſion for the War of *Hungary*, that to complement him, all the Miniſters of the Court would particularly contribute to it. Every one offered to entertain a certain number of Souldiers at their proper charge, and did. The Great ——— himſelf raiſed 400 men. And the Ladies no leſs forward, raiſed great ſums for the Expedition, eſpecially the *Aſſeki* or Sultan Queen. His Highneſs being reſolved to march in the beginning of the Spring to *Belgrade*, ſent the Emperour according to the Practiſe of the Sultans, a ——— to mark that he declared War againſt him. The Great Viſier being ready to move, ſent 1200 Camels loaden with Powder to *Belgrade* before him, together with Orders to the Baſſa of the ſaid place, to build a Bridge upon the *Savus*, which was immediately put in Execution.

1683. All the Miniſters of the Port contribute to the War of *Hungary*, as alſo the Ladies.

Maſſe d'armes.

March 31.

The Emperour and King of *Poland* make a League Offenſive and Defenſive.

The Emperour received at the ſame time an expreſs from Count *Walleſtin*, his Ambaſſador in *Poland*, which informed him that he had concluded with that King a League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt the Turks. This News did moſt ſenſibly affect the Imperial Court with Joy, becauſe they had doubted much of the Succeſs of this Negotiation, the King of *Poland* having ſhewed ſome Diſſatisfaction, in that the Emperour would never aſſiſt him, nor enter into any concert with him, whilſt he alone ſupported a War againſt the Turks; but Intereſt took place of Paſſion. The King of *Poland*, like a prudent Prince, foreſaw, that if the Turks conquered *Hungary* and the *German* Neighbouring States, he ſhould be ſcarce able to reſiſt ſo powerful a Neighbour; which made him reſolve to oppoſe his Deſigns, and to joyn his Arms with the Emperours. The Conditions of this mutual alliance briefly were, that the Alliance ſhould be not only defenſive, but alſo offenſive againſt the Turks, and laſt till both found their aſſured repoſe; neither ſhould make Peace without conſent of the other; his Imperial Majeſty ſhould entertain 60000 Men, whereof 40000 ſhould keep the Field, and the reſt be put in Gariſons; the King of *Poland* will lead 40000 under his own Conduct: he ſhall be alſo obliged to recover his Places in *Podolia*, *Wallachia*, and *Ukrania*, whilſt the Imperialiſts ſhall do the ſame by thoſe Places they left in *Hungary*; The *Poles* ſhall furniſh 6000 men to act againſt *Tekely*. Other Articles not immediately regarding the preſent War, are purpoſely omitted.

Tekely breaks the Ceſſation.

There had been ill obſerved Treaties and Ceſſations continued betwixt the *Tekeliſts* and *Germans*, and now the firſt beſiege the Caſtle of *Donaviſth* in the County of *Sepuſa* in upper *Hungary*, *C. Caprara* having by meſſage repreſented to *Tekely*, that it was a violation of the Trevis; He anſwered, that he only did it becauſe *C. Joanelli*, to whom the Place belonged, had refuſed to come to the Diet of *Caſſovia*, ſo frivolous an excuſe made it apparent to the Emperours Miniſters, that they were not too much to confide in the Promiſes of this Count, and that he would take his advantages as often as occaſions preſented themſelves. Some few days after, he had News that his Princeſs was brought to bed of a Son at *Montcats*, whereupon he ſent one of his chief Officers to Prince *Abaſſi*, to invite him to Chriſten the Babe, which he accepted of, and ſent one of the principal Lords in *Tranſilvania* to ſupply his Place.

May 3.

In the beginning of *May*, the great Viſier came to *Belgrade* with the Van of the *Ottoman* Army, and more than 300 pieces of Cannon, beſides Mortars to throw Granadoes of a prodigious bigneſs. At the ſame time the Troops that were to compaſs the Imperial Army, began

to

1683. to draw towards *Presburg*, where Count *Rabata* encamped them as they came, according to the orders he had received from his Imperial Majeſty, who had choſen the great Plain of *Kirtzer*, joyning to that City to take the general review of his Army, which being drawn into Batalia in two Lines, extended four Miles in length; ſeventy two pieces of Cannon, with the General of the Artillery, Count *Starenberg*, were placed at the head of the Infantry, which was ranged in Batalions, and in ſuch order that they might be perceived on both ſides; they were numbered 20000, and the Horſe in two Wings amounted to 12000, beſides 5000 *Huſſars* drawn up on the Right of the *German* Horſe with fourteen field pieces.

The Emperour arrived in the Camp about Ten of the Clock, preceded by his Guards, and riding between the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorrain*, being followed by many other Princes and Lords, and ſaluted with three Vollies of all the Cannon and Muſqueteers of the Army. After Maſs, the Archbiſhop of *Strigonium* read with a loud Voice the Bull of Indulgence, accorded to ſuch who ſhould fight againſt Infidels, and having given his Benediction to their Imperial Majeſties, who received it on their Knees, and conſequently to all the Army, this Prince cauſed 500000 Livers to be diſtributed amongſt the Souldiery, which was no leſs acceptable to them. The Command of the Forces being given to the Duke of *Lorrain* as Generaliſſimo, the Right wing was conducted by the Duke of *Sax-Lawenburg*, the Left by General *Caprara*, and the Infantry and Cannon by the Count of *Starenberg*. With this Army thus compoſed moſt of the Emperour's old and beſt Souldiery, and under ſo expert a General as the Duke of *Lorrain*; the Court hoped for ſomewhat extraordinary, though as it will appear they were diſappointed in their Expectation. In the mean time a Council of War was held to ſee what might be done before the arrival of the Turks, and after what manner they ſhould act upon the Defenſive when the Enemy did appear. All agreed that for the Offenſive there was nothing to be attempted but *Gran* or *Newhauſel*, and that, as they ought to avoid thoſe Enterpriſes which would coſt much Blood, and weaken the Army, ſo they ſeemed to point at *Gran* as moſt eaſie, though others were for *Newhauſel* for ſeveral Reaſons. For the Defenſive, it was concluded they muſt endeavour to defend the Paſſages of the Rivers *Raab* and *Waagh*. The reſult of this Council being referred to the Emperour, he judged, that for the Reputation of his Arms, and other important Reaſons, not to ſuffer his Army to lye idle the ſpace of two Months time, which they had before the Enemy could take the field, but left the choice to the Duke, whether he would attempt *Gran* or *Newhauſel*? He only recommended to him, that when the Turks advanced he ſhould take care for the ſecurity of the Garriſons, and oppoſe as much as in him lay the Enemies ravaging of the Hereditary Countries.

The Army being advanced near *Comorra*, the Duke having no certain Intelligence of the condition of *Gran*, reſolved in perſon to take a view of the Place, which he did, but being upon the point to reſolve its Siege, he was advertiſed that the Turks were forming a Camp at *Buda*, and judging that they might from thence relieve *Gran* by Water, (as the Baſſa of *Newhauſel* had already done upon the news of the Chriſtians Deſign to attempt the place) and perhaps cut off the Communication betwixt him and *Comorra*, by poſting themſelves betwixt this Place and *Gran*, he quitted the thoughts of that Enterpriſe, reſolving upon the Siege of *Newhauſel* as the only choice left him. 1683.

June 3. This Reſolution being taken, he ſent ſome Foot towards *Gran*, and armed Boats down the River, as deſigning to burn the Bridge, to gain a belief of his intent to beſiege that City, but wheeling about with his Horſe, he marched all that Night and inveſted *Newhauſel* the Day following. The Turks ſeeing this, ſet the Suburbs on fire to prevent the Chriſtians approach; who notwithſtanding planted their battery, and were advanced within an hundred paces of the body of the Place, with little loſs ſave that of Count *Taxis*, and might probably have given a good account of the Siege, if the Court, which diſapproved the Enterpriſe, had not ſent orders for them to retire. This command was immediately obeyed, and not without ſome Precipitation, the Army returning to their old Camp betwixt *Raab* and *Comorra*. The ſudden raiſing of the Siege ſeemed ſtrange to ſome, being the Turkiſh Army was not yet ready to appear, and that the Chriſtians were ſo forward in their approaches. But the more diſcerning thought otherwiſe, becauſe this Town, being ſtrong and well furniſhed with all things, the obſtinacy of the Beſieged might have wearied the Imperial Troops, and have reduced them to an Inability of being able to oppoſe the *Ottoman* Army when they came into *Hungary*, and that therefore it was better chuſing the certain, than the hazard of that which was not ſo, as was the taking of *Newhauſel*, and to keep upon the Defenſive, the rather being the *Poliſh* Army was not ready, nor yet raiſed; and therefore the Imperial Army, upon whoſe Valour depended the Preſervation of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, was in no wiſe to be weakned or baffled.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, having refreſhed his Army for ſome time, advanced with all his Forces on the ſide of *Raab*, having given orders to haſten the Works at *Leopolſtat*, and repair the Fortifications of *Raab* and *Comorra*.

In the mean time, the Turkiſh Army, compoſed of all the Nations under their Obedience, conſiſting of 200000 Men, advanced into *Hungary* on the ſide of *Alba-Regalis*, ſending 4000 Pioneers before them to dig Pits and Wells in their paſſage to furniſh all the Army with Water; and the Grand Viſier himſelf having paſſed the Bridge of *Eſſek* with the body of his Army, moved towards the Chriſtian Camp by *Raab*, with a Reſolution to attack it inſtantly, and oblige them to a general Battel; his Army was ſo numerous that they covered the whole Country from *Alba* even to the Mountains of *Raab*, and being come within a League of the Imperialiſts, he detached a great number of *Tartars* to ſpoil and ravage the Country out of which the Chriſtians could receive any Subſiſtence or Forage, which extremely augmented their wants, which were already but too great.

The Grand Seignior arriving at *Belgrade* the Third of *June*, the Sultan Queen would not ſtay behind, but accompanied his Highneſs in his Voyage of *Hungary*. At *Belgrade* he received an Expreſs from the *Caimacan*, of a great fire at *Conſtantinople*, which had intirely conſumed one of the quarters of the City, and that the Grand Viſier's Seraglio had been quite burnt if the neighbouring Houſes had not been pulled down to ſave that ſumptuous Building.

Tekely having taken his meaſures from the Grand Viſier, upon whom he had waited, and concerted with him concerning the following Campania, being returned to *Caſſovia*, publiſhed a Ma-

1683. a Manifeſt in the Grand Seignior's and his own Name, that all the *Hungarians* that would embrace his Party, ſhould be maintained in their Priviledges, Liberties, Goods, Laws, and Religion; but that ſuch who refuſed to ſubmit, ſhould have no quarter. This Manifeſt had the deſired effect, for the Cities of *Papa*, *Tot*, and *Veſprin*, the moſt remote, immediately opened their Gates to the *Tekeliſts*. The Emperour, fearing that *Neutra* would follow the Example of theſe three Places, commanded Count *Schults* the Governour, to draw forth the great Guns, the Arms and Stores, and to quit the Place. The ſame Orders were given to the Hilly Cities, and to the Officers of the Silver Mines, who all obeyed; a Conduct ſo extraordinary alarmed all *Hungary*. The Cities and Counties declared to the Emperours Commiſſioners, that they would open their Gates to Count *Tekely*, to prevent Fire and Pillage, being there was no hopes of Succours. To all this, the *Hungarians*, under their Palatine *Eſterhaſi*'s Command, who guarded the Paſſages of the River *Waagh*, about 15000 in number deſerted likewiſe, putting themſelves under the Protection of *Tekeley*, and the *Turks*, ſo that this Palatine with ſcarce a competent Guard, was forced to retire to *Vienna*, becauſe he would not violate his Faith ſworn to the Emperour.

Whilſt the two Armies did nothing material, but obſerve each other, a great Body of *Tartars* under the Conduct of their Cham, who was there in Perſon, animated with the hopes of Pillage, having examined the Avenues and Fords of the River *Raab*, by following it towards its ſource, paſſed over by ſwimming their Horſes, and guided by ſome *Hungarians*, they came to *Kerment* and St. *Godthard*, a place famous for the memorable Victory which the Chriſtians gained from the Turks nineteen years paſt, far from finding any Obſtacles to hinder them, every thing ſeem'd to favour their Paſſage. Count *Badiani* abandoned his poſt upon the River, joyning with *Tekely* thoſe *Hungarians* he commanded; ſo that the Enemy entered the Country like a torrent, putting all to Fire and Sword; and paſſing the *Rabwitz*, continued their Devaſtations. The Duke of *Lorrain*, finding the Enemy on both ſides, and fearing leſt they might cut off his way to *Vienna* and the Hereditary Countries, having reinforced the Gariſons of *Raab* and *Comorra*, reſolved to retire with the reſt not exceeding 24000. And to the end the march of the Horſe might not be retarded by the Foot and Artillery, they were ſeparated, the Infantry and Canon marching along the Iſle of *Schut*, the way on the left ſide of the *Danube*, being expoſed to little Danger; from thence they came ſafe to *Presburg* and *Thebes*, and paſſing the River *Mark*, arrived happily at *Vienna*. The Duke, having paſſed the Bridge of *Raab* with the Cavalry, marched to *Altembourg*, where he reſted ſome time, expoſing this little Town to the Pillage of his Souldiers, as being loth to let their Cattel and Proviſions fall into the Enemies Hands, which would infallibly happen. The Inhabitants however ſeemed very diſſatisfied to be ſo uſed by their Friends, though the Cruelty of the Enemy, who ravaged all with Fire and Sword, effaced the other ill, as wholly diſproportionable: from thence having paſſed the Streight there, they marched towards the Plains of *Kitz* or *Kitzer*, where two Months before the general review of the Army was made.

Cara Muſtapha, the Great Viſier, attributing this retreat of the Chriſtians to their fear, called a Council, where it was deliberated whether he ſhould purſue them, or undertake the Siege of *Raab*? But judging, according to the appearances, that their retreat was no better than a running away, it was reſolved to purſue them; whereupon he preſently raiſed his Camp, and followed the way the Chriſtians were gone, leaving a body of 12000 near the ſaid *Raab*, to ſecure his Convoys and Proviſions. 1683.

The Duke perceiving their deſign, and not judging himſelf in aſſurance in the Plains of *Kitz* againſt ſo formidable a power, reſolved to march towards *Vienna*. He ſent Count *Æneas Caprara*, General of his Horſe, to acquaint the Emperour with it, and inform him of all things. The Duke following, had ſent his Baggage before, but it happened, that a Troop of *Tartars*, mingled with *Turks*, and conducted by *Hungarians*, to the number of 3000 in all, having ſwum over the River *Leithe*, and hid themſelves in a Wood betwixt the Villages of *Petronel* and *Elend*, fell ſuddenly upon them, and attacking ſome Regiments on the left Wing, which followed the Baggage, with dreadful cryes and howlings, did ſo ſurprize them with the terrour of ſo unexpected an irruption, that it brought them all into confuſion, and by reaſon of the Duſt, which was ſo thick that they could not diſtinguiſh Friend from Foe, not knowing which way to turn, they broke their Ranks, and communicated their Diſorder to the very Regiments that followed. In the mean time theſe *Barbarians*, taking the ordinary Advantages of their impetuouſneſs, flew ſome of them upon the *Pedees*, Carters, and Servants, which they ſacrifice to their Cruelty and Fury, whilſt the reſt plunder the Chariots and Baggage. Many Officers loſt there their Equipages, and amongſt others the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*, the Prince of *Croy*, and *Æneas Caprara*, all General Officers, had all their Plate taken away.

This Accident put the Army into a prodigious Conſternation, it could not be comprehended, that the Duke having left the Enemy behind him, this ſame Enemy ſhould poſſibly have got before them, and by ways nearer and ſhorter intercept, and ſo boldly attack their Baggage, which was thought ſecure under the Convoy that guarded it. As ſoon as they had recollected themſelves, and that the Duke had conſidered the diſorder part of his Army was in, he ſent freſh Troops to ſecond the firſt, and to aſſiſt them to repell the *Barbarians*; yet ſo as to avoid a general Engagement, which he greatly apprehended. The *Tartars* ſeeing the *Chriſtians* rally, began likewiſe to draw to a head; but the fear to ſee themſelves deprived of their Prey, obliged them to retire, and to run away with no leſs precipitation and ſpeed than they uſed in their Onſet. The Duke cauſed them to be purſued by his Light-Horſe, who took ſome Standards, being unwilling to engage with the groſs of their Troops, as well being this Detachment was ſupported by the Avant-guard of the Army, as not to retard his march to *Vienna*, the which he continned afterwards without any Interruption. The *Chevdlier* of *Savoy*, Brother to the Count of *Soiſſons*, was loſt in this Confuſion, for being too far advanced with his Dragoons that followed him, a *Tartar* knock'd him from his Horſe with his Sable, and thinking him dead, did alight, and heaving him croſs his Saddle, with his Breaſt upon the Pomel, preſt him ſo there, that he bruiſed his Stomach. A little after, this Prince being relieved and conducted to *Vienna*, and however his Wound in his Head was not mortal, his diſlocated Stomach could not be re-ſet, ſo that he died in a few days.

Prince

1683. Prince *Thomas* of *Aremberg*, and Count *Mellini* were ſlain in this ſcuffle, though the common loſs of either ſide was not great.

The Emperour, being informed of the preſent State of Affairs by Count *Caprara*, was greatly irreſolved, not knowing what to do upon ſo important and preſſing an Occaſion. He immediately cauſed his chief Miniſters to be ſummoned to know their Sentiments, and all unanimouſly counſelled his Majeſty to retire from *Vienna*. They now only deliberate what road or way he ought to take, ſome adviſed he ſhould go over the Mountains without paſſing the *Danube*, and ſo ſtrait to *Campililium*, being the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way to *Lintz*; but the Enemy being on the ſame ſide of the River, the other was preferable, as leſs ſubject to Danger, and the violent purſuits of the Enemies Cavalry, who would make more way in a day, winged with the hopes of ſuch a purchaſe, than the Court could make in four. This laſt advice being approved, was ordered to be put in Execution, and all things, as far as was poſſible in ſuch Confuſion, prepared for the Journey.

The Noiſe of this retreat was quickly made publick. The Waggons which arrived in Confuſion to carry the Baggage ſufficiently publiſhed it, and at the ſame time filled the City and Neighbourhood with ſo much Terror, that it might be thought no body would ſtay when the Emperour was gone. All the Horſes and Carts that could poſſibly be found, were hired to fly away with, many Ladies of Quality being forced to put themſelves into deſpicable Carriages, little conformable to their Condition. Houſes ſtored with rich moveables, and furniſhed with Wine, Corn, and all ſort of Proviſions, were abandoned, nothing but what was precious and moſt portative being ſaved. The Air was alſo filled with the Sighs, the Tears, the Lamentations and the Cryes of the Multitude, as if the Enemy had already rendered themſelves Maſters of the City.

July 7. The ſame day, being the ſeventh of *July*, about eight at Night, their Imperial Majeſties with the whole Court paſſing through the Pallace Gate, went over the *Danube*, and lay that Night at *Gronenbourg*, a pleaſant Town two or three miles diſtant from *Vienna*, being guarded by 200 men, who returned to *Vienna* the next Morning. The next day there followed ſuch a prodigious number of Coaches, Carts, Chariots, Horſemen, Foot, *&c.* as if they had deſigned to render the City a Deſert. They were thought to amount to 60000, ſo preſſing they were to avoid the danger that ſo eminently threatned them. And yet it was computed, that no fewer ſtay'd behind fit to bear Arms, beſides the Garriſon, the Women and the Children. This flight continued ſeveral days, but thoſe that went laſt, fell for the moſt part into the danger they would avoid, the hands of the *Tartars*. Many others did ſo overload their Chariots, that they had ſcarce paſſed the Bridge over the *Danube*, but their Wheels or Axeltrees breaking, they were left in the way in the Night, not knowing whither to turn themſelves.

Count *Auersberg*, having been diſpatched by the Duke of *Lorrain* to the Emperour, to inform him of the ſucceſs of the Battel of *Petronel*, found him at *Gronenbourg*, and greatly rejoyced the whole Court. Upon the firſt News of the Regiments that had been baffled, they had publiſhed at *Vienna* that the General had been ſlain, the Horſe defeated, and the *Tartars* at the Gates of the City. Thus all were greatly revived, that the Evil was leſs than they had believed it to be. 1683.

Whilſt their Imperial Majeſties continued their Journey to *Lintz*, *Lorrain* entred *Vienna*, where his firſt care was to pacifie the Diſorders and Confuſion there. Count *Sterenberg* arrived July 8.
there the ſame day, and immediately fell to work with the Counterſcharp, fortifying the whole Works, and to plant Palizadoes. As they had not apprehended a Siege, the Generals found the more to do. *Lorrain* endeavoured however to provide for all things before the arrival of the Enemy, who began ſince the 11*th* 11.
to ſhew their moſt advanced Troops near the City. The ſame day *Starenberg*'s Regiment arrived, as alſo a thouſand commanded Men, who advancing ſwiftly before the reſt of the Army, entred the City.

And now they burn the Suburbs, which was 12.
continued the day following, the Citizens themſelves carrying Fire into their own Houſes; and in the Evening there was a great Skirmiſh near the Palace called the Favorite, where the Turks advanced to diſcover. All the Infantry arrived the 13*th*, and *Lorrain* made them all march in- 13.
to the Counterſcharp, except eight Batallions which he retained in the *Tabor*, the better to defend that Poſt where he reſolved to ſtay until the Powder and Bullets expected from *Lintz* were arrived; which being effected, and the Ammunition conducted into the Arſenal, he 14.
cauſed the reſt of the Foot to be removed into the Town, together with *Dupigni*'s Regiment of Horſe, the whole compoſing a Body of twelve thouſand Men.

The *Tartars* had committed infinite Ravages and Cruelties in that vaſt extent of Countries round *Vienna* for ſeveral Leagues. It is their cuſtom to run before the Army, armed only with a Javelin, and to burn and ſack, and ſpread Terror over all where they find no reſiſtance. They kill ſuch as fall into their Hands, or traffick them away as Slaves with the Turks. No place eſcapes their Inhumanity, not the moſt retired Places of Forreſts, the impenetrable Dens of wild Beaſts, or the moſt obſcure retreats of Valleys. There is nothing theſe *Barbarians* do not diſcover by means of their Blood-hounds, the uſe whereof is common amonſt them.

But now the groſs of the Enemies Army approaching, a great number of Waggons, ſome with four Horſes, and others drawn with Oxen, and very many Camels laden with Baggage, began to range themſelves in form of a Croyſent or half Moon about the City, extending from the *Danube* behind St. *Mark*, along the Suburbs of *Leopolſtat*, and the neighbouring Villages, even to *Neudorf*. At the ſame time the Turks opened their Trenches on the ſide of the Imperial Gate, and lodged there in ſpight of the Cannon of the Town that endeavoured to hinder them.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, having ordered Affairs at *Vienna*, retired with his Horſe and Dragoons over the Bridges, and camp'd there; he would gladly have kept ſome Foot with him, but having conſidered the greatneſs of the Enemies Strength, the Works that were to be made, the diſtance of Supplies, and the diminution which the continuance of a Siege would make in the Garriſon, he reſolved to leave all his Infantry with the Governour, who moſt earneſtly deſired it.

The Duke, before he left *Vienna*, had deſigned to continue in the *Tabor*, (or Iſle of St. *Leopold*) and ſo conſerve the Communication with the City. *Tabor* is an Iſland of a League and a half long, environed with the *Danube*. This Iſle is full of Houſes of Pleaſure, Gardens, and Groves. But upon a true Survey of the Place, his Highneſs could not think it defenſible, the Waters being ſo low, that the Arm of the River which formed this Iſle was almoſt every where fordable, ſo that whole ſquadrons might paſs at once without breaking their Ranks: for this and other Reaſons, the Iſle being likewiſe expoſed to the Enemies Artillery, they were obliged to repaſs the *Danube*.

The Turks by this time had pitch'd an infinite number of Tents about the City, and making a lodgement in *Rottenhoffs* Garden, where they had firſt opened their Trenches, and raiſed a great Battery, they thundered without ceaſing to favour their Works, which they continued winding and turning. The beſieged on their ſide covered themſelves with Gabions and ſacks of Earth to hinder the effect of the Enemies Cannon; they alſo raiſed a good Battery on that ſide, and all the Engineers and moſt knowing Officers being diſtributed into the ſeveral Poſts, were continually employed to render their Cannon ſerviceable, and fortifie the Places the moſt expoſed to the Enemies Fire, which coſt many of them their Lives.

The Turks, moved to ſee that the Chriſtians were Maſters of the Bridges, made an attempt to force *Conte Schultz* who had the guard of them. This General ſeeing his forlorn and advanced Guards preſſed, he ſent other Troops to ſuſtain them; but the Infidels having already a great body in the Iſle of *Tabor*, the Chriſtians were forced to fly over the Bridge. The Enemy planted their Standards there, but the Cannon loaden with Cartrages flanking that place, and the ſwift firing of the Dragoons, ranged along that Arm of the *Danube*, conſtrained them to retire, though themſelves were expoſed to the Enemies great and ſmall ſhot. The Dragoons preſſed them with ſo much violence in their retreat, that they took their Colours. The Turks upon this occaſion loſt a Baſſa, and many of their Janizaries. General *Schultz* himſelf was wounded here, as alſo the *Conte* of *Salsburg*, and a *Poliſh* Major ſlain. In the mean time the Turks, having poſſeſſed themſelves of St. *Leopold's* Iſle, ſhut up the City on all ſides. They made Bridges upon that Arm of the *Danube* which runs next the City, not only to communicate with their Camp, but to hinder the deſcent of Boats. They burnt the *Favorite*, and reduced all the Palaces of the Grandees to Aſhes. As ſoon as the heat of firing began to ceaſe in the Suburbs, the Turks filled them with Janizaries, ſo that none could enter or go out of the City; which much troubled the Duke of *Lorrain*, who could no more give or receive Intelligence from the beſieged, though ſo near and in ſight of them.

The Camp of twelve thouſand Men which the Grand Viſier had left near *Raab* to favour the Convoys, continued there ſtill under the command of the Baſſa of *Buda*; but he was relieved by Prince *Abaffi*, being himſelf obliged to go to the Siege of *Vienna*. There was alſo a Camp almoſt always betwixt *Fickem* and *Altembourg*, upon the ſame account, that is, to keep open and aſſiſt the Paſſage of Convoys which came from *Buda*, and the Neighbouring Parts.

The Turks being poſted in St. *Ulrick's* Suburbs, run their Trenches within fifty paces of the Counterſcharp and Batteries. They alſo advanced their Cannon there, but before they diſcharged them, they cauſed a little Bag of Linnen, carried upon the Spur by two *Spahies*, to be thrown into the Counterſcharp. This contained a Letter from the Grand Vizier, written in the Latin and Turkiſh Languages, the Explication whereof follows.

To You, Generals, Governours, and Noble Citizens of Vienna, *We make known by theſe Preſents, according to the Orders we have received from the moſt Serene, moſt Mighty, moſt Redoubted, and the Mightieſt Emperour of the Univerſe, our Maſter, the true Image of God upon Earth, who, by the Grace of the moſt High, in imitation of our holy Prophet* Mahomet Muſtapha, *to whom be Honour, Glory, and Benediction, hath render'd himſelf, by the multitude of his Miracles, the greateſt of all the Sovereigns of the one and th'other World, and moſt Auguſt of Emperours, who, having cauſed our innumerable Armies, protected always by Divine Providence, to come hither, We are reſolved to take* Vienna, *and eſtabliſh there the Cult of our Divine Religion; 'tis therefore, that before we draw our fatal Cymetars, as our chief End is the Propagation of the* Muſſelman Faith, *and that is expreſly commanded us by the Laws of our* Holy Prophet, *firſt and before all things, to exhort you to embrace our* Holy Religion, *we do hereby advertiſe you, that if you will cauſe your ſelves to be inſtructed in our Myſteries, you will find the Salvation of your Souls therein: If you will deliver up your City without fighting, whether you are young, or more advanced in years, Rich or Poor, we aſſure you that you may all live there peaceably. If any deſire to quit the place, and go live elſewhere, no harm ſhall be done him in his Perſon or Goods, and he ſhall be conducted with his Family and Children whither he pleaſes. For ſuch as will rather ſtay, they ſhall live in the City as they did before. But if you ſuffer us by your Obſtinacy to take the City by force, we ſhall then ſpare no Body; and we ſwear by the* Creator *of* Heaven *and* Earth, *who neither hath, nor never will have his equal, that we ſhall put all to the Sword, as is ordained by our Law. Your Goods will be pillaged, and your Wives and Children will be carried away Slaves. We ſhall pardon only ſuch who ſhall obey the Divine Orders.*

Given at the Emperours Camp before Vienna, *the 8th of the Moon* Regeb, *in the year of the tranſmigration of the* Prophet, 1094.

The Turks continued to deepen their Trenches to four foot, and ſhot many Bombs, but without any conſiderable effect, moſt of them burſting in the Air, except ſome few, which falling near the Walls, burnt an old Play-houſe, which being of Wood, it was feared leſt the Flames ſhould reach the Convent and Church of the *Auguſtines*, which occaſion'd its ſudden demoliſhing.

There happened alſo another Accident, but more dangerous. The Fire having ſeized upon the *Scots* Church, conſumed that ſtately Building, as alſo the Houſe of *Frendorf*, lately perfectioned by the Biſhop of *Heliopolis*, Suffragan to the Arch-biſhop of *Vienna*. The flame proceeded to the Arſenal, full of Powder and Munitions of War, which would have proved fatally ruinous, if *Conte Serin* had not cauſed the Gate, which they had in vain attempted to unlock, to be broken open, and immediately removed the Powder, which a few moments delay would have rendred impoſſible. But on the other ſide, they could not hinder the Fire to conſume the Palaces of *Aversberg*, *Traun*, and *Palfi*, which were reduced to Aſhes. A Boy of ſixteen years old, habited like a Girl, was accuſed as guilty of this burning, being found thereabouts, who was by the enraged People immediately pull'd in pieces, ſo that the truth by this precipitated death could not be made known. This Fire continued three days, which if it had ſeiſed the Powder in the Arſenal, as in the year 1620, the

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1683. Turks might eaſily have entred that way into the City.

Since this Accident, the Infidels ſhot that way that they ſaw the flame appear, and endeavoured to ruine the Court and the Lyon Baſtions, with the Ravelin betwixt both; but the Beſieged bravely oppoſed them with their Sallies and Countermines. They wanted good Engineers in the City, inſomuch that *Haſner*, a Captain of the Garriſon, who from a private Souldier was by his Virtue come to that degree, being obſerved to note all the faults the Miners committed in their Works, the conduct of them was committed to him, wherein he acquitted himſelf with good Succeſs.

Count *Starenberg*, who was Governour General, was all this while buſie in repairing the Walls, deepning and palizadoing the Ditches, and in raiſing the Earth which was drawn out of the Ramparts and Retreats, to cover themſelves when the firſt Poſts and Parapets were thrown down, which afterwards contributed much to the defence of the Place.

The Turks advanced their Works on the Court and Lebel Baſtions ſide, carrying them on within thirty paces of the Counterſcharp, notwithſtanding the continued fire of the Beſieged. They alſo diſcharged their Cannon and Mortars without ceaſing, and intirely ruined the Emperour's Palace, the Houſes and neighbouring Churches.

Count *Starenberg*, who neglecting the danger, viſited every moment the Poſts, to ſee if his orders were faithfully executed; upon his going out of the Court-Bulwark was hurt in the Head with a Brick-bat, which a Cannon bullet had forced. He was immediately carried to his Lodging, and ſo happily cured, that in three days he found himſelf able to quit his Bed and his Chamber; during his hurt, the Count of *Daun* was alſo incapable of acting, being dangerouſly ſick of a violent Fever, which reduced him to extremity; ſo that he was not out of danger before the fourteenth Day of his Malady. But the Counts *Serin*, *Souches*, and *Schaffenberg*, Brigadiers of the Garriſon, applied themſelves with ſo much care for the defence of the Place, that the Enemy drew no advantage from this misfortune.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Lorrain*, finding himſelf obliged to remove farther from the City, his firſt care was to moleſt the Enemy. Count *Dunewald*, Lieut. Marſhal of the Field, was ſent to *Krembs* with his Regiment, the two Rements of *Lodron*, and *Keri*, *Cravats*, *Kemgſegs* Regiment of *Poliſh* Dragoons, were likewiſe diſpatched thither, not only to keep the Bridge, which was of great Importance, but to hinder the Euemies Forragers, and oppoſe the Parties of *Tartars* which ravaged about. And here we may wonder at the Politicks of theſe Miſcreants, who burn and ruine all the Forrages, and all the Victuals, which ſhould make them ſubſiſt, and which would have very much accommoded their Army in the diſtreſſes they afterwards found themſelves.

Lorrain likewiſe ſent Orders to Count *Hermeſtein*, who was in *Styria*, to advance to the Frontiers on the ſide of the Mountains, to attempt the Enemies. He gave alſo the ſame Orders to the Garriſons of *Raab* and *Comorra*, and to *Caſtel's* Dragoons who were at *Newſtat*. He ſent likewiſe to ſurvey *Cloſterneubourg*, which is an Abbey upon the *Danube*. The Turkiſh Camp was but two Leagues off, and according to the report made to him of the Place, he judged it neceſſary to conſerve this Poſt, which he did, by putting Foot into it, the which might deſcend the *Danube* upon occaſion, if the Enemy came to attack them with Cannon. 1683.

17. He diſpatch'd an Officer to *Raab*, for the Regiments of *Grand* and *Baden*, which the Duke of *Croy* brought him with ſo much diligence, that parting from *Raab* at Mid-night, they came in 24 hours to *Presburg*, and the next day to the Camp.

Count *Leſley* was ſent to *Krembs* to conduct the Artillery thither, and to expect the *Bavarians* Auxiliaries, thoſe of *Saxony* and *Franconia*, and ſome other looſe Regiments in the Empire.

After theſe firſt Diſpoſitions, which depended on the Duke's care, his thoughts more nearly regarded the Court, and the relief of *Vienna*. He judged the ſafety of this Place of ſuch Importance, that he thought it not fit it ſhould be preſſed, and reduced to Extremity, to ſearch the means of ſaving it. He knew that the tediouſneſs of Negotiations, and the diſtance from whence he was to expect things neceſſary for this grand Enterpriſe, would make him loſe much time, whence he concluded that he could not begin too ſoon. He was not of the Sentiment of others, who imagined that the Garriſon of *Vienna* was capable of defending it ſelf againſt ſuch extraordinary Troops, and cauſe the Grand Viſier's Army to periſh, without any Succour. But he knew that the want of Neceſſaries do ſometimes produce great Changes in the beſt Reſolutions, that no body could anſwer for the Governour's Life; nor for the principal Officers, nor for the conſtancy of the People, accuſtomed to an eaſie Life, and who had never ſeen the Wars but in paint. He knew that the Maladies inevitable in Sieges might occaſion untoward Accidents. He ſaw the Deſolation of the Emperour's Hereditary Countries, which did daily augment. He heard no other Diſcourſe but of Places ſacked, and People carried into ſlavery. In this Continuation of Cruelties and Violences, he judged it reaſonable to uſe all means to ſtop the Rapidity of this Torrent. He perſwaded himſelf, that being at the head of the Army, he ought not to deferr repreſenting all theſe Particulars to the Emperour by ſome Perſon of Merit and Truſt. He gave this Commiſſion to Count *Taff*, whom he diſpatch'd to *Haſſau*, and he continued the ſame Offices during the Siege, for all the Obſtacles and Oppoſitions which he Encountred, whether by the Difficulties of Paſſages, or the ſlender ſucceſs of his Negotiations.

The Beſiegers, who had drawn two parallel Lines, the one on the Court Baſtion, and the other on the Lebel ſide, joyned them with another of Communication, and placed above thirty pieces of Battery againſt them. And though *Vienna* was environed with eleven Baſtions, the Enemy attack'd and battered but three during the whole Siege, which obliged the Governour to uſe all his care for their defence.

The Grand Viſier took his Poſt on that ſide that regarded the Ravelin above-mentioned, with the Aga of the Janizaries, called as he was, *Cara Muſtapha*, his *Kiaia*, and the Baſſa of *Romelia*; this laſt was ſlain with a Cannon bullet. The Attack on the right ſide towards the Court Bulwark was committed to *Huſſan*, the Baſſa of *Damas*, who, though brave, had been beaten by Prince *Ragotzki* in *Tranſilvania*, by Count *Souches* at *Lewentz*, and by the King of *Poland* at *Cocczim*. This Baſſa was ſeconded by the Seraſquier, Janiſary Aga, or Collonel of all the Foot.

Achmet, Baſſa of *Temiſwar*, commanded the left Attack towards the Lebel Bulwark. He had been *Teſterdar*, and died the Third of *September* of a Dyſſentery. *Huſſan* Baſſa, who had alſo been his Highneſſes Treaſurer, was put in his Place.

1683. I ſhall deſignedly pretermit the particulars of this Siege, as to the Approaches, Trenches, Batteries, Minings, Counterminings, Attacks, Sallies, and Conteſts, though carried on with admirable Valour and Conſtancy on both ſides, as being particulariſed in the Journals of that Siege in all Languages, and of little or no uſe to my Country-men: And yet I ſhall omit no great Action, nor any thing that may be required of a juſt Hiſtorian.

Great was the firing on both ſides, and a Granado falling on the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors Palace, reverſed all his Stables. It would have done yet more harm without the Governours Precaution, who had commanded 250 men, under their particular Officers, to march inceſſantly through the Streets to quench the artificial Fires occaſioned from their Bombs or otherwiſe.

Being, as we mentioned, cloſe ſhut up, *Count Starenberg* was the more deſirous to communicate Councils with the Duke of *Lorrain*; for which end he offered 100 Duckets to any that would but carry him a Letter, without the hazard of a return, but no man preſented himſelf upon this occaſion; and yet a Spy ſent by the Duke arrived happily in the City, having traverſed the four Branches of the *Danube* with his Letters hanged in a Bladder about his Neck; by theſe the Governour was informed, that he ſhould certainly be relieved, and that the Troops of the Circles of the Empire, and the Hereditary Countries with which the King of *Poland*, who was at *Olmitz*, was to joyn, did daily arrive. In the mean time ſome Deſerters brought News, and it was ſeen from the top of St. *Stevens* Steeple, that the Infidels were making a Bridge of Boats over the *Danube*, a League off, to the end they might paſs when they pleaſed into the Iſle *Leopolſtat.* of *Prater*. They knew alſo that this Commiſſion was given to the Vayvods of *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, who employed 6000 of their Nation in the Work; but being the Turks ſuſpected them, as being Chriſtians, and that they were forced, the Viſier ordered *Achmet*, Baſſa of *Magneſia*, a City in *Natolia*, who was camped in this Iſle, and *Chider*, Baſſa of *Boſna*, who had been *Kiaia* to the Sultana *Aſſeki*, to attend their Actions, and ſecond them with ſix thouſand *Egyptians*.

The Baron of *Kunitz*, who was the Emperours Reſident with the Port, being then in the Camp, ſent one of his Domeſticks with a Letter to Count *Starenberg*, which was not very hard to do, though the Turks kept a very ſtrict Guard, by reaſon that the Officers and Servants of all the Miniſters which reſided with the Grand Seignior, are habited as Turks, and ſpeak the Language of the Country. The buſineſs was kept ſo little ſecret, that the News became the next day the ſubject of every Converſation. This Indiſcretion was the cauſe that they could no more profit by this Advantage, the Turks being advertiſed of this Commerce by their Spies. *Kunitz*'s Servant being ſeiſed upon in his return, was brought to the Viſier, and ſeen no more, but without his Letters, which being wrap'd in wax, he prudently let ſlip into a Ditch, when he ſaw the Turks come towards him.

25. An Order was publiſhed by ſound of Trumpet, commanding all Proprietors of Houſes, to keep every one a Man in his Cellar, to hearken if they could not diſcern any thumping or removing of Earth, becauſe it had been noiſed abroad, that ſome Traitors had promiſed to bring the Enemy through Subterranean Paſſages into the City. The ſame day the Turks paſſing ſome great Pieces into *Leopolſtat* upon Boats and Flotes, were diſcovered by the beſieged, who play'd upon them with their Cannon from the Ramparts ſo lukily, that they ſunk two of their largeſt, with a Mortarpiece, which yet did not hinder the reſt to arrive at *Neudorf* and *Erdorf*. 1683.

The Cannon on both ſides, together with the Mortars, play'd without ceaſing, and though they ruined the prime Buildings in the Town, they hurt or killed but very few. The 24*th*, *Nitiski*, one of the Engineers, came in great haſte to the Governour, to tell him, that he had ſeen in one of the Shores of the City, ſomewhat that had the Figure of a Man, and that it was to be feared, that the Turks had found a Paſſage, and were entered through this Vault, which diſgorges it ſelf in the *Danube*, and that they deſigned to ſurpriſe the City that way. The Governour, not being yet well recovered of his hurt, ſent *Nitski* back, with the Baron of *Wels*, his Son-in-Law, and Collonel *Rumblingen*, who was preſent, to examine the matter with care; but being they ſtayed ſomewhat long, the Governour, weak as he was, mounted on Horſeback. Being come to the place, he alighted, and entered himſelf, notwithſtanding the infectious ſmells, into the hole, having ſearched all about with Torches, he found that they were Carkaſſes that the Executioners men had flead. He very ſharply reproved the Authors of this Inhumanity, having accidentally met ſome of them, and returned to his Palace, pleaſantly rallying this Pannick fear with thoſe that accompanied him.

The Duke of *Lorrain* had continued in his Camp by the Bridges of *Vienna* to refreſh his haraſſed Cavalry, from the 16*th* to the 25*th* of *July*. He had there News of the defeat of 800 *Tartars* by a party of a Detachment which Count *Dunewald* Commanded, which render'd theſe *Barbarians* more reſerved.

The Count *de la Tour*, the Emperours Envoy in *Poland*, came to the ſame Poſt to him, to aſſure him, that that Prince promiſed to come to the relief of *Vienna*, but that he could not be there before the beginning of *September*.

At the ſame time the Duke of *Lorrain* was advertiſed that *Tekely* having aſſembled his Troops near *Tirnau*, deſigned to march to *Presburg*, that the Governour of that Caſtle wavered, and that the City was much ſollicited to receive a Garriſon of the diſcontented *Hungarians*; which obliged him to march along the *Marck* to oppoſe this deſign, and in the interim he ſent 200 men with Major *Okelby*, to endeavour to put them into the ſaid Caſtle with a Convoy of 300 Horſe for his Security.

The Duke diſcamp'd from the Bridges of *Vienna*, having burnt them, leaving notwithſtanding the Regiments of *Savoy* and *Ricardi* to preſerve the Forts. Being arrived at the *Mark*, he was informed that *Okelby* with his Convoy were beaten by a party of the *Malecontents*; that the City had received a Garriſon; that they were by order of the Grand Viſier preparing a Bridge for the Communication of both Armies; that *Tekely* had 20000 *Hungarians*, and 8000 *Turks*, commanded by the Baſſa of *Waradin* and *Poſt*; and that he prepared to come and beſiege the Caſtle of *Presburg*. This deſign appeared to the Duke of that conſequence, that he believed himſelf obliged to march thither notwithſtanding all the Obſtacles that ſeemed to oppoſe him. This reſolve was however a great while conteſted. He conſidered the difficulty of the ways, the Enemies Forces much ſuperior to his; the danger of receiving a check, in a time when the

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1683. Emperours Forces were to be preſerved for relief of *Vienna*. On the other ſide, he foreſaw that the Communication of the two Armies at *Presburg* did put the Enemies in a Condition to joyn their Forces to paſs where they pleaſed, and to hinder the Conjunction of the Arms of *Poland*, or oblige them to tedious Circuits. Theſe Conſiderations made him determine to oppoſe the Deſigns of *Tekely*. He traverſed the *Marck* the 28th of *July* with his Horſe and Dragoons, being in all eight thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand *Poles*, commanded by *Lubomirsky*. A party that appeared a League from the River, was forced back, the Imperialiſts continuing their march to the Lanes that deſcended to *Presburg*. Night being come on, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, and the Baron *Mercy* were detached with all the Dragoons to force the narrow Paſſages, and gain the tops of the Vineyards, which they did without any Oppoſition, having a ſight of the Enemy in the plain below. The General upon notice came ſpeedily there, from whence he obſerved two Camps poſted at ſome diſtance from each other. He cauſed his Horſe to advance, which he had left behind the narrow Paſſages, to be ready upon Occaſion, and in the mean time cauſed *Okelby* to enter the Caſtle with two hundred Men, commanded a-new for this Enterpriſe.

At break of day, the General commanded Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to inſpect the Suburbs, where ſome Malecontents did appear. Upon his advance, the Enemy retreated into the City, and abandoned the ſaid Suburbs without reſiſtance.

This happy Succeſs, and that in ſight of the Enemy, ſeemed an Argument of their Weakneſs, and occaſioned the ſummoning of the Town, which, in the Surpriſe it was, ſeeing the Imperial Army at their Gates, and the Garriſon of the Caſtle reinforced, immediately ſurrendred, deliberating no longer than was neceſſary to give means to the Garriſon of the Malecontents to retire to their Camp; which did not happen, for one part of them was cut in pieces when they were out, and the other made Priſoners in the Town.

After this advantage, the Duke was reſolved to attack the Enemy, who were advanced in Batalia within three quarters of an hour of the City. He gave Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* Orders to ſeiſe with his Dragoons the Vineyards and Gardens at the head of the Suburbs, and to extend on both hands from the *Danube* to the foot of the Mountain; whilſt the Horſe, commanded by Count *Caprara*, deſcended by the ſame Vineyards to embattel themſelves.

The Enemy on their ſide made ſome motions of coming up to the Imperialiſts, and detached ſome Parties to begin the Skirmiſh; but the Duke would not Engage them before all his Troops were in Battel-array. As ſoon as the ſecond Line was formed, they began to advance; which occaſioned the Malecontents to change their Countenance, for whereas they had appeared, as if deſigning to bring the buſineſs to a Battel, much Duſt appeared in the Rear of their right Wing, as alſo the left, and removed farther off, which ſeemed to be occaſioned by retiring Troops, which alſo proved ſo; all the Line which ſtood oppoſite to the Imperialiſts, wheeling and ſeparating into a perfect Retreat.

Thoſe who were on the *Lorrainers* right, and had a Party of *Polanders* in oppoſition to them, finding themſelves preſſed by their Avanguard were intirely routed, being chaſed with conſiderable loſs, until they had gained a Wood, and paſſed a Brook two miles off, they there rallied on the other ſide, and obliged the Troops that had preſſed them to a ſtand. On the left, another detachment of *Poles*, ſeconded by ſome *German* Squadrons, and the Regiment of *Palſi*, charged the Enemy with ſo much Vigour, that having broken them, they kill'd and took betwixt five and ſix hundred of them. They ſeiſed on above a thouſand Waggons with Baggage, and purſued them towards *Tirnau* with ſo much heat, that they forced ſome of them with great Confuſion into the Woods, and others into the *Danube*. The fear was ſuch, that they fled on all ſides until they had paſſed the *Waagh*. 1683.

Tekely, upon the Advice he had of the march of the Imperialiſts, by the Party he had beaten the Night before, he retired in the Night with the greateſt part of his Horſe and all his Foot, leaving but few of his Men with the Turks, who would retire as he did, reſolving to expect the *Germans*. This Action produced ſome miſunderſtanding betwixt the *Tekeliſts* and the *Infidels*, who ſeparated with little ſatisfaction from each other; but they re-united ſince by order of the Grand Viſier, as was found by their intercepted Letters. The Duke in the mean time cauſed the Timber, the Planks, and the Boats prepared for the Conſtruction of the deſigned Bridge to be deſtroyed; and afterwards returned to the *Marck*.

26. The Siege, in the mean time, as alſo the defence was bravely carried on; one Day the Turks divertiſed themſelves with a conſort of Flutes, Cymbals, and other Inſtruments of their Faſhion, and the terrible howlings of the Aſſiſtants, which they account Melodious, denoting, as was ſuppoſed by their joy, ſome extraordinary Feaſt. The Beſieged that were in the Counterſcharp, but ten Paces off, could not forbear rallying theſe *Barbarians*, and ask them in ſcorn to give them part in the Divertiſement of their Ball, being they had given them that of their Muſick. And the Ball did truly follow, but the Leapers were on the Chriſtians ſide: For theſe Infidels having ſprung a Mine, which they had newly dug, under the Poſts and Pallizadoes of the Counterſcharp, the Earth, with a good part of the Pallizado, and about ten of the Defendants were blown up. The Turks taking advantage of the Opportunity, uſed all their might to render themſelves Maſters of the Counterſcharp, by the breach they had made in it. The Fight was hot, and the Slaughter great. The Confuſion and Diſorder grew high, but moſt amongſt the Chriſtians, which being perceived by Count *Serini*, and St. *Croix*, Lieutenant Collonel to *Dupigni*, they ran with a hundred Men to their Aid, and employing them to throw hand Granadoes, and other artificial Fires upon the Enemy, ſo encouraged their Friends, that they fell with revived Courage upon the Enemy, beat them back and kill'd a great number of them, planting the Heads of the ſlain in rows upon their Pallizadoes, letting theſe *Barbarians* know that Chriſtian Walls would not tumble with noiſe of Inſtruments and ſhowting, as the Walls of *Jerico* once did.

A Meſſenger being ſent to the Duke of *Lorrain* a ſecond time with Letters in Cyfer, was unhappily taken by the Turk, and his Letters being tyed to an Arrow, were ſhot again into the Town, with Latin lines affixed to them, intimating, that they ſent this Letter to the Beſieged, being it was to no purpoſe to ſend it to *Lorrain*; being aſſured, that in the ill Conditi-

1683. on the place was in, it would be taken before the Succours could arrive.

27. The Governour publiſhed an Ordinance, whereby all Perſons, of what Quality or Condition ſoever they were, being able to bear Arms, and had not yet liſted themſelves in the Companies of the Univerſity, or thoſe of the Magiſtrates, ſhould appear at the New-Market upon the noiſe of the Bells, to be inrolled, and form a fourth Body, which was done; In the mean time, many Chriſtians taken by the *Tartars*, being ſhaved, and in Turkiſh habits, found means to ſave themſelves, and eſcape into the City.

The Turks continued their Labours, and the Advancement of their Works; and to hinder the Effect of the Bombs which were continually thrown out of the City, they covered their Trenches with great Beams and Trees, upon which they threw Sacks of Earth in abundance, which not only cloſed the chinks, but rendred it proof againſt Granadoes, as alſo Musket ſhot. When this Work was finiſhed, not only the principal Baſſaes, but the Viſier himſelf came to view the Trenches, and lodged in them, having their ſeparate Apartments, pav'd with Brick, and divided into Chambers, with all the conveniencies of great Houſes.

Aug. 1. There arrived an Expreſs in the Camp, which informed the Duke, that the King of *Poland* would not part from *Cracovia* till the 16*th* Inſtant; that the Troops of *Saxony* would have their Rendezvous at *Dreſden* the 4*th*, and that thoſe of *Frankonia*, would not begin to march before the 11*th*: Theſe Succours appearing remote, and the duration of the Defence of *Vienna* incertain, his Highneſs reſolved to approach the Enemies Quarters. He thought that he ſhould be able by the Twentieth of *Auguſt*, with his Forces, as well *Imperialiſts* as *Bavarians*, and the Troops of *Polanders* which ſhould enter into *Sileſia*; to paſs the *Danube* at *Krembs*, and advance with that Body towards the Heights near the Camp of the Enemies, with deſign to maintain himſelf there till the arrival of the Allies. During this, he might weary out the Infidels, animate the Beſieged in their Defence, and hold himſelf in a Condition to force a Poſt for the relief of the Place, according to the neceſſity of Affairs. He ſent Count *Palfi* to Court, to acquaint his Imperial Majeſty with the Deſign, and preſs the march of the Troops, which might be got together by that time; and ſome other diſpoſal of Boats and Proviſions neceſſary for that Expedition.

After he had diſpatch'd the Count, he was informed, that Count *Tekely* had ſent Boats to the Turks, that he had paſſed the *Danube*, and that they were ſeen from *Entſerdorff*, a little Town ſeated upon that River where the Imperialiſts had ſome Magazins. The Duke marched thither with four Regiments, and thence to the Bridge of *Vienna*, where, having learned that the Enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſmall Iſland, and that they had taken Boats from the Peaſants, who had retired into the ſaid Iſle, he ordered the Baron of *Mercy* to diſlodge them thence, and returned to *Entſerdorff*. *Mercy* cauſed his Cannon to advance upon the oppoſite ſhoar to the Iſle, with the Dragoons of *Savoy* which guarded the Bridge, and having broken theſe Boats with his great Shot, he reduced the Turks to an Inability of being able to get out of the *Tabor* or *Leopold's* Iſle.

As ſoon as *Tekely* underſtood that the Imperialiſts were returned towards *Vienna*, he ſummoned *Moravia* to pay him Contribution. The Duke being advertiſed of it, returned to *Ancren* upon the *Mark*, to defend that Province againſt the *Malecontents*. He was informed upon his arrival there, that a party of them had repaſſed that River that day, and burnt ſome Villages. He detached preſently 500 *Polanders* to purſue them, ſeconding them with ſome Horſe and Dragoons, who encountering them two Leagues from *Ancren*, loaden with Spoyl, they attack'd them ſo briskly, though far inferior in number, that they killed 500, releaſed the Priſoners, recovered all the Booty, and took ten or twelve of their Standards. 1683.

The Siege was carried on with no leſs bravery than it was ſuſtained; and being ſeveral who were out of Employment were neceſſitous, an Ordinance was publiſhed, intimating that Monies and Proviſions ſhould be given to all ſuch who would inroll themſelves, with aſſurance they ſhould not be obliged to ſerve after the Siege. Many accepted of the Condition, received three Patacoons each advance Moneys, and were regalled with Bread and Wine, by the care of the Prince of *Swartzenberg*, and by the Liberality of the Religious and the Citizens. Wine never failed, nor indeed freſh Meat for the ſick, ſtore of Cattel having been twice brought in by ſally during the Siege. The Magiſtrates had by the Governours Order taxed the Eccleſiaſticks, the Cloyſters, the Citizens, and the Peaſants, who were refuged in the City, to furniſh for the uſe of the Souldiers the hundredth Pint, which was punctually executed, there being none that refuſed to pay this Impoſition: the greateſt Lords and the Emperours Officers not exempting themſelves upon this Occaſion.

St. *Stephens* Steeple, being very obnoxious to the Turks by reaſon of its height, and the great extent of its Diſcoveries, was much ſhot at by them, though *Solyman*, when he beſieged *Vienna*, had declined ruining ſo noble a Fabrick, upon no other Terms, but that they ſhould put a a Half Moon, the Arms of that Empire, upon the Spire of it, which was ſtill up. The Centinel that was there the 7*th*, perceived betwixt the River *Mark* and *Moravia*, on the other ſide the *Danube*, Fire and Smoke, which laſted till eight a Clock; *C. Starenberg* judg'd they were *C. Tekely's* Troops, who in paſſing the *Waagh*, had skirmiſhed with the Imperialiſts, and it proved ſo, as he found by the return of one of his Spyes, which he had ſent to the Duke. The account he gave was, that the Turks having detached 2000 Horſe to diſcover the Succors which were arrived in the Princes Army, out of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, and the Circles, theſe Infidels fell into an Ambuſcade which was laid for them, and where moſt of them were cut in pieces; that an Aga, Count *Tekely's* Secretary, and an *Hungarian* Count, ſince dead of his Wounds, were taken Priſoners; that the Imperialiſts had taken a great number of the Enemies Waggons with Baggage, and that ſince this Advantage, many of the chief of the Malecontents were come in to the Duke.

Collonel *Heiſter* having paſſed the *Danube* at *Cloſternemburg*, took four hundred of the Enemies Horſe. On the other ſide, the Malecontents continued to ſend ſmall parties into *Moravia*, who ſet fire by Night on the Houſes and Villages; and as it was a hard matter to remedy theſe Diſorders by force of Arms, the Duke judged that the beſt way to repreſs them was by that of Reprizals. He cauſed *Tekely* to be advertiſed, that he would ſend Orders to *Zatmar*, and to all the Emperours Garriſons, to burn the Palaces and Houſes of all them of his party. This threatning put a ſtop to theſe Incendiaries; for he thereupon ſent a Perſon to *Chevalier Labormiski*, under pretext of an Envoy to the King of *Poland*, to the end he might inform the Duke of *Lorrain* that he had not commanded thoſe burnings, and that they ſhould hear no more of them.

About this time, Count *Albret Caprara*, the Emperours Envoy at *Conſtantinople*, had Permiſſion given him by the Grand Viſier, to return to his Maſter, and having paſſed by *Tuln*, he had in charge to propoſe to his Imperial Majeſty, that upon the Ceſſion of *Raab* he would abandon the Siege of *Vienna*.

Kotlinski, a Lieutenant, upon promiſe of the firſt vacant Company, had been diſpatched from *Vienna* to the Duke, one from the Deputies of the Council of State, and the reſt from the County *Caplier* and *Starenberg*. The firſt, for they were of ſeveral dates, marked the danger the Counterſcharp was in, others gave an account of the ſtate of the Siege, minding him of the Neceſſities of the place, and the Accidents that might happen, and praying him to haſten the Succours, and theſe were writ by the Governour. *Caplier's* Letters particulariz'd the ſlain and wounded, finiſhing with earneſtneſs for Relief, praying him to conſider the Officers, their want of Granados, their ſtock being near ſpent, and the Diſpoſition of the Citizens not to be relied upon. The laſt Letter marked, that *C. Starenberg* was ſick of a bloody Flux, and could anſwer for nothing, unleſs the Succours were great and quick.

The Duke, who was careful in informing the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Saxony*, of all he could learn of the ſtate of the beſieged, failed not to quicken the Auxiliaries, to communicate his Intelligence and Letters to them. He diſpatch'd Count *Caraffa* to the King of *Poland* with them, and haſten'd the march of General *Snariski*, who was come into *Sileſia* ſix days ſince. This Count had alſo in charge, to pray his Majeſty of *Poland* to come with the firſt Troops, as well for the eſteem he had of his Merits, as becauſe he believed that upon the Kings advance the groſs of his Army would follow with more diligence. After he had diſpatched *C. Caraffa*, he ſent the Count *Schaffenberg* to the Elector of *Saxony*, to provide Waggons and Carriages for the Auxiliary Troops by the way as they ſhould paſs. As he did not doubt but that theſe preſſing Letters would quicken the advance of the Troops, he thought he was obliged to provide alſo for the paſſage of the *Danube*, and in order to it reſolved to go to *Krembs*, whereof he advertiſed the Emperour by an Expreſs. About the ſame time *C. Starenberg* had News from his Highneſs of the defeat of *C. Tekely* near *Presburg*, as alſo of the taking of a great Convoy that was going to the *Ottoman* Army, and that the King of *Poland* was upon his march to ſuccour the Place. This good News infuſed Joy into the whole City, and was welcomed with all the Artillery, and the ringing of all their Bells. As every little Succeſs encourages Souldiers at leaſt to hope, ſo it far'd here. A Scholar having killed a Janizary, and ripped open his Stomach, found ten Duckats in Gold in it; and a Souldier having after a ſtiff Combat diſarmed a Janizary, cut off his Head with his own Sable; Searching him afterwards, he found a Girdle about him full of Moneys, which he hid ſo well that his Comrades did not diſcover it: Being returned into the City, having unſtitch'd his purchaſe, he found an 100 Sequins of Gold. He was ſo tranſported at the ſight with Joy, that he ran like a Mad-man through the Strees, clapping his Hands, and ſhewing his Gold to every body, making it appear by his Extravagancies, that he thought himſelf happier than the Emperour. His good Fortune gave Courage to his Companions, upon hopes of the like Adventure, making them good Anatomiſts and diligent Waiters.

The Duke of *Lorrain* left *Anneren* encampt at *Volgerdorp*. He there received Letters from the Count *Caplier* and *Starenberg*. The firſt preſſed ſtrongly for Relief, by reaſon of the Diminution of the Garriſon, and the Ammunitions of War. The Style of the ſecond Letter was upon the brave, and ſeemed of a Perſon not greatly concerned; but in the three laſt Lines, being in Cypher, he beſought the Duke for ſpeedy Succours, becauſe the Retrenchments and cuttings off in the Lebel Baſtion were very ſlight; that his Ammunitions and Officers failed him, and that he every day loſt many of his Men. His Highneſs return'd him anſwers full of comfort, advertiſing him of the ſtate of the advance of the Auxiliaries, and the certitude of his Relief. In order to it, he quits *Volgerdorp*, and marched to *Stokerau*, the better from thence to diſcover the Iſles of the *Danube*, and chuſe a place for making a Bridge for his Paſſage.

Some of the great ones were of Opinion, that *Vienna* ought to be relieved by the Plain, paſſing the *Danube* at *Presburg*, this Opinion found many partiſans, their reaſon was, that the Army poſting it ſelf above the City, would cut off the Communication of the Beſiegers with thoſe Countries from whence they drew their Proviſions; which being done, they judged the Turks would retire, without the Chriſtians hazarding of a Battel. This reaſoning did not want appearance, if it could be done before the Beſieged were too much preſſed; but the Enemies main force conſiſting in Horſe, that of the Imperialiſts in Foot, the Duke thought Incloſures preferrable to the Plains; beſides, the Allies not being able to meet at *Krembs* before the Month of *September*, many days would be ſpent in marching thence to *Presburg*, and laying a Bridge over the River there, in a time when the condition of the Siege demanded all their haſte. Moreover the Conſtruction of a Bridge in that place was difficult, eſpecially if the Enemy detached any ſtrong Parties to oppoſe them, as they might eaſily do; inſomuch that the Duke, who had in the beginning of the Siege looked upon the Mountains of *Kalemberg* as the ſureſt way for the Relief of *Vienna*, without any farther amuſing himſelf, reſolved to paſs the Army at *Tuln* and *Krembs*, diſpoſing all things accordingly for the Execution of this Deſign. He did not believe the Enemy would come thither to oppoſe him, not only becauſe part of his Army, and of that of the *Bavarians* was already on the other ſide of the *Danube*, and maintained themſelves there, without attempts of the *Turks* to diſlodge them; but alſo becauſe it would be dangerous for theſe Infidels to engage themſelves with a great Body of Horſe beyond the Streights or narrow Paſſages of the Foreſt of *Vienna*.

Many were the Meſſengers and Spies which paſt betwixt the Duke and Beſieged, his Highneſs being careful to encourage and inform them. He now again aſſures them, that the Army compoſed of *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, *Poles*, and the Imperial Troops approach'd *Krembs*; That the King of *Poland* Commanded it in Perſon, and that he was accompanied by the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*; That the Emperour

was

1683. was removed from *Paſſaw* to *Lintz*, to be nearer *Vienna*, ſo that now there was nothing more required for the ſaving of Chriſtendom, but a little more reſiſtance, being all the Troops were ready to march. He added, that he himſelf was going to *Krembs*, to prepare the Bridges and every other neceſſary thing, to the end that nothing ſhould retard the Succour of the Place, aſſuring moreover the Governour, that he would expoſe himſelf to all dangers to force the Enemy from the Siege. Fortune did begin now to favour them, being *Tekely* had been defeated at *Presburg*, and by the River of *Marcka* with great loſs. This News cauſed a ſenſible Joy in all the Inhabitants, and particularly the Eccleſiaſticks, whereof many were troubled with bloody Fluxes, and very many conſiderable Perſons had been dead of it. The cauſe of this Diſeaſe may well be attributed to the ill Diet, the richeſt ſort being forced to eat ſalt meats, differing from the Delicacies of their former feeding, beſides the Meal they made their Bread of was neither clean nor well ground.

Aug. 22. The Duke in the mean time cauſed ſome Troops of the Regiments of *Grana* and *Baden* to ſecure *Tuln*, where there was a ſtone Wall and a Ditch, for he deſigned to preſerve that Town, and make it one of the heads of his Bridge: the next day he went to diſcover the Ilets of the *Danube*, and having found them uſeful for his Deſign, he commanded ways to be made in them, and Boats to be brought thither. Upon his return he found Count *Palſi* arrived from *Lintz*, with orders from the Emperour, that it was neceſſary he ſhould expect the arrival of all the Allies before he approached near the Enemies.

About this time a noiſe was ſpread in the City, that the Turks, who inceſſantly mined and moved the Earth, had made a Subterranean paſſage which ſhould open into the Emperours Cellars, by which they pretended to ſurpriſe the Town. The Governour, howbeit he believed nothing of it, ordered the Emperours Guards which were left for the Guard of the Palace, to keep watch and Centinels in the Cellars, which they did with no great regret. The ſame day there happened an accident, which for the rareneſs of it may well be recorded. *Kimpler*, an able Engineer, working in a Countermine under the Caſtle-Gate, encountered, deep in the Earth

Eſtani. within a walled Vault, a Coffin of Tin, wherein he thought to have found a dead Corps, but opening it, he was dazzled with the luſtre of a great many pieces of Gold and Silver, wherewith this Coffin was filled; he ſaw moreover rich Jewels enriched with precious Stones. Having ſecured this Treaſure, he found in the bottom a Box of Tin, wherein was a Parchment where the following words were traced in ancient Characters.

GAUDEBIS
SI INVENERIS, VIDEBIS, TACEBIS,
SED
ORABIS, PUGNABIS, ÆDIFICABIS,
NON HODIE,
NEC CRAS, SED QUIA
UNIVERSUS EQUUS,
TURRIS ERECTA ET ARMATA,
DIVERSA ORDINATA ARMA
SUBSCRIPTIO
ROLLANDT HUNN. MOG. POSUIT.

Thoſe who would divine the Sentiments of *Rowland Hun* of *Mets*, who had depoſited this Treaſure in the Earth, pretended he had ſome Knowledge of the future, and that by this Inſcription he would manifeſt that he knew this Treaſure would be found during the Siege of *Vienna*, and that the Infidels ſhould be obliged to abandon it. Their Senſe of the words follows. 1683. *Rowland* ſpeaking to *Kimpler*, ſays to him. *Si inveneris*, If thou doſt find what I have hid from all others, *videbis*, *tacebis*, thou wilt conſider theſe words, and diſcover thy good Fortune to no body, *ſed orabis*, *pugnabis*, but thou ſhalt render thanks unto God for reſerving theſe Riches for thee, and, as obliged in gratitude, thou ſhalt fight againſt the Enemies of his Name; *ædificabis*, *non hodie nec cras*, Thou ſhalt imploy the Monies I deſigned for thee to build Churches; but it ſhall not be when thy Native Country is deſolated by War; it ſhall not be neither to day nor to morrow, *ſed quia univerſus equus*, thou would'ſt ill take thy time whilſt the *Ottoman* Cavalry ſurround the Walls of the City; *Turris erecta & armata*, but fear nothing, the Ramparts raiſed for the defence of the City, and the brave Souldiers that Garriſon it, will preſerve it from the vain attempts of the Enemy. *Diverſa ordinata Arma*, The Arms of the different Nations that thou ſeeſt arrayed in theſe Plains, ſhall only ſerve to render the Victories more glorious, their Triumph more ſplendid, and the flight of the Turks more infamous.

Count *Starenberg* received new aſſurance by his Spies from the Duke, of being relieved in eight days, which cauſed an univerſal Joy, redoubled the Care, and augmented the Courage of all men. On the other ſide, the Infidels prepared for a general aſſault, whilſt the Governour on the contrary did every day invent new Engines, as *Freize* Horſes bearded with Iron, turn'd Pikes, and the like, to oppoſe in the Breaches. Five hundred Horſe of the Beſiegers paſſing the River, burnt ſome Villages, but they were encountered and defeated by a party of the Imperialiſts, commanded by Collonel *Heiſter*, who cut in pieces the greateſt part of them, the reſt endeavouring to ſave themſelves by ſwimming being drowned in the River. Aug. 24.

We left the Duke of *Lorrain* marching towards *Tuln*, but upon advice that the *Malecontents* were deſigning to make Incurſions into *Moravia*, he detach'd *Lubomirski*, and two Regiments of the Emperours Horſe to march towards the Frontiers of that Province. This Report was grounded upon the Grand Viſiers Order, who upon the Knowledge he had that the Imperialiſts and Auxiliaries took the way of *Tuln* and *Krembs*, had commanded Count *Tekely* to enter into the Hereditary Countries with Fire and Sword, thereby to oblige the Imperialiſts to return back to their defence. But the *Malecontents* having no mind to engage with the Duke, *Tekely* was contented to encamp upon the *Mark*; however, in obedience to the Grand Viſiers Order, he cauſed the *Tartars* and *Turks* that were with him to enter into *Auſtria*, having promiſed to follow and ſecond them with his Army.

The Duke being advertiſed that the Infidels were burning the Villages towards *Eversdorf*, changed his march, having ſent orders to *Lubomiski*, who was in the Avant-guard to hault, and inſtead of marching towards *Tuln*, he went to meet the Turks, leaving his Baggage at *Stokareau* with the Regiment of *Rokondi*, leaving to Count *Leſley* the Care of the Execution of thoſe things which he had reſolved in order to the Paſſage of the *Danube*, and the Conjunction of the Auxiliary Forces. The Duke being come to the height of *Piſemberg* about two of the Clock, he could ſee the continuing of the Fires; he

there-

1683. thereupon ſent Parties out, who made ſome Priſoners. They were queſtioned, and anſwered, that the preceeding Night they had paſſed the *Marck* with a Body of twenty five thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*; that *Tekely* followed them, and their Camp was but half a League from the Bridges of *Vienna*.

The Duke hereupon immediately commanded Baron *Merey*, with ſome Troops, to the top of the height to diſcover the Enemy. Upon his report he put the Army in Battalia, extending his right Wing towards the Wood, under the command of the Counts *Caprara* and *Rabotta*, poſting the Dragoons there, and ſome ſmall Field-pieces; and the left Wing was extended along the Plain under the Conduct of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. He drew the whole into two Lines, and a reſerve, on the right whereof *Lubomirski's Poles* were placed. The Imperial Army was compoſed of thirteen Regiments of Horſe, and five of Dragoons, beſides *Lubomirski's* two thouſand *Poles*. Whilſt the Imperialiſts formed their Squadrons, the Turks likewiſe ranged theirs, leaving the groſs of their Troops in the bottom of the Plain. They began a line upon the heights extending to the left, as if deſigning to gain the flank of the Imperialiſts. As ſoon as they were approached each other, they began to skirmiſh, and as the Armies grew near, the Infidels detach'd two great Troops, the one of *Turks*, which moved eaſily, and the other of *Tartars*, who advanced towards the left. Some Volleys of Cannon which the Emperours Dragoons had on their right, did ſomewhat diſorder the Turks whilſt they advanced, but did not hinder them to charge the *Poles* with much firmneſs. They immediately routed two ſquadrons, and with a ſurpriſing Vigour, or rather Temerity, paſſed even to the ſecond Line, as well by the way they had made, as by the interval which the Imperial Horſe had left, receiving in their Paſſage the fire of all the Neighbour ſquadrons which flank'd them in this charge. Notwithſtanding that, ſome of them penetrated even to the Reſerves, and endeavoured to return by the ſame way they came, and after the ſame manner, but few of them came off.

On the left Wing, the *Tartars* having endeavoured by ſmall Troops to gain the flank of the Chriſtians, were not more luckey, for thoſe that paſt were cut in pieces by others that were ſent againſt them, or obliged to return to their main body; after which, the Imperialiſts advancing always in good order to attack the whole front of the Turks, the Enemy ſeparated before they could come up to them. One part took the way towards the *Marck*, and the other towards the Bridges of *Vienna*. They were followed ſome time without being overtaken. Thoſe that took on the *Danube* ſide, finding themſelves purſued, that the *Poles* were not far off, and that the whole Army marched that way, betook themſelves to the only expedient for their eſcape, which was to caſt themſelves into the River, and endeavour a Paſſage by the remaining Poſts and Pillars of the burnt Bridge, leaving their Arms, their Horſes, and their Equipage on the brink of the River; but moſt of theſe were drowned, and the reſt all kill'd or taken. The Night being come on, the Duke camped where he was. On the morrow he was preſented with ſeveral Standards, Timbals, and Drums, and ſome Priſoners of note were likewiſe brought to him. The Turks loſt, as was diſcovered by their own intercepted Letters, from a thouſand to twelve thouſand Men, many were killed upon the place, but many were 1683. drowned. The Chams Son was hurt, but ſaved himſelf by ſwimming upon his Horſe. The Baſſa of *Erlaw* was ſlain, with many Officers. The next Morning ſome Priſoners were taken, found hid in the Hedges and Buſhes. Their Army conſiſted of near fourteen thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*, all Horſe, but that of the Malecontents ſtayed at the *Marck*.

The Duke came the ſame day to *Cronenberg*, to refreſh his Horſe which had been upon Service twenty four hours, with deſign to go and fight the Malecontents if they continued in their Poſt. He ſent, for this purpoſe, to General *Siemariski*, who was come to *Nekelburg* with a body of Horſe, being the King of *Polands* Avaunt-Guard, to meet him the next day upon the way to *Volgersdorff*; but being upon his March, he had News that the *Tekeliſts* were retired to *Tirnau*; that the King had ſent order to his General to attend him at *Nekelburg*, and that his Majeſty would be at *Krembs* the firſt of *September*. The Duke hereupon returned to his Camp at *Cronenburg*, to expect the arrival of the *Poliſh* Army.

They ſeemed in the Town in much diſtreſs, for the Governour had cauſed forty Rockets to be fir'd from the top of St. *Stephens* Steeple, to advertiſe the Duke of the ſtraits they were in, and the neceſſity of being ſuddenly relieved. The Grand Viſier ſeemed to ſcorn theſe ſigns, anſwering them with two hundred Cannon ſhot. And yet it was obſerved, that the Infidels ſent many Camels laden with Baggage and ſeveral Servants towards *Presburg*, probably to ſecure them in caſe they ſhould be forced to raiſe the Siege.

The ſame day, the Duke ſent the Chevalier *Lubormiski* to compliment the King of *Poland*, who had alſo orders to inform his Majeſty of the meaſures they had taken for the relief of *Vienna*: and that it ſeemed to require all their haſte, as the Counts *Capliers* and *Starenberg* ſignified by their Letters, the Place being reduced to Extremity, but writ in ſuch Terms which made it evident they would defend it with their Lives, but could anſwer for nothing elſe.

The Grand Viſier did in the mean time order the *Walachians* to endeavour to rebuild the Bridges of *Vienna*, to the end that they might, by a diverſion that way, retard the march of the Imperialiſts, or employ a conſiderable body by that means. As the Waters were grown extream low ſince the Bridges were ruined, inſomuch that the Pillars which had been then burnt level with the Water, appeared now three or four foot above Water which gave room for this Enterpriſe. They were furniſhed with Timber out of the Neighbouring Villages, and the Work was carried on by the *Walachians* and *Moldavians* with ſo much diligence, that near a third of the great Bridge was laid in two Nights.

The Duke having notice hereof, cauſed Boats to be prepared for the retaking of thoſe Poſts which he had quitted in the Iſles. The Count *Archinto* and Collonel *Heyſter* were employed herein, who on the Night of the 31*th* of *Auguſt* re-entered their old Retrenchments, planting there ſome Pieces of Cannon. Upon break of day they began to play upon the Turks, who were ſo greatly incommoded by the continual firing of great and ſmall ſhot, that they were obliged to quit their Enterpriſe. They afterwards applyed Pitch and Tar Barrels to the Pillars that remained, and ſo burnt them. The ſame day the Turks ſent away many Camels, Waggons loaden with Baggage, and part of their Artillery, which they conducted towards the

Foreſt

1683. Foreſt of *Vienna.* After Noon, thoſe who were upon the Ramparts heard ſeveral Musket ſhots the way that theſe Infidels marched, which made them gueſs that they were skirmiſhing with the *Pickeerers* of the Chriſtian Army, and that conſequently the Succors were near hand.

At the ſame time, the Duke of *Lorrain* being advertiſed that the King of *Poland* lay at *Heilbron*, left the command of the Army to Count *Caprara*, and went to give this Prince a viſit. He met him at the Head of his *Huſſars*, and alighting from his Horſe, when he was come within twenty five paces of him, moved towards him, which his Majeſty perceiving, he likewiſe deſcended, met him and embraced him, and after ſome obliging diſcourſe, he preſented the Prince his Son to him, ſaying, he would have him to be his Servant, as he was, and that he had brought him with him to teach him betimes to ſerve the Emperour. The Senators, the Palatines, and the principal Officers of the Crown, did likewiſe complement the Duke. The King and Duke mounted on Horſeback, and having paſſed the Troops, continued their march, diſcourſing the whole time together. When they arrived in the Camp, they entered the Kings Tent, together with the Prince and the Grandees of *Poland*, where the Duke entertained his Majeſty with the main Diſcourſes that tended to the Affairs in hand.

The Prince of *Waldeck*, who had no Opportunity to ſpeak with the Duke in the Kings Tent, went to attend him at *Stokarcau*, where he communicated all his Thoughts, and agreed with him of the Manner and Method they were to uſe in relieving the Place.

The Duke dined that day with the King, ſitting at the upper end on the Right-Hand of the King, the Prince being ſeated on his left, all three in Chairs with backs. Some Palatines and Officers of the Imperial Army were alſo placed at the Table by the Kings Order. After this repaſt the Duke returned to his Camp very well ſatisfied with the Civilities done him by his Majeſty, who likewiſe approved of all what this Prince had propoſed to him, and upon his reiterated Inſtances he made to him for haſtening the Conjunction of his Forces, he ſent Orders to his Great General, who was ſtayed behind, to haſten his march. The King himſelf reſolved to be at *Krembs* the ſecond of *September*, where the Emperour was to come to agree about the Conjunction and Paſſage of the Armies.

In the mean time the Emperour, who ſhould have come to *Krembs*, not only to animate and authoriſe the Expedition by his Preſence, but alſo to allay the infinite Difficulties which the Competition of ſo many Princes would occaſion, was retained at *Lintz* by an Indiſpoſition of Health. Thus the Care of all was left to the Duke of *Lorrain*; as alſo to regulate the Pretenſions of the Auxiliary Armies. Having at length found Expedients for all theſe Difficulties, he went and acquainted the King of *Poland* with what he had deſigned, which being highly approved of, he went thence to *Otelſdorff*, where at his intreaty the Duke of *Saxony*, and all the Generals met him. After ſome Conteſtations, the Paſſage of the *Danube*, and the Conjunction of all the Auxiliaries was reſolved upon, which was to be *September* 5. in the Plains of *Tuln*. It was determined that the *Poliſh* Army, with that of the Emperours, ſhould paſs where they were. That the *Saxons* ſhould traverſe the River upon the Bridge at *Krembs*, and whereas the *Bavarians* with ſome *German* Troops camped there under the Command of Count *Leſley*, they ſhould all march in body to *Tuln*, to joyn the Imperial Army, and that of *Poland*. 1683.

The Princes upon Conſultation deferred the Execution of this Deſign till the ſeventh. The King began to paſs the ſixth, in the Evening. The Duke of *Lorrain*, after having detached the Contes of *Lodrox*, *Riccardi* and *Herberwiller*, with their Regiments, and two Batalions of *Lorrain*, to joyn 3000 *Poles*, which the King ought to add to them to form a Body to cover *Moravia*; he ſent Collonel *Heyſter* with 600 Horſe to *Cloſterneuburg*, with orders to make Fires upon the heights of *Khalenberg*, to advertiſe the beſieged by this ſign, which was concerted betwixt them, of the approach of their relief.

The beſieged had been extreamly preſſed, for the Turks had finiſhed their Galleries, and attacked the two Baſtions of *Lebel* and the *Court*, ſo that the beſieged did daily by Meſſages and Rockets advertiſe their Friends of the extremity they were reduced to, the Enemy being now attacked to the very body of the place, having made a great breach in the Court Baſtion. The ſixth at Night they were greatly encouraged by the firing of five Fuſees or Rockets upon the Mountain of *Kalenberg*, which made them judge their help near hand, and which they anſwered by the like Signal.

The Grand Viſier, not ignorant of the Chriſtians motion, on the ſeventh commanded a review of his Troops to be made, which upon enquiry were repreſented to him by his Officers to amount to 168000 Men; a Liſt whereof was found in his Tent, as alſo in that of *Reiz Effendi*, or chief Secretary, the which we have omitted here, not to puzzle the courſe of Hiſtory with hard Names: but ſhall however, to ſatisfie the more curious, ſubjoyn not only that, but an exact account of the Chriſtian Army that raiſed this celebrious Siege, and alſo of thoſe Worthies who deſerve to have their Memories transferred to Poſterity, for defending their City with ſo ſignal Bravery and Conſtancy.

It did not ſeem that the Chriſtian Princes in the Turkiſh Army did ſerve them with any great good will. *Tekely*, who had been but once in the Camp to ſalute the Grand Viſier, left but a thouſand *Hungarians* with him upon his departure; and *Abaffi*, though often invited to the Port, excuſed his attendance by manifold Pretences. However the Viſier being entred *Hungary*, he could not diſpenſe with his waiting upon him at *Javarin*, though but with few Troops. He was notwithſtanding well received by this Miniſter, and ſent back to guard the Paſſages betwixt *Raab* and *Ramnitz*, and the Bridges which the Turks had built upon thoſe two Rivers, to ſecure a retreat in caſe Fortune proved their Enemy. The Vayvod of *Walachia*, already mentioned, cauſed a Croſs of Oak of a prodigious bigneſs to be planted before his Tent in the Camp at *Vienna*; it is ſeventeen foot in length, with this Inſcription in Latin upon it;

Crucis exaltatio eſt conſervatio Mundi. Crux decor Eccleſiæ. Crux cuſtodia Regum. Crux confirmatio Fidelium. Crux Gloria Angelorum, & vulnus Demonum.

Nos Dei Gratia ſervamus, Canthacuzenus, Valachiæ Tranſalpinæ Princeps, ejusdem perpetuus hæres & Dominus, &c. Ereximus Crucem hanc in loco quavis die devotione Populi, & ſacro honorato in perpetuam ſui ſuorumque Memoriam, Tempore obſidionis

Mahometanæ *à Vizirio* Kara Muſtapha *Baſſa* Viennenſis *inferioris* Auſtriæ. *Menſe* Sept. *die* 1. *Anno* 1683.

Viator Memento mori.

The Infidels, upon the approach of the Chriſtians, were in no little diſorder, their whole Camp being in a tumultuous Motion, their Horſe mov'd confuſedly, and the Servants were ſeen to load their Camels with Baggage, which made the Beſieged judge, that they deſign'd to march to meet the Succours; notwithſtanding this Diſorder, they did not diſcontinue their Approaches, and the following day redoubled the firing of their Cannon and Mortars. That Morning, a Priſoner being taken, reported, That the Turks were in a great Conſternation, becauſe the Chriſtians were already upon the Mountain of *Kalemberg*. Thoſe who were upon the Rampart ſaw their Enemies pull down their Tents, and go and joyn their Companions, who were advanced to oppoſe the Paſſage of the Chriſtians, and about Noon they ſaw a great Body ranging themſelves in Battalia at the foot of the Mountain, whilſt others joyned them, carrying with them all their Baggage and Proviſions upon Waggons and Camels, as if they deſigned to change their Camp, where they alſo planted their Pavilions in the ſame manner, as if they intended a long ſtay there, probably to refreſh themſelves, to be more briſk, and in a condition to fight the Succours when they ſhould deſcend from the Hills. During all theſe motions, the attack was carried on with redoubled vigour, and though the defence was yet braver, yet at Night they fired many Rockets to advertiſe their friends that the place was reduced to the laſt extremity, and that they could hold out no longer.

But now the Chriſtians were ſeen to cover the Mountain of *Kalemberg*, and to ſalute their Enemies with ſeveral volleys of Cannon. To comprehend well the joy of the beſieged at ſo charming a ſpectacle, we need but repreſent to our ſelves, how they had been cloſe ſhut up the ſpace of nine Weeks, being every hour, indeed moment, in cruel apprehenſions for their goods, their lives, their Wives and their Children; and to ſee themſelves now upon the point to be delivered from theſe terrible alarms.

The Chriſtian Army being aſſembled, as is already ſaid, at *Tuln*, and that the Duke of *Lorrain* had put an end to ſeveral difficulties which were again ſtarted about the Rank, and the command of ſo many Princes and Generals, he brought it to a concluſion, that they ſhould march the next day, being the *9th*, towards *Vienna*. As ſoon as this reſolution was taken, he ſent Baron *Mercy* to *Morbach* with 2000 Horſe, to obſerve the countenance and motions of the Turks. The *9th*, at the point of day, he marched with all the *German* Army, and came and encamped betwixt St. *Andrew* and *Koningſeck*. In this Poſt he received advice of the Cities being reduced to its laſt extremity, and that they fired with nothing but Muskets. He ſent to advertiſe the King of *Poland*, who was yet at *Tuln*, with the news, and cauſed the Priſoners to be conducted to him, who confirmed the advice. He writ alſo to him, beſeeching him to advance and joyn with him.

The *10th*, the Duke cauſed the *Germans* to enter the Mountains by three ſeveral avenues, and left a fourth for the March of the *Poles*. He camped at *Wilbleng*, and the *Poles* reſted an hour behind to the right. The King himſelf came to diſcover the heights where the Imperialiſts were camped. The Duke ſhewed him *Kalemberg* from thence, whither he would march next morning; and his Majeſty returned to his Camp. By favour of the night the Duke went in Perſon to diſcover the paſſage of *Kalemberg*, and to take poſſeſſion of thoſe Poſts he judged neceſſary to aſſure their march. He alſo ſeiſed the Chappel of St. *Leopold*, and having put 300 men into it to ſecure it, returned to his Camp, having ſent to inform the King of what was done; after this the Army was [illegible] in Battel-array to poſſeſs *Kalemberg* by five differing ways, according to the directions given by the Duke, and conſented to by the King. The way on the right was left to his Majeſty, as the day before.

The Prince of *Sax-Lawenburg*, General of the Horſe, took the next paſſage to the *Poles*, conducting by that way the Right Wing, conſiſting of eight Regiments of the Emperour's Horſe, two of Dragoons, and one of Crauats, of all the Horſe and all the Dragoons of *Bavaria* and *Francony*.

The Infantry of *Franconia* and *Bavaria* took the third way, which was the middle-moſt, being commanded by the Prince of *Waldeck*. The Elector of *Bavaria* placed himſelf with the ſaid Prince that day, and continued there all the day following, advancing with much firmneſs in places of moſt danger, but without any Fonction or command, he having declared at firſt, that he would only ſerve as a Voluntier.

All the Emperour's Infantry, and that of *Saxony*, took the other two paſſages to the left, whereof one was that of St. *Leopold's* Chappel, being the high-way, and the other went along the *Danube*. Prince *Herman* of *Baden* and Count *Leſley* General of the Artillery were at the head of the Foot. Count *Caprara* General of the Horſe followed immediately by the ſame ways with the left Wing, which contained ſeven Regiments of the Emperour's, *Lubomirski's Poles*, to which the King had joyned ſome Squadrons of his, and all the Cavalry and Dragoons of *Saxony*. The Elector of *Saxony* commanded the Auxiliary Troops, which, however of differing tempers and Bodies, marched in Battalia, in as much as the ground would permit it, and were computed to amount to 65000 men. About eleven of the clock, the firſt Squadrons had gained the tops of *Kalemberg*, without any oppoſition at all. They there extended the Front of the Army above a league and a half, camping on the declivity of the Mountain towards *Cloſterneniburg*, in three lines, and ſome places more, as the ground would permit them, ſeizing thereby ſeven or eight Avenues, by which they might deſcend and range themſelves for the combat.

They brought at the ſame time ſome ſmall Field-Pieces to St. *Leopold*, and to the Monaſtery of *Camaldoli*. The remainder alſo of the day and all the night was ſpent in advancing the Train, which was not effected without great trouble, the Mountain being ſo ſteep, that none but ſmall Field-Pieces could be brought up, nor they but in ſome time doubling and tripling the draught Horſes.

The Turks ſeeing the Chriſtians appear about the Chappel of St. *Leopold*, and the aforeſaid Monaſtery, drew out on their right, advanced to the foot of the Mountains and extending thence to the brink of the *Danube*, they ſeized the Hedges, hollow-ways and heights, from whence they might incommode the Enemy at the deſcent of the hills and firſt filings out of their ſtreights.

1683. The Cannon being arrived at St. *Leopold* and *Camaldoli*, they quickly obliged the Turks to quit the Poſts which they had taken, and remove out of their ſhot. The Troops which they had advanced, conſiſted in Horſe, and another ſort of Militia, which fights like our Dragoons on Horſe-back and on foot. Of theſe the number was great, and they had brought but few Foot out of the Camp, and without Cannon in all this detachment which they oppoſed againſt the Chriſtians.

The ſpace betwixt *Vienna* and the [illegible] of the Wood is reckoned a League and a half, the Country being very difficult, trenched with Vineyards, Ravines and hollow ways. The Vineyard was encloſed by a great Dike which covered the Turks Camp on the ſide of *Helgſtat*. The Duke of *Lorrain* had choſen this march, to make uſe of the advantage of the heights, and judging that in a ſituation of this nature, he might ſecure his Flanks. His deſign was the next day to coaſt the *Danube*, and to attack the Turkiſh Camp on their right. It was for this reaſon, and becauſe of the cuts in the ground, that he placed a great Body of Foot to the left, this Wing being deſigned firſt to charge the Enemies.

The King of *Poland*, who ſtay'd an hour behind, having encamped, came to St. *Leopolds* Chappel, from whence the Duke ſhewed him the deſcent of the Mountain, the Camp of the Turks, and the Troops which were advanced to oppoſe the deſcent of the Chriſtians. Their Countenance made his Majeſty of opinion, that they would diſpute all the paſſages, and that the Duke ſhould do well if they could the next day ſeize the firſt heights at the entry of the Wood. He moreover deſired ſome *German* Foot to joyn with his in the deſcent of the Mountain. Having obtained four Battalions, he cauſed them to advance on that ſide, whereby the *Poles* were to deſcend. Towards the evening of that day, the Duke having ſurveyed the ground at the foot of *Camaldoli*, ordered Count *Leſley* to command ſome Troops to take poſt at night at the going out of the Wood, and to raiſe a Battery there, the better to ſecure the paſſage of the Army the next day. At firſt there were but two Battalions ſent Count *Leſley*, deferring to ſend any greater number till it was with the Artillery. They laboured all Night at this work; but the Turks being aware of it, before it was finiſhed, they ſent ſome Troops very early to hinder the Labourers, and poſted themſelves near them behind a Curtain, and behind Planks which well-nigh ſhut the deſcent from the Mountain before the Chriſtians Battery. Count *Fontaine*, who commanded the Poſt, was quick in oppoſing their effort, and having called the men from their work, and got his two Battalions together, he poſted them betwixt his Battery and their Barricado, yet ſo as not to be encompaſſed by them, who at the ſame time began to ſtretch to the right and left, to gain the Chriſtians Flanks.

The Duke, who obſerved from St. *Leopolds* Chappel the Turks motion, ſent ſome Battalions of the Regiments next hand to the relief of his men. Theſe being commanded by the Duke of *Croy*, arriving in time, the Imperialiſts extended their line, and took a reſolution to attack the Infidels in their Poſt behind their blind. This was executed with ſo much vigour, that the Enemy were forced to give way. They abandoned their Poſt, and retired to another, where the groſs of their Body remained. The Duke of *Croy* having his ſhoulder pierced with a Musket-ſhot in this action, was obliged to retire, leaving the command to *C. Fontaine*, who diſpoſed all things for the defence of the Poſt, which the Enemy ſeemed forward to attack again, but they contented themſelves with ſhooting out of their own ſtation, the fire continuing brisk on both ſides. 1683.

The Duke perceiving that the Turks made all that Body move which had camped beyond *Neudorff* to ſupport their advanced Troops, he firſt commanded all the left Wing to march, and preſently after he gave order to Prince *Waldeck*, and to the Duke of *Sax-Lawenburg*, to ruſh out of the Woods upon the Enemies, who were at the head of their Camp. He ſent to advertiſe the King of *Poland* of all this, and underſtanding that his Majeſty came to St. *Leopolds* Chappel, he went to meet him there, and ſhewing the motions the Armies were in, he acquainted him with all the orders that he had given upon this occaſion. After they had agreed upon all things, the King having performed his devotion at the Chappel, mounting on Horſe-back, he went from Rank to Rank, exhorting his Officers and Souldiers to do well, and ſpake to them after this manner.

Generous Poliſh Cavaliers, *It is not only to defend the glory which your Anceſtors, and your courage have acquired to you, of being eſteemed the invincible Bulwark of Chriſtendom againſt the* Ottoman *Power, It is not the defence only of your own Country, which the loſs of* Vienna *by an infallible conſequence will expoſe to the cruel Invaſion of thoſe againſt whom you are going to fight; but it is the cauſe of God, and to ſave the Empire of the West which does us the honour to have recourſe to our Arms; an honour which our Anceſtors did never preſume to hope for, and which is reſerved for your valour. Think then of nothing but conquering, or to dye nobly in this occaſion, to which the glory of Martyrdom is concomitant. Think that your King fights in the head of you, to partake with you of your perils and your victories, and reſt aſſured that the God of Battels, whoſe cauſe we are going to defend, will not fail to fight for us.*

Whilſt this Prince endeavoured by his diſcourſes to inſpire his Troops with that generous ardour he was himſelf agitated; the Citizens of *Vienna*, who had been advertiſed of the approach of their relief, ſaw, with inexpreſſible content, the Army of the Chriſtians deſcend from the Mountains of *Kalemberg*, being aſcertained by the noiſe of the Cannon which was ſhot againſt the Turks, who had parapetted the Paſſages with earth and ſtone, though to no purpoſe, that their deliverance was near. And they would alſo contribute all they could to it, by the diſcharge of all their Artillery from the Baſtions and Curtains of the wall. There was alſo an infinity of ſmall ſhot diſcharged on both ſides, with many Granadoes. The Turks had not as yet ſhot ſo many Bombs ſince the beginning of the Siege, as they did this day, to retard the Chriſtians that deſcended into the Plain, and to annoy thoſe who crowded upon the heights of the City, to obſerve the deſcent of their friends and the combat.

Whilſt the King of *Poland* continued his march at the head of his Army, the Duke of *Lorraine* cauſed *Heiſters* Regiment of Dragoons, and another of *Saxony*, which Count *Caprara* poſts to the left at the foot of St. *Leopolds* Chappel, to deſcend. That of *Heiſter* received orders at eight of the clock to go and attack the Enemies, who had poſſeſſed a place to the left, from whence they troubled the Imperialiſts, and the Infantry had likewiſe order to advance upon the Turks, who were retired behind their courtains

1683. and hollow ways. This motion was made on both ſides at once. The Turks made ſome reſiſtance at firſt, but not with Vigour enough to hinder the Chriſtians advance, who obliged them to retire behind another blind.

Count *Leſley*, who had brought down ſome Cannon, planted it at the head of the Infantry. The Duke of *Croy* was alſo returned, for having uſed the firſt Applications to his hurt, he had force enough not to quit the fight the whole day. This advantage gave both time and room to extend the front of the left Wing, as it deſcended and iſſued out of the Streights. In the mean time, the firſt Line of Infantry, which in their march againſt the Infidels gave continual fire with their Muſquets, mingled with that of Field-pieces, beat them out of another Poſt, and a Line or Curtain which reach'd from the *Danube* Hill over againſt the *Carthuſians*. The Duke about ten a Clock made a halt, and whilſt the reſt of the left Wing filled the ground which the firſt Troops had taken, and that Count *Caprara* extended it to the Banks of the *Danube*; he ſent orders to the Prince of *Waldeck*, who began to appear upon the firſt heights to the right,and to the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*, who was alſo got out of the Wood, to continue their march until they were equal with the front of the Troops commanded by the Duke of *Croy*, and to advance extending to the right, until they came within ſhot of the *Poles*, upon their iſſuing out of their Avenues which were on the right hand of all.

Theſe Orders being given,the Duke returned to the head of the left Wing, to make the great Body of the *Germans* move at once. The Great Duke of *Saxony* came and joyned him,and continued always near him in the places the moſt expoſed. At Noon they ſaw the King at the Head of his Troops, who came and joyned the right Wing of the Imperialiſts. The Duke in the mean time took care that in marching to the Enemy, the Subaltern Generals ſhould rally and re-eſtabliſh any Diſorders which might have happened by the Difficulty of the Paſſages, and that all ſhould advance with equality,firing continually with their great and ſmall ſhot.

The march was in this order, though ſlowly, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the way, and the oppoſition of the Enemy, the left moving along the *Danube* as far as the Village of *Neudorff*, carryed it, after a conſiderable reſiſtance. To the right, upon the ſame Line, there was another Hill guarded by the Turks, at the attack whereof a Dutch Batallion being diſordered, was ſuccoured by *Stirums* Dragoons, ordered by Count *Dunewald*. This Batallion recovered, took the Poſt, and continued to advance.

The juſtneſs of this march, the Chriſtian Armies order of Battel, and the ſcituation of the Place, which made the Imperialiſts appear as in a kind of Amphitheater, preſented a great and formidable object to the ſight, which aſtoniſhed the Turks, and did not a little contribute to the Victory.

The King of *Poland* being yet behind, the Army halted near *Newdorff*, until he was advanced upon the ſame Line, after which they continued their march. The Imperialiſts carried, without very great reſiſtance, the Poſt the Turks had at *Helgſtat*, and the Prince of *Waldeck* obliged thoſe that oppoſed him to retire.

In the mean time the Infidels, who were in Battalia in their Camp, moved as if they had deſigned upon the left Wing, but perceiving the Army of *Poland* upon the heights, they moved that way, ſo that the *Poles* and *Turks* faced each other almoſt in the ſame order, making more depth then front. The *Poles* ſeemed back'd by the Wood, and the *Turks* by their Camp. 1683.

The King, who was in the head of his Troops, detach'd ſome ſquadrons of his *Huſſars*, who charged the Turks, being all Lanciers, with great Vigour they bore before them thoſe that oppoſed them; but engaging themſelves too far, they drew ſo many Enemies upon them, that they were forced to run. The Turks followed them to a Place where Prince *Waldeck* had opportunely poſted two Batalions of *Bavarians*. The fire of theſe Foot cooled the purſuit of the Enemy, and gave the King of *Poland* time to cauſe his firſt Line to advance to re-eſtabliſh the Diſorder of his *Huſſars*. Count *Rabata*, at the Kings deſire, joyned the Emperours Dragoons with them. But this body of Turks detach'd from their Troops, did not dare to ſtand the ſhock of the Chriſtians, but retired to a height where they had Foot and Cannon, with more diligence then they were come.

After this advantage, the King continued to march with all his Army, and the Turks endeavoured to obſtruct their Paſſage from the ſeveral Poſts they had. The fire of their Artillery and Muſquets did ſome harm to the *Poles*, but did not break them, and ſo they advanced ſtill gaining Ground inſenſibly upon the Enemy.

In the mean time, the Duke being far advanced towards the left of the Enemies Camp, to divert their Endeavours upon the right, the Turks put themſelves in battalia upon the Ravine or —— before their Camp, and planting ſome great Guns againſt the Chriſtians, they made many ſhot, and ſeemed by their meen to reſolve to defend that Poſt which was the ſtrongeſt of all, and ſerved for a Retrenchment for their Camp, but their firmneſs did not laſt long. The Imperialiſts being advanced within Muſquet ſhot, they abandoned their Station about five in the Evening, and left them the convenience of paſſing it without diſorder, and entring into their Camp.

It was then that the Duke, making uſe of this Advantage, wheeled all his left Wing, and inſtead of continuing his way by the *Danube*, he cauſed it to march to the right, to enter into the Enemies Camp, no Souldier quitting his rank to pillage their Baggage which they had abandoned, and their Tents ſtanding. This motion being perceived by the Turks who were engaged againſt the *Poles* on the right Wing, quite diſmayed them,and they began to retire for fear of being charged in the Flank. The King thereupon paſſed the Ravine with his Troops, notwithſtanding the firing of ſome Janizaries that defended it,and purſued the Enemies. About ſeven a Clock he entred their Camp ſome little time after Prince *Waldeck*, who paſſed into it with his *Bavarians* and *Franconians*. Half an hour after, the Duke having gained the Suburbs and Counterſcharp,commanded Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to advance towards the Trenches of the Turks with ſome Troops that the Baron of *Mercy* conducted, but this Prince could not come there ſo ſoon, but that the Janizaries that were in guard there had leiſure to make their retreat by favour of the Night that came on. They had begun it as ſoon as they ſaw the Chriſtians approach their Camp. They retired with no great loſs, having had the bravery before they abandoned their Trenches to attempt another attack againſt the City, and to turn and fire the Cannon of their Batteries againſt the Army. The Night ſuſpended the Victory, and obliged the Troops to make halt in that part of

1683. the Camp which was betwixt the *Danube* and the City, the Turks being retreated on the other ſide of the River.

The Duke of *Lorraine* ſent to complement the King, upon the happy ſucceſs of that day, which was owing to his preſence. This Prince returned his complement, confeſſing that every body had a ſhare in it, but that all the honour was due to his Conduct, and to the valour of the *German* Troops, who firſt entred the Camp, and the Enemies works.

During the Night the Turks paſſed the River at *Schunket*, making their retreat by the Rear of their Front, and quitted their Camp with ſo much precipitation, that they left behind them in the great Viſier's Quarters the Standard of the *Ottoman* Empire, and the Horſe Tayle, the ordinary Enſigns of their dignity. They left alſo all their Tents, and the greateſt part of their Equipage, all their Ammunition and Proviſions, which they had in great abundance, all their Artillery, amounting to 180 pieces of Cannon and Mortars, and they haſtened their retreat with ſo much diligence, that their formoſt Troops had the next day paſſed the *Raab*.

The Chriſtians loſt no body of conſideration except Prince *Thomas* of *Croy*, the Count of *Tranſmandorff*, young *Poloski* Captain of a Company of *Huſſars*; and the wounded, beſides the Duke of *Croy*, the Counts *Fontaine*, *Tilly*, and *Schalemburg*, were inconſiderable.

The 13*th* early, the Duke having appointed his Army to be ready, went to wait on the King of *Poland* to regulate their march, and the immediate purſuit of the Victory. But finding him little diſpoſed to it, he omitted no inſtances to perſwade him to it, propoſing to him to march with all the Army, or with all the Horſe only, or elſe with a great detachment; but the King oppoſed the wearineſs of his Troops, and the neceſſity of refreſhing them ſome hours. The King thereunto being unwilling, the Duke entred into the City.

The Grand Viſier, before his flight, cauſed the Heads of five of the Women of his Seraglio to be cut off, for fear they ſhould fall into the hands of the Conquerors. The Baron of *Kaunitz*, the Emperors Reſident at the Port, who was at preſent in the Viſier's Quarters, was in danger of being killed by the Chriſtians in the heat of the Battel, as being habited after the Turkiſh faſhion. By day there was not a Turk left, though they were traced during the obſcurity of the Night by the Villages on fire, the Infidels having marked their retreat with this laſt cruelty, after they had firſt burnt their Camp, as far as the precipitation of their flight, and the fear which obliged them to be gone would permit them. They retired alſo out of the Iſle by favour of their lower Bridge, the upper Bridge which they had layed being poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians upon their arrival. The ſame evening many Cavaliers and Souldiers entered the City with great Droves of Cattel, which they found in the Camp and near it, which continuing the following days, Beef became ſo cheap that they were ſold for five and ſix Florins each.

The Duke of *Lorrain* being now aſſured that he had no more Enemies to combat, diſpatcht the Count of *Aversberg*, Son to the Prince of that name, to the Emperor, to inform him with the happy ſucceſs of that day.

On the morrow of the fight, being the 13*th*, the fire took in the Powder which the Turks had left a League from the City, and conſumed

1683. an infinite number of Bombs, Granadoes, and other artificial fire-works. This accident was attributed to the negligence of ſome Chriſtian Souldiers, and yet there were prodigious quantities of Powder, Bullets, &c. left behind. It was obſervable that many of the Cannon which the Turks had abandoned were marked with the Arms of the Emperours *Ferdinand* the firſt, and *Rodolf* the ſecond.

After the Souldiery had pillaged the immenſe Riches of the Camp, which amounted to many Millions, the King of *Poland* entered into the City, accompanied with Count *Starenberg* the Governour, many Commanders, and a great number of the *Poliſh* Nobility, where *Te Deum* being ſung, he, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and ſeveral Grandees, were ſumptuouſly treated by the Governour, the People by their joyful acclamations ecchoing the praiſes of their Deliverers.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Lorraine* was employed in giving the neceſſary Orders for the Army, part of it beginning to diſcamp, and all together with the *Poles*, deſigning to go in purſuit of the Enemy, which favourable conjuncture was omitted in expectation of the Emperour, who alſo arrived that evening at *Vienna*, where he was received coming out of his Boat, by the two Electors, and the principal Officers of War and Juſtice. Having taken a view of the Enemies works, He cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung with all the ſolemnity poſſible in the Church of St. *Stephen*. That done, he cauſed the Creſcent and Star, the *Ottoman* Arms, to be taken down from the Spire of that Steeple, placed there ſince the time of *Solyman*, being theſe laſt Turks did not ceaſe ſhooting at it, and raiſed the Croſs in their place.

Wedneſday being the 15*th*, the King of *Poland* ſent his Grand Chancellor to the Emperor with a numerous Train to complement him, and offer him a part of the booty which he had found in the Grand Viſier's Tent, and amongſt other things, the Standard which was always carried before him when he marched. It was made of Horſe-hair work'd with the Needle, and embroidered with flowers, the ſtaff of it was guilt, as alſo the Apple which was of braſs. They call it *Tugh* in their Language, which is to ſay *Horſe Tayle*. The Chancellor made a very elegant Latin Speech, and the Emperour anſwered it with Sentiments of eſteem and acknowledgment for his Majeſty of *Poland*. After a quarter of an hours converſation with this Envoy, and hearing Maſs in our Lady of *Loretto's* Chappel, he took Horſe to ride to the Camp, where he was to viſit the King of *Poland*. There was ſome difficulty about the upper hand. This Prince pretended it, and there were examples contrary to this pretenſion. In the mean time what he had done deſerved particular conſideration. To conclude, it was reſolved, for the removing of theſe obſtacles, that the Emperor ſhould go ſee the Troops, that they ſhould be ranged in Battalia, and that theſe two Soveraigns ſhould advance within twenty ſteps of each other, which was performed in the manner following. The Emperour, having ſeen the *Bavarians* in Battalia, continued his way to *Ebersdorff*, where the firſt Squadrons of the left Wing were drawn up, and thence he went to *Swech* where the right Wing was poſted, and where the King of *Poland* expected him. Being within Piſtol-ſhot of each other, the King, with the Prince his Son, upon a little gallop moved forwards, and then both Princes uncovered at once, ſaluted and covered again in a moment. The Emperor ſpoke firſt, and told the King,

That

1683. *That he was extremely obliged to him, for leaving his Country, and undertaking a long and painful voyage, to come and combat his Enemies and deliver* Vienna; *that all Christendom ſhar'd in the obligation, and that he had covered himſelf with glory by ſo generous an action.* The King of *Poland* anſwered him, *that it was to God alone that we ought to render our thanks for this Victory; that he had done nothing but what every Christian Prince was obliged to do upon the like occaſion; and that he would endeavour for the future to do yet more for the Intereſt of* Religion, *that all his diſpleaſure was, that he was not in a condition to purſue the Enemy upon their defeat, but that his Troops after a march of three days required ſome reſt, eſpecially his Cavalry, the Horſe being extremely tired.* Prince *Alexander*, who by order of his Father was clothed that day after the *German* faſhion, kiſſed the Emperour's hand, who thereupon returned into the City, and the King further into his Camp. His Imperial Majeſty in his return obſerved that all the Villages and Palaces were burnt around, except the place where *Solyman* had formerly camped, when he beſieg'd *Vienna*; in memory whereof the Emperour *Rodolf* had cauſed a houſe of pleaſure to be built in that place, with Towers, which were covered with guilt Copper in the ſame ſymmetry or figure that the Sultans Tents were; ſo that the Turks being informed that this building had been made after the Model of *Solymans* Camp, would not ruine it during the Siege, but had made a Magazin of it, where was alſo found a great quantity of Bread and Biſquet.

The Emperour employed the reſt of the time that he ſtayed at *Vienna*, in viſiting the Retrenchments and Fortifications which Count *Starenberg* had made behind the Baſtions and the Walls, to defend the Ground foot by foot. The Prince Elector of *Saxony* parted the fifteenth with all his Troops. His retreat ſeemed precipitated, and ſuppoſed to be upon account of the Proteſtants of *Hungary*, thinking perhaps he had done enough in ſaving of *Vienna*, whereto he nobly contributed. The Emperour, willing to recompence Count *Starenberg's* Services, made him Marſhal General of the Field, and of his Privy Council; he gave him 100000 Florins, and writ to the King of *Spain* to ſend him the Order of the *Golden Fleece*. He alſo conferred the ſame Employments and Honours upon Count *Capliers*, and having preſented Prince *Alexander*, the King of *Polands* Son, with a Sword richly adorned with Jewels of great value, He returned back to *Lintz*. The greateſt part of thoſe who fled upon the approach of the Turks, returned to the City when they knew the Siege was raiſed. They began to rebuild the Houſes that were ruined, and amongſt others the Emperours Palace and *Scots* Church,

During theſe Triumphs at *Vienna*, the Grand Viſier, ſenſible of his misfortune, and the malice of his Enemies, and knowing that the Baſſa of *Buda* would render him no good Offices at Court, upon the raiſing of the Siege of *Vienna*, reſolved to prevent him, and informed the Grand Seignior, by an expreſs he diſpatch'd to him to *Belgrade*, that he had diſpoſed all things to check the firſt onſet of the Chriſtians, and engage them in Battel, which would undoubtedly have been accompanied with Succeſs; but that he was forced to change deſign, becauſe the Baſſa retired with his Army, the *Walachians*, the *Moldavians*, and the *Hungarians*, which did ſo mainly abate the Courage of his Troops, that it was afterwards impoſſible for him to bring them to fight; that ſo he had been obliged to retire to conſerve the reſt of the Army, and not to hazard the Perſon of his Highneſs. Nevertheleſs the Grand Viſier, having well examined the Conſequences which the ill Succeſs of his Enterpriſe might have, did ſcarce believe himſelf ſecure by this precaution, and he perſwaded himſelf that he muſt immolate the Baſſa of *Buda's* Life to preſerve his own. He cauſed him immediately to be arreſted, together with the Baſſaes of *Erſeck* and *Poſlega*, who he knew were of Intelligence with the former, and cauſed them all three to be ſtrangled. Theſe proceedings furniſhed his Enemies with Pretexts to deſtroy him, chiefly the *Kiſler-Agaſi*, a Creature of the Sultana *Valide*, to whom ſhe had recommended upon her Death-bed, to revenge her upon this chief Miniſter, which he alſo did. 1683.

After the Death of theſe three Baſſaes, the Grand Viſier continued his march, but in his Paſſage by *Raab*, that Garriſon fell upon his Rear-Guard, and kill'd near 600 of them. At *Gran* he was joyned by a body of 15000 Turks, who were going to *Belgrade*. The remains of the *Ottoman* Army were diſperſed ſome at *Gran*, ſome at *Newhauſel*, at *Buda* ſome, and the reſt entrenched near *Altemburg*.

On the other ſide, the Chriſtians diſcourſed of the reſt of the Campania; but as part of the Allies did think they had done enough in contributing to the relief of *Vienna*, thought of returning home, many Councils were held to examine by what means they might be ſtayed. The Duke of *Saxony* continued inflexible in his Reſolution, and was marched for his Country. The Elector of *Bavaria* conſented to leave his Troops with the Emperours, but the Prince of *Waldeck* gave them to underſtand, that he ſhould want new orders for the undertaking of new Enterpriſes with the Troops of *Franconia*, which he commanded. But the Duke of *Lorrain* perſwaded himſelf that theſe Difficulties had not hapned, if by a quick engagement they had hurried the Allies to purſue the Victory, and this was one of the chief reaſons that moved the Duke to preſs the King in it.

Several Projects were made to divide the Army for different Occaſions, many Conferences were had with the Allyes, and all the time was conſumed in Councils. In the mean time, the Duke, who thought of nothing but improving the reſt of the Summer, propoſed every thing that he thought favourable, either for the Reduction of *Hungary*, for the Siege of *Newhauſel*, or that of *Gran*, or to take the Poſts of *Barcam*, and that of *Peſt* for the ſetling of their Winter Quarters, and made it appear that nothing of all this could be done without great Forces, the Army of the Turks not being wholly defeated, however routed, and that the Rebels Army was ſtill entire.

He determined nothing, becauſe he knew not what meaſures the Turk would take. He only affirmed, that they ought to march forthwith into *Hungary* with all the Diſpoſitions neceſſary to act as the Enemies ſhould direct.

The Emperour having approved his Propoſitions, and the King of *Poland* conforming to them, they marched the 18*th* towards *Presburg*, and they encamped the ſame day with all the Imperial Troops near *Fichen*; from thence they went to *Heinburg*, and the 20*th* they approached *Presburg*, where the Duke expected the Boats from the Bridge of *Tuln* according to orders. However the Bridge could not be finiſhed till the 25*th*, by reaſon of the great Winds, and the Difficulty of getting Boats in a deſolate Country. The *Franconians* continued camped near *Vienna*, and the *Bavarians* came the 19*th* to *Fichen*.

1683. The 22*th*, news came that Count *Budiani*, who upon the arrival of the Turks had abandoned the paſſages which he kept upon the *Raab*, and embraced the party of the Malecontents, after having warred againſt the Emperour's Troops with a Body of *Turks* and *Hungarians* of his Generality, burnt and pillaged a great number of Villages upon the frontier of *Styria*, had ſurpriſed and cut in pieces thoſe ſame Turks to which he was united, and had afterwards joyned with the Count of *Aſpremont*, to endeavour to incommode them of the great Army in their retreat towards *Buda*.

The Bridge upon the *Danube*, to paſs into the Iſle of *Schuts*, being finiſhed the 25*th*, the *Poles* began to file over the ſame day, and being followed by the Emperour's Army, they encamped the 27*th* at *Gersdorff*. The Marquis of *Barch*, who in the Prince of *Waldeck*'s abſence, now ſick at *Vienna*, commanded the Troops of *Franconia*, advertiſed the Duke that he could not follow him with the Troops of his *Circle*, and ſent him the copy of an Order from Prince *Waldeck*, dated the 26*th*. He received at the ſame time another Letter from the Elector of *Bavaria*, dated the day following, from his Camp at *Ort*, two Leagues from *Vienna*, which gave him notice that the *Franconians* would not leave their Camp before they had received Orders from the Princes of their *Circle*, which he judged would be rather to recall, than cauſe them to advance. He added, that his Infantry being extremely weaken'd and diminiſhed by bloudy Fluxes, and his Cavalry ruined, his Troops could not ſo ſoon follow the Army of the Emperour; And yet if they would undertake any great action, where they ſhould be neceſſary, he would cauſe ſuch as were in condition to ſerve immediately to march.

The Duke apprehending that this ſeparation might put him out of condition of undertaking any thing conſiderable, ſent Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to the Elector, who was gone to *Bin*, to change Ayr, by reaſon of ſome indiſpoſition of health; he was charged to perſwade him to let his Troops follow, remonſtrating to him, that it would be a great matter, now that the Forces of the Chriſtians were diminiſhed, to hinder the Turks to take heart to oblige part of *Hungary* to ſubmit themſelves, to take Poſt for Winter Quarters in the Enemies Country, and thereby encourage the *Franconians* to follow their example.

In the mean time the Seaſon advanced; theſe Negotiations conſuming much time, and the Duke could make no ſtay upon command of the Troops he was not ſure of, and willing not to loſe the ſeaſon, he perſwaded the King of *Poland* to continue the march of the Army towards *Komorra*, without the Allies. The King advancing always an hour before the Imperialiſts, they arrived near that City the ſecond of *October*; they camped at *Wiſmar*, and a Council of the Generals of the Army was held there, to know what the Imperialiſts might undertake, independent without the Allies, in caſe of delay or being abandoned.

Intelligence was brought, that *Tekely* with his Army encamped at *Lewentz*; that the groſs of the *Turkiſh* Army lay about *Buda*; that the Grand Viſier had ſent a Detachment towards *Gran*, that he had put 4000 men into *Newhauſel* to fortifie that Garriſon, but that there were in the Enemies Army a great many diſcontented Perſons at the conduct of the Grand Viſier, by ſo much the more diſſatisfied, becauſe that upon his return near *Raab*, he had cauſed the Viſier of *Buda* to be ſtrangled, as alſo ſome other Baſſa's, and more than fifty Subaltern Officers, whom he accuſed of not having done their duty in the late Battel; beſides that, he had alſo ſacrificed a great number of thoſe Run-aways, who had preceded his retreat. 1683.

After the Council held at *Wiſwar*, they were not of opinion to attempt the Siege of *Newhauſel* in a ſeaſon ſo advanced, and in a Country full of Marſhes, the Garriſon being ſtrong, and a great Army in the Neighbourhood; neither was it thought reaſonable to propound the King's going againſt the Enemy, becauſe the Troops of the Empire had not followed, and that they ſhould be oblig'd to paſs through a Country where Forrage would be wanting.

The attack of *Gran* ſeemed but little feaſible before they were Maſters of *Barcam*, that the communication might be cut off. This inclined the Duke to attempt the Fort of *Barcam*, which is the head of the Bridge of *Gran*, after which they would further deliberate to paſs to *Peſt*, or beſiege *Gran*, according to the countenance of the Enemy. The Duke acquainted the King of *Poland* with what had been reſolved, whereunto his Majeſty aſſented.

On the 3*d* of *October*, the King began to paſs that branch of the *Danube* at *Komorra*, called the *Waagh*. The Emperours Horſe followed, and all the Cavalry marched to *Moſe*, where the Count of *Starenberg* was to be on the 7*th* with the Infantry, the King having promiſed to ſtay for him there. The 7*th* day, which ſhould have been a day of repoſe, to give the Infantry time to joyn the reſt of the Army, the King ſent to tell the Duke of *Lorrain*, that he would march towards *Barcham*, deſiring him that he would do the ſame. The Duke, ſurpriſed with the change, having thereupon ſounded to Horſe, ſent Count *Dunewald* to his Majeſty, to repreſent to him the neceſſity of expecting the Foot, and the danger there was in ſeparating in the neighbourhood of the Armies of the Turks and Rebels, and in the middle of their Garriſons. The Count found the King already on Horſeback, who anſwered him, that having advice that the detachment of the Turks towards *Barcam* was not great, he ſaw no inconvenience to continue his march. They ſeeing the King's reſolution followed him, leaving but one Company of *Crawats* to accompany the Infantry, which that day were to be at *Moſe*.

The King being come within a League of *Barcam*, was advertiſed by his advanced Parties, that ſome Squadrons of the Enemy did appear. He ordered a detachment to charge them. They did not ſtand, but being relieved by a greater Body, the *Poles* who attacqued them were repelled.

The King commanded other Squadrons to ſecond them, which being engaged, he advanced himſelf with all his Horſe. The groſs of the *Turks* Cavalry, which had continued hitherto covered by a great hill, unexpectedly appeared ſix or 7000 ſtrong, and briskly charging the *Poles* in Flank and Front, put them to flight. The *Turks* charged them hotly in the diſorder they were, and killed above 2000 of them, and amongſt the reſt, the Palatine of *Pomerania*. They took Tymbals and Standards, and ſome Baggage, which by being intermingled with the march of the Troops, did ſomewhat contribute to their defeat.

The Count of *Dunewald*, who had marched all day with the King, ſeeing the encounters of the firſt Squadrons, ſent to tell the Duke, that the *Poles* and the Enemy were engaged, whereupon

1683. upon he marched ſwiftly, and filing through a narrow paſſage betwixt him and the Plain, he ſaw upon his arrival that the *Poliſh* Horſe was quite broke, and that the *Turks* were cloſe in their purſuit. At this ſight, his firſt care was to put the Emperours moſt advanced Troops into Battalia, leaving room for the flying *Poles*, to avoid their running upon him. As ſoon as he had ſome Squadrons of his firſt Line formed, ſeeing the *Poles* ſtill in diſorder, he advanced upon the Enemy with his firſt Squadrons, leaving Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to embattel the reſt. This motion ſtopt the Enemies carreer, after which they retired with ſome ſpeed under *Barcam*, to avoid the Imperialiſts charge; whilſt the Duke advanced, the Queen of *Polands* Brother came to him, and told him, that he believed the King was loſt, becauſe his Majeſty was in the head of all in the places the moſt expoſed, to animate his Men by words, and inſpire courage into them by his example. The Duke ſeeing the Enemy retired, advanced towards the *Poles*. He found the King, who having advanced with the firſt, would be the laſt in retiring. He told the Duke how affairs had gone, and it being near Night, they thought of nothing but encamping.

Fear and Terror had ſeiſed upon the *Poles*, as is uſual in ſuch Encounters, they could ſcarce be perſwaded to keep the Right, becauſe of the Neighbourhood of *Barcam*, whither the Enemy was retired; inſomuch that the King, for the greater ſecurity of his Troops, made them take the Left, deſiring the Duke to march into the right with the Emperours Troops, which theſe laſt had always pretended to; before they diſcamped, the Duke ſent Orders to Count *Starenberg* to make haſte and come and joyn him with the foot. The next Morning he was advertiſed that the *Poles* continued diſquieted; that the loſs they had ſuffered was extreamly ſenſible to them, that they would perſwade the King not to advance any further, but to retire to the Places deſigned for their Quarters; that the principal Officers were much divided, and finally that many Difficulties were alledged to the King to hinder the Execution of the Reſolutions which had been taken.

The Duke, who knew the Conſequence of retaining the *Poliſh Army*, and in caſe it ſeparated, they ſhould loſe the Fruit and Honour of the Campania, the which he deſired to ſee finiſhed with ſome handſome Action, and not upon a loſs, went to the Kings Quarters, and having found things as they had been repreſented, he endeavoured to perſwade his Majeſty to continue in the Terms they had agreed upon. He demonſtrated to him and his Generals, the unlucky conſequences that were to be feared if they changed deſign, how eaſie it was to force this detachment if they did not delay to attack them, the importance of doing it ſuddenly, for fear all the Forces of the Enemy might rejoyn them, and he inſiſted that they ſhould advance and charge them as ſoon as the Foot were come up. The King explained this Diſcourſe to the Senators and Officers of the Army that did not underſtand the Language, and in order to it agreed to march the next Morning, irreſolute only upon the ordering of the Battel.

The Duke, who had been viſiting the Ground, made a Deſcription to the King of it, and the Condition of *Barcam*, and afterwards diſcourſed of ſeveral forms of embattelling. He propoſed that which they had held at *Vienna*, offering the right to his Majeſty, or to march as they were camped, and divided the *Poles* into the two Wings, which laſt propoſal was accepted of, 1683. and the Reſolution to march was taken.

The Army being put into Battalia with the Day, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* commanded the right Wing, and under him Count *Gondola* and Baron *Mercy*, Count *Dunewald* was in the left, and with him the Counts *Palſi* and *Taff*. Count *Starenberg*, Marſhal of the Field, conducted the Infantry, with the Prince of *Croy* and Count *Serin*. This done, the Duke went to the King for the dividing of his Army. His Majeſty having been informed that the Enemies detachment had been augmented by ſeveral Troops conducted by *Haly* Baſſa of *Aleppo*, and by the Baſſaes of *Syliſtria* and *Caire*; and apprehending that theſe Troops were followed by the reſt, deliberated a-new upon the Enterpriſe; but the Duke repreſented to him many motives which made him believe the Army could not yet be come thither. He added, that if it were, he believed the Ground whereon they ſtood was ſo advantageous, that they ought not to change their Deſign, being the Imperial Army poſſeſſed all the Plain, the *Danube* on the right, and the Mountains on the left, and that the Ground growing narrower towards the Enemies, they could not make uſe of a great body, though they had it; theſe reaſons being approved, the *Poliſh* Army was divided. The King with a party of his *Huſſars*, of his Foot, and of his beſt Horſe, placed himſelf in the right, betwixt the Emperours Horſe and his Dragoons. The Great General *Jabloriski* did the ſame in the left, and the reſt of the *Poliſh* Army made a third Line; they marched for half an hour in this Order. About nine a Clock they ſaw the Turks drawn up in the Plain before them. They moved juſtly, and by their firmneſs their Forces were judged equal with thoſe of the Chriſtians. Being come near the Troops that appeared, made a motion, putting themſelves into three Lines, leaving only two great ſquadrons on their right. They then came and charged the left of the Chriſtian Army with much fierceneſs, and ſearching the *Poles*, they attack'd the *Huſſars*, which the Great General Commanded.

At the ſame time the groſs of the Turks, who were in the middle of the height, advanced towards the adverſe Foot, as if they would have charged them, and being come within half Muſquet-ſhot, they declined to the left of the Chriſtians, expoſing their Flank to relieve their own men. The Duke, who was gon towards his Infantry, ſeeing this motion, ran along the Line of the Horſe of the left Wing, and with all the party [illegible] firſt Line, which had not yet charged, [illegible]mſelf advanced at the head of the Squadrons, and charged the Enemy in flank, which put them to a general rout, incapacitating them to make head again. He ordered *Dunewald* to purſue with the whole firſt Line, and with all the *Poles* of the ſame Wing, who followed them Pell-Mell to the very Gates of *Barkam*, and the Marſhes of *Gran*, where many of them were ſlain.

Whilſt Count *Dunewald* chaſed the Enemy, the Duke cauſed the Army to advance in Battalia towards *Barcam*. The King having ſeen the flight of the Turks, was come from the right Wing to the left, to complement the Duke; the Generals and Senators who accompanied him, did the ſame. Amongſt the reſt *Jablorisky*, the Grand General of *Poland*, in preſence of all, avowed, that his People refuſing to advance to ſuſtain the *Huſſars*, the readineſs of Count *Dunewald* to ſuccour him, and the Vigour of the Emperours Horſe had repaired that fault, and could not be ſufficiently commended. And now in the diſorder the Enemy was in, they reſolve to attack *Barcam*.

The King cauſed ſome of his *Coſſacks* to advance, and the Duke added five Battalions of *Starenberg*, of *Grana*, and *Baden*, all under the conduct of Count *Starenberg*. This detachment was ſcarce ordered, when the Duke, who was approached to the Fort to inſpect it, was advertiſed, that the Bridge upon the *Danube* was broken by the precipitate flight of the firſt Runaways, and that the crowding in *Barkam*, and upon the ſide of the River, were ſo great, that they ſeemed to be packed upon each other. He haſted thither, and would loſe no time upon ſuch an occaſion. He gave Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* orders to diſmount the Regiments of Dragoons, of *Schults*, *Comfettein*, and *Caſtell*, and to march to the Fort on that ſide to make a ſecond Attack. The command was inſtantly executed, and having ſent ſome parties of Foot by Water, and five pieces of Cannon charged with Cartrages; he ordered that the Fort ſhould be aſſaulted, whilſt the great and ſmall ſhot plyed their Vollies upon the Banks of the River. The Turks ſeeing themſelves thus preſſed on all ſides, could not withſtand the Attack, the place being forced, the Foot and Dragoons entering at the ſame time by the ways they attempted it.

The ſlaughter was terrible, though moſt of the defendants, to ſave themſelves from the fury of the aſſailants, precipitated themſelves into the *Danube*, ſome leap'd in with their Horſes, others tried to paſs by ſwimming, holding by the Mane and tailes of their Horſes, or ſome plank or piece of the broken Bridge, and there were ſome who crept over the dead bodies which were held by the cordage and pieces of wood remaining where the breach was. This ſlaughter continuing long, the number of the dead was very great, all that part of the *Danube* near the ſhore, not being very rapid, being filled with them; all the ſurface of the River, where largeſt, being covered with cloaths, and the equipage of Men and Horſes, and there did not eſcape above ſeven or 800 of all this multitude, who found their preſervation in the kind of a Redoubt which was at *Barcam*, where they had put themſelves, and from whence they demanded quarter, and had it.

The Town being garriſoned with *Dutch* and *Poles*, Count *Staremberg*, ſeeing theſe two Nations were ready to murther each other for the booty, removed the Imperialiſts, having only the *Poles* there, who awhile after burnt *Barcam*, and all the Palliſado's that encloſed it, because the Turks had placed the Heads of the *Poles* ſlain in the late Engagement upon the tops of them.

Count *Tekely*, who had orders from the Grand Viſier to joyn with the Baſſa of *Buda* at *Barkam*, was advanced upon the Mountains within two miles of it, but being informed by thoſe he ſent to diſcover what the Chriſtians did, of what was paſſed, he retired with much diligence.

By Letters from *Gran*, as alſo by the relation of Priſoners, there were not 3000 men of all this detachment of 14000 Horſe, and 1200 Janiſaries ſaved. They were the flower of their Army, commanded by the *Baſſa* of *Buda*, *Haly* Baſſa of *Aleppo*, the Baſſa of *Siliſtria*, and ſome Aga's. The booty was great, above ſix thouſand Horſes being taken, and the Tymbals and the Baggage which the *Poles* had left, were recovered.

This Victory did not only re-aſſure the *Poles*, but put the Male-contents into a deſpondency, and did ſo ſtrongly increaſe the diſorders in the *Turkiſh* Army, that the Grand Viſier, unable to maſter them, was obliged to retire.

The next thing the Chriſtians undertook, was the Siege of *Gran*, though the Duke had need of all his Reaſons and elocution to perſwade the King of *Poland* to it, but having at length conſented, and the *Bavarian* Forces being come up, three Batteries were forthwith raiſed; and ten great Guns were by force of men, as alſo eight Mortars drawn up the Mountains of *Martin* and *Thomas*, deſerted by the Enemy. The Caſtle was ſtrongly battered on the Gate, on the *Buda* ſide great quantity of Bombs were thrown in, and the ſhooting laſted all day. The Imperialiſts advanced to the Ditch, and lodged there, on the ſide of the *Bavarian* approaches. They advanced to the foot of the Wall, which lookt towards *Barcam*, and about five in the evening, ſome commanded Battalions of the Imperialiſts attack'd the City on the other extremity, and carried it without reſiſtance; for as much as the Enemy having retired, contented themſelves to defend it by their great firing from the Caſtle, from whence the very ſills of the Houſes are diſcovered.

The Imperialiſts being maſters of the City, the *Bavarians* in the Night gained the foot of the Caſtle, where they fell to Mining, whilſt the Imperialiſts leaped into the Mote, and lodged there. Several men were loſt there by the defendants Bombs, Granadoes, Stones, &c. which they continually threw amongſt them, whilſt they were covering themſelves. The Cannon beginning to make a breach about Ten a Clock, and the Miner at work, a Summons was ſent in by a *Turkiſh* Priſoner, with offer of goods and life, if they would ſurrender the place before the day was ended. The beſieged demanded till the morrow, which being refuſed, the firing of the Artillery, Musquets, and Bombs were redoubled. They paſſed the Moat, made two Lodgments, by favour whereof they attacked the Miner in a ſecond place on the *Martinberg* ſide. This advantage obliged the *Turks* to ſend an Officer about Eleven at Night to declare, that they accepted the offer which had been made them, demanding Hoſtages whilſt the Capitulations were a making, and offering theirs.

The 27*th*, the Hoſtages being delivered, it was agreed, that the Garriſon ſhould march out with Arms and Baggage, and that it ſhould be conducted in ſafety to *Buda* and *Vicegrade*; that the Artillery and Munitions of War and Victuals ſhould remain in the place, and that the Turks ſhould deliver up their Chriſtian Priſoners.

The impreſſion that the battel of *Barcam* had made; the vigor and readineſs wherewith they had gained the foot of the Walls, the Grand Viſier's retreat, the Bombs which were thrown without ceaſing, into a place ſo full of People as this, had cauſed ſo much terror and ſo much confuſion, that though there were above 4000 effective men in the Garriſon, commanded by two Baſſa's, a Bey, and many Officers, we have ſeen a place reduced in five days, which in the two former Sieges had held out ſeveral Months, with weaker Garriſons, againſt more numerous Armies.

The ſeaſon being too far advanced for further action, the Allies returned home, and the *Poles*, together with the Imperialiſts marched into their Winter-Quarters.

In the mean time, the Grand Viſier being come to Court, told the Grand Seignior the ſame things he had writ to him againſt the Baſſa

1683. of *Buda*, and perſwaded him to approve of the rigor wherewith he had treated him. He alſo accuſed Count *Tekely* of having ill ſeconded him; and finally, he knew ſo well to juſtifie his conduct with his Maſter, that he hindered the Widdow of that Baſſa, who was his Highneſs's Siſter, to complain againſt him for ſo barbarous an action, and procured an Order to be ſent her from the *Sultan* to go immediately to *Adrianople* without ſeeing him. When this Princeſs arrived there, ſhe found the *Sultana Valide* dead, which cauſed her a ſenſible diſpleaſure; becauſe ſhe had relied much upon the credit of this Princeſs, who having a great averſion for *Cara Muſtafa*, would not have been wanting in countenancing the vengeance ſhe would take of this Miniſter; but ſhe learn'd from *Kiſler Agaſi*, or the chief of the black Eunukes, that *Sultana Valide* had charged him upon her Death-bed, to tell the Grand Seignior upon his return to *Adrianople*; that *Cara Muſtapha* had a deſign to make himſelf Emperour of the Weſt, grounded upon a Prediction told him, that he ſhould one day be Maſter of one of the greateſt Empires of the World. But whether this Prediction were true, or that the *Sultana Valide* had invented it to deſtroy the Viſier, the news of it did extremely comfort the Baſſa of *Buda*'s Widdow, who waited the return of the *Sultan* with impatience, to execute the deſign which ſhe had againſt this Miniſter, and revenge the loſs of her Husband by his death.

The ſeaſon being far advanced, the Grand Seignior, leaving *Kara Muſtapha* at *Belgrade* to take care of his Army, and the places in *Hungary*, during the Winter quarter, returned to *Adrianople*.

As the Chriſtians got every day ſome new advantages over the *Turks*, and that the Grand Viſier did nothing to repell them, his ſecret Enemies, and principally the *Kiſler Agaſi*, and the *Kaimacan*, who was jealous of his greatneſs, took occaſion hence to decry the conduct of the Grand Viſier unto their Maſter. At this time Count *Tekely*, who was accuſtomed to receive great Subſidies from the Port, and who had his Spies near his Highneſs, by whom he was faithfully advertiſed of all that happened, knowing that he had been rendered ſuſpect to his Highneſs, and that there was no more mention of ſending him Supplies as uſual, did by his Letters omit nothing for his juſtification, but to no purpoſe. His Letters did not diſabuſe the Grand Seignior, who entirely believing what he had received from *Kara Muſtapha* at *Belgrade*, was perſwaded that this Count was of Intelligence with the Imperialiſts. *Tekely* ſeeing no middle betwixt his ruine and his juſtification, took the moſt dangerous Party. He went *Incognito* to *Adrianople*, and having by the credit of *Kiſler Agaſi*, who was his particular friend, found means of admiſſion to the *Sultans* preſence, before whom, proſtrated with his face upon the Earth, he declared to him that he brought him his Head, and that he would rather loſe it, than be expoſed to the calumny of his Enemies, and to the diſgrace of his Protector. *Tekely*'s boldneſs look'd well. The Grand Seignior gave ear to his reaſons, and judged by the relation that he made him, that all the misfortunes that happened at the Siege of *Vienna*, and ſince, ought to be imputed to the ill conduct of his Viſier. He permitted *Tekely* to return, aſſuring him of the protection he demanded, and engaged himſelf to ſend him ſuch powerful Succours, that he ſhould in a little time be in a condition to repair with advantage all the loſſes he had ſuffered.

1683. And now they begin to make complaints againſt the Viſier, and the loſs of *Gran* did not a little contribute to his ruine. The Janizaries, that the Viſier's ſecret enemies had cauſed to aſſemble tumultuarily, and demand his Head, under pretence that he had abandoned their Companions in the Trenches at *Vienna*; and this was a killing blow, ſo that the death of *Kara Muſtapha* was reſolved in a Divan, which the Grand Seignior had cauſed to be aſſembled to that purpoſe.

This fatal Commiſſion was given *Chiaoux* Baſſa, and to *Kapiglier Kiaia*, who immediately took Poſt for *Belgrade*. They arrived there the *25th* of *December*, and addreſſing themſelves to the Aga of the Janizaries, they communicated the Emperours Orders to him, which implied that he ſhould give them all neceſſary aſſiſtance. The Aga diſpoſed ſuch as depended on him to obey, and went with theſe two Officers into the Grand Viſier's houſe. *Cara Muſtapha*, who perceived them from his Chamber, did quickly ſuppoſe that his Enemies had taken advantage of his abſence to ruine him, and thoſe that he ſaw coming were to execute the Arreſt of his death. Some Officers, who owed him their fortune, being then with him, and having heard him ſay what he thought, propoſed to him to refuſe the Door to the Aga, and them that accompanied him: they repreſented to him that he was beloved by the Souldiers, and if he appeared but in his defence, he would inſtantly ſee a number of brave men for his defence.

But this great Miniſter, whoſe life ſeemed odious to him after the affront which he received before *Vienna*, and who knew well, he could but defer his death for few days, being incircled with the Enemies of his Religion, who would not fail to profit by the diviſion of his Troops, believed that by his laſt ſubmiſſion to his Highneſs orders, he ought to diſabuſe thoſe who believed him little attach'd to the Law, or rather he found himſelf ſo irreſolute in ſo preſſing a danger, that the *Sultans* three Officers entered his Chamber before he had taken his laſt reſolution. He endeavoured to hide the diſorders of his Soul, and after he had returned them their civilities, he asked the cauſe of their coming. The Aga taking the word, told him, that his Highneſs had ſent for the Seal of the Empire, which he had entruſted him with, and ſhewed him the order in Writing. At the ſame time the Viſier opening his boſom drew it out, which he preſented to him with reſpect, asking whether they had any thing elſe to require from him? he was obliged to render the Standard, which he did in the ſame faſhion; and having yet again demanded, whether they would have any thing elſe, the three Officers anſwered him only with tears, letting him at the ſame time ſee in writing the *Buyurds* or Command, whereby the Grand Seignior would have his Head. *Kara Muſtapha* was not affrighted, being already prepared for it. He only asked, if he might not be permitted to ſay his Prayers. The Officers anſwered him, that they had no orders to refuſe him that conſolation. He ordered his People to retire, that he might pray with leſs diſtraction, and when he had finiſhed, they reentered again. He then drew a Paper out of his boſom, which he gave to the Aga, to render it to his Highneſs. It is believed that it was a Billet, by which the *Sultan* promiſed him never to put him to death, which he would make no uſe of, judging it uſeleſs, being he was too far from the Grand Seignior to underſtand his intenſions. He then ſat upon the brink of the *So-*

1683. *ſa*, whereof he lift up the Carpet, to the end to be only upon the Plank, demanding he might be ſtrangled by his own Executioner, which was granted. After a few Moments to diſpoſe of himſelf, he called the Executioner, and told him he ſhould be quick, and not let him languiſh; he ſaid alſo, that the Grand Seignior would think on him after his Death. The Executioner having put the ſtring about his Neck, he himſelf diſentangled it, ſaying, it was not neceſſary they ſhould hold his hands. As ſoon as he was dead, the Executioner cut off his Head, and flead it, filling the Skin with hacked Straw, which was put into a Box, and carried to *Adrianople*, and given to the Sultan, who received it without any great Emotion, as he was coming from hunting.

The Viſiers Corps was carried out of his Chamber, and expoſed under a Pavilion to be ſeen of all Men. At the ſame time they ſeiſed on his principal Officers, who were brought to *Adrianople*. Of theſe the *Reiz Effendi* was hang'd, *Mauro Cordato* his Interpreter put in the Caſtle of the ſeven Towers at *Conſtantinople*, having firſt been ſpoiled of his Money and Jewels.

There were found in the Treaſury of this Miniſter, ten or twelve Milions in Money, Moveables and Jewels, which is very conſiderable, if the prodigious Expences of Preſents be conſidered; theſe Spoils, and thoſe of ſome of the Viſiers Officers, and of the Teſterder, who was likewiſe ſtrangled, amounted to fourteen Millions, which came all into the Grand Seigniors Purſe. He refuſed to conſent that this Moneys ſhould be employed to pay the Troops, and re-eſtabliſh the Affairs of *Hungary*, although all the Divan was of that Opinion. The Sultan would neither ſuffer them to open his Treaſury, which is the great reſource of the *Ottoman* Emperours, and replyed to them that repreſented to him the neceſſity of doing it, that they muſt make uſe of the accuſtomed Revenues, and if that did not ſuffice, it was for his Council to ſearch out other ways to ſupply it. And yet he was pleaſed to give all the Viſiers immoveables to his Children. This Humour of his Highneſs, and the Difficulties which were foreſeen to ſettle the Affairs of the Empire, diminiſhed the heat of ſuch who might pretend to the Employment of Grand Viſier. The *Kiſler Agaſi*, who was always in great Credit, and who fancied, though without any ground, that the Grand Seignior had thoughts of placing him in this Poſt, declared before hand, that he would not accept of this Office, knowing that he had not Capacity enough to bear the weight of it.

Solyman Aga Selietar, who was his Highneſſes true Favorite, and who judg'd he ſhould be always powerful enough whilſt he had his Maſters Favour, ſignified to the Sultan, who offered to make him Grand Viſier, that all his Ambition was to pleaſe him, and that he eſteemed more the waiting upon his Perſon, than to divide his Cares betwixt his Prince and the State, as he ſhould be obliged to do, if he accepted the charge wherewith he would honour him. So obliging a denyal augmenting the eſteem and affection which the Grand Seignior had for him, diſpoſed him to name *Ibrahim Aga*, who was *Kaymacan*, and formerly called *Kara Kiaia*, for this high Employment.

The Chriſtians continuing their Progreſs in *Hungary*, obliged this new Grand Viſier to aſſemble the Divan very often, to find a way to re-eſtabliſh their Affairs. He propoſed the making of a Peace with the Emperour, and to continue the Trevis which *Kara Muſtapha* had violated without any lawful pretence, and to carry the War into *Poland*, to revenge themſelves on King *John*, for the ill ſucceſs of the Siege of *Vienna*. But the Sultan, who had promiſed Count *Tekely* that he would not abandon him, was of a contrary ſentiment. *Kara Kiaia* urging his Opinion with too much heat, the Sultan grew ſo angry with him, that he was judged loſt, which gave room to that falſe report that ran of him that he was ſtrangled, and that *Kara Houglou Camaikan* of *Conſtantinople* was put in his place.

1683. Moſt of the Officers of the Garriſons being changed, the new Viſier employed all his diligence to raiſe ſuch Forces againſt Spring, as might ſalve the diſgraces of the laſt Campaign, which yet they could not compaſs, the People being dejected even to Conſternation at ſo many loſſes.

On the other ſide, the Chriſtians having happily finiſhed their Campaign, and taken their Quarters in *Hungary*, uſed great diligence to procure Moneys, to ſeparate the *Hungarians* from the Port, and to make new Alliances.

There was but the *Pope* that could travel effectually in the firſt of theſe things, ſeeing the other Princes of the Empire had enough to do for themſelves, as long as the differences with *France* were not accommodated, beſides the Proteſtants could obtain no advantage for their Religion.

To effect the ſecond point, a general Act of Oblivion was publiſhed by the Emperours command, with pardon to all that would return to their Obedience, and Commiſſioners being ſent to *Presburg* to receive their Submiſſions, very many of the Nobility, Counties, and Towns were reſtored to their Duty as at the beginning, though *Tekely* would not, and the chief Towns in upper *Hungary* for fear of him, did not as yet dare to declare themſelves.

But the third deſign had better Succeſs, for however the *Czars* of *Muſcovia* would not give ear to the Emperours Invitation and Propoſitions of Alliance made him by his Ambaſſador *Blomberg*, yet the *Venetians*, ſhewing a great Inclination to be revenged of the loſſes they had ſuffered by the Wars of *Candy*, eaſily conſented to the accompliſhment of the League between the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the *Venetians*.

This Alliance was to be offenſive; none of the concerned ſhould treat ſeparately upon any Conditions whatſoever; that this League ſhall tend to no other thing but to make War againſt the Turks; the Emperour and the King of *Poland* ſhall act by Land with all their Forces, and the Republick of *Venice* with a Naval Army at *Sea*, and a Land Army in *Dalmatia*; that the War be made by diverſion, the Emperour ſhall endeavour to recover *Hungary*, the *Poles* *Kaminiec*, and all the *Ukraine*, and *Venice* all ſhe has loſt, &c.

Whilſt this was in concluding, there came News to the Imperial Court, of a very great defeat the *Coſſacks* had given the *Turks* and *Tartars*, the Chieftains of the *Tartars* being both ſlain, and *Haly Beg*, who commanded the *Turks*, taken Priſoner, who, though he offered a hundred thouſand Crowns for his Ranſom, was ſlain by the quarrelling *Coſſack* in the heat of their conteſt about him.

But now the Seaſon did invite both ſides into the Field, where the Chriſtians were chiefly Aggreſſors. The Chriſtian Army in the beginning of *June* aſſembled at their general Rendevous betwixt *Schinta* and *Shella*, to the num-

1683. ber of thirty thouſand Men, from whence, after ſome ſtay, they paſſed the *Danube* near *Gran*; it was believed that the deſign was formed againſt *Newhauſel*, and the rather, becauſe it had been ſo greatly ſtreightned by General *Mercy*, who had block'd it up all the Winter, and reduced it to the Condition, as was ſuppoſed, of a voluntary ſurrender. But it was at length diſcovered that *Buda* was at the bottom of the Deſign, as a thing of greater Conſequence, being therefore to leave no Place behind them, the Army was tranſported to *Vicegrade*, a place ſcituate upon the *Danube*, having left their Baggage under the Cannon of *Gran*; and having without much labour rendred themſelves Maſters of the City, the Turks that were in the Caſtle ſurrendered the next day, marching out to the number of ſeven hundred and forty men. In the mean time, the Turks of *Alba Regalis*, and the Neighbour Garriſons, to the number of ſix thouſand, unexpectedly attack'd the Baggage at *Gran*, but were ſo rudely received, that having loſt two hundred of their Men, and four Colours, they were forced to give back. Major General *Halloweil* of the Imperialiſts was ſlain in this Fight.

But the Turks, ſollicitous for *Newhauſel*, and finding they could not ſufficiently relieve it with ſmall Parties, reſolved to attempt it with an Army, and being advanced as far as *Vacia*, the Duke reſolved to oppoſe them. To this purpoſe he ſet forwards, and found them drawn up in Battalia upon the heights near the Town. The place was of difficult acceſs, having on the left the *Danube*, and a large Moraſs, and the right ſecured by a Wood. The Duke having embattelled his men, moved directly towards the Enemy, and about Eleven of the Clock paſſed the Moraſs, without any great oppoſition, till being come upon the heights, they were then charged with great fury, but the Turks not being able to break them the firſt time, they bravely attacked them the ſecond, and third time; but with like ſucceſs, ſtill repelled, eſpecially the third time with great loſs, and forced to ſave themſelves by flight. The Foot ſaved themſelves in the Caſtle, but were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, after three hours reſiſtance. *Novigrade* was hereupon quitted by the Turks, and as ſoon poſſeſt by the Imperialiſts.

Jun. 27. This Victory animated the Chriſtians to proſecute their march to *Peſt*, whither being come, they caſt a great number of Bombs into the Town, with that ſucceſs, that the fire taking in ſeveral places of it, frightned the Garriſon ſo, that taking their beſt moveables with them, they fled into *Buda*, after they had alſo reduced ſome Houſes in the Town to aſhes, and fired the Bridge behind them. But the Chriſtians taking poſſeſſion of *Peſt*, quenched the fire, repaired the fortifications, and battered *Buda* with the Artillery they found in the place.

The Siege of *Buda*. Hitherto fortune had been ſo favourable to the Imperialiſts, that they began to think nothing inſuperable to their courage. This opinion made them paſs the *Danube* again, and undertake the Siege of *Offen*, or *Buda*, the Capital of the Kingdom, ſometimes the Reſidence of the Kings of *Hungary*, and now of the Baſſa's, that govern that wealthy Kingdom with no leſs authority. After ſome ruffling and skirmiſhes, the City was inveſted, and the Suburbs taken without any great oppoſition. The Turks likewiſe quitted St. *Gerards* Hill, and the beſiegers began to batter the Walls with their Artillery.

The Turks abroad were not idle, for having got twenty thouſand Men together, they were reſolved to attempt the relief of *Buda*. But the Chriſtians having left all their Foot, with what Horſe was neceſſary to continue the Siege, they marched with the reſt of the Cavalry, one thouſand Foot under the command of Count *Aversberg*, and two thouſand five hundred *Huſſars* of Count *Eſterhaſis*. The Duke marched all Night to find out the Enemy, who, though well trenched, at ſight of the Chriſtians came out of their Camp, and embattell'd themſelves for their defence. The diſpute laſted near four hours, the Turks making ſeveral motions to gain the Flanks of the Enemy, which being perceived, the Chriſtians uſed all poſſible diligence to prevent them, and engaging at length, after a ſharp fight, the Infidels being diſordered, were put to flight, and ſo cloſely purſued, that not only their Camp and Cannon were taken, but at leaſt four thouſand of them ſlain, and the great Standard, the badge of the Grand Viſier's dignity alſo ſurpriſed. 1683.

After this Victory, the Duke returning to the Siege, ſummoned the place, but received for anſwer, that the Governour had in the preſence of his Meſſengers cauſed forty Chriſtian Slaves to be hewed in pieces, ſaying, he wiſhed he could do as much to all the Chriſtian Army. In revenge of this, the Chriſtians aſſaulted the place, but in vain, though upon a ſecond attempt they carried the lower Town, with their Swords in their hands, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they found was great. They raiſed a Battery there of twenty four Cannon, and ſeventeen Mortars, from whence, as alſo St. *Gerards* hill, they battered the City. Nor were the beſieged idle, who made a brave ſally upon the Beſiegers, wherein they ſlew ſome hundreds of them, with ſeveral conſiderable Officers, beſides the wounded.

The Chriſtian Army beginning to want Forrage, they made a Bridge to paſs to the Iſle of St. *Margaret*, from whence they might be the better provided with all things. Many were the attempts, the batteries, the ſallies, and endeavours on both ſides. The Chriſtians endeavoured to hinder the Turks, though in vain, from watering at the *Danube*. The Chriſtians ſprung a Mine by the great Tower, which did indeed take effect, but it was found that the Turks were too well provided to hazard an aſſault. About mid-*Auguſt*, the Governour, or Viſier of *Buda*, *Kara Mehemet*, was kill'd with a ſhot he received in his face, a Perſon very brave, and very knowing. *Ephraim* Baſſa ſucceeded him in the Government, but did not enjoy it long, being likewiſe ſlain with a Cannon Bullet, ſo that the Chief command was devolved upon the Aga of the Janizaries.

As the attack was vigorous, ſo the defence was brave, the Turks continually vexing the Chriſtians with their Alarms and Sallies, who on the other ſide continued their approaches with great reſolution, but their Foot being much ſpent, it was judged adviſable not to hazard a General aſſault, before the *Bavarian* Forces, which were daily expected, were come up.

In the mean time the Seraſquier Baſſa formed a deſign to make a diverſion ſome other way, in order to which he marches towards the frontiers of *Croatia*, where General *Leſley* was camped, who had beſieged *Virowitza* in *July*, beaten the relief deſigned for their ſuccour, and thereupon had the place ſurrendered to him upon compoſition. Having now notice of the Seraſquier's deſign, he went and poſted himſelf within half a League off his Camp, near a Bridge that was lay'd over the *Danube* at *Turanowitz*. A while after the Turks approached, who charged

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with great fury eight hundred Croats, newly come to the Imperial Camp, but with their accuſtomed misfortune. They however returned immediately to the fight, and forced the Croats to retire, leaving them three Standards for priſe, ſo that being animated with this advantage, they would attempt more, and attacked the Imperialiſts in their *Poſt*; but they were ſo ill received, that they were obliged to retire with the loſs of five hundred men, which were killed upon the place. The Chriſtians loſt two hundred.

Though this Siege, for the Greatneſs and Fame of it, deſerves to be deſcribed in all its particulars, the Approaches, the Attacks, the Mines, the Battels, the Batteries, the Breaches of the Chriſtians being carried on with ſo much Valour and Couſtancy, that it amazed the wondering World; yet the Greatneſs of the Garriſon, the Scituation and Strength of the Place, the reiterated Succours that were brought in, a potent Army commanded by a *Seraskier*, within the noiſe of their Guns, yea, oft-times their view; a vigorous and intrepid Courage in the Defendants, frequent and furious Sallies, Countermines, and the advance of a wet Seaſon ſo favourable to them, rendred all the Endeavours of the Beſiegers fruitleſs, and forced them to a Retreat.

The Duke of *Bavaria* had indeed brought with his Perſon, a conſiderable reoruit to the Imperialiſts, and they performed all that Courage could ſuggeſt; but being the fatal moment of the reducing of this Capital City of the Kingdom was not yet come, we will tranſmit the Hiſtory of it till then, when the ſame great Atchievements were in a manner acted over again, and indeed by the ſame Generals on the ſide of the Chriſtians, but with better fortune.

The Siege had laſted from the fourteenth of *July*, till the firſt of *November*, at which time the Chriſtians having tranſported their Baggage, their ſick, and ſome pieces of Artillery to the Iſle of St. *Andrew*; the Army ſending their great Cannon, their Ammunition, and the reſt of their Baggage by Water, for want of draught-Horſes, though well convoyed, followed themſelves in a Body uninterrupted, and marched to their Winter Quarters, the *Bavarians* into upper *Hungary*, and the Imperialiſts into both the upper and lower *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Sileſia*, *&c.* according to their Repartitions.

The Turks attempted nothing upon the Army in their retreat, but brought near a thouſand Priſoners, which were left in the Iſle of St. *Margaret*, into the City, not ſingly triumphing for ſo ſignal a deliverance.

Such was the end of this bloody Siege, where, following the common Opinion, the Emperour loſt twenty thouſand Men, and amongſt them a great number of Officers. Of thoſe of moſt note were the Counts of *Altheim*, two of the *Starembergs*, *James* and *Lewis*, *Carlowitz*, *Richtari*, *Hoken-Zollern*, *Furſtenburg*, *Naſſau*, *Durheim*, *Chriminz*, and the young Counts of *Harrah*, and great quantity of others.

The Turks recovered their Garriſons of *Peſt* and *Vacia*, without any great difficulty, but in exchange the Count of *Zober* took the Caſtle of *Suran* near *Newheuſel*.

The *Venetians* declare War againſt the *Turks*.

The Republick of *Venice* had a more fortunate Campaign. Their Doge or Prince being dead, *Marco Antonio Juſtiniano* being elected Duke in his place, the Senate ſent orders to their Secretary *Capello*, at the Ottoman *Port* immediately after the concluſion of the Alliance made with the Emperour and *Poland*, to declare War againſt the Turks, and to ſave himſelf as well as he could, which he did; for having ſcarce finiſhed his Declaration, he retired from *Conſtantinople* in the habit of a Sea-man, and embarked himſelf upon a *French* Ship. But two of his Domeſticks, and ſix other ſervants, had the misfortune to be taken, whilſt the Merchants of his Nation took Sanctuary in the *French* Embaſſadour's Palace. The *Kaimacan* of *Conſtantinople* would ſearch whether *Capello* was not there alſo, but the Ambaſſadour anſwered him, if he came to re-ſearch there without expreſs orders from the Grand Seignior, he ſhould repent it, which ſo diſcompoſed him, that after ſome excuſes, he proceeded no further.

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The Council chooſing their great Officers, made *Moroſini* Captain General, *Mocenigo* Procurer General of *Dalmatia*; the Prince of *Parma* General of the Infantry, *&c.* General *Strozoldo* paſſed out of the Emperour's ſervice, to that of this Common-wealth.

The *Morlacks* did likewiſe, for the moſt part, embrace the Party of the *Venetians*, holding the Turks in perpetual Alarms, making oft-times very conſiderable Booty, perpetually peſtering them with their ravagings and excurſions.

The General Rendezvouz of the *Venetian* Fleet was at *Corfu*, where the Gallies of the Pope, of *Malta*, and of *Tuſcany* joyning with them, conſiſting in all of forty-ſix Gallies, ſix Galliaſſes, thirty-three Men of War, beſides other ſmaller Veſſels, manned with above twenty thouſand Foot, and five or ſix hundred Horſe. A General Council of War being held in preſence of all the Chief of the Auxiliary Squadrons, it was reſolved to attempt the Iſland of St. *Maure*, in purſuance whereof arriving before the Iſland about the 20*th* of *July*, the Army entred the Port of *Dameta*, on the Eaſt ſide of the Iſland, where alſo they made their deſcent. Seignior *Monetta* landed firſt with one hundred and fifty Men, being followed by General *Strozoldo*, with two *Venetian* Regiments, the Popes, and the Infantry of *Malto*, the reſt of the *Venetian* and Duke of *Tuſcany's* Forces landing on the Weſt ſide. Having taken their Poſts, the Generaliſſimo ſent a Summons to them in the Fort, to ſurrender it, which they with contempt refuſing, the Chriſtians began to batter the Town from their Gallies and Galliaſſes, whereby the houſes and fortifications of the City were greatly endamaged, as alſo a Moſque, which was ruined; and however the Turks were not wanting in their defence, yet they would hinder the Chriſtians to lodge in the Suburbs, and to raiſe Batteries, which did greatly prejudice the Walls, beſides that the Bombs did very great harm in the City. The firſt of *Auguſt*, a great Breach was made in the Wall, one of their Bulwarks being much ruined; and four of their Pieces of *Cannon* rendred uſeleſs to the Beſieged; beſides, the Town flamed in ſeveral parts, being fired by the Bombs; by favour of which advantages the *Venetians* advanced their approaches ſo well, that they began already to fill the Ditch, and making every thing ready for a general aſſault. Things being at this paſs, General *Moroſini*, by an unaccuſtomed kind of Clemency, ſent them a ſecond Summons, which they accepting off, hung out towards evening a white Flag, and about one in the Morning, ſent three Deputies, to notifie they were content to ſurrender, upon condition they might carry all their goods with them, but they could obtain no more, than to march out with their Families, and what they could carry. Hoſtages were next Morning delivered on both ſides, and all the Slaves were releaſed, ſave that they were

obliged

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St. *Maura* taken.

And thus this Neſt of Pirates, (the *Leucade* of the Ancients) about ſeventy miles round, and well peopled, and in the poſſeſſion of the Turks ever ſince *Mahomet* the ſecond's time, was re-taken in leſs than three Weeks, with ſo inconſiderable a loſs. The General cauſed the Moſques forthwith to be re-conſecrated, and *Te Deum* to be ſung in them for ſo happy a Victory, which was alſo celebrated in *Venice* with great magnificence.

After the fortifications of this place were repaired, and the Garriſon provided with all neceſſaries, the Government of it being given to *Laurence Venier*, as extraordinary Provider, and to *Phillip Parictz* in ordinary, both Gentlemen of *Venice*, the General choſe two thouſand *Venetians*, the remainder of thoſe which were in a condition to march, by reaſon of the manifold ſickneſſes that reigned amongſt the Souldiery, and diſpatched them with Collonel *Angelo*, to aſſemble all the *Grecians* he could get together. and tranſported himſelf to the haven of *Pettala*, in expectation of the ſaid Collonel's enterpriſe. He went thence, and ancred in the haven or Port of *Dragomeſtro*, where landing with two thouſand *Venetians*, and one thouſand of the Auxiliaries, he joyned himſelf with fifteen or ſixteen hundred *Grecians*. Theſe Troops ravaged the Country, chaſed the men which *Suban* Baſſa, Governour of *Prevezza*, had poſted to obſerve the Chriſtians. Having allured the ſaid Baſſa into the field, burnt ſome Villages, and pillaged the Country five days together, they re-imbark'd at *Pettala*, and ſailed thence to the Haven of *Dameta*. There, at a Council of War, the reſolution of attacking *Prevezza* was taken, it being the only place that covered the Iſland of St. *Maur*, being ſome twelve miles diſtant from it. In order to this deſign, the General ſent five Gallies, and ſix Galliaſſes towards the Caſtles called the *Gomenizze*, within ſight of the Fortreſs, to oblige the Turks to divide their Forces, which alſo happened; for upon a ſuppoſition that the Chriſtians would attempt the Towers, they ſent moſt of their Men thither: The Army parted from *Dameta* the 20th of *September*, and came to anchor that evening at the mouth of the Gulph of *Arta* or *Ambracia*, that City being famous for the Reſidence of King *Pyrrhus*, and its Gulf, for the Victory of *Auguſtus* againſt *Marc Anthony*.

The next day the Captain *Monetta*, who was come with twenty four Barks and Brigantines, landed his Troops, being aſſiſted by the approach of the Gallies, which hindred the Turks from daring to appear upon the ſhore, before the *Venetians* were drawn up into Battalia by General *Strozoldo*, and had forced five hundred Spahis, who came to charge them, to retire. They took the Caſtle without difficulty, and poſted themſelves upon a height which commanded the City. The General thereupon ſummoned the place, but the Officer who commanded in chief in the abſence of *Saba* Baſſa, refuſed the Letter and Meſſenger, ſhooting at the later, upon confidence of being relieved by his Governour. Several Mortars and Cannon were landed, and Batteries being raiſed, the place was ſorely canonado'd, in ſo much that all the Enemies Pieces but one were diſmounted. The twenty fourth, they carried their Approaches into the Moat, and by Favour of the Obſcurity of the Night, carried their Mine under the great Tower. The twenty eighth they made a Lodgment in the Ditch, and the Breach being very large, Order was given for the Aſſault as ſoon as the Mine had played; but the Turks, ſenſible of their Danger, prevented it by hanging out a Flag of Truce. They demanded the ſame Conditions with them at St. *Maur*, though but thirty of the principal were ſuffered to go out with Arms and Baggage, the reſt being only allowed what they could carry about them. There were found in this place forty ſix pieces of Cannon, and much Proviſion. The Winter advancing apace, the Auxiliaries returned to their ſeveral Homes, and the *Venetians* to their Iſles to paſs the Seaſon there.

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As alſo *Preveza*.

In *Dalmatia* the *Venetians* happily ended their Campania with the taking of *Narenta*.

And *Narenta* in *Dalmatia*.

The King of *Poland* did not take the Field this year before mid-*Auguſt*, after the Troops which had been laſt year in *Hungary*, and a party of *Brandenburgs* had joyned his Army. He took a review of his Army near *Buzac*, from whence he ſent a ſtrong detachment to inveſt *Jaſtowitz* but two miles off, whither he alſo came towards Evening with the reſt of his Army, and ſummoned the place; but the Commander having anſwered, that the place being intruſted to him by the Grand Seignior, he would keep it to the laſt Extremity; but he was not as good as his word, for after having been battered two days, the Turks demanded a Parley. Hoſtages were given on both ſides, and the Articles quickly ſigned, according to which the Garriſon marched out with their Arms, to the number of five hundred men. The King turned hence towards *Swaniec*, near the *Nieſter*, over which he cauſed a Bridge to be lay'd, and his Army to paſs it. But he quickly repaſſed it again, upon the advice he received, that thirty thouſand *Tartars* had paſſed this River, with deſign to make an irruption into *Poland*. His Majeſty going in queſt of them, had the luck to cut four hundred of them in pieces, but he could not ingage them in a formal battel, being they ſtayed no where, for this reaſon, and the ſeaſon being paſſed, he reſolved to ſend his Army into Winter-Quarters.

The *Poles* take the Field.

Go into Winter Quarters.

The ſucceſſes of the *Coſſacks* laſt year in *December*, which we have already mentioned, encouraged them with their General *Kunincky*, betimes in the Spring, to go in queſt of new Adventures, and being reinforced with *Moldavians* and *Waladhians*, they marched towards *Stravico*, where the *Danube* diſgorges it ſelf into the black Sea, but being aſſailed by the *Hoſpodar Duka*, they were obliged to retire, and their General fled out of the Field with the Horſe, but the Infantry ſtanding firm, recovered the day, routed the *Turks* and *Tartars*, took *Jas*, the Hoſpodar's Reſidence, and himſelf Priſoner. But not being ſatisfied with their General *Kunicky*, they depoſed him, and put *Mohila* into his place; and however that afterwards the old General was reſtored by the interceſſion of the King of *Poland*, and that the new had but a ſubaltern command under him, yet the *Coſſacks* mortally hating him, they at length aſſaſſinated him, and gave the entire command to *Mohila*, after which they ſtill continued their excurſions, without ingaging before any ſtrong Place.

The *Coſſacks* aſſaſſinate their General.

The

1685.

The ſtate of the *Ottoman* Empire.

The *Ottoman* Empire had been in no ſmall diſtraction before the relief of *Buda*, and that ſeeming in ſome ſort to compenſate their loſs at *Vienna*, they at leaſt made uſe of it as an incentive to raiſe the well-nigh deſponding ſpirits of their People. It had been given out that the Grand Seignior himſelf would in Perſon come into the field, at leaſt to *Belgrade*, to countenance his Armies, though he was pleaſed to remain at *Adrianople*; and being the Forces he had ordered from the ſeveral Provinces of the Empire were defective in the numbers he expected, he cauſed ſeveral of their Leaders to be ſtrangled. The Troops of *Aſia* did likewiſe mutiny, which ſo retarded his preparations, that the Chriſtians got into the Field before him, and neceſſitated him to a defenſive War. The Rendezvouz of his Forces was at *Belgrade*, from whence they paſſed by the Bridge of *Eſſeck* to *Budà*, whoſe fortifications they took care to repair, for fear leſt the Enemy might attempt a ſecond Siege, placing twelve thouſand men there in Garriſon, with Victuals and Ammunition for its defence. The numerous Hoards of the *Tartars*, which never failed to attend their Conqueſts, refuſed now to march, the *Cham* having ſent the *Grand Seignior* word, that he could ſpare none of his Troops this Summer, having himſelf need of them, to ſecure his Country againſt the invaſion of the *Coſſacks*.

Newheuſel had been block'd up all the Winter by the Chriſtians, under the command of Collonel *Heuſler*, ſo that moſt of the attempts for its relief from *Buda*, *Agria*, and other of their Garriſons, proved fruitleſs. The Turks ſeeing no good to be done with ſmall Detachments, drew a great Body of Men together, betwixt *Peſt* and *Vicegrade*, and having provided a great Convoy of Proviſions, reſolved to attempt the relief of the place, which occaſioned Collonel *Heuſler* to be daily re-inforced with new Troops; who, ten thouſand ſtrong, poſted his Men along the River *Gran*, having taken care to ſecure all the Fords and paſſages of it. His numbers daily increaſing, the *Ottomans* who were gathered together betwixt *Peſt* and *Vacia*, having intelligence of it, retired, having ſent the Proviſions, deſigned for the relief of *Newheuſel*, back to *Buda*, fearing they ſhould be attack'd by the Imperialiſts, if they ſtay'd there.

The Chriſtian Army, compoſed of the Imperial Troops, and their ſeveral Allies, being much more forward than the Turks, had rendezvouzed, and were now encamped betwixt *Newheuſel* and *Barcam*, where, upon the Duke of *Lorrain*'s arrival, it was reſolved at a Council of War to attack *Novigrade*, to cut off by that means the communication betwixt *Buda* and *Newheuſel*, and afterwards formally to beſiege *Newheuſel*. But he afterwards altered his mind, being it might take up too much time to beſiege *Novigrade*, by reaſon of the diſtance, and would but little contribute to the Siege of *Newheuſel*. Beſides, this laſt place was repreſented very defective, through their wants and diſtempers.

Newheuſel beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Jul. 7th.

Newheuſel the *Oywar* of the *Hungarians*, is a large Hexagon, well bulwork'd and moated, the Plain about being Mooriſh and Fenny. The River *Newtra* runs within Piſtol-ſhot of it, furniſhing the Town-Ditch with its Water, by a cut or trench, which conveys it into it. The reſolution of attacking this important place being taken, it was inveſted by the Imperial Army, the lines of Circumvallation were made, and a reſolution was taken to attack the place with vigour and conduct. Two lines of approaches were advanced towards two Baſtions; that to the right by the Imperialiſts, and they of *Lunebourg*; and the other by the Imperialiſts, and the *Bavarian* Troops; the one commanded by the Princes of *Hanovre*, and *Croy*, by turns, and the other by Count *Serini*, with each three Maſter Generals to aſſiſt them. The ſame night the Trenches were opened by three thouſand Foot, and the Approaches carried on ſeven hundred paces. Thoſe on the *Bavarian* ſide towards the *Moſque* were enlarged and deepened, ſo that three Men might paſs a-breſt, and be covered. On the Imperialiſts ſide, the Duke cauſed two Batteries to be raiſed, both on the right of his Approaches, whereon they worked the whole Night; and though the Enemy continued to ſhoot their Cannon without ceaſing, there were but very few killed or wounded. In ſhort, the Approaches on both ſides were carried on with ſuch care, and induſtry, and courage, the Duke ſeldom leaving the Trenches till very far in the Night, but aſſiſting and encouraging the Souldiery by his preſence and authority, that maugre all the brave oppoſition of the Garriſon, and their perpetual firing and ſallies, the works were continued to the very Mote on both ſides, ſtrengthned not only with Lines of Communication, with Redoubts, and with multiplied Batteries, but the Water alſo began to be drained out of the Ditch, by a Canal made for the purpoſe. The Beſieged ſeeing themſelves ſo ſorely preſſed, amongſt others made a Sally about three a Clock, with two hundred Men, and ſurpriſed a Redoubt, wherein there were three hundred of the *Suabian* Troops, who together with their Officers were all cut to pieces. The Turks were ſo joyed with this ſucceſs, that they teſtified it by a conſort of Muſick, after their mode, that Night. The Beſiegers had endeavoured to paſs the Ditch in Boats, and ſo carry over their Minery, but the ſaid Boats were ſunk by the Defendants, and many ſlain; and now they begin to fill the ſaid Moat with Faggots, and Sacks of Wool, and ſeveral Galleries were in making for the ſecurer paſſage, but they were often burnt and broke by the Beſieged, who omitted nothing in their defence. They ſet fire on the *Bavarians* Gallery with their Arrows, at the ſharp ends whereof they had faſtned a mixture of Sulphur and Pitch, which did not only burn it, but communicating its flames to the neighbouring Battery, burnt it quite down, with the Carriages of four of their battering Pieces, notwithſtanding all the diligence and care to the contrary.

1685.

It was now the beginning of *Auguſt*, when the Beſieged made a brisk Sally upon them that worked in the advanced Poſts over againſt the Gate of *Gran*, killed fifty and hurt many, among which was *Gallenfels* Lieutenant Collonel, *Pugerelli* a Captain, and ſeveral other Officers. The diſorder was ſo great, that the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorrain* ran thither, the latter wounding ſome of the Run-aways to ſtay them, and ill treating their Officers for their negligence. Collonel *Burgſtorf* was killed the Night following in the Approaches, and Count *Souches* dangerouſly wounded in his Neck. The Beſieged had filled up the Canal which the Chriſtians had made to drain their Moat, but it was opened again. And now the Approaches, the Galleries, and filling the Ditch had been carried on with ſuch violence, that the Cannon of the Town were well-nigh all diſmounted, and the infinite numbers of Bombs and Carkaſſes which had been thrown into it, had well-nigh conſumed it. The Beſieged had indeed made new Retrenchments in the attack'd Baſtions, where they had re-mounted their Cannon, and uſed them with ſucceſs: but,

The Breach which the Chriſtians had made was great, and the Gallery was carried over. The Moat was filled equal with the largeneſs of the Breach, and the Mines were a compleating, the Traverſes of the Ditch were much enlarged, ſo that the Souldiers might go in a large front to the aſſault. And yet they finiſh another Battery upon the brink of the Moat, where they planted twenty-four Pieces of Cannon of twenty four pound Ball, to make the Breach yet larger and eaſier. And now all things being prepared for the aſſault, they were hindred for two or three days by the great Rains.

In the beginning of this Month, the Baſſa had deſired a Parley, but demanded, in caſe of ſurrender, that he might march away, not only with their Arms, but all ſorts of Ammunition and Cannon, and take with him all the Chriſtian Slaves, *&c.* which conditions the Duke would not hearken to. The Baſſa was indeed animated by hopes of relief from the *Seraskier*, who, he knew, was preparing for it, and had already in order to a diverſion beſieged *Gran*, which obliged the Duke of *Lorrain* with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and forty thouſand men, to riſe and go and meet him, leaving eleven thouſand Foot and five thouſand Horſe, with fifty-eight Pieces of Cannon, and eighteen Mortars, to continue the Siege under the command of Count *Caprara*, Marſhal General of the Field, and the Prince of *Croy*, General of the Artillery.

But to return to *Newheuſel*, the fatal 19*th.* of *Auguſt* being come, a reſolution was taken to aſſault the Town at Eleven of the Clock, to which end two Mines were ſprung that morning, one at the North Baſtion, and the other upon the neighbouring Curtain, which, though they had not their wiſhed effect, which was to ruine ſome retrenchments of the beſieged, yet they did much facilitate the paſſage, rendering the aſcent more eaſie, ſo that it was reſolved to aſſault the place at eight a clock, to this purpoſe three thouſand were ordered for the attack in two places, to each fifteen hundred, which were ſupported by a Reſerve of two thouſand. The Imperialiſts, had the Van on both ſides. Count *Sherffenberg* commanded the right, being followed by them of *Lunenberg* and *Suabia*, and Lieutenant Collonel *Samoraski* the left, with the Troops of *Colen*, *Bavaria* and *Franconia*. Being thus prepared, they fired from all their Batteries, and ſhowred in their Granado's and Bombs from nineteen Mortars, with that impetuouſneſs, that they put them within into ſuch a conſternation, that for ſome time they durſt ſcarce appear. During this Tempeſt, Count *Sherffenberg* firſt enter'd, and poſting himſelf upon the Baſtion, the Sieur *Rummel* about the ſame, puſhing at the new breach; the beſieged were forced to give way on all ſides, and retreating upon a Cavalier of their Retrenchments, did now the ſecond time lift up a white Flagg, demanding quarter, but in vain; for the Chriſtians ruſhing on, put all they met to the Sword; this rendred the reſt ſo deſperate, that four hundred of them precipitated themſelves into the Town-Ditch, who were all deſtroyed by the Horſe, ſo that of all the Garriſon which was yet twelve hundred at the beginning of the aſſault, ſcarce two hundred were ſaved. *Haſſan* Baſſa the Governour, deſperately wounded in the head and breaſt, was brought to the General, and ſome ten more of the chief Officers were ſaved; but the Governor dyed two days after of his wounds. This *Haſſan* was a Renegade, Native of *Bohemia*, though a man of extraordinary great parts and reſolution.

Is taken by Aſſault.

There were found in the place eighty Pieces of Ordnance, and a great quantity of Ammunition and Proviſion, ſo that the perpetual noiſe of their wants was a fable, the Governour having always a great Magazin of Victuals, as well as Ammunition, which he did not think fit to expoſe before the Siege. Of the Chriſtian Slaves there were but forty remaining, the Turks having conſumed the reſt in their works, expoſing them ſtill where the greateſt danger was. And although the Beſiegers did ſcarce loſe one hundred in the ſtorm, yet it is ſuppoſed, that during the whole Siege, the number of their ſlain did at leaſt equal; if not ſurmount that of their Enemies, yet with this difference, that the Turks loſt all, and they but an inconſiderable part of a potent Army: excepting the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, greatly lamented by the good and brave, and ſome other conſiderable Officers.

The *Seraskier*, not imagining the fate of *Newheuſel* ſo near, having with great induſtry gathered a conſiderable Army, eſtimated betwixt fifty and ſixty thouſand ſtrong, reſolved to attempt the relief of it, in order to which he would try the way of diverſion, as leſs hazardous, and upon that account marches to *Gran*, and though that very day of his arrival an additional reinforcement of five hundred men, ſent thither by the Duke of *Lorrain*, got into the Garriſon, yet he cauſed the Trenches to be opened, and began to attack the place with his Cannon and Mortars, from Batteries raiſed on St. *George* and St. *Thomas* hills. They alſo attackt the lower Town, but were repulſed with the loſs of two or three hundred men. Several other attempts were made upon the Out-works, but with loſs to the Undertakers, who underſtanding that the Enemy advanced, grew more remiſs, poſſeſſing themſelves of all the Hills by which the Chriſtians might attack them, and thereupon quitted the Siege.

Jul. 30. *Gran* beſieged.

On the 7*th* of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, with forty thouſand men, paſſed the *Danube*, upon a Bridge near *Comorra*, and arrived the 12*th* at a Village that was burnt, where he found the Turks, who had abandoned the Siege of *Gran*, very advantageouſly poſted, having Mountains on each ſide, covered with thick Woods, and a Moraſs before them, which reached to the *Danube*. Upon the arrival of the Chriſtian Army, they skirmiſhed near the Moraſs, where ſeveral were killed and hurt on both ſides. The following Night the Chriſtian Army camped in Battalia, and continued ſo the 13*th*, but the Turks alarm'd them about noon, and skirmiſhed all the day with the Chriſtians right Wing, where the *Hungarians* were, many being ſlain and wounded on both ſides. About noon the Duke commanded ſome Pieces of Cannon to be planted on a Hill behind his Men, from whence they ſhot, and the Turks did the ſame with two great Pieces, from a height where the Janizaries were. The 14*th*, the Turks advanced their Camp to the very Moraſs, upon Mountains oppoſite to our advanced Guards, where they made three Batteries with great Cannon, ſhooting into our very Camp.

The 15*th*, a *Poliſh* Slave eſcaped out of the Turkiſh Camp, and gave advice, that the *Seraskier*, *Ibrahim* Baſſa, was perſwaded, that the Chriſtian Army did not exceed twenty thouſand, and thought of a retreat, ſo that he might eaſily rout them, if he ſuddenly fell upon them with his that was ſixty thouſand ſtrong. Upon this advice, the Duke and the other Generals reſolved to feign a Retreat, and then, by drawing the Enemy beyond the Moraſs, find a place to fight with them in a pitch'd Battel.

The ſame day the Turks advanced towards a place in the Moraſs where they might paſs with the Horſe, and took Poſt alſo in another, where they might make a Bridge for the Foot. As the Chriſtians had already reſolved to march the day following very early, towards the Bridge of Boats at *Vyſali*, they let flie ſome Guns only to amuſe the Enemy. In the mean time the Orders for the march of the Army were given in the following manner. Firſt, that the Baggage ſhould part that evening. The left Wing having the Avaunt-Guard, followed by that of the right. Secondly, that the Army ſhould be ranged in Battalia before day, and march as the place would permit; the two Wings each in two Lines, but if the way would oblige them to file, that then they ſhould begin by the left Wing, and enlarge themſelves as the ground did permit, into their firſt order of Battel.

That the ſecond line ſhould have the Avaunt-Guard commanded by Count *Dunewalt*, which was to be followed by the firſt line in the ſame manner. At the right of the firſt line Count *Styrum* was to march upon the Mountains (which he had viewed the day before) with his Regiment, the Dragoons of *Luneburg*, and all the *Huſſars*, except thoſe of *Zoborra*, with ſome Field-pieces. That the *Fauconets* ſhould march before the firſt line, and every Regiment with its Field-pieces, as uſual. And finally, that the Squadrons and the Battalions poſted on the little Mountain on this ſide the Moraſs, as alſo thoſe on the Mountain to the right, commanded by Major General *Tungen*, ſhould march at the ſound of the Tymbals.

The Battel of *Gran*. *Aug.* 15.

About ten at Night they had News that the Turks were paſſing the Moraſs, whereupon all the Generals took Horſe, *Lorrain* in the right, and the Elector of *Bavaria* in the left, and all being in order, they began to march at the ſound of their Trumpets, Tymbals, and Drums, which was continued till the Turks by Favour of the Night charged their left Wing, whereupon the whole Army facing about, they marched to ſuccour their engaged Troops, which done, they continued advancing, notwithſtanding the cries and howlings of the Turks, and their continual Skirmiſhing till it was break of day, when a great Miſt covered the whole Field, that nothing could be diſcerned. Both ſides made uſe of this accident, ranging their Armies to their uttermoſt Advantage.

Gained by the Chriſtians.

After ſeven in the Morning, the Sun having diſpell'd the Miſt, the Turks advanced upon the Chriſtians, with the noiſe of their Drums and horrible Cries, diſcharging ſome Cannon upon their right Wing, charged it with great fury, but they were repulſed; the ſame happened on the Mountain where *Tungen* commanded, who was hurt there. At the ſame time the Turks attacked with their greateſt force, and principally their Foot, the heights on the Chriſtians right where Count *Styrum* was, but he was ſo ſeaſonably ſuccoured by ſome Imperial Battalions and other Troops of the ſecond line, that the Turks were forced to retire, being indeed chaſed and repelled in all the parts of the Army. Being fled by the Moraſs, the way they came, they ſeemed to make head again in their Camp, but upon the advance of the Chriſtians, who paſſed the Moraſs with their Foot and Horſe, the terror and conſternation was ſo great amongſt the Turkiſh Souldiers, that it was impoſſible for the Seraſquier, notwithſtanding all his endeavour to perſwade his Men to oppoſe the paſſage of the Moraſs. They alſo abandoned their Camp, Arms, Cannon, and other Inſtruments of War to the Purſuers, beſides forty Enſigns and ſome two hundred Priſoners which were taken. The Seraſquier was hurt in his Leg, and having left five thouſand upon the place, ſecured the reſt by a timely retreat. The two Armies ſeparating after the fight, the Chriſtians went back to *Comorra*, in order to their proſecution of the Siege of *Newheuſel*: and the Seraſquier having rallied his Forces, and puniſhed with ſtrangling ſome of his chief Officers, who had not well behaved themſelves in the Battel of *Gran*, and paſſed the *Danube*, declaring he would relieve *Newheuſel* whatever it coſt, but ſoon after he received the news, as the Chriſtians had at *Comorra*, that the place was taken by aſſault.

The Seraſquier however having formed a new train of Artillery of twenty Pieces, which he took out of *Buda*, and being re-inforced with ſeveral freſh Troops, he marched towards *Vaccia*, incamping betwixt that place and *Peſt*, but hearing of the approach of the Chriſtian Army, he abandoned *Novigrade* and *Vaccia*, taking the Cannon and Ammunition with him that was there, demoliſhing the ſaid places, and ſetting fire to them when he left them. He alſo ruined the Country about *Peſt*, and having ſent a Detachment to re-inforce the Garriſon of *Agria*, he repaſſed the *Danube* with the reſt of his Army at *Buda*.

And now the Turks do not ſeem averſe from Peace, the Seraſquier having ſent an Aga to the Duke of *Lorrain* with a Letter, wherein he acquainted his Highneſs, that he had full power from the Grand Seignior to treat and conclude a Peace, which he conjures him to promote by offers of great advantage, as abandoning Count *Tekely*, and delivering of the three Hoſtages, which were in the Grand Seignior's hands. But the Duke anſwered him, that he had no Orders to treat of Peace, and that a Victorious Army was not to be amuſed with ſuch Propoſals, but that he would acquaint his Imperial Majeſty with the Seraſquier's deſire.

The Seraſquier having paſſed the *Danube*, the few Tartars he had, not exceeding ſix thouſand, left him and returned home. The Baſſa's of *Agria*, *Temiſwar* and *Waradin* were ſent back, with the Troops under their command, and went home to their reſpective Governments, the Seraſquier with the reſt of his Army poſting himſelf betwixt *Buda* and *Alba-Regalis* to obſerve the Chriſtians motion.

The Imperial Army had advanced in queſt of the Turks as far as *Vaccia*, but hearing that the *Ottoman* Army was ſeparated in ſeveral Bodies, and marched as above, as alſo towards the Frontiers of *Styria* and *Croatia*; the Duke reſolved likewiſe to ſend four thouſand men to re-inforce Count *Leſley*, and being the Forrage was deſtroyed, to return, having ordered a Detachment of five Regiments of Foot, one of Cuiraſiers, and two of Dragoons and Croats, to march unto upper *Hungary*, where Count *Caprara* was to command in Chief.

The Seraſquier had made ſeveral other Attempts for Peace, but the Emperour refuſing paſports to his Aga, thoſe overtures vaniſhed. There had alſo been an *Armenian* ſent in the beginning of this year with overtures of Peace, but he was ſent back with this Anſwer; That the Emperour will not enter into any Negotiation of Peace, but jointly with the King of *Poland*, and Republick of *Venice*; inſomuch that finding all his Endeavours for a Treaty fruitleſs, he repaſſed the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, ſending part of his

1685. Forces towards *Zigeth*, and the reſt towards *Slavonia* and *Boſoria*, whereby he alſo defeated Count *Leſleys* Deſign upon *Poſega*.

To all the Miſeries of War was added that of the Plague, which raged much at *Conſtantinople*, which, together with the accompt they had of the loſs of *Newheuſel*, and the other ill Succeſſes of the *Ottoman* Army in *Hungary*, *Morea*, and indeed every where, had filled not only that City, but the Empire with Conſternation and Tumult; for the Janizaries, as is uſual in all great Misfortunes, mutined, threatned not only the Grand Viſier, but the Grand Seignior himſelf, and were not to be appeaſed without conſiderable Diſtributions amongſt them; it being alſo given out, that his Highneſs would himſelf command the Army in Perſon next Summer.

The Principal Armies of theſe potent Adverſaries being in Winter Quarters, we will leave them ſtrugling there to enlarge their Accommodations, and transfer our Pen to ſuch Actions as have been remarkable in other Parts.

The Conteſts in upper *Hungary* were various betwixt the Imperialiſts and *Tekelites*, General *Schultz* commanded the former, who had order to attack *Ungwar*, and afterwards to beſiege *Eſperies* and *Caſſaw*. Count *Tekely* thereupon paſſes the *Tybiſcus*, aſſembling what Troops he could together, ſending to the Neighbour Countries to cauſe their Militia to march and to joyn him, which *Schultz* endeavoured to hinder, eſpecially his joyning againſt the Turks. And now he lays cloſe Siege to *Ungwar*, which was defended with no leſs Valour than Obſtinacy, inſomuch that after the loſs of ſeveral Officers, and a conſiderable number of Men, he was obliged to raiſe the Siege. Some time after he laid ſiege to the City of *Eſperies* with eight thouſand men, where he found no leſs Oppoſition than at *Ungwar*, the beſieged ſeeming reſolved to defend the Place to the laſt extremity, notwithſtanding the offer made to the Rebels of a general Pardon, which was intimated to the Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Eſperies* by an Officer ſent from the General, but they, inſtead of taking advantage of the Emperour's Clemency, barbarouſly killed the ſaid Officer, which the General reſented ſo highly, that he cauſed a general aſſault to be given the place, but in vain, being beaten off with the loſs of ſeveral hundreds of their Souldiers. The place had already held out ſix Weeks, but General *Caprara* being ordered to command in chief in upper *Hungary*, and a Detachment of ten thouſand men being ſent to reinforce the Siege, it made them ſtoop, and deſire a Parley, which produced a Treaty, and then a Surrender, ſuch of the Garriſon as would being entertained in the Emperours Service, *and the Magiſtrates and Citizens to enjoy their antient Priviledges, and the Places and Employments they at preſent poſſeſs.*

Eſperies ſurrendred.

General *Schultz* marched from *Eſperies* to *Caſchaw*, and beleagured it, and General *Caprara* towards *Tokay*, with a Reſolution to take that place what ever it coſt, being it opened a paſſage betwixt *Tranſilvania* and *Zatmar*, nor did it make any remarkable Oppoſition, but with other leſſer Places ſurrendered without reſiſtance upon Conditions.

October 6. Count *Caprara* being come in Perſon before *Caſchaw*, *Peterhaſi*, one of Count *Tekelies* chief Officers, being ſent with ſix hundred horſe to reinforce the Garriſon, made a ſhew of accepting the general Pardon, and entering into the Emperours Service; but being come near the Town, put himſelf into it, with the ſix hundred men he had with him, which mainly encouraged the beſieged to defend the Place. *Caprara* ſent to ſummon them, but in vain, ſo that he was forced to uſe all the Formalities of a Siege. The Garriſon conſiſted of four thouſand, commanded by Count *Tekeli's* beſt Officers, who defended themſelves with great bravery, making very many ſharp Sallies into the Enemies Quarters. The Imperialiſts notwithſtanding carried their Trenches to the Town Ditch, and began to thunder upon the place from three Batteries. One of the Attacks being commanded by the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, who was ſlain there by a Cannon Bullet. But this Siege did not laſt long, though the Capital of upper *Hungary*, and provided with all things neceſſary for a long defence. But the Reaſons of their ſurrender, which hapned by a very ſurpriſing accident, is very excuſable. Count *Tekely* ſollicitous for this Capital of this part of the Kingdom, having writ to the Baſſa of *Waradin* of the Conſequence and Danger of the Place, and to preſs him for ſpeedy Succour in order to relieve it. The Baſſa admitting of his Reaſons, aſſured him he would give him all the aſſiſtance he could, only he had received ſome Orders from the Grand Seignior of great Importance to the common Cauſe, which it was not convenient to communicate to him by Letter, therefore deſired he would repair to him to *Waradin*, that he might inform him of the ſecret by word of Mouth. And for his greater Security the Baſſa ſent him a paſport. Upon this Invitation he reſolved to go thither, accompanied with *Petroſſi*, and ſome others of his principal Adherents, and five hundred Horſe. The Baſſa met him without the Gate, and received him with all the appearance of Kindneſs and Eſteem, and conducted him into the Town with ſome few of his Attendants, cauſing all the Cannon of the Place to be diſcharged, with other marks of Reſpects, and entertained him at Supper; but that being ended, an Aga with his Janizaries entred the Room, and having told *Tekely* he had Orders from the Grand Seignior to ſeize him, and carry him to *Adrianople*, cauſed Irons to be put upon his Hands and Feet. At the ſame time, the Baſſa told *Petroſſi*, that the Grand Seignior gave him the Principality and Commands which *Tekely* had had, and that he would aſſiſt him with all his Forces. *Petroſſi*, who was next to *Tekely* in Power, ſeemingly accepted of the Honour, but being got out of the place and Danger, he informed *Tekelies* party of what had hapned, exhorting them to return with him to their Duty to the Emperour, which they conſenting to, *Petroſſi* marched directly to the Camp before *Caſchaw*. Being kindly received by General *Caprara*, he was ſent into the Town, where he eaſily perſwaded the Garriſon to accept with him of the General *Amneſtie*, ſo that the place was immediately delivered up upon Articles. After this the General ſent alſo to the Princeſs *Ragotzki*, Count *Tekely's* Wife, to ſurrender her ſtrong Caſtle of *Mongatz* to the Emperour's Service, which, contrary to expectation, ſhe abſolutely refuſed to do. And this put an end to the Campaign in thoſe parts, except their Excurſions, beating up of Quarters, and Surpriſes, which were frequent on both ſides.

1685.

Novem. 25.

Count *Tekely* betrayed by the Baſſa of *Waradin*.

Caſchaw ſurrendred.

July 28. Nor were the Turks more fortunate on the ſide of *Croatia*, where Count *Leſley* commanded the Imperialiſts, for he burnt the Suburbs of *Caniſia*, and deſtroyed the Countrey four Miles round, and now underſtanding that the Turks had left but three or four thouſand men to guard the Bridge at *Eſſeck*, the Seraſquier having taken the reſt with him to fight the Imperialiſts, he decamped from the Place of his Rendezvous near the *Drave*, with a Reſolution, if poſſible, to burn the ſaid Bridge of *Eſſeck*. In order to this he left his Baggage at *Turanowitz* with a Guard of two thouſand Men, diſcamping with four thouſand *Germans*, and two thouſand Croats, all choice Men, each one being ordered to carry Proviſion with him for ten days, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Victuals by the way. *Michalovitz* being ſurpriſed, expecting no Enemy, ſurrendred to his *Avantcurrers* upon his further advance, the Country being alarm'd, ſome Turkiſh Horſe appearing, skirmiſhed with the Avant-guard of *Croats*, and had treated them ill, if they had not been ſuccoured by the *German* Dragoons and Cuiraſiers who had the Guard; they however left a Captain-Lieutenant with near thirty Souldiers. They marched on, but no Turks oppoſed, ſcarce appeared before they came to the Plains of *Eſſeck*. Then there appeared a thouſand Turkiſh Horſe with ſome Foot at a diſtance behind them, which obliged the Chriſtians to range themſelves in Battalia, and the Turks ſuffered them to advance till they came within Muſquet ſhot; they then begun to ſtir, and being charged on both Wings by the *Croats*, they were wholly broke and routed, and many of them ſlain in the purſuit. The Infantry ſaved themſelves in the Town, and afterwards in the Caſtle. The Chriſtians advanced in order to the Suburbs, which they took at firſt onſet, and afterwards the City, both which they miſerably pillaged and plundred.

Ang. 9. Count *Leſley* burns part of the Bridge of *Eſſeck.*

The City of *Eſſeck* is great and populous, having at leaſt five hundred ſhops of Merchants of in it, many Moſques and Hacars, which are great Inns for Paſſengers. All was crowded with Rice, Flower, Bread, Biſquet, Salt, *&c.* as alſo Barley, Oats, and Forrage in abundance, enough to furniſh an Army. As ſoon as they were Maſter of the City, they placed a Guard againſt the Caſtle, whilſt the General went to ſee the Bridge, the like whereof is not in the World. On this ſide the *Drave* from *Eſſeck* to the ſaid River, it is about eleven hundred paces long, and on the other ſide more than eight thouſand, all of Oak Wood. It is twelve paces broad. The Drave is not large in this place, the Bridge being ſupported by only ſixteen Boats. The Turks brake it the preceding day, letting the materials vogue with the ſtream into the *Danube*. Count *Leſley* cauſed thirteen fair Mills upon the Drave to be burnt, and having in vain attempted to burn the Bridge on the other ſide, conſumed that on this with Fire in few hours. The Imperialiſts knowing that the Inhabitants had ſaved their beſt goods in the Caſtle, they would alſo attempt that, but having loſt ſeveral Captains and other Officers, they deſiſted, and *Leſley* returned back to his Camp at *Turanowitz*.

The Affairs of *Poland.*

The Wars againſt *Poland* were carried on with more Succeſs, at leaſt Equality, by the *Ottomans*, who, together with the *Tartars*, made perpetual Incurſions into the *Ukrain*, and the confining Provinces, burning and ravaging the Villages and Countrey, carrying the alarm to the very Gates of *Leopol*. Nor were the *Poles* forward in their Preparations, moving but very ſlowly to their general Rendezvous, ſo that the King not going to the Field in Perſon, it was very late in the year before they were come together, however, entertained in the mean time with a very ſad account from *Podolia*, *Volinia*, and the leſſer *Ruſſia*, of the miſerable Devaſtations of thoſe Countries by the continued Incurſions of the Infidels.

The Grand Seignior had appointed *Solyman* Baſſa, now Seraskier, to command his Army againſt the *Poles*, which he endeavoured to raiſe and form with all imaginable Induſtry, being ſollicitous for *Caminiec*, which he took care by reiterated Convoys, though ſome ſometimes miſcarried, to provide for. He hearing of the Chriſtians advance towards the *Nieſter*, the *Cham* of *Tartary* being joyned with him, and both near forty thouſand ſtrong, poſted himſelf near the River to hinder the *Poles* from paſſing it.

And now the Armies drawing near, it was ſuppoſed they would not ſeparate without a Battel. The *Poles* paſſed the *Nieſter* with theirs, conſiſting of betwixt twenty and thirty thouſand men, on a Bridge they had made for that purpoſe, advanced into *Moldavia*, where they encamped; and now the whole Army being come up, the Crown General having ſummoned a Council of War, it was determined to go and find the Enemy, and force him to fight. The Army marched accordingly, and were three days paſſing the Woods and Streights of *Boucoviſia* without any Intelligence of the Enemy. Being come into a Plain, their Van-Guard was preſently charged by a Body of *Tartars*. Ten Troops of Horſe were ſent to ſupport the Chriſtians, but being over-power'd, were forced to give way. The Prince of *Courland* advancing with three Battalions, and ſome Field-pieces, gave the Chriſtians Opportunity to rally, and returning to the charge, obliged the *Tartars* to retire to the Hill from whence they came. The next Morning the two Armies ſtood in view of each other, only ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes paſſing betwixt them. The third, the *Seraskier* deſigning to fall upon the Enemies right Wing with his main force, charged it briskly, but finding it ſtrengthned from the main body, retired and fell upon the main body it ſelf, but with the like ſucceſs. The *Poles* left Wing was charged by the *Tartars* with ſome advantage at firſt, but in the Concluſion were forced to retire. That day the Turks had been incommoded by the oppoſite Artillery, compoſed of thirty pieces of Ordnance, and the following day, having received Cannon from *Camineck*, they repayed them in kind. The Chriſtians continued encamped the two following days, ſecuring themſelves with Trenches and Redoubts. On the ninth day, the Chriſtian General being informed that a great Detachment was ſent to fall in the rear of the Army, and ſhut up the Paſſages of the Forreſt, he reſolved to retire; and that he might do it with leſs trouble, he cauſed all their Waggons that were not abſolutely neceſſary, to be burnt. It was next Morning before the Turks were aware of their march, when, deſcending into the Plain, they charged three Battalions of Foot which had not yet entered the Wood, but they being well covered with their Pikes, and each two Field-pieces, they received the Enemy with ſo great a Fire, that they forced them to retire. And yet they eſcaped by their Courage and Reſolution the danger that threatned them, forcing their Paſſage back to the *Nieſter* by a very orderly retreat, which they likewiſe paſſed, tho' the Turks were much ſtronger than they, and ſo were diſperſed into their Winter Quarters.

Nor were the Turks very unſucceſsful in *Dalmatia*. The Chriſtians had beſieged *Seign*, but were forced to retire by the joynt Forces of the Turks in thoſe quarters with loſs of ſome hundreds of their men, two pieces of Cannon, and moſt of their Baggage. But the Wars being rather defenſive in thoſe parts, on both ſides, than otherwiſe, nothing of any very great Conſequence, beſides Incurſions and mutual Ravages, worthy of Memory did happen.

The

1685.

The traverſes at Sea were of more noiſe and conſequence. The Turkiſh Fleet was affirmed to conſiſt of ſixty Gallies, and twenty men of War, who were at Sea, though ſuppoſed not well manned. On the other ſide, the *Venetian* Fleet was ſtronger, full of Sea-men, beſides thirteen thouſand Land-Forces of ſeveral Nations, all commanded by their General *Moroſini*, who ſailing for the *Levant*, landed his Forces in the *Morea*, at the Fortreſs of *Calamata*, which he took, and afterwards ſate down before *Coron*, where, having made large Breaches, and extremely annoyed the place with their Bombs, the Baſſa hung out a white Flag, but all Conditions, except ſurrendring upon diſcretion, being refuſed him, he put out a black Colours, intimating he would defend it to extremity, which he alſo did.

The Baſſa of *Petraſſo* marched with eight thouſand Men to his relief, but upon conſideration of the ſtrength of the Chriſtians, he durſt not attempt it; but contenting himſelf to re-inforce the Garriſon of *Modon*, and with falling upon the *Greeks* (that favoured the *Venetians*) he made a great ſlaughter of them. The Viſier of *Morea*, *Kalil* Baſſa, having got together a competent Army of near ten thouſand, would re-attempt the relief of *Coron*; in order to which, he ſent a Party to attack a Redoubt ſomewhat diſtant from the Line of the Beſiegers, but were repulſed, but aſſaulting it again, they took it at the ſecond ſtorm. Hereupon the Chevalier *de la Tour*, a Knight of *Malta*, haſtening thither with twelve hundred Men, recovered it from the Turks, with the loſs of his own life, and many of his Men. A while after, the *Viſier* made an attempt upon the main Camp, but was beaten off with mutual loſs. In the mean time, the Chriſtian General finding the neighbourhood of the Turks troubleſome, and foreſeeing that his Troops would not be able to ſubſiſt, unleſs they had the Country open, reſolved to attempt their removal; in order to which, drawing ten Men out of a Company, to which were joyned fifteen hundred Voluntiers, with one of the Regiments of *Brunſwick*, and that of *Malta*, they, marching before day, ſurpriſed, and fell upon the Enemy on all ſides; the action was ſo ſudden, that the Turks before they could recollect themſelves were driven out of their ſeveral Poſts, purſued, and quite diſperſed. Of the Enemy there were near a thouſand killed in the action and purſuit, of which number was the Viſier *Kalil* and *Mehemet* Baſſa. All their Cannon and Baggage were taken, with nine pieces of braſs Cannon, ſeventeen Colours, and the great Standard, with three Horſe-tayles hanging at it. This Victory was ſome days after compleated by the taking of *Coron*, where the Chriſtians, forcing the way into the Town, through
Aug. 11. their very large Breaches, put all they met to the Sword. There were above three thouſand of the Turks ſlain in this ſtorm, and four or five hundred of the Chriſtians, among which were two Knights of *Malta*, Prince *Phillip* of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Brunſwick*, the Marquiſs of *Courbon* and St. *Paul*, beſides thirty Knights of *Malta*, with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality wounded. There were ſeventy-ſix Pieces of Braſs Cannon, beſides great ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſion, with Plunder, reckoned at above two Millions, found in this place.

Theſe Succeſſes encouraged the Greeks to ſubmit to the *Venetians*, and the Province of *Maina* being alſo diſpoſed to caſt off the *Ottoman* Yoak, were greatly encouraged to it by *Moroſini*, who ſending a Detachment with ſuch *Maynots* as were entred into the Service of the Re-publick, gave them orders to attack *Zarnata*, a Fortreſs built to keep that People in awe. In the mean time the Chriſtian Fleet ſailed towards *Calamata*, near which place the Forces landed.

1685.

The Captain Baſſa, hearing of the ill ſucceſſes of his Country-men in *Morea*, came with his Fleet to *Napoli di Romania*, where ſecuring the Ports with great Chains, he landed what Men he poſſibly could, and joyning with a great Body of Horſe and Foot, he marched towards *Calamata*, to keep the *Mainotes* from revolting to the *Venetians*. *Zarnata* had been threatned into ſurrender, ſix hundred Men that garriſoned it marching out with their Arms and Baggage, though the Aga that commanded it, diſtruſting his conduct, ſtayed in the Chriſtian Camp.

The Captain Baſſa being advanced, *Moroſini* being re-inforced with three thouſand *Saxons* reſolved to fight him. Being met, the Turkiſh Horſe fell upon the Chriſtians left Wing, and at the ſame time a great Body of their Foot advanced towards their right; but found ſuch brave reſiſtance, that they were forced to retire. They returned to the charge again, but with the ſame ſucceſs, and being preſſed, fell into diſorder and were defeated, though the loſs was not very great on either ſide. The Garriſon of *Calamata* hearing of this rout, fired their Magazin and quitted the place, leaving eleven Pieces of Cannon behind them, which was immediately garriſoned by the victorious. The *Maynotes* thereupon beſieged *Porto Vitulo*, the which with *Chielifa* and *Paſſavia* are the only places of ſtrength that the Turks poſſeſs in that great Province, but theſe likewiſe, as alſo *Porto Vitulo*, being forced by the Inhabitants to ſurrender, came all under the dominion of the *Venetians*, from whence, General *Moroſini* having put good Gariſons into thoſe places, marched towards *Navazino*. But the ſeaſon being too far advanced, having razed *Calamata* and *Paſſava*, as not very defenſible, he diſperſed his Army into Winter Quarters, ſailing himſelf with his Gallies to *Santa Maura*.

A Fleet under the command of the Seigniors *Molino* and *Delfino*, had cruiſed the whole Summer in the *Archipelago*, putting thoſe Iſlands under contribution, though no material action at Sea had paſſed betwixt the two Fleets of the Chriſtians and Turks.

The Captain Baſſa, after theſe misfortunes, ſhewed a great inclination to peace, ſignifying his deſire to ſet a Treaty on foot for that purpoſe, to which end he ſignified the ſame to General *Moroſini* by a particular Meſſenger, who referred him to his Superiours. Novem.

Attempts for Peace prove fruitleſs.

There had likewiſe been an Aga ſome time at *Comorra*, who declared, that the Grand Seignior did deſire to re-eſtabliſh a Peace or Truce betwixt the two Empires, deſiring that Commiſſioners might be appointed on both ſides for that purpoſe; that he had ordered the Baſſa of *Buda* to ceaſe from all Hoſtilities, and that he cauſed Count *Tekely*, the Author of the War, and the Evils that attended it, to be ſeized upon by his command. But all the anſwer he could get was, that the Emperour would enter into no Negotiation of Peace, without the participation of his Allies. And yet ſome Propoſitions were obliquely made in their names. The Emperour demanded reſtitution of all the Places that are poſſeſſed by the Turks in the Upper and Lower *Hungary*, and in *Croatia*. The *Poles* demanded *Caminiet*, and the whole Province of *Podolia*; and the *Venetians* the whole Country of *Morea*. To conclude, the *Aga* was ſent back with this anſwer, That the Emperour and his Allies will receive no Propoſals, but ſuch as come immediately from the Grand Seignior himſelf.

The *Cham* of *Tartary* had alſo offered the King of *Poland* his Mediation by an Embaſſy, and at the ſame time made Propoſals of Peace, but his Majeſty anſwered roundly, that he would hear of no Overtures of accomodation without his Allies, the Emperour of *Germany*, and the Commonwealth of *Venice*.

Jan. 1686.

And now all thoughts of quiet being laid aſide, all the great Parties made all imaginable preparations, by Leagues, by Levies, by amaſſing of Moneys as well as Men for the future Campain.

Thus ended this year 1685, and the following was no leſs active or turbulent. The Imperialiſts, as a prelude to their future Succeſſes, beat a Party of the United Garriſons of the Turks, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand near *Arach*, which place they alſo took, with eleven Colours, and three Kettle Drums, beſides much ſpoil.

Feb. 12.

This ſucceſs was followed by others, St. *Job* being ſurrendred to Count *Caraffa*, the ſix hundred Men which compoſed the Garriſon of it, being conducted to great *Waradin*, and a Party from *Comorra*, *Raab*, *Papa* and *Veſprin*, took the Caſtle of *Sebwar*, betwixt *Veſprin* and *Alba Regalis*, which had much incommoded thoſe Garriſons, upon as eaſie terms; the beſieged being only allowed what they could carry upon their backs.

Diſorders at *Conſtantinople.* *Jan.* 23.

Great were the diſorders and conſternation at *Conſtantinople*, and throughout the whole *Ottoman* Empire, for the late ill Succeſſes of their Arms in *Hungary* and *Morea*; and being to be unfortunate, is to be criminal in that Court, *Cheitan Ibrahim*, *Seraskier*, was condemned to loſe his head, the defeat at *Gran*, the loſs of *Newbeuſel*, and the burning of the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, being laid all to his account. His eminent ſervices in the former Wars againſt the Crown of *Poland*, and his valorous defending of *Buda* in 1684 againſt the united powers of the *German* Empire, could not obtain his pardon, being he was likewiſe blamed for having diſcontented the Souldiers in defrauding them of their pay. Several other of the Chief Officers being accuſed of not having done their duty at the Battel of *Gran*, were ſtrangled with him; and *Solyman* Baſſa, who had ſo ſucceſsfully commanded the Army laſt year againſt the *Poles*, was by the Grand Viſier recommended to the Grand Seignior, as a Perſon very fit for that Employment in *Hungary*, which his Highneſs alſo approved of, but the Baſſa being ſurpriſed at the choice was made of him, ſenſible of the fate of his Predeceſſors, and the danger of the Employment, taking his opportunity, threw himſelf at the Grand Seignior's feet, and humbly prayed to be excuſed from ſo difficult a Province, being the Campaign would not probably end, under the circumſtances he was to undertake it, but with the loſs of his Head, which he would rather now ſacrifice at his Majeſtie's command, than dye hereafter in his diſpleaſure. The Grand Seignior wondering at what he heard, and that he ſhould ſcruple at ſo eminent a command, demanded his reaſons: He replied, that the miſfortunes of the laſt Campaign were occaſioned by the ill payment of the Troops, many other things of great importance to his ſervice having been likewiſe omitted, not obſcurely hinting at the Grand Viſier, he would notwithſtanding take the command upon him, if his Majeſty, according to the example of his Predeceſſours, would himſelf appear at the head of his Forces. The frankneſs of this diſcourſe wrought ſo much upon the *Grand Seignior*, that he immediately ſent to the *Viſier*, who was, or pretended to be indiſpoſed, and conſequently kept his bed, to know, whether he was in a condition of health to attend him into *Hungary*, where he purpoſed to go himſelf? But the Viſier excuſing it, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, his Majeſty ſent to him for his Seal, which being delivered, he immediately gave it to *Solyman* Baſſa, making him by that eminent mark of dignity Grand *Viſier* in the others room, who yet had his life granted him, and part of his Eſtate to ſubſiſt upon, being now in his Houſe on the *Canal* of the black Sea, near *Scutary*.

The Treaſure of the *Seraglio* was opened, Officers were ſent into all the extent of the Empire, and the utmoſt diligence was uſed to raiſe men, not only to recruit their ſhattered Armies, but to make new Levies, but with the uſual fate that attends unſucceſsful Arms. So that notwithſtanding all their endeavours, the Chriſtians were in the Field before them, not only with the Imperial Troops, but the united Forces of all the *German* Princes. The general Rendezvouz was appointed on the 30*th* of *May* in the Plains of *Barkam*, though the *Saxons*, the *Bavarians*, the *Brandenburgers*, and them of the *Circles* could not get thither ſo ſoon by reaſon of their diſtant Marches. The whole Empire ſeemed to move, and the *Danube* was ſo covered with Barks and Barges full of men, proviſions, and all ſorts of Warlike Inſtruments, that it yielded a proſpect of terror and pleaſure.

The Chriſtian Army Rendezvouz's at *Barkam*.

May 30. 1686.

The Forces being come together, the Sentiments of the General Perſons that compoſed it were very differing. Some propoſed the Siege of *Alba Regalis*, as being a place that had much annoyed them, by protecting the *Seraskier* under the Cannon of the place, when they beſieged *Buda* two years ago. Others would have *Agria* and *Montgatz*, the remains of *Tekely's* rebellion in Upper *Hungary*, attempted, and the reſt were for marching directly to the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, for ſecuring that important paſſage, and then to beſiege *Buda*. Others were of opinion, that theſe three deſigns ſhould be enterpriſed at once, by dividing their Army into two parts, for the two firſt Enterpriſes, and that General *Schults* ſhould with the Army of *Croatia* attempt the Bridge of *Eſſeck*. But they were very few that concluded poſitively for the Siege of *Buda*, which had already been abſolutely reſolved upon by the Emperour and the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon a certainty that the taking of that place would vaſtly inlarge their Quarters, and a ſuppoſition (though not ſo well grounded) that all *Hungary* would follow the fate of their Capital City.

Jun. 10.

But this deſign was kept very ſecret, nor was it diſcovered until the arrival of Count *Straatman*, Great Chancellor to the Emperour, who having in a Council of War prudently compoſed the punctilio's and differences between ſo many General Officers about their commands, to all their ſatisfactions; he ſhewed them the Emperour's Commiſſion and Orders to begin the Campaign with the Siege of *Buda*, exhorting them to do their duty in an enterpriſe of ſuch great importance, whereon depended not only the conſervation of his Highneſs's Conqueſts, the ſecurity of his Crown, and the good of Chriſtendom, but alſo the ruine of the *Ottoman* Empire, being the loſs of this conſiderable place would be attended on with the ſurrender

of

1686. of the other Cities and Fortreſſes of *Hungary*, which would return to the Obedience of their natural Sovereign.

The Generals, who expected to begin with the Siege of *Agria* or *Alb-Royal*, were overjoy'd to underſtand that the deſign was upon *Buda*; and this News being ſpread amongſt the Officers and Souldiers of the Armies, they all teſtified their Satisfaction by their forwardneſs, and their deſire to ſee themſelves before a Place where they might ſignalize their Valour, and revenge the Death of their Comrades, who had been interred in the Trenches of the former Siege.

The Voluntiers, to the number of ſix thouſand, of all Quality and Conditions, which were come thither out of *Germany*, *France*, *England*, *Spain*, the *Low-Countries*, and other parts of *Europe*, to ſeek Honour in ſo pious a War, ſhewed much Ardour and Zeal to ſignalize themſelves in ſo glorious an undertaking. The Troops of the Circles were not yet come, and they of *Brandenburg*, who marched through *Sileſia*, and the Straits of *Jabluncka*, advanced but ſlowly by reaſon of the difficulty of their way, and could not come ſo ſoon as deſired. But the Armies, to loſe no time, diſcamped on the twelfth of *June* by break of day, the Duke of *Lorrain* taking his way by the Bridge of *Gran*, had paſſed it the thirteenth, the Troops of *Saxony* having the Vauntguard. The Elector of *Bavaria* marched on this ſide the *Danube* to poſſeſs the City of *Peſt*. Whilſt the two Armies were thus marching on both ſides the River, Count *Rabatta*, who was Commiſſary General, had cauſed a prodigious quantity of Gabions and Fagots, which the Souldiers had made as they came to the general Randezvouz, to keep them from Idleneſs, to be imbark'd and ſent by Water towards *Buda*, together with the Artillery, Ammunitions, Proviſions, Forrage, and other neceſſary things for the ſubſiſtence of Armies. The next day the Armies advanced, the great one near *Vicegrade*, and the other by *Vaccia*.

The fifteenth, the Imperial Horſe, followed by the Foot, and their Cannon and Baggage, paſſed *Vicegrade*, ſome Priſoners having been made by a party that the Duke had ſent to make Diſcoveries. Theſe unanimouſly declared, that they of *Agria* and *Alba Regalis* fearing a Siege, had refuged all their beſt Moveables in *Buda*, and that this Capital City was, as well as the other Places, furniſhed with Troops and neceſſary Proviſions to ſuſtain a long Siege, in expectation of Relief.

Being come within an hour of the Town without any encounter, the Horſe made halt, as well to repoſe themſelves, as to expect the coming up of their Infantry and Artillery, and now they begin to lay a Bridge of Boats at the Iſle of St. *Andrew* for the Communication of the two ſides of the *Danube*.

The Siege of *Buda*.

On the eighteenth, the Baron of *Diependal*, General *de Battalia*, inveſted the City of *Buda*, whilſt the Infantry were marching up, and taking up their Poſts half a League from the place, they began to break Ground, and work at their Line of Circumvallation. A great party of Horſe and Foot appeared out of the Garriſon at the *Vienna* Port, but they returned again upon the advance of a Detachment of Imperial Horſe, who had Orders to charge them, contented to welcome the Aſſailants with eight Volleys from their Cannon, though they kill'd but one Pioneer, by reaſon of the too great diſtance.

The nineteenth, the Duke advanced with the Army as far as the hot Baths, the Turks having abandoned that Poſt the day before. The general Quarters were taken up within a quarter of a League of the Town. The ſame day the Elector of *Bavaria* ſeized upon the City of *Peſt*, which the Turks had quitted, retiring with their Cannon, Ammunitions and Proviſions into *Buda*, after they had broken part of the Bridge behind them. The *Croats*, who ſcouted about the Country, took a Turkiſh *Chiaux*, with a Convoy of forty *Spahis*, who was ſent with Letters from the Port to the Viſier of *Buda*. Being brought to the Camp, his Letters were examined, which contained rigorous Orders to the Viſier, to be very careful of the Places which depended on his Government, and to aſſure him of a quick and powerful relief in caſe he were attack'd. 1686.

On the twentieth, the Bridge over the *Danube* was finiſhed. The ſame day a party of Horſe ſallied out of the Town with deſign to ſurpriſe the Chriſtians advanced Guard, but the Duke being advertiſed of it in time, ſent four ſquadrons, to which many Volunteers joyned themſelves, with orders to charge them; but they upon their approach retired without any engaging. The Artillery being arrived, two Batteries were raiſed againſt the lower Town, where the Duke of *Lorrains* Attack was, and at Night the Trenches were opened. A Janizary who deſerted, reported much after the ſame manner that the Priſoners already mentioned had done; that there were but eight thouſand men of formed Troops in the Town. The Viſier having ſome time before ſent two thouſand Souldiers to *Agria*, and as many to *Alba-Regalis*, upon a ſuppoſition that the Chriſtians would not think of beſieging *Buda*, which had been ſo fatal to them but two years ago. This Run-away affirmed further, that the Place was abundantly furniſhed with all manner of Proviſions and Ammunitions to ſuſtain a very long Siege, that the Viſier *Abdi* Baſſa was no great Warrior, and therefore the leſs conſidered by the Souldiery; that he had aſſembled all the Officers and Souldiers of the Garriſon together, had exhorted them to do their Duty, and to ſupport with Honour the Glory of the Turbant, adding, that he had Orders from the Grand Seignior to defend the City with his Life, which he was reſolved to do, and expect the Succours which the Grand Viſier would infallibly bring them. To this the *Janizaries* and *Spahis* replyed, that they were ready to ſacrifice their Lives in his Highneſs's Service, and for defence of their Laws, upon Condition however, that the Viſier would immediately give them ten Crowns a Man, that the Souldiers and Officers that were detained in Priſon for what Crime ſoever ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and that he would not ſuffer things to come to the laſt extremity, leſt the ſame misfortune might happen to them, as did to thoſe of *Newheuſel*, all which the Viſier promiſed them to obſerve exactly.

I muſt acknowledge I am entring into a tedious Narrative, and ſomewhat againſt my Humour, which affects lucid brevity; but the Hiſtory of this Siege, perhaps circumſtantially the greateſt upon Record, full of ſuch ſtrange Events; of Emulation in the purſuit of Glory; of ſucceſsful Temerity, and an invincible Reſolution on the one ſide; as alſo the Fidelity, the Conſtancy, and the unfortunate Valour of the other, hurries me on to a deſcription of it in all its particulars, which I will do with that Candor, that the very indifferent Reader ſhall find nothing that may juſtly ſhock him, and the curious wherewith to content him.

The Elector of *Bavaria*, having left a Garriſon at *Peſt*, and paſſed the Bridge of Boats at the Iſle of St. *Andrew*, came with his Army before the place, and took his Poſt in the ſame place where he had commanded in the preceding Siege, that is, on the Caſtle ſide, and the upper Town, to form the ſecond attack, the third being reſerved for the *Brandenburgers*, who were expected in a few days, and were to be reinforced with the Troops of *Suabia* and *Franconia*. That Night the Turks fired mightily upon them that worked in the Approaches and Batteries, whereof ſeveral were killed and hurt in the *Lorrain* Attack.

The Duke ſent all the Imperial and *Bavarian* Horſe, under the command of the Generals *Palfi*, *Gondola*, and others, to camp in the Neighbourhood of *Alba Regalis*, on purpoſe to conſume the Forrage, and keep that Garriſon in continual alarms, there remaining in the Camp but three thouſand Imperial and fifteen hundred *Bavarian* Horſe to ſecure the Trenches and Pioneers. The Night paſſed, the Battery againſt the lower Town was brought to perfection, and twelve Pieces of Cannon mounted upon it, which played all the following day with the loſs of five men ſlain, and ſeveral wounded, from break of day the Cannon continued firing with ſuch ſucceſs, that they made a breach in the Wall of the lower Town, which was found to be twenty paces large. In the mean time the *Bavarians* on their ſide carried their Approaches on with great diligence, and had alſo ſome killed and wounded.

The day following, the breach being enlarged, was aſſaulted towards evening, the Walls being eaſily gained, for the Defendants retired into the upper Town after the firſt diſcharge. The Chriſtians loſt a Captain of Foot, a Lieutenant of Granadiers, ſome Souldiers, and ſix Voluntiers in this attempt, beſides ſeven or eight hurt; and from that time they began to attack the Town in form, it being reſolved that the Trenches ſhould be relieved every day by a Lieutenant General, and a Major General, as well in the Duke of *Lorrain*'s attack, as in the Elector's. The 25*th* Count *Souches* and *Diependal* relieved the Trenches, but nothing was done beſides aſſuring the Lodgment upon the Wall of the lower Town, and opening the Gate which the Turks had ſhut up on the right, far enough from the breach where they took Poſt, and that the Labourers might be leſs incommoded, General *Souches* cauſed fire to be put in the neighbouring Houſes, where ſome Fuſeliers did lurk, who were burnt with them. The *Bavarians* finiſhed the ſame day a little Battery upon *St. Gerards* Hill, which the Turks had abandoned, from whence they threw ſome ſmall Bombs into the City to try experiments. They alſo finiſhed another great Battery to beat the great Rondel which joyns the Caſtle to the upper Town. The ſame day Count *Budiani* preſented ſome Standards to the Duke of *Lorrain*, taken from a party of Turkiſh Horſe, which convoyed fourteen or fifteen Barks loaden with the Wives and Children of the Officers of *Buda*, who retired with all their riches to *Belgrade*, and which his *Heyduques* and *Huſſars*, reinforced with ſome Imperial Dragoons, had ſurpriſed and beaten at the Iſland of St. *Margaret*. The booty was great, and ninety-two Women and Children taken, amongſt which was the *Viſier* of *Buda*'s Wife.

The 26*th*, they made ſeveral traverſe Lines, and laboured to compleat the Approaches to ſecure their Quarters in the lower Town, which was furniſhed with two thouſand Souldiers, and a good number of Pioneers. The Earth being rude and ſtony, did much obſtruct the Labourers. The great Maſter of the Teutonick Order, which commanded the Trenches, obſerving that the Pioneers in the lower Town might be eaſily inſulted and beaten by the Beſieged, had upon his demand ſix Battalions ſent him, which were poſted along the Wall to countenance them. Two fugitives, who ſaid they were *Hungarians*, rendered themſelves, and confirmed that the Garriſon was but eight thouſand Combatants, who by order of the Viſier had begun to untile the Houſes, and unpave the Streets, to hinder the effect of the Bombs. In the evening betwixt ſix and ſeven a Clock, the Turks ſallied out with great Cries, to intimidate them who were poſted in the Rondel by the Water ſide, but they were ſo well received, that they retreated confuſedly. Marſhal *Starenberg* haſtned thither ſeaſonably with two Battalions of them that had been poſted the day before behind the Wall, without which Succour the Turks would have made a great Slaughter amongſt the Labourers. The Enemy was purſued, and the Souldiers cut off ſome Heads, which they preſented to the Duke, who gave them a golden Ducket for each Head. A Captain was hurt in this ſcuffle, and ten or twelve Souldiers killed, and as many wounded.

The *Bavarians* raiſed two Batteries for Bombs on the two ſides of their great Battery. They carried on their Trench above one hundred paces, and ran three traverſe Lines, with a place of Arms for the defence of their Battery. The Turks fired much with their Artillery, but killed only two Souldiers.

The 27*th*, the Chriſtians compleated the works they had made in the Night, new traverſes were made, ſome Musketiers were placed in the Moſque of the old Town, a Poſt was taken on the right near the Gate which makes the Angle of the Upper Town, the Lines were enlarged, and deepned, and the great Battery was well-nigh finiſhed, with the loſs only of one Man, and ſome few wounded. This Morning the Enemy appear'd where they had been yeſterday, ſeemingly diſpoſed to skirmiſh, but ſeeing that the Chriſtians were ready to receive them, they retired without attempting any thing. About Eleven a Clock they ſallied out, Horſe and Foot, with deſign to diſlodge the Beſiegers poſted on the right, but having ſtood a Volley, and ſeeing Count *Hoffkirchen*, Lieutenant Collonel to *Dunewald*, advancing with the Guards of Horſe, they returned into the City, leaving twenty of their men dead behind them. Of the Chriſtians there were but two killed, and five or ſix hurt. Another Deſerter came out of Town, who reported, that the Governour was greatly perplexed, in that he ſaw the inevitable fall of the City, which the Grand Seignior had committed to his charge, and that he loſt in the Sallies his beſt Souldiers, without being able to ruine the Enemies works, but that he reſented nothing equally with the captivity of his Wife, and thoſe of the Principal Officers of the Place, taken when they thought them paſt danger. In the *Bavarian* attack they finiſhed a battery to play upon the Caſtle, and the Rondel that joyns it to the City.

The 28*th*, in the *Lorrain* attack, a Line of Communication four hundred paces long was drawn from the Poſt at the Angle on the right to the middle Gate, and another Line was made to go to the new battery, upon which they planted twelve pieces of Cannon. A little one was

1686. likewiſe in hand for four Mortars which were carried thither that Night, with ſome Cart loads of Bombs. The beſieged began to ſhoot Bombs and Stones out of Town. A Captain and ſixteen Souldiers were wounded that Night, and ſome killed. The Duke of *Lorrain*, foreſeeing that Forrage would grow ſcarce in the Camp, ſent moſt of the baggage Horſes to the Meadows aſſigned them betwixt *Gran* and *Newheuſel*. General *Dunewald*, who commanded the Horſe, camped near *Alb-Royal*, advertiſed the Duke, that the Turks having abandoned the Caſtle of *Bathyan* upon the River of *Zarvis*, he had put men into it, and that he was going to make a tentative upon *Palotta*, a place of good ſtrength near *Alb-Royal*.

The twenty ninth, they continued to compleat their Works, and the Duke augmented the number of the Labourers with an addition of ſix hundred more. The beſieged made no Sallies theſe two days, but they plyed their Artillery more furiouſly than ordinary to ruine the Chriſtians great Battery. About five a Clock they ſallied upon the *Bavarian* attack, with two thouſand Horſe and Foot, with ſo much Succeſs, that they put the Beſiegers into much diſorder, and the Janizaries leaping into the Approaches, were buſie in throwing of them down, when Count *Hoffkirch* flying thither with the Guard of Horſe from the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Quarter, and the *Bavarian* Generals with their reſerves, the fight was rude on both ſides, till the Turks were forced to retreat, being purſued even to the Gates of their City, notwithſtanding the continued fire from their Cannon and Muſquets from the Walls. Prince *Eugenius* of *Savoy* had his Horſe killed under him. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, and the Generals *Fontaine* and *la Vargne* ſignalized themſelves in this Action, as alſo the Voluntiers, and particularly the Prince of *Commercy*. *Switterdael*, a *Bavarian* Lieutenant-Collonel was ſlain, as alſo ſix Voluntiers, with thirty ſeven Souldiers, beſides ſixty two wounded, one Captain, two Lieutenants, and an Enſign. The loſs on the Turks ſide was greater, being the Chriſtians brought away ſixty of their Heads, beſides what a fugitive *Raſcian* reported, that the Turks had had near two hundred kill'd and wounded. That Evening the four Mortars placed by the great Battery began to play into the beſieged Works. Six Culverins were alſo planted upon the old Battery, wherewith they deſign'd to ſhoot into the Town Gate, to incommode the Sallies of the beſieged.

The thirtieth, the Troops of *Suabia* and *Franconia* arrived in the Camp, and took the Poſts deſigned for them; all the Night and Day were employed to advance the Works, which are ſo numerous, that they are ſcarce diſtinguiſhable. Count *Souches*, who commanded the Trenches that day, having ſent three Granadeers to diſcover the diſtance betwixt the Approaches and the Rondel, they brought word that it was no more than three hundred paces, and that the Turks were making a Ditch at the foot of the ſaid Rondel. Every Night great ſtore of Gabions, Fagots, Munitions, and Proviſions, arrived in the Camp, by the care of the Commiſſary General, Count *Rabatta*. Count *Caprara* parted from the Camp with the *Suabian* Horſe, to joyn thoſe encamped near *Alb-Royal*, and to command the whole in chief. Five *Raſcian* Shepheards, feeding their Sheep without under the Walls, ſlipt inſenſibly into the *Bavarian* Quarters with at leaſt four hundred, where they were well received and gratified. All they could ſay was, that the Conſternation was great amongſt the beſieged, who were yet reſolved to defend themſelves, in expectation of the Succours they were in hope for. They added, that the Bombs and Carcaſſes had fired the Town in ſeveral Places, though it had been luckily enough extinguiſhed. 1686.

The firſt of *July*, Count *Starenberg* ſhewed General *Schoning*, who commanded the *Bradenburg* Auxiliaries, and arrived in the Camp the Night before, the Approaches and the Attacks which were reſerved for his Troops, which was on the Water ſide on the left of the Imperialiſts, after which he was magnificently treated by the Duke of *Lorrain*, from whence he went to joyn his Troops which were expected the next, or the following day. This Morning the Imperialiſts began to ſhoot out of their new Battery, out of four Pieces which ſhot twenty four pound Bullets. The five Mortars by the great Battery continued to play upon the Rondel on the right, with ſuch Succeſs that the Defendants durſt not ſhew themſelves there. The Works were compleating, and there were two Redoubts made to ſecure the Communication with the great Battery. This Night there were but five hurt, and one killed, and this Morning an Adjoutant General was hurt in the Head with a Muſquet-ſhot, as he was carrying Orders into the Approaches. There hapned nothing in the *Bavarian* Quarters, where they only continued their Labour and their Batteries, made a Breach in the outward Rampart. The reſt of the Troops of *Franconia*, conſiſting in fourteen hundred Foot, arrived there, who were placed near the reſt of the ſame Circle.

The ſecond, the *Lorrain* Attack advanced within two hundred Paces of the Walls of the City. The battery of twelve Guns of twenty four pound Balls was finiſhed, and four other Mortars that played without ceaſing all the laſt Night, fired the Town near the great Church, which laſted till Morning; the Cannon was plyed all this day againſt the two firſt Rondels, which are in a manner defenceleſs. Two Battalions more were ſent to reinforce thoſe who were camped under the Wall of the old Town. The beſieged threw again many Bombs and Stones, but with little prejudice to the Beſiegers, killing them not above three or four Souldiers. The Troops of *Suaben* began to work at their line of Circumvallation, and purpos'd the following Night to raiſe a Battery upon a height which they poſſeſs'd. The *Bavarians* thundred furiouſly againſt the Caſtle and upper Town, and had thrown many Bombs which had kindled a fire that was not yet extinguiſhed. The Duke apprehending that the Turks might when it was dark, put, by the help of ſmall barks, Men, and Ammunition into the Town, went in Perſon to diſcover the ſuſpected Places about *Peſt*, commanding the Prince of *Savoys* Regiment of Dragoons to poſt themſelves there, to aſſiſt the *Hungarians* who were already there, and had Orders to raiſe ſome Sconces along the River ſide for their Security.

On the third of *July*, the *Brandenburg* Troops were ſeen to march on the other ſide of the *Danube*. The Duke of *Lorrain* went to viſit them, where he was received by General *Schoning* with a triple *Salvo* of all the Foot, ranged in battalia, with their Cannon at the head of the Infantry. His Highneſs was treated there with much Gallantry, and afterwards returned to his Quarters extremely ſatisfied to ſee ſuch a fine body of Men, ſo brisk, ſo well diſciplin'd, and provided with ſuch a good Train of Artillery. The Imperialiſts finiſhed another line for to defend their

Approaches. They made ſuch great fire with their Cannon and Mortars, that they did not only make a notable breach in the Wall, but ruined alſo the batteries upon the two firſt Rondels, ſo that there was no more ſhooting thence. The *Bavarians* carried their lines to the very Caſtle, and made a new battery on the right towards the *Danube*, upon which they placed nine Mortars with ſucceſs. They ſhot alſo three days together from another battery of ſeven Demy-Cannon upon the Rondel; whilſt they play'd from another with four Guns upon the Flanks. They moreover worked at another of eight Cannon to batter the left of the Rondel. In the *Lorrain* attack there were ſeven ſlain, and ſeveral hurt. Amongſt the reſt of the Deſerters, there was an Enſign of the Janizaries, who quitted the Town for having (as he ſaid) killed a Turkiſh Officer. He affirmed that there was but fifteen hundred real Janizaries in the place, but that counting the *Spahi's*, Albamans, and other Troops, they amounted to ſeven thouſand Combatants; He added, that the Bombs and Carkaſſes had already ruined many buildings, and occaſioned a great loſs of Men and Cattel. He further ſaid, that the beſieged were buſie in making Mines behind the breach on the *Lorrain* ſide, and that no body had hitherto entered into the place. General *Dunewald* had deſiſted from his deſign upon *Pallotta*, becauſe the place was provided with a good Gariſon. The Turks there killed ſome of thoſe who were ſent to diſcover. Thoſe of *Alb-Royal* attacked and diſordered alſo ſome Foragers of Horſe quartered in their Neighbourhood, and amongſt others killed Count *Papenheim*, a Captain of Horſe in the Troops of *Bavaria*.

July 4*th*, The Approaches of the *Lorrain* attack were run within one hundred paces of the breach in the Rondel to the right. The beſieged began to run a Line out of the ſaid breach, which they lengthned till within fifty paces of the Chriſtians, to render their approach more difficult; and however, they fired continually with their ſmall ſhot, and threw a multitude of ſtones, yet they killed and wounded but thirteen men. The beſiegers had now fourteen Mortars mounted, out of which they perpetually toſſed Bombs and Carkaſſes. There was nothing done at the *Bavarian* attack, but ſecuring the works, and heightning the batteries. A *Pole*, who had ſerved amongſt the *Turks*, came over this morning, and reported that the beſieged were reſolved to ſurrender, if they were not relieved in a Months time. Another Run-away came this Afternoon, and declared, that five Turkiſh Cavaliers were by the means of a little Bark landed on *Peſt* ſide, who were by ſeveral ways to endeavour to arrive where the *Seraskier* was, and preſs the Succours which had been promiſed them. The Duke of *Lorrain* diſpatched ſome Horſe towards *Voitſar* to conſume the Forage there, and watch the Enemies motion. A party of *Tartars* fell upon the Foragers on the other ſide the *Danube*, and took ſome Horſes, and two Grooms belonging to the Prince of *Baden*, out of the Iſland of St. *Margaret*: the following Night, ſixty Granadiers with ſome Workmen were ſent to ruine the Line which the beſieged had begun before the breach of the Rondel, which luck'd ſo well, that they filled the Ditch with the loſs of two Soldiers only. The breaches were every day enlarged, as well on the *Lorrain* as the *Bavier* attack, and what the *Turks* repaired in the night, was thrown down by day. All the Troops of *Brandenburg* are at preſent arrived in their Quarters. The *Turks* made a ſally upon them in the Night, who, though they were well received, and purſued even to the Town Gate, yet they killed many brave men of the beſieged, and amongſt the reſt Field-Marſhal General *Dorfeling's* Son, two Lieutenants, and twenty-ſeven Souldiers, with the like number wounded.

Jul. 6. A line of communication was made from the *Lorrain* attack to that of *Brandenburg*, which is but fifty paces from the Rondel of the middle Gate, and about ſixty from the breach on the right. This morning they ſhot the Cannon with that fury, that they quite threw down the two Rondels, and the Curtain, and at night throwing Bombs and Carkaſſes without ceaſing, they cauſed a fire to burn on the right of the Rondel, that could not be quenched in leſs than three hours time. The *Brandenburgers* advanced their works briskly, their Generals of Battalia's keeping alternatively in the Trenches. They had eight ſlain and ſix wounded, beſides a Captain of Granadeers, Lieutenant Collonel *Fonk* was alſo hurt in the Legg, and ſix more of the *Lorrain* attack, beſides two killed.

Jul. 7. The Night preceding, very many Bombs were thrown with ſucceſs, being they fired the Town in two places, but upon the arrival of the Engeneer *Gonzales*, it was preſumed the Town would be thundred with greater violence, he is expected in two or three days in the Camp, where the Cannon, Mortars, Bombs, Carkaſſes, and other artificial fire-works of his invention are already arrived: The beſieged made this morning a ſalley upon the *Brandenburgers* with Horſe and Foot, but to their prejudice, being beaten back with diſorder. Yeſterday the Miners began to work in the *Lorrain* attack to widen the breaches, and this Night the ſame will be done in that of *Bavaria*, where they have finiſhed two new Batteries, one of ten, and the other of ſeven Cannons, beſides a third on the Water ſide, to better the attack'd Rondel, and a Poſt by which the beſieged uſed to creep out into a covered way which they had made before the Rondel. Yeſterday the *Bavarians* had carried their approaches to the very foot of the Caſtle, ſo that they could come no nearer before the breach was enlarged. The works in the *Lorrain* attack were ſo near the Wall, that they could advance no further, but by lodging in the breach. There were about fifty killed and hurt in the three attacks. The beſieged ſhot a Bomb, which falling upon one of the out-Batteries into a Barrel of Powder, killed nine Cannoneers that attended there.

The 8*th*, Two new Batteries, each of three Demy-Cannon, were raiſed in the *Lorrain* attack nearer the Walls, and on the left, where they were equally advanced with the right, the approaches were advanced to the Wall of the Rondel; and as theſe Works were ſo near, there were twenty-five hurt and wounded, moſt with Stones and Granadoes, amongſt whom Major General *Thungen* was one, Major *Biſchoſhauſen* had his Arm broke with a Muſquet, and ſome other Officers wounded. The Miners which were attack'd to the right of the Rondel, had not yet encountered the Enemies Mines. At night they will plant others to the left of the middle Rondel. Some Peaſants having found means to eſcape out of Town, came to the Camp, affirming, that there were ſtill above three hundred men which worked continually at the Mines and Retrenchments which the beſieged made behind their Walls, for their retreat in caſe of neceſſity.

1686. *July* the ninth, the whole Night was ſpent in ſhooting of Bombs and Carcaſſes into the City, to keep the beſieged in Action, and take away their deſire of repoſe, but theſe perceiving at break of day that the Enemy had made a Gallery of Planks to paſs the Miners to the middle Rondel, they rolled down many Bombs, threw many Granados, and other artificial Fire, with combuſtible ſtuff in ſuch abundance, that the Planks were burnt, and the Gallery reduced to Aſhes. At five in the Morning the beſieged ſprung a Mine ſome Paces from the Wall, betwixt the middle Rondel, and that at the Gate with Succeſs, being it overturned one of the Chriſtians Mines, with the loſs of ſeven or eight of the Miners. They ſeconded this with a ſharp Sally, diſordered the Workmen, ruined their Labours, and poſted themſelves betwixt the *Imperialiſts* and *Brandenburgers*, but the reſerve coming to their Aid from their place of Arms, they forced them back into the Town. There were above eighty of the two Attacks killed and wounded in this Adventure, one of their chief Cannoneers ſlain, and ſeveral ſubaltern Officers. The beſieged loſt as many; Notwithſtanding this check, the Works were continued with the ſame Vigour in the Approaches, Lines, and Galleries. On the *Bavarian* ſide they ruined the little Port from their Battery with ten demy Cannons, and the breach there was very ſpacious.

July the tenth, At the *Lorrain* Attack they work'd all Night to repair the Batteries and the Approaches which the beſieged had ruined in the former Sally, and to redreſs the Gallery which they had burnt, and the Miners were again fired that Night. At the *Bavarian* Attack the Miners worked under the Palizade of the Rondel, and under the Wall, with hopes of compleating their Mines in three days; ſeveral were ſlain, amongſt whom was Lieutenent-Collonel *Wachtenheim*. The Chriſtians had Intelligence by their Spies, that the Turks, to the number of ſeven thouſand, reinforced with ſome *Tartars* who ravaged the Country, had a deſign to introduce a new Commander, with a recruit of Troops into *Buda*, which obliged the Duke of *Lorrain* to command ſome Foot to poſt themſelves on the other ſide of the *Danube*, and upon occaſion to joyn with the Horſe that were there already, and meet and fight the Enemies.

July the eleventh, This evening five demy Cannons were mounted on the two new Batteries in the *Lorrain* Attack, and two Mortars planted in a little Fort, with the loſs only of two killed, and five hurt. The *Brandenburgers* placed three pieces in battery, and would plant more the Night following to ſhoot glowing Bullets into the City. The *Bavarians* fortified their Attack by two Redoubts. Yeſterday in the Evening four hundred Foot were ordered to raiſe ſome Defences on *Peſt* ſide near the *Danube*, to hinder leſt any thing ſhould paſs that way into *Buda*.

July the twelfth, All the Batteries of *Lorrain* and *Brandenburg* were compleated, and the firſt lines of theſe two Attacks were ſo joyned, that men could paſs from the one to the other undiſcovered, by the Enemies Fire. And now they were ſo near the Walls, the beſieged did perpetually throw hand Granadoes and Stones to incommode the Workmen, but without any great harm: The Miner on the left found himſelf much advanced under the Wall, but they met with more difficulty on the right, and ſo they would inlarge the breach by force of their Cannon. The Count *de Souches* inſpected the breach by order of the Field Marſhal *Starenberg*, and it was found ſpacious enough to be aſſaulted. The *Brandenburgers* began to ſhoot their inflamed Bullets and Bombs out of twenty two Cannons, and two Mortars, but with no great Succeſs, being the Beſieged had uncovered all their Houſes. The Bombs and Carcaſſes invented by the *Franciſcan* Frier were highly eſteemed. They now only plained and inlarged the Breaches, and prepared themſelves for the aſſault. There were nine hurt and three ſlain with Granadoes and Stones. The Breach in the great Rondel on the *Bavarian* ſide was large enough, and the Miner was at work under the Pallizade of the Ditch. The Duke having Intelligence that the Seraskier was advanced with ſome thouſands of Turks near *Hatwan*, commanded 3000 Horſe, and ſix Battalions of Foot, *Imperialiſts*, *Brandenburgers*, and *Bavarians*, under the Conduct of General *Mercy*, to paſs the *Danube*, and poſt themſelves on the other ſide of the Bridge, to hinder the Turks to put a recruit of Troops into the City, with the new deſigned Commander, *Achmet* Baſſa, who had the Reputation of being one of the beſt Officers that the Grand Seignior had in his Service. 1686.

July the thirteenth, This morning the beſieged ſprung a Mine under the middle Rondel near the Chriſtians Mine, which was already finiſhed, which Mine did what the beſiegers deſigned, by throwing down part of the Rondel, where they had no breach as yet. There were two hundred Turks ready to fly into the adverſe Works as ſoon as the Mine took, but ſeeing it had a contrary effect to what they deſigned, they retired. All things being diſpoſed for an aſſault, thereby to make a lodgment upon the Wall, Count *Starenburg* directed the attack in the manner following. Count *Guydo Starenburg* commanded on the right of the Rondel, Count *Herberſtein* the middle of the Curtain, and Count *Aversberg*, all three field Officers, on the left. They had each of them two hundred and eighty Souldiers; the Engineers, Granadeers, Fuſeliers, Carpenters, and Pioneers, were poſted betwixt two, and the reſt, to the number of two thouſand, were divided into three bodies of Reſerves to ſupport the Aſſailants: the Voluntiers who had demanded the point, mingled themſelves with the firſt. Betwixt ſeven and eight a Clock the ſignal for the Aſſault was given, by a diſcharge from all the Batteries, and a ſhower of Bombs and Carcaſſes which were diſcharged upon the City, and the Retrenchments which the beſieged had made behind the breach; and notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance of the beſieged, the Chriſtians mounted the breach, where the Combat was very rude and obſtinate on both ſides for three quarters of an hour, with all poſſible bravery. The beſieged ſprung a Mine under the Aſſailants firſt line, which buried Captain *Kalkreiter*, and ſome Souldiers. But ſeeing they could not take poſt for want of Earth, that they could not force the Pallizado'd Retrenchment behind the breach, and that the chief Officers were already all hurt or ſlain, by the continual fire of the beſieged; it was thought expedient to make a retreat; five or ſix leap'd over the Turks Retrenchment, but being ill followed, got off with the reſt. The Regiments of *Souches* and *Mansfeld* ſuffered moſt in this Action, and that of *Starenburg* was alſo ill treated. There were more than four hundred kill'd and wounded, but the loſs of ſo many brave Officers and Voluntiers who loſt their Lives there, were particularly deplored: but few that were hurt eſcaped, which begot a belief that the Turks ſhot with envenomed Bullets. Amongſt the dead were Count *Her-*

1686. berſtein, Count *Kuffſtein*, and another Captain of the ſame Regiment, the Baron *Rolle*, three Captains more, and eight Lieutenants and Enſigns. .Of Voluntiers that were ſlain there, or died of their Wounds, the Duke of *Vexar*, a Grandee of *Spain*, who was one of the firſt upon the breach, was one, a Son of Prince *Roberts*, with another Engliſh Lord, the Baron of *Scheyſfer*, the young Count of *Courmaillon*, a Conte of *Dona*, and ſeven or eight more of Quality. Amongſt the wounded, as well Officers as Voluntiers, were reckoned Count *Guydo Starenburg*, Count *Averſperg*, the Prince of *Veldens* of the Houſe of the Palatinat, Prince *Picolomini*, two Engliſh Lords, the Duke of *Eſcalona*, a Grandee of *Spain*, the Marqueſs of *Valero*, Brother to the Duke of *Vexar*, the Prince of *Commercy*, and more than thirty other Perſons of mark. The *Spaniards* and the *Engliſh* diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a noble Emulation, oppoſing the greateſt Fury of the Turks. The *Engliſh* were ſo ill treated, that of twenty of them, all Perſons of Quality, there were but ſix of them that were not ſlain or wounded. The loſs of the beſieged was alſo great, for they had two hundred of their braveſt men wounded and killed. The Duke of *Lorrain*, and Marſhal Count *Starenburg* were preſent in this Action, giving Orders every where as occaſion required. It was believed that the *Brandenburgers* would have attempted ſomewhat on their ſide, but they excuſed it becauſe their breach was not large enough. On the *Bavarian* ſide there was a notable breach made in the Rondel and in the Wall that covers the Caſtle, which the beſieged repaired by Night with Gabions, Pallizadoes, and Fagots.

July the fourteenth, The whole Night and Day were imployed in inhuming the Dead, and repairing the Approaches, in planting more Cannon upon the Batteries, and in advancing the Mines. Two Galleries were likewiſe framed betwixt the ſecond and third Rondel. The Duke of *Lorrain* having alſo ſent for three Regiments of Horſe from *Alba-Regalis* to reinforce General *Mercy*, they paſſed the Bridge this Morning to go on *Peſt* ſide. The beſieged ſprung a Mine in the *Bavarian* Attack on the left of the Caſtle *Rondel*, which ſucceeded ill. His Electoral Highneſs having cauſed eight Parapets of thick Oaken Planks to be made, ſhod with Iron, of a new Invention, each capable of ſecuring a hundred armed Men, they were thought proper to be uſed in Attacks and Aſſaults. The ſame day the *Bavarians* diſcovered and diſappointed two Mines of the Enemies.

July 15*th*, They continued to work in their Lines, and being lodged cloſe to the Wall, the Beſieged were heard to work under the Breach. *Gonzales* the *Spaniſh* Engineer being now come, Bombs and Carcaſſes were thrown into the Town, which did great Execution. Upon the Advice that the Duke of *Lorrain* had, that the Turks that had paſſed the *Tibiſcus* near *Segedin*, were ſtill encamped under the Cannon of *Hatwan*, he cauſed two Regiments of Horſe more to joyn *Mercy* to oblige the Enemy to repaſs the *Tibiſcus*.

July 16*th*, A new Battery was raiſed in the *Lorrain* Attack without the Wall of the lower Town to the right againſt the great Rondel, the which was alſo batter'd on the other ſide to render the Breach larger, and themſelves Maſters of it. A *Raſcian*, with Letters which the Governour of the Place had entruſted him to carry to him of *Alb-Royal*, came and delivered them to the Duke; but they being writ in the *Armenian* Language, and no Interpreter in the Camp, they were ſent to *Vienna* to be decyphered. Some Peaſants got out of the Town reported, that the Janizaries had begun to murmur againſt the Baſſa, as deſigning to hold out to the laſt extremity, but that he had by the Puniſhment of the moſt mutinous, by his Liberality, and the aſſurance he had given them of ſpeedy relief, reaſſured them to that degree, that they promiſed to hold out with their Lives. This Evening the Elector of *Bavaria* commanded 150 men, ſeconded by a greater number to go and attack the Pallizado which was in the Ditch at the foot of the Rondel of the Caſtle. Lieutenant-General Count *Fountain* was on the right of the Attack, and General Count *Aſpremont* at the left. They uſed three of the above mentioned wooden Parapets for the firſt time with Succeſs, and they attack'd this Poſt ſo vigorouſly, that they carried it with their Swords in their Hands, cutting in pieces all them that defended it, but they ſold their Lives dearly, being the Aſſailants loſt Count *Fountaine* and 35 Souldiers, and Voluntiers. Count *Aſpermont* received a Contuſion in his Head by the ſtroke of a Muſquet which knock'd off his Steel Cap. The Captains *Gottalinsky* and *Vaubon* were dangerouſly hurt, with divers others. This Poſt gave acceſs to the Rondel. 1686.

July 17*th*, Yeſterday the Beſieged began to fire from a new Battery of four great Guns, which they had raiſed upon the inward Wall; but General *Starenberg* having commanded all the Cannon that could bear to ſhoot that way, they were quickly ſilenced and diſabled. About Noon twenty or thirty Janizaries appeared upon the Breach of the Rondel to the right, as if they had deſigned a Sally, but thoſe in the Trenches having given them a Volly, they quickly retired. The *Brandenburgers* and *Bavarians* did nothing but compleat their Works, beſides their continual firing from their Batteries.

July 18*th*, A new line was advanced to the right, the better to cover the Miners, and be of uſe in the ſubſequent Aſſault. The *Brandenburgers* augmented their great Battery with three pieces of Cannon. Nor were the *Bavarians* idle, their Miners working under the Wall behind the Pallizado Moat, of which they were in poſſeſſion. The Beſieged did not much appear by day, but in the Night time kept continual firing, killing a great many of the Beſiegers with their Stones and Granadoes, which they threw into their Works.

Jul. 19. The Cannon was mounted upon the new Battery, and the Line was ſtrengthned with two ſmall Forts. Laſt night the Beſieged ſprung a Mine behind our Miners, who worked under the Wall, which endammaged our Mine, into which a new entry was to be made to make it ſerviceable. Some of the Chriſtian Miners were covered with earth, moſt of which were pulled out again, except *Libert* their Captain, who could not be found. Mr. *Kerry*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, with ſeven or eight Souldiers were killed in the approaches, beſides others wounded. The Duke of *Lorrain*, aſſiſted by the General perſons of his Army, held a Council of War this morning, but the reſult was kept ſecret. Some Deſerters aſſured the Duke, that the Beſieged reſolved to make no compoſition, but to expect the Relief which the Grand *Viſier* would bring them.

Jul. 20. The new Line in the *Lorrain* attack was compleated. There were three falſe alarms given to haraſs the Beſieged, by cauſing ſome Granadeers to run up the Breach, and throw their Granado's into the place, upon which the Turks haſtening to the defence, they were ſalu-

1686. ted with Volleys of Cannon, Bombs, and Carkaſſes, not without execution. Theſe kind of attacks were frequently uſed to keep the Enemy in continual alarms, and in ignorance of the time of the real Aſſault. In the mean time the Mines were vigorouſly carried on, and a certain *German* undertook a new one, which he undertook to finiſh in two or three days. In the attacks of *Brandenburg* and *Bavaria*, the Miners hoped to be the following Night under the Rondels, continuing to batter the Walls with great fury, and to ſhoot glowing Bullets, Bombs and Carkaſſes into the City, which produced much diſorder. Upon advice that the Turks diſpoſed themſelves to attempt to put relief into the Town, the Ditch of the Circumvallation was deepened, and fortified with certain Redoubts, the better to ſecure the Beſiegers, to which purpoſe 200 *Heyducks* were added to the number of Pioneers.

Jul. 21. The principal working was now at the Mines, which were made in three ſeveral places, and would ſuddenly be ready. Captain *Libert*, notwithſtanding all the diligence that had been uſed to dig and remove the earth to ſeek him, had not been found. He was a *Walloon* by Nation, and was regretted by all the Generals, and ſuch who had skill of his knowledge in conducting of Mines. The Miners were now within hearing of each other. A Battery was alſo raiſed for four Mortars, near the three *Spaniſh* Pieces which beat upon the Rondel on the right, and they reſolved to approach all the Cannon and Mortars nearer the Breaches, to batter them with more force, that they might inlarge them with more eaſe, and ruine the Enemies Defences, which were behind the ſaid Breaches. There were twenty-ſeven ſlain and wounded only at the *Lorrain* attack; amongſt the dead were Major *Bacneburg* a *Dane*, and Captain *Lerneux* the 5th of *Starenberg's* Regiment. *Gonzales's* Bombs and Carcaſſes had the Succeſs expected, and by report of a Fugitive, one of thoſe Bombs ſunck into a Houſe where a hundred Perſons of both Sexes were retired, who all miſerably periſhed in the Ruines of it. The *Bavarians* finiſhed their Battery near the Rondel, and began another on the Water ſide, to canonade the Flancks of the City on that ſide. At preſent, being the three Attacks were advanced as far as the Breaches, which were large enough, all things were diſpoſed for a general Aſſault, two thouſand Ladders being got ready for falſe and ſeeming Attacks by ſcaling the Walls, whilſt others mounted the Breaches.

July 22th, There hapned nothing at the *Lorrain* or *Brandenburg* Attack, the Turks ſprung two Mines this Morning, which did nothing but ruine a part of the Curtain, where there was no Breach. The new Battery of four Guns upon the brink of the Ditch of the Rondel in the *Bavarian* Attack being finiſhed, the Turks came there at break of day, and gave them a bloody Serenade, for a ſtrong party of them having ſlipped out by the Bridge on the right, they crept into the Ditch along the Paliſade, and being come to the Battery, before they were diſcovered, by favour of the Darkneſs, they began to howl and make terrible cries, nailing up three Cannon, and a Mortar, and ruining part of the Battery: The *Saxons* of the neighbouring Poſts ran to the noiſe, but were diſordered. The Regiment of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, which was upon the Reſerve, arrived ſeaſonably, and repulſed the Turks with the loſs of thirty men, which was but a ſorry compenſation conſidering the loſs on the other ſide, where above one hundred were killed and wounded, the moſt *Saxons* and *Bavarians*. Amongſt the ſlain, Collonel *Lebel*, a *Saxon* was one, beſides ſeveral Subalternes, and *Geſchwint*, Collonel of the Artillery, was dangerouſly wounded with a Cymitar. The Turks got no great advantage by this Sally, for the Nailes being eaſily drawn, they began in a very little time to play again, as if they never had been nailed. And the revenge which was returned was ſudden and fatal, for a Bomb of the *Bavarians* falling into the Magazine of Powder in the Caſtle, blew it up with ſuch a terrible deſtruction and noiſe, that the whole City did not only tremble with the blow, but alſo the whole Camp, and, as was afterward reported by ſome fugitives, more than one thouſand perſons of all ages were buried in the ruines, the ſtones being thrown up with the violence of the Powder in ſuch abundance, that they fell like Hail into the approaches, that many of the Beſiegers were hurt by them.

The Caſtle is blown up.

Jul. 23. The Duke of *Lorrain*, his Mines being now all ready, and all things ready for an aſſault, ſent the Count of *Koningſec* with an Interpreter to the Beſieged to ſummon them to ſurrender. In this interval there was a ceſſation of Arms on both ſides, which was employed in burying the ſlain. The ſaid Count, after two hours ſtay, returned into the Camp with a Letter from *Abdi Baſſa*, in a Purſe of Crimſon Damask, which he delivered the Duke. The anſwer was fierce and arrogant, implying, that not being neceſſitated to ſurrender, he could not be capable of ſo abject a thought, that he fought for the glory of his *Prophet*, and the honour of the *Muſſelmen*; that he and his Garriſon were reſolved to try the utmoſt extremity, and to defend the place with their lateſt breath. That the Government had been intruſted to his care by the Grand Seignior, which he would preſerve for him, or loſe his life; that when the Duke ſhould come to wreſt it from him, he ſhould find him upon the Breach to diſpute his entrance, and that he might order the aſſault when he pleaſed, he would expect him there without ſtirring a foot. The Duke having read this brave anſwer, cauſed all the Batteries to fire with more fury than formerly, and all the preparatives for a general Aſſault to be made ready, for which purpoſe he ſent for ſome thouſands of *Hungarian* Foot, who had voluntarily offered to be the firſt that ſhould mount the Breaches.

So fierce an anſwer, and ſo brave a defence, makes it apparent, that the impreſſions which the Run-aways had at the beginning of the Siege given of *Abdi Baſſa's* conduct, were very falſe, affirming he was deſpiſed by the Souldiery, as being more a Merchant than a Man of War; and the *Seraſquier* was in the wrong in deſigning to remove him, for it is to be preſumed that ſcarce any other would have eluded the efforts of ſo great an Army ſo long time. A *Pole* was obſerved by the Guards in ſecret conference with two Turks, but upon his return to the Camp was ſeiſed upon, viſited and examined, and being found to be a Spy, he was immediately hanged. This evening a *Bavarian* Gunner was apprehended, as he was going over to the Enemy.

Jul. 24th, This morning about eight a Clock a great Mine was ſprung in the *Lorrain* attack, and 300 men were commanded to lodge upon the Breach, together with ſome hundreds of *Hungarians*, but the Mine had a contrary effect to what was deſigned, for it ruined and overthrew part of their own Approaches, and filled their Lines with Earth, beſides the ſlaughters of 100 men killed and wounded. The Duke upon this ill ſucceſs, cauſed the firings of the Batteries to be redoubled to enlarge the Breaches, to render them in a Condition to be mounted without any new Mines. The new Battery which the *Bavarians* rais'd by the Water ſide would be ready at Night, and that which they had already raiſed upon the brink of the Ditch, had made a great gap in the Wall on the right. By intercepted Letters he was alſo informed, that the Great Viſier highly encouraged the Beſieged to defend themſelves, aſſuring them that by the eighth or tenth of *Auguſt* he would come to their relief with a formidable Army. General *Caraſſa* who commanded the Imperial Troops upon the River *Tibiſcus*, ſent an Officer to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, with an acccount of a great Advantage which he had had over the Garriſon of *Agria* by the means of two Ambuſhes which he had laid for the Turks, which luck'd ſo well, that having drawn ſix hundred of the Garriſon into them, he quite defeated them, killed three hundred upon the Place, with *Oſman* Baſſa the Commander of *Agria*, and took forty Priſoners, together with the *Vice* Baſſa, who was dangerouſly wounded.

July 25th, The whole Night was ſpent in repairing the Works ruined by the Mine, which had been ſprung with ſo much diſadvantage. The Duke preſſed forward the Preparatives for the General Aſſault with all poſſible Vigour, having ordered the making of Places of Arms, or Parades, as were neceſſary, within the Lines and Approaches. Betwixt four and five the Beſieged put fire to a Mine on the right of the Rondel, in purſuance whereof they ſallied with two hundred Men, but were repulſed by the Guard that were in readineſs with the loſs of fourteen men. A little after, they ſallied again in greater numbers to the left, where the *Brandenburgers* were, who likewiſe repulſed them. They returned yet the third time with more Troops, and put the *Brandenburgers* Guards into diſorder, which obliged the Duke of *Lorrain* to order the Reſerve which was poſted at the Wall of the lower Town to advance, which General *Souches*, who commanded the Trenches, had divided into three parts, whereof one was placed to the left on the Water ſide, another in the Approaches, and the third was commanded to keep by the Moſque. The Duke moreover cauſed the Battalions of *Mansfelt*, *Salm*, *Souches*, and *Lorrain*, to advance to the right. The Skirmiſhing laſted a good time, the Turks retiring often, and as ſoon returning with great fury and out-cryes. The *Hayducks* after the firſt diſcharge did alſo charge the Turks, but gave way, occaſioning much confuſion amongſt them upon the left of the Moſque, from whence the Beſieged gave briſk fire with their Cannon, though without any great harm, ſo that ſeeing they could profit nothing by a longer ſtay, they retired into the Town. Count *Starenberg*, who had ſignalized himſelf, luck'd better than his Adjoutant, who had both his Legs ſhot off. The Battalions of *Souches* and *Mansfelt* were ill treated, and had moſt dead. The Baron of *Aſthi* was hurt in the Foot, and the Baron of *Hoghenworth* ſlain, and ſeveral ſubaltern Officers killed and hurt, beſides above a hundred private Souldiers. But the loſs on the Enemies ſide was much greater, as was reported by a Dutch Boy who run out of Town, where he had been ſince the Siege of *Vienna*, having been ſold by a *Tartar* to a Citizen of *Buda*. This Boy ſaid further, that the Turks made great Retrenchments within the Place, and that the Garriſon conſiſted ſtill of at leaſt five thouſand fighting men.

July 26th, Never was more Diligence uſed ſince the Siege began in carrying on the Lines and Approaches, than laſt Night, and all this Day to make the Places of Arms, which are finiſhed, and at preſent every thing is diſpoſed of for the general Aſſault, and poſting themſelves upon the Breaches, the Rondels, and the Walls, and conſequently to render themſelves Maſters of this important Place, which had coſt the Chriſtians ſo much Blood. The Beſieged made a little ſally on the *Bavarian* Attack, but having ſtood the firſt diſcharge, were forced to retreat as faſt as they came.

July 27th, Every thing being diſpoſed for the general Aſſault, and the Troops that were to be employed in it at their Rendezvouzes in all the three Attacks, it was reſolved that the Onſet ſhould be given at five a Clock in the Evening, to which end the Duke had diſtributed his Orders to all the Officers high and low, how they were to act. The Faggots, Gabions, Spades, Mattocks, Hatchets, and Sacks with Earth, were there in great abundance, as well to break the Enemies Retrenchments, as to cover the Aſſailants when they ſhould be Maſters of the Breaches. The ſignal was given from *Peſt* by ſome Cannon ſhot, and the Aſſault was carried on in manner following. Forty Granadeers under the command of a Captain, one Lieutenant, and one Serjeant, were at the head of the Rondel to the right hand, they were followed by fifty Fuſeliers and Souldiers, with Hatchets, commanded alſo by a Captain-Lieutenant, and a Serjeant, with a hundred men carrying Spades and Mattocks, ſupported by two Captains, two Lieutenants, two Serjeants, and two hundred Muſqueteers, all under the Conduct of the Prince of *Newburg*, Great Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order, who had the Direction of this Attack. That of the middle toward the Curtain was directed by Lieutenant General *Souches*; there were fifty Granadeers under a Captain, Lieutenant and Serjeant, a hundred Fuſeliers, two hundred men with Hatchets, and to ſecond them two hundred Muſqueteers, divided into two ſquadrons, which were followed with a hundred and fifty more, with Shovels and Mattocks: The Attack on the left of the little Rondel was ordered by the *Brandenburgers* after the ſame manner. Behind the Sacks filled with Earth, Wooll, and the like, in the ſecond line were poſted a party of choice Harquebuſiers, who were not to ſtir thence, but fire continually upon the Turks, who ſtood there themſelves in the Breaches. The *Heyducks*, commanded by the Lieutenant Governour of *Raab*, were poſted on the Water ſide, where a great part of the Wall had been thrown down by the fire of the Magazin already mentioned; they were only to make a falſe Attack, being ſeconded by a Major with ſome ſelect Companies. The chief Officers were diſperſed into ſeveral Poſts to execute the functions of their Employments; and thus *Nigrelli*, General of Battalia, Collonel *Keth*, Lieutenant Collonel *Rederer*, and the Major of *Staremberg* aſſiſted the grand Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order. General *Souches* had for Aſſiſtants *Diependal*, Count *Oettingen*, Lieutenant Collonel *Jorger*, and the Major of *Crop's* Regiment. There were above 1200 men of reſerves in the covered way, commanded by General *Thungen*, under twelve Captains, twelve Lieutenants, and other ſubaltern Officers, with all the other Lieutenant Collonels and Majors, to ſucceed in the place of thoſe that ſhould be ſlain or wounded. The 1200 Muſqueteers were to advance in ſmall parties in the Lines as the other gained ground; the reſt of the Foot were at their Arms ready to engage,

and

1686. and all the Generals in the Trenches. In this order the Souldiers full of Hopes and Courage went to the Aſſault, and mounted the Breaches. They found great Oppoſition, particularly at the great Rondel where the Breach was high, and the Defendants very numerous and reſolute. The Chriſtians were beat back two or three times, but returning ſtill to the Aſſault, they at length took poſſeſſion of the Breach, and poſted themſelves in it. The *Brandenburgers* took the Wall of the little Rondel. The Combat laſted from five till nine a Clock with great effuſion of Blood, not ſo much by the Turks Arms as their Mines, and Powder which they had ſtrewed in great quantities in ſeveral places, which they ſucceſſively fired as they were forced from their Poſts. There could be nothing more lamentable than to ſee two or three hundred men at once toſſed up by force of the Mines, which were moſt killed, or grievouſly wounded. And yet the Beſieged could not terrifie the Chriſtians, nor hinder them by their obſtinate reſiſtance to lodge upon the Rondels and the Curtain. The *Hayducks* apprehending the fire, failed in their falſe alarming on the Water ſide. The Duke and General *Staremberg* were near the Great Maſter with their Swords in their Hands, encouraging the Officers and Souldiers to do well, and the Prince of *Croy* was in the middle near the Curtain, where he was hurt. The Night being come put an end to the fight, and it was ſpent in ſecuring their Lodgments with two Lines of Communication from the Approaches to the poſſeſſed Rondels, and the Miners were faſtned to the inner Wall or Retrenchment, where the Turks fortified themſelves. This Aſſault was one of the bloodieſt, the moſt hardy, and beſt diſputed that ever was ſeen, whether we conſider the bravery and intrepidneſs of the Aſſailants, or the obſtinate Valour of the Defendants. The number of the ſlain, amongſt whom was Adjoutant General *Attein*, was not very great, but that of the wounded very ſurpriſing, of which Catalogue were the Prince of *Croy*, the Prince of *Commency*, General *Diependael*, General *Thungen*, the Baron of *Aſti*, the Major of *Starenberg*, Lieutenant Collonel *Redere*, Major *Pini*, Conte *Schlick*, Baron *Gera*, and many other Captains and ſubalterne Officers. On the *Brandenburg* ſide, Count *Dona*, Collonel of Foot was ſlain, Major *Marwitz*, and the Prince of *Curland* grievouſly wounded, with very many others.

At the *Bavarian* Attack the Elector had ordered the Aſſault in this manner. The Palizades upon the Breach having been burnt the day before by forty choice Souldiers, the Elector commanded a Lieutenant with 20 Fuſeliers, a Serjeant, ſix Voluntiers, and ten Granadeers, and a Corporal, with ſix Carpenters to cut the Palizadoes, an 100 Muſqueteers with their Officers were ordered to poſt themſelves at the Enemies Palizade, and to ſhoot without ceaſing to favoriſe the Pioneers to make the Lodgment upon the Rondel, amongſt which there were twenty five with Spades and Pickaxes and 75 with Hatchets commanded by a Captain, and ſeconded by a Lieutenant-Collonel, a Major and a Captain, with fifty men armed with half Pikes, Halberds, and Partizans, by a Lieutenant with thirty Granadeers, and by 200 Muſqueteers under two Captains and two Lieutenants. Things being thus diſpoſed as well on the right as the left, the two Neighbouring Redoubts were furniſhed each with thirty Harquebuſiers, and three Battalions of *Imperialiſts*, *Bavarians* and *Saxons*, were to ſecond the Aſſailants. The Gunners had order to fire from all the Batteries, and to throw Bombs and Carcaſſes without ceaſing into the Caſtle, and betwixt the two Walls on the Water ſide, as alſo to point their Cannon againſt the high Walls and Windows of the Caſtle. All things being thus ordered, and the ſignal given from *Peſt*, they advanced towards the Breach, however difficult to mount on the right and left of the Rondel, as alſo the Curtain, and that with ſo much Vigour, that they became Maſters of the Poſt, driving out the Beſieged for all their inceſſant firing, and a ſhower of Stones which they threw from their Caſtle Windows. They alſo took the *Swingher*, which is a great Place in form of a retreat betwixt the Walls and the Houſes, but this Place being commanded by the ſaid Walls, whence the Turks annoyed the Aggreſſors with Granadoes, Stones, and Bombs which they rolled down; the Elector cauſed thoſe that were there to retire, being content to ſecure the Lodgments upon the Rondel, and the Wall of the Caſtle by a Line of Communication from the Gate of the Bridge to that of the *Swingher*, ſo that the Bridge remained in their Power, which was further ſecured by traverſe Lines, and two Redoubts. The Elector eminently appeared in all this Action, and the Generals ſignalized their Courage, as did alſo the Voluntiers, Officers and Souldiers, who fought with all the bravery that was to be expected from men of Courage. Nor were the Turks leſs commendable for their Conſtancy and Fidelity, doing every thing that oppreſſed Valour could be capable of. They who defended the Rondel and the Swinger were for the moſt part killed and hurt. There were eight pieces of Cannon found there, and two Mortars turned now againſt the Beſiegeds ſecond Wall and Retrenchments. In this Aſſault, of the *Bavarians* there were ſlain two Majors, two Captains, four Lieutenants, one Enſign, but the wounded were many; one Collonel, two Lieutenant-Collonels, two Majors, 25 Captains, 16 Lieutenants, thirteen Enſigns. The Generals *Lavergne*, *Rummel*, and *Aſpremont* were of the number of the wounded, as alſo the Duke of *Eſcalona*, a Grandee of *Spain*, and ſome other Voluntiers of Quality, making up with the Officers and Souldiers the number of 117 ſlain, and 972 wounded. Of the Troops of *Saxony*, a Lieutenant-Collonel, and ſome under Officers were killed; one Lieutenant-Collonel, two Majors, two Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, and three Enſigns were hurt; of the Souldiers there were ſeventy ſlain, and a hundred ninety nine wounded; ſo that the number of the ſlain and wounded in this Aſſault amounted to above three thouſand men.

1686. *July* 28, In the three Attacks they were only employed in burying their dead, and ſecuring their Lodgments upon the Breaches. The Duke of *Lorrain* did alſo apply the Miner to the ſecond Wall, which was done in three ſeveral Places, as did alſo they of *Bavaria* and *Brandenburg*.

July 29. The three Mines in the ſecond Wall were ſprung with that Succeſs that they made a new Breach there, and filled part of the Ditch with the Ruins. The *Bavarians* advanced to the right of the Rondel, and ſeized two Mortars there, which they turned againſt the Beſieged. The great Cannon was advanced, and they pretended to batter the City with an 100 pieces of Ordnance, and forty Mortars, if the Turks continued in their Obſtinacy. The Beſieged howſoever made ſeveral Cuts and Retrenchments behind the ſecond Wall. The Duke ſeeing that well nigh all the Generals of the Infantry were hurt and in no Condition to act, order'd for the future that the Generals of the Horſe ſhould ſerve in the Approaches, to wit, the Count of *Stirum*, and the Conte of *Lodron*, and ſo the firſt mounted the

Guard that Night with General *Souches*, and was to be relieved on the morrow by the grand Maſter of the Teutonick Order, and the Count *de Lodron*. A Battery of three Demy-Cannon, and another of four were finiſhed. Some *Raſcians* come out of the place, reported, that the beſieged were reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, but that ſome began to waver, ſaying, the further effuſion of bloud ought to be prevented. A Council of War was held thereupon, and the reſult was, that the Duke ſhould ſend a ſecond Summons to the Commander of the place, *to ſurrender whilſt it was time, and that he might do it upon honourable conditions, which if neglected he would not be anſwerable for the bloud that ſhould be ſpilt, if they came to the laſt extremity, being in that caſe they ſhould Spare neither Sex nor Age. Abdi Baſſa* civilly received his Highneſs's Letters, and demanded a Day to conſult with the other Officers of his Garriſon, which was granted him, with a ceſſation of Arms. The Deſerters, who eſcaped in great numbers, affirm'd that the Beſieged loſt in the laſt Aſſault, in the *Bavarian* attack, only 300 ſlain, and 700 hurt. They had that Night notice that 4000 Turkiſh Horſe were ſeen within four Leagues of the Camp, to enquire into the ſtate of the place, but fearing a ſurpriſe they preſently retired.

Jul. 31. At nine in the Morning the Count of *Launberg*, Adjoutant General, was commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain* to go with an Interpreter, and receive the Beſieged's anſwer, which was to this purpoſe, *That he neither could nor would ſo eaſily ſurrender the City, it being the Key of the Ottoman Empire; but if they would make a general peace, they would give another equivalent.* After noon the Beſieged demanded a ſuſpenſion of Arms at the *Bavarian* attack, and ſent two *Aga's* in Hoſtage to the Elector, who ſent the Baron of *Creuz* Lieutenant Collonel of *Baden*'s Regiment with an Interpreter. The Turks received them with great ceremony, and all imaginable civilities. He was not immediately conducted before the Baſſa, but to another Houſe, the ſtreets as he paſſed along were lined with Souldiers in very good order, though no great number. Being entered into the Houſe, he was preſented with Rice, a roſted Pullet, little Pyes, Coffee and Wine. The Baſſa excuſed himſelf, *That he could not yet ſpeak with him, being he conſulted the other chief Officers upon the propoſitions he was to make to him.* In this interval of time many Turkiſh Officers came to ſalute the Baron: half an hour after the Baſſa ſent him word, *That he would take it for a favour if he would come over to him.* Which he immediately did, accompanied with a great number of Turks, being taken by the arms by the two chiefeſt of them, according to the cuſtom of the *Ottomans*, who led him thus before the Baſſa, who was in a Lodge of Wood over-againſt his Houſe, very well furniſhed and hung with rich Tapiſtries. Having cauſed the Baron to ſit down, he uſed this diſcourſe to him, *That he was ſorry to find himſelf in a place of that importance, that had been ſo often beſieged without ſucceſs, and was now ſo long abandoned without relief. On the contrary, that he found himſelf preſſed by the Emperour's Son-in-law, and the grand Viſier, that he wiſhed he were able to give his reſolution concerning the ſurrender, but that being an affair of the laſt importance, and as much as his life was worth, it was impoſſible for him to reſolve upon a ſurrender.* Adding however, *That if they would demand any other place in Hungary, he would cauſe it immediately to be evacuated for them*: The Baron replied, *That he had no Commiſſion to diſcourſe of conditions, but only to know from the Baſſa himſelf whether he would ſurrender or no. That he might pleaſe to conſider that the Chriſtians were already Maſters of the Walls of the City, that it would be too late to capitulate, if he ſtayed till another aſſault, that it would not be in the power of the Generals to reſtrain the fury of the Souldiers, or prevent this Siege from being as Tragical as that of Newheuſel.* At this diſcourſe the Baſſa only lift up his ſhoulders, but the Baron being upon the point to take his leave, he deſired him to enter with him into his Cabinet, where, calling the *Mufti* and three other Turks of the firſt rank, he remonſtrated to him again, *That he could not upon any conſideration do ſo great a prejudice to the* Grand Seignior, *as to ſurrender a place upon which depended* two hundred Leagues of Country, *and which is the* Key of Turky, *but offered again any Town in Hungary with its Appendances and Dependencies.* Yet declaring finally, *That if they would give him aſſurances of a general peace with the Port, he would yet reſolve to ſurrender Buda.* The Baron having no Orders to treat, took leave of the Baſſa, telling him he would make report to the Elector and Duke of *Lorrain*, of the Declaration he had communicated to him, but that he could not aſſure him that things would be ſo concluded. The Baſſa deſired this Declaration might be publiſhed in Writing through the Camp, and invited him to ſtay all Night in the City: But the Baron excuſed the later, deſiring to be reconducted to the place from whence he came, which was done with great ceremony, he being accompanied with many *Turkiſh* Officers to the Gate. Nor the Baron, nor his Interpreter could ſufficiently demonſtrate the ruines occaſioned in the City by the Bombs and Carkaſſes which had beaten down the greateſt part of the Buildings. The Ceſſation which had been obſerved during this Parley was broke towards Evening, the Cannon beginning to fire with more fury than formerly. The Beſieged ſprang a Counter-mine in the *Lorrain* attack, to ruine the Chriſtians Mine made under their Battery, oppoſite to the great Rondel, but without ſucceſs. A while after, two of the Beſiegers Mines, which were deſigned to fill the Ditch, were fired with execution. Count *Starenberg* looking betwixt two Gabions was hurt with a Musket-ſhot, but without danger, 20 or 30 more were hurt and killed in this and the *Brandenburg* attack.

Aug. 1. A Battery was finiſhed in the *Lorrain* attack upon the Rondel, upon which two pieces of Cannon were planted. A Mine was ſprung in the Morning near this Rondel, and though it ſucceeded well, there was no other attempt made, becauſe the Moat was not ſufficiently filled, and ſo it was reſolved to fill it with Faggots, with Sacks of Earth, and the like Materials, which were carried in abundance upon the place. The Workmen perceived ſo great a ſtink in this Mine, that they could ſcarce endure it, two of them, who were ſuffocated with it, being carried out of it. About Noon, intelligence came that 7000 *Turks* were poſted at *Sexaritwan* thirteen Leagues from *Buda*, and that the *Grand Viſier* had begun to paſs the Bridge of *Eſſeck* with the Army that he had formed out of the Garriſons of *Hungary*, and the Neighbouring places, and with other Troops which he had got together, amongſt which there were 7000 men drawn out of *Boſſina*. It was further aſſured that the defection amongſt the Turks was very great, and that of 8000 Janizaries, which the *Grand Viſier* had brought from the middle of Turky, 3000 had deſerted upon the march: and yet he pretended his Army conſiſted of 50000 Combatants, reſolving to attempt the relief of *Buda*. General *Dunewald* returned this afternoon to the Camp, with the Regiments of Horſe with which he had been on the ſide of the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, to inform

1686. himſelf of the march of the Enemy. The Generals *Caraffa* and *Heuſler* arrived alſo from *Zolnock* in two days, with 5000 Horſe and ſome *Hungarians.*

All things were diſpoſed for to aſſault the ſecond Wall. The *Bavarians* had thrown down a great part of the Wall with their Cannon, and a Mine, rendering themſelves Maſters of the ſecond *Zwinger*, where they at the ſame time ſeiſed upon the Enemies Cannon and Mortars, which they turned againſt the City.

Aug. 2*d.* They continued to fill the Ditch: every thing was ready for the aſſault, which was deferred, becauſe of the continual rains. Upon the reiterated news brought in by Scouts of the *Grand Viſier* having paſſed the Bridge at *Eſſeck*, all neceſſary preparations were made to receive him well, in caſe he attempted to relieve the Town.

Aug. 3. A Run-away, who pretended to be a Domeſtick of one of the moſt conſiderable Officers in the Town, declared, that the Beſieged had prepared a Mine, and begun a ſecond in the *Brandenburg* attack: That they expected with great impatience their Succours, and that of all thoſe which the Baſſa had ſent out, not one had returned, which rendered him very uneaſie and chagrin, and that the number of ſerviceable *Soldiers* exceeded not 2000 beſides the Inhabitants. The Beſiegers could not finiſh their great Mine becauſe of a Rock they met. Some ſmall Banks and Parapets were made upon the Breach to ſecure the Souldiers firing during the aſſault, which was ordered in the manner following. At noon the Trenches were relieved, and thoſe that went off were appointed for reſerves. The firſt attack was to the right of the Rondel. Fifty Granadeers with a Captain, and Lieutenant, and a Serjeant followed by 20 men preceded, theſe were followed by 50 Fuſeliers Officer'd as the firſt, and 50 men which followed them with Hatchets. The ſame method was held by the *Brandenburgers* on the left, and the *Hungarians* fell upon the Curtain in the middle, preceded by 30 *Germans*, and followed by 60 with their neceſſary Officers. The aſſault began betwixt 5 and 6 a clock in preſence of all the Generals, the Great Maſter of the Teutonick Order commanding the Trenches. The deſign, by reaſon the Mine had not the deſired effect, was but feigned, but the Duke of *Lorrain* being advertiſed by an Adjoutant, that the Elector of *Bavaria* had already effectively began the aſſault, did alſo command the falſe attack to be converted into a real one. The Fight laſted two hours. There were 1000 Troopers on foot, 300 whereof were employed in the aſſault, who behaved themſelves well, as the *Hungarians* alſo did; but the Breach being of difficult aſcent, the Beſieged very well covered with Paliſado's, and defending themſelves like deſperate men, the Duke would not riſque more of his people, contenting himſelf to make a Lodgment at the right of the angular Rondel, where 40 men immediately intrenched themſelves. There were not many killed by the Beſieged's fire, but about 200 wounded by Stones and Arrows, which were ſhot in ſuch abundance that it reſembled a ſhower of Hail. Count *Leopold* of *Herberſteyn*, a Lieutenant Collonel, Major *Biſchophawſen*, &c. were of the number of the hurt. The *Bavarians* were not exempt from the ſame Artillery of Arrows and Stones, beſides Bombs which were rolled upon planks out of the windows of the Caſtle. The Prince of *Savoy* was hurt in the hand with an arrow, together with 3 Captains, ſome ſubaltern Officers, 7 or 8 Volunteers, and 90 Souldiers as well killed as wounded. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* going in the morning to view the approaches, was ſhot with a Musket-bullet which burnt his Coat, and made a great contuſion upon his Breſt, but his Arms being of proof ſaved his life. 1686.

Aug. 4. The firing from the Batteries was redoubled from the three Attacks to enlarge the breaches, and ruine the Defences of the Beſieged. The Line of Circumvallation was ſtrengthened, being furniſhed with many Redoubts and Forts to flank the whole work. All the heights and eminences about the place were intrenched and poſſeſſed by the Beſiegers. The *Heyducks* took their Poſt along the inner Wall of the lower Town, and ſo the attacks were continued with the ſame vigour as before. The *Bavarians* raiſed a Battery of nine Guns of 24 ball upon the Rondel of the Caſtle, wherewith they beat the Flanks and widened the Breach, but the Earth being very narrow and ſtreight, ſo that but few could paſs a breſt, the Beſieged might the better diſpute the acceſs of the Aſſailants.

The Scouts brought advice that the *Grand Viſier* had effectively paſſed the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, and that he had 20000 men with him, which with the Troops by *Alba Regalis* amounted to 40 or 50000, moſt old Soldiers, taken out of their Garriſons and Fortreſſes, into whoſe places they had put their new Levies. There came alſo advice, that the Baſſa of *Agria*, having aſſembled ſome thouſands of Turks out of the Garriſons of upper *Hungary*, was advanced near *Hatwan*, where he had commanded a great many Charets out of the Neighbourhood, to carry Pontoons to the *Danube* ſide, by means wherot he pretended to put relief into the Town, at the ſame time that the *Grand Viſier* ſhould attack the Lines on the other ſide. This advertiſement obliged the Chriſtian Generals to uſe ſuch neceſſary precautions which might ſecure them on *Peſt* ſide.

Aug. 5. In the *Lorrain* attack the approaches were advanced from the great Rondel towards the ſecond Wall, where they had poſted themſelves in the aſſault of the 3*d.* inſtant. The Miners were buſie at the right of the Breach, the better to attack the Enemy in flank, as alſo under the Curtain, to blow up the Beſieged's Retrenchments behind the Breach. A Gallery was begun on the right of the Battery, to go into the inward Ditch, and the better to aſſure the attack the Flanks were palliſado'd. The beſieged ſpent the whole Night in throwing of Bombs, Granado's, and Stones, to incommode the contrary Workmen, but without much harm, ſave the killing of 3 *Heyducks*, and wounding 5 or 6 other Soldiers. This afternoon one of their Bombs falling into a Barrel of Powder upon the Beſiegers Battery, killed five, and hurt three.

Aug. 6. A new Battery of two Demy-Cannon was raiſed in the *Lorrain* Attack behind the great Rondel, by means whereof the Defence of the little Rondel was ruined, which the beſieged had hitherto uſed with great advantage. The Chriſtians continued to fill the inward Moat with Fagots, Tuns, Sacks with earth, and the like, and made a Redoubt behind the great battery to ſecure the Workmen. The *Brandenburgers* and *Bavarians* continued their attacks with vigour, nothing elſe conſiderable intervening.

Aug. 7. Laſt Night ſeveral falſe alarms were given, as if the Turks were come to attempt ſuccouring the place. The Chriſtians continued to deepen the Ditch about their Lines, and to fortifie their Poſts to make the Enemy deſpair of forcing their Camp. The Mines were alſo carried on with great induſtry, and would in 3 or 4 days be ready for execution. The *Heyducks* undertook to fill the Ditch of the ſecond Wall in 48 hours time, upon the aſſurance of a recompence of 4000 livers, which was promiſed them by the Generals. The breach which was made in the ſecond Wall was very ſpacious, and as ſoon as the Mines were finiſht, they will again aſſault the ſecond wall. They found much difficulty in the *Bavarian* attack to render themſelves maſters of the Caſtles, by reaſon of the various Walls and Defences which were to be forced, and of the obſtinacy of the Defendants. This obliged the Elector to redouble the fire of his Cannon to throw down theſe Walls, and in effect they did little elſe, beſides beating the Caſtle from their ſeveral batteries, which plai'd upon the Flanks and Curtains with ſo much fury, that they hop'd in a few days to ſee them quite down. Thirty *Huſſars* meeting with as many of the *Turks*, killed one of them, and took 4 Priſoners, which they brought with them to the Camp. Amongſt theſe was an *Aga*, who four years ſince was ranſomed out of *Raab*, where he had been Priſoner, for 8000 Crowns. Theſe reported that the *6th* inſtant the *Seraſquier* ſhould arrive at *Alb-Royal* with 26000 Horſe, and was to be followed by the *Grand Viſier*, who aſſembled his Army about *Eſſeck*, which was not to be inferiour in number to that which was laſt year imployed at the Siege of *Gran*. They added, that the Seraskier had expreſs Orders not to hazard a battel with the Chriſtians, for fear of loſing the City and Army at once, but to endeavour to put Supplies of Troops in the beſieged Town one way or other, or to periſh in the attempt.

Aug. 8. Four thouſand *Turkiſh* and *Tartarian* Horſe appeared upon a Hill near the *Bavarian* quarter, and retired after ſome light Skirmiſhes with Count *Budiani's Huſſars*, reinforced by ſome commanded Men and Voluntiers. The Priſoners taken there depoſed, that the *Seraskier* was camped under the Cannon of *Alba-Regalis* with 20000 Combatants, and that the Grand Viſier with the Grand Army was expected there; but the Duke, by the report of his Spies and Scouts knew that the *Grand Viſier* was uncertain whether he ought to proceed with all the Army, or continue about the bridge of *Eſſeck*, with a great part of his Forces, capable to oppoſe the *Croats*, which might ruine the ſaid bridge, if he abandoned it, and ſo cut off his retreat. The mines in the *Lorrain* attack would be ready in two days. The fortification of the Camp was continued, as alſo the perpetual diſcharge of the Cannon and Mortars againſt the beſieged.

Aug. 9. Some thouſands of *Turks* poſted themſelves not far from the Camp, in an advantageous place, as if they deſigned to prepare themſelves there for ſome attempt; but the Generals had taken ſuch good meaſures, they apprehended nothing, and the Souldiers ſeemed full of courage. All the retrenchments about the Camp were near finiſhed, but being the *Turks* did frequently alarm them, the Duke ordered, that all the Foot that were not in the Approaches, ſhould be placed in the Lines, and particularly in the Spurs. This morning, a Bomb from the Town falling unhappily into a reſerve of Granado's, fired them, killing 3, and wounding 13. This evening ſome *Turks* did again appear upon an eminence to the right behind the *Bavarian* Camp, towards which two Squadrons of them did move in good order, to brave the Beſiegers, but ſome Voluntiers riding out to pickeer with them, they retired with the loſs only of one man ſlain.

Aug. 10. The Imperialiſts continued the finiſhing of their Mine, the two others of the two other Attacks being ready. The Duke cauſed the *Hungarian* Foot to be poſted along the Wall of the lower Town, from the Water Rondel to the very quarters of the *Germans*, where they intrenched themſelves with a Ditch and a good Parapet to ſecure them againſt ſurpriſes; and as the *Danube* is deep there, they ſunk two Barks full of ſtones, and made ſeveral Spurs of Paliſado's along the brink of the River, to take away all hopes of the *Turks* relieving of the Town that way. This morning the Infidels gave another alarm on the *Bavarian* quarters, whereupon all the Cavalry was commanded to Horſe, but the Enemy retired at the ſame time. It ſeems that their deſign was to make a paſſage that way, but the *Bavarians* were ſufficiently intrenched to hinder them. The Prince of *Croy* being recovered of his wounds, did reaſſume the exerciſe of his charge in the approaches. Four *Huſſars* very well mounted, advancing againſt ſome *Turkiſh* Horſe of the place, made as if they would charge them, but being come up with them they diſcourſed them and ſhook hands together, which being obſerved by the Musketiers of a neighbouring Redoubt, they ſallied out and gave fire upon the *Huſſars*, who ran away, hurt one, which they took, as alſo another of them, the third got away, and the fourth entered into the City. The Priſoners were examined, who ſaid they did nothing but enquire of the *Turks*, if they would not yet ſurrender the place, but they were to be interrogated more ſtrictly.

Aug. 11. Some *Turkiſh* Troops did again ſhew themſelves upon the Mountains on the *Bavarian* ſide towards the way of *Alb-Royal*. The preciſe number of the *Turks* is not yet known, ſome Spies certifie that there are 40000 *Ottomans*, and 20000 *Tartars*. In the mean time every neceſſary prevention is put in practice to receive them, if they will attempt to force the Camp. Preparations are made for a vigorous aſſault upon the ſecond wall, if the Mines will anſwer expectation.

Aug. 12. All things being ready for the aſſault, the three Mines on the *Lorrain* attack were fired, which had no other ſucceſs than the turning up of a few Paliſades, the Miners not having pierced deep enough under the Wall of the ſecond Rampart, which made it evident that they did not well underſtand their trade, although they had been ſent for from all quarters, to have good ones, for they were the Mines that contributed the moſt to the reducing of this important place. The aſſault that was deſigned if the Mines had taken, was deferred, and new ones were gone in hand with, in hopes of more favourable ſucceſs. In the skirmiſhes of this day, there was an Officer of the *Turks* killed, who doubtleſs had engaged himſelf to enter into the place, being they found Letters about him to the Baſſa of *Buda*, marking the order the Turks were to obſerve to relieve the beſieged; by which it appeared, that the Grand Viſier's deſign was to force a quarter, and ſo put in a Supply into the place without hazarding a battel; and that 8000 *Tartars* ſhould haraſs the Country as far as *Gran*, to cut off proviſions from the Beſiegers, and infeſt them with continual courſes. Upon this advice the Duke called a Council of War, where it was reſolved, to leave part of the Army in guard againſt the Town, and to march with the reſt of the Imperial and Auxiliary Forces againſt the Enemy, who according to the ſaid Letters were above 60000 ſtrong, although they had it from good hands, that they did not exceed 40000 Combatants.

Aug. 13. The whole Army marched out of the Lines the night paſt, except 20000 left there for the Guard of the Works, and to hinder the Enemy from putting Supplies into the Place. Oats and Forage were diſtributed for three days for the Horſe, and the *Volunteers* were formed into a

1686 fine Body under good Officers. The Duke of *Lorrain* poſted himſelf out of the Camp in ſight of the Enemies, 4000 *Huſſars* and *Heyducks* having the Avantguard. This night the *Spies* and ſome Deſerters aſſured them, that the following night they would be attacked in Battel-array upon break of day, which obliged the Chriſtians to diſpoſe of all things for the Battel.

Aug. 14. The *Turks* before Sun-riſing formed a Body of more than 8000 *Janizaries* and *Spahi's*, the moſt brave and moſt reſolute of the Army, who being divided into divers Troops, marched from 6 in the Morning till 8 a clock, curvetting behind the Mountains on the ſide of *Alba Regalis*, and entered into a Plain the better to approach the Camp by the favour of a Valley. The Duke of *Lorrain* having obſerved the Enemies countenance, commanded Count *Dunewald*, General of the Horſe, to take poſſeſſion of the ground to the left with nine Imperial Regiments, Cuiraſiers, Dragoons, and Groats, to which he added ſome Companies of *Huſſars*; and General *Heuſler* had order to poſt himſelf with his Detachment upon the height on the right. The *Huſſars* who were with General *Dunewald* charg'd firſt, and tho' they fought with all imaginable bravery, they were notwithſtanding forced to give way, but ſeeing themſelves ſupported by the *Germans*, they took heart and returned to the Charge again. The *Turks* ſeeing they had routed the *Huſſars*, thought to have had the others as good cheap; upon theſe hopes, they advanced with great fury and horrible cries againſt the Chriſtians, who received them without moving. *Heuſler*, who had placed himſelf upon the height mentioned, charged them ſmartly, ſo that the fight was rude and bloudy, and however the *Turks* ſaw themſelves charged in their Flanks and Front, they did not deſiſt to make uſe of ſeveral efforts to break through the Enemy, and have room to execute their deſign, but all was in vain, being every time repulſed, until they were at length broke and forced to fly. The execution was bloudy. The Janizaries being abandoned by the *Spahi's*, and environed by their Enemies, throwing away their Arms, ſought to ſave themſelves by flight, but were moſt of them ſlain. The *Turks* had above 3000 dead, moſt of them Janizaries, all choſen men, who had undertaken to force a quarter, and enter into the City, or periſh. The *Grand Viſier* had promiſed 20 Ducats to every one that ſhould enter into the City, whereof he gave each undertaker 5 in hand: every one carried beſides his ordinary arms 3 Hand-Granado's, a Mattock and Spade, to break the Retrenchments and fill the Ditches. The Priſoners were 500, there being alſo taken 30 Enſigns and Standards, 11 Pieces of Cannon, and 10 Waggons loaden with Ammunition. This great action coſt the *Chriſtians* but little, the ſlain not exceeding 60, and the wounded but 33. After this fight the *Turks* made ſeveral movements, and drew up in a Plain which lookt towards the *Bavarian* quarter, and keeping their Wings upon heights, they made meen as if they would come to a deciſive battel, or relieve the Place with all their Forces. Hereupon a Council of War was called, where it was reſolved to follow the Enemy, which was done by the Elector of *Bavaria* in the head of his Army, but the *Turks* apprehending an Engagement, retired. The Generals *Dunewald* and *Heuſler* purſued them beyond the Mountains, and the *Huſſars* had another skirmiſh with a great Party of *Turks* which ſtayed behind to amuſe the Chriſtians, and favour the retreat of their Army. The booty the Chriſtians got was conſiderable, for they had all the ſpoil of the Enemy, whereof there was not one that had not the 5 Duckets which the *Grand Viſier* had given him beſides his own moneys. The Beſieged thinking they were already relieved, made great fire upon them that kept the Approaches, and ſuppoſed they might ruine ſome of the Enemies works, but in vain, for they were ſo briskly received, that they loſt the deſire of risking further. They however made a very furious ſally on the *Bavarian* attack, which was fatal to them, for they were not only repelled by the Regiments of *Baden* and *Aſpremont*, but the retreat being cut off, there was great ſlaughter made of them. The Turks being retired without coming to a deciſive battel, the Army returned into their Lines, and immediately diſpatched young Count *Palſi* to the *Emperour* with the news of this great advantage, and to lay 28 Colours and Standards at his feet, that were taken in the late engagement. The reſt, for ſome were taken in the purſuit, were planted upon the great Rondel, to make the Beſieged comprehend the defeat of thoſe Succours that they had expected with ſo much impatience. 1686

Aug. 15. The *Germans* and *Huſſars* ſcouting abroad brought ſome Priſoners in, who all agreed in this, that the Grand Viſier notwithſtanding this check, would not deſiſt making other attempts to put relief into the Town, tho' with the hazard of his whole Army. And in effect, however he was retired, he did not ceaſe to alarm the Camp every night. This Afternoon a ſignal was made to the Beſieged for a Parley, to inform them by the Janizaries Priſoners of the rout of their Succours; but whether they perceived this within or not, they anſwered by the fire of their great and ſmall ſhot.

Aug. 16. The works of the three Attacks were purſued with vigour, and in the Morning the Beſieged's Palizadoes and Defenees of Wood upon the Breach were fired in the *Lorrain* Attack, and partly conſumed by the Flames, notwithſtanding all the diligence of the Turks to extinguiſh them. In this Action they threw a prodigious quantity of Stones, Granadoes, Sacks with Powder, and other combuſtible matters upon the Aſſailants, inſomuch that four of them who fired them were burnt, twelve Crowns a man being given to each of thoſe who engaged themſelves in this Service as a recompence, and yet they could not clear the way for an Aſſault, the Beſieged having taken their time in the Night to plant other Palizadoes and repair their Defences. In the *Bavarian* Attack, the Caſtle and the great Tower were inceſſantly beaten, which were as it were overturn'd by the force of the Cannon.

Aug. 17. All things were ready for the Aſſault in the *Lorrain* Attack, but the Beſieged having repaired their Defences, and planted double rows of Palizadoes behind thoſe that were burnt yeſterday, they were obliged to defer it. The Priſoners that the *Huſſars* brought to the Camp reported, that the Grand Viſier was extreamly in choler againſt the Commander of the *Spahi's*, for not having done his duty in the fight on the 14*th* inſtant, by abandoning the *Janizaries*, and added, that of the ten thouſand men which were appointed for that enterpriſe, but very few returned to the Camp.

Aug. 18. The two great Mines in the *Lorrain* Attack were fired, but neither with that Succeſs that the Miners had promiſed, which extremely retarded the Reduction of this important Place. The Duke ſeeing they advanced but little by Mining, reſolved on Sapping, for which end, preparation of Faggots and Sacks of Earth were made to fill the Ditch, and certain Engines were deviſed to approach the Enemies with leſs peril, and drive them from their Poſt. A new Battery was raiſed on the right to beat down the Beſiegeds flanks of Palizadoes on the Breach; and to do it more effectually they were to ſhoot from the Battery on the Curtain with chained Bullets. A Fugitive from the Turkiſh Army reported amongſt other things, that the Grand Viſier was encamped at preſent at *Ertſchin*, 4 Leagues from the City, but that he would not deſiſt from attempting the relief of the Place, being only removed to that diſtance for want of Forrage. The *Bavarians* ſeized a Country Fellow who had ſwum the *Danube*, having Letters from the Governour to the Grand Viſier and the Aga of the *Janizaries*, in which he *conjures them by the*

1686 *Law of* Mahomet *to ſuccour him, adding he would expect the laſt extremity.*

*Aug.*19. The Beſieged defending themſelves with obſtinate Valour, ſpent this whole day in thundring with their Artillery upon the new *Lorrain* Battery, which had been raiſed to beat upon the flanks of the Palizadoes, and whereon they had mounted 4 great Guns, which they ſo ruined that it was rendred uſeleſs for the preſent. The Detachments from the Grand Viſiers Army continued to alarm the Chriſtians Camp every Night, who to prevent Surprizes, were continually upon their Guard. General *Scherfenberg* was expected in few days with thoſe Troops he commanded in *Tranſilvania.* As ſoon as this body was arriv'd, they pretended to go and attack the Grand Viſier in his Camp, who by report of Priſoners and Run-aways, did not exceed 46000 men, whereof half were new raw Fellows without Diſcipline or Order. Strong parties were every day ſent out to obſerve the Enemies Countenance, who often ſhock with theirs, but always with Advantage.

*Aug.*20. The Grand Viſier reſolved to make another attempt to introduce Supplies into *Buda*, would do it with fewer Troops than before, the better to paſs undiſcover'd, and be able to approach the Chriſtian Camp. He choſe for this purpoſe the braveſt Officers in his Army, who promiſed to execute his order or periſh. They began their march in the Night with 2000 *Spahis*, and the like number of *Janizaries*, who were mounted for the greater Expedition, and this Morning at break of day they appear'd in the Valley of St. *Paul*, where having been put in order without being perceived, ruſhed, as their manner is, with great Cryes upon the firſt Guard, which they defeated eaſie enough, and forced upon two ſquadrons of Horſe of *Caprara* and *Heuſlers*, who received them courageouſly, giving others time to haſten to their aſſiſtance, and chaſe the Turks, who fled. The *Janizaries*, whereof part had quitted their Horſes with deſign to traverſe the Trenches, and get into the City, were ill treated, they were purſued by General *Heuſler* to the very Gate, and met by the Guard of *Bavarian* Horſe, who haſtned to the allarm, ſo that their ſlaughter was there very great, and few had the fortune to enter into the City; and though ſome make them amount to 150, they were ſcarce 100 that got in, which may be eaſily judged by the abandoned Horſes, which did not ſurpaſs the ſaid number, ſo that this feeble ſupply was of no great uſe to the Beſieged, and if thoſe of the advanced Guard had done their duty, not one of them had paſſed the Trenches. The Turks had 400 ſlain, and the Chriſtians not above 15; and 26 hurt. General *Heuſler*, who behaved himſelf with his accuſtomed Gallantry, was hurt in the foot, but not dangerouſly. General *Maigret* was handled worſe, being ſeverely ſabled, and Marquis *Santini*, a Knight of *Malta*, was taken Priſoner in the firſt heat of the fight. The Beſieged, to teſtifie their Joy for the arrival of theſe Succours, flouriſhed three red Colours in token of Victory, and fired three *Salvos* with all their Artillery and ſmall ſhot, which gave the Beſiegers a gueſs at the ſmallneſs of their number, which the Renegadoes yet affirm ſurpaſs the number of 2000 ſerviceable men. During the late ſhock, ſome ſquadrons of thoſe of the Grand Viſier, who had followed the other to ſecond them, appear'd in Battalia towards the *Bavarian* Attack, as if deſigning to try their fortune that way, but they retired without engaging: and yet they returned about ten at night to the ſame place they had attempted the paſſage that morning, but they were repelled, and retreated in diſorder. In the *Bavarian* attack there was a new Battery raiſed of four Pieces: and the beſieged mounted a great Gun upon the high wall of the *Caſtle*, with which they beat all the covered way, as alſo the Battery of the *Bavarians* upon the great Rondel.

Aug. 21. Notwithſtanding the *Grand Viſier* cauſed 5000 *Tartars* to paſs the *Danube*, who ravag'd the other ſide of the River, and incommoded the adverſe Foragers by their courſes; All things are in abundance in the Camp, and the Convoys arrive there ſecurely by Water. General *Scherfenberg* is expected in 7 or 8 days with 10000 men, having orders to mount his Foot in Charets, for fear of tiring them with ſo long a march. Twelve hundred *Suediſh* Foot are likewiſe expected, being the remainder of the Troops which the *King of Sweden* is obliged to ſend, to aſſiſt the *Emperour* againſt the *Infidels*, upon account of his *quota* for thoſe Fiefs which he poſſeſſes in *Germany*. This morning a Redoubt was built in that place which the *Turks* forced yeſterday; it was further fortified with two pieces of Cannon, and Troops capable to defend the paſſage. There was alſo another Redoubt built on the Mountain on the left, where the Regiment of *Lodron* was camped. This day the Beſieged did yet give ſome Volleys of rejoycing, whereof the reaſon is not known, unleſs it be ſome particular feaſt. The *Sieur Rummel*, General of the *Bavarian* Troops, being in the approaches, was ſlain there with a Muſquet bullet. He is much regretted, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all the occaſions where he might acquire glory. 1686

Aug. 22. The Elector of *Bavaria* cauſed the great Tower to be aſſaulted, which is in the middle of the Caſtle, and for the moſt part ruined by his Cannon. He took it with the loſs of 73 Soldiers, and the like number wounded, amongſt which, the Duke of *Saxe-Mersburg* was hurt in two places. Whilſt this aſſault laſted, there was a falſe alarm given on the *Lorrain* ſide to divert the enemy, and much firing there was with Cannon to ruine the Defences which they had made upon the breaches of the inner Wall. This evening about 10 a clock, a Turk, who had ſwum the River, was taken near the Iſle of *St. Margaret*, he had thrown his Letters into the water, and yet confeſſed that he had been ſent by the Baſſa, to give advice to the Grand Seignior of the ſtate of the place, and preſs for relief: adding, that another was alſo gone with the ſame condition.

Aug. 23. The beſieged made an attempt upon the *Bavarian* Attack, to recover the great Tower of the Caſtle, which they had yeſterday loſt by aſſault, but they were repelled and beat back to their Retrenchments. At the *Lorrain* Attack four pieces were planted upon the great old Battery, wherewith they began to batter the new Paliſades upon the Breach of the inner Wall. The Night paſt the Beſieged ſallied upon the *Saxon*'s quarter, but they were ſo well received and repulſed by Lieutenant Collonel *Pletze*, who was upon the Guard with 100 horſe, that they had much to do to recover their ſecond Wall, where this Officer was ſlain with two Musket-ſhot, and the *Turks* had yet the leiſure to drag his Corps into the City.

*Aug.*24. The *Turks* appeared in two ſeparate Bodies, the one at the *Lorrain*, and the other at the *Bavarian* attack, but without attempting any thing, and retired about noon into their Camp, which they had advanced a League nearer the Chriſtians than they were before. A Renegado out of Town reported, that the Beſieged began to ſpeak with more licentiouſneſs againſt the Baſſa, who endeavoured to keep them to their duty, telling them, that the *Grand Viſier* expected one of the firſt Miniſters of State from the Port, with full power from the *Grand Seignior*, to treat and conclude a Peace with the Generals of the Chriſtians, and that upon his arrival there would be a ſuſpenſion of Arms; exhorting them not to degenerate from the bravery and vertue of true *Muſſelmen*, whoſe glory they had hitherto ſo generouſly ſupported, but to expect yet ſome few days before they talked of ſurrendring.

Aug. 25. The Duke of *Lorrain* being advertiſed, that the *Turks* might contrive a paſſage on the *Danube* ſide, behind the hot Baths, to put Succours into the Town, ordered ſome Squadrons of Horſe to ſecond

1686 the Guards, which were at the ſame time reinforced, and to the end the acceſs might be rendred the more difficult for the *Turks*, he cauſed Paliſado's to be planted in the moſt weak places, and cauſed ſome Squadrons and Battalions of *Germans* and *Hungarians* to be poſted in ſuch manner, that if the *Turks* would make ſome other attempt, they might eaſily be tranſported and haſten to the Alarm. Some change was alſo made in two Batteries, the better to incommode the Beſieged, and deſtroy their Parapets, Paliſado's, and other defences which they had rais'd upon the breach of the inner Wall. In the *Bavarian* attack they got ground foot by foot, ſo that they will in a little time be Maſters of all the Caſtle, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the braveſt Enemy imaginable, who never loſe an inch of ground without diſputing it, and endeavour to recover it by often repriſals, making uſe for this purpoſe of Bombs, Granado's, Stones, Sacks with Powder, Stink-Pots, and other arts which courage and deſpair are capable of inventing to break the meaſures of the Agreſſors, and obſtruct their violence; and as they have made divers holes and caverns under the places, in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians, by which they play theſe ſorts of inventions, the other were conſtrained to fill them with earth, ſtones, and the very ruines of the Caſtle, to damp and hinder their operation, without which they could not maintain themſelves, but with great difficulty.

*Aug.*26. The Priſoners brought in the Camp by Parties, and the Deſerters which ran away reported, that one of thoſe which was ſent to the *Grand Viſier* by the Baſſa of *Buda* with Diſpatches, in which he gave him an account of the ſtate of the place, which he can no more defend at preſent, that the Caſtle is well-nigh all in the hands of the Chriſtians, who on the firſt aſſault cannot fail to carry the place. That in the laſt aſſault of the Caſtle he had loſt more than 100 of his beſt Soldiers, that the Recruits that were ſent him were but little conſiderable, not mounting to 200 men, amongſt which, more than half were wounded, and conſequently unſerviceable. That for his part he had acquitted himſelf of his duty, by letting the Chriſtians ſee, that after a defence ſo obſtinate, during ſo long a Siege, puſhed on with ſo much fury and bravery both on the one ſide and the other, that the *Muſſelmen* knew well how to ſupport the cauſe of their *Sultan*, in doing whereof he pretended to his ſhare of glory, profeſſing finally that the *Grand Viſier* ought to give an account of the ill ſucceſs of the Siege, and be reſponſible for a loſs ſo conſiderable, which he could not avoid, if the Imperialiſts attempted another aſſault, no more than the bloud of his valorous Soldiers, and his own, if he delayed their relief any longer. The Baſſa did further mark the places in his Letter, which appear'd to him the moſt proper to attempt the relief by, and if he took his meaſures well, that he would ſucceed in his enterpriſe. Upon this advice the Duke viſited in perſon the place marked to the *Grand Viſier*, and gave orders for every thing to hinder the introducing of ſupplies. The Spies which were ſent to the Enemies Camp, reported, that the *Grand Viſier* had again promiſed 40 Crowns a man to all them who would undertake to put themſelves into the place, promiſing moreover that they ſhould be exempt from the War during their lives, and enjoy their ordinary pay without the obligation of any ſervice. At noon advice was given that the *Turks* advanced with 12 great pieces of Cannon, and a while after they were perceived in ſight of the Camp ranged in order of Battel, but as the Duke of *Lorrain* diſpoſed his Army to fight, they retired.

*Aug.*27. The *Lorrainers* having finiſhed their work in form of a Bridg, it was extended to the adverſe Paliſades to be made uſe of in the aſſault. It was covered with earth to ſecure it from the fire, as had been done the day before in the *Bavarian* attack, which had obliged the ſaid *Bavarians* to retire, but this morning they recovered their Poſt again, and to ſecure them from the fire, they made uſe of Planks covered with Tin, 1686 and yet when they thought themſelves ſafe from this devouring Element, the Beſieged, who want no induſtry to their valour, threw towards evening an immenſe quantity of artificial and combuſtible matters with that ſucceſs, that they pierced even to the ſaid Planks, and reduced them to aſhes; they alſo flung ſuch a vaſt quantity of Granado's, Stones and Arrows upon the *Bavarians*, that they forced them to abandon this Poſt with the loſs of twenty Souldiers.

*Aug.*28. In the *Lorrain* attack, they thundred with extreme violence from their Cannon upon the Flanks of the great Breach, as did alſo the *Brandenburgers* to overthrow the Beſieged's defences. The *Bavarians* regained their Poſt, and covered themſelves ſo well in it, that the Enemy would be much troubled to diſlodg them. Major *Staben*, who commanded the Aſſailants, was killed there, the ſlain and wounded not otherwiſe exceeding 20. Upon the Report of ſome Renegado's that the *Grand Viſier* was reſolved to come this Night with all his Forces, the Duke ordered all things for his reception, and all the Army ſtood in Battalia, but to no purpoſe, for no Enemy did appear.

*Aug.*29. Being the Decollation of St. *John Baptiſt*, and a day which the *Turks* have always ſuperſtitiouſly obſerv'd as fortunate to their Empire, 1000 *Spahi's* and 2000 *Janizaries* commanded by two Baſſa's, and ſeconded by 1500 *Tartars*, came at break of day to make another trial on the Water ſide, but ſeeing the Poſt too well provided on that quarter, having received a diſcharge from the Musketeers that kept the Walls, they retreated, and judged it eaſier to try the paſſage by the ſame way that the laſt Supplies entred; they went by the Valley of St. *Paul*, and charged fiercely with their accuſtomed ſhouts upon the Regiments of *Mercy*, *Heuſler*, and *Newburg*, who received them with ſo much bravery, that they killed a great number of them, whereof ſome of the moſt determined were raſh enough to puſh through to the very Lines, where they were all ſlain except 4, who were lucky enough to get into the City. The number of the dead in this action amounted to 600, beſides the Priſoners, which were not many; and there were taken 25 Standards. and Colours which were red, intimating thereby, that they would enter the City or periſh. On the other ſide ſome 30 were killed and wounded, *Mercy* was of the number of the laſt, but without danger, and his Adjoutant of the firſt. During this Tentative the Beſieged made a ſally upon the *Bavarians*, but the *Heyducks* attacking them in Flank, they had much a-do to retire, leaving 17 dead upon the place. The *Grand Viſier* ſhewed himſelf with his Army all day on the *Bavarian* ſide, ready to engage, but ſeeing 3 Regiments of Cuiraſiers, and two of Dragoons, being the Avant-Guard of General *Scherfenberg's* Army, he quickly retreated back to his Camp.

*Aug.*30. *Scherfenberg* arrived this day with the reſt of his Body, proper men, who ſeem'd eager to ſignalize themſelvs. The Deſerters reported, that the want was great in the *Grand Viſier's* Army, and that the famiſhed Soldiers had plundered ſome Barks which had brought Proviſions, the Officers not being able to hinder them.

Aug. 31. The *Lorrainers* took a new Poſt in the Ditch before the Breach in the inner Wall, but 3 fadom diſtant from the Palliſade, and the place being very deep, the Turks could not much hurt them, where they had but 2 Soldiers wounded. This Morning the Duke of *Lorrain* went, accompanied with moſt of the Generals, to the Elector's quarters, where they held a Council of War, and having dined there, the Duke returned to his Quarters, after which, the Works were ordered to be enlarged and deepned for the eaſier aſcent to the Aſſault, which was reſolved upon in a day or two.

*Sept.*1. Three thouſand *Turks* appeared before day by Moon-light on the *Bavarian* ſide, but ſeeing the Chriſtians in good order and ready to receive them, they retired without any Engagement. The Great Chancellor, Count *Straatman*, being arrived yeſterday at the Camp with a ſecret Commiſſion, called a Council of War, in which the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and all the Imperial and Auxiliary Generals did meet. The Chancellor expoſed his Commiſſion, which contained his *Imperial Majeſtie's* deſires to put an end to this bloody Siege, and that they ſhould conſult on the means the moſt proper and expedient for the terminating of it. Two points were chiefly deliberated upon, whether they ſhould go with the greateſt part of the Army, leaving a ſufficient number to guard the Lines, to force the *Grand Viſier*, or ſhould make a General aſſault upon the place, and that with more Forces than had hitherto been employed. The later was approved by moſt of the Generals, and it was reſolved to aſſault the place the next day, for which purpoſe every thing that was neceſſary was prepared, that the enterpriſe might not fail: and leſt the Enemy might know it, it was given out, that they would the next day go and fight the *Grand Viſier*, which cauſed great joy amongſt the Officers and Souldiers, deſirous of ſignalizing themſelves. The Cannon of all the attacks were in the mean time imployed to inlarge the Breaches, and caſt down the Enemies fences.

Sept. 2. All the Generals mounted on Horſeback, and the Troops put themſelves in order to quit the Lines, and go to their place of Arms, and march towards the *Grand Viſier*, making as if they would go and attack them in their Camp. The Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, viſited their Quarters, encouragaing the Officers and Souldiers to maintain the cauſe of God, and the Glory of the Emperour. The Infantry was ranged into Battalions whilſt the firing in the three attacks was redoubled, and a vaſt quantity of Bombs and chained Bullets were ſhot againſt the beſiegeds defences, which were for the moſt part thrown down; and as the Troops were put in order to march towards the *Grand Viſier*, the motion of the Vanguard was inſtantly changed, and at three in the Afternoon the Infantry that compoſed the Rear-guard was commanded to mount to the aſſault, which was done in the three differing attacks of *Lorrain*, *Brandenburg*, and *Bavaria*, beſides which there were two falſe attacks to divert the Enemy. And however that all imaginary precautions were put in uſe to render the aſſault eaſie, they encountred ſo brave a defence in the beſieged, that they had much ado to ſurmount them; they defended themſelves for three quarters of an hour with Halbirds, Half-Pikes, Partizans, and threw ſuch a vaſt number of Stones, Arrows, and Granades, that they repulſed the Aſſailants more than once, until the Chriſtians, encouraged by the preſence of their Generals, returning with greater force, rendred themſelves at length Maſters of the Breach in all the three attacks. The *Turks* defended themſelves by retiring from Retrenchment to Retrenchment, ſo that the ſlaughter was very bloody; and to conclude, the beſieged being beaten from all their fences, the Aſſailants entred by force into the City, ran thro' the ſtreets, killed all they met with, ſparing neither Sex nor Age, ſo that all was filled with the dead bodies of theſe Infidels. The *Bavarians*, in purſuit of their point, attack'd 1000 *Turks*, who retired into a Redoubt at the foot of the Caſtle, where they defended themſelves with extream Obſtinacy, until deſpairing of their ſafety, they hung out a white Flag, and demanded quarter; but as they had ſlain many of the Aggreſſors, and had reſiſted two whole hours without ſubmitting, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Elector of *Bavaria* were of Opinion they ſhould have no quarter given them; but conſidering their number, that they might yet do much harm, that the Night was coming on, and that the Souldiers were wearied, and ought to reſt, that the *Grand Viſier* was not far off with a formidable Army, and that the fire was in ſeveral parts of the City, reducing all to Aſhes; it was reſolved they ſhould have their Lives given them; which being notified to them, they, miſerable Bravos, threw down their Arms. There were about 1000 more, who being retired into Cellars and Caverns obtained the ſame grace. The number of the ſlain amounted to 3000 beſides the wounded, who were but few, ſo that the Garriſon was ſtronger than it had been reported by the fugitives to have been.

Abdi Baſſa died bravely in the Breach, where he fought valiantly with his Sable in his hand, without giving back or demanding quarter, not to degenerate from the glory and heroick Vertue of the antient *Ottomans*, nor falſifie the Oath which he made to the *Grand Seignior* to preſerve him the place, or to end his days gloriouſly in it. The *Vice* Baſſa is alſo an Officer of great reputation, he had defended the Caſtle, and ſeeing that all was loſt, retired fighting into the already mentioned Redoubt at the foot of the Caſtle, where he thought to hold it out, and give the *Grand Viſier* lieſure to come and relieve him; but ſeeing that all was deſperate, he choſe rather to implore the Clemency of the Conquerours, than ſuffer himſelf and thoſe that were with him to be maſſacred without any advantage to his party, and ſo he was made a Priſoner with thoſe with him, by the *Bavarians*. The *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and ſome chief Officers fell to the Duke of *Lorrains* ſhare, ſo that the number of Priſoners did not exceed 2000, of 13000 brave expert Souldiers, and the very Nerves of the *Ottoman* Empire, which were in the place at the beginning of the Siege. The Chriſtians loſs in this aſſault was inconſiderable, not above 400 ſlain, and half as many wounded, in which number were many Voluntiers, but few Officers. Collonel *Spinola*, an Officer of good merit, was killed at the head of the Aſſailants, and Baron *Aſti*, who had been twice already hurt during the Siege, received now a third, which was feared would prove fatal.

The plunder which the Souldiers got was extraordinary, the riches of this City were vaſtly great, which thoſe of the other Cities of *Hungary* under the domination of the *Turks* brought thither, as to a place of refuge and impregnable. There were found Ammunition and Proviſions ſufficient for two Months longer. The Arſenal was full of all ſorts of offenſive and defenſive Arms to arm 30000 men, Harneſſes, Saddles, Boots, and other equipage for Horſes, beſides 400 pieces of Cannon and Mortars, whereof 170 were mounted, and no way prejudiced. It is impoſſible to particularize every thing, it may ſuffice to ſay, that a City could not be better furniſhed to ſupport a Siege vigorouſly than this was, nor defended by a more brave Garriſon. But if the oppoſition hath been ſurpriſing, ſo much greater is the glory of thoſe brave Officers, Voluntiers, and Souldiers that ſignalized themſelves there in the forcing of it.

The Duke of *Lorrain* having put a ſtop to the ſlaughter, and ordered the Soldiers to return to their Colours, commanded the fire to be extinguiſhed, gave the command of the place to Baron *Beck*, till the Emperor's pleaſure was known, with a Garriſon of 5000 Foot and 1000 Horſe. He farther commanded 10000 Horſe and Dragoons with *Badiani's Huſſars* to purſue the *Grand Viſier*, who having ſeen the taking of *Buda*, diſcamped inſtantly with all his Army, to go cover the reſt of the Turkiſh Fortreſſes, put good Garriſons into them, and ſo ſecure the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, where it was reſolved to go and attack him, if they could not overtake him, for which end the Infantry was imbarked upon the *Danube* for their eaſier tranſport, whilſt the Cavalry marched by Land.

And thus this great and ſtrong City, after 145 years of Bondage under the Turkiſh Yoak, was now at length, after having been ſix times beſieged in vain, taken, and reſtored to the dominion of the Emperor. It had been of great ſervice to the *Ottomans*, as being their principal place of Arms, from whence they ſent their Forces and Munitions of War into the other Cities and Fortreſſes of their obedience, for they ſtill kept there a numerous Garriſon of 8 or 10000 Janizaries

1686 zaries and Spahi's, as in a Nurſery, and ready upon all occaſions.

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A Detachment, as we ſaid, of 10000 Horſe being ſent in purſuit of the *Grand Viſier* by Land, and 12000 Foot, with 30 Cannon, Mortars, Ammunition, and all ſort of Proviſions, were ſent down the *Danube* in large Boats, with order to fortifie themſelves in ſome convenient Poſt near the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, whilſt orders were ſent to the Forces in *Croatia* to joyn them, in order to cut off the Enemies retreat. The main Army did alſo follow, but the want of Forrage in a waſted Country forced them to ſeparate, and to paſs the River ſome 12 Miles below *Buda*, with deſign to beſiege *Segedin*, whilſt the reſt continued their march towards *Eſſeck*, and joyn with the *Croatian* Forces, a Party of which had inſulted and burnt the Town of *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, or five Churches, forcing the *Turks* into the Caſtle.

The Duke of *Lorrain* having cauſed a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Danube* at *Paxi*, ſeveral Parties of Horſe were ſent out, who met with no Enemy, the Turks having abandoned the ſmall places they were poſſeſſed of on both ſides the River, after having removed their Cannon and ſtore, and laid theſe places in aſhes. Count *Caprara* is deſigned to beſiege *Segedin*, but the deſign upon the Bridge of *Eſſeck* could not be executed at this time, the Countrey being ſo extremely ruined, that the Troops were not able to ſubſiſt in their march thither. The *Turks* had likewiſe abandoned *Tuln* and *Hatwan*, the Garriſon of the laſt being removed to *Erlaw* or *Agria*, after it had been moſt miſerably deſtroyed. The Duke, upon freſh advice that the *Grand Viſier* had not paſſed the *Bridge of Eſſeck* as was reported, but had poſted himſelf very ſtrongly and advantageouſly on this ſide, with 20000 men, ſeemed to alter his mind, and to go and beat up his Quarters, before he were further recruited from *Belgrade*. He had put 8000 of his beſt men into *Alba Regalis*, having given a Horſe to every Janizary, the better to make excurſions upon the Chriſtians in the Winter. Prince *Lewis of Baden* was detached from the main Army, with 12 Regiments of Horſe and Foot, to go and beſiege *Five-Churches*, but the meaſures were ſo taken, that he might joyn his Forces to the Duke's in caſe it were requiſite, or that the *Grand Viſier* might be brought to a battel. He was encamped near the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, having the Fortreſs of *Darda* behind him, the *Danube* on his right, and the Hills on his left, and his Front covered with the River *Sarwitz*, over which the Duke of *Lorrain* had cauſed Bridges to be laid, to oblige the *Turks* to repaſs the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, or to ſtand a Battel. But the ſeaſon being too far advanced, he encamped at *Tuln*, and paſſing no farther, leaving part of the Army under *Caprara*, to paſs the *Danube* in order to the Siege of *Segedin*, he returned towards *Buda*, and being encamped with 10 Regiments not far from *Peſt*, ſent a Party to poſſeſs themſelves of *Hatwan*, intirely ruined, tho' the *Turks* had left 17 Pieces of Cannon, which they wanted time and conveniencies to carry away. The reſidue of the Foot were put into *Buda* to reinfore that place, weakened by the departure of the *Brandenburg* and *Saxon* Troops, whilſt the Duke himſelf after ſo glorious a Campain returned into *Germany*. The remaining Horſe and Dragoons were ſent under General *Veterani* to reinforce the *Imperial* Forces before *Segedin*, upon advice that *Achmet Baſſa* was marching with a Body of *Turks* and *Tartars* to relieve it. General *Wallis*, who commanded the *Imperialiſts*, hearing the Infidels advanced towards him, ordered Major General *Veterani* to march towards night with 7 Regiments of Horſe, the *Croats* of *Lodron*, and the Dragoons of *Caſtelli* and *Magne*, which they did, and at break of day
Oct.20. 1686. ſurpriſing the *Tartars*, eaſily routed them; nor did the *Turks* make any conſiderable reſiſtance, the ſpirit of that People formerly ſo martial, being actuated by ſuch a current of misfortunes into deſpondency. The Chriſtians, being upon their return to their Camp with their ſpoil, were attacked by the *Grand Viſier* himſelf at the head of above 12000 *Turks*, but with equal ſucceſs, theſe being likewiſe utterly defeated, without any extraordinary combating. Twelve pieces of Cannon, and all their Baggage, with 3000 Horſes were taken. The ſlain were eſtimated above 2000. *Segedin*, ſeeing their relief defeated, capitulated, being admitted to march with what they could carry, except their Arms, to *Temeſwar*.

But the ſtrong Caſtle of *Five Churches* had not ſo good quarters. They had quitted the Town upon the Oct.22. arrival of the Chriſtians, and retired into the Caſtle, but after 4 days battery, ſurrendred it at diſcretion, the Women only and Children being conducted to *Valpo*, whilſt the *Baſſa*, 600 Janizaries, and 2000 others fit to bear arms, were made Priſoners of War. The Prince of *Baden*, having put a good Garriſon into the place, divided his Army into two Bodies, one marched with General *Scherffenberg* towards *Syclos*, deſigning, after having made himſelf Maſter of that place, to march towards the Bridge of *Eſſeck*. Nor did they of *Syclos* defend themſelves much better than the reſt, they only burnt the Town, not to keep the Caſtle ſcarce to terms of diſcretion. The Prince marched thence to *Darda*, which he, although it were ſtrong, being ſeated upon the *Danube*, and covering the Bridg on one ſide, found abandoned, the *Turks* being retired into *Eſſeck*, leaving only a few Horſe to obſerve the Enemy, who, upon their advance, fled immediately. The Prince, having taken poſſeſſion of *Darda*, ſent Parties out to burn the Bridg of *Eſſeck* with artificial fires, which they ſo happily executed, notwithſtanding the Turks played upon them all the time with their Cannon from *Eſſeck*, that they quite deſtroyed the Bridge from *Darda* to the *Drave*, as likewiſe the Bridg of Boats which the *Turks* had over that River.

The Prince of *Baden*, after this exploit, marched No.3. back towards *Capeſwar*, with 1200 Priſoners of both Sexes and Ages, which place he purpoſed to poſſeſs, and had delivered upon demand, after which he reſolved for his Winter Quarters. The *Croats* alſo that had hitherto joyned him, did likewiſe return home with Booty, and ſtore of Priſoners.

And this was the end of this famous Campain in *Hungary*, ſo glorious to the *Chriſtians*, and ſo unfortunate to the *Ottomans*, ſo that theſe who uſed to give and ſell Peace at pleaſure formerly, became now earneſt Sollicitors themſelves for it, thinking themſelves in ſuch a condition, that nothing but a ſpeedy Peace could reſtore them. The *Grand Viſier*, being ſenſible of this, made ſeveral efforts to effectuate it. He had lately made Overtures to General *Caraffa*, who commanded the Imperial Forces in upper *Hungary*, but now Letters are ſent to Prince *Herman of Baden*, Preſident of the Council of War, telling him how deſirous the *Port* was of Peace, and with what advantage to the Emperour it might be concluded in this Conjuncture; propoſing further, that a Place might be appointed for Plenipotentiaries on both ſides to meet, and that Paſſports might be diſpatched for that purpoſe.

Diſorders at *Conſtantinople.*

And 'tis no wonder the Turks were ſo earneſt for Peace, having been ſo unſucceſsful in War, and the diſorders it produced. 'Tis ſcarce imaginable what confuſion and terror the taking of *Buda*, and the ſlaughter of that Garriſon did produce through the whole Empire, eſpecially *Conſtantinople*. The People began to murmur, and the Chief of them to *Cabal*, which ſo ſtartled the *Grand Seignior*, that after having doubled his Guards, he ſent to them to know the meaning of their unuſual meeting; they anſwered, that ſeeing him and his Empire in ſuch danger, they thought it their duty to conſult together how they might preſerve both. They blamed the *Mufti* as an ill man, who had fomented the War, not without ſome reflection upon his Highneſs himſelf, as too

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1686 intent upon his ſports, and too little mindful of this his chief City. The *Grand Seignior* thought it beſt to comply with theſe Reformers, in order to which he immediately depoſes and baniſhes the *Mufti*, chuſing *Huſſan Effendi Codilisker* in his Place; and putting off a general hunting which he had appointed, cauſed all his Grey-hounds, the beſt his Empire afforded, to be turned looſe, a Prey to any that pleaſed; he daily now frequents the *Moſques* inſtead of the Campain, giving out that he will himſelf take the field next Spring againſt the *Germans*. This change, and the certainty of the *Viſier Azems* coming to aſſiſt at the great Council for regulating the next Campaign, did at preſent quiet the diſcontents of the People, tho' their fears ſeem'd incurable. There was alſo a great Reform made in the Seraglio, with a Retrenchment of the ſalaries and perquiſites of the principal Officers of it. There was alſo an extraordinary Council held in the preſence of the *Grand Seignior* to conſider of the way to put the *Ottoman* Forces, which are now extreamly broken, into a condition to oppoſe the further progreſs of the Chriſtian Arms. And being Mony is the principal ingredient, the *Grand Seignior* made offer of all his Treaſure to be imployed in the War. The *Sultana* Queen gave 4000 Purſes of 500 Crowns each, and the chief Officers of the *Seraglio* preſented great ſums. And yet all this cannot cure their fears, nor remove the Plague, ſweeping away 1000 a day in *Conſtantinople* and *Galata*, to which Calamities the ſcarcity of Proviſions may be added, occaſioned by the *Coſſacks* diſturbing the Commerce of the black Sea, and the Chriſtians that of the *Alexandria* and the Arches.

Nor was it with theſe hardſhips only that the *Turks* were to contend, they had yet no leſs powerful Enemies, the *Poles* and the *Venetians*, whoſe Hiſtories we have for method ſake referred to their proper Claſſes. What they did the laſt year, is diſtinctly related, and we ſhall be no leſs particular in the actions of this, which are of more noiſe, and no leſs lugubrious conſequence to the *Ottoman* Empire, eſpecially the latter.

The Affairs of *Poland*. The *Poles* were much earlier in the field this year, and ſtronger than the laſt. Their Forces conſiſted of 20000 *Poles* 15000 *Lituanians*, and 10000 *Coſſacks*, with a great train of Artillery, and being met at their general *Rendezvouz* at *Trembowla*, marched toward the *Nieſter* with the King at the head of them. *July* 14. The *Turks* being inferior in their Preparations, had abandon'd *Barr* and *Miedzibos*, ſending thoſe Garriſons with all their ſtores to ſtrengthen *Caminiec*, where the *Tartars* had likewiſe lately conducted a Convoy.

The King being come to the frontier of *Moldavia*, expected that the *Hoſpodars* of that Country and *Walachia* ſhould, *July* 24. as they had promiſed, joyn their Forces to the Army of the Crown, which they were inclin'd enough to do, but that they dreaded the *Turkiſh* Power. The *Poles* having paſt the River, they advanced to the Forreſt of *Bucovina*, where they had been engaged with the *Turks* laſt year; but to ſecure their paſſages now, the King cauſed ſeveral Redoubts to be built to guard the avenues of the Foreſt, and conſequently ſecure his retreat. Theſe being finiſhed, he marched towards *Jaſſi*, the Capital City of *Moldavia*, to give the *Hoſpodar* an opportunity to joyn his Forces with him, as he had promiſed. But this Prince, thinking it too ſoon as yet to declare, retired upon the News he had of the *Kings* approaching, notwithſtanding the aſſurances his Majeſty had given him of his Friendſhip and Protection. The King being come as far as *Pererit* in *Moldavia*, cauſed a Royal Fort to be built on the ſide of the River *Prutti*, to ſecure a Retreat, and the paſſage of Convoy, for it was very difficult to ſubſiſt in thoſe harraſſed Countries, which the *Turks* and *Tartars* had near ruin'd. Whilſt the Army was upon its march, the *Hoſpodar* ſent Deputies to the King to excuſe his retiring from *Jaſſi*, and his not joyning Forces with thoſe of his Majeſty, ſeeing he could not now openly declare without expoſing his Children to certain deſtruction, having been forc'd to deliver them as Hoſtages to the *Turks*. 1686 The King replyed, that he could never meet with a more favourable conjuncture *Aug*. 8. to ſhake off the *Ottoman* Yoak than now, being he was come in Perſon to deliver him from it; he expected now the performance of his reiterated Promiſes, which if he did not make good, he ſhould be neceſſitated to treat him as a declared Enemy. The King continuing his march, came to *Jaſſi*, which he found not only abandoned by the Prince, but alſo the Garriſon and principal Inhabitants. Thoſe that remained opened their Gates to the Troops his Majeſty ſent thither, and furniſhed them with ſome Proviſions.

Some *Tartars* taken by a party, reported, that the *Seraskier* had paſſed the *Danube* near *Axiopolis*, with 15 or 16000 men, that he expected 6000 more, which when come up, he intended to march towards *Beſſarabia* to joyn the *Tartars* commanded by Sultan *Nuraden*, reported to be 30000 ſtrong. The Armies approaching each other occaſioned many encounters. The King continued his march on this ſide the River *Prutti* as far as *Falſyn*. The Court Marſhal, who commanded the Vauntguard of the Army, encountring with a party of *Tartars* of 8000, engaged them, both fighting with great Courage, but the *Tartars* being ſtronger, preſſed hard upon the *Poles*, and had worſted them if they had not been ſuccour'd by ſome freſh Troops, who adding new Vigour to their Companions, turned the Scales, forcing the *Tartars* to a diſorderly retreat, ſome hundreds of them were killed, and amongſt others a near Relation of Sultan *Nuradons*, for whoſe body he offered the liberty of 3 *Poliſh* Genlemen; ſome Priſoners were likewiſe taken, and one of the *Chams* Standards, nor was this ſucceſs bloodleſs, divers of the *Poliſh* Officers and Souldiers being killed and wounded.

The King having cauſed a Bridge near that Place to be laid over the River, paſſed it with his Army, advancing into a great Plain with a Reſolution to enter into the Country of *Budriac*. But the Troops ſuffer'd much by exceſſive heat, which had cauſed a great drought, and burnt up all the Graſs, ſo that the Horſes were in great want of forrage. *Chevalier Lubormiſki* had likewiſe an advantageous onſet againſt the *Tartars*, but the News of the *Moldavians* having contrary to their promiſe joyned the *Tartars*, did not pleaſe. Theſe were alſo reinforced with further Detachments of *Turks* which had paſſed the *Danube* at *Ken* and *Smil*. Theſe *Tartars* had likewiſe taken a Convoy of 200 Waggons that were going to the Army, and together with the *Turks* made an attempt upon the Chriſtian Camp it ſelf, but finding the Troops in a condition to receive them, they made what haſte they could to retire, tho' not without ſome loſs.

Octob. 4. The *Poles* obtained a Victory againſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*, of whom ſome thouſands were ſaid to be killed upon the place, and 300 taken, with ſeveral of their principal Officers, for which ſucceſs *Te Deum* was ſung at *Lemberg*. The *Poles* alſo had 1500 ſlain, and amongſt them divers Perſons of Quality. After this, the King, weary of *Moldavia*, moſt commonly fatal to the *Poles*, repaſſed the Forreſt of *Buckovina*, in order to put his Troops into Winter-Quarters. He had not only quitted *Jaſſi*, which had been in part deſtroyed by an accidental fire, but had alſo cauſed the ſeveral Forts which he had built to ſecure the Paſſages of the Forreſt to be demoliſhed; from whence People concluded, that the King had no deſign to return in haſte that way again, but rather attempt *Caminiec*, ſo ruinous to that ſide of his Kingdom, and into which the *Turks* had newly put 500 Waggons laden with Proviſions, the Detachment of Horſe that was ſent to obſtruct their Paſſage coming too late. The Chriſtians being gon to quarters, the main body of the *Tartars* did ſo too, but ſome parties of them had lately made an incurſion into the *Ukrain* and *Podolia*, where they did much miſchief. The *Turks* who ſerved this Campaign againſt the

1686 *Poles*, repaſſed the *Danube* and the *Hoſpodar* of *Moldavia* returned to *Jaſſi*, from whence he had fled.

The *Poles* had been highly animated with the League Offenſive and Defenſive which they had made the beginning of this laſt Campaign with the *Muſcovites*, which, though it had been publiſhed with great ſolemnity on both ſides, the *Muſcovites* have not yet performed any one thing that was ſtipulated on their ſide. The Great Dukes were obliged by this Treaty to employ their Forces this laſt Summer againſt the *Tartars*, to divert them from joyning with the *Turks*; nor did they advance a ſtep in it, though they now (the Campaign being paſt) ſend Ambaſſadors to aſſure the King of their firm Reſolution to obſerve the Treaty of Confederacy ſo lately concluded at *Moſcho*, and yet they ſtart new points which do ſo far perplex the Court, that they begin to have a great Jealouſie that the *Czars* do not ſeriouſly mean to enter into the War.

The Wars of *Venice*. *March* 26.

Great were the Preparations the *Venetians* had made to carry on the War this Summer againſt the *Ottomans*, which they had been ſo ſucceſsful in the laſt; and the fleet being now ready, ſailed from *Corfu* under the Command of General *Moroſini* towards the *Levant*. In the mean time the *Turks* having got an Army together compoſed of 10000 foot and 1500 Horſe, ſat down before *Chieleſa*, a Fortreſs of importance, tho' tamely delivered by them laſt year to the menaces of the Chriſtians. They now batter it with ſix great Guns, and had lain 10 days before it when the Army of the *Venetians* haſtning to its relief landed at *Porto Vitulo*, not far from it, and ſending a Detachment of 3000 Men, with 2000 Maynotes, the Garriſon which conſiſted of 1200 having orders at the ſame time to ſally in their favour; the Enemy, intimidated with the report of their advance, raiſed the Siege and marched ſilently away in the Night, yet not ſo, but that being purſued by the Chriſtians, they left their Cannon behind them, the 500 men that conducted them being alſo moſt ſlain and taken Priſoners. After this Defeat General *Moroſini* reimbarked his Forces at *Porto Vitulo*, and ſailed towards the Gulf of *Calamata*, and thence to *Porto Clinno*, where he was to joyn with General *Koningſmark*, Commander of the Land Forces, lately arrived there with a great Convoy that went from *Venice*. They had expected the arrival of the Auxiliary Gallies to open the Campaign, which being at length come, and a review of the Forces taken by General *Moroſini*, which were eſtimated at 25000 men, they ſailed the 25 of *May* from *Porto Trepana* with a fleet of above 100 ſail, conſiſting in 80 Ships, 14 Galeaſſes, and ſeveral Gallies and Galliots, taking their courſe towards *Lepanto*, feigning a deſign to attack that Fortreſs, near which the General cauſed 1000 men to be landed to allarm the Country, and leaving ſome Ships there to countenance the feint, ſailed the Night following towards *Modon*, then ill manned, the Turks having drawn moſt of their Forces towards *Lepanto*. But the Captain General thought fit to attack old *Navarin*, the *Pylus* of *Ptolomy* firſt, which he did, 12000 foot, and 1500 Horſe being landed for that purpoſe. This Town is built upon a height, at the foot whereof the Haven is capable of any number of Ships. The Garriſon of this place was weak, not exceeding 200, ſo that affrighted with the Fleet, the numbers, and the ſummons of the Chriſtians, they immediately ſurrendred, capitulating to march out with their Arms and Baggage, which they did, leaving behind them 20 pieces of Braſs Cannon, 23 of Iron, and 7 Mortars, beſides 200 Chriſtian ſlaves, who obtained their liberty.

Count *Coningſmark* marched from thence to New *Navarino*, ſeated on a Rock, and of very difficult acceſs. He circled it by Land as well as the place would permit, whilſt it was beaten from Sea with 20 pieces of Cannon and 18 Mortas. The *Seraskier* of *Morea*, being ſollicitous for this place, advanced with 10000 men for its relief, deſtroying all the Countries as he paſſed. The Chriſtians, to prevent his advance, leaving a body of men behind them to maintain the Works, marched to meet him, and endeavoured ſeveral times to engage him to a Battel, which he avoided by paſſing a River, and retiring to a very advantageous Ground. Count *Koningſmark* being reinforced thereupon to 14000, it was reſolved they ſhould paſs the River in two Places, and charge the Turks in Front and Flank, which was performed accordingly. The Victory was obſtinately conteſted for at leaſt two hours, but then the Turks being diſordered fled, leaving 1000 of their men ſlain, wounded, and Priſoners, with all their Tents, Cannon, and Baggage. The Chriſtians had ſcarce 100 killed and wounded. Triumphing with this Victory they returned to the Siege, where, upon a ſecond ſummons, the Beſieged ſeeing their hopes of Succour defeated, and their Baſſa ſlain, being blown up, with 150 of the Garriſon by a Bomb falling amongſt Powder, they likewiſe being 1200 Foot, and 200 Horſe, ſurrendred upon Conditions to march away with their Arms, Bag, and Baggage, which they did, leaving behind them 64 pieces of Cannon, and thirteen Mortars, with great ſtore of Proviſions.

June 17. *Navarino* ſurrendred.

After the taking of *Navarin*, the General reſolved to beſiege *Modon*, tho' he knew the *Seraskier* had reinforced the Garriſon, and provided it with all things neceſſary for a juſt defence, with promiſe of certain Succours by a day. *Modon* is ſeated upon a Promontory of the Sea of *Sapienza*, Art and Nature having concurred to make it ſtrong, tho' it held out but a Siege of 13 days. It was indeed miſerably torn with Bombs and Carcaſſes, and the relief not appearing at the day appointed, the Baſſa thought fit to capitulate, and marched out with near 3000 men, which were to be tranſported to *Alexandria*. There were taken in the Caſtle and Town 90 Braſs Guns, 8 Iron ones, with 13 Mortars, and a great quantity of Ammunition and Proviſions.

Jul. 7.

July 30.

Aug. 8.

Moroſini having ſtayed ſome time at *Modon*, as well to repair the Fortifications as to refreſh his wearied Troops, having held a great Council of War, it was reſolved to beſiege *Napoli di Romania*, the better to ſecure the conqueſts which the Republick had already made in *Morea*. All things being made ready for ſo important an Enterpriſe, the Captain General ſailed from *Modon* with the *Venetian* Fleet and the Auxiliary Gallies, and at the ſame time ſent orders to the Captain Extraordinary of the Ships to approach towards that Coaſt with the Squadron under his command, that he may joyn the Fleet if there be occaſion. As a prelude to this enterpriſe, 8 Turkiſh Ships that had carried Men and Proviſions to *Napoli de Romania*, endeavouring to eſcape by night out of Port *Malvaſia*, were taken. In the mean time the General landed his Army at *Ciara*, ſix miles from *Napoli*, the *Nauplia* of the Antients, and poſſeſſed himſelf the next day of the Hill *Palemada*, within Muſquet ſhot of the Town. The *Seraskier* of *Morea* being encamped not far off with 8 or 10000 men, did put 300 Souldiers into the Town, the Garriſon before conſiſting of 2000 under the Command of *Muſtapha Baſſa*, and advanced himſelf towards the Chriſtians Camp; upon notice whereof, General *Coningſmark* marched with his Forces to meet him, leaving ſome to guard the works againſt the Town; After ſome light Skirmiſhes the Bodies engaged. The Turks ſcarce ſtanding their Ground, retired in much diſorder, leaving 400 of their men behind them. The loſs on the Chriſtians ſide was inconſiderable, not exceeding 50 men. General *Koningſmark* returning to the Siege, ſent ſome Troops to force the Caſtle of *Argas* which they found abandoned, and had that of *Tenioni* delivered upon demand. In the mean time the Siege was vigorouſly carried on, the Bombs and Carcaſſes occaſioning great Confuſion in the Town. But the *Seraskier* being reinforced with 3000 freſh men, raiſed their dejected minds,

who

1686 who at the ſame time that the Seraskier approached the Chriſtian Camp, made a great Sally upon the Beſiegers, though they were beaten back with loſs, and the Seraskier ſo warmly received by the Cannon from the Hill of *Polameda*, that he retired without making any attempt upon the Lines. The Beſiegers by this were lodg'd in the Town-Moat, ſo that the Seraskier being reinforced out of the neighbouring Garriſons to 12000, reſolved to make another attempt to relieve the place, by forcing the Camp. At the ſame time 1500 of their beſt men ſallied out of the City, ſo that the Chriſtians being hardly put to it, the *Slavonians* being overpower'd, were forced to give way, but General *Koningſmark* coming opportunely to their aſſiſtance with a ſtrong Party, rallied them, and beat back the *Turks*. In that inſtant of time, General *Moroſini* having landed 3500 men, charged the Enemy ſo ſeaſonably in Front and Flank, that they diſordered them, and forced them to retire, but they being much ſtronger in Horſe, were not purſued far. The *Turks* loſt in this action 1500 of their beſt men, beſides 120 that were taken Priſoners, and on the Chriſtians ſide near 400. The Garriſon upon this defeat, upon conſideration of the Mines and Breaches, and danger of ſtanding out an Aſſault, ſurrendred upon the ſame terms as had been given to *Navarino* and *Modon*.

Napoli di Romania ſurrendered. *Aug.* 31

The Chriſtians loſt a great many Men by a Flux contracted by the heat, and eating too much fruit, and among others, a Nephew of General *Koningſmark*, the Captain of his Guards, and Count *Bernabo Viſconti* a *Milaneze* Collonel.

The Baſſa of *Napoli di Romania*, whether out of a conſciouſneſs of not having done his duty in defence of the City, or out of a reſentment that to be unhappy is to be criminal, thought it ſecurer to put himſelf into the protection of his Vanquiſhers, than to expoſe himſelf to the candor of his Compurgators at home. He therefore, with about eighty *Turks* more, having obtained leave of the General, were ſhipt for *Venice*, where they were honourably received by the *Senate*, preſented, and permitted to take two fine Houſes, with very fine Gardens belonging to them, where they and their Families live at preſent. After the taking of *Napoli*, above ſixty ſmall Towns and Burghs put themſelves under the protection of the *Venetians*; and the General having ſettled affairs there, and diſmiſſed the Auxiliary Gallies with their ſhares of the Booty to return home, ſailed himſelf with the Gallies of *Venice* towards the *Archipelag* to put thoſe Iſlands, which he alſo in a great meaſure did, under contribution. The Garriſon and Inhabitants of *Napoli* being numerous, exceeding 10000, beſides the *Jews* and *Greeks* who were made Tributaries, were by Articles to be tranſported to the Iſle of *Tenedos*, which was alſo done in 12 Ships, commanded by Seignior *Venier*. This Fleet did not only alarm thoſe parts, but *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, affrighted with the report of a *Venetian* Armada ſo near the *Dardanels*: But upon their return they were met, and fought by the Captain Baſſa, who had 20 Gallies and 10 Ships, but ſeeing he could do no good upon them, was obliged to quit the fight. The Seraskier, in the mean time, was retired to *Corinth*, from whence he ſent ſome Troops to reinforce the Garriſon of *Petraſſa*, and very ſtrong Parties, who by their incurſions, keep the *Greeks* in continual alarms, and hinder them from openly declaring for the *Republick*. To this end, he hath ſeized upon divers of the Principal of them, keeping them as Hoſtages, but exerciſes all kinds of cruelty againſt ſuch as he ſuſpects to have any correſpondence with the Chriſtians. 1686

Cara Ibrahim, the late Viſier, being ſtript of his Eſtate, was ſent to *Rhodes*, where, within the compaſs of the year, he was ſtrangled, by command of the *Sultan*, the *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople* being at the ſame time put into the ſeven Towers, to ſatisfie the People.

Mar. 18.
Apr. 28.

Nor was the *Venetian* War confined only to *Morea*, and the *Sea*, though nothing extraordinary happened in the later, that wiſe *Republick* having ſent *Cornaro* to command in *Dalmatia*, with ſuch Forces as might endeavour to divert the *Turks* from ſending Succours either to *Hungary* or *Morea*, which they alſo in ſome meaſure did. And yet ſcarce any thing worthy a place in Hiſtory, which is only pleaſed with great events, did intervene; the Forces indeed of neither ſide being ſufficient for great undertakings. Some inconſiderable Places were intercepted on both ſides, and the incurſions of Parties into each others Quarters were frequent; wherein the *Morlaques*, like the *Tartars* on the Frontiers of *Poland*, did ſignalize themſelves. The Baſſa of *Scutari* had drawn together 7 or 8000 Men, with a Reſolution to attack the City of *Budna*, but they were ordered to march towards *Hungary*, ſo that that deſign vaniſhed. But General *Cornaro*, and the Prince of *Parma*, who was Lieutenant General of the Foot, having drawn together 1000 Horſe, and 3000 Foot, and 5000 *Morlaques*, commanded by the Chevalier *Janco*, with the Artillery and Ammunition neceſſary for a Siege, reſolved to attack *Sign*, ſcituated upon a Rock, and fortified with a good Wall and ſtrong Caſtle, but the Cannon opening a Breach, it was aſſaulted and carried by force, the Garriſon which conſiſted but of 250 *Turks*, being cut in pieces. By taking of this place, the *Venetians* are become Maſters of the fertile Province of *Zettina*.

Sept. 23.

The *Grand Viſier*, upon his repaſſing the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, had ſent home the Troops of *Boſſina*, ſo that the Baſſa of the ſaid Province, thinking himſelf with this reinforcement, in a condition to make ſome attempt upon the Enemy, was accordingly preparing for it, tho' watched narrowly by *Cornaro*. The Baſſa of *Erzegovina* had likewiſe got a competent Army together, and having burnt ſome Villages, retired towards *Clin*, to put a Convoy of Proviſions into that place, *Cornaro* at the ſame time having taken his march towards *Zsbenico* and *Sardona*, to cover thoſe places. And thus this year, and the Campain, were finiſhed, except the uſual excurſions, both here, in *Morea*, in *Poland*, and in *Hungary*, where the Parties are always buſie, and infeſt each other according to their power.

The deſires of the *Port* for Peace were great. It was againſt their Maxims to wage War with ſo many powerful Adverſaries at once, nor could they tell how to extricate themſelves out of it. They had often attempted ſeparate Treaties, but the Allies were not to be diſjoyned, they therefore offer'd them Conceſſions they durſt not have hoped for at the beginning of the War. They would yield to the Emperor all *Hungary*, as far as the *Drave*, to the King of *Poland*, *Caminiec* and all *Podolia*, and reſtore to the *Venetians* the Kingdom of *Candia*, on condition they would part with what they had gained in *Morea*.

FINIS.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
Ottoman Empire.

CONTAINING THE

MAXIMS
OF THE
Turkiſh Polity;

The moſt Material POINTS of the
MAHOMETAN RELIGION;
Their SECTS and HERESIES;
Their Convents and Religious Votaries;
Their MILITARY DISCIPLINE:
With an exact Computation of their Forces
both by Sea and Land.

In Three Books.

By Sir *PAUL RYCAUT*, late Conſul of *Smyrna*,
and Fellow of the Royal Society.

LONDON,
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To the Right Honourable

HENRY
Lord Arlington

His Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State.

MY LORD,

AFTER five Years reſidence at *Conſtantinople*, in Service of the Embaſſie of the Earl of *Winchelſea*, (my ever honoured Lord) and this my ſecond Journey from thence by Land into my own Country, I judged it a Point of my Duty, and of my Religion too, to dedicate this following Treatiſe, as the Fruits of my Travels, Negotiations, and Leiſure in thoſe remote Parts, to the Noble Perſon of your Lordſhip; as that *Votiva Tabula*, which many both in Ancient and Modern Times, after ſome ſignal Deliverance, or happy Arrival at their deſired Port, uſe to offer to their Gods, their Saints, or their Patrons. And truly, my Lord, this Diſcourſe treating chiefly of the *Turkiſh Polity, Government*, and *Maxims of State*, ſeems naturally to appertain to the Patronage of your Lordſhip, whoſe Faculties of Wiſdom and Vertue have given you the Bleſſing of your Prince's Favour, and the Reputation, as well Abroad as at Home, of an Eminent and Dexterous Miniſter of State.

It were a great preſumption in me to offer any Obſervations of my own in the Courts of Chriſtian Princes, to the Teſt of your Lordſhip's Experience and Judgment; who not only is acquainted with the Cuſtoms and Manners, but penetrates into the Deſigns, and knows the Cabinet-Councils of Neighbouring Principalities, with whom our divided World may poſſibly be concerned; but perhaps, without diſparagement to your Lordſhip's profound Wiſdom, or over-value of my own Abilities, I may confidently draw a rude Scheme before your Lordſhip, of the *Turkiſh Government, Policies*, and *Cuſtoms*; a Subject which Travellers have rather repreſented to their Country-men, to ſupply them with Diſcourſe and Admiration, than as a Matter worthy the Conſideration or Concernment of our Kings, or our Governors.

It hath been the happy Fortune of the *Turk* to be accounted Barbarous and Ignorant; for upon this Perſwaſion, Chriſtian Princes have laid themſelves open and unguarded, to their greateſt Danger; contending together for one Palm of Land, whilſt this Puiſſant Enemy hath made himſelf Maſter of whole Provinces, and largely ſhared in the rich and pleaſant Poſſeſſions of *Europe*.

This Contempt of the *Turk* on one ſide, cauſed the Emperor to be ſo backward in oppoſing that Torrent of the *Ottoman* Force, which in the firſt Year of the late War broke in upon him; and the ſuſpicion of Deſigns from *France*, on the other, altered the Reſolutions and Councils of the Emperor for proſecution of the War; which then running favourably on the Chriſtians part, was no leſs than with the aſtoniſhment of the whole World, and of the *Turks* themſelves, on a ſudden underſtood to be clapt up with Articles of a diſadvantagious Peace; admiring to ſee the Emperor give a ſtop to the Current of his Victories, and relinquiſh the Game with a lucky Hand.

But this will ſeem no Riddle to thoſe who penetrate Affairs with the ſame Judgment that your Lordſhip doth, and conſider the unfirm Condition the Houſe of *Auſtria* was in, by a daily expectation of the Death or fall of ſo main a Baſis of it, as the King of *Spain*, and the Diviſion amongſt the Princes of the Empire; the League of the *Rhine*; the *French* Practices to make the Duke of *Enguyen* King of *Poland*; and the extravagant Demands of the *French* and *Rhiniſh* League for Winter-quarters, and places of Strength, not only in *Hungary*, but alſo in *Styria*, and the adjacent Places; and at the ſame time look on the Factions in *Hungary*, and a conſiderable Army of *French* in the Bowels of *Germany*, who were ſuppoſed in thoſe Parts to have rather come with Deſign to overawe the next Diet, and force the *German* Princes to elect the *French* King for King of the *Romans*, than with ſincere and ſimple Intentions of oppoſing themſelves to the Enemy of the Faith: For then it will appear, that the beſt uſe the Emperor could make of his good Succeſs, was Moderation in Victory, and Reconciliation with his powerful Enemy. And hereupon Earl *Liſle* being diſpatched for Extraordinary Ambaſſador from his Imperial Majeſty to the Grand Signior; though the *Turk* was elevated with the thoughts of the Neceſſity the Chriſtians had of a Peace, did yet ſo happily manage his Charge and Employment, as created in the *Turks* an extraordinary Reverence towards his Perſon, and obtained ſuch Honours and Treatments from them, as the *Turkiſh* Court never beſtowed before on the Emperor's, or an other Chriſtian Ambaſſador; extorting this Complement from the Great Vizier, *That he was more ſatisfied the Emperor had ſent ſo brave and illuſtrious a Perſon, than if he had ſought to reconcile his Affections with an hundred thouſand Dollars more of Preſent.* And to do juſtice to this worthy Perſon, he hath brought a Reputation to the *Britiſh* Nation, above any in our Age, whoſe Vertues and Induſtry have acquired the higheſt Truſts and Preferments in Foreign Parts; and done the ſame Honour to his King, under whom he was born a Subject, as to the preſent Emperor and his Anceſtors, under whom he is, and hath always been a faithful Miniſter; having deſerved ſo eminently for ſaving the whole *German* Empire from the Treaſon of *Walleſtein*, by his own ſingle Act of Bravery, (a Story notoriouſly known to all the World) as can never in gratitude be forgot by that Nation, nor want its due Record and Place in the Hiſtory of that Country.

The Speculation of what is contained in this following Diſcourſe, may ſeem unworthy of your Lordſhip's precious Hours, in regard of that Notion of Barbarity with which this Empire is ſtiled; yet the knowledg hereof will be like a *Turquoiſe*, or ſome other Jewels ſet within the Roſe of thoſe many Gems of your Lordſhip's Wiſdom and Vertues.

This Preſent, which I humbly conſecrate to your Lordſhip, may be termed Barbarous, as all things are which are differenced from us by diverſity of Manners and Cuſtom, and are not dreſſed in the Mode and Faſhion of our Times and Countries; for we contract Prejudice from Ignorance and want of Familiarity. But your Lordſhip, who exactly ponderates the Weight of Humane Actions, acknowledges Reaſon in all its Habits, and draws not the Meaſures of Oeconomy, or Policy, from Eternal Appearances or Effects, but from the Fundamental and Original Conſtitutions; ſo that your Lorſhip will conclude, that a People, as the *Turks* are, Men of the ſame Compoſition with us, cannot be ſo Savage and Rude as they are generally deſcribed; for Ignorance and Groſſneſs is the Effect of Poverty, not incident to happy Men, whoſe Spirits are elevated with Spoils and Trophies of ſo many Nations.

Knowing (my Lord) that this Work which I have undertaken is liable to common Cenſure, I have choſen to ſhrowd my Name under the Patronage of your Lordſhip, to protect me from the ill-underſtanding and miſ-conceptions of our Country-men, both at Home and Abroad: againſt which I doubt not but to be ſufficiently armed in all parts where I travel, when the Countenance your Lordſhip affords me, is joined to the Authority of his Excellency the Earl of *Winchelſea*, His Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary, now actually Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, my ever honoured Lord; to whom I read, a long time before publiſhed to the World, the greateſt part of this following Treatiſe; and as I received his favourable Approbation and Aſſent to the Verity of moſt Matters herein contained; ſo I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs to have been beholden to that quick and refin'd Genius of his, who often rectified my Miſtakes, ſupplied me with Matter, and remembred me of many material Points, which I might otherwiſe have moſt unadviſedly omitted: And his Excellency knowing that in his abſence this Book might want a favourable Patron, left me to my ſelf to ſeek out one, who might concur with him in the ſame Innocent Defence. And as, my Lord, you are a Publick Perſon, and under our Gracious Sovereign, are one of thoſe Generous Spirits which have eſpouſed the common Intereſt of the Nation; ſo I preſume, on this preſent Occaſion, not to want your Protection alſo in a ſingle Capacity: For which exceſs of Favours, I ſhall ever pray for the Exaltation of the greater Glory of your Lordſhip, and for ever acknowledg my ſelf,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble,

moſt Faithful, and

moſt devoted Servant,

PAUL RICAUT.

TO

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

I Preſent thee here with a true Syſtem or Model of the Turkiſh Government and Religion; not in the ſame manner as certain ingenious Travellers have done, who have ſet down their Obſervations as they have obviouſly occured in their Journeys; which being collected, for the moſt part, from Relations, and Diſcourſes of ſuch who caſually intervene in Company of Paſſengers, are conſequently ſubject to many Errors and Miſtakes: But having been an Inhabitant my ſelf, at the Imperial City, for the ſpace of five Years, and aſſiſted by the advantage of conſiderable Journeys I have made through divers parts of Turky, and qualified by the Office I hold of Secretary to the Earl of Winchelſea, *Lord Ambaſſador, I had opportunity, by the conſtant acceſs and practice with the chief Miniſters of State, and variety of Negotiations which paſſed through my hands in the Turkiſh Court, to penetrate farther into the Myſteries of this Polity, which appear ſo ſtrange and barbarous to us, than haſty Travellers could do, who are forced to content themſelves with a Superficial Knowledg.*

The Computations I have made of the Value of their Offices, of the Strength and Number of their Souldiery, according as every City and Country is rated, are deduced from their own Regiſters and Records. The Obſervations I have made of their Polity, are either, Maxims received from the Mouth and Argument of conſiderable Miniſters, or Concluſions ariſing from my own Experience and Conſiderations. The Articles of their Faith, and Conſtitutions of Religion, I have ſet down as pronounced from the Mouth of ſome of the moſt learned Doctors and Preachers of their Law, with whom, for Mony, or Preſents, I gained a familiarity and appearance of friendſhip. The Relation of the Seraglio, and Education of their Youth, with divers other matters of Cuſtom and Rule, where tranſmitted to me by ſeveral ſober Perſons, trained up in the beſt Education of the Turkiſh Learning; and particularly, by an underſtanding Polonian, who had ſpent nineteen Years in the Ottoman Court.

If (Reader) the Superſtition, Vanity and ill foundation of the Mahometan Religion ſeem fabulous, as a Dream, or the Fancies of a diſtracted and wild Brain, thank God that thou wert born a Chriſtian, and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church. If the Tyranny, Oppreſſion and Cruelty of that State, wherein Reaſon ſtands in no competition with the Pride and Luſt of an unreaſonable Miniſter, ſeem ſtrange to thy Liberty and Happineſs, thank God that thou art born in a Country the moſt free and juſt in all the World; and a Subject to the moſt indulgent, the moſt gratious of all the Princes of the Univerſe; That thy Wife, thy Children, and the Fruits of thy Labour, can be called thine own, and protected by the valiant Arm of thy fortunate King: And thus learn to know and prize thy own freedom, by compariſon with Foreign Servitude, that thou mayſt ever bleſs God and thy King, and make thy Happineſs breed thy Content, without degenerating into Wantonneſs, or deſire of Revolution. Farewel.

THE

THE MAXIMS OF THE Turkiſh Polity.

BOOK. I.

CHAP. I.

The Conſtitution of the Turkiſh Government, *being different from moſt others in the World, hath need of peculiar Maxims and Rules whereon to eſtabliſh and confirm it ſelf.*

O navis referent in mare te novi fluctus. Hor. 14. *Ode. Lib.* 1.

I Have begun a Work which ſeems very full of Difficulty and Labour: for to trace the Footſteps of *Government* in the beſt formed and moulded *Common-Wealths*, (ſuch as are ſupported with *Reaſon* and with *Religion*) is no leſs than to unriddle and reſolve a Myſtery. For as a Common-Wealth, by many Authors, hath not been unaptly compared to a Ship, in divers reſpects, and proper Allegories; ſo principally the ſmall Impreſſion or Sign of Track, the floating Habitation leaves behind it on the Sea, in all the Traverſes it makes, according to the different Winds, to attain its Port, is a lively Emblem of the various Motions of good Government, which by reaſon of Circumſtances, Times, and multiplicity of Changes and Events, leaves little or no Path in all the Ocean of Humane Affairs.

But there muſt be yet certain Rules in every Government, which are the Foundations and Pillars of it; not ſubject to the Alteration of Time, or any other Accident; and ſo eſſential to it, that they admit of no change, until the whole Model of Polity ſuffer a Convulſion, and be ſhaken into ſome other Form; which is either effected by the new Laws of a Conqueror, or by inteſtine and civil Revolutions. Of ſuch Maxims as theſe, (obvious to all who have had any practice in the *Ottoman Court*) I have made a Collection, ſubjoining to every Head ſome Reflexions and Conſiderations of my own, which at my leiſure Hours I have weighed and examined, bringing them (according to the proportion of my weak Judgment and Ability) to the Meaſure and Teſt of Reaſon and Vertue; as alſo to a Similitude and Congruity with the Maxims of other Empires, to which God hath given the largeſt extent of Dominion.

But indeed, when I have conſidered ſeriouſly the Contexture of the *Turkiſh* Government, the abſoluteneſs of an Emperor, without Reaſon, without Vertue, whoſe Speeches may be Irrational, and yet muſt be Laws; whoſe Actions Irregular, and yet Examples; whoſe Sentence and Judgment, if in Matters of the Imperial Concernment, are moſt commonly corrupt, and yet Decrees irreſiſtible: When I conſider what little rewards there are for Vertue, and no Puniſhment for profitable and thriving Vice; how Men are raiſed at once by Adulation, Chance, and the ſole Favour of the Prince, without any Title of Noble Blood, or the Motives of Previous Deſerts, or former Teſtimonies and Experience of Parts and Abilities, to the weightieſt, the richeſt, and moſt honourable Charges of the Empire; when I conſider how ſhort their continuance is in them, how with one Frown of their Prince they are cut off; with what greedineſs, above all people in the World, they thirſt and haſte to be Rich, and yet know their Treaſure is but their Snare; what they labour for, is but as Slaves for their great Patron and Maſter, and what will inevitably effect their Ruin and Deſtruction, though they have all the Arguments of Faithfulneſs, Vertue, and moral Honeſty (which are rare in a *Turk*) to be their Advocates, and plead for them.

When I conſider many other things of like Nature, (which may more at large hereafter be diſcourſed of) one might admire the long continuance of this great and vaſt Empire, and attribute the ſtability thereof without change within it ſelf, and the increaſe of Dominions and conſtant progreſs of its Arms, rather to ſome ſupernatural Cauſe, than to the ordinary Maxims of State, or Wiſdom of the Governors; as if the Divine Will of the All-knowing Creator, had choſen for the good of his Church, and chaſtiſement of the Sins and Vices of Chriſtians, to raiſe and ſupport this mighty People. *Mihi quanto*

Tacit. *l.* 3. *An.*

plura recentium ſeu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obſervantur.

But that which cements all Breaches, and cures all thoſe Wounds in this Body Politick, is the quickneſs and ſeverity of their Juſtice, which not conſidering much the ſtrict diviſion and parts of *diſtributive* and *commutative*, makes almoſt every Crime equal, and puniſhes it with the laſt and extreameſt chaſtiſement, which is Death; I mean thoſe which have relation to the Government, and are of common and publick Intereſt. Without this Remedy, which I lay down as a principal Prevention of the greateſt Diſorders, this mighty Body would burſt with the Poiſon of its own ill Humors, and ſoon divide it ſelf into ſeveral Signories, as the Ambition and Power of the Governors, moſt remote from the Imperial Seat, adminiſtred them hopes and ſecurity of becoming Abſolute.

In this Government, Severity, Violence and Cruelty are natural to it, and it were as great an Error to begin to looſe the Reins, and eaſe the People of that Oppreſſion to which they and their Fore-fathers have, ſince their firſt original, been accnſtomed, as it would be in a Nation free-born, and uſed to live under the Protection of good Laws, and the Clemency of a vertuous and Chriſtian Prince, to exerciſe a Tyrannical Power over their Eſtates and Lives, and change their Liberty into Servitude and Slavery. The *Turks* had the original of their Civil Government founded in the time of the War: for when they firſt came out of *Scythia*, and took Arms in their Hands, and ſubmitted unto one General, it is to be ſuppoſed, that they had no Laws but what were Arbitrary and Martial, and moſt agreeable to the enterpriſe and Deſign they had then in hand, when *Tangrolipix* overthrew the *Perſian* Sultan, poſſeſſed himſelf of his Dominions and Power, and called and opened the way for his Companions out of *Armenia*; when *Cutlumuſes* revolted from him, and made a diſtinct Kingdom in *Arabia*: when other Princes of the *Seleuccian* Family in the infancy of the Turkiſh Power had by Wars among themſelves, or by Teſtament made diviſion of their Poſſeſſions; when (*Anno* 1300.) *Ottoman*, by ſtrange Fortunes, and from ſmall beginnings ſwallowed up all the other Governments into the *Oguſian* Tribe, and united them under one Head, until at laſt it arrived to that greatneſs and power it now enjoys. The whole condition of this People was but a continued ſtate of War; wherefore it is not ſtrange, if their Laws are ſevere, and in moſt things arbitrary; that the Emperor ſhould be Abſolute and above Law, and that moſt of their Cuſtoms ſhould run in a certain Chanel and Courſe moſt anſwerable to the height and unlimited Power of the Governor, and conſequently to the Oppreſſion and Subjection of the People, and that they ſhould thrive moſt by ſervitude, be moſt happy, proſperous and contented under Tyranny, is as natural to them, as to a Body to be nouriſhed with that Diet which it had from its Infancy or Birth been acquainted with. But not only is Tyranny requiſite for this People, and a ſtiff reign to curb them, leſt by an unknown Liberty they grow mutinous and unruly, but likewiſe the large Territories and remote parts of the Empire require ſpeedy preventions, without Proceſſes of Law, or formal Indictment: jealouſie and ſuſpicion of Miſ-government being Licence and Authority enough for the Emperor to inflict his ſevereſt Puniſhments; all which depends upon the Abſoluteneſs of the Prince; which becauſe it is that whereby the *Turks* are principally ſupported in their Greatneſs, and is the prime Maxim and Foundation of their State, we ſhall make it the Diſcourſe and Subject of the following Chapter.

Ma Eſperati che gli hanno, eche cominciano ad eſſere in veneratione, &c. Machi. *c.* 6. *del Prencipe.*

CHAP. II.

The Abſoluteneſs of the Emperor is a great ſupport of the Turkiſh *Empire.*

THE *Turks* having (as is before declared) laid the firſt foundation of their Government with the Principles moſt agreeable to Militay Diſcipline, their Generals or Princes, whoſe Will and Luſts they ſerved, became abſolute Maſters of their Lives and Eſtates; ſo that what they gained and acquired by the Sword, with Labours, Perils and Sufferings, was appropriated to the uſe and benefit of their Great Maſter. All the delightful Fields of *Aſia*, the pleaſant Plains of *Tempe* and *Thrace*, all the Plenty of *Egypt*, and Fruitfulneſs of the *Nile*, the Luxury of *Corinth*, the Subſtance of *Peloponneſus*, *Athens*, *Lemnos*, *Scio* and *Mitylene*, with other Iſles of the *Ægean Sea*, the Spices of *Arabia*, and the Riches of a great part of *Perſia*, all *Armenia*, the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paleſtine*, *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, *Colchis*, and great part of *Georgia*, the Tributary Principalities of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, *Romania*, *Bulgaria*, and *Servia*, and the beſt part of *Hungary*, concur all together to ſatiſie the Appetite of one ſingle Perſon; all the extent of this vaſt Territory, the Lands and Houſes, as well as the Caſtles and Arms, are the proper Goods of the Grand Signior, in his ſole Diſpoſal and Gift they remain, whoſe Poſſeſſion and Right they are; only to Lands dedicated to Religious uſes, the Grand Signior diſclaims all Right or Claim; and this he ſo piouſly obſerves (to the ſhame of our Sectaries in *England*, who violate the *penetralia* of the Sanctuary) that when a Baſhaw, though afterwards convicted of Treaſon, beſtows any Lands or Rents on any certain Moſch or Temple, that Grant or Gift is good and exempted from any Diſpoſal or Power of the Grand Signior. The Lands being thus originally in the Grand Signior, after the Conqueſts were made, and the Country ſecured, and in condition to be diſtributed, Diviſions were made of the Houſes, Manors and Farms among the Souldiery, whom they call *Timars*, as the Reward and Recompence of their Valour and Labour; in conſideration of which, every one proportionably to his Revenue and Poſſeſſion, is obliged to maintain Horſe and Men to be always ready when the Grand Signior ſhall call him forth to ſerve him in the Wars; by which means the whole Country being in the hands of the Souldiery, all places are the better ſtrengthened, and the conquered People more eaſily kept from Mutiny and Rebellion; not much unlike our Tenure of Knights-ſervice in *England*, and Lands held of the Crown, but with this difference, that we enjoy them by the Title of a fixed and ſettled Law, never to be forfeited but upon Treaſon and Rebellion; they enjoy them alſo by Inheritance derived from the Father to the Son, but yet as uſufructuary during the pleaſure of the Emperor, in whom the Propriety is always reſerved, and who doth often, as his Humor and Fancy leads him to pleaſe and gratifie

The largeneſs of the Turkiſh Empire.

gratifie a Stranger, diſpoſſeſs an ancient Poſſeſſor, whoſe Family hath for many generations enjoyed that Inheritance. Sometimes I have heard, with the Sighs of ſome, and the Curſe of others, how the Grand Signior heated in his Hunting, and pleaſed with the refreſhment of a little cool and cryſtal Water, preſented him by a poor Paiſant, hath in recompence thereof freed the Tenant from the Rent of his Landlord, and by his ſole Word confirmed to him the Cottage he lived in, the Woods, Gardens and Fields he manured, with as ſound a Title, as our long Deeds and Conveyances ſecure our Purchaſes and Inheritances in *England*; and this the former Maſter dares not name Injuſtice, becauſe this Tenant is now made Proprietor by the Will of the Grand Signior, which was the ſame Title and Claim with his; Preſcription, Tenant-right, and Cuſtom availing nothing in this Caſe. For if the inheritance hath been anciently derived from Father to the Son, the more is the Goodneſs and Bounty of the Emperor to be acknowledged, that hath permitted ſo long a Succeſſion of his Favours to run in one Family, in whoſe Power it was to transfer it to others.

The abſolute and unlimited Power of this Prince is more evident by the Titles they give, as *God on Earth*, *the Shadow of God*, *Brother to the Sun and Moon*, *the Giver of all Earthly Crowns*, &c. And though they do not build and erect Altars to him, as was done to the Roman Emperors, when that People degenerated into a faſhion of deformed Adulation, wherein *Italy* is at preſent corrupted; yet the Conception they have of his Power, the Ray they conceive to be in him of Divine Illumination, is a kind of imagery and idolatrous Fancy they frame of his Divinity. It is an ordinary ſaying among the Turkiſh Cadees and Lawyers, That *the Grand Signior is above the Law*; that is, whatſoever Law is written, is controllable, and may be contradicted by him: his Mouth is the Law it ſelf, and the Power of an Infallible Interpretation is in him; and though the Mufti is many times, for cuſtom, formality, and ſatisfaction of the People conſulted with, yet when his Sentences have not been agreeable to the Deſigns intended, I have known him, in an inſtant, thrown from his Office to make room for another Oracle better prepared for the purpoſe of his Maſter.

Some maintain that the very Oaths and Promiſes of the Grand Signior are always revocable, when the performance of his Vow is a reſtriction to the abſolute Power of the Empire. And I remember when my Lord Ambaſſador hath ſometimes complained of the Breach of our Capitulations, and pleaded that the Grand Signior had no Power by ſingle Commands to infringe Articles of Peace, to which he had obliged himſelf by ſolemn Oaths and Vows; the Interpreters have gently touched that Point, and been as nice to queſtion how far the Power of the Grand Signior extended, as we ought to be in the ſubtile Points of the Divine Omnipotence, but rather in contemplation of the Grand Signior's Juſtice, Wiſdom, Faith and Clemency, inſinuated Arguments of Honour, Convenience and Juſtice in maintaining the League inviolate with the King of *England*. It was *Juſtinian*'s Rule concerning the Prerogative of Princes, *Etſi legibus ſoluti ſumus, tamen legibus vivimus*: That is, although the Majeſty of Princes, and the neceſſity of having a Supreme Head in all Governments, did free and privilege them from all Puniſhment, and exempt them from the Cenſure and Correction of the Law, that no earthly Power could call them to account for their Errors or Diſorders in this World; yet it is neceſſary to the being of an abſolute Monarch, to be a ſevere Executioner of the Laws of his Country; and it is more his Intereſt and Security, than to act without Rule, and always to make uſe of the Power of Abſolute Dominion, which is to be applied like Phyſick, when the ordinary force of Nature cannot remove the malignancy of ſome peccant Humours.

The Grand Signior himſelf is alſo reſtrained by Laws, but without impeachment to his Abſolute Juriſdiction. For when there is a new Emperor, it is the cuſtom to conduct him with great Pomp and Triumph to a place in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople* called *Job*, where is an ancient Monument of ſome certain Prophet, or Holy Man, whom the Turks, for want of knowledg in Antiquity and Hiſtory, ſtyle that *Job*, who was recorded for the mirror of Conſtancy and Patience. For they confound all Hiſtory in Chronology, ſaying, That *Job* was *Solomon*'s Judg of the Court, and *Alexander* the Great, Captain of his Army. At this Place ſolemn Prayers are made, that God would proſper, and infuſe Wiſdom into him, who is to manage ſo great a Charge. Then the Mufti embracing him, beſtows his Benediction, and the Grand Signior ſwears and promiſes ſolemnly to maintain the Muſleman Faith, and Laws of the Prophet *Mahomet*; and then the Viziers of the Bench, and other Baſhaws, with profound reverence and humility, kiſſing the Ground firſt, and then the Hemm of his Veſt, acknowledg him their lawful and undoubted Emperor: And after this Form of Inauguration, he returns with the like Solemnity and Magnificence to the Seraglio (which is always the Seat of the *Ottoman* Emperors.) And thus the Grand Signior retains, and obliges himſelf to govern within the compaſs of Laws; but they give him ſo large a latitude, that he can no more be ſaid to be Bound or Limited, than a Man who hath the World to rove in can be termed a Priſoner, becauſe he cannot exceed the Incloſure of the Univerſe. For though he be obliged to the execution of the *Mahometan Law*, yet that *Law* calls the Emperor the Mouth and Interpreter of it, and endues him with power to alter and annul the moſt ſettled and fixed Rules, at leaſt to wave and diſpenſe with them when they are an Obſtacle to his Government, and contradict (as we ſaid before) any great Deſign of the Empire. But the learned Doctors among the *Turks* more clearly reſtrain the Imperial Power only to the obſervation of that which is Religious in the *Mahometan* Law, ſaying, That in Matters which are Civil, his Law is Arbitrary, and needs no other Judg or Legiſlator than his own Will. Hence it is that they ſay, the Grand Signior can never be depoſed or made accountable to any for his Crimes, whilſt he deſtroys careleſly of his Subjects under the number of an hundred a day. And in like manner hence it is, that though the *Mahometan* Law determines the Teſtimony of two Witneſſes of that Faith to be valid for the determation of all Caſes of Difference, yet by our Capitulation it is provided, that no *Turkiſh* Witneſſes, of what number or quality ſoever, can avail any of the *Engliſh* Nation, by reaſon that the Caſe being Civil, is diſpenſible by the Imperial Power; but I doubt, were any Matter in queſtion Criminal (as we have never, God be praiſed, had occaſion to put it to trial) the Capitulations would be forced to yield to the *Mahometan* Law, as being both Religious and Divine, with which the Sultan hath no power to diſpenſe.

Of what Conſequence and Benefit this Abſolute Power hath been to the *Turks*, is evident by the extent of their Empire, and ſucceſs of their Arms. For if the Sultan pleaſes the Souldiery, no matter how the People in this conſtitution is contented; and this was the concluſion of *Machiavil* upon this Government, in the 19th Chapter of his Book *del Pincipe*. And it muſt needs be a great advantage to a Commander, when the *Utile* and *Juſtum* are reconciled and made the ſame, and that he meets no contradiction or oppoſition at Home, which may retard or croſs the great Deſigns Abroad. The Emperor of *Germany* had doubtleſs ſooner encountred the *Turks*, and given a ſtop to his free entrance the firſt Year of the late War into *Hungary*, had he been Abſolute of the whole Empire, and not neceſſitated to expect the conſent of his ſeveral Princes, and the reſult of a Diet, when the *Turks* were even ready to enter *Germany*. For when many Heads or Hands are required, all Buſineſs moves ſlowly, and more Time is ſpent in agreement of the manner of Action, in Arguments and Debates (which are moſt commonly carried on by Faction) than in the moſt difficult Point of execution. It would ſeem a great Clog to the Grand Signior to be obliged to depend on the Bounty of his Subjects, when he would make a War, or on the Judgment of a Lawyer that ſhould contradict and cenſure the Actions of his Prince as irregular, and exceeding the Priviledges of his Prerogative. It is very difficult to underſtand how it is poſſible with theſe Fetters for any Country or City ever to arrive to that height, as to be termed the Miſtreſs of a great Empire, or a Prince be ſaid to have a long Arm, or embrace a large Compaſs of the Globe, who is pinion'd with the Bands of his own Laws. But I confeſs it is a Bleſſing, and wonderful Happineſs of a People, to be Subjects of a gracious Prince, who hath preſcribed his Power within the compaſs of wholſome Laws, acknowledged a right of Poſſeſſion and Propriety of Eſtate as well in his Subjects as himſelf, who doth not puniſh the Innocent with the Guilty, nor oppreſs without diſtinction, nor act the part of that King whom God gives in his Wrath. But then they muſt content themſelves with their own Borders, or ſome neighbouring Conqueſt, and this is better, and a greater Glory and Content, than the Honour of being Slaves to the Luſt of a Monarch, whoſe Titles comprehend the greateſt part of the World.

CHAP. III.

The Leſſon of Obedience to the Emperor is taught by the Turks, as a Principle of Religion rather than of State.

THE abſolute Power in the Prince implies an exact Obedience in the Subjects; and to inſtil and confirm that Principle, no Art or Induſtry is wanting in the education of thoſe who are placed in the Seraglio, with deſign of preferment to Offices and great Charges; ſo that even the Oath of Obedience, which Friars and other Religious Men vow to their Superiors at their firſt initiation into Eccleſiaſtial Orders, is not more exactly or devoutly obſerved or profeſſed by them, than this Doctrine of Submiſſion to the Will of their great Maſter, is carefully taught to his Young Scholars who ſtand Probationers and Candidates for all the Government of the Empire. To die by the hand or command of the Grand Signior, when the blow is ſubmitted to, with entire reſignation, is taught to be the higheſt point of Martyrdom; and whoſe good Fortune it is ſo to ſuffer, is immediately tranſported to Paradiſe. *Kara Muſtapha Paſſaw* (a great Viſier) after he had been ſo ſucceſsful in all Matters of his Charge, and proved ſo excellent an Inſtrument of Victories and Services to his Maſter, that he was applauded by all to be a moſt happy and fortunate Miniſter, was ſo ſenſible of his own Condition, and the favour of his Prince, that he confeſſed he was now arrived to the greateſt Glory and Perfection he could in this Life aſpire to, and only wanted the Holy Martyrdom, to die by the Order and Sentence of the Grand Signior, as the Reward of his Faithfulneſs, and the Conſummation of all his Honours.

Such as receive any Wages or pay, coming from the Exchequer, or any Office depending on the Crown, have the title of *Kul*, which is, the Grand Signior's *Slave*: ſuch is the great Vizier and all the Baſhaws of the Empire, and it is more honourable than the Condition and Name of *Subject*; for they have a priviledg over theſe, and can revile, beat and abuſe them with Authority; but the *Subject* cannot offer the leaſt injury to the *Slave*, without danger of ſevere puniſhment. *Slavery* amongſt the Turks denotes a condition of entire reſignation to the Will and Command of the Emperor, to perform whatſoever he ſignifies; or, if poſſible, what he conceives: though he command whole Armies of them to precipitate themſelves from a Rock, or build a Bridg with Piles of their Bodies for him to paſs Rivers, or to kill one another to afford him paſtime and pleaſure. They that have been where they have ſeen and known the manner of this blind Obedience, may well cry out, *O homines ad ſervitutem paratos!* And doubtleſs the flattery uſed in the Seraglio towards the Prince, by thoſe that are near his Perſon, is proportionable to this condition of ſlavery they profeſs, and cannot but fanſie a ſtrange kind of projected baſeneſs in all the deportment within the Walls of the Seraglio, when there appears ſo much condeſcenſion Abroad to all the luſts and evil inclinations of their Maſter; ſo that a generous Prince (as ſome have been found among the *Ottoman* Emperors) though he deſired not the publick Liberty, would yet be weary of this ſlaviſh compliance, and ſeek other counſel and means to inform himſelf of the true ſtate of his own and other Kings Dominions, than ſuch as proceed from Men unexperienced in any other Court or Country than that they live in. This flattery and immoderate ſubjection hath doubtleſs been the cauſe of the decay of the Turkiſh Diſcipline in the Time of Sultan *Ibrahim*, when Women governed, and now in this preſent Age of Sultan Mahomet, whoſe Counſels are given chiefly by his Mother, Negroes, Eunuchs, and ſome handſome young Moſayp or Favourite; ſeldom any from without being permitted, or have their Spirits emboldened to declare a Truth, or are called to give their counſel in Matters of greateſt importance. So that this Obedience which brave and wiſe Emperors have made uſe of in the advancement of noble Exploits, and enlargement of their Empire, is with effeminate Princes (delighted with flattery) the Snare of their

Qui libertatem publicam nollet, eum projecta ſervientium patientiæ tædebat. Tac.

their own Greatneſs, and occaſion of weak Counſels and Means in the management of great Deſigns. If a Man ſeriouſly conſider the whole compoſition of the Turkiſh Court, he will find it to be a Priſon and Banniard of Slaves, differing from that where the Galley-ſlaves are immured, only by the Ornaments and glittering out-ſide and appearances: here their Chains are made of Iron, and there of Gold and the difference is only in a painted ſhining ſervitude, from that which is a ſqualid, ſordid and a noiſome ſlavery. For the Youths educated in the Seraglio (which we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe of in the next Chapter) are kept as it were within a Priſon, under a ſtrange ſeverity of Diſcipline, ſome for twenty, thirty, others forty Years, others the whole time of the Age of Man, and grow gray under the correction of their *Hogiaes* or Tutors. The two Brothers of this preſent Grand Signior are alſo impriſoned here, reſtrained with a faithfull and carefull Guard, and perhaps are ſometimes permitted, out of Grace and Favour, into the preſence of their Brother, to kiſs his Veſt, and to perform the offices of Duty and Humility before their Prince. The Ladies alſo of the Seraglio have their faithful Keepers of the Black Guard to attend them, and can only have the liberty of enjoying the Air, which paſſes through Grates and Lattices, unleſs ſometime they obtain licence to ſport and recreate themſelves in the Garden, ſeparated from the ſight of Men, by Walls higher than thoſe of any Nunnery.

Nay, if a Man conſiders the Contexture of the whole Turkiſh Government, he will find it ſuch a Fabrick of ſlavery, that it is a wonder if any amongſt them ſhould be born of a free ingenuous Spirit. The Grand Signior is born of a Slave, the Mother of the preſent being a *Circaſian*, taken perhaps by the Tartars in their incurſions into that Country. The Viſiers themſelves are not always free-born by Father or Mother; for the Turks get more Children by their Slaves than by their Wives, and the continual ſupply of Slaves ſent in by the Tartars, taken from different Nations, by way of the Black Sea, (as hereafter we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully) fills *Conſtantinople* with ſuch a ſtrange Race, Mixture, and Medly of different ſorts of Blood, that it is hard to find many that can derive a clear Line from ingenuous Parents: So that it is no wonder that amongſt the Turks a diſpoſition be found fitted and diſpoſed for Servitude, and that is better governed with a ſevere and tyrannous Hand, than with ſweetneſs and Lenity, unknown to them and their Forefathers: as *Grotius* takes this Maxim out of *Ariſtotle*, *Quoſdam homines naturâ eſſe ſervos*; i. e. *ad ſervitutem aptos*; *& ita populi quidem, eo ſunt ingenio, ut regi quam regere norint rectius.* But ſince it appears that Submiſſion and Subjection are ſo incident to the Nature of the Turks, and Obedience taught, and ſo carefully inſtilled into them with their firſt Rudiments; it may be a pertinent queſtion, How it comes to paſs, that there are ſo many Mutinies and Rebellions as are ſeen and known amongſt the Turks, and thoſe commonly the moſt inſolent, violent and deſperate that we read of in Story. To let paſs the Mutinies of former Times in the Ottoman Camp, and the uſual, though ſhort Rebellions of ancient Days: I ſhall inſtance in the Cauſes and Beginnings of two notorious Diſturbances, or rather Madneſſes of the Souldiery, not mentioned in any Hiſtory, which being paſſages of our Age, deſerve greatly to be recorded.

Spahees, the Turkiſh Horſe.

This Obedience then that is ſo diligently taught and inſtilled into the Turkiſh Militia (as to the Spahees in their Seraglios, or Seminaries; the Janiſaries in their Chambers) ſometimes is forgot, when the Paſſions & Animoſities of the Court (by which inferior Affections are moſt commonly regulated) corrupt that Diſcipline, which its Reaſon and Sobriety inſtituted. For the affections of Princes are endued with a general Influence, when two powerful Parties aſpiring both to Greatneſs and Authority, allure the Souldiers to their reſpective Factions, and engage them in a Civil War amongſt themſelves; and hence proceed Seditions, deſtruction of Empires, the Overthrow of Common-Wealths, and the violent Death of great Miniſters of State.

And ſo it happened, when ill Government, and unproſperous Succeſſes of War, cauſed Diſobedience in the Souldiery, which ſome emulous of the Greatneſs of thoſe that were in Power, nouriſhed and raiſed to make place for themſelves or their Party. For in the time of Sultan *Mahomet*, the preſent Grand Signior, when the whole Government of the Empire reſted in the hands of one *Mulki Kadin*, a young audacious Woman, by the extraordinary Favour and Love of the Queen-Mother, (who, as it was divulged, exerciſed an unnatural kind of Carnality with the ſaid Queen) ſo that nothing was left to the Counſel and Order of the Vizier and grave Seniors, but was firſt to receive Approbation and Authority from her; the black Eunuchs and Negroes gave Laws to all, and the Cabinet-Councils were held in the ſecret Apartments of the Women; and there were Proſcriptions made, Officers diſcharged, or ordained as were moſt proper to advance the Intereſt of this Feminine Government. But at length the Souldiery (not uſed to the Tyranny of Women) no longer ſupporting this kind of Servitude, in a moment reſolved on a Remedy, and in great Tumults came to the Seraglio, where commanding the Grand Signior himſelf to the Kioſch, or Banquetting-houſe, they demanded, without farther Prologue, the Heads of the Favourite Eunuchs; there was no Argument or Rhetorick to be propoſed to this unreaſonable Multitude, nor Time given for delays, or conſultation; but every one of the accuſed, as he was entred into the Souldiers Roll or Catalogue, and required, being firſt ſtrangled, was afterwards thrown headlong from the Wall of the Garden, and committed to the farther ſatisfaction of their Enemies Revenge, by whom from thence they were dragged to the *Hippodromo*, and before the new Moſque cut into ſmall pieces, and their Fleſh roaſted and eaten by them. The day following, they apprehended *Mulki*, and her Husband *Schaban Kalfa*, both whom they put to Death; nor ended this Tumult here, until by means of diſſention between the Spahees and Janiſaries, the principal Miniſters found means and opportunity to interpoſe their Power; and having executed ſeveral of the Spahees, and performed other exemplary parts of Juſtice, reduced Matters to ſome kind of quietneſs and compoſure; and thus Order reſults often from Confuſion, and Tumults in corrupted Common-Wealths have operated good Effects to the redreſs of ſeveral Evils. But beſides this Inſurrection or Mutiny of the Janiſaries, have ſucceeded divers other; but becauſe there hath been no diſorder amongſt them ſo notorious and memorable, as that which occaſioned the Death of *Kioſem*, Grandmother to the preſent Sultan, we have thought fit to record the certain Particulars of it to all Poſterity.

CHAP. IV.

A True Relation of the Deſigns managed by the old Queen, Wife of Sultan Ahmet, *and Mother of Sultan* Morat, *and Sultan* Ibrahim, *againſt her Grand-Child Sultan* Mahomet, *who now Reigns; and of the Death of the ſaid Queen and her Complices.*

AFter the murther of Sultan *Ibrahim*, by conſpiracy of the Janiſaries, Sultan *Mahomet*, (eldeſt Son of the late deceaſed Emperor, a Child of nine Years old) ſucceeded in the Throne of his Father; and the Tuition of him, and Adminiſtration of the Government (during his minority) was committed to the old Queen, the Grandmother, called *Kioſem*; a Lady, who through her long experience, and practice in Affairs, was able, and proper for ſo conſiderable an Office; and ſo the young Sultan was conducted to the *Moſch* of *Eiub*, where with the accuſtomed Ceremonies, his Sword was girt to his ſide, and he proclaimed Emperor through all the Kingdoms and Provinces of his Dominions.

For ſome time this old Queen governed all things according to her pleaſure, until the Mother of this young Sultan, as yet trembling with the thoughts of the horrid Death of her Lord; and fearing leſt the ſubtile and old Politician the Grandmother (who had compaſſed the Death of her Husband) ſhould likewiſe contrive the Murther of her Son, grew hourly more jealous of his Life and Safety; which ſuſpicion of hers was augmented by the knowledg ſhe had of the ambitious and haughty Spirit of the Grandmother, and the private Treaties, and ſecret Correſpondence ſhe held with the Janiſaries, which compelled her to a reſolution of making a Faction likewiſe with the Spahees, and Paſhaws, and Beyes, who had received their Education in the Seraglio, being a party always oppoſite to the Janiſaries. Theſe ſhe courted by Letters and Meſſages, complaining of the Death and Murther of the Sultan her Husband, the Pride and Inſolence of the Janizaries; and ſmall eſteem was had of her Son, their undoubted Prince; adding, that if they provided not for their own Safety, the old Queen would aboliſh both the Name and Order of Spahees. The Aſiatick Spahees awakened hereat, with a conſiderable Army, marched to *Scutari*, under the conduct of *Gurgi Nebi*, and demanded the Heads of thoſe who had been the Traytors and Conſpirators againſt the ſacred Life of their late Sovereign; all which were then under the protection of the Janiſaries, and ſupported by the powerful Authority of the Queen Regent. Upon this Alarm the Grand Viſier, (called *Morat* Paſhaw) who had had his Education among the Janiſaries, being adored by them as an Oracle, and engaged with them in the late Treaſon againſt the Sultan, ſpeedily paſſed over from *Conſtantinople* to *Scutari*, with an Army of Janiſaries, and others of his Favourites and Followers, tranſporting likewiſe Artillery and all neceſſaries for entrenchment; ſome Skirmiſhes paſſed between the Vanguard of the Spahees and the Deli (which are the Viſier's Guard) and thereby had engaged both the Armies; but that the two Chief Juſtices of *Anatolia* and *Greece* interpoſing with their grave and religious Countenances, preached to them of the Danger and Impiety there was in the effuſion of Muſſelmens or Believers Blood; and that, had they any juſt Pretences, their Plea ſhould be heard, and all Differences decided by the Law. Theſe, and ſuch like Perſuaſions made impreſſion on *Gurgi Nebi* and other Spahees: and the poſture they found their Adverſaries in, to give them battel, made them inclinable to hearken to Propoſals for accommodation; but eſpecially their Courages were abated by what the Juſtices had declared, that in caſe they repaired not to their own Homes, the Vizier was reſolved to burn all the Rolls, and proclaim a general *Neſiraum* through the whole Empire: which is an Edict of the King and Mufti, commanding all the Turks of his Kingdoms, from ſeven Years old and upward, to arm and follow him to the War.

The Spahees hereupon diſperſed themſelves; and from their Retreat, encreaſed the Pride of the Janiſaries Faction, and of their chief Commanders, *viz. Bectas Aga*, highly favoured by the Queen Regent; *Kul Kiahia* Lieutenant of the Janiſaries, and *Kara Chiaus* a follower of *Bectas*, who now eſteemed themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Empire. Theſe three now governed all Matters, contriving in their ſecret Councils the deſtruction of the Spahees; eſpecially thoſe famed for Riches and Valour; and as one of the firſt Rank, gave order to the Paſha of *Anatolia*, to take away the Life of *Gurgi Nebi*; whom accordingly he one day aſſaulted in his Quarters, and being abandoned by his Souldiers, ſhot him with a Piſtol, and ſent his head to *Conſtantinople*.

The Spahees exaſperated hereat, entred into private Councils and Conſpiracies in *Anatolia* againſt the Janiſaries, drawing to their party ſeveral Beyes and Paſhaws of *Aſia* (and particularly one *Ipſir* a *Circaſian* born, but educated in the Seraglio, a Perſon of a couragious Spirit, and powerful in Men and Treaſure) aſſaulted many Quarters of the Janiſaries in *Aſia*, and cutting off their Arms and Noſes, miſerably ſlaughtered as many as fell into their hands.

On the other party *Bectas Aga*, ſecure in his condition, amaſſed Wealth with both hands, by new Impoſitions, Rapine, and other Arts; cauſing to be coined at *Belgrade* three hundred thouſand Aſpers, one third Silver, and two of Tin; theſe Aſpers he diſperſed amongſt the Tradeſmen and Artiſans, forcing others to exchange his falſe Metal for Gold, at the value of 160 Aſpers for the Hungarian Ducat. The people ſenſible of the Cheat, began a Mutiny in the Quarter of the Sadlers at *Conſtantinople*, which encreaſed ſo faſt, that the whole City was immediately in a general Uproar: This Tumult was violently carried to the place of the Mufti, whom they forced with the *Seigh* (who is the Grand Signior's Preacher) and the *Nakib Eſrif*, a Primate of the Mahometan Race, to accompany them to the Seraglio; where at the inward Gate of the Royal Lodgings, with Clamours and Out-cries, they made their Complaint. In this Danger the Grand Signior was adviſed by the *Capi Agaſi*, and *Solyman Aga*, the *Kuzlir Aga* or chief Eunuch of the Women, that this happy Conjuncture was to be embraced for the deſtruction of *Bectas* and his Complices; but fear, and too much caution hindred that Deſign for the preſent; only it was judged fit, for ſatisfaction of the Multitude, that *Melek Ahmet Paſhaw* (then Prime Vizier, and yet a Slave to the Luſts of the Janiſaries) ſhould be deprived of his Office; which was immediately effected;

and the Seal taken from him, was delivered to *Siaus Paſhaw*, a ſtout and valiant Perſon. This Vizier being jealous of his own Honour, and jealous for the ſafety of the Empire, caſt about all ways to ſuppreſs the arrogance of *Bectas* and his Adherents; leſt the like ſhame and misfortune ſhould befal him, as did to *Murad Paſhaw* one of his late Predeceſſors in the Office of Vizier; who for diſſenting from *Bectas* in Opinion, had loſt his Life, had he not eſcaped his Fury by flying into *Greece*.

The times were alſo troubleſome, and full of danger; the Janiſaries kept Guard in the Streets, not ſuffering ſo much as two Citizens to walk together, for prevention of ſecret Conſultations: many Artiſans, or Handy-craftſmen, were impriſoned, as principally in the late Tumult, againſt the Conſent and Order of the new Vizier; the Court was alſo divided; The Sultan's Party contrived to ſurprize and kill the rebellious Commanders of the Janiſaries, and that the day following, the Lieutenant of the *Baltagees*, or Hatchetmen, ſhould encounter *Kulchiaſbia* as he came according to cuſtom to the Divan, and ſlay him; but the Old Queen being of a contrary Faction, with Threats and Menaces frighted that Officer from his deſign. The two Queens were exaſperated highly againſt each other; one to maintain the Authority of her Son, and the other her own: in the City the confuſion grew greater; the Janiſaries were not pleaſed with the election of *Siaus Paſſa*, knowing him to be averſe to their Faction; but yet conſidering the ſtate of the Times, they endeavoured, with fair Promiſes, to allure him to their Party. The old Queen, by Letters, adviſed *Bectas* of all Matters that were diſcourſed in the Seraglio, intimating that the young Queen was Author of all theſe Diſturbances, and that therefore, as a remedy of all theſe Evils, it was neceſſary that Sultan *Mahomet* ſhould be depoſed, and his younger Brother *Solyman* placed in his ſtead, who having a Mother, would be abſolutely ſubject to her Tuition: ſhe added likewiſe that *Solyman* was a luſty Youth, corpulent and Majeſtical, whereas Sultan *Mahomet* was lean, weakly and unable for the Crown. *Bectas* having received this Meſſage from the Queen Regent, aſſembled a Council at *Orta-giami* (that is the Janiſaries Moſch) where was a great and ſolemn appearance both of the Souldiery and Lawyers, (which latter are of the Spiritual Function amongſt them) ſome out of friendſhip to their Party, and others for fear of their Power; only the Vizier was wanting, whom they ſent to invite, out of an Opinion that he might be drawn to their ſide; and in caſe they found him oppoſite, then not to ſuffer him to eſcape alive from their Councils. It was then two hours in the Night, when this Meſſage came to the Vizier; and though it was againſt the State and Gravity of a Vizier to go to any, but his Maſter; yet he thought it now time to diſſemble, and overcome the greatneſs of his Mind; and ſo with a private Retinue went to the Moſch, where the firſt he encountred, was a Guard of Ten thouſand Janiſaries, armed with their Muskets and Matches lighted, which at firſt ſo diſmayed him, that he had ſome thoughts of returning, but afterwards recovering himſelf, and taking Courage, reſolved to proceed; and coming to the Moſch, *Bectas* vouchſafed not to meet him, but ſent another to perform that Ceremony; at which neglect, though the greatneſs of his Spirit could ſcarce contain it ſelf, yet ſuppreſſing his choler, he addreſſed himſelf to the Feet of *Bectas*, who ſcarce ariſing, gave him a faint welcome; and ſetting him on his left hand (which is the upper hand with the Turkiſh Souldiery) began to propound to him his new Deſigns; and firſt, That it was neceſſary, that the preſent King ſhould be depoſed, and *Solyman* Crowned in his place. That the Canons of the Imperial Seraglio ſhould be reformed; and that whereas the Children of divers Nations were yearly collected for the Service of the Grand Signior, none ſhould for the future have admiſſion there, but the Sons of Janiſaries. The Vizier conſented to all that was propoſed, profeſſing a ſincere affection and reality to them and their Party, ſwearing upon the *Alchoran*, with the moſt horrid Imprecations on himſelf, and his Family, if he were not faithful to Him and his Deſigns; which gave *Bectas* that ſatisfaction, that he began to perſuade himſelf that the Vizier was really a confiding Perſon, and one affectionate to their Intereſt; and ſo partly from this conſideration, and partly out of a confidence of his own ſtrength, and inability of the Vizier to hurt him, fairly took his leave of him, and ſo diſmiſſed his *Kalaba Divan*, or his confuſed Council.

But the *Chiachia Bei* (or Lieutenant-General of the Janiſaries) and *Kara-Chiaus* reproved very much *Bectas* for permitting the Vizier to eſcape with his Life, ſaying, he had done ill in ſuffering the Bird to eſcape out of the Cage; that he had releaſed one, and permitted him to carry his Head on his Shoulders, who would ſhortly take off theirs; with many words of the like effect. But *Bectas* ſlighted their Reproof, as proceeding from want of Courage, and the Ignorance of their own Power; and that the time until morning was ſo ſhort, that ſhould the Vizier intend to countermine them, he was wholly unable, being unprovided both of Power and Council. The Vizier being got free, went apace to the Seraglio, with two Men only, thanked God as he walked, that he was freed from the Hands of thoſe Tyrants and Villains; and coming to the Iron-gate, intending to paſs through the Garden, he found it open, contrary to the cuſtom; and enquiring of the Boſtangees, or Gardiners, the reaſon, he could learn nothing farther from them, than that it was the order of the old Queen: who (as it appeared afterwards) expected her Confidents who might withdraw her that Night into ſome retirement where ſhe might remain ſecure from the Dangers of the enſuing Day. The Vizier being entred, went ſoftly to the Sultan's Apartments, and in his way, by good chance, met with the *Kuzlir Agaſi*, *Solyman Aga*, the chief Eunuch of the Women, who in the dark was making his rounds about the old Queen's Lodgings; by the Vizier's voice *Solyman* knew who he was, but was amazed at his unſeaſonable viſit; yet underſtanding the Buſineſs, thanked him for his Vigilance; adding, that he had alſo obſerved that the old Queen, contrary to her cuſtom, was not yet gone to Bed, who did at other times at two hours in the Night diſpoſe her ſelf to reſt, only this Evening ſhe had entertained her ſelf in company of her Eunuchs, and Favourites, with Muſick, Singing, and other unuſual Delights. Wherefore, after ſome ſhort deliberation, the Vizier, *Solyman Aga*, and others of the King's Eunuchs, went to the quarters of the old Queen, and offering to enter forcibly, were repulſed by the Queen's Eunuchs; but *Solyman Aga* being a ſtout Man, drew his Dagger and ſtruck the chief Chamberlain *Baſh Kapa Oglar* on the Face; upon which the other Eunuchs who accompanied *Solyman* entred furiouſly with their Daggers, at which the Eunuchs of the Queen flying, ſhe remained alone in the Chamber, where ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of the King's Eunuchs. The fugitive Eunuchs would immediately have eſcaped out of the Seraglio, but the Gates were firſt ſhut by order of *Solyman Aga*, ſo that they, with all other Favourites of the ſaid Queen, were taken and ſecured in ſafe hands. This Victory was ſo ſecretly obtained, that they received no Alarm in the Royal Lodgings, though near adjoining; ſo that the Vizier and *Solyman Aga* went to the Chamber where the King ſlept, and lifting up the Antiport, made a ſign of ſilence to the Ladies of the Guard, commanding, by dumb motions, that the young Queen ſhould be awakened (for it is the cuſtom in the Grand Signior's Court to ſpeak by ſigns, to prevent noiſe, and as if there were ſome point in it of Majeſty and Decency, they have practiſed this mute Language ſo fully, that they are able to recount Stories in it.) The Ladies hereupon gently rubbing the Queen's Feet, raiſed her out of her ſleep, and gave her to underſtand the *Solyman Aga* would ſpeak with her; whereat the Queen ſurprized, leapt from her Bed to ſpeak with him, and was ſcarce informed of the Buſineſs, before ſhe became ſo affrighted, that ſhe could not contain her ſelf within the Bounds of Moderation or Silence, but with great Cry ran to take her Son as one diſtracted, and catching him up in her Arms, cried out, *O Son! thou and I are dead*; the Grand Signior likewiſe as a Child bewailed himſelf, and falling at the feet of *Solyman Aga*, ſaid, *Lala, Lala Kurtar-beni*, which is, Tutor, Tutor ſave me: He not without Tears took his Lord into his Arms, and with the Vizier encouraged the Child and his Mother, proteſting that they would rather die, than live to behold ſo horrid a ruine; and ſo accompanied him, (ſome Ladies carrying before Torches lighted in their hands) to the *Hozoda*, which is the Preſence Chamber, or place where the principal Officers of the Court attend. Upon the approach of the Torches, the Guard which watched in this Chamber was amazed, and walking towards the light to diſcover what there was, perceived that the Grand Signior was coming thither, and thereupon returned again with all haſte to awaken their Companions, and calling them immediately to repair to their due ſervice.

The Grand Signior being ſeated on a Throne, which is always remaining in the Preſence Chamber; the Officers hereof (which are in number forty) preſented themſelves before him, deſiring to know if his Majeſty had any thing wherein to employ their Fidelity and Service. Hereat *Solyman Aga* ſaid, *He that eats the King's Bread, ſhould apply himſelf to the King's Service; we ſuffered the Traitors to deſtroy Sultan* Ibrahim, *and now they would alſo take this out of our hands; To you it belongs, who are his Majeſty's Principal Servitors, to afford him your utmoſt aſſiſtance. Eigiuſi Muſſapha Paſſa*, Sword-bearer to the Grand Signior, and chief of the Preſence Chamber, a Man of a Lion's Heart, and undaunted Reſolution, underſtanding ſomething formerly of the Bad inclinations of the old Queen towards the King, readily replied, *Great Maſter, be not troubled, to morrow you ſhall ſee (God willing) the Heads of your Enemies at your Feet.* The Vizier and others in the mean time after a ſhort Conſult fell to act, the exigency of their Affairs admitting no delays; and in the firſt place, Pen and Ink being brought, an Order was preſented to the Grand Signior to be ſubſcribed for the arreſting the *Boſſangi-Paſha* as a Traitor, for having, againſt the rule of the night, kept open the Gate of the King's Garden. This was done in an inſtant, he removed from his Office, and another conſtituted in his place; and at the ſame time the Oath of Allegiance was adminiſtred to him, who calling together the Gardiners, in number, about 500, cauſed them alſo all to ſwear faithful Obedience to the Grand Signior, and to remain all that Night, keeping good Guard at the Gates and Walls of the Gardens. In the next place the Ichoglans were called up (who are the Grand Signior's Pages) and to proceed with the more privacy and leaſt confuſion, they went firſt to the Chamber of the *Capa Agaſi* (who by his Office is over all the Youth of the Seraglio) and knocking gently at the Window, the Guards came at the noiſe, and demanded what the matter was? they anſwered, Awake the *Capa Aga*, and let him ſpeak to us at the Window. But the *Capa Aga* would firſt know who they were that would ſpeak with him: and when it was told him that it was the Vizier and the *Kuſlir Aga*, he anſwered, *I am indiſpoſed and cannot riſe*, but utter what you have to ſay at the Window; ſo they ſaid, *By his Majeſty's Order, go and raiſe all the Ichoglans in the Seraglio, upon an important occaſion*; and yet the *Capa Agaſi* would not ſtir, ſo that ſome believed him confederate in the Conſpiracy; but the truth was, he was an ancient Man of 90 Years, and unhealthful in his Body. Wherefore *Solyman Aga* cried out with a loud voice, *Aga raiſe the Ichoglans, our King is ready to be taken out of our hands*; but the *Capa Aga* perſiſted that he would not raiſe the Ichoglans or Pages, unleſs he brought a Command in writing from the King. In the interim the Servants of the *Capa Aga* awakened, and hearing this diſcourſe, could not contain themſelves, but with without farther Order ran to both the greater and leſſer Chamber of the Pages; the Butler came to that which is called the greater Chamber; it was then five hours in the night when he entred in, and running to the middle of the Chamber, which was 80 Paces in length, he made a ſtop and clapped his hands together; (To make ſuch a noiſe in the Seraglio at night was a high Miſdemeanor) at which ſome being awakened, raiſed up their Heads, and ſtartled at ſuch an unuſual Alarm, enquired the reaſon of it; at which he again clapping his hands, and crying out, Ariſe the Grand Signior is like to be taken out of our hands, the whole Chamber was raiſed; ſo that you might have ſeen all the Ichoglans in number above 600 to ariſe and run in a confuſed manner, ſome without Cloaths, ſome without Arms to fight, ſome ſuppoſing the Janiſaries were already entred the Seraglio. In this amaze came a Guard of Black and White Eunuchs to the Door, adviſing them to arm themſelves with what Weapons were next at hand, and there to remain until they received farther Orders. All the other Chambers of the Pages and Officers were in the ſame confuſion, and were commanded in the like manner to arm themſelves.

The Grand Signior fearing all this while he ſhould be put to death as his Father was, could not be pacified untill *Muſtapha Paſha* his Sword-bearer taking him by the hand ſhewed him his Attendants all armed, and ready at his command; and paſſing by one of the Windows of the Lodgings, was deſcried by a young Man, who cried out with a loud voice (*God grant our King Ten thouſand Years of Life*) at which all the Chamber ſhouted, * *Allah, Allah*; this Acclamation

* *A Shout uſed by the Turks when they fight.*

clamation rang through all the Seraglio, ſo that it reached the more remote quarters of the Drogiſts, Cooks, Pole-axe-men, Faulconers, and others; who being ready and armed as the others, anſwered with the like ſhout.

Theſe Preparations were not only in the Seraglio, but likewiſe without; for the Vizier had given order to all the Paſhaws and Beglerbegs, and other his Friends, that without delay they ſhould repair to the Seraglio with all the force they could make, bringing with them three days Proviſion, obliging them, under pain of Death, to this Duty. In a ſhort ſpace ſo great was this concourſe, that all the Gardens of the Seraglio, the outward Courts, and all the adjoining Streets, were filled with armed Men: from *Galata* and *Tophana* came Boats and Barges loaden with Powder and Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries; ſo that in the morning, by break of day, appeared ſuch an Army of Horſe and Foot in the Streets, and Ships and Gallies on the Sea, as adminiſtred no ſmall terrour to the Janiſaries; of which being adviſed, and ſeeing the concourſe of the People run to the aſſiſtance of the King, they thought it high time to beſtir themſelves; and therefore armed a great company of *Albaneſes*, *Greeks*, and other Chriſtians, to whom they offered Mony, and the Title and Privileges of Janiſaries, promiſing to free them from *Harach*, or Impoſitions paid by the Chriſtians; which Arguments were ſo prevalent, that moſt taking Arms, you might ſee the Court and City divided, and ready to enter into a moſt dreadful confuſion of a Civil War.

In the Seraglio all things were in good order, the Morning Devotions being finiſhed, the Baltagees, (who are a guard that carry Poleaxes) called to the Pages to join with them, and accompany them to the Preſence Chamber. Theſe Baltagees were in number about 200, ſtrong, of large ſtature, and of admirable agility; at whoſe beck the Pages ran with all alacrity to the door of the Chamber, where they at firſt received a repulſe from the Maſter of the Chamber who was an Eunuch, and one faithful to the old Queen's Intereſt, who to yield all poſſible furtherance towards the protection of her Perſon, reproved the inſolence of the Rout in coming ſo boiſterouſly to the Royal Lodgings; to which they unanimouſly anſwered, that they would ſpeak to his Majeſty, that it was their deſire to have the old Queen (Enemy to the King, and the Mahometan Faith) put to Death; at which words he being enraged, and relying on his Authority, reproved them with Terms of Rebels and Traitors to their Maſter. *What have you to do with the Queen*, ſaid he? *Are you worthy to open your Mouths againſt her ſerene Name?* He reiterating theſe and the like words, one of this Rabble ſaid, *Kill that Cuckold, for he alſo is an Enemy of the Faith.* And whilſt one lifted up his hand to ſtrike him, he fled by the way of the *Tarras* into the Garden, whither being purſued by five or ſix of them, he was overtaken, and catching him by the Collar, would have cut his Throat, but that at his earneſt entreaty, they gave him ſo much liberty as firſt to caſt himſelf at the Feet of the Sultan: whither being dragged, he delivered to the King a Seal and a Key of ſecret Treaſure, and being about to ſay ſomething in his own behalf and defence of his Life, a bold Youth of theſe Baltages, called *Jalch-Leferli* ſtruck him on the Head with his Ax, and cleft it in two pieces; the others ſeeing this firſt blow given him, fell on him with their Scimiters and cut him to pieces; his Blood and Brains were daſhed on the rich Carpets, which moved fear in many, who were ſecretly of the Conſpiracy with the old Queen. The young King himſelf, ignorant of the good Intentions of his Servants, at the ſight of blood-ſhed, being yet tender-hearted, cryed, and cloſely embraced the *Selihtar* who then held him in his Arms; but upon the removal of the Corpſe out of his ſight, and ſome ſmooth words, as that it was a Sacrifice of Love to him, and the like, his childiſh Tears were ſoon wiped away.

In this interim the new created Mufti, and *Kenan Paſha*, one of the Viziers of the Bench, and *Balyzade Efende*, who was formerly Lord Chief Juſtice, and well affected to the Spahee's Party, entring the Hazoda, or Preſence-Chamber, perceiving a Tumult in his Majeſty's preſence, with different Voices and Languages, for ſome cryed in *Georgian*, others *Albanian*, *Boſnian*, *Mengrelian*, *Turkiſh* and *Italian*, remained in great confuſion how to proceed with Order and Reaſon in this important Affair; for the Mufti, and others, were of Opinion, that the Sentence againſt the old Queen was not raſhly to be pronounced, and ſo the Matter might calmly be debated, and if poſſible, an expedient might be found for ſaving her Life, and ſecuring the Sultan: But the Rabble impatient of Delay, cryed out, defer not the Sentence; for otherwiſe we ſhall eſteem thee as one of her Adherents.

By this time news was come to the young Queen, that there had been a Fight in the Streets; who as yet doubtful of the ſucceſs, and fearing if the Janiſaries ſhould gain the Advantage, *Bectas* would revenge the Blood of the old Queen by her Death, came covered with a Veil into the Preſence-Chamber, ſaying, as ſhe paſſed, *Is this the Reverence you owe to the King your Lord? Do you know the place where you are? What would you have of a Woman? Why do you buſie your ſelves in the King's Affairs?* Some preſently apprehended that this was only a Plot of the young Queen to make the World believe ſhe would rather aſſiſt the Grandmother, than contrive againſt her; which made the Pages the more importunately to perſiſt with the Mufti for the *Fetfa* or Sentence againſt her. But one of the Pages ſuſpecting that this Woman ſo veiled, might be the old Queen her ſelf, cried out, *This is ſhe you ſeek for, ſhe is in your Hands, take your Revenge upon her.* At which ſome beſtirring themſelves to ſeiſe her, ſhe ran to the Feet of her Son, and laying hold on him, cryed out, *No, no, I am not the Grandmother, I am the Mother of this his Majeſty*; and wiping the Tears from the Eyes of her Son with her Handkerchief, made ſigns to keep back, which reſtrained the forwardneſs of ſome who preſſed to lay violent hands upon her. The Mufti, who obſerved the carriage of the Rout, and their earneſt deſires which could not be reſiſted, feared, if he gave not his concurrence, he himſelf ſhould be killed, and the rather becauſe he over-heard the old *Kenan Paſha* diſcourſe with the Vizier to the like effect. So that after ſome pauſe and conſultation with the other chief Miniſters, it was reſolved to ſupplicate his Majeſty for his conſent; which was done in theſe words; *Sir, The Will of God is, that you conſign your Grandmother into the hands of Juſtice, if you would have theſe Mutinies appeaſed; a little Miſchief is better than a great One; there is no other Remedy, God willing the end ſhall be proſperous.* Pen and Ink being brought, the Mufti wrote the Sentence, and the Grand Signior ſubſcribed it, which was, that the old Queen ſhould be ſtrangled, but neither cut with Sword, nor bruiſed with Blows. The Writing was delivered into the hands of one of the Chamberlains, to whom, by word of Mouth, it was ordered that they ſhould carry the Queen out by *Cuſhana*, (or the Gate of the Birds) ſo as ſhe might not die in ſight or hearing of the Grand Signior. The Ichoglans advancing the *Royal Command* on high with their hands, went out of the Preſence with a great ſhout, crying, *Allah*, *Allah*, to the Door of the Womens Lodgings, where they met ſome black Eunuchs keeping Guard, who upon the ſight of the *Imperial Firme*, and the command of *Solyman Aga*, gave them admittance, upon condition that twenty Perſons only ſhould enter the Chambers. Thoſe who were beſt armed went in, and paſſing through the Chambers of the Virgins, were met by the Queen's Buffone with a Piſtol in her hand, who demanded what they would have? they anſwered, the King's Grandmother; ſhe replied, I am ſhe, and with that offered to diſcharge her Piſtol, but it took fire only in the Pan; with that the Ichoglans laid hold on her, ſuppoſing her to be the Queen; but being better adviſed by *Solyman* the *Kuzlir Aga*, and directed to the Chamber where the Queen was; the Door being opened, they perceived the Room to be dark (for the Womens quarters in the Seraglio for the moſt part are made obſcure and cloſe, and Lights are burnt in them Day and Night) and the old Queen had at the approach of theſe Officers extinguiſhed her Candles and got into a great Preſs, and there covered her ſelf with Quilts and Carpets; but Torches being brought in, they looked all about and deſcryed nothing; at which they were enraged againſt *Solyman*, and would have killed him, ſaying, That he was the cauſe the Queen had eſcaped. But *Solyman* adviſing them to ſearch more narrowly, one called *Deli Dogangi*, got upon the Preſs, and removing the Clothes, diſcovered the Queen, who had thruſt her ſelf into a corner; at which ſhe ſhortly thus entreats him, *O brave Man be not cruel unto me*; and promiſed ſhe would give to every Ichoglan five Purſes a Man (each Purſe conſiſting of 500 Dollars) if they would ſave her life. *It is not the time of Ranſome, Traitor*, ſaid he; and taking her by the Feet, drew her forth: the Queen riſing up, put her hand into her Pocket, and threw out handfulls of Zaichins, hoping that whilſt they were ſcrambling for the Gold, ſhe might have an opportunity to eſcape; ſome of the young Men gathered up the Mony, but the *Dogangi*, like a Dog of the Game, left her not, and at length, though ſhe were heavy, caſt her down. The others offered at her Life, and particularly an *Albaneſe*, called *Ali Boſtangi*, who ſeeing two great Jewels at her Ears, immediately catched at them, and tore them thence. They were two Diamonds of the bigneſs of Cheſnuts cut angularly, and beneath each Diamond was a Ruby to ſet it off. Thoſe Earings were given her by Sultan *Achmet* in the time of her moſt flouriſhing Age, and his greateſt affection. 'Tis ſaid, that ſuch Jewels cannot be found in all the Great Turks Treaſure, and were eſteemed by the moſt skilful Jewellers, worth a Years Revenue of Grand *Cairo*. This *Ali* ſhewed the Jewels to his Camrade, demanding the value of them, and his counſel whether to reveal or conceal them; but the Camrade prized them at that rate that the ſtout young Man could not ſleep Day nor Night, being always in fear leſt the Jewels ſhould not be kept hid; and apprehending that they became none but the Grand Signior to wear, went and delivered them to *Solyman Aga*, who in recompence thereof, preſented him with ſixteen Zaichins, which he accepted, deſiring alſo to be admitted into the Chamber of the Treaſury, which was granted him. Others alſo plucked her, ſome by the Hands, others by the Feet; ſome rifled her Clothes, for ſhe was furniſhed throughout with things of great value ſewed in her Garments, and eſpecially in her Sable Furs, which contain'd alſo certain Magick Spells, by which ſhe conceived ſhe had tied the Tongues of all the Emperours living in her Time. The perſon who gave me this Relation, informed me, that he had ſeen a certain Lock admirably made, and engraved with the Names of *Murad* and Sultan *Ibrahim*; it was made by a famous *Gindgi*, a very ignorant Fellow, but a ſuperſtitious crafty Liar, by which Arts finding acceſs, in ſhort time he became a chief Favourite of Sultan *Ibrahim*, and from a poor Student called by the Turks a *Softa*, he grew ſo rich in two Years that none in *Conſtantinople* was comparable to him.

But to return to the Queen now aſſaulted by furious young Men, greedy of Riches; ſhe was in a moment deſpoiled of her Garments; her Furs were torn off into ſmall pieces; and being ſtript of her Rings, Bracelets, Garters and other things, ſhe was left naked without a Rag to cover her, and dragged by the feet to the *Chuſhana*: and being at the Place of her execution, the young Officers found themſelves unprovided of a Cord to ſtrangle her, ſo that crying out for a Cord, one ran to the Royal Chappel, and thence took the Cord that upheld the great Antiport of the Moſch, which being twined about the Queen's Neck, the aforeſaid *Dogangi* getting upon her back, pitched her neck with his hands, whilſt the others drew the Cord. The Queen, though ſhe were by this time beſides her Senſes, and worn out with Age, being above 80 Years old, and without Teeth; yet ſhe with her Gums only did bite the Thumb of his left Hand, which by chance came into her Mouth, ſo hard, that he could not deliver himſelf until with the haft of his Poniard he ſtruck her on the Forehead near her right Eye. There were four that ſtrangled her, but being young Executioners, laboured long to diſpatch her, till at length the Queen leaving to ſtruggle, lay ſtretched out, and was ſuppoſed to be dead, and ſo crying *(Vldi, Vldi)* ſhe is dead, ſhe is dead, ran to carry the news thereof to his Majeſty; but being ſcarce out of ſight, the Queen raiſed her ſelf up, and turned her Head about; upon which the Executioners being again called back, the Cord was a ſecond time applied, and wrung ſo hard with the haft of a hatchet, that at length ſhe was diſpatched, and the News carried to the Royal Chamber. The black Eunuchs immediately took up the Corpſe, and in a reverend manner laid it ſtretched forth in the Royal Moſch, with about 400 of the Queen's Slaves encompaſſing it round about with Howling and Lamentations, tearing the Hair from their Heads after their barbarous faſhion, moved compaſſion in all the Court.

This Work being over, the Vizier having given thanks to the Ichoglans, or Pages, for their pains, gave order to produce the Banner of *Mahomet*, which is carefully and reverently kept in the Treaſury; which being produced, obliges all of that Faith, from ſeven Years and upward, to arm and come under it. The Banner being brought forth, with a rich Covering, was advanc'd with great ſhouts of *Allah, Allah*: and carried by the Ichoglans out of the chief Gate of the Seraglio, where it was ſhewn to the People, who with wonderful admiration and devotion, beheld their glorious Standard; order was alſo given to proclaim, through the whole City, the Proceſſion of the Heavenly Banner; for they ſay, that the Angel *Gabriel* brought it to Mahomet in the time of a great War made againſt the Chriſtians, as an infallible Sign and Evidence of Victory.

The opinion of this ſuperſtitious Flag ſo prevailed, as it brought, not only the Young and Healthful to fight under it, but Sick and Old; and Women judged themſelves obliged to run to the defence of this Holy Enſign. The news hereof, and the death of the old Queen coming to the old Chamber of the Janiſaries; ſeveral of them, and thoſe alſo of the principal Heads, began to murmure, that it was now neceſſary to lay aſide their private Intereſts, and have a reſpect to their Faith and their Souls; for ſhould they oppoſe the Heavenly Banner, they ſhould run themſelves into the State of Gaurs and Infidels, and become liable to the ſame cenſure or puniſhment which is inflicted upon unbelievers. But in the new Chambers *Bectas* endeavoured to remove this apprehenſion from the mind of his Souldiers, by large Preſents both of Gold and Silver, perſwading them to uphold their Fame and Reputation; for that the Grand Signior and his Mother were Enemies to their Name and Deſigns, and reſolved to abaſe or deſtroy the order of that Militia; and with aſſurance of Victory and encouragement againſt a People unarmed and undiſciplined, animated them to fight; and to make the buſineſs more eaſie, adviſed them to fire the City in ſeveral parts, that ſo the People might be diverted and divided for ſafety of their own Goods and Dwellings. But this propoſition took not with the Officers and Souldiers, who had many of them Houſes and Poſſeſſions of their own in *Conſtantinople*, but put them into great Diſtractions and Diviſions in their Counſels. In this pauſe, came an Officer from the Grand Signior (who to venture his life, had the promiſe of a good Reward) with a command in Writing which he threw in amongſt them, and galloped away as faſt as he could; crying out as he rode, *He that comes not under the Banner of the Prophet, is a Pagan, and his Wife divorced.* The Writing was taken up and carried to the preſence of the principal Officers, which being opened and read, was to this purpoſe; *Bectas* Aga, *I have made* Paſha *of* Boſna, Kara-chiaus *I have made Captain-General of the Sea*; Kul-kahya *I have made* Paſha *of* Temiſwar; *and* Kara Haſſan Ogle *I have made* Janiſar Agaſi; *and I require, at ſight of theſe Preſents, that every one of you, upon pain of Death, and ruine of his Family, repair to his Duty and Station.*

In this inſtant came news that the old Chamber of Janiſaries had left their ſtation, and were run under the Banner without Arms, and had refuſed *Bectas*'s Mony, and deſerted his Cauſe; and that the Spahees in great Troops, and the Jebegees (who command the Ordnance) approached with Artillery to beat upon their Chambers. The Spahees came thundring in upon the Janiſaries in remembrance of their paſt Injuries, and had certainly cut them off, had not the Vizier, with his Sword in his hand, by good and bad words, reſtrained them, and appeaſed their Animoſity. The Janiſaries of the new Chamber proclaimed their new Commander, and viſited him with their uſual form of Congratulation, running afterwards confuſedly under the Banner. *Kara Haſſan* the new elected *Aga* of the Janiſaries, went to the Seraglio to thank the Grand Signior for the Honour done him, and with ten of his principal Friends was admitted to the Grand Signior's Preſence; who humbly kiſſing the Ground, received the accuſtomed Veſts, and with ſome Admonitions, was fairly diſmiſſed, and ordered to reduce his Janiſaries to better Obedience.

By this time *Bectas*, *Kulkahya*, and *Kara Chiaus*, with ſome of their Favourites, remained wholly abandoned, looking one upon the other, full of Complaints and Railings, each at other, for the miſcarriage of the Action. But ſince it was not now time to condole, but to ſave their Lives, every one made to his Houſe. Firſt, *Bectas* fled to his Home, where having ordered his Affairs, he clothed himſelf in the *Albanian* faſhion, and eſcaped to the Houſe of a poor Man formerly his Friend and Confident; but the next day being diſcovered by a Youth, was taken, and being ſet on a Mule, was with the ſcorn and deriſion of the People conducted to the Grand Signior's Seraglio, and there ſtrangled. This Perſon was held in ſo much deteſtation by the common People, that after his Death, the Cooks and inferiour ſort of Servants, run Spits and Pitch-forks through his Body; and plucking the Hairs out of his Beard, ſent them for Preſents to their acquaintance through all *Conſtantinople*, ſaying, *Theſe are the Hairs of that Traitor, who gloried, that before he would loſe his Head, there ſhould be raiſed a Mountain of Heads as high as St.* Sophia. But *Kulkahya* being come to his Houſe, filled his Portmantles with Gold and Jewels, and accompanied with ſixty Horſe, reſolved to fly to the Mountains of *Albania*, places ſo inacceſſible, that they have never yielded to the Turkiſh Yoke: but finding himſelf hotly purſued in his Journey, and that it was impoſſible to eſcape with ſo great a Number, freely diſtributed a great part of his Gold upon his Retinue, and thanking them for their Affection, and good Intentions, diſmiſſed them all excepting one Servant, with whom he journied with four laden Horſes, with Gold, Jewels, and other Riches; and perceiving that this alſo was too great an incumbrance, they buried a Treaſure to the value of 600 thouſand Dollars in the Country as they travelled; which was afterwards found out by certain Shepherds, who diſagreeing about the diviſion thereof, the Matter came to be known to the Judg of that Country, who ſeiſed upon it all, and ſent it to the Grand Signior's Treaſury. But *Kulkahya* travelling ſtill farther with his ſingle Page, came to a Town, where wanting Bread, and forced for the Paiment of it to exchange Gold, fell into a ſuſpicion of being one of thoſe Rebels lately eſcaped from *Conſtantinople*; which news being brought to a Captain of Horſe that Commanded the place, he came immediately with ſome Men to take him; but *Kulkahya* reſolving not to fall into their hands alive, reſiſted them until he was killed by a Musket-ſhot, and ſo his Head being ſevered from his Body, was ſent to the Grand Signior.

Kara Chiaus in this interim being with two hundred Men retired into his Garden, was aſſaulted by an Aga of the Spahees (called *Parmakſis*) with 500 Men; but that this Enterpriſe might be acquired with a little Blood, a Perſon was ſent ſecretly to adviſe that Party, that if they oppoſed the Royal Command, they ſhould every one be put to death; at which the People fled and diſperſed themſelves. At that inſtant came in this Aga and took him, and yet comforted him with the Clemency and Mercy of the Grand Signior, promiſing alſo himſelf to intercede for him. And ſo bringing him to the Seraglio by the Garden Gate, his Majeſty had notice of it, and looking out of the Window, and ſeeing him upon his Knees begging pardon, the Grand Signior gave a Sign to the Executioner to ſtrangle him, which was accordingly performed. The new *Janiſar Aga* who knew all the Officers, formerly affected to the rebellious Party, for ſeveral Nights cauſed ſome or other of them to be ſtrangled, to the number of thirty eight Perſons; which ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the Janiſaries, that for a long time after they kept themſelves within the bounds of Humility and Obedience. And thus concluded this Tragedy, remarkable, as well for the Diſpatch, as for the Action it ſelf, being but the work of fourteen Hours. And in this manner it is apparent, how the leſſons of Obedience which are ſo carefully taught, and inſtilled into the Minds of thoſe who ſerve and depend upon the Grand Signior are corrupted; and by the Pride, Diſcord, and Faction of the Governours, ſeduced from their natural Principles.

By the Premiſſes we may conſider more generally, that it hath always been the misfortune of unlimited Powers to be ſubject to Dangers and Violence, ariſing from the Diſcontents and Unconſtancy of the Souldiery: for they coming to be ſenſible of their own Strength, and knowing that the Power of the Emperor is but fortified with their Hands and Heart, like unruly Beaſts throw their Riders, and ſhew that the Principles of Obedience taught them, are eaſily corrupted and defaced by evil Perſwaſions, or Sedition in a Commander or common Souldier. This we ſee in the time of the latter *Roman* Emperors, who uſurped Power unknown in the days of the pure and happy Conſtitution of that Common-Wealth, and governed all by the Sword and their own Luſts; few of them ended their days fortunately, or died in their Beds in Peace, without becoming a Sacrifice to the ſame Power that firſt proclaimed them Emperors. And though the Mutinies and Rebellions in the *Turkiſh* Militia can hardly operate any durable alteration in the State (as we ſhall more at large hereafter diſcourſe) yet doubtleſs the Tyranny in the *Ottoman* Emperors, had provoked the People long ſince to have proved the benefit of another Race, but that there is a ſtrange kind of Devotion and Religion in their Minds as to the *Ottoman* Blood, which having been the Original of their Empire and Greatneſs, will ever be maintained in high Reverence and Honour. Nor is it likely that the fair Speeches and Allurements of a rebellious Slave, will ever prevail to perſwade this People from their Religion to this Prince, or that their Arms can ever be proſperous under the Enſign and Conduct of an Uſurper.

And may all Chriſtians learn this Leſſon from the *Turks*, and add this Principle to the Fundamentals of their Religion, as well as to their Laws. None can more experimentally preach this Doctrine to the World than *England*, who no ſooner threw off her Obedience and Religion to her Prince, but (as if that Vertue had been the only bar to all other Enormities and Sins) ſhe was deprived of all other Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Rights, and in all her Capacities and Relations deflowred and prophaned by impious and unhallowed Hands.

And thus having given a Relation of the *Turks* Religion, and firſt Principles in order to their Obedience to their Prince, let us proceed a little into the *penetralia* of the Seraglio, and there ſee what farther care is taken of the Youth, in all Points of their *Education*, to fit and prepare them for the management and performance of the higheſt and weightieſt Offices of State; which I judg to be one of the chiefeſt of the *Turkiſh* Polities, and is certainly an extraordinary Support and Security of the Empire.

CHAP. V.

The Education of young Men in the Seraglio, out of which thoſe who are to diſcharge the great Offices of the Empire are elected. It being a Maxim of the Turkiſh Polity, *to have the Prince ſerved by ſuch whom he can raiſe without Envy, and deſtroy without Danger.*

IT is a ſpecial point of Wiſdom in Princes, to provide and prefer Men of deſerving Parts and Abilities, to the diſcharge of the great and important Offices of State, not ſuch whom Chance and Fortune caſually throws on them, becauſe they will not take the pains of a narrow and ſevere Scrutiny to ſeek Men able and fit for Truſt; nor ſuch whom Flattery, Riches, Gifts or Nobility promote, but thoſe whom the Prince, by his own experience of their Wiſdom, Vertues, and Diligence, or the Teſtimony of his Councellors and other Confidents, judges capable to improve their Advancement to the Honour of the King, and the Bleſſing of their Country: and not like vaſt Mountains which hide their Heads in the Clouds, and yet remain without Fruit or Herbage; whoſe barrenneſs makes their height accurſed. Some wiſe Princes, and great Miniſters of our Modern Times, have kept Rolls and Regiſters of the moſt eminent Men famed for their Vertue, and Knowledg in any parts, with an account of their Family, Lineage and Condition, out of which (if in their own juriſdiction) they culled and elected ſuch, proper for their Occaſions and vacant Offices.

Bolzac de la Cour, leur ſterilete fait manudire leur elevation. Cardinal *Richlieu.*

The *Turk* is no leſs careful in the choice of his Officers, and loves to be ſerved by his own, ſuch as to whom he hath given Breeding and Education, and are obliged to employ thoſe Parts in his Service which he hath beſtowed, whoſe Minds he hath cultivated with Wiſdom and Vertue, as well as nouriſhed their Bodies with Food, until they arrive to a mature Age, that renders the profit of his Care and Expence; ſuch as theſe he is ſerved by, whom he can raiſe without Envy, and deſtroy without Danger.

The Youths then that are deſigned for the great Offices of the Empire, called by the Turks *Ichoglans*, muſt be ſuch as are of Chriſtian Parents, taken in War, or preſented from remote parts; as I have obſerved that the *Algiarines*, always amongſt other Gifts, preſent ſome Youths whom they have taken by Piracy; the Policy herein is very obvious, becauſe the Sons of Chriſtians will hate their Parents being educated with other Principles and Cuſtoms; or coming from diſtant Places, have contracted no acquaintance, ſo that ſtarting from their Schools into Government, they will find no Relations or Dependences on their Intereſts than that of their great Maſter, to whom they are taught, and neceſſity compels them to be faithful.

In

Magnaque eſt comitum æmulatio, quibus primus apud principem ſuus locus, & Principum cui plurimi & acerrimi comites. Hæc dignitas, hæ vires, Magno ſemper electorum juvenum globo circundari, in pace decus, in bello præſidium.

In the next place, theſe Youths muſt be of admirable Features, and pleaſing Looks, well ſhaped in their Bodies, and without any defects of Nature; For it is conceived, that a corrupt and ſordid Soul can ſcarce inhabit in a ſerene and ingenious Aſpect; and I have obſerved, not only in the Seraglio, but alſo in the Courts of great Men, their perſonal Attendants have been of comely luſty Youths, well habited, deporting themſelves with ſingular Modeſty and Reſpect in the preſence of their Maſter: So that when a *Paſcha*, *Aga*, *Spahee* travels, he is always attended with a comely Equipage, followed by flouriſhing Youths, well cloathed and mounted in great numbers, that one may gueſs at the greatneſs of this Empire, by the Retinue, Pomp, and number of Servants which accompany Perſons of Quality in their Journies; whereas in the parts of Chriſtendom, where I have travelled, I have not obſerved (no not in Attendance of Princes) ſuch oſtentation in Servants as is amongſt the *Turks*, which is the Life and Ornament of a Court. And this was always the cuſtom in the Eaſtern Countries, as *Q. Curtius* reports, *Lib.* 6. *Quippe, omnibus barbaris in corporum Majeſtate veneratio eſt, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximiâ ſpecie donare natura dignata eſt.* But theſe Youths before they are admitted, are preſented before the Grand Signior, whom according to his pleaſure he diſpoſes in his Seraglio at *Pera*, or *Adrianople*, or his great Seraglio at *Conſtantinople*, which is accounted the Imperial Seat of the *Ottoman* Emperors. For theſe are the three Schools or Colledges of Education. Thoſe that are preferred to the laſt named, are commonly marked out by ſpecial deſignation, and are a nearer ſtep to Degrees of Preferment, and are delivered to the charge of the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the White Eunuchs.

The Eunuchs have the care of theſe Scholars committed unto them, whom they treat with an extraordinary ſeverity; for theſe, being the *Cenſores morum*, puniſh every ſlight Omiſſion or Fault with extreme Rigour. For Eunuchs are naturally cruel, whether it be out of envy to the Maſculine Sex which is perfect and entire; or that they decline to the diſpoſition of Women, which is many times more cruel and revengeful than that of Men; they will not let ſlip the ſmalleſt *Peccadillo* without its due chaſtiſement, either by blows on the ſoals of the Feet, or long Faſting, Watchings, or other Penance; ſo that he who hath run through the ſeveral Schools, Orders and Degrees of the Seraglio, muſt needs be an extraordinary mortified Man, patient of all Labours, Services and Injunctions, which are impoſed on him with a ſtrictneſs beyond the diſcipline that Religious Novices are acquainted with in Monaſteries, or the ſeverity of *Capuchins*, or Holy Votaries. But yet methinks theſe Men that have been uſed all their lives to Servitude and Subjection, ſhould have their Spirits abaſed, and when licenſed from the Seraglio to places of Truſt and Government, ſhould be ſo acquainted how to obey, as to be ignorant how to Rule, and to be dazled with the Light and Liberty, and overjoyed with the ſenſe of their preſent Condition and paſt Sufferings, paſſing from one extreme to another, that they ſhould loſe their Reaſon, and forget themſelves and others. But in anſwer hereunto the Turks affirm, That none know ſo well how to govern, as thoſe who have learned how to obey; though at firſt the ſenſe of their freedom may diſtract them, yet afterwards the Diſcipline, Lectures and Morality in their younger Years, will begin to operate, and collect their ſcattered Senſes into their due and natural places.

Oda ſignifies a Chamber.

But to return from whence we have a little digreſſed; Theſe young Men, before they are diſpoſed into their Schools, which are called *Oda*, their Names, Age, Country and Parents are Regiſtred in a Book, with their allowance from the Grand Signior of four Aſpers a day; the Copy of this Book is ſent to the *Teſterdar*, or Lord Treaſurer, that ſo quarterly they may receive their Penſion.

The two Odaes.

Being thus admitted, they are entred into one of the two Schools, that is to ſay into the *Bojuck Oda*, which is the great Chamber, or the leſs; the former commonly contains 400, and the other about 200 or 250. Theſe two Schools may be ſaid to be of the ſame Form or Rank; and what is taught in one, is likewiſe in the other, neither of them hath the precedency, all of them equally near to Preferment: Their firſt Leſſons are Silence, Reverence, humble and modeſt Behaviour, holding their Heads downwards, and their Hands acroſs before them. Their Maſters the *Hogias*, inſtruct them in all the Rights, Diſcipline and Superſtition of the *Mahometan* Religion, and to ſay their Prayers, and underſtand them in the *Arabick* Language; and to ſpeak, read, and write *Turkiſh* perfectly. Afterwards having made proficiency in the former, they proceed in the ſtudy of the *Perſian* and *Arabick* Tongues, which may be of benefit to them if their Lot chance to call them to the Government of the Eaſtern parts, and is a help to the Improvement of their Knowledg in the *Turkiſh*, which being of it ſelf barren, is beholden to thoſe Tongues for its copiouſneſs and enrichment.

Cloathing and other neceſſaries.

Their Cloathing is good *Engliſh* Cloth and Linen, neither fine nor courſe; their Diet is chiefly Rice, and other wholſom Meats which become the Table of Scholars, where there is nothing of ſuperfluity, as there is nothing of want: Their Manners and Behaviour are ſtrictly watched by the Eunuchs their careful Guardians, ſo as they cannot be familiar one with another at any time, without Modeſty, and reſpect to the Preſence they are in: If they go to perform the neceſſary Offices of Nature, or to the Bath, they are never out of the Eye of an Eunuch, who will admit none of their neareſt Relations to ſpeak with them, or ſee them, unleſs ſpecial Licence be obtained from the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the Eunuchs. Their Bed-chambers are long Chambers, where all Night Lamps are kept burning; their Beds are laid in ranks one by another, upon *Sofraws* or Boards raiſed from the Ground; and between every five or ſix lies an Eunuch, ſo as conveniently to ſee or over-hear if there be any wanton or lewd behaviour or diſcourſe amongſt them.

Their Retirement: Bed-chambers.

When they are arrived to ſome proficiency, and almoſt to Man's Eſtate, and ſtrength of Body, fit for Manly Exerciſes, they are trained up in handling the Lance, throwing the Iron Bar, drawing the Bow, and throwing the Gerit or Dart. In all theſe Exerciſes they ſpend many hours, being conſtant in all or ſome of them, and are ſeverely corrected by their Eunuchs, if they ſeem to be remiſs or negligent therein: Many of them ſpend much time principally in drawing the Bow, in which they proceed from a weaker to one more ſtrong, and by continual exerciſe and uſe, come at laſt to draw Bows of an incredible ſtrength, more by Art and Cuſtom, than of pure Force; and thus by conſtant bodily Exerciſe, they become Men of great Strength, *Horſmanſhip.*

The Dart or Gerit.

Health, and Agility, fit for Wars, and all active Employments. Amongſt their other Exerciſes, Horſemanſhip is a principal Leſſon, both to ſit in a handſom poſture, and to manage their Horſe with dexterity; to draw the Bow on Horſeback, forwards, backwards, and on either ſide; which they learn with that agility and pliantneſs of their Joints, in the full carriere or ſpeed of the Horſe as is admirable. They learn alſo to throw the Gerit or Dart out of their hands on Horſeback; which becauſe it is a Sport or Recreation the preſent Grand Signior delights in above all others, every one in hopes of Preferment, and in emulation one of the other, endeavours to be a Maſter in it; and moſt are become ſo dextrous, that they will dart a Stick of above three quarters of a yard long, with that force, that where it hits, it will endanger breaking of a Bone. The Grand Signior every day paſſes his Time with ſeeing his Pages exerciſed in this Sport, in which ordinarily one knocks another from his Horſe; and ſeldom a day paſſes, in which ſome receive not Bruiſes or deſperate Wounds. This Sultan doth many times appoint days of Combat between the Black Eunuchs, and ſome of his White Pages on Horſeback, in this manner with the Gerit; and then happens ſuch a Skirmiſh with ſuch emulation, each ſide contending for the honour of his Colour, Race, and Dignity, with that Heat and Courage, as if they contended for the Empire; this Paſtime ſeldom concluding without ſome Blood. But it is to be noted, that none of theſe Exerciſes are performed by any of thoſe that belong to the two Chambers, unleſs within the Walls of the *Seraglio:* the other Pages who accompanied the Grand Signior abroad, are ſuch as are preferred to farther and higher Chambers, as hereafter we ſhall diſcourſe.

To the former Leſſons of School-learning, and Exerciſe abroad, are added ſome other accompliſhments of a Trade, Handy-craft, or Myſtery, in which a Man may be uſeful to the Service of the Grand Signior, as to ſew and embroider in Leather, (in which the *Turks* exceed all other Nations) to make Arrows, and embroider Quivers and Saddles, and make all ſorts of Furniture for Horſes; ſome learn to fold up a Turbant, others to fold up, clean and bruſh Veſts; to waſh and clean in the Bath, to keep Dogs and Hawks; others to excel in the Turkiſh manner of Muſick, and all other Services which may keep them from Idleneſs, and wherein they may be of future uſe to their great Maſter. And according hereunto Paſhaes and great Men have been denominated and ſurnamed after their departure from the Seraglio, to their places of Office and Truſt.

Such as have before made good proficiency in their Studies, and attained to a dexterity in their bodily Exerciſes, are tranſplanted to the firſt ſtep of Preferment, which is the waſhing the Grand Signior's Linnen; and here they firſt change their Cloth for Satten Veſts and Cloth of Gold, and their Pay and Sallery is augmented from four or five Aſpers a day, to eight or more; thence they paſs, as places fall, to the *Hazna-Oda*, or Chamber of the Treaſury, or to the *Kilar* or Diſpenſatory, where the Drugs, Cordials, and rich Drinks for the Grand Signior's Service are kept; out of thoſe two Chambers they are elected, in order to the higheſt and ſupreme place in the Seraglio, which is called the *Haz Oda*, which conſiſts of forty Pages; theſe attend immediately on the Perſon of the Grand Signior, and amongſt them twelve hold the chief Offices of the Court, *viz.*

1. The *Seliſtar-Aga*, the King's Sword-bearer.
2. The *Chiohadar-Aga*, he who carries his Cloak or Veſt for rainy Weather.
3. The *Rechinthar-Aga*, he that holds his Stirrup.
4. The *Ebriktar-Aga*, he that carries his Water to drink or waſh.
5. The *Tulbentar-Aga*, he that makes up his Turbant.
6. The *Kem Huſar-Aga*, he who keeps the Wardrobe; and overſees the waſhing the Linen.
7. The *Cheſneghir Baſhee*, the chief Sewer.
8. *Zagergee Baſhee*, the chief over the Dogs.
9. *Turnackgee Baſhee*, he who pairs his Nails.
10. *Berber Baſhee*, chief Barber.
11. *Muhaſebegee Baſhee*, the chief Accomptant.
12. *Teskeregee Baſhee*, his Secretary.

There are alſo two other Officers in the Court of great reſpect, which are the *Dogan Baſhee*, or chief Falconer; and the *Humamgee Baſhee*, or chief over the Baths; but theſe have their Offices and Lodgings apart, and not entring into the Royal Chamber, are not capable of higher Preferment.

There are nine alſo are called *Ars Agalar*, who have the privilege of preſenting Petitions, like Maſters of the Requeſts; of theſe, four are of the *Haſoda*, as the *Shiletar-Aga*, *Tcohadar-Aga*, *Rikiabrar-Aga*, *Tulban Oglani*; and the others are of different Offices, as the *Hazna Kiahaiaſi*, who is the ſecond Officer of the Treaſury; *Kiler Kiahaiaſi*, who is Overſeer of the Proviſions of Sherbets, Sugar, Sweetmeats, &c. *Dogangi Baſhi*, or chief Falconer; the *Hazodabaſchi*, or principal Commander of the Royal Chamber; and *Kapa Agaſi*, or chief Commander of the Pages; all which are firſt and neareſt to Preferment, and to be employed Abroad, in the Office of *Pacha*, as Places are void.

Thoſe that are thus, through the Grace and Favour of the Sultan, arrived to the Dignity of being of the Royal Chamber, where they enjoy the Honour and Privilege of being conſtantly in his Eye and Preſence, are often preſented by him with Swords, Veſts, Bows, and the like; and are permitted to take Rewards, for the Interceſſions and Applications they make in behalf of others. Sometimes he ſends them on Meſſage to *Paſhees*; ſometimes for the confirmation of the Princes, either in *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, or *Walachia*; ſometimes to carry Preſents to the Vizier and great Men: In all which Employments they are greatly entertained, both with Mony, Jewels, and rich Furniture for Horſes; ſo that very few of theſe Forty, but in a ſhort time gain Eſtates of their own, fit to equippe and furniſh them to enter into any Office of the Empire.

The degrees of Succeſſions greatly obſerved.

As Offices fall in order, Supplies are made out of theſe, others ariſing from lower Chambers ſucceſſively in their places; whether it be to the four moſt conſiderable Governments, which are *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, and *Buda*; or if none of theſe Places be void, to be *Beglerbegs* of *Grecia*, or of *Natolia*; to be *Aga* of the *Janiſaries*, *Spaheeler Agaſee*, or General of the Horſe; or to ſome ſmall *Paſhalicks* or Governments ſcattered in ſeveral places of the Empire.

But we ſhall not here need to diſcourſe of the particular Offices and Dignities within the Power and Gift of the Grand Signior, intending to make a diſtinct Chapter of the ſeveral Offices, Governments, Dignities and Places, from whence the Grand Signior's Profits ariſe, that ſo we may the better deſcribe the Wealth of this Empire, and the Importance of thoſe Offices, for diſcharge of which young Men are educated with the care beforementioned.

But before the concluſion of this Chapter, it will be neceſſary to add, that none, unleſs by ſpecial Grace, are advanced from the Seraglio, until the Age of about forty Years, by which time they are ripe and mature for Government, and the wantonneſs and heat of Youth allayed. Before their departure to their places of Truſt, they are courted and honoured by all with Preſents; the Queen-Mother, the *Sultanaes*, the rich Eunuchs, the Great Vizier, and Officers Abroad, concur all to adorn them with Gifts and Riches at their Advancements, as undoubted Conſequents of the Grand Signior's Favour. And at the farewel, with much ſubmiſſion they viſit the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the Eunuchs, and other principal Officers of the Seraglio, recommending themſelves, in the time of their abſence, to their good Grace and Favour, deſiring to live in their good Opinion and Friendſhip; and this is done with as much Ceremony and Complement as is exerciſed in the moſt civil Parts of Chriſtendom. For though the *Turks*, out of Pride and Scorn, comport themſelves to Chriſtians with a ſtrange kind of barbarous haughtineſs and neglect, they are yet among themſelves as courtly and preciſe in their own Rules of Complement and Civility, as they are at *Rome*, or any other parts of the civilized World.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Method of the Turkiſh *Studies and Learning in the Seraglio.*

WE have rather ſhewed in the foregoing Chapter, the Education of young Scholars, in reference to exerciſe of Body, and dexterity in Arms, than the method of their Studies and Speculations, according to the manner of our Seminaries and Colledges, which more reſpect the cultivation of the Mind, with the Principles of Vertue and Morality, and the Notions of ſublime Reaſon, than the Improvements of the Body by aſſiduity of Exerciſe, which makes them become active, and begets an agility in the management of Arms. And though the latter is a Buſineſs moſt attended to by ſprightly and ingenious Spirits, who know Preferments in the *Ottoman* Court have always depended, and ſtill do, on the virtue of the Sword; yet Speculation and Knowledg in Sciences are not wholly eſtranged from their Schools, which we ſhall in brief touch upon to ſatisfy the curioſity of our Academies, who I know would gladly be reſolved what ſort of Phyſical or Moral Philoſophy, what Tongues and Sciences fall within the contemplation of that barbarous Ignorance of the *Turks*. To dilucide which the moſt clearly as I can, according to the beſt information of the Learned *Turks*; it is reported by the *Kalfaes*, or Pedagogues of the Seraglio, that their chief Deſign is to inſtruct their Scholars in reading and writing, ſo as they may have ſome inſpection into the Books of their Law and Religion; eſpecially the *Alchoran*, whereby may be produced in their Minds a greater reverence to them. For being once paſſed from the firſt form of their A, B, C, and joyning Syllables, they are then inſtructed in the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein all the Secrets and Treaſure of their Religion and Laws are contained, and is a neceſſary accompliſhment of a *Paſha*, or any great Miniſter, in relation to the better diſcharge of his Office, being thereby enabled to have an inſpection into the Writings and Sentences of the *Kadees*, or other Officers of the Law within his Juriſdiction, as well as furniſhed with Knowledg and Matter of Diſcourſe concerning Religion. And to adorn theſe young Candidates of the Grand Signior's Favour, with more Polity and ingenious Endowments, the next Leſſon is the *Perſian* Tongue, which fits them with quaint Words and Eloquence, becoming the Court of their Prince, and corrects the groſſneſs, and enriches the barrenneſs of the *Turkiſh* Tongue, which in it ſelf is void both of Expreſſion, and ſweetneſs of Accent. It teaches them alſo a handſome and gentle deportment, inſtructs them in Romances, raiſes their thoughts to aſpire to the generous and vertuous Actions they read of in the *Perſian* Novellaries, and endues them with a kind of *Platonick* Love each to other, which is accompanied with a true Friendſhip amongſt ſome few, and with as much gallantry as is exerciſed in any part of the World. But for their Amours to Women, the reſtraint and ſtrictneſs of Diſcipline, makes them altogether ſtrangers to that Sex; for want of Converſation with them, they burn in Luſt one towards another; and the amorous diſpoſition of Youth wanting more natural Objects of Affection, is tranſported to a moſt paſſionate admiration of Beauty whereſoever it finds it, which becauſe it is much talked of by the *Turks*, we will make it a diſtinct Diſcourſe by it ſelf.

The Books they read commonly in the *Perſian* Language, are *Daniſten*, *Schaibdi*, *Pend-attar*, *Giuliſtin*, *Boſtan Hafiz*, and the *Turkiſh* Books called *Mulemma*, or a mixture of the *Arabian* and *Perſian* words, both in Proſe and Verſe, facetious and full of quick and lively Expreſſions. Of theſe ſorts of Books, thoſe moſt commonly read are called *Kirkwizir*, *Humainnami*, or *delile we Kemine*, *El ferctale*, *Seidbatal*, and various other Romances: theſe are uſually the ſtudy of the moſt aiery and ingenious Spirits amongſt them. Thoſe others who are of a Complexion more melancholick, and inclinable to contemplation, proceed with more patience of Method, and are more exact in their Studies, intending to become Maſters of their Pen, and by that means to arrive to Honour and Office, either of *Reſt Efendi*, or Secretary of State, Lord Treaſurer, or Secretary of the Treaſury, or Diſpenſatory, *&c.* or elſe to be *Emaums*, or Pariſh Prieſts of ſome principal Meſchs of Royal Foundation, in which they paſs an eaſy, quiet, and ſecure Life, with a conſiderable competency of livelihood. Others aim in their Studies to become *Hazifizi*, which ſignifies a Conſerver of the *Alchoran*, who get the whole *Alchoran* by Heart, and for that reaſon are held in great eſteem, and their Perſons as ſacred as the place which is the Repoſitory of the Law.

Thoſe who are obſerved to be more addicted to their Books than others, are named by them *Talibulilmi*, or lovers of Philoſophy; tho very few amongſt them arrive to any Learning really ſo called, yet they attain to the degree of *Giuzchoni*, or Readers of the *Alchoran*, for Benefit and Relief of the Souls of thoſe departed, who for that end have bequeathed them Legacies. At certain Houſes, they read Books that treat of the Matters of their Faith, and render them out of

Arabick into *Turkiſh*, and theſe Books are, *Schurut*, *Salut*, *Mukad*, *Multeka*, *Hidaie*, &c. which they diſcant upon in an Expoſitory manner; inſtructing the more ignorant and of lower form, by way of Catechiſm. They have alſo ſome Books of Poetry, written both in *Perſian* and *Arabick*, which run in Rhime and Meeter, like the Golden Verſes in *Pythagoras*, containing excellent Sentences of Morality, being directions for a Godly Life, and contemplation of the Miſeries and Fallacies of this World, which many of them do commit to memory, and repeat occaſionally as they fall into diſcourſe.

For other Sciences, as Logick, Phyſick, Metaphyſick, Mathematicks, and other our Univerſity Learning, they are wholly ignorant; unleſs in the latter, as far as Muſick is a part of the Mathematicks, whereof there is a School apart in the Seraglio. Only ſome that live in *Conſtantinople*, have learned ſome certain Rules of Aſtrology, which they exerciſe upon all occaſions, and buſy themſelves in Propheſies of future Contingencies of the Affairs of the Empire, and the unconſtant Eſtate of great Miniſters, in which their Predictions ſeldom divine grateful or pleaſing Stories. Neither have the wiſeſt and moſt active Miniſters or Souldiers amongſt them, the leaſt inſpection into Geography, whereby to be acquainted with the ſituation of Countries, or diſpoſition of the Globe, tho they themſelves enjoy the poſſeſſion of ſo large a proportion of the Univerſe.

Their Seamen, who ſeldom venture beyond ſight of Land (unleſs they be thoſe of *Barbary*, who are Renegadoes, and practiſed in the Chriſtian Arts of Navigation) have certain Sea-Charts ill framed, and the Capes and Headlands ſo ill laid down, that in their Voyages from *Conſtantinople* to *Alexandria*, the richeſt place of their Trade, they truſt more to their Eye and Experience, than the Direction of their Maps; nor could I ever ſee any Chart of the Black Sea, made either by *Turk* or *Greek*, which could give the leaſt light to a knowing Seaman, ſo as to encourage him, according to the Rules of Art, to lay any confidence thereon in his Navigation.

The Art of Printing (a Matter diſputable whether it hath brought more of Benefit or Miſchief to the World) is abſolutely prohibited amongſt them, becauſe it may give a beginning to that ſubtilty of Learning, which is inconſiſtent with, as well as dangerous to the groſſneſs of their Government, and a means to deprive many of their Livelihood, who gain their Bread only by their Pen, and occaſion the loſs of that ſingular Art of fair Writing, wherein they excel or equal moſt Nations: The Effect of which is evident amongſt the Weſtern People, where Printing hath taken footing. And though there be few Hiſtorians among them who have any knowledg of paſt Time, or the being of other Empires before the *Ottoman*, mixing all Stories in confuſion together (as we have ſaid before) without diſtinction of Perſons, or reſpect of Chronology; yet as to the Succeſſes and Progreſs of Affairs in their own Dominions, they keep moſt ſtrict Regiſters and Records, which ſerve them as Preſidents and Rules for the preſent Government of their Affairs.

And thus the Reader may ſound the depth of the *Turks* Philoſophy; who tho they reach not thoſe Contemplations of our profound *Sophies*, have yet ſo much Knowledg, as neither to be over-reached in their Treaties with the Wits of the World, nor for want of good Conduct of Affairs loſe one inch of their Empire.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Affection and Friendſhip the Pages in the Seraglio bear each other.

Since in the foregoing Chapter we have made mention of the amorous Diſpoſition that is to be found among theſe Youths each to other; it will not be from our purpoſe to acquaint the Reader, that the Doctrine of *Platonick* Love hath found Diſciples in the Schools of the *Turks*, that they call it a Paſſion very laudable and vertuous, and a ſtep to that perfect Love of God, whereof Mankind is only capable, proceeding by way of Love and Admiration of his Image and Beauty enſtamped on the Creature. This is the colour of Vertue, they paint over the deformity of their depraved Inclinations; but in reality this Love of theirs, is nothing but libidinous Flames each to other, with which they burn ſo violently, that Baniſhment and Death have not been Examples ſufficient to deter them from making Demonſtrations of ſuch-like Addreſſes; ſo that in their Chambers, though watched by their Eunuchs, they learn a certain Language with the motion of their Eyes, their Geſtures, and their Fingers, to expreſs their Amours; and this Paſſion hath boiled ſometimes to that heat, that Jealouſies and Rivalties have broken forth in their Chambers, without reſpect to the ſeverity of their Guardians, and good Orders have been brought into confuſion, and have not been again redreſſed, until ſome of them have been expelled the Seraglio, with the Tippets of their Veſts cut off, baniſhed into the Iſlands, and beaten almoſt to death.

Nor is this Paſſion only amongſt the young Men each to other; but Perſons of eminent degree in the Seraglio, become inveigled in this ſort of love, watching occaſions to have a ſight of the young Pages that they fanſy, either at the Windows of their Chamber, or as they go to the *Moſque*, or to their Waſhings or Baths; offer them Service and Preſents, and ſo engage them, as to induce them to deſire to be made of the Retinue of him that uſes this Courtſhip towards them, which they many times obtain; and being entertained in the Service of a Maſter who ſo highly fancies and admires them, they become often ſharers with him in his Riches and Fortune.

The Grand Signior's themſelves have alſo been Slaves to this inordinate Paſſion. For Sultan *Morat* became ſo enamoured of an *Armenian* Boy, called *Muſa*, as betrayed him, though otherwiſe a diſcreet Prince, to a thouſand Follies; and at another time preferred a Youth for his Beauty only from the Novitiate of *Galata*, to be one of the Pages of his *Haz Oda*, or Chamber of his Royal Preſence, and in a ſhort time made hime *Silahtar Aga*, or Sword-bearer, one of the greateſt Offices in the Seraglio. And this preſent Sultan became ſo enamoured of a *Conſtantinopolitan* Youth, one of the Pages of his Muſitians School, called *Kulogli*, or Son of a Slave, that he made him his chief Favourite, never could content himſelf without his company; cloathed him like himſelf, made him ride by his ſide, commanded all to preſent and honour him, in the ſame manner as if he had made him Companion of the Empire.

This Paſſion likewiſe reigns in the Society of Women; they die with amorous Affections one to the other; eſpecially the old Women court the Young, preſent them with rich Garments, Jewels, Mony, even to their own impoveriſhment and ruin; and theſe Darts of *Cupid* are ſhot through all the Empire, eſpecially *Conſtantinople*, the Seraglio of the Grand Signior, and the Apartments of the Sultans.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Mutes and Dwarfs.

BEſides the Pages, there is a ſort of Attendants to make up the *Ottoman* Court, called *Bizebani*, or *Mutes*, Men naturally born deaf, and ſo conſequently, for want of receiving the ſound of words, are dumb: Theſe are in number about forty, who by Night are lodged amongſt the Pages in the two Chambers, but in the day time have their Stations before the *Moſque* belonging to the Pages, where they learn and perfect themſelves in the Language of the *Mutes*, which is made up of ſeveral Signs, in which by cuſtom they can diſcourſe and fully expreſs themſelves; not only to ſignify their ſenſe in familiar Queſtions, but to recount Stories, underſtand the Fables of their own Religion, the Laws and Precepts of the *Alchoran*, the name of *Mahomet*, and what elſe may be capable of being expreſſed by the Tongue. The moſt ancient amongſt them, to the number of about eight or nine, are called the *Favourite Mutes*, and are admitted to attendance in the *Haz Oda*; who only ſerve in the place of Buffoons, for the Grand Signior to ſport with, whom he ſometimes kicks, ſometimes throws in the Ciſterns of Water, ſometimes make fight together like the Combat of *Clineas* and *Dametas*. But this Language of the *Mutes* is ſo much in faſhion in the *Ottoman* Court, that none almoſt but can deliver his ſenſe in it, and is of much uſe to thoſe who attend the Preſence of the Grand Signior, before whom it is not reverent or ſeemly ſo much as to whiſper.

The Dwarfs are called *Ginge*; theſe alſo have their Quarters among the Pages of the two Chambers, until they have learned, with due Reverence and Humility, to ſtand in the Preſence of the Grand Signior. And if one of theſe have that benefit, as by Natures fortunate Error, to be both a Dwarf and Dumb, and afterwards, by the help of Art, to be caſtrated and made an Eunuch; he is much more eſteemed, than if Nature and Art had concurred together to make him the perfecteſt Creature in the World; one of this ſort was preſented by a certain Paſha, to the Grand Signior, who was ſo acceptable to him and the Queen-Mother, that he attired him immediately in Cloth of Gold, and gave him liberty through all the Gates of the Seraglio.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Eunuchs.

THis libidinous flame of depraved Nature, is ſo common a Diſeaſe among the *Turks*, and ſo ancient a Vice, that both for State, and prevention of this unnatural Crime, it hath not been eſteemed ſafe or orderly in the Courts of Eaſtern Princes, to conſtitute others for the principal Officers of their Houſhold than Eunuchs: The like is obſerved in the Seraglio of the Grand Signior, where two Eunuchs eſpecially have the principal Command, and are Perſons of the higheſt and eminenteſt eſteem, *viz.* the *Kuzlir-Agaſi*, who is Superintendent over the Women, and is a Black Eunuch.

The other is *Capa Agaſi*, or Maſter of the Gate, who is White, and commands all the Pages, and White Eunuchs reſiding in the Court; under him are all the Officers that are Eunuchs; as firſt the *Haz Odabaſchi*, or Lord Chamberlain, who commands the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.

2. The *Serai Kiahaiaſi*, Lord Steward of the Houſhould, who overſees the Chambers of the Pages, and the *Seferli Odaſi*, or the Chambers of thoſe Pages who are deſigned to follow the Grand Signior upon any Journy, and of theſe he hath care to ſee them provided of Cloaths and all other Neceſſaries for the Service they undertake.

3. The *Haznadar Baſhi*, or Lord Treaſurer of the Seraglio, who commands thoſe Pages that attend the Treaſury; I mean not that which is of preſent uſe, as to pay the Souldiery, or ſerve the publick and preſent Occaſions of the Empire, for that is in the Hand of the *Teſtardar*; but that Riches that is laid apart for the Expences of the Court, and that which is amaſſed and piled up in ſeveral Rooms of the Seraglio, of which there have been Collections and Additions in the Time almoſt of every Emperor, diſtinguiſhed and divided by the Names of the Sultans, through whoſe induſtry and frugality they had been accquired; but this Wealth is conſerved as Sacred, not to be uſed or expoſed, unleſs on Occaſions of extreme Emergency.

4. The *Kilargi Baſhi*, that is, the chief Commander over the Pages, to whoſe care the charge of the Diſpenſatory is committed, or Expences for the daily Proviſions.

Other Officers there are of Eunuchs, as he that is firſt Maſter of Scholars for their Books, called *Ikingi Capa Oglani*, and his Uſher; the chief *Muergidgi* or Prieſt of the Grand Signior's *Moſque*; under whom are two other Aſſiſtants, for cleanſing and well ordering of the *Moſques*.

Theſe are the only Officers of the White Eunuchs, the others are of Commonalty, which are in number about fifty, and have ordinarily twelve Aſpers a day pay, which alſo are augmented according to the *Wakſ* or Legacies of the Deceaſed.

Thoſe that are Curates of the Royal *Moſques*, and have Pluralities of Benefices of that nature, have ſometimes a Revenue of 100 *Chequins* a day: among theſe alſo due order is obſerved, the Younger, or Juniors in the Seraglio, always giving reſpect and reverence to Seniority.

Of the Black Eunuchs.

THE Black Eunuchs are ordained for the ſervice of the Women in the Seraglio; as the White are to the attendance of the Grand Signior, it not ſeeming a ſufficient Remedy by wholly diſmembring them, to take the Women off from their inclinations to them, as retaining ſome relation ſtill to the Maſculine Sex; but to create an abhorrency in them; they are not only caſtrated, but Black, choſen with the worſt Features that are to be found among the moſt hard-favoured of that *African* Race.

The prime Officer of them all, as we have ſaid before, is the *Kuzlir Aga*, or Maſter of the Maids or Virgins.

2. *Valide Agaſi*, the Eunuch of the Queen-Mother.

3. *Schahzadeler Agaſi*, or the Eunuch to whoſe charge is committed the Royal Progeny, and in whoſe cuſtody at preſent are three Sons of Sultan *Ibrahim*, Brothers to the preſent Emperor, *viz. Solyman*, on whom the *Turks* at preſent found their principal Hopes and Expectation; *Bajazet* and *Orchan*, the Mother of which two laſt is ſtill living, and confined to the old Seraglio in *Conſtantinople*, which is the Monaſtery of the decayed Wives and Miſtreſſes of former Grand Signiors, from whence there is no Redemption, until either their Sons die, or by good fortune one becomes Emperor.

4. Is *Fazna Agaſi*, or the Eunuch that is Treaſurer to the Queen-Mother, and commands thoſe Damſels that are Servants in the ſaid Chamber.

5. *Kilar Agaſi*, or he that keeps the Sugar, Serbets, and Drugs of the Queen-Mother.

6. *Bujuck Oda Agaſi*, Commander of the greater Chamber.

7. *Kulchuk Oda Agaſi*, Commander of the leſſer Chamber.

8. *Baſh Capa Oglani*, the chief Porter of the Womens Apartment.

9, & 10. Two *Meſgidgi Barchi*, or the two *Emaums* or Prieſts of the Royal *Moſque* belonging to the Queen-Mother, ordained for the Womens Prayers.

The Apartments of the Women.

AND ſince I have brought my Reader into the Quarters of theſe Eunuchs, which are the Black Guard of the ſequeſtred Ladies of the Seraglio, he may chance to take it unkindly, ſhould I leave him at the Door, and not introduce him into thoſe Apartments, where the Grand Signior's Miſtreſſes are lodged: And though I ingenuouſly confeſs my acquaintance there (as all other my converſation with Women in *Turkey*) is but ſtrange and unfamiliar; yet not to be guilty of this diſcourteſie, I ſhall to the beſt of my information write a ſhort Account of theſe Captivated Ladies, how they are treated, immured, educated and prepared for the great Atchievements of the Sultan's Affection; and as in other Stories the Knight conſumes himſelf with Combats, Watching, and Penance, to acquire the love of one fair Damſel; here an Army of Virgins make it the only ſtudy and buſineſs of their Life to obtain the ſingle nodd of invitation to the Bed of their great Maſter.

The Reader then muſt know, that this Aſſembly of fair Women (for it is probable there is no other in the Seraglio) are commonly Prizes of the Sword; taken at Sea and at Land, as far fetched as the *Turk* commands, or the wandring *Tartar* makes his Incurſions, compoſed almoſt of as many Nations as there are Countries of the World, none of which are eſteemed worthy of this Preferment, unleſs Beautiful and undoubted Virgins.

As the Pages before mentioned are divided into two Chambers, ſo likewiſe are theſe Maids into two *Odaes*, where they are to work, ſew and embroider, and are there lodged on *Safawes*, every one with her Bed apart, between every five of which is a *Kadun* or grave Matron laid to overſee and hear what Actions or Diſcourſe paſſes either immodeſt or undecent. Beſides this School, they have their Chambers for Muſick and Dancing, for acquiring a handſome Air in their carriage and comportment, to which they are moſt diligent and intent, as that which opens the Door of the Sultan's Affections, and introduces them into Preferment and Eſteem.

Out of theſe the Queen-Mother chuſes her Court, and orderly draws from the Schools ſuch as ſhe marks out for the moſt Beauteous, Facetious, or moſt correſponding with the harmony of her own Diſpoſition, and prefers them to a near attendance on her Perſon, or to other Offices of her Court. Theſe are always richly attired and adorned with all ſorts of precious Stones, fit to receive the Addreſſes and Amours of the Sultan: over them is placed the *Kadun Kahia*, or Mother of the Maids, who is careful to correct any unmodeſt or light Behaviour amongſt them, and inſtructs them in all the Rules and Orders of the Court.

When the Grand Signior is pleaſed to dally with a certain number of theſe Ladies in the Garden; *Helvet* is cry'd, which rings through all the Seraglio; at which word all People withdraw themſelves at a diſtance, and Eunuchs are placed at every Avenue, it being at that time death to approach near thoſe Walls. Here the Women ſtrive with their Dances, Songs, and Diſcourſe, to make themſelves Miſtreſſes of the Grand Signior's Affection, and then let themſelves looſe to all kind of laſciviouſneſs and wanton Carriage, acquitting themſelves as much of all reſpect to Majeſty, as they do to Modeſty.

When the Grand Signior reſolves to chuſe himſelf a Bed-fellow, he retires into the Lodgings of his Women, where (according to the Story in every place reported, when the *Turkiſh* Seraglio falls into Diſcourſe) the Damſels being ranged in order by the Mother of the Maids, he throws his Handkerchief to her, where his eye and fancy beſt directs, it being a Token of her election to his Bed. The ſurpriſed Virgin ſnatches at this Prize and good Fortune, with that eagerneſs, that ſhe is raviſhed with the Joy before ſhe is deflowered by the Sultan, and kneeling down, firſt kiſſes the Handkerchief, and then puts it in her Boſom, when immediately ſhe is congratulated by all the Ladies of the Court, for the great Honour and Favour ſhe hath received. And after ſhe hath been firſt waſhed, bathed, and perfumed, ſhe is adorned with Jewels, and what other Attire can make her appear Glorious and Beautiful; ſhe is conducted at Night with Muſick and Songs of her Companions chanting before her to the Bed-chamber of the Sultan; at the Door of which attends ſome Favourite Eunuch, who upon her approaching, gives Advice to the Grand Signior, and permiſſion being given her to enter in, ſhe comes running and kneels before him, and ſometimes enters in at the Feet of the Bed, according to the ancient Ceremony, or otherwiſe, as he chances to like her, is taken in a nearer way with the Embraces of the Grand Signior.

This private Entertainment being ended, ſhe is delivered to the care of the *Kadan Kahia*, or Mother of the Maids, by whom ſhe is again conducted back with the ſame Muſick as before, and having firſt waſhed and bathed, hath afterwards the lodging and attendants that belongs to *Hunkiar Aſa-kiſi*, that is, the Royal Concubine: if it be her good Fortune to conceive and bring forth a Son, ſhe is called *Haſeki Sultana*, and is honoured with a ſolemn Coronation, and Crowned with a ſmall Coronet of Gold beſet with precious Stones. Other Ladies who produce like Fruits from the Grand Signior's Bed, have not yet the like Honour, but only the Name of *Baſh Haſaki*, *Inkingi Haſaki*, the firſt and ſecond Concubine, and ſo forward.

The Daughters that are born from the Grand Signior, are oftentimes at four or five years of Age wedded to ſome great *Paſha*, or *Beglerbeg*, with all the Pomp and Solemnities of Marriage, who from that time hath care of her Education, to provide a Palace for her Court, and to maintain her with that State and Honour as becomes the Dignity of a Daughter to the Sultan. At this tenderneſs of Age, Sultan *Ibrahim*, Father of the preſent Grand Signior, married three of his Daughters; one of which called *Gheaber Han Sultan*, hath had already five Husbands, and yet, as is reported by the World, remains a Virgin; the laſt Husband deceaſed was *Iſhmael Paſha*, who was ſlain in the paſſage of the River *Raab*; and is now again married to *Gurgi Mahomet Paſha* of *Buda*, a Man of 90 Years of Age, but rich and able to maintain the greatneſs of her Court, though not to comply with the youthfulneſs of her Bed, to which he is a ſtranger like the reſt of her preceding Husbands.

After the death of the Grand Signior, the Mothers of Daughters have liberty to come forth from the Seraglio and marry with any Perſon of Quality; but thoſe who have brought forth Sons, are tranſplanted to the old Seraglio, where they paſs a retired Life without Redemption; unleſs the Son of any of thoſe Mothers, by death of the firſt Heir, ſucceeding, releaſe his Mother from that Reſtraint, and make her ſharer with him in all his Happineſs and Glory.

CHAP. X.

Of the Agiam-Oglans.

WE have hitherto ſpoken of the *Ichoglans*, or Pages, Mutes, Dwarfs, Eunuchs, and the Feminine Court; it will now be neceſſary to ſpeak of the under Officers and Servants called *Agiam-Oglans*, who are deſigned to the meaner Uſes of the Seraglio: Theſe are alſo Captives taken in War, or bought of the *Tartar*, but moſt commonly the Sons of Chriſtians taken from their Parents at the Age of ten or twelve Years; in whom appearing more ſtrength of Body than of Mind, they are ſet apart for labour and menial Services: Theſe are,

1. Porters.
2. *Boſtangies*, or Gardiners.
3. *Baltagies*, or Hatchetmen, who cut and carry Wood.
4. *Aſgees*, or Cooks, with all the Offices of the Kitchin.
5. *Paicks* and *Solacks*.
6. Butchers.
7. *Holvagees*, or Confectioners.
8. The Attendants of the Hoſpital of ſick Pages.

And all other ſet apart for ſervile Offices.

Theſe are ſeldom the Sons of natural born *Turks*, but yearly collected (as I ſaid) from the increaſe of poor Chriſtians in the *Morea* and *Albania*; by which means thoſe Countries are greatly diſ-peopled; the yearly number of thoſe thus collected, amount moſt commonly, as I am given to underſtand, to about 2000, which being brought to *Conſtantinople*, are firſt preſented before the Vizier, who (according as his Humour directs him) are placed in divers Stations, either in the Seraglioes of *Galata*, *Okmedon*, or *Adrianople*; others are put forth to learn divers Trades in the City; others to be Seamen, and learn Navigation; others eſpecially are placed in the great Seraglio, where they are made to ſerve in the Stables, in the Kitchin, to dig in the Gardens, to cleave Wood, to row in the Grand Signior's Barge, and to do what other Services they are commanded by the Superiors ſet over them, called *Odabaſhees*, who are Men of Ancienter ſtanding than the reſt, having about fifteen Aſpers a day Salary, two Veſts of Cloth a Year, and two pieces of Linen Cloth for Shirts and Hankerchiefs, *&c.* and theſe are ſubject to the *Boſtangi Paſha*, who is the Head and abſolute Commander of all thoſe who have the Name of *Boſtangees*, or Gardiners, of which there may be 10000 in and about the Seraglioes and Garden of the Grand Signior.

Of theſe *Boſtangees*, ſome are raiſed to a higher degree, and called *Haſaki*, which ſignifies Royal, and attend only to Meſſages ſent by the Grand Signior himſelf, and are Men of ſpecial Authority. Their Habit or Cloathing nothing differs from the *Boſtangees*, unleſs in the fineneſs of their Cloth.

The Power of the *Boſtangi Paſha* is very great; for though he himſelf aroſe but from the *Agiamoglans*, and wore a felt Cap, yet he hath the command of all the Grand Signior's Gardens and Houſes of Pleaſure; overſees all his Waterworks, and hath Power and Juriſdiction along the *Boſphorus*, unto the Mouth of the Black Sea; commands alſo the Country at a large diſtance from *Conſtantinople*; having power to puniſh all Debaucheries and Extravagancies in and about the Country Villages, and is capable, by the Grand Signior's Favour, to become *Paſha* of Grand *Cairo*, *Babylon*, *Buda*, &c. and of the firſt degree, which is Vizier *Azem*.

The *Agiamoglans* who are deſigned to the Grand Signior's Seraglio, are of the choiceſt amongſt the whole number, the ſtrongeſt Bodies, and moſt promiſing Aſpects, and are diſtributed into ſeveral Companies as they want to make up their Complement. This Diſcipline is very ſevere and ſtrict, ſo that they are taught Obedience, and readineſs to ſerve, with Watchings, Faſtings, and other Penances.

Their Cloathing is of courſe Cloth made at *Salonica*, anciently called *Theſſalonica*; their Caps of Felt, after the form of a Sugar-loaf, of a Hair colour. Some of them are taught to Read and Write, who are eſteemed the moſt acute and fit to receive ingenious Learning: but the moſt part are exerciſed in activity of Body, in Running, Leaping, Wreſtling, throwing the Iron Bar, and other Agility, wherein the ſtrength and activity of Body is beſt practiſed. Their Lodgings are under ſeveral Pent-houſes or Sheds, built under the Walls of the Seraglio; their Dyet is *Fleſh* and Rice, ſufficient, though not luxurious.

Out of theſe belonging to the Seraglio, none are drawn out for Janiſaries, but are ſometimes preferred to ſervice of Paſhaes for their Fidelity or good Deſerts, and by thoſe Maſters ariſe to conſiderable Riches, and commodious manner of Livelihood; others of theſe, in great numbers, are made uſe of for attendance on the Grand Signior's Tents, when he gooes to the Wars, and in other Journies are uſeful for the management of the Grand Signior's Carriages and travelling Neceſſaries. Such *Agiamoglans* (as we have ſaid before) that are diſtributed into other Quarters beſides the Royal Seraglio, are principally deſigned, as they grow ripe, and of ſtrength of Body, to be made Janiſaries in the place of the deceaſed; ſo that their principal Education is in order thereunto, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more largely when we treat of the Militia.

The Names of the *Agiamoglans* are written in a Book, with the Places where they are diſtributed, their ſeveral Pays of two, three, or five Aſpers a Day, which Book is under-written by the Grand Signior, and conſigned to the *Teſterdar*, or Lord Treaſurer, who pays their Salaries every three Months, being obliged at that time to enquire who is dead or removed, and ſo accordingly to make a true report to the Grand Signior.

And thus I have given you a brief account of the Grand Siginor's Seraglio, and the Regiment of it, which, if well conſiderd and weighed, is one of the moſt Politick Conſtitutions in the World, and none of the meaneſt Supports of the *Ottoman* Empire: which Relation I had from the Mouth of one who had ſpent nineteen Years in the Schools of the Seraglio. I muſt confeſs I have not treated ſo amply thereof as the Subject might require, becauſe the Rules and Oeconomy obſerved among the Women, Mutes, Eunuchs, and other of the retired Apartments, I conceive to be a kind of digreſſion from my purpoſe, my intention being principally to deſcribe the Government, Maxims, and Polities of the *Turk*. And therefore I proceed to treat of the diverſities of Offices, and Places of great Riches and Truſt, which remain in the power of the Sultan to confer on thoſe Favourites, Minions, and Creatures, whom thus at his own Charge he hath nouriſhed, like a Father, from their Infancy, to inveſt in their riper Years with great Honours, for ſecurity of his own Perſon, and flouriſhing Eſtate of his Dominions.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Vizier Azem, *or Prime Vizier, his Office, the other ſix Viziers of the Bench, and of the Divan or place of Judicature.*

THE Prime Vizier, called in *Turkiſh* Vizier *Azem*, is as much as chief Counſellor; he is ſometimes termed the Grand Signior's Deputy or Repreſentative, or *Vicarius Imperii*, becauſe to him all the Power of the Sultan is immediately devolved; there is no other Solemnity, as I know of, in the creating a Vizier, than the delivery of the Grand Signior's Seal, which he always carries about him in his Boſom, on which is engraven the Emperor's Name, by which he becomes inveſted in all the Power of the Empire, and can, without the formality and proceſs of Law, remove all Obſtacles and Impediments which hinder the free ſway of his Government. It hath always been the Policy of the great Princes of the Eaſt, to erect one as Superintendent over all the reſt of their Miniſters; ſo *Daniel* Dan. 6. was conſtituted by *Darius* over the Preſidents and Princes, becauſe of the admirable Spirit and Wiſdom that was in him: and *Joſeph* was made chief Governor and abſolute Commander over all *Egypt*; and by this means thoſe Princes who gave themſelves much over to ſoftneſs and luxury, could with more eaſe demand account of Miſcarriages in the Rule of their Empire, it being their Policy to conſtitute one on whom all the blame of Miſcarriages in Government might be thrown.

The firſt conſtitution that we meet with in Hiſtory of the firſt Vizier, was in the time of *Amurath* the third, King of the *Turks*, who paſſing into *Europe* with his Tutor called *Lala Schabin*, he made him his chief Counſellor, and committed to him the Charge of his Army, with which he won *Adrianople*, formerly called *Oreſtias*, and ever ſince the Grand Signior hath continued to maintain that Office of Vizier, uſing that common appellation of *Lala*, which ſignifies Tutor, whenſoever in familiar Diſcourſe he ſpeaks to him.

There are beſides the firſt, commonly ſix other Viziers, who are called Viziers of the Bench, that have no Power nor Authority in the Government, but only are grave Men, that have perhaps had Charges and Offices, and are knowing in the Laws, and ſit together with the firſt Vizier in the Divan or Court where Cauſes are tryed, but are mute, and cannot give their Sentence or Opinion in any Matter, unleſs the firſt Vizier pleaſe to demand their Counſel or Judgment in point of Law, which he ſeldom does, not to diſparage his own Reaſon and Experience. Their Pay proceeds from the Grand Signior's Treaſury, and is not above 2000 Dollars a Year: any of theſe ſix can write the Grand Signior's *Firme* or *Autogra* upon all Commands or Decrees that are ſent abroad; and becauſe their Riches are but moderate, and the Office they are in treats not much with the dangerous Parts of State, they live long without Envy or Emulation, or being ſubject to that inconſtancy of Fortune and Alteration, to which greater degrees of Place are expoſed. And yet when any great Matter is in conſult, and of conſiderable Importance, theſe ſix, with the firſt Vizier, the *Mufti* and *Caddeeleſcheers*, or Lord Chief Juſtices, are admitted into the Cabinet-Council, and are often permitted freedom to deliver their Opinions on the matter of Queſtion.

The State and Greatneſs the Prime Vizier lives in, is agreeable to the Honour of him whom he repreſents, having commonly in his Court about 2000 Officers and Servants; when he appears in any ſolemnity or publick Show, he carries on his Turbant before two Feathers, as the Grand Signior wears three, ſet on with a handle of Diamonds, and other rich Stones; and before him are carried three Horſe Tails, called the *Tugh*, upon a long Staff, upon the top of which is a gilded Knob; the like diſtinction of Honour is permitted only to the three other principal Paſhaes within their Juriſdiction, *viz.* the Paſha of *Babylon*, of *Cairo*, and of *Buda*; the other inferior Paſhaes have only one Horſe Tail carried before them, without other Diſtinction or Badg of Authority; and theſe three forementioned Paſhaes have a right to be Viziers of the Bench, and can take their places in the Divan, when the Time of their Offices are expired, and any of them found at the Court in entire Grace and Favour.

The Prime Vizier, as he is the Repreſentative of the Grand Signior, ſo he is the Head or Mouth of the Law; to him Appeals may be made, and any one may decline the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, to have his Caſe decided by his Determination, unleſs the Vizier, through the multiplicity of his Affairs, and a ſmall conſideration on of the Caſe, thinks fit to refer it to the Law. And that he may evidence his care of the Publick Good, he is always preſent at the Divan, four times a Week, that is, *Saturday*, *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and the other days (excepting *Fridays*) keeps Divan in his own Houſe; ſo diligent and watchful are theſe Men to diſcharge the Acts of Juſtice, and their own Office.

He is attended to the Divan, which is the Chamber of the Seraglio, by a great number of *Chiauſes*, and their Commanders in chief, who are a ſort of Purſevants, and other Officers, who only ſerve to attend him to the Divan, called *Muta-faracan*, and may be termed Serjeants or Tipſtaffs; as he deſcends from his Horſe, and enters the Divan, or upon his return goes into his Houſe, he is with a loud Voice of his Attendants, prayed for, and wiſhed all happineſs and long Life; not unlike the Salutations the *Roman* Souldiers uſed to their Emperors; *Cum ſub auſpiciis Cæſaris omnia proſpera & felicia precabantur.* When he is ſet upon the Bench, all Cauſes are brought before the *Caddeeleſcheer*, who is Lord Chief Juſtice, and by him all Judgments paſs, unleſs the Prime Vizier ſhall think the Cauſe proper for his Cogniſance, or ſhall diſapprove at any time the Sentence of the Judg; and then by virtue of his unlimited Power, he can reverſe the Verdict, and determine as he pleaſes. All Officers in the Divan wear a ſtrange ſort of dreſs upon their Heads, called in *Turkiſh Mugevezee*.

The Lord Chief Juſtices which ſit with the Grand Vizier, are two of *Romelia* and *Aſia*, called *Kadileſcher*, or Judges of the Army. And this ſhall in ſhort ſerve for what is neceſſary to ſpeak of the Divan in this place, in regard we only touch upon it for the better explanation of the Vizier's Office.

The Prime Vizier hath his Power as ample as his Maſter who gives it him, except only that he cannot (though he is the Elder Brother of all the Paſhaes) take off any of their Heads without the Imperial Signature, or immediate Handwriting of the Grand Signior; nor can he puniſh a Spahee or Janiſary, or any other Souldier, but by means of their Commanders, (the Militia having reſerved themſelves that Privilege, which ſecures them from ſeveral oppreſſions) in other Matters he is wholly Abſolute, and hath ſo great a Power with the Grand Signior, that whomſoever he ſhall think fit of all the Officers in the Empire to proſcribe, he can ſpeedily obtain the Imperial Hand to put it in execution.

Whatſoever Petitions and Addreſſes are made, in what Buſineſs ſoever, ought firſt to paſs through the Hands of the Vizier: but yet when a Party hath ſuffered ſome notorious Injury, in which the Vizier is combined, or hath refuſed him Juſtice, he hath liberty then to appeal to the Grand Signior himſelf, which is permitted by an ancient cuſtom; the aggrieved Perſon putting Fire on his Head, enters the Seraglio, runs in haſte, and can be ſtopt by no Body until he comes to the preſence of the Grand Signior, to whom he hath licence to declare his wrong. The like was done by Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, when Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, putting Pots of Fire at the Yard-Arms of ſome Engliſh Ships then in Port, and came to an Anchor near the Seraglio. The reaſon thereof was, the violent ſeizure of the Merchants Goods, as ſoon as arrived in Port, for the Service of the Grand Signior, without Bargain or Account of them; which being taken up by thoſe Officers and great Perſons who were out of the reach of Law, forced the worthy Ambaſſador at that time Reſident to repreſent his Grievances with much reſolution, ſignifying them to the Grand Signior, by Fire on the Yards of eleven *Engliſh* Ships then in Port, which were drawn off from the Scale, where they uſually lay, to the ſide of the Seraglio; which coming to be diſcovered firſt to the Vizier, before the Grand Signior had notice thereof, he immediately extinguiſhed thoſe Fires by a fair Accommodation, before they burſt into a more dangerous Flame, by the knowledg of the Grand Signior, who might juſtly deſtroy him for ſuffering ſuch notorious Injuſtice to run to that publick and known extremity.

The *Perſians* in like caſes put on a Veſt of white Paper, ſignifying, the aggravation of their Injury is not to be deſcribed in as much Paper as can cover their Bodies.

This great Office of Charge and Truſt, as it is the higheſt, ſo it is the neareſt to *Jove*'s Thunder-bolt, and moſt expoſed to Envy and Emulation; ſtrange Stories are read and confirmed by Eye-witneſſes in our days, concerning the unexpected riſe and aſcent of unworthy Men, on a ſudden, without degrees, ſteps or approaches, to this mighty Power and Glory, and as ſoon have been thrown down, and been the Subject of the Peoples Cruelty and Revenge; ſome have been the Sons but of a few days growth, and the Sun hath ſcarce ſet, before their Greatneſs and Glory hath declined; others have continued but a Month, ſome a Year, others two or three; and withal, even in thoſe who have lived longeſt and happieſt, Fortune ſports with that wantonneſs and inconſtancy, that it may ſerve to be the Mirror and Emblem of the World's Vanity, and uncertain Riches: It is the Fate of great Favourites, with barbarous Princes, to be but ſhort-liv'd. For either the Prince delights to exerciſe his Power in debaſing ſome, and advancing others, or hath beſtowed ſo largely, that his Bounty is at a ſtop, and begins to be wearied with heaping of Favours, as the other is glutted and ſatiated with receiving them; *Fato potentia raro ſempiterna, an ſatias capit aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos quod nihil reliquum eſt quod capiant.* Tacit. *Lib.* 3. Emulation and Flattery are likewiſe great, and the Factions are commonly many in the *Ottoman* Court, whereby the State of the firſt Miniſter is endangered. *Inſita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem ægris oculis introſpicere, modumque fortunæ à nullis magis exigere, quam quos in æquo vident.* Tacit, *Lib.* 3. Sometimes the Queen-Mother rules, ſometimes the *Kuſlir Aga* commands; perhaps a beautiful Woman is Miſtreſs of the Power, as well as of the Affections of the Sultan; every one of theſe have ſome Favourites, ſome or other who watch Preferments, and are intent to obſerve all Miſcarriages of State, which may reflect on, or queſtion the Judgment or Honeſty of the firſt Author, by which means the unhappy Vizier, either by the Sultan's immediate Command, or Tumults of the Souldiery raiſed by the powerful Factions afore-mentioned, yields up his Life and Government together; whoſe Power and Greatneſs being only borrowed from his Maſter, and depending on another's Pleaſure, by its ſhort continuance and mutability, verifies that true ſaying of *Tacitus*, Lib. 12. *Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile & fluxum eſt, quàm fama potentiæ non ſuâ vi nixa.*

But it doth nor always happen that the Prime Vizier, becauſe he is deprived of his Office, ſhould therefore loſe his Life; for many times, eſpecially if he be a Man whoſe Diſpoſition is not greatly ſuſpected of Malice or Revenge to the Contrivers of his Fall, or be not of a generous Spirit, and great Abilities and Popularity, whereby he may be venturous and capable of raiſing Rebellion or Mutiny, he is permitted calmly to retire, and quietly to deſcend from his high Throne of Honour, to enter into a lower Region and Air of a ſmall and petty Government of a *Paſha*; as not many Years paſt the Predeceſſors of *Kuperli*, Father of this preſent Vizier, being degraded, had the *Paſhalick* of *Kaniſia* (which is accounted one of the meaneſt of all the Governments which are ſubject to a *Paſha*) conferred on him; and here I cannot tell whether ſuch a Vizier hath not more reaſon to bleſs and congratulate his Fortune, than accuſe it; for in this condition he is more free from Cares and Dangers, and much more happy, if his Ambition and greatneſs of Spirit render not his Repoſe and Eaſe leſs pleaſing, becauſe it is not in the higheſt Lodgings of Honour and Command. But it is ſeldom ſo among the *Turks*, for with them it is eſteemed no diſgrace to be tranſplanted from the Mountains to the Valleys; they know their Original and Compoſition partakes not much of Heavenly Fire, and that the Clay they are framed of, is but of common Earth, which is in the Hand of the Grand Signior, as the Pot to frame and mould, as is moſt agreeable to his Pleaſure and Will. And as it is no diſparagement to decline and go backward in Honour amongſt the *Turks*, ſo it is no new thing, or Abſurdity in their Politicks, to ſee Men riſe like Muſhromes in a Night, and from the meaneſt and moſt abject Offices, without Degrees or convenient Approaches, at once leap into the Seat and Quality of the Prime Vizier: I ſhall inſtance in one Example worthy of Record, which was of late days, and as yet that I know of, hath had no place in Hiſtory. It happened that in *Conſtantinople*, there was either great ſcarcity of Fleſh, or the negligence of the Butchers had made it ſo; ſo that they who were not ſo early abroad as to watch their uſual time of making their days Proviſion, or came any thing late, were neceſſitated to paſs that day with a Lenten Diet; among thoſe who had miſſed one morning their common proportion of Fleſh, was one *Derviſe*, a Cook of a Chamber of Janizaries; this Man knew the Blows and Puniſhment he was to ſuffer from the chief of the Chamber; that through his ſloth and want of care, the whole Company ſhould that day paſs without their Dinner, which cauſed him in great paſſion, with loud Exclamations, as he paſſed the Streets, to accuſe the ill Government, and little care was had to rectify theſe common Abuſes: It fortuned that at that time that *Derviſe* was lamenting his Caſe to all the World, and curſing the principal Officers, that the Grand Signior in diſguiſe paſſed by, and ſeeing a Man in ſuch diſorder of Mind, came in a courteous manner to demand the Reaſon of his Paſſion; to whom the *Derviſe* replied, ‘It was vain for him to be inquiſitive; or for me, *ſaid he*, to inform you what you are able to afford no Remedy unto; for none but the Grand Signior himſelf is of ſufficient Power to redreſs that for which I have ſo much cauſe to be troubled. *At laſt, with much importunity, he told*, what great Abuſe there was in the Butchery, that the Shambles were ill ſerved, that he had miſſed the uſual proportion of Fleſh that morning for his Janiſaries Chamber; and what Puniſhment he was likely to ſuffer, for having come ſhort only one moment of his due time. *He added further*, ‘That the Vizier, and other Officers, were negligent in rectifying theſe mean and low Diſorders, being wholly taken up in enriching themſelves, and intent to their own Intereſt: But if I were firſt Vizier, I would not only cauſe great plenty of Fleſh in this City, but at all times of the day it ſhould be found by thoſe who wanted it. And now, what benefit have either you, *ſaid he*, by hearing this Story, or what releaſe am I like to have of Puniſhment by repeating it to you?

The Grand Signior afterwards returning Home, and conſidering of the Diſcourſe the Janiſaries Cook had made him, whether to prove the Abilities of the Man, or becauſe he conceived Providence had offered this Encounter; or that Princes delight to exerciſe their Power in creating great Men from Nothing, he ſent immediatly for the *Derviſe*; who being come into his Preſence, and ſenſible of the familiar Diſcourſe he had made him, trembling, caſt himſelf down at his Feet, ſuppoſing that the free Language he uſed of the Vizier and the Government, was the cauſe he was now to loſe his Life. But it happened quite contrary, for the Grand Signior encouraging him to lay aſide his fear, told him, *he was reſolved to make him firſt Vizier, to try an Experiment, whether he was able to amend thoſe Abuſes he complained of.* And that herein he might not tranſgreſs the Degrees whereby he was gradually to paſs, he firſt made him chief of his Chamber, the next day Captain, the day following Aga or General of the Janiſaries, and thence with one ſtep to be great Vizier, who not only remedied the Abuſe in the Shambles, according to his promiſe, but proved a famous and excellent Miniſter of State. And though Examples of the like nature are frequent among the *Turks*, yet this may ſerve at preſent to ſhew in part the Fortune and Fate by which Men are raiſed, and the unconſtancy of Greatneſs and Glory amongſt the *Turks*, above any other part of the World beſides.

It was a hard Problem in the *Turkiſh Policy*, which as a wiſe Prime Vizier propoſed to certain Paſhaes, amongſt other Queſtions, What courſes were poſſible to be fonnd out for a firſt Vizier to maintain and continue his Office, and acquit this ſo dangerous Charge, from the hazard and uncertainty to which it is liable; *For you ſee, Brothers*, ſaid he, *how few enjoy or grow Old herein; their Vertue, their Care, and their Innocence, are no protection; ſome remain a Day, a Week, a Month; others protract the Thred to a Year or two, but at length they are* (to uſe our own Proverb) *like the Ant, to whom God gives Wings for their ſpeedier deſtruction.* The Paſhaes were for a while all ſilent, not knowing what Reply to make, or how to reſolve ſo difficult and knotty a Point, until *Kuperli* (who was then the moſt ancient, and perhaps the wiſeſt Paſha, as the Actions of his following Life have ſufficiently teſtified) firſt replied, That in his Opinion, the only and moſt probable Means for a tottering Vizier to ſecure himſelf, is to divert the Mind of the Grand Signior, and other working Brains, upon ſome Foreign War; for Peace is that which corrupts the Diſpoſitions of Men, and ſets them on work to raiſe themſelves with Inteſtine and Civil Evils; when War buſies their Spirits, and employs them to gain Renown and Glory by Martial Actions, by which means Plots and Treachery are droven from our own Homes; *Conſiliis & aſtu res externas moliri, arma procul habere.* Tacit. *Lib. 6.* And it is poſſible that *Achmet* the Son of *Kuperli*, who began the laſt War with *Germany*, might go upon this Maxim of his Fathers; for in all Matters of his Government, he is obſerved to walk by the ſame Rules and Directions, which were bequeathed to him as well as his Inheritance.

And yet for all this doubful Eſtate of the Prime Viziers, ſome have been known to manage this Office eighteen or nineteen Years, and afterwards wearied with Care and Pains, to acquit it by a natural Death; from whence this Queſtion may ariſe, Whether the Favour or Diſpleaſure of the Prince depends on the Deſtiny or Fortune we are born to, or whether humane Counſel can aſſign a way between Contumaciouſneſs and Flattery, wherein to ſteer free from Danger and Ambition? *Unde dubitare cogor, fato & ſorte naſcendi, ut cætera, ita Principum inclinatio in hos, offenſio in illos, an ſit aliquid in noſtris conſiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam, & deforme obſequium pergere iter, ambitione & periculis vacuum.* Tacit. *Lib.* 4. But we find but few Examples of this kind; for if Viziers have been Evil, their own Cruelty and Covetouſneſs have haſtned their Fate; if Good, their Merits have been their Ruin; leſt the great Benefits their Merits have procured to their Prince ſhould ſeem to want Reward, or be dangerous or difficult to requite; *Beneficia eouſque læta, dum videntur exſolvi poſſe; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.* Tacit. *Lib.* 4.

The Revenues of the firſt Vizier, which iſſue immediately from the Crown, and are certain appendages to the Office, are not great, being not above 20000 Dollars yearly, which ariſe from certain Villages in *Romelia*; the reſt of the Immenſe Riches which accrues to this Charge ſo full of Cares and Danger, flows from all the Quarters of the Empire. For no Baſhaw, or Miniſter of Truſt, enters his place without his Preſent and Offering to the firſt Vizier, to obtain his Conſent, and purchaſe a continuance of his Favour. Thoſe that have Governments abroad, have always their Agents at Court, who with Gifts continually mollify the Vizier's Mind, entreating him to repreſent their Service to the Grand Signior in an acceptable and grateful manner. And though at the Equinoctial in the Spring, all Paſhaes, and any that have Governments of note, are obliged to make their Preſents to the Grand Signior of conſiderable value, at which time the firſt Vizier neither will not want his own acknowledgments, he is yet farther treated by all Perſons with Sums of Mony, as the Nature of their Buſineſs is, which is not ſecretly, but boldly and confidently demanded, and the Bargain beaten as in matters of Merchandize and Trade; and Juſtice and Favours made as vendible, and ſet as publick to ſale, as Wares and Commodities are in the Shops and Places of common Mart; ſo that if the firſt Vizier proves covetous, (as commonly they do who are raiſed from nothing, and uſed always to thrift, and reſolves to loſe nothing of what he may get) his Income is incredible, and may equal that which is the Rent of the Grand Signior, and in a few Years amaſs immenſe Riches and Wealth. But of this the Prince and the *Turkiſh Policy* is not ignorant, and accordingly provides Remedies to drain the Inundations of the Vizier's Coffers; at firſt, by extorting great Sums of Mony from him at his entrance to the Charge; then, under colour of Friendſhip and Favour, the Grand Signior makes him Viſits, in requital whereof, rich Preſents are made him, as gratitude for ſo much Honour; next, he many times ſends to him for a Gift of 100000 Dollars, for Jewels, Horſes, and other things of great value; and in this manner ſeveral Contrivances are uſed to turn theſe Rivulets to pay their Tribute to the great Ocean; amongſt which this preſent Grand Signior *Mahomet* the Fourth, hath found out one way amongſt the reſt, putting the Vizier often to the charges of his Dinner, ſending to his Kitchin for twenty Diſhes of Meat, which is the uſual proportion of the Grand Signior's ordinary Table, and by inviting himſelf to a Banquet many times at the Vizier's Expences; and this being done ſo frequently, gives the World occaſion to believe, that he demands it out of no other Deſign than narrowneſs of Soul to ſave the Charges of his own Dinner; and the rather it is ſo believed, becauſe this Emperor is reputed of a covetous Diſpoſition, and of no affinity with *Solyman* the Magnificent. But the Ways and Means by which the Grand Signior comes in the end to be poſſeſſed of the Gains and Profits collected by his Vizier, and other Officers, requires a particular Diſcourſe apart, which ſhall in its due time and place be treated of; and this ſhall for the preſent ſuffice to have ſpoken concerning the Prime Vizier and his Office.

CHAP. XII.

The Offices, Dignities, and ſeveral Governments of the Empire.

HE that will deſcribe the Polities of a Country, muſt endeavour, eſpecially in the moſt exact and punctual manner poſſible, to declare the ſeveral Offices, Dignities, and Riches of it, that ſo a more eaſy computation may be calculated of its Strength, numbers of Men, Fortifications, Forces by Sea, where beſt defended, and where moſt eaſily vulnerable and expoſed.

The next to the Vizier *Azem*, or the firſt Vizier, are the ſeveral *Beglerbegs* (which may not unaptly be compared to Arch-dukes in ſome parts of Chriſtendom) having under their Juriſdiction many *Sangiacks* or Provinces, *Beyes*, *Agaes*, and others: To every one of theſe, the Grand Signior in honour beſtows three Enſigns (called in Turkiſh *Tugh*) which are Staves trimmed with the Tail of a Horſe, with a Golden Bull upon the top, and this is to diſtinghiſh them from *Baſhaws* who have two Enſigns; and the *Sanziack-beg*, who hath alſo the name of *Paſcha*, and hath but one.

When a *Paſcha* is made, the Solemnity uſed at the conferring his Office, is a Flag or Banner carried before him, and accompanied with Muſick and Songs by the *Merialem*, who is an Officer for this purpoſe only, for inveſtiture of Paſhaes in their Office.

The Government of *Beglerbegs*, who have ſeveral Provinces called *Sangiacks* under their Command, are two ſorts; the firſt is called *Has ile Beglerbeglik*, which hath a certain Rent aſſigned out of the Cities, Countries, and Signiories allotted to the Principality; the ſecond is called *Saliane Beglerbeglik*, for maintenance of which is annexed a certain Salery or Rent, collected by the Grand Signior's Officers with the Treaſure of the whole Government, out of which are paid alſo the *Sangiack Beglers*, that is, the Lords of the ſeveral Counties, Towns, or Cities, and the Militia of the Country.

It is impoſſible exactly to deſcribe the Wealth and ways of Gains exerciſed by theſe potent Governors to enrich themſelves; for a *Turk* is ingenious to get Wealth, and haſty to grow

Rich; howſoever we will ſuccinctly ſet down the certain Sums of Revenue which are granted them by Commiſſion from the Grand Signior, aſſigned them out of every particular place of their Government; beſides which, they have the Profits of all Weſts and Strays, goods of Felons, ſale of vacant Church-Offices, Mules, Horſes and Cattel, which by Mortality, or other Accidents, have no certain Maſter; to which may be added the benefit of their *Avanias* or falſe Accuſations, whereby they invade the Right and Eſtates of their Subjects; as alſo of the Robberies of their People and Strangers, by their own Slaves and Servants, whom they ſend abroad with that deſign; and having committed the Robberies themſelves, under pretence of diſcovery of the Crime, and doing Juſtice, they ſeize the Innocent People, torture and impriſon them, and perhaps put ſome to death for expiation of their own Offences.

To come nearer to this purpoſe; The *Beglerbegs* of the firſt ſort are in number 22, who have their Revenue allotted them in the places that they Govern, collected by their own Officers according to Commiſſion, of which the firſt is of *Anatolia*, anciently called *Aſia Minor*, afterwards *Anatolia*, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, from its more Eaſtern ſituation in reſpect of *Greece*; the yearly Revenue of which, in the Grand Signior's Books, called the *Old Canon*, is a Million of Aſpers, and hath under its Juriſdiction 14 *Sangiack*, *Kiotahi*, where the *Beglerbeg* reſides, in *Phrygia Major*, *Sarahan*, *Aidin*, *Kaſtamoni*, *Hadanendighiar*, *Boli*, *Menteſche*, *Augora*, otherwiſe *Ancyra*, *Karahyſar*, *Teke ili*, *Kiangri*, *Hamid*, *Sultan Ughi*, *Kareſi*, with the command of twenty two Caſtles.

An Aſper is about the value of an Halfpenny.

2. *Caramania*, anciently called *Cilicia*, and was the laſt Province which held out belonging to the *Caramanian* Princes, when all places gave way to the flouriſhing progreſs of the *Ottoman* Arms; The Revenue hereof is 660074 Aſpers, and hath under its Juriſdiction ſeven *Sangiacks*, viz. *Iconium*, which is the Court of the *Beglerbeg* in *Cappadocia*, *Nigkde*, *Kaiſani*, otherwiſe *Ceſanca*, *Jeniſcheheri*, *Kyrſchehri*, *Akſchehri*, *Akſerai*: And in this Principality are three Caſtles, at *Iconium* one, at *Larende* and *Mendui*, under the *Paſha*'s immediate Command, and 17 others in ſeveral *Sangiacks*.

3. *Diarbekir*, otherwiſe *Meſopotamia*, hath a Revenue of a Million two hundred thouſand and ſix hundred and ſixty Aſpers, and hath under its Juriſdiction 19 *Sangiacks*, with five other Governments called *Hukinmet* in *Turkiſh*; eleven of which *Sangiacks* are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalties, and eight are *Curdian* Countries, or of the People called *Kurts*; for when *Curdia* was conquered, the Country was divided, and diſtinguiſhed into the Nature of *Sangiacks*; but with this difference, of right Inheritance and Succeſſion to the Goods and Poſſeſſions of their Parents, and ſucceed as Lords of Mannors, or to other petty Governments by Blood and Kindred. And as other Lords of *Sangiacks*, *Timariots*, or Barons, pay the Grand Signior's Duties, and hold their Lands in Knights Service, or other Tenure, whereby they are obliged to attend and follow their Commanders to the Wars, whenſoever they are called thereunto by the Grand Signior's Summons: theſe that are regiſtred for *Hukiumet*, have no *Timariots* or Lords to command them, but are free from all Duties and Impoſitions, and are abſolute Maſters of their own Lands and Eſtates. Thoſe *Sangiacks* which are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalties, are *C. Harpu*, *Ezani*, *Syureck*, *Neſbin*, *Chatenghiſ*, *Tchemiſchekrek*, *Seared*, *Muſarkin*, *Aktchiè*, *Kala*, *Habur*, *Sangiar*, otherwiſe *Diarbekir*, which is the place of reſidence of the *Beglerbeg*. Thoſe *Sangiacks* which are entailed upon Families, are *Sagman*, *Kulab*, *Mechrani*, *Tergil*, *Atak*, *Pertek*, *Tchiſakichur*, *Tchirmek*.

Which ſignifies a free command.

4. Of *Scham*, otherwiſe *Damaſcus*, the certain Revenue of which is a Million of Aſpers, and hath under it *Sangiacks* ſeven with *Has*, where the Contributions by the *Beglerbeg*'s Officers are collected upon the Country, and are *Kuddeſcherif*, aliàs *Jeruſalem*, *Gaza*, *Sifad*, *Nabolos*, aliàs *Naples* in *Syria*, *Aglun*, *Bahura* and *Damaſcus*, the City where the *Beglerbeg* reſides. He hath farther three with *Siliane*, for account of which he is paid by the King's Officers, and thoſe are *Kadmar*, *Saida*, *Beru*, *Kiurk*, *Schubeck*, where are no *Timariots*, but the Inhabitants are true and abſolute Maſters of their own Eſtates, in the ſame manner as the *Curdi* are, which we have before-mentioned; the Caſtles here are for the moſt part demoliſhed, and ſcarce worthy our notice.

5. Is of *Siwas* a City in *Armenia Major*, hath a Revenue of Nine hundred thouſand Aſpers, and hath under his Dominions ſix *Sangiacks*, viz. *Amaſia*, *Tchurum*, *Buradick*, *Demurki*, *Gianick*, *Arebkir*, the Caſtles of which are nineteen.

6. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Erzram*, on the Confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of a Million two hundred thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty Aſpers, and hath under his Government 11 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Karahizar*, *Scharki*, *Kieiſi*, *Paſin*, *Esber*, *Hanes*, *Tekman*, *Turtum*, *Mayenkerd*, *Mamervan*, *Kyzutchan*, *Melazkerd*, and hath 13 Caſtles.

7. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Wan*, or *Van*, a City in *Media*, hath a Revenue of a Million one hundred and thirty two thouſand two hundred and nine Aſpers, and commands 14 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Adilgiwan*, *Ergiſch*, *Muſch*, *Barkiri*, *Kiarkian*, *Kiſani*, *Eſpaird*, *Agakis*, *Ekrad*, *Benikutur*, *Kalaibaierid*, *Berdea* and *Edegick*.

8. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Tchildir* on the Confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of Nine hundred twenty five thouſand Aſpers, and commands nine *Sangiacks*, viz. *Olti*, *Hartus*, *Ardnug*, *Erdehamburck*, *Hagrek*, *Puſenhaſ*, aliàs *Puſenhal*, *Machgil*, *Igiare*, *Penbeck*, *Pertekrek*.

9. Is the Government of *Scheherezul* in *Aſſyria*, the *Paſcha* of which hath a Revenue of a Million of Aſpers, and commands 20 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Suruikuk*, *Erbil*, *Kinſchaſ*, *Schehribazar*, *Chabkiule*, *Geblhanrin*, *Hezurd Merd*, *Dulchuran*, *Marghiane*, *Haninudevin*, *Agiur*, *Neltutari*, *Sepenxengire*, *Ebruuan*, *Tauudan*, *Badehrend*, *Belkus*, *Vscheni*, *Garikalo*, *Renghane*.

10. Is the Government of *Haleps* or *Aleppo*, hath Eight hundred and ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy two Aſpers Revenue, and commands ſeven *Sangiacks* with *Has*, and two with *Saliane*: Of the firſt ſort are *Adana*, *Ekrad*, *Kelis*, *Boregeh*, *Mearra*, *Gazir*, *Balis*: Of the other are *Matick* and *Turman* which is *Turcomania*, of theſe at this day the Revenue is farmed, and are not called *Sangiacks*, but *Agalik*, for in them are no *Timariots*, but every Man is Lord and Maſter of his own Lands. This Government hath five Caſtles.

11. Is the Government of *Maraſch* near the River *Euphrates*, ſituated between *Meſopotamia* and *Aleppo*, otherwiſe called by the *Turks*, *Zulkadria*, hath a Revenue of 628450 Aſpers, and commands four *Sangiacks* only, viz. *Malatia*,

Aſab, *Kars*, and *Samſad*, and hath four Caſtles.

12. Is the Government of *Kibros*, otherwiſe called *Cyprus*, hath a Revenue of Five hundred thouſand ſix hundred and fifty Aſpers, and commands ſeven *Sangiacks*, viz. four with *Has*, and are *Itchili*, *Tarſus*, *Alaine*, *Schis*; the other three with *Saliane*, are *Kenine Baf Manſa*, *Lefkusſcha* or *Larnica*, the place of the *Paſcha*'s reſidence is *Nicoſia*.

13. Is the Government of *Tarabolos Scham*, otherwiſe *Tripoly* of *Syria*, hath a Revenue of Eight hundred thouſand Aſpers; at this place the *Paſcha* reſides, and hath under him four *Sangiacks*, viz. *Hams*, *Hama*, *Gemele* and *Selemie*, and hath only one Caſtle in the *Sangiack* of *Hams* called *Faſlulekrad*.

14. Is the Government of *Terbozan*, otherwiſe *Trabezond*, encompaſſed with a ridge of Mountains, according to a Poet born in that place,

Vertice Montano Trapezus incluſa receſſit.

Formerly the Imperial Seat of the *Comneni* reigning over *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and the parts of *Pontus* founded by *Alexius Comnenus*, who upon the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the Weſtern Chriſtians fled to this place, which flouriſhed until taken by *Mahomet* the Great; it is ſituate on the *Euxine* or Black Sea, and ſtill a place of conſiderable Traffick, eſpecially made rich for the Fiſhing, out of which and the Cuſtoms, the *Paſcha*, though he hath no *Sangiacks* under his Government, hath yet a Revenue allotted of 734850 Aſpers, with fourteen Caſtles to defend the City, and the Dominions belonging thereunto.

15. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Kars*, a City near *Erzrum*, hath a Revenue of Eight hundred twenty thouſand ſix hundred and fifty Aſpers, and commands ſix *Sangiacks*, viz. *Erdehankitutchuk*, *Gingewan*, *Zaruſchan*, *Ghegran*, *Kughizman*, *Paſin*.

16. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Muſul*, otherwiſe called *Nineve* in *Aſſyria*, hath a Revenue of Six hundred eighty one thouſand fifty ſix Aſpers, and commands five *Sangiacks*, viz. *Bagiwanlu*, *Tekrit*, *Zerbit*, *Eski Muſul*, or old *Nineve*, and *Hurun*.

17. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Rika* hath a Revenue of 680000 Aſpers, and commands ſeven *Sangiacks*, viz. *Ghemaſche*, *Chabur*, *Dizirhebe*, *Banirabue*, *Serug*, *Biregek*, *Ane*.

Theſe are all the Governments which are in *Aſia* with *Has*; let us now paſs into *Europe*.

18. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Rumuli*, otherwiſe *Romania*, which is the moſt honourable *Turkiſh* charge in *Europe*, hath a Revenue of a Million and one hundred thouſand Aſpers, the ſeat of the *Paſcha* is *Sofia*, and commands 24 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Kioſtendil* otherwiſe *Juſtiniana*, *Mora* otherwiſe *Morea*, *Skenderi*, *Tirhala*, *Siliſtra*, *Nigeboli*, *Uchri*, *Awlona*, *Jania*, *Ilbraſan*, *Tchirmen*, *Selanik* otherwiſe *Salonica*, *Wize*, *Delunia*, *Uskiup*, *Kirkkeliſa*, *Dukakin*, *Wedin*, *Alagehizar*, *Serzerin*, *Waltcharin*, *Bender*, *Akkerman*, *Ozi*, *Azak*; But it is to be obſerved, that though *Morea*, according to the ancient Canon, was under the juriſdiction of the *Paſcha* of *Romania*, yet now it is divided and made part of the Revenue of the *Valide* or Queen-Mother, where a Farmer of her Rents and Incomes now reſides.

19. Is the charge of the *Kapudan*, otherwiſe Captain *Paſcha*, or as the *Turks* call him, General of the White Seas, hath a Revenue of 885000 Aſpers; he is Admiral of the Grand Signior's Fleet, and commands as far as the *Turkiſh* Power by Sea extends; and commands 13 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Galipoli*, which is the proper place of the *Paſcha*'s reſidence; *Egribuz* otherwiſe *Negropont*, *Karlieli*, *Ainebahti*, *Rhodes*, *Midillu* or *Metilene*, *Kogia Eli*, *Betga*, *Siſla*, *Mezeſtra*, *Sakis*, or the Iſland of *Scio*, *Benekſche* or *Malvatia*; ſome others add *Nicomedia*, *Lemnos*, and *Nixia*.

20. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Budun*, otherwiſe *Buda* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and commands 20 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Agria*, *Kanyſia*, *Samandra*, *Petchui*, *Uſtunibilgrad* or *Stultwiſſemberg*, *Oſtrogon* or *Strigonium*, *Sekdin*, *Chatwan*, *Semutum*, *Sirem*, *Kupan*, *Filek*, *Sekitwar*, *Sektches*, *Setchre*, *Novigrad*, *Seksard*, *Belgrade* or *Alba Regalis*. And now lately in the Year 1663, that *Wiwar* or *Newhawſel* was taken, a new *Sangiack* is ſince added.

21. The *Paſcha* of *Temeſwar* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and hath under his command 6 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Lipona*, *Tchanad*, *Ghiola*, *Mudava*, *Waradin*, to which alſo *Janova* is added, conquered in the Year *1663*.

22. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Boſna*, which is part of *Illyrium*, divided formerly into *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia*, now called *Sclavonia*; his Revenue is a and commands 8 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Herſek*, *Kelis*, *Ezdernick*, *Puzga*, *Feraigne*, *Zagine*, *Kirka*, *Rabnige*.

There are other *Paſchas* of *Coffa*, *Theodeſia* in *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, which having no *Sangiacks*, no *Timariots*, nor *Ziamets* under them, but only a few beggarly Villages which we ſhall purpoſely omit, as not worthy the notice. And ſo much ſhall be ſaid for the *Paſchaes* or *Beglerbegs* with *Has*, or with the Revenue impoſed upon Countries under their command, collected by their own Officers.

Thoſe that are with *Saliane*, or paid out of the Grand Signior's Treaſury, are:

1. The *Paſcha* of *Grand Cairo*, called by the *Turks Miſir*, hath a Revenue of Six hundred thouſand *Scheriffs* or *Zechins* a Year, which he may juſtly and honeſtly pretend to; as much is the Tribute yearly paid the Grand Signior from that place; which is moſt commonly brought ſince the War with *Venice* upon Camels backs by Land, with a guard of 500 Men, not to expoſe it to the danger of being intercepted at Sea; another Sum of Six hundred thouſand *Zechins* yearly goes to the payment of the *Turks* Forces in *Egypt*; beſides the vaſt Sums of Mony this *Paſcha* extorts with inſupportable Avarice and Tyranny from the Natives of the Country, during the ſpace of his three Years Government; by which means he grows exceſſive rich, and able to refund a good ſtream into the Grand Signior's Coffers at his return, as hereafter ſhall be the ſubject of our more large diſcourſe; he commands 16 *Sangiacks* as is reported, but not being regiſtred in the King's Book, I let them paſs without naming them.

2. Is the Government of *Bagdat*, otherwiſe *Babylon*, and hath a Revenue of a Million and ſeven hundred thouſand Aſpers, and commands 22 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Dertenk*, *Gezan*, *Gewazir*, *Renk*, *Aidiie*, *Gelle*, *Semwat*, *Remaliie*, *Beiare*, *Derne*, *Debare*, *Waſit*, *Gebkiule*, *Gedide*, *Keſend*, *Kaſrſchirin*, *Ghiilan*, *Karag*, *Anne*, *Aſebah*, *Demarkapu*, *Deirberhiie*, *Karaniie*.

3. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Yemen*, which is in *Arabia Felix*, whoſe place of Reſi-

dence is at *Adem* upon the Red Sea; which Place and Country being recovered for the moſt part again from the *Turk* by the *Arabians*, it is neither needful to mention the Revenue, nor the *Sangiacks* it formerly commanded.

4. The *Paſha* of the *Abiſſines* hath his Reſidence at *Saquen*, a ſmall Iſle in the Red Sea, and commands the Ports of *Meſauna* and *Erkiko*, which the *Turks* lately took from the *Abiſſines*, but this *Paſha* being very poor, and far diſtant from the Succours of the *Turks*, we cannot aſſign any *Sangiacks*, or render any thing certain of his Eſtate.

5. In the Government alſo of *Boſra*, on the Confines of *Perſia*, were reckoned *26 Sangiacks*, but now not held by the *Turk*, who hath no other Power there, nor Benefit thence, excepting only that Prayers are made conſtantly for the Sultan.

6. In the Government of *Lahſa*, on the Confines of *Ormus* in *Perſia*, are accounted ſix *Sangiacks*, viz. *Aiwen*, *Sakul*, *Negniie*, *Netif*, *Benderazir*, *Giriz*; but theſe Countries are poor, and have ſcarce any place in the Grand Signior's Regiſters.

To theſe we ſhould add the Governments of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoly* in *Barbary*; but that being much fallen off from the *Turks* Obedience, and become almoſt independent of them, we ſhall paſs by the Diſcourſe of them, eſpecially becauſe of late Years the mutual Treaties with *Barbary*, and interchanges of War and Peace with thoſe Countries, hath made the State and Condition of that People well known and familiar in *England*.

The uſe of the particular Catalogue foregoing, is to demonſtrate the Greatneſs and Power of the *Ottoman* Empire, which hath ſo many conſiderable Governments and Principalities in its Poſſeſſion, wherewith to encourage and excite the endeavours of Heroick Spirits to an ambition of great and noble Enterprizes, whereby to merit the Rewards which remain in the Power of the Sultan to gratify them with. And alſo to help in the juſt computation of the number of Men the *Turk* can bring into the Field, every *Paſcha* being obliged, for every 5000 Aſpers Rent, to bring a Souldier to the War; though notwithſtanding, they often appear, for oſtentation and gain of the Grand Signior's Favour, with more Men than their own Complement: as in the laſt War with *Germany*, the *Beglerbeg* of *Romania* brought 10000 effective Men into the Field.

Of theſe *Beglerbegs*, five have the Titles of Viziers, which ſignifies as much as Counſellors, *viz.* the *Paſcha's* of *Anatolia*, *Babylon*, *Cairo*, *Romania* and *Buda*; which are charges of the greateſt Riches, Power, and Fame; the others have their pre-eminence, rank or order, according to the priority of Conqueſt, and Antiquity in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks*.

Theſe are all the great Governments of the Empire, in whoſe reſpective Juriſdictions are always three principal Officers, *viz.* the *Mufti*, the *Reis Efendi*, otherwiſe called *Reis Kitab*, which is, Lord Chancellor, or Secretary of State, or rather thoſe two Offices united into one; the third is *Teſterdar Paſhaw*, or Lord Treaſurer. Theſe three Officers are near Councellors and Attendants on their *Paſhaws*; and ſo alſo they are on the Prime Vizier, whoſe *Mufti*, *Reis Efendi*, and *Teſterdar*, have a Superiority and dignity above others, and are to them as the Original to the Copy.

Of the *Mufti* we ſhall ſpeak in due place. The *Reis Efendi*, which ſignifies chief of the Writers or Book-men; (for the *Turks* call always Men of the Law, and Profeſſors of the Pen, and Parochial Prieſts by the Title of *Efendi*) is always preſent and attending on the Vizier, for paſſing Orders, Decrees, Patents and Commiſſions into all parts of the Empire; which are daily diſpatched in thoſe Numbers into all Places, as is incredible; for the *Turks* governing more by their Arbitrary Power, and according to the Exigencies of Affairs, than by a ſet Rule or Form, every Buſineſs requires its diſtinct Order; and the very Courts of Juſtice are moderated according to the Commands and Directions they receive from Above; by which means the *Reis Efendi*'s Hands are filled with ſuch a multitude of Buſineſs, as employs great numbers of Writers; and conſequently brings in Riches flowing to his Coffers; ſome in which Office, who by their Parts, Induſtry, and Courage, have gained Authority and Reſpect, have amaſſed Wealth, which might compare with the Riches and Treaſure of Princes; We ſhall here inſtance in one of late years, famous in *Turky*, for his Knowledg and Riches, called *Samozade*; one who had piled thoſe heaps of all things that were rich and curious, as were too tedious and long to inſert in a Catalogue in this place. It may ſuffice, that being executed in the time of the laſt Wars againſt the Emperor of *Germany*, for ſome Conſpiracy againſt the Great Vizier, ſuch a Treaſure was found appertaining to him (all which was confiſcated to the Grand Signior) as was ſufficient to have enriched and raiſed his Prince, had he been impoveriſhed, and in a declining condition.

The other great Officer, is the *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer, who receives the Revenue of the Grand Signior, and pays the Souldiery, and makes other publick Diſburſements; this Office is different from the Treaſurer of the Seraglio (of whom we have already ſpoken) who attends to nothing elſe but the Expences of the Court, and to gather in the accidental Profits and Preſents paid to the Grand Signior; which is ſo conſiderable, that every Sultan (for the moſt part) amaſſes a particular Treaſure of his own, which after his death is incloſed in a certain Chamber, and ſhut with an Iron Gate, and the Key-hole ſtopped with Lead; and over the Port is writ, in Golden Letters, *The Treaſures of ſuch a Sultan.* And this ſhall ſuffice to have been ſpoken of the Offices and Dignities of the Empire.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Tartars *and* Tartar Han, *and in what manner they depend upon the* Turks.

THE *Tartars* may very well be accounted amongſt the other Princes ſubject to the *Ottoman* Power; I mean not the *Aſiatick Tartars*, or the *Tartar* of *Eusbeck* (though ſo much *Mahometan* as to wear green Turbants, and to deduce their Race from the Line of *Mahomet* himſelf) for having conquered *China*, and poſſeſſing a greater Empire than the *Ottoman*, they are far from acknowledging any ſubjection or degree of Inferiority to the *Turk*: nor are all the *European Tartars* Subjects to the Sultan; for the *Kalmuk* and *Citrahan Tartars* (Men of ſtrange barbarity, and countenance different from all the other Race of Mankind) though Profeſſors of the *Mahometan* Religion, are yet faithfully and piouſly obedient to the Duke of *Muſcovy* their lawful Prince.

But the *Precopentian Tartar*, which inhabits *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, now called *Crim*, the principal City of which is *Theodoſia*, now *Cafa*, and the *Nagaemian Tartar*, which inhabits by the *Palus Meotis*, between the Rivers of *Volga* and *Tanais*, are the People which may be accounted amongſt the Subjects, or at leaſt Confederates of this Empire; though only the City of *Cafa*, of all thoſe Dominions, is immediatly in Poſſeſſion and Government of the *Turk*, which in my opinion appears to be a cautionary Town and Pledg for their Obedience; and though the *Han*, or Prince of the Country, is Elective, yet he is choſen out of that true Line, and confirmed by the Grand Signiors, who have always taken upon them a Power to depoſe the Father, and in his place conſtitute the Son, or next of the Lineage, when found remiſs in affording their Auxiliary helps to the War, or guilty of any diſreſpect or want of Duty to the *Ottoman* Port.

This preſent *Han* which now governs, called *Mahomet Ghirei*, (for that is the Sirname of his Family) remained, during the Life of his Father (according to the cuſtom of the eldeſt Son of this Prince) a Hoſtage to the *Turk* in *Janboli*, a Town in *Thrace*, four days journey diſtant from *Adrianople*, ſituate on the *Euxine* or Black Sea; but from thence, upon jealouſy of too near a vicinity to his own Country, was removed to *Rhodes*, where he paſſed an obſcure and melancholy Life until the Death of his Father; and then being recalled to *Conſtantinople*, had there his Sword girt on, ſwore Fealty to the Grand Signior, with all other Formalities performed according to their Cuſtom of Regal Inauguration: But being ſetled in his Kingdom, and mindful of his Sufferings at *Rhodes*, he had ever ſtomached the Pride of the *Ottoman* Emperor; by which, and the diſſuaſion of the *Polonians*, and the other Neighbouring *Tartars*, as a thing diſhonourable to ſo ancient and powerful a People, to reſign the Heir of their Kingdom a Hoſtage to their Neighbours; this preſent Prince hath refuſed this part of Subjection, which the Vizier *Kupriuli* often complained of; but not being in a condition to afford a Remedy unto it, thought it prudent to diſſemble.

But yet theſe People are eſteemed as Brothers, or near Allies with the *Turk*, to whom, for want of Heirs Male in the *Ottoman* Line, the Empire is by ancient Compact to deſcend; the expectation of which, though afar off, and but almoſt imaginary, doth yet conſerve the *Tartar* in as much obſervance to the *Turk*, as the hopes of an Eſtate doth a young Gallant, who is allured to a complacency and obſequiouſneſs, with the petulant Humour of a Father that adopts him, who is reſolved never to want Heirs of his own Family. And thus the *Tartar* is as obedient as other Subjects; and though the *Turk* exerciſes not his Power there by Commands, as in other places of his Dominions, but treats all his Buſineſs by way of Letters; yet theſe Letters ſerve in the place of Warrants, for the ſignification of the Grand Signior's Pleaſure, and are as available as the * *Autogra*, and other Formalities of the Imperial Edict, are in other places (in ſubjection to the *Turk*).

* *The great Character of the Emperor's Name affixed at the top of every Command.*

When the Sultan writes to the *Cham* of *Tartary*, he uſes this ſtyle,

> *To the Government wherein flouriſhes the Maſs, and Original of Regency, on which Fortune depends, and by which Felicity is obtained. Poſſeſſor of Excellent Power, and Eſtabliſhed Glory, elected by the Favour of that King from whom Succours are to be demanded. The King of* Grim, Gian, Begh, Ghirai Chaw, *whoſe Heighth be for ever maintained.*
>
> After reſpect had to thoſe Bleſſings, which are freighted with Amber, and Salutations perfumed with *Narciſſus*, proceeding from the Imperial Grace. *Be it known unto you*, &c.

By ancient Compact between the Empire and the Kingdom of *Tartary*, it is agreed, that whenſoever the Grand Signior goes in Perſon to the Wars, the *Tartar Han* is to accompany him in Perſon, with an Army of one hundred thouſand Men; but if the Vizier, or ſome other General be in the Field, then is he only obliged to ſend forty or fifty thouſand under the command of his Son, or ſome principal Officer of his Kingdom, who are paid and maintained out of the Booty and Pillage they acquire.

In the Year 1663, the *Tartar* called on occaſion of the War in *Hungary*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Turk*, they made ſuch Incurſions into that Country, *Moravia* and *Sileſia*, ſacking and burning all Cities and Towns, that they carried away One hundred and ſixty thouſand Captive Souls in one Year; which preciſe number I am informed from thoſe who had received good information of the Pengick or Certificates that were given upon every Head; for the *Tartar* being an abſolute Free-booter, makes prize of all that comes within his Power; and leſt he ſhould prey on the Subjects of the *Turk*, they are bound to take out Atteſtations from certain Regiſters, of the Names, Countries, and Age of their Captives, leſt they ſhould deceive the *Turk* with the ſale of thoſe, who are already their own Subjects and Slaves.

The *Tartar* is to the *Turk*, as the Giacal to the Lion, who hunts and finds the Prey for the Lion to overcome and feed: And ſo the *Tartars* make Incurſions into the Neighbouring Countries round about, and paſs in great Bodies, ſometimes ten or twelve days, without doing the leaſt damage or ſpoil in their Journey outward; but as ſoon as they turn their Faces Home, they rob, ſpoil, burn, and carry all the Inhabitants, of what Age or Sect ſoever, like a Torrent before them; and every one of them leading three or four Horſes apiece, on which they mount their Captives, and load their Prey, make a running march Day and Night with few hours intermiſſion for natural Repoſe, too faſt for any orderly Army to overtake; and any other, that is not ſo, is not able to give them Battel. Such of their Slaves as in their journey are wounded and infirm, and not able to accompany the Camp, they kill; thoſe which they bring ſafe into their own Country they ſell to the *Turks*, who come thither to trade for this Merchandiſe, which is the moſt profitable Commodity that *Tartary* affords. Young Boys and Girls are rated at the higheſt Price, the latter of which being beautiful are like Jewels held at an unknown value; but few of them eſcape the luſt of the *Tartars*, who deflower them even in the Years of their very infancy. This ſort of People were by the Ancients called *Sarmati*, and were always famous for their exploits on Horſeback, but heavy and ignorant of Foot-ſervice; which Character *Tacitus* gives of them, *Lib.* 1. *Hiſt. Omnis Sar-*

matum virtus quaſi extra ipſos, nihil ad pedeſtrem pugnam, tam ignavum ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obſtiterit, iners videtur ſudore acquirere, quod poſſis ſanguine parare, mirâ diverſitate natura cum iidem homines ſic ament inertiam, & oderint quietem: They live very hardly, and feed eſpecially on Horſe-fleſh, which dying in their march, they never examine his Diſeaſes, whether ſurfeited or overheated; but diſtributing his Fleſh amongſt their Companions, place it under their Saddles: and thus baked between the heat of the Man and the Horſe, chafed with that day's labour, is a night judged ſufficiently prepared, as a Diſh fit for the Table of their Prince.

And as the Men are nouriſhed with a Diet of raw Fleſh, Herbs and Roots, or ſuch as the Earth naturally produces, without the concoction of the Fire to prepare it for their Stomachs, ſo alſo their Horſes are of a hardy temperament, patient of Hunger and Cold; and in the ſharp Winter of thoſe Countries, when the ground is covered with Snow, nouriſh themſelves with the Barks of Trees, and ſuch Herbage as they can find at the bottom of the deep Snow.

Their Towns or Villages conſiſt of Huts rather than Houſes, or Hurdles made with Sticks and covered with a courſe hair-Cloth; of which Villages there are accounted Two hundred thouſand, ſo that taking one Man out of every Village (as their cuſtome is when they go to the War) they ſpeedily form an Army of Two hundred thouſand fighting Men. But now having carried great Riches out of *Poland*, and gained a conſiderable Wealth by the Market of their Slaves, ſome of them throw off their homely Plads to wear Sables, and ſome more frugal, employ their Mony for building Houſes; the riotous and diſſolute are addicted to ſtrong Waters, and a drink called *Boza* made of a certain Seed (which drank in a great quahtity doth intoxicate, and is now much in uſe amongſt the *Turks*) and give themſelves up to a gluttony, as brutiſh, as that which is natural unto Swine, having no art of Sauces to provoke their Appetite, but reſt delighted with the mere contentment of Idleneſs and a full Stomach.

But this ſhall be ſufficient to have ſpoken of the relation the *Tartars* have to the Government of the *Turk*, and their ſubjection to this Empire, their Cuſtoms and Manners being more amply and fully deſcribed in other Books.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Tributary Princes to the Grand Signior, viz. Moldavians, Walachians, Tranſylvanians, Raguſeans, *&c.*

THE Power and Puiſſance of an Empire is not more judged of by the many Governours, the rich Offices it can diſpoſe of, the multitude of Provinces it contains in Obedience, and the neceſſity it can impoſe on other Princes to ſeek its confederacy (which we have already treated of) than it is by the many Tributaries which to redeem the remainder of their worldly Goods, willingly ſacrifice the beſt part to appeaſe his Fury, in whoſe Power it is to maſter all: and ſo theſe diſtreſſed Nations, long wearied out with tedious Wars, oppreſſed between the Emperor of *Germany*, the *Polander*, and the *Turk*, and more damaged by their own Civil Diſſentions, and Domeſtick Perfidiouſneſs, than vanquiſhed by the Force of Arms, were forced at laſt to ſurrender up their fruitfull Provinces to the devotion of the *Turk*, which are now haraſſed and oppreſſed beyond all expreſſion, and are the meereſt Slaves to the *Turk* of all other his Subjects; and may well be compared to the induſtrious Bee and profitable Sheep, whom he cares for and maintains alive for the ſake of their Honey, and the intereſt of their Wool; and as if all this were too little, when it ſhall be ſo thought fit, he opens the Gate to the Incurſions of the *Tartar*, who having gained a conſiderable booty of Goods and Captives, ſells to the *Turks* for Slaves, thoſe which were before his Subjects. Theſe three poor Provinces formerly called the *Daci*, which withſtood ſo long the *Roman* Arms, were always eſteemed a valiant and warlike People, according to that of *Virgil*, lib. 8. *Æn.*

Indomitique Daca, & pontem Indignatus Araxes.

Et Juvenal. *Sat.* 5.
Dacius & ſcripto radiat Germanicus antro.

Which Countries have been the Graves and Cemeteries of the *Turks*, and in theſe modern Times been the Stage on which ſo many Tragedies of War have been acted, being defended with as much valour and variety of Succeſſes, as could humanely be expected in ſo unequal a Match as was between thoſe Provinces ſingly and the *Ottoman* Empire. But now at laſt they are forced to yield, and become not only Tributaries, but Slaves and Subjects to the *Turk*, who having deprived them of the true Line of their natural Princes ſucceeding in a lawful Inheritance, place over them ſome Chriſtians of the Greek Church, without conſideration of their Conditions or Riches, or Qualifications; nay rather chuſe to give the Standard (which is the ſign of the Grand Signior's Confirmation of the Prince) to ſome inferiour Perſon, as Taverners, Fiſhmongers, or other meaner Profeſſions, purpoſely to diſparage the People with the baſeneſs of their Governours, and expoſe them to the oppreſſions of Men of no Worth or Dexterity in their Office. It hath ſeveral times been under the conſideration of the *Turks*, at length to reduce theſe three Provinces to the command of ſo many *Paſhaws*; contrary to the Original Capitulations agreed on at the time that theſe People firſt ſubmitted to the *Ottoman* Yoke: but as yet it hath been carried to the contrary, as more profitable, and better ſerving the Ends of the Empire; for hereby Chriſtians become the Inſtruments of Torment to their own Brethren; Outrages and Spoils may be the more boldly acted; more Turkiſh Officers employed on every ſlight Occaſion on gainful Meſſages; and the People, by long Oppreſſions, living under the Juriſdiction of a Prince, who can rather ſpoil than protect, may be reconciled more willingly to the *Turkiſh* Government, and learn to value the Gentleneſs and Power of a *Paſha*, compared with the remembrance of their former Agrievances. But of this Government they will rather let them imagine the Eaſe and Sweetneſs, than enjoy it; for were a *Paſhaw* the Governor, the Power of a *Turk* would be concerned for their Protection, he would eſteem himſelf their Patron, and his Honour engaged in their Defence, by which Means theſe Countries would be relieved in a great meaſure of Extortions and Violences, which is not ſo beneficial to the *Turk*, as the preſent miſerable Eſtate in which they remain.

Moldavia.

The word Vayvod *ſignifies as much as* Præfectus Militiæ, *or the General of an Army.*

Moldavia called by the *Turks Bugdan*, was firſt made Tributary to the *Turks* by *Mahomet* the Great, but under the ſmall Tribute of 2000 Crowns *per Annum*; afterwards *Bogdanus*, *Vayvod* thereof, *Anno* 1485. fearing to become abſolute Vaſſal to the *Turk*, taking to his Aſſociation the Kingom of *Poland*, took up Arms againſt *Selymus* the Second, by whom being drawn out from his Country, *John* a *Moldavian* born, but one who had embraced the *Mahometan* Superſtition, was preferred by *Selymus* to the Principality; but no ſooner was he ſetled therein, but he returned to his former Religion, for which cauſe the *Turk* taking into his aſſiſtence the Province of *Walachia*, made War upon *Moldavia*; but *John* the *Vayvod* by treachery loſing his Life, this Province fell totally into the Power of the *Turk*, and was united to his Empire in the Year 1574. The Tribute in thoſe days of this Province is recorded in the *Turkiſh* Hiſtory to have been 40000 *Zechins*, or 80000 Dollars; but now whatſoever may be reported, the Tribute of theſe Countries is, or was, the Reader may take this following Account for what is certainly paid, being related to me from one who had many Years been employed for *Vayvod*, both in *Moldavia* and *Walachia* by the *Turk*, viz. the yearly Tribute of *Moldavia* is,

Its Annual Tribute.

1. To the Grand Signior, 120 Purſes of Mony; each Purſe containing 500 Dollars, makes 60000 Dollars.
2. Ten thouſand Okes of Wax, each Oke being two pounds and a half *Engliſh* weight.
3. Ten thouſand Okes of Honey.
4. Six hundred Quintals of Tallow for the *Arſenal*.
5. Five hundred Ox Hides.
6. Five hundred Pieces of Canvas for Cloathing, and Shirts for the Slaves, and others Services for the Gallies.
7. One thouſand three hundred and thirty Okes of Wax, for the ſervice of the *Arſenal*.
8. To the chief Vizier ten Purſes of Mony, or 5000 Dollars, and a Sables Fur for a Veſt.
9. To the Viziers *Kahija*, or chief Steward, one Purſe, or 500 Dollars.
10. To the *Teſterdar*, or Lord Treaſurer, the ſame as to the *Kahija*.

This is the ordinary and annual Tribute this Country acknowledges to the Supremacy of the Sultan; and it were well and happy for this People were it all; but there are ſo many accidental Expences, Pretenſions, and Artifices of the *Turks*, framed and contrived Meſſages merely to extract Mony and Preſents from this oppreſſed and haraſſed People, as do more than equal, and ſometimes double the charge of their yearly Tribute.

To which you may add the Price paid for the Principality, which is every three Years ſet to ſale, and is,

The Price of the Principality.

To the Grand Signior 150 Purſes, or 75000 Dollars.

To the *Valede* or Queen-mother 50 Purſes, or 25000 Dollars.

To the Grand Signior's Favourite, who is commonly ſome handſome young Youth, 10 Purſes, or 5000 Dollars.

And to the *Kuſlir Aga* or chief Black Eunuch, who is Superintendent over the Ladies in the Seraglio, 10 Purſes of Mony.

And laſtly, To the Prime Vizier and other Officers, for as much as they can beat the Bargain.

All which Mony is taken up at Intereſt at 40 or 50 *per Cent.* and ſometimes on condition to be doubled; and this is done by Men, who having no Eſtates of their own, the Debt comes to be charged on their Country, which is pillaged and poled for it to the very Bones, firſt to ſatisfy the Price of the Principality with the Intereſt-mony, for what it is valued, then to pay the annual Tribute, then to ſatisfy the multitude of covetous *Turks*, who like ſo many Vultures purſue after the Skeleton of this conſumed Carkaſs.

And laſtly, the Prince himſelf muſt take his Accounts, and take his Meaſures to be capable for the future, after he hath laid aſide the Ornament of his Office, to live in ſome proportion agreeable to his paſt Condition; and this is neither done moderately nor modeſtly, but with a covetouſneſs and greedy Appetite, commonly incident to the nature of Men born of mean Parentage, and educated with the parſimony of a ſcanty Houſe; who alſo thereunto add many grains of allowance to the limits of ther Gains, in conſideration of the yearly Gratuities they muſt make to reconcile the Friendſhip of the *Turkiſh* Miniſters, whereby they may enjoy protection for their Perſons and Eſtates.

The State and Condition of the Province of *Walachia* is not better, but rather worſe, and more afflicted than that of *Moldavia*; for this Country, is now equally with the former in the ſole and entire diſpoſal and poſſeſſion of the *Turk*, to whom it became firſt Tributary under their own Princes in the time of Sultan *Bajazet*: Afterward in the Year 1462, *Mahomet* the Great undertook the entire Conqueſt of it, then governed by its *Vayvod Wladus*, whoſe younger Brother ſupported by the *Turk*, and Factious Party in that Country, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Principality, contenting himſelf to be Vaſſal to the *Turkiſh* Empire; afterwards in the Year 1595, *Michael* the *Vayvod* thereof joining himſelf with *Sigiſmund* of *Tranſylvania*, and with the *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*, waged a long and terrible War againſt the *Turks*, until Revolutions, Unquietneſs and Factions have ſo ſpent them, as that they are at length become another addition to the Empire of the *Turks*, who now impoſe on them a heavy Yoke and ſtrait Curb, not to be imputed to any thing more than to Divine Juſtice, which takes occaſion to exerciſe a hand of Severity againſt the unſeaſonable negligence, Sedition, and Variance of Chriſtians amongſt themſelves, at a time when the common Enemy to their profeſſion attended only the opportunity of their own Diſſentions, to enter and devour them.

The Tribute of *Walachia* to the Grand Signior was formerly 120 Purſes of Mony, or 60000 Dollars yearly, according to that of *Moldavia*, and ſo ſtill continued, had not lately *Mathew* the *Vayvod* about the Year 1655, grown rich, and therefore forgetful of his Condition (having by Friends and large Preſents at the Port, procured a continuation of his Office for the ſpace of nineteen or twenty Years) rebelled againſt the *Turk*, taking falſe meaſures of his Wealth and Power, as able to encounter with the puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire; but being ſoon put to the worſt, and forced to yield, his Life was ſpared and the ſafety of his Country redeemed upon the augmentation of their Tribute; ſo that now, that which was yearly paid, being 120 Purſes of Mony,

Every Oke is two pounds and an half Engliſh.

1. Is become to the Grand Signior 260 Purſes, or 130000 Dollars.
2. There is paid 15000 Okes of Honey.
3. Nine thouſand Okes of Wax.

4. To the Prime Vizier ten Purſes of Mony, or 5000 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.

5. To the *Teſterdar*, or Lord Treaſurer, one Purſe of Mony, or 50 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.

6. To the *Kuſlir Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women 12000 Aſpers.

7. To the Vizier's *Kahija* or Steward 500 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.

The other Charges and Value ſet on this Province, when triennially ſold, is no leſs than that of *Moldavia*; the Method and Art uſed for extorting Mony from thence are the ſame, the Oppreſſion in every point equal, unleſs the remembrance of the extravagant diſorder of *Matthew* the *Vayvod* ſtill kept in mind, emboldens the *Turk*, with more confident Pretences, to work more Deſolation and Impoveriſhment in this Province.

Now lately a Prince was ſetled there by Order of the Grand Signior, in the Year 1664, called *Stridia Bei* by the *Greeks*, which ſignifies a Lord that had gained ſome Fortune from ſelling Oyſters and Fiſh; this Perſon ſucceeded *Gregoraſco* the late Prince, who fearing the Anger of the Prime Vizier for returning Home with his Army without Licence, defeated by General *Suſa* near *Lewa*, fled for ſafety of his Life into the Dominions of the Emperor. The *Turks*, who always avenge the Crimes of the Governours on the People, or of the Subjects on the Governours, raiſed the Price of the Principality to a higher value, cauſing *Stridia Bei* (as I am confidently informed, who was contented to accept it at any Rate) to pay for it 800 Purſes of Mony, or 400000 Dollars; to which being added the Intereſt before-mentioned, the Sum may eaſily be computed that this new *Vayvod* engulfed himſelf in; and I leave the Reader to imagine with what glad Hearts and Bleſſings the People of that Country went forth to receive their Bankrupt Prince.

Nor is *Tranſylvania* wholly exempted from the Oppreſſion of the *Turk*; for after ſeveral Revolutions, from the time of *Huniades* made *Vayvod* by *Vladiſlaus* the fourth King of *Hungary*, *Anno* 1450, a great Defender of his Country againſt the Infidels, until the time of *Stephen* the Seventh, ſirnamed *Ragotzki*, Patronized by the *Turks*, *Anno* 1450. This Principality remained ſometimes at the Devotion and Diſpoſal of the King of *Hungary*, of *Poland*, of the Emperor, and ſometimes of the *Turk*; until by the growing greatneſs of the *Ottomans*, the *Turks* became Maſters of the beſt part of this Country. But yet *Tranſylvania* is more tenderly and more honourably treated than the other two Provinces, their Tribute being much leſs, and their Princes choſen for the moſt part more regularly from the ancient Line, or at leaſt from the honourable Houſes of the Boyars or Nobility, who have an affinity or alliance with the true Blood of the former *Vayvods*. Their ancient Tribute was only 6000 *Zechins* yearly, but afterwards were added 9000 more annually, for acknowledgment of certain Caſtles which *Ragotzki* had taken from *Poland*, which the *Turk* demanded to have reſigned into his poſſeſſion, were for that Sum redeemed, and ſtill detained in the Hands of the *Tranſylvanians*; over and above which they only pay 300 Dollars and two Silver Bowls to the ſeven Viziers of the Bench: And this is all the acknowledgment they make to the *Turk*, who demonſtrates more reſpect always to this Prince and his Meſſages, than thoſe of the Neighbour Provinces, by reaſon that that Country is not totally in his Power (certain ſtrong Fortreſſes being in the hand of the Emperor of *Germany*) for whoſe ſake this People is more gently dealt with, leſt too much ſeverity ſhould occaſion them to revolt; and this conſideration induced the *Turks* to treat modeſtly with *Michael Apaſi* the Prince of this Country in the late Wars in *Hungary*, by truſting much to his Conduct, by uſing him like an honourable Confederate, by permitting him freely to poſſeſs *Zekelhyd* after its voluntary Surrender in a Mutiny, without the controllment or ſuperintendency of a *Turk* as his Superiour; and for his farther encouragement, gave out, that when the Sultan had totally ſubdued *Hungary*, thoſe parts which were not ſubject to *Paſhaws*, ſhould be annexed to his Dominions, and he honoured with the Title of King of *Hungary*.

Theſe Princes of the three foregoing Provinces, are farther obliged to ſerve the Grand Signior in his Wars, whenſoever ſummoned thereto; but with what number, and in what manner, we reſerve for its due place in the Treatiſe of the *Turks* Militia and Auxiliaries.

The City and ſmall Dominion of *Raguſi*, is alſo another Tributary to the *Turk*; which is a petty Common-Wealth, not vouchſafed the Title of a Republick, neither by the *Venetians*, nor the *Pope*, and only ſtyled *la Communità di Raguſi*, which is a Town in *Dalmatia*, commanding over a narrow and barren Territory of a few Villages, which for the ſpace of 150 miles extends it ſelf along the Sea Coaſt, and ſome little Iſlands of no great conſideration: It was anciently called *Epidaurus* (of which name there were two other Cities in *Peloponneſus*) but that being razed by the *Goths*, the Inhabitants after their departure rebuilt again this City of *Raguſi*, giving it a new Name, as well as a new Foundation. The Government of it, in the nature of a Common-Wealth, is more ancient than that of *Venice*, having preſerved it ſelf more by Art and Submiſſion to ſome powerful Protector, than to its own Force; which cauſed them to court the Friendſhip of the *Turk*, before he was Maſter of any part of *Europe*; and as their Records report, it was upon the Advice of a Holy Nun, eſteemed a great Saint amongſt them, who propheſying of the future greatneſs of the *Turkiſh* Empire, aſſured them, That the only Means to preſerve, for many Ages, their Common-Wealth free and happy, was, to ſubmit themſelves to one of the moſt proſperous of Princes, to whoſe Dominion the beſt part of the World ſhould be ſubdued. Whereupon two Ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the City of *Pruſa*, (then the Regal Seat, before the utter ruin of the *Grecian* Empire) with Preſents to the Sultan *Orchanes*, deſiring to become his Tributaries; and in conſideration thereof to ſtrengthen their weak Common-Wealth with aſſiſtance, under the ſhadow of his prevalent Protection. There is no doubt, but the Sultan then received them the more courteouſly, and promiſed the maintenance of a former League, by how much the diſtance they were at as yet, gave them the leſs cauſe to fear his Arms; wherefore the Tribute being agreed on, of Twelve thouſand and five hundred *Zechins* yearly, they were returned Home with all demonſtrations of Courteſy, and aſſurances of Defence: *Orchanes* entred into Articles with them, beſtowed on them a Grant of all the Immunities and Priviledges they deſired, the which he ſigned with the form of his whole hand wetted in Ink, and clapped on the Paper, which was all the Firm and Seal in thoſe days, and is now reverenced amongſt the *Turks* with the ſame eſteem, as the *Jews* do the Tables of *Moſes*, or we the moſt Sacred and Holy Reliques; ever ſince that time this Tribute hath yearly continued, and been brought always in the month of *July* by two Ambaſſadors, who reſide at the *Turkiſh* Court for the ſpace of a Year, the former returning Home; theſe are relieved at the ſame Seaſon of the following Year, by the acceſſion of two others with the like Tribute; which with the Preſents they alſo bring to the Prime Vizier, chief Eunuch of the Women, the Queen-Mother and other Sultans, with the Charges and Expences of the Embaſſy, is computed to amount yearly to the Sum of twenty thouſand *Zechins*.

They were in Times paſt, before the War between the Republick of *Venice* and the *Turk*, very Poor, and put to hard Shifts and Arts to raiſe the *Turkiſh* Tribute; but this War hath opened their Scale, and made it the Port for tranſmitting the Manufactures of *Venice*, and all *Italy* into *Turkey*, which yields them ſuch conſiderable Cuſtoms, as thereby their Tribute is ſupplied with Advance, and other Neceſſities provided for: So that now the old Ornaments of the Ambaſſadors, as their black Velvet Bonnets, and Gowns of Crimſon Satten, lined heretofore with *Martins* Fur, but now with Sables, are not laid up in the common Wardrobe for the Ambaſſadors of the ſucceeding Year, but a new Equipage and Accoutrements are yearly ſupplied at the common Charge: and thus they paſs honeſtly and in good eſteem at the *Ottoman* Court, being called the *Dowbrai Vendick* by the *Turks*, or the *Good Venetian*.

This petty Republick hath always ſupported it ſelf by ſubmiſſion, and addreſſes for Favour and Defence to divers powerful Princes, courting the Favour of every one, never offering Injuries, and when they receive them, patiently ſupport them; which is the cauſe the *Italians* call them *le ſette Bandiere*, or the ſeven Bannerers, ſignifying that for their Being and Maintenance of the name of a free Republick, they are contented to become Slaves to all parts of the World. And it is obſervable on what a ſtrange form of jealous Policy their Government is founded; for their chief Officer, who is in imitation of their Doge at *Venice*, is changed every month, others weekly; and the Governour of the principal Caſtle of the City, is but of 24 hours continuance; every night one is nominated by the Senate for Governor, who is without any Preparation or Ceremony taken up as he walks the Streets, having a Handkerchief thrown over his Face, is led away blindfold to the Caſtle, ſo that none can diſcover who it is that commands that Night; and by that means all poſſibility of Conſpiracy or Combination of betraying the Town, prevented.

These People, in former Times, were great Traders into the Weſtern Parts of the World; and it is ſaid, that thoſe vaſt *Caracks* called *Argoſies*, which are ſo much famed for the vaſtneſs of their Burthen and Bulk, were corruptly ſo denominated from *Raguſies*, and from the Name of this City, whoſe Port is rather forced by Art and Induſtry, than framed by Nature.

The Tributaries of Georgia *and* Mengrelia.

Some of the Provinces alſo of *Georgia*, formerly *Iberia*, but now ſuppoſed to be called from St. *George* the *Cappadocian* Martyr, and the poor Country of *Mengrelia*, are alſo Tributaries to the *Turk*, who every three Years ſend Meſſengers with their Sacrifice to the Grand Signior of ſeven young Boys, and as many Virgins a-piece, beſides other Slaves, for Preſents to great Men; this People chuſe rather this ſort of Tribute than any other, becauſe Cuſtom hath introduced a forwardneſs in the Parents, without remorſe, to ſell their Children, and to account Slavery a Preferment, and the miſeries of Servitude a better Condition than Poverty with Freedom. Of the whole retinue which theſe Beggarly Ambaſſadors bring with them, (for ſo the *Turks* called them) being about ſeventy or eighty Perſons, a crue of miſerable People are all ſet to ſale, to the very Secretary and Steward, to defray the Charge of the Embaſſy, and bring back ſome Revenue to the Publick Stock; ſo that the Ambaſſadors return without their Pomp, reſerving only the Interpreter as a neceſſary Attendant to their Voyage home.

The Emperor of *Germany* may alſo not improperly be termed one of the Tributaries to the *Ottoman* Empire, (whom for Honour's ſake we mention in the laſt place in ſo ungrateful an Office) being obliged, according to the Articles made with *Solyman* the Magnificent, to pay a yearly Tribute of 3000 *Hungars*; but it was only paid the firſt two Years after the concluſion of the Peace; afterwards it was excuſed by the *Germans*, and diſſembled by the *Turks*; until taking a reſolution to make a War on *Hungary*, made that one Ground and Occaſion of the Breach: for upon the Truce made for eight Years, between Sultan *Solyman*, and the Emperor *Ferdinand*, as *Angerius Busbeck* reports in thoſe Capitulations, that the Tribute is made the Foundation of the Accord. *Cujus concordiæ, pacis ac confœderationis hæ conditiones ſunto primò; ut tua dilectio quotannis ad aulam noſtram pro arra induciarum 30000 Hungaricos Ducatos mittere teneatur, unà cum reſiduo, quod nobis proximum præterlapſum biennium reſervetur.*

CHAP. XV.

The Deſolation and Ruin which the Turks *make of their own Countries in* Aſia, *and the Parts moſt remote from the Imperial Seat, eſteemed one cauſe of the conſervation of their Empire.*

THIS Poſition will appear a Paradox at firſt ſight to moſt Men who have read and conſider'd the *Roman* Conqueſt, whoſe Juriſdiction and Dominions were far larger than this preſent Empire; and yet we do not find that they ſo ſtudiouſly endeavoured to diſpeople, and lay waſte the Nations they ſubdued, but rather encouraged induſtry in Plantations, gave Privileges to Cities meanly ſtored, invited People to inhabit them, endeavoured to improve Countries rude and uncultivated, with good Husbandry, and Maritime Towns with Traffick and Commerce; made Citizens of their Confederates, and conferred on their conquered Subjects oftentimes greater Benefits than they could expect or hope for under their true and natural Princes; and certainly the *Romans* thrived, and were richer and more powerful by their Policy; and therefore why the *Turk* might not proceed in the ſame manner, and yet with the ſame advantage, is worth our conſideration.

For the Solution of which Difficulty, it will be neceſſary to conſider, that theſe two Empires being compared, there will be found a vaſt difference in the Original, Foundation, Progreſs and Maxims each of other. For the *Romans* built their City in Peace, made Laws, by which the Arbitrary Will of the Prince was corrected; and afterward, as their Arms ſucceeded, and their Dominions were extended, they accommodated themſelves often to preſent Neceſſities and Humours, and Conſtitutions of the People they had conquered, and accordingly made Proviſion, and uſed proper Arts to keep them in Obedience; and next, by their Generoſity and Wiſdom, won thoſe Nations to admire and imitate their Vertues, and to be contented in their Subjection.

But the *Turks* have but one ſole Means to maintain their Countries, which is the ſame by which they were gained, and that is the cruelty of the Sword in the moſt rigorous way of execution, by Killing, Conſuming, and laying deſolate the Countries, and tranſplanting unto parts where they are neareſt under the Command and Age of a Governor; being wholly deſtitute and ignorant of other refined Arts, which more civilized Nations have in part made to ſerve in the place of Violence. And yet the *Turks* made this courſe alone anſwer to all the Intents and Ends of their Government.

For the Subjects of this Empire being governed better by Tyranny than Gentleneſs, it is neceſſary, that courſes ſhould be taken, whereby theſe People may remain more within compaſs and reach of Authority; which they would hardly be, were every part of this Empire ſo well inhabited to afford entertainment within the Fortifications of its vaſt Mountains and Woods, to the many unquiet and diſcontented Spirits that live in it. And this may be one cauſe, that ſo rarely Rebellions ariſe amongſt the *Turks*, though in the remoteſt parts of *Aſia*; and when they do, are eaſily ſuppreſſed. This alſo is one Cauſe, why great Men ſo eaſily reſign themſelves up to the Will of the Grand Signior to Puniſhment and Death, whether the Sentence be according to Law, or only Arbitrary: This is the reaſon that Fugitives and Homicides cannot eſcape; for having no place for flight, neither the inhabited Cities, which are immediately under the Eye of a vigilant Commander, will afford them refuge, nor can the deſolate Countries entertain them; and Chriſtendom is ſo abhorred by them, that they will never take it for their Sanctuary. And thus deprived of all means of Safety, they wholly attend to pleaſe and ſerve their Great Maſter, in whoſe Favour and Hands alone is the Reward and Puniſhment.

Another Advantage, and that not inconſiderable, that this manner of diſpeopling the Country brings to this Empire, is the difficulty an Enemy would find in their March, ſhould they with a Land Army attempt to penetrate far into the Country; for without great quantities of Proviſion they could not poſſibly be ſuſtained; from the Country none can be expected; what little it affords, the Inhabitants will conceal or carry away, and leave all Places as naked and barren of Food for Man as the Sea it ſelf.

And though it is known often, that in *Aſia* the Troops of ſome diſcontented *Bei* or *Aga*, to the number of three or four hundred Men, in the Summer-time, having their retirements in the Woods and Mountains, aſſault *Caravans*, and rob all Paſſengers from whom there is any hope of Booty; yet in the Winter they are diſperſed, becauſe they have no Quarters againſt the Weather, nor Proviſions for humane Suſtenance, every one ſhifting for himſelf in ſome place where his Condition is the leaſt known or ſuſpected.

And it may not be here from our Purpoſe to admoniſh the Reader, that as the *Turks* account it one good part of their Policy, to lay a conſiderable part of their Empire deſolate; ſo on the contrary, they obſerve in their new Conqueſts to fortify, ſtrengthen and confirm, what they have gained, by numbers of People, and new Colonies of their own; and when they have reduced any conſiderable Country to their ſubjection, they commonly are inclined to make Peace with that Prince from whom they have won it, ſo as to have time to ſettle and ſecure their new Conqueſts; for Countries over-run in haſte, are almoſt as ſpeedily again recovered, and are like Tempeſts and ſudden Storms, which are the ſooner diſperſed for being violent. *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who was a wiſe and judicious Prince, conſidering the extent of the *Roman* Empire, wrote a Book, ſaith *Tacitus*, which was publiſhed after his Death, wherein he deſcribed the publick Revenue, the number of Citizens and Confederates liſted for the War, the Fleets, Kingdoms, Provinces, Tributes, Cuſtoms, *&c.* *Addiderat que inſuper Conſilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum,* (ſaith that Author, *Tac. Lib.* 1. *Annal.*) *metu, an per invidiam*: Which doubtleſs this wiſe Emperor meant of a moderate, and not a precipitate progreſs of their Arms, as well as of preſcribing fixed limits to the ultimate Confines of the Empire, beyond which a Statute ſhould be made of *Non plus ultra*, notwithſtanding the moſt promiſing Deſigns and Incitements that could offer.

CHAP. XVI.

All Hereditary Succeſſion in Government, as alſo the preſervation of an Ancient Nobility, againſt the Maxims *of the* Turkiſh Polity.

HAving formerly entred into Diſcourſe of the ſeveral great Officers of State, it will be neceſſary to declare what care the *Turks* take to preſerve the Body of their Empire free of Faction and Rebellion: for there being many Provinces in the Sultan's Gift, which are remote, rich, and powerful, and ſo adminiſter temptation to the Governors to throw off the Yoke of their Dependance, and make themſelves and their Poſterity Abſolute; great care is taken to prevent this Miſchief by ſeveral Arts, none of which hath been more effectual amongſt the *Turks*, nor more ſeduloufly practiſed, than the deſtruction of an Ancient Nobility; and admitting no ſucceſſion to Offices of Riches, but only in the direct *Ottoman* Line, as my Lord *Verulam* ſays, *Eſſay* 14. *A Monarchy, where there is no Nobility at all, is ever pure and abſolute Tyranny, as that of the* Turks; *for Nobility attempers Sovereignty, and draws the People ſomewhat aſide from the Line Royal.* By which means it comes to paſs, that *Paſhaws* Education in the Seraglio, (in the manner as we have ſaid before) without knowledg of their Blood or Family, and without the ſupport of powerful Relations or Dependencies, being ſent abroad to Foreign Governments, where they continue but for a ſhort ſeaſon, have no opportunity or poſſibility of advancing any Intereſt of their own above that of the Sultan.

And though ſome have, out of an aſpiring and ambitious Spirit, aſſumed a blind Confidence of renting away part of the Empire; as *Aſan Aga Paſhaw* of *Aleppo* of late Years, with a ſtrong and powerful Army marched as far as *Scutary*, threatning the Imperial City; and the *Turkiſh Hiſtory* tells us of the revolt of ſeveral *Paſhaws*; yet all theſe Rebellions have been but of ſhort durance; the Grand Signior never deſigning, by open Force and Dint of Sword, to try his Title to the Empire with his own Slaves, but only by ſome ſecret Plot and Stratagem, getting the Head of the Rebel, he is aſſured of the Victory without other hazard or diſpute of War: for immediately thereupon the whole Army diſperſes, and every one ſhifts by flight to ſave himſelf from the Sultan's Anger. Nor is it imaginable it can be otherwiſe; for theſe Men are but Strangers and Foreigners in the Countries they ruled, have no Relations there, or Kindred, to ſecond or revenge their Quarrel, have no ancient Blood or Poſſeſſions which might entitle their Heirs to the Succeſſion, or out of Affection or Pity, move their Subjects to intereſt themſelves in their behalf; but being cut off themſelves, all falls with them, which affords the ſtrangeſt Spectacle, and Example of Fortune's unconſtancy in the World; for a *Turk* is never reverenced but for his Office, that is made the ſole Meaſure and Rule of his Greatneſs and Honour, without other conſiderations of Vertue or Nobility. And this is the Reaſon the *Turks* value not their great Men when taken by the Enemy; for not otherwiſe looking on them than onordinary Souldiers, they exchange them not with Commanders and Perſons of Quality on the Chriſtians; for the Favour of the Sultan makes the *Paſhaw*, and not the Noble Blood or Vertues; ſo that the *Paſhaw* impriſoned, loſing the influence of his Sovereign's Protection and Greatneſs, loſes that alſo which render'd him noble and conſiderable above other Perſons.

There are notwithſtanding ſome *Paſhaws* of petty Governments, who have obtained to themſelves, through ſome ancient Grace and Privilege from the Sultan, an Hereditary Succeſſion in their Government, and as I can learn, thoſe are only the *Paſhaws* of *Gaza*, *Cordiſtan*, and three *Sangiacks* formerly mentioned under the *Paſhaw* of *Damaſcus* and *Marick*, and *Turcman*, under the *Paſhaw* of *Aleppo*.

And ſince I have mentioned the *Paſhaw* of *Gaza*, it will be but requiſite to recal to mind the Memory of one lately of that place, with much Honour and Reverence, being one whoſe Actions and Devotion to the Chriſtian Worſhip might conclude him not far from *the Kingdom of God*: for beſides his favourable inclination in general, to all who profeſſed the Chriſtian Faith, he was much devoted to the Religious of *Jeruſalem*, to whom he often made Preſents, as Proviſions of Rice and other Supplies for their Monaſtery; and when once the *Father Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre* came to make him a Viſit, with great reſpect and reverence, he met him at a good diſtance from his Houſe, giving him a reception much different from what the *Turks* uſually beſtow on any, who profeſs other than the *Mahometan* Faith: and might deſerve the Character that *Tacitus* gives of *L. Voluſius*, that he was, *Egregia fama, cui Septuaginta quinque anni ſpatium vivendi, præcipuaque opes bonis artibus, inoffenſa tot Imperatorum malitia fuit.* And yet this good Man having for Seventy five Years lived innocently in that Government, and received the Inheritance from his Father, was by promiſe of fair Treatment allured to the Port; where without farher Proceſs, or any accuſation; his hoary Head was ſevered from his Body, for no other Reaſon, than leſt the Permiſſion and Indulgence to this long continuance and ſucceſſion in Office, ſhould prove too ample a deviation from the Rules of the *Turkiſh Polity*.

And that all means of attaining ancient Riches, which is the next degree to Nobility, may be cut off, the *Turk* obſerves this Maxime of *Machiavel, à reprimere la inſolenſa di uno, non vie piu ſicuro, emeno ſcandoloſo modo, che preoccupargli quelle vie, per le quale viene quella potenza.* And ſo the Grand Signior ſuffers no poſſibility of arriving to ancient Wealth; for as eldeſt Brother to great Men, he makes ſeiſure of the Eſtates of all *Paſhaws* that die, who having Children, ſuch part is beſtowed on them for their maintenance as the Grand Signior ſhall think fit and requiſite. If a *Paſhaw* dies that is married to a *Soltana*, which is the Grand Signior's Siſter, Daughter, or other Relation, her Kabin or Dowry is firſt deducted from the Eſtate (which is commonly 100000 Dollars) and the remainder accrues to the Sultan, as Heir to the reſt; and by this means all ancient Nobility is ſuppreſſed, and you ſhall find the Daughters of ancient Greek Houſes eſpouſed to Shepherds and Carters, and the ancient Reliques of the Noble Families of *Catacuzeno* and *Paleologi*, living more contemptuouſly at *Conſtantinople*, than ever *Dionyſius* did at *Corinth*.

But not only in *Paſhaws* and great Men is care taken to clip their Wings, which may hinder them from ſoaring too high, but alſo in the *Ottoman* Family it ſelf greater ſeverity and ſtrictneſs is exerciſed than in others, to keep them from growing great in Offices or Wealth, whereby to have poſſibility of aſpiring to the Supreme Power; and therefore by the Original and Fundamental Laws of the *Turks*, the Children of a *Soltana* married to a *Paſhaw* are not capable of any Office in the Empire, and at moſt cannot riſe higher, than to be in the quality of a *Capugibaſhee*, which is one of the Porters of the Grand Signior's Gate. They that are of this Race never dare vaunt of their Pedigree, it is a contumaciouſneſs and almoſt Treaſon to name it; nor have I learned that there is any Family amongſt the *Turks* of this Line, of any account or eſteem, but one alone, who is called *Ibrahim Hun Ogleri*, or the Off-ſpring of Sultan *Ibrahim*, their Father being a Son of the Grand Signior's Siſter, and married to a *Sultana* (and are ſaid to be of the Race of the *Tartars*) ſo that proceeding by the Womens ſide only, the leſs notice is taken of their Blood: their Rent or Revenue is yearly about 70000 Dollars, *Quibus magna opes, innocenter parta, & modeſte habita*, which they manage with prudence and diſcretion, live honourably without Oſtentation, ſeek no Office, or intermeddle in the Affairs of State; by which means they hitherto have preſerved themſelves from envy and ſuſpicion in the revolutions of the *Turkiſh* Government.

The Marriage of a Paſhaw *with a* Sultana.

The Grand Signior, many times, when he fears the Greatneſs of any *Paſhaw*, under colour and pretence of Honour, prefers him to the Marriage of his Siſter, or ſome other of his Feminine Kindred; by which means, inſtead of increaſing Power and Glory, he becomes the miſerableſt Slave in the World, to the Tyranny and Pride of an inſulting Woman: For, firſt, he cannot refuſe the Honour, leſt he ſhould ſeem to neglect and contemn the Sultan's Favour; then before the Eſpouſals, he muſt reſolve to continue conſtant to Her alone, and not ſuffer his Affections to wander on other Wives, Slaves, or Diſtractions of his Love: If he hath a Wife whom he loves, whoſe long Converſation and Children ſhe hath brought him, have endeared his Affections too far to be forgotten; he muſt yet baniſh Her and all other Relations from his Home, to entertain the embraces of his unknown *Sultana.* Before the Eſpouſals, what Mony, Jewels or rich Furs ſhe ſends for, he muſt, with complement and chearfulneſs, preſent, which is called *Aghirlick*; beſides this, he makes her a Dowry called *Kabin*, of as much as Friends that make the Match can agree; when the *Kabin* is concluded and paſſed before the Juſtice in form or nature of a Recogniſance; the Bridegroom is conducted to the Chamber of his Bride by a Black Eunuch, at whoſe entrance the cuſtome is, for the *Sultana* to draw her Dagger, and imperiouſly to demand the reaſon of his bold Acceſs, which he with much ſubmiſſion replies to, and ſhews the *Emmeri Podeſhaw*, or the Imperial *Firm* for his Marriage; the *Sultana* then ariſes, and with more kindneſs, admits him to nearer familiarity. The Eunuch takes up his Slippers and lays them over the Door, (which is a ſign of his good Reception) then he bows with all reverence before her to the ground, and retires a few paces back, making ſome brief Oration to her full of Complement and Admiration of her Worth and Honour; and remaining afterwards a while ſilent, in an humble poſture, bowing forward with his hands before him, until the *Sultana* commands him to bring her Water, which he readily obeys, taking a Pot of Water provided for that purpoſe, and kneeling before her, delivers it to her hand; then ſhe takes off her red Veil from before her Face, embroidered with Gold and Silver Flowers, and ſo drinks; in the mean time her Serving-maids bring in a low Table, on which are ſet a pair of Pigeons roaſted, and a Plate of Sugar-candy; the Bridegroom then invites his coy Spouſe to the Collation, which ſhe refuſes, until other Preſents are brought her, which lie prepared in the outward Room; with which her Modeſty being overcome, and her Stomach brought down, ſhe is perſwaded to the Table, and ſitting down, receives a Leg of a Pigeon from the hand of her Bridegroom; taſtes a little, and then puts a piece of Sugar-candy into his Mouth; and ſo riſing up, returns to her place. All the Attendants then retire, and leave the Bridegroom alone with his *Soltana* for the ſpace of an hour to court her ſingly; that time being paſt, the Muſick ſounding, he is invited forth by his Friends to an outward Room where having paſt moſt of the Night with Songs and Sports, at the approach of the Morning, the *Soltana* weary of her paſtime, retires to her Bed, which is richly adorned and perfumed, fit to entertain Nuptial Joys: The Bridegroom adviſed hereof by the nod of the Eunuch, creeps ſilently into the Bride-chamber, where ſtripping himſelf of his upper Garments, he kneels a-while at the feet of the Bed, and then by little and little turning up the Cloaths, gently rubs her feet with his hand, and kiſſing of them, aſcends higher to the embraces of his Spouſe, which ſhe willingly admits him to, and wiſhes her ſelf and him a happy Bedding: in the morning betimes the Bridegroom is called by his Friends to the Bath; at whoſe call ariſing, he is preſented by the Bride with all ſorts of Linen to be uſed in Bathing. After theſe Ceremonies are paſt, they are better acquainted, yet in publick ſhe keeps him at a diſtance, wears her *Haniarre* or Dagger by her ſide, in token of her Superiority; and ſo frequently commands Gifts and Riches from him, until ſhe hath exhauſted him to the bottom of all his Wealth.

Nor is this eſteemed ſufficient to mortify theſe poor Slaves by Womens Tyranny, but they are always put forward upon deſperate attempts, as lately *Iſhmael Paſhaw*, who was killed paſſing the River *Raab*, in the overthrow given the *Turks* by the Emperor's Forces under *Montecuculi*: and others I could name in like manner; leſt the honour of their Marriage in the Royal Family, without the croſſes and mortifications which attend it, ſhould puff them up with the ambition and proud thought, which is not lawful for them to imagine.

The reaſon why Ahmet Paſha *late Vizier, ſucceded his Father* Kuperlee *in the Government.*

But it may well be objected how it came to paſs that the preſent Prime Vizier, called *Ahmet*, ſhould ſucced his Father *Kuperlee* in the Government of the Empire. 'Tis true, it was a ſtrange deviation from the general Rule of their Policy, and perhaps ſuch a Preſident as may never hereafter be brought into Example; but Accidents concur oftentimes to the Fortune of ſome Men without Order or Reaſon; and yet *Kuperlee* the Father, had ſo well deſerved of the Sultan, and his whole Dominions, for having by his own Wiſdom and Reſolution ſaved the Empire from being rent in pieces by the Faction and ambition of ſome aſpiring Perſons, and by the Blood of thouſands of Mutinous and Rebellious Heads, had cemented and made firm the Throne of his Maſter, that no Honour could be thought ſufficient to be paid to his Ghoſt, unleſs it were the ſucceſſion of his Son in his place; which the more unuſual and irregular it was eſteemed, the greater Glory it was to that Family; and herein alſo this ſubtile Fox plaid his Maſter-piece, by repreſenting the ſtate of Affairs to remain in that poſture, as was neceſſary to be carried on with the ſame Method as begun; which he had entruſted to the knowledg of his Son; and this was the Reaſon why this young Vizier then ſcarce arrived to thirty Years, and but an ordinary *Kadee* or Juſtice of the Law, was both, as to his Age and Relation, thus irregularly preferred to the Office of Vizier.

Nor hath Hereditary Succeſſion, nor long continuance in Authority, been only avoided amongſt the *Turks*; but we find that the *Romans* often changed their Governors, and never ſuffered them to continue long in one Province. And ſo the King of *Spain* doth at preſent in the Government of *Flanders*, the *Indies*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and other parts, the ſpace of three Years being commonly allotted them for their Reſidence.

But amongſt the *Turks* there is no fixed term of Time appointed to their *Paſhaws*, but only they remain as Tenants at Will of the Grand Signior; who, according to his Pleaſure, and as he ſees Reaſon, cuts them off, recalls them, or tranſplants them to another Province; only the *Paſhaw* of *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, hath a certain ſpace of three Years appointed, to which his Government is confined; and there may be very good reaſon for it, for it being a place of great Truſt, Riches, and Power, in which *Paſhaws* grow in a ſhort time vaſtly wealthy, it cannot be wiſdom to continue them long there; the Revenue of which we have had occaſion already to diſcourſe of. And therefore the Grand Signior doth often, not only abbreviate their time, but alſo at their return ſhares in the beſt part of the Prizes they have made.

The *Romans* had that Opinion of the Wealth and Power of *Egypt*, that *Auguſtus* made a Decree, and held it *inter alia dominationis arcana*, that it ſhould not be lawful for any, without particular Licence to enter *Egypt*, and expreſly forbids Senators and Gentlemen of *Rome*, without Order from the Prince, or for the Affairs of State, to viſit thoſe Parts. And *Tacitus* gives this reaſon for it; *Ne fama urgeret Italiam quiſquis eam Provinciam, cluſtraque terra ac maris, quamvis levi præſidio adverſum ingentes exercitus inſediſſet.*

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Another Danger to the Empire, which the *Turks* ſedulouſly avoid, beſides Hereditary Succeſſion in Office, is Rivalry among Princes of the Blood, during the time of their Father's Life; for afterwards the Succeſſor takes care to ſecure his Brethren beyond poſſibility of competition. The Story of *Selymus* and *Bajazet*, the Sons of *Solyman* the Magnificent, is a perfect Experiment of the Feud and Diſſention which is bred in the Deſires of Barbarous Princes; ſo that when they arrive to any maturity of Age, they are always tranſplanted to different Seraglio's Abroad, where they keep their Courts diſtinct, and cannot enter within the Walls *Conſtantinople*, during the Life of their Father; leſt by interview with each other, their Minds ſhould be moved with Emulation, or inhabiting in the Imperial City, ſhould be provided with Means before their Time to attempt the Throne of their Father. And for this Reaſon the Grand Signior hath ſcarce performed the Ceremonies of his Inauguration, before he hath ſeaſoned his entrance to his Throne with the Blood of his Brothers; which barbarous cuſtom began in the time of Sultan *Bajazet*.

But if the Brothers are but few, and the Grand Signior of a diſpoſition more naturally inclined to Clemency than Cruelty, he ſecures them in the Seraglio, under the tuition of Maſters, and care of a faithful Guard; differing nothing from Impriſonment, but in the Name, prohibiting them the Socity and Converſation of all: and thus the two Brothers of this preſent Sultan *Mahomet*, live in as much obſcurity and forgetfulneſs, as if they had never been born, or having paſt a private Life, were departed to the place where all things were forgotten.

It is no great digreſſion from our purpoſe here, to take notice of two ſorts of Governments purely popular; the one hath already had its Period, and the other is of late beginning, and at preſent flouriſhes; and thoſe are the Common-Wealths of *Egypt* under the *Mamalukes*, and the other in our days in the Dominions of *Algier*: The firſt not only depoſed the whole Family of their Prince from having Power in the Government, and from all Succeſſion, but alſo made it an immutable Law, that the Sons of the *Mamalukes* might ſucceed their Father in the Inheritance of their Eſtates, as Lands and Goods, but could not aſſume the Title or Government of a *Mamaluke*; nor not only ſo, but that all that were born in the *Mahometan* or *Jewiſh* Faith, were uncapable, *ipſo facto*, of the Order of a *Mamaluke*; and only ſuch preferred thereunto, who had been Sons of Chriſtians, and become Slaves, inſtructed and educated in the *Mahometan* Superſtition; or elſe Men of mature Age, who having abjured God and their Country, were come thither to ſeek Preferment in that Kingdom of Darkneſs. And this ſlaviſh and ſtrange Conſtitution of Government, flouriſhed for the ſpace of two hundred ſixty ſeven Years, until overthrown in the Year of our Lord 1517, by the Arms of *Selimus* that victorious Emperor of the *Turks*.

The perſent Government of *Algier* is but of a few Years; the firſt Original of which was by one *Barbaroſe* a famous Pyrat, and afterwards by the acceſſion of great quantities of *Turks* out of the *Levant*, the Protection of the Grand Signior was craved, and a *Paſha* received from the Port; but now the *Paſha* remains without any Power: the whole Government being transferred to the Scum of the People, who fearing leſt the Power ſhould at laſt become ſubject to the Natives, have made it a Law, that no Sons of a *Turk* born in that Country, whom they call *Cololies*, can be capable of an Office in their Common-Wealth, but only ſuch, who having been born Chriſtians, are perverted to the Turkiſh Sect, or elſe ſuch who come from parts of the Turkiſh Dominions, to be Members of their Republick.

And thus much ſhall ſerve to have declared how much the Turks are jealous of all Succeſſions in Office and Authority, which may prejudice the Abſolute Monarchy of their great Sultan.

CHAP. XVII.

The frequent Exchange of Officers, viz. *the ſetting up of one, and degrading another, a Rule always practiſed as wholſome, and conducing to the Welfare of the* Turkiſh *State.*

HE that is an Eye-witneſs, and ſtrict obſerver of the various changes in Greatneſs, Honours, and Riches of the Turks, hath a lively Emblem of Contemplation before him, of the unconſtancy and mutability of Humane Affairs; Fortune ſo ſtrangely ſports with his People, that a Comedy or Tragedy on the Stage, with all its Scenes, is ſcarce ſooner opened and ended, than the Fate of divers Great Men, who in the Day-time being exalted to high Sublimity, by the powerful Rays of the Sultan's Favour, in the Night fall, or vaniſh like a Meteor.

The Reaſon hereof, if duly conſidered, may be of great uſe as Things ſtand here, that is, to the Power of the Grand Signior; for in this Conſtitution, the Health and Benefit of the Emperor is conſulted, before the Welfare of the People: And the Power of the Emperor is in no Action more exerciſed and evidenced, than by withdrawing and conferring his Favours; for by theſe Means, having many whom he hath educated and prepared for Offices, and ſtand Candidates to receive them, his Power would ſeem to be at a *Nonplus*, and appear like an inconſiderable Father, who had ſpent more Mony in the breeding of his Sons, than the Patrimony amounted to he had to beſtow upon them: and therefore the Grand Signior, to imitate the Sun, benights ſome part of the World to enlighten others, that ſo, by a general influence and communication of his Beams, he may be acknowledged the common Parent of them all.

And this Courſe doth not evidence the Power of the Grand Signior, but likewiſe encreaſes it; for none are advanced in theſe times to Office, but pay the Grand Signior vaſt Sums of Mony for it, according to the Riches and Expectations of Profit from the Charge; ſome pay, as the Paſhaws of *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*, three or four hundred thouſand Dollars upon paſſing the Commiſſion; others one, others two hundred thouſand, ſome fifty thouſand, as their Places are more or leſs conſiderable: and this Mony is moſt commonly taken up at Intereſt, at forty or fifty *per Cent.* for the Year, and ſometimes at double, when they are conſtrained to become Debtors to the Covetous Eunuchs of the Seraglio; ſo that every one, upon his firſt entrance into Office, looks on himſelf (as indeed he is) greatly indebted and obliged, by Juſtice or Injuſtice, right or wrong, ſpeedily to disburthen himſelf of the Debts, and improve his own Principal in the World; and this Deſign muſt not be long in performance, leſt the haſty Edict overtake him before his Work is done, and call him to account for the improvement of his Talent.

Think then (taking all Circumſtances together of the covetous Diſpoſition of a Turk, the cruelty and narrowneſs of Soul in thoſe Men commonly that are born and educated in want) what Oppreſſion, what Rapine and Violence muſt be exerciſed to ſatisfy the Appetite of theſe Men, who come famiſhed with immenſe Deſires, and ſtrange Conſiderations to ſatisfy! *Diu ſordidus repente dives mutationem fortuna male regit, accenſis egeſtate longa cupidinibus immoderatus.* Tac. *Lib.* 1. *Hiſt.* So that Juſtice in its common courſe is ſet to ſale; and it is very rare, when any Law-Suit is in Hand, but Bargains are made for the Sentence, and he hath moſt Right who hath moſt Mony to make him *rectus in Curia*, and advance his Cauſe. And it is the common courſe for both Parties at difference, before they appear together in preſence of the Judg, to apply themſelves ſingly to him, and try whoſe Donative and Preſent hath the moſt in it of temptation; and it is no wonder if corrupt Men exerciſe this kind of Trade in Trafficking with Juſtice; for having before bought the Office, of conſequence they muſt ſell the Truth.

Vendere jure poteſt, emerat ille prius.

Add hereunto a ſtrange kind of Facility in the Turks, for a Trifle or ſmall Hire to give falſe Witneſs in any caſe, eſpecially, and that with a word, when the Controverſy happens between a Chriſtian and a Turk, and then the Pretence is for the *Muſſelmanleck*, as they call it; the Cauſe is Religious, hallows all Falſeneſs and forgery in the Teſtimony; ſo that I believe in no part of the World can Juſtice run more out of the Current and Stream than in *Turkey*, where ſuch Maxims and Conſiderations corrupt both the Judg and Witneſſes. *Turcæ magnæ pietatis loco ducunt dicere falſum teſtimonium adverſus hominem Chriſtianum; non expectant ut rogentur; injuſſi adſunt ſeque ultro ingerunt.*

Euſbeq; Ep. 4. de Leg. Tur.

This Conſideration and Practice, made an *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, upon renewing the Capitulations, to inſert an Article of Caution againſt the Teſtimony of Turks, as never to be admitted nor pleaded in any Court of Turkiſh Juſtice, againſt the *Engliſh* Intereſt; and nothing to be admitted as evidence in that Caſe, but only a *Hoget*, which is the Nature of a Recognizance made before a Judg, or a Bill or Writing under the Hand of him on whom the Demand is made; which Article, as it was very adviſedly, and with great Prudence and Wiſdom obtained, ſo it hath proved of admirable Conſequence and Security to the Trafique, and Merchants Eſtates; which before being liable to the Forgeries and falſe Pretences of every diſſolute Turk, hath now this Point as a Defence and Fotification, by which falſe Pretences and Suits for conſiderable Sums of Mony, and Matters of great value have been blown away, and decided with great Facility and little Expence.

In the time of *Bajazet*, the fourth King of the Turks, the Courts of Juſtice were in like manner corrupted, as at preſent; for reformation of which, the Prince reſolved to execute a great Number of the Lawyers, until it was pleaſantly repreſented by his Jeſter, (to whom, between Jeſt and Earneſt, he had given liberty to ſpeak the Truth, which ſoberer Men durſt not) that all the cauſe of Bribery and Corruption in the Judges, proceeded for want of Stipends and neceſſary Maintenance: Whereupon *Bajazet* growing cooler, and ſenſible of the Cauſe of that Evil, applied a Remedy, by granting their Pardon, allowing them Salaries and Stipends, with additional Fees of twenty Aſpers in all Cauſes exceeding a Thouſand; and twelve Aſpers for every Writing and Inſtrument out of Court.

Turkiſh Hiſtory in the Reign of Bajazet *the fourth King of the Turks.*

And in the Times of the beſt Emperors, when Vertue and Deſerts were conſidered, and the Empire flouriſhed and encreaſed, Men had Offices conferred for their Merits, and good Services were rewarded freely and with bounty, without Sums of Mony, and Payments, to be a foil to the luſtre of their better Parts: But now it is quite contrary, and all Matters run out of courſe; a manifeſt Token, in my Opinion, of the declenſion and decay of the *Ottoman* Empire, as *Livy* ſaith, *Omnia proſpera ſequentibus Deos, adverſa autem ſpernentibus.* Howſoever in part this ſerves the great End of the Empire, for Paſhaws and great Men, having a kind of neceſſity upon them to oppreſs their Subjects, the People thereby loſe their Courages; and by continual Taxes and Seiſures on what they gain, Poverty ſubdues their Spirits, and makes them more patiently ſuffer all kinds of Injuſtice and Violence that can be offered them, without thoughts or motion to Rebellion: And ſo the Lord *Verulam* ſays in his *Eſſays*, That it is Impoſſible for a People over-laden with Taxes, ever to become Martial or Valiant; for no Nation can be the Lion's Whelp, and the Aſs between Burthens: By which means the Turk preſerves ſo many different ſort of People, as he hath conquered, in due Obedience, uſing no other help than a ſevere hand joined to all kind of Oppreſſion: but ſuch as are Turks, and bear any Name of Office or Degree in the Service of the Empire, feel but part of this Oppreſſion, and live with all freedom, having their Spirits raiſed by a Licence, they attain to inſult over others that dare not reſiſt them.

Eſſay 29.

But the Iſſue and Concluſion of the Spoils theſe great Men make on Subjects, is very remarkable; for as if God were pleaſed to evidence his juſt Puniſhment more evidently and plainly here, than in other Sins; ſcarce any of all thoſe Paſhaws who have made haſte to be Rich, have eſcaped the Grand Signior's Hands, but he either deveſts them of all, or will ſhare the beſt part of the Prey with them. Amongſt which I have obſerved none paſſes ſo hardly as the Paſhaws of *Grand Cairo*, becauſe it is the richeſt and moſt powerful of all the Governments of this Empire; and ſo either in his Journey home, or after his return, he loſes his Life by publick Command, or at leaſt is rifled of his Goods as ill got, which are condemned to the Grand Signior's Treaſury: And it is ſtrange to ſee, yet with what heat theſe Men labour to amaſs Riches, which they know, by often Experiences, have proved but Collections for their Maſter; and only the Odium and Curſes which the oppreſſed Wretches have vented againſt their Rapine, remain to themſelves; *Rebus ſecundis avidi, adverſis autem incauti.* Tac. And this is like the Policy that *Ceſar Borgia* uſed, otherwiſe called *Il Duca Valentine*, who the better to reduce *Romagna*, lately ſubdued to Obedience, made one *Meſſer Romiro d' Orco* his Deputy, a Man of a cruel and tyrannical Diſpoſition, who by Rigour and Force reduced Affairs to the Will and Order of his Prince: And the Work now done, and the People remaining extraordinarily diſcontented, the Duke thought it time to purge the Minds of his People of the ill apprehenſion they had of his Government, by demonſtrating that the former hard uſage proceeded from the bad Inclination of his Miniſter; commanding the ſame *Romiro d' Orco*, at *Ceſanna* to be cut in pieces, and expoſed to the publick view of the People, with a piece of Wood, and a bloody Knife by his ſide. This ſaith *Machiavil*, Lib. del Principe, cap. 7. *Fece aquelli popoli in un tempo remanere ſtupidi & ſodiſfatti*; and the Turk underſtands well how profitable in the ſame manner it is for the conſtitution of his Eſtate, to uſe evil Inſtruments, who may oppreſs and poll his People, intending afterwards for himſelf the whole Harveſt of their Labours; they remaining with the hatred, whilſt the Prince, under colour of performing Juſtice, procures both Riches and Fame together.

If it be ſuſpected that any great Man intends to make Combuſtion or Mutiny in his Government, or that his Wealth or natural Abilities render him formidable; without farther inquiſition or ſcrutiny, all diſcontent of the Grand Signior is diſſembled, and perhaps an Horſe, a Sword, or Sables Veſt is reported to be preſented, and all fair Treatment is counterfeited, until the Executioner gets the Bow-ſtring about his Neck, and then they care not how rudely they deal with him: juſt like the Birds in *Plutarch*, who beat the Cuckow, for fear that in time he ſhould become a Hawk.

Lib. 6. Apoth.

And to make more room for the multitude of Officers who crowd for Preferments, and to act the cruel Edicts of the Empire with the leaſt noiſe; times when a great Perſonage is removed from his place of Truſt, and ſent with a new Commiſſion to the Charge, perhaps, of a greater Government; and though he depart from the Regal Seat with all fair demonſtrations of Favour, before he hath advanced three days in his journey, triumphing in the multitude of his Servants, and his late Hopes, the fatal command Overtakes him; and without any Accuſation or Cauſe, other than the Will of the Sultan, he is barbarouſly put to death, and his Body thrown into the Dirt of a foreign and unknown Country, without ſolemnity of Funeral or Monument; that he is no ſooner in the Grave, than his Memory is forgotten. And this methinks is ſomewhat agreeable to the crafty Policy of *Tiberius*, who ſometimes would commiſſionate Men for Government of Provinces, to whom beforehand he had deſigned not to permit licence to depart the City; *Poſtremò eò provectus eſt, ut mandaverit quibuſdam provincias quas egredi urbe non erat paſſurus.*

Hence are apparent the Cauſes of the decay of Arts amongſt the *Turks*, of the neglect, want of care in manuring and cultivating their Lands; why their Houſes and private Buildings are made ſlight, not durable for more than ten or twenty Years; why you find no delightful Orchards and pleaſant Gardens and Plantations; and why in thoſe Countries, where Nature hath contributed ſo much on her part, there are no additional labours of Art to complete all, and turn it to a Paradiſe; for Men knowing no certain Heir, nor who ſhall ſucced them in their Labours, contrive only for a few Years enjoyment: And moreover, Men are fearful of ſhewing too much oſtentation or magnificence in their Palaces, or ingenuity in the pleaſures of their Gardens, leſt they ſhould bring on them the ſame Fate that *Nabal*'s Vineyard occaſion'd to his Maſter: and therefore Men neglect all application to the Studies of Arts and Sciences, but only ſuch as are neceſſary and conducing to the mere courſe of living; for the very Fear and Crime of being known to be Rich, makes them appear outwardly Poor, and become naturally Stoicks and Philoſophers in all the points of a reſerved and cautious Life. And here I am at a ſtand, and cannot conclude this Chapter without contemplating a while, and pleaſing my ſelf with the thoughts of the Bleſſedneſs, the Happineſs, the liberty of my own Country; where Men, under the protection and ſafe influence of a gratious and the beſt of Princes in the World, enjoy and eat of the Fruit of their own Labour, and purchaſe to themſelves, with ſecurity, Fields and Manors, and dare acknowledg and glory in their Wealth and Pomp, and yet leave the Inheritance to their Poſterity.

CHAP. XVIII.

The ſeveral Arts the Turks *uſe to encreaſe their People, is a principal Policy, without which the greatneſs of their Empire cannot continue nor be encreaſed.*

THere was never any People that laid Foundations and Deſigns of a great Empire, but firſt thought how to make it populous, and by which means they might beſt ſupply them with People, not only ſufficient for the Sacrifice and Slaughter of the War, but for the Plantation of Colonies, Poſſeſſion and Security of what the Sword hath conquered. We never underſtood how one People alone that was Martial, and by ſucceſſes in War had framed a large Empire, was able, from the mere original of its own Stock, to abound with iſſue of natural Subjects, to bear proportion with the ſtronger Nations; nor how a handful of People, with the greateſt Policy and Courage in the World, was able to embrace a large extent of Dominion and Empire: It is true, that *Alexander* did with an Army, for the moſt part, compoſed of *Macedonians*, as it were in a Rant, make a Conqueſt of the beſt part of the Eaſtern World; but this Empire, like a Ship that had much Sail, and no Ballaſt, or a fair Tree over-charged with Boughs too heavy for its Stem, became a Windfall on a ſudden.

The *Turks* therefore, during the continuance of their Empire, have not been ignorant of this Truth; for no People in the World have ever been more open to receive all ſorts of Nations to them, than they, nor have uſed more Arts to encreaſe the number of thoſe that are called *Turks*; and it is ſtrange to conſider, that from all parts of the World, ſome of the moſt diſſolute and deſperate in Wickedneſs, ſhould flock to theſe Dominions, to become Members and Profeſſours of the *Mahometan* Superſtition; in that manner that at preſent, the Blood of the *Turks* is ſo mixed with that of all ſorts of Languages and Nations, that none of them can derive his Lineage from the ancient Blood of the *Saracens*.

The *Romans*, who well knew the benefit of receiving Strangers into their Boſome, called this freedom they gave *Jus Civitatis*, whereby Foreigners became as lawful Poſſeſſours of Eſtates and Inheritances, and had as much right to the common Priviledges, as any that were born in the Walls of *Rome*; and this *Jus Civitatis* was given to whole Families; ſo that as Sir *F. B.* ſays well, that the *Romans* did not over-ſpread the World, but the World it ſelf. The *Engliſh* call it Naturalization, the *French* Enfranchiſement, and the *Turks* call it Becoming a Believer; for they joining with it a point of Religion, not only the Proffers of the Goods of this World, but alſo of Delights in the World to come, make the Allurements and Arguments the more prevalent; and it being an Opinion amongſt them, as over all the World, that it is a Meritorious Work to create Proſelytes, ſcarce any who hath Mony to purchaſe a Slave, but will procure one young and fit for any Impreſſion, whom he may name his Convert, and gain Reputation amongſt his Neighbours of having added to the number of the Faithful. Of all this Number, which yearly are added to the Profeſſors of *Mahomet*, none can retreat on lower Terms than Death and Martyrdom for Chriſt; which cauſes may whoſe Conſciences, though touched with the ſenſe of the denial of their Saviour; yet having not Grace or Courage to aſſert their Faith on ſo hard a Leſſon, grow deſperate or careleſs, and die in their Sin. This ſort of People become really *Turks*, and ſome through Cuſtom and their own Luſts, are really perſwaded of the truth of this Profeſſion, and have proved more inveterate and fatal Enemies to Chriſtianity, than the natural *Turks*; which will appear, if we conſider, that all the Succeſſes they have had, and Exploits they have done at Sea, have been performed by ſuch who have denied the Chriſtian Faith, as namely *Chigal*, *Ogli*, and others.

Eſſays.

It was the cuſtom formerly amongſt the *Turks*, every five Years, to take away the Chriſtians Children, and Educate them in the *Mahometan* Superſtition; by which means they encreaſed their own People, and diminiſhed and enfeebled the Force of the Chriſtians; but now that cuſtom, in a great part, is grown out of uſe, through the abundance of *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Jews*, and all Nations where the Iron Rod of the *Turks* Tyranny extends, who flock in to enjoy the imaginary Honour and Priviledge of a *Turk*. And indeed it is no wonder to humane Reaſon, that conſiders the Oppreſſion and Contempt that poor Chriſtians are expoſed to, and the Ignorance in their Churches, occaſioned through Poverty in the Clergy, that many ſhould be found who retreat from the Faith; but it is rather a Miracle, and a true verification of thoſe words of Chriſt, *That the Gates of Hell ſhall not be able to prevail againſt his Church*, that there is conſerved ſtill amidſt ſo much Oppoſition, and in deſpight of all Tyranny and Arts contrived againſt it, an open and publick Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith; which next to God's Providence, conſidering the ſtupid Ignorance of the *Greek* and *Armenan* Churches, their conſervation of their Faith is not to be attributed to any inſtance more, than to the ſtrict obſervation of the Feaſts and Faſts of their Churches; for having rarely the helps of Catechiſms or Sermons, they learn yet from theſe outward Ceremonies, ſome confuſed Notions and Precepts of Religion, and exerciſe with ſeverity and rigour this ſort of Devotion; when through Cuſtom, Confuſion, and ſcarcity of knowing Guides, all other ſervice is become obſolete and forgotten amongſt them.

The Turks have another extraordinary ſupply of People from the Black Sea, ſent them in by the *Tartars*, who with their light Bodies of Horſe make incurſions into the Territories of the neighbouring Chriſtians, and carry with them a Booty of whole Cities and Countries of People, moſt of which they ſend to *Conſtantinople* to be ſold, and is the chief Trade and Commodity of their Country (as we have already diſcourſed.)

It is ſad to ſee what numbers of *Saykes*, or *Turkiſh* Veſſels, come falling through the *Boſphorus*, fraighted with poor Chriſtian Captives of both Sexes, and all Ages, carrying on the Maintop a Flag, either as a Note of Triumph, or elſe as a Mark of the Ware and Merchandiſe they carry.

The number of the Slaves brought yearly to *Conſtantinople* is uncertain; for ſometimes it is more, and ſometimes leſs, according to the Wars and Succeſſes of the *Tartars*; but as it is apparent in the Regiſters of the Cuſtoms at *Conſtantinople* only, one Year with another at the leaſt 20000 are yearly imported; amongſt which the greateſt part being Women and Children, with eaſie Perſuaſions, and fair Promiſes become Turks; the Men being ignorant, and generally of the *Ruſſian* or *Muſcovite* Nation (who are reported not to be over-devout, or of famed conſtancy and perſeverance in Religion) partly by Menaces and Fear, partly by good words and allurements of Reward, deſpairing of Liberty, and return to their own Country, renounce all Intereſt in the Chriſtian Faith.

Of this ſort of Metal moſt of the Turks are in theſe days compoſed, and by the fecundity of this Generation, the Dominions of this Empire flow; for the Turks of themſelves, though they have the liberty of *Polygamy*, and freer uſe of divers Women allowed them by their Law, than the ſeverity of Chriſtian Religion doth permit, are yet obſerved to be leſs fruitful in Children, than thoſe who confine themſelves to the chaſt embraces of one Wife. It is true, we have heard how in former Times there have been particular Men amongſt the Turks, that have ſeverally been Fathers to an hundred Sons; but now, through that abominabe Vice of *Sodomy*, which the Turks pretend to have learned from the *Italians*, and is now the common and profeſſed ſhame of that People, few fecundious Families are found amongſt them; eſpecially amongſt the Perſons of the greater Quality, who have Means and Time to act and contrive their filthineſs with the moſt deformity. And in this manner the natural uſe of the Women being neglected amongſt them, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *Men burning in luſt one towards another*; ſo little is Mankind propagated, that many think, were it not for the abundant ſupplies of Slaves, which daily come from the Black Sea (as before we have declared) conſidering the Summer-ſlaughters of the Plague, and deſtructions of War,

Rom. c. 1.

the Turk would have little cauſe to boaſt of the vaſt Numbers of his People: and that a principal Means to begin the ruine of this Empire, were, to prevent the taking of ſo many Captives, or intercept thoſe numbers of Slaves which are daily tranſported to nouriſh and feed the Body of this great *Babylon*; by which means, in time, they would not only find a want of Servants, but a decay and ſcarcity of Maſters; ſince as it is before-mentioned, theſe Slaves becoming Turks, are capable of all Priviledges, and being commonly Manumiſed by their Patrons, through the help of Fortune, arrive equally to Preferments with thoſe who are of the ancient *Mahometan* Race: This is the true Reaſon the Turk can ſpend ſo many People in his Wars, and values not the lives of Ten thouſand Men to win him but a ſpan of Ground, and yet almoſt without any ſenſible diminution of his People; and on the contrary, the invention, of an Inquiſition, and the diſtinction between *Chriſtianos vieios*, and *Nuevos* in *Spain* and *Portugal*, have cauſed that decay and ſcarcity of People in thoſe Countries, as hath laid the beſt part of thoſe fruitful Soils deſolate, and forced them both to a neceſſity of entertaining a mercenary Soldiery.

It is no ſmall inducement to the vulgar People, who is moſt commonly won with outward Allurements, to become Turks; that when they are ſo, by a white Turbant, or ſuch a particular Note of Honour, they ſhall be diſtinguiſhed from other-like Sects, (all People amongſt the Turks being known by their Heads, of what Religion or Quality they are) and ſo may the better be directed where they may have a priviledge to domineer and injure with the moſt impunity.

If we conſider how delightful the Mode is in *England* and *France*, eſpecially to thoſe who are of a vain and gay Humour, and that nothing ſeems handſome or comely, but what is dreſſed in the Faſhion and Air of the Times; we ſhall not wonder, if the ignorant and vain amongſt Chriſtians, born and educated in thoſe Countries, ſhould be catched and entrapt with the fancy and enticement of the *Turkiſh* Mode, and be contented to deſpoil themſelves of the Garment of Chriſtian Vertues, to aſſume a dreſs more Courtly and pleaſing to the Eyes of the World; for ſo the *Britains*, and other Nations, after Conquered by the *Romans*, began to delight themſelves in their Language and Habit, their Banquets and Buildings, which they accounted to be Humanity, and refinement of their Manners; but *Tacitus* ſaith, *Pars ſervitutis erat*, a ſignal Symptom of their ſubjection.

De Vita Agric.

And it is worth a wiſe Man's obſervation, how gladly the *Greeks* and *Armenian* Chriſtians imitate the Turkiſh Habit, and come as near to it as they dare; and how proud they are, when they are priviledged, upon ſome extraordinary Occaſion to appear without their Chriſtian diſtinction. And thus the Turk makes his very Habit a bait to draw ſome to his Superſtition; Riches to allure the Covetous; Rewards and Hopes, to rule the Ambitious; fears and terrours of Death, the cowardly and timorous; and by all means works on the Diſpoſitions and Humours of Men, to make additions to his Kingdom. Such as adhere to the Chriſtian Faith, the Turk makes no account of, and values no otherwiſe in the place of Subjects, than a Man doth of his Ox or Aſs, merely to carry the Burthens, and to be uſeful and ſervile in ſlaviſh Offices: they are oppreſſed, and are ſubject to all advantages and Pretences; and their Goods and Eſtates gained with Labour, and the Sweat of their Brows, liable to the Rapine of every great Man; they are diſarmed, and never exerciſed in War, by which means they become Effeminate, and leſs dangerous in Rebellion: only the People of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, under the conduct of their reſpective Princes, that the Grand Signior ſets over them, ſerve him in their Perſons in the War, and are the firſt thruſt forward in all deſperate Enterpriſes; ſo that the oppreſſion of the poor Chriſtians under the Turk, is worthy our compaſſion, how poor they are become, how their former Wealth is exhauſted, how the fatneſs of their rich Soil is drained, and made barren by poiſonous Suckers; ſo that it is evident that the Turks Deſign is no other, than by improveriſhment and enfeebling the Intereſt of Chriſtianity, to draw Proſelytes and Strength to his own Kingdom.

Wherefore ſome ſort of poor Chriſtians, either actually Subjects to the Turkiſh Tyranny, or Borderers on them, who often feel the miſery of their Incurſions, being fearful of their own conſtancy in the Faith, have contrived ways to preſerve themſelves from any other Profeſſion: wherefore in *Mengrelia*, the Chriſtians, at the Baptiſm of their Children, make a Croſs on their Hands; and in *Servia* their cuſtome is to make it on their Foreheads, with the Juice of a certain Herb, the ſtain of which never wears out; ſo that ſome of theſe Nations, who become Renegadoes to the Chriſtian Faith, bear always a Badge and Note of deſignation about them to a Holy Profeſſion, which may ſerve to upbraid their Perfidious deſertion of the Faith; the Croſs on their Forehead appearing for a ſhame and diſcountenance to the White Turbant on their Heads. By which pious Art, many of theſe diſtreſſed Chriſtians have, notwithſtanding fear and deſpair of Liberty, and promiſes of reward, through the apprehenſion of this incongruity between the Croſs and the Banner of *Mahomet*, preſerved themſelves firm to their firſt Colours.

CHAP. XIX.

The manner of Reception of Foreign Ambaſſadours amongſt the Turks, and the eſteem they have of them.

THere was no Nation in the World ever ſo barbarous, that did not acknowledg the Office of an Ambaſſadour Sacred and Neceſſary.

Sanctum populis per ſæcula nomen.

And *Cicero* ſaith, *Sic enim ſentio jus legatorum cum hominum præſidio munitum, tum etiam divino jure eſſe vallatum*; the *Alchoran* it ſelf calls this Office inviolable; and it is a Turkiſh Canon, *Elchi zaval yoketer*, Do not hurt an Ambaſſadour; ſo that the Turks do confeſs themſelves obliged by their own Law to Rules of Civilities, Courteous Treatment and Protection of Ambaſſadors.

De Haruſp. reſponſis.

The greateſt honour they ſhew to any Foreign Miniſter, is to him who comes from the Emperor, becauſe his Confines are contiguous with theirs, and have had occaſion more frequently, than with other Chriſtian Princes, to try the Power of the Imperial Sword.

An Ambaſſador coming from the Emperor, as ſoon as he enters the *Ottoman* Dominions, hath his Charges defrayed by the Sultan, according to the importance of the Buſineſs and Negotiation he is deſigned to, until the time of his return; and a Reſident continuing in ordinary, hath in like manner his conſtant Allowance. As it hath always been a Cuſtom amongſt the Eaſtern Princes to ſend Preſents each to other, as Tokens of Friendſhip and Amity; ſo the Emperor is, by an ancient Cuſtom and Agreement, obliged to accompany his Ambaſſador to this Court with Preſents and Gifts, as Offerings of Peace: and on the contrary, that the Emperor may not remain with the Diſadvantage, the Grand Signior is bound to recompence the Embaſſy with another from himſelf, and adorn it with Preſents of equal value with thoſe that were ſent him.

But Ambaſſadors and Repreſentatives, from other Princes, who have their Dominions more remote, and whoſe principal Deſign is eſteemed for the promotion of Trade and Commerce, as the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch*, are always admitted with their Preſents, which the Turk by cuſtom calls his right, and judges not himſelf obliged to return the like, eſteeming his Capitulations and Articles he makes with thoſe Princes, Privileges and Immunities granted their Subjects.

The Ceremonies they uſe at the Audience of every Ambaſſador are acted (as in all parts of the World) moſt to ſet off the Glory of the Empire; and repreſented with ſuch Advantages, as may beſt afford a Theme for an Ambaſſadour's Pen to deſcribe the Riches, Magnificence, and Terror of the *Ottoman* Power.

The Audience with the Grand Signior (having firſt paſſed a Complement with the Prime Vizier) is commonly contrived on days appointed for paiment of the Janiſaries, which is every three Months; and with that occaſion, the Order and Diſcipline of the Militia, the Mony and Stipends that are iſſued forth, are there expoſed to the obſervation of the publick Miniſter. The Mony is brought into the *Divan*, and there piled in heaps, where the Ambaſſador is firſt introduced, and ſeated on a Stool covered with Crimſon-velvet, placed near the firſt Vizier, and other Viziers of the Bench: as ſoon as the Mony is paid out to the chief of every *Oda* or Chamber, who afterwards diſtribute it amongſt their Souldiers, a plentiful Dinner is prepared for the Ambaſſador; who together with the firſt Vizier, and other Viziers of the Bench, and *Teſtardar*, or Lord Treaſurer, are ſeated at the ſame Table, which is not raiſed as high as the Tables we uſe, but ſomething lower, covered over with a capacious Voyder of Silver, in which the Diſhes are ſet, without ceremony of Table-cloth or Knives. In the ſame Room are two other Tables for the principal Attendants of the Ambaſſador, and other Perſonages amongſt the Turks of chief Note and Quality: the Diſhes are ſerved in by one at a time, which as ſoon as touched, or taſted, are taken off to make room for another; and thus there is a ſucceſſion of threeſcore or foreſcore Services, all the Diſhes being of *China*, worth about an hundred and fifty Dollars a piece; which are reported to have a virtue contrary to Poiſon, and to break with the leaſt infuſion thereof, and for that reaſon eſteemed more uſeful for the Service of the Grand Signior;

> *Nam nulla aconita bibuntur*
> *Fictilibus, &c.* Juvenal.

The Audience of Ambaſſadours.

The Banquet being ended, the *Chaousbaſhee*, or chief of the Purſivants, conducts the Ambaſſador, with ſome of his Retinue, to a place apart, where ſeveral gay Veſts, or long Garments, made of Silk, with divers Figures, are preſented them (as a ſign of the Grand Signior's Favour) which the Ambaſſador firſt putting on, and then the others, to the number of eighteen or nineteen, attended with two *Capugibaſhees*, or chief of the Porters, Perſons of good eſteem in that Court, with Silver Staves in their Hands, he is conducted nearer towards the Grand Signior's Preſence; then follow the Preſents brought by the Ambaſſador, which are carried to the beſt advantage for appearance, and are delivered to Officers appointed to receive them. The Courts without are filled with Janiſaries, amongſt whom is obſerved ſo profound a ſilence, that there is not the leaſt noiſe or whiſper underſtood; and the Salutation they give their principal Officers as they paſs, bowing altogether at the ſame time, is warlike, and yet courtly, and ſavours of good Diſcipline and Obedience.

The Ambaſſador is then brought to a great Gate near the Audience, the Porch of which is filled with white Eunuchs, clothed in Silks and Cloth of Gold; farther than this, none is ſuffered to proceed, beſides the Secretary, Interpreter, and ſome other Perſons of beſt Quality: at the door of the Chamber of Audience is a deep ſilence, and the murmuring of a Fountain near by adds to the melancholy; and no other Guard is there but a white Eunuch: and here a pauſe is made, and they tread ſoftly in token of fear and reverence, ſo as not to diſturb with the leaſt noiſe the Majeſty of the Sultan: for acceſs to the Eaſtern Princes was always difficult, and not permitted with the ſame familiarity as hath been practiſed amongſt the *Romans*, and at preſent with us, where the ſight of the King is his own Glory, and the Satisfaction of his Subjects: For it is with the Turks, as it was with the *Parthians*, when they received *Vonones* their King, educated in the *Roman* Court, who conforming to thoſe manners, ſaith *Tacitus*, *Irridebantur Græci Comites, prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignota Parthis virtutes*; the affability and eaſineſs of addreſs to their Prince, was a ſcandal to the Nation.

Lib. 2. ann.

At the entrance of the Chamber of Audience, hangs a Ball of Gold, ſtudded with pretious Stones, and about it great Chains of rich Pearl; the Floor is covered with Carpets of Crimſon-velvet, embroidered with Gold-Wire, in many places beſet with Seed-pearl. The Throne where the Grand [illegible] ſits, is raiſed a ſmall height from the [illegible] ſupported with four Pillars plated with Gold; the Roof is richly gilded, from which hang Balls, that ſeem to be of Gold; the Cuſhions he leaned upon, as alſo thoſe which lay by, were richly embroidered with Gold and Jewels: In this Chamber with this occaſion remains no other Attendance beſides the firſt Vizier, who ſtands at the right Hand of the Grand Signior with modeſty and reverence. When the Ambaſſador comes to appear before the Grand Signior, he is led in, and ſupported under the Arms by the two *Capugibaſhees* before-mentioned; who bringing him to a convenient diſtance, laying their hands upon his Neck, make him bow until his Forehead almoſt touches the Ground; and then raiſing him again, retire backwards to the farther parts of the Room: The like

Ceremony is uſed with all the others, who attend the Ambaſſador, only that they make them bow ſomewhat lower than him: The Reaſon of this Cuſtom, as *Busbequius* ſaith, was, becauſe that a *Croat* being admitted near to *Amurath*, to communicate ſomething to him, made uſe of that opportunity to kill him, in revenge of the Death of his Maſter *Marcus*; but the Turkiſh Hiſtory ſaith, That this was done by one *Miles Corbelitz*, who after the defeat given *Lazarus* the Deſpot of *Servia*, riſing from amongſt the Dead, had near acceſs to the preſence of *Amurath*.

The Ambaſſador, at this Audience, hath no Chair ſet him, but ſtanding, informs the Grand Signior, by his Interpreter, the ſeveral Demands of his Maſter, and the Buſineſs he comes upon; which is all penned firſt in Writing; which when read, is, with the Letter of Credence, conſigned into the Hands of the Great Vizier, from whom the Anſwer and farther Treaty is to be received.

This was the manner of the Audience given to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, when Ambaſſador there for his Majeſty, and is (as is there ſaid) the Form uſed to others, who come from a Prince equally honoured and reſpected.

But though the Turks make theſe outward Demonſtrations of all due Reverence, and Religious Care to preſerve the Perſons of Ambaſſadors Sacred, and free from Violence; yet it is apparent, by their Treatment and Uſage towards them, in all Emergencies and Differences between the Prince they come from, and themſelves, that they have no eſteem of the Law of Nations, or place any Religion in the maintenance of their Faith. For when a War is proclaimed, the Ambaſſador immediately is either committed to cloſe Impriſonment, or at leaſt to the cuſtody of a careful Guard, confined within the Limits of his own Houſe. In this manner, the Repreſentative of *Venice*, called there the *Bailo*, by name *Soranzo*, in a ſtrait Chamber of a Caſtle, ſituated on the *Boſphorus*, endured a ſevere Impriſonment, having his Interpreter ſtrangled, for no other cauſe than performing his Office in the true Interpretation of his Maſter's Senſe.

Afterwards this *Bailo* (for ſo they call there the Ambaſſors from *Venice*) was removed to another Priſon at *Adrianople*, where he continued ſome Years; and in fine, by force of Preſents, mollifying the Turks with Mony, (with which their Nature is eaſily made gentle and pliable) he obtained liberty to remain in the Houſe appropriated to the Repreſentatives of *Venice*, but under a Guard, whoſe Office was to ſecure him from eſcape, and obſerve his Actions; and yet with Liberality and Preſents, which overcome the Turks more than any Conſideration in the World, he enjoyed, as he pleaſed, licence for his Health to take the freſh Air, and uſe what freedom was reaſonable.

Nor leſs injurious to the Law of Nations, have been the Examples of Violence and Rage, acted on the Perſons of the *French* Ambaſſadors; firſt on the *Sieur Senſi*, accuſed upon ſuſpicion of having contrived the eſcape of *Koniſpolski*, General of the *Poliſh* Army, taken Captive in a Fight, and ſent Priſoner to the above-ſaid Caſtle on the *Boſphorus*; the means was, by a ſilken Cord ſent in a Pye, with Limes and Files to cut the Iron Bars; and having firſt ſecured his Guard with the ſtrength of Wine, in the dead of the Night, let him down by the Cord from the higheſt Tower; where finding Horſes ready, he got ſafe into *Poland*. The contrivance of this Stratagem, and the Inſtruments of the Eſcape, was laid to the Charge of the *French* Ambaſſador; who was committed, for that Reaſon, to the Priſon of the Seven Towers, where he remained for the ſpace of four Months, until his Mony, and the *French* King his Maſter mediated for him, promiſing to ſend another ſpeedily to ſucceed him; he was delivered from his Impriſonment, and returned home by the way of *Poland*.

The Succeſſor of this Ambaſſador was the Count *Ceſi*, a Man too generous and ſplendid, to live amongſt covetous and craving Turks, exhauſted moſt of his Wealth in Gifts and Preſents; to which adding a vanity and ambition to court the Grand Signior's Miſtreſſes in the Seraglio (as is ſaid) he paid ſuch vaſt Sums of Mony to the Eunuchs for his admittance, that in few Years he became ſo indebted, and importuned with the Clamours of his Creditors, as wholly diſcredited and loſt the Honour and Authority of his Embaſſy; ſo that the *French* King thinking it diſhonourable to continue his Miniſter, in that Charge, who was failed and undone in the reputation of the World, ſent his Letter of Revocation to recal him Home; but the Turks gave a ſtop to his return, pretending, that their Law which was indulgent to the Perſons of Ambaſſadors, did not acquit them from paiment of their Debts, or privilege them with impunity to rob the Believers, and other Subjects of the Grand Signior, contrary to that Rule of *Grotius*, who not only exempts the Perſons, but the Servants and Moveables of Ambaſſadors from Attachments; and no Law can compel him to the ſatisfaction of Debts by Force, but by friendly perſwaſion only, till being returned to his own Country, and put off the quality of a publick Perſon, he becomes liable to common Proceſs; *Si quid ergo debiti contraxit, & ut fit, res ſoli eo loco nullas poſſideat, ipſe compellandus erit amice, & ſi detrectet, is qui miſit, ita ut ad poſtremum uſurpentur ea, quæ adverſus debitores extra territorium poſitos uſurpari ſolent.*

Grot. lib. de Jure Belli & Pac.

Nor leſs remarkable was the barbarous uſage of the Sieur *la Haye*, Ambaſſador alſo from the *French* King to the Port, under the Government of the great Vizier *Kuperli*.

The Court being then at *Adrianople*, and the Treaty in hand between the Grand Signior and the Republick of *Venice*, through the Mediation of the *French* Ambaſſador, by Conſent and Command of his Maſter, certain Letters of his wrote in Characters, were intercepted by the Turks; by what Means, and upon what Information, the Matter was too evident then, to be apprehended other than an *Italian* Contrivance. The Cipher, as containing Matter prejudicial to the State, was carried to *Adrianople*; and being known, by examination and confeſſion of the Meſſenger, to have been delivered to him by the Secretary of the *French* Affairs, immediately in all haſte, the Ambaſſador then at *Conſtantinople* was cited to appear at Court; but being ancient, and indiſpoſed in his Health with the Gout and the Stone, diſpatched his Son as his Procurator, with Inſtructions and Orders how to anſwer what might be objected; hoping by that means to excuſe the Inconvenience of a Winter's Journey.

The Son being arrived there, immediately was called to Audience, accompanied with the Chancellor, or Secretary for the Merchants (for the other Secretary of the Private Affairs of the

Embaſſy, apprehending the Fury and Injuſtice of the Turks, had timely ſecured himſelf by flight). Diſcourſe was firſt had concerning the Contents of the Characters; the Turks inſolent in their Speeches, provoked this Sieur *la Haye* the Younger, to utter ſomething tending towards a contempt of that Power the Turks had over him, encouraging himſelf with the thoughts of the protection of the King his Maſter; who was ſoon ſenſible, and moved with the leaſt Injuries offered his Miniſters. The Turks who can endure nothing leſs than Menaces, and *Kuperli*, through natural Cruelty, and choler of old Age, and particular Malice againſt the *French* Nation, moved with this Reply, commanded the *Caousbaſhee*, who is chief of the Purſevants, to ſtrike him on the Mouth; which he did with that force, being a rude robuſtious Fellow, that with a few blows of his Fiſt, he ſtruck out two of his Teeth before, and in a moſt undecent and barbarous manner, dragged him, with the Secretary for the Merchants, to a Dungeon ſo loathſome and moiſt, that the ill Vapours oft-times extinguiſhed the Candle. The old Ambaſſador the Father, was with the like Turkiſh Fury ſent for, the Turks executing all they do with ſtrange haſte and violence, *Barbaris contatio ſervilis, ſtatem exequi regium videtur*; Tac.lib.6. and being arrived at *Adrianople*, was alſo committed to Cuſtody, though not with that rigor and ſeverity of Impriſonment as the Son, until the ſpace of two Months paſſing with Preſents and Solicitations, they both obtained their Liberty, and returned again to *Conſtantinople*; where ſcarce were they arrived, before News coming of a *French* Ship, which had loaded Goods of Turks, and run away with the Cargaſon, the Ambaſſador was again committed to another Priſon in *Conſtantinople*, called the *Seven Towers*, where he remained, until with Gifts and Mony, the Anger of the Turks was abated.

And ſtill the Malice of *Kuperlee* perſecuted this *Sieur la Haye*, until after his Embaſſy of 25 Years continuance, unfortunate only at the Concluſion, he was diſpatched Home obſcurely and in diſgrace, without Letters of Revocation from his Maſter, or other intimation to the Grand Signior, which might ſignify the deſire of this Ambaſſador's return.

The Reaſon of this irreverent Carriage in the Turks towards the Perſons of Ambaſſadors, contrary to the cuſtom of the Ancient *Romans*, and other gallant and civilized People, is an apprehenſion and Maxim they have received, that an Ambaſſador is endued with two Qualifications; one of repreſenting to the Grand Signior the Deſires of his Prince, the Breach of Articles or League, the Aggrievances and Abuſes of Merchants trading in his Dominions, that ſo Satiſfaction and Amendment may be made: And the other, that he remains in nature of a Hoſtage, called by themſelves *Mahapous*, or Pledg; by which he becomes reſponſible for what is acted by his Prince, contrary to the Capitulations of Peace, and remains for a Pawn for the faithful and ſincere carriage of his Nation, and as Security to inſure what Goods belonging to Turks are loaden on their Veſſels.

As the Reſident from *Holland* was in the Year 1663, impriſoned at *Adrianople*, for miſcarriage of a Ship belonging to his Nation, taken by *Malteſe* Men of War, whereon at *Alexandria* were Goods loaden belonging to the Grand Signior, and other conſiderable Perſons of State, and was not releaſed, until he engaged to Eighty five thouſand Dollars, in the ſpace of One hundred and twenty days, which was the full import of the Turkiſh Intereſt.

Nor hath this Law of Nations, to the Sacred eſteem of Ambaſſadors, found better obſervation towards the Repreſentatives of the *German* Emperor, who have, upon all conjectures of Diſcord, and breaches of Peace between thoſe two powerful Princes, been ſubject to Confinements and Cuſtody of a Guard, nothing differing from formal Impriſonment: or elſe, as it happened to the *German* Reſident in the laſt War, are tranſported from Place to place, according to the motion of the Armies, as a barbarous Trophy in the Time of their proſperous Succeſſes, and as a Means at hand to reconcile and mediate when evil Fortune compeſls them to compoſition.

What ill Fate ſoever hath attended the Miniſters of other Princes in this Court, the Ambaſſadors from his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, our Sacred King, have never incurred this Diſhonour and Violation of their Office; the Negotiations and Differences ſince the *Engliſh* Trade hath been opened in *Turkey*, have been various and conſiderable, and Matters as to the ſecurity of the Ambaſſador and Merchants, have been often reduced to a doubtful Condition, as far as Words and rude Speeches, full of Menaces and Choler, might make a ſober Man ſuſpicious of a greater Ruin: And yet through the Conſtancy, Prudence, and good Fortune of Ambaſſadors, the Turkiſh Raſhneſs hath not drawn upon themſelves the guilt of violating their Perſons, but have either prevented Troubles in the beginning, or wiſely compounded them before they made too far a Breach.

It is worth obſervation, that the Turks make no difference in the Name, between an Ambaſſador, Reſident, Agent, or any petty Meſſenger, ſent or reſiding upon a publick Affair; the Name *Elchi* ſerves them to expreſs all; though they have the Name of *Kapikahya*, which ſignifies an Agent at Court, and is commonly attributed to thoſe who reſide at the Port, for the Princes of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, and alſo for the Agents of *Paſcha's*, every one of which hath his Miniſter at the Court, to ſend him Advices, and to anſwer for him, if any thing ſhould be amiſs repreſented. And though the Turks, on occaſion of Ruptures, and other Diſcontents, loſe their Reſpect towards the Perſon of Ambaſſadors, yet ſtill it is commendable in them, that they commonly abſtain from the Spoil and Plunder of the Merchants Eſtates, with whoſe Prince they are at Enmity; for they look on Merchants as Men, whoſe Profeſſion is beſt advanced by Peace; and as their own Compariſon is, like to the laborious Bee which brings Hony to the Hive, and is innocent, induſtrious, and profitable, and therefore an Object of their Compaſſion and Defence.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

How Ambaſſadors and Publick Miniſters govern themſelves in their Negotiations and Reſidence amongſt the Turks.

AMbaſſadors in this Country, have need both of Courage and Circumſpection, wiſdom to diſſemble with Honour, and diſcreet patience, ſeemingly to take no notice of Affronts and Contempts, from which this uncivilized People cannot temperate their Tongues, even when they would ſeem to put on the moſt courteous deportment and reſpect toward Chriſtians.

The *French* Ambaſſador, *Monſieur le Haye*, ſent once to adviſe the great Vizier *Kuperli*, that his Maſter had taken the ſtrong City of *Arras* from the *Spaniard*, and had obtained other Victories in *Flanders*, ſuppoſing that the Turk outwardly have evidenced ſome ſigns of Joy, and return an Anſwer of Congratulation; but the Reply the Vizier gave, was no other than this, *(What matters it me, whether the Dog worries the Hog, or the Hog the Dog, ſo my Maſter's Head be but ſafe?)* intimating, that he had no other eſteem of Chriſtians, than as Savages or Beaſts, and with no other Anſwer than this, due to an officious Courtſhip towards a Turk, the Meſſenger returned.

There is no doubt, but of all thoſe means wherewith Kingdoms and States are ſupported, there are two more principal and chief of all others: The one is the ſubſtantial and real Strength and force of the Prince, which conſiſts in his Armies and Intereſt; and the other is the Honour and Reputation he gains Abroad, which hath ſometimes proved of that Authority and Conſequence, as to make the State of the weaker Prince to appear more conſiderable, or at leaſt, equal to the greater Forces of the other.

This Reputation is principally maintained by a prudent manner of Negotiation, and depends on the diſcretion of the Repreſentative, in which, for many Years, the Republick of *Venice* had great Advantages in the Turkiſh Court, through the Caution and Policy of their Miniſters, who nouriſhed in the Turks an opinion of their ſtrength of Arms, and force of Wiſdom, beyond the reality thereof; that before the War broke forth, no Nation in Amity with the Turk had their Affairs treated with more honour and reſpect than this Common-Wealth.

An Ambaſſador in this Court ought to be circumſpect and careful to avoid the occaſion of having his Honour blemiſhed, or of incurring the leaſt violation of his Perſon; for afterward, as one baffled in his Reputation, he becomes ſcorned, loſes his Power and Intereſt, and all eſteem of his Worth and Wiſdom; for having endured one Affront, their Inſolence ſoon preſumes farther to treſpaſs on his Patience: For certainly Turks, of all Nations in the World, are moſt apt to cruſh and trample on thoſe that lie under their Feet. As on the contrary, thoſe who have a Reputation with them, may make the beſt and moſt advantageous Treaties of any part of the World; according to that of *Busbequius*, Ep. 1. *Sunt Turci in utramque partem nimii ſive indulgentia, cum pro amicis ſe probare volunt, ſive acerbitate cum irati ſunt.* To reply, according to the Pride and Ignorance of a Turk, is properly to blow up Fire into a Flame; to ſupport with ſubmiſſion, and a puſillanimous Spirit, his Affronts and Indignities, by negotiating faintly or coldly, is to add Fuel and Wood to the burning Piles; but ſolid Reaſon and Diſcourſe, accompanied with chearful Expreſſions, vivacity and courage in Argument, is the only manner of dealing and treating with the Turks.

That which is called good Nature, or flexible Diſpoſition, is of little uſe to a Publick Miniſter in his Treaty with Turks: A punctual adherence to former Cuſtoms and Examples, even to Obſtinacy, is the beſt and ſafeſt Rule; for the conceſſion of one Point ſerves to embolden them to demand another, and then a third; and ſo their Hopes increaſe with the Succeſs, having no Modeſty nor Wiſdom to terminate their Deſires; one Act or two of Favour is enough afterwards to introduce a Cuſtom, (which is the chiefeſt part of their Law) and to make that which is merely voluntary, and of Grace, to become of Obligation.

But a principal Matter, which a publick Miniſter ought to look to, is to provide himſelf of ſpirited, eloquent, and intelligent Interpreters; ſpirited, I ſay, becauſe many times the Preſence is great they appear before, and the Looks big and ſour of a barbarous Tyrant; and it hath been known, that the Ambaſſador hath been forced to interpoſe his own Perſon, between the Fury of the Vizier and his Interpreter, whoſe Offence was only the delivery of the words of his Maſter; ſome of whom have notwithſtanding been impriſoned, or executed, for this Cauſe, as we have partly intimated in the foregoing Chapter: The reaſon of which Tyranny and Preſumption in theſe prime Officers over the Interpreters, is, becauſe they are moſt commonly born Subjects of the Grand Signior, and therefore ill ſupport the leaſt word miſ-placed, or ſavouring of Conteſt from them, not diſtinguiſhing between the Senſe of the Ambaſſador, and the Explication of the Interpreter; and therefore it were very uſeful to breed up a Seminary of young Engliſh Men, of ſprightly and ingenious Parts, to be qualified for that Office, who may, with leſs danger to themſelves, Honour to their Maſter, and Advantage to the Publick, expreſs boldly, without the uſual mincing and ſubmiſſion of other Interpreters, whatſoever is commanded and declared by their Maſter.

The *French* Nation hath taken a very good courſe, in breeding up Youths to make their Drugger-men or Interpreters; ſome few Years paſt, twelve were ſent to *Smyrna*, where being a while inſtructed in the Convent of *Capuchins*, and there taught the Turkiſh and Vulgar Greek, they are afterwards diſperſed to the ſeveral Factories; ſuch as were of moſt pregnant Parts, being placed with the Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*. Such a proviſion of young Drugger-men, at leaſt twelve, ought to be allowed, for ſome of them die, ſome grow weary of the Country, and are deſirous to return Home; others not having a ſufficiency of Parts, nor Health, anſwer not Expectation; ſo that if two or three of ſuch a Number happen to ſucceed well, they are a great help to the Ambaſſador, and the Conſul where they ſerve.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had once three Youths ſent Aboard on this Deſign, but they are now all three dead, and one alone came into Employment.

It is certainly a good Maxim for an Ambaſſador in this Country, not to be over-ſtudious in procuring a familiar Friendſhip with Turks; a fair comportment towards all in a moderate way, is cheap and ſecure; for a Turk is not capable of real Friendſhip towards a Chriſtian; and to have him called only, and thought a Friend who is in Power, is an Expence without Profit; for in great Emergencies, and Times of Neceſſity, when their Aſſiſtance is moſt uſeful, he muſt be bought again, and his Friendſhip renewed with Preſents, and farther Expectations: howſoever this way of Negotiating by Preſents and Gratuities, is ſo much in cuſtom amongſt the Turks, that to ſpeak truly, ſcarce any thing can be obtained without it; but is the Wiſdom of the Miniſter, to diſpoſe and place them with Honour, Decency, and Advantage. For there are, and have been always, two or three powerful Perſons in this Court, which in all Times carry the principal ſway, and command of all; theſe muſt neceſſarily be treated with Reſpect, and often ſweetned with Gratuities: He that hath Mony, may doubtleſs make Friends when he needs them, and with that ſecure his Capitulation and his Privilege, purchaſe Juſtice, and if his Stock will hold out, act any thing that can reaſonably be imagined; yet it is the moſt profitable and prudent way, to refer ſomething to Friendſhip and good Correſpondence, and not all to mere force and ſtrength of Mony.

CHAP. XXI.

How Foreign Princes in particular ſtand in the Eſteem and Opinion of the Turks.

THE Turks, as we have occaſionally inſtanced before, are naturally a proud and inſolent People, confident, and conceited of their own Vertue, Valour, and Forces, which proceeds from their ignorance of the ſtrength and conſtitution of other Countries; ſo that when the Danger which may ariſe from the Conjunction and Union of Chriſtian Princes to the *Mahometan* Intereſt, is diſcourſed of, they compare the Grand Signior to the Lion, and other Kings to little Dogs, which may ſerve (as they ſay) to rouſe and diſcompoſe the quiet and Majeſty of the Lion, but can never bite him, but with their utmoſt peril.

They ſay farther, as by an ingenuous Confeſſion, that they are unable to encounter the Chriſtians at Sea, to whom God hath given that unſtable Element for Dominion and Poſſeſſion; but that the Earth is the Lot and Inheritance of the Turks, which is demonſtrable by that great Circuit of Empire, obedient to the *Mahometan* Arms.

Theſe are the Thoughts and Apprehenſions of the Commonalty concerning Chriſtendom in general, (which I have heard often diſcourſed amongſt them) but the Opinion and Eſteem which knowing Men and Miniſters frame of Foreign Kingdoms and States diſtinctly, is for the moſt part according to theſe following Particulars.

Of all the Princes ſo for remote as *England*, none amongſt this People ſtands in better account than his Majeſty of *Great Britain*; not only for the convenience of the Trade, which provides the Empire with many neceſſary Commodities, but for the fame of His Shipping, and Power at Sea, which makes him, though divided from all parts of the World, yet a Borderer on every Countrey, where the Ocean extends: And this Eſteem and Honour the Sultan bears towards His Majeſty, hath been evidenced in ſeveral Particulars, and by none more than by the ſecurity and freedom his Merchants live in in theſe Dominions, and a readineſs always in every reaſonable Requeſt, to gratify His Majeſty's Ambaſſadors.

As for the Emperor, the Turk knows that his own proper and peculiar Force in it ſelf, is inconſiderable, but that with the conjunction and aſſiſtance of the *German* Princes, they are aſſured, and have proved it to their experience, in the Year 1664, that his Strength is equivalent to the *Ottoman* Power; but yet they are not ignorant, that the diverſity of Religions and Sects in *Germany*, abate much of that vigor and coalition amongſt themſelves, which is requiſite to the vigorous oppoſition of ſo potent an Enemy.

And it is evident, that the Emperor's unſeaſonable Severity againſt the Proteſtants in *Hungary*, diſobliging his whole Dominion there, by depriving them of their Churches, and exerciſing other courſes for ſuppreſſion of the Reformed Religion, ripened the Turk's Deſign of War, firſt laid in the Year 1663, conceiving in that conjuncture, holding forth the ſpecious pretence of Liberty in Religion and Conſcience, the *Hungarians* would either wholly deſert the Emperor, or very coldly and faintly apply themſelves to his Succour: The Effect of which was in the ſucceeding Wars plainly verified, and known, that the *Hungarians* were not only ſparing in their Contribution and Supplies of Men in the Service of the Emperor, but held ſecret Juntoes and Councils, Whether it were not better to accept the Turk's Soveraignty, on the Conditions propoſed, with Liberty of their Religion, rather than to continue in Allegiance to the Emperor, who neither afforded them freedom of Conſcience, which is the Deſtruction of their Spiritual Eſtate, nor was able to withſtand the Turk, which argued inſufficiency to yield them Protection in their Temporal.

The Emperor ſends his Ambaſſador to the Turk, under Notion of the King of *Hungary*, becauſe at his Inſtalment as Emperor, he ſwears to make a perpetual War with the Turk; and indeed their Peace is little better than a War, conſidering their frequent Incurſions into each others Territories; and that to skirmiſh or fight in Bodies, under the number of five thouſand, not taking Forts, or bringing Cannons in the Field, is no Breach of the Capitulations.

The *French* King, though the firſt Chriſtian Prince, that having no Confines bordering on theſe Dominions, entred into Capitulations with the Turk for a free and open Commerce and Traffick; and obtained the Title of *Podeſhaw*, which ſignifies as much as Emperor; and is denied to all other Chriſtian Kings, and even to the *German* Emperor himſelf, being adjudged an Honour amongſt the Turks, proper and peculiar only to the Grand Signior: Yet their eſteem of the *French* is not ſo great as ſome would perſwade the World it is, having (as we have at large declared in the foregoing Chapter) given ample Teſtimonies in the Perſons of the Ambaſſador, of their ſcorn and neglect of the Prince he repreſented.

I have heard the wiſe Lord Chancellor *Samoſade* ſay, That the *French* gained that Title of *Podeſhaw* to their King, by Craft and Subtilty, and was never fully examined nor conſidered: and in that Buſineſs there is a ſtrange Romance told of a fair *French* Lady, preferred to the Seraglio, whom the Turks were willing to receive for a Princes, and thence challenging Affinity with the King of *France*, was the more profuſe in the honour of his Titles.

It is true, there was a time when the *French* Ambaſſadors was called to ſecret Councils, and admitted within the Walls of the Seraglio, to private Meetings and Debates of the Turk; but it was when the *French* plotted, and openly aſſiſted in tranſportation of the Turks, for the Invaſion of *Italy*; but ſince that time, and eſpecially in the Year 1664, through the Force given the Emperor, and the Bravado upon *Barbary*, the *French* hath always (and that not without ſome reaſon) gone declining in the good Opinion and Eſteem in the Ottoman Court.

The Pope is more eſteemed, as a Prince able to blow the Coals, and excite other Princes to the Damage of the *Mahometan* State, rather than by his own Power or Force to effect any thing himſelf; and having no Confines bordering on the Turks, his Riches, Power, or Greatneſs, ſeldom falls as a Subject for their conſideration.

As little account would they make of the King of *Spain*, but that the *Granadine Turks*, of which there remains in *Conſtantinople* a conſiderable number ſince their Expulſion, through an extreme Affection, naturally inherent in them to *Spain*, diſcourſe of it with a Paſſion, not altogether free of a little *Rodomontado*, and Vain-glory, Vices incident to their Country; whereby they create in the Turks a conceit of the Greatneſs, Riches, and Force of *Spain*, according as it flouriſhed in the Time that the *Moors* poſſeſſed their Seat and Habitation there.

But yet the Turks, though a People injurious and negligent of the accurate ſtate of other Places, beſides their own, are not altogether ignorant of the decay of *Spain*, the Wars in *Portugal*, and the Menaces from *France*, which makes them aim at one of the *Venetian* Ports in *Dalmatia*, to have the better proſpect and eaſier paſſage into *Sicily*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The eſteem the *Venetians* are in at this time amongſt them, is greater than when the War firſt began, for then they entertained an Opinion of their Force, much inferior to the real eſtimation thereof; as they do now the contrary beyond their true Strength, making always calculates from the Effect and Succeſs of Things.

Yet the Turk knows, that the *Venetian* Power is not comparable to his by Land, and that nothing but *Friuli* ſtands between him and the maſtery of *Venice*; which makes him aſhamed and angry, that after ſo many Years Wars, no greater Additions ſhould be acquired to the Empire, than his footing in *Candia*, the whole poſſeſſion of which was imagined at the beginning of the War, would, upon a bare Demand, been quietly preſented as the Price and Purchaſe of the Peace.

The King of *Poland* is none of the leaſt amongſt the Chriſtian Princes eſteemed at the *Ottoman* Court, by reaſon of his great Power, conſiſting chiefly in Horſe, which in the Opinion of the Turks, is the moſt Warlike; and looks on the People as Martial, and with much difficulty brought under their ſubjection.

But by reaſon of the great Combuſtions and Inteſtine Troubles of that Country, the *Polanders* apply themſelves with much Dexterity and Caution in their Treaties with the Turks; and eſpecially, being Borderers with them, and ſubject to their Incurſions and Robberies of Men and Cattel, they endeavour all means of fair and reaſonable complyance. And on the other ſide, the Turk is well inclined to the *Polander*, and deſires his proſperity beyond others of his Neighbour-Princes; becauſe he looks on him as the only Curb, upon all Occaſions, of the *Muſcovites*, and whom they may make uſe of, to give ſome ſtop and arreſt unto the progreſs of his Arms.

The *Moſcovite* hath yet a greater Fame and Renown with the Turks, being reported to make One hundred and fifty thouſand Horſe; ſo that he treats with the Turk on equal Terms, and fills his Letters with high Threats and Hyperbolical Expreſſions of his Power, and with as ſwelling Titles as the Turk.

The *Greeks* have alſo an inclination to the *Moſcovite* beyond any other Chriſtian Prince, as being of their Rites in Religion, terming him their Emperor and Protector; from whom, according to the ancient Propheſies and modern Predictions, they expect delivery and freedom to their Church.

But the greateſt dread the Turk hath of the *Moſcovite*, is from the Union with the *Soffi*, or *Perſian*, which two uniting together, would be too unequal a Match for the *Ottoman* Empire.

But above all the great Potentates of the World, the King of *Perſia* was moſt feared and eſteemed by the Turk, not only by reaſon of his great Force, and that the Borders of his Dominions run a long ſpace on the Confines of the Turks; but becauſe it is almoſt impoſſible, by reaſon of the vaſt Deſarts, and uninhabited Places, to carry a War into his Country, without the cumberſome carriages of all neceſſary Proviſions, which with how much difficulty and incommodity were performed in the laſt Wars between theſe two great Princes, the Hiſtory ſufficiently relates; but ſince the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, and decay of their Riches, they are now the ſubjects of the Turkiſh ſcorn and contempt.

The nearneſs of their Faith, though derived from the ſame Founder, but afterwards receiving ſome difference by the interpretation of *Haly*, is in no-wiſe a reconcilement of their Affections; but rather a ground and matter of their Fear and Jealouſy, leſt at any time, waging a War againſt the *Perſian*, that

Hereſy ſhould begin to be ſet on foot amongſt the People, which, like a Spark that cauſes the Conflagration of a whole City, may breed thoſe inteſtine Civil diſtractions, which may prove of more danger and ruin than the former War.

It will not be neceſſary to ſpeak much of the *Hollanders*, in regard, that though they have a Reſident there, they are ſcarce taken notice of as a Nation different, but depending on the *Engliſh*.

Theſe foregoing words of *Holland*, have been liable to cenſure amongſt the *Dutch*; but for my Apology therein, I have thus much to ſay, That though the Aſſertion may ſeem ſtrange in theſe our Times, yet when it was firſt wrote, which is now above ſeventeen Years paſt, it might have paſt for Current Truth; *Diſtingue tempora & bene doces.*

When I came firſt into *Turky*, which was in the Year 1660, there were very few of the *Dutch* Nation then in *Turky*, and their Trade very inconſiderable.

At *Aleppo* they had no Conſul, till ſome Years after my arrival *Levinus Warner*, Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, ſent his Brother firſt to that place; but before that time, they always lived under the *Engliſh* protection.

At *Smyrna* they had no other for their Conſul, than one *Evan Ogle* a *Greek*, of whom either the *Dutch* or *Turks* took little notice, having recourſe very often to the *Engliſh* Conſul for his Advice, and Aſſiſtance.

At *Conſtantinople*, for many Years, the *Dutch* lived under the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, which was the occaſion of thoſe differences debated in the *Divan* between ours, and the *French* Ambaſſador. Likewiſe *Levinus Warner*, a *German* born, lived for ſome Years in the Houſe of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, until afterwards, that by the Lords the States, he was promoted to be their Reſident at the *Port*.

All which happening in ſo ſhort time after my arrival in *Turky*, it will not appear ſtrange to conſidering Men, that the *Dutch* Nation ſhould not at that time, by the generality of the People (though the Miniſters of State might know otherwiſe) be diſtinguiſhed from ours, or their Puiſſance, and Greatneſs ſo well underſtood as it is at preſent. The Heer *Colyer*, formerly Reſident, but now dignified with the Title of Ambaſſador at the *Port*, and the ſeveral Conſuls in their reſpective Factories being much reſpected and eſteemed.

And theſe are all the Nations conſiderable, with whom the Turk hath occaſion to Treat, or that fall under his Cogniſance or Buſineſs.

When the Grand Signior hath occaſion to write unto any of the Chriſtian Princes, he commonly uſes theſe Expreſſions, at the beginning of the Letter.

> *To the Glory of the great Princes of* JESUS, *Elected by the Reverend Senators of the Religion of the* Meſſiah, *Compoſer of the Publick Affairs of the Chriſtian Nation. Patron (or Maſter) of a Courteous and Modeſt Train, Lord of thoſe Ways which lead to Honour and Glory, whoſe End may it be happy*, &c.

CHAP. XXII.

The regard the Turks have to their Leagues with Foreign Princes.

AS the Chriſtian Religion teaches Humility, Charity, Courteſie, and Faith towards all that are within the Pale of Humane Nature, to be φιλόϑεοι ϗ φιλανϑρωποι; ſo the Turkiſh Superſtition furniſhes its Followers with Principles, not only to abhor the Doctrines, but alſo the Perſons of ſuch whom they term not Believers. The ſordidneſs of their Blood, and ungentleneſs of their Education, makes them inſolent and ſwelled in Proſperity; and their Victories and Spoils upon Chriſtians, render the Arms and Force of other parts contemptible in reſpect of theirs.

Upon theſe Conſiderations of the vileneſs of Chriſtianity, and ſcorn of their Power, they aſſume this into a Maxime, That they ought not to regard the Leagues they have with any Prince, or the Reaſons and Ground of a Quarrel, whilſt the Breach tends to the enlargement of their Empire, which conſequently infers the propagation of their Faith.

Many and various are the Examples and Stories in all Ages, ſince the beginning and increaſe of the Turkiſh Power, of the Perfidiouſneſs and Treachery of this People; that it may be a Queſtion, Whether their Valour and Force hath prevailed more in the time of War, or the little care of their Faith, and maintenance in their Leagues hath availed them in the time of Peace?

Thus *Didymotichum* in the time of Peace, under *Amurath*, third King of the Turks, whilſt the Walls and Fortifications were building, was by the *Aſian* Labourers, which were entertained in the Work, and the help of other Turks which lay near in Ambuſh, ſurprized and taken.

So alſo * *Radeſtum*, in the time of Peace, by command of *Amurath*, was by *Eurenoſes* aſſaulted and taken by ſtrategem.

** Now called* Rodeſto.

So *Adrianople* in the Reign of the ſame Emperor, after Peace made again, and Aſſurances given of better Faith, was by the Art and Diſguiſe of *Chaſis-Ilbeg*, pretending to be a diſcontented Captain, and a Fugitive from the Turks, by fair Speeches, and ſome Actions and Skirmiſhes Abroad, gained ſuch confidence amongſt the credulous *Greeks*, as enabled him afterwards to ſet the Gates open to *Amurath*'s Army, which after ſome Conflict, was taken, and never recovered again by the power of the *Greeks*.

It is an old and practiſed Subtilty of the Turks, immediatley after ſome notable Misfortune, to entreat of Peace, by which means they may gain time to recollect their Forces and Proviſions to proſecute the War.

It is notable and worthy of Record, the Treachery of the Treaty uſed the Year 1604, begun in the time of *Mahomet* the Third, and broken off by *Achmet* his Succeſſour. The Overtures for a Treaty were firſt propounded by the Turks; and Commiſſioners from the Emperor appointed, and met the Turks at *Buda*; twelve days Truce were concluded for conſideration of the Articles, and Preſents ſent by the Turks to the Emperor, to perſuade of the reality of their Intentions. *Mahomet* dying, Sultan *Achmet* renews his Commiſſion to the *Baſſa* of *Buda* to continue the Treaty; whereupon the Chriſtian and Turks Commiſſioners have another meeting at *Peſt*; where whilſt the Chriſtians were courteouſly treating the Infidels in Tents near the Town, and they to create in the Chriſtians an aſſurance of their faithful Dealings, were producing Letters from their Sultan, and Prime Vizier, filled with Oaths and Proteſtations, as by the God of Heaven and Earth, by the Book of *Moſes*, by the Souls of their Anceſtors, and the like, that their Intentions for Peace were real, and meant nothing but what was honourable and juſt: At that very time the Turks of *Buda*, conceiving, that in the time of this great Jollity and Confidence, the Walls of *Peſt* were neglected and ſlightly manned, iſſued out in great numbers to ſurprize it; the Alarm of which ended the Banquet, and the Turks finding Matters contrary to their Expectation, returned only with the ſhame of their Treachery.

It is no wonder the Diſciples ſhould, in a Point of ſo great Liberty and Advantage, follow the Example and Doctrine of their Maſter; for the like *Mahomet* did when overthrown, and repulſed at the Siege of *Mecha*, made a firm League with the Inhabitants of ſtrict Peace and Amity: but the next Summer, having again recruited his Forces, eaſily ſurprized and took the City, whilſt that People relying on the late Agreement, ſuſpected nothing leſs than the Prophet's Treachery.

And that ſuch preſidiouſneſs as this might not be Chronicled in future Ages, in diſparagement of his Sanctity; he made it lawful for his Believers, in Caſes of like Nature, when the Matter concerned thoſe who are Infidels, and of a different Perſwaſion, neither to regard Promiſes, Leagues, or other Engagements; and this is read in the Book of the Inſtitutions of the *Mahometan* Law, called *Kitab Hadaia*.

It is the uſual Form and Cuſtom, when a noble Advantage is eſpied on any Country, with which they have not ſufficient ground of Quarrel, to demand the Opinion of the *Muftee*, for the lawfulneſs of War; who without conſulting other Conſideration and Judgment of the reaſonable Occaſions, than the utility of the Empire, in conformity to the foregoing Preſident of his Prophet, paſſes his *Fetfa*, or Sentence; by which the War becomes warrantable, and the Cauſe juſtified and allowed.

It is not to be denied, but even amongſt Chriſtian Princes, and other the moſt gallant People of the World, Advantages have been taken, contrary to Leagues, and Faith, and Wars commenced upon frivolous and ſlight Pretences; and the States have never wanted Reaſons for the breach of Leagues; though confirmed by Oaths, and all the Rites of Religious Vows: We know it is controverted in the Schools, whether Faith is to be maintained with Infidels, with Hereticks, and wicked Men; which in my Opinion were more honourable to be out of Queſtion.

But we never read that Perfidiouſneſs, by Act and Proclamation, was allowable, or that it was wholly to be Faithleſs, until the Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, by the Example of their Prophet, recorded and commanded this Leſſon, as a beneficial and uſeful Axiom to their Diſciples.

And here I cannot but wonder at what I have heard and read in ſome Books of the Honeſty and Juſtice of the Turks, extolling and applauding them, as Men accompliſhed with all the Vertues of a Moral Life; thence ſeeming to infer, that Chriſtianity it ſelf impoſes none of thoſe Engagements of Goodneſs on Mens Natures, as the Profeſſors of it do imagine. But ſuch Men, I believe, have neither read the Hiſtories, nor conſulted the Rules of their Religion, nor practiſed their Converſation: and in all Points, being ignorant of the truth of the Turks dealing, it is not ſtrange, if through a charitable Opinion of what they know not, they err in the Apprehenſion and Character they paſs upon them.

THE

OF THE
Turkiſh Religion.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Turks in General.

THE Civil Laws appertaining to Religion amongſt the Turks, are ſo confounded into one Body, that we can ſcarce treat of one without the other; for they conceive that the Civil Law came as much from God, being delivered by their Prophet, as that which immediately reſpects their Religion, and came with the ſame Obligations and Injunctions to obedience. And though this Polity was a Fiction of ſome, who firſt founded certain Governments, as *Numa Pompilius*, *Solon*, and the like, to put the greater Engagements and ties on Men, as well of Conſcience, as through fear of Puniſhment; yet in the general that Propoſition is true, That all Laws which reſpect Right and Juſtice, and are tending to a Foundation of Good and Honeſt Government, are of God; *For there is no Power but of God, and the Powers that be, are ordained of God.* And then if God owns the Creation and Conſtitution of all Princes and Rulers, as well the Pagans as Chriſtians; the Tyrants, as the Indulgent Fathers of their People and Country; no leſs doth he diſallow the Rules and Laws fitted to the Conſtitution and Government of a People, giving no Diſpenſation to their Obedience, becauſe their Prince is a Tyrant, or their Laws not founded according to true Reaſon, but to the humour of their corrupted Judgments or Intereſt.

Rom. 13.

It is vulgarly known to all, that their Law was compiled by *Mahomet*, with the help of *Sergius* the Monk (and thence this Superſtition is named *Mahometaniſm*) whoſe infamous Life is recorded ſo particularly in many other Books, that it were too obvious to be repeated here: and therefore we ſhall inſiſt, and take a view of the Rites, Doctrines, and Laws of the *Turkiſh Religion*, which is founded in three Books, which may not improperly be called the *Codes* and *Pandects* of the *Mahometan* Conſtitutions.

The firſt is the *Alcoran*; the ſecond, the Conſent or Teſtimony of Wiſemen, called the *Aſſonah*, or the Traditions of the Prophets; and the third, the Inferences or Deductions of one thing from another.

Mahomet wrote the *Alcoran*, and preſcribed ſome Laws for the Civil Government: the other Additions, or Superſtructures, were compoſed by their Doctors that ſucceeded, which were *Ebbubecher*, *Omer*, *Ozman* and *Haly*; the *Califfs* of *Babylon* and *Egypt* were other Doctors and Expoſitors of their Law; whoſe Sentences and Poſitions were of Divine Authority amongſt them; but their eſteem of being Oraculous failing with their Temporal Power, that Dignity and Authority of Infallible Determinations, was by force of the Sword transferred to the *Turkiſh Mufti*. And though there is great diverſity amongſt the Doctors, as touching the explication of their Law, yet he is eſteemed a true Believer, who obſerves theſe five Articles or Fundamentals of the Law, to which every Turk is obliged.

The firſt is, Cleanneſs in the Outward Parts of their Body and Garments.

Secondly, To make Prayers five times a day.

Thirdly, To obſerve the *Ramazan* or Monthly Faſt.

Fourthly, To perform faithfully the *Zekat*, or giving of Alms according to the proportion preſcribed in a certain Book, wrote by the four Doctors of theirs, called *Aſan*, *Embela*, &c.

Fifthly, To make their Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, if they have means and poſſibility to perform it.

But the Article of Faith, required to be belived, is but one, *viz.* That that there is but one God, and *Mahomet* his Prophet.

Other Rites, as Circumciſion, Obſervation of a *Friday* for a Day of Devotion, Abſtinence from Swines-fleſh, and from Blood, (as they ſay) amongſt the five pincipal Points, becauſe they are enjoined as Trials and Proofs of Man's Obedience to the more neceſſary Law.

CHAP. II.

The Toleration that Mahometaniſm in its infancy promiſed to other Religions; and in what manner that Agreement was afterwards obſerved.

WHEN *Mahometaniſm* was firſt weak, and therefore put on a modeſt Countenance and plauſible Aſpect to deceive Mankind, it found a great part of the World illuminated with Chriſtianity, endued with active Graces, Zeal, and Devotion, and eſtabliſhed within it ſelf with purity of Doctrine, Union, and firm profeſſion of the Faith, though greatly ſhaken by the Hereſies of *Arius* and *Neſtorius*; yet it began to be guarded, not only with its Patience, Long-ſuffering, and Hope, but alſo with the Fortifications, Arms, and Protection of Emperors, and Kings: ſo that *Mahometaniſm* coming then on the diſadvantage, and having a hard Game to play, either by the luſtre of Graces, and Good Examples of a ſtrict Life to out-ſhine Chriſtianity; or by a looſneſs and indulgence to corrupt Manners, to pervert Men dedicated to God's Service; or by Cruelty or Menaces to gain thoſe who accounted Martyrdom their greateſt Glory, and were now alſo defended by the Power of their own Princes; judges it beſt policy to make proffers of Truce and Peace between the Chriſtian and its own Profeſſion: and therefore in all places where its Arms were prevalent and proſperous, proclaimed a free Toleration to all Religions; but eſpecially in outward appearance, courted and favoured the Chriſtian, drawing its Tenents and Doctrines in ſome conformity to that Rule, confeſſing *Chriſt* to be a Prophet, and greater than *Moſes*; that he was born of a Virgin; that *Mary* conceived by the ſmell of a Roſe; that the bleſſed Virgin was free from Original Sin, and the Temptations of the Devil; that *Chriſt* was the Word of God, and is ſo ſtyled in the *Alchoran*, and cured Diſeaſes, raiſed the Dead, and worked many Miracles; and by his Power his Diſciples did the like: and I have heard ſome ſpeak of him with much reverence, and with heat to deny *Chriſt*'s Paſſion; ſaying, it were an impiety to believe that God, who loved and had conferred ſo much Power, and ſo many Graces on *Chriſt*, ſhould ſo far diſhonour him, as to deliver him into the Hands of the *Jews*, who were the worſt and moſt ſcorned of Men; or to the Death of the Croſs, which was the moſt infamous and vile of all Puniſhments.

In this manner they ſeemed to make a League with Chriſtianity, to be Charitable, Modeſt, and well-wiſhers to its Profeſſours; and *Mahomet* himſelf ſays in his *Alchoran* thus: "O Infidels, I do not adore what you adore, and you adore not what I worſhip; obſerve you your Law, and I will obſerve mine.

And for a farther aſſurance of his Toleration of Chriſtianity, and evidence to the World, that his Intention was neither to perſecute nor extirpate their Religion; he made this following Compact, the Original of which was found in the Monaſtery of Fryars on Mount *Carmel*, and, as it is ſaid, was tranſported to the King's Library in *France*; which becauſe it is Ancient, and of Curioſity, it will not be impertinent to be inſerted here.

"*Mahomet* ſent from God to teach Mankind, ~~and declare~~ the Divine Commiſſion in Truth, wrote theſe things. That the Cauſe of Chriſtian Religion determined by God, might remain in all parts of the Eaſt, and of the Weſt, as well amongſt the Inhabitants, as Strangers, near, and remote, known, and unknown: to all theſe People I leave this preſent Writing, as an inviolable League, as a deciſion of all farther Controverſies, and a Law whereby Juſtice is declared, and ſtrict obſervance enjoined. Therefore whoſoever of the *Moſſelman's* Faith ſhall neglect to perform theſe Things, and violate this League, and after the manner of Infidels, break it, and tranſgreſs what I command herein, he breaks the Compact of God, reſiſts his Agreement, and contemns his Teſtament, whether he be a King, or any other of the Faithful. By this Agreement, whereby I have obliged my ſelf, and which the Chriſtians have required of me, and in my Name, and in the Name of all my Diſciples, to enter into a Covenant of God with them, and League and Teſtament of the Prophets, Apoſtles, Elect, and Faithful Saints, and bleſſed of Times paſt and to come. By this Covenant, I ſay, and Teſtament of mine (which I will have maintained with as much Religion, as a Prophet Miſſionary, or as an Angel next to the Divine Majeſty, is ſtrict in his Obedience towards God, and in obſervance to his Law and Covenant) I promiſe to defend their Judges in my Provinces, with my Horſe and Foot, Auxiliaries, and other my faithful Followers; and to preſerve them from their Enemies; whether remote, or near, and ſecure them both in Peace and War: and to protect their Churches, Temples, Oratories, Monaſteries, and Places of Pilgrimage, whereſoever ſituated, whether Mountain or Valley, Cavern or Houſe, a Plain, or upon the Sand, or in what ſort of Edifice ſoever: alſo to preſerve their Religion and their Goods in what part ſoever they are, whether at Land or Sea, Eaſt or Weſt, even as I keep my ſelf and my Sceptre, and the faithful Believers of my own People. Likewiſe, to receive them into my Protection from all Harm, Vexation, Offence and Hurt. Moreover, to repel thoſe Enemies which are offenſive to them and me, and ſtoutly to oppoſe them, both in my own Perſon, by my Servants, and all others of my People and Nation. For ſince I am ſet over them, I ought to preſerve and defend them from all Adverſity, and that no Evil touch them before it firſt afflict mine, who labour in the ſame Work. I promiſe farther to free them from thoſe Burthens which Confederates ſuffer, either by Lones of Mony, or Impoſitions; ſo that they ſhall be obliged to pay nothing but what they pleaſe, and no moleſtation or injury ſhall be offered them herein. A Biſhop ſhall not be removed from his Dioceſs, or a Chriſtian compelled to renounce his Faith, or a Monk his Profeſſion, or a Pilgrim diſturbed in his Pilgrimage, or a Religious Man in his Cell: Nor ſhall their Churches be deſtroyed, or converted into Moſques: for whoſoever doth ſo break this Covenant of God, oppoſes the Meſſenger of God, and fruſtrates the Divine Teſtament. No Impoſitions ſhall be laid upon Fryars or Biſhops, nor any of them, who are not liable to Taxes, unleſs it be with their own conſent. And the Tax which ſhall be required from Rich Merchants and from Fiſher-men of their Pearl, from Miners of their Pretious Stones, Gold and Silver; and all other rich and opulent Chriſtians, ſhall not exceed above twelve ſhillings yearly; and it ſhall alſo be from them, who are conſtant Inhabitants of the place, and not from Travellers, and Men of an uncertain Abode; for they ſhall not be ſubject to Impoſitions or Contributions, unleſs they are Poſſeſſours of Inheritance of Land or Eſtate; for he which is lawfully ſubject to pay Mony to the Emperor, ſhall pay as much as another, and not more; nor more required from him above his faculty and ſtrength. In like manner, he that is taxed for his Land, Houſes, or Revenue, ſhall not be

Moſſelman *ſignifies a* Believer, *and ſo the* Turks *call themſelves.*

“be burthened immoderately, nor oppreſſed with greater Taxes than any others that pay Contribution: Nor ſhall the Confederates be obliged to go to the War with the *Moſſelmans* againſt their Enemies, either to fight, or diſcover their Armies, becauſe it is not of duty to a Confederate to be employed in Military Affairs; but rather this compact is made with them, that they may be the leſs oppreſſed; but rather the *Moſſelmans* ſhall Watch and Ward, and defend them: And therefore, that they be not compelled to go forth to fight, or encounter the Enemy, or find Horſe or Arms, unleſs they voluntarily furniſh them; and he who ſhall thus willingly contribute, ſhall be recompenſed and rewarded. No *Moſſelman* ſhall infeſt the Chriſtians, nor contend with them in any thing but in kindneſs, but treat them with all courteſie, and abſtain from all oppreſſion or violence towards them. If any Chriſtian commit a crime or fault, it ſhall be the part of the *Moſſelman* to aſſiſt him, intercede and give caution for him, and compound for his miſcarriage; liberty ſhall alſo be given to redeem his life, nor ſhall he be forſaken, nor be deſtitute of help, becauſe of the Divine Covenant which is with them, that they ſhall enjoy what the *Moſſelmans* enjoy, and ſuffer what they ſuffer: and on the other ſide that the *Moſſelmans* enjoy what they enjoy, and ſuffer what they ſuffer. And according to this Covenant, which is by the Chriſtians juſt requeſt, and according to that endeavour which is ſo required for confirmation of its Authority, you are obliged to protect them from all calamity, and perform all offices of good-will towards them, ſo that the *Moſſelmans* may be ſharers with them in proſperity and adverſity. Moreover, all care ought to be had, that no violence be offered to them, as to matters relating to Marriage, *viz.* That they compell not their Parents to match their Daughters with *Moſſelmans*: Nor ſhall they be moleſted for refuſal either to give a Bridegroom or a Bride; for this is an act wholly voluntary, depending on their free-will and pleaſure. But if it happen that a Chriſtian Woman ſhall join with a *Moſſelman*, he is obliged to give her liberty of Conſcience in her Religion, that ſhe may obey her Ghoſtly Father, and be inſtructed in the Doctrines of her Faith without impediment; therefore he ſhall not diſquiet her, either by threatning divorce, or by ſolicitations to forſake her Faith: but if he ſhall be contrary hereunto, and moleſt her herein, he deſpiſes the Covenant of God, rebels againſt the Compact of the Meſſenger of God, and is entred into the number of Lyars. Moreover when Chriſtians would repair their Churches or Convents, or any thing elſe appertaining unto their Worſhip, and have need of the liberality and aſſiſtence of the *Moſſelmans* hereunto, they ought to contribute, and freely to beſtow according to their ability; not with intention to receive it again, but *gratis*; and as a good-will towards their Faith, and to fulfill the Covenant of the Meſſenger of God, conſidering the obligation they have to perform the Covenant of God, and the Compact of the Meſſenger of God. Nor ſhall they oppreſs any of them living amongſt the *Moſſelmans*, nor hate them, nor compell them to carry Letters, or ſhew the way, or any other manner force them: for he which exerciſes any manner of this Tyranny againſt them, is an Oppreſſour, and an Adverſary to the Meſſenger of God, and refractary to his Precepts. Theſe are the Covenants agreed between *Mahomet* the Meſſenger of God, and Chriſtians. But the conditions on which I bind theſe Covenants on their Conſciences, are theſe, That no Chriſtian give any entertainment to a Soldier, enemy to the *Moſſelmans*, or receive him in his houſe publickly or privately; that they receive none of the enemies of the *Moſſelmans*, as ſojourners into their Houſes, Churches, or Religious Convents; nor underhand furniſh the Camp of their Enemies, with Arms, Horſe, Men, or maintain any intercourſe or correſpondence with them, by contracts or writing; but betaking themſelves to ſome certain place of abode, ſhall attend to the preſervation of themſelves, and to the defence of their Religion. To any *Moſſelman* and his Beaſts, they ſhall give three days entertainment with variety of Meat, and moreover, ſhall endeavour to defend them from all misfortune and trouble; ſo that if any *Moſſelman* ſhall be deſirous, or be compelled to conceal himſelf in any of their houſes or habitations, they ſhall friendly hide him, and deliver him from the danger he is in, and not betray him to his Enemy: and in this manner the Chriſtians performing Faith on their ſide, whoſoever violates any of theſe conditions, and doth contrarily, ſhall be deprived of the benefits contained in the Covenant of God and his Meſſenger, nor ſhall he deſerve to enjoy theſe privileges indulged to Biſhops and Chriſtian Monks, and to the Believers of the contents of the *Alcboran*. Wherefore I conjure my people by God and his Prophet to maintain theſe things faithfully, and fulfill them, in what part ſoever of the World they are. And the Meſſenger of God ſhall recompence them for the ſame; the perpetual obſervation of which he ſeriouſly recommends to them, untill the day of Judgment, and Diſſolution of the World. Of theſe conditions which *Mahomet* the Meſſenger of God hath agreed with the Chriſtians, and hath enjoyed, the witneſſes were,

“*Abu Bacre Aſſadiqu, O mar ben-alcharab.*
“*Ithman ben Aſaw, Atiben abi taleb,*

“with a number of others; the Secretary was *Moavia ben abi Sofian*, a Soldier of the Meſſenger of God, the laſt day of the Moon of the fourth Month, the fourth year of *Hegira* in *Medina*. May God renumerate thoſe who are witneſſes to this writing. Praiſe be to God the Lord of all Creatures.

This Covenant or Articles with Chriſtians (howſoever denied by the *Turks* to have been the act and agreement of *Mahomet*) is yet by very good Authours taken for real, and to have been at that time confirmed when his Kingdom was weak, and in its infancy, and when he warred with the *Arabians*: and fearing likewiſe the enmity of the Chriſtians (not to be aſſaulted by two Enemies at once) ſecured himſelf by this Religious League, made in the Monaſtry of *Fryars*, in Mount *Carmel*, from whence that ſtrict Order have their denomination. But mark how well *Mahomet* in the ſequel obſerved this Law: As ſoon as his Government increaſed, and that by Arms and bad Arts he had ſecured his Kingdom, he writes this Chapter of the Sword, called ſo perhaps becauſe the firſt words are often engraved on the *Turks* Cymeters made at *Damaſcus*, and other their Bucklers and other ſort of Arms: And another Chapter in the *Alchoran*, called the Chapter of Battel (which is always read by the *Turks* before they go to fight) and therein his modeſt words (If you adore not what I adore, let your Religion be to you, and mine to me) and other promiſes of toleration and indulgence to the Chriſtian Religion, were changed to a harſher note; and his Edicts were then for bloud and ruin, and enſlavement of Chriſtians: *When you meet with Infidels*, ſaith he, *cut off their heads, kill them, take them Priſoners, bind them, untill either you think fit to give them liberty, or pay their ranſome; and forbear not to perſecute them, untill they have laid down their arms and ſubmitted.* And this is that ſort of Toleration the *Turks* give to the Chriſtian Religion; they know they cannot force Mens Wills, nor captivate their Conſciences, as well as their Bodies; but what means may be uſed to render them contemptible, to make them poor, their lives uncomfortable, and the intereſt of their Religion weak and deſpicable, are practiſed with divers Arts and Tyranny, that their toleration of Chriſtianity is rather to afflict and perſecute it, than any grant of favour or diſpenſation.

The *Mahometan* Religion tolerates Chriſtian Churches and Houſes of Devotion, in places where they have been anciently founded, but admits not of holy Buildings on new foundations; they may repair the old Coverings and Roofs, but cannot lay a Stone in a new place Conſecrated to Divine Service; nor if Fire, or any accident deſtroy the Superſtructure, may a new ſtrength be added to the foundation, wherewith to underprop for another Building; ſo that at laſt the Chriſtian Churches in thoſe Dominions, muſt neceſſarily come to ruin, as many already have ſubmitted to the common fate of time. And as it happened in the great and notable Fires of *Galata* firſt, and then of *Conſtantinople*, in the year 1660, that many of the Chriſtian Churches and Chapels were brought to Aſhes; and afterwards by the Piety and Zeal of Chriſtians ſcarce re-edified, before by publick order they were thrown down again into their former heaps, being judged contrary to the *Turkiſh* Law, to permit Churches again to be reſtored, of which no more remained than the meer foundation.

CHAP. III.

The Arts wherewith the Turkiſh Religion *is propagated.*

THE *Turks* though they offer the ſpecious outſide of the foregoiug toleration, yet by their Law are authorized to enforce Mens Conſciences to the profeſſion of their Faith; and that is done by various arts and niceties of Religion: For if a man turn *Turk*, his Children under the age of 14 years, though educated with other Principles, muſt be forced to the ſame perſuaſion. Men that ſpeak againſt the *Mahometan* Law, that have raſhly promiſed at a time of diſtraction or drunkenneſs to become *Turks*, or have had a carnal knowledge of a *Turkiſh* Woman, muſt either become Martyrs or Apoſtates; beſides many other ſubtilties they have to entrap the Souls of Chriſtians within the entanglements of their Law.

It is another Policy wherewith the *Mahometan* Sect hath been encreaſed, the accounting it a Principle of Religion, not to deliver a City or Fortreſs by conſent or voluntary ſurrender, where *Moſques* have been once built, and *Mahometaniſm* profeſſed. And therefore the *Turk* no ſooner enters a Town by Conqueſt, but immediately lays foundation for his Temples, thereby impoſing an obligation of an obſtinate and conſtant reſolution on the conſcience of the defendants, which many times hath been found to have been more forcible and prevalent on the ſpirits of men, than all the terrours and miſeries of Famine, Sword or other calamities.

It is well enough known upon what different intereſts Chriſtianity and *Mahometaniſm* were introduced into the World; the firſt had no other enforcements, than the perſuaſions and Sermons of a few poor Fiſhermen, verified with Miracles, Signs and Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt; carrying before it the promiſes of another life, and conſiderations of a glorified ſpirituality in a ſtate of ſeparation; but the way to it was obſtructed with the oppoſition of Emperours and Kings, with ſcorn and contempt, with perſecution and death; and this was all the encouragement propoſed to Mankind to embrace this Faith: but *Mahometaniſm* made its way with the Sword; what knots of Argument he could not untie, he cut, and made his ſpiritual power as large as his temporal; made his precepts eaſie and pleaſant, and acceptable to the fancy and appetite, as well as to the capacity of the vulgar: repreſenting Heaven to them, not in a ſpiritual manner, or with delights unexpreſſible, and raviſhments known onely in part to illuminated Souls; but with groſs conceptions of the beauty of Women with great Eyes, of the duration of one act of Carnal copulation for the ſpace of ſixty years, and of the beaſtly ſatisfaction of a gluttonous Palate; things abſurd and ridiculous to wiſe and knowing Men; but yet capable to draw multudes of its profeſſours, and carnal defenders of its verity. And this Doctrine being irrational to the better ſort of judgments, cauſes the Lawyers, who are men of the ſubtileſt capacities amongſt the *Turks*, to miſtruſt much of the truth of the Doctrine of *Mahomet*; eſpecially the aſſertions relating to the condition of the other life. For the repreſentation of the delights of the next World, in a corporeal and ſenſual manner, being inconſiſtent with their reaſon, leads them to doubt the truth of that point; and ſo wavering with one ſcruple, proceed to a miſtruſt of the whole Syſtem of the *Mahometan* Faith. One would think that in ſuch men a way were prepared for the entertainment of a Religion, erected on more ſolid principles and foundations; and that the Jews might gain ſuch Proſelytes to their Law, from which a great part of the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition was borrowed; or that the Chriſtians might take advantage in ſo well diſpoſed ſubjects, to produce ſomething of the Myſtery of Godlineſs. But the firſt are a people ſo obnoxious to ſcorn and contempt, eſteemed by the *Turks* to be the ſcum of the World, and the worſt of men; that it is not probable their Doctrine can gain a reputation with thoſe, to whom their very perſons and bloud are vile and deteſtable; nor is it likely the Chriſtians will ever be received by them with greater Authority, and more favourable inclination, untill they acquit themſelves of the ſcandal of Idolatry, which the Images and Pictures in their Churches ſeem to accuſe them of in the eyes and judgment of the *Turks*, who are not verſed in the ſubtile diſtinctions of Schoolmen, in the limitations and reſtrictions of that Worſhip, and the evaſions of their Doctours, matters not onely ſufficient to puzzle and diſtract the groſs heads of *Turks*, but to ſtrain the wits of learned Chriſtians to clear them from that imputation.

But to return to our purpoſe. The propagation of the *Mahometan* Faith having been promoted wholly by the Sword, that perſuaſion and principle in their Catechiſm, that the Souls of thoſe who die in the Wars againſt the Chriſtians, without the help of previous acts of performance of their Law, or other Works, are immediately tranſported to Paradiſe, muſt neceſſarily whet the Swords and raiſe the Spirits of the Soldiers; which is the reaſon that ſuch Multitudes of them (as we read in Hiſtory) run evidently to their own Slaughter, eſteeming their Lives and Bodies at no greater price than the value of Stones and Rubbiſh to fill Rivulets and Ditches, that they may but erect a Bridge or Paſſage for their fellows to aſſault their Enemies.

The ſucceſs of the *Mahometan* Arms produced another argument for the confirmation of their Faith, and made it a Principle, That whatſoever proſpers, hath God for the Authour; and by how much more ſucceſsfull have been their Wars, by ſo much the more hath God been an owner of their Cauſe and Religion. And the ſame argument (if I am not miſtaken) in the times of the late Rebellion in *England*, was made uſe of by many, to intitle God to their Cauſe, and make him the Authour of their thriving Sin, becauſe their wickedneſs proſpered, and could trample on all holy and humane Rights with impunity. And I have known that the *Romaniſts* have judged the Afflictions and almoſt Subverſion of the Church of *England*, to be a token of God's deſertion and diſclaim of her Profeſſion; forgetting the Perſecutions and Martyrdoms of the Primitive Saints, and that the Church of God is built in Sorrow and eſtabliſhed with patience and paſſive Graces: but theſe men rather than want an argument, their malice will uſe the weapons of Infidels to oppugn the truth. And on this ground, the *Turks* ſo horribly deteſt and abhor the *Jews*, calling them the forſaken of God, becauſe they are Vagabonds over all the World, and have no Temporal Authority to protect them: And though according to the beſt enquiry I could make, that report is not true, That they permit not a *Jew* to become a *Turk*, but by turning a Chriſtian firſt, as a nearer ſtep and previous diſpoſition to the *Muſſelman's* Faith; yet it is certain they will not receive the Corps of a Renegado *Jew* into their Cemeteries or place of Burial: and the *Jews* on the other ſide diſowning any ſhare or part in him, his loathed Carkaſs is thrown into ſome Grave diſtant from other Sepulchres, as unworthy the Society of all Mankind.

CHAP. IV.

The Power and Office of the Mufti's, *and of their Government in Religious Matters.*

THE *Mufti* is the principal head of the *Mahometan* Religion, or Oracle of all doubtfull queſtions in the Law, and is a perſon of great eſteem and reverence amongſt the *Turks*; his Election is ſolely in the Grand Signior, who chuſes a man to that office always famous for his Learning in the Law, and eminent for his vertues and ſtrictneſs of Life; his Authority is ſo great amongſt them, that when he paſſes Judgment or Determination in any point, the Grand Signior himſelf will in no wiſe contradict or oppoſe it.

The Title which the Grand Signior gives unto the *Mufti*, when he writes to him, is,

> *To the Eſad, who art the Wiſeſt of the Wiſe, inſtructed in all Knowledge, the moſt Excellent of Excellent, abſtaining from things Unlawfull, the Spring of Vertue, and True Science, Heir of the Prophetick and Apoſtolical Doctrines, Reſolver of the Problems of Faith, Revealer of the Orthodox Articles, Key of the Treaſures of Truth, the Light to Doubtfull Allegories ſtrengthened with the grace of the Supreme Aſſiſtour, and Legiſlatour of Mankind. May the moſt High God perpetuate thy Vertues.*

His power is not compulſory, but onely reſolving and perſuaſive in matters both Civil and Criminal, and of State: his manner of reſolves is by writing; the queſtion being firſt ſtated in Paper briefly and ſuccinctly, he underneath ſubſcribes his ſentence by Yes, or No, or in ſome other ſhort Determination called a *Fetſa*, with the addition of theſe words, *God knows better*; by which it is apparent that the Determinations of the *Mufti* are not eſteemed infallible. This being brought to the *Cadee* or Judge, his Judgment is certainly regulated according thereunto, and Law Suits of the greateſt moment concluded in an hour, without Arreſts of Judgment, Appeals, or other dilatory Arts of the Law.

In matters of State the *Sultan* demands his opinion, whether it be in Condemnation of any great man to Death, or in making War or Peace, or other important Affairs of the Empire; either to appear the more juſt and religious, or to incline the People more willingly to Obedience. And this practice is uſed in buſineſs of greateſt moment; ſcarce a Viſier is proſcribed, or a *Paſhaw* for pretence of crime diſplaced, or any matter of great alteration or change deſigned, but the Grand Signior arms himſelf with the *Mufti's* Sentence; for the nature of man repoſes more ſecurity in innocence and actions of Juſtice, than in the abſolute and uncontrollable power of the Sword. And the Grand Signior, though he himſelf is above the Law, and is the Oracle and Fountain of Juſtice, yet it is ſeldom that he proceeds ſo irregularly to contemn that Authority wherein their Religion hath placed an ultimate power of Deciſion in all their Controverſies.

But ſometimes perhaps Queries are ſent from the Grand Signior to the *Mufti*, which he cannot reſolve with ſatisfaction of his own Conſcience, and the ends of the *Sultan*; by which means affairs important to the well being of the State, meet delays and impediment; In this caſe the *Mufti* is fairly diſmiſſed from his infallible office, and another Oracle introduced, who may reſolve the difficult demands with a more favourable Sentence; if not, he is degraded like the former, and ſo the next, untill one is found apt to Propheſie according to what may beſt agree with the intereſt of his Maſter. This Office was in paſt times eſteemed more ſacred by the *Ottoman* Princes than at preſent; for no War was undertaken, or great Enterprize ſet on foot, but firſt like the Oracle or *Augur*, his Determination with great Reverence was required as that without which no bleſſing or ſucceſs could be expected; but in theſe days they are more remiſs in this manner of Conſultation; ſometimes it is done for formality; but moſt commonly the Prime Viſier conceited of his own Judgment and Authority, aſſumes the Power to himſelf, and perhaps firſt does the thing, and afterwards demands the Approbation of it by the ſenſe of the Law.

And herein the *Mufti* hath a ſpacious Field for his Interpretation; for it is agreed that their Law is temporary, and admits of Expoſitions according to times and ſtate of things: And though they Preach to the People the perfection of their *Alchoran*; yet the wiſer men hold, that the *Mufti* hath an expoſitory power of the Law to improve and better it, according to the ſtate of things, times and conveniencies of the Empire; for that their Law was never deſigned to be a clog or confinement to the propagation of Faith, but an advancement thereof, and therefore to be interpreted in the largeſt and fartheſt fetched ſenſe, when the ſtrict words will not reach the deſign intended.

So it was once propounded to the *Mufti*, what rule ſhould be obſerved in the devotion of a *Turk* carried Slave into the Northern parts of the World, where in Winter is but one hour of day, how he might poſſibly comply with his obligation of making prayers five times within the twenty four hours; *viz.* Morning, Noon, Afternoon, Sunſet, and at an hour and half in the Night; when the whole day being but of one hour, admitted of none of theſe diſtinctions; for reſolution of which, the *Mufti* anſwered, that God commanded not things difficult as it is in the *Alchoran*, and that matters ought to be ordered in conformity to time and place, and making ſhort Prayers once before day, then twice in the hour of light, and twice after it is dark, the duty is complied with.

Another queſtion of the ſame nature was propoſed to the *Mufti*, concerning the *Kiblah* or holy place of *Mecha*, to which they are obliged to turn their faces in their Prayers; how at Sea where they had no mark, eſpecially bad Geographers as commonly the *Turks* are, it is poſſible to comply with that neceſſary formality required in their devotion; the *Mufti* reſolved this doubt almoſt like the former, preſcribing a kind of circular motion in prayers, by which means they cannot miſs of having at ſome time their faces towards the holy City, which in a caſe of ſo much difficulty is a ſufficient compliance with the duty.

Many caſes of this nature are propoſed to the *Mufti*; and many particular rules of Conſcience required, one of which is remarkable, that *Buſbequius* relates, that occurred in his time during the Wars between the Emperour of *Germany*, and *Sultan Solyman*: Whether a few Chriſtians taken Captives by the Grand Signior, might be exchanged with many *Turks* in the hand of the Emperour. It ſeems the *Mufti* was greatly perplexed and puzzled in the reſolution; for ſometimes it ſeemed a diſeſteem to the value of a *Turk* to be rated under the price of a Chriſtian; on the other ſide, it appeared want of charity and care of the intereſt of the *Muſſelmans* to neglect real terms of advantage on ſuch airy and ſubtile points of formality. In fine, he conſulted his Books, and declared that he found two different Authours of great Authority of contradictory opinions in this controverſie; and therefore his Judgment was to incline to that which had moſt of favour and mercy in it. The *Mufti* whilſt qualified with that title, is rarely put to death, but firſt degraded, and then becomes liable to the ſtroke of the Executioner; but in caſes of notorious crimes or conviction of Treaſon, he is put in a Mortar for that intent remaining in the Priſon called the *Seven Towers* at *Conſtantinople*, and therein beaten to death, and brayed to the contuſion of all his bones and fleſh.

The next Office to the *Mufti* is *Kadeleſchere* or Judge of the Militia, otherwiſe Judge Advocate, who hath yet power of determination in any other Law Suits whatſoever; for this privilege the Souldiery of this Country enjoys, to have power extenſive over all other conditions of people, but to be onely ſubject themſelves to the Government of their own Officers; this Office a *Mufti* muſt neceſſarily paſs through, and diſcharge with approbation before he aſcends the top and height of his Preferment.

The next inferiour degree is a *Mollah*; and theſe are of two ſorts, one of Three hundred Aſpers, and the other of Five hundred Aſpers, ſo called for diſtinction ſake; the firſt ſort are principal Judges in petty Provinces, containing under them the command of *Kadees* of poor and inconſiderable places; the others have their juriſdiction over the whole dominion of a *Beglerbeg*, and have the *Kadees* of ſeveral rich and renowned places under their Government: theſe riſe often to the *Mufti's* Office, but proceed by ſeveral degrees and ſteps, and muſt firſt gradually command where the Imperial Seats have been, as firſt to be *Mollah* in *Pruſa*, then in *Adrianople*, and laſtly in *Conſtantinople*, at which time he is next to the Office of *Kadeleſchere*, and thence to that of the *Mufti*.

The *Sultan*, when he writes to any of his *Mollahs*, or *Kadees* of the firſt degree, he uſes this following ſtyle,

> *To the moſt perfect judge of the Faithfull, the beſt Preſident of Believers in God, the Mine of Vertue and True Knowledge, the Diſtributer of all juſt Sentence to all Humane Creatures, Heirs of the Prophetick, and Apoſtolick Doctrines, elected by the ſingular Grace of God for our Governour and Judge, of whoſe Vertues may they ever flouriſh.*

Theſe and *Kadees*, which are the lower and ordinary ſort of Judges, are as much to be reckoned in the number of religious men as the *Mufti* himſelf: for as I have ſaid before, the Civil Law of the *Turks* is conceived by them to be derived from their Prophet, and the other Expoſitours of their Law with as much engagement and obligation as theſe which immediately concern the Divine Worſhip: and therefore are to be treated and handled together.

The *Emaums* or Parochial Prieſts, muſt be able to read in the *Alchoran*, and be counted men of good fame and moral lives amongſt their Neighbours, before they can be promoted to this Function; and muſt be one of thoſe who have learned at the appointed times of prayer to call the people together on the top of the Steeple, by repeating theſe words, *Allah ekber, Allah ekber, Eſchedu enla Ilahe illallah we eſchedu enne Mahammed reſul:* [illegible] *Heie ala Selah heie ala Felah Allahekber, allahekber, la Ilahe illallah*, that is, God is great, God is great, I profeſs that there is no Deity but God, and confeſs that *Mahomet* is the Prophet of God ; in this manner the people of a Pariſh recommending any to the Prime Viſier, declaring that the former *Emaum* is dead, and the Office vacant, and that this perſon is qualified in all points to the Function or better and more knowing than the preſent Incumbent ; he receives immediate induction and eſtabliſhment in the place ; but for better proof or tryal of the truth of the teſtimony that accompanies him, he is enjoyned to read in preſence of the Viſier ſome part of the *Alcboran*, which being done, he is diſmiſſed and approved, and takes the Viſier's *Teſchere* or *Mandamus* for the place.

This is all the Ceremony required in making an *Emaum* ; for there is no new Character or ſtate of Prieſthood (as they hold) conferred upon them, nor are they a different ſort diſtinguiſhed from the people by holy Orders or Rites, but meerly by the preſent office they manage ; when being diſplaced, they are again numbred with the Laity : their Habit is nothing different from others, but onely that they wear a large Turbant like the Lawyers, with ſome little variety in folding it up, and put on a grave and ſerious Countenance. Their Office is to call the People to Prayers, and at due hours to be their Leader in the *Moſque*, and to read and repeat upon *Fridays* certain Sentences or Verſes out of the *Alcboran* ; few of them adventure to Preach, unleſs he be well conceited or really well gifted, but leave that office to the *Soigh*, or him that makes Preaching his Profeſſion, who is one commonly that paſſes his time in the Convents, that we ſhall hereafter treat of.

The *Mufti* hath no Juriſdiction over the *Emaums*, as to the good order or government of the Pariſhes, nor is there any Superiority or Hierarchy as to rule amongſt them ; every one being Independent and without controll in his own Pariſh, excepting his Subjection in Civil and Criminal Cauſes to the chief Magiſtrates ; and conſidering the manner of their Deſignation to the Religious Office, the little difference between the Clergy and the Laity, and the manner of their ſingle Government in Parochial Congregations, may not unhappily ſeem to ſquare with the Independency in *England*, from which Original pattern and example our Sectaries and Phanatick Reformers appear to have drawn their Copy.

The Church-men and Lawyers are greatly in eſteem amongſt them, as is apparent by the Title they uſe towards them in their Writings and Commands, directed to them in this manner ; *You that are the glory of the Judges and Sagemen, the profound Mines of Eloquence and Excellence, may your Wiſedom and Ability be augmented.*

CHAP. V.

Of the Mufti*'s Revenue, and from whence it doth ariſe.*

AFter the *Mufti* is elected, there is no Ceremony us'd in his Inveſture than this ; he preſents himſelf before the Grand Signior, who Cloaths him with a Veſt of rich Sables of One thouſand Dollars price, and one thouſand more he preſents him with in Gold made up in a Handkerchief, which he delivers with his own Hand, putting it in the fold of his under Garment doubled over his breaſt, and beſtows on him a Salary of Two thouſand Aſpers a day, which is about Five pound Sterling money ; beſides which he hath no certain Revenue, unleſs it be the power of Preferment to ſome Prebendaries or Benefices of certain Royal *Moſques*, which he ſells and diſpoſes of as is beſt to his advantage without the ſcruple of corruption or Simony.

By the ſentences he gives which they call *Fetfas*, he receives not one Aſper benefit ; though every *Fetfa* coſts eight Aſpers, yet the Fee thereof goes to his Officers ; that is, to his *Muſewedegi*, or he who ſtates the queſtion, is paid five Aſpers ; to his *Mumeiz*, or he who Copies or Tranſcribes the queſtion fair, two Aſpers ; to him that keeps the Seal, one Aſper.

Other benefits the *Mufti* hath little, excepting onely that at his firſt entrance to his office, he is ſaluted by all Ambaſſadours and Reſidents for foreign Princes ; as alſo the Agents of ſeveral *Paſhaws* reſiding at the Port, none of which come empty-handed but offer their accuſtomed Preſents, by which he collects at leaſt Fifty thouſand Dollars.

When any *Mufti* is deprived of his Office without any other motive than the pleaſure of the Grand Signior, he is gratified with an *Arpalick*, which is the diſpoſal of ſome judicial Preferment in certain Provinces, and the ſuperintendency of them, from which he gathers a competent Revenue for his maintenance.

And becauſe he is a perſon whoſe advice and counſel is of great Authority with the Grand Signior and Viſier, and that his word and candid report of matters is conſiderable, and his favour in ſentences very eſtimable ; he is therefore courted by all the Grandees of the Empire, who know no other way of reconciling and purchaſing the affections of a *Turk*, than by force of Preſents, which have more of power in them, than all other obligations or merits in the World.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Emirs.

WE may here bring in the *Emirs*, otherwiſe called *Eulad Reſul*, into the number of the Religious men, becauſe they are of the Race of *Mahomet*, who for diſtinction ſake, wear about their heads Turbants of a deep Sea-green, which is the colours of their Prophet ; out of reverence to his eſteemed holy Bloud, many privileges are indulged by the ſecular Authority, that they cannot be villified, affronted or ſtruck by a *Turk* upon forfeiture of his right Hand ; but leſt they ſhould be licentious by his impunity, they have a chief Head or Superiour amongſt them, called *Nakib Eſchref*, who hath his Serjeants or Officers under him, and is endued with ſo abſolute a power over them, that as he pleaſes it extends both to Life and Death ; but he never will give the ſcandal to this holy Seed, to execute or puniſh them publickly. And though few of them can derive his Genealogy clearly from *Mahomet* : yet thoſe who can but onely pretend to it, are often helped out in their Pedegree ; as often as the *Nakib* deſires to favour any Perſon, or can have any colour to acquire a new Subject ;

jects; and then to clear all ſcruple from the World, he gives him a Tree of his Lineage and Deſcent. The *Turks* being well acquainted with this abuſe, carry the leſs reſpect to the whole Generation; ſo that as often as they find any of them drunk or diſordered, they make no ſcruple to take off their Green Turbants firſt, Kiſſing them and laying them aſide with all reverence, and afterwards beat them without reſpect or mercy.

Their ſecond Officer is called *Alemdar*, who carries the Green Flag of *Mahomet*, when the Grand Signior appears with any Solemnity in publick; they are capable of any Offices; few of them exerciſe any Trade, unleſs that which is *Eſirgi*, or one who deals in Slaves, to which ſort of Traffick this Sainted Off ſpring is greatly addicted, as being a holy Profeſſion to captivate and enſlave Chriſtians. Theſe are the moſt abominable *Sodomites* and abuſers of Maſculine youth in the World, in which ſin againſt nature they exceed the foulneſs and deteſtable Luſt of a *Tartar*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Endowments of Royal Moſches, *and in what manner Tithes are given for Maintenance of their Prieſts and Religion.*

THE *Turks* are very magnificent in their *Moſches* and Edifices erected to the honour and ſervice of God, and not onely in the Buildings, but in the Endowments of them, with a Revenue which Records the Memory of the Donor to all Poſterity, and relieves many poor who daily repeat Prayers for the Souls of ſuch who died with a perſuaſion that they have need of them after their deceaſe; for thoſe I ſay who dye of that belief; for the condition of the Soul, untill the day of Judgment is controverted amongſt the *Turks*, and the queſtion not decided as a matter of Faith, or as revealed or determined by the *Alchoran*. For ſo large benevolence is given to places deſtined to God's ſervice, that as ſome compute, one third of the Lands of the whole Empire are allotted and ſet out to a holy uſe; much to the ſhame of thoſe who pretend to the name of Chriſtians, and yet judge the ſmalleſt proportion to be too large a competence for thoſe who ſerve at the Altar.

The principal *Moſches* and thoſe of richeſt endowment (as in all reaſon ought) are thoſe of Royal Foundation, called in *Turkiſh Selatin Giameleri*; over which the Prime Superintendent is the *Kuzlir Aga*, or the chief Black Eunuch of the *Sultan*'s Women; and in his power it is to diſtribute all conſiderable offices of Eccleſiaſtical Preferment relating to the Royal *Moſches*, which office makes a conſiderable addition to his Power and Revenue: for there are many of thoſe *Moſches* in divers places of the Empire; but eſpecially where the *Sultans* do or have reſided, as *Pruſa*, *Adrianople* and *Conſtantinople*.

The Royal *Moſches* of *Conſtantinople* are *Santa Sophia*; *Sultan Mahomet*, who Conquered this City, *Sultan Bajazet*, *Sultan Selim*, *Sultan Solyman*, *Schezade*, or the Son of *Sultan Solyman*, *Sultan Ahmet*, and three other *Moſches* built by the Queen-Mothers, one of which was lately erected and richly endowed by the Mother of this preſent *Sultan*.

I ſhall ſcarce adventure to acquaint my Reader with the particular Revenue belonging to all theſe Royal Edifices, but certain it is they have Rents as noble and ſplendid as their Founders; for example of which, I ſhall inſtance onely in that of *Santa Sophia*, built by *Juſtinian* the Emperour, and rebuilt by *Theodoſius*, and was the Metropolis of old *Bizantium*, and the Mother-Church belonging to the Patriarchal See of *Greece*, is ſtill conſerved ſacred and ſeparated for uſe of Divine Service; of the Revenue of which, *Mahometan* Barbariſm and Superſtition hath made no Sacrilegious Robbery, but maintained, and improved, and added to it in that manner, that the Income may equal any Religious foundation of Chriſtendom; for when I had the Curioſity of procuring from the Regiſters of that Church diſtinctly all the particular Gifts, Benefices, Lands, Monies at Intereſt, and other Endowments belonging thereunto, and offered according to my ability ſomething conſiderable, to have a true Copy of the Riches and annual Rent of the place; the Keepers of thoſe Liſts would perſuade me (whether out of oſtentation, or ſcruple of ſin to make one of my Faith acquainted with the particulars of their Religious offerings) that the Wealth, Rent, and Account of all thoſe Royal Endowments are ſo many, that as they are diſtinctly ſet down, fill a Volume, and the knowledge of them is the ſtudy alone of thoſe who are deſigned to this ſervice; but in general I am given to underſtand, by thoſe who magnifie not matters beyond their due computation, That the Revenue amounts to about One hundred thouſand *Zechins* a year: which proceeds not from any Lands or Duties raiſed without the Walls of the City, but all from within: the *Sultan* himſelf being a Tenant to that place; paying or acknowledging a Rent of One thouſand and one Aſper a day for the ground which the *Seraglio* ſtands on, being in times of the Chriſtian Emperours ſome part of the Sanctuary or Gardens dedicated to the uſe of that ſtately Temple, which the *Turks* eſteemed Sacrilegious to ſeparate intirely from the holy ſervice to which it was aſſigned; though the admirable ſituation thereof rendreth it unfit for other habitation, than the enjoyment of the *Sultan*; and did therefore think fit to oblige the Land to a Rent, adding the odd Aſper as a ſignification, that the thouſand Aſpers were not a ſufficient conſideration for the uſe of the Church Lands; and might therefore be augmented as the piety and devotion of ſucceeding Emperours ſhould move them.

It is reported by the *Turks*, that *Conſtantinople* was taken upon *Wedneſday*: and that on the *Friday* following (which is their *Sunday* or *Sabbath*, as we call it) the victorious *Sultan*, then firſt entitled Emperour, went with all Magnificent pomp and ſolemnity to pay his thankſgiving and devotions at the Church of *Sancta Sophia*; the Magnificence ſo pleaſed him, that he immediately added a yearly Rent of 10000 *Zechins* to the former Endowments, for the maintenance of *Imaums* or Prieſts, Doctours of their Law, *Taliſmans* and others, who continually attend there for the education of youth, teaching them to read and write, inſtructing them alſo in the principles of their Law and Religion.

Other Emperours have ſince that time erected near unto it their *Turbem* or Chapels of Burial, in one of which lies *Sultan Selim*, ſirnamed *Sarhoſe*, or the Drunken, with his one hundred Children, and therewith have conferred a maintenance of Oil for Lamps and Candles which burn day and night, and a proviſion for thoſe who attend there in prayer for their Souls departed; to which opinion the *Turks* (as I have ſaid already) are generally inclinable, though not preached or enforced on any man's belief as an Article of Faith. Over and above this expence, there is daily proviſion made for relief of a multitude of poor, who at certain hours appear at the Gates of the Temple, and receive their daily ſuſtenance; whatſoever advances, as yearly great Sums are laid up in the Treaſury, is numbred with the Riches of the *Moſch*, and remains for the ſervice of that place, as for the reparation or building thereof, in caſe of fire or other accidents.

Beſides the ſumptuous Edifices of the body of the Royal *Moſchs*, there are annexed unto them certain Colleges for Students in the Law called *Tehmele*, out-houſes or Kitchens where the poors Meat is dreſſed, Hoſpitals called *Timarhanelar*, *Hans*, or Houſes of Lodgings for Strangers or Travellers, publick Fountains, Shops for Artizans, and whole Streets of low Cottages for habitation of the poor, whoſe ſtock reaches not to a higher Rent.

All theſe Appendages bring ſome Revenue to the *Moſch*, which is conſtantly paid in to the Rector or Preſident thereof, called *Mutevelli*; but becauſe this is not a ſufficient maintenance, there are divers Lands, Villages, Mountains, Woods, and whole Countries aſſigned to this uſe, called *Wakſi*, which are hired out at certain Rents for the behoof and benefit of the *Moſchs*; ſome Rents being paid in Corn, others in Oil, and all ſorts of Proviſions; and out of every new Conquered Countrey, ſome part thereof is aſſigned to the uſe of *Moſchs* of modern Fabrick; as now from the Countrey gained lately about *Newhauſell* (which as I am informed from thoſe who gave in the account to the Grand Signior, there are 2000 Villages which pay Contribution to the *Turk*) are aſſigned certain Lands for encreaſe of the Rent of the *Moſchs* built at *Conſtantinople* by this preſent Queen-Mother: which Rents are ſometimes raiſed by the way of Tenths or Tithes, not that the *Turk* makes Tithes a duty or Rule for the maintenance of perſons, places, and things conſecrated to Divine Service, but as they find it a convenient and equal expedient in ſome Countries for leviation of their Rents. Such Countries and Villages as theſe which are called *Wakſi*, are greatly bleſſed and happy above others, in regard that the Inhabitants enjoy not onely particular privileges and immunities from thence, but freedom likewiſe from oppreſſion of *Paſhaws* and the *Turkiſh* Souldiery in their march, or of great Perſons in their journey or paſſage from one Countrey to another, who out of reverence to that lot to which they are ſeparated, abſtain from all kind of diſturbance and abuſe towards that people.

Other *Moſchs* of inferiour quality, founded by private perſons and the conſents of *Derviſes* and other Orders, which cannot have their Revenues in Land like the *Moſchs* of Royal Foundation, have their Eſtates in Money bequeathed by Teſtament or by Gift of the Living, which being lent out at eighteen in the hundred *per annum*, produces a conſtant Rent; and though Intereſt for the moſt part is forbidden by the *Mahometan* Law, yet for the uſes of *Moſchs* and ſupport of Orphans it is allowed; in all other caſes is *Haram* and abominable. And becauſe the taking up of Money upon Loan is in ſome manner neceſſary and conducing to the better ſubſiſtence and being of Trade, and that men will not lend without a conſideration or benefit; the uſual manner is to borrow Money for a certain time, and in the Writing or Obligation to acknowledge the receipt of as much as the Principal and Intereſt may amount unto, and oftentimes double of the Capital ſumm; which being delivered before witneſs in a Bag or in Groſs, the Creditor declaring the ſumm to be ſo much therein contained, and the Debtor acknowledging it, the Teſtimony is valid when the Debt comes to be demanded. And thus much ſhall ſerve in brief to have declared concerning the Endowments and Manner of enriching the *Turkiſh Moſchs*, from whence the Conſtitution of others of the like nature may eaſily be collected.

CHAP. VIII.

The Nature of Predeſtination according to the Turkiſh Doctours.

THE Doctrine of the *Turks* in this point ſeems to run exactly according to the Aſſertion of the ſevereſt *Calviniſts*; and in proof hereof their Learned men produce places of Scripture, which ſeem to encline to the ſame Opinion. As, *ſhall the Veſſel ſay to the Potter, Why haſt thou made me thus? I will harden the heart of* Pharaoh; Jacob *have I loved, and* Eſau *have I hated*, and the like. For the *Turks* attribute no ſmall Reverence and Authority to the Old Teſtament, as wrote by Divine Inſpiration; but that the *Alcoran* being of later date, and containing the Will of God more expreſly and perfectly, the former is now abrogated, and gives place unto this.

Some are ſo poſitive in this aſſertion, that they are not fraid to ſay that God is the Authour of Evil, without diſtinction or evaſions to acquit the Divine Purity of the foulneſs of ſin according to the Doctrine of the *Manichees*. And all in general concur in this concluſion, That whatſoever proſpers, hath God for the Author; which was the reaſon they deſtroyed not *Bajazet*'s Children during the time of his War againſt his Brother *Selymus*, expecting to receive an undoubted argument of the Will of God therein, from the good or bad fortune of the Father. And from the ſame rule they conclude much of the Divine approbation and truth of their Religion, from their Conqueſts and preſent Proſperity.

They are of opinion, that every man's deſtiny is writ in his forehead, which they call *Naſip*, or *Tacdir*, which is the Book writ in Heaven of every man's fortune, and is by no contrary endeavours, counſels or wiſedom to be avoided; which Tenet is ſo firmly radicated in the minds of the Vulgar, that it cauſes the Souldiers brutiſhly to throw away their lives in the deſperate attempts, and to eſteem no more of their bodies, than as dirt or rubbiſh to fill up the Trenches of the Enemy: And to ſpeak the truth, this received aſſertion hath turned as much to account to the *Turks*, as any other their beſt and ſubtleſt Maxims.

According to this Doctrine, none ought to avoid or fear the Infection of the Plague; *Ma-*

homets precepts being not to abandon the City-houſe where the Infection rages, becauſe God hath numbred their days, and predeſtinated their fate; and upon this belief, they as familiarly attend the Beds, and frequent the company of Peſtilential perſons, as we do thoſe that are affected with the Gout, Stone, or Ague. And though they evidently ſee that Chriſtians, who fly into better Airs, and from infected habitations, ſurvive the fury of the years Peſtilence, when whole Cities of them periſh and are depopulated with the Diſeaſe; yet ſo far is this opinion rooted amongſt them, that they ſcruple not to ſtrip the contagious ſhirt from the dead body, and to put it on their own, nor can they remove their abode from the Chambers of the ſick; it being the cuſtome in the families of great Men to lodge many ſervants on different Palats in the ſame room, where the diſeaſed and healthfull lie promiſcuouſly together, from whence it hath happened often, that three parts of a *Paſhaws* Family, which perhaps hath conſiſted of Two hundred men, moſt youthfull and luſty, have periſhed in the heat of *July* and *Auguſts* Peſtilence. And in the ſame manner many whole Families every Summer have periſhed, and not one ſurvivor left to claim the inheritance of the houſe; for want of which the Grand Signior hath become the Proprietour,

Though the *Mahometan* Law obliges them not to abandon the City, nor their Houſes, nor avoid the converſation of men infected with the Peſtilence where their buſineſs or calling employs them: yet they are counſelled not to frequent a contagious habitation, where they have no lawfull affair to invite them. But yet I have obſerved in the time of an extraordinary Plague, that the *Turks* have not confided ſo much to the precept of their Prophet, as to have courage enough to withſtand the dread and terrour of that ſlaughter ſickneſs hath made: but have under other excuſes fled to retired and private Villages, eſpecially the *Cadees* and men of the Law, who being commonly of more refined wits and judgments than the generality, both by reaſon and experience have found that a wholeſome Air is a preſerver of life, and that they have lived to return again to their own houſe in health and ſtrength, when perhaps their next Neighbours have through their brutiſh ignorance been laid in their Graves, And this is the opinion moſt general and current with the *Turks*, who are called *Jabare*: There is another ſort amongſt them called *Kadere*.

CHAP. IX.

The difference of Sects and diſagreement in Religion amongſt the Turks *in general.*

THere is no conſideration more abſtruſe and full of diſtraction, than the contemplation of the moſt ſtrange variety of Religions in the World: how it is poſſible that from the rational Soul of man, which in all Mankind is of little difference in it ſelf, and from that one principle, which is the adoration of a Deity, ſhould proceed ſuch diverſities of Faiths, ſuch Figments and Ideas of God, that all Ages and Countries have abounded with ſuperſtitions of different natures: And it is ſtrange to conſider, that Nations who have been admirably wiſe, judicious and profound in the Maxims of their Government, ſhould yet in matters of Religion give themſelves over to believe the Tales of an old Woman, a *Pythoneſs*, or the dreams and imaginations of a melancholy *Heremit*. And it is as ſtrange that men who embrace the ſame Principles in Religion, and have the ſame true and infallible Foundation, ſhould yet raiſe ſuch different and diſproportionate Fabricks, that moſt ſhould make their Superſtructure of Straw and Stubble, and but few of a ſubſtantial and durable Building, without uniformity, harmony or agreement each to other. For reſolution of which difficulties, nothing can be ſaid more than *that the God of this World* 2
hath blinded the hearts of them that believe not, leſt the light of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt who is the Image of God, ſhould ſhine unto them.

The *Mahometan* Religion is alſo one of the prodigious products of Reaſons Superfetations, which hath brought forth nothing good, nor rational in this production, more than the Confeſſion of one God. And yet even herein alſo are diverſities of Sects, Opinions and Orders, which are maintained in oppoſition each to other, with Emulation and Zeal by the Profeſſours, with heats, diſputes and ſeparations, terming the contrary parties prophane and unholy; the particulars of which Sects and diverſity in their Tenents, I ſhall as far as I have ſeen or could learn, ſet down and deſcribe, having with the more curioſity and diligence made the ſtricter Enquiry, becauſe I have not read any Authour which hath given a ſatisfactory account of ſuch Sects as are ſprung up amongſt them in theſe latter and modern times.

It is a common opinion, that there are ſeventy two ſects amongſt the *Turks*, but it is probable there are many more, if the matter were exactly known and ſcanned. The *Turkiſh* Doctours fanſie that the ſeventy two Nations which they call (*Tetmiſh ekee Melet*) into which the World was divided upon the Confuſion of the Languages of *Babel*, was a Type and a Figure of the diviſions which in after-Ages ſhould ſucceed in the three moſt general Religions of the World. In this manner they account ſeventy different Sects among the Jews, ſeventy one amongſt the Chriſtians, and to the *Mahometan* they aſſign one more, as being the laſt and ultimate Religion, in which, as all fulneſs of true Doctrine is compleated, ſo the Myſtery of iniquity, and the deviation of mans judgment, by many paths from the right rule,* is here terminated and confined.

The *Turks* have amongſt themſelves as well as in other Religious, Sects and Hereſies of dangerous conſequence, which daily increaſe, mixing together with them many of the Chriſtian Doctrines (which ſhall in their due place be deſcribed) and in former times alſo a ſort of Fanatick *Mahometans* which at firſt met onely in Congregations under pretence of Sermons and Religion, appeared afterwards in Troops armed againſt the Government of the Empire.

So one *Scheiches Bedredin* Chief Juſtice of *Muſa*, Brother to *Mahomet* the Fifth King of the *Turks*; after the death of his Maſter, was baniſhed to *Nice* in *Aſia*, where conſulting with his ſervant *Burglaces Muſtapha*, by what means they might raiſe Sedition and a ſecond War; they agreed, the readieſt courſe was by broaching a new Sect and Religion, and by perſwading the people to ſomething contrary to the ancient *Mahometan* ſuperſtition. Whereupon *Burglaces* making his villany under a grave and ſerious countenance,

tenance, took his journey into *Aydinin*, otherwiſe *Caria*, where he vented Doctrines properly agreeing to the humours of the people, preaching to them Freedom and Liberty of Conſcience, and the Myſtery of Revelations, and you may believe he uſed all arts in his perſuaſions, with which Subjects uſed to be allured to a Rebellion againſt their Prince, ſo that in a ſhort time he contracted a great number of Diſciples beyond his expectation. *Bedredin* perceiving his Servant thrive ſo well with his Preaching, fled from his place of Exile at *Nice* into *Valachia*, where withdrawing himſelf into a Foreſt like a devout Religious man, gathered a number of Proſelytes compoſed of Thieves, Robbers and Out-lawed people; theſe he having inſtructed in the principles of his Religion, ſent abroad like Apoſtles to preach and teach the people that *Bedredin* was appointed by God to be the King of Juſtice, and Commander of the whole World; and that his Doctrine was already embraced in *Aſia*: The people taken with theſe Novelties, repaired in great numbers to *Bedredin*, who conceiving himſelf ſtrong enough to take the Field, iſſued from his deſart with Colours diſplayed, and an Army well appointed; and fighting with his deluded multitude a bloody Battel againſt thoſe Forces which *Mahomet* ſent to ſuppreſs him under his Son *Amurath*; the deluded Rebels were overthrown, *Bedredin* taken Priſoner, and his pretences of Sanctity and Revelation were not available to ſave him from the Gallows.

And thus we ſee that the name of God's cauſe, revelations, liberty, and the like, have been old and common pretences and deluſions of the World, and not onely Chriſtians, but *Infidels* and *Mahometans* have wrote the name of God on their Banners, and brought the pretence of Religion into the Field to juſtifie their cauſe.

CHAP. X.

Of the two prevailing Sects, viz. *Of* Mahomet *and* Hali; *that is, the* Turk *and the* Perſian; *the Errours of the* Perſian *recounted and confuted by the* Mufti *of* Conſtantinople.

THE two great Sects among the followers of *Mahomet*, which are moſt violent each againſt other, the mutual hatred of which diverſity of Education and Intereſt of the Princes have augmented, are the *Turks* and *Perſians*: The firſt hold *Mahomet* to have been the chief and ultimate Prophet; the latter prefer *Hali* before him; and though he was his Diſciple and ſucceeded him; yet his inſpirations they eſteem greater and more frequent, and his interpretations of the Law moſt perfect and Divine.

The *Turk* alſo accuſes the *Perſian* of corrupting the *Alchoran*, that they have altered words, miſplaced the Comma's and Stops, that many places admit of a doubtfull and ambiguous ſenſe; ſo that thoſe *Alchorans* which were upon the Conqueſt of *Babylon* brought thence to *Conſtantinople*, are ſeparated, and compiled in the great *Seraglio*, in a place apart, and forbidden with a Curſe on any that ſhall read them. The *Turks* call the *Perſians*, *Forſaken of God*, *abominable and blaſphemers of the Holy Prophet*; ſo that when *Selymus* the Firſt made War in *Perſia*, he named his Cauſe, the Cauſe of God, and proclaimed the occaſion and ground of his War to be the Vindication of the cauſe of the Prophet; and revenge of the blaſphemies the *Perſians* had vented againſt him; and ſo far is this hatred radicated, that the Youth of what Nation ſoever is capable of admittance into the Schools of the *Seraglio*, excepting onely the *Perſian*, who are looked upon by the *Turk* as a people ſo far Apoſtatized from the true Belief, and fallen into ſo deſperate an Eſtate by a total corruption of the true Religion, that they judge them altogether beyond hopes or poſſibility of recovery, and therefore neither give them quarter in the Wars, account them worthy of life or ſlavery.

Nor are the *Perſians* on the other ſide endued with better nature of good will to the *Turks*, eſtranging themſelves in the fartheſt manner from their Cuſtoms and Doctrines, rejecting the three great Doctours of the *Mahometan* Law, *viz.* *Ebbubecher*, *Oſman* and *Omar*, as Apochryphal and of no Authority; and have a Cuſtome at their Marriages to erect the Images of thoſe three Doctours of Paſte or Sugar at the entrance of the Bridal Chamber, on which the Gueſts firſt caſting their looks, leave the impreſſion of any ſecret Magick which may iſſue from their eyes, to the prejudice or misfortune of the Married Couple; for in the Eaſtern parts of the World they hold that there is a ſtrange faſcination innate to the eyes of ſome people, which looking attentively on any, as commonly they do on the Bridegroom and the Bride in Marriages, produce macerations and imbecillity in the body, and have an eſpecial quality contrary to procreation: and therefore when the Gueſts are entred, having the Malignity of their eyes Arreſted on theſe Statues, they afterwards cut them down and diſſolve them.

And that it may the more plainly appear what points of Religion are moſt controverted amongſt them, and what Anathema's and Curſes are by both ſides vented each againſt the other, this following ſentence paſſed by the *Mufti Eſad Efendi*, upon *Sehab Abbas* Tutor to the King of *Perſia*, called *Sari Halife*, and all the *Perſians*, will be a ſufficient teſtimony and evidence of the enmity and hatred that is between theſe two Nations; an Extract of which is here drawn from the Book it ſelf, licenſed and approved at *Conſtantinople*.

If you had, ſays he, no other Hereſie than the rejection of thoſe elevated familiars of *Mahomet*, viz. *Omar*, *Oſman* and *Ebbubecher*, your crime would notwithſtanding be ſo great as were not expiable by a thouſand years of Prayer or Pilgrimage in the ſight of God; but you would be condemned to the bottomleſs Abyſs of Hell, and deprived for ever of Celeſtial bliſs; and this ſentence of mine is confirmed by the ſame opinion of the *Imams*, viz. *Imam Azem*, *Imam Schafi*, *Imam Malick* and *Imam Hambeli*, and therefore I friendly admoniſh you to correct this errour in your ſelves, and likewiſe in your Scholar King *Abbas*.

Nor are you contented to paſs with this ſingle errour, whereby you have gained the name of *Kyzilbaſchi*, that is, *Perſian* Hereticks, but you are become as abominable as the *Durzi* (a people that lives about Mount *Libanus*) of bad eſteem and reputation, corrupted in all points of Doctrine and Manners; ſo that I cannot but paſs this black ſentence upon you, that it is lawfull in a Godly Zeal to kill and deſtroy you for the ſervice of God; your Tenents being refuted by

Giofer Efendi, who hath branded the *Perſian*, for *Pagans*, and in ſeventy ſeveral places of the *Alcoran*, and the very words of *Mahomet* demonſtrated the clearneſs of their errour.

If the Chriſtian onely for ſaying there is a Trinity in God is condemned for Life and Eſtate, why ſhould the *Perſian* expect better quarter, who is ſtigmatized for Hereſie in ſeventy places of the *Alcoran?* And one of your deteſtable opinions of the firſt rank is,

That you eſteem your ſelves obliged to aſſemble at the *Moſchs*, but not to Prayers: for what ſignifies your meeting, if not to Prayers? *Mahomet* himſelf ſays, That he who repairs to the Congregation without a deſign of Prayer, is a Hypocrite and a Diſſembler, is accurſed of God; nor ſhall be bleſſed in his Houſe or Eſtate, the good Angels ſhall abandon him, the Devils ſhall attend him, nor ſhall he ever proſper in this World, or in the World to come.

In anſwer hereunto you ſay, that the ancient Order of Prieſts is extinct, that you have none whoſe pious lives enable to preach and inſtruct you, or to be your leader to holy prayer in the Publick Aſſembly. Do there want pious and holy perſons of the Race of *Mahomet?* if there do not, why do not you imitate and follow them? but you are Enemies, and in open Hoſtility to the *Mahometan* Family, and excuſe your ſelves from the uſe of Prieſts or *Imams*, becauſe their innocence cannot equal that of Infants. In this point (it is true) you have ſomething of reaſon; for your *Imams* are not onely Infidels in Doctrine, but defiled in their converſation; and your King is your High Prieſt, frequents Stews, and the Styes of deformed Luſt, raviſhing fair and chaſt Wives from the embraces of their Huſbands; and that publickly in the face of the World, maintaining Concubinage with them. And where the example of a Prince makes ſuch things lawfull, his Subjects, whether Souldiers or Lawyers, will make no ſcruple to imitate his actions.

Chapter ſo called

You deny the Verſe called the *covering in the Alchoran*, to be authentick; you reject the eighteen Verſes, which are revealed to us for the ſake of the holy *Aiſche*.

The Wife of *Mahomet* ſo called.

At the *Abdeſt* or Waſhing, you hold it not lawfull to waſh the bare feet, but onely lightly ſtroke them over.

Your Muſtachioes or hair on the upper Lip you never cut, but the Beard on the Chin, which is the honeſt Ornament of a man's countenance, you cut and clip into what form you pleaſe.

That holy Colour of Green appropriated to the Banner of *Mahomet*, which ought onely to adorn the nobler parts, you in deſpight of the honour of the Prophet, with an irreverent negligence, place it on your Shooes and Breeches.

Wine, which is an abomination to the true obſervers of the Law, you drink freely of, without ſcruple of Conſcience; as alſo in Meats you make no diſtinction between clean and unclean, but uſe all with a like indifferency. In ſhort, ſhould I mention all thoſe ſeventy points wherein you err, and are without all compariſon corrupt and erroneous, I ſhould ſwell my writing to a Volume, and not attain my end, which is brevity.

Another ſinfull cuſtome you permit amongſt you, which is, for many Men to be joyned to one Woman; for to whom of them can be appropriated the Off-ſpring that is born? What book have you, or Law, or example of any Nation to produce in approbation of this vile and unnatural cuſtome? How vile muſt thoſe Children be who are the iſſue of ſuch Parents? that it is no wonder there be none found amongſt you worthy the holy Character of a Prieſt or a Judge.

But you cannot be ſo irrational, as to deny that the Aſſembling in *Moſchs* to prayer, is neceſſary to Divine Service; *Mahomet* himſelf prayed together with the people, and ſometimes preferred *Ebbecher* to celebrate the Divine Service, following him as others of the people did.

Why do not you ask your Pilgrims who came from *Mecha*, what mean theſe four Altars in the *Moſch*, which are the places of prayer deſigned to the four ſeveral Orthodox Sects? Why take you not example from theſe? But you are ſtill perverſe and obſtinate, haters of God and his Prophet; What will you anſwer at the day of Judgment before *Mahomet* and his four Friends? who long ſince being dead, you revive their Aſhes with ignominy, erecting their Statues at your Marriages in vulgar, and afterwards in contempt hew them down to yield paſtime and occaſion of laughter to the Spouſes and their Gueſts.

Was not the firſt converted to the Faith, *Ebubecher?*

Was not *Omar* the braveſt Champion of the *Mahometan* Religion againſt the Chriſtians?

Was not he who diſpoſed and diſtinguiſhed the Chapters of the *Alchoran*, the chaſt *Oſman?*

Was not the braveſt and moſt Learned bearer of the *Zulfekar*, or the Sword with two points, was it not *Hali?* And were not *Imam Haſſan*, and *Imam Huſein*, Martyrs of the Faith in the Deſarts of *Kerbela?*

Did not *Mahomet* ſay with his own mouth, O *Hali*, for thy ſake there are two ſorts of people predeſtinated to Hell, one that loves thee, and one that loves thee not? Are not you then that wear red Turbants much to be condemned, being of evil life and converſation, and not well inclined to the houſe of the Prophet, nor the family of the faithfull, as it is written in the Book called *Aadick?* The Chriſtians couſerve the hoofs of that Aſs on which Chriſt rode, and ſet them in Caſes of Gold and Silver; and eſteem it an extream honour to have their Faces, Hands, or Heads, touched with ſo holy a Relick. But you who profeſs your ſelves Diſciples of the Prophet of God, and derived from the bloud and family of his Friends, deſpiſe ſo glorious a Title, commanding after the repetition of your Prayers, that is, after the *Ezan*, that Curſes and Blaſphemies be proclaimed againſt thoſe holy Friends and Aſſociates of the Prophet.

That is, when the people are called to Prayers from the Steeple.

Beſides this, your Books maintain and avouch it lawfull to pillage, Burn and deſtroy the Countries of the *Muſſulmans*, to carry their Wives and Families into ſlavery; and from a principle of malice and reproach to carry them naked through your Markets, and expoſe them to ſale to any Chapman; *Pagans* themſelves eſteem not this honeſt nor decent, by which it is apparent that you are the moſt mortal and irreconcilable enemies to us of all the Nations in the World, you are certainly more cruel to us than the [illegible], the *Kiafirs*, the *Zindicks*, than the *Durzians*; and in brief you are the Kennel of all uncleanneſs and ſin; a Chriſtian or a Jew may hope to become true Believers, but you can never.

Wherefore by virtue of that Authority I have received from *Mahomet* himſelf, in conſideration of your miſdeeds and incredulity, I pronounce it lawfull for any one of what Nation ſoever, that is of the Believers, to kill, deſtroy, and extirpate you; ſo that as he who ſlays a rebellious Chriſtian, performs a meritorious action in the ſight of God; much rather he who kills a *Perſian*, ſhall obtain a reward ſeventy-fold from the fountain of Juſtice. And I hope that the Majeſty of God in the day of Judgment will condemn you to be the Aſſes of the Jews, to be rode and hacknied in Hell by that deſpiſed people; and that in ſhort time you will be exterminated both by us, the *Tartars*, the *Indians* and *Arabians*, our Brothers and Aſſociates in the ſame Faith.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Ancient Sects and Hereſies among the Turks.

THERE are four Sects into which the *Mahometans* of the eſteemed Orthodox belief are divided; and thoſe are theſe.

The firſt is called *Hanifſe*, which is profeſſed in *Turkey*, *Tartary*, *Eusbec*, and on the other ſide of *Jeihun*, *Bucorus* and *Oxus*.

The ſecond is *Shaffe*, whoſe Cuſtomes and Rules the *Arabians* follow.

The third is *Malechee*, to which *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algier*, and other parts of *Africa* devote themſelves.

The fourth is *Hambelle*, of which are but few, and is known onely in ſome parts of *Arabia*.

Theſe four are all accounted Orthodox, and are followers of certain Doctours (as we may ſay amongſt Chriſtians, Scholars of *Auguſtine*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Dominicus*, or the like) and have onely differences as to ceremonies, poſtures in their prayers, waſhings, diverſities in ſome points of their Civil Laws; and each maintains a charitable opinion of the other, as true Believers, and capable of entring into Paradiſe, if their life and converſation be regulated according to their Profeſſion and Tenets.

All *Mahometans* according to the Countries wherein they live, come under the notion of one of theſe four preceding Profeſſions; but yet are nominated with other names and differences of Sects, according as they follow the opinions which ſome ſuperſtitious and Schiſmatical Preachers amongſt them have vented; and thoſe commonly known and marked with the names of ancient Hereſies by the reſpective Opponents, which may properly be called ſo, becauſe they are converſant in their Doctrines concerning the Attributes and Unity of God, his Decrees and Judgments, his Promiſes and Threatnings, and concerning the propheſies and gifts of Faith, are eſpecially theſe which ſtand in oppoſition each to other, *viz.*

Moatazali		*Sepibatii*
Kadari	To	*Giabari*
Morgii		*Waidi*
Shii		*Chawarigi.*

From each of theſe Sects, as from ſo many roots ariſe ſeveral Branches of different Doctrines, as according to the Tenets of the Turkiſh Doctours complete the number of ſeventy two.

Moatazali ſignifies as much as Separatiſts; the reaſon of which denomination, was from *Albuſan* the Scholar of *Waſel Ebn Ata*, the Author and Maſter of this Sect, to who the queſtion being propoſed, *Whether thoſe who had committed a groſs ſin, were to be adjudged condemned, and fallen from the Faith?* the Scholar *Alboſan* inſtead of expecting the reſolution of his Maſter, withdrew himſelf, and began to interpret his ſenſe thereof to his other Fellow-Diſciples; from which withdrawing of himſelf they were afterwards denominated *Moatazali*, which is Separatiſts. But the name they give themſelves is the Defenders of the Equity and Unity of God, in declaration of the manner of which they ſo differ among themſelves, that they are divided into two and twenty Sects, which are maintained with that paſſion on all ſides, that every party accuſes his oppoſites of Infidelity. But the principle in which their wrangling Sophiſters accord in common, is this, *That God is eternal, and that Eternity is an Attribute moſt properly agreeable to his Eſſence*; but yet they reject the attribute it ſelf, ſaying, that God is eternal, wiſe, powerfull, and the like, by his own entire and ſingle eſſence; but yet they ſay he is not eternal by his eternity, nor wiſe by his wiſedom, nor powerfull by his power, for fear of admitting any multiplicity in the Deity, or incurring the like errour as they ſay of the Chriſtians, who divide and diſhonour the Unity of God, by the conceptions they frame of the three perſons in the Trinity. And if the Chriſtians are to be blamed for introducing three Eternals, how much more are thoſe who frame as many Eternals as there are Attributes to the Deity?

Haietti.

Another ſort derived from this Sect called *Haietti*, hold that Chriſt aſſumed a true and natural body, and was the Eternal and Incarnate, as the Chriſtians profeſs; and in their *Creed* or Belief have inſerted this Article, *That Chriſt ſhall come to judge the World at the laſt day*, and for proof hereof alledge an Authority out of the *Alchoran* in theſe words, *Thou* Mahomet *ſhalt ſee thy Lord return in the Clouds*: which though they fear expreſly in plain terms to interpret of *Chriſt*, yet they confidently affirm it to be propheſied of the *Meſſiah*, and in diſcourſe confeſs that that *Meſſiah* can be no other than Chriſt; who ſhall return with the ſame humane fleſh again into the World, Reign Forty Years on Earth, confound Antichriſt, and afterwards ſhall be the end of the World.

Iſi.

Another ſort of the Profeſſours of the Sect of *Moatazali*, are *Iſi*, whoſe firſt Author was *Iſa Merdad*; theſe maintain that the *Alchoran* was created, contrary to the expreſs word of *Mahomet*, who Anathematizes all who are of this perſuaſion, ſaying, let him be reputed an Infidel who believes the *Alchoran* created; for ſolution of which difficulty, and to concur with the words of their Prophet, they ſay, that the *Alchoran* delivered by *Mahomet*, was but a Copy tranſcribed out of that wrote by God and laid in the Library of Heaven, and that when their Prophet denies the Creation of the *Alchoran*, he hath no reference to the Original, but to his own hand-writing which he had Copied, and extracted from the firſt, and infallible exemplar.

Theſe alſo farther proceed to deny againſt the common Tenet of the *Mahometans*, the incomparable and Matchleſs Eloquence of the *Alchoran*; aſſerting that were it not prohibited, other *Arabians* might be found, who could far tranſcend every line of it in Wiſedom and Rhetorick; which in my opinion is a ſtrange kind of Impudence in the very face of their Prophet, who ſeems to be too proud of the exact diſpoſition, and full ſignification of every word, that he judges it not leſs charming for the ſweet ſound of its Eloquence, than it is convincing for the purity and truth of its Doctrine.

Sephati.

The great Antagoniſts to the *Montazali*, are the *Sephati*, who Aſſign in God Eternal Attributes of Knowledge, Power, Life, *&c.* And ſome of them proceed ſo far, and groſly herein, that they frame conceptions of corporeal Organs of Senſe, as of Hearing, Seeing and Speech, to be in God; affirming that thoſe expreſſions of God's ſitting in his Throne, Creation of the World by the work of his Hands, his Anger againſt Sin, Repentance for man's Converſion, which we call ἀνθρωποπάθεια, are to be taken in the literal and plain ſenſe, and have no need of farther fetched interpretations to clear the true notion of them: But yet herein their *Doctours* ſeem not to agree, ſome defining a body to be the ſame as, *per ſe ſubſiſtens*, denying it to be an eſſential propriety of a body to be circumſcribed and finite; others conclude that it is enough to ſay that God is great, without argument of his circumſcription, or determination to any particular place, with many other ſtrange conceits, whereby are made apparent the roving Fancies of Ignorant Men, without the Rules or Grounds of *Philoſophy* or *Metaphyſicks*. But the ſoberer ſort amongſt them, who would appear more moderate and wiſer than the reſt, forbid their Scholars to make Compariſon of the Senſes in God, with thoſe of the Creature, who being more ſubtly urged by their ſevere opponents the *Montazali*, they were forced to declare themſelves more plainly, in this manner, That the God which they worſhipped was a Figure, Viſible, and an object of the Sight, conſiſting of parts Spiritual and Corporeal, to which local Motion might be agreeable, but that his Fleſh and Bloud, his Eyes and Ears, his Tongue and Hands were not of any ſimilitude with created ſubſtances, but were of another Craſis and Mixture which ſubjected them to no Diſtemper or Corruption; in proof whereof they alledge the words of *Mahomet*, *That God created Man after his own likeneſs*; And all other of thoſe examples drawn from the Holy Scriptures with which the *Alcoran* is filled, and where in familiar expreſſions, the Divinity is pleaſed to condeſcend to the infirmity of humane Capacity.

Kadari.

The next Sect is that of the *Kadari*, who deny wholly the Divine Decree or Predeſtination, affirming that every man is a free Agent, from whoſe will as from the firſt principle all good and bad actions flow and are derived; ſo that as with juſt reaſon God crowns man's good Works with the Rewards of Bliſs and Felicity; ſo on the other juſtly puniſhes his evil Actions in this World and in the next to come; and this they ſtyle the Doctrine of Equity, and define it to be a meaſure of man's actions, according to the rectitude and diſpoſition of that right line, which the prime Intellect hath drawn out by wiſedoms proportions. This opinion is abſolutely rejected as heterodox in the *Mahometan* Religion; and yet it is not fully determined how *Mahomet* moderated in the diſpute between *Adam* and *Moſes*, whom an *Arabian* Doctour comically introduced, pleading and juſtifying themſelves before God. *Moſes* beginning firſt, reproached *Adam*, that he was one immediately created by the proper hand of God, in whom the Divine Nature breathed the Breath of Life, whom Angels were made to adore, placed and ſeated in Paradiſe, and fortified with actual graces againſt the exorbitancies and crooked irregularities of inordinate affections; from which happy ſtate that he ſhould fall and precipitate Mankind, together with himſelf, his crime was aggravated with all the degrees of his former perfection. *Adam* to excuſe himſelf, replyed in this manner. Thou *Moſes* whom God hath called to a familiar parly, revealed his Will and Pleaſure unto in thoſe engraven Tables, where all Morality and Vertue is contained, reſolve me this one Quere and difficult Probleme, How many years before I was created, doſt thou find that the Law was wrote? *Moſes* anſwered, Forty. And did you find, reply'd *Adam*, that *Adam* rebelled againſt his Lord and ſinned? to which *Moſes* anſwering in the affirmative. Do you blame me then, ſaid he, for executing that which God forty years before predeſtinated and deſigned me unto? and not onely forty years, but many Myriads of Ages before either the Heavens or Earth were framed. *Mahomet* confounded, as the *Kadari* report with this Argument, left the queſtion undetermined, though his followers, as Men are moſt prone to errour generally, entertain the contrary Tenent.

Ebnol Athir, Mr. *Pocock de Moribus Arabum.*

Jabari.

The great Enemies diametrically oppoſed to theſe are the *Jabari* or *Giabari*; who maintain that a man hath no power over his Will or Actions, but is wholly moved by a Superiour Agent, and that God hath a power over his Creatures, to deſign them to Happineſs or to Miſery, as ſeems beſt to his Divine pleaſure; but in the explication of this opinion they proceed in the moſt rigorous manner, and ſay that man is wholly neceſſitated and compelled in all his actions; that neither his Will, nor Power, nor Election is in himſelf; and that God creates in him his actions, as he doth in Inanimate and Vegetable creatures the firſt principle of their Life and Eſſence; and as the Tree may be ſaid to produce Fruit, the Water to run, the Stone to move downwards, ſo are the Actions in Man, for which yet there is a reward and a puniſhment properly and neceſſarily allotted. This point is very ſubtily controverted by the *Arabian* Doctours, to which how the *Turks* are addicted, we ſhall farther diſcourſe in the Chapter of Predeſtination.

Morgi.

The Sect of *Morgi*, are the great Favourers and Patrons of the *Mahometan* Religion, maintaining that a *Muſſelman* or Believer, though guilty of the groſſeſt ſins, is not puniſhed for them in this World, nor receives his abſolution or condemnation after death, untill the day of Reſurrection and Judgment: and farther, that as impiety with the true belief ſhall never be puniſhed; ſo Piety and good Works proceeding from a falſe and erroneous Faith, is of no validity or power conducing to the fruition of the joys of Paradiſe. And to theſe may not improperly be compared ſome Sectaries in *England*, who have vented in their Pulpits that God ſees no ſin in his Children; and that the infidelity of *Sarah*, being of the houſe of the faithfull, is more acceptable to God, than the Alms, Prayers and Repentance of an erroneous Believer, without the Pale and Covenant of grace.

Waidi.

The oppoſite Sect to theſe are the *Waidi*, who eſteem that a man fallen into any great or mortal ſin, is put into the condition of a deſerter of his Faith; and though he be a profeſſour of the true Belief, ſhall yet without recovery for ever be puniſhed in Hell; but yet that his torments ſhall be in a more remiſs degree than that

Chap.

of Infidels: But that opinion which in this point is eſteemed Orthodox amongſt the *Turks*, is this, That a ſinner in a high nature going out of this world without repentance, is wholly to be committed to the pleaſure of God, either to pardon him for his mercy, or for the interceſſion of the Prophet *Mahomet*, according to what he ſaith in the *Alcoran*, *My interceſſion ſhall be for thoſe of my own People who have greatly ſinned*; that being firſt puniſhed according to the meaſure of their iniquity, they may afterwards in compaſſion be received into Paradiſe; for it is impoſſible they ſhould for ever remain in the eternal flames with the Infidels; becauſe it is revealed to us, that whoſoever hath but the weight of an Atom remaining in his heart of Faith, ſhall in due time be releaſed from fiery torments; for which cauſe ſome ſects amongſt the *Turks* uſe Prayers for the dead, and place their Cemeteries always by the ſide of Highways, that Paſſengers may be remembred of their own Mortality, and pray for the Souls of thoſe departed; of which we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe hereafter. The fictions the *Mahometans* frame of Hell, are as ridiculous as thoſe they fanſie of Paradiſe; For they imagine when they ſhall be called by *Mahomet* from this Purgatory at the day of Judgment, the way to him is over Iron Bars red hot with Fire, over which they muſt paſs with naked Feet; onely the Paper which they in their life time have taken from the ground and conſerved from being trampled on by the Feet of Men and Beaſts, ſhall at that day be ſtrowed on the Bars of this hot paſſage, that they may paſs that fire Ordeal with leſs torment; which is the reaſon the *Turks* ſee no ſmall piece of Paper on the ground, but they immediately ſtoop for it, and place it in ſome ſecret corner of a Wall, to redeem that (as they ſay) from the diſhonour of mens feet, on which the name of God is or may be wrote, and with expectation to enjoy the benefit promiſed, when the ſoles of their feet ſhall try the intenſe heat of this burning Iron. The ſame reſpect alſo they ſhew to Roſe-leaves, in conſideration (as they believe) that a Roſe was produced from the ſweat of *Mahomet*.

The *Shii* are the Sect ſpoken of before, oppoſed by the Subjects of the whole *Ottoman* Empire, as the moſt heretical of any of the reſt, in regard they prefer *Ali* before *Mahomet* in the Prophetical Office, and reſtrain the Prophetick gift to the natural line derived from *Ali*, and that none is worthy of the Title of a Prophet, who is guilty of ſin though of the lower nature; ſome of which Profeſſours called *Alnoſairi*, affirm that God appeared in the form of *Ali*, and with his Tongue proclaimed the moſt hidden Myſteries of Religion; and ſome have proceeded yet farther, to attribute to their Prophets divine honours, aſſerting them to be elevated above the degree and ſtate of the Creatures: theſe expect the return of their Prophet *Ali* in the Clouds, and have placed that belief as an Article of their Faith, from whence may ſeem to be grounded that miſtake amongſt our vulgar, that the *Turks* believe *Mahomet* ſhall again return into the World.

Chawarigi.

To the foregoing are oppoſed the *Chawarigi*, who deny that there is or hath been any ſuch Function as that of a Prophet, allowed by God in any particular perſon; nor any ever ſent into the World endued with that power of Infallibility, to reſolve doubts, and teach and impoſe a new Law on Mankind; but if at any time ſuch an Office ſhould be neceſſary, it can never be reſtrained to one Lineage; for the perſon being faithfull and juſt, no matter whether he be a Servant or Free, a * *Nabathean* or a † *Koraſchite*.

* One of vulgar or rude ſort amongſt the *Arabians*.

† One of a noble family amongſt the *Arabians*.

Theſe are ancient Sects amongſt the profeſſours of the *Mahometan* Religion, out of which aroſe ſo many others as by the confeſſion of the *Turkiſh* Doctours complete the number of ſeventy three. But becauſe the accurate ſearch into ſo many is of little delight or profit to the Reader, I ſhall content my ſelf with having given him a taſte of theſe foregoing premiſſes; and ſhall now give an account how buſie theſe modern times have been at *Conſtantinople* in hammering out ſtrange forms and chimera's of Religion, the better to acquit *England* from the accuſations of being the moſt ſubject to religious innovation, the World attributing much thereof to the air and conſtitution of its Climate.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the New and Modern Sects amongſt the Turks.

ALL Ages and times have produced their Sects and Hereſies in every Religion; and therefore we ſhall proceed in declaring ſome few that are of a freſher date than thoſe in the foregoing Chapter, and ſo ſhall continue to deſcend to others which this preſent Age hath begot.

That called *Zeidi* is one of, the latter edition.

Zeidi maintains that God will ſend a Prophet of the *Perſians* with a Law by which ſhall be annulled the Law of *Mahomet*.

Derived from the *Moatazeli*.

A ſecond to this is derived from the *Moatazeli*, that denies any man can be ſtyled a Saint in this World, excepting the Prophets, who were without ſin; and that the true Believers ſhall in the next World ſee God as clearly as we ſee the Moon at full; againſt the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, who ſays God is inviſible either to us in this world, or the next.

Malumigee.

There are alſo thoſe called *Malumigee*, who maintain God is perfectly to be known in this World: and that by the Doctrine of *Cognoſce teipſum*, the Creature proceeds to the perfect knowledge of his Creatour.

Mezzachulia.

The Opponents to theſe are *Mezzachulia*, who hold that they which know God onely in this World by ſome glimmerings and rays of his Glory and Eſſence, is ſufficient to lead them into Paradiſe, and rank them in the number of the faithfull.

Jabaiah.

Another ſort there are called *Jabaiah*, which denies God's Omniſcience, affirming That God governs the World by Chance and Accidents, not comprehending from Eternity or at the Creation of the World, a perfect certainty of the particular Affairs that were to be tranſacted in it, and that God improves in knowledge by time, as men do by conſtant practice and experience.

We ſhall not inſiſt here to multiply many of theſe Sects, who have almoſt as many diverſities amongſt the *Turks*, as there are Schools and Maſters; every *Hogia* that is but a Form above a meer Pedagogue, and reads a few Books of the *Arabian* Fables, eſteems himſelf of mean account, if by ſome ſingular opinion which he inſtills into his Diſciple, he diſtinguiſhes not his Gymnaſion from the common and inferiour Schools. But theſe men in framing their particular fancies, and venting their follies, have a ſpecial care that none of their principles oppugn thoſe five points of practice, and one of faith, mentioned in the firſt Chapter of this Book, which are the eſſential points that conſtitute a *Mahometan*; or derogate from the Authority of their Governours, or produce factions or diſturbances in the State.

But theſe modern times have produced other Sects amongſt the *Turks*, ſome of which ſeem in part dangerous, and apt to make a conſiderable rupture in their long continued union; when time changes, and revolutions of State ſhall animate ſome turbulent ſpirits, to gather Souldiers and Followers under theſe Doctrines and other ſpecious pretences.

Kadezadeli. One of which is call *Kadezadeli*, a Sect ſprung up in the time of *Sultan Morat*, whoſe chief Propagatour was one *Burgali Effendi*, who invented many Ceremonies in praying for the Souls departed, at the burial of the dead. Thoſe that are of this Sect cauſe their *Imaum* to cry loud in the ears of the inanimate body, to remember that God is one, and his Prophet one. Thoſe who are principally devoted to this Sect, are the *Ruſſians* and other ſort of Renegado *Chriſtians*, who amongſt their confuſed, and almoſt forgotten notions of the Chriſtian Religion, retain a certain Memory of the particulars of Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead.

But the opinion eſteemed Orthodox, and moſt generally allowed amongſt the *Turks*, is, That no *Mahometan* goes eternally to Hell, but after a certain ſpace of years is delivered thence, and paſſes into Paradiſe; After death they aſſign two ſorts of puniſhments; the firſt is called *Azabe Kaberi*, or the puniſhment of the Grave which being the bed of wicked men, binds with its Earth ſo faſt as it cruſhes their bones, and ſhuts the pores and creviſes through which they ſhould ſee into Heaven; but the bodies of good men enjoy the comfort of having a window from their dark incloſure, to behold the Viſion of God's glory. The other is the pain of Hell, where the ſouls remain untill their torments are accompliſhed, and Divine Juſtice ſatisfied.

Chupmeſſahi. There is an opinion of late years principally maintained amongſt the Gallants of the *Seraglio*, and common in *Conſtantinople*, the profeſſours of which are called *Chupmeſſahi*, or the good followers of the *Meſſiah*; theſe maintain that Chriſt is God and Redeemer of the World; the young Scholars in the Grand Signior's Court are generally devoted to this Tenent, eſpecially thoſe which are the moſt courteous, affable, and beſt diſpoſed; that it is grown into a Proverb amongſt them, when they would commend and praiſe gentleneſs and courteſie of each others nature, they do it with the expreſſion of *Chupmeſſahiſin*, as if they would ſay, You are gentle, accompliſhed and exceſſive in your favours, as becomes one who profeſſes the *Meſſiah*. Of this ſort of people there are great numbers in *Conſtantinople*, ſome of which have ſo boldly aſſerted this Doctrine, that they have ſuffered Martyrdom under this denomination, which is ſtill maintained, and ſecretly profeſſed by ſuch multitudes as wear white Turbants, that upon ſome notable opportunity were this Cauſe and Religion made the ground of ſome Toleration and Inſurrection amongſt its Diſciples and Profeſſours, it might take an unexpected footing, and prepare a ready way for the Plantation of the Goſpel: but of this we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter in its due place.

And becauſe it is our intent here to declare the ſeveral Religions amongſt the *Turks*, it will not be from our purpoſe to mention how far Atheiſm hath ſpread it ſelf into the Countries; and as Logicians illucidate one contrary with another, and Painters ſet off the Whiteneſs of their Colours with a foil of Jet, or other Blackneſs; ſo the privation of all Religion is not unaptly placed in the ſame Chapter with the various and different profeſſours of it.

Muſerin. Theſe then give themſelves the Title of *Muſerin*, which ſignifies, The true ſecret is with us; which ſecret is no other than the abſolute denial of a Deity, that nature or the intrinſecal principle in every individual thing directs the orderly courſe which we ſee and admire; and that the Heavens, Sun, Moon and Stars have thence their original and motion, and that man himſelf riſes and fades like the graſs or flower. It is ſtrange to conſider, what quantities there are of men that maintain this principle in *Conſtantinople*, moſt of which are *Kadiis* and learned men in the *Arabian* Legends, and others are Renegadoes from the Chriſtian Faith, who conſcious of the ſin of their Apoſtaſie, and therefore deſirous that all things may conclude with this World, are the more apt to entertain thoſe opinions which come neareſt to their wiſhes. One of this Sect called *Mahomet Effendi*, a rich man, Educated in the knowledge of the Eaſtern Learning, I remember was in my time executed for impudently proclaiming his blaſphemies againſt the being of a Deity; making it in his ordinary diſcourſe, an argument againſt the being of a God, for that either there was none at all, or elſe not ſo wiſe as the Doctours preached he was, in ſuffering him to live who was the greateſt enemy and ſcorner of a Divine Eſſence that ever came into the World. And it is obſervable, that this man might, notwithſtanding his accuſation, have ſaved his life, would he but have confeſſed his errour, and promiſed for the future an aſſent to the principles of a better: but he perſiſted ſtill in his blaſphemies, ſaying, That though there were no reward, yet the love of truth obliged him to die a Martyr. I muſt confeſs, untill now, I never could believe that there was a formal Atheiſm in the World, concluding that the principle (of the being of a God) was demonſtrable by the Light of Nature; but it is evident now how far ſome men have extinguiſhed this light and lamp in their Souls.

This poiſonous Doctrine is ſo Infectious, that it is crept into the Chambers of the *Seraglio*, into the Appartments of the Ladies and Eunuchs, and found entertainment with the *Paſhaes* and their whole Court; this ſort of People are great favourers and lovers of their own Sect, courteous and hoſpitable to each other; and if any by chance receives a Gueſt within his Gates of their own judgment, beſides his Diet and Fare with much freedom, he is accommodated with a handſome Bedfellow of which Sex he moſt delights: they are very frank and liberal, and exceſſive in their readineſs to do each other ſervice; It is ſaid, that *Sultan Morat* was a great favourer of this opinion in his Court and Militia, deſirous withal to propagate that of *Kadizadeli* amongſt the vulgar, that they being a ſevere, moroſe and covetous people, might grow rich, and ſpare for the benefit of his Exchequer; for the Sect of *Kadizadelis* before-mentioned is of a melancholy and Stoical temper, admitting of no Muſick, chearfull or light diſcourſes, but confine themſelves to a ſet Gravity; in publick as well as private they make a continual mention of God, by a never wearied repetition of theſe words *Ilahe ila Ellah*; that is, I profeſs there is one God: There are ſome of theſe that will ſit whole nights bending their bodies towards the Earth, reciting thoſe words with a moſt doleful and lamentable Note: they are exact and moſt punctual in the obſervation of the rules of Religion, and generally addict themſelves to the ſtudy of their Civil Law, in which they uſe conſtant exerciſes in arguing, oppoſing and anſwering, whereby to leave no point undiſcovered or not diſcuſſed. In ſhort, they are highly Phariſaical in all their comportment, great admirers of themſelves, and ſcorners of others that conform not to their Tenents, ſcarce affording them a ſalutation or common communication; they refuſe to marry their Sons with thoſe of a different Rite, but amongſt themſelves they obſerve a certain Policy; they admoniſh and correct the diſorderly, and ſuch who are not bettered by their perſuaſions, they reject and excommunicate from their Society. Theſe are for the moſt part Tradeſmen, whoſe ſedentary life affords opportunity and nutriment to a melancholy and diſtempered fancy.

But thoſe of this Sect who ſtrangely mix Chriſtianity and *Mahometaniſm* together, are many of the Souldiers that live on the confines of *Hungary* and *Boſna*; reading the Goſpel in the *Selavonian* Tongue, with which they are ſupplied out of *Raguſa*; beſides which, they are curious to learn the Myſteries of the *Alcoran*, and the Law of the *Arabick* Tongue; and not to be accounted rude and illiterate, they affect the Courtly *Perſian*. They drink Wine in the month of Faſt called the *Ramazan*; but to take off the ſcandal they refuſe Cinamon or other Spices in it, and then call it *Hardali*, and paſſes current for lawfull Liquor. They have a Charity and Affection for Chriſtians, and are ready to protect them from injuries and violences of the *Turks*: They believe yet that *Mahomet* was the Holy Ghoſt promiſed by Chriſt; and that the deſcending of the Holy Spirit on the day of *Pentecoſt*, was a Figure and Type of *Mahomet*, interpreting in all places the word παράκλητος, to ſignifie their Prophet, in whoſe Ear the white Dove revealed the Infallible directions to happineſs. The *Potures* of *Boſna* are of this Sect, but pay Taxes as Chriſtians do; they abhor Images and the Sign of the Croſs; they circumciſe, bringing the Authority of Chriſt's example for it, which alſo the *Copticks*, a Sect of the *Greek* Church, imitated; but have now, as I am informed, lately diſuſed that cuſtome.

Potures a people of *Boſna.*

Another ſubtle point about the Divine Attributes hath begot a Sect amongſt the *Janizaries*, called *Bektaſchi*, from one *Bektaſh*, which ſeems an improper ſubject ſo deep in the Metaphyſical ſpeculation to trouble ſuch groſs heads as theirs; they began (as it is ſaid) in the time of *Solyman* the Magnificent, and are called by ſome *Zerati*; that is, thoſe who have Copulation with their own Kindred, and by the vulgar *Mumſeonduren*, or extinguiſhers of the Candle. This Sect obſerve the Law of *Mahomet* in Divine Worſhip, with a ſtrictneſs and ſuperſtition above any of the Preciſians of that Religion: but hold it unlawfull to adjoyn any Attributes to God, by ſaying that God is great, or God is mercifull, by reaſon that the nature of God being infinite and incomprehenſible, cannot fall under the weak and imperfect conceptions of man's underſtanding, which can imagine nothing applicable to his Nature. Of this Sect there was a famous Poet amongſt the *Turks*, called *Nemiſi*, that was flead alive, for ſaying, when the *Emaum* called the People to prayers, at the ordinary hours from the Steeple with the uſual word, *Allah Ekber*, God is one, That he lied, upon the ſuppoſition that no Epithete can be predicated of the Divine Eſſence. Amongſt the *Janizaries* are at preſent many principal Commanders of this Sect; but formerly were more in the time of *Becktaſh Aga*, *Kul Kahya*, *Mahomet Aga*, and others, who for their Rebellion in *Conſtantinople* (as we related before) were put to death under the Hiſtorical Pillar in the time of this preſent Emperours minority. Theſe people againſt the inſtinct of nature uſe Carnal Copulation promiſcuouſly with their own Kindred, the Fathers mixing with their Sons and Daughters, without reſpect to proximity of bloud or nearneſs in the degrees of relation, ſuffering themſelves to be tranſported contrary to the abhorrency of Nature, by a weak and illogical compariſon of the lawfulneſs and reaſon, that he who engrafted the Tree, and planted the Vine, ſhould rather taſte of the Fruit, than reſign the benefit of his labours to the enjoyment of others; and in this Argument act againſt the inclination of innate modeſty, according to that of *Seneca*,

> *Feræ quoque ipſæ Veneris evitant nefas,*
> *Generiſque leges inſcius ſervat pudor,*

Theſe people are eaſily induced to give falſe witneſs or teſtimony in the favour of their Sect, without conſideration of Equity or reaſonableneſs of their cauſe; by which means invading the right of others, they became rich and powerfull, untill they were debaſed by the deprivation of *Becktaſhes* Authority, and Power of other potent favourers of their Sect: and though afterwards upheld by *Sudgi Beker*, a Standard-Bearer of the *Janizaries*, a rich and learned man, they received a ſecond blow by his death, he executed by a Viſier *Kuprinli Mahomet*, for his diverſity in Religion and Wealth together; but farther animoſity againſt this Sect was diſſembled at that time, by reaſon of the multitude of thoſe profeſſours in *Conſtantinople*, and becauſe reaſon of State ſaw it at that time neceſſary to draw bloud in many parts of the Empire for other cauſes than for errours in Religion.

The Sect called *Sabin*, though *Mahometans* in profeſſion, ſeem yet to run contrary to the ſtream and general conſent of all its profeſſours, who give themſelves commonly the Title of Enemies and Confounders of Idolatry, and yet theſe notwithſtanding ſeem from the influence the Sun and Moon have on ſublunary bodies, of all living ſenſitive Creatures to conclude a certain Divinity in thoſe common Lights of the World. In *Conſtantinople* there are ſome few Aſtrologers and Phyſicians of this Sect, but in *Parthia* and *Media* they are numerous, the Men commonly worſhipping the Sun, and the Women the Moon, and others the Artick Pole; they are not ſtrict in a ſeverity of life, or in the conformity to the preſcriptions of their Law, but govern themſelves with morality and prudence. They are not apt to believe the Immortality of the Soul, nor the reward of Vertue, or puniſhment of Vice in the next World; not prone to vindicate themſelves from injuries reproachfull language or other evil actions, of men, but regarding them as the natural effects of the Celeſtial influences, are no more provoked by them than we are with a ſhower of Rain for wetting us, or the intenſe heat of the Sun in the Summer Solſtice.

Munaſihi, is a Sect purely Pythagorical, which believes the Metempſychoſis or Tranſmigration of Souls, of which there are ſome in *Conſtantinople*, one *Albertus Bobovius* a *Polonian* by Nation, but educated in the *Seraglio*, and inſtructed in all the Learning of the *Turkiſh* Literature (from whom I freely confeſs to have received many of my obſervations) related to me a pleaſant diſcourſe that paſſed between him and a Dorgiſt at *Conſtantinople* touching this ſubject. This Dorgiſt being Learned, was the occaſion that *Albertus* frequented his Shop the oftner; and once being after ſome familiar acquaintance at a Collation together, it chanced that a black Dog giving them interruption at their Banquet, that *Albertus* kicked him to drive him to a farther diſtance; at which the Dorgiſt growing pale and diſordered, *Albertus* gueſſed by his countenance that he was diſpleaſed at this unkindneſs towards the Dog; and therefore deſired his pardon if thereby he had given him any ſubject of offence: the Dorgiſt being thus pacified with the courteſie of his Gueſt, adviſed him to ask pardon of God, for that it was no ſmall crime and ſin that he thereby committed. This happening at the ſame time that the Funerals of a *Mufti* called *Behai Efendi*, were then ſolemnizing, afforded an occaſion of diſcourſe concerning the Soul of the *Mufti* and Dog together; the Dorgiſt demanding the opinion of his Gueſt whether he conceived the Soul of that *Mufti* was predeſtinated to remain within the Confines of the Grave, untill the day of Reſurrection? in the knowledge of which queſtion *Albertus* ſeeming wholly ignorant, and deſirous to underſtand the ſolution from him: the Dorgiſt began freely to declare that the Souls of men deceaſed enter into the Bodies of Beaſts, which are in temperament moſt agreeable to the diſpoſitions of thoſe whom before they animated: as the Soul of the Glutton enters into the Swine, the Soul of the Laſcivious into the Goat, of the Generous into the Horſe, of the Vigilant into a Dog, and ſo the like; in proof of which he producing a Book treating of all the diſtinctions of Nature, and the proper aſſignments for their habitation after death: Adding moreover, that of this opinion it was pity there were ſo few in *Conſtantinople*, ſome there were, and thoſe all of his own Trade and Profeſſion, but that at *Grand Cairo* were great numbers, ſtrict adherers to this Doctrine: that for his part he prayed to God with the reſt of his Brothers of the ſame Trade, that their Souls may hereafter be ſo honoured as to inform the body of the *Camel*, becauſe they are Beaſts that are laborious, abſtemious, patient and meek, and bring their Dorges from the remoteſt part of the Eaſt: and that he did not doubt but after the Circle of 3365 years, that his Soul had travelled for ſeveral Ages through the World, and wandred from the body of one *Camel* to animate another, it ſhould with the viciſſitude of time return again to a humane body, more purified and refined than in its firſt Principles. And this was the *Credo* of the Dorgiſt, to which opinion it is ſaid all *China* is greatly devoted.

Eſchraki, which ſignifies illuminated, is a Sect purely Platonical, contemplative of the Divine *Idea*, and the number in God; for though they hold the Unity, yet they deny not the Trinity, as a number proceeding from the Unity; which conception of theirs they uſually illuſtrate by three folds in a Handkerchief which may have the denomination of three; but being [illegible]tended, is but one entire piece of Linen. T[illegible]e men are no great admirers of the compoſition of the *Alchoran*; what they meet therein agreeable to their principles, they embrace and produce as occaſion ſerves in confirmation of their Doctrine; other parts which with difficulty are reconciled they reject, and ſtyle abrogated: and becauſe they apprehend that the true beatitude and bliſs of Paradiſe conſiſts in the contemplation of the Divine Majeſty, they contemn all the fancies and groſs conceptions of Heaven, which *Mahomet* hath framed to allure and draw the mind of rude and groſs men. Of this Sect are all the *Sebeghs* or able Preachers that belong to the Royal *Moſchs* or Churches; who are men conſtant in their devotions, abſtemious in their diet, of a chearfull countenance, and taking behaviour, great lovers of Harmony and Muſick, of an indifferent ſtrain in Poetry, whereby they compoſe certain Songs in Metre, for entertainment of their Auditory. They are likewiſe generous and compaſſionate of humane frailty; and are not Covetous, Stoical, or Conceited of themſelves, by which means their behaviour is rendred extremely taking through all *Conſtantinople*; they are greatly delighted with an ingenious Aſpect in youth, and from thence gather matter of contemplation on the comelineſs of the increated beauty: they are addicted to entertain a charitable affection for their neighbour, becauſe (as they ſay) he is a Creature of God, from whom our love is converted to the Creatour. Their Diſciples they procure, as much as poſſible, to be men of comely and pleaſing countenances, and Majeſtick preſence, whom they inſtruct in all the rules of abſtinence, gravity, and other vertues moſt appropriated to their Sect. And theſe of all ſorts of *Turks* ſeem worthy of the beſt Character, whom I compaſſionate, for not being born within the Pale of a Chriſtian Church, nor duely inſtructed in the Myſtery of Chriſtianity, to which they ſeem by their morality and vertues already to have prepared many previous diſpoſitions.

A Sect much different to that immediately foregoing is the *Haireti*, ſignifying amazed, and doubtfull in determination of all controverſies, who can endure any thing rather than to controvert opinions, and diſpute one queſtion in chaſe of truth: they will neither undertake to perſuade or diſſuade, but like the Academicks affirm that falſity may by the wit and contrivance of man be dreſſed in a habit as not to be diſtinguiſhed from truth it ſelf; and on the contrary, truth may be ſo diſguiſed with Sophiſtry and Deluſions as to be rendred as deformed and ugly, as falſhood, and therefore they conclude all queſtions to be meerly probable, and no ways admitting of certain demonſtration; ſo that in points of dubious controverſies their common ſayings are, *Allah Bilur*, God knows, *bize karanuk*, it is unknown to us, and ſuch like expreſſions favouring of negligence and a brutiſh want of curioſity to ſearch into the Studies of Arts and Sciences. Of this Sect ſome notwithſtanding are Preachers, and from that degree are promoted to the Office of *Mufti*, in which they behave themſelves according to their affected careleſneſs, with a readineſs and facility to ſubſcribe all ſentences to the ſatisfaction and in favour of the demandant; adding for the moſt part theſe words, *Well ahu eulem biſſenab*, God knows that which is beſt. As to the manner of their life and practice, they are punctual obſervers of the Rites of the *Mahometan* Religion and Conſtitutions of their Civil Law, but much incline to yield to the courſe of their own nature, and the force of paſſion; they drink Wine not to appear Cynical or unſociable, but more generally addict themſelves to Electuaries compoſed of *Opium*, which tends to augment their natural ſtupefaction; and when they are overcome with the obſcurity of this vapour, whatſoever you affirm, though never ſo contradictory, they readily aſſent to, not ſo much (as they confeſs) from a perſuaſion to one propoſition more than another, but of a pleaſing compliance to their companions, which humour the nature of their Sect allows of. And though they ſtile the *Eſchraki* Dogmatical and obſtinate Opiniators, yet by experience it is obſerved that the *Mufties* Educated in the *Eſchrakian* Schools have been much more fortunate than thoſe of the *Hairetian* Sect; becauſe the former having a certain foundation of principles, have been cautious in ſigning *Fetfas*, or delivering their Sentence in the reſolution of weighty Matters of State, chuſing rather to renounce their Office, than their reaſon. But the others being negligent and incurious in their determinations, as if fortune did direct them more to the true part than ſolidity of judgment; have been always free and open in their Sentences; by which means events of State falling out unhappily, and the miſcarriage attributed to the counſel of the *Mufti*, they have been oftner ſubject to the puniſhment of baniſhment or death than their Opponents.

We ſhall not proceed to ſwell this Work with a longer Catalogue of theſe Sects, leſt we ſhould ſeem over-tedious to the Reader, and inſtead of pleaſing his Palate, ſhould over-charge his Stomach; otherwiſe we might proceed to recite as many Sects as there are Towns or Schools in the Empire, in every one of which ſome pragmatical Preacher or other have always ſtarted a new opinion, which can never want Diſciples. And certainly the diverſity of opinions in *Turky* is almoſt infinite, and more numerous than in *England*, or other parts of Chriſtendom, though commonly not proceeding from the ſame malice, nor laid with the ſame deſign to the prejudice of the State; the reaſon of this variety amongſt the *Turks* I attribute to the many Religions which voluntarily, and for intereſt or by force have entred into the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, many of which being *Grecians*, and inſtructed in the Arts and Sciences with which that Empire once flouriſhed, which was the Mine and Treaſury of Philoſophy and Learning, did afterwards mix with their new Religions (not being wholly ſatisfied with the *Alkoran*) certain Traditions and Opinions of the ancient Philoſophers: And ſeveral other Nations, as *Ruſſians*, *Muſcovites*, *Circaſſians*, and the like, retaining ſome few remainders of their firſt Notions and Principles, make a farther addition to this ill compounded medley; which alſo receiving ſome difference and variety as they encreaſed and were propagated, have multiplyed into a number both unprofitable and tedious to ſearch farther into.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Derviſes.

IT is commonly ſaid and received, that the *Turkiſh* Religion is an abſurd Compoſition of the *Chriſtian* and *Jewiſh* Rites; in imitation of the former of which doubtleſs their Monaſteries and Orders of Religious men were introduced; moſt of which incline to a pretended mortification and ſtrictneſs of life; to Poverty, and Renunciation of the Worlds enjoyments, according to the devotion of Chriſtians a thouſand years paſt, whoſe piety and exemplary lives drew Infidels to extract a rough Copy of their elevated vertues.

I have been the more curious in making an exact enquiry into the Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions, and Doctrines of the *Mahometan* Convents, becauſe I find relations hereof ſparingly ſcattered in other Books, and that obſcurely without punctuality or certainty: But I ſhall promiſe my Reader to deliver nothing herein, but what I have good Authority for, and taken from the mouth of the moſt Learned of ther *Seight* or Preachers, which are the Heads or Superiours of theſe Societies.

The Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law inform me, that their Religious Houſes and Inſtitutions, are as ancient as *Mahomet*, from whom general orders and inſtructions were derived from their œconomy, firſt to his Diſciple *Hali*; but our *Turkiſh Hiſtory* and other Records make no mention of theſe Monaſteries, till within theſe Three hundred and fifty years, in the time of *Orchanes* ſecond King of the *Turks*, who is famed to have been the firſt Founder of Houſes of theſe Orders.

Thoſe of the *Mahometan* Faith, who firſt framed Rules and Inſtitutions for theſe Religions, were two, *viz. Calvettee* and *Nackſbendee*, which after *Mahomet* are eſteemed the two Fountains from whence other Orders are produced, which are theſe following; from *Chalvettee* are derived.

Nimetulahi from *Nimetula* *Kadri* from *Kadri* *Kalenderi* from *Kalendar* *Edhemi* from *Edhem* *Higiavi* from *Hiter* *Bektaſſe* from *Bektaſi*.	The firſt Founders and Maſters of theſe Orders.

From *Nackſbendee* proceed onely two, *viz.*

Ebrbuharee from *Ebrbubar* *Mevelevee* from *Mevelava*	Their Original Founders.

Theſe ſeveral Orders we ſhall diſtinctly touch upon, beginning with the *Mevelevee*, which though ſet down here laſt, yet becauſe for fame amongſt the *Turks*, they are the firſt, we ſhall moſt largely and particularly treat of them.

Their Superiuor.

The *Mevelevee*, otherwiſe and moſt commonly named *Derviſe*, which word ſignifies Poor and Renouncers of the World, have their chief and ſuperiour Foundation in *Iconium*, which conſiſts of at the leaſt four hundred *Derviſes*, and governs all the other Convents of that Order within the *Turkiſh* Empire, by virtue of a Charter given them by *Ottoman* firſt of the *Mahometan* Kings, who out of devotion to their Religion once placed their Prior or Superiour in his Royal Throne, becauſe having been his Tutour, and he who girted on his Sword (which is the principal Ceremony of Coronation) he granted him and his Succeſſours ample Authority and Rule over all others of the ſame Profeſſion.

Their Poſtures.

They pretend to great Patience, Humility, Modeſty, Charity, and Silence, in preſence of their Superiour or others; their eyes are always fixed downwards, their heads hanging towards their breaſt, and their bodies bending forwards.

Their Cloathing.

Their Shirts are of the courſeſt Linen can be made, with a white Plad or Mantle about their ſhoulders; but moſt wear a looſe kind of Garment

ment made of Wool at *Iconium* or in *Anatolia*, of a dark colour; their Caps or what they wear on their heads is like the Crown of a Hat of the largeſt ſize, made of a courſe Felt of a whitiſh colour, their Legs are always bare, and their Breaſts open, which ſome of them burn or ſear in token of greater devotion: they wear alſo a Leather girdle with ſome ſhining ſtone upon the Buckle before, either of Marble or Alabaſter, Porphyry, Ivory, or ſomething that makes a great ſhew or luſtre; they always carry with them a ſtring of Beads, which they call *Teſbe*, and oftner run them over, than our Fryars do their Roſary; at every Bead repeating the name of God. When the Prior of this Order dies, they commonly ſet a Hearſe for him in a Chapel, and upon it lay a long ſtring of Beads as big as Walnuts. It is alſo common amongſt other *Turks* to carry Beads in their hands to play with; and they ſay that when they have no other employment, that kind of divertiſement drives away idle and evil thoughts.

Their Faſts.

Beſides their Faſt of *Ramazan*, they keep a weekly Faſt on every *Thurſday*, on which day, none unleſs for ſome indiſpoſition of health, or other lawfull cauſe, hath licenſe to eat, until after Sun-ſetting.

Their turning round.

Every *Tueſday* and *Friday* the Superiour of the Convent makes a Sermon or Expoſition of ſome Verſes in the *Alcheran*, or out of the Books wrote by the Founder, or ſome other prime Doctour of the *Mahometan* Law; after which is done, the *Derviſes* with marvellous modeſty and reverence bowing to their Superiour, begin to turn round, ſome of them with that ſwift motion, that their faces can ſcarce be ſeen, a certain Pipe made of a Cane, ſounding all the time of this motion; and on a ſudden, when the Muſick ceaſes, they all ſtop with that exactneſs and firmneſs, ſhewing no ſymptoms of a diſordered or ſwimming Brain; to which having accuſtomed themſelves from their infancy or youth, in ſome years that motion becomes as natural, with as little diſturbance to their head or ſtomach, as to walk forward, or to uſe any other exerciſe which nature is delighted with. This cuſtome (they ſay) they obſerve with great devotion in imitation of their firſt Founder *Mevelana*, who for fourteen days together, and without taking any nouriſhment, uſed this Virtiginous motion by a miraculous aſſiſtence (his Friend *Hamze*, or Companion, all that time ſounding by him with his Flute or Pipe) until at laſt falling into an ecſtaſie, he received ſtrange Revelations, and Divine commands for the inſtitution of this his Order: The Pipe they play on, they eſteem for an ancient ſanctified ſort of Muſick, and to be that on which *Jacob* and the other holy Shepherds in the Old Teſtament praiſed God.

It hath a dolefull melancholy ſound; but their conſtant exerciſe and application thereunto makes it as Muſical as can be imagined in ſuch an Inſtrument: the beſt of thoſe Canes are eſteemed to come from *Iconium*, and are of twenty five Dollars price. But this ſort of devotion with inſtrumental Muſick, is by *Turks* themſelves diſputed againſt, denying that their Founder, who was ſo ſpiritual a man, did ever inſtitute, or himſelf uſe Muſick in his turning round, becauſe the *Alcboran* expreſly forbids all devotion and ſervice of God with Muſick, but onely with the natural and living Voice; And that is the reaſon why in calling their people to prayers they uſe no Bells, but onely the Voice of a Man; and for this cauſe I remember, that in my time prohibitions have been made by publick Authority againſt this practice of the *Derviſes*. But they on the contrary, alledging *David*'s example, and his Dancing before the Ark, as arguments for their Muſick and Giration, have by the help of ſeveral perſons in power, many of them being greatly affected with their devotion, maintained from time to time this cuſtome and inſtitution of the firſt Founder of this Order notwithſtanding that one *Vanni Efendi*, a great *Seigh* or Preacher, eſteemed as a knowing perſon by the Grand Signior, and all the Court, hath by his Authority endeavoured to Reform this Corruption (as he calls it) amongſt them.

Their Profeſſion.

They profeſs Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience, like Capuchin Fryars or other Orders of St. *Francis*; but if any have not the gift of Continence, he may obtain licenſe to leave his Convent and Marry; but of theſe, they obſerve that none ever thrived or lived happily with contentment, that renounced this Dedication to God's Service.

Their Employment.

The Novices ſerve in the moſt ſervile Offices, and in time others ſupply their places; they lie as Companions two together in a Cell, ſome of which employ their time in Learning to Reade and Write in *Turkiſh*, *Arabick* and *Perſian*, but moſt yield to the ſlothfull temperament to which they are naturally addicted: but becauſe the nature of Man is reſtleſs, and muſt employ it ſelf either in good or bad actions; moſt of theſe aſſociates exerciſe ſome kind of Legerdemain, or tricks to amuſe the minds of the common people; and ſome really apply themſelves to Sorceries and Conjurations by help of familiar Spirits. *Busbequius* tells ſtrange ſtories of one with whom he was acquainted, and he would ſtrike a ſtone of great weight and bigneſs againſt his bare Breaſt with that force and violence as were ſufficient to knock down an Ox, or break the bones of the ſtouteſt Gyant; and that the ſame man he hath ſeen take an Iron Bar red hot from the Fire and hold it in his mouth, and though the ſpittle and moiſture of his mouth hiſſed with the heat, yet he ſeemed to take it thence again without the leaſt hurt or burning Imaginable.

This ſort of people of all other *Turks*, addict themſelves to drink Wine, Strong Waters, and other intoxicating Liquors; and eat *Opium* in that quantity, by degrees uſing their bodies thereunto that no Mountebank or *Mithridates* himſelf who was nouriſhed by Poiſon, are capable to digeſt half that proportion that theſe men will do, the effect of which is at firſt, like men drunk or mad, to raiſe their ſpirits to a ſort of diſtracted Mirth, and afterwards when the ſubtile vapours are conſumed and ſpent, and a dull ſtupefaction overcomes them, they name it an ecſtaſie, which they account very holy and divine in imitation of their firſt Founder, who was often obſerved to put himſelf into this condition; and therefore what helps may be found to excite mirth or diſtraction, is lawfull and allowable in this Order.

There is a famous Monaſtery of theſe in *Egypt*, invoking for their Saint one *Kederlee*, which by the Stories they tell of him ſhould be *S. George*, in conformity with whom all other *Derviſes* maintain a reverent eſteem of this Saint, affirming that in his life time he was a valiant Horſeman, killed Dragons and all ſorts of venomous beaſts; and now being departed this life, God for preſervation of good men, hath given him power to deliver ſuch as being in diſtreſs, implore his aſſiſtence; eſpecially thoſe who are at Sea, and at the point of ſhipwrack; and that he with an extraordinary ſwiftneſs of motion flies from one part of the World to another in the twinkling of an eye, and ſeaſonably comes in to their ſuccour. Theſe by virtue of that bleſſing *Kederlee* confers upon them, pretend to charm Serpents and Adders, and handle them as familiarly as we do the moſt innocent and domeſtick Creatures; which art, as I have heard from good Authority, is not peculiar in *Egypt* onely to *Derviſes*, but to other men who are ſaid to be naturally endewed with a virtue againſt the poiſonous bites of Vipers and other venomous Beaſts; who putting great numbers of them into a Bag together, do cull and ſort them out with their hands, as one would do Worms or Muſſels; and others with a word charm Serpents from moving as they crawl along the Banks of *Nile*, which Gifts theſe men pretend to inherit from their Parents, and others to poſſeſs in reward of their Vertue and Sanctity. This ſort of *Egyptian Derviſes* have Sainted the Horſe of St. *George*, and have ſeated him in Paradiſe with the other three beaſts in high reſpect and eſteem amongſt the *Turks*, *viz.* the Aſs on which Chriſt rode, the Camel of *Mahomet*, and the Dog of the ſeven Sleepers.

Theſe *Derviſes* have Monaſteries in the moſt famous places of the *Turkiſh* Empire, which ſerve the travelling Pilgrims of this Order for Inns and places of entertainment: for they above all other Religious *Turks*, journey and travel from one place to another, where the *Mahometan* Religion is profeſſed, under pretence of preaching and propagating their Faith; and thus they travel upon Charity of their Monaſteries and Alms of others, into *Perſia*, *China*, and the Dominions of the *Mogul*, by which means they become the beſt ſpies and intelligencers of any that are found in the Eaſtern parts of the World.

I remember at *Adrianople* to have ſeen the ruine of one of theſe Monaſteries ſituated on a pleaſant Hill, and in good Air, that overſees the whole City and Plains round about; which upon enquiry I underſtand was demoliſhed by the famous Viſier *Kuperli*, becauſe it was diſcovered to be a Rendezvous of the lewd Women of the Town, and a Stew where the young Gallants debauched the Wives of the richeſt *Turks*, to whom their Husbands had given liberty in honour to the Sanctity of the place, to be often preſent at the devotion of the *Derviſes*; but their way of practice being too publick and ſcandalous, the Foundation of their Houſe by the order of the Viſier was razed to the ground.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Order of Religious Turks *called* Ebrbuharee.

THis Order of *Ebrbuhares* was firſt inſtituted by their Founder and Inſtitutor *Ebrbubar*, from whom they have their denomination, who herein followed the Precepts and Rules of his Maſter *Nackshende*, from whom in like manner the Order of *Mevelevee* or *Derviſes* are derived: for the better underſtanding this ſort of people, the Reader may take this following, as an authentick diſcourſe relating to their Manners and Original, which I ſhall deliver *Verbatim* as given me in writing by one eſteemed Learned amongſt the *Turks*, and was a *Hadgi* or Pilgrim, and made it his buſineſs to inform me of this Sect. *Sultan Bajazet*, ſaid he, in the year of *Mahomet* Nine hundred and eleven, erected a *Moſch* and Convent in *Conſtantinople*, dedicated to this Holy *Emir Ebrbubar* (that is the Race of *Mahomet*) upon whom reſts the mercy of the Creatour. This man both extrinſecally as to appearance in the World, and intrinſically as to his devout Soul, was famous and renowned for the Miracles he worked; on which Fabrick *Sultan Selim* afterwards beſtowed a Fountain of Water.

This *Ebrbubar* Scholar of *Nackshende*, taking into his company the aſſiſtence of *Abdulla* and *Ilahi* and *Keſe*, Preachers and Heads of other Convents, came out of *Aſia* to propagate their Doctrine in *Europe*.

Ilahi.

Their actions were governed with Meekneſs, Gravity and Silence, and laying aſide all ſuperſtitious Worſhips, they exerciſe themſelves in pious actions; their diſcourſes amongſt themſelves were nothing in relation to the things of the world, but of Matters relating to a future life.

Theſe poor Religious faſt for the moſt part on *Mundays* and *Thurſdays*; and both they and thoſe devoted to their order abſtain from all Meats that carry with them any fetulent or ungratefull ſmells, and in this manner theſe devout people exerciſed in abſtinence and a moral life, and ſwallowed up or tranſported with the illumination of God, and attending to their daily prayers, Commemoration of God's mercy, and other offices of devotion, acquire a holy diſpoſition and preparation for Celeſtial glory.

As to the Holy *Emir Ebrbubar*, whoſe Myſterious life may God ſanctifie to us, he was nouriſhed with Bread made of Barly, Oil of Olives, Hony and Grapes, and abſtained from all things of a ſtrong ſcent or ſavour; he eat but three times a year, giving himſelf continually to Faſting and Prayer; he was a man of great Sanctity, full of Divine Revelation, his attractive vertue was gratefull to all, to his Feet from divers Countries were many diſeaſed perſons brought, which afterwards returned ſound and healthfull to their own homes; all which is the relation of my Doctour and great admirer of the *Mahometan* Religion.

In commendation of the Religious of this Order, are theſe Verſes in the *Perſian* Tongue,

Gher hakiki iabi der gehan bukendi
Nakſchibendi Kiun Nakſchibendi; that is,

If thou wouldſt find in the World one accompliſhed as a true Heroe, *make thy ſelf a* Nakſchibendi, *who is the true pattern of a Servant of God.*

And notwithſtanding this great pretended purity and ſanctity of theſe men, they are yet by the generality eſteemed *Hereticks* in the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, becauſe they judge themſelves not obliged to the Pilgrimage of *Mecha*, by reaſon of their pretended purity of Soul and Seraphick Raptures, which elevate them above the World, and enable them in their very Cells to be preſent or have a clear Proſpect into their Holy *Mecha*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Nimetulahi.

ONE of thoſe who are accounted in the number of *Chalvetti* is the *Nimetulahi*; they had their beginning in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* 777, and their denomination from one of that name, famous for his Doctrine and ſeverity of life in the time of *Sultan Mahomet*, Son of *Bajazet*, called by the *Turks Ilderim*, or the Son of Thunder; He was an excellent Phyſician, and renowned for his vertues amongſt the vulgar; for better knowledge of his Life and Doctrine, the Reader may take notice what one of this Order related to me in admiration of his Maſter.

He was one, ſaid he, who preached and publiſhed the Truth, mortifyed his Body, followed not the affections of the carnal Appetite, knew the intrinſick nature and quiddity of all Creatures, rendred continual Prayers and Praiſes to his Creatour; and ſo long reſigned himſelf entirely to ſpeculation, untill he arrived to the raviſhment of Ecſtaſies and Raptures, in which he oftentimes obtained the happineſs to diſcourſe with God.

He eat of all thoſe things which God made lawfull for humane nouriſhment, without obſervation of Faſts or ſtrictneſs in Diet, but day and night continued his Prayers and Devotions: while he ſlept he extended not his feet like the Beaſts of ſenſe, who eat Corn and Hay in the Stables; ſometimes the fear of God made him tremble, and his countenance became melancholy and affrighted with the apprehenſion of his Majeſty. And to this perfection none ever arrived, nor to that intimate knowledge of the Divine Secrets.

The Profeſſours of this Order aſſemble every *Monday* night to praiſe the Unity of the Divine Nature, and Celebrate the name of God with Hymns and Songs.

Thoſe that would initiate themſelves into this Order, are obliged to make a Quarentine firſt, remain ſequeſtred in a Chamber for the ſpace of forty days, with twenty four drams of Meat a day, during which time they ſee the Face of God, the ſublime Paradiſe, and praiſe the Creatour and Framer of the Univerſe; at the expiration of their term, they are taken forth by the reſt of the Fraternity, who taking hands Dance in a *Moriſc*, in which Vagary if any Viſion appear to the Novices from God, they throw their Cloaks behind them, and fall flat with their Faces on the ground, like men aſtoniſhed or ſtruck with an Apoplexy, untill ſuch time as their Prior or chief of their Order coming and making Prayers for them, they return by degrees to their ſenſe again, and taking them up with their eyes red and diſtorted, they remain a while like men drunk, diſtracted or ſtupid; but afterwards their ſcattered ſpirits being better collected, the Prior demands in ſecret their Viſions and Revelations, which they communicate to him, or ſome other ſerious and grave perſon well inſtructed in the Myſteries of their Profeſſion.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Kadri.

THis is another of thoſe ſix Religious which are derived from *Chalvetti*, which had one *Abdul Kadri Ghilani* for its firſt Founder, a man greatly admired for wiſedom and abſtinence, whoſe Sepulchre is found without *Babylon*, to which place many of thoſe who enter into the Regular Orders of thoſe Convents make their Pilgrimages.

Thoſe who enter into this Religion, muſt perform their Novitiate with degrees of abſtinence and faſting; wherefore when firſt they take the profeſſion upon them, there is beſtowed upon them a ſmall cudgel made of the Wood of a Willow, weighing when freſh and green four hundred Drams, which they are always to carry about them hung at their Girdle; by the weight of this they take their daily allowance of Bread, untill ſuch time as the wood becoming exceeding dry, is alſo much the lighter, and ſo according as the weight thereof lightens, their proportion of Bread diminiſhes.

Beſides their prayers of five times a day, to which all *Mahometans* are bound, they are obliged to ſpend the whole or beſt part of the night with turning round at the ſound of a little Pipe, and to utter this word *Hai*, *Hai*, which ſignifies Alive, being one of the Attributes of God: and this they do in imitation of the Cuſtome uſed by their Founder, who is ſaid to have pronounced this word *Hai* ſo often, and with that vehemency, that the vein of his breaſt burſting, the blood guſhed out upon the Wall and made the word *Hai*. Wherefore all his Diſciples to follow the Example of their Maſter, taking hands together in a ring, repeat this word *Hai*, *Hai*, with ſo much violence, and ſo often, untill they fall on the ground without breath or life; thoſe who laſt out longeſt carry off the dead from the Chamber, and lay them to recover their Spirits after their ſtrained Exerciſe: and this they do every *Friday* night. Every one of theſe are obliged once in the year to a retirement of forty days, in a little Cell free from all company or converſation, during which time they are wholly to give themſelves to Meditations, and to obſerve their Dreams, and recount them to their Superiours, who ſtudies the interpretation of them, and from them Divines of future things.

They have many times licence from their Superiour to be drunk or intoxicate themſelves with *Aqua vitæ*, *Opium*, or any ſtupifying Drugs, to be better able to perform with more ſpirit and vehemency their mad Dance.

Theſe fellows are of a refined Wit, notable Sophiſters and Hypocrites; their ſecrets they reveal to none but thoſe of their own Profeſſion, by which means they are ſubtle to cheat thoſe of other Religions.

They are not debarred from the liberty of Marriage; but if they do marry, they are excluded from the Convents, and may wear any ſort of Habit, yet for diſtinction ſake they wear black Buttons; thoſe that live in the Convent, carry a certain white Plad of a courſe Cloth, their heads with hair unſhaven, without Caps or other covering, and their Feet bare. Theſe are called *Kadri*, and have a Convent at *Tophana* in *Conſtantinople*.

The Founder of this Order, called, as we have ſaid before, *Abdul Kadir Ghilan*, was born in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* Five hundred and ſixty one, and died in the year Six hundred and fifty ſeven; he was eſteemed both a Lawyer and a Philoſopher; his Maſter or Inſtructour was *Abdul Hamin Gazeli*, who compoſed two Books, one called *Mugrib*, or the *Arabian* Grammar, and another called *Andalus*. At that time that *Holakou* Son of *Genghiz Han* came to *Babylon*, he cauſed him to kill one *Alkamil* then Vice-King of that City, for being of the *Perſian* Sect, called by the *Turks*, *Rafizi* or Hereticks, becauſe they reject *Abubeker*, *Omar* and *Oſman*, as Apocryphal Writers, and attribute not to them that honour of Holy men, which is given by the *Turks*.

The Prior or chief of the Convent of this Order, teach their Diſciples a certain Prayer, which they whiſper in their Ears, that it may not be overheard or known by others; this they are obliged to repeat every moment with little intermiſſion, unleſs at times ſet apart for the offices of nature; and boaſt that it hath ſo much of efficacy in it, that by virtue thereof, they obtain the enjoyment of Divine Viſions and Revelations.

Their poſture is like other Religious *Mahometans*, to ſit with their heads hanging down, and their Noſes in their Breaſts, which they call *Murakabe*; the better to keep them from diſtraction, or wandring thoughts, during their contemplations of Heaven, and the vanity of ſatiſfying the carnal appetite.

Amongſt the many Miracles that the followers of this Order recount of their Maſter, one is this, That coming once to *Babylon* to inhabit amongſt the other ſuperſtitious perſons and *Santones* of that City, they hearing of his approach went forth to meet him, one of them carrying in his hand a diſh filled with water; from whence they would infer, that as that diſh was full to the brim ſo as to be capable of containing no more, ſo their City was ſo repleniſhed with Learned and Religious perſons, that there was no place to receive him: Whereupon this ſubtle Sophiſter ſtudying to confute this Hieroglyphick, whereby they would excuſe the courteſie of due Hoſpitality, ſtretching his Arms firſt towards Heaven, and then bowed down gathering a Roſe leaf which he laid on the water, which before had filled the diſh; by which piece of ingenuity, he not onely confuted the Parable of the Churliſh *Babylonians*, but alſo ſo took with them, that they regiſtred it as a Miracle of Wiſedom, and bringing him into their City with triumph, made him the Superiour of all their Orders.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Order of Kalenderi.

THis Order may rather be termed the Sect of *Epicureans*, than men retired to mortifie their appetites, and deny the world, as all other of the religious and regulated *Turks* pretend; but yet this ſort of Fanaticks pretend to Religion by a different way of Libertiniſm and looſeneſs in their Converſations, which they act ſo publickly, that they are not aſhamed to profeſs their inſtitution and cuſtoms to be after this manner.

In the time of *Mahomet Manſur*, Son of *Melkatile Ohoms* the Son of *Siladin*, being ready to reſign up his laſt breath, bequeathed to his Son *Mahomet Melik Kiamel*, the Government of *Cairo*, and all the other parts of the Kingdom of *Egypt*; *Damaſcus* and *Jeruſalem* to his Son *Iſa Melick Muazin* and *Diarbekir*, to his third Son *Eſchref-muſa*; There lived a certain *Santone*, who always mentioned the name of God with the ſound of his Pipe; and with that Muſick recreated himſelf day and night, not after a chearfull and merry humour, but with ſad and melancholy Tunes, accompanied his Pipe with Tears and Sighs. He was an excellent Muſician, and a deep Philoſopher, endued with thoſe ſupernatural vertues as enabled him to work Miracles clear and notorious to all the world; he was an *Hermite*, called in *Arabick Abdal*; went with his head bare, and his body full of wounds, without a Shirt or other Cloathing, beſides a Skin of ſome wild Beaſt thrown about his Shoulders; at his Girdle he wore ſome fine poliſhed Stone; on his Wriſts, inſtead of Diamonds and Stones of value he wore counterfeit Jewels, which carried a luſter and fair appearance with them; this man was called *Santone Kalenderi*, who was continually ſinging *Arabick* Sonnets, and according to them Muſical Airs, making alſo harmonious compoſitions ſo artificially, that he ſeemed another *David*. But how ſtrict and ſober this *Santone* was, his Diſciples or Proſelytes are of another temper, being wholly given up to jollity and delights, they baniſh all kind of melancholy and ſadneſs, and live free of cares, paſſions or torments of the mind, and have this ſaying amongſt them, *This day is ours, to morrow is his who ſhall live to enjoy it*; and therefore ſtudiouſly attend to loſe no moment or leaſt part of their pleaſure, but conſume their time in eating and drinking; and to maintain this gluttony they will ſell the Stones of their Girdles, their Earings and Bracelets. When they come to the houſe of any rich Man or perſon of Quality, they accommodate themſelves to their humour, giving all the Family pleaſant words and chearfull expreſſions to perſuade them to a liberal and free entertainment. The Tavern by them is accounted holy as the *Moſch*, and believe they ſerve God as much with debauchery or liberal uſe of his creatures (as they call it) as others with ſeverity and mortification. And the *Turks* ſay, That in the *Hegira* 615, the Chriſtians became Maſters of *Jeruſalem*, by reaſon that the Inſtitutour of this Order of the *Kalenderi*, who had a chief hand in the Government of the City, was found drunk when it was aſſaulted.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Edhemi.

THE original Founder of this Order was one *Ibrahim Edhem*, concerning whom the Diſciples themſelves, or Followers, recount things very obſcurely, and tell us Stories that his Father was a Slave and *Abiſsine* by Nation, and went one day under the Fort *Horanan* to diſcourſe with *Tentimelik* King of *Cairo*; that he was a man very comly, facetious, and ſober in his carriage, always deſiring to pleaſe God, continued in the *Moſche* reading the *Alkoran*, and in prayer day and night with his face proſtrate on the ground, and often repeating theſe words;

O God, thou haſt given me ſo much Wiſedom, as that I know clearly that I am in thy direction; and therefore ſcorning all Power and Dominion, I reſign my ſelf to the ſpeculation of Philoſophy and a Holy Life.

His Servants ſeeing this his devout way of living, applied themſelves to the imitation of his Auſterity, and abandoning all greatneſs and vanities of the World, applied themſelves to ſolitude and mortification, their ſuperfluous Garments they beſtowed upon the Poor, giving to thoſe whoſe neceſſities required them.

Their food is Bread made of Barley, and Pray frequently with Faſting, and their Priors apply themſelves to a faculty of Preaching.

Their principal Convents are in Cities of *Perſia*, eſpecially *Choraſan*.

Their Cloathing is of a courſe thick Cloth, upon their heads they wear a Cap of Wooll, with a Turbant round it, and about their necks a white Linen Cloth ſtriped with red. In the Deſarts they converſe with Lions and Tigres, ſalute them and make them tame, and by the miraculous power of Divine aſſiſtence entertain diſcourſe with *Enoch* in the Wilderneſs; This and many other wild diſcourſes they make of this *Edhem*; but becauſe there are but few of this Order in *Conſtantinople*, being moſt appropriated to *Perſia*; I could not receive ſo particular an account of their Rule and Inſtitutions, as I have done of others.

CHAP. XIX.

The Order of Bectaſh.

THE original Founder of this Religion, is of no ancient memory or ſtanding, nor had his Birth or Education amongſt the *Santones* of *Arabia*, from whence moſt of theſe ſuperſtitious pretenders have had their beginning; but one of thoſe that was an Army-Preacher, that could fight as well as pray, of whom my Learned *Hogia* gives me this account.

In the time, ſays he, *that the Warlike and Victorious* Sultan Amurath *paſſed with his Army into* Servia, *and overcame* Lazarus, *the Deſpot of that Countrey, and ſlew him in Battel,* Bectaſh *was then a Preacher to* Amurath, *who amongſt other his Admonitions forewarned him of truſting the* Servians; *but* Amurath *out of his couragious ſpirit relying on his own Wiſedom and Force, admitted a certain Nobleman called* Vilvo, *upon pretence of doing him homage, to approach near him and kiſs his hand, who having his Dagger ready and concealed, ſtabbed* Amurath *to the heart, and with that blow made him a Martyr.* Bectaſh *knowing that this treacherous death of his Prince, muſt needs alſo be the cauſe of his, for being ſo near his perſon, and propheſying of this fatal ſtroke, ſought not to prevent it, but made preparations for his own death. And in order thereunto provided himſelf with a white Robe with long Sleeves, which he proffered to all thoſe which were his Admirers, and Proſelytes, to be kiſſed as a mark of their obedience to him and his Inſtitutions; from this action the cuſtom hath been introduced of kiſſing the ſleeve of the Grand Signior.*

Vid. Chap. 20. l. 1.

The Religious of this Order wear on their heads white Caps of ſeveral pieces, with Turbants of Wooll twiſted in the faſhion of a Rope; they obſerve conſtantly the hours of Prayer, which they perform in their own Aſſemblies; they go Cloathed in White, and praiſe the Unity of God, crying, Hu, (which is, may he live) and by theſe means obtain the Grace of God.

This Santone hath many millions of Diſciples and Followers; now all the Janizaries of the Ottoman Port are profeſſours of the ſame Religion: This Bectaſh *at his death cut off one of his ſleeves, and put it upon the head of one of his Religious men, part of which hung down on his ſhoulders, ſaying, After this you ſhall be* Janizaries, *which ſignifies a new Militia; and from that time began their original inſtitution; ſo this is the reaſon why the* Janizaries *wear Caps falling behind after the manner of Sleeves, called* Ketche. *This Hagi* Bectaſh *was a perſon exceedingly attractive in his converſation, holy to admiration, a Man of great Worth, and Majeſtick in his comportment; known buried in the City* Kyn, *where they have many Convents and Religious followers, who always praiſe and adore God: and thus far my* Hogia *informs me.*

But whatſoever he ſays, this Order is the moſt abhorred in the World by the *Kadizadeli*, becauſe that *Bectaſh* left it to the free will of his Diſciples, either to obſerve the conſtant hours of prayer, or not; by which great liberty and licentiouſneſs is entred amongſt the *Janizaries*, who are Souldier-like, not over zealous or devout in their Prayers, little attendant to the Offices of devotion. In ſome Songs which this *Bectaſh* is ſaid to have compoſed, it is often repeated, *That none hath known God, becauſe none hath ſeen him*: And for this reaſon the moſt zealous *Mahometans* call the *Janizaries Kefarchi*, which ſignifies without Faith; and a certain *Mufti* called *Ebuſuud* delivered his Sentence or *Fetfa*, to the queſtion demanded him; If a *Muſſelman* or Believer ſhould ſay to a *Janizary*, *thou art a Pagan*, what puniſhment he ſhould merit by the Law; he replied, that a man is an Infidel, who holds a *Janizary* for a true Believer.

Some Fryars of this Order of *Bectaſh* do in all publick Shews and Solemnities march near the perſon of the *Janizar Aga*, crying continual, *Hu, hu*, with their Daggers drawn. They are a moſt licentious ſort of people, much given to *Sodomy*, for which the ignorant and looſe ſort of *Janizaries* are willingly their Diſciples; and are now grown into that vaſt multitude, as is almoſt impoſſible to extirpate them or their Vices; though corroſives are laid to eat away this Gangreen in the Militia, which goes creeping on with an unſenſible pace; as we ſhall diſcourſe more largely in the next Book of the *Turkiſh* Militia.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Order of Herewi *or* Hizrevi.

IN the time of *Orchanes* the ſecond King of the *Turks*, who Governed thirty five years, and Reigned eighty three, and died in the *Hegira* of *Mahomet* ſeven hundred and ſixteen, there lived in *Pruſa*, then the Regal Seat, a famous

Santone called *Herewi*, who uſed to walk up and down, and as an act of charity to buy the Livers and Lights of Beaſts to feed Cats and Dogs; he profeſſed poverty and ſevere mortification with Tears and Sighs, and he acted with that fervency that the Angels leaving Heaven, came to be witneſſess of his holy Penance.

The fame of which moved *Sultan Orchanes* to diſcourſe with him, and to know the ſtory of his paſt life; which he ſmiling began to recount, and told him, that he formerly was a King derived from the Line of *Mahomet*, had compaſſed with his Arms the Rivers of *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, had governed Provinces with his Sword and Sceptre, had been triumphantly adorned with precious Stones and glittering Arms, and had made the World tremble at the very mention of his name. But at laſt conſidering the vanity of this world, he reſolved on a ſolitary life, and to renounce all the follies and ſmall ſatisfaction of Riches and empty Honours. At which ſaying, *Sultan Orchanes* was amazed, and ſaid, *We ought not to deſpiſe thoſe who under the guiſe and appearance of mad and diſtracted perſons wander through the World, for their Vertues are rare; and in this man particularly I diſcover ſo much of ſanctity, that I judge my ſelf unworthy of the name of one of his Servants.* And this is the reaſon why Fools and Frantick people have ever ſince been had in honour and reverence amongſt the *Turks*, as thoſe whom Revelations and Enthuſiaſms tranſported out of the ordinary temperament of humanity.

This *Herewi* was very Learned and experienced in Chimiſtry; and to thoſe who profeſſed his Order, and entred into the regular life of his Religion, inſtead of Aſpers he beſtowed Gold; he wore a Green Veſt, and lived very abſtemiouſly; he mended his own Cloaths, and dreſſed the Dyet for his Convent. He endowed many *Moſchs*, and ſeveral Hoſpitals of Charity at *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*. His Sepulchre is at *Pruſa*, which is greatly viſited by Pilgrims, and adorned by the Bounty and Munificence of thoſe who reverence the Memory of this holy *Santone*.

This is the beſt relation I could procure from one of the *Seighs* or Preachers, and one that was Prior of this Order, whoſe example, as the original Copy, others of this Order imitate. They have a Monaſtery in *Conſtantinople*, as all the others beforementioned; beſides which in this Capital City nor in any parts of the *Turkiſh* Dominions in *Europe*, have I obſerved any *Teke* or Monaſtery, where *Turks* profeſs to lead a religious Life, but is one of the Orders before-mentioned; ſome others there may be about *Babylon* and *Egypt*, and remoteſt parts of *Aſia*, whoſe names and conſtitutions I have not repeated here, who have (as I am informed) ſomewhat more of ridiculous and ſuperſtitious work amongſt them than I have declared in the account I have given of thoſe I have been acquainted with in the parts I have travelled; yet it is obſervable they all of them pretend to Poverty as the neareſt way to arrive to the happineſs of Paradiſe; but with their Poverty (as I have ſeen in ſome of their *Tekes* where I have been, eſpecially thoſe removed from Cities) they mix ſo much negligence in their living, not caring for neatneſs in their Houſes, but leave things in a diſorderly and confuſed manner, as teſtifies their lazineſs as well as poverty; and are not like the Cells of *Capuchins*, who having nothing to attend to beſides their Prayers and Gardens, improve all things with that advantage, as graces Poverty, and convinces the World that in a moderate enjoyment of it there is more ſatisfaction, than in thoſe vexations which attend the diſpoſal and government of riches, and the ſatiety of opulency and plenty. It is worth noting alſo, that on the Monuments of *Santones* and in the Gardens, or before the Gates of theſe Religious, there is always ſome ridiculous adornment, ſuch as agrees with the fancy of Bedlams; as Crowning the Hearſe of the Dead with Beads and Horns, and Ribbons, and pieces of Tinſel, *&c.* and their doors with the like; accounting it a chief diſpoſition to Divine Service to have a mind endued with an humour inclining to the fancy of Hypocondriacal or diſtracted Heads; ſo that I ſhall not enlarge farther in this Diſcourſe, nor glut my Reader with ſo inſipid and fulſome a ſubject.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Marriages and Divorces, and how far Concubinage is indulged amongſt the Turks.

THE ſtate of Marriage is accounted both honourable and holy amongſt the *Turks*, by which the Race of Mankind is beſt encreaſed and maintained; yet the Prieſt, as I may call him, or their Church-man, hath the leaſt hand in the Solemnity; the matter, as an action wholly Civil, is performed before the *Caddee* or Judge; not unlike the manner practiſed in *England* for ſome few years, according to that abſurd Act of Marriages by a Juſtice of Peace; and is in the nature of a Recognizance, whereby the Husband doth perſonally oblige himſelf before the Judge to take ſuch a Wife, and in caſe of his death or divorce, to endow her with a certain Eſtate to remain to her own diſpoſal. The Woman is not there preſent, but appears by her Father or ſome of her neareſt Relations, and is afterwards by a great attendance of Women brought covered, ſitting aſtride on Horſeback under a Canopy to the Habitation of her Bridegroom, who remains at the Gate with open Armes to receive her; there is great rejoicing and feaſting hereat, the night before ſhe is brought to the company of her Husband; but when the precedent ceremonies to the Marriage are performed and compleated, the Houſe is all ſilent, and ſhe is brought into the Bride-Chamber by an Eunuch (if ſhe be of Quality) if not, by ſome Women of near Relation, and delivered to her Husband, who is himſelf to untie her Drawers, and undreſs her for his bed; not unlike the cuſtome amongſt the *Romans* of *Zonam Solvere.*

Polygamy is freely indulged to them by their Religion as far as the number of four Wives, contrary to the common report, that a *Turk* may have as many Wives as he can maintain; Though *Mahomet* had nine Wives, and *Hali* had fourteen, as being men more ſpiritual, and of a more elevated degree, had greater privileges and indulgences for carnal enjoyments.

This reſtraint of the number of their Wives is certainly no Precept of their Religion, but a rule ſuperinduced upon ſome politick conſiderations, as too great a charge and weakning to mens eſtates, every one that takes a Wife being obliged to make her a Kabin or Dowry, as we have ſaid before; or elſe for better regulation of the Oeconomics, and to prevent and abate ſomewhat of the Jealouſies, Strifes and Embroilments in a Family, which muſt neceſſarily ariſe between ſo many Rivals in the affection of one Husband who is obliged by Law and Covenants to deal and beſtow his benevolence and conjugal kindneſs in an exact proportion of equality. And leſt this confinement to a certain number of Wives, ſhould ſeem a reſtriction and impeachment of that liberty and free uſe of Women which they ſay God hath frankly beſtowed on Man, every one may freely ſerve himſelf of his Women Slaves, with as much variety as he is able to buy or maintain; and this kind of Concubinage is no ways envied or condemned by the Wives, ſo long as they can enjoy their due maintenance, and have ſome reaſonable ſhare in the Husband's Bed, which once a week is their due by the Law: for if any of them have been neglected the whole week before, ſhe challenges Thurſday night as her due, and hath remedy in that caſe againſt her Husband by the Law: and if ſhe be ſo modeſt as not to ſue him for one weeks default, ſhe is yet ſo ingenious to contrive a ſupply of her wants: And whereas the Women are Educated with much retiredneſs from the converſation of men, and conſequently with greater inclinations towards them, and with no principles of vertue, of moral honeſty or Religion, as to a future Eſtate relating to the rewards or puniſhments of their good or bad actions; they are accounted the moſt laſcivious and immodeſt of all Women, and excell in the moſt refined and ingenious ſubtilties to ſteal their pleaſures: And as in Chriſtendom the Husband bears the diſgrace and ſcandal of his Wives incontinency, here the Horns are by the vulgar adjudged to the Father, Brother, and Wives Kindred; the Blood of her Family is tainted and diſhonoured, and the Husband obtaining a Divorce, quits himſelf of his Wife and diſhonour together.

No queſtion but the firſt Inſtitutour of this eaſie Religion, next to the ſatisfaction of his own carnal and effeminate inclination, and this taking freedom amongſt his Diſciples; his main conſideration was the encreaſe of his people by *Polygamy*, knowing that the greatneſs of Empires and Princes conſiſts more in the numbers and multitudes of their People, than the large extent of their Dominions. This freedom (if it may be called ſo) was granted at the beginning of the World for the propagation and encreaſe of Mankind; and the Jews had that permiſſion and indulgence to their looſe and wandring affections; and we read that the Eaſtern parts of the World have abounded with Children of divers Mothers, and but one Father; and that ordinarily a Great Perſonage in *Egypt* hath been attended with an hundred luſty Sons in the Field, proceeding from his own Loins, well Armed, and daring in all attempts of War. But yet this courſe thrives not ſo well amongſt the *Turks* as formerly; whether it be thought their accurſed Vice of *Sodomy*, or that that God bleſſes not ſo much this State of life, as when the paucity of Mankind induced a ſort of a neceſſity and a plea for it.

But chiefly through the irreconcilable emulation, and rivalry which is amongſt many Wives, thoſe Witchcrafts and Sorceries (which in this Country are very frequent) are prepared againſt the envied fruitfulneſs each of other, that either they make an Abortive Birth, or otherwiſe their Children pine, and macerate away with ſecret and hidden charms, by which means they are now obſerved not to be ſo fruitfull and numerous, as is the Marriage bed of a ſingle Wife; nor is the family ſo well regulated, and orderly, as under the conduct and good Houſe-wifry of one Woman, but contrarily filled with noiſe, brawls and diſſentions, as paſſes the Wiſedom of the Husband to become an equal Umpire and Arbitratour of their differences; which conſideration reſtrains many, though otherwiſe inclinable enough to gratifie their Appetites, from incumbring themſeves with ſo great an inconvenience; and I have known ſome, though childleſs, have adhered to a ſingle Wife, and preferred Quiet and Repoſe, before the contentment of their Off-ſpring.

The Children they have by their Slaves, are equally eſteemed with thoſe they have by their Wives; *Neque vero Turcæ minus honoris deferunt natis ex concubinis aut pellicibus quam ex uxoribus, neque illi minus in bona paterna juris habent*, Busbeq. *Ep.* 1.

But yet with this difference in eſteem of the Law, that unleſs the Father manumiſſes them by his Teſtament, and confers a livelihood upon them by Legacy, they remain to the Charity of their Elder Brother that is born from the Wife; and are his Slaves, and he their Lord and Maſter; and it is with them, as in the Civil Law, *Partus ventrem ſequitur*; So that from the Loins of the ſame Father, may proceed Sons of a ſervile and ignominious condition.

There is alſo another ſort of half Marriage amongſt them, which is called *Kabin*, when a man takes a Wife for a Month, or for a certain limited time; and an agreement is made for the Price before the *Cadee* or Judge: and this Strangers oftentimes uſe, who have not the Gift of Continency, and are deſirous to find a Wife in all places where they travel, and is the ſame which they term in *Spain* to be *Emancibado*, or *Caſado de Media Carta*, onely the act there is not made allowable by the Laws as in *Turky*.

There is another ſort of Marriages commonly uſed amongſt the *Turks* (if we may give it that honourable Title) which is the conjunction of an Eunuch with a Woman; ſuch as are wholly diſarmed of all parts of virility, do notwithſtanding take many Wives, and exerciſe Luſts of an unknown and prodigious nature.

There is alſo one point or reſtriction of Matrimony in the *Turkiſh* Religion which is obſervable; that is a *Mahometan* may marry himſelf with what Woman ſoever, though eſteemed an Infidel, as a Chriſtian, Jew, or any other different profeſſion, ſo it be of thoſe who are of a learned Religion of which Books are wrote to defend and maintain it; but ſuch Women as are of a Religion which hath nothing in it of learning or of written Law, as the Sect of *Meleonei*, who adore the Fire, conſerving it always burning in their Temples, and are to be found in the parts of *Perſia*, but principally in ſome Countries of the *Mogul*; and alſo the Gipſie Women are prohibited (of which great numbers are amongſt the *Turks*) a Vagabond people without Religion, but what is fabulous and ridiculous; and having no Literature or knowledge amongſt them, are reputed as abominable amongſt the *Turks*.

And here the *Turks* upon occaſional diſcourſes of the ſeverity and ſtrictneſs of the Chriſtian

Diſcipline in matters of Concupiſcence, telling them that no Copulation is allowable but in the Marriage-Bed, and that reſtrained and confined to one Wife, without the additions of Slaves to ſatisfie with variety the corrupted fancy; that the very thoughts of Luſt and Concupiſcence pollute the purity of the Soul; *And that whoſoever looks on a Woman to Luſt after her, commits Adultery in his heart*; They preſently deride theſe our Precepts and our Laws, which Chriſtians not onely by their actions and corrupted lives contemn as invalid, but Authority it ſelf not by a ſimple connivence onely, but by indulgence and privileges, foments and encourages perſons walking contrary to that which is confeſſed to be an indiſpenſable Law. For proof whereof they mention the Stews of *Italy*, Whoredom made an allowable Trade and Profeſſion in *Venice*, *Naples* and the City of *Rome*, and the *Gantoneras* in *Spain*, and framed into a Politick Body (as it is related and apprehended by the *Turks*) from whence Taxes and Impoſitions are raiſed: The *Turks* comprehend not the Politick grounds hereof, with which in *Italy* this Maxim is defended; nor is it fitting to produce the reaſons, or argue it with them; ſince the benefit which accrues to the *Roman* Church, and the Profits that ariſe thence, being employed in maintenance of Gallies and Forces againſt Infidels, is the beſt can be ſaid to hallow this permiſſion; but 'tis an improper argument with a *Turk* to excuſe this Licence and Authority to ſin upon conſiderations of being better able to War againſt the Profeſſours of his Religion. And therefore the *Turk* will hardly be convinced but that this manner of Concubinage hath much more of Sanctity, Order and Policy in it, as being free from Diſeaſes and Foulneſs, than the wandring Luſts of Stews, or impudence of *Corteſans*, made bold and hard-foreheaded by conceſſion of Authority.

Pudet hæc opprobria Nobis
Et dici potuiſſe, &c.

Amongſt all the privileges that the *Sultan* enjoys above his Subjects, this one hath leſs than they, that he cannot marry; but yet he hath as many Women as ſerves his uſe, though never ſo libidinous, or are requiſite for the Oſtentation and great Magnificence of his Court, according to the cuſtome of the Eaſtern Princes, who placed a great part of their Pomp in the multitude of their Women. This diſuſe of Marriage in the *Sultans* hath been a Maxim of State, and reckoned amongſt the *Turks*, *inter Arcana Imperii*, from the time of *Bajazet* untill this very Age: the reaſons hereof are diverſly related, *Busbequius* ſaith, That *Bajazet* after the great Victory obtained againſt him by *Tamerlane*, to his other great misfortunes and diſgraces, had this one added, of having his Wife *Deſpina*, whom he dearly loved, to fall into the hands of the Conquerour, whoſe ignominious and undecent uſage of her before the eyes of her Husband, was a matter of more diſhonour and ſorrow, than all the reſt of his afflictions: ſo that ever ſince that time the *Sultans* to free themſelves from being capable of that diſgrace on occaſion of like fortune, take no feminine companion of their Empire in whom they may be more concerned than as in Slaves, or the loſs of Goods, Riches, or Eſtate. But in my opinion, this Policy is of a deeper reach and deſign, than the conſiderations of matters ſo meerly poſſible; for as I have heard, the onely ſign and ceremony of a *Sultans* making a Wife, is the endowing her with Riches agreeable to her condition and quality, not called *Kabin*, which is *Dowry*, but *Paſhmaluck* or Money for her Shooes; which beſides Preſents, Jewels, and rich Garments for her ſelf, and great attendance, her Revenue ought to be equal to that of a *Valede* or Mother of the Grand Signior, which is four or five hundred thouſand Dollars yearly Rent; ſo that were this cuſtome in uſe, and meeting with the diſpoſition of ſome Princes that are Amorous and Prodigal, the chief Revenue of the Empire would be expended in the Chambers of Women, and diverted from the true Chanels in which the Chanel ought to run for nouriſhment of the Politick body of the Commonwealth. Beſides, were it the cuſtome for *Sultans* to take Wives, it would contradict that main principle of Policy amongſt them, of avoiding Alliances and Relations of the Grand Signior abroad. And this was the principal reaſon of the murther of *Sultan Oſman*, tenth Emperour of the *Turks*, contrived by the Rebellion and Toleration of the Souldiery: it being objected that he had married a *Sultana*, whereof he had contracted Alliances, contrary to the fundamental Conſtitutions of the Empire.

The tye and ſolemnity of Marriage, and the nature thereof amongſt the *Turks*, is as before related; from which the Woman hath no ways to unlooſe her ſelf, whilſt the Husband maintains her with Bread, Butter, Rice, Wood and Flax to ſpin for her Cloathing; the Law ſuppoſes her ſo induſtrious a Houſewife as with her own labour to ſupply her ſelf: there are ſome other points pleadable in Law for Divorce in behalf of the Woman, as impotency, or frigidity in the Husband, and the like, but the man hath divers means to acquit himſelf, and can do it by ſeveral allegations; and may upon as eaſie terms, and on as light grounds ſue out his Divorce, as was permitted to the *Jews* in caſes of diſlike, or that ſhe found no favour in his eyes.

There are amongſt the *Turks* three degrees of Divorce, every one of which is made before the *Kadee* or Juſtice, and by him drawn out and regiſtred. The firſt ſeparates the Man and Wife onely from the ſame Houſe and Bed, the maintenance of a Wife being ſtill continued; The ſecond not onely divides them in that manner, but the Husband is compelled to make good her *Kabin*, which is a Joynture or Dowry promiſed at her Marriage, ſo as to have no intereſt either in him or his Eſtate, and to remain in a free condition to marry another. The third ſort of Divorce which is called (*Ouch Talac*) is made in a ſolemn and more ſerious manner, with more rigorous terms of ſeparation, and in this caſe the Husband repenting of his Divorce, and deſirous to re-take his Wife, cannot by the Law be admitted to her without firſt conſenting and contenting himſelf to ſee another man enjoy her before his face; which condition the Law requires as a puniſhment of the Husbands lightneſs and inconſtancy, and as an evidence to ſhew that though the *Turkiſh* Law is very indulgent and open in the free choice and enjoyment of Women, yet that it puniſhes ſuch as unadviſedly fruſtrate the ſolemn points thereof, with remarkable notes of infamy and diſgrace. Notwithſtanding ſome afterwards repenting of their Divorce, have been contented with the condition, and have choſen ſome handſome Youth to enter into the Bed of their Wife. It is a merry Story that is told of one, who in this caſe being put to a great ſtreight, reſolved to call the firſt man he conveniently met, to this Office, that ſo as one unknown, his reputation might be the leſs concerned: the man he firſt lighted on, happened to be a *Kaickgee* or Boat-man, who it ſeems ſo well ſatisfied and pleaſed the Wife, that ſhe afterwards renounced all intereſt in her Husband, and reſolved to adhere to her new Lover, of whom ſhe ſuppoſed ſhe had ſufficient proof and acquaintance with already to eſteem a better Husband than her former. There are but few amongſt the *Turks*, though ſome are found, who ſo heartily repent of their Divorce, and ſo fond of their ſeparated Wives, as to be contented to take them with the foregoing Condition: for it is reputed a kind of an Abomination; and when they would ſignifie any matter far alienated or eſtranged, they call it (*Ouch Talac*) ſomething ſo divided and ſeparated as to be a Sin and Prophanation ſo much as to covet or deſire it.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the other parts of the Turkiſh *Religion.*

Of Circumciſion.

CIrcumciſion is not reckoned amongſt one of the five Points which conſtitute a true *Mahometan* believer, but 'tis onely (as we have ſaid before) propoſed as a tryal and proof of man's obedience to the more neceſſary parts of the Law. This Rite of Circumciſion is not received by them as an Article or Precept delivered expreſly from the *Alchoran*, but by tradition and ancient practice and uſe amongſt the *Arabians*, before the time of *Mahomet*, derived originally from *Iſhmael* or *Eſau*, whoſe Progeny they are, and from thence give themſelves the name of *Iſhmaelites*. The *Arabian* Doctours affirm that *Mahomet* himſelf was born with his Navel cut, and naturally circumciſed; perhaps to equal the ſame Story which the Jews report of *Moſes*, and ſome others of the Patriarchs; and it ſeems in thoſe Countries where Circumciſion is in practice, that it is not unuſual for Children to be ſo born; who are therefore called Sons of the Moon, on whom the virtue of the Moon hath more than ordinary manner of influence. *Credebant ſiquidem Arabes, quod ille qui ſub luna radiis naſceretur, contrahi perinde ac circumciſum preputium.*

Pocokii *nota de Arabum moribus.*

The *Turks* never circumciſe their Children untill the age of ſeven years and upwards; and then they do it by a Barber or Chirurgion, it not being eſteemed a matter appropriated to the Office of the *Emaum* or Prieſts; for (as we have ſaid before) they make no ſuch diſtinction as Clergy and Laity; I mean as to any ſpiritual Character of Prieſthood; for a man may cry upon the Steeple to day, and like their Paſtour be the firſt to lead his Congregation to their Prayers, and expound the *Alchoran* in the Pulpit; and next day be expelled his Pariſh, and become free to any other ſecular Employment or Profeſſion: They obſerve ſome Ceremonies amongſt them on this occaſion, often differing according to the Countrey and place; but commonly the child is ſet on Horſeback in his beſt Cloaths attended with his School-fellows and Companions, who with loud ſhouts repeat ſome words in the *Alchoran*; and being brought home, and the act of Circumciſion performed, he is carefully attended for his Cure, and in the mean time there is a Feaſt or Banquet prepared for the Gueſts; thoſe who of riper years become *Mahometans* in ſome places are carried about the Town on Horſeback, with a Dart in their left hand pointing to their heart, ſignifying that they will rather ſuffer themſelves to be paſſed through with that Inſtrument, than renounce that Faith they then profeſs. And this Circumciſion is an admiſſion and introduction of them into the number of the Faithfull, as it is amongſt the Jews, and Baptiſm with the Chriſtians.

Ceremonies at the Circumciſion.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the five neceſſary Points which are required to conſtitute a true Mahometan.

Of their Waſhings.

THough *Mahomet* ſaith in the *Alchoran* that his Religion is founded in Cleanneſs, and that it is half of his Law; yet much before *Mahomet*'s time Waſhings were obſerved according to the ſame preſcriptions by the *Arabians*, who deſcending from *Iſhmael*, maintained by tradition the practice of Waſhings: and he had no other ſhare in this invention, than that it was enforced by his Authority on the Profeſſours of his Sect. The *Turks* are certainly a very cleanly people in their exteriour manner of living; as in their Waſhings relating to their holy exerciſes and duties, they are very preciſe and ſuperſtitious: ſome of them believing that the very water purifies them from the foulneſs of their ſins, as well as from the uncleanneſs of their bodies; There being three ſorts of Waſhings obſerved by them.

The firſt is called *Abdeſt*, which is a preparation for their Prayers, entring the *Moſcb*, or reading the *Alchoran*; they firſt waſh their hands and armes, then their neck, their forehead, the crown of their head, their ears, their teeth, the face, under the noſe, and laſt of all their feet; but if the weather be cold, not convenient to uncover them, it is ſufficient, if they make ſome evidence thereof by any other outward ſignification.

The ſecond is called *Guſul*, which is the cleanſing of the Bath after copulation or nocturnal pollutions; untill which time a man is called *Ginnub*, that is, his prayers are accounted abominable before God, and his Society to be avoided by Men.

The third is *Tabaret*, which is a Waſhing after the caſe or evacuation of nature; to this homely office they deſign the three laſt fingers of the left hand; and upon this account they call Chriſtians *Tabaretſiz*, which is as much as one defiled and impure for want of this manner of cleanſing. And waſhing is ſo uſual and frequent amongſt them both before and after Meat, as hath cauſed a common Proverb amongſt them, *That God hath created Meat, that men may have occaſion often to waſh their hands.*

Secondly,

Secondly, *Of their Prayers.*

After their Waſhing follow their Prayers, which *Mahomet* to recommend to his Diſciples the force and virtue of Prayer, calls it in his *Alchoran* the Pillar of Religion, and the Key of Paradiſe, and enjoined the performance five times in the ſpace of twenty four hours, *viz.* between the day breaking and Sun-riſing, called *Sabanamaſee.* Secondly, at Noon, called *Vlemanaſee.* Thirdly, at the middle hour, between the Noon and the ſetting of the Sun, called *Kindinamaſee.* Fourthly, at Sun-ſetting, called *Aeſhanamaſee.* Fifthly, at an hour and half in the night, called *Tachinamaſee*; this action they perform with very much reverence and devotion, and hold that they ought to be ſo intent and fixed in their thoughts on this religious act towards God, that no buſineſs of the World, though the execution of the *Sultan*'s Decree ſhould in the ſame moment be commanded, or fire ſhould burſt forth in the very Chamber where they remain, or an armed Enemy within their Gates or Camp, they ought not yet to be diverted, or break abruptly off their Prayers, to extinguiſh or oppoſe themſelves againſt their inevitable Deſtruction; nay, if they do but Cough, or Spit, or Sneeze, or rub any part of their Face, or Hands, where a Fly bites, during their Prayers, they muſt begin them again, for they are void, and eſteemed to be of no effect. It is much in my opinion that Infidels ſhould be poſſeſſed with that awe and ſenſe of the Divine Majeſty in the time of their Audience with him; and yet that Friers and others of the *Roman* Church obliged to their Office, as the *Turk* to his *Namas*, ſhould perform it ſo perfunctorily, as to mix the diſcourſe of buſineſs with the Repetition of their Breviary, and joyn with their Reſponſals Anſwers and Reſolutions of queſtions are made them; and ſo ſatisfie themſelves in the *Opus operatum*, as if it were more important to comply with his command who impoſed the Office than with his who primarily enjoyned the ſacrifice of prayer.

The form of their Prayers is not extracted out of the *Alchoran*, onely the Collections of Sentences, as in the Name of God, God is Great and Mercifull, and the like, are deduced from thence (as Chriſtians do from the fountain of the Holy Scriptures) the reſt is compiled by the four Doctours we have before mentioned, *viz. Ebbubecher*, *Omar*, *Osman* and *Ali*; whoſe names are wrote in golden Characters on the Walls of moſt *Moſchs*; Herein they obſerve many poſtures and geſtures of their Body; as placing their hands one on the other before them, bending the body, kneeling, touching the Ground with their forehead, moving the head to each ſide, and the like; in which it is difficult to make diſtinction of thoſe meerly invented and ordained by *Mahomet*, from thoſe which were primarily in uſe amongſt the ancient *Arabians*: But that the orderly Ceremonies in their Prayers may be better deſcribed, it will be to our purpoſe to hear what *Busbequius* relates of the whole *Turkiſh* Army, whom he had ſeen drawn up orderly in Epiſt. 3. the Field at their Devotion. *I ſaw* (ſaid he) *in that Plain, a great multitude of Heads folded up in Turbants, who with profound ſilence attended to the words of a Prieſt their Conductour; all of them being drawn up in rank and file, and covering with their extended Orders the whole Plain, ſeemed to have framed a Wall or Bulwark by the regular diſpoſition of their Bodies: their Cloathings were of light colours, and their Turbants comparable to the whiteneſs of the Snow, and the variety of the different colours of their Garments, fed the eyes with a ſtrange pleaſure: in this manner ſo immovable they ſtood, as if they had grown in the place where their feet were fixed, no coughing, hemming, nor voice was heard, nor ſo much as any motion was perceived of their heads; every one at the name of* Mahomet *pronounced by the Prieſt, bowed his head to his knees; and at the name of God reverently proſterated himſelf, and kiſſed the Earth: and thus the* Turks *with devout ceremony and profound attention perform their whole Duties; ſuppoſing that Prayer to become fruitleſs, which is interrupted by ſcratching the Head, rubbing the Hands, or any other geſture not eſſential to their Prayers.* But of all Nations and Religions that I have known, they are the moſt hypocritical; they are thoſe who love to pray in the Market-place, and in the Corners of the Streets, to have praiſe of Men; for it is obſervable with the *Turks*, that where they find the moſt Spectatours, eſpecially of Chriſtians, to chuſe that place how inconvenient ſoever, to ſpread firſt their Handkerchief, and then begin their Prayers. The ſubſtance of their Prayers conſiſts for the moſt part in praiſes of the Divine Power and Attributes; mixing therewith Petitions for the ſafety of his Prince and his Dominions, and for Diſſention and Wars amongſt Chriſtians, which part they conceive God hath greatly gratified them in, and rejoycing upon the rumours of Wars and diſturbances in Chriſtendom, as an effect of the Divine facility and conceſſion to their Prayers: They know well by experience, what *Tacitus* reports of the *Roman* Policy; That, *Omne* Lib. 12. Hiſt. *ſcelus externum cum letitia habendum*, *ſemina etiam odiorum incende*; and as the *Romans* deſtined *Armenia* to be a prize held up, and the Stage alſo, on which the Tragedy of the ruine of the Eaſtern Nations were to be acted, *Eandem Armeniam ſpecie largitionis turbandis barbarorum animis prabuerint*; ſo the *Turks* forbore for ſeveral years the total Conqueſt of the Provinces of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, reſerving them for the *Cadmean* Fields, wherein the *Hungarians*, *Germans*, *Polonians*, and the People of thoſe Countries themſelves might deſtroy one the other, and make his entrance to the poſſeſſion of them the more facile, and leſs bloudy.

Thirdly, *Of their* Ramazan.

The third neceſſary point of their Religion, is the obſervation of the Month of *Ramazan*, or a Faſt in that whole Month, in which time they can neither eat, drink, or take any thing in their Mouths, whilſt the Sun is above the *Horizon*; afterwards, upon ſhutting in of the Evening, that the *Emaum* lights the Lamps, which in that Month are expoſed round the Steeple of every *Moſch*, they have liberty to eat: moſt part of the night they ſpend in Feaſting, reſerving commonly their greateſt Delicacies and beſt proviſions for the conſolation of that Faſt; their buſineſs and employments they attend moſt to in the night, paſſing the day as over-tedious in ſleeping, ſo that their Faſt is nothing but a changing the day into night. This Month they call ſacred and holy, and the time when the Gates of Paradiſe are opened, and of Hell are ſhut: and ſo ſtrict is the impoſition of this Faſt, that it is no leſs than Death for a *Turk* to be accuſed of the breach thereof. In this Month to drink Wine is eſteemed an inexpiable crime; and ſuch who give themſelves that liberty at other times, do yet, not to give ſcandal, abſtain from it fourteen days before the beginning of this Month: and Women, and other of the more ſuperſtitious ſort, begin fifteen days their Faſt before it is enjoyned by the Precept of their Prophet. But ſuch as are ſick, or have any infirmity, or are travellers in their journey, have a permiſſion to eat; but with that condition, as to remain obliged at other times of their health and convenience to make good thoſe days of the *Ramazan*, of which they remain indebted to the performance of their Law.

Mr. *Pocock, Notæ de Arabum moribus.*

The Inſtitutions of this Month of *Ramazan*, proceeded from *Mahomet* himſelf, in the ſecond year of his Prophetick Office, which he did not aſſume untill he fully had compleated forty years, having before in imitation of the Jews Faſt of *Aſhura*, *Levit.* 16. *ver.* 29. in memory of the overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt in the Red-Sea, enjoyned to the *Arabians* the ſame time of Abſtinence: but afterwards apprehending it diſhonourable to be beholding to the Jews for the invention of a Faſt, inſtituted the *Ramazan*, the time of which is governed by the courſe of the Moon, and falls out commonly ten days ſooner than in the preceding year, ſo that this Faſt with time comes to run through all the Months, and is more eaſie to the *Turks* when it happens in the ſhort days of the Winter, rather than in the Summer, when the days are long and hot, which become tedious to the ordinary ſort of people, who for neceſſity are forced to labour, and yet for the quenching thirſt dare not refreſh their mouths with a drop of water.

Fourthly, *Of their Zacat*.

Which is another neceſſary point to the conſtitution of a *Mahometan*, which is the beſtowing Alms according to certain rules preſcribed by four principal Doctours of their Law: the word *Zacat* ſignifies as much as Encreaſe, becauſe the Alms procure the bleſſing of God, and multiply the ſtore of the Mercifull. According to this command every man is obliged to give one in a hundred of all their Eſtate to the relief of the poor; and though this Precept is enjoined as an ingredient to conſtitute a true *Mahometan*, yet covetouſneſs and Policy ſo much prevail with the *Turks*, that the Rich are both unwilling to part with ſo much of their Eſtate, and fearfull to evidence their Wealth by a true calculate according to the *Zacat*; ſo that the Poor are the beſt obſervers of this injunction, the Rich conceiving it ſuperfluous, and never intended by God to make the performance of Religion a ſnare to their Eſtates.

Fifthly, *Of their Pilgrimage to* Mecha.

Which is enjoyned to every one who hath Riches and Freedom from great Offices and Charges of Government, to perform it; being a Type or ſignification of their paſſage out of this world into the next. The number of thoſe who yearly undertake this Pilgrimage is uncertain, though moſt commonly are regiſtred from divers parts where the *Mahometan* Religion is profeſſed, above Fifty Thouſand Souls; theſe Pilgrims depart about the latter end of *May* from *Conſtantinople*, and meet with thoſe from *Anatolia*, *Caramania*, and others of that quarter of the World at *Damaſcus*: thoſe from *Perſia* aſſemble at *Babylon*: thoſe of the parts of *Egypt* at *Grand Cairo*, and all unite upon a Mount not far diſtant from *Mecha*, where they obſerve divers Ceremonies, as making *Corban* or Sacrifice, which they do by killing Sheep, and ſending part thereof as Preſents to their Friends, and diſtribution thereof amongſt the Poor. They alſo here ſtrip themſelves of their Garments, and being covered onely with a Blanket, go in proceſſion through the Mountains, in ſignification that they muſt now leave all their ſins and affections of the World behind them. Here alſo they leave their Chriſtian Slaves, that ſo they may not prophane the Holy City with the Uncircumciſed.

The chief Commander over the Pilgrims (for amongſt ſo conſiderable a number of people, there muſt be rule and Government) is appointed by the Grand Signior, and is called *Sur-Emini*, by whom he ſends 500 *Zechins*, an *Alchoran* Emboſſed with Gold, carried on a *Camel*, and as much black Cloath as ſerves for Hangings for the *Moſchs* at *Mecha*; and this is yearly preſented from the *Sultan* to that place: when the new Hanging is ſet up, that of the former year is pulled down, and is by the Pilgrims torn in pieces; ſome getting more and ſome leſs, to carry any rag of it home, as a Relique and token of their Pilgrimage, which ſerves them in place of the *Caabe*, to which they turn their faces at the time of Prayers. The *Camel* which carried the *Alchoran*, at this return home is decked with flowers and other ornaments, and having performed this holy Journey, is ever after exempted from all labour and ſervice.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of the Bairam *and Ceremonies uſed at that time by the chief Officers to the* Grand Signior.

THE *Bairam* is the Feaſt of the *Turks*, of which there are two in the year; one immediately following the Faſt of *Ramazan*, as our *Eaſter* doth the *Lent*, (which) is called the great *Bairam*; the other is the little *Bairam*, which happens about ſeventy days after the former; at which time the people for three days ceaſe from their labours, preſent one the other, rejoice and take greater liberty than at other times; which no queſtion but was invented by *Mahomet*, for relaxation of the bodies and minds of his Followers, as well as in imitation of the Chriſtian Feaſts.

The *Bairam* is then conceived to begin at the firſt appearance of the new Moon after the *Ramazan*; which is ſometime deferred a days time, if the weather prove cloudy, that the Moon is not viſible; if longer the Sky be obſcured, according to the courſe of nature, it is preſumed that the Moon is begun, and ſo their *Feaſt* begins alſo; which is publiſhed at *Conſtantinople* by the diſcharge of the great Guns at the point of the *Seraglio* upon the Sea-ſhore, at which time the Lights or Lamps on the ſteeples of the *Moſchs* are extinguiſhed or omitted to be lighted, and Drums and Trumpets are ſounded in all publick places of the City, and Courts of great Perſons; ſo that every one betakes himſelf to Mirth or Paſtime as his own inclination or convenience leads him.

But that which will be moſt curious to the obſervation of the judicious Reader, is the relation of the Ceremonies uſed in the *Seraglio* at this Feaſt by the ſeveral Officers of State to the Grand Signior, and to one another; which are ſo formal, preciſe, and conſtant to the leaſt motion of every Member of the Body, as will clear the *Turks* from that opinion which paſſes of them in the World, of being rude, uncivil, and void of all Ceremony or Courtſhip in their comportment and behaviour; which according to the beſt information I could procure, is for the moſt part in this manner.

The Antiport leading to the Lodgings of the *Kapa Agaſi* (or chief Eunuch who commands the Pages) being adorned with rich Carpets, Cuſhions, and other Furniture after their faſhion, on the *Vigil* or *Eve* before the *Bairam*, all the Prime Officers of State belonging to the Empire then at *Conſtantinople*, aſſemble themſelves at the Grand Signior's *Seraglio* three or four hours before day, where as ſoon as day breaks, the Grand Signior mounted on Horſeback, paſſes through the midſt of them, and goes to the *Moſchs* of *Santa Sophia*, where having ſaid his morning Prayer, he returns again to the *Seraglio*.

Being returned, he enters the *Haſoda* or Royal Chamber, and ſetting himſelf in his Seat of State, having the chief Eunuch of the Pages on his left hand, the Sons of the *Tartar Han* (which remain for Hoſtages in the *Turkiſh* Court) upon ſigns made to them, are the firſt who preſent themſelves before him to wiſh him a happy Feſtival; whom (as I have heard reported) he walks three Paces to meet, and they proſtrating themſelves, ſay, *Eiamiſcherif*, which is, *May theſe days be happy*; and ariſing kiſs his hand, and ſo retire. The next who makes his addreſs, is the Prime Viſier, who ſtanding on the right hand of the Grand Signior in the front of all the *Beglerbegs*, *Baſhaws*, and other great Officers, Complements the Grand Signior upon one knee, and nearer approaching, kiſſes his hand, and then ariſing takes the ſtation of the *Kapa Agaſi*, or Eunuch of the Pages. The next who follows in this Ceremony is the *Mufti*, who on the left hand fronts the Officers and principal Heads of the Law, as the *Kadileſchees* or Lords chief Juſtices of *Anatolia* and *Greece*, the *Nakib Eſchref*, principal Head or Primate of the Kindred of *Mahomet*, the *Mollahs*, Preachers called *Sieghs*, and others. Then the *Mufti* bowing his head to the ground, holding his hands on his Girdle, kiſſes him on the left ſhoulder, and the Grand Signior ſteps one pace forward to meet him, and ſo retires to his place: then all the others in their ſeveral Orders take their turns to paſs this Ceremony, who are treated according to what the Prime Viſier informs the Grand Signior; for ſome kiſs his Hand, others the hem of his Veſt, ſome his Sleeve, others his Breaſt, thereafter as their Quality and Authority is, which is ſo full of variety and formal niceties, that there is a Book wrote expreſly treating of all the particularities of this Ceremony. The laſt of all who is called to perform his Complement, is the *Janizar Agaſi*, or the General of the *Janizaries*.

This part being thus far paſſed, the Grand Signior enters into a more retired Chamber of the *Seraglio*, where the *Arz Agalar*, or the four principal Pages are the firſt of the Court to do their obeyſance as before: then follow the Eunuchs and other Pages; In the mean time a Dinner is provided in the Chamber of the *Divan*, where the Officers of State having complied with their obligation, take a plentifull repaſt at the Grand Signior's charge; after which the Grand Signior makes a preſent to each of the ſixteen principal Officers of Sable Veſts, with which the Ceremony concludes.

Then is way made for the Coaches of the *Sultana's* who having been Cloyſtered in the old *Seraglio* the whole year before, are glad at the Feaſt of *Bairam* to have occaſion to make their Viſits to the Grand Signior in the firſt place, as being of his Kindred and Relations, and then to the Queen or Queen-Mother, and to the other *Sultana's* and Ladies, with whom they uſe variety of Ceremony according to their Condition and Quality; and there have liberty to remain for the ſpace of three days in Banqueting, and other divertiſements of Muſick and Diſcourſe.

It may well be obſerved from the premiſſes, how generally the World is miſtaken in the opinion is conceived of the Courtſhip uſed amongſt the *Turks*, commonly reputed by Travellers to be rude, coming much ſhort of that quaintneſs, bowings, cringings, and reverent poſtures uſed in *Chriſtendom*. It is true the *Turks* deportment even in the moſt vile and mechanick vulgar, though never ſo mean, is carried with a ſtrange kind of barbarity and rudeneſs towards the beſt of Chriſtians in thoſe parts; which proceeds rather from a ſort of pride and deteſtation taught them by their Religion, than from any want of being inſtructed in their duty of due reverence to their Superiours; for in their carriage one towards the other, they obſerve the rules and niceties of Complement with as much variety and exactneſs, as is exerciſed in *Rome*, or the moſt civilized Courts of Chriſtendom; and amongſt the chief Miniſters there is much preciſeneſs and caution uſed not to exceed the limits of that Ceremony which inferiours owe the ſuperiours, leſt they ſhould diſparage their own quality, or give occaſion to the World to believe their diſorderly ſubmiſſion to be a part of adulation. And therefore it is worthy the ſtudy of Chriſtian Miniſters employed in Embaſſies in the *Ottoman* Court, to be well informed in the rules and manner of their carriage in the preſence of the chief Miniſters of State; for uncovering the head, as in *Chriſtendom*, is amongſt them eſteemed ridiculous and affrontive, and the manner of little bowings and often inclinations of the body, taken as acknowledgments of the great diſtance there is between the Maſters they repreſent; and therefore a little Ceremony at the entrance, and the like at departure, with a ſteady and conſtant behaviour at the time of the Treaty or Diſcourſe, is the beſt rule for a Chriſtian Miniſter; which is interpreted amongſt *Turks* as the effect of gravity and eſtimation of themſelves; it being certain, that the contrary hath cauſed many Chriſtian Miniſters to fall lower in the reputation of the *Turks*, than they had deſerved for their wiſdom and dexterity in the management of the more ſubſtantial points of Affairs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Prohibition of Swines Fleſh and Wine.

THE five foregoing Principles already treated of are (as we have ſaid before) the eſſential points required towards the conſtitution of a true *Mahometan*; other matters are proofs and trials of their obedience; amongſt which none is more enjoyned than the prohibition of Swines fleſh and Wine: which are called *Haram* things abominable and forbidden. The firſt in reality abhorred by them, and as diſpleaſing as the Fleſh of a Man to civilized People, or a Dogs thigh to ſuch as have been uſed to Delicacies and wholeſome Viands. But Wine of late years, though forbidden by the Law, hath gained a better reputation; and though accurſed by them, is yet accounted of ſo ſtrong a temptation, that the ſin is the more excuſable; and though the *Alchoran* poſitively inhibits the uſe thereof, and the Expoſitors of the Law have ſo far removed it from all poſſibility of becoming lawfull, that they have determined that if Wine be ſpilt on the ground, and in that place Graſs grows, and with that paſture a Sheep or an Ox is nouriſhed, thoſe Cattel become *Haram*, and are as abominable as the Fleſh of Swine.

But notwithſtanding the ſevere Prohibitions hereof by their Religion, Wine is ſo commonly uſed, that it is publickly drank without cautions or fear of giving ſcandal; the great Men, becauſe in Office, are more carefull how the World diſcovers what delight they take in that liquour, leſt the miſcarriages of their Office ſhould be attributed to the exceſs of Wine; or their knowledge of the uſe of that which deprives them of their reaſon, render them uncapable of their Truſt and Dignity. For the *Turks* account it impoſſible to drink Wine with moderation, and are ignorant of the benefit of it for Concoction of crude humours and indigeſtions of the ſtomach; and wonder to ſee it by *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Italians* tempered with Water; for unleſs they may drink it with full Bowls, and have ſufficient thereof, to give them their *Kaif*, (as they call it) that is to tranſport them into a diſſolute mirth, or the ridiculous actions of drunkenneſs, or to a ſurfeit or a vomit, they eſteem it not worth the drinking, and a provocation to the appetite and palate to remain with a deſire of demanding more.

But ſuch as would appear Religious amongſt them, and are ſuperſtitious, moroſe, and haters of Chriſtians, abſtain wholly from Wine, and are of a Stoical pride, melancholy temper, and cenſorious of the whole World. Theſe men who drink onely Water and Coffee, enter into Diſcourſes of State matters, cenſure the Actions, and paſs Characters on the Grandees and great Officers; *Aſſumta Stoicorum arrogantia, Sectaq; que turbidos, & negotiorum appetentes faciat. Tac. lib.* 14. And this was the reaſon why the great Viſier *Kuperli*, put down the Coffee-houſes in *Conſtantinople*, and yet privileged the Taverns; becauſe the firſt were melancholy places where Seditions were vented, where reflexions were made on all occurrences of State, and diſcontents publiſhed and aggravated; but Wine raiſed the ſpirits of men to a gay humour, and would never operate thoſe effects to endanger his condition as the Counſels which were contrived in the Aſſemblies of thoſe who addicted themſelves to a more melancholy Liquor.

The drinking Wine in young Men is eſteemed amongſt the extravagancies of Youth, but in old men is crime a more undecent, and ſcandalous in a higher degree. But why *Mahomet* ſhould ſo ſeverely forbid the uſe of Wine to his Diſciples, is recounted in a Fable on this occaſion; That their Prophet being once invited by a Friend to an entertainment at his houſe, changed in his way thither to be detained a while at a Nuptial Feaſt, where the Gueſts raiſed, with the chearfull ſpirits of the Wine, were merrey, embracing, and in a kind temper each towards other; which pleaſing humour *Mahomet* attributing to the effect of the Wine, bleſſed it as a ſacred thing, and ſo departed. But it happened that in the evening returning again, and expecting to ſee the love and careſſes he had before bleſſed, to be augmented, he found the houſe to the contrary, full of Brawls and noiſe, fightings, and all confuſion; which he alſo having underſtood to be another effect of the Wine, changed his former Bleſſing into a Curſe, and for ever after made it *Haram*, or an abomination to his Diſciples.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of their Morality, Good Works, and ſome certain of their Laws worthy of obſervation.

THough according to the preceding Diſcourſe, the Character that may thence reſult from the nature and temperance of the *Turks*, doth not promiſe any long Treatiſe concerning their deep Morality, Vertues, and elevated Graces: yet in the minds of all Mankind, though never ſo barbarous, God having wrought the Law of Nature, and made that impreſſion of doing right to our Neighbour, which tends towards conſervation of the World; we may well expect to find the ſame Principles in the *Turks*; eſpecially their Victories and Spoils abroad, having procured them converſation with other Nations, and their Wars and Treaties with Chriſtians, having refined their minds in a good part of that rude temper they brought with them out of *Scythia*, it will not be ſtrange for us to find amongſt them, men whom Education hath made civil, poliſhed in all points of vertuous deportment, and made *Heroes* of their Age; though I muſt confeſs I cannot applaud the generality of this people with ſo high encomiums, as I have read in the Books of ſome ingenious Travellers, and do believe without partiality that they come ſhort of the good nature and vertues are to be found in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*. Howſoever, wherein they conceive a great part of charity is placed, and meritorious Works, it will not be unworthy nor unpleaſant to conſider.

And in the firſt place, they eſteem it a good work to build Houſes, though from thence they obtain a Rent, becauſe it is a habitation for thoſe who have no Lands or Eſtates, to have them of their own. But eſpecially ſuch as are Princes and great Men, who build *Chans* or Inns, which are receptacles for Travellers at night, are ranked in the firſt Order of ſacred Benefactors, and are bleſſed and prayed for by the weary Gueſts, who have found repoſe and refreſhment through their Munificence: and in theſe Buildings the *Turks* are extraordinary Magnificent in moſt parts of the Empire, having united to many of them a ſtately *Moſch*, Baths, and Shops for Artiſans and Tradeſmen to ſupply all the neceſſities of the Travellers; and ſome of them are ſo endowed, that every night the Gueſts are entertained at free coſt with a convenient Supper, be their number more or leſs according as the *Chan* is capable to receive. The form of theſe Buildings is for the moſt part according to the model of the higheſt and ſtatelieſt of our Halls, covered with Lead, though not altogether ſo high Roofed; yet ſome I have obſerved for their breadth and length very Magnificent; yet by reaſon they have been ſomewhat lower, have onely in that come ſhort of the pride of the ſtatelieſt Fabricks: though in few of them are Apartments for different Companies, yet every one is ſufficiently retired, having at a convenient diſtance different Chimneys for all parties of Gueſts to dreſs their Meat, and in the Winter for their Fire; the greateſt inconvenience to Men of watchfull ſpirits, and uſed to quiet retirements, is the want of ſleep, which until I have been over-tired with labour, and accuſtomed thereunto by divers days Journies, hath been always a ſtranger to my eyes, by reaſon of the moleſtation of various Companies, ſome of which are always awake, ſome mending their Carts, others dreſſing Meat, others upon their departure, that in thoſe publick places never want noiſe to diſturb thoſe who ſleep but of one ear: Theſe ſtately *Chans* or Inns, which with the *Moſchs* are the onely durable and magnificent Buildings of the Empire, are the Edifices of certain great Men, who fearing to be deprived of their Riches by a haſty death, ſhould they endeavour to continue them to their Family, chuſe to perpetuate their Names, and ſecure their conditions by theſe publick Works.

Thoſe who would appear of a compaſſionate and tender nature, hold it a pious work to buy a Bird from a Cage to give him his liberty; and hold it a mercifull action to buy Bread and feed the Dogs, of which there are a great number of diſeaſed Curs in all Streets appropriate to no Maſter, but are mangy and foul, and no ſmall cauſes of breeding the Plague, ſo frequent in all the Cities of the *Turks*. And this care of Dogs is accounted ſo charitable, that there are certain Laws made for the protection and maintenance of them: and it is a lighter offence to deny Bread to a poor Chriſtian who is famiſhed in his Chains, than to the Dogs of their Street, which are fit for nothing but to breed Infection; and ſome bind themſelves by a Vow to give ſuch a quantity of bread a day to the Dogs of ſuch a Street, others bequeath it by Teſtament; for they maintain their quarters from other wandring Curs, and join together in a ſtrange manner to preſerve certain limits free from others that are not whelped and bred amongſt them.

The *Camel* is another ſort of Beaſt to which the *Turks* bear not onely a love, but a religious reverence, accounting it a greater ſin to over burthen and tire them with too much labour, than the Horſe, becauſe it is the Beaſt moſt common to the holy parts of *Arabia*, and carries the *Alchoran* in Pilgrimage; that I have obſerved thoſe who have the government of the *Camels*, when they have given water to them in a Baſon, to take off the foam or froth that comes from the Mouth of the Beaſt, and with that, as if it were ſome rare Balſame, with a ſingular devotion to anoint their Beards, and thereat with a Religious ſigh, groan out, *Hadgi Baba*, *Hadgi Baba*, which is as much as, Oh Father Pilgrim! O Father Pilgrim! And thus having run through the moſt obſervable points of the *Turkiſh Religion*, it will be now time to take a view of their Hoſt and Militia, being that by which their Empire is more ſupported, than either by their Policy in Civil Government, or Profeſſion in Religion.

THE

[illegible]

their [illegible] render them incapable of their Truſt and Dignity. [illegible] the Turks account it impoſſible to drink Wine with moderation, and are ignorant of the benefit of it for Correction of crude humours and indigeſtions of the ſtomach, and wonder to ſee it by *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Italians* [illegible] with Water; for, unleſs they may drink it with full [illegible], and have ſufficient thereof to give them their *Keyf*, (as they call it) that is [illegible] a diſſolute mirth, or the ridiculous actions of drunkenneſs, or to a [illegible] drinking, and a provocation to the appetite, and palate [illegible] of drinking more.

But [illegible] Religion [illegible] and [illegible] ſuperſtitious, [illegible] of Chriſtians, abſtain wholly from Wine, and are of a [illegible] pride, melancholy temper, and [illegible] of the whole World. Theſe men who drink onely Water and Coffee, enter into Diſcourſe of State matters, cenſure the Actions, [illegible] the Grandees and great Officers. *Aſperis Sermonibus arrogantiæ* [illegible] *Tac. lib. 14.* And this was the reaſon why the great Vizier *Kuperli*, put down the Coffee-houſes in *Conſtantinople*, and yet privileged the Taverns; becauſe the firſt were melancholy places where Seditions were vented, where reflexions were made on all occurrences of State, and diſcontents publiſhed and aggravated; but Wine raiſed the ſpirits of men to a gay humour, and would never operate theſe effects to endanger

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[illegible] *Turks* doth not mention any long Treatiſe concerning their deep Morality, Vertues and elevated Graces; [illegible] of all Mankind, though never ſo barbarous, God having wrought the Law of Nature, and made that impreſſion of doing right to our Neighbour, which tends towards the preſervation of the World, we may well expect to find the ſame Principles in the *Turks*; eſpecially their Victories and Spoils abroad, having procured them converſation with other Nations, and their Wars and Treaties with Chriſtians, having ſoftened their minds in a good part of that rude temper they brought with them out of *Scythia*, it will not be ſtrange for us to find amongſt them, men whom Education hath made civil, poliſhed in all points of vertuous deportment, and made *Heroes* of their Age; though I muſt confeſs I cannot applaud the generality of this people with ſo high encomiums, as I have read in the Books of ſome ingenious Travellers, and do believe without partiality that they come ſhort of the good nature and Vertues are to be found in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*. Howſoever, wherein they conceive a great part of charity is placed, and meritorious Works, it will not be unworthy our enquiry to conſider.

And in the firſt place, they eſteem it a good work to build Houſes, though from thence they obtain a Rent, becauſe it is a habitation for thoſe who have no Lands or Eſtates, to have them of their own. But eſpecially ſuch as are Princes and great Men, who build *Chans* or Inns, which are receptacles for Travellers at night,

are

THE THIRD BOOK,

Wherein is Treated of

The Turkiſh Militia.

CHAP. I.

Of the preſent ſtate of the Military Diſcipline in general amongſt the Turks.

WHoever is acquainted with the ſtate of the *Turkiſh* Empire, and hath duly conſidered the premiſſes of this foregoing Treatiſe, will eaſily judge that the main Sinews of the *Ottoman* Kingdom conſiſt in the force of the *Spahees*, *Janizaries*, and the other Auxiliaries; and that this Government being wholly founded upon Martial Diſcipline, and the Law of Arms, is moſt obliged to the Conſtitutions, and ſupported on the Props related in this following Diſcourſe: for this People having neither entred into the Poſſeſſion of this Empire, as into an uninhabited and deſart Land, as Colonies of other Nations have done into Countries new found or diſcovered; nor got admittance precariouſly from the *Grecian* Princes for the benefit of their Neighbourhood and Commerce; but have opened their way to Poſſeſſion and Government by meer force and power of the Sword; whereby their Conſtitutions, Laws, Cuſtoms and Manners of living are wholly agreeable to the warlike Diſcipline of a Camp, and to the quickneſs and ready execution of Martial Law. And if it be true in Morality, as it is in Nature, that things are conſerved by the ſame cauſe by which they are produced; it will neceſſarily follow, that this *Ottoman* Empire, which was begot by Arms, and had *Mars* its onely Father, will never be nouriſhed by ſoftneſs, and the arts and blandiſhments of Peace.

But he that takes a view of the *Ottoman* Armies, as deſcribed in various Hiſtories, renowned for their Chivalry and Diſcipline in the times of *Sultan Selim*, or *Solyman* the Magnificent, and deſigns thence to extract a draught, or Copy for his preſent ſpeculation, will find himſelf much at a loſs in framing true conjectures of the puiſſance of the *Turks*, or the Rules of their Government, by compariſon of former times with this preſent age. For that ancient ſublimity and comely Majeſty in the Empire is much abated; the Forces by Land decayed, and the Maritime power by ill ſucceſs and unskilfull and ſlothfull Seamen, reduced to an inconſiderable condition; the Countries are diſpeopled, and the Royal Revenue abated; nothing remains of thoſe plenteous ſtores and proviſions of War, nor that Regiment and Diſcipline continued in peace, none of that ancient obſervation of their Laws and Religion, nor that love and reſpect to the Militia, which is now become degenerate, ſoft, and effeminate; nor is the *Ottoman* Court ſo prone to remunerate the ſervices, and exalt the intereſt of the Cavalry, or maintain the reputation of the *Janizaries*. In brief, there are no Reliques of ancient Juſtice, or Generoſity of diſcreet Government, or Obedience to it, of Courteſie or Concord, of Valour or Counſel, nor yet of Confidence, Friendſhip, or generous Fidelity.

But though this Empire hath many of theſe diſtempers, and begins to grow factious, and yet ſlothfull, and deſirous to avoid the occaſions of War, as all Governments have been which in their youth and firſt beginnings were eager, active, and provoked through Poverty, in their riper years grown Rich, and Luxurious with Plenty, have declined afterwards as from the Meridian of their Greatneſs and Power; yet the *Turks* maintain ſtill the extent of their Dominions, and if they have loſt ground in one place, like the Sea, they have recovered it in another; if in *Aſia* the *Perſians* have taken from them *Rivan*, *Schirvan*, *Tibris*, *Lyris* and *Ghenge*, it is but a recovery of their own Dominions; if they are diſpoſſeſſed in *Ethiopia* of *Eden*, and other parts of *Arabia Felix*, they have recompenced themſelves in *Europe*, by their footing in *Candia*; and in *Hungary*, by the late Conqueſt of *Newheuſel* and *Novigrade*; and in *Tranſilvania*, by the additions of *Jenova* and *Waradin*.

But this Empire, as vaſt and large as it is, is yet diſpeopled, the Villages abandoned, and whole provinces as pleaſant and fruitfull as *Tempe* or *Theſſaly*, uncultivate and turned into a Deſart, or Wilderneſs: all which deſolation and ruine proceeds from the Tyranny and Rapine of the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws*; who either in their Journies to the poſſeſſion of their Government, or return from thence, expoſe the poor Inhabitants to violence and injury of their Attendants, as if they had entred the Confines of an Enemy, or the Dominions of a Conquered People.

In like manner the inſolence of the Horſe and Foot is unſupportable, for in their marches from one Countrey to another, Parties of 20 or 30 are permitted to make excurſions into divers parts of their own Dominions, where they not onely live upon free quarter, but extort Money and Cloaths from the poor Vaſſals, taking their Children to ſell for Slaves, eſpecially the *Bulgarians*, and *Servians*, and the people of *Boſna* and *Albania*, which being ignorant of the *Turkiſh* Tongue, are ſold for *Ruſſians*, *Hungarians* or *Moſcovites*, ſo that rather than be expoſed to much miſery, and licence of the Soldiery, the poor people chooſe to abandon their dwellings, and wander into other Cities, or ſeek for refuge in the Mountains, or Woods of the Countrey. In fine, though generally the Military Offices are in the ſame form, and the Soldiery diſpoſed according to the ancient Rule and Canon, yet licentiouſneſs and negligence have ſo prevailed in the Officers, as to introduce that corruption which renders them wholly altered and eſtranged from their firſt Diſcipline: For the Commanders upon every light occaſion are contented to make Otoracks or Stipendiaries, ſuch as enjoy the pay and privileges of a Soldier, and yet are excuſed from the Wars; which they eaſily purchaſe with a ſmall Sum of Money, for a ſcratch, or a fleſh-wound gained in the Wars; wholly againſt the Original Inſtitution, which deſigned that benefit onely for maimed and diſabled Soldiers; ſo that now there is ſo great a number of Soldiery luſty and healthfull, under the title of Dead mens pay, as disfurniſhes the Grand Signior's Treaſury, and weakens his Forces.

The *Janizaries* alſo marrying freely, and yet diſpenſed with as to the abſence from their Duty and Chambers, apply themſelves to Trades and other Studies beſides the War, by which means having Children and Dependencies, they are forced by other Arts than their few Aſpers of daily pay, to ſeek the proviſion and maintenance of a Family; and their minds growing eſtranged from the War, are ſolicitous with the care and anxiety for a Wife and Children; and in my time, have ſo abhorred the thoughts of the War both in *Candy* and in *Hungary*, that many have offered great Preſents to be excuſed; and ſo general hath been the diſlike of all kind of Martial action for the reaſons before mentioned, that at firſt the very rumours and diſcourſe of War, and afterwards the reality thereof, cauſed ſo general a diſcontent, as had, if not prudently prevented and timely ſuppreſſed, burſt into a Mutiny of the Militia; whoſe meer enquiry but into the reaſons and grounds of the War, is little different from a Sedition.

Another Corruption hath the Covetouſneſs of the Officers produced for ſmall Preſents and Donatives, in owning many under the title and name of *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, which have no name or place in the Rolls, or Regiſters of the Soldiery; by which means many Offenders, and outlawed perſons are defended by the Military Privileges; and the ancient honour due to Arms is proſtituted for the maintenance and protection of the raſcalities and ſcum of the World.

And this ſhall ſerve to have ſpoken in general of the preſent ſtate of the *Turkiſh* Soldiery: we ſhall now proceed to the particularities of the force and numbers of the *Turkiſh* Militia, and from whence and how they are raiſed.

CHAP. II.

Of the Turkiſh Militia.

IN the twelfth Chapter of the firſt Book we made an eſtimate of the Revenue and the Riches of all the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws* of the Empire, be which might by collected the number of Soldiers which theſe great men are able out of their own Families to furniſh unto the Wars; it will be now time to make a juſt computation in its due place, of the Forces in particular, the numbers, the Countries from whence they are raiſed, the ſeveral Military Orders, and the true puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire; which is indeed ſo incredibly great and numerous, That with good reaſon they have formed it into a Proverb, *That no Graſs grows there where the Turkiſh Horſe hath once ſet his foot.* This ſpeculation is abſolutely neceſſary to a true deſcription of the Regiment of a Countrey; for the Martial Conſtitutions are the beſt part of the Political Science, and Civil Laws have no vigour unleſs they receive their Authority by the enforcement of the Sword: This conſideration is alſo neceſſary to the Art of a Stateſman, that he ill ſtudies the Geography of his Enemies Provinces, who knows not the utmoſt ſtrength it contains by Land and Sea, and is ill prepared to gain a perfect knowledge of the prudent Art wherewith a Nation or People is conſerved in Peace, who is ignorant of their Force, and Conſtitutions appropriated to the time of War. Wherefore we ſhall diſcourſe as ſuccinctly of this Subject as the matter will permit, and with the ſame certainty that one of the principal Muſter-Maſters of the *Turkiſh* Rolls, long practiſed and accurate in his Office, hath decyphered, from whoſe Report it ſelf I profeſs to derive my Authority in this following Relation.

The whole *Turkiſh* Militia then is of two ſorts; one that receives maintenance from certain Lands or Farms beſtowed on them by the Grand Signior; others that receive their conſtant pay in ready money. The great nerve or ſinew of the *Turkiſh* Empire is that of the * firſt rank, which are of two ſorts, *viz.* *Zaims*, which are like Barons in ſome Countries; and *Timariots*, who may be compared to the *Decumani* amongſt the *Romans.* Thoſe of the ſecond ſort, paid out of the Grand Signior's Treaſury, are *Spahees*, *Janizaries*, † *Armourers*, * *Gunners*, and Soldiers called *Levens*, who have no pay for life, or are enrolled amongſt the Military Orders; but onely make an agreement for five or ſix thouſand Aſpers for their Voyage, which being ended, they are disbanded.

* Called in Turkiſh *Mal-Mukarele.*

† *Gebegi.*
* *Topci.*

Of the Zaims *and* Timariots.

The nature of theſe two, and their Inſtitution is the ſame; the onely difference is in their Commiſſions or Patents, or rather we may call them the Conveyances or Evidences for their Lands, which they have from the Grand Signior: For the Rent of a *Zaim* is from 20^{m} of Aſpers to 99999, and no further; for adding one Aſper more, it becomes the Eſtate of a *Sangiackbeek*, called a *Paſhaw*, which is from 100000 Aſpers to $19^{m}999$; for adding one Aſper more, it becomes the Revenue of a *Beglerbeg*.

The *Timariots* are of two ſorts; one called *Teskerelw*, who have their Evidences for their Land from the Grand Signior's Court, whoſe Rent is from 5 or 6000 Aſpers, to $19^{m}999$; for then with the addition of one Aſper they enter the number of *Zaims*: The other ſort is called *Teskeretis*, who hath his Patent or Writing from the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, whoſe Rent is from 3000 to 6000 Aſpers.

The *Zaims* in all Expeditions of War are obliged to ſerve with their Tents, which are to be furniſhed with Kitchins, Stables and other neceſſary Apartments agreeable to their State and Quality; and for every 5000 Aſpers of Rent received from the Grand Signior, they are to bring a Horſe-man into the Field, which is called *Gebelu*; as for example, one of thirty thouſand Aſpers is to come attended with ſix, one of ninety thouſand with 18 Horſemen, and ſo proportionably: every *Zaim* is entituled *Kulitchgee*, or Sword-man; ſo that when the *Turks* calculate the ſtrength or numbers that a *Beglerbeg* is able to bring into the Field for the ſervice of his Prince, they make a computation upon ſo many *Zaims* and *Timariots* themſelves, which they call ſo many Swords, not numbring the people with which they come accompanied.

The *Timariots* are obliged to ſerve with leſſer Tents, and to be provided with three or four Baskets for every man that attends them; for their Office is, beſides fighting, as alſo of the *Zaims* and *Spahees*, to carry Earth and Stones for making Batteries and Trenches, whilſt the *Janizaries* are in skirmiſh with the Enemy. And for every three thouſand Aſpers Rent the *Timariots* are ſeſſed at a Man and Horſe, as the *Zaim* is for every five thouſand: And both one and the other of theſe Souldiers little differ from thoſe in *England* which hold their Lands in *Capite*, or the ancient Tenure of Knights Service.

Both *Zaims* and *Timariots* are diſpoſed into Regiments under command of Colonels, called *Alai Begler*, who march with Colours and the * Kettle-Drum: theſe Colonels are again under the command of the *Paſhaws*, or *Sangiack-beg*, and he under the *Beglerbeg*; which Forces being united into one body, repair to the Rendezvous appointed by the † General, who is either the Grand Signior in Perſon, or the Viſier *Azem*, or ſome other eminent perſon qualified with the Title of Viſier.

* In Turkiſh *Tabl. Alem.*

† In Turkiſh *Seraskier.*

Theſe two Orders of Souldiery are not onely appropriated to Land-ſervice, but ſome alſo are deſtined to the Sea, who are called *Deria Keleminde*, and are under the command of the Captain *Paſhaw* or Admiral: but the *Zaims* are moſt commonly diſpenſed with as to the Sea-ſervice in their own perſons, upon the payment of ſo much Money as they are eſteemed at in the Signior's Book, out of which *Levends* are raiſed, and enrolled in the Regiſters of the *Arſenal*; but the *Timariots* can never be excuſed from their perſonal duty and ſervice with their attendance of Souldiery, according to the value of their Lands.

Neither the one nor the other of theſe can be diſpenſed with from their ſervice at Land; no excuſe in time of the Grand Signior's Wars is lawfull or pleadable: if ſick, they are carried in Horſe-Litters or Beds; if Infants in Hampers or Baskets, and in the very Cradles accuſtomed to the hardſhip, hazard, and Diſcipline of War. And thus much ſhall ſerve in brief to have ſpoken in explication of the Nature of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which come under the general denomination of *Spahees*, and compoſe the beſt part of the *Turkiſh* Armies; we ſhall now proceed to declare, as far as can probably be computed, the number of theſe Horſe which fill up the vaſt Hoſt that hath overſpread ſo large a proportion of the World.

CHAP. III.

A Computation of the numbers of the Forces ariſing from the Zaims *and* Timariots.

IT were a work of too great labour conſidering the little ſatisfaction and delight it would afford the Reader, to proceed accurately in deſcribing the juſt numbers of thoſe which follow theſe *Zaims* and *Timariots*; it will be ſufficient to denote, that the ſmalleſt number of a *Zaim* is four Men, and is the greateſt of a *Timariot*, whoſe loweſt condition is obliged to maintain a ſingle Man, and the higheſt of a *Zaim* to ſerve with Nineteen; ſo that whoſoever will ſurvey this *Turkiſh* Hoſt, muſt make his Calculate a little more or leſs by conjecture and judgement.

And this difficulty is the more augmented, when I conſider the fraud is uſed by the Accomptants, Regiſters, and Muſter-Maſters of the Grand Signior's Enrollments, who are as well acquainted with the arts and ſweetneſs of making falſe Muſters as they are in the moſt ingenious places of *Chriſtendom*; and perhaps Policy may afford a connivence to this Fraud, for the ſake of a ſuperlative face of their Armies; which they love to expreſs by this uſual ſimilitude, *Asker nemd deria miſal*, As Innumerable as the Sands of the Sea-ſhore: but in effect the noiſe is greater than the reality, and he that will ſum up their number, may find Arithmetick to make the Account, which by the vaſt extent of Tents, confuſion of Baggage, train of Servants, and Attendants of the Camp, appears infinite in the popular eſtimation. Beſides the *Turkiſh* Army admits of great increaſe and decreaſe by the many interlopers, as we call them, which the *Zaims* for their own honour introduce to fill up their numbers on a day of Muſter, or Appearance; ſo that one would admire to ſee, in ſo ſhort a time ſo apparent a decay in the *Turkiſh* Camp; which abuſe, the great and famous Viſier *Mahomet Kuprouli* with cruelty and extraordinary ſeverity endeavoured to remedy upon his expedition for recovery of *Tenedos* and *Lemnos*; and conqueſt of *Janoua* in *Tranſilvania*; but it is impoſſible for one man to know, and ſee, and remedy all diſorders, and is amongſt the *Turks* called *Asin oin* a ſecret fraud, as difficult to be totally remedied as it is to be throughly diſcovered.

But that which makes the principal difference and various change herein, is the death of *Zaims* and *Timariots*; ſome of which holding an Eſtate onely for life, and others dying without Heirs of their Bodies, their Lands revert to the Crown: Which Eſtates being improved by the induſtry of the Poſſeſſours, above the primary valuation in the Records, and afterwards falling into the hands of the Prince, are beſtowed again on others according to their true eſtimate, which is oftentimes double of the former. By which means, the number of the Grand Signior's Souldiery is increaſed; and it is a point very obſervable, that as other Princes looſe by the fall, and death of their Subjects, the Grand Signior is the onely gainer; for of the moſt that are ſlain in the day of Battel, the Eſtates accrue to him, in diſpoſal again of which he obſerves this Rule, to gratifie many with that which was before the proportion of a ſingle perſon.

Note.

But to come now to the expreſs and diſtinct account of the *Ziamets* and *Timariots* in every part and Government of the Empire, this Computation is extracted out of the Imperial Rolls, and Regiſters of the Grand Signior.

In the Government of *Anatolia* are reckoned as follows; in the

Zaims is the perſon, and *Zaimets* the Land for maintenance of the *Zaim.*

Of

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Kiotahia	39	948
Sarhan	41	674
Aidin	19	572
Kaſtamoni	24	570
Hudawendighiar	42	1005
Boli	14	551
Menteſche	52	381
Angura	10	257
Karahiſar	10	615
Tike ili	7	257
Riangri	7	381
Hamid	9	585
Sultan Ugbi	7	390
Kareſi	7	242
Jenige hiſar	7	12

So that computing at the loweſt rate, 4 *Gebelues* to every *Zaim* with them and their followers, muſt make, 1180

Doubling the number of *Timariots* at the loweſt rate makes 14880

In all 16060

For maintenance of which Army the Rents in the *Ottoman* Statutes are Aſpers 37310700

80 Aſpers makes a Dollar or a Piece of Eight.

Total of *Ziamets* are 295 and 7440 *Timariots.*

There was farther in paſt times allotted to the attendance of this Army about 6900 men for mending the Ways, bringing Proviſions, and ſervice of the Artillery; there was alſo an allowance for 1280 Sutlers, or Victuallers of the Camp, and for 128 Trumpeters and Drummers, which were *Gypſies*; but this was when *Anatolia* was a Frontier Countrey to the Chriſtians, and was therefore better fortified and accommodated; but ſince it is become one of the innermoſt parts of the Empire, that Rent is converted into the poſſeſſion of *Zaims* and *Timariots*, ſo that there is a farther addition of 330 *Ziamets* and 1136 *Timariots.*

In the Government of *Caramania* are reckoned,

Sangiacks 7.	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Iconium	18	512
Nighde	11	355
Kaiſari	12	144
Jeniſcheber	13	244
Akſcheber	6	122
Kyrſcheber	4	430
Akſerai	9	358
Which make	73	2165

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the loweſt rate are 292

Of *Timariots* at the ſame accompt 4900

W^ch^ makes in all 4892

The Rent according to the *Ottoman* Statute is, Aſpers 1050175

In the Government of *Diarbekir* are reckoned 12 *Sangiacks*, beſides thoſe of *Kiurdiſtaw* and *Gurdia*, which are computed to make 1800 Men; but I find onely 9 denoted for the *Ziamets* and *Timariots*, viz.

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Amed	9	167
Charpurt	70	163
Ezani	10	122
Sipurek	0	1
Nesbin	1	5
Chaſenghif	5	30
Tekemeſcherek	2	7
Kuleb	3	24
Sangiar	6	21
Which make	106	540

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the loweſt rate will make 424

Timariots Gebelues at the ſame rate will make 1080

1504

The Rent is not deſcribed of this Countrey in the *Ottoman* Statutes.

In the Govern. of the *Beglerbeg* of *Damaſcus*, called in the Turkiſh *Scham*, are 7 *Sangiacks*,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Damaſcus	87	337
Jeruſalem	9	161
Aglum	4	61
Babura	9	39
Sifad	5	123
Gaza	7	108
Nabolos	7	44
Which make	128	873

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate 512

The *Gebelues* of *Timariots* 1746

In all 2258

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Liwas.*

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Liwas	48	928
Amaſia	19	249
Tehurum	16	310
Buzadick	15	731
Demurki	1	310
Gianik	7	348
Arebkir	2	153
Which make	808	3029

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate 432

The *Timariots* 6058

In all 6490

The Rent for maintenance hereof 13087327

In the Govern. of the *Beglerbeg* of *Erzrum* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Erzrum	56	2214
Karabizar-ſcharki	32	904
Kiefi	8	229
Paſin	9	654
Hanes Esber	3	435
Tortum	10	491
Mamervum	4	96
Melazkerd	0	272
Tekman	1	253
	122	5548

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate 488

The *Timariots* 1026

In all 11584

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Wan* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Wan	48	147
Adilgewar	29	101
Ergiſch	0	14
Senurighiul	32	203
Tehebouin	2	36
Ghibokiche	30	160
Derekgher	27	79
Ghiorluk	7	61
Faniiazi	4	25
	185	826

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 740

The *Timariots* 1652

In all 2392

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Maraſch* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Maraſch	10	118
Malatia	8	276
Aſab	9	118
	27	512

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make. 108
The *Timariots* 1027
1135

The Rent for maintenance, Aſpers 9420317

In the Government of *Cyprus* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Itchili	16	60
Alaine	0	115
Cyprus	9	308
Sebis	2	156
Tarſus	13	428
	40	1067

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 160
The *Timariots* 2134
2294

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Tripoli* in *Syria* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Tripoli	12	87
Homs	15	169
Gebele	9	91
Selemie	4	56
Hamaz	23	171
	63	570

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 250
The *Timariots* 1140
1390

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rika* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots.*
Rika	30	143
Serug	9	291
Biregek	15	109
Ane	9	123
	60	666

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 240
Of the *Timariots* 1332
1572

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Trabezond* are no *Sangiacks* as is declared in the firſt Book; yet within the Juriſdiction of the City its ſelf are 56 *Ziamets*, and 398 *Timariots*; ſo as the computation of that place is of 920 Men.

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Aleppo* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Aleppo	73	295
Adana	11	191
Kelis	17	295
Anir	2	91
Balis	7	86
Mearre	7	86
	117	1044

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 468
Of the *Timariots* 2088
2256

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Tebilder* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Olti	3	123
Erdehamburek	9	86
Hagreek	2	23
Hartus	13	39
Ardnug	4	149
Puſenhaf	11	18
Penbek	8	54
Tarchir	2	4
Lari	9	10
Uſtucha	1	7
Achankiulk	11	37
Achtala	6	6
Aſin	4	14
Penbeck	14	89
Pertekrek	9	0
	106	659

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 424
Of *Timariots* 1318
1742

In the Government of the Captain *Paſhaw*, or Lord-Admiral, are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Negropont	12	188
Mytilene	4	83
Kogia ile	25	187
Siſla	32	235
Karliili	11	119
Galipoli	14	32
Rhodes	5	71
Begai	5	146
Mezeſtra	16	91
	124	1152

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former proportion make 500
Of *Timariots* 2304
2804

For maintenance of which the Rent ſet down in the *Ottoman* Statutes is Aſpers 10800000

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rumeli*, otherwiſe *Romania*, are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Sophia	337	1788
Kioſtendill	48	1017
Morea	100	242
Alexandria of Epyrus	19	205
Thirhala	26	525
Siliſtra	75	432
Nigheboli	60	344
Uchri	60	342
Aulona	68	489
Jania	62	345
Ilbaſan	18	138
Tebirmen	20	130
Solonica	36	262
Wize	20	79
Delunia	20	165
Uskiup	20	344
Kerkleſa	1	18
Dukakin	10	53
Widin	17	225
Alagehizar	27	509
Sernerin	17	225
Waltearin	10	317
	1075	8194

The *Zaims* with their *Gebelues* at the former proportion make 4300
The *Timariots* 16388
This is the loweſt rate
20688

But the ordinary computation of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in this place with their *Gebelues*, is of about 30200 fighting men, or thereabouts; to which is added the Souldiers of the *Beglerbeg*, *Sangiacbegs*, and other Officers, which commonly amount to 2500. The Militia maintained with the Land of the Countrey may be computed at 32700, or 33000 men.

Beſides this Militia in *Romania*, there is another ſort called *Jureghian* or *Jerukler*, who have their Eſtates in Fee from Father to Son, of which there are accounted about 1294 Families: There is alſo another ſort in the Province of *Dobridge*, called *Ogiacks* of which there are about 4000 Houſes: Of the ſame kind in the Province of *Kizlige* are 200 Houſes: In *Tchirmen* 351 of *Cingani*, which are the ſame as amongſt us the Race of the *Gypſies*; in *Wize* 170: So that the whole ſum of *Ogiacks* may arrive to the number of 4721, or at the moſt to 5000. Theſe are obliged every year to draw out of every thirty, five perſons, called *Eſchkingi* or Voluntiers, who are to join themſelves with the *Tartars* for making Excurſions into *Ruſſia*, *Poland*, or other parts; and ſo yearly they interchangeably take their courſe. The other twenty five remaining are called *Jamak* and are not obliged perſonally to ſerve when the Grand Signior's Wars call them to employment; but then for every 5000 Aſpers Rent they poſſeſs of the Grand Signior's Lands, they are ſeſſed at one man, who are aſſigned to ſerve out of thoſe whoſe turn it was that year to have accompanied the *Tartars* in their Robberies. The Principal Office of theſe is to attend the Artillery, Baggage and Proviſions, to mend the Ways and Bridges for paſſage of the Army. To the like ſervice are obliged certain Families of *Bulgarians*, for carriage of Hay, and cutting Graſs, according to the ſeaſon of the Year.

The number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in the Governments of the *Beglerbegs* of *Buda*, *Temſwar* and *Boſna*, I find not particularly deſcribed in *Ottoman* Books; but however according to the beſt information, that Militia on the Confines of the Empire called *Serbadly*, amount to the number of about 70000 fighting men paid out of the Rents of the *Sangiacks* of that Countrey. But though the Militia of *Buda* be not ſet down in the Regiſters of more ancient date at *Conſtantinople*, becauſe it is as it were a principality independent both for its Eminency, Revenue, and large extent of Dominions: yet in that City it ſelf is ſtrict order obſerved, and the Rolls of their force moſt exactly known and computed; to which the *Turks* have a ſtrict eye it being a frontier Gariſon of much importance and the Key of *Hungary*; the Militia of which, as I learned from Officers of Note, during my reſidence in that place, was according to this preciſe Account; Of

Janizaries	12000
Spahees	1500
Zaims and *Timariots*	2200
Azaps, which are the meaneſt ſort of Souldiery	1800
Belonging to the Caſtle of *Buda*	1200
Jebeges, or *Armourers*	1900
The Guard of the Gate called *Cuchuc Cappe*	500
Topgees, or *Gunners*	500
Martoloes, a ſort of Foot Souldiers	300
Souldiers belonging to the Powder-houſe	280
The Souldiery who are Servants to the *Paſhaw*	3000

In all 22180; to which adding the Militia of *Boſna*, and other parts of *Sclavonia*, and all along the Frontier Countries, which extend for above 800 Engliſh miles, the number may amount to no leſs than 70000 fighting Men. But we here diſcourſe onely of the number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which whole ſum amounts to, of *Zaims* 10948, and of *Timariots* 72436, which makes in all 83380; but this is calculated at the loweſt rate, they may very well be reckoned to be one third more, beſides other Militia's of *Cairo*, or other Orders of Souldiery to be treated of in the following Chapters.

Theſe Partitions or Diviſions were firſt made by *Solyman* the Magnificent, as the beſt Rule and Method for an orderly diſpoſition of his Militia, and as the ſtrongeſt nerve of the *Ottoman* Force: but as with time in the moſt exact compoſitions of Diſcipline, corruptions through covetouſneſs and ambition of Officers are introduced; ſo alſo in the juſt diſpoſal of theſe Rents according to the ancient Inſtitutions: [illegible] the *Beglerbegs*, *Paſhaws*, *Treaſurers*, and other Officers, inſtead of beſtowing this maintenance to the Souldiers, according to their merits of Valour or long Service, reſerve it to prefer and gratifie their Servants and Pages, obliging them in recompence thereof under various Services; ſome that live at *Conſtantinople*, or near the Sea, to defray the Charges of all Boats and Veſſels which carry their Houſhold Proviſions; others that live in the Inland Countries agreeing with the Teaſurer of the Souldiery, without regard to the true Heirs, or any other conſideration, ſet to ſale theſe Rents to them who profer moſt; ſo that in time of Harveſt the *Paſhaw* ſends abroad his Officers to gather his Profits from the poor *Timariots*, with that oppreſſion and violence as cauſes diſturbances, differences and Law-Suits amongſt them, which being to be decided by Judges partly intereſſed in the quarrel, the Sentence is certainly determined on their ſide who have moſt Power and moſt Money.

The foregoing account of *Zaims* and *Timariots* is the moſt reaſonable one can be given: And becauſe we have reckoned them at the loweſt rate, making ſome allowance to the 83380, this Militia may amount to an hundred thouſand Men, which, as I have heard, is the utmoſt number of this ſort of Soldiery.

CHAP. IV.

Of certain Cuſtoms and Laws obſerved amongſt the Zaimets *and* Timariots.

AMongſt theſe Forces of *Ziamets* and *Timariots*, are in time of War and Action mixed certain Voluntiers or Adventurers call'd by the *Turks Giomuli*, who maintain themſelves upon their own expence in hopes by ſome ſignal Actions of Valour to obtain the ſucceſſion into a *Zaims* or *Timariots* Lands, as places are made void by the ſlaughter of the War. Theſe Men are often very hardy and ready to attempt the moſt deſperate Exploits, moved by a deſire of the Reward, and by the Perſwaſion, that at worſt dying in a War againſt Chriſtians, they become Martyrs for the *Mahometan* Faith. It is reported, that in one day, upon the aſſaults given to *Serinſwar*, or the new Fort of Count *Serini*, one *Timariots* Farm was beſtowed eight times; one being ſlain it was conferred on another, and ſo on a third, and ſo the reſt; all which had the misfortune to fall, untill it reſted on the eighth, the others dying with the Title onely of *Timariots*.

The *Zaims* or *Timariots* being aged, or impotent, have in their life-time power to reſign up the Right of their Eſtates to their Sons, or other Relations.

It is not lawfull for a Peaſant or Clown to mount his Horſe, or girt his Sword like a *Spahee*, untill firſt he hath had part of his Education in the Service or Family of ſome *Paſhaw*, or perſon of Quality; unleſs it be on the Confines of the Empire, where having given evident teſtimonies of his Courage, he may then become Competitour for the vacant Farms of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*.

It is the Cuſtome of *Romania*, that a *Zaim* or *Timariot* dying in the Wars, his *Zaims* Rents are divided into as many *Timariots* Farms as he hath Sons; but if a *Timariot* hath no more than 3000 Aſpers Rent, it deſcends entirely to his eldeſt Son; but if it be more, it is proportionably divided amongſt the reſt of his Children.

But if they die of a natural death at their own homes, the Lands fall to the diſpoſal of the *Beglerbeg* of the Countrey, either to confer them on the Heirs of the deceaſed, on any of his Servants, or ſell them at the beſt advantage.

But in *Anatolia* there are many *Zaims* and *Timariots* whoſe Eſtates are Hereditary to them and their Heirs; and are not obliged to ſerve in Perſon in the War, but onely to ſend their *Gebelues*, or number of Servants according to the value of their Eſtates; of which duty if they fail in the time of War, the years Rent is confiſcated to the Exchequer; and this Eſtate deſcends to the next of Kin, whether derived from the Male or Female Line.

CHAP. V.

The ſtate of the Militia in Grand Cairo, *and* Egypt.

THE guard and protection of the Kingdom of *Egypt* is committed to the charge of twelve *Begs*, ſome of which are of the ancient Race of the *Mamalukes*, confirm'd by *Sultan Selin* upon the taking of *Cairo*; theſe have the command of the whole Militia in their hands, whereby they are grown proud, powerfull, and ready upon every diſcontent to riſe in Rebellion; every one of theſe maintains 500 fighting men, well appointed for War and exerciſed in Arms, which ſerve but as their Guard, and for Servants of their Court; with which they go attended in Journies, in their Huntings, and publick Appearances; under the command of theſe twelve Captains are 20000 Horſe, paid at the charge of the Countrey, whoſe Office is by turns to convey yearly the Pilgrims to *Mecha*, and the annual Tribute of 60000 *Zechins* to the *Ottoman* Court, whether it be judged requiſite to ſend it either by Land or Sea; theſe are the ſtanding Militia of the Countrey, out of which, unleſs upon the foregoing occaſions, they are not obliged to other ſervice; their principal duty being to prevent the invaſion of the *African* Montaneers, who often make Incurſion from the barren Rocks, into the fat and fruitfull Soils of *Egypt*. Beſides this Militia are computed 80000 *Timariots*, out of which they yearly tranſport about 2500 or 3000 men to the Wars of *Candy*; but to more remote Countries, or the late Wars of *Hungary*, I did not hear that this Soldiery hath uſually been called.

These twelve *Begs* of *Egypt* are noble by bloud, enjoying an hereditary Eſtate deſcending from Father to Son; which richneſs joined with the command of a powerfull Army, hath rendred them ſo formidable and inſolent, that oftentimes they take upon them an authority to impriſon and depoſe the *Paſhaw* from his Office, and ſpoil him of all the Riches he hath collected in his three years Government; by which means are alway great jealouſies, and enmities between the *Paſhaw* and theſe *Begs*; Diſſentions and Rebellions to that high degree, that many times it hath been little different from an abſolute Revolt. *Ibrahim Paſhaw* was in the year 1664. impriſoned by them, and obtained his liberty for * 600 Purſes of Money; after whoſe departure the Brother of the ſaid *Ibrahim* upon ſome certain pretences on the *Paſhaw*'s ſcore, falling into their hands, was impriſoned alſo, but ſhortly after obtained his releaſment by the Grand Signior's † Maſter of Horſe, who was ſent expreſly to compoſe the diſorders of *Egypt*, which were now proceeded to that degree, as without ſome ſatisfactory atonement could not be termed otherwiſe than a total defection; and therefore they reſigned up one called *Sulficar Bei* to juſtice, who * being brought to *Adrianople*, was immediately in preſence of the Grand Signior put to death. But the *Turk* hath alway on occaſion of theſe diſturbances and inſolences, diſſembled and connived at the diſorders, perceiving the diſtemper of that Kingdom to be ſuch, as can with much difficulty be redreſſed, fearing that were forcible remedies applied, they would cauſe ſo violent a commotion of humours, as would abſolutely rent it from the body of the Empire.

* About 100000 Dollars at *Cairo*.

† Called *Embraborc*.

* In the month of *Feb.* 1664.

The Auxiliary Forces to the forementioned Militia of the Turks,

Are the *Tartars*, *Valachians*, *Moldavians* and *Tranſilvanians*, under the command of their reſpective Princes. Who are obliged to ſerve in perſon whenſoever called by the *Sultan*'s command. The *Tartars*, I mean of *Crim*, are to furniſh one hundred thouſand men; the *Tartar han*, or Prince, in Perſon to lead them, when the Grand Signior himſelf appears in the Field: but if the Army is commanded by the Viſier onely, then the Son of the *Tartar han* is to ſerve, or having no iſſue, the Army to the number of Forty or fifty thouſand fighting men, is to be conducted under the chief Miniſter. But the Princes of *Valachia*, *Moldavia* and *Tranſilvania* are never excuſed from perſonal attendance in the Camp, each of which reſpectively are to be attended with Six or ſeven thouſand Men apiece. And though the Prince of *Tranſilvania* called *Apaſi*, was in the laſt War againſt the Emperour not called out of the Confines of his own Countrey; it was with deſign that he ſhould keep that ſtation free from the irruption of the Enemy, not that he was diſobliged from his perſonal attendance on the Viſiers Camp.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Spahees.

HItherto we have treated of the *Turkiſh* Horſe that are maintained by Farms and Rents of Lands: now it will be neceſſary to diſcourſe of thoſe that receive their conſtant pay from the Grand Signior's Treaſury; and theſe are called *Spahees*, who may not improperly be termed the Gentry of the *Ottoman* Empire, becauſe they are commonly better educated, courteous, and refined than the other ſort of *Turks*, and are in number 12000. Of theſe there are two Orders, one called *Silachtari*, who carry yellow Colours; and the other *Spahaoglari* or the Servants of the *Spahees*, and have their Colours red; theſe Servants have now obtained the precedency above their Maſters; for though the *Silachtars* are very ancient, and deduce their inſtitution from *Ali* their firſt Founder, who was one of the four Companions of *Mahomet*; yet *Sultan Mahomet* the Third, on a day of Battel in *Hungary*, ſeeing the *Silahteri* routed and put to flight, with violent paſſion and earneſtneſs endeavoured to ſtop their courſe; and perceiving the Servants of theſe *Spahees* to remain ſtill in body, incited them to revenge the ſhamefull cowardiſe of their Maſters, who immediately encouraged with the words of the *Sultan*, clapping up a red Flag, gave ſo bold an onſet on the Enemy, and with that ſucceſs as wholly recovered the glory of the day: in remembrance of which ſervice and notable exploit, the *Sultan* as diſpoſer of all Honours and Orders, gave ever after the preheminence to theſe Servants before their Maſters; ſince which time this new inſtitution of *Spahaoglary* hath always been continued.

Theſe Light horſe-men are armed with their Scimetar and Lance, called by them *Mizrak*, and ſome carry in their hands a *Gerit*, which is a Weapon about two foot long, headed with Iron, which I conceive to be the ſame with the *Pila* amongſt the *Romans*, which by long exerciſe and cuſtome they throw with a ſtrange dexterity and violence, and ſometimes darting it before them in the full career of their Horſe, without any ſtop recover it again from the ground: they alſo wear a ſtreight Sword named *Chaddare*, with a broad Blade fixed to the ſide of their Saddle, which, or the Scimetar, they make uſe of when they arrive to hand-blows with the Enemy; many of them are armed with Bows and Arrows, and with Piſtols and Carbines; but eſteem not much of Fire-Arms, having an opinion, that in the Field they make more noiſe than execution; ſome of them wear Jacks of Male and Head-pieces painted with the colour of their Squadron; in fight they begin their onſet with *Allah*, *Allah*, and make three attempts to break within the Ranks of the Enemy, in which if they fail, they then make their retreat.

Compariſon of the *Spahees* of *Aſia* and *Europe*.

The *Aſian Spahees* are better mounted than commonly thoſe of *Europe*, though theſe being Borderers on the Confines of the Chriſtians, having learned much of Diſcipline by conſtant skirmiſhes and combats, are trained in the Art of War, and become the more valiant and experienced Soldiers.

But the *Aſiatick Spahees* were formerly the more rich, many particular Men of them bringing into the Field thirty or forty men apiece, beſides their Led-Horſes, Tents, and other accommodations proportionable to their Retinue; but theſe Cavaliers ſeemed too great and proud to the Viſier *Kuprinli*, for the condition of common Troopers, and infected with the Epidemical Spirit of Faction and Mutiny, which raged at that time amongſt all the Grandees of the Empire; which cauſed him to ſtrike off their heads with as little remorſe as one would do the tops of Poppies, until he had abſolutely made a deſtruction of them. Thoſe now which remain are poor and inconſiderable, contented to comrade ten or twelve in a company, for maintenance of a poor Tent, and two or three Horſes and a Mule for Baggage and Proviſions; theſe are more tame, and ſubject to the Cudgel, and can take a beating patiently on the ſoles of the feet, which is their puniſhment, as the *Janizaries* is to receive the blows on the Buttocks (that ſo this chaſtiſement may neither incommode the ſeat of the Horſemen, nor the marches of the foot) but if the crime be great and capital, they are ſent for by *Chiauſes*, or Purſuivants to appear before the Viſier, by whom being condemned and ſtrangled near the Walls of the Grand Signior's *Seraglio*, their bodies are afterwards, about two or three hours in the night, thrown into the Sea, without other ſolemnity than the firing of one of thoſe great Guns next the Sea, which are planted under the Walls of the *Seraglio*, which ſerve for ſo many warning pieces for others Example.

Their Pay.

Their pay is divers, but in general it is from twelve to one hundred Aſpers a day: thoſe who proceed from the *Seraglios* of *Pera*, *Ibrahim*, *Paſhaw* and *Adrianople*, which are ſo many Nurſeries and Schools as well of the principles of War, as Literature; or have been Cooks Mates (for the Cook of theſe Societies is principal Officer of reſpect) or *Baltagees*, that is, Hatchet-men, who cut Wood for the Grand Signior's *Seraglio*, and are licenſed to live abroad with the title of *Spahee*, have the loweſt pay of twelve Aſpers a day; but thoſe who are extracted from the leſs, or greater Chamber of the Grand Signior's own *Seraglio*, called *Seni ſerai*, have 19 Aſpers pay; and if they are favoured with the title of an Office, they receive two or three Aſpers augmentation. But ſuch as are elected to the War out of more eminent Chambers, as the Landery, the Turbant-Office, the Diſpenſatory, the * Treaſury, the † Falconers Lodge and others (which we have mentioned in the deſcription of the *Seraglio*) have at firſt thirty Aſpers daily pay; an ‖ encreaſe of which is obtained ſometimes by the Viſiers, or Regiſters favour unto two Aſpers more; ſometimes by ſervices in the War, by receiving two Aſpers augmentation for the head of every Enemy he brings in; two Aſpers more for * intelligence of the death of any *Spahee*, out of the pay of the deceaſed; as alſo, at the Incoronation or Inſtalment of every Grand Signior, five Aſpers increaſe is given as a donative general to the whole Army of *Spahees*: and thus many of them by art, induſtry, and good ſucceſs, go augmenting until they arrive to an hundred Aſpers, and here is their *non plus ultra*, they can riſe no higher. They are paid quarterly from three months to three months; which they may omit to receive for nine months, but if twelve paſs, they can onely demand the nine, the other quarter or more is confiſcated to the publick Exchequer: Their place of payment is now in the Hall of the Viſier, which formerly was in the Houſes of the Pay-Maſters, and Treaſurer, but changed by the

* *Killer Odaſi.*

† *Hazna Odaſi.*

‖ Called *Taraki.*

* This is done, that the Grand Signior may not be cheated by having the Pay continued to thoſe who are dead.

Viſier *Cupriuli*, on occaſion of the diſorders and abuſes of the Officers which cauſed Mutinies and Diſturbances amongſt the Soldiery. For the rich *Spahees* living far diſtant, to excuſe themſelves from a long journey to the City, agreed with the Pay-Maſters that they for ſome certain part of their Income, ſhould without farther trouble to themſelves, take up their Dues, and make it over quarterly to their Countries of abode; theſe men thus taſting the benefit of this trade, agreed with others for ſome little gains to diſpatch them before the reſt; by which means and the payment onely on Wedneſdays and Saturdays, thoſe *Spahees* that came from remote parts, making ſo long attendance, had with their exceſſes in *Conſtantinople* ſpent as much as the principal ſumm they expected; of which growing ſenſible, at firſt they began to murmur, then to threaten the Pay-Maſters, and at laſt proceeded to open Mutiny, by forcing the doors, breaking the windows of the Officers, with many other inſolencies and diſorders, until *Kupriuli*, to remedy theſe abuſes, ordered the money to be given out in his preſence, and the Payment to be continued every day untill the Pay was ended.

Sons of *Spahees*.

Accidental gains to the *Spahees*.

The Sons of *Spahees*, preſenting themſelves before the Viſier, may claim the privilege of being enrolled in the Grand Signior's Books; but their Pay, which is the loweſt rate twelve Aſpers a day, is to iſſue forth from their Fathers proportion, but then they are in the road of preferment, and are capable by their ſervices and merits to make additions upon foundation of their own induſtry. Beſides the forgoing ways by which the *Spahees* gain their encreaſe of pay, I am given to underſtand that formerly they had another benefit, called *Gulamiie*, or ſafe Conduct Money, which was one *per cent.* of all Monies to thoſe whom the Collectours of the Grand Signior's Revenue ſummoned to convey the Treaſure for more ſecurity to the Capital City, beſides the maintenance of themſelves and their Horſes in the Journey; but this as too chargeable a deduction from the Imperial Revenue, was with time taken off, to the great diſcontent of the *Spahees* in general.

The Grand Signior going in Perſon to the Wars, according to the ancient cuſtome of other *Sultans*, beſtows a largeſs on the *Spahees*, of Five thouſand Aſpers a Man, which they call *Sadah Akchiaſi*, or a donative for buying Bows and Arrows; as alſo to the *Janizaries*, as we ſhall hereafter mention.

Their Diſcipline.

This Army of *Spahees* is in the War a meer confuſed multitude without any Government, or diſtribution into Troops or Regiments, but march in heaps, fight without order, little account kept of their preſence or abſence from the Camp; onely at the pay in the month of * *November* whoſoever appears not, unleſs favoured by the Officers, hath his name raced from the Grand Signior's Regiſter.

*** Called in Turkiſh *Kaſſem Ulofaſt*.**

Their duty in the War is to ſtand Centinel with a *Janizary* at the end of every Cord at the Grand Signior's Pavilion, as alſo at the Viſier's, armed with his Cimitar, Bows, Arrows, and Lance, mounted on Horſe-back; as the *Janizary* on foot with a Sword and Musket; and alſo the charge of the Treaſure for payment of the Militia, is committed in the Field to their cuſtody.

How they have loſt their honour.

This Order of Soldiers was in ancient times in great eſteem and honour in all parts of the Empire, by reaſon of their accompliſhments in Learning, refined Education in the Imperial Court, their nearneſs to Preferments, and acquaintance and Intereſt with the Grandees of the Empire: The place of the *Selibtari* in their marches to the War, was to flank the Grand Signior on the left hand, and the *Spahi Oglani* on the right, and were always the ultimate reſerve of the Battel, as the Life-guard to the *Sultan*: But like men not knowing how to comport themſelves in proſperity, growing mutinous and ambitious to have a hand in the Government, became Confederates with the *Janizaries* in conſpiracy againſt the Life of their true Sovereign *Sultan Oſman*; to which Treaſon adding other Inſolencies, they juſtly were deprived of the favour of *Sultan Morat*, and *Sultan Ibrahim*; the terrours alſo of their late Sedition remaining freſhly ſtill impreſſed in the memory of this preſent Emperour *Sultan Mahomet*, when they complotted againſt his own and his Mothers Life, is the cauſe they have gone ſtill declining from the degree of their priſtine honour and eſteem; for the Prince as he is the Fountain of Honour, ſo is his countenance and favour the ſpirit and life which gives a luſtre and ſparkling to thoſe Titles and Riches he hath conferred; other Seditions haſtned the ruine of their reputation, and in the year 1657. when the Viſier *Mahomet Kupriuli*, on occaſion of his Expedition againſt *Janova*, ſummoned the *Aſian Spahees* to the Rendezvous in *Hungary*, who inſtead of yielding obedience to the command of their General, elected a new Captain, a *Spahee* of their own rank, called *Haſſan Aga*, preferred to be *Paſhaw* of *Aleppo*: whoſe name at that time, I remember, upon the hopes of the diſſentions he might create amongſt the *Turks*, was greatly famed and celebrated over all *Chriſtendom*. Theſe Combuſtions in *Aſia* headed by the chief Enemy to the Viſier, cauſed *Kupriuli* to leave many of his deſigns againſt *Tranſilvania* uneffected, and to clap up a Peace on reaſonable and moderate terms of honour, that ſo he might hinder the progreſs of a dangerous evil which now threatned and approached the Capital City; for by this time *Haſſan Paſhaw* being arrived near the Walls of *Scutari*, began to treat by way of Petition to the Grand Signior, and repreſent that out of his zeal to the good of his Majeſty and his Empire, he had undertaken a long march to inform him of the corruption of his Miniſters, and the miſcarriages of Government; his tender years as yet not having ripened his judgment to penetrate theſe evils, which with time his underſtanding would diſcover to be too inveterate and incurable. All the oppreſſions and aggrievances of the Soldiery he ſeemed to object to the cruelty and oppreſſion of *Kupriuli*, and in appearanee, had nothing but thoughts of the honour and ſafety of the Grand Signior's perſon; and doubtleſs this man was unfit to manage ſuch a deſign; for he entertained ſcruples of Conſcience, and a remorſe and tenderneſs in ſpilling *Mahometan* Bloud, conſiderations which are incomptable with the condition of a Rebel; for who hath the impiety to draw his Sword againſt his Prince, muſt ſtop at no bars either of Divine or humane right to maintain it. This gave advantage to *Kupriuli* to effect his deſign upon his Enemy; for in the interim of this Treaty, *Mortaza Paſhaw* of *Babylon*, was commanded to poſſeſs the City of *Aleppo*, and *Haſſan*, after many fair meſſages and promiſes from the Grand Signior and the Viſier, was perſuaded to return again to *Aleppo*, to capitulate with *Mortaza* concerning thoſe points and aggrievances he ſought to have redreſſed; it being alledged to him, that *Mortaza* had received inſtructions to treat, and a Plenipotentiary power to grant and firm as far as ſhould be reaſonable and honourable for the Grand Signior to condeſcend. *Haſſan* with this eaſie anſwer returned toward *Aleppo*; near which place he credulouſly committed himſelf into the hands of *Mortaza*, who no ſooner had him within his Tents, but he concluded all controverſies and capitulations by the deciſion of his head from his body: The whole Army of *Spahees* immediately, with the fall of their General, was ſcattered, and divided themſelves; but about three hundred of them being apprehended by *Mortaza*, were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where, in the preſence of the Grand Signior, within the Walls of the *Seraglio* at *Scutari* they were all executed; ſince which their pride hath ever been declining, and their name become ſo odious amongſt the people, that upon the very nominating a *Spahee*, the vulgar were ready to run upon them with ſtones, or other Weapons that came next to hand; ſo that now the *Spahees* are much eclipſed in their ancient fame and honour.

There are beſides theſe two foregoing ſorts of *Spahees*, other four, the firſt called *Sag Ulefigi*, that is appointed to march on the right hand of the *Spahaoglani*, and carry white and red Colours. The ſecond is *Sol Ulefigi*, whoſe place is on the left hand of the *Selahtari*; which carry white and yellow Colours. The third *Sagarcha*, that is Soldiers of Fortune that are to march on the right hand of the *Sag Ulefigi*, and carry green Colours. The fourth is *Sol Garcha*, whoſe place is to march on the left hand of the *Ulefigi*, and carry white Banners: but theſe four ſorts of *Spahees* are raiſed and liſted according to neceſſity and occaſions of War, and are obliged to all ſervices and duties; their pay is from 12 Aſpers to 20 a day, and are capable according to their merits, of being promoted to one of the ſuperiour Orders. There is alſo another ſort of more elevated *Spahees* called *Mutafaraca*, who iſſue out from the *Seraglio* with more favour than the ordinary ſort of *Spahees*, and are four or five hundred in number, their pay is forty Aſpers a day, and have always the obligation or duty on them to ſerve and attend the Grand Signior when he goes in progreſs for pleaſure from one Village to another.

And thus much ſhall ſerve to have declared in brief concerning the inſtitution and diſcipline of the *Spahees*, alſo of the Militia of the *Turkiſh* Horſe; we ſhall now proceed to declare ſomething of their Infantry.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Janizaries.

Their beginning.

THE next main ſinew of the *Ottoman* Power is the Order of *Janizaries*, which is as much as to ſay, the new Militia, and their Antiquity may be deduced from *Ottoman* the firſt King of the *Turks*; but becauſe they received honours and privileges from *Amurath* their third King, our *Turkiſh* Hiſtory accounts that to be the time of the firſt Original: it is certain that in his time they were modelized, and certain Laws preſcribed both for their education and maintenance; when by the counſel of *Cara-din*, otherwiſe called *Kara Ruſtbeneg*, *Amurath's* Prime Viſier, it was ordained that for the augmentation of this Militia, every fifth Captive taken from the Chriſtians, above the age of fifteen years, ſhould be the duct of the *Sultan*, who at firſt were to be diſtributed amongſt the *Turkiſh* Husbandmen in *Aſia*, to learn and be inſtructed in the *Turkiſh* Language and Religion.

Their number.

Their number at firſt was not accounted above ſix or ſeven thouſand, now with time they are encreaſed to the number of twenty thouſand effective men: but were there a liſt taken of all thoſe who aſſume this title of *Janizary*, and enjoy their Privileges, though not their Pay, there would be found above 100000; ſix or ſeven go under the name of one *Janizary*, for gaining by this means a privilege of being free from all duties and Taxes, they beſtow a certain ſum of Money or annual Preſents on the Officers, in conſideration of which they are owned and countenanced as *Janizaries*. Their Habit is as the Picture repreſents, wearing always the Beard on the Chin and under Lip ſhaven, which ſome ſay they learned from the *Italians*; but certain it is, that this cuſtome is more ancient, than ſince the time of their Neighbourhood unto *Italy*: this manner of their ſhaving being generally uſed as a token of their ſubjection, and ſo all the Pages and Officers in the *Seraglio* of great Men, Orders of Gardeners, *Baltages* or Hatchet-men, and others, are diſtinguiſhed by this mark to be in ſervice, and obliged to the attendance of a Maſter: But when they are either licenſed from the War, or promoted to Office, or freed to their own diſpoſal, they immediately ſuffer their Beards to grow as a ſign of their liberty and gravity.

Their Habit.

The *Janizaries* of whom compoſed.

In former times this Militia conſiſted onely of the Sons of Chriſtians, educated in the *Mahometan* Rites; but of late that Politick cuſtome hath been diſuſed, the reaſon of which ſome attribute to the abundance of people the *Turks* have of their own to ſupply all their occaſions: but I am induced rather to another opinion, having not obſerved the multitude which Hiſtories and Travellers tell us, that the *Turks* ſwarm with; and rather aſſign the neglect of this practice ſo prejudicial to Chriſtian Intereſt in theſe parts, to the corruption of the Officers, and careleſneſs in their Diſcipline.

The Novices.

And though this election of *Janizaries*, out of the eldeſt and luſtieſt Sons of Chriſtians that inhabit *Europe* (for *Aſia* was exempted) is now diſuſed; yet ſuch as enter into this Order, whoſoever they are (unleſs the neceſſity of the preſent ſtate of the War be over urgent) are obliged to perform their Novitiate like *Tyrones Romani*, before they can be enrolled in the Regiſter of *Janizaries*, and are called *Agimoglans*. The chief Officers of theſe are called *Stambol Agaſi*, in whoſe care and charge it is to enure theſe men to all labours, pains, and fortifications, as to cut wood, carry burthens, endure heats, colds, and other ſufferings, which may render them obedient, temperate, vigilant, and patient of all the inconveniencies and miſeries of War.

Their Quarters.

The quarters many of theſe have in the Garden-Lodges of the Grand Signior's *Seraglio's* (whereof there are many in and about *Conſtantinople*) to manure and dig the ground, learn the Art of Plantations, and Husbandry, and practiſe, as occaſion requires, meaner Offices of labour and ſervitude: others of them are placed in the three *Seraglio's* (we have beforementioned in the Chapter of *Spahees*) *viz.* of *Pera*, *Ibrahim*, *Paſcha*, and *Adrianople*, where their principal art is the Myſtery of Plantation and delicious diſpoſal of Gardens into the variety of Knots, Walks, Groves, and Fountains; and though there are many of this Profeſſion who have no other thoughts to employ their minds, few of them are acquainted with any part of polite Husbandry, or know more than the ſeaſon to plant their Artichoaks or Colworts; as to the rules and ſymmetry of ſetting Trees, ordering the Labyrinths of Knots, making pleaſing Walks, Fountains, and Groves; it is ſtrange a people that delight ſo much in Flowers, in Fields, and Arbours, and have themſelves or Anceſtours ruined many of the delightfull Paradiſes of Chriſtians, ſhould be ſo wholly ignorant and dull in the contrivance of what they love, as not to be able to borrow one example or model, which amongſt all the Grand Signior's Gardens in *Conſtantinople* may deſerve a better name than of a Wilderneſs.

Others of theſe *Agiamoglans* are made *Baltages* or Hatchet-men to cut out wood for the *Seraglio*; others are made Cooks and Officers in the Kitchin, ſuch, I mean, as can already ſpeak the *Turkiſh* Language, [for thoſe that are ignorant in that ſpeech, or in the *Mahometan* Religion, are diſpoſed into remoter parts of *Anatolia*, where the *Janizaries* have Poſſeſſions and Authority; as to *Ciotabia*, where the * Lieutenant General of the *Janizaries* hath a Revenue; to *Karabizar* and *Angura*, where the *Stambol Agaſi* hath principal power; to *Menteſche*, *Sultan Ugbi* and *Karoſi*, where the *Turnagibatch* and *Jalabatchi*, who are chief Officers of the *Janizaries*, have Rents and Profits belonging to their Offices, and here they are employed in ploughing and ſowing the Ground, or other laborious exerciſes, until ſuch time as ſupplies for the Wars give them occaſion to draw out theſe men from their ſeveral ſtations; and then being called to the Chambers of *Janizaries*, they orderly march one after the other according to their ſeniority, one holding the end of his fellows Garment, appear before the Muſter-maſter, who having enrolled their names in the Grand Signior's Regiſter, they run as faſt as they can by their *Odabaſche* or Maſter of their Chamber, who gives every one as he paſſes a blow under the Ear, to ſignifie their ſubjection to him: and this is the Ceremony obſerved in creating *Janizaries*.

* Called *Kiahaia-Begh.*

The manner in making *Janizaries.*

Their Pay.

At their firſt Enrolment ſome have but one Aſper a day, others four or five, unto ſeven and a half; and ſo with time and favour of their Officers, encreaſe to twelve Aſpers a day, which is the higheſt pay of any *Janizary*, and can have no other advance, unleſs good Fortune promote them to the degree of a *Kiahaia Begh*, which is as much as Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*, or any other eminent Office.

Their Diet & Cloathing.

Beſides this Pay, they have their daily Proviſion and Diet from the bounty of the Grand Signior, and their Table ordered at conſtant hours, where they find their Rice, fifty drams of Fleſh, and one hundred of Bread their ordinary Commons, and eat in their reſpective Refectories like Monks in Convents, or Scholars in their Colleges; they receive alſo one Soldiers Coat yearly, of Cloth made at *Salonica* of a courſe thred, but warm and convenient, which in every Month of *Ramazan* is diſtributed to each Chamber; ſo that their Bellies are full, and Backs are warm, and in all points are better provided than the [illegible] Infantry which are to be ſeen in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*.] And thus this people being pampered without care of ſpoiling their Bread, grow often querulous and apt to take the fire of Sedition with every ſpark of diſcontent in their Officers; the beginnings of which they commonly make known at their Aſſemblies of the publick *Divan*, whither four or five hundred of them are obliged four times a week, that is Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tueſday, to accompany the *Janizar Aga*, or their General; at that place they have their Commons from the Grand Signior's Kitchin: which when they have any ſubject of diſcontent they evidence by ſlighting, kicking down their Plates of Rice, and ſhewing better ſtomachs to be revenged, than to their Entertainment; which Mutinies the Grand Signior and principal Miniſters having found oftentimes fatal, endeavour by fair promiſes and ſatisfactory compliance with their deſires to pacifie in their firſt motion.

Mutinies.

Hazoda.

The *Janizar Aga.*

The General of this Militia is called *Janizar Agaſi*, and is always elected from the Royal Chamber of the *Seraglio*; becauſe it being an Office of great charge, it is thought neceſſary to be intruſted to one whoſe Education and Preferment hath made a Creature of the Court; which Policy hath been the ſuppreſſion of divers Mutinies amongſt the *Janizaries*, the diſcovery of their Combination, and an engagement to a ſtronger dependency on the favour of the *Seraglio*. When this General either dies by a natural death, or the Sword of the Grand Signior's Juſtice or Authority, his Riches, like that of other *Paſhaws*, is not confiſcated to the *Sultan*'s Exchequer; but the Inheritance accrues to the publick Treaſury of the *Janizaries*; which how dangerous it is to a State to have a Militia endowed with Revenues appropriated to their Officers (as already we have declared they poſſeſs in ſome parts of *Anatolia*) and a Bank of Wealth united to the maintenance of a licentious Sword, the *Ottoman* Princes have by ſad effects rather felt, than able by virtue of their abſolute Power to remedy.

The publick Treaſury of the *Janizaries.*

Officers.

The ſecond chief Officer is the *Kirbaia Begh*, Lieutenant-General.

The third is *Seghban baſchi*, the Overſeer of the Carriage of the Soldiers Baggage.

The fourth is the *Turnagi Baſhee*, or Guardian of the Grand Signior's Cranes.

The fifth is the *Samſongi Baſhee*, chief Maſter of the Grand Signior's Maſtives.

The ſixth is the *Zagargi Baſhee*, Maſter of the Spaniels.

The ſeventh is the *Solack Baſhee*, Captain of the Archers, or of ſuch of the *Janizaries* who go armed with Bow and Arrows.

The eighth is *Subaſhi* and *Aſſasbaſhi*, who are chief of the Sergeants and Bailiffs, and attend always at the Grand Signior's Stirrop when at any time on ſolemn occaſions he ſhews himſelf to the people.

The ninth is the *Peikbaſhi*, or Commander of that ſort of Pages which are called *Peiks*, who wear Caps of beaten Gold, of which there are 60 in number, who march at Solemnities together with the *Solacks* near the perſon of the Grand Signior.

The tenth is *Mezurga*, or the head Baily of the *Janizaries*.

Theſe eight laſt ariſe from the order of the *Janizaries*, and have their ſeveral Commands in the Army, though the Grand Signior, to augment their Power and Honour the more, beſtows on them Titles and Wealth in other Offices.

The *Janizaries* Chambers.

The *Janizaries* Chambers of which there are no others but in *Conſtantinople*) are in number 162, of which 80 are of ancient Foundation, and are called *Eskei Odalar*; and 82 called *Jeni Odalar* or of the new Chambers; over moſt of which is a *Tchirbagi* or Captain. In theſe Chambers thoſe that are not married enjoy their Lodgings and Habitation; and twice a day find their Repaſt, as we have before-mentioned: And thus inſtead of Monaſteries of Fryars, the *Turk* maintains Convents and Societies of Soldiers, who are trained up with all modeſty and ſeverity of Diſcipline.

Officers of the Chambers.

The principal Officers of theſe Chambers are,

Firſt, the *Odabaſhee*, or Maſter of the Chamber, who in the Wars ſerve as Lieutenants of the Company.

Second is *Wekilharg*, or Expenditour for maintenance of the Chamber.

The third is *Beirackter*, or Enſign-bearer.

Fourth is *Aſhgee*, or the Cook of the Chamber.

Fifth is *Karakullukgee*, or the under-Cook.

Sixth is the *Saka*, or the Water-carrier.

The Cook is not onely an Officer to dreſs the Diet and Proviſion of the *Janizaries*, but is alſo a Monitor or Obſerver of their good behaviour; ſo that when any one of them commits a Crime, the Cook is the Officer that executes the puniſhment. The under Cook ſerves alſo for an Apparitor, and is he who ſummons the married *Janizaries* at their ſeveral Dwellings in *Conſtantinople*, when their Officers command their attendance.

Janizaries married.

The greateſt part of the *Janizaries* conſiſts of Batchellours or ſingle Men; for though Marriage cannot be denied to any of them, yet it is that which determines their Preferments, and renders their Seniority uncapable of claiming a right to Offices, or Military Advancement; for being incumbred with Wife, and other Dependencies they are judged in a condition not capable to attend the Diſcipline of the War, or ſervice of the Grand Signior; and therefore as to other duty in the times of Peace, beſides their appearance every Friday in their Chambers, and preſence of their Officers, they wholly are diſpenſed with.

In the Wars this Militia is conſidered as the moſt valiant and beſt Diſciplined Soldiery of the *Turkiſh* Camp, and therefore are kept as a Reſerve, or march in the main Body of the Army. In times of Peace their Quarters are many times changed, to keep them in employment, from one Caſtle or Gariſon to another, as to *Buda*, *Kaniſia*, *Temeſwar*, to *Rhodes*, *Canea*, and other parts: ſome of them are appointed to keep Courts of Guard at all Gates and Avenues of *Conſtantinople*, to prevent the Inſolencies and Injuries their Companions are apt to offer to Chriſtians, Jews, and others in the Streets, who at ſome times, being heated with Wine, have in open Market forced Women whilſt their Comrades have with their * Daggers drawn ſtood over them to defend them from the people; to prevent which diſorders, the *Janizar Agaſi* accuſtoms to ride the Streets attended with about 40 *Muzugies*, or Bailiffs of the *Janizaries*, where meeting any guilty of ſuch like Crimes, or other Enormities, he ſeizes them and carries them to his Court, where after examination of their fault, he orders them to be beaten, or if their Crime be great, to be ſtrangled, or ſowed in a Sack and thrown into the Sea; but always their puniſhment is inflicted privately, perhaps becauſe they are jealous of a Mutiny.

* Called *Haniarres.*

Serdars.

In every Province the *Janizaries* have their *Serdars*, who are Colonel or chief of all the *Janizaries* within that Juriſdiction, who greatly abuſe their Office by taking into their protection any that preſent or pay them for this Privilege; by which means they have grown ſo powerfull and rich, that ſome time paſt the Command of the whole *Ottoman* Empire hath repoſed in the hands of this Militia.

Their Arms are Muſquets and Swords, they fight confuſedly in the Field, and with no more order than the *Spahees*; onely ſometimes they draw themſelves up into *Cunei*, obſerved amongſt the *Romans*.

And thus much ſhall ſerve to have ſpoken of the Inſtitution and Diſcipline of the *Janizaries*: We ſhall now proceed to declare how this Militia is decayed, and upon what grounds it is not maintained in its ancient honour and flouriſhing Eſtate.

CHAP. VIII.

Whether the maintenance of an Army of Janizaries *according to the Original Inſtitution, be now agreeable to the Rules of Polity amongſt the* Turks.

THIS Problem I find firſt moved by *Buſbequius*, once the *German* Emperour's Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople*, who pretends to ſpeak the Grand Signior's ſenſe in this particular, on occaſions of difference which the inſolent rudeneſs of the *Janizaries* had cauſed between themſelves and his Family; For *Ruſtan Paſſaw* then Prime Viſier, admoniſhed him friendly to condeſcend to any terms of compoſition, for that Law could not avail where Soldiers ruled; and the powerfull *Soliman* himſelf, who then reigned, trembled at nothing more than the apprehenſion of ſome ſecret Ulcer of perfidiouſneſs, which might lie concealed within the retirement of the *Janizaries*.

Epiſt. 3. de Legat. Turcica.

But as there is no queſtion, but a ſtanding Army of veterane and well Diſciplined Soldiers muſt be always uſefull and advantageous to the Intereſt of a Prince; ſo, on the contrary, negligence in the Officers, and remiſneſs of Government, produces that licentiouſneſs and wreſtineſs in the Soldiery, as betrays them to all the diſorders which are dangerous, and of evil conſequence to the welfare of a State.

And ſo it hath fared with the *Ottoman* Empire, which riſing onely by the power of Arms, and eſtabliſhed on the bloud of many valiant and daring Captains, gave Privileges, Honours and Riches to the Militia, and at all times encouraged their proweſs and forwardneſs by Rewards, and Connivance at their Crimes; by which indulgence and impunity, theſe men ill principled in rules of Vertue, and unequally bearing proſperity, and the favour of the Prince, have for a long time been gathering a ſtock of ill humours, ready to receive any contagion of ſeditious deſign, and to maintain it with an impudence contrary to the *Janizaries* for ſome ages, which may equal the levity of the *Roman* Soldiery, that till they ſhamefully ſet their Empire to ſale, and forgot both their old obedience to the Senate, and reverence to their new Emperours.

The death and ruine of many Grandees, and of the *Sultan* himſelf by ſuch like Seditions, hath at length by dear experience taught the principal Miniſters how unſafe it is to permit an Army lodged in the bowels of the Imperial City, of an ill diſpoſition favourable to [illegible]

vious,

vicious, and impatient of any other, jealous, and always at enmity with the Court, rich and powerfull, with Poſſeſſions and Rents appertaining to its Commanders in *Anatolia*, and a Treaſury of unknown ſums, which have deſcended to the common Bank by the deceaſe of their Generals or *Janizar Aga*'s; and therefore have by degrees, and as prudently as might be, begun to diminiſh the ſtrength of this Militia by the deſtruction of the veterane Soldiers, and ruine of their reputation by various arts, in the eſtimation of the world.

The particular means whereby the *Janizaries* have been ſtudiouſly deſtroyed, are by many ways evident; for firſt they are expoſed upon every obſcure Service, and drawn forth to encounter every Aſſault of the Empire; as the Wars of *Candy* have exhauſted the flower of this Militia, the Battels at Sea buried vaſt numbers, who were formerly reſerved for times of eminent exploits and glory.

Secondly, Which deſtruction of the veterane Soldiers hath created other miſchiefs to this Order, in point of Diſcipline, as prejudicial as the former; for as the *Agiamoglans* were obliged to perform ſix or ſeven years Noviciate, now by reaſon of the conſtant neceſſities to ſupply the Wars, they overskip the orderly formalities of the firſt Inſtitution, and create them *Janizaries* after a year, or half a years ſervice. And others I have known educated in Mechanick profeſſions, and from framing Timber and carrying Burthens in the Arſenal, have at once for the ſervice of *Candy* been created *Janizaries*, who neither know how to manage a Musket, nor are otherwiſe Diſciplined to any exerciſe of Arms.

Thirdly, That *Europe* may not be diſpeopled by the triennial ſeiſure of Chriſtian Children for the Grand Signior's ſervice, which in *Turkiſh* is called *Devſchirme*, the politick Cuſtome and principal conſervation of the Diſcipline of *Janizaries* is, as we have ſaid before, wholly forgotten, and inſtead thereof election is made of Vagabonds, that proffer themſelves out of *Aſia*, or other parts, who having paſſed five or ſix months like Novices, are afterwards made *Janizaries*; and being ignorant in the uſe of Arms, and unaccuſtomed to labours and ſufferings, run from their Colours, and renounce their Order, which has been in times paſt one of the moſt honourable in the whole Empire.

Fourthly, The old veterane Officers, which had by degrees and ſteps proceeded to honour methodically from inferiour Soldiers, have either by their own ſeditious ſpirits, or jealouſies of the Prince, been diſpeeded from this World, and in their places the Sons of *Conſtantinopolitan Janizaries* ſucceeded, who have been bred up with ſoftneſs and effeminacy; and their *Tchorbagees* or Captains have not obtained their Commands by time by valour, but Buy their Places with Money and Preſents to their Prime Officers.

Fifthly, And to forward the decay of this Militia, and to take off their warlike and haughty Courages, the confinement to their Chambers is not ſevere, but liberty given upon colour of Poverty, and impoſſibility of livelihood on their mean Pay, to attend other Trades and Services, whereby the exerciſe of Arms and thoughts of the War is converted to Mechanick Arts, and an Invention to ways of maintenance of themſelves and Families.

Sixthly, Hope of reward and fear of puniſhment, which are the incitements to worthy actions and reſtrictions from the vileſt crimes, are rarely held up to the *Janizaries* in theſe times for their encouragement or terrour; for without Money to the ſuperiour Officers none of them obtains Preferment; nor can any worn out with age and wounds procure diſmiſſion from the War with the enjoyment of the uſual ſtipend, who are called by the Turks *Oturak*, and by the Latins *Exauctorati*; and on the contrary the Children of Officers born in *Conſtantinople* are often made *Oturaks* in their Cradles, and luſty Youths are with favour and Money exempted in the flower of age from the labours of War, and yet enjoy the benefits due to a toilſome Militia.

And yet, as if all the connivance at theſe various diſorders and ſubverſion of the good inſtitutions of the Soldiery were not ſufficient to impoveriſh their ſpirits, to mould them into a more effeminate temper, and cauſe them to loſe their intereſt and reputation: it is the common opinion that the Viſier *Kupriuli* laid the deſigns for the late War with *Germany* before his death, and enjoined it to his Son to proſecute, with an intention, amongſt other expectations of benefit to the Empire, to complete the final deſtruction of the ancient *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, ſo as to be able to lay a foundation of a new Diſcipline, which may more eaſily for the future reſtrain the *Turkiſh* Militia within the compaſs of better modeſty and obedience: which deſign hath taken ſo ſevere effect in the War of *Hungary*, in the year 1664. that the bloudieſt part of ſlaughter in the Battels fell on the *Janizaries* and *Spahees*, and by how much more any were more bold and forward in their attempts, by ſo much more fatal and haſty was their ruine; ſo that it is reported, that the valianteſt Soldiers of the Confines, the veterane and beſt diſciplined of the *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, and the beſt number of their skilfull Commanders and expert Captains periſhed promiſcuouſly together, to the great damage and weakning to the *Ottoman* Power; ſo that now it is not probable that a new Militia ſucceeding, capable of receiving other Cuſtoms and Laws, and neither remembring nor concerned in former Mutinies, will adventure to follow the ſeditious practices of their Predeceſſours; for men are commonly modeſt at their firſt entrance into any condition; and unleſs debauched by corruption and Government, are eaſily contained within the bounds of reaſonable moderation. And yet notwithſtanding that the pride of the *Turkiſh* Religion is reduced to ſo low an abatement of their power, and to a condition eaſily for the future with with good management to be ruled; yet this preſent *Sultan Mahomet* ſtill retaining the memory and impreſſion of the amazement he ſuffered in his infancy on occaſion of a dangerous combination and conſpiracy of the *Janizaries*, will never confide himſelf to their guard, nor be reconciled to *Conſtantinople*, in conſideration of the many Chambers it contains of that loathed Militia, which have been ſo many Nurſeries and Seminaries of Treaſons complotted againſt himſelf, and his other Progenitors.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Chiauſes.

THESE having both offenſive and defenſive Arms aſſigned them, may be reckoned in the number of the Militia, though their Office being chiefly in relation to Civil Proceſſes and Laws, they may deſerve rather the name of Purſuivants or Serjeants. They are in number about 5 or 600, their pay is from 12 to 40 Aſpers a day; and chief Officer is called *Chiaus Baſchee*, to whoſe cuſtody Priſoners of Quality are committed; their place of Attendance is the Palace of the Prime Viſier, to be ready on all occaſions to carry Letters and Commands to any part of the Empire; ſuch Chriſtian Renegadoes, as become *Turks*, they moſt commonly for their Incouragement and ſubſiſtence in the *Mahometan* Superſtition, admit into this Rank; becauſe having commonly an endowment of other Languages beſides the *Turkiſh*, are moſt ſerviceable on meſſages into foreign Countries; and ſometimes are ſent with the Title of Ambaſſadours, as one was once into *England*, *France*, and *Holland*. Their Arms are a Scimetar, a Bow, and Arrows, and a Truncheon with a knob at the end, called in *Turkiſh Topous*; thoſe of theſe Officers that are Servants to the Viſier or *Beglerbegs* carry this Truncheon covered with Silver, called in *Turkiſh Tchoughian*; but the *Chiauſes* of ſimple *Paſhaws* onely of Wood: their Harveſt they make upon the occaſions of Law Suits and Differences between one party and another, being Apparitors or Serjeants to call the guilty perſon to juſtice; or if the buſineſs comes to compoſition, they commonly are in the midſt to perſuade both ſides to reaſon, in which action they want not their Fees or acknowledgment of labour from both Parties.

CHAP. X.

Of the other parts of the Turkiſh *Militia, the* Toptchi.

THESE are Gunners, called ſo from the word *Tope*, which in *Turkiſh* ſignifies a Cannon; and are in number about 1200 diſtributed in 52 Chambers; their Quarters are at *Tophana*, on the place of Guns in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; few of theſe are expert in their art, and are ill practiſed in the Proportions and Mathematical part of the Gunners Myſtery; for were they as skilfull as many Ingeneers in the World, they might doubtleſs with that vaſt Train of Artillery they either march with in their Camp, or found in their Trenches, give much more annoyance to the Chriſtian Forces: And therefore knowing their own imperfections in this exerciſe, when Chriſtian Gunners are taken in the War, they entertain them with better uſage than other Captives, quartering them in the Chambers appropriated to that Profeſſion, allotting them with others a pay from 8 to 12 Aſpers a day; but becauſe this is too inconſiderable a maintenance to allure men who are otherwiſe principled, moſt of them as occaſion offers, deſert the ſervice of the *Turk*, and fly to their own Countrey.

Their Officers are,

1. The *Topgibaſchi*, or General of the Ordinance.

2. The *Dukigibaſchi*, or the Chief of them that found the great Guns.

3. The *Odabaſchi*, the Chief of all the Chambers of the Gunners in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*.

4. Is the *Kiatib* of their Muſter-Maſter, who is always a *Spahee*.

Their Guns are the biggeſt, and as well caſt and moulded as any in the World; for the laſt Expedition in *Hungary* there were 40 Pieces of new Cannon caſt and tranſported by way of the Black Sea, and thence by the *Danube* unto *Belgrade* and *Buda*. Their Gunpowder is made but in ſmall quantities about *Conſtantinople*, but comes from divers places of *Europe*; but that from *Damaſcus* is moſt eſteemed. The biggeſt ſize of their Bullets are from 36 to 40 Inches Diamiter, but theſe are moſt commonly of Stone, which they make uſe of in the Caſtles or Block-houſes ſituate on the Sea, as at the Caſtles upon the *Helleſpont*, called anciently *Seſtos* and *Abidos*, and at the Forts at entrance of the Black Sea. Once an *Engliſh* Man, Gunner of a Ship which lay at *Conſtantinople*, had the curioſity and confidence to meaſure the dimenſions of theſe Bullets; but being apprehended in the very act, was impriſoned for a Spy; but by the interceſſion of our Ambaſſadour then Reſident, with much labour and ſome expence was at length releaſed.

Of the Gebegees.

Theſe are Armourers; ſo called from the word *Gebees*, which ſignifies in *Turkiſh* as much as Arms of Back and Breaſt; they are in number 630 diſtributed into 60 Chambers, and have their Quarters near the Church of *Santa Sophia* in *Conſtantinople*; their Office is to conſerve the Arms of ancient times from ruſt, by cleaning and oyling them, ſo as to remain as Trophies for ever of the *Turkiſh* Conqueſts: Their pay is from 8 to 12 Aſpers a day; their Officers are firſt the *Gebegibaſchi*, who is their Commander in chief. 2. The *Odabaſchees*, who are ſo many Maſters of the Chambers. On all expeditions theſe Armourers are neceſſary Officers; and oftentimes in days of Battel diſtribute forth the antique Arms, of which they have a care, into the hands of the *Janizaries*: but of theſe, men that are indifferently rich, and have favour and friends, enjoy their pay with eaſe at their own homes; and like other * *Ogiacks* are capable of being made *Oturacbi*, or retaining their Penſion with a diſpenſation from the War.

Of the Delees.

Delee ſignifies as much as a mad fellow) or a Hector; theſe are the Prime Viſier's Lifeguard; and are in number from 100 to 400, more or leſs, according as the Viſier is more or leſs rich and ſplendid in his Retinue; their Pay is from 12 to 15 Aſpers a day; they are by Nation of *Boſna*, or *Albania*; their Habit is

* *Ogiacks* ſignifies a Family, as alſo a Military Family; ſo *Spahi Ogiaghi*, the Order of the *Spahees*; *Souiſcheri Ogiaghi*, the Militia of *Janizaries*, &c.

very ridiculous according to this Picture; they are men choſen for their great ſtature and ſtomachs; they ſpeak big, talk of nothing but killing and adventurous exploits, but in reality their heart and courage is not eſteemed proportionable to their bulk and bodies: in the City they march before the Viſier on foot, and make way for him to the *Divan*; o journies they are too heavy and lazy not to be well mounted; they have a Captain over them called the *Delibaſchi*, their Arms are a Lance after the *Hungarian* faſhion, a Sword, and Pole-Axe, and ſome of them carry a Piſtol at their Girdle. This ſort of people being naturally more faithfull than the *Turks*, and more inclinable to the Viſier *Kupriuli*, for being of the ſame Country, he maintained 2000 of them for his Guard: which was ſo great a curb to the *Janizaries* and the other Militia, that they were never able to execute any Conſpiracy againſt him. The ſame courſe his Son the preſent Viſier follows, and is doubtleſs next the Grand Signior's favour, his principal ſecurity.

Of the Segbans *and* Sarigias.

It is not to be omitted that the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws* maintain always a Militia called *Segbans*, to whoſe cuſtody the charge of the Baggage belonging to the Horſe is committed; and a ſelect number called *Sarigias*, to whoſe care the Baggage of the Infantry is entruſted; theſe ſerve on foot with Muskets like *Janizaries*, and the others on Horſe-back like Dragoons in *Chriſtendom*; their Pay beſides their Meat is 3 or 4 Dollars a Mouth. The *Beglerbegs* have oftentimes on occaſion of their Rebellions enrolled many of this ſort of Militia to encounter the *Janizaries*; the which was practiſed in theſe late times by *Ipchir Paſhaw*, *Haſan Paſhaw*, and *Murteza Paſhaw*, who having liſted great numbers to fight under this denomination, the Viſier *Kupriuli* for terrour and more eaſie deſtruction of this people, proclaimed through all *Aſia*, that ſtrict inquiſition ſhould be made after the *Segbans* and *Sarigias*, and that it might be lawfull for any one to kill and deſtroy them without mercy; by which means many were butchered in ſeveral places, and 30000 of them revolted to the *Sofi* of *Perſia*.

The Muhlagi *and* Beſli.

Are the Servants of *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws*; the firſt make profeſſion of a principal art in Horſemanſhip, and exerciſe themſelves in throwing the *Gilid*, which is a Dart much uſed amongſt the *Turks*, in the true management of which there is a great dexterity; and becauſe there are conſiderable rewards beſtowed on thoſe who are expert herein, the *Turks* practiſe it on Horſeback as their onely exerciſe and ſtudy: very much delight herein the Grand Signiors have always taken, and to be Spectatours of the Combats between the ſervants of ſeveral *Paſhaws* born in different Countries and Nations, who from a Principle of honour to their Nation, and hopes of Preferment, contend with that heat and malice one againſt another, as ſurpaſs the cruelty of the ancient Gladiators; and not onely limbs or eyes are loſt in the skirmiſh, but oftentimes ſacrifice their bloud and life for the paſtime of their Prince. Such as are obſerved to be bold, active and dextrous at this Game, are preferred to the degree and benefit of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*. The *Beſlees* are Footment, who for their great abilities in walking and running, attain oftentimes to be made *Janizaries*.

And thus we have now, with as much brevity as may be, run through the ſeveral Degrees, Numbers, Inſtitutions, Laws, and Diſcipline of the *Turkiſh* Militia by Land; whoſe farther progreſs into *Chriſtendom*, and damage to the Chriſtian Cauſe, may the Almighty Providence ſo diſappoint, that his Church corrected and grown more pious by this chaſtiſement, may at length be relieved from the Rod and Yoke of this great Oppreſſour.

CHAP. XI.

Certain Obſervations on the Turkiſh Camp; and the Succeſs of the laſt Battel againſt the Chriſtians.

IN the year of our Lord 1665. the Earl of *Winchelſea*, our Lord Ambaſſadour for certain Affairs of His Majeſty and the Company of Merchants, having commanded me to meet the great Viſier in his return from the Wars in *Hungary*; through ill, or rather uncertain information of the Viſier's motion, I was forced to proceed as far as *Belgrade* in *Servia*, on the Confines of *Hungary*, 23 days Journey from *Conſtantinople*, where finding a good part of the *Turkiſh* Army encamped near that City, for better convenience and expedition of my buſineſs, I entred within the Quarters of the *Spahees*, and pitched my Tent as near the Viſier's and the other principal Officers as conſiſted with due reſpect; in which place I remained ſeven days, untill the Army removed towards *Adrianople*; and not having fully compleated my buſineſs there, I marched and remained other 13 days together with the Army: in which time I had leiſure to make ſome reflexions on the Order of the *Turkiſh* Camp.

In the front of the Camp are quartered the *Janizaries*, and all others deſtin'd for Foot-ſervice, whoſe Tents encompaſs their *Aga* or General: In the body of the Camp are erected the ſtately Pavilions of the Viſier, of his *Kabiia* or chief Steward or Counſellour, the *Reis effendi*, or Lord Chancellour, the *Tefterdar Paſcha*, or Lord Treaſurer, and the *Kapiſler Kabiaſee* or Maſter of the Ceremonies; which five Pavilions take up a large extent of ground, leaving a ſpacious Field in the midſt, in the centre of which is raiſed a lofty Canopy, under which Offenders are corrected or executed, and ſerves to ſhelter from the Sun or Rain ſuch as attend to the *Divan*, or other buſineſs with the Officers of State. Within the ſame ſpace of ground alſo is the *Haſne* or Treaſury, in ſmall Cheſts one piled on the other, in form of a Circle, for guard of which 15 *Spahees* every night keep watch with their Arms in their hands. Near theſe quarters are the Tents of *Paſhaws*,

Beglis,

Beghi, *Agaes*, and Perſons of Quality, who with their Retinue ſolely make up a conſiderable part of the *Turkiſh* Army. In the Rere are the quarters of the *Spahees*, and others that attend the Horſe ſervice as *Segbans*, *Sarigias*, and others. On the right hand of the Viſier without the Camp are placed the Artillery, and Ammunition, which in the time I was there was inconſiderable, the great Cannon remaining in *Buda* and in the City of *Belgrade*, onely 40 or 45 ſmall Field-pieces of Braſs (as I reckoned them) each drawn by four Horſes, marched with the Viſier, more at that time for ſtate and oſtentation, than for real ſervice. The Pavillons of the great Viſier, and other Perſons of principal Office and Quality, may rather be called Palaces than Tents, being of a large extent, richly wrought within, adorned beyond their Houſes, accommodated with ſtately Furniture, with all the convenience of the City and Countrey, and in my opinion far exceed the magnificence of the beſt of their Buildings; for being but for few years continuance, the maintenance of them is beyond the expence of Marble and Porphyry, or the perpetual Edifices of *Italy*, durable to many *Olympiads* and *Myriads* of years. With theſe Houſes and movable Habitations, which with the Poſts that ſupport them, are of that great weight and bulk, the *Turkiſh* Army marches daily, four, five, and ſometimes ſix hours Journey; all which Baggage is carried on Horſes, Mules, and Camels; The great Perſons are furniſhed with two ſets of Tents, one of which as the Viſier riſes, is advanced the *Conack* or days Journey beyond; ſo that in the morning leaving one Tent, another is found at noon ready furniſhed and provided at arrival; which is the reaſon why the *Turkiſh* Camp abounds with ſuch multitudes of Camels, Mules, and Horſes of Burthen, with ſo many thouſand Attendants on the Baggage, which are of a vaſt expence, and if duly conſidered, is a matter of the greateſt ſtate and magnificence in the *Turkiſh* Empire.

Though it is reported by thoſe who are Soldiers, and have experienced the Valour of the *Turks* in fight, that their Victories are obtained by multitudes of men, rather than by Art, or Military Diſcipline; however the Conqueſts they have made on the parts of *Chriſtendom*, is a demonſtration undeniable of ſome ſupereminent Order in their Army, which recompences the defect of Knowledge in the Myſtery of War; and this Regulation (in my opinion) proceeds from nothing more than the ſtrict prohibition of Wine upon pain of death (two Men being executed during the time of my Reſidence there for bringing a ſmall quantity of it in the Field) for hereby men become ſober, diligent, watchfull and obedient. In the *Turkiſh* Camp no brawls, quarrels, nor clamours are heard; no abuſes are committed on the people by the march of their Army; all is bought and paid with money, as by Travellers that are Gueſts at an Inn; there are no complaints by Mothers of the Rape of their Virgin-daughters, no Violences or Robberies offered on the Inhabitants; all which order tends to the ſucceſs of their Armies, and Enlargement of their Empire. As on the contrary, the ſloth of the *Germans* and other Nations in their Counſels againſt the *Turks*, the liberty given to the Chriſtian Soldiery, or rather the difficulty to correct, proceeds from nothing more than the intemperance in Wine, which moves in the Soldiery a luſt and promptitude to all evils, and is occaſion of the horrid outrages they commit, quarrels among themſelves, and diſobedience to their Officers, and betrays oftentimes a whole Army to ruine by ſurpriſal; for how can thoſe men be watchfull, whoſe heads are charged with the fumes of Wine, and not yield opportunity of ſad advantages to ſo awakned an Enemy as the *Turk*? *Busbequius* who had been Ambaſſadour from the Emperour to the Grand Signior in two ſeveral Embaſſies, and had known and ſeen the vigilance of the *Turkiſh* Camp, attributes much of their ſucceſs againſt the *Germans* to the ancient Vice of Intemperance of his Countrey: *Neque vero*, ſaith he, *graviore imperio Turcæ Græcos premant, quam nobis dominantur vitia, luxus, crapula.* And ſo ſenſible are the *Turks* of the abuſes and diſorders which ariſe in their Camp by the uſe of Wine, that they endeavour all that is poſſible to debar their people from it, and therefore two or three days before the Army arrives at any place, Officers are diſpatched before to ſeal all Taverns, and make proclamation againſt the ſale of Wine: for though it be againſt their Law to drink Wine, yet Drunkenneſs is now become ſo common a Vice amongſt them (as we have already declared in the ſecond Book) that ſcarce one in ten but is addicted to a brutiſh intemperance therein.

The Camp is always free from ordure and filth; there being holes digged near every Tent, which are encompaſſed about with Canvas for the more privacy and accommodation in mens neceſſary occaſions; and whenſoever theſe places become noiſome and full, they are covered with Earth, and the Canvas removed; ſo that the whole Camp is clear of all excrements of men, as alſo kept more free from other ſtench (which may cauſe putrefaction) than the moſt orderly Cities of the World. If the march be in the Summer-time, and the weather hot, the Beaſts of Burthen and Baggage begin to travel about ſeven a clock in the evening, and the *Paſhaws* and great Viſier preſently after midnight; who are accompanied with ſo many Lights as equal almoſt the brightneſs of the day. Thoſe that carry theſe Lights are *Arabians* from the parts of *Aleppo* and *Damaſcus*, Men uſed to travel on foot, who are in *Turkiſh* called *Maſſalageeler*, over whom is a ſuperintendent or chief, called *Maſſalagibaſhee*, whoſe Office it is to govern and to puniſh theſe people, and is liable to anſwer for their diſorders: the Lights they carry are not Torches, but a bituminous oily ſort of Wood, which they burn in an Iron Grate, carried on a Staff made in the form of our Beacons; and of the ſame faſhion with thoſe Lights we ſee drawn in ancient Hangings and Pictures which repreſent Night-pieces of *Roman* Stories.

And ſince I have diſcourſed ſomething of the *Turkiſh* Camp in this return homewards, it will not be much from my promiſe to acquaint the Reader with what chearfulneſs and alacrity the Army marched this way after their ill ſucceſs: and alſo to declare the occaſion that put a Hook into the Noſtrils of this great Oppreſſour, and diverted him for the preſent from the farther ſpoil of *Chriſtendom*. After the taking of the Caſtle called *Serinſwar* by the great Viſier, built by Count *Serini* (the which was the firſt original and occaſion of the War) and the defeat of the *Paſhaw* of *Buda* near *Lewa* by Count *Suſa* Governour of *Gomarra*; the Viſier made many and various attempts to paſs the River *Raab*, to make ſome Conqueſts in the parts of *Croatia* and

Styria, but by reaſon of the Forts the Chriſtians had made along the Banks of the River, in every adventure loſt conſiderable numbers of Men; at which loſs of Men and time, and the ill ſucceſs near *Lewa*, the Viſier being greatly moved, made another adventure on the 27*th* of *July*, 1664. advancing with the groſs of his Army as far as *Kerment*, a place between the River *Raab* and *Terne*; endeavouring there to make his paſſage with better ſucceſs; but by the valour of the *Hungarians* and the aſſiſtence of the General *Montecuculi*, were repulſed with extraordinary ſlaughter.

On the firſt of *Auguſt* following the *Turk* made another conſiderable attempt, and paſſed over in one place 6000 *Janizaries* and *Albania*, and in another where the River was fordable and not above ten paces broad, the whole body of the *Turkiſh* Horſe crouded over in vaſt numbers, which cauſed the Chriſtians to join their Forces into one Army, and retreat farther into the Countrey, and put themſelves into a poſture of giving Battel to the Enemy.

As ſoon as the *Turkiſh* Army had thus waded over the water, the night following fell ſo much Rain, and ſuch a Deluge came pouring down from the Mountains, that the River which was fordable the day before, did now over-ſwell its own Banks, and not paſſable without Floats and Bridges. As ſoon as the Army had thus paſſed the River, the great Viſier diſpatched immediately Meſſengers to the Grand Signior to acquaint him of his progreſs and paſſage; which news he knew would come very gratefull; becauſe in all Letters from the Grand Signior he was urged by threats and poſitive commands to proceed forward in his march, and not to ſuffer the impediment of a narrow ditch to be an interruption to the whole *Ottoman* force which was never before reſtrained by the Ocean. The Grand Signior having received this intelligence, as if the whole Victory and Triumph over the World conſiſted in the paſſage over the *Raab*, was tranſported with ſuch an extraordinary joy and aſſurance of Victory, that all *Hungary* and *Germany* were already ſwallowed in his thoughts; and when by a ſecond Meſſage he received intelligence, that a Forlorn Hope of the Enemy, conſiſting of 1000 Men, was cut off, the *Ottoman* Court was ſo tranſported with the joy and aſſurance of Victory, that to anticipate the good news, the Grand Signior commanded, that a ſolemn Feſtival ſhould be celebrated for the ſpace of ſeven days and ſeven nights, called by the *Turks Donanma*; in which time the whole nights were ſpent in Fire-works, ſhooting great Guns, Vollies of Moskets, ſound of Drums and Trumpets, Revelling, and what other Solemnities might teſtifie their joy and triumph. But ſcarce three nights of vain dream had paſſed, before the Grand Signior awakened by intelligence contrary to what was preſaged and expected, of the defeat of the beſt part of his Army, ſhamefully commanded the Lights to be extinguiſhed, and the remaining four nights appointed for joy, to be turned to melancholy and darkneſs. And indeed this raſh joy was the more ſhamefull and ridiculous, by how much more fatal and deſtructive the loſs was to the *Turks*. For they being now got over the River, and the Chriſtians drawn up in Battalia, a moſt furious Fight began, which from nine a clock in the morning, untill four in the afternoon, continued with variable fortune; at length the *Turks* aſſailed by the extraordinary valour of the Chriſtians, which were now of equal number to them, began to give back and put themſelves into a ſhamefull flight, leaving dead upon the place about 5000 men, and the glory of the day to the Chriſtians: the *Turks* who always fly diſorderly, knowing not the art of a handſome retreat, crouded in heaps to paſs the River, the Horſe trampling over the Foot, and the Foot throwing themſelves headlong into the Water, without conſideration of the depth, or choice of places fordable after the great Rains; thoſe ſinking, catching hold of others that could ſwim, ſunk down and periſhed together; others both Men and Horſe through the rapidneſs of the ſtream were carried down the River and ſwallowed up in the deeper places: The water was died with Bloud, and the whole face of the River was covered with Men, Horſe, Garments, all ſwimming promiſcuouſly together, no difference was here between the valiant and the cowardly, the fooliſh and the wiſe, counſel, and chance, all being involved in the ſame violence of calamity: *Non vox & mutui hortatus juvabant, adverſante unda, nihil ſtrenuus ab ignavo, ſapiens à prudenti, conſilia à caſu differre, cuncta pari violentia involvebantur*; ſo that the waters devoured a far greater number than did the Sword; whilſt the great Viſier ſtanding on the other ſide of the River, was able to afford no kind of help or relief, but as one void of all counſel and reaſon, knew not where to apply a remedy. This defeat, though in *Chriſtendom* not greatly boaſted, by reaſon that the deſtruction of the *Turks*, which was moſt by water, was partly concealed to them; yet the *Turks* acknowledge the ruine and ſlaughter to have been of a far greater number than what the Chriſtian Diaries relate, confeſſing that ſince the time that the *Ottoman* Empire arrived at this greatneſs, no ſtories make mention of any ſlaughter or diſgrace it hath ſuffered to be equalled to the calamity and diſhonour of this. On the *Turks* ſide were ſlain *Iſhmael Paſhaw*, lately of *Buda*, and *Chimacam* of *Conſtantinople*, by a ſhot from the Enemy in his paſſage over the River, the *Spahee lar Agaſee* or General of the *Spahees*, and ſeveral other *Paſhaws* and Perſons of Quality fell that day, 15 pieces of Cannon were taken, with ſome Tents and other rich Spoils: Of the Chriſtians were ſlain near 1000; thoſe of Note were Count of *Naſſau*, Count *Charles* of *Braconſtorf* Captain of the Guards to *Montecuculi*, Count *Fucher* General of the Artillery, with many other Gentlemen of the French Nation, who deſerve ever to be chronicled for their vertue and valour.

The *Turks* were with this news greatly aſhamed, and dejected, having but two days before demonſtrated exceſſes of joy, congratulated the happy news one to the other, ſending Preſents abroad after their manner, derided the Chriſtians living amongſt them with the news, exprobrated them with a thouſand injuries, applauded their own vertue and valour, and the righteouſneſs of their Cauſe and Religion. But on a ſudden, intelligence coming contrary to their expectations, ſuch a dampneſs fell upon their ſpirits, that for ſome days there was a deep ſilence of all news at *Conſtantinople*; they that the day before ſought for Chriſtians to communicate to them the Miracles of their Victory, now avoided their company; aſhamed of their too forward joy, and the liberty they had taken to contemn and deride the low condition of the Christian Camp. And now the ill news not being able to be longer concealed, Prayers, and Humiliation were appointed publickly to be made at all the Royal *Moſchs* both at *Conſtantinople* and at *Adrianople*, where all the *Emaums* or Pariſh Prieſts with their young Scholars were commanded to reſort, ſinging ſome dolefull Chapter of the *Alcoran*.

The minds of the Soldiery after this defeat were very much diſcompoſed, tending more to Sedition than to obedience, every one took licenſe to ſpeak loudly and openly his opinion, that the War was commenced upon unjuſt and unlawfull grounds; that Comets lately ſeen to fall were prodigious foretelling the ill ſucceſs of the War; that the total eclipſe of the Moon, which portends always misfortunes to the *Turks*, ſhould have cauſed more caution in the Commanders of engaging the Army, untill the malignity of that influence had been overpaſſed; and calling to mind the ſolemn Oath with which the Sultan *Solyman* confirmed his Capitulations with the Emperour, particularly vowing never to paſs the *Raab* or Places where the *Turks* received their defeat, without a ſolid or reaſonable ground of War; all concluded that this Invaſion was a violation of the Vow, and an injury to the ſacred memory of that fortunate *Sultan*, and that all endeavours and attempts of this War would be fatal and deſtructive to the *Muſſelmen* or Believers, and the end diſhonourable to the Empire. This opinion was rooted with much firmneſs and ſuperſtition in the mind of the vulgar, and the rumours in the Camp (that the Viſier had been cauſe of the Soldiers flight, by commanding them to retreat after they were engaged, upon a falſe alarm that the Enemy in great numbers were coming to fall on the quarters where the Viſier's perſon remained; and that this errour was the firſt original of the ſlaughter that enſued) augmented their diſcontents and animoſities againſt the Government. The Soldiery beſides was greatly terrified and poſſeſſed with the fear of the Chriſtians, and amazed upon every alarm; the *Aſian Spahees* and other Soldiers having Wives and Children, and Poſſeſſions to look after, were grown poor, and deſired nothing more than in peace and quietneſs to return to their home; ſo that nothing could come more grateful to this Camp, no largeſſes nor hopes could pacifie the minds of the Soldiery more than the promiſes and expectations of Peace. And this was the true cauſe that brought on the Treaty of Peace between the Emperour and the *Turk*, in ſuch an inſtant, contrary to the opinion of moſt in the World; and gave occaſion to the Viſier to embrace the Propoſitions offered by the *Rhenningen*, then Reſident for the Emperour (who was carried about according to the motions of the *Turkiſh* Camp, to be ready to improve any Overtures of Peace that might be offered;) the Viſier to ſhew his real intentions, flattered and careſſed this Reſident with the Preſent of a Horſe richly furniſhed, a Veſt of Sables, and a commodious Tent, whilſt the Propoſitions and Condeſcentions on the *Turkiſh* part were diſpeeded to *Vienna*; which were returned again with an entire aſſent to moſt of the Articles, and thoſe wherein there might be any difference, were to be referred untill the arrival of the Extraordinary Ambaſſadour, who was ſuppoſed might reach the *Ottoman* Court by the end of *April*. The *Aſian Spahees* were overjoyed at the news hereof, and immediately obtained licenſe to depart, and moſt of the Militia was diſperſed, every one with joy betaking himſelf to his own home. But this Ambaſſadour miſſing of his time allotted for his arrival, above a month later than he was expected put all things into a ſtrange combuſtion. I was then in the Camp when it was whiſpered, that the Treaty was at an end, that the Chriſtians had deluded them, and cauſed them to disband their Army, that ſo they might fall upon them with the greater advantage; the misfortune of which (according to the cuſtome of the Commonalty) was charged on the heads of the Governours; and the too much credulity of the Viſier. But at length on the 28 of *May* 1665 news coming that the Ambaſſadour from the Emperour was arrived at *Buda*; the Viſier the next day departed from *Belgrade* with his whole Army, which I accompanied as far as *Niſſa* about nine days march towards *Adrianople*; and there having put an end to my buſineſs, and wearied with the ſlow pace, and heats, and other inconveniencies of an Army, I took my leave of the great Viſier, and proceeded farther by longer journeys to attend the Court at *Adrianople*: and that I may give my Reader an account of theſe Countries, and the nature of the people that inhabit them, I hope it will not be judged much beſides my purpoſe if I entertain him a little with a Relation of ſome part of my Journey to *Belgrade*.

On the 29th of *April* 1665. I departed from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*; and on the firſt of *May* I lodged at a Village called *Semhoſgo*, the firſt Town I came to, inhabited by *Bulgarians* who are Chriſtians, that day being a Feſtival; the Women upon the arrival of Gueſts came running from their Houſes with Cakes of dough bread which they called *Togatch*, onely laid upon the Coals between two Tiles, which they ſoon kneaded and prepared for the ſtomachs of Travellers; others brought Milk, Eggs, and Wine to ſell, and what elſe their homely Cottages afforded, which they preſſed on us with much importunity, the younger and handſomer challenging a priority in the ſale of their Proviſions before thoſe who were ancient and more homely: Theſe Countrey Laſſes had that day put on their holy Garments, which put me in mind of thoſe dreſſes I have ſeen in Pictures of the ancient Shepherdeſſes in *Arcadia*, being a looſe Gown of various colours with hanging Sleeves; their Armes had no Sleeve but that of their Smock, which though it were of Canvas or ſome very courſe Linen, was yet wrought with many works of divers colours; their hair was braided, hanging down at length behind, which ſome had adorned with little ſhells found upon the Sea ſhoar, tied at the end with fringes of Silk, bobs, and taſſels of Silver; their heads were covered with pieces of Silver Coin of different ſorts ſtrung upon thread, and their Breaſts were in the ſame manner decked; thoſe being moſt honoured, and eſteemed moſt rich, who were beſt adorned with theſe Strings of Coin, and Bracelets on their Wriſts, with which every one, according to her ability, had dreſſed and made her ſelf fine. Amongſt theſe we paſſed with plenty of Proviſion, and a hearty welcome; for theſe people called *Bulgarians* inhabit all that Countrey to the Confines of *Hungary*, they Till all that ground, paſture vaſt numbers of Cattel, and are induſtrious and able Husbandmen, by which means, and the liberty they enjoy by the ſmall number of *Turks* which live amongſt them, they paſs their time with ſome reaſonable comfort, and are more commodious in Wealth than they ſuffer to appear outwardly to the envious eyes of the *Turks*. Their Language is the old *Illyrian* or *Sclavonian* Tongue, which hath much ſimilitude with the *Ruſſians*; becauſe this people is ſaid to come originally from beyond the River *Volga*, and ſo by corruption are called *Bulgarians* or *Volgarians*. On the third of *May* we arrived at *Philippoli*, where we were civilly entertained at the Houſe or Monaſtery of the Metropolite, or Greek Biſhop of that place. By this City runs the River *Hebrus*, having its original from the Mountains *Rhodope*, in ſight of which we travelled towards *Sophia*, of which *Ovid* thus ſpeaks,

Qua patet umbroſum Rhodope *glacialis ad Hæmum,*
Et ſacer amiſſas exigit Hebrus *aquas.*

The City of *Philippoli* is ſituate in a large and open Plain, and level, whereon are great numbers of little round Hills, which the Inhabitants will have to be the Graves of the *Roman* Legions ſlain in thoſe Fields. A certain *Greek* had once the melancholy dream of much Treaſure buried in one of theſe Hills; and this fancy ſo often troubled him in his ſleep, that it took a ſtrong impreſſion in his mind whilſt he was waking, and ſo far troubled him, that he could take no reſt nor contentment until he had eaſed his mind to the *Naſir-Aga*, who is he who overſees the Waterworks, and places of Pleaſure belonging to the Grand Signior in that Countrey. The *Turk*, though he had a great mind to the Treaſure, durſt not yet open the ground, until he had acquainted the Grand Signior with the mind of the *Greek*, who upon the firſt intimation diſpatched away Officers (ſo apt the *Turks* are in matters of Profit to catch even at a ſhadow) to open this Hill; to which the Countrey Villages were ſummoned, and whilſt they digged very deep, not well underſtanding the manner and art of Mining, the Earth broke from the top, and buried ſeventy perſons in the ruins; and ſo the work ended, and the *Greek* awaked from his dream. This Town hath one part of it built on the ſide of a Hill; two others are alſo near it, which appear like Bulwarks or Fortifications on that ſide the City; all the reſt of the Countrey thereabouts being a dead Plain or Level. At this place remains no other Antiquity beſides the ruins of two ancient Chapels, built of Brick, in the form of a Croſs, one of which the *Greeks* hold in great devotion, and report to be the place wherein St. *Paul* preached often to the *Philippians*; and with that opinion they often reſort thither, eſpecially on the Days of Devotion, to ſay their Prayers. The Walls of the City are likewiſe very ancient, over the Gates of which is writ ſomething in the *Greek* Character; but Time hath ſo defaced it, that to me it ſeemed no longer legible; And ſo ignorant are the *Greeks* alſo, even ſuch as were born in that City, and are Prieſts and Colories (which are the ſtricteſt ſort of Religious Men amongſt them) who have nothing more to do than to attend to their Office and Studies, that they cannot give any reaſonable account of the original of that City, who it was built by, or any thing elſe of the Hiſtory of it, and with much admiration they hearken to us, when we tell them any thing what our Books relate concerning it.

From hence I departed towards *Sophia*, paſſing in this Journey the *Montes Hæmi*, called by the Turks *Capi Dervent*, which is as much as the Gate of the narrow way; the aſcent thereunto is rugged and ſharp, commodious for Robbers, who there have ſuch Caves and places of refuge, that they defie very conſiderable Forces that are ſent againſt them. On the top of this Hill is a Village of *Bulgarians*, where the Women uſed to the diverſity of Travellers, are become free in their diſcourſe, and only entertain ſtrangers, whilſt their Husbands are in the Field, or with their Cattel, or fly away for fear of ſome injury from the *Turks*. Deſcending thence is a very narrow incloſure, on both ſides being environed with high Mountains and Woods, which is a ſhady and melancholy Journey for the ſpace of two hours; to this place the *Heyducci*, or *Heyducks* (as that people call them) frequently reſort in great numbers out of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, *Hungary*, and other parts, which taking advantage of theſe cloſe Woods, diſcharge Vollies of Shot on the ſtrongeſt Caravans, and rolling Stones from the Mountains in the narroweſt paſſages, do as much execution as with Cannon; for, as I have underſtood, in one of thoſe *Dervents* (for there are many of this nature in the Journey to *Belgrade*) 18 Thieves onely killed above 300 Merchants, who for ſecurity united together, and their whole Baggage and Goods became a prey to the Robbers. In theſe places, thus fortified by Nature, the Inhabitants reſiſted the force of the *Grecian* Emperours, and killed *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* after he had ſubjected the City of *Conſtantinople*. Amongſt theſe *Bulgarians* is a ſort of people which they call *Paulines*, who had in former times ſtrange confuſed notions of Chriſtianity, pretending to follow the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, uſed Fire in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and preferred this Apoſtle before his Maſter Chriſt: but there being ſome Roman Prieſts in thoſe parts, that obſerving the ignorance of theſe poor people, and their willingneſs to be inſtructed, took the advantage, and reduced them all to the Roman Faith, to which now they are ſtrict and ſuperſtitious adherers.

Through thoſe narrow *Dervents* before ſpoken of, we arrived after three days of weary Journey at *Sophia*, a place ſo wholly *Turkiſh*, that there is nothing in it that appears more antick than the *Turks* themſelves; it is ſituated in a pleaſant Plain or broad Valley, between two high Mountains, the higheſt of them wearing a ſnowy head in the heat of the Summer Solſtice, which is the reaſon that that City is cool and wholeſome, but of a ſubtile penetrating Air; being ſupplied with admirable waters of eaſie digeſtion, which come pouring down in great abundance from the Mountains, and ſupply the Town with plentifull ſtreams in all parts of it, and are ſaid to be waters of thoſe Fountains which *Orpheus* delighted in. There are beſides theſe cool Waters, certain Baths naturally hot, to which the *Turks* reſort very frequently, being of the ſame nature and virtue with ours in *England*. From this place we made nine long days Journey to *Belgrade*, in which paſſage there is nothing more memorable than the deſolation of the Countrey; and being there arrived, we pitched our Tent in the Camp, where after ſix days we marched back with the Army, to whom nothing could come more joyfull than their return home, and the concluſion of the War; by which may be obſerved in ſome manner, how far the nature of the *Turks* is degenerated from the ancient warlike diſpoſition of the *Saracens*.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Turks Armata, *or* Naval Forces.

HAving particularly run over the Force of this formidable Enemy and ſcourge of Chriſtianity by Land, we are now to take a view according to the true method of this Diſcourſe, of the ſtrength of their Fleets and Maritime Forces; which though to a Nation ſituated on the Continent, are not ſo neceſſary or prevalent to defend themſelves from their Neighbours, or tranſport their Power and Conqueſts into other Dominions, as they are to a People whoſe Habitation is encompaſſed by the Sea; yet certainly a Prince can never be ſaid to be truly Puiſſant, who is not Maſter in both Elements; for not to expatiate on the common Theme of the Riches and Power which ariſe from Navigation, it is ſufficient, conſidering how often the mighty force of the *Ottoman* Empire hath been foiled and baffled by the ſmall Republick of *Venice*, for want of true knowledge or ſucceſs, or application of their minds to Maritime Exerciſe, to demonſtrate of what efficacy in moſt deſigns is a well provided and regulated Fleet.

The *Turks* are now very much weakned in their Naval Forces ſince the War againſt *Candy*, and are ſo diſcouraged in their hopes of ſucceſs at Sea, that Ships and Galeaſſes, called by them *Mahumes*, are wholly in diſuſe amongſt them; whether it be that they want able Seamen to govern them, or that they deſpair of being able to meet the *Venetians* in open Sea (for which thoſe Veſſels of Battery are onely in uſe) they are fallen into a fancy of light Gallies, a ſign that they intend to truſt more of their ſafety to their Oars than their Arms; of which in the year 1661. (after the loſs of 28 well-provided Gallies wreck'd with their Men in the Black Sea) the Viſier *Kuprivli* built thirty others for reparation of that loſs, but of that green and unſeaſoned Timber, that the firſt Voyage many of them became unſerviceable for the Leaks; and the reſt, at the return of the Fleet in the month of *October* following, were laid up amongſt the old and worn Veſſels.

It may ſeem a difficult matter to aſſign the true reaſon why and by what means the *Turks* come to be ſo decayed in their Naval Forces, who abound with ſo many conveniencies for it, and with all ſorts of materials fit for Navigation, as Cordage, Pitch, Tar, and Timber, which ariſe and grow in their own Dominions, and are eaſily brought to the Imperial City with little or no danger of their Enemies. For Timber, the vaſt Woods along the Coaſt of the Black Sea, and parts of *Aſia*, at the bottom of the Gulph of *Nicomedia* ſupply them: Pitch, Tar, and Tallow are brought to them from *Albania* and *Walachia*; Canvas and Hemp from *Grand Cairo*; and Biſket is in plenty in all parts of the *Turks* Dominions. Their Ports are ſeveral of them convenient for building both Ships and Gallies; the Arſenal at *Conſtantinople* hath no leſs than One hundred thirty ſeven *Voltas*, or Chambers for Building, and ſo many Veſſels may be upon the Stocks at the ſame time. At *Sinopolis* near *Trapeſond* is another Arſenal: at *Midia* and *Anchiale*, Cities on the Black Sea, are the like; and many parts of the *Propontis*, the *Helleſpont*, and the *Boſphorus*, are ſuch Ports and Conveniencies for Shipping, as if all things had conſpired to render *Conſtantinople* happy, and not onely capable of being Miſtreſs of the Earth, but formidable in all parts of the Ocean: and yet the *Turk* for ſeveral years, eſpecially ſince the War with *Candia*, and their defeats at Sea have not been able at moſt to Equippe a Fleet of above 100 Sail of Gallies, of which 14 are maintained and provided at the charge of the *Beyes* of the *Archipelago*, for which they have certain Iſles in that Sea aſſigned them.

The *Turks* do neither want Slaves to bogue at the Oars of the Gallies; for *Tartary* ſupplies them with great numbers; beſides, divers perſons in *Conſtantinople* make it a Trade to hire out their Slaves for the Summers Voyage for 6000 Aſpers running the hazard of the Slaves life, who returning home ſafe, is conſigned to the poſſeſſion of his Patron: and if want ſtill be of the *Chiurma*, as the *Turks* call it, or Slaves for the Oar, a collection is made in ſeveral Provinces of the luſtieſt and ſtouteſt Clowns, called by the Turks *Azabs*, but by the other Slaves [illegible]; theſe are choſen out of certain Villages, one being elected out of every 20 houſes, the hire of which is 6000 Aſpers, for payment whereof the other 19 Families make a proportionable Contribution; upon receipt of their Pay they give in ſecurity not to fly, but to ſerve faithfully for that years Expedition: But theſe Men unuſed to the ſervice of the Sea, unskilfull at the Oar, and Sea ſick, are of little validity; and the ſucceſs of their Voyage may be compared to that in the Fable of the Shepherd, who ſold his Poſſeſſions on the Land to buy Merchandiſe for Sea-negotiations. The Soldiers which are deſtin'd to Sea ſervice are called *Levents*, who come voluntarily and enter themſelves in the Regiſters of the Arſenal, obliging themſelves to ſerve that Summers Expedition for 6000 Aſpers, and Bisket for the Voyage; the ſtouteſt and moſt reſolute of theſe fellows are thoſe called *Cazdaglii*, who are a certain ſort of Mountainers in the Countrey of *Anatolia*, near *Troy*, whoſe Countrey I once paſſed through, with ſome apprehenſion, and more than ordinary vigilance and caution to preſerve my life; for being all Robbers and Free booters, we admitted no Treaties or Diſcourſes with them but with our Arms in our hands. Others there are alſo obliged to Sea-ſervice, who are *Zaims* and *Timariots*, and hold their Lands in Sea-Tenour; but being not bound to go in perſon themſelves, they bring or ſend their Servants (called in *Turkiſh Bedel*) to ſupply their place, every one providing one, two, or more, according to the value of his Lands, as we have before declared in the Chapter of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*. Some *Janizaries* are alſo drawn out for Sea-ſervice, and ſome *Spahees* of the four Inferiour Banners, and not to make too bold with the Veterane Soldiers, command onely ſuch to Sea as are new and green Soldiers, lately regiſtred in the Rolls of the *Spahees*.

The Auxiliaries of the *Turks* Forces by Sea, are the Pyrates of *Barbari*, from thoſe three Towns of *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Algier*; but theſe of late years have diſuſed the cuſtome of coming into the *Turks* aſſiſtence; yet oftentimes they ply towards the *Archipelago*, and to the *Levant*, but it is to ſupply themſelves with Soldiers, and recruits of people for encreaſe of their Colonies.

The other part of Auxiliary Forces is from the *Beyes* of the *Archipelago*; being 14 in number, every one of which commands a Galley, and for their maintenance have the Contribution of certain Iſlands in that Sea allotted to them; the which are better manned and armed than thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, but theſe neither, are not willing too much to expoſe their Veſſels to fight or danger, in regard that being built and maintained at their own charges, and their whole ſubſtance, they are the more cautious how they venture all their Fortune in the ſucceſs of a Battel: Theſe *Beyes* alſo give themſelves up much to their delights and pleaſure, and employ more thoughts how to pleaſe their Appetites, than to acquire glory and fame by the War; what they gain in Summer, when joyned with the groſs of the *Turkiſh* Fleet, is the Prize of the Grand Signior; but what chance throws upon them in the Winter, is their own proper and peculiar Fortune.

The Gunners of the *Turkiſh* Fleet are wholly ignorant of that Art, for any perſon who is either *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch*, or any other Chriſtian Nation, they deſign to this Office, whether he be ſkilfull or unskilfull in the management of Artillery; having an opinion that thoſe people are naturally addicted to a certain proneneſs and aptitude in Gunnery; in which they find their errour as often as they come to skirmiſh with their Enemy.

The chief Admiral or Generaliſſimo of the *Turkiſh Armata*, is called the *Captain Paſhaw*; his Lieutenant-General is called *Terſhana Kiaiaſi*; the next Officer is *Terſana Emini*, or Steward of the Arſenal, who hath the care of providing all neceſſaries for the Navy; but this place being bought, as almoſt all other Offices, occaſions a neceſſity in theſe perſons to rob Nails, Anchors, Cables, and other Proviſions of the Fleet to ſatisfie the Debts they contracted for the Purchaſe of their Places: In the like manner doth every *Reis* or Captain of a Galley keep his hand in exerciſe as often as convenience offers; theſe are all for the moſt part *Italian* Renegadoes, or the Race of them born and educated near the *Arſenal*. The Officers command their *Chiurme* or Slaves in corrupted *Italian*, which they call *Franke*; and afford them a better allowance of Bisket than is given to the Slaves in the *Venetian Armata*.

The *Turks* now deſpairing of being equal to the Chriſtian Forces by Sea, and to be able to ſtand with them the ſhock of a Battel, build light Veſſels for robbing, burning, and deſtroying the Chriſtian Coaſt, and afterwards to ſecure themſelves by flight, and alſo to tranſport Soldiers, Ammunition, and Proviſions, for ſuccour of *Candia*, and other places of their new Conqueſts near the Sea-ſhoar.

The Arſenal at *Venice* is ſo greatly eſteemed by the *Turks*, that they ſeem not to deſire the conqueſt of that place for any other reaſon more than the benefit of the Arſenal; as a perſon of great quality amongſt them ſaid once, that had they made a Conqueſt of *Venice*, they would not inhabit there, but leave it to the *Venetians*, in regard that the City affords not freſh Water, which is neceſſary for the uſe of their *Moſchs*, and their Waſhing before Prayer; but that the *Arſenal*, and a Tribute would ſatisfie the deſires of the Grand Signior.

But the *Turks* are not likely to be Maſters of this Sea of *Neptune*, whilſt they ſo unwillingly apply their minds to Maritime Affairs, who being conſcious of their former ill ſucceſs at Sea, and how little uſe they make of thoſe advantages they have for ſhipping, acknowledge their Inabilities in Sea Affairs, and ſay, *That God hath given the Sea to the Chriſtians, but the Land to them.* And no doubt the large Poſſeſſions and Riches they enjoy on the ſtaple Element of the Earth, is that which takes off their minds the deep attention to matters of the Sea, which is almoſt ſolely managed by Renegadoes amongſt them, who have abandoned their Faith and their Country. And it is happy for Chriſtendom that this faintneſs remains on the Spirits of the *Turks*, an averſion from all Naval Employment, whoſe numbers and power the *Great God of Hoſts* hath reſtrained by the bounds of the Ocean, as he hath limited the Ocean by the Sands of the Sea-ſhoar.

THE CONCLUSION.

By the Discourſe made in the three foregoing Books, it will evidently appear what ſort of Government is exerciſed amongſt the *Turks*, what their Religion is, and how formidable their Force; which ought to make the Chriſtian World tremble to ſee ſo great a part of it ſubjected to the *Mahometan* Power, and yet no Mean thought of to unite our Intereſts, and compoſe our Diſſenſions, which lay us open to the inundation of this flowing Empire: To which I ſhall add this one thing very obſervable, That the Grand Signior wages his War by Land without any charge to himſelf, an advantage not to be parallel'd by the Policy of any Government I ever heard or read of before; for his *Spahees* and *Janizaries* are always in Pay, both in War and Peace; his *Zaims* and *Timariots* have their Lands to maintain them; and other Militia's enjoy the fixed Revenue from their reſpective Countries: and yet notwithſtanding through the expence of the Naval Forces, the building Gallies, and the like, matters not provided for thoſe who laid the firſt foundation of this Government, the Revenue of the Empire hath been bankrupted, and by the corruption of the Officers, or ill management, been ſold for 3 years to come, until all was redeemed and reſtored again by the wiſedom of that famous Viſier *Kupriuli*, whom we have occaſion ſo often to mention in the foregoing Treatiſe.

We cannot now but pity thoſe poor Borderers in *Hungary*, *Styria*, *Croatia*, and other parts ſubject to the Incurſions of this cruel Enemy, ſince we know in the laſt War not three *Engliſh* miles from *Vienna*, many poor people have been ſurprized and fallen into the hands of the *Tartar* and *Turk*, and ſold afterwards into perpetual ſlavery; this conſideration ought to move us, who are barricado'd and fortifi'd by the Seas from the violence of our Enemies, to bleſs God we are born in ſo happy and ſo ſecure a Countrey, ſubject to no dangers but from our ſelves, nor other miſeries but what ariſe from our own freedom and two much felicity; we ought to conſider it is a bleſſing, that we never have felt any ſmart of the rod of this great Oppreſſour of Chriſtianity, and yet have taſted of the good and benefit which hath proceeded from a free and open Trade, and amicable Correſpondence and Friendſhip with this People, which have been maintained for the ſpace of eighty years, begun in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH of bleſſed memory, preſerved by the Prudence and admirable Diſcretion of a ſeries of worthy Ambaſſadours, and daily improved both in buſineſs and reputation by the excellent Conduct and Direction of that Right Worſhipfull Company of the *Levant* Merchants, hath brought a conſiderable benefit to this Kingdom, and gives employment and livelihood to many thouſands of people in *England*; by which alſo His Majeſty without any expence, gains a very conſiderable increaſe of His Cuſtoms.

The ſenſe of this benefit and advantage to my own Countrey, without any private conſiderations, I have as a Servant to that Embaſſie, or the obligations I have to that worthy Company, cauſe me to move with the greateſt ſedulity and devotion poſſible to promote and advance the Intereſt of that Trade: And as ſome ſtudy ſeveral ways, and preſcribe Rules by which a War may be moſt advantagiouſly managed againſt the *Turk*; I, on the contrary, am more inclinable to give my judgment in what manner our Peace and Trade may beſt be ſecured and maintained; knowing that ſo conſiderable a welfare of our Nation depends upon it, that a few years of Trades interruption in *Turkey* will make all ſorts of people ſenſible of the want of ſo great a vent of the commodities of our Countrey. And therefore as I am obliged to pray for the glory and proſperity of His Majeſty our gratious Soveraign: ſo likewiſe, as that which conduces to it, for the continuance of the Honour of this Embaſſie in *Turkey*, and the profitable returns of the *Levant* Company.

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Amurath *the Second placed in his Fathers ſeat*, 173, a. *afraid to go againſt the Rebel* Muſtapha, ib. b. *in vain beſieged* Conſtantinople, 175, a. *ſtrangleth his Brother* Muſtapha, ib. b. *winneth* Theſſalonica, 176, b. *taketh into himſelf the greateſt part of* Ætolia, 176, b. *enforceth the Princes of* Athens, Phocis, *and* Beotia *to become his Tributaries*, ib. b. *falſifieth his faith with* John Caſtriot *Prince of* Epirus, *and poyſoneth his three eldeſt Sons his Hoſtages*, 177, a. *oppreſſeth the Mahometan Princes in* Aſia, ib. a. b. *ſpoyleth* Hungary, ib. b. *contrary to his faith invadeth* Servia, *and ſubdueth it*, 178, a. *putteth out the Eyes of the Deſpots Sons, his Wives Brethren*, ib. a. *beſiegeth* Belgrade, 179, a. *dealeth ſubtilly with the Ambaſſadors of King* Uladiſlaus, 179, *notably encourageth his Souldiers to the aſſault of* Belgrade, ib. b. *ſhamefully repulſed*, 181, a. *his ſullen anſwer unto the Ambaſſadors of King* Uladiſlaus, ib. a. *ſendeth* Meſites Baſſa *to invade* Tranſilvania, 182, a. *grieved with the loſs of* Meſites *and his Army, ſendeth* Abedin Baſſa *to revenge his death*, 184, a. *in deſpair, about to have ſlain himſelf*, 197, a. *by the mediation of the Deſpot of* Servia *obtaineth Peace of King* Uladiſlaus *for ten years*, ib. a. *invadeth* Caramania, ib. a. *weary of the World, committeth the Government of his Kingdom to his Son* Mahomet, *and retireth himſelf into a Monaſtical Life*, ib. b. *at the report of thoſe preparations of the* Hungarians, *and requeſt of his Baſſaes, forſaketh his ſolitary Life, and raiſeth a great Army in* Aſia, 202, a. *by the* Genowayes *tranſported with*

with his Army into Europe, ib. a. joyneth battel with King Uladiſlaus at Varna, ib. b. about to have fled, reproved of Cowardiſe by a common Souldier, ib. b. prayeth unto Chriſt, 203, a. in danger to have been ſlain, ib. a. wiſheth not many times ſo to overcome as he did at the battel of Varna, ib. b. to perform his Vow, reſigneth his Kingdom to his Son Mahomet, which he ſhortly after reſumeth again, 204, a. his crafty Letters to Scanderbeg, 205, b. his paſſionate ſpeech in his rage againſt Scanderbeg, 206, a. breaketh through the Hexamylum, and impoſeth a yearly tribute upon them of Peloponeſus, 507, b. after three days hard fight with great ſlaughter of his Men overcometh Huniades in the Plains of Caſſoua, 211, a. invadeth the Deſpot, 212, a. his grave Letters of advice to Muſtapha, concerning his invading of Epirus, 310, b. cometh with a great Army to Sfetigrade, 216, a. in vain with great fury giveth many a deſperate aſſault unto the City, 218, a. in one aſſault loſeth ſeven thouſand of his Turks, 218, b. by great promiſes ſeeketh to corrupt the Garriſon of Sfetigrade, 219, a. by the practice of one man hath the City of Sfetigrade yielded unto him, ib. b. having loſt thirty thouſand of his Turks at the Siege of Sfetigrade, returneth to Hadrianople, 220, a. with a great Army cometh again into Epirus, and beſiegeth Croia, 221, a. in two aſſaults loſeth 8000 of his Souldiers, 223, a. content to buy the Life of one Chriſtian with the loſs of twenty of his Turks, ib. b. ſeeketh by great gifts to corrupt Uranacontes the Governour of Croia, 224, a. b. overcome with Melancholy, tormenteth himſelf, 225, b. by his Ambaſſadors offereth Scanderbeg Peace, ib. b. his laſt ſpeech unto his Son Mahomet concerning ſuch things as at his death grieved him moſt, 226, dieth, ib. b. buried at Pruſa, 227, a.

Amurath the Son of Achomates flieth unto Hyſmael the Perſian King, 343, a. marrieth his daughter, ib. a. ſpoileth Capadocia, and for fear of his Uncle Selymus returneth, ib. b.

Amurath the Third taketh upon him the Turkiſh Empire, 651, a. pacifieth the Janizaries and augmenteth their priviledges, ib. a. ſtrangleth his five brethren, ib. a. his Letters unto the Nobility of Polonia in the behalf of Stephen Bathor Vayvod of Tranſylvania, ib. b. attentive to the ſtirs in Perſia, 654, a. informed thereof by Uſtref Baſſa of Van, ib. b. reſolved to take the Perſian War in hand, 655, a. by Muſtapha advertiſed of the ſucceſs of the Perſian Wars, 663, b. conſulteth of his proceeding therein, 666, a. diſchargeth Muſtapha of his Generalſhip, and calleth him home to Conſtantinople, 669, b. appointeth Sinan General for the Perſian Wars, 671, a. in deſpight of Sinan appointeth Mahomet Baſſa General for thoſe Wars in his ſtead, 675, b. circumciſeth his eldeſt Son Mahomet, ib. a. diſplaceth Sinan Baſſa, and ſendeth him into exile, 679, a. appointeth Ferat General for his Wars in Perſia, 681, a. ſendeth for Oſman Baſſa into Siruan, 686, b. maketh him chief Viſier, and General of his Army into Perſia, 688, a. in diſporting with his Mutes taken with a fit of the falling ſickneſs, 689, a. cauſeth great triumph to be made throughout his Empire for the winning of Tauris, 701, b. maketh choice again of Ferat Baſſa to ſucceed Oſman Baſſa dead in the Perſian Wars, 703, b. concluded a Peace with the Perſian King, 707, b. his anſwer to the Letters of Sigiſmund the Third, King of Polonia, 706, a. glad himſelf to yield unto the inſolency of the Janizaries, 707, b. his Letters to Elizabeth Queen of England, 708, b. perſwaded by his Viſier Baſſa to take ſome new War in hand, 709, a. in doubt where firſt to begin withal, 710, a. b. reſolveth to make War upon the Emperour, with the reaſons leading him thereunto, 713, b. giveth leave to Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna, as it were without his knowledge, to pick quarrels with the Emperour, and ſo to diſturb the Peace, 714, a. ſendeth home the body of the Perſian Hoſtage dead in his Court, ib. b. proclaimeth War againſt the Emperour, 720, a. the proud and blaſphemous manner of his denuntiation of War, ib. a. he dreameth, 723, b. ſick of the Falling ſickneſs, 736, a. dieth, 740, a.

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Bajazet *the Firſt why ſirnamed* Gylderun *or* Lightning, 135, b. *ſucceedeth his Father* Amurath *in the Turkiſh Kingdom,* 140, a. *invadeth* Servia, ib. b. *by* Feriſes *his Lieutenant ſpoileth* Valachia, ib. b. *oppreſſeth moſt of the Mahometan Princes, the Succeſſors of Sultan* Saladin *in the leſſer* Aſia, 141, a. *invadeth* Valachia, *overthroweth the Vayvod, and cauſeth him to become his Tributary,* ib. a. *beſiegeth* Conſtantinople *eight years,* ib. b. *In a great Battel at* Nicopolis *overthroweth* Sigiſmund *King of* Hungary *with his Confederates,* 142, a. *returneth again to the ſiege of* Conſtantinople, 142, b. *marrieth* Deſpina *the fair Daughter of* Lazarus *the Deſpot,* 143, a. *prettily reproved by his Jeſter,* ib. a. *in a battel overcometh* Aladin *the* Caramanian *King, and delivereth him Priſoner to* Temurtaſes *his Lieutenant,* 144, a. *ſubdueth the* Caramanian *Kingdom,* ib. a. *hath the great Cities of* Amaſia *and* Sebaſtia *yielded unto him,* ib. a. *oppreſſeth the Mahometan Princes of the leſſer* Aſia, ib. b. *uncivily entertaineth the Ambaſſadors of the mighty* Tamerlane *ſent unto him in the behalf of the poor Princes by him oppreſſed,* 145, b. *accounteth a Shepherd more happy than himſelf,* 149, b. *joyneth a great and mortal battel with* Tamerlane, 151, a. *forſaken of his own Souldiers,* ib. b. *overthrown and taken Priſoner by* Axalla, 152, a. *brought to* Tamerlane, ib. *ſhut up in an Iron Cage like a beaſt,* ib. b. *dieth miſerably,* 157, a. *his iſſue, as alſo his immediate Succeſſor uncertain,* 159, a. *his true poſterity,* 159, b.

Bajazet *the Second excluded from the ſucceſſion in the Turkiſh Empire by his Son* Corcutus, *cometh to* Conſtantinople, 297, b. *by the mediation of the Great Baſſaes obtaineth the Kingdom of* Corcutus, 298, a. *goeth againſt his Brother* Zemes, *up in Rebellion againſt him,* ib. a. *in doubt to have been betrayed by his Souldiers,* 300, a. *reviled by the Janizaries,* 302, a. *putteth ſome of them to death,* 302, b. *purpoſeth their utter deſtruction,* 303, a. *glad to diſſemble his purpoſe, and to reconcile himſelf unto them,* ib. a. *ſendeth* Dautius *his Ambaſſador to* Alexander *Biſhop of* Rome, 307, a. *glad to hear that divers of the Chriſtian Princes had combined themſelves againſt the French King,* 310, b. *in danger to have been ſlain by a Dervislar or Turkiſh Monk,* 315, b. Bajazet *by nature peaceable,* ib. b. *his Children,* 324, b. *ſendeth Ambaſſadors with preſents unto his Son* Selymus, 327, a. *ſeeking to prefer* Achomates *his eldeſt Son to the Empire, himſelf yet living, is mightily withſtood by the Souldiers of the Court, before corrupted by* Selymus, ib. b. *he forbiddeth* Selymus *to come unto him, and threatneth him,* 328. b. *fearing to loſe* Conſtantinople, *departeth from* Hadrianople, ib. b. *his reſolute ſpeech unto the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court,* 338, a. *in plain battel overcometh his Son* Selymus *at* Tzurulum, 331. a. *willing the ſecond time to have reſigned his Empire to* Achomates, *is again withſtood by his men of War,* 332, a. *his reſolute anſwer unto* Muſtapha *and the other traiterous Baſſaes after that* Selymus *was, by their practiſe, by the Souldiers of the Court ſaluted Emperour,* 337, a. *poyſoned by* Hamon, *his Phyſitian a Jew,* ib. b. *dieth,* 338, a.

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there raiſeth his forces, ib. b. *his quarrel generally favoured of the Souldiers*, 524, a. *his purpoſe*, ib a. *he goeth againſt his Brother towards* Iconium, ib. a. *fighteth a bloody Battel with his Brother* Selymus, *wherein were forty thouſand Turks ſlain*, ib. b. *put to the worſe, retireth, and ſo goeth to* Amaſia, ib. b. *more commended by the Souldiers in his overthrow than was his Brother in his Victory*, ib. b. *ſeeketh again for his Father's favour*, 525, b. *deſpairing thereof ſlyeth into* Perſia, *deceiving by the way the Baſſa of* Sebaſtia *and* Erzirum, 526, a. *at the firſt well entertained by the* Perſian *King*, 527, a. *his Followers by the cunning of the fearful* Perſian *diſperſed and ſlain*, ib. b. *he himſelf with his Sons impriſoned*, ib. b. *his miſerable eſtate in Priſon*, 528, b. *with his four Sons at the inſtance of his Father by the* Perſian *ſtrangled*, 529, a.

Bajazet *Baſſa ſent by* Amurath *againſt* Muſtapha *the* Rebel, *forſaken of his Souldiers*, *yieldeth*, 173, a. *upon a falſe ſurmiſe executed*, ib. b.

Baldwin *County of* Edeſſa, *and Brother to* Godfrey *ſecond King of* Jeruſalem, 18, a. *winneth* Cæſaria *from the Infidels*, ib. a. *overthroweth the Turks hard by* Rama, ib. a. *beſiegeth* Ptolemais, *and in retiring thence is mortally wounded*, ib. b. *beſiegeth it again, and hath it by compoſition yielded unto him*, ib. b. *after many ſharp Aſſaults winneth* Berythus, ib. b. *taketh* Sidon *by Compoſition, and in vain beſiegeth* Tyre, ib. b. *maketh an Expedition into* Ægypt, *and near unto* Laris, *dieth*, 19, a.

Baldwin *ſirnamed* Brugenſis, *County of* Edeſſa, *beſiegeth* Carras, *and there taken Priſoner, after five years Captivity redeemeth himſelf*, 18, a. *after the Death of* Baldwin *the Firſt, choſen King of* Jeruſalem, *and called* Baldwin *the Second*, 19, a. *overthroweth the Turks, and joyneth the Principality of* Antioch *to his own Kingdom*, 19, b. *by* Balac *the* Perſian *Sultan overthrown and taken Priſoner; after eighteen Months Captivity, for the ranſom of* 100000 *Duckets ſet at liberty*, 20, b. *in three notable Battels overthroweth the King of* Damaſco, 20, b. *Dieth*, 21, a.

Baldwin *the third of that name crowned King of* Jeruſalem, 22, a. *hardly diſtreſſed by* Noradin *the Turk*, ib. a. *he fortifieth* Gaza, *and taketh* Aſcalon *by Compoſition*, 24, b. *in a ſet Battel overthroweth* Naradin *the King of* Damaſco *at the Caſtle of* Sueta, 25, b. *falleth ſick and dyeth*, ib. b.

Baldwin *the fourth of that name ſeventh King of* Jeruſalem, 41, b. *with a great ſlaughter overthroweth* Saladin *invading his Kingdom*, ib. b. *putteth him with his great Army again to flight*, 42, b. *reſigneth the Government of his Kingdom to* Guy Luſignan *County of* Joppa *and* Aſcalon, 43, a. *ſendeth Ambaſſadours unto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, and immediately after dyeth*, 443, b. 444, a.

Baldwin *the fifth of that name, yet but a Boy, was crowned eighth King of* Jeruſalem, *and within ſeven Months after dyeth*, 44, a.

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Muſtapha Baſſa perſwadeth Solyman to the beſieging of the Rhodes, 383, a. upon the evil ſucceſs of the ſiege falleth into diſgrace with Solyman, 393, b. in danger with Pyrrhus Baſſa to have been executed, 396, a. made Governour of Caire, ib. b. by Solyman ſent as General of his Army to Malta, 536, b. landeth at the Port Marza-Siroc in the Iſle of Malta, 538, a. beſiegeth the Caſtle Saint Elmo, ib. a. aſſaulteth the Caſtle, ib. b. in vain giveth a ſecond aſſault, 539, a. with loſs aſſaulteth it the third time, ib. b. in moſt furious manner battereth it by the ſpace of eighteen days, and aſſaulteth it the fourth time, 540, a. with great fury giveth the fifth and moſt terrible aſſault unto the Caſtle, 541, a. with all his Army giveth the ſixth and laſt aſſault, 542, a. winneth the Caſtle, ib. b. exerciſeth moſt barbarous cruelty upon the bodies of the ſlain Knights, ib. b. in vain aſſaulteth the Caſtle Saint Michael, 546, b. at one time aſſaulteth the new City and the Caſtle Saint Michael, 547, b. he by Meſſengers certifieth Solyman of the ſucceſs of the ſiege, 548, a. leaveth nothing unattempted, 549, a. at once aſſaulteth the Towns Saint Angelo and Saint Michael, and in both places notably repulſed, ib. b. giveth a freſh aſſault and entreth the new City, 550, a. with a great ſlaughter driven out again, ib. b. deſperately aſſaulteth the Town of Saint Michael, 551, a. repulſed, raiſeth his ſiege, 552. b. put to flight by the Chriſtians, ib. b. having loſt above four and twenty thouſand of his Turks at the ſiege, departed from Malta, ib. b. he with Pial Baſſa impugneth the Counſel of Muhamet the chief of the Viſier Baſſa's, and perſwadeth Selymus to invade Cyprus, 567, b. for his hatred againſt the Chriſtians made general of his Army for the invaſion of Cyprus, 572, a. his Letters unto the Venetians in the Iſle of Cyprus, ib. b. he landeth his Army in Cyprus, 573, a. beſiegeth Nicoſia, 572, a. in vain perſwadeth them of Nicoſia to yield, 575, a. he encourageth his Souldiers, and giveth a moſt terrible aſſault, ib. b. winneth the City, 576, a. beſiegeth Famaguſta, 576, b. raiſeth his ſiege, 577, a. returneth again to the ſiege, 584, a. after many aſſaults hath the City by compoſition yielded unto him, 586, b. ſhamefully and contrary to his faith before given, murthereth the valiant Governour Bragadinus, 587, a. tyrannizeth upon his dead body, ib. b. by Amurath made General of his Army againſt the Perſians, 657, b. cometh to Erzirum, 658, a. muſtereth his Army in number an hundred and ten thouſand ſtrong, ib. a. relieveth his Soldiers diſtreſſed by the Perſians, 659, a. maketh a Bulwark of the Heads of the ſlain Perſians, ib. a. he ſurveyeth his Army at Archicheleck, and lacketh forty thouſand of his men, 660, a. fortifieth Teflis, ib. a. loſeth ten thouſand of his forragers, 661, a. revengeth their deaths, ib. b. his notable anſwer unto his mutinous Soldiers, ib. b. loſeth eight thouſand of his men in paſſing the River Canac, 662, a. famine in his hoſt, ib. b. he fortifieth Eres, ib. b. ſendeth Oſman Baſſa to take in Sumachia and Derbent, ib. b. relieveth his diſtreſſed Garriſon at Teflis, 663, a. his Army in great miſery in paſſing the ſtreights of Georgia, ib. a. cometh to Erzirum and diſchargeth his Army, ib. b. maketh preparation for the next years Wars, 666, b. aſſembleth his Army at Erzirum, 667, b. in three and twenty days fortifieth Chars, ib. b. ſendeth ſuccor to Teflis, ib. b. returneth to Erzirum, and there diſchargeth his Army, 668, b. diſcharged of his Generalſhip, and called home to Conſtantinople, 669, b. maligned by Sinan, ib. b. dealeth warily with the Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to have ſtrangled him, 670, a. appeaſeth the diſpleaſure of Amurath, ib. b. dieth ſuddenly, 672, a.

Muſtapha Solyman's eldeſt Son in great eſtimation with the People, 512, a. ſent Governour into Caramania, ib. b. maligned by Roxolana, ib. b. in danger to have been poyſoned, 513, b. ſent for by his Father, and warned of his preſent danger, 514, a. conferreth with his Doctor, ib. b. troubled with his melancholy dream, 515, a. cometh to his Fathers Tent, ib. b. in the ſight of his Father moſt cruelly ſtrangled, ib. b. his Son Mahomet ſtrangled alſo, ib. b. a Proverb taken from his death, 517, a.

Mutius Tortona a Spaniſh Captain raiſeth a mutiny in the Chriſtian fleet at Paxo, 591, b. Tortona and his Antient hanged, ib. b.

Muzalo by Theodorus the Emperour appointed Governour to his young Son John, 77, a. envied by the Nobility, is traiterouſly murthered in the Church, 78, a.

N.

Lord Nadaſti his great Vertues, 834, a.

Naſſuf (the Great Viſier) his fall foreſhewed, 921, b. the whole courſe of his Life and Fortune deſcribed, 922, a. his Throat cut, ib. b. his great Treaſure, 923, a. another diſcourſe of the manner of his death, ib. a.

Naupactum, otherwiſe called Lepanto, in vain beſieged by the Turks, 281, b. yielded to Bajazet, 312, b.

Neapolis the firſt Regal Seat of the Othoman Kings, 99, b.
Negligence ſeverely puniſhed, 529, a.
Neocaſtrum built by Mahomet the Great, 230, b.
Neritos, now called S. Maura, taken by the Venetians, 315, a.
Neuhuſe hardly aſſaulted and valiantly defended, 865, b. diſtreſſed, ib. b. yielded to the Rebels, 871, b. reſtored to the Emperour, 880, a.
Neuſol ſurpriſed by, and recovered from the Haiducks, 860, b. by them again taken, 863, a.
Nice taken by the Turks, 99, a. recovered again by the Chriſtians, 125, b. again ſurpriſed by the Turks, 126, b. by Orchanes made the regal Seat of his Kingdom, 128, a.
Nicholaus Cataluſius Prince of Mytilene turneth Turk, and is executed, 248, a.
Nicholas Karetſchen corrupted, betrayeth Giula to the Turks, 557, b. the Traitor juſtly rewarded, ib. b.
Nicephorus Botoneatus diſplaceth his Maſter the Emperour Michael Ducas, and taketh upon him the Empire, 8, b.
Nicomedia yielded unto the Turks, 127, b.
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O.

ODenburg beſieged by the Rebels, and by Baſta relieved, 165, a.
Oſman proclaimed Sultan, 949, a. his Oath to Bethlem Gabor, 952, b. greatly inraged at the Emperour, 964, b. taketh a Wife contrary to the will of his Council, 965, b. deſirous of Peace with the Polack, 969, a. ſtrangled by Daout Baſſa, 970, b. diſcourſe of his Life and Actions, 971, a.
Othoman of greater Courage and Spirit than his other Brethren the Sons of old Ertogrul, 90, a. amorous of Malhatun, a Countrey of Muid, 94, b. in danger for his Love, 95, a. by general conſent choſen Governour of the Oguzian Turks, ib. b. ſurpriſeth the Caſtle of Calce, 96, a. fighteth a battel with the Chriſtians at Opſicium, 96, b. winneth the Caſtle of Cara-Chiſar, and killeth the Captain, ib. b. ſetteth in order his little Common-wealth, 97, a. killeth the Captain of Cupri-Chiſar, ib. a. his death contrived by the Captain of Bilezuga, 97, b. turneth the treachery deviſed againſt him, upon the head of the Captain that deviſed it, whom he killeth, and ſurpriſeth his Caſtle, 98, b. ſurpriſeth the Caſtle of Jar-Chiſar, ib. b. taketh the Caſtle of Einegiol, and cruelly executeth the Captain, ib. b. by the good adminiſtration of Juſtice ſtrengthneth his Government, 99, a. taketh the City of Nice, ib. a. taketh upon him the Honour of a King or Sultan, ib. b. maketh Neapolis his Regal Seat, ib. b. in a great battel overthroweth the Chriſtians, 99, b. beſiegeth Pruſa, 100, a. whilſt the Greeks are at diſcord among themſelves, layeth the foundation of the Great Othoman Empire that now is, 113, a. 116, a. dieth, and lieth buried at Pruſa, 123, b. the Wealth he left unto his Sons Orchanes and Aladin, 125, a.
Orchanes, his Father Othoman yet living, manageth the Turks Kingdom, 125, b. ſurpriſeth the Caſtle of Tzupri-Chiſar, 125, b. fighteth a doubtful battel with Andronicus the Greek Emperour at Phylocrene, 126, a. ſurpriſeth Nice, 126, b. hath Nicomedia yielded unto him, 127, b. committeth the Government thereof unto his Son Solyman, 128, a. firſt of the Turks that built Monaſteries, ib. a. ſubdueth the Country of Caraſina, ib. b. dieth, 130, b.
Orchanes and Mahometes, two of Bajazet's Nephews overthrown by Cheſiſe and Techellis the Rebels, 321, a.
Oſman Baſſa by Muſtapha made Governour of Siruan, taketh Sumachia, 662, b. hath Derbent yielded unto him, ib. b. by the Perſian Prince driven out of Sumachia, flieth to Derbent, 665, a. kills Sahamal his Wives Father, 666, a. is by Amurath ſent for into Siruan, 687, a. laid in wait for by Mahomet the Tartar King, ib. b. overcometh the Tartars lying in wait for him, ib. b. by Amurath made chief Viſier, and General of his Wars againſt the Perſians, 688, a. raiſeth a great Army, 697, a. wiſely appeaſeth his mutinous Souldiers unwilling to go for Tauris, ib. b. cometh to Tauris, 698, a. taketh the City, ib. b. in thirty days buildeth there a ſtrong Caſtle, 699, a. giveth the City to be ſpoiled by his Souldiers, ib. a. leaveth Giaffer the Eunuch Baſſa of Tripolis with a Garriſon of 12000 Souldiers, Governour of Tauris, 700, a. dieth, 701, a. much lamented for at Conſtantinople, ib. b.

P.

PAleapolis by Sultan Aladin given to Othoman, 96, a.
Palotta yielded to the Turks, 721, a.
Pallas Lippa beheaded by Botſcay his Maſter, 860, a.
Pantogles with the Turks fleet cometh to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, 233, a. diſplaced, 234, a.
Paphlagonia and Pontus, with a great part of Cappadocia won by Mahomet the Great, 245, b.
Partau the Viſier Baſſa ſent by Solyman againſt the ſuppoſed Muſtapha, brought him to Conſtantinople, 520, a. ſent by Solyman to have brought Bajazet to Amaſia, is by him with good words ſent back again, 522, b. ſtandeth indifferent for giving or not giving of battel unto the Chriſtians at Lepanto, 593, a. encourageth his Souldiers, ib. a. flieth himſelf out of the battel, 595, b.
Paradiſer executed for yielding up of Caniſia unto the Turks, 792, a.
The Patriarch of Græce flayed alive, 904, b.
Peace concluded betwixt King Uladiſlaus and Amurath the Second, 197, a. by the perſwaſion of Julian the Cardinal unfortunately broken by Uladiſlaus, 198. a.
Peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg, 263, b. betwixt Bajazet and Caytbeius, 306, b. betwixt Bajazet and the Venetians, 315, a. betwixt the Venetians and Solyman, 468, b. betwixt the Venetians and Selymus the Second, 613, a. betwixt Amurath the Third, and Mahomet the Perſian King, 707, b.
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Peloponeſus deſcribed, 240, b. made tributary to the Turk, 241, a. ſubdued by the Turks, 242, a.
Pera yielded unto the Turks, 237, b.
Perenus the noble Hungarian, upon the ſuſpition of aſpiring, apprehended, 494, b. matters ſurmiſed againſt him, 495, a. He, Valentinus and Maylat, three of the chief of the Hungarian Nobility, unworthily kept in perpetual Priſon, 496, a.
Perſecution in the Greek Church for matters of Religion, 101, a.
Perſians better Horſemen than the Turks, 351, b.
The Perſian King's Succeſs, 845, a. he enters into the Province of Babylon, 897, a. his cruelty againſt the Armenians, ib. b.
Peſth diſtreſſed for want of Victuals, 806, b. victualled, 820, a. again victualled, ib. b. ſhamefully abandoned by the Chriſtians, 849, a. taken by the Turks, ib. b.

Peſth *taken by* Gaſon *Admiral of the Turks fleet upon the* Danubius, 478, b. *beſieged by the Marquis of* Brandenburg, 493, a. *in vain aſſaulted*, 494, a. *the ſiege given over*, ib. b. *taken by the Chriſtians*, 802, a.

Peter *a French Hermit going on Pilgrimage to* Jeruſalem, *obſerveth the miſeries of the Chriſtians under the* Turks *and* Sarazens, 9, a. *in the Council of* Claremont *delivereth his meſſage in the behalf of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians*, 10, a. *he with* Gualter Senſavier *the firſt that ſet forward in the great Expedition of the Chriſtians into the* Holy Land, ib. b. *loſeth greateſt part of his Army*, 11, a. *diſcouraged, about to have ſtoln home, brought back, and inforced to take a new Oath for his fidelity and perſeverance in that War*, 13, b.

Peter Damboyſe, *Grand Maſter of the* Rhodes, *a careful Governour*, 291, b. *his chearful ſpeech unto the reſt of his Knights and Souldiers*, 292, a.

Peter Emus *for his barbarous Cruelty beheaded at* Venice, 689, b.

Petralba *yielded to* Scanderbeg, 194, b.

Petrella *yielded*, ib. b.

Petrinia *taken by the Chriſtians*, 753, a.

Petrinia *in danger to have been betrayed to the Turks*, 848, a.

Philaretas *the Greek Emperours Lieutenant put to flight by the Turks*, 6, b.

Philadelphia *taken by* Bajazet, 140, b.

Philes *a devout man, but no Soldier, undertaketh the defence of the Greek Empire againſt the Turks*, 109, a. *in plain battel overthroweth them*, 109, b. 110, a.

Philip *the Second of that Name, the French King, in going towards the* Holy Land, *ſuffereth Shipwreck upon the Coaſt of* Sicilia, 48, a. *arriveth at* Ptolemais, 48, b. *his ſpeech unto* Richard *King of* England, *and the other Chriſtian Princes, in his ſickneſs*, ib. b. *he ſweareth unto King* Richard, *not to invade his Territories in* France, *and ſo returneth home*, 49, b.

Phocas *by killing of* Mauritius *the Emperour with his Children, poſſeſſeth himſelf of the Greek Empire*, 15, b. *ſlain afterwards by them of his own Guard*, 16, a.

Pial Baſſa, Solyman's *Admiral ſent to remove the Chriſtians out of* Zerbi, 530, a. *in diſgrace with* Solyman, *ſhunneth to come to* Conſtantinople, 532, a. *by* Selymus *the Second ſent againſt the* Venetians, 572, a. *in vain attempteth the Iſland of* Tenos, ib. a.

Piſaurius *the* Venetian *Admiral doth very great harm unto the Turks*, 313, b.

Plague and Famine among the Turks, 744, a.

Plague in the Venetian *Fleet*, 574, a.

A great Plague at Conſtantinople, 901, a.

Polinus *the French Ambaſſador with Preſents from* Francis *the French King, meeteth* Solyman *coming from* Buda, 490, a. *his requeſt to* Solyman, ib. a. *returneth into* France, ib. a. *ſent back again to* Solyman, *by the way ſollicteth the* Venetians *to take up Arms againſt* Charles *the Emperour*, ib. a. *grieved, not to find the Turk ſo ready to ſend his fleet in the Aid of the King his Maſter, as he had before hoped*, 490, a. *is ſharply ſhaken up by* Solyman Baſſa, ib. a. *brought to the ſpeech of* Solyman *himſelf*, 492, a. *by him rejected until the next Spring*, ib. a. *ſetteth forward with* Barbaruſſa *and the Turks Fleet*, 496, b. *by his Letters from* Oſtia *comforteth the Popes Legat in* Rome, 497, a.

Podolia *and* Ruſſia *invaded by the Turks*, 311, a.

The Pope and the King of Spain *fearing leſt the* Venetians *ſhould make Peace with the Turk, haſten their Confederation with that State, long before by them delayed*, 581, a. *a perpetual League concluded betwixt the Pope, the King of* Spain, *and the* Venetians, 582, a. *the League proclaimed*, ib. b.

The Popes Letters unto the King of Polonia, *to diſſuade him from invading of* Moldavia, *to the trouble of the* Tranſilvanian *Prince*, 756, b.

A Practiſe to murther the Brethren of Sultan Oſman, 973, a.

Prejanes *cometh to the* Rhodes, 391, a.

Preſents given by the Turks to the Emperours Commiſſioners, 833, b. *ſent to the Grand Seignior by King* Mathias, 890, a. *from the* Perſian *to the Emperour*, 897, b. *from the* Perſian *to the* Turk, 912, b. *from the united States to the Turks*, 916, b.

Preſents of great value ſent by the Perſian *King unto* Selymus, 566, b.

Prince Ciarcan *ſlain*, 151, b.

Princes of Germany *joyn their Forces with King* Ferdinand *againſt the Turk in* Hungary, 492, a.

Proceſſions of the Turks, 915, b.

The Proteſtant States of Auſtria *take Arms in defence of their Religion*, 892, a. *ſwear obedience unto King* Mathias, 893, a.

The Proteſtant States of Bohemia *aſſemble in the new Court at* Prague, ib. b. *raiſe their forces in defence of their Religion*, 894, b.

Pruſa *yielded unto the Turks*, 123, a. *burnt by* Iſa, 164, a. *repaired by* Mahomet, ib. a. *again burnt by the* Caramanian *King*, 164, b.

Q.

Queen Iſabella *with Child*, 469, a. *delivered of a Son*, ib. b. *that Son by the Name of* Stephen *crowned King of* Hungary, 470, a. *her anſwer unto the Ambaſſador of King* Ferdinand, *demanding of her the Kingdom of* Hungary, 471, b. *invaded by King* Ferdinand, *craveth Aid of* Solyman, 473, a. *by the commandment of* Solyman *departeth with her young Son out of* Buda, 481, a. *yieldeth up to King* Ferdinand *all the right ſhe had in* Tranſilvania *and* Hungary, 571, b.

Quinque Eccleſiæ *yielded unto the Turks*, 497, b.

Quinſay *on the Province of* Mangi, *of all the Cities of the World the greateſt*, 53, b.

R.

RAB *beſieged by* Sinan Baſſa, 731, a. *battered and aſſaulted*, 733, b. *by Treaſon yielded unto the Baſſa*, 724, a. *notably again ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians*, 771, b.

Rab *attempted by the Turks*, 875, a.

Radul *the* Valachian *aideth* Baſta *againſt the Turks*, 818, a.

Rama *forſaken by the Turks*, ib. b.

Ramadan Baſſa *ſlain by the inſolent Janizaries*, 690, a.

Rayſchachius *for ſorrow of his Son ſlain by the Turks, ſuddenly dieth*, 476, b.

The Rebels of Aſia *appeaſed by the Viſier*, 881, a.

New Rebels in Aſia, 887, b.

Rhodes *by the Knights* Hoſpitallers *recovered from the Turks in the year* 1308, 113, a. *beſieged by* Meſites Palæologus, 291, b. *for fear of the Turks the* Rhodians *deſtroy their Suburbs and Places of Pleaſure without the City*, 389, a. *the* Rhodes *deſcribed*, 391, a. *beſieged by* Solyman, 392, b. *in five places at once by the Turks aſſaulted*, 395, a. *the diſtreſſed eſtate of the* Rhodians, *and their Reſolution therein*, 398, a. *the* Rhodes *yielded unto* Solyman, 404, a.

Richard *the Firſt, King of* England, *ſetteth forward toward the* Holy Land, 48, a. *revengeth the Injuries done to him by the* Cypriots, *and taketh Priſoner* Iſaack Comnenus *their King*, ib. b.

arriveth at Ptolemais, ib. b. cauſeth all the Turks his Priſoners, in the ſight of Saladins Army to be executed, 50, a. giveth Cyprus to Guy in exchange for the titular Kingdom of Jeruſalem, ib. b. with great ſlaughter overthroweth Saladin in plain battel, ib. b. returning homeward, taken Priſoner by Leopold Duke of Auſtria, 51, b.

Rodolph the Emperour prayeth Aid of the German Princes againſt the Turk, 715, b. his Ambaſſador ſhut up cloſe in his Houſe at Conſtantinople, 716, b. his Letters to Amurath, ib. b. his Letters to Sinan Baſſa, 717, a. preſented with the ſpoil of the Turks overthrown at Alba Regalis, 723, b. requeſteth Aid of the Great Duke of Muſcovia, the King of Polonia, and of the Prince of Tranſſilvania, 725, a. holdeth a Dyet of the Empire at Ratisbone for the withſtanding of the Turks, 750, a. receiveth Aid from the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Princes of Italy, 792, b.

Robert Duke of Normandy by general conſent choſen King of Jeruſalem, which honour he refuſeth, 17, a

Robert Son to Peter, fourth Emperour of the Latines in Conſtantinople, 68, a. goeth to Rome and in his return dieth in Achaia, 68, a.

Rogendorf, his Name terrible unto the Turks, 413, b. with King Ferdinands Army entreth into Hungary, and beſiegeth Buda, 473, b. threatneth the Queen, derided by the Biſhop, 474, a. in vain aſſaulteth Buda, ib. b. in raiſing of his ſiege by Night, receiveth a great overthrow, 478, a. conveyed up the River to Comara, there dieth, 478, b.

Ronzorius, ſometime a notable Pyrat, entertained by Andronicus the Emperour againſt the Turks, 104, b. relieveth Philadelphia, 105, a. for lack of pay ſpoileth the Emperours Territories in Aſia, ib. a. ſuddenly ſlain, 105, b.

Roſcetes riſeth againſt his Brother Muleaſſes King of Tunes, 433, a. flieth to Barbaruſſa, and by him carried to Conſtantinople, ib. a.

Roverius robbeth Dautius, Bajazet the Great Turks Ambaſſador to Pope Alexander, 307, b.

Roxolana conſpireth with Ruſtan Baſſa againſt the noble Muſtapha, and faineth herſelf religious, 512, b. ſent for by Solyman, refuſeth to come, 513, a. plotteth the confuſion of Muſtapha, ib. a. bringeth him into ſuſpicion with his Father, ib. a. ſhe with Ruſtan put Solyman in fear of his Life and Empire by his Son Muſtapha, ib. a. loveth her younger Son Bajazet better than her eldeſt Son Selymus, 519, a. comforteth him, going in fear unto his Father, 520, b.

Ruſtan Baſſa, a man of a miſchievous Nature, 512, b. farthereth the devices of Roxolana, for the deſtruction of the noble Muſtapha, 513, b. ſent by Solyman with an Army into Aſia, to have taken or ſlain Muſtapha, 514, a. returneth in haſte, and with falſe ſuggeſtions ſtirreth up Solyman himſelf againſt his Son, ib. b. his exceeding Treachery at the coming of Muſtapha to his Fathers Camp, 515, a. diſgraced by Solyman, flieth to Roxolana at Conſtantinople, 516, b. by her means reſtored again unto his former Honours, dieth afterwards of a dropſie, 517, b.

Ruſſeworme a great Lord beheaded, 867, a.

The Ruſſians and Tartars make Incurſions upon the Turks, 908, b.

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SAcmar yielded to the Haiducks, 860, a.

Sahib after the death of Sultan Aladin his Maſter, taking upon him the Government, is by the Nobility thruſt out, and the Turks Kingdom in Aſia rent in ſunder amongſt them, 80, a.

Sahamal the Georgian cutteth off the Head of Aider, 659, a. ſubmitteth himſelf to Muſtapha the Great Baſſa, 662, b. ſlain by Oſman Baſſa his Son-in-Law, 666, a.

Saladin the Turk choſen Sultan of Egypt, killeth the Calyph and all his Poſterity, 40, b. invadeth the Kingdom of Jeruſalem, and by Baldwin ſuddenly ſallying out of Aſcalon, overthrown, 42, a. beſiegeth Berythus both by Sea and Land, taketh Edeſſa and Carras, ib. b. 43, a. ſpoileth the Holy Land, 43, a. in vain beſiegeth Ptolemais, 44, b. beſiegeth Tiberias, and by the Treaſon of the County of Tripolis overthroweth Guy the King, coming to the relief thereof, and taketh him Priſoner, 45, a. winneth Jeruſalem, with all the other Cities and Towns in the Holy Land, except Tripolis, Tyre, and Antioch, ib. a. beſiegeth Tyre, and with the loſs of his beſt Soldiers, and of his Tents, retireth, ib. b. taketh Antioch with all the Provinces and Towns thereunto belonging, ib. b. putteth to death the Chriſtian Captives, 50, a. dieth, and forbiddeth any funeral Pomp to be uſed at his burial, 51, b.

Salvagus a worthy Knight, 538, b.

Salazar a Spaniſh Captain goeth as a Spy into the Turks Camp at the ſiege of Malta, 548, b.

Sanguin the Turk overthroweth King Fulke, coming to the relief of the Caſtle of Mont-ferand, and hath the Caſtle yielded unto him, 21, a. taketh Edeſſa, and there uſeth all manner of Cruelty againſt the Chriſtians, 22, a. beſieging Cologenbar, is there ſtabbed by one of his own Friends, and ſlain, ib. a.

Sarmentus ſlain, 466, a.

Sarugatin, Oſmans Brother, ſlain, and accounted of the Turks for a Saint, 96, b.

Scanderbeg with his Brethren by their Father John Caſtriot given in Hoſtage to Amurath, 177, a. wiſely diſſembleth his deſire for the delivery of himſelf and his Country, 193, a. by great policy recovereth the City of Croia out of the hands of the Turks, 193, b. hath the ſtrong Cities of Epirus yielded unto him, 194, a. ſpoileth Macedonia, 195, b. in a great battel overthroweth Alis Baſſa with two and twenty thouſand of his Turks, 196, b. going to the Aid of King Uladiſlaus, is by the faithleſs Deſpot denied paſſage through Servia, 201, a. ſpoileth the Deſpots Country, and ſo returneth into Epirus, 204, a. his reſolute anſwer unto Amurath's melancholy Letters, 205, b. putteth Feriſes to flight, 206, b. overthroweth Muſtapha the ſecond time, and taketh him Priſoner, 213, b. carefully ſetteth all things in order againſt the coming of Amurath, 214, b. his effectual ſpeech unto the Soldiers and Citizens of Sfetigrade, to encourage them againſt the coming of the Turk, 215, a. cunningly entrappeth ſome of the forerunners of Amuraths Army, 216, a. troubleth his great Army, 217, b. with his own hand killeth Feri Baſſa, 218, b. troubleth Amurath's great Army at the Siege of Croia, 222, a. in danger to have been ſlain or taken, ib. a. deceiveth Mahomet the young Prince in his own device, 223, a. flieth by night into Epirus, 259, a. his anſwer by Letters unto the Letters of Mahomet, 262, b. his anſwer unto Mahomets Letters concerning the renewing of the League, 265, b. in danger, 271, b. Scanderbeg dieth, 275, a. buried at Liſſa, ib. a. his bones digged up by the Turks, and of them greatly honoured, ib. a.

Scodra beſieged by Solyman Baſſa, 280, a. relieved by Matthias King of Hungary, 281, a. a yearly fee appointed by Mahomet to one, to put him daily in mind of the ſiege of Scodra, ib. a. Scodra the ſecond time beſieged by Mahomet the Great, 283, a. ſore battered, 285, a. the fourth time aſſaulted, 286, a. twelve thouſand Turks ſlain in this laſt aſſault, 287, a. moſt furiouſly the fifth

fifth time aſſaulted by the Turks, 287, b. by compoſition yielded unto the Turk, 291, a.

The Scrivano rebelleth againſt the Turk in Caramania, and giveth Mehemet Baſſa a notable overthrow, 793, b. in a great battel overthroweth him again the next year with an Army of fifty thouſand Turks, 797, a. having over-run a great part of the Turks Dominions in Aſia, dieth, 804, a. his younger Brother ſteppeth up in his ſtead, and in a great battel overthroweth Haſſan Baſſa, and killeth him, ib. a.

Selymus ambitious, and of a turbulent Spirit, and therefore of the Janizaries and men of War better beloved than his other Brother, 326, a. aided by Mahometes the Tartar King, riſeth againſt his aged Father, 326, b. coloureth his rebellious purpoſe with the Invaſion of Hungary, 327, a. marcheth with his Army towards Hadrianople, 328, a. in a great battel overthrown and put to flight by his Father Bajazet at Tzurulum, 331, a. by the perſwaſion of the Baſſa's, by his Father ſent for home, 335, a. choſen General by his Father, to go againſt his rebellious Brother Achomates, is by and by after by the Janizaries ſaluted Emperour, 336, b. cauſeth his Father to be poyſoned, 337, b. putteth three of his Fathers Pages to death for mourning for their Maſter, 338, a. bountifully rewardeth the Soldiers of the Court, 339, a. murthereth five of his Brothers Sons, ib. b. cauſeth Corcutus his Brother to be ſtrangled, 341, a. Treaſon intended againſt him, diſcovered, 342, a. craveth Aid of Aladeules and the other mountain Princes againſt the Perſians, 345, a. Selymus perplexed, ib. b. receiveth great loſs in paſſing the River Euphrates, 349, a. he and Hyſmael compared together, 350, b. Selymus with a great Army entreth into Armenia, and taketh Ciamaſſum a City of the Perſian Kings, 352, b. vanquiſheth Aladeules the Mountain King, putteth him to death, and converteth his Kingdom into the form of a Province, 354, a. invadeth Hungary, ib. b. ſendeth his Ambaſſadors with Preſents to Campſon the Egyptian Sultan, 357, a. encourageth his Soldiers to go againſt the Mamalukes, 358, a. paſſeth the Mountain Amanus, and cometh into Comagena, ib. b. in the battel of Singa overthroweth the Mamalukes, 360, b. in doubt leſt Sinan Baſſa had been loſt, becometh exceeding melancholy, 364, b. meeteth with Sinan Baſſa at Gaza, 365, a. paſſeth the ſandy Deſarts, and meeteth with Tomombeius at Rhodanus, 365, a. giveth him battel, and putteth him to flight, 367, a. encourageth his Soldiers to the winning of Caire, 370, a. fighteth a great and mortal battel with the Mamalukes in the City of Caire, 370, b. cauſeth the City to be ſet on fire, 371, a. putteth Tomombeius and the Mamalukes to flight, and ſo taketh the City, ib. a. his Ambaſſadors ſent to Tomombeius ſlain by the Mamalukes, 372, b. overthroweth Tomombeius again at the River Nilus, 374, a. cauſeth him being taken, to be tortured and put to death, ib. a. cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience, 375, a. purpoſing to turn his Forces upon the Chriſtians, is ſtruck in the back with a Canker, 379, a. his death concealed by Ferat Baſſa, 381, a.

Selymus the Second by the Janizaries ſaluted Emperour, 559, a. appeaſeth the tumultuous Janizaries, ib. b. ſendeth Cubates his Ambaſſador to Venice, to demand Cyprus of the Senate, 569, a. rageth to have it denied him, 570, a. he invadeth the Venetians, 572, a. in his rage about to have put to death all the Chriſtians in his Dominions, 600, a. ſendeth out Uluzales his Admiral with 200 Gallies againſt the Chriſtians, 602, a. deſirous of Peace, concludeth the ſame with the Venetians, 613, a. by his Baſſa's taketh Guletta from the Spaniards, and the City of Tunes, 620, a. dieth, ib. b.

Serinus Governour of Sigeth, 555, b. his comfortable and reſolute Speech unto his Soldiers, ib. b. burneth the new Town, not now to be longer defended, and retireth into the old, 556, a. his laſt Speech unto his Soldiers, ib. b. ſlain, and his head ſent to County Salma, 557, a.

The Servians in mutiny againſt themſelves, are with a great ſlaughter overthrown by the Turks, 133, a.

Servia becometh tributary unto the Turks, ib. a. wholly yielded unto the Turks, 243, a.

Sfetigrade beſieged by Amurath, 216, a. in vain divers times by the Turks aſſaulted, 218, a. by the working of a Traitor, Amurath hath the ſtrong City yielded up unto him, 220, a.

Sigiſmund King of Hungary, with the Chriſtian Princes his Confederates, with a great Army invadeth the Turks Dominions, 141, b. his proud Speech upon the greatneſs of his Army, ib. b. in a great battel overthrown by Bajazet at Nicopolis, 142, a. hardly eſcapeth himſelf by flight, ib. a.

Sigiſmund Prince of Tranſilvania in danger by his own Subjects to have been betrayed unto the Tartars, 735, b. the Conſpirators apprehended and executed, 736, a. giveth his Subjects leave to ſpoil the Turks, ib. a. entreth into a Confederation with the Emperour, ib. b. perſwadeth Michael the Vaywod of Valachia, and Aaron the Palatine of Moldavia, to revolt from the Turk, 737, b. ſendeth Aaron the Palatine with his Wife and Son Priſoners to Prague, 745, a, b. marrieth Maria Chriſtina the late Arch-duke Charls's Daughter, 752, a. overthroweth thirty thouſand Turks coming as unbidden Gueſts to his marriage, ib. a. in a great battel overthroweth Sinan Baſſa with his Turks, ib. a. receiveth the Zaculians into his Protection, and hath from them great Aid, 753, b. putteth Sinan Baſſa to flight, 754, a. by force taketh Tergoviſta from the Turks, ib. a. taketh alſo Bucareſta, ib. b. goeth unto the Emperour at Prague, 761, b. beſiegeth Temeſwar, 764, a. with 18000 men cometh to the Aid of Maximilian the Arch-duke going to have relieved Agria, 767, a. doubting the power of the Turk, reſigneth his Principality of Tranſilvania unto the Emperour, 769, b. repenting himſelf, returneth again into Tranſilvania, and taketh upon him the Government, 773, b. by his Ambaſſadors offereth again his Principality unto the Emperour, 776, a. in a great battel overthrown, together with the Moldavian, by Michael the Vaywod of Valachia, 784, b. by the favour of the Nobility recovereth his ſtate again in Tranſilvania, 796, a. in battel overthrown by Baſta and Michael the Vaywod, flieth out of Tranſilvania, ib. b. by the favour of his Subjects, and countenance of the Polonians, recovereth again his ſtate, 797, b. doubting him to be able to hold it againſt the Imperials, yieldeth it by compoſition unto Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant, and goeth himſelf unto the Emperour, 798, b.

Sigiſmund King of Polonia's Letters unto Amurath, 706, b.

Sigiſmund Ragotſie choſen Prince of Tranſilvania, and reſigneth to the Emperour, 880, a.

Siliſtra ſpoiled by the Valachians, 807, a.

Simon County of Montford ſent by Philip the French King into the Holy Land, repreſſeth the fury of the Turks, and ſo concludeth a Peace with them for ten years, 52, b.

Sinan Baſſa the Eunuch overthrown by Achomates, 342, a. reſtoreth Selymus's battel againſt Campſon, before almoſt loſt, 360, b. by Selymus ſent before into Judea, 362, a. hath Gaza yielded unto him, ib. b. diſcomfiteth Gazelles, coming to

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have oppreſſed him at Gaza, 363, b. *ſlain in the Battel at* Rhodania. 366, b.

Sinan *the Jew his ſhort Anſwer to* Barbaruſſa, 445, a.

Sinan Baſſa *by* Amurath *choſen General for the* Perſian *Wars*, 671, a. *relieveth* Teflis, 673, b. *loſeth ſeven thouſand of his Souldiers*, 674, a. *derided of his own Souldiers*, ib. b. *his proud Anſwer to* Amurath, 678, b. *diſplaced and caſt into Exile*, 679, a. *again received into favour*, 706, b. *overthrown in the Upper* Hungary, 708, a. *his Letters unto the Emperour*, 717, b. *ſent General of the Turks Army againſt the Emperour*, 720, a. *taketh* Veſprinium, 721, a. *hath* Palotta *yielded unto him*, ib. a. *with an Army of* 150000 *men cometh again into* Hungary, 731, a. *taketh* Dotis *and* S. Martins, ib. b. *beſiegeth* Rab, ib. b. *in aſſaulting thereof loſeth* 12000 *of his men*, 733, b. *by corrupting of the Governour, hath the City yielded unto him*, 734, a. *beſiegeth* Comara, ib. b. *raiſeth his Siege, and breaketh up his Army*, ib. b. *craftily ſeeketh to try the Emperours mind concerning Peace*, 742, b. *ſent for home to the Court*, 744, a. *by Sultan* Mahomet *appointed General of the Wars againſt the Emperour*, 752, b. *invadeth* Valachia, ib. b. *in a great Battel overthrown by the Prince of* Tranſylvania, ib. b. *in flying in danger to have been drowned*, ib. b. *with a great Army cometh again into* Valachia, 753, b. *ſeeing the general Fear of his Army upon the coming of the* Tranſylvanians, *flieth*, 754, a. *for fear delayeth his coming to* Conſtantinople *untill his peace were made, and there, ſhortly after, dieth*, 761, a.

Siſeg *by the Turks beſieged*, 718, b. *notably relieved*, 719, b. *again beſieged and taken by the Turks*, 720, b.

Skinder Baſſa *invadeth Prince* Alexander, 932, a. *his Kinſman taken Priſoner*, 932, b.

Soldiers Inſolency juſtly puniſhed, 830, a.

Solyman, Orchanes *his Son, by his Father made Governor of* Nicomedia, 127, b. 128, a. *taketh the Caſtle of* Zembeny *in* Europe, 129, a. *he the firſt that brought the Turks over into* Europe, *with purpoſe there to conquer and inhabit*, ib. a. *taketh the Caſtle of* Maditus, ib. b. *winneth* Calipolis, ib. b. *dieth*, 130, b.

Solyman *the unfortunate*, Bajazet's *eldeſt Son, by the great Baſſa's ſet up in his Fathers ſtead at* Hadrianople, 153, a. *goeth over with a great Army againſt his Brother* Mahomet, 164, b. *by policy taketh the Caſtle of* Pruſa, 165, a. *beſiegeth his Brother in* Amaſia, ib. a. *returneth into* Europe *to appeaſe the ſtirs there raiſed by his Brother* Muſa, *and recovereth* Hadrianople, 166, a. *in his exceſs regardeth not the approach of his Brother* Muſa, ib. b. *forſaken of his Soldiers, flieth*, ib. b. *taken Priſoner, is by the commandment of his Brother* Muſa *ſtrangled*, ib. b.

Solyman *the Eunuch Baſſa dealeth treacherouſly with the Kings of* Arabia, 451 b.

Solyman *hardly perſwaded that his Father was dead*, 581, a. *ſaluted Emperour by the Janizaries*, ib. b. *his Letters to* Villerius, *Great Maſter of the* Rhodes, 384, a. *his Oration to his men of War, declaring his purpoſe for the beſieging of the* Rhodes, ib. b. *he maketh great preparation for the ſiege*, 385, a. *his threatning Letters unto them of the* Rhodes, 388, b. *cometh himſelf in Perſon to the ſiege*, 392, a. *his cholerick Oration to his Soldiers*, ib. b. *diſplaceth his Admiral, and puniſheth him like a ſlave*, 396, a. *about to have forſaken the ſiege*, ib. b. *comforteth his diſcouraged Soldiers, perſwading them with patience to continue the ſiege*, 397, a. *his Letters to the Great Maſter and the* Rhodians, *ſent by their own Ambaſſadors*, 399, b. *his ſpeech unto the Great Maſter, at his coming to yield up the City*, 403, a. *he entreth into the* Rhodes *upon Chriſtmaſs-day, in the year* 1522, 404, a. Solyman *upon the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes, and diſordered State of* Hungary, *taketh occaſion to invade that Kingdom*, ib. b. *cometh into* Hungary *againſt King* Lewis *with an Army of two hundred thouſand men*, 405, a. *overthroweth him in battel at* Mohatz, ib. b. *cometh to* Buda, 406, a. Solyman *in the quarrel of King* John, *againſt King* Ferdinand *cometh into* Hungary *with an Army of* 150000 *men*, 410, a. *without reſiſtance entreth into* Buda, *and beſiegeth the Caſtle* ib. b. *layeth ſiege to* Vienna, 411, a. *without ranſome releaſeth certain Chriſtian Priſoners*, 412, a. *loſeth his great Ordnance upon the* Danubius, ib. b. *burieth* 8000 *of his Turks in the Mines*, 413, a. *having loſt* 80000 *of his Turks, raiſeth his ſiege, and returneth to* Buda, 414, a. *he reſtoreth the Kingdom of* Hungary *unto King* John, ib. a. *returneth himſelf to* Conſtantinople, ib. b. *maketh great preparation for the ſubduing of the Territories belonging to the Houſe of* Auſtria, *as alſo for the Conqueſt of* Germany, *with the ſhort time he prefixed unto himſelf for the performance thereof*, ib. b. Solyman *with a mighty Army cometh again into* Hungary, 416, b. *beſiegeth* Gunza, ib. b. *his proud Letters to* Charles *the Emperour*, 417, a. *ſhunneth to meet him at* Vienna, *and ſo turneth out of the way into* Carinthia, 418, b. *the cauſes moving him ſo to do*, ib. b. *returneth towards* Conſtantinople, 420, a. Solyman, *perſwaded by* Abraham Baſſa, *reſolveth to go againſt the* Perſians, 436, b. *cometh with his Army to* Tauris, 437, a. *followeth* Tamas *the* Perſian *King into* Sultania, ib. a. *his Army ſtrangely diſtreſſed by Tempeſt*, ib. b. *hath* Babylon *with the Countries of* Meſopotamia *and* Aſſyria *yielded unto him*, 438, a. *he ranſacketh* Tauris, ib. b. *diſcouraged by the harm done him by* Delymenches, *giveth over his Wars in* Perſia, *and returneth to* Conſtantinople, 439, b. *he with a wonderful charge prepareth a great Fleet at* Suetia *againſt the* Portugals *in the* Eaſt-Indies, 451, a. Solyman *by the French Ambaſſador incited to invade* Italy *with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, cometh to* Aulona, 452, a. *ſendeth* Lutzis Baſſa *and* Barbaruſſa *with his Fleet before him into* Italy, ib. a. *converteth his Forces prepared for* Italy, *againſt the* Venetians, 453, b. *in danger to have been ſlain in his Tent in the midſt of his Army*, ib. b. *invadeth* Corcyra, ib. b. *carrieth away above ſixteen hundred Priſoners, and doth good Juſtice upon ſuch Turks as had violated their Faith at* Caſtrum, 454, b. Solyman *angry with the ſecret Confederation between King* Ferdinand *and King* John, 468, b. *promiſeth to protect the Queen and her Son*, 473, a. *with a great Army cometh to* Buda, 478, b. *ſendeth for the young King into his Camp*, 479, a. *courteouſly receiveth him*, ib. a. *craftily ſurpriſeth the City of* Buda, 479, b. *detaineth the Nobility of* Hungary, ib.b. *diverſly perſwaded by his Baſſa's for the diſpoſing of that Kingdom*, ib. b. *he ſacrificeth after the* Mahometan *manner in* Buda, 481, a. *pronounceth the doom of* Hungary, *and converteth it from a Kingdom into a Province of his Empire*, ib a. *his proud anſwer unto King* Ferdinand's *Ambaſſadors*, 482, a. *he returneth to* Conſtantinople, ib. b. *ſendeth his Fleet to* Barbaruſſa *his Admiral, to aid the French King againſt the Emperour*, 496, a. Solyman *with a great Army cometh again into* Hungary, 497, a. *taketh* Strigonium, 498, b. *entereth into the City, and there ſetteth up the Mahometan Superſtition*, 499, a. *winneth* Alba-Regalis, 501, b. *returneth to* Conſtantinople, ib. b. *by the Inſtigation of* Dragut *the Pyrat*, Pyrate, ſendeth out Sinan Baſſa with a great Fleet to revenge the wrong done unto him by Auria, 509, a. Solyman amorous of Roxolana, 512, a. manumiſeth her, 513, a. marrieth her, ib. a. by her perſuaded, reſolveth to put to death his eldeſt Son, the noble Muſtapha, ib. b. goeth himſelf with a great Army into Aſia to kill his Son, 514, b. ſendeth for Muſtapha, who coming, is cruelly ſtrangled in his ſight, 515, b. his ſtout Speech unto the Janizaries up in Arms, for the unworthy death of Muſtapha, 516, b. he glad to yield unto the Janizaries, ib. b. Solyman deſirous, with as little ſtir as might be, to appeaſe the grudges betwixt his two Sons Selymus and Bajazet, ſendeth Partau and Mehemet, two of his Viſier Baſſaes, to bring them to the Provinces by him appointed for them, 322, b. maketh preparation againſt Bajazet, and ſendeth Aid to Selymus, 323, a. for countenancing of Selymus, goeth himſelf in perſon with his Army over into Aſia, 525, a. diſſembleth with Bajazet, 526, a. ſeeketh to ſtop his flight into Perſia, deceived of his purpoſe, procureth to have him and his four Sons ſtrangled in priſon in Perſia, 529, a. Solyman by his Ambaſſador Abraham Strotza, confirmeth his League with Ferdinand the Emperor for eight years, 533, a. his proud Letters unto the Emperor Ferdinand, ib. a. his Preſents ſent unto the Emperor, 534, b. he maketh preparation againſt the Knights of Malta, 535, a, b. his Oration unto his Captains for the Invaſion of Malta, ib. b. his Fleet arriveth at Malta, 537, a. with ſhame returneth, 552, b. Solyman purpoſing now the ſeventh time himſelf in perſon to invade Hungary, cauſeth a Bridge of a mile long with incredible labour to be made over the great River Savus, and tha deep Fens toward Sigeth, 555, b. beſiegeth Sigeth, ib. b. cometh himſelf with a great power into the Camp, 556, a. winneth the old Town, ib. a. falleth ſick and dieth of the bloody Flux at Quinque Eccleſiæ, ib. b. his Death by Muhamet the Viſier Baſſa concealed, and the Siege continued, ib. b. his body with great ſolemnity by his Son Solymus buried at Conſtantinople, 559, b.

The Spahies and Janizaries mutiny, 809, b. their proud Speech to Sultan Mahomet, 810, a. their Inſolency juſtly puniſhed, 807, a.

The Spaniards rejoycing at the Overthrow of the Italians by Salec, are themſelves foiled by Tabacces, 443, b.

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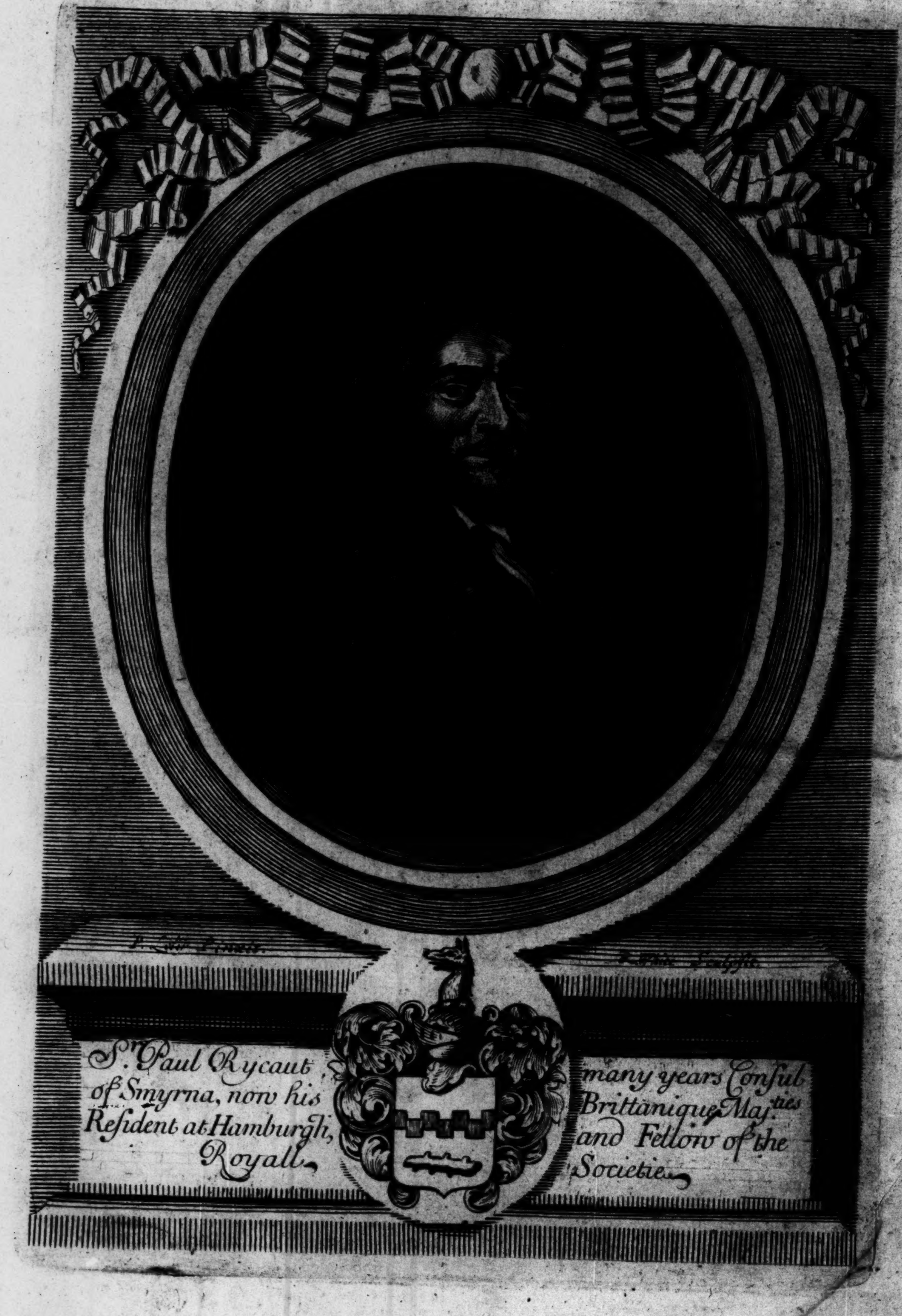

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Sr. Paul Rycaut, many years Conſul of Smyrna, now his Brittanique Maj.ties Reſident at Hamburgh, and Fellow of the Royall Societie.

Richard Knolles

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKS.

BEGINNING

With the Year 1679.

Being a full Relation

Of the Laſt Troubles in *Hungary*, with the Sieges of *Vienna*, and *Buda*, and all the ſeveral Battles both by SEA and LAND, between the *CHRISTIANS*, and the *TVRKS*, until the End of the Year 1698, and 1699.

IN WHICH

The Peace between the Turks,

AND THE

Confederate *Chriſtian Princes* and *States*, was happily Concluded at *Carlowitz* in *Hungary*, By the Mediation of His Majeſty of *Great Britain*, and the States General of the *United Provinces*.

vol. III.

With the Effigies of the Emperors and others of Note, Engraven at Large upon Copper, which Compleats the Sixth and Laſt Edition of the Hiſtory of the Turks. In Two Vol. in Folio.

By Sir *PAVL RYCAVT*, Kt. Eighteen Years Conſul at *Smyrna*, now his Majeſty's Reſident at *Hamburg*, and Fellow of the *Royal Society*.

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TO THE

King's Moſt Excellent MAJESTY

WILLIAM III.

King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*,
Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

Great SIR,

THE Dedication of this following Hiſtory of the *Turks*, may moſt juſtly be Addreſſed to the Clemency and Patronage of Your Majeſty for Two Reaſons. *Firſt*, Becauſe the greateſt Part of this Treatiſe was Written at *Hamburg*, whilſt I was actually employed for the ſpace almoſt of Eleven Years in the Service of Your Majeſty, the which, I hope will not be looked upon as a Point of my Demerit, or Neglect in my Duty, to have taken out ſo many Hours as this Work might Require from the Service of Your Majeſty. For I can ſafely ſay, and that Your Majeſty's Secretaries alſo in *England*, and Abroad, can Atteſt for me, that I have been diligent in my Office, and have neglected nothing therein, which my Duty and Services to Your Majeſty might require, and expect from me; for it was Written at my Vacant Hours, when nothing of my other Services could give me the leaſt Avocation.

But what may chiefly oblige me farther to this Dedication, is the Healing, Powerful, and Succeſsful Hand which Your Majeſty hath Applied by Your Ambaſſadors, in making that Peace at *Carlowitz*, between the *Chriſtians* and the *Turks*, which will ever be remembred in Future Ages, and which (as Your former Actions ſhewed the World You were a great Captain in the Arts of

War) ſo this will give good Proof You were a Wiſe and Prudent Governor in the Exerciſes of Peace; And may deſerve to have that Motto inſerted in Your Eſcocheon, *Beati ſunt Pacifici.*

And ſo may Your Majeſty be always Bleſſed and Proſperous in this Life, and Your Great Good Works Rewarded in Heaven. Which are the moſt Devout Prayers of

Your ***MAJESTY's***

Moſt Obedient Subject, and moſt Humble,

Devoted, and Dutiful Servant,

Hamburgh Jan 15.
1700.

Paul Rycaut.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

I *Would not have Thee entertain a worſe Opinion of this* Hiſtory, *by Reaſon of the Place where it was Wrote and Finiſhed, being at a far diſtance both from* Conſtantinople *and* Vienna: *Though perhaps it might have been more lively, had its Colours been laid on in the Places themſelves, where the Actions were performed; and at a time when the Humour of the* Turks, *and the* Idea *I conceived of their Actings, had taken ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion in my Mind, that whilſt I was upon the Place, I could ſuffer nothing to paſs my Pen, without its due Obſervation. Being thus accuſtomed to ſuch Contemplations as theſe, in my more Youthful Days, I could not let paſs the continual News, and the conſtant Intelligences I received from* Hungary, *and other Parts which were the Seats of War between the* Chriſtians *and the* Turks, *without making ſome Reflections thereupon.*

After which, I might juſtly challenge the Privilege of an Exauctorate, or of a Miles Emeritus*: And I think I need not Blot any more Paper for the future on any Subject relating to the* Turks*; for having arrived, at that great Period of the laſt Wars, concluded between the Emperor of* Germany*, and all his Allies againſt the* Turks*; It may appear how much the* Ottoman *Force is able to avail, when it is put into the Scale and Ballance againſt all* Chriſtendom.

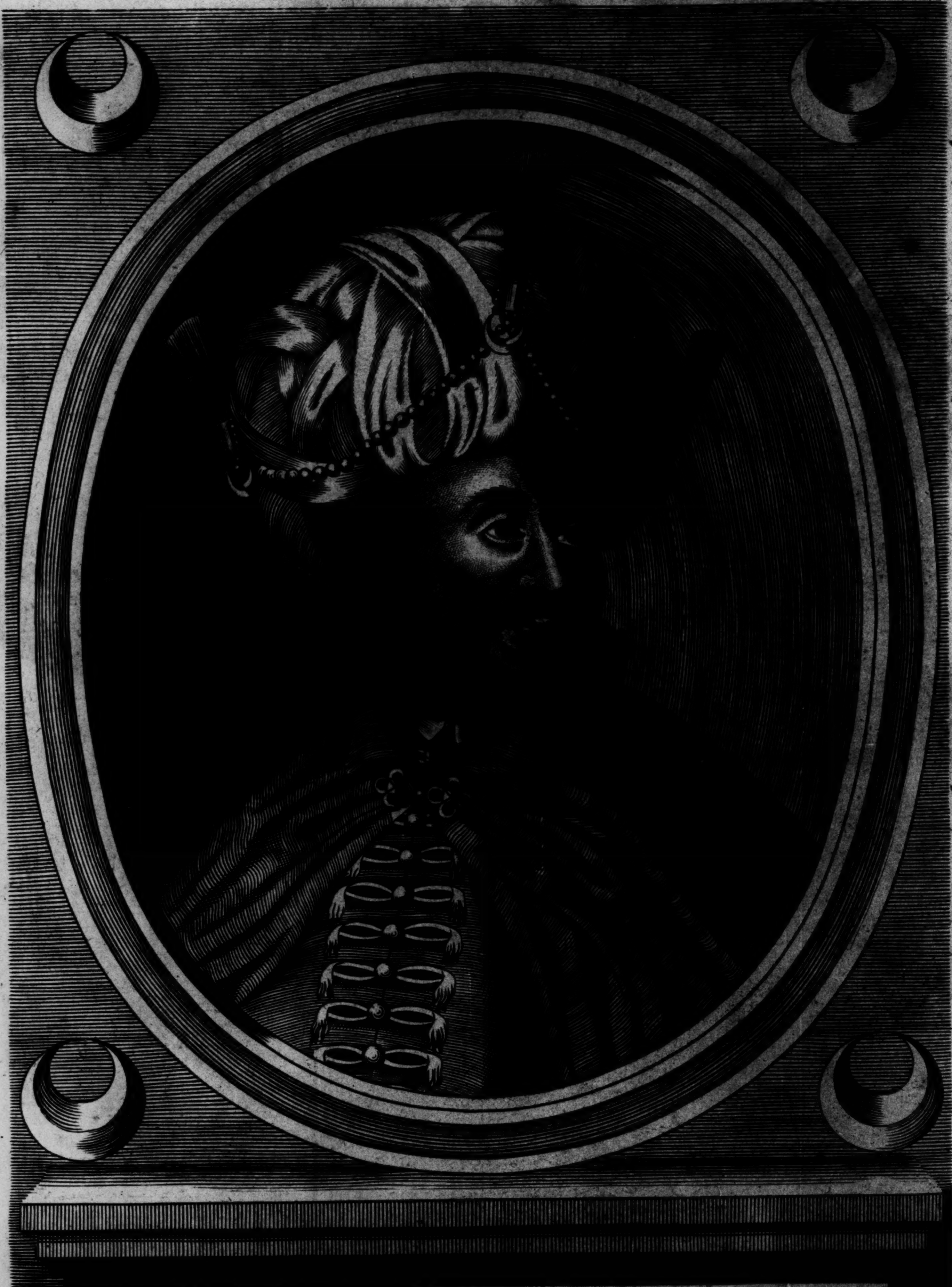
It hath been an ancient Cuſtom, and Policy amongſt the Turks*, in the time of their proſperous Succeſſes by which their Empire was enlarged, never to continue a War longer than for three Years, in which time they always advanced conſiderably, and would make no Peace with their Neighbours, until their Triumphs and Acquiſitions would anſwer the expences, and effuſions of their Blood, and Treaſures: After which they commonly fixed Twenty Years for the Settlement, and Security of thoſe new Conqueſts and Plantations; in which time many young Soldiers being Born and Bred up in Arms, they not only took thoſe Habitations for their Native Soil, but eſteemed them alſo to be by the* Mahometan *Religion obliged ever to defend and maintain them. But theſe laſt Wars, have quite put the* Turks *out of their Ancient* Methods*; for inſtead of maintaining a War no longer than Three Years, they have been forced to continue it for more than Twenty, to the great Ruin and Deſtruction of their Empire. I have always been of Opinion, That the* Turks *could never maintain a War for longer than Three Years, I mean with benefit, and profit to the advancement of the* Ottoman *Empire, of which I once made very perſpicuous Obſervations. Whilſt I was in the Camp with them, I found the Timariots very poor, and wanting at the end of that Term, ſo that they ſtoal from each other their Bridles and Saddles, Lances, and all other neceſſaries of War, and would excuſe themſelves by ſaying, that they could not do otherwiſe in ſo long a War of more than their Three Years: And in like manner the* Janiſaries *by their ancient Conſtitution might challenge a Privilege to quit the Service at the end of the Month of* October*, and in caſe they were not called, they might then Disband themſelves, on St.* Demetriu's *Day, which is the* 28th *Day of* October*, at which time the* Janiſar Aga*, could not without danger of his own Life in ſome mutiny deny them diſmiſſion for that Year's Campaign: Which the* Janiſaries *eſteemed always a Privilege due to their Order, but the* Aſiatick Timariots *called* Timar Spahcelar *were always ſooner diſmiſſed, in conſideration of the long Journies they were to make to their Winter-Quarters, ſome of them being as far diſtant, as* Bagdat *or* Babylon*, as* Damaſcus *or* Scham*, as* Aleppo *and* Iconium*, and other Parts, which to Travel backwards and forwards would take up commonly four or five Months* *time: After which to paſs a Summers Campaign, was very Laborious for the* Aſiatick *Forces to undergo, (who commonly are eſteemed a ſoft People) which yet they were obliged to do on Forfeiture of all their Hereditary Eſtates; in which the* Turks *by their ancient Conſtitutions were ſo Rigorous, that they would admit of no excuſes for their abſence, even of Death it ſelf; for in caſe the Father died lealeaving an Infant Son of a Year old, even then he was obliged to the VVar, though he was carried in the Arms of his Nurſe. The* Hungarians *conſequently, being always in Action, and obliged to a perpetual Duty againſt the Enemy, were never excuſed from a ſtrict vigilance over all the Motions of their Neighbours, whom in the times of Peace we might properly call Enemies; for they Fought very often, and yet without VVar ſo called; for in caſe they met, and engaged in the Field with a leſs number than Five thouſand Men on a ſide, and without Cannon, it was not called VVar, but a Martial Exerciſe in the times of Peace; and that is the reaſon, why we find ſo many Palancas raiſed over all* Hungary *on one ſide, and the other, which are deſigned to give a ſtop to any ſuddain Irruption of an Enemy, within which Palancas (ſo called) the Poor Inhabitants on either ſide, Shelter their VVives and Children, their Horſes and Cattle, with all their Faculties and Subſtance, it being not lawful for the Enemies on either ſide to poſſeſs them.*

Beſides, on their High-ways and Roads to a Market, every thing was to be ſecured, and neither ſide could touch the ſame without Juſtice performed upon due Complaints made to the Paſha, or Chriſtian Governour of the Province. This was the Ancient Conſtitution whilſt the Turks *prevailed in* Hungary: *But ſince the laſt VVar and Peace concluded, things no doubt have been ſet upon another Foot, and other Proviſions have been made to ſecure the Chriſtian Cauſe and Intereſt; for before this time the* Turks *were become the moſt Inſolent People in the VVorld, and would never do Juſtice to a Chriſtian; for unleſs it were conſiſtent with their own Intereſt and Deſign, they would ſhew themſelves Proud, Haughty and Supercilious, expecting Gifts, and returning none, expecting for a Flower a piece of Gold, or ſome piece of Cloth of the fineſt Dye and Spinning we have in* England; *and to this Paſs were the* Turks *come, that they called the Preſents made to them by the* Chriſtians *to be their Tribute, and the Ambaſſadors ſent to them, they acknowledged for no other, than for* Mahapous *(as they called them) which ſignified Hoſtages given for Peace, and the Security of the Good-behaviour of their Maſters towards the Port: Their Pride was alſo ſo extraordinary, that they would never vouchſafe, to require any Counterpart from the King, or Prince with whom they Treated, or Copies, unleſs ſuch as were conſerved amongſt their* Archives, *or Office of the* Reis Effendi, *or Chief Secretary; inferring that the Power of the Grand Seignior was able to make good, whatſoever*

be

he ſhould require on the Score of the Royal Signature; which no Sovereign Prince will now receive from a Proud and Inſolent Turk: *For praiſed be that God of the* Chriſtians, *who hath brought down that Imperious Spirit of the* Turks *to ſuch a Degree, That they can now own their Weakneſs and be aſhamed of their former Follies, which render'd them inſupportable in their Converſation with* Chriſtians.

THE



Mahomethes Quartus
Magnus Turcarum Imperator
Qui Regnat.
Anno 1684.

pa. 5

Sold by Robert Clavell and Abel Roper

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKS

From the Year 1678, to the Year 1699.

Anno 1679.

WE have in our preceding Hiſtory repreſented the *Ottoman* Empire for ſeveral years paſt, under many Circumſtances of Happineſs and Glory. The *Turks* had been ſucceſsful in their Wars abroad, having increaſed and enlarged their Empire by adding *Newhauſel* in *Hungary* thereunto, with the Countrey belonging to it. They had gained and conquered all the Iſland of *Candia*, with that invincible Fortreſs, and thereupon had put an end to a War with the *Venetians*, which had continued for the ſpace of Twenty ſix Years. After which they carried their Conquering Arms into *Poland*, where they took the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Caminiec*, which is the Key of that Kingdom; and thence marched into that Countrey as far as *Leopolis*, which they brought under the Tribute of Eighty thouſand Crowns a-year, and ſo returned back again into their own Dominions without any Oppoſition, or ſo much almoſt as the Appearance of an Enemy: And to render this Action the more obſervable, it was attended with the leaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure, of any Enterprize of ſo bold and daring a Deſign; and proved an Expedition ſo profitable and beneficial, that ſcarce a *Janizary* or Horſeman returned without Spoil, or Plunder, or Slaves of both Sexes. All which Wars were acted within the ſpace of Thirteen Years, during the Government of *Achmet Kuperli*, with ſuch Intervals alſo of Peace, that War ſeemed but an Entertainment to exerciſe the Soldiery, and amuſe their Minds, leſt they ſhould fall into Mutiny and Sedition; all the Particulars of which we have already at large related. And here I cannot but obſerve, and ſay; That Juſtice is the proper means to render a People flouriſhing and happy; an Inſtance whereof we have through all the Government of *Kuperli*, who being a Perſon educated and skilful in the Law, adminiſtred Juſtice equally to the People; his Eyes were not blinded with Avarice, which might biaſs or thwart him in giving Judgment; he was not cruel, or bloody, or inclined to take away Mens Lives for the ſake of their Riches; nor more ambitious than what ſerved to make him jealous of his Honour, and zealous to conſerve and keep up his Fame and Reputation in the World: which is neceſſary for Miniſters in his ſublime Station. Wherefore let us look on thoſe Times which were as quiet, calm and peaceable as any that ever had ſmiled on the *Ottoman* State, and juſtly attribute thoſe Bleſſings to the Favour of Heaven, which was pleaſed in thoſe Days to behold ſo much Juſtice and Equity diſpenſed to a People unaccuſtomed thereunto, and perhaps in Reward thereof, to make the Government more eaſie and pleaſant, than either before or ſince thoſe Halcyon Days. But now that *Kara Muſtapha* comes to ſucceed in the Place of ſo juſt and equal a Governour, a Perſon of Violence, Rapine, Pride, Covetouſneſs, Falſe, Perfidious, Bloody, and without Reaſon or Juſtice; we have nothing to repreſent at the beginning of his Government, beſides his Oppreſſion, Extortion, Cruelties and Acts of Injuſtice beyond any thing that was ever practiſed before in the Reign of the moſt Tyrannical Princes: and in Proceſs of time becoming vaſtly Rich with the Spoils and Ruine of many thouſands of Families, he accompliſhes the full Meaſure of his Iniquity by the perfidious Breach of the Truce between the Emperor and his Maſter the Sultan: For tho' it wanted only three Years of being expired, yet truſting to the Power and Force of his

Anno 1679.

1679. ill-gotten Wealth, he had not Patience to expect ſo long a Term, being puſhed forward by his own Deſtiny, and incited thereunto by covetous and ambitious Deſires, joyned to a Scorn, and a mean Opinion of the Chriſtians, to whom he would ſcarce allow either Underſtanding, or Courage, or Conduct in War: In which vain Confidence and Preſumption of his invincible Power, he precipitated the whole *Ottoman* Empire into a diſmal and direful Condition and State, from whence proceeded nothing but Slaughter, and Tragedies, fatal both to his own ſelf, and to his Maſter, as will appear in the Progreſs of this Hiſtory. But before we enter on thoſe greater Matters, let us firſt conſider this Grand Vizier in his Behaviour towards the *Turks*, and others who were Subjects to the Sultan. It is certain, that he had his firſt Riſe from *Kuperli* the Father, and married his Daughter, and was afterwards on the ſcore of that Alliance, favoured by the Son: he was made Capitan Paſha, or Admiral of the Fleet; but being as it were out of his Element, and not pleaſed with the Sea, he was conſtituted Chimacam, and placed with the Grand Seignior, and at all times next his Perſon when the Vizier was abſent, and employed in the Wars: In which Capacity and Condition (as we have before related) he behaved himſelf with that gentle and affable Behaviour towards all Perſons, as gave Hopes and Expectations of better and more temperate Government when he ſhould come to be Vizier. But being raiſed to that ſublime Station, he ſoon changed his Humour, and began to ſhew the Fierceneſs of his Nature, which he had long ſuppreſſed. In Evidence of which, we have ſo many Inſtances and Examples of his Cruelty and Injuſtice to produce, that had we no other matter than his Management of Affairs in the time of Peace, without Regard or Reference to Foreign Wars, his Proceedings were ſo irregular and unreaſonable, as might for the Extravagancy of them, deſerve to be kept in Memory: But they are too many to be recounted, and therefore we ſhall content our ſelves with ſome few which have relation to the *Engliſh* Nation, and to the Subjects of other Princes in Peace and Alliance with the *Turk*.

The Caſe of Mr. *Samuel Pentlow*, who lived about Thirty Years a Merchant at *Smyrna*, will never be forgotten by the *Engliſh* Factory of that Place: The matter is ſo extraordinary as might deſerve to be related at large, with all the Circumſtances of it; but I ſhall confine my ſelf to a ſhort and brief Narrative, which was this.

Mr. *Pentlow* had by a long Trade, in tract of time, gained very conſiderable Riches, beſides an Eſtate in Land left him by his Father in *England*; to inherit which, being deſirous to have Heirs of his own Body, he married a *Greek* Woman of mean Extraction. The Grand Vizier having received intimation thereof, and of the Riches of *Pentlow*, which were magnified to him, according to the Account made on Rich Men, whoſe Fortune it is to have their Eſtates always over-valued; he immediately ſwallowed in his Thoughts all his Wealth and Eſtate, as if he had been a Paſha, or ſome other Subject who had grown fat and wealthy to a degree worthy the Grand Seignior's Notice and Acceptance. And to bring him within the compaſs of ſuch a Seizure, he declared, That whoſoever had married a Woman, who was a Subject to the Grand Seignior, did by Virtue of ſuch a Match become, *ipſo facto*, a Subject, and yield himſelf to the ſame Condition with his Wife; which being a Law never before made or declared, was levelled only at *Pentlow* to hook in his Eſtate; having never before been practiſed, and perhaps will never be again, unleſs the ſame Circumſtances concurr of ſuch a Vizier, and ſuch a Perſon as this our Merchant was. 1679.

Pentlow had notice of this new Law which the Vizier had promulged, and was not unſenſible that it was levelled at his Eſtate: But yet I know not what Star guided him, or what Charm affixed, or wedded him to the Countrey, he provided not againſt the Snare laid for him, which he might eaſily have avoided by exporting his Eſtate, as Merchants commonly do, into other Countries; but inſtead thereof, he keeps all about him, and finding himſelf ſickly and decaying, he made his laſt Will and Teſtament in a formal manner, and conſtituted two Merchants to be his Executors, without Reflection or Thoughts how the Vizier had decreed the Grand Seignior to be his Heir, which accordingly ſucceeded in a ſhort time afterwards: For *Pentlow* being dead, the News was ſpeedily carried to the Chief Cuſtomer at *Adrianople*, who had laid the Plot to ſeize his Eſtate; and by him the Grand Vizier was informed of the great Wealth fallen to the Sultan by the Death of his *Engliſh* Subject. The covetous Deſire of ſo vaſt Riches, which was magnified five times beyond its real Value, cauſed the Vizier with all Expedition to diſpatch a *Capugi-Baſha* to *Smyrna* to take all the Eſtate of the Deceaſed into his Hands, for the Uſe of the Grand Seignior; and in caſe the Executors refuſed to

Mr. *Gabriel Smith* and Mr. *John Aſhley*.

make a free and clear Reſignation accordingly, then to bring them up Priſoners to *Adrianople*. The Executors not complying as the Officers required, were carried up by him to *Adrianople*: Where to extort from them a confeſſion of the whole Eſtate, they were threatned with the Gallies, with the Rack, the Wheel and other Tortures. In fine, after an Impriſonment of ſome Days, with a Collar of Iron about their Necks, to which a Chain was fixed and rivetted to a Poſt with Manacles on their Hands; and after a thouſand menaces of farther Puniſhment, they were forced ſo far to comply, as to Promiſe, and give Obligation to pay unto the Vizier, or his Order, the Sum of Ninety thouſand Dollars within a certain time after their Arrival at *Smyrna*. To raiſe this Money againſt the Term prefixed, ſuch haſt was made, that the Goods of the Deceaſed were Sold at ſuch low Rates, that they amounted not within Five or Six thouſand Dollars of the Sum, for which the Executors had Engaged; which they refuſing to pay out of their own Eſtates; were again Impriſoned at *Smyrna*, where they lay for the ſpace of five or ſix Months, until ſuch time as a Compoſition was made, and Expedients found for their Enlargment. Many other paſſages occurred of the like injuſtice, thro' the whole courſe of this matter, which for brevity ſake we purpoſely omit: In regard that what we have ſaid already, is ſufficient to give the Reader an inſtance of this Vizier's avarice and injuſtice. Of which the Turks, as well as the Chriſtians were ſo ſenſible; that *Solyman*, the late Vizier's *Kiaja*, or Steward, and then *Imbrahor* or Maſter of the Horſe to the Grand Seignior, demanding one day concerning the Avania of *Pentlow*, could not ſuppreſs his Thoughts (tho' much a Courtier) but ſaid, *In this Man's time the Muſſelmin or Believers, cannot expect better Uſage or Treatment than the Gaurs or Chriſtians.* But this ſingle inſtance is not ſufficient to expreſs the unjuſt, and rapacious Humour of this Vizier; who in an unparallell'd manner of proceeding did ever incline to the Plaintiff; in whoſe favour having given Sentence againſt the Defendant to the utmoſt Aſper demanded, his method was to cauſe the Money immediately to be paid; and took it to himſelf, giving the Plaintiff ſome ſmall ſhare thereof, not worthy the Trouble or Expence of the Suit: In this manner he dealt with another Merchant of our Nation, on whom one *Pizzamano* an Italian made a falſe pretence of Six thouſands Dollars, which Cauſe being brought before the Vizier, he readily condemned our Engliſh Merchant; and having forced the payment by a rigorous Impriſonment, he appropriated the whole Sum to his own Uſe; giving the Plaintiff about Thirty Dollars, as a gratuitous Reward for turning Turk; he having in compliance with the Vizier, and to gain his favour, renounced his Faith, and Sold his Religion at ſo vile a Price. In a ſhort time after which the Vizier extorted from our Turky Company Fifty thouſand Dollars, and demanded an increaſe of the uſual Preſents which at certain times were made to him, and to all the Officers of the Court: The which, and the like manner of Proceedings, tho' they gained him the hatred of all Men, yet the conſtancy of the Grand Seignior to his Miniſters, and his method in making his Maſter ſharer with him in all his Rapines, ſeemed to ſecure him from all apprehenſion of Danger: For when the Grand Seignior upon Complaints made to him, told him of the ill Reports he had received; The Vizier anſwered, *That his Majeſty might be pleaſed to weigh the Benefits he had received by his Adminiſtration of Affairs, which would appear by the Increaſe of his Treaſury; and that if he deſired to have his Empire well Governed, he muſt ſuffer him to uſe the means proper for that end; otherwiſe his Head was at his Command, which he might take off, and ſupply the Office with a better Miniſter.*

He was afterwards Grand Vizier, and cut off with the Grand Seignior.

Many and frequent were the Examples of his unheard of injuſtices, as well to the Turks as to the Chriſtians.

The *Valide Kiajan*, or the Queen Mother's Steward, whoſe place was always eſteemed quiet, and free from danger, and Independant of the *Meri*, or the Grand Seignior's Treaſury; and their Eſtates permitted to go to their Children without any Interruption: Yet dying very Rich by the benefit of his Office, which he had enjoyed 18 Years; The Vizier was deſirous to partake of the Eſtate, and taxed his Heirs at 1200 Purſes, for Payment of which the Grand Seignior at the Inſtigation of the Vizier cauſed a *Vakuf*, or an Eſtate given to the Church to be ſeized; which was ſuch a piece of Sacrilege, as was never known, or heard of before in that Empire.

Draco Bey *tortured.*

Draco Bey, a late Prince of *Moldavia*, falling ſhort in the Payments he was to make to the Grand Seignior for Tribute of that Principality, had the Torture given him in Priſon at leaſt ſix times with Fire, and other ways, which cauſe the acuteſt pains; during which, they forc'd his Son to ſtand by him, and threatned to put him into his place, in caſe the Father dy'd under the Torture.

The Raguſean *Ambaſſador Impriſoned.*

But more hard and ſevere than all this, ſeems the Caſe of the *Raguſean* Ambaſſadors, from whom, beſides the Annual Tribute demanded of that Republick, the Vizier requir'd 300 Purſes as a Fine for what they had receiv'd on account of Cuſtoms, which the *Turks* Trading into their Ports had pay'd them during all the time of the *Venetian* War; the benefit of which was eſteem'd ſo great, and their Town ſo much enrich'd by the grand acquiſitions of Trade, that 300 Purſes, or 150000 Dollars, ſeem'd a mean exaction from a People ſo well improv'd and enrich'd as the *Raguſeans* were adjudged to be. It is true, their City being advantageouſly Situated in the Gulf of *Venice*, did for a long time during that War reap a conſiderable benefit by Trade, it being made the chief Mart or Scale for all the Commodities which *Bulgaria*, *Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, and the Countries thereabouts, yielded for the ſupply of *Italy*: To advance which, the *Raguſeans* had erected a Factory at *Sophia*, which as I remember, (for I was at that Place three times) conſiſted of about 30 Merchants, whoſe Employment was to buy Hides, Tallow, Wax, and the like, and ſend them by Caravan to *Raguſa*, from whence they were tranſported to other parts of the World. The Vizier hereupon making up an account of the Profit which this little Republick could, or might have gain'd in ſo many years, eſteem'd it reaſonable, that the Grand Seignior, by whoſe Wars they had gain'd, ſhould partake of a ſhare in their Profits, which by a Computation he made out of his own head, or with the help perhaps of his Jew-Broaker, or of the Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople*, he valued at ſo high a Rate, that 300 Purſes were eſteemed a moderate allowance to the Grand Seignior out of ſuch vaſt Riches which they had acquired. With this notion of the matter the Vizier called the two *Raguſean* Ambaſſadors to his preſence, Commanding them immediately to write unto their Principals to provide with all ſpeed the 300 Purſes which the Grand Seignior required from them in return of the favour and protection he had given them, during his Wars with *Venice*. The Ambaſſadors who were well acquainted with the Poverty of their State, which had for ſeveral years paſt labour'd under great difficulties to pay the Annual Tribute which the *Turks* exacted from them, endeavour'd to poſſeſs the Vizier with a true ſenſe of the impoſſibility of raiſing ſuch a Sum within the compaſs of their narrow Dominions; alledging that in the Year 1666. their whole City had been ſubverted by an Earthquake, in which all the Inhabitants periſh'd, excepting 5000 Perſons only, who by God's Providence being directed to the Fields, or Streets, were conſerv'd from this Univerſal Ruine: The which Deſolation was ſo grievous, that two Ages could not repair their Loſſes, nor increaſe their People to their former numbers. But the Vizier who could endure no contradiction, nor excuſes in oppoſition to his covetous deſires, Commanded the Ambaſſadors immediately to write to the Government to ſend the Money, for payment of which no more than 3 Months would be allow'd; at the expiration of which, the *Raguſeans* being in no Capacity to comply, the Ambaſſadors were ſent Priſoners to the *Seven Towers*, and threatned with Tortures, and drubbing on the Feet, unleſs ſpeedy payment were made. After more than a Years Impriſonment, at the beginning of the Year 1680. by the Mediation and Interpoſition of Friends, the Buſineſs was Compounded for 120 Purſes, but broke off again upon the time of payment; which the Vizier required to be ſatisfied, together with the Annual Tribute in one Payment in *Auguſt* following: But they alledg'd the impoſſibility thereof, by reaſon of the extream poverty of the Place, which had now for two years been deprived of all Commerce, and the benefit of the *Saline*, from which their chief Revenue did ariſe, and therefore humbly deſired to pay it at thrice; that is, 40 Purſes the next *Auguſt*, and as much the Years following, with the uſual Tributes. But the Vizier not contented with theſe Conditions, commanded them in his rage to be caſt into a Dungeon of the Priſon, and threatned to have the Torture given them. The *Mufti* interceded in their behalf, and laid before the Vizier the injuſtice of the Act, but in vain: The *Kadileſcher* or one of the Chief Juſtices refuſed to Sign a *Hoget*, or Sentence in the Caſe, without poſitive command from the Grand Seignior. Howſoever they were remanded to Priſon without other legality of Sentence than the Vizier's *Boyardi* and Command, where they remain'd until the time that the Vizier march'd into *Hungary*, when with ſome mitigation of the Sentence, together with ſome drubs, they were ſet at Liberty.

The Secretary of Holland drubb'd.

We ſhall only add one inſtance more to demonſtrate the manner and method of this Vizier in his Judicial Proceedings, which was in the Caſe of Monſieur *Debroſſes* Secretary to the Ambaſſador of *Holland*, who having a Demand on the *Metropolite*, or Greek Biſhop of *Scio*, for a Debt of one thouſand Dollars, upon non-payment of the Money call'd his Debtor to Juſtice; the Patriarch appear'd at the *Divan* to defend the Cauſe, with ſeveral other *Metropolites*, ſome of which might reſemble the Debtor; *Debroſſes* being asked whether he knew his Debtor, he not having ſeen him in ſeveral years, made anſwer, That perhaps he

1679. did, or perhaps he did not, and pointed to a wrong Perſon; whereupon the Vizier call'd him *Telbis*, or Robber, to which he reply'd, *That* Franks *were not Men of that Profeſſion, or who made falſe Pretences*: The Vizier enrag'd with this Anſwer, order'd him immediately in his preſence to have 300 drubs given him; of which having receiv'd 193, he lay ſtunn'd, and for dead; and then upon the humble interceſſion of the *Boſtangi-Baſhee* a remiſſion was granted of the remainder. Nor did the Patriarch and his Biſhops carry off their Cauſe ſo clear and eaſie, but were forc'd to pay unto the Vizier a good part of that Sum which the Plaintiff demanded, in reward and acknowledgment of that juſtice which was done them.

The Character of Kara Kiaja.

He that made at this time the greateſt Figure at Court next to the Vizier, was *Kara Kiaja*, of whom, to know him, we need give no other Character, than that he was the Vizier's great Confident, and intimate to all his Councels; for having all the ill qualifications, and miſchievous Arts of the other, he was the moſt likely Perſon to ſucceed the Vizier, which we ſhall find verified ſome years hereafter. He was *Capitan-Paſha*, or Admiral of the Gallies, which is eſteem'd one of the greateſt Places of Truſt and Honour in the whole Empire; but he was remov'd from that Station, not in diſgrace, but by favour of the Vizier, who knowing him to be a Perſon like himſelf, and of his Humor and Principles, plac'd him near the Perſon of the Grand Seignior, with Title of *Chimaçam*; and in recompence for the Commiſſion which he had laid down, he was gratified with the Revenue of three *Paſſalicks* in *Anatolia*, which had been given to the late Vizier after his return from *Candia* in his Place. Capitan *Paſſa* (of whom we have formerly made mention) was made Capitan *Paſha*, and this year diſpatched with Sixty Gallies into the *Black-Sea*, for building the two Caſtles upon the *Boriſthenes*: Other Preparations were not made this year for the War of *Muſcovy*, for the *Turks* intending for this Campaign to remain on the defenſive part, deſign'd only to build thoſe Forts which were to Command the paſſage of that River, and for the future to ſtop the Excurſions and Pyracies of the *Coſſacks* into the *Black-Sea*. The *Muſcovites*, tho' deſirous of a Peace with the *Turk*, yet out of dulneſs, or ignorance, made faint applications for it, by the means of a ſingle Letter only, which was ſent from *Moſco* by the hands of an *Armenian* who was turn'd *Ruſſe*, that is, one who had reconcil'd himſelf to the *Ruſſian* Church, and had no other buſineſs than only to deliver this Letter; the Contents of which was, *That the* Turks *ſhould quit* Verania, *and deſiſt from Building their Forts on the* Boriſthenes, both which Propoſals were rejected, and no Anſwer return'd unto the Letter. 1679.

So that now the Thoughts and Preparations for War giving no diſturbance at the Port, the Grand Seignior apply'd himſelf to the moſt ſoft Pleaſures. He was not now ſo eager in his Huntings as formerly, but attended to the more common Delights of the *Seraglio*; he had gotten together a parcel of Dancing and Singing Girls, which had been preſented to him, for he would not be at the expence to buy them; tho' he was ſo kind to them, as to have three of them at the ſame time with Child by him, and kept in the *Seraglio*; where hereafter they may prove a reſerve to the *Ottoman* Line, when the Souldiers ſhall become more wantonly profuſe of the Blood of their Emperors. At this time likewiſe *Kul-Ogli*, Favourite to the Grand Seignior, who (as we have before related) had in the year 1675. Married the Grand Seignior's Daughter at *Adrianople*, a Child then of 7 years of Age, being now become ripe for her Husband, he Bedded her at the beginning of this year.

Pleaſures of the Court.

And farther to increaſe the Pleaſures of the Court, the Grand Seignior for his Divertiſement caus'd a *Dunalmah* or Triumph to be made, which was repreſented on the Water by multitudes of Boats hanging out Lights, and Fire-Works on the Walls of the *Seraglio*; and a Float was made in the Sea, repreſenting the Iſland of *Malta*, which was batter'd on all ſides by a Fleet of Gallies.

Fire in Conſtantinople.

But for all theſe Triumphs *Conſtantinople*, which hath ever been infeſted by Peſtilence, and grievous Incendiations, was greatly afflicted this year by many Fires; the greateſt was on *Chriſtmas-Eve*, which, by common compute burnt down 2000 Houſes, all that quarter called the *Fanar*, with part of the *Greek* Patriarchs Church, the remainder being with much difficulty ſaved. After which, another Fire happening near the Old Palace of *Conſtantine*, a Boy found in the Rubbiſh a Diamond that weigh'd 96 *Carats*, which he ſold for 3 *Paraws*, or about two pence half-penny; and the Buyer re-ſold it again for a *Zelot*, or about half a Crown, to one of thoſe Shops near Sultan *Bajazet's Moſch*, which ſell Stones for Seals, and pieces of Chryſtal for Rings; and there it lay for ſome time unregarded, until at length the Owner not finding a Chapman, brought it to an *Armenian* to ſet in Silver. The *Armenian* being a Jeweller, ſoon apprehended the nature of the Stone, but the largeneſs of the ſize cauſing him to miſtruſt his own judgment, he Conſulted two others,

and

1679. and upon Trial, it proved to be a real Diamond; ſo when the Owner came for his Stone, it was pretended to be loſt, and with a Dollar and half they contented him. But the Jewellers diſagreeing in the diviſion of ſo great a Purchaſe; and one fearing to be betray'd by the other, he that had it in Poſſeſſion diſcovered it, and ſent it to the Grand Seignior. 'Twas ſaid to be the moſt perfect, and beſt Water that ever was ſeen. It was very old, and given to be new Cut. It was judged to have been a Jewel belonging to the Greek Emperors; it not being entred into the Regiſter of the *Seraglio*, where all Jewels of value are Recorded.

ANNO 1680.

1680. *A Council called.*

THis year began with the moſt ſolemn Council that was ever known to have been held at *Conſtantinople*, within the memory Man. Thoſe preſent at it, were all the *Paſhaes* of the Bench, the *Janizar-Aga*, *Topegi-Baſhee* or Maſter of the Ordnance, the Chief of the *Spahees*, the two *Kadileſchers*, or Chief Juſtices; in ſhort all the Great Men, then preſent, of the Empire. The Council was ſummoned at the motion of the Grand Vizier, who having a Breach with the Chriſtian Emperor then in proſpect, had a deſire to feel the Pulſe and try the Inclinations of the great Men, how they ſtood affected to ſuch an Enterpriſe. But it ſeems the Propoſal did not very well relliſh; for that a *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador being on his Journey to the Port, the Iſſue or Event of his Negotiation was firſt to be expected: And in the mean time, it was concluded moſt ſafe, and prudent not to Engage in another War. Beſides, the Emperor was then actually in Treaty to renew the Truce with the Grand Seignior, which in few Years terminated; and to that end, had ſent an Envoy extraordinary to the Port, but he dy'd before his Negotiation was accompliſhed, as did alſo three other Reſidents in leſs than the compaſs of one
1680. Year, who were all employ'd to conſerve, and renew the Peace.

The Vizier Marries his Daughter.

The preparations for War this year being thus laid aſide. The Vizier was at leiſure to Marry his Daughter to the Grand Seignior's *Hazna-Kajaſee*, or Privy-purſe, who thereupon was promoted to be a *Paſha* of the Divan, or Vizier of the Bench; he was eſteemed the Richeſt Man in the Empire; which the Grand Vizier ſoon found to his high Advantage; for he dying 40 Days after his Marriage, the Vizier in right of his Daughter entred into a vaſt Inheritance. The Widow remained not long in her deſolate Condition, before ſhe was 168 promiſed to *Oſman* then *Paſha* of Grand *Cairo*, who had formerly been *Boſtangi-Baſhee*, or Chief of the *Gardiners*, and *Chimacam* of *Conſtantinople*.

Faction againſt the Vizier.

By theſe means the Vizier was grown ſo Rich, and Great, and Inſolent, that he created many Enemies; but the moſt dangerous to him, was a Faction at Court, the Chief of which were the *Kuzlir-Aga*, or Prime Eunuch of the Women, and *Solyman* the *Imbrahor*, or Maſter of the Horſe, the which made it their buſineſs to croſs the Vizier, in all his Proceedings; and diſappointed him of preferring a favourite of his, to the place of ſecond Maſter of the Horſe, which was lately become vacant by the death of that Officer; and one prefer'd thereunto at the recommendation of *Solyman Paſha*, who was his Friend, and had been Treaſurer to the late Vizier. Upon which defeat the great Vizier fearing that he loſt ground, and decay'd in his power and intereſt, thought fit to haſten his own Marriage with the Grand Seignior's Daughter, a Child of 8 years of Age; who like other Sultanaes was Married to no other end, than that her Husband might have the Honour to maintain her a Court, and Equipage agreeable to a Lady of her Degree and Quality.

This near Alliance to the *Ottoman* Blood, and familiar Converſation with the Sultan, could not be procured and maintained without a vaſt expence to the Vizier; who was commanded by the Grand Seignior to Treat him once, and ſometimes twice a Week, and at every Meal, it coſt him 25 Purſes of Money, beſides other preſents to the *Valide*, or Queen Mother, and other powerful Perſons at Court to an incredible value: To ſupport which Charge, Rapine and Violence were neceſſary, and nothing but a ſhare in the Booty and Pray could ſtop and fortifie the Ears of the Sultan, and Miniſters of the Court againſt the Cries, and Groans of oppreſſed Wretches.

One of the ways to Raiſe Money, (and that eſteemed none of the meaneſt) was by *Avanias*, or falſe pretences to be made on the Ambaſſadors, or Reſidents of Chriſtian Princes, then actually reſiding at the Port; the violation of whoſe Character and Office the Vizier eſteemed to be no Sin or Offence; being in his Opinion but Gaurs and Infidels, and ſuch as were ſent for Pledges, and Pawns for the Fidelity of their Maſters to the Turks: Beſides which, he conceived ſo mean an eſteem of all Chriſtian Princes, and undervalued their power and courage in War; that he believed no Indignities or Diſhonourable uſage could provoke them to a Reſentment, or a Revenge for any injuries received: And ſo far had this belief generally prevailed, that the *Paſhaes*, and Governours who lived at a diſtance from the Port, would tell the Merchants, that in caſe their Eſtates were ſeized, and one of their Hands cut off, and expelled the Country; yet ſo wedded were they to their own Intereſt, and to the Delights of the Turkiſh Air, that the next Year they would return again, and adventure the like Treatment rather than forego the hopes, and ſweetneſs of that profit, which they had tried, and expected in the Dominions of the Grand Seignior. The Vizier had certainly thoughts like theſe, and the ſame poor and contemptible eſteem of Chriſtian Princes in compariſon with the *Ottoman* Force, which was no doubt one of his chief Motives to commence that fatal War, which in a few years afterwards he unhappily begun. And in the mean time acting on theſe Principles, he treated all the Chriſtian Miniſters at the Port with equal Scorn and Contempt.

The Vizier Treats the Chriſtian Miniſters with Scorn.

To begin with the *French*, he deny'd to that Ambaſſador the Privilege of Sitting on the *Soffra*, when he admitted him to Audience; an Honour formerly allowed to Chriſtian Repreſentatives; but now out of the height of Pride over-looking all the World, and not enduring to ſee a Chriſtian to ſit either ſo near or equal to him, the Vizier made it a ſtanding Rule, That no Ambaſſador whatſoever ſhould have his Stool placed on the *Soffra*: But his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who was always tender in Points which concern'd his Honour, gave poſitive Commands to his Ambaſſador: Not to accept of Audience on any Terms derogatory to the ancient reſpect; and the Vizier as Reſolute on the other ſide, procured the Grand Seignior's command, to confirm that method of receiving Ambaſſadors, ſo that it was no longer an act of the Vizier's but of the Sultan's Determination: In which reſolves on both ſides the Vizier went to *Adrianople*, intending never to retract his Words; which afterwards proved true; for greater Thoughts, and Employments diverted him from other Treaties on that Matter. But before things proceeded thus far, the Vizier called this Ambaſſador to an Account for what the *French-men* of War had acted againſt the *Tripolins*, by violating the Grand Seignior's Port of *Scio*, for that People having committed many Pyracies on the *French* Nation, and then actually in War with them, were Roving in the Seas of the *Archepelago*, and there unhappily meeting with their Enemy, the *French*, they took Refuge and Shelter under the Caſtle of *Scio*: The *French-men* of War being animated againſt their Enemy, and tempted with the ſight of their Prey ſo near, and within their view, entred the Port and made ſeveral Shot at the *Tripolins*, ſome of which coming a Shoar and doing ſome little Damage to the People; it was interpreted as a Breach of the Peace, and Violation of the Grand Seignior's Port. Complaints whereof being brought to *Conſtantinople*, the Vizier ſent for the Ambaſſador to his *Seraglio*, and without ſeeing him, committed him Priſoner to the Cuſtody of the *Chaous-Baſhee*; Demanding Two hundred thouſand Crowns for reparation of the Damages which the *French* Ships had done at the Port of *Scio*, and alſo in ſatisfaction for the affront which they had done to the Grand Seignior in the Violation of his Port, which amounted unto no leſs than an abſolute Breach of the Peace. The Ambaſſador remained ſome Nights under this reſtraint with menaces, and threats of being removed thence to the Seven Towers: During which time the Cuſtomer (*Huſaein-Aga*, (who was always made the Agitator between the Vizier, and the Frank Nations) preſſed the Ambaſſador with much earneſtneſs, to an accommodation with the Vizier: And indeed there was Reaſon for it, becauſe it was the firſt time, that ever the Vizier had right in his demands; for certainly the Actions of the *French* Ships at *Scio* were not to be juſtified, nor otherwiſe to be judged than as Acts of Hoſtility. The Agreement was carried ſo privately between the Ambaſſador and the Cuſtomer, that after a confinement of three Days and Nights, the Ambaſſador was ſet at Liberty, with a Rumour over all the Town of being acquited and cleared without any payment, or engagement whatſoever. But time, which brings all things to light, did by the event diſcover about three or four Months afterwards, that the great Sum demanded was to be paid tho' in ſuch a manner, that the Payment ſeemed notional and figurative only, by which a tenth part was taken for the whole. And not to concern the King's Honour therein, the tender of this Satisfaction was not to be made in Preſence of the Ambaſſador, but by the Secretary and ſome Merchants; who were to give it out to the World, as an Act of their own, and as if they had paid the price at their own expence, rather than their Trade ſhould be obſtructed by an open Rupture. But whatſoever was rumoured abroad, and what Tricks were jugled under Hand, the Grand Seignior took it for granted, that the Money or the value thereof in Goods was to be laid down, and that the King by his Ambaſſador or Agents under him, was to be concerned in the Atonement which was offered in Satiſfaction for the late Treſpaſs: And that he might not be deceived herein; the Grand Seignior contrary to his uſual Cuſtom, which

the French Ambaſſador impriſoned.

was

1680.

was to refer all ſuch Negotiations as theſe to the management of the Vizier, would himſelf be preſent at this ſubmiſſion; perhaps becauſe he would fancy that Great King actually at the foot of his Throne, offering his Preſents and Sacrifices for a Reconciliation. And indeed the Scene open'd not much unlike it, for when the Curtain was drawn up, behold the Grand Seignior ſeated in Majeſty on his Throne, and beneath him the Secretary and Agents of the *French* Nation, proſtrating themſelves with their Preſents before him; and then the Uſher of the R. Preſence Proclaim'd with an audible Voice, *Behold the Agents ſent from the King of* France *to humble themſelves before our Myſterious Emperor, and in the Name of that their King to offer their Preſents in ſatisfaction for that Affront and Inſult which the* French *Ships offer'd at the Port of* Scio. After which the Preſents were produc'd according to the Liſt, and an Eſtimate ſet upon them. As namely, *Here is a Piece of Sattin value ſo much, a Piece of Cloth of Gold ſo much, a Clock at ſuch a Rate*, all Priz'd and Eſtimated at ten times more than their worth; which the Grand Seignior did either little underſtand, or at leaſt was willing to overſee; having perhaps other more ſecret Intrigues then in agitation between himſelf and the Court of *France*, things at that time tending to a Breach between the *Turks*, and the Emperor of *Germany*. Or perhaps the Grand Seignior was well enough ſatisfied in gaining his Point, which was to ſee Agents from *France* humbling themſelves before him in that ſubmiſſive Addreſs.

Matters jugled between the Turks, *and* France.

Nor did the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador receive much better treatment, for beſides ſeveral preceeding *Avanias*, one whereof was caſt on the *Turkey* Company in general, on occaſion of a vaſt Sum of *Lion* Dollars imported to *Aleppo*, which at that time was the moſt hopeful Trade. Upon notice of the Importation of ſo immenſe a Sum in ready Money, the Vizier's heart was enlarg'd, ſo that he ſwallow'd down a great ſhare thereof within his imagination and deſires; and to bring the ſubſtance nearer to him, he pretended that they were falſe Money, and brought into the Grand Seigniors Dominions to Cheat and Defraud his Subjects with Coyn of a low and baſe Alloy. To prove the truth of this Allegation, Commands were ſent to *Aleppo* to try the Money, which accordingly was done, in the preſence of the Chief Officers; and tho' they receiv'd a full demonſtration of the true intrinſick value, according to the legal Standard of that Money, yet there was need of Preſents to obtain ſuch a favourable Report as might ſatisfie the Vizier, and make the Money currant in the Country. But be the *Hoget* or Report what it would, it could never content the Vizier, who inſiſted that the Certificates were falſe, and gain'd by Bribery and Corruption; and therefore for his better aſſurance, he would ſend for the Money to *Conſtantinople*, or at leaſt for a great part thereof, that an aſſay or proof of its goodneſs might be made in his preſence. In ſhort, to avoid ſo great a loſs and miſchief to the Merchants, 17000 Dollars were preſented to the Vizier and his Officers to take off farther pretences from that Money; which, with the Preſents and Charges at *Aleppo*, amounted to more than 20000 Dollars.

Troubles on the Engliſh *Merchants.*

1680.

Some Months after this, the Viſier wanting a new Pretence to draw more Money from the *Engliſh* Nation, he ſignified to the Ambaſſador, Sir *John Finch*, his deſire to have the Capitulations ſent to him by the hand of his Interpreter, on pretence of reading ſome particular Articles therein for his own Information, and Inſtruction. The Vizier accordingly having them in his hand, detain'd them, ſaying, *That there were ſeveral Articles therein, which being contrary to the Turkiſh Law, and prejudicial to the Grand Seignior's Power and Revenue were to be made void and null, which he would take care to expunge, and would afterwards return unto the Ambaſſador another Capitulation.* This new Method of proceeding was very ſurprizing to Sir *John Finch*, then Lord Ambaſſador, and the whole *Engliſh* Nation; who being diveſted of their defenſive Arms, and of thoſe Articles on which all their ſecurity in that Country was eſtabliſh'd, look'd on themſelves and their Eſtates as expos'd to the will and arbitrary pleaſure of the *Turks*. It ſeem'd now as if our Nation remain'd in a ſtate of War, or in a Condition of Outlawed People, being deprived of our Law and Privileges. The Conſuls did uſually carry the Authentick Copies of the Capitulations with them, whenſoever they appear'd before the *Kadies*, or Juſtices; but the Original Exemplar being taken away, the force of the Copies ceas'd, and thoſe Articles could not be produc'd, in Plea for us, as formerly they were. This Matter relating to a ſtate of War and Peace, was tranſmitted home to his Majeſty's Conſideration; who was humbly intreated by the *Turkey* Company to take notice thereof in Letters directed to the Grand Seignior, and the Vizier. But in the mean time the inconveniences were ſo great, and the obſtructions to Trade ſo inſupportable, that it was thought fit to ranſom our Capitulations out of Captivity at any rate, rather than to hazard all our Intereſt by the want of them. So that a Treaty being commenc'd, it was agree'd, that upon payment of 50 Purſes of Money, being 25 thouſand Dollars, the Capitulations

A Trick put on the Engliſh *Ambaſſador.*

pitulations ſhould be reſtor'd, which was accordingly perform'd.

In this Condition things ſtood, when the Lord *Chandois*, another Ambaſſador from his Majeſty, arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*, bringing, beſides his Credentials, Letters to the Grand Seignior and Vizier, containing no other matter than Complaints of that unworthy Seizure of the Capitulations, and of the Price and Ranſom paid for them; an Action ſo ſtrange and new, that an Example of the like nature was never known, or heard of in the World. The Vizier, contrary to his uſual Cuſtom, being touched with a ſenſe of ſhame for ſo mean an Action; did deſire that the Letter of this Tenure from our King to the Grand Seignior might be ſmothered, and not delivered; promiſing to make reſtitution of the Fifty purſes, he had taken on that occaſion. This offer from the Vizier ſeemed a thing incredible, and as impoſſible to redeem a Soul out of Hell, as a Purſe of Money out of his Coffers: Howſoever, ſo touched he was with the ſenſe of this Act, of which the Grand Seignior had as yet no knowledge, nor taken any ſhare in the Booty, that he ordered Twenty nine purſes of the Money to be reſtored; but with ſo ill a Grace, and ſo unpleaſant a Countenance, that our Merchants apprehended ſome other Contrivances, and Machinations to be repaid again with a ſevere intereſt; which might probably have been expected, had not the Vizier been diverted from theſe low acquiſitions to matters of higher concernment in *Hungary*: Howſoever, before his departure he left thoſe menacing promiſes behind him, which threatned no leſs than Ruin and Deſtruction at his Return. We might here recount ſeveral other Acts of injuſtice paſſed on our Nation: As the encouragement of the *Paſha* of *Tunis*, to make demands on our Ambaſſador for what Goods the Corſaires, or Pirates had taken from him, on one of our *Engliſh* Ships: And tho' out of the reſpect and deference which the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the Great Maſter of *Malta* bore to the Majeſty of our King, and by the induſtry and good management of Sir *John Finch*, then Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, the greateſt part of the Goods and Money taken were reſtored, for which the *Paſha* declared himſelf ſatisfied; yet this *Paſha* receiving countenance and encouragement from this Vizier in his pretenſions, demanded 450 Purſes to be paid him by the Ambaſſador, for the remaining Goods which were not recovered. And tho' this pretenſion in the late Vizier's time, (a Man of more Juſtice and Reaſon than this preſent) was caſt out, and quaſhed; yet the *Paſha* looking on this conjuncture, as the moſt ſeaſonable of any, when the moſt extravagant demands would be heard and favoured, renewed his Suit, and pleaded it before the Vizier with as many Lyes, and falſe Teſtimonies as were required, or could be invented to give colour to an evil Caſe. The Vizier hearkned moſt devoutly to all the Allegations, and with a bended Brow, and a ſtern Countenance told the Ambaſſador, *That he was to anſwer for the Blood and Eſtates of the* Turks, *which were loſt Aboard our* Engliſh *Ships:* And again turning to the *Paſha* told him, That his Demands were too unreaſonable and extravagant; and ſo mediating, as it were, ſometimes on one ſide and ſometimes on the other, with deſign to take on both Hands, he at length fairly diſmiſſed the Audience: And in the Afternoon made a propoſal by his *Kaja* or Deputy abſolutely to ſuperſede the Cauſe, provided that Fifteen purſes, were given to him, and Seven to his *Kaja*, and *Reis-Effendi*, who is Secretary of State. In ſhort, after divers Treaties on this Subject, an Accommodation was made with a great Sum, other buſineſſes being entred and paſſed in the ſame Agreement.

The Venetians *in trouble.*

The next which comes into play is the *Venetian Bailo* or Ambaſſador, who about the beginning of this Year 1680, was ſent by that Republick to reſide at *Conſtantinople*, his name was *Ciurani*, a Noble *Venetian*, and one who had formerly been General in *Dalmatia*; he was eſteemed an Avaritious and a ſelf-intereſſed Perſon, a great Merchant, and a great Politician, and one made up of Intrigues and Deſigns. His firſt Enterpriſe, which was to Cheat the *Turks*, proved unlucky: For having brought a great quantity of Cloth of Gold with him, which was his own Merchandize and Adventure, he endeavoured to ſave the Cuſtom by Landing it under the notion of Preſents, which were to be made to the Grand Seignior, and the Officers of his Court. The Goods were privately convey'd a Shoar in the Night by Boats belonging to the Ships of War, which had brought the Ambaſſador, and defended by a Guard of *Albanians*, who are a company of luſty Fellows, to the number of Thirty, maintained by the Republick only to carry Letters to *Zara*, or *Cataro* in *Dalmatia*, from whence by a *Felucca* they are Tranſported to *Venice*: A Party of theſe Men I ſay conducted theſe Goods, and in deſpight of the Cuſtomer's Officers carried them to the *Bailaggio*, or Houſe belonging to the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors. The Cuſtomer *Uſaine Aga*, who had notice of all that paſſed, diſſembled at firſt his knowledge thereof, and contrived with the High Treaſurer to ſend one of his Servants to Buy a conſiderable parcel of the Cloth of Gold for the uſe of the *Seraglio*;

1680. And in regard different Sortments and Colours were demanded, it was neceſſary to open and unpack divers Cheſts; by which means they came to a full diſcovery of all thoſe Goods, which had privately been convey'd away by Night. When theſe Chapmen had concluded their Bargains, and agreed on the Prices, which amounted unto 3500 Dollars, they gave an Aſſignment for the Money on *Uſaine Aga* the Chief Cuſtomer; who willingly accepted the Bill, but to abate it out of the Cuſtoms due for thoſe Goods, making up the Account after his own faſhion: But not content herewith, he obtained a Warrant from the Vizier directed to the Judge of *Galata*, to examine the manner of carrying theſe Goods a-ſhoar in the Night by Force and Violence; which being made out by ſeveral Witneſſes, a report thereof was ſent to the Vizier, who immediately thereupon gave Orders to the *Vaivod*, and Captain of *Galata* to make Search in the Houſe of the Cuſtomer for thoſe Goods, which had not paid the Cuſtom. Seignior *Ciurani* Alarmed at this manner of Proceeding, and not willing to give an occaſion to the Turks to violate the reſpect due to the Houſe of *Venice*, (which until that time was ever eſteemed a Sanctuary, and place of Refuge) ſeaſonably compounded for his unjuſtifyable miſcarriage by the Payment of 30000 Dollars.

But this trouble was no ſooner ended, before another of worſe Conſequence began, ariſing from certain Slaves to the number of about Fifty, which had ſaved themſelves aboard the *Venetian* Men of War which had brought the Ambaſſador, of which Complaint being made by the Maſters unto the Vizier, Orders were given twice to make ſearch aboard the Ships for them; but by help of a little Money, Inquiſitions were made ſo ſuperficially, that Returns were given of none to be found. But the Complaints daily increaſing, new Orders were given to renew the Search, the execution whereof was committed to a *Capugee* and a *Haſakee*, who are Officers belonging to the *Seraglio*, together with a *Naip* or *Kadee*'s Notary, who was to write down and record the proceedings. Theſe perſons being come aboard, and rudely making ſearch after their manner, the Soldiers aroſe againſt them, and beat them off, wounding ſome and throwing the *Naip* and others into the Sea. Upon report whereof the Vizier was ſo enraged, that he would have had the Ships brought to the Arſenal, there to be laid up and confiſcated to the Grand Seignior's Service. The two *Venetian* Ambaſſadors fearing alſo ſome violence to their Perſons from theſe diſorders, betook themſelves to their Ships, there to remain until Matters were a little 1680. pacified; and to make the buſineſs more eaſy, the Slaves (about whom was all the controverſie) were privately convey'd aſhoar: And a Search of the Ships ſubmitted unto by conſent, and Propoſal of the Ambaſſadors themſelves. The Vizier being a little mollified with this compliance, the *Chiaus-baſhee* (or Chief of the *Purſuivants*) with 200 Men were ſent aboard the Ships to make a ſearch, where being received without oppoſition, they left no corner of the Ships unſought and unlooked into, and none being found, the *Chiaus-baſhee* gave them a favourable report upon payment of 300 *Chequins*: After which the *Bailos* or Ambaſſadors returned aſhoar, referring a farther Accommodation of their Matters to *Uſaine Aga* the Cuſtomer, who was a moſt dexterous Perſon, both in raiſing *Avanias* or falſe Pretences, and in the Ways and Arts of compoſing them. And he accordingly ſo managed the matter, that with payment of Seventy purſes to the Vizier, and Ten to the *Kaja*, with other petty rewards to *Uſaine Aga* himſelf, and other inferiour Officers, which might in all amount to about 50000 Dollars, all Diſpleaſures were reconciled, the new *Bailo* was Friendly admitted to Audience, and the old one ſuffered fairly to depart: The Maſters loſt their Slaves, and the Vizier got the Money. But the Troubles of the *Venetian* Miniſters did not end here: For not long afterwards, ſome Deſturbances aroſe in *Dalmatia* between the *Turks* and the Subjects of that Republick, in which above a Hundred *Turks*, as was reported, being Cut off, the Vizier in a Rage ſent the *Bailo* Priſoner to the ſeven Towers, Threatning to put him to Death; but with the Atonement of 200.000 Dollars, the Vizier's gentle Heart was melted, and all things ſalved up and reconciled again once more. But the Republick of *Venice* to whoſe expences the Sum of 300.000 Dollars was charged, could not ſo eaſily digeſt this Extortion; and knowing that with the *Turks* there was no other remedy but patience until ſuch time as opportunity happened to revenge it, did in the interim ſhow their reſentment, by their diſpleaſure againſt Seignior *Ciurani* their Ambaſſador, whom they recalled ſpeedily from his Employment, and conſtituted the Secretary in his place; and afterwards levied a great part of the Money paid unto the *Turks* out of his Eſtate, and out of the Eſtate of *Moroſini* the old *Bailo*. *Foſcari* formerly Conſul at *Aleppo* was made Inquiſitor to examine the matter, who upon enquiry thereinto found, that the Goods which *Ciurani* brought were to the value of 60.000 Dollars, and others which had not paid Cuſtom at *Venice*, were in *pena di contrabanda*, condemned in 30.000 Ducats; ſuch

ſucceſs

The Venetian Bailo Impriſoned.

1680.

ſucceſs as this have ſuch old Politians, who pretend to a craft and cunning above other Men. And thus we have given a Relation of the Treatment which the Vizier uſed towards the *Venetians*, in which we have been the more large, to inform the World of the beginnings and grounds of the War, which ſoon afterwards enſued, and the Reaſons which moved the *Venetians* to joyn themſelves in League with the Emperor againſt the *Turk*.

The next Foreign Miniſter which muſt taſt of the Vizier's kindneſs, was the *Genoeſe* Reſident. And tho' neither the Buſineſs, nor the Actions of that Nation did Adminiſter any ground of pretence to extort Money from them; yet, the Vizier made an *Avania* of 5000 Dollars upon them, for what cauſe no Man knows, nor do the *Genoeſe* themſelves declare any. It is conjectured he would not ſuffer their Reſident Seignior *Spinola* to depart without payment of that Sum, upon pretence that during all the time of his Reſidence, he had never ſeen the Grand Seignior.

The new Reſident who ſucceeded to *Spinola*, had been the *Sopra-cargo* of a Ship, and was rather a Factor than a Publick Miniſter; for the State of *Genoua* had refuſed to have any concernment in *Turky*: Howſoever, they lent their name to certain Merchants for 6000 Dollars a year, who in Conſideration of the Conſolage to be confirmed to them, were to maintain a Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, and a Conſul at *Smyrna*. After which the *Camera* was to know nothing of any expence, but all ſorts of Charges and *Avanias* were to be born by the Undertakers; who allowed their Reſident 1500 Dollars *per annum*, which with the benefit of making Strong-waters, and ſelling of Wine in his Houſe, and with ways of Thrifty living, was eſteemed a good ſubſiſtence for a Perſon of his quality.

The Dutch in Troubles.

The *Dutch* Miniſter which had for a long time eſcaped Troubles, and *Avanias* rather by good fortune than any good cunning, did at length, on occaſion of an unavoidable Diſpute with *Uſaine Aga* the Cuſtomer, fall within reach of the Vizier's Hand: And tho' the Reſident foreſaw the Miſchief, and would have avoided the Blow by ſubmitting every thing to the Judgment of the Cuſtomer himſelf; yet, to gain the Merit of bringing ſuch a Client before the Vizier, who could never depart from before his Tribunal without paying roundly for his Juſtice, he immediately preferred his Memorial againſt the *Dutch* Reſident; ſaying, *That he would not be Judge and Party, leaſt he ſhould be overpartial to himſelf, but would reſt content and ſubmit to any Sentence which the Vizier ſhould pronounce in publick* Divan. Accordingly a *Boiardee*, or Warrant was ſent by a *Chiaus* to cite the *Dutch* Reſident's *Druggerman*, or Interpreter to appear in *Divan* with the Capitulations; which being brought thither, were there detained after the manner of the *Engliſh*, on pretence that the Vizier would peruſe them; tho' as appears by the ſequel, his Intentions were to make them pay their Ranſom as our Capitulations had done before; which the *Dutch* objected againſt us, as a leading Card to them, and that our eaſineſs in yielding to ſuch an unparallell'd Extortion, had given the Vizier Encouragment to enterpriſe the like upon them. It was in the year 1610, when the *Dutch* firſt made their Capitulations with the *Turks*; ſince which time they were but once renewed, about Forty ſix years ago in the time of *Sultan Morat*; and then their Articles were not deſcribed at large in many Points, only in general it was declared, *That they ſhould extend to all the Particulars as largely, and in as ample a manner, to all Privileges and Immunities, as did the* Engliſh. The Vizier upon Conſideration of the matter, was not willing to find particulars in generals, nor to interpret Articles with ſuch vaſt Comprehenſions as divers & *cætera*'s would imply; and therefore told the *Dutch*, *That they muſt either receive their Capitulations back, with ſuch Conceſſions only, as were expreſſed in open Terms; or otherwiſe be contented with the expence of renewing of them, in ſuch an Explicite manner as might refer nothing to an interpretation out of Generals*. The *Dutch* who were contented with their old Capitulations, and affrighted with the Charge of new ones, knowing how apt the Vizier was to inflame the Reckoning, kept off at a diſtance for ſome time, Arguing the unreaſonableneſs of ſuch a Conſtraint, and the validity of their preſent Articles, than which they deſired no others. Howſoever, the Vizier kept the Capitulations, and the Cuſtomer interpreted them after his own Sence, and in his own Favour. The *Dutch* had at that time ſeveral Ships under Convoy of their State's Men of War arrived at *Smyrna*, to which they gave Orders not to enter the Port, but to lie off without the Caſtle, as if they intended to break off all Commerce; and in caſe their Capitulations were not reſtored, to cauſe their Fleet to return back to the Ports from whence they came. But the Vizier and the Cuſtomer were not moved with this Bravade; for tho' they were not very well verſed in Maritine, or Mercantile affairs, yet they were not ignorant how far a Maſter of a Ship was obliged to deliver the Goods laden on his Veſſel at the Port, to which they were deſigned; nor did they unreaſonably calculate the Charge of returning the Convoy,

1680.

1680. voy, with the loſs and overthrow of their Voyage, to be far greater than the Bargain which was to be made for Reſtitution, or renewal of their Capitulations. Howſoever, the *Dutch* were of Opinion, That this Suſpenſion of Trade would mortifie the Cuſtomer, and incline the Vizier to better Terms; when after Fifty days hanging off, and that divers great Ships of their Convoy had lain almoſt all that time upon an expenſive and heavy demorage; at length the Reſident being ſooner weary thereof, than the *Turks* were ſenſible of the failure of Trade, became deſirous to Treat about an Accommodation. The perſon employ'd herein was the Vizier's own *Jew Broker*, (for all the great Men in *Turky* have one of this Race depending on their Families, who ſerve them for Setters and Pandors to their intereſt and pleaſures.) This *Jew* being dexterous in his myſtery of making Bargains, concluded with the *Dutch* to have their Capitulations renewed; and to have all the dubious Points explained and diſtended at large, in the ſame manner as the *Engliſh* are: And then in ſatisfaction, and return for ſo favourable an Indulgence, Fifty purſes of Money were to be paid to the Vizier, Ten to his *Kaja*, Three to the *Reis-Effendi*, or Chief Secretary, and Eight to *Uſaine Aga* the Cuſtomer: After which Orders were ſent to the Convoy to enter within the Port of *Smyrna*, which might have been done at firſt without expence or loſs of time; for certainly the detention of the Convoy ſerved nothing to the eaſier, and more ready Accommodation of this Affair. I have known many Examples of this nature in my own time in *Turky*; and could never find that the ſtopping Ships from entering into Port, did ever Operate upon the *Turkiſh* Officers, and only ſerved to increaſe our Expence, and add to the Afflictions of our other Aggrievances, which we received from the *Turks*.

Thus did the Vizier Treat all the Miniſters of Foreign Princes with a Scorn, and Contempt as became ſuch as were his Vaſſals, or Tributaries to his Maſter, neither ſhowing them Reſpect or Honour, nor affording them Juſtice: And when at any time an injured Ambaſſador asked of him the Reaſons why he was ſo ſeverely uſed, and what Crime he had committed, he would readily anſwer, *Do you not Breath in the Grand Seigniors Air, and will you pay him nothing for it?* Wherefore we may not wonder, that the *Venetians* on the Provocations before-mention'd, ſhould in ſo few years after the Concluſion of a long War, break out again with the *Turk*, and joyn with the Emperor againſt this Common Enemy, whom neither Articles, nor Solemn Promiſes could keep within the Bounds of Common Humanity. And when we conſider, how the juſt God doth humble the Proud, we may not wonder to ſee how manifeſtly, the Divine Providence hath appeared in Defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe, even to a Miracle againſt the *Turks*, who at that time had exalted themſelves to ſuch a pitch of Pride, and Opinion of their own Force, as if they had been Omnipotent and Invincible, and were minded to verifie their own ſaying, *That God had made the Earth for their Dominion, and Enjoyment, and the Sea only for the Chriſtians.* 1680.

Thus had Pride, Rapine and Avarice ariſen to their Zenith and higheſt Sphere unto which they could reach, and all thoſe Corruptions and Irregularities in Juſtice, which uſually overthrow Kingdoms and Empires ſeem'd now to be conſummated, and the Governors to have fulfill'd the meaſure of their Iniquity. Luxury and Laſciviouſneſs may weaken and enervate a People, but Tyranny and Injuſtice moſt commonly Subvert the whole Fabrick of Government. Avarice, which is the root of all Evils, and which provokes and incites to Tyranny and Violence, was the ruine of the *Ottoman* Empire; of which we ſhall produce a moſt pregnant Example in the Conduct of this Vizier, when we come to Treat of his Conduct in the ſucceeding War, before he laid Siege to the City of *Vienna*.

ANNO, 1681.

A. D. 1681. WE are entred now into another year, and ſtill the Viſier continues unchangeable in his violent Reſolutions of getting and amaſſing vaſt Sums of Money. He had for ſome time given a little reſpite to the *Chriſtian* Miniſters, from whom he had diverted his exactions to exerciſe them on the *Turks* themſelves; he laid an Impoſition of two *Aſpers* upon every Oke of Fleſh eaten within the City; of which an Old Man complaining, who was employ'd to buy Fleſh for the *Janizaries*, as being dear and bad, the Vizier turn'd him out of his Office, with a Reward of 300 blows on the Soles of his Feet.

An Oke *is* 2 l. ¼ *Engliſh.*

The Grand Seignior having built a Seraglio on *Galata* ſide, near the *Boſphorus*, many of the Workmen, and poor Labourers, both *Turks* and *Chriſtians* not being pay'd, gave a Petition to the Grand Seignior for their Money; the Grand Seignior readily gave them an Aſſignment under his own hand for their Payment, directed to the *Teſterday* or Lord Treaſurer; but he ſent them to the Vizier, who clap'd twenty three of them into Priſon, and next day in publick Divan, order'd them to be drubb'd;

1681. telling them, *That if he heard more of their Complaints, he would ſend them to the Gallies.*

But all theſe were petty Matters in Compariſon with that greater Deſign he had of raiſing Money; which was by laying a Tax on all Lands throughout the Empire, call'd the *Sorſat*, whereby it was propoſ'd to levy at leaſt fourteen thouſand Purſes, of which the Vizier made an account of at leaſt two thouſand for his own ſhare; (the *Sorſat* is the greateſt Tax the *Turks* impoſe on their People, being laid on every Acre of Glebe Land where the Plow goes.) The pretence for which was, the Grand Seignior's Removal to *Adrianople*, for adjuſting the Limits of *Poland*. But this Deſign was diſappointed by the contrary Faction of the *Kuzlir Aga*, and *Solyman Kaja*, who by the Queen Mother repreſented to the Grand Seignior, that this Journey being only of Pleaſure, and not deſign'd in order to a War, he could not without an oppreſſion of his People raiſe ſuch a Tax, which in former times was never Levied by their Wiſeſt Emperors, but on great Emergencies, and on occaſion of preſſing Exigencies; ſo the Grand Seignior, like a good Prince, gave anſwer to the Vizier, *That he would ſpare his Subjects for the preſent, in regard that he, and the* Valide Sultana, *had ſufficient in the Treaſury wherewith to defray their own Expences.*

Howſoever the Vizier ſtill inſiſted on this Point, arguing that the intent of removal to *Adrianople* was not a Journey of Pleaſure; but (if the Grand Seignior ſo pleaſ'd) in order to a War againſt the Emperor of *Germany*; for never was there a Conjuncture more favourable than at preſent, when the Rebels under the Command of Count *Teckeley* invited them to a Conqueſt of all that Countrey; and particularly of *Raab*, which having been formerly under the Dominion of the *Turks*, could not without diſhonour to the Empire, and ſcandal to Religion be relinquiſh'd, and ſuffer'd to remain in the hands of the *Chriſtians*, when it might without much blood or expence be recover'd. To which the Grand Seignior made anſwer, *That* Raab *had not been loſt in his days, nor in the Reigns of his Father, or Uncle, and therefore that the recovery thereof did leſs concern him; and that for his own part, he had ſufficiently enlarg'd his Empire by the addition of* Newhawſel, Candia, Caminiec, Ukrania, *and the appurtenances thereunto belonging; the which Conqueſts had ſo haraſſed his Souldiers, and burthen'd his People, that he was reſolv'd to put an end unto his Wars, and give repoſe and eaſe unto his Dominions.*

At preſent there was neither Peace with the *Moſcovites*, nor open Wars; the Treaties were in a manner ended, no great Preparations were making for the following year, but every thing remain'd in a kind of ſuſpenſe; and in this Condition of Affairs the Vizier adviſ'd the Grand Seignior to remove with his Court unto *Adrianople* in a Warlike poſture, which might alarm the *Moſcovites*, and incline them to better Terms and Articles of Peace. The Grand Seignior aſſented thereunto, and about the beginning of *November* arriv'd at *Adrianople*.

1681. *Things doubtful with* Moſcovy.

But before the Vizier was well ſetled in that City, he was forc'd for his own ſafety to cut off his belov'd *Kaja*, a Creature of his own, who was admirably fitted for his purpoſe; for he was grown ſo ſcandalouſly avaritious, and ſo publickly rapacious, without any fear or ſhame, that he was hated and deteſted by all Mankind. And here, if ever, the Curſe of *David* was really fulfill'd of him and his Maſter; *Let a Wicked Man be ſet over them, and let Satan ſtand at his right hand.* And tho' the Vizier had no great need of a Tempter to provoke or incite him to catch at his Prey, yet this Devil being moſt excellently Sagacious in finding out and ſtarting Game, and ſkilful in all the Arts of Intriguing, he was moſt intimate and dear to his Maſter, and eſteem'd the more uſeful Inſtrument, becauſe he was ſo bold as to be content to bear the diſgrace, and to ſtand between the Vizier, and the Clamours of the People; which were now become ſo common, and general by the out-cries of the multitude, that the Vizier to ſave himſelf, was forc'd to offer him a Sacrifice to their tumultuous rage. The occaſion was this.

The laſt Summer the Grand Seignior at the inſtigation of the Mufti, and of other Zealots of the *Mahometan-Law*, had iſſued out divers ſevere Edicts againſt Taverns, and *Boza-Shops*. This *Boza* is a certain ſort of Liquor made of that Grain which by us is call'd *Millet*, which is fumatick, and as inebriating as our ſtrongeſt Ale; and with which the *Turks* would be as drunk, and more quarrelſom and mutinous than if they had drank of the juice of the Grape; and therefore the *Ulamah*, or Expoſitors of their Law, gave their Opinions that it was as unlawful as Wine; for that ſince it was their Prophet's intention to prohibit Drunkenneſs, it was an illuſion of his Precept to forbid Wine, and at the ſame time to allow of other more intoxicating and inebriating Liquors; wherefore as often as the Grand Seignior renew'd his Decrees againſt Wine, he enjoyn'd the ſame Penalties againſt drinking *Boza*, which was a very heavy and grievous Leſſon to the People; for *Boza-ſhops* were become almoſt as common in *Turkey*, as Ale-houſes are in *England*, and to ſuppreſs them,

The Cauſe that mov'd the Vizier to cut off his Kaja.

1681. them, would be a like inconvenience. Wherefore upon return of the Grand Seignior laſt year unto *Conſtantinople*, the *Boza*-Houſekeepers made their Addreſſes to the Vizier for a Diſpenſation with the Sultan's Decree and License to ſell *Boza* publickly as before; the *Kaja* boldly enters into a Treaty, and concludes with them for ſixty Purſes, which ſo ſoon as the Grand Seignior was departed were paid, and the Licenſe given, and the *Cape*, or Chief of that Trade was with Ceremony veſted by the *Chimacam*, who came alſo into a ſhare of the benefit: But this matter could not long remain a Secret before it was made known to the Sultan by the contrary Faction to the Vizier, who having the good fortune to have *Kara Kaja* his Friend then preſent when the Complaint was made; at which he obſerving the Grand Seignior to grow very angry, immediately interpos'd in behalf of the Vizier, excuſing him as ignorant in the matter, and that none was guilty therein beſides *Haſſan* the Vizier's *Kaja*, who was the ſole Actor and Contriver of the Offence. The Grand Seignior, who had always been conſtant to his prime Miniſter, was willing to ſee him cover'd with ſuch a ſcreen, and without farther delay Sign'd a Command to take off the head of the *Kaja*, which was diſpatch'd away by the *Salahor*, or Chief of the *Querries* belonging to the Stables. *Kara Kaja* a very bad Man, who was Friend to the Vizier, diſpatch'd with all expedition this Advice unto him; which he having receiv'd, and fearing leſt his *Kaja* ſhould be carried away alive to the Grand Seignior, and betray the whole truth of their Combination, not ſtaying for the Command, immediately order'd him to be ſtrangled. It was early in the Morning when the Letter came, and at the ſame moment the Vizier ſent for *Ali Aga*, who had been *Talkiſhgee* to the late Vizier, (that is the Officer who carries Meſſages to the Grand Seignior) and then Agent at the Port for the *Tartar Han*, and bid him go to *Haſſan Kaja* and take his Place. *Ali Aga* ſurpriz'd and confus'd with this direction, went as he was order'd, and whilſt he was ſpeaking to *Haſſan*, and telling him that he did not well underſtand the Vizier's Pleaſure, in came the Maſter of the Ceremonies with a Veſt, with which (after the *Turkiſh* faſhion) he Cloathed *Ali Aga*, bidding *Haſſan* to retire into the inward Chamber; where being entred, two luſty *Arnouts*, who were ſelling Cimnels in the Streets, were brought up and order'd to ſtrangle him; the Cord was thrown down before him, which ſeeming ſtiff, and not prepar'd to ſlip eaſily, he deſir'd his Executioners to make uſe of his own Girdle. But before he dy'd, he inſtantly urg'd that it might be permitted him to ſee the Vizier, to whom he had many things of Importance to Communicate. But it would not be granted; and as the Cord was putting about his neck, he Curſed the Vizier, ſaying theſe laſt words; *O Treacherous World, now I know thee!* Being a ſtrong Man he was long in dying; and ſome few hours after his Execution being obſerv'd to move, the Vizier order'd the Principal Gaoler to watch him until he was Enterr'd. And ſo was the Grand Seignior's Sentence foreſtal'd, for he was in his Grave before that arriv'd. 1681.

The Viziers Kaja *ſtrangled.*

After his death, the next thing was to ranſack his Houſes, where great Riches were found, both in Furniture, Clothing, Jewels, and Money; he had four hundred and twenty Horſes in his Stables; to the *Meri* or Exchequer fifteen hundred Purſes of his Money were brought, but his Houſes and Lands were aſſign'd to pay his Debts, all which he had gain'd in the ſpace of three years. In one of his new Houſes he had encloſed forty thouſand *Chequins* within a Wall, which his Steward diſcover'd, and that he had murther'd the poor Maſons whom he had employ'd in the Work. When this Vizier was *Chimacam*, (as he was for ſeveral years) this Man was once his *Kaja*, but he was ſo ſhameleſs a Villain, that his Maſter drubb'd him, and turn'd him out of his Service. Howſoever, being now Vizier, and knowing that he had need of ſuch an Inſtrument, he took him again into the ſame Office; and calling to Mind that when he was *Paſha* of *Siliſtria*, in the time of Old *Kuperlee*, he ſav'd himſelf by cutting off another *Kaja*, he reſerv'd this Rogue for the ſame purpoſe.

The new *Kaja* was a much better Man, and therefore little confided in by the Vizier, and conſequently made no great Figure at his Court; his Chief Confident now was the *Reis-Effendi*, or Principal Secretary, by whoſe hands all Treaties and Negotiations paſs'd. In ſhort, by theſe Arts and Means the Vizier kept up his Credit with his Maſter, and in deſpight of the Faction which was againſt him, he ſtood firm on his Baſis, ſuch was the favour and conſtancy of the *Sultan* to his prime Miniſters.

On the twenty third of *November*, *Caplan Paſha*, who had for ſome years been *Capitan Paſha*, and of whom we have had occaſion to make mention often in our former Hiſtory, died at *Smyrna*, being grown almoſt to a Dotage; he had juſt ſuch another *Kaja* as the Vizier had, who miſerably pillag'd and oppreſs'd the poor Iſlanders in the *Archipelago*, from whom he extorted two hundred Purſes; ſuch another Sum would totally have ruin'd them.

4

A Page of the Grand Seignior's, who was *Seliſtar-Aga*, or Sword-bearer ſucceeded in the great charge of *Capitan-Paſha*, or High Admiral of the Naval Forces, he was a Creature of the Viziers, and Born in the ſame Town with him; by whom his Party was ſtrengthen'd againſt the contrary Faction.

The Vizier deſigns a War on the Emperor.

At this time the Vizier was meditating a War againſt the Emperor; but having differences with *Poland* and *Moſcovy* on his Hands, as yet not decided, there being neither an open War nor a declar'd peace as yet with either, he reſolved ſo ſoon as poſſible to bring Matters unto an Accommodation with them both: And having made Peace with all the World, and ſuper-induced a calmneſs over the Face of all the *Ottoman* Empire, he might then have a pretence to break out into a new War againſt the Emperor; to which tho' he might meet an averſion in the Grand Seignior for the Cauſes before mention'd, and in the *Mufti*, and Viziers of the Bench, upon the Truce which wanted Two years of being expir'd; yet having ſuch a favourable conjuncture of Affairs to offer, than which nothing could be more inviting, he aſſur'd himſelf that he ſhould prevail with the Grand Seignior and his Chief Miniſters; and herein he miſſed not his aim, for laying before them the Succeſſes of the *Malecontents* in *Hungary*, who were powerful and ſtrong, and had of themſelves worſted the Emperor's Forces in all their Battels and Skirmiſhes: And that theſe People declar'd their intentions to throw off their Obedience and Allegiance to the Emperor, and offer'd themſelves Subjects, and Tributaries to the Grand Seignior, on the eaſy and reaſonable Condition only of affording them his Aſſiſtance, and granting them his Protection: So that to let ſlip this favourable opportunity, on the Nice point of a Truce not yet expir'd, were, ſaid he, to give up the *Mahometan* Cauſe; the advance and increaſe of which were a ſufficient ground to hallow any thing, which may ſtand in oppoſition to it. There were other things alſo alledg'd, in reference to ſecret Encouragements given from *France*, which tho' they carried not ſuch weight with the Council, ſo as to depend on them, yet they ſerved for probable inducements to incite forward unto a War. With which Reaſons the Grand Seignior and the Council being convinced, a War was determin'd, and great preparations made in order thereunto. And now in regard we are come to a *Criſis* of time, which gave a turn to the ſucceſſes of the *Turks*, and hath ſhaken and almoſt ſubverted the whole Fabrick of the *Ottoman* Empire; it may not be an impertinent digreſſion to look back to the Troubles of *Hungary*, which were the Cauſes and Original of that War, which hath prov'd fatal to the *Turks*, and brought the Kingdom of *Hungary* under the entire and abſolute Dominion of the Chriſtian Emperor: We ſhall therefore give a ſuccinct Account of the beginning of thoſe Troubles, as reported by the Author of that Tract called *Vienna Oppugnata*, adjoyned at the end of the Hiſtory of *Iſthuanus* formerly Vice-Palatine of *Hungary*, whoſe words are to this purpoſe.

The Original of the Troubles in Hungary.

The Turks *having in the Month of* Auguſt 1664. *received an Overthrow with the Slaughter of* 10000 *Men near St.* Gothards, *a Town in* Hungary, *by the Imperial Army, under the Conduct and Command of* Raymond Montecuculi, *a Peace or Truce rather was immediately concluded thereupon, to continue for the ſpace of Twenty years: During which time the Kingdom of* Hungary *long haraſſed with War, might have recover'd its priſtin happy Eſtate, had not certain Miſcreants, the barbarous and degenerate offspring of that Country, diſturbed the Tranquillity and Quiet thereof; and by Machinations and Plots againſt the Life of their Sovereign, drawn upon themſelves that deſtruction which they deſign'd for others. But God be praiſed, their Treaſon was detected, and the chief Conſpirators, namely,* Francis Count Nadaſti, *Chief Juſtice of* Hungary, Francis *Marquis of* Frangipani, *and* Peter Serini *a Count of* Croatia, *all of them Eminent both for Arms and Letters, were taken, arraign'd, and being found Guilty were put to Death, and their Goods and Eſtates confiſcated to the uſe of the Emperor. But ſo ſoon as this Rebellion was ſuppreſſed, another of more dangerous conſequence was raiſed, being fomented by the Nobility, and Perſons moſt conſiderable for their Eſtates and Power in* Hungary, *of which* Emericus Count Tekeli *was declar'd the Chief; the Cauſes and Grounds of which they deliver'd under theſe Heads.*

Firſt, *That contrary to the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, a Palatine had not been conſtituted to ſupply the vacancy of the former deceaſed.*

Secondly, *That the* Hungarians *were excluded from all Offices and places of Truſt, and Strangers introduced into their ſtead.*

Thirdly, *That the* German *Troops were forcibly quarter'd upon them, and the numbers daily increaſed: And all the Forts, Caſtles, and places of defence garriſon'd by* German *Soldiers, and no Truſt or Confidence repoſed in the* Hungarians, *to the great oppreſſion and diſcouragement of that People.*

Fourthly, *That by the Counſel and Advice of the Jeſuits, the free exerciſe of their Religion was not only taken from them, but they were alſo ejected out of their Churches and places where they worſhipped God: For which*

Reaſon

1681. *Reaſon they deſired, that the Jeſuits might be baniſhed out of* Hungary.

And tho' the Emperor did in his Wiſdom fore-ſee all the miſchiefs which did enſue, and with a gracious Clemency endeavour'd to apply thoſe Lenitives, which might appeaſe the Spirits of his diſcontented Subjects; and in order thereunto called a Diet *to be held at* Caſſovia, *where he offer'd to condeſcend unto all the Propoſitions which the* Malecontents *did demand: And afterwards ſummoned another* Diet *to be held at* Presburg, *at which, before the Coronation of the Queen, he aſſiſted and preſided in Perſon, and there made new offers to grant Liberty of Conſcience, and a free exerciſe of Religion to all Proteſtants, and to reſtore to them their Churches taken from them, with as many other Privileges and Favours as could be deſir'd: So that there was all appearance imaginable of Peace and a fair Accommodation. But matters were permitted to go too far before they received a Check: For the* Malecontents *were engaged with the* Turks *beyond any power of retractation: And having received Aſſurances from them of Aſſiſtances which were daily expected, and Promiſes (as it is ſaid) of Money from the* French, *all thoughts of accommodation were laid aſide, from whence that terrible War hath enſued, fatal to the* Turks *and pernicious to Chriſtendom.*

All this is a ſhort Epitome of the Troubles and Unquietneſſes in *Hungary*, for the ſpace of about Eighteen years, which having been the occaſion of the great War, which hath alter'd the ſtate of the whole World; We ſhall not content over ſelves with this ſhort Relation, but ſhall proceed to render an Account of the riſe of theſe Troubles, the continuance of them, with the ſeveral Succeſſes, until the Entire conqueſt of *Hungary* by the Emperor.

The People of *Hungary* are naturally of a mutinous and unquiet Temper, complaining of War, and not well contented with Peace. The Emperor towards the end of the Campaign 1664. had gain'd a Victory (as is ſaid) over the *Turks*, and made the good uſe thereof, as with that opportunity to clap up a Peace. The *Hungarians* who before that time, and even during the War with the *Turk*, bad been unſeaſonably incenſed by many Inſults and Outrages committed on them by the *German* Soldiers; but more ſenſibly touched by having their Churches taken from them by the Counſel, and advice of the Jeſuits and Clergy of *Rome*; were not content with the Peace made by the Emperor with the Grand Seignior: Alledging that they ought to have been made Parties to the Treaty, it being their Country which was chiefly concern'd: That after ſo Signal a Victory, better and more advantageous Articles might have been obtain'd from the *Turk*, and perhaps *Newhawſel* it ſelf might have been Surrender'd and Reſtored, but by default hereof their Condition was render'd far worſe than before, for by vertue of the new Articles lately concluded: The *Paſha* of *Newhawſel* pretended to bring all the Villages on the Frontiers of *Moravia* under Contribution; and to add unto the new Conqueſts all the Country and places on this ſide the *Danube*, which are nearly adjoyning to *Gran*, *Alba-Regalis* and *Kaniſia*, wherein was comprehended the greateſt part of the lower *Hungary*: Which they exclaimed againſt as Terms ſo diſagreeable unto them, that a War had been much better; and therefore to prevent and diſappoint all farther proceedings thereon, they ſeized on the Secretary of the Imperial Reſident then remaining with the Vizier, on the way as he was carrying the Articles of Peace to be Ratify'd by the Emperor, and took from him his Horſes and Money with his Diſpatches, which they for ſome time detain'd, and reſtored not without much difficulty. 1681.

The Emperor being inform'd of this Affront, cited the Chief Lords of *Hungary* to appear at *Vienna*: Where the Prince *Lukovitz* Preſident of the Imperial Council told them, *That the Conditions of Peace which his Maſter the Emperor had concluded with the* Turk, *were not ſo diſadvantageous as they imagin'd; for that the firſt overture of Peace came from the* Turks *themſelves, with whom it was agreed and concluded, that* Tranſilvania *was to continue in its ancient Liberty, and not ſubjected to the Government of a* Paſha *in nature of a* Mahometan *Province. That the Counties of* Zatmar *and* Zamboliſh, *which were anciently eſteem'd dependencies on* Tranſilvania, *were to be transferr'd into the power of the Emperor. That the better to ſecure the Frontiers of the upper* Hungary, *and to prevent the Incurſions of the* Turks *on the other ſide of the* Danube, *It was provided in the Capitulations, that the Emperor might Build Forts on each ſide of the River* Waagh; *which would very much annoy and reſtrain the* Turks *of* Waradin *and* Newhawſel *from making Depredations, or Incurſions on that ſide of the Country. Now conſidering that this Peace was thus advantageous, as well to* Hungary *as to the Hereditary Dominions; his Imperial Majeſty judged it convenient to embrace ſo fair an opportunity; expecting that the* Hungarian *Lords would likewiſe concur with him in Confirmation of the Treaty, and reſtrain their Soldiers from committing farther Outrages on the Frontiers. That his Imperial Majeſty as to his part, was reſolved to withdraw all his* German *Regiments out of* Hungary; *Provided, That they themſelves would take care to furniſh, and ſupply thoſe Garri-*

ſons

1681. *ſons with Soldiers of their own, and at their own charge repair the Fortifications of* Levents, Schentra, Neutra, Schella *and* Gutta, *which are Neighbouring places to* Newhawſel, *and to furniſh them with all ſorts of Ammunition, and Proviſions neceſſary for their Maintenance and Defence.*

The *Hungarian* Lords returned no preſent anſwer to this Diſcourſe; having not Authority ſo to do, until they had firſt conſulted with the Nobility of the Upper *Hungary*, who had often proteſted that they would never agree to any thing, which was concluded without their conſent, and revenge themſelves on their Palatine, in caſe he ſhould engage them in matters without their Privity or Concurrence firſt obtain'd.

In fine, after Conſultations had with the Eſtates, an anſwer was giving in Writing to this effect. *That to conclude a Peace without the Privity and Concurrence of the Eſtates, was againſt the Statutes, and Privileges of the Kingdom. That in caſe they could flatter themſelves ſo far, as to believe that true Tranquillity and Eaſe would be the effect, and conſequence of the late Truce made with the* Turk, *which would be the greateſt bleſſing that could befal a Nation, (which above all the People in this World had been haraſſed with War:) Yet it was difficult, and almoſt unpracticable for them to build the Fortreſſes intended upon the* Waagh, *and in the mean time reſtrain the* Turks *from their Incurſions; and let them do what was poſſible for them, yet ſtill* Hungary *would lie open, and expoſed for at leaſt* 60 *Leagues ſpace to the Incurſions of the* Turks, *and to the extortions and inſolences of the* German *Soldiers: In ſhort therefore, they reſolved to Ratify nothing; they would neither exchange the Garriſons nor Build new Forts, nor Repair old ones; but leave every thing to his Majeſty to provide what was neceſſary for the defence, and conſervation of that miſerable and unfortunate Kingdom.*

This memorial being given in with a kind of ſad and a diſcontented behaviour, deſpairing (as it were) of the welfare of their Country; the *Hungarians* were retiring from the Emperor and his Council, when the Prince *Lubkovitz* reaſſum'd in a calm and ſober manner his former Diſcourſe, which he preſſed on them with new and perſwaſive Inſtances: Telling them, *That he could not imagin upon what Grounds or Reaſons they did deſire a continuance of War, the Stage and Theater of which was to be their own Country. That out of a ſence of thoſe Miſeries which were to enſue, and from a pious and gracious regard he conceived for the repoſe of* Hungary, *the Emperor had concluded a Peace with the* Turk, *which he was contriving to ſecure againſt all violences and irruptions of the Enemy. And that entire ſatisfaction might be given to the* Hungarian *Lords*, his Imperial Majeſty declar'd, *That he would build thoſe Forts upon the* Waagh, *which were deſign'd to reſtrain all Incurſions from the Garriſon of* Newhauſel, *at his own expence and charge: That he would withdraw the* German *Troops from burdening the Country, and quarter* Hungarians *in their places; That whileſt theſe Forts were in Building, the Guards thereunto belonging ſhould conſiſt of* Huſſars *and* Heydukes: *That all places of Truſt and Profit, both Civil and Military, ſhould be put into the Hands of* Hungarians. *And that they might at their own will and pleaſure, put what Forces and Commanders they pleaſed into the Garriſons of the* Mountain Towns *and other places.* 1681.

The Emperor's Grant to the Hungarians.

Theſe Conceſſions from the Emperor being ſo gracious and free, as nothing could be deſir'd more ample and ſatisfactory; the *Hungarian* Lords acquieſced and ſigned the Treaty with the *Turks*: So that all things began to put on a Face, and clear aſpect of Tranquillity and Repoſe, as well in reference unto Foreign Wars, as to civil and inteſtine differences: And thereupon the Crown, wherewith the *Hungarian* Kings were uſually Crown'd, and which the Lords had removed from *Presburg*, to prevent the Emperor from taking it upon him with Right of Inheritance, was again return'd by them, and reſtor'd to its former place.

But theſe fair promiſes and aſſurances given by the Prince *Lubkovitz* in behalf of the Emperor, proceeded no farther than to words, for neither were their Churches reſtor'd; Nor the *German* Forces recalled out of the Country; Nor the Towns of *Nitria* and *Levents*, lately taken from the *Turks* deliver'd into their Hands, as was promiſed: But inſtead thereof, *German* Garriſons were put into *Tokai*, *Zatmar*, *Kalo* and *Onod*, Towns which are bordering on *Tranſilvania*, and were belonging to Prince *Ragotski*.

In ſhort, nothing being perform'd as was promiſed, the Spirits of the *Hungarians* were ſo exaſperated, that they deſponded of any good from the Imperial Court, but rather beheld it as a Cabal, contriving and meditating only to bring them under an Arbitrary power, and an unſupportable Slavery. And this general Humour of diſcontent, ſo ſpread it ſelf in the Minds of the People; that they grew Sullen, and Angry in an Inſtant; and both the Roman Catholicks and Proteſtants, and all ſorts of Religions in that Nation became ſo concern'd for the Liberty and Privileges of their Country; that they freely and openly declar'd, *That they would rather ſubject themſelves to the* Turks, *than become the Slaves of the* Germans.

The conſequences of which War have been ſo diſmal, and even the Imperial Victories gain'd at the expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure, as all *Germany* as well as *Hungary*, has felt the fatal effects of it: So that Men are apt to look back with Indignation on the Authors of theſe Troubles, and to think them worthy of the extreameſt Puniſhments, that have brought their Country to ſuch Ruin and Deſolation. The greateſt part of which Cenſures will without doubt fall upon the Proteſtants, whoſe Arms have wanted even Succeſs; that popular juſtification, and whoſe Cauſe labours under two ſuch fearful appearances, as a defection from their Prince, and the joyning with the Common Enemy of Chriſtendom, tho' perhaps a conſidering Man will be apt to reflect on that Cruel ſeverity, which forc'd them to take ſhelter in the Arms of an Infidel; at leaſt he will ſee a fatal inſtance, of the unhappy Conſequences of driving Men to Deſpair, by ſubverting their Laws, Liberties and Religion. I ſhall therefore give an impartial Account of the Cauſes, that exaſperated the Proteſtants of *Hungary* to this degree; and leave them to the Readers judgment, either to be condemn'd or acquitted. And therefore let us hear what Account the Proteſtant Writers give of this matter; when the Proteſtant Religion began firſt to inſinuate it ſelf into *Hungary*, under the Reign of *Anno.* 1523. King *Lewis*, it met there with the ſame fate it did in other Countrys, (*viz.*) Oppoſition and Perſecution. But this King unhappily engaging himſelf in a War againſt the *Turks*, fell in Battle, and leaving no Heir Male, the *Hungarian* Nobility were divided in the choice of a Succeſſor; one part Electing *John Zapolya* Vaivode of *Tranſilvania*, and the other *Ferdinand* the firſt. But *John* dying ſoon after his Election, *Ferdinand* remain'd in ſole poſſeſſion of that Kingdom; who the better to gain the affection of his Subjects, granted free exerciſe of Religion to *Caſſovia*, *Bartphia*, *Eperias*, *Leuchenia* and *Libinia*; the five free Towns of upper *Hungary*, and afterwards to ſeveral of the Towns of lower *Hungary*, beſides the ſame Privileges which he gave to divers of the Nobility. Notwithſtanding which, there being ſeveral Commotions and Diſturbances on account of Religion, ſtill remaining in the year 1606. at the Pacification of *Vienna*, made between *Rodolph* Emperor and King of *Hungary*, and *Stephen Botſcai-Kis-Maria*; in the firſt Article it was ſaid, *That as to the buſineſs of Religion, that notwithſtanding the firſt Conſtitutions, and the laſt Article of the year* 1604. *according the Reſolution taken by his Imperial Majeſty: All the Inhabitants and Perſons of what Order or Condition ſoever within that Kingdom, as well the great Lords, as the Cities and Privileg'd Towns immediately belonging to the Crown, or upon the borders of that Kingdom; as likewiſe all the Soldiers of* Hungary, *ſhall have free and entire Liberty of Conſcience, without being troubled or moleſted: Nevertheleſs without prejudice to the Roman Catholick Religion, ſo that that Clergy, the Churches, and the Temples of the Catholicks may remain in the State wherein they are, without Violation or Moleſtation: And that thoſe which had been taken by one ſide or other, ſhould be reſtor'd to their lawful owners.* Afterwards the Emperor *Matthias* himſelf explain'd that Clauſe, (nevertheleſs without prejudice to the Rom. Cath. Religion) by aſſuring them, *That it was put in upon a good deſign, and that it only meant that neither Party ſhould be diſturbed in the exerciſe of their Religion.* This liberty was afterwards often confirm'd, as you may ſee in the Grievances preſented to the Emperor, which are affix'd to the end of this Hiſtory. The now Reigning Emperor *Leopold* ſolemnly confirm'd this Article at his Coronation; *Vide* the ſixth Condition in the Imperial Patent running thus: *Ordered*, 'That the exerciſe of Religion granted to the States of *Hungary*, according to the Conſtitution of *Vienna*, and thoſe Articles eſtabliſht before our Coronation ſhall remain entirely free, as well for the Barons, Lords, Gentlemen, as free Cities; and all Orders and States of the Kingdom of *Hungary*; as likewiſe for the Towns, Villages and Hamlets that will accept of it, ſo that no Perſon of what Condition ſoever, ſhall be hinder'd in the exerciſe of his Religion, in what manner, or under what pretence ſoever. Given in the Royal Citadel of *Poſonium*, *June* the 25*th*, 1655.

In deſpight of all theſe Edicts made in favour of the Proteſtants; the Clergy, eſpecially the Jeſuits, had ſo much intereſt in the Court of *Vienna*, as to get a Manifeſt publiſh'd there; and Entitled, *Truth declared to all the World*, or a Treatiſe wherein is proved by three Argument, that his Cæſarean Majeſty is not obliged to tolerate the *Lutheran*, or *Calviniſt* Religion in the Kingdom of *Hungary*: Writ by *George Barzon* titular Biſhop of *Waradin*, Prieſt of the Society, and Councellor to his Sacred Majeſty. The firſt Argument was drawn from three Conditions, under which the liberty of Religion was granted at the Pacification of *Vienna*. The firſt, "That it ſhould be without prejudice to the Proteſtant Religion, which Condition being impoſſible ought to paſs for nothing. The ſecond, "That the Clergy, and the Catholick Churches ſhould remain in their former Condition without being toucht, which was viola-

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“ted by *Bethlem* and *Ragotski*. The third, “That what was taken either by one ſide “or the other ſhould be reſtor'd, which the “Proteſtants had not perform'd. To this was anſwered, “That it did by no means “follow, that if one Condition or Clauſe “was lookt upon as impoſſible, and ſo null, “that the whole Treaty ſhould be ſo alſo; and “beſides, that the Emperor *Matthias* himſelf “had explain'd the Condition by declaring, “that it was not to be made uſe of for “the ruining of that liberty which was “granted. That whatſoever *Bethlem* or “*Ragotski* had done, this Liberty was not-“withſtanding confirm'd by the Edicts and “Ordinances of the Emperor: That if it “had been ſo, that Proteſtants, who being “daily provok'd by the Papiſts, had gone a “little too far, yet the innocent ought not “to ſuffer. That the Deſtruction of Tem-“ples, which were made uſe of during the “Troubles only regarded thoſe, that *Bot-“ſkai* had taken in the War, and not ſuch “as had been for a long time in their “Hands. The ſecond Argument is, “That “this liberty was not eſtabliſht by the “unanimous conſent of the States of the “Kingdom, to whom it belongs to make “Laws with the Conſent and Approba-“tion of his Majeſty, and conſequently “that thoſe Articles ought to be aboliſht. “But it was urg'd, that this was extreamly “injurious to thoſe Kings, who had con-“firm'd and ratify'd them, and who no “queſtion were not ſo ignorant of the rights “of the Kingdom of *Hungary*. That when “this Affair was manag'd at *Lintz* 1645. “That the Arch-Biſhop of *Strigonium*, *George “Lippai*, and ſome Seculars oppoſed it, yet “Count *Palfy* Preſident of the Chamber, “and divers Catholick Lords conſented, not-“withſtanding that oppoſition; ſo that the “Affair, being extreamly hindred by that “Arch-Biſhop and his adherents, the Pro-“teſtants were upon the point of complain-“ing to his Majeſty, had they not been “ſtopt by the Declaration that was made, “that they voluntarily ſubſcribed to the “Articles of the Pacification of *Vienna*, “which they called the Foundation of the “Kingdom: So that this Edict of *Lintz* “was ratify'd and inſerted in the Articles “of the year 1647 with this Clauſe, Not-“withſtanding the oppoſition of the Clergy “and other Seculars, which ſhall have no “force or vigour for the future. Beſides the “Subſcription of the Pacification of *Vienna*, “made by all the States both Eccleſiaſtick “and Civil, runs thus: We underwritten do, with common conſent, in the name of all the States and Orders of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and the places annex'd to it, promiſe freely and voluntarily, &c. The third Argument was, “That if the *Luthe-“rans* and *Calviniſts* muſt be tolerated, then “thoſe only muſt be tolerated, which “are of the Confeſſion of *Ausbourg*, and “the Confeſſion of the *Swiſſes*: But “both one and the other had abandon'd “thoſe Confeſſions; and they inſtanced in “ſeveral Articles from which they had de-“viated. But this laſt ſeems only a frivolous ſhift, and ſhews the Reſolution the Clergy had taken to oppreſs the Proteſtants; and indeed this they had always done, when they thought themſelves the ſtronger, and notwithſtanding, that this Liberty was often confirm'd, as particularly in the Treaties with *Botskai*, *Bethlem* and Prince *Ragotski*; yet the Roman Catholick Lords and Gentlemen, and eſpecially the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, perſecuted them with Fire and Sword, maſſacr'd them in their Churches; and uſed all manner of Cruelties towards them, as far as their Power and Authority could reach; ſo that there remain'd ſcarce any place of Reſt, or Security for the Proteſtants, but in the free Cities, and thoſe too quickly after were involved in the ſame misfortune: For *Nadaſti*, *Serini*, *Frangipani*, and other Catholick Lords taking part with Prince *Ragotski* againſt the Emperor, in the year 1670. the *Auſtrian* Troops entr'd *Hungary* and carried all before them, and with them Troops of Biſhops, Arch-Biſhops and Jeſuits, whoſe Actions out-did the Fury of the Soldiers; and took this opportunity of diſpoiling the Proteſtants of their Goods, Churches, Miniſters, and conſtrain'd a great part of the People to change their Religion: The Proteſtant Lords were tax'd at immenſe Sums, Soldiers quarter'd upon them, and by theſe means ſeveral forc'd to turn Catholicks. In ſhort, all Upper and Lower *Hungary* with all the Free Towns, fell into the Hands of the Catholicks, whoſe Severities and Cruelties, as they found nothing to oppoſe them, ſo they ſuffer'd nothing to eſcape them: And this miſerable Kingdom labour'd at once under the Licence and Rapine of the *German* Soldiers, and the Rage and Fury of the Jeſuitical Converters. The Proteſtants were hang'd up at their Church Gates, and ſeveral of their Towns burnt. One *John Backi* a Miniſter, was burnt a live at *Comarin*, and the Widow of *Laurent le Sur*, who was of the ſame Profeſſion, had her Head cut off in the ſame Town: And multitudes of both Sexes, and all Ages and Conditions were baniſh'd.——To Authorize theſe Cruelties, at leaſt to give them a fair gloſs, they conſtituted a Chamber of Juſtices at *Poſon*, compos'd of Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars, all ſworn Enemies to the Proteſtants; where

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1681. it was firſt order'd, That the moſt conſiderable Perſons ſhould be cited to appear, and clear themſelves of the Crime of Rebellion laid to their charge. They began with thoſe of the Nobility, which they thought the eaſieſt to be wrought upon. They which made their appearance were thrown into Priſon, without being judicially heard, condemn'd to great Fines, and were each minute ſolicited to change their Religion. A Declaration was preſented to thoſe whom they found moſt firm and conſtant, whereby they were required, that to ſatisfy his Imperial Majeſty of their Loyalty and Obedience, they ſhould no longer protect their Miniſters, and ſhould promiſe not to hinder the Prieſts from ſaying Maſs in their Churches, or performing other Eccleſiaſtical Functions, till they were enlightn'd from above, ſaw their Errors, and were converted to the Catholick Church.

But the greateſt Storm fell upon the Miniſters, at whom they chiefly aim'd; and that they might get rid of them the better, they eſtabliſh'd three Courts of Judicature: One at *Tirnavia* for thoſe of *Poſon*, and two at *Poſon* for the reſt of *Hungary*: Nor were they all cited for fear of making too much noiſe, but a few and thoſe of the *Ausbourg* Confeſſion, to try what ſucceſs they were like to expect from the Proſecution of the reſt: And, becauſe they chiefly deſign'd to ruin the Proteſtant Religion, under pretence of Rebellion, they preſented thoſe that appear'd theſe following Articles to ſign. *1ſt*, "That all the Miniſters of both Confeſſions, School-Maſters, Readers, Students, *&c.* to eſcape the Puniſhments which they had incurred for their Rebellion, ſhould promiſe under their Hands to renounce all their Functions both publick and private, and paſs the reſt of their Lives peaceably and quietly, upon pain of Death if they diſobey'd. Or *2ly*, "That they ſhould be baniſh'd for ever, with promiſe never to return to their Country, or to any of the Hereditary Lands, or other dependencies on the Empire, nor yet to go over to their Enemies. Or *3ly*, "That they ſhould change their Religion, which his Majeſty chiefly wiſh'd and deſign'd, and which would be moſt agreeable both to him and to the Courts of Juſtice.

The 25*th* of *September* 1673. Some Miniſters to the number of 32 or 33 appear'd, and being threatned to be ſentenc'd to die, if they ſign'd not the foregoing Articles; ſome conſented, others choſe to be baniſh'd, and one chang'd his Religion. This lucky beginning encourag'd them to proceed, and finding fear to be the ſtrongeſt motive to work upon them; they cited all the Miniſters, Regents, School-Maſters, *&c.* of *Hungary* to appear before them, which cauſed a ſtrange conſternation amongſt them, and produced very different effects; ſome of them the Nobility would not ſuffer to appear, others fled, ſome again abandoned themſelves to the care of Providence, made their appearance at *Poſon*, to juſtifie their Innocence from theſe horrible Calumnies, with which they were black'd, to teſtifie their obedience and ſubmiſſion to the Magiſtrate, and to ſatisfie their Churches, who earneſtly begg'd of them not to forſake them in that calamitous Condition. There were 250 Miniſters that appear'd, and by their Tryals (two long to repeat) it appears, That their Religion was the chief Crime, and tho' other things were laid to their Charge; yet all was but pretence; they uſed all means to intimidate them, and to ſhake that great conſtancy which they ſhew'd for their Religion; they ſentenced them to death, impriſoned them, threatned them with the Gallies, and employ'd all the pernicious arts of torment and vexation, that a perſecuting ſpirit could contrive, to ſhake or ſurprize the Frailty of Man; dragged them into their Churches, forced them upon their Knees to adore the Hoſt and their Images, let looſe the fury of the Soldiery upon them, and encouraged them to torment them; in the midſt of this barbarous uſage, they would ſometimes pretend to ſhew a glimpſe of Pity, and endeavour to allure them by the promiſes of the Imperial favour and protection, offering them preferments, upon Condition they would change their Religion; at length finding them proof againſt all their arts, they ſtigmatiz'd ſeveral and ſold them to the Spaniſh Gallies, from whence afterwards they were redeem'd by the famous *Ruyter*, Admiral of *Holland*; others were thrown into vile, loathſome Priſons in which ſome periſh'd, the reſt who out-lived their misfortunes, were releaſed by the importunities of the States Ambaſſador at the Imperial Court. Theſe matters of fact are too publick to be denied, and the Reaſons that are given, ſeem by no means ſufficient to palliate ſuch Barbarities. Thoſe Letters in Cypher which were produc'd againſt them, to prove them Guilty of Treaſon are juſtly ſuſpected; but grant them true, they were but from particulars, and one or two Mens Guilt cannot render a whole body of Men liable to puniſhment. As for thoſe Accuſations which were laid upon them of being Murderers, Robbers, Raviſhers, *&c.* they were only alledged, not proved, and conſequently likely to be meer Calumnies. To conclude, that they were Rebels becauſe ſome fled from the Perſecutions they ſaw 1681.

1681. pouring upon them, ſeems to be no very good conſequence, and to ſhew not ſo much their guilt as their fear; at leaſt, this cannot be urg'd againſt thoſe that made their appearance; and that there were ſeveral which ſigned the Paper that was preſented them, argued, they indeed weak but not criminal; and the rigours that were uſed to bring them to ſign it, do extreamly diminiſh, if not abſolutely take away all the force of that Argument: So that I doubt not, but it will appear to the impartial Reader, that the conduct of the Popiſh Clergy has had too great an influence on theſe laſt Troubles, and that their perſecuting Maxims, are as ruinous to the intereſt of a State, as contrary to the Spirit of our Chriſtian Religion.

And from this Original began that War, which hath ever ſince continued with great effuſion of Blood, and ſtrange viciſſitudes of Fortune; which not only reduced *Hungary* to the pit of deſpair, but even *Germany* it ſelf to the brink of Deſtruction; until God was pleas'd to take the Cauſe into his own Hands, and avenge Chriſtendom from their Enemies, whoſe Sins (it ſeems) were more ripe for the Divine vengeance, than thoſe of the Chriſtian people. The diſcontents on both ſides grew ſo high, that the Emperor reſolved to perform nothing on his part, of what he had promiſed to his *Hungarian* Subjects, nor they any thing on theirs, which reſpected Duty and Allegiance to their Prince. Both Parties ſtood in defiance to each other; the Emperor would not loſe the benefit of the charge and expences he had been at, to fortifie the frontier Garriſons againſt the *Turks*: Nor would the *Hungarians* reſtrain themſelves from their uſual Incurſions, notwithſtanding the Treaty ſo lately ſign'd by them: By which the Emperor received frequent complaints from the *Turks*. So all was now private Machinations and open Defiances.

1665. It was now in the Month of *September*, That the three years were expir'd, at the end whereof according to the Statutes of that Kingdom a Diet was to be Aſſembled at *Presburg*, for redreſs of thoſe aggrievances of which the Subjects complain'd. It was uſual for the Emperor to be preſent there, but ſome jealouſies being whiſper'd of a Plot to ſeize his Perſon, his Majeſty refrain'd from making his appearance at that Diet; which being by that means put off, the Sovereign *Chamber* of the Kingdom, taking all matters into their Conſideration, ſent their Deputies to complain unto the Emperor, That Colonel *Spaar* Governour of *Zatmar*, had extorted Money from the Citizens, upon pretence of paying his Soldiers, tho' in reality to appropriate it to his own benefit and ſervice. That the *German* Soldiers were ſtill quarter'd in the Countries, notwithſtanding all the Promiſes and Engagements given to the contrary; the which aggrievances together with that of taking away their Churches, was ſuch a Scandal and block of Offence, as cauſed great Commotions in that Kingdom, whenſoever that matter came into diſpute. Hence it was, That the Proteſtants choſe three Leaders, or Chiefs of their Faction and Party; againſt which Prince *Ragotski*, and *Apaſi* oppoſed their Forces in favour of the Palatine *Weſſelini*; and Count *Palaſſi Imbre* appear'd as one of the Chief of the *Malecontents*; but having not ſufficient Force to ſuſtain his party and intereſt, he crav'd aſſiſtance and ſuccour from the *Turks*, to whom he offer'd his Son for a Hoſtage, and the Town of *Debin*, with the dependences thereunto belonging, as a farther ſecurity for performance of Articles. 1681. 1666.

The Hungarians complain.

All was now divided into Sects and Parties: Count *Peter Serini*, of whom the Emperor had not the leaſt jealouſie, entertained ſecret conſults with the *Malecontents*; and with *Nadaſti* raiſed Forces upon pretence of giving a ſtop to the *Turks*, in their paſſage to *Dalmatia*; but with real deſign to ſeize the Perſon of the Emperor at *Puttendorf*, a place appertaining to Count *Nadaſti*; as he was Riding poſt with Prince *Lubkovitz*, Chief Steward of his Houſe, and with about 12 Gentlemen of his Retinue to meet the Empreſs; but that Plot took not effect, for their Ambuſcade miſſing the Emperor, he happily met the Empreſs on her Journey out of *Spain*.

This Conſpiracy being thus diſappointed, Count *Nadaſti* deſired the Emperor, that he might be made Palatine of *Hungary*, in the place of *Weſſelini* lately deceaſed: But the Emperor not being well ſatisfy'd of the Faith and Integrity of that Perſon, refuſed to confer it upon him or any other, until he ſaw the Tranquillity and Peace of that Kingdom better ſecur'd: At which *Nadaſti* being enrag'd, corrupted a *Carpenter* in revenge to ſet fire to the new Appartment, which was building in the Palace for the Empreſs *Eleonora*: In expectation that in ſuch an affrightment and confuſion, the Conſpirators might ſeize on the Perſon of the Emperor: But God conſerved his Imperial Majeſty, tho' that Plot was not detected until *Nadaſti* received the reward of his demerit. 1667.

1668. The Deputies of the upper *Hungary* made new Addreſſes to the Emperor, to have the Office of Palatine ſupplied according to the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom; but in thoſe times of Sedition and Diſcontent, his Imperial Majeſty not finding a Perſon equally grateful to the *Hungarians*, and loyal to himſelf, to whom he could confide that Important Charge; did for ſome time keep the Office in his own hands; which with the refuſal made to reſtore the Proteſtant Churches, was ſo generally diſpleaſing, that the Nobility deny'd to be preſent at the Coronation of the Empreſs, until they were a little mollify'd and appeas'd, by having the Revenue and Rents of their Churches releas'd to them.

Beſides the Office of *Palatine*, the Government of *Carelſtadt* became vacant by the deceaſe of the Count *Averſperg*, which being in *Croatia*, and lying commodious for *Serini*, he immediately made applications for it, by means of his Lady; who with her good air and addreſs, and the vivacity of her Spirit, and fluency of her Language, thought nothing difficult for her to obtain; but miſſing thereof, for Reaſons beſt known to the Emperor, who judg'd it not good policy to add greater Authority to a perſon who was Vice-King of *Croatia*, and poſſeſs'd already more Power and Intereſt than he could willingly afford him, the Lady was forc'd, much againſt her Nature, to acquieſs in a denial; but not being able to ſuppreſs the violent commotions of her Spirit, ſhe openly breath'd out her menaces againſt the Emperor; and finding an humor in the People generally inclin'd to a Revolt, eaſily perſwaded her Son-in-Law Prince *Ragotski*, and the other principal Nobles of *Hungary* to enter into an Aſſociation and Conſpiracy againſt the Emperor.

Count Serini's Lady diſguſted.

The Deputies make their Complaints to the Emperor.

The firſt thing they did, was to complain of the *German* Garriſon in *Tokai*; and being aſſembled at *Zemblin*, they ſent their Deputies to repreſent unto the Emperor, that according to the Laws and Privileges of that Kingdom, all their Forts and Places of Strength ought to be Garriſon'd with no other than Soldiers of their own Country. That the Proteſtants receiv'd all ſorts of ill treatment and diſcountenance, their Churches were taken away, and not reſtor'd, as was promis'd and agree'd; beſides ſeveral other Aggrievances which they laid before the Emperor, ſupplicating his Imperial Majeſty to grant them eaſe and redreſs therein, according to the Conſtitutions and Privileges of that Kingdom, which his Majeſty at his Coronation had Sworn to maintain. To all which, the gentle and ſweet temper of his Imperial Majeſty, and the ſenſe of his Conſcience was inclin'd to yield a benign and gracious Anſwer, had not Father *Emeric* a Jeſuit, and his Confeſſor, inſtill'd other Principles and Motives into his Mind; giving him to underſtand, that it had always been the Prerogative of the Kings his Predeceſſors, to diſpoſe Garriſons in all places of that Kingdom, conſiſting of ſuch Nations as he ſhould judge moſt for the ſafety and ſecurity thereof. And that whereas at preſent the *Hungarians* were inſpir'd with an humor of Rebellion and Revolt, there was no reaſon to truſt or confide in them, but in the *Germans* only, whoſe Loyalty and Duty was ſufficiently known, and approv'd by his Majeſty. Farther he added, that the *Hungarians* had in the late War againſt the *Turk* ſuffer'd *Waradin* to be loſt; and at the Battle of St. *Gathards* upon the River of *Raab*, had appear'd in ſuch ſmall numbers for defence of their Country, as if they had intended to have betray'd it; had it not been for the *German* and other Foreign Forces, the whole Kingdom had become a Prey to the *Turks*.

Emeric *a Jeſuit hinders an agreement with the* Hungarians.

The Deputies return with diſſatisfaction. The Evils thereof.

With ſuch Diſcourſes as theſe the Deputies were entertain'd, and diſpatch'd away without other ſatisfaction; at which the Nobles and People were ſo diſpleas'd, that they gave a ſtop to the Payments they had begun to make towards building the Forts, and cut all the *Germans* in pieces which they found quarter'd about the Country; and particularly they kill'd forty Soldiers of the Regiment of *Spaar* near *Xants*; the which piece of Blood and Slaughter was again return'd by the *Germans*, and Force repell'd again by Force. So that now all was open defiance, War, and Maſſacre.

The Malecontents aſſemble at Kivar.

To carry on the Great Deſigns in hand, the Malecontents aſſembled at the Caſtle of *Kivar*, upon the Frontiers of *Tranſilvania*, about two Leagues diſtant from *Ghibania*, where the Gold and Silver Mines ariſe. The Principal Perſons there preſent, were *Ladiſlas Giulaf*, *Gabriel de Kende*, *Benedict Seredey*, *Jonas Verault*, the Calviniſt Miniſter of *Caſſovia*; alſo *Derus Banſi* General of the *Tranſilvanian* Forces; *Janos Betlem* the Chancellor, *Michael Talba* Governor of the Frontiers, with ſome others; where a League was form'd between the *Hungarian* and *Tranſilvanian* Proteſtants, to drive and expell the *Germans* out of the Kingdom, to demoliſh *Zatmar*, and to arm themſelves in defence of their Religion. In this accord the Wife of Prince *Apaſi* appear'd extreamly zealous, being a Woman of a Maſculine Spirit, a fierce Proteſtant, and one who had a hand in all Matters, whilſt her Husband apply'd himſelf to Hunting, and to the Converſation of Learned Men.

Count Nadaſti *Plots how to Poiſon the Emperor.*

In the mean time Count *Nadaſti* having fail'd in his late Treaſon againſt the Emperor, contriv'd to Poyſon him at a Magnificent Banquet, which he had prepar'd for him; at which the Perſons preſent, were the Empreſs, the two Imperial Princeſſes, Prince *Charles* of *Lorain*, with all the Court. The fatal Diſh prepar'd for the Emperor

1681. was a Pidgeon Pye, which he extreamly lov'd; but God preſerv'd his Sacred Perſon, by means of the Lady to the Count; who being endow'd with greater Sentiments of Honour and Religion than her Husband, beſeech'd him on her knees to deſiſt from ſo black and ſo deteſtable a Wickedneſs; but not being able to prevail upon him, ſhe Order'd the Cook to ſet another Pye of the ſame faſhion before the Emperor, in the place of that which was poyſon'd; of which he having eaten without any hurt, *Nadaſti* apprehended the dealing of his Wife therein; and leaſt the Cook ſhould diſcover the Secret, he kill'd him the ſame day with his own hand.

Count *Strini*, tho' he was contriving all this time, yet it was not in Matters of ſo black a nature as theſe. He entertain'd ſeveral Conferences with Count *Taſſembach*, 1669. a Perſon of as Ambitious and unſetled an humor as any whatſoever, and ready to enter into any League and Conſpiracy with the other Malecontents. And in fine, after many Conſultations, he concluded it neceſſary to engage the *Turks* with them in the whole Enterprize. But leſt it ſhould come to be diſcover'd to the Emperor's Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, by the openneſs of the *Turks*, who can keep no Secret, it was reſolv'd that the Matter ſhould be Negotiated by the *Tranſilvanians*; who being already Subject to the *Turks*, and under their protection, might with leſs ſuſpicion propoſe this Treaty.

A Treaty held with the Turk.

The Turks *hearken to the* Hungarians.

This Overture being made to the *Turks*, they immediately embrac'd it, being an Offer which at the firſt ſight appear'd very advantageous; but then the next Condition requir'd by the *Chimacam*, who was *Kara Muſtapha*, (the Grand Vizier being then at the Siege of *Candia*) was, That in Conſideration of the aid and protection which the Grand Seignior was to give unto the *Hungarians*, they were to become his Tributaries, in the ſame manner, and on the ſame Conditions as the *Tranſilvanians* were. This Demand, tho it ſeem'd hard to the *Hungarians*, yet they reſolv'd to purſue their Deſign; and accordingly ſent their Agents to the Vizier at *Candia*, hoping by the lenity and moderation of his Nature to obtain more eaſie terms than thoſe demanded by the *Chimacam*; and in the mean time to notiſie their intention of Revolt unto all the World, they caus'd a Standard to be erected, with two Scymeters died with Blood, and a Creſcent or Half Moon over them.

The Grand Vizier at Candia *diſmiſſes the Agents from the Rebels.*

The Grand Vizier being then labouring at the Siege of *Candia*, and in a doubtful Condition of Succeſs, was not willing to entertain thoughts of a new War, until he had put an end to that which he had then in hand, and in which he was daily engag'd. 1681. Howſoever, not to ſeem diffident of his own Succeſſes, or negligent and cold in the entertainment of Propoſitions ſo apparently advantageous to his Maſter's Intereſt, thought not fit to diſmiſs them with a ſlight Anſwer; but cauſing their Propoſitions to be taken in Writing, and examin'd, he diſſpeeded the Meſſengers with fair Words and Promiſes, referring their Matters to be farther debated by the Officers actually preſent with the Grand Seignior, who had more time to conſider their Affairs than he had, who was daily engag'd in Batteries, and continual Aſſaults upon the City.

Conditions demanded of them by the Turks.

The *Tranſilvanian* Meſſengers being come to the Port, the Conditions requir'd of them by the *Turks* were very ſevere. For in the firſt place, they demanded of *Ragotski*, who was Chief of the League, that the five Towns in *Hungary* which belong'd to him ſhould be deliver'd up into their hands; That Count *Serini* ſhould cauſe *Copranitz*, an impregnable Fort in *Croatia* to be ſurrender'd to them; and that an Annual Tribute ſhould be pay'd for the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

The Commiſſioners for the Malecontents, who thought theſe Propoſals very hard, did yet endeavour to come as near an accord as was poſſible; for tho they were unwilling to ſurrender up their own Towns and Demeſnes to the *Turks*, yet they promis'd to fight for them, and deliver ſuch Towns and Fortreſſes as they ſhould take from the Emperor into their hands.

The Grand Vizier *Kuperlee* was by this 1670. time return'd Triumphant from *Candia*, having with the entire ſubjection of that City, and the whole Kingdom, put an end to the War with the *Venetians*. Howſoever tho' the Propoſitions offer'd by the Malecontents were of ſuch advantageous Conſequence as the like could not be expected, yet they were rejected by the Vizier; for whether it were out of a ſenſe of Faith to the Emperor, with whom he had concluded a Peace but five years before, and which he had no cauſe given him to break, or by reaſon of a War deſign'd againſt *Poland*; and ſome umbrages and Clouds of diſcontent, began with the *Moſcovites*; he was not of a mind to enter into a War ſo ſoon with the Emperor; howſoever he under-hand encourag'd it, and gave private Inſtructions to the *Paſha's* on the Frontiers to aid the Malecontents in ſuch ſort, as that their union and actings with them might not amount unto a Rupture, or breach of the Peace.

Kuperlee *unwilling to break with the Emperor.*

During all this time the Imperial Court had only ſuſpicions and jealouſies of what was Plotting, rather than any certain advice

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vice or knowledge thereof. And the Emperour's Reſident at *Conſtanſtinople* had as yet received but ſome obſcure Notions, of what was treating by the *Tranſilvanian* Agents, which afterwards came to a clearer Light, by the means of an *Engliſh* Gentleman as we have before declar'd in our preceding Hiſtory: And which being once made known, other things appear'd to put the matter out of all doubt or queſtion. And as a particular Evidence to diſcover this Truth; the principal Servant of Count *Taſſembach*, and one in whom he had repoſed the greateſt confidence, having been put in Priſon by him for Robbing him; this Traitor that he might be revenged on the Count and obtain his Liberty, diſcovered much of the Plot, by producing one of the original Papers, all written with the proper Hand of *Taſſembach*, which contain'd a Scheme of the whole method of their intended proceedings, as agreed and concerted between him and Count *Serini*, dated the 11*th* of *September* 1667. This Paper being Read in the Council at *Vienna*, ſerved to open the Eyes of the Emperor, and of the Government, and cauſed them to watch all the motions of *Taſſembach*, and of *Serini* and the other Accomplices.

A Plot diſcovered.

To evidence and farther confirm that there was a Plot, advices came from *Schaketorno* in *Croatia*, that Count *Serini* was in Arms and had levied ſeveral Troops. The original Letter alſo appeared which *Serini* wrote to *Frangipani*, giving him an account of the Reſolutions and Proceedings of *Taſſembach*; the which Letter (by what means is not known) was found with a Soldier belonging to *Frangipani*, who careleſly made uſe of it, for a ſtopper to his Powder-horn: Another Letter was intercepted from *Frangipani*, directed to one of his Captains in whom he repoſed his greateſt confidence: *Signifying the offers which he had made to the* Turks *of ſubjection to them; that the* Germans *intended nothing more than to ruin their Country; and therefore, that he ſhould keep his Forces in a readineſs to oppoſe them in caſe of neceſſity.*

Theſe and ſeveral other Evidences were a clear conviction of a Plot deſign'd; and a ground ſufficient for the Preſident of the Council of *Grats*, to ſeize the Perſon of Count *Taſſembach*, and commit him to ſafe Cuſtody. After which his Houſe was ſearched, where was found a conſiderable quantity of Powder and Ammunition: And his Papers being alſo ſeized and examined, it thereby appeared, that the Arms and Ammunition were deſigned to furniſh therewith 6000 Men, which he intended to raiſe: and upon farther enquiry into this matter, ſeveral queſtions being put to him; *Taſſembach* own'd the whole Deſign and Conſpiracy, and the Engagements which were between him and the Count *Serini*. Whereof Copies with the Proceſs being ſent to the Emperor, the whole Plot was diſcover'd, and no further doubt or queſtion made of a Rebellion, and General revolt of the whole Kingdom.

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This diſcovery was ſeconded by advices of the conſtant intercourſe and correſpondences held between *Serini*, and the *Paſha's* of *Buda*, *Boſna* and *Kaniſia*: And more particularly by a Letter, which Marquis *Frangipani* Brother-in-Law to Count *Serini* wrote to Captain *Tſcolnits*, containing the whole ſecret of the buſineſs, and ſerved to demonſtrate the inveterane Malice, which the Marquis had conceived againſt the Emperor, and the whole *German* Nation. *Tſcolnits*, had at firſt entertained a correſpondence with the *Malecontents*, but making reflections afterwards on the perſons, with whom he was to engage; that they were raſh and heady, and Men of no ſolid Foundation or good Temper, he retracted from his former Engagements, and ſhow'd the Letter to the Emperor.

But matters were proceeded too far, to be wholly ſuppreſſed or defeated: For thoſe in the upper *Hungary* appeared openly in the Field under *Ragotski*, who threatned to take *Mongatz*, where his Mother held her Court of Reſidence, and to ſeize on the Treaſure, which his Father had amaſſed during the time, that he was Prince of *Tranſilvania*.

1670.

The time being come in which the *Malecontents* had appointed to draw their Forces into the Field, on pretence of enterpriſing ſomething againſt the *Turks*: For we muſt note, that in times of Peace, it is allowable for both ſides either *Turks*, or Chriſtians to make Incurſions upon each other, to Rob and drive away Cattle, and to fight in the Field with ſtrong Parties both of Horſe and Foot, provided that the numbers of them do not exceed 5000, and that no Cannon be brought into the Camp. *Such is the miſerable Condition of that unfortunate Kingdom:* The *Malecontents*, I ſay, having with this pretence drawn their Forces into the Field; convened a Diet at *Caſſovia*, without the knowledge or authority of the Emperor; where the Nobility and the Deputies of the ſeveral Towns, and Cities in the lower *Hungary* were Aſſembled; to the end, that they might have an underſtanding together, how to raiſe Money, and how to manage the War.

A Diet at Caſſovia.

The Emperor, tho' not ignorant of all theſe Motions and Conſults; yet wanting a ſufficient force to ſuppreſs theſe firſt beginnings of Rebellion, thought fit to temporize and uſe Lenity for a while; tho' in the mean

mean

1681. *The Emperor declares againſt it.* 1670. *The Chiefs are cited to Newſol.*

mean time he declared againſt the illegality of the Diet; which the *Malecontents* excuſed, and diſguiſed under the colour of an Aſſembly, in which nothing more was intended, than only to raiſe 8000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, to oppoſe the continual Depredations and Incurſions of the *Turk*. But the Emperor ſaw farther into the manner of their actings, than to believe their words; for Princes have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect the Loyalty of their Subjects, who take up Arms without the Privity and Conſent of their Sovereigns: And therefore to try, and prove the Sincerity of their intentions, the Emperor cited the Chief of the *Malecontents* to appear at *Newſol*, there to render an account of their Actings to his Commiſſioners appointed to examine thoſe matters, namely the Count of *Forcatz*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Strigonium*, *Zitzchi*, who was Preſident of the Royal Chamber, and *Nadaſti*, who had not as yet declared himſelf of the contrary party, which he under-hand encouraged and countenanced. The *Malecontents* yielded no obedience to this Citation, and refuſed to make their appearance; and inſtead thereof 13 Counties entred into an Aſſociation, and raiſed Soldiers, which were commanded by *Ragotski*, who thereunto joyn'd 2000 Men of his own, whom he leavied and maintain'd at his own expence.

Count Staremberg Impriſoned.

Ragotski, who thought it now time to caſt off his Diſguiſe, invited Count *Staremberg* to Dinner, and in the mean time inveſted the City of *Tokai*, of which he was the Governour, with 8000 *Huſſars*; but the place was ſo well defended by the watchfulneſs and valour of the Lieutenant Governour, that his Men were repulſed with a conſiderable loſs. Nor was he more proſperous in his attempt upon *Mongatz*, which, at the news of his approach, was defended by his Mother, who cauſed the Bridges to be drawn and the Cannon levelled againſt him, preferring the Loyalty towards her Prince before the natural tenderneſs to a Son, to whom ſhe ſent thoſe Reproaches of his Treachery, as became a Lady of that great and generous Vertue.

1670. *The Malecontents offer their aggrievances to the Emperor.*

In the mean time the *Malecontents* in deſpight of the Emperor held their Meeting, which they called a Diet at *Caſſovia*; and having concerted all their matters, and agreed on a Scheme of their Affairs, they drew up a Remonſtrance of their chief Aggrievances, which they offered to his Imperial Majeſty, deſiring that the Churches taken from the Proteſtants might again be reſtor'd to them: That all their Towns and Fortreſſes might be freed and eaſed of *German* Soldiers, and that in place of them, their Garriſons might be ſupplied with *Hungarians*: And Laſtly, That they might have liberty to make War on the *Turks*, with their own Men, and at their own expence. Theſe Propoſitions were rejected by the Emperor at the inſtigation of his Chief Officers and Miniſters of State, who ſwallowing in their deſires all the Riches and Poſſeſſions of the *Hungarians*, hoped to force them into a Rebellion, by which their Lands and Eſtates might be forfeited to the Emperor, that they might beg them for their own benefit and enjoyment.

Serini irreſolved.

The Emperor communicated all theſe matters to the Diet at *Ratisbon*, giving them to underſtand how neceſſary it was to ſuppreſs theſe Diſturbances and Inſurrections in their beginnings: And immediately before he ſent his Forces into the upper *Hungary*, he thought fit to cauſe Major General *Spankau* to March into *Croatia* againſt *Serini* with 6000 Men. Upon the news of the approach of theſe Forces, *Serini* was greatly ſurprized, and in ſuch a conſternation that he knew not what to reſolve. He was diſappointed of Money to pay his Army, with which *Ragotski* had promiſed to ſupply him out of his Father's Treaſury at *Mongatz*, but that failed as we have ſhow'd before. The *Valachians* had likewiſe deſerted him, and adhered to Count *Herberſtein* Governour of *Carolſtadt*. Nor was the time as yet come, that the *Malecontents* had appointed to ſtir in the upper *Hungary*; in the mean time his own Forces were weak and inconſiderable, not exceeding 2000 *Morlaques* in his City of *Chiacatorno*, and thoſe ill provided either with Money, Ammunition or Victuals to maintain a Seige. What then was to be done? Why, nothing but ſubmiſſion to the Will and Clemency of the Emperor; which being reſolved, Father *Forſtal* an *Auguſtin* Friar, and an intimate Friend of *Serini*, was employ'd to *Vienna* to manage this Accommodation: Where being arrived, he apply'd himſelf to Prince *Lubkovitz*, the Emperor's principal Miniſter of State, to whom having imparted his Meſſage; it was received by him with much kindneſs and joy; and was the more acceptable, becauſe *Serini* was his Kinſman, and nearly ally'd to him: And therefore frankly told him, That two things were expected from *Serini*. Firſt, That he ſhould ſend his Son for a Hoſtage to *Vienna*: And Secondly, That he ſhould ſubſcribe a blank Paper, ſignifying, that he would accept of ſuch Conditions as the Emperor ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe upon him: Both which being performed, (as is here propoſed) Prince *Lubkovitz* did promiſe in behalf of the Emperor, that *Serini* ſhould not only receive a General Pardon, but ſhould alſo conſerve his Liberty, Places and Offices of Truſt, Dignities and Privileges

He ſubmits to the Emperor. 1670.

Offers made by Prince Lubkovitz to Serini.

only in caſe the Emperor ſhould think fit to remove him from the Office of Vice-King of *Croatia*, he promiſed that in lieu thereof he ſhould have the Government of *Carolſtadt* conferr'd upon him, or ſome other of equal importance. And farther, this Prince, to demonſtrate his concernment and reſpect to this Family (of which he was a Member) offer'd out of his own Eſtate to pay the Debts thereof, which amounted to 400000 Florins, and for ever to eſpouſe the intereſt of *Serini*, and of thoſe related to him. Father *Forſtal* returning with this Diſpatch, received at the Hands of Count *Serini*, his only Son to be carried for an Hoſtage to the Emperor, with a blank Paper ſigned, promiſing to receive *German* Soldiers into all his Garriſons.

But before *Forſtal* could finiſh his ſecond Journey to *Vienna*, *Spankau* arrived with the Imperial Army before *Chiacatorno*. And tho' *Serini* ſent him forth a Meſſage, acquainting him of his Accommodation with the Emperor, and his Treaty now in hand negotiated by *Forſtal*; yet General *Spankau*, having received no ſuch advices or directions from the Emperor, purſued the Tenure of his firſt Commiſſion, and accordingly beſieged *Chiacatorno*, and ſo ſtreightly preſſed it, that *Serini* and his Brother-in-Law, the Marquis *Frangipani*, were forced to eſcape and abandon the City, and leave it with all that was dear and precious to them for 1670. a Prey to their Enemies. And ſo iſſuing forth by a ſecret Sally Port, with about 30 other Perſons of quality, with intention to ſubmit, and lay themſelves at the Feet of his Imperial Majeſty, they unfortunately committed themſelves to the guidance and direction of Count *Keri*, who pretending great Friendſhip to them, received them into his Caſtle with 5 or 6 Servants, pretending that he could not receive, or entertain a greater number for want of Furniture, or Conveniences fit for their better Accommodation. So ſoon as theſe two Lords with their Servants were within the Walls of the Caſtle, *Keri* cauſed the Bridge to be drawn up, and his Soldiers to ſtand to their Arms, and placed Guards in all parts and avenues of the Caſtle. The two Counts tho' very ſenſible of the Treachery of *Keri*; yet diſſembled their reſentments thereof, and ſuffer'd themſelves to be carried Priſoners without any reſiſtance to *Vienna*; where they were at firſt Lodged in the Suburbs, in the Convent of *Auguſtin* Friars, from whence they were carried to the *Swan Inn*, where they ſtay'd until towards night, and then were ſeparated, and carried to divers places; *Serini* was conducted to the Houſe of Baron *Ugart*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment then in Garriſon at *Vienna*; and *Frangipani* to the Houſe of Count *Daun* Major of the Town, where they were both ſo civilly treated, that they were not ſenſible of being under any reſtraint; being viſited by all the Perſons of Note and Quality in Town; but by degrees the crouds of Viſitants became thin, and addreſſes faint and cold, which were ſure Indications of ſome thing evil intended againſt them. For tho' his Imperial Majeſty, out of his natural Clemency, was graciouſly diſpoſed to have pardoned them; yet having his Spirit exaſperated by ſuch as had a mind to enter into their confiſcated Eſtates, Proceſs was made againſt them, and things carried on to the higheſt Severity.

Serini eſcapes out of Chiacaterno.

Are made Priſoners.

In the mean time Count *Herberſtein* Governour of *Carolſtadt*, ſeized on all the places belonging to *Serini* and *Frangipani* without much difficulty or oppoſition; only at *Coade*, the Governour refuſed to ſurrender upon Summons, but inſtead thereof diſplay'd two Bloody Flags on the top of a high Steeple; and return'd anſwer, *That he would be buried in that place before he would tamely yield it up, and betray the charge committed to him; which accordingly follow-ed the ſame Evening, for by that time* Herberſtein *had by Force of Arms made his Entry into the Town and Caſtle, where taking the Governour and ſeven other Officers, he hanged them up wrapped in the ſame Red Flaggs, which they had ſo lately diſplay'd.*

Preparations for a War made by the Emperor.

Thus were the meaſures of the Malecontents broke for ſome time, and the whole Party diſcourag'd. The Emperor on the other ſide prepares for War, and raiſes a conſiderable Army. The Duke of *Brandenburg* offers himſelf to ſerve in Perſon againſt the Rebels; the Duke of *Saxony* had already Commanded 600 Horſe, 400 Dragoons, and a thouſand Foot to march for the Service of the Emperor, under the Command of the Great Marſhal *Chriſtian Erneſt*, a Captain in thoſe days of great Reputation. The Count de *Vaudemont* offer'd moreover to contribute to his aſſiſtance with ſeveral Troops of *Lorrainers*; but his Imperial Majeſty being provided with a ſufficient force of his own Subjects, civilly refuſed their offers, intending to reſerve the ſame for times of extream and more preſſing difficulties; for 'tis the policy of Wiſe and Cautious Princes never to admit Stranger Forces into their Dominions, without a violent neceſſity; to which the Emperor was not reduc'd, becauſe as yet the *Turks* had not joyn'd their Forces with the Armies of the Malecontents. Howſoever both ſides were in motion, and big with Deſign one againſt the other. *Ragotski* was preparing to Beſiege *Tokai* and *Zatmar*, and the *Imperia-*

1681.

liſts were making a Bridge of Boats near *Presburg*, to open a paſſage into the upper *Hungary*. Count *Sporke* in the mean time with ſome Troops of Horſe defeated a Party of 2000 *Hungarians*, killing 300 on the Place, and taking ten Colours, with the loſs only of nine Men.

Ragotski labours to make his Peace with the Emperor.

Ragotski alſo receiv'd a Repulſe before *Tokai* and *Zatmar*, which tho' blockt up by him for ſome time, yet having receiv'd late Recruits both of Men and Proviſions, they refus'd to ſurrender at his Summons, which put him out of all hopes of prevailing againſt thoſe Places. And with theſe, and the like Succeſſes, the Spirits of the Malecontents becoming more low and debaſed, *Ragotski* the Chief of the Aſſociation entertain'd thoughts of ſubmitting to the Emperor; and to make his way more eaſie thereunto, he freely ſet Count *Staremberg* at Liberty, with the other Officers whom he had detained Priſoners, deſiring them to interceed with his Imperial Majeſty for his Pardon. And farther, to evidence a true Repentance for his late defection, and real intentions to return to his due obedience, he rais'd the Siege from before *Tokai*, and caus'd his Forces to march into *Tranſilvania*; and particularly he employ'd Count *Colonitz*, who had been his Priſoner, with others, to Negotiate in his behalf at the Court of the Emperor. But this Count not being able to obtain other than ambiguous and general Anſwers from the Emperors Council, it was not thought ſafe for *Ragotski* to rely on thoſe terms and methods which had before fail'd in the Caſes of *Serini* and *Frangipani*. And therefore the Princeſs his Mother, to play a ſurer Game, and to take off all jealouſie, engaged, in the name of her Son, that he ſhould receive into all places of his juriſdiction ſuch Garriſons as the Emperor ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon him, and maintain them at his own Charge.

Thus did the Troubles of *Hungary* ſeem to incline towards a Compoſure, caus'd indeed by the evil directions of the Emperor's Council, who to introduce an Arbitrary Power into a Free Kingdom, and to make that Crown Hereditary which was Originally Elective, and to force a Religion on them contrary to their Principles, and Conſciences, had taken away their Churches and places where they aſſembled to ſerve God, and compell'd them to receive *German* and Foreign Garriſons into all places and Fortreſſes of ſtrength within that Kingdom. So that if any thing may be ſaid in defence and excuſe for a People who rebel againſt their Prince, certainly the *Hungarians* had all thoſe Arguments which might be deduced from the Topicks of Law, Natural Liberty, and Self-preſervation to plead for them.

1670.

1681.

The Loyal Hungarians *Petition the Emperor.*

But notwithſtanding this ſubmiſſion of *Ragotski* to the Emperor, by which the Troubles ſeem'd in ſome meaſure to abate, and the Malecontents to lay their Arms and Pretenſions down, yet ſtill the Animoſities were high, and the minds of thoſe who were Loyal and well-affected to the Emperor, griev'd and afflicted to ſee their poor Country over-run and haraſs'd with *German* and Foreign Souldiers; wherefore in a ſenſe thereof, they ſent their Deputies to the Emperor, repreſenting their Fidelity and conſtant Allegiance to his Majeſty, from which they had never ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſeduc'd; and therefore they humbly pray'd that they might not be number'd with the guilty, nor their Towns and Lands made a prey to the Liberty and Licentiouſneſs of Soldiers. In caſe any of their Country-Men had offended, they ought to be legally Cited before the Tribunals of Juſtice; but to make his Loyal Subjects equally noxious with the Diſobedient, was a Severity unagreeable to the known Clemency of his Imperial Majeſty. But all the moving Language which the Deputies could uſe in behalf of their Principals avail'd little; for General *Sporke* being recruited with a conſiderable Army which General *Heiſter* had brought out of *Bohemia*, was Commanded with all expedition to march into *Hungary*; the appearance of which not only troubled the *Hungarians*, but alarm'd the *Turks*, who aſſembling in great numbers about the Quarters of *Kaniſia*, diſpatch'd ſeveral Meſſengers one after the other to *Vienna*, to know and to be ſatisfy'd of the Reaſons and Cauſes which mov'd the Emperor in a time of Peace, to ſend ſo conſiderable an Army to lodge and encamp on the Frontiers of the Grand Seignior's Country. In like manner the *Paſha*'s of *Newhawſel* and *Agria* being alarm'd with the near approach of this Chriſtian Army, prepar'd for a Defence; and withal ſent a *Chiaus* to General *Sporke* to aſſure him, that the Grand Seignior had reſolved not to aſſiſt or afford Aid unto the Malecontents, nor to enter on the Emperor's Lands, or to do any thing to the infringment, or violation of the Truce ſome few years before concluded: And on the other ſide, the *Chiaus* told General *Sporke*, that the Grand Seignior did conjure him to let him know the Cauſes, and deſign which moved the Emperor to appear with a Force ſo conſiderable, and in the times of Peace ſo unuſual on the Frontiers. To which the General returned anſwer, That the Emperor his Maſter had no deſign, or intention to paſs the Limits of his Dominions, or to act any

The Turks *alarm'd at the coming of* German *Forces on the Frontiers.*

General Sporke's *Anſwer to the* Turks.

1681. thing towards a Rupture, or to the Infringement of the Peace between him and the Grand Seignior; and that the Commiſſion he had received from the Emperor, was only to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of his own Subjects, who had taken up Arms againſt him: And thus much he ſuppoſed to be lawful, without any concernment of the Grand Seignior therein. With theſe aſſurances the *Chiaus* departed, and Suſpicions and Jealouſies ſeem'd to clear up on the ſide of the *Turks*. And herewith did the Clouds in all quarters ſeem to diſperſe for a while: For *Ragotski*, who was chief of the League being brought into favour by the interceſſion of his Mother, and all things accommodated by a Treaty which he held with the Prince of *Holſtein* and General *Heiſter*, a Paſſport or Writing of Safe Conduct was ſent him by the Emperor, and all the Offences and Crimes which were paſt, were pardoned and forgiven to him. And *Ragotski* on the other ſide, that he might make a Return agreeable to ſo much Goodneſs and Clemency of the Emperor, publiſhed his Edicts in all parts of his own Dominions, forbidding his Subjects to Riſe in Arms, or to favour the Cauſe of the Malecontents, either directly or indirectly, upon pain of loſing their Noſes or Ears, or being more ſeverely proceeded againſt, by Puniſhment of Death.

Ragotski *Pardoned.*

1670. *Ragotski* had thus wiſely made his peace with his Sword in his Hand; whil'ſt poor *Serini*, and *Frangipani* had partly by their own Fears, ill Conduct and Treachery of others, fallen into the power of their Enemies: With whom at firſt they received a kind Treatment, and hopes of being ſet at Liberty with reſtitution to their Eſtates, Dignities and Privileges: But afterwards, time diſcovering many private Practices, which at firſt were unknown and lay concealed, the Chief Miniſters of State, for the Reaſons before mentioned, and to make ſome Examples of the Emperor's Indignation for the late Revolt, perſwaded his Cæſarean Majeſty to proceed againſt them by Impeachment of High Treaſon; which when *Serini* perceived, he wrote an Expoſtulatory Letter to the Emperor to this purpoſe.

Serini *juſtifies himſelf.*

That tho' the Hungarians *had much to ſay for themſelves in regard to their Laws, and their Country, which Nature and Religion obliged them to defend: And tho' the Provocation was high, when the Houſe of* Auſtria *labour'd to make that Kingdom Hereditary, which was originally Elective; and to ſubvert the Laws and Liberties of the People, who were by their Conſtitutions free as any Nation of the World, and to introduce upon them Tyranny and Oppreſſion, with the loſs of their Privileges and Religion; yet he would not juſtifie himſelf upon any of thoſe Topicks, but rather inſiſt on his Innocence, and Avow that he did never Enter into any League with the* Turk, *nor take up Arms againſt his Sovereign; againſt whom, neither by himſelf, or his Subjects he had committed any act of Hoſtility; but to the contrary had blindly obey'd the Commands of his Imperial Majeſty, the which appear'd by the Negotiation of Father* Forſtal *in his behalf; by whom he ſent his only Son for a Hoſtage, and with him a blank Paper, that the Emperor might inſcribe therein what Articles and Conditions he judged fit; moreover, that he had enjoyned his Son-in-Law, Prince* Ragotski, *to ſubmit unto the Emperor, at a time when he was at the Head of an Army, and poſſeſſed the Narrow paſſes leading to the Mountains, and other advantageous places of great importance. He deny'd all Intercourſe and Correſpondence with the* Turks, *unleſs it were with intention to betray them; and that when they tempted his Faith and Fidelity to the Emperor with large offers of reward, he diſcover'd all to the Count of* Rothal, *to whom he Read the very Letters which were ſent to him; and held no Treaty with any, but what he had made known to his Imperial Majeſty. He highly inſiſted on the promiſes made him by the Baron* Oker *Lord Chancellour, who aſſured him that the Diſgrace into which he was fallen, ſhould ſerve to raiſe him to higher Dignities; and that Prince* Lubkovitz *had, in the preſence of Baron* Oker, *promiſed him great rewards, in caſe he could take off Prince* Ragotski, *his Son-in-Law, from the diſaffected Party: Which he had accordingly done, and ſo well ſucceeded therein, that immediately upon the Receipt of his Letter,* Ragotski *had ſet Count* Staremberg *at Liberty, and entirely ſubmitted himſelf with all his Forces to the Will and Devotion of his Majeſty: After all which and much more, that he could alledge in juſtification of himſelf, he might reaſonably hope, that his Majeſty, who was a Prince of unparallell'd Clemency, would deal with him after the generous Example of* Julius Cæſar, *who burnt the Letters of* Pompey *and* Scipio *without Reading, tho' thereby he might have diſcover'd the Names, and Plots of all the Conſpirators againſt him: And tho' he could not hope for, or deſire ſuch an implicite manner of proceeding; yet he expected ſo much Juſtice, as to have his Cauſe try'd before Wiſe and Impartial Judges.* 1681.

Nadaſti *betrays Serini.*

This Leter had much availed with the Emperor, had not Count *Nadaſti*, Brother-in-Law to *Serini*, inſinuated to the Council, the Fictions and falſe Colours contained therein: To which diſcovery even Prince *Ragotski* his Son-in-Law much contributed, by reſigning into the hands of the Emperor's Miniſters, all thoſe original Letters written to

him

1681. him by his Father-in-Law, by which all the methods and meaſures of the Deſign were plainly laid open and expoſed: And his Enemies ſupply'd with ſufficient Crimes to lay unto his Charge, and to fill an Endictment againſt him. Such is the falſity of this World, in which there is no Faith either amongſt Friends or Relations. In the mean time the General of the Imperial Army advanced his Forces againſt the Malecontents, who ſtill ſtood out, and entertained thoughts of Retiring with their Families into the Dominions of the *Turks*: To prevent which he march'd with 15 Regiments againſt *Padock*, *Mongatz* and *Erſchet*, places belonging to *Ragotski*: In the firſt of which the Princeſs *Ragotski*, going before, prepar'd a Magnificent Banket for General *Sporke*, to whom, after the Entertainment, ſhe deliver'd the Keys of the place, and preſented him with a Horſe and Furniture rated at the value of about Eleven thouſand *Roman Crowns*: And having here placed a Garriſon, as alſo in *Padock*, *Czalos*, *Serentz* and *Mongatz*, Lieutenant General *Heiſter* Marched to *Erſchet*, where many and the moſt conſiderable of the Malecontents were retir'd, and refuſed to receive any Garriſon, either from the Emperor or the Prince *Ragotski*, until firſt a Pardon or act of Oblivion were given them in due form and manner; and herein they ſo reſolutely perſiſted, that they levelled their Cannon againſt the Imperial Forces, by which the Landtgrave of *Heſſe* had his Horſe killed under him; and would have maintain'd their Poſt to the laſt extremity, but that General *Sporke* being more willing to uſe Lenity than Rigour, ſent to the Beſieged a blank Paper, promiſing, on Condition of Surrender, to yield unto all the Articles that they ſhould write therein; which being accepted, and the Capitulations drawn, the Town was deliver'd. The City of *Caſſovia* following the Example of *Erſchet*, open'd their Gates to the Imperialiſts, and promiſed to give Free quarters to the Soldiers, provided they might have and enjoy a free exerciſe of their Religion: This City of *Caſſovia*, ſince the time it had acknowledged the *Auſtrian* Family for their Soveraigns, had never been violated, or ſaw entrance forcibly made thereinto: For which Reaſon, the General was pleaſed to make a Triumphant Entry, and to paſs with his Army through the midſt of its Street with Trumpets, Hautboys, and all ſorts of Warlike Muſick; and having left a ſufficient Garriſon therein, he proceeded to take in other Towns and Countries, which for the moſt part ſubmitted to the prevailing Power; tho' with much Regret and Diſpleaſure to ſee themſelves ſubjected by Foreign Forces, and by Garriſons ſtronger than the Inhabitants; eſpecially the County of *Zemplin* highly contended, and ſeemed reſolved to oppoſe themſelves againſt ſuch maſterleſs Gueſts, until General *Sporke* threatned to give them no Quarter, and in caſe of reſiſtance, to enter their Country with Fire and Sword. 1681.

Erſchet *ſtands out.*

Surrenders on Conditions.

Caſſovia *yields.*

Zemplin *refuſes to take* German *Garriſons.*

Baſſory, and other Chiefs of the diſcontented Party, being affrighted with theſe Menaces, deſired *Apaſi*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, to grant them Protection and Refuge within his Dominions: But he being forbidden by the *Turks* to receive their Perſons, or own their Cauſe, abſolutely refuſed to grant them quarters or ſafety within his Country: Upon which denial they fled into *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, where they diſperſed and concealed themſelves, until a more proper time preſented to aſſert their Liberty.

The Malecontents fly into Moldavia.

Thus was all *Hungary* entirely ſubjected to the Command and Power of the Emperor; excepting only *Muran*, which was the City and Seat of the late Palatine *Weſſellini*, and which was then guarded and defended by his Widow; and was, as believed, the place where the Conſultations were held, and where the Plots and Factions were carried on. To take in this place Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* appear'd before it, with a conſiderable party both of Horſe and Foot, againſt which the Counteſs being not able to make any long reſiſtance, yielded the place upon honourable Conditions. Amongſt other Malecontents which were there ſeized, *Nagiferents* who had been the Chief Confident of the late Palatine *Weſſellini*, and Secretary of the League, was there ſecur'd with all his Papers, which made a diſcovery of the whole Plot, and of the Names of the principal Actors therein. Theſe Papers were contain'd in five Cheſts, conſiſting of Letters, Inſtructions, Treaties, Acts, &c. which being ſent to *Vienna* and there examined, it plainly appear'd thereby, what part Count *Nadaſti* was to perform, and how far he was engaged: It diſcover'd farther, all the proceedings both of *Serini* and *Frangipani*, and furniſhed their Enemies with Articles againſt them: And ſeveral Letters were intercepted, which made the Counteſs of *Weſſellini* to be one of the Complices, and concerned in the Conſpiracy. *Nadaſti* had all this time diſſembled his Party, and ſeemed zealous for the Emperor againſt the Malecontents, keeping himſelf quiet, and retired within his Caſtle of *Puttendorf*. But ſo ſoon as he underſtood, that the Secretary with his Papers was ſeized, his Conſcience ſmote him, ſo that he provided for his Eſcape, intending with 500 Horſe to make his way for *Venice*; but before he could prepare to be gone, his Caſtle was Inveſted by the Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Heiſter*, and he himſelf

Muran *yielded.*

Nagiferents *ſeized.*

Nadaſti *diſcovered to be in the Plot.*

himſelf ſeized in his Bed and carried to *Vienna*; where by order of the Emperor, he was lodg'd in the Common Houſe belonging to the Nobility of *Hungary*, where after he had remain'd 3 days he acknowledged his Crimes, and humbly beg'd the mercy and pardon of the Emperor; but his Crimes were too black, and wrote in too large and plain Characters to deſerve a remiſſion. And beſides, he was poſſeſs'd of vaſt Riches, having eight Millions of Livers in ready Money by him; which being a Prey that the Chief Miniſters of State might vouchſafe to ſtoop unto, they colour'd his Actions with a dye more black than thoſe Accuſations which were objected againſt *Serini*, or *Frangipani*. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, and the Indictments drawing up againſt theſe three great Perſonages, the Aſſembly of *Hungarians* met at *Leuſch*, repreſented unto the Emperor, That it was their undoubted Right according to the Conſtitutions of that Kingdom (to the obſervation of which the Emperor had religiouſly Sworn) to be the Judges themſelves of the Nobles, and others of their Country who were accuſed of Treaſon, or other Crimes; and therefore they deſir'd that a ſpeedy day might be fix'd for the Tryal of thoſe three Counts, whoſe Cauſe was only to be heard before the Palatine and Deputies of that Kingdom. Moreover they preſum'd to repreſent unto his Imperial Majeſty, That it was one of the Fundamental Laws and Conſtitutions of their Country, to have the Office of Palatine ſupply'd ſoon after the vacancy; which having now been void for a conſiderable time, all thoſe Acts which have paſs'd ſince, ought to be eſteem'd null, and of no effect.

His Pardon deny'd.

The Aſſembly at Leuſch require a maintenance of their Privileges

The Emperor who was well enough ſatiſfy'd within himſelf that what was here alledg'd, was the true and undoubted Right of the People of that Kingdom (to obſerve which he had Sworn at his Coronation) was inclinable to gratifie his People with a conceſſion of theſe juſt Privileges; but his Chief Miniſters and Councellors diſſwaded him from it, alledging that ſuch a Condeſcenſion as this, would raiſe again the Spirits of the Malecontents to ſuch a degree, as would blow up the fire of Rebellion into a flame: That it was improper and incongruous to put the Tryal of the three Counts into the hands of thoſe who were Conſpirators and Complices in the ſame Plot with them: That the People of *Hungary* had forfeited all their Charters and Privileges by their Rebellion and Revolt, having ſought for aid and protection from the *Turks*, who are mortal Enemies both of the Emperor, and all Chriſtendom. That *Serini*, and *Nadaſti*, were actually Officers and Servants of the Emperor; the firſt being Vice-King of *Croatia*, and the other Preſident of his Majeſty's Privy-Council; and for that Reaſon could not decline the Juriſdiction of that Court, which his Imperial Majeſty ſhould erect for their Tryal.

The Reaſons why the Emperor denies to allow them.

Theſe Reaſons being given to the Aſſembly at *Leuſch*, little reply could be made thereunto, nor knew they well how to proceed in other Matters; in regard that being compos'd of different Religions and Intereſts, their Meeting broke up abruptly without any Concluſion.

It will not be neceſſary in this place to enlarge upon the ſeveral Tryals of the Counts, *Serini*, *Nadaſti*, and *Frangipani*; as alſo of Count *Taſſembach*, and *Nagiſerents* Secretary of the League; let it be ſufficient for us, to ſay that they were all Judicially Arraign'd, and receiv'd Puniſhments agreeable to the blackneſs of their Crimes; only we ſhall add, that *Nadaſti* was Executed at *Vienna*, and the ſame day *Serini* and *Frangipani* at *Newſtadt*. The Emperor out of his innate Clemency and Mercy reſtor'd their Eſtates in Land to their Children, with Orders only to change their Arms, and Names. And accordingly, the Children of *Nadaſti*, which were eleven in number, took the Names of *Creuzemberg*, and the Son of *Serini* was call'd *Gadé*, who was a Gentleman of ſuch Integrity, and of that Loyalty to the Emperor, that when his Father was living, and would have given him for a Hoſtage to the *Turks*, he refus'd to ſubmit unto ſuch a diſhonourable Character, proteſting that he would continue uncorrupt in his Allegiance to his Prince. Howſoever afterwards being provok'd, and reſenting highly the death of his Father, he deſerted thoſe Principles, and in revenge joyn'd himſelf with the Malecontents in their defection. *Taſſembach* us'd ſuch Arts and Subterfuges, ſupported by the intereſt of powerful Friends, as conſerv'd his Life for ſeven Months after the death of the aforeſaid Lords, tho' afterwards he was forc'd alſo to ſubmit unto his Fate.

The three Counts are put to death.

1670.

Their Children change their Names.

Notwithſtanding all this Care and Severity of the Emperor, the fire of diſcontent could not be ſmother'd, but in other places under different Heads and Leaders burſt forth into a flame. Count *Tekeli* the Father was one of thoſe who appear'd openly in the Field; declaring, That tho' he had ever own'd all Fidelity and Allegiance to the Emperor, yet he deſir'd to be number'd amongſt thoſe good Patriots, who were oblig'd both in Honour, Conſcience, and Religion, to maintain and defend the Rights, Privileges and Liberties of their Country.

Count Tekeli the Father Rebels.

Count

Old Tekeli *dies.*

1681. Count *Tekeli* to maintain this Cauſe, fortify'd himſelf in his Caſtle of *Kus*, with a Garriſon of 800 *Heyducks*, and caus'd all his Subjects with the *Morlaques* to take up Arms for his defence. Col. *Heiſter* with a conſiderable Force was diſ-ſpeeded to ſuppreſs this Party, which was the only open Enemy then appearing in the Field; but whilſt preparations were making to Beſiege this Caſtle Count *Tekeli* died therein, and reſign'd up his Cauſe and Country to be maintain'd by his Son; who afterwards was the grand Incendiary that again kindled the fire of War, which continu'd for many years; and in concluſion miſerably waſted the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and prov'd fatal to the *Ottoman* Empire. And tho' in courſe of time the *Turks* were driven out of that Kingdom, and the Emperor gain'd an abſolute Dominion therein, as of a Conquer'd Country, yet it was done with ſuch an effuſion of Chriſtian blood, and with the loſs of ſo many brave Captains, and valiant Soldiers, that the price or purchaſe thereof ſeems to have been gain'd at a dear rate.

His Caſtle is ſurrender'd.

In fine, I ſay, Count *Tekeli* the Father dy'd in his Caſtle, which being hardly preſs'd by the *German* Forces, was Surrender'd to Count *Paul Eſterhaſi* General of the Kingdom. But young *Tekeli*, together with his Kinſmen, *Kizir de Paragozi*, and *Petrozzi*, made their eſcapes, and retir'd to *Licoüa*; but being alſo purſu'd unto that place, which could not long ſtand out, theſe young Lords made a ſecond eſcape from thence by night, and fled to *Huſſe* a very ſtrong Caſtle in *Tranſilvania*, but *Paragozi* was taken Priſoner in his way thither, and carried to *Vienna*, and *Licoüa* was Surrender'd.

Fears from Apaſi.

1681. Apaſi *maintains the Cauſe of the Malecontents.*

1671. Thus whilſt all Commotions ſeem'd to have been appeas'd and quieted in *Hungary*, and that *Eſterhaſi*, the General, with Colonel *Heiſter*, were return'd to *Vienna*, freſh Advices were brought to the Emperor, that the Chiefs of the Malecontents with great numbers of People were fled into *Tranſilvania*, under protection of the *Turks*, and that Prince *Apaſi* by Order of the Port, had given them aſſurance of Safety within his Dominions; upon condition that as Subjects, they ſhould pay *Carach*, or Pole-Money, to the Grand Seignior. But what Adminiſtred the greateſt apprehenſion, was the rumour that *Apaſi* had been at *Conſtantinople*, and there concerted and agree'd upon the methods of War; and that upon his return the Malecontents had held long Conferences with the *Paſha* of *Varadin*, and with the Ambaſſadors of *Tartary*, and the Agents from *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*; and that all the Troops which were in their Quarters near *Adrianople* had Orders to march into *Hungary*, where the Garriſons were to be reinforc'd, and the Stores and Magazines repleniſh'd. 'Tis certain that *Apaſi* being of the Proteſtant Religion, was affected with much compaſſion towards the poor *Hungarians*, who for that Reaſon, and for maintaining the Liberties and Privileges of their Country, were forc'd to yield up their Lands, and abandon their Habitations; and therefore it will not be ſtrange, in caſe we find him abetting that Party, and uſing all his endeavours and intereſt with the *Turks* to engage them in this Quarrel.

1671.

The Emperor alarm'd hereat, treats his Subjects more mildly.

The Turks *refuſe to aſſiſt the Malecontents.*

1671.

The Reaſons why.

The Emperor on the other ſide alarm'd with theſe Preparations, ſends ſtrict and ſevere Orders, enjoyning all the Officers and Commanders of his Forces on the Frontiers, carefully to abſtain from Incurſions within the Dominions of the *Turks*: And a little to aſſwage the exaſperated Spirits of his diſcontented Subjects, he reſolves to treat them with more kindneſs, and gentle uſage than formerly. And in the mean time, for fear of the worſt, and to provide againſt the dangers ſo imminently hanging over their heads, he gave Orders that a Survey ſhould be made of all the Magazines and Arſenals on the Frontiers, and an account taken of the Cannon and Arms. But the Emperor remain'd not long in theſe doubtful apprehenſions, before he receiv'd Intelligence from his Envoy, lately diſpatch'd to *Conſtantinople* to ſound the minds and intentions of the Vizier, that the Grand Seignior did not deſign a War againſt the Emperor, and that he had refus'd to hear or receive any Propoſitions made by the Malecontents. For whether it was, that this Vizier out of a Principle of Juſtice deny'd to ſide or joyn with Rebels againſt their own Prince, or out of a ſence of Honour to that Peace which he himſelf having made, did eſteem Sacred. Or whether it was, that he thought a War againſt *Poland* at that time would be more Honourable and Advantageous to the Empire; or perhaps all theſe Conſiderations together might divert him from deſigns againſt *Hungary*. The War was reſerv'd for another Vizier, and until the ſpace of ten years afterwards, of which diſmal effects we ſhall diſcourſe in their due places.

The Emperor ſends Preſents to the Grand Seignior.

In the mean time the Emperor diſpatch'd Secretary *Perez* with Preſents to the Grand Seignior, and Grand Vizier, to confirm the Peace, and renew the Truce (for ſo it may be call'd, rather than a Peace) of twenty years longer; the which Preſents were accepted, and all matters eſtabliſh'd to the ſatisfaction of both Princes.

Now had the Emperor time to ſeize on the forfeited Eſtates of the three Counts, who were lately Executed for High Treaſon;

1681.

The Eſtates of the three Counts converted to the uſe of the Emperor.

1671.

ſon, ſo their Jewels and Plate which were very valuable, together with the Treaſure of *Nadaſti*, who was Richer than all the others, were carried on 8 Waggons to *Vienna*, and the Caſtle of *Puttendorſ*, with the Gardens and Houſes of Pleaſure belonging to *Nadaſti*, were given to General *Montecuculi*. Nor were the moveables of *Tekeli* the Father lately deceas'd, together with his Rich Furniture, Jewels, Plate, and Horſes of high price, leſs conſiderable than thoſe of the afore-mention'd Lords, all which were converted to the uſe of the Emperor.

Conditions made with Prince Ragotski

The Prince *Ragotski*, who (as we have ſaid before) proceeded more warily than his other Aſſociates, had ſeaſonably made his peace with the Emperor, and obtain'd his Pardon, on Condition that he ſhould renounce his right of Sovereignty over the Town of *Trenſchin*; That he ſhould ſend 200000 Florins to that Town for payment of the Garriſon there, and ſhould ſend a like Sum to the Emperor's Coffers at *Vienna*, and that he ſhould out of his own Revenue maintain 500 Soldiers in the upper *Hungary*, and ſupply them with Ammunition, and all things neceſſary for the War.

The Inhabitants and Soldiers of Caſſovia *Fight.*

About this time the Inhabitants and Soldiers of *Kalo*, and *Tokai*, fell at variance together about their Quarters and Proviſions; and at *Caſſovia* the Citizens Conſpir'd to make a Maſſacre in one Night of all the *German* Soldiers; but the Plot being diſcover'd, both ſides came to an open Fight together, which continu'd long; but at length the Soldiers gain'd the advantage, having kill'd and made Priſoners almoſt all the Citizens.

A Diet at Presburg.

This Accident made but an ill preparation for a Diet, which the Emperor had Summon'd to meet at *Presburg* on the firſt day of the enſuing year, and call'd thereunto by eſpecial Writ all the Nobility and Deputies of the upper and the lower *Hungary*. But when the time came, there was but a ſmall appearance; moſt of the Deputies declaring that they abſented themſelves, by reaſon that they would not concur with their own conſents to the abrogation of their ancient Laws and Privileges of their Country, which the Emperor deſign'd to reduce to the ſame Conſtitution with that of his Hereditary Dominions.

The Deputies afraid to meet.

Other Deputies refus'd to appear without Letters of Licenſe, or ſafe Conducts and Pardons from the Emperor for what was formerly done by them in the late Commotions. But this Act of Grace and Clemency being deny'd, by reaſon of that conſtant Correſpondence which the Malecontents held with the *Turks*; the Emperor's Commiſſioners, namely the Count *Rothal*, who was Chief Plenipotentiary, the Archbiſhop of *Gran*, and others, proceeded to open the Diet upon the *24th* of *January*, to which time the Aſſembly was adjourn'd; but neither then, nor on the *3d* of *February*, to which time a farther adjournment was made, not one of the Deputies of the upper *Hungary* making their Appearance, his Majeſty being deſirous to provide for the ſafety of his Subjects, even againſt their own wills, made this following Declaration; which we have thought fit to inſert, for better underſtanding of this Hiſtory, and contracted for brevity thereof.

1681.

LEOPOLD, *by the Grace of God Emperor of the* Romans, *&c. This is to make known unto all Men, that having happily extinguiſh'd the Fire of Rebellion in this Our Kingdom of* Hungary, *and puniſh'd thoſe ungrateful Perſons who were the Chief Incendiaries; and who growing wanton with thoſe Benefits which We had heaped upon them, violated their Bonds of Allegiance to Us, and ſeducing to their Party many of the Nobility, with divers Towns, and all the Eſtates of this Kingdom, call'd Strangers to their aid and aſſiſtance, and rais'd an Army to oppoſe Our Power and Dominion. In purſuance whereof, they Beſieg'd* Tokai, *where We had plac'd a Garriſon, kill'd great numbers of Our Soldiers, taken the Convoys which we had ſent for ſupply of* Zatmar; *fought againſt that Army which We had ſent to ſuppreſs the Troubles of* Hungary; *and to abate and diminiſh Our Authority, ſeveral unlawful Aſſemblies were held for contriving and carrying on a War againſt Us; by which Councels Our good Subjects being diſturb'd, the* Turks *Invited into Our Dominions, Our Royal Treaſury pillag'd, Incurſions made into* Auſtria, Stiria, Moravia, *and other Our Hereditary Dominions, and at length a Conſpiracy was made againſt Our Life, which was prevented by the Divine Providence of God Almighty. And now whereas it is a Duty incumbent on Us to provide for the ſafety of thoſe People which God hath committed to Our Charge; and that* Chriſtendom *and* Hungary *may not for the future be expos'd to the like Diſorders, We have by Our Abſolute Power and Imperial Authority made an exact Regulation of the Military Quarters; allotting the number of Soldiers which every County is to maintain; and the Orders and Decorum which Soldiers are to keep, that they may not moleſt or trouble the Inhabitants where they are Quarter'd. And We require all Perſons concern'd, without Excuſe, Delay, or Conditions whatſoever, to ſubmit unto that power which God hath given Us over them;*

which

1681. *which We have been compell'd to maintain by force of Arms, and which We ſhall continue ſo to do. And therefore We give notice to all Our Subjects, that they peaceably ſubmit unto Our power, leſt Our Clemency be turn'd into Severity; and that contrary to Our Nature, being provok'd by ſo many Injuries, Treaſons, and Rebellions, We be enforc'd to execute Our Wrath on thoſe who have abus'd Our Indulgence, and cauſe them to taſte the direful effects of Our Rigour.*

Given at *Vienna* the *21ſt* of *March*, 1671.

The Declaration enforced.

The Emperor to eſtabliſh and confirm this his Remonſtrance by force of Arms, cauſed his Regiments which were in *Bohemia*, *Sileſia*, *Moravia* and *Auſtria* to march with ſpeed into *Hungary*, with Cannon and all the Train of Artillery: Which when the Malecontents perceived, and conſider'd their ill Fortune and Succeſſes, having in every place been worſted in all the Fights and Reencounters againſt the Emperor's Forces, and that the Grand Vizier had forbidden *Apaſi* Prince of *Tranſilvania*, and all the *Paſhas* of *Hungary* to yield Aſſiſtance or Protection to them: They began then to think they had taken falſe Courſes againſt their Sovereign Prince; and reſolved for the future to ſubmit with blind obedience to the Commands and Decrees of the Emperor, ſerving themſelves only of Prayers and Petitions to obtain his Pardon, and a remiſſion of his Rigours and Oppreſſions. But it was now too late, for his Imperial Majeſty being highly provok'd by their frequent Rebellions, was ſo far from granting their Requeſts; That beſides their uſual Taxes and Impoſitions, he laid a farther charge on them of maintaining an Army of 30.000 Men, which were quarter'd in their Cities and Towns, and upon their Lands and Eſtates of Inheritance.

The Hungarians repent, but too late.

1672.

The Emperor alters the Government of Hungary.

With theſe Succeſſes, and the Deſtruction and Death of the Chief Leaders of the Malecontented Party: *Hungary* was conſider'd by the Imperialiſts as a Conquered Kingdom, and therefore to be ſubjected unto ſuch Laws, as the Emperor ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon them. The great Office and Dignity of Palatine, who was always a Perſon of the nobleſt Deſcent and higheſt Degree; was by the ancient Privileges of that Kingdom elected at a Diet, conſiſting of the ſeveral Orders of the Nation: But now the Emperor aſſumed this Power unto himſelf, pretending that the ſame was forfeited to him by the Revolt of the People; and ſo in the lieu of Palatine, he thought fit to Govern by ſuch a Perſon as he himſelf ſhould chuſe, and impoſe without the Concurrence of the States, by the Name and Title of *Vice King*: And in lieu, and by way of reſemblance of a Diet, he erected a Sovereign Chamber, or Council conſiſting of a Preſident, Chancellor, and two Secretaries, one a *German* and the other a *Hungarian*, with about ſix or ſeven Councellors, or ſo many as his Imperial Majeſty ſhould think fit to add, to whom the Adminiſtration of all the Affairs of that Kingdom was committed. The Perſon deſtinated and appointed for this conſiderable charge, was *John Gaſper Ampringhen* Prince of the Empire, and Grand Maſter of the Teutonick Order, which was an Office ſo conſiderable, that the late Arch-Duke *Leopold*, Uncle to the preſent Emperor, did not diſdain to own; this Prince being an *Hungarian* by Birth, and qualified with many Vertues, and having perform'd many brave Actions and Atchievements, was eſteemed worthy of this Auguſt honour. His zeal for Religion, and advancement of the Chriſtian Cauſe was well known to all the World; having in the year 1664 brought two Regiments, one of Horſe and the other of Foot to the Imperial Army, commanded by the Cavaliers of his own Order, and maintained at his own expence during all the time that that War laſted. After which, and that the *Turks* renew'd their War again in *Candia*, he ſent a conſiderable body of Foot, Commanded by ſeveral Cavaliers of his own Order, into the Service of the *Venetian* Republick; and afterwards went himſelf in Chief to Command them within the beſieged City, where he perform'd ſuch noble Actions of Chivalry, as obtain'd the acknowledgement of the Senate, and procured likewiſe a Brief from the Pope with ſuch obliging Expreſſions, as denoted the ſingular eſteem he had of his Perſon and Merits. In fine, ſuch were the deſerts and qualifications of this Grand Maſter, that the Emperor remain'd entirely ſatisfied with his Abilities, as being agreeable and every ways ſuiting with this Honourable Promotion; to which being called, he appeared at *Vienna*, attended with a great and an expenſive Equipage, and with many Knights of his own Order.

1681.

The character of the Grand Maſter of the Teutonick Order.

ANNO 1673.

This new Vice-King having taken his Inſtructions, and Leave from the Emperor departed from *Vienna*, and made his Entry into *Caſſovia* on the *22d* day of *March*, with Acclamations and univerſal Contentment of the People. Great was the expectation which the World conceived of the wiſdom and good conduct of this new Vice-King, as the only perſon who was able to appeaſe the Diſturbances, and compoſe the Diſorders of that Kingdom. And indeed he ſo well behaved himſelf, together with the Sovereign Council over which he preſided, that Juſtice took its courſe, the Poor were relieved from the Oppreſſion of their unmerciful Lords, and a ſtop given to the proceedings of thoſe wickedneſſes, which in the Licentious times of War had paſſed without puniſhment: All orders of Men began now to yield due obedience to their Superiours, Innocence was protected and Offences puniſhed; the Soldiers lived under the good Diſcipline of their Officers, and the Citizens in good Correſpondence with the Soldiers. Many wholſome Laws were made for the benefit of the People, and for their Security from the violence of the Army, eſpecially in their Marches. And above all the Vice-King endeavoured to reconcile the affections of the Malecontents by his gentleneſs, and moderation towards them.

The good Government of the Vice-King.

The Clergy diſturb the quiet of the Country.

But what the Civil Magiſtrates acted in order to a compoſure and ſetlement, was diſturbed and over-thrown by the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, whoſe buſineſs being to extirpate Hereſie (as they called it) thy proceeded by methods agreeable thereunto, which were to take away their Churches, Seize and Impriſon their Paſtors and Teachers, and proſecute the People with the ſeverity of their Courts: The which Perſecutions ſo exaſperated the Spirits of the Proteſtants againſt the Emperor and his Government, that the Fire of War, which had for ſome time been cover'd with Embers, was ready to break out into a more violent Flame than before: For now the Proteſtants were encouraged by an Alliance they had made with the *Tranſilvanians*, and by the Protection which the *Turk* had promiſed to give them within his Dominions, notwithſtanding the aſſurances formerly made to the Emperor by the Vizier to the contrary. The *Tranſilvanians* pretended a quarrel for recovery of the Counties of *Zatmar* and *Zambolich* belonging to their Principality, which the Prince *Ragotski* had without right yielded to the Emperor. The *Turks* declared themſelves offended, by the daily Hoſtilities committed by the Imperialiſts, who purſuing the Malecontents within their Dominions, did not abſtain from thoſe Violences, which are uſually practiſed in an Enemies Country; and by ſuch Actions as theſe, both Nations were ready to break forth into an open Rupture.

A War breaks out.

With theſe hopes and encouragements, the Malecontents betook themſelves again to their Arms under the Command of *Erdedi*, *Petrozzi*, *Succhai*, *Kende*, *Zepeti*, and ſeveral other Lords, and Perſons of power and intereſt in their Country. The time appear'd favourable and advantageous to their enterpriſe, for the Walls of moſt of the Towns were then beaten down, and the old Works ſlighted, with deſign to Rebuild, and make them ſtronger according to the new way and manner of Fortifications. Proviſions were alſo wanting in moſt of the Garriſons, and the *German*, as well as the *Hungarian* Troops were in Mutiny for want of pay. And this was the time, which the Malecontents choſe to put themſelves in Arms, and renew the War.

The time choſen for the War.

1673.

Colonel Soyer defeated.

At the beginning whereof being 12000 ſtrong, they gain'd the Paſſage of *Teyllas*, and advanced as far as *Caſſovia*, which they blocked up, and Defeated five Troops of Dragoons, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *de Soyer*, and by the advantage of a dark and a rainy Night cut them to pieces, the Lieutenant Colonel only with ſome few of his Soldiers making an eſcape into *Caſſovia*. After this Succeſs they proceeded to *Eſperies* and took it without much loſs, by the Cowardice of the Officer which Commanded it; and in divers other Skirmiſhes worſted the Imperialiſts.

The Imperialiſts revenge themſelves.

The Emperor having received advices of this new Inſurrection, immediately diſ-ſpeeded General *Kops* with an Army of 10.000 Men into *Hungary*, to which were 4 or 5000 Men more joyned under the Command of Count *Eſterhaſi*, and *Valentine Balaſſi*, compoſed almoſt all of Horſe, and of Men true and loyal to the Emperor's intereſt. Such an Army as this could not remain long without Action, both Parties deſiring to come to an Engagement, which ſoon afterwards happened at the Paſſage of *Branitza*; where Colonel *Smith* and Count *Palſi*, who led the Van-guard charged the Malecontents who defended ſome narrow Paſſes with ſo much valour, that they killed a 1000 of them on the place, beſides many others who were wounded and taken Priſoners, with the loſs only of 15 or 16 Soldiers.

1673.

After this Defeat, the Malecontents marched by the way of *Serentz*, about two Leagues diſtant from *Tokai*, and inveſted *Zatmar*; but a Sally being made out of the Town by Lieutenant Colonel *Staremberg*, who Commanded there in Chief, they were forced to raiſe their Siege, with the loſs of ſeveral Colours and many Priſoners: Likewiſe General *Kops* and *Spankau* purſued them ſo cloſely at the Heels, that with great loſs and difficulty they were enforced to paſs the *Theyſs*. Divers places at the ſame time ſurrender'd, as the Caſtle of *Meges*, and the Town of *Nagibania*, the which places were diſmantled, and their Walls thrown down: And as the Imperialiſts were towards the end of the year, returning to their Winter quarters, they met a party of 500 Horſe belonging to the Malecontented party, of which they killed 300 on the place, and took divers Priſoners, one of which was the Son of *Succhai*, one of the Chief Leaders of the Rebel party.

The Roman Clergy ſeize on the Proteſtant Churches.
1673.

A Bloody Outrage committed.

It is revenged.

Thus whil'ſt it went ill in all places with the Malecontents, the Popiſh Clergy took courage to aſſert their right to divers Churches and Chapels, which they pretended to belong unto them, and to thoſe of their Religion, and by force of Arms took poſſeſſion of them, which they held until ſuch time, as that the Proteſtant party became ſtrong enough to eject them, and executed this deſign without much oppoſition in all the Counties of *Nitria*, *Trenſchin*, *Turoz*, *Stranian*, *Lippovia*, and in ſeveral Towns and Villages of the Mountains; where they ſet up and exerciſed the Popiſh Religion, with all the Rites and Ceremonies, to the great Scandal and Diſpleaſure of the *Hungarians*. Particularly in the Month of *June*, at a Town called *Senetz*, the Curate of the Pariſh was zealous to celebrate in a publick, and ſolemn manner the Feſtival of *Corpus Chriſti*, and to carry the Sacrament in Proceſſion: Which Feaſt happening to be on a day, when a Fair was held at that Town, which brought a great concourſe of People thither, the Prieſt fearing ſome affront from the Multitude, deſired the Governour of *Branitz* to afford him a Serjeant and 12 Soldiers to accompany the Sacrament, and defend it from the violence and prophaneneſs of the Hereticks. Which being granted, as the Prieſt was carrying the Sacrament in Proceſſion, he was aſſaulted by the People, and killed by them, together with the 12 Soldiers which were ſent for his Guard. So ſoon as Count *Staremberg* had news of this Sacrilegious Murder, he marched to the Town with his own Regiment, and ſeveral Troops of *German* Horſe, for puniſhment of the Authors of this abominable wickedneſs; which he executed with all the Rigour and Severity imaginable, for he pillaged and burned their Houſes, and put every one to the Sword, excepting thoſe who ſaved their Lives by eſcaping into the Woods.

The obſtinacy of the Malecontents.

After all theſe Defeats and many others given to the Malecontents, and this vaſt effuſion of Blood, it might well be imagin'd, that an end would have been put to this War, which had neither a ſetled Council, nor a Fund of Money, nor an Intereſt of great Men to ſupport it. Howſoever, ſuch was the force and power, which the Preachers uſed in their Sermons to the People, inciting them to a Defence of their Religion, the Exerciſe of which the Emperor (as they ſaid) had determined to take from them, that they reſolved to die in the maintenance thereof; being perſwaded that their Friends and Companions, who had already ſacrificed their Lives in that Cauſe, were real Martyrs, and had obtained the Crown which was laid up in Heaven for them. Nor were the Proteſtants only in the mind to Wage a War, but even the Roman Catholicks alſo, who being moved by another Principle of defending the Privileges and Freedom of their People, thought it their Duty to riſe up and aſſert the Cauſe of their native Country and Nation. For tho' they owned all Duty and Obedience to the Emperor, yet being but an Elective King, and one to whom the People had ſworn Allegiance on Condition that he ſhould maintain them in the ancient Rights, and Prileges of that Kingdom, they held themſelves no longer obliged thereunto, after he had violated all their Laws, and abſolutely ſubverted the ancient Fabrick of their Government, which he had apparently done in three inſtances. Firſt, In quartering *German* Soldiers in the Country and Towns, with intent to over-awe and govern them by an abſolute and an arbitrary Power. Secondly, By impoſing a Vice-King upon them, conſtituted ſolely by the Imperial Commiſſion, in lieu and place of a Palatine, who according to the ancient Conſtitutions was to be elected by a Diet, compoſed of the ſeveral Eſtates of that Kingdom. And Thirdly, Inſtead of ſuch a Diet the Emperor was pleaſed to erect a Sovereign Council conſiſting of ſuch Members, as he himſelf did think fit to nominate and appoint, over which the Vice-King was as Chief Commiſſioner to preſide. And thus the Parties of both Religions being diſguſted and animated to Fight *pro Aris & Focis*, for their Laws, their Country and Religion; Fury and Deſpair ſerved them in the place of Counſel, Money, and other Nerves and Sinews of War: So that when one party was cut off, another aroſe in greater numbers, and like *Hydra's* increaſed the more by being deſtroyed.

The aggrievances of the Hungarians.

Cruelties exerciſed on both ſides.
1673.

Amongſt which appear'd a bold Fellow nam'd *Striſiniski*, who pretended to be ſent by the Governors of the Mountain Towns, calling himſelf *Duke John*, and with his own name ſigned and iſſued out Commiſſions, and diſperſed them every where, as if he had been the Sole and Sovereign Prince of that Country. Many perſons adher'd to him, and followed his Standard, looking on him as a bold and a daring Fellow, who ſeldom gave quarter to any, much leſs to Jeſuits and Prieſts, to whom he never ſhowed mercy, whenſoever any of that character fell within his Power. The which was again revenged by Count *Strazoldo*, in ſuch cruel manner without diſtinction of perſons, either of guilty or innocent, that the Imperial Council taking notice thereof, ſent their Orders to him to uſe better moderation in his future actings, and to treat the *Hungarians* with more gentleneſs; which tho' he obſerved in reſpect to the Sword of his own Souldiers, who were forbidden to Maſſacre, or ſhed their Blood; yet being directed to take and bring them before the Courts of Juſtice, by which a ſpeedy Sentence was paſſed, and ſome were condemned to be hanged, ſome be quarter'd, others to be empaled, this way of proceſs ſeemed much more cruel and ſevere, than a ſpeedy Execution by the Sword of the Soldiery.

ANNO, 1674.

The Turks underhand aſſiſt the Malecontents.

Tho' the Grand Seignior had not as yet publickly own'd the cauſe of the Malecontents; howſoever the Paſha's and Officers had receiv'd private Inſtructions to countenance and favour their Cauſe, without open denunciations of a War, and many *Turks* in hopes of Plunder and Booty habited themſelves in the *Hungarian* faſhion, and joyn'd with their Troops; and ſeveral parties of *Turks* in great numbers, pretending that the *Chriſtians* in a Hoſtile manner had made Incurſions within their Territories, came openly to revenge them, and march'd as far as *Schentha*, from whence they carried away an *Hungarian* Gentleman with 7 Soldiers. Upon this Advice, Lieutenant Colonel *de Soyer* with his Dragoons, and *Huſſars*, Sallied out of the Town to the reſcue of the Priſoners; but being ſurpriz'd by 5 Companies of *Turkiſh* Foot, who iſſued out of an Ambuſcade, where they had conceal'd themſelves, *Soyer* himſelf was kill'd, with 2 Lieutenants, 1 Enſign, 4 Serjeants, and 80 common Soldiers.

The Garriſon of *Newhawſel* encourag'd with this Succeſs, continu'd their Incurſions along the River of *Waagh*, and made ſome depredations; but being purſu'd by the *Huſſars*, and *Heydukes* of *Comorra*, they were forc'd to ſurrender 200 Head of Cattle, together with all the Booty and Plunder they had taken.

Other Cruelties performed.

Thus whilſt Matters ſucceeded with various Succeſſes, but moſt commonly in favour of the Emperor, both Parties acted their Cruelties upon each other, the Malecontents as often as the Prieſts fell into their hands, they us'd them but very ſcurvily; they buried one of them alive, of others they cut off their Noſes and Ears, and hanged or ſtrangled others. In puniſhment of which, the Emperor Order'd the Vice-King to drive the Proteſtant Miniſters out of his Dominions, and to ſeize upon all their Churches to the uſe of the Catholicks; and not to ſuffer them to meet or exerciſe their Religious Worſhip therein. In purſuance of theſe Orders, the Biſhops of *Colonitz*, and *Javarow* ſeiz'd upon all the Churches, Schools, Livings, and Benefices whatſoever belonging to the Proteſtant Clergy within their Dioceſſes. And the Archbiſhop of *Strigonium*, Primate of that Kingdom, cited all the Proteſtant Miniſters to appear before him, and put many of them to the Queſtion, forcing them to confeſs who thoſe were who for the two laſt years were the chief Incendiaries of Seditions, and Authors of the Rebellion.

The Popiſh Biſhops ſeize the Livings of the Hungarian Clergy.

Nor were the ſmaller ſort of the Malecontents only perſecuted, but ſome of the great Men and chief Miniſters in the Emperor's Court were ſuſpected, and accuſed of correſpondence and intelligence with the Rebels. The Prince *Lubkovitz* Preſident of the Council was ſuſpected and accus'd; but whether that jealouſie aroſe from the near alliance in Blood he had with the Family of *Serini*, or from malicious Informations is uncertain; howſoever his Secretary by Order of the Emperor was put to the Torture; and tho' therein he confeſs'd nothing which could accuſe or reflect on his Maſter, yet he was treated as a guilty perſon, and all his Eſtate real and perſonal in *Auſtria* and *Bohemia* were ſeiz'd, and confiſcated to the uſe and benefit of the Emperor.

The Prince Lubkovitz *ſuſpected, and his Eſtate ſeiz'd.*

Count *Souches* had the like miſfortune to have his Fidelity and Loyalty ſuſpected, but in regard nothing could be prov'd againſt him, he was commanded to leave the Court, and retire to his Government of *Waradine*, or ſome other part of his Eſtate. The Son alſo in reſentment of this hard uſage of his Father, abandon'd the Court, and all the Offices he enjoy'd therein.

ANNO, 1675.

The Turks joyn with the Malecontents.

At the beginning of this year the *Turks* began more openly to aſſert the Cauſe of the Malecontents, making their Incurſions as far as *Freyſtadt* within the Neighbourhood of *Presburg*; forcing the People to do Homage, and pay Contributions to the Grand Seignior; and for default thereof, they burnt many Villages, and committed other acts of Hoſtility. The Malecontents at the ſame time defeated a great part of a *Croatian* Regiment, under the Command of *Colalto*. By which, and the Advices that the *Turks* were aſſembled in a Body of 14000 Men, within the Neighbourhood of *Newhawſel*, the Emperor fearing leſt they ſhould joyn with the Malecontents, convened the chief Lords and Gentlemen of *Hungary* at *Presburg*, to which place he ſent

The Emperor aſſembles a Diet at Presburg ſent Count *Siaki* to tender them Conditions of an accommodation, of which Prince *Apaſi* frankly offer'd himſelf to be the Mediator.

‘At this Aſſembly ſome of the more moderate Men, who were deſirous to bring Matters to a good underſtanding, repreſented unto their Companions the ruine and deſtruction which muſt neceſſarily enſue from a Civil War; and tho' the exerciſe of their Religion ought to be dearer to them than their Lives, and to be preferr'd before all earthly benefits; yet the ſame Religion taught them not to rebel againſt their Prince, or make Wars for the ſake thereof, whoſe foundation and deſign was peace; much leſs could they juſtifie the engaging the *Turk* therein, unleſs whilſt they profeſs'd themſelves Proteſtants, they acted like Mahometans.

1675.

The People poſſeſs'd with Zeal to their Religion.

But theſe and many other things were ſpoken in vain to Men who were poſſeſs'd with a Zeal for their Religion, and with an Opinion that they were Martyrs who died in defence thereof. And in regard thoſe of them who were in *Hungary* were not able to keep the Field, they were forc'd to flie and ſeek refuge in *Tranſilvania*, to the number of 5000. from whence they ſent one *Fabian* to *Conſtantinople* to Sollicit for aſſiſtance from the Grand Seignior; but the Affairs of the *Turks* not being as yet in a ſtate for anſwering ſuch demands, *Fabian* return'd with fair words, and with Orders to Prince *Apaſi* to give protection, and to aſſign Quarters to as many Malecontents as ſhould ſeek for refuge within the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, to which Country tho' the chief Heads and Leaders of that party were retired, yet there were ſeveral flying Troops in *Hungary* which infeſted the Country, and drove away Cattle from parts near unto the Gates of *Zatmar*, and burnt all the Villages round, which would not aſſent to pay the contributions they demanded of them.

A Treaty renew'd at Presburg.

In the mean time the Grand Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order, now Vice-King of *Hungary*, together with the Archbiſhop of *Gran*, and other Chiefs of the ſeveral Eſtates, having had divers Conferences about the Condition of that Kingdom, and of the manner how they might raiſe a conſiderable Sum of Money towards maintenance of the Troops which for conſervation of the Peace were ſent into that Country; but not being able to agree thereupon, nor upon what Fund the ſame might be levied, they went to *Presburg* with deſign to renew the Treaty with the Malecontents; that coming to a good underſtanding with them, a Tax or Impoſition might be equally charged by the common conſent and agreement of the Eſtates; and which coming with that Authority would be paid frankly without ſcruple, or oppoſition of the People. To bring Matters to this happy condition, the Vice-King offer'd in the Name of the Emperor, to grant a General Act of Pardon unto all thoſe who would lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to the Emperor's Authority; promiſing that they ſhould be reſtor'd to their Lands and Eſtates, and to a free exerciſe of their Religion; but in regard they were oblig'd to receive *German* Soldiers into all their Fortreſſes and Towns; all offers ſeem'd grievous and of no force, in reſpect of the oppreſſion they muſt find by ſuch unruly Gueſts, under whom they could promiſe themſelves no enjoyment or ſecurity; and being by theſe propoſals become more bold and deſperate, they appear'd before *Zatmar* with about 7000 Men; upon whom the Governor of that place adventuring to make a Sally, was beaten back with great loſs.

Apaſi ſeeks a quarrel.

Prince *Apaſi* who had at all times underhand favour'd the cauſe of the Malecontents, and granted them protection within his Dominions, did now begin openly to ſeek a quarrel on his own ſcore with the Emperor, demanding the Counties of *Kalò* and *Zatmar* to be deliver'd to him, with the Fortreſs of *Tokai*, to which he pretended a Right by a grant from Prince *Ragotski* his Predeceſſor. To which Anſwer was made, That thoſe Counties were of the Ancient Demeſnes belonging to the Kings of *Hungary*, and ſince confirm'd to the Emperor by ſeveral Treaties; and particularly by the laſt made with the *Ottoman-Port*.

Howſoever, not to irritate Prince *Apaſi* over-much, and to keep Matters from an open rupture at a time when the Emperor had many Enemies to deal with, it was Order'd that theſe Demands ſhould be referr'd to the Examination of Commiſſioners; and in the mean time an Envoy was ſent to the Vizier at *Adrianople*, to complain of thoſe exorbitant pretenſions. But *Apaſi* not attending an Anſwer, entred with a formidable Force into *Hungary*, and having defeated General *Spankau*, he laid Siege to *Zatmar*; but the Seaſon of the Year being far ſpent, and a Valiant Reſiſtance made, they were forc'd to raiſe the Siege, and retire.

The Malecontents hold a Conference together.

About the 15*th* of *September*, the Winter approaching, the Malecontents held a Conference at *Sombro*, a place in *Tranſilvania*, to reſolve in what manner to manage the next Campagne, and how they might beſt engage the *Turks* in their Defence and Quarrel, without which they could not hope for

any

1675.

Acts of Hoſtility.

A new Vizier arrives at Buda.

Applications to the Port,

And to Prince Apafi *without effect.*

The Forts of Schella *and* Scheinau *give offence to the* Turks.

any great Succeſs. After which meeting they entered the County of *Zipt*, and there ſet Fire to many Towns and Villages, and took above 500 Priſoners; About the ſame time the Garriſon of *Newhawſel*, both Horſe and Foot made an Incurſion as far as *Preſburg*, and burnt ſeveral Villages depending thereupon, and ſurprized a Caſtle guarded by the *Heydukes*, whom they put to the Sword, without ſparing ſo much as one Perſon. Whileſt theſe things were acting, a new Vizier arrived at *Buda*, where the *Turks* were making great Stores, and laying in Proviſions both of Victuals and Ammunition: On which occaſion the Emperor ſent *Meſſigni*, his Interpreter, to Complement the Vizier upon his happy arrival at *Buda*, and to carry him the accuſtomed preſents; with inſtructions to diſcover underhand the deſigns and intentions of the *Turks*, who every day under pretence of Contributions committed a thouſand Acts of Hoſtility: Of which, tho' complaints were made, and no ſatisfaction given thereunto; yet the Emperor thought fit to ſeek redreſs for theſe violences, rather by applications to the Port than by Repriſals, leaſt the *Turk* ſhould be provoked thereby, and furniſh'd with juſt Cauſes to commence a War. To prevent which, all caution and tenderneſs was uſed towards the *Turks*, and endeavours made by *Cardiati* one of the Emperor's Council, who was ſent to Prince *Apaſi* to Treat, and propoſe ways of an Accommodation: But theſe labours were all fruitleſs, for notwithſtanding the regard was had not to moleſt, or provoke the *Turk*, a *Chiaus* arrived at *Vienna* from the *Paſha* of *Buda*, to complain of the Fort of *Schella*, which the Emperor was making on the Banks of the *Waagh*, to ruin which the *Turks* had raiſed a Battery juſt over againſt it, on the other ſide of the River; but in deſpight thereof the Work went on, and the Fortification was finiſh'd: And ſo was the Fort of *Scheinau*, upon which a thouſand Men were daily employ'd, guarded with a conſiderable party of Horſe and Foot, ſufficient to repulſe the Enemy that ſhould attempt to diſturb the Work: Of which when complaints were made by the *Paſha* of *Buda*, requiring that they ſhould be demoliſh'd; and that a new Aſſignment ſhould be made of the Limits of the Empire, in which all the places as far as *Presburg* ſhould be included, and the Inhabitants thereof now Subjects to the Emperor, commanded to pay homage to the Grand Seignior: To which unreaſonable demands, general anſwers were only given, with intent to prolong the unhappy day, and ſtave off the *Turks*, as long as was poſſible from an open War.

The Turks grow proud with conceſſions.

But neither this, nor other Acts of Grace nor the Orders given to the Governor of *Raab*, to ſet ſeveral *Turkiſh* Priſoners at Liberty without Ranſom, (which the Garriſons of this place, and the *Heydukes* of *Veſprin* had taken) did not ſoften or ſatisfie the *Turks*, who at the ſame time kept many of the *Emperors* Subjects in Priſon, without thoughts of making the like generous Returns: And likewiſe the Malecontents proceeding in their uſual Hoſtile manner, defeated ſome of the Emperor's Troops, and plunder'd many Waggons laden with Merchandize coming from *Molda* Fair, and killed all the Guard which convoy'd them: And thus ended this troubleſome year.

ANNO 1676.

Debrezin *taken by Count* Strazoldo.

The Turks *much enraged thereby.*

Diſowned by the Emperor.

The Heats and Troubles of the People of *Hungary* increaſed with ſome; and as years paſſed, ſo the quarrel grew higher. Blood had been drawn ſo frequently, that one would think the Spirits of *Hungary* might have been evacuated by ſuch vaſt effuſions. The Malecontents had provok'd their Sovereign beyond hopes of Pardon; and had no expectations of ſafety but in the *Turk*; with whom tho' the *Emperor* had no mind to break, nor yet the *Turks* on the other ſide, during the Government of the Vizier *Kupriogli*, who being as yet engaged in a War againſt *Poland*, thought it not ſeaſonable to come unto an open Rupture with *Germany*: Yet ſo unhappily were the Affairs of the Malecontents interwoven with the concernments of the *Turks*, that it was impoſſible to be avenged of one, without irritating and diſturbing the other. For ſo it was at the beginning of this year, when the Count *Strazoldo* took *Debrezin*, a Town into which great numbers of the Rebels were retreated, and there held their Cabals: But in regard it was a place which paid Tribute to the Port; the taking thereof put all the *Turkiſh* Governors and Officers into an Alarm, and to ſo loud an Outcry of an open breach of the Peace, that tho' this Act was perform'd by Order of the Emperor; yet he was forced to diſown it, and cauſe *Strazoldo* to Surrender up the ſame into the hands of the *Turks*, and to take away all jealouſie, to retire over the *Theyſſe* with his Forces; and after all this to divert the Storm, a Gentleman was diſpatched to the *Paſha* of *Buda*, to excuſe the matter, and teſtifie the high diſpleaſure of the Emperor for this Action, declaring that it was perform'd wholly without his Order. Tho' the *Paſha* of *Buda* ſeem'd indifferently well appeaſed with this addreſs, and ſatisfaction which was given; yet the *Paſha* of *Newhawſel* continued his Diſpleaſure; and

1681. on the pretence of *Debrezin*, grounded his Reaſons, why he would not ſet divers Priſoners at liberty, notwithſtanding the Ranſom which was paid for them, and treated very ſcurvily and unworthily many Perſons of conſiderable quality, who were in the number of thoſe Priſoners.

The Malecontents being much encouraged, by theſe miſunderſtandings between the *Imperialiſts* and the *Turks*, fell upon a body of 600 *Cuiraſiers* and cut them to pieces; And after another Fight between a party of *Huſſars* commanded by Count *Eſterhaſi*, and the *Turks* near *Carolſtadt* in *Croatia*, in which the *Turks* were worſted; and after many other Acts of Hoſtility, being well aſſured that the Peace could not continue long, refuſed to hearken unto any Terms or Conditions whatſoever, tho' again offer'd to them with advantage by Count *Palſi*, and the Biſhop of *Agria*. And indeed the Vizier himſelf, tho' inclinable in his own nature to conſerve the Truce which he himſelf had concluded in the year 1664, until the full Term of 20 years, had been expir'd according to the uſual Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of both Empires: Yet finding how impoſſible in a manner it was, to remain unconcern'd, whileſt the Emperor purſued his Rebels within his Dominions; and that the Soldiers and Inhabitants of neither ſide being bred up to War, could be kept within any Rules or Government; he then clapt up a Peace with the *Poles*, that in caſe he ſhould be induced to declare War againſt the Emperor, and march into *Hungary*, he might have but one buſineſs, and one War on his Hands at the ſame time to manage.

The Rebells refuſe to Treat.

The Vizier makespeace with the Poles.

The Reaſons for it.

1676. The ſtate of theſe Affairs animated the Malecontents in ſuch manner, that they adventur'd to fall into the Head quarters of Colonel *Colalto* near *Zatmar*, where they cut three Companies to pieces, and took ſome Priſoners. And in the Month of *June*, a party of them conſiſting of 4000, encountring with the Regiment of Colonel *Smith* near *Kalo*, gave them a total Defeat, killing 300 upon the place. In the Month of *July*, two Parties of the Malecontents, one of 1500, and another of 600, pillaged and burnt all the places, and Villages near *Zatmar* and *Caſchau*, and defeated a *Croatian* Regiment under the Command of Count *Palſi*, with a Detachment from the two foregoing Garriſons. Another party of them burnt two Villages in the Upper *Hungary*, killed moſt of the Inhabitants, and carried away great plunder and booty with them: And being met by Count *Strazoldo*, who was deſirous to intercept them in their Retreat, he was defeated by them, and forced to fly with conſiderable loſs. Another party of them ſurprized the Caſtle of *Balác* in the Morning, juſt at the moment when the Gates were open'd, and killed, and made Priſoners all the People that were in it. The ſame party defeated Colonel *Scheveling*, and killed many of his *Huſſars* upon the place; they took and pillaged the little Town of *Newtra*, and intercepted all the Merchandice, which was carrying to the Fair of *Stoez*. And with ſuch Succeſſes as theſe, the Malecontents being greatly puffed up and exalted, they demanded a Contribution of 14000 Florins from the Inhabitants of the plain Countries, and took Hoſtages, as a ſecurity for payment thereof.

The Malecontents have ſucceſs againſt the Imperialiſts.

1681.

They grow proud therewith.

Nor were the *Turks* in the mean time idle, or unactive on their ſide, for from the Garriſon of *Buda*, they ſent a very ſtrong party to joyn with thoſe of *Newhawſel*, with deſign to take and demoliſh the Fort of *Schella*; whileſt the Malecontents attended the motions of the *Imperialiſts* with 8000 Men, and the *Tranſilvanians* marched towards the Frontiers of their Country with 10000; but by the care and vigilance of the Emperor's Soldiers, the deſign was prevented.

Theſe misfortunes were followed by others of worſe conſequence, for the Generals, *Smith* and *Baragotzi*, were defeated by the Malecontents in divers Incounters. The Towns of *Oedembourg*, *Zaltach* and *Dowar* were plunder'd and burnt by them; and ſo greatly they increaſed in their numbers, that *Strazoldo* with 3000 Men durſt not appear in the Field againſt them.

Smith *and* Baragotzi *defeated.*

And now that the fate of War might be determined, advices of the Death of the Grand Vizier *Achmet Kuprioglì* were brought to *Vienna*, by which all expectations of Peace failed: For by the Anſwers he had made to the Malecontents, who ſollicited for aſſiſtance, and to the Imperial Miniſters, who labour'd to continue a good underſtanding, he evidenced an averſion to this War, for Reaſons which we have formerly declar'd: And perhaps becauſe at that time becoming Sick and Craſy, his Spirits were low and his Thoughts rather inclining to Eaſe and Quietneſs, than to the buſtles and buſineſs of an active and raging War. But now *Kara Muſtapha* ſucceeding into his place, a Perſon of that Temper, which we have before deſcribed, the Imperialiſts deſpair'd of a Peace, and accordingly provided for a War; and indeed, conſidering the Temper of the Man, and the conjuncture of the preſent Times; being invited into *Hungary*, and the way open'd into *Germany* by the Malecontents; and (as the Common Rumor will have it) puſhed on by Encouragements and Promiſes from the

Advices of the Death of the Grand Vizier Achmet Kuprioglì.

Kara Muſtapha *made Vizir reſolves upon a War.*

French Court, but more eſpecially by their own Fate, the Dice of Fortune were caſt, and a War determin'd, tho' contrary to the Inclinations of the Grand Seignior, the Mufti, and other Councellors of State.

ANNO, 1677.

War not as yet denounced, and why.

But to carry on a War of ſuch weight and conſequence, preparations were to be firſt made; Money was to be provided, which was amaſs'd, and gather'd by ſuch means as we have before related; Forces were to be call'd from the moſt remote parts of the Empire, and great ſtores of all ſorts of Proviſions and Ammunition were to be lodg'd in *Belgrade*, *Buda*, and the Frontier Garriſons, all which requir'd ſome years to effect. And in the mean time, as a prelude to this devouring War, the Malecontents were to be encourag'd, their hopes kept up, and the *Paſhas* of *Hungary* allow'd to ſuccor them as occaſion requir'd; which they acted with ſo little regard to the Peace, that nothing was heard over all that Kingdom, but daily Slaughters, Battels, Plundrings, Firing of Towns, and all the other direful effects of War.

The Paſhas *of* Hungary *Order'd to aid the Malecontents.*

Incurſions made by the Turks.

Accordingly, to begin this Year, ſix thouſand *Turks* paſſed the *Raab* over the Ice near *Furſtemberg*, which gave an alarm to all the Province of *Stiria*. About the ſame time another party of them belonging to the Garriſon of *Caniſia*, made a Sally from thence, with deſign to ſurprize the Iſland of *Serini*; but being diſappointed in that Enterprize, they put all the Country of *Croatia* into a confuſion, and forc'd Contributions from the People by Military Executions; burning and plundring all thoſe Towns and places which refus'd to comply with the payment of ſuch Taxes as they impos'd upon them. And likewiſe another party from *Newhawſel*, made Incurſions to the very Gates of *Freyſtadt*.

New Overtures made to the Malecontents.

Theſe ill Succeſſes, and the fears of a more dreadful War impending, moved the Imperial Councel to thoughts of Accommodation with the Malecontents on any terms whatſoever, being almoſt droven to a neceſſity of making peace. In purſuance of which Reſolution, General *Baragotzi*, who for his Services was lately made a Count of the Empire, and one of the Lieutenant Generals of the Armies, was diſpatch'd to the Malecontents with new Overtures of Peace, the ſum of which was this: That beſides the Act of Oblivion, and Pardon formerly offer'd, the Emperor was pleas'd farther to condeſcend, that in every County the Proteſtants ſhould have two Churches allow'd them, one for the *Lutherans*, and another for the *Calviniſts*, with full Liberty to exerciſe the Religion they profeſs'd; and that they ſhould be indifferently admitted into all Offices and Places of Truſt either Civil or Military, together with the Roman Catholicks, without any diſtinction whatſoever, unleſs with reſpect to the ability and quality of the perſon. This Generous Offer, tho' it affected and inclin'd about 1500 of that party to abandon the intereſt of their Aſſociates, yet there were above 10000 others whoſe Spirits were exaſperated and heated above the vertue and power of any lenitive, whom nothing could appeaſe nor ſoften but revenge, tho' at the dear price of their Countries ruine, and the loſs of their own Lives. And this Opinion was foſter'd and kept up by ſome ill Men, who perſwaded the Commonalty that there was no ſecurity nor Faith in the Emperor's promiſes; which would no longer continue, than until ſuch time as he ſaw them diſarmed, and his Enemies at his feet. Howſoever, not wholly to reject the terms of peace, Commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides to meet at *Eſperies*, to offer and receive the Propoſitions; which Treaty continu'd during the whole Month of *March*, and at laſt concluded without any conſiderable effect; only Count *Palaſſi Imbre* became ſo touch'd with a ſenſe of his Duty, that he embrac'd the Pardon, and accepted the gracious Offers made him by his Imperial Majeſty; and afterwards had a Command given him in *Hungary*, under Major General *Baragotzi*; in expectation that by his Example others would be brought to Obedience.

Their Obſtinacy.

A Plot againſt Apafi.

But in *Tranſilvania* the diſpleaſure of that Prince grew higher, upon diſcovery of a Plot againſt his Life, carried on by thoſe who had more Zeal than true Underſtanding of the Emperor's Intereſt; which cauſed *Apafi*, not without ſome reaſon, to declare himſelf more than formerly in behalf of the Malecontents. And ſo high were the Spirits of both Parties exaſperated againſt each other, that the *Huſſars* purſuing a flying party of the Malecontents as far as *Rima*, now a Town belonging to the King of *Poland*, in the Palatinate of *Cracovia*, could not contain their fury againſt their Enemy with any reſpect to the Prince or Dominion unto which they were fled; but in the heat of their purſuit ſet fire to the Town. Which raſh Act was ſo far reſented by the King of *Poland*, that it had cauſed a War between the two Crowns, had not ſome other Conſiderations cemented the difference, and the common ſafety united the two Princes againſt their powerful Enemy, as will appear ſome years after. Howſoever, in the mean time, the King of *Poland* touch'd with a ſenſe of this

1681.

The King of Poland *gives leave to ſome of his Troops to ſerve the Malecontents.*

this Diſgrace, gave Licenſe to ſome of his Troops (of whoſe aſſiſtance he had not much farther occaſion, after the Peace concluded with the *Turk*) to joyn with the Malecontents, and ſerve againſt the Emperor, under the Command of Count *Boham.*

The Poles *March into* Tranſilvania.

Theſe *Polanders* to the number of 6000, departed from *Seratin* on the 25*th* of *September*, taking their March directly towards *Tranſilvania*; to which Country this Count *Boham* had diſpatch'd his Major General *Frebual* before, to adviſe the Prince and Nobility of his coming. The which News was ſo welcom, that 500 Horſe, and 800 Foot were Order'd from a Caſtle appertaining to *Weſſellini* to meet them on their way, and joyn in a Body with them. Theſe Troops conducted by *Frebual*, met the *Poliſh* Forces at the Village of *Nemet*, on the Banks of the *Theyſſe*, about four Leagues diſtant from *Mongatz*; and having paſs'd that River, they Encamp'd near the Village of *Nimelſi*, about 2 leagues from *Zatmar*, where they attended the coming of *Weſſellini*, the *Hungarian* General, with his Forces, to joyn with them. Whilſt they remain'd in this poſt, the parties which they ſent abroad had taken ſeveral priſoners; by whom they were inform'd, that Major General *Smith* was advancing from *Zatmar*, with a conſiderable Body of the Imperial Army, much ſtronger than that of the *Poles*, and that he march'd with Cannon; upon this Intelligence *Boham* call'd a Council of War, at which it was agreed to re-paſs the little River *Battor*, and the inclos'd Country adjacent, and to poſt themſelves on a Ground of more advantage, that they might the ſooner joyn with their own Troops not as yet come up, and alſo attend the Attack of the Enemy in a faſt and a ſecurer place.

Two Poliſh *Gentlemen Revolt.*

But before the Camp remov'd from *Nimelſi*, two *Poliſh* Gentlemen, with a Servant, revolted over to the Enemy; and inform'd *Smith* then at *Zatmar*, that the *Poliſh* Forces, together with the *Tartars* of *Lipka* were inconſiderable, very much haraſſed with a long March, and weaken'd with want of Food and Neceſſaries to ſuſtain them; in which ſtreightned Condition they were ready to Mutiny, and would ſoon change their ſide, in caſe Letters were wrote to ſome of the Chief of them, giving them aſſurance of good Quarter, and a kind Reception. Letters were accordingly wrote, and diſpatch'd by the Servant of the *Poliſh* Gentlemen who arriv'd the ſame Night at *Nimelſi*, where the Treachery of the two Gentlemen was diſcover'd, and the Letters intercepted, and publickly read, the ſubſtance of which was this;

Their Treachery diſcover'd.

1681.

The Subſtance of *Smith's* Letter to the *Poles.*

That Smith *had a ſtrong Army well reſolv'd, and provided of all things neceſſary, againſt which in all probability their Forces were not able to ſtand: That therefore they ſhould in time provide for their own ſecurity and ſafety, by paſſing over to the Imperial Party, where they might aſſure themſelves of a kind Reception, and a hearty Wellcome; and it would make their Merit much the greater, in caſe they would ſeize the Papers, Money and Plate of all the Officers, and particularly of the perſon of* Uladiſlaus Weſſellini, *Son of the late Palatine of* Hungary, *and Nephew to the preſent General of the Malecontents. Farther adviſing ſuch, that were thus well diſpoſed, to bind Straw about their Caps, which ſhould be a Signal at the beginning of the Fight of their good Intentions. And that* Smith *might give them ſecurity that theſe promiſes ſhould be perform'd, he affix'd his Seal upon the Letter, with this Motto;*

Per hoc aſſicurantur Domini Poloni.

A Fight between the Imperialiſts on one ſide, and the Poles, *and* Tartars, *and* Hungarians *on the other.*

No News being as yet come of *Weſſellini*, *Boham* had no ſooner provided for his own ſecurity, and well poſted his Forces, and put them in Battalia, before the Van-guard of the Enemy Charg'd the advanc'd Troops of the *Poles* ſo fiercely, that they put them to a Retreat, and wounded *Koreski* Colonel of the *Tartars* of *Lipka*; with which the Imperialiſts being encourag'd, preſs'd the *Hungarians* and *Tartars* with ſuch fierceneſs and vigor, that the *Tartars* began to give ground and fly; and were purſu'd by ſome Troops of ſwift *Croats*, who knew very well in what manner to make uſe of ſuch advantages, killing many, and taking ſome Priſoners. In the mean time *Smith* made ſuch haſt to come in to the ſuccor of his advanc'd Troops, that he left all his Infantry ſome Leagues behind, and March'd in the Front of 20 Squadrons of Horſe, much more ſtrong and numerous than the *Poles*; Teſtifying by his Countenance the great aſſurance he had of Victory. But when he was come near, and had receiv'd the fire from a Regiment of Dragoons Commanded by Major *Zefold*, and drawn up amongſt the Buſhes on the right hand of the Line; and obſerv'd the good Order and Reſolution of the *Poles*, he began then to be ſenſible of his temerity, and the Snare into which he was drawn, by the falſe Report of the two Fugitives.

The Tartars *Rally.*

The *Hungarians* and *Tartars* which were newly put to flight by the Vanguard of the Enemy, ſeeing at a diſtance the valour of their Companions, rallied again, and Charg'd with new Courage: ſo that the Imperialiſts being aſtoniſh'd and diſmay'd by the Clouds of Arrows, the continual

The Imperialiſts overthrown.

Fire from the Infantry and Dragoons, and the redoubled Blows of the Cut-laſhes and Scimitars, and the Multitudes of their dead Companions which covered the Field with their Bodies, began to give ground, and breaking in one upon the other, betook themſelves to Flight in the moſt confuſed, and ſhameful manner that can be imagin'd, and were purſued by the Enemy near two Leagues from the Field where the Battle was Fought.

The number of thoſe Slain were a Thouſand, beſides thoſe, who endeavouring to ſave their Lives by Swimming were Drown'd in the River. The Officers Slain were Count *Hermeſtin*, Colonel of Foot, and Governour of *Zatmar*, *Colalto* Colonel of the *Croats*, beſides many other Captains and Officers of Foot, whom *Smith* had perſwaded to leave their Companies, and attend him in this Enterpriſe, in which he judged himſelf moſt ſecure of Victory. *Smith* himſelf was wounded in the Hand, and was forc'd to quit his Horſe to ſave his Life, which was afterwards the prize of a *Tartar*, with the Saddle, Holſters and Hooſings embroider'd with Gold. The *Poles* took four Kettle-Drumms, and the greateſt part of their Trumpets, with all their Colours, and 800 Priſoners: And had not the night favour'd them, very few had eſcaped.

The praiſes of Boham *and other Officers.*

The Poles and Malecontents joyn.

On this occaſion *Boham* Signalized himſelf very greatly, and evidenced unto the World by his Valour and Conduct, how much he deſerved the chief Command of thoſe Troops: And indeed, all the Officers, as well *Tartars* as others, behaved themſelves like Soldiers and able Commanders: But Major General *Smith*, tho' inferiour to none in any thing which appertains to Martial Exerciſe; yet being betray'd by his own Credulity, was blam'd much at *Vienna* for his Raſhneſs and Precipitation. After this Succeſs, *Boham* having Refreſh'd for two days his Forces in the Field where the Battle was Fought, repaſſed the River of *Battor*, and the Incloſures, and joyned the Army of the Malecontents, which was 16000 ſtrong, under the Command of Count *Weſſellini*: So that now being a formidable Army, the Chief Officers at a Council of War agreed to Beſige *Tokai*; to prevent which General *Kops*, upon advice of the Enemies Motion, departed from *Caſchau* with the Imperial Army, intending to Attack the Enemy with the firſt Advantage: Which *Weſſellini* avoided until he had firſt ſecur'd a place of Retreat in caſe of any Siniſter fortune or diſgrace: But Howſoever, ſending Parties abroad, they Burnt and Plunder'd ſeven Villages near to *Mongatz*; and in regard the Imperial Army was marched at ſome diſtance from *Caſchau*, adventur'd to Burn ſeveral Villages alſo near to that Town; and had the Fortune to intercept a Convoy which carried both Money, Victuals and Ammunition from *Vienna*, for Payment and Maintenance of the Army under General *Kops*.

A Convoy with Money and Proviſions taken by the Malecontents.

1500 of the Imperialiſts revolt to the Enemy.

Kops his Cruelty.

This loſs of Money and Proviſions proved of ill Conſequence to the Emperor's Army, which wanting Pay and neceſſaries for ſubſiſtence, many of them, to the number of 1500, upon the Promiſes of *Weſſellini* to beſtow on every Officer 26 Ducats, with a command agreeable to his quality, and 10 to every private Soldier, who ſhould relinquiſh the Emperor's Service, were eaſily induced to Revolt, and take up Arms in favour of the Malecontents. *Kops* being highly incenſed hereat, reſolved on a quite contrary method of Action, ſuppoſing that he might effect the ſame with Rigour and Cruelty, which the Enemy had done by Allurements and Rewards; and that it was poſſible to terrifie, and affrighten the contrary party into their Duty and Obedience: Wherefore, to make an experiment hereof, he killed all the Priſoners he had in his hands, and empal'd ſeveral others: This piece of Cruelty againſt the Law of War and Nations, was in like manner retaliated by *Weſſellini*; who put the Priſoners to death, to the number of Sixty, which the *Polanders* had taken in the late Battle, together with Lieutenant Colonels, Majors and Captains, which occaſioned great Deſturbances, and Murmurings in the Imperial Army: And at *Vienna* this Conduct of *Kops* was highly blam'd, and Orders ſent him never more to exerciſe the like unhumane Practices; for that many Officers of good Note and Reputation, had abſolutely refuſed to ſerve the Emperor in a War, where no Quarter was to be expected.

For which he his blamed at Vienna.

Count Tekeli *appears in the War.*

About this time, *Smith* with his ſhatter'd Troops joyn'd with General *Kops* near to *Butrack*; two Leagues from whence the Malecontents were Encamped, and Reinforc'd by 2000 *Tranſilvanians*, conducted thither by Count *Tekeli*, who after the death of his Father (as before mention'd) had ſerved Prince *Apaſi* in the nature of his Secretary, or one who had a chief hand in the management of his Affairs; and now making this firſt entrance on the Stage, we ſhall have occaſion to mention him often hereafter, being the Perſon who is to make the greateſt Figure in this following Hiſtory, and to prove the moſt active General, after the deſtruction of many before him, and after various Succeſſes, of good and bad Fortune, and Honours and Diſgraces received from the *Turks*; we ſhall find him ſtill Boyant and above Water, even at the

1681. laſt extremity, when the *Turks* themſelves were beaten out of all *Hungary*.

The Imperial Army having been much diminiſh'd in numbers by the Sword and Sickneſs, was again in part recruited by ſome Additional Forces, under the Command of Count *Warbenoren*, and by 600 Men out of a Regiment in *Sileſia*: Howſoever, ſuch was the Misfortunes of thoſe Times, and the inauſpicious Stars which then reign'd, that the Imperialiſts were worſted in all Fights and Skirmiſhes, to the deſtruction almoſt of their whole Army: Whileſt the Forces of the Malecontents increaſed double to the numbers of the Emperors Army. And the *Turks* ſtill forwarded theſe Miſchiefs by their frequent Incurſions from *Buda*, *Newhawſel*, and all their Garriſons; which was a Courſe and Practice which this Faithleſs People uſed, to make War without declaring it.

The Malecontents increaſe in their Forces.

ANNO 1678.

The Emperor being ſenſible of his own weak and decaying Condition, and of the Strength, and increaſing Power of his mighty Enemies, labour'd to cure and remedy the imminent evils and dangers by Treaties, which could not be done by Arms: And in order thereunto he offer'd three Churches to the Malecontents in the Upper *Hungary*, with other Propoſitions more large, and extenſive than formerly: And *Hoffman*, the principal Secretay of State and War, was ſent to the Grand Seignior to make Complaints of the Succours, which the *Paſhas* of *Hungary* daily afforded to his Rebellious Subjects: But neither the one, nor the other of theſe Negotiations, had the ſucceſs deſired: For the Malecontents were ſo far from hearkening to any Accommodation with their Sovereign Prince, that they were contriving the manner, how they might abſolutely throw off his Authority, and acquit themſelves of their Allegiance: And to that end, they propoſed to Elect a King of their own Nation, and many caſt their Eyes upon a certain Count, who was of the Houſe and Family of *Frangipani*: But the different Intereſts, and variety of Opinions, obſtructed the Election, ſo that nothing was agreed, or concluded in that affair. Nor could much more be expected from the Negotiations of *Hoffman* at *Conſtanſtinople*; for the Vizier was ſo extravagant in his Demands, and ſo unreaſonable in his Propoſals, that it plainly appear'd, how far he was from any intentions of renewing the Peace, or any other deſigns than that of War. Only by force of the rich Preſents which *Hoffman* brought, he prevailed with the Vizier to ſtrangle the *Paſha* of *Waradin*.

The Emperor ſends to treat with the Malecontents, and with the Turks.

The Malecontents propoſe to Elect a King of their own.

1681. Howſoever, things ran not ſo ſmoothly in *Tranſilvania*, nor with the Malecontents, but that they met with other difficulties and Enemies, beſides the Emperor. For a certain Perſon, a Boyar of that Country named *Pedipol*, being ambitious of Government, offer'd Money to the Grand Vizier for the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, alledging that *Apaſi* had Ruled there much beyond the time of other Princes: The Vizier, whoſe buſineſs was Gain, enter'd into a Treaty with *Pedipol*, made the bargain, took his Money and ſold him the Principality; and procur'd the Grand Seigniors Hatteſheriff, or Royal Signature to conſtitute him Prince, and to diveſt, or depoſe *Apaſi*. When *Pedipol* came with this Authority to take Poſſeſſion of the Government, the People refuſed to receive him, and *Apaſi* to Surrender: Whereupon *Pedipol* with his Party endeavoured to make good his Title, and Eſtabliſhment by Force of Arms. The Vizier upon the news hereof, to prevent thoſe Diviſions, diſpatched an Officer into *Tranſilvania* to decide the Difference, by taking off the Head of that Perſon, who ſhould be found diſobedient and averſe to the Grand Seignior's Commands: But before this Order could arrive, the diſpute was determin'd by the Fortune of War; for the Malecontents being ſenſible of the Obligations they had to *Apaſi*, and of what concernment his continuance in that Station would prove to them, offered him all the aid and aſſiſtance they were able, to which the *Poles* likewiſe joyning their Forces, over-threw *Pedipol* in the Field, and cauſed him with ſome of his Adherents to Fly into *Valachia*: Where raiſing new Forces, he marched again towards *Tranſilvania*, with intention to make a ſecond Attempt: But being met in his way by the *Paſha* of *Waradin*, he was commanded by him in the Grand Seigniors name, to quit his Pretentions to the Principality, and to content himſelf in a private Condition: For the Vizier having got his Money, little cared what became of *Pedipol*, whether he were a Prince or Paiſant; only he thought it neceſſary at that time to conſerve Peace between the Friends, and Allies to the Port, which was more eaſily done by ſupporting the intereſt of *Apaſi*, who was old and experienced in that Government, rather than by ſetting up *Pedipol*, whoſe Circumſtances were very diſagreeable, both to the *Tranſilvanians* and the Malecontents.

Pedipol *procures a Commiſſion to be Prince of* Tranſilvania.

He is oppoſed by Apaſi *and overcome.*

Howſoever, theſe differences contributed little to better the Condition of the Emperor, who of late had been worſted in all the Conflicts, and Engagements againſt the Enemy: As for Inſtance, a Party of

1681.

The Emperor's ill Succeſſes.

Five hundred Horſe, under the Command of *Azos Benas*, being advanc'd as far as *Erlaw*, belonging to the Lands and Demeſnes of Count *Tekeli*, were aſſail'd by the *Turks*, and their whole Body defeated, and cut in pieces. Another Party alſo conſiſting of two hundred Men, Commanded by Colonel *Wolping*, were overthrown by a Detachment of *Turks* belonging to *Newhawſel*.

Repreſentments of the Aſſembly at Altembourg.

Theſe ill Succeſſes in War, inclin'd the States of *Hungary*, then Aſſembled at *Oedembourg*, to conſent that all the Churches taken from the Proteſtants, ſhould with many other advantageous Propoſitions be conſigned and granted to them. And another Aſſembly at *Altembourg* did repreſent unto the Emperor, that the Change made in the Government of *Hungary*, was the cauſe of all the late Troubles and Wars in that Kingdom; to appeaſe which, they were of Opinion that it was abſolutely neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh the Charge and Office of Palatine, according to the Ancient conſtitution of that Nation; and that a General Diet ſhould be conven'd to that purpoſe. But when the Imperial Miniſters of State, as well Eccleſiaſtick as Civil, came to Debate upon theſe Points, they offer'd many Qualifications: As that the Authority of Palatine ſhould be limited, and reſtrain'd: That the Emperor's Writs or Letters ſhould be Imperative, rather than Mandative; that is, that they ſhould be penn'd in ſuch a Stile, as that they might appear rather Aſſertive of the Abſolute and Imperial Power, than to condeſcend unto more moderate Terms anciently us'd in that Kingdom. And when they came to the Article about reſtitution of the Churches (which was the main point on which the Malecontents inſiſted) they Treated with ſuch Niceties, and with ſo many Proviſoes and Savings, that the Deputies believ'd that the Imperial Miniſters came to ſpeak for Colours, and Subterfuges, to evade and illude an Accommodation, rather than with true and ſincere affections to heal the breaches, and compoſe the differences of the Nation.

The Emperor's Council qualifie them.

Weſſellini *his death.*

Is ſucceeded by Tekeli.

Whilſt theſe Matters were in Negotiation, Count *Paul Weſſellini*, who was Brother to the late Palatine, and General of the Malecontents, died, and then the Command of the Army was committed to Count *Tekeli*; who (as we have ſaid) had gain'd ſuch great Reputation in the Court of Prince *Apaſi*, that he made him his principal Miniſter of State; and tho' he was a young Man, of about twenty four or twenty five years of Age, yet he ſo diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Valour, Prudence, and Induſtry, that the eyes of all *Hungary* were upon him, as a Perſon in every reſpect agreeable to the preſent great Undertakings.

1681.

Tekeli being now at the head of twelve thouſand Fighting Men, well appointed, and fitted with all Neceſſaries, and a Train of Artillery of about twelve pieces of Cannon, and four Mortars, look'd on himſelf as in a Condition to undertake ſome great Enterprize. And having joyn'd with the Forces of his Couſin Count *Tekeli*, and ſupply'd himſelf with ſome of the Emperor's Money out of the Mint at *Nagibania*, he held a Council of War, and propos'd to Beſiege either *Caſchau*, or *Kalo*.

Tekeli's *firſt deſigns.*

He is in Love with the Princeſs Ragotski.

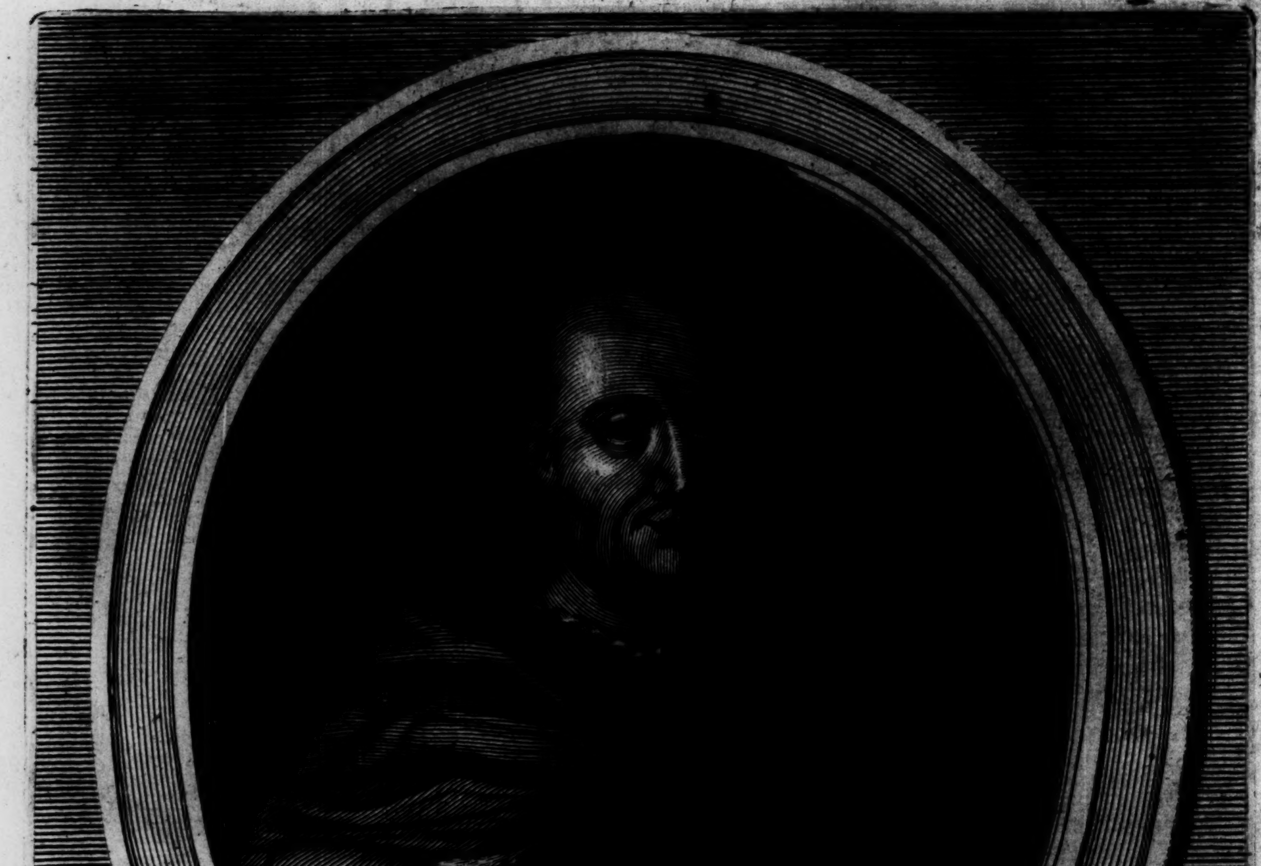
Howſoever, the Inclinations he had for the Daughter of Count *Serini*, Widow of the late Prince *Ragotski*, directed him in the firſt place towards *Mongatz*, that he might (if poſſible) come to a ſight of that Lady for whom he had ſo great a paſſion. But upon the approach of theſe Troops, her Mother-in-Law, who was zealous for the Intereſt of the Emperor, gave Orders to the Forces which were rais'd within her State, to fall upon *Tekeli*, whoſe Quarters were not far diſtant from *Mongatz*. The Fight was bravely maintain'd on both ſides; till at length the Troops of the Princeſs were forc'd to give way, and 200 of them being ſlain on the place, and many Priſoners taken (amongſt which the Count *Serini* was one) the reſt were put to flight, being entirely defeated. With theſe Succeſſes the Army of the Malecontents daily increas'd; to which an additional Force of eight or nine thouſand *Tartars* being added, the Emperor thought it neceſſary to recruit his Army with a Regiment of Horſe, under the Command of Count *Stirum*, and with ſome other Troops which were in *Bohemia*, and *Stiria*.

Tekeli *defeats the Troops of the Princeſs* Ragotski *Dowager.*

And now to make it appear that God had deſtin'd a War with the *Turk*, for Ends beſt known to his Divine Omniſcience, a party of the Imperialiſts unadviſedly fell upon the New *Paſha*, as he was going to his Government of *Newhawſel*, and defeated his whole Party, conſiſting of 200 Horſe. Which Action, tho' pretended to have been done by way of Repriſal, or Revenge for ſomething of the like nature perform'd by that Garriſon; yet the Paſha of *Buda* highly reſented this Breach of the Peace; threatning not only to acquaint the Grand Seignior therewith, but in the mean time to revenge the ſame by all the Acts of Hoſtility that he was able. And accordingly, drawing ſome Forces out of the Garriſons of *Erlaw* and *Waradin*, he caus'd them to March towards *Sando*, near *Butrac*, pillaging and plundring all in their way, and afterwards they return'd with

The Imperialiſts fall on the Paſha of Newhawſel.

It reveng'd by the Paſha of Buda.


M. Vander Gucht Sculp.

EMERIC DE COMTE TEKELI.

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two hundred Priſoners. Which Action the Paſha of *Buda* own'd to have been done by his Special Order and Command, by way of repriſal, and ſatisfaction for the late Breach, and Act of Hoſtility. To which allegation, there being nothing which in reaſon or ſenſe could be reply'd, Count *Wourmb*, who was General in thoſe parts, was highly blam'd by the Emperor, and many Miſcarriages of the like nature attributed to his ill Conduct, and want of prudence, as if his Intentions had been to provoke the *Turks* unto a War. For which Reaſon, he was recall'd by the Emperor from that Employment, and Count *Leſly* ſent to Command the Forces in his Place.

Count Wourmb *blamed.*

The Emperor perceiving that he was very unable to reſiſt the Forces which were now in open Field, and in defiance againſt him, had his Recourſe to the Old Project of making New Propoſitions, and Offers of Peace to the Malecontents. But this was always ſo unluckily managed, and with ſo ill a grace, that it was no wonder if it found no better Succeſs. But now, as if it were intended to make things more plain and ſatisfactory to the World, without Diſputes, or Qualifications, a *Manifeſto* was publiſh'd by the Emperor's Command, *Granting and Indulging unto all a General Act of Pardon and Oblivion, a Reſtoration to their Eſtates, a Free Exerciſe of Religion, and a Right and Privilege of being equally admitted into Places of Truſt, and Offices of Court with the* Germans, *and others of the Roman Catholick Religion; provided that within the ſpace of three Months they lay down their Arms, and ſubmitted to the Clemency of his Imperial Majeſty. And as to thoſe who ſhould ſtill ſtand out, and obſtinately perſevere in their Rebellion, he requir'd the States of* Hungary, *and all his Loving Subjects of that Kingdom, to joyn their Forces unto his, for the ſubjection of ſuch Rebellious Perſons, who were Enemies to himſelf, and to their own Country.*

The Emperor publiſhes a Manifeſt.

Tekeli offers new Aggrievances.

Paſports given to meet at a Diet.

But leaſt theſe fair Offers ſhould Operate any thing on the Minds of the People, *Tekeli* at the ſame time, to make the Embroils more confuſed, ſent a Liſt to the Emperor of freſh Aggrievances, for which he deſir'd ſome Remedies might be conſider'd. All which the Emperor referr'd to the Examination of a Diet, which was ſuddenly to Aſſemble. And in Order thereunto, the General *Baragotzi* ſent Paſſports to the Chief of the Malecontents, that they might freely come to the Diet, and return without moleſtation; Inſinuating unto them, that their Government by a *Palatine* ſhould be reſtor'd, and whatſoever they could expect to gain by force of Arms, ſhould now be more eaſily yielded, and granted by Covenants of an Amicable Agreement. But all theſe Hopes and Expectations were overthrown by the heats which aroſe between the Emperor's Miniſters at *Vienna*, and the Deputies appointed by the Malecontents to Treat and prepare Matters againſt the Meeting of a Diet. For one day, when the Differences were in debate, it happen'd that the Chancellor *Oker* unadviſedly ſaid, *That the* Hungarian *Nation had always been Faithleſs and Rebellious againſt their Prince.* Which words being immediately catch'd at by the Great Chancellor of *Hungary*. *It is unjuſt* (ſaid he) *to Charge the Crime of ſome particular Perſons on the whole Nation.* To which *Oker* with more paſſion than before, made this Reply; *That it would be happy for the Emperor, if one in twelve were found that truly and ſincerely adher'd to his intereſt.* At theſe words, Count *Palſi* the Treaſurer of *Hungary*, not being able to contain himſelf longer, burſt out into a paſſion, and call'd the Chancellor Traytor, Knave, and Raſcal. And Count *Harcani*, another of the Deputies, as Gouty as he was, made a ſhift to get upon his Legs, and perſwade his Companions to break up the Aſſembly and be gone, to avoid the noiſe of ſuch Ribaldry, and affrontive Language. And as they were going out of the Room, the Chancellor of *Hungary*, and Count *Forgatz* added, *Know* (ſaid they) *that we have never betray'd our King, nor pleaded for our Kindred, who were found guilty of baſe and perfidious Actions. Conſider that we have not forgot how far you Countenanc'd the Governour of* Freibourg. To all which *Oker* made no Reply, but return'd to the Emperor, to give him an account of what had paſs'd at this Conference.

The Diet diſappointed, and how.

The Proceeding and Actions of Tekeli.

In the mean time *Tekeli* thinking of nothing leſs than Peace, or means of Accommodation, burnt the Suburbs of *Caſſovia*; and having receiv'd a Recruit of four hundred Horſe, which the Brother of *Baragotzi*, who Revolted to his Party, had brought over to him, he ſeiz'd on the Citadel of *Zeilaverd*, where were found ſixteen pieces of Ordnance. He then deſigning to paſs the River of *Tourna*, to re-take the Fortreſs ſo call'd, which the Enemy had lately gain'd, he found the Paſſage obſtructed by a Party of the Imperialiſts on the other ſide; but bringing four pieces of Cannon to play on the Enemy, they clear'd the way, and kept them at a diſtance; by which means a Regiment of the *Poles* firſt paſſed, and after them the whole Army. Thus Fortune favouring the Malecontents, a hundred Soldiers of the Imperial

Some of the Imperialiſts revolt.

Imperial Troops revolted over on this Occaſion to the Enemy, ſuch prevalence hath Succeſs always on the Minds of Mankind; the which facilitated alſo the taking of *Tourna*, which was Surrender'd at diſcretion.

After this, *Tekeli* March'd towards *Chiacatorno*, and in his way he took *Zerenetz*, and *Melkaſſo*, which yielded alſo at diſcretion, without any reſiſtance; but *Podrach* ſtanding out was taken by force, and all the Garriſon put to the Sword, except ſome Officers, who were conſerv'd, and made Priſoners of War.

Tekeli Maſter of the Field.

Whilſt theſe Succeſſes attended the Malecontents, *Tekeli* remain'd Maſter of the Field; ſo that the Count *de Wourmb* neither durſt remove his Encampment from before *Eſperies*, nor Count *Leſley* adventure on a March to joyn with him; until *Tekeli* removing from thoſe parts towards *Strigonium*, and to make himſelf Maſter of *Leventz*, the Imperial Forces found an opportunity to March as far as the River of *Waagh*, where they joyn'd with the Regiments of *Dunewald*, *Holſtein*, *Maſſigni*, *Caraffa*, and *Strazoldo*, which came lately out of *Sileſia*; and tho' theſe Forces were joyn'd together, with thoſe alſo of Count *Leſley*, yet they were not ſufficient to withſtand the Army of Count *Tekeli*, which conſiſted of at leaſt twenty thouſand effective Men, beſides Garriſons, and ſeveral Detatchments.

Tekeli writes Letters.

Tekeli being thus ſtrong, and having made himſelf Maſter of *Leventz*, Wrote circulary Letters in his own Name to all the Inhabitants of that Country: Repreſenting before them the ill Treatment, which all *Hungary* had received from the *Germans*, and the Slavery they lay under by a Foreign Yoak. That he was reſolved with the chief of his Party, to defend the Liberties and Privileges of *Hungary* with his Life and Eſtate: Exhorting all others to joyn with him in this good Cauſe; and Threatning ſuch, who either out of Cowardize, or Coldneſs towards the wellfare of their Country, or favour to the Emperor, ſhould place themſelves in the Condition of a careleſs Neutrality.

Tekeli takes Eſperies, and Arva.

No ſooner had Count *Wourmb* raiſed his Camp from before *Eſperies*, to joyn with the *Sileſian* Troops; but *Tekeli* obſerving his motion Inveſted the place, and took it in three days: The like he did to the Caſtle of *Arva*, which Surrendred even in the ſight of Count *Leſley*, his Forces not being ſufficient to give aſſiſtance or relief thereunto. At this time *Weſſellini* falling Sick and Dying, the Command of the *Hungarian* Troops was given to *Tekeli*; *Boham* was Chief of the Auxiliaries, and *Tekeli* himſelf *Generaliſſimo* of all; ſo that the whole management of the War, was now in the Hands of theſe three Leaders. The *Tartars* as Flying, and Independant Troops acted by themſelves; they pillaged *Newſtadt*, and burnt all the Country round within three Leagues of *Leopolſtadt*; and afterwards made their Paſſage over the River *Waagh* near *Trenſchin*, which the Counts *Forgatz* and *Eſterhaſi* being not able to oppoſe, the People of *Moravia* were ſo affrighted, that taking what Goods with them they could, in ſo ſuddain and diſtracted a fear, they fled to the Mountains for refuge.

The Tartars Plunder, and Burn.

Count Leſley overthrown.

Tartars in Moravia.

Duke John.

Colonel Joſua.

Boham and *Tekeli* underſtanding that Count *Leſley* was quarter'd near to *Zatmar*, they marched to Attack him; which when *Leſley* underſtood, he divided his Troops into three Bodies, with a ſeeming reſolution to Engage the Enemy; but ſo ſoon as they came near, they ſhow'd ſome ſigns of Irreſolution, and a deſire as it were to make a handſome Retreat: But being purſued by *Tekeli* with ſix Battalions, he engaged them near *Leutſch*, and Killed, or made Priſoners the greateſt part of that Body. *Boham* in the mean time totally defeated another Party, of which Four hundred Horſe only eſcaped. The third Body ſaved themſelves in the Mountains, and other faſt places. After this Victory *Tekeli* ſent a Detachment of his Forces to joyn with the *Tartars* in *Moravia*, who took *Barin*, the capital City thereof; which gave an Alarm to all the Hereditary Countries: And at the ſame time one Colonel *Joſua*, otherwiſe call'd Father *Joſeph*, who had been a Friar, but now turn'd Proteſtant, and a Soldier, ſuch another kind of a daring Fellow as *Duke John* before mention'd, joyn'd with the Malecontents, and enter'd *Auſtria* with Six thouſand Fighting Men, raiſed at his own Charge, which put all thoſe Countries into ſuch a Conſternation, that the People abandoned their Towns, and Villages and fled unto *Vienna*, for their place of Refuge. The courage and experience of this Colonel *Joſua*, was ſo well known to the Arch-Biſhop of *Strigoniam*, that he perſwaded the Emperor, to take him off from the Malecontents, and engage him by Promiſes of reward to his own Party: This Office was committed to the Management and Conduct of Count *de Wourmb*, becauſe Count *Leſley* remain'd Sick at *Caſſovia*; but ſuch was the conſtancy of this Martial Friar to his Cauſe and Principles, that nothing could avail with him to change his Party: Suſpecting perhaps, that when once the Arch-Biſhop ſhould get him into his Power, he would immure him within the Walls of his Convent, and oblige him to the performance of his Vow: But he rejected all the offers, which were made him,

and

1681. and reſerved himſelf for greater Exploits, which happened the year following.

Such is the fury of Civil Wars, much more active and violent than Foreign, that few days paſſed without Fights, or Skirmiſhes in one place or other. Count *Wourmb*, having received all the Recruits that he could expect, marched directly towards *Tekeli* and *Boham*, and engaged with them early in the Morning, in a Fight which continued until three a Clock in the Afternoon, with ſuch equal Fortune, that the Malecontents being ſenſible of the valour, and reſolution of the *Imperialiſts* retreated with good order under the Cannon of *Alſol*, a Town Situate on the River of *Gran*, between *Newſol* and *Kremnitz*. In the mean time twenty Squadrons of the Rebels endeavouring to paſs the Mountains, were repulſed by Colonel *Reyters*, who at the Head of his Regiment defended the Paſſages, and drove them back to their Camp, having killed Five hundred of them on the place. But this loſs was the next day revenged by *Tekeli*, who took *Biſtrick* by force of Arms, with much Blood and Slaughter of the Inhabitants. This *Biſtrick* is a Town Situate in a Plain, encompaſs'd about with little Hills, famous for the golden Mines, and the Country well planted about it with pleaſant Vineyards; the Governours thereof would neither declare themſelves at firſt either for the Emperor, or for the Malecontents: But when the *Imperialiſts* with their Army drew near to them, they could no longer conceal their Affections, and good Wiſhes, but broke their Neutrality, and declar'd for the Emperor: Soon after which *Tekeli* making himſelf Maſter of the place, put ſix of the Chief Inhabitants to death, in puniſhment of their Infidelity, and breach of Promiſe.

A Fight near Alſol.

Biſtrick *taken.*

But before the end of this year, the *Imperialiſts* had their changes of good Fortune, as well as the Malecontents, a Party of which the Garriſon of *Filek* entirely defeated: *Filek* is Situate in the Road-way from the Mountain Towns in *Hungary* leading to *Tranſilvania* and *Caſſovia*, and lies about five Leagues Northward from *Agria*. This Succeſs was ſeconded by another Rout, which Count *Eſterhaſi* the Pope's General gave to a party of Five hundred *Spahees*, and Two thouſand *Janiſaries* near *Veſprin*, who were deſign'd to make Incurſions into the Emperor's Countries. But leaſt this Action ſhould be ill repreſented to the Grand Seignior, and become the Cauſe of a Rupture, the Emperor diſpatched away an Expreſs to *Conſtantinople*, to give a true account of the Cauſe, and Reaſons for this Engagement. And now being come to that Seaſon of the year, when Armies draw into their Winter-quarters. Both Parties being in cooler temper began to Treat; ſo that a Ceſſation of Arms was agreed, and the place appointed for the Conference was *Oedembourg*, where all the Chief Lords of *Hungary* had agreed to Aſſemble. The perſon who was to preſide for the Emperor, was the Prince of *Swartzembourg*, and Count *de Noſtiz* manag'd the Treaty, applying himſelf with much Zeal and Diligence that this Negotiation might be happily concluded. 1681.

Filek.

Eſterhaſi *defeats a Body of the* Turks.

A Ceſſation of Arms, and a Treaty.

ANNO 1679.

This Treaty with a Ceſſation of Arms continu'd till the end of the year, with hopes that the beginning of the next would make that poor Kingdom happy with a Peace. But the Emperor having as it were ſecur'd a Peace with *France* (which was one of the greateſt fears he had upon him, in caſe of a War with the *Turks*) refuſ'd to yield unto the ſame terms which he had frequently offer'd in former times to the Malecontents. It was now reſolv'd that the Office of Palatine ſhould for ever hereafter be extinguiſh'd and made void, and that Kingdom govern'd by a Vice-Roy, who was ſolely to be conſtituted by Commiſſion from the Emperor. 2*dly*, The Proteſtants were not to have Churches in Towns or Cities, but to content themſelves with ſuch as ſhould be allotted them in Villages. 3*dly*, As a Preliminary to all the reſt, the Malecontents were to diſmiſs the Foreign Troops entertain'd in their Service, before the Treaty upon any other Conditions and Articles ſhould commence. The very noiſe of this alteration in the Emperor's Councils, put a ſtop to all proceedings of a Treaty, and an end to the Truce and Ceſſation of Arms. And indeed the Malecontents were by this time ſo engag'd with the *Turks*, that on their part alſo they had put themſelves out of all poſſibility of Accommodation without their concurrence, and concernment in the Treaty.

The Emperor falls off from his former Offers. 1679.

An end put to the Truce.

The Aſſembly at *Oedembourg* being diſſolv'd, the Malecontents held a Diet of their own at *Coloſwar*, alias *Claudiopolis*, whereunto Prince *Apaſi*, and the Neighbouring Paſhas reſorted, to treat and agree upon the meaſures which were to be taken for the enſuing year, in order to carrying on the War. Whilſt they were upon this Treaty, a Meſſenger arriv'd from the Grand Seignior, who brought a Scymitar to Prince *Apaſi*, which was a certain Signal of the Sultan's favour, and acceptance of his Services, which was much to the joy of all Perſons there preſent; for that it was doubtful before, how far the Grand Seignior

A Diet at Coloſwar.

The Turks *joyn with the Malecontents.*

Debrezin.

nior would abett the Cauſe of *Pedipol*, to whom (as we have mention'd) he had given his Commiſſion to be Prince of *Tranſilvania*, with excluſion of *Apafi*. Nor was the News of leſs concernment to them brought at the ſame time, that the Grand Seignior was upon concluſion of peace with the *Moſcovites*, by which the whole *Ottoman* Empire would be at leiſure to employ all their Troops againſt the *Germans*. And with the ſame occaſion the Paſhas of *Hungary* were Commanded to joyn with *Apafi*, and to aſſiſt the Malecontents with ſuch Forces as they ſhould deſire; of all which the Emperor having certain Intelligence from his Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, Order'd three Regiments to be ſent into *Hungary*, for recruit of the Forces under Count *Leſley*, of which the Malecontents having Advice, took the Field, and paſſing the *Theyſſe*, pitch'd their Camp near *Debrezin*, to cover and relieve as occaſion ſerv'd the Caſtle of *Kovar*. This City of *Debrezin*, or *Debrechim* is ſituated between *Tokai*, and great *Waradin*, and is very Rich and Populous. It was a Free Town, and conſerv'd it ſelf in a Neutrality during the late Revolutions; but after *Zolnock* and *Caſſovia* were reduc'd, the Magiſtrates thereof deſir'd his Imperial Majeſty to take them under his protection; with which, and by payment of a Tribute to the Port, the Inhabitants liv'd quiet and free, until the year 1676. when it was taken by Count *Strazoldo*, upon pretence that it was become the place of Sanctuary and common Refuge of the Malecontents; tho' afterwards, upon complaints from the *Turks*, the Emperor withdrew his Forces from thence, leaving them free, and in their former Condition of Neutrality.

Tekeli *revolts to the Emperor.*

In the mean time *Tekeli* falling in love with a Daughter of the Princeſs *Ragotski* Dowager, who was extreamly zealous (as we have mention'd before) for the Emperor's Cauſe, refuſ'd to beſtow her Daughter upon him, unleſs he would firſt Relinquiſh the Intereſt to which he had adher'd. The paſſion which *Tekeli* had for the young Lady, was more powerful than his Inclinations to the diſcontented Party; ſo that firſt ſeeming cold in his Old purſuits, and declaring his Mind freely in open Diſcourſe, his Troops began to ſuſpect his Fidelity, and left him, and put themſelves under the Command of *Weſſellini*. *Tekeli* endeavour'd to perſwade *Palfi Imbre* to joyn with him in his Revolt; but not prevailing, he ſingly with ſome few Servants went over to *Vienna*. Coming thus alone to the Emperor without his Troops he was the leſs welcome; and indeed he was ſo little regarded, and his Merit ſo ill accounted on, that when he made applications to the Emperor for Reſtitution of his Eſtate which was Confiſcated to the value of two Millions, thoſe who enjoy'd the benefit of ſo great Riches, obſtructed his Requeſt; Repreſenting unto the Emperor, that the return to his Duty after a long continuance in Rebellion, only in his own Perſon, and without his Troops, deſerv'd nothing, nor was it to be judg'd a ſatisfaction or an atonement for the many miſchiefs and diſſervices that he had already done; and that to recover the Emperor's favour, there was ſomething elſe to be done beſides a bare ſurrender of his Perſon: Howſoever fair words were given him for ſome time; of which, and of tedious Addreſſes and frequent Applications, *Tekeli* growing weary, he return'd to his Old Friends again, with whom he was receiv'd, and admitted to the Command of his deſerted Troops.

It ſlighted.

He return'd again to the Rebels.

Young Count Serini reſtor'd to his Eſtate.

About the ſame time the young Count *Serini*, Son of *Nicholas Serini*, who was kill'd in *Croatia*, and not of *Peter Serini* who was Beheaded for High-Treaſon, being now of years able to bear Arms in Service of the Emperor; made his humble Petition that he might be reſtor'd to the Eſtate of his Father, which was ſeiz'd and ſequeſter'd by the Collectors of the Emperor's Revenue, for the Lands and Demeſnes of *Peter Serini* the Unkle, whoſe Goods were confiſcated for High-Treaſon. The which Requeſt being conſider'd in the Privy-Council, it was judg'd highly reaſonable, and juſt that this young Count ſhould be reſtor'd to his Eſtate, and ſo it was accordingly Ordered.

Tekeli *takes* Kremnitz.

Tekeli being now return'd to his former Command, that he might both aſſure his Aſſociates of his Fidelity towards them, and reproach the Imperialiſts for ſo lightly eſteeming a Perſon that was able to ſerve them, he ſurpriz'd *Kremnitz* with three hundred Men under his Command, and ruin'd and burnt all the Works and Store-Houſes belonging to the Silver-Mines, which with much Charge had been erected by the Emperor; and afterwards retir'd into the Turkiſh Dominions.

A Fight between Count Strazoldo, *and Colonel* Joſua.

Count *Strazoldo* having receiv'd Intelligence that Colonel *Joſua* was advanc'd with eighteen hundred Men, to ruine certain Powder-Mills, purſu'd after him with four thouſand Horſe; and had the fortune to attack him, juſt at the time that he was thinking to draw off. Howſoever *Joſua* according to his uſual Bravery Charg'd the Enemy, and Diſputed the Fight for ſeveral hours; until at length having his Horſe kill'd under him, he was forc'd to retreat, which he did in good Order; being again re-mounted, tho' he was much incommoded by a Wound which he had receiv'd in this Engagement.

Col. Joſua *revenges himſelf.*

But ſoon after this loſs, Colonel *Joſua* to revenge himſelf, taking the Opportunity whilſt General *Dunewald* (who Commanded in the Place of Count *Leſley*, then lying Sick at *Caſſovia*) was in his Quarters, ſurpriz'd two hundred Men belonging to thoſe Recruits which were brought out of *Sileſia*, and cut them to pieces, allowing Quarter unto none, but only to a Lieutenant, and four other Officers.

The Emperor makes new Offers to the Malecontents.

Col. Joſua *falls off to the Emperor.*

A Plague at Vienna.

Col. Joſua *gives Teſtimonies of his Loyalty*

His death.

Thus when the Imperialiſts obſerv'd the ill Succeſſes which daily for the moſt part attended the War, they began again to change their Meaſures, and to eſteem Peace much more eligible than an unfortunate War. And notwithſtanding the late refuſal to grant any thing that was formerly offer'd; the Emperor was reſolv'd now to condeſcend unto any thing that the Malecontents ſhould demand, and that no heavier burdens ſhould be laid upon them, than ſuch Taxes and Duties only as were impoſed on the Subjects of his Hereditary Countries. Count *Leſley* being recover'd of his Indiſpoſition, found an Opportunity to Diſcourſe theſe Matters Perſonally with Colonel *Joſua*; and ſo affected him with the Juſtice and Reaſonableneſs of the Propoſitions; that being abſolutely convinc'd how much a Peace made on ſuch Conditions, was to be preferr'd before a War in Conjunction with the *Turks*; he Wrote unto *Tekeli*, ſignifying his full and entire ſatisfaction in what was offer'd by the Emperor, and that thoſe Conditions were a ſufficient ground for a ſecure and a laſting Peace. But the Anſwer hereunto was retarded, by reaſon of a Plague which beginning to rage at *Vienna*, caus'd the Imperial Court to remove thence with much fear and haſt unto *Prague*; and the Negotiation being then laid aſide for ſome Months afterwards, time had ſo alter'd the ſtate of things, that neither the Emperor was willing to ſtand to the former Offers, nor the Malecontents to receive them. Howſoever Colonel *Joſua* remain'd firm and fix'd to his point; and upon a Pardon granted to him in ample form and manner, he took a New Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor, and engag'd his own Troops to follow him in his Dutiful Allegiance; and that he might give ſome undoubted Teſtimonies of his true Converſion, by ſome Acts of Loyalty and Bravery, he perſwaded *Semey* the Governour of *Tourna* to Surrender up the Caſtle, and adhere unto the Cauſe and Intereſt of the Emperor. And afterwards Enterprizing farther with a Party of his own Horſe, he unfortunately fell into an Ambuſcade, which a Famous Officer of *Tekeli*'s had prepar'd for him. After which, eſcaping to a ſmall Fortreſs not far from thence, he defended himſelf therein for the ſpace of two days; and being not able longer to maintain the place, he with much boldneſs ſet fire to the Powder, and blew himſelf up, with all thereunto belonging. And thus this Valiant one ended his days; whoſe Humor was much more agreeable to a Soldier than a Friar, and better fitted for a Camp than a Monaſtery.

A Plague at New-hawſel.

The People forſake the Town, and are cut off.

Nor did the Peſtilence only Rage within the Emperor's Dominions, but the Infection diſperſed it ſelf with ſuch violence and rage within the Territories of the *Turks*, that five hundred Families fled out of *New-hawſel*, to breath in a more free and healthful Air; but ſcarce were they remov'd a League from the Garriſon, before they were ſurpriz'd by a party of five hundred *Huſſars* and *Heydukes*, who kill'd ſome of them, and pillag'd and robbed the others of all the Goods and Monies which remain'd to them for a poor ſupport, and maintenance of Life. Such was the unhappy State of that miſerable Kingdom, where Men could neither be ſecure within the Walls of their fortified Towns, nor permitted to breath in the open air of the Country; but whilſt they fly from the Judgments of God, they fall into the cruel hands of mercileſs Men.

The Poles *and* Moſcovites *ſend an Embaſſie to the Emperor.*

And yet notwithſtanding theſe daily provocations given the *Turk* (I know not by what Fate) the Emperor was of Opinion, that it was ſtill poſſible ſo to ſalve up Matters with the Grand Seignior, that a War might be avoided. Upon which Opinion and Conceit ſo deeply rooted and fix'd in the Imperial Councils, the Emperor refus'd to joyn with the *Moſcovites* and *Poles* in a League offenſive and defenſive againſt the Common Enemy.

The Moſcovites *ſend an Ambaſſador into* Poland.

And another Ambaſſador to Conſtantinople.

There had been of late a great talk in the World of a Peace concluding between the *Turks*, and the *Moſcovites*, grounded upon an Embaſſie which the latter had diſpatch'd to *Conſtantinople*; when at the ſame time another Ambaſſador was ſent by them into *Poland*, and there Treating with that King to enter into a League offenſive and defenſive with them; offering to defray a great part of the Charge of the War, provided that the Armies of the two Nations might joyn and act together in the next Campaign. The *Poles* neither ſeem'd to accept nor refuſe the Offer, but referr'd the Agreement and Concluſion to the enſuing Diet. In the mean time another Ambaſſador of theirs arriv'd at the Port, to try and diſcover the intentions of the *Turk* towards them. The Grand Vizier, who had already been adviſ'd of their Embaſſies, diſpatched into *Poland*, and *Germany*; was deſirous to diſcover the ſubſtance and intent of the Meſſage before he would admit the Ambaſſador to his Audience; to get a knowledge whereof, he employ'd ſome Grave *Kaloires* or *Greek* Monks (for whom he knew the *Moſcovites* had great reverence and reſpect) to fiſh out if poſſible the meaning and purport of the Commiſſion; but the Ambaſſador kept his Buſineſs ſecret, and with ſome Indignation told the *Kaloires* that the Embaſſie from the Czar his Maſter was not to them, but to the Grand Seignior; and that the ſubſtance of his Buſineſs was contain'd in the Letter, which he hop'd to preſent unto the Sultan with his own hands. When the Letter was opened, and read, the Contents thereof was to this purpoſe. *That the Great Czar of* Moſcovie *did offer to make Peace with the Grand Seignior, provided that the* Turks *would Surrender* Czechrim *unto him, with all the other Places in the* Ukraine, *which the laſt year they had taken from him.*

Their Negotiations with the Turk.

Thus had the *Moſcovites* three Treaties on foot at the ſame time; one with the *Turk* for Eſtabliſhment of a Peace; and in caſe of ſuch failure, then they propos'd to provide themſelves with two ſuch ſtrong Allies, as the Emperor of *Germany*, and the King of *Poland*. Such was the Policy of this Northern People.

ANNO, 1680.

Treaties between Turks, Poles, *and* Moſcovites.

The greateſt part of this Year paſſed in Treaties and Negotiations between the *Poles*, the *Moſcovites*, and the *Turks*; none of the three remain'd in perfect good underſtanding with each other. The *Poles* had not as yet ratify'd their Peace with the *Turk*, having according to their uſual Cuſtom deferr'd it to the determination of a Diet, which was purpoſely delay'd, until it appear'd how Matters would ſucceed in *Hungary*. The *Moſcovites* entertain'd a Treaty with the *Poles*, propoſing a League Offenſive and Defenſive with them, with deſign to create a Jealouſie in the *Turk*; in expectation thereby to Conclude their Peace on better Terms; and when they found the *Turks* inclining and condeſcending towards them, they then ſeem'd cold towards the *Poles*, and more remiſs and indifferent in their Negotiations with them. The *Turks* likewiſe play'd their Game between both theſe Parties; not determining with which to cloſe, becauſe Matters did not in all Points agree with their expectations. The *Moſcovites* acted doubly, and with reſerve, but the *Poles* were more open and free in their Propoſals, and Action; they were ſenſibly touch'd with the loſs of *Caminieck*, which was the Fortreſs and Bulwark to their Kingdom. Nor were the Dependances or Country thereunto belonging as yet ſet out or limitted, which were at preſent as large and extenſive as the *Turks* were pleaſed to make and aſſign them; they were Judges in their own Cauſe, and had power ſufficient in their own hands to make good whatſoever they ſhould determine.

The Moſcovites make a Peace with the Poles.

The *Poles* during theſe Negotiations, Treated with the Sword in their hands, and prepar'd for War; and ſo far preſs'd the League with *Moſcovy*, that in fine it was concluded, which had been a great ſecurity for *Poland*, in caſe the *Moſcovites* had kept their Faith with any regard, and reſpect to their League ſo lately agreed.

They fall off from it, and agree with the Turk.

But whilſt Couriers with Diſpatches paſſed and repaſſed between the Courts of *Poland* and *Moſcovy*, the *Turks* having got notice of this Negotiation, preſently made ſuch Offers to the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, that the Terms were accepted, and a Peace clap'd up between the Czar, and the Grand Seignior, which might have tended to the utter ruine of *Poland*, had not the Deſign againſt *Hungary* (which the *Turks* had meditated for a long time) diverted the ſtorm and fury of a War ſo much expected and dreaded by them. Nor was the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador in *Poland* much out of Countenance, when he was reproach'd with the breach of Faith; for that Nation was never eſteem'd in the World to have been eaſily touch'd with a tender ſenſe of Honour, or ſcruples of thoſe Matters which are call'd Faith, or Honeſty; but rather have made ſuch inconſiderable Trifles as thoſe to become ſubſervient to their greater intereſt and advantages.

An Ambaſſador ſent to ratifie the Peace.

But leſt the *Turks* ſhould repent them of the Bargain they had made, and ſtrike up with the *Poles*, who had juſt reaſon to leave the *Moſcovites* in the lurch, the Czar diſ-ſpeeded with all haſt an Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Port, together with the uſual Preſents; ſuch as two thouſand Sable Skins, twelve Hawks, and other Curioſities; ſignifying by his Letters, that his aim and intention of that Embaſſie, was only to ratifie thoſe Articles of Peace which were offer'd and agreed in a late Treaty. The Ambaſſador was receiv'd with ſuch an unuſual Wellcome, that he was ſurpriz'd at the ſtrange Careſſes which were ſhown him; which not only aſſur'd him that the former Conditions would moſt certainly be granted; but he wiſh'd his Maſter had given him Inſtructions to demand ſomething of a higher and more important

The Turks fall off from the Moſcovites

important Nature from the *Turk*. In ſhort, when the Ambaſſador came to Treat upon Particulars, he found that this extravagant kindneſs was like the Embraces of a Strumpet, falſe and vain; and that the *Turks* were ſo far from an Agreement, that they would ſcarce grant or make good any one of thoſe Propoſitions which they ſo lately promis'd; ſo the Ambaſſador was oblig'd to return as he came, without eaſe in any thing, unleſs of his Preſents, of which the *Turks* took care to take off the burthen from him. With this piece of Policy had the *Turks* out-witted the *Moſcovites*, and expos'd them to the diſdain and reproach of the *Poles*; who could not very ſpeedily be perſwaded to believe that either their Faith or Friendſhip was worth the trouble of another League or Contract. Nor could the *Moſcovites*, as dull and ſtupid as they are, have the face to offer at another Treaty with the *Poles*, which they had ſo lately rejected and violated for the ſake of their falſe Friend.

Other Ambaſſadors ſent from Moſco *to the Port.*

When the Ambaſſador was return'd to *Moſco*, he found all that City and Country in great Combuſtions, caus'd by the two Brothers contending for the Government, after the Death of the Czar their Father: But ſo ſoon as thoſe Troubles were appeas'd, by agreement of the Brothers to participate equally of the Sovereign Power, and joyntly to Rule, they diſpatch'd other Ambaſſadors to the Port with new Inſtructions. Where being arriv'd, their Preſents were again kindly receiv'd, and their Perſons Treated in ſuch a ſoft and gentle manner as the *Turks* commonly practiſe, when they intend to delay and protract the iſſue of an Affair to an uncertain time. For tho' the *Turks* were reſolv'd to carry on the War in *Hungary*, yet the time was not fix'd when the ſame ſhould be denounc'd; the term thereof depending upon preparations and proviſions of vaſt Sums of Money, and other Uncertainties neceſſary thereunto. And for that Reaſon the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador was ſtill kept in hand, and detain'd at the Port.

But in fine, when it was reſolv'd that the War ſhould be carry'd into *Hungary*, (which Reſolution was firſt taken in the Year 1681.) then the Vizier concluded a Truce with the *Moſcovites* for twenty Years, upon Conditions which the Czars ſent by way of their Ambaſſador reſiding at the Court of the Tartar *Chan*, call'd *Baucha Saral*, whoſe chief Buſineſs there, was to Redeem and Exchange Priſoners; the which Letter directed to the Grand Vizier, was to this effect.

AT the inſtance of the Tartar Chan *We have wrote to the* Czars, *that he would be pleas'd to grant you a Peace, as deſir'd by you. In anſwer unto which, he hath given us to underſtand, that he will conſent thereunto; provided, that beſides* Kiovia, *you renounce all Title and Pretence to* Tripol, Staiki, *and* Vaſikow, *which have always been Dependences thereupon. And that you farther promiſe, that your People ſhall not Inhabit, nor hold Fairs, Commerce, or Markets on our ſide of the* Nieper; *but that all that Country ſhall remain deſert, and waſte as it is at preſent. And that from the Towns of* Tripol, Staiki, *and* Vaſikow, *to the Iſles of the* Coſacks Zoporoges, *you renounce all your pretenſions unto us. This is what we demand, and without theſe terms we ſhall conclude nothing with you.*

The Vizier accepts of the Conditions offerd by the Moſcovites.

The Vizier having reſolv'd on a War againſt the Emperor, receiv'd theſe Propoſitions with full ſatisfaction; and immediately return'd Anſwer thereunto, in a Letter wrote to the Czars, full of their uſual ſublime Expreſſions, and of high and fulſom praiſes of their Wiſdoms and Grandeur. Signifying that in the Name of the Grand Seignior he did accept and confirm all the Conditions propos'd; deſiring him to ſend an Extraordinary Ambaſſador to confirm the Treaty. But leſt the Czars ſhould refuſe to ſend a new Ambaſſador, before the other then reſiding was return'd; the Vizier about ſix Weeks afterwards gave Licenſe for his Departure, and accompanied him with Preſents of greater value, than thoſe which the Grand Seignior had formerly beſtow'd upon the Czar.

Of all theſe Particulars, *Kaunitz*, who Reſided at *Conſtantinople*, in the Place of the Secretary *Hoffman* lately there Deceas'd, gave Intelligence to the Emperor; ſignifying alſo, that after the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador was arriv'd with Ratification of the Peace, the Grand Seignior would ſoon afterwards remove to *Adrianople*; in Order as was moſt probable, and in all appearance to a War againſt *Hungary*.

This Matter was acted in the year 1681, which we have anticipated, that we might not abruptly break off the Treaty with *Moſcovy*, the nature of which may be beſt underſtood, when it is carried forward in one Piece; which having done, we muſt look back again to the year 1680. and to the Actions of the Malecontents.

1681.

Tekeli and Weſſellini Fight for Command.

Tekeli was very active all this time in Recruiting his Army, and preparing for War; and having compos'd a Body of four thouſand *Tranſilvanians*, he march'd with them to the General Rendezvous, intending as he had done the year before, to take upon him the Command of the Army. But when he came thither he was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd to find the ſame refus'd to him by Count *Weſſellini*, Son of the late *Paul Weſſellini* deceas'd; who ſo reſolutely contended for the Chief Command, that nothing could decide it but the Sword. In ſhort, both Parties drew out into the Field, and charg'd each other; and after a long Diſpute *Tekeli* got the Victory, and put *Weſſellini* and his Forces to the Rout; and having purſu'd them with a Detachment of his Forces, the Competitor *Weſſellini* was taken, and brought Priſoner to *Tekeli*; who cauſing him to be tied on his Horſe, ſent him to Prince *Apaſi* in *Tranſilvania*; after which, *Tekeli* without a Rival took upon him the ſole Command of the Army.

1680. *The Paiſants in* Bohemia *riſe in Arms.*

The Emperor beſides a War againſt his Rebel Subjects, was under great Mortifications, and Troubles; his Imperial Palace at *Vienna* was burnt, the Plague Rag'd violently in his Hereditary Countries, and in his Army, of which the Baron *de Kaunitz*, and other principal Officers died. And at the ſame time nine hundred Paiſants of the Circle of *Braſlaw* in *Bohemia* aroſe in Arms againſt the Counts *Galas*, and *Bredaw* their Lords, pretending that they were treated like Slaves, and refus'd to pay the Contributions which were demanded for the Emperor.

Howſoever, to make the Juſtice of their Cauſe appear, they ſent four Deputies to *Prague*, to make known unto his Imperial Majeſty their many Aggrievances, which were ſo Tyrannical and Burthenſom as could not longer be ſuſtain'd; and therefore they deſir'd that Council might be aſſign'd them to plead their Cauſe againſt their Lords at the Bar of Juſtice. But inſtead of hearkning to the Petition of theſe diſtreſſed Paiſants, the Deputies were Impriſon'd; and to ſtifle this Tumult in the beginning, two Regiments under the Command of Count *Piccolomini* were ſent to reduce them; upon the appearance of which, the Mutineers diſpers'd, and fled every Man to his own home.

But this Combuſtion was not long ſuppreſs'd, before it burſt forth again in a more violent and outragious manner than before; for four thouſand of theſe diſcontented Paiſants were got together in a formidable Body, Conducted by ſeveral Reformed Officers, with Colours flying, and Drums beating, and with Mottos on their Enſigns, which ſerv'd to incite others to joyn in their Rebellion. They at firſt attempted a Caſtle belonging to the Count *de Thun*, (who was Envoy about that time in *England*, for the Emperor) where they expected to find Arms; but miſſing thereof, they proceeded on other Deſigns, but were interrupted, and ſtop'd by Count *Piccolomini*, who was ſent with Forces to reduce them to Obedience. Whereupon theſe Rebels made a ſecond Experiment, of ſending their Deputies to repreſent their Aggrievances, who were as before clap'd into Priſon. But Advices coming, that ſome other Counties were up in Arms in like manner, and for the ſame Cauſe, the Deputies were ſet at Liberty; and a General Pardon Granted to all thoſe who would lay down their Arms, and remit their Pleas to be Treated at the Tribunals of Juſtice. Upon this Declaration, five thouſand ſubmitted, and return'd to their own Habitations. And the Emperor himſelf, upon hearing the Cauſe between the Lords, and the Paiſants, did determine that the Paiſants ſhould be oblig'd only to Labour three days for their Lords, whereas formerly they were conſtrain'd to the Service of five Days in the Week; having but one ſingle Day allow'd them for the Care and Support of their Family.

The Emperor accommodates the Matter between the Lords, and their Tenants.

The Poles *preſs to have a Treaty Signed.*

In the mean time, the Reſident for the King of *Poland*, at *Vienna*, preſs'd very inſtantly to have the League between his Maſter, and the Emperor againſt the *Turk* to be Compleated, and Sign'd; to which at length this Anſwer was given. *That ſo ſoon as the* Poles *had drawn the* Moſcovites *into an Union with them; and that the* Turks *had alſo declar'd a War, that then the Treaty which was already drawn, ſhould immediately be Sign'd.*

The Emperor refuſes to Treat with Tekeli.

Tekeli on the other ſide, offer'd New Propoſitions of Peace, and in the mean time deſir'd a Ceſſation of Arms. Upon which, the Emperor having call'd his Council, it was Reſolv'd by them, that all Treaties with him for the future, ſhould be abſolutely deny'd; in regard, that by experience he had always been found falſe, and perfidious in every Treaty, having broken his Faith and Promiſes whenſoever it ſerv'd his turn not to perform them. Beſides, it was well remember'd in what manner he had formerly made uſe of Ceſſations of Arms, to debauch the Minds of the Emperor's Soldiers, and to ſeduce and divert them from their Loyalty, and Allegiance. Moreover, the Propoſitions now tender'd, were of the ſame nature and temperament with

1681. thoſe which had been ſo often rejected, and which tended to the diminution of his Imperial Majeſty's Authority. As namely, the Emperor was to ſuffer the People to make Choice of a New Palatine, according to the Ancient Conſtitutions: That the Eſtates of the Malecontents which had been Confiſcated for their Rebellion ſhould be reſtor'd; and that the *German* Garriſons ſhould be withdrawn out of all the Towns of *Hungary*, and Troops of that Nation admitted into their Places. Theſe being the Old and Stale Points ſo often controverted and rejected; it was concluded that *Tekeli* did not again repeat and make offer of them, in hopes of an accommodation, but to amuſe the minds of the People, and to ſerve ſome purpoſe, which he deſir'd to conceal.

And the Reaſons why.

At the ſame time Count *Serini*, to whom his Eſtate Confiſcated had been lately reſtor'd; had by ſome ſecret Informations fallen into ſuſpicion of keeping a Correſpondence with the Malecontents; for which Reaſon he was taken into Cuſtody, and his Papers ſeiz'd; and ſeveral other *Hungarian* Gentlemen committed to Priſon for Complices with him in the ſame Plot; and were all afterwards carried to *Prague*, where Orders were given to take the Informations, and draw up the Indictment againſt them. Accordingly the Examinations were made, and a cloſe inſpection into certain Letters wrote in Characters to Count *Tekeli*, which gave juſt Cauſe of Jealouſie and Suſpicion of an unlawful Correſpondence. Howſoever, when the Letters came to be Decyphered, and nothing found to be therein contain'd, but Arguments and Perſwaſions unto *Tekeli* to accept the Offers made by the Emperor; the which he urg'd and enforc'd by aſſurances in ſuch Caſe, of being inſtrumental in the Marriage with his Siſter the Princeſs *Ragotski* (for whom he knew that *Tekeli* conſerv'd a Paſſion) *Serini* was then acquitted, and reſtor'd again to his Eſtate, after a Months Impriſonment; and Licenſe given him to Viſit his Siſter the Princeſs at *Mongatz*. At his Arrival at this Court, he was joyfully Wellcom'd by all thoſe who had a tenderneſs for that Family; and the Princeſs her ſelf receiv'd a ſeaſonable Conſolation from the Company of her Brother; being then in Mourning, and in Affliction for the Death of her Mother-in-Law, the Princeſs Dowager; which Occaſion Count *Tekeli* took to paſs the Complement, by an expreſs Meſſenger of Condoleance with her.

Count Serini ſuſpected, and Impriſoned.

He is cleared, and ſet at liberty.

1681. *Tekeli* being now Recruited with conſiderable Numbers both of *Turks*, and *Tartars*, divided his Army into three Bodies; the one Commanded by himſelf, and the other two by *Petrozzi*, and *Palaſſi-Imbre*, with intent to enter into the Hereditary Countries by three ſeveral ways. Againſt which Forces the Emperor ſent Count *Staremberg* Governour of *Vienna*, and Major General *Haran*, with all the Troops belonging to *Moravia*, *Stiria*, and *Auſtria*. *Staremberg* had the fortune to Encounter one Party of them as they were breaking into *Moravia*, and gave them a Repulſe; howſoever in their Retreat they took a Redoubt, which was built upon the *Waagh*, in which were three hundred Soldiers, whom they totally Defeated. In Revenge of which, Count *Dunewald* Routed another Party of the Malecontents, conſiſting of five hundred, of which, three hundred were killed upon the place, and fifty Officers and Soldiers taken Priſoners, with four Colours, on which was this Inſcription.

Tekeli divides his Army into three Bodies.

The Imperialiſts have ſeveral Succeſſes.

Comes Tekeli *qui pro Deo, & Patriâ pugnat.*

Count *Caprara* with ten thouſand Men advanc'd as far as *Erlaw*, to obſerve the motions of *Tekeli*; Count *Staremberg* attended *Palaſſi-Imbre*, whoſe Deſign was to enter into *Moravia*, and by a Detachment from his Army, overthrew three thouſand Men Commanded by *Petrozzi*, who with much difficulty made his eſcape.

The Emperor being ſenſible that his Enemies increas'd, and that frequent loſſes enfeebled and abated his Army, caus'd ſeveral New Regiments to be rais'd, the Officers of which were all choſen and put in by Father *Emeric* the Emperor's Confeſſor, and *Abelé* the Chief Secretary of State, by which two the good Emperor was entirely directed, and govern'd, which General *Montecuculi* having obſerv'd, and how Men were preferr'd by favour only to Great Commands, who were neither Soldiers, nor capable of thoſe Truſts, he took the freedom to adviſe the Emperor, that in the choice of his New Officers, reſpect was had to Favour, rather than unto Merit; and that little good Succeſs could be expected from ſuch unable and improper Inſtruments. The Authority of ſo Wiſe a Miniſter of State, and ſo Old a Captain, prevail'd ſo far with his Imperial Majeſty, that the former Commiſſions granted by Recommendations of Father *Emeric* were call'd in, and others iſſued, unto ſuch who were Warranted and

Montecuculi's Counſel to the Emperor.

Vouch'd

1681.

Various Succeſſes, and Chances of War.

Vouch'd by more competent Judges of Military Affairs.

Towards the end of this Campaign, Fortune ſeem'd to favour both ſides with various Succeſſes; what the Emperor gain'd in one Place, the Malecontents recover'd in another; ſo that all Countries were fill'd with Blood, and Ruine, and Deſtruction of the People, without any hopes or proſpect of coming to a concluſion. Upon conſideration of which, the Pious Emperor commiſerating the Afflictions of his People, reſolv'd to make one Trial and Eſſay more, to ſee if it were poſſible to bring Matters to an end, by way of an Amicable Agreement; and to that purpoſe, he conven'd a Diet at *Oedemburg*, where the Malecontents gave in theſe Grievances, made in *Tranſilvania*, and Written Originally in Latin.

1681.

Overtures of Peace made by the Emperor.

Gravamina

GRAVAMINA

Binarum Superioris Hungariæ Regiarum ac Liberarum, Caſſovienſis & Epperienſis, Civitatum Articularium, quibus ibidem degentes Univerſi Cives & Incolæ Trium Nationum Evangelici, partim in negotio Religionis Evangelico, partim Libertate Civili-Politica, contra 25, 26, & 41 Articulos Diætæ Sopronienſis Anni 1681. graviter injuriati eſſent, cum adjunctis eorum Poſtulatis.

Quoad Negotium Religionis.

1681. PRIMO, *Nemo ibit inficias, præattacto 26 Articulo Sopronienſi ſpeciali ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ Gratia, per expreſſum hiſce formalibus verbis,* In aliis vero locis, juxta benignam ſuæ Majeſtatis Reſolutionem loca pro ædificandis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis erigendis, pro commoditate eorundem Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictorum, per certos Commiſſarios deſignanda decernuntur, *Sancitum eſſe, ut Evangelicis, ademptorum templorum, ſcholarum, & parochiarum loco, per ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ deſtinatos certos Commiſſarios, loca commoda, & congrua, & quidem citra aliquam locorum exterorum reſtrictionem, in ipſis civitatibus ſuperioris Hungariæ, juxta genuinum & literalem dicti Articuli itæ ſonantis Clauſulæ ſenſum,* Ac tandem in liberis ac Montanis Civitatibus, *&c.* ac in Superiore Hungaria omnibus itidem civitatibus ſimiliter loca pro ædificandis templis, ſcholis, & parochiis aſſignanda conceduntur, *Deſignentur & aſſignentur; tantum tamen abeſt ut initio menſis Januarii Anno adhuc,* 1687. *dudum tranſactis in ſuperiorem Hungariam clementiſſime ordinata Excelſa Commiſſio Regia huic ſuæ Majeſtis pientiſſimæ reſolutioni expreſſiſſimæq; & claræ menti ejuſdem articuli ſatisfeciſſet, ut potius maximo horum cum abuſu perplacentiq; ſua interpretatione, & evidentiſſima liberi ejuſdem Exercitii Evangelici, è meditullio memoratarum civitatum, eliminatione, loca incommoda & dedecoroſa, extraq; dictas civitates, nulla ſuburbia habentes, adeo remota exiſtentia campeſtria, iiſdem Evangelicis deſignaſſet.*

Proinde & ſanctiſſimæ eatenus declaratæ ſuæ Majeſtatis reſolutioni, & expreſſiſſimis allegati Articuli verbis; Firmiter inſiſtentes, virtute horum commemoratorum deſignatorum inconvenientium locorum totalem Ceſſationem, aliorum verò commodorum & congruorum à quibuſlibet cenſibus & contributionibus Civilibus ad mentem Articulorum 8, 1647. & 12, 1649. *Annorum, eximendorum in memoratis civitatibus, earundemq; mæniis, ita citra ullam ambiguitatem ſenſus, innuente Artic. præcitato* 26. *interiora Civitatum loca, non verò exteriora involvente, ſibi, ceu veris legitimis Patriæ civibus, tam immerita è meditullio Civitatum relegatione haud dignis deſignandorum juſtiſſimam conceſſionem, & benigniſſimam aſſignationem humillime exorarent.* 1681.

Secundo: Innegabile etiam eſt articulo antecedenti 25 *æque ad benigniſſimam ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ Reſolutionem Clariſſimis his verbis,* Omnibus & ubiq; per regnum (nullis ſcilicet Regnicolis Evangelicis, cujuſcunque tandem ſtatus & conditionis exiſtentibus, ſed nec ullo regni loco exceptis) juxta artic. 1. Anni 1608, ante Coronationem editum, liberum Religionis ſuæ exercitium in genere permiſſum; ac inſimul ut nullus regnicolarum in libero religionis ſuæ exercitio in poſterum quoquomodo (ſub ſevera alioquin pœna attacto 26 Artic. Sopronienſi expreſſe allegata) turbetur, *Cautum eſſe: Eo tamen nihil penſi ducto, ubi iidem Evangelici Caſſovienſes & Epperienſes diplomatico hoc eorundem exercitii jure, quo ab antiquo ſemper publice uſi fuiſſent, de cætero quoq; intra eaſdem civitates earumq; mænia (tanquam loca, ut præmiſſum, articularia primituſq; etiam ſolita & conſueta) vel in privata etiam domo ritu ſuo cum actibus ſuis miniſterialibus, congrua item iuventutis Scholaſtica informatione, aliiſq; libere uti & frui idemq; continuare voluiſſent; per magiſtratum & clerum locorum, nullatenus ſunt admiſſi, verum ſevere prohibiti & interdicti; iiſdem ceu alienigenis, communiumq; regni libertatum incapacibus, ad ſupra ſpecificata incompetentia loca, impræſentiarum uſq; relegatis & amandatis.*

Quare hic quoq; nixi benigniſſima ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ Reſolutione & Articulari indultu legalem omnino liberi religionis Evangelicæ exercitii, ad mentem citati articuli 1. An. 1608. *priori ſuo ſtatui, intra mænia nimirum dictarum civitatum fiendam reductionem & reſtitutionem ſtabilemq; & firmam conſervationem:*

1681. *ſervationem: ad uſq; verò commodam & opportunam erectionem & ædificationem novorum templorum, ſcholarum, parochiarum (cum iiſdem pro nunc ob ſummam pauperiem, & graves portionum, bellicarumq; contributionum penſiones non ſufficerent,) ejusdem exercitii ibidem interea in certis privatis commodis ædibus ex integro cum convenienti Juventutis ſcholaſticæ hactenus imperturbata inſtitutione, imperturbati uſus & fruitionis æquiſſimam permiſſionem, & gratioſiſſimam facultatis attributionem dimiſſiſſime implorarent.*

Tertio: Certum pariter campanarum & ſepulturæ præprimis communem & indifferentem uſum ſæpe attacto 26 Articulo Sopronienſi, expreſſis verbis, Uſu Campanarum & Sepulturæ pro Catholicis ibidem degentibus, æq; ac ipſis (ſcil. Auguſtanæ ac Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictis) libero relicto, *æque Evangelicis atque Catholicis ubilibet liberum eſſe admiſſum & relictum: Evangelicis nihilominus Caſſovienſibus & Epperienſibus per Magiſtratum Catholicum, & clerum locorum ſimpliciſſime eſt denegatum, denegaturq; adhuc dum Funerum porro eorundem intra mœnia præfatarum civitatum cum ſolitis ſuis cantibus, aliiſq; conſuetis ceremoniis, condecens & publica deductio & ſepultura, æque contra clementiſſimam ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ inclytis ſtatibus & ordinibus Regni, publica in Diæta Sopronienſi,* 1681. *die decimo menſ. Decemb. gratioſiſſime alias datam reſolutionem, iiſdem ſevera cum comminatione cavetur, & plane non admittitur.*

Hinc, in eo etiam Articularem Campanarum communem uſum funerumq; Evangelicorum tam intra, quam extra civitatum mænia, juxta pientiſſimæ ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ Diætaliter, ut attactam datæ Reſolutionis confirmitatem, publice & imperturbate deducendorum, antea quoq; ſolitam & conſuetam admiſſionem inſtantiſſime paterent.

Quarto, Manifeſtum quoq; vi ſimiliter ſæpius citati Artic. 26. ad finem adjectæ generalis clauſulæ, Salvis ſemper eatenus legibus Regni Diplomate Regio firmatis, *Quoad ulteriores Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictorum legitimarum prætenſionum ſuarum promovendarum Acquiſitiones, ablatorumq; repetitiones, conditas leges Regni, ſalvas & illibatas relictas, conſequenterq; quoſlibet Potentiarios actus prohibitos eſſe, adeoq; nullo etiam (lege jure naturæ,* 206. *A. de Reg. Jur.) ut contra ductum naturæ, cum alterius detrimento & injuria fieri debeat locuples, admitti his nihilominus non curatis, præattactorum utrorumq; locorum Civilis Magiſtratus Catholicus & Clerus, propria duntaxat licentia omnia Caſſovienſium & Epperienſium Evangelicorum pia legata, & certa dona poſſeſſionaria, ex pio Evangelicorum zelo ad Eccleſiarum & Scholarum ſuarum neceſſitates* 1681. *& uſus teſtamentaliter ordinata & collata, cætum præciſe Evangelicum concernentia, (Caſſovienſibus ſiquidem quatuor domos, intra mœnia ejuſdem Civitatis ſituatas, quarum unam dictus loci Magiſtratus egregio Michaeli Dómeczki judicatus ſui in Officio jam vendidiſſet, & abalienaſſet: Unum adhæc hortum, & certas terras arabiles in territorio ejuſdem Civitatis exiſtentes; prout & unam vineam, alias Varghaſzóló dictam, in promontorio Tokayienſi adjacentem: Epperienſibus vero certas itidem vineas, diverſis in promontoriis partium ſuperioris Hungariæ ſituatas, una cum reditibus & proventibus) via facti & potentiæ occuparunt, & ad ſe pertraxerunt, quæ de facto violenter tenerent, uſuarent, & majori ex parte in prophanos uſus contra ſenſum Articulorum* 11 *&* 14 *Anno* 1647. *ſumma cum Evangelicorum injuria & damno converterent, nec ipſi reſtituerent.*

Quotirca hoc in caſu etiam ad præſcriptam legem & Conſtitutiones Regni provocantibus, præmiſſorum violenter ademptorum, occupatorum, & tentorum omnium piorum legatorum & bonorum poſſeſſionariorum Evangelicorum, (ſua, non aliena, repetentium) cum ſuis reditibus, & proventibus, ex dictamine etiam communis juſtitiæ, unicuique ſuum tribuentis, effectivam & realem rehabitionem & reſtitutionem jure merito impenſe ſollicitarent.

Quinto: Conſtat ſimiliter, quoad ſolutionem Catholicorum Plebanorum & Miniſtrorum Evangelicorum non ſolum ſæpedicto 26. Artic. Clariſſimis verbis, Interea nec Catholici Miniſtris Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictis, nec vero horum ſequaces Plébanis Catholicis ſolvere obligentur: *Sed ad mentem etiam ibidem citati* 11 *Artic.* 1647 *anni,* Ne Evangelici ſtatus Catholicis Plebanis, & è converſo ſtatus Catholicus Evangelicis Miniſtris ad ullas ſolutiones pendendas ſint obligati, *Satis evidenter proviſum eſſe, Immo ſubſequenti* 12 *Artic. dicti Anno* 1647, *quoad Actuum Miniſterialium quoſlibet uſus expreſſa per hæc verba,* Ubi vero parochias non haberent Auditores Evangelici, ſolutionem pendant ſuæ Religionis Miniſtris, cujus videlicet Miniſterio, ſeu opera, uſi fuerint, ſicut & Catholici parochis Catholicis: Ubi autem hactenus auditores Evangelici non ſolviſſent plebanis Catholicis, impoſterum etiam ad nullas ſolutiones præſtandas ullo ſub prætextu cogantur ad ſolvendum, prout nec Catholici Evangelicis.

Quoad ſtolarium vero proventuum ſolutiones, vigore ejuſdem Artic. 11, *ſubſequentium verborum tenore,* Stolares autem proventus,

ſeu

1681. ſeu ſolutiones, in quibuſvis locis Plebani Catholici & Miniſtri Evangelici à ſuæ Religionis auditoribus totaliter percipiant.

Poſitivam exſtare legem & conſtitutionem, ut Evangelici Evangelicis, & Catholici Catholicis ſolvant : His tamen non obſtantibus, ad ſolvendum præciſe Catholicis Plebanis aliiſque, inviti coguntur Evangelici : Dum non ſolum ſalarium hebdomadale cum aliis accidentiis, ex publico civitatum ærario, (in quod Evangelici numero & frequentia Catholicis triplo Majores ac plures, ut plurimum inferunt) per Magiſtratus locorum Catholicis Plebanis continue penditur, ſed & ſtolares etiam proventus præciſe pro iiſdem vendicati & attracti ipſis ſolvuntur : Evangelicis vero Eccleſiæ Miniſtris & Scholæ docentibus maxima cum injuria denegantur.

Eapropter quoad æqualitatem & æquitatem ſalariorum hoc in paſſu quoque non citra legalem rationem, uti Catholicis Plebanis, aliiſque, ita etiam Evangelicis Miniſtris & Scholæ docentibus, ex communibus proventibus, publicoque civitatum ærario, parem & coæqualem, citra ullam difficultatem pendendam exſolutionem : Secuſne utri partium adminiſtrandam ſolutionem, verum ad mentem præcitatorum articulorum, ut quilibet ſtatus ſuos interteneat & exſolvat ſibi ſervientes, iiſque etiam ſuos pendat ſtolares proventus, clementiſſimam, juſtitiæque & juri conſonam Conſtitutionem efflagitarent quam ſubjectiſſime.

Sexto : Cuilibet in propatulo publicum eſt, vi Artic. 25 Prædicantibus & Scholarum Magiſtris non ſolum liberum in regnum reditum, liberamq; in Regno manſionem, ſed & liberam Religionis ſuæ profeſſionem & exercitii functionem conceſſam : Adhæcq; in partibus Hungariæ ſuperioribus vi ſubſequentis 26 Artic. inter ceteras Regias ac liberas Civitates Caſſovienſem quoque & Epperienſem Civitates pro locis Articularibus, libere & publice ibidem Religionem Evangelicam exercendi, conſtitutas, & ſtabilitas, adeoque, ut poſthac nullæ exercitii turbationes ab utrimque, ſub pœna in Artic. 8 Uladiſlai Decret. 6. expreſſa fiant, definitum eſſe. Civitatis nihilominus Epperienſis Magiſtratus eo proceſſit licentiæ, quod omnes trium nationum Evangelicos Miniſtros, citra alicujus promeritæ cauſſæ ſignificationem, vel alicujus benigni ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ mandati productionem prætextuoſo ſolum ut inauditum, titulo Dominii terreſtris (quod nullum omnino vel in civiles, ſemper pari cum eodem Magiſtratu communi civili libertate gaudentes, nedum ſpirituales, ſpeciali libertate exemptas Eccleſiaſticas perſonas haberet, ſed nec etiam quoquomodo ſibi vendicare poſſet, anniverſario, eoque ambulatorio Officio gaudens) auſu proprio & privato, maxima ſuæ Cæſareo Regiæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ Authoritatis cum diminutione, præſpecificatorumque articulorum vilipendio, eadem Civitate, ejuſdemque territorio ipſo feſto S. Bartholomæi Apoſtoli Anni præteriti 1688, ſummo cum dedecore expulerit Articularemq; eccleſiam Epperienſem Evangelicam ſuis Miniſtris, maximo ejuſdem in ſpiritualibus exercitiis cum defectu & damno orbaverit & privaverit.

Ob id inſontium & innocue exturbatorum exulantium Miniſtorum Evangelicorum Epperienſium ad priora eorundem defungenda munia Eccleſiaſtica, realem & effectivam reſtitutionem, nullamque amplius quorumcunque admittendam expulſionem : Quin, qua horum Epperienſium, qua Caſſovienſium etiam Eccleſiaſticorum Miniſtrorum Scholæ docentium Evangelicorum, uti præſentium, ita & futurorum, vi juris patronatus ſemper vocandorum, in domiciliis & reſidentiis ſuis, ſive propriis, ſive conductitiis, intra mœnia earundem civitatum habentibus & habendis, ſecure & imperturbate ſemper permanendi & habitandi, benigniſſimam conceſſionem, eorundemque perpetuam protectionem, devotiſſimis ſupplicarent precibus.

Quoad libertatem porro Civilem-Politicam.

Septimo : Nemo niſi legum expers negaverit, initio ſpecificato 41 Artic. Diætæ Sopronienſis, gratioſiſſima Regiarum ac liberarum Civitatum Communium libertatum ac privilegiorum Confirmatione, deſuperq; ibidem allegatarum, ac paſſim etiam conditarum legum & Articulorum Regni renovatione expreſſe conſtitutum eſſe. Ut eædem leges & articuli tam per Cameras, quam Officiales bellicos, ac alios quoſcunque ſtrictiſſime obſerventur ; neque (eædem ſcil. liberæ ac Regiæ Civitates) in libero Electionis Magiſtratus Civilis jure ac aliis Privilegiis, ipſorum longo uſu roboratis, à quopiam quoquo modo turbentur.

Adhæc tamen moderans memoratarum Civitatum Magiſtratus, ingeſſione inclytæ Cameræ Scepuſienſis Artic. 83.1647 anni, alias prohibita, tantam ſibi vendicavit pro lubitu agendi licentiam, ut jam omnes Caſſovienſes & Epperienſes Senatores, alioſque Officiales Evangelicos ad publica officia & dignitates civiles gerendas bene meritos & aptos, ex mero duntaxat privato affectu ergu Religionem, contra manifeſtas præfati Artic. ibidemque citatorum ſignanter vero Artic. 13. 1608 ante Coronationem 44. 1609 & 12. 1649. annorum conſtitutiones, apertiſſimo, communium libertatum & privilegiorum civilium cum præjudicio, notabili verò Evangelicorum civium oppreſſione à publicis dignitatibus & honoribus, officiiſque civilibus degradaverint & removerint : horumque loco aut minus idoneos aut negotia civitatum nihil intelligentes, magiſque privata curantes cives Catholicos, ſumma dictarum civitatum cum ruina damnificatione, & interitu, ſurrogaverit & conſtituerit, Quamobrem Primo : Liberi

1681. *Magiſtratum & Communitatem civiles eligendi juris, hactenus diverſimode, contra præſpecificatas leges Regni poſitivas, per inclytam Cameram Scepuſienſem interturbati, ac ex parte Evangelicorum penitus everſi, unice & mere penes eaſdem Civitates, earundemque utriuſq; Religionis Catholicæ & Evangelicæ juratos cives permanendi priori ſuo ſtatui admittendam reductionem ſolidamque conſervationem, nulloque amplius modo ejuſdem, à quopiam ſub pœna alioquin renovatorum, ſuperiuſque annotatorum Articulorum intentandam interturbationem.*

Secundo: Civilis mutuæ concordiæ conſervandæ, nocivarumque diſſenſionum & ſimultatum fomitum reprimendarum gratia eorundem Magiſtratuum & Communitatum civilium, abſque ullo Catholicæ & Evangelicæ Religionis diſcrimine, ex honeſtis, benè meritis, iiſque aptis juratis civibus, fiendam liberam Electionem officiorumque, & quarumvis aliarum dignitatum civilium, ad mentem præſpecificatorum Articulorum 13. 1608. *ante Coronationem, &* 44. 1609. *annorum indifferentem & coæqualem collationem & diſtributionem, mutuamque ad honores civiles publicos promotionem.*

Tertio: Obſervandæ alternatæ æqualitatis, bonique civitatum publici cauſſa, judicatus & Tribunatus officiorum, juxta præcitatorum & 12 *Artic.* 1649. *anni ſenſum, alternatim & mixtim annualiter gerendorum, gratioſiſſimam annuentiam & permiſſionem, profundiſſima animorum cum humilitate rogarent & poſtularent.*

Prærepetitarum Liberarum ac Regiarum Caſſovienſis & Epperienſis Civitatum Univerſi Cives & Incolæ trium Nationum Evangelici.

Gravamen Regiæ Liberæq; Civitatis Carponenſis Evangelicorum.

NOn ſine gravi animi dolore ſuæ Majeſtati Sereniſſimæ repræſentandum quoque duxerunt Regiæ ac liberæ Civitatis Carponenſis univerſi Nobiles pariter & ignobiles, Præſidiarij item, ſeu Confiniarij utriuſque ordinis ſtipendiarij milites, incolæ ſimul & cives Evangelici: Quod dum juxta benigniſſimam ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ reſolutionem, Artic. 26, *Sopronienſis Diætæ Anni* 1681. *clementiſſime inſertam, inter alia inclyti Regni Hungariæ loca, pro ædificandis novis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis erigendis, pro commoditate Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ confeſſioni addictorum per Commiſſarios deſignanda, per expreſſum nomine tenus his verbis:* In Generalatu Antemontano, Levæ, Carponæ, & Fulekini, &c.

Eadem civitas pro Articulari loco, libere, & ex integro ibidem Religionis Evangelicæ exercitium uſuandi & fruendi fuiſſet, eſſetque declarata, & ſtabilita; excelſa, nihilominus Commiſſio Regia anno præterito 1688, *ad montanas Civitates ordinata ad memoratam quoque civitatem deveniens, neſcitur quibus ex rationibus, ubi ad mentem præcitai Articuli & clementiſſimæ ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ ibidem contentæ reſolutionis & declarationis loco ademti templi, ſcholæ, & parochiæ Evangelicorum pro commoditate præſpecificatorum ibidem exiſtentium & commorantium Auguſtanæ Confeſſioni addictorum, alia loca omnino commoda & apta ad mentem Articuli* 19. 1647. *deſignare & ordinare, eoſdemque in pacifico uſu ejuſdem exercitij imperturbatos relinquere debuiſſet, remotis potius in contrarium ab Officio ejuſdem Eccleſiæ Evangelicæ Miniſtris, & Scholæ docentibus, univerſos nobiles pariter & ignobiles, quæ præſidiarios, qua incolas & cives Evangelicos à continuo libero eorundem uſu & exercitio, à memoria hominum ibidem practicato & habito, in eodemque uſu reali, ut præmiſſum, articulariter relicto, certo licet eum reſpirio, ad ulteriorem nimirum ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ benigniſſimam reſolutionem, & gratiam, maximo tamen exercitij ſpiritualis, nullam moram patientis, cum præjudicio, optimique ejuſdem juris Articularis verbo & indultu Regio firmati cum derogamine, ſevera ſub comminatione inhibuit, & penitus abſtinere coëgit. Inhærendo proinde firmiſſime Regio huic & articulari indulto, peterent inſtantiſſime, ſibi in eadem civitate, ejuſdemque mœniis, non ſolum loca ædificandor. Templi, Parochiæ & Scholæ commoda & idonea per quos intereſt, deſignari, & exſcindi, verumetiam articulare eorundem liberum Religionis exercitium cum communi & indifferenti Campanarum & ſepulturæ uſu, ita dictante etiam præallegato* 26 *Artic. Sopronienſ. ſuo priſtino ſtatui & ordini reddi, reduci & reſtitui.* 1681.

Gravamina regiarum & liberarum Veterozolienſis, Breznobanienſis & Libethbanienſis Civitatum Evangelicorum.

ÆQue lamentabili cum querimonia exponunt quoque earundem Regiarum & liberarum Civitatum univerſi Evangelici afflictiſſimam & infeliciſſimam ſuam in negotio Religionis ſuæ ſortem, ut qui tenore genuini & ſani ſenſus Articulorum Sopronienſium libero Religionis ſuæ exercitio omnibus & ubique per Regnum degentibus, juxta claram & evidentiſſimam Artic. 1. *ante Coronationem* 1608. *editi, inque* 25 *Artic. Sopron. confirmati explicationem (nullo Regni ſtatu, minus quarto, qui*

Regiæ & liberæ Civitates Regni, qua peculia ſacræ Coronæ, indifferentèr eſſent Excluſo) benigniſſimo indulto & reſolutione Regiis, alias conceſſo & admiſſo, vel in privato ſaltem peragendo, privari minime potuiſſent, ſed nec debuiſſent; immo vero virtute ſubſequentis 26 Artic. Sopron. generaliter de civitatibus loquentis, ac non niſi in exemplum ex utroque ordine tam Montanarum binas, quam liberarum civitatum ſimiliter binas adducentis & denominantis, pro ſe quoque erigendorum novorum templorum, Parochiarum & Scholarum, loca commoda & convenientia, ab ordinata Anno 1688. Regia Commiſſione obtentum & aſſignatum iri, certo ſperaſſent; horum tamen nihil conſequuti, in majorem ſui aggravationem, & Religionis ſuæ apertiſſimum exterminium, amotis, & exturbatis per eandem Commiſſionem Regiam, omnibus ordinariis Evangelicæ Eccleſiæ eorundem Miniſtris, totali libertate exercitij Religionis privati & prohibiti eſſent: Univerſis actibus Miniſterialibus Eccleſiaſticis alibi locorun apud Evangelicos uti volentibus, ſevere interdictis; è converſo omnibus ſtolaribus Proventibus, ſicut & aliis ſolutionibus Evangelicos Miniſtros præciſe concernentibus, pro introductis Plebanis, paucos omnino in Veterozolienſi & Breznobanienſi, Libethbanienſi vero Civitatibus noniſi unum cives & incolas Catholicos habentibus contra expreſſam annuentiam Articulorum 11 & 12. Anno 1647. invitis Evangelicis, inconſuete, viaque facti vendicatis & attractis, adhæc quoque Inhabitatores & cives, ſine diſcrimine, ac potiſſimum opifices & Mechanicos Evangelicos ad Cæremonias Religioni ipſorum contrarias compellere omnimode conantibus, nec de facto deſiſtentibus. Ob id, pro Articulari liberi exercitij beneficio, pariterque ceu aliis ita his quoque civitatibus, pari libertate cum iiſdem gaudentibus, nec hoc in paſſu deterioris eſſe conditionis valentibus, locorum novis templis, ſcholis, & Parochis erigendis, & ædificandis omnino commodorum & idoneorum gratioſiſſima admiſſione & per quos intereſt exciſione, ſicq; integrali eorundem reſtitutione, quam demiſſiſſime inſtarent.

Gravamina Liberarum ac Regiarum Civitatum Sancti Georgij, Bazingæ, Tyrnaviæ, Szakolizæ, Kúſzegh, & Ruſzt.

LAmentabiliter deplorant & exponunt iſtæ liberæ & Regiæ Civitates afflictum & turbatum Religionis ſuæ ſtatum, adeoq; infelicitatem, ubi quamvis juxta genuinum ſenſum articulorum Sopronienſium in hac Religionis Materia conditorum libero Religionis exercitio omnibus & ubique per Regnum degentibus, &c. conceſſo & admiſſo exiſtente, eo magis clariori hujus Articuli 25. explicatione in confirmato ibidem Anno 1608. Artic. 1. ante coronationem contentæ, ne quidem hæ Civitates libertate hac exercitij vel in privato ſaltem peragenda, privari poſſent ac deberent: imo beneficio articuli ſubſequentis 26. Sopron. generaliter de Civitatibus loquentis, loca templis, Parochiis & Scholis apud ſe erigendis ſibi aſſignatum iri omnino ſperaſſent, nihil tamen præmiſſorum obtinuerunt: quin potius pro majori ſui aggravatione, & extrema Religionis ſuæ internecione totale exercitium Religionis ſuæ inhibitum: Miniſtri ipſorum amoti & exturbati, ita ut ne Civitates quidem iſtas iis ingredi liceat. Frequentatio talium locorum, ubi adhuc Religionis exercitium vigeret, Baptiſmatumque, & aliorum Eccleſiaſticorum rituum ibidem uſus & acceptatio abſolute graviſſimis ſub pœnis inhibita, adeoque ad infirmos ſuos, & in agone conſtitutos admiſſio Miniſtrorum Evangelicorum in totum vetita, generaliter vero totale exercitium Religionis ſuæ contra ſenſum præſcriptorum articulorum denegatum, ex adverſo vero Inhabitatores Evangelici ad cæremonias contrarias compelluntur. Pro cujus exercitij liberi articulari beneficio, ſimulque ad inſtar aliarum Civitatum locorum erigendis Templis, Parochiis, & Scholis commodorum admiſſione & exciſione (cum una libertate gaudentes cum aliis, ne in hoc quidem ſequior ipſorum conditio eſſe debeat) humillime ſupplicant.

Gravamina Liberarum ac Regiarum Trenchinienſis & Modrenſis Civitatum.

DOlenter ſane conqueruntur hæ duæ liberæ & Regiæ Civitates, quod quidem beneficio Articuli 26 diætæ Sopronienſis, loca ædificandis templo, Parochiæ & Scholis iiſdem exciſa & aſſignata per Dominos Commiſſarios eſſent, atque liberum exercitium Religionis ſuæ permiſſum; circa hujus tamen nonnulla Eſſentialia requiſita & neceſſaria ipſos plane extra articulariter, imo contra genuinum ſenſum eorundem articulorum per eoſdem Commiſſarios eſſe circumſcriptos & coarctatos. Et primo quidem circa Miniſtros ſuos, ſeu prædicantes, qui ad certum numerum eſſent reſtricti: imo ut defuncto, & è vivis excedente eorundem aliquo, expoſt alterum in ejus locum introducere non liceat. Vicinorum & circumjacentium locorum Evangelici (quibus etiam vi præcedentis 25 Artic. generalis clauſulæ, Omnibus & ubique per regnum degentibus, &c. liberum etiam exercitium conceſſum fuiſſet) ne Miniſterio & ſacris eorum uti audeant & talia loca frequentent ſerio interdictum. Ipſis denique Miniſtris viſitatio infirmorum extraneorum & in agone conſtitutorum, ſtrictiſ-

1681. *ſime inhibita. Opifices & Mechanici contra ſimiliter mentem dicti Artic. 25. ad cæremonias ſibi contrarias, proceſſiones quippe, & ad has conſuetorum vexillorum comparationem ſub gravi mulcta compelluntur. Baptiſmata, & alij ritus Eccleſiæ circumjacentibus Pagis adminiſtrari vetiti. Plebano catholico ex publico proventu Civitatis ſalarium ordinatum, Evangelico vero ex propria auditorum pecunia, ſicut & Scholæ Rectori, ut ſolvatur. Scholæ ſimiliter triviales tantum, id eſt, aliquantum legere & ſcribere tradentes conceſſæ: ſuper cujuſmodi circumſcriptionibus, ſiquidem præſcripti Articuli omnino ſilerent, ſingulas tales difficultates & gravamina ſua ad genuinum ſenſum eorundem articulorum & aliorum per hos confirmatorum, accommodanda & reducenda, humillime inſtant.*

Gravamina ſuperioris Regni Hungariæ, Zemplinienſis, Abavyvarienſis, Unghvarienſis, Saaroſſienſis, Thornenſis, &c. Comitatuum inſimulque oppidorum ſubmontanorum, in Dominio Rákocziano exiſtentium Nobilium & Ignobilium Incolarum Evangelicorum.

C*Um maxima ſui oppreſſione repræſentare coguntur iidem Evangelici ſuæ Majeſtati Sereniſſimæ, quod quamvis ſua Majeſtas Sereniſſima, in Artic.* 26. *Sopronienſis diætæ, duobus in locis, primum quidem tenore ſubſequentium expreſſiſſimorum verborum*, In aliis verò Comitat. veluti in Szalodienſi, Veſprinienſi, Jaurienſi, Comaronienſi, Abavyvarienſi, Saaroſſienſi, Zemplinienſi, Ugoczienſi, Bereghienſi, Thornenſi, Honchenſi, Neogradienſi, Szolnock & Heves, nec non Peſth, Pilis & Soldt unitis, item Szubolczenſi, Ungh & Szathmarienſi, ſiquidem de præſenti eſſent in actuali uſu omnium fere templorum ibidem habitorum, ideo eadem pro actualibus eorundem poſſeſſionibus uſuanda relicta ſunt. *Expoſt verò ſubſequentis ſimiliter Articularis clauſulæ;* Templa demum, in quorum actuali poſſeſſione iidem Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addicti de facto ſunt, modo prævio præ manibus eorundem, una cum Parochiis & Scholis, proventibus que eorundem propter bonum pacis, ut nimirum quietè & pacificè vivant, relinquuntur, *ſeſe benigniſſime reſolvere dignata fuerit, præviis in comitatibus univerſa Templa, Parochias & Scholas cum ſuis proventibus propter bonum pacis, unionis, internamque tranquillitatem Regni publicam præ manibus ibidem exiſtentium & degentium Evangelicorum actualiter relinquenda & pacifice uſuanda, poſitiva lege clementiſſime conſtituerit: eo nihilominus non obſtante, in Comitatibus ſignanter Abavyvarienſi, Saaroſſienſi, Zemplinienſi, Thornenſi & Ungh exiſtentia Evangelicorum templa potiori ex parte per eoſdem Evangelicos aut fundamentaliter erecta, aut ex imis ruderibus re-ædificata, Scholæ item & Parochiæ, una cum eorundem proventibus, ſimiliter per Evangelicos teſtamentaliter collatis & applicatis, nec unquam per dominos Catholicos poſſeſſis, contra apertiſſimum ejuſdem articuli Sopronienſis ſenſum, gratioſiſſimamque ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ, occaſione etiam & beneficio noviſſimæ Poſonienſis diætæ in conſolationem ſtatus Evangelici renovatam & ratificatam reſolutionem, in dominio præſertim Rakocziano, oppidis Comitatus Zemplinienſis, nominanter Szantho, Thallia, Môd, Keretzthur, Tarczal, Liſzka, Benye, Toleſcua, Ughelly, Patak, Borſſy, (quæ quidem oppida tum tempore conditi præſpecificati Articuli Sopronienſis, quam expoſt etiam in actuali pacifico dominio Templorum, Parochiarum & Scholarum ſuarum fuiſſent, ac ulterius etiam vigore ejuſdem articuli imperturbate perſiſtere debuiſſent) prout & confinio Tokay (alias per eundem articulum in dominio ſui templi per expreſſum relicto & denominato,) pagiſque quamplurimis in eodem dominio exiſtentibus, ipſis Evangelicis per inſpectores eorundem bonorum Manifeſta vi adempta ſunt.*

His accederet, quod contra apertiſſimum Sopronienſis ſimiliter Articuli 25 ſenſum, præſpecificatorum oppidorum in attacto comitatu Zemplinienſi exiſtentium Incolæ tam nobiles, quam alterius etiam conditionis poſt memoratam occupationem templorum, apud privatas domos quoque continuatum Religionis ſuæ exercitium, alia virtute Artic. 1. *Anno* 1608. *ante Coronationem editi, ad quem ſe idem* 25. *Sopronienſis diætæ articulus manifeſtè referret, tam in Fiſci Regij, quam aliorum Dominorum Baronum ac Magnatum bonis liberum relictum, ſeveriſſimis ſub minis ſeponere tam hactenus coacti ſunt, quam de præſenti etiam coguntur.*

Prædicantes verò eorum benigniſſima ſuæ Maieſtatis Sereniſſimæ reſolutione, vigore præſcripti 25. *Artic. ab exilio revocati, intra præfixos jam aliquot vicibus terminos, ſub amiſſione bonorum & capitis, è dominio eodem aut exire, aut reverſalibus ad nulla umquam munia Eccleſiaſtica ibidem exercenda ſub eadem cautione ſeſe obnoxios reddere coguntur.*

Præter hæc, quamvis præcitati Articuli Sopronienſis, & quidem 25. *ne Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ confeſſioni addicti ad cæremonias religioni ſuæ contrarias quoquo modo compellantur: Articulus verò* 26. *ne Catholici Miniſtris Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ confeſſioni addictis, nec verò horum ſequaces Plebanis Catholicis ad mentem Artic.* 11. 1647. *ſolvere*

obligentur,

1681. *obligentur, manifeſte declararent; tamen in utroque, & præſertim in ſolutione Plebanis Catholicis ſienda, militari quoque brachio aſſumpto, in contrarium coguntur.*

Quin utut tenore ſæpius allegati Artic. 26. uſus ſepulturæ & campanarum indifferenter, uti Catholocis ita & Evangelicis eſſet liber relictus, nihilominus exſanguia Evangelicorum corpora contra ipſum jus Chriſtianitatis in ſolito ſepulturæ loco terræ mandari impediuntur. Sed nec uſus campanarum per Evangelicos licet comparatarum, & fieri curatarum, ipſis admittitur. Imo, quod manifeſtam omnino perſecutionem Evangelicorum ſaperet, ipſis quoque Nobilibus certa bona quamvis exemptitia, & jure etiam Regio confirmata intra corpus præattacti dominij Ragotzkiani poſſidentibus, ac alterius etiam conditionis hominibus, niſi profeſſioni ſuæ Evangelicæ reſenſerint, ac renunciaverint exterminatio & excluſio de Bonis iiſdem, in eodem dominio habitis, per inſpectorem bonorum Rakotzkianorum identidem minitatur. Non abſimiliter in Comitatu Abavyvarienſi proviſor bonorum Regeczianorum in bonis iiſdem per certas ſuas literas Evangelici exercitij cultum interdixit, ac intra quotuordecim dies Parochis Evangelicis migrationem è bonis iiſdem ſub amiſſione bonorum & capitis intimavit, vel ſi ad modum privatorum ſecularium ibidem remanere vellent, ſtrictiſſimis Reverſalibus ad nulla umquam munia Eccleſiaſtica ibidem ſub amiſſione pariter bonorum & capitis exercenda ſeſe adſtrictos reddere deſideravit, ac actu etiam templa in poſſeſſionibus Fony & Bodokáuyfalu una cum appertinentiis occupavit.

Pariter in ejuſdem Comitatus Abavyvarienſis oppido Sepſſy dicto, ubi nullis ſub prætextibus templum à poſſeſſoribus Evangelicis occupari potuiſſet, proventus decimales ex territorio ejuſdem oppidi Parocho Evangelico provenire ſoliti, ad intimationem inclytæ Cameræ Scepuſienſis per Triceſimatorem Sepſſienſem ſunt occupati, qui de facto etiam in ſequeſtro tenentur.

Æque in Comitatu Unghvarienſi in oppido Nogymihali, pagiſque Vinna & Sztara: ſicut & in Comitatu Saaroſſienſi, in poſſeſſionibus Tolczeck, Aſguth & Soovar, Evangelicorum templa, Parochiæ & Scholæ, cum univerſis appertinentiis præallegato Articulari modo actualem in uſum & poſſeſſionem Evangelicis relicta, per dominos Catholicos via facti ſunt adempta.

Denique in Comitatu Thornenſi, in poſſeſſione Somogy, medietas proventus, per certam conventionem jampridem initam Parocho Evangelico cedens, pariter adempta eſt.

Quæ omnia contra benigniſſimam ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ mentem & articularem reſolutionem adverſus ſupramemoratos Evangelicos, maxima optimorum jurium ſuorum Articularium cum injuria & everſione actu ipſo attentata exſtitiſſent, eadem uti firmiſſime crederent, cum reali & effectiva violenter ademptorum reſtitutione, ſuique redintegratione, adhæc introductorum abuſuum ſublatione clementiſſime remedenda, in paternum ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ ſinum humillime effuderunt. 1681.

Iidem præcitatorum Comitatuum ſuperioris Regni Hungariæ ac Oppidorum in dominio Rakocziano exiſtentium incolæ profeſſionis Evangelicæ.

Par ratio eſt Comitatuum Articularium Szalodienſis, Veſprinienſis, Jaurienſis, Comaronienſis, Bereghienſis, Szolnock, & Heves, Szatmarienſis item ac Peſth, ac Soldt unitorum.

Gravamina Univerſitatis Evangelicæ Nobilium in Comitatibus Lyptovienſi, Thurocʒienſi, Arvenſi, Trenchinienſi, Zolienſi, & Honthenſi exiſtentium, pro evidenti remonſtratione eorum, in quibuſnam iidem contra Articulos Sopronienſes in Negotio Religionis læſi & turbati eſſent: Quibus immediate ſubjunguntur etiam humillima Poſtulata eorundem, æque pro dictis Articulis conformitalium Gravaminum ſuorum mitigatione, reductione, & complanatione.

ET ſiquidem Lyptovienſis, & Thuroczienſis, Arvenſis, Trenchinienſis & Zolienſis Comitatuum Gravamina & querelæ in omnibus fere punctis ac difficultatibus conciderent, ac æqualiter procederent, brevitatis ergo hic etiam conjunguntur. Et hi quidem Comitatus manifeſte & merito in eo ſe injuriatos & turbatos querulantur, quod per illuſtriß. D. Comitem Georgium Ardody, qua Commiſſarium, & reliquos penes ſe habitos, contra genuinum ſenſum & tenorem dictorum articulorum Sopronienſium Miniſtri, ſeu Prædicantes eorum Evangelici, qui poſt occupationem in his Comitatibus univerſorum templorum vi articuli 26. Sopronienſis libero exercitio Religionis ad Reſidentias & Domos privatas Nobilium tranſlato exiſtente, vocationem & munia ſua taliter longo tempore peragebant omnes (præter duos inarticulariter denominatis locis relictos) extra Comitatum & locum, ubi tum manſiſſent, ſub quindena ſunt proſcripti & relegati; vel ſi eorum ali-

1681. *quibus emigrare non placuiſſet, talibus Reverſales ſuper ſimplici abdicatione Miniſterii contra expreſſam in Artic. 25. ſimilium ceſſationem ſubſcribendæ propoſitæ, nec ſecus tolerandos ſtricte & ſub incaptivatione eorundem demandatum eſſet.*

Scholæ non aliæ quam triviales vel ſicuti eadem Commiſſio explicaret, aliquantulum legere & ſcribere docentes, ac eæ quoque in locis ſaltem duobus Articulariter, ut præmiſſum denominatus permiſſæ: Cæteræ omnes clauſæ & interdictæ, ac Rectores paſſim exturbati, cum interim Artic. 25. tam Prædicantes, quam hos Officiis ſuis in integrum reſtituiſſet. Cultus & exercitium Religionis in domibus & reſidentiis Nobilium, oratoriis item & capellis, quales plurimæ darentur in dictis Comitatibus per Miniſtros Evangelicos peragendus ſtrictè prohibitus, miraque ſane circumſcriptione ita limitatus, ut ſiquis Nobilium in ædibus ſuis cultum Dei peragere velit, non alium quam unum ex duobus illis relictis Miniſtris accerſere, & eorum opera uti præſumat, idque pro ſua ſolum & famulitij ſui neceſſitate.

Solutiones qualeſcunque (extra ſtolares duorum ſaltem in quovis Comitatu aſſignatorum locorum) omnes Plebanis Catholicis exſolvendæ decretæ: Imo jam paſſim ubique militari aſſiſtentia mediante per Plebanos ab eo tempore extorquentur.

Villani, ſeu ruſtici, ab exercitio ſuæ Religionis, Baptiſmatum, Copulæ, Introductionum, Sepulturæ, ac Sacramentorum ſuo ritu percipiendorum uſu, frequentatione item Articulariter aſſignatorum locorum abſolute arcentur, & inhibentur: E contra verò ad Cæremonias ſibi contrarias per vim & fortia compelluntur.

Inſuper in Comitatu Thuroczienſi erunt templa in poſſeſſionibus Bella, Zaturcza, & Pribacz, Evangelicorum ſumptibus ædificata, & ante conditum Articulum non reconciliata, non habito tamen reſpectu articularis exceptionis ſub initium Artic. 26. appoſitæ, indiſcriminatim omnia ſunt occupata. Campanarum item & ſepulturæ uſus, niſi cum præſcitu & exſolutione Plebanorum permittitur.

In Comitatu Honthenſi verò, qui juxta Artic. 26. Sopronienſem Univerſa Templa (tamquam quæ tempore conditorum eorundem Articulorum præ manibus Evangelicorum fuiſſent, ac vi illius Articuli de cætero etiam uſui relinquenda innueretur) libere & pacifice poſſidere debuiſſent illuſtriſſimus D. Comes Volffgangus Kohary ejuſdem Comitatus ſupremus Comes ex delegatione (uti ſe declaravit) illuſtriſſimi D. Comitis præfati Georgij Erdodi, adjuncto ſibi vicecomite Comitatus, occupavit, excepto unico exili in contemptiſſimo pago Drieno dicto, non pridem per Evangelicos ædificato. Miniſtris præterea Evangelicis omnibus ſerio præcepit, ut Parochiis ac locis, ubi hactenus manſiſſent, actutùm excedunt, niſi incaptivari velint. Nobilibus quoque inhibitum, ipſos vel in privato quoque tolerare ullo modo audeant. Cum tamen Comitatus iſte nomine tenus in Articulo præſcripto in eo tum actualiter habito uſu templorum adtunc poſſeſſorum, ulterius etiam confirmaretur, ac ſtabiliretur. 1681.

Humillima eaque Articularia præmentionatorum Comitatuum Poſtulata hæc ſunt.

QUandoquidem ſua Majeſtas Sereniſſima tam per Confirmationem dictorum 25. & 26. Artic. diætæ Sopronienſis, in noviſſimà diæta Poſonienſi Artic. 21. 1687. editam, quam etiam rurſus in perſonali audientia Ablegatis præſcriptorum Comitatuum elargitam reſolutionem, prædictos Artic. in omnibus punctis & clauſulis ſe obſervaturam, & per alios quoque ſerio obſervari facturam verbo ſuo Regio reſolviſſet, juxta ſimpliciſſimum proinde & clariſſimum eorundem Articulorum ſenſum in ſequentibus ſeſe accommodandos, redintegrandos, reſtituendos, & per expreſſam expeditionem, ſeu decretum, confirmandos præfatorum Comitatuum Evangelici humillime implorant.

Ut juxta mentem 25 Artic. dictæ diætæ Sopronienſis omnes ipſorum Miniſtri, ſeu Prædicantes, & Rectores, libere in medio ſui remanere, ac profeſſionis ſuæ exercitium, atque munia extra quamvis limitationem peragere valeant: Cum hoc ipſum idem Articulus (tam Prædicantes, quam Scholarum Rectores, illos etiam qui ante proſcripti fuerunt, caſſatis ipſorum Reverſalibus priori libertati & vocationi reſtituens) per expreſſum permitteret, ita ut ſiquidem omnes tales Prædicantes ad duo loca exciſa, & in Artic. 26. denominata reſtringi & collocari non poſſint, relaxata & ſublata juxta uberiorem ejuſdem 26. Artic. ſenſum & indultum, in oratoriis Arcenſibus & Reſidentialibus Dominorum, Magnatum & Nobilium exercendi Religionis exercitii inhibitione, ſimiles extra parochiales Prædicantes ibidem in privato accommodari valebant.

Templa & Capellæ non reconciliatæ, perque Evangelicos ædificatæ, ex mente ſimiliter dicti Artic. 26. pro exercendo cultu Religionis noſtræ, ubicunque in dictis Comitatibus reperirentur, nobis relinquantur, & reſtituantur.

Similiter ex Conſtitutione & decreto toties fati Artic. 26. quatenus præſcriptorum Comitatuum Evangelici ab omni prorſus ſolutione (juxta expreſſa Articuli verba, & aliorum ibidem confirmatorum) Parochis Catholicis præſtanda liberi maneant, & immunes, ac tantum ſuos Miniſtros exſolvere ſint obligati.

Ultimatè, ut omnibus ſui in medio exiſtentibus cujuſcunque ſtatus & conditionis hominibus Religionis ſuæ exercitium maneat & ſit liberum, non excluſis etiam Ruſticis juxta paragraphum Artic.25. Omnibus & ubique, &c. & aliorum ibidem confirmatorum; nec ullus ad contrarias cæremonias compelli præſumatur. Generaliter verò quatenus in omnibus dictorum Articulorum beneficiis & indultis conſerventur, nec una pars alteram ſub pœna ibidem appoſita quoquomodo turbare expoſt audeat.

Comitatus porro Henthenſis extra præmiſſa cum ceteris Comitatibus ſibi Communia Poſtulata peculiari, eoque Articulariter per expreſſam ſui denominationem eidem attributo jure, pro reſtitutione etiam occupatorum templorum, in quorum videlicet actuali uſu & dominio tempore conditi Artic. fuiſſet, humillime inſtat.

Gravamen Oppidi Gyongyôs.

QUerelatur idem oppidum in eo, quod dum juxta Artic. 26. Sopronienſis Diætæ expreſſam conceſſionem, ad verba: In aliis verò Comtatibus, veluti Szaladienſi, Veſzprinienſi, &c. & Heves (in quo oppidum hoc ſitum eſſet) ſiquidem de præſenti, &c. Item, Templa demum, in quorum actuali poſſeſſione iidem Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ confeſſioni addicti de facto ſunt, &c. in actuali poſſeſſione & dominio Templi, Parochiæ & Scholæ, ſuorom Helvetico Evangelicorum, (ex quo in horum actuali etiam uſu & poſſeſſione ante, ſub, & poſt Diætam Sopronienſem uſque ad infraſcriptum tempus pacifice perſtitiſſent) imperturbate relinqui debuiſſent, maximo regij & Articularis hujus indulti, optimique juris ſui cum præjudicio ex mandato & Commiſſione Rev. D. Archiepiſcopi Strigonienſis Georgij Szechenti, & illuſtriſſimi D. Comitis Georgij Erdody, per egregios Johannem Almaſſy Heveſtienſis, & Franciſcum Schútter Peſthienſis Comitatuum Judices Nobilium, violenta aſſumtorum armatorum plebeiorum hominum invaſorum manu, primum Templo, perrupta medio Zingari ejuſdem feneſtra, eodemque immiſſo, ac ſic ab intus violenter penetrato, adaperto, & potito, ex poſt Parochia & Schola, in nobilitatibus alias fundis per Evangelicos propria pecunia comparatis, ædificatis, tandem verò omnibus horum appartinentiis, undecim nimirum vineis, quinque molendinis, uno macello, domo ſimiliter una partim teſtamentaliter per Evangelicos collatis, partim propriis eorundem pecuniis conquiſitis, exindeque reſultantibus proventibus, omnino Evangelicis, die 21 Maij 4. proxime præterito 1688. via facti occupatis, privatum, Prædicante adhæc & Scholæ Rectore in exilium pulſis, libero Religionis exercitio, vel in privata etiam domo Articulariter uſuando, ſeveriſſime inhibito, ſepultura in locis competentibus, & campanarum propriarum uſu inſimul interdictis; funeratione verò demortuorum Evangelicorum (niſi Plebani Catholici eatenus, prout & Baptiſmatum, Copulationum, & Sacramentorum Officio, ritu, & opera uti vellent) ad diſrepectuoſa quadriviorum & compitorum campepeſtrium loca amandata totali & integro actuali Articularis Eccleſiæ Helvetio Evangelicæ beneficio eſſet orbatum: quare plenariam ſui, præmiſſorumque occupatorum, ablatorum, & prohibitorum omnium realem reſtitutionem & redintegrationem vi præſpecificati Articularis indulti, jure merito expeterent. Par ratio

Oppidi Jaſzbrinij. Oppidi Comarom.

Non ſine animi dolore conquererentur quoque cives & incolæ, ſtipendiarij item Milites Hungarici Confinij Comaromienſis Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſionis: Quod poſteaquam vigore Articuli 26. Diætæ Sopronienſis, ubi idem Confininm perexpreſſum denominaretur tam liberam publicæ Religionis exercitij praxin, quam Templorum etiam ac Scholarum & Parochiarum pacificam adepti fuiſſent, ac in iis imperturbate, & ſine læſione Catholicæ Religionis perſtitiſſent, utque dum Artic.1683. ob fatales belli tumultus, & inſperatam Oppidi Conflagrationem Miniſtris eorundem Evangelicis una cum civibus hinc inde diſperſis tale liberum Religionis exercitium quodammodo intermitti contigiſſet; jamnunc annis & fatis clementioribus ſupervenientibus, ubi virtute præſcripti Articuli 26. idem publicum Religionis ſuæ exercitium reaſſumere, & Miniſtros ſuos Eccleſiaſticos reducere voluiſſent, intervenientibus Excellentiſſimi D. Comitis à Hoffkircher, dicti Confinii Commendantis, & loci Cleri contradictionibus id effectuare in præſens uſque nullatenus permiſſi, imo de die in dies gravioribus minis abſterriti totali Religionis ſuæ exercitio inhibiti, privati ſunt, pro uti talem inhibitionem ulterius quoque præattacti D.D. Catholici practicaturi tribus abhinc menſibus circiter ad pulſum tympani per plateas Confinij factum, etiam ad circumjacentia loca egreſſum Evangelicis pro peragenda devotione ſua, ſub incaptivatione, & aliis gravibus pœnis, ſeveriſſime interminati ſunt, prohibitis etiam precibus in privatis alias ædibus peragi ſolitis. Hinc non abſimiliter pro Articulari ſui, præmiſſorumque reſtitutione & redintegratione ſupplicarent. His accederet,

Inferioris Hungariæ Poſſeſſionis Hodos nuncupatæ Prædicantem Evangelicum Samuelem Riczkey dictum, non obſtantibus Protectionalibus ex intimo Conſilio Bellico eidem Poſſeſſioni gratioſe elargitis, binis vicibus, per homines Celſiſſ. & Rever. D. Archiepiſcopi Strigonienſis eſſe expoliatum & omni ſupellectili

1681. *lectili domeſtica privatum, ultimum etiam in perſona 22 præteriti menſis Martij captum, Poſoniumque ad ædes Archiepiſcopales in carceres deductum, ubi dire & dure tractatur, & nonniſi ſicco pane & ſqualida aqua emaceratur.*

Similiter ſuperioris Hungariæ Poſſeſſionis Totthſalu Prædicantem Evangelicum per Naghybæniarenſis Reſidentiæ Patrem Jeſuitam, Ravaſz vocatum, captum, vinctumque ad carceres Szatthmarienſes deduci curatum, ubi etiamnum detineretur, & miſerrime tractaretur.

Diætæ Poſonienſis, Ann. 1687.

Articulus XXI. In negotio Religionis renovantur Articuli 25 & 26 Ann. 1681. cum interjecta Declaratione.

L*Icet quidem in Negotio Religionis Auguſtanæ & Helvetiæ Confeſſioni addicti Articulis* 25 & 26 *noviſſimæ Diætæ Sopronienſis oppoſitam iiſdem per reclamationem ſuam abutentes ipſo facto eorundem beneficij participes eſſe deſiiſſent: propter bonum nihilominus domeſticæ unionis & pacis, internumque Regni tranquillitatem, cum ſua Majeſtas Sereniſſimæ ex gratia & clementia ſua præcitatos Articulos adhuc ratos fore benigniſſime reſolviſſet, eoſdem ſtatus quoque & ordines ad mentem Paternæ reſolutionis (Cleri & aliorum ſecularium Catholicorum contradictione non obſtante) pro renovatis & priori firmitati reſtitutis cenſendos, acſi & in quantum hactenus ineffectuati, vel verò per aliquos abuſus ab una aut altera parte medio tempore introductos, violati fuiſſent, ſuæ debitæ executioni, & tempore eorundem conditorum Articulorum, vel expoſt occupatorum, aut reoccupatorum impendendæ reſtaurationi, utprimum demandandos eſſe ſtatuerunt.*

THE

GRIEVANCES

Of the two Imperial and Free Cities of Upper Hungary, Caſſovia, *and* Epperies; *wherein are Contain'd the Injuries done to all the Proteſtant Citizens and Inhabitants of the three Ranks, as well in their Civil Liberties, againſt the* 25th, 26th, *and* 41ſt *Articles of the Diet of* Sopron, *An.* 1681. *together with their Demands.*

1681. FIRST, It muſt be allow'd that in the 26*th* Article of that Diet, by the Special Favour of His moſt Sacred Majeſty, 'twas expreſly Ordain'd in theſe very Words: *But in other parts 'tis Order'd according to His Majeſty's Gracious Reſolution that Places be appointed for the Building of Churches and Schools, and Erecting Pariſhes for the Conveniency of thoſe of the* Helvetian *Confeſſion, and of that of* Ausbourg.

That inſtead of the Churches, Schools, and Pariſhes taken from the Proteſtants, there ſhould be Aſſign'd them by Commiſſioners appointed from His Majeſty, commodious and convenient Places, and that without any Reſtriction, even in the Cities of upper *Hungary*, according to the literal and genuine ſenſe of the Clauſe of the ſaid Article, which ſaith, *Furthermore in the Free and Mountain Cities, as alſo in all the Cities of upper* Hungary *are Places to be allow'd for the Building of Churches and Schools, and Erecting Pariſhes.*

Nevertheleſs in the beginning of *January*, in the year 1687. His Majeſty's High-Commiſſioners appointed with ſo much Clemency in upper *Hungary*, were ſo far in their proceedings from ſatisfying either His Majeſty's pious Reſolution, or the true and clear intent of the Article, that even in contempt of them all, and in compliance with their own falſe Gloſſes, they did aſſign to the Proteſtants inconvenient and undecent places without the ſaid Cities, which have no Suburbs, and conſequently very remote in the Fields, to the evident exterminating of the free Exerciſe of our Religion from the ſaid Cities.

Wherefore we do conſtantly inſiſt on the moſt Holy Reſolution of His Majeſty, as it is declar'd in the expreſs'd words of the Article before alledg'd, and by vertue thereof, do humbly implore, that inſtead of the inconvenient appointed Places ſuch others (as ſhall be both commodious and free from all Civil Taxes or Contributions, according to the intention of the 8*th* Article, *An.* 1647. and the 12*th*, *An.* 1649. in the above-mentioned Cities, and within the Walls of the ſame, without any Ambiguity, ſince the before-cited 26*th* Article includeth the inward, not the outward parts of the Cities) be granted and aſſign'd to us the true and lawful Citizens, and in no wiſe deſerving ſo unjuſt a Baniſhment from the midſt of the Cities.

Secondly, 'tis alſo undeniable, that in the 25*th* Article, immediately foregoing, the Gracious Reſolution of His moſt Sacred Majeſty is declar'd in theſe very words: *To all and every one through the Kingdom (no Proteſtant Inhabitant of whatſoever State and Condition, or in whatever part of the Kingdom excepted) according to the* 1ſt *Article in the year* 1608. *publiſhed before the Coronation, a free Exerciſe of their Religion in general is granted, and alſo that none of the ſaid Inhabitants ſhall any wiſe be diſturbed for the future in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, on the ſevere puniſhment that is expreſly ſet down in the* 26th *Article of the Diet of* Sopron.

Notwithſtanding which, when the ſaid Proteſtants of *Caſſovia* and *Epperies* would have freely us'd and enjoy'd their Right Eſtabliſh'd by His Majeſty's Warrant, and continu'd their way of Worſhip, as alſo the Inſtruction of their Youth within the ſaid Cities, and their Walls (as places provided by the above-mention'd Articles, and formerly us'd and allow'd) they were not only not admitted, but ſeverely prohibited and hindred by the Magiſtrates and Clergy of theſe Cities, nay ſent away and

1681. Baniſh'd till this time, to the fore-ſpecified places in no wiſe convenient for them, as if they were Strangers and wholly incapable of the Common Liberties of the Kingdom.

Wherefore in this Point alſo Relying on the Gracious Reſolution of His moſt Sacred Majeſty, and the Articles he has been pleaſed to make with us, We do moſt Humbly implore a lawful Reſtitution and firm Eſtabliſhment of the free exerciſe of our Religion in its former State, according to the ſaid Article *1ſt Anno* 1608 (*viz.*) within the Walls of the ſaid Cities. We alſo ſubmiſſively beg, that till we have a convenient opportunity of Building and Erecting new Churches, Schools and Pariſhes (which by reaſon of our great Poverty, and the vaſt Taxes and Contributions to the preſent War, we are not able now to perform) it be graciouſly granted to us, that we may anew freely enjoy the ſaid exerciſe of Religion in certain private and convenient places, and have Schools for the Inſtruction of Youth.

Thirdly, Though the indifferent and common uſe of Bells and Burials was every where permitted, as well to the Proteſtants as Catholicks by theſe expreſs words, of the 26*th* Article of the Diet of *Sopron* : *The free uſe of Bells and Burials is left to the Catholicks of thoſe places, as well as to thoſe of the* Helvetian *Confeſſion, and of that of* Ausbourg.

Which nevertheleſs, the Catholick Magiſtracy and Clergy of *Caſſovia* and *Epperies* have fully deny'd, and do ſtill deny the ſaid free uſe of Bells and Burials to the Proteſtant Inhabitants of the ſaid Cities, forbidding them with moſt ſevere Threats, to perform the uſual Ceremonies of Burials, within the Walls of the ſaid Cities; notwithſtanding the gracious reſolution of His moſt Sacred Majeſty, made to the illuſtrious States of the Kingdom, in the Diet of *Sopron*, *December* the 10*th*, *Anno* 1681.

So that we earneſtly deſire the common uſe of Bells and Burials for the Proteſtants, as well within, as without the City Walls, free from any moleſtation or diſturbance, conformable to the Pious Grant of His moſt Sacred Majeſty.

Fourthly, It is evident alſo, that by Vertue of the general Clauſe inſerted in the end of the ſo often mention'd 26*th* Article in theſe words : *Provided always, That the Laws of the Kingdom confirm'd by the Royal Charter be not hereby prejudiced.*

The ſtanding Laws of the Kingdom concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues of thoſe of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, and of that of *Ausbourg* were left in force, and conſequently any Arbitrary proceedings forbidden, eſpecially ſuch as againſt the inſtinct of Nature, tend to the enriching of ſome Perſons, to the Damage and Wrong of others.

Nevertheleſs, the Roman Catholick Magiſtrate and the Clergy of *Caſſovia* and *Epperies*, by their own Authority, and by Force have taken and appropriated to themſelves, all the pious Legacies and Gifts left by Will, through the pious zeal of the Proteſtants, for the uſe of Proteſtant Churches and Schools, (*viz.* in *Caſſovia*, four Houſes ſtanding within the Wall of the ſaid City, one of which the Magiſtrate has ſold, and alienated to the illuſtrious *Michael Domeczki* ; a Garden and certain Plow Lands lying in the Territory of the ſame City; as alſo a Vineyard formerly called *Varghaſzóló*, lying in the Territory of *Tokai*. And in *Epperies* certain Vineyards likewiſe lying in ſeveral Territories of Upper *Hungary*, together with their Revenues) actually retaining the ſame for their own uſe, and for the moſt part turning them into prophane uſes, againſt the 11*th* and 14*th* Articles of the year 1647, to the great injury and damage of the Proteſtants.

Wherefore in this Caſe alſo, the Proteſtants appealing to the aforeſaid Laws, and Conſtitution of the Kingdom, do lawfully require, that all the pious Legacies and Church Lands (violently taken away and retain'd from them, who are the right Owners) be reſtor'd together with their Revenues, according to that Rule of Common Juſtice, Render to every one his own.

Fifthly, It is certain likewiſe, that for the paying of the Proteſtant Miniſters, and of the Catholick Curates, it was evidently enough provided, not only by the often mentioned 26*th* Article in theſe words : *Nevertheleſs, the Catholicks ſhall not be obliged to pay any thing to the Miniſters of the Proteſtants, nor the Proteſtants to the Curates of the Catholicks.*

But alſo by the 11*th* Article of the year 1647 in theſe words ; *Let no Proteſtant be obliged to pay any thing to the Catholick Curates, nor the Catholick to the Proteſtant Miniſters.*

Nay, in the following 12*th* Article of the ſaid year 1647, are contained theſe words : *Concerning any uſe whatever of the Miniſterial Functions ; but where the Proteſtants have no Pariſhes, let them pay the Miniſters that they employ, as the Catholicks are to pay their Catholick Curates ; and where hitherto the Proteſtants did pay nothing to*

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1681. *the Catholick Curates, they ſhall not be obliged hereafter to pay any under any pretence whatſoever, nor the Catholicks to the Proteſtant Minſters.*

Which words, together with theſe of the ſame 12*th* Article concerning the Revenues of Schools; but in any place whatſoever, the Catholick Curates, and the Proteſtant Miniſters ſhall receive the Revenues of Schools, from their reſpective Followers only. Eſtabliſh this poſitive Law and Conſtitution, that the Proteſtants pay the Proteſtants, and the Catholicks the Catholicks: Notwithſtanding this, the Proteſtants are forced maugre themſelves, to pay the Catholick Curates, whilſt not only a Weekly allowance, together with other perquiſites, is conſtantly paid to the Catholick Curates by the Magiſtrate out of the publick Purſe (wherein the Proteſtants put moſt, being three for one Catholick;) but alſo, the Revenues of Schools are adjudged,and paid to the ſame Catholick Curates, and with the greateſt injuſtice deny'd to the Proteſtant Miniſters and School-Maſters.

Therefore they demand with all Submiſſion and Juſtice, that the Proteſtant Miniſters and School-maſters, be allow'd out of the publick Purſe, a Salary equal with that of the Catholick Curates, or that neither of the Parties be paid out of that Fond, but each by their reſpective Followers, according to the intention of the before mention'd Articles.

Sixthly, Every body knows that by Vertue of the 25*th* Article, not only a free return and ſtay in the Kingdom is granted to the Baniſht Miniſters and School-maſters, but alſo a free exerciſe of their Religion and Profeſſion, and by Vertue of the following 26*th* Article it is Order'd, That amongſt the imperial and free Cities of Upper *Hungary*, *Caſſovia* and *Epperies* ſhall be appointed, and eſtabliſh'd places for the publick and free exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion; and that hereafter, no Subject ſhall be diſturb'd in the free exerciſe of his Religion, under the pain expreſſed in the 8*th* Article, of the 6*th* Decree of *Uladiſlaus*. Nevertheleſs, the Magiſtrate of *Epperies*, on the very Feſtival Day of St. *Bartholomew* the Apoſtle, in the Year 1688 laſt paſt, dar'd deprive the Proteſtant Church of *Epperies*, eſtabliſh'd by the Articles of their Miniſters, and with great diſhonour expel all the Proteſtant Miniſters of the three Nations, out of the ſaid City and its Territory, without letting them know any cauſe of ſo injuſt an uſage, or ſhewing them any Warrant of His moſt Sacred Majeſty for it; pretending only an unheard of Title of Lord of the Manor, 1681. (which cannot be admitted among Civilians, ſince they enjoy equaly with the Magiſtrate the common civil Liberty, nor amongſt Clergy Men, who enjoy a ſpecial Liberty, nor can it in any wiſe be taken by Magiſtrate, whoſe Office is but for a year) to the great diminiſhing of His moſt Sacred Majeſty's Authority and the Contempt of the before mentioned Articles.

Wherefore they humbly beg, that the innocent and unjuſtly Baniſh'd Proteſtant Miniſters of *Epperies* be reſtor'd, and may perform as before their Eccleſiaſtical Duties, and that both the Proteſtant Miniſters of *Caſſovia*, and thoſe of *Epperies*, employ'd either in Preaching, or in Teaching Schools, preſent or to come (being always preſented by the right Patrons,) may live quietly and ſafely in their own or hir'd dwelling places, which they have, or ſhall have within the Walls of the ſaid Cities.

Seventhly, No body that knows the Law will deny, but in the beginning of the aforeſaid 41*ſt* Article of the Diet of *Sopron*, where the Common Liberties and Privileges of the imperial and free Cities are confirm'd, and beſides the there mention'd Laws, and Articles of the Kingdom made in ſeveral places are renewed, it is expreſly ordain'd: *That the ſame Laws and Articles be ſtrictly obſerved, both by the Chambers and the Officers of the Army, and by any other perſon whatſoever, ſo that they* (viz. *the ſame imperial and free Cities*) *be no way diſturbed by any one, in their free right to chuſe a Civil Magiſtrate, nor in any other Privilege.*

Nevertheleſs, the modern Magiſtrate of the ſaid Cities, againſt the Prohibition contain'd in the 83*th* Article of the Illuſtrious Chamber of *Scepuſium*, in the year 1647, out of meer private hatred againſt our Religion; was pleaſed to take upon him ſuch a Power, as to degrade, and turn out of their publick Dignities, and Civil Employments all the Senators of *Caſſovia* and *Epperies*, and ſeveral other Proteſtant Officers well deſerving, and qualified for publick Offices and Civil Dignities, againſt the evident Conſtitution of the aforeſaid Article, and of thoſe that are cited in it; but eſpecially of the 13*th*, before the Coronation in the year 1608, of the 44*th* in the year 1609, and of the 12*th* in the year 1649, to the moſt evident prejudice of the Common Liberties, and Civil Privileges, and to the conſiderable oppreſſion of the Proteſtant Citizens; and in the room of the ſaid Senators and Proteſtant Officers, the ſaid Magiſtrate has put Catholick Citizens either leſs fit, or wholly unacquainted with the Affairs of the ſaid Cities, and more minding their private concerns, to the damnifying and even undoing of the ſaid Cities. Wherefore we require with the deepeſt Humility,

Firſt, That the free right of chuſing the Civil Magiſtrate, and other Officers (which hitherto has been ſo diſturbed, and wholly taken away from the Proteſtants, againſt the poſitive Laws of the Kingdom, made in the Illuſtrious Chamber of *Scepuſium*) belonging properly and only to the Sworn Citizens of the ſame Cities, and as well to the Proteſtants as to the Catholicks, be reſtor'd and maintain'd in its former State, and in no wiſe any more diſturbed by any one, under the pain mention'd in the renewed and aforeſaid Articles.

Secondly, That in order to maintain a civil mutual Union, and put out any Fewel of Diviſion and Hatred, a free Election be made of the ſame Magiſtrate, and other Officers out of the well deſerving, and well qualified Sworn Citizens, without any difference of the Catholick and Proteſtant Religion; and that the Employments, and any Civil Dignities whatſoever be indifferently, and equally conferr'd and beſtowed, ſo that the Catholicks and Proteſtants promote mutually one another to publick, civil Honours, according to the intention of the aforeſaid 13*th* Article, of the year 1608 before the Coronation, and of the 44*th* of the year 1609.

Thirdly, That in order to obſerve a juſt equality of Turns, and procure the publick good of the Cities, it be graciouſly granted, that the Offices of Judge and *Tribune* be by Turns, and promiſcuouſly exerciſed for a year, according to the intention of the aforeſaid Articles, and of the 12*th* in the year 1649.

All the Proteſtant, Citizens, and Inhabitants of the three Nations, of the Free and Imperial Cities, *Caſſovia* and *Epperies*.

The Grievance *of the Proteſtants of the Free and Imperial City of* Carpona.

IT is not without a great deal of Grief, that all the Noblemen and Gentlemen, all the Auxiliary Forces, and hired Soldiers of both ſorts, and all the Proteſtant Inhabitants, and Citizens of *Carpona*, think it their Duty to Repreſent to Your moſt Sacred Majeſty; that altho' according to Your moſt Sacred Majeſty's Reſolution, inſerted in the 26*th* Article of the Diet of *Sopron*, *Anno* 1681. Among the places of the Kingdom, which were to be appointed for the Building of new Churches and Schools, and Erecting Pariſhes for the conveniency of thoſe of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, and of that of *Ausbourg*; the ſame City of *Carpona* is particularly named, and eſtabliſhed to be one of the places, where the free exerciſe of Religion ſhould entirely and quietly be enjoyed, as it may be ſeen in theſe words: *In the Diviſion before the Mountains at* Leva, Carpona *and* Tulekin.

Nevertheleſs, Your Majeſty's High Commiſſioners appointed in the year 1688 laſt paſt in the Mountain Cities, being come to that of *Carpona* (whereas, according to the intention of the aforeſaid Article, and of Your Majeſty's Gracious Reſolution, and Declaration contain'd in it, inſtead of the convenient Churches and Schools and Pariſhes which were from the Proteſtants of the Confeſſion of *Ausbourg*, they ſhould have appointed other convenient and fit places, and left the Proteſtants in the quiet Poſſeſſion of them, according to the intention of the 19*th* Article in the year 1647,) did on the contrary turn the Proteſtant Miniſters and School-maſters out of their Offices, and with ſevere Threats forbid both all the Proteſtant Noblemen and Gentlemen, all the Soldiers of the Gariſon, as well as all the Inhabitants and Citizens, to continue the Exerciſe of Religion (which had been enjoy'd in the ſame place from time out of Memory, and was confirm'd by the Articles as we have already ſaid) till Your Majeſty's further Reſolution were known, to the great prejudice of a Spiritual Exerciſe, which ſuffers no delay, and to the diminiſhing of the Right granted to the Proteſtants by the Articles, and confirm'd by Your Majeſty's Favour.

Therefore they do wholly Rely on the Articles, and Your Majeſty's Grant, and Humbly beg, that not only convenient and fit places, within the Walls of the ſaid City be appointed to them, for the Building of Churches and Schools, and Erecting Pariſhes; but alſo, that they may have a Free Exerciſe of Religion, together with the common and indifferent uſe of Bells and Burials, according to the aforeſaid 26*th* Article of *Sopron*, and as they had formerly.

The Grievances *of the Imperial and Free Proteſtant Cities,* Veterozolium, Breznobania *and* Libethbania.

ALL the Proteſtants of the ſame Imperial and Free Cities, ſet forth their moſt lamentable Caſe in reſpect of Religion,

1681. that whereas they ſhould not be hinder'd to enjoy at leaſt in private the free Exerciſe of Religion granted by the Articles of *Sopron*, to all and every where in the Kingdom (without excepting any part of it, and leſs the fourth State, which comprehends all the Imperial and Free Cities of the Kingdom, belonging properly to the Crown) through His Imperial Majeſty's Favour, according to the clear and evident explication of the 1*ſt* Article made before the Coronation, in the year 1608. and confirm'd in the 25*th* Article of *Sopron*, but rather by virtue of the following 26*th* Article of *Sopron* (which ſpeaks in general of the Cities, and by way of inſtance names only two of each ſort; *viz.* of the Mountain Cities, and of the Free Cities) His Majeſty's High Commiſſioners appointed in the year 1688. ſhould alſo have appointed them commodious and convenient places for the building of new Churches and Schools, and erecting Pariſhes, yet they have obtain'd nothing: On the contrary, the Miniſters have been turn'd at and expell'd by the High Commiſſioners, and the Proteſtants have been moſt ſeverely forbidden by the ſame to exerciſe their Religion in private, or to go to any Neighbouring place where their Religion is Exerciſed Moreover againſt the expreſs grant of the 11*th* and 12*th* Article in the year 1647. maugre the Proteſtants and by force, the ſaid High Commiſſioners have aſſign'd and appropriated all the proper Revenues of Schools and Churches to the Catholick Curates which they have brought in, and have very few Followers in the Cities of *Veterozolium*, and *Breznobania*, and but one in *Libethbania*. In fine, the ſaid High Commiſſioners did by all means, and do ſtill compell without diſtinction, all the Proteſtant Inhabitants and Citizens, eſpecially the Trades and Handy-craft-men to Ceremonies contrary to their Religion; therefore the ſaid Proteſtants humbly beg the ſame Liberty of Religion as is granted in the Articles, and enjoy'd in other Cities, ſince theſe in no wiſe deſerve a worſe caſe; and that there may be aſſign'd them convenient places for the building of new Churches, and Schools, and erecting Pariſhes.

The Grievances *of the Free and Imperial Cities St.* George, Bazinga, Tyrnaw, Szakoliza, Kuſſegh, *and* Ruſt.

THeſe Free and Imperial Cities do alſo lament and ſet forth their deſolate Caſe, and great Unhappineſs in reſpect of Religion; that (whereas according to the genuine Senſe of the Articles of *Sopron*, made in the behalf of Religion, its free Exerciſe is granted to every one, and every where in the Kingdom) they ſhould not be hinder'd to enjoy, at leaſt in private the ſaid free Exerciſe of Religion; but by Virtue of the 26*th* Article of *Sopron*, which ſpeaks in general of the Cities, Places ſhould have been appointed them for the Building of Churches, and Schools, and Erecting Pariſhes, yet they have obtain'd none of the premiſſes; but on the contrary, have been forbidden to exerciſe any way their Religion, their Miniſters have been expell'd, and forbidden to come any more into the ſaid Cities; it is prohibited under the ſoreſt puniſhment to frequent the places where there is Exerciſe of Religion, to go thither, to have Children Baptiz'd, or to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to ſend for Proteſtant Miniſters to Sick and Dying Perſons; in a word, the whole Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion is forbidden, againſt the ſenſe of the aforeſaid Articles, and the Proteſtants are compell'd to Ceremonies contrary to their Religion; therefore they humbly beg that they may enjoy the ſame Benefit as is granted in the Articles, and have places appointed them for the Building of Churches, and Schools, and Erecting Pariſhes, as well as the other Cities; ſince that Privilege is equally granted to all; and therefore the caſe of ſome, ought not to be worſe than that of others. 1681.

The Grievances *of the Free and Imperial Cities*, Trenſchin, *and* Modra.

THeſe two Free and Imperial Cities complain with a great deal of Sorrow, that by Virtue of the 26*th* Article of *Sopron*, the Lords Commiſſioners did indeed aſſign to them places for the Building of Churches and Schools, and erecting Pariſhes, and grant them the free Exerciſe of their Religion; but with ſuch Limitation and Reſtraint as take away many things eſſentially requiſite and neceſſary for the ſaid exerciſe of Religion, and are directly contrary to the genuine intention of the Articles; as,

Firſt, The Lords Commiſſioners did leſſen the Number of the Proteſtant Miniſters, and forbid others to be put in their room after their Death.

Secondly, They did forbid all the Proteſtants (to whom a free Exerciſe of Religion is granted, by Virtue of that Ge-

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1681. neral Clauſe of the 25th Article, to every one, and every where in the Kingdom) to frequent the Neighbouring Churches, and perform in them any duty of Religion.

Thirdly, They did forbid the Miniſters to Viſit the *Eſtrangers*, were they never ſo Sick.

Fourthly, They did Order that the Handy-craft-men, and common ſort of People ſhould be compell'd under ſevere puniſhment to Ceremonies contrary to their way, *viz.* To walk with the Catholicks in Proceſſion, and carry proceſſional Trophies.

Fifthly, They did forbid the Proteſtant Miniſters to go and Adminiſter Baptiſm, or perform other Ceremonies in the Neighbouring Towns.

Sixthly, They did appoint that there ſhould be no petty Schools, but ſuch where Children could Learn only to Read, and to Write.

The Grievances *of the Counties of Upper* Hungary, Semlin, Abavivar, Unghwar, Saraz, Tornaw, *&c. and of all the Proteſtant Noblemen and Gentlemen living in the Mountain Towns of the Principality of* Tokai.

THe ſame Proteſtants are forc'd to Repreſent to Your Moſt Sacred Majeſty, that although in the following words of the 26th Article of *Sopron*, but in other Counties, as in thoſe of *Salawar, Veſprim, Saraz, Moramoruſs, Abavivar, Sellia, Semlin, Ugoza, Bodrogh, Tornaw, Komarra, Barzod, Sachſag, Novigrad, Zolnock, Hewecz, Peſth, Pelicz* and *Soldth* united, *Chege, Unghwar*, and *Zatmar*, ſince the Proteſtants are in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the Churches there, the ſame Churches are left for the uſe of the actual Poſſeſſors of them.

And in the following Clauſe of the ſaid Article : *Finally the Churches which are actually poſſeſſed by thoſe of the* Helvetian *Confeſſion, and of that of* Ausbourg, *ſhall be ſtill for their uſe as before, together with the Pariſhes, and Schools, and their Revenues, that they may live in peace, and quiet.*

Your moſt Sacred Majeſty tending the peace and general quiet of the Kingdom, has been Graciouſly pleas'd to Ordain, that in the foregoing Counties, all the Churches, Pariſhes, and Schools, together with their Revenues, ſhould be left for the uſe of the Proteſtants. Nevertheleſs, the Churches ſtanding in the Counties of *Abavivar, Saraz, Semlin, Tornaw*, and *Unghwar*, (which for the moſt part have been built from the foundation, or repair'd from the loweſt ruine by the Proteſtants) as alſo the Schools and Pariſhes, together with their Revenues (left to them by the Proteſtants in their Wills, and never before poſſeſs'd by the Roman Catholicks) have been taken by force from the Proteſtants, as well as the Churches, Pariſhes, and Schools, ſtanding in the Dominion of *Rakocz*, in theſe Towns of the County of *Semlin, Zantho, Thalia, Mod, Kerethur, Tarazal, Liszka, Benny, Toleſwa, Ughelly, Patak, Borſſy*, (which at the time of the Articles of *Sopron*, and after, were poſſeſs'd by the Proteſtants, and left to the ſame by the ſaid Articles) in ſeveral Towns of the Principality of *Tokai*, and in *Tokai* it ſelf; altho' the Church of *Tokai* was left, and expreſly confirm'd by the Articles in the poſſeſſion of the Proteſtants.

To this may be added, That againſt the evident ſenſe of the 25th Article of *Sopron*, the Proteſtant Noblemen and Gentlemen of the aforeſaid Cities of the County of *Semlin*, have been, and are ſtill forc'd to forbear exerciſing their Religion in private; which Liberty they had enjoy'd ſince the ſeizing of their Churches, and was granted to them by the firſt Article made before the Coronation, in the year 1608. and confirm'd by the ſame 25th Article of the Diet of *Sopron*.

Likewiſe the Miniſters (call'd back from their Exile through Your moſt Sacred Majeſty's Favour, by Virtue of the aforeſaid 25th Article of *Sopron*,) are forc'd to oblige themſelves under pain of death, and the forfeiture of all their Goods, to go out of the ſame County, or by ſtrict Deeds of reverſion to renounce for ever under the ſame Penalty, to perform any Eccleſiaſtical Duty in the ſaid County.

Moreover, although the 25th Article of *Sopron* evidently declareth that none of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, and of that of *Auſbourg* ſhall be compell'd to any Ceremony contrary to his Religion; and the 26th, that the Catholicks ſhall not be oblig'd to pay any thing to the Miniſters of the Proteſtants, nor the Proteſtants to the Curates of the Catholicks, according to the intent of the 11th Article, in the year 1647. yet they are forc'd even by Military Execution to do both, and eſpecially to pay the Catholick Curates.

Although by vertue of the often-mention'd 26th Article, the free uſe of Bells and Burials is equally left to the Catholicks, and to the Proteſtants, nevertheleſs the Proteſtants are not ſuffer'd to bury their

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1681. Dead in the uſual Burying-places, which is againſt Chriſtianity it ſelf, they are not permitted neither to uſe the Bells though made through their care; nay the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the aforeſaid Dominion of *Rakotz* are threatned to be diſpoſſeſs'd and exterminated out of their Eſtates, if they do not abjure and renounce the Proteſtant Religion, which is a down right perſecution of the Proteſtants. In the like manner the Proteſtants of *Abavivar* are forbidden by the Purveyor of that County to exerciſe their Religion; and the Miniſters are commanded under pain of Death, and the forfeiture of all their Goods to go out of it, or (if they be willing to continue there as Secular private perſons) by moſt ſtrict deeds of reverſion to renounce for ever under the ſame penalty to perform any Eccleſiaſtical Duty; conſequently the Proteſtant Churches, together with all their Appurtenances have been ſeiz'd upon by the ſaid Purveyor.

Likewiſe in a Town called *Sepſſy* of the ſame County of *Abavivar*, where the Church could under no pretence be taken from the Proteſtants, the Tythes of the Territory of the ſaid Town which us'd to belong to the Proteſtant Miniſter are ſeiz'd, and kept in Sequeſtration by the of *Sepſſy*, by vertue of an Order of the Illuſtrious Chamber of *Scepuſium*.

In the Towns of *Nogymihali*, *Vinna*, and *Iztara*, in the County of *Unghwar*, and in the Towns of *Tolzeck* and *Aſgath*, in the County of *Saraz*, the Churches, Schools, and Pariſhes left by the Articles for the uſe of the Proteſtants, are by force taken and kept from them by the Catholick Lords of thoſe Mannors.

Laſtly, In the Town call'd *Somogy* in the County of *Torna*, a moiety of the Revenue belonging to the Proteſtant Miniſter by a Convention made formerly is taken from him.

All which having been attempted againſt Your Majeſty's Gracious Reſolution, and the Articles made in the behalf of the Proteſtants, they preſent the ſame to Your moſt Sacred Majeſty's Conſideration, with ſtrong perſuaſion that it will be Graciouſly Remedied; and that not only they ſhall be re-ſetled in the poſſeſſion of what is taken from 'em; but alſo that all the introduc'd abuſes ſhall be taken away.

The ſame Proteſtant Inhabitants of
the aforeſaid Counties of Upper
Hungary, and of the Towns ſtanding in the Dominion of *Rakoczia*.

The ſame is done by the Counties of *Salawar*, *Veſprim*, *Saraz*, *Moramoruſs*, 1681. *Novigrad*, *Zolnock*, *Hevecz*, *Peſth* and *Soldth*, united, which are all comprehended in the Articles.

The Grievances *of all the Proteſtant Noblemen of the Counties of* Liepze, Thurocz, Arva, Trenſchin, Zolnock, *and* Sachſag; *wherein are contain'd the Injuries and Troubles they have ſuſtain'd upon the account of Religion, againſt the Articles of* Sopron; *together with Humble Requeſt for the Redreſſing of the ſame.*

SInce the Grievances and Complaints of the Counties of *Liepze*, *Thurocz*, *Arva*, *Trenſchin*, and *Zolnock* agree in all reſpects, for ſhortneſs ſake they are put together here; the ſame then juſtly complain that they have been injur'd and diſturbed, in that the Proteſtant Miniſters (who perform'd the Duties of their profeſſion in the Noblemens places of Reſidence, where the free Exerciſe of Religion was transferr'd, by Virtue of the *26th* Article of *Sopron*, ſince the ſeizing of the Proteſtant Churches in theſe Counties) have all been Baniſh'd (except two, left in two places named in the Articles) within a fortnight, out of the County and place where they liv'd; or if any deſir'd to continue in it, he was requir'd to oblige himſelf by ſtrict deed of Reverſion never to perform any Eccleſiaſtical Duty, and forbidden to remain on any other term, under pain of Impriſonment.

No Schools are permitted but the Petty (or as the Commiſſioners term it, ſuch where Children learn only to Read and to Write) and but in two places mention'd in the Articles; all the others are generally ſhut, and prohibited, and their Maſters turn'd out, although the *25th* Article had reſtor'd both theſe, and the Miniſters in their reſpective Offices.

It is ſtrictly forbidden that the Divine Service and Exerciſe of Religion be performed by Proteſtant Miniſters in the Houſes and places of Reſidence of Noblemen, or in the Oratories and Chappels belonging to them, but with this admirable Limitation; That if any Noble-Man will have the Divine Service done in his Houſe, he ſhall employ no other Miniſter than one of the two left in the County, and that only for themſelves, and their Family.

All the Payments whatſoever (except thoſe which belong to the two Schools appointed in each County) are adjudg'd to

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1681. the Catholick Curates, and are generally wreſted by the ſame with the help of the Soldiers.

The Peaſants are abſolutely forbidden to Exerciſe their Religion in the uſe of Baptiſm, Marriage, Confirmation, Burials, and of the Lord's Supper, as alſo to frequent the places appointed by the Articles for the Divine Service, and are compelled with all poſſible violence, to Ceremonies contrary to their way.

Moreover, in many Towns of the County of *Turocz*, as in *Bella Zatureza* and *Pribocz*, there were Churches Built at the Charges of the Proteſtants, whoſe Members had not reconciled themſelves to the Church of *Rome*, before the Article was made; yet without any regard to the Exception contain'd in the beginning of the *26th* Article, all thoſe Churches have been ſeized upon, and the uſe of Bells and Burials is granted no more to the Proteſtants, unleſs they ask and pay the Catholick Curates for it.

In the County of *Sachſag*, the Proteſtants ſhould freely and peaceably have enjoyed all the Churches, which were in their Poſſeſſion when the Article was made, and were left for their uſe by the ſame Article; yet the Illuſtrious *Wolffgang* Earl of *Kohary*, (Supreme Earl of the ſaid County, by Deputation (as he has declar'd) of the Illuſtrious *George* Earl of *Erdedy*,) with the aſſiſtance of the Vicount of the ſame County, has ſeized the ſame Churches, except a very ſmall one, which ſtands in a moſt deſpicable Village called *Drieno*, and has not been Built by the Proteſtants: Commanding withal all the Proteſtant Miniſters to go out of their reſpective Pariſhes, and places of abode under pain of Empriſonment, and forbidding all Perſons of quality to entertain them any way even privately; altho' the Proteſtants of this County had been eſtabliſh'd, and confirm'd in the free uſe of all the Churches, which were in their Poſſeſſion when the Article was made.

The moſt Humble and Lawful Demands of the aforeſaid Counties are theſe.

SInce His moſt Sacred Majeſty both by the Confirmation of the *25th* and *26th* Articles of the Diet of *Sopron*, made in *21ſt* Article of the Diet of *Presburg*, in the year 1687, and by the Reſolution declar'd to the Deputies of the ſaid Counties in their Audience, has engaged his Royal Word, not only to obſerve the aforeſaid Articles in all their Points and Clauſes, but alſo to cauſe the others to obſerve the ſame; therefore the Proteſtants of the aforeſaid Counties Humbly beg, that according to the moſt ſimple and evident Senſe of the ſame Articles, they may be Redreſſed, Re-eſtabliſh'd, Reſtor'd, and by an expreſs Decree confirm'd in the following particulars.

That according to the intention of the the *25th* Article of the Diet of *Sopron*, all their Miniſters and Rectors may live freely among them, and perform the Duties of their Profeſſion, without any Limitation, ſince the ſame Article Grants thus much, reſtoring both the Miniſters and School-Maſters, even thoſe which were Baniſh'd, annulling their Deeds of Reverſion.

That as many Churches and Chappels, (whoſe Members are not reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and have been Built by the Proteſtants,) as ſtand in the ſaid Counties be reſtor'd to us, to Exerciſe our Religion in them, according to the intent of the aforeſaid *26th* Article.

That according to the intention of the ſo often mention'd *26th* Article, the Proteſtants of the ſaid Counties, be diſcharg'd from paying any thing to the Catholick Curats, and oblig'd only to entertain their own Miniſters.

Laſtly, That any Proteſtant of whatſoever State and Condition, not excluding the Peaſants (according to theſe words of the *25th* Article, to every one and every where,) may freely Exerciſe his Religion without being compelled to contrary Ceremonies; and that neither of the Parties preſume to diſturb any way, the other under the pain mention'd in the ſaid Article.

Beſides, the foregoing Demands wherein the County of *Sachſag* joyns with the other Counties, by a particular Right granted in the Articles, the ſame County of *Sachſag* requires, that all the ſeized Churches be reſtor'd to the Proteſtants, which were in their Poſſeſſion when the Article was made.

The Grievance *of the City of* Gyongyos.

THis City complains, that whereas according to the expreſs Grant of the *26th* Article, of the Diet of *Sopron* in theſe words: *But in other Counties,* viz. *in thoſe of* Salavar, Veſprim, &c. and Geves (*in which this City ſtands*) *ſince the Proteſtants are actually in Poſſeſſion of almoſt all the Churches there,* &c. Item, *Finally the Churches, which are actually poſſeſſed by thoſe of the* Helvetian *Confeſſion, and of that of* Ausbourg, *ſhall be ſtill for their uſe,* &c.

It

1681. It ſhould have been left in the actual Poſſeſſion, and uſe of all the Proteſtant Churches, Pariſhes and Schools which were quietly poſſeſſed by the Proteſtants, before and after the Diet of *Sopron* to the Date underwritten; yet to the great Contempt of His Imperial Majeſty's, and of the Article's Grant, and to the great prejudice of the Proteſtants Right, by Order and Commiſſion of the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop of *Gran*, and of the Right Honourable *George* Earl of *Erdody*, not only the Churches, but alſo the Schools and Pariſhes with all their Appurtenances (conſiſting in Eleven Vineyards, Five Mills, One Butcher's Stall, and a Houſe which had all been given by Proteſtants in their Wills, or Purchaſed with the Proteſtants Money,) were ſeized by force on the *21ſt* of *May*, in the year 1688 laſt paſt, by the Honourable *Jean Almaſſy* of *Heves*, and *Francis Setuitter* of *Peſth*, Judges of the ſame Counties; moreover the Proteſtant Miniſters and School-maſters were Baniſh'd, the Free Exerciſe of Religion even in private Houſes is forbidden, as well as the uſe of Bells and Burials in proper places, the Proteſtants being ſtrictly Commanded to Bury their Dead in remote High-ways and Commons, where all the Filth of the Towns is carried: Therefore they lawfully Demand a full Reſtitution of all that has been taken from them, and an exact Execution of the aforeſaid Article.

The Grievance *of the City of* Moramoruſs.

THe Proteſtant Citizens and Inhabitants, together with the Militia of *Moramoruſs* complain, that altho' by Vertue of the *26th* Article of *Sopron*, (wherein the ſame City of *Moramoruſs* is expreſly named,) they had obtain'd the liberty of exerciſing publickly their Religion, and of having Churches, Pariſhes and Schools; and have quietly enjoyed the ſame without giving any offence to the Catholicks, until the fatal breaking out of the Wars in the year 1683, and the unexpected Burning of the Town, which occaſion'd an interruption of the ſaid Exerciſe of Religion, the Miniſters and their Pariſhioners having been forced to diſperſe themſelves up and down; yet ſince the Troubles are appeaſed, they deſire in vain to reaſſume their publick exerciſe of Religion, and to call back their Miniſters, being hinder'd from the ſame by the Earl of *Hoffkirchen* Governour of this Territory, who every day growing ſeverer, forbids with greater Threats, the total Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion: Nay, three Months ago the Roman Catholicks did Proclaim with the Beat of Drums, that no Proteſtant ſhould preſume to go out of the Territory of *Moramoruſs*, to any Neighbouring, to perform the Duties of his Religion; nor Exerciſe it in his private Houſe under pain of Impriſonment, and of other ſevere Puniſhments. Therefore they Humbly beg, That this their Grievance may be redreſſed, and they re-eſtabliſhed in the Privilege granted by the Article. 1681.

It may be added to the foregoing Grievances, that one *Samuel Bizkey*, a Proteſtant Miniſter of a place of Lower *Hungary* called *Hedes*; notwithſtanding the Protection granted to him by the Council of War, has been Plunder'd twice of all the means of Life, Clothes, Books and Furniture, by ſome Emiſſaries of the Archbiſhop of *Gran*; and at laſt on the *22d* of the laſt Month of *March*, was taken and carried to *Presburg*, into the Priſons of the Archbiſhop, where he has nothing allowed him, but dry Bread and dirty Water.

Likewiſe, the Proteſtant Miniſter of *Tottfalu* in Upper *Hungary*, has been taken by a Jeſuit called Father *Ravaſz*, reſiding at *Naghybania*, and carried in Fetters into the Priſons of *Zatmar*, where he is ſtill detain'd and moſt barbarouſly uſed.

The XXI. *Article of the Diet of* Preſburg, *in the year* 1687, *in the buſineſs of Religion, the* 25th *and* 26th *Articles of the year* 1681, *are renew'd with the inſerted Decleration.*

ALthough they of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, and of that of *Ausbourg*, by their proteſting againſt the *25th* and *26th* Articles, of the late Diet of *Sopron*, have unworthily abuſed the ſame, and thereby forfeited *ipſo facto*, the benefits granted in them; nevertheleſs ſince His moſt Sacred Majeſty tending the Union, and the general quiet of the Kingdom, through his great Favour and Clemency, has moſt Graciouſly reſolved, that the ſaid Articles ſhall yet be in force; the States have Order'd, That the ſame ſhall be lookt upon as renewed and reinforced, (notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Catholick Clergy, and other ſecular Perſons,) and that as far as they have hitherto been infringed through Abuſes, introduced by the one, or the other party, they ſhall forthwith be put in Execution.

To theſe Agrievances the Emperor returned a very Gracious Anſwer, and made ſeveral Propoſals tending to a Peace.

And Firſt, He offer'd a General Pardon unto all, even to *Tekeli* himſelf, provided he would perſonally appear to make his Submiſſion.

Secondly, That every Perſon ſhould be reſtor'd to his Lands, and Goods confiſcated again reſtor'd.

Thirdly, That free exerciſe of Religion ſhould be allowed; but the manner how, and the Regulation thereof ſhould be determined at a General Diet, which was judged of abſolute neceſſity for the repoſe, and quiet of *Hungary*.

Fourthly, That all the vacant Offices, Governours and Balliages of that Kingdom, ſhould be indifferently conferr'd upon *Hungarian* Gentlemen, who were capable by their Natural parts, and Abilities to Merit and Diſcharge ſuch Preferments.

And Laſtly, That his Imperial Majeſty would vacate the Office of Vice-King, and return to the ancient conſtitution of a Palatine, whoſe Election ſhould be free according to the uſage of former times.

How the Treaty was broken off.

The Plague which ſtill Raged in *Auſtria*, and *Hungary* prevented the proceedings of this Treaty, which might have taken effect ſome time before, and anſwer'd all the Demands of the Malecontents; but now ſo much Blood had been drawn in all Parts, and Corners of that unhappy Kingdom, that it was paſt the Art of Man to ſtanch the Bleeding: And beſides, *Tekeli* and his Malecontents were ſo nearly adjoyn'd, and engaged in ſecret Leagues, and Alliances with the *Turk*, that it was almoſt impoſſible to deſtricate, and diſentangle themſelves from the invitations they had made, and from the Aſſurances, and Pledges they had given to the *Turks*. Howſoever, the Emperor not to leave any means unattempted, until all was become deſperate, diſpatched Count *Eſterhaſi* into *Hungary* in quality of his Plenipotentiary, to put thoſe Overtures into Execution which had been fram'd, and debated in the Emperor's Council. But whilſt theſe things were in agitation, they received another Impediment, by a diſcovery made of a Correſpondence, which ſeveral Principal Officers held with the Maleconts; upon which *Filek*, and two other Councellors, and Mannagers of the Revenue of *Hungary* were Arreſted, and accuſed of having moved, and promoted an Inſurrection in divers Counties.

Kaunitz Treats with the Grand Seignior.

Towards the end of this year, when the Armies were drawn into their Winter-quarters, new Treaties were ſet on foot. The Baron *de Kaunitz* the Emperor's Reſident at *Conſtantinople* labour'd to continue, and renew the Truce; but the Grand Vizier would not agree thereunto on any other Terms, than that it might be allowable for the Grand Seignior to afford aid, and aſſiſtance to the Malecontents: But this was to cure a Soar with a greater Evil, and what was inconſiſtent with Reaſon, to make a Peace, and yet to continue a War.

Tekeli and others offer Conditions.

When the Emperor believed all Accomodation with the Malecontents impoſſible, at leaſt far diſtant; Behold on a ſuddain, and much unexpected, the Counts *Tekeli*, *Peſtrozzi* and *Weſſellino* in deſpight of their Engagements to the *Turks*, offer'd to make Terms by themſelves; and to abandon their People and their Cauſe, in caſe they aſſented not thereunto; The Conditions were to have all their Churches reſtor'd, with their Goods and Eſtates, which had been Confiſcated: To which the Emperor readily aſſenting, there never appear'd at any time a greater probability and likelyhood of an Agreement, than upon this overture: But whereas to eſtabliſh and confirm ſuch an Accomodation, it was neceſſary to convene a Diet, which by reaſon of the preſent Contagion could not be done, a Ceſſation of Arms was in the mean time concluded: But whilſt in order thereunto a Conference was held at *Tokai*, Count *Caprara* unluckily march'd out of his Quarters with a conſiderable force towards that place; upon which the Malecontens were ſo Allarum'd, that they Sallied out of their Winter quarters in great numbers, leaving the Treaty imperfect, and the Ceſſation of Arms broken and violated.

It again broken.

ANNO 1681.

Notwithſtanding the unlucky Accidents which had happen'd to hinder, and diſappoint the Progreſs of the aforeſaid Treaties; Yet at the beginning of this year new overtures were made to the Malecontents by the Biſhop *Sebeſtini*: And tho' ſome of the moſt conſiderable Perſons of the *Hungarian* party, refuſed to hearken to any Offers which the Emperor ſhould make them; yet *Tekeli*, and others, formerly the moſt averſe to all Accommodation, did now at leaſt in a ſeeming manner favour the Methods which tended towards Peace; and in order thereunto, did not only diſpatch Deputies as far as to *Lintz*, to Treat thereupon with the Imperial Miniſters; but likewiſe entertain'd a perſonal Conference with Count *Caprara*, and agreed with him to continue a Truce until the reſultof a Diet ſhould be known, which was to convene in the Month of *Febuary*.

Tekeli and other chiefs ſend Deputies to Lintz.

That which in all appearance was moſt probable to adminiſter the greateſt difficulty, and cauſe of diſpute, when a Diet ſhould aſſemble, was the reſtitution of the Churches, Schools, and other Foundations which the Malecontents challenged as their own, and upon the Right, and Title of having Erected, and Built them at their own charge and expence. They were alſo very poſitive to have their ancient Government by a Palatine reſtor'd, and all the *German* Garriſons withdrawn out of *Hungary*, at leaſt, that the Officers placed over the *German* Forces ſhould be *Hungarians*, the better to keep the Souldiers within ſome Terms of Moderation, and Good Behaviour towards the People of the Country.

A Plot to ſeize Tekeli *during the Truce.*

How it was prevented.

Eſterhaſi *and* Forgatz *make offers of Peace.*

The time appointed for the Diet to meet being come, the Emperor remov'd to *Newſtadt*, to be nearer to the place of Treaty. But it being the Fate of that poor Kingdom to be unhappy, ſomething or other ſtill intervened to prevent and diſappoint the Endeavours of Peace; for whilſt ſome labour'd in that good Work, others made it their buſineſs to impede and divert it. And ſo it was at preſent; for whilſt *Tekeli* was delighting himſelf at a Houſe of Pleaſure, a Plot was laid to ſurprize and take him during the Truce; of which *Tekeli* having notice, he countermined the Plot by an Ambuſcade; which being opportunely diſpoſed in the way where they were to paſs, the Party which came to ſeize him was totally defeated. This, and other Artifices of the like nature, fomented jealouſies and diffidences between the Parties, that nothing was acted clearly, and with a free Spirit, but with ſuch Caution and reſerves, as eaſily preſaged the little hopes of an accommodation by way of Treaty. Howſoever, ſome Zealous Men, ſuch as *Eſterhaſi*, and *Forgatz*, who were paſſionate for the peace of their Country, travel'd from County to County, exhorting the People to lay aſide all Animoſities, and return again unto that Allegiance and Duty which they ow'd unto their Prince; upon aſſurance that the Emperor would reſtore the State of *Hungary* to the ſame Condition in which it was in the year 1662. and grant almoſt all the other Propoſitions which the Malecontents did demand; provided that the States of that Kingdom would declare the Arch-Duke *Joſeph*, Son to the Emperor, King of *Hungary*.

To this Propoſal the Malecontents were ready alſo to condeſcend; on Condition, that at the ſame time the Kingdom were declar'd Elective, and ſome Acts repeal'd, which in the year 1664 had made it Hereditary.

Notwithſtanding this difficulty, and divers others which were daily ſtarted, diſpleaſing to the Emperor, the Meeting of a Diet at *Oedemburg* was ſo warmly preſs'd, that the Emperor's Commiſſioners, and fourteen Deputies from the Malecontents Aſſembled in the Month of *February*, as was agreed, tho' *Tekeli* refus'd to be there preſent, alledging that the late Treacherous Deſign againſt his Perſon, was a ſufficient and a juſt Excuſe for his Abſence. This, and ſome Diſpute about the place of Meeting (which the Imperialiſts deſired might be at *Preſburg*) occaſion'd a Prorogation of the Diet until *April* next following. In the mean time the Malecontents held their Conſultations in *Tranſilvania*, concerning the Meaſures and Methods they were to take in the next Campaign; and made uſe of the ceſſation of Arms, to fortifie their Garriſons, and ſupply them with Proviſions.

The Diet prorogued until April.

The Clergy of *Hungary* finding in the Emperor a Spirit ſo inclin'd unto Peace, that he was ready to condeſcend unto all the Demands of the Malecontents; and with the reſt, to grant and yield unto them all the Churches, of which they had been depriv'd; they being touch'd with a ſenſe of the miſchief which might accrue to themſelves thereby, ſent their Deputies to *Vienna* before the Convention of the Diet, to repreſent unto the Emperor the great prejudice, damage and ſcandal he would cauſe to the Catholick Religion, by delivering up the Churches, which were already Conſecrated, and Hallowed to the Service of God, to be prophaned by Impious and Heretical Worſhips. This, and ſuch like Speeches ſerv'd to trouble and diſtract the Mind of the good Emperor with a thouſand new Scruples. Howſoever, being deſirous to appeaſe the Troubles in *Hungary*, and not diſappoint that Auguſt Aſſembly, His Imperial Majeſty (a full Month before the Convention) remov'd to *Newſtadt*, to be near, and on all Occaſions to be aſſiſtant to the Diet; which, notwithſtanding the former Diſputes to the contrary, was to be held at *Oedemburg*. But whereas the Emperor was attended with three Regiments for his Guard, the Appearance ſeem'd ſo extraordinary on ſuch an Occaſion, that the Malecontents refus'd to ſend their Deputies, fearing to be over-aw'd in their Debates and Votes by a Military power; unleſs the Arch-biſhop of *Strigonium*, and other German Lords were firſt deliver'd into their hands for Hoſtages, and Security of fair and faithful Dealings.

The Clergy endeavour to diſturb the Diet.

The Deputies jealous of the Emperors Guards.

But to remove this difficulty, the Emperor diſcharged his Regiments; and with a Guard only of ſix hundred *Hungarians*, made his Entry on the two and twentieth of *May* into *Oedemburg*, where he was receiv'd between the double Files of *Hungarian* and *German* Soldiers, and Conducted to the Lodgings prepar'd for him by the Commiſſioners and Deputies there preſent.

The Emperor enters into Oedemburg, *and holds the Diet.*

The Diet, over which Count *Swartzemburg* preſided in the Name of the Emperor, had ſat ſeveral days before his Majeſty's Arrival. And on the firſt day of the Seſſion, before they would enter upon any other Buſineſs, the Election of a Palatine was propos'd, and three Perſons were Nominated thereunto, *viz.* *Eſterhaſi*, *Palſi*, and *Erdedi*; and accordingly were offer'd to the Emperor to make choice of the Perſon which he thought moſt worthy, and agreeable to that high Employment, and Office of Truſt. But whereas this Prince was entirely in the hands, and poſſeſs'd by Father *Emeric*, lately made Arch-biſhop of *Vienna*, and *Abelé* the Secretary, he refus'd to determine the Choice, until ſuch time as he had conſulted with theſe two Confidents thereupon.

A Palatine offer'd.

By this Retardment, all other Matters mov'd ſlowly, tho' the Diet ſate eight hours every day. The leaſt point Adminiſter'd matter of Diſpute, and what at the firſt appearance ſeem'd eaſie and of little importance, was render'd difficult and intricate, by reaſon of the Spirit of Diſſention and Bitterneſs with which that whole Aſſembly was poſſeſs'd. And moreover Father *Emeric* excepting againſt every Perſon which the Diet propos'd for Palatine, gave a ſtop to all Proceedings, that the Aſſembly was upon diſſolving; and Prince *Swartzemburg* became ſo tired and wearied with the many unprofitable and fruitleſs endeavours, that he deliver'd up his Commiſſion to, Count *Capeliers*, Superintendant of the Council of War, to preſide in his Place.

Affairs obſtructed.

And ſo reſtleſs were the Soldiers, and difficult to be reſtrain'd from breaking out into Acts of Hoſtility, that during the Ceſſation of Arms, a Party of the Malecontents fell upon a Regiment of the Imperialiſts and cut them in pieces.

Howſoever the Diet ſtill continued, and the Emperor at length, with the Advice of his two Favourites, pitch'd upon Count *Eſterhaſi* to bear the Office of Palatine in *Hungary*; to whom having adminiſter'd the Oath of Allegiance, and Fidelity, he return'd back again to *Newſtadt*. The next day following, the Diet receiv'd a Letter Signed by Count *Tekeli*, and ſix others, ſignifying their Reſolutions to accept the Pardon, and ſubmit to the Emperor: Provided that they might have a free exerciſe of their Religion granted, their Churches and Eſtates which were confiſcated, reſtor'd; and the Money which they had engaged to pay the *Turk*, ſupply'd, and paid for them by the Emperor. And that for performance of the Articles, ſome means and expedients ſhould be found out for a ſatisfactory Security. This Letter was immediately diſpatched to the Emperor, who with his Council, conſidering thereupon, abſolutely rejected the new Article relating to the *Turks*, to whom it was reſolved to make no payments of Money: Of which anſwer *Tekeli* being inform'd, he diſpatch'd a Meſſage immediately unto Count *Caprara*, giving him to underſtand, that he was no longer able to contain his Soldiery within the Rules, and Laws of the Truce, and ſo without farther delay ſeized upon two Paſſes between *Caſſovia* and *Tokai*: And to put Matters yet more backwards; the Deputies who repreſented the Malecontents at the Diet, made a Petition to the Emperor, requeſting him, that he would be graciouſly pleas'd, to remove out of his Councils and Offices of Truſts all ſuch, as have had any hand, or been inſtrumental in promoting thoſe Troubles and Civil diſſentions, which had now near the ſpace of Twenty years infeſted and oppreſs'd that unhappy Kingdom: But to this Demand the Emperor made no other anſwer, Than that he would conſider it. By theſe motions and ſteps in the Diet towards a Peace, the *Turks* conceiv'd a Jealouſy, that *Tekeli* was diſpoſed and inclined to an Accommodation with the Emperor: To prevent which a *Paſha* was order'd to diſcourſe and tamper with him, and offer him the Principality of *Tranſilvania* after the Death of *Apaſi*: And entertaining alſo frequent Conferences with him and other Leaders of the Malecontents, the *Paſha* ſo mannaged his Diſcourſe with them, by declaring the many advantages, they would receive by covering and ſhrouding themſelves, under protection of the Grand Seignior; that he prevailed upon them to make an offer of Eighty thouſand Crowns, in caſe the Grand Seignior would promiſe to aſſiſt them with a Puiſſant and Royal Army. The Emperor upon notice of this private and perfidious Treaty with the *Turk*, was highly incenſed, and commanded that neither *Tekeli*, nor any of thoſe who were concern'd in this Conference, ſhould be admitted as Members into the Diet: And giving it now for granted, that a War would enſue with the *Turk*, the Marquis of *Baden* was ordered to Fortify *Raab*, and Count *Staremberg* to finiſh the Fortifications of *Vienna*, from the *Arſenal* of which place great quantities of Granadoes, Bombs, Powder, with Arms, and heavy Cannon were tranſported down the *Danube*, to ſupply that Important Fortreſs of *Raab*.

Count Eſterhaſi *made Palatine.*

A new Propoſition made by Tekeli.

1681. *The* Turks *jealous of* Tekeli.

Their offers to him.

Tekeli *forbid the Diet.*

Notwithſtanding all which, the Deputies continued to labour in the Diet, and to examin the Aggrievances of the Malecontents; and the Palatine *Eſterhaſi* made frequent Journies between *Oedemburg*, and *Newſtadt* to render an Account of all Paſſages, and Tranſactions to the Emperor: And that a

1681. conclusion might be put to all matters in queſtion; the Archbiſhop of *Vienna* went to the Diet, to agree certain differences ariſen between the Clergy and the Laity of *Hungary*, touching the Title to ſome Lands and Demeſnes, which was ſtill depending in a Law Suit between them.

Acts made at the Diet.

After this Point was agreed, the whole Reſult of the Diet was drawn up in Writing, and ſent to *Tekeli*; the Subſtance whereof was this, That all the Churches which the Proteſtants had Built at their own charge and expence ſhould be reſtor'd; with free Licenſe to Erect and Build more, in any part of the Kigdom, and therein to exerciſe their Religion, and publickly to Preach: That a conſiderable Sum of Mony ſhould be paid to the *Turks* for once and no more, but not by way of Tribute: Provided that the Truce made in the year 1664, be again renewed for twenty years longer, under the ſame Articles and Conditions: And farther, ſeveral expedients and means were agreed for raiſing Monies for payment of the Troops, and defraying the charges of the Kingdom, during theſe times of trouble. To confirm all which *Tekeli* was deſired to appear at the Diet (notwithſtanding the late Prohibition) and to concur with the other Deputies by Signing theſe Articles:

Tekeli *called to the Diet.*

And leſt he ſhould make the inſecurity of his Perſon an excuſe for his Non-appearance, the Son of Count *Eſterhaſi* the Palatine, was offer'd for a Hoſtage.

1681.

Theſe Propoſals were carried to *Tekeli* by the Secretary to the Palatine, who return'd from him in the Month of *July*, unto the Diet ſtill Sitting at *Oedemburg*; with an anſwer to this effect;

Tekeli's *Anſwer.*

That *Tekeli* would not be ſatisfied with leſs, than an entire reſtitution of all the Churches: That one ſingle Sum of what value ſoever would not content the *Turks*, who requir'd an Annual Tribute of 40.000 Rix Dollars, without which they refuſed to reſtore to the Malecontents their Wives, and Children which they had given in Hoſtage: And moreover, this Meſſenger gave them to underſtand, that *Tekeli* abſolutely refuſed to appear at the Diet, and that He, and his Party were not ſatisfied with the Election of *Eſterhaſi* to be Palatine. This anſwer was the cauſe of much Debate and Diviſion in the Diet; and their Minds and Councils were farther diſturbed upon the News, that the Forces of the Malecontents being joyn'd with a conſiderable Body both of *Turks* and *Tranſilvanians*, were become 15.000 ſtrong; that the *Paſha* of *Waradin* kept ſo cloſe a Correſpondence with the Malecontents, that it was more than probable, that their intereſt and alliances were ſo firmly united, that neither Party was at liberty to make Terms, or Articles of Peace without the Aſſent, or Concurrence of the other. The truth of which ſoon appear'd; for *Tekeli* not long afterwards marched near the Confines of *Belgrade*, where he joyned with a Body of 20.000 *Turks*; and thereby gave evident Demonſtrations of his Reſolution to maintain the War, and that his former propoſals, and ſteps towards Peace, were all falſe and feigned, with deſign to Amuſe the Minds of the Emperor and the Diet.

1681.

Tekeli *joyns with the* Turks.

The *Turks* had not as yet declar'd a War, for their Forces and Troops from the remote parts of *Aſia* were not in a readineſs, nor on their March; till which time the Emperor was to be amuſed with Treaties, and the appearance of that great Body of *Turks* near *Belgrade*, was with pretenſion only to reſtore *Tekeli* to the Poſſeſſion of his Lands, Houſes, and Eſtate, of which he had been unjuſtly deprived by the Emperor, and his Favourites.

The Emperor finding it now abſolutely neceſſary to conclude an Accommodation with the Malecontents, amongſt whom new difficulties daily aroſe, returned in Perſon from *Newſtadt* to the Diet at *Oedemburg*, where the Malecontents thought it reaſonable, that the Tribute which they had engaged to pay unto the *Turks*, ſhould be charged and levied on the Eſtates of thoſe, who had been the cauſes of the Troubles, and Confuſions in that Kingdom. This motion had ſo little ground, and was ſo unlikely to ſucceed, that it put all things backwards; and induced the Emperor to limit the Seſſion of the Diet to the *16th* of *Auguſt*, hoping within that time to agree on all Points with ſuch, who continued conſtant in their Loyalty and Allegiance to him; and for particular Aggrievances, they were to be compoſed by a Select Committee appointed for that purpoſe. But all this while moſt of the Proteſtants refuſed to come to the Diet, by reaſon that the Points about Religion were poſt-poned, by the endeavours of the Archbiſhop of *Strigonium*, which they in the firſt place, and before all other Matters deſir'd to have decided.

This Point being laid aſide, the Diet fell to debate on the Propoſition ſent by *Tekeli*, relating to a Tribute demanded by the *Turks*; and as an expedient, and by way of Equivalent for that, it was propoſed to reſign into the Hands of the *Turks* three Counties, *viz. Kalo*, *Zatmar* and *Liptpow*; to which the *Turks* ſeemed with ſome reaſon to claim a Title, in regard, that no longer than ſince the year 1660, they had been disjoyn'd from the Principality of *Tranſilvania*. But an end was ſoon put to this

Con-

1681.

Controverſie; for both the *Hungarians* themſelves were unwilling to have a Peace purchaſed from the *Turk* at the price of their Country, by diſmembring three Counties from that Kingdom; at the mentioning only of which the People were ſo enraged, that fearing leſt the Emperor ſhould privately conclude ſome Article with the *Turk* in reference thereunto, they would not be ſatisfied until he had permitted them to joyn one of their Confidents with *Caprara*, the Emperor's Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, who might be privy to all the Treaties, and Negotiations with the *Turk*; nor would the *Turks* accept thereof in ſatisfaction for renewing the Truce, but raiſed new and greater Demands, as they found the Emperor inclinable to yield and condeſcend: For now the Grand Vizier required to have *Leopolſtadt* demoliſh'd, on pretence that it had been Built, and Fortified contrary to the Articles of the late Treaty: And declar'd likewiſe the Grand Seignior's reſolution, to give aid and aſſiſtance to the Malecontents, until ſuch time, as he had put them into a capacity of paying the Annual Tribute, for which they were engaged.

The Turks *raiſe their Demands.*

New difficulties were every day ſtarted at the Diet, ſo that the Emperor was deſirous to diſſolve it, ſo ſoon as was poſſible; but yet he thought not fit to do it abruptly, or to break it up in diſcontent; but that ſomething might be done in matters of Religion, on which the Proteſtants moſt inſiſted: In order unto which it was agreed, to grant them a hundred Churches, with Money to build others, in places moſt convenient.

The Emperor Grants ſeveral matters.

That all Cities and Towns, ſhould enjoy a free exerciſe of their Religion: And that all *Hungarian* Soldiers in the Frontier Garriſons ſhould do the like.

That all Churches which ſince the year 1670, had been in the Poſſeſſion of either Party, ſhould ſo remain.

That *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* might build Churches in any Town, or City where they were wanting, and Lords and Gentlemen might build Chappels, or Oratories in any of their Houſes, or Caſtles.

That in caſe any Points of Difference ſhould ariſe relating to Religion, or the Matters preceeding, they were not to be decided by the Sword, but by the Sentence of the King of *Hungary*. And that all People of what Perſwaſion ſoever might live amicably, no Perſon was to Revile the other on account of his or their Religion, or to utter injurious or unhanſome Terms thereof.

Theſe particulars with ſome additional Regulations, being at laſt agreed in the Diet, and ſign'd by the Emperor; The next great work was, in what manner the Malecontents might be reſtor'd to their Eſtates, and to their Goods which had been confiſcated: And how the *German* Troops, and ſtranger Soldiers might with ſafety and eaſe be removed out of their Garriſons, and all parts of *Hungary*; which next to the buſineſs of Religion, was the greateſt concernment of the Diet. The next Aggrievance was the Chamber of the Kingdom, which Office, contrary to the will and approbation of the Deputies of the States, was executed by the Biſhop of *Newſtadt*, whom they conſider'd as the Chief Author, and Fomenter of all the Troubles of that Kingdom: But herein, the Emperor was not willing as yet to gratify the Diet. Nor could the Deputies agree amongſt themſelves of the manner, how to make thoſe things practicable, which they in the moſt earneſt manner deſir'd: And ſuch were the Diviſions amongſt them, that what the Seculars agreed upon in the Morning, was diſturbed, and undone by the Clergy in the Afternoon; which the Emperor well conſidering, and how Men of ſuch different intereſts perplex all Councils; was pleaſed to diſmiſs the Archbiſhop of *Strigonium*, and the Biſhop of *Newſtadt*, as alſo the Count *Capliers*, a great ſtickler for the Rights of the Church, from their attendance on the Diet; ſo that the Imperial Commiſſioners were reduced to three Perſons, namely the Prince of *Swartzemburg*, the Count of *Noſtiz*, and *Oker* the Chancellour. And farther, to ſatisfy the Malecontents in their pretenſions, the Biſhop of *Newſtadt*, was put by his Office of Vice-Preſident of the Chamber of *Hungary*, and the ſame was conferr'd on Count *Erdedi*, a Perſon much more acceptable to the People. This gracious Clemency and Compliance of the Emperor, was ſo ſatisfactory to the Proteſtants, that they wholly ſubmitted that point about the confiſcated Goods to the favour, and benign inclinations of his Imperial Majeſty, who not to abuſe that confidence which his Subjects repoſed in him, did freely, and of his own accord, give order, that the Goods, and Eſtates of the Counts *Serini*, *Nadaſti*, and *Frangipani*, with thoſe of ſeveral other Lords, that had been confiſcated for High Treaſon, ſhould be reſtor'd again to their Children or Heirs. And the States on the other ſide to demonſtrate the Gratitude and Duty which they profeſſed unto their Prince, did in Teſtimony thereof, make a Preſent unto the Empreſs of a Purſe of Gold, containing 2000 Ducats, which her Majeſty graciouſly received; and beſtow'd the ſame towards Reparations of the Catholick Churches,

1681.

Aggrievances conſidered.

The Emperor ſatisfies the Malecontents.

which

1681. which by reaſon of the Wars, and other Troubles of the Kingdom, were become ruinous and decayed: Which if the Proteſtants had fore-ſeen, 'tis probable, they would have employ'd the Money rather for Reparation of their own Churches, than to thoſe of their Adverſaries. Thus the chief Points of Difference being amicably concluded, and ſign'd by the Emperor, the Diet was diſſolved the 29*th* of *December* 1681. after which the Emperor with his Court return'd to *Vienna*.

The Diet diſſolved,

But theſe Treaties and Agreements were ſo imperfect and ſo little obſerved, by reaſon of the Wars with the *Turks*, Parties and Factions breaking out every day, and continual Skirmiſhes diſannulling the Arcles concluded; nothing could be built hereupon, nor the Agreement take the leaſt effect, nor ſo much as regarded, until the year 1689. when the *Turks* Suing for a Peace, the Proteſtants made the following Addreſs to His Imperial Majeſty as followeth, The which I have inſerted here for the ſake of the Reader, and the eaſineſs in underſtanding this Hiſtory. 1681.

Sacratiſſima Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtas Domine Domine Clementiſſime.

Licet firmiter omnino ſupponeremus ab Anno jam integro & medio Articularem medelam Gravaminum Religionis noſtræ Evangelicæ humillime ſupplicantibus, & ſubinde plenius ac plenius tam injurias contra Articulos Sopronienſes 25 & 26. Anno 1681. nobis illatas, quam etiam claras, & omni obſcuritate carentes eorundum Articulorum Conceſſiones pro baſi & fundamento legitimæ Inſtantiæ noſtræ adducentibus nobis, Juſtiam Cauſæ & Poſtulatorum noſtrorum Majeſtati Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ, ac paſſim omnibus Auguſtiſſimæ Aulæ ſuæ Miniſtris uſque adeo innotuiſſe, ut ulteriori dictæ inſtantiæ noſtræ recrudeſcentia & commemoratione non niſi rem actam agere videamur.

Quia verò non raro id circumferri nunc etiam intelligimus, vel quod Commiſſiones Regiæ per Hungariam anno præterito, ac ante inſtitutæ, nihil contra dictamen præſcriptorum Articulorum Sopronienſium inſtituerint, vel quod plura nos petamus, quam iidem Articuli nobis permitterent.

Pro utriuſq; proinde præmiſſæ dubietatis ſublatione, ac item clare ſatis inſtantiæ noſtræ placidatione (vel eo magis, quod ſæpe ſæpius per meritiſſimos Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ Auguſtiſſimæ Aulæ Miniſtros deſuper aſſecurati fuerimus, quod, quæ in præſcriptis Articulis Sopronienſibus clara eſſent, circa ea nos citra quamvis difficultatem & procraſtinationem expeditos & comſervatos iri:) Operæ pretium exiſtimavimus nos facturos ſi membratim tam dictorum Articulorum formalem Contextum, ac in iis radicatam, immediateque verbis Articulorum ſubnexam inſtantiam noſtram, quam prædictarum Commiſſionum Regiarum, vel & eorundem hominum, aliorumque ingerentium, ſub ſchemate prætextu effectuationis Articulorum præjudicioſas & exquiſitas interpretationes, ac deſuper inſtitutas deciſiones, hic, ſeu in Tabella quapiam è diametro ſibi ad invicem oppoſuerimus, hacque ratione & præſcriptorum Articulorum per nonnullos factam Convulſionem, & articulariter luculentæ Inſtantiæ noſtræ æquitatem, ſimulac multiplices injurias, ad oculum quaſi, profundiſſima Homagialis fidelitatis cum ſubjectione demonſtraverimus. Et quidem

ARTICULUS XXV. *Hæc formalia habet.*	Proceſſus, ſeu Concluſiones, Commiſſionum Regiarum Articulis Sopronienſibus omni ex parte adverſantes.
Et quia propter bonum Pacis, tranquillitatemque Regni publicam in Negotio Religionis quoque ſua Majeſtas ſeſe benigne reſolvere dignata eſſet: Ideo eandem etiam Reſolutionem Articulis Regni Status & Ordines inſerunt. I.° Ac	*Contra membrum ex adverſo poſitum Primum Excelſæ Commiſſiones Regiæ, vel per ſe, vel per homines privatos in complurIbus Liberis ac Regiis, Montaniſque Civitatibus; ſignanter in Sancto Georgio, Baziniſ, Tyrnaviæ,*

1681. *Tyrnaviæ, Szakolizæ, Schemnizij, Veterozolij, Carponæ, Libethbanyæ, Breznobanyæ, Bahabanyæ, Belobanyæ, Vibanyæ, Kuſzeghini & Ruſzt, quæ alias eſſent Liber idemque quartus ſtatus, tale liberum exercitium (quod nimirum conſiſteret in cultu divino per verbi Dei prædicationem, Cantionum, Orationum, Baptiſmatum, ſacoæ Euchariſtiæ, Copulæ, Sepulturæ, & aliarum pro ritu ſuo ſuſceptarum Ceremoniarum uſum & adminiſtrationem, adeoque per Miniſtros Eccleſiaſticos fieri & exerceri aſſoleret) non admittendo, imo ſevere inhibendo: Patet ex eo, dictas Commiſſiones in præſcriptis locis taliter totale Exercitium contra dictum Articulum ſuſtuliſſe. Siquidem ubi hæc talia non exercentur, id nec exercitium dici poſſet. Non abſimiliter Oppida, Villas, & Ruſticos (vi præjudicioſæ illius in apertiſſimum exterminium Liberæ Religionis Evangelicæ, ac etiam Evangelicorum tendentis adjectæ & inſertæ Clauſulæ: Salvo jure Dominorum Terreſtrium) contra tenorem confirmationis allegati Articuli 1. Ann. 1608. in omnibus Comitatibus libero Exercitio taliter privaſſe.*

I. ‘Ac imprimis quidem, cum liberum Religionis exercitium jam antea in Anno 1606. vigore Pacificationis Viennenſis conceſſum, his motibus à parte nonnullorum interturbatum fuiſſet: Ideo confirmato hoc loci Articulo 1. dictæ Pacificationis, idem Exercitium omnibus & ubique per Regnum, (ſalvo tamen Jure Dominorum Terreſtrium) juxta Articulum primum Anno 1608. ante Coronationem editum, liberum permittitur. 1681.

[Hinc ex his Articuli verbis legitime inſtamus, ut idem exercitium quod Annis prioribus, ſeu ſub iis motibus, à parte nonnullorum turbatum fuiſſet, nec aliter ante dictos motus, quam per Miniſtros Evangelicos, ſeu Prædicantes, exercebatur, Omnibus & ubique per Regnum (quod ex vi præcitati Articuli 1. Anno 1608. ante Coronationem editi, per expreſſum omnes etiam Liberas Civitates, qua quartum Statum in ſe comprehenderet, adeoque ad Oppida & Villas etiam evidentiſſime ſe extenderet) liberum permittatur.]

Contra II. *Dictæ Commiſſiones paſſim ubique per Regnum & Comitatus duobus ſolum Prædicantibus in ſingulo Comitatu, ac uno vel altero in quibuſdam liberis Civitatibus permiſſis, reliquos omnes alibi intra quindenam, alibi intra triduum, uti in Comitatibus Lyptovienſi, Arvenſi, Thuroczenſi, Howhenſi, Zolienſi, aliiſque, extra Comitatum relegare præſumſerunt: Vel ſi quibus in Comitatu manere placeret, ab iis ſtrictas Reverſales ſuper Miniſterij renuntiatione eo facto exigendas præceperunt. Scholas etiam Triviales, ſolum aliquantum legere & ſcribere inſtituentes permitti determinarunt. Qualiter porro libera illa Religionis ſuæ Profeſſio & Exercitium Miniſtris noſtris per nonnullos ſervata ſit, teſtantur tam ſcripta complurimorum extra Comitatus relegatio, quam Miniſtrorum quoque Evangelicorum Epperienſium è Civitate, loco alias Articulariter denominato, per Magiſtratum Catholicum prætexentem, hanc fuiſſe Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ ſeriam voluntatem ac Mandatum, licentioſe ſane intentata exturbatio, adeoque Prædicantium & Scholarum Rectorum, etiam in Dominio Rakocziano ſuperiorum Regni Hungariæ partium, miſere alias degentium, aut ſub amiſſione bonorum & capitis è Dominio eodem migrandorum, aut ſeveriſſimis Reverſalibus ſub eadem cautione ad nulla umquam munia Eccleſiaſtica ibidem exercenda ſemet obſtringendorum, per Officiales ejuſdem Dominij intimata violenta Compulſio: & magis quatuor Prædicantium per Emin. Principem Cardinalem à Kollonich in Arce Ledniezenſi facta incarceratio, à quibus ſimiliter præjudicioſæ Reverſales ſubſcribendæ in ſui eliberationem exiguntur.*

II. ‘Ac Prædicantibus quoque & Scholarum Magiſtris, alias vel proſcriptis, vel propter certas Reverſales munia ſuæ profeſſionis exercere non valentibus, liber in Regnum reditus, liberaque Religionis ſuæ Profeſſio & Exercitium, caſſatis eatenus etiam ipſorum Reverſalibus, conceditur.

[Hinc quoque legitime lucidiſſimeque ſequitur, Prædicantes, & Scholarum Magiſtros ab exilio ad Profeſſionis ſuæ munia & exercitium reſtitutos, libere in Regno, univerſis item Civitatibus, Oppidis, & Villis ſubſiſtere, & Religionis ſuæ profeſſione Exercitium ac munia peragere poſſe: Neque ulterius aliquas Reverſales jam taliter Articulo tenus damnatas & caſſatas ab iis exigi convenire.]

Contra III. *Iſthoc eſt, ſuper quo cum gemitibus conquerimur, nos tam per ipſas Commiſſiones, quam privatas quaſque perſonas, paſſim turbatos eſſe: Nec verba ſufficiunt exprimere, quot modis ſubinde turabati fuerimus, tam nos, quam Miniſtri noſtri, ac etiamnum turbantur, ac turbamur. Pro exemplo ſolum brevitatis cauſſa (ne reiterare videamur*

III. ‘Et nullus Regnicolarum in libero ſuæ Religionis Exercitio à modo impoſterum quoquomodo turbetur.

[Iſta nullitas clariſſime concludit, nec Eccleſiaſticas, nec ſeculares Perſonas, adeoque nec Nobilem, nec Civem, nec Ruſticum in libero Religionis ſuæ exercitio turbandum. Id verò ut dicatur Exercitium

1681. Liberum cauſſas & inſtrumenta, per quæ exercetur, Miniſtros videlicet deneceſſe requiri, nemo negabit.]

1681. *mur præmemoratos Comitatus, & plurima Comitatus Zemplinienſis in attacto Dominio Rakocziano ſuperioris Hungariæ exiſtentia Oppida, horumque Miniſtros) præmemorata Civitas Epperies in ſuperiore Hungaria, & in inferiore, præter Poſonium, Sopronium, Modram, Cremniczium, Neozolium, omnes cæteræ Civitates cum ſuis Evangelicis Miniſtris, ſicut etiam Prædicans Hodoſſienſis in Inſula Czalokóz, qui omnibus vitæ mediis, veſtitu, libris & ſupellectili per Secretarium D. D. Archiepiſcopi Strigonienſis, & milites penes ſe aſſumtos privatus eſt: quam ſortem alij quoque quamplurimi patiuntur, & aut ſpeciali Dei providentia, aut mulctarum penſione, vel verò medio Reverſalium, eliberationem ſui conſequi poterunt, in continuis viciſſitudinibus miſeram ac inopem vitam ducentes.*

IV. ‘Sed neque Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addicti ad Cæremonias Confeſſioni ſuæ contrarias compellantur.

[Hæc generalitas quoque confirmat priora, id eſt, nec Nobiles, nec Ignobiles, nec Cives, nec Ruſticos quoque compelli debere.

Contra IV. *Commiſſiones Evangelicos in Civitate Trenctrinienſi, & aliis paſſim ad vexillorum Proceſſionalium comparationem ac ipſas Proceſſiones cogendos, uti & in confinio Comaromienſi pronuntiarunt, adeoque & Ruſticos Evangelicos ubique ad frequentationem Templorum Catholicorum compellendos jubent. Imò omnes liberas Civitates Exercitio Evangelico carentes ad Actus Miniſteriales ritui ipſarum contrarios adigere mandant.*

ARTICULUS XXVI.

V. ‘AD hæc Templa quoque per Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictos ædificata, & ritu Catholico necdum reconciliata, per certos Commiſſarios eiſdem aſſignanda.

[Hinc quoque legitimè inſtamus Capellarum & Templorum non reconciliatorum, quales Capellæ darentur complures in Lyptovienſi, Thurazenſi, & aliis Comitatibus, nobis fiendam Ceſſionem & Aſſignationem.]

Contra V. *Nullo habito reſpectu præſcriptæ Articulariter decretæ locorum non reconciliatorum nobis fiendæ aſſignationis, eædem Commiſſiones omnia Templa & Capellas in Lyptovienſi; Arvenſi, Thuroczenſi, Zolienſi & Honthenſi Comitatibus occuparunt; licet quidem in Thuroczenſi per Evangelicos ædificata, & ritu Catholico non reconciliata in Pribocz, Bella & Zathuriza fuerint. In Comitatu verò Lyptovienſi Capellæ ſimiliter per Evangelicos & Dominos terreſtres talium fundorum ædificatæ in Kiraly, Lehota, Potornya & Vicbicze, ac alibi reperirentur, ab harum tamen uſuatione, ingreſſu & ibidem peragendo cultu ſtrictiſſimè inhibiti, ac ad duo ſaltem loca, ubi Templa ædificari permiſſa ſunt aliquot mille hominum incapacia, imo propter diſtantiam, incongrua, periculoſa, & difficilia, relegati.*

VI. ‘In aliis verò locis juxta benignam ſuæ Majeſtatis reſolutionem loca pro ædificandis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis erigendis, pro commoditate eorundem Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictorum per eoſdem Commiſſarios deſignanda decernuntur.

[In hoc etiam legitime & legaliter inſtamus pro locorum commodorum & congruorum, & vel maxime Liberis & Regiis Civitatibus Caſſovienſi, & Epperienſi in ſuperiore Hungaria, quibus contra hujus Articuli expreſſum tenorem, in locis inconvenientibus, incommoda ac minus decentia deſignata eſſent loca intra mœnia Civitatum (innuentibus id memorati Articuli ſubſequenter Puncto 9. allegandis clariſſimis verbis,) ubi commoda & capacia haberentur loca, adeoque etiam aliis omnibus ſimili jure gaudentibus Civitatibus, gratioſſime impertienda exciſione.]

Contra VI. *In Liberis & Regiis Civitatibus Partium Hungariæ ſuperiorum alibi Commiſſio Regia, alibi verò Officiales Cameratici, imò privati quoque homines, ſicut Caſſoviæ, & potiſſimum Epperieſſini plane extra deſerta ac deſolata ſuburbia in locis longe diſſitis Campeſtribus, iiſque Contumelioſis, erigendis Templis, Parochiis & Scholis pro qualibet trium Nationum Communitate incommoda & obſcæna loca, (quo ab ſacrum etiam finem ſanctiſſimo Deo dicanda Templa Chriſtianis hominibus ædificare nefas ac piaculum omnino eſſet) maximo Evangelicæ Religionis cum deſpectu deſignarunt.*

VII. ‘In aliis verò Comitatibus, veluti in Szaladienſi, Weſzprimienſi, Jaurienſi, Comaromienſi, Abavyvarienſi, Saaroſſienſi, Zemplinienſi, Ugocchienſi, Beregienſi, ; Thor-

Contra VII. *Commiſſiones Regiæ tamen in Comitatibus plurimis, uti etiam Honthenſi, qui unus eſſet ex præſcriptis enumeratis, omnia Templa mediante Vicecomite illius Comi-*

1681. *tatus occupari, & Prædicantes amoveri ſecerunt. Pariter ſecerunt in Abavyvarienſi, Zemplinienſi, Bereghienſi Comitatibus, in Bonis, ut præmemoratum, Univerſis Rakoczianis Officiales ejuſdem Dominii, ac in Oppido Gyóngyós, quod ipſum potiorem partem Comitatus Heves conſtitueret, nonnullæ privatæ perſonæ Templum Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictorum occupare, Miniſtros removere, imo totale exercitium Religionis ſuæ iiſdem ſerio inhibere præſumſerunt: Nec abſimiliter etiam in Oppido Jaſzbreny & confinio Legrad proceſſum. Eſto, quod hi recenſiti Comitatus eſſent de numero illorum, qui juxta Articulum in poſſeſſione omnium præ manibus habitorum Templorum relicti ſunt.*

‘Thornenſi, Gómórienſi, Korſodienſi, Hon- 1681.
‘thenſi, Neogradienſi, Szolnock & Her-
‘ves, necnon Peſth, Pilis & Soldth unitis:
‘Item Szabolczenſi, Ungh & Szathmarienſi;
‘Siquidem de præſenti eſſent in actuali
‘uſu omnium fere Templorum ibidem habi-
‘torum, ideo eadem pro Actualibus eo-
‘rundem Poſſeſſoribus uſuanda relicta
‘ſunt.

[Hic etiam legitimè petimus, quod, ſiquidem tempore conditi Articuli in enarratis Comitatibus Evangelici omnia fere Templa, quæ jamnum iiſdem majori ex parte contra ſancitum violenter ademta eſſent, præ manibus habuiſſent, ac expoſt Articulariter in Poſſeſſione eorum relinquendi decelarati eſſent, ita eoſdem imperturbatos debuiſſe ac debere relinqui.

Contra VIII. *Comaromij interim privati ſaltem homines Exercitium Evangelicum totaliter inhibuerunt, prouti talem inhibitionem ulterius quoque practicaturi proximè ad pulſum Tympani, non ſolum intra Confinium illud, ſed etiam ad circumjacentia loca egreſſum pro peragenda devotione ſua Evangelicis ſub incaptivatione eorum, & aliis gravibus pœnis ſeveriſſimè interminati ſunt. Similiter Carponæ per Regiam Commiſſionem, & Thokaini per Deputatos, locis licet Articularibus nomine tenus ſpecificatis inhibitum exercitium, & Templa occupata.*

VIII. ‘Præterea in Confiniis Regni, &
‘quidem in Generalatu contra Caniſam in
‘Szenegroth: In Generalatu Jaurienſi, in
‘Tihany, Vaſony, Papa, Veſzprim, Jaurini
‘& Comoarmij. In Generalatu Antemontano,
‘Levæ, Carponæ & Fúlekini. In Generalatu
‘ſuperioris Hungariæ in Putnok, Onod,
‘Szendró, Thokay, Kalo & Szathmar.

Vi conceſſionis iſtius Comaromij, Carponæ, & Thokaini Confiniis ſicut & aliis determinatis, exercitium liberum una cum Templis ibidem habitis, & eo tum poſſeſſis, relictum fuiſſe, evidentis eſt ſequelæ.]

Contra IX. *Commiſſiones Regiæ, vel & Deputati homines ejuſdem extra Trenchinium, Modram, Cremniczium, & Novizolium, in reliquis inferiorum partium Regni Civitatibus, nulla loca excidiſſent, quæ ſiquidem omnes una eademque libertatis præragativâ gauderent, Conditio etiam unius præ alterius deterior eſſe non deberet. In ſuperiori porrò Hungaria qualianam loca exciſa forent, ac ubi contra ſanam mentem evidentiſſimi hujus Paragraphi, in Civitatibus, adeoque earum mœniis, non verò extra eaſdem exciſionem locorum fiendam apertiſſimè declarantis, ad punctum 6. ubi commoda & convenientia, obque ſacrum finem Deo dicanda loca exſcindenda innuerentur, iſteque Paragraphus eo ſe reflexivè haberet, remonſtratum.*

IX. ‘Ac tandem in liberis & montanis
Civitatibus, utpote Trenchinienſi, Modrenſi, Cremniczenſi & Novizolienſi, ac in ſu-
‘periore Hungaria, omnibus itidem Civi-
‘tatibus ſimiliter loca pro ædificandis
‘Templis, Scholis & Parochiis aſſignanda
conceduntur.

[Quid ex his verbis directius & clarius inferri poteſt, quam quòd in liberis Civitatibus, quales ſunt Caſſovia, Epperies, Leuſchovia, Bartpha, Cibinium, Keſmarkimera, Nagybanya, Poſonium, Tyrnavia, Szakoliza, Bazinium, Modra, Sancti Georgij, Kúſzegh & Ruſt, & Montanis, quales itidem ſunt Novizolium, Veterozolium, Carpona, Schemniczium, Cremnizcium, Libethbanya, Breſznobanya, Bakabanya, Belabanya, Uybanya, & aliæ, (pro quarum modalitate præmiſſa quapiam diſtinctione, & diverſitate, proque exemplo ex utroque ordine tam videlicet Montanarum binæ, & Liberarum ſimiliter binæ recenſentur,) ſimiliter loca commoda, & quidem citra aliquam locorum exterorum reſtrictionem in ipſis Civitatibus, id eſt, in medio ipſarum Civitatum, juxta genuinum & literalem ſenſum præallegatorum verborum dicti Articuli, pro ædificandis Templis Scholis & Parochiis aſſignanda venirent.]

Contra X. *Commiſſiones vero, uti præmiſſa 7. difficultate attactum, in nonnullis Comitatibus, qui omnino tempore conditi Articuli in actuali Templorum poſſeſſione fuerunt, contra dictamen hujus Articuli Templa talia una cum omnibus appertinentiis occuparunt, uti in Comitatu*

X. Templa demum, in quorum actuali
‘poſſeſſione iidem Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ
‘Confeſſioni addicti de facto ſunt modo
‘prævio, præ manibus eorundem una cum
‘Parochiis & Scholis, proventibuſque eo-
‘rundem, propter bonum Pacis, ut nimirum
‘quiete

‘quiete & pacifice vivant, relinquuntur uſu Sepultnræ & Campanarum pro Catholicis ibidem degentibus æque ac ipſis libero relicto.

[Hoc quoque membrum clariſſimè confirmare comperitur, præſcriptum punctum 7. & innuere id, quod in quorum Templorum poſſeſſione actuali protunc Evangelici erant, ulterius etiam illis, unà cum proventibus, parochiis & ſcholis relinqui debere, uſu inſuper Campanarum & Sepulturæ communi utrimque manente.]

Comitatu Honthenſi & Oppido Gyógyós. Præterea in eodem Oppido Gyongyós nonnullæ privatæ perſonæ omnes proventus, & pia legata ab Evangelicis abſtraxerunt, Sepulturas in locis competentibus inhibuerunt, adeo ut complures in Cellariis demortuos ſuos longo tempore aſſervare neceſſitati fuerint, ad funerationem deſpectuoſam quadriviorum & compotorum relegati exiſtentes. Campanarum etiam liberum uſum fere ubique per Regnum eædem Commiſſiones Evangelicis interdixerunt. His ſimilia æque in Comitatu Zemplinienſi, ac ſignanter in præmentionati Dominij Rakocziani Oppidis, Thalia, Mád, Szantho, Kereſzthur, Tarczel, Liſzka, Bennye, Tolezva, Patak, Vyhally, Borſſy & Tokai, nominatis, Officiales ejuſdem Dominii patrarunt, quippe qui Univerſis dictorum oppidorum Templis (in quorum actuali Dominio tam tempore conditi hujus Articuli, quam expoſt etiam fuiſſent, de cæteroque præ poſſeſſione eorundem ad mentem Articuli imperturbatè relinqui debuiſſent.) cum eorundem proventibus per Evangelicos collatis, Parochiis item ac Scholis violenter occupatis liberum Religionis eorundem exercitium, vel in privata etiam domo uſuandum ſeveriſſimis ſub minis inhibuerunt, ac etiam Campanarum per eoſdem Oppidanos Evangelicos fieri curatarum, prout & Sepulturæ communem uſum planè non admittendum interdixerunt ; ſic Epperienſis & Caſſovienſis civitatum Evangelicis quoad proventus Eccleſiaſticos omnia pia legata per Magiſtratum loci & clerum ſunt via facti erepta ; quibus inſimul Campanarum & Sepulturæ communis uſus abſolutiſſimè denegatur. Funerum porro intra mœnia Civitatum cum ſolitis cantibus & ceremoniis conveniens & publica deductio ſevera cum comminatione cavetur & non admittitur.

XI. ‘Interea verò nec Catholici Miniſtris Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictis, nec verò horum ſequaces Plebanis Catholicis ad mentem Articuli 11 An. 1647. ſolvere obligentur.

[Clariſſima ſunt hæc verba Articuli, & ex ſuperabundanti elucidantur per confirmationem 11 Artic. 1647. qui ſic habet: ‘Nec Evangelici Status Catholicis Plebanis, & è converſo Status Catholici Evangelicis Miniſtris ad ullas ſolutiones pendendas ſint obligati. Et per ſubſequentem Articulum 12. ejuſdem Ann. explicatius per hæc verba: ‘Ubi verò parochias non haberent Auditores Evangelici, ſolutionem pendant ſuæ Religionis Miniſtris, cujus videlicet Miniſterio, ſeu opera uſi fuerint, ſicut & Catholici Parochis Catholicis: Ubi autem hactenus Auditores Evangelici non ſolviſſent Plebanis Catholicis, impoſterum etiam ad nullas ſolutiones præſtandas ullo ſub prætextu cogantur ad ſolvendum; prout nec Catholici Evangelicis. Ad hæc, quoad Stolarum proventus & penſiones, tenore expreſſarum allegati 12 Articuli 1647. continentiarum: ‘Stolarum autem Proventus, ſeu ſolutiones in quibuſvis locis Plebani Catholici & Miniſtri Evangelici à ſuæ Religionis auditoribus totaliter percipiant. Quorum Articulorum evidentiſſima conſtitutione ab omni prorſus ſolutione Catholicis Plebanis fienda Evangelici liberantur & eximuntur, huicque tamquam poſitivæ legi firmiter inhærere volumus.]

Contra XI. *Commiſſiones verò ubique in Comitatibus Plebanis Catholicis omnes ſolutiones addixerunt. In Civitatibus autem, ut ex Fiſco, ſeu Communi Civitatis ærario (ad quem reſpectu pluralitatis & majoris numeri Evangelicorum Catholici minimum quantum contribuerent) Plebanis ſolutio fiat, præſcripſerunt Nos, ut noſtratibus tam Miniſtris, quam Scholæ docentibus, extraordinariè ex propriis proſpiciamus, manifeſtè tam contra præſcriptos Articulos, quam etiam mentem Sacræ Scripturæ, laborantibus ſolum mercedem tribuentis ; non laborantibus verò nec manducare debere inventis, invitos cogendo. Officiales identidem ſæpe allegati Dominij Ragocziani in ſuperiori Hungaria, aſſumto quoque brachio Militari, ad ſolutionem Plebanis Catholicis in eodem dominio pèndendam citrà diſcrimen, Nobiles pariter & ignobiles incolas Evangelicos omni conatu adigunt.*

XII. ‘Omnibus porro Magnatibus & Nobilibus in Regno degentibus in Arcibus & ſolitis Reſidentiis ſuis, pro ritu cujuſvis Profeſſionis, Oratoria & Sacella ædificare & donare liberum ſit.

[Hac in parte legalis eſt noſtra inſtantia, ut in ſolitis Reſidentiis Nobilium pro ritu cujuſque profeſſionis Oratoria & Sacella

Contra XII. *Commiſſiones verò in pleriſque Comitatibus, ſignanter autem Lyptovienſi, Thuroczenſi, Zolienſi, Arvenſi, & aliis (licet à tempore occupatorum Templorum in uſu & praxi talis exercitij in Reſidentiis Nobilitaribus Articulariter permiſſi longo tempore præfuiſſent) abrogarunt, & ſub pœna militaris invaſionis reſidentiæ ſimilis nobilis, inhibue-*

1681. *runt. Prouti expoſt in Comitatu Lyptovienſi Domini Plebani ibidem per milites Likavienſes aliquot talium Nobilium domos invadi & expilari feciſſent. Et proximè in Trenchimienſi Comitatu Nobiles familiæ Noſdroviczky Prædicantem in reſidentia ſua pro adminiſtratione exercitij ſui intertenentes ſimiliter per milites Regiminis Morſſiani damnificati, & idem Miniſter ad carceres Arcis Lednicze raptatus nunc quoque ibidem detinetur. In inſula Czaloköz Nobiles Hodoſſienſes & circumjacentium locorum ſimiliter à reſidentiali Religionis ſuæ cultu prohibiti ſunt, & Miniſtri ibidem exiſtentis eo tum omnes res direptæ ſunt. Quam injuriam inferiorum quoque Hungariæ partium Nobiles Evangelici non ſine lamentis querulantur.*

1681. habere liceat, prouti poſt factam Templorum occupationem id in uſum & praxin in Compluribus Comitatibus deductum fuerat.]

Utinam Concluſio hæc obſervaretur, & ad deſumtionem à Contravenientibus deſignatæ pœnæ Articularis procederetur, pacificam omnino & imperturbatam noſtri in libero Evangelico Exercitio permanſionem nobis polliceri poſſemus, tollereturque formidine pœnæ omnis fomes diſcordiarum. Quod ut fiat concordibus apprecamur votis & animis.

XIII. Poſthac verò nullæ Templorum, Scholarum & Parochiarum occupationes, vel Exercitij turbationes ab utrimque, ſub pœna in Articulo 8. Uladiſlai decreti 6. expreſſa, fiant.

Ex quorum Articulorum Sopronienſium, & per eos confirmatorum modalitate prævia membratim facta Deductione, ſiquidem & eorum claritas, & huic innixa Inſtantiænoſtræ æquitas, econtra verò Excelſarum Commiſſionum, aliorumq; in effectuatione eorum admiſſi abuſus & deformitates luce meridiana eluceſcunt, palpabileſque redduntur. Majeſtatem Veſtram Sereniſſimam per pretioſiſſimam Chriſti mortem, & glorioſiſſimam Reſurrectionem humillimis exoramus precibus, ut cognitis jam tandem ac Regio cordi admiſſis legitimis Poſtulatis noſtris, eadem per quoſcunque ulterius retardari non patiatur; quin potius (ſiquidem ea poſt tam longum tempus unà cum aliis tractatibus hic eatenus iſtitutæ Commiſſionis jam Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ & intimo Conſilio reportata, imo certum Punctum dictorum Tractatuum, uti informamur, non tamen noſtrum, per D.D. intimos Conſiliarios revolutum & examinatum eſſet, verendum verò nobis veniret ne fors expoſt etiam aliud diverſum, & huic Inſtantiæ noſtræ inæſtimabilem moram nectens, reaſſumatur, ſicque nos eo majori adhuc temporis cum protractione, & jam exhauſtorum gravium ſumtuum diſpendio, animi pendentes ulterius adhuc detineamur,) juxta Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ ante jam de anticipando & eximendo puncto Religionis Celſiſſimo Principi ſupremo Aulæ Præfecto gratioſiſſimè præbitum, ac nobis etiam per ſuam Celſitudinem ſignificatum, benigniſſimum Regium aſſenſum, præ aliis hanc animarum ſalutem tangentem Religionis inſtantiam per D.D. intimos Conſiliarios reaſſumendam, tractandam, & determinandam, quam propenſiſſime ordinare & committere, ac taliter cum numquam intermoritura Regalis ſui Regiminis ad normam glorioſorum Prædeceſſorum ſuorum fama, Nos in hac libertate Religioſa ſtabilire, ſtabilitoſque & expeditos primo quoque tempore ad Principales noſtros dimitti curare clementiſſimè dignetur. Gratiam hanc Cæſareo-Regiam Deus ex altis Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ omnigena felicitate retribuet,

Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ.

Exhibita ſuæ Majeſtati Sereniſſimæ ad Capellam Arcenſem prodeunti Viennæ die 24 Menſis Aprilis Ann. 1689.

Humillimi perpetuoque fideles ſubditi,
Comitatuum, Civitatum, Oppidorum & Confiniorum Partium Regni Hungariæ Superiorum & Inferiorum à parte Evangelicorum in Negotio turbatæ Religionis ſuæ Ablegati Nuncij.

Diætæ Poſonienſis, Ann. 1687. Articulus XXI.
In negotio Religionis renovantur Articuli 25 & 26 Ann. 1681. cum interjecta Declaratione.

Licet quidem in Negotio Religionis Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addicti Articulis 25 & 26 noviſſimæ Diætæ Sopronienſis oppoſitam iiſdem per reclamationem ſuam abutentes ipſo facto eorundem beneficij participes eſſe deſiiſſent: propter bonum nihilominus domeſticæ unionis & pacis, internamque Regni tranquillitatem, cum ſua Majeſtas Sacratiſſima ex gratia & clementia ſua præcitatos Articulos adhuc ratos fore benigniſſime reſolviſſet, eoſdem Status quoque & Ordines ad mentem Paternæ reſolutionis (Cleri & aliorum ſecularium Catholicorum contradictione non obſtante) pro renovatis & priori firmitati reſtitutis cenſendos, acſi & in quantum hactenus ineffectuati, vel verò per aliquos abuſus ab una aut

altera

1681. *altera parte medio tempore introductos, violati fuiſſent, ſuæ debitæ executioni, & tem-* 1681.
pore eorundem conditorum Articulorum, vel expoſt occupatorum, aut reoccupatorum impendendæ reſtaurationi, utprimum demandandos eſſe ſtatuerunt.

Pacifications Viennenſis Ann. 1606. Articuli Primi Continentia hæc eſt.

QUantum itaque ad Religionis Negotium attinet, non obſtantibus prioribus pro tempore Conſtitutionibus Publicis, ſed neque Articulo poſtremo Anno 1604. *(cum is extra diætam, & ſine Regnicolarum aſſenſu adjectus fuerit, & propterea etiam tollitur) deliberatum eſt; Ut juxta Sereniſſimæ Cæſariæ, Regiæque Majeſtatis priorem Reſolutionem, ad quam ſe Regnicolæ in ſua Replicatione referunt, nimirum: Quod omnes & ſingulos Status & Ordines intra ambitum Regni Hungariæ ſolum exiſtentes, tam Magnates, Nobiles, quam liberas Civitates, Oppida Privilegiata, immediate ad Coronam ſpectantia: Item in Confiniis quoque Regni Hungariæ Milites Hungaros in ſua Religione & Confeſſione nuſquam & numquam turbabit, nec per alios turbari, aut impediri ſinet; Verum omnibus prædictis Statibus & Ordinibus Regni liber Religionis ipſorum uſus & exercitium permittetur, abſque tamen præjudicio Catholicæ Romanæ Religionis, & ut Clerus, Templa & Eccleſiæ Catholicorum Romanorum intacta & libera permaneant, atque ea quæ hoc diſturbiorum tempore utrimque occupata fuere, rurſum eiſdem reſtituantur.*

Anno 1608. Articuli Primi ante Coronationem editi de Ne Negotio Religionis tenor talis eſt:

QUantum itaque ad Primum Conſtitutionis Viennenſis Articulum attinet, deliberatum eſt per Status & Ordines Inclyti Regni Hungariæ, ut Religionis Exercitium tam Baronibus, Magnatibus & Nobilibus, quam etiam Liberis Civitatibus ac Univerſis Statibus & Ordinibus Regni, in ſuis & Fiſci bonis, item in Confiniis quoque Regni Hungariæ Militibus Hungaris ſua cuique Religio & Confeſſio, nec non Oppidis & Villis eam ſponte ac libere acceptare volentibus, ubiq; liberam relinquatur, nec quiſquam omnium in libero ejuſdem uſu ac exercitio, quoquam impediatur. Quin imo ad præcavenda inter Status & Ordines aliqua odia & diſſenſiones, ut quælibet Religio ſuæ Profeſſionis ſuperiores ſeu ſuperintendentes habeat, ſtatutum eſt.

N. B.

Ut utpoſterior hic Articulus primus Ann. 1608. *Ann*1618. *Articulo* 77. *renovatus, Ann.* 1622. *tempore Ferdinandi* II. *Imperatoris Regio diplomati, per Generales Regni Conſtitutiones, Conditione* 6 *clariori ſenſu inſertus, Ann.* 1625. *Artic.* 22. *Ann.*1630. *Artic.* 33. *Ann.* 1635. *Artic.* 29. *identidem tam idem Articulus, quam etiam prædeclarata Conditio ſexta, ſuo vigori reſtituti, Ann.*1638. *memorata Conditio* 6. *diplomatis Regij Ferdinandi* II. *ſimiliter diplomate Regio Ferdinandi* III. *Imperatoris, æque Conditione* 6*ta per expreſſam de verbo ad verbum confirmata, Ann.* 1647. *Artic.* 5*to novo diplomate Regio Pacificationis cum Illuſtriſſimo Principe Tranſylvaniæ Domino Georgio Ragoczy conditæ, diverſiſque aliis ſubſequentibus, uti,* 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 & 14. *Articulis, quod ad diverſos caſus, ſtabilitus, Ann.* 1649. *Artic.* 10. & *Ann.* 1655. *Artic.* 18. *qua præattacta pacificatio Rakocziana, qua præſpecificati Articuli Anno* 1647. *pariter ratificati. Denique Anno* 1659. *moderni Imperatoris Leopoldi Regio inſimul diplomate, Publicis quoque Regni Conſtitutionibus Articulo* 1. *indito, Conditione ſimiliter* 6*ta per omnia, ut in prioribus Ferdinandorum* II & III. *Imperatorum diplomatibus, Verbo Regio ratihabitus eſſet, his nihilominus non obſtantibus, omnes prævij hi Articuli & Conditiones diplomaticæ omni ſua firmitate privati ſunt, Exercitio Religionis Evangelicæ contra omnes Sanctiones Articulares & publicas Regni Conſtitutiones, ſacra item Regia diplomata, in ipſiſimo Exterminio jamnum effective verſante.*

Moſt Sacred, Imperial, and Royal Majeſty:

Moſt Gracious Sir,

1681. ALthough we have already made it appear to Your moſt Sacred Majeſty, and to the Miniſters of Your moſt Imperial Court, that many Injuſtices were done to us in the Year 1681, againſt the clear and evident Grants of the *25th* and *26th* Articles of *Sopron*, Humbly ſolliciting this full Year and a Half the Obſervation of the ſame, and the Redreſſing of the Grievances of our Evangelical Religion; yet, becauſe it is daily Reported, that by Virtue of Your Majeſty's Commiſſions appointed laſt Year, and before through *Hungary* nothing was Ordered, againſt the full intent of the ſaid Articles, and that we deſire more than is granted in them: We thought it our Duty to juſtify both our Complaints and our repeated Requeſts, (the reather becauſe the Worthy Miniſters of Your Imperial Court have often aſſur'd us, that without any delay or difficulty, we ſhould be maintain'd in the clear Grants of the ſaid Articles of *Sopron*,) in order to which we ſhall ſet down here, as in a kind of Table, the very words of the ſaid Articles, together with our Requeſts, againſt the Miſintepretation of the ſaid Articles, either by Your Majeſty's Commiſſioners, or by other Perſons under pretence of fulfiling the ſame, and the Deciſions made thereupon, by that means we ſhall ſhew Evidently that the ſaid Articles were Infring'd to our great prejudice, and that our Requeſts are moſt Juſt. 1681.

The XXV ARTICLE *runs thus:*

AND becauſe his Majeſty intending the Peace and general Quiet of the Kingdom was pleaſed alſo to come to a Gracious Reſolution upon the buſineſs of Religion, therefore the States of the Kingdom inſert the ſaid Reſolution in the Articles.

I. 'And Principally, whereas the free 'exerciſe of Religion (granted in the year '1606. by virtue of the Peace of *Vienna*) 'has been diſturbed in part during theſe 'Troubles; therefore (the firſt Article of 'the ſaid Peace being hereby confirm'd) the 'ſame free exerciſe of Religion is granted 'to every Perſon, and every where in the 'Kingdom; according to the firſt Article 'made before the Coronation in the year '1608. Provided that the Privileges of 'Lords of Manors be not hereby prejudiced.

Hereupon we require in the Article's own words, that the ſame free exerciſe of Religion (as was diſturbed in part during the Troubles, and before the Troubles did include Evangelical Miniſters or Preachers) be granted to every Perſon, and every where in the Kingdom, not excepting the free Cities, Towns and Villages, which make the fourth State, ſince they are expreſly comprehended in the aforeſaid Article made before theCoronation in the Year 1608.

Proceedings of the King's Commiſſioners contrary in every particular to the Articles of *Sopron*.

A*Gainſt the oppoſite firſt Article. The King's high Commiſſioners, or other private Perſons employ'd by them, have forbidden ſuch a free exerciſe of Religion, as could conſiſt in the Service of God through Preaching, Singing, Praying, Adminiſtring the Sacraments, bleſſing Marriages, making Burials, and uſing other wonted Ceremonies, which were perform'd by Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, in many free Royal Cities and Mountain Towns, namely in* St. George, Bazinium, Tyrnaw, Zakoliza, Schemnizium, Veterozolium, Carpen, Libeten, Breznow, Bakaw, Bela, Vibania, Kuſſeghin and Ruſt; *whereby it appears, That in thoſe places the ſaid Commiſſioners have ſuppreſt the whole exerciſe of Religion againſt the oppoſite Article; for where there is no Liberty for the above mention'd Acts of Religion, there can be no exerciſe of Religion at all. They have likewiſe depriv'd the Inhabitants of all the Towns and Villages in the Counties, of the free exerciſe of their Religion, by Virtue of that Clauſe inſerted for the deſtroying of our Religion, and of the Goſpel too (provided that the Privileges of the Lords of Manors be not hereby prejudiced) againſt the Confirmation of the Article made in the Tear 1608.*

II. 'A free Return in the Kingdom, and a 'free exerciſe of Religion is granted alſo to 'all the Miniſters and School-maſters, that are 'either

Againſt the II. *The ſaid Commiſſioners have Licenſed but two Miniſters in each County, and but one or two in ſome Free Cities all over*

over the Kingdom, Baniſhing all the reſt out of the Counties, ſome within a Fortnight and others within Three days; as in the Counties of Lypeze, *of* Orowa, *of* Owat, *of* Sachſag, *of* Zolnock *and in others, or requiring ſtrict Deeds of Reverſion from the ſame, if they would continue in the ſaid Counties. They have alſo appointed, that there ſhould be no petty Schools, but ſuch where Children could learn only to Read and to Write. But what kind of Liberty it is, that hath been granted to our Miniſters to profeſs their Religion; appears* 1ſt, *By the Recorded Baniſhment of a great many of them out of the Counties.* 2ly, *By the Caſe of the Miniſters in* Eperies, *that have been turn'd out by a Roman Catholick Magiſtrate, under pretence that it was Your Majeſty's Pleaſure and Command, altho' that Town be particularly named in the Articles.* 3ly, *By the violence that the Official has done to the Miniſters and School-maſters, that liv'd but miſerably in the Dominion of* Tokai *in Upper* Hungary, *intimating to them under pain of Death, and the Forfeiture of all their Goods, to go out of the ſaid County, or by moſt ſtrict Deeds of Reverſion, to renounce for ever under the ſame penalty to perform any Eccleſiaſtical Duty in the ſaid County.* 4ly, *By the Confinement of ſeveral Miniſters, who are kept Priſoners in the Fort of* Ledniche, *by Order of his Eminence the Cardinal of* Kolocza, *and can obtain their Liberty on no other Condition, but that of ſubſcribing pernicious Deeds of Reverſion.*

'either Baniſh'd or Kept out of their Employments, by reaſon of certain Deeds of Reverſion, the ſame Deeds being hereby made void and of no effect.

From thence it follows evidently, that the Miniſters and Schoolmaſters are to be reſtor'd from their Exile to their reſpective Profeſſions, and may live freely in any City, Town or Village of the Kingdom, performing the Duties of their Religion and Profeſſion, and that no more Deeds of Reverſion can be requir'd from them, ſince ſuch Deeds are condemned in the Article.

Againſt the III. *Here our Sighs interrupt our Complaints, nor can we find words to expreſs how variouſly and miſerably our Miniſters and we have been, and are ſtill diſturbed every where, either by the ſaid Commiſſioners, or by other private Perſons. As for inſtance in ſhort, (not to repeat the abovemention'd Counties, and many Towns of the County of* Semlyn, *in the aforeſaid Dominion of* Tokai, *and their Miniſters) the above-mention'd City of* Epperies *in Upper* Hungary, *and in the Lower all the Cities beſides* Preſburg, Sopron, Modra, Cremnicz *and* Neozolium, *with their Evangelical Miniſters. As alſo the Miniſter of* Hodoſſia *in the Iſle of* Shut, *who had all the means of Life, Clothes, Books and Furniture taken from him by the Secretary of the Archbiſhop of* Gran, *and by the Soldiers which he brought along with him, which is the Fate of a great many others, that lead a moſt miſerable Life in perpetual Changes, owing their Liberty to a Special Providence of God, or having obtain'd it after they had paid great Fines, or made pernicious Deeds of Reverſion.*

III. 'And no *Hungarian* Subject ſhall be diſturbed any way hereafter in the free Exerciſe of his Religion.

Theſe words, no *Hungarian* Subject exclude undoubtedly any Exception; the meaning plainly is, that no Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Perſon, no Nobleman, no Citizen, nor Peaſant ought to be diſturbed in the free exerciſe of Religion, and no Body will deny, but that an exerciſe of Religion can in no ſenſe be term'd free, unleſs there be Miniſters that officiate in it.

Againſt the IV. *The ſaid Commiſſioners have Order'd, that the Evangelicks ſhould be made to bring their Proceſſional Trophies, and to Walk in Proceſſions, that the Evangelick Peaſant ſhould every where be forc'd to frequent Catholick Churches; and that in all the Free Cities where there is no publick exerciſe of our Religion, the Evangelick ſhould be obliged to Miniſterial Offices contrary to their way.*

IV. 'None of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, and of that of *Ausburg*, ſhall be compelled to any ceremony contrary to his Religion.

The generality of theſe words, confirms the foregoing *i.e.* that no Nobleman, nor Gentleman, no Citizen nor Peaſant ought to be compelled.

The XXVI. ARTICLE.

Againſt the V. *The ſaid Commiſſioners having no regard to the Aſſignation appointed in the oppoſite Article, have ſeiz'd upon all the Churches and Chappels in the Counties of* Lypcze, *of* Arva, *of* Turocz, *of* Zolnock *and*

V. 'Moreover the Churches (that have been Built by thoſe of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, and of that of *Ausbourg*, and whoſe Members are not yet reconciled to the Catholick Church) ſhall

1681. ‘be aſſign'd to them by certain Commiſſioners.’

Hereupon we require, that thoſe Chappels and Churches be deliver'd and aſſign'd to us, whoſe Members are not yet reconciled to the Catholick Church, of which ſort many would be found in the Counties of *Lypcze*, of *Owar*, *&c.*

1681. *and of* Sachſag, *although the Churches of* Pribocz, Bella *and* Zathuriza, *in the County of* Turocz *have been Built by the Evangelick, who were never reconciled to the Catholick Church; there are likewiſe Chappels in* Kiratilehota, Potornia, Vicbicz, &c. *in the County of* Lypcze, *that were Built by the Evangelicks and the Lords of thoſe Manors; nevertheleſs, they are ſeverely forbidden to make any uſe of them, either Eccleſiaſtical or* Civil, *being ſent to two very remote inconvenient and dangerous places, where they have only liberty to Build ſuch Churches as cannot contain the Congregation by ſeveral Thouſands.*

VI. ‘It is order'd alſo, according to his Majeſty's Gracious Reſolution, that in other places the ſame Commiſſioners, aſſign places to build Churches and Schools, and erect Pariſhes for the conveniency of thoſe of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, and of that of *Ausbourg*.

Hereupon we require, that inſtead of the inconvenient and undecent places, which are aſſigned out of *Caſſovia* and *Eſperies* in Upper *Hungary*, others be appointed within the Walls, as alſo in all the Free and Royal Cities, where there is convenient and large eſpaces, ſince thus much is ſignifi'd by the words which will be ſet down lower Fig.9.

Againſt the VI. *No Convenient places for Churches, Pariſhes and Chappels have been aſſign'd in any free Royal Town of Upper* Hungary, *but here the Commiſſioners, there the Officials of the Chamber, and elſewhere private Perſons, as in* Caſſovia *and* Epperies, *have appointed places for Churches, Pariſhes and Schools, which are at a great diſtance in the Fields, out of Deſert and Deſolate, Suburbs; and which are for any Common uſe of the Three Nations, which rendreth them ſo inconvenient and naſty, that to dedicate Churches to the moſt Holy God in ſuch places, were a moſt deteſtable Crime for any ſort of Chriſtians.*

VII. ‘But in other Counties, as in thoſe of *Salawar*, of *Veſprim*, of *Saraz*, of *Moramoruſs*, of *Abavivar*, of *Sellia*, of *Semlyn*, of *Ugoza*, of *Bodrogh*, of *Tornaw*, of *Komorra*, of *Barzod*, of *Sachſag*, of *Novigrad*, of *Zolnock*, of *Hewecz*, of *Peſth*, *Pelicz* and *Soldth* united, of *Unghwar*, of *Chege* and of *Zatmar*; ſince the Evangelicks are actually in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the Churches there, the ſame Churches are left for the uſe of the actual poſſeſſors of them.

Hereupon we require, that the Evangelicks may recover and undiſturbedly poſſeſs all the Churches, which were poſſeſſed by them in the aforeſaid Counties when the Article was made, and which for the moſt part are now taken from them againſt the ſaid Article.

Againſt the VII. *In many Counties as alſo in that of* Sachſag, (*which is one of the aforenam'd*) *the King's Commiſſioners have cauſed all the Churches to be taken from the Evangelicks, and their Miniſters to be turn'd out by the Vicount of that County; the Officials have done the like in the Counties of* Abavivar, *of* Semlyn, *of* Ugoza, *and in all the Towns of the Dominion of* Tokai, *as we have already mention'd; and ſome private Perſons have preſum'd to ſeize upon the Church belonging to thoſe of the* Helvetian *Confeſſion, and of that of* Ausbourg *in the Town of* Gyongyos, (*which* Gyongyos *maketh the moſt conſiderable part of the County of* Hewecz) *to put out their Miniſters, and even forbid the Evangelicks to exerciſe any way their Religion in that place. The like has been done in the Town of* Jaſzbreny, *and the Frontiers of* Legrad, *although the abovemention'd Counties be named in the Article, whereby the Evangelicks are left in the Poſſeſſion of all thoſe Churches, which they had in the ſaid Counties when the Article was made.*

VIII. ‘The ſame is granted in the Frontier Towns of the Kingdom, *viz.* to thoſe of *Zentgrod* in the diviſion near *Caniſa*; of *Tyhany*, *Vaſony*, *Papa*, *Veſprim*, *Raab* and *Comorra*, in the diviſion of *Raab*; of *Leva*, *Carpen* and *Tuletin*, in the diviſion before the Mountains; and of *Putnock*, *Onod*, *Zendro*, *Tokai*, *Calo* and *Zatmar*, in the diviſion of Upper *Hungary*.

By

Againſt the VIII. *In the Town of* Maromaruſs, *and in the places round about it, private Men have forbidden the whole exerciſe of Religion, charging with Beat of Drums all the Evangelicks, to go and exerciſe their Religion out of that Frontier under pain of Impriſonment, and other ſevere Puniſhments. After the ſame manner the King's Commiſſioners in* Carpen, *and the Deputies in* Tokai *have forbid-*

forbidden the exerciſe of Religion, and ſeiz'd upon the Churches, although both theſe places be particularly named in the Articles.

By vertue of this Grant, the Evangelicks that live in *Maromaruſs*, *Carpen*, *Tokai*, and in any other abovemention'd Frontier Town, ought to enjoy the ſame free exerciſe of Religion, and uſe the ſame Churches as they did in thoſe Towns when the Article was made.

Againſt the IX. *The ſaid Commiſſioners, or their Deputies have appointed places for Churches, Schools and Pariſhes out of* Trenſchin, Modra, Cremnicz *and* Novizolium, *and none at all in the reſt of the Towns of Lower* Hungary; *now why ſhould the Caſe of ſome be worſe than that of others? ſince all have the ſame Priviledge of Liberty in Upper* Hungary. *They have likewiſe appointed ſome places for Churches, Schools and Pariſhes not in, but out of the Cities, againſt the true meaning of the oppoſite part of the Article, which moſt evidently declareth, that thoſe places muſt be appointed within and not without the Walls of the Cities, or elſe they could not be ſuch as are appointed Fig.* 6. i. e. *convenient and fit to be conſecrated for the publick ſervice of God.*

IX. 'Furthermore, in all the free and 'Mountain Towns, as in *Trenſchinmodra*, '*Cremnicz*, *Novizolium*, and in all the Cities 'of Upper *Hungary*, places ſhall be aſſign'd 'likewiſe for Churches, Schools and Pariſhes.

What more direct and clear can be concluded from theſe words, but that in the free Cities, ſuch as are *Caſſovia*, *Epperies*, *Leuſchovia*, *Bartpha*, *Cibinium*, *Keſmurkim*, *Nagybania*, *Presburg*, *Tyrnaw*, *Zakoliza*, *Bazinium*, *Modra*, St. *George Kuſſegh*, *Ruſt*, and in the Mountain Towns ſuch as are *Novizolium*, *Veterozolium*, *Carpen*, *Schemninizium*, *Cremniczium*, *Libeten*, *Breznow*, *Baka*, *Bela*, *Vibania*, &c. (for the modifying of which, two of each ſort, *viz.* of the free Cities, and of the Mountain Towns, are brought as inſtances with a certain diſtinction, or ſpecification uſed before) convenient places for Churches, Pariſhes and Schools, muſt be aſſigned not out of the Walls which were to reſtrain the Article, but in the very middle of the Cities and Towns, according to the genuine and literal meaning of the words of the aforeſaid Article.

Againſt the X. *In many Counties, and particularly in that of* Sachſag, *and the Town of* Gyongyos, *the King's Commiſſioners have taken ſuch Churches together, with their Appendages as were poſſeſſed by the Evangelicks, when the Article was made, which we have hinted in the foregoing fifth Grievance. Moreover in the aforeſaid Town of* Gyongyos, *many private Perſons have taken all the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, and Pious Legacies from the Evangelicks, forbidding them withal to Bury their Dead in the uſual places, which has made many keep Corps in Cellars a long time, rather than Bury them in Carfax and Croſſways as they were appointed. The Commiſſioners have alſo deprived the Evangelicks of the uſe of the Bells almoſt every where; the Officials have done the like in the County of* Semlin, *and particularly in theſe Towns of the aforeſaid Dominion of* Tokai, Thalia, Mod, Zantho, Kerethur, Tarezal Liſzka, Benny, Tolezva, Patak, Veyelly, Borzi *and* Tokai *ſeizing upon all the Churches, Schools and Pariſhes, (which at the time of and after the Treaty were poſſeſſed by the Evangelicks, and left to the ſame by the ſaid Article) together with the Revenues that have been given to them by the Evangelicks, forbidding with moſt ſevere threatnings the free exerciſe of our Religion even in private Houſes, and hindering the Evangelicks from the common uſe of Burials and Bells, though made at their own care and charge. Likewiſe the Magiſtrates and Clergy Men of the Town of* Caſſovia *and* Epperies, *have taken by force all the pious Legacies left to our Churches, and forbidden abſolutely the common uſe of Bells and Burials, Threatning with the moſt ſevere Puniſhments thoſe that would make publick Burials within the Walls, with the uſual Singing and decent Ceremonies.*

X. 'Finally, the Churches which are 'actually poſſeſſed by thoſe of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, and of that of *Ausburg* 'ſhall be ſtill for their uſe as before, together with the Pariſhes and Schools and 'their Revenues, that they may live in 'peace and quiet; but the ſame free uſe of 'Bells and Burials is left to the Catholicks 'in thoſe parts as to them.

This confirms evidently the above written ſeventh Point, and ſignifieth that the Churches which the Evangelicks were actually poſſeſſed of, ſhould remain for their uſe, together with the Revenues, Pariſhes, and Schools; the Bells and Burials remaining common for the uſe of both Parties.

XI. 'Nevertheleſs the Catholicks ſhall not be obliged to pay any thing to the Miniſters of the Evangelicks, nor the Evangelicks to the Curates of the Catholicks, according to the meaning of the 11*th* Article Ann. 1647.

This cannot be clearer, nor better Commented upon than by the confirmed 11*th* Article which runs thus: 'The Evangelicks ſhall not be obliged to pay any thing to the Catholick Curates, nor the Catholicks to the Evangelick Miniſters': And by the following 12*th* Article, yet more plainly in theſe words; 'But where the Evangelicks have no Pariſhes, let them pay the Miniſters that they employ, as the Catholicks are to pay their Catholick Curates; and where hitherto the Evangelicks did pay nothing to the Catholick Curates, they ſhall not be obliged hereafter to pay under any pretence whatſoever; Nor the Catholicks to the Evangelick Miniſters. Add to this the words of the aforeſaid 12*th* Article in the year 1647, concerning the Revenues and Penſions of the Schools; 'But in any place whatſoever the Catholick Curates, and the Evangelick Miniſters ſhall receive the Revenues of Schools, and Penſions from their reſpective followers; by which moſt evident conſtitution of the Articles, the Evangelicks are freed and diſcharged from paying any thing to the Catholick Curates; and to this poſitive Law we deſire to adhere.

Againſt the XI. *Every where in the Counties, the Commiſſioners have adjudged all the Payments to the Catholick Curates, and Ordered in the Cities that they ſhould be paid out of the common Purſe, wherein the Catholicks could contribute but little, they being but few in number in compariſon of the Evangelicks; thus they have forced us maugre our ſelves, to be at extraordinary Charges out of our own States, for the maintaining of our Miniſters and School-maſters, not only againſt the right intention of the aforeſaid Articles, but alſo againſt the plain Senſe of the Holy Scripture, which allows a Salary for ſuch as Labour, and even nothing to Eat for ſuch as Labour not: After the like manner the Official of the abovementioned Dominion of* Tokai *in Upper* Hungary, *do all their endeavours to make both Noble and Ignoble Evangelicks, pay without diſtinction the Chatholick Curates.*

XII. 'All the Peers and Noblemen that live in the Kingdom have Liberty to Build and Endow Oratories, and Chappels according to their reſpective profeſſion of Religion in their uſual places of Reſidence.

Hereupon we require, that Noblemen may have Oratories and Chappels according to their reſpective profeſſions of Religion in their uſual dwelling places, as the ſame was practiſed in many Counties after the taking of our Churches.

Againſt the XII. In many Counties, *viz.* in that of *Lypcz*, of *Turocz*, of *Zolnock*, of *Arva*, *&c. the ſaid Commiſſioners have ſuppreſſed and forbidden, under pain of Military Execution the exerciſe of Religion, which is granted to Noblemen in their places of Reſidence, and which they had enjoy'd long ſince the Churches were ſeized accordingly in the County of* Lypcze, *the Clergy Men have cauſed ſome ſuch Noblemen's Houſes to be aſſaulted, and plunder'd by the Garriſon of* Likavia, *and in the County of* Trenſchin, *the Noble Family of* Noſdroviſky *which did keep a Miniſter, for the Exerciſe of Religion in its place of Reſidence, has been much damnified alſo by the Soldiers of* Merſia's *Regiment, and the Miniſters put into the Priſon of the Fort of* Ledniche, *where he is kept to this day; likewiſe the Noblemen of* Hodoſſia, *of the places round about in the Iſle of* Shut, *have been deprived of the free exerciſe of Religion in their places of Reſidence, and the Miniſters that lived there then, have been Plunder'd of all their Goods, which Injuſtice the Evangelick Noblemen of Lower* Hungary *do alſo complain of.*

XIII. 'Hereafter no Churches, Schools and Pariſhes ſhall be ſeized, nor Exerciſe hinder'd on either ſide, under the pain expreſſed in the 8*th* Article of the 6*th* Decree of *Uladiſlaus*.

Would to God that this Concluſion were obſerved, and the Puniſhment hinted in the Article inflicted upon the Oppoſers thereof; then we might promiſe our ſelves to enjoy quietly, and undiſturbedly the free exerciſe of our Religion, and then the fewel of Diviſions would be extinguiſhed, and taken away for fear of being Puniſh'd, which, that it may be done is our Hearty Prayer and Deſire.

Now having lay'd before Your Sacred Majeſty the Articles of *Sopron*, and the Abuſes committed in the executing of them, it is as clear as the Sun, that we require nothing but what is granted in them; We humbly beſeech Your moſt Sacr'd Majeſty, through Chriſt's Precious Death and Glorious Reſurrection, that having known and laid up in Your Royal Heart our lawful Requeſts, Your Sacred Majeſty ſuffer no longer the ſame

1681. to be hinder'd by any Perſon whatſoever, but rather (ſince after ſo long time they have been Reported before Your moſt Sacred Majeſty, and before Your Privy Council, together with ſome Treatiſes of the appointed Commiſſion; Nay, being inform'd that a certain Point of the ſaid Treatiſes (that doth not concern us) has been examin'd by the Lords of the Privy Council; it makes us fear, leſt ſomething elſe be taken into conſideration, whereby an Anſwer to our Requeſts may be occaſion'd, and we yet longer detain'd here under the inconveniency of Doubt, of Delay, and of continuance of the vaſt Charges we have already been at) according to Your moſt Sacred Majeſty's Gracious Conſent (given to the moſt High Prince Preſident of the Court, and intimated to us by his Highneſs) to diſpatch firſt the Buſineſs of Religion, that Your Sacred Majeſty be graciouſly pleaſed to appoint and commit our Requeſts, which ſo narrowly concern the Salvation of our Souls, to be conſider'd again, and determin'd by the Lords of the Privy Council, ſo to Eſtabliſh us in the Liberty of Religion, to the Immortal Fame of Your Royal Government, after the Example of Your Glorious Predeceſſors; that being reliev'd We may ſpeedily Return to our Principals, and God will recompence this Imperial, Royal Favour with all ſort of Happines from above. 1681.

Deliver'd to His Sacred Majeſty at *Aix la Chapelle*, upon his going to *Vienna*, the 24*th* day of *April*, in the year 1689.

Your moſt Sacred Majeſty's moſt Humble and Faithful Subjects, the Deputies of the Evangelicks in the Counties, Cities, Towns and Frontiers of Upper and Lower *Hungary*, about the Buſineſs of their diſtreſſed Religion.

The Firſt Article of the Peace of Vienna *in the Year* 1606.

AS to the Buſineſs of Religion, notwithſtanding the former publick Conſtitutions, and the laſt Article of the Year 1604, (which was made without the Diet, and the conſent of the Subjects, and therefore is annulled,) it is granted, That (according to his Imperial Majeſty's former Reſolution, to which the Subjects refer themſelves in their replying) all and each State of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, as well the Peers and Noblemen, as the free Cities, and the Privileged Towns belonging immediately to the Crown, and all the *Hungarian* Soldiers in the Frontiers, ſhall any where, and at any time profeſs and exerciſe their Religion without any Diſturbance, either from His moſt Sacr'd Majeſty, or from any Perſon whatſoever; a free exerciſe of Religion being hereby granted to all the ſaid States of the Kingdom. Provided always, That the Roman Catholick Religion be not thereby prejudiced, That the Roman Catholick Clergy, Churches and Chappels remain free and unmoleſted, and that what has been taken from them in theſe Troubles be reſtor'd.

The Firſt Article made before the Coronation in the Year 1608. *concerning Religion.*

COncerning the firſt Article of the Treaty of *Vienna*, it is reſolv'd by the States and Orders of *Hungary*, that the Exerciſes of Religion ſhall be left free, not only to the Noblemen, and to the Inhabitants of the free Cities, but alſo to the *Hungarian* Soldiers in the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to all the Farmers and Peaſant that will freely accept the ſame; nor ſhall any of 'em be diſturbed in the free Exerciſe of Religion, but to prevent any effect of hatr'd and diſſenſion between Roman Catholicks and Proteſtants, It is Order'd, That each Party ſhall have a Superior, or Superintendant of his own Profeſſion.

Although this laſt firſt Article of the Year 1608, was renew'd in 77*th* Article of the Year 1618, inſerted in the General Conſtitutions of the Kingdom by Order of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Second, in the Year 1622, reſtor'd to his Force by the 22*d* Article of the Year 1625, by the 33*d* Article of the Year 1630, and by the 29*th* Article of the Year 1635, confirm'd in the 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14*th* Articles of the new Treaty of Peace made with *George Ragoczy*, Prince of *Tranſilvania* in the Year 1648; Ratifyed both in the aforenamed Articles of 1649, and in the 10*th* Article of the Year 1649, and in the 18*th* Article of the Year 1655 made at *Rakoczia*; and laſtly, confirm'd again and inſerted in the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, by Order of *Leopold* the preſent Emperor, in the Year 1659; yet notwithſtanding all theſe, the ſaid Article remains without Force, and the Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion is wholly exterminated againſt the Articles, and the publick Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, as well as againſt the Sacred Imperial Letters Patent.

1681. And yet all this contributed little towards a Peace, for the Reſults of this Diet concerned none but the good and quiet Men, and ſuch as were zealous for the Settlement and Peace of their Country: Whileſt *Tekeli* and others of that Spirit, whoſe Minds were poſſeſs'd with virulent Malice and Ambition, were plotting and contriving the means to ſet up their own Authority, and give themſelves into the Hands of the *Turks*, rather than to the Power of their Sovereign Prince, of whoſe natural Clemency thô they were well aſſur'd; yet they ſuſpected and fear'd his Councils, which being chiefly influenced and directed by Jeſuits, and the Spirit of the Clergy could never be reconciled in any tollerable manner to the Proteſtant profeſſion.

Tekeli *beſieges* Kalo.

Thus whileſt things were Negotiating in the Diet *Tekeli* beſieg'd *Kalo*, which ſurrendr'd at diſcretion with little or no reſiſtance; and Prince *Apaſi* joyning with ſome Parties of the Malecontents laid Seige to *Zatmar*, with an Army compoſed of *Tranſilvanians*, *Moldavians*, *Turks* and Malecontents of *Hungary*, all which acted in four ſeparate Bodies, being well provided with Cannon, and all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions; ſo ſoon as *Apaſi* had form'd his Siege, he put forth a Manifeſt or Declaration, which he cauſed to be privately ſtolen into the Town, and there diſpers'd, ſignifying, that out of Chriſtian piety, and compaſſion to the miſerable ſtate of that Kingdom, he had left his Country and Dwelling with no other intent, than only to cauſe their Churches to be reſtor'd to them, with a free Liberty of Conſcience and Exerciſe of Religion; and that their Eſtates which had been confiſcated for the ſake of their Religion, and defence of their Rights, and Privileges might be again reſtor'd to them:

Apafi's *Declaration.*

To which he added many Solemn Proteſtations, that he had no other end, nor intention than the welfare and happineſs of the Kingdom. Farther alſo he ſaid, that he had a power ſufficient for this Enterpriſe, being well ſeconded by the Grand Seignior, and acted by his Commiſſion, and that the Succeſſion to the Principality was promiſed unto his Son; to whom, beſides the Forces with him, he had left a Guard of 20.000 Men.

Apafi *inveſts* Zatmar.

Having made thus much known to the Inhabitants of *Zatmar*, he vigorouſly proceeded in the Siege, having received a Recruit of 8000 Men from the *Paſha* of *Buda*, being a Detachment from 40.000, which were Encamp'd before the place whereof he was Governour: And thô with theſe Forces the Town of *Zatmar* was taken; yet *Serini* who Commanded the place retiring into the Caſtle or Citadel, he ſo well defended the ſame, that *Apaſi* was forc'd to raiſe the Siege and march away; burning ſeveral Towns, and taking a Thouſand Priſoners in his Retreat. 1682.

The Siege raiſed.

The raiſing of this Siege was variouſly interpreted, and ſo ill taken by the *Turks*, that Complaints were made thereof againſt *Apaſi* at the Port. But it was no time now to make alterations, or diſturbances in *Tranſilvania*.

The Empreſs Crowned Queen of Hungary.

Towards the end of this year, the Emperor being deſirous to Crown the Empreſs at *Oedembourg*, ſent a Convoy of 500 *Huſſars*, 100 *Heyduks*, and 500 *Cuiraſſiers* to fetch the Crown of St. *Stephen* from the Caſtle of *Presburg*, where it is always lodg'd, which being brought thither the Empreſs was Crown'd Queen of *Hungary* with great Solemnity: And that this Ceremony might be performed with the more order and ſecurity, a Ceſſation of Arms was agreed with *Tekeli* for ſix Moths. And to make appear, how propitious this day of Coronation was like to be, Count *Caprara* fell on the Rear of *Apaſi*'s Forces, as they were retiring into their own Country, took all their Baggage, and entring into *Tranſilvania* burn'd five Caſtles and divers Villages; and thus ended the Campagne of this year.

ANNO, 1682.

With this year the Scene of War began to open, and the *Turks* to declare their Reſolutions bent all their Forces againſt *Hungary*. 1682. Nor would the Malecontents maintain the Truce made by *Tekeli*, or be reſtrain'd from committing many Acts of Hoſtility.

The Malecontents and Turks *intercept the Corn and Soldiers Cloths belonging to the Emperor's Army.*

For thô the Ceſſation of Arms was again confirm'd and renewed, yet in deſpight of this Treaty, and contrary to the Faith given, the Malecontents ſeiz'd on all the Grane, which the Emperor had bought on the Frontiers of *Poland*, as it was carrying to the ſeveral Stores and Granaries, where it was to be lodged: And about the ſame time the *Turks* took many Carts laden with Soldiers Coats, as they were carrying to the Imperial Army.

Tekeli *received at* Buda.

Howſoever, *Tekeli* pretended to keep and conſerve the Faith and Promiſes which he had given; and during that Vacation made a Journey to *Buda* with a Guard of 3000 Men, where he was received by the *Paſha* of that Place, at the Head of his *Janiſaries*, and conducted with great Magnificence and State to the Palace; where the *Paſha* took off *Tekeli*'s Cap, and placed on his Head another after the Turkiſh faſhion richly Embroider'd, and beſet with Precious Stones and *Herons* Feathers, which ſome call a *Diadem*; and ſay, that with that Ceremony he was by the *Turks*

1682. created King of *Hungary*. Howſoever it was ſo carried, that the Emperor underſtood it not in that manner, or at leaſt would not ſo interpret it; for at the ſame time he received a Meſſenger from *Tekeli*, who came to deſire his Majeſty's conſent, that he might take the Widow of Prince *Ragotski* to Wife; to which the Emperor readily aſſented, knowing that the Marriage would ſucceed in caſe he refuſed, and ſo making a Virtue of neceſſity, he hoped by ſuch a Gracious condeſcention, to regain the Heart of *Tekeli*, unleſs it were become obdurate beyond all poſſibility of being won, either by Generoſity or Compulſion. Having thus gain'd the Emperor's Aſſent, he ſpeedily made a Journey to *Mongatz*, where he conſummated the Marriage with the Princeſs with great Joy and Solemnity, and took Poſſeſſion of all the Towns, and Caſtles belonging to that Lady.

The Emperor aſſents to the Marriage of Tekeli *with the Princeſs* Ragotski.

Their Marriage.

She was bred up by her Mother in the Roman Catholick Religion, but her Huſband converted her, and made her a Proteſtant. During the Life of her Mother ſhe was reſtrain'd from this Marriage, but after her Death, ſhe became an admirer of
1682. *Tekeli's* Bravery, and yielded to the Ambition and Flatteries of being a Queen, which was whiſper'd to her by her Huſband; who told her, that the Cap which the Paſha of *Buda* had put upon his Head, was no other than a *Diadem* after the Cuſtom and Faſhion of the *Turks*. The Emperor, who was a Stranger to theſe Matters, believing that ſome uſe might be made of this Alliance, whereby to gain the Mind of *Tekeli*, employ'd Count *Serini* to his Siſter the Princeſs, to compaſs this Deſign; but ſo far was *Serini* from anſwering the expectations of his Imperial Majeſty, that he enter'd into the Combination and Conſpiracy with *Tekeli* himſelf.

1682. About the beginning of the Month of *July*, Count *Albert Caprara*, Brother of General *Caprara*, who reſided for the Emperor at *Conſtantinople*, adviſed, That at length he had been admitted unto Audience with the Grand Vizier, who declar'd, That he would neither continue the Truce longer, nor yet renew it, but on theſe following Conditions.

The Turks *offer Conditions ſhameful for the Emperor.*

That *Hungary* ſhould be reſtor'd unto the Condition, in which it was in the year 1655.

That the Kingdom ſhould pay the Annual Tribute of Fifty thouſand Florins every Year unto the Grand Seignior.

That the Fortifications of *Leopolſtadt*, and *Gratz* ſhould be demoliſhed.

That *Neutra*, *Schultz* and *Eckoſ*, with the Iſland of *Schultz* neer *Presburg*, and the Fortreſs of *Muran* be deliver'd, and ſurrendred up into the Hands of Count *Tekeli*.

That a General Pardon be given to the Malecontents, and that they be reſtor'd to their Goods and Eſtates, and to all their Privileges and Immunities, in ſuch manner as if none of theſe Wars or Diſturbances had happen'd. But theſe Conditions were ſo hard, and ſhameful to be impoſed on any but a conquer'd People, that it was adjudged by the Emperor's Council, that an honourable War, was much rather to be preferr'd, before ſuch an Ignominious and Scandalous Peace.

The time for the Ceſſation of Arms being expir'd, to which the Malecontents had yielded only to gain time, whileſt the *Turks* were preparing their formidable Army, *Tekeli* ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of *Zatmar*, and put all the Garriſon conſiſting of Eighty Men, to the Sword; and turning afterwards his Cannon on the City, it was Surrender'd to him at Diſcretion. Thence he Marched to *Caſſovia*, and laid Siege to it, and at the ſame time the *Tranſilvanians* and *Moldavians* joyning with the Paſha of *Buda*, laid Siege to *Filek*. Whileſt *Tekeli* lay before *Caſſovia*, he received a Recruit of Fourteen thouſand Men, which were ſupply'd to him by his Wife the Princeſs, out of thoſe Troops which were levied in her own Country; and the Paſha of *Agria* came with Four thouſand Horſe more to his aſſiſtance. The Town was notwithſtanding bravely defended for ſeveral days by Lieutenant Colonel *Lamb*; but being out of hopes of all Succours it Surrender'd at Diſcretion: Many of the Garriſon revolted to the Malecontents; but Four hundred of them endeavouring to Retire, and having given no intimation of a Mine, which afterwards was Sprang with great loſs and hurt of the Beſiegers, they were all put to the Sword: The Governour was made a Priſoner of War, and the Inhabitants to ſave themſelves from Pillage and Plunder, paid the Sum of 50.000 Crowns. The Inhabitants of *Eſperies* being affrighted at the misfortune of *Caſſovia*, Surrender'd it ſelf on Conditions without ſtriking one Stroak; the *German* Garriſon being Two hundred in all, were permitted to March out with their Baggage, and had a ſafe Conduct as far, as to the Frontiers of *Poland*, and from thence Licenſe to March into *Sileſia*, nor were the Prieſts and Roman Catholicks permitted to remain in the City. After which, *Tekeli* by advice of the Paſha of *Buda* demoliſhed the whole Town, not being obliged to maintain a Garriſon for it's defence. In the mean time the Paſha of *Waradin* laid Siege to *Filek*, and took it in deſpight

Succeſſes of Tekeli *at* Zatmar.

Caſſovia *and* Filek *beſieged and taken*

Eſperies *yields.*

And is demoliſhed.

1682. deſpight of *Strazoldo*, who left the Villages of the Mountains, and marched with Three thouſand Horſe and Four thouſand Foot for its Relief; as alſo to the ſame end, Count *Caprara* paſſed the River *Waagh* with Six thouſand Men, whileſt Count *Staremberg* defended the Paſſage with Four or Five thouſand Men, and the Palatine *Eſterhaſi* was coming on the other ſide with Six thouſand Men more; yet notwithſtanding the Art and Bravery of ſo many Generals, the Town was taken in their own Sight, as if they had only come with deſign to be Spectators of the Succeſs, and Victory of their Enemies. The *Hungarian* Souldiers, who were in the Garriſon took part with the *Turks*; but the *Germans* were made Priſoners of War, and all the Women and Children were carried away Captives, and the place it ſelf was razed and demoliſhed. *Leventz* and *Neutra* followed the like Example, and Surrender'd to the *Turks*; of all which Acts of Hoſtility, when Complaints were made by the Emperor to the Paſha of *Buda*, no other Anſwer was return'd, Than that thoſe Actions were not to be eſteemed as Breaches of the Truce, in regard they were only made in purſuit of Thieves and Robbers who had Infeſted the Countries, and took Refuge and Sanctuary in thoſe Cities.

1682. After theſe Succeſſes, *Tekeli* made Incurſions into the County of *Sepoſo*, where he Plunder'd and Burnt *Sobora* and *Saſtzin*, Towns belonging to Prince *Lubomiski* Great Marſhal of *Poland*; which was the Cauſe (as we ſhall afterwards underſtand) why Six thouſand Poliſh Horſe joyn'd themſelves to General *Schultz*, under the Command and Conduct of that Prince

ANNO 1683.

1683. ALL hopes and expectations of Peace being now laid aſide, the Vizier being advanced with his Troops as far as *Belgrade*, the Emperor notwithſtanding to leave nothing undone which might tend to a Peace, diſpatched *Saponara* to *Belgrade*, to Sollicite once more for more eaſy Conditions than what had been offer'd to Count *Albert Caprara* at *Conſtantinople*: But becauſe Matters were gone too far, to expect any fruit, or benefit from ſuch Negotiations; and becauſe it was not probable, but rather impoſſible that the Vizier, who would not accept of the Conditions offer'd him by the Emperor, before he removed from the Port, would now after a long March to *Belgrade*, and after he had raiſed all the Militia and Power of *Aſia*, and been at a vaſt expence in the Preparations of War; ſhould now condeſcend, or remit theſe Demands which had formerly been requir'd: Wherefore as I ſay, The Emperor expecting no farther benefit from a Treaty, than only to ſatisfy himſelf and the World, that he had done every thing in his Power, which might produce a Peace; he provided for War, and in the firſt place employ'd Count *Martinitzion* on an Embaſſie to the *Pope*, and other Princes of *Italy* to obtain from them Aid, and Succours both of Men and Money. 1683.

Saponara *ſent to* Belgrade.

1683.

Forces raiſed.

The Emperor's Forces towards the end of the laſt year, and at the beginning of this, conſiſted of 20.000 Men; to increaſe which, Orders were given to all Colonels, and Officers fully to Compleat their Regiments, and Troops againſt the end of *May*. Commiſſions were alſo given out to raiſe Six Regiments of Horſe, and one of Foot, beſides Four Regiments of *Croats*: And the Regiment of Prince *Charles* of *Loraine*, being fully recruited was divided into two Bodies: And to raiſe Money for maintenance of theſe new Levies, and for the War, the Hundreth Peny was laid on all Rents of Lands, and Revenue or Income from Offices, by which it was ſuppoſed, that a vaſt Sum might be raiſed: And moreover Four Millions were borrowed; for ſecurity of which a Mortgage was given to Count *Swartzemberg*, and other Miniſters upon the Demeſnes of the Dutchy of *Trinchin* and *Sileſia*. The Fortifications of *Vienna* were continued with greater diligence, and numbers of Men than formerly; and the Suburbs were order'd to be demoliſhed, and the Cellars to be filled up with Earth; thô the Inhabitants being deſirous to continue in their Dwellings, ſo long as was poſſible, deferr'd to abandon their Houſes, until ſuch time as they were aſſur'd of the certainty of a Siege intended.

1683. *Money raiſed.*

Vienna *fortified.*

Count Albert *Caprara recalled.*

The Emperor being by this time farther aſſur'd, that the *Turks* deſign'd nothing leſs than a Peace, having made all the Steps and Preparations neceſſary towards a War, diſpatched his Orders to Count *Albert Caprara*, to take his laſt Audience of leave, and ſo depart from the *Ottoman* Court: But that Licenſe would not be granted to him; it being the Cuſtom of the *Turks* in all their Wars, to carry the Perſon of the Ambaſſador of that Prince with them in their Camp, againſt whom they wage War, with intention to make uſe of his Service, in caſe the Succeſs of Affairs ſhould at any time incline them to a Treaty. The Baron of *Kaunitz* was ſent to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and Count *Windiſgratz* to the Princes of the Circles of Lower *Saxony* and *Weſtphalia*, moving them to enter into ſuch Meaſures and Councils

1683. cils with the Emperor, as might tend to the Conſervation of *Hungary*,

Germany *allarm'd by the* Turks.

All Chriſtendom now Allarum'd by the vaſt preparations of the *Turks*, whoſe Force appear'd ſufficient, not only to over-ſpread *Hungary*, but to over-run all *Germany* in one Summer; ſo that the Common ſafety ſeem'd now to be in danger: The Diet at *Ratisbon* was then Sitting, and Conſulting for the Common Welfare and Security, for which the Emperor was ſo much concern'd, that he reſolved once to have been preſent there in Perſon; but that his Deputies who reſided for him, gave his Imperial Majeſty ſuch aſſurances of the zeal, and care the Diet had for conſervation of the Empire; that were his Majeſty there in Perſon, nothing could be more done than what was reſolved, and then acting by that Diet.

Saponara *privately Treats with* Tekeli.

Count Walleſtain *ſent into* Poland.

His Negotiations there.

Saponara not being able to Prevail any thing upon the Vizier at *Belgrade*, was Order'd to try what he could work upon *Tekeli*, to draw him off from the *Turks*. In purſuance of which he went to *Mongatz*, where *Tekeli* lay Sick of a Fever, and being his antient Friend and Acquaintance, was ſome time during the intermiſſion of his Fits admitted into his Chamber, where in the Emperor's Name, he offer'd to him a Sovereignity over all thoſe Places of which he was Maſter in the Upper *Hungary*, with ſeveral other Demeſnes appertaining thereunto, and to hold the ſame on the very Conditions which were given to *Boſcai*, who raiſed Arms againſt the Emperor in the year 1605. Beſides which, ſuch Conferences paſſed, as are uſual with Sick Men, who are commonly relenting, and deſirous of God's Glory and the publick Peace: But when *Tekeli* grew better, and return'd to his perfect ſtate of Health, he then confeſſed plainly, that his Circumſtances were ſuch, and his Union with the *Turks* ſo Knit and Engaged, that it was impoſſible for him to ſeparate, or deſtricate himſelf from their Intereſt and Party. With which Anſwer *Saponara* being convinced, that nothing was to be done on this ſide, return'd to *Vienna* to give his Majeſty new aſſurances thereof. Wherefore now to proceed in the proviſions for a War, Alliances were to be cultivated; and in the firſt place, the Treaty with *Poland* was rather to be renewed than begun, for (as we have before mention'd) the *Poles* had preſſed the Ratification thereof with much earneſtneſs; but in regard the Emperor was entertain'd conſtantly with hopes and a proſpect of Peace, he deferr'd the Concluſion thereof for the laſt Reſerve, to help and conſerve him, after all other Negotiations proved vain and fruitleſs. Count *Walleſtain* was the Perſon appointed to perform, and compleat this great Work; and accordingly having received a Commiſſion, and Inſtructions for ſo great a Management, he made a Journey to *Warſaw* in *Poland*, where he found the Diet then Sitting, but embroil'd in a thouſand difficulties, and differences amongſt themſelves, (as is uſual in all ſuch great Councils and Aſſemblies,) repreſenting Aggrievances, and accuſing great Men. The buſineſs of the high Treaſurer of that Kingdom was then in Agitation, and his Accounts and Adminiſtration of that Office were under Examination; upon which many of the Nobility were ſo intent, that when Count *Walleſtain* arrived with Inſtructions, and Plenary Power from the Emperor, to conclude a League offenſive and defenſive with *Poland*; they oppoſed his admiſſion to Audience, until ſuch time as they had compoſed their own inteſtine Differences, and provided in the firſt place, for the ſafety of their own Kingdom: And ſo far had ſome angry and turbulent Spirits preſſed this Matter, that the Diet was in danger of being Diſſolved without any Concluſion, either in reference to their own Affairs, or League with the Empire. But the King, and principal Nobility joyning their endeavours with thoſe of Cardinal *Pio*, Nuntio of Pope *Innocent* the 11*th*, and of the Emperor's Ambaſſador, repreſented unto the Diet in General, the neceſſity of a ſpeedy Union againſt the Common Enemies; declaring the *Turks* and *Tartars*, were ready on the very Confines to over-run all *Poland*, *Hungary* and *Germany*: And becauſe, that notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid, there were ſtill certain Spirits unſatisfied; it was the care of the King, and of the others to deal with them in private, and conjure them to give no ſtop, but to concur with them in this important Negotiation: Thus whole Nights were ſpent in pacifying the Spirits of the Poliſh Nobility, who love to exert their Authority, and to have Applications and Addreſſes made to them; and at length they were ſo prevailed upon, that remitting the Affairs of the Grand Treaſurer, and of other Aggrievances to the conſideration of the next Diet; they reſolved to Treat on no other for the preſent, than what related to the making ſuch Confederacies, as tended to the ſecurity and ſafety of the Kingdom. And in regard the ſeveral Points, and Articles with *Moſcovy* were intricate, and requir'd time to debate; it was agreed, without deſcending to other particulars in that Treaty, to renew the Truce for three years longer, and during that time to enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive

1683. with the Emperor and King of *Poland*, againſt the Common Enemy of Chriſtendom. Thus with much Labour and Aſſiduity, the Providence of God aſſiſting the Chriſtian Councils, as he did afterwards their Arms; the League was concluded and ſign'd on the 18*th* of *April*, being the Day of the Feſtival of Chriſt's Reſurrection; with which the Diet was Diſſolved to the General ſatiſfaction of that whole Aſſembly: The News hereof which filled all Chriſtendom with an Univerſal Joy, was immediately diſpatched to *Vienna* by an Expreſs, who moving with the Wings of Meſſengers, who carry ſuch pleaſing Tydings, arrived in a very ſhort time at the Emperor's Court, to the unexpreſſible Joy of the whole Empire.

The League concluded between the Emperor and King of Poland.

1683.

The Chief Heads of the Treaty were theſe.

Firſt, *That the League Offenſive ſhall continue until ſuch time, as that the Emperor, and King of* Poland *ſhall make Peace with the Common Enemy, but that the Defenſive ſhall continue for ever.*

Secondly, *That this Alliance ſhall be ſworn unto by Cardinal* Pio *in behalf of the Emperor, and by Cardinal* Charles Barberini *at* Rome, *in the name and behalf of the King of* Poland.

Thirdly, *That the Emperor ſhall Renounce, and quit claim to all Debts and Sums of Money which were due to him from* Poland, *on occaſion of the Succours, and Aſſiſtances he gave unto that Kingdom, when it was Invaded by the* Swedes*: And that the great Seal whereby the Emperor is impowred to nominate, and make choiſe of a new King be Cancelled and Surrendred.*

Fourthly, *That no Peace be made with the* Turks *without the privity, conſent, and concurrence of both Parties; and that the Heirs and Succeſſours of them be equally obliged to maintain, and confirm the preſent League.*

Fifthly, *That this League be limited, and underſtood of a War againſt the* Turk *only, and not againſt any other Prince or Potentate whatſoever.*

Sixthly, *That during this War, the Emperor be obliged to maintain* 70.000 *Men in the Field; beſides* 20.000 *in Garriſon: And that the King of* Poland *ſhall conduct an Army of* 40.000 *Men, and March at the Head of them in Perſon.*

Seventhly, *That the Emperor ſhall act with the groſs of his Army in the Lower* Hungary *againſt the* Turk*; and with another Army in the Upper* Hungary, *conſiſting of Six thouſand* Germans, *and as many* Auxiliaries, *whoſe buſineſs ſhall chiefly be to ſubdue the Rebels, and recover the places which they have taken: And that the King of* Poland *ſhall endeavour to recover* Caminiec, *and other places unjuſtly uſurped by the* Turk *in* Podolia, Ucrania *and* Volhinia. 1683.

Eighthly, *That the Emperor ſhall lend unto the King of* Poland 300.000 *Dollars, and the payment thereof to be ſecur'd on the Tythes of that Kingdom, which the Pope hath lately granted to the King for carrying on this preſent War.*

Ninethly, *That in caſe other Chriſtian Kings, or Princes ſhall deſire to enter into this Alliance, their admiſſion thereinto ſhall be with the knowledge and approbation of both Crowns; and that the* Czars *of* Muſcovy *be particularly induced to joyn in this Alliance.*

On theſe Terms was this League concluded, ſo much the more to the comfort and ſatisfaction of all Chriſtendom, by how much it had been uncertain and doubtful before; in regard the Diviſions in the Diet it ſelf were grown ſo high, that it was believed no place could be allowed for the Debates of Foreign Matter, which did not immediately concern their own differences; and that the reſentment which the King of *Poland* conceived againſt the Emperor, for not cloſing with the Alliance formerly offer'd, and importunately urged, would have been invincible obſtacles againſt this Union, of which all the World deſpair'd: But God who directs all things to that end which he deſigns, had ſo temper'd and qualified the Animoſitis of the *Poles* one againſt the other, that to the Joy of all Chriſtendom, that neceſſary and happy Alliance was concluded.

The Grand Vizier (as we have ſaid) being arrived at *Belgrade*, where he attended the *Aſiatick* Troops, and with him Count *Albert Caprara* the Emperor's Reſident, (whom he reſerved according to antient Cuſtom in the Camp,) for an inſtrument to move and forward Treaties, in caſe any ſiniſter ſucceſs ſhould befal the *Ottoman* Forces: But this Vizier fearing nothing leſs than ill fortune, and repoſing a confidence in his Arm of Fleſh, which he thought impoſſible to be ſubdued, did eaſily and with ſome ſcorn comply with the inſtance which Count *Albert Caprara* made to him for Licence to return to his Maſter at *Vienna*: And in order thereunto he was committed to the care, and conduct of the *Bei* of *Alba Regalis*, who was then Marching with his Men towards thoſe parts. Howſoever, a ſtop was put to his departure for ſome few days, to the end, that he might be Spectator of the magnificent reception of Count *Tekeli* by the Vizier, which when he underſtood, he preſſed his departure with more earneſtneſs, that his Eyes might not be offended with the ſcandalous ſight of a 1683.

Count Capara *licenſed to return to* Vienna.

Rebel

He refuſes to behold the Reception of Tekeli, and others.

1683. Rebel promoted to Honour and Grandure, for Treaſon and Perfidiouſneſs to his Sovereign. And when he heard that he came accompanied with many of the *Hungarian* Nobility, who were Roman Catholicks, and particularly with the Count of *Homonai*, to the great ſcandal of the Goſpel, and the Chriſtian Profeſſion, he was ſo tranſported with Diſdain and Indignation, that he openly declared, in caſe the Vizier delayed to grant him Licenſe to depart, only becauſe he would give him the Mortification to behold an Object ſo ungrateful to his Eyes, that he would cloſe them rather, or ſhut himſelf up in ſome Retirement, where he might neither ſee or hear any of theſe Matters: Of which the Vizier having notice he gave him free liberty to depart, and accordingly he ſet forward on his Journey on the $\frac{12}{2}$ of *June*, in company with the *Bei* of *Alba Regalis*, who having attended *Caprara* as far at *Moatz*, he was thence recalled by the Vizier; and the *Bei* of *Albania* appointed in his place, with a Guard of about a Hundred Men, who continuing their Journeys from day to day, happily arrived at *Buda* on the 20th. of *June*, not without great danger of falling into the hands of *Tartars*, who not conſidering the Perſons, or Offices of Ambaſſadours, nor yet the Subjects of the Grand Seignior, whether *Chriſtians* or *Turks*, put all to Fire and Sword, which they could not carry with them, not regarding either Age or Sex, but miſerably deſtroyed all, whereſoever they could become Maſters.

Tho' C. *Albert Caprara* was well treated at *Buda*, as to his own Perſon, yet he was uneaſie and impatient of his ſtay in that City, fearing leſt the Barbarity of the *Turks*, upon any ill Succeſs, ſhould vent their Rage and Revenge upon him and his Attendants; but more ſenſibly was he affected with the daily ſight of poor Chriſtians enſlaved, and led before him in Chains; and with the news of the Surrender of diverſe Cities and Towns by *Tekeli* into the Poſſeſſion of the *Turks*, according to the Articles made between him and the Grand Seignior; and which were ſo to remain, until a total Conqueſt was made of all *Hungary*, and were afterwards to be reſtored again to *Tekeli* with the abſolute Sovereignty and Dominion of that Kingdom.
1683. But how uneaſie ſoever *C. Caprara* was in his aboad at *Buda*, he was conſtrained to continue there in regard to his own Safety, all the Ways and Paſſages being obſtructed by *Tartars* and Free-booters, who had no reſpect to any thing but themſelves and their own Prey and Benefit; ſo he remain'd there until the coming of the Vizier, and with him followed the Camp to the Siege of *Vienna*, from whence he was permitted to depart, and attend his Imperial Majeſty then at *Lintz*, as we ſhall declare hereafter. 1683.

Preparations for War.

But before we proceed farther, let us look back to the Preparations, and Fore-runners made in the Winter to the bloudy War, which was ſhortly to enſue. The *Turks* in the Month of *February*, entred into the Iſle of *Serino* in *Croatia*, and committed great Diſorders; in *Buda* vaſt ſtores were making of all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions for War, with ſuch Timber and Materials as were fit and proper for making Bridges: And in the mean time, *Tekeli*'s Forces beſieged or blocked up all the Emperor's Towns in the Upper *Hungary*: And yet for all this, *Tekeli* ſent to acquaint the Deputies of thoſe Counties, which remained firm and loyal to the Emperor, with the earneſt Paſſion he conceived to conſerve the Peace of his Country, which he ſhould certainly have done, had his Imperial Majeſty granted him any tollerable Conditions, and ſhould have given undoubted Teſtimonies to the World of his Loyalty and Obedience to his Sovereign, againſt whom he took not up Arms out of any Animoſity, but only to free his Country from Tyranny and Oppreſſion; and in this good Humour he gave liberty unto 200 *German* Priſoners, and to Count *Herberſtein* upon his Parole, and proteſted unto the Emperor, that he had diſpatched two of his principal Miniſters, namely *Fagon* and *Sirmai*, unto the Grand Seignior, to continue and prolong the Truce, and gave the ſame Aſſurances to the Diet, which he had convened at *Coſſovia*. In the mean time, the Imperial Troops being ill paid, daily deſerted the Service, and revolted to the Malecontents, with whom they hoped to improve and better their Condition.

Tekeli's Proteſtations.

Toward the end of this Month, the *Turks*, by a Detachment out of the Garriſon of *Newhauſel*, made an attempt to paſs over the Ice to the Iſle of *Schults*, under command of an *Hungarian* Renegade; but the Ice breaking, many of them were drowned.

The Emperor's Camp.

In the Month of *March* the *Turks* placed a Guard of 15000 Men to defend the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, from being burnt by the Chriſtians: And the Emperor on his ſide cauſed his Troops, which were quartered near the *Rhine*, to march towards *Hungary*, as alſo the Regiment of Count *Taaf* then in *Bohemia*; and all the other Troops were ordered to draw towards *Presburg*; and were near thereunto encamped in the Plain of *Kitzee* by Count *Rabata*, that the Emperor might there make a Review of all his Forces, deſigned that Year againſt the *Turk*.

1683.

He takes a review of all his Army.

On the 7th. of *May*, the Emperor entered into the Field, attended on the Right-hand by the Duke of *Bavaria*, and on the Left by P. *Charles* of *Loraine*, and followed by a numerous train of Nobles and principal Miniſters: The Army was all ranged in Batalia, at the front of which, was Count *Staremberg*, General of the Artillery, with 72 great Pieces of Canon, and 15 Mortar-pieces for throwing Bombs, all guarded by the Gunners, and Attendants on the Train of Artillery. The main Body of the Army was compoſed of 14 Regiments; namely, *Staremberg*, *Mansfelt*, *Diepenthal*, *Baden*, *Grana*, *Straſoldo*, *Souches*, *Heiſſer*, *Bech*, *Wallis*, *Schaffemberg*, *Newberg*, *Thime*, and *Wirtemberg*: The which Body was flanked on each ſide with a Regiment of Cuiraſſiers, and 12 Regiments of Horſe; namely, *Rabata*, *Gondola*, *Halleweil*, *Palſi*, *Dunevalt*, *Caprara*, *Montecuculi*, *Saxolunemburg*, *Taaff*, *Goz*, *Dupigny*, and *Mercy*, with 3 of Dragoons, *Stirum*, *Caſtelli*, and *Herbeville*, and 4 Companies of Croats commanded by *Riccardi*; all of them well armed, and mounted, and moſt of them ſelect and veterane Soldiers: To theſe were adjoined a Body of *Hungarians* and *Huſſars*, being Horſe and Foot, under the Command of Count *Heſterhaſi*, Palatine of that Kingdom, to the number of about eight Thouſand with 14 Pieces of Cannon; about a Thouſand whereof were armed with long Lances, the number of all which, as ſome Authors report, amounted unto 70 .740; thô as yet the Forces of *Alſatia*, with thoſe of the Circles of the *Rhine*, were not come up; but others perhaps with more reaſon make this whole Force to conſiſt of no more than forty three Thouſand Men in all, beſides ſix Thouſand *Poliſh* Horſe, which the Emperor had hired with his own Mony, under the Command of Prince *Lubomiski*, to which were adjoyned great numbers of Gentlemen, and younger Brothers, who came to adventure and make their Fortunes in this War.

The number of the Forces.

Duke of Loraine *feaſts the Court.*

After the Emperor had heard Maſs, which was celebrated by the Arch-biſhop of *Strigonium*, and ſang with Muſick, the Arch-biſhop read with a loud Voice the Bull of Indulgence, which the Pope had given unto all thoſe who ſhould fight the Chriſtian Battles againſt Turks and Infidels; after which, he gave his Benediction to the Emperor, and the Nobility, and to all the Army, who received it with much Humility, and Devotion on their Knees; which Ceremony being ended, the Emperor took a View of the whole Army, greatly to his ſatisfaction: After which he was conducted to a magnificent Tent, raiſed on the Banks of the *Danube*, where he was ſplendidly treated by the Duke of *Loraine*, together with the Empreſs, the Arch-ducheſs, the Elector of *Bavaria*, the Prince of *Newbourg*, (Coadjutor of the Grand Maſter of the *Tutonick* Order) the Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, and the Duke of *Saxelawemburg*. After which magnificent Entertainment, the Emperor and the Court returned that Night unto *Presburg*. Such being the force of the Emperor's Army; let us alſo take a View of the formidable numbers of the Turks, which were ſufficient, like Locuſts, to over-ſpread the face of all *Hungary*. But firſt we ſhall obſerve the Motions of the Emperor's Army, which being now in it's Vigour and Strength, and encouraged with fifty Thouſand Florins, which his Imperial Majeſty was pleaſed as a Donative to diſtribute amongſt the Soldiers; it was agreed by the Generals of the Army, for the Reputation of their Forces, that ſome Enterpriſe ſhould be undertaken, before the Grand Vizier, with the groſs of his Army, was advanced farther, which according to their Conjectures, was believed could not be in leſs than in the time of two Months. The Places nominated for to be attack'd, were *Gran* and *Newhauſel*; the firſt ſeemed the moſt eaſie in reſpect to the weakneſs of the Fortifications; but Advices being come that the *Turks* were forming a Camp of 40 .000 Men near *Buda*, whereby the Imperialiſts might be cut off from all Communication with *Comorra*; it was reſolved to change the Deſign, and to march towards *Newhauſel*. Accordingly the Troops were commanded to march, and on the ſecond of *June*, ſome Battalions of the firſt Brigade poſted themſelves near the *Neker*, about Cannon-ſhot diſtant from the Town; in two or three days afterwards the whole Army being come up, they too poſſeſſed themſelves of the Suburbs, and of a Palanca, which covered the Gate towards *Buda* ſide, and lodged within a Hundred Paces of the Ditch; and on the 6th. and 7th. of this Month the whole Town was ſurrounded, and the Platforms raiſed to receive the Cannon for Batteries, and all things put into a condition of a formal Siege. But whilſt Matters were carrying on in this poſture, the Duke of *Loraine* received Orders from the Court at *Vienna* to deſiſt from that Enterpriſe, for that the *Turks* were far advanced into *Stiria*, and the Grand Vizier, with a vaſt Power of the *Ottoman* Force, as far as *Eſſeck*: Hereupon a Council of War being called, and the Orders communicated to them, the Siege which was laid the 3d. of *June*, was raiſed on the 10th, and the Army marched towards *Raab* and *Comorra*, to reinforce thoſe Garriſons, and from thence to obſerve the Motions of the Enemy. Many were the Reflections on the Enterpriſe of

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1683.

Newhauſel *beſieged.*

New-

1683. *Newhauſel*; it ſeeming ſtrange, that ſo wiſe a Captain as the Duke of *Loraine*, ſhould commence ſo difficult an Enterpriſe at the beginning of a moſt perilous War, in which it was hardly poſſible for him to ſucceed, there being at the ſame time an Army of 40 .000 *Turks* encamped under the Walls of *Buda*, which was not many days March diſtant from *Newhauſel*; and the Groſs of the Turkiſh Power,not inferiour to the greateſt of their Armies, (of which Hiſtories recount ſuch prodigious numbers) were then marching under the command of the Grand Vizier, between *Eſſeck* and *Alba Regalis*, or *Stultweſſemburg*. But we ought not to impute any thing to the ill Conduct of ſo great a General, whoſe Succeſſes having crowned all his Actions; nothing can ſeem Raſh or void of Council, where Fortune hath always led him by the hand, and made him Victorious, as we ſhall (God willing) make appear in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

The Grand Seignior at Belgrade.

1683. But before we proceed farther, we muſt add what before was omitted, that about the beginning of *April*, the Grand Seignior being deſirous to ſhow himſelf in his Army, began to move towards *Belgrade*, where he arrived with his beloved *Soltana*, (who would not leave his Company) and with a ſplendid Court, on the 2d. of *June*. The groſſeſt part of the Army being by this time come to that place appointed for the general Rendezvous, the Grand Vizier, was willing to give the Grand Seignior a Survey of all his Forces, to let him ſee how he had employed his Treaſure, and with what hopes of being repaid with Kingdoms, and with Spoils of the richeſt Dominions in *Chriſtendom*: And ſo the Grand Seignior being placed in a high Scaffold erected for that purpoſe, all the Soldiers in their ſeveral Ranks and Degrees, according to their Countries and Nations, paſſed in their ſeveral Orders before him. And in the firſt place,

Numbers of the Turkiſh Army.

The Forces of *Meſopotamia* all on Horſeback,	*Numb.* 13000
Thoſe of *Aſſyria* and *Babilon*, as far as *Balſora*,	14000
Other *Aſiatick* Troops, comprehending the Provinces	
Of *Sias*, *Amaſia*, *Maras*, *Buſſia*, &c.	30000
The Militia of *Judea*, *Egypt*, &c.	18000
The Militia of *Caramania*,	8000
Turks out of the parts of *Greece*,	16000
The Militia of *Armenia*; *Capadocia*, &c.	24000
The remaining *Aſiatick* Troops were from *Georgia*, and the conquered Countries thereabouts, all which were the Forces out of *Aſia*, and Horſe,	28000
After theſe marched the Janiſaries of *Europe*,	12000
Next followed the *Tartars*, ill Armed and worſe Clothed,	14000
Laſt of all marched the moſt flouriſhing part of the *Turkiſh* Army, conſiſting of the Sons and Servants of *Paſhas*; alſo of the richeſt Spahees, and other young Men, all richly cloathed and armed,	35000
Pioniers and others with Shovels, Spades, &c.	12000
Gunners, and other Attendants on the Train of Artillery,	13000
Attendants on the Waggons of Ammunition and Proviſion,	14000
Other Attendants on the Tents and Baggage,	13000
All which formidable Forces amounted unto,	264000

According to a Calculation made by ſeveral *Italian* Writers; but as to my own Opinion, I cannot believe that *Aſia* could furniſh half thoſe numbers, and therefore do rather follow the Computation of the *Aſiaticks*, according to this Account:

Muſtapha Paſha, Grand Vizier,	15000
Emir Paſha of *Adana*,	500
Huſaein Baſha of *Bolu*,	330
Kara Mahomet Paſha of *Diarbeker*,	1500
Muſtapha Paſha of *Siliſtria*,	1080
Halil Paſha of *Sivas*,	530
Ahmet Paſha of *Maras*,	710
Huſaein Paſha of *Aleppo*,	950
Oſman Paſha a Sangiac under him,	510
Huſaein Paſha of *Damaſcus*,	2300
Haſſan Paſha of *Armit*,	500
Bei of *Gran Cairo*,	3000
Baſha of *Tokai* on the Borders of *Perſia*,	340
Bekir Paſha,	500
	27750

This Computation may very well agree with the Forces of the firſt Year's Expedition out of *Aſia*; to which being adjoyned the ſeveral Chambers of Janiſaries, with all the *European* Forces both Horſe and Foot, as alſo the *Tartars*, *Tranſilvanians*, *Moldavians* and *Valachians*, with the *Hungarian* Rebels; we may without Romance account the *Ottoman* Force to conſiſt of a Hundred eighty Thouſand effective fighting Men, beſides Miners, Pioniers, Sutlers, Gunners, Attendants on the Train of Artillery, Attendants and Servants belonging to the Tents, with a vaſt number of Raſcals, and Rabble following the Camp, which may very well be Calculated to amount unto at leaſt 40 .000 more: For the *Turks* above any Nation in the World have their Camp peſtered

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with the Incumbrances of Baggage; ſo that if we conſider this vaſt number of 220.000 Men, it will not ſeem incredible what we find reported, that they ſpread the Country eight Leagues in length.

The Report of this formidable, and as to human Appearance, invincible Army, cauſed the Duke of *Loraine* to haſten with all ſpeed poſſible the Fortifications of *Raab*, which he deſigned to enlarge on ſome riſing Grounds near to the Town, and to defend them with the whole Body of the Army; or at leaſt by the Infantry, which having a Communication with the Garriſon, might be able to oppoſe that great force of the Enemy, and weary them out by a lingring Siege in a Country, which was already become deſolate, and without Forage for above twenty Miles round.

The Grand Vizier at Alba Regalis.

But the Duke of *Loraine* having received Intelligence, that the Grand Vizier on the 1ſt of *July* was entred into *Alba Regalis*, and certainly reſolved to Beſiege *Vienna*, and to ſtop at no other place on their March thither; He then changed his Meaſures, and having reinforced *Raab*, with the three Regiments of *Baden*, *Grana* and *Souches*, and given the command of the Place to Colonel *Wallis*; and having alſo reinforced *Comorra* and other Places with ſtrong Garriſons, his whole Field-Army became reduced unto 24.000 Men only: And fearing leſt with ſo ſmall a number, he ſhould be ſurrounded by the multitudes of the Enemy, he once reſolved to encamp himſelf under the Cannon of *Vienna*.

He publiſhes a Manifeſt.

In the mean time *Tekeli* having made a Viſit to the Grand Vizier in his Camp at *Alba Regalis*, perſwaded him to publiſh a Manifeſt, ſignifying unto the People, That the Grand Seignior did take under his Protection all the *Hungarians*, who ſhould joyn themſelves to the Male-contented Party, and that he would maintain them in their Priviledges, Liberties, Eſtates, Laws, and Religion: And that ſuch, who refuſed to accept this gracious Offer, were to expect no Quarter, but to be puniſhed with Fire and Sword. This Manifeſt being divulged by *Tekeli* at his return from the Vizier to *Caſſovia*, ſo operated on many of the *Hungarians*, that the Towns of *Papa*, *Tot* and *Veſprin* accepted of the ſame, and opened their Gate to *Tekeli* and his Party: And ſuch was the Conſternation of all *Hungary*, that many other Counties and Towns, declared to the Emperor's Commiſſioners, that they would open their Gates to *Tekeli* at the firſt Summons, rather than expoſe themſelves to Fire and Sword, where was no hopes or expectations of Relief. This Declaration of the People, giving the Emperor juſt cauſe to fear, leſt *Neutra* and the Mountain Towns ſhould follow the ſame Example, Orders were given to Count *Schultz*, Governour of *Neutra*, to demoliſh that Fortreſs, and bring the groſs Cannon, with all the Ammunition from thence; and the like Command was given to the Officers of the Mountain Towns, where the Mines of Silver were, it being impoſſible to relieve them, becauſe *Tekeli* was Maſter of all the Paſſes which led thither; which Orders were readily obeyed by the Officers, Prieſts and Religious Men, who fled to the Camp of General *Schultz* on the Banks of the River *Waagh*: Where *Schultz* having joyned with the ſix Thouſand *Poliſh* Horſe, under the Command of Prince *Lubomiski*, he had the fortune to meet a Party of the Malecontents joyned with ſome *Tartars*, and to give them a total Defeat, killing and taking two Thouſand of them, with ſeveral Colours, and all their Baggage.

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Neutra *demoliſhed.*

In the mean time, whilſt the Duke of *Loraine* was in this dubious Condition, not knowing what courſe was beſt to be taken, he reſolved once to retire under the Cannon of *Vienna*, and there to govern himſelf according to the Motion of the Enemy; but the *Turks* came on ſo faſt, their Van appearing on the Banks of the River *Raab*, followed by the whole Body of their Army Marching in Batalia, that there was no time for any thing but a Precipitous Flight; nothing was now to be put to a hazard, for the leaſt Defeat might cauſe the abſolute loſs of *Vienna*, and open the Enemies way into the Hereditary Counties. In this exigency, all the Foot was Tranſported over into the Iſland of *Schultz*, under the Command of the Count *de Zely*; and all the Horſe being about Nine thouſand five hundred in number, Marched away about Midnight, and pitched their Camp near to *Altembourg*. The Infantry being in the Iſle of *Schultz*, Marched without danger of the Enemy, and were in the way either to Communicate with *Raab*, or to give Succour to *Vienna*, according as they ſaw the Enemy bend their Courſe, for they were in a Condition to move faſter than the multitudes, and groſs Bodies of the *Turks*. In a few Days it appear'd, that the *Turks* aimed at the Capital City of *Vienna*, and to leave all the other Fortreſſes behind them, as being places which would fall of themſelves, and follow the Fate of the Imperial Court. The News of all which being carried from the Duke of *Loraine* by Count *Caprara* to the Emperor; and alſo, that the Baggage of the Duke of *Saxelawenburg*, of Prince *Lewis de Baden*, and of the Counts *Caprara*, and *Montecuculi* were all taken by the *Turks*, and their Convoy defeated; and that the

The Chriſtian Infantry in the Iſle of Schultz.

The great conſternation at Vienna.

The Emperor and Court remove to Lintz.

1683. Horſe in great diſorder had abandoned the Infantry, and left them to ſhift for themſelves in the Iſle of *Schultz*, and were Marching with great Diſorder to *Vienna*: No ſooner was this Intelligence arrived, than the *Tartars* appear'd at the ſame time within two Leagues of the City, and ſet Fire to all the Villages round about, the Smoak of which aſcending upwards, gave viſible demonſtrations of the truth of theſe Reports, and put all the Court and City into a diſtracted Conſternation. The Emperor after the coming of this News, made no delay to depart away with the Empreſs, the Arch-Ducheſs, and all the Court for *Lintz*: There was now no time to ſpare; and Fear added Wings as well to the Poor as to the Rich; the great Perſonages whoſe Offices obliged them to an attendance on the Court, were to be excuſed from remaining behind in Defence of the City, the Duty they owed their Maſter diſengaging them from ſhowing their Bravery in the Face of the Enemy: And indeed ſuch were the Preparations of all ſorts of People to haſten out of the Town, as if none had intended to ſtay in Defence of it: The Court which at other times would have requir'd at leaſt fifteen Days preparations for ſuch a removal, was now confined to five or ſix Hours; ſo that without a larger Deſcription of this Affrightment, we may imagin and figure to our ſelves, the Confuſion there was in *Vienna* upon this Departure. Every Man before he could leave his Home, had ſomething or other to order and diſpatch; for which Reaſon the Emperor at Night had very few, or none to ſerve and attend him; and what will be thought moſt ſtrange in times hereafter, he had no Guard, or Convoy to Defend his Perſon, through the many Perils and Hazards he was to paſs, it being neceſſary to leave all the Soldiery behind for Defence of the City. We may then conceive with what Terrour this ſad and trembling Court did travel, being continually allarum'd by reports of *Tartars*, who had Plunder'd and Pillaged, and Burnt all the Parts round, the terrible Marks of which appear'd in the Night, and ſerved by the Flames to direct them in their way: And had not the Providence of God, carried that rude and barbarous Nation into Parts more Remote, the Emperor and all his Court, with the Ladies, and Chief Nobility had fallen as a Prey into their rapacious Hands: But God having diverted ſo great a miſchief and ſhame to all Chriſtendom, the Imperial Court arrived at *Lintz*, more terrify'd with the continual Allarums, then tyred with the Journey; the Attendants followed the Court ſo faſt as they were able, as did the Women, Citizens, and thoſe who were not Men of the Sword; 1683. the ways were filled with Coaches, Carts, Waggons and Horſes, the preſent trembling condition adminiſtred unto the flying Multitude, matter of diſcourſe, ſo that as they journied along their Talk was concerning the ill management of the publick Affairs, which were reduced to that unhappy State by the evil Councils of the Jeſuits, who had too great an Intereſt, and prevailing Power in the Cabinet of the Emperor: Had it not been for them, ſaid they, and for the Clergy, the Proteſtants had not been diveſted of their Churches, nor deprived of their Liberties and Properties, whereby they were provoked to take up Arms againſt the Emperor: Nay, how often was the Imperial Clemency well inclined to grant Pardon, and Terms of Peace to *Tekeli*, and his Malecontented Subjects; which would have diverted this Storm from the *Turks*, which now purſues us, but that the governing power of the Clergy ſtill cheriſhed, and fomented the Differences, until they had brought them to this ultimate precipice of our Deſtruction? Some there were, who being well diſpoſed towards the *French* Faction, blamed the Councils of the Emperor, for not accepting the Propoſitions of *France* made for relief of the Empire: For thô ſuch a remedy might be dangerous, yet it could not be worſe than the Diſeaſe, nor nothing ſo bad as the preſent impending Evil; it were better to put our ſelves into the Hands of the *French*, than into the power of *Turks* and *Infidels*.

The Court continued not long at *Lintz*; for ſo ſoon as Intelligence came that *Vienna* was Beſieged, the Emperor removed to *Paſſau*, which is a City about 30 or 40 Miles farther into *Germany*; and was a Biſhoprick, which with *Straſbourg* was once in the Hands of the Arch Duke *Leopold William*. Two days after the departure of the Emperor from *Vienna*, the Confuſion ſtill continued day and night, cauſed by Carts and Horſes, employ'd to carry away the Goods and Houſholdſtuff of thoſe who as uſeleſs Perſons were permitted to remove out of the City.

Good Orders and Rules eſtabliſhed.

At length, upon arrival of the Duke of *Loraine* the Confuſion ceaſed, and the Inhabitants and Soldiers affrightned before by the timorous multitude which were fled, began to return again into their Wits, and become capable to receive Orders, and ſolid Councils for the better defence of their City, Eſtates and Lives. The Courage and good Conduct which appear'd in the Generals, operated the like effect in the Minds of the Soldiery, who now with undaunted Reſolution attended the approach

of

1683. of the Enemy, who had in their March received a Repulſe before the Fortreſs of *Raab*, which gave no little encouragement to the Garriſon. The ſame day that the Duke of *Loraine* and Count *Staremberg* enter'd into *Vienna*, being the 13*th* of *July*, 1683. the Infantry which were before paſſed over into the Iſland of *Schultz*, were come up to the reſt of the Army: The firſt thing ordered by theſe Commanders was, to repair the Paliſadoes, and finiſh ſome Works as well as could be poſſible in ſo ſhort a warning; and the Inhabitants of the Suburbs being retired within the Town, were willingly employ'd with their own Hands, to ſet Fire to their own Dwellings, to deveſt the Enemy of all Succour, or Shelter therein.

The Forces put into Vienna.

The ſame Night the Duke of *Loraine* cauſed all the Foot, excepting only eight Batalions, which he reſerved to defend his Camp, to enter into the Counterſcarp of the Town; and in two Nights after being the 14*th* and 15*th*, the Powder and Bullet, which was expected from *Lintz* were brought in, and lodged in the Arſenal of the City. After which the other eight Batalions were alſo brought into the Town, which with thoſe in the Counterſcarp made Twelve thouſand Men. But for better underſtanding the State and Condition of the Garriſon, we have here ſet down the particulars of all the Forces therein, that thoſe worthy Perſons, who have ſo ſignalized themſelves by their Bravery in this Famous Siege, may not be forgotten in future Ages.

The number of the Forces brought into Vienna.

Count Staremberg *Governour.*

Regiments of

Staremberg Commanded by *Geo. Maurice* of *Ketlin*.	2000 Men.
Half of *Keiſerſtin's* Regiment under *Wolfargſchenek*,	1000
Mansfeld Commanded by *C. Alex. Leſly*,	2000
Souches by *Charles Lewis* Colonel of *Souches*, Son of the Famous General *Radwight*,	2000
Schaffemberg, and *Bercks* two Regiments,	4000
Seven Companies of *Newbourg*,	1200
Half of *Heiſter's* Regiment, under Baron *Heiſter*,	1000
The other half of this Regiment was ſent to *Lintz*, for Guard of the Emperor's Perſon.	
Five Companies of *Dimik*, an antient Commander,	0600
Dupignis Regiment of Horſe,	0600
Three Companies of the Garriſon belonging to the City,	1200

1683. Theſe Regiments when full amounted in all unto 15600 Men; but ſo many of them had been Killed and waſted with Sickneſs, that ſcarce Ten thouſand of them enter'd into *Vienna*; to which being added the Trained-Bands of the City, conſiſting of 2717, the whole Garriſon might be well computed with Volontiers, and Officers at near 13000 Men.

The Chief Officers were.

Count *Staremberg* Governor, Count *Daun*, Lieutenant Governor, Marquis *Ferdinand Obizzi* Major, *John* Count *Serini* Aſſiſtant to the Count *Daun*; The Counts *Souches* and *Schaffemberg* Aſſiſtants to the Lieutenant Governour and Major.

Volontiers were

Count *Trotmandorf*, who had been a Colonel many years in *Flanders*, Count *Five-Kerk* Captain of the Provincial Circle of *Auſtria*, the Count of *Salzbourg*, who was Colonel of a Regiment of *Croats*, but being come to *Vienna* to be Cur'd of a Diſſentery, which he had got in the Army, and the Siege happening before his perfect Recovery, he offer'd to ſerve in nature of a Volontier. The Baron of *Kilmenſec* Great Foreſter to the Emperor, defended the *Court-baſtian* for three days with eighty of his Foreſters, who being excellent Marks-Men, and uſed to their Guns, which they charged with an exact proportion of Powder and Bullet, did great Execution upon the *Turks*, ſeldom miſſing their Shot, and the Baron himſelf killed a *Turk* at 300 paces diſtant; who was afterwards known to have been one of the *Turks* principal Canoniers. The Count *Vignacourt* a *French* Gentleman, formerly employed by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in quality of an Ambaſſador to *Ferdinand* the Third, Father of the preſent Emperor, and to other Princes of *Germany*, was, an other of the Volontiers: As were alſo the Count *de* St. *Micaele* a *Venetian*, *Erneſt Sigiſmund de Zeternz*, of an antient Family in *Sileſia*, *Cornelius Rummingken*, a Perſon of Sixty two years of Age, and tho' much afflicted with the Gout, yet being an experienced Soldier, his Councils were more available to the Governour than his Bodily Services. And laſtly, There was *Sigiſmond de Reitoffar* a Gentleman of *Moravia*, who had formerly been a Major General, who ſhewed himſelf at all times daring, and active in the Execution of ſuch Orders, as he received from Count *Staremberg* the Governour.

This was all the Force which was lodged in *Vienna*, to defend it againſt that Formidable

1683.

midable Army, then ready to encompaſs it on all ſides: But whom God will ſave are always well protected, and then there never want Proviſions nor Councils, nor Courage in the Soldiery.

The Biſhop of New-ſtadt's *Treaſure.*

The Count of *Kollonitz*, who was Treaſuerer of *Hungary*, did moſt ſeaſonably furniſh the Biſhop of *Newſtadt*, with Five hundred thouſand Florins for ſupply of the Garriſon during the Siege, with Three thouſand Meaſures of Wine; which this Biſhop, who was a Knight of the Great Croſs of *Malta*, and had been in the Siege of *Candia*, did with good mannagement lay up in ſeveral Cellars in the Town, and diſtributed to the Soldiers in time of the Siege; as alſo the Money, which was paid out with ſuch order, and on ſuch occaſions, as were requiſite and neceſſary, to appeaſe all complaints which might ariſe for want thereof. But above all, care was taken to eſtabliſh a Council in the Town during the Siege: The Perſons thereunto nominated and appointed were,

The Council appointed for Government of Vienna.

Count *de Capliers* Counſellor of State, and General of the Ordnance; Count *de Molard*, Grand Marſhal of *Auſtria*, Baron *de Belchamp*, Councellor of the Emperor's Houſhold, and the Chancellor *Hoffman*. The Governours under Count *Staremberg* were the Counts of *Thun* and *Serini*; and after them *Souches* and *Schaffemberg*, Baron *de Beck*, the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, and Baron *Heiſter*, who were all Colonels of Regiments which ſerved in *Vienna*.

1683.

The firſt appearance of the Turks.

By this time being the $\frac{14}{4}$ of *July*, the Duke of *Loraine* having given all the neceſſary Orders for conſervation of the City; the *Turks* began to deſcend by the Hill of St. *Mark* with their Horſes, Waggons and Camels laden with Baggage, ranging themſelves in form of a Creſcent or Half-moon round the Town: Upon appearance whereof, and the News of the near approach of the Great Vizier; the Duke of *Loraine* on the 15*th* at night drew off all his Horſe, and Dragoons, to the other ſide of the Bridges, and there Encamped: He had once entertained ſome Thoughts of conſerving a part of the Foot in his Camp; but conſidering the great Force of the Enemy ready to ſurround the City, the largeneſs of the Works which were to be maintained, the diſtance of the Forces which were deſigned for its Relief, and the daily decay, and diminution of Soldiers in a long Siege; were ſufficient inducements to this Wiſe Commander, to ſupply the City with all the Infantry without any reſerve unto himſelf. Howſoever, he had once ſome Thoughts of poſting ſome of his Cavalry in the *Tabor*, to keep a Communication with the Town; but upon a true ſurvey thereof, the Water was found to be Shallow in many places, and Fordable that Man and Horſe could March into it in Rank and File, ſo that the Water being of no ſecurity to a Camp, the place was deſerted: The *Tabor* is an Iſland in the *Danube*, of about a Mile and half in length, planted with Trees and Orchards, and full of Gardens, Fountains and Houſes of Pleaſure.

The Tabor.

The Duke of Loraine *puts all his Foot into* Vienna.

The *Tabor* being judged no place for the Cavalry to Lodge in; the Duke of *Loraine* paſſed the *Danube*, leaving the Bridges to be defended by the Dragoons of General *Schultz*. By this time the Van-guard of the *Turks* were advanced, and great numbers of Tents pitched round the City: And the Vizier with the Groſs of the Army was Marching to the Siege, having left the Paſha of *Buda* with Twelve thouſand Men to block up *Raab*, where he remained until ſuch time as he was Relieved by *Apaſi* Prince of *Tranſilvania*, with ſome of *Tekeli*'s Forces, and then he proceeded to the Siege of *Vienna*. On the 16*th* the Vizier enter'd the Camp, highly raiſed, and puffed up with aſſurances of finding the Gates of *Vienna* opened unto him, or at leaſt to run over the Walls without much Oppoſition. His numerous Force gave him a confidence of Succeſs, and his natural Pride ſuggeſted to him an Impoſſibility of being Overcome: The Country People nouriſhed this Opinion in him by Reports, that all the Chriſtian Infantry were ſhut up in the Iſle of *Schultz*; that there was no force in the City, and the diſorder and Confuſion ſo great therein, that upon the firſt Summons they would open their Gates: Nor was the Report ill grounded; for at that time the whole Garriſon of *Vienna* did not conſiſt of above Six hundred Men, of which the Vizier was well adviſed, and knew, that if he made but ſome more than ordinary haſt with his Army, or detached a formidable Body to appear in ſight of the Town, before the Duke of *Loraine* had Re-inforced the Garriſon, and put all things into a Poſture of Defence, the Gates might eaſily have been opened, and the City become the Prey and Reward of the *Ottoman* Soldiers. But this was not the Vizier's buſineſs, his deſire was to gain and appropriate all the Riches unto himſelf, which was to be done only by Articles and Conditions of Surrender drawn, and agreed in the time of a formal Siege; and therefore he would neither haſten his Troops to take Poſſeſſion of the City, before it was Reinforced, nor yet incourage his Men to Enter the Town by meer Force and Dint of Sword; which in the Opinion of the Soldiery, he might have done if when he Stormed the Works, he had puſhed forward his Men to the utmoſt of their Mettle; ſo

The Vizier in the Camp before Vienna.

that here we may obſerve, that his accurſed Avarice, which had been the Ruine of ſo many Perſons, was now the Cauſe of his own Deſtruction.

The Vizier began to open his Trenches, about fifty Paces diſtant from the Counterſcarp in the Suburbs of St. *Ulric*, or the Garden of *Madam Spina*, where the riſing of the Walks by the obſcurity of the Night, gave them an advantagious ground for raiſing ſome Batteries; and in the Morning two *Spahees* were commanded to throw a Writing in a Linnen Bag into the Counterſcarp, which they performed, running full ſpeed with their Horſes. The ſubſtance of which was this.

His Summons to the City.

Theſe Preſents are to make known unto you, the Generals, Governour, Soldiers and Noble Citizens of the City of Vienna, *That according to the Orders, we have received from the moſt Happy, moſt Powerful, moſt Invincible and moſt Mighty Emperor of the Univerſe, our Maſter, who is the true Image of God living on the Earth, and who by the Grace and Favour of the Almighty, following the Example of our Prophet* Mahomet Muſtapha, *to whom be Glory and Honour, and Bleſſing, is by a Multitude of Miracles become the Greateſt Sovereign both of one, and the other World, and the Supreme Emperor of all Kings and Princes; hath ſent hither his Armies which are without number, to the intent that they ſhall take* Vienna, *and there Eſtabliſh the Worſhip of our True Religion. And whereas it is a Principle of our Religion, above all things to Propagate the* Muſſelmin *Faith, as is expeſly Commanded by the Law of our Holy Prophet; We do inſtantly exhort you, before we Unſheath our Terrible Cymiters to Embrace our Holy Religion, and to ſuffer your ſelves to be inſtructed in the Myſteries thereof, by which you will find Salvation to your Souls. And in caſe you will Surrender up the City, whether you be Young or Old, Rich or Poor, We aſſure you, that you ſhall with all ſecurity Live therein: And in caſe any of you ſhall deſire to go forth, and Live in any other place, he ſhall have Permiſſion and Licence ſo to do, and ſhall be convoy'd forth with his Goods and Subſtance, with his Wife and Children. And as to thoſe who ſhall deſire to remain behind, they may Live in the Town in ſuch manner as they did before. But in caſe you are obſtinate, and conſtrain us to take your City by Force, then will we ſpare no Perſon whatſoever: And we Swear by the Creatour of Heaven and Earth, who never had nor never ſhall have an Equal, that we will put all to the Sword, as is Commanded by our Holy Law, and will take your Goods and Eſtates, and carry away your Wives, and Children into Captivity. Pardon is only for them, who obey the Divine Ordinances.*

Given at the Emperor's Camp before *Vienna*, the 8*th* of the *Moon Regeb*, and in the Year of the Prophet's Tranſmigration, 1094.

To theſe Summons no other Anſwer was Return'd, than by Cannon and a Vigorous Defence, and by a Bloody Conflict in the Suburbs in which the *Turks* were greatly worſted. The Courage of the Beſieged, which was evidenced during all the time of the Siege was moſt eminently Signaliz'd at the beginning thereof; when the *Scotch* Convent of Benedictin Fryers, (which was a very ſtately Edifice) took Fire, and endangered the Arſenal, which was near adjoyning thereunto, and where Two thouſand Barrels of Powder were lodged; but by the diligence of Young *Staremberg*, and the Officers of the Artillery, the Powder was all carried to ſome Remoter place: And it pleaſing God by his Gracious Providence, to cauſe the Wind to blow the Flames to other Quarters, the Arſenal was preſerved and all the Ammunition therein, tho' ſeveral great Edifices, and Palaces thereunto adjoyning were conſumed before the Fire was extinguiſhed. The Original of this Fire was attributed to the Treachery of a Youth of 16 Years of Age habited in Girls Cloathing; whom the People in their Fury tearing to pieces, prevented the Diſcovery of this Treacherous and Horrid Plot. The *Turks* all this while with much Joy beheld the Flames aſcending from the City, and ply'd their Cannon and Bombs towards that part, which at firſt broke in the Air without other Execution; and the better to prevent the accident by Fire, Count *Staremberg* order'd the Roofs off all thoſe Houſes to be taken off which were cover'd with Shingles, and apt to take Fire with the leaſt Spark. This was a terrible beginning of a Siege, and ſuch as was ſufficient totally to diſmay the Spirits of the Defendants, but that they were ſupported with more than ordinary Courage inſpired into them by the Providence of Heaven.

A Fire in Vienna.

All this while the Cavalry maintained their Stations at the Foot of the Bridges, to keep a Communication ſo long as was poſſible with the Town, and hinder the Paſſage of the *Turks* into the Iſles of *Leopolſtadt*, the which Action the Duke of *Loraine* committed to the Care and Conduct of General *Schultz*, and Prince *Lubomiski*, whileſt he with the greater part of the Army retir'd to *Langenzendorf*: But the *Turks*, and *Tartars* with a very great number coming to force the Paſs, carrying the Foot on their Horſes behind them, and Wading over the Water, which was Foardable on all ſides, were received with ſuch a wel-

a wel-

1683. a Welcome as coſt the Lives of moſt of thoſe, who were the moſt forward to gain the Paſs; but the numbers of the Enemy encreaſing, the *Christians* found themſelves not able to ſuſtain the ſhock, and therefore having burnt and deſtroyed all the Houſes thereabouts, they orderly retired to the Army, having broken the Bridges to prevent the more haſty purſuit after them.

The Chriſtians *forced from the Bridges.*

The Turks *batter the City.*

The *Turks* having by this time encompaſſed the whole City with their numerous Camp, and Tents of diverſe colours, advanced their Trenches within thirty Paces of the Counterſcarp, on the ſide of the Baſtions of the Court and the Lobel, and continually ſo plyed that Quarter with their Cannons and Morters, that they entirely ruined the Emperor's Palace, with the Houſes and Churches thereunto adjoyning. Whilſt Count *Staremberg* was buſied in all places to give neceſſary Orders, and provide againſt every Misfortune which might happen, he was unluckily wounded by the Blow of a Brick upon his Head, which had been carried by the ſtroak of a Cannon-ſhot, which confined him to his Chamber for three Days, and the Count *Daun*, one of the Deputy Governours was ſick at the ſame time of a Fever: However the care of the Counts *Serini*, *Souches* and *Scaffenberg* was ſuch, that the Enemy gained no advantage by the abſence of thoſe Governours.

Staremberg *wounded.*

C. Leſlie *ſent to* Krembs.

Whilſt Matters were thus acting in the City, Count *Leſlie* was ſent to *Krembs* to convoy the Train of Artillery thither, and attend the coming of the Auxiliary Troops of *Bavaria*, *Saxony* and *Franconia*, and the Regiments which were marching from ſeveral other Places of the Empire; and alſo to reſtrain the Incurſions of the *Tartars* into *Auſtria*, who with much Violenee and Cruelty laid all Places, whereſoever they came, in Bloud and Aſhes, thô many of them were cut to pieces in divers Conflicts, there being a Hundred and fifty of them killed by the Peaſants, who were felling the Trees about *Vienna*, to hinder and diſturb the March of the Enemy. But why the *Tartars* ſhould deſtroy all the Villages and Proviſions near to *Vienna*, whereby they deprived the *Turkiſh* Army of all Proviſions and Subſiſtence from parts near unto their Camp, and cauſed their Horſe to fetch Forage at twenty Miles diſtance, no ſound Reaſon can be given, unleſs it be, that thoſe People having always been uſed to Spoyl and Deſtruction, have it not in their Power, and nature to leave any thing unblaſted, and not conſumed in the Country of an Enemy whereſoever they paſs. Some Troops belonging to General *Schultz* had the fortune at the ſame time to take a conſiderable Convoy of the *Turks*, conſiſting of above three Hundred Waggons, killing on the place about ſix Hundred and fifty, and taking two Hundred Priſoners. 1683.

The Diſpoſition of the Turkiſh Force.

The *Turks* had drawn two parallel Lines, one on the ſide of the Court-Baſtion, and another on the Lobel-Baſtion, with a Line of Communication between both; and here they raiſed their Batteris of thirty Pieces of Cannon: And thô *Vienna* was fortified with eleven Baſtions, yet three of them only were attacked, ſo that the whole Force of the Town was drawn that way for its Defence. The Grand Vizier took his Station on the ſide of the Ravelin, and with him the Janiſar-*Aga*, or General of the Janiſaries, named *Kara Muſtapha*, and his *Kahia* or Lieutenant, and alſo the Paſha of *Romelia*, who was killed with a Cannon-ſhot. The Attack of the Court-Baſtion on the Right-hand of the Vizier was committed to *Chuſaein*, Paſha of *Damaſcus*, who thô he was a ſtout Man, and a good Soldier, yet he had been unfortunate, having formerly been beaten by Prince *Ragotski* in *Tranſilvania*, by Count *Souches*, at *Leventz* (as we have at large deſcribed in the former part of our Hiſtory) and by the King of *Poland* at *Coczim*. The Baſtion of the Lobel on the Left-hand of the Vizier was committed to *Achmet*, Paſha of *Temeſwaer*, who died on the 3d. of *September* of a Diſſentery; he had formerly executed the Office of High Treaſurer, and after his deceaſe, *Huſaein* Paſha, who alſo had been Treaſurer, was promoted to his Place. In deſcribing this Siege, it will not be neceſſary to recount all the particulars of the Traverſes, Mines, Countermines, and other minute Actions, provided (as we intend) we do not omit any conſiderable Paſſage, or Feats of Arms, which were moſt memorable thrô the whole courſe of this Siege.

The Beſieged make a Sally.

Count *Staremberg* obſerving that the *Turks* worked continually in their Lines, reſolved to obſtruct them by a vigorous Sally; for which the Beſieged having now loſt all their Fears, were very forward to do: The Sally was managed by one *Sampſon Steimbach*, a Captain in the Regiment of *Manſfeldt*, and Count *Guy* of *Staremberg*, who ſignalized themſelves with ſuch Valour and Succeſs, that they killed many of the Miners, and brought in a Priſoner alive, who diſcovered many Particulars then acting by the Enemy.

On the 23d. of *July*, the *Turks* taking the advantage of a ſtrong Gale of Wind, which blew towards the City, to throw diverſe Bombs thereinto, one of which beat down the Spaniſh Embaſſador's Houſe, with little other damage to the Town. The ſame day in the Afternoon the *Turks* ſprang a Mine near the Lobel Baſtion, but it taking vent, reverſed on themſelves, damaging only a corner of the Baſtion, and over-turning ſome Paliſadoes, which were repaired again in the Night; howſoever the *Turks* took this opportunity to make a furious Aſſault upon that Baſtion, but were valiantly repulſed, with the loſs of two Hundred Men killed, and three taken Priſoners.

A Meſſenger from the Duke of Loraine.

About the ſame time, a Meſſenger from the Duke of *Loraine* having ſwam four times over the Water, with his Letters in a Bladder hanging about his Neck, with much difficulty got into the Town, which brought them the happy and encouraging News of being ſpeedily relieved; for that all the Troops of the Circles, and of the Emperor's hereditary Countries, came daily to the general Rendezvous at *Krembs*; and that the King of *Poland* with his Army was come as far as *Olmutz*. Nor were the Troops of the Duke of *Loraine* idle all this time during the Siege, but making Incurſions and enterprizing ſome Deſign or other every Day, brought many Priſoners into the Camp with their Horſes and other Booty: But the joy of theſe Succeſſes were not a little damped by the News that the City of *Presburg* with *Timavia*, *Emdemburg*, *Prekalla*, *Leita* and *Haiſentat*, being diſmayed by the formidable Force of the Vizier, had ſubmitted themſelves to *Tekeli*, and to his Protection. Howſoever conſidering Men reflected, that ſuch Accidents as theſe were to be expected, where a mighty Army predominated; and were as eaſily reverſed by the turn of a contrary Fortune, and that they would follow the Fate and Succeſs of *Vienna*.

Debates about the Relief of Presbourg.

The 25th. of this Month, the Duke of *Loraine* receiving Intelligence, that *Tekeli* had formed an Army of 20 .000 Malecontents, and eight Thouſand *Turks* under the Command of the Paſhas of *Waradin* and *Peſt*, and deſigned to Beſiege the Caſtle of *Presburg*; which being a Place of conſiderable Conſequence, was a Matter of long Debate, whether in that Conjuncture it was to be relieved in deſpight of all the Difficulties and Obſtacles which appeared to the contrary. For in the firſt place it was alledged, that the Ways thither were rocky, woody, and incloſed, that the Forces of the Enemy were much ſuperior to theirs in number; and that the Army ought not to be put into any hazard of being Defeated, at a time when the Relief of *Vienna* was the main and ultimate Deſign. To theſe Arguments it was urged, that in caſe the Caſtle of *Presburg* was ſurrendred to the Enemy, it would facilitate a Communication between their two Armies, and hinder the conjunction of the *Poliſh* Army with the Imperial, unleſs they took a large compaſs about, which would both harraſs the Men by a long March, and defer the Relief of *Vienna*; the Extremities of which required nothing more than Haſt and a ſpeedy Succour. Theſe laſt Reaſons prevailed above the former, it being eſteemed of abſolute neceſſity to conſerve the Caſtle of *Presbourg*, the which was wavering, and ready with the other Towns to accept and embrace the Protection of *Tekeli*. In purſuance of this Reſolution, the Duke of *Loraine* paſſed the *Danube* with his Horſe and Dragoons, namely, the Regiments of *Palſi*, *Caprara*, *Rabata*, *Gondola*, *Taff*, *Merci*, *Hallewiel*, *Montecuculi*, *Veterani* and *Gots*, which were all Horſe, to the number of eight Thouſand; and of Dragoons, thoſe of *Stirum*, *Schultz* and *Herberviller*, making in all an Hundred thirty ſix Troops and Companies, beſides the *Poles* under *Lubomiski*, which made about two Thouſand Men more. In the Night Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* and the Baron of *Merci*, were Commanded in the Van to ſecure the narrow Ways and Paſſages; and being come upon certain Hills, where they ſee round about, they diſcovered the Enemies Fires and Lights below in the Plains, and two Camps at ſome little diſtance one from the other; of which, Advice being given to the General, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was ordered to Attack the Suburbs of *Presbourg*, where ſome of the Malecontents were quartered; upon this Surpriſe, the Malecontents flying into the Town, made way for the Imperialiſts to enter without much Reſiſtance: The City being in a ſuddain conſternation, upon ſight of the Imperial Army at their Gates, ſurrendred upon Summons, as did alſo the Caſtle; the Garriſon whereof, whilſt the Town was in Treaty, eſcaped out to ſeek for Refuge in the Camp; but many of them were intercepted in their Paſſage, and cut to pieces.

The Duke of Loraine *ſecures* Presbourg.

This happy ſucceſs in ſight of the Enemy was an evidence of their Weakneſs and want of Courage, and animated the *Chriſtians* to give them Battle: The Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* with his Dragoons, was hereupon as ordered, drew up in the Vineyards and Gardens adjoyning to the Suburbs, and extended his whole Body to the right and left, along the *Danube* to the foot of the Hill, the better to ſecure *C. Caprara*, whilſt he with his Horſe deſcended down by the Vineyards, and had drawn up in Batalia.

The Malecontents are put to flight.

The Enemy made a ſhow as if they intended to fight, and detached ſome Parties to begin a Skirmiſh, but the Duke of *Loraine* would not Engage, until all his Forces were drawn up; upon appearance whereof the Malecontents changed their Minds, and inſtead of advancing, the Imperialiſts perceived, by a great Duſt riſing on one ſide and the other, that the Enemy retired: The advanced Parties of the Enemy, which were to begin the Battle, finding themſelves abandoned by the main Body, turned their backs and fled; and were hardly purſu'd by the *Imperialiſts* and *Poles*, with much loſs and ſlaughter, until they came to a great Wood, with a ſtream of Water running by it, where they made a Stand; but a detached party of *Poles*, with ſome Squadrons of *Germans*, and ſome of the Regiment of *Palſi* charged them with ſuch Vigour and Bravery as put them to a Rout, ſo that they killed about five or ſix Hundred of them, and took about twelve Hundred Waggons of Baggage, and purſued them ſo hotly towards *Tirnau*, that many of them ſaved themſelves in the Woods, and others threw themſelves into the *Danube*; the Affrightment and Diſorder was ſo great through the whole Army, that they recovered not themſelves until they had paſſed the *Waagh*.

Diſcontent between the Turks *and* Tekeli.

Tekeli having Intelligence of the March of the Imperialiſts, by the Party which had been beaten the Evening before; he retired in the Night-time, with a great Body of his own Horſe and Foot, (leaving very few of his Men with the *Turks*) and reſolved to attend the Duke of *Loraine*'s coming, and to fall upon him; which occaſioned that Quarrel and Miſunderſtanding between the Malecontents and the *Turks*, that they ſeparated each from other, and acted apart, until they were reconciled, and again united by Mediation of the Vizier, as appeared by certain Letters, which were intercepted.

A Mine ſprung by the Beſieged.

Several of the Chriſtians *killed.*

But to return again to the Siege: In the mean time, whilſt theſe things were acting abroad, there was continual firing and ſhooting on both ſides; and on the 26th. the *Turks* deſigning to make a furious Aſſault, cauſed all their warlike Muſick, ſuch as Flutes, Cymbals, and braſs Trumpets, which give a ſhrill Sound, to play with their higheſt Notes, to encourage their Soldiers to make the On-ſet; but juſt as they were beginning, the Beſieged gave Fire to a Mine, which made many of the *Turks* to take capers and friſks in the Air, according to the Meaſures of their Muſick. But the *Turks* not diſmayed hereat, preſt hard to gain that Ground which the Mine had laid open, but were valiantly repulſed by thoſe who had the Guard of that Place: Howſoever, the Matter was long in diſpute, until Count *Serini*, and St. *Croix* Lieutenant Colonel of *Dupigni*'s Regiment of Horſe came in with ſome Granadiers to their Relief, and forced the Aſſailants back again into their Trenches, leaving many of their Companions dead upon the place, whoſe Heads the *Chriſtians* afterwards fixed upon Poles, and expoſed 'em to the View of the *Turkiſh* Camp. Howſoever, this Action was not performed without ſome loſs and hurt to the Beſieged, for Count *Guy* of *Staremberg* and Count *Souches* were wounded: *George Miſnier*, General of the Artillery, had his Arm broken by a Shot, of which he died in a few days afterwards, to the great Sorrow of the whole City, which could not but miſs a Perſon ſo excellent in his Art, having been Ingenier at the Siege of *Philipsbourg*, in the Troops of the Marqueſs of *Baden*: In this Action alſo were killed Baron *Walter*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Wirtemberg*, and *William Schemnitz*, a Captain in the Regiment of *Staremberg*; as alſo Baron *Dubski*, who was ſhot through both his Buttocks with a Muſquet Bullet; and the Governour, *Staremberg* himſelf, was again wounded in the Hand with the ſtroak of a Stone, as he had before been in the Head.

A Letter ſhot into the Town.

The *Turks* having this Day intercepted a Letter, which the Governour had ſent by an expreſs Meſſenger to the Duke of *Loraine*, to give an account of the ſtate of the Town; the Vizier, that he might give notice thereof unto *Staremberg*, he cauſed the ſame Paper to be faſtned to an Arrow, and ſhot into the Town, with an additional Letter from the Vizier, wrote in *Latin* to this Effect: *That it was to little purpoſe for the Beſieged to write in Characters unto the Duke of* Loraine *to render him an account of the ill Condition of their Town, ſince the ſame is ſufficiently known to the Beſiegers, without any Key or Explanation of the Cypher. Howſoever the Grand Vizier, out of compaſſion to the Creatures of God, had already offered them his Mercy; but that being rejected by the Beſieged, he thought fit to let them know, that the time was now come, in which they were to feel the rigour of the Divine Indignation, which would cauſe them, tho' late, to repent of this their inflexible Obſtinacy.* This Letter being read among the Officers, moved Laughter, rather than occaſioned Fear.

A Body of Tartars *defeated.*

As the Beſieged continued ſtill in good heart within the Town, ſo the Duke of *Loraine*'s Camp received a double Encouragement from two happy Succeſſes: The firſt was, That the *Bano*, or Lord Lieutenant of *Croatia*, had conſerved that People in their Loyalty and Devotion towards the Emperor, and for Security thereof, had made them to enter into a ſolemn Oath: But that of a greater Importance, was, That General *Dunewald* had again defeated a Body of two or three Thouſand *Tartars*, with the ſlaughter of about thirteen Hundred killed upon the place, and many Priſoners taken, beſides all their Baggage and Booty which they had plunder'd in *Hungary* and *Auſtria*. Within the Town they were forming and contriving all Ways and In-

Inſtruments for their Defence; and amongſt the reſt, they had forged a certain Weapon in manner of a Scyth of about ſix Foot in length beſides the Handle, which proved of excellent Uſe and Effect againſt the Scymeters, and would cut off a Man at the middle without much difficulty, and ſome times take off four or five Heads at a ſtroak.

A mine ſprang by the Turks.

The 28th. the *Turks* attempting to make themſelves Maſters of the Counterſcarp, on the ſide of the Court-Baſtion and Lobel, ſprang a Mine, which they had prepared on that Quarter; but it being not far enough advanced, it reached not the Paliſadoes, howſoever, about twenty Soldiers were killed, beſides ſeveral wounded.

The Turks *repulſed.*

The 29th. about five a Clock in the morning, the Beſieged fired ſixty Pieces of Cannon upon the Enemy, which they modeſtly anſwered with one ſingle Gun; but in the Afternoon they ſtormed the Paliſadoes with great fury, but were repulſed with much loſs; in which Action, the new-invented Scyths were very ſerviceable, and did great execution on the Aſſailants, amongſt which *Kara Mahomet* Paſha *of Meſopotamia* was wounded in the Thigh, as alſo the *Gebegee Baſha*, who is chief of the Armourers, and the Vizier's *Kahya* or Deputy was killed and buried at the entrance into his own Tent.

On the 30th. Count *Staremberg* fired a Mine, which as believed did great execution on the Enemy, for that they employed the whole Day following in repairing the Damage which that Mine had cauſed.

The 31ſt. the *Turks* advanced their Trenches ſo near to the Counterſcarp, that the two Parties could ſpeak and diſcourſe one with the other, and fight at Arms end, and with the Stakes of the Paliſadoes, which they had plucked up; but the Defendants with their long iron Crooks, ſuch as we uſe for pulling down Houſes, in the time of Fire, caught up the Bodies of Men, and drew them over the Walls, and with one cut of their Scyths would Mow off three or four Heads at a ſtroak.

The Turks *cover their Trenches.*

The *Turks* finding themſelves greatly incommoded in their Trenches by the Bombs and Granadoes, which were ſhot from the Town, contrived ways to cover them with Beams of Timber, over which they laid Sacks of Earth, which kept off all Fireworks, Cannon and Muſquet-ſhot; and in many places of the Trenches they made Pavements of Brick, which were ſo commodious and ſecure, that the Grand Vizier, and many of the principal Officers and Paſhas lodged therein, with as much convenience as in their own Houſes.

Auguſt 3d. On the 3d. of *Auguſt* the *Turks* having raiſed their Trenches much higher than the Counterſcarp, began a Fight againſt the Defendants with Muſquets and Arrows, which they continued for a long time, and relieved their Men often, with new Supplies, but were always bravely repulſed by the *Chriſtians*. Towards the Evening, the *Turks* endeavoured to gain the Counterſcarp of the Court *Ravelin* by Aſſault; and with much Bloud, after a vigorous Defence, they took it: The Paſha of *Damaſcus* was killed in this Action.

4th. The *Turks*, encouraged with this Succeſs, the next Day purſued their Fortune with redoubled Force, and attacked the Counterſcarp, at the Gate of the Lobel-Bulwark, with ſuch fury, that with the loſs of four Hundred of their Men, they became Maſters of it.

5th. And then on the 5th. they threw into the Ditch of the *Ravelin*, ſuch quantity of Faggots and Sacks of Earth, as ſerved to fill it up; but yet the *Turks* poſſeſſed not long this ſpot of Ground, for that very Night they were driven from that Poſt with great loſs by the Valour of the Defendants, and Diligence of the Governour, who was all that Night upon the Works, and took no repoſe until four a Clock in the Morning.

6th. On the 6th. about nine a Clock in the Morning, the *Turks* ſprang a Mine, which opened the Earth very much in the Counterſcarp, towards the Court-Baſtion, and therewith began a terrible Fight, which continued for the ſpace of five Hours; during which time the *Chriſtians* loſt about a Hundred Men killed and wounded, amongſt which was Count *Leſlie*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Mansfelt*, and Brother of General *Leſlie*, who at firſt being wounded in the Arm maintained his Ground, not retiring ſo much as to be dreſſed, but ſtill continued the Fight, until being ſhot in the Breaſt with a Muſquet Bullet, he died under the Walls of the City with much Glory; but notwithſtanding all this Valour of the Defendants, the *Turks* crouded on their Soldiers in ſuch multitudes with continual Supplies, that like a violent Torrent, not being to be withſtood, they became Maſters of the Ditch of the Counterſcarp of the Court *Ravelin*, at the coſt of the Lives of ſix Hundred and Seventy of their Men, and that Day in all were a Thouſand *Turks* killed, and about a Hundred and eighty *Chriſtians*.

C. Leſlie *the younger Slain.*

The Turks *gain the Counterſcarp.*

7th. On the 7th. the Centinel, that was placed on the top of the Steeple of St. *Stephens*, gave notice, about five a Clock in the morning, that he diſcovered a great Smoak ariſing on the farther ſide of the *Danube*, which continued until eight that Morning, and afterwards vaniſhed; the Governour rightly

1683. conjectur'd, that the Smoak was cauſed by ſome Fight between the *Chriſtians* and *Turks:* The truth of which was the next day brought by a *Raſcian*, (who was of that Province which produces excellent Spies) and he related, That the *Turks* having detached a Party of about Three thouſand Horſe, to make a Diſcovery of the State of the Duke of *Loraine's* Camp, and ſee what numbers were come in from *Saxony*, *Suabia* and *Franconia*. Upon advices of their March an Ambuſcade was laid for them, into which they unwarily falling, the greateſt part of them were ſlain, and an Aga, and *Tekeli's* Secretary, an *Hungarian* Count, were made Priſoners: And alſo, That they had taken many of the Enemies Waggons laden with Ammunition and Proviſions, and that upon this Succeſs, divers of the Malecontents had deſerted their Party, and were gone unto the Emperor. The ſame day the *Turks* Sprang a Mine on the ſide of the Lobel Baſtion, which reverſed on themſelves, with the ſame loſs and hurt which they deſign'd for the *Chriſtians*.

A Party of Turks *defeated.*

8th. On the 8*th*, the *Chriſtians* thunder'd their Cannon from the Curtain of the Carinthian Bulwark, which ruined ſome of the Works of the Beſiegers, and Diſmounted their Cannon: Howſoever, the ſame Day the *Turks* Sprang a Mine, juſt at the Point of the Court Baſtion, by which twenty three *Chriſtians* were killed. But what in this matter is ſtrange and worthy to be remembred, a certain Gunner was toſſed up into the Air by force of this Mine, and thrown into the Ditch of the Town without any hurt, to the great wonder of all thoſe who were Spectators thereof. The *Turks* ſeconded the Mine with an Aſſault, and began to remove the Earth under the Ravelin, and to cover the Galleries with Beams and Earth, by which they deſcended into the great Ditch, without receiving any damage either by Cannon or Granados; ſo that the Governour judging it impoſſible to defend that Ravelin, cauſed the Cannon to be withdrawn from thence: Howſoever, the Counts of *Daun*, and *Souches* (the Governour being Sick of a Dyſſentery) made a Sally that Night at the Head of Three hundred Men, and Charged the Enemy ſo Vigorouſly, that they drove them out of their Galleries, and burnt all their Works.

A Sally from the Town.

9th. On the 9*th*, the *Turks* fired a Mine on the ſide of the Ravelin, which killed five Soldiers, and over-turned ſome Paliſadoes; but a greater damage was thereby done to the *Turks*, who by a reverſe loſt Thirty two of their own Men, and the Paliſadoes were again repaired in the Night.

10th. On the 10*th*, a ſtrong Party of Horſe under the Command of the Count *Sarau* their Colonel, defeated Two thouſand Malecontents belonging to *Budiani*, near *Friſtenfelden*, killed Four hundred and eighty upon the place, took above Three hundred Priſoners, with five Colours. In like manner a Party of *Germans* belonging to the Garriſon of *Raab*, under Colonel *Heiſler*, meeting with a Body of *Turks* and *Tekelites* near *Altemberg*, which were Convoying Waggons laden with Ammunition and Proviſions to the Turkiſh Camp before *Vienna*, Charged them ſo furiouſly that they totally Defeated them, and put them to Flight, and in the Purſuit killed them with great Slaughter; an Hundred and eighty Waggons were taken; but thoſe which were laden with Powder, and Fire-works were blown up, rather than they ſhould become a Prey to the Enemy, and be made uſe of againſt themſelves. The ſame Day the *Turks* Sprang a Mine at the Point of the Lobel Baſtion, which toſſed three *Chriſtian* Soldiers into the Air; and ſet them down again in the ſame place upon their Legs without any hurt: But it proved of much greater miſchief to the *Turks* by its reverſe upon themſelves. All that Day many Cannon ſhot were fired on both ſides; and the Beſieged threw many Bombs out of their Morter-pieces into the Enemies Trenches, which did conſiderable Execution.

A Party of Turks *and Malecontents defeated.*

The Scholars of the Univerſity in *Vienna*, whoſe Motto might be *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*, finding this no time for Books, apply'd their Minds to the War, for preſervation of their Lives, City and Chriſtian Religion, againſt the Common Enemy of the Faith: And forming themſelves into a Body, made two or three very good Companies. The Merchants alſo of the Society of *Netherlanders* following their Example, raiſed a Company of Two hundred and eighty Men, all Armed with Fire-locks, which they maintained at their own coſt and charge; and being uſed in their Common exerciſes to ſhoot with Guns, they became excellent Marks-men; and from the upper Rooms of the Emperor's Palace, where they were commonly Quarter'd, they did good Service, annoying the *Turks* greatly with their Shot; nor were the Scholars leſs expert than the Merchants, for one of them having ſhot a *Janiſary* dead with his Muſquet, he drew his Body within the Paliſadoes with one of the long Hooks, and cut off his Head, which at the end of a Pike he carried through the City; and having ript open his Stomach, he found there ſix Ducats in Gold, which he had ſwallowed; ſuppoſing that part to be the moſt ſecure, and the moſt private Purſe, free from the Robbery either of his Friends or Enemies: It ſeems, it was known afterwards, that this

The Scholars and Merchants become Soldiers.

1683. this was the Common way of Concealment of Gold amongſt the Turkiſh Soldiers; which when the *Imperialiſts* diſcover'd, they made it a common practice to dive into the Entrails, of as many as they took: Examining their Bowels like the antient *Augurs*, who Inſpected the inwards of Beaſts, to make their preſages of good, or bad Fortune.

11th. On the 11*th*, the *Turks* Sprang two Mines without any great effect; howſoever it ſerved them for a Signal to make an Aſſualt; but the Defendants making uſe of their ſmaller Guns, or Field-pieces planted on the Walls, charged with Chain and Partridge ſhot, with Spars and pieces of old Iron, which together with Hand-Granadoes made ſuch a Slaughter amongſt the *Turks*, as cauſed them to Retire. Howſoever, Forty of the Defendants were killed and wounded.

12th. The next day the *Turks* about Noon fired another Mine, which blew up one of the Flankers of the Ravelin, with ſo much noiſe and thunder, as gave an Allarum to the whole Town, and cauſed the Officers, who were than ſat down at Table to ariſe and leave their Dinner, to ſee what the matter was. The *Turks* were ready hereupon to have made the Aſſault, but finding that the Breach was not wide enough, they retired again within their Trenches.

13th. Howſoever, ſtill continuing their Works, they at length on this day blew up the whole Ravelin; howſoever the quantity of Powder being very great, the Mine reverſed upon themſelves with ſuch Execution, as abated the Courage of the moſt bold Aſſailants.

14th. On the 14*th*, having ſunk their Trenches nine Foot deep, they endeavoured to penetrate a Way into the Ditch, and about ſix a Clock in the Evening they Sprang another Mine on the right Hand of the Ravelin, with as little ſucceſs as the Day before.

The Chriſtian Camp increaſes.

In the mean time the *Chriſtian* Camp daily increaſed to ſuch numbers, as were judged ſufficient to give Battail to the *Ottoman* Army; but to make the Game more ſecure, it was judged neceſſary to attend the coming of the King and Army of *Poland:* To haſten which, diverſe Meſſengers were ſent, to deſire his Majeſty to expediate and quicken his March, leſt he ſhould come too late for the Relief of *Vienna*, whoſe Forces every Day diminiſhing by continual loſſes, could not poſſibly hold out long, thô they were well aſſured, that the utmoſt Extremity would be ſuſtained, before the Defendants would yield to a Surrender. The *Poliſh* King being ſenſible hereof, promiſed to haſten his March, ſo as to be at *Krembs* on the 28*th* of the Month.

1683. 15th. and 16th. The 15*th* and 16*th*, the *Turks* continued to Batter, and to throw Bombs into the Town, and Sprang ſeveral Mines, thô not with much Execution; and were in divers Aſſaults vigorouſly repulſed. Howſoever, all this was done at the expence of much Blood, and with the diminution both of the numbers and ſtrength of the Garriſon, which by hourly loſſes on the Breaches, on the Works, and by Sickneſſes cauſed by the want of good Diet, was much decayed, and the Defendants were reduced to that low Condition, that they could not long ſuſtain the violence of ſo forcible an Enemy. And thô the Turkiſh Camp was not free from Diſeaſes and Mortality, yet they were leſs ſenſible of their loſſes by their numbers, and the daily Recruits which they received. To make known the true ſtate of the City to the Duke of *Loraine*, ſome crafty and bold Men undertook to be the Meſſengers, ſome of which were intercepted, and others eſcaped; amongſt the reſt one *Francis Koltchizki alias Kotlenski*, who was Interpreter to the *Levant* or *Eaſtern* Company, being perfectly practiſed in the Turkiſh Language, undertook to carry unto the Duke of *Loraine*, not only Letters but alſo by word of Mouth, to inform him of the true State and Condition of the Town. Accordingly *Kotlenski* having diſguiſed himſelf in the Turkiſh Habit, ſilently paſſed through the Paliſadoes, and enter'd into the Camp, where with much Confidence he ſet up his Throat, and began to Sing with the higheſt Notes of the Turkiſh Air; no Man ſuſpected him in the leaſt kind, and an Aga obſerving a Fellow paſs ſo merrily by his Tent, called him in, and for his good Humour entertain'd him with Coffee. After which without any Examination he proceeded on his way, and paſſed the Mountain of *Kulemberg*; and being deſcended down to the ſide of the *Danube*, ſome of the Chriſtian Soldiers Fired at him from an Iſland, but having made it known to them by certain Signs, that he was a Meſſenger ſent from *Vienna*, he was kindly received, and conducted with expedition and ſafety to the Duke of *Loraine*, to whom with great ſincerity, he gave a true and exact Relation of the State of *Vienna*; and delivered his Letters, one of which of the 4*th* of the Month, was from the Deputies of the Council of State; two of the 8*th* from the Counts *de Staremberg* and *Capliers*; and one of the 12*th* from *Capliers*; all which gave an Account of the Siege, and of the advances of the Enemy upon them, and the neceſſity of the place, with a Liſt of thoſe who were killed and wounded, concluding with earneſt deſires for ſpeedy Relief; that

A Meſſenger ſent to the Duke of Loraine.

The Duke of Loraine *receives Letters from Vienna.*

1683. that Count *Staremberg* was very Sick, and weakned by a Diſſentery, and that they began to be in want of Granadoes.

Anſwers returned.

The Duke of *Loraine* was very careful to inform the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, the Electour of *Saxony*, and all Perſons concerned, of the Condition of *Vienna*: And diſpatched Count *Caraffa* to the King of *Poland*, praying him to order the March of General *Sinariski*, who with ſome advanced Troops had been ſix days in *Sileſia*. And that *Vienna* might not in the mean time languiſh for want of hopes, and information of the care which was taking to Succour and Relieve them; the Duke of *Loraine* having commended the reſolution of the Meſſenger, and promiſed him a Reward agreeable to the hazard of ſuch an undertaking, ſo ſoon as the City ſhould be delivered from the Siege, he diſpatched him away with a full Anſwer to all Demands. *Kotlenski* return'd with the ſame Confidence, as before to the Turkiſh Camp; and privately ſtoal into the City through the Paliſadoes, where he was received with all the Joy, which diſtreſſed Men could expreſs to one, who brought them the comfortable hopes of a ſpeedy Deliverance. Many Queſtions (we may believe) were put to him by all ſorts of People, and in all places and Companies where he was; and in all of them he infuſed Heart and Spirit, by the Relations he gave of the increaſe of the *German* Army, of the Preparations which were making, and of the near approach of the King of *Poland*. *Kotlenski* was not abſent above four Days before he return'd; and what Intelligence he gave, was confirm'd by the Letters he brought from the Duke of *Loraine* to Count *Staremberg*, ſignifying that he had defeated *Tekeli* near *Presbourg*; and taken a Convoy with all ſorts of Ammunition, and Proviſion deſigned for the *Ottoman* Camp, and that the King of *Poland* was upon his March for Relief of the City. This News was entertain'd with a General Joy, certify'd by Ringing of Bells, and Firing all the Cannon of the Town, and Vollies of ſmall ſhot upon the Enemy; and for a Signal to the Duke of *Loraine* that his Letters were come to Hand, Three Rockets were fired from the top of St. *Stephen's* Steeple.

The Turkiſh Camp in want of Forage.

The *Tartars* had deſtroy'd all the Countries round, that the Turkiſh Horſe were almoſt Famiſhed for want of Forage: Nor was there any to be procured within two or three days Journey of the Camp; but the neceſſity was ſuch, that the Vizier detached a Party of Four or five thouſand Horſe, to fetch in Provender from Parts far Remote: And it is ſaid, That ſo great was their want, that they were forced to ſtrip the Trees of their Leaves, for the preſent nouriſhment and ſuſtenance of their Horſes, for which they were beholding to their Friends the *Tartars*. 1683.

A Mine fired.

17th. On the 17*th*, the *Turks* raiſed a new Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, againſt the Baſtion Lobel, but they were ſoon diſlodged: Howſoever, between ſeven and eight a Clock in the Evening, the *Turks* fired a Mine under the Breach of the Ravelin, intending to make an Aſſault, but it was too hot work, the reſiſtance being great, they were droven back into their Trenches.

Another Mine ſprung.

18th. On the 18*th*, the Defendants conſulted how to diſpoſſeſs the *Turks*, of the Quarters they had taken at the Foot of the Ravelin: But whilſt they were conſidering thereof, the *Turks* Sprang a Mine under the Ravelin, which carried away all the Front of it towards the ſide of the Town; and immediately planted twelve Colours on the Ruins, with Reſolution to make an Aſſault: To prevent which Count *Dupigni* with Sixty Men made a Sally, but preſſing too forward into the Enemies Works, he was ſhot into the Belly with a Muſquet Bullet, of which he died on the place, with Twenty four of his Soldiers and eight wounded, and alſo the Marquis of *Chauville* was killed. The Governour to relieve this ſmall Party, appointed a Sally of Three hundred Men; which having paſſed without the Works, perceived a formidable Body of *Turks* ready to Attack them, at which being diſmaied they refuſed to advance, and crouding back at the Sally Port, where but one Man could enter a-breaſt, they were in ſuch diſorder that the *Turks* killed many of them, and had made a far greater Slaughter, had not Count *Schaffemberg* with thoſe few that were with him, covered and defended the Retreat; in this Action the *Turks* loſt Four hundred Men, and the Defendants about Forty five.

A Mine ſprung by the Defendants.

19th. and 20th. On the 19*th*, the Defendants Sprang a Mine, which totally over-threw all the Enemies Works on the ſide of the Ravelin, and buried many *Turks* in the Ruins. The ſame day the Duke of *Loraine* received other Letters from *Vienna*, written by *Staremberg*, and *Capliers* giving an Account of the decaying State and Condition of the Town. To which Anſwers was made on the 20*th*, informing them, that the Auxiliary Troops were advancing towards *Vienna*; and that the next day, he would take a view of the Coutry, for ordering the March of the Army; that they ſhould ſpeedily be relieved, and in the mean time, that they ſhould be of good Courage.

The

1683. *Other Mines Sprung.* The 21*ſt*, very early in the Morning the *Turks* ply'd all their Cannon very hotly upon the Town, and about eight a Clock, they ſet Fire to a Mine under the Lobel Baſtion, but with little effect; and in the Evening about ſix a Clock they Sprang another with like Succeſs.

22th. The next day the Defendants to make an agreeable return to the *Turks* for their kindneſs the day before, Sprang a Mine under the Ruins of the Ravelin; which threw ſo much Earth into the Traverſes of the Enemy, as buried many of their Labourers and others, who being ſunk up to the very Shoulders in Earth, were drawn out by their Companions: All the remainder of the day was ſpent in Fighting, the *Turks* labouring to gain the Ravelin, and the *Chriſtians* to defend it. Towards the Evening, the Beſieged threw divers Earthen Pots filled with Pitch, and Sulfur into the Ditches of the Court-Baſtion, and of the Lobel, to burn the Enemies Traverſes; the Flame of which could not be extinguiſh'd, until the Matter was totally conſumed, and in the mean time it ſerved the *Chriſtians* for a Light, to ſee the Enemy when they approached near the Paliſadoes.

Whilſt the Relief of *Vienna* was delay'd, the Imperial Troops not to remain Idle and without any Action, Colonel *Huſeler* with *A Party of the* Turks *defeated.* Two thouſand Horſe, and *Schultz* with as many more, with ſeveral other Troops under other Captains, fell upon ſome Auxiliaries coming to Reinforce the Camp before *Vienna*, and defeated them, and likewiſe a Party of *Turks* endeavouring to paſs the *Danube* were repulſed. At length Three thouſand five hundred of them having Ferried over the River in Boats, were attacked by the Imperialiſts, and beaten back with the loſs of Eight hundred and ſeventy Men; and many of them endeavouring to ſave themſelves eſcaped in Boats, but others truſting to the Waters, and to Swim over, were drown'd, to the number as is ſuppoſed of Fourteen hundred Men, amongſt which were two Paſhas, and the Son of the *Tartar Han* was there wounded. Next Morning were brought in unto the Generals divers Colours and Standards, with Turkiſh Drums and Timbrels, and many Priſoners of Quality and Note. The Grand Vizier having received this News, Ordered *Tekeli* to repair immediately to the Siege of *Vienna* with all his Forces: But *Tekeli* having received Information of the great Army which was almoſt in a readineſs to March to the Relief of that place; and fearing leſt upon ill *Tekeli refuſes to come to the Turkiſh Camp.* Succeſs, the Vizier ſhould Reak part of his Revenge upon him, he excuſed himſelf by pretence of the great urgency of Affairs, which required the utmoſt of his Force, and attendance in the Upper *Hungary*. 1683.

23d. The *Turks* this day having carried on their Galleries to the very Foot of the Ravelin, Aſſailed it with all their Fury, and after a long Fight they poſſeſſed themſelves of a third part of it, and lodged therein: But the *Chriſtians* who were Intrenched and Fortifyed behind the Breach, kept ſtill Poſſeſſion of the other two thirds of that Work. It being obſerved from the Town, that the *Turks* were very buſy in removing Earth, the *Chriſtians* feared, as it was their common Diſcourſe, that the Enemy was making their way Under-ground into the Cellars of the Emperor's Palace: And tho the Governour gave not much Credence to this Report, yet he Ordered the Yeomen of the Guard, who were armed with Halberts, and left behind for preſervation of the Court, to ſet their Centinels in the Cellars, and to relieve them from time to time; and to be very Vigilant, and Attentive to hearken to the noiſe of Workmen, labouring under Ground. The ſame day one *Kimpler* a very ingenious Ingenier, working at a Counter-Mine under the Gate of the Caſtle, chanced to open his Way into a large Vault encompaſſed with Walls; and therein he found a round Box of Tin, which he at firſt took for ſome Urn, or Coffin of a Dead Body; *A Treaſure found.* but having open'd it, he was ſurprized with a Treaſure of Gold and Silver, and ſearching farther into it, he found a Parchment at the bottom with theſe words, written in Old Characters.

Gaudebis
Si inveneris, Videbis, Jacebis,
Sed
Orabis, Pugnabis, Adificabis.
Non Hodie
Nec Cras, ſed Quia.
Univerſus Equus.
Turris Erecta & Armata.
Diverſa Ordinata Arma.

Subſcribed
Rolland. Hung. Mog. poſuit.

Or, *Rowland Hunn* an Inhabitant, or Citizen of *Mentz*, who was the Perſon that had depoſited it in that place. Some are of Opinion, That this *Rowland* had buried this Caſe or Box, with a certain Spirit of Divination, as if he had Prognoſticated that this Treaſure ſhould be found during the Siege of *Vienna*: And as if this *Rowland Hunn* ſhould ſay to *Kimpler*, if it prove thy fortune to find this Treaſure, thou ſhalt rejoyce, behold it and ſay nothing; but give Thanks and Pray to Almighty God, and Fight. Thou ſhalt Build, but not to Day, not nor to Morrow, but hereafter; thou ſhalt Erect Churches, when thy Country is freed from it's Enemies, but not now while the *Ottoman* Horſe encompaſs you, and that the Towers are Armed, and a Formidable force Beſiege you. This was the Interpretation, which ſome paſſed on this Writing.

The Beſieged comforted with hopes of Relief.

24th. The *24th*, the *Turks* Sprang another Mine, but with little effect, more than the caſting up of great quantities of Earth: But that which adminiſtred the higheſt Comfort, and Joy imaginable to the Defendants, was the entrance of a Meſſenger into the Town with the News of the great preparations making, and aſſurance that the Town would be relieved in eight hours time. The ſame day the Great Vizier detach'd a Party of Five hundred Horſe to paſs the *Danube*, to Spoil and Burn ſome Villages on the other ſide; but being encountred by Colonel *Heiſler*, they were defeated, and many of them in their Flight drowned in the River.

25th. The *25th*, the *Chriſtians* made a Sally with ſuch Reſolution and Fury, that they drove the *Turks* out of the Ditch, overthrew their Galleries and Gabions, ſpiked ſix Pieces of their Cannon, and diſcharged one of their Mines of the Powder, which was ready to be fired, which a *German* Miner had luckily diſcovered in the Ditch.

26th. The *26th*, the *Turks* fired two Mines under the Ruins of the Ravelin, with Reſolution to make an Aſſault; but were ſtill bravely repulſed by the Defendants, one Cannon ſhot having carried away five *Turks* Heads at once.

27th. The *Turks* fired their Cannon and Mortar-pieces with continued Peals for ſome hours; during which time in the Morning, Three hundred Muſquetiers, and Fifty Horſemen of the Regiment of *Dupigni*, deſcended by certain Subterranean Vaults into the Ditch of the Court Baſtion, where they ruined the Traverſes of the Enemy in ſuch manner, that they required three days time to be repaired; which was of higheſt concernment to the Defendants, to whom nothing was ſo neceſſary and important, as to put the Enemy backwards in the Approaches, and Preſſures they made upon them. In this Action one of the principal Officers of the *Turks* was ſlain, as appeared by the Conflicts, that were made to regain his Body, for which there was a Diſpute that laſted a whole hour; the ſame day the *Turks* fired two Mines, one on the left ſide of the Ravelin, and an other under the Counterſcarp which joyns to the Court Baſtion; and immediately, mounted on the Ruins, intending to poſſeſs themſelves intirely of the Ravelin; but they were repulſed by Count *Scaffemberg* with great Slaughter. At the cloſe of the Evening, Forty Rockets were fired from the top of St. *Stephen's* Steeple, to give notice unto the Duke of *Loraine* of the great diſtreſs of the City, and of the daily advances the Enemy made upon them, and the hourly diminution of the Garriſon.

28th. The nex day to confirm theſe Signals, the Duke of *Loraine* received Letters from *Staremberg* and *Capliers*, repreſenting the ſad and extreme miſery of the City, which could not hold out much longer, but muſt (if not ſpeedily relieved) be yielded to the Beſiegers: Howſoever, they concluded with a Reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of their Blood.

29th. The *29th*, the *Turks* fired the greateſt Mine of any they had yet done, but to ſo little purpoſe, that they durſt not adventure to ſecond it by an Aſſault, as they had formerly done.

30th. This day about three a Clock in the Afternoon, a Mine of the *Turks* over-threw a great part of the right Flanker of the firſt Retrenchment of the Ravelin, which was ſtill defended by the Imperialiſts, thô the outward Retrenchment was poſſeſſed by the *Turks*. The *Chriſtians* loſt only two Men by this Mine, who were buried in the Earth; but the *Turks* preſſing forward, were repulſed with loſs of twenty of their Men who were killed.

31th. The *Turks* to conclude this Month, fired their Cannon and Mortars ſo inceſſantly, that it was believed a General Storm would follow: And having fired a Mine in the Morning, they hoped to have become Maſters of the Ravelin, now as it were at its laſt gaſp, and Aſſaulted it with ſuch Fury, that it ſeem'd ready to yield: But the *Chriſtians* fought with ſo great Reſolution, that they kill'd Sixty *Janiſaries* upon the Ruins, and recover'd all the third, and part of the firſt Retrenchment. And thô the Defendants were well aſſur'd that they ſhould be Relieved in very few days; yet not knowing what Accidents might occur which none could foreſee, they with all diligence made another Retrenchment at the Foot of the Court Baſtion, and at other places. Towards the Evening it was diſcovered, that the Turkiſh Miners were at work under the Ravelin; in which to diſturb them, it was agreed the next day to make a briſk Sally, and to burn the Galleries by which they paſſed to the Mine.

Spet. 1ſt. The next Day being the firſt of the Month, the Sally was accordingly performed by three Hundred Men, who deſcending into the Ditch of the Court-Baſtion, advanced as far as to the Galleries, intending to burn and deſtroy them with Granadoes and diverſe ſorts of Fire-balls; but the Works being deep, and the *Janiſaries* preſſing on them in great numbers, the Defendants were

1683. forced to retire with the loſs of about twenty Men, thô with many more on the Enemy's ſide. Towards the Evening, the Fight was again renewed by a freſh Aſſault of the *Janiſaries*, purpoſing with full reſolution to become entire Maſters of the *Ravelin*; but the *Chriſtians* being ſpirited with the hopes of ſpeedy Succour, ſo valiantly oppoſed them, that at length they were forced to retire with great Slaughter: Immediately after which, the Beſieged made another Sally with about four hundred and fifty Men, burnt their Galleries, and ruined thoſe Works, which they could not repair again in leſs than three Days. In this Action the Citizens behaved themſelves with much Bravery and Dexetity in the execution of their Fire-works; and thô this Sally coſt them Ninety Men, yet it was attended with the death of above three Hundred *Janiſaries*.

The Duke of Loraine *meets with the King of* Poland.

The Day before was remarkable for the Encounter of the Duke of *Loraine* and the King of *Poland*; the firſt going to *Olbrun* to meet his Majeſty: So ſoon as they came in ſight of each other, about the diſtance of twenty five Spaces, the Duke deſcended from his Horſe, as did alſo the King; and coming near they embraced. The King in very affectionate Terms demanded after his Health, and commended his Valour and Conduct, by which he had ſuſtained ſo long the force of ſuch powerful Enemies. Then he preſented to him his Son, Prince *Alexander*, whom, he ſaid, he had trained up betimes in War, to ſerve the Emperor; and did not doubt but he would improve much more by the Guidance and Example of ſo great a General. To which the Duke rerurned anſwer, That his Majeſty had not only amazed him with the heroick and generous Act of ſo long and tedious a March, but had aſtoniſhed him with the exceſs of his Favour and obliging Expreſſions towards him: That next to the Service of the Emperor, he deſired to live, that he might perform ſomething acceptable to his Majeſty, and to all his Relations: That as to the Forms and Rules of War, no Perſon alive was ſo well verſed in them as his Majeſty, from whom all the Generals and Captains of the World might without diſcredit not be aſhamed to learn the Leſſons of Military Diſcipline: After which, the Generals of the Army, the Nobility and Vice-Chancellor of that Kingdom, came and paid their Reſpects to the Duke of *Loraine*. And then, being mounted on Horſe-back, the King having the Duke on the Right-hand, and the Prince on the Left; they enter'd into Diſcourſe concerning the State of the War, and continued the ſame, until they came to the Camp, where, in the King's Tent, a ſumptuous Supper was prepared at a long Table; the King ſate in the middle; on his Right-hand the Duke was placed, and on his Left the Prince of *Poland*; after which the King ordered all the Nobility, who came with the Duke of *Loraine* to ſit alſo. The Supper being ended, at which various Diſcourſes paſſed, but moſt relating to the preſent Enterpriſe; the Duke of *Loraine* returned to his own Camp, much ſatisfied with the Courteſie and Reſolution of the King, who diſpatched Meſſengers with all diligence to the General, who brought up the Rear, to haſten the March of the Army, with all convenient ſpeed. And the next day the King dining with the Duke of *Loraine* at his Tent, reſolved to meet the Emperor at *Krembs* on the ſecond of *September*, where the Interview was appointed, and there it was where all things were to be concerted about the Paſſage over the *Danube*, and Conjunction of the Armies. Whileſt theſe things were projecting, Count *Sciamburg* came from *Nayburgh*, bringing Advice, That the Elector of *Saxony*, with his Forces, could not be at *Krembs* until the third or fourth of this Month, upon which it was computed, that the Relief of *Vienna* could not poſſibly be until the 12th. 1683.

The order of their Supper.

Intelligence of all theſe Matters being carried to the Emperor, the Preſence of his Imperial Majeſty was judged neceſſary at *Krembs*, where the place of general Rendezvous was appointed, both to animate and inſpirit the Army, and to accommodate, compoſe and ſilence ſuch Quarrels and Punctilio's as might ariſe amongſt ſo many Princes of different Countries, concerning Place and Precedency; but the Emperor in his way thither, being taken ill of ſome Indiſpoſition in his Health, proceeded no farther than *Lintz*, where he remained until he received the happy News of the Relief of *Vienna*, and the Confuſion of his Enemies.

A meeting at Edendorf.

In the mean time, a general Council of War being held at *Edendorf*, at which the Elector of *Saxony* was preſent; the Duke of *Loraine*, by his Prudence, ſo ordered and diſpoſed Matters, that no Queſtions about Place or Precedence came into competion. For ſo it was order'd, That at a long Table the King of *Poland* ſhould ſit in the middle, on his Right-hand the Elector of *Saxony*, and next to him all the Generals of the Empire; and on the Left, the general Officers of *Poland*: Over-againſt the King, the Duke of *Loraine* took his Place, who was to be chief Speaker at that Aſſembly, in regard he was beſt able to render a true Account of the State of the War. The Council being ſate in this form, it was laid down as a general Rule, That all Colonels, with the Concurrence of their General Officers, ſhould give

A Council of War held there.

1683. in writing to the King of *Poland* a true State of their reſpective Regiments, and of the Places where they were Quartered; and that from his Majeſty they ſhould receive Rules and Inſtructions for their March to the Relief of *Vienna*. It was farther agreed, after ſome debate, That the Conjunction of the Army, with the Auxiliary Troops, ſhould be on the 5th. of *September* in the Plains of *Tuln*: That the Army of *Poland* ſhould paſs the *Danube* at the ſame place with the Emperor's Army: That the Forces of *Saxony* ſhould paſs the River, by way of the Bridge at *Krembs*: And that all the *Bavarian* Forces which lay encamped with ſome *German* Troops, under the Command of Count *Leſly*, ſhould March directly towards *Tuln*, to joyn with the Imperial and Poliſh Forces.

The execution of theſe Deſigns was deferred until the 7th. when the King towards the Evening began to paſs the River, and was forthwith followed by the Duke of *Loraine* at the Head of the Imperial Army; having firſt made a Detachment of three Regiments, which were to joyn with three Thouſand *Poles* to cut off all Communication of the *Turks* and Malecontents, with the Vizier's Camp. Colonel *Heiſler* with his Regiment of ſix Hundred Horſe was ordered to take his March by the way of *Cloſſen-neuburg*, and to make Fires upon the Hills of *Kalemberg*, to give notice unto the Beſieged of their approaching Relief, which was the Signal agreed between them. But before we come to this glorious Atchievement, let us ſee what was acting for Defence of the Town, and Difficulties to which the Beſieged were reduced.

Sept. 2. In the Morning of this ſecond day, the Point of the Court-Baſtion was overthrown, which gave the *Turks* occaſion to carry their Galleries farther, to the utter ruin of that Fort. Count *Staremberg* believing that the remaining part of the Baſtion could not be longer defended, gave Order to *Huiternian*, a Captain of his Regiment, whoſe turn it was to mount the Guard that Night, to abandon the Ravelin in caſe he found himſelf over-preſſed by the *Turks*, and under covert of the dark Night to make his Retreat. But this ſtout Captain having taken this Poſt with fifty Men, ſo bravely defended the remains of the tottering Fortreſs, that thô the *Turks* burnt the Paliſadoes which were his chief Fortification, yet he repulſed them by the Fire of his Muſquets, with loſs of twenty of his Men, and remained on the place until the Morning, having killed two *Janiſaries* with his own Hands.

3d. Next day the Governour finding it impoſſible to maintain that Poſt any longer, gave order to the Guards to retire, and abandon it to the poſſeſſion of the *Turks*, who had little more to boaſt of, than the acquiſt of that Ravelin, after an Attempt of ſix Weeks continuance made thereupon. 1683.

4th. The fourth was a bloudy day, both to the *Chriſtians* and to the *Turks*; for the latter had ſprung a Mine under the Court-Bulwark, which not only opened a Breach of ſeven Geometrical Paces, but ſhook the whole City with the violent concuſſion of the Air. Five thouſand *Turks*, immediately with Cemyters in their Hands, mounted the Breach, and ſheltring themſelves under ſome Sacks of Wool, which they carried before them, they mounted the Breach with their Cries, *Allah*, *Allah*, and planted four of their Standards thereupon. But notwithſtanding all this Fury of the *Turks*, they were repulſed with equal Bravery by the *Chriſtians*. The Fight continued the whole day, in which the Generals, Captains, and common Soldiers performed the Offices and Parts of valiant and ſtout Defendants, who fearleſs of the Enemies Cannon, ſmall Shot, Bombs, Granadoes and Mines, thô twenty of them were killed that day by one Bomb, and thirty by the Mine, yet ſtill they remained reſolute not to grant one Palm of Ground to the Enemy; but what they gained with the Lives of thouſands. The *Chriſtians* loſt in this day's Conflict one Hundred fifty four common Soldiers, beſides ſome Officers; but this Loſs was recompenſed with the ſlaughter of twelve Hundred *Turks*, whoſe Bodies filled up the Ditch, amongſt which 'twas believed that diverſe were Men of Quality, becauſe their Corpſe were carried off with much diligence and hazard by thoſe, who attended them at their fall.

A bloudy Fight.

5th. The *Turks*, enraged with theſe Repulſes, fired their Batteries inceſſantly againſt the Walls of the Town; and towards the Evening a terrible Fight began in the Ditch, at the foot of the Court-Baſtion near the Breach, in which the *Turks* were beaten off with much Bravery by the Defendants, who not only repaired the Breach, but retrenched themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that the *Turks* durſt attempt them no more on that ſide. This day Arms were given into the Hands of four Hundred Inhabitants, who had not as yet been engaged on the Walls, having been employed in other Services.

6th. On the 6th. the *Turks* fired two Mines, one of which was under the Lobel-Baſtion, and being extreamly deep, it over-threw a great part of the Wall, opened a Breach of nine Paces wide, and blew up twenty four of the Defendants, Howſoever, the *Turks* did not immediately proceed to an Aſſault, becauſe the Mines had thrown up ſuch vaſt quantities of Stones and Earth, as had almoſt fil-

A Mine fired.

1683. led up their Trenches, and buried many of their Soldiers. Howſoever, having breathed and conſidered a while, they advanced to an Aſſault with their uſual Multitudes, which continued for two Hours; till at length the *Turks* finding it impoſſible to prevail, with-drew from the Breach, and fled with ſuch fear, that not regarding the way they took to avoid the Enemies Shot, many of them came within reach of the Ravelin, called *Molk*; where they were ſo received by Cannon and Granadoes, filled with Nails and old Iron, and by ſmall Shot from behind a Redoubt placed in the Ditch, that whole Chambers of *Janiſaries* were deſtroyed in the Fight, and greater numbers killed than had been in any of the Aſſaults; the Loſs having been computed at the leaſt two Thouſand Men.

Two thouſand Turks *killed.*

With this Succeſs, and with the daily hopes and expectations of Relief, the Spirits of the Defendants were raiſed and exalted; as the Courages of the Enemy, with the many Slaughters ſuſtained in the Siege, and apprehenſions of the approach of a vaſt and formidable Army againſt them began to abate and decline.

Signals of the Succours coming.

And as a fore-runner of the expected Succour, five Rockets were diſcovered that Evening in the Air, from the Mountain of *Kalemberg*, which was the Signal agreed upon in that caſe; and as a Token, that they were ſo underſtood by the Town, five Rockets more from the top of St. *Stephen*'s Steeple were returned in anſwer. This day was the laſt that the *Turks* made their fierceſt Attacks, being well aſſured, that what was not then obtained could not afterwards be effected, but by a total defeat of the *Chriſtian* Forces; ſo that the Vizier did little more the day following being the 7*th*, than continue their Batteries without hope of much execution; and expecting every day to be Aſſaulted by an Army not much inferiour to his own, he drew out his Troops to take a review of them, and to ſee in what Condition they were to encounter ſo formidable an Enemy. The Army being drawn out, every *Beglerbeg*, *Paſha* or *Sangiac* gave in a Liſt of the Men which remained under his Command; the numbers of which being caſt up into one total Sum, amounted unto One hundred ſixty and eight thouſand Men; which probably might have been the full account of the whole Army, when they firſt ſurrounded the Walls of *Vienna*:

Account of the Turk's *Forces.*

What were killed at the Siege.

Afterwards during the Siege, thoſe which were ſlain or died by Sickneſs were computed at Forty eight thouſand five hundred and forty four, as appeared by a Liſt found in the Grand Vizier's Tent after the Siege was raiſed; ſo that then the Turkiſh Army was reduced unto One hundred and nineteen thouſand four hundred and fifty ſix fighting Men, beſides Camel-drivers and Attendants on the Camp; and with this vaſt Force the *Turks* ſhamefully turned their Backs and Fled, as we ſhall ſhortly ſee in a few days following.

8th. On the 8*th*, there was an appearance of Smoak aſcending from Mount *Kalemberg*, which gave an undoubted aſſurance to the Beſieged, of the approach of ſome advanced Troops deſigned for their Relief: And with this joyful Spectacle the Defendants beheld the *Turks* loading their Camels, and preparing to pack away with their Baggage. Howſoever, they continued ſtill to fire great quantities of Bombs, and Granadoes into the Town, and to dig their Mines; one of which they fired this day under the Baſtion of the Lobel: By which they blew up part of the Wall, which as believed would be ſeconded by a General Aſſault; and accordingly expected by the Defendants, who in fear thereof remain'd all day in Arms on their Guard, and with them the Regiment of Horſe commanded by *Dupigni*, all ſerving on Foot, armed with their Helmets and Coats of Mail; but inſtead hereof the *Turks* only made a ſmall Attempt with about Three hundred Men, with which they had the fortune to beat the *Chriſtians* out of the Trenches of the Paliſadoes, which united the Communication between the Lobel and Town: But *Santa Croce*, Lieutenant Colonel to *Dupigni*, with Fifty of his Regiment, armed as aforeſaid, coming in to their aſſiſtance, repulſed the *Turks* from thoſe Trenches, and again poſſeſſed themſelves thereof: In which Action the Lieutenant Colonel was wounded in the Leg, as was alſo one of his Captains called *Grove*, and Sixteen of his Souldiers killed and wounded; beſides Twenty five Foot Soldiers belonging to other Regiments; but ſtill good fortune ſo favoured them, that they met with a Mine of the Enemy furniſhed with Twenty eight Barrils of Powder, which was ready to have been fired that Night, had they diſcharged it, and filled the vacancy again with Earth.

9th. The *Turks* having News of the near approach of Relief, reſolved to make their ultimate Effort on the Town, which they thought was now reduced to the laſt Gaſp and Extremity, and that they muſt carry it now or never: Upon which accordingly they fired their Cannon, and Mortars double to what they had done on other days: But this was but like a lightning (as they ſay) before Death; for preſently in the Afternoon the Turkiſh Camp began to move, and their Cavalry to Ride from one ſide to another in a confuſed manner: Their Servants and Attendants were taking down their Tents, and loading their Camels with

1683. their Baggage; all which was in order to the removal of their Camp, and pitching it in another place more commodious for Engagement, and Fighting with the Enemy. Howſoever, thoſe who were left behind to ſecure the Trenches, and make good the Siege, ſtill proceeded in their Subterranean Works, and this day fired nine ſeveral Mines under the Curtain, which was between the Court and Lobel Baſtion, without much execution.

10th. On the 10*th*, a Diſcovery was made of three other Mines, which the Enemy had opened under the Curtain between the ſaid Baſtions; to defend which, all the Cannon on that ſide were brought to that place, and behind them ſo many Trenchments, Retrenchments and Paliſadoes were made and erected, that it was almoſt impoſſible for the Enemy to advance ten Paces, without meeting ſome difficult Paſs, or Fortification to overcome: And indeed the *Turks* had already found by good experience, that one ſpan of Earth had coſt them the lives of a Thouſand Men to purchaſe it. Notwithſtanding which the place was reduced to its laſt extremity, and to a ſenſible want of all Proviſions and Ammunition; and nothing could keep up their Courage and Reſolution, but the hourly expectation of Relief, which they ſignified to the Duke of *Loraine*, by the continual firing of Rockets and other Fire-works; giving him thereby to underſtand that the Town was in it's laſt Agony, and the ſaving thereof, and of all their Lives depended only on ſome few Moments of time.

11th. On the 11*th*, the *Turks* plied their Cannon and Mortar-pieces, as violent as at any time before, tho' the Fury of them continued not above three Hours; for the noiſe of the approach of the *Chriſtian* Army began to ſilence the Roaring of Cannon, and turned their Thoughts from the offenſive part, to a care of providing for their own ſecurity. In the Afternoon appeared three ſeveral Smoaks on the Mount of *Kalemberg*, which was the certain Signal of the approaching Succour; at the ſight of which, the Defendants full of Hopes and Courage, prepared to make a Sally on the Enemy: The People full of Joy run to the Ramparts which were leaſt expoſed to danger; the Women and others who were Feeble and Sickly left their Beds, and betook themſelves to the Tops of Houſes, to behold the pleaſant Spectacle of their long deſired deliverance; ſome of which were ſtill deſponding with fear, and conceiving that the numerous Troops of the *Turks* ſo Valiant, and ſo well Intrenched were almoſt invincible: Others preſaged ſome wonderful Slaughter to inſue; others of more ſanguine and chearful Temperament, beheld the *Turks* as loſt, and figured unto themſelves their ſhameful and ignominious Flight. In ſhort, all People were full of Prayers and Vows to his Divine Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed at length to Reſcue, and Deliver them from the many Dangers with which they were encompaſſed: Their Prayers were heard, and towards five a Clock in the Evening, ſome advanced Troops appeared on the Mountain near the Monaſtery and Caſtle of St. *Leopold*, between whom and the *Turks* ſome Shot were exchanged; but Night coming on, the darkneſs put an end unto a farther Engagement, which was reſerved for the day following. 1683.

12th. This being the day appointed by Heaven for Relief of this expiring City, which could not have held out twenty four Hours longer, the Imperial and Poliſh Army with the Auxiliaries joyned at the Foot of the Mountain of *Kalemberg*, which before the Armies began to aſcend, it was judged fit in the firſt place to take a Survey of the Ground, and the ſeveral Poſts therein. The Marquis *Parella*, a Gentleman of illuſtrious Birth and clear Courage, repreſented the Ground in an exact Map to the Generals, and offer'd with his own Perſon and Followers to poſſeſs himſelf of the Caſtle *Leopold*, and the Monaſtery, which were very advantagious Poſts on this occaſion. The Enterpriſe ſeemed ſo hazardous to the Duke of *Loraine*, that he commended the generous offer, which the Marquis had made, but judging it a more fit undertaking for Soldiers of leſs note, he drew out a Party of Sixty Granadiers under the command of a Lieutenant, to whom he committed this dangerous Service: The Duke having alſo in Perſon by night taken a more exact Survey of the place, and judging it to be of great importance, reinforced it with Three hundred Soldiers more; after which he returned back to the King of *Poland*, to inform him of the diſpoſition of the Army. After which all the Forces were ranged in form of Battail, and began to March over the Mountain of *Kalemberg*: The utmoſt part of the right Wing was committed to the Conduct of the King of *Poland*.

The Numbers of the Chriſtian Forces were as follow.

Imperial Horſe in Twelve Regiments conſiſted of,	8200 Men
Imperial Infantry in Forty two Companies,	6400
Dragoons of the ſame in Forty Companies,	2400

Cravats

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Cravats Nine hundred, *Poles* under *Lubomiski*, Fifteen hundred,	2400
In all	19000
Poles Twelve thouſand Horſe and Two thouſand Foot, Commanded by himſelf in perſon, and under him by his Great General *Jablonski*,	14000
The *Bavarians* Commanded by Baron *de Gonfeld*, were Three thouſand Horſe, and Seven thouſand five hundred Foot, in all	10500
Duke of *Saxonies* Forces Commanded by himſelf, were Two thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, and Seven thouſand Foot	9000
Franconia, Commanded by Prince *Valdeck*, Horſe Two thouſand five hundred, and Foot Six thouſand five hundred,	9000
	61500

Order of the Chriſtian Army.

To which being added the ſeveral Princes, Volontiers with their ſeveral Attendants which followed them; this whole Army was computed to amount unto Sixty five thouſand Men, which were now Marching to Engage the Turkiſh Army, which after after all their loſſes, had ſtill remaining (as we ſaid before) 119456 fighting Men; in this March over the Mountain of *Kalemberg*, the Prince of *Saxelawemburg* General of the Cavalry, with eight Regiments of Horſe, two of Dragoons, and one of *Cravats* belonging to the Emperor, with all the Cavalry and Dragoons of *Bavaria* and *Franconia*, were placed on the Right Wing, next to which Marched the King of *Poland* with his Army. The Infantry of *Bavaria* and *Franconia* were drawn up in the third place or middle, Commanded by Prince *Waldeck*; near unto whom all that day was the Elector of *Bavaria*, who pretended to ſerve as a Volontier, it being his firſt expedition in the War. All the Emperor's Foot, and that of *Saxony* commanded by Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, were drawn up on the left Hand, and Marched directly along the *Danube*, and towards the Monaſtery of St. *Leopold*. Next to theſe on the left Wing marched Count *Caprara* with ſeven Regiments of the Emperor's Horſe, to which the *Poles*, under *Lubomiski* were joyn'd, with all the Cavalry and Dragoons of *Saxony*, commanded by the Elector himſelf in Perſon. In this Order the Army mounted the Hill, with a ſlow pace, to attend the Motion of the Artillery, which tho conſiſting of ſmall Pieces; yet the Ways were ſo Rough and Rocky, that with double Teams of Horſes, they aſcended ſlowly to the Top of the Hill.

1683.

The Turkiſh Camp opened.

And now both Armies with opening of the Morning began to take aview of each other: The Stars were not with drawn from the Sky, when the *Chriſtians* heard the *Alah, Alah* ſound from the Turkiſh Camp, which are the Lauds or Praiſes which they ſing to God in their Prayers. The Fires and Lights in their Camp diſcover'd the excellent ſymetry, and order in the diſpoſition of their Tents and Troops; which had been the moſt pleaſing Spectacle in the World, had it not been of Enemies and Infidels, who came to deſtroy the Chriſtian Religion, and the *German* Empire. From hence it was that the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Loraine* taking a view of the Enemies Forces, did conceive that the orders in which they were placed, did look as if they intended to diſpute every Foot of Ground between each Army; which they might have done with great advantage, in caſe they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Woods in the Foreſt of *Vienna*, and of Ambuſcades, which according to the nature of the Ground might be pleaced to hinder the deſcent from the Mountain. Wherefore the King deſired of the Duke of *Loraine* Two thouſand *German* Foot to Flank his Horſe at the entrance out of the Wood, and to ſupport them in the deſcent down the Craggy Hill, and accordingly four Batalions were granted for that ſervice.

Count *Leſly*, who was General of the Artillery, had received Orders to Raiſe a Battery at the coming out the Wood, for better ſecurity of the Army in their March over the Hill, which he almoſt effected with one nights work; but before he had quite finiſhed it, the *Turks* made a diſcovery of what was there doing, and were put in mind thereby of what they themſelves ſhould have done to impeſe the Enemies paſſage that way: But certain it is, they were ſo confident of their invincible ſtrength, that they thought it too mean for them to take the advantage of Poſts, or Situations againſt an Army, of which they conceived ſo low an Eſteem: But finding themſelves at laſt deceived in thoſe imaginations and Councils, they detached early in the Morning ſome Forces to demoliſh the Work, which Troops came very near, and poſted themſelves behind certain Trees which were felled, and Planks, which ſerved for Barricadoes againſt the Shot of the Battery.

The Duke of *Loraine* obſerving from the Monaſtery of St. *Leopol*, the motion of the *Turks* againſt the advanced Troops, Ordered ſeveral Batalions under Command of the Duke of *Croy* to ſupport them, which coming ſeaſonably to their Aſſiſtance cauſed the Imperialiſts to enlarge their Front in that Line, and gave them Reſolution to

Attack the Enemy, who were drawn up behind certain Banks, and charged them with ſo much Gallantry, that they forced them to retire into their main Body. In this Action the Duke of *Croy* being wounded in the Shoulder by a Muſquet Shot, was carried out of the Fight, and his place of Command ſupplied by the Count of *Fountaine*.

The Duke of Croy *wounded.*

The whole Body of the Turkiſh Army beginning now to move, the Duke of *Loraine* gave Orders to his left Wing to advance, and to Prince *Waldeck*, and to Duke *Saxelawemberg* to Sally out of the Woods, and fall upon the Enemies Front at the Head of their Encampment. In the mean time the King of *Poland* was advanced as far as to the Chappel of St. *Leopold*, where he heard Maſs with great Devotion, which was celebrated by Father *Mark Aviano*, a Capuchin and Confeſſor to the King, which being finiſhed, the Bleſſing was given to him and all his Army: And then the King Cry'd with a loud Voice, *Now we may March with entire aſſurance that God will give us Victory*; And then mounting on Horſe-back, he Road in amongſt the Ranks of his Army, and made this Speech to them as follows.

Generous Poliſh Cavaliers: 'Tis not only the Work of this Day to maintain the Glory which your Anceſtours have acquired, and your own Courage hath Atchieved by paſſing to the Succour of the Invincible Bulwark of Chriſtendom againſt the Ottoman *Troops: Nor is it our Aim only to Defend our own Country, which in caſe* Vienna *were loſt, would lie miſerably expoſed to the Invaſion of thoſe Enemies againſt whom we Fight at preſent. But our chief deſign is, to defend the Cauſe of God, and ſave the Weſtern Empire which hath done us the Honour to have recourſe unto our Arms; an Honour which our Anceſtors never durſt to hope for, and which is reſerved, as a Reward of your Valour: Whefore reſolve to Conquer, or to Dye nobly in this Cauſe, in which Martyrdom is held out for the Prize and Recompenſe. Behold therefore your King, who Fights at the Head of your Battalions: And be confident that the God of Hoſts, whoſe Cauſe we are going to maintain, will Fight on our ſide.*

The Turks *play with their Cannon on the Town.*

The Turks *give ground.*

The Poles *charge the* Turks.

The Mountain of *Kalemberg*, and the Woods of the Foreſt of *Vienna* reſounded by this time with the Ecchoes from the Peals of Cannon, and Vollies of ſmall Shot, which called the Inhabitants of *Vienna* to the Tops of their Houſes, and of the Rampires to behold the long wiſhed for Sight of their approaching deliverance: Howſoever they were not ſo much taken up in ſeeing, and admiring, as to neglect their Guards and Watches on their Fortifications; but on the Contrary, they plied all their Cannon, Small ſhot and Granadoes, againſt the Enemy in their Trenches, with much profuſeneſs, knowing that the time of their deliverance being come, they might the more laviſhly beſtow their Ammunition on their Enemies: The like quantities of Cannon, Fire-works, Bombs, &c. were returned from the *Turks* on the Town, and in greater abundance than had been at any time ſince the beginning of the Siege; and all the Mountains, Plains and Places round the City were filled Fire, Smoak and Noiſe: In the mean time the King of *Poland* continued his March down the Hills, as did the Regiments of Dragoons of *Heiſler* and of *Saxony*, which were poſted on the left Wing, near the Chappel of St. *Leopold*: The like Orders were given to all the Imperial Army to advance towards the Enemy, who began now to ſhelter themſelves under Rocks, and behind Trees, and in rough places: The right Wing alſo moved at the ſame time, and all with equal paces. The *Turks* made ſome reſiſtance as yet, but ſo faintly as was not able to withſtand the Fury of the *Chriſtians*; and the ſeveral Shelters unto which they began to have recourſe, ſhowed plainly their intentions to quit the Field. The Devotions which the King of *Poland* uſed this Morning, retarded his March for the ſpace of a full hour, during which the whole *Chriſtian* Army made a Halt near to *Neudorf*, until the *Poles* were come up into the Line equal to the reſt of the Forces. The left Wing of the Imperialiſts without much reſiſtance, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Poſt which the *Turks* poſſeſſed at *Holſtadt*, and the Prince *Waldeck* cauſed the Enemy on the other ſide to give way. The appearance of the *Poles* on the Top and on the ſide of the Hill, looked very formidable to the *Turks*. The King, who marched at the Head of his Army, detached ſeveral Troops of his *Huſſars* to Skirmiſh with the Front of the Enemy; but being over-powred, were forced to Retire to a place where Prince *Waldeck* had very ſeaſonably cauſed ſome Batalions of *Bavaria*, and of the Regiment of *Merci* to advance, which gave a ſtop to the purſuit which the *Turks* made after them. The King upon this diſorder of the *Huſſars* cauſed the firſt Line of his Army to advance, which charged the *Turks* with ſo much Fury, as cauſed the Groſs of their Body to Retire unto the Top of a Hill, where ſome of their Foot were drawn up, and ſeveral Batteries of Cannon planted. And now all the Poliſh Army moved, the Enemy oppoſing them in divers ſcatter'd places, from whence they fired Vollies of Muſquets, with much damage to the *Poles*; but as yet they were not broken, but ſtill advancing gained Ground on the Enemy.

The King of Poland *enters the Turkiſh Camp.*

In the mean time the Duke of *Loraine* being far advanced with the left Wing towards the Enemy; the *Turks* to avoid the Effort which was making on their Right, drew themſelves into Batalia before their Line of Circumvallation, and fortified themſelves with ſome Pieces of Cannon, as if they intended to have made a ſtrong reſiſtence; but their Reſolution continued not long before they gave way, and abandoning that Poſt, opened a way to the *Chriſtians* into their Camp, without any oppoſition. Then it was, that the Duke of *Loraine* commanded all the left Wing to Wheel about unto the Right, taking in the whole compaſs of the Turkiſh Camp, without breaking their Ranks, or falling upon the Plunder of the Enemies Baggage, or Tents which they had left Standing. The King of *Poland*, and Prince *Waldeck* with their ſeveral Troops, enter'd the Turkiſh Camp about ſeven a Clock in the Evening: And the Duke of *Loraine* about half an hour after made himſelf Maſter of the Counterſcarp, and Suburbs of the City; the *Janiſaries* who were lodged in thoſe Quarters eſcaping by favour of the Night, with much leſs Slaughter than if it had been Day; and indeed they behaved themſelves with much more Valour, than others of the Turkiſh Militia: The Darkneſs put an end to the Battail, in which the *Chriſtians* had gained a compleat and an undoubted Victory. And now the Duke of *Loraine* had leiſure to ſend to complement the King upon this fortunate Succeſs, a great part of which Glory, he attributed to the Valour and good Conduct of his Majeſty and his generous Cavaliers: The King returned an Anſwer on the other ſide, with like obliging expreſſions, confeſſing, that thô every Nation and Battalion in the Army did their parts; yet much of the Honour of the Succeſs of this Day, was due to the Bravery of the *Germans*, who were the firſt to enter into the Camp and Trenches of the Enemy.

Thus were the *Chriſtians* become Maſters of the *Turkiſh* Camp, where they lodged that Night in the ſame Form and Order, as the *Turks* had done the Night before, with Fires and Lights in all the Tents; only it was a more grateful Spectacle to the Beſieged, which they could behold with more Comfort and Security, than ever they had done the Nights before; for this was of Joy, and the others of Terrour.

The haſty Flight of the Turks.

In the Night the *Turks* paſſed the River at *Sweker*, with ſo much Fear and Precipitation, that they not only left their whole Camp ſtanding, but even the Standard of the Empire, which is the Sacred Banner of their Religion, with the three Horſe Tails, which are the Enſigns of the Vizier's Authority. Moreover, they abandoned to their Enemies all their Tents, Baggage, Ammunition and Proviſions, with all their Cannon and Artillery, being One hundred and eighty Pieces; and ſo ſpeedy were they in their Flight, that before the next Day in the Evening, the Van of their Army had paſſed *Raab*.

The Vizier's Tents fall to the lot of the King of Poland.

Next day early in the Morning Count *Staremberg* attended with his Son, and ſeveral of the principal Commanders of the City, went out to return Thanks to his Benefactors for ſo great deliverance, and to Congratulate with them their Fortunate Succeſſes and Triumph, which would appear Glorious over all the World: But the firſt thing which the Duke of *Loraine* did that Morning by break of Day, was to Order all his Army to put themſelves into a readineſs to March, whilſt he conſulted with the King of *Poland*, how, and in what manner they might purſue the Enemy, and improve the Victory. But the King ſeemed ſo well ſatisfied with the advantage already gained, and with the Prey and Booty of which he was poſſeſſed, ſitting Maſter in the Vizier's Tent, with all the Appurtenances and Accommodations thereunto belonging, that he excuſed all farther Proceedings at preſent; ſaying, That his Army was much Haraſſed, and required Repoſe, and not in a Condition to purſue an Enemy, whom they beheld at a far diſtance advanced in their way before them, by the Fires and Smoak which aſcended upwards; for as the *Turks* fled they burnt all the Villages through which they paſſed. And now in the *Chriſtian* Camp, and in the City was time for Joy and Triumph. Count *Staremberg* having paid his Reſpects, and made his Complements to the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Loraine*, he conducted them into the City, with a numerous attendance of Nobility and Gentry, who had ſerved in the late Siege; all the Forces were drawn up on both ſides of the Streets, between which they paſſed with loud Acclamations of Joy, unto the Church of the Auguſtin Fryers, where in the firſt place, as was moſt juſt, *Te Deum* was Sung, and Thanks returned to God with Sincere Devotion: Thence they went to the Houſe of the Governour Count *Staremberg*, where he received the Applauſe and Praiſes of the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Loraine*, which were due to his Conduct and Valour; and the like Commendations were beſtowed by them upon all the Officers and Souldiers of the Garriſon, who had every one ſignalized themſelves during this Siege, by ſome

Action

The Joy at Vienna.

Action, or piece of Service or other which was Remarkable and worthy of Obſervation: Afterwards theſe welcome and long-deſired Gueſts were entertained with a ſumptuous Feaſt at the Governour's Houſe; after which, towards the Evening, with the like Joy and Feſtivity they returned to their reſpective Quarters and Tents in the Camp. In the mean time, the Beſieged Inhabitants, who had long been pent up and incloſed within the Walls of the City, were not only deſirous to breath in a more open Air, but were carried with a Curioſity to ſee the Approaches, which the Enemy had been making on them, and how near they had entred to the Heart of the City, that it may be doubtful, whether it was more pleaſant to Men, lately delivered from the extremity of a periſhing Condition, to behold how near they were to the devouring Enemy, and yet to eſcape; or to ſurvey, with an amazed Curioſity, the Tents, Batteries, Trenches and Approaches, which the *Turks* had formed againſt them with wonderful Art and Induſtry.

The Vizier's Tent allotted to the King of Poland.

The Face of all things was now changed, Want and Famine into Plenty, Fears and Anguiſh into Joy, and War into Peace: In the Vizier's Tent, of which the King of *Poland* was poſſeſſed, the rich Veſtments, Jewels, and Mony there found, were valued at a Million, and became the Prey and Booty allotted to his Majeſty, which no Man envied conſidering the generous and heroick Action of that Prince, for whoſe Merit no Reward ſeemed too great: Amongſt other things in that Tent the Standard of *Mahomet* was found, which the King ſent to Pope *Innocent* the XI. by his Secretary *Tulenti.*

The Emperor's Entrance into Vienna.

Interview between the Emperor and King of Poland.

On the 14th. the Emperor, with the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, entred into the City of *Vienna*, which he beheld with Eyes of Compaſſion and Tenderneſs; for ſeeing the Deſolation, which the Enemy had made, and conſidering the Slaughter of many of his truſty Citizens and valiant Soldiers, he could not refrain from Tears of Sorrow, mixed with Joy for the Deliverance and Safety of the ſurviving Party. Being entred within the Gates, he went directly to the Cathedral of St. *Stephen's*, not on Horſe-back, or on a Triumphal Chariot, but humbly and meekly on Foot, carrying a Taper in his Hand, in a kind of penitential manner, went to the great Altar to pay his Duty, and offer up his ſolemn Thanks to Almighty God, according to his uſual Devotion, for the wonderful and miraculous Deliverance of that City. And having thus in the firſt place complied with his Service towards God, he went in the next to viſit the King of *Poland*, whom he overtook at *Sweket*, a Village about a League diſtant from *Vienna*, as he was proceeding on ſome farther Enterpriſe againſt the Enemy: Upon notice of the Emperor's Approach, the King, whoſe Army marched in the Van, made a ſtop; and the *German* Army being in the Rear, the Emperor placed himſelf at the head of them; and the *Poliſh* Army facing at the ſame time about, the King appeared at the head of his; and ſo between the two Armies theſe two great Princes, attended with a numerous Train of the chief Nobility and Gentry belonging to each Court, met and embraced each other, and with very affectionate Complements, and Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Friendſhip; having entertained Diſcourſe together for the ſpace of near half an Hour, after ſecond Embraces, they departed. Never was there a more heroick and generous Action performed in the World, than was this of the King of *Poland*, who, after a long and tedious March, ſo valiantly expoſed his own Perſon to Hazard, and his Army in the face of an Enemy, which to human Appearance was Invincible; and all this to bring Relief and Succour to an Ally, and to maintain the Bulwark of *Chriſtendom* againſt Infidels, and Enemies to the Chriſtian Cauſe; 'tis ſuch a piece of Bravery as cannot be parallelled with all its Circumſtances in any Hiſtory of paſt Ages; and therefore with much Reaſon and Juſtice were his Praiſes celebrated over all the Chriſtian World; and the Poets, and other refined Wits in diverſe Countries, and different Languages, exerciſed their Pens in Panegyricks and Elogies, ſtriving to out-vy and ſurpaſs each other in the Exceſſes of Praiſe, which how Hyperbolical ſoever could never reach to the imputation of Flattery. We ſhall repeat one, which was compoſed at *Rome* by *Guicciardin* Procur. Gen. of the *Celeſtines* :

ELOGIUM
JOANNI SOBIESCO
Dominatione Polonico, Lituanico,
Liberatione Auſtriaco, Pannonico,
Profligatione Ottomanico, Tracico,
Religione Chriſtianiſſimo,
Pietate Cattolico,
Zelo, & obſequio Apoſtolico,
Inter Reges Præſtantiſſimo,
Inter Duces Invictiſſimo,
Inter Imperatores, citra fabulas,
Solo nomine tremebundo,
Solo aſpectu Hoſtes profliganti
CUI
Gloria Militaris Regnum peperit,
Clementia firmavit,
Meritum perennabit.
QUI
Raro Probitatis, & Religionis exemplo,
Propria deſerens, Aliena defendens,

1683.

Docuit, quo pacto, ſacra Fœderum Jura
Incantur, Colantur, Perficiantur.
OttomanicamLunam,fulgentiſſimo CrucisVexillo,
Æternam Eclypſim Minitantem,
Adeo proprie, fortiterq; è Chriſtianorum finibus eliminavit.
Ut unum, & idem fuerit;
VENISSE, VIDISSE, & VICISSE.
Inter, igitur, Chriſtiani Orbis plauſus,
Inter vindicatæ Religionis,& Imperii lætitiam,
Inter cruentatæ Lunæ extrema deliquia,
Agnoſcant Præſentes, credant Poſteri,
Non tantum naſcenti Evangelio, quo promulgaretur,
Sed & jam promulgato, ne profligaretur;
Utrobique fuiſſe miſſum à DEO Hominem
CUI NOMEN ERAT JOANNES.

Del P. Maeſt. Guicciardini
Procur. Gener. Dei Cele[illegible]ni in Roma.

Which Noble and Heroick Action would have remained on the Records of Hiſtory to all Poſterity in honour of this King, had he not afterwards ſullied and tarniſhed the Glory thereof, by condeſcending and ſtooping to Actions as low, and mean, as this was Sublime, and only worthy of the Dignity of a Heroe, as we ſhall ſhow in the following Year.

But to return again from whence we have digreſſed; the Emperor and King having paſſed their Complements, Prince *Alexander*, Son of the King, whom his Father preſented with the Complement of having Enliſted himſelf early into the Service of his Imperial Majeſty. The young Prince, by order of his Father, had habited himſelf in the *German* Faſhion, and was admitted to Kiſs the Emperor's Hand, as were all the Perſons of Quality belonging to the Army, and Court of *Poland*.

The King after having viewed the Riches taken in the Vizier's Tent, which he aſſumed to himſelf as the Reward of his own Atchievements: Out of Complement, he ſent to the Emperor to make tender of one half of the Booty, accompanying the Meſſage with the *Tugh*, or Horſe-tayl on a Staff, with a braſs Knob on the top, which was one of the three Staves of Authority carried before the Vizier: Such another kind of Preſent like this, being *Mahomet*'s Standard, he ſent to the Pope; which being Gifts of no great Value, more than for the Curioſity of them, he frankly and really offered; but as to half the Prey, it was generally believed, that his Majeſty was well informed beforehand, that the Emperor was of too generous a Nature to accept thereof; and would not have been ſo prodigal of his Offers, had he imagined he ſhould have been taken at his word.

1683.

The Croſs erected in place of the Half-moon.

But it is not here to be forgotten, that after the Biſhop of *Newdorf* had ſung *Te Deum* before the Emperor, and performed the other Ceremonies, which laſted for the ſpace of four Hours; at the Concluſion of all, when the Emperor was come out of the Church, the Arch-Biſhop of *Vienna* turned him about, and pointed to the Spire of the Cathedral Steeple: Behold, Sir, ſaid he, that Spar which iſſues from the Spire, at the end of which is a Star within the Creſcent or Half-moon; and conſider that that Monument was there fixed in the Year 1529, when *Soliman* Beſieged the City, and was ſo to remain by Compact with the Citizens, conditionally, That the *Turks* ſhould not batter the Steeple with their Cannon: And now whereas that Article was broken, by the continual Shootings, which the Enemy had made againſt it at the laſt Siege, it is but reaſon that the Creſcent ſhould be taken down; and in Memory of the preſent Deliverance, that a Croſs ſhould be erected in the place thereof; for which the Emperor having given preſent Orders, they were accordingly executed.

The Duke of Saxony *returns home.*

On the 10th. the Duke of *Saxony* returned home with his Troops, which ſpeedy departure ſo ſoon after the raiſing of the Siege, (which ſeemed too ſhort a time for Refreſhment of his Soldiery) was interpreted for a Sign of Diſcontent, perhaps to ſee the *Poles* Rewarded with the greateſt Spoils, and the Auxiliaries neglected, as if they had no Share or Merit in the Victory.

The Emperor finding his Palace much ruined and unfurniſhed at *Vienna*, ſtaid but few days there before he returned to *Lintz*, where he intended to remain until the Repairs of Court and City were made, and the Walls and Trenches cleared of the dead Bodies, which rendred the Air Unhealthful and Infectious: During the time of his ſtay at *Vienna*, he took delight to viſit the Retrenchments and Fortifications, which the Defendants had made behind the Walls and Baſtions, to diſpute every Foot and Inch of Ground, as occaſion had required: He alſo ſurveyed the Batteries, Trenches and Approaches of the Enemy, and ſaw the Stores of Ammunition and Proviſions which they had left behind them, which ſerved again to recruit and repleniſh the Arſenal at *Vienna*. The Liſt and Account whereof was as followeth: Six Thouſand five Hundred Tents, four Thouſand five Hundred Barrels of Powder, ſix Thouſand weight of Lead, 20.000 Granado Shells, eight Thouſand Hand-granadoes, 11.000 Shovels and Pickaxes, one Thouſand ſix Hundred weight of Match, two Thouſand five Hundred Fire-balls, 52 Hundred weight of Pitch, eleven Hundred weight of Oyl of Petolium and of Tar, and five Hundred

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dred Thouſand of Lincet-oyl, Ninety five Hundred of Salt-peter, five Thouſand one Hundred Pieces of coarſe Linnen, two Hundred Thouſand Hair Sacks for carrying Earth and Sand, eighty one Hundred weight of Barrs of Iron and Horſe-ſhooes, an Hundred Ladles for melting Pitch, two Hundred weight of Pack-thread, and Thongs made of Camels Hides, and Buffoloes Leather for binding, four Thouſand Sheep-skins, two Thouſand Halberts, four Hundred Scythes and Scycles, five Hundred and ſixty Barrels of Guns for uſe of the *Janiſaries*, Fifty two Sacks of Cotton and Cotton-yarn, one Thouſand five Hundred Wool-ſacks empty, two Thouſand Plates of Iron for covering Targets, an Hundred and twenty three Hundred weight of Greeſe and Tallow, two Hundred thirty Powder-horns, two Thouſand ſix Hundred Baggs for Powder, four pair of Smith's Bellows for a Forge, twenty one Inſtruments, or Engines for raiſing Carts when overturned, eight Thouſand Carts for carrying Ammunition and Proviſions, all empty, one Thouſand great Bombs, eighteen Thouſand Cannon-bullets, great and ſmall, an Hundred and ten Pieces of Cannon of all ſorts, as Culverin, Demyculverin, demy and whole Cannon, Sakers, &c. thirteen Mortar-pieces, mounted for ſhooting Bombs, ſix great Anvils, diverſe Sacks for uſe of the Ordnance, and many Ladders made of Cords. All which, as we have ſaid, were carried into *Vienna*, and laid up amongſt the Stores of that Arſenal.

After this Work was done, the next was to employ all the Labourers belonging to the City, with the captivated *Turks*, whom they made to aſſiſt in filling up the Trenches, Holes and Vaults which the *Turks* had made; ſome of which were ſo deep, that they ſeemed rather to be Caves and Dens than Trenches for covert and ſhelter for Beſiegers: So that had not the *Turks* buſied themſelves in ſuch fruitleſs Labours, they might have compaſſed that in half the time, which was not effected in the ſpace of ſixty two Days. Amongſt theſe other Works, ſeveral Vaults were found filled with dead Bodies, putrified and ſtinking, and all the Country round for many Leagues were ſtrowed with dead Carcaſſes; for Burying of which, or Burning, or caſting into the *Danube*, ſtrict Orders were given, and which with much diligence were executed, to prevent a Peſtilence, the Putrefaction of which began already to infect the Air. Amongſt the dead, the Bodies of many Women and Children were found, who had been made Slaves and Captives by the *Turks*, and Maſſacred by them, either out of Revenge, or becauſe they were an Incumbrance to them in their Flight; but to theſe Bodies ſome Reſpect was ſhown, being carried to *Cimeteries*, and there interred after the Rites of the Chriſtian Burial, with Croſſes erected over their Graves. Howſoever ſome *Turks*, who were Men of more tender Bowels than the others (for we muſt not figure them all to be of the like fierce and cruel Diſpoſition) did quit the Poſſeſſion of their Slaves with more gentleneſs, and ſet them at liberty with their Lives, of which moſt were Women and Children, the which the *Germans* and *Poles* took up and brought them back again to *Vienna*.

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By this time, that the Trenches were filled without the City, and the Walls and ſome Houſes repaired, the News of the happy Deliverance of *Vienna* had ſpread it ſelf over all the Countries, from whence Proviſions of all ſorts came, and Boats laden with Corn, Wine, Fruits and Herbs arrived daily in, to ſupply the Wants of the City; the Face of which was totally changed, from Famine to Plenty, from War to Peace, and from Terror and diſmal Appreheſions to Joy, Triumph and Feſtivals.

The Spirits of the Imperialiſts and *Poles* being highly raiſed by theſe Succeſſes, ſome Parties purſued the *Turks*, who were as much dejected as the others were elevated; and thô they haſtened in a precipitous Flight, apprehending an Enemy juſt at their backs; yet many of them in the Arrear, appointed to conduct twelve Pieces of Cannon, and ſome Baggage were over-taken in the Purſuit, and brought back to *Vienna*, where theſe Captives, with their other Brethren, were ordered to work in Chains for filling the Trenches, which they had before opened, and repair of the Walls and Baſtions, which they had battered down with their Cannon, and blown up with their Mines.

The Grand Vizier haſtning his March, or rather his Flight, for (as we ſaid before) he actually Ran away and ſhamefully turned his Back with near 120.000 Fighting Men; meditating (as we may believe) of the Diſgrace, Ruin and evil conſequences of this Misfortune, ſought and endeavoured to clear his ill Conduct, and want of Courage by caſting it upon others, as is common to the Nature of Mankind. Accordingly he diſpatched away a Letter to the Grand Seignior, giving him an account of the unfortunate Succeſs before *Vienna*, cauſed by the Cowardiſe, or Treachery of ſeveral great Officers and Generals of his Army: Particularly he named the Vizier of *Buda*, to whom having given command to Charge the Enemy with a Body of Twelve thouſand Men, as they deſcended the Hill of *Kalemberg*; he, and his Soldiers inſtead of obeying theſe Orders, ſhamefully turned their Backs and put themſelves unto Flight; which when the reſt of the Army ſaw, they

The Grand Vizier complaining to the Grand Seignior againſt the Paſha of Buda.

were ſtruck with a common Conſternation and Fear, ſuggeſted to them to ſecure their ſafety by following the Example of their Fellow-Soldiers: So the whole misfortune of the Day was attributed to the ill Conduct, and Cowardiſe of the Vizier of *Buda*, which was ſent to the Grand Seignior, then reſiding at *Belgrade*, and in hourly expectation of better News.

The Vizer of Buda *writes to the Grand Seignior.*

The Vizier of *Buda*, who had received Information by ſeveral Hands of the Diſcourſes with which the Grand Vizier entertained all the Officers concerning him, laying to his Charge the Loſs and Ruin which had happened; thought fit to diſculpate, and clear himſelf by a more faithful Relation of Matters in a Letter to the Grand Seignior; wherein he ſet forth, That by the unſkilfullneſs of the Grand Vizier, and his want of Reſolution in Military Affairs, this important matter had miſcarried: For had he fortify'd the Foreſt of *Vienna*, and erected ſome few Redoubts on the deſcent of the Hill of *Kalemberg*, the City by all the Force of the World, could never have been Relieved: Or had the Vizier ſpent that time, which he employ'd in ſinking Vaults and Caves for ſhelter, in bold Storms and Attempts, thô with loſs of half the Army, the importance of the place, and the conſequences of the Succeſs, would have largely paid for the effuſion of Blood; but uſing unneceſſary cautions of Mines, and formal Approaches, by which he hoped to have conſtrained the City to Surrender upon Articles, and hereby aſſumed to himſelf the Riches and Plunder of the place, which taken in Heat of Blood, and by Dint of Sword, would have become the Prey and Booty of the Soldiery; he gave occaſion to ſuch delays, as ſerved the *Chriſtian* Army, and turned to the Ruin and Miſcarriage of this whole Enterpriſe.

The Grand Vizier Strangles the Vizier of Buda, *and other Paſhas.*

The Grand Vizier being weary of ſuch Complaints as theſe, reſolved to Sacrifice the Life of the Paſha of *Buda* to his own Folly and Deſtiny; commanding him to be Strangled, together with the Paſhas of *Eſſek* and *Poſſega*, and the Aga of the *Janiſaries*, great Friends and Confidents of the Vizier of *Buda*, and the beſt and moſt experienced Officers of the whole Army, with above Fifty Officers and Soldiers more, whom he accuſed of Cowardiſe; but this Execution of Juſtice (as they call it) could not ſecure his own Life, but rather furniſhed his Enemies at Court, ſuch as the Kuzlir Aga and others, with inſtances wherewith to aggravate his Crimes to the Grand Seignior; and indeed there now offer'd a ſurpriſing occaſion to wreak their Malice on the Vizier, ſince it is almoſt impoſſible, for a Man to be unfortunate and yet to be eſtemed Innocent. Nor did the Vizier eſcape clear, with the remainder of his ſhatter'd Army to *Buda*; for being Attacked in the Rear by the Garriſon of *Raab*, he loſt Six hundred Men more: Howſoever, he proceeded in his March, and Reinforced the Garriſons of *Newhauſel* and *Strigonium*. The Death of theſe Paſhas, by which the Vizier hoped to have ſaved his own Life, raiſed ſuch Mutiny amongſt the *Turks*, as cauſed a greater Fluctuation of Rage in the Minds of the Soldiery, than they had lately endured of Fear from the Enemy; between which two Paſſions, there was nothing but Confuſion, Diſcontent and Diſcouragement in the whole Army: For the Paſha of *Buda* was popular, and well beloved by the Soldiery, and eſteemed the moſt Martial Man in the whole Camp: And the Aga or General of the *Janiſaries* was ſo well affected by that Militia, that they highly reſented his Death; for at no time, (much leſs in this) can they endure to have their General puniſhed or cut off, unleſs it be by themſelves, and in their own Mutinies.

Mutiny in the Turkiſh Army.

A Council of War.

In this confuſion were the *Turks*, when the Chief Captains of the *Chriſtian* Army conſider'd, that the preſent Relief of *Vienna* would be of little benefit to the Chriſtian Empire, unleſs the Victory were purſued, and improved by ſucceeding Enterpriſes: All the Princes and Commanders agreed hereunto, (except the Elector of *Saxony*, who as we have ſaid before return'd home) and wiſely judged, that the *Turks* having made a Retreat with a Body of near 120.000 Men, entire and whole, they might reaſonably be expected the next year to return again unto the Siege, unleſs advantage were taken of their preſent Conſternation, to break and confound them beyond a poſſibility of Recovery: At this Council, it was propoſed to Beſiege *Newhauſel* or *Gran*, and for enlargement of Winter-quarters, and Annoyance of *Buda* and *Gran*, that *Peſt* and *Barcan* ſhould be taken: In fine, after ſome debate it was concluded, That nothing could be reſolved at preſent concerning the manner of Proceedings, for that the Actions of War, were to be regulated according to the Motions of the Enemy; but that ſomething was to be undertaken ſpeedily, whilſt the Iron was hot, and the Spirits of the *Turks* cold, and ſtill under their late Conſternation: The King of *Poland* being of the ſame Mind, Commanded his Troops to advance towards *Presbourg*, which on the 18*th* Encamped near *Ficken*, together with the Imperial Forces, and came thither on the 19*th* where they were forced to continue until the 25*th* for want of a Bridge, which could not be finiſhed until that time.

Tekeli ſends a Letter to the King of Poland.

Whilſt the Bridge was framing, and the Army detained on the Banks of the River; a Meſſenger from *Tekeli* brought a Letter to the King of *Poland*, containing certain Propoſals in order to an Accommodation. The King having received a Character of *Tekeli* to be a Man of Intrigue, and Falſe, and who had frequently made Offers of Peace, but never obſerved any; admitted his Meſſenger to Audience in a manner of Coldneſs and Jealouſy, and yet with reſpect due to the Perſon from whom he was ſent: But before he would receive the Letter, he asked, Whether it was Dated before, or ſince the Raiſing of the Siege of *Vienna*: To which the Meſſenger making anſwer, That it was Wrote two days before that Succeſs: The King thereupon Replied with an angry Frown, Go ſaid he, and return the Letter to your Maſter again, and tell him, That he ſhould correct and amend the Stile, and change the Subſtance and Senſe thereof, according to the alteration of Times and Affairs.

Some Cities Revolt.

Budiani changes his ſide.

Such is the force of Succeſs and Proſperity of a Prince, that ſo ſoon as the News of the Relief of *Vienna* was divulged in the Upper *Hungary*, many Counties declared for the Emperor; and the Fortreſſes of *Papa* and *Totis*, were the firſt to give Examples of Obedience and Duty to other Cities. News alſo came at the ſame time, that the Count of *Budiani*, who upon the formidable appearance of the *Turks*, had deſerted the Poſt he maintained on the Paſſage over the *Raab*, and had taken Party with the Malecontents, and joyned with a Body of *Turks* and *Hungarians*, and had Fought againſt the Imperial Troops, and Burnt and Plunder'd ſeveral Villages on the Frontiers of *Stiria*; Had now with the turn of Fortune, changed his ſide and intereſt; and having Surpriſed, and Cut in pieces thoſe very *Turks* with whom he was Aſſociated, had united his Forces with thoſe of Count *Aſpremont*, and therewith troubled and infeſted the *Turks* in their Retreat.

The Bridge over the *Danube* being finiſhed, the *Poles* were the firſt to March over it into the *Iſle* of *Schultz*; and were followed by the Imperial Army: But the Troops of *Bavaria* and *Franconia*, remain'd ſtill Encamped near *Vienna*, for want of Orders to advance farther; but Letters were ſent to the Princes of that Circle, to continue the Aid of their Forces for ſome farther deſign; and a Meſſenger was diſpatched to the Elector of *Bavaria*, who by Reaſon of ſome indiſpotion of Health, was adviſed by his Phyſitians to go to *Brin*, for benefit of the Air, which was eſteemed more wholſom than that of *Vienna*.

Reſolved to Beſiege Gran.

But the year being now far advanced towards the end of *September*; to ſtay for ſuch Orders, and the March of theſe Auxiliaries, the Seaſon would be too far ſpent, to undertake any Action of great moment; wherefore the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Loraine* reſolved to advance with their Army to *Comorra* without the Reinforcement of the Allies. Being come to a place called *Wiſmar*, within an hours March of *Comorra*, Advices were brought, that *Tekeli* had diſpeeded a Detachment from his Camp before *Levents* to *Bergſtadt*, that the Vizier was at *Buda*, from whence he had Reinforced the Garriſon of *Newhauſel* with Four thouſand Men; but that in the Turkiſh Army were ſuch Diſcontents cauſed by the late ill Succeſſes, and by the Cutting off of the Paſha of *Buda*, and other great Men well affected by the Soldiery, that there was nothing but Mutiny and Confuſion in the Camp. Upon this Intelligence, it was reſolved at a Council of War to attempt *Gran*, and which to make the more Feaſible, it was concluded neceſſary in the firſt place, to take the Fortreſs of *Barcan*, which is a Palanca oppoſite to that City, and covers the Foot of the Bridge over the *Danube*, which makes a Communication between the two places. By this time Four thouſand *Swediſh* Infantry and One thouſand Horſe, with ſome other Auxiliaries (which by reaſon of the diſtance of the places, from whence they came, could not Arrive in time to partake in the Honour of relieving *Vienna*,) were all ſent with what expedition was poſſible down the *Danube* to Reinforce the Army, which was thereby become more numerous and flouriſhing, than before the Fight at *Vienna*.

The Chriſtians paſs the River.

The Poles advance before the Imperialiſts.

The firſt to paſs that Arm of the *Danube*, which is called the *Waag*, was the King of *Poland* with his Army; which was the work of the *4th* and *5th* of *Octob.* the Imperial Cavalry followed, but the Foot could not paſs the ſame day: The *6th* they Marched to *Moſe*, two Leagues diſtant from *Comorra*, where Count *Staremberg* had Orders to March the Foot; and on the *7th* to joyn the Army, which would ſtay and attend them at that place. But the King of *Poland* impatient of delay, contrary to expectation immediately mounted on Horſeback, and ſent to adviſe the Duke of *Loraine* that he was Marching towards *Barcan*. The Duke being ſurpriſed at this ſuddain Reſolution, returned Count *Dunewald* to his Majeſty, to repreſent unto him the neceſſity of taking the Foot with them, and the danger of dividing the Army, in a place ſo near to the Enemies Quarters, being between the *Turks* on the one ſide, and

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The Poles *put to Flight.*

All that Night there was great diſturbance in the Poliſh Camp; the loſs ſuſtain'd by the Slaughter of ſo many of their Friends and Comrades, was ſuch a Grief and Diſcouragement to them, that they were deſirous that Night to yield the Quarter on the right Wing, which was neareſt to *Barcan*, unto the *Germans*, who had formerly challenged that place as their due: And towards Morning the principal Officers inſinuated unto the King the many Circumſtances, which preſented to render the Succeſs difficult, alledging that their Army was Galled, and ſoat of their Wounds and much Diſcouraged, and the Enemy fluſhed with Yeſterday's Fortune, and more numerous than was believed. The news of this Diſcontent and Wavering in the Poliſh Camp being brought to the Duke of *Loraine*, he immediately went to the King to keep him ſteddy to the former Reſolutions and Meaſures; and ſo well mannaged his Diſcourſe with him, producing many Reaſons why the Enemy could not be very ſtrong, and arguing the Probability and almoſt Certainty of Victory; that in fine he prevailed upon the King, his Senators, and chief Officers to make Tryal of next Day's Engagement. 1683.

The King of Poland *unwilling to adventure another Engagement.*

The Duke of *Loraine* having taken a full Survey of the Ground, and of the Situation of *Barcan*, gave a deſcription thereof uno the King; and offered the Honour of the right Wing unto the *Poles*, for which they had formerly contended; but being much taken off of their Mettle, they deſired to change their Station, and mix ſome of their Troops with thoſe of the Imperialiſts.

An hour before Day the Duke of *Loraine* cauſed to ſound to Horſe, and with the dawning of the Morning the whole Imperial Army was drawn into Battalia, conſiſting of Horſe and Foot, to the number of Sixteen thouſand two hundred Men, beſides the King of *Poland*'s Army, and the Fifteen hundred Polanders under the Command of *Lubomiski*. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* Commanded the right Wing, and under him Count *de Gondola*, and the Baron of *Mercy*. Count *Dunewaldt* Commanded the left, and under him the Counts of *Palſi* and *Taaff*; and the main Body of Infantry was conducted by Count *Staremberg*, the Duke of *Croy* and Count *Serini*. The *Poles* being expected in their Station, ſeemed ſtill tardy and backward to draw out, by Reaſon that the King had in the Night received Intelligence, that the Enemy was greatly recruited by a ſtrong Body, Commanded by *Haſſy* Paſha of *Aleppo*, and the Paſhas of *Siliſtria* and *Grand Cairo*; and that it was much to be doubted, whether the whole Turkiſh Army were not joyned with them. But the Duke of *Loraine* oppoſing unto theſe Doubts undeniable Reaſons,

The Orders of the Chriſtian Army.

The Poles deliberate again about fighting.

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ſons, why it was not poſſible for the Groſs of the Turkiſh Army to be joyned with theſe Forces before *Barcan*; and yet on ſuppoſition, that they were yet conſidering the advantagious Ground on which the Army was drawn up, they needed not fear the whole *Ottoman* Force; of all which he made ſuch clear Demonſtrations, that the King was again confirmed in his former Reſolutions, and ſo with a Party of his *Huſſars*, and of his Infantry, and of the Flower of his Cavalry, he poſted himſelf on the right Wing, between the Imperial Cavalry and the Dragoons: And the great General *Jablonski*, with ſome of the *Huſſars* Foot and Cavalry marching on the left Wing, between the *German* Horſe and Dragoons, and the reſt of the Poliſh Army made a third Line. In this order they marched about half an hour, when about nine a Clock they diſcover'd the Enemy drawn up in Battalia upon the Plain, marching very ſlowly, and in ſuch manner, as that their Force ſeemed equal to that of the *Chriſtians*: The Armies being come very near, the *Turks* of the right Wing charged the left of the *Chriſtians* with much fierceneſs, as if they had had a particular ſpight, and aimed chiefly at the *Poles*: And at the ſame time, the *Turks* who were on the riſing of a Hill advanced, as if they intended to Charge the main Body of the *Chriſtians*. But being within half Muſquet ſhot of them, they on a ſuddain Wheeled about, and fell upon the left Wing; which when the Duke of *Loraine* obſerved, he croſſed the Line of the Cavalry on the left Wing; and with all the party of the firſt Line which had not been engaged, he in Perſon charged the Enemy in the Flank with ſo much Courage and Bravery, as put them to a General Rout, and into that Confuſion, that they were never more able again to Rally: *Dunewaldt* was Commanded to Purſue them, and with the *Poles* of the left Wing enter'd pell-mel with them at the very Gates of *Barcan*, at which place many of them were killed, and periſhed in the Marſhes of *Gran*.

The Fight begun.

The Turks routed.

And purſued.

Whilſt *Dunewaldt* purſued the flying Enemy, the whole Army advanced in Battalia towards *Barcan*; and in the way thither it was reſolved by all Parties to Aſſault the place in this heat of Action, whilſt the Enemy was Affrighted and in Diſorder; the King accordingly drew out ſome Troops of his *Coſacks*, and the Duke of *Loraine* five Battalions of *Staremberg*, *Grana* and *Baden*, which were appointed for that Service: Which Detachment was no ſooner order'd, than Information came, that the Bridge over the *Danube* by the Crouds, and Multitudes of the *Turks* preſſing over it was broken; and that *Barcan* it ſelf was ſo filled up with People, that they had ſcarce room to ſtir, and were ready to trample one another Under-foot. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* with theſe Forces, and three Regiments of Dragoons, and three Pieces of Cannon aſſaulted the Fort, and took it by main force. The Slaughter which was there made by Fire and Sword was very Cruel and Bloody: But moſt, to avoid the Fury of the Enemy, threw themſelves head-long into the *Danube*; ſome endeavoured to ſave themſelves by Swimming, others by their Horſes, hanging on their Mains and Tails; others on Planks and Boards of the broken Bridge; in which Paſſage thô many ſaved themſelves, yet the greateſt part periſhed in the Waters; as appeared by the Bodies of Men and Horſes, together with their Garments, which cover'd the Surface of the River, in places where the Current ran not ſo rapid on the Sides and Banks, as in the middle of the Water. In fine, of theſe great numbers in *Barcan* none eſcaped, unleſs Seven or Eight hundred Men, who having betaken themſelves to a Redoubt belonging to that Fortreſs, obtained Quarter for their Lives on Condition of quiet Surrender. In this Action the *Turks* loſt their beſt Captains, and the Braveſt of their Soldiery; and ſo fatal was this Fight to them, that they never recovered their Courage and Spirits again, but ſuffer'd themſelves for ſeveral years afterwards to be beaten, and baffled by their Enemes: After which we ſhall find them ſtill decaying and giving Ground; and at length falling into Diſcords and Civil Diſſentions, the *Ottoman* Empire had nearly expired, had not the *Chriſtians* falling into Wars amongſt themſelves, (which have always proved advantagious to the *Turks*,) given new Life and growth again unto that People.

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Barcan taken.

This Victory obtained, the King of *Poland* with his General and Senators, juſtly applauded the Wiſdom and Conduct of the Duke of *Loraine*, and Valour of the *German* Troops, to whom he acknowledged the whole Succeſs of that day was to be attributed: In the Quarters of the King *Te Deum* being ſang, and Thanks returned to Almighty God for ſo ſignal a Bleſſing; the Duke of *Loraine* took a Survey of the Fort of *Barcan*, to ſee in what manner it was poſſible to be put in a condition to offend *Gran*, which was Situate on the other ſide of the Water, juſt in oppoſition to it: But ſuch was the Fury of the Soldiers, that they burnt almoſt all the Paliſadoes, and ſet fire to part of the Town; and ſo ravenous were they after the Plunder of the Place, that the *Germans* and *Poles* had fallen into Civil Wars, amongſt themſelves, had not Count *Staremberg* put an end to the Scuffle, by commanding the *Germans* to with-draw;

1683. and leaving the *Poles* Maſters of the Place, they made all the Spoyl they were able, in revenge of the Loſs they had ſuffered the day before. Nothing could come more ſeaſonable, nor more advantagious to the Chriſtian Arms than this Victory; for beſides the Loſs (as we have ſaid) of the beſt of their Men, there remained not above two or three Thouſand alive of all that Army, which conſiſted of Fourteen thouſand of their beſt Horſe, and Twelve hundred *Janiſaries*, commanded by the new Paſha of *Buda*, *Haly*, Paſha of *Aleppo*, and ſix other Paſhas. Twelve hundred or One thouſand Priſoners were taken, and amongſt them the Paſhas of *Aleppo* and *Siliſtria*, with ſeveral other Agas. The Conſequences of which Victory were very happy to the *Chriſtians*; for beſides, that it adminiſtred new Courage to the drooping Spirits of the *Poles*, it totally diſmayed the Malecontents, and produced ſuch Diſorder in the Turkiſh Army, that the Great Vizier, with all the Authority with which he was clothed, was not able to contain them within any bounds or limits of Duty; but rather fearing to be Murdered by them than hoping to Appeaſe them, was forced to abſcond himſelf from their Rage in obſcure Retirement. By this Overthrow the Grand-Vizier loſt all the remainder of his Baggage, which had been ſaved at the Battle of *Vienna*, with Twelve Pieces of Cannon, which had been advanced ſome Hours on the way before the Siege was raiſed, and was employed by the new Vizier of *Buda* for the Service of this Camp.

Mutiny againſt the Great Vizier.

The Siege of Gran *intended.*

The Duke of *Loraine* purſuing the courſe of his good Fortune, was deſirous to conclude this Campaign with the taking of *Gran*, which was the glorious period to which the Emperor directed him, if poſſible, to advance his Affairs. In order hereunto the Duke of *Loraine* taking firſt (according to his uſual Methods) a judicious Survey of the ſituation of the Place, and the way thereunto; obſerved, that in the middle of the River, ſomething below *Gran*, there was an Iſland, in which was not only good Forage for the Horſe, but alſo an ancient Intrenchment, which, with ſome little Labour, might be made uſeful and defenſive againſt the Cannon of the Town: And from the farther ſide of that Iſland, with the help of a few Boats, the whole Army might find an eaſy Paſſage. The King of *Poland* approving this Deſign, Boats were ordered down from *Comorra*, for framing the Bridge: But whilſt this was doing, the late Succeſſes which had brought great Reputation to the Emperor's Affairs, had moved *Tekeli* to ſend the Count *de Humanay* in Behalf of the Malecontents, to offer Terms of Peace and Pacification. The Duke of *Loraine*, who had been long verſed in the Practices of *Tekeli* and his Aſſociates, was of opinion, That the Malecontents were not as yet reduced to ſuch Terms, as might render them fit and diſpoſed for a Treaty: Howſoever, at the deſire of the King of *Poland*, being admitted to Audience, they propoſed a Ceſſation of Arms, and an aſſignment for Winter-quarters: To which the Duke of *Loraine* reply'd, That ſuch Conceſſions at preſent were not agreeable to the Intereſt and Dignity of the Emperor, and took from hence occaſion to make ſome Diſcourſe of the Laws and Conſtitutions of their Kingdom, and to reproach them for their Rebellion, and want of Faith towards their Sovereign. In ſhort, he told them, That if they would hope to taſt of the Emperor's Clemency, they muſt without any previous Conditions lay down their Arms, and renounce all Alliance with the *Turk*, which was the firſt Preliminary or Step to a Treaty. With this anſwer the Deputies being retired, in a few days afterward, not only *Papa* and *Totis* (as we ſaid before) ſubmitted, but *Weſpring* and *Levents* received *German* Garriſons; and the Counties of *Trinſchin*, *Tirnaw*, *Nitria* and *Levents* declared againſt the Cauſe and Intereſt of the Malecontents, and received the Garriſons into their Caſtles and Fortreſſes, which were ſent thither by order of Count *Caraffa* to take Poſſeſſion thereof.

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Tekeli *ſends Deputies to the Duke of* **Loraine.**

Several Towns and Counties ſubmit.

The Bridges being finiſhed by the *16th* of this Month of *October*, and the *Bavarian* Troops come up to joyn with the Army; the Duke of *Loraine* deſired the King of *Poland*, according to his Place of Precedency, to lead the way with his Troops; but the King made ſome difficulty thereof, alledging, That a Survey ought firſt to be taken of the ſituation of the Place, and Enquiries made how well it was provided with Men and Ammunition, and how far the Vizier, with his Forces, was retired from affording it Relief, or diſturbing the Siege. Accordingly Two thouſand Horſe being appointed to take a View of the Country, they paſſed the Bridges without oppoſition or diſturbance, and ſo diſmayed the *Turks*, that they deſerted *Thomas-burg*, a Palanca not far from *Gran*, and ſet it on Fire, but was ſoon quenched, and Poſſeſſion taken by the Imperialiſts. Upon the appearance of a Party on this ſide of the River, two *Hungarians* of *Totis* brought Intelligence, that the Vizier was marched with his Army towards *Eſſeck*, having left a ſmall Force encamped near unto *Buda*. This News haſtned the Paſſage of the *Chriſtian* Army over the River, (tho' the *Poles* remained in their Camp, and moved not as yet) and gave Encouragement to the Generals to hope, that the

The King of Poland *propoſes enquiries concerning the State of* Gran.

Siege

1683. Siege would not be of long Continuance, or of much loſs of Time, or Men. The Horſe and Foot marched apace over the Bridges into the Iſland, and ſo by a ſhort cut, croſſed over another Bridge to the Banks of the *Danube*, ſomething above Cannot-ſhot below *Gran*. In the mean time, the Duke of *Loraine*, with the Chief Officers of both Armies, took a particular Survey of the Town, and of the Ground and Country thereabouts.

The Deſcription of Gran.

Gran is ſituate about ſix *Hungarian*, or thirty *Engliſh* Miles below *Comorra*; it was anciently called *Strigonium*, but now by the *Hungarians* it is named *Gran*; from the River *Gran*, which comes out of the Upper *Hungary*, and empties it ſelf in the *Danube*, juſt over-againſt the City. Under the Name of *Strigonium*, four Cities are comprehended, together with the Caſtle which is ſituate on the pitch of a high Rock hanging over the *Danube*, and over-tops the Cathedral Church, where *Stephen* the firſt, King of *Hungary*, a holy and devout Prince, lies interr'd. In the Year 1543, this City was firſt brought under the Turkiſh Dominion, by *Solyman* the Magnificent. In the Year 1594 it was Beſieged by *Mathias*, Arch Duke of *Auſtria*, but was not taken until the following Year by Count *Mansfield*, who in a bloody Fight totally defeated the *Ottoman* Force. The *Turks* eſteeming this Place of neceſſary Importance to the Conqueſt of *Hungary*, returned before it in the Year 1604; but finding a vigorous Reſiſtance, were forced to raiſe the Siege after Twenty three Days continuance. Howſoever, in the Year 1605, inveſting the Place with a more formidable Power, it yielded it ſelf into the Hands of the *Turks*, who have ſince that time remained Maſters thereof until this happy Year 1683.

The King of Poland *declines the Siege.*

The Imperial Army continuing its Paſſage over the Bridges, the Two thouſand Men of the advanced Troops took their Poſt on the 21*ſt* and 22*d* at Night, not doubting but that the King of *Poland* would follow with his Army in the Rear, as was before reſolved; but, contrary to all expectation, the Duke of *Loraine* received Advice, that the King, by perſuaſion of his Senators, had changed his Mind, and deſigned not to paſs the River, letting him know, that he ſhould continue his Camp for three or four Days longer; but after that he ſhould be conſtrained to March away. This alteration in the King of *Poland*'s Counſels, was ſtrangely ſurpriſing to the Duke of *Loraine*; for tho he doubted not but in a ſhort time to become Maſter of the Place with the Imperial Forces only, without the Aſſiſtance of the *Poles*; yet conſidering that the News of the Separation of the two Armies, might encourage the Grand Vizier with his Army (which as yet was not far diſtant) to return to the Relief of the Town, and the Beſieged to a more vigorous Defence; and that the Malecontents might be induced to Poſt themſelves on the *Danube*, to intercept and interrupt all Communication between *Comorra* and the Camp: Which Matters were of ſuch high Importance, that the Duke of *Loraine* thought not fit to form the Siege, until ſuch time as he had firſt fixed the King in his former Reſolutions; unto which he ſent the Counts of *Staremberg* and *Rabata*, to preſs him with all the earneſtneſs imaginable, giving him to underſtand how difficult it was for the Imperial Army to retire from an Enterpriſe, to which all the Methods and Forms were already laid and prepared; and of which the Deſign appeared ſo promiſing, that in a few Days they might with good reaſon expect a happy Succeſs and Event thereof. Moreover the Emperor had given his Orders for inveſting *Gran*, and was already in expectation to hear that the Siege was laid, eſteeming it of high Advantage to the Reputation of his Affairs, to have the Campaign concluded with the ſucceſs of ſo glorious an Action: Yet whatſoever was or could be ſaid by theſe Officers did not prevail on the King, until the Duke of *Loraine* himſelf went in Perſon, to repreſent the great Inconveniences, and even Subverſion of the late happy Succeſſes, which would be the neceſſary Conſequences at this time of the Separation of the two Armies. In fine, he ſo managed his Diſcourſe with thoſe Reaſons, and in ſuch obliging Terms, that the King concurred with him, deſiring him to haſten the execution of this Enterpriſe, in which there was no time to be loſt, conſidering how near the Winter-ſeaſon was approached. 1683.

He is perſuaded to it by the Duke of Loraine.

The Diſpoſition of the Christian Army in the Camp before Gran.

The Siege being now in good earneſt reſolved, the Poliſh Army paſſed the Bridges with all the Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage; and the Duke of *Loraine* with the chief Officers taking a ſecond Survey of the Town, and the Ground round about it; the Approaches were ordered to be made, and the Army began to take their ſeveral Quarters, as directed by the General Officers. The Foot were encamped on the tops of ſome riſing Hills; the Croats and Dragoons, with a Party of Horſe on the ſide of the *Danube*. The *Bavarians* were poſted on the River above the Town, at the foot of the Bridge which paſſes over to *Barcan*, where a Battery was raiſed: The reſt of the Infantry was divided into two other Squadrons towards St. *Thomas*'s Mount, where other Batteries were raiſed, all things proceeding with ſuch expedition, as the Seaſon of the Year, and other Circumſtances of

1683.

Their Approaches.

the Army requir'd. The Lines being drawn, which extended three Miles in compaſs, the Cannon, of which ten Pieces being twenty four Pounders, and eight Mortars were by force of Men drawn up and planted on the Top of the Hills of *Marinberg*, and *Thomasberg*, and on the 25*th* by break of Day in the Morning, they began to play upon the Town, and much Batter'd the Caſtle on that ſide of the Gate, which looks towards *Buda*, and all that Day Bombs were thrown, whilſt the Imperialiſts in deſpight of the Enemies Fire advanced to the very Ditch, and there lodged near to the Quarters of the *Bavarian* Troops. On the other ſide, which looks towards *Barcan*, about five a Clock in the Afternoon the Imperialiſts ſtormed the Lower Town, and without much reſiſtence made themſelves Maſters of it, with the loſs of the Major of *Staremberg*'s Regiment, and ſeven Soldiers. The Inhabitants retir'd into the Caſtle, from whence they fired inceſſantly both ſmall and great Shot: Howſoever, that very Night the *Chriſtians* gained the Foot of the Hill, on which the Caſtle is Built, and began to undermine the Place, there being a wide Breach already opened in the Wall of the Caſtle, ſo that every thing ſeemed in a readineſs for an Aſſault; but before things were put upon that Extremity, the Duke of *Loraine* thought fit with the conſent of the King of *Poland*, to ſend a Summons to the Caſtle in his Majeſty's name, which was done by a Turkiſh Priſoner, offering them Conditions of ſafety for their Goods and Lives, provided that a Surrender were made that very Evening: But the Defendants deſiring until next Day to give their Anſwer it was deny'd them, and Attacks were made and the Ditch paſſed, and two Lodgments made on the ſide of the Hill, and another Mine began; of which the Defendants being ſenſible, and fearing to be taken by force of Arms, they returned an Anſwer by Eleven a Clock that Night, how that they accepted the Conditions.

The Beſieged accept Conditions.

In the Morning early, being the 27*th*, Hoſtages were exchanged for ſecuring the performance of the Conditions, which were theſe.

Firſt, ‘That all the Cannon, Ammunition, Proviſions, and all offenſive Arms, (excepting thoſe hereafter excepted) ſhould remain in the Caſtle.

Secondly, ‘That thoſe of the Garriſon might carry with them, as much Bread, Fleſh and other Victuals, as would ſerve them for two Days Proviſion.

Thirdly, ‘That the Duke of *Loraine* ſhould provide them with Carts, for carrying their Baggage to the Water ſide.

Fourthly, ‘That Boats ſhould be granted them for carrying away their Perſons and Goods, and that in caſe they could not be cleared away at one time, that then they might have Liberty to fetch them off at twice: And that in caſe the Boatmen were not ſufficient to carry away all the Goods, that the Proprietors might have Liberty to perform the ſame.

Fifthly, ‘That ſo ſoon as theſe Capitulations were Signed, that the Garriſon ſhall immediately quit the place, and reſign it into the Hands of the *Chriſtians*, who were to take entire Poſſeſſion thereof; and that the Carts and Boats being in a readineſs, they ſhould without delay lade their Goods and Houſhold-ſtuff.

Sixthly, ‘That the Priſoners taken during the Siege, be forthwith releaſed and ſet at Liberty.

Seventhly, ‘That the Defendants ſhall have Liberty to March away with their Wives, Children and ſmall Arms, and alſo with their Horſes, Camels, and other Beaſts of Burden. In fine, That theſe Articles be kept, and obſerved inviolably on both ſides.

The Caſtle Surrendr'd.

On the 28*th* of this Month of *October*, all the Garriſon, being in number about Three thouſand five hundred Soldiers, marched out of the Caſtle between the Regiments of *Grana* and *Loraine* drawn up in double Files; but before they would ſuffer them to depart, a ſearch was made after the Mines, which the *Turks* diſcovering to them, they were diſcharged of their Powder: The Garriſon marched forth without any Order, but mixed together with their Wives, Children and Families: Thoſe who deſigned for *Buda*, were embarked on Boats provided for that purpoſe; and ſuch as were willing to go unto other Parts by Land, which were about Eight hundred Perſons, were conveyed by Colonel *Heiſler* with One thouſand ſix hundred Horſe.

After all the Matters were paſt, and the *Chriſtians* in poſſeſſion of the Fortreſs, the late Governour thereof called *Beker Paſha*, and *Oſlan Paſha* his Deputy, the Commander in chief of the *Janiſaries*, the *Sagargibaſhee* and *Samſongibaſhee*, who are Major Generals of the *Janiſaries*, with many other *Agaes* and others, who had eſcaped out of the Battel of *Barcan*, deſired greatly to ſalute the Duke of *Loraine*; who willingly admitted them to his Preſence, and treated them with much Humanity: In their Diſcourſes with the Duke they told him, That the defeat which the *Turks* had received before *Barcan*, was ſeen from the Top of the Caſtle of *Gran*, by the Garriſon and Inhabitants therein; which ſad Spectacle made ſuch impreſſions of fear in their Minds, that they had no power or life remaining to reſiſt the Vigour, and ſpeedy proceedings which the *Chriſtians* ſhewed in the Proſecution of this Siege: The Arms and Ammunition found in this Fortreſs, were Sixty Pieces of Cannon, beſides Twenty two belonging to the City below the Caſtle, Six thouſand Barrels of Powder, Three Mortars, Match, Bullets, Granadoes, Bombs in great quantities, as alſo Flour, Barly, Salted Fleſh, Rice and all ſorts of Proviſions ſufficient to ſuſtain that Fortreſs in a Siege for many Months.

Thanks returned to God.

Thus was this City reduced in a far ſhorter time, and with much leſs loſs than was expected by the King of *Poland* and his Senators; for which *Te Deum* was Sung, and Thanks render'd to God Almighty in the Cathedral Church of that Archbiſhoprick, after it had remained a Mahometan Moſch, in poſſeſſion of the *Turks* for above One hundred and forty years: The Command of the place with a Garriſon of Two thouſand Men, was committed to the charge of one *Carlovitz*, Serjeant Major to the Regiment of *Staremberg*.

The Elector of *Bavaria*, who for the ſake of his Health, remained at *Brin* to take the Air by the preſcription of his Phyſitians, hearing of the Siege of *Gran*, haſtned thither to partake in the Triumphs of it: And coming into the Camp on the 26th of *October*, early in the Morning with a part of his own Cavalry, which was not employed in the Siege; he had the good fortune within the ſpace of Twenty four hours, to behold the form and manner of the Siege, a Treaty offered and the place Surrendred. Soon after which the Imperialiſts making their Incurſions into the Country, took two Caſtles, one called *Scombeck* Situate between *Gran* and *Buda*, wherein were Four hundred *Turks*, and four Pieces of Cannon with much Proviſions: And alſo another Caſtle called *Sordeck*, lying towards *Alba*, wherein were ſix Pieces of Cannon mounted, with abundance of Ammunition and Proviſions of all ſorts. The news of theſe happy ſucceſſes were poſted to the Emperour by the Count of *Auſpurg*, to the great Joy and Triumph of the Imperial Court.

The Chriſtian Army drawn into Winter-quarters.

In this manner the Campagne being glorioully concluded to the great Reputation of the Emperor's Affairs, and to the Diſgrace and Diſcouragement of the *Turks*; The next care and incumbence of the Generals was to provide Winter-quarters for the refreſhment and welfare of the Army, which had been much haraſſed by the Fatigues of many and great Actions. The Elector of *Bavaria* deſirous in like manner to provide for his own Troops, haſtned their march out of *Hungary*, together with the Marquis of *Dorlach*, who with Three thouſand Men which he had conducted out of *Suabia*, accompanied the Elector, having remained but one day in conjunction with the Imperialiſts. To regulate and aſſign the Quarters of the two remaining Armies, Commiſſaries were appointed: And thô according to the Articles of Treaty, the Emperor was not obliged to allow Winter-quarters to the Army of *Poland*, intending to reſerve all the upper parts of *Hungary* for the accommodation of his own; yet in regard Conditions were not too ſtrictly to be inſiſted on, with perſons unto whom great acknowledgments are due, Quarters were aſſigned unto the *Poles* on the other ſide of the *Tibiſcus*, in Parts near adjoyning unto *Tranſilvania*, which were the Quarters that the King declared he had deſired, from the time he firſt enter'd with his Forces into *Hungary*. Howſoever, when his Majeſty was on the place, the Prince of *Tranſilvania* paid unto him a Sum of Money on Condition, that his Army ſhould be removed from thence, after payment of which they marched into the three Counties of *Eſperies*, *Cachan* and *Tokay*, which were appointed to receive them, five of the Imperial Regiments being diſlodged from thence.

Leventz *taken.*

But as the *German* and *Poliſh* Armies were marching towards their Quarters, on the Banks of the River *Gran* in ſight of *Leventz*; they ſent their Summons requiring the Governour to Surrender the place into their Hands, which in few hours time was yielded, and the Garriſon permitted to march out. In the place were twelve Pieces of Cannon well mounted, and Proviſions and Ammunition in great quantities.

Eſſeghet, Probens, *and other places taken.*

The *Croats* found the like good fortune, having in their march taken the Caſtle of *Raboniz*, about ſix Engliſh Miles diſtant from *Kaniſia*, and the Town of *Probenz*, Situate on the River *Drave*; as alſo the Caſtle of *Eſſeghet*, and the City and Caſtle of *Brevenitz*, which was ſo near to *Kaniſia*, that it ſeemed already blocked up, if not almoſt beſieged: And here theſe generous Soldiers thought fit to fix their Winter-quarters, which they had conquered and won, as if they had ſcorn'd to abide in any place which was not opened to them by their own Swords.

The Forces of Lituania *with the Duke of* Loraine.

The Duke of *Lorain* being at *Sequi*, about an hours march from *Leventz*, and buſied in aſſigning Quarters for Twenty ſeven Regiments, was viſited by the General of *Lituania*, accompanied with the principal Officers, who gave him to underſtand, that they were come with an Army of Ten thouſand Men, which were Quarter'd in the Neighbouring Towns and Villages, and that they were marching to joyn with the other Troops of his Majeſty of *Poland*, and to follow his Orders and Inſtructions. The Duke after having courteouſly received them, preſcribed them the Roads which they were to take, and deliver'd into the Hands of the General a Letter for the King, perſwading him to employ that Army which was freſh, and not harraſſed with the Fatigues of War, upon ſome Enterpriſe, it ſeeming ſomewhat abſurd, and perhaps of ill report in War, for ſo conſiderable a Body of Soldiers, to take a long march out of *Lituania* into *Hungary*, and to perform nothing, but to return again. To this Letter the King made no other Reply, Than that for maintenance of his Winter-quarters, he ſhould have occaſion of thoſe Troops.

The King of *Poland* in his march towards *Cackaw*, (which with *Eſperies* and *Tokai*, were appointed for the Quarters of his Troops) paſſing near to the City of *Sefzin*, ſent his Son Prince *Alexander* with Summons to Surrender, which being refuſed, the *Poles* made an Attack in two places, with which the Defendants being affrighted, offered to Capitulate, and in that Amazement before the Articles were agreed, they opened their Gates and let in the Enemy, who being obliged by no Terms, made a miſerable ſlaughter of the poor Inhabitants, of which there were Two thouſand *Turks*, beſides Twelve hundred *Janiſaries* and *Spahees*; and on the Walls were twenty Pieces of Cannon mounted. A Garriſon of *Germans* being put into the Town, the King continued his march towards the Quarters deſigned for his Troops, where having refreſhed himſelf for ſome few Days, he paſſed on towards *Cracovia*, attended only with the Servants and Officers of his Court: And not long afterwards was followed by his whole Army into *Poland*; where we will leave them to their own Fortune, which ſeemed favourable to them abroad, whilſt they were directed by the auſpicious Conduct of the Duke of *Loraine*, and other the greateſt Captains in the World. But looking on them in their own Country, as we ſhall hereafter do, we ſhall find their Succeſſes much different from their late Triumphs and Glories: For being left to themſelves, and inſpired with French Councils and Intereſts, we ſhall hear of no great Atchievements afterwards gained upon the *Turks*, nor attemps made to recover *Kaminiec*, the Bulwark and Fortreſs of their Kingdom on that ſide: Of which the *Turks* being ſenſible, made but weak Preparations againſt them, leaving them to the *Tartars*, who (as things were then governed) proved a ſufficient match for their Neighbours the *Poles*. Notwithſtanding this ſeparation, and that the *Polanders* were withdrawn into their own Country; yet the Reputation of the Emperor was highly exalted, and his name terrible to his Enemies, ſo that every ſmall Caſtle and Fortreſs Surrender'd upon the firſt Summons; as the Caſtles of *Jaſem*, *Zalabſtat*, *Sumſtom* and *Seramz*, with other places all belonging to the Malecontents, of which divers Perſons of Quality returned to their Duty and Allegiance, and particularly the Count of *Zabbor*, the Commander in Chief under *Tekeli*, who by the Count *Eſterhaſi*, being introduced to the Preſence of his Imperial Majeſty, he was with his uſual Clemency received, and a gracious Pardon granted to him.

Setzin *taken by the* Poles.

The King of Poland *and his Army return home.*

Several Caſtles belonging to the Malecontents ſubmit.

Theſe Triumphs in Chriſtendom increaſed the Troubles, Diſcontents and Commotions in *Turky*, which are always attended with Tragedies and Deſtruction of their Chief Miniſters and Rulers. We ſhall begin with the fate of *Kara Muſtapha* the Grand Vizier, the Chief Author and Cauſe of all the Evils which are paſt, and thoſe which for many years following are to enſue. We have in the beginning of this Hiſtory, made mention how that the *Valide Soltana* which is the Queen Mother, the *Kuzlir-Aga*, who is the black Eunuch of the Women, and the *Embrahore*, who is Maſter of the Horſe to the Grand Seignior, were all mortal Enemies to this Vizier, and attended only an opportunity to deſtroy him, which was now very practicable, under the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, eſpecially having the Widow of the Paſha of *Buda*, whom the Vizer had lately put to Death, and who was Siſter to the Grand Seignior, to joyn with them in their methods of Revenge. The Grand Vizier being ſenſible of his Danger from theſe Enemies, and from the ill ſucceſs of Affairs, which uſually prove fatal to the Generals or Commanders in Chief, marched away towards *Belgrade* with a great part of his Army, eſteeming it a Matter of higher Conſequence to his own ſafety, to purge himſelf from blame in the Opinion of his Maſter, than to return back to the Relief of *Gran*, being already advanced as far on his way to *Belgrade* as the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, where he received the firſt intelligence of the Defeat, of the ſeveral Paſhas before *Barcan*, and the Siege of *Strigonium*. Theſe misfortunes haſtned his proceedings to *Belgrade*, where being admitted to the preſence of the Sultan; he deſcribed the admirable order of the Siege before *Vienna*, and how near he was to have been Maſter thereof, and even of all *Auſtria*, and the Emperor's Hereditary Countries, as Appendages thereunto

The Grand Vizier excuſes his Misfortunes before the GrandSeignior.

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thereunto belonging, had not theſe fair hopes been defeated by the Cowardiſe, and ill Conduct of the Paſha of *Buda*, and ſeveral other Officers whom he had juſtly puniſhed with Death for their Treachery, and want of Courage. He alſo laid much blame upon *Tekeli*, and on the Princes of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, for not performing their Duty, either out of Treachery or Fear, or ſome ſecret Correſpondences or Reſerves for the *Chriſtian* Intereſt, In fine, he ſo well mannaged his Diſcourſe, and juſtify'd all his Actions with ſuch Colours and appearances of Truth, that the Grand Seignior who was naturally conſtant to his Miniſters, and particularly favourable to this Vizier, who had often feaſted and treated him with Preſents, and brought great Sums into his Treaſury (no matter by what means) did accept of the Excuſes he had made as juſtifiable, and acquitted him of all the Crimes of Miſgovenrment which were laid to his Charge; and having received him to Pardon, and Grace, the Sultan beſtow'd the uſual Preſents on him in ſuch Caſes given, and bid him do better the next year, and ſo return'd to *Adrianople*, leaving the Grand Vizier at *Belgrade*; but notwithſtanding this new Re-eſtabliſhment in the favour of his Maſter, and tho' as ſome ſay, in Confirmation thereof, he obtained a Writing under the Hand of his Maſter, *Promiſing and Engaging never to take off his Head upon any Inſtances and Addreſſes that could be made him*: yet his Enemies were buſy in Contrivances to take him off; amongſt which the moſt irreconcilable of any was a Woman, the Grand Seignior's Siſter, Widow of the late Paſha of *Buda*, who perceiving that her Letters were not prevalent enough to obtain her deſir'd Revenge; ſhe undertook a Journey from *Buda* to *Adrianople* in Diſguiſe, not being known on the way, until ſhe diſcover'd herſelf at her Arrival at the Court; where being come, ſhe was entertained at the Entry into the *Seraglio* with the unhappy News of the Death of the *Valide* or Queen Mother, a Perſon much lamented by all, for her Piety and good Works, but eſpecially at that time by this Sultana, who hoped to have uſed her as the chief Inſtrument of her Revenge: Howſoever, ſhe was not a little comforted by the *Kuzlir-Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women, when he told her, that the *Valide* upon her Death-Bed, had charged him to tell her Son the Sultan, that his Affairs could never proſper, ſo long as they were in the Hands and Management of ſo vile, and unfortunate a Perſon as this preſent Vizier. But whilſt they and others of the ſame Faction, were meditating of theſe Matters; *Tekeli*, who had heard of the Complaints made againſt him by the Vizier, and that he was in part charged with the miſcarriage of the late Succeſſes; fearing his own ſafety, came and boldly preſented himſelf at the Feet of the Grand Seignior, and in diſcharge of himſelf, ſolely laid all the blame upon the Vizier, which he confirmed by ſo many particular Inſtances, and by ſuch Reaſons, that the Grand Seignior aſſented to all his Allegations: But howſoever, not thinking it ſeaſonable at preſent to ſtir greater Commotions by change of Officers, (to which he was never much inclined) he favourably diſmiſſed *Tekeli* with new aſſurances of his Protection, and of ſending him very conſiderable Forces, and Recruits againſt the next Spring.

And is acquitted.

The Queen Mother Dead.

1683.

Tekeli *comes to the Grand Seignior.*

This Addreſs of *Tekeli* had a little prepar'd the Grand Seignior's Mind to receive different Impreſſions, than what he had hitherto conceived againſt his Grand Vizier; which were ſoon afterwards ripened by new Commotions raiſed by the induſtry of the Faction amongſt the *Janiſaries*, who Tumultuouſly aſſembling ran to the Grand Seignior, and crying out, that the Vizier had Treacherouſly forſaken their Companions, and ſuffer'd them miſerably to Periſh in their Trenches before *Vienna*, and had Unjuſtly and without any Reaſon put their *Aga* or General to Death; for which Crimes, and many other Miſcarriages they demanded the Head of the Vizier. The Sultan (to whom nothing was ſo terrible as the Toleration of the *Janiſaries*) entertained them with fair Words and Promiſes, and by diſtributing Money amongſt them, for that time diſperſed this Tumultuous Meeting. But fearing the return again of the Rabble and this unruly Soldiery, a *Divan* or Council was called, at which the Mufti and all the Viziers of the Bench, with other Grandees of the Court were preſent: After a mature Conſideration of the State of Affairs in the Empire, it was concluded of abſolute neceſſity for appeaſing the Minds of the Soldiery, that the Grand Vizier ſhould Dye, who had been the Cauſe and Author of all the late Miſfortunes. Nothing could be more grievous to the Grand Seignior than this advice; but being again terrified with the Threats of next days Commotions, the Imperial Command was ſigned for the Vizier's Death, and the Execution thereof committed to the care of the *Chiaous Baſhee*, or Chief of the *Purſuivants*, and to the *Kapigeelar-Kajaſee*, who is Maſter of the Ceremonies; which two Officers, with ſome few Servants were diſpatched away Poſt to *Belgrade*. Theſe Miniſters of Death being near to the City, ſent privately a Meſſen-

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The Janiſaries demand the Head of the Vizier.

His Death reſolved.

ger to inform the *Aga*, or General of the *Janiſaries* of their Buſineſs, requiring him in the Name of the Grand Seignior to be aiding and aſſiſting to them in this Work, that it might be performed with all the quiet, peace and ſilence imaginable. All things being diſpoſed by the *Aga* accordingly, both he and the two Executioners went directly to the Vizier's Apartment, who, ſo ſoon as he had caſt his Eyes on theſe new-come Gueſts, thô they were really his Friends, and had been his familiar Confidents formerly, yet he ſuſpected much the Import of their Meſſage; but being nothing ſurprized at what he had ſome time expected, he chearfully gave them the uſual Salams or Salutations, demanding of them their Buſineſs, which brought them to *Belgrade:* To which the Janiſar-Aga made anſwer, That the Sultan demanded the Seal from him. To which the Vizier reply'd, Moſt willingly; and putting his Hand into his Boſom, he took the Seal out, and reſigned it. What more, ſaid he, is it that you require? The Standard, ſaid the *Aga*; which was immediately produced and delivered. At laſt they produced the Command for his Head, which he having read, he ſaid, *Oh Deceitful World! After my Death the Grand Seignior will remember me, and the whole Empire too late lament my Fall.* He then after their uſual manner waſhed, kneeled down and prayed, and yielded his Head to the fatal Cord: Being dead, the Executioner cut off his Head, and the Skin being flead off, it was ſtuffed with Straw, and put into a Bag, and carried away in poſt to the Grand Seignior, and laid before the Gate of the Divan, on the 7*th* day of *January*, 168¾.

The Vizier's Death.

ANNO, 1684.

The Mutability of the Turkiſh Court.

IT is very ſeldom that a Grand Vizier falls into Diſgrace, or is put to Death alone, but all his familiar Friends, Confidents and Creatures, incur the ſame Fate, and either attend him to the next World, or are baniſhed into remote Parts; and ſometimes the whole Set of Officers and Miniſters of State are changed with him. This Man had a corrupted Court, and was ſerved by Inſtruments of the ſame Humour and Temperament like himſelf, and which were either naturally ill-inclined, or made ſo by his Example. With him died the *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer, and ſeveral other Engines of his Rapine and Violence. The Eſtates of theſe Malefactors were ſeized and converted to the Grand Seignior's Coffers, which were eſteemed in all to amount unto 14 Millions of Dollars: to which Sum, and a far greater, it was believed, that Eſtate only of the Vizier would have amounted unto; but it is moſt certain he had diſburſed vaſt Sums of Mony in this Expedition out of his own Treaſure, hoping to have had a return tenfold out of the Eſtates and Spoils of the *Chriſtians*, inſtead whereof his own Riches became a Prey to his Enemies; all the Mony (which as ſome Report) amounted to above two Millions found in his Tent, were all his own, and as they had been Acquiſitions obtained by Force and Rapine, ſo they became the Booty and Spoil of the King of *Poland*, paſſing from the poſſeſſion of one Covetous Man into the Coffers of another. The ſublime Office of Great Vizier being now vacant, the difficulty of the preſent Affairs required to have it ſupplied with a Perſon of Valour, Wiſdom and Experience; this Office, for which many Candidates pretended in former times, did now appear ſo weighty and full of Thorns, that the moſt ambitious amongſt the *Turks* were willing to decline it, or at leaſt not ſeem to ſeek or affect it. The *Selictar Aga*, or Sword-bearer to the Grand Seignior, called *Soliman Aga*, an accompliſhed Perſon in Mind and Body, a Man of good Senſe, being always in the Eyes of his Maſter, and a Favourite, was pitched upon, as the moſt fit and proper of any for this Employment: But he excuſed himſelf to the Sultan with this Complement, That thô nothing in this World could be more deſirable to him than this Office, yet ſince the execution thereof muſt neceſſarily carry him from the adorable Preſence of his Maſter, under the Shadow whereof he deſired always to live, he could not withdraw himſelf from thence without much Reluctancy and Diſcomfort, and therefore deſired that the Seals might be conferred on ſome other Perſon, more worthy than himſelf. The Grand Seignior judging, that theſe Expreſſions proceeded from a Heart truly devoted to him, accepted of the Excuſe, and reſoved to conſtitute *Ibrahim* Paſha, then Caimacam with him at *Adrianople*, commonly known by the Name of *Kara Kaia*, in the Vizier's Office: He had formerly been *Kaia*, or Steward to *Kuprioglee*; and after his Death was made *Embrahoſe*, or Maſter of the Horſe: He was afflicted with a Diſtemper called a Serpentine or Cancer, which ſome Years ſince was cauſed by an *Eryſipelas*; ſome ſaid it was a politick Diſeaſe to excuſe himſelf from going to the War. He was a cloſe politick Man, and become very weary and cautious by the Dangers and evil Fate of his Predeceſſors: As one means to ſecure his Condition, he frequently called and aſſembled all the Officers of the Divan, and with them conſulted all of the Methods in what manner the declining Condition

Soliman Aga.

Kara Kaia *made Vizier.*

1684. tion of the Empire might be recovered; concerning which, ſpeaking his own Senſe, he often declared, That the Errors of the late Vizier were to be retrieved, and a quite different Courſe to be ſteered; for whereas he had contrary to the publick Faith broken the Truce with the *Chriſtians*, without juſt Reaſons, before the time was expired, for which the Muſſulmen had taſted the Diſpleaſure of the Divine Vengeance: They were now to appeaſe the Anger of God, by renewing the ſame Truce, which had been injuriouſly violated with the Emperor, and obſerving it for the future, with ſuch Faith as becomes the common Honeſty of Mankind. But this Propoſal was in no manner agreeable to the Mind of the Grand Seignior; for tho he was naturally a gentle and a peaceable Prince, and diſliked this War at the beginning: Yet like an unlucky Gameſter, he was unwilling to give over with an ill Hand, hoping that the Wheel of Fortune might once again turn in his Favour: He had alſo promiſed *Tekeli* conſiderable Aid and Aſſiſtance againſt the next Campaign, and was unwilling to forfeit his Promiſe and Reputation with him.

The Vizier propoſes Peace.

Diſliked by the Grand Seignior.

The Vizier finding a Diſpoſition in the Grand Seignior to continue the War, deſired to be releaſed from his Office, which the weakneſs of his Body rendred him uncapable to diſcharge; to which the Sultan reply'd, That he was one of thoſe, who had opened the Gate, by which much Diſhonour and Miſchief was entred into the Empire, and now would with-draw his Neck out of the Collar; but if he did not ſhut the Gate again, he would hang him in all his Divan Robes.

The *Turks* indeed were then very low, and reduced to ſuch diſtreſs for want of Soldiers, that from *Selibrea*, which is about thirty Miles from *Conſtantinople*, in all the Country of *Romania*, (except the Sea-coaſt) all that were capable of bearing Arms were ſent to the War; but being raw Country People, proved of little Force againſt a Veterane Army.

The Vizier finding himſelf diſappointed in this Contrivance, and ſenſible of the preſent Diſadvantages, propoſed that the War ſhould be managed on the defenſive part, rather than to adventure the whole Concernment of the Empire on the Hazards and Chances of War, which ſeemed to be governed by ſome evil Influences of the Stars, which at that time were not very propitious to the *Ottoman* Cauſe. This Council being generally well approved, it produced two Reſolutions, one was to divert the intended Deſign of the Grand Seignior's going in Perſon to the War; for in that Caſe nothing could become the awful preſence and appearance of the Sultan, but Fire and Slaughter, and direful Vengeance whereſoever his terrible Sword was drawn; it being agreeable to the Opinion which the *Turks* fancy and conceive of their Emperor, That *he is Omnipotent, and that in one Hand he carries all the Riches and Honours of the World, and in the other Victory, and all ſorts of Delights for ever.* But to draw this Caſe a little nearer to the Perſon of the Vizier himſelf; it was farther reſolved, That in caſe a defenſive War were to be managed, it were neither conſiſtent with the Reputation of the Grand Vizier, who was the Sultan's Deputy and Repreſentative; but more becoming a *Sardar*, with Title of *Seraskier*, or General to wage a War, in which the chief Art is to decline a Battel and all Engagements. Thus had this old and politick Vizier obtained his Point by ſitting at Home, and ſeeing others play the Game, which he could approve or diſapprove without danger, according to the Succeſſes: The Perſon appointed to be *Seraskier*, or General, was *Kara Oglou Chiamacam* of *Conſtantinople*, who had formerly been Captain Paſha, or Admiral of the Seas.

A defenſive War intended.

A Seraskier appointed.

1684.

The Grand Vizier remaining at home, had time to conſider and reflect, That the cauſe of the general Toleration of almoſt all *Chriſtendom* againſt them, did proceed from the Neglect, Contempt and ill Uſage which the late Vizier had put upon all the publick Repreſentatives of Chriſtian Princes, ſome Inſtances of which we have given at the beginning of this Hiſtory: To redreſs which, it was thought fit to cajole and ſoften a little the Foreign Miniſters from Chriſtian Princes, whom the late Vizier had ſo contemptuouſly uſed, and treated with Diſgrace, as had raiſed all Chriſtendom about their Ears; and ſo with much Complement the Ambaſſadors of *England* and *France* were invited to *Adrianople* by the Vizier, to ſit with him upon the *Soffraw*, according to the uſual Cuſtom and Priviledge of Ambaſſadors, which the Pride of the late Vizier would not allow them. The Lord *Chandos*, then Ambaſſador from his Majeſty of *Great Britain* to the *Ottoman* Port, being at that time Sick, excuſed his going, and perhaps alſo was deſirous to ſpare the Mony of the Turky Company, and not laviſh it out in an empty and fruitleſs Journey: But the *French* Ambaſſador, Monſieur *de Guilleragues*, for the Glory (as he thought) of his Maſter, made ſplendid Preparations at the Coſt of the Merchants, to enter *Adrianople*; where, being arrived, he was in a ſhort time received to Audience on the *Soffraw*, which Priviledge hath been reſtored to all other Ambaſſadors ſince that time.

The Soffraw granted to the Chriſtian Miniſters.

That which haſtned this Favour and Indulgence to Foreign Miniſters, was the apprehenſion of a War juſt then breaking out with the *Venetians*; for the Doge of *Venice* being newly dead, and his Place ſupplied by Seignior *Marco Antonio Guſtiniani*, the Senate ſent Orders to their Secretary at the *Ottoman* Port, called Seignior *Capello*, to declare War againſt the *Turk*, and their League and Alliance with the Emperor and *Poland*; and having ſo done, to make his Eſcape in the beſt manner he was able. Seignior *Capello* having complied with theſe Inſtructions, conveyed himſelf away in the Habit of a Seaman, upon a *French* Man of War called the *Faithful*, which was come to *Conſtantinople* for Convoy to ſome other Ships.

The Venetians *declare War againſt the* Turks.

The *Moſcovites*, who had for a long time plaid faſt and looſe (as we have formerly mentioned) in their Treaties of Peace with the *Turks*, became now more fixed and reſolved on a War, being animated thereto by the ſtrong Alliance and Confederacies made againſt them, and the croſs Fortune of the *Turks*, which ſeemed every day to decline. This Union and ſtrong Combination, as it made the *Turks* tremble, ſo the Senſe thereof ſoftned their Minds, and rendred them much more plyable and gentle to thoſe Chriſtian Ambaſſadors, who remained in Peace and Amity with them; and gave juſt occaſion to the *Engliſh*, and others trading in their Dominions, to applaud and own the Juſtice, Moderation, and eaſy Acceſs of the *Turks*, much different from that, which they practiſed in the time of their Proſperity, ſo that thô our *Engliſh* Merchants, in all their Letters, complained of the badneſs of Trade, and ill Markets, yet they praiſed and commended the preſent Security in which they lived, and the readineſs of the Turkiſh Miniſters to afford them redreſs upon all Complaints.

The Moſcovites *inclinable to enter into the League.*

The Treaty of Confederacy and Alliance being vigorouſly carried on at *Vienna*, by Seignior *Contarini*, the Venetian Ambaſſador to his Imperial Majeſty, by and with the Conſent and Aſſiſtance of the Pope's Nuncio, theſe following Articles were agreed between the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the Republick of *Venice*, and afterwards Sworn unto at *Rome*, at the Feet of the Pope, by Cardinal *Pio* in Behalf of the Emperor, by Cardinal *Barbarini* in the Name of the King of *Poland*, and by Cardinal *Ottoboni* for the *Venetians*.

The Articles are theſe.

1ſt. THat a League offenſive and defenſive be concluded between the Emperor, the King and Republick of *Poland*, and Republick of *Venice*; the which ſhall continue until the end of this War, and to be defenſive for ever.

2dly. The Protector and Guarantie, whereof ſhall be this Pope *Innocent* the XI. and his Succeſſors; and the Apoſtolical See ſhall ever be Moderator to judge and determine which of theſe Parties falls from his Faith, and fails in a due Performance.

3dly. That during the time that this League continues in Force, none of the Parties ſhall enter into Treaty, or accept of any Condition, thô never ſo advantagious without the Conſent, Privity and Concurrence of the other Allies.

4thly. That his Imperial Majeſty ſhall enter into this League, as King of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*; as doth alſo the King, as King of *Poland* and Great Duke of *Lituania*, binding theſe their Dominions and Inheritances; as doth alſo the Republick of *Venice*, bind and oblige their Dominions and Territories to the performance of theſe Covenants.

5thly. By this League is underſtood only a War againſt the *Turks*, and againſt no other Prince or Potentate whatſoever.

6thly. The Emperor for his part, and the King of *Poland* for his, do promiſe to wage War againſt the *Turks* with very powerful Armies by Land; and the *Venetians* with a powerful Fleet at Sea, and with their Troops in *Dalmatia* to the utmoſt of their Force, until a Peace be concluded.

7thly. That in caſe either of theſe Parties be hard preſſed by the Enemy, ſo that the Aid and Aſſiſtance of the others be neceſſary, they ſhall leave their preſent Deſigns, and apply themſelves to the Relief of the Party oppreſſed.

8thly. That this War be carried on by way of Diverſion, that is, That the Emperor endeavour to conquer and ſubdue all the Forts and ſtrong Holds in *Hungary*, the King of *Poland* to recover *Kaminiec*, *Podolia* and *Ukrania*; and the *Venetians* the ſeveral Towns, Fortreſſes and Iſlands which they have loſt.

9thly. That ſo ſoon as theſe Articles are ſigned, that the ſeveral Covenants herein contained, be put into immediate Execution.

10thly. That all Chriſtian Princes be invited to enter into this League, and eſpecially the Czar of *Moſcovy*.

11thly. That this League ſhall not be underſtood to prejudice any other League made with any other Prince; particularly, That lately concluded between the Emperor and the King of *Poland*.

Thus did the Senate of *Venice*, after Mature Deliberation, (for that Republick did never act raſhly) enter into the Confederacy with the aforeſaid Allies againſt the *Turks*.

The

1684.

The Reaſons which the Venetians *had to make a War.*

The many Inſults and Avanias with which the Grand Vizier, and others did daily oppreſs them (of which at the beginning of this Hiſtory we have given ſome Inſtances) and the difficult Circumſtances they lay under by theſe hard Task-maſters, who were continually drawing, and forcing Mony from them upon falſe pretences, without which they always threatned War, were juſt Grounds and Reaſons for breaking that Peace, which was concluded with them after the loſs of *Candia* in the year 1668. This happy League was farther improved by Applications to the Czars of *Moſcovy*, who had not long before ſignified unto the Court of *Poland*, their inclinations to enter into this Alliance; to forward which the Baron of *Zerowski* was diſpatched into *Moſcovy*, and in his way thither, by *Poland* to take *Blumſerg* with him, being both Commiſſionated to Sollicite the Czars for their Aſſiſtance and Union with the other Confederates. The like Addreſſes were made to the Princes of *Italy*, who being encouraged, and warmed by the late proſperous Succeſſes, were ready to contribute all the Force and Aid within their Power. The City of *Rome* moved by the Exhortations, and Examples of the Pope, did chearfully Concur, and the Cardinals, Princes and Prelates did all Contribute immenſe Sums for carrying on this Holy War: And the Pope did not only Iſſue forth liberally Monies out of his own Coffers, but ſent Forces which were raiſed in his own Dominions and Territories, to joyn with the Imperial Army in *Hungary*: Thus did all things, according to the uſual courſe of Nature, Concur towards the Proſperity of the Chriſtian Affairs; for Mankind naturally ſides with the uppermoſt and ſtrongeſt ſide, and are ready to depreſs, and beat down the weak and dejected Party.

Aids from Italy.

Nor did the Emperor only endeavour to fortifie, and ſtrengthen his ſide by united Intereſts and Alliances; but to weaken his Enemies, by with-drawing from them the Malecontents, who were their Aſſociates, and the firſt Incentives to this War: The Succeſſes of the Emperor had damped the Spirits of the Malecontents in ſuch manner, that they began now to believe the *Turks* were vincible, and that they had put their Truſt in a feeble Arm of Fleſh, which could not Defend them, and engaged their Intereſt with a Party; from which they could promiſe themſelves no Security or Redreſs: Wherefore, ſeriouſly laying aſide their former ill Principles, many of the Counties and Cities began to Capitulate, and deſire to have their Aggrievances redreſſed, upon which they promiſed to ſubmit unto the Emperor's Pleaſure, and return to their Obedience: But this good Humour being not general amongſt all the Malecontents, but confin'd to ſome few Cities and Counties, no Capitulations or Articles were Signed or Concluded, ſo that notwithſtanding their good Intentions, the Imperialiſts made Havock of them in all Places; and the *Turks* hearing of their Inclinations to return again to their Obedience to the Emperor, and of the Steps they had made towards it, Treated them in all Places like Enemies, with Fire and Sword; ſo that miſerable was the State of this poor People, who were become Obnoxious to both Parties; they had been the Original cauſes of the Miſchief, and were likely to Periſh in it.

Some of the Malecontents fall off to the Emperor.

1684.

Their ill Condition.

A General Pardon.

But the Clemency of the Emperor Commiſerating their unhappy Condition, Publiſhed an Act of General Pardon to all the People of *Hungary*, who had been miſlead, and debauched from their Duty and Allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, Dated at *Lintz* in the Month of *January* 1684; whereby a Door was opened to a Treaty, and Pardon offer'd to all ſuch who were deſirous to return to the Protection of his Imperial Majeſty, and to renounce their dependance on the *Turks*: This Edict was affixed in all publick Places, as Church-doors, and the Market Croſſes, and diſperſed in all the Frontier Garriſons, being Written in the Latin and the Hungarian Tongues, that none might pretend ignorance thereof. The direction was in this manner:

To all the States and Orders, as well Prelates, Barons, Nobles, as to all Free and Royal Cities, Counties and People, and to all Perſons whatſoever (none excepted) within the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

In the firſt place, The ſad and deplorable Condition of that Kingdom being bewailed, cauſed by civil and inteſtine Diſcords, which evil and perverſe Spirits had raiſed, and by their evil Perſwaſions had deluded many Thouſands of poor Innocent Men, to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes to their Luſt and Revenge, and even to joyn and unite themſelves with the Turks, *who were the ancient and irreconcilable Enemies to the Kingdom of* Hungary, *and the Chriſtian Religion. And tho' His Imperial Majeſty having been thus highly provoked by the Rebellions and Outrages of the People, and by the Power of his Victorious Arms might juſtly exempt, and reject them from all Pardon: Yet his gracious Clemency prevailing, he doth once again offer his Mercy, to as many as before the end of* February *next enſuing, ſhall renounce and abandon the intereſt and party of the Malecontents, and union with the* Turks, *and repair to* Presburg, *where Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed to receive them, and to deliver out Pardons to them, taking a new Oath of*

Allegiance

1684. *Allegiance to their King, with aſſurances to remain for ever as good Subjects, in perfect Loyalty and Obedience to his Majeſty, which being perform'd, ſuch as are of the Nobility ſhall be reſtor'd to their Honours, Dignities and Eſtates: And in caſe any ſuch have formerly enjoy'd Honours, and Places of Truſt, their Caſe ſhall be conſider'd by the Commiſſioners, who are to make Report thereof unto the Emperor, who will be ready in ſuch Caſes ſo to Act, as ſhall be moſt ſuitable to the Royal Service. Such Soldiers as having been ſeduced by their Commanders to leave and relinquiſh the Imperial Army, ſhall return again to their Duty, and to their Colours, ſhall have the ſame Poſt allotted to them as formerly, and ſhall be received again into the Garriſons, or Regiments reſpectively. All Counties and Cities, who by their Deputies ſhall appear before the Commiſſioners, in order to ſuch Reconciliation, ſhall have ſafe Paſports to go, and return with all ſecurity. As to matters of Religion, the Worſhip of God, and Reſtitution of Churches, all the particulars agreed unto, and promiſed at the laſt General Diet held at* Edemburg, *ſhall be perform'd and inviolably maintained. As to the Statute made in the year 1655, concerning the Coronation of the King of* Hungary, *on which various Gloſſes and Interpretations have been put, which have cauſed great diſorders and diſturbances; the ſame ſhall be referr'd to the next Convention of the States to conſider thereof, and Decrees therein, what ſhall be moſt agreeable to the Fundamental Conſtitutions of the Nation. So that a true, and impartial Interpretation being put on all things as well in Religious, as in Temporal Matters, a good and laſting Peace, and right underſtanding may paſs between the King and his People. And as to thoſe, who ſhall not take hold of this Golden Scepter now held forth unto them with this opportunity, and within the time limited: It is declared, That they are excluded from Mercy, and are guilty of all the Miſeries, which ſhall fall upon themſelves and their Country; and ſhall be Proſecuted as Rebels, Outlawed and Felonious Perſons, and ſuch as are never more to be receiv'd into Grace, or Pardon.*

To put this Commiſſion into Execution were appointed the Duke of *Loraine*, the Count *Kinski* Chancellor of *Bohemia*, the Baron of *Abele*, and Count *Venceſlat* of *Altheim*, who were to open the ſame at *Presburg*, on the 15*th* day of *February*. But in regard nothing was declar'd explicitely in this Decree, touching Liberty of Conſcience, the Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Conſervation of Privileges, it ſeemed ſo ſhort and narrow, and incomprehenſive of the Cauſe, for which the Malecontents had ſo long contended, that very few thought it worthy the acceptance: 1684. Howſoever ſome there were, who being convinced by the Succeſs of the Emperor, that they had engolfed themſelves in a deſperate Intereſt, embraced the offers of the Imperial Pardon, ſuch were the Baron of *Baragotzi*, who abandoning *Tekeli's* party, Fled with Three hundred *Huſſars* into his Caſtle of *Zakwar*. The Count *Humanai*, and ſome other *Hungarian* Lords followed his Example, and fortified themſelves in the Caſtle of *Angwar*: The Barons *Ladiſlaus*, *Francis Baragotzi*, *Schieniſſi*, *Clebai* and *Malkai*, intending a like Revolt were ſeized, and by Order of *Tekeli* were put to Death.

Several revolt from Tekeli.

With all theſe Misfortunes the Spirit of *Tekeli* being nothing abated, but rather raiſed with Rage and Deſpair; he Iſſued out a Proclamation of his own, in Imitation of that of the Emperor's, in which with an Imperial Stile, he declared Pardon to all ſuch as ſhould within a time limited, return to the defence of the Malecontented party, of which he had owned himſelf the Head and Protector: And for their better Encouragement he laid out a Project of conſtituting a Republick, by which all the Nobility, and many of the Commonalty ſhould come to bear a ſhare in the Government: And to puniſh thoſe who had Revolted from him, he marched with a Body of 10,000 Men of his own, and a conſiderable force of the *Turks* under the Command of the Paſhas of *Buda*, and *Agria* to Beſiege Count *Baragotski* in his Caſtle of *Zakwar*, of which Count *Rabata* having advice, he preſently marched with all his Forces againſt them, which *Tekeli* fearing, declin'd an Engagement, in a Seaſon when the Winter was ſcarce paſt; but on a ſuddain, turning his deſign on the Caſtle of *Angwar*, which was defended by the Count of *Humanai*, he took it by force in three Days time, and carried away the Count himſelf to *Caſſovia*, where he cut off his Head.

Tekeli *puts forth an Act of Pardon.*

Count Humanai *put to Death.*

To revenge theſe Inſults, the *Lituanians*, whom the King of *Poland* had left behind him in their Winter-quarters, made frequent Incurſions upon the Countries of the Malecontents, eſpecially into the County of *Sepuſa*, burning their Villages, and carrying away their Cattle. But this Militia remain'd not long in thoſe parts, before they were recalled by the King of *Poland* out of *Hungary*, either becauſe he was informed that his Soldiers deſerted daily, or elſe out of ſome pique, or diſcontent of being refuſed to be Mediatour, and Guaranty for the Peace with the Malecontents, for which Reaſon he declared, That he would not concern himſelf in a War againſt *Tekeli* and his Complices, but againſt the *Turks* only, to

The King of Poland *recalls his Forces.*

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which the Articles of Alliance did oblige him, and to no other.

Tekeli *Writes to the Pope.*

The Spring being now advanced, and *Tekeli* at *Caſſovia*, he Wrote a Letter from thence to the Pope, Dated the 12*th* of *April*, wherein he repreſented; *That ever ſince the laſt year he was very deſirous to put an end to the Troubles of* Hungary, *upon thoſe Terms and Conditions, which were agreed with the Baron* Saponara. *And being not able to obtain from the Emperor a Grant to conſtitute the King of* Poland *Guaranty of this Treaty, he was forced to take new Meaſures, and to ſupport Himſelf and his Intereſt under Protection of the* Turks, *which his Enemies interpreted to be a Renuntiation of his Chriſtianity. But he ſacredly proteſted to his Holineſs, that he took up Arms for no other Reaſon and Cauſe, than the Defence of his Country, and to conſerve himſelf from entire Ruin, having had the experience of many years, that the Emperor was in no State or Condition to defend him. That He and his Party did not deſerve the Odious Name of Rebels, conſidering that the Arms they took up were in Defence only of the Liberties, and Privileges granted unto them by the ancient Kings of* Hungary, *and particularly by King* Andrew *the* II. *whoſe Letters are conſerved amongſt the Archives of the* Vatican; *which if his Holineſs would be pleaſed to inſpect and examine, he would eaſily find, that thoſe Articles have been ſo far from being performed, that they have been wholly laid aſide, and violated in every particular. That as to his own Perſon, he hath been deſpoyled of his Eſtate, and made an Exile in the very tender years of Youth, with others of the Hungarian Nobility, who could never obtain redreſs upon their complaints, but inſtead thereof received Sentence of Death by corrupt and partial Judges, without any regard to the formalities preſcribed by Law. And tho' in this Cauſe not only Proteſtants, but great numbers of Catholicks were concerned, amongſt which* George Lippa *Archbiſhop of* Gran *was one, a Perſon very Zealous for Reſtoration of thoſe Liberties, which the Emperor had Sworn to maintain, when in the year* 1655 *he had received the Crown of* Hungary *at* Presburg; *yet nothing could avail towards moderating the violent Proceedings of that Council, by which the Emperor was governed; ſo that having no other remedy, they were enforced as their laſt Refuge, to have recourſe unto their Arms, not with deſign to act againſt the Catholick Religion, or to the prejudice thereof, either in* Hungary *or elſewhere, but only to maintain thoſe Liberties which were eſtabliſhed by Law, and confirm'd by ſeveral Diets. In fine, He beſeeched his Holineſs to Judge of his Intentions by this Declaration, rather than by the Siniſter Reports of his Enemies, to whom he wiſhed a long Life, and a happy Pontificate.*

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The Pope having received this Letter aſſembled a Congregation of the Cardinals, at which the Miniſters of the Emperor, and the King of *Poland* were preſent to deliberate, and conſider what Anſwer was fitting to be returned thereunto.

The Seraſkier comes to Belgrade

The Seaſon of the year being now far advanced, both ſides prepar'd for War. The Seraſkier, called *Kara Ibrahim*, having taken his Farewel of the Grand Seignior and Great Vizier, departed from *Adrianople* in the Month of *May*, and arrived at *Belgrade* where he found a Body of 60.000 Men, of which he ſent one half to the Army deſigned for *Poland*, with which Recruit they became a Hundred thouſand ſtrong, and lay Encamped near the City of *Nicopolis*: With the remainder the Seraſkier marched to *Buda*, where he joyned with 20.000 more, and expected the Auxiliary Troops of *Aſia*, which amounted unto 30.000 effective Men; ſo that the whole Force this year of the *Ottaman* Army in *Hungary* only, amounted unto 80.000 Men, beſides 15.000 which were appointed for the Guard of the Bridge of *Eſeck*.

The Turkiſh Army.

Fears from France.

Nor were the Preparations leſs conſiderable at *Vienna*, tho a diverſion was much fear'd of the Imperial Forces, by the Jealouſies which the Arms of *France* gave in *Flanders* and upon the *Rhine*, and the Pretentions which the *French* Miniſters were daily making at *Ratisbon*, and in other Courts of the Empire, by which there was ſome appearance, as if a Check would be given to the ſmooth and proſperous proceedings of the Imperial Forces in *Hungary*. This ſurmiſe was cheriſhed by thoſe, who were deſirous to clap up a Peace with the *Turk*, alledging that it was impoſſible to carry on a War in *Hungary*, and at the ſame time reſiſt the formidable Force of *France* in *Alſatia*, and on the Confines, and perhaps in the very Heart of the Empire. But God, who by his Divine Providence Governs all things, was pleaſed out of his Compaſſion to Chriſtendom to incline the Heart of that King to be Chriſtian, and to Accord a Truce with the Empire for ſome years, that ſo he might take off the Scandal of being a Friend to the *Turks*, and of interrupting the Progreſs of the Chriſtian Arms againſt the Common Enemy to the Faith of Chriſt. In fine, The dread of a *French* War being vaniſhed, the whole Groſs of the Imperial Army came to refund it ſelf upon the *Turks*, and was in number and quality as follows.

That King makes a Truce with the Emperor.

The Infantry were in all Twenty ſeven Regiments,	55080
The Cavalry all armed with Back and Breaſt,	12800

Dragoons,	5800
Polanders hired and paid by the Emperor,	4000
Croats who were Horſe,	3200
One Regiment in *Vienna*,	1200
Twenty Independent Companies in *Rab*, *Gran* and *Comorra*,	3000
In all	84880

Beſides the Confederate Army under the Duke of *Bavaria*, which made about 20.000 Men, ſo that the whole Chriſtian Army this year compoſed a Body,

In all	104880 Men

But how numerous ſoever this Army ſeemed to be, yet after the Garriſons were out of it ſupply'd, and Forces ſent into *Alſatia*, and to the *Rhine*; and conſiderable Detachments into *Croatia* and *Stiria*, and Parts of the Upper *Hungary*, the main Body remaining with the Duke of *Loraine*, did not amount to above Forty thouſand Men, with which he deſigned the Siege of *Buda*.

The Siege of Buda *intended.*

This was an Enterpriſe becoming the Valour of ſo great a Captain, for the Town was Defended by a Garriſon of Forty ſix Chambers of *Janiſaries*, each conſiſting of One hundred and fifty Men, beſides *Spahees* and the Militia of *Raſcia*, which in all compoſed a Body of Twelve thouſand effective Men. The City of *Buda* it ſelf is raiſed on a Hill, and is naturally very ſtrong; under it there is another Town Built by the *Turks*, which is called the Lower *Buda*. But before Approaches could be made hereunto, it was judged neceſſary to ſecure the Navigation down the *Danube*, for carrying the heavy Cannon, and Proviſions neceſſary for maintenance of the Siege, which could not be done but by taking the ſtrong City of *Vicegrade* with the Caſtle, which ſo far commanded the River, that no Boats, or Veſſels could paſs down the Current without being infeſted by the Cannon of the Place. For *Vicegrade* is Situated on a Rock on the ſide of the *Danube* between *Gran* and *Buda*, but much nearer to the latter, and is fortified by a Caſtle erected upon a ſmall Hill.

Vicegrade.

This place hath been ſo conſiderable in former times, that it was the Reſidence of the *Hungarian* Kings, of which there remain great Ruins to this day of ſumptuous and magnificent Palaces. The Crown of the Kings of *Hungary* was anciently conſerved in this place; but as the *Turks* advanced in their Conqueſts, for better ſecurity it was removed to *Presburg*. This Crown is of a different Figure from that which other Princes uſe; for it is very low, with a Croſs on the Top, encompaſſed with four Leaves, of which one is larger than the other three.

The Crown of Hungary.

This Crown is held in great eſtimation by the *Hungarians*, being, as they ſay, brought down from Heaven by an Angel, and planted on the Head of their King St. *Stephen*. It being neceſſary (as we have ſaid) to take this place to make the way clear, and open unto *Buda*, the Duke of *Loraine* cauſed a Body of Horſe to paſs the Bridge of *Gran*; and becauſe the Country was full of Woods and Incloſures, all the Baggage and Incumbrances of the Camp were left under the Cannon of *Gran*, with a Guard of four Regiments of Foot, and a Detachment of Six hundred Horſe, beſides four Battalions of Count *Kaiſerſtein*, Commanded by General *Hailewell*; with the reſt of the Army the Duke of *Loraine* marched away, and having pitched his Camp about an hour's diſtance, or three Engliſh Miles from *Vicegrade*, he with ſome other Officers took a view of the place:

Hailewell.

And on the 16*th* day of *June* by break of day in the Morning, he raiſed his Camp, and by nine a Clock the ſame Morning the Foot and Dragoons had taken their Poſt upon a Hill, where they brought up ſome Mortar-pieces and Cannon, and began to Batter the Town:

Vicegrade *battered.*

But it being conſider'd, that this would be a long work, an Aſſault was reſolved, as the ſhorteſt and moſt expedite courſe to put an end to this Action. Count *Erneſt* of *Staremberg* diſpoſed and directed in what manner the Attack ſhould be made; and the Duke of *Newburg* commanded during the time of it's Execution. The Cavalier *Roſne* in deſpight of the Enemies Fire broak in at the firſt Gate, and being come to the ſecond, the Baron of *Aſti* with his Granadiers threw himſelf over the Walls into the City, by which time *Roſne* having broak in at the ſecond Gate, the Defendants began to give ground, and retreat into the Caſtle, but ſo precipitous was their Flight, that before they could croud into the Gate, many of them were cut off, and killed by the Enemy; after which the City was Sacked, and delivered up for a Prey into the Hands of the Soldiery.

And is ſtormed and taken.

The next day by three a Clock in the Morning, the Duke of *Loraine* took a view of the Caſtle, and deſigned to raiſe divers Batteries againſt it, for that the Bombs by Reaſon of the Figure of the Caſtle which was long and narrow, could not eaſily take place: But whilſt theſe Batteries were raiſing, the Duke ſent a Herald with a menacing Summons, that in caſe they ſhould refuſe to Surrender, he would deliver them up into the mercileſs Fury of the Soldiers. The *Turks* being

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aſtoniſhed at the Reſolution and Bravery of the *Chriſtians*, were affrighted into a Treaty; and Hoſtages being given on both ſides, it was agreed, That the Beſieged ſhould have Liberty to March out with their Arms, Bag and Baggage, Wives and Children, leaving behind them all the Artillery and Ammunition belonging to the Place. The Soldiers were no more than Six hundred in all, who were tranſported in Boats into the Iſland of St. *Andrew's*, to paſs from thence to *Walt*: In the Caſtle were only ſix Pieces of Cannon, (on four of which were the Arms of the Emperor *Rodolfus*;) the Proviſions and Ammunition alſo was very ſmall and inconſiderable, which might be the true Cauſe of this ſudden Surrender; for otherwiſe the Caſtle was very capable of making a longer Defence.

The Caſtle is alſo ſurrendred.

As things were paſſing in this manner before *Vice-grade*, News was brought to the Duke of *Loraine*, that the *Turks* had made an attempt on the Baggage which lay under Command of the Guns at *Gran*, and that the Regiment of *Rabata* had been worſted; upon which News the Duke of *Neuburg* with his Horſe took the Allarum, and haſtned to their Aſſiſtance, and was followed alſo by the Duke of *Loraine*; but in their way thither, they received Letters, that the Diſpute was already decided in favour of the *Chriſtians*; for thô they loſt Eighty Men, which were killed, together with Major General *Hailewell*, who was run through the Body in two places with a Lance, and Baron *de Kery*, with a Lieutenant of the Regiment of *Taff*; yet the *Turks* having at length been beaten out of the Field in diſorder, and with a loſs of One hundred and twelve Men which lay dead in the Field, the Victory clearly appeared in favour of the *Chriſtians*: Count *Rabata*, Nephew to the General of that Name, was taken Priſoner, but was afterwards reſcued by two Horſemen, whom he well Rewarded for that great Service.

The Turks fall on the Baggage before Gran.

Are put to flight.

The Death of Major General *Hailewell*, a Soldier of long Experience and undaunted Courage, being lamented with ſuch Grief and Sorrow as Soldiers uſually expreſs in the time of War for each other; The Duke of *Loraine* ſupplied *Vice-grade* with a Garriſon of Five hundred Men out of the Regiment of the Duke of *Neuburg*, the Command whereof was given to the Baron *d'Ambouche*, Sergeant Major of that Regiment: The Duke of *Loraine* having refreſhed his Army for ſome ſhort time near unto *Gran* until the Troops were come from *Vice-grade*, he raiſed his Camp on the 20*th* of *June*, and traverſed the *Danube* over the Bridge at *Strigonium*, and by next Day in the Evening the whole Army, Cannon, Baggage, and every thing being paſſed over, they continued their March towards *Peſt*, where the Recruits of the *Sileſian* Forces were expected: The March thither was difficult through Woods and narrow Places, ſo that on the 27*th* they encamped near *Witzen*, in ſight of Fifteen thouſand *Turks*, under the Command of ten Paſhaes, and Eight thouſand *Tartars*, with their Officers, who were drawn up in Battalia on the ſide of a Hill; the Acceſs unto which was very difficult over Rocks and Buſhes, and broaken Ways: On their right Wing they had the *Danube*, and on the left a Bog or Moraſſe; the Imperialiſts immediately upon this appearance, put themſelves into a Poſture of Battle, with as much ſpeed as the difficulty of the Place would permit, having their right Wing towards the *Danube*, and their left towards the Mountain, extending very largely their Front, they marched cloſe and ſlow to paſs the rough and broaken Ways, which thô the *Turks* defended with four Pieces of Cannon, yet Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* forced through, as did alſo Count *Staremberg*, and gained the Paſs, bringing ſome Pieces of Cannon to make good their Poſt. The *Turks* began now to move, and to charge the Regiment of *Taff*, which was in the middle of the Line, with their uſual Cries of *Ala*, *Ala*: The Duke of *Loraine* who was in that part of the Army, which was the middle, ſo as to be more ready to relieve thoſe Troops, which he perceived moſt in diſtreſs, had his Horſe killed under him by a Piſtol-ſhot, as had alſo two other Cavaliers, who road near his Perſon; but they being again remounted, the *Chriſtian* Troops moved with a regular Order, keeping themſelves cloſe and firm like a mighty Wall: The *Turks* charged them three times, endeavouring to break into their Body; but being every time repulſed with ſome loſs, they began to give way and to retreat; but Rallying again, they made another Charge; but failing in the Attempt, and not able to break into the Enemies Ranks, the *Chriſtians* preſſed them ſo hard, and put them into ſuch Diſorder, that they fled and trampled one upon the other, leaving their Cannon, and the *Janiſaries* which guarded them, to ſhift for themſelves, who being ſurrounded with ſeveral Regiments, were all cut to pieces.

A Fight near Witzen.

The Turks are defeated.

In this Battle about Six or Seven hundred *Janiſaries* were killed, great numbers endeavouring to ſwim over to the other ſide were drowned in the *Danube*, and about Three hundred Priſoners were taken: The *Turkiſh* Cavalry for the moſt part ſaved themſelves in *Peſt*, by the ſwiftneſs of their Horſes, which thô not ſo ſtrong in Battle as the *German*, yet more nimble and uſeful in

Flight. There were no more than ſix Pieces of Cannon taken, without other Spoyl either of Tents or Baggage; for this Force being only a Detachment ſent from *Buda* to give ſome Interruption, and ſtop to the Progreſs of the Enemy, they carried no Incumbrances with them, which commonly cauſe Camps to move ſlowly.

The Garriſon of the Fortreſs of *Witzem*, beholding from the top of the Caſtle the Succeſs of this Fight, were put into ſuch Conſternation, that upon Summons from Count *Schaffemberg*, they ſurrendred without Terms or Conditions, but at Diſcretion; all the Perſons therein, to the number of Fifteen Hundred, were made Captives, and put into the Emperor's Gallies, which row on the *Danube*, for the Service of the Army. The Duke of *Loraine* having in this manner ſecured the Paſſes, which obſtructed the Navigation of the *Danube*, he cauſed the whole Army to march towards *Peſt*, and upon the 30*th* of *June*, he encamped about three *Engliſh* Miles diſtant from that City; over which, in the Evening about Sun-ſet, appeared a great Fire and Smoak, which was judged to ariſe from the Town, and that the *Turks* themſelves intended to Burn it to the ground: By break of Day in the Morning, the Duke mounting on Horſeback at the head of his Cavalry, (ordering the Foot to follow him at leiſure) he approached near the Walls, and gave orders to a Detachment of Dragoons to make diſcovery of the State and Condition of the place, which was ſoon found to have been ſet on Fire and abandoned by the *Turks*, only a few remained, who had not time with the reſt to pack up their Baggage and be gon; theſe endeavouring to make ſome little Oppoſition were killed, and three Colours taken; thoſe who eſcaped fled over the Bridge, and broak off Fifty of the Boats to prevent the Purſuit of the Enemy, which floating down the Current, were taken up by the *Chriſtians*. The Duke of *Loraine* being come to *Peſt*, cauſed the Fire to be extinguiſhed, which had as yet Burnt but one third part of the Town, all the Stores of Ammunition and Proviſion being ſaved: The Works and Fortifications were ordered to be repaired, and Cannon to be mounted on the Walls; but the Place proved too hot for them, being ſo much incommoded by inceſſant ſhooting from *Buda*, that there was no-abiding for them there; for *Peſt* lies in a beautiful Plain, and gives Denomination to the Country round about, which is called, *Comitatus Peſthienſis*: From *Buda* it hath a ſumptuous Proſpect, by the appearance of the Towers on the old Walls, and Spires of the Moſchs, but is ſo overtopt by *Buda*, that all the Cannon there can ſhoot into it; ſo that the Imperial Army quitted the Place, until it ſhould fall into their Hands, and follow the Fate of *Buda*, as an Appendage or Dependance thereof.

Peſt ſet on Fire by the Turks.

The Chriſtian Army repaſſes the Danube.

The Troops being with-drawn from *Peſt*, they marched back to *Witzem*, where two Bridges of Boats were making to paſs the River at the Iſland of St. *Andrew*'s, where the River divides it ſelf in two Branches, and makes the Ferry over much more ſhort and eaſy. The Paſſage over the firſt Branch or Arm was not very difficult; but that on the farther ſide of the Iſland was much more hazardous, by reaſon that the Stream was broader and more rapid; and the *Turks* with 20,000 Men encamped within three Miles from the Banks of the River; but nothing ſeemed now too hard or dangerous to a victorious Army, and an invincible Captain; for whilſt the Bridge was finiſhing with incredible Expedition, ſome Soldiers for Spyes ſwam over to the other ſide, where having obſerved, that the *Turks* lay with much Security within their Camp, and without any motion; (which was a ſtrange thing, conſidering that they might eaſily have defended the River, and made the Paſſage over impoſſible) Five thouſand Foot, with ſome Pieces of Cannon were ferried over in Boats, where being landed without any diſturbance, they intrenched themſelves, and raiſed a Battery, from whence they could ſhoot into the Enemies Camp, and ſecure the Paſſage of the Water for the reſt of the Army. On the 10*th* of this Month, the Bridge being finiſhed, the whole Army paſſed over the ſame Day, and joyned themſelves with the other Body already on that ſide.

July

The Seraskier Aſſaults the Chriſtians.

The *Seraskier* being informed, that only a part of the Army was got over, he advanced againſt them with all his Horſe, and eight Hundred *Janiſaries*, and two ſmall Field-pieces; with him were the Paſha of *Buda*, and thirteen other Paſhas, leaving the reſt of the *Janiſaries*, and all other his Foot, with the Cannon about the diſtance of an Hour's March: The Attack which the *Turks* made was ſo ſuddain, that the *Chriſtians* had ſcarce time to put their Forces into order of Battail; but howſoever ſuch was the readineſs of this Army, and the good Diſcipline of it, that every Regiment and Troop at the firſt ſound of an Allarum took their Places without the leaſt Confuſion. The Duke of *Loraine*, at the head of his Cavalry, undertook to lead the Van, and there with ſuſtained the firſt ſhock of the Enemy with Carbine-ſhot only, ſtanding ſo firm and reſolute, that no breach could be made into their Ranks; in which time, the reſt of the Army had opportunity to put themſelves into poſture of Battle, which, upon their

1684.

He is repulſed and flies.

July

their Motion, appeared ſo formidable, that the *Turks* began to make a diſorderly Retreat, and to fly as faſt as their Horſes could carry them, until they came to the Place where the *Janiſarres* and Cannon remained: Howſoever, being cloſely purſued by the *Poliſh* Horſe, many of them came ſhort home, and ſeveral Colours were taken; nor was this Action without ſome loſs to the *Chriſtians*, and particularly of ſome Perſons of Note and Quality, as namely, The Count *de Velheim*, *Bernardino Scotti*, a Gentleman of *Milan*, with ſome other Voluntiers of Heroick Courage, who preſſing too forward to ſignalize their Valour, ended their days with much Honour and Glory. The next day being the 11*th*, the whole Chriſtian Army advanced towards *Buda*, between which, and a Party of the *Turks* there happened a Skirmiſh, to the diſadvantage of the latter; with which, and with a conſtant Train of other ill Succeſſes, the Turkiſh Army being cowarded and diſmayed, with-drew themſelves out of the open Plains, to ſeek ſhelter under Hills and Mountains, and lodged themſelves near St. *Gerard*'s Mount; whilſt Major General *Staremberg*, advancing near the City, began to prepare Matters neceſſary towards a Siege.

The 13*th* the *Turks* ſet fire to the lower Town of *Buda*, and retired into the upper, which was ſituate on a Hill, and defended by a ſtrong Caſtle. The Fortifications hereof were not very regular, but made of old Towers without Baſtions; but the Garriſon conſiſting of Eight thouſand Men, was the beſt of its Strength, Commanded by five Paſhaes, and well ſupplied with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſion; the Governour was the Vizier of *Buda*, and under him, as his Deputy-Governour, was *Shitan Ibrahim*, of whom we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to give a more particular Character.

The Siege of Buda *formed.*

The 14*th* a ſmall Attack was given, and deſigned purpoſely as a good Omen to the Soldiery, who ſtill retained in their Memories, that the ſame Day of the Year paſt, the *Turks* had formed their Siege before *Vienna*; and this very Day the Duke of *Loraine* had brought his heavy Cannon to the places of Battery, and had now perfected a formal Siege againſt the capital City of *Hungary*: The next day the Cannon beginning to play, they made themſelves Maſters of the Ditch, and of St. *Gerard*'s Mount, which Commands the Town, and thereon a Battery was raiſed. The *Seraskier* finding that his Army was diſmayed, and neither for their Courage, nor Numbers, a competent Match for their victorious Enemy, retired three Leagues diſtant from *Buda*, intending often to trouble and infeſt the Beſiegers with continual Alarums.

1684.

The Paſha of Maroz *overthrown*

Whilſt theſe things were thus acting, the Duke of *Loraine* received Advice, that the Paſha of *Maroz*, who was appointed to guard the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, was advanced with Two thouſand Five hundred Men to *Vitrovitz*, a Place about a League diſtant from the Camp, expecting Four hundred Men more under Command of the *Bei* of *Gradiſca*, with deſign to force their way into *Buda*: To prevent which, the Duke detached Four thouſand Croats under the Command of Count *Tranſmandorf* to march againſt them, and ordered the *German* Forces to ſtand all Night to their Arms to avoid a Surpriſe. *Tranſmandorf* marched until ſeven a Clock in the Morning always a-trot; and having about that time met the Paſha of *Marotz*, he immediately engaged with him, and charged him ſo furiouſly, that after ſome ſmall Reſiſtence, the *Turks* fled; of whom about a Hundred were killed in the Purſuit, and ſeveral Priſoners taken. After which Succeſs, *Tranſmandorf* returning back to the Camp, fortunately Encountred the Governour of *Gradiſca* with his Four hundred Men, who, going to joyn with the Paſha of *Marotz*, (of whoſe ill Succeſs he had as yet received no Intelligence) was engaged and defeated by him upon the firſt Charge or On-ſet, and had all been cut in pieces, had they not been favoured by the ſhelter and thickneſs of ſome neighbouring Woods. On this Occaſion the *Croats* took fourteen Colours, with ſeveral of their Cymbals and Trumpets, and twenty Priſoners: They loſt only fourteen of their Men, and had the Pillage of the Camp, with great ſtore of good Proviſions, with which they feaſted themſelves, and nouriſhed their Horſes.

And now let us leave the Duke of *Loraine* for a while before this City, employed in an Enterpriſe, which could not be effected until two Years aferwards, thô all that time a conſtant courſe of ill Fortune ran againſt the *Turks*: And let us ſee what Preparations were making at *Venice*, and recount the Actions and Atchievements which this Republick carried on this Year againſt the *Turks*, purſuant to the Proclamation of War lately publiſhed.

1684.

The Venetians prepare for War, and nominate their Officers.

The Doge of *Venice*, called *Marco Antonio Guſtiniano*, who entred upon the Governmernt the 26*th* day of *April* of this Year, together with the Council, made choice of theſe General Officers for carrying on the War: Namely, *Franciſco Moroſini* Captain General, *Dominico Mocenigo* Proveditor General of *Dalmatia*, the Prince of *Parma* General of the Infantry, *Aleſſandro Molino* and *Antonio Bembo* Captains extraordinary of the Ships, *Paulo Michiel*, *Matthew Piſani* and *John Moroſini* Commanders extraordinary of the Galeaſſes; and General *Strazoldo* quitted

ted the Imperial Service for that of the Republick.

The whole *Venetian* Fleet conſiſted of Sixteen Gallies, ſix Galleaſſas, and ſixteen Sail of Ships; to them were joyned five of the Pope's Gallies, and ſeven of *Malta*, and four Gallies belonging to the Great Duke of *Toſcany*. With part of this Fleet the Captain General *Moroſini* put to Sea from the Coaſt of *Italy*, on the 10*th* of *June*, for the Iſland of *Corfu*, where the general Rendezvous for the whole Fleet was appointed: At this Place a Council of War was called, where all the General Officers were preſent, together with the Proveditor General *Cornaro*, and General *Strazoldo*; and by them it was unanimouſly reſolved to Attack the Iſland of *Santa Maura*.

Rendezvous at Corfu.

This Iſland of *Santa Maura* was formerly joyned to the Continent of *Greece*, and reckned amongſt the Weſtern, as thoſe of the *Archi-pelago* were amongſt the Eaſtern Iſlands; it was anciently known by the Name of *Leucas*, and was part of the Kingdom of *Ulyſſes*. It was once a Peninſula, adjoyning to *Epirus* by a narrow Iſthmus of Land, but at the great Charge and Labour of the Inhabitants of *Corinth*, it was cut off from the Continent, and made an Iſland: It is near the *Morea*, at the entrance into the Gulf of *Lepanto*, where was fought that famous Battle in the Year 1571.

Santa Maura.

Sultan Mahomet, the Son of *Sultan Amurath*, took this Iſland from the *Venetians* in the Year 1457. But with the Aid and Aſſiſtance of ſome Veſſels from the Pope, King *Lewis* the 12*th* of *France*, and the Knights of *Rhodes*, it was, after a bloudy Fight, recovered out of their Poſſeſſion, in the Reign of *Bajazet* the II, in the Year 1499, *Benedetto Peſaro* being General. But the Year following a Peace being made, it was reſtored to the *Turks*, conditionally, That the Iſland of *Cephalania* ſhould remain to the *Venetians* for ever. This Iſland being the chief Harbour at preſent, and Refuge of all the Pyrates and Corſairs of *Barbary*, which much infeſted the Gulf, and rendred the Navigation very unſecure, and which hindred the *Venetians* from being the abſolute Maſters of thoſe Seas, this Enterpriſe was reſolved to be the moſt neceſſary and methodical in order to more important Adventures.

Accordingly, on the 19*th* of *July*, the whole Fleet, together with *Tartanas* and *Felucas* carrying Land-forces, ſet Sail from *Corfu*, and the next day arrived at *Little-more*, then Cannon-ſhot diſtant from *Santa Maura*, where they caſt Anchor, and landed their Forces, which conſiſted of two Battalions of the Pope's, and of *Malta* Six hundred Men each, and Eight hundred Men drawn out of other Troops: Amongſt thoſe of *Malta* were a Hundred Knights, who, clad in their Coat-armours of red Sattin, with the white Croſs of their Order, made a ſplendid Appearance. The next day the whole Fleet entred the Port of *Demata*, which lies to the Eaſtward of the Town, and is capable to receive great numbers of Veſſels, and the Captain General *Moroſini* went in Perſon on ſhoar, taking a view of the ſeveral Poſts, in which the Forces had lodged themſelves, and of that particularly called *Chiche*, which was a Houſe of Pleaſure belonging to the Aga's Son, poſſeſſed by Captain *Manetta*. But before *Moroſini* thought fit to commit any Act of Hoſtility, he ſent to Summon the Place; and in a Writing ſet forth the Cauſe and Reaſons which moved the *Venetians* to raiſe a powerful Army againſt the *Turk*, who had violated the Peace, by harbouring the Corſaires of *Barbary*, and practiſed other Hoſtilities againſt the Subjects of that State: And that in caſe they did not Surrender up their Town and Iſland, the next Morning he would proceed to force them, and make uſe of the Priviledge and Power of a Conqueror. To which the Governour returned no other Anſwer, Than that God would puniſh the *Venetians* for violating the Peace, and making an unjuſt War upon the Grand Seignior. Whereupon, the Admiral-Flag being ſpread, which was the Signal of Battle, the Gallies and Galleaſſes made above Twelve hundred Shot againſt the Town, which did great Damage to the Houſes and Fortifications, and entirely ruined one of the Moſchs. Nor were the *Turks* idle, but fired continually, tho with no great hurt; for their Cannon being mounted too high, did not hinder the Forces of the Pope, *Malta* and *Toſcany* from poſſeſſing themſelves of the Suburbs, nor the Batteries from raiſing, which by direction of *Lorenzo Venier*, plaid on the Walls with good Succeſs, and did great Execution, and the Bombs which were thrown into the Town put all the Defendants into a Conſternation. For, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, the Batteries had razed a Bulwark to the Ground, and widned the Breach, and diſmounted four Pieces of the Enemies Cannon, and the Bombs had ſet Fire to ſeveral parts of the Town; and ſo far was the Siege carried on, in order to a general Aſſault, that on the 6*th* of *Auguſt* the *Turks* hung out a white Flag, as a Signal that they would Capitulate: Accordingly a Treaty was had, and Hoſtages given, and at length an Agreement was concluded, That the *Turks* with their Families might have Liberty to leave the Town, with ſo much, and no more than they could carry on their Backs. The Garriſon being Seven hundred Men, towards

Summons ſent to Santa Maura.

The Batteries.

The Turks parly and ſurrender.

1684. wards the Evening marched forth with Sword and Muſquet, and were ſhip'd and carried on the farther Shoar of an Arm of the Sea; all the Chriſtian Slaves were ſet at Liberty, on Condition to ſerve on Ships and Gallies of the Republick, in the Quality of Seamen and Soldiers. The *Venetians* entred the Town at the Breach; the Plunder whereof, which was conſiderable, was given to the Soldiers: In the Place great ſtore of Proviſions were found, with Eighty Pieces of Cannon: The *Venetians* loſt about Two hundred Men in the Siege: *Moroſini* immediately cauſed the principal Moſch to be Bleſſed, in which *Te Deum* was ſung, and dedicated to St. *Saviour*, becauſe it was the *6th of Auguſt*, on which day is the Feaſt of the Traſfiguration, when the *Turks* hung out the white Flag of Surrender. The Command of the Place was given to *Lorenzo Venier*, a noble *Venetian*, one of whoſe Anceſtors was Commander in chief of the *Venetian* Army, when *Selimus* was entirely defeated at the Battle of *Lepanto*.

The Fortifications of *Santa Maura* being repaired, and a Garriſon left in it; General *Moroſini* ſet Sail to the Port of *Petula*, and thence to the Port of *Dragonetta*, where he caſt Anchor, and landed his Army, which conſiſted of Two thouſand *Venetians*, about One thouſand of the Pope's Auxiliaries, and about Fifteen or Sixteen hundred *Greeks*. This Army advanced on the Plains; upon approach of which, ſeveral Turkiſh Troops, which were employdd to defend Paſſages, retired without any Reſiſtance, which gave opportunity to the *Chriſtians* to Burn four or five Villages; which having done, they returned to the Fleet and re-embarked themſelves. At the ſame time General *Moroſini* with his Gally got ſight of *Patras* and *Lepanto*; and thence Sailing to the Port of *Damata*, a Council of War was called, and there it was reſolved to Attack *Preveza*, without which, *Santa Maura* could not be ſecured: *Preveza* is a Fortreſs which now ſtands in the place of the ancient *Nicopolis* of *Epirus*, the Situation of which is very Commodious, for it Commands the entrance into the Gulf, and was anciently the Royal City of *Pyrrhus*. This Enterprize being reſolved, General *Moroſini* diſpeeded five Gallies and ſix Galleaſſes to approach the Caſtles of the *Gomenizza*, which being diſcerned by the *Turks* from *Preveza*, they ſent back thoſe Soldiers which they had lately drawn from thence, on ſuppoſition that the *Venetians* would make all their Attempt upon *Preveza*; which happened according to the Deſire and Intention of *Moroſini*, whoſe Aim it was to divide their Forces. The Army in the mean time having left *Damata*, came to an Anchor on the 20th of *September*, at the entrance into the Gulf; and the next day Captain *Manetta*, with Twenty four Barks, and ſome Brigantines, entring the Gulf, landed part of his Forces, which the *Turks* in vain endeavoured to hinder by great and ſmall Shot; and next Morning, by break of Day, the Gallies (which had anchored under the Hill of *Mahomet Effendi*) appeared within Muſquet-ſhot of the Place, which gave a Diverſion to the *Turks*, who having drawn all their Forces to that ſide, gave opportunity to the *Chriſtian* Forces to land on the other without much Annoyance, under the Conduct of General *Strazoldo*, which Errour, ſo ſoon as the *Turks* diſcovered, *Shaban* Paſha the Governour immediately ordered Five hundred Spahees to ride full ſpeed to Attack the Forces before they were landed; but before they could come, they found the *Chriſtians* already drawn up in Battalia, upon whom having made ſome ſlight Charge, they retreated again in diſorder with the loſs of ſeveral of their Men. 1684.

Preveza attacked.

Thus did the *Chriſtians* advance, without much difficulty, and make themſelves Maſters of the Out-town, and of the Hill of *Mahomet Effendi*, which Commands the City; and at the ſame time the Gallies and Galliots approached yet nearer to *Preveza*, when *Moroſini* thought it ſeaſonable to Summon the Town, letting them know, that in caſe they deferred the Surrender, until the laſt extremity, he would grant no Quarter, nor any Conditions whatſoever: But the Officer who commanded in chief under *Shaban Aga*, (who was gone to head Four thouſand Men without the Town, and obſerve the Motions of the Enemy) refuſed to read or receive the Letter, but barbarouſly ſhot the Meſſenger who brought it, having a Confidence the Governour, whoſe Deputy he was, would ſpeedily return and raiſe the Siege. Whereupon *Moroſini*, having viewed the Poſts and Situation of the Place, cauſed his Cannon and Bombs to be landed, and raiſed his Batteries, which played with ſo good Succeſs, that ſeveral parts of the Town were fired, and moſt of the Enemies Guns diſmounted, and thoſe which remained on their Carriages were ſo ill managed, that they did little or no Execution, for there was as yet of the *Chriſtians* but one Soldier killed, and five wounded. The Breach by this time was found very conſiderable, and on the *28th* a Lodgment was made in the Ditch, and a Mine being ready to be Sprung, Orders were given to prepare for an Aſſault; which the *Turks* fearing to expect, hung out a white Flag, and offered to capitulate, and to accept the ſame Conditions, which were given to *Santa Maura*: But at length it was concluded,

1684. that Thirty only of the moſt conſiderable perſons amongſt them, might march out with their Arms and Baggage, and the reſt without Arms, and with no more than they could carry about them; and that all the *Chriſtian* Slaves ſhould be ſet at Liberty. Accordingly the Day following the *Turks* to the number of Two hundred Men marched out at the Gate towards the Sea; and were Embarked on ſome *Grecian* Boats with a Convoy, and were Landed within four Miles of *Larta*, about Two hundred of the Inhabitants remaining in the place. The Town being taken the Standard of St. *Mark* was ſet up on the Walls, and all the *Turkiſh* Colours and Banners taken down, and ſent to the Admiral Gally. In the Town were found Forty ſix Pieces of Cannon, Eighteen of which were Braſs, and carried Fifty five pounds of Ball. The place was well Stored with all ſorts of Proviſion, and with Muſquets and Bullets, and Six hundred Quintals of Powder. This Town was very beneficial to the *Venetians*, for it put them into an entire Poſſeſſion and Dominion of the *Gulf*, and the places of that Coaſt, the Fiſhing Trade whereof is ſo conſiderable, that it yielded to the *Turks* a Thouſand Crowns every year ariſing on the Cuſtoms thereof.

Preveza *Surrendered.*

The Auxiliary and Venetian *Forces return to their Winter quarters.*

Thus ended this Campagne to the Honour and Reputation of the *Venetian* Arms: And the Auxiliary Gallies and Forces returned home, having been more diminiſhed by Fatigues, and making Incurſions into the Land, than by ſlaughter or loſs ſuſtain'd from the Enemy. The *Venetians* took their Winter-quarters in ſeveral Iſles belonging to the Republick. *Molino*, Captain extraordinary of the Ships, brought back his Squadron to *Corfu*; but General *Moroſini* wintered at *Preveza*, with deſign to render that place impregnable, and to engage the *Greeks*, who are a People of an unconſtant Humour, to remain ſteady in that Duty and Faith, which they cauſed them to Swear to the *Venetian* Republick; whilſt theſe things were carrying on, ſome matters of leſs moment were acted in lighter Skirmiſhes near *Cliſſa*, from whence the *Turks* carried away ſeven Priſoners; but being purſued by the *Morlaques*, they were again reſcued by them, and forced to quit their whole Booty, with the loſs of Fifty of their Men killed on the place. Seignior *Antonio Zeno*, Proveditor extraordinary of *Cataro* came to *Peraſto*, and pillaged, and burnt all the Towns and Villages near Caſtel *Novo*, and hinder'd the *Turks* from carrying in their Harveſt, and ſeized great Stores of Wheat, and other Corn which he carried to *Cliſſa*. To compleat the Succeſſes of this year a *Galliot* of *Dulcigno* was taken, Commanded by *Solyman Reis* a famous *Corſaire*. In the Fight *Solyman* himſelf with Twenty of Men was killed, and Twenty two *Chriſtians* were Releaſed and ſet at Liberty, whom this Pyrate was carrying into Slavery.

And now having given a Relation of the *Venetian* Succeſſes of this year, it will be time to return to the *German* Camp, which we left at the Siege before *Buda*.

The Vizier of Buda, *ſlain. He is ſucceeded by* Shitan Ibrahim.

The Siege, as we have ſaid, being compleatly formed, on the 12*th* of *July* a Mine was ſprung near the great Tower, which tho it had done great effect, yet it plainly appeared, That the *Turks* were too ſtrong as yet in the Town to be aſſaulted at the entrance of any Breach, until ſuch time as their numbers were more diminiſhed by a longer Siege. On the 14*th* the Vizier of *Buda*, called *Kara Mahomet*, died of a Wound, which he had received on his Face; he was one of the beſt Officers amongſt the *Turks*. *Shitan Ibrahim* ſucceeded him in the Government: He was a Perſon very well known to the Engliſh Nation, which had lived in *Turky*, to which he bore a ſignal kindneſs and reſpect, and particularly to that worthy Perſon Sir *Jonathan Dawes*, with whom he cultivated a Friendſhip, which was extraordinary and unuſual for a *Turk* towards a *Chriſtian*. When I came firſt into *Turky* he was then *Teſterdar*, or Lord Treſurer; whom I have ſeen when he was giving out the Pay to the Army to beſtow Mony on the Earl of *Winchelſea*'s Pages and Servants, who being then Lord Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the Grand Seignior, was returning from an Audience which he had had with the Grand Vizier. He was afterwards Married to the Grand Seignior's Siſter, and was ſent Paſha to *Gran Cairo*, which is an Office of the higheſt Degree amongſt the *Turks*; having remained three years in that Employment, which is the uſual time allowed to that Government, he was then recalled, and taxed at Six hundred Purſes of Money; he was forced to lay down one half in ready Money, and to pay the other Moiety in a few Days afterwards, upon Penalty of being committed to a Priſon, from whence he had never been delivered but by Death. He was afterwards made Paſha of *Damaſcus*, then of *Aleppo*, and with his Forces was engaged to paſs by Sea to the Siege at *Candia*. I remember him at *Smyrna*, when he embarked there, and then he told me, how grievous it was for him and his Men to leave their Horſes, (than which nothing was more pleaſing and dear) and to Embark on a Gally, and paſs the Seas to which he and his Soldiers had never been accuſtomed. Afterwards he was employed in many great Offices, to which he had been bred from

The Character of Shitan Ibrahim.

his Youth, and in which he had deported himſelf with ſingular Reputation and Eſteem, being naturally of a frank and a generous Temper: He was then about Eighty years of Age, and nothing declined, but ſtill as Robuſt and Vigorous as if he were but Forty, when he defended *Buda*, and ſucceeded the Paſha who was killed on the Walls; and in this Condition we ſhall leave him for a year or two, until being involved in the Common Fate and Misfortunes of the *Turks*, he yielded to the Deſtiny which was provided for him.

Sallies from the Town.

On the 16th of *Auguſt* the Beſieged made a Sally, and were beaten back with ſome loſs; but the next day they had better Fortune, and killed many of the *Chriſtians*, as they did alſo in ſeveral other Sallies. But to encourage the *Chriſtians* in this Siege, ſeveral Deſerters eſcaped out of the Town, and to flatter the Party into whoſe Hands they were fallen, they told a thouſand Falſities concerning the diſtreſſes and wants of the Town. But notwithſtanding all their Reports, it was concluded neceſſary, to open the Breach in the Wall of *Buda* much wider than it was before; to which end the Cannon plaid continually upon that part of the Town, where the Aſſault was to be made. But in the mean time to diſturb theſe proceedings, the Seraskier Paſha with all the Force of the *Ottoman* Army, appeared often times in ſight of the Camp, which gave ſuch frequent Allarums, that the Duke of *Loraine* thought fit to draw out a great part of his Army to engage them, leaving all the left Wing in the Approaches, under Command of Count *Staremberg*, General of the Artillery, and with the remainder of the Infantry, and all the Cavalry he marched between the upper City, and Mount St. *Gerard*, to meet the Seraskier; and ſo ſoon as the Way opened into the Vally between *Buda* and *Strigonium*, he diſcover'd a great Body of Turkiſh Horſe upon a Hill oppoſite to the Army, upon view of which the *Chriſtian* Army drew into Battalia; and thô the way to an Engagement with the Enemy was rough, craggy and very ſteep; yet ſuch was the Spirit, which by frequent Victories had poſſeſſed the *Chriſtian* Soldiery, that with incomparable Valour, their right Wing moved over all the difficulties of the Ground againſt the left Wing of the *Turks*; but they fearing to ſtand the Shock, made their Retreat to another Hill within Cannon-ſhot of *Buda*, where their right Wing was drawn up: The Imperial Troops ſtill continuing to advance againſt the Enemy, detached Two thouſand of their choice Horſe, who making as if they intended to form another Line before the Front, poſted themſelves under the Walls of the City; during which time the main Body of the *Turks* ſtood firm, and kept their Ground, until the *Chriſtians* were come within Muſquet-ſhot; and then their formoſt Troops fell violently into the Trenches on the right Hand, whilſt a Sally was made out of the City by the *Janiſaries* on the left: And ſo Furious was the Charge they made, that they gained the firſt Poſt, which was maintain'd by Count *Furſtemburg*, Captain the Regiment of *Grana*, and paſſed to the ſecond Guard, defended by a Captain of the Regiment of *Baden*, and proceeded even to the third Poſt under one of the Batteries. But Count *Aſpremont*, and Colonel *Bek*, with two Battalions coming to their aſſiſtance, as did alſo the Battalions of reſerve under *Staremberg* and *Souches*, the Enemy was ſo vigorouſly repulſed by them, that they not only recovered the ſeveral Poſts which they had loſt, but gained a Fort from the Enemy, which was Situated on the *Danube*, and took four Standards from them, with the Slaughter of many *Janiſaries*.

A Fight before Buda.

A Sally from the Town.

At the ſame time the Enemies left Wing of Horſe was ſo warmly charged by the Imperialiſts, that they were put into a diſorderly Flight, and run over and trampled down their Foot; howſoever Rallying again they made a ſtand, as if they had intended to renew the Fight: But obſerving the right Wing of the *Chriſtians* to advance towards them, and the left Wing to come into their aſſiſtance, they durſt not adventure to ſtand the Shock, but fled in full Career; but ſuch as were worſe mounted, and truſted not to the Swifneſs of their Horſes, in a deſperate manner made their way into the City for Refuge. This enterpriſe of the *Turks* coſt the *Chriſtians* Three hundred Men; thoſe of Qualitie killed were the Counts of *Fuſtemberg* and *Carlovitz*, and the Counts *Guido Staremberg*, and *Scalemberg* were wounded, for which the *Turks* paid moſt dearly, leaving Seven thouſand of their Companions ſlain upon the place.

An Aſſault on lower Buda.

The Seraskier, and his Army being thus repulſed with great ſlaughter and much diſmayed; the Duke of *Loraine* reſolved to attempt the lower Town by the Breach which was made: The which was accordingly executed by the Baron of *Aſti*, who in deſpight of the Granadoes, and continual Vollies of the Muſquets ſurmounted the Ruins, and took poſſeſſion of the Breach; and being ſeconded by other Forces, he proceeded and made himſelf Maſter of the more inward Retrenchments, deſtroying the Paliſadoes and the Works in ſuch manner, that the Defendants had no other Shelter than their Houſes remaining to them.

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The lower Buda *and Caſtle taken.*

By this time Count *Tulli* and a Captain of the Regiment of *Mansfield* were come to their aſſiſtance, and together with *Aſti* advanced to the Gate which opens to the *Danube*; where after a ſharp Fight, with much effuſion of Blood on both ſides, they forced open the Gate, and gave entrance to Colonel *Culemfels* with Five hundred Men, who being alſo followed by great numbers of *Hayducks*, they ſo overwhelmed the the *Turks* with their power, that they fled for refuge to the Caſtle: But being cloſely purſued by the *Chriſtians*, who were now mixed with them, thoſe in the Caſtle feared to open their Gates, leſt by giving entrance to their Friends they ſhould receive their Enemies; ſo that as many as were excluded out of the Caſtle fell by the *German* Sword; others betaking themſelves to their Houſes, barred their Doors, and hid themſelves in Vaults and Cellars: But there being no protection for the miſerable, Fire was applyed to the Houſes, whereby thoſe who had eſcaped the Sword, periſhed in the Flames.

Two parties of Turks *Defeated.*

Virovitz *Surrendred.*

In this Glorious Action it is ſaid, That 12.000 *Janiſaries* were Slain, with the loſs only of Seventy five or Eighty *Chriſtians* killed and wounded; after which the ſeveral Poſts, and Gates of the Town were well ſecured; and Orders given to Attack the Palanca and Caſtle of St. *Gerards*; which at the firſt ſight, and appearance only of an Attempt, the Defendants abandoned, carrying away with them all their Cannon and Ammunition. The lower Town being thus ſubdued and poſſeſſed by the *Chriſtians*, the very ſame Night Batteries were raiſed on St. *Gerard's Mount*, and Trenches and Approaches made on that ſide, whereby the upper City of *Buda* was more cloſely Beſieged, and the Enemy reduced within a more narrow Compaſs. Whilſt theſe matters were Acting, Count *Leſly* with a Body of Fifteen thouſand Men, made an Attempt upon the City and Caſtle of *Virovitz*, which is in *Sclavonia*, Situated on the Frontiers of *Croatia*, and is ſometimes called *Berſeck*. To Succour this place the Seraſkier cauſed ſeveral Troops to advance, who encountring a Detachment of Eight hundred *Croats*, they put them into Diſorder, and cauſed them to Retreat unto their main Body, with the loſs of three of their Standards; but purſuing them too far, their Career was ſtopt by the Army of *Leſly*, who vigorouſly repulſed them, and put them to Flight with the loſs of Five hundred of their Men, and Two hundred killed on the ſide of the *Chriſtians*. This good Succeſs was ſeconded by another happy Encounter which Count *Trotmanſdorf*, with a Party of Four thouſand *Croats*, had over a Party of Two thouſand *Turks*, deſigned by the Paſha of *Marotz* (who was appointed to Guard the Bridge of *Eſſeck*) to Succour the Town and Caſtle of *Virovitz*; for they were all defeated by him, as was alſo another Party of Fifteen hundred Horſe, who were marching with all diligence to joyn with the Two thouſand lately routed and diſperſed. Thus the Town and Caſtle having loſt all their hopes of Succour and Relief, they ſpread a white Flag on the Walls, which demonſtrated their intentions to Capitulate. Accordingly a Treaty being had, ſeveral particulars were agreed, and the places Surender'd: The Turkiſh Garriſon, which conſiſted of about One thouſand Soldiers, were permitted to march forth without their Arms, unleſs Fifteen of the principal Officers, who had liberty to go forth with their Horſes and Arms; the reſt were to have no more than what they could carry on their Backs. The *Turks* having quitted the City and Caſtle, the *Chriſtians* ſupplied it with a Garriſon of Two hundred Men, under the Command of the Baron of *Schelardt*. The News of the loſs of *Virovitz*, put all the Country thereabouts into ſuch Conſternation, that ſeveral places were abandoned by the *Turks*, and a way opened to General *Leſly* to march without any impediment to the Bridge of *Eſſeck*.

1684.

The Proceedings at the Siege of Buda.

The ill Condition of the Beſiegers.

In the mean time the Approaches, and Works before *Buda* proceeded with infinite diligence and labour, ſo that by the 26th Day of *July*, they were advanced within Sixty Paces of the Counterſcarp: Likewiſe other Batteries were raiſed of Twenty five Pieces of great Cannon, and Twelve Mortar-pieces, which fired continually; and on the ſide of *Peſt*, they annoied the *Turks* with long Guns, and ſmall Pieces of Ordnance, that they were not able to approach near the River for Water, of which there was great ſcarcity and want in the Town. The Batteries not doing the Execution which was expected, by Reaſon that the Walls were filled with Earth, endeavours were made to Under-mine a corner of the Counterſcarp; and on that ſide towards *Strigonium* to advance the Works within Sixty Paces of the Tower: In which Attempts One hundred and twenty ſix *Germans* were killed in one day and night. Within the Town they were induſtrious and brave, every *Janiſary* behaving himſelf, with Reſolution and indefatigable Labour: And on the other ſide, Without the Town the Soldiers were haraſſed, and tyred with continual Watchings and Pains; and the Pioneers and Labourers working beyond their ſtrenght, in the exceſſive heats fell into Malignant Fevers, and Diſeaſes of the Camp, by which the numbers of thoſe People being greatly diminiſhed, the Mines and Works advanced very ſlowly.

On

1684.

On that ſide towards *Strigonium*, the impediments and hindrances were as great, as on the other; for the Defendants continually Fired upon the Labourers, which obſtructed them in ſuch manner, that it was impoſſible to joyn their Trenches to the Wall of the Baſtion which Flanked the Curtain; and ſuch ſhowers of Granadoes, and Vollies of ſmall Shot were thrown amongſt them, that they were forced to deſiſt from their Work, and to proceed by Mining the Earth, which required much time, and retarded the Conqueſt of the place.

On the 30*th* of *Auguſt*, about Sun-riſing the *Turks* made a Furious Sally into the Trenches of the *Germans*, cauſing them to Fly, with the loſs of Forty or Fifty Men; but other Troops coming to their Succour, they were forced to Retire in much Confuſion and Diſorder, and endeavouring an Eſcape by the Breaches in the Walls, and narrow Avenues, they expoſed themſelves to the Swords and Fire Arms of their Enemies, who deſtroyed them with great Slaughter.

Sept.

At the beginning of *September*, the Rains fell in ſuch abundance, that the Soldiers in ſome of the Trenches remain'd a whole Day up to the middle in Water, which increaſed the Diſeaſes of the Camp, from which ſome of the Commanders were not freed; and particularly the Duke of *Loraine*, who became ſo indiſpoſed in his Health, that he was conſtrained to Retire unto Old *Buda* for eaſe and remedy, where he continued not above four or five Days, before he returned again to the Camp; during this time the *Turks* made other Sallies upon the *Chriſtians*, for ſeveral Days, to their great loſs and diſcouragement; for beſides Three hundred Common Soldiers, many principal Officers were killed and wounded; amongſt which thoſe of chief Note were the Marquis *Cavalieri*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Gran*, Count *Tirheim* a Captain of the Regiment of *Baden* were ſlain, and Major General *Schaffemberg*, and the Marquis of *Parella*, with ſeveral other Officers were wounded. But to ſuport the Spirits of the *Chriſtians*, which were not a little diſmayed by theſe loſſes, and the great difficulties which were yet to be overcome; the *Bavarian* Infantry fortunately came to their Succours, (tho thoſe of *Franconia* were Countermanded) which ſo enlivened, and cheared up the Hearts of the drooping Camp, That the Duke of *Loraine* ſent a menacing Meſſage to the Governour of *Buda*, giving him to underſtand, that in caſe he ſtood out longer and refuſed to ſurrender, until he was forced thereunto by a General Aſſault, which he was preparing to make, that then he would put all to the Sword, giving Quarter to none, nor ſparing Age nor Sex. To which Summons he returned this anſwer, That in ſuch Caſe he would neither demand Mercy, or Quarter for his own Perſon, nor for any of the Soldiers, or Inhabitants of that place: And on the other ſide he declared, That he would give no Quarter to the Beſiegers, but when they fell into his Hands, would treat them with the ſame uſage, which was threatned unto them: And to ſhew how much he was in earneſt, he cauſed Forty *Chriſtian* Priſoners to be brought before him on the Walls, and in Preſence of the Perſon who brought the Summons, he commanded them all to be put to Death; ſaying, That if it were in his Power to Maſſacre the whole Chriſtian Army, he would do it with as little Remorſe, as he executed his preſent Rage on thoſe miſerable Wretches: And it being farther told this Vizier, that the Duke of *Bavaria* had in Perſon, and with 30.000 Men reinforced the Army which encompaſſed the City: He made anſwer, That he knew very well what a Petty King of *Germany* meant, and that his Three thouſand Men which he had brought with him, could not terrify him who commanded a Place, where the Soldiers were many and brave, and where was no want of Ammunition and Proviſions.

Sallies from the Town.

Summons ſent to the Town.

The Viziers Anſwer.

His Cruelty.

On the 8*th*, The *Chriſtians* Sprang a Mine under one of the Towers, where the *Turks* had placed their principal Battery; and at Night Sprang three or four more under the Curtain, but not with ſo good effect as was expected: Howſoever, they had brought their Attacks to the very Ditches of the Town and Caſtle, and had made a Lodgment upon one of the Breaches.

On the 9*th* and 10*th*, Several other Mines were fired with ſuch Succeſs, that they overthrew a great part of the Wall, and opened ſo wide a ſpace, that four or five Carts might enter a-breaſt: Howſoever, it was not thought adviſable to make an Aſſault, by Reaſon that the Defendants had formed ſeveral Retrenchments within, and guarded them with many Troops and Batteries: And beſides, the Infantry were ſo weakned by Diſſenteries, and other Sickneſſes, that it was not thought fit to hazard them upon ſo deſperate an Attempt. Howſoever, having fired a Mine at *Kulakupee* with good effect, they ſeconded it with a furious Aſſault, but were again repulſed with much loſs, and great ſlaughter of the common Soldiers; and the Counts of *Harach* and *Naſſau*, and the Major of the Regiment of *Mansfeldt* were all killed; and the Counts of *Staremberg* and *Auerſberg* were amongſt the number of the wounded. Amongſt theſe Diſorders and Diſcouragements, five *Chriſtians* found means to make their

The Chriſtians make an Aſſault and are repulſed.

their Eſcape out of the Town, and informed the General, that the *Turks* had raiſed two Batteries each of five Pieces of Cannon upon a Horn-work which was paliſadoed, and was guarded by another Tower behind this Work, and joyned to a more inward Wall made of Earth above nine Foot thick: That there was alſo a Ditch and Paliſadoes behind the Breach, and that there were ſtill 20 .000 Men within the Town, who were capable to bear Arms; and that the principal Officers upon hopes of being relieved by the *Seraskier* (as was aſſured them by ſome Soldiers lately come from *Belgrade*, and the Bridge of *Eſſeck*) had reſolved to maintain the Town to the laſt and utmoſt Extremity: Howſoever that there was ſome diviſion amongſt them; for thô the Inhabitants ſeem'd reſolute to ſtand out unto the laſt drop of their Blouds, fearing leſt they ſhould be treated like the Garriſon of *Virovitza*, yet the *Janiſaries* (who had no other Concernment in the Place, than their own Lives) proteſted that in caſe they were not ſpeedily relieved by the *Seraskier*, they would conſtrain the Governour to ſurrender upon Capitulations.

The ill Condition of the Leaguer.

If the Garriſon of *Buda* were in a bad Condition, the Imperial Camp in the Leaguer was not in a much better; for moſt of the Officers were either killed, ſick or wounded; and ſuch was the ſcarcity of all Proviſions, cauſed by the Obſtructions which the *Seraskier* had laid in the way to intercept the Convoys, which fetched them from far diſtant Places, that the proportion of Meat, and weight of Bread, diſtributed to every Soldier, was much diminiſh'd; ſo that the Siege had then been raiſed had not the Duke of *Bavaria* (as we have ſaid) come to the Camp on the *9th* of *September*, with his Infantry, which gave new Hopes and Encouragement to continue the Siege; thô the Death of General *Dunewaldt* in his Tent, who had the Reputation of a valiant and an experienced Soldier, did very much add to the Sorrow and Diſcouragement of the Camp.

Sallies made by the Turks.

Still did the *Turks* continue to make their Sallies with much Bravery, in one of which they ſpiked or nailed three Pieces of Cannon. The Prince of *Saxony Eiſenach* had his Leg taken off with a great Shot, and General *Kops* fighting valiantly at the Head of his Men was wounded, and died ſhortly afterwards in his Tent. But it was very obſervable, how Forty ſtout *Turks*, naked to the Waſt, behaved themſelves with two-handed broad Swords, hewing and cutting down all before them; they advanced as far as to the River-ſide, and having covered the Ground with dead Bodies, they returned with the loſs of few of their number into the Town.

The Vizier's Orders to the Seraſkier.

The Duke of Loraine *Marches after the Se*raskier.

The Reinforcement which the Duke of *Bavaria* brought to the *Chriſtian* Camp, put the *Turks* into an Apprehenſion that the Town would certainly be taken, unleſs it were relieved by ſome ſignal Succeſs of the *Seraskier*'s Army within the Lines of the *Chriſtians*; which the *Turks* ſpeedily deſigned ſo ſoon as they were reinforced by ſome Troops, which were daily expected. After ſome time, the *Seraskier* received a Letter from the Grand Vizier, that it was impoſſible for him to ſend any conſiderable Recruits; having been obliged to diſpeed ſuch Troops, as were with him, to the *Dardanelles*, *Tenedos* and *Morea*, to prevent the Landing of the *Venetian* Army, which had already made themſelves Maſters of *Santa Maura*. And that therefore he ſhould ſupply the want of numbers by his extraordinary Vigilance and Art, and to hazard every thing rather than ſuffer *Buda* to fall into the Hands of the Enemy. The *Seraskier* accordingly marched with about 25 .000 Men, or at moſt 27 .000 to *Alba Regalis*, and encamped before the Town, with intention very ſpeedily to diſturb the Siege; but hearing that the Duke of *Bavaria* was come thither with a very conſiderable Force, he altered his Deſign, and marched towards the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, to fight thoſe Troops which were ſent thither under the Command of Count *Erdedi*, the General of *Croatia*, and to hinder them from burning the Bridge, or taking the Forts which covered it. Count *Leſlie* in the mean time followed the *Seraskier* to obſerve his Motion, and aſſiſt *Erdedi*; which the Duke of *Loraine* conceiving not of Force ſufficient to oppoſe themſelves againſt the whole *Turkiſh* Army; he recalled all his Cavalry from the Frontier Towns, and thoſe which blocked up *Newhauſel*, and with three Regiments of Foot lately come from *Moravia*, and ſome of the *Bavarian* Forces, he departed from the Camp on the 16*th*, with reſolution to Engage the *Seraskier*, leaving the whole Conduct of the Siege to the Elector of *Bavaria*. But the *Seraskier* fearing to hazard the whole Affair on the fortune of a Battle, retired under the Cannon of *Alba Regalis*. Whereupon five Regiments of Horſe, and a Thouſand Foot, were ordered to Poſt and Fortify themſelves on certain Hills, by which the *Turkiſh* Army was neceſſarily to paſs, and could not move without being obſerved by them.

The Bavarians *advance their Works.*

In the mean the Batteries, which the *Bavarians* had raiſed, had begun to open a wide Breach; and on that ſide by the Water, their Works were advanced one third in length of the lower Town; and ſeveral Redoubts were perfected to impede and diſturb the *Seraskier* in his March from *Alba* Regalis,

1684. *Regalis*, towards the Siege of *Buda*: The Expectations were great of the coming of the *Bavarian* Horſe, and other Cavalry from the parts near *Presburg*, under the Command of Count *Caraffa*, and alſo of the *Swediſh* Infantry, which were now much wanted at this Siege.

The Rains which fell in ſuch great abundance on the 18*th* at Night, did greatly retard the progreſs of the Works which the *Bavarians* were making, thô their Batteries had good effect upon that Angle, which was contiguous to the Tower on the Caſtle ſide; but the Approaches appeared daily more difficult than before, and the Works on the River-ſide proceeded ſlowly, and on the ſide of the Curtain, the Miners were not able to advance above three Pikes in length.

The Duke of *Loraine* being returned to the Camp, the *Bavarians* who had the Attack by the River-ſide, ſprang a Mine under the Tower with ſo good Succeſs, that it overthrew a great part of the Wall, with one of the Gates: They alſo made a Line of Communication, which joyned their Attack with that of Count *Maximilian de Staremberg*: The Defendants at the ſame time made ſeveral Attempts to enter the Lines of *Bavarians*, but could not prevail, by reaſon that the Entrance was ſtrongly fortify'd; and farther, to defend themſelves, they made ſeveral Retrenchments within the Town, and pulled down ſeveral Houſes, covered the Streets with Beams to caſt off Granadoes, and hinder the Bombs from doing hurt and damage to the Houſes. The 20*th* of this Month the Defendants had the good fortune to ſeize a Boat laden with Proviſions, as it was going to the Imperial Camp, which cauſed much Joy in the City, whereby the Report which ſome Fugitives made of the ſcarcity and want of Proviſions in the Place, was clearly confirmed: And the ſame day a Party of Fifteen hundred *Turks* attacked ſome Foragers ſent from the Leaguer, of whom they killed ſeveral, and took ſome Priſoners, with the laden Waggons, the reſt making their Eſcape as well as they could.

The Beſieged take a Boat with Proviſions.

In fine, the *Seraskier* being reſolved once more to attempt the Relief of *Buda*, raiſed his Camp on the 21*ſt* from under the Walls of *Alba Regalis*, and began his March; of which the Duke of *Loraine* having Advice by a *Polonian*, who was eſcaped out of the Hands of the *Turks*, immediately drew out his Forces into the appointed Places, and with ſuch Order, as was lately agreed at a Council of War, where they attended all day for the coming of the Enemy; which not appearing, the Forces drew off towards the Evening into their ſeveral Quarters, having been greatly incommoded by the Rains, which had continued all that day to fall in ſuch abundance. Howſoever, the day following, Two thouſand *Turks* attacked the Lines in two places with much Reſolution, endeavouring to force their Paſſage into the Town; but finding great Reſiſtance, they were beaten off with conſiderable loſs, leaving two Standards in the Hands of the Imperialiſts. Whilſt this Attack was made, Fifteen Hundred Horſe and Foot made a Sally out of the Town, and cleared all the Trenches before them, and advanced to the very Batteries, killing about Two hundred Men; but ſome Squadrons coming to their Relief, forced them back with the loſs of Four hundred Men.

The Seraskier endeavours to raiſe the Siege.

1684.

A Sally out of the Town.

The *Seraskier*, who was retreated to his Camp about two Leagues diſtant from the Siege, kept the *Chriſtians* in a continual Alarum, and on the 23*d* made as if he would have attempted the Lines once more; but the Mettle of the *Turks* was not ſo warm and hot as formerly; howſoever, Four hundred of their Men wading over a marſhy Ground, up to the Armpits in Mire and Water, found a Way, which before that time, was eſteemed unpaſſable; and got into the Town, except ſome few, who, ſticking in the Mire, were birded off and killed with Muſquet-ſhot.

By this time the *Bavarian* Troops being come, with three *German* Regiments from *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Loraine* eſteemed himſelf in a Condition able to engage the *Turkiſh* Army, and ſo marching out of the Lines with a conſiderable Body, he followed the Enemy, and provoked them to a Battle; but the *Seraskier* having already performed his Deſign, by putting ſome Men into the Town, he declined the Fight, ſo that the Duke of *Loraine* without other Action returned again to the Siege; but before they entred the Lines, the Garriſon made a deſperate Sally both with Horſe and Foot, and with ſuch Succeſs, that they drove the Beſiegers out of their Trenches, filled up ſome of their Works with Earth, levelled one of their Batteries, and killed above Three hundred Men upon the Place; and after having routed the *Bavarians*, they fell in upon the Quarters of the Imperialiſts, who being leſs haraſſed than the others, gave them a Repulſe with equal loſs.

A Sally out of the Town.

On the 25*th* the *Seraskier* appeared a third time in ſight of the Leaguer, ſhewing as if he intended to offer Battle; upon appearance of which, the *Chriſtians* drew out of their Lines; but whilſt they were ranging themſelves into a poſture of Battle, a Detachment of Four thouſand Horſe were diſpeeded under covert of the Hills, and

A Defeat given the Chriſtians.

before they were diſcovered, aſſailed a Quarter of the Imperialiſts, which was defended only by two Regiments of Horſe, and two Battalions of Foot, whom charging by Surpriſe, they totally defeated, and killed above a thouſand Men, amongſt which were Count *Tilly* and ſeveral other Officers of Note. During this Conſternation in the *Chriſtian* Camp, a Thouſand *Turks* ſheltring themſelves under the ſhadow of the Hills, found a Paſſage into the Town.

The Seraskier retires.

The Difficulties of the Siege.

The ill Condition of the Chriſtian *Camp.*

The Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Loraine* being much heated and incenſed with theſe Succeſſes of the Enemy, reſolved with ſome *Hungarian* and *Polonian* Horſe, and ſome Regiments of Foot, to Attack the *Turks* in their Camp; but the *Seraskier* having done his Buſineſs by ſending Relief and Recruits into the Town, retired under the Cannon of *Alba Regalis*, and there fortified himſelf ſo well, having a mooriſh or fenny Ground before him, that it was impoſſible to force his Camp, or hinder the Alarums which ſeveral Parties detached from the *Turkiſh* Army, appearing ſometime on the Hills, and then again in ſight of the Leaguer, did daily give them, and diſturbed much the proceeding of the Mines and other Works. The Town it ſelf was raiſed in an advantageous Situation; the Walls were ſo ſtrong, and filled with Earth, that notwithſtanding the many Batteries, they could not make a Breach wide enough for four Men to enter a-breaſt; nor could it well be expected, that they ſhould be ſtarved or conſtrained by Famine to make a Surrender, during the ſhort remainder of this Year's Seaſon; for indeed this Governour of the Town, had ſo well husbanded the Proviſions, that there was no ſcarcity as yet of any thing neceſſary for Human Suſtenance; and beſides, the Defendants had ſome times the fortune to ſeize certain Boats laden with Proviſions, deſigned for the *Chriſtian* Camp; for it was not poſſible wholly to debar them from all Communication with the River: Wherefore there ſeemed no other way left to win the Town, but by a vigorous Aſſault, the which alſo had ſo much difficulty and hazard in it, that it ſeemed neither prudent nor reaſonable to be laviſh of the Lives of Men, in an Attempt ſo deſperate, that there ſeemed little or no hope of the Succeſs thereof. The Garriſon within, notwithſtanding their frequent Slaughters conſiſted of Ten thouſand *Juniſaries* and others, all reſolute and approved Men, as had been evidenced by many Proofs: On the other ſide, the Imperial Army was greatly diminiſhed; the Horſes for the moſt part were dead, or unfit for Service for want of Forage; all the Troops were haraſſed, weak and ſickly; the Duke of *Loraine* himſelf ill diſpoſed in his Health, and in danger of a Relapſe; the beſt Officers for the moſt part were either killed or wounded; ſo that conſidering all theſe Matters together, it was not to be expected that the Siege could long continue; beſides all which the Rains fell in ſuch extream abundance, that the Trenches were filled with Water, and all the Mines and Works ruined and deſtroyed. Howſoever the *Bavarians* being but lately come, and not ſo much haraſſed as the other Soldiers, on the *24th* at Night advanced their Poſt near to the Wall at the Foot of the Caſtle-ditch. On the ſame day a Body of Two thouſand of the Enemy appeared in ſight of the Leaguer; who, thô they retired again without any Action, yet they cauſed an Alarum in the Camp, and ſeveral Troops were drawn out againſt them, which made a Diverſion, and retarded the Proceedings which were advancing againſt the Town.

The *Bavarians* being the moſt active of any, had made a Breach in the Wall near the Caſtle, which they ſtormed, and made themſelves Maſters of a Redoubt or Bulwark on the Wall; but the *Turks* being very ſtrong on that ſide, gave them not ſufficient time to ſhelter and ward themſelves, but forced them to diſlodge with the loſs of Three hundred Men.

Octob.

The Chriſtians *receive a great Loſs.*

On the *2d* of *October* a Battery of Sixteen Pieces of Cannon of Twenty ſix Pound Bullet, on the ſide of the Imperialiſts, had entirely razed and beaten down a little Tower belonging to the Caſtle, and next day they endeavoured with Four thouſand Men to make a deſcent into the Ditch, and poſſeſs the Breach; but the *Turks* having with great induſtry and diligence Repaired it again with Earth, Faggots and Paliſadoes, defended it with ſuch vigorous Reſiſtance, that after a moſt bloudy and deſperate Fight the *Chriſtians* were droven thence with the loſs of Fifteen hundred Men, amongſt which was a Major, and ſeveral Captains and Officers belonging to the *Bavarian* Troops.

A Sally from the Town upon the Bavarians.

Howſoever the Imperialiſts and *Bavarians* not being diſmayed with all theſe Loſſes, continued to advance their Works at the Gate towards the River, and to make their Batteries on the Breach, which as yet, was not wide enough for two Men to paſs a-breaſt; but being a little more opened, the *Bavarians* ſtormed it for the ſpace of five Hours; and thô they were ſeveral times repulſed, yet they lodged themſelves on part of the Breach, from whence they diſcovered a Fort-Royal with four Baſtions, which the *Turks* had built in the middle of the Town, with intent to fly thither for Sanctuary, in caſe of the laſt Extremity; but that Hour was not yet come; for the Defendants, anima-

1684. ted with their late Succeſſes, made another Sally on the 14*th* inſtant with ſuch numbers, that they diſlodged the *Bavarians* from the Breach, drove them out of their Trenches, filled up part of their Works, and killed Two hundred of their Men; to Succour which the Elector coming himſelf in Perſon, repulſed the Enemy with a great Slaughter, and cauſed his Soldiers and Labourers to open their Works again, and repair to their former Stations. The Miners ſtill continued to Labour, but received conſiderable impediments by Springs of Water, which overflowed their Works.

The Seraskier kept the Chriſtian Camp in a continual Alarum until the Raiſing of the Siege: And whenſoever he came ſo near as to engage with the Enemy, the Defendants at the ſame time Sallied from the Town, and retired again with different Succeſſes, ſometimes with advantage and at other times with loſs. On the 24*th*, a general Alarum was given over all the Camp, that the Seraskier with all his Cavalry, and Eight thouſand *Janiſaries* drawn out from *Alba Regalis* and other parts, and Fifteen Pieces of Artillery, was come within two Leagues of the Lines; upon which Report, all the *German* Cavalry mounted on Horſe-back, and drew themſelves up into a Poſture of Defence; but it proved a falſe Alarum, and ſerved only to increaſe the Fatigues and weariſomneſs of the Soldiery. As the Spirits of the Beſiegers were Drooping and Fainting without, ſo the many Succeſſes of thoſe within, filled them full of hopes of a ſpeedy delivery; for they had lately taken ſo many Boats laden with Proviſions deſigned for the Chriſtian Camp, that their wants of neceſſary Suſtenance were ſupplyed. And on the 29*th*, Some Deſerters from the Chriſtian Camp diſcover'd to them ſeveral Mines which were preparing againſt them, by which intimation they opened the Earth, found and diſarmed them of their Powder, which was ſo great a diſappointment and diſcouragement to the *Chriſtians*, that it was eſteemed by the moſt experienced Commanders almoſt impoſſible to gain the Town, in regard the Seaſon of the Year was ſpent, and the Winter already enter'd.

Alarums given.

The difficulties of gaining the Town.

In Conſideration of which, the Duke of *Loraine* aſſembled a Council of War to deliberate concerning the Reſolutions, which were to be taken in the preſent Exigency and Conjuncture of Affairs: At which time Prince *Erman* of *Baden*, Preſident of the Council of War at *Vienna*, arrived in the Camp, having been diſpatched by the Emperor, with Commiſſion to Command the *German* Infantry, during the Sickneſs of the two Counts of *Staremberg*; and with Inſtructions and Orders alſo to the Duke of *Loraine* to raiſe the Siege, in caſe there was not a certainty, or at leaſt ſome probable hopes of reducing the Town in a very ſhort term of time; for that his Imperial Majeſty deſired not to conſume his Forces in a deſperate and fruitleſs Enterpriſe. The arrival of this Prince was very ſeaſonable at this time, both for the Meſſage he brought, as alſo for his ability and knowledge in War, being a wiſe Man and an experienced Officer: In whoſe Preſence matters were again taken into Conſideration, and the State of the Town within, and of the Camp without, was laid before the Generals and Field-Officers; ſome few adviſed to continue the Siege, until the Succeſs was tried and ſeen of certain Mines, which were ſtill forming in the *Bavarian* Quarters: But the greateſt part, repreſenting the ill Condition of the Troops, the want of all neceſſaries in the Camp, the extremity of the Seaſon, and the apparent hazard of a total Deſtruction to the whole Army, in caſe of a general Aſſault, were of Opinion, That the ſecureſt way were to raiſe the Siege in the beſt order poſſible, for ſaving and ſecuring the Army from Sallies from the Town, and Attacks by the Seraskier and his Army: But before this Point was concluded, the Duke of *Loraine*, the Elector of *Bavaria* and Prince *Erman* with ſeveral other Chief Officers, took a Survey of all the Lines and Quarters of the Camp, and having conſider'd, that the Defendants were ſtill Ten thouſand ſtrong, and well provided with Victuals and Ammunition, and that it was impoſſible without greater Force to debar them from all Communication with the *Danube*, from which they received daily Supplies; and that the Mines in which they had placed their greateſt hopes, had either been diſcover'd by the Enemy and diſarmed, or by the inexperience of the Workmen and Ingeniers, had taken vent, and reverſed without any Execution; It was then concluded, and fully reſolved to raiſe the Siege: A farther Motive whereunto were the Rains which continued to fall without intermiſſion. In the firſt place therefore, the Winter-quarters were agreed and aſſigned by the Council, ſo that the Troops might know, unto what Towns they were to march; then all the Heavy Cannon, Morter-pieces and Bombs were order'd to be carried away and ſecur'd.

1684.

Conſultations about raiſing the Siege.

On the 1*ſt* of *November* the Siege was raiſed, in which the *Chriſtians* had loſt 25.000 Men: And now to bring off the ſurviving part, and to fortifie the Rear againſt the Sallies of the Garriſon, and defend the whole Army in their march againſt the Seraskier, who being well informed of

Nov. *The Siege raiſed.*

1684. their weakneſſes, and loſs of numbers, attended their Motion, was an Action wherein to employ the Art and Conduct of the wiſeſt, and moſt experienced Captain in the World. Wherefore all imaginable care, and caution was uſed in drawing off; the lighter Cannon and Field-pieces were placed ſo as to defend the Rear, as alſo the Flank and Wings; becauſe that moſt of the Horſe being Dead for want of Forage, the Men were forced to walk on Foot, in the Ranks of the Infantry which lay expoſed, and naked to the Cavalry of the Enemy. The Imperial and Auxiliary Troops, to the number of 30,000 took their march towards *Gran*: The heavy Artillery and Baggage, with Eight thouſand ſick and wounded Men, were embarked on ſeveral Boats to be carried up the River againſt the Stream; and ſuch as were moſt Sick and Weak, were with a ſmall Guard Tranſported to the Iſland of St. *Andrews*, which was deſigned for an Hoſpital to receive and Cure them: But the *Tartars* entring into the Iſland, killed above a Hundred of the wounded Men, before they could be removed, and pillaged the Baggage with the Equipage of Colonel *Piccolomini*, and ſo much as they could not carry away they burnt and deſtroied: A like Accident happned to ſome other Boats laden with the *Bavarian* Troops, which by ſome accident or other, being by the Winds, or breaking of their Ropes, or Cordage put on Shoar were ſuprized and taken by the Enemy, which to obſerve their Motion had laien concealed in the Flags and Oſiers, which grew by the Banks of the *Danube*. Great were the Murmurings and Diſcontents which aroſe upon theſe two unhappy Accidents, occaſioned as they talked by the neglect and ill Conduct of the Officers: Nor was the Reſolution of abandoning the City of *Peſt* leſs approved, thô the Fortifications were demoliſhed, the Walls and Gates Blown up, and the moſt conſiderable Bulwarks demoliſhed: Howſoever, thoſe who conceived another Opinion, alledged, That the Maſters of the Field would be able to maintain that Fortreſs, in deſpight of the ill Neighbours on the other ſide: And that it would be difficult, and a great loſs of Men and time to recover that place, whenſoever a fairer opportunity preſented to renew the Siege of *Buda*: Others of a contrary ſenſe produced oppoſite Arguments, all People blaming each other, as is uſual in Siniſter events, when matters ſucceed in an unlucky manner, different to the firſt conceived hopes.

The Tar*tars take the Iſland of St.* Andrews.

Ill Accidents after raiſing the Siege.

Winter-quarters aſſigned.

The Duke of *Loraine* before he would leave the Army, ſaw the ſeveral Troops diſpoſed in their reſpective Winter-quarters. The Imperialiſts were lodged in *Comorra* and the Parts adjacent, and as many as 1684. theſe places could not contain were ſent to *Sileſia*, *Moravia* and *Bohemia*. The *Bavarians* advanced into the Counties of *Arva*, *Czepus*, *Lipze*, *Sarax* and other places appointed for them.

The Seraskier having information of the ſeveral Quarters, and of the Troops which were lodged in them; gathered what Forces he was able, to the number of 18,000 Men, with which paſſing the River, he Sate down before *Wazia* or *Vualtz*; a place defended by Five hundred Soldiers belonging to the Regiment of *Thaun*, and Commanded by the Lieutenant Colonel only: The Fortifications were chiefly the Breaſts of the Soldiers, there being only an old Wall in many places Ruinous, and a few weak Paliſadoes unable and unfit for the leaſt Defence. The *Turks* encouraged with theſe advantages, ſtormed the place on all ſides; the Imperialiſts repelled their Force with Force, and defended themſelves with as much Bravery, as was poſſible to do, with ſuch unequal numbers: But finding it at length impoſſible, unleſs by Miracle, to ſuſtain ſo mighty a Force, without hopes of Relief; they agreed to Capitulate, and ſent Propoſitions of Surrender: The which being accepted, and the Articles ſigned, the Gates were opened, with intention that the *Chriſtians* might march out, and leave the Town to the Poſſeſſion of the Enemy; but inſtead thereof the *Turks* ruſhed in, and with their drawn Cymiters killed and maſſacred all before them: It was then to no purpoſe to call out, and revile them with the breach of Faith and violation of Articles, having the Seraskier's Commands not to obſerve them, or lend an Ear; nor did it much avail to uſe reſiſtance, the Enemy being already in the midſt of them; all that could be done, was to ſell their Lives at the deareſt rate. In fine, This Tragedy ended with the Slaughter and Butchery of this whole Party, which was much lamented at the Court of *Vienna*, as a loſs of the higheſt concernment, that Regiment conſiſting of old experienced and veteran Soldiers, Men of approved Valour, and long inured to Labour and Sufferings: This Misfortune alſo was become the common Diſcourſe of the Army, blaming the Officers for aſſigning Quarters at ſo far diſtance from other Succours, which was to ſacrifice the Lives of ſo many brave Men, without any regard to the Fury of the Enemy; and if *Peſt* which was a Walled and well Fortified Town, and capable of making Reſiſtance was to be Demoliſhed and Diſmantled only, becauſe it was eſteemed too far diſtant from Succours and Relief; how much rather ſhould *Vualts*, or *Vualtz* have been judged

Vuazia *Attacked.*

Five hundred Chriſtians put to the Sword.

an improper and dangerous Quarter, which was but an open Town without other defence, than the naked Breaſts of the poor Soldiery ?

Thus ended this Campagne unluckily in reſpect to the Siege of *Buda*, and the Succeſſes which followed, thô in other Parts Fortune ſmiled on the Chriſtian Arms; for General *Schultz* took *Barsfeldt*, Situated on the Frontiers of *Poland*, after a Siege of three Days, thô it be a place encompaſſed with a deep Ditch full of Water, and good Walls, and Fortified with Towers, Redoubts and Ramparts. The Garriſon conſiſted of Four hundred Men belonging to *Tekeli*, of which Three hundred after the Surrender took up Arms for the Emperor, and One hundred which refuſed, were Convoyed as far as *Ragowitz*. Likewiſe General *Schultz* took the Caſtle of *Stropko* belonging to the Malecontents, by Surrender upon Compoſition ; therein were Eleven Braſs Guns, with Ammunition and Proviſions for War : He took alſo the Caſtle of *Makovitz*. Count *Zober*, who Commanded the *Hungarian* Troops at *Neutra*, Surprized the Caſtle at *Suran*, whilſt the greateſt part of the Garriſon was gone out to ſeek for Forage. But theſe ſmall advantages made but a poor amends for greater loſſes; the ſenſe whereof ſerved to move Anger, and deſire of Revenge in the generous Breaſts of the Soldiery, and to quicken the Imperial Councils to make Preparations againſt the next Campagne : And in regard *Newhanſel* was in the firſt place aimed at, as a Prize for the enſuing Year, General *Heyſler* was Ordered to enlarge his Quarters in all parts round the City, that ſo keeping it continually Blocked up, the Conqueſt thereof might be render'd much more eaſie, at that time, when the Seaſon of the Year ſhould make it convenient for an Army to make a nearer approach.

Barsfeldt *taken.*

And Stropko.

The King of Poland's *Actions this year.*

But before we conclude the Succeſſes of this Year, we muſt not omit and paſs by the Actions of the King of *Poland*, of whom we have Wrote, and declared ſuch Heroick and generous Enterpriſes, and Archievements in the Relation of the laſt Year's Wars : For being one of the Allies of the Empire, we are not to be ſilent of him ; but give him a place in this Hiſtory, as well, as we have already done unto our Confederates the *Venetians* : Thô we ſhall not need to be very Prolix in our Relations of his great Prowefs and Deeds, which fell very Flat, and in no manner agreeable to his firſt beginnings.

The King of *Poland* enter'd not the Field this Year until the middle of *Auguſt*, when on the *22d* of that Month, he took a Review of his Army near unto *Budziack* ; and the next Day he Detached a conſiderable Party to Inveſt *Jaſlowitz*, a Town about two Leagues diſtant from the Camp; and towards the Evening marched thither in Perſon with the reſt of his Army. The next Day Summons were ſent to the Town commanding them to Surrender ; To which the Governour made this reply, That the Town was committed to him by the Grand Seignior, and accordingly he would defend the ſame unto the laſt Extremity : Hereupon Batteries were raiſed, and the Cannon having played upon the Town for the ſpace of two or three Days, the Defendants thought fit to Capitulate; and Hoſtages being given, the Town was Surrender'd on the *26th*, when the Garriſon, to the number of Five hundred Men, marched out with their Arms and Colours Flying. After this the King marched to *Swaniec*, Situate on the *Nieſter*, over which having made a Bridge, he paſſed his Army ; but having received intelligence, that 30.000 *Tartars* had made their way into *Poland*, he return'd again back to the other ſide. And thô the *Tartars* are a ſort of People, who ſtay not long in a place, but are in continual Motion; yet the King had the good Fortune to meet with a Party of them, and Cut Four hundred of them in pieces; the reſt not being willing, as is their Cuſtom to adventure on a Battle, return'd into their own Country, as did alſo the King of *Poland* into his Winter-quarters, the Seaſon of the Summer being already ſpent.

Jazlowitz *taken.*

A party of Tartars *defeated.*

At the Actions and Succeſſes this Year of the *Poles*, the *Turks* at *Conſtantinople* made an open Scorn and Laughter; (and indeed their ſlothfulneſs in doing nothing deſerved no better) and made it their common talk and diſcourſe , That the *French* King, who was their only Friend amongſt the Chriſtian Princes , had with his Money and Preſents blunted the Sword of *Poland*, and laid all the Spirits of that Kingdom into a Sleep ; and that the young Prince, the eldeſt Son was Enchanted, and led away Captive by a *French* Lady : So that the *Turks* ſeemed to apprehend nothing of danger from *Poland*; againſt which they made no Preparations for the enſuing Year, making it the common Subject of their politick Reaſonings, and giving it, as it were for granted, That the *Poles*, *Turks* and *Tartars* had for ſome time entertained a friendly underſtanding between each other.

The Turks *cenſure of the* Poles.

And of the Venetians.

The *Turks* always made ſlight of the *Venetians*, as of an Enemy whom they could at all times, and at their pleaſure cruſh and ſuppreſs ; they regarded little, what they had done this Year at St. *Maura*, or in the *Morea*, or *Dalmatia* ; the *Venetians* having been more beholding for thoſe Succeſſes to the *Albanians*, and others of the Grand Seignior's Subjects, who revolted to them, than to the Power and Conduct of their own Arms; and whenſoever Fortune ſhall but a little change her Hand, they doubt not but to recover their Loſſes from the *Venetians*, without much Bloud, or perhaps but with asking for them. And indeed (if it be well conſidered) the *Venetians*, have trifled much in their Proceedings, amuſing themſelves, and the World, in taking ſmall and inconſiderable Places, in compariſon of greater Enterpriſes, and with diſlodging ſome Neſts of Pyrates, when as they might have a ſtroke at the very Heart of the *Ottoman* Empire, by entring the *Dardanelli* with a Fleet, againſt which the *Turks* were not capable to make any Reſiſtance, with leſs Force than that which was uſed in taking *Santa Maura* and *Preveza*; the *Venetians* improving the Advantage of the preſent Fear and Conſternation of the *Turks*, might have made themſelves Maſters of the Caſtles on the *Helleſpont*, and ſailed to *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, and deſtroyed or burnt it without any conſiderable Oppoſition. They might with this Opportunity have deſtroyed the whole *Turkiſh* Fleet of Gallies, which would have made them Maſters of all the Iſlands in the *Archipelago*, the yearly Tribute of which is very conſiderable. They might in all probability have taken twenty Sail of Ships coming from *Alexandria*, with *Janiſaries* and Merchandize to a conſiderable Value; which whilſt the *Venetians* were pedling about *Santa Maura*, arrived at *Conſtantinople* to the great Joy and Encouragement of that City.

The Paſha of Candia *put to Death.*

About this time the Paſha of *Candia*'s Head was brought to *Adrianople*, and expoſed before the Gate of the *Divan*; all his Treaſure, which was conſiderable, according to the Cuſtom of the *Turks*, was confiſcated to the Grand Seignior; he was a bad Man, and unmerciful to all ſorts and Sects of People; he had ſtrangled the Metropolite or Biſhop of *Candia*, and miſerably tyrannized over the poor *Chriſtians* there; and yet for all that, the Crime alledged againſt him was, That he was too indulgent to the *Chriſtians*; that he had ſold them Corn, and held a good Correſpondence with the *Venetians*. The Paſha of *Damaſcus* called *Ibrahim* Paſha, incurred the like Fate; he had been *Janiſar-Aga*, and one of the greateſt Men in the Empire; but his Enemies taking advantage of his abſence from the Court, upon bare Suggeſtions, without fairer proceſs, took away his Life.

ANNO 1685.

The State of Chriſtendom.

The Elector of Bavaria *Marries with the Emperor's Daughter.*

BEfore we enter upon the Martial Affairs of this enſuing Year, let us take a ſhort View of the State of things in Chriſtendom, and in *Turky*, and the Preparations that were making on both ſides for carrying on a more bloudy War (if it can be poſſible) than that of the preceding Years. The Eyes of all Chriſtendom, and I may ſay, of the World too, were at a gaze to behold the Succeſſes of ths important War; and yet *Europe* for the moſt part was either engaged actually in War, or at leaſt in Fears and Jealouſies one with another. The Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain* were at Variance concerning the Confines and Dependencies, and the Incroachments which the *French* King made on the *Rhine*; and Motions in *Alſatia*, cauſed ſuch Fears and Jealouſies in the Minds of the *German* Princes, that they with-held much of that Force, which they deſigned as Auxiliaries to be employed in Service of the Empire, which was then the common Cauſe and Intereſt of all Chriſtendom. Howſoever, the generous Elector of *Bavaria*, a valiant and active Prince, who had in the two laſt Campaigns improved his youthful Years with the Exerciſes of War and Military Diſcipline, was reſolved to employ his own Perſon, Armies and Fortune in proſecution of this Religious War againſt the Enemy of Chriſtendom. The Affections he had to the Welfare of the Imperial Hereditary Countries, and of all *Germany* were elevated and rendred more zealous and warm by the Love he profeſſed to the Arch-Ducheſs *Maria Antonia*, eldeſt Daughter of the Emperor, a Princeſs of great Vertues, whom he afterwards eſpouſed, and with her all the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in ſo zealous a manner, that he ſeemed to have contracted the ſame Deſires and Paſſions with the Emperor himſelf.

The Emperor's want of Mony.

Thô the laſt two Years Wars had conſumed both Men and Mony, yet had not the Emperor's Coffers been exhauſted, the warlike People of *Germany* would not have wanted Soldiers to fight in defence of their Country, nor the reſpective Princes a readineſs to compleat and recruit their Troops beyond the numbers, that, during this War, had appeared in *Hungary*. The Pope *Innocent* XI. had already contributed in ſo liberal a manner, that his Treaſure was ſunk to a low Ebb, and could not furniſh ſuch large Sums as formerly; The Arch-Biſhop of *Strgonium*, Primate of *Hungary*, an opulent Prelate, who had made large Contributions, died about this time, aged Ninety three Years; he had alſo ſupplied the Imperial

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Treaties with the Princes of the Empire.

But to promote the common Cauſe, Conſultations and Treaties were aſſiduouſly and warmly held at the Diet at *Ratiſbone*, by the Commiſſioners and Plenipotentiaries from the Emperor, and by the Agents ſent from the Duke of *Bavaria* to the other Electors, and by the Convention of the Circles held at *Norimburg*. Moreover, the Emperor diſpatched the Count *de Thaun*, and the Baron of *Meyerſhein* for his Envoys extraordinary, to repreſent unto all the Courts and Princes of *Germany* the preſſing exigency of Affairs, which did not only concern the Emperor and his Hereditary Countries, but did involve likewiſe the common Intereſt, Welfare and Safety of the whole Empire, and all Chriſtendom. Theſe Matters being well inculcated, and circulary Letters wrote, and diſpatched to the Cities of *Saltzburg*, *Paſſaw*, *Ausburg*, *Cologne*, *Ratiſbone*, *Norimburg*, *Ulm* and *Francfurt*, deſiring their Aſſiſtance with Men and Mony, with the uſe of their great Cannon for Service of the Army; in Compenſation for which, the like weight of Mettal, was offered, with ſo much Mony as ſhould pay the Charge of new Caſting the Guns, in regard that in the two laſt Years of War, moſt of the Emperor's Artillery had been conſumed, and the Touch-holes widned and blown, and to New-caſt the Mettal again, there was not time ſufficient before the Commencement of the following Campaign.

Auxiliaries of the Emperor.

The Pope gives Aſſiſtance.

Theſe Matters were ſo well repreſented and negotiated in the Courts and Councils of the reſpective Princes, that nothing almoſt was denyed which was demanded. The Houſes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh* furniſhed an Army of Ten thouſand fighting Men, all ſelect and veterane Soldiers, under the Command of experienced Generals and Officers; and what was of high Importance, they were ſo early diſpeeded, that they arrived at the Camp about the beginning of the Campaign. The Duke of *Saxony* was not leſs forward with his Army, which, thô inferiour in number, were yet well-diſciplined Soldiers, and conducted by Officers of approved Valour and Experience. The Arch-Biſhop of *Saltzburg* ſent unto the Emperor a Hundred thouſand Rix-dollars in lieu of his Quota, and of the Troops which he was obliged to ſend. The Elector of *Brandenburg* had promiſed to ſend an Army of 12,000 Men into *Hungary*, with a conſiderable Train of Artillery, and ſo to march with them in Perſon; but the Appearance of Troops from *France* on the *Rhine*, and in the Dukedoms of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, the Numbers of which ſtill increaſing, gave ſuch an Alarum to that Prince and his Neighbours of the Circle, that a ſtop was given to the Proceedings of his and their Forces; and a ſupply only ſent of Men and Mony according to the Quota in ſuch caſes agreed, and eſtabliſhed by the ancient Conſtitutions of the Empire: Notwithſtanding which, the Emperor's Forces in *Hungary*, contrary to the expectation of all *Europe*, much exceeded the general Calculation, and compoſed a better Army, than had during this War appeared on the Plains of *Hungary*. The Pope was not leſs ſollicitous than the other Princes in this Chriſtian Cauſe; towards the Advancement and Maintenance of which, as he had formerly, ſo alſo this Year he ſent ſupplies of Mony from *Rome* to *Vienna*, and granted unto the Emperor a full third of the annual Rents of all the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices within his Hereditary Dominions; to exact and raiſe which, Cardinal *Bonviſi*, Apoſtolical Nuntio, and the Biſhop of *Newſtadt*, were fully authorized and empowred by the Pope, with Inſtructions to Erect a particular Office, wherein it was Regiſtred how much was paid, and how the ſame was particularly employed and expended for the ſole Uſe and Advancement of this War. 1685.

The Turks prepare for War.

Nor were the *Turks* leſs ſollicitous and active on their ſide, in their Preparations for the War, which they ſtill reſolved to continue on their defenſive part; under which Notion, neither the Grand Seignior nor Vizier *Azem* were obliged to go in Perſon. *Shitan Ibrahim Paſha*, late Governour in *Buda*, during the Siege, (of whom we have already given a Character) was appointed *Seraskier*, or General of the Army. And thô the Grand Seignior minded nothing ſo much as his Sport of Hunting, to which he was ſo immoderately addicted, that he was ſcarce perſuaded to omit and decline it upon *Fridays*, and ſpent two whole Months entirely in it, within the Countries between *Adrianople* and *Conſtantinople*; yet the Grand Vizier, who was eſteemed one of the wiſeſt and moſt experienced Miniſters that ever had been in that Place, cloſely attended and followed the main Concernment, both for raiſing Mony, and levying Soldiers. As to the firſt, The Grand Seignior's Treaſury had already this Year been twice opened, and at each time, the Value of Four hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling had been taken out of it, all which came far ſhort of the neceſſary Proviſions which the War required.

The Naval Forces were very inconſiderable, conſiſting only of ſome few poor Gallies, *The* Turks *Forces at Sea.*

The Moſaip *Admiral.*

lies, commanded by the *Moſaip* or Favourite to the Grand Seignior, a Perſon of no great natural Talent of Underſtanding, and of no Experience in Maritime Affairs; nor were the ten Men of War, which they had for the two Years paſt been labouring to Equip, in any Poſture or Condition to make Sail this Summer; ſo ignorant and averſe are the *Turks* to all Matters, which belong unto the Seas, and ſo unable for any Naval Fight, that it ſeems a Complement or Compaſſion in the *Venetians*, not to have deſtroy'd them long before. This *Moſaip* or Favourite, who was Captain Paſha or Admiral of the Seas, had for a long time enjoyed the Air of his Maſter's Favour; his Priviledge was to be clothed in the ſame Habit with the Sultan, to Ride always on his Right-hand, to Converſe intimately with him, and ſometimes to ſit and Eat with him; and yet I never heard, that he was ever eſteemed for a Man of extraordinary Shapes or Beauty, or to be charming in his Diſcourſe, or to have had any great Talent of Wiſdom or Prudence: And therefore if Enquiry ſhould be made on this Occaſion into the Reaſons, Why Princes elect ſuch and ſuch for their Favourites, no true Cauſe in my Opinion can be aſſigned, unleſs finding in that Perſon, of whom they make choice for their Companion, a certain Harmony of Affections and Humour, they love him by Sympathy, and adore their own Image in him, without which, all other Qualities would be mean and contemptible.

Levies made in Europe *and* Aſia.

But to return to the Vizier, his greateſt Study and Application was to make Levies by Land, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*: Commands were diſpatched to that Purpoſe to *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, *Diarbiquier* and *Gran Cairo*, the remoteſt parts of the Empire; but thoſe being Countries ill Peopled, Levies were made with much difficulty; and ſuch as were conſtrained to go by reaſon of the far diſtance from the Rendezvous, came late; many ſickned in the March, and ſome ran away and deſerted; and diverſe of the *European* Troops, which had been haraſſed the laſt Year, retired into the Mountains, where they paſſed the whole Summer; and in the Winter came out from thence, and returned home, where they told Stories, as if they had been engaged in all the Sieges and Battles, which had happened that Year. The Grand Vizier finding the numbers allotted to be raiſed, to fall much ſhort of the Quota, and of a reaſonable Calculation, attributed the Default thereof to the negligence of the Muſſelims or Deputy-Governours to the Paſhas, for which ſome of them were puniſhed with Death; and others being affrighted, hereby uſed all the Tyranny and Force imaginable to compel the poor People unto the Wars; to which many of them going, with much unwillingneſs, ſtole aſide, and never came ſo far as the Camp. Howſoever, it was impoſſible, but that, out of ſo vaſt a Tract of Ground, as is the *Ottoman* Empire, conſiſting of many Kingdoms and Principalities, there muſt be ſome out of every part, who having Courage enough to ſacrifice their Lives for their Religion and Country, came in, and united themſelves with the Camp; and theſe, thô inferiour to the numbers deſigned and expected, yet compoſed an Army very formidable, and ſuch as was able to bid defiance to the Forces of *Germany*. Howſoever the *Turks* did not think fit to truſt ſo much to their Arms; but that they would firſt aſſay and try, if it were poſſible, to put an end to the War by a fair Accommodation: The Perſon appointed to manage this Treaty, was *Shitan Ibraim*, as yet Vizier of *Buda*, a Perſon (as we have before-mentioned) of refined Parts, and good Addreſs, and a Courtier fitted for ſuch a Negotiation. In purſuance of this Deſign, this Vizier wrote Letters of Complement to the chief Miniſters of State at *Vienna*, acquainting them of the Grand Seignior's Inclinations to a Peace. And thô it had never been the Cuſtom of the *Sultans* to be the firſt Promoters of Peace, or to ask it before it was offered or begged; yet ſuch was the Clemency and Compaſſion of this Emperor, and his deſire to ſtop the Effuſion of Human Blood, that contrary to the Dignity of his Sublime Station, raiſed above the Throne of earthly Kings, he would now condeſcend ſo low, as to be the firſt who ſhould make this Religious Motion; in order unto which, he deſired, that a Paſſ-port ſhould be ſent him for a Chiaus, who was an *Armenian* by Nation, and (as I think) by Religion a *Chriſtian*, freely to paſs and repaſs, and to carry the Propoſals, and to Treat thereupon: The Paſſ-port was accordingly ſent, and the *Armenian* conducted to *Comorra*, where, being taken rather for a Spy than an Ambaſſadour, he was ſo cloſely confined and guarded, that he complained of his Reſtraint to be contrary to the Laws of War and Nations; at length he was guarded to *Vienna*, where he was detained under Cuſtody, with as jealous and watchful an Eye, as when he was at *Comorra*: Howſoever, the reception of this Chiaus became the Subject of much Diſcourſe and Talk in the City, and gave occaſion to the World to cenſure, as if the Emperor had deſigned to make a Peace under-hand, without the Privity and Concurrence of the Allies. The Audience of this Chiaus was deferred for ſome time, until it was promoted and haſtned by the Envoy from the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, then reſiding at

The Turks *propoſe a Treaty.*

A Chiaus ſent to Vienna.

that

He is ſent back.

that Court, and by him at length conducted to the preſence of the Preſident of the Council, to whom he delivered the Propoſals and Articles of Peace: The which after mature Examination, ſeemed to be projected with ſuch Sagacity and Subtlety, without ſincere and open Terms, that they were generally concluded to be Fallacious, and not to be Grounds for a faithful and laſting Peace: And ſo in fine, the *Armenian* was diſpeeded back with this Anſwer only, That the Emperor could not conclude a Peace without the Concurrence of the King of *Poland*, and the State of *Venice*, the true Allies and Confederates with the Emperor; by which Anſwer, the Miniſter from *Apaſi* Prince of *Tranſilvania* being aſſured of the Emperor's Reſolutions to continue the War, changed the Tenure of his former Memorials, and in his Maſter's Name, propoſed that he might remain in a Condition of Neutrality, thinking it more ſecure to remain as a Friend to both ſides, rather than by adhering to one, to riſe or fall according to the dubious fortune of War.

A miſerable Plague and Famin.

But if we look into the Winter-quarters before we Treat of the Feats of War, which were Actions moſt fit for the Summer Seaſon; we ſhall find the *Imperialiſts* and *Bavarians* ſo miſerably in want of all Proviſions, and of things neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of Human Life: That one would wonder, how it were poſſible for theſe Men to be ſo ſoon recover'd, and made fit for new Services and Fatigues. For ſuch was the Famine in the Lower *Hungary*, that the Inhabitants were forced to Abandon their Dwellings, and Fly for Bread into the Town of *Buda*; where they were entertained for Day-labourers to Repair the Fortifications, with the Wages of eight pence a Day, two pounds weight of Bread, and a pint of Wine. In the Emperour's Country, a Buſhel of Wheat, which in the times of Peace, was worth no more than ten Groats, was now advanced in price to Eighteen ſhillings. In *Presbourg* the Streets were cover'd with famiſhed and dying People; the Soldiers were either Dead or Languiſhing, or had deſerted their Colours: A Peſtilence, as is natural, followed the Famine, and Cattle died of the Murrain. The Iſland *Schultz*, which uſed to be the Granary of the Upper *Hungary*, was now in a Starving condition, and the Inhabitants forced to Eat Roots and the Barks of Trees: Nay, this Miſery and Deſolation extended even to *Vienna* it ſelf, where in the Garden of the Archbiſhop, two Women were ſeen to Eat the Raw-fleſh of a Horſe lately Dead. But for a remedy to this Epidemical Calamity, the Emperor, who is the Common Father of his People, cauſed great quantities of Corn to be brought from all the Neighbouring Countries round about; but the Ways were ſo broken by the great Rains and Marching of Armies, and heavy Carriages, that the People were brought to the laſt extremity before the ſupplies arrived. Notwithſtanding this great want of Proviſions, even to a Famin, and the Snows and Rains, which fell in abundance, with Cold Weather of the Winter; General *Schultz* with a Body of Four thouſand *German* Horſe and Dragoons, and ſome Companies of *Huſſars*, maintained a Blocade round *Newhauſel*. To Relieve which, Count *Tekeli*, and the Paſha of *Agria* were particularly encharged with the Commiſſion: *Tekeli* had 6000 Men which he had drawn from the Frontier Garriſon, and the Paſha had Four thouſand, which were all his own Troops. General *Schultz* being informed of their motion fell upon them with ſuch bravery, that he put them to a total Rout, without much loſs or fighting, and took moſt of their Proviſions and Baggage, which were deſigned for the Relief of that place. Howſoever, *Tekeli* made a ſecond adventure for the Succour of *Newhauſel*, and with a Party of Three thouſand Horſe, he made way for a Convoy of Three hundred Carts, laden with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions, with as many Horſe, each carrying a Sack of Meal to enter into the Town: In the ſtrength and encouragement of which, the Garriſon made Incurſions at four and five Leagues diſtance, Plundering and Deſtroying all before them, which cauſed the poor Inhabitants to abandon their Dwellings, and ſeek for Succour and Refuge in fortified places. Not long afterwards a ſecond Convoy brought Two thouſand Sacks more of Meal into the Town, which with the former were good Preparations againſt a Siege; but to prevent the like for the future, Count *Palſi*, who commanded the *Hungarian* Troops, was order'd to joyn with Colonel *Heuſler*, who having but Two or Three thouſand Men, was ſo unable to guard the Avenues to *Newhauſel*, that the Blocade ſeemed of no importance: But *Heuſler* being thus conſiderably reinforced, he defeated a third Convoy which the *Turks* were ſending to the Town, conſiſting of Eighty Waggons, which carried Ammunitions and Proviſions, and Sixty more of Timber for Building and Repair of the Fortifications. A fourth attempt was again made to carry Succours into *Newhauſel*, of which General *Schultz* having intelligence, he lay in the way and intercepted them, killing Three hundred of the Enemy upon the place, and putting the reſt to Flight. *Tekeli* having notice of this Defeat, purſued after *Schultz* with a Reinforce-

Blocade of Newhauſel.

A Convoy brought thither.

Other Convoys.

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Succeſſes of Tekeli.

forcement of ſome *Turks*, and having overtaken him in the Mountains between *Soniati* and *Rozenau*, he Charged him with ſuch Succeſs, that he killed Nine hundred of his Men, and took Four hundred Priſoners with all their Baggage. Afterwards meeting with a Regiment of *Bavarians* in their Winter-quarters at *Neudorf*, he entirely defeated them, and ſo returned to *Newhauſel*, which he again Relieved with another Convoy.

The Spring coming forward with the time for Action; the Emperor's Council calling to mind the Miſcarriages of the laſt Year, cauſed for the moſt part by extream Famine, and want of neceſſary Proviſions for the Soldiery, all poſſible care was taken to prevent the ſame for the ſucceeding Year; and ſuch quantities of Corn from the more remote parts of *Germany*, and from *Poland* it ſelf, which is a Country abounding with Wheat, and all ſorts of Grain, were brought and laid up in Magazines, as were judged ſufficient to ſuſtain the Army for the whole Year without ſuch wants, under which it lately labour'd.

Eſperies.

All the remaining part of this Winter was ſpent about *Eſperies*, or intercepting Convoys deſigned to *Newhauſel*. *Eſperies* is a Town of *Hungary* in the County of *Sarax* very well fortified, Situate upon the River of *Tarbez* towards the Mountains, and on the Frontiers of *Poland*; it hath always belonged to the Emperor as King of *Hungary*, until ſuch time as in the Year 1678, it fell into the Hands of *Tekeli*, from whom it was recover'd by force of the Imperial Arms in the Year 1685. Howſoever, at the beginning thereof, the attempt of General *Schultz* was fruitleſs, and of evil conſequence; for laying Siege to it in the Winter, the Cold and extream Weather, and want of all things neceſſary, enforced him to Riſe again with the loſs of Five hundred Soldiers killed and wounded, with ſeveral Captains and other Officers, who were all ſlain by the many briſk and deſperate Sallies which the Defendant made from the Town: And being upon his Retreat, *Tekeli* in perſon Charged him in the Rear at the Head of his own Men with ſuch Succeſs, that he defeated the whole Party, and *Schultz* with much difficulty ſaved his Cannon.

Gutta *taken.*

Towards the end of *February* Five hundred *Janiſaries*, and Three hundred *Spahees* belonging to *Newhauſel*, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Fortreſs of *Gutta*, after a Fight of nine Hours; the Garriſon conſiſted only of One hundred and fifty *Huſſars*, under the command of a Lieutenant, who with two Soldiers only eſcaped to *Commorra*, all the reſt being put to the Sword. This Town is Situate on the River *Waagh*; it was Built during the late Wars in a Mooriſh or Fenny place, between the *Danube*, the *Waagh* and *Swartz*; it is but * a Mile from *Newhauſel*, and may be ſeen from the Top of the Steeple of the great Church. The *Turks* having made themſelves Maſters of *Gutta*, were carrying away the Plunder with two pieces of Cannon to *Newhauſel*. Two thouſand *Spahees*, and Six hundred *Janiſaries* were giving Convoy unto Sixty Waggons laden with Ammunition for the ſame place, when Colonel *Heuſler* with ſeveral Detachments from *Comorra*, *Papa*, *Veſprin* and *Leventz*, endeavour'd to obſtruct their Paſſage by Ambuſcades which he had laid in their way: Of which the *Turks* having had notice, they alter'd their Courſe, and endeavour'd to fortifie themſelves in ſome advantagious Ground; but *Heuſler* joyning with Count *Zabor*, allowed them not time to ſecure themſelves, but attacked them near *Weitzen* with ſuch Bravery, that he put them all to Flight, and ſeized on their Waggons, with the Proviſions in them, which he burnt, becauſe he knew not in what manner to carry them off ſafe: He afterwards took *Weitzen*, and put all the Garriſon to the Sword; which having done, he received information that a Paſha with Five hundred *Janiſaries* appointed for Convoy to Five hundred Waggons, drawn by Five Oxen apiece, were retir'd within a little Fortreſs not far diſtant, where they concealed themſelves until the Enemy was retired; he immediately went and inveſted the place, where he killed the greateſt part of the *Janiſaries*, took the Paſha with many Priſoners, and all the Waggons, which he carried to *Leventz*.

Succeſſes of Colonel Heuſler.

A party of Malecontents defeated.

About the ſame time the Marquis *Doria*, and the Baron of *Soyes* having paſſed the *Tibiſcus* with a ſtrong Detachment of *Bavarian* Troops, and a Hundred Horſe belonging to the Regiment of *Caraffa*, defeated a Party of Five hundred Horſe belonging to the Malecontents, killed Four hundred of them, took twenty Priſoners with eight Colours, and a conſiderable Booty. But General *Schultz* was not ſo ſucceſful in his Attempt upon *Ungwar*, being forced to Retire from thence with conſiderable loſs.

The Paſhas Erla *and* Novigrad *ſtrangled.*

The Succeſſes of General *Heuſler* much troubled the Thoughts of the Vizier of *Buda*, and the Seraskier, in what manner to defend themſelves againſt the Complaints which *Tekeli* and the Paſha of *Novigrade* had made againſt them to the Grand Seignior: To prevent which, and ſtop theſe inſinuations from receiving credit, they cauſed the Paſha of *Novigrade* to be Strangled, with the Paſha of *Erla*, after which they diſpatch'd two *Agas* to the Port with all expedition to be before-hand with their Complaints againſt *Tekeli*, and the Paſhas, repreſenting that they had put the two Paſhas to Death for their Cowardiſe and evil Conduct, with ſome Reflections upon *Tekeli*, as if he entertain'd a ſecret Correſpondence with the *Chriſtians*. The Grand Seignior and Grand Vizier, being prepoſſeſſed with theſe firſt advices, applauded the care and juſtice of the Vizier of *Buda*, and Seraskier, adviſing them to be careful in the chocie of ſuch Men, who were to ſucceed them in thoſe Offices of Truſt.

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* *Five* Engliſh *Miles.*

A Convoy ſent to Relieve Eſperies, taken.

Notwithſtanding the advantage which *Tekeli* had gained over General *Schultz* before *Eſperies*, and given it ſome Relief; yet the Town laboured under great want of neceſſary Proviſions, to ſupply which *Tekeli* ſent a ſtrong Convoy to ſupport the place with Grain Fleſh, Pulſe and all things required for a Siege: But *Schultz* recovering his Forces, and animated with deſire of Revenge, watched his opportunity to fall on the Convoy, which he charged with ſuch Vigour and Bravery, that he killed Three hundred on the place, took all their Carriages, with great quantities *Tokay* Wine.

Another Convoy defeated.

Thus did all matters proceed with various Succeſſes on both ſides; the Imperialiſts having it in their intentions, to open the Campaign with the taking of *Newhauſel*, made a Preparation thereunto by cutting off all Convoys, and Succours which were deſign'd for it's Relief: The *Turks* labour'd to ſupport it, and loſt many Men this Winter in the Enterpriſe; and more particularly remarkable was that Defeat which Colonel *Heuſler* (after having deſtroyed all the Country to the Gates of *Newhauſel*) gave unto a Party of Five hundred *Spahees* and Three hundred *Janiſaries*, aſſembled in the Neighbouring Villages, to give Convoy to great numbers of Waggons laden with Proviſions for ſupply of the Garriſon; the Fight was very warm, and doubtful for ſome time; but the *Spahees* at length turning their Backs, left the *Janiſaries* expoſed, who ſtill maintained their ground under the ſhelter of the Trenches, which they had haſtily caſt up, and the Covert of their Waggons with which they had encompaſſed themſelves: But being at length overwhelmed with numbers, they were entirely overthrown, Two hundred of their Men were killed with an Aga, and about Forty Priſoners taken, with all their Waggons to the number of Forty, laden with Proviſions: To compleat this Victory, the Imperialiſts loſt not above ten Men, and freed above Fifty *Chriſtians* out of Slavery; and of all this Detachment not above Two hundred Re-enter'd the Garriſon, the remainder being either diſperſed, or elſe had made their Eſcape to *Novigrade*.

The Turks ſlight the Poles.

The Poles and Tartars Treat.

The Great Vizier being informed of theſe Succeſſes, and thereby made apprehenſive of the danger of loſing *Newhauſel*, reſolved to bend the main Force of the *Ottoman* Empire againſt *Hungary*. The War on the Frontiers of *Poland* ſeemed not ſo formidable, as to need much Aid; the *Tartars*, who in times paſt were conſidered as Free-booters, and like Locuſts and Catterpillers, fit only for Rapin and Spoil, and to lay a Country Deſolate, were not ranked in the number of Martial and Well-diſciplin'd Troops, and eſteemed a match ſufficient for that Warlike Kingdom of *Poland*. The *Tartars*, who availed themſelves much on this late Opinion, which the World had conceived of them, began to ſtand on their Terms with the *Poliſh* and *Ottoman* Courts: The firſt offer'd them conſiderable rewards to accept of a Neutrality; and the latter fearing leſt this Mercenary People ſhould fall from their dependance on the Port, overcame their Minds with greater Sums, than what had been offer'd by *Poland*, together with a Conceſſion of all the *Ukrain*, to which the Grand Seignior would reſign his Title unto them, and annex it to their Dominions, provided they would recover it again by force of their own Arms. The Propoſals of the *Sultan* being accompanied with a certain Harmony of Affection and Religion, which is between the *Turks* and this People, were more charming than the faint Offers from *Poland*, and fixed them in their Reſolution to Live and Die, Stand and Fall with the *Ottoman* Intereſt.

The place of General Rendezvous.

The Seaſon of the Year being now well advanc'd, and the Weather become mild and fit for Action; the Imperial Troops from the Hereditary Countries, with the Auxiliaries and Bands of Voluntiers, compoſed of divers Nations, began to deſcend from *Moravia*, and with their Officers to march towards the place of General Rendevous, appointed in the Plains between *Newhauſel* and *Barkan*, being eſteemed the moſt convenient Situation for Atchieving any Enterpriſe, according to the Reſolutions of a Council of War. The Imperial Army conſiſted of Twenty four or Twenty five thouſand Men, but the Auxiliaries were above double the number: The Houſe of *Brunſwick* furniſhed 10.000 Fighting Men, Commanded by Prince *George William*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Hanover*, who marched in the Head of them. General *Chawver* commanded the Troops of the Prince of *Zell*. The Elector of *Cologne* ſent Six thouſand effective Men, and the City Six hundred, compoſed in all of Forty five Companies of Foot, Twelve of Horſe and

1685.

The Forces of the Circles.

Ten of Dragoons: All the other Electors and Princes of the Circle complied with their *Quotas* according to Agreement, Commanded by Officers of Experience and Bravery. The Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg* over and above the Money already mentioned, contributed to this Summers expedition, a conſiderable Train of heavy Cannon: So that the *Quotas* of the Empire according to the true Calculation, amounted unto Forty thouſand Men, beſides 16 .000 *Bavarians*, all veterane and experienced Soldiers, which were added as Recruits to the other Forces, already emploied in the War of the laſt Year. Count *Rabata* was appointed Commiſſary General for raiſing and amaſſing Proviſions wherewith to ſupply the Army; and for the more effectual performance thereof, it was recommended as a particular Charge to every Circle, to furniſh their Men reſpectively, with a ſufficiency of Victuals for the Campaign; by which means there was an abundance of all things in the Camp, and the Army freed of the miſery of Famine attended with Peſtilence; which two evils ruined all the deſigns of the laſt Year.

Care taken to ſupply the Army with Proviſions.

May.

About the beginning of *May* General *Palſi* was order'd to march into *Hungary*, and joyn with Colonel *Heuſler* at the Blocade of *Newhauſel*; which they ſo ſtreightned, that the Paſha Governour of that place, turn'd out all uſeleſs Perſons, out of the Town, who were not capable to bear Arms, and ſo many of the *Chriſtian* Slaves, as ſerved only to conſume and leſſen the Proviſions, and not defend the Town: By theſe Perſons the Commanders received information, that the Garriſon conſiſted only of Two or Three thouſand *Janiſaries*, of which a great number was Sick and Infirm.

Newhauſel *ſtreightned.*

The better to reinforce the Blocade, and ſtreighten the place in ſuch manner, that it might receive no Relief either of Men or Victuals, three thouſand Horſe, and as many Foot were ſent to joyn with *Heuſler* and *Palſi*, and with them many Carts and Waggons laden with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions, by which there was no want of any thing neceſſary for the comfort, and encouragement of the Soldiery, that ſo with the more Strength and Vigour they might be ready to oppoſe a ſtrong Party which was preparing at *Peſt*, to Convoy Eight hundred Carts with Victuals, and to make way for them into the Town by Force of Arms.

At this time that *Palſi* and *Heuſler* were emploied in Blocking up *Newhauſel*, General *Leſly* departed from *Vienna* to *Gratz*, from whence he drew his Forces into the Field in order to march into *Croatia*, where he was to Command this Year, with a Reinforcement of Seven thouſand Men more than he had the laſt.

1685.

Ungwar *taken.*

General *Schultz*, who had newly diſtributed a Hundred thouſand Florins amongſt his Soldiers, finding them Couragious and in good Heart, was reſolved to begin the Campaign with the notable Exploit of laying Siege to *Ungwar*, a ſmall, but the Capital City of the County of *Ung*, in which *Tekeli* had placed a ſtrong Garriſon. So ſoon as he inveſted it, he took a Redoubt, and began to make his Approaches, and raiſe his Batteries, and throw Bombs into the Town; and having by his Cannon opened a ſufficient Breach in the Walls, he Stormed it, and with great ſlaughter and loſs of Men, he entred and took the Town; and without giving the Enemy farther reſpite, he Inveſted the Caſtle, and lodged his Soldiers in the Ditch, where in the ſpace of three Days he loſt Three hundred Men, beſides Twenty Officers killed and wounded. Upon this News, the Male-contents, with a great Body, came to relieve the Place; but General *Schultz* bravely encountred them, gave them a Repulſe, and took three of their Standards; and returning with this Succeſs back to the Siege, he was ready to give Fire unto a Mine, when News came that *Tekeli* having joyned himſelf to a ſtrong Body of *Tartars*, was marching againſt him, he raiſed the Siege with ſo much Haſt and Precipitation, that he was conſtrained to leave the greateſt part of his Artillery behind him, after he had loſt Nine hundred Men, which were killed, and Two hundred wounded; amongſt which was Count *Strafoldo*, who was ſhot through the Arm with a Muſquet-bullet, and Baron *Arti* his Lieutenant Colonel, was wounded likewiſe.

Schultz *forced to leave the Town.*

A Council of War called.

June.

It was now the beginning of *June*, when the Duke of *Loraine*, appointed General of the Imperial and Confederate Forces, with abſolute Power and Authority from the Emperor, came to the Army, which was encamped near unto *Gran*, where a Council of War was held, and therein diverſely debated, whether they ſhould begin this Campaign with the Siege of *Novigrade*, which would interrupt all Communication between *Buda* and *Newhauſel*; or return again to *Buda*, where the Fortifications were not as yet fully repaired, nor the Inhabitants totally freed from the dread and fear of their late Danger; but upon farther examination of this Matter, it was made to appear, that *Buda* was in a much better Condition than it was before the Siege; for that the Fortifications were all finiſhed, and made better and ſtronger than they were formerly; that the new Governour had demoliſhed all the Houſes, which had been ruined and defaced by the Bombs, and totally deſtroyed the Suburbs;

1685. burbs; that the Garriſon conſiſted of Ten thouſand Men, all ſtout and brave Soldiers; *The ſtate of Buda.* that the *Seraskier*, with the like number of Men, had encamped between *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*, and 12.000 more had paſſed the Bridge to joyn with a Body of Ten thouſand *Tartars*, ſo that impoſſible in a manner it was to lay a Siege, which was daily in hazard of being diſturbed by ſuch potent Armies. The Enterpriſe upon *Novigrode* ſeemed much more feaſible; but before any Reſolution would be taken therein, the Duke of *Loraine*, with General *Souches*, *Scaffemburg*, Colonel *Beck*, and ſeveral Officers belonging to the Artillery and Ingineers, thought fit to take a view of the Works and Situation of the Place. The Duke at the head of Three thouſand ſelect Horſe, commanded by Count *Caprara*, on the 25*th* paſſed the River *Grana*, on a Bridge of Boats, and foorded over the River *Hippol*, which, at that Seaſon of the Summer, was not deeper than the Bellies of the Horſes. The next Day before Noon they came in ſight of *Novigrode*, and by their Appearance, gave an Alarum to the Town and Caſtle, from whence they fired many of their Cannon, for a Signal to thoſe who were abroad, labouring in their Vineyards, or keeping watch over their Cattle in the Field, to haſten back and retire under ſecurity of the Fortreſs: The Report of the Guns warned every one of the Danger, ſo that the Guardians of the Cattle, as well as others, drove in their Herds from their Paſtures as faſt as poſſible; but could not make ſuch ſpeed, as to get them all into Security, before the *Huſſars*, a People uſed to that kind of Prey, came up with them, and ſeized a great ſhare of the Cattle, driving them away for Service of their own Camp: And thô a Party of Horſe ſallied out of the Garriſon upon them, endeavouring to regain the Spoil, yet being ſupported by a ſtronger Body, they retired within the Paliſadoes, where they were received by ſeveral Chambers of *Janiſaries*.

Novigrode. *Novigrode* is raiſed upon a high craggy Rock, fortified by Nature, and the Way ſo narrow as is not capable to receive above one Man a-breaſt, and encompaſſed with a Ditch of about Thirty four Foot deep; this Place was taken from the *Chriſtians* in the Year 1663. The Duke of *Loraine*, and the other Generals and Engeniers, having well obſerved the Situation of the Place, and all the difficult Acceſſes thereunto, ſounded a Retreat, and began their March back again to the Camp; the Rear-guard being committed to the Care and Conduct of the Count *de Oſkirk*, with whom were ſeveral Princes in Quality of Voluntiers, as the Prince *de Conti*, *de la Roche Sur-yon*, *de Commerci* & *de Turenne*. Upon 1685. this Retreat, a Party of the *Turkiſh* Cavalry ſallied out of the Town, ſeeming as if they reſolved to fall on the Rear, with deſign only to draw them into an Ambuſcade of *Janiſaries*, who lay hid in certain Hedges and Buſhes, not far diſtant from the open Road. The Stratagem ſucceeded in part; for theſe young Gallants thirſting after Glory, and deſirous of an Engagement with the Enemy, could not refrain from purſuing the *Turks* to the place of Danger, where in all probability they had moſt certainly been deſtroyed, had not the Duke of *Loraine* ſent ſome Troops ſeaſonably to their Relief. The next Day this Party being returned from *Novigrode* to the Camp, General *Caprara*, who lay confined in his Bed by a Fever, delivered into the Hands of the Duke of *Loraine* a Letter from diverſe poor *Chriſtian* Slaves, *Greeks*, *Hungarians*, and others in *Newhauſel*, miſerably complaining of their Servitude, and of the Famine of that Place, which was ſo great, that they were ready to Periſh for want of Food; ſo that in caſe he *Falſe Letters delivered to the Duke of Loraine.* would only appear with his Army before that Place, the Diſtreſs of it, by reaſon of Famine, was ſuch, as would cauſe them to Surrender without farther Violence or loſs of Time. The Particulars of the State of this Place, was again confirmed by a *Turk*, who carrying Letters from *Newhauſel* to *Buda*, was intercepted in the way, and brought to the Camp; where being examined before a Council of Officers, he there confirmed the Truth of what was related in the Letter, and that the Garriſon did not exceed Twelve hundred Men; ſo that the Paſha, an ancient Soldier, did much lament the Miſeries of the Place, which he could not maintain, and muſt either be forced to make a Surrender of it, or elſe Sacrifice his own, and the Lives of all the Inhabitants, to the Fury of the Enemy. This Report ſeconding the Letter wrote from the Chriſtian Captives, the Truth thereof was no longer doubted, ſo that without farther diſpute or demurr, it was reſolved, at a Council of War, to open this Campaign with the Siege of *Newhauſel*; thô in reality both the Letter was feigned, and the Report given by the *Turk* falſe, as will appear hereafter, before we make an end of the Siege of this Place: Howſoever, it ſerved for the preſent to alter the deſign from *Novigrode*, and *The Siege of Newhauſel reſolved.* turn it on *Newhauſel*, againſt which all Preparations were making, and Orders ſent to the Prince of *Hanover* to advance towards the Town, and cauſe his Men to provide themſelves with Faggots and Timber to make Gabions, with other Materials neceſſary for this Enterpriſe; and all the Boats, and Floats for Bridges, which lay below *Comorra*, *Preparations thereunto.*

ra, were ordered to be drawn up againſt the Stream: And leſt in the mean time, during this Siege, the *Seraſkier* thinking to make a Diverſion, ſhould lay Siege either to *Strigonium* or *Vicegrade*, the latter Garriſon was reinforced with Three hundred Men, and the former with Fifteen hundred, under the Command of Count *Mansfeld*, beſides ſeveral Troops of *Huſſars*, who were appointed to ſcower the Country round, and obſerve the Motion of the Enemy.

July.

All things being prepared in order to a Siege, on the third of *July* the Duke of *Loraine* Commanded the whole Army to raiſe the Camp, and March towards *Newhauſel*; and on the *6th* they pitched at a Bog or Fenny place in ſight of the Town, being hindred from proceeding farther by the Storms and continual Rains, which gave great retardment and ſtop to their March: But to loſe no time, General *Heuſler* was appointed with a Party of Horſe to ſurvey the Fenns, and give an account of the Ways and Paſſages over it; and meeting with a Party of Horſe belonging to the Garriſon, which was commanded to prevent and ſtop his Paſſage, he charged them with ſuch vigour, as cauſed them to fly back to the Town, purſuing them to the very Gates thereof. After which, having well obſerved that the Fenns were not to be paſſed by the Infantry, it was ordered, That every Horſeman ſhould mount a Footman behind him; ſo that the Day following all the Army paſſed, and encamped by the Banks of the River *Nitria* or *Neutra*, about Cannon-ſhot diſtant from the Town.

Heuſler *beats a Party of the Enemies Horſe.*

At the appearance of the *Chriſtian* Army, the *Turkiſh* Garriſon being greatly diſmayed, they quitted the Palanca, which was raiſed at the Gate of *Strigonium*, and broke the Iſland-Bridge, cauſing all their Forces to be diſperſed without the Town in little Forts and Redoubts, to retire within, that being gathered into a Body, they might be the better enabled to make a valiant and an obſtinate Reſiſtance. The ſame Day the Paſha opened the Store-houſes of the Place, where Proviſions were laid up in ſuch abundance, that, being diſtributed with Frugality, and managed with good Husbandry, were ſufficient to conſerve and maintain the City for many Months without Famine.

The Town Surveyed.

But before the Siege was formed, the Duke of *Loraine*, with other Officers and Perſons of Note and Quality, took a View or Survey of the Town, to diſcover the parts and places where the Attacks might be carried forward with the beſt Advantage, and tryed where the River *Neutra* was fordable, as it was at that Seaſon of the Year in diverſe places. In the mean time, the Troops of *Hanover* and *Zell*, Commanded by the Prince of *Hanover*, and his Lieutenant General *Chauvet* arrived in the Camp, againſt whom the *Turks* ſpent many of their Cannon-ſhot without any Effect; which Troops being drawn up in open Field, made ſo good an Appearance in all Reſpects, as gave great Satisfaction to the Duke of *Loraine*, and the other General Officers.

On the *9th* about Noon, the *Bavarian* Infantry advanced forward, commanded in chief by Count *Serini*.

On the *10th* the Imperial Generals, with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Prince of *Hanover*, deſigned the place where the Town ſhould be firſt attacked; and Horſes were ſent, and Waggons to draw up the heavy Cannon which were arrived in Boats near to the Camp, and the places chalked out and deſigned where the Batteries were to be raiſed.

The Form of the Siege reſolved,

On the *11th* a Council of War was held, and there reſolved by all the General Officers to open the Trenches, and to make the main Attack at the ſame place and ſide on which the *Turks* had done, when they took the Town in the Year 1663.

and deſcribed.

Great Labours were uſed on the *12th* to enlarge the Trenches, joyning unto which there was a Vally, which ſerved for a Parade, wide enough to draw up Two thouſand Men, and therein to remain under Covert, and out of danger of the Enemies Shot. Two Lines alſo were drawn, one towards the Point of the Baſtion adjoyning to the Port of *Strigonium*, and another leading to the Baſtion which was contiguous to it; and on this part of the Town the chief Effort was to be made. The *Bavarians* maintained the Attack on the Gate-ſide, and the Imperialiſts the other; and a third Attack was intended on the ſide towards *Vienna*, on the Banks of the River *Neutra*, which was to be committed unto the *Swedes*, ſo ſoon as they entred into the Camp, as they did the Day following; and having formed their Trenches, they cut a Drain from the Town Ditch, where being a kind of declivity, the Water fell in abundance, and ran with a full Channel into the *Neutra*. To theſe ſeveral Attacks Three thouſand Men were every Day appointed to relieve each other, under Command of the General of the Artillery, two Sergeant-Majors of Battalions, two Colonels, and other ſubordinate Officers, which the Prince of *Croy*, Count *Serini*, and the Duke of *Hanover* were ſucceſſively to Command, according to their turns.

The Swedes come to the Siege.

The Trenches enlarged.

All the Day following was ſpent in opening and enlarging the Trenches, which were broad enough to contain three Men a-breaſt, and advanced unto Five or Six hundred Paces in length; and ſufficient Ground ſe-

1685. cured to lengthen them about One hundred and fifty Paces more, which would reach unto the ſide of the Ditch; all which was performed without any conſiderable loſs, notwithſtanding the continual Firings from the Enemy, both of ſmall and great Shot. At the end of every Line a Redoubt was raiſed, and a Parallel Line of Communication drawn from one Attack unto the other, with a place of Parade in the middle, about which three Batteries were raiſing, one behind the Line of Communication, which was to be the biggeſt, containing Seventeen or Eighteen Pieces of Cannon, becauſe it was to front and ſuccour the other Batteries on each ſide; the other two were to the right Hand, and to the left of five Pieces of Cannon, each to Flank the main Battery.

On the 14*th*, the Redoubts, the Parallel Lines of Communication, the Parade, and the Trenches were all perfected and ſufficiently opened, ſo that now the Siege was completely formed; and an Allodgment prepared on the brink of the Ditch; which tho' the Beſieged did endeavour to diſturb by conſtantly Shooting on the Workmen, yet nothing hinder'd to perfect the Allodgment which was made wide, and extreamly well fortified on all ſides.

The Siege formed.

The City of *Newhauſel* is Situate on a Plain with ſome little riſing Hills about it, and on the Banks of the River *Neutra*; it is not far from *Comorra*, and about a Days Journey from *Strigonium*; it is encompaſſed by ſix Baſtions, according to the manner of the modern Fortifications; the diſtance of the Curtains, and of the Flankers are of an exact equality, and the Form is a *Sex-Agon*, or *Six-Angles*. After the *Turks* had taken it in the Year 1663, they brought the *Neutra* round the Town and filled the Ditch with Water, and made it ſo Deep, that it was almoſt impoſſible to form any Mine under it.

Newhauſel

The preſence of the Duke of *Loraine*, who was always an Overſeer and director in making the Trenches, in which he for the moſt part remain'd until after Midnight, did very much contribute to the diſpatch of that Work: So that between the 14*th* and 21*th* all matters requiſite for the Siege were finiſhed, the Allodgment on the brink of the Ditch was more enlarged than before, the Water whereof being Fathomed, was found to be ſeventeen or eighteen Foot in Depth; and ſometime increaſed, notwithſtanding the Drain, by the exceſſive Rains, which not only ſupplied it with Water, but much incommoded the Soldiers in their Trenches. The Batteries continually plaid with good Succeſs, and not only had beaten down a great part of the Parapet, but had made a conſiderable Breach in the Baſtion it ſelf; which they intended to widen, and open yet more by the help of another Battery newly raiſed, conſiſting of eighteen Pieces of Cannon; but whilſt theſe things were in agitation, News was brought to the Duke of *Loraine*, that the *Turkiſh* Army began to march towards *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*, and that Six thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars* were advanced towards *Vicegrade*. Upon this intelligence General *Leſly*, who was appointed to watch the Motion of the Enemy, was Order'd to endeavour unto the utmoſt of his power to hinder and obſtruct the Paſſage of the Seraskier over the River *Sava* and *Drave*; and Colonel *Heuſler* with Two thouſand Horſe was diſpeeded towards *Peſt*, to get intelligence of the Deſigns of the Vizier: Soon after this Advices came, That the Seraskier was advancing with all his Forces towards *Buda*, and had made a Bridge not far from thence over the *Danube*; but that it was not yet known, whether he intended to attempt the raiſing of the Siege, or to Sit down before ſome Town whereby to make a diverſion: But to be better provided, and in a readineſs either to meet the Seraskier in the Field, or to defeat his Attempt againſt any fortified Place; The Duke of *Loraine* order'd a Detachment of a Regiment of *Savoiard* Dragoons, to joyn with ſome of the *Bavarian* and *Lunenburg* Troops, to the number of Three thouſand Men, and therewith to Reinforce thoſe Regiments, which guarded the Bridge of *Comorra*.

The Batteries make a Breach.

1685.

Leſly attends the Motion of the Seraskiers.

During the time that a conſiderable Force was employ'd to obſerve the Motion of the Seraskier, the Siege was carried on with all imaginable Courage and Reſolution; the Cannon continually fired from the ſeveral Batteries, and the Bombs and Carcaſſes were thrown into the Fortreſs with ſuch good Succeſs, that on the 22*d*, the Town appear'd to Smoak and Flame in three ſeveral places, which continued all Night, to the great Terrour and Labour of the Defendants: But at length by the great Rains which fell, the Fires were not only extinguiſhed, but the *Chriſtians* very much incommoded in their Trenches, and the Waters of the Ditch increaſed, as faſt almoſt as they were ſunk by the Drain: So that it ſeeming a long and tedious Work, before the Ditch could be emptied of it's Water; a contrivance was made to paſs a Miner over the Ditch in a Boat, and fix it to the Breach in the Wall; but the Boat receiving a Shot from the Town, was ready to ſink, and thoſe therein were ſo incommoded with ſhowers of Stones from the ſmaller Guns, and Petreras planted on the Walls, that they were forced to Retire, and give over that Deſign.

The Town on Fire.

On

A Sally from the Town.

On the 24*th*, the Defendants made a Sally on that ſide, where a Guard was appointed of *Swedes* and *Suabians* to defend the Drain, which was made to ſink the Water of the Ditch; and ſurprized them at a time, when they were overcharged with Wine, which they had unfortunatly gotten, and laid for the moſt part in ſo profound a Sleep, without ſo much as a Match lighted, that a Hundred of them with their Lieutenant Colonel, two Captains and two Lieutenants did never awake from their natural Sleep, but inſenſibly paſſed from it, into the laſt Sleep of Death. The *Turks* return'd back again into the Town without much harm; but with great Joy and Triumph, which they teſtified by the Muſick, which was heard from the Walls into the Trenches.

The Ditch filled with Rubbiſh.

But on the 25*th*, greater care was taken with the Guards on that ſide, and endeavours uſed to enlarge the Channel, which being perform'd, the Water in the Ditch ſunk eight Foot, ſo that the Faggots, Stones and Rubbiſh were prepar'd to fill it up; and that Labour ſo cloſely followed, that in one Night the Ditch was half filled up on that ſide, where the Imperialiſts were lodged: But on that of the *Bavarians*, they advanced little, by Reaſon that the Defendants fired ſo continually from the Parapet of the Baſtion, which was oppoſite to them, as diſturbed the Work, and hinder'd them very much in carrying Faggots and Rubbiſh, ſo freely as was done on the other ſide.

The difficulty of draining the Ditch.

The Work was now to fill the Ditch on each ſide, as well where the Imperialiſts, as where the *Bavarians* were Quarter'd: To prevent which, the *Turks* on the 27*th*, about Noon made a Sally by the Port of *Strigonium*; and ſtopped the Channel, by which the Water vented it ſelf out of the Ditch and ran into the River; but being oppoſed by Three hundred *Bavarians* they received a Repulſe, and made their Retreat back into the Town; the Bank being again opened, the Water fell ſo low, that the Imperialiſts diſcover'd a ſecret Paſſage, by which the wet and mooriſh Ground kept a Correſpondence with the Ditch, and ſupplied it with ſome Waters from thence; the *Chriſtians* endeavour'd to ſtop this Conveyance, and the *Turks* to open it, ſo that what one did by Day, the other deſtroy'd by the Night.

Galleries prepared.

The increaſe of the Waters in the Ditch, cauſed the Beſiegers to deſpair of being able to effect any thing by their Mines; but finding that their Batteries opened the Breach more and more, they reſolved to perform their work by the two Attacks, on the right and on the left Hand: The two Galleries were in a ſhort time advanced; that to the right, went drawing near to the Wall, being well cover'd, and flanked with Baskets, Barrels and Gabions filled with Earth, in which Action the Lieutenant Colonel of Count *Souches* was killed: The *Turks* labour'd with all poſſible Induſtry to keep off the Approach of theſe Galleries, which moſt certainly threatned the Ruin of the Town; to effect which, they threw certain artificial Fire-works upon the Galleries, compoſed of Sulphur and Bituminous matter, which burn'd ſo violently, that it was impoſſible to extinguiſh it, until it had laid all in Aſhes; and ſo forcibly did it burn, that it took hold of the next Battery, and ſet Fire to the Powder in it, with which divers of the Gunners, to the number of Forty Men were Blown up. Nor did the Gallery on the left Hand fare any thing better, for the *Turks* ſhot ſuch numbers of Arrows with artificial Fires into it, that nothing could reſiſt the violence of the Flames: All the Gallery took Fire, with the Parapet and Neighbouring Battery, and burn'd with ſuch fierceneſs, that it became too hot for the Guards, and diſmounted four Pieces of Cannon. The Duke of *Loraine*, came immediately in Perſon to the aſſiſtance of the place, and remained where the Fire was moſt impetuous, commanding the Officers to march their Troops to that place; and in the mean time employed all his Servants and Attendants, who were about him, even his very Pages to ſtop and extinguiſh the Fire. The Example of the General was ſo prevalent, that every one gave a helping hand, with ſuch diligence and vigour, that the Fire was extinguiſhed, and a great part of the Battery was ſaved, with the Cannon and Powder: Whilſt this Action was doing, all thoſe, who work'd about the Fire lay open to the ſhot of the Enemy, of which about Sixty Soldiers were killed, and twelve of them near to the Perſon of the Duke, who expoſed himſelf without fear to the utmoſt Peril of his Life.

They are burned.

The Galleries and Batteries burnt.

The Fire being extinguiſhed, Order was given to repair the Damage which the Fire had done; which accordingly was executed with ſuch diligence, that on the next Night following the Parapet was repaired, and the Cannon being remounted began again to Batter the Town; new Galleries were alſo making of ſuch matter, as ſhould not be ſo eaſily combuſtible as the former.

The Elector of Bavaria comes to the Camp.

The Diſorders being compoſed which were cauſed by theſe Fires, the Elector of *Bavaria* enter'd the Camp; and immediately repaired to that part where his Soldiers were lodged. The Duke of *Loraine* having made him a Viſit, and paſſed thoſe Complements which are due to his Perſon, and Character; he attended him abroad and ſhowed him all the Attacks, the Approaches, Batteries, and the whole Form of the Siege.

Whileſt matters were thus in Action at the Siege, Advices were daily brought of the Seraskier's motion, that his whole Army conſiſted of 60.000 Men, including the *Tartars*, and lay Encamped at the Foot of St. *Gerard's Mount* near *Buda*, with Twenty five Pieces of Cannon, ſmall and great.

The Turkiſh Army near Buda.

Their motions obſerved.

Strigonium *beſieged.*

The Order of the Chriſtian *Army.*

They are met by the Garriſon of Vicegrade.

On the 26*th* it was certainly adviſed, that they had paſſed the *Danube*, and that the Van-guard bended towards *Vaitz*, and the Rear-guard towards *Vicegrade* and *Strigonium*. Upon this intelligence it was almoſt certainly concluded, That the *Turks* intended with one part of the Army to lay Siege to *Strigonium*, and with the other to attempt the Relief of *Newhauſel*; to confirm which two *Huſſars* about the cloſe of the Evening, brought News, that the *Turkiſh* Army about Noon of the ſame Day, had pitched their Camp in ſight of *Strigonium*, and had made a Bridge at the Iſle of St. *Andrew*, for better Communication of their Troops. It being now out of all doubt, that the *Turks* would either Inveſt *Strigonium* or *Novigrade*; the Duke of *Loraine* with the concurrence of his Electoral Highneſs the Duke of *Bavaria*, reſolved to leave 16.000 Men under the command and conduct of Count *Caprara* to continue the Siege; and with the Groſs of his Army to march againſt the Seraskier; but before their departure they had the ſatisfaction to ſee the four Regiments of Infantry belonging to the Elector of *Cologne*, to come and joyn with them, all brave and ſtout Men well Armed and well Clothed. Colonel *Heuſler*, who with Fifteen hundred Horſe watched (as we have ſaid) the Motion of the Enemy, gave certain intelligence, that on the 30*th* of *July*, the City and Caſtle of *Strigonium* were Inveſted by the Seraskier, which cauſed the Duke of *Loraine* to haſten his march towards the Relief of that place, leaving all things belonging to the Siege in very good order. The News ſent by Colonel *Heuſler*, was confirmed on the 4*th* of *Auguſt*, by Report of the Cannon, which being carried by a favourable Wind, were heard at the Siege before *Newhauſel*: The Duke of *Loraine* being on his march, paſſed his Army conſiſting of 40.000 fighting Men over the *Waagh* on a Bridge of Boats, bending towards *Comorra*: On their way thither intelligence was given them, that the Night before, the *Turkiſh* Army had been Alarum'd by a Party of *Huſſars* which had fallen in upon their Baggage: Howſoever, they continued ſtill to force the Place, having given a fierce Aſſault upon the lower Tower Town, but were bravely repulſed. This News quickning the march of the Army, the next Day they paſſed the *Danube* upon two Bridges near to *Comorra*, and afterwards Ranged the whole Army into order of Battle: The Imperial Troops were divided in the firſt and ſecond Lines of the two Wings; with them joyned ſome Dragoons, and ſome Battalions of the Allies; the Elector of *Bavaria* Commanded the left Wing; the main Body of *Bavarians* and *Swedes* were comprehended in this Wing, and that of *Franconia* and *Lunenburg* in the Right; the Prince of *Hanover* and General *Chauvet*, Commanded at the Head of their own Troops, as the Marquis of *Tutriac*, and other Generals of the Allies at the Front of theirs. Count *Rabata* General of the Horſe, the Commiſſary General, Count *Palſi* and Baron *Mercy*, and other Chief Officers were of the left Wing; Prince *Lewis* of Baden, Count *Dunewaldt*, Count *Taaf* and *Stirhaim*, Major General, were added to the right Wing. Prince *Waldeck* and Count *de Fontana*, one of the Major Generals marched at the Head of their Troops, and Prince *Lubomiski* commanded the Cannon: In this order the Army marched, and on the 10*th* of *Auguſt* they Encamped within three hours march of *Strigonium*: And the next Day approaching yet nearer, the Report of the Cannon, and all Noiſe towards the Town ſeemed to ceaſe; ſo that it was concluded, that either the Town was taken, or the Siege raiſed. Whilſt they were in this ſuſpenſe, the Garriſion of *Vicegrade* came in ſight of the Camp, to the great ſurpriſe of the Generals, who until that time, had never been informed that the place had been Inveſted by any part of the *Ottoman* Army: It ſeem'd a little ſtrange to meet that Garriſon in the open Field, marching with their Arms and Baggage, with their Matches Lighted, their Drums Beating, and their Colours Flying; but this Wonder ceaſed, when the Officer in Chief acquainted the Generals, how that the Fortreſs of *Vicegrade*, had ſuſtained a Siege for the ſpace of ſixteen Days, againſt all the Force of the *Ottoman* Army; that the Tower which was adjoyning to the Caſtle was Blown up, which made ſo wide a Breach, that it was impoſſible to ſuſtain another Aſſault of the Enemy, having endured two Aſſaults before: And therefore, after a loſs of the greateſt part of the Garriſon, which was reduced from Three hundred and fifty to One hundred and thirty Soldiers, the Surrender thereof ſeemed excuſable, and not to be imputed to the Cowardize, or want of Conduct either in the Commander, or in the Souldiers. There was alſo ſomething more than ordinary in the behaviour of the *Turks* towards the Garriſon, when this place was Surrender'd: For they out of a Principle of hatred to the *Chriſtian* Religion, and of ſcorn and indignation againſt all People, but thoſe of their own Profeſſion, were commonly provoked to uſe their Victories with Pride and unlimited Inſolence; and to break their Faith and Engagements, to which they had obliged themſelves by Articles and Capitulations; did now contrary to their uſual practice, Treat the vanquiſhed of this Fortreſs with due reſpect and kindneſs; and leſt any thing ſhould happen, which might ſeem diſagreeable to their Capitulations in their march by Land, care was taken to Tranſport them in Boats, and to Land them as near as was poſſible to the *Chriſtian* Camp; and for the better ſecurity on the way, they were accompanied by three *Turkiſh* Officers, whom the Duke of *Loraine* treated with a Civility, correſponding unto which they had uſed towards the Garriſon.

The Turks *Civility to that Garriſon.*

The next Day being the 11*th* of *Auguſt*, the *Chriſtian* Army pitched their Tents at *Almatz*, about a League diſtant from *Strigonium*: From whence an Officer was ſent to Complement the Duke of *Loraine*, and the other Generals, with a Relation of what the *Turks* had acted in the late Siege: He told them, That one the 30*th* and 31*ſt* of the laſt Month their Approaches were begun (as were to be ſeen) on the ſide towards *Comorra*, at the Foot of St. *Thomas* his Mount, and were in two Days time, carried on to the Counterſcarp of the lower City, where they Sprang four Mines, and ſeconded them with as many Aſſaults, in which ſo many were killed, that the Ditch ſeemed to be levelled, and filled up with the dead Bodies of the Slain, and made equal with the Border of the Counterſcarp. In fine, About two Days before, the *Turks* having received certain Intelligence of the Approach of the *Chriſtian* Army for their Relief, had raiſed the Siege with ſo much haſt and precipitation, as gave Courage to the Defendants to make a Sally upon them at their departure; and falling on their Rear, took a Bloody Farewel of them, with the Slaughter of Three hundred of their Men. The Succeſs of *Strigonium* made ſome amends for the loſs of *Vicegrade*, and gave undoubted proofs, that where is any equality in Force, the *Chriſtian* Valour and Conduct, challenges Fortune to be of their ſide, and to favour and aſſiſt them.

A Relation of the Siege of Strigonium.

The Duke of *Loraine* having recruited the Garriſon of *Strigonium* with Five hundred Foot, and ſuccoured it with Ammunition, and Proviſions neceſſary for it's Defence; raiſed his Camp on the 13*th*, and marched away in queſt of the Seraskier, with reſolution to give him Battle, in caſe the mooriſh and fenny Grounds, which interpoſed between the two Armies, did not prevent the Engagement. The Day following, with riſing of the Sun was opened a clear Scene, repreſenting the whole *Turkiſh* Army, which having paſſed the *Danube* to joyn with ſome *Tartarian* and *Turkiſh* Troops, were Encamped on the farther ſide of a fenny or mooriſh Ground, which lies between *Newhauſal* and *Senan*, extending it ſelf from the Banks of the River to a certain riſing Ground, on which they had planted their whole Train of Artillery; the Appearance of which ſeemed very formidable, and not conſiſting of leſs than 55 or 60.000 fighting Men, which for the moſt part were experienced Soldiers, who had tried the Dint of the Enemies Sword, and often without fear beheld Death in the Face.

The two Armies in ſight of each other.

The fenny and mooriſh Ground, which interpoſed between the two Armies, was the Bar which reſtrain'd the Courage and Mettle of the *Chriſtians*; who otherwiſe, in deſpight of all diſadvantages, where had been any poſſibility of Engagement, would have broke through all to have cloſed and mixed with their Enemy. To perform which, the boggy Ground was tried and aſſaied on all ſides; but being found unpaſſable, the Generals feigned a kind of fear, and unwillingneſs to Engage, in expectation thereby to draw the Enemy to remove; ſo that raiſing their Camp, as if they had feared a Battle, the *Turks* carried on by their own Deſtiny, followed after them, leaving the place of a more advantagious Ground. The *Chriſtians* retreating at the diſtance of an hour's march, drew up in the Form and Order before mentioned, extending their left Wing towards the *Danube*, and their right towards the Hills of *Saran*. The Seraskier animated with this Retreat, as if it had been cauſed by his more formidable Force, which much exceeded the *Chriſtians* in their numbers, raiſed his Camp and followed the motion of the *Chriſtians*; and leaving a great part of the Infantry, with the heavy Cannon behind, on the riſing of the Hill; on the 15*th* and 16*th* Inſtant, he paſſed the mooriſh Ground, and marched towards the Enemy. At break of Day in Morning, ſo great a Fog or Miſt aroſe, that for ſome hours neither Army could diſcover the motions of the other; during which time the *Chriſtians* had the advantage to draw up their Army undiſcerned into a poſture of Battle, and to reinforce the left Wing with ſome Regiments, which were not as yet diſpoſed. No ſooner was the Army drawn up in its due Order, than the Fog diſperſed, and a bright Day appeared, which ſhowed the two Armies each to the other,

The Chriſtians Retreat.

And are followed by the Turks.

Both

A Battle begun.

both moving with a ſlow and regular Pace to joyn Battle. The *Turks*, who are of the more fiery and fierce Temper, cauſed their left Wing to March with ſome haſt to charge the right Wing of the *Chriſtians*; upon which they three times made an Attempt, but the *Germans*, who ſtood firm and unſhaken like a Rock, three times repulſed them with great Slaughter: The Duke of *Loraine* perceiving that the *Turks* preſſed the right Wing with their main force, cauſed his left Wing to move with a ſlow pace to their Succour: The *German* Foot were conducted by their Captains at the head of their reſpective Companies, with their Artillery in the Front; which being charged with Muſquet-bullets, were fired upon them ſo opportunely, and ſeconded by Vollies of ſmall Shot, that the *Turks* began to draw back at ſome diſtance. The Seraskier obſerving the diſorder of his left Wing, advanced with a ſtrong Body of *Turks* to charge the utmoſt part of the right Wing of the *Chriſtians*; to ſuſtain which, the Duke of *Loraine* redoubled the firing of the firſt Line, and commanded Count *Dunewald* to reinforce the firſt Line with ſuch Squadrons and Battalions of the ſecond Line, as were neareſt unto it. The Elector of *Bavaria* coming at the ſame time to their Aſſiſtance, put the *Turks* into a diſorder and confuſion, and afterwards forced them to make a Retreat, and draw a little off. The *Hungarian* Troops which were accuſtomed to the *Turkiſh* manner of Fighting, were order'd to charge them in the Rear; which having done, they wheel'd about and made a ſtand. So ſoon as the *Turks* were out of reach of the *German* Muſquets, they rallied again, and made another Charge as furiouſly as they had done the firſt; but the Imperialiſts maintaining their Ground, and not giving one Foot backwards, many principal Officers amongſt the *Turks* fell in this Charge at the head of their Squadrons, which cauſed a ſecond Diſorder amongſt them, and to turn their Backs; and being purſued ſlowly by ſome Troops, which continually fired upon them, they were put to the rout and fled. The right Wing of the *Turks* obſerving the Diſorder of the left, wheel'd about towards that ſide, not only to Succour the flying Party, but to joyn with them to make a ſecond Effort and tryal of their Fortune: To this Purpoſe a conſiderable Detachment advanced to charge the *Chriſtians* in the Flank; but being repulſed, the whole Army was put to flight, and being purſued by the *Hungarians*, *Croats*, and ſome Troops of Dragoons, fear ſo poſſeſſed many of them, that they took their Way, without any conſideration, over the Mooriſh or Fenny Grounds, where, ſinking up to their Middles in the Water, and their Horſes plunging in the Boggy places, above Two thouſand Men were loſt and periſhed in the Quag-mires. In the mean time, the right Wing of the *Chriſtian* Army having knowledge of the Paſſage over the Marſh, by the *Turks*, who led them the Way, purſued them beyond the ſoft Ground; and perceiving that the *Turks* began to rally on the top of the Hill, where they had left their Cannon with ſome Chambers of their *Janiſaries*; they made a ſtand until the Duke of *Bavaria* was come up with the left Wing. So ſoon as theſe two Bodies were joyned on the other ſide of the Mooriſh Ground, the *Turks* durſt not ſtand another ſhock; but leaving their Camp, Tents, Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, they all betook themſelves to a ſhameful flight: Such was the general Fear and Conſternation amongſt them, that they fled by three ſeveral Ways; and the *Janiſaries* to Revenge themſelves on the *Spahees*, for expoſing and abandoning them upon the Hill, killed many of them to get their Horſes. Thô the *Turks* in the firſt Action did not loſe above Four thouſand Men, yet double the Number periſhed in the Fenny Ground, and in the Purſuit the Seraskier himſelf was wounded, and *Oſman* Paſha of *Gran Cairo*, and two other Paſhas were killed. The *Chriſtians* loſt not above Two hundred Men, and took but few Priſoners, becauſe that giving Quarter was almoſt out of Faſhion: The Purſuit continued not far, by reaſon that the *Turkiſh* Horſe were more nimble than the *Chriſtian*, and fled to *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*; the Foot ſaved themſelves in the Woods and in the Mountains: Howſoever, afterwards in more cool Bloud, many were hunted out, who had layn hid amongſt the Reeds and Oſiers which grew in the wet and marſhy Grounds, ſo that about Four hundred Priſoners might be taken, and many Chriſtian Slaves obtained their Freedom. The *Turks* loſt Thirty eight Colours, Twenty three Pieces of Cannon, two Mortars, and great ſtore of all ſorts of Ammunition. After the Battle was ended, *Te Deum* was ſung, and Thanks publickly render'd in the Camp to Almighty God for ſo ſignal a Victory; and the Prince of *Neuburg* was diſpatched with all diligence to render an account unto the Emperor of the happy Succeſs of that fortunate Day.

The Turks defeated.

The Loſs which the Turks ſuſtained.

Whilſt the *Turks* were engaged in Battle; and their Army routed and totally defeated; their Garriſon in *Newhauſel* declined, and the Beſiegers daily advanced upon them. The Galleries were again refitted and repaired, and the Soldiers lodged at the Foot of the Breach, ſo that all things were ready for a general Aſſault, only Count *Caprara* thought fit to demand firſt the Orders of the Duke of *Lo-*

All things ready for an Aſſault upon Newhauſel.

raine, not knowing whether he might be deſirous to be preſent at this great Action, to add the Subjection of this Place to the Glory of his late Victory: But the great Mind of the Duke, which was zealous for the Service of the Emperor, and the Chriſtian Cauſe, gave orders not to defer the Aſſault for one Moment; but firſt to adviſe the Beſieged of the defeat of their Seraskier, and to verify the ſame by ſome Priſoners taken in the late Battle, which were ſent into the Town, that being informed of their deſperate Condition, they might be induced to accept Terms of Mercy for their Lives. The 18*th* was the Day appointed for this Attempt, but the Rains were ſo violent, that it was thought fit to expect more favourable Weather, and to break ſome Paliſadoes with the Cannon, which were newly erected within the Breach. The next Morning being the 19*th*, at break of Day, the ſignal of the Aſſault was given by the diſcharge of Thirty ſix Pieces of Cannon, upon which, immediately Three thouſand Men were appointed to make the Aſſault. Count *Scaffemberg*, at the head of his Men, Commanded the Attack in face of the right Baſtion, and mounted thereupon without the loſs of one Man, and was followed by the Troops of *Lunenburg* and *Suabia*; the *Turks* now loſing their Courage, did not diſpute the Breach with ſuch Reſolution as was agreeable to the Reſiſtance they had made at firſt, and thereby gave opportunity to *Scaſſemberg* to poſſeſs himſelf of the Baſtion without much difficulty. The Baron of *Aſti*, and Colonel *Kaletz*, who Commanded the other Attacks, with the Troops of *Cologne*, *Bavaria* and *Franconia*, were in like manner ſucceſsful, and planted the Imperial Standards on the Breach, where a Paſha which Commanded it was killed; he was a Native of *Bohemia*, and of the Family of *Garasba*. In the Baſtion Eight hundred Men were ſlain, excepting Two or Three hundred, who caſt themſelves over the Wall into the Ditch, where they met the Sword of the *Bavarians*, and under that, ended their Days. All this time Seventy Pieces of Cannon continually plaid upon the Town, and Twenty Mortar-pieces which threw Bombs and Carcaſſes, and Three thouſand Men already upon the Walls and within the Town, in which Amazement the *Turks* ſpread a white Flag, which was the ſignal of a Parly or of a Surrender: But alas it was too late; for the *Chriſtians* being already Maſters of the Town, they killed all without remorſe, or diſtinction of Age or Sex, either of Men, Women or Children. The Governour of the Place died the next Day of his Wounds which he had received on the Breach; the Garriſon which conſiſted of Three thouſand Men, was reduced to On thouſand Seven hundred, moſt of which alſo were killed on that fatal Day. At length the Town being taken, Orders were given to ſtop the effuſion of Blood, which came only in time to ſave the Lives of about Two hundred Perſons.

An Aſſault made.

The Town is taken.

In the Town Eighty Pieces of Cannon were taken, with great quantities of Ammunition. About Forty Chriſtian Slaves were ſet at liberty: The Plunder of the Town was eſteemed to amount unto two Millions, beſides Plate, good Furniture, and Moveables belonging to the Houſes. There were Fifty Horſes of Price taken, which were diſtributed amongſt the General Officers; all which was performed with the loſs of Fifty Soldiers only, and one Lieutenant. So ſoon as the Place was taken, Count *Scaffemberg* took Poſt to carry the joyful News thereof unto the Emperor, who was graciouſly pleaſed, in Reward of his Services, to conferr upon him the Government of that Place. The News of two ſuch Atchievements, as the defeat of the *Turkiſh* Army, and taking *Newhauſel* filled all Chriſtendom with Joy and Wonder, and Thanks to Almighty God for ſuch glorious and unexpected Succeſſes; which alſo being accompanied with the taking of *Eſperies*, by General *Schultz*, and the burning of the Town and Bridge of *Eſſeck*, by Count *Leſly*, increaſed the Jubilee of that Year in Chriſtendom; as on the contrary, never was there ſuch a Damp on the Spirits of the *Turks*, nor ſuch Sorrow and Grief as at that time: For the Loſs having been Univerſal through the whole Empire, the Death of Friends and Relations was lamented, as far as to *Bagdat* or *Babylon* it ſelf, and to other remote parts of the Eaſt.

The Advice of taking *Newhauſel* was brought to the Duke of *Loraine*, whilſt he was in Diſcourſe with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the other Generals, of carrying on the Wars with ſuch other Enterpriſe, as might conclude and terminate this Campaign with the greater Glory. Upon the News hereof, the Generals moved with a deſire to ſee the Place, enter'd into it on the 20*th*, and there beheld the moſt horrid Spectacle of Slaughter and Deſolation in the World. To cover which, immediate Orders were given to bury the Dead, and to repair the Breaches which the Cannon had made in the Walls, and, with the Labour of *Turkiſh* Slaves, to fill up the Trenches and Approaches which were made without the Town during the Siege. The *Chriſtian* Slaves, which, on occaſion of the late Defeat, had eſcaped out of the hands of the *Turks*, came in great numbers to *Newhauſel*, and there related, how that the Se-

The diſmal Condition of Newhauſel.

raskier

The ill Condition of the Turkiſh Army.

raskier was come to *Buda* with a ſlight Wound in his Leg; that the Confuſion amongſt the *Turks* was ſo great, that they killed and robbed one the other, in the Flight; that in the Sieges of *Strigonium* and *Vicegrade*, they had loſt at leaſt Four thouſand Men; and that the latter place was ſo weakned by blowing up the Tower, and required ſo much time and labour to repair it, that they expected Orders from the Seraskier to demoliſh and abandon the Place. And in fine, That the *Turkiſh* Forces were ſo ſcatter'd and divided, that after all theſe loſſes and diſcouragements, they were ſcarce able to Rally an Army of 30.000 Men.

The Expedition of Count Leſly to the Bridge of Eſſeck.

We having not thought fit to interrupt the Relation of two ſuch great Matters, as the Fight near *Strigonium*, and the Siege of *Newhauſal*, with a Digreſſion unto other Actions; which being now paſt, let us look back, and behold the Progreſs which Count *Leſly*, and General *Schultz* were making againſt the Common Enemy in different Places. *Leſly*, being advanced into the Country near *Kaniſia*, had the good fortune to meet a Party of *Turks*, belonging to that place, which he defeated, and with the Slaughter of ſeveral hundred of them, cauſed the reſt to Fly into their Fortreſs. After which with an Army of about Eight thouſand Men, compoſed of *Croats*, *Hungarians* and *Germans*, he reſolved to render himſelf Maſter of the Bridge of *Eſſeck*: In order whereunto, having left his Baggage at *Turnawitz*, under the Cuſtody and Guard of Two thouſand Men, he marched away on the *9th* of *Auguſt*, with Four thouſand *Germans* and Two thouſand *Croats*, all choiſe and experienced Soldiers towards *Eſſeck*, taking with them Proviſions for ten Days, in regard the Country was ſo waſted and deſtroyed by the War, that it yielded neither Food for Men, nor Forage almoſt for Horſes. The ſame Day a Detachment was made of Five hundred *Croats*, under the Command of an Officer to Inveſt *Michalowitz*, which upon the firſt Summons Surrender'd, before the Body of the Army appeared, without making any Terms, or Conditions for their Liberty. The Guard of this Fort was committed to the defence of Two hundred Foot and One hundred *Heyduks*; and the Priſoners taken, both Men, Women and Children were ſecured in a Tower belonging to the Fortreſs. After which the Army marched with all diligence towards *Eſſeck*: Upon ſight hereof, the little Forts and Palancas on the way, fired their Guns to Alarum the Country round about; and paſſing by *Caraſina*, which is a Town fortified with ſtrong Walls, and a double Ditch, the *Turks* Sallied forth with Horſe and Foot, and Skirmiſhed with ſome of the Troops, without any great hurt or damage on either ſide. After three or four Days of hard march, *Leſly* drew up his Forces on the 13*th* of the Month, into order of Battle in the Plains of *Eſſeck*, expecting to meet the Enemy in thoſe Parts: But finding no oppoſition, they pitched their Tents, and Hutts ſo much to advantage, and which took up ſo much Ground, as if they had contained an Army of at leaſt 30.000 Men: Soon afterwards, a Thouſand *Turkiſh* Horſe came and took a view of the Camp, with ſome Infantry marching in their Rear. Whereupon the Army Commanded by *Siaus* Paſha, drew out into order of Battle, and marched ſoftly againſt the Enemy, who ſtood firm, neither advancing nor retiring, until the *Chriſtians* were come within Muſquet-ſhot; and then they began to give Ground, which the *Croats* perceiving fell upon both their Wings, and gave them a total Rout and Defeat. The Horſe fled by the way of *Belgrade*, but being hotly purſued by the *Croats*, ſeveral of them were killed; but the Foot found a nearer Refuge in the Town and Caſtle of *Eſſeck*. The *German* Horſe and Foot, advanced ſtill in good Order to the Suburbs of the Town, which at the firſt Aſſault they took, and Plunder'd; and thence found an eaſy entrance into the City it ſelf; from whence the *Turks* had the Day before ſent their Wives and Children by Water towards the *Danube*, into which the *Drave* falls not far from the City: Thoſe who remain'd, were with their Goods and Moveables retired into the Caſtle.

The Turks *near* Eſſeck *defeated.*

Eſſeck.

The City of *Eſſeck* is not very large, but well peopled and well fortified; and as I remember, after the modern faſhion; it hath about Five hundred Shops belonging to Tradeſmen, and adorned with many *Moſques* and *Caravaſaries*, or Inns built for the Reception of Travellers, which are commonly ſtately Structures. It is very ſtrange, that this place which was eſteemed ſo ſtrong, and well fortified by the *Turks*, that they made it their Granary, and Store-Houſe for all ſorts of Proviſions for ſupply of thoſe Parts of the Country, ſhould ſo eaſily be abandoned, and opened to the Enemy, which was capable of ſuſtaining a Siege of many Months againſt an Army of far greater Force, than that of Count *Leſly*'s, which did not exceed Six thouſand Men; eſpecially being well provided with quantities of Rice, Bread, Biſket, Salt and powder'd Fleſh; and with Barly and Oats; all which ſerved greatly to refreſh, and feed the Men and Horſe of Count *Leſly*'s Army, which were languiſhing before for want of Victuals, the ten Days Proviſions which they had taken with them being almoſt

Taken by Count Leſly.

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conſumed. So ſoon as *Leſly* became Maſter of the Town, Guards were ſet to oppoſe any Sally from the Caſtle, whilſt the Soldiers were Ranſacking the Houſes, unto whom all the Plunder and Pillage was given. In the mean time, Count *Leſly* went to take a view of the Bridge, like which there is none in the World, and of which we have already given a Deſcription in the former part of our Hiſtory: The River *Drave* is not very broad in this place, there being only Sixteen Boats to ſuſtain the Bridge, which the *Turks* had broken down the Day before, looſing them that they might drive down the Stream; the *Chriſtians* endeavoured to recover them the next day following, but could not get aboard for want of ſmaller Boats; nor could they for want of this Bridge, paſs over the *Drave* to burn the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, which on that ſide is Eight thouſand Paces long, and all built of Oak. 'Tis true, Money and good Rewards were offer'd to ſome *French* Soldiers, of the Regiment of *Erbeville*, who with certain *Germans* and *Croats* under-took to paſs the River, and burn a great part of the Bridge; but the Boats on which they endeavoured to paſs were ſo ſmall and leaky, that they ſunk under them, and ſaved themſelves only by Swimming. Howſoever, That part of the Bridge which was on the Town ſide, being Eleven hundred Paces in length, was in a very ſhort time reduced to Aſhes: Whilſt theſe things were acting, a Rumour was ſpread amongſt the Soldiers, that all the Riches of the Paſha, and Moveables of value belonging to the Citizens, were conſerved within the Caſtle; which ſo animated the Soldiers to make an Aſſault up it, that Count *Leſly* could not reſtrain them from running the utmoſt hazard of Storming the place with open Force: But whilſt they were preparing Faggots, and other combuſtible Matter, to fix at the Gate which looks towards the City, a furious Fire took in divers Houſes, cauſed by the Rabble of the Soldiers, which burnt ſo violently, by reaſon that all the Houſes are built with Wood, and the very Streets Planked with Boards and Timber; the Ground being a Clay, and ſort of Owſey Earth, not capable of a Stony Pavement; that there was no poſſibility to quench it, or to Approach near to the Gate of the Caſtle on that ſide, ſo that in a few hours the whole Town was utterly conſumed: Wherefore they fixed ſome artificial Fire to the other Gate, on the Bridge ſide, with which both the Gate and the Bridge burnt together, without much offence to the Defendants within the Caſtle; but rather, the Fire and the Retrenchment made within, ſerved to ſecure them from an Aſſault: Wherefore General *Leſly* thought fit, not to Attempt any thing further upon the Caſtle, but having left all the Town in Ruins, he returned back the next Day to *Turanowitz*, where he had left Two thouſand Men to Guard and Secure the Baggage. With the good News of this Succeſs, Prince *Deichtreſtein* was diſpatched to the Emperor, and for Confirmation thereof, he carried with him five Colours of the Fourteen, which were taken from the *Turks*.

Eſſeck *burnt.*

Schultz *before Eſperies.*

Whilſt theſe matters were acting to the advancement and Glory of the *Chriſtian* Arms, General *Schultz* on the 19*th* of *July*, began to lay Siege to the Town of *Eſperies*, and by the 8*th* of *Auguſt* had formed all his Works, Trenches, and raiſed his Batteries, and threw ſuch quantities of Bombs and Carcaſſes into the Town, that it took Fire in divers places. *Eſperies* is a City of *Hungary*, in the County of *Sarax*, very well fortified, Situate on the River of *Tarbez* towards the Mountains, and on the Frontiers of *Poland*; and hath always been conſider'd by the Malecontents as a ſtrong place, and of great importance to them: The Garriſon conſiſted of a Thouſand Soldiers, all ſtout and brave Men, and more reſolute than the *Turks*; for the Malecontents having been provoked by the ill uſage, which the Emperor guided by his evil Council had put upon them, were always more obſtinate and fierce in Fight; either, becauſe they were made Angry by Oppreſſion, or became deſperate, and out of all hopes to obtain Pardon from the Emperor: Some Attempts were made by *Tekeli* to Reinforce the Garriſon with Six hundred Men, but they were prevented and beaten back; and the Beſieged made their Sallies, but with ill Succeſs, which moved them on the 16*th* to diſplay a white Flag in token of a Parly; but ſo ſoon, as ſome Soldiers and Officers came near to receive their Offers, they with-drew their Flag and Fired upon them, killing a Lieutenant and four Soldiers. *Schultz* being juſtly incenſed with this Treacherous Action, omitted nothing which might deſtroy the Enemy: He continually threw Bombs into the Town, and Batter'd the Walls; and having opened a Breach, an Aſſault was made, but his Soldiers were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. After which a Mine being formed, and ready to Spring, the Malecontents on the 10*th* of *September* deſired a Parly; but their late act of Treachery made the Imperialiſts more cautious in their Dealing with them, and to give them no anſwer, until they had ſent two Officers for Hoſtages; thoſe in the Town refuſing ſo to do, the General more furiouſly plied his Cannon and Bombs than before.

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Capitulations made.

before. But at length, the Governour being made ſenſible of the impoſſibility of defending the Place much longer; deſired to Capitulate, and ſent Hoſtages for aſſurance of the Treaty, which was concluded on the 18*th* of *September*, on theſe following Articles.

Firſt, *That the Commander, and ſeveral of the Officers and Soldiers being* Germans, *ſhould be received into the Service of the Emperor, and be advanced a Month's Pay.*

Secondly, *That ſuch as were not willing to enter into the Emperor's Service might have liberty to return to* Tekeli, *and to have ſafe Conduct into his Quarters.*

Thirdly, *That the Inhabitants ſhould have a free Exerciſe of their Religion, and that the Churches and Schools ſhould remain in the ſame Condition, as before, and enjoy the like Freedom and Liberty, as thoſe did, which had on the ſame Agreement and Articles ſubmitted to the Emperor.*

Fourthly, *That the Nobility might be reſtor'd to their Eſtates, and having taken a new Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor, might quietly enjoy the Privileges belonging to Noble Perſons.*

Fifthly, *That the Magiſtrates of the Town, and Judges ſhall continue in their reſpective Offices, and Places of Truſt.*

Sixthly, *That the City ſhall be conſerved and exempted from the Plunder of the Soldiery. And finally, That theſe particulars ſhall be approved and ratiſied by the Emperor.*

The German Soldiers belonging to the Garriſon endeavour to Plunder.

Theſe Articles being agreed, a Surrender was made; but with much difficulty could General *Schultz*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* reſtrain the *German* Soldiers, who belonged to the Garriſon, and had taken part with *Tekeli*, from Plundering the Town: For they being inform'd of the many Succeſſes of the Imperial Arms, were deſirous to ſhew their Zeal to the Cauſe of the Emperor, and ſo ſignalize the Return to their Duty and Allegiance, by opening the great Gate of the City to the Soldiers of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with liberty to Plunder and Spoil together with themſelves; but General *Schultz* and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* being reſolved to maintain the Articles, Order'd two Officers with a Thouſand Men to Enter by the Breach, and at the Poſtern Gate; whilſt the Duke of *Wirtemberg* with Two hundred Men joyned with the *Germans* of the Garriſon, and together marched into the Town. Theſe *Germans* were ſo Zealous to teſtify their Loyalty and Kindneſs to their Country Men, That they invite them to fall upon the Spoil, and to Plunder with them; but by the care and good conduct of the Generals a ſtop was put thereunto, and the Town preſerved from Pillage, according to the Tenure of the Capitulations.

1685.

Proviſions and Ammunition in the Town.

The Day following General *Schultz* enter'd the Town, and cauſed the Ditch to be cleared of the dead Bodies, and the ſame to be decently Interr'd; and the Breach with all poſſible ſpeed to be repair'd. On the Walls were found Thirty Pieces of Cannon mounted, with a Mortar-piece carrying Sixty pounds Weight, and ſeveral Thouſands of Cannon Bullets, the greateſt part of which were Caſt by the Imperialiſts in the time of the late Siege; when the Town was taken by *Tekeli* in the Year 1678. There was no want of Proviſions in the Town, nor of Powder, of which there was One hundred and twenty one pounds weight. The *Germans* who were Two hundred and ſeventy in number, of which Thirty were Dragoons, were Liſted into the Emperor's Service, as alſo the greateſt part of the *Talpazzi*, a ſort of *Hungarian* Soldiers under their *Hadnag* or Captain. The others which were but Eleven, Swore never to Fight more againſt his Imperial Majeſty, but to return home, and live quietly and in peace amongſt their Neighbours. Such vertue and power hath good fortune, and ſucceſs in War, that it not only ſubdues by Force of Arms, but converts the Minds of Mankind, making them wiſe and gentle, free from Paſſion and Maſters of Reaſon.

Caſſovia.

The taking of *Eſperies* was followed by that of *Caſſovia*, which contrary to the Expectation of the Court at *Vienna* held out a formal Siege, and made a Vigorous Reſiſtance. *Caſſovia* called by the *Hungarians Caſchaw*, is the Capital City of the County of *Abanwivar*; it is very well fortified, being Situate on the River of *Kunnert*, which empties it ſelf into the *Tibiſcus*. Tho it be a Town which enjoys great Privileges, yet it hath long acknowledged and ſubmitted to the Emperor, as King of *Hungary*; but in *Auguſt* 1682, it was unhappily taken, and poſſeſſed by *Tekeli* and his Party, and continued firm to them until this Year 1685.

Caprara Beſieges Caſſovia.

When on the 6*th* of the Month of *October*, Count *Caprara* appear'd with his Army before *Caſſovia*, and immediately raiſed two Batteries, from which he warmly plied his Cannon and Mortars upon the Town; the like was return'd from thence upon the Beſiegers with much more Damage. The Garriſon within the Town, conſiſted only at firſt of Four hundred Soldiers beſides the Citizens, who were reſolved to hold out unto the laſt Extremity. The Count *Peterhaſi*, who was a valiant Man,

1685. and the beſt Soldier of all thoſe belonging to *Tekeli*, had made ſome overtures of returning to his Obedience, and to the Allegiance which he owed unto the Emperor; but all proved nothing but a mere Plot, and deſign to convey himſelf with Seven hundred Men into the Town: The which having ſucceeded according to his deſire, the Defendants were greatly thereby Reinforced, and animated to make a more Vigorous Reſiſtance than could be expected.

Peterhaſi *relieves* Caſſovia.

For on the 8*th* the Beſieged made a Sally and paſſed far within the Trenches; and thô they were forced at length to Retire, yet above Eighty Men were killed on both ſides. On the 14*th*, Count *Caprara* Summoned the Town, and received a fierce and diſdainful Anſwer; and the ſame Day three or four Sallies more were made, in which many were Slain, and amongſt the reſt the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality. In the mean time General *Schultz* took the Caſtles of *Kalo*, *Ibrano* and *Vibel* belonging to *Tekeli*; as the Generals *Heuſler*, and *Mercy* had done of all the ſmall Places about *Erla*, for better convenience and enlargement of Winter-quarters.

1685. Count *Caprara* continued ſtill to Batter the Town, but with little effect, in regard the Garriſon within was ſtrong and reſolute: And the differences which happen'd between General *Schultz* and *Caprara*, were great obſtructions to the Surrender of that place: But at length an accommodation, and good underſtanding being made between thoſe two Generals, *Schultz* came to the Siege, and joyned his Army with that of *Caprara*, with which united Force a vigorous Attack being made, the City came to Terms of Treaty, and Surrender'd on the 25*th* Day of this Month of *October*.

Caſſovia *ſurrendred.*

Thus have we related the particulars of all the moſt Glorious Succeſſes, with which the Imperial Arms were bleſſed this Year in *Hungary*; which we have done ſo Amply, that we ſhall not need to add much more thereunto, until we have given an Account of the Progreſs of the *Venetian* Arms, which though very proſperous and conſiderable this Year in the *Morea*; yet we thought not fit to interrupt the Story of the dreadful Wars in *Hungary*, by a Digreſſion to any other Action.

THE

THE
Venetian Succeſſes
AGAINST
The TURKS, 1685.

1685.

WHILST the *Morlaques* retained in the Service of the Republick of *Venice*, made frequent Incurſions and Spoyls on the *Turks* in *Dalmatia*; The *Mainiotes*, (who are another ſort of People, much like the *Morlaques*) being animated with the Venetian Succeſſes, began to take up Arms againſt the *Turks*: But for better underſtanding of what is to follow, we will deſcribe a little the Countries and Humours of theſe two People. The *Morlaques* are a People who inhabit the Mountains of *Croatia*, on that ſide which looks towards the Adriatick Sea. In the Year 1647, the Paſha of *Boſna* and *Tekeli*, Father or Grand-father of the famous *Tekeli* of theſe Times, committed a Maſſacre upon many of theſe poor People at *Knin*; in reſentment whereof, at the inſtance of a certain Prieſt called *Stephen Horien*, who could mannage his Sword as well as his Crucifix, wholly ſubmitted themſelves to the *Venetians*, and deſired to live under their Protection: They receive no Pay from them, but have the Reward of a *Sequin* (which is Nine Shillings Six-pence *Engliſh*) for the Head of every *Turk* which they bring to the Venetian Officers; for Lucre of which, they have made ſuch conſtant Enterpriſes upon the *Turks*, and ſuch cruel Slaughters, as have rendred them irreconcilable Enemies to the Port. They are a ſort of Militia always on the Wing, under no Diſcipline but their own, encamp on the Plains, but live with their Families in the Mountains, avoiding the Licentiouſneſs which much Converſation brings, and the Luxury of Cities: They have no Learning amongſt them, nor underſtand much what belongs to keeping Faith or Promiſes with an Enemy, as appears by their dealing with the *Turks* of the Garriſon of *Cliſſa*, which in the Year 1648, having ſurrendred it ſelf up to the *Venetians* on Capitulations, as the Soldiers were marching out of the Town, they fell upon them, and killed Twelve hundred Men; and not one of the reſt had eſcaped, had not the Venetian Officers interpoſed their Perſons and Authority to ſave thoſe who as yet ſurvived.

The Morlaques.

1685.

The *Mainiotes* are in their Manners and Honeſty not much differing from the *Morlaques*, thô much diſtant from their Country. They are called *Mainiotes* from *Braccio di Maina*, or an Arm of Land in the *Morea*, ſtretching it ſelf out into the Sea, ſo called by the *Venetians*, but anciently part of the Country of the *Lacedemonians*: Theſe People by their nearneſs to the Sea, and ruggedneſs of their Mountains, have in deſpight of the *Turkiſh* Arms, conſerved themſelves after the manner of the Ancient *Greeks*, in form of a Republick, whereby they had ſome kind of Government and Juſtice amongſt themſelves, thô they entertained a *Turkiſh* Aga or Lord, rather out of Reſpect to the *Turks*, than Subjection; but as to other People, they lived upon the Spoil, keeping no honeſt Intercourſe with them, unleſs with the *Venetians*, whom they feared, becauſe of their Gallies which frequented their Ports. In the Iſle of *Cervi*, which belongs to them, and about Cape St. *Angelo*, which is oppoſite to the Iſle of *Cerigo*, they maintain ſeveral Brigantines; with which, when thy take *Chriſtians*, they tranſport them over to *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, where they find a Market for them; and when they have the fortune to ſeize *Turks*, they ſell them to *Venice*, or to *Malta*; and ſo are Free-booters on all ſides; I could of my own Knowledge, give diverſe Inſtances of their way of Trading, and of their Treatment uſed towards ſome *Engliſhmen* of my

The Mainiotes.

own

1685. own Company, who unadviſedly and without due regard, ſet footing on their Land; but becauſe it is not material to our preſent Diſcourſe, and would be too great a Deviation from our preſent Hiſtory, we ſhall wave all that, and proceed to ſhew, That the *Mainiotes* hearing of the ill Succeſs of the *Turks* in all places, and that their Fortune was changed, declared for the *Venetians*, to whom they were more inclined on account of the Chriſtian Religion, profeſſing to be of the *Greek* Church, and to follow that Party and Intereſt which they obſerved to be in the moſt thriving Condition. The *Turks* to prevent the Revolt of the *Mainiotes*, ſent ſome Forces to reduce them; but they being ſupported by *Venetian* Succours, under Seignior *Delfino*, withſtood the *Turks*, and charged them with ſo much Vigour, that of Three thouſand five hundred Men, there eſcaped but an Hundred and Forty, all the reſt being either killed or taken. The News hereof encouraged the *Greeks* of *Monte Nero*, which is a Mountain in the *Morea*, to deſcend and Combate with the *Turks* on the Plains, in which Fight many were killed and wounded on both ſides.

The Mainiotes *worſt the* Turks.

In the mean time *Paulo Michiel*, a noble *Venetian*, with a Thouſand Horſe and ſome Foot joyned with Three thouſand *Morlaques*, made Incurſions into the Country round about. The Paſha of *Boſna*, who with Seven thouſand Men was on his March towards *Hungary*, alarum'd by theſe Forces, returned back to *Clin*, for Conſervation of his own Country: And having alter'd the Deſign and Expedition of that Year, he reſolved to wage War nearer home in *Dalmatia*, and accordingly ſent Eight thouſand Men to lay Siege to the Fortreſs of *Duare*. The Place defending it ſelf with great Reſolution, gave time and opportunity to the Generals, *Valier* and *Michael*, to come to its Relief; which they performed ſo effectually, that in leſs than an Hour's time the *Turks* were obliged to raiſe the Siege, with the loſs of Two hundred and fifty Men killed, and Seventy Priſoners taken; and on the *Chriſtians* ſide no more than ſix were ſlain, and about thirty wounded. The *Morlaques* continued the Purſuit, and routed the Paſha of *Boſna* himſelf, who with a Body of Four thouſand Horſe was marching towards *Duare*, to maintain the Siege. Theſe were Preludes to greater Matters, which were then acting by the *Venetian* Fleet, and groſs of the Army under the auſpicious Conduct of *Franceſco Moroſini*, Captain General of the *Venetian* Forces both by Sea and Land: For the Fleet being compleatly equipp'd and furniſhed with all Neceſſaries, both for the Services of Land and Sea, joyned with the Gallies belonging to the Pope, to *Malta*, and to the Duke of *Florence*; all which together compoſed a Fleet conſiſting of Five Galeaſſes, Thirty ſeven Gallies, Twelve Galleots, Twelve Men of War, Four Petaches, Three Pinks, and Three *Tartans*; beſides, Twenty two ſtout Ships of War, which triumphantly Sailed into the *Archipelago*, under the Command of *Alexander Molino*, and *Girolamo Delfin*, two Noblemen of *Venice*. The Gallies of *Tuſcany* were four, Commanded by Admiral *Guidi*, on which were Three hundred Land Soldiers, under *Prior Vandomi*. The Pope's Gallies were five in number, which carrying no Flag, joyned to the eight Gallies of *Malta*, and compoſed one Squadron together, under the Command of *Prior Brancaccio*, who had the Title of General, under whom was Cavalier *Malaſpina*, Director of the Eccleſiaſtical Gallies: Upon the Pope's Gallies were Three hundred Land Soldiers; and on thoſe of *Malta* were a Thouſand, including the Knights themſelves, Commanded by their General *Le Tour*, who by many brave Actions had ſignalized himſelf in the laſt famous Siege of the City of *Candia*. The other Land Forces, were Three thouſand *Italians*, One thouſand *Sclavonians*, and about Two thouſand Four hundred *Germans*, under Command of Prince *Maximilian William* of *Brunſwick*; all which together made up Eight thouſand Foot, beſides Horſe, and beſides ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who were Voluntiers, and amongſt the reſt Prince *Philip* of *Savoy*, a valiant and a generous Prince; all which Land-forces were Commanded by Count St. *Paul*, a General of great Ability and Experience, having for a long time ſerved the King of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Newburg*. Theſe Forces being joyned in the Port of *Dragomeſtre*, which was the Place appointed for their general Rendezvous; a Council of War was held, where it was reſolved to Sail to Cape *Sapienza*, both to make a Diverſion of the *Turkiſh* Forces, which in great numbers were aſſembled about *Patras*, and to confirm the *Mainiotes* to continue firm to the *Venetians*; but it ſeems their Succeſſes were different to their firſt beginnings, for the *Venetians* having with-drawn their Forces from them, they were over-powred by the *Turks*, and compelled to give Hoſtages for their future Faithfulneſs and Alliance to them.

Duare *beſieged and relieved.*

1685.

The Venetian Fleet and Auxiliaries.

The Guard and Care of *Santa Maura* and *Preveza*, being committed to *Giacomo Cornaro*, Proveditor General of the Iſlands, the Fleet, as was agreed, failed for the Waters of *Sapienza*, from whence a Meſſenger was diſpatched to the *Mainiotes*, encouraging them once more to make a Defection from the *Turks*, which they promiſed to do in deſpight of their late Agreement and Hoſtages given, being reſolved upon any Terms whatſoever to free themſelves from their Servitude to the *Turks*. In the mean time, a Council of War being called, it was put to the Queſtion, Whether they ſhould Beſiege *Modon*, *Coron* or *Navarin*; after ſome Debate thereupon, it was unanimouſly concluded, that *Coron* ſhould be the Place firſt to be inveſted, being the moſt feaſible Enterpriſe of any, and the moſt probable to ſucceed; and being neareſt to the *Mainiotes*, was the more commodious for keeping them firm and conſtant to the Republick: So ſoon as this Matter was reſolved, the Fleet weighed Anchor, and ſteered their courſe directly to the Place.

The Fleet Sails to Coron.

Coron *deſcribed.*

Coron is a Fortreſs ſituate in *Meſſenia*, one of the Provinces of the *Morea*; it is built in a triangular Form, after the ancient Faſhion, on a Promontory of Land, and is fortifyed with ſix Towers and a Caſtle. The Walls are high and thick, made of large ſquare Stones; the lower Town is inhabited by *Greeks* and *Jews*, and the Caſtle by the *Turks*: It is diſtant about twelve Miles from *Modon*, which together with *Coron*, belonged anciently to the *Venetians*; but were taken from them by *Bajazet*, in the Year 1499: After which, Prince *Doria* of *Genoua*, Commander of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, retook it from the *Turks* in the Year 1533; and having left one *Mendoza* therein Governour, with a mean Garriſon of *Spaniards*, it was in ſome few Years afterwards ſurrendred to the *Turks*, who knowing the Importance of the Place, have ever ſince that time conſerved it in their Hands until this Year 1685. When on the 25*th* of *June*, the Captain General *Moroſini*, in the Morning, landed his Forces almoſt within Cannon-ſhot of the Place, without any Oppoſition from the *Turks*, and approach'd the City under the ſhelter of ſome Olive-trees.

The Venetians land their Men, and open their Trenches.

On the 26*th* they began to open the Trenches, and to ſtreighten the Enemy on the ſide towards the Land: The Battallion of *Malta*, thoſe of *Brunſwick*, and the Pope's Forces, were poſted on the Right-hand towards the Sea, and the *Venetians* and *Sclavonians* on the Left towards a Suburb or Out-town, of which they made themſelves Maſters without oppoſition: The Works alſo went forward without much Interruption; and two Batteries were raiſed, each of four great Pieces of Cannon, with four Mortars for Bombs. In the mean time the Captain General kept the Place blocked up by Sea, that no Relief or Succours could come to it; and diſpeeded the Squadrons of *Tuſcany*, with that under the Captain of the *Gulf*, to Cruiſe towards the *Levant*: And becauſe the Tower of the Fort erected to the Sea, incommoded the Fleet, Order was given to *Andrea Navager* and *Aguſtin Sagredo*, the Captains of two Galeaſſes, with four principal Gallies to approach near, and to Batter the Tower, which was performed with good Effect and great Execution. The Works were continued with great Induſtry and Labour, and the Compleating of them haſtned with the more expedition, by reaſon that News was brought to the Camp, that the Paſha of the *Morea*, with a Body of Three or Four thouſand Horſe and Foot were aſſembling together to raiſe the Siege; to oppoſe which with the more advantage, all the Olive-trees near the Town were cut down, and a large Field and Campaign opened without any ſhelter for the Enemy. Notwithſtanding which, they were much encouraged in the Town, by Letters privately conveyed therein, giving them hopes from the Paſha of ſpeedy Relief; in expectation whereof, they returned an obſtinate and a rugged Anſwer to the Summons which the Captain Paſha had ſent them, ſignifying that the Fortreſs belonged to the Grand Seignior, which they were reſolved to defend, ſo long as one Stone thereof remained on the other. Nor were the Beſieged therein deceived; for the Captain General by moſt certain Intelligence was informed, that in the parts near to *Lepanto* and *Patras* Three thouſand *Turks* were got into a Body; and that ſome few Days before, Twelve hundred were upon the March under *Muſtapha* Paſha, and that the others commanded by *Halin* Paſha were following them with all expedition, and already on their March.

The Turks *march to relieve the Place.*

On the 7*th* of *July* in the Morning, a conſiderable Body of *Turks* appeared about two Miles diſtant from the Trenches, advancing ſlowly and with Circumſpection on their Way thither; the Number and Quality of which, (as was adviſed by a *Janiſary*, who was a Fugitive from the Enemy) were Five hundred Horſe, One hundred *Janiſaries*, Four hundred *Segmen*, beſides Two hundred more who were ſupplied from *Modon*, and gathered from the adjacent Villages, beſides a Thouſand more not far diſtant; and the Three thouſand *Turks*, who had lately muſtered near *Lepanto* and *Patras*, were alſo on their March with the ſame Deſign of Relieving the Town. As theſe Forces advanced nearer to the *Venetians*, Skirmiſhes daily happened, in which the *Turks* were for the moſt part worſted; and in regard *Siaus* Paſha found himſelf much weaker than the *Chriſtians*, he iſſued his Commands into all Parts near to *Calamata* and *Miſitra*, and the Parts adjacent, requiring them to ſend a Man out of every Houſe, with Mattock and Shovel, to level the Ways, and render them more paſſable

Siaus *Paſha.*

and commodious for Tranſportation of Cannon, which he intended to plant on a Battery, deſigned to annoy the *Venetian* Fortifications: To Countermand which, the *Chriſtian* Ingeniers projecting where to erect another Battery to offend that which the *Turks* were deſigning, raiſed one in a very ſhort time, with three Pieces of Cannon on the higheſt Port, where the Forces of *Brunſwick* were lodged, which did great Execution, not only offending the new Battery of the *Turks*, but likewiſe the whole Camp.

The Paſha of the Morea fortifies his Camp.

The Paſha being come up with all his Forces very near to the *Venetian* Leaguer, fortified himſelf with a good Retrenchment; and with the Battery he had raiſed of four Pieces of Cannon, he plaid croſs-wiſe, which much incommoded the *Chriſtian* Camp, and the two Armies lying ſo near each to the other, it was impoſſible but Alarums muſt be continually given on both ſides, and daily Skirmiſhes muſt happen with various Succeſſes. The Beſieged being herewith encouraged, redoubled their Fire, and ſeemed neither to fear Aſſaults, nor the Springing of Mines, which being to be penetrated through a hard Rock, took up no leſs than three Weeks time to perfect. The Fortifications of the Place, thô much ruin'd by the Batteries, and much Damage cauſed by the Bombs, yet the Situation thereof was advantageous, being placed on a Rock, flanked with great Towers, defended with eighty Pieces of Cannon, with ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſion of all ſorts, and a good Garriſon within of Eight hundred Men, beſides many others fit to bear Arms; it ſeemed impoſſible to become Maſters of the Town, but by opening a wide Breach with Batteries and Mines, entring thereat with a vigorous Aſſault; during which they were to expect an Attack from the *Turkiſh* Army, which lay near them, and in a manner Beſieged them.

Mines prepared.

Orders for an Aſſault.

The Turks *take a Fort from the* Venetians.

La Tour killed,

with many other Knights of Malta.

They regain the Fort.

This poſture of Affairs gave ſome Trouble to the *Chriſtian* Generals, in what manner to offend the one, and at the ſame time to defend from the other; for the Mines were all ready, one under the great Tower, contrived and mannaged by the direction of the Ingenier *Baſſignani*; and the other oppoſite unto it, near the Attack of *Brunſwick* and *Malta* by Ingenier *Verneda*. And now to put theſe Matters in Execution, the Captain General *Moroſini* came on ſhoar, and having called a Council of War, it was thereat agreed, That the Day following being the 24*th* of *July*, a general Aſſault ſhould be made, and the Mine of *Verneda* ſhould in the firſt place be fired: All things were accordingly prepared; *Segres* a Knight of *Malta*, was to begin the Aſſault at the head of Sixty Granadiers, ſeconded by a Detachment of Fuſeliers and *Sclavonians*: *La Barre* Lieutenant General of the Battalion of *Malta*, was to follow the Chevalier *de Refuge*, at the head of the Pope's and Venetian Forces; theſe were to be ſeconded by the Prince of *Brunſwick*, with a Hundred and thirty Men, and afterwards followed by Monſieur *de la Tour Maubeuge*, General of *Malta*, with a Body of Knights carrying the Standard of that Order. All things being thus prepared and ordered, the Mine charged with a Hundred Barrels of Powder was fired, which threw up ſome of the Earth, and part of the Wall, but had not force ſufficient to move the Rock, but recoyled and vented it ſelf another way. The *Turks* taking this to be the Signal for an Aſſault, immediately inveſted the Redoubt and Battery, which (as we have ſaid) was erected on a certain Eminence of riſing Ground for ſecurity of the Lines, and ſtormed it ſo vigorouſly, that the *Venetians* and *Sclavonians*, who had the Defence thereof, were forced to give way and quit the Station, and the *Turks* remaining Maſters thereof, planted twenty of their Colours thereon, to the great Encouragement of the Beſieged. Monſieur *de la Tour*, who with his Knights was poſted neareſt to the Redoubt, conſidering that the *Turks* could not be permitted to remain in Poſſeſſion thereof without great Annoyance to the whole Camp; and that the ſame was not to be recovered without ſome extraordinary and ſignal Action; he without farther delay, called his Men about him, and with much Haſt and Bravery, which was natural to him, advanced towards the Enemy, and was the firſt who leaped into the Redoubt, and with his own Hand killed two *Turks*, who oppoſed him; a third coming behind him, threw off a light Helmet which he wore, and gave him a cut over the Head with his Cymeter, with which he fell to the Ground; and having received two other Wounds, from whence much Blood iſſued, his Companions deſigned to have carried him off, but were prevented by a Barrel of Powder, which accidently taking fire, carried him nearer towards Heaven, a Place deſigned for him in Reward of his Religion and Vertues. He was followed cloſe by ſeveral Knights, namely, by *de Termes*, a moſt valiant Perſon, who was alſo ſlain, as was *Michon* by a Muſquet-ſhot: *Gramont* received two Wounds with a Cymeter and a Muſquet-ſhot; *Bourgon*, *de Galliard*, & *de la Motta*, were mortally wounded, beſides many others, who ſo ſignalized themſelves in this Action, that they drove the Enemy headlong from the Redoubt, took eleven of their Colours, and in place thereof planted the Standard of the Order of *Malta*, at the ſight whereof all the Army with a loud ſhout cried, *Viva Malta*, or

May

1685.

May Malta live. The *Venetians* and *Sclavonians*, animated with this Succeſs returned to their wonted Courage, and killed Three hundred *Turks*, who had lodged themſelves in the Redoubt, ſuffering none of them to Eſcape. The Fight being ended, the *Venetians* expoſed the Banners they had taken from the Enemy, with One hundred and thirty Heads in view of the Beſieged, who being nothing affrighted herewith continued ſtill with much Valour and Reſolution to maintain their Fortreſs. The Death of General *de la Tour*, was lamented by all the Army, and eſpecially by the Captain General *Moroſini*: His Funeral Rites were celebrated with all the decency, and ceremony belonging to a Commander, whoſe Merits and Valour had made a deep Impreſſion in the Minds of his Soldiery; for the Sweetneſs of his Temper, with his modeſt and engaging Deportment, had made his Converſation agreeable to all that knew him. His Heart and Bones were Embalm'd, to be carried to *Malta*, where afterwards they were Interr'd. The Cavalier *de la Barre* being the next in place, was preferr'd to his Command of the Battalion, a Perſon qualified in all reſpects to ſucceed ſo worthy a Predeceſſour, having acquired a general eſteem by the bravery of his Actions, and long experience in the War.

The bravery of the Forces of Malta.

Notwithſtanding the repulſe which the *Turks* had received from the Redoubt, they returned again to make freſh Attempts upon the Lines, and with redoubled Force, having their Cymeters in their Hands they caſt themſelves once more into the Fort, which was call'd St. *John*'s Fort, by reaſon that it had been preſerved by the Valour of thoſe Knights, who had the good Fortune to drive them once more from thence; by which and ſeveral other Actions of Chivalry, they became ſo formidable to the *Turks*, that they would Fly before them, ſo ſoon, as they ſaw the Standard of St. *John* advance. The Mine of *Vernèda*, having (as we have ſaid) recoyled without much effect; Conſiderations were had of Firing the other of *Baſignani*, charged with Two hundred Barrels of Powder, and thereupon to proceed to a General Aſſault: But in reguard the *Turks* in the Camp, who were now grown to Six thouſand Men, were ready on ſuch an occaſion, immediately to fall upon the Aſſailants; it was agreed as abſolutely neceſſary to give them Battle, and drive them out of their Works, before it could be ſafe, or poſſible to Storm the Breaches.

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Whilſt theſe Matters were under Conſideration, two of the Rulers of the *Mainotes*, or grave Councellors (called by them *Vecchiardi*) happily came to the Captain General on the *5th* of *Auguſt*, to offer to him in the name of their People a Recruit of Fifteen hundred Men, which were kindly accepted, and the Meſſengers treated with all imaginable Civility, and the next Day the Captain of the *Gulf*, with four Gallies was ſent to Tranſport them to the Camp. In the mean time, the *Turks* daily receiving new Recruits and Refreſhments, from divers parts of the *Morea*, infeſted continually the *Chriſtians* in their Works: The Defendants alſo let down ſmall Parties by Night from the Walls of the Town, who covering them under the Rocks, and in Holes, Fired upon the Guards; and being good Marks-men, and ſhooting with Art, ſeldom miſſed the Man they aimed at; and being nimble and active Men, skipt over the Rocks and made their Eſcape. By Night they threw their Artificial Fires from the Walls into the Trenches, which eaſily ſeized the Beams and Coverings, made of *Olive-tree* and Rafters of old Houſes, taken from a Neighbouring Village, which burned ſo impetuouſly, that with great difficulty the Fire was quenched; in doing which the *Chriſtians* were expoſed to the ſmall Shot from the Walls, which by the light of the Fire they poured upon them. Their numbers thus daily decreaſing by thoſe who were Slain, Sick and Wounded, there ſeemed a kind of neceſſity of performing ſpeedily ſome conſiderable Feat of Arms, before they languiſhed, and conſumed away in their Trenches; and before the new Re-inforcements were come from the Captain Paſha; who, as it was ſaid, was already arrived with his Fleet in ſome part of the *Morea*. This Council being agreed, as neceſſary by all the Chief Officers; The Captain General ſelected out of the *Venetain* Gallies and Galliots Fifteen hundred *Levents*, or Soldiers belonging to the Fleet, who were ſtout and robuſt Fellows, under Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Magnanin*; whom he commanded ſilently to Land after Mid-night; Twelve hundred whereof were to take their way towards the Enemies Trenches on the left Hand, at the opening into a Vally, and the remaining Three hundred to the right Hand; and to confound the Enemy the more, the Fleet was ordered to weigh Anchor, and move from their uſual Station. At the ſame time Three thouſand choiſe Soldiers under command of General St. *Paul*, were appointed to march out of their Line; and on the *7th* of *Auguſt* by break of day in the Morning to Attack the Enemy in their Trenches, who were more numerous in their Men than the *Chriſtians*, and had much the advantage over them by their Horſe: All things were punctually obſerved, and executed accordingly;

The Venetians annoyed in their Trenches.

An attempt reſolved on the Turkiſh Camp.

The Turks *defeated.*

ly; And on the *7th* Day, with the dawning of the Morning, the Signal was given by Firing two Barrels of Powder under the Breach, which was immediately followed by all the Cannon of the Fleet and Camp; and with ſuch thick Vollies of ſmall ſhot in the Front from the Three thouſand Men, which had Sallied out of the Line, and from the *Levents*, who had placed themſelves both in the Rear and Flank; that the Enemy believing the *Venetian* Camp to be much augmented by the acceſſion of the *Mainiotes*, and other Auxiliaries, affrighted with a panick fear, put themſelves generally to Flight: Thoſe who were more couragious and ſtood the Brunt, were not able to reſiſt long, but either were beaten, and trampled down by their Fellows, or killed by the *Venetians*, who purſued the Flying Enemy, as far as they could without Horſe, leaving the Ground cover'd with dead Bodies and with Blood.

The Booty taken.

This Victory was the more remarkable, becauſe it was obtained on the *7th* of *Auguſt*, which was the ſame Day of the paſt Year, on which *Santa Maura* was taken. The Booty was very conſiderable; for beſides the Artillery, Arms and Ammunition of all ſorts, with ſtore of Proviſions, the *Turks* left Three hundred Horſe behind them, which they had not time to mount with their Tents and Colours, and two Horſe Tails, which are the Enſigns of *Siaus* Paſha, who alſo fell in this Action: All the Artillery was taken, amongſt which were ſix Pieces of Braſs Cannon, three whereof were marked with the Arms of the Republick.

Preparations for a new Aſſault.

Aug. 11th.

A Mine ſprung.

The Day following the Captain of the *Gulf* emploied (as we have ſaid) to bring Fifteen hundred *Mainiotes* to the Camp, arrived with Three hundred only: And on the *9th*, the Commander in chief of the Forces belonging to the great Duke of *Toſcany*, alledging that the Term of his Commiſſion was expir'd, and that he was not authorized to remain longer at the Siege, he was licenſed by the Captain General to depart, and a Farewel taken with all expreſſions of kindneſs and civility. And now to complete and conſummate theſe Succeſſes by taking the Fortreſs, which was the chief and principal deſign of this Campaign; all induſtry and care was uſed to clear the Paſſage of the Rocks, Rubbiſh and other impediments which lay in the Way, on the ſide of the Attack of *Brunſwick* and *Malta*. And on the other ſide towards the *Venetian* Attack, to lay open, and widen the principal of the three Chambers of the Gallery, which was formed by the Engenier *Baſſignani*, and thereby to make an entrance ſo far, as was poſſible under the chief Bulwark: This work was ſo induſtriouſly carried on, that on the *10th* of this Month of *Auguſt* the Mine was finiſhed, and charged with Two hundred and fifty Barrels of Powder, which were found in the *Turkiſh* Camp. And that Evening at a Council of War, at which the Captain General, and all the principal Officers were preſent, it was agreed next Morning by break of day to give Fire to the Mine and make a General Aſſault: Accordingly on the *11th* the Troops being drawn into Battalia, the Mine was fired, which had it's due effect, overthrowing the Bulwark, and widening the Breach, and blowing up all the Garriſon which defended that part, into the Air, and not without hurt to many of the *Venetian* Soldiers, who were neareſt to the Mine, and ready to ſecond the Mine with an Aſſault.

An Attack on the Venetian *ſide.*

An Attack *on the ſide of* Malta.

So ſoon as the Blow was given, the *Italian* Troops commanded by Serjeant Major *Jovij*, with much Courage and Reſolution proceeded to the Aſſault, in the Front of which was Captain *Marco Ferri*, a Perſon who had greatly ſignalized himſelf at the Siege of *Candia*; and from thence, and from other places had brought many Scars and Wounds, which were ſo many Signs and Marks of Honour. The Aſſailants were received with Bravery by the Defendants; Howſoever, an opportunity was given them to Enter the City at that time, had they not inſtead of improving the advantage, contented themſelves with a Lodgment on the Breach. At the ſame time, ſo ſoon as the noiſe of the Mine was heard, the Forces of *Malta*, who were at the Head of the other Attack, ſeconded by the Pope's, and thoſe of *Brunſwick*, with great Vigour gained the Top of the Breach, which had been ſome Days open, thô it was of very difficult acceſs, and had been repair'd in ſome manner by the Defendants: Here now began a very furious Fight, in which the Knights behaved themſelves with as much Manhood, and Proweſs as became their Order, endeavouring to force the Retrenchment; but it being well Flank'd and furniſhed with Artillery, they fired ſo terribly upon them, that four of them were killed on the place, and above thirty wounded. The Cavalier *de la Barre*, who commanded that Battalion, behaved himſelf with all the Courage imaginable, and thô ſeconded with like Reſolution by the Pope's Officers, and thoſe of *Brunſwick*, yet they were repulſed and forced to Retire. But the Knights having heard how great a Breach the *Venetian* Mine had made, they reſolved to give a freſh Aſſault in the Afternoon; and in the mean time the *Levents* were Landed from the Galiots, to give better Countenance to this Enterpriſe. All things being prepared accordingly, and the

1685.

A Parly offered.

Troops Marching out of their Lines to attempt the ultimate Aſſault, gave the Beſieged cauſe to believe, that it was not poſſible longer to reſiſt, their Commander in Chief with many others of their principal Officers being buried in the Ruins; they ſpread a White Flag in token of a Parly.

The General St. *Paul* upon ſight hereof, gave a ſtop to the Aſſault; but the Captain General refuſed to accept any Treaty, unleſs the main Tower were in the firſt place delivered into their Hands. But whilſt they were Capitulating on this Preliminary, it unfortunately happened out, that two Soldiers quarrelling together a Piſtol was ſhot off, and the Bandeliers of another Soldier took Fire, which gave ſuch an Alarum to the Beſieged, that they cryed out Treachery, and therewith fired one of their Cannon planted at the entrance of the Breach, laden with ſmall ſhot, which killed ſeveral that were mounted thereon: This Accident was ſufficient to put an end to the Treaty, and incenſe the Soldiery, who tranſported with Fury, broke into the middle of the Town, and with miſerable ſlaughter put Men, Women and Children to the Sword, without any reſpect either to Age, or Sex.

Coron *taken by Storm.*

Thus ended the Siege of *Coron*, on the 11*th* of *Auguſt*, which was Seven and forty Days after the Trenches were opened. It was a Bloody Day to both ſides. The *Chriſtians* loſt about Three hundred Men, but the *Turks* near Three thouſand; all the Inhabitants, as well as the Soldiery being miſerably ſlaughter'd, and the Town committed to the Plunder and Pillage of the Soldiery. After which *Te Deum* being Sung, with other Hymns of Praiſes, and Thanks to Almighty God, the Captain General embraced all the Chief Officers with much affection and kindneſs, as namely the two Princes of *Brunſwick* and *Savoy*, and all the others in their ſeveral Degrees: He declar'd, That Count St. *Paul* with his *Venetians* had gained much Honour; That the young Count of *Brunſwick* had ſignalized himſelf in a particular manner; That the Forces of *Florence* had given good proofs of their Valour, to the time of their Departure, which was ſome Days before the end of the Siege. That the Battalion of *Malta*, which were always joyned with the Pope's Forces deſerved immortal Glory, as did all the Knights, who ſo bravely had ſacrificed their Lives in defence of the Chriſtian Faith; and that the Cavalier *de la Barre*, by many brave Actions had maintained the the ſame Honour which *de la Tour* had gained. He alſo particularly applauded the two Sergeant-Majors of Battalia, *Jovii* and *Aloenago*, the Marquis of *Corbon*, Colonel of Dragoons, with the Ingenier *Baſſignani*, on whom he beſtowed a Gold-chain and a Medal in Reward of the great Service he had done, by well contriving and fortifying the Mine, which gave the ultimate and fatal Blow to the Town. In fine, he beſtowed due Praiſes and Commendations on the inferior Officers and common Soldiers, amongſt whom the Booty of the Town being diſtributed, every one remained entirely ſatisfied. In the Town and Fortreſs thereof were an Hundred twenty eight Pieces of Cannon, of which Seventy were of Braſs, of which, ſome were buried in the Ruins; in digging for which, there was a Stone found with this Inſcription:

1685.

Moroſini *applauds the Valour of his Officers.*

Hoc opus ſieri fecerunt
Magnifici
Et Clariſſimi D. D.
Bernardus Donato
Caſtellanus
Et
Ludovicus Contareno
Capitaneus
Et Proviſores Coroni
M. CCCCLXIII.

Before the Departure of the Captain General, the Government of this important Place was committed to the Care of *Georgio Benzon*, to be Proveditor in extraordinary, and to *Juſtin de Riva* in ordinary. The Super-intendency over the Arms was committed to Count *Alexander Vimes*, and his Brother was declared Governour.

The Pope's Gallies, and thoſe of Malta *return home.*

The Siege of *Coron* being thus honourably concluded, the Prior *Brancaccio*, General of *Malta*, and the Cavalier *Malaſpina Antiano*, Commander of the Pope's Gallies, declared, that the time allotted them for their continuance Abroad by Commiſſion and Inſtruction being expired, they deſired leave to return to their reſpective Countries. The Captain General, who was deſirous to add one brave Action more to the Glories of this Campaign, ſhewed himſelf unwilling to loſe ſo good Company, and ſo great a Diminution of his Forces, inſtantly deſired their Aid and Aſſiſtance for proſecution of a farther Deſign; but they urging that the term of their Commiſſions was already expired, and therefore againſt their own Inclinations, they were obliged to depart, and more-eſpecially that their Forces were more than half diminiſhed, and moſt of their Knights either killed, ſick, or wounded, they at length prevailed with the Captain-General to grant them a Releaſe; from whom having received the Viſits and Complements of Farewel, they ſet Sail on the 22*d* of *Auguſt* at Night; with whom alſo departed General St. *Paul*, a Perſon very aged, and tyred

red with the Toils of the Campaign, had Licenſe given him to eaſe himſelf in the Iſland of *Zant*, as alſo to the Colonel his Son, who had for ſome time laboured under the Indiſpoſitions of a malignant Fever.

The Captain Paſha having received Intelligence of the loſs of *Coron*, ſailed with his Fleet of Gallies in ſight of *Cerigo*, hoping thereby to divert the *Venetians* from attempting farther any Deſign for that Year: But this Sally was only in Bravade, rather than in earneſt; for the *Venetians* were become ſo terrible to them by the late Succeſſes, that the Captain Paſha with fear retired into the Port of *Napoli di Romania*, where, ſo ſoon as he was entred, he drew the Chain croſs the Mouth of the Harbour for Security of his Gallies, and landed the moſt choiſe and ſelect Men of his Militia on the Shoar; where he formed a Camp, as well to receive the ſcattered and diſ-ſpirited Troops, which were fled from before *Coron*, as to give Life and Courage to the affrighted People of thoſe Provinces, and reſtrain the *Mainiotes* from their intended defection from the *Ottoman* Empire; promiſing to remit unto them all the Mony they owed for Charatch or Pole-mony, and to free and exempt them from all ſorts of Taxes and Impoſitions for the three enſuing Years. This Captain Paſha was chief Favourite. The Captain General who was ſtill at *Coron*, repairing thoſe Fortifications with great diligence, ſet Sail to the Coaſt of *Zarnata*, being recruited with the Forces of *Saxony*, which (as we have ſaid) were lately arrived in the Iſland of *Corfu*.

The Captain Paſha retires to Napoli de Romania.

Zarnata

Zarnata is a Fortreſs almoſt of a round Figure: It is naturally ſtrong, being ſituate on a high Hill, but rendred much more conſiderable by Art. The Captain General ſent a Detachment to Summon the Place, which began at the firſt Overture to entertain a Treaty; and thô the groſs of the Venetian Army was not within five Miles of them, and had not as yet made any deſcent; and the Turkiſh Forces, under the Captain Paſha, were much at the ſame diſtance from them: Howſoever, the Aga which govern'd the Place, whether out of fear or affection to the *Chriſtians*, Surrender'd it at the firſt Demand on the 11*th* of *September*. The Garriſon, which conſiſted of Six hundred Men, was embarked, and guarded by a Convoy within a ſmall diſtance from *Calamata*; but the Aga fearing Death for his Cowardice or Treachery, remained in the Venetian Camp, where he was entertained by the Captain General with a Penſion of Thirty Pieces of Eight a Month, after he had received Baptiſm, with Twenty other *Turks*, who were conſenting to the Surrender. In this place were fifty one Pieces of Cannon, Two hundred Quintals of Powder, with great ſtore of Bullets, Ammunition, and other Proviſions: After which, Seignior *Moroſini* put into the Town Two hundred and fifty Foot Soldiers, under Command of the noble *Venetians*, *Bartholomeo Contareni* and *Angelo Emo*.

is yielded.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, the Captain Paſha, who was encamped about five Miles diſtant from *Zarnata*, with Seven thouſand Foot and Three thouſand Horſe; upon News of the Surrender of the Fortreſs, withdrew his Forces under the Cannon of *Calamata*. This fear which the *Turks* ſhewed, animated the *Chriſtians* to adventure a Battle, without which, it was concluded at a Council of War, that nothing could be enterpriſed either towards Subjection of *Calamata*, or any other Town in the *Maina*; upon which Reſolution the *Venetians* landed their Forces on the Shoar of *Agiaſio*, which is ſituate at the entrance of the Province of *Maina*, a Place ſecure and advantagious, having on the Right-hand Mountains, on the Left Woods and Ditches, and on the Front ſeveral little Hills and Torrents of Water. So ſoon as ſome of the Venetian Troops appear'd on the Shoar, the *Turks* advanced to the tops of the Hills, on which they planted forty or fifty Colours or Banners, and about Five or Six hundred of their Horſe placed themſelves under the Hills in the Valley: To diſlodge theſe, and ſecure their own Camp, the *Venetians* had raiſed two Batteries of three Pieces of Cannon each, at the appearance of which, both the Horſe marched away, and the Colours were withdrawn. The *Chriſtians* taking this for an Inſtance of the Enemies fear, the Captain General put his whole Army into Battalia, with the Troops of *Saxony*, conducted by General *Degbenſelt*, an old and experienced Commander, and marched towards the Enemy; and at the ſame time, about a Thouſand *Mainiotes* flanked by Two hundred *Morlaques*, appeared on the top of a Hill to the Right-hand. In this poſture the *Chriſtians* remained all Night, and the next Morning being the 14*th* of *September*, which was the Exaltation of the Holy Croſs, the General gave Orders to the Army to move and attack the Enemy: But the *Turks* not thinking themſelves ſafe under the Walls of *Calamata*, ſet fire to their Magazines, and quitted the Town, making a Retreat with ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes, without much Damage to one ſide or the other. This Retreat or Flight rather, was ſo ſhameful, that the *Chriſtians* believed it at firſt to be ſome Stratagem, and were cautious either to purſue the Enemy, or enter the Town; but at length a Party of *Sclavonians* and *Mainiotes* being commanded to advance to the

The Venetians *land* their *Forces.*

The Captain Paſha put to Flight.

Town,

1685. Town, they obſerved it to flame in diverſe Places; for the Inhabitants finding themſelves abandoned by the Captian Paſha, deſpaired of all Relief, quitted the Town and ſet fire to their Houſes: And thus did the *Chriſtian* Army enter *Calamata*, without any oppoſition. The News of theſe Succeſſes encouraged the *Mainiotes* that they repaired to the Venetian Camp in great numbers; a Party of which was preſently ſent in purſuit of the Enemy. In the Caſtle were only found nine Pieces of Cannon, and thoſe nailed and rendred unſerviceable; the Ammunition was equal to the Arms, and the Place of it ſelf being eſteemed inconſiderable and unfit for a Garriſon, was diſmantled, and the Walls demoliſhed.

Calamata *taken*.

And demoliſhed.

Calamata is ſituate on the River anciently called *Pamiſſus*, or *Paniſſus*, in the Province of *Belvedere*, now *Spirnazza*: The Town is not environed by Walls, but defended by a Caſtle, which was only tenable againſt ſome preſent Incurſion, and for that reaſon, both the *Turks* abandon'd it, and the *Chriſtians* demoliſhed it.

After *Calamata* was taken, the *Venetians* ſeized on *Porto Vitalo*, in which were fifty Pieces of Cannon, ten of ſmaller Artillery, with ſtore of Ammunition. After which the Captain General appearing before *Chielifu*, the Garriſon therein conceiving themſelves in no Condition to make defence Surrender'd upon Articles. *Aſan* Paſha, who was Governour of that place, and of all the Province round, was the firſt to lead the way out of the Town, and being accompanied with a Thouſand People, carried the Keys to the Admiral Gally; Three hundred and fifty of which were Tranſported to the Iſland of *Cervi*, with their Goods and Moveables.

Chielifa *Surrendered.*

During this Summer Seignior *Molino* Commander of Twenty Sail of Ships, employed (as we have ſaid) to Cruiſe in the *Archepelago*, Chaſed the Captain Paſha from place to place, and at length drove him into *Rhodes*, where he ſecured himſelf and his Fleet, with a ſtrong Chain drawn croſs the Harbour, not daring to adventure a-broad, thô the *Venetians* came often to brave him, and challenge him to an Engagement.

The Captain Paſha droven into Rhodes.

Thus ending this Campaign with great Reputation and Glory to the *Venetian* Arms, the Captain General *Moroſini* Sailed for *Corfu*, to take his Winter-quarters there: The Troops of *Brunſwick* were ſent to *Zant*, thoſe of *Saxony* with the Dragoons to *Santa Maura*, and other independent Regiments to *Corfu*, all due care being taken to make Proviſions for their expected Gueſts. Whilſt theſe Forces were drawn into their Winter-quarters, to enjoy ſome eaſe after the labours of War; the Seignior *Molino* Captain extraordinary of the Ships, was appointed for a Guard to the Coaſt, and with his Squadron to Cruiſe near Cape *Sapientia*, and the Gulfs and Narrow Streights in thoſe Seas.

The Captain Geneal draws into Winter-quarters.

1685. But before the Captain General thought fit to lay up his Fleet until the next Seaſon in *Corfu*, he touched at *Santa Maura* and *Preveſa*, to take a View and Survey of the State of thoſe Places; but in his way thither, accidentally putting into the Port of *Gomenizze* with ſome Gallies, he order'd the Proveditor with the reſt of the Fleet to paſs to the other ſide, and beſtow a few Shot upon the Caſtle; which being done, ſome Troops were landed, and marched in Military form towards the Caſtle; upon ſight of which the *Turks* were become ſo Cowardly and Timorous, that they fired one Gun and abandoned the Caſtle, and fled into the neighbouring Mountains and Woods for Refuge. So the *Venetians* took immediate Poſſeſſion of the Fortreſs, in which were Twelve Pieces of Braſs Cannon.

The Venetians take Gomenizze.

This place of it ſelf was of no great conſideration; but in regard it was the Neſt, and Sanctuary for Pyrates and Robbers, who in the times of Peace continually infeſted *Corfu*, *Parga* and *Pazo*, the News thereof was ſatisfactory and pleaſing, to all the Inhabitants of that Coaſt: So that when the Captain General on the 13*th* of *November* enter'd into *Corfu*, he was there received with loud Acclamations, extolling the Glory of his conſtant and continued Succeſſes, with joyful remembrance, and with particular Thanks for having reduced the Caſtle of *Gomenizze*, which had long been an ill Neighbour, and had much annoy'd and infeſted their Seas.

Thus were the Affairs of the *Turks* ruinous as well at Sea as at Land, in *Hungary* and in the *Morea*; the Paſha overthrown at *Eſſeck* was called *Siaus*, and ſo was the Captain Paſha, or Admiral of the Gallies, as if there had been ſomething of Misfortune in the Name. *Siaus*, who was Admiral of the Fleet had formerly been *Moſaip*, or Favourite, and in his younger Years being a comely Perſon, was much beloved by the Grand Seignior; he was always in his Preſence, and ever had the Honour to be Familiar with him in Converſation; to be Clothed like his Maſter, and to Ride equal with him on the right Hand, which is the inferiour place with the *Turks*. But he that had always been educated in a Court, was upon the tryal found unfit, and unable to perform the Office of an Admiral at Sea; and therefore was order'd to leave the care and conduct of the Fleet to *Mazzamama*, ſo called becauſe he had killed his Mother, but he

A Character of the Captain Paſha.

1685.

Mazzamama takes the Command of the Turkiſh Fleet.

he was a good Sea Officer, bred up in the Gallies from his youth, and one of the Beys of the *Archipelago*, of which there are Twenty four in number, who are obliged to Arm, and Man their Gallies at their own Coſt and Charge, having in Conſideration thereof the *Haratch* or Pole-money of the Iſlands, ſetled on them for their Maintenance. He was the Son of a Captain Paſha, killed by the *Engliſh* in Fight at Sea; for which cauſe he hath ever ſince declared his Hatred and Malice againſt our Nation: He was a very fat and corpulent Man, afflicted much with a Fiſtula in *Ano*, which he cheriſhed by exceſſive Eating and a Sedentary Life, uſing no other Exerciſe than what he received by the motion of his Gally.

Siaus Paſha being diſcharged from his Office of Admiral, was made *Generaliſſimo* of all the Land Forces in the *Morea*, but he was as unfit to Command an Army, as he was a Fleet; for he was no Soldier, nor of any experience in a Camp; and beſides he was affected with an incurable Lameneſs in one of his Knees, whereby he could neither Walk, nor mount on Horſe-back without help. His Succeſs was agreeable to his Abilities; for (as we have ſaid) his Forces were defeated, his *Kaya* or Lieutenant killed, and he himſelf with difficulty eſcaped.

When the News of theſe ill Succeſſes came from the *Morea*, *Hungary* and other parts, the Court at *Adrianople* uſed all imaginable Arts to conceal the loſſes; the Curriers were order'd to come privately by Night into the Town, and none durſt to Cabal or Diſcourſe of News, which was the cauſe that nothing but Lies were whiſper'd about the Town. Upon theſe Emergences frequent Councils were held, at which the Mufti, Kadileſchers, or Chief Juſtices, *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State, and *Janizar-Aga*, all firm and entire Friends to the Grand Vizier, were always preſent and aſſiſtant to him; by which unuſual method of proceeding in this Court, he gave the World to underſtand, that acting nothing of himſelf, he was not to be blamed or cenſur'd for the Succeſs, or to be accountable for the miſcarriages of the War. And whereas there were ſeveral Murmurings amongſt the People, and in the Army eſpecially, againſt the Vizier for not going to the War; he publickly deſired the Grand Seignior's leave and commands to go; to which when the Sultan ſeem'd inclinable, the Council unanimouſly oppoſed it, repreſenting that it was never accuſtomary, nor decent for the Emperor, to ſend his Repreſentative with his Seal and Authority without a Royal Army, or without expectation of performing ſome Signal Enterprize: And that on any other Terms or Circumſtances than theſe, his going would be Prejudical and Diſhonourable: It was farther alledged, That the attendance on the Vizier would conſiſt of many uſeleſs Mouths, and the occaſion of buſineſs draw many Followers to his Court, who muſt neceſſarily conſume a great part of thoſe Proviſions, which would be more uſefully emploied for the uſe and ſuſtenance of the Camp.

The Grand Vizier's Caution.

1685.

Excuſes for not going to the War.

But the beſt Excuſe of all, was the ill ſtate of the Vizier's health; concerning which there were various Reports; ſometimes it was ſaid, that he was deſperately ill, then again that he was recover'd, then that he was relapſed; ſome ſaid, that he was Sick in Policy, others in Reality; but what ſeemed moſt probable was, that he was afflicted with the Spleen, by reaſon of which all kind of ill News made a ſenſible alteration in him: The Cares which conſtantly tormented him, kept his Mind always bent, and increaſed the pain in his Side, which kept him from Repoſe: Theſe matters with Sixty ſix years of Age, were Afflictions ſufficient to weary out, and haraſs a Body much more ſtrong and robuſt than his: Thô formerly he had the Report, and that not without reaſon of a bad Man; yet after his being Vizier, his Comportment was with all Juſtice and Moderation; and thô naturally he was Paſſionate, yet ſtriving with his Temper, he became mild and eaſie in his Converſation. Our *Engliſh* Nation in *Turky* were ſenſible of this great change of his Humour; for he became kind to them (which is extraordinary in a *Turk*) without other advantage to himſelf, than his uſual and regular Preſents.

The ill ſtate of the Turks.

It was impoſſible, but that the whole Empire, even as far as to *Baſora*, to *Babylon* or *Bagdat*, and the moſt remote parts of the Eaſt, ſhould feel the dire effects of this unfortunate War; little Money was ſtirring and Trade interrupted, the want of which affects the Publick, as much or more than private Members. The Grand Seignior was forced at the beginning of the laſt Campaign, to diſfurniſh his Coffers in the *Seraglio* of all the ready Money in Caſh; for the Riches there conſiſts for the moſt part in Jewels and rich Furniture, rather than in Banks of Money: After which about the middle of the Summer, they ranſacked the Treaſury of the Stables, and took out from thence in Silver and Gold Stirrups, and other Horſe-furniture, which they cauſed to be Coined with 30 *l. per Cent.* Allay, to the value as was reported of Two thouſand Purſes, which made juſt a Million of Dollars. Misfortunes and Scarcity made the Soldiers mutinous upon every ſmall occaſion, and averſe from going to the War: The Lord Treaſurer

A Mutiny amongſt the Spahees.

ſurer was removed from his Office, and made Paſha of *Damaſcus*, and ſent to ſupply the place, and charge of *Siaus* Paſha killed at *Eſſeck*, and order'd to repair the Bridge and defend that Paſs: A Party of about Two thouſand five hundred *Spahees* then at *Adrianople*, were commanded to follow him upon this Expedition. But Five hundred of theſe, withdrawing themſelves from the reſt demanded their Pay, and refuſed to March; ſaying, That by the original conſtitution of their Order, they were not obliged to go to the War, but with the Vizier, or Standard of the Prophet, which it was their Profeſſion and Office, to Guard and Defend. But to give a ſtop to this Sedition, and Nip it in the Bud, the Vizier immediately ſent his *Kaiah* with all his Retinue, and *Janizar-Aga* to the place where they were aſſembled, not far diſtant from the City; Twenty of them were taken and ſent to the Grand Seignior, who cauſed four of their Heads to be cut off, and the other Sixteen were ſent to the Gallies; and two of their Chief Officers were Baniſhed to *Cyprus*, for keeping no better Order amongſt their Men; all the reſt were diſperſed, and in an hour's time the whole Buſineſs was over; and in a few Days afterwards, thoſe who were baniſhed, and thoſe who were ſent to the Gallies were recalled and reſtor'd to their places, and all of them contentedly, and in good order marched towards *Hungary*. But they had not proceeded far on their way before advices came, that after *Ibrahim* Paſha's defeat near *Strigonium*, there had aroſe differences and diſturbances between the *Spahees* and *Janiſaries*, to ſuppreſs which *Ibrahim* had cut off ſeveral of them: Whereupon it being not thought fit to ſuffer theſe Mutinous *Spahees*, to joyn with the diſcontented Parties, a ſtop was put to their March; until ſuch time as *Agiemzade*, a grave and wiſe Perſon, one who had formerly been *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State, was ſent to the Army in *Hungary*, with a Sum of Money to appeaſe the Mutinies, and ſoften the Minds of the Soldiery. Theſe little diſturbances cauſed the People to talk, and brought the Vizier's name upon their Tongues: And thoſe who pretended to be Politicians diſcourſed, That this Empire had been raiſed, and ſupported by the Soldiery; and that from them deſerving Perſons had been promoted, and advanced to the high Degrees of Viziers and Generals; and not from Paraſites and Syphcoants, or from effeminate Courtiers and Favourites: And that the Grand Seignior, who diverted himſelf wholly in Hunting and with Women, neglecting the main concernments of the Empire was not like his Progenitors, who in Perſon marched at the Head of their Armies, and encouraged their Soldiers by their Preſence and Perſonal Valour: From ſuch Diſcourſes as theſe amongſt the Commonalty, who reported much worſe of their Affairs, than perhaps they were in reality, we may expect ſome greater Changes for the enſuing Years: For the Army was become Cowardly and Mutinous, and running from the War more willingly than coming to it; and the Common People affected with a ſtrange Superſtition, that Fortune will change with exchange of Officers.

But before we put an end to this Year 1685, let us a little return once more into *Hungary*, and take a view of what was acting in the Upper parts of that Kingdom; where the Succeſs of the Imperial Arms had produced ſuch Dread and Terrour in the Minds of *Turks* and *Malecontents*, that many places yielded at the firſt Summons, or at the appearance of an Army before them: In this manner *Potak*, *Regentz*, *Ungwar* and *Serau*, all Garriſons belonging to *Tekeli*, yielded without one Blow, and received the Imperial Troops, which being welcom'd with real Joy by the Inhabitants, the Military Parol was maintained, and not the leaſt injury or damage offer'd to the People. The Surrender of theſe Places were leading Cards to *Senetz*, *Valdachin*, and to the Caſtles of *Sonna*, *Annoin*, *Pallotz*, *Duron*, *Spadiz*, *Joram*, *Hinghen*, *Zatmar* and other places, which ſubmitted to Count *Caprara*, and willingly received *German* Garriſons, and being pardon'd and abſolved from their Rebellion by this General, they took a new Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance to the Emperor.

Several places belonging to Tekeli *ſurrender.*

Tekeli in Diſgrace.

And received to Favour.

But that which chiefly facilitated the defection of theſe Places, was a report that *Tekeli* was ſeized by the *Turks*, and lay chained at *Waradin*; the Fame of which had ſome Foundation; for the Seraskier *Shitan Ibrahim* having had very ill Succeſs the laſt Summer, knew not where to charge the Fault, and excuſe himſelf better than by laying all the blame upon *Tekeli*; and to evidence his Reſentment, cauſed him to be impriſoned at *Waradin*, until his Crimes were notified to the Court, and Orders given by the Grand Seignior for his Puniſhment. But *Tekeli* by his Agents had ſo well mannaged his Cauſe before the Divan, that he was fairly acquitted from all Blame, and the Seraskier diſgraced for his raſh Judgment, as will hereafter be diſcourſed more at large: And indeed the Grand Seignior and his Council did wiſely conſider the great Intereſt of *Tekeli* in *Hungary*, and what Influence his preſent Diſgrace had already had over the many Towns and Caſtles which belonged to him, and which had Surrender'd upon the Report only of the Impriſonment

Arad *taken.*

A rich Booty taken at Arad.

priſonment of their Prince; wherefore the Grand Seignior and his Council haſten'd, with all poſſible ſpeed, Orders to the Paſha of *Waradin* for his Releaſe, and at the head of his Army to proclaim his Innocence, and repair his Honour; the which was accordingly performed, as appears by a Letter from *Tekeli* himſelf, dated the *4th* of *December* 1685, from *Alba Regalis*, directed to his Wife, the Princeſs of *Ragotzki*, wherein alſo he ſignified his Intentions to return with the Spring into *Hungary*, with a Body of Fifteen thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*, and endeavour to recover thoſe Places which were revolted from him. Theſe Advices ſo encouraged the Princeſs, that ſhe bravely refuſed to receive an Imperial Garriſon into *Mongatz*, thô her Town was blocked up by Count *Caprara* during the whole Winter, of which we ſhall ſpeak more at large at the beginning of the enſuing Year; and we ſhall conclude this, with the taking of *Arad* by Colonel *Heuſler*, a Place ſituate upon the Banks of the River *Maroz*, between *Temeſwar* and *Giulia*, diſtant twelve Leagues from *Temeſwar*, and about as far from *Sigeth*. *Heuſler* being not far from *Arad*, detached a Party of *Hungarians* before, to provoke the *Janiſaries*, and draw them forwards to an Engagement: Upon ſight of the Enemy, the *Janiſaries* made a Sally, ſupported with Fifteen hundred *Spahees*, Commanded by the Paſha of *Soffia*, which were newly come thither from *Conſtantinople*: Theſe Forces in the vigour and briſkneſs of their Courage, purſued the *Hungarians*, who made an orderly Retreat until they came to their main Body, at which the Paſha nothing diſmayed charged with much Bravery; but Colonel *Mercy* coming up with his *Germans*, fell in upon them with ſuch fury, that the *Turks* in a confuſion and diſorder endeavoured to make their Eſcape by flight into *Arad*; but were ſo cloſely purſued at the heels by the *Germans* and *Hungarians*, that they entred into the Town in mixture with the *Turks*, killing and deſtroying them with ſuch a Slaughter, that a Thouſand of them, together with the Paſha, were ſlain at the Gates and within the Town, which remained a rich Booty and Prize to the Conquerors; for theſe *Spahees* lately come from their Homes, were well furniſhed with Mony, ſcarce any of them had leſs about him than Two hundred Hungarian Ducats in Gold, with good Veſts of fine Cloth, well lined with Sables or other Furrs, and their Horſes of the beſt Breed of *Aſia*, well adorned with the Accouterments belonging to them, all which became a Prey to the victorious Army; beſides, the Town was well ſupplied with all ſorts of Proviſions in great abundance, with which the Soldiers refreſhed themſelves, and for the ſpace of four Days ſacked, plunder'd and welter'd in all ſorts of Beſtiality and Debauchery; at the end of which, they ſet fire to the Town, and in a few hours reduced all to Aſhes. Thoſe few *Turks* who eſcaped the Slaughter fled to *Temeſwar*, whereupon, this News was ſo great a Conſternation, that the Paſha to prevent the like fate on his Town, thought fit to burn the Suburbs, to the great damage and ruine of the Inhabitants.

Shaitan Ibrahim *put to Death.*

We have formerly mentioned, that the ill Succeſs of the *Turks* in *Hungary* had cauſed Mutinies in the Army, and that one *Aremzade*, a grave and wiſe Perſon, was ſent with a Sum of Mony to appeaſe the Soldiery, and enquire into the Cauſe of theſe Diſturbances: The Matter being examined, a Report was made much to the Prejudice of *Shaitan Ibrahim*, by reaſon of the diſaffection of the Soldiers and Commanders to him; for it ſeems impoſſible for a General to be unfortunate and beloved: When the Report was come to the hands of the Grand Seignior, the *Capelar-kiaſee*, or Maſter of the Ceremonies, was ſpeedily diſpatched, with a Command to take off the Head of *Shaitan Ibraim*, and to make *Apti*, then Paſha of *Buda*, Seraſkier or General in his place, and *Oſman* Paſha, *Ogli* Paſha of *Buda*; but *Oſman*'s Head was cut off by *Ibrahim* three Days before the Order came: In return for which, *Shaitan Ibrahim*'s Head was brought to *Adrianople* the *6th* of *December*. He had been in the greateſt Employments of the Empire for the ſpace of forty Years, and render'd conſiderable and ſignal Services thereunto: One might have thought that his brave and valiant Defence of *Buda*, would have attoned for future Miſfortunes; or that his Marriage with the Grand Seignior's Siſter deceas'd, and afterwards with his Aunt, would have been Intereſts ſufficient for his Protection; but the Grand Vizier feared him, and therefore was willing to wreak upon him all the Miſfortunes of an unhappy Campaign, laying it to his Charge, that he had converted the Soldiers Pay to his own Profit: And ſo he fell about the Eightieth Year of his Age, commiſerated by all, and according to the Character we have formerly given of him, he might have deſerved a milder Fate. And ſo we ſhall put an end to the Martial Enterpriſes, Wars and Confuſions of the Year 1685.

ANNO 1686.

The Grand Vizier's Diſtemper.

THE Grand Vizier being of a melancholy penſive Nature, and much afflicted with hypocondriacal Diſtempers, made his Thoughts more burdenſom by ſuppreſſing

1686. them, and not communicating his ſad Apprehenſions to other Friends. At the Siege of *Buda* he was ill for the ſpace of a Month; but when good News came, he recover'd again, and his political Diſeaſe had its cold and hot Fits, according to the changes and viciſſitude of Times. About the end of the laſt Year, or beginning of this, *Soliman* Paſha, who was General of the Army againſt *Poland*, had not only defended the Confines, but worſted the *Poles*, and returned to *Adrianople* with much Applauſe; for it was now no leſs Glory for a General amongſt the *Turks* to ſave his Army, and not be Overcome, than it was formerly to Conquer. This was the Fortune and Honour of *Soliman*, for having brought off his Army entire and unbroken; which was a piece of Service ſo highly eſteemed, that the Grand Vizier received him upon his arrival, with all Honour and Appearances of real Friendſhip, ſending the Chiausbaſhee and Chaouſes to conduct him to his Preſence, where at the ſame time were the *Mufti*, the Generals of the *Janiſaries* and *Spahees*, and other great Miniſters of State aſſembled, and all congratulated the Honours and Glories he had acquired; which Ceremonies being ended, all theſe great Perſons (except the *Mufti*) attended *Soliman* to the *Seraglio*, where the Grand Seignior received him with much Kindneſs, clothed him with a rich Veſt of Sables, entertained him with a ſplendid Banquet, and preſented him two Horſes richly furniſhed: According to which Example, as is accuſtomary, all the great Men made him their Preſents; for whom the Sultan will Favour, the inferior Officers are obliged to Honour. The next Day *Soliman* came to the Vizier's Palace, held a Divan, and acted all publick Buſineſs, and in the Mouths of the Commonalty, he was cried up for Vizier *Azem*. And thô what *Soliman* Paſha acted was only as an Aſſiſtant or Coadjutor to the Vizier, during his Weakneſs and Infirmity; yet *Soliman* got ſo much ground in Eſteem of the Sultan, and of the People, that the Vizier thought it time to rouze up his Spirits, and to act every thing by his own Perſon. And to ſecure himſelf from the danger of being ſupplanted by ſo powerful a Rival, he addreſſed a Memorial to the Grand Seignior, wherein he repreſented the Vertues and Abilities of *Soliman* in an eminent manner, that he was a faithful, experienced, and a fortunate Miniſter, and the only Perſon in the World fit and able to be General in *Hungary*, and to conduct an Army in this dangerous and difficult War. The Grand Seignior entertaining a like ſenſe of the Abilities of *Soliman*, inclined thereunto, and would have given him that Employment, had not ſome Accidents intervened to prevent it. For the *Embrahor*, or Maſter of the Horſe, the *Kuzlir* Aga, or Eunuch of the Women, and the Sultana or Empreſs her ſelf, being all Friends and Confidents to *Soliman*, adviſed him of the Plot, which might bring upon him the like Fate, which had befallen *Shaitan Ibrahim*; and that the beſt way to avoid it, would be to puſh at the Office of Vizier, and demand the Seal. *Soliman* encouraged by ſuch powerful Abettors, boldly caſt himſelf at the feet of the Grand Seignior, and told him, That he was ready to lay down his Life either at Home or in *Hungary* for the Service of him his Maſter, and ſacrifice all to his Pleaſure and Glory; but to go into *Hungary* without the Seal (which was without the power of Vizier) would be of Prejudice and ill Conſequence to the whole Empire, for which he alledged many Reaſons, and being an eloquent or a well-ſpoken Man, was ſeconded by others, who repreſented the preſent Vizier to be a Perſon infirm and unfit for War. The Grand Seignior was prevailed upon, and agreed to conſtitute *Soliman* his Vizier; but the Execution thereof, at the deſire of *Soliman* was deferred until next Morning; and in the mean time, the Matter was carried ſo ſecretly, that the Vizier had no Intimation or Jealouſie of the Reſolution. Next Morning being the time, when the Pay of the *Spahees* was to be delivered out, *Soliman* came to the Vizier's Chamber, and preſſed him very inſtantly, that ſince he was now in better Health, that he would be preſent at giving out the Pay unto the *Spahees*; and that in caſe he were wearied or uneaſy, he would perform the remainder of the Trouble for him; but the Vizier excuſed himſelf, and would not come, but deſired *Soliman* to take the trouble upon him of that Day's Office; which as he was performing, and had half done, the Boſtangibaſhee to the Grand Seignior, or he who is Maſter of the Wardrobe, came to the Vizier and demanded the Seal, ſhewing him a Warrant for it, under the Hand of the Grand Seignior: The Vizier was ſo ſtruck with the Surpriſe, that he had ſcarce power and ſtrength to put his trembling Hand into his Boſom to give it to him; and Nature being weak in him, he fell in a Swoun, and ſo was left. So ſoon as *Soliman* had finiſhed the giving out the Pay, a Capigibaſhee came to call him to the Grand Seignior, to whom being come, he had the Seal conferred upon him, with the Character of the Supream Vizier, and ſo was conducted to the publick Palace belonging to that Office; from whence the former Vizier, without other Ceremony or Warning, was in a moment removed, and being by his Servants put into a Coach,

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Soliman *Paſha's reception.*

The Grand Vizier jealous of Soliman.

Soliman *made Vizier.*

was carried to a private Houſe, and four Days afterwards was order'd to retire unto *Conſtantinople*, with a Penſion of an Hundred and fifty Aſpers a Day, which may be about eight Shillings *Engliſh* Mony. This *Ibrahim* (for ſo we muſt now call him) having a Houſe and Garden of his own upon the *Boſphorus*, obtained leave to retire thither, but not to go to *Mecha*, as he inſtantly deſired: But he had not long continued there, before a Command was iſſued to ſeize his Eſtate, which was executed early one Morning by the Janizar-Aga and Boſtangibaſhee, who ſurrounded his Houſe, the latter of which went in to him, and told him that he muſt go with him; *Ibrahim* apprehending that his End was near, asked him, If he came for his Head; and when he told him no, he could not believe him, until he had Sworn by his Law and by his Prophet; being herewith a little comforted, he was carried Priſoner to the Middle-gate of the *Seraglio*; in the mean time his Houſe was rifled, and all his Servans and Pages of any faſhion were taken into Cuſtody, and Examined for better Diſcovery of his Eſtate. All the Mony found, did not amount unto more than Five thouſand Purſes, beſides his Jewels, and his great Revenues in Lands and Houſes. Being thus ſtripped of all his Eſtate, he was on the 18*th* of *March* put into a Gally, and ſent to *Rhodes*, there to remain a Priſoner in the Caſtle. *Soliman* Paſha, now Vizier, compaſſionating his Caſe, and not knowing how ſoon it might be his own turn, ſent him Five thouſand Dollars, with a Veſt of Sables, and obtained a ſmall Allowance for him from the Grand Seignior.

The late Vizier ſent to Conſtantinople.

His Eſtate ſeized.

Nor was this Change only of the Vizier, but attended with others at the Court; for the Janizar-Aga, or General of the *Janiſaries* was put out, and one *Haſſan Aga*, Lieutenant General of the *Janiſaries* at *Buda* was put in his ſtead: *Zulficar Aga* a vaſt rich Man, one of the Paſhas of the Bench, was ſent to command in the place of *Muſtapha*, Brother to the late Vizier *Kupriogli*, who was recalled to Court and made *Chimacam* at *Conſtantinople*. *Ahmet* Paſha nam'd for Captain Paſha laſt Year, was made Seraskier, or General in *Hungary*, in the place of *Shaitan Ibrahim*, and *Apti* Paſha (whom we have formerly mentioned) was return'd again to his Province of Paſha of *Buda*. The *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State was diſplaced, the Reaſon not known, and that Office ſupplied by a Relation of the late Vizier's, who wrote his Letters for him, a raw and an unexperienced Man. The *Moſaip* was continued General in the *Morea*, and *Miſſir-ogli* was made Captain Paſha in the place of *Mazzamama*, to whom as we have ſaid, the care of the Fleet was committed the laſt Summer.

Changes of Officers in the Turkiſh *Court.*

Theſe were the Changes with which this Year began in the *Ottoman* Court, after which care was taken to Recruit the Army, and make all Warlike preparations in *Hungary*, for which the new Vizier *Solyman* was preparing; and all the Court and People were full of hopes, and expectations of mighty Succeſſes under the auſpicious Conduct of *Solyman*, whoſe very Name had been Fortunate to the *Turks*.

Tekeli (as we have mentioned before) being ſet at Liberty, and reſtored to his Command with Honour; received Money from the Vizier to Raiſe Two thouſand Men, and was recommended by the Vizer to the new Seraskier, to give all the encouragement and aſſiſtance he was able, that ſo he might once more try his Fortune in the Upper *Hungary*.

Tekeli *receives Aid from the* Turks.

Amongſt the many ways and contrivances to raiſe Money, one was to diſcover the hidden Riches of the Impriſoned Vizier, for which, whilſt they made diligent Search in his *Seraglio*, or Palace at *Conſtantinople* it came to be known, that Three hundred Purſes belonging to the Vizier *Kara Muſtapha*, who was Strangled at *Belgrade*, were found in a ſecret conveyance of the Houſe, the *Chimacam* and *Embrahore*, or Maſter of the Horſe, would be preſent at Sealing of the Baggs, and had counted out Two hundred, when it proving dark and late, they deferr'd the remainder until the Day following; but that Night, by what Accident is not known, the Palace took Fire and was Burnt to the Ground.

The Vizier's Palace Burnt.

At *Adrianople*, where the Court reſided, an Envoy arrived from *Muſcovy*, and another from the General of the *Coſacks*, with Complaints againſt the *Tartars* and Governour of *Aſac*, a Fortreſs of the *Turks* on the *Tanais*, for Incurſions made upon them: The *Muſcovites* remain'd until this time in ſuſpence, whether to make War, or confirm a Peace with the *Turks*; but the Succeſs of the Emperor, and the Provocations received from the *Tartars*, put that Buſineſs beyond all doubt, and brought the *Muſcovites* into a League with the Emperor and *Poland*, as will ſhortly be made manifeſt by the Capitulations between them. Amongſt other Applications to the *Ottoman* Court, a new Ambaſſadour from *France* arrived at *Adrianople*, to aſſure the Sultan of his Maſter's Friendſhip, and his Reſolution to ſtand *Neuter* in this preſent War: But the *Turks*, who rely not with much confidence on the Word and Stories of the *French*, gave them an ordinary Reception, without Favours, or any unuſual Conceſſions, denying to them the Guardian-ſhip of the Holy Sepulcher at

Addreſſes to the Ottoman *Court.*

Jeru-

1686. *Jeruſalem*, which had formerly been granted to them.

This was the State of the *Ottoman* Court, in the beginning of this Year 1686; when Count *Caprara* kept the Town of *Mongatz* Blocked up, which is ſtrongly fortified with a Caſtle, Situate on the River *Turza*, between *Ungwar* and *Zatmar*, near the Mountains. The place belonged to the Counteſs *Tekeli*, in right of her former Husband Prince *Francis Ragotski*; She was Daughter of Count *Peter Serini*, and Married to *Tekeli*, as we have formerly mentioned. *Caprara* having all the Winter his Quarters not far from *Mongatz*, ſent frequent Meſſages to this Lady to Surrender the Town and Caſtle to the Emperor, promiſing in the name of his *Cæſarean* Majeſty, to conſerve both her ſelf and her Son, in the ſame Condition of Greatneſs, and Eſtate as at preſent; adding thereunto many Complements, which are commonly given to a young and beautiful Lady. The expreſſions he made to her, were ſo full of tenderneſs and reſpect, that ſhe could not refuſe to return an Anſwer, agreeable to ſo much concernment as he teſtified for her; aſſuring him, That nothing ſo grieved her, as to ſee herſelf embarked in a Cauſe againſt the Emperor; and that nothing could be ſo uneaſie to her and difficult to determin, in what manner ſhe was to behave herſelf, between the Duty and Faith ſhe owed to a Husband, and Allegiance to the moſt gentle and gracious Prince of the Univerſe: But as to the Surrender of the Town and Caſtle, it was not in her Power, but depended entirely on the Secretary and Deputy of her Husband, who was there conſtituted Governour, with all the Riches and Wealth of the place; and that the Citizens and Chief Magiſtrates thereof, were joyned in the ſame Reſolutions with him, to defend and maintain the Place to their utmoſt hazard of their Lives and Fortunes; and that herein they were the more encouraged, by Advices lately received from Count *Tekeli*, whereby he not only gives them the good News of his Liberty, and the great Honours and Aids, which the *Turks* had beſtowed upon him in recompence for the Affront, which the late Vizier had caſt upon him; but promiſed them very ſpeedily a Relief ſufficient to drive their Enemies from their Doors, and at a diſtance from their Country, and would bring Rewards in his Hands for thoſe, who ſhould in the mean time remain true, and conſtant to his Intereſt.

Mongatz *Blocked up.*

A Sally from the Town of Mongatz.

Count *Caprara* rightly judging, that by ſuch delays and excuſes as theſe, the Princeſs intended only to gain time, and to illude his deſigns, began to draw his Forces nearer, with a Train of Artillery, Mortars and other Engins proper for a Siege: But the Garriſon nothing diſmaid thereby, made a Sally with Six hundred Men, and gained a Redoubt which the Imperialiſts had raiſed near the lower Town, with the ſlaughter of Four hundred Souldiers therein; and having taken out the Arms and Guns, they demoliſhed the Fort, and raſed it to the very Ground. Howſoever, *Caprara* having received a Recruit of Two thouſand Men, poſſeſſed himſelf of a Poſt, whereby he hoped to bar the Town of the Water, which ſupplied both that and the Caſtle: But matters happened quite otherwiſe, for the Rains fell in ſuch abundance, as filled the Ciſterns with Water, which were anciently made to ſupply the wants of the Inhabitants on ſuch occaſions.

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In the mean time *Apaſi* Prince of *Tranſilvania*, labour'd with all his power to gain a Neutrality for himſelf between the *Turks* and the Emperor; by the firſt of which he was preſſed with all imaginable inſtances, to ſerve in this War both with Men and Money, according to agreement and obligations of his Inveſtiture, when he received the Standard from the Sultan: And by the other, That is, by the Emperor he was threatned to declare himſelf either a Friend, or an Enemy, for that no ſort of indifferency would be admitted in this Caſe: And the better to compel him thereunto, Count *Caraffa* advanced into his Country with Eight thouſand Men, Two thouſand whereof were *Hungarians*, and took up their Quarters on the Frontiers of *Tranſilvania*, which was now in a Condition under ſuch a Force rather to receive Laws, than to give them. The Prince *Apaſi* being much incommoded by Quartering of Soldiers, diſpatched three Agents to *Vienna*, to Treat of thoſe matters, to which he was altogether averſe in former times, and readily offer'd to give free Quarter to thoſe Troops which were ſent into his Country; but as to an open Declaration of nearer Alliance he deſired to be excuſed, conſidering that his Country was environed by the *Turks*, and their ſtrongeſt Garriſons bordering on his Confines, ſo that until the Emperor had driven the Enemy at a farther diſtance, it could not be adviſable for him to make a more publick Declaration.

Apaſi *deſires a Neutrality.*

The City of *Debrezin*, Situate between *Tokay* and Great *Waradin*, is Populous and Rich, and had voluntarily deſired to be received into Protection of his Imperial Majeſty, after *Zolnock* and *Caſſovia* had been reduced, having conſerved themſelves in a Neutrality during the late Revolutions of *Hungary*, without taking part in any Engagement with the Malecontents. This City I ſay, was received into Protection, upon

Debrezin *redeems it ſelf from free Quarter.*

upon promiſe to maintain with free Quarter Five thouſand *Germans*, and One thouſand *Hungarians*; but finding themſelves overburdened and haraſſed with Quartering theſe Soldiers, they agreed to pay Eighty thouſand Florins *per* Month, for the ſpace of ſix Months, in lieu of their free Quarter, by which Sum of Money they eaſed themſelves from the inconvenience and inſolence of Soldiers, as did alſo many parts of the upper *Hungary*, the main burden of Quarters being caſt upon the Counties bordering on *Tranſilvania*, which was of great relief to the Hereditary Countries.

This Year began early with Action; for the Generals *Mercy* and *Heuſler* having their Quarters at *Zolnock*, made frequent Incurſions upon the *Turks* with great Succeſs and Advantage: And having intelligence, that in *Tranſilvania* a Convoy of about an Hundred Wagons was providing laden, with Money, Ammunition and Proviſions for the ſubſiſtence and relief of *Buda*, they made a Detachment of Five thouſand choiſe Horſe, with ſome Auxiliaries from Count *Caprara*, and ordered them to march towards *Segedin*, and to Way-lay them in their Paſſage over the River. *Heuſler* being advanced about a League from *Segedin*, gave Orders to *Peterhaſi*, with a ſtrong Battalion to embosk himſelf within the Woods, which grew very thick in that Country; and when the Garriſon of *Segedin* ſhould Sally forth to the aſſiſtance of the Convoy, That he ſhould then with his Battalion ariſe from the place of Concealment, and ſeize upon the Town, which might perhaps be left naked, and void of all defence. Matters did not in all things anſwer expectation; for the Convoy being Guarded with a ſtrong party of *Turkiſh* Soldiers, they Fought with ſuch Valour and Reſolution, that thô the Imperialiſts remain'd Maſters of the Field, and of the Convoy; yet the Action coſt ſo much Blood, that it could not properly be called a Victory; for a Victory may be too dearly bought, when it is purchaſed with the Lives of ſo many brave Men, as are not to be eſtimated by any advantage whatſoever: And ſo it happened now; for thô Three thouſand *Turks* were killed on the place, yet they were not to be valued with the Blood of Two thouſand *Germans* and *Hungarians*, all choiſe and ſelect Men, who lay dead in the Field. But as it happens commonly amongſt Soldiers, thoſe who live and ſurvive, have little ſenſe or regard for ſuch as are ſlain; unleſs that being made Mad, and more Furious by the death of their Companions, they breath nothing but Revenge; as did this remaining Party, which exaſperated by the difficulty of the late Fight, fell upon the Lands of *Seudin*, *Geſet*, *Babatz*, and the Parts adjacent, or not far from the place of Battle, deſtroying and conſuming all with Fire and Sword. The News of theſe Succeſſes were not very pleaſing at *Vienna*, where they eſteemed the Victory too dearly obtained; and thô they publickly applauded the bravery and reſolution of the Officers and Soldiers, yet in their private Councils, they could not but ſecretly blame the raſhneſs of the Commanders.

Heuſler *Attacks a Convoy of the* Turks.

The Victory dearly bought.

As all places in the upper *Hungary* were filled with Slaughter and Confuſion; ſo no leſs Damage was cauſed in *Croatia*, by the vaſt Flouds and Inundations, which for ſome time drowned all that Country, and carried away whole Towns and Familes, Caſtles and Proviſions down the Torrent: And not only hinder'd all Commerce and Correſpondence of one Town with another, but prevented the intended Incurſions on the Enemy, deſtroy'd the Proviſions neceſſary for ſupport of the Army, and ſuperinduced a grievous Famine over the whole Land. Count *Nicolas Erdeody*, who was then *Ban* or chief Commander at that time of *Croatia*, being much affected with the Common Calamity of his Country, aſſembled a Convention of all the Eſtates at *Zagrabia*, to conſider of the ſaid Condition and Deſolation of their Province, where after divers Conferences, they concluded it neceſſary to repreſent unto the Emperor, the State and Condition of *Croatia*, and the Confines and Militia thereof, and how neceſſary it was to defend and guard thoſe Frontiers, from the Forces then gathering between *Belgrade* and *Eſſeck*.

Flouds of Water in Croatia.

Nor were theſe Advices ill grounded; for the *Turkiſh* Forces were daily on their march from *Belgrade* to the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, which they had received Commands to Repair and Defend, being the moſt important Paſs of all *Hungary*. *Apti* Paſha now Seraskier, or General of the *Turkiſh* Army, was extreamly diligent and active to provide every thing neceſſary againſt the next Campaign; and with admirable Sedulity, as well, as the ſhortneſs of time would admit, he ſuccour'd all the Frontier Garriſons with Proviſions, and reinforced *Waradin*, *Agria*, *Segedin*, *Temiſwar*, *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis* and *Kaniſia* with Recruits, and all neceſſary ſupplies, being places moſt expoſed to the Enemy; and ſuch as might with Reaſon be believed, would all or ſome of them be attempted, and become the Enterpriſe and Deſign of this Years Campaign. This *Apti* Paſha, was a Man of ſome experience in the War, but being of a ſower and moroſe Temper, was ill beloved by the Soldiery.

The Seraſkier Reinforces ſeveral Garriſons.

Tekeli being intent to Relieve his Counteſs and City of *Mongatz*, and raiſe the Siege which *Caprara* had laid, and now compleatly formed; departed from Great *Waradin* about the beginning of *February*, with Seventeen Standards, and took his march by way of *Hongland* into *Tranſilvania*, about two Leagues from *Clauſemberg*, where underſtanding that ſeveral of his Troops, which the laſt Year had made a Defection from him, were Quarter'd in the Parts thereabouts, he hoped either to ſurprize and cut them off, or elſe to regain them back to his Party; but theſe *Hungarian* Troops having advice of his near Approach, changed their Quarters, and marched away to joyn with the *Croatian* Regiments of *Lodron*, and ſix Companies of the Regiment of *Spinola*; of which *Tekeli* being adviſed he alter'd his deſign, and reſolved to paſs the *Tibiſcus*, and march with all expedition towards *Mongatz*. This Motion of *Tekeli* Alarum'd all the Countries, and cauſed *Caraffa* to endeavor to Way-lay him, and take ſome convenient Poſt to intercept him in his march; but *Tekeli* upon this intelligence directed his Courſe towards *Giulia*, to joyn with the new Paſha of that place, and to concert other Methods, in order to their future proceedings. In the mean time *Caraffa* not to remain idle, having a Force of Four thouſand *Germans* and Three thouſand *Hungarians*, with four Pieces of Cannon and four Mortars, ſent to Summon the Fortreſs of St. *Job*, about three Leagues diſtant from Great *Waradin*, Situate in the middle of a great Marſh or Fen, which render'd it naturally very ſtrong; and was formed by Art in a Quadrangular Figure, encompaſſed by four Bulwarks, joyned by ſtrong built Curtains, and encompaſſed by a very deep Ditch: Upon one ſide of this Fortreſs there is a great wide open place, in which many Houſes are erected, and is called by the name of the *Little City*; which alſo is fortified in the nature of a ſtrong Palanca, encompaſſed with a convenient Ditch, by which it is joyned to that of the Caſtle, and hath communication therewith by a Draw-bridge: Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of this place, *Caraffa* inveſted it on the *9th* of *February*, raiſed his Batteries, threw Bombs and Fir'd inſtantly upon the Town, which was reteturned in like manner from thence. But ſo it hapned by the Divine Providence, that one of the Bombs fell directly into a Tower in the middle of the Caſtle, where the Powder and Ammunition was conſerved; with which all blowing up, not only tore and rent the Tower in Pieces, but ſhook the whole Caſtle and the neighbouring Town, and put all the Soldiers and Inhabitants into ſuch amazement and conſternation, that they knew not which way, nor how to apply themſelves for their defence and ſafety. This fatal Blow gave advantage to the *Chriſtians* to Attack the Fortreſs in three ſeveral places; for which when the *Turks* perceived, that preparations were making, they ſpread a white Flag on the Walls, and demanded Terms of Surrender, which were readily granted and allowed to the Garriſon, and to all the Inhabitants to march forth with their Arms, with their Wives and Children, and with as much of their Baggage, as every perſon could carry. Poſſeſſion being taken of the Gates and Entrances by the *German* Soldiers, Six hundred *Turks* of the Garriſon marched out, beſides Women and Children, which were according to the Faith given, ſafely conducted within a League of Great *Waradin*; only an unlucky accident hapned, that as the Garriſon paſſed forth, about Twelve Perſons were diſcover'd amongſt them, to have been *Hungarian Chriſtians*, and ſuch as had become Renegadoes, and denied the Faith of Chriſt: Upon the ſight of which the Chriſtian Soldiers became ſo ſcandalized and incented, that forgetting the Capitulations agreed, they violently ſeized upon them, with intention immediately to Hang them up, or by ſome other way to put them to Death as Apoſtates: This Buſle cauſed great diſturbance, and made the *Turks* to Cry aloud, that the Conditions and Articles of Surrender were broken: But the Officers applying themſelves with their Authority, to reſtrain the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiery, the Tumult was appeaſed: After which due care and diligence being uſed to extinguiſh the Fire, which ſtill raged both in the Town and Caſtle, it was at length overcome, and much of the Ammunition and Proviſions conſerved; what Goods remained were given to the Soldiery. In the Caſtle were eight Pieces of Cannon, without other Arms; about Two hundred and ſeventy Chriſtian Slaves were ſet at Liberty. The taking of this Place was eſteemed of much importance, by Reaſon, that thereby the Counties of *Zathmar* and *Zoboleſch* were freed of all Contributions, and the Towns and Boroughs in all Parts round, as far as *Waradin* were bridled and kept under ſome reſtraint, by a Garriſon of an Hundred *Muſquetiers*, and Two hundred *Heydukes* and a Hundred *Huſſars*, which Count *Caraffa* had put into St. *Job*, which were eſteemed ſufficient to reſiſt any ſuddain Incurſion of the Enemy until Relief came, which could not be long wanting from the neighbouring Places.

Tekeli *marches towards* Mongatz.

The Fortreſs of St. Job.

Inveſted by Caprara.

And Surrendered.

In the mean time (as we have ſaid) Count *Caprara* had drawn his Line of Circumvallation before *Mongatz*, and laid a formal

Mongatz *Beſieged.*

Siege: Againſt which, the Beſieged wanting no reſolution to defend themſelves, fired continual Vollies of great and ſmall ſhot: And on the 10*th* of *March* made a Sally to ruin the Batteries of the Imperialiſts, but were vigorouſly repulſed with ſome loſs:

Sallies made.

Thô not long afterwards they made another Sally with more ſucceſs, having overthrown a Battery, and made the Cannon unſerviceable: But in regard the Defendants found by experience that frequent Sallies coſt the Lives of many Soldiers, which they could ill ſpare, they reſolved to conſerve them ſelves within their Walls, on the Defenſive part, without other hazards of offending the Enemy. On the other ſide, the Imperialiſts preſſed forward with much Reſolution, plaid with their Cannon on the Palanca, and threw Bombs and Carcaſſes into the Town; but what damage was done thereby was ſoon repair'd by the diligence of the Beſieged, returning their Shot with fiery Bullets of a new invention, which did great execution within the Lines. This and other Succeſſes, raiſed their Spirits within the Town to a ſteddy defence; to ſecure which, the Princeſs *Ragotzki* impoſed a new Oath of Fidelity on all the Souldiers, which they chearfully took, and to expreſs their readineſs thereunto, they fired all the great and ſmall Shot round the Town, with reſolute Proteſtations never to hearken unto any Offers or Conditions for Surrender of the Place: To confirm the Soldiery in this good Humour, it was noiſed in the Garriſon, that there were ſufficient Proviſions in the Magazines, for the ſubſiſtence of a whole Year; that the Princeſs had received Letters from her Husband *Tekeli* aſſuring her, that he would very ſuddainly appear before the Town, with an Army ſufficient to raiſe the Siege and reſtore their Liberties, and reward all thoſe, who had continued firm and conſtant in their Faith and Allegiance unto him.

Reports of Tekeli's *March.*

Nor was this Report confined within the Walls of *Mongatz*, but it was ſpread over all the Imperial Camp, that *Tekeli* had joyned the Seraskier's Army, with a Force of Eight thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*, and ſhortly reſolved to attempt the raiſing of the Siege before *Mongatz*, and to Re-inforce the place with conſiderable Recruits. To prevent which, Count *Caprara* diſpeeded General *Piccolomini*, with a ſtrong Detachment to joyn with *Mercy*, *Caraffa* and *Heuſler*, and with united ſtrength to oppoſe the Enemies paſſage, and watch ſome favourable opportunity to engage them: But the Report of the *Turks* numbers, and *Tekeli*'s deſign ſoon vaniſhed, there being no ſuch apparent Force in the Field to give them oppoſition.

In the mean time the Siege proceeded vigorouſly, Bombs and Carcaſſes being daily fired and thrown into the Palanca and Caſtle; one of which fell into the very Room, where the Princeſs *Ragotzki* was at Dinner, which without any diſorder, or affrightment of the Lady was ſoon extinguiſhed. Howſoever, the Beſiegers made ſuch a Breach into the Palanca, that they lodged a ſtrong Party upon the brink of the Ditch. The Beſieged on the other ſide had raiſed a great Battery behind the Breach, which diſmounted ſeveral of the Imperialiſts Cannon, and made divers Retrenchments, and fired continually Bombs and Carcaſſes into the Lines, which often times did conſiderable execution. But when the Officers of the Garriſon conſider'd, that the only means to preſerve the place, was to prevent the Draining of the two Ditches of the lower Town, which were extreamly deep, they cut a paſſage for ſeveral ſtreams of Water, by ſecret and hidden Channels to fall into the Ditch, which being increaſed by the melting of Snow from the Mountains, and continual Flouds of Rain, which fell in that Seaſon of the Year, the Ditches were not only filled, but the Earth made ſo ſoft and moiſt, that it was impoſſible to maintain their Works; ſo that *Caprara* could do nothing more than Batter the Town with his Cannon, and throw ſome Bombs and Carcaſſes with little or no Execution. In fine, the Seaſon coming on for Action, which required an application to ſomething more profitable and promiſing than this difficult Work; the Siege was raiſed by Order of the Emperor about the end of *April*, after five Months had been unprofitably ſpent before that place.

The Siege of Mongatz *raiſed.*

But before the great and moſt conſiderable Actions of the following Campaign began, there were certain Preparations or Preludes thereunto repreſented in Fights and Skirmiſhes between certain Parties detached from the main Bodies, in all which the Imperialiſts gained the Advantage, and ſometimes had the fortune of a clear Victory: On the 14*th* of *March*, ſome Imperial Troops having their Winter-quarters in *Croatia*, routed Fifteen hundred *Turks* drawn up in open Field, and put them to flight; *Achmet* Aga their chief Commander was killed, and his Son taken Priſoner: This Engagement happen'd near a little Town called *Jalonne*, which the Croats ſtormed, and took and pillaged it, and ſet at liberty Eight hundred Chriſtian Slaves, of which Three hundred were in a condition to take up Arms. Another Detachment of *Croats* poſſeſſed themſelves of the Caſtle of *Clanitz*, where they found a conſiderable Booty; as alſo of the Town of the great *Claduſſa*, about four Leagues from *Strediclo*, from

Achmet *Aga defeated.*

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whence they were enabled to make Incurſions into the Territories of the *Turks* without any oppoſition.

April.

Other Succeſſes.

About the beginning of this Month, other Detachments from the Garriſon of *Veſprin*, and Places in the Lower *Hungary*, took the Caſtle of *Palotta*, about two Leagues diſtant from *Alba Regalis*, and put all to the Sword. About the end of this Month, Count *Baragotzi* with a Regiment of *German* Horſe, and ſome *Hungarian* Troops, intended to ſurprize *Tekeli* in *Giena*, a little Town belonging to the *Turks*; but the Deſign failed, *Tekeli* being retired a little before the coming of the Enemy: Howſoever his March was not altogether fruitleſs, for in his return he took forty *Turks*, whom he made Priſoners.

The *Turks* on the other ſide, with Three thouſand Horſe and Foot, under the Command of *Fonduck* Paſha, deſigned to ſurprize *Wirowitza* in *Croatia*; but the Governour of that Place having notice thereof, got together about One thouſand Seven hundred Horſe and Dragoons from the neighbouring Garriſons, with which he ſurpriſed the Enemy in their Camp, before Day in the Morning, and charged them ſo briskly, that they killed about an Hundred and Seventy on the Place, took Thirty ſeven Priſoners, amongſt which were two Agas, and ſeveral Officers of Note, with three Standards, Drums, Timbrels, and a conſiderable Booty.

The orderly Diſpoſition of the Chriſtians *in their Winter Quarters.*

The Imperialiſts were ſtill within their Winter-quarters, which were ſo well diſpoſed, and in that Military Order, as if the Army had been drawn in Battalia, by which means they kept the Seraskier in continual Alarums, on both ſides of the *Tibiſcus*. The *Hungarian* and *German* Troops poſſeſſed a vaſt Tract of the Country; for General *Barkotzi*, with Four thouſand of his Countrymen, acting joyntly and by agreement with *Piccolomini*, and the Regiments of *Schultz* and *Dunewald*, extended themſelves all along the Upper *Hungary*, as far as to the Confines of *Poland*, to hinder the Incurſions of the *Tartars*, who were uſed to make that Way their common Road to Pillage and to Infeſt thoſe Countries. The Quarters of theſe Forces reached ſo far as to be near, or (as we may ſay) in call of General *Caraſſa*, who with the Counts *Getz* and *Terzi*, extended their ſeveral Bodies of Horſe and Foot all along the Confines of *Tranſilvania*, and the Counties of *Chege* and *Debrezin*, even to the neighbouring Juriſdiction of great *Waradin*. In like manner General *Marcy* and *Heuſler*, extended their Quarters from the Province of *Zolnok*, beyond the *Tibiſcus*, into the very Heart of the *Turks* Country, bringing all thoſe Parts under great and heavy Contributions, and ſtill maintaining a mutual Correſpondence with the other Generals: By which means the *Turks* were ſo locked up on all ſides, that they could not come to the Relief of any one Place without fighting, unleſs it were *Peſth* and *Buda*.

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Prince Apaſi *in diſtreſs.*

The Prince of *Tranſilvania* was environed on one ſide by *Caraſſa*, who laid grievous Impoſitions on his People; and on the other, by many Troops that Quarter'd on the Confines, which ſo humbled him, that he became much more pliable and ſubmiſſive in his Language towards the Emperor, than he had formerly practiſed in all the Treaties held with the Imperial Miniſters. In this ſtraitned Condition, the Prince *Apaſi* acquainted the *Ottoman* Port, and the Seraskier, that it was impoſſible for him to anſwer the Expectation of the *Turks* either with Men or Mony, unleſs he were relieved from the Oppreſſion of the *Chriſtians*, who levied thoſe Monies on his Subjects, which were deſigned for his own and the Turkiſh Forces. To remedy which, the Seraskier drawing forth a Detachment from the Garriſons of *Buda* and *Agria*, marched in two Bodies; one by way of *Giulia* and *Lippa*, and the other paſs'd the *Danube* at *Peſth*, by which Mareſchal *Marcy* and *Heuſler* being greatly Alarum'd, drew out their Forces into the open Field, with reſolution to give Battle to the Seraskier, who conſidering that the Succeſs of War was hazardous, and that the ill event thereof might prejudice the *Turks* in all the Enterpriſes of the enſuing Campaign; he thought fit to draw off and return back to his former Quarters: Howſoever, leſt he ſhould ſeem to act nothing, he detach'd a Body of Fifteen hundred Men to advance forward, and make a diſcovery of the Forces and Diſpoſition of the Enemies Camp; but being met by a Party belonging to *Marcy*, were treated ſo ill by them, that about an Hundred and fifty were killed on the Place, and Fifty taken Priſoners, the remainder in a diſorderly manner betaking themſelves to flight. This Victory opened a free Paſſage for the Cavalry as far as *Weſſerhaſel*, a Country abounding with Proviſions for Man, and Forage for the Horſe, which the Inhabitants freely beſtowed upon them.

The Cruelty of Schonot.

The Garriſon of *Schonot* much offended at this Kindneſs of *Weſſerhaſel* to their Enemies, ſent Commiſſaries to examine the Matter, and without much Diſpute, empaled diverſe People, plunder'd and burn'd their Houſes and Mills, threatning greater Deſtruction in caſe they continued to afford Relief to the *Chriſtians*. *Marcy* on the other ſide being greatly enraged at this manner of Proceedings, reſolved to revenge the ſame on *Schonot*; and to that end, joyning with *Heuſler*, they attempted

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Schonot *relieved by the* Turks.

tempted the Town, and were proceeded therein ſo far, as to enter the Ditch, the News whereof ſo allarum'd the Turkiſh Camp, that they reſolved with all their force to endeavour the Relief of *Schonot*; which *Mercy* not being of ſufficient ſtrength to oppoſe, drew off from the Town, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a Paſs at the Bridge of *Arath*, where he hindred the Turkiſh Forces from joyning; and with a party of *Huſſars* and Dragoons ſo charged the advanced Troops of the *Turks*, that they defeated a great number of them, and took the Bey of *Lippa*, and the Aga of *Jiena* Priſoners.

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Preparations for the Campaign.

Officers appointed.

But all theſe were petty Actions, and inconſiderable Preludes to what was to follow in the ſucceeding Campaign, which was now in its beginning. The general Rendezvous of the whole Army was appointed to be on the 15*th* of *May*, between *Gran* and *Barkan*. The main Body of the Army, which was to act under the Command of the Duke of *Loraine*, was to be compoſed of 14.000 *German* Foot, and 12.000 *German* Horſe, drawn out from the Troops of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg* and *Suabia*, to which Three thouſand *Hungarians* were to be joyned, with other Troops, ſo far as would make up an Army of Fifty five thouſand Men; Count *Caprara* and Count *Staremberg* were to be Major Generals; the Duke *de Croy* was created General of the Foot, Prince *Lewis* of *Neubourg*, and Count *de Suſa* Lieutenant Generals; the Barons of *Tinghen*, *Thun*, and the Marquis of *Nigrelli* were made Sergeant Majors of Battle. There was likewiſe another Army preparing under the Command of the Duke of *Bavaria*, conſiſting of Thirty five thouſand Men; of which Eleven thouſand were to be Foot, Eight thouſand *German* Horſe, to which the *Bavarian* Troops were to be added, with thoſe of *Franconia*, and Two thouſand Five hundred *Hungarians*. Of theſe Count *Leſlie* was nominated for Major General, Count *Serini* for General of the Infantry; the Marqueſs of *Vergne* and Count *Schaffemberg* for Lieutenant Generals; the Barons of *Walis* and *Berk*, and the Count *de Apremont* for Major Generals. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was made General of the Horſe, the Counts *Caraffa* and *Gonda* Lieutenant Generals, and the Counts *Piccolomini* and *Veterani*, and Baron *Heuſler* Major Generals.

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A Council of War called.

Arguments against the Siege of Buda.

In this manner all things being prepared and diſpoſed in Martial Order, for carrying on the War for the preſent Campaign; a Council of War was called to conſider and determine the Proceedings and Methods thereof, and to reſolve of the Enterpriſe which was firſt to be undertaken; upon Debate whereof, two different Opinions aroſe; one propoſed the Siege of *Agria*, or *Alba Regalis*, and the other that of *Buda*. The firſt urged the difficulty and hazard in the Attempt of *Buda*, which was much better fortyfied than in the former Siege; for that ſeveral new Works were raiſed on the Banks of the *Danube*; and that on the other ſide, the Ditch had been made much more deep and large than it was before: That the *Turks* had prepared diverſe Countermines in thoſe places where the *Chriſtians* had lately made their Mines: That they had made diverſe new Sally-ports: That they had unpaved all their Streets, uncovered the tops of their Houſes to prevent the Miſchief which was feared from Bombs and Carcaſſes, againſt which they had fortified the large Ciſtern of Water, which was built in the middle of the City: That they had furniſhed the Town with ſuch quantities of Proviſions and Ammunition, and Stores of all things neceſſary for War and ſupport of Human Life, as were ſufficient without other Supplies or Recruits to maintain a Siege for ſix Months: That the Garriſon conſiſted of Twenty five thouſand ſelect Men at leaſt, choſen out of the *Janiſaries* and *Spahees*, and were all reſolute Men and good Soldiers: That the Governour in chief was a ſtout and valiant Man, a Renegado, and one who was learned and experienced in all the Military Arts of the *Chriſtians*: That under him ſix Agas were ſubordinated, all Men of Conduct and Bravery to ſucceed in the Government, as one or the other of them ſhould fail. And laſtly, That the Town was diſcharged of all uſeleſs and unneceſſary Inhabitants, ſuch as Women and Children, and *Jews* and *Armenian* Merchants, who were permitted to withdraw themſelves, with all their Goods and Eſtates, out from the City.

The Siege of Buda *reſolved.*

Notwithſtanding this Diſcourſe maintain'd and urged by divers, the contrary Opinion prevailed for the Siege of *Buda*; as if the Difficulties thereof ſerved rather to enflame, than to diſcourage ſo many valiant and generous Spirits: Such an Enterpriſe as the taking a Capital City, with the Conqueſt of which, the whole Kingdom would follow, and fall a Prey into their Hands, ſeemed an Adventure and an Exploit worthy the undertaking of ſo many brave Soldiers, who were certainly the greateſt Captains of this Age, and perhaps we may ſpeak it without injury to paſt times, that they were the beſt Soldiers that ever the World had produced. Indeed, the whole Army of this Year was in a moſt Flouriſhing Condition, well Provided and Accoutred, Fleſhed with Blood and Victory, and ſo Couragious that nothing ſeemed too hard and difficult for them. And this was one Reaſon,

1686. to perſwade the Military Councils to the Siege of *Buda*, not knowing whether the next Year would produce ſuch an Army as at preſent; which as it was capable to undertake any thing, ſo it was pity to have it waſted and employed in trivial matters, and taking in of Fortreſſes from whence no Important Conſequences could be expected. There was moreover one thing more eſpecially urged, that by the laſt Siege the Defects and Errors, and falſe Attacks were all ſeen and diſcover'd, the which might now eaſily be rectified, and proviſions made againſt the miſchiefs, which coſt the Lives of many Men; and the Ground and nature of it, and Situation being perfectly known, the ſubjection of this place would become much more eaſie than the time before, notwithſtanding all the Proviſions the *Turks* had made. In fine, with theſe Arguments, as I ſaid, the Siege of *Buda* was reſolved, and every thing prepared in order thereunto: In the mean time, the *Turks* were not idle on their part; every Day *Olacks* or Curriers were diſpatched in all haſt from *Buda* to *Belgrade*, and thence to the Port, to expedite the coming of the *Ottoman* Army, and Succours for Re-inforcement of their Garriſon; giving them advices of the Motion, and Approach of the Imperial Troops againſt them, which if not prevented would quickly ſurround their Walls, and intercept their Advices and Relief. The *Turkiſh* Officers and Soldiers in all their Quarters in *Hungary* amaſſed, and gather'd what Forage and Proviſions they were able, which they laid up, and diſpoſed in thoſe Garriſons which were moſt expoſed to the Enemy; and Re-inforced them with Troops drawn from other places, which were in the leaſt danger of the Enemy, and at fartheſt diſtance from them.

Proviſions made by the Turks *for the War.*

The *Tartars* were urged and ſollicited, not only to haſten their march to the Confines of *Poland*, to keep that Country in Awe; but alſo to ſend another Body to joyn with the *Ottoman* Camp in *Hungary*. In the mean time, Skirmiſhes daily hapned between ſeveral *Huſſars* and Dragoons belonging to *Raab* and *Strigonium*, and detached Parties from *Buda*; to which place Reinforcements were ſo conſtantly ſent, that the
1686. Garriſon was calculated to amount unto above Nine thouſand Men, beſides the Citizens and Inhabitants, tho in reality the numbers were much greater. And in regard, the Grand Seignior was not well ſatisfied with the Valour and Conduct of the preſent Baſſa, another was ſent to ſupply the place, who inceſſantly laboured both Day and Night about the Fortifications; for tho it was not certain whether the Imperialiſts would make that Siege the buſineſs of this Year; yet it was greatly feared, and too much labour and caution could not be uſed, for the Defence of a place of ſuch Importance.

The Paſha of Buda *changed.*

1686. In the mean time the Grand Seignior removed from *Adrianople* to *Conſtantinople*, to paſs his Summer there, in hopes that his Preſence would bring ſome Trade to that City; but the War had drained all the Money in ſuch manner, that the Merchants found little benefit, or alteration in the quickneſs of their Trade. The Grand Vizier intended at the ſame time to have moved from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*, but the great Fire which had hapned lately there, cauſed him to retard his March for ſome Days, in order to rebuild the publick Edifices conſumed by the Fire. Beſides the Fire and Sword, there was great Scarcity of Corn in all the *Ottoman* Dominions; by the two firſt, the Rich were the greateſt Sufferers, but the latter was an Aggrievance which moſt affected the Poor. Howſoever, they ſupported theſe Troubles and Loſſes with Patience, without Murmurings amongſt the Citizens, or Mutinies as yet in the Camp.

The Grand Seignior goes to Conſtantinople.

Scarcity of Corn amongſt the Turks.

The *Moſcovites* were all this time playing a double Game, having ſent an Envoy to the Court to complain of the Incurſions, which the *Tartars* had made into their Country, and of the Depredations which the *Turkiſh* Governour of *Aſac*, had made upon them at the Mouth of the *Tanais*. The Envoy found a kind Reception, and Orders were ſent both to the *Tartars*, and Governour of *Aſac* to abſtain for the future, from all ſuch Acts of Hoſtility, and maintain a good Correſpondence with the *Moſcovites*, who were become Allies and faithful Friends to the Port: And more to engage the Envoy, ſome few *Ruſſian* Slaves were given him, with Licenſe to rebuild an old ruined Greek Church in *Conſtantinople*; with which to outward appearance, the Envoy returned with entire Satisfaction.

The Moſcovites *treat with the* Turks.

The *Poliſh* Inter-nuntio, who from the beginning of the War had been kept under reſtraint at *Conſtantinople*, was now upon exchange for a *Turk* of quality, again ſet at Liberty; and being upon his return into *Poland*, was on the Confines met by a *Poliſh* Jeſuit, who had ſome Months before been ſent by the late Vizier with Letters to that King, containing a Project for making a Peace; and was now returning with Anſwers to thoſe Letters, and Inſtructions to the Inter-nuntio, in what manner to manage a Treaty with the *Turks*. The Internuntio returned herewith, and made Propoſals, That in caſe the *Turks* would Surrender *Caminiec*, with all they had taken in *Podolia*, That then the *Poliſh* King would

The Poles *make propoſals.*

1686. become a Mediator for Peace with the other Confederates: But the *Turks* were not as yet ſufficiently humbled, to give up any Places they had in Poſſeſſion, eſpecially that important Fortreſs of *Caminiec*, which was the very Key of *Poland*; and tho' an Expedient was offer'd to Demoliſh the ſame, it would not be accepted by the *Turks*, who had a greater value and eſteem for that Place, for having been the only Conqueſt, which this Grand Seignior had made in Perſon. And the *Turks* having no great value of late for the *Poles*, either as to their Proweſs in War, or Conduct in Peace, gave a proud Anſwer to the Demand; reſolving this Year to ſtand on the Defenſive part, and to tire out the *Chriſtians* with a long, and an expenſive War: For tho they had loſt ſome of their Towns, and been often beaten in the Field; yet they kept up that Pride and fierceneſs, which is agreeable to their nature and former ſucceſſes in War.

The *French* Ambaſſador, who had for a long time maintained a Controverſy about the *Safraw*, (as formerly mentioned) did now conceive that it might be a very proper Seaſon, after ſuch various revolutions and change of Officers, by which the Pride of the *Turks* might be abaſed, to obtain thoſe Demands which were formerly denied. The Grand Vizier at the deſire of the Ambaſſadour admitted him to Audience, and treated him very civilly: But howſoever, at the beginning of their Diſcourſe, he gave him a caution not to demand any thing, which was not warranted by the Capitulations; And when the Ambaſſadour moved, That ſome Alterations ſhould be made in the Ceremony of his Audience, that when he aroſe to put on the Veſt, which the Grand Vizier or Chimacam had given; that they alſo ſhould riſe up at the ſame time, until he was Clothed, and that then they ſhould ſit down together. The Vizier provoked a little with this new Demand, believing that it proceeded from a meaner Opinion conceived of their Power, by Reaſon of their late Miſfortunes, readily Anſwered with ſome quickneſs, and ſaid, That the firſt *Turks*, who came over into *Europe*, paſſed the *Boſphorus* but with Forty Men only, and that they would return again by the ſame Way with the like number, rather than condeſcend to any thing tending to a Diminution, or Abaſement of the Honour of the Empire. In fine, Tho the *French* were treated at this Audience with more than uſual Civility and Reſpect; yet could obtain nothing more than a Confirmation of the Privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and a Liberty to rebuild a burnt Church.

The French Ambaſſadors Audience with the Grand Vizier.

But whilſt Preparations were making on both ſides for the War of the ſucceeding Year; It was adjudged in the Councils at *Vienna*, to be a matter abſolutely neceſſary, to engage the *Moſcovits* in the Confederacy, for that thereby, the King of *Poland* would not only be freed from all Jealouſies, of being Invaded by the *Moſcovites*, whilſt his Arms were otherwiſe diverted; but the *Tartars* reſtrained from their Incurſions, in caſe the Czars would take that Incumbence upon them, to give a ſtop to their Depredations. The benefit thus doubly conſidered, Miniſters were ſent from *Vienna* and *Cracow* to *Moſco*, and many Arguments offered to induce the Czars to enter into the League; the which Work found the greater difficulty and oppoſition, by reaſon that a Treaty was ſo lately concluded with the *Turks*, and their Ambaſſadour returned with a favourable Grant, and Conceſſion of all their Demands: But the *Moſcovites* in reality, could eaſily diſpenſe with ſuch Articles and Agreements, provided their Intereſt was advanced, and their Territories enlarged; in purſuance of which, a League Defenſive between *Poland* and *Moſcovy* was concluded for ever, and an Offenſive ſo long as the preſent War with the *Turks* ſhould be continued; the which League was Dated the 24*th* of *April*, according to the following Articles.

Firſt, *That a perpetual Peace be concluded, and eſtabliſhed between the two Powers.*

Secondly, *To avoid all Differences and Diſputes ariſing about the Titles to be given to the Czars and the King of* Poland, *the ſame was agreed by both Parties.*

Thirdly, *That the* Poles *ſhall Deliver and Surrender up to the* Moſcovites, *the Palatinates of* Kiovia *and* Smolenſko, *with ſome other Places ſpecified in that Article.*

Fourthly, *That the* Coſacks *of thoſe Countries, ſhall be mutually diſcharged of the Oaths of Allegiance, which they had taken to either Crown.*

Fifthly, *That the Rebels and Revolters, who had ſubmitted to the* Turks, *ſhould find no Protection or Refuge from either Party.*

Sixthly, *That the Czars ſhould pay* 1500.000 *Florins of Poliſh Money to the Government of* Poland *in two equal Payments; the firſt to be made at the Signing and Sealing of the Articles, and the ſecond at the Meeting of the next Diet.*

Seventhly, *That the Towns and Fortreſſes, Situate on the Banks of the Boriſthenes, from* Kiovia *to the River of Taſmin, which runs by* Czekrim, *ſhall not be Rebuilt or Repaired, but that all that Country ſhould remain Waſt and Depopulated, until ſuch time, as the Differences ariſing thereupon ſhould be decided by more Ample Authority. The Plenipotentiaries of* Poland *declaring, That they had*

1686. *had no Power nor Inſtructions in that particular.*

Eighthly, *That to avoid all Differences, which might ariſe about the Cities and Places, which were to be Surrender'd by the* Moſcovites *into the Hands and Poſſeſſion of the* Poles, *ſhall be particularly nominated and mentioned. And accordingly they were afterwards nominated in this Article.*

Ninethly, *That free Liberty be given to the Roman Catholicks, to Exerciſe their Religion in the Suburbs of* Kiovia *and* Smolenſko: *Notwithſtanding any endeavours or oppoſition, which the Patriarch ſhall make thereunto.*

Tenthly, *That their Majeſties the Czars, being deſirous to introduce and eſtabliſh the Chriſtian Religion within the Mahometan Dominions, at the Inſtance and Requeſt of the King of* Poland, *and in purſuance of the League Offenſive and Defenſive concluded with His Majeſty, do Promiſe and Oblige themſelves immediately to make War upon the* Turks, *and with a numerous Army to Invade his Dominions this Summer, by ſuch Ways and Roads, as the* Tartars *have uſually Invaded* Poland, *and thereby give a ſtop to their Incurſions: And that Commands be immediately diſpatched to the* Coſacks *of the* Tanais, *That they forthwith Equip their Fleet for the* Black *Sea, and Trouble and infeſt thoſe Cities and Countries belonging to the* Turks, *which are Situate on that Coaſt.*

Eleventhly, *That in caſe the* Turks *ſhall lay Siege to* Kiovia, *or any other place appertaining to the Dominion of the Czars, That then the King of* Poland *ſhall ſend an Army for the Relief and Succour of ſuch place Beſieged: And in like manner, in caſe the* Turks *ſhall Beſiege* Leopolis, *or any other City in* Poland, *the* Moſcovites *ſhall endeavour the Relief and Succour thereof.*

Twelfthly, *That the Czars ſhall forthwith give Advices to the* Ottoman *Port of the League concluded with* Poland, *and their Intentions to make War upon the Grand Seignior: And tho' the* Turks *upon ſuch intimation ſhall offer to give ſatisfaction to either, or both Parties; yet no heed ſhall be given thereunto, or Concluſion made without the Approbation and Conſent of all the Confederate Chriſtians.*

Thirteenthly, *The* Moſcovites *engaged to ſend their Ambaſſadours into divers parts of Chriſtendom, as,* England, Denmark, Holland, *and other Princes to crave their aſſiſtance and Union againſt the* Mahometan *arms.*

Fourteenthly, *That after a Peace ſhall be concluded by common Conſent of the Confederates with the* Turks; *And that afterwards any of them ſhall be deſirous to commence a new War, That then the* [illegible] *Confederates ſhall not be obliged to joyn therein.* 1686.

Fifteenthly, *That whereas ſome Diſputes remain ſtill undecided, touching the Limits and Bounds of* Poland *and* Moſcovy, *That Commiſſioners ſhall forthwith be authorized and diſpatched for accommodation of that Matter; eſpecially about the Dependencies on* Kiovia.

Sixteenthly, *That Security of Trade and Commerce be eſtabliſhed between the two Kingdoms.*

Seventeenthly, *That the Debts which are owing from the Subjects of one Kingdom to thoſe of another, ſhall mutually be accounted for, and ſatisfied by one to the other: And that what Suits do or ſhall ariſe between the Subjects of either Kingdom, ſhall be determined by the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, where the Defendant abides.*

Eighteenthly, *Thoſe Points which remain undecided, and cannot be agreed by the Commiſſioners, the ſame ſhall be remitted to the Determination of the Sovereigns.*

Nineteenthly, *That the People on each ſide, who live on the Borders, ſhall paſs friendly and peaceably one with the other; and in caſe of Differences ariſing between them, the ſmaller Cauſes ſhall be determined by the Palatines, and the greater by Commiſſioners.*

Twentiethly, *Neither ſide ſhall give Succour or Aſſiſtance to the common Enemy, nor entertain any of their Subjects in the War, or in any Office or Employment.*

One and twentieth, *That their Majeſties the Czars ſhall Swear to the Obſervation of theſe Articles in preſence of the* Poliſh *Ambaſſadours. And the like ſhall be performed by the King of* Poland, *at a meeting of the Diet, in preſence of the Ambaſſadours from the Czars; and in the mean time, the Ambaſſadours ſhall mutually engage, that all theſe Articles ſhall be obſerved and maintained.*

Two and twentieth, *That whilſt theſe Articles are interchanging, and before the Ratifications are made, It ſhall be lawful for the Merchants of each Country and Nation to Trade and Traffick without any trouble or interruption of Commerce: Only Tobacco and Brandy ſhall not be brought into* Moſcovy, *but remain Contrabanda, as by ancient Articles.*

Three and twentieth, *In caſe the* Poles *or* Moſcovites *ſhall have occaſion to diſpatch Meſſengers to* Perſia *or other Parts, no moleſtation, let, or hindrance ſhall be given them, nor Paſſports denied.*

Four and twentieth, *And in regard a good Underſtanding and Communication is neceſſary in this War, the King of* Poland *obliges himſelf to maintain and defend the Confines and Country of the Dukedom of* Solenſko, *and the Czars ſo far as* Kolizin: *And that*

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1686. *private Letters ſhall pay Poſtage in both ſides; but the Publick and Royal Letters ſhall go free without Charge.*

Five and twentieth, *That both Parties ſhall give Advices to all the Allies and Confederates of this happy League and Agreement.*

Six and twentieth, *That this Contract ſhall as well oblige the Heirs and Succeſſors as the Princes, who are Parties thereunto. And in caſe this Original Inſtrument of Accord ſhould be loſt or embezled in the Chancery, or Paper-Office of either ſide, yet the Agreement ſhall not be Reſcinded thereby, but ſtand in full Vertue and Force.*

How the Treaty was put in execution.

The League being in this manner agreed, ſigned, and ratified on both ſides, the News thereof ſoon ſpread it ſelf over all *Europe*, and was particularly received at *Vienna*, and in the Confederate Camp, with as much Joy and Triumph, as it was at *Conſtantinople* with Trouble and Confuſion. And now it was expected by all the World, that this Agreement ſhould be executed, and that the *Moſcovites* ſhould in the firſt place, to give a beginning, have made Incurſions into the Enemies Country, and without farther delay, have inveſted thoſe Places, which lay upon the Frontiers; but inſtead thereof, their firſt Exploit was to take Poſſeſſion of the Dukedom of *Smolenzko*, and of *Kiovia*, and of about Fifty Leagues of Country, which lies along by the Banks of the *Nieſter*; but as to other Acts of Hoſtility, unleſs it were by ſome ranging, and confuſed Incurſions made by their own *Coſacks*, with deſign rather to Pilfer and Pillage, than to Offend and Damage the Enemy, nothing of Moment was performed; by which means the *Tartars*, againſt whom the *Moſcovites* were obliged to oppoſe their Arms, found an opportunity to joyn with the *Coſacks* of *Poland*, who with united Forces, not only diſputed the Paſſes with the *Polanders*, but likewiſe recruited and reinforced the Grand Vizier's Army in *Hungary*.

Treaty with Apaſi *begun.*

After this Agreement was finiſhed, the next Treaty in hand, was to deal with *Apaſi*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, to draw him off from his Adherence to the *Turk*. This Prince finding himſelf between two great Powers, the leaſt of which was able to cruſh him to nothing, kept and maintained his Agents at both Courts, only to protract time, and divert a Storm. Count *Caraffa* quartering with a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot, on the Confines of that Principality, was appointed by the Emperor to treat with *Apaſi*, and to joyn Menaces and Force to fair Words; but little Satisfaction could be extorted from him, more than a Deſire to live in a kind of Neutrality; for tho the Imperial Forces were not far diſtant from him, yet the *Turks* were not as yet beaten out of the Field, nor their Garriſons taken, but all things ſeemed to remain in a doubtful ſtate and change of War. Thus *Apaſi* feared both, and demanded Protection and Aſſiſtance from both ſides, hoping that whilſt he was wavering and ſeemed unfixt, he ſhould preſerve both his Friends, or at leaſt not provoke them to be his Enemies. But what Count *Caraffa* could not obtain by Treaty, he forced by two Regiments, which procured the Contributions, which were then exacted; to which *Apaſi* more eaſily yielded, becauſe ſuch a Compliance ſeemed rather an effect of Violence and Neceſſity, than of Choice. Howſoever, the *Turks* were not ſo very well aſſured of the Conſtancy of the *Tranſilvanians*, but that juſt cauſe of Jealouſie remained of their Inclinations towards the Emperor; to prevent which, the *Turks* order'd a ſtrong Body of Men to march and quarter on their Confines, there to attend and obſerve the Motions both of the *Germans* and the *Tranſilvanians*; the latter of which ſeeing the Sword over their Heads, continued ſtill in a ſtate of Irreſolution: So that the Emperor eſteeming, that nothing was to be done by Treaty, commanded the Agents to quit his Court: Howſoever, for a while a ſtop was given to their Departure; for that the Brother of the Prince of *Valachia*, called *Catachuzeno*, (of which Family and Name were the laſt *Greek* Emperors) being privately diſpatched to *Vienna*, to enter into a Treaty and League with the Emperor, in the Name and Behalf of his Brother, did inſinuate many fine and hopeful Projects, for gaining without Blood or Treaſure the three Principalities. In order unto which, a Diſpatch was ſent to the Count *Scaffemberg*, under the Imperial Signature, immediately to march with his Forces to *Caſſovia*, where he ſhould find Orders for his farther Proceedings; the Count accordingly obeyed, and immediately upon his arrival, received a poſitive Commiſſion to joyn Seven thouſand *Germans* to Four thouſand *Hungarians*, detached from the Troops quartered in the Upper *Hungary*; and with this Army, without any farther delay, to march to the Confines of *Tranſilvania*, ſituate on the River *Maros*, where *Catachuzeno* had given Aſſurances, that Twelve thouſand *Tranſilvanians*, well provided and armed, would there be ready to meet *Scaffemberg*, and joyn with his Forces at their firſt appearance; and with theſe, proceeding farther to *Valachia*, he ſhould there on the Confines have his Numbers increaſed by an addition of Sixteen thouſand *Valachians* and *Moldavians*, with

1686.

The Turks *jealous thereof.*

Catachuzeno *ſent from his Brother Prince of* Valachia *to the Emperor.*

His Promiſes.

1686. with which formidable Force compoſing a moſt powerful Army, it was not to be doubted, but that after the Example of their Soldiers, the three Provinces would revolt, and yield to the Emperor; and with ſuch a Force, which nothing could oppoſe, Incurſions might be made with Fire and Sword into all Towns and Quarters of the *Turks*, from the River *Danube* to the Confines of *Poland*, and whereby an intercourſe of Arms, and other intelligences would be obtained. This had been a rare deſign, and a happy project, had all things correſponded with the like Succeſs, and in ſuch a manner as they had been promiſed, and inſinuated by *Catecuzeno*: But tho' all things did not anſwer theſe expectations; yet in other matters, the March of theſe Forces came very opportunely into thoſe Countries, and ſerved to obſtruct the *Tartars* paſſage into the upper *Hungary*, where they were ſpeeding to joyn with *Tekeli*, and to waſt and deſtroy all thoſe Counties.

By this time the Sultan had received a new Confirmation of the Advice, That *Apaſi* had ſent Commiſſioners to Treat with the Emperor at *Vienna*; and tho' the *Turks* were well aſſured of the inclination of *Apaſi* towards them, yet not knowing how far the fear and dread of the ſucceſful Arms of the Imperialiſts might prevail, Orders were diſpatched to the Vizier then at *Belgrade*, immediately to ſend Succours into *Tranſilvania*, to fix and confirm the wavering Mind of that Prince: Accordingly a very conſiderable Force being on the march thither, they were encounter'd on the way by Count *Schaffemberg*, who charged the *Ottoman* Troops ſent to ſecure *Tranſilvania* with ſuch Bravery and Succeſs, that he killed and routed that whole Party, and made himſelf Maſter of that important Paſs of *Hermansburg*: After which he preſſed the Eſtates of *Tranſilvania* once more to declare, but they ſeeking new pretences and excuſes of delay, endeavouring ſo long as they could to maintain their Neutrality, were ſo diſtreſſed at length by Oppreſſion and Free quarters, and Inſolence of the Soldiers, that ſeeing no other remedy they joyned their Troops with the Imperialiſts, and in a Body charged a party of the *Tartars* and put them to Flight.

Orders ſent to the Grand Vizier to relief Prince Apaſi.

The Tranſilvanians joyn with the Imperialiſts.

1686.

In the mean time the Seaſon coming on for laying (as was reſolved) Siege to *Buda*, the Duke of *Loraine* departed from *Newſtadt*, with intention to go to the place of General Rendezvous; but being ſeized by ſome Indiſpoſition, he ſtopt at *Odemberg* and came not unto the Muſter, and Review of the Army until about $\frac{19}{29}$ of *May*: At which time the Elector of *Bavaria*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, Count *Staremberg*, and Count *Bielk* with a Regiment of *Swediſh* Curaſſiers, raiſed for the Service of the Duke of *Bavaria*, together with the Auxiliary Troops of *Saxony* came to the Camp at *Newſtadt* upon the River *Waagh*; but the *Brandenburghers*, and the Troops of *Suabia* being not as yet come; the Duke of *Loraine* marched toward *Raab*, *Comorra* and *Gran*, and put off the Review and Muſter of the Army until the 5*th* of *June*: But on the firſt of that Month, a General Council of War was held to agree upon ſuch Meaſures, as were to be taken for carrying on the Siege of *Buda*. At that aſſembly of Officers, all the miſcarriages and defects in the mannagement of the laſt Siege of the Year 1684 were examined; and Plats brought of the place drawn by divers Hands. In fine, After long Diſcourſes thereupon it was reſolved, That every one ſhould poſſeſs the ſame Poſt, which he held before at the laſt Siege; and that ſome falſe Attacks ſhould be made at firſt, until the Lines were formed, and ſecured in ſuch manner as to hinder all Succours from being brought into the City. After the Council was riſen, ſeveral ſmall Parties of Horſe were detached to ſcowre about the adjacent Parts of *Buda*, *Alba Regalis* and *Erlaw*, to make diſcovery of the State and Condition of the Enemy. The ſame Day the Commiſſary Generals brought unto the Duke of *Loraine* a Liſt of the Forces, which were formed and in a readineſs to be employed in the Siege of *Buda*, the which was compoſed of Thirty thouſand Foot, and Twenty thouſand Horſe, beſides the *Hungarians* and *Brandenburgers*, which were not as yet come to the Camp: The Artillery conſiſted of Sixty Pieces of heavy Cannon, Forty Mortar Pieces, beſides a great number of Bombs, Carcaſſes and Granadoes, with vaſt Stores of Ammunition and Proviſions.

1686.

A Council held for directing the Siege of Buda.

A Liſt of the Forces deſigned for Buda.

The greateſt part of the Army was by this time advanced as far as *Gran*, which is about Forty Engliſh Miles diſtant from *Buda*; the Imperial Troops with thoſe of *Saxony* paſſed the *Danube* over a Bridge at *Gran*, whilſt the *Bavarians* continued their march on the other ſide; that place being deſigned for the General Rendezvous, and where the Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti* falling out on the 13*th* of *June* was to be celebrated; the Solemnity thereof cauſed ſo great a Concourſe of People, that the City not being capable to contain them, the Proceſſion was made without the Walls, and within the compaſs of the Camp. Some Writers ſay, That the People flocked in greater numbers to perform the Feſtival in that place, where it had been interdicted by the *Turks*, for the ſpace of One hundred and twenty Years; which now they were joyful to ſee reſtored;

1686.

red: Theſe Writers had ſaid more properly, if inſtead of the word Reſtor'd, they had uſed the word Introduced; for that it is ſcarce an Hundred Years, as yet, ſince that Feaſt was firſt ordained. After this Day of Devotion was paſt, the Duke of *Loraine* leaving his Infantry under the Cannon of *Gran*, marched with his Cavalry without any Oppoſition as far as *Marotz*, a place near to the Iſle of St. *Andrew*; he cauſed the Ways to be enlarged, which were Narrow, and full of Woods and Buſhes, and then took a full Survey of all the places Situate near the City.

Recruits brought to Buda.

In the mean time the *Turks* were not idle to ſecure and defend themſelves; and for encouragement of the Garriſon of *Buda*, an Aga arrived there from *Conſtantinople*, with a great Sum of Money to pay the Soldiers all their Arreares; and being aſſured now, that the Siege of *Buda* was certainly deſigned, great numbers of Boats freighted with Ammunition and Proviſion, were with a ſtrong Convoy ſent up the River; which ſo drained all the Countries round of Victuals, that there was almoſt a Famine in the adjacent Provinces. Several Troops of the moſt ſelect and choiſe Soldiers were likewiſe ſent to *Buda*, which increaſed the Garriſon to 12.000 effective Foot and Three thouſand Horſe, beſides which the Vizier kept an Army by him of Forty five thouſand Horſe and Foot, which he thought a ſufficient Body to oppoſe any Force, which could be ſpared and detached from the *Chriſtian* Army, and to diſturb them in their Trenches and Works before *Buda*. And becauſe the Jealouſies which the *Turks* conceived of the three Provinces of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia* grew higher every Day, and more cauſe to fear their inclinations towards the Emperor, ſome Forces were ſent againſt them; but conſidering that there was great need of an united Force, a great Detachment from the main Body could not well be ſpared; and therefore it was contrived, that Hoſtages compoſed of the Nobleſt, and moſt conſiderable Perſons of thoſe three Principalities, ſhould be ſent to the Port, for better ſecuring the Faith and Allegiance of thoſe Provinces unto the *Sultan*: But whilſt things remained in this doubtful Condition, the *Turks* could avail little either by fair Terms, or rude Menaces.

The Turks *demand Hoſtages of the three Principalities.*

But the time now approaching for the Siege of *Buda*, the Troops of the Hereditary Countries, haſtned their march from every Province. The Auxiliaries were already advanced to the Confines, and having quitted their Winter-quartes, marched towards the large Campaign of *Barkan*, which was appointed for the place of General Rendezvous. The Military Stores and Ammunition, with the Train of Artillery being all in readineſs, were diſpatched away, part by Water and part by Land, beſides the Proviſions which accompanied the Regiments and Troops in the Field: In the mean time, frequent Councils of War were held at *Vienna*, at which the Emperor, the Dukes of *Loraine*, *Bavaria* and *Newburg* were preſent, the Reſults of all which tended to the Siege of *Buda*; towards which place Orders were given to all the Army to march, and to the Officers to repair unto their reſpective Commands; for thô all the Forces were not as yet come up, yet ſeeing the Year was ſo far advanced, it was thought neceſſary to loſe no longer time before the Siege was formed. The Forces immediately under the Command of the Duke of *Loraine*, to whom the Counts *Caprara* and *Staremberg* were Major Generals, conſiſted of Forty ſeven thouſand and ſeven hundred Horſe and Foot; the Troops under Command of *Maximilian* Elector of *Bavaria* conſiſted of Thirty four thoſand Horſe and Foot. The Forces under Count *Schultz* appointed to guard *Croatia*, and the Banks of the *Drave* made a Body of Twelve thouſand Men; which in all made an Army of Ninety three thouſand and ſeven hundred Men, beſides the ſeveral Garriſons in *Hungary*, and the two Bodies of *Schaffemberg* and *Caraffa*, which were appointed to act apart on the Frontiers of *Tranſilvania*, and along the *Tibiſcus*; beſides a great number of Voluntiers, which flocked from all places, to gain Honour and Renown in ſo Signal a Conqueſt, amogſt which were ſeveral Perſons of great Quality; as one of the natural Sons of King *James* the II. called then Mr. *Fitz-James* now Duke of *Berwick*, with many other Engliſh Gentlemen of good Quality: Alſo two Grandees of *Spain*, namely the Dukes of *Vejar* and *Scalona*, with about Three hundred Spaniſh reformed Officers and Gentlemen of that Nation.

1686.

Councils held about the Siege of Buda.

The Force of the Chriſtians.

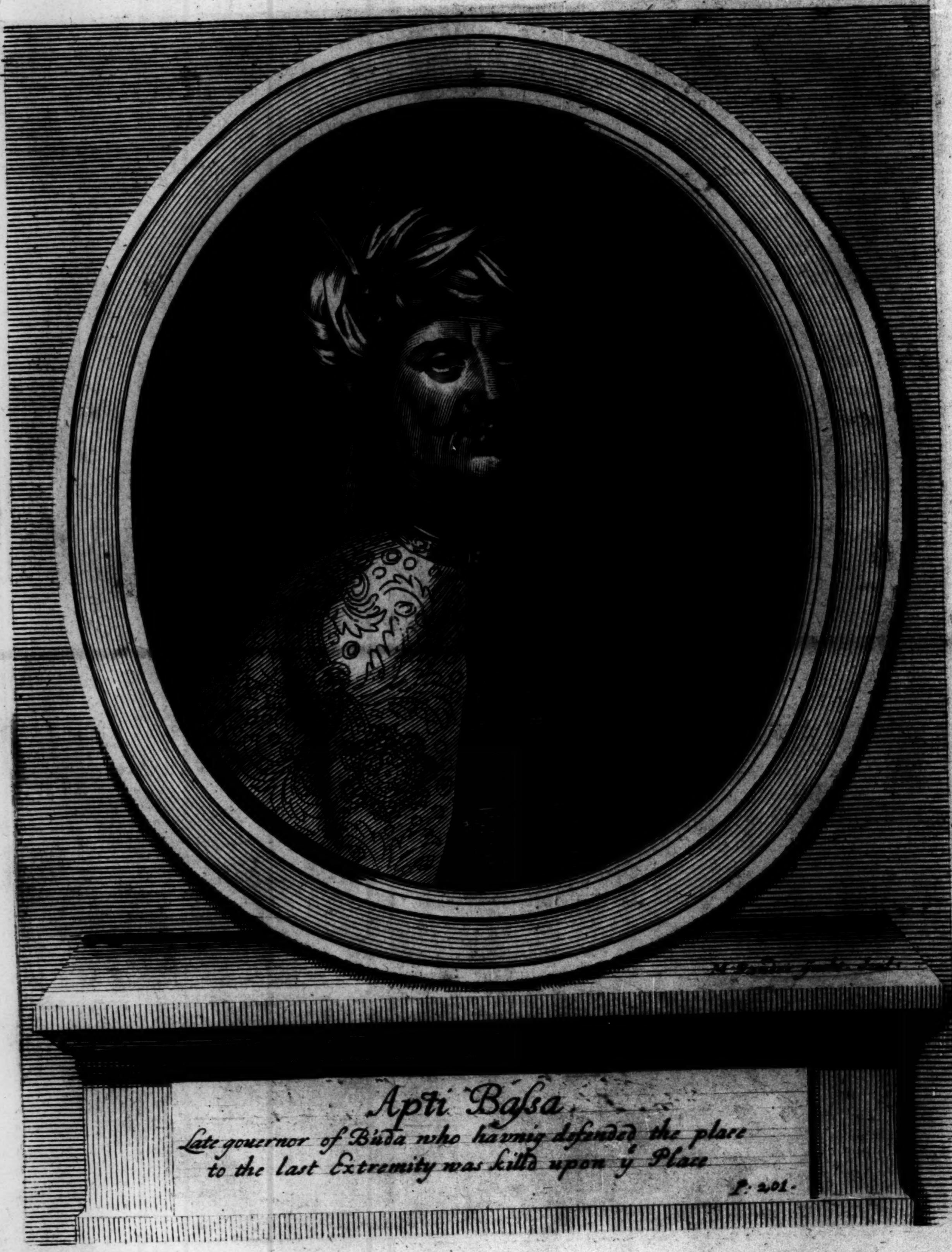
1686.

With this formidable Force (thô the Troops of *Brandenburg* were not yet come) about the beginning of *June* the Army began to move. The Duke of *Loraine* with his Horſe Encamped at St. *Andrews*, The Count *Staremberg* with his Foot at *Poſſcamp*, The Elector of *Bavaria* at *Wailun*; ſo that thô the *Turks* could from the Rampiers of *Buda* diſcover the *Chriſtians* on both ſides of the *Danube*, yet they made no Sallies to hinder, or obſtruct them in their march; believing that this might prove a falſe Appearance; whilſt the real and true intentions of the *Chriſtians* was deſigned againſt *Alba Regalis*; But it was not long before they were undeceived, when they ſaw the Bridge of Communication paſſed over the River,

June.

The Armies march.

and



Apti Baſsa

Late gouernor of Buda who havnig defended the place
to the last Extremity was killd upon ye Place

P: 201.

1686. and the *Bavarian Troops* near to *Peſth*, and their City environed on all ſides with armed Force, then they began to believe that the Siege of *Buda* was deſigned; for until that time they were of Opinion (as we have ſaid) that *Alba Regalis* or Great *Waradin*, or ſome other place would be the labour of this Summer.

1686. On the 19*th* of *June*, the whole Army appear'd before the City to the great Conſternation of the *Turks*; and Orders were given to form a regular and cloſe Siege: And to make the Communication between the Armies the more eaſie and expedite, a ſtrong and ſpacious Bridge was built over the *Danube*, by the Iſland of St. *Andrew*, which was Situate in the middle of the River. The *Bavarian* Troops approaching towards *Peſth*, enter'd it without any oppoſition, for that the *Turks* finding it to be a place not to be defended without a greater Force, than what could well be ſpared from the Walls of *Buda*; had Demoliſhed the greateſt part of the Works, carried off the Cannon, their Ammunition and their Stores, leaving the Town diſmantled and deſolate: Howſoever, before they had wholly demoliſhed every thing as they had intended, they were ſurprized by the *Bavarian* Troops, and forced to quit their Work and fly to the Bridge; but when they came thither, they found it broken down by ſome of their Companions, who had paſſed before, fearing to be purſued by the Enemy; ſo that terrified and amazed, many leapt into the Water, of which divers were Drown'd, and about Thirty with an Aga were taken Priſoners; the Boats of which this Bridge was Built, floating on one ſide and the other of the River, were taken up by the *Bavarians*, and brought to the Iſle of St. *Andrews*, where they ſerved, and contributed much to the ſpeedy finiſhing of that Bridge which was there in Building.

The Turks *abandon* Peſth.

Peſth being in this manner poſſeſſed; It was agreed at a Council of War, That thoſe Fortifications which were the leaſt damaged ſhould be repair'd; which was accordingly done, and a Platform made in a Trianglar Figure, and ſurrounded with a deep Ditch, and fortified with ſome Cannon, and a ſufficient Garriſon left to defend it, whereby they cut off from the Enemy all Incurſions and Communications on that ſide of the River.

A Fort raiſed at Peſth.

Apti Paſha was then chief Commander in *Buda*: He was an aged Man, but a good Soldier and of great experience in the War: He had repaired all the Baſtions, and Curtains, and Walls, which had been battered down and blown up in the laſt Siege; and that thoſe Repairs might be the leſs ſeen and diſcovered by the Enemy, he had cauſed all the Walls to be new whited, that it might not appear where the Repairs had been lately made, and the Earth brought, which could not be ſo cloſe and binding and ſolid, as the old Works: Moreover he had erected a ſtrong Wall deſcending from the Caſtle to the River, to ſecure the Water and Communication with the *Danube*.

Apti *Paſha Governour of* Buda.

1686.

The Duke of *Loraine* paſſed over the Water in a little Boat, to Viſit and hold a Conference with the Duke of *Bavaria* then in his Quarters near *Peſth*; where after ſome Diſcourſe, the Aga taken at the Bridge was examined; and a *Turk*, who had voluntarily eſcaped out of the Town was brought before them, and declared, That there was not above Eight thouſand Men in all the Garriſon, accounting *Janiſaries*, *Spahees* and *Segmen* (which are a ſort of Foot Soldiers, properly belonging to thoſe Countries) and moſt of them of the new Levies; and that *Apti* Paſha himſelf, had not gained ſo much Reputation and Eſteem amongſt the Soldiery, as *Shaitan* Paſha had done, who had ſo bravely Defended the City in the Year 1684; and thô the wiſe Generals gave little or no credence to ſuch Relations as theſe, coming from affrighted Priſoners and Captives, whoſe buſineſs it was to flatter, and mollifie the Minds of their Conquerours; yet ſuch Reports proceeding from Witneſſes that were come from the City, ſerved to encourage the Soldiery, who were ready to believe what they deſire, and what may render their Enemies Low and Contemptible.

Examination of Turks *taken.*

Count *Staremberg* received Orders from the Duke of *Loraine* to perfect the Bridge with all poſſible ſpeed, which being finiſhed, the Elector of *Bavaria*, with all his Forces, (except thoſe which were left for the Guard of *Peſth*) paſſed and encamped his Men at the Foot of the Mount St. *Gerard*, and took poſſeſſion of the ſame Poſts and Places which he had poſſeſſed two Years before; and on the ſide of the Mount he raiſed two Batteries againſt the upper Town, and made his own Head-quarter, at the Baths of hot Waters, to be nearer to that Place, which his Forces were to Attack; and there raiſing a Battery of ſix Pieces of Cannon, he thence drew two parallel Lines of Communication; to which another was added very large and deep extending to the lower Town, into which the ſame day Two thouſand Men were entred to attack that Place. Next hereunto were the Quarters of Count *Staremberg*, to which were united the Troops of the Prince of *Saxony*, having their Lines in a circular Form: Next hereunto the main Body of Horſe was lodged, being as it were in the middle, and in the moſt commodious place to oppoſe the Sallies of the Enemies Cavalry;

Proceedings of the Duke of Bavaria.

The Quarters of the Army.

1686. on the other ſide of which Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* had made his Allodgement. Next hereunto were the Quarters of the Duke of *Loraine*, oppoſite to the Breach, which they were labouring to lay open. Next in order were placed the Troops of the Circles, which with the Voluntiers reached to the brink of the River, making a moſt formidable Body encompaſſing the Town: And to ſurround it on all ſides, Trenches and Lines were made on the ſide of *Peſth*, guarded and defended by *Heydukes* and *Hungarians*. Thus was this City again encompaſſed with the June. Chriſtian Arms, on the 22*d* of this Month, which about two Years ago, was accounted the impregnable Fortreſs, and the Sanctuary, and Place of Refuge for the *Turks*, where Fortune had made its *Ne plus ultra*, and ſet Bounds to the Progreſs of the Imperial Arms. But theſe brave Captains and Soldiers being returned again to their old Quarters, remembring the Diſgrace they had received by being foiled, and beholding the Places where their Comrades and Fellow-Soldiers had breathed out their laſt, and where ſome of them had received ſuch Wounds, as were ſtill ſmarting, and ſcarce healed, became more enraged and animated to avenge themſelves, of which they conceived greater hopes by Experience and Acquaintance with the Situation of the Place, and thereby better enabled to amend the Errors of the laſt Siege, having made Proviſions of all things in great abundance, for want of which, Armies commonly ſuffer more in their Trenches, than they dô from the Efforts, and Violences, and Sallies of the Enemy.

The provident and wiſe Duke of *Loraine* being well adviſed and aware hereof; and obſerving that very little Rain had fallen that Spring, ſo that the Graſs and Forage for Horſes was very ſhort; and that the great Heats and Drought had burnt up the Paſture in all parts round the Leaguer: He drew out from every Troop ten Men only, to lodge within the Trenches, which made a Body of two Regiments, or Two thouſand *The Horſe Quarters.* Horſe, under the Command of Count *Taff*, which were eſteem'd ſufficient to repulſe any Sallies of Horſe which the Enemy could make from the Town: But the main and great Body of Horſe were ordered to march towards *Alba Regalis*, under Command of the Counts *Palfi* and *Gondola*, and other Generals; and taking their Quarters upon the Banks of the River *Sarwitz*, they might there not only find plenty of Forage for themſelves, but deprive the Enemy thereof, and diminiſh their Stores; beſides, the Place was commodious both to interrupt the Vizier in his March, and all other Succours deſigned for the Relief of *Buda*.

The parallel Lines of Communication being finiſhed, by which the Soldiers might paſs under ſhelter to the lower Town; and the Batteries raiſed on the ſide of the hot Waters, where (as we ſaid) the Duke of *Bavaria* had his Head Quarters; Six Pieces of Cannon of Twenty four pound Ball, began firſt to play on that Wall, *Batteries raiſed.* where two Years before a Battery and Breach had been made, and an Aſſault given; the Place was called the *Burg of Waſſerſtadt*, in Engliſh, the Water-Town; and here it was thought fit to renew the Battery; for that the Earth having been lately laid, and the Work repaired, it could not be ſo well ſetled, and ſo firm as the ancient Fortifications, the which was manifeſted by a plain and open Proof; for being for one whole Day continually battered, ſo great a Breach was made, and ſo wide, as to open a Way to a formidable Aſſault: On the other ſide the *Turks* plyed their Cannon very hard upon the Camp, which did not much damage, thô lodged within Muſquet-ſhot. And thô the Breach was made, yet it was thought neceſſary to defer the Aſſault until the Approaches were perfected, June. which before Morning were almoſt finiſhed, under the darkneſs of the Night.

On the 24*th* all things being prepared, and a Breach open'd of above twenty Paces wide, a Signal for an Aſſault was given by firing three Pieces of Cannon; upon which the Troops appointed for that Service, advanced with ſuch Bravery and Reſolution, *The lower Town aſſaulted* that the Enemy yielded up that Station with little Reſiſtance; and a Party of them deſcending from the upper Town, gave only a ſingle Volly of Shot, and ſo again retired with ſome Diſorder. This being the firſt Action of this Siege, *and taken.* there was ſcarce a Voluntier or Gentleman-Adventurer in the whole Army, but who preſented himſelf in this Enterprize, being deſirous to ſignalize his Valour in the firſt beginning. The Night following the *Turks* kept continually firing, which did not hinder the *Chriſtians* from lodging themſelves to the right and left on the Breach of the lower Town; in the taking of which, they loſt but Eight Soldiers in that Day and Night's Service, which being ſo cheaply obtained, the Generals ſuſpected that the Enemy had abandoned the Place with Deſign, and with Intention to Blow up the Aſſailants with ſome Mines prepared for them; and for that reaſon they gave a ſtop to the Advancement of the Troops; but the next Day, having ſearched and examined thoſe Places, and finding all ſecure, they proceeded to make a new Lodgment in the Angle of the Wall of the lower Town, which anſwered in a right Line to the main Tower of the upper City, under which they lay ſecure from the

Enemies

1686. Enemies Shot. This Exploit being performed with the loſs only of Sixteen Men; there was but little Plunder found therein, beſides ſome Horſes and Oxen, and ſome few Field-pieces upon one of the Works; for all the Houſes were beaten down by the *Turks* themſelves, and conſumed by Fire, and the Inhabitants either fled or retired into the upper Fortifications; which ſhews evidently that the *Turks* looking on that Place as not tenable, had drawn their Force into the higher Town, in which they placed all their Security, hoping to make a moſt vigorous Reſiſtence, both by the advantagious Situation, and the goodneſs of the Fortifications: But the *Chriſtians* finding the Advantage of the lower Ground, whereby to offend the upper City, employed immediately Two thouſand Men, with diverſe Laboures to draw the Lines, and deepen the Approaches from one Gate to the other.

Lines drawn in the lower Town.

In the mean time the *Turks*, who lived in the parts adjacent to *Buda*, being put into great Conſternation by the concourſe of the Chriſtian Arms, prepared themſelves to fly, and ſeek Refuge in remote parts; ſo that many, with their Wives, and Children, and Servants, having taking with them the beſt of their Houſholdſtuff and Goods, paſſed over to the Iſland of St. *Margarets*, which is ſituate in the *Danube*, and of a very great length; but finding this Place of too near Neighbourhood to the Chriſtian Army, and very unſecure; having got about thirty large Boats and Barges, they had laden their Goods and embarked their Perſons thereon, with deſign to paſs down the River to *Belgrade*; when a Body of *Hungarians*, *Huſſars*, and *Heydukes*, under Command of Count *Budiani*, having Advice thereof, armed out a good number of Boats and Barges, and with Three hundred Dragoons by Land, boarded their Veſſels, and having killed the Boat-men, and the chief amongſt them, eaſily made themſelves Maſters of the reſt, and of all the rich Houſholdſtuff, Mony, and Goods, in ſuch abundance, that every Common Soldier had a Suit and Veſt of Silk for his own Share, with other good Booty and Plunder, which they carried away, and departed; but being informed afterwards by ſome *Raſcians*, that the Inhabitants of that Iſland had committed many Cruelties and Outrages upon the *Chriſtians*, they returned again to the Iſland, which is about ſeven *Hungarian* or *German* Miles long, (which make about Twenty eight *Engliſh*) and there put all to Fire and Sword, with the Slaughter of about a Thouſand Men. After which, Count *Budiani* went purpoſely to the Duke of *Loraine*, in the Camp, to render an account of his late Atchievements; and in teſtimony thereof, he preſented him with ſeven Turkiſh Standards, which he had won in that, and in another Rencounter, in which he had defeated a Party of the Enemy near *Erſcin*, together with ſome Priſoners of Quality and Condition, amongſt which there was an Aga and a Chiaus.

The Turks near Buda fly to the Iſle of St. Margaret.

Are attacked by the Chriſtians and plunder'd.

Many of them kill'd.

1686. June.

1686.

26th. The Chriſtian Soldiers animated with theſe daily Succeſſes, ſome few of them, with more Temerity than Prudence, made an attempt to Lodge themſelves nearer to the Upper City, without thoſe due Precautions of Defence, which are commonly uſed by throwing up of Earth, and making ſome little Blinds as is practiſed in all Military Approaches; but theſe bold Men adventured with open Breaſts to enlarge their Lodgments on that ſide of the City which looks towards *Strigonium*; which when the *Turks* obſerved, a great number of them flanked on one ſide by the round Tower, and on the other by a Party of Muſqueteers, throwing Stones and Hand-granadoes, aſſailed the *Germans*, (who were not above Fifty in all) with ſo much Fury as forced them to make their Retreat; the which notwithſtanding they did with good Order, being aſſiſted by their Comrades, who came to their Help, and repulſed the Enemy, and made them with ſome loſs to retire back into the City: Howſoever, in a ſhort time after, about the Cloſe of the Evening, the *Turks* made a more vigorous Sally on the Left-hand of the round Tower of the old City: The Count of *Ausberg* and the Cavalier *Rohne* having the Command that Night of thoſe Quarters, with great Bravery received the Enemy, and engaged with them for above an Hour's ſpace; when the Prince of *Commarcy*, and the Prince of *Vaudemont* having their Quarters near thereunto, came ſeaſonably into their Succour with many Gentlemen, who were Voluntiers, and Soldiers of Fortune, and forced the *Turks* back into the City, with the loſs of about Fifty *Janiſaries*: Of the *Chriſtians* were about ten killed in this Action, which was well paid by the advantage then gained; for whilſt the Parties were engaged in this manner, they opened the Trenches on both ſides of the old City, with two large Parades or places of Arms, and extended the Lines of the Approaches towards the two Bulwarks of the upper City. And becauſe it was neceſſary to Batter the City on that ſide, a Battery was raiſed, without the old Wall, of Sixteen Pieces of heavy Cannon, from which many Shot were made at the round Tower, and ſeveral Bombs thrown into the City.

The Boldneſs of the Chriſtian Soldiers.

Sallies made by the Turks, and are repulſed.

The *Turks* nothing diſanimated herewith, made a vigorous Sally on the Quarters of the *Bavarian* Forces, with Three thouſand

The Turks made a Sally and were repulſed.

Horſe and Foot; and thô the Elector was at that time indiſpoſed in his Health; yet his Bravery prompted him to mount on Horſeback, and with the aſſiſtance of the Horſe, under Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Hoſkerken*, which were Quartered in a Vally on the Way towards *Strigonium*, he with a ſteddy Foot oppoſed the *Turks*, and forced them to Retire with Diſorder into the Town. In this Action Twenty four of their Officers were Slain, with many *Janiſaries*, and many Wounded. Of the *Bavarians* about Forty were Killed, cauſed by a Surprize at the firſt beginning of the Sally: The Prince of *Savoy* according to his natural Courage and Valour, preſſing into the thickeſt of the Enemies numbers, had his Horſe Killed under him; but mounting another, purſued the Enemy to the very Gates of the City.

The Swedes and others come to the Camp.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, it was a matter of great encouragement to the Camp, to find their Forces daily augmenting by new Recruits. For the *Swedes* were then newly arrived under the Command of the Marquis of *Turlac*, and took their Station on that ſide, which leads to *Alba Regalis*. Theſe were followed by Lieutenant General *Schoning*, Commander in Chief of the *Brandenburg* Forces, whoſe arrival at the Camp ſooner than was expected, was a cauſe of much Joy and Satisfaction to the whole Army. About the ſame time alſo came Prince *Lewis* of *Newburg*, Great Maſter of the Knights of the *Teutonick* Order, with Count *Dunewalt*, and many Knights of that Order: As alſo divers famous Engeniers, together with Count *Rabata*, who brought with him many Bombs, Mortar-Pieces, with a new Train of Artillery, abundance of Ammunition, and all Warlike preparations: With which, and with the Addition of new Forces, they were enabled to draw a new Line of Communication, without that which was next to the City, extending from one Encampment unto the other; which they ſupported with ſmall Redoubts raiſed and fortified with Cannon, which proved to be of great uſe againſt the Sallies of the *Turks*, which were very frequent, and performed with Reſolution and Courage: Beſides all which Recruits, the Auxiliary Troops of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, to the number of Five or Six thouſand Men, with two Companies from *Paſſau* and *Ratiſbone* arrived in the Camp; and on the firſt of *July* they took thoſe Stations which were appointed for them. July.

The Works of the City batter'd.

The Town was now Batter'd on all ſides, and particularly by a Fort raiſed by the *Swedes*, which on the third of this Month, began to make a Breach on three Towers which defended the upper Wall. The Cannon on the ſide of the *Loraine* Quarters, had in four Days time abſolutely demoliſhed two Bulwarks, which flanked the Wall on that ſide, and ruined the Wall it ſelf, having made a very large Breach; to diſcover which, and to know in what manner it lay open to an Aſſault, four Muſquetiers were Order'd to mount thereupon, and ſee in what Poſture the *Turks* remained on that ſide; ſo ſoon as theſe adventurous Men appeared at the Mouth of the Breach, the *Turks* cried out and took a general Allarum, running immediately to drive them from thence, but they being ſuccoured by another Party of Muſquetiers, and by continual Peals of Cannon, and Fourteen Mortar-Pieces, which threw Bombs, the *Turks* were worſted and loſt many Men; and being not able to endure the conſtant Firings, were forced to Retreat, as alſo did the four Muſquetiers with ſome Wounds received by Stones and Granadoes. By two or three Inhabitants, who for fear had deſerted the Town, informations were given, That by the many Bombs, and the continual Firing of great Cannon, the Conſternation was ſo great, that both the Inhabitants and the Soldiers eſteemed themſelves in as much danger within the City, as thoſe were who mounted the Guards, and were actually emploied in Defence of the Walls: Wherefore, to ſecure themſelves the better, the Tops of the Houſes were uncovered, and Caves and Vaults made under Ground, to Lodge both the Citizens and the Souldiers; and for the better ſafeguard of the Garriſon, which was always expoſed on the Walls, it was contrived to make ſome Mines without at every Baſtion, well charged with Powder, that upon any Attack might be ready to be Fired: Of which the Duke of *Loraine*, having intelligence from theſe Fugitives, he order'd Countermines to be made, which hinder'd the *Turkiſh* Labourers ſomething in their Works; but either by the looſneſs of the Ground, or the unexperience of the Miners, the Succeſs did not anſwer Expectation: For thô the Miners had proceeded a great way under Ground, by which it was believed, that the Springing of one Mine would widen the Breach and facilitate the Aſſault; that Project had little effect, for the Mine being fired did not caſt up much Earth: Howſoever, It was followed by an Aſſault on that ſide of the Duke of *Loraine*, of which the *Turks* being aware made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, throwing great quantities of Bombs, Stones and Hand-Granadoes amongſt the Beſiegers. In this Action above Sixty Muſquetiers were killed and wounded; the General *Tingen*, and Major *Beſancon* were wounded with Stones, and the Cavalier *de Roſne* was ſhot through the Shoulder. Howſoever, the Imperia-

The Turks uncover their Houſes

Mines and Counter-Mines.

An Aſſault given.

To the damage of the Chriſtians.

1686.

perialiſts keeping their Ground in their Trenches, about Two hundred Paces from the Wall, did at length repulſe the Enemy; and with continual Batteries the Walls were ſo plied, that from the Tower in the Corner of the City, to the firſt Bulwark, they were almoſt ruined and beaten down, as were alſo the three Towers which were oppoſite to that Attack.

July.

The Turks *make a Sally on the* Bran-denburg *ſide.*

On the *9th* of this Month about break of Day, the *Turks* made another Sally to the Left-hand, where the *Brandenburg* Troops were lodged, which was performed with ſuch Fury, that the *Brandenburgers* being ſurprized, quitted their Poſts, and were beaten out of their firſt Line, with the loſs of about Two hundred Men killed, amongſt which there was one Captain, one Lieutenant and an Enſign: And the Enemy firing at the ſame time a Mine, in which four or five Miners were buried, had cauſed much more diſorder, had not a Body of Reſerve, and the Main Guard come in to their Aſſiſtance, which ſo bravely Charged the Enemy, as to force them to Retire in great Confuſion. The Imperialiſts loſt in this Action, beſides the *Brandenburgers* above One hundred and fifty Men, amongſt whom was a Lieutenant Colonel, who was a *Swede*, a Captain of the Regiment of *Mansfelt*, two Lieutenants and many other ſubaltern Officers.

In the mean time the *Bavarians* advanced their Approaches, and from a new Battery began to Fire, and ſhoot at a ſmall Tower, which notwithſtanding did little execution, the Walls being very good on that ſide. The ſame Day a Deſerter from the Town brought News, That the Beſieged expected in Twenty four Hours time a Reinforcement of Three thouſand Men; upon which intelligence Three hundred and fifty Men were immediately diſpatched over the Water unto *Peſth*, to ſtrengthen the Redoubt at that place, and to prevent the *Turks* in their deſign of cutting off all Communication between that Fort and the Camp. And upon farther intelligence, that the *Turks* aſſembled in great Bodies about *Segedin*, the Duke of *Loraine* diſpatched away the Baron *Marcy*, with Three thouſand Horſe, and ſix Battalions of Foot over the *Danube*, with Orders to advance as far as *Hatwan*, and to Engage the *Turks* in what place ſoever it ſhould be his Fortune to meet them: Accordingly Baron *Marcy* paſſed the River, and poſted himſelf near the Bridge of *Peſth*, there to attend the Enemy who were coming upon him, as was reported, with a Body of Ten thouſand Men, under Command of *Achmet* Paſha: Upon which Advice, the Duke of *Loraine* diſpeeded away three Imperial Regiments, to joyn with and reinforce the Detachment under *Marcy*, leſt the Enemy ſhould ſeize the Paſſage over the *Teyſſe*. In the mean time, the *Chriſtian's* working hard upon a Mine on the *Bavarian* ſide, which they deſigned ſhould make the Breach wider and larger than it was, were diſcovered by the *Turkiſh* Miners, who were preparing a Mine near thereunto; and had almoſt completed it, when fearing leſt the *Chriſtians* ſhould be before-hand with them, they precipitated matters ſo faſt, that due care was not taken to hinder a Reverſe; but on the contrary, the *Turks* giving Fire to their Mine, it recoyled back on themſelves, and buried many of their Men, and ſo ſhook the Walls and Fortifications of the Tower, that by the help of a Battery of eight Pieces of Cannon, which were levelled and plaid upon it, the Breach was made conſiderably wide, and ſo enlarged, that at a Council of War held on the 13*th* of this Month, it was reſolved not longer to defer the Aſſault on the *Bavarian* ſide: The Orders for which were no ſooner Iſſued, and the Signal given, than all the Voluntiers and brave Adventurers in the Army, Tranſported with Ambition, and Deſire of Glory, preſſed to be the firſt that ſhould mount the Breach. In this Action Count *Guy* of *Staremberg*, Count *Herberſtein*, and Count *Aversberg* were Commanded each with Two hundred and twenty Men to make the Aſſault in three ſeveral places; the firſt of which was to enter in the middle of the Curtain, the ſecond on the right Hand, and the third on the left; amongſt which ſome Granadiers were mixed, and Pioniers to prepare and level the Ground to make an Allodgment; and a Reſerve of Two thouſand Men was appointed to ſuſtain, and ſecond the Aſſailants. The Aſcent unto the Breach was very difficult, and the *Turks* had repaired it in many places with Paliſodoes; howſoever to brave Minds ſpirited with a deſire of Glory, ſuch as were the Voluntiers, who were Gentlemen of principal Quality, from divers Parts and Nations of *Europe*, nothing ſeemed ſo difficult and hazardous, but what they were able and daring to ſurmount. The Onſet was made about ſeven a Clock in the Evening, and the firſt thing attempted was to force up the Paliſadoes, which being done, they found the Beſieged poſted behind in their Trenches with good Order; the *Chriſtians* Attacked them with great Vigour, and the *Turks* made an equal Defence, pouring whole Vollies of ſhot with great numbers of Granadoes, and diſcharging a prodigious quantity of Stones from their Mortar-pieces upon them; on each ſide likewiſe was a round Tower filled with Muſquetiers and Granadiers, who beſtowed their Shot liberally upon them; ſo that the Aſſailants being between Firings on each

ſide,

Succour ſent to Peſt.

Marcy *ſent to oppoſe the march of the* Turks.

1686.

The Turks *Fire a Mine to their hurt.*

July.

An Aſſault made on the Town.

1686.

An Aſſault given with loſs to the Chriſtians.

ſide, as alſo on the Front were killed and wounded in great numbers; howſoever they made themſelves Maſters of the Breach, which they maintained and defended above the ſpace of an hour; but at length the heat of the Fight was ſo great, as had put things into much Diſorder, and cauſed the Pioneers and Labourers to diſperſe; and a Proviſion of Faggots, and Sacks of Earth not being at Hand, ſufficient to cover the Aſſailants, they lay naked and expoſed to the Shot of the Enemy; and at the ſame time a Mine being prepared, and fired under the Breach, it did great execution; ſo that many Perſons of great Quality and Valour were killed and wounded in this Action; and the *Turks* making a Sally in another place at the ſame time, the General cauſed a Signal to be given for the Troops to Retreat, which was done in very good Order. The Regiments of *Souches*, *Manſfelt* and *Staremberg*, were thoſe which ſuffer'd moſt in this Action.

The Perſons Wounded were:

The Prince of *Commarcy*.
The Duke of *Bejar*, a Grandee of *Spain*.
Marquis *Blancfort*, Son of Mareſchal *Crequi*.
Count *Staremberg*.
Count *Dona*.
The Duke of *Eſcalona*, a Grandee of *Spain*.
Two Captains of *Souches*'s Regiment.
The Baron *Chifler*, the Natural Son of Prince *Rupert*.
My Lord *George Savil*, Second Son of the Lord Marquis of *Halifax*.
Count *Maldeghen*.
Mr. *Fitz James*, Natural Son of King *James* the II. of *England*.
Count *Urſe*, three *Spaniſh* Gentlemen.
Monſieur *Sulpice*, a Gentleman belonging to the Prince of *Commarcy*.

Perſons Killed were:

Prince Palatine of *Veldens*.
Prince *Piccolomini*.
Count *Hortemback*, Page to the Duke of *Loraine*.
The Cavalier of *Courmaillon*.
Count *Ermeſtein*, Major of *Schezſemberg*'s Regiment.
Six *Engliſh* Noblemen, amongſt which was that Worthy Gentleman Colonel *Robert Forbus*, Second Son to the Earl of *Granard*.
Three *Spaniſh* Gentlemen, belonging to the Duke of *Bejar*.
The *Turks* had about Two hundred Men killed, and One hundred wounded.

1686.

The Beſieged thinking hereby to have gained a great advantage over the *Chriſtians*, and thereby to have put them into ſome Confuſion and Diſorder, made a Sally that Night on the *Brandenburgher*'s Quarters; but were vigorouſly repulſed back again into the Town, with the loſs of many Heads, which the *Brandenburghers* carried into the Camp, to receive the uſual Rewards promiſed thereupon.

Terrible effects of Bombs to the Turks.

For ſeveral Days there hapned nothing but Batteries, and Firing Mines on one ſide and the other; but the Mines on the *Chriſtian* ſide did not ſo much execution, as did thoſe of the *Turks*: Howſoever, the Bombs were much available, and did great damage within the Town; eſpecially thoſe of a new Invention made by an Ingenier called *Gonzales*, which not only killed, but ſet all on Fire whereſoever it fell. One of this ſort of Bombs hapning within the Walls of a great Edifice, (for as we ſaid before, all the Roofs and Coverings were taken off) produced moſt terrible and direful effects, not only beating down the Walls, but Killed above One hundred Men, Women and Children. The *Turks* to Revenge themſelves for all theſe Slaughters, were very diligent and active in Springing their Mines, which they had prepared with great Art; by which many Soldiers and Officers of note were deſtroyed, to the great diminution in number of the Beſiegers: In the mean time the *Chriſtians* plied their great Guns, and Sprang the Mines to widen the Breaches, in order to make a General Aſſault, for which Preparations were daily made, and Ladders brought, and all Inſtruments provided in order thereunto.

Of Mines to the Chriſtians.

July.

The great Magazine of the Turks *Blown up.*

On the 20*th* Day of *July*, about ſeven a Clock in the Morning, a ſtrange hollow Noiſe was heard under Ground, and the Earth trembled both in the Town, and under the Feet of the Soldiers in the Camp; and a dark Cloud of Smoak and Aſhes cover'd the City, ſo thick and black, that for the ſpace of an hour, ſcarce any thing of the Walls themſelves could be ſeen; which cauſed a Terrour in the Minds of the Beſiegers, notwithſtanding their Reſolution and Bravery; for whole ſhowers of Stones were caſt up, and thrown into the *Bavarian* Trenches, whereby many Soldiers and Officers of Quality were Wounded: And whilſt the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Prince of *Baden* were buſily employ'd in Riding about to confirm their Soldiery, a Stone of conſiderable weight and bigneſs fell between them: All which Convulſion hapned by blowing up of the chief Magazine of the City, whether by Bomb from the Camp, or any other Accident is uncertain:

But ſuch were the dreadful effects thereof, That it ſhook down one Wing of the Caſtle, and that ſide of the Wall towards the Water; threw vaſt quantities of Stone and Rubbiſh into the *Danube*; and Killed above Fifteen hundred People, who were uſeleſs and unfit for Service, and had for their better ſafety hid themſelves in Vaults and Cellars: By this unexpected Blow, the City being much weakned towards the Water, *Giavarino* Lieutenant General of the *Heydukes*, was Order'd with a Party of his Soldiers to take the advantage of this Accident, and to poſt himſelf in the beſt manner he could, to hinder all Sallies of the Enemie by that way, and to make that ſide more eaſie and fit for Storm.

But whilſt the Duke of *Loraine* thought of theſe things, and how much his Forces were diminiſhed by Aſſaults, by Sallies of the Enemy, by Mines, by Sickneſs and various other Accidents; and how much Blood it might ſtill coſt, before the Town could be forced to Surrender by dint of Sword, he reſolved to make uſe of this opportune Miſfortune, whilſt the *Turks* remain'd in their Terrour and Amazement to try the Paſha with Capitulations and good Conditions in caſe of Surrender; and to ſend him a Summons in Writing, by the Hand of Count *Coniſeck*, who according to his Inſtructions, repreſented the State and Condition of the Affair to the Paſha Governour, that the *Chriſtians* were very ſtrong without, and reſolved to take the Town, the Walls of which were almoſt demoliſh'd, and their Garriſon laid open and expoſed; and that a General Aſſault was determined; and that ſince they could not reaſonably expect any Relief or Succour, the Paſha would do better Service to his Maſter the *Ottoman* Emperor by ſaving the Blood of his People, than by a deſperate defence to ſacrifice the Lives of ſo many by his wilful obſtinacy; nor hereby could he give occaſion to any to tax him, either for want of Valour or Conduct, ſince he had given ſuch fair Evidence of both unto the World. The Paſha received the Meſſenger with much more Humanity, than they did ever practiſe in the times of their Proſperity, and heard him with great attention; and Read the Letter ſent him by the Duke of *Loraine* ſeveral times over: But before he would make any Reply thereunto, he called a *Divan* or Council, in which the Buſineſs being debated for the ſpace of about three hours; at length this Anſwer was returned in Writing, and put up in a Purſe of White Sattin, according to the Cuſtom of the *Turks*; which was to this effect. *That he did wonder much from which of his Actions, during this Siege, he could ground any Hope upon theſe Summons, that he ſhould, or could be prevailed with to make a Surrender, not having been guilty as be imagined of ſuch mean and Cowardly behavior, as might merit ſo great an Affront to his Valour, as to be tempted with Conditions and Terms how Honourable ſoever unto a Surrender. But in caſe He, and his Soldiers had appear'd in the leaſt manner Timorous and Baſe, That they would amend that fault by a more vigorous Defence, and by ſuch Actions as ſhould make it appear to the World, that, that City was conſerved with a Bravery equal to the Importance thereof; That God would puniſh the Pride of the* Chriſtians, *for daring ſo much as to conceive a thought of bringing low the Ottoman Emperor, from whom having received the Command of that Place, he was reſolved to deliver it unto no other, than unto him only.*

Summons ſent to the Paſha.

The Paſha's Anſwer.

Whilſt this Treaty continued, which was for the ſpace of three Hours, a Ceſſation of Arms was granted, during which time, the Soldiers on each ſide diſcourſed friendly, and jeſted together, and reached to one another their Pipes, and their Tobacco; from whence it may be ſeen, how natural Love and Friendſhip is to Mankind, and how unnatural and violent is Hatred, War and Cruelty.

From this Haughty and Reſolute Anſwer of the *Turks* many did conjecture, That they had received promiſes of a ſpeedy Relief; which cauſed ſome Reports and Diſcourſes in the Camp, That the Vizier was marching with a very numerous and puiſſant Army for their Succour: Of which thô the Beſieged had no intelligence; yet conſidering that the thing was not improbable, the *Turks* conceived ſome hopes from thence, and the *Chriſtians* prepared to receive and engage them. Nor was the expectation of Relief by the March of the *Turks* without ſome ground; for at *Hatwan* in the Upper *Hungary* great numbers of them joyned in one Body, which with much advantage might deſcend with the Current down the River, and give trouble and diſturbance at the Siege of *Buda*: To prevent which, ſome Bridges were ſent, for paſſing the Regiments of Horſe under *Caprara*, and the Prince *Charles* of *Neuburg* over the Rivers, unto ſuch Commodious Paſſes, as were advantagious to reſtrain thoſe Forces from farther proceedings. In the mean time ſome comfortable News was brought to the Duke of *Loraine* from Count *Caraffa*, who adviſed, that upon intelligence of a very conſiderable Convoy ſent from *Segedin*, for the Relief and Reinforcement of *Agria*; he with General *Heuſler* reſolved to make an Aſſault thereupon; which deſign failing, gave an occaſion howſoever to give a Defeat to a great part of the Garriſon of *Agria*; in

A ſtop given to the progreſs of the Turks.

1686.

which Action *Caprara* poſted himſelf in a cloſe, and deep Vally, cover'd on both ſides with Hills; and about half a League beyond *Peterhaſi* with ſome *Hungarian* Troops well Armed, was order'd to lie in Ambuſh; from whence he detached about Fifty *Huſſars* to March towards the City, and in their Way to take up all the Horſes and Cattle they could find in the Paſtures, with Orders that in caſe the Garriſon ſhould Sally out upon them, that they ſhould feign a ſeeming Flight, and draw them on until they came near the Camp: The which being accordingly performed by the *Huſſars*, *Oſman* Paſha of *Agria* purſued them cloſe with a ſelect number of his beſt Soldiers, until unwarily he fell into the Ambuſcade which was laid for him; from whence the *Hungarians* Sallying forth renewed the Fight, being ſeconded by General *Heuſler's* Dragoons, who kept the Enemy in play until the Foot were come up to their Aſſiſtance: And then *Oſman* Paſha being ſenſible of the Snare into which he was fallen, encouraged his Men bravely to defend themſelves, and to make an orderly Retreat, but he was then too far engaged; for after a hot and deſperate Conflict, above Two hundred and fifty of the Garriſon were killed, and about One hundred Priſoners taken, and amongſt the reſt *Oſman* Paſha himſelf was ſlain: Howſoever this Victory was not gained without ſome loſs on the *Chriſtians* ſide; for Baron *Bur* a Captain of Dragoons, and the Captain Lieutenant of the Regiment of *Caſtelli*, with above Twenty Common Soldiers were killed, beſides many wounded; this Engagement being towards the Evening, the remainder of the Garriſon by covert of the Night, made their Retreat back and recover'd the City.

The Paſha of Agria *defeated.*

Whilſt theſe things were acting, the Siege of *Buda* proceeded with various Fortunes; and the wiſe Generals were not only intent thereunto, preſſing forward with the greateſt Bravery imaginable; but alſo were wary, and vigilant to obſerve the Motions of the *Turkiſh* Army deſigned to raiſe the Siege: For by certain intelligence it was adviſed, That the Seraskier was on his March, but that he moved ſlowly, to give time unto the other Troops, which were Quarter'd along the Banks of the Rivers *Save* and *Drave* to come and joyn, for that the Forces of the *Turks* were not ſo numerous, as to admit of any Detachments, but rather to Fight in one Body only: It being neceſſary to ſecure the Paſſage by the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, Eight thouſand Men were order'd to poſſeſs it; but News coming, that the Imperialiſts were already Maſters of it with a far greater Force, the Seraskier paſſed the River by a Bridge at *Peter Waradin*, and ſtayed at *Segedin*; from whence he ſent a Flying Army of Horſe compoſed of *Turks* and *Tartars*, to March unto *Alba Regalis*; from whence they were order'd by frequent Sallies and Alarums to offend and amuſe the *Chriſtian* Camp before *Buda*, until ſuch time as the Grand Vizier being enforced by the *Aſian* Horſe, and by the *Turks*, might be able to joyn with them at *Alba Regalis*; from whence it was deſigned to make all their Sallies upon the Camp. Of which General *Schultz* having advice, whoſe buſineſs it was to obſerve the Motions of the Enemy, he pitched his Camp along the *Drave*, from whence he obſerved the March of the Enemy, and narrowly watched the Garriſons of *Kaniſia* and *Zigeth*. The *Leaguer* being thus ſecured from outward Aſſaults, every Quarter of the City was attacked by ſeveral turns, ſometime by the *Bavarians* on their ſide, by the *Brandenburgers* on theirs, and by the *Imperialiſts*, and others in their ſeveral Stations, with Mines and Countermines, with Cannon and Batteries, Bombs and Granadoes, and all other Inſtruments of Death, which coſt much Blood on one ſide and the other. At length, to bring Matters to a more ſure and ſpeedy Iſſue it was reſolved, to prepare all things againſt the 27th of *July* for a General Aſſault, which was to be performed by Fifteen thouſand Men; That is, Five thouſand at the Attack of *Loraine*, Five thouſand of *Bavaria*, and as many of *Brandenburg*, beſides Two thouſand *Talpatſi*, which are a People of *Hungary*; and that the Beſieged might be attacked on all ſides, and their Forces divided thereby, the Lieutenant General *Giavarino* Commander of the *Haidukes*, was order'd to make a ſeeming Attack by the Water-gate, where part of the Wall near the Caſtle was thrown down by the Magazine which was lately fired: For this General Storm all things were well prepared; the Officers of moſt experience, and bravery were appointed to lead the Aſſailants unto the reſpective Attacks, and Labourers placed in a readineſs to carry Faggots, and Sacks of Earth to cover the Men, and make good the Lodgments, and others with Mattocks and Spades, and ſuch like Inſtruments to dig and throw up the Earth.

Advices that the Seraskier approached

Schultz watches his Motion.

A General Aſſault pre pared.

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The Duke of *Loraine* intending to begin the Aſſault at break of Day in the Morning, paſſed that Night in the Trenches; but when they were ready for that Enterpriſe on the *Bavarian* ſide, all the Paliſadoes were on Fire, and burnt with ſo violent a Flame, cauſed by a certain mixture of bituminous ſtuff, that the Attack was deferr'd until towards the Evening; before which time ſome Rains falling, ſerved to extinguiſh the fierceneſs of the Fire, and the Duke of *Loraine* and

Bavaria

The Aſſault made.

The Example of the General encourges the Soldiers.

The Turks Fire four Mines.

Bavaria after ſome Conſultations together reſolved forthwith to proceed unto the Aſſault; the Sign for which was given by firing three Pieces of Cannon: Upon which Signal the *Imperialiſts*, *Bavarians* and *Brandenburgers* drew out of their Lines, and advanced againſt the Breaches: The *Imperialiſts* ſoon made themſelves Maſters of the great Tower, but were quickly droven thence by the *Turks*; which when the Duke of *Loraine* obſerved from the place where he had poſted himſelf, for to give out his Orders; he immediately in Perſon advanced with freſh Troops to ſuſtain and ſupport the firſt; the Preſence of the General, who was engaged in a dangerous place, with the Sword in his Hand and Casket on his Head, did ſo animate the Soldiers, that inflamed with a deſire to imitate the bravery of their General and preſerve his Perſon, they all returned to the Fight; and tearing out the Paliſadoes all on Fire, in deſpight of the Enemies ſhot and reſiſtance, they bravely lodged themſelves upon the Breach of the firſt Wall, and preſently made themſelves Maſters of the great Tower, with two other ſmall Baſtions on the Right and on the Left-hand; driving the *Turks* into the Retrenchments, which were lately cut behind the new Paliſadoes: But the *Chriſtians* ſo plied them with ſmall Shot and Granadoes, that they were forced to quit that place alſo, with great loſs and ſlaughter of their Men: But while they were labouring to ſecure that Ground and the Lodgment there; the Enemy gave Fire to four Mines, which toſſed up many of thoſe into the Air who were the fartheſt advanced: Howſoever, the Preſence of the Duke of *Loraine* ſo encouraged the Soldiers, that in emulation of each other, they preſſed forward, and made themſelves Maſters of that Ground, which their other Fellows had newly quitted with the loſs of their Lives. At the ſame time, the *Brandenburgers* were ſo ſucceſſeful in their Enterpriſe, that they took the Tower which they attacked, whereon were Seventeen Pieces of Cannon with ſome Mortars. The Elector of *Bavaria* alſo ſucceeded in his Enterpriſe, leading on his Men in Perſon, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the great Tower which fronts the Caſtle, whereon were ſeven Pieces of Cannon, and two Standards of the *Janiſaries*.

On that part of the City allotted to the falſe Attack of the *Heydukes*, no great matter was performed, nor nothing expected; for the place was ſtrong, and the Party appointed for the Aſſault was to make a diverſion of the Forces, rather than in good earneſt to gain a Lodgment.

During theſe Attacks the *Turks* made a Sally, and charged the *Chriſtians* in the Flank, but being watched by ſome Squadrons of Horſe, were repulſed back into the Town with great loſs; and finding that the *Chriſtians* were preſſing forward, as far, as to the ſecond Wall, they ſet Fire to a ſort of ſulfureous and bituminous matter, compoſed on purpoſe to ſuffocate and poiſon the Lungs, which being thrown into the Ditch, gave a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Aſſailants: But a Wind ariſing ſoon afterwards, which carried the Fire and Smoke towards the Town, annoied the Defendants in ſuch manner, that they were forced to quit their Station, and ſuffer the *Chriſtians* without farther reſiſtance to keep, and make good the Ground they had taken.

Sulfureous Fires much annoy the Chriſtians.

A cruel Aſſault;

Which ends at Night.

This Aſſault continued for the ſpace of four hours, with a vaſt effuſion of Blood on one ſide and the other; but the *Imperialiſts*, *Bavarians*, *Brandenburgers* and all other the Aſſailants, with unparallel'd Valour fighting amidſt the Fire and Smoke, Granadoes, Stones, Swords and Lances without any regard to their Lives, and animated by the Bravery of the Commanders, who were as forward to expoſe themſelves to danger, as the meaneſt of the Common Soldiers, poſſeſſed at length, and lodged themſelves on all round Bulwarks, and Walls made with Earth, reaching from one ſide of the City unto the other. About Sun-ſetting the Attack ceaſed, and both ſides as it were by mutual conſent gave over the Fight, which ended with the great advantage of the *Chriſtians*, who had penetrated to the ſecond Retrenchment of the Wall and Ditch: And Night coming on, thoſe who were tyred with that Day's Labour, were relieved by others, who were all Night long employed in raiſing Earth, and fortifying the places which they had gained, on which they mounted Cannon, and turned thoſe on the Enemy which they had taken from them; and the next Day began therewith to Batter the inward Wall. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Bravery and Reſolution with which this Attack was maintained; For beſides the Gallantry of all the Officers in general, the Duke of *Loraine*, and Count *Staremberg* gave undeniable Proofs of their Courage, of their indefatigable Induſtry, and of their Zeal for the Glory of the Emperour, and the Chriſtian Religion; not only attending unto their own Quarters, but hazarded their Perſons in all places, where their Preſence and Directions were neceſſary or uſeful. In this Enterpriſe many brave Soldiers and Officers were ſlain, who were ready to Sacrifice their Lives, being puſhed forward with an Ambition to ſignalize themſelves in the Preſence of their Generals; the numbers of them were ſo great, that to make the Victory look more cheerful, it

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Killed.

Monſieur *Artein* Agitant General to the Duke of *Loraine*.
Serjeant Major *Pini*.
Count *Schlik*.
Baron *Geta*, with many other Subaltern Officers of great experience.

Wounded.

The Duke of *Croy*.
The Prince of *Commercy*.
Serjeant General *Diepenthall*.
Baron *de Aſti*.
The Serjeant Major of *Staremberg*, with two Captains.
Serjeant General *Dingen*.
The Lieutenant Colonel of *Neuburg's* Regiment.

Killed of the Brandenburgers.

The Count of *Dona*.
Serjeant Major *Maruvitz*.

Wounded.

The Duke of *Curland*, with many other inferiour Officers.

The Elector of Bavaria *ſecures the Works which he had taken.*

The Elector of *Bavaria* and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with incomparable Conduct and Bravery, expoſed their Perſons to danger and hazard in all places which required their Preſence, and remained all Night upon the Watch, giving directions in what manner the Labourers were to work, nor did they Retire, or take any Reſt or Repoſe, until the Lodgments were ſecured: For during the Darkneſs of the Night, they had formed a ſtrong Trench round the Tower, which is under the Wall of the Caſtle; and made ſmooth the heaps and ruins of Stones and Rubbiſh, by laying thereon an innumerable number of Sacks of Earth, whereon the Troops could with a large Front march up to relief of the Guards. And now whereas the innermoſt Gate of the Caſtle was poſſeſſed by the *Bavarians*, ſo that it could not longer hold out; the *Turks* thought fit for ſaving their Men to abandon it wholly, the Garriſon being much diminiſhed, and their numbers abated in the late Attack.

Officers and Soldiers killed and wounded.

In which of the Regiment of *Bavaria* were killed, A Captain, and wounded a Serjeant Major, a Captain and three Lieutenants.
Of the Regiment of *Baden* were killed two Lieutenants, and wounded five Captains, one Lieutenant and three Enſigns.
In the Regiment of *Aſpremont*, Killed one Enſign, and wounded the Colonel, the Lieutenant Colonel, Count *Nicholas Palſi*, Serjeant Major, Count *Zacco*, a Cavalier of *Malta*, and ſix other Captains, five Lieutenants and two Enſigns.
In the Regiment of *Rummel* killed, A Captain and a Lieutenant; wounded a Captain and an Enſign.
In the Regiment of *Gallenfels*, killed the Lieutenant Colonel; wounded two Captains and a Lieutenant.
In the Regiment of *Furſtemberg*, wounded a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Enſign.
In the Regiment of *Beck*, wounded the Lieutenant Colonel, the Baron of *Welsberg*, five Captains, five Lieutenants, and five Enſigns.
In the Regiment of *Steinau*, killed a Serjeant Major and a Lieutenant; and wounded a Captain, two Lieutenants and an Enſign.
In the Regiment of *Seibolſtorff*, killed a Serjeant Major; and wounded a Captain and two Lieutenants.
In this Attack, of the Imperialiſts and *Bavarians*, were killed Common Soldiers an Hundred and ſeventeen; wounded Nine hundred ſeventy two.
Of the *Saxons*, were killed a Lieutenant Colonel, two Corporals, and ſeventy Common Soldiers; wounded a Lieutenant Colonel, two Serjeant Majors, two Captains, a Captain Lieutenant, three Enſigns, two Serjeants, two Corporals, and a Hundred Ninety nine Common Soldiers.

Another Aſſault.

Having in this manner, with a vaſt effuſion of Bloud, entred as far as to the inward Wall, all Art and Induſtry was uſed to blow that up with new Mines, at which they laboured with ſo much diligence, that in a Day and a Night's time they were finiſhed and fired; the third of which did ſuch great Execution by opening the Breach, as invited the Beſiegers to make an Aſſault; to the performance of which, Twelve hundred foot Soldiers, and Four hundred Dragoons were appointed; but their Officers being for the moſt part killed or wounded, the Duke of *Loraine* was forced to make uſe of the two Generals of Horſe, the Counts of *Lodron* and *Styrum*, to Command the Attack; and in the mean time that they were coming, a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon was raiſed on the Curtain lately poſſeſſed, with four Mortar-pieces, both to widen the Breach, and offend the more inward parts of the Town. But whilſt this was doing, the Beſieged were making a new Retrenchment behind the Breach, which was an evident Proof, that they reſolved to defend

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defend the Place unto the laſt extremity.

July 31ſt.

A Treaty begun.

But not to drive Matters to that ultimate Period, the *Turks* ſent on their part two Agas to the Duke of *Loraine* to enter on a Treaty; and the Duke on his ſide ſent his Adjutant General, the Count of *Lamberg*, with his Interpreter, into the Town; where he was introduc'd to the Preſence of the Paſha, with ſuch Reſpect, Ceremony and Honour, as was agreeable to the ill Circumſtances under which the *Turks* labour'd; but he return'd again with no other ſatisfactory Anſwer than this: *That the Officers and Commanders of that Government could not, nor would not ſo eaſily yield and ſurrender up that City, which is the Key of the* Ottoman *Empire: But when it ſhould be thought fit to conclude, and eſtabliſh an univerſal Peace, that they would then oblige themſelves, that an Equivalent ſhould be given to the Emperor, by the Delivery of two other Places? And that they were ready to give up the ſame, and conclude a Peace, for making which, they had received a ſufficient Power from the Grand Seignior, provided that the Siege be immediately raiſed.* With this Anſwer the Generals not being pleas'd, they began on both ſides to fire with the uſual Fury, and that Night they finiſhed two Batteries, which were raiſed for enlargement of the Breaches, and three Mines were fired, which fill'd a great part of the Ditch with Earth; but one of them recoyling back, bury'd a hundred Men of the *Brandenburger* Troops, who were advanc'd too far, and were not advertis'd, when the Mine was to be fir'd.

Batteries raiſed and Mines fired.

The next Day following, about Nine a Clock in the Morning, the *Turks* beat again a Parly towards the ſide of the Breach of the *Bavarian* Quarter, and ſent the two Agas, which had been employed the Day before with the Duke of *Loraine*, unto the Elector, deſiring that two Hoſtages might be returned in their Places, which being done accordingly, one of the Agas offered in the Name of the Vizier of *Buda*, *To yield and ſurrender up the Place, with all the Dependencies, which he avowed to be very great, and to contain no leſs than a Hundred and Fifty Leagues of Land thereupon depending, or otherwiſe to deliver up any other two places within the Kingdom of* Hungary, *being under the* Turks *Dominion, at the Will and Choice of the Emperor, provided that a general Peace might thereupon be concluded and enſue:* But in regard the Elector was ſufficiently informed, that it was not in his own nor yet in the Emperor's Power to make a Peace without the common Conſent of the Allies, for which there was no time at that critical Seaſon: The two Agas were remanded back, and the Hoſtages returned, and then the old Trade proceeded, and they began again to fire on all ſides as before. But this Ceſſation of Arms was made uſe of by the *Chriſtians*, for diſcovery of the Breach of the Caſtle, and the entrance thereunto by way of the Town; of which a Lieutenant Colonel belonging to the Regiment of *Baden*, took a particular Obſervation.

Another Parly

which is broken off.

The ſame Day a Mine was fired by the Imperialiſts at the Attack of *Loraine*, which made a Breach in the ſecond Wall, and ſhaked the third, which ſo alarum'd the Defendants, that in great numbers they came running to that place; by which ſuch a diverſion was made of their Forces, as gave the *Bavarians* an opportunity to enter the Caſtle; but being not able to make good their Ground, they were conſtrained to abandon the Lodgment which they had already begun.

The Bava*rians enter the Caſtle, but are repulſed.*

August.

During theſe Actions, Count *Staremberg* applying himſelf to all places, where his Preſence was required, without any regard to the hazard and danger of life, he received a Muſquet Shot on his Left-hand, which carried away his Thumb; and with another Shot he was both wounded in the Cheek, and in the Shoulder; but the Wounds were ſo ſlight, as did not conſtrain him to withdraw from his Care and Command. The Duke of *Loraine* was at the ſame time indiſpoſed in his Health by the acceſſion of a Fever; which though not very violent, yet it gave ſome cauſe of Fear and Diſcouragement to the whole Camp; howſoever the Spirit of this Hero was ſo great, that he ſtill continued to proſecute his Enterprize, and give direction for perfecting the Mines, which were now neceſſary on that ſide; for that little thereof could be effected at the *Bavarian* Attack, where the Labourers were ſtopped by Rocks and Quarries of Stone: And whilſt the Miners worked at the Breach of *Loraine*, they were forced to withdraw themſelves from the peſtilential Air, cauſed under Ground by the noiſome Stench of dead Bodies. Howſoever, the Mine under the third Wall was finiſhed, and ſprung with good ſucceſs, thô the Ditch was not ſo filled, that the Soldiers could paſs to the Aſſault; yet bringing Sacks of Earth, and other defenſible Matter, they lodged and covered themſelves at the foot of the Breach.

Count Sta*remberg wounded.*

Duke of Loraine *ſick.*

The Difficulty of the Mines.

Whilſt the Siege proceeded with all this heat and vigour, certain News was brought, that the Grand Vizier had compoſed a Body of Seven thouſand Horſe, drawn out of divers Garriſons in *Hungary*, and cauſed them to advance as far as *Sarowitz*, which is within Thirteen Leagues of *Buda*, and that other Troops had paſſed the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, and that the Seraskier was appointed to guard that way, until the Vizier in Perſon had made his Paſſage, who with 40,000 Men was marching to the Relief of diſtreſſed *Buda*; and that he would be ſhortly Reinforced with a very

News of the Grand Vizier's March.

great Body of *Tartars* and *Aſiatick* Horſe, which were already on their March, and had paſſed *Adrianople*. But the Generals, who had received more certain Advices of the Strength of the Vizier, were well aſſured, that neither the Number of his Soldiers was ſo great, nor the Quality of them ſo formidable, being for the moſt part compoſed of ſoft *Aſiaticks*, of Country-men and People inexpert and unaccuſtomed to War; and for that Reaſon it was not to be imagined that the Grand Vizier would put all to the hazard of a pitched Battle. Howſoever, not to deſpiſe an Enemy, the Generals conſidering hereof at a Council of War, diſpatched immediately expreſs Orders to the Cavalry, quarter'd in all parts of the Upper *Hungary*, where was no apprehenſion of any Enemy, to march unto the Camp; and accordingly General *Dunewaldt*, with ſeveral Regiments of Horſe under his Command, and Count *Caprara*, and General *Heuſler* with their Troops, and Count *Budiani* with about Two thouſand *Hungarians*, all valiant and veterane Soldiers, appeared at the Rendezvous, and with all expedition marched towards the Enemy, with intention to give them a ſtop in their Way towards *Buda*. The Ban or Governor of *Croatia*, having given Advice to the Generals, that he had raiſed the Militia of that Country for the Service of the Emperor, was commanded to March towards the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, and joyning with the other Forces, to make Head and Oppoſition to the Grand Vizier in his March.

The Chriſtians *prepare to receive them.*

The rumour and report of the Grand Vizier's approach with all his Army did daily increaſe, and as a certain Fore-runner thereof, ſeveral Thouſands of his Horſe were advanced very near to diſcover the Force and Actions of the *Chriſtians*: Whereupon a Council of War being called of all the Generals, it was concluded to countermand the Advance of the Troops, and appoint them to appear at a general Rendezvous, where it was plainly manifeſted, how greatly the numbers were abated; and therefore ſince the great Line of Circumvallation was perfected and well flanked with ſtrong Redoubts, Spurs and other defenſible Works, they order'd, that the ſame ſhould be maintained by Three thouſand Foot, which were ſufficient to give a ſtop to any Attempt, which might be made upon the Camp: And the Imperial, *Bavarian*, and *Brandenburger* Cavalry, were commanded to lodge on the Hills and riſing Grounds which were round the Town: And the *Heydukes* were encamped along the Wall of the old Town, extending themſelves from the Fort ſituate on the *Danube*, unto the Trenches of the *Brandenburgers*.

Having thus ſecured their Camp, and put every thing in a readineſs to receive the Enemy, in caſe they ſhould attempt to force their Lines; they proceeded on all ſides to perfect their Works on the Breaches. The *Bavarians* being piqued in point of Honour for the Foyl or Diſadvantage they had received about two or three Days before, had inceſſantly fired on the great Tower with their biggeſt Cannon; and from another Battery near adjoyning plaid continually on the Breach of the Wall, which as yet was not wide enough for the Attack; and becauſe the Situation of the Place was ſuch, as made it almoſt inacceſſible and too dangerous to the Soldiers to aſcend over the Rocks and Ruines which lay in the way, the Elector reſolved to point all his Cannon againſt the Caſtle, as alſo his Bombs of greateſt weight, with deſign to beat down the Walls, and with the Ruins thereof to make the Aſcent thereunto more eaſie and ſecure; with which, and ſome Mines which were blown up, that ancient and ſtately Edifice was almoſt deſtroyed.

The Bavarians *point all their Batteries againſt the great Tower.*

The News of the daily approach of the Vizier and his Army, cauſed the *Chriſtians* to be more watchful and vigilant than before, and ſcarce gave the Generals any reſt or repoſe by Day or Night free from Alarums, which the Duke of *Loraine* ſuſtained in a manner rather Miraculous than Natural; for being ſcarce recover'd of a Fever, the preſent ſtate of Affairs required him to redouble his Cares and Vigilance; which agitation of Mind was able to have droven a confirmed Health into the extremities of Heat and feveriſh Diſtempers; but God, who intended him for the glorious Inſtrument of ſubjecting this ſtrong City, gave him ſtrength for his great Work; ſo that notwithſtanding the expectation of the Vizier haſtning to the Relief, a general Aſſault was made at every Breach, which continued for the ſpace of two hours; in which the Defendants behaved themſelves with ſuch Gallantry, that the Duke of *Loraine* cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, rather than unprofitably to loſe the Lives of his Soldiers, of which they began now to be ſenſible of the great Abatement: Howſoever ſomething was gained by this Aſſault on the right ſide of the Tower, adjoyning to the Caſtle at the corner of the inward Wall, where they lodged forty Men. In this Conflict not many Men were killed, but many were wounded, both Officers as well as common Soldiers, and particularly Count *Leopold* of *Herberſtein*, and Serjeant Major *Biſchoffſhauſen*; and on the Quarter of *Bavaria*, the Prince of *Savoy*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, both ſlightly wounded.

The Chriſtian *Camp alarum'd.*

By

Skirmiſhes between the Turks *and* Bavarians.

Letters taken.

The Christians *prepare to give Battle to the* Turks.

1686. By the motion of the Seraskier, it ſeemed as if his Intentions were to enter his Succour and Relief into the Town by the *Bavarian* Quarters; and ſome Thouſands of *Turks* appearing on the riſing Grounds and ſides of the Hills, put themſelves into a poſture, as if they intended to Engage; but the Trenches were ſo well guarded and fortified, that there ſeemed to be little danger of forcing Succour by that way into the City: Howſoever, there happen'd daily Skirmiſhes, in which diverſe were killed on one ſide and the other; and particularly a *Turk* well mounted and habited, advancing with more than prudent Gallantry, was laid dead on the Ground; and being ſtripped by the Soldiery, there were ſome Letters found about him from the Grand Vizier to the Paſha of *Buda*, ſignifying that his Intentions were to force ſome Quarter of the Enemy, and thereby introduce the Succours deſigned for Relief of the Place; and that in the mean time with a Body of Eight thouſand *Tartars*, to ſtop the Paſſage of all Proviſions to the Chriſtian Camp between *Strigonium* and *Buda*. Upon this Diſcovery, the Duke of *Loraine* and the Generals reſolved to guard their Trenches with Twenty thouſand Men, poſted in the moſt advantagious Places, and to draw out all the remainder of the Army into the Field to meet the Vizier, and ſhew their readineſs to give him Battle; for tho the *Turks* were reported to be Seventy thouſand ſtrong, they were not in reality above Forty thouſand able to bear Arms; againſt which the Duke of *Loraine* forming his Van-guard of Four thouſand *Talpatzes* and *Hungarian Huſſars*, flanked by a part of the *German* Horſe, marched forth in view of the Enemy. After ſome Skirmiſhes with loſs of Men on both ſides, the *Turks* retired, carrying away with them ſome Heads of Cattle, which the *Huſſars* endeavouring to recover, were beaten back with the loſs of thirteen Men. After this, the former Reſolution was changed, and it was concluded at a general Council of War, to keep within, and guard their Trenches, which were well fortified, until they were certainly aſſured of what Strength the Vizier was; according to which Reſolution, they continued to Fortify their Lines of Circumvallation with Redoubts, on which they mounted ſeveral Field-pieces.

August. The 9*th* of this Month the *Turks* appeared on the Hills, oppoſite to the *Bavarian* Quarters, in greater Numbers than before, and after an Engagement with the advanced Troops, made their Retreat as they had done the Day before; and in the return to their Camp, they met with a Party of about an Hundred and fifty *Hungarians*, which were ſent to diſcover the Enemy; they cut them all off, thirty only eſcaping, of which moſt of them were wounded; and at the ſame time the Beſiged made a Sally on the *Bavarian* Quarter, and killed about Eighty Soldiers, beſides ſome Officers. On the 10*th* the *Bavarians* had finiſhed their Line of Circumvallation, adjoyning to that of the Imperialiſts, and had wholly guarded themſelves from all Attempts of the Enemy by a very deep Ditch: Howſoever, things not being ſo ſecure, but that the Enemy might be able to attempt the entring Succours by way of the River, the Water of which was very low; they fortified that part alſo with ſome Boats at a convenient diſtance from each other, and with ſome Turn-pikes called *Chevaux de Friſe*

Various Succeſſes.

On the 11*th* certain Intelligence was brought, that the Grand Vizier was encamped about five Leagues off; and the ſame Day Two thouſand *Turks* appeared oppoſite to the *Bavarian* Quarter, about the ſame place as before; to diſcover which and their numbers, a Detachment was ſent, but they were ſoon forced to retire in haſt, the Enemy deſcending in numbers, which were too unequal a Match for them. The three Mines on which much Work was beſtowed being charged with Five thouſand weight of Powder, were now ready; and on the 12*th* were fired, but not with ſuch good effect as was expected, having only ſhaken the inward Wall, and ſome few of the Paliſadoes; ſo that it was believed, that the *Turks* had diſcharged them of the greateſt part of their Powder, by which diſappointment, the Aſſault which was intended, was countermanded, and the Miners order'd to begin a new Work. The Afternoon of the ſame Day, the Vizier appear'd and encamped on the Banks of the *Danube*, being as ſome Deſerters reported about Fifty thouſand ſtrong; at the ſight of which, the Beſieged being encouraged, made a Sally with about an Hundred Horſe and Foot, upon Three hundred Horſe of the Van-guard, of the Imperialiſts, who feigning a flight, drew them at ſome diſtance from the Town, and then returning upon them, cut the greateſt part of them in pieces.

A Mine fired.

The Vizier appears.

On the 14*th*, the *Turks* drew out their whole Army into Battalia, and Detached Six thouſand Men under three Paſhas, amongſt which were Two thouſand *Janiſaries*, with Orders to make their Way into the Town, by the *Imperial* and *Brandenburger* Quarters. Againſt whom the Duke of *Loraine* ſent the Regiment of *Hungarians* Commanded by *Palſi*, and the Regiments of *Schultz*, *Serau*, and *Lodron* to charge the Enemy and begin the Fight: The *Hungarians* upon the firſt Shock or Charge began to

give

A Party of Turks *commanded to enter the Town.*

The Turks *defeated.*

give Ground; but Baron *Marcy* putting himſelf at the Head of the Regiment of *Schultz*, gave a ſtop to the Flight of the *Hungarians*, until ſuch time as Count *Dunewalt* came up with the Regiments of *Taff*, *Lodron*, *Neubourg*, *Stirum* and *Staremberg*, which being joyned in a Body, charged the *Turks* with that Fury and Bravery, that they totally defeated and put the *Turkiſh* Horſe to Flight, by which the *Janiſaries* being abandoned and laid open, were almoſt all cut off and deſtroyed. The Elector of *Bavaria* with his Horſe purſued them to their Camp, where Rallying again they endeavoured to charge the *Chriſtians* in the Flank; which when the Duke of *Loraine* perceived, he made a ſtand or a halt, and drew out ſome Forces from the Lines, which he cauſed to march towards their aſſiſtance; but the *Turks* having received the firſt Fire retreated to their Camp, whither it was thought fit not to purſue them, but rather to conduct the Troops back to the Camp, being much tired and wearied by continal Watchings, having for the ſpace of three Days and three Nights, been always on the Guard with Arms in their Hands. The Victory was very clear and ſignal, for the *Turks* loſt eight Pieces of Cannon, and Forty Standards, and Two thouſand and two hundred dead Bodies were accounted by the Duke of *Loraine* himſelf lying in the Field, where the Battle was Fought, which he cauſed to be buried, to prevent a putrefaction in the Air; and all this with the loſs only of about Two hundred Men killed and wounded, amongſt the latter of which were the Count of *Lodron*, a Major, and two Captains.

After this happy Succeſs all the Cannon were diſcharged, and the Colours taken from the *Turks* diſplaied, and many Heads of thoſe who had been killed, were ſet upon Pikes, and ſhewed to the Beſieged to increaſe their greater Terrour and Deſpair.

Two thouſand Turks *force their way into the Town.*

Notwithſtanding all which, the *Turks* abated nothing of their Courage; the Grand Vizier giving the *Chriſtians* every Night Alarms, the better to diſcover with what Force and Vigilancy the Lines and Avenues were Guarded. At length, on the 20*th* of *Auguſt* about break of Day, Four thouſand *Turks*, of which Two thouſand were *Janiſaries* mounted on Horſe-back, made a vigorous Attempt by the Vally of St. *Paul*, and with great Fury aſſailed thoſe Guards, which they not being able to ſuſtain, gave them Way, and permitted them in a full carrear, to Ride up to the Walls of the Town: At this confuſion of the Guards, and the Noiſe made by the *Janiſaries*, the Regiments of *Caprara* and *Heuſler* came, and renewed the Fight with them, and killed ſeveral hundreds of the *Turks*, who as they advanced farther into the Approaches, were ſo plied by the Muſquetiers, that moſt of them were ſlain: Howſoever, about Two hundred of them made their Way into the Town by the *Bavarian* Quarter: Which ſo animated the Defendants, that they made and diſcharged four Vollies of Shot for joy round the Town: Though this ſmall Recruit was rather a Weakening to them than any Reinforcement. This Attempt ſeemed ſo deſperate to the *Turkiſh* Soldiery, that the Vizier could not prevail with any Man to undertake it, without a Largeſs of Thirty Dollars in hand paid to every *Janiſary*, and promiſe to any that ſhould get within the Town, to have his pay doubled during his Life, and to be freed from going ever more to the War: Of which ſort of People there are above Fifty thouſand in the *Ottoman* Empire, called *Otoracks*, or as in Latin *Milites emeriti.*

The reward promiſed for the Service.

Batteries raiſed on the Rondel.

All this interrupted not the *Bavarians* in their Works, or in the Batteries they had raiſed on the great *Rondel*, by which they very much annoied the main Caſtle, which when the *Turks* obſerved, they planted one of their biggeſt Pieces of Cannon on the higheſt part of the Wall, which they having charged with Muſquet Bullets, Iron, Stones, &c. did great execution on the Soldiers, which maintained and guarded the Rondel of the Tower: Howſoever, not to give ground or abandon ſo advantagious a Poſt, the Elector of *Bavaria* with advice of the General Officers, reſolved to Aſſault the Tower, which was half ruined and already demoliſhed, ſo as thereby to gain the advantage of an upper Ground: The Aſſailants ſo bravely behaved themſelves, That on the the 22*d* without any regard to the difficulty and ruggedneſs of the Aſcent, or the oppoſition the *Turks* made, they ſurmounted the Breach and killed about One hundred Men, and made themſelves Maſters of the Tower: In the mean time whilſt this was in Action, the Duke of *Loraine*, and the *Brandenburgers* cauſed an Alarm to be given without, and with continual Firing of their Artillery and Vollies of Shot, kept the Enemy at a diſtance.

Auguſt.

The Tower taken.

The Turks *endeavour to diſlodge the* Bavarians.

The Paſha of *Buda* finding himſelf nearly urged, and preſſed by the loſs of ſo important a place, from whence the *Chriſtians* could now ſhoot into the Town; he applied all his endeavours to diſlodge them: But the *Bavarians* having ſtrongly poſted themſelves, being aſſiſted with the advantage of the riſing Situation, vigorouſly repulſed all the Force which the *Turks* could make upon them, and eaſily threw them down head-long from the Scaling Ladders which they had erected. This place was gained by the *Bavarians* without much Blood of the Common Soldiery, but Duke

1686. *Henric of Saxon Merſburg* was in that Action wounded in two places; and General *Rummel* of the *Bavarians* was ſlain by a Muſquet-ſhot in the Approaches, which ought to have been made deeper by three or four Foot, ſo as to cover the whole Body of a Man; he was an excellent Soldier, and a brave Man, and therefore much lamented by his Electoral Highneſs, and the whole Army.

Nothing could more annoy and vex the Defendants, than the taking and poſſeſſing this Tower, which render'd the Caſe and State of the City almoſt deſperate; ſo that no hopes remained, unleſs they were ſuccour'd and reliev'd by the Army of the Grand Vizier, whom to adviſe of their Extremity, two Meſſengers were diſpatch'd out of the Town, one by the way of the Water, and the other by the Land ſide, both diſguiſed in the *Hungarian* Habit. The firſt was diſcover'd ſwimming over to the Iſland of St. *Margaret*'s; and being purſued was taken, but his Letters he had firſt thrown into the River: Howſoever, being brought before the Generals, he confeſſed and declared the low and deſperate Condition to which the City was reduc'd; and that it could not hold out much longer unleſs ſpeedily Reliev'd; and that another Meſſenger was ſent to acquaint the Vizier thereof by Word of Mouth, letting him know, that it was not ſufficient to appear before the Town, and flatter them with the hopes of Succour, unleſs alſo he could force the Enemy to raiſe the Siege; and that the late Recruit of Two hundred Men, who bravely made their way into the City, was but a ſmall Help and Comfort to a Garriſon already waſted, and almoſt totally conſumed by a long Siege. That the Caſtle was in a manner loſt, ſince that the principal Towers and Bulwarks of it were poſſeſſed by the Enemy: And in ſhort, that thoſe who remain'd alive, were wearied out with continual Watchings, and every Day diminiſh'd by Cannon and Muſquet-ſhot, by Bombs, Fires, and Carcaſſes continually thrown into the Town.

Two Meſſengers ſent from the City to the Grand Vizier.

One of them is taken.

All theſe Matters being reported before the Generals, they conceived certain hopes of putting a ſpeedy end to their Labours and Dangers: Howſoever, therewithal they ſo far conſulted their own Condition, that they concluded it very neceſſary, before any thing was farther attempted, to expect the coming of that Body of the Army under Count *Scaffemberg*, and the Twelve hundred *Swedes*, which were now on their March, and near at hand. At length *Scaffemberg* being come with a Reinforcement of Eight thouſand Men, beſides the *Swedes*, raiſed the Spirits of the whole Army, and put the Generals into a capacity of executing the Deſigns they had already plotted and contrived. On the *Loraine* Quarter a Bridge was made near the great Tower, leading towards the inward Paliſadoes of the Enemy; and to conſerve it from fire, they covered it over with Earth: The like was alſo performed on the *Bavarian* ſide; but whilſt theſe things were preparing, a ſtop was put thereunto by an unexpected and vigorous Sally which the Beſieged made, for diſlodging the Soldiers which had poſſeſſed the Tower. Three Attempts were made thereupon with the greateſt fury and deſperation imaginable, throwing Granadoes, Sacks of Powder, and artificial Fires, compoſed of Sulphur, Pitch, and all ſorts of burning and fetulent Matter; notwithſtanding which, they were moſt vigorouſly repulſed with much loſs. The Elector conſidering the dangerous Poſt, which his Men had undertaken to defend, thought fit to withdraw his Soldiers from the Bulwark, that he might with more advantage batter the great Tower with his heavieſt Cannon, which were ſo hotly plyed, that the whole Tower was beaten down, and the Enemy thereby made uncapable to offend from thoſe Works. The Bridge of which we ſpake, being finiſhed on the ſide of the Imperialiſts, with the Battery on the Rondel, the inward Paliſadoes were broken down, and the Breach widen'd above Forty Paces; ſo that now all had been ſurrender'd, had not the Vizier comforted the Paſha with Aſſurances, that he and the Seraskier had reſolved to attempt the Camp in three places at the ſame time; and that the moſt forcible one ſhould be given at the Water-ſide, where 'twas believ'd the leaſt Oppoſition could be made. Upon this Advice, the Water-ſide and Banks of the River were well fortified and ſecured, and a ſtrong Chain ſtretched over the Water below the Bridge of Boats, from the Shoar to the Point of St. *Margaret*'s Iſle, to obſtruct the Paſſage of Spies and Meſſengers, who uſed to ſwim over the Water with Intelligence, and which alſo might ſerve to give a ſtop to the Cavalry, in caſe they ſhould attempt any thing on that ſide.

1686.

Eight thouſand Men come to the Imperial Camp.

The City being now in a languiſhing Condition, the Grand Vizier reſolved to make his laſt Effort; and having choſen out of his Army Three thouſand of his braveſt Soldiers, which he encouraged with Thirty Dollars a-piece paid them in hand, and with promiſe of Increaſe of their daily Pay, during Life, to ſuch as ſhould make and force their Way into the Town; and at the ſame time another Body was ordered to enter the Line, at the place which they had lately attempted. The Three thouſand deſcended by way of the Vally called *Shamboiuck*, and

1686. with great Fury fell in upon the Guards of the Imperialiſts; but were ſo well received by the Baron of *Aſti*, with his *Talpatz* and *Huſſars*, and by General *Heuſler*, with his Regiment, that they were vigorouſly repulſed. After which they made an Attempt on Count *Caprara*, and again on the Quarters of the Duke of *Loraine*, but in all places were ill treated, and came off with a great loſs of Men. In the mean time, the ſecond Body of *Turks* aſſaulted other parts of the Army, which increaſed the heat of the Fight; to ſuccour which, the Duke of *Loraine* detach'd all the Forces which were about him, remaining alone only with two Aſſiſtants; but the Battle growing hot, and the *Turks* endeavouring in diverſe places to break into the Line, the Duke of *Loraine* put himſelf at the Head of two Battalions of *Brandenburgers*, whoſe Example gave Life and Courage to the whole Army. But whilſt this Fight was mannaged in diverſe Squadrons, which confuſedly ran from one ſide to another, ſome of them had the fortune to force the Line towards the Wall of the lower City; but paſſing to the Line of Contravallation, they met there ſuch Vollies of Shot, and continual Firings, that knowing not which way to retreat, they fell into the Squadrons of Baron *Marcy* and *Serau*, by whom the greateſt part of them were kill'd upon the place; and thoſe which eſcaped were ſo confuſed, that being diſpers'd about the Fields, they knew not which way to take. Some of them happen'd to fall in with the *Brandenburgers*, others into the general Quarters, where being encompaſs'd on all ſides, they were miſerably cut to pieces and ſlain, not ſo much as their Servants, or Grooms of their Horſes eſcaping. The Beſieged in the mean time being Spectators of all that paſſed, deſigned by a moſt vigorous Sally to meet their Succours, but were ſo warmly encounter'd by the *Bavarians*, that they were forced to Retreat with precipitation and diſorder.

The Body which the *Turks* kept for a Reſerve, obſerving the unfortunate iſſue of theſe Conflicts, durſt not adventure to make another Attack, but retired back to their Camp. The *Turks* loſt above One thouſand Men kill'd on the place, and Twenty five of their Colours were taken. Howſoever, this Advantage was not obtained without ſome conſiderable loſs on the *Chriſtian* ſide, which was the more to be lamented by the Death of Baron *Marcy*, who after having kill'd ſeveral *Janiſaries* with his own hand, receiv'd two Cuts on the Head with a Cymeter, and one on his Shoulder, which tho at firſt were not eſteem'd Mortal; yet the Wounds being neglected, and the Cure thereof not much regarded, he Died thereof 1686. in a ſhort time afterwards, to the great Grief of the whole Camp, which much lamented the loſs of ſo brave a Soldier.

The Vizier being informed of this unfortunate Succeſs, immediately gave order to the *Janiſaries* of his Guards, which were kept for a Reſerve to renew the Fight, and attempt once more to give ſuccour to the Town; but the March of theſe freſh Forces being diſcovered by the General Count *Piccolomini*, who was at the Head of five Regiments of Horſe, divided into Twenty five Squadrons, he marched boldly to meet the Enemy; but the *Turks* upon appearance of the Van-guard of the *Chriſtians* ſounded a Retreat, and returned back to the Vizier's Camp.

Whilſt theſe ſeveral Conflicts and Skirmiſhes were acting in the Field, the Attacks upon the Town were not neglected; and on the ſide of *Loraine* they had advanced their Lodgment to the Breach of the inward Wall, not above three Pikes length from the Paliſadoes; but becauſe it was neceſſary to attack the Town with extream Reſolution and Force, without which it could not be taken; and that in the mean time, no Interruption ſhould be given to the Aſſault by the outward Force of the Enemy; it was reſolved at a Council of War, held by all the Generals then preſent, that the Lines of Circumvallation ſhould be made deeper, which being well guarded, would ſecure the Soldiers from the Enemy without: And in the mean time, to keep the Deſign ſecret, a Report was given out that the *Chriſtians* intended to give Battle to the *Turks*; upon the News of which, the Vizier applied himſelf to fortify his Camp, and the Beſieged neglected to provide for their laſt Defence.

It being now the ſecond of *September*, the Artillery continued ſtill to play upon the Breaches with Chained-ſhot, and to burn the Paliſadoes with Bullets red-hot, and to amuſe the Beſieged with the report of the Battle; ſo that ſeveral Troops were drawn out of the Lines, as if all the Army intended to take the Field; when on a ſuddain, upon a Signal given by firing ſix Pieces of Cannon from the *Swedes* Battery, the Soldiers aroſe like ſo many Lions to attack the Breaches in three ſeveral places, of *Loraine*, *Bavaria* and *Brandenburg*; beſides there were two other falſe Attacks. Baron *Aſti*, with his Granadiers, was the firſt to mount the Breach, but being wounded in the Attempt, he reſigned his Command to lead his Men to the Serjeant-Major of *Diepenthal*. Never was any thing more bravely aſſaulted, nor more courageouſly defended: For the Beſieged, notwithſtanding the late Stratagem to amuſe them, ſtill continued

September.

An Aſſault made in three pla-

1686.

The Commanders Guide to the Soldiers.

The Paſha of Buda killed.

The City enter'd and taken.

ed their uſual Vigilance, and oppoſe themſelves with open Breaſts againſt their Enemy; ſo that never was made a more brave and reſolute Defence than that of this Fortreſs of *Buda*. The *Brandenburgers*, not inferior in Courage to the Imperialiſts, were as forward as the others to mount the Breach; but both of them encountred an incredible Reſiſtance by whole ſhowers of Shot, Granadoes, Bags of Gunpowder, Stones, and even Swords and handy Blows, to which they came with the Enemy: But the Aſſailants being ſeconded by Reſerves, and animated by the Preſence and Example of their Generals, who marched at the head of their Men rather as Guides and Conductors, than as Commanders, were ſo encouraged, that they reſolv'd either now at laſt to enter the Town, or die on the Breach: The Duke of *Croy*, the Prince of *Neuburg*, with the Generals *Souches*, *Scaffemberg* and *Diepental*, were like Common Soldiers engaged amidſt the thickeſt of the Enemies; and the Duke of *Loraine*, who out of an heroick Spirit, was always preſent where was moſt of Danger, was one of the firſt to mount the Breach, being followed by the other Generals. The Fight grew ſo hot, and the Defendants ſo hardly preſs'd upon the Breach, that the Paſha-Governour of the Place, with the moſt ſelect and choiſe Men of the Garriſon came running to ſuccour that part where the Enemy was juſt ready to make their Entrance; the Paſha fighting valiantly on the Breach, and giving undeniable Proofs of his Valour, was ſlain on the Ruins, and fell a Sacrifice rather to his own Maſter than to his Enemies; for had he eſcaped the Danger and Slaughter, 'tis probable he would have been ill received at Home, and his Death made ſhameful by the Hand of the Executioner, which was now made glorious by the Sword of the Enemy. In fine, after a bloudy Fight on the Breach, which continued for the ſpace of three quarters of an Hour, the Soldiers entred freely into the City, where a new Engagement began, the Garriſon retreating from Houſe to Houſe, and from Wall to Wall, firing from Windows and Holes, and all parts, being reſolved to ſell their Habitations and Lives at the deareſt rate they were able, until at length with great diſorder they fled to the foot of the Caſtle Wall. The Imperialiſts being now Maſters of the Town, made a moſt direful Slaughter of all they met; and being in the heat of their Fury, put Women and Children to the Sword.

But the Elector of *Bavaria* met a ſtronger Reſiſtance at the Caſtle; for the *Turks* who were ſtill in their Trenches, and knew not as yet, that the *Chriſtians* had enter'd the Town, defended themſelves with their utmoſt Bravery, until at length the *Bavarians* redoubling their Force, became Maſters of the remaining part of the Caſtle; when thoſe who had forſaken the Breach, were flying to take their Refuge in it; but now no Place or Sanctuary remaining to ſave the Miſerable, ſome of them threw down their Arms, crying for Quarter, and others made Signs of Surrender, by the white Turbants which they took from their Heads, and diſplay'd in the Air, and others thinking to ſave themſelves in little Boats, and paſs over to *Peſth*; but many of them were taken by the *Bavarians*, and moſt of them kill'd: But in regard that thoſe, who were ſtill in their Trenches, perceived that no Quarter was given, they apply'd themſelves again to their Arms, and as deſperate Men, reſolved to ſell their Lives at the deareſt rate; and having ſet Fire to diverſe Places of the City, render'd it a moſt direful ſpectacle of Horrour and Confuſion. In fine, all endeavours being made by the Generals to ſtop the farther effuſion of Bloud; the Soldiers not being as yet ſatiated with Revenge for the Death of their Companions; and the Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who (with his Regiment of Horſe was poſted in a burying place to oppoſe the *Turks*, in caſe they ſhould attempt any thing from the Vizier's Camp) was deaf to the Cries of the Conquer'd; for hearing that the Town was enter'd, and unwilling to loſe any part of the Glory, or that his Sword ſhould appear dry, and not colour'd with the Bloud of his Enemies, at the end of the Action, forſook his Poſt, and let looſe his Soldiers, crying out to give no Quarter to the *Janiſaries*, which to the number of about Sixteen hundred defended themſelves within the Trenches and Works of the Caſtle; but the Generals conſulting together, conſider'd that the Night was coming on, that the Enemies Camp was in ſight, that Fires were kindled and furiouſly burning in diverſe parts of the City, and that the Confuſion was every-where great; they at length agreed, thô with ſome Opinions to the contrary, to grant Quarter to the *Janiſaries* for their Lives only; the which they having accepted, and ſurrender'd themſeves, were by a ſtrong Guard conducted to one of the Moſchs of the City, others to the chief Store-houſe, and others to a part of the Caſtle, where they were kept in Cuſtody until the Day following.

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The Turks *demand Quarter.*

Quarter not given

by the P. of Savoy,

but is granted by the Generals.

In the great Action of this Day, being the 2*d* of *September*, 1686, which gave the capital City of the Kingdom of *Hungary* into the Hands of the Emperor, after it had remained in Poſſeſſion of the *Turks* ever ſince the Year 1529, when it was taken by *Solyman*; There were kill'd only Four

1686. hundred Soldiers, and about Two hundred wounded; for where is a great Conſternation, there is ſeldom much Bloud ſpilt on the victorious ſide: Of the *Turks* about Three thouſand might be ſlain, and Two thouſand made Captives; of which laſt, the *Kahya* to the Paſha of *Buda*, or his Deputy, was made Slave to the Elector of *Bavaria*; the Aga or Commander of the *Janiſaries* to the Duke of *Loraine*; as alſo the *Mufti*, the Treaſurer, the *Haſnadar* or Privy-Purſe to the Paſha, the Secretary to the Paſha, with ſeveral other Officers of Note: Many others were taken and kill'd, who endeavour'd to make their eſcape over the River, ſome of them being overtaken by the *Talpatz* in their ſwift-rowing Boats; and others taken or kill'd by the Garriſon of *Peſth*, at their landing on the other ſide; but ſtill was the City all this Night in continual Flames and Confuſion; for the *Turks* had conſerved diverſe Stores of Powder and Fire-works in places near the Attacks, which were not regarded by the *Chriſtians*, when they firſt enter'd the Town; where the Fire encreaſing, and running from Houſe to Houſe, at length touching the Magazines, they blew all up with ſo terrible a noiſe, that the General began to ſuſpect ſome Treaſon, and fear'd that all the Town was min'd in ſubterranean Vaults; but conſidering afterwards the place from whence the Blow came, it ſoon appear'd that it was all nothing but an Accident; howſoever, with that and other terrible Blows, very few Houſes in the City remained ſtanding, and the Roofs uncover'd; only the principal Church of the City was not much damnified, and the chief Magazine or Store-houſe was conſerved by the great Care and Diligence of Count *Rabata*, Commiſſary General, with another containing vaſt quantities of Powder and other warlike Proviſions.

The numbers ſlain at the taking of the City.

The Store-Houſe of Powder takes fire.

A ſtop being put (as we have ſaid) by the Authority of the Generals, unto the Slaughter; and the Fury of the Soldiers growing cool, they began to hearken to the voice of their Commanders, who with good Words, and promiſes of Reward, prevail'd with them to apply themſelves to the extinguiſhing of the Fire, which by the aſſiſtance of God was in a few Hours overcome. But a more wonderful deliverance by the Hand of God's Divine Providence, was the diſcovery of two Mines under the Caſtle, charged with Ten thouſand Pounds of Powder, which the *Turks* reſerved for their laſt and parting Blow, which had they taken Fire, would not only have deſtroyed the remainder of the City with the Walls and Bulwarks, but therewith buried the greateſt part of the Aſſailants in the Ruins, and given a ſad occaſion or cauſe of Rejoycing and Triumph to the ſurviving Conquerors; but the *Turks* amidſt this great Conſternation had forgot theſe Mines, or elſe abſtained from that deſperate Attempt in hopes of Life.

Endeavours made to quench the Fire.

Two Mines diſcover'd.

The Greatneſs and Power of the Vizier of Buda.

This was the Fate of this great and ſtrong City of *Buda*, the Capital of all *Hungary*, and Reſidence of the Beglerbei of that Kingdom, under whom are Twenty Sangiacks: He is ſtil'd the Vizier of *Buda*, and eſteem'd after the Grand Vizier *Azem*, and the Paſhas of Grand *Cairo* and *Babylon*, (who are always entitul'd Viziers) the next in order of Superiority; and becauſe his Station is on the Frontiers, and Neighbour to ſuch a Formidable and Martial People, as are the *Germans*; they commonly chuſe Men of Valour and Conduct for that Employment, of which we have had a good Proof and Evidence in the Perſon of the late Paſha, who decently Died on the Breach amidſt the croud of Common Soldiers.

The many Sieges which Buda *ſuſtain'd.*

This City was at firſt taken by *Solyman* the Magnificent, in the Year 1526; and afterwards in the Year 1527, was ſubdu'd by *Ferdinand* the I. King of *Bohemia*, Brother to *Charles* the V. In the Year 1529, *Solyman* regain'd it by Treachery of the Garriſon, and after it laid Siege to *Vienna* it ſelf, which after many bloudy Aſſaults he was forc'd to raiſe in haſt and confuſed Precipitation. After which, *Buda* ſuſtain'd eight ſeveral Sieges without any Effect.

The firſt was by *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, in the Year 1530, which he was forced to raiſe with ſhame and loſs. 1ſt.

The ſecond was by the ſame King, under the Conduct of his General *Leonard Feſtius*, in the Year 1540; but the King dying, the Siege was raiſed. 2d.

The next Year being 1541, the General *Rogenſdorf* laid Siege a third time to that City, which again was reliev'd by a powerful Army under the Command of *Solyman*. 3d.

The Marqueſs of *Brandenberg*, in the Year 1542, made an appearance as if he had a deſign upon *Buda*, and came ſo near as to Attack *Peſth*; but being repuls'd thence with ſome loſs, he return'd back into *Germany*. 4th.

In the Year 1598, the Count of *Swartzemburg*, having by a Stratagem taken *Rab* from the *Turks*, marched thence towards *Buda*, and in the Month of *October* laid Siege thereunto, with the Forces of *Mathias* the Arch-Duke, which after thirty Days time he was forced to raiſe, by reaſon of the continual Rains: And what is obſervable, the *Turks* did the like at *Waradin* on the Frontiers, being under the ſame Inconveniences. 5th.

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6th. The *Chriſtians* made an Attempt the *6th* time upon this City, in the Year 1602, under the Conduct of General *Roſworm*: And thô they had ruin'd the Bridge over the *Danube*, and taken by force the City of *Peſth*, yet being overtaken by the rigour of the Winter-ſeaſon, they were forced to deſiſt from that Deſign.

7th. The *7th* Siege was laid in the Year 1684, by *Charles* Duke of *Loraine*, Generaliſſimo of the Imperial Forces, and of the other Princes of *Germany*; which after many bloudy Aſſaults was again raiſed; as we have at large declared in the Hiſtorical Treatiſe of that Year.

The 8th time Beſieged and taken.

8th. But now at length, after many Battles unfortunate to the *Turks*, this Fortreſs was forced to ſurrender to the ſaid Duke of *Loraine*, being over-whelm'd by the Power and Valour of the *Chriſtians*, and taken in the ſight of the *Ottoman* Army, Commanded by the Grand Vizier himſelf, in which was the Flower of the Turkiſh Troops; but having loſt the beſt and braveſt of their Soldiers in former Battles, and diſcourag'd by a Series of evil Succeſſes, their Courage fail'd them, and no wonder, when they were generally poſſeſs'd with an Opinion, that God fought againſt them; in ſenſe of which, ſo ſoon as the City was taken, the Vizier with ſuch Precipitation raiſed his Camp and marched away, that he was forc'd to burn a great part of his Baggage to prevent the falling of it into the Hands of the Enemy. And indeed it was no wonder that the Vizier with fear and dread ſhould haſten away, for the Duke of *Loraine* had diſpatch'd Count *Budiani*, with Six thouſand *Hungarians*, to march in purſuit of him, whilſt he with the other Generals render'd Thanks to God, and ſang *Te Deum* for their Succeſſes in the great Church, Dedicated to St. *Stephen* King of *Hungary*.

The Command of Buda given.

In the mean time the Command of this important City was committed to the Charge of General *Beck*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Salm*, and of *Biſcoffſhauſen*, Serjeant-Major to *Diepenthal*, with a Garriſon of Three thouſand Five hundred *Germans*, and a Thouſand *Hungarians*: The firſt Work to be done, was to clear the Streets of the dead Bodies, which was perform'd by the *Turks* and *Jews*, who were made Priſoners; thoſe Bodies which were *Turks* and *Jews*, like themſelves, by Command of their Task-maſters, they threw into the River, but the Bodies of the *Chriſtians* were decently Interr'd. The next Buſineſs was to demoliſh the Works, repair the Breaches, to fill up the Trenches, and level the Lines: But the chief Priſoners, and Perſons of Quality, were conducted by Count *Rabata* to the Emperor at *Vienna*, where the Joy and Triumph of that Court was much increas'd at the ſight of ſuch conſiderable Captives.

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The Spoyl and Plunder of the City could not amount unto much, by reaſon that the greateſt part of the Houſholdſtuff and Moveables was conſum'd in the Flames: Howſoever, there were ſome who had the fortune to ſeize conſiderable Sums both of Gold and Silver. After which the Place being viſited and ſurvey'd in all parts by the two Generals, they found therein above Four hundred Pieces of Cannon of great weight; of which there were four of vaſt bigneſs, carrying an Hundred and fifty Pound Bullet; to which the *Chriſtians* afterwards gave the Name of the four Evangeliſts; beſides, there were twenty Mortar-pieces, and Proviſions and Ammunition for about a Month longer.

Stores found in the Town.

The Generals having refreſh'd their Armies in *Buda* for the ſpace of three or four Days, on the *6th* of *September* they march'd towards the Vizier with Twenty thouſand Foot and Twelve thouſand Horſe; of whom Count *Budiani* (as we have ſaid) being diſpatch'd before, gave an account, that the Vizier having viſited and reinforc'd the Garriſon of *Alba Regalis*, or *Stultwiſſemberg*, had taken his March with all expedition towards the Bridge of *Eſſeck*; and that his Army was reduc'd to a very ſmall number, being deſerted by the Country-people and Handycraftsmen, whom they had forc'd to the War; ſo that the Vizier not knowing otherwiſe in what manner to ſave himſelf, encamp'd with all the advantage he could about three Miles diſtant from the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, upon the little River of *Sarwitz*, having his Rear guarded by a Bog or marſhy Ground, intending there to remain, until he ſaw and diſcover'd the Deſigns of the Enemy, who could not in that advantagious Poſt force him to an Engagement.

The Army marches againſt the Vizier.

The Duke of *Loraine* being with the Imperial Army encamp'd at *Tolna*, about three Leagues diſtant from the Vizier, whom he could not force nor perſwade to Fight; he detach'd Eighteen Regiments under Command of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with Orders to Beſiege the Town of *Quinq; Eccleſiæ*, whilſt he with the remainder of the Army paſſed the River, with a Bridge of Boats, at *Tolna*, taking his March towards *Peſth*; and in his way ſeized on the Town of *Hatwan*, which the *Turks* had abandon'd, and ſet on Fire; but the *Chriſtians* entring therein before all was reduc'd to Aſhes, they extinguiſh'd the Fire, and ſav'd the reſt, and found therein ſeventeen Pieces of Cannon.

Hatwan ſurrender'd.

Simon Torn *taken*

and Kapoſwar.

Quinq; Eccleſiæ *taken.*

Thus did the Imperial Arms proceed with a proſperous gale of Fortune, nothing ſtanding before them, but all yielded to the conquering Eagles; for Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* in his March, made himſelf Maſter of *Simon-Torn*, a Fortreſs encompaſs'd with a Ditch of thirty Paces broad, and that alſo defended by a Marſh quite round; the Paſſage over which is made by a Bridge of Three hundred Paces long, and the Caſtle is built of Free-ſtone, with Fortifications after the ancient Faſhion. In this Place were ſixteen Pieces of Braſs Guns, and one of Iron, Twenty ſix Granado-ſhells, and Twenty five Tuns of Gun-powder. Then without farther loſs of time he proceeded to *Kapoſwar*, which he Pillag'd and Burnt, the Caſtle only excepted: And being reinforc'd by Count *Staffemberg* and ſome Troops of the *Croats*, which joyn'd with him, they march'd together towards *Quinq; Eccleſiæ*; and being come near the Place, a Detachment of Three thouſand *Germans* and *Croats* was made to take a View of the Situation and Strength of the Town; which they finding to remain in a ſecure Condition, enter'd it by Surprize, and put an Hundred *Turks* to the Sword, the reſt flying to the Caſtle for Refuge, after they had ſet fire to the City in four places; but the Dragoons ſcaled the Walls, and with their Swords in their Hands caſt themſelves into the Place, and open'd the Gates to give entrance to the other Troops. After which the Fire was put out, and conſiderable Booty, and rich Plunder taken, and about a Thouſand Chriſtian Captives ſet at liberty.

Segedin *beſieged.*

Veterani *routs the* Tartars.

This Succeſs was ſoon afterwards followed by the Siege of *Segedin*, by ſome Troops detach'd by Order of the Duke of *Loraine*, under Command of Count *Caraffa*, one of the Generals; who, coming before the Place, in a ſhort time rais'd four Batteries, and mounted his Cannon thereupon, which were brought from *Zolnock*; but Forage and Proviſions growing very ſcarce in the Leaguer, *Caraffa* went himſelf to haſten the Proviſions, leaving Count *Walis*, Major-General, Chief Commander of the Forces before the Town: In the mean time Count *Walis* receiv'd Intelligence, that Two thouſand *Turks*, joyn'd with a conſiderable Body of *Tartars*, were marching to raiſe the Siege, or to force Succours into the Town; he detach'd ſix Regiments of Horſe and Foot, with ſome *Croats*, and a Regiment of Dragoons, under the Command of Count *Veterani*; who having marched all the Night, by break of Day drew up his Forces into Battalia, and with his right Wing charged the *Tartars* with ſuch reſolution, that he put them to flight, and kill'd great numbers of them in their Tents, and took Four or Five thouſand of their Horſes, with all their Baggage: Nor was the Colonel of the Regiment *de Gotz*, whoſe Incumbence it was to Charge the *Turks*, leſs ſucceſsful in his Enterpriſe; for tho they had the advantage of a Palanca for their Defence, yet the Imperialiſts (to whom nothing could now be difficult) did Storm it with ſo much Courage and Vigour, that they ſoon became Maſters of it, killing Two hundred of the Three hundred *Janiſaries*, which defended the Place; at the ſame time the Horſe charging the others, forced them to fly in diſorder, of which many falling into the Hands of *Veterani*, were kill'd without Quarter given to any.

A Body of Turks *routed.*

This Action was ſcarce over, before the Imperialiſts eſpied a great number of *Turks*, paſſing a Bridge which they had laid over the *Danube*, as if they had deſign'd to reinforce thoſe Troops newly defeated, and to come in to their Aſſiſtance for the Relief of *Segedin*. *Veterani* reſolving to charge them alſo, made a Detachment of ſome Regiments to hinder the run-away *Tartars* from attacking the Imperialiſts in the Flank, whilſt he aſſail'd the *Turks*, who were reputed to be Twelve thouſand Men, Commanded by the Vizier himſelf. The Action was ſo bravely perform'd, that the Van-guard of the *Turks* was beaten, and forced to retreat to a Place where their Infantry lay under covert, ſupported by Six hundred *Janiſaries*, with Thirty Field-pieces, which were diſcharged with terrible Fire and Smoke upon their Enemies; but the *Chriſtians* having receiv'd their Fire with undaunted Conſtancy and Courage, they aſſail'd the *Turks* and *Tartars* with ſuch bravery, that they put them to flight.

Another Body of the Turks *defeated.*

In this laſt Encounter above Three hundred *Janiſaries* were kill'd upon the Place, all their Artillery and Baggage taken, with their Timbals, which they found before the Paſhas, and many Colours, together with Five hundred Horſe, and Two thouſand Beaſts of Burden, laden with Baggage and Proviſions; and all this on the Chriſtian ſide, with the loſs only of a Hundred Foot Soldiers, and about Fifty Horſemen. After which *Veterani* returning to the Camp before *Segedin*, where *Te Deum* was ſung; ſome Priſoners were releaſ'd to carry the Intelligence of theſe Succeſſes into the Town: And thereupon a Treaty being deſired, and Hoſtages given, it was agreed, That the Soldiers of the Garriſon only ſhould have liberty to march out with as much Baggage as every Man was able to carry upon his Shoulders, and to be conducted in ſafety as far as *Temeſwar*.

Segedin *taken.*

Thus *Segedin* being taken, great quantities of Proviſions were found therein, which ſerved to augment the Loſs, and increaſe the terrible Conſternation in the Turkiſh Army, and in the Court, and in all parts of the *Ottoman* Dominions. Nor did the *Turks* Miſfortunes of this Year's Campaign end here, nothing being able to withſtand a victorious Army. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* divided his Army into two Bodies; the firſt he Commanded himſelf, and march'd towards *Darda*, which is a Fortreſs built by the *Turks*, and ſerv'd to cover the Bridge of *Eſſeck*; the other Detachment was committed to the Conduct of Count *Scaffemberg*, with Orders to Attack *Zyclos*, the which he ſo well executed, that in five or ſix Days he took the Place, the Soldiers and Inhabitants Surrendring at diſcretion: In the Town were found Twelve Pieces of Cannon, with ſtores of all ſorts of Proviſion and Ammunition. The Men were made Priſoners of War, but the Women and Children were diſperſed into ſeveral Cities and Towns under obedience of the Emperor. After the taking of *Zyclos*, the Count of *Scaffemberg* joyn'd again with Prince *Lewis*, who was now come before *Darda* on the firſt of *November*, where he underſtood the two Paſhas, who had layn encamp'd on that ſide, with about Two thouſand Five hundred Men, were already paſs'd the Bridge of *Eſſeck*; and that the Garriſon of *Darda* had abandon'd the Place, and march'd the ſame way, carrying their Cannon and Proviſions with them, and to hinder the purſuit of their Enemies after them, had beaten down and burnt a great part of the Bridge behind them. The Fort and the Bridge being both poſſeſs'd without any oppoſition, Prince *Lewis* burnt about Six thouſand Paces more of the Bridge, notwithſtanding the Cannon-ſhot which they fired continually from the Town of *Eſſeck*, without any great loſs or damage to the Imperialiſts, or the People of the Country, which came in to their Aſſiſtance; ſo that by what one ſide and the other had done, the Bridge was totally ruin'd. Prince *Lewis* having put a good Garriſon into *Darda*, march'd to *Zyclos*, and thence to *Kapeſwar*, which he took upon Conditions, that the Garriſon ſhould march out, and be conducted in ſafety as far as *Sigeth*. There were in that Town Twenty four Pieces of Cannon planted, and the Magazines well ſtor'd with all ſorts of Proviſions and Arms.

Zyclos *taken.*

The Bridge of Eſſeck *ruin'd.*

In this glorious manner did this Campaign end in favour of the Chriſtian Arms: And now it being time for both Armies to retire into their Winter-quarters, the loſing Party had leiſure to lament and quarrel, and lay the fault on each other, and the victorious Party to rejoyce and triumph. And ſo it was; for by this time the news of the loſs of *Buda*, and the ſeveral Victories gain'd by the *Chriſtians*, being come to *Conſtantinople*, it ſtruck all ſorts and conditions of Men with a wonderful Conſternation and Aſtoniſhment; and yet under this Affliction and preſſure of heavy Taxes, they behav'd themſelves with much Humility and Reſignation of Mind to the Will and Pleaſure of God, acknowledging all theſe Miſeries which had fallen upon them, the flights and turning of their Backs to their Enemies, the loſs of their fortify'd Towns, and the Slaughter of their brave Soldiers, and valiant Men of War, to be all the effects of the Divine Anger and Vengeance upon them for their Sins. The *Imaums* or Pariſh-Prieſts, the *Shecks* or Preachers in their Moſchs, the Religious Men, ſuch as the *Dervices*, *Kalenderi*, *Nimetulahi*, and others made diverſe Proceſſions, exhorting the People as they paſs'd to Repentance and Amendment of Life, and particularly to lament their Sins of drinking Wine and unnatural Luſts, the common Wickedneſs and Vices of the People: And for better obſervation of their Law, which had been much neglected, it was commanded on pain of Death ſtrictly to obſerve the *Ramazan*, which is the Month of Faſting, during which Month, no Man is by their Law, in the Day time, till Night comes, to taſt Bread or drink Water: Every *Friday* in that Month, the *Mufti* and *Kadees* clothed in penitential Habits, were oblig'd to viſit all the principal Moſchs of the City, and to make Prayers for turning away the Anger and Diſpleaſure of God: But the People and Soldiery were of another Temper, being inclin'd to enquire after the Cauſe and Grounds of all theſe Evils, Slaughters, and Confuſion. The News of taking *Buda*, and putting all the Garriſon to the Sword, (which as reported) conſiſted of Eight thouſand Men, beſides Women and Children, had fill'd all *Conſtantinople* with a moſt wonderful Conſternation; the common ſort of Shopkeepers and Handycrafts-men ran to Coffee-houſes, and Places of publick Meetings to hear the News and Particulars of what had paſs'd. The *Kadees*, who were Lawyers and Judges, and the *Otorack Janiſaries*, who are like the *Milites immeriti*, or Soldiers with dead Pay, caball'd every Day together without the knowledge of the Grand Seignior, which ſo ſoon as he came to hear, he was affrighted, not knowing what might be the iſſue of ſuch ſeditious Meetings, and thereupon doubling his Guards in the *Seraglio* with *Boſtangees*, who are Gardiners, and ſtout able Men, he ſent to know the meaning of ſuch numerous Aſſemblies; to which anſwer was made, That ſeeing to their Grief the extream Ruin and Danger, then threatning both the Perſon of his Majeſty and the whole Empire, they thought it their Duty as Loyal Subjects and Slaves, and

The Turks *humble themſelves.*

Keep ſeditious Meetings.

The Grand Seignior affrighted at the Meetings, and ſends to them.

1686.

Their Anſwer.

They offer Remedies.

The Grand Seignior approves thereof.

and true Muſſelmen and Believers to conſult together what Advices and Expedients they might with all Humility offer to his Majeſty, for his own perſonal Conſervation, and for the Defence of their holy and true Religion, with the great Body of the Empire. The Grand Seignior, who dreaded the ill Conſequences of ſuch ſeditious Meetings, return'd to them a gentle Meſſage of Thanks for their Care and Love, deſiring them to offer him ſuch Remedies, which they in their Wiſdom did judge convenient for cure of the preſent, and prevention of future Evils; it being natural for the common ſort of People in ſuch caſes to caſt the Blame on the chief Miniſters of State, they immediately reply'd, That the *Mufti* was a bad Man, and had abuſed his Office, and that it was generally murmur'd in all places of the Empire, That his Majeſty was in ſuch times as theſe too expenſive in his Seraglio, and too looſe in his Government, giving himſelf up to Hunting and Recreations, and forſaking as it were the Helm of Government, whilſt the Veſſel of the Empire was toſſed amidſt an Ocean of Miſeries, and ready every Day to ſuffer Shipwrack. And that his Majeſty did too much neglect his Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, gracing every little Place with his Preſence, which made that Royal Seat become deſolate and ſo impoveriſh'd, that it was not poſſible to anſwer and pay the vaſt Taxes and Impoſitions which were charged upon it. The Grand Seignior ſeem'd to take all this that was ſaid very kindly; and immediately depos'd the *Mufti*, and baniſhed him to *Pruſa*, and calling for one of the *Kadileſchers* (who are Chief Juſtices) he cloth'd him with a rich Sables, and inveſted him with his Office: And looking more nearly about him to the main Chance, he recall'd the Orders he had lately given for a general Hunt on a certain Day, and a vaſt number of Grey-hounds, which with great Charge had been got together from all parts of the Empire, were let looſe, and ſuffer'd to run without a Maſter through all the Streets of *Conſtantinople*: The Expences of the Seraglio were alſo much retrench'd, and the dayly Allowances reduc'd to one Moiety: And after this Example, the *Kuſlir-Aga*, the *Kimacham*, and all the great Miniſters of State made a Regulation in their Families: And to make this Reformation the more publick and notorious to the People, the Grand Seignior put on a more grave and penitential Face than ordinary, and frequented the Royal Moſques, going to one or other of them every Day with much Solemnity: This Reformation quieted the Minds of the Commonalty pretty well; but this and the News of the Vizier's coming to *Conſtantinople* very ſpeedily, to aſſiſt at the Councils for conferting Meaſures for the next Year's Campaign, terrified the Ringleaders of the late Cabals, with an Apprehenſion of being called to an Account on ſcore of their late ſeditious Meetings; for the *Turks*, who can eaſily diſſemble with the Vulgar, and temporize during the Outrages and Fluctuations of the People, yet ſo ſoon as the Storm is appeas'd, they never fail to queſtion the Cauſe, and puniſh Captain *Tom* and his mutinous Rabble with Puniſhment agreeable to their Demerit.

1686.

A Panick-fear poſſeſſes them at Conſtantinople.

As the Grand Seignior was affraid of his People, and they of the Grand Seignior and Vizier, ſo likewiſe were they generally poſſeſs'd with a Panick-fear of the coming of the Enemy, which will plainly appear by this Inſtance. The *Turks* having ſurrender'd up *Napoli di Romania* upon Conditions to the *Venetians*; one of them was, That they ſhould Tranſport the Inhabitants and Garriſon of that City, to ſome Place within the *Dardanelli*, near to the Caſtles: The *Venetians*, in purſuance of this Article, embark'd all the Soldiers, with the Men, Women and Children, and tranſported them to the place appointed; to which when they began to draw near, ſo that many Colours of St. *Mark* were ſeen from the Caſtles, entring into the *Helleſpont*, the News thereof was poſted from all hands to *Conſtantinople*, which put the whole City into a Conſternation, and gave cauſe of Rumour every-where, that the *Venetians* had already paſſed the Caſtles, and Reports flew up and down, that they were in a few Leagues, or as ſome fancied in ſight of the Town. This put all Hands to work, and in a confuſed manner, many Pieces of Cannon were mounted at the Seraglio Point, on the Maiden Tower, which is a little Fort built on a Rock in the Water, in the midway between *Conſtantinople* and *Scutari*, where alſo Guns were mounted, and Soldiers and Inhabitants of the City poſted in all places, where might be any ſuſpicion or danger of the Enemies deſcent or landing. This hurly burly continu'd for the ſpace of two Days, by which time the truth of the Matter being known, and that the *Venetians* were retired, things began to be quieted, and the People to return to their own Habitations and Buſineſs.

Thus have we done with the Campaign in *Hungary* for the Year 1686, which ended very glorious for the Emperor: It reſts now before we proceed farther, to take a view and ſurvey of the Succeſſes of the *Venetians* both by Sea and Land, which were not leſs proſperous than thoſe in the parts of *Hungary*.

1686.

Deſcription of the Country of Maina.

1686.

The Turks inveſt Chieleſa.

In the preceeding Years of this War, the *Venetians* made it their chief Buſineſs and Enterpriſe to render themſelves Maſters of the *Morea*, a fruitful and ancient Country, in which are many Provinces, and amongſt them, that of *Laconia*, now call'd *Maina*, and the Inhabitants, *Mainioti*, a ſort of People, who call themſelves *Chriſtians*, but live chiefly upon Spoyl and Robbery: In this Country the moſt conſiderable Places are, *Calamata*, *Zarnata*, *Chieleſa*, and *Paſſava*, all which Places were ſubdu'd by the *Venetians*, and taken from the *Turks* in the preceeding Year of 1685, in deſpight of the Captain Paſha, and in the ſight of him and his Army, as we have before related, which Diſgrace being a Crime ſufficient to coſt him his Head, he reſolv'd to ſave his Life if poſſible by recovery of *Chieleſa*; to gain which, he began betimes his Campaign, and on the firſt of *April*, he inveſted the Place with an Army, compoſed of Ten thouſand Foot and Fifteen hundred Horſe, commanded by himſelf and four other Paſhas, with a great number of Labourers and Pioniers. At his firſt appearance before this Fortreſs, the Captain Paſha ſent a Summons to the Governour, call'd Seignior *Marin Gritti*, Proveditor extraordinary for the *Maina*, demanding with many Threats the Surrender of that Town. To which Seignior *Gritti* return'd a reſolute Anſwer, That he and all his Soldiers would either live or die in Defence of that Place, not doubting but that the Omnipotent God would favour their juſt and brave Intentions. The Captain Paſha having receiv'd this Anſwer, immediately rais'd a Battery, and began to fire upon the Town with ſix Pieces of Cannon; at which the Governour not being in the leaſt diſmay'd, put all things in order for a reſolute Defence. The *Turks* ply'd their Batteries ſo warmly on the Town, that in the ſpace of ten Days they had open'd a Breach wide enough for an Aſſault; which whilſt they were preparing to do, the News being brought to Seignior *Girolamo Cornaro*, the General of the Iſlands, how that the *Turks* had inveſted *Chieleſa*, he immediately gather'd all the Force which was then ready in *Zant*, conſiſting of divers Nations; and having embark'd 'em on a Fleet of Ships commanded by Seignior *Lorenzo Venier*, he ſailed with a favourable Wind to the *Morea*. This News flew likewiſe with much ſpeed to the Captain-General *Moroſini* then at *Corfu*, who, with like diligence, having embark'd all the Forces he had there, and being aſſiſted with a proſperous Wind, arrived in the ſpace of four Days at the Place, where he deſign'd to make his Deſcent, and the Day following being the 30th of *March*, he landed Four thouſand Men under the Command of three Major Generals, that is, *Storf*, and the Cavaliers *Alcenago*, and *d'Andria*.

1686.

The Venetians relieve Chieleſa.

This unexpected News of the arrival of the Captain General ſurprized the Captain Paſha, and filled all the Turkiſh Camp with Fear and Confuſion; ſo that at the very Name of *Moroſini*, and the Chriſtian Troops, they rais'd their Tents, and drew off their Camp, but with ſuch haſt and precipitation, that at a little diſtance from the Town, they left ſix Pieces of Braſs Canon behind them, four of which were found in the common Way, and two were thrown down a Precipice, which afterwards were recover'd by the induſtry of the *Venetians*. So ſoon as the Beſieg'd obſerv'd the Enemy to raiſe their Camp, and to fly away with a Panick-fear, the *Greeks* and *Mainiots* purſu'd them, and kill'd above Four hundred of them; and the whole Body of the reſt were diſpers'd through the whole Country of the *Morea*; only the Captain Paſha with ſome few Troops pitch'd his Camp in the Country near to *Paſſava*, where he labour'd to gather his diſpers'd Troops.

1686.

The Venetians inveſt old Navarin.

The Inhabitants treat and ſurrender.

Towards the end of *May*, the Auxiliary-Gallies and Forces being united to the Army and Fleet, under the Captain General; the whole Body of the Armada conſiſting of about Two hundred Sail, on the ſecond Day of *June* appear'd in ſight of old *Navarin*, which fill'd all that Country round with great Conſternation. The Galleaſſes and great Ships led the Van, and ſerv'd to ſhelter and protect the ſmaller Veſſels in landing their Men, which being enter'd on the Shoar, were drawn up in Battalia by the Art and Direction of that valiant General Count *Coniſmarc*, in ſight of the People of *Navarin*. *Moroſini*, according to his accuſtomary Generoſity, ſent firſt his Summons to the Garriſon to Surrender, before he thought fit to make uſe of his Force, in anſwer unto which, they deſir'd time to conſider until the next Morning; and then they propos'd a longer Term, with deſign only to protract the Time, until they might receive Succours from the Seraskier, whom they knew to be not far diſtant with a conſiderable Force; of which the Captain General well conſidering, gave order to Count *Coniſmarc* to advance with a great part of the Army towards the Town, and at the ſame time, he cauſed another Regiment to take poſſeſſion of a Rock which forms the Port, and to plant a formidable Battery thereon; in which Matters whilſt they were thus employ'd, the Beſieged being greatly affrighted, ſet forth a white Flag, and diſpatched immediately in their Admiral Gally, certain Deputies to treat on, and receive ſome reaſonable Conditions upon the Surrender, which, as they deſir'd, were generouſly

granted

1686. granted by the Captain General. In purſuance of which, the Inhabitants were permitted to march forth with all their Bag and Baggage and ſmall Arms, being not above Four hundred in number, of which One hundred were Soldiers, who were judged to be a ſufficient Garriſon to maintain a Fortreſs ſo naturally ſtrong, and ſituated on a high and almoſt inacceſſible Rock; and afterwards according to the Articles, all theſe People were tranſported to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Thus in a few Hours, without loſs of Men, or the leaſt effuſion of Blood, did this old Fort of *Navarin* fall into the Hands of the *Venetians*, in which were found Forty three Pieces of braſs Cannon, with many Arms, much Ammunition and Proviſions. The Captain General having furniſh'd the Place with a Garriſon of an Hundred and ſixty Men, under the Command of *Pietro Grioni*, in Quality of Proveditor in ordinay, he immediately block'd up the Port, and guarded the narroweſt ſtreight of it, to ſecure the Paſſage for the more ſafe and eaſie Tranſport of Cannons, Mortar-pieces and Proviſions unto that Place, where the Camp was pitch'd with deſign to Attack *New Navarin*, which was a Royal Fortreſs, and a place of greater Importance than that of *Old Navarin*.

1686. On the *4th* of *June* at Night, the Gallies of *Donado* and *Pizzamano*, both Noble *Venetians*, were the firſt to enter into the narrow Paſſage; on the firſt of which the General Count *Coniſmarc* was embark'd, who enter'd ſafely within the Port, thô ſeveral Pieces of Cannon were fired at them from a Ravelin, which trolled the Shot exactly on the Surface of the Water. Theſe were follow'd by the Captain of the *Gulf*, with three other Gallies, who paſſed without any damage or loſs; and on the *6th* at Night, *Cornaro*, General of the Iſlands, enter'd with his four Gallies alſo without other hurt, than the breaking ſome few Oars by a Shot from the Ravelin: The Cannon and Mortar-pieces, and other Neceſſaries for an Attack were firſt to be landed, which by the diligence, uſe and labour of the Slaves was preſently effected, notwithſtanding the many Difficulties which interven'd; and a formal Siege in a ſhort time laid by the Induſtry and Valour of Captain General *Moroſini*, and the happy Conduct of Count *Coniſmarc*, who had raiſed a Work, on which eighteen Mortar-pieces were planted, carrying Bombs of Five hundred pounds weight, and on another advantagious Ground had raiſed a Battery of Twenty Pieces of Cannon, carrying Fifty pound Bullet.

The Venetians enter the Port of Old Navarin.

Whilſt theſe Matters were acting, a certain *Greek* was taken with Letters from the Town, directed to the Seraskier, whereby they gave him to underſtand, That thô *Sefer* Paſha, a valiant and reſolute Soldier, was come to them, with a good Recruit both of Men and Ammunition, whereby their Garriſon amounted to a Thouſand Soldiers, and that nothing wanted either of Arms or Ammunition, yet that it was impoſſible for them to hold out long, unleſs the Siege was raiſed by a vigorous Force. Upon this Advice, General *Coniſmarc* reſolved with the greateſt part of his Troops to advance into the Country, and engage the Seraskier: Upon which Advice, the *Turks* were ſo far from deſigning to diſturb the Siege, that they raiſed their Camp, and retreated: Upon which alſo *Coniſmarc* thought fit to draw his Troops off, and return to the Siege; the *Turks* defending themſelves, and refuſing to Surrender upon any Summons or Force, which had hitherto been applied, upon hopes as they conceived of receiving ſpeedy Succour and Relief from the Seraskier, concerning whom the Report was, that he was approaching towards the Chriſtian Camp: In the mean time, the Captain General form'd all the Trenches and Traverſes for an Attack, and bomb'd the Town with Twenty Mortar-pieces, and batter'd the Walls with ſix Pieces of Cannon, carrying Fifty pounds weight of Bullet. The Report of the Seraskier's near approach, confirm'd by the Scouts and other Meſſengers, and that the *Turks* with a Body of 10.000 Men were come within ſix *Italian* Miles of the Leaguer; Count *Coniſmarc* with a very ſtrong Party advanced once again to meet and give them Battle, leaving the Cavalier *Alcenago*, one of the Major Generals, with a ſufficient Force to maintain the Siege.

Coniſmarc *advances againſt the Seraskier.*

June. The next Day after, Count *Coniſmarc* had riſen from before the Town, being the *14th* of *June*, they found the Seraskier encamp'd with 10.000 Men, of which Two thouſand were Horſe, in a very advantagious Poſt, which ſeemed very difficult to be forced: Howſoever, the *Venetians* reſolving to ſurmount all the Diſadvantages with their Valour, enter'd into the Vally by a very ſtreight Paſſage, where the *Turks* lay encamped, and forced them to engage in Battle, which laſted for the ſpace of two Hours in a dubious Condition, it not appearing as yet to which ſide the Victory would incline: The Regiments of *Corbon* and *Viſconti*, which were Dragoons, behaved themſelves very bravely, and ſuſtaining the heat of the Battle, the greateſt part of the Loſs fell on them; but the *Saxons*, and the Troops of *Brunſwick* coming to their aſſiſtance, with four ſmall Field-pieces, forced the Enemy to quit the Field, and betake themſelves to flight, leaving about Five hundred dead upon the Place, with all their Tents and

He engages the Turks,

and overthrows them.

1686. and Baggage, beſides many of them are wounded, amongſt which the Seraſkier himſelf was one; all which was perform'd by the wonderful Mercy of God, without any conſiderable loſs on the Chriſtian ſide. The Joy of this Victory was ſolemnized with *Te Deum*, and giving Thanks to God, and with many vollies of Shot and Cannon, which wholly diſanimated the Beſieged, and put them into ſuch a diſtracted Conſternation; that with more lenity than before, they began to hearken to a ſecond Summons, which the Captain General, to ſpare farther effuſion of Bloud, had been pleaſed to ſend to them. After divers Debates, and Articles propos'd, the Beſieg'd declar'd themſelves willing to lay down their Arms, and yield, on Conditions that three Days ſhould be given to the Garriſon to march out with their ſmall Arms and Baggage; and that ſhipping ſhould be given to the Garriſon and Inhabitants, to Tranſport them to the neareſt Coaſt of *Barbary*. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, it unfortunately happen'd that by ſome Accident a Fire took in certain Houſes, near a Magazine of Powder, which on a ſuddain blew up, and killed an Hundred and Fifty *Turks*, with *Seſer* Paſha, the Commander in chief of *Navarin*, and alſo ſix *Chriſtians*, and about fifteen wounded without the Walls of the City. The *Turks* fearing leſt this Accident ſhould be eſteem'd as done with Deſign, came trembling before the Captain General, ſolemnly proteſting their Innocence in the Diſaſter, offering two other Hoſtages for performance of the Articles agreed; and laying their Standards and Keys of their City, at the feet of the Captain General, they were graciouſly received: And accordingly at the time appointed, above Three thouſand Perſons were embarked, of which, One thouſand were capable to bear Arms, and were conveyed over to the Coaſt of *Barbary*; and the *Venetians* took Poſſeſſion of the Town, and planted the Colours of St. *Mark* on the Walls thereof.

The Town Capitulates and Surrenders.

The Venetians take Poſſeſſion of the Town.

It was not long after before the Fortreſs of *Modon* followed the ſame fortune; for the Chriſtian Forces loſing no time to purſue their good Succeſs, on the 22*d* of *June* the Armada of Ships and Gallies ſhewed themſelves before *Modon*; at which the Garriſon not ſeeming to be diſmay'd, the Paſha, who Commanded in chief, returned a reſolute Anſwer, full of Bravery and Defiance, to the Summons ſent to him by the Captain General: Upon which the Approaches were begun, and the Batteries raiſed, and Cannons plaid, and Bombs thrown by Direction of that famous Engenier *Mutoni*, by which the Garriſon being terrified, on the 7*th* of *July* they ſpread a white Flag, and ſurrender'd on Conditions, That in three Days they ſhould leave the Place, and march out with Arms and Baggage; which accordingly was perform'd on the 10*th* of *July*, all the Inhabitants to the number of Four thouſand, of which, about One thouſand were Soldiers bearing Arms, abandon'd their Habitations with ſad and dejected Countenances; and, as was agreed by Articles, were all Tranſported into *Barbary*. The Town being ſeized, there were an Hundred Pieces of Cannon found therein, of which, Ninety one were of Braſs, beſides great Quantities of Powder and Ammunition, and plenty of Proviſions.

1686.

Modon attacked.

1686.

Modon *ſurrendered.*

Thus good Succeſs attending the Venetian Arms, the Captain General reſolved to purſue his Conqueſts, whilſt Fortune inclined to his ſide; and to proceed to *Napoli di Romania*, a Town anciently Famous, and celebrated for its happy and commodious Situation, in the moſt pleaſant and richeſt part of all the *Morea*: The *Greeks* call it *Anaplia*, and *Ptolomy Nauplia*, being ſeated at the bottom of a Bay, call'd in former times *Sinus Argolicus*, having a very ſpacious and ſecure Port for Shipping, and very commodious for Trade. The Town it ſelf is ſituated with great Advantages, being defended on the one ſide by the Sea, and on the other by high and craggy Hills, having Walls filled with Earth, much after the Modern Fortification; but without any Ditch; only at the Gate to the Land-ſide, there is a kind of a Ditch about ſix Paces broad, and about ſix Foot deep with Water; it hath alſo ſomething like a Counterſcarp, but inconſiderable; it hath no Drawbridge, but only ſome Paſſages thereunto, which the *Turks* have made a little difficult to enter.

The Deſcription of Napoli di Romania.

The *Venetians* having refreſhed their Army for a while before *Modon*, order'd *Lorenzo Venier*, Captain extraordinary, with three Ships of good force, to Cruiſe within the *Archepelago*, where he diſcovered, between the Iſlands of *Nixia* and *Nicaria*, a Fleet of Turkiſh Veſſels call'd the *Caravan*, bound from *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*, plying to Wind-ward, nine of which belonged to *Conſtantinople*, and four Merchant Ships from *Rhodes* and other Places, under Convoy of four *Tripoli* Men of War: The *Venetians* immediately made up to them, and engaged with them for the ſpace of ſix Hours, with Damage on both ſides, tho the *Turks* had much the worſt, and at length with help of the Night, were forced to take Refuge in the Port of *Rhodes*, and the *Venetians* afterwards retired into *Trio*, a Port on the Iſland of *Paris*; where having taken ſome freſh Water, and mended their Rigging, and other damages ſuſtained in the

A Fight at Sea.

1686. late Fight, they ſailed again towards *Rhodes*; and being on their way between *Lemno*, and the Shore of *Caramania*, they eſpyed Two great Ships, and a Sayke; and making up, and paſſing ſome Broad Sides upon them, the greateſt Ship ran a-ſhoar, and ſet her ſelf a Fire; all the perſons, being 130, eſcap'd a-ſhoar and ſav'd themſelves; the other Ship and the Sayke were taken by the *Venetians*; the Ship which was burned, was called *Nachis*, Commanded by *Uſuf* of *Roſetto*, an *Abyſſine* by Nation, very richly Laden; and the Prizes taken were well Freighted with Rice, and other Proviſions very ſeaſonable at that time for the ſupport of the *Venetian* Forces, which by reaſon of contrary Winds, were long detained at *Modon*; but by help of their Oars, and aſſiſtance of the lighter Veſſels, they arrived at Port *Rogdi* about Four Miles diſtant from *Napoli de Romania* on the 30*th* day of *July*, from whence they had a Proſpect of the pleaſant Gardens, and Fountains belonging to *Aſſan Paſha*: And here having Landed the 200 Foot, and 20 Horſe, which every Gally carried, their Orders were to march to Mount *Palamida*, which is higher than the Town, and commands it, being within Muſquet-ſhot; This *Van* was the next day followed by the whole Army, between moſt pleaſant Streams, and Falls of Water.

The Venetians *land near* Napoli.

The Town being Situated, as before mentioned, was defended by 3000 men, of which 300 were lately ſent in to recruit the Garriſon; well fortified with Cannon, and with ſufficient Stores and Proviſions for their Maintenance; the Commander in Chief was *Muſtapha Paſha*, with whom were Four Brothers, who were all *Beyes*, as alſo a *Diſdar*, which ſignifies the Commander of the Caſtle, a *Kadi* or Judge, beſides the *Aga* who Commanded the Recruits. Upon approach of the *Venetian* Army, all thoſe who lived in the out-skirts and lower parts of the Town, amongſt which were above 100 Families of *Greeks*, retired with their Goods into the upper parts of the City, and of a Fortreſs amidſt the Rocks called *Senonbolo*. In the Port were Two Gallies unrigged, and diſarmed, and all the Slaves and Soldiers taken out and lodged on a Rock not far diſtant, to the number of about 500 perſons, one of which by the fall of a Bomb was ſunk ſome days after the beginning of the Siege, and an *Engliſh* Ship called the *Mary*, which came from *Alexandria*, laden with Rice and Coffee, whoſe Maſters Name was *Edward Wall*, ſubmitted her ſelf to the favour of the Captain General: Beſides which there were alſo Two Galeots in the Port, one of 25, and another of 18 Banks or Seats for Oars, beſides 40 Boats, or Barks of ſeveral ſorts. In Landing the Bombs and Mortar-pieces, with all the Train of Artillery, they found little or no difficulty, or oppoſition, tho' the *Seraskier* ſhewed himſelf twice at a diſtance, as if he had intended to have diſturbed them in their Works, and raiſing Batteries; nor did the *Seraskier* for that preſent do more, than only to fortify his Camp, which he had pitched near *Argos*, a Caſtle about 3 hours Journey diſtant from *Napoli di Romania*, the Way to which is all upon a plain, ſituate on a high Hill, at the foot of which is a Town containing about a hundred Houſes, the Inhabitants of which, being for the moſt part Rich and Wealthy, had carried up the beſt of their Houſhold-ſtuff and Moveablss into the Caſtle above, which is well defended by its natural Situation; it had alſo 8 Iron Guns, and 10 Petreroes, ſome ſmall quantities of Proviſions in it, with a Ciſtern, not very well furniſhed with plenty of Water. 1686.

The Caſtle Argos.

On the 3*d* of *Auguſt*, the Galeaſſes and Ships appeared in ſight of *Napoli di Romania*, and forthwith Landed all the Horſe and Foot, which were embarked thereon: And on the ſame day a Feluca belonging to *Mahomet Paſha*, a Bey, or Commander of Seven Gallies, deſerted, and came into the Service of the *Venetians*; upon the Feluca were 7 *Greeks*, who gave intelligence, That the Captain-*Paſha* having received advice of the arrival of the *Venetian* Fleet, had in Two Nights time entred 300 Foot into *Napoli*: But to prevent the like for the future, ſeveral Gallies with Four Felucas were detatched to guard and defend that Coaſt, and thereby to hinder and intercept all ſuccours on that ſide.

Auguſt 1686.

But becauſe it was neceſſary alſo to diſlodge the *Seraskier*, who on the other ſide appeared with ſeveral-parties of Horſe, and gave frequent diſturbances to them in the Lines and Trenches which were then forming; the Captain-General and General *Chinixmarch* after due deliberation concerning the manner, reſolved to give them Battel: To which end 2000 men ſelected out of the Ships, and Gallies, moſt of them being Voluntiers, and Soldiers of Fortune, were landed in a Creek, or covert place under the Conduct of Col. *Magnanini*, who was ordered to take a compaſs in the Night, and fall on the *Turks* in the Rear, whilſt the main Body of the Army charged them in the *Van*: In the Morning Count *Chinixmarch*, having left 1500 *Italian* Soldiers in the Trenches, under the Command of Sargeant Major Count *Repeta*, advanced two miles with his Army drawn up in good order to meet the *Turks* on the Plain; the *Seraskier* ſeemed at firſt very ready and reſolute to join Battel, advancing with a ſtrong Body of 3000 Horſe,

The Venetians *march againſt the* Seraskier.

Auguſt 16.

The Turks Retreat,

Horſe, and therewith to break into the *Venetians*; but finding a ſtout Repulſe, they made a ſtand; and fearing leſt they ſhould be attacked in the Rear by the Marine Regiments, they made a Retreat; and taking up their Tents and Baggage, they marched away with all the Order that their haſt would permit.

And quit Argos.

The People in *Argos* ſeeing the *Seraskier* and his Army, betake themſelves to Flight, reſolved to accompany them, and marched towards *Corinth*, where they arrived the next day, having lodged the Night before at a Village called *Centera*. In the Skirmiſh about 200 *Turks* were killed and wounded, with very little loſs on the Chriſtian ſide: After which having plundered the Caſtle *Argos* of all the Goods which the *Turks* had left therein, in which they found about 60 ſmall Boxes of Powder, they returned back again to their Trenches and Siege as before. In the mean time the City was burning in ſeveral places, being Fired by the Bombs and Carcaſſes which were thrown into it from the *Palamida*, and the Walls which were of Stone built after the ancient manner, were battered on all ſides by the Cannon, which they were not able to reſiſt;

A Bomb blows up the Powder in the Town.

but that which cauſed the greateſt Conſternation in the City, and did the ſevereſt Execution, was the fall of a Bomb into the Magazine of Powder, which blowing up beat all the Houſes down which were near it on every ſide, killed many People, and filled with Earth and Ruins the chief Ciſtern which ſupplied all the Town with Water, ſo that the Defendants wanted now both Powder and Water, Two very principal neceſſaries for Life and Defence.

The Captain-General conceiving, that after ſuch a loſs, the beſieged would ſcarce have encouragement to defend themſelves much longer, reſolved to try their inclinations by ſending to them his Interpreter *Fortis*, with a Letter full of perſuaſive Motives, and good Articles, and Conditions, which ſhould be performed upon ſurrender of the City; and ſeeing that their *Seraskier* had been beaten and durſt not approach to give them Relief, they were exhorted before it was too late, to accept of the Mercy and Clemency which was then offered to them.

The Venetians offer conditions to the Town,

Their Anſwer.

To theſe Summons the Governor without much conſideration returned a ſpeedy Anſwer, *That they were very ſenſible that it was for their Sin, that God had chaſtiſed and puniſhed them; howſoever their Truſt was, That God would deliver them, to whoſe Will and Divine Providence they remained with intire reſignation.* The Bombs and Batteries continuing to do great Execution, by the obſcurity of the Night, ſeveral Greeks and Renegades made an eſcape out of the Town, and came to the Captain-General, agreeing together in their Reports, that there was ſcarce a Houſe in the Town which had not been damaged by the Bombs or Canon; and above 30 Houſes burnt down to the Ground, 22 Churches and Chappels ruined with their Granaries, and Stores for Proviſions: Many were the ſlain and wounded, and the people forced to drink brackiſh Water; and amidſt all this miſery and confuſion, the poor Women in a diſtracted manner were running about the Streets, with tears and ſighs, and ſcreeks. Howſoever the Governor *Muſtapha Paſha* ſeemed to remain ſtill firm and reſolute to hold out unto the laſt, and to loſe his Life for the ſake of his Country.

The Seraskier gives hopes of Relief.

In the mean time the *Seraskier* fortified his Camp about *Corinth*, endeavouring there to encreaſe his Army; and to encourage the Beſieged, he frequently cauſed certain Bodies to be ſeen from the Town, and parties of Horſe to advance near to the Trenches; which thô they did nothing, yet it ſupported the Spirits of the Defendants with ſome little glimmerings of hope. Whilſt matters were in this poſture, Admiral *Duodo* being returned from the Coaſt of *Barbary* and *Tripoli*, where he had landed the People at *Modon*; he joyned the reſt of the Fleet, as did alſo the ſame day Captain *Piſani* with 8 Ships from *Argentiera*.

The *Turks* continued ſtill to defend themſelves, thô their offence was very weak, now and then firing a Bomb, whilſt the *Venetians* plyed them continually with Carcaſſes and Bombs, having by this time ſpent at leaſt 3500 on the place: the Batteries alſo plaid almoſt without any intermiſſion, and the Lines and Approaches daily drawn nearer to the place; and they began now to throw Bombs into the Caſtle, which lies upon the Sea-ſide.

A Caſtle near the Sea.

This Caſtle is ſituate on a high Rock, with many Sands and ſhallow places round about it, ſo that it is impoſſible for any Veſſel to approach near to it: The Walls are very high with ſome Baſtions, and the place fortified with Seventeen Pieces of Braſs Cannon, and Seven Iron Guns, and a Mortar-piece to throw Bombs; it was ſupplied alſo with a good Ciſtern of Water, and Garriſoned with a hundred Foot Soldiers commanded by an *Aga*.

The Chriſtians continuing ſtill with indefatigable Labour, and fearleſs Hazards to preſs the Beſieged, entred the Ditch of the Town on the 23*d*, which Adventure coſt the Life of the Cavalier *Alzenaga*, one of the Major-Generals. About that time alſo ſeveral others dyed of the Camp Diſeaſe;

Auguſt.

namely, Colonel *Viſconti*, Major *Cleiſt*, as did alſo *Signior Barbon Bragadino* a Noble *Venetian*; and Count *Charles*, Nephew of General *Chinixmarch*, a young Gentleman of great hope; likewiſe *Girolamo Ghirardi*, Captain of his Guard. On the *29th* by break of Day, the *Seraskier*, with part of his Army, ſhewed himſelf on the Hill which deſcends towards the Right-hand of the Line, having his Left-wing re-inforced with a thouſand *Leventz* or Soldiers of the Marine Regiments ſent by the Captain *Paſha*; which having joyned the Army but a few hours before, they all in good order of Battel, being Ten thouſand ſtrong with Horſe, and Foot, deſcended into the Plain, near unto the Line, charging with their uſual cryes of *Allah*, *Allah*, and much fury on the Soldiers who defended the Trenches: But General *Chinixmarch* had with ſuch admirable Order and Art ſo well diſpoſed the Militia, that they repulſed the Enemy; and then Two thouſand Sea-Soldiers, by Order of the Captain-General, coming to their ſuccour, they put the Enemy into great confuſion; and the Captain-General himſelf at the ſame time coming in perſon, with ſome Troops of ſelect men, wholly turned the fortune of that day's Fight (which for Three hours had continued doubtful) to the Chriſtian ſide, and cauſed the *Turks* to betake themſelves to a ſhameful Flight, leaving Fourteen hundred of their Companions behind them, killed, or wounded: In which Engagement the *Venetians* loſt not more than Three hundred and Fifty men, killed and wounded. General *Chinixmarch* had his Horſe ſhot under him, but he ſoon remounted another, and with great Vivacity, and Courage was preſent at all places, where the danger was moſt preſſing: The Princes of *Brunſwick*, and *Turene*, expoſed themſelves like brave Soldiers in all places which required their help and encouragement; and having thus diſcomfited the *Seraskier*'s Army, and cauſed them to withdraw in diſorder from the City, the Captain General to loſe no time, left the purſuit of the Enemy, and returned to the Siege, cauſing the Batteries from all ſides to play on the Town; and to terrify the Defendants, they ſhewed many Heads of the *Turks* ranked in File on the points of their Lances. The Beſieged having ſeen the *Seraskier*, in whom was their greateſt hope, routed and defeated before their Eyes, grew deſperate of any relief or ſuccour from thence, which cauſed them to diſplay divers white Flags on the Walls, upon which all acts of Hoſtility ceaſed; and Two *Turks* came forth from the Town; and being conducted to the preſence of the Captain-General, they preſented a Paper to him, ſubſcribed by the *Paſha*, who was Governor of the City, declaring his readineſs to make ſurrender thereof, provided they might have free liberty to march out with their Arms and Baggage, and to be Tranſported thence to *Troy*, or to the Caſtles in the *Dardanelli* or *Helleſpont*. And that the Two *Turkiſh* Gallies then in Port might alſo be freed, with their *Chiurma*, or Slaves and Equipage, which (as we have ſaid) were retired into the Rocks, and faſt places near the Town: But this latter would not be allowed, or granted by the Captain-General, nor any thing more, than what had been accorded lately to *Modon* and *Navarin*. The firſt ſtep unto all which, was the Delivery of the Caſtle, ſituate on a Rock within the Sea, into which a *Venetian* Garriſon was put immediately; and therein were found Seventeen Pieces of Braſs Canon, and Seven of Iron, with a large Mortar-piece to throw Bombs; after this Eight Hoſtages were required of the moſt principal *Turks* of the City; and then the other Articles were performed, which related to the Embarking the Soldiers and Inhabitants, who were accordingly Shipped and Tranſported to the *Dardanelli*, the apperance of which ſo affrighted all the Coaſt at firſt, that the Alarum ran as far as *Conſtantinople*, and put them there into that Conſternation, of which we have before made a Relation.

The Seraskier ſhews himſelf, and attacks the Chriſtians in their Trenches.

The Turks put to Flight.

The Beſieged capitulate.

And ſurrender.

Thus was this and other famous Fortreſſes of *Greece*, which had for many years remained in the *Ottoman* power, and withſtood great and conſiderable Forces, in a few Months ſubjected to the Chriſtian Arms, by the Valour and Bravery of the Captain-General *Moroſini*, by the admirable Conduct of Count *Chinixmarch*, and the courage of thoſe noble Princes of *Brunſwick* and *Turene*, amongſt which the *German* Soldiery, and all others did greatly ſignalize themſelves in all their Atchievements. And thus we ſhall put an end to the Succeſſes of the Year 1686, which have terminated ſo gloriouſly in honour of the Chriſtian Arms, by which the *Turks* were reduced to that low, and miſerable condition, of which they were never before ſenſible, nor never accuſtomed unto, which made them the leſs able to bear the Evil, nor endure the Remedy.

ANNO, 1687.

NEver had the *Ottoman* Empire, ſince the time, that they firſt paſſed out of *Aſia* over into *Europe*, been under that Eclipſe and in that low of Ebb of Fortune as at preſent: And yet this following Year was ſo much more unlucky and fatal to them than the former; as if their Miſchiefs would not have ended, but with the total Ruin, and Downfal of their Empire: To prevent which, the Grand Seignior meditated on Thoughts of Peace, and ſent a *Chiaus*

1687.

(a thing which the *Turks* never practiſed before) to tender Articles to the Emperor, which were not received, nor other Anſwer given, than that his Imperial Majeſty could not ſo much as enter into a Treaty without the conſent of *Venice* and *Poland*, their Allies. And thô the *Turks* endeavour'd to avail themſelves by that Method, yet they thought, that the beſt way to facilitate that proceeding, was with their Swords in their Hands, and by an appearance in the Field with the moſt formidable Army they were able to make; to which end all *Otoracks*, who are *Milites immeriti*, or Men excuſed from the War, on account of paſt Services with a dead pay, (as they call it) of which there may be Forty thouſand in the Empire, were all ſummoned to appear in the next Campagne, and forced to the War with the greateſt rigour, and on pain of Death, beſides which new Levies were order'd to be made in all Parts of *Aſia*; and particularly at *Smyrna*, and in the Parts adjacent; Six hundred Soldiers were raiſed at the charge of the Citizens and Inhabitants; beſides which eight or nine Millions being charged to be levied in the leſſer *Aſia*: The *Quota* taxed on *Smyrna*, came to a Hundred thouſand Dollars, which Sum not being to be found amongſt them, and perhaps ſcarce the Moiety thereof, the *Cappugi-baſhee*, who was ſent to Collect the Money, carried away moſt of the principal *Turks* in that Town to *Conſtantinople*; where having repreſented their Poverty, and inability to pay ſo great a Tax, it was moderated and brought down to one half, or to One hundred and five Purſes: Theſe proceedings may evidently convince the World, that the conceptions of the World generally formed of the vaſt Riches of the Grand Seignior's Treaſury were imaginary, ſeeing, that it was ſo exhauſted in a few Years, as to force the Government to thoſe rigorous Courſes, and unuſual methods of Oppreſſion, which can ſcare be repeated without a total Deſolation, or extreme Miſery of that Country.

The Turks *prepare for War.*

Taxes rigorouſly impoſed.

These Taxes joyned to the Diſcontents of the People, made all things uneaſy at the *Ottoman* Court, where it was impoſſible to prevent the Cabals, and liberty of Speech, which the Soldiers and others freely uſed in publick Diſcourſe; to ſuppreſs which, and to reſtrain the Mutinies, which were daily expected; it was reported that the Grand Vizier deſigned to leave *Belgrade*, and March back to *Conſtantinople*: But the Grand Seignior conſulting with his principal and wiſeſt of his Confidents, laid his Commands upon him not to remove from the Confines, but rather to keep a watch on the Motions of the Enemy, than to attend to domeſtick Seditions, which the Government was at all times able to appeaſe; and to quiet the mind of the Vizier, they gave him to underſtand, that he was entirely in the favour of his Prince, who was very ſenſible, that the misfortunes of the laſt year, were not to be attributed either to his ill Conduct, or want of Courage (as did appear by a Writing under the Hands of the principal Officers of the Army for his juſtification) but rather to the divine Juſtice of God, who was pleaſed for the Sins of the People to abate the Pride, and Glory of the *Ottoman* Empire. By this Letter the Grand Vizier being well ſatisfied of his Maſter's good Inclinations towards him, and ſtrengthned in his hopes, that he ſhould yet keep his Head for ſome time longer, or at leaſt until the next misfortune, he alter'd his intention of returning to the Port, and reſolved to paſs his Winter at *Belgrade*, where his Preſence was chiefly neceſſary for keeping the Army together, and more entire on the Frontiers: Moreover, during the rigour of this Winter ſeaſon, he continued to fortify *Belgrade*, and gave Orders to erect a Fort on the *Danube*, for better ſecurity of *Peter Waradin*, and diſpatched divers Convoys with Ammunition, and Proviſions for the Succour and Relief of Great *Waradin*, *Giulia*, *Lippa*, *Zeno* and *Temeſwar*.

Cabals at the Port.

1687.

The Vizier ordered to ſtay at Belgrade.

In the mean time the Imperialiſts preſſed *Apaſi* Prince of *Tranſilvania*, to Declare himſelf entirely for the Emperour, and receive his Forces to Winter-quarters in his Country: But that Prince, who had been always very crafty and ſubtle in his Negotiations, did ſo poſſeſs the Emperour's Generals, with the danger which he himſelf ſhould incur, and the diſadvantage which would accrue to the Emperor thereby, whoſe benefit it would rather be for him to remain in a Neutrality, That Count *Caraffa* admitted the policy of his Plea to be good, and concluded a Treaty with the Deputies of *Tranſilvania* on certain Articles; as namely, That for ſubſiſtence of the Troops, which ſhould be put into the Frontier places of their Country, *Michael Apaſi* their Prince, ſhould furniſh them every Month with Ten thouſand Buſhels of Wheat and Oats, for which one Moiety ſhould be paid in ready Money, and that the other ſhould be carried to, and laid up in the Magazines, or Store-houſes at reaſonable Rates, which was of more advantage to the Emperor, being thereby diſobliged from the trouble and charge of fetching and tranſporting ſuch quantities of Proviſions from Countries far diſtant from the places where they were to be uſed. And *Secondly*, it was agreed to give Winter Quarters to the Imperial Troops; upon which General *Veterani* Ordered and Aſſigned

A Treaty concluded with the Deputies of Tranſilvania.

1687. ſigned the ſeveral places, and Count *Caraffa* marched from *Zatmar* to *Kalo*, giving Directions to General *Heuſler* diligently to obſerve the motions of the Garriſon at *Waradine*, and rigorouſly to exact the Contributions of that Country for maintenance of the Troops.

The Vizier prepares for War, and ſends to the Tartars.

The Grand *Vizier* on the other ſide, who was a perſon of quick vivacity and readineſs of parts, (as we have before declared) finding that the Propoſals made to the Emperor for a Peace, were not likely to prevail; he uſed all imaginable diligence which was poſſible to proſecute the War, living in hopes that the following year would prove more auſpicious to the *Ottoman* Arms, than thoſe lately paſt. In the firſt place, frequent Meſſages were ſent to the *Tartar Han*, to haſten their ſpeedy march, and begin the Campaign early, and with one Body to joyn with the *Turkiſh* Forces, and with another to infeſt the Borders and Confines of *Poland*; and to make the diverſion there greater and more violent, endeavours were uſed to raiſe diviſions and jealouſies between the *Coſacks*, who were Subjects to the *Poles*, and thoſe to the *Moſcovites*, ſending rich Preſents, and kind Salutes and Promiſes, to invite them to Deſert and Revolt from their Princes, and take part with the *Ottoman* Forces. But this deſign miſcarried, and took no Effect by the happy arrival of Two Ambaſſadors from the *Czar's* of *Moſcovy* at the Court of *Poland*; where having occaſion of their Union and Friendſhip, nothing was omitted to gain their Alliance, thô their demands were ſo exorbitant, that nothing but a preſent neceſſity could have gained their conceſſion.

The Czar *ſends Ambaſſadors to* Poland.

The Vizier endeavours to relieve Sigeth.

The Vizier being diſappointed on that ſide, looked cloſely to his buſineſs in the lower *Hungary*; for having loſt *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, *Siklos*, *Capiſwar*, and a great part of the Bridge of *Eſſeck* being burnt, the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Sigeth* ſeemed to be in ſome danger, and lie moſt expoſed to the deſign of the Enemy: To prevent which, the Vizier cauſed the *Tartars* to advance and paſs the River *Drave*, and ſo to join with the *Turks* in the City of *Eſſeck*; the *Tartars*, who are the moſt expert Soldiers in the World for deſtroying and laying waſte a Country, having paſſed the *Drave*, left nothing for thoſe who were to follow after them, carrying away all the Inhabitants with them; and with what Proviſions they had plundered, they ſupplied the ſmall Garriſons which remained to the *Turks* on the Banks of the *Drave*; and eſpecial care above all was taken to furniſh *Sigeth* with all ſorts of Forage and Proviſions, ſo that it was made the chief Magazine of all that Country; for better defence and ſecurity of which, ſeveral new Boats were built to repair the Bridge before *Eſſeck*, and on the ſides of the River divers ſmall Forts were raiſed, on which Forty Pieces of Canon were Mounted, to prevent all Incurſions of the Enemy, and Attacks on *Sigeth*; during which ſeaſon of a rigorous Winter, the *Tartars* plaid their parts to hinder all Convoys laden with Forage and Proviſions to ſupply the Fortreſſes, which the Chriſtians had lately conquered. Howſoever by the diligence of *Thinghen*, Sergeant-General of *Battalia*, and the Governor of *Quinq; Eccleſiæ*, joyning themſelves to the Regiment, commanded by *Baron de Pace*, they agreed to diſappoint the aforeſaid deſign of the Enemy: To which end having detached Two hundred and Fifty ſelect, or choice Foot, and Five hundred well-diſciplined Horſe and Dragoons, led by Brave and well Experienced Commanders, they ſallied out of their Quarters about Sun-ſet, and the Horſe for better Expedition mounting the Foot behind them, they made ſuch haſte, that before day in the Morning, they lodged themſelves ſecretly near the Town of *Sigeth*; and without any noiſe conveying themſelves into the Suburbs, about dawning of the day ſet them on Fire; which took with ſo much fury, that in a ſhort time Three hundred Houſes were all in a Flame; the which more increaſed the Conſternation of the Inhabitants and Soldiery, becauſe that many of thoſe Houſes were the Store-houſes, in which were laid up vaſt quantities of Proviſions. Many People ſurprized with the ſudden and unexpected Fire, were ſmothered in the ſmoak, and periſhed in the flames; others at a diſtance betook themſelves with great Confuſion to their Arms, and not knowing as yet where the Enemy or the Danger was, Fired their Canon at random, they knew not where, nor on whom: The Day coming on, the light diſcovered the Enemy, and the Danger in which they were; howſoever in all this Action the *Turks* killed but Four Troopers, Three Dragoons, and a Corporal of Foot, and leaving their Houſes in the Town, retired to the Caſtle, which gave the Imperialiſts an opportnnity to ſet Fire to the City, and to burn ſome hundreds of Waggons all laden with Proviſions, deſigned for the Camp, and Relief of *Alba Regalis*. With this ſucceſs the Chriſtians retired, driving away with them ſome few heads of Cattle, a ſmall quantity of Proviſions, and ſuch Plunder as could be taken, and carried away in ſo haſty an Action: To recover which the *Turks* made a ſally and attacked them in the Arrear, to which, ſhame and confuſion of face gave them Courage; but the Conquerors, whoſe Valour increaſed according to their

A ſurprize given to Sigeth.

The Fear and Conſternation there.

their ſucceſs, made a ſtand, and ſo aſſailed the Enemy, that notwithſtanding all the conſiderations of ſhame, and deſire of revenge, they carried away their Spoils, and honour of the Victory.

The happy conſequence of this Action.

The conſequence of this ſucceſs, (thô the Action in it ſelf was not very great) was yet very conſiderable; for thereby the intercourſe between *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, *Siklos*, and other conquered Towns was rendered more free and ſecure, and not only the Peaſants of thoſe Countries brought their Proviſions with readineſs and ſafety to the Market; but even the *Raſcians*, who were Inhabitants of the Town of *Sigeth*, came voluntarily in, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Protection of the Emperor. This Action ſerved likewiſe to diſappoint and overthrow the deſign of the Commanders in *Eſſeck*, who intended an incurſion of *Turks* and *Tartars* in Two ſeparate Bodies; but their Proviſions in *Sigeth* (on which they depended for maintenance of their Forces) being conſumed, that reſolution was put off till a fairer opportunity. Howſoever the Imperial Forces remained Vigilant and Watchful on their Guard, having received frequent Alarums, that the *Turks* reſolved on ſome ſudden Enterprize to avenge themſelves, and repair their Honour; which General *Thingben*, and Colonel *Pace* greatly ſuſpecting, retired to *Quinq; Eccleſiæ*, from whence they ſent and diſtributed conſiderable quantities of Corn and Flower to *Kapoſwar*, and other places for ſuſtenance of the Garriſons, giving ſpecial charge to the Governors thereof to be intent and watchful to prevent any ſurprize of the Enemy: And for better ſecurity thereof, the Commiſſary General Count *Rabata* farther ſupplyed all thoſe places with Victuals, there being no want amongſt them of Arms or Ammunition. Care likewiſe was taken to repair the Breaches at *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, in as good a form and manner as the Seaſon of the Year would permit: But becauſe the Fortreſs of *Siklos* lay much expoſed to the attack of the Enemy, being the moſt Frontier Garriſon, they raiſed with admirable induſtry and diligence a half Moon, which they encompaſſed with Paliſadoes, the Seaſon of the Year nor time permitting to fortify it with a Wall, or any other Work. Whilſt things were thus tranſacted, and places ſecured on the Frontiers, no care or circumſpection was omitted for conſervation of *Buda*, tho' as yet the Walls and Breaches made in it the laſt Siege were not repaired, neither time nor ſeaſon of the year, and perhaps other great employments, not giving time to ſo great a Work, which perhaps we may find neglected for ſome years afterwards; howſoever they laboured for the preſent to clear the Ditches, fill up the Trenches, level the Batteries, Breaſtworks, and other Redoubts; carrying away the Rubbiſh and Ruins of Houſes and Buildings, which had been beaten down, and demoliſhed by the vaſt quantities of Bombs and Carcaſſes which had been thrown into the Town during the laſt Siege: In which Work great quantities of Arms, which lay buried in the Ruins were diſcovered, with Head-pieces, Corſlets, and Scmyters of value: And in digging the Cellars and Vaults, they found many Cheſts filled with rich Houſholdſtuff, with Trunks and Boxes of Writings and ancient Records, amongſt which, as was Reported, were the Charter and Privileges given to that City, with a Regiſter of all paſſages which had happened there, ſince the time that it firſt ſubmitted to the Dominion of the *Turk*.

The Chriſtian Garriſons ſupplied and relieved.

Buda cleanſed of Rubbiſh.

Rich Goods found in Vaults.

The Paſha endeavours to ſecure Alba Regalis.

Nor were the *Turks* in the mean time idle and remiſs on their part; for the Paſha of *Alba Regalis* ſuſpecting that that City would be the next to be attacked, and made the Work and Deſign of the enſuing Campaign; he ſtudiouſly applyed the Soldiers and Workmen to raiſe new Outworks, and repair the old inward Fortifications, which by time, and the neglect of his Predeceſſors were much decayed; and to expedite and quicken this Work, the Soldiers, beſides their ordinary Pay, were encouraged by daily Wages, ſuch as was commonly given to Day-labourers. But to diſturb this Work by frequent Alarums, a party of Huſſars were detached to watch the Avenues about *Alba Regulis*, and ſometimes to appear in ſight of the Town, and intercept thoſe who ſhould go in or out from thence: Accordingly poſting themſelves in a private way, it was their fortune to meet and ſurprize a party of *Turks*, of which they killed ſome, and took others, from whom they underſtood that they had been diſpatched by the Paſha there, to carry Letters and Advices to the Grand Vizier at *Belgrade*: In like manner they encountered another party coming from *Zigeth* to *Alba Regalis*, to whom only they gave chaſe, the *Turks* ſaving themſelves by the ſwiftneſs of their Horſes. Howſoever by the Letters which were intercepted, they came to have a perfect knowledge of the ſtate of that City, and the intentions of the Vizier; It was therein declared, That the Garriſon conſiſted of Four thouſand Fighting men; but much diſcouraged, and in great fears and conſternation, to think that they were to be made the next Sacrifice to the fury of the Chriſtian Arms. Notwithſtanding which, the Paſha encouraged the People of *Alba Regalis* aſſuring them that he had received late Letters from the Grand Vizier at *Bel-*

The State of Alba Regalis.

1687. *grade*, by which he promiſed them ſuch a ſpeedy relief both of Men, Proviſions, Ammunition, and Money, as might enable them to drive the Enemy from the Walls: And that he was ſending a very ſtrong Force to the Frontiers of *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, and the River *Dravus*, under Command of ſeveral Brave and well-experienced Paſhas.

The Seaſon of the Year much favoured this deſign; for the Rivers, Marſhes, and Fenns were ſo Frozen up, that the *Turks* found an eaſy paſſage to all parts, which they intended to relieve: Of which the Imperialiſts being very apprehenſive, feared leſt the Enemy, who was got together in great Numbers at *Eſſeck*, ſhould attempt ſome of the conquered places, and thereby making a diverſion, ſhould introduce their Convoys into *Sigeth*, *Caniſia*, and *Alba Regalis*. But the place, which of any other was ſtraightned moſt for want of Proviſions, was *Agria*, called by the *Hungarians Erla*, ſituate on a River of that Name, which about Three Leagues from thence empties it ſelf into the *Tibiſcus*. This place of it ſelf was but ſmall, but very well Fortified; It is Recorded in Hiſtories that the firſt Siege which the *Turks* laid to it was in the Year 1552. with an Army of Sixty thouſand Men, when it was not ſtrong either by Art or Nature; but the weakneſs thereof was ſupplied by the Courage and Bravery of the Garriſon, conſiſting only of Two thouſand *Hungarian* Soldiers, and about Sixty *Hungarian* Nobles and Gentlemen, who had fled in thither with their Wives and Children, and beſt of their Riches and Moveables, and had ſworn to defend the place to the utmoſt extremity; and to let the *Turks* underſtand this reſolution, they raiſed a Coffin above the Walls in publick View, for an Evidence or Sign, that they would chuſe Death rather than Captivity. Many great things are ſaid of the Defence of this place, which the *Turks* battered for the ſpace of Forty days inceſſantly, with Fifty Pieces of Cannon, notwithſtanding which the Defendants abated nothing of their Courage; for tho the *Turks* aſſaulted them Three times in one day, yet they were as often repulſed, and loſt about Eight thouſand men. The Women alſo ſignalized their Valour above the Nature of their Sex in all theſe Actions; amongſt which (as is reported) there was one, who fought bravely in ſight both of her Mother, and her Husband; but the latter being killed, the Mother adviſed her Daughter to carry away the Dead Corps; but ſhe Anſwered, That ſhe could not do it, until ſhe had firſt revenged his Death; and thereupon taking up the Sword and Buckler of her dead Husband, ſhe fell upon the *Turks* with ſuch fury, that having killed Three of them with her own hand, ſhe returned to perform the laſt Office to her deceaſed Husband. Several other particular Actions of this Nature, are recounted of the Siege of this Fortreſs, which in fine relieved it ſelf, and cauſed the *Turks* to raiſe their Siege, whom they purſued ſo vigorouſly in the Rear, that they killed great Numbers of them, and took moſt of their Baggage. And thus did this City continue in the hands of the *Hungarians* until the year 1596, when it was taken by *Mahomet* the Third, then in perſon before it, and hath ever ſince that time remained in the hands of the *Turks*; who now hearing that that place was in great diſtreſs for want of Proviſions; and knowing the importance of it's Situation, endeavoured to ſend it relief by all ways and means which were poſſible.

Agria.

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The Paſha, who Quartered on the Frontiers, was commanded by the Grand Vizier to put Succours into the place; and he alſo being a good Soldier, and ſenſible of the importance thereof, call'd a Council of War, to conſider in what manner this Action might moſt effectually be performed; conſidering whereupon, it was moved, That ſince *Tekeli* had made ſeveral inſtances to be recruited with Men and Proviſions for attempting ſome great Exploit, That he ſhould accordingly be reinforced with a moderate Number of *Tartars*, and ſome *Turks*, and that the care and incumbence of that great work ſhould be committed to his Charge and Conduct.

Propoſals how Agria might be ſupplied.

Count Caraffa, and General *Heuſler* being adviſed of the Deſign, aſſembled a conſiderable force of their Troops together, and aſſailed the Enemy near to great *Waradin* on a ſudden, and in a manner of ſurprize; the *Tartars*, who are not much uſed to make a ſtand againſt well formed Troops, were the firſt who betook themſelves to a ſpeedy Flight, and were ſoon followed by *Tekeli* and his men; howſoever ſeveral were killed on the place, and ſome Priſoners taken: And ſo both *Caraffa*, and *Heuſler* returned back to *Debrezin*, with the Forage and Spoil which they had gained in that Conflict. This misfortune did not much abate the Spirit of *Tekeli*; for having been lately ſupplied with a Sum of Money, he made new Levies of Men, and many of his old Soldiers who had formerly deſerted him, returned to him again; ſo that he ſeemed to recover the Credit and Reputation which he had formerly loſt; and having joyned his Forces to thoſe of a Paſha on the Frontiers, and to a rabble of Soldiers, who in a tumultuary manner followed his Colours; he Encamped ſometimes near *Temiſwar*, then about *Giulia*, and then near *Waradin*; from all which

They are prevented.

Tekeli with Money makes Levies.

1687.

which places he ſent Parties abroad to diſcover the poſture of the Enemy, and to ſpy out how they might moſt ſecurely ſuccour *Agria*, for which the Grand Vizier was extremely preſſing. Nor were the Chriſtians leſs Vigilant to Obſerve and Watch the Motions of the *Turks*, and of *Tekeli*; whence it was that ſeveral Parties meeting each other, frequent Skirmiſhes happened, in all which the *Huſſars* and *Germans* gained the advantage: So that *Tekeli* finding the difficulty of carrying relief to *Agria*, and other places, made Incurſions into the Countries ſubjected to the Emperor, marching with a Body of *Turks*, *Tartars*, and a Rabble of new raiſed Soldiers, which ſerved rather for Guides than Combatants. In their way they burnt a Village of no great moment; and paſſed into the Confines of the Town of *Segedin*; from whence being diſcovered by the *Huſſars* of the Garriſon, they took the Alarum; and being joyned to a Body of *German* Foot, they made a ſally on the Enemy, and charged them ſo furiouſly, that *Tekeli*'s new raiſed Soldiers, who were placed in the Front, immediately gave back, and preſſed with fear, ruſhed into the Body of the *Turks*, which put them into ſuch diſorder, that they were forced to Retreat with conſiderable loſs: *Tekeli* himſelf being wounded with a Muſquet-ſhot in the Knee, was forced for his Cure to betake himſelf to the Fortreſs of *Temiſwar*. In the mean time his Princeſs being reſolved to defend her Town of *Mongatz*, did not only fortify her ſelf therein with a ſtout Garriſon, and ſupplies of Ammunition and Proviſions; but ſent ſeveral Parties of Horſe from the Garriſon, to deſtroy all the Countries round with Fire, and Sword, and thereby to cut off all poſſibility of ſubſiſtence from the Imperialiſts; who having Advice thereof, detached a Party of Dragoons of the Regiment of *Magni*; who having the fortune to Encounter the Enemy, gave them a total Defeat, killing Fifty of them on the place, of which their Commander was one, and Six Priſoners were taken.

Enters into the Country near Segedin.

Is Defeated and Wounded.

Whilſt matters paſſed thus in the Upper *Hungary*, the City of *Agria* ſuffered much for want of Proviſions, which greatly diſcouraged both the Inhabitants and the Garriſon, ſo that many deſerted the place; and about Forty of them came to *Onoth*, declaring themſelves to be Chriſtians, and deſirous to be received into the Church by Baptiſm. But the Imperial Commanders being doubtful of the ſincere Faith of theſe new Converts, were not very forward to receive them into an Aſſociation; of which they being ſenſible, did voluntarily joyn themſelves to a Party then going abroad upon a diſcovery, and ſo bravely behaved themſelves in a Skirmiſh which they happened to have with the *Turks*, that they killed many of their Brethren with their own hands, and thereby gave evident proofs of their real Converſion.

Forty men of Agria *deſert and joyn with the Chriſtians.*

All this while no Garriſons were ſuccoured; for not only *Agria* was in miſerable want, but likewiſe all the Towns in the Lower *Hungary*, *Sclavonia*, and *Croatia*, ſuffered Scarcity and Famine. The Grand Vizier being in great care and pain for thoſe places, ſent ſtrict Commands from *Belgrade* to the Commanders at *Eſſeck*, to ſupply all thoſe places with neceſſary Proviſions; for Tranſportation of which the *Danube* being frozen up, there was no other way left than to carry all by Waggons over the Snow, and Ice; for the Rivers, Lakes, Fenns, and Marſhes being hard Frozen, were ſeldom ſtrong enough to bear Carriages and Waggons, by the moſt direct and neareſt way. And yet ſuch had been the miſery of the late Campagne, that the Countries were laid waſte and deſolate; all the Proviſions and Forage being ſo deſtroyed, that to ſuſtain the Famiſhed Towns, and Countries, Supplies were to be fetched from far diſtant places: To perform which, the Commander of *Eſſeck* laboured with the utmoſt of his Endeavours, and diſpeeded great Numbers of Waggons laden with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions, to the wanting-places under a ſtrong Convoy. The Imperialiſts having Advice hereof, made a Detatchment of Three hundred Muſqueteers, Three Troops of Curaſſiers belonging to the Regiment of *Newburg*, and about Two thouſand Four hundred Soldiers, which were *Huſſars*, and *Heyducks*: The News of the Motion of theſe Forces ſoon Fled to *Caniſia*, *Sigeth*, and other places; where being in ſome fear for the ſafety of their Convoy, thoſe of *Sigeth* ſent out a ſtrong Party, placing them in Ambuſh about Two Engliſh Miles diſtant from the Town. The Convoy proceeded with what haſte they could, and the Baron *d Orlich* purſued them as faſt, and overtook them near the place where the Ambuſh was planted, and charged them ſo furiouſly, that he totally Defeated them, Killed One hundred and Twenty on the place, diſperſed the reſt, and made himſelf Maſter of all the Carriages.

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Grand Vizier orders relief.

The Chriſtians endeavour to prevent it.

In the mean time *Tekeli* was neither idle or negligent in his Arms or Plots; for he had employed his Engines in divers parts to ſollicit the Citizens and Inhabitants of *Bartfeld*, *Eſperies*, and *Caſſovia* to a Revolt; and having droven out the Garriſons, he promiſed to ſupply them with a more numerous Force: Theſe Offers, and the Ways and Methods being happily diſcovered, ſeveral were accuſed for Complices in the

Plots contrived by Tekeli *are diſcovered*

Plot; amongſt which a certain Judge whom *Tekeli* had formerly employed at *Caſſovia*, was ſeized and impriſoned: Likewiſe ſeveral Gentlemen and Magiſtrates of thoſe places were known to have entertained Correſpondencies with thoſe of *Mongatz* and *Agria*; and that *Tekeli* had remitted conſiderable Sums of Money to them for execution of their deſign. The Judge being put to the Queſtion on the Wrack, accuſed Two and twenty to have been engaged with him in the Plot. And another Conſpiracy againſt the Life of Count *Caraffa* was likewiſe diſcovered, in which above Seventy perſons, and ſome of Quality, were engaged. One *Radwanski*, a principal Author of the late Commotions was put to the Torture; and after he had Signed a Confeſſion, dyed by the Anguiſh of the Wrack; howſoever the Sentence pronounced againſt him, was executed on his Dead Corps, which was to have his Hand and Head cut off, and his Four Quarters diſpoſed in divers places of the City. In like manner *Palaſſi*, *Sekel*, *Barrock*, and *Concoud*, were Beheaded and Quartered: As alſo the ſame day one *Beſſeck*, a Counſellor of *Newſol*, and *Weber*, a publick Notary, *Taſcias*, and ſeveral incurred the ſame fate; and ſo had alſo *Feldmeyer*, a Commiſſary at War, but that he Killed himſelf in Priſon; howſoever that did not hinder, but that the Sentence was Executed on his Dead Body. To examine this Plot, and ſift into the bottom of it, ſo employed Count *Caraffa*, as for ſome time it deferred the deſign of Bombing *Agria*; and indeed ſo many were the Conſpirators, that great Executions were acted in divers places, and many alſo received pardon from the Mercy and Clemency of the Emperor; for that his Imperial Majeſty had been well aſſured, there were conſiderable Numbers of poor innocent People engaged in the Plot rather by deluſion, and example of others, than by a Natural Spirit and inclination to a Revolt.

Offenders are puniſhed.

Thô *Caraffa* was otherwiſe employed, yet there wanted not other active Officers in the Field to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and take the Advantages which did preſent. Baron *Orlick* was commanded to burn the Bridge, which the *Turks* had built over the *Drave* near *Eſſeck*; and accordingly marched away from *Quinq; Eccleſiæ*, with Six Companies drawn out from the Regiments of *Montecuculi*, and *Herberville*; and being on his march, he received Advice that Eight hundred Janiſaries, and Two hundred Spahees ſelected out of the Flour of the beſt *Ottoman* Troops, were detached from *Eſſeck*, with a deſign to intercept a Convoy appointed for the relief of *Ziclos*, and to take and demoliſh a ſmall Redoubt which had ſome days before been raiſed on the Banks of that River, by order of Count *Vechi*: Wherefore leaving the deſign of burning the Bridge, Baron *Orlick* marched directly againſt the Enemy, whom he found attacking the Fort, in which they had already killed a great many men with Granadoes: But ſo ſoon as *Orlick* appeared, the *Turks* fell into diſorder and fear; and being furiouſly charged by him, were defeated with the loſs of above Six hundred men killed on the place, amongſt which were two Aga's, and a Bey or Lord; Many Priſoners were taken with all their Baggage, and many Enſigns and Colours, of which Five were ſent to the Emperor by Baron *de Hertleben*, firſt Captain of that Regiment: And on the Emperor's ſide, Six Sergeants, Five Troopers, and Twelve Dragoons were killed, and many wounded. About the ſame time another Party of *Turks* was beaten near *Zolnoch*, Twenty of which were killed, and about Thirty taken Priſoners. Moreover Seven thouſand *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Malecontents* being joyned together, endeavoured to ſurprize *Chonad*, which is a Fortreſs ſituate on the River *Maros*, which falls into the *Tibiſcus*, near to *Segedin*: But they met ſo vigorous a repulſe and rude entertainment from the Defendants, that they were forced to deſiſt from their Attacks, and march away with the loſs of Four hundred Soldiers, ſome of which were principal Officers.

Baron Orlick *defeats a Party of the* Turks.

The Turks *worſted in ſeveral Skirmiſhes.*

Chonad *defends it ſelf againſt the* Turks.

Thus the News of one ill ſucceſs coming to *Conſtantinople* on the Head of another ſtruck the People of all ſorts and conditions with a ſtrange Conſternation; the Government fearing the ill conſequences thereof, endeavoured by all ways and methods of gentleneſs to appeaſe the unquiet and fluctuating Spirits of the People and Soldiers. To do this, there was a neceſſity of vaſt Sums of Money, wherewith to quiet and gratify the Army and Fleet, and to ſatisfy the *Tartars*, who declared that it was impoſſible for them to move without Money; and which way to raiſe it, was the great difficulty; for the Grand Signior's Treaſure was exhauſted, and the People already tired, and over-burdened with Taxes: Wherefore after a long Debate thereupon in the *Divan*, it was agreed, That the Jewels and Plate of the Sultans amaſſed in ſeveral Chambers of the *Seraglio* ſhould be put to ſale, which might have raiſed vaſt Sums of Money, could they have been ſold to their value; but there was an impoſſibility of finding Buyers; for thô the Money could have been found in *Conſtantinople*, yet there was none, who durſt own to be Maſter of ſo great Riches. In fine, after divers Debates and Expedients propoſed, it was agreed to raiſe Money, by way of Contribution,

The Ottoman Port *in great diſorder.*

Great want of Money.

1687. bution, on the chief and prime Officers of the *Seraglio*, and of the Empire, and particularly on *Kadees*, and Men of the Law and Church, on Cuſtomers, Tax-gatherers, and rich Merchants, ſuch as lived eaſily and idly in their Houſes; it ſeeming reaſonable that ſuch who enjoyed Protection and Safeguard in their peaceable Acquiſitions at home, ſhould maintain and provide them who were venturing their Lives, and fighting in their defence abroad. And whereas the *Tartar Han* was very preſſing and importunate for Money, without which he could not move or ſerve in this Year's Campagne; it was reſolved to ſend him Fifty thouſand Crowns in Money, and to make up the reſt of his Demands in Diamonds, Scymeters ſtudded with Rubies, Emralds, and Pearls; and with Bucklers ſet with precious Stones, and other things of value taken from the Treaſury in the *Seraglio*.

Means to raiſe it.

But whilſt this was contriving, an unhappy Sedition and Mutiny aroſe amongſt the Levents, who are Soldiers belonging to the Sea; who having wanted Pay for a long time, came in a tumultuous manner to the Captain Paſha, who is Admiral of the Fleet, to demand it; and ruſhed with ſuch violence into his Houſe, that he had ſcarce time to eſcape out of their hands; and had proceeded to greater extremities, had they not been appeaſed with a ſpeedy tender of Six Months Pay. When theſe things were quieted, a ſtrict Examination was made into the Cauſe and Leaders of this Mutiny, of which ſome were ſtrangled, and about Twenty others were put into a Sack, after their Cuſtom, and caſt into the Sea: Howſoever this Severity did not ſo ſuppreſs this Rabble, but that many of them aſſembled together in the City, where they plundered divers Houſes, and committed a Thouſand Outrages, until ſuch time as Proclamation was made, giving Licence to the People to do themſelves Juſtice, and kill thoſe who made any attempt on their Houſes or Goods; which was the beſt way to deal with a Licentious Tumult; for ſo ſoon as ſuch a Decree was known, the lewd Mobile grew afraid, and diſperſed, moſt of them withdrawing themſelves Aboard their Veſſels.

A Mutiny among the Marine Soldiers.

But not only did the *Ottoman* Government labour under a want of Money, but of Men alſo. For whereas they expected a Recruit of Forty thouſand men out of *Aſia* for this Campagne, notwithſtanding the moſt rigorus Commands ſent, to compel all men to the War, there appeared not Six thouſand: For *Turcomania* had not furniſhed above Two thouſand men; *Syria* and *Paleſtine* One thouſand Eight hundred, and the *Aſia* Minor Two thouſand: The new Levies in and about *Conſtantinople* did not amount to above Three thouſand Five hundred; and all that could at preſent be found, wherewith to Recruit the Armies both in *Hungary*, and in the *Morea*, did not amount unto more than Twenty thouſand men; many of which deſerted in their march, and fled into the Mountains, where they abſconded, and paſſed the moſt part of the Summer, being forced to commit many Outrages for their neceſſary ſubſiſtence. 1687.

Want of men.

Theſe Misfortunes and diſappointments moved the Grand Signior and his Counſellors, to judge a Peace with the Emperor, the moſt compendious Method to ſecure the State of the *Ottoman* Empire, which was now ſtaggering, and falling with its own weight; and therefore gave orders to the Vizier, then at *Belgrade*, to endeavour a Peace at any price, and rate whaſoever. Accordingly the Grand Vizier diſpatched a Letter from *Belgrade* dated the *6th* of *March*, to Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, Preſident of the Council of War to the Emperor, giving him to underſtand, That the Sultan, his Lord and Maſter being perſuaded to put an end to this miſerable War, which had long been maintained at the Expence of much Blood, and Treaſure on both ſides. He thought it neceſſary in order thereunto to Appoint a Place, and Nominate Commiſſioners for a Treaty: And to Evidence the reality and ſincere intentions of the Sultan towards a Peace; an Offer was made, as the firſt Preliminary to deliver up *Tekeli* into the hands of the Emperor. Theſe Propoſals were brought by an Aga as far as *Debrezin*, from whence he demanded a ſafe Conduct to proceed as far as *Eſperies*. But to cut this Treaty ſhort, the Emperor commanded Count *Caraffa* to let the Grand Vizier know, that he would be ready to make peace with the *Ottoman* Port, upon a Grant or Conceſſion of Three Articles only. Firſt, That the Grand Seignior ſhould pay to him Six Millions of Gold in ſatisfaction of the Ruin and Spoils, which his Troops had committed in *Auſtria*, and other his Hereditary Provinces. *2dly*, That all the Towns and Places, which the *Turks* poſſeſſed in *Hungary* ſhould be delivered up to the Emperor, and the *Turkiſh* Forces withdrawn from that Kingdom. 3*dly*, That in all other matters they ſhould give equal ſatisfaction to the Allies. But as to *Tekeli*, he being a Subject and a Rebel, the ſurrender of him into the hands of Juſtice, ſeemed not a Motive ſufficient, nor any prevailing Argument, whereon to ground the Foundation of a Peace. Theſe Propoſitions being ſent to *Conſtantinople*, were conſidered as no other than as an abſolute refuſal to Treat or Hearken to a Peace; which cauſed great Fear and Conſternation at the Port; and which was greatly

The Turks *ſeek for Peace.*

1687.

The Emperor demands three Articles.

Augmented by the News, which came much about the ſame time with the former: That the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſadors, who had concluded the Peace already at *Leopolis* between the Czars and the King of *Poland*, were arrived at *Vienna*, and had there alſo entred into the ſame League with the Emperor against the *Turks*. 1687.

Theſe Ambaſſdors arrived at *Vienna* on the 18*th* of *March*, and on the 24*th* were conducted to their Audience with theſe following Ceremonies and Solemnity. In the Firſt place, ſome Companies of the City Trained-Bands, and Garriſon of *Vienna* marched before, and were followed by Forty *Moſcovites* clothed in Velvet, and Silk Habits of divers Colours; they were armed with Scymeters adorned and beſet with Diamonds, and other precious Stones, but without Bows, or Quivers which they wore on the Day when they made their Entrance; they were ſtately Mounted on fine Horſes, with Saddles and Houſſes Embroidered with Gold and Pearl, every one having a Footman waiting on him at the ſide of his Horſe: Theſe were followed by Sixteen Coaches, with Six Horſes a-piece, belonging to the Chief Officers of the Court to carry the Train, and Attendants of the Ambaſſadors, with Two *Ruſſian* Prieſts habited after the manner of their Order: After theſe Coaches marched Sixty Citizens all Clothed in Black Velvet, who carried the Preſents, which the Czars had ſent to his Imperial Majeſty, which conſiſted chiefly of Sables, and other rich Furrs, the Teeth of Fiſh, rich Quivers Embroidered with Gold and Silver, Pearls, and precious Stones, with Bows and Arrows ſuitable thereunto. After all theſe came a *Moſcovite* alone, Mounted on a brave Horſe, carrying the Czars Letter to the Emperor on his Head; and was followed by Two Coaches with Six Horſes belonging to the Perſon of the Emperor, in one of which was the Great Chancellor of *Moſcovy*, with another of the Ambaſſadors; and in the ſecond was he that was chief in the Commiſſion of the Embaſſy, accompanied by Noblemen appointed by the Emperor to receive them; and in this Order were conducted to the Palace-Yard, where Three Companies were drawn up with their Arms preſented: The Firſt which alighted at the Gate of the Palace, were the *Moſcovites* which rode on Horſeback: Then the Secretary with the Letter, and the Ambaſſadors being deſcended into the inward Court, they were met at the foot of the Stairs by the Prince of *Swartzemberg*, and by the P. of *Dietrichſtein*, High-Steward of the Emperor's Houſhold in the Knight's Hall; who conducted them into the Lobby before the Chamber of Audience, where leaving their Scymeters, and other Arms in the Charge and Keeping of the Firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, they were admitted to the Preſence of the Emperor, of whom they received a favourable Audience. After which they were conducted back again in the ſame order, having firſt been ſumptuouſly treated at a Dinner in the Imperial Court. In ſhort, after divers Conferences, an Alliance and League was concluded with them, on the ſame Foot and Articles, as had been the laſt Year agreed between the Czars, and King of *Poland*; and ſo on the 5*th* of *April* the Four Ambaſſadors received their Audience of *Congé*, and ſoon afterwards Three of them returned to their own Country: And one proceeded to *Venice*, where he was received with thoſe Formalities which that Senate always uſes towards Ambaſſadors of that Quality. *April.* 1687.

The Grand Vizier being well aſſured by all theſe Proceedings, that there was no further place of hope left for obtaining Peace, commanded the Inhabitants of all places in ſubjection to the Grand Seignior, to drive their Cattel under the Reach and Protection of thoſe Towns, which were defended with Cannon; and to carry their Grain, and Forage, and Moveables into Fortified places, under Obedience of the Grand Seignior. They finiſhed their Bridge of Boats at *Peter Waradin*, and with all the diligence imaginable they laboured to repair the Bridge of *Eſſeck*; which they having Finiſhed with admirable Expedition, cauſed ſeveral of their Troops to paſs the ſame, and make their Excurſions to the very Gates of *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, which giving ſome jealouſy, that the *Turks* intended to Beſiege that Place, Three hundred Huſſars, and Two hundred Heiducks were ſent therein to reinforce the Garriſon.

At the ſame time the Count *de Tinghen* was ordered with a Detachment of Eight hundred *Germans*, and Four hundred *Heiducks*, with One hundred Horſe belonging to *Siklos*, and ſome other Troops to take a View of the Paſſage over the *Drave*: And having paſſed that River on the 8*th* of *June*, where joyning with ſome Troops under the Command of Baron *Orlick*, he drove away from the Paſtures near *Walpo*, Two hundred Head of Cattel, and One hundred Horſe, and ſet Fire to about One hundred ſmall Cottages, which had been raiſed ſince the late Deſolation; and being in their Retreat Encountred by a Party of One hundred *Spahees*, and Three hundred *Janiſaries*, they totally defeated them, Killing about Seventy on the place, and taking ſeveral Priſoners, with the loſs only of a Lieutenant, and of Eight or Ten Common Soldiers Wounded. About the ſame time a

1687. tachment from the Garriſon of *Zolnock*, conſiſting of Four hundred *Huſſars*, met another ſtrong Party of *Turks* belonging to *Agria*, which they charged with ſuch Bravery, that after a very ſharp Conflict, the *Turks* were forced to retire with the loſs almoſt of Two hundred men; Seven and thirty Priſoners were taken, with many Horſes, and a conſiderable part of their Baggage: Amongſt which they found a Letter from the Paſha of *Agria* to the Vizier, ſetting forth the miſerable ſcarcity of all Proviſions in that place, as alſo of Ammunition; and that the Famine was ſo great, that they were forced to Eat Horſe-Fleſh, and Dogs; by reaſon of which many of the Garriſon had deſerted, and unleſs ſpeedily relieved, they ſhould be forced to ſurrender the Town. At length the Paſha of *Agria* being droven to deſperate neceſſities, ſent to a Village between *Buda* and *Agria*, forthwith to bring them Proviſions upon pain of Military Execution; of which Baron *Beck* being advertiſed by the Inhabitants, immediately detached a Party of Five hundred men, to Attend and Watch this Motion of the *Turks*; in which Adventure, he had the Fortune to meet with them, killing many, and taking ſome Priſoners, and purſuing the reſt to the Walls of *Agria*.

Agria *in diſtreſs.*

This was the beginning of the Campaigne, and a Prelude to the happy Succeſſes of the Enſuing Year; when News came that the Grand Vizier was marching at the Head of a Numerous Army towards *Waradin*, the Number of which was Reported to amount unto Fifty thouſand men, according to the account which ſome Spyes pretended to have received from the Muſter-Roll, taken the *27th* of *April*, in the Plains of *Salankemen* near *Belgrade*; as folſoweth: 1687.

The Grand Vizier, *Janiſaries*	7000
Paſha of *Boſna*, *Spahees*	4000
Paſha of G. *Waradin*, *Spahees*	1000
Beglerbey of *Romelia*, *Janiſaries*	2400
Paſha of *Soria*, *Spahees*	4000
Beglerby of *Sebaſtia*, *Spahees*	2500
Paſha of *Aleppo*, *Janiſaries*	3000
Paſha of *Damaſcus*, *Janiſaries*	4000
Paſha of *Nicopolis*, *Janiſaries*	11400
Paſha of *Karahitar*, Volontiers	8000
Aga of the Artillery Granadiers.	1100
	48400

To this 600 Miners are to be added;
1400 Camels of Burden,
364 Oxen to draw the Artillery,
400 Waggons with Ammunition,
45 heavy Pieces of Cannon,
28 Lighter for the Field.

All which belonged to the Army of the Grand Vizier, not accounting the *Tartars*, nor the *Hungarian* Army under *Tekeli*; nor Garriſons and Parties diſperſed in divers parts. 1687.

On the other ſide, on the *4th* of *June*, the Duke of *Loraine* arrived at *Buda*, where he was received with Three Salvoes of all the Cannon from the Town; and having taken an account of the Horſes, and ſurveyed the Fortifications, and given Command for raiſing New Works, to which Employment Four thouſand Soldiers and Peaſants were appointed; he departed thence on the *7th*, taking his march towards the *Drave* with a part of his Army; he deſigned to Encamp near the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, where Count *Cherſſemberg* was to joyn him with Nine Regiments; And let us here take a Computation in like manner of the Imperial Army, as we have done of the *Turks*. Of Dragoons there were Nine Regiments. 1687.

Of *Lodron*
Stirum
Caſtelli
Serau
Herbeville
Savoy
Thun
Magni
Kuſſel.

The firſt of which Dragoons conſiſted of Eleven hundred men, all the others of Eight hundred each, making in all Seven thouſand Five hundred men.

The Cavalry conſiſted of Nineteen Regiments.

Of *Saxelauemburg*
Caprara
Dunewald
Palſi
Caraſſa
Gondola
Taff
Newbourg
Montecuculi
Veterani
Piccolomini
Heuſler
Commercy
Gotz
Hannover
Saint *Croix*
Furſtemberg
Pax
Truchs

Theſe Regiments amounting unto Eight hundred men each, compleated the Number of Fifteen thouſand Two hundred men. To theſe we are to add Seven and

The number of the Chriſtian Army.

and twenty Regiments of Infantry, of which Five and twenty conſiſted of One thouſand Five hundred men each, and *Keiſerſtein's*, and *Stadel's* Regiments of Two thouſand men each, ſo that the whole Number of the Infantry amounted in all unto Forty one thouſand Five hundred men; ſo the whole Army, according to this Computation, amounted to Sixty four thouſand Two hundred men, beſides Pioniers, Gunners, and Attendants on the Camp.

The Names of the Regiments of the Infantry were as followeth:

Of Count *Erneſt* of *Staremberg*
- *Leſley*
- *Keyſerſtein*
- *Baden*

De Croy
- *Mansfield*
- *Salms*

Maximilian de Staremberg
- *Serini*
- *Neubourg*
- *Souches*
- *Scherſtemberg*
- *Stadel*
- *Diepenthal*

Count *Guey de Staremberg*
- *Tinben*
- *Meternich*
- *Beck*
- *Wallis*
- *Aſpremont*
- *Nigrelli*
- *Heuſler*
- *Averſperg*
- The Young Prince of *Loraine*
- *Hourchin*
- *Furſtemberg*
- *Straſler*

June 1687.

This being the State of the Chriſtian Army, conſiſting of Sixty four thouſand Men plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of Ammunition, and much ſuperior to that of the *Turks* in Numbers, and much more for Diſcipline by Inſtruction of the Commanders, and Bravery of the Soldiers; The Duke of *Loraine* on the Twelfth of *June* proceeded on his march to the River of *Sarawitz*, and in his way received Intelligence, that *Agria* was in ſuch extreme want of Proviſions, and that the Famine there was ſo great, that unleſs the Grand Vizier did by force of Arms ſuccour the City with Victuals, and Ammunition, the Place would be conſtrained to ſurrender it ſelf into the hands of the Enemy; to prevent which, and to relieve the Town, the Vizier appointed a Body of Eight thouſand *Turks*, and Four thouſand *Tartars* immediately to paſs the Bridge at *Peter-Waradin* to Convoy the Waggons and Camels laden with Proviſions, and force their way into *Agria*. Upon this Advice the Duke of *Loraine* diſpatched an Expreſs to Count *Caraſſa*, with Orders to draw out the Twelve Regiments Encamped between *Onoc*, and *Zolnock*, and therewith to interrupt and ſtop the paſſage of the Enemy; but ſuch was the diligence of the *Turks*, that marching by ſecret Ways, they miſſed of *Caraſſa*; and fell in with a weaker Body of Col. *Heuſler*; who having killed about Sixty *Turks*, forced one part of them to retire back to *Peter-Waradin*, whilſt others more bold and forward than the reſt, each man carrying a Sack of Meal behind him on his Horſe, got into *Agria*, which was ſufficient to afford them a ſubſiſtence for a ſhort time.

Succour brought to Agria.

The Elector of Bavaria *comes to the* Camp.

In the mean time the Forces began to gather near *Barchan*, which was the place appointed for the General Rendezvous: Thither came alſo the Troops of *Zolnoc*, which were to be commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, who very ſeaſonably arrived at the Camp to the great joy and encouragement of the whole Army: With him alſo came Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, a Perſon of admirable Prudence and Courage; and of ſuch experience and fortunate ſucceſs, that the Elector repoſed great confidence in his Conduct. The Army being put into a fit poſture and condition to march, intelligence was brought that the Duke of *Loraine* was far advanced on his way towards *Oſeck*; upon which no time was admitted to follow him; but the way being long, and the Ways deep and broken by the late Rains, the Army moved ſlowly, and could not unite ſo ſpeedily with the Duke of *Loraine* as was expected: But at length with Induſtry, Time, and Patience, the Armies joyned, when News came that the Enemy in great Numbers were aſſembled near *Peter-Waradin*, and had formed a Bridge over the *Tibiſcus*, to equal the convenience of which, with that of the Enemy, and maintain a Correſpondence with Forces on the other ſide, the Duke of *Loraine* cauſed another to be built near *Tolna*, and *Foituar*, the better to facilitate a Conjunction with the Imperial Arms.

Eſſeck to be firſt attacked.

It was now made known, that the Campaign was to begin with the attack of the Town of *Eſſeck*, that from thence a way might be opened to the Conqueſt of *Belgrade*; in order unto which, General *Dunewalt*, with ſome *German* Regiments, and Troops belonging to *Croatia*, and the adjacent Countries, was commanded to march towards *Verovitza*, and there to expect farther Orders from the Duke of *Loraine*.

June 1687.

The Troops of *Croatia*, Commanded by Count *Philip de la Torre* in the place of *Dunebolt*, (who was Sick at *Vienna*) marched in a ſtrong Body with very good order, and a large Train of Artillery, provided by the Chamber of *Stiria*, and happily joyned with *Dunewalt*. The Duke of *Loraine* having left a ſtrong Party to defend the Bridge, which he had made over the *Danube*, moved his Camp from *Mohatz*, and without any oppoſition in the leaſt, pitched again near to *Darda* on the 24th of *June*, which is a Fortreſs that covers one end of the Bridge at *Oſeck*.

The Grand Vizier deſired to ſuccour Eſſeck.

The next day the Imperialiſts diſcover'd from their Camp a certain number of *Turks*, who had lodged themſelves in the Marſh, which began to be dry, that they might take a ſurvey of the Chriſtian Camp; againſt which a ſmall Party being ſent, they immediately retired to give advice unto the Town of *Oſeck*, of the near approach of the Enemy: Againſt this Party of *Turks* many more than thoſe appointed, were out of Curioſity carried to the Skirmiſh, to ſee who thoſe were who called ſo frankly to them in the *French* Language. The News being brought to *Oſeck*, or *Eſſeck*, Expreſſes were diſpatched one after the other to the Vizier, (who was then Encamped with the *Ottoman* Army near to *Peter-Waradin*) earneſtly deſiring him to march immediately to their Succour.

June.

The Imperialiſts poſſeſs themſelves of Bridges, and a Fort built by the Turks.

In the mean time the Duke of *Loraine* having diſpoſed his Army in an exact military poſture, he went himſelf in perſon with a Body of about Six hundred Horſe to take a view of the Neighbouring Paſſes; and next Morning being the 25th of *June*, he Decamped with the whole Army, and commanded the Count of *Schertemberg*, Major-General of the Infantry, to ſee whether the Bridges were repaired; and having advanced at a good diſtance before, without any diſcovery; it was reſolved to march with the whole Army as far as *Uttona*, where Orders had been given to provide all Materials for making a Bridge to paſs the *Drave*. But before this Deſign was put in Execution, *Souches* received Orders, with a Party of One thouſand Three hundred Muſquetiers, together with Count *Guido de Staremberg*, to march along the Banks of the *Drave*, upon a diſcovery which was ſo lucky, that he ſoon perceived certain little Bridges, railed on each ſide, ſtrong, and covered with Earth very artificially made; not far from which, there was a Fort with ſome Guns, and a Garriſon of about Four hundred Soldiers, that were *Janiſaries*. As the Imperialiſts approached, the *Turks* received them with ſuch a Volley of ſhot, as at firſt put them into ſome diſorder; but being animated by the Bravery of *Souches* and *Staremberg*, they immediately inveſted the Fort with ſuch courage, as forced the *Turks* to abandon the place with the loſs of Two hundred men, and the remainder to fly to *Eſſeck*, to the Walls of which the Imperialiſts ſo nearly purſued them, that they had almoſt entred with them into the Gates; howſoever they took poſſeſſion of the Fort, and burnt that part of the long Bridge, for about the ſpace of Five hundred Paces in length, which the *Turks* had lately repaired with Rayls, and covered with Earth.

The Vizier Orders his Army to march.

The Garriſon of *Eſſeck* being in great fear at the ſo near approach of the Chriſtian Army, diſpatched Meſſenger after Meſſenger, to adviſe the Vizier of their danger, and that they were endeavouring to paſs the *Drave* with Bridges; upon which Intelligence the Vizier cauſed the greateſt part of his Forces to march, remaining himſelf behind, in expectation of the *Aſiatick* Troops, who moved with leſs diligence, than the preſent preſſure of Affairs did require.

Floods break the Bridges.

The Marſhes repaired.

Thô the Duke of *Loraine* was not ignorant that the greateſt part of the *Turkiſh* Army lay Encamped near *Eſſeck*; yet being very deſirous to Engage the Enemy, notwithſtanding their Entrenchments, he endeavoured to paſs the River at *Uttona*, being a ſmall Redoubt, or Fortreſs, which P. *Lewis* of *Baden* had raiſed the year before, being a very convenient Paſs for the Forces; for that falling down from thence with the Stream, they might conveniently be Landed at *Valpo*, about Four Leagues diſtant from *Oſeck*. To this End the Infantry was commanded to advance towards *Siclós*, with the Cavalry of *Montecuculi*, *Ladron*, and *Hanover*; the reſt of the Army was commanded to keep their Station near *Darda*. In the mean time whilſt the Bridges were preparing, ſuch great Floods of Snow-waters fell from the Mountains of *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*, that the *Drave* ſwelled beyond its Banks with a moſt rapid Stream, and the Marſhes or Moraſſes were filled in ſuch manner, that it was very difficult to lay the Bridges, or raiſe Ways over the Marſhes, which were afterwards made firm and paſſable, by vaſt quantities of Bruſh and Faggots, which the Soldiers had cut and laid: And that no time might be loſt, whilſt the Waters were abating, Orders were diſpatched unto General *Dunewalt*, who was in *Croatia* with ſeveral Thouſands of the Inhabitants of that Country, to ſecure the paſſage of thoſe Boats, which were appointed to carry Proviſions and Ammunition to the Army from *Stiria*. *Dunewalt* having obſerved theſe Orders, the Duke of *Loraine* Detached a ſmall Party to view and diſcover the face and

1687. poſture of the Enemy; and to eſpy and take an account of what Troops lay in the way to oppoſe their Paſſage. This Party being returned with intelligence that the Way was clear and open; the Imperialiſts without any oppoſition poſted themſelves on a high Ground near *Walpo*, over-againſt *Uttona*; where the Duke of *Loraine* in Perſon paſſed the River, to lay out the Ground, and open the Trenches for better Security to the Army in their Paſſage.

Siaus *Paſha* at Eſſeck.

In the mean time the *Heyducks* had the Fortune to take Six *Turks* near to *Eſſeck*, who declared upon Oath that the Grand Vizier was ſtill at *Peter-Waradin*, and that *Siaus*, Paſha of *Aleppo* was come into *Eſſeck* with Two thouſand men, where they had raiſed a Trench of about Two thouſand Paces in length.

Howſoever the Duke reſolving to paſs the *Drave*, Ferried over in Boats a conſiderable Number of Dragoons, and *German* Foot, to labour in digging the Trenches, which were intended to ſecure the Paſſage of the whole Army, which was a moſt immenſe Labour, and ſuch (as we may ſay) had not been performed in many preceeding Ages, for that Thirty thouſand Faggots were not ſufficient for ſettling the Marſhes, which by reaſon of the abundant Rains were ſcarce paſſable; beſides the raiſing of Five and twenty Bridges in divers places, all which was performed with unexpreſſible induſtry in the ſpace of Four days; the Duke of *Loraine* himſelf in perſon encouraging and lending a helpful hand unto the Work: Howſoever this Work was not done without ſome loſs and damage in the Tranſportation of the Horſe, Baggage, and Cannon.

A laborious Work.

Some part of the Imperial Infantry having paſſed the *Drave* in Boats, and followed by the Croats of *Dunewalt*'s Regiment; the Duke of *Loraine*, in the next place, cauſed all the remaining Infantry to paſs as faſt, and in as full Bodies, as the Bridges would allow; ſo that they might be able to make a reſiſtance againſt any Force, which they expected might be ſent from *Eſſeck* to interrupt their Paſſage; but the *Turks* moved not, but remained ſtill in their Trenches, all the time that the Army, Cannon, and Baggage were with Boats and Bridges Tranſporting from one ſide of the River unto the other: Before which was finiſhed, they were forced to withdraw their main Bridge, by reaſon of the fall of great Trees, which the *Turks* above about the parts of *Kaniſia* had purpoſely Cut down, and Launched out into the Torrent; that being carried down with a mighty Rapid Stream, increaſed by an abundance of Rains, ſerved very much to break and overthrow their Bridges: Howſoever in a ſhort time the Bridge was repaired, and then the Thirteen Regiments of Horſe, which were left to cover the Bridge, paſſed over to the reſt of the Army.

Trees cut and thrown into the Stream by the Turks.

The Imperial Forces under the Duke of *Loraine* being thus paſſed, General *Caprara* with his Horſe was commanded to do the like at *Uttona*, which was performed the 12*th* of *July*; and alſo the Elector of *Bavaria* paſſed his Forces on the 13*th*, together with Nineteen Imperial Regiments near *Siklos*. Thus the whole Army being joyned on the other ſide of the *Drave*, on the 15*th* the Generals Dined together, and in the Afternoon made a ſhort march towards *Walpo*, where the day following they Encamped near to the Caſtle, which was defended by a good Garriſon. The ſame day General *Heuſler* joyned the Army, as did alſo Count *Bargozzi* with Two thouſand *Hungarians*.

July.

The Army paſſed the Drave.

The 17*th* very early in the Morning, the Quarter-Maſter-General was commanded to advance, as were alſo thoſe who had the care of the Forage committed to them; and *Heuſler* with a Party of Four hundred Croats was ordered to ſeek out, and take a view of the Enemies Camp; in his way unto which, he fell in with ſome Thouſands of them, which he charged ſo bravely, that he obliged them to Retreat, and purſued them to a narrow Paſs, where he thought fit to ſtop, fearing ſome Ambuſcade, or private deſign to enſnare him: And having poſted his Soldiers in good order, he intended to repoſe a while, and take a little Breath; and having called for a Glaſs of Wine, whilſt he was drinking a Muſquet-ſhot fired from a Neighbouring Wood, paſſed his Left-Leg from one ſide to the other; and having grated a little on the Boan, it was thought that it might require ſome time to Cure; ſo he repoſed that Night near *Carazizza*, by which ran a ſmall Stream, ſending his Spyes abroad to prevent ſurprizal.

Marches forward.

Heuſler *wounded.*

July.

On the 18*th* the whole Army marched, and pitched that Night about Two *Engliſh* Miles diſtant from *Eſſeck*, where ſome Parties of the *Turks* being abroad, retired to their main Camp. The next Morning by Break of Day, the Duke of *Loraine* commanded the whole Army to advance in order of Battel: And becauſe the Ways were narrow, the Woods and Buſhes thick, Commands were given to the Pioniers, and Labourers to cut down the Trees, and Under-Woods, and ſo to open the Ways, that the Army might march in Two Lines; which was done with ſuch expedition and induſtry, that the Troops marched in that admirable order, as evidenced the Conduct of one of the greateſt Captains in the World; and in this manner they appeared in ſight of the Enemy.

The Army marches in Battalia.

1687.

The Viziers ſtrongly encamped.

Are aſſiſted by the French.

The Grand Vizier with a Numerous Army and a well-ordered Camp, lodged under *Eſſeck*, fortified with a deep and regular Trench, and guarded with a good number of Cannon, in an open Plain, about a Muſquet-ſhot from a Wood. The Chriſtians were much ſurprized to find the *Turks* thus regularly Encamped, which was an Art unknown to them till now; being therein inſtructed by ſome *French* Engeniers, and Captains, with Soldiers of the ſame Nation, under the Command of the Marqueſs of *Perſan*, a perſon well eſteemed by the Grand Seignior, and in favour with the Vizier: For now it was, that the *French* Nation began not only to enter into an intereſt and confidence with the *Turks*, by the aſſiſtance they gave them of Officers and Enginiers; but farther obliged the whole City of *Conſtantinople*, with Proviſions of *Rice* and *Wheat* brought from *Alexandria* on 14 Sail of *French* Ships, when the City was labouring under great want, and Famine almoſt of all neceſſaries for Life.

The Tur[illegible] keep wit[illegible] in their Camp.

Some Croats cut off.

The manner of the Turkiſh Camp.

The Chriſtian Army being now come in ſight of the Turkiſh Camp; it was expected that the Grand Vizier would have marched out, and given them Battle, which the Chriſtian Generals bravely offer'd, and the Soldiers deſired with a Courage anſwerable to their former Succeſſes: But the *Turks* finding it their advantage to remain within their Trenches, made uſe of their Cannon againſt the Imperial Camp; which lying open, and undefended without Works or Trenches, did great execution both againſt the Horſe and Men; and amongſt other Officers Count *Francis Palfy*, who was Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment, which belonged to the General of that name, was ſhot in the Head by a Cannon Bullet. During the time that the Armies lay in this poſture ſeveral Skirmiſhes hapned with various Succeſſes; and particularly one proved not very fortunate to a party of *Croats*, who being on Foot, and ill armed, were unskilfully engaged, and too far advanced by the raſhneſs of their Commanders; and they firing all their Muſquets at one volly, were left open to the Enemy; and not being ſeconded by other Troops, above one half of them were killed upon the place, the reſt retiring to the main Body. In this manner did the *Turks* make frequent Sallies on the Chriſtian Camp, endeavouring to draw them into Ambuſcades, but not to an equal and fair Battle, which the Vizier was not willing to adventure, but rather to watch advantages within his Camp, which was ſtrongly fortified with Trenches, Paliſadoes and Cannon, having a Line drawn from the River *Drave* to a Wood, which with a Moraſs, and the River *Valkowar* to the left, Flanked with the Town of *Oſeck*, and covered behind with the Caſtle *Valkovar*, and the *Danube*, by which all Proviſons were carried in great abundance; which render'd the Camp impregnable, and not to be focred either by Arms or Famine: Whilſt it was impoſſible for the Chriſtian Army to continue long in that poſture, both becauſe they lay expoſed to One hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon of the *Turks*, which plaid continually upon them, thô returned with like Damage again from thoſe of the Chriſtians: And alſo, becauſe they began in that place to want both Forage and Proviſions, ſo that there ſeemed a neceſſity for the Army to retire.

Reaſons for a Retreat.

Agreed at the Chriſtian Camp.

Whereupon the Duke of *Loraine* obſerving that after he had for the ſpace of 46 hours bid defiance to the Turkiſh Army, and that he could on no Terms provoke them to a Battle: He aſſembled a Council of War, where many things being alledged, in reference to the ſtrong Encampment of the *Turks*, their Reſolution of keeping within their Trenches, which were not to be forced without danger of loſing the whole Chriſtian Army; and the want of Forage and Proviſions in their own Camp, which were not to be ſupplyed in thoſe places; it was reſolved to make a Retreat, and repaſs the *Drave*.

Conduct in the Retreat

Againſt the Attacks of the Turks.

Such an Action as this was now become difficult, and the Army not to be ſecured, but by the skill and bravery of ſuch Generals: For the *Turks* obſerving the Retreat of their Enemies, and believing it to be a kind of Flight, either out of weakneſs in Strength, or want of Courage, made many Aſſaults and Attacks on the Rear, which the Generals with ſuch admirable Art, Martial conduct, and Diſcipline defended, that in all the attempts they made, they were repulſed: Five Regiments under the Command of *Piccolomini* were commanded to March before to *Siklos*; and the reſt of the Army towards *Walpo*, drawn into two Lines, often facing the *Turks* to the Van, to the Rear, and on each ſide; in ſuch manner, that it was almoſt impoſſible to break in upon them. The *Turks*, who had not for ſome years ſeen the backs of their Enemies, and ſeldom a Retreat made by them, full of vain Glory, and hopes of gaining a Victory preſſed very hard on the Rear, which being defended by the Valour, and excellent Conduct of that magnanimous, and generous Prince the Elector of *Bavaria*, with the aſſiſtance of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, whoſe Arms and Conduct were dreaded by the *Turks*. There was little, or no advantage obtained that day by the Enemy, the Camp being that night pitched near *Walpo*.

1687.

The day following they proceeded in their March without any conſiderable oppoſition from the Enemy, and encamped near the *Drave*, between *Walpo* and *Uſſona*; only the Foragers thinking ſemſelves ſo ſecure were attacked by the Enemy with the loſs of many Men and Horſe. The Elector of *Bavaria* having that day the command of his own Wing which was the Van-gard, cauſed almoſt all his Baggage to paſs the *Drave*, which much diſappointed the deſign of the Enemy: And the Duke of *Loraine* gave order, that all the Baggage, as well that belonging to the Soldiers, as to the Commanders, which could be tranſported that night, ſhould be paſſed over: And the next day the Cavalry of the right Wing, after them the left Wing, then the Baggage of the Infantry; and the day following all the Infantry it ſelf were paſſed over; all which being performed with moſt admirable order and conduct, the Bridges were broken, and the Boats burnt and ſunk. As the Chriſtian Leaders ſhewed themſelves great and valiant Captains; ſo the *Turks* gave no leſs proofs of their Cowardiſe, who might have made uſe of this advantage to the total deſtruction of the Chriſtian Army, had not the Divine Hand preſerved them for more ſignal Victories, and for the more ſevere puniſhment of the *Turks*; howſoever the Grand Vizier fancying this Retreat to be an entire Victory, diſpatched Curriers with the News thereof to *Conſtantinople*, and to all parts of the Empire, glorying that he had now recover'd the loſt Honour of the *Ottoman* power, not doubting but in a ſhort time to regain *Buda*, and all the conquer'd places, and to reſtore peace, and quietneſs once more with Honour to the Muſſelmin Dominions. This Opinion was celebrated in the Turkiſh Camp with Joy and Triumph, and at the Port, and remote parts of the Empire with divers days of Feſtival, all believing that the ſide of Fortune was now turned under the auſpicious Conduct of this Vizier, from whom great things, and almoſt Miracles were expected: In purſuance of this fancy and belief, ſo ſoon as the Imperialiſts had withdrawn from *Eſſeck*, the *Turks* detached a Body of Four thouſand Horſe towards *Darda*, with Orders to proceed thence to *Mohatz*, where they deſigned, if poſſible to burn all the Boats laden with Ammunition and Proviſion belonging to the Chriſtian Army: But this deſign was prevented by the March of *Piccolomini*, with ſome Regiments of *Huſſars* and *Croats*, and of Count *Cohari*, who with Two thouſand *Hungarians* was commanded to paſs that way, and thence to proceed to joyn with the Marquis *Doria*, and reinforce him in the Blocade of *Agria*: Howſoever, the expedition of the Four thouſand Turkiſh Horſe was not altogether unſucceſsful; for it was their fortune to meet with One hundred and fifty Waggons belonging to the *Bavarian* Troops, under the Convoy only of Five hundred *Croats*, commanded by that brave Soldier Count *Orlick*; who notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, ſuſtained the Shock, and at laſt orderly retreated by the help of a *Moraſs*, with the loſs of One hundred Men, which the *Turks* at their return to the Camp, reported for a ſignal Victory.

The manner how the Chriſtians repaſſed the Drave.

The Joy which the Turks *make for this Succeſs.*

Parties ſent by the Turks *to* Darda.

July.

The main Body of the Chriſtian Army continuing their March, on the *28th* pitched their Camp, about a League diſtant from *Mohatz*, before which place all the Boats laden with Ammunition and Proviſions for ſuſtenance of the Army were then Riding in the River; and here it was that Five thouſand Foot, and One thouſand Horſe from the Circles of *Suabia*, and *Franconia* joyned with the Army under the command of the Marquis *Charles Guſtavus* of *Baden Durlach*; all choiſe and ſelect Men, veterane Soldiers, and ſo well armed and clothed, that in their March towards the Camp, the Emperor took delight to ſee them paſs through the Streets of *Vienna*: With theſe came alſo Count *Rabata*, Commiſſary General, bringing Money with him for the Subſiſtence and Payment of the Army; in which Office he ſo well acquitted himſelf for three or four years paſt, that much of the health, and convenient ſubſiſtence of the Army, may well be attributed to his Induſtry and Mannagment, by which all things were provided in ſuch plenty, that there was little need of ſending Foragers abroad with hazard and danger, for relief of the Camp. And indeed by the Succeſſes of this year, it plainly appeared how great a Service ſuch good Managment was; for want of which the Imperialiſts had not of late ſuffered in any thing a greater loſs than in their Foragers, who wandering abroad without care, or due circumſpection, were often ſurprized by the Enemy with the loſs of their Horſes, and many of their Lives.

The Chriſtian Army reinforced.

Loſs by the Foragers.

The Grand Vizier finding that the Chriſtian Army had repaſſed the *Drave*, did believe that they would not ſit idle, but undertake ſome Enterpriſe or other, either by the Siege of *Sigher*, or ſome other place of importance; to prevent which by giving encouragement to the ſeveral Garriſons, the Vizier diſpatched Expreſſes to all parts, to let them know that in caſe of a Siege, they ſhould manfully reſiſt, aſſuring them that in a ſhort time, he would bring them Relief, and ſuch Succour as they ſhould deſire.

1687. On the other ſide the Duke of *Loraine* ſeriouſly conſidering what Courſe the Enemy might in probability follow, and effect; he imagined, that their Deſign might be, by a ſtrong Convoy of Horſe to Relieve *Agria* with Proviſions; of which (as we have ſaid) there had been a long want; and ſuch a ſcarcity as might reaſonably be termed a Famine: To intercept this Relief Count *Ziacchi* with Two thouſand *Hungarians*, and Count *Veterani* with five Regiments of Horſe, were commanded to paſs the *Danube*, and draw towards *Agria*. It was reſolved alſo to fortify *Mohatz*, and put a Garriſon into it of Four thouſand Men; but upon News brought to the Generals, that the *Turks* one the *29th* of *July* had begun to paſs the *Drave* near *Eſſeck*, all the Councils and Meaſures were changed; the Detachments, were recalled back to the main Body, the Bridges broken, the Boats laden with Proviſions order'd to a certain Iſland, there to remain for better ſecurity; and in fine all things were diſpoſed for a Field Battle, which the Chriſtian Soldiers had long deſired, and to ſee their Enemy in the open Plain, rather than fortified in the Trenches of a Camp, or within the Walls of a City.

Means to intercept relief of Agria.

A Field Battle deſigned.

The *Turks* having paſſed the River, advanced towards *Darda*, and entrenched themſelves very ſtrongly between certain Moraſſes, or Marſhes in that Country near *Baranwar*, about a League from the Imperial Camp, where they much troubled and infeſted the Foragers belonging to the Chriſtian Army.

Auguſt. 1687.

The Duke of *Loraine* being very deſirous to intice the *Turks* to a Battle, retreated towards *Mohatz*, which the Vizier interpreting as a kind of Flight, cauſed many Thouſands of *Turks* and *Tartars* to advance; which being diſcover'd by the *German* Out-guards gave an Allarum to the whole Army, and put them all into form of Battle; but nothing thereupon happened, but only a Skirmiſh between the Chriſtian Volontiers and the advanced Body, the firſt of which being ſupported by ſome Regiments of Horſe, that party of the Enemy was forced to Retire, and paſs the Bridge.

A Skirmiſh.

The Duke of Mantoua at the Camp.

About this time, *Ferdinand Charles*, the third Duke of *Mantoua*, being deſirous to ſee, and learn the Art of War mannaged by the firſt and braveſt Captains of the World, left the Air, and pleaſant Places and Gardens of *Italy*, to obſerve the Martial exploits acted in the more groſs Air of *Hungary*; and being attended with an Equipage agreeable, he enter'd the Chriſtian Camp about the beginning of the Month of *Auguſt*, where he was received by the Duke of *Loraine*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the other Generals with all the marks and demonſtrations of Reſpect, and Honour due to a Prince of ſuch Sublime Birth and Dignity. 1687.

As the Chriſtian Army retreated, the *Turks* advanced, ſuppoſing that the Retreat was an aſſured evidence of their weakneſs. The Duke of *Loraine* was amazed, and glad to obſerve this confidence in the *Turk*, whom he had for a long time endeavoured to allure, and decoy into a Battle; of which there was a kind of a neceſſity at preſent, for the groſs Air of that Seaſon became very pernicious to Bodies not accuſtomed to that Climate, ſo that the Army began to grow Sickly, and wanting Forage which was neceſſary to be ſupplied, it was procured with a daily loſs of Men taken, or killed by the Enemy, by which an Army worthy of higher Enterpriſes was in danger of being deſtroyed without Fighting or Action. It was therefore concluded neceſſary to Fight, of which there appear'd great hopes from the forwardneſs of the Enemy, who animated with the March of the Chriſtian Army, purſued after them. The Duke of *Lorain* intending to draw the Enemy after him, carried away all the Proviſions in Boats up the Stream to *Sertio*, and ſet Fire to the Town of *Mohatz*, deſtroying all the ſubſiſtence round the Country; and intending to do the like by *Siklos* and *Quinq; Eccleſiæ*, Letters were diſpatched by a certain Captain to the Governours of thoſe places to convey away all the Proviſion, and Ammunition they were able from thoſe parts, and afterward to conſume the Towns, and remaining Goods with Fire: But by the Providence and direction of God Almighty, it ſo happened, that this Captain being taken, and his Letters intercepted; he was brought to be examined before the Grand Vizier, and his Papers being read and conſidered at a Council of War called for that purpoſe; It was unanimouſly concluded, that this Reſolution to burn thoſe Towns was a certain evidence of the weakneſs of the Chriſtian Army; and therefore that not to omit, and paſs by ſo favourable an opportunity of gaining an entire Victory, it was reſolved to come to a Battle with the Chriſtians; and to that end the whole Turkiſh Army marched towards *Siklos*, and pitched in an open Country not far diſtant from the Town through which the Imperial Army was of neceſſity to paſs, and there they opened ſome new Trenches, and raiſed Works of ſome conſiderable defence.

A neceſſity to Fight.

The Turks reſolve to Fight.

After that *Mohatz* was burnt; the Imperialiſts in order of Battle took their March towards *Siklos*, not without ſome loſs ſuſtained by the Foragers, who wander'd at too far a diſtance, without due caution, or gard had to the near encampment of the Enemy: The Imperialiſts likewiſe continued their March. The day following Count *Stirum* advanced before with his Guards, and Scouts, as did all the Quarter-maſters and Foragers, between whom and ſome Troops of *Tartars* a furious Skirmiſh happened within Trees and Boſcage, which continued a long time with mutual loſs on both ſides, which fell moſt ſeverly on the Regiment of *Lodron*. The Duke of *Loraine* finding himſelf to draw near to the Enemy, cauſed the right Wing, commanded by himſelf, to make a Halt under the Mount of *Arſchan*, and the left Wing commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria* to make a ſtand on a riſing Ground near *Baraniovar*, not more than an hour's March from the Enemy, where Six thouſand of the Enemies Horſe made an attack on ſome of the Imperial Troops, as others of them did on the Rear-guard commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, which Skirmiſhes took up ſome hours time: The ſame day the Prince of *Comercy* with Twelve hundred Horſe, was commanded out to cover the Foragers; but he was not far advanced before he returned with advice, that the Enemy with the groſs of their Army both of Horſe and Foot had raiſed their Camp, and had poſted themſelves in a nearer and more advantagious place: This News was confirmed by a *Grecian* youth of *Retimo* taken Captive by the *Turks* in *Candia*, who having made his eſcape reported, That the Turkiſh Army conſiſted of Eighty thouſand fighting Men, of which there were Twenty five thouſand *Janiſaries*, and with the Attendants and Servants, they might make up in all the Number of One hundred and twenty thouſand perſons: And accordingly that Evening, three Encampments appear'd, conſiſting of three very great Bodies.

Several Skirmiſhes.

Auguſt.

The Turkiſh Army appears.

The next day being the 12*th* of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Lorain* having diſpoſed his Affairs in a Military poſture, againſt all accidents and contingences from the Enemy whatſoever, began his March towards *Siklos* with the right Wing, being then about an hour's March diſtant from *Siklos*. Scarce had he opened the Plain, when the Elector of *Bavaria* with his left Wing was attacked by Eight thouſand of the Enemies Horſe, ſuſtained by Six thouſand *Janiſaries*, who had the night before intrenched themſelves on the ſide of a Hill, from whence they fired many Vollies of Shot on the three Regiments of Cavalry, viz. *Arco*, *Magni* and *Soyer*.

A Battle began at Harſcham.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* having obſerved, that there was a very advantagious place on the ſide of the Hill near to the *Janiſaries*, which, if poſſeſſed, might very much annoy the *Turks*; immediately advertiſed the Dukes of *Loraine* and *Bavaria* thereof, who having in the firſt place reinforced the Rear-guards with four Regiments under the conduct of *Piccolomini*, gave it in charge to Prince *Lewis*, to take the Poſt he had denoted on the ſide of the Hill; which accordingly he performed with admirable Succeſs; for the *Janiſaries* having fired three Vollies, and the *Spahees* having furiouſly charged the Rear-guard as often; the Elector encouraging his Men ſetled them firm and ſteddy againſt the frequent and forcible Shocks and Charges of the Enemy; who not being able to endure the Fire, and the unſhaken order of the Chriſtians, betook themſelves to a diſorderly and precipitate Flight, in which the Turkiſh Horſe broke in upon their Foot, and trampling down the *Janiſaries* under foot, drove them back into their Trenches, into which entring at the ſame time with the Enemy, they put the whole Army to the Rout, and to a ſhameful Flight, leaving their Camp, Tents and all their Baggage for a Prey to the Chriſtians.

The Turks *routed.*

On this memorable day, which is to be celebrated to all Poſterity, the two Dukes, who were Generals, ſignalized themſelves by their admirable Conduct, and undaunted Bravery, to all the World. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* in like manner, with his Sword in his Hand, applying himſelf at all places to direct, and encourage the Soldiery by his Preſence and Voice, demonſtrated and evidenced himſelf to be a great Captain and Champion; in imitation of whom, and of all other the Commanders, the inferiour Officers and Soldiers gave marks to the World of their bravery and zeal in the Succeſſes of that glorious day.

The valour of the Chriſtian Commanders.

The Prince *Eugenie* of *Savoy* was the firſt, who with the Regiments of his Brigade entred the Trenches of the Enemy; and for that reaſon had the honour to be the firſt Meſſenger of this happy News unto the Emperor. Count *Sinzendorf*, a Cavalier of great Courage, and Hope, adventuring his Perſon amidſt the thickeſt of his Enemies, had Two Horſes killed under him that day, and Two wounded, together with his Page, who fought on his Left-hand; and by a great Shot had his Leg broke: Howſoever he purſued the Enemy beyond their Trenches for the ſpace of an hour, as did the reſt of the Army, until the Cloſe of the Evening, when it was thought fit to deſiſt from the purſuit, and return to the Camp, that they might give Refreſhment both to Man, and Horſe, who had for two days greatly ſuffered for want both of Victuals, and Forage. The Prince of *Commercy*, who Commanded the Troops of Volontiers, deſerved alſo his due Praiſe, being

The Prince of Savoy *carries the News of Victory. His bravery.*

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being one of the moſt forward to attack the Enemy, of which he gave undeniable Proofs, the Sargeant Major of his Regiment, and One hundred and Sixty of his Soldiers being ſlain at the beginning of the Battle. The whole Number killed and wounded on the Chriſtian ſide, were not much above One thouſand, Three Captains, Twelve ſubaltern Officers, and Four Trumpeters; which indeed was very ſtrange, and almoſt miraculous, if we conſider the great loſs which the *Turks* ſuſtained; for there were Eight thouſand *Janiſaries* with their *Aga*, or General, killed on the place, all choice and ſelect Soldiers, Two thouſand were made Priſoners, and about Three thouſand Drowned, and the whole Army ſcattered and diſperſed in the Woods, Marſhes, and Boggs of that Country.

The Numbers killed and wounded.

Strange and wonderful indeed was the Succeſs of this day, and ought wholly to be aſcribed to the Almighty Hand of the God of Hoſts: For the *Turkiſh* Army was much more numerous than the *Chriſtian*, conſiſting in all of One hundred and twenty thouſand, of which Eighty thouſand were Fighting men, encouraged by late Succeſſes, and grown proud, and confident of their Strength, by the Retreat which the Chriſtians made. But what is ſtill more ſtrange, is that this formidable Army was Defeated, and put to Flight by Ten thouſand men only of the Left-wing of the Rear-Guard, Commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*; for the Right-wing under the Duke of *Loraine*, and Led by Count *Caprara*, had not time to come up, before the *Turks* were put to a Rout, and a Haſty Flight, which had they delayed and ſtood until the other Forces had come up, it might, in all probability, have proved ſo bloody a loſs to the *Turks*, as could never more have been recovered, and which might have proved the total Ruin and Downfal of the *Ottoman* Empire.

The Vizier's Tent allotted to the Elector of Bavaria.

Thus ſince it was the Fortune of the Elector of *Bavaria* to Fight that day with Victorious Succeſs, the Magnificent Tent of the Grand Vizier, like *opima ſpolia*, were by Lot the juſt Reward of his Labour, and Valou. It is ſaid, That that Tent was the moſt ſumptuous and rich of any, that had, during this whole War, been brought by any preceeding General into the Field; therein was taken all the Caſh, or Ready-Money brought for the Uſe of the Army, all the Books and Accounts belonging to the Militia, the Horſe-tails or Tugh carried before the Vizier; beſides Fifty thouſand Crowns, which ſome principal Officers, as is ſaid, appropriated to their own Uſe.

The ſpoils taken.

Beſides this ſtately Tent, there were great Numbers of other Tents taken, in which the *Turks* ſhow moſt of their Grandeur, making more Oſtentation by their Tents, in the Camp, than they do by their Houſes, and Edifices in the City. Moreover there were taken Sixty ſeven Pieces of Canon, Four of which were of an extraordinary bigneſs; of Powder there was a Thouſand Kintals, of Match Four hundred, about Eight thouſand Cannon-Bullets, Three thouſand Bombs and Carcaſſes, Ten thouſand Granadoes, Arms of all ſorts in great Numbers, Two thouſand Oxen, Five hundred Horſe, Mules, Aſſes, and Camels about Two hundred, Buffoloes Four hundred, which were appointed and fitted to the Yoke, for drawing Carriages, and Cannon; Sheep, and other Cattle innumerable.

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Beſides all this, there were found great quantities of Coffee, Chocolate, Sugar, Sherbet, and Honey, with Carpets, and Beds of Wool, and Cotton: Alſo Oats, Rice, Barley, Flower, Oyl, Bread, and Salt; in ſhort, all things neceſſary and convenient for Man and Beaſt; with which the Chriſtian Soldiers refreſhed themſelves after a long Battle, tedious and tireſome Marches, in great Want, and Scarcity of all Neceſſaries for Support and ſuſtenance of an Army. After which great and ſignal Victory, *Te Deum* was on the 13*th* of *Auguſt* Sung in the Tent of the Grand Vizier; and Triumphs made by expoſing the Horſe-tails, and great Numbers of Banners and Enſigns before the Door of the Tent, with Vollies of ſmall Shot, and Diſcharge of Four hundred Pieces of Cannon, giving Thanks to God for this ſo remarkable a Succeſs, which was the more obſervable, becauſe this Victory was obtained in that very Ground, where *Lodowick*, the laſt of the *Hungarian* Kings was Slain, and his Army Routed by *Sultan Soliman* the Magnificent, who in Memory thereof, cauſed a Moſch of Wood to be Erected, and Endowed it with Eight hundred Crowns Yearly Rent, that *Derviſes*, who are a ſort of *Turkiſh* Friers, might ſolemnize their daily Devotions and Prayers in that place.

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Te Deum Sung in the Vizier's Tent.

The *Turkiſh* Army being thus totally Routed, and Diſperſed, ſome in the Woods, and others in the Marſhes, where many of them dyed of their Wounds, or fainted for want of Food, or Refreſhments; others of them, or as many, as could, Travelling a Day and a Night, came at length faint and weary to lodge themſelves under the Walls and Cannon of *Eſſeck*, without Proviſion to comfort them, or Tents to cover them; where being ſad and diſconſolate, had the Mortification to hear the Triumphs which the Chriſtians were making in their Camp for their Victorious Succeſſes.

Agria ſurrenders.

This News affected the Inhabitants of *Agria* to the laſt extremity of Deſpair: They had lived for a long time in hope of Relief;

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Fears at Vienna.

Joy at the News of Victory.

The Suceeſs of this Battle, near *Harſcham*, happened very ſeaſonable to the Chriſtian Cauſe, and of great Comfort and Joy to the Court of *Vienna*, where they had lately received no very good News in reference to the State of their Army, which, as Reported, was very much weakened by late Skirmiſhes, Sickneſſes, and want of Proviſions, and much haraſſed by long Marches, bad Weather, and dirty deep Ways: Of which the Enemy being ſenſible, was grown bold and daring, and often preſſed them to a Battle: The Emperor being informed hereof, was very doubtful and anxious for the Succeſs; and Prayers, Supplications and Penance were ordered to be made in all Churches to implore the Divine Aſſiſtance and Bleſſing; when the Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* arrived at *Vienna* with the News of the Battle, and the Particulars of the Victory, which filled all the Court and City with Joy and Triumph: To render which the more compleat and full, Advices were come the Night before from the Senate of *Venice*, to give an Account to his Imperial Majeſty of the Defeat which the Arms of St. *Mark* had given the *Turks* in the *Morea*; which had produced ſuch a Terror and Conſternation amongſt them, that in little more than Four and twenty Hours time, Four places had ſurrendered to the *Venetians*. With theſe happy Advices, Expreſſes being diſpatched to all Courts of Chriſtian Princes, were the Cauſe and Subject of common Joy and Jubilee, in the Courts of all, the moſt Chriſtian Kings only excepted.

Diſſentions amongſt the Turkiſh *Militia.*

The Grand Vizier with his ſcattered Troops rallied near *Eſſeck*; where taking an account of the Numbers loſt, he found his Army diminiſhed about Twenty thouſand men; for beſides thoſe which were killed, taken, and drown'd, many had deſerted, and withdrawn from the Field. The Face of the whole Camp was ſad and diſconſolate; and thô the Vizier did all he could to comfort and chear them; yet they being not only melancholy, but angry, and aſhamed of their diſhonourable Flight, began to blame and caſt the fault on each other. The *Janiſaries* with good reaſon upbraided the *Spahees*, as the Authors of their Rout; for that they cowardly retiring, broke in upon their Ranks, and put them into diſorder; which the Enemy obſerving, preſſed ſo hard upon them, that they were forced to give way, and with them the whole Army was laid open, and expoſed to the Enemy. The Diſpute grew ſo hot between the Two Ranks, and Orders of Soldiers, who were always emulous of each other, that at length they came to Blows, and to a Civil War, in which about Seven hundred were killed upon the place.

Appeaſed with Mony.

The Grand Vizier, and Officers had no ſooner with much pain and labour parted the Fray, but the tumultuous Soldiery joyned together to accuſe the Vizier himſelf, and to cry out, that the loſs of the day was to be charged on him, and the Myrmidons about him, who were the moſt forward to ſhow an Example to the Soldiery of a baſe and fearful Flight; the which Clamour cauſed ſuch a Mutiny in the Camp, as had put the Life of the Vizier, and many great Officers into extreme danger, had not the Vizier with Money and fair words mollified their Anger. But this accommodation continued not long, before the Grand Vizier was forced to give way to the irreſiſtible fury and ſedition of the Soldiery, as we ſhall preſently have occaſion to declare.

Forces ſent under Dunewalt.

In the mean time the Duke of *Loraine*, not to loſe the benefit and advantage of ſo glorious a Victory, deſigned a farther Conqueſt, and to conclude the Campaigne, with ſome other memorable Enterprize. It was the common Talk at *Vienna* amongſt the Courtiers, at the Emperor's Palaces, and amongſt the Religious men in their Convents and Monaſteries; that the Duke of *Loraine* was to proſecute his Victory without delay as far as *Belgrade*, and thence to paſs to *Adrianople*, and make that City his Head Quarters for this Winter; but theſe men, who had repoſed themſelves quietly at home, had not the Thoughts, nor Conſideration of the great Generals, to know the Sufferings and Hardſhip which the Cavalry had ſuſtained this Summer in paſſing Boggs and Marſhes, by want of Forage, and long Marches; nor the difficulty of paſſing the River of *Drave*, defended by the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Eſſeck*, nor the Seaſon of the Year too far ſpent to undertake any great Enterprize: All which being conſidered by the Two Great Captains, the Duke of *Loraine*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*; they reſolved only to ſend a detachment of Ten thouſand men, under Command of General *Dunewalt*, to paſs the *Drave* at *Turanovitz*, and there to undertake ſuch deſigns, as ſhould be thought moſt facile and feaſible, without over-much hazard to be put in Execution.

Dunewalt accordingly began his March on the 17*th* towards *Siklos*, where he was furniſhed with 18 Pieces of heavy Cannon, and

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Four Mortars taken lately from the Enemy, of which he was to make uſe in caſe of a Siege, or other occaſion; and was there reinforced with a conſiderable Body of Croats, under Command of their *Bano*. The Duke of *Loraine* in the mean time took his march with the remainder of his Army towards *Mohatz*, with deſign to paſs the *Danube*, and on that ſide to refreſh his Army, and allot out to them Quarters for the Winter in *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, obliging thoſe Hoſpodars, or Princes to yield Obedience to his Imperial Majeſty, and pay Contributions, by which means not only the Hereditary Countries of the Emperor, but the waſted and conſumed Provinces of *Hungary* would be eaſed, and relieved of their long burdens and diſtreſſes. Some Leagues above *Mohatz*, the Duke of *Loraine* paſſed the *Danube* with all his Baggage, and Train of Artillery, at a place, where he had the advantage of an Iſland in the midſt of the River, to lay more eaſily their Bridges. The Army having paſſed the Water with all their Artillery and Baggage, it was expected by ſome, and ſo made the common Diſcourſe, that a farther Enterprize would be undertaken, and that the Army would march towards *Peter-Waradin*, and thence proceed to the Siege of *Eſſeck*; but this deſign after mature conſultation, appeared too difficult in this preſent Seaſon: For that great Floods of Rain had fallen, and ſo filled the Rivers that the Waters could not be contained within their Channel, but overflowed all the Fields and Meadows bordering on the River; and afterwards when the Water abated, they had yet covered the Grounds with ſo much Mire and Sand, that it was impoſſible to march near to the Brink of the River, ſo as to have the benefit or uſe of their Boats for Carriage of their Forage and Proviſions: Wherefore it was reſolved to Lade the Proviſions and Baggage on Carts, and take their march with the whole Army towards *Segedin*: The Boats being emptied and diſcharged, were all burnt, as needleſs and cumberſome; and the greater Barges on which the Cannon and Ammunition were laden, were drawn up the River by Horſes and Oxen, attended with a Convoy of three Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons: And in this manner *Loraine* took his March towards the *Tibiſcus*; but the Elector of *Bavaria* judging that the Campaign was ſo far ſpent, that no great Enterprize was more to be atchieved, having committed his Troops to the care and conduct of the Duke of *Loraine*, he together with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* took his way towards the City of *Vienna*.

The Duke of Loraine *paſſes the* Danube.

Proviſions laden on Carts.

But this March proved much more difficult than was imagined or expected, for the Ways and Fields by the continual Rains were ſo deep and rotten, and full of Water, that the Army inſtead of being relieved, and eaſed of their late Fatigues and Suffering, ſeemed to be engaged and engolfed in greater; for their March was in Mire and Dirt to the Mid-leg, the Weather very Raw and Cold, without Wood or other Fuel to dry and warm them at the end of their day's March; and without any other Suſtenance, than dry Bisket ſoftned with bad Water, ſuch as was found in the Ditches and the Ways; ſo that it was not ſtrange that the Army ſhould grow Sickly, and weakned with ſo many and ſo long ſufferings. Some Troops of the *Turks*, who had fled to *Peter Waradin* having notice hereof, order'd a Detachment of ſome Forces belonging to *Tekeli*, joyned to a ſtrong party of *Turks* and *Tartars*, to fall in upon the Rear of the Imperialiſts, which often-times happed to the great loſs and hurt of the ſickly and infirm, who were miſerably cut to pieces, and ſlain by the Enemy. Nor was the Cavalry in a much better Condition, for travelling over Marſhes and Wet-grounds, their Horſes died for want of Forage.

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The difficulty of marching.

Sickly and infirm attacked by the Turks.

The Duke of *Loraine* with his principal Commanders conſidering hereof, order'd that all Officers having Carts ſhould apply them to the uſe of the ſickly and weak Infantry; and to give a good Example herein to others, he was the firſt to proffer his own Waggons, which all other Officers obſerving, generouſly afforded their Carriages to the uſe of the Foot, by which the Army was wonderfully relieved, and after many hardſhips were brought near to the Quarters of *Segedin*, where the Air and Waters being more wholſome, and the Forage and Proviſions more plentiful, the Sick began to recover, and after ſome few days of reſt and refreſhment, the whole Army was in a great meaſure reſtor'd to perfect Health and ſtrong Condition: After which they marched to *Zolnock*, where they found plenty of all Proviſions and Forage, provided and gathered by the abundant care, and induſtry of Count *Caraffa* chief Governour of the upper *Hungary*: And thence they marched to *Debrezin*, from whence the Duke of *Loraine* detached the Regiment of *Cuiraſſiers* commanded by Count *Palſi*, with the Regiment of Foot belonging to Count *Staremberg*, with Orders to march unto *Poſſonium* or *Presburg*, there to aſſiſt at the Coronation of the Arch-Duke *Joſeph*, Son of the Emperor, then created King of the *Romans*.

The Foot carried in Carts.

The Sick recover at Segedin.

And Zolnock.

But to return now to the Turkiſh Camp, where we may believe, that after ſo fatal a Rout there was great Confuſion: The

Grand

Sedition in the Turkiſh Camp.

Grand Vizier retired from *Eſſeck* to *Peter Waradin*, where he intended to muſter up his Forces, and to recount his loſs, and make the beſt ſtand he could againſt the farther Progreſs of the Chriſtian Arms; but the Turkiſh Troops inſtead of yielding obedience to their Commanders, publickly aroſe againſt the Vizier, boldly demanding of him five Months pay, and the ſurrender of *Mahomet's* Colours or Standard: Upon which Inſolence the Grand Vizier fled to *Belgrade*, ſending before him Fourteen Mules laden with Money; at which the Militia being more enraged, propoſed to Elect *Oſman Paſha*, *Ogli* or *Sciaus Paſha* for their Leader: For with both theſe the Vizier had a Quarrel before the Battle, and after it upon his Complaints made againſt them to the Grand Seignior, for not having done their Duty in the Fight, had obtained a *Huſbeſheriff*, or a Royal command to Strangle or Baniſh them, as he judged moſt for Service of the Sultan; but *Soliman* the Vizier being averſe to Blood, laid the Command by him, without Execution of it, which coming to the knowledge of theſe two turbulent Men, they raiſed the Militia againſt him; who offered to acknowledge *Oſman Paſha* for their General, provided he would undertake to kill the Vizier; which Enterprize he readily accepted, and enter'd the Vizier's Tents, where he killed ſeveral of his Servants and Pages; as he did alſo the Vizier's *Kahya* or Deputy, who ſent to appeaſe the Mutiny; but the Vizier himſelf eſcaped in a Boat down the *Danube*, accompanied with the *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer, and *Reis Effendi* or Secretary of State, upon notice of which the Soldiery elected *Sciaus Paſha* for their General, laying *Oſman Paſha* aſide, notwithſtanding his late Service, having been a Rebel and Robber in *Aſia*.

Sciaus Paſha made General.

A Character of the Vizier.

Thus the Sedition being begun, a great Revolution followed in the Empire; which was not ſo much cauſed by the defeat of the Turkiſh Army, as by the natural Temper of the Vizier, and the Poverty of the Treaſury which could not furniſh Money ſufficient for payment of the Soldiery. For thô *Solyman* was a Man of dexterity in Negotiations, and well qualified for a Court; yet being of a mild Nature was not ſo proper to command a Camp, wanting that Vigour, and Martial Spirit which ſhould make him ſevere, ſo as to be fear'd and reſpected: Beſides, having little experience in War, and of an open and free Humour, lent his Ear to every Adviſer, ſo that amongſt diverſity of Opinions he became confuſed and unreſolved, and inſtead of governing was governed, and ſometimes made to act againſt his own Judgment. Tis true, the Vizier had by his care and induſtry gathered a powerful Army and good Troops for this Campaign; for he had ſummoned all the *Otoracks*, or Soldiers who had formerly been freed and exempted from the War, and had long lived at eaſe, and with convenience at their own Houſes, to return again to the Camp, and to the ſeverities of Martial Diſcipline; many of which had been Spectators or Actors in the Mutinies, during the Minority of Sultan *Mahomet*, and wanting now pay, and their accuſtomed eaſe, were ſoon incited to Sedition on the firſt occaſion, which now happed upon theſe Misfortunes, and the Flight of the Vizier.

Wuchin taken by Dunewalt.

The Sedition being thus begun, we will leave the Mutiniers for a while and return to the Exploits of General *Dunewalt*, and then relate at large the great Revolution which after this enſued at the Port. *Dunewalt* had continued his March for ſeveral days from *Siklos*, and at length without any conſiderable Encounter, he came to *Turnovitz*, where he laid a Bridge and paſſed the *Drave*; and being there relieved with Proviſions, he proceeded to the attack of *Wuching*, a Caſtle well fortified, and the Garriſon lately reinforced with a Thouſand *Tartars*: And thô the Ways were deep and bad, and the Weather rainy and wet, yet nothing was impoſſible for a victorious Army, which marched along the ſide of ſome Hills, where the Ways were more hard and dry. Count *Lodron* with his Regiment, and Count *Budiani* with ſome hundreds of *Huſſars*, and a Sargent Major with Two hundred Dragoons, were commanded to advance before to Inveſt *Wuchin*, and to hinder all Succours which might be ſent for its Relief, until the Mortars and Cannon, and the reſt of the Army could come up. At length the Bombs, and Train of Artillery being with much labour and difficulty arrived; Batteries were raiſed, and the place ſummoned to Surrender; to which at firſt a haughty and an obſtinate Anſwer was returned, but the Cannon being mounted and fired, in the ſpace of one day had made ſuch a Breach, that the *Turks* conſidering the Reſolution of the Chriſtians, and the impoſibility of being relieved, diſplaid a white Flag, and deſired to Capitulate. At firſt they demanded liberty to March out like Soldiers with Arms and Baggage, but that being denied them, with all other Conditions, excepting only to yield at Diſcretion, they were forced to ſubmit to the Will of the Conquerour, and loſe their Freedom and Eſtates, to ſave their Lives. In the Garriſon were about Three hundred Soldiers, beſides more than One hundred Women and Children: The principal Priſoners of note,

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note, were ſhared amongſt the Generals, and chief Officers of Horſe, and the others equally divided amongſt the Regiments of Foot.

After taking this Caſtle, which is Situate on a Rock, and in a pleaſant and plentiful Country, abounding with Trees and Fruit, and well planted with Vine-yards; and after refreſhment given to the Army for ſome few days, it was reſolved to March to *Walpo*, and there to remain in expectation of farther Orders from the Imperial Court: During which time certain Advice was brought, that the Grand Vizier with all his Army and Equipage, was retired from *Eſſeck* to *Peter Waradin*, and thence to *Belgrade*, with intention totally to abandon the Fortreſs of *Eſſeck*.

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Upon this News *Dunewalt* having refreſhed his Army near *Walpo* for ſome days, after a tedious March through a waſted and deſolate Country full of Boggs and Marſhes, he ordered a party of Five hundred Horſe, under command of Count *Hoſkirchen*, Lieutenant Colonel of that Regiment, to make an Excurſion as far a *Eſſeck*, and learn the State of that Garriſon, and the Forces of the Enemy thereabouts.

Hoſkirchen *with a party make an Excurſion as far as* Eſſeck.

Hoſkirchen had been out two days, without any Diſcovery, or giving advice of any thing to the General, whom he found encamped under *Walpo*, a place defended by Five hundred *Turks*, who at firſt Summons ſeemvery reſolute to defend themſelves, or at leaſt, not to yield until they had firſt heard that *Eſſeck* had ſubmitted. Hereupon Batteries were mounted, which with frequent firing at the Caſtle gave an Alarum to the Country round about; but whilſt theſe Matters were in agitation, intelligence was brought to the Camp by a Country Fellow, that whilſt *Hoſkirchen* remained in the Woods to make Diſcovery of the Enemy's Motion, the Garriſon taking it to be the Van-guard of the Army, were ſtruck with ſuch a fear, that they immediately reſolved to abandon the place; and having laden the beſt of their Moveables and Goods on Boats, the Garriſon and all the Inhabitants forſook the place, and fled to *Peter Waradin*.

Walpo *Inveſted*.

General *Dunewalt* taking this Relation from the Country-man to be true, commanded the three Regiments of *Lodron*, Count *Kiſel* and *Hoſkirchen* to March unto *Eſſeck*, and take poſſeſſion of the place, in caſe it were abandoned, as before reported. Accordingly theſe Forces being come near *Eſſeck*; the day following they were met by a *Turk*, and a Renegado *Croat*, who, having made humble inſtances for their Lives, which were granted them; they confirmed the intelligence of the *Turks* having abandoned *Eſſeck*, to be true, and likewiſe informed them, that the *Turks* before they left the place, had formed five Mines under the Walls, which they would diſcover to them; and accordingly *Lodron* having appointed Thirty of his Men with ſome *Raſcians* to uncharge the Mines, he marched with his whole Body and took poſſeſſion of that conſiderable and important place of *Eſſeck* without any oppoſition, before which (as we have related) two great Armies lately lay encamped.

1687.

Eſſeck *abandoned by the* Turks.

With this advice Count *Lodron* immediately diſpatched an Expreſs to *Dunewalt*, giving him an account that he had taken poſſeſſion of *Eſſeck*, and had found therein Fifty five Pieces of Cannon, two Mortar Pieces, two Petards, with a great quantity of Ammunition and Proviſion of all ſorts; the Garriſon of *Walpo* being alſo aſſured hereof, loſt their Courage, and ſurrender'd forthwith at Diſcretion, ſubmitting themſelves, their Wives and Children to Slavery.

Walpo *Surrenders*.

After which, things being well ſecured and order'd at *Walpo*, *Dunewalt* marched towards *Eſſeck*, and encamped his Army on the 2*d* of *October* in the ſame place, where the Grand Vizier had lately intrenched: Where having ſung *Te Deum*, and returned Thanks to Almighty God for ſo many and great Succeſſes, a Council of War was called to conſider what was the next great Enterprize which was to be undertaken.

Octob. 1687.

The Seaſon of the Year being advanced towards Winter; it might well be judged a convenient time to draw the Soldiers into Quarters, and give the Troops reſt and repoſe after the many Fatigues and Hardſhips ſuſtained; but God ſtill favouring the Deſigns of the Chriſtians againſt the *Turks*, who were in all places poſſeſſed with fear and conſternation; it was thought fit by the Commanders to follow the Foot-ſteps of Fortune, and not to give over the Game with a lucky Hand; wherefore Count *Appremont* being left in the Government of *Eſſeck*, with a Garriſon of Eighteen Companies of Foot, and Sixteen Troops of Horſe, the General reſolved to attack *Poſſega*, the Metropolis of all *Sclavonia*; and in his March thither he ſummoned the Caſtle of *Orovitza*, Situate on a high Hill, an the Foot of which is a Palancha, or ſmall Redoubt; the Ground is covered with Cheſnut-Trees, and planted with Fruit Trees; the Garriſon at firſt returned an angry and reſolute Anſwer, but afterwards thinking better with themſelves, they packed up the beſt of their Goods and Baggage, and in the night by ſecret and By-ways through the Woods and Mountains privately ſtole away, every one ſhifting for himſelf in the beſt manner he was able: So that in the morning the Chriſtians enter'd the Town and Caſtle without any oppoſition; being a place very

The Turks *quit* Orovitza.

1687. Commodious, to which ſeveral Villages paid Contribution, and which was neceſſary firſt to be taken, in order to the more eaſy and ſafe attack of *Poſſega.* The very ſame day that *Dunewalt* enter'd into *Oravitza*, intelligence was brought him, that the *Turks* were poſſeſſed with ſuch great Fear and Conſternation at *Poſſega*, that there was no doubt to be made, but that the place would Surrender at his firſt appearance before it; which accordingly happened; for no ſooner were the Chriſtian Forces deſcended into the Plains, but they eſpied a conſiderable body of *Turks*, that ranged themſelves under the Cannon of *Poſſega.* The Forces of *Dunewalt* being come up, ſeveral Skirmiſhes paſſed between the Parties, but the *Turks* finding themſelves unable to engage with ſuch an unequal Force, they betook themſelves to flight into the Mountains, abandoning the City and Caſtle to the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians: Five Companies purſued them into the Mountains, but without any effect, for having neither knowledge of the Ways, nor Suſtenance in that deſolate Country, being alſo wearied and tired with long Marches, were forced to return, and repoſe themſelves in *Poſſega.*

Poſſega *quitted by the* Turks.

Fortune thus favouring the Progreſs of the Chriſtian Arms, *Dunewalt* reſolved to make uſe of this proſperous Gale; and having in order thereunto held a Council of War, it was reſolved to follow the Enemy to the River *Save*, where at a place called *Kobas* they were Tranſporting themſelves and Baggage to the other ſide: In order unto which, and for better ſecurity of *Poſſega*, a Garriſon of Sixteen hundred *Germans* were left in the place, and orders given to Count *Lodron*, that being come thither with the Infantry and Baggage, he ſhould repoſe and refreſh his Men there until the return of *Dunewalt*; who loſing no time came ſo opportunly to the *Save*, as to ſurprize ſome Carts laden with Corn and Proviſions, which the Enemy had left there, not having time to Tranſport them to the other ſide; and in the mean time Count *Leoneda*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiments of *Lodron*, a brisk and daring Gentleman, purſued a party of the Enemy's Horſe, and skirmiſhed with them for the ſpace of three hours, and put them to flight, returning back to the Camp over againſt *Kobas*, with a Booty of Two hundred Head of Cattle. At this place *Dunewalt* continued for the ſpace of three days, endeavouring to paſs the River with deſign to burn and demoliſh that Caſtle; and thô on the other ſide there appeared a Body of Eight hundred *Turks*, Horſe and Foot; yet ſome *Germans* endeavoured to paſs in ſmall Boats, and to take a Poſt, or place of Defence; but before they could be ſeconded by other Forces, they were attacked by Two hundred *Turks*, and after a valorous defence were moſt of them cut in pieces, or droven into the River. 1687.

It is garriſoned by the Germans.

Dunewalt *Marches to* Kobas.

A party of Germans *cut off.*

Dunewalt finding it very difficult to paſs the River without the help of great Boats, returned to *Poſſega*, where finding the Cannon and Infantry arrived, he proceeded to *Zerneck*, about two *Hungarian* Leagues diſtant from *Poſſega*, which the *Turks* having quitted, the *Germans* without oppoſition made their entrance into it: The day following Count *Hoſkirchen* was detached from this place, with a party of Five hundred *Croats*, to take a view of the Enemies State and Condition about *Gradiſca*; on his March whereunto, he was encountred by a ſtrong party of *Turks*, with whom entring into an Engagement, *Hoſkirchen* was wounded by a Muſquet Bullet in his Arm, and Count *Harimberg* in the right Hand with a Lance; two Common Soldiers were killed, and ſome few others wounded: Howſoever *Hoſkirchen* miſſed not of the intelligence he deſigned; bringing an account at his return, that the City of *Gradiſca* was ſtrong, garriſoned by Ten thouſand Soldiers, cover'd by Five thouſand Horſe which were quartered in parts adjacent; and that in the Way to the City, the Paſſages were very Streight, beſides many Woods, and three Bridges which lay in the Road thither. Upon this Advice the deſign againſt *Gradiſca* was deferr'd; and a great part of the Militia was employed to fortifie *Zerneck*, and the Towns lately conquer'd; and to provide them with good Garriſons, as alſo *Valkowa*: After which the Seaſon being far ſpent, and Proviſions and Forage beginning to want in the Camp, the remainder of the Army were lodged and laid up in their Winter-quarters in *Croatia.* Notwithſtanding all which Succeſſes, there were not ſuch wanting, who blamed theſe proceedings, and confidently affirmed, that in caſe *Dunewalt* had been inforced with ſome Regiments, and had laid all other Deſigns aſide, he might in that great conſternation of the *Turks* have paſſed the *Save*, and made himſelf Maſter of *Belgrade* without much difficulty, and therewith have reduced all *Boſnia* to the devotion of the Emperor. But this being an Over-ſight, and matters ſucceeding as before related; let us return to the mutinous Army of the *Turks*, whom we lately left raging againſt the Grand Vizier, the Grand Seignior and all the Government.

The Turks *quit Zerneck.*

A Skirmiſh.

Dunewalts *Army lodged in Winter-quarters.*

The Grand Vizier, as we have ſaid, having quitted the Army, to give way to the Fury of the Soldiers, took a Boat at *Belgrade* and rowed down the *Danube*, accompanied with the *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer, and the *Reis Effendi* or Secretary of

State

1687. State; the Soldiers in the mean time choſe (as is aforeſaid) *Sciaus* for their General; and immediately diſpatched away *Orta Chiaus*, an Officer of the *Janiſaries*, to acquaint the Grand Seignior with what the Army had done.

A Chiaus ſent by the Army to the Sultan.

It was now no time to expoſtulate with the Soldiers, or diſapprove their Actions; but on the contrary *Orta* was kindly received, and careſſed by the *Chimacam* at *Conſtantinople* called *Regeb Paſha*:

The Grand Seignior approves of what they had done.

And the Grand Seignior himſelf without any Heſitancy confirming the Choice which the Army had made, diſpatched *Orta Chiaus* immediately back with the Signals of Honour, which are a Sword, and a Veſt of Sables, declaring him General, and ordering him to take care of the Frontiers. The Vizier having got out of the reach of the Army, took Poſt and came to *Adrianople*, where he ſtaid, and gave time for his Friends to work in his behalf with the Grand Seignior; who of himſelf was well enough inclined to *Solyman*; and therefore after the Rout, and Noiſe was a while appeaſed, *Regeb* the *Chimacam* obtained his Pardon, and Permiſſion for him to come to *Conſtantinople*, and *Mamout Aga* his Friend, and a rich Man was ſent for the Meſſenger to invite him thither.

The Army Petitions againſt Solyman.

But before *Solyman* arrived the Scene was much changed by the coming of four Officers from the Army, with *Arz* and *Max-Arz*, which is a Petition, and Certificate ſigned by the principal Commanders in the Army, atteſting that *Solyman* was a Perſon of no Conduct, a Coward and a Lyer, and one who took no care to pay the Army, and in ſhort that he was not fit for that Sublime Office of Grand Vizier, concluding their Petition with a Prayer, that another might be placed in that Government:

He delivers up the Seal and Standard.

Solyman having News hereof, as he was on the Road to *Conſtantinople*, and thinking thereupon that, that place would be too hot for him at preſent; ſent the Seal and the Standard of the *Prophet* to the Sultan, committing them to the care of the *Teſterdar* the Treaſurer, and *Reis Effendi* the Secretary, his Friends and fellow Travellers, to be delivered by them, conveying himſelf privately within the Walls of *Conſtantinople*; upon which, without delay the Grand Seignior diſpatched away the Seal and the Standard to *Sciaus*, declaring him Grand Vizier in the place of *Solyman*. *Regeb* would have diſſwaded the Grand Seignior from ſending the Standard, which is the Colours of their Prophet *Mahomet*; and towards which the People bear a ſuperſtitious Devotion, alledging that thereby he weakned himſelf, and armed a Company of Mutiniers with the Charm of that holy Relick: Howſoever the *Kuzlier Aga*, who is the chief Eunuch of the Women, was of a different Opinion, being of a nature timorous like that of the Grand Seignior: His Council prevailed, and the Standard was ſent by the Hand of the *Selictar* or Sword-bearer, that the Soldiery might not have cauſe to believe, that the Sultan treated them with reſerves, or with the leaſt manner of diffidence. But all this ſerved not to appeaſe, or mollify the madneſs of the Soldiery, who now talked of nothing but marching to *Conſtantinople*, and there to Depoſe the Grand Seignior, and reform the Government, ſetting up his Brother Sultan *Solyman*, under whoſe Reign they hoped for the like Auſpicious Succeſſes, as they had found in the fortunate Reigns of thoſe Sultans, who had formed the *Ottoman* Empire; and eſpecially they had a ſingular Reverence for the Name of Sultan *Solyman*, who, they hoped would prove as great and fortunate as *Solyman* the Magnificent. *Sciaus Paſha*, who was in his Heart a cordial Friend to the late Vizier *Solyman*, found now that he had conjured up a Devil he could not lay, would gladly have diſſwaded the Soldiery from their deſigned March to the Port, and rather adviſed them to guard their Frontiers, and oppoſe the Enemy:

Sciaus unwilling to March.

But this Council had coſt him his Life, had he not touched the Propoſal very gently, and at the ſame time aſſured them of his readineſs to joyn with them in any Deſign they ſhould contrive: And accordingly marching away in a kind of a tumultuous, and diſorderly manner towards the River *Save*, great Numbers of them were actually paſſing the Bridge near *Belgrade*, when the *Chimacam* or Governour General of the *Janiſaries* of that place, apprehending that they came to Plunder the Town, refuſed them Paſſage, cauſing ſeveral Pieces of Cannon to be fired upon them; with which ſeveral being killed they returned back:

They ſhoot at the Soldiers from Belgrade.

Howſoever perſiſting ſtill in their Reſolution, the moſt wild and obſtinate party of them paſſed the River in Boats at ſome diſtance from the Town, leaving *Sciaus Paſha* with the reſt of the Militia on the other ſide, a good days March behind them; by this ſlow Motion of *Sciaus*, the Soldiery gueſſing at his backwardneſs to engage with them, like enraged Mad-men they returned to him and treated him with Menaces, vowing to kill him, in caſe he refuſed to be their General and Leader in this good Cauſe of reforming the Government.

Troubles at Conſtantiple.

Whilſt the Army was in this Commotion, great were the Confuſions, Plots, Stratagems, and Contrivances at *Conſtantinople*, which *Regeb* the *Chimacam* ſuſpecting, that the Friends of the late Vizier *Ibrahim* exiled to *Rhodes*, did foment, and alſo, that the *Mufti* who was laſt year Baniſhed to *Pruſa* 1687.

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was too near; he procured a Command from the Grand Seignior to remove that Mufti to *Rhodes*, and the *Kapugibaſhee* or Meſſenger, who was employed on this Affair, and had the care upon him to conduct this Mufti to *Rhodes*, carried alſo a Hatte-ſheriff, or the Command with him for the Head of *Ibrahim Paſha*, which we ſhall ſhortly find at *Conſtantinople*, about the ſame time almoſt that *Regeb*'s Head was laid with others to augment the heap.

The Soldiers take an Oath to reform the Government.

Septem. 1687.

Regeb *gives Council, but not taken.*

The Kuzlir *Aga's Council againſt* Regeb.

Regeb *ſeized.*

He eſcapes.

In the mean time the *Teſterdar* or Treaſurer, and the *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary, who were the Two Fellow-Travellers with *Solyman* the late Vizier, were diſpatched to the Army with ſoft Meſſages from the Grand Seignior, approving all that they had done, and offering to perform all they did or could deſire: But we ſhall ſee preſently how well theſe Two Mediators ſucceeded in their Office of making Peace with a heady Multitude, which would hear no Reaſon and endure no Government. For *Sciaus* was now made only a Property to execute the Commands of the *Janiſaries*, and *Spahees*, who had entred into a ſolemn Covenant, and military Oath to ſtand by each other for Reformation of the Government: In purſuance of which deſign, they were to march directly to *Conſtantinople*, there to remove all the Favourite Pages, and Idle Eunuchs in the Seraglio, with *Solyman*, *Regeb*, the *Chimacam*, and all their Creatures, and Dependants, and now began to talk openly of depoſing *Sultan Mahomet*, and ſetting up *Solyman* his Brother in the Throne. And yet for all this, *Sultan Mahomet* was ſo ſtupid, that without any care or concernment he went every day a Hunting, and had continued his Sport until the Mutiniers had ſurprized him in the Field, had not *Regeb* the *Chimacam*, a man of great Courage and Capacity acquainted him with his danger, adviſing him that the Storm was growing black round about him, and therefore that he ſhould retire into the Seraglio, and prepare for his defence; ſhewing him now his Error, in ſending away the Prophet's Banner, which in ſuch an extremity as this, had been his chief Protection; but the Grand Seignior had neither Underſtanding to ſee his danger, nor Courage to avoid it, or to embrace a bold and vigorous Council, which was neceſſary in this emergency; but *Regeb* being qualified for both, and ſufficiently alarum'd by the *Chiohadar*, an Officer of the *Janiſaries*, newly arrived from the Army, of the great Combuſtions amongſt them, and of the true ſtate of things, without loſing time, went the next day to the Mufti to deſire a *Fetfa*, or Sentence declaring them all Rebels and Infidels, (whom they call *Gaürs*) who would not obey the Commands of the Grand Signior; but the Mufti being either ſick, or at leaſt pretending to be ſo, the *Fetfa* could not be obtained: Thence he went to the *Segmenbaſhee*, who was in the place of the Aga of the *Janiſaries*, whom he found well inclined; but the *Kuzlir* Aga, a timorous Eunuch, having information from his Spyes of the Motions of *Regeb*, preſently repreſented them to the Grand Seignior, as if he were contriving his Peace with the Army, intending to betray and ſacrifice all others to their fury and madneſs; and that therefore it would be better to be before-hand with him, and ſend both his and the Head of *Solyman* to make an Attonement for the lives of others. The Grand Seignior liking the Project extremely well, gave a Command immediately to the *Boſtangibaſhee*, who is a great man, and chief of the Gardiners, to ſeize *Regeb* in his Houſe, and carry him to Priſon. The Command being accordingly ſerved, and ſhewed to *Regeb*, he ſeemed not in the leaſt ſurprized, but entertained the *Boſtangibaſhee* without any alteration in a free and facetious Diſcourſe; giving Orders very unconcernedly to have his Horſe made ready: And going out with the *Boſtangibaſhee*, his *Boſtangees* or Servants going down before him, he ſtopt ſhort at the Head of the Stairs, and turning about, ſaid, *Aga, It would not be amiſs, if I ſhould take ſome Zechins into the Priſon with me; come with me into my Chamber for them*: So turning quick about, he enters into a Room; the *Boſtangibaſhee* being ſurprized, followed him in; but *Regeb* paſſed nimbly into an inner Room through a kind of Cup-board Door, and by a pair of back-ſtairs into the Garden, and ſo eſcaped at a Poſtern-door.

Others are ſeized, and Solyman *the Vizier is taken.*

The *Boſtangibaſhee* looking about for him, thought he was vaniſhed, he knew not how; and calling his Servants about him, put all the Houſe into an uproar; but there was no remedy, for the Priſoner was eſcaped and his *Kahya*, or Steward, had time alſo to get out of the way, thô Two days afterwards he ſurrendered himſelf, and the *Haſnadar* or Treaſurer, and *Chiohadar*, or Maſter of his Wardrobe were alſo impriſoned: And about the ſame time alſo *Shahin Aga*, the Chief Cuſtomer, was ſeized and carried Priſoner to the middle Gate of the Seraglio, where *Solyman* the late Vizier was alſo committed, being taken at a Houſe of his own on the *Boſphorus*; and the ſame day the *Segmenbaſhee* was alſo impriſoned, all which was performed by the ſpecial Command of the Grand Signior at the inſtigation of the *Kuzlir* Aga, whoſe Councils now ſolely prevailed, and tended to the ſeizure of all perſons whatſoever of Office, and Riches, no matter why, or wherefore, provided they might be a Sacrifice acceptable to the Soldiery,

1687. diery, and attone for the Lives of his Maſter and himſelf. All theſe ſeizures and impriſonments of the great Officers cauſed ſuch diſturbances and fears amongſt the Citizens at *Conſtantinople*, that they all ſhut up their Shops, a thouſand Reports flying about the Town, of Dangers, and Enemies; and that the Grand Vizier with ſome Soldiers were come to the City with bad intentions and deſigns: Amidſt all theſe Rumours, there were no Officers, or Governors; (they being all impriſoned) to appeaſe, or comfort the People, until the Grand Signior created the *Niſangi* Paſha, (who puts the Grand Signior's Firm to publick Writings) to be *Chimacam pro tempore*, who came and publiſhed that there was no danger, and that every man ſhould open his Shop upon pain of Death: And that Night the Grand Seignior went to the Grand Seraglio, where he had not Slept in Thirty Years before, having an averſion to the place, as we have ſhewn in other Books. And this was done for one Point of Reformation intended againſt the coming of the Army; for that it was one Article againſt this *Sultan*, that he had forſaken his Royal Palace, or Seraglio, the Glorious Seat of his Anceſtors.

Kuperlee *Paſha is ſent for.*

In this want of great and wiſe Officers, and Miniſters, the *Kuzlir* Aga, whoſe Council was only heard, adviſed the Grand Signior to order and appoint *Muſtapha Paſha*, Son of the Old *Kuperlee*, and Brother to the late *Achmet Kupriogli*, who then commanded at the *Dardanelli* to go to the Army, and endeavour to appeaſe, and direct them; for which Employment he was eſteemed the moſt proper perſon, being Brother-in-Law to *Sciaus Paſha*, who married his Siſter, and one who ſtood well in the good Opinion and Eſteem of the Soldiery: But upon farther Thoughts he was firſt commanded to come to *Conſtantinople*, there to receive his Orders and Inſtructions.

Is kindly received. October 1687.

In a few days *Kuperlee Muſtapha* came to *Conſtantinople*, and was treated and received by the Grand Seignior, with an unuſual Reſpect and Kindneſs; he called him *Lala*, which is a Compellation given by the Grand Signiors to their Great Vizier's, and ſignifies as much (as Father) telling him that as his Father ſetled him in his Throne, ſo now he was to Inherit that Honour, and confirm him thereon in deſpite of thoſe powerful Machinations, which were forming againſt him; and to enable him thereunto, he created him *Chimacam*, Veſted him, and what was very extraordinary, he cauſed him to Sup with him. That very Night, whilſt the Grand Seignior was at the Table, the *Selictar* Aga, or Sword-Bearer, who was ſent with the Seal and Standard to *Siaus* Paſha, by which he was created Grand Vizier, returned from the Army, which he met at *Niſſa*; and reported, That whilſt he was there, the Soldiers aroſe in a furious Tumult, and cut in pieces the *Teſterdar*, who was ſent to appeaſe them; and *Ali Effendi*, who the laſt year had been in the Treaty: But the *Reis Effendi*, who was ſent on the ſame Errant, upon their firſt ſtirring fled, being too wiſe to truſt their Mercy; as did alſo, a chief Commander of the *Boſtangees* or Gardiners: But *Ajemzadee* a reverend Perſon of about Eighty years of Age, adviſing them not to ſpill the Blood of *Muſſelmen*, was purſued by them into the Vizier's Tent, who covering him with his Veſt endeavoured to ſave him; but finding the danger to which he expoſed his own Life, he was forced to deliver him up to their Fury: He had been *Reis Effendi* or Chief Secretary, but then had an Office in the Treaſury. They demanded alſo the two *Teskaragees*, or Chief Clerks to the *Reis Effendi*, to be delivered up to their Juſtice; one of which had for many years done all the *Engliſh* buſineſs in that Office; but they deſiring to be Strangled, rather than to have their Bodies mangled by the Soldiery, it was accordingly performed behind the Vizier's Tent, and their Bodies expoſed. *Orta*, *Chiaus* of the *Janiſaries* (of whom we have already made mention) being ſuſpected to have been corrupted by *Regeb*, the *Chimacam* of *Conſtantinople*, was cut in pieces. *Muſtapha Paſha*, who had been General of the *Janiſaries*, and Seraskier in the firſt Siege of *Buda*, was ſecured, and ran great danger of his Life; but by the Mediation of the Vizier, he was only depoſed, and ſent to command at the *Dardanelli* in the place of *Muſtapha Kuperlee*, who was now *Chimacam* at *Conſtantinople*.

1687.

News from the Army.

Many Officers killed by them.

The Selictar returns from the Army.

And laſtly, after this diſmal Tragedy the *Selictar* coming to give an account of himſelf, he declared, That he was fearful of his own Life, notwithſtanding the good Office he had done in bringing the Seal and Standard to the Grand Vizier; for which whilſt he was expecting a great Preſent, as was accuſtomary; an Anſwer was given, That the beſt Preſent could be given him was of his own Head, which had been taken off, according to the Liſt in which he was proſcribed, but that he had merited his Life, by this Office of bringing the Seal and Standard.

The Army Marches to Conſtantinople.

The Army having in this manner vented ſome part of their Fury at *Niſſa*, proceeded on their March towards *Conſtantinople*, doing little other harm on the Way, than only diſplacing ſome few Officers of the *Janiſaries*, and putting an old *Granatine*, who had been one of thoſe, who had been baniſhed by the *Spaniards* out of the Kingdom of *Granada*, a Perſon of Eighty years of Age, in the Office of General of the

Jani-

1687.

A Council held.

Solyman the late Vizier ſtrangled.

His laſt Will.

Janiſaries. As the Army approached, ſo the Fears and Apprehenſions of the great Men at *Conſtantinople* increaſed. *Muſtapha Kupriogli*, as we have ſaid, being made *Chimacam*, he appeared publickly in the *Divan*, and gave out the Pay to the Soldiers; and then went to the Grand Seignior, whom he found at a *Kiosk*, or Houſe of Pleaſure by the Water ſide, and preſently a Conſultation was held, at which were preſent the two *Kadileskers*, or chief Juſtices, the *Nakib Effendi*, who is chief of the *Green-heads* of the Prophet (or Mahomet's Kindred) four *Sheghs* or Preachers, the *Stambol Effendi*, or Mayor of the City, as alſo the *Niſangi Paſha*, who ſets the Firm of the Grand Seignior to Commiſſions; theſe after a Conſultation and Debate of about two hours time, reſolved on ſeveral Points, not then divulged to the World but by the execution of them; for they all went together to the *Chimacam's* Houſe, from whence in half an hours time afterwards, the Chiefs of the *Chiauſes*, whith Thirty of his Men were ſent to the Priſon where *Solyman* the late Vizier was confined; ſo ſoon as *Solyman* ſaw the *Chiausbaſhee*, he ſaid, I know for what you come, God's will be done; the *Chiausbaſhee* who had been his Creature, and raiſed by him, with Tears in his Eyes delivered unto him the Command for his Head. *Solyman* taking it from him, kiſſed it and ſaid, I have waſhed, but not as yet ſaid my *Kindi*, or Afternoon Prayers, (for it was about that time) let me perform thoſe my laſt Prayers, and then in the name of God execute your Office. *Solyman* having finiſhed his Prayers, called the *Chiausbaſhee* into an Inner Room, and ſaid, Execute your Orders; but firſt let me recommend two things to you. One is, That you declare and be a Witneſs to the World; That I have given Freedom to all my Slaves both Males and Females. And 2*ly*, That they do not torment my People to find out my Money, for I never had any thing conſiderable; the little I had was with me in the Camp, where it was loſt, and made a Prey to the Enemy. In my Houſe at *Scutari* there is ſome Furniture, and ſome few Galanteries, which if the Grand Seignior will preſent to my Son it is well, but if not he is Lord and Maſter of them: And if you, ſaid he, to the *Chiausbaſhee*, ſhall not declare this to the Grand Seignior, my Hands ſhall be upon you at the Day of Judgment; And having ſaid thus much he kneeled, and turning his Face to the Wall, the Executioners performed their Duty. So was *Solyman* ſtrangled, a Perſon deſerving to live in better times, and worthy of a better Death; his Head was cut off and carried to the *Chimacam*, where it was flead and ſtuffed with Cotton, and being put into a Box was ſent to the Grand Seignior; but his Body was conſigned to his Friends, and buried at *Scutari*. His Son a young Man of about 24 years of Age was ſent for from *Adrianople*, and impriſoned to diſcover his Father's Eſtate; but that being known to be very little, the *Chimacam* by his own Authority ſet him at liberty. The Wife of *Solyman* amidſt her Fears, ſent two Trunks filled with Sables, and rich Habits, and Veſtments to the Houſe of a certain Friend to be there ſecured, and were accordingly covered under a Pile of Wood: This matter being obſerved by a crew of Rogues, they came that Night, pretending an Order from the *Chimacam* to ſeize thoſe Goods, naming the place where they were concealed; at which the People of the Houſe being affrighted, immediately delivered the Trunks to the Hands of the Rogues: The next day the Wife of *Solyman*, full of ſorrow and anguiſh of Mind, came to the *Chimacam* to make complaint of this hard Uſage, declaring the Goods to be her own, and not her Husband's. The *Chimacam* diſavowing the matter, and denying to have given any ſuch Orders, the Robbery appeared, and Search being made after the Thieves, four of them were taken and moſt of the Goods reſtored.

1687.

Propoſals ſent to the Army;

And refuſed.

The next day *Solyman's* Head was ſent for a Preſent to the Army, by two Officers belonging to the New Vizier, with a Letter from the *Chimacam*, accompanying an Imperial Command or Signature from the Sultan, declaring, that if the Army would ſtay and Winter at *Adrianople* he would give them full ſatisfaction in ſending the Heads of all they ſhould demand, not ſparing his own Sons or Brother, and would ſend them the Fifteen Months Pay that they were in Arrear, with the ſame Donative as ſhould have been given, in caſe a new Grand Seignior had been created. But they would hearken to no Conditions, for they had caſt the Bridle out of their Mouths, and taken the Power into their Hands; and nothing could now make them ſafe but a total Subverſion of the Government, and a Change of the Grand Seignior.

Regeb taken.

But firſt, The way thereunto was to be made by the Death of many of the great Men: *Regeb Paſha*, the late *Chimacam*, was about this time taken at a place called *Viſa* near *Chattalgee* in *Aſia*, his Horſe tired, and he almoſt famiſhed with Hunger; and being brought to *Conſtantinople*, he was committed Priſoner to the ſame Chamber, in which his Maſter *Solyman* had been lately executed; and was in a few days afterwards Strangled, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

The

Ibrahim Paſha *put to Death at* Rhodes.

1687. The ſame night that *Regeb* was impriſoned, the *Kapugibaſhee*, who was ſent to Conduct the *Mufti* from *Pruſa* to *Rhodes*, returned with the Head of *Ibrahim Paſha*, who had been Vizier before *Solyman*; being put to Death by the contrivance of *Regeb*, as be- before mentioned. The manner whereof was this: The *Bey* or Captain of the Gally, which carried the *Mufti* to *Rhodes* being a Friend to *Ibrahim Paſha*, endeavoured during the Voyage to pump the *Capugibaſhee* to know of him, whether he had any other Orders to perform at *Rhodes*, beſides that of conducting the *Mufti*; but he could diſcover nothing, ſo that ſo ſoon as he was arrived, he went directly to *Ibrahim Paſha* to put him out of pain, by aſſuring him, that there were no Orders come in relation unto him, and that their buſineſs was only to bring the *Mufti*. Whilſt they were thus diſcourſing, a noiſe was heard in the Street and *Ibrahim* looking out of the Window, ſaw a multitude of People gathering about the Door, which the *Bey* ſaid, might be out of curioſity to ſee the *Mufti* their new Gueſt. In a few minutes afterwards, in came the *Capugibaſhee*; and kiſſing *Ibrahim's* Veſt ſate down by him, and being asked what News, he ſaid, all is well; and then diſcourſing of general things, he drank his Coffee, and having ſmoaked his Pipe, he put his Hand into his Breaſt, and drew out a Paper, which he gave to his Hand; whilſt he was reading of it, he ſhewed ſome alteration in his Countenance, for he ſoon found that it concerned his Life: He had a little Child at that time playing upon his Knee, he kiſſed it with Tears in his Eyes, and bid his Servants take it away: And then ſaid, *What have I done? They have ſeized all my Eſtate, and not being contented therewith, they have ſent for my Life. Oh treacherous World!* Whilſt he was ſaying thus much, the *Capugibaſhee's* Servants threw down the Cord on the Floar, which *Ibrahim* obſerving to be thick, and rugged, he took it up, ſaying, This is a Cord one would not ſtrangle a Dog with, and bid his Man fetch him a Bow-ſtring, which he ſoaped with the Soap, he intended to uſe at his waſhing before Prayers, and made a Knot to it himſelf: his Prayers being ended he was ſtrangled; and his Head with his Women and Children were brought to *Conſtantinople*. The *Chimacam* had no mind to ſee it, for he had been his Friend, and had no Hand in his Blood, which lay wholly at *Regeb's* Door, who was now in a fair way of incurring the ſame Fate himſelf: The Mony found about him was no more than Nine thouſand Dollars.

It was now the Feſtival of their little *Byram*, when the Grand Seignior according to the uſual Cuſtom received the Salutes of the *Chimacam* and all the great Men, ſitting in his *Kiosk*, or Houſe of pleaſure by the Sea-ſide, with Muſick and firing of the Guns which lay at the point of the *Seraglio*.

1686. *The little* Byram.

The Army inflexible.

The Grand Seignior ſtill endavours to appeaſe them.

Fines laid and levied.

And now the Fate of the Grand Seignior ſeemed to approach; for the Army drew near, and had rejected all the fair Terms, and Propoſitions which the Sultan had offered them, and yet he ſtill continued to make ſuch Sacrifices to them as he thought might ſweeten and appeaſe them. But *Turks* were never uſed to be overcome by gentle Terms and ſoft Promiſes, but by the *Topuz* or Club, or by violent Remedies. For when the Head of *Solyman* late Vizier was brought, they ſaid, it was not that which they looked for, but rather to have had him alive under Examination, to know how he had diſpoſed of the Money, which was given the laſt year to defray the Charges of the War: Howſoever, the Grand Seignior ſtill reſolved to try them yet farther by ſuch Methods, which he thought might pleaſe them, and that was to Impriſon, or put to Death all Men indifferently, that were in Office and Power, whether they had deſerved well or evil: Accordingly the *Kuzlir Aga* (chief of the black Eunuchs) and *Boſtangibaſhee* were impriſoned in the *Seraglio*, and others put into their places; and theſe two with *Mahomet Effendi*, Treaſurer and Steward to the Empreſs, the *Moxur Aga* to *Regeb Paſha*, who was Grandſon to the famous *Bectas*, who was *Janiſar Aga* when the *Kioſem Valide* was cut off, *Vanni Efendi Teskeragee* or Giver of the Writs, *Kapan Cheleli*, who belonged to the *Arſenal*; *Omar* the Steward of *Regeb* late *Chimacam*, and *Shafan Aga*, who had been tormented to diſcover his Money, were all ſent to the Army to receive ſuch Sentence and Doom, as they ſhould appoint for them: But as theſe were not demanded by the Soldiery, ſo ſome of them were rather preferr'd than puniſhed by them. For the *Moxur Aga* was ſent to command the *Janiſaries* in *Candia*, the *Boſtangibaſhee* and *Segmen-baſhee*, were ſet at liberty, and the former ſent *Paſha* to *Mytilene*, and the other to Command the Forces in the *Morea* againſt the *Venetians*; the others were held under Examination, being obliged to render an Account of the publick Monies, which had paſſed through their Hands; but none of them was acquitted without paying a Ranſom. The *Kuzlier Aga* was fined at Three hundred Purſes, beſides his Goods and Furniture, which were very rich, he having Two hundred Sable Veſts, which were never made up, all which were ſeized, and he baniſhed to Grand *Cairo*, the *Aſylum*, or Receptacle of

unfor-

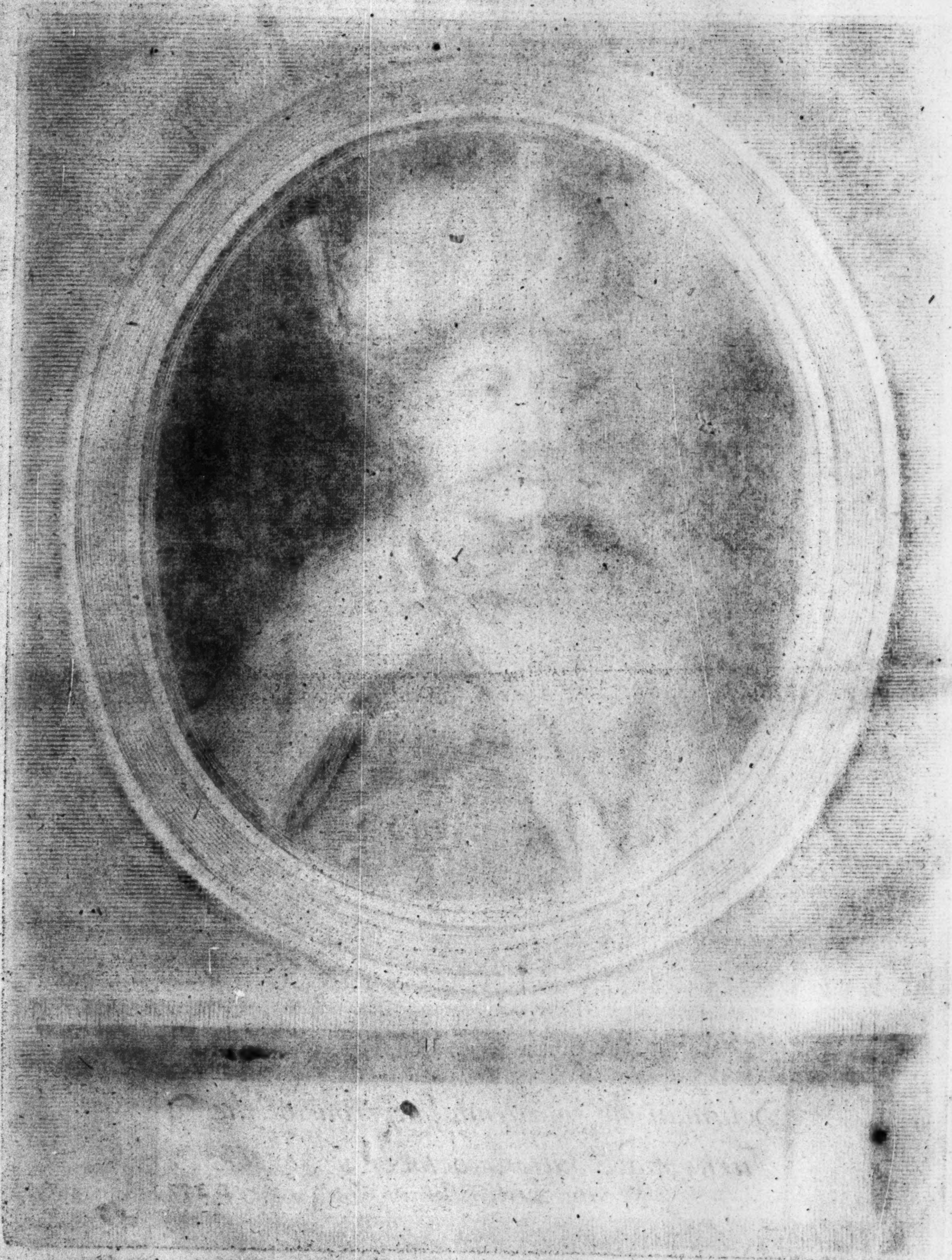
1687. unfortunate *Eunuchs*. The Grand Seignior finding himſelf now ſtript of all his faithful and old Friends, which he had imprudently deſtroyed or faintly delivered up into the Hands of his Enemies; began to grow deſperate; and as ſuch, reſolved to play the laſt Game of Cowardize and Cruelty, which was by the aſſiſtance of his Pages and Servants near his Perſon, to cut off his Sons and two Brothers; that ſo none remaining alive of the *Ottoman* Line, the Soldiers would be obliged to ſuffer him to Reign, and Propagate more of the Royal Race. To execute this deſign with greater eaſe and ſecurity, He ſent to the Eunuchs who kept his Brothers, telling them that he knowing his Condition to be ſuch, that he could Reign no longer, he deſired he might come and ſee them, and recommend himſelf and Children to them, for that as he had been merciful to them, and not touched their Lives, ſo that they would prove kind and compaſſionate to him and his. This deſign could not be executed without entruſting it firſt to the Pages, who were to be Actors in the Tragedy; and they not being all faithful alike, ſome, or one of them made it known to the *Chimacam*, who immediately charged the New *Kuzlir Aga*, and *Boſtangibaſhee* to ſet Guards at the Doors of the Brother's Apartments; between whom and the Pages there hapned ſome Scuffle: The new *Janiſar Aga* had alſo received Orders to attend with his *Janiſaries* before the Gate of the *Seraglio*; and matters being in this manner ſecured, the *Chimacam* went himſelf to the Grand Seignior, and admoniſhed him not to precipitate, and engage himſelf in ſuch a raſh and odious Attempt, which the *Janiſaries*, who were attending at the Gate would moſt certainly Revenge without any Regard, or Reverence to his Perſon. The Grand Seignior had been a little Rough before with the *Chimacam*; but the armed Force being near, ſo affrightned him, that he began to Treat the *Chimacam* with milder Terms. Howſoever his Children were removed from the *Seraglio*, and the Guards doubled, which were ſet upon his Brothers. From that time the Grand Seignior loſt all his Authority; for the *Chimacam* came no more near him, and order'd the *Boſtangibaſhee* not to ſuffer him to ſtir out of the *Seraglio*, ſo that all the Liberty and Divertiſement he had, was to paſs his time in a *Kiosk*, or Houſe or Pleaſure near the Sea. Howſoever, the Grand Seignior to make Trial of his Authority ſent a *Hatteſheriff*, or Royal Command to diſplace the *Segmenbaſhee*; but it proved of little effect, for the *Chimacam* received it, and ſaid tis very well, but laid it by him, and that was all.

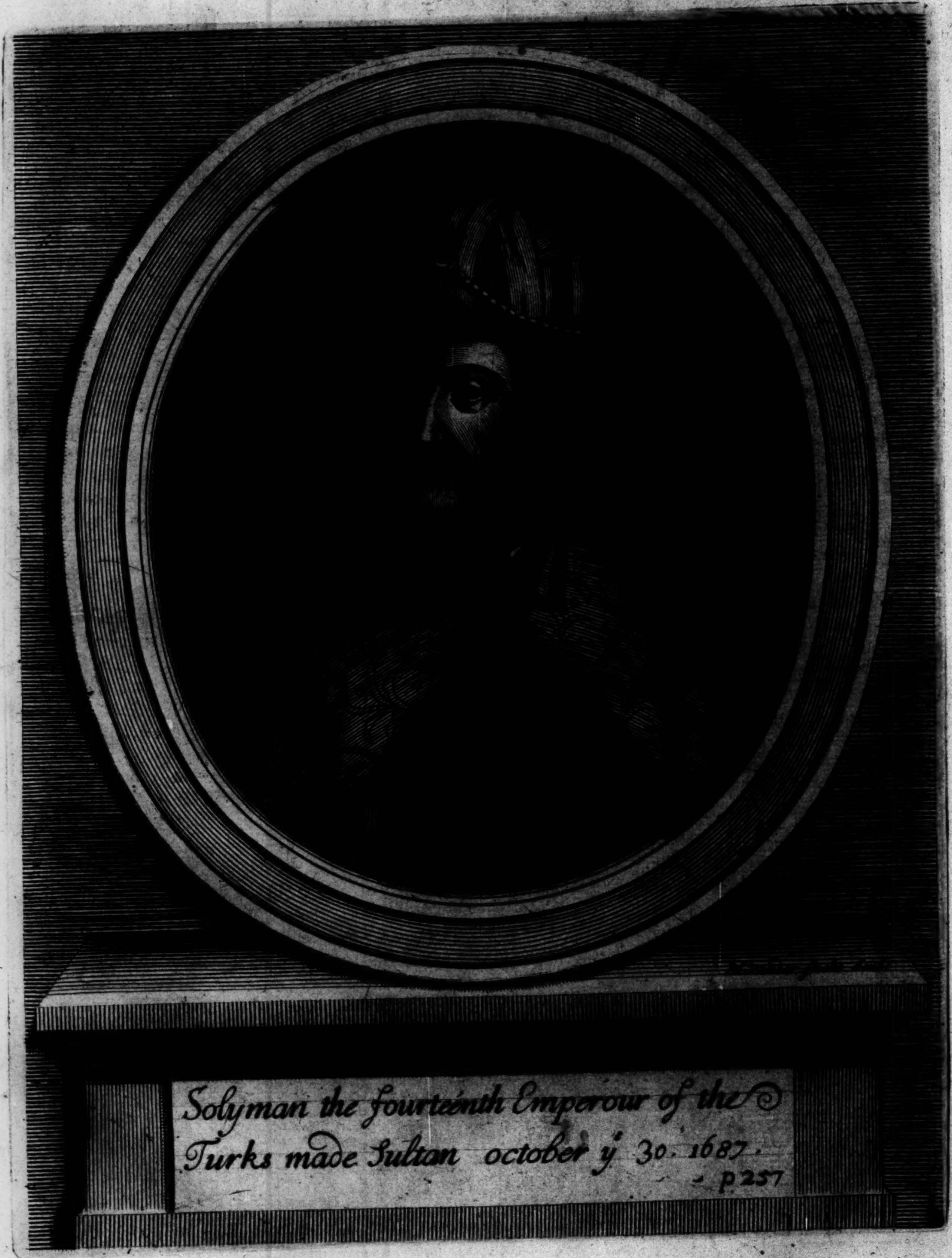
The Grand Seignior endeavours to cut off his Brothers and Sons.

Is prevented.

The Grand Seignior loſes his Authority.

THE





Solyman the fourteenth Emperour of the
Turks made Sultan october ye 30. 1687.

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THE REIGN OF SOLYMAN,

The Fourteenth Emperor of the *Turks*.

1687. BY this time the Army was come near to the City, the Vizier in Perſon as far as *Ponte Grande*, which is about Twenty Engliſh Miles Oct. 28. 1687. diſtant from *Conſtantinople*: And about ten a Clock that Night, the *Janiſar-Aga* entred the City, with ten Chambers of *Janiſaries*. And now did the hour fatal to *Sultan Mahomet* approach; for about two a Clock in the Morning of the 29*th* of *October*, Sultan Mahomet *depoſed.* the *Boſtangeebaſhi*, and the *Kuzlir Aga* by Order of the Army came to Sequeſter and confine him to his Chamber. He asked why, and what Hurt he had done? They told him, That he had Reigned Forty years, which was the Life of a Man, and might content himſelf with that, for that few of his Anceſtors had ruled ſo long. Then did the *Chimacam*, the *Mufti*, *Nakib Effendi*, who is principal of the *Green-heads*, or *Mahomet's* Kindred, with the *Kadeleskers* or Chief Juſtices, with the Chief Men of the Law meet together, and held a Council before Day at St. *Sophia*. This *Nakib Effendi* had been a *Kadelesker*, but a few Days before; for the former *Nakib* died of a Fright, taken at the appearance of ſome *Janiſaries* before his Door, which he apprehended came to ſeize him. After they had ended their morning Prayer about break of Day, they went together from the *Moſch* to the *Seraglio*, and entring in, they asked for Sultan *Solyman*, who was brought out to them; and then the *Nakib Effendi*, whoſe Office it was, as being the Head of the Race of the Prophet, placed him in the Throne, and Sultan Solyman *made Emperor.* *prayed that he might be proſperous, and increaſe the Honour of the Empire, and kiſſed his Hand, as did alſo the* Mufti, *the* Chimacam *and the others.* The Sultan laying his Hand on his Breaſt bowed and thanked 1687. them; after which Ceremony they all retired, and afterwards about nine a Clock Proclamation was made in the Streets, *That Sultan Mahomet being depoſed for his ill Government, Sultan Solyman is made Emperor in his place.*

1687. The next Day being the laſt Day of *October*, the *Chimacam*, the *Chiansbaſhee*, and other great Men went to meet the Grand Vizier at *Daout Paſſa*, a place diſtant about two Engliſh Miles from *Conſtantinople*; but the *Chiausbaſhee* was arreſted, not that the Soldiers had any thing againſt him, but only that they might make room for him, who officiated in that charge in the Army.

1687. The firſt of *November* the Grand Vizier made his Entrance into the City with a Solemn Cavalcade, accompanied by all the great Men of the Empire both Civil and Military: The *Mufti* riding on his Left-hand, Siaus Paſha *Grand Vizier makes his Entry and Salutes the Grand Seignior.* he went to the *Seraglio*, where he alighted, and taking the Standard of the Prophet, he went with it to the Grand Seignior, who ariſing from his Throne went three Steps to meet it, and took it from the Vizier, and gave it to the *Selictar*; then the Vizier gave him up the Seal alſo, which being with his Brother's Name, he kept, and returned him a new one, with his own Name. The Solemnity being over, the Vizer went to a great Palace lately *Ibrahim Paſha*'s, near the *Janiſaries* Chamber, which was provided for him; and the *Chimacam Kupriogli* remained in that where his Brother and other Viziers had formerly reſided.

And now it might have been thought, that all Seditions and Mutinies amongſt the Soldiery would have ended at this Period But it ſeems the Storm was not half over;

1687.

Nov. 1687. Regeb *ſtrangled.*

The chief of the Mutineers killed.

for it remained, that the Authours of theſe Troubles who had been guilty of ſo much Blood, and death of their Officers, ſhould at length turn their Fury againſt each other; and ſo it happened: For the *Spahees* meeting at *Atmeidan* or the *Hypodromo*, and the *Janiſaries* at *Etmeidan*, demanded their Pay, and that *Regeb Paſha*, ſhould be delivered to their Hands. The next Day being the 4*th* af *November*, *Regeb Paſha* was ſtrangled, and his Body expoſed before the *Seraglio* in the Square of *Santa Sophia*, and laid on an old Matt for three Days: It is believed, that thô the demand of his Life proceeded from the Soldiery, yet that it was a contrivance of the Vizier, not only in Revenge for procuring the Command ſent to the late *Solyman* for his Head; but out of fear of his Perſon, who was known to be a Subtle, and a ſtout Man. The ſame Day *Cochinck* or little *Mahomet*, a Peſtilent Fellow, and chief Head of the Mutinous *Spahees*, with ſeven other Ringleaders in all the Seditions, was lodged in the great Palace of the *Hypodromo;* and when he went abroad was always attended with a numerous armed Guard, whether out of State, or Fear, is not well known; having a confidence in himſelf, and his Merits and good Services he had done for the Soldiery, adventured to perſwade them to a quiet, and an orderly behaviour, and to content themſelves for the preſent with three Pays, and to have a little patience for the reſt, and for their Donative, until Money could be raiſed: This admonition ſounding not well in the Ears of ſome Soldiers, they preſently inſtilled into the Minds of their Comrades, that this *Mahomet* had been taken off with Mony, and was brought into the Aſſociation with thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to defraud them of their juſt Demands: Such a ſiniſter Report as this, was enough at that time to have deſtroyed half their Officers; as it quickly did his buſineſs; for immediately they ran to his Palace to look for him there, but miſſing him, they afterwards met him in the Streets, and pulled him from his Horſe, ſaying, You that brought us hither, and ſhould Speak for us, now look to your ſelf; you Lie in a Palace, Eat High, and are clad in Sables, whilſt we poor Fellows are Ragged, and Lie in the Yards of the *Moſchs*, and Corners of the Streets; and with that they ruſhed upon him, and with Clubs and Knives, killed him, and Toar his Body in Pieces. This was the buſieſt Man of any, feared by all, thô an ordinary *Spahee;* he was preſented and courted by all the great Men in Town; for no Man was ſecure of his Head, if he would have inſtigated, and moved the Soldiers to call for it: Having thus diſpatched him, they ran to his Palace, and plunder'd all he had there.

1687.

Several Impriſoned.

The *Kuzlir-Aga*, who had eſcaped, was purſued and taken at *Nice*, and brought back and committed Priſoner to the ſeven Towers; then was *Mahomet Effendi Tefterdar* or Treaſurer, *Shaban Aga*, *Omar Kiah*, *Capan Chelebi*, and ſeveral others, were ſent to the Common Priſon: But *Kupriogli* was declared *Moſayp*, or Favourite of the Grand Seignior.

The Spahees and Janiſaries *unite.*

The Vizier yields to all their demands.

All the care was now to pacifie the Soldiers, which was only to be done with Money; and the Art was, how to ſeparate and divide the *Spahees;* as a means whereunto they began to give pay to the *Janiſaries*, and to ſerve them firſt: This had likely to have begotten ill Blood; but the *Spahees* put them in mind of the ſolemn Oath, they had made to ſtand by each other; and the *Janiſaries* refuſed their Pay, without the increaſe both of their Pay and Donative; but there being not as yet a ſufficient Fund for all, the Tumults ſtill continued. This Artifice which was contrived for a Separation, tied the Knot of Union more cloſely between the *Janiſaries* and *Spahees*, ſo that many *Spahees* came as Gueſts to the *Janiſaries* Chambers, and lodged with them, declaring that they would not touch an Aſper of their Pay, until the *Janiſaries* were fully ſatisfied. This Friendſhip being made between theſe two Military Orders; the *Spahees* as the more polite and ingenious Men took all the Government into their own Hands, holding their Councils at *Atmeidan*, and what was there reſolved, was reported to the Vizier by four of their own Members, and the Vizier being forced to aſſent unto all their Demands, gave them a Writing to approve of all that they ſhould do, and liberty to uſe ſuch Methods for raiſing Money, as they ſhould judge moſt convenient in this exigence, both to ſatisfie the Donative, and the Arrears and Increaſe of Pay.

The Janiſaries *chuſe a new* Aga.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Condeſcentions, and thô the means were put into their Hands to pay themſelves what they demanded, yet the Troubles and Embroils ſtill continued: For the *Janiſaries* ſuſpecting that their Aga or Commander in Chief was not cordial to them, nor approving their Actions (for every one was thought ſo, who did not run to the ſame heigth of Madneſs with them) they turned him out of his Office, and would have none of their own Body to command them, but one, as in former times, taken out of the *Seraglio;* and ſuch an one they pitched upon, called *Muſtapha Aga*, a Chirurgion by profeſſion, who had been Twenty five years in the *Seraglio*, of which he had been eight *Talbentgee* or Turbant-folder to

the

1687. the late Grand Seignior, and Selictar to the preſent Sultan; the true cauſe of this change was, that they would have a raw unpractiſed Fellow over them, and one whom they could govern, and not one, who knew how to govern them.

The manner of raiſing Money.

The Tumults ſtill continued, and muſt ſo until Money could be found, which the Soldiers were now themſelves to raiſe; every Man that had Money muſt now bleed his Coffers, and redeem his Life with his Riches. The Favourits of the *Seraglio* muſt pay their Shares, being taxed at vaſt Sums, the particulars of which were not exactly known; but it was reported, That the *Selictar Aga* to the late Grand Seignior, now made Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, paid Six hundred Purſes; the *Chiobadar*, or he who is Maſter of the *Wardrobe*, Two hundred; the Paſha of *Balſora*, Two hundred; beſides many others, who all paid their Aſſeſments, as the Soldiers were pleaſed to Rate and Tax them.

Rich Men taxed.

Then the Chief of the *Spahees* called before them ſeveral of the Rich men of the City, and Taxed them each according to what they believed them worth; and ſent an Officer, with a certain Number of Soldiers, to go with them to their reſpective Houſes, and ſtay with them until the Money was paid, and then they carried it to the Treaſurer, taking his Receipt for the ſame. The *Stambol Agaſee*, or Mayor of *Conſtantinople*, was Fined Five hundred Purſes, the *Shahir Emin*, or City Cuſtomer Forty, *Sari Oſman Aga* Thirty, beſides Ninety which the Exchequer owed him, which he was to remit. Likewiſe the Grand Signior's chief Phyſicians, Aſtrologers and Goldſmiths, and great Numbers more of all ſorts and conditions, were all Taxed, and moſt of them to the full of what they were worth. Thus were vaſt Sums raiſed by Military Execution, with which the Grand Vizier was well enough pleaſed; for the Soldiers had done his buſineſs for him, without drawing an *Odium* upon himſelf; for there being a ſcarcity, and yet an abſolute neceſſity for Money, it could not be raiſed by more compendious Methods, than by armed Force.

The Janiſaries Aſſaults their Officers.

And yet for all this the Tumults continued; for the *Janiſaries* not knowing what they would have, aſſaulted their Officers at Evening Prayer, in a Moſch near their Chambers; ſaying, That they were met there in Council againſt them, with deſign to inſtill bad Principles into their new *Janiſar Aga*; but no hurt was more done than a few Blows, and an abundance of bad Words.

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They vouchſafe to raiſe their pay.

And now about the middle of this Month, after many Complements and Courtſhips made to the *Janiſaries*, they condeſcended at length to raiſe their Pay and Donative, which were ſo kindly offered; and thoſe, 1687. who had been impriſoned upon paying their Ranſom were ſet at Liberty. *Mahomet Effendi*, who had been Treaſurer, paid One hundred and twenty Purſes; *Shaban Aga* One hundred and fifty, beſides Four hundred which had formerly been racked from him by Torments; *Capan Chelebi* Sixty, *Omar Kiak* Thirty five, beſides what had been taken from him before: *Muſtapha Aga* the *Chiausbaſhee* Forty, and *Uziel* a *Jew* was made to pay eight Purſes; and thus ſufficient Money being found for payment of all, and the ſame daily iſſuing, all things grew calm and quiet; ſo that on the 17*th* about eight a Clock in the Morning, the new Grand Seignior went by Boat from the *Seraglio* to *Eiub*, where the *Nakib Effendi*, or Chief of *Mahomet's* Kindred Girt him with the Sword, which is a Ceremony anſwering to our Coronation; and having ſaid Noon-Prayers at that place, and all the Ceremonies ended, he rode from the *Moſch* in a Solemn Cavalcade through the City back to the *Seraglio*, but not with ſuch Splendor and Magnificence, as had been done in the time of the Grand Seigniors his Predeceſſors: All People crouded (as we may believe) to ſee the Features and Faſhion of their new Sultan, of whoſe Perſon and Abilities Reports had created already a high Expectation.

The new Grand Seignior inſtalled.

His perſon and qualities.

He was of a long, lean, pale Viſage, but not of an ungrateful Aſpect; his Eyes were full and black, and his Beard was black, but ſomewhat griſly; what his Qualications of Mind were, will be more evidently diſcovered hereafter, and come then more properly to be deſcribed in their due place. But in the mean time we may reflect, that the change of the perſon of the Prince, could not be of much advantage to the Publick; For what the other did out of a remiſs and voluptuous Humour, attending only to his Divertiſements, and leaving the Care and Management of all his Affairs to the Contrivance and Conduct of his Miniſters; this Grand Seignior muſt now do out of neceſſity, being wholly unexperienced in the World, having all his Life been kept up in a Chamber, without other Converſation, than that of a few Eunuchs, ſome old Women, and two or three *Hogiaes*, or Maſters to aſſiſt him in his Studies. As Books were his Entertainment in his confined Life, ſo he ſeemed to have had an affection for them, in the choice he made of *Kupriogli* for his Favourite, who was eſteemed in that Country a learned Man, and to have had the beſt Library of any in that whole Empire. It was ſaid, That he had promiſed his depoſed Brother all ſecurity of his Life, and that he ſhould be kept in the ſame manner, as he was; and that he might

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allow him what comfort he could in that manner of Life, he ſuffered his Children to be with him for ſome Days; but they were afterwards by the Councils of others taken from him and lodged apart. His other Brother *Achmet*, the Companion with him in his Impriſonment, he viſited, and promiſed to be kind to him; but he was not perfect Maſter of his Senſes; of which we ſhall ſpeak more when we come to ſee him on the Throne after the Death of *Sultan Solyman*. The *Hazaki Sultana*, or Empreſs of the depoſed *Sultan*, was ſent to the old *Seraglio* there to remain until Death, or ſome other Revolution of Fortune ſhall releaſe her: In the place of her, the Mother of the preſent Grand Seignior, who for ſome years was reported to be dead, appeared alive, and removed from the old *Seraglio* to her Son, but ſhe was a little Maddiſh.

He viſits his Brother Achmet.

Thus were all things turned up-ſide down; all the great Officers of the Empire, except the Captain Paſha or Admiral, being changed: Which when a Man ſeriouſly conſiders, and that theſe Revolutions were carried on by common Soldiers, one would admire that they ſhould paſs with ſo little Confuſion, or Blood-ſhed: For except thoſe ſix which were killed in the Army, and *Cuchiuck Mahomet* at *Conſtantinople* in a Military Fury, there was only *Solyman* and *Regeb* cut off; for the Death of *Ibrahim* at *Rhodes*, did not proceed from them, but from *Regeb*. As to the daily Inſolences in the Streets, they were not committed by the *Spahees*, but by poor Drunken *Janiſaries*, who had neither Money nor Cloths, and therewith would be ſupplied from *Chriſtians*, and *Jews*, and *Turks* too. But this was no new thing, but what had been formerly practiſed by the baſer ſort of the Soldiers, as often as they came from the War, or were ſhortly going thither. And now ſince things were thus changed, ſome Reformation was expected, and that was to begin in the *Seraglio*; where the firſt and moſt plauſible thing was the Retrenchment of the Expences, which during the time of the late *Sultan* had been exceſſive, the very Barly for the Horſes coſting One thouſand five hundred Dollars, or Three hundred pounds Sterling a Day; the number of the Hawks and Dogs, with the People who attended them was vaſt, all which were ordered to be reduced; for the preſent *Sultan* took ſo little delight in theſe Divertiſements, than he was to learn how to Ride; and the Stables were to be reduced to a Hundred Horſe, one Hundred and fifty of the Pages were to be made *Spahees*, and the reſt were to be changed, and new ones put into their places. The ſame was to be performed in the Courts and Chambers of the Women; ſo that the Retrenchments made were calculated to amount unto Eight thouſand Purſes of Money a year, every Purſe being Five hundred Dollars, and may be accounted to be almoſt a Million of pounds Sterling: The Greyhounds and Dogs, of which there were many Hundreds kept in the *Seraglio* for the uſe of the late *Sultan*, were all let looſe and ſuffered to run about the Streets of *Conſtantinople*, where they might have ſtarved, had not the godly Men, whoſe Religion conſiſts much in feeding Dogs and Cats, taken Compaſſion on them, and fed them daily with Bread from the Bakers Shops.

Reflections on the changes.

Reformations in the Government.

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Decem. 1687.

Theſe Retrenchments of expence in the *Seraglio* pleaſed the Soldiers wonderfully, hoping that thereby the more Money would be coming to them; and ſo they continued very obſervant and quiet, during all the time that the Money was paying out; but ſo ſoon as that began to fail and fall ſhort, they became as troubleſome as ever, aſſembling with great Inſolence at the Vizier's Houſe, threw Stones at his Windows, ſtorming and raging like Mad-men, until ſuch time as with fair words, and promiſes of Money within a few Days they were for a while appeaſed.

New Commotions.

Thus far had the Soldiery found the ways to raiſe Money; but now they being at a ſtand, it was the Vizier's turn to ſet on foot ſome new invention, or conjuration for more: But ſo empty and drained were all the great Banks, that no other way could be thought on, but only to go over the rich Men once more, and to ſqueeze them to the laſt Dreggs of all their Eſtates; to perform which they began with the old *Kuzlir Aga*, who obtained his Liberty upon payment of Nine hundred Purſes, in all, beſides his Furniture, and Curioſities which were taken from him to a great value; and after that he had the favour to be Baniſht to Grand *Cairo*: The *Haſnadar Aga*, who (as we have ſaid) ſucceeded him, was diſplaced, and paid Two hundred Purſes; and the *Aga* of the old *Seraglio* was made *Kuzlir Aga*; which Promotion was according to the ancient Methods, that every one ſhould riſe and ſucceed gradually, and favoured ſomething of a Reformation. But becauſe this new Tax would not reach the entire Sum required for the Soldiers Pay and Donative; they were forced to Coin out of Plate, and Silver and Gold taken off from the Horſes Furniture belonging to the *Seraglio* Two hundred Purſes in Gold, and Sixty in Silver; with which every one being ſatisfied, all was quiet and calm again, and the *Spahees* returned to their own Homes, leaving ſix of the Chief Mutiniers to remain behind at *Conſtantinople*. That is to ſay, one Chief

Mony wanting, but is found.

The Spahees go Home.

with two Aſſiſtants for the white Colours, and the like for the red; and Four hundred Captains called *Bolucbaſhees*, Two hundred for each Colour or Enſign; and theſe were appointed to hold the power in their Hands, which their Mutinies, and late Rebellions had gained for them.

The French deſire to engage the Turks *to them.*

About this time, the *Turks* propoſed at the inſtigation of the *French* Ambaſſador; to ſend a *Chiaus* into *France*, *England* and *Holland*, to acquaint thoſe Princes with the advancement of *Sultan Solyman* to the Throne of the *Ottoman* Emperors. The which Embaſſy, tho little deſired by the other Miniſters, being a Complement inſignificant in it ſelf, and which would only coſt Money and Trouble, was yet much preſſed by the *French*, who were then contriving to do ſomething extraordinary to engage the *Turk* in a ſtrict Alliance with them, being at that time reſolved to diſoblige, and enter into a War againſt the Emperor, and all the Princes of *Germany*. But by Troubles afterwards amongſt the *Turks* themſelves, and by the revived Spirits of Mutiny amongſt the Soldiery, their thoughts were ſo taken up with their Seditions, Forreign Enemies and other Misfortunes, that they thought it not ſo ſeaſonable to ſend ſuch triumphant Meſſages in the declenſion of their Affairs, as might have been in more happy and proſperous times. Howſoever the *French* Ambaſſador and Merchants at *Conſtantinople*, to evidence their good Affection to the Port, freely ſupplied the late *Selictar Aga*, now appointed Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, with two Ships to Tranſport him and his Equipage to *Alexandria*; and farther to oblige him, lent him in Money and Goods to the value of One hundred and fifty Purſes; for ſecurity of which, Pawns were given to remain aboard, until the Debt was ſatisfied.

The Vizier appears in publick.

And now the Grand Vizier began to appear in publick with the uſual Pomp and Equipage; he made his Viſit with great State to the *Mufti*; and daily held the *Divans* in the *Seraglio*, beſides thoſe at his own Houſe.

The Character of the new Grand Seignior.

The new Sultan had been ſo little a while in the Government, that he could not as yet give many Indications of his Temper; but as to what appeared of him at firſt, he ſeemed very devout, a ſtrict obſerver of his Law, and much addicted to reading, ſo that he could not ſhake off his habitual retiredneſs, nor enjoy the pleaſures of a Court, and of ſuch a Throne as anciently caſt off all the Cares of it, on the Vizier and other Miniſters; for he neither converſed with Women, nor took any publick Diverſion. In the mean time his depoſed Brother *Sultan Mahomet*, who had always uſed much Exerciſe, began by an unaccuſtomed Confinement to be tainted with the Scurvy; his Legs ſwelled, and gave Symptoms of the Dropſy. Wherefore he ſent to his Brother the preſent Sultan, deſiring that ſome Phyſitians might be permitted to come to him for his Cure. But grave *Solyman* returned him anſwer, That in caſe he ſhould allow that, and he miſcarry, the World would ſay, that he was an occaſion of his Death; ſo that in lieu of the Phyſitians he would pray to God for him, and he who ſent the Sickneſs could give him a Cure.

The Chriſtian Army draws into Winter-quarters.

Theſe civil Commotions and Mutinies amongſt the Soldiers were more dangerous to the *Ottoman* State, than all the Ruins, Defeats and Loſſes they had received from the Enemy; and gave the Imperialiſts an opportunity to act, and ſucceed in all their Enterprizes in *Hungary*, and march and rove with their Parties through the whole Country without oppoſition or controule: But the Seaſon of the year being too much advanced, it was thought time to draw the Armies into Winter-quarters, and to lodge them in the conquered Countries. Thus Count *Dunewalt* after he had fortified and ſecured the Caſtles, and Places which he had taken, quartered his Army at *Poſſega*, *Valkovar*, and other places bordering upon *Croatia*. Likewiſe the two Regiments of *Palfy* and *Staremberg*, which had lately been detached from the Duke of *Lorain's* Army, to attend the Emperor's ſervice at *Poſſonium*, on occaſion of the Coronation of *Joſeph* King of the *Romans*; joyned with ſome other *Hungarian* Troops near *Buda*, attacked in their way thither the Fortreſſes of *Ciocca* and *Palatta*, and took them; by which the Garriſon of *Alba Regalis* was much ſtreightned, and diſabled from making Incurſions ſo far as the *Danube*.

Quarters taken in Tranſilvania.

Apafi ſends Deputies to the Duke of Loraine.

The Duke of *Loraine* marching (as we have ſaid) towards *Tranſilvania*, reſolved to take Quarters for his Army in that fruitful Principality, as yet not much waſted with the War; and the better to prepare them, diſpatched away the Baron *Hunſchin* with full Commiſſion to Prince *Apafi* to Treat about the places, which might be aſſigned with moſt convenience for the Soldiery, and eaſe to the People. *Hunſchin* ſpeedily returned with advice, that he had been favourably received by *Apafi*, who having aſſembled ſeveral of his *Boyars*, or Noblemen together, had reſolved to ſend Deputies to the Duke of *Loraine*, giving him to underſtand, the great joy and ſatisfaction they had received by the happy Succeſſes of the Imperial Arms, by which they flattered themſelves ſo far, as to believe that they ſhould now be freed from the Tyranny and oppreſſion of the *Ottoman* Yoak, and that

as

1687. as a Teſtimony thereof, they had readily conſented to afford all the ſuccour and ſubſiſtence they were able to the maintenance of the Chriſtian Troops, during the whole Winter ſeaſon. But as to aſſign them places for Quarters within the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, they inſtantly deſired to be acquitted; in regard that ſuch a Conceſſion would greatly offend the Port, and lay them open to the Incurſions, and to the Fire and Sword both of the *Turks* and *Tartars*. To this Meſſage the Duke of *Loraine* made Anſwer in obliging, but yet in general Terms; and in the mean time the Army ſtill advanced without farther Treaty, it being well known that neither the *Turkiſh* Troops, nor thoſe of the Country were in a capacity to Diſpute their Paſſage; ſo that on the 11*th* of *October*, the Army arrived at *Salone*, the firſt Town of *Tranſilvania*, where after having without many queſtions or complements, put a Garriſon of about a Hundred Men into the place, they marched forward towards *Clanſembourg*: But on their way thither, the Duke of *Loraine* was met by three Deputies from the Prince and States, who repeated the ſame Offers, which had been related by Baron *Huntſchin* touching the Ammunition and Proviſions, with which they would furniſh the Troops; to which they added alſo an offer of ſome Money; but as to aſſigning places for Winter-quarters, it was a matter impoſſible, and of the moſt dangerous conſequence to them in the World; ſince that their Country lying open, and without defence, would thereby be expoſed to all the Hoſtilities, which the moſt barbarous and cruel Enemy in the World could execute. The Duke of *Loraine* finding that the Commiſſion of theſe Deputies extended no farther, than what they had declared; returned them back again with Count *Scherffemberg* and Baron *Falkenhem*, who were orordered to let Prince *Apaſi* know, that ſince he had refuſed to aſſign him Winter-quarters on fair Terms, he himſelf ſhould be conſtrained to point them out unto his Troops, and continue his March into the Bowels of his Country. The States of the Principality perceiving the Duke of *Loraine* to be in earneſt, and reſolved to obtain his Demands; were contented to grant him Quarters for a certain number, but that not ſuffiſing, he continued his March towards *Clanſembourg* or *Claudiopolis*, the chief City of that Country, and the place where the States of *Tranſilvania* did uſually Aſſemble. It is ſituate in a very fruitful Plain upon the little River of *Samos*; it is encompaſſed with very thick Walls, and the Houſes are very well Built; it is defended by an ancient Fortreſs; the Suburbs are ſo large and well peopled, that it ſeems to be another Town; the Inhabitants are both *Hungarians* and *Saxons*, who live in ſo good unity and correſpondence together, that both are equally capable of Offices and Places of Truſt in the Government. The Duke of *Loraine* ſo ſoon as he appeared before the Place, ſent to the Governour to provide Quarters in the Town for ſome of his Troops; but he excuſing it, and ſaying, that he could not do it without Orders from Prince *Apaſi*, immediately Count *Caprara* was ſent to let him know, that his Anſwer was not ſatisfactory, and that Orders were given to the Infantry to prepare all things neceſſary for making an Attack on the Town. Whereupon the Governour conſidering better of the matter, enter'd into a Treaty with the Duke of *Loraine*, who condeſcended to grant unto the Inhabitants theſe following Conditions. 1687.

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Offers made.

A Meſſage from Loraine.

Claudiopolis.

The Conditions with Claudiopolis.

That the Inhabitants ſhould enjoy a free Exerciſe of their Religion.

That the Magiſtrates and Citizens ſhould be maintained in their Liberties and Priviledges, and not be forced to pay any extraordinary Contributions.

That every Officer or Magiſtrate of the City, ſhould be exempt from giving Quarters to any Soldier in his own Houſe.

That what Forage and Subſiſtence ſhould be neceſſary for the Soldiery ſhould be furniſhed in Specie, and no Money exacted in lieu of the ſame: And that the Soldiers be forbidden under ſevere Penalties to commit any Diſorders, or Abuſe the People.

That thoſe Citizens who were unwilling to continue their Aboad in the City, but were deſirous to depart, might have Liberty ſo to do, and carry with them all their Goods and Moveables.

According to theſe Conditions the Garriſon of *Apaſi*, marched out at one Gate, whilſt Three thouſand of the Imperialiſts enter'd in at the other with Drums beating and Colours flying; and the Command of the Town was given to Count *Guy de Staremberg*, which a ſtrict Charge to puniſh moſt ſeverely all Inſolences of the Soldiers; the which was carefully obſerved, not only in that City, but alſo in all parts of *Tranſilvania* ſince their entrance into it.

The Duke of *Loraine* having for one day refreſhed the reſt of his Army in places without the Town, marched towards *Torrembourg*, which is another important Paſs in that Country, in which having left a Garriſon, he proceeded to *Weiſſembourg*, otherwiſe called *Alba Julia*, ſo named from the Empreſs *Julia*, Mother of *Marcus Aurelius*, and entred into it without any reſiſtance. The place is ſituate on the ſide of a Hill, from whence

The Duke of Loraine at Alba Julia.

1687. whence a vaſt Plain diſcovers it ſelf; it is reported to have been the ultimate Limit of the *Roman* Conqueſts on that ſide. Prince *Ragotzki* erected an Univerſity there, which was very flouriſhing and famous, conſidering the Country.

Zeben

Hermanſtadt, alias *Zeben*, followed the Example of the aforeſaid places: It is the Metropolis of the whole Province of *Saxons*, ſituate in a Plain full of Boggs and Marſhes, and no Hills near to command it; the Walls are very thick, and flanked with very great Baſtions.

And Beſtriſſa ſurrender.

Beſtriſſa, and all the other conſiderable Towns opened in like manner their Gates; ſo that now the whole Army being conveniently Quartered, the Duke of *Loraine* entred into a Treaty with Prince *Apaſi*, and the States of *Tranſilvania*, and concluded on theſe following Articles.

Articles agreed.

I. *That the Prince of* Tranſilvania, *his Children, and all perſons of his Houſhold, as alſo, all the Nobles, and in General, all the People of* Tranſilvania *may have liberty according to their Will and Pleaſure to go out of* Hermanſtadt, *or any other City or Town, and return again, as ſhall be moſt agreeable and expedient to or for their Affairs.*

II. *That the Prince, and* Michael Apaſi, *his Eldeſt Son, who is declared Succeſſor to his Father, ſhall both retain the ſame Power and Dignity with which the* Sultan *had inveſted them, and that the Principality ſhould be governed by them, and the Eſtates according to the known Laws and Cuſtoms of that Country.*

III. *That the Four Religions allowed in* Tranſilvania, *that is to ſay, the* Roman Catholicks, *the* Lutherans, *the* Calviniſts, *and the* Unitarians, *or* Socinians, *ſhall be permitted to exerciſe the Rites of their reſpective Religions, and to have Liberty of Conſcience equally indulged to them.*

IV. *That it ſhall not be permitted, on any pretence whatſoever, to moleſt the Prieſts, or the Miniſters of any of the aforeſaid Religions in the due exerciſe of their reſpective Rites and Ceremonies, nor diſturb their Schools, or Colleges, the which with all freedom and liberty ſhall be allowed, and permitted, and defended by the Authority and Power of the Emperor.*

V. *That the* Tranſilvanians *ſhall be ſupported, and maintained in their Civil Privileges, and Franchiſes.*

VI. *In caſe any Foreign Power ſhall invade, and attack the Country of* Tranſilvania, *the Imperialiſts ſhall uſe all their power to drive them thence and defend the Country: And the* Tranſilvanians *ſhall to that end enter into a defenſive alliance with them; the which ſhall by both Parties be confirmed upon Oath.* 1687.

VII. *The Imperial Troops which have their Winter-Quarters in Cities, Towns, or Villages, ſhall remain no longer therein, than until the Spring; when they ſhall be obliged to draw out of thoſe Quarters into the Field, that ſo they may be no longer a charge unto the ſeveral Cities and Countries.*

VIII. *That in caſe the Weather and Seaſon ſhould be ſuch, or ſome other cauſe intervene, that the Imperialiſts cannot conveniently draw out into the Field at the beginning of the Spring; there ſhall be an Article expreſly formed for this caſe; that ſo an amicable underſtanding may be continued between the Emperor and Prince* Apaſi.

IX. *That a General Act of Amneſty, or Oblivion ſhall paſs of all Outrages and Hoſtilities which have been committed on one ſide or the other, wherein all Strangers and Deſerters ſhall be included.*

X. *That the Burghers and Citizens ſhall be continued in their Privileges of guarding the Gates, and the Keys of the City ſhall be committed to the hands of the* Saxon *Conſuls; the which Gates notwithſtanding are to be ſhut and opened at all times when the Imperial Governor ſhall command.*

Theſe Articles being agreed, and concluded between the Duke of *Loraine*, and the Prince and Eſtates of *Tranſilvania*, and afterwards ratified by the Emperor, the Troops marched into their Winter-Quarters; and it was hoped, that *Moldavia*, and *Walachia* being Neighbouring Provinces, would follow the Example of the more powerful Principality.

The Imperial Court goes to Poſſonium.

This Year's Campaigne being thus gloriouſly ended, to the great and laſting Honour of the Emperor, and to the Welfare and Safety of the Empire, and of all *Germany*, and as we may juſtly ſay of all *Chriſtendom*; The Emperor, the Empreſs, the Arch-Duke, and the Arch-Ducheſs *Elizabeth* his Siſter on the 26*th* of *October* left *Vienna*, attended only with their ordinary Guards and Miniſters, and Officers of their Court, and began their Journey towards *Poſſonium*, at which place againſt this time, circular Letters had been ſent to convene a General Diet of the Nobles and States of *Hungary*.

This Auguſt Family were met on their way near that City by Two thouſand of the

Hungarian Nobility, all well mounted, with a ſplendid Equipage in the Plains of *Chitzé*, not far from *Poſſonium*; as alſo by two Imperial Regiments, which attended their Majeſties to the Gates of the City, where the Recorder met them; and having Complimented their Majeſties with a moſt florid Oration, offered the Keys of the City to the Emperor, in the Name of the People, who with loud Acclamations, and firing all the Cannon on the Walls, teſtified the Joy they conceived for the appearance of the moſt Auguſt and Illuſtrious Family.

Crown of Hungary *ſetled.*

The day following, after the Maſs was Celebrated, the Aſſembly of the States of *Hungary* were convened, where after divers Points were debated, all Difficulties were overcome, and agreed to the common ſatisfaction, and with the general conſent, That the Hereditary Succeſſion of that Kingdom ſhould deſcend to the Eldeſt Son of his *Ceſarean* Majeſty, and from him to all thoſe who ſhall ſpring, or be derived from him; and for default of Iſſue, in caſe that Line ſhould come to fail, (which God forbid) then the Crown ſhould deſcend unto the Family of the King of *Spain*.

The Ceremonies of Crowning the King of Hungary.

The day appointed for the Coronation being come, the Emperor and Empreſs, attended with a Noble and an Illuſtrious Train came to the Temple of St. *Martin*, where the Ceremony was to be performed, and at the Gate thereof were met by the Archbiſhop of *Strigonium*, Primate of that Kingdom, aſſiſted by all the Biſhops, who were Twelve in Number, beſides Fourteen Priors, and Abbots, clothed in their Pontifical and Canonical Habits, who with the Sound of all ſorts of Muſical Inſtruments, conducted their Imperial Majeſties, habited in their ſacred Garments, wearing their Crowns, attended with a moſt pompous Train, and with all the Signals of Empire unto the Altar, and there ſeated them on their Thrones.

After which the Biſhops and other Prelates returned to receive the new King; before whom firſt marched the Heralds of the Kingdom of *Hungary* in their Coats: After them followed the Guards, next went the Lacquies and Pages, all clothed in new Liveries; theſe were followed by the Biſhops and Chief Officers of that Kingdom, with Ten *Hungarian* Knights, each carrying a Standard in his hand, repreſenting the Ten Kingdoms anciently appertaining to the vaſt Dominion of *Hungary*.

After all which came the King clothed in the *Hungarian* Habit accompanied with Prince *Eſterhaſy* the Palatine, and the Counts *Stephen Ciaky*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Nicholas Erdeody* Ban or Prince of the Kingdom of *Croatia*, *John Draſcoviz*, Steward of the Royal Houſhold, and *Adam Zrini*, Marſhal of the Kingdom; the King himſelf being between Two Biſhops, was conducted to the Throne prepared for him, not far from the High Altar, at which Maſs was Celebrated by the Archbiſhop of *Strigonium*, Lord Primate of *Hungary*; the which being ended, all the Nobility did Homage to the King; who having made profeſſion of his Faith before the Altar, he was Bleſſed and Conſecrated by the Archbiſhop, and Anointed in the Palm of his Right-hand, on his Arm, and Shoulders; and then the Palatine holding up the Crown in his hand, asked them with a loud Voice, ſaying, *Coronabimus Joſephum Archiducem Auſtriæ in Regem Hungariæ?* which is, Shall we Crown *Joſeph* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria* King of the *Romans?* which being done Three times, and anſwer made as often *Coronetur*, or let him be Crowned; the Crown was delivered by the Palatine to the Archbiſhop, who ſet it on his Head, and was clothed by him with the Royal Mantle of St. *Stephen*: Then was the Sword delivered to one Hand, and the Scepter to the other; and thus being adorned with all the Enſigns of Majeſty, he was Proclaimed King with the ſound of Drums, Trumpets, Acclamations of the People, and all ſorts of Muſick, the Cannon being at the ſame time Fired round the Walls, and in the Fortreſſes. Then was the King conducted again to his Throne, and *Te Deum* ſung: In the mean time the Maſs was continued by the Archbiſhop, who being come to the Goſpel, the Emperor himſelf aroſe, and taking the Scepter in his Right Hand, and the Globe in his Left, he held the ſame in that manner, until the Goſpel was ended, and then the Young King received the Sacrament.

All the Ceremonies being ended, the King deſcended from his Throne, and walked in Proceſſion, habited in his Royal Garments, the Biſhops, and all the Orders of State marching before him, to the Church of the *Franciſcans* diſcalced, all the Streets being hung with White, and Red, and Green Cloth, and crouded with an infinite Number of Spectators. Being come into the Monaſtery, ſeveral Ceremonies were performed, and the King having conferred the Honour of Knighthood on divers Gentlemen, he was entertained with a Dinner, and ſome Refreſhments, after the Solemnities of Four hours, in the Refectory of the Convent. After which the King mounted on Horſe-back, and being attended with a Noble Cavalcade of moſt of the Nobility of the Kingdom, and always accompanied by the Prince of *Salm*, his Tutor, under Title of Lord High Steward of his Houſhold; he was conducted through the Gate of St. *Michael*, to a Theatre erected againſt the Monaſtery called the Brethren

1687. of Mercy, on which the King aſcended; and being Seated under a Canopy, all the Guns from the Walls of the City and Fortreſſes were Fired; and then the King in the face of all the People, took an Oath to conſerve all the Privileges of that Kingdom, as lately agreed by the Eſtates in ſeveral particulars. After which the Palatine turning to the People, cried with a loud Voice, *Vivat Rex Hungariæ.* Then the King deſcended, and went in like manner as before, to another Theatre raiſed on a little Hill near the Fiſh-gate; where unſheathing his Sword, he therewith made Four Croſſes towards the Four Quarters of the World, as a Signal that therewith he would Fight againſt all the Enemies of that Kingdom, and of the moſt Auguſt Houſe of *Auſtria.* After which the King deſcended, followed by the Lord High Chamberlain of the Mountain Cities; and Baron *Viechten*, of the Emperor's Privy-Council, who ſcattered Money amongſt the People; and being entred within the Caſtle, all the Canon were Fired; and the King diſmounting from his Horſe, was attended to the Emperor's Apartments with a ſplendid Train of the Nobility and Gentry; and being thence conducted to the Imperial Hall, he was entertained there with incomparable Muſick both Vocal and Inſtrumental, and with a Sumptuous and Royal Banquet; where alſo all the Prelates, Grandees, and Strangers were treated at Eighty ſeveral Magnificent Tables. After which, the Solemnities and Triumphs of the day were ended with great Joy, Honour, and Satisfaction. And now in this place it is worthy our Obſervation, that whilſt the *Germans* were employed in the Exaltation of *Joſeph*, the Arch-Duke, to the Throne of the Kingdom of *Hungary*; the *Turks* were on the other ſide buſy in pulling down, and depoſing *Mahomet* their *Sultan*, and in his place, raiſing and ſetting up his Brother *Solyman* to be their Lord and Emperor.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the Blocade of *Agria* continued, and the place greatly ſtraitned by Marqueſs *Doria*. And the Duke of *Loraine* having agreed all things with the Prince and Eſtates of *Tranſilvania*, and ſetled and ſecured his Army in their Winter-Quarters, found a vacancy to abſent himſelf from the Camp, and eaſe his mind after the troubles of a long and hazardous Campaigne: Accordingly the Duke in company with the Marqueſs of *Baden Durlach*, took his Journey towards the Imperial Court, and in his way viſited Marqueſs *Doria*; and taking a ſurvey of the Blocade of *Agria*, gave ſuch Orders therein, as were moſt convenient to force a ſpeedy ſurrender of the place; and thence proceeding to *Poſſonium*, he was there received by his Imperial Majeſty, with ſuch Honours and gracious Expreſſions, as befitted the Worth and Merit of ſo brave and fortunate a General. And having remained ſome few days at this place, he took his leave of the Emperor, and his Journey to *Inſprug*, being all the way honoured with the Praiſes, Acclamations, and Bleſſings of the People. 1687.

In the mean time *Agria* being miſerably ſtraitned for want of Victuals, many died, and others to avoid Famine, abandoned the Town, and fled privately to other places: Thoſe which remained within, grew deſperate of all relief: For *Tekely* had promiſed them Succours, and in purſuance thereof intended to paſs the *Tibiſcus*; but meeting there with ſome Forces under Count *Sarau*, was forced to retire, leaving *Agria* to its own Fate: Of which the People having Information, they all aroſe, and with one conſent laying before the Paſha their miſeries, in which they muſt (if not prevented) in a ſhort time inevitably periſh, they conſtrained him to propoſe a Treaty, and ſend Two Hoſtages to the Imperial Camp; which being accordingly done, the Marqueſs of *Doria* accepted them, and in exchange thereof ſent Two others to the City. The Articles were eaſily agreed, but not ſo ſoon executed; for the Paſha out of an unneceſſary caution, required that the Capitulations ſhould be confirmed by the Hand of the Emperor; in compliance with which demand, Marqueſs *Doria* diſpatched Count *Anthony* of *Lamberg*, a *Carinthian* Gentleman, with an Aga, to make tender of the Articles to the Emperor; the which having been examined, were Approved, Confirmed, and Signed by his Imperial Majeſty.

The Articles being returned with their Confirmation, and the Writings of Treaty exchanged, Count *Marſigli* with a Commiſſary of the Artillery, was ſent into the Town, that with his uſual Zeal, and dexterous Management of Affairs, which he had evidenced in ſeveral occaſions in the Emperor's Service, he might take notice of the ſtate of the place, and the Proviſions belonging to it. The Count being entred into the Gates, was received kindly by the People, and with much faithfulneſs was ſhewed all the Magazines, Stores, and Ammunition of the place. We muſt not expect to receive any account of Victuals, for thoſe were long ſince conſumed; but as to Ammunition, there were Twenty thouſand Cannon-Bullets remaining, of which Four Thouſand were for Whole Cannon; One Thouſand hundred Weight of Powder, Twenty thouſand Hand-Granadoes, beſides great quantities of Bombs and Carcaſſes, many thouſands of Match, One hundred and Ten Pieces of Cannon, five Mortar Pieces,

1687. and nine Mines and Countermines; notwithſtanding all which, Famine being a ſtronger Enemy within, than all the Troops and Forces were without; on the 16*th* of *December* the City was ſurrender'd, and according to the Capitulations, Carts were provided, and the Soldiers and Inhabitants with their Women and Children, and with their Goods and Baggage were permitted to March out; and then *Ruſſan* the *Paſha* deliver'd up the Keys of the City, Caſtle and Magazines, to the Hand of General *Caraffa*, who at the Head of the Imperial Troops ranged in good order, ſtood ready to receive them. Then the General conducted the *Paſha* to his Tent, and there treated him with a very ſumptuous Dinner; after which he preſented him with ſeveral fine Horſes, and two Carts laden with Refreſhments. Various diſcourſes having paſſed between them, at length *Ruſſan Paſha* taking his leave, ſaid theſe words, *Into your Hands, as Commiſſioner for the Emperor of the* Romans *I ſurrender this City without Blood; for having endured a Famine of ſeven Months without Bread, I could hold it out no longer, but am forced to give up a place, which one of my Emperors took with his own Hands; wherefore do you give God thanks; for this and all other Succeſſes are from the appointment, and diſpoſition of the moſt High.*

General Caraffa *trea's the* Paſha *of* Agria.

All the Garriſon, with Men, Women and Children, which marched out, were Three thouſand five hundred; about Six hundred remained in the place and ſubmitted to the Imperial Sovereignty. It was ſad to hear the Miſeries of thoſe People recounted, who had for ſeveral Months lived on nothing but boyled Herbs; and if a piece of Horſe-fleſh could have been purchaſed with Gold, to dreſs and put in the Pot with them, it would have been a Feaſt for ſeveral Days. The conſtancy of this People in their ſufferings cannot be ſufficiently expreſſed; ſo that as the Blocade it ſelf was the moſt famous of any in our Age, ſo the Surrender of the place was of high importance; for Thirteen Counties depended thereon, and the Emperor thereby became abſolute Maſter of all that Country, which lies between the *Danube* and the *Tibiſcus*; and laid *Mongatz* open and expoſed to greater danger, which was already blocked up by Forces quarter'd round the place. Thus having finiſhed the relation of this year's Wars in *Hungary*, it will be pertinent to our Hiſtory to paſs over into the *Morea*, and there take a Survey of that Country, and recount the Exploits and Atchievements, performed there this year by the *Venetian* Arms.

The advantage of taking Agria.

1687. At the beginning of this Year, the Senate ordained three days of ſolemn Devotion to implore the Divine Bleſſing on the Arms of that Republick, which was performed with many Proceſſions, expence of Lamps and Wax; and with many Vows and Prayers of the People. So ſoon as the Seaſon became Ripe and fit for Action, it was reſolved by the Captain General, the Cavalier *Francis Moroſini*, with the Univerſal conſent of all the Commanders at a Council of War held the 21*ſt* of *July*, to enter the River of *Patras*, and accordingly the whole Fleet, with the Veſſels which tranſported the Land Forces, Proviſions and Ammunition looſed from *Glimino* on the 20*th* of *July*, and made a glorious appearance in thoſe Seas, being compoſed of Twenty ſix Gallies, ſix Galeaſſes, beſides Eighty ſeven Veſſels of other ſorts; that is to ſay, Ships, Pinks, Petaches and ſuch like, who were all Commanded by the Governour *Zaguri*. This Fleet Sailing all that Night with a proſperous Gale, on the 21*ſt* in the Morning came in ſight of the Caſtles and Fortreſs of *Patras*; at appearance of which the *Turks* being much alarum'd came down in great numbers, and pitched their Tents, ſome on the Top of a Hill, and others on the ſide of the main Caſtle. The better to diſcover the State and Condition of the Turkiſh Camp, the lighter Veſſels were Commanded to Coaſt along the Shoar, by which and by ſome Spies it was known, and adviſed in what manner their whole Camp was diſpoſed; a Detachment of which under ſhelter of a Trench, which they had thrown up, fired many Vollies of Small-ſhot againſt the Veſſels which coaſted along the Shoar; but proceeded no farther to annoy their Enemies than unto the end of their Line; which when the Captain General obſerved, and the difficulty of Landing near thoſe places, he enter'd into the River of *Rumelia*, which in like manner he found to be guarded by great numbers of *Turks*, and a Trench like the former caſt up near the Caſtle. The General *Koniſmark* (of whom with due Honour we have made mention in the Tranſactions of the laſt year, was embarked on the Admiral Gally with the Captain General, to have the better convenience to conſult and confer together) was of Opinion, that notwithſtanding all the Preparations the *Turks* had made near the Caſtle, and that the *Seraskier* of the *Morea* was encamped near the Town of *Patras*, and two other Paſhas not far diſtant from thence, and the Banks along Guarded by Parapets or Breaſt-works; yet, that the moſt fit and commodious place to Land, was in the River of *Patras* it ſelf; which being agreed, the Troops were diſpoſed in an extraordinary manner of Military Diſcipline, and order'd ſpeedily to Land, which was done with great Reſolution. The firſt to ſet Foot on the Shoar were the *Germans*, who were on

1687. *Prayers at* Venice *for Succeſs.*

The Venetian *Armado Sail to* Patras.

The Turks *Trenches.*

The Chriſtians land.

1687. followed by all the other Troops, without any hindrance, or obſtruction from the Enemy at their Landing; becauſe the place being in ſome manner guarded and defended by a Moraſs, or Wet-ground, the *Turks* thought themſelves on ſome kind of diſadvantage, in caſe of an Attack.

The Turks *Retreat.*

Some Gallies paſs the Caſtles.

The Troops being landed, and drawn up in Battalia, the *Germans* led the Van, and marching with great bravery to the Right, were charged by a ſtrong Detachment of the *Turks*; whom they received with ſuch Vigour, that they cauſed them to Retreat, and afterwards betake themſelves to a ſhameful Flight. This firſt ſtep being thus fortunately begun, gave Courage to the Chriſtians, and Reſolution to the Captain General *Moroſini*, to fall on the Seraskier in his Camp before he was reinforced by more Troops, which daily joyned with him. At firſt landing all the *Venetian* Army conſiſted of no more than Nine thouſand Foot, and Thirteen hundred Horſe; thoſe Forces having been much diminiſhed by the Fatigues of the laſt year, and the Sickneſs of their Winter-Quarters, but now being recruited by great numbers of *Levents* and *Greeks*, who as Volontiers came over from *Zant* and *Ceſalonia*, the Army became numerous and capable to undertake any Enterprize. But to facilitate the Deſigns; it was adjudged neceſſary to cut off all Communication between the Caſtles; the which was no ſooner ordered than put in Execution, by the entrance of divers Gallies, which by favour of the Night adventured to paſs the *Dardanelli*, or narrow Paſſages into the bottom of the Gulf, without any other hurt or loſs, than of four or five Men at the Oars by a Cannon-ſhot; the which Gallies were followed by a Galleot and three Felucas, Commanded by *Magnar*, a Knight of *Malta*. This unexpected appearance of the *Venetian* Colours within the *Dardanelli*, as it ſtruck a great Terror and Amazement to the *Turks*, being a Streight which they thought impoſſible to be paſſed by any Veſſel whatſoever; ſo it gave the Chriſtians a Reſolution to Attack the Seraskier, who according to a Report of certain Priſoners taken in a Boat paſſing from the *Morea* to *Rumelia* ſide, lay not far off encamped with an Army of 10.000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe; and that a Reſerve of 5000 Foot more, and 1000 Horſe lay quartered about five *Italian* Miles from thence. The Gallies within the Gulf made great Triumph with their Flags and Streamers; and made themſelves Maſters of Fourteen Galiots or Brigantines, which had long ſerved for Capers or Picaroons, to Rob and Plunder in thoſe Seas. This Succeſs enlivening the Spirits of the Chriſtians, it was reſolved at a Council of War, to March by the ſide of the Hill to attempt the Seraskier's Camp, as a way the leaſt incommoded by the Enemy's Cannon; and where was place ſufficient to draw up the Battalions in good order.

1687.

Koniſmark *draws up the Army.*

In purſuance of this Reſolution on the 24th of *July* by break of day, General *Koniſmark* drew up the Army, and diſpoſed them in order of Battle, and advanced boldly on the Enemy, who conſiſted of Ten thouſand Foot and Four thouſand Horſe: And in the mean time the Captain General with ſome light Veſſels directed the Galeaſſes, to deſtroy a Battery of the Enemy erected near the Sea-ſide; and to drive out of a Trench two Troops of *Turkiſh* Horſe, a Marine Regiment was landed under Command of Captain *Negro*, who in a ſhort time made themſelves Maſters of the Battery, on which were divers Pieces of Cannon, two whereof were of Braſs.

A Fight.

The Seraskier enraged at the loſs of theſe places, and ſeeing the Enemies Troops advance upon him, feared to be aſſaulted in the Rear, or ſurprized in their Trenches; to prevent which, he made a Detachment of ſome of his beſt Troops to meet the Enemy and Skirmiſh with them; in which Action thô the *Turks* ſeemingly ſhewed Reſolution; yet they did it in that looſe manner, running at firſt as it were on the Face of the Enemy, and then turning their Backs, as if they deſigned thereby to diſturb the good Order of the Chriſtians; who ſtill maintained and kept their Ranks with a Regular ſteddineſs, and ſtill advanced forward to come unto their deſired Engagement. At length about three a Clock in the After-noon the *Turks* began to Skirmiſh with a Battalion Commanded by Colonel *Ceclina*, who ſo well behaved themſelves, that they put the Enemy to Flight: Which when the Seraskier obſerved, he gave out the Signal for the whole Army to Engage, and to Charge the Chriſtians both in the Front and in the Flank, truſting to his Troops, which were much Superiour in number to their Enemies. Their firſt attack was with the uſual Cry of *Alah*, *Alah*, accompanied with the Vollies of all their Small-ſhot, after which they fell furiouſly on with their Scemyters in their Hands. The firſt Fire was received and ſuſtained by the *Germans*, flanked by the *Croatian* Cavalry of the left Wing, without moving the leaſt Step backwards, and particularly by the old *Veterane* Regiments of *Brunſwick*, who according to their uſual Bravery, repulſed the Enemy with continued Vollies of Shot; and the Cavalry under Command of that renowed Captain the Marquis of *Corbon*, ſo vigorouſly ſeconded the Foot, that the *Turks* began to give Way and Retreat, and ſoon afterwards to betake themſelves to a ſhameful Flight.

The Turks defeated.

Chriſtians were very eager to purſue the flying Enemy, but the General *Koniſmark* ſuſpecting ſome treacherous Ambuſcade, gave a ſtop to the Valiant Heat of his Army.

At the ſame time, the Captain General took this opportunity to Command Captain *Negro* with his Battalions to advance to the bottom of the Gulf of *Lepanto*, from whence all the Forces both of the Fleet, and the Land Soldiers giving a loud Shout, put the *Turks* into ſuch a Conſternation, that they abandoned all their Works raiſed at the bottom of the Gulf; and giving Fire firſt to their Magazine of Powder and Ammunition, they followed the Example of their flying Seraſkier or General.

Patras *taken.*

In this manner by the Bleſſing of the Divine Providence, this ſtrong Fortreſs of *Patras* fell into the Hands of the *Venetians*, which in former times had withſtood numerous Armies of the *Turks*. In ancient days *Emanuel* Emperor of the *Greeks*, finding himſelf not in a Condition to defend this place againſt the proſperous, and the then ſucceſsful Arms of the *Turks*, reſigned it into the Hands of the *Venetians* to be defended by them, who ſo well fortified the place with ſuch Works and Cannon, that the *Turks* laying Siege thereunto in the year 1465, were able to avail nothing; but afterwards returning with a more powerful and invincible Army in the year 1496, and laying Siege to the place; after a long and valorous defence was forced to yield it ſelf to the power of the *Turk*, in whoſe Hands it hath ever remained, until this year of 1687, when it yielded it ſelf to the Victorious Arms of the Evangeliſt St. *Mark*.

Mahomet Paſha *put to Flight.*

The Fort of Lepanto *battered.*

The Seraſkier Flies to Corinth.

So ſoon as the News hereof came to the knowledge of the Captain General, he immediately weighed Anchor, and by break of Day in the Morning, Sailed with his whole Fleet under the Caſtle of *Rumelia*, where he found *Mahomet Paſha* Encamped with Six thouſand Men. This Surprize was ſo ſudden, that the *Turks* having no time to conſult, or ſend for other Succours or Auxiliaries, with great Precipitation betook themſelves to a ſhameful Flight, giving Fire in the firſt place to all their Magazine of Powder, the force of which ſhook down a great part of that Wall which looks towards the Sea. Upon theſe Succeſſes, the Captain General following the Air of his good Fortune, Commanded all the Fleet to bring their Chaſe-guns on the Head of their Ships and Gallies, to bear on the Fortreſs of *Lepanto*, which was a moſt admirable Structure, and ſo ſtrong, that in ancient times it had ruined thoſe Armies and Fleets, which had made Attacks upon it: But now the Fortune of the *Turks* being changed; and therewith their Spirits ſunk and grown low, they were not able to ſuſtain the ſhot of the *Venetians*; but taking whatſoever with them, that they could carry on their Backs and Shoulders, they abandoned the place, leaving a free acceſs and entrance thereinto at the pleaſure and will of their Enemies: Thus did the *Venetians* in leſs than Twenty four hours time, erect their Flag on four ſeveral ſtrong Fortreſſes, with little damage on their ſide, but with conſiderable ſlaughter of the *Turks*, and loſs of the greateſt part of the Baggage, Ammunition and Tents in their Camp; from whence the Seraſkier marched with great fear and haſt to *Corinth*. In theſe four places the *Venetians* took Sixty Pieces of Cannon, moſt of them of Braſs, with eight Pieces in the Camp of the Seraſkier, and other ſix from the Camp of *Muſtapha Paſha*, with great Stores of Proviſions of all ſorts. The News of this happy Succeſs was diſpatched to *Venice* with all diligence by Sergeant Major *Nicolo Roſſi*, who embarked on a Feluca belonging to the State, and happily arrived at that City on a Sunday, whilſt the Grand Counſel of ten were actually Sitting; The Letters from the Captain General being opened and Read, giving a diſtinct Account of the Bleſſings of Heaven on the *Venetian* Arms, it pleaſed the Senate to give immediate Order, that ſolemn Thanks ſhould be render'd to God Almighty in all places of publick Devotion, for his Benedictions and gracious Deliverances: And accordingly his Serene Highneſs the *Doge*, aſſiſted by all the Ambaſſadors and Senators, and Magiſtrates in their purple Robes, deſcended into the *Ducal* Chappel of St. *Mark*, where *Te Deum* was ſolemnly Sung with moſt excellent Harmony, and Muſick of all ſorts of Inſtruments, with firing the Guns, ringing of Bells, and ſeveral other Expreſſions of Joy and Triumph; the which Feſtival of Joy continued for the ſpace of three Days.

Rejoycings at Venice.

Rewards given to the Generals.

Theſe Demonſtrations of publick Joy being concluded, the Senate which hath been always munificent in their Gifts and Honours unto thoſe, who have rendered Services to their Republick, were pleaſed in the High Counſel of the *Pregadi*, to ordain, that to the eternal Memory of the glorious Triumphs of the Captain General *Franceſco Moroſini*, that the Horſe-tails and Standards, which are the *Opima Spolia*, or Royal Spoils, taken from the Seraſkier or Turkiſh General in the Field, ſhould be placed in the *Senatorian Chamber*: And that a Statue of Braſs repreſenting the Perſon of *Moroſini* ſhould be erected, with ſuch an Inſcription as might conſerve the Glory of his Name to all Ages. The term of time in which Count *Koniſmark* was to exerciſe the Office of General, was enlarged for ſeven years, beyond the time ſpecified in his Patent, with an Augmentation of Six thouſand Ducats to his ordinary Stipend, ſo that for the ſeven years to come, he was to receive Twenty four thouſand Ducats a year; To the Prince of *Brunſwick* a Jewel was ordained of Four thouſand Ducats; To the Prince of *Savoy* a Sword was appointed, with a Hilt ſet with precious Stones, to the value of Twenty four hundred Ducats; To Marquis *Corbon* Eight hundred Ducats a year were allotted, as an Addition to his former Salary: All, or moſt of the other General Officers were gratified with Preſents, agreeable to their quality; and ſuch as were *Venetians* were promoted to Offices, and places of Truſt in the State, and ſome to the *Patrician* Dignity.

The Turks *Fly out of the* Morea.

Thus whilſt all things were Triumphant at *Venice*, the *Morea* was filled with Slaughter and Conſternation of the *Turks*, who terrified with the entire Defeat and Flight of the Seraskier, and the Surrender of *Lepanto*, *Patras*, and two other Caſtles of conſiderable Force, reſolved to give way to Fortune, and to quit and abandon the Kingdom of *Morea*. For indeed, the loſs which the *Turks* had ſuſtained, was far greater than it was computed at firſt; for beſides thoſe which were Slain in the Field of Battle, above Two thouſand were found dead in the High-ways, in Ditches and under Rocks: And divers Soldiers Adventurers, who to get many Slaves, were ſo bold as to Rove about in the Country, reported, that in the Fields and Villages, every where they met with dead Bodies and wounded Men. To purſue this Victory, and follow the Foot-ſteps of Fortune, which ſo fairly preſented it ſelf, the Captain General leaving the great Veſſels of his Fleet at the two Caſtles of *Rumelia* and *Lepanto*, enter'd farther into the Gulf of *Lepanto* with his lighter Gallies, and coaſting along by the Land-ſide, he ſo affrighted the *Turks*, that carrying away with them what Goods were portable, they followed the Foot-ſteps of their flying Army. And being mad and enraged to leave their native Soil, they carried away with them whole Families of Chriſtians into Slavery: But the Peaſants or Country People alarumed hereat, and encouraged by the Succeſſes of the Chriſtians, aroſe in Arms againſt them, and recovered back the greateſt part of their Wives and Children, as they were leading them into Captivity, killing and taking many of the Fugitives. The Noiſe hereof ſerved ſtill to amaze and confound the *Turks*; ſo that *Muſtapha Paſha* fled with all Precipitation without ſo much as being purſued by the Enemy, taking his March towards *Salona*, not far from which place he encounter'd with *Iſhmael Paſha*, who had with him a Thouſand Soldiers, which he brought from *Salonica*, alias *Theſſalonica*. Theſe two Commanders with fear, and uncertainty what to act, remained ſome days at *Salona*; for conſidering that in caſe they ſhould remain there, they ſhould lie expoſed to the Attack of the Enemy; and then in caſe they ſhould march and joyn with the Seraskier at *Corinth*, they were in danger of being ſtrangled by him, for having been ſo tardy in their March, and ſo backward in coming to his aſſiſtance, wherefore they took a Reſolution to become a Convoy to thoſe Families of *Turks*, who in great numbers with Women and Children had quitted the *Morea*, and were going to plant themſelves in the upper parts of *Greece*.

Muſtapha Paſha *Flies to* Salona.

The Venetians *Anchor before* Corinth.

In the mean time the Captain General Sailing with Victorious Arms, and a proſperous Gale by the Shoar of the Gulf of *Lepanto*, came in a ſhort time to take a full view and proſpect of the ancient City of *Corinth*; in the Road of which they came to an Anchor with all their Fleet of Gallies and Galeots: But becauſe that Gulf is commonly ſubject to bad and tempeſtuous Weather, and the Navigation in thoſe Seas very dangerous, there being no Port on the *Morea* ſide within a Hundred Miles; and on the other, no ſhelter beſides a ſmall Nook or Creek, which is narrow and not capable to receive many Veſſels, and the Water ſhallow; therefore the Captain General proceeding with due caution according to Military diſcipline, diſpeeded ſome of his lighter Veſſels to Fathom the depth of the Waters, and to take a ſurvey of the State, and Condition of the Enemies Camp.

The Turks *burn and abandon* Corinth.

The affrighted *Turks* ſeeing the *Venetian* Fleet in the Road of *Corinth*, did of their own accord ſet Fire to all the Villages and Houſes round about, and alſo to the Town it ſelf, blowing up all the Ammunition, and deſtroying the Proviſions which they could not carry with them; and ſo quitted and abandoned that anciently famous City, leaving it a Prey to their Enemies at a cheep rate, without the leaſt drop of Blood; and thence poſſeſſed with a Panick fear marched away to *Thebes*, there to make their place of Rendezvous for their ſcattered Troops to unite.

The Captain General being informed that the *Turks* had deſerted the City, or Village rather (as it now remains) and reduced as much as they could of it unto Aſhes, returned with all ſpeed imaginable to the Caſtles of *Rumelia* and *Morea*, where he had left the moſt conſiderable part of his Forces encamped, as alſo ſome Gallies and Veſſels belonging to his Fleet: And there taking aboard the greateſt part of the Infantry, whilſt the Cavalry marched by Land, with ſome Regiments of Foot under the Command

1687.

The Chriſtians take poſſeſſion of the place.

A deſcription of Corinth.

mand of Count *Koniſmark*, they all came to joyn near the Town of *Corinth*; and thence in order of Battle took poſſeſſion of the place, where they ſcarce found a Houſe, or Lodging wherein to cover or ſhelter themſelves; ſuch havock and deſtruction had the *Turks* made of every thing beſides the Walls. The Gates alſo of the Fortreſs were found open, and an eaſy entrance thereinto; which being poſſeſſed by the Companies of Colonel *Bonetti*, and Count *Vertoua*, the Standard of St. *Mark* was diſplaid on the Walls. The City of *Corinth* was anciently the Metropolis of all *Achaia*; and therefore called by *Lucius Florus Achaiæ Caput, & Greciæ Decus*: After it had fallen under the Government of the *Roman* Commonwealth, many Battles were fought near the Walls of that City, under the Command of ſeveral Generals, ſuch as *Critolzus*, *Metellus* and *Mummius*. The *Corinthian* Braſs is famous over all the World, for the admirable mixture of it with divers other Mettles, amongſt which there was ſome proportion of Gold which enter'd into the Compoſition. The Art of making this Braſs is now entirely loſt, and the quantity thereof not much at preſent in the World; for all the ancient Statues of famous Men of *Greece*, erected at *Corinth* of this ſort of Braſs, were by Wars and Alterations in the State melted down and carried to *Rome*, which afterwards being worked into Plates, ſerved to cover the Roof of the *Pantheon*, now called the *Rotondo* at *Rome*; and thence by order of the *Barberini* were ripped off, and an Altar made thereof conſecrated to St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, in the great *Baſilicon* of St. *Peter*; the Over-plus of which was turned into a Cannon, and placed in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*; which gave occaſion to that ſaying, *Quod non fecerunt Babari, fecerunt Barberini*.

The Situation of *Corinth* is in a rich and fertile Country, and in a ſweet Air, and ſo near the Sea, that it enjoyed the benefit and uſe of all the Elements, rendring it a place of Plenty and Luxury, which gave occaſion to that ſaying, *Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum*. Near this place is the Mount *Parnaſſus*, and the Fountain of *Helicon*. From the *Romans Corinth* deſcended to the *Grecian* Emperors, one of which called *Emanuel*, over-threw *Roger* King of *Naples*, who invaded the Countries near *Corinth*. Not long afterwards the Deſpots of *Greece* yielded it up to the Republick of *Venice*, who defended it for ſome years, until overpowred with the force and numbers of *Mahomet* the Second, were at length compelled to give it up to his Tyranny: Since which time it hath ever remained in the Hands of the *Turks*, until this year of 1687, when God favouring the Chriſtian Arms in this, as well, as in other parts, was pleaſed to reſtore this City to the *Venetians*, the ancient Lords and Poſſeſſors of it.

1687.

The Albanians *fall on the* Turks.

The *Albanians* encouraged with theſe Succeſſes, and the Flight of the *Turks*, purſued after them, and falling on their Rear ſeized on their Baggage, and all their Beaſts of Burden, ſuch as Horſes, Camels, Mules and Aſſes; carrying away Men, Women and Children Captives, with great Droves of Cattle to the City of *Megara*.

Caſtle Tornese *Surrenders.*

Theſe happy events were followed by the Surrender of Caſtle *Torneſe*, at the firſt Summons made by Captain *Negro*, upon no other Conditions than that they ſhould ſave their Lives, and have Licenſe to carry away all their Goods and Baggage, which was freely granted to them, with Veſſels to Tranſport them to *Smyrna*. But before their departure, about an Hundred and fifty *Turks*, Inhabitants of that Caſtle, voluntarily declared themſelves Chriſtians, and were deſirous of being Baptized; amongſt theſe were many Families of the *Gaſtuni*, who having a Territory of their own, containing ſome Hundred of Houſes and Cottages, deſired all to be received into the Boſom of the Chriſtian Church; all which were in a Solemn manner Baptized together; to the great Confuſion and Diſpleaſure of the *Mahometan* Profeſſors.

1687.

Several other Towns ſubmit.

As alſo Salona.

The Report of theſe Succeſſes, with the appearance of ſo great a Fleet at *Corinth*, ſtruck all the Inhabitants of the *Morea* with ſuch Terrour and Conſternation, that they voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to the *Venetian* Government; as namely *Miſitra*, *Saritenea*, *Idrapolica*, all which places were abandoned by the *Turks*: Only *Salona*, a Town well peopled, and Situate in a rich Soyl, which lies within a ſmall Gulf ſo called, ſent two *Turks* to the Captain General to offer a Tribute to him, provided they might live under their own Laws and Government; but this ſeeming a ridiculous Propoſition under their preſent Circumſtances, it was abſolutely rejected: Whereupon the rich and ruling *Turks* of the City, with fear and precipitation removed their Goods and Families and Fled; and the City yielded it ſelf to the power, and under the ſubjection of the Conquerour: And ſo ſucceſſfully had all things proceeded through the courſe of this Campain, that beſides the Cities gained with very little Blood, as before related, Three hundred Pieces of Cannon, moſt of Braſs were added to the publick Stock; beſides Thouſands of Slaves, Ammunition and Proviſions. All things thus falling at the Feet of the *Venetians*, the Land Army both of Horſe and Foot encamped near *Corinth*, under Command of Count *Coniſmark*, whilſt the Captain General with

1687. the greateſt part of the Armado coaſted round the *Morea*, to viſit, and ſtrengthen the places newly reduced, and eſpecially thoſe parts which are bordering on the Gulf of *Egena*. In the mean time many Families of *Greece*, which had for a long time been oppreſſed by the Tyranny of the *Turkiſh* Government, made their Petition to the Captain General, that they might be tranſported to ſome Country under the *Venetian* Dominion, where they might enjoy Freedom and Security, both in their Religion and Eſtates.

Several Greek *Families tranſported to the* Morea.

Moroſini conſidering well that the multitude of People is the Riches and ſtrength of a Country; and that the *Morea* being almoſt emptied of People, and deſolate by the Flight and Deſertion of the *Turks*, eaſily condeſcended to their requeſt, and accordingly diſpeeded the Proveditor *Piſani* with four Gallies, and ſome other Tranſport Veſſels to carry away the People, of which many Thouſands with their Baggage and Cattle were Embarked, and Landed in divers parts of the *Morea*, where thoſe Families are at preſent ſetled.

Mitra *Surrenders.*

The Succeſſes of the *Venetian* Arms had now gained ſuch Reputation in all parts, that *Mitra*, a ſtrong and conſiderable place ſubmitted, and followed the Fortune of other places; for the *Turks* therein, at the firſt appearance only of *Polani* the Proveditor of *Sarnata*, with ſome Marine Forces diſplaying their white Flag, enter'd into a Treaty and gave Hoſtages for performance of Articles; the which was ſoon performed, and the place yielded to the Conqueror.

1687.

Malvaſia *alarumed.*

The Surrender of this City produced many other happy conſequences, one of which, was, that thereby *Napoli di Malvaſia* became greatly ſtreightned, and all hopes of Relief and Succour cut off, when on any occaſion it ſhould happen to be diſtreſſed: And now to terrifie and amuſe that Garriſon, and the Inhabitants, who by the numbers therein, and the Situation of the place were very ſtrong, and able to make a conſiderable reſiſtance, Captain *Venier* (who was newly returned from blocking up the *Turkiſh* Fleet at *Rhodes*, many of which Ships were come from *Egypt* laden with Rice, and other Proviſons for *Conſtantinople*) was order'd to appear before the Town with his Squadron of Ships, and ſome Corſairs, whom he had accidentally met with in the Seas; to which the Capt. General joyning ſome of the lighter Gallies, cauſed ſuch an appearance to be made, ſomething terrible to the People of *Malvaſia*, as might give them an Alarum, and Prepare and diſpoſe them to a Surrender.

The *Venetians* Sailing with a proſperous Gale of Fortune, reſolved, if poſſible, to Crown the Atchievements of this Campain, with the glorious Conqueſt of that ancient City of *Athens*, in order to which deſign (thô the Seaſon of the year was far ſpent) yet the Captain General leaving a ſtrong detachment at *Corinth*, gave Orders to the remainder of his Fleet to Sail to the other ſide of the *Iſthmus*, which is the full compaſs and circle of the *Morea*; and in his way coming before the Walls of *Malvaſia*, he ſent a Summons to the *Turks*, who maintained the *Peninſula* of that ſtrong Fortreſs; but they returning a proud Anſwer, and ſhewing a reſolution to defend themſelves, the Captain General was pleaſed to beſtow certain Bombs and Cannon upon them, which ruined a part of the Town, and did ſome damage to the Caſtle; but having a deſign upon *Athens*, he thought not fit to Land his Men, but to proceed forward to Port *Leon*, where being arrived on the $\frac{20}{10}$ of *Sept.* both Horſe and Foot were immediately Landed, and took their March in an orderly manner to the Walls of *Athens*.

1687.

And is Bombed.

1687.

A deſign upon Athens.

Port *Leon* is ſo called from the Image of a *Lyon*, erected on a Pedeſtal at the bottom of the Port, and may be about ſix or ſeven *Engliſh* Miles diſtant from *Athens*.

Which is Summon'd.

So ſoon as the *Turks* of that place had the News of the deſcent, or landing of the *Venetinn* Troops, they abandoned the City and Houſes thereabouts, and full of fear and amazement fled into the Caſtle: Which according to the uſual Cuſtom being ſummoned to Surrender on fair and gentle Terms, an Anſwer was returned with proud expreſſions, evidencing a reſolution to defend the place to the utmoſt extremity.

The Caſtle battered.

Whereupon General *Koniſmark* entrenched round the Town, raiſed a Battery of ſix Pieces of Cannon and four Mortar-pieces, with which he began to Batter the Caſtle, which was Situate on a high Rock, that on three ſides of it was inacceſſible; and becauſe that part which lay open was all Rock, without Earth to cover the Men, it was very difficult to make nearer Approaches; ſo that for the ſpace of eight days, all that could be done, was to ſhoot fiery Bullets and Bombs into the place, which had ſo good effect, that one falling into their Magazine of Powder, Blew up a great part of the Caſtle into the Air, burying moſt of the People in the Ruins.

The Seraſkier dares not Fight.

The Seraſkier having gathered ſome of his diſperſed Troops into a Body, took his March towards *Athens*, as if he had intended to relieve the place: Upon advice of which General *Koniſmark* drew off a ſtrong party both of Horſe and Foot, and marched away to meet the Seraſkier; whoſe Spirit being cowed by the late ill Succeſſes in the *Morea*, durſt not ſtand the Shock, or try his Fortune in another Battle, but retreated, and fled with his Forces to ſtrong Holds in the Mountains.

This

1687.

The Caſtle of Athens *ſurrenders.*

This ſhameful Flight of the Seraskier, gave ſufficient evidence and proof to the Beſieged of the weak and low Condition of the Seraskier, the which being joyned to the late unhappy Accident of blowing up the Magazine of Ammunition, ſo diſpirited the Defendants, that finding themſelves without all probable hopes of Relief, they diſplaied a white Flag, to ſhew their deſires to Capitulate; and accordingly a Treaty was enter'd into and concluded in few Articles.

The Articles of Treaty.

Some Turks *turn* Chriſtians.

That the Soldiers ſhould march forth without Arms, and with no more Goods than what they could at one time carry on their Shoulders. And 2*dly*, That in the ſpace of Five days they ſhould quit the place; which was accordingly performed at the expiration thereof; about Three thouſand Souls in all going out, of which not above Six hundred men were capable to bear Arms: To which, Licence was given to take ſo much Proviſion with them, as might ſerve to ſuſtain them as far as *Smyrna*, or any other place, to which they were deſirous to be Tranſported. But many of the Greeks being not willing to leave their Dwellings and their Native Soyl, remained ſtill in the City; and amongſt the *Turks* about Three hundred profeſſing the Chriſtian Faith, were received to Baptiſm, of which we find very few Examples amongſt the *Turks* in other places, who are as firm and conſtant to their *Mahometan* Principles, as any Sect in the World are to theirs. Only I obſerve that the *Turks* in *Greece* are more eaſily perſuaded to embrace the Chriſtian Faith, than they are in other Countries; perhaps becauſe they are for the moſt part ſprung from Chriſtian Parents, and are married to Chriſtian Wives, and have moſt of their Converſation with them; ſo that it is no wonder if the Rites and Services of the Chriſtian Religion, which are become familiar to them, ſhould be more eaſily embraced by theſe than other *Turks* who are Educated with a deteſtation and abhorrence to Chriſtianity.

The deſcription of Athens.

1687.

In the Caſtle were found Eighteen Pieces of Cannon of divers ſorts and metals; the City it ſelf remained entire with little damage, thô ruined, and grievouſly deſtroyed by other Wars. It was anciently the capital City of all *Attica*, the Walls of which are about Three miles in compaſs; within which are the Ruins of many ſtately Edifices, which by Time and Wars have loſt their Names and Memory of what they were. There is one Magnificent Palace ſupported by Pillars of Marble, upon one of which is Engraven in Greek Characters, *This is* Athens, *the Ancient Seat of Theſeus:* There is alſo the *Pantheon*, on the Walls of which are Engraven the Figures of the Grecian Champions; there are alſo Two Horſes to be ſeen cut in Stone, which are ſaid to be the Workmanſhip of *Praxiteles*: Moreover there are many other Antiquities there to be ſeen, which are not the Subject of this Hiſtory. Only it is obſervable, That in this place is the beſt Air of the World, which ſerved to quicken the Wits, and clear the Underſtandings of Young Students, who were ſent to that Univerſity to have their Education. This City being thus fallen into the hands of the *Venetians*, the Government thereof was committed to the charge of *Daniel Delfin*, a Nobleman of *Venice*.

Megara *burnt.*

The News of the taking of *Athens* flying into all the Towns and Countries round about, ſo terrified the People of *Megara*, that not attending the Aſſault or Approach of the Enemy, they with fearful Conſternation abandoned the place, and carrying with them what in ſuch a precipitate haſte was portable, they left the reſt to the diſpoſal of the *Venetians*; who conſidering it as a place rather troubleſome than uſeful, delivered it up to the Mercy of the Flames.

1687.

As the *Venetian* Arms were proſperous in the *Morea*, and other parts of *Greece*, under the wiſe and happy Conduct of the Captain-General *Franceſco Moroſini*; ſo were they not leſs ſucceſsful in *Dalmatia*, and *Albania*, under the Valorous Guidance of that worthy General *Gerolemo Cornaro* Procurator of St. *Mark*.

Caſtel Nuovo *attacked.*

On the Firſt of *September* a Squadron of the *Venetian Armado* (diſtinct from that which was commanded by General *Moroſini*) conſiſting of ſome Gallies, Galiot Ships, and other Tranſport Veſſels, appearing before the Town of *Caſtel Nuovo*, greatly alarum'd the Garriſon, and People therein; of which they conceived the greater Dread and Apprehenſions; becauſe they had obſerved that the Auxiliary Gallies, which had long been hovering about the Coaſt of *Dalmatia* were come in, and had joyned the *Armado*, attended with great Numbers of Veſſels laden with Ammunition and Proviſions; and re-inforced by certain Veterane Troops belonging to the G. Duke of *Tuſcany*.

Septem. 1687.

The Venetians *Land.*

On the Second of *September*, *Girolamo Cornaro* Proveditor-General of the *Venetian* Forces in *Dalmatia* and *Albania*, endeavoured to Land the Militia, with all neceſſary Appurtenances of War at a place called *Comburt*, which was a Port environed round with Hills and Rocks, and had been a place very proper for Landing, had not the *Turks* prepoſſeſſed the important Paſſes of it, and encompaſſed it about with a ſtrong Trench; howſoever the *Venetians* reſolving to make a deſcent at that place, drove the *Turks* out of their Trenches, and landed all their Men, and Train of Artillery, with their Proviſions and Inſtruments for War.

1687.

A Fight begun.

The Paſha of Boſna *endeavours to relieve the* Turks,

And is repulſed.

The firſt thing there to be done was to diſcover the face of the Enemy, which *Calbo*, the Proveditor Extraordinary, undertook, and with a Detatched Party brought News, that the Garriſon of *Caſtel Nuovo* had lately been reinforced by the Neighbouring places, which the *Turks* were fortifying round about with Trenches, and Redoubts. In conſideration of which, it was reſolved by common conſent that another Deſcent ſhould be made at a place called *Zelenica*; and accordingly that was performed by the Auxiliaries, aſſiſted by Two Battalions, under the Command of that undaunted General St. *Paul*, who began a Fight with the Enemy; in which after Five hours time, the *Venetians* became Maſters of the firſt Trenches, and ſoon afterwards drove the *Turks* out of the ſecond, and proceeded to gain the Hill called *Santa Veneranda*, which commands the place: Where having raiſed a ſmall Platform, and fortified it with Two ſmall Guns, with which they ſhot red-hot Bullets into the Town, they ſoon made it too hot for the Inhabitants to abide, or the Soldiers in their Trenches to maintain: And thô the Paſha of *Boſna* came with all his Forces to their aſſiſtance, yet Two thouſand Soldiers being ſeaſonably landed by the Auxiliary Gallies on the Eaſt part of the Town towards the ſide of *Raguſi*, gave ſuch an effectual Repulſe to the Troops of that Paſha, that they betaking themſelves to a moſt ſhameful Flight, left the Beſieged in great Terror and Conſternation. In the mean time the *Morlachs*, who are Thieves and Robbers by Nature, and Profeſſion, entred the Town, and fell on the Plunder, which occaſioned ſome Diſorder, until the Proveditor General by his Troops, and the Authority of his Perſon quieted the Tumult ariſen about the Booty. After which the Militia of *Malta* advanced according to agreement, with ſo much courage to the very Muzzle of the Enemy's Muſquets, and the falſe Bray of the Upper-Caſtle, that Four Cavaliers of *Malta*, and many of their Soldiers loſt their Lives in this Action: Howſoever the Poſt was maintained with ſo much reſolution againſt the *Ottoman* Fury, that Marqueſs *Borro* Sergeant-Major, flanked with ſome other Troops, coming timely to their aſſiſtance, the Enemy was forced to a Retreat, and ſhelter themſelves under the Cannon of the lower Fortreſs, leaving ſlain on the place, the Captain of the Caſtle, Two Agas, with ſeveral principal Officers, and a great Number of the common Soldiers. Thus the *Turks* being droven from all their Poſts, and Outworks, which encompaſſed the Fortreſs; and the ſame poſſeſſed by the *Venetian* Arms, the Siege became totally formed on all parts; every principal Commander having his reſpective Poſt allotted unto him to guard and defend.

1687.

Another Paſha endeavours to give ſuccour.

1687.

A part of the Venetians *put to the rout.*

The Turks *defeated.*

The *Turks* obſerving themſelves to be environed on all ſides by a well-formed and cloſe Siege, made a vigorous Sally with a Detachment of their Braveſt and beſt Selected Soldiers; but were as couragiouſly received, and forced to retreat. Whilſt things remained in this poſture, Intelligence being brought to the Leaguer, that the Paſha of *Herzegovina* was on his march for to ſuccour and relieve the Town, a Detachment was immediately formed out of the *Morlach* and *Perattine* Troops to oppoſe him. This Paſha having lately ſerved in *Hungary* under one *Atlee-gick* (which is as much as to ſay the little Horſeman) was upon his Death promoted to the Government of *Boſna*, in the place of the other Paſha lately defeated; and with that Preferment being a little elevated with Pride, marched forward with confidence of Victory, and Contempt of the Chriſtian Camp; and being on the top of that Hill, which was called *Topgee* (or the Gunner) he furiouſly made a deſcent on the Quarter of *Perini*, who upon the firſt Charge received a Wound, in his own perſon; but the Body of his men ſtood firm and immoveable, whilſt the Battalion of Sergeant Major *Galli* was put to the Rout, and Fled without looking behind them to the Sea-Coaſt: To remedy this diſorder, Major-General *Grimini*, and the Proveditor-General, with the General of *Malta*, and all the chief Officers of the Army came in to their aſſiſtance, and cauſed the Run-aways to make a ſtand, and rally again, and make Head upon the Enemy. And then the Colonel of the General's Guards, with ſeveral other Captains coming up, with a Body of Granadiers, they mingled themſelves with the *Turks*, and fighting with their Swords amidſt the thickeſt of them, gave them ſuch a repulſe, that at firſt they began to give way, and afterwards to betake themſelves to a ſhameful Flight, leaving the Field with the Glory of the day to the Arms of the victorious Chriſtians.

In this Conflict Seven hundred of the *Turks* lay dead on the Ground; of which the principal men were *Zambeg*, a famous and ſtout Commander, with many Agas, Bulluckbaſhees, and one Cadi or Judge; whoſe Heads being cut off from their Bodies to the Number of Three hundred, were fixed on Half-pikes, and ranged in order, before the Walls of the Town to be a Spectacle to the Beſieged of Terror, and an Evidence of the Victory. Likewiſe Twelve Colours were taken, together with much Spoil and Booty, which was given as a Reward to the conquering Soldiers.

1687.

Summons ſent to the Town.

Are refuſed.

Upon this Succeſs another Summons was ſent to the Town, inviting them to a Surrender, upon conſideration that the Forces being defeated, which came to their aſſiſtance, there remained no other hope of ſafety than only by yielding themſelves on ſuch Articles as ſhould be offered on reaſonable terms. The Beſieged in Anſwer thereunto, having returned a plain and flat refuſal of coming to any Conditions, all acts of Hoſtility were renewed, and the Cannon began continually to play, which beat down one of the Towers, and made a large Breach on the Curtain, ſo that (notwithſtanding the bad weather which gave ſome hindrance) great Advancement was made, to the damage of the Beſieged: In like manner another Battery of Four Guns continually plyed the City, and ſuch valorous Attempts were made by the *Venetians*, that in deſpite of all the Enemy's Fire, and frequent Sallies, they made themſelves Maſters of the Counterſcarp; amidſt all which Action the *Florentine* Troops came ſeaſonably to their aſſiſtance.

The Turks march to relieve the Town.

An Aſſault reſolved.

The Aſſailants forced to retreat.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, Advices were brought that Two Paſhas were on their march with numerous Troops for relief of the Town: And that the Paſha of *Albania* being come as far as *Podgoriza*, was haſtening with all expedition poſſible to joyn the other Troops, for the ſame intent of giving ſuccour to the languiſhing City. Upon this Advice the Proveditor-General *Cornaro*, finding that the Breach made was of Six and thirty Paces in Breadth, and that by the fall of a Bomb into the great Tower towards the Sea-ſide, directed by the skilful Art of a *Florentine* Engenier, their great Magazine of Powder was blown up, by which many Families were buried in the Ruins, together with divers Officers and Soldiers to the Number of Three hundred Perſons: On this advantage, I ſay, the Proveditor reſolved to make a ſpeedy Aſſault, before the Paſhas with their Forces could come to their aſſiſtance. Accordingly the Marqueſs *Borro*, with ſuch Bravery began the Aſſault, that in deſpite of the reſiſtance made by the Defendants, he mounted the Breach, and made himſelf Maſter of one of the Redoubts, and thereby opened a free paſſage to many Troops to enter the Town; in which place alſo they found an obſtinate reſiſtance; for the Men fired out of the Windows, and the Women threw Stones from the Tops of the Houſes; and all the Streets were barricadoed up by Carts and Timber laid in the way, which together with bad and rainy Weather, damaged the Aſſailants in ſuch manner, that they were forced to retreat, and give way to their Adverſe Fortune. In this Conflict a Cavalier of *Malta*, a Lieutenant-Colonel called *Julio*, a *Florentine* Captain, with many brave Soldiers of divers Nations were Slain, and in all to the Number of Five hundred were killed and wounded. Howſoever in deſpite of Misfortune, thoſe who had poſſeſſed the Redoubt, and Breach on the Curtain, maintained their Poſt, having under obſcurity of the Night, covered themſelves with Faggots, and Sacks of Wooll.

1687.

The Morlachs renew the Aſſault.

The Tower yields.

The next Morning being the Nine and twentieth of *September*, the *Morlachs* reſolving to give ſome proofs of their Valour, prepared themſelves to give a freſh Aſſault, which they performed with ſuch vigour, that notwithſtanding the ſtout defence of the Beſieged, and by continual Thundrings of the Bombs and Cannon, they made themſelves Maſters of a fortified Houſe at the Foot of the Wall, and ſoon after on the Thirtieth of *September*, Forty *Segmen*, or Foot-Soldiers, who were placed for Guard of a Tower towards the Sea, and had the defence of a long part of the Wall, came to Capitulations, and offered to deliver the ſame up into the hands of the Chriſtians, provided they might have liberty to depart with their Families, and neceſſary Baggage, and might be Tranſported into *Albania*.

Alſo the middle Tower.

The General conſenting hereunto, the Tower and Wall were ſurrendered, and the People civilly treated, according to the Convention: The Defendants of the middle Caſtle, ſeeing the lower Fortification in the hands of the Enemy, deſpaired of all means longer to defend themſelves; and ſo entring into Capitulations, deſired Six days time, that in caſe the Succours came not to them within that Term, that then they would yield unto the Conditions of the Conqueror. But that being denied, and nothing but a ſudden Surrender ſatisfying, the Defendants yielded on the ſame Conditions as the lower Fortreſs had done, marching out only with a ſingle Burden on the Shoulders of each perſon.

The main Caſtle ſurrenders.

There remained now nothing to be ſubdued after theſe Two lower Fortreſſes, beſides the higher Caſtle of all, the Garriſon of which finding themſelves deveſted of their Two main Bulwarks, reſolved alſo upon a Surrender, the Articles of which were ſoon agreed upon the baſis or foot of thoſe Conditions, which had been granted unto the Two other Fortreſſes. Accordingly the People of the Caſtle marched out, to the Number of about Two thouſand Two hundred Souls, of which Seven hundred only were capable to bear Arms; the Place was found to have been well provided of all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions, with Seventy two Pieces of Cannon, beſides a good Booty for the Soldiers. There were alſo Six light Frigats ſeized in the Port, which had been *Corſars* or *Capers*, having formerly done

1687. great miſchief at Sea, by their Piracies and Robberies.

Thus did *Caſtel Nuovo* fall into the hands of the *Venetians*, being the more remarkable, becauſe it happened at a time, when Three Paſhas, with very numerous Troops, were in the Neighbourhood, and as we may ſay, in ſight of the place, with intention to ſuccour and relieve it by force of Arms.

Nor was this Noble Proveditor-General the Cavalier *Girolamo Cornaro*, leſs ſucceſsful, and renowned in taking the conſiderable Fortreſs of *Caſtel Nuovo*, than he was in relieving and raiſing the Siege which the *Turks* had formed againſt *Singh*; the which place this ſame *Cornaro* had in the Year 1676, taken from the *Turks*, being the firſt of his Government of *Dalmatia* and *Albania*, and had now in this Year of 1687, the good fortune to preſerve and maintain it from returning into the hands of its late barbarous Maſters. In which Action this Noble perſon deſerves as much Honour, as he purchaſed in the Conqueſt of it: It being no leſs a Vertue to defend and conſerve, than to gain or win; according to that old ſaying, *Non minor eſt virtus, quàm quærere,*
1687. *parta tueri.* It being a great eye-ſore to the *Turks* to ſee *Singh*, their own Native Habitation, in the hands of the Chriſtians, they were moved with indignation, and with a paſſionate deſire to recover it again into their own poſſeſſion. In purſuance whereof *Atleegick* lately made Paſha of *Boſna*, drew out his Army in ſight of *Singh*, and encamped in the Plan of *Clivino*, where he pitched many Tents; and his Army being encreaſed by great Numbers of *Albanians*, and the choiceſt Soldiery of the Provinces round about, and provided with all ſorts of Ammunition and Victuals both for Man and Horſe, and with a conſiderable Train of Artillery, they thought upon their firſt appearance to affright the Garriſon of *Singh* into a ſurrender. But the place having before been well provided with all things neceſſary, and defended by a valorous Garriſon, they contemned the Summons of their Enemies, reſolving to maintain the place to the laſt extremity.

The Turks *endeavour to take* Singh.

Whereupon the *Turks* having raiſed their Batteries, began to play upon it with their Cannon, but without any damage to the Beſieged. Hereupon the *Turks* changed their Attack from than, to another part, where their Horſe and Foot were drawn up in Military Order, with reſolution to Storm the place, which they attempted by break of day in the Morning, falling on with great fury, and with their Scemyters in their hands thought immediately by force of Arms to carry the place: But the beſieged ſo bravely defended themſelves, that they gave them ſuch repulſe, as cauſed them to ſound a Retreat, leaving behind them many of their Soldiers dead on the place, to the number of about Two hundred, of which the greateſt part were *Albanians*. In the Town the loſs was very inconſiderable, there being only the chief Engineer killed, and ſome few perſons wounded. 1687.

Singh *aſſaulted by the* Turks.

They are repulſed.

In the mean time the Proveditor-General *Cornaro* being informed of theſe ſucceſſes, reſolved to give effectual relief to the Town; and accordingly he detached ſeveral Parties of *Morlachs* to infeſt the Enemy on all ſides; which they performed ſo ſucceſsfully, that they returned with the Heads of many *Turks*, with Priſoners in Chains, and with a conſiderable booty, and Numbers of Cattle, having had the fortune to defeat a Convoy which was ſent with Ammunition and Proviſions to the *Turkiſh* Camp.

Howſoever the *Turks* ſtill continuing the Siege which had now laſted Seventeen days, to which they had called all the *Netferee*, which are the Trained-Bands of the Country, and brought thereunto all the Cannon which remained in the fortified places round about; they did not doubt in a ſhort time of the ſucceſs they deſired. But all theſe hopes vaniſhed away ſo ſoon as News came to *Atleegick*, that the *Venetian* Army was on their march to relieve the Town, with which they were ſo alarum'd and affrighted, that raiſing their Camp, Tents, and Baggage, they quitted the Siege, and ran away with a ſhameful and precipitate Cowardice. And thus ended the Succeſſes of this Year 1687, to the Glory of God, and Confuſion to the Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith. The Victories and Triumphs in *Hungary* gained by the Imperial Arms, were almoſt miraculous, as is before related; the ſucceſſes in the *Morea*, with the ſubjection of *Patras*, *Athens*, and other places of *Greece*, were wonderful, and the relief given to *Singh*, and taking of *Caſtel Nuovo*, were all works of the Divine Providence. And when we farther conſider the Tumults, Seditions, and Mutinies amongſt the *Turks* themſelves, to the depoſing of their Sultan himſelf, and deſtruction of their Chief and Principal Officers by the madneſs and fury of the Soldiers, even almoſt to to the total deſtruction of their Empire; we may believe, that the Hand of God was lifted up againſt this People, to bring them to the brink of Ruin, and Miſery, and cauſe them to ceaſe, and be no longer a People. Let us therefore proceed to the Enſuing Year, and therein relate the ſequel of the wonderful works of God, in whoſe hands are the diſpoſal of Empires and Kingdoms.

The Siege raiſed.

1687.

ANNO 1688.

The Emperor prepares for the next Campaign.

The States of Auſtria *convened.*

THE Emperor, who had from the time of the Incoronation of the King of *Hungary* remained at *Presburg*, (otherwiſe called *Poſſonium*) with all the Imperial Court, returned now at the beginning of this year to *Vienna*, and arrived there on the 26*th* of *January*. The Seaſon was now come for making Preparations for the next Campaign againſt the *Turks*; and Conſultations were held, not only to ſecure the new Conqueſts, but to advance farther, and to enlarge the Imperial Dominions; at all which his Ceſarean Majeſty was pleaſed to aſſiſt in Perſon. But in regard the Work was great, and the Charges immenſe to Recruit the old Regiments, and raiſe new, to provide Ammunition, Proviſions and Forage, for that vaſt Army which was deſigned for *Hungary*; His Imperial Majeſty was pleaſed to convene all the States of *Auſtria*, and of his Hereditary Dominions; who accordingly meeting and forming an Auguſt Aſſembly, the Chancellor in the name of the Emperor declared unto them in a Florid Oration, the neceeſſity that there was for a large ſupply of Money, whereby to carry on the War againſt the *Turks*, not only on the defenſive part, but alſo to advance forward in that way, which God had opened, and to enlarge the Dominions and extent of Chriſtendom.

They promiſe Money

As do alſo the States of Stiria.

At the Concluſion of the Speech, the States of *Auſtria* having with moſt profound Reverence and Reſpect, returned their moſt humble Thanks to his Imperial Majeſty for his gracious Clemency, they promiſed in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms imaginable, to anſwer the juſt Demands of his Majeſty to the utmoſt of their Power. The like was done by the States of *Stiria*, the Governour of which Province called *Stubemberg*, having offer'd to his Majeſty the Sum of Three hundred thouſand Florins, beſides the One hundred and Sixty thouſand, which thoſe States annually pay for Maintenance of their own Charges, both Civil and Military; and of the Militia which is quarter'd on the Confines of *Sclavonia*.

Alba Regalis in diſtreſs.

Meſſengers ſent to Belgrade.

Are taken.

Valkowar,

Confeſſion of Achmet

Moreover, Meſſages were ſent to the ſeveral Princes of the Empire, to ſend their reſpective *Quotas* and *Contingents*, and numbers of Soldiers, according to the ancient Conſtitutions of the Empire: And in the mean time the Imperial Chamber took ſuch due means, and meaſures in order to the preparations of all things neceſſary; that Recruits were made, the Artillery mounted, the Magazines filled with Ammunition and Proviſions; and all ſorts of Carriages, Pontons, Boats, Barges, and all other appointments for War were provided in great abundance. In the mean time the Garriſon of *Alba Regalis* being reduced to great Extremities, by Famine, and want of all neceſſaries, diſpatched away a certain *Aga* called *Achmet*, with ſome few Attendants to *Belgrade*, there to expoſe to the Governours of that place, the Miſeries of their languiſhing City. *Achmet* privately conveying himſelf out of the Town with his Servants, found by chance a ſmall Boat tied on the Banks of the *Danube*, into which being enter'd, they quietly paſſed for ſome Days down the Stream, until they came near to a place called *Erdeody*, which had not long before been poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians: The *Heydukes* perceiving the Boat from the Walls, immediately ſuſpected, that the People therein were Fugitives, then making their Eſcape; to prevent which, they privately went on Board a *Saick* or *Turkiſh* Veſſel, and croſſing upon them cut them off in their way; and firing on them with their Muskets, forced them to Steer and Row to the other ſide; but they following them, made them all Priſoners (*Achmet* only excepted) who being very nimble and active, and a kind of a Bog-trotter, eſcaped over a Marſh with all his Letters; and fetching a compaſs out of the way, he came over againſt *Valkowar*, which he ſuppoſing to be ſtill a Garriſon of the *Turks*, made a Sign for a Boat to Ferry him over the River; the Boat paſſing over, rowed and manned by *Heydukes*, ſeized *Achmet*, who being ſurprized to ſee himſelf made a Priſoner, and thinking, that they were *Turks* and not Enemies, cried out; *I am a* Turk, *ſent by the Paſha and Garriſon of* Alba Regalis, *with a Verbal Commiſſion only to the Port, denying to have any Letters about him*; but they rifling him, found near Three hundred Letters, which were afterwards ſent to *Vienna*, and tranſlated by the Emperor's Interpreter. And now *Achmet* finding it no time longer to conceal his Buſineſs, openly declared with Tears in his Eyes, That he was the more troubled for this misfortune, becauſe that thereby he could not anſwer the expectation of his Friends at *Alba Regalis*, who had diſpeeded him for *Belgrade* to give an Account to thoſe Governours of their diſtreſſed Condition, and according to ſuch Anſwers, as they ſhould receive from thence, to take a Reſolution either to Defend or Surrender the Town. He farther added, That tho ſometimes certain *Hungarian* Friends conveyed into the Town ſome Flour, Peaſe, Beans and Butter, yet it was in ſuch ſmall Quantities, that all was devoured, and the People therein reduced to ſuch Extremites, that in caſe a ſmall number of *Germans* ſhould appear with Cannon before the City, the Bodies of the Garriſon,

1688. ſon, and Inhabitants were become ſo enfeebled by Famine, and their Spirits ſo low, that without all doubt, they would upon the firſt Summons Surrender at Diſcretion: But to give the Reader a more evident Narration of the Miſery of that place, it will not be from our purpoſe to inſert one of the Letters which were taken about *Achmet*, ſubſcribed by the three *Paſhas* from *Alba Regalis* to the Grand Vizier, in theſe Terms. After the Complements and Ceremonious words premiſed; which are commonly long, and full of Bombaſtick Expreſſions according to the *Turkiſh* Stile, they began in this manner:

Moſt happy Lord,

If you enquire after the State of this City, and of the Turkiſh *Soldiers therein, and in the Parts adjacent, all that we can ſay is, That we recommend theirs and our Condition to the moſt High God, and to the Pious Compaſſion of your Excellency; for that after all our Stores of Proviſion, as well new, as old were conſumed, there remained a ſmall quantity of Millet, which tho' it were ſo old and corrupted, as if it had been laid in, at the firſt Foundation of the City, yet it was delivered out and diſtributed amongſt the Soldiers; the which being alſo conſumed, there remains not one Grane of any Corn amongſt us; ſo that we are reduced to a moſt extream, and incredible Extremity: And what is worſe, we cannot expect any Relief from the neighbouring parts; for that the Villages round about are revolted to the Enemy, who in the laſt Summer burnt all our Corn upon the Ground; and in the Autumn made themſelves Maſters of the bordering Palancaes, or Forts, namely* Palotta, Chiocca *and* Bacchian; *ſo that at preſent being environed on all ſides by Enemies, we dare not ſtir abroad, but are forced to contain our ſelves within the compaſs of four Walls. And indeed to ſpeak the Truth, we are in that ſtarving Condition, that many have deſerted, and above Eight hundred of the Servants of God, have rather choſen to yield themſelves Slaves to the* Chriſtians, *than to die by Hunger; and many of theſe have renounced our Holy Faith; nor is it poſſible for us to hinder thoſe, who do daily deſert us. Surely, moſt Pious Lord, The Compaſſion of our Sovereign is ſuch, as will not permit his innocent People to periſh, or to be trampled under the Feet of our Enemies.*

Moſt happy Lord, *The* Giaurs *or Infidels, ſince the taking of* Agria, *are come to take Winter-quarters in the Caſtles, and Villages of our Neighbour-hood, and appear every Day in ſight of our Gates; and being puffed up with Pride, ſince the ſubjection of* Agria *and* Ofſeck, *they daily ſend us Letters and Summons to Surrender; and now lately the third time, we received a moſt inſolent Letter from a certain Captain, who ſays he belongs to the Religious at* Vienna, *inviting us to a Surrender, promiſing to Conduct us in ſafety with our Goods and Families to ſuch places, as we ſhall deſire; Threatning upon our refuſal to give us no Quarter, but to put us all to the Sword. And now at laſt another Meſſenger is come to us from the Commander of* Palotta, *whom out of pure Zeal to our Religion, we put to Death with Thouſands of Torments: The next Day after which we made a Sally, in which the* Giaurs *(that is, the* Chriſtians*) gained the advantage, killing and taking Priſoners, One hundred and fifty of our* Zaims *and* Timariots, *putting to Death afterwards all thoſe which they had taken; in Revenge of what we had committed on the Meſſenger, which they had ſent to us; and with theſe, many of our Servants became Martyrs for our Holy Faith; which ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the Minds of our Citizens,* Spahees *and* Janiſaries, *that above Two hundred of them conveyed themſelves away in one Night.* 1688.

Moſt valiant Lord, *Beſides thoſe Letters, which we have ſent by divers Conveyances to give a Relation of our moſt miſerable Condition, we have yet farther to add, that our Souldiers finding themſelves deſperate, and out of all hopes of Relief and Succour, have ſometimes ariſen in a Mutiny upon us. For after they had eaten up all the Cattle and Oxen, and Fleſh which was in the Magazine, ſo that an* Oke *(which is two pounds and a half) of Salt, is ſold at four Dollars, and a Buſhel of Millet at Twenty four Dollars; in which neceſſity and Famine, the Soldiers came upon us demanding Pay and Subſiſtence; ſaying, That they were obliged to remain only one year in the Town, and that then they ſhould be relieved; but inſtead thereof, they had been continued a year and a half in Famine, Nakedneſs, and perpetual danger of their Lives; ſo that the* Janiſaries, *who are to the number of Three hundred, have rent aſunder all the Linings of the Tents for Cloth, and Linnen to cover and defend themſelves againſt the Cold. Wherefore moſt Honoured, and moſt Dread Lord; To quiet and appeaſe the juſt Complaints and Demands of our Soldiery, we have promiſed that in the ſpace of a Month, they ſhall receive both Pay and Subſiſtence: To which purpoſe, we have diſpatched away the Bearer hereof, with ſome Camerades of his, to preſent, and expoſe our Grievances, Wants and Miſeries, at the happy and ſacred Feet of your Excellency, praying unto God, to Conduct him ſafe to your moſt revered Preſence.*

But if notwithſtanding all we have ſaid, delay ſhould be made to Succour us with a formidable Army, with Money and Proviſions, God knows what will become of us; for in a ſhort time our Buſineſs muſt have an end. If the General of the Emperor ſhould come upon us, *us, both We, and this City muſt fall into his Hands. And then neither your Excellency, nor the Port can excuſe your ſelves in ſaying, That you were not timely adviſed of our Miſeries: For if in the ſpace of a few Weeks we are not relieved, conſidering the People we have loſt, and thoſe which die daily, God knows, you will never ſee more of our Letters: All depends on your Excellency.*

Given at *Alba Regalis*, in the Month of *January*, 1688. *Subſcribed,*

Your Servant *Sechoghy Achmet Paſha*, called Vizier of *Buda*:
Your Servant *Achmet Paſha*, Governour of *Alba Regalis*:
Your Servant *Oſman Zagargi Paſha*, Commander of the *Janiſaries*.

Beſides this, and ſeveral other Letters, which were found about *Achmet*, the *Kadi* or Judge of the City, had ſecretly conveyed into his Hands a certain *Arz*, or Memorial, faithfully repreſenting the Abuſes of the Officers, and which was to this effect.

OUr moſt gracious Emperour having ſupplied our City of Alba Regalis, *with plenty of Proviſions for Subſiſtence of the People, one half of them is already conſumed and devoured, and the other half hath been fraudulently divided between this our Honourable Vizier, and the* Zagargibaſhee, *who is Commander of the Garriſon, and which they have ſold abroad, and put the Money into their own Purſes, by Reaſon of which the poor People are conſtrained either to periſh with Famine, or to Deſert, and Fly into the Hands of the Infidels, who are our Enemies: Beſides which, to the great Diminution of our Garriſon, many of our People have been miſerably deſtroyed in the frequent Sallies which they have made. And becauſe by ſuch Miſcarriages as theſe, the Muſſulmin Cauſe (or Cauſe of the Believers) doth greatly ſuffer; I am obliged in Conſcience to make known theſe falſe, and treacherous dealings, which are the natural effects of Tyranny and Oppreſſion; for as the* Alchoran *ſaith,* Allânettulach Alla Zelimin, *which is, let the Curſe of God fall upon the Head of Tyrants.*

This Honourable Vizier by his evil Management of Affairs, and by the inſupportable Taxes, which he hath laid upon the Subjects, hath been the cauſe, why ſo many of the Servants of God have been trampled under Foot, and ſo many Villages laid Waſt, and why ſo many Entire Families, have been neceſſitated to retire for Protection into the Chriſtian *Dominions. In ſhort, his Tyranny and Negligence in the Government hath exterminated the People, and reduced this Garriſon to utter Ruin, where at preſent are ſcarce Three hundred Perſons to be found: And in fine, he is a Tyrant and unfit to Govern with an abſolute Authority. One day I adventured to Begin a free Diſcourſe with* Achmet Aga, *the Bearer hereof, touching all theſe Miſcarriages, in preſence of* Oſman *the* Zagargibaſhee *Governour of this place; who therewith was ſo offended, that he laid his Hand upon his Dagger, and would have killed me. I know not more what to ſay, ſince it is the Will of God: And I hope, That what I have here declared will be kindly, and graciouſly interpreted: And ſo referring all to your Prudence, I remain;*

Muſtapha Kadi *of* Alba Regalis.

Given at *Alba Regalis*, in the Month of *January*, 1688.

The truth of theſe Matters was confirmed by a *Chriſtian*, who had lately made an Eſcape out of *Alba Regalis*; with this farther Addition, That the Commanders of that Town were ſo grievouſly importuned by the Garriſon and Inhabitants, that they were reſolved to diſpatch another party of *Turks*, amongſt which was one *Ali* Aga, a ſubtle and dexterous Perſon, who had been often a Priſoner, and with one *Wribech* a Renegado, with Inſtructions to repreſent the State of their Affairs at *Belgrade*, and to haſten the deſired, and long expected Succours. Beſides which, the *Turks* were not wanting with all Diligence, Subtlety, and Money to provide what Suſtenance they were able, an occaſion for which in a ſhort time offered unto them: For Colonel *Biſterzi* Commander of *Palotta*, deſigning to furniſh *Zioccha* with ſome neceſſary Proviſions; laded four Carts therewith, and diſpeeded them away under the Guard, and Conduct of Twenty four Muſquetiers; of which the *Turks* being informed by a treacherous Perſon, detached that very Night a Party of Two hundred Men, to lie in wait in a Neighbouring Wood, attending the paſſage of the Waggons, which ſo fortunately ſucceeded, that they ſurprized them, and brought them with Twelve Muſquetiers of their Convoy into *Alba Regalis*.

The Turks *of* Alba Regalis *Seize four Waggons with Proviſons.*

About this time another Regehado arrived ſafely in the Town from *Belgrade*, who gave new Encouragement to the Commanders to hold out, with aſſurance, that before he came away the Seraskier had already provided great abundance of Victuals and Money, under a ſtrong Guard, which was on their way towards the City. And moreover he reported, That there were other Succours coming to them from Con-

They are encouraged

ſtantinople

1688. *ſtantinople*, under ſuch a powerful Convoy as needed not to fear the *German* Troops, who being ſenſible of their own Weakneſs, had abandoned part of their Conqueſts; as *Illoch*, *Peter Waradin* and other Villages, both upon the *Save* and *Danube*; ſo that the *Turks* having a free Paſſage, had laid their Bridges over the *Save* and *Drave*, deſigning not only to relieve *Alba Regalis*, but likewiſe *Sigeth* and *Caniſa*.

1688.

The News which this Meſſenger had brought, was ſoon afterwards verified, by an Incurſion which ſome Troops detached from the Regiment of *Norcheim* had made into the Neighbouring Woods; into which they had no ſooner enter'd, than they found themſeves aſſaulted by a ſtrong party of *Turks*, who cut off the Heads of divers of thoſe, who were too far advanced; howſoever the reſt made their Retreat good by the Aſſiſtance of the Governour of *Poſſega*, who came in to their aſſiſtance; at which time alſo Seven thouſand *Turks* paſſed the *Save*, who rifled all the Villages round, and carried away the People.

Means taken to hinder the Succours from Alba Regalis.

The Imperial Court being ſeaſonably adviſed hereof, took immediate Counſels to prevent and obſtruct the Succours deſigned for *Alba Regalis*, and to ſecure the new Conqueſts from returning again into the Power and Dominion of the Enemy: To which end, Orders were diſpeeded from the Counſel of War, to the Regiments quarted in all the adjacent parts about *Peſth*, to prepare themſelves for a March; the like Orders were given to the Regiments of *Palſi* and *Staremberg*, as alſo to ſome of the *Bavarian* Troops quarter'd in the Counties of *Strana* and *Liptona*: Moreover Marſhal *Caprara* received the like Orders, to cauſe all the Regiments under his Command to March, which lay on the Confines of *Croatia*: And the like poſitive Commands were diſpatched to the Governours of *Croatia*; And to all of them Orders were ſent to make their Rendezvous in, and about *Oſeck*, ſo as to be in a readineſs to oppoſe any Attempt of the *Turks*, and to obſtruct their paſſage over the *Drave*; and prevent their making *Semblin* a place and Magazine of Arms: by which means all the deſigns of relieving *Alba Regalis*, *Sigeth* and *Kaniſia* were diſappointed.

Tekeli *writes to his Princeſs.*

In the mean time *Tekeli* not being informed of the Surrender of *Mongatz*, but ſuppoſing it to be much ſtraitned, and in a Condition not to hold out much longer, wrote a Letter to his Princeſs (which was intercepted) wherein he directs her to provide in the Articles of Surrender, that his Goods and princely Coronet, with thoſe Writings and Commiſſions given by the *Sultan* in his favour might be preſerved, and permitted to be carried with her; and that for her ſelf and Family, ſhe would do well to diſpoſe of her ſelf and them in *Poland*, but by no means to commit her Perſon into the Hands of the *Germans*, or to abide in any part of the Upper *Hungary*. But *Tekeli* hearing that theſe Orders came too late, and that the Place was already yielded, being full of Anger and Rage, he ſtudied all ways poſſible to Revenge himſelf, waſting and conſuming all thoſe fruitful Fields and Countries, in the parts adjacent as far as Great *Waradin*; near unto which he had fortified himſelf with ſome Thouſands of Men, in a certain Village called *Thelegh*, where General *Heuſler* had ſome times beaten up his Quarters: And at length on the *6th* of *February*, paſſing the River *Kerez* over the Ice with a ſtrong party of Horſe, he fell upon him in his very Trenches, with ſuch Bravery and Succeſs, that *Tekeli* was put to Flight, leaving Six hundred of his Men dead in the Field; and Four hundred Priſoners taken, amongſt which was one *Genay* a Chief Captain, and ſecond in Command to *Tekeli* himſelf, together with Twenty other Officers.

Febr. 1688.

1688. *He waſts the Countries.*

1688. Tekeli *defeated.*

This Succeſs was followed by another of the like nature: For *Tekeli* having detached a Party into the County of *Zatmar* to gather Contributions, and forcing the ſame with Fire and Sword, put the poor People into a moſt miſerable Terrour and Conſternation, flying from place to place for Refuge and Protection. Upon advice of which, General *Heuſler* haſtned with a Party of Horſe, encouraged and fluſhed with the late Victory, happily encountred the *Tekelites*, as they were carrying away the Spoil, which they had diſtrained for Non-payment of Contribution; but they not daring to make a ſtand, quitted their Horſes and their Booty, and ſaved themſelves in the Thickets of a neighbouring Wood. At the ſame time General *Caraſa* was by order of the Emperor diſpatched into *Tranſilvania* to ſettle matters in a better ſtate then before: And being come to *Hermanſtadt*, he was informed that the *German* Troops were not provided, and accommodated according to Agreement; whereupon he diſpatched a reſolute Meſſage to *Apaſi*, and the States of the Country, giving them to underſtand, that in caſe better Proviſions were not made for the neceſſary Quarters of the Soldiers, he ſhould be forced to take ſuch Meaſures, as were moſt adequate to the preſent occaſion. *Apaſi*, conſidering that *Caraſa* was reſolute, and not to be oppoſed in his Demands, made a vertue of neceſſity, and ſent his Chief Miniſter *Telecky*, the moſt eſteemed and moſt honoured Perſon of the States and Nobility, unto him, to make him a Complement, with all the high Ex-

General Caraſa *at* Hermanſtadt.

1688.

The Soldiers Allowance in Winter-Quarters increaſed.

Expreſſions of Submiſſion and Compliance. In purſuance whereof the General took into his conſideration the particulars of the ſeveral Quarters, and thought fit to advance the Allowance one Third more, than what hath been agreed in the former Treaties. And having made ſome alterations amongſt the Officers, belonging to certain Imperial Garriſons, he fixed his own Head-Quarters at *Hermanſtadt*, as being not only the ſtrongeſt Garriſon, but the moſt proper and convenient place, from whence he might moſt eaſily ſuccour and relieve the other Quarters, as occaſion ſerved.

Halmet *yielded.*

Felſiat *ſurrenders.*

The Name of the *Germans* was become now ſo dreadful over all *Hungary*, that many ſtrong Fortreſſes at the firſt appearance of the Imperial Forces ſurrendred themſelves; as did *Halmet*, a Caſtle on the Frontiers of *Tranſilvania*, encompaſſed with a deep and broad Ditch, and furniſhed with Draw-Bridges, and Garriſon'd by *Turks*, yield up it ſelf to General *Magni*; who proceeding forwards in his March, took in the Fortreſs of *Felſiat* with as much eaſe and facility, as he had done that of *Halmet*; by which means he brought above Two hundred Villages under Contribution, and excluded the *Turks* from all Communication with the parts of *Tranſilvania*.

1688. *March.*

The Deſpot of Valachia *ſubmits.*

All things being ſetled in *Tranſilvania* to the ſatisfaction of the Emperor; Baron *de Pace* was detached with Three Regiments, and reinforced with ſome other Troops under General *Saurau*, with Orders to march towards *Stephanopolis*, a Frontier Garriſon of *Valachia*; to prevent the deſigns of that Deſpot in caſe he ſhould attempt any thing to the prejudice of the Emperor: But the Imperial Court being ſufficiently ſatisfied that the Deſpot had no other but ſincere intentions to preſerve his own Dominion, and benefit *Chriſtendom*, His Imperial Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend the Biſhop of *Nicopolis* unto him, giving him to underſtand that he ſhould receive his gracious Aſſiſtance in all his deſigns, and that he would cauſe the Succeſſion of that Principality to deſcend upon his Son, acknowledging only that Homage, which from ancient times was paid to the King of *Hungary*. Whereupon the Deſpot ſent an Envoy to General *Caraſa* at *Hermanſtadt*, to receive Orders and Inſtructions in what manner to behave and govern his Affairs.

Alba Re-galis *in Mutiny,*

1688.

Denies to ſurrender.

The Blocade cloſely watched.

Marqueſs of Baden *at* Ratisbon.

In the mean time the *Turks* in *Alba Regalis*, finding themſelves without all relief, and no returns made to thoſe Meſſages, which they had diſpatched by various ways, began again to be very mutinous, and unruly towards their Governors; howſoever they ſtill held out, reſolving as yet to hearken unto no terms, which ſhould be offered them by the Enemy. Notwithſtanding which, the Marqueſs of *Baden*, who was Preſident of the Council of War for his Imperial Majeſty, being commanded to paſs from his Government of *Javarin*, or *Rab*, unto *Ratisbon*, there to reſide as Plenipotentiary for his Imperial Majeſty at that Diet; did think fit, before his departure, to regulate ſome Affairs within his Juriſdiction; and particularly to appoint Count *Ricceardi*, accompanied with an Interpreter, and a party of *Hungarian* Horſe, to view and obſerve the State of *Alba Regalis*, and to try if he could incline and perſuade the *Turks* to ſurrender; but they being quite of another humour, not being reduced as yet to the utmoſt point and extremity of Famine, cryed out with a loud Voice, that they would maintain their City to the laſt drop of Blood; and even to more violent neceſſities than thoſe of *Agria*. *Ricceardi* returning with this report to *Giavarin*, the Marqueſs of *Baden* iſſued out new Orders to ſtraiten the Town with more rigour and cloſeneſs, than before; and not only reinforced the Caſtles of *Palotta*, *Zioccha*, and *Schambegh*, warning them to be more diligent and watchful for the future to prevent all Communication between *Alba Regalis*, and the Neighbouring Villages, and to make the Blocade more formal, General *Batthiani* was not only commanded to march into thoſe Quarters with his *Hungarian* Troops, but likewiſe cauſed them to be reinforced by ſome of the Militia belonging to the Circles of *Franconia*, and other Troops under the Command of Count *Erdeodi*, Lieutenant-General at that time of *Giavarin*: Moreover the Marqueſs of *Baden* before his departure, diſpoſed the March of the Militia, and ordered their ſeveral Quarters in parts adjacent to *Oſeck*, there to oppoſe the paſſage of the Enemy over the *Drave*: After which, all matters being well ordered, with excellent Methods and Rules of Government, the Marqueſs took Poſt for *Vienna*; where having received Inſtructions from the Emperor for better Government of his Preſidency at *Ratisbon*, he proceeded thither, and there he held ſeveral publick and private Conferences, for the better Regulation of the Military Affairs for the Enſuing Campaigne.

In the mean time Recruits were made, and Horſes provided to Remount ſuch as wanted them; and whilſt it was doubted, Whether the Elector of *Bavaria* could be preſent in Perſon to conduct his Army this Year into *Hungary*, upon a jealouſy, that the *French* would fall into the Palatinate; yet the Treaty was concluded for the *Bavarian* Troops to continue in *Hungary*, and ſerve with their beſt aſſiſtance to forward the Progreſs of the Imperial Arms.

C. Caprara commands in Hungary.

The deſigns of the Turks *defeated in* Sclavonia.

Ratzá taken from the Turks *and burnt*

Mareſchal *Caprara* commanding now in Chief in *Hungary*, provided *Oſeck* with all things neceſſary for their Subſiſtence; and gave Orders to thoſe Captains, who commanded upon the *Save* to provide great Numbers of Boats, and Barges, and Floats, for making Bridges over that River, and as occaſion ſerved therewith to Tranſport Proviſions and Materials for War. The *Turks* on the other ſide had alſo Erected another Bridge for the better ſecurity of *Boſnia*, and aſſembled at *Coſtanovitz*, on the River *Unna*, with deſign to make Incurſions into the Confines of *Croatia*; but that Country was ſo well guarded and defended by the vigilance of Count *Erdeody* the Banno, or Chief Governor thereof, that all attempts of the *Turks* on that ſide were wholly diſappointed, and defeated: And farther to render the Actions of the *Turks* fruitleſs and ineffectual in *Sclavonia*, where they had made Proviſions of Victuals and Ammunition, and had laided therewith Lighters and Barges, to ſupply their ſmaller Garriſons on the River *Save*, Baron *de Tunkel* was diſpeeded with a Detachment of Two hundred Horſe, and a Regiment of Dragoons, with ſome Haiducks to oppoſe the intentions of the Enemy; and being come as far as *Valkovar*, the Scouts brought word, that *Ruſtan* Paſha, the late Governor of *Agria*, with about One thouſand Horſe and Foot, had conducted into *Illoch* a very great Convoy of about Two hundred Waggons laden with Proviſions; and that afterwards he himſelf was returned unto *Belgrade*. *Tunkel* being diſappointed of this Deſign, was more ſucceſsful in another Attempt, which he made on a place called *Ratza*, ſituate on this ſide of the *Save*, defended by ſome *Spahees* and *Janiſaries*; to which privately marching in the Night, he ſurprized the place about Two hours after Midnight, with the Death of about Three hundred *Turks*, and Seventy *Slaves*, and ſet at liberty Fifty Chriſtians, and took Sixty Horſes, with great Numbers of Cattle, and Three Enſigns; and having ſet Fire to the City, he returned in Safety and Triumph to *Oſock*, laden with Honour and Spoyls.

On the other ſide the Paſha of *Gradiſca* having advice that Count *Caprara* was upon his march towards *Oſeck* with a ſtrong Party to Conduct and Convoy many Waggons laden with Ammunition and Proviſions in order to ſome extraordinary Enterprize; the Paſha apprehending that his Deſign might be upon *Belgrade*, reſolved to paſs the Bridges which he had laid over the *Save*, with deſign to ſurprize *Poſſega*, and *Zernech*, and thereby to divert the Attack intended upon *Belgrade*: In purſuance of which the Paſha marched with a Body of Three thouſand Five hundred men towards *Zernech*, but not with that Privacy as *Tunkel* had lately done; for in their way they ſet Fire to all the Villages round, and killed the People, which gave ſuch an Alarum to that Garriſon, by the affrighted Peaſants which had eſcaped, that they immediately put themſelves into a poſture of defence: And Colonel Baron *Amanzaga* having alſo News thereof, haſtned with a Body of Horſe, and ſome Foot, and came ſo ſeaſonably to the ſuccour of the Town, that they encountred the *Turks* in their march, and charged them with ſo much bravery, that they not only put the Cavalry to Flight, but alſo forced them to abandon the *Janiſaries*, and to expoſe them to the Sword of their Enemies: The greateſt part of which, to the Number of about Five hundred, were Slain upon the place, and Two hundred made Priſoners, amongſt which was the Commander in Chief of the *Janiſaries*, Four Aga's, and the Son of the Paſha of *Gradiſca*, with ſeveral Colours, and Drums: The News of which Baron *Amanzaga* diſpatched to General *Caprara* with all Expedition.

Baron Amanzaga *defeats the Paſta of* Gradiſca.

About the ſame time, or the Day before, another Party detached from the main Body made an Attack upon the Out-guards of *Poſſega*, which being over-matched in numbers, retreated under the Gates of the City: The Lieutenant Governour, to whom at that time with ſome veterane Soldiers, and ſubaltern Officers, the Command of the Town was committed, took the Alarum; but not being cautious enough to be informed of the Strength, and Numbers of the Enemy by the Report of the Out-guards, he advanced too far from the Town; which when the *Turks* obſerved, they made a feigned Flight, with deſign to bring their Enemy into an Ambuſcade, which they had prepared for them, in which they had all miſcarried, had not Count *Truxes*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Holſtein*, and Count *Bizzaro*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Lodron*, who (were accidentally marching to relieve the Out-guards,) come ſeaſonably into their Succour and Reſcue; who ſo vigorouſly charged the Enemy, that they put them to Flight, and forced them to take Refuge in the Woods and Mountains, whilſt the *Chriſtians*, the Night approaching, retired orderly into *Poſſega*.

The Garriſon of Poſſega *ſeaſonably relieved.*

There being in the mean time various Reports at the Imperial Court concerning the State and Condition of the City of *Alba Regalis*; which holding out ſo long beyond all expectation, it was conjectur'd, that the Blocade was not ſtrict, or at leaſt not ſufficiently guarded and watchfully attended as it ought to have been, which obliged the Counſel of War to diſpatch Orders to Colonel *Riccardi*, that he with his Regiment ſhould March to *Veſprimio*, *Palotta*, and other Neighbouring places, to make enquiry

1688.

Colonel Riccardi *made enquiry into the State of* Alba Regalis.

Colonel Riccardi *deſires a parly with the* Paſha.

1688.

Jealouſies in the Town.

into the State, and Condition of that City and Garriſon. *Riccardi* according to his Orders marched out of *Giavarino* or *Rab*; and taking with him a Company of *Croats*, and a Party from *Schomberg*, he came to Quarter for one Night at a Village called *Brin*, about a League diſtant from *Alba Regalis*; and early in the Morning by break of day ſounding to Horſe, in purſuance of his March he detached Ten *Croats*, and as many *Hungarians* to advance before, with directions to ſeize and ſurprize what *Turks* they ſhould meet near the City, that by them they might be informed of the State of the place. But they meeting with none on the way, came up to the very Gates of the Town, which they found ſhut and unguarded: But ſoon afterwards they were opened, to give Paſſage to the Sally of a Party both of Horſe and Foot; the latter of which remained within their Paliſadoes; but the firſt Sallied out into the Field, having the Renegado *Wrebeck* at the head of them, who coming near, frankly diſcourſed with the *Chriſtians* in this manner: *Soldiers what is it you demand? May a Man truſt to your Word?* To which Anſwer was made, *That he might*; whereupon he came up boldly to them, and touched the Hand of an *Hungarian* Enſign, and a *Raſcian*: By which time *Wrebeck* perceiving the numbers of the Enemies to increaſe, and to approach within Cannon-ſhot of the Town, he Demanded, what thoſe Troops were? To which Anſwer was made, *That they were the Troops of a certain* Croatian *Colonel, who deſired to have conference with the* Paſha, *or with ſome other of the principal Officers.* *Wrebeck* promiſed to carry that Meſſage, and accordingly returned to the City, where at the Gates thereof he met the *Paſha* of that Country, with the Commander in Chief of the *Janiſaries*, and with two or three other of the principal Officers of that place; to whom he made a Report, that the Troops without were Commanded by a certain *Croatian* Colonel, who deſired to enter into a Conference with the *Paſha*: To which the *Paſha* ſuddainly replied in theſe words; *It is well, he is welcome, I will go and ſpeak with him.* Theſe words being over-heard by the Chief Commander, or *Aga* of the *Janiſaries*, he aroſe up in a Fury, and throwing down his Turbant with a Rage upon the Ground, cried out Treachery, and that the Paſha had a Deſign to betray them into the Hands of the *Chriſtians*: And Roaring out Treachery, Treachery, he ran to adviſe the Vizier thereof, whom he found on one of the Baſtions, taking a view of the Enemie's Troops in the Field. The Vizer having heard this ſaying, Commanded that the Buſineſs ſhould be examined, and in caſe the *Paſha* ſhould be found Guilty, he ſhould be ſtoned to Death, and his Body thrown over the Walls. The *Paſha* being highly incenſed upon this ſo unjuſt an occaſion, took up his *Topuſs*, or Mace into his Hand, and holding it over the Head of the *Aga* of the *Janiſaries*; ſaid aloud, *What is the matter? And what Noiſe is this thou makeſt? Thou old Fool? Thinkeſt thou, that thou art more brave, or more faithful than I am? Hold thy peace, or by the living God, I will beat thy Brains out with this* Topuſs. *For what Reaſon is it, that I am not permitted to ſpeak with that Captain? Will he alone take this City? Let us hear and ſee what it is that he will ſay: If his Offers are good, we may receive them, and if bad we may reject them. It was never denied in any part of the World to hear Ambaſſadours.*

1688.

A Skirmiſh near the Gates.

An Uproar in the Town.

1688.

In the mean time a great Noiſe, and Tumult aroſe amongſt the Soldiers at the Gate, and above a dozen Cannon-ſhot were fired at the Imperial Horſe, which ſtood drawn up within Muſquet-ſhot of the Gates; and ſome of the *Turks* mounted on Horſe-back made a Sally, and began a Skirmiſh, which continued almoſt two Hours, without any other hurt than of ſome few *Turks*, who were wounded. Colonel *Riccardi* all this time could not diſcover the true State and Condition of the Town; and therefore he gave freedom to two *Turks*, provided that they would procure entrance into the Town, and return with certain advice of the true ſtate thereof: But the Confuſion was ſo great before the Gates, that they were neither permitted to enter, or ſpeak: Whereupon the Colonel ſeeing little good was to be done, at that preſent made a Retreat, and was on his return with his Soldiers to *Palotta*; when they eſpied *Wrebeck*, with ſome other *Turks* running full ſpeed towards them, as if they intended another Skirmiſh; but they ſtopped their Horſes and returned back to the Town, and ſo did the Colonel towards *Palotta*: And having paſſed a certain Bog or Moraſs, and the River *Sarowitz*, he gave Command to a *Turk* who was his Priſoner, to go that Night to *Alba Regalis*; and having there underſtood the true State of the place, that he ſhould the next day early return with ſome certain Report thereof: But the *Turk* deſired to be excuſed, for that in caſe he were diſcovered, he ſhould moſt certainly be Empaled. But the Colonel fiercely commanded him to go, with promiſe to give him his Liberty at his return: The poor Fellow obeyed out of fear, and out of Religion to the Faith of his Promiſe and Oath, he faithfully performed the Service enjoyned him.

For the next Day being the 30*th* of March, this *Turk* with Sixteen others well clothed and armed, with four *Turkiſh* Women, Wives to ſome of them, and Children eſcaped out

of

1688. of the Town, and fled to the Chriſtians. The Colonel ſoon enter'd into diſcourſe with them, and by their Anſwers to ſeveral Interrogatories he put to them, he underſtood, that amongſt thoſe Sixteen there were two of them, which in the late Tumult in the City had been principal Ringleaders of the Sedition, the firſt called *Hadgi Ali*, and the other *Kara Haſſan*, both of them Officers amongſt the *Spahees*, and of the number of thoſe, who had broken the Vizier's Windows, and given ſome Stabs to the Governour of the Caſtle. And to ſatisfie the Colonel's Queſtions more particularly, *Hadgi Ali* gave this following Account of the late Uproar, which had hapned in the Town.

A Relation of the Mutiny in the Town of Alba Regalis.

On the 27th *ſaid he, of this Month of* March, *ſome* Janiſaries *and* Spahees *of the Garriſon came to me; and ſaid, Friends and Brethren, what are we to do? Theſe our Commanders will neither Surrender up the City to the* Chriſtians, *nor yet give us Proviſions wherewith to live: Come let us go to theſe Tyrants, and require an Account from them, for what reaſon they treat us in this inhuman manner. The Day following, the* Spahees *and* Janiſaries, *to the number of Four or Five hundred, went with me to the Vizier, with whom we found the Paſha of the City then preſent; and I, as their chief Speaker, began in ſharp and reſenting Terms, to lay before them our miſerable and ſtarving Condition and Aggrievances. The Vizier and Paſha with gentle, and moſt obliging words endeavoured to pacifie us, and to lay the blame of all upon the* Aga *of the* Janiſaries, *adviſing us to cite him before the* Kadi, *or Judge, then ſitting in the chief* Moſch *of the City; where being convicted by Juſtice, they would leave him to our Mercy, to inflict Puniſhment on him according to our own free Will and Pleaſure: And that their intentions might appear more real and manifeſt, they gave into my Hands an Order directed to the Judge, to give ear unto the Aggrievances of the People, and to thoſe Accuſations which they had to charge on the* Aga *of the* Janiſaries. *The People herewith went to the Houſe of the Judge, whom finding not at home, they proceeded directly to the* Aga *of the* Janiſaries, *who being well preadviſed of the Buſineſs, called me to himſelf and began to ſpeak to me in very kind words. I know, my dear* Hadgi, *you deſire that the place be yielded up; and for my part I am contented; and if you will let me go to the Vizier and the Paſha, we will ſoon agree upon Articles for the Surrender. The which we having permitted him to do, he immediately mounted on his Horſe; but the enraged People fell upon him, and had killed him, had he not retired back into the Yard of his Houſe, and ſhut his Gates upon them; and to ſave himſelf from farther Out-rage, he barred up himſelf in a ſecret place of his Houſe, reſolving not to come forth, until he had received aſſurances for the ſecurity of his Life; the which, when I had given him, with conſent and approbation of the People, on Condition that he ſhould concur with the Vizier and Paſha in their Reſolutions for Surrender of the place, he then went to the Vizier and the Paſha; and being all three together, they joyntly agreed to call me to their Preſence, and cauſed me, which was a thing unuſual, to ſit down amongſt them, and demanded of me what it was I deſired. I immediately anſwered:* Sirs, My Companions have entruſted me to tell you, That if you do not Surrender up the City, but ſuffer them miſerably to Periſh, they reſolve to Kill you, and to do the Buſineſs themſelves, and to depart from hence with their Families to *Belgrade*. 1688.

Theſe words being uttered with ſome fierceneſs, and accompanied with ſome other Menaces; they expreſſed great tenderneſs for the People, repeating their promiſes to yield unto all their deſires: But I was ſcarce got out from their preſence, before the Gates were with deſpight ſhut upon us; and the Commanders ſhewed themſelves armed with all their Attendants at the Windows; and the Aga *of the* Janiſaries, *who was more reſolute than any, and averſe to the Surrender, holding his Bow and Arrows in his Hand, told the People plainly, that he would not conſent to the Surrender of the City, but would defend and maintain it to the laſt drop of his Blood.*

The People enraged hereat, drew up into a Body before the Vizier's Houſe; and ſome of them ran upon the Walls, and drew from thence two Pieces of Cannon, intending therewith to batter down the Vizier's Palace; which was ready for Execution, when the Renegado Wrebeck, *a Fellow very dear to the People, came with Tears in his Eyes, to diſſuade them from ſo violent an Attempt; and having uſed many very pungent Arguments to them, he prevailed ſo far, that the Tumult was appeaſed.*

During this interval or ſuſpenſion of Arms, I, who was as it were the Tribune of the People, was called again, and deſired to appeaſe the Multitude, promiſing to anſwer their deſires: But they having been ſo often deluded, refuſed to give any Credit to their Words, unleſs they would ſolemnly ſwear on the Alchoran *to yield the City; nor yet would they draw off, and return the Cannon unto the Walls, until ſuch time as they had begun to make ſome ſteps towards the execution of their deſires.*

Hereupon the three Commanders, with ſome of the Citizens aſſembled in the great Moſch, *as if they intended to agree upon the Propoſitions, which were to be offer'd to the Enemies; but in reality they intended nothing leſs, labouring all that Day to appeaſe the Tumults with Mony and Proviſions: The Vizier made large diſtributions to the* Spahees, *and the*

1688. Aga *to the* Janiſaries, *and the* Paſha *to the Citizens and Soldiers of the Country; and by theſe means they took an Oath of the People patiently to endure, until St.* George's *Day, being the* 23d *of* April, *which is a Day regard by the* Turks: *But howſoever they would eſteem themſelves abſolved from this Oath, in caſe an Enemy ſhould in the mean time appear before their Walls, and ſtreighten them yet farther by a Siege.*

Colonel *Riccardi* having by this Relation been rightly informed of the true State of the Town, he thought fit to make Tryal of another Appearance before the Walls, and came with more than One hundred Horſe within Cannon-ſhot of the place, which had he done the preceeding Day, before the People had taken an Oath to hold out until St. *George's* Day, the City had moſt certainly been yielded: But now inſtead thereof, they made ſeveral Shots from the Baſtions, and ſallied out both Horſe and Foot, without any other execution on either ſide, than the taking of one *Turk*, whoſe Head they cut off in ſight of his Companions.

1688. *Colonel* Ricceardi *leaves* Alba Regalis.

Thus the Colonel having ſufficiently been informed of the State of the matter, on which he was employed, he departed from *Palotta* with his Troops on the 31*ſt* of *March*, and Lodging that Night within a League of *Alba Regalis*, a certain *Janiſary* well armed and clothed came to them in the Morning, and gave an Account that he was fled from the City with ſome other Companions, amongſt which was an *Odabaſhee*, or Captain of the *Janiſaries*, who having been over active and forward in the late Mutiny, feared in cooler Blood to be called to queſtion by the angred Officers. After which, Colonel *Riccardi* finding little farther to be done, marched back to *Buda*, as Colonel *Biſterzi* did with his Forces to *Palotta*.

The obſtinate Defence which *Alba Regalis* made, gave ſome trouble to the Court at *Vienna*; both becauſe it was neceſſary to have it ſubjected before the beginning of the Campaign; and becauſe the Captive *Turks* and Deſerters were ſo numerous in thoſe parts, and in the Towns and Redoubts over all thoſe Qarters, as might give juſt occaſion of Jealouſie and fear of Danger, in caſe any deſign of Maſſacre, or Aſſaſſination ſhould be plotted by them: But ſo vile and mean were the *Turks* eſteemed, and their price and value ſo low, that a luſty Fellow was ſold for a Dollar, and a Woman for a quarter.

Mutinies begin again at Conſtantinople.

But we muſt here take our leave of *Alba Regalis* for a while, and return to *Conſtantinople*, where we ſhall find the Seditions and Military Mutinies broken out again with more Fury and Danger, even to the very ſhaking of the Foundations of the Empire, than at the latter end of the laſt year: For the Cabals daily increaſed amongſt the mutinous Soldiers: They had lately received their pay, and were ſatisfied in all they could demand; their Officers had ſome of them been diſplaced, and others ſtrangled, as they were pleaſed to beſtow their Heads and Offices, but not being herewith contented, unleſs every one of them could be made a Vizier or Paſha, they were emboldned to proceed to farther Outrages. There had been a kind of a ceſſation of theſe inteſtine Troubles, for about the ſpace of two Months; during which time the new *Sultan* was perſuaded as a thing accuſtomary, to ſend an Ambaſſador to *France*, *England* and *Holland*, to give notice of his happy exaltation to the Sublime Throne of his Anceſtors; but whilſt this was meditating, and preparations making for carrying on the Wars of the enſuing Summer, which was deſigned moſt vigorouſly to be acted in the *Morea*, and in a defenſive manner only in *Hungary*, the Thoughts of ſending an Ambaſſador into Chriſtendom, (as lately deſigned) were laid aſide, which was not unpleaſing either to Sir *William Trumbal*, who was then Ambaſſador for his Majeſty of Great *Britain* at *Conſtantinople*, nor yet to the *Engliſh* Company of Merchants at *London* trading into the *Levant* Seas, who could expect to reap nothing but trouble, and expence from ſuch an Embaſſy. And indeed all things were at a ſtand by the Inſolencies of the Soldiers; the Officers both Civil and Military being diſcouraged, and at a ſtop and full Period in the Grand Seignior's Service, had work enough to contrive, how to guard their own Perſons againſt the violence of the Soldiers, and provide for the ſafety of their own Lives.

Kuperlee *laid aſide.*

The daily Cabals of Mutinous Soldiers having been held in ſeveral places of the City, were adjourned at length to the Vizier's own Houſe, where with Menaces and greater Inſolencies than formerly, they demanded the removal of *Kuperlee* the *Chimacam* from his Office; ſaying, That he was as bad a Man as his Father, who had ſpilt Rivers of Blood, and ruined the Empire. It was an unuſual Piece of Favour and Mercy in this People to deal thus gently with him, who were accuſtomed formerly to be, Executioners of their own Sentence, upon thoſe, whom they ſuſpected to be no good Wiſhers to their Side, and Faction. To oppoſe them herein had been to no purpoſe, and to expoſtulate with them had been equally dangerous; wherefore the Vizier being ſenſible of their Outragious and Irrational Humour, not patient of the leaſt Contradiction, ſeemed to concur with them in all they asked, and ordered

dered

He is ſent in a Gally to the Caſtles.

1688. dered a Gally immediately to Tranſport *Kuperlee* to the Caſtles, on the *Helleſpont* or *Dardanelli*: There was no need of Commands, or Force to drive *Kuperlee* away, for he was affrighted and readily leapt into the Gally, thinking it a happy occaſion to ſave his Life, and eſcape out of their Hands. The Vizier alſo at their inſtance diſcharged ſeveral Officers, which they had nominated, putting the Chief of theſe Rebels into their places, and renewed a ſolemn Oath with them to ſtand by them, and never to be their Enemy; and the *Spahees* and *Janiſaries* took the ſame Oath to ſtand by each other.

The Vizier forced to diſſemble.

A Zechin is about 9 s. 6 d.

The Vizier, as a means to amuſe the Mutiniers, and to divert their Thoughts to more orderly and lawful deſigns, ſet forth the (*Tugh*) or Horſe's Tail, with a Signal of the Vizier's March into the Field within the ſpace of Forty days; but having been forced in this manner to put out *Kuperlee* his Brother-in-Law (in whom he much confided) from his Office of *Chimacam*; he knew not any, whom he could more ſafely truſt with the Government of the City, during his abſence than *Shaban Aga*, his own *Kaiah*, or Deputy in his Buſineſs; and to ſupply his place *Zulſicar Effendi* was nominated to be *Kajah*; but very unſeaſonably, for he was Obnoxious to the Mutiniers, having been *Chiauſbaſhee*, and turned out by them; which when one *Teſfugee* underſtood (the ableſt and activeſt Head amongſt them) he came to the Vizier, and inſolently told him, that if he made that Man his *Kaiah*, he would kill him before his Face. The Vizier ſtill diſſembled this Affront, as well as many others; letting theſe Rebels run on in their mad and tyrannical Government, until they had render'd themſelves univerſally Odious to the People, which they ſoon did by their Arbitrary and unequal proceedings; for they framed a Project of raiſing Chimny-Money, of a *Zechin* yearly on every Chimney; (thô for Popularity it was contrived, that the Rich ſhould pay for the Poor) they alſo gave out Rules for quartering Soldiers, and for levying Money by extraordinary Ways, beſides innumerable other Violences and Outrages they committed; all which ſerved to the Vizier's purpoſe, and haſtened the execution of the Deſigns, which had been contrived between him and *Kuperlee*, to bring them to deſtruction; but this could not be compleated without the conſent of the new *Aga* of the *Janiſaries*, with whom the Vizier had prevailed to joyn, and concur with him.

1688.

The Grand Seignior's Command read to the Soldiers.

Teſfagee refuſes to obey;

And is killed.

1688. Accordingly on Sunday the 19*th* of *February*, a *Hatte-ſheriff* (which is a Royal Command under the *Sultan's* own Hand writing) was ſent to the *Janiſar-Aga*, who aſſembling the Chief Officers, read it to them, the Contents whereof were thus; 'That whereas the Soldiers having lien under many 'Grievances, and long Arrears of pay, had 'choſen ſome of their Body to obtain a redreſs; which having been granted unto 'them, and they fully ſatisfied in all their 'juſt Demands, their Duty was now to be 'Obedient to the Sultan, and to all ſuch as 'he ſhould appoint to be their Officers, and 'not to mix in Affairs relating to the Government; and that whoſoever ſhould be Refractory ſhould be puniſhed as a Rebel. The *Hattee-ſheriff* being read, the *Janiſar-Aga* asked them, whether they would be obedient to the Royal Command? To which the Officers (for none but the inferiour Soldiers joyned with the Mutiniers) anſwered, *Yes.* But *Teſfagee* cryed out, That he was a Villain, and a Raſcal who obeyed that Order. Whereupon the *Janiſar-Aga* calling him Traytor and Infidel, cauſed him to be carried into an Inner-room, where he was killed, and his Body thrown out before the Gate, After this, the *Janiſar-Aga* went to the Vizier to give him an account of this Action and Succeſs, with which the Vizier could not but be well pleaſed, thinking the Buſineſs to be ended: And indeed it was a good ſtep to it, for this *Teſfagee* was the principal Inſtrument to keep the *Spahees* and *Janiſaries* united, and the boldeſt, and moſt underſtanding Villain amongſt them. And now as if the Game had been ſure, the Vizier ſent the *Teſterdar* to Seal up his Houſe in order to a Confiſcation of his Eſtate, and alſo the Houſes of ſeveral others of the Chief Mutiniers: But herein the Vizier made a falſe ſtep, for he ſhould have ſecured their Perſons, before he had ſealed their Houſes.

Hadgi Ali another Mutinous Fellow.

Kills the Aga of the Janiſaries.

For hereupon *Hadgi Ali* (who was an intimate Companion of him who was killed) fearing the ſame Fate, preſently adviſed the reſt of the Mutiniers hereof, and ſtirred up the *Janiſaries*, by minding them of the many Oaths they had taken with the *Spahees* to ſtand by each other: They aſſembled at *Atmeidan*, or rather *Okmeidan*, which is a Field without the City, where they uſed to Shoot with Bows and Arrows. The *Janiſar-Aga* hearing of the Aſſembly, and thinking by his Authority to diſperſe, and appeaſe it, enter'd boldly into the Field; whom when *Hadgi Ali* eſpied, he made up to him, and told him, *You have Murther'd our Companion, and endeavoured to ſow Diſſentions amongſt us*; and ſtriking him on the Head with his Scymeter, he was immediately cut to pieces. This Man was an *Armenian* Renegado; and as it is ſaid, he was after his Death found to be uncircumciſed. After this the Tumult increaſed; and then they went to the *Teſterdar's* Houſe, and ranſacked

it,

1688.

The Tumult increaſes.

The Vizier gives up the Seals.

He is killed.

His Wife, Houſe, &c. ranſacked.

it, taking away a conſiderable Sum of Money, which was prepared and laid up for the Soldiers Pay: From thence they went, and aſſaulted the Vizier in his own Houſe, where he defended himſelf valiantly; for having got to himſelf the *Teſterdar*, the Captain *Paſha*, and a conſiderable number of Friends and Servants all well armed, he repulſed them thence. At laſt, thinking to pacifie them by the Reſignation of his Office (which was a very great Error) he ſent for the Mufti, who out of fear was joyned with the Mutiniers. He gave up the Seals into his Hands, deſiring him to carry them to the Grand Seignior, that he might conſtitute another Vizier more pleaſing, and more capable to Rule his People. This falſe ſtep diſheartned all his Friends and Aſſociats, finding him deveſted of all his Authority and Power; the *Teſterdar* and Captain *Paſha* gave way alſo to the Fury of the Soldiery, and made their Eſcapes: And the Mutiniers being hereby encouraged, and not in the leaſt ſoftned by this Reſignation, fell on more fiercely, and broke into the Houſe of the Vizier, who retiring by a Back-ſtairs, was purſued by *Hadgi Ali*, and ſhot with a Piſtol, and by others wounded in the Belly, ſo that his Guts came out: He had fought couragiouſly, having ſlain ſeveral with his own Hand: His Friends would have perſuaded him to withdraw himſelf; But they could not prevail upon him, ſaying, That he could not live long, and that during his ſhort life, he would not abandon his Wife, and Children to the Fury of theſe Miſcreants. Above Fifty Soldiers were killed before they enter'd the Houſe, which they ſpoiled even to the Windows and Doors. His Wife (the Daughter of Old *Kuperlee*) gave them all her Jewels; but they treated her inhumanly, and wounded her; upon which, as then reported, ſhe Miſcarried of a Child and died: The eldeſt Daughter not delivering her Pendants ſoon enough, they cut off her Ears with them; and a younger Daughter with a Slave, they took away, and ſold for ſix Dollars.

Great confuſion.

The ruin of the Mutiniers from whence.

Mahomet's Standard ſpread.

The Sedition ſuppreſſed.

1688.

Divers puniſhed.

This Tumult laſted three or four Days, when the Rebels ſeemed to be abſolute Maſters; for there was now no Vizier, no *Janiſar-Aga*, nor any ſurviving, who had any Authority over them; when a ſmall Accident ruined theſe Men, and over-turned their Anarchy, which was impoſſible to laſt: For after they had domineer'd for the ſpace of five Months, Pardoning or Killing, Raiſing or Deſtroying whom they pleaſed; it hapned, that in ſome of the Shops of the City, four of theſe *Janiſaries* in the Morning had taken away ſome Embroider'd Handkerchiefs, and other ſmall Commodities which remained there to be Sold; upon which a great Cry, and Clamour being raiſed amongſt the Shop-keepers, by the Encouragement of an *Emir* they all aroſe, fell on them, and killed two of them; and then the *Emir* putting a Linnen-cloth on a Stick, and lifting it up cried out, *Let all true Muſſelmen come to the* Seraglio, *and pray the Grand Seignior to put out the Prophet's Standard and deſtroy theſe Rebels*: Upon this, great numbers of the Citizens, who had been highly incenſed by their Robberies and Inſolence, got in a Body together and went to the *Seraglio*, which ſo encouraged the *Sultan* and thoſe within, that the Standard was ſet forth about Noon, and Proclamation made in the Streets, for all People to come and Fight under it. The Reverence paid to this Standard, brought an incredible concourſe of People of all Conditions and Ages, under the Walls of the *Seraglio*; from whence a *Shegh*, or Preacher called to them thrice, and asked them, Whether they were contented with their preſent Emperor? To which, Anſwer was made in the Affirmative, with three great Shouts; but that they would have the *Giurbaes*, or Captains, or Ringleaders of the Mutinous Militia deſtroyed: Upon which, Orders were given to ſeize them: Accordingly Thirteen of them were taken and cut to pieces; the reſt fled or abſconded. The Mufti alſo, who had ſided with the *Giurbaes*, was deprived of his Office, and *Tabac Effendi* put into his place, who had formerly been depoſed by the unruly Soldiers: All that night a ſtrong Watch was ſet about the *Seraglio*, and the next day all was quieted, as if none of theſe Diſturbances had hapned: Only Proclamation was made to Search for the Rebels, of which, as many as were found, were immediately executed. Upon this Revolution, and Turn of Affairs all the great Officers were changed: The *Niſangi-Paſha* who was an old Man, and for many years had done nothing elſe, but make the Grand Seignior's Firm on Commands, was created Grand Vizier: And a very young Man, the fifth Page of the R. Chamber, whoſe Office it is to cover the Grand Seignior's Table, was made *Aga* of the *Janiſaries*: Several *Armenians*, who dreſſed in the Habit of Soldiers, had mixed with the Tumults, and plunder'd the Houſes of the late Grand Vizier, and *Aga* of the *Janiſaries*, were taken and hanged, and ſeveral others were Impriſoned upon Suſpition of confederacy with the Rebels. In fine, upon Proclamation made, that whoſoever had plunder'd any thing from any of the aforeſaid Houſes, and ſhould reſtore the ſame again in the ſpace of three days, ſhould obtain his Pardon; which had ſo good effect, that ſeveral Sums of Money, were either brought to the new

1688.

Vizier, or in the night time laid in the Streets, and next morning reſtored. And now from this day only may we begin to account the Reign of this new Sultan: Who in the firſt place to exerciſe his Authority, by a ſtrict reformation of things, he ſuppreſſed Taverns, and prohibited the taking of Tobacco: And to obſerve what effect his Authority had taken; he walked one day *Incognito* in the Streets, with about eight Servants at a ſhort diſtance from him, and finding two poor Fellows ſelling Tobacco, he cauſed them immediately to be executed. The ſuppreſſion of this dreadful Mutiny and Rebellion, produced a general Joy and Jubily over the whole City, and ſerved to bring the Soldiery again into their Wits, who had for ſome Months, like ſo many Wild and Ravenous Beaſts, getting the Bridle out of their Mouths, acted without Reaſon or Common-Senſe. For one would have thought that Men, ſo lately mortified by the Victories and Succeſſes, which their Enemies had gained over them, ſhould not thereby grow, or become more inſolent; or that they who fled before their Enemies, ſhould bluſh to abandon their Frontiers, and leave them naked and expoſed, whilſt they marched Five or Six hundred Miles homewards, to reak their Anger on their Commanders, and exerciſe the little Courage which was left them, againſt their Citizens and Country-men. But many times we read, that ſuch Turbulences as theſe, which are like Fevers in the Body Politick, have ſerved to render the whole Compoſition afterwards more healthful, being thereby purged of many corrupt and malignant Humours.

The Sultan takes upon him to govern.

Iſmael made Vizier by Chance.

And ſo it hapned in this caſe; for after the Death of *Sciaus Paſha*, and the deſtruction of the *Giurbas*, it hapened fortunately for the preſent Vizier *Iſmael*, that there was no Paſha then in view, on whom to confer this Sublime Office. After which no eminent Men appearing, and of years fitter to ſupport the weight of ſo great a Charge, then *Iſmael*, who was almoſt arrived to the Age of Fourſcore; it was propoſed, that he ſhould deſcend to the Truſt of *Chimacam*: But *Iſmael* rejected that employment, ſaying, That in ſuch turbulent Times he could not act with Vigour and Authority, requiſite for compoſing the preſent diſtractions, and ſecuring the Peace and Quiet of the Empire, unleſs he were inveſted with the Supreme Power and the Seal of Vizier, which in that preſent Exigency was granted to him: But he having never made any Figure in the World before, and this advancement to ſo high a Dignity being very accidental, it was really believed, that it could not be of any long continuance, and that he was rather deſigned to ſupply the Vacancy, than poſſeſs the Office. But in a few days *Iſmael* diſcovered to the World, that his intentions were not to keep the place warm for another, but to ſettle himſelf; and for his own greater ſecurity and quiet of the City, he immediately fell to purge with great ſeverity the dregs of thoſe ill Humours, which had diſturbed the Government. And ſo he cauſed all the chief Servants of the *Giurbas*, and ſeveral of the *Spahees*, and *Janiſaries* (who had ſided with them) every Night to be cut off and thrown into the Sea, to the Number of about a Thouſand, by which the reſt being terrified, the Soldiers were reduced to as exact an Obedience, as formerly.

1688.

March 1688.

The Vizier endeavours to ſettle himſelf.

To proceed farther in this Work, the *Teſterdar*, or Lord-Treaſurer, who was firſt put in by the *Giurbas* (tho afterwards they would have killed him) was impriſoned in the Middle-gate of the *Seraglio*, and all his Eſtate ſeized: Then was the *Kia bei*, or Lieutenant-General of the *Janiſaries* ſent for, and veſted by the Vizier as a Paſha; but ſo ſoon as he was gone out, he was ſeized, impriſoned, and privately conveyed away in a Boat, and baniſhed to *Mytilene*. The reaſon why the Grand Vizier made him a Paſha, was becauſe that according to the Conſtitution of the *Janiſaries*, and that Ancient Cannon, no *Kia-bei*, whilſt ſo, can be put to Death, or Baniſhed, until he is firſt diveſted of that Office.

Kuperlee *ſent to* Canea.

And now *Kuperlee*, who, as formerly mentioned, was ſent away to the Caſtles at the *Dardanelli*, began to come into remembrance, and to be looked on by the Vizier as his Rival, and a dangerous Competitor, and as ſuch, to be too near the Port: Wherefore to remove him farther off, a Gally was ordered to Tranſport him to *Canea*, and the ſame Gally in her return to take *Muſtapha* Paſha, the late *Janiſar*-Aga, who was not long ſince baniſhed to *Canea*, and bring him back to the *Dardanelli*.

Several Impriſoned, and Fined.

And farther to purge the Army of all Mutiniers, and puniſh them for their late Sedition, ſeveral of the chief *Giurbas* were taken, ſtrangled, and their Bodies thrown out before the Gate of the *Seraglio*. *Shaban* Aga, the *Kaiah*, or Deputy of *Siaus* Paſha, late Vizier, and his Haſnadar, or Treaſurer, were impriſoned to make a diſcovery of the Eſtate belonging to *Siaus* Paſha, their Maſter; in Compoſition for which, upon payment of One hundred and twenty Purſes, they were ſet at liberty. *Shaban* Aga the Cuſtomer was alſo ſeized, and Three hundred Purſes demanded of him; but he having been ſo often fleeced, and ſqueezed in all Turns, declared himſelf unable, and ſo was continued in his Impriſonment.

In

1688.

In the mean *Teghen*, the famous Robber in *Aſia*, who having the laſt Year brought with him Fifteen hundred men into *Hungaria*, was for that reaſon made a Paſha, by *Solomon* then Vizier; and for want of better Officers, the Command of the *Turkiſh* Forces on the Frontiers of *Hungaria* were now committed to his Conduct: But being a Man always uſed to Rapine, and Violence, he could not caſt off the Trade to which he was accuſtomed, but fell in upon the Country of one *Zeni* the Paſha of *Albania*, which he plundered, and pillaged on all ſides where he came, raiſing great Sums with all manner of Oppreſſion, by the Force and Violence of his Soldiers; which *Zeni* not enduring, oppoſed and beat them away. Whereupon *Teghen* made great Complaints to the Port; and *Zeni* not knowing what impreſſions they might make in the minds of the Great Men, appeared in Perſon at *Conſtantinople* to make his defence; but ſo low-ſpirited were the Miniſters at that time, that for fear of *Teghen*, they gave up *Zeni* to be ſtrangled by him. This *Zeni* was an *Albanian* by Birth, and of good intereſt in his Country, and always bred up to the Wars, and eſteemed a brave Soldier; and being now ſentenced to Dye, he made it his earneſt deſire, that he might be ſent againſt the Grand Seignior's Enemies, that he might Dye in the midſt of them with his Sword in his Hand; but he was to be Sacrificed to the baſe and rapacious Spirit of a Robber; for to ſo vile and mean a Degree was the Greatneſs and Authority of this Empire fallen.

Yeghen Bei *commits ſome outrages.*

Paſha of Boſnia *ſtrangled.*

It being now the Month of *March*, when it was high time to form an Army with all Proviſions of War for the Campaigne, frequent Conſultations were held thereupon in the *Divan*. The New Vizier, as to himſelf, was for ſeveral reaſons unwilling to remove from the Court to the Camp; For he was very poor when he came firſt to that Office: And thô the Conjuncture was favourable, when he was at firſt advanced to it, all Offices being then new Farmed, and let out through the whole Empire, which brought him at leaſt a Thouſand Purſes of Money; yet the Equipage of a Grand Vizier for the War was vaſt, and to one in his condition wholly diſfurniſhed of Tents, Horſes, Camels, Mules, &c. would be unſupportable: And this gave him a fair pretence to excuſe himſelf from going this Year to the Wars: Nor indeed was it his intereſt ſo ſoon to abſent himſelf from the Grand Seignior's Preſence, until he had ſetled himſelf in his Favour and Acquaintance, and introduced his own Creatures. Moreover his Age was great, and his Experience in the War little; the Preparations for the War, by reaſon of the late Diſtractions, and Inteſtine Troubles, Diviſions, and all kinds of ill-management, were become very inconſiderable; ſo that it was not without favour to the Vizier given out, that it was not for the Reputation of the Grand Seignior's Seal, and the Safety and Honour of the Prophet's Standard to be ſo meanly attended. Whereupon it was concluded to make *Teghen* a Vizier of the Bench, to ſend him Three Horſe-tails, and conſtitute him Sardar, or Major-General in *Hungary*.

The Grand Vizier makes excuſe for not going to the War.

1688.

Yeghen *intruſted with the* Army.

All this while *Teghen* had not been idle, but had purſued his point of raiſing Monies by all manner of Extortions, and at laſt very confidently wrote a Letter to the Vizier; importing, That in caſe any Letters ſhould have been wrote to the Port, containing Complaints of his having raiſed great Sums upon the People; he deſired the Vizier to peruſe the Account, whereby he would find that the Sums he had raiſed, did almoſt amount unto One thouſand Purſes, which he had employed to the payment of his Soldiers, and to provide them with Neceſſaries, deſiring that One thouſand Purſes more might be forthwith ſent him to pay off the remaining Arrears of the Army, which would ſerve to keep the Soldiers in Order, and Obedience, and put both himſelf and them in a convenient poſture for the War.

1688.

He demands Money.

But the Vizier was not very forward to ſend him ſupplies of Money, having taken a jealouſy, that by his various motions he intended to ſet up for himſelf; for many of his Ancient Comrades came daily flocking over to him, and ſome privately from *Aſia*; and therefore deſigned to remove him as far off from him, as he could, and give him his Hands full of buſineſs with the *Germans*.

The Vizier anſwers not.

Soon after which, this *Teghen* ſent his Steward or *Kaiah*, named *Kara Muſtapha*, with Letters to the Grand Vizier, recommending the *Kaiah* to be made Paſha of *Caramania*, and that he might have Orders to forward the *Aſiatick* Levies for the War. This the Vizier diſſembled and granted; and accordingly whilſt his *Kaiah* was preparing an Equipage for his Government, other Letters came from *Teghen*, demanding more Money and Soldiers, with the Standard of *Mahomet*, and a power to diſpoſe of all the Offices, and *Paſhalucks*, or Government of Paſhas in thoſe parts, adding that it was very fit the Grand Seignior's Seals ſhould be in the Army, as neceſſary to uphold the Authority of a General, and keep the Soldiers in due obedience. This ſpoke ſo plain his intention of ſetting up for Grand Vizier, That a Great Council was convened, where it was agreed to take from him

1688.

Yeghen *demands the Grand Seignior's Seals.*

1688. him even the Office and Title of *Sardar*; and beſtowing on him the Title only of Paſha of *Temiſwar*, *Haſnadar*, or Treaſurer, *Haſſan* Paſha was again made *Seraskier* in the Room of *Yeghen*. To execute this reſolution with more Authority, Five *Kapigibaſhees* were diſpatched, with Orders and Inſtructions, That in caſe *Yeghen* would not accept of the Government of *Temiſwar*, and refuſe quietly to repair thither; then they were by vertue of a Royal Command under Signature of the Grand Seignior, directed to the *Boſtangibaſhees* at *Adrianople*, and in all parts of *Romelia* to raiſe the *Neſiran*, or Trained-Bands of thoſe Countries upon him. And to prevent the paſſage of *Yeghen* into *Aſia*, where by joyning with a Body of Thieves, and Robbers, and Malecontents of his Party, he might cauſe great Commotions, the Ways were all laid with Forces to prevent and obſtruct his Paſſage: And that his *Kaiah* neither, might not be permitted to paſs into *Aſia* to prepare Commotions againſt the coming of his Maſter; the Gates of *Conſtantinople* were ſhut, and Guards ſet, not to ſuffer any to go out of the City. But the *Kaiah*, upon the Rumour hereof, ſurrendered himſelf that Evening to the Grand Vizier, and had immediately been ſtrangled, had not the Mufti vigorouſly interpoſed in his behalf, alledging, That it would appear more juſt and reaſonable to ſecure his perſon for the preſent, and to ſtay, and to ſee what effects the Grand Seignior's Orders would have upon *Yeghen* his Maſter.

But is degraded.

New fears in the City from Yeghen.

Theſe Rumours raiſed once again new fears and diſtractions at *Conſtantinople*; for Reports flew about, that *Yeghen* was on his march towards the City, where he had a ſtrong Party amongſt the *Giurbas*, and others, giving out that he came to reſtore Sultan *Mahomet*, or his Son, to the Throne, all which being Fore-runners of a New Civil War, moved many rich *Turks* to leave the City, and ſome of them to retire to *Grand Cairo*, the Sanctuary of Rich and Opulent *Turks*. The Vizier in the mean time to obſtruct his March, ſent Ten or Twelve Chambers of *Janiſaries*, with ſeveral Pieces of Cannon to guard an important Paſs, called *Muſtapha* Paſha's Bridge, upon a River in the Marſhes, about Six Hours Journey from *Adrianople*: And leſt he ſhould have another deſign in his Head of paſſing over into *Aſia*, at the narrow Streight of the Helleſpont, *Morza* Paſha was ſent with other *Janiſaries* to *Gallipoli*, where it was probable he might attempt a paſſage, it being reported, that he had already ſent Four hundred Purſes, with many of his People by that way. All his Force was reported to conſiſt only of Four thouſand Horſe; and it was hoped by the Grand Vizier, and other Chief Commanders, that many of theſe would deſert alſo; and that all the Country of *Romelia*, which had miſerably been haraſſed by him, and that the Great Men, who mortally hated him, would unanimouſly riſe to ſuppreſs, and reduce him to Subjection. 1688.

1688. During all theſe inteſtine Embroils, no care was taken to oppoſe the Foreign and Common Enemy, all being abandoned to their Luſt, until they could ſee an end of the Civil Wars. From whence we may learn, That no Faith or Truſt is to be given to Robbers, and Highway-men, like theſe; for tho they may by fair words, and ſpecious pretences, come in to the aſſiſtance of a Prince, their deſign is to ſet up for themſelves, and ſet only on Miſchief, on Rapine, on Violence, which their Education had made natural unto them.

Iſmael the Vizier undermined.

Still did the Apprehenſions, and inteſtine Diſturbances from *Yeghen* daily increaſe; and *Iſmael* the Vizier being found to be a Perſon of ill Qualities, Proud, Obſtinate, and extremely Avaritious, beſides his ſmall practice in Affairs; the Mufti, together with the Chief Men of the Law and Sword, gave privately by the hands of the *Kuzlir-Aga*, an *Arz*, or Memorial to the Grand Seignior, repreſenting that they thought themſelves obliged in Duty, humbly to make known unto him, that *Iſmael* Paſha was not a fit man to continue Vizier: That ſuch difficult times, as theſe, required one of the greateſt Abilities, and Experience; and that none was better qualified to contend with the dangerous Troubles and Commotions, than *Muſtapha* Paſha, at preſent an Exile at the Caſtles of the *Dardanelli*. The Grand Seignior preſently agreed to the Counſel, and diſpatched a Hatte-Sheriff, or Royal Command to *Muſtapha* Paſha, to repair to his preſence; which he accordingly did; and the next Morning after his Arrival, he 1688. viſited the Grand Vizier; who being informed that *Muſtapha* was ſent for to be made Vizier of the Bench, and to be an Aſſiſtant to him in his Counſels, for the better Compoſure of the diſturbed Eſtate of the Empire, he veſted him with a Veſt of Sables, as a Vizier of the Bench, and Companion with him, to bear a ſhare of the heavy burthen of the Government. The Vizier alſo deſigned to move the Grand Seignior to employ him in the Command of the Army, in the place of *Yeghen*; for which Office he was very proper, being well beloved in the Army, and in high Reputation both of the *Spahees* and *Janiſaries*.

Muſtapha Paſha ſent for.

But the Vizier had but flattered himſelf with all theſe Meaſures; for coming one

1688. Morning from the *Divan*, and being ſate down at his Table to Eat, in came the *Baltagee Kiaſei*, or Lieutenant of the Guard of the Battle-axes, and delivered a Hatte-Sheriff, or Royal Command from the Sultan, to deliver up the Seals, which he immediately did; and the ſame being carried to the Grand Seignior, he ſent for *Muſtapha*, and gave them to him, veſting him with the Ceremonies uſual at the Creation of a Grand Vizier.

Muſtapha *made Vizier.*

After which, the firſt thing which *Muſtapha* did, was to diſpatch away ſeveral Couriers to *Tegben*, and to the *Paſhas* in thoſe parts to countermand the Orders formerly ſent; but before thoſe Advices could arrive, a Meſſenger came with Letters from *Tegben* to *Iſmael*, and the Mufti, acquainting them, That ſince the *Neſtran*, or Trained-Bands had by their Orders been raiſed upon him, and encompaſſed him round on all ſides in the Plains near *Sophia*, where he lay Encamped, but durſt not attack him; (for if they did, he reſolved to ſell his Life dear, as he had declared to thoſe, who came to take him) therefore he proteſted againſt the Vizier, and Mufti for all the Muſſelman Blood, which ſhould be ſpilt in that quarrel. He alſo deſired the Paſhas, who came againſt him, to have patience only until an Anſwer was returned to thoſe Letters which he was then ſending to the Port, and to give them free paſſage. In his Letters he ſeemed to wonder much, what ſhould be the cauſe of this Commotion, he for his part having done nothing contrary to his Duty, or his Allegiance to his Prince; and therefore could not believe, that it was the Grand Seignior's Will and Pleaſure that theſe Arms ſhould be raiſed upon him; but if it were, he would go, and lay his Head at his Feet, who might take it, if he pleaſed, but he would deliver it no other perſon.

Yeghen *writes to* Iſmael *and the Mufti.*

Muſtapha, now Vizier, having received the Letters, read them, and ſaid to the Meſſenger, who brought them, *Curſed be he who was the cauſe of this diſturbance*: But howſoever he ſaid that all ſhould end well; for that he had already diſpatched Orders for pacifying and compoſing all things, and would next day return him back with a Confirmation of the former diſpatch. *Iſmael* being now laid aſide, and out of Power and Office, was to bear the Burthen of all the Misfortunes; for that *Tegben* Writing, in caſe he had not more Men and Money, he could not advance farther againſt the Enemy, but ſhould be forced to return to *Conſtantinople*. *Iſmael* had taken the Alarum, and raiſed the Country upon him without juſt or reaſonable Apprehenſions of any danger from a force ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, as that of *Tegben*'s, they conſiſting of no greater a Number, than that of Four thouſand men. But the Truth was; *Iſmael* had great reaſon to apprehend the danger of the approach of *Tegben* to the Port; for he was a dangerous Villain; and tho his Numbers were not great, yet they might be formidable when joyned to the Faction and Friends of the *Giurbas*, and the Male-contented Party which lay concealed, and under Covert in the City of *Conſtantinople*. 1688.

Muſtapha *Vizier anſwers* Yeghens *Letter.* Iſmael *blamed.*

But now new Maſters, new Meaſures; and *Tegben* was to be Courted by Letters from the Vizier, declaring that the Sultan highly eſteemed his Fidelity and Bravery; and had pardoned him; and that now he ſhould return to the Frontiers, and cheerfully attend the Service of the Sultan: As to his *Kaiah* he was continued in the Office, with the Title of Paſha of *Caramania*; but was ordered to ſupply his Government with a *Muſſelim*, or Deputy, but he himſelf was ordered to ſerve in the War.

And now after theſe diſpatches, *Iſmael* was called upon to Refund the Monies, which he had raiſed from Paſhas, and other Officers for their places; which were valued to amount unto One thouſand Purſes; but he made his Compoſition, and paid to the Teſterdar or Treaſurer Five hundred only.

Iſmael *Fined.*

Thus had the Civil Diſſentions taken up all their time, and obſtructed the due Preparations for a War ſo preſſing and heavy upon them; ſo that little could be expected of great Action in *Hungary*, the Seaſon of the Year (which was now *April*) being far advanced: Howſoever great things were expected from the Wiſe and Valorous Conduct of this New Vizier *Muſtapha*, having for his Merit been raiſed from a common Soldier to be a General. He had been *Janiſar*-Aga at the Siege of *Vienna*, and afterwards Seraskier at the firſt Siege of *Buda*, and was for a while in great Reputation with all People, both Civil and Military.

1688.
May

But this favourable Air of the People did not continue long; for *Muſtapha* by his Indiſpoſition of Body, and the continual Diſtractions and Difficulties of the Times, ſeemed not to anſwer the great expectation which was at firſt conceived of him; and indeed the Confuſions and Fears of the People, grew always higher and greater as Dangers approached nearer; to increaſe which, there wanted not evil Spirits to poſſeſs and affect the minds of the Vulgar with hideous Stories and Reports; and indeed as for ſome of them, there wanted not probable Reaſons, or ſubſtantial Foundation. The News of the Revolutions at *Grand Caire* took up a greatpart of the Diſcourſe; the Truth of which came afterwards to Light, and known to be no other, but a diſcontent of the People raiſed upon a Belief, that the

Fears and terrible Reports at Conſtantinople.

Vizier

1688. Vizier intended to change the *Paſha*, which had but four Months before been entred into his Office: Upon which Report, after many Conſultations held at Grand *Cairo*, they reſolved to ſend ſeveral of their *Beys*, or Lords, as Deputies to repreſent unto the Vizier, that beſides the great Tax laid upon the Country at the entrance of every new *Paſha*, it was contrary to the Priviledges, and Conſtitutions of *Egypt*, that their *Paſha* ſhould be changed before the expiration of three years; the which they ſupplicated the Vizier to conſider, and to lay theſe their Deſires and Reaſons before the Grand Seignior. The Vizier at firſt anſwered them very roughly, and with Anger, telling them that this Meſſage which they brought aroſe from Humours and Seeds of Mutiny and Sedition, and the Contagion they had received from the Rebellious *Giurbas*; That they undertook to meddle in matters, which did not concern them; that they were the Grand Seignior's Subjects, and therefore ought quietly to ſubmit, to whom ſoever it was his Imperial pleaſure to ſet over them. But in a few days afterwards, upon cooler Thoughts, and Reflections on the preſent diſorder of the Government, it not being judged convenient to diſcontent or provoke this People; he called again for the Deputies, and diſmiſt them with a confirmation of the ſame *Paſha*, and ſo diſpatched them back again to Grand *Cairo* with full ſatisfaction.

Deputies ſent from Grand Cairo.

They are diſpatched back again.

But that which gave moſt trouble, was certain Advice, that in *Aſia* great numbers of Thieves and Robbers infeſted the Country, and that a Body of about Four thouſand Men had appeared before *Angora*; the Head, or Chief Commander of which was one *Tedic*, under whom *Teghen* had ſerved as a Captain, before he came into the Grand Seignior's Service; he was a bold and an old Robber, who had long lived on Rapine and Spoil, and now commanding ſo conſiderable a Body of Horſe, he ravaged all the Country, commanding free Quarters every where, and raiſing Contributions and Taxes in all places according to his own Luſt and Pleaſure; and hearing what ſucceſs *Teghen* his Under-Officer had gained, he was willing to put in for a ſhare with the reſt; offering himſelf and Forces to come over into Europe, and ſerve the Grand Seignior in the Wars of *Hungary*.

Robbers in Aſia *trouble the Country.*

About the ſame time alſo there hapned a Combuſtion in *Candia*, where the Soldiers mutined for want of Pay, and killed their *Paſha*, with the *Aga* of the *Janiſaries*, and ſome others, ſeizing on the *Paſha*'s Eſtate, which was accounted to amount unto ſo much Money, as would pay the Soldiers all that was due to them. Whereupon the Grand Vizier created *Kuperlee-Ogle*, lately baniſhed thither (as we have mentioned) *Paſha* of that Country, and the *Moxur Aga* or Major General of the *Janiſaries*, to be *Aga* of the *Janiſaries* in the places of thoſe, who were lately killed in the Tumult, and likewiſe diſpatched from *Conſtantinople Ali Paſha*, who was once a Creature of *Kara Muſtapha Paſha* late Vizier, to be *Paſha* of *Canea*; by which means the Vizier freed himſelf of two dangerous Competitors. 1688.

Mutinies in Candia.

In the mean time *Iſmael Paſha* the late Vizier was ſent on a Gally to guard *Cavalla*, a Caſtle near *Salonica*, which in effect was no other than an Honourable Baniſhment; And becauſe the Grand Seignior was not pleaſed to accept the offer made to him by *Tedic*, a *Teſtirgee Paſha*, with ſome other ordinary *Paſhas*, were diſpatched into *Anatolia*, to ſettle and ſecure the Country, and to reduce *Tedic*, and the Thieves his Complices to Obedience.

Iſmael *baniſhed.*

Tedic *was to be ſuppreſſed.*

The Grand Vizier now according to the Cuſtom of all his Predeceſſors, that he might ſettle himſelf more firm, began to make ſeveral changes in the Officers; amongſt others, he put out *Ramadam Effendi*, Lord Treaſurer in the late time of *Iſmael*, placing in his ſtead *Mahomet Effendi*, Treaſurer in the time, when the *Giurbaes* governed; an ill Man, and of a bad Reputation.

Nor could the Vizier think himſelf ſecure whilſt *Teghen* Command his Forces, ſo near as *Sophia*, and was diſobedient to all Commands, aſpiring to no leſs, than to be Seraskier or General of the Army; nor could it be thought, he would ſtop there, or at any other point until he came to be Grand Vizier: Wherefore *Muſtapha* Vizier, diſpatched private Orders to have *Teghen* ſtrangled; who remained hovering about, between *Belgrade* and *Sophia*, keeping all Strangers from any near approach, ſo that the execution of thoſe Orders were reſpited, until a more opportune conjuncture: For he continued ſtill in Rebellion, having refuſed to go to *Boſna*, declaring that he would not give up the Command of Seraskier of the Army in *Hungary*, to *Haſſan Paſha*, or any other.

Yeghen *continues in Rebellion.*

Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation, an Envoy arrived at *Conſtantinople* from the Emperor of *Morocco*, with Letters of Complement to the Grand Seignior upon his Exaltion to the Throne, and with Offers, that as the *Chriſtians* were united together againſt the *Muſulmen*, ſo he was ready to give his Aſſiſtance to the Grand-Seignior in defence of the Mahometan Faith. 1688.

It being now the Spring time, when the *Turks* always put their Horſes out to Graſs and Soil: The *Imbrahor*, or Maſter of the Horſe, invited the Grand Seignior into the Fields, to ſee in what order his Horſes were governed at their Paſture; and there

The People diſpleaſed with the New Sultan.

gave him a very Splendid Entertainment. The Grand Seignior was ſo pleaſed with the Dinner, the Air, and the Fields, that in two or three days afterwards he went again to the Meadows at *Cat-Hanah*, about two Engliſh Miles at fartheſt from *Pera*; where he was again feaſted, not without the Cenſure and Murmuring of the People; who ſaid, That in a ſhort time he would follow the Example of the late *Sultan* in his Diverſions, and Negligence in the Government, ſo they ſhould have changed (as indeed they had) to little purpoſe.

1688.

It began now plainly to appear, That the *Turks* by reaſon of their inteſtine Diviſions, had made very inconſiderable Preparations either by Land or Sea: Howſoever ſomething was neceſſary to be; and therefore in the firſt place, Eleven Gallies were ſent to Guard the *Black Sea* againſt the *Coſacks*, who (as was reported) were preparing to make Incurſions into the Parts near *Conſtantinople*, as they had uſually done in former times.

The Turks *make ſmall Preparations.*

But their chief Apprehenſions and Fears were raiſed from a Report, that the Imperialiſts were marching towards *Belgrade*: And indeed they had great Reaſons for it; for they had nothing of Force on the Frontiers, nor nothing to oppoſe them in caſe the Emperor ſhould think fit to puſh forward his Conqueſts, which nothing could obſtruct, beſides Famine and Hunger in a March through a ruined, and a deſart Country.

They ſeek for Peace.

An Ambaſſador deſigned for England.

1688.

The Embaſſy put off.

The *Turks* in theſe extremities, finding no ſafety or ſucceſs, and protection in their Arms, had recourſe to their laſt refuge, which was, if poſſible to obtain a Peace with the Emperor, a Method, which they had never practiſed before ſince they were an Empire, to be the firſt to Sue for a Peace. But now Neceſſity preſſing them, they were for diſpatching an Ambaſſador to the Kings of *France*, *England*, and the States of *Holland*, whoſe deſign, ſubſtance and main drift of his Embaſſy was only pretended to give notice unto thoſe Powers of the Exaltation of *Sultan Solyman* to the Throne of the *Ottoman* Empire: But with private Inſtructions to inſinuate unto thoſe Princes ſeverally to interpoſe in a Mediation of Peace, and to uſe their endeavours to give a ſtop to the Career of the Imperial Arms; which good Offices, in order to a Peace might reaſonably be expected from Kings and Princes, who had for many years maintained a happy Peace, and Correſpondence with the *Ottoman* Port; where their Ambaſſadors had been treated with Friendſhip, and their Merchants with Security, and their Trade flouriſhed on all ſides with Profit and Advantage. One *Achmet Aga* being propoſed for this Embaſſy, he was ſeverally treated and feaſted by the three Ambaſſadors, who by the Diſcourſes they had entertained with him, obſerved him to be a Perſon diſcreet, and better practiſed in Affairs of Countries different to their own, than commonly *Turks* are, who think it an Indignity to them, to look into the States of Chriſtian Princes, which ſo lately the *Ottoman* Empire overlooked, as unworthy their Conſideration: To Tranſport this Ambaſſador a French-ſhip was appointed, and his Equipage prepar'd; but by the Conduct of Sir *William Trumbal*, Engliſh Ambaſſador then at *Conſtantinople*, and the confuſed Affairs of the *Turks*, this Embaſſy did not ſucceed: And indeed the Turky Company could not expect to Reap any thing from thence, but trouble and expence, and perhaps diſpleaſure at the Port, in caſe his Entertainment had not equalled, that which he had received at *Paris*.

Ambaſſadors deſigned to the Emperor.

1688.

Howſoever, the *Turks* were better reſolved in the Point of that Embaſſy, deſigned to the Emperor. And to that end, they choſe *Hamedi Effendi*, one who had been bred up a Clerk, and afterwards came to be firſt Accountant in the Treaſury; and *Mauvro Cordato*, a *Greek* by Nation, a Man of Intrigue and Buſineſs, having for many years been employed for Interpreter to the Grand Vizier, ever ſince the Death of *Panaioti*. The *Turks* being aſhamed, as a thing below the Dignity of their Empire to Sue for Peace, thought it might prove a certain conſequence in Anſwer to a civil Letter, written by the Grand Seignior to the Emperor, giving notice of his Exaltation to the *Ottoman* Throne (much after the ſame Tenour with that which was written to the other Powers) with this Addition and Alteration: That whereas the ancient Amity and Friendſhip had been broken during the Reign of his Predeceſſor, he, as to his own Perſon, had not been conſenting nor inſtrumental thereunto; and that God having puniſhed the Authors of this War, he reſolved to take different Meaſures; and conſidering the Emperour as his Neighbour, he was deſirous to enter into a League of Friendſhip with him, and to eſtabliſh a firm and laſting Peace, in caſe the Emperor ſhould be inclining thereunto. Theſe Ambaſſadors were appointed to begin their Journey towards the end of *June*, towards whoſe expences the Grand Seignior intended to allow Six thouſand Dollars; which was eſteemed a ſufficient Proviſion for them, until they came to the Confines, whence according to the ancient Canon, they are to be conducted by the Emperor's Guards, and defray'd at his Expence: Their Retinue conſiſted of 60 perſons, half of which was habited in the *Turkiſh*, and half after the *Grecian* Faſhion. As yet they had received no Paſſports for them; but in

1688. aſſurance, that they would be granted, the Ambaſſadors were poſted away to *Belgrade*, there to remain in expectation of them.

The Humour of Sultan Solyman.

The New Grand Seignior during all theſe Combuſtions and Negotiations minded little, or nothing of Buſineſs; nor indeed was he capable of any; for when any thing was propounded to him, He anſwered, Yes or No, or with ſome very ſhort Reply, after the manner of Laconick brevity, and then preſently turned away to read the *Alchoran*. He was at firſt reputed after the manner of his Father, to be impotent as to Women; but afterwards taking five or ſix into his Embraces, he gave the World cauſe to conceive another Opinion of him. He ſat as aukwardly on Horſe-back as his Father, that Exerciſe being uneaſie to him; his chief Divertiſements were his Books, (which we may believe he ill underſtood) and ſometimes taking the Air on the Water, and in *Chiosks*, or Garden Houſes on the ſide of the *Boſphorus*, he paſſed his pleaſant time.

Yeghen *made Saraskier.*

His Complices encouraged.

Teghen ſtill continued to Ravage the Country between *Sophia* and *Belgrade*, as his Comrade *Tedic* that Arch-robber did in *Anatolia*: And the Government being too weak to ſuppreſs two ſuch Thieves or Highway-Men, how much leſs was it able to contend with the *German* Troops? They were forced to diſſemble, and give way to the preſent Extremities; by making *Teghen* Seraskier in *Hungary*, whilſt *Haſſan Paſha* was forced to give way, and fly privately out of the reach of his Competitor. The News hereof flew with great haſt to the Thieves in *Anatolia*, who being encouraged with the Succeſs of *Teghen*, under whoſe Government they all fancied to be made *Paſhas* or Grandees, came over in great numbers to joyn with him: Amongſt which one *Temac Boluckbaſhee*, a leading Man, with Four hundred of his Robbers paſſed boldly over from *Aſia* to *Conſtantinople*; and *Tedic* their General was not only pardoned, but made a *Paſha*.

An Aga ſent to Tranſilvania.

To this hard Plight and Extremity was the *Ottoman* Empire reduced; when the *Turks* placing their greateſt hopes in the *Tartars*, diſpatched away an *Aga* to *Apaſi* Prince of *Tranſilvania*, with a Patent to confirm him in his Principality; and with Orders to demand of him in conſideration thereof a round Sum of ready Money, wherewith to Succour, and pay the Garriſons on the *Boriſthenes*; and to provide for the Maintenance of *Caminiec*, which was in want of Ammunition, and all things neceſſary. And to perſuade *Apaſi* hereunto, he told Stories very improper and unfit to compaſs his ends; for he reherſed all the Tumults of the *Zorbas* at *Conſtantinople*, and that the Grand Seignior was forced to create *Teghen*, who was their Chief and Leader, to be Seraskier in *Hungary*. That in *Conſtantinople* there was want of every thing, even to a Famine, cauſed by the Seditions and Mutinies of the Soldiers; and that for the appeaſing theſe Tumults, and for the Donative unto the Soldiers, which is uſually given by the *Sultans* at their Inauguration, the Exchequer had been drained of Twenty Millions of Dollars; wherefore he urged the States of *Tranſilvania* to grant him his Demands; in failure of which he threatned them with the Incurſions of the *Tartars*, who had already paſſed the River *Prut*, and were enter'd into the Neighbouring Provinces, where they had left ſad Marks of their cruel and miſerable Devaſtations: And that *Sultan Galga*, and *Noradin* with a mighty Army were marching to oppoſe the Emperors deſigns upon *Belgrade*. 1688.

General *Carafa* having notice of theſe Practices upon *Tranſilvania*, went with all haſt thither; and in a ſhort time not only defeated this *Aga* in his Negotiations, but alſo ſo well diſpoſed *Apaſi*, and the States of *Tranſilvania* with entire Devotion to the Emperor, that in deſpight of the Meſſage brought by the *Aga*; they abſolutely renounced all Obedience, and Duty to the *Ottoman* Port: The which Renuntiation follows in this manner.

We Michael Teleky de Szek *General*, George *and* Alexius de Bethlem, Laodiſlaus Szekel *of* Boroſzeno, Valentine Frank *one of the Judges*, Chriſtian Zato *Conſul of the City of* Hermanſtadt, *Counſellors to the Illuſtrious Prince of* Tranſilvania: *As alſo* Nicholas *of* Bethlem, Stephen Appor, Peter Alvinzy, *and* John Staroſy *Principal and publick Notaries*, Michael Filſtrick *Judge of the City of* Braſlavia, *Plenipotentiaries deputed by the Prince aforeſaid, and by the States of the Kingdom of* Tranſilvania; *do hereby declare and make known unto all the World, deſiring that theſe Preſents may remain upon Record, for a laſting Teſtimony unto all Ages.*

With great Reaſon may this preſent Age remain aſtoniſhed, and envious Eyes become dazled with the Splendor of the Divine Clemency; which not ſuffering its beloved Chriſtendom to Groan longer under the Yoak of Barbarous Pride, nor remain in Bonds to Tyrannical Servitude, nor longer to be overwhelmed, and drowned after ſo many Wars in a Sea of Innocent Blood; hath at length out of his great Compaſſion, been pleaſed to exert the ſtrong Power of his Omnipotent Arm, to Reſcue ſo many Kingdoms and Provinces, from an unſupportable Slavery under the Turks, *who tranſported with ſenſeleſs Fury had rendered themſelves formidable to the World, ruinous to their Neighbours, and Deſpiſers of*

1688. *all People, beſides their own. But behold! How the God of Hoſts, being juſtly diſpleaſed with theſe vain Boaſtings, hath thrown his Thunder-bolts amongſt them, and diſperſed them, making the moſt Auguſt Emperor* Leopold *the Firſt an Inſtrument of his Vengeance, and having ſhowred Floods of Bleſſings on his Glorious and Triumphant Arms, hath encompaſſed his Royal Head with Wreaths of Victorious Laurel; whilſt the* Ottoman *Throne is dreſſed up with Mournful Cipreſs.*

Such were the aſtoniſhing operations of the Divine Power, made manifeſt to all the World. For when the barbarous Tyranny was in its full Career, and was in the Trail of a hot Scent after Chriſtian Blood; then was God pleaſed to ſtop them in their Courſe; and reduce their unſtable and depreſſed Fortune to the doubtful Terms of Hope and Fear.

It is now near an Age, that unhappy Tranſilvania *hath been depreſſed by the unſupportable* Ottoman *Yoak, and bewailed the loſs of her lawful King and Lord: And after having been Turmoiled, toſſed with Storms of War, with Fire and Sword, and Civil Diſſentions, all things have been ſo confuſed and defaced, that ſcarce any thing hath remained on the Regiſters of it's ancient Glory; only ſince the Dominion of the* Turk *gained by the inteſtine differences of it's own Princes, ſome Memorials are written, and reſerved to repreſent to the World a Hiſtory of a moſt direful Tragedy. But now the maligne Influence of the Stars being either abated, or entirely exhauſted; and the Ambitious Pride, and Deſigns of private Men defeated,* Tranſilvania *embraces the Paternal, and Powerful Protection of the moſt Auguſt Emperor of the Romans,* Leopold *the Firſt, and Hereditary King of* Hungary, *and of all his Succeſſors, and particularly of the moſt Serene Prince* Joſeph *King of* Hungary, *(whoſe Life may God long continue) and of his Heirs after him, according as it hath been concluded and agreed in the year* 1687, *at the laſt Diet at* Poſſonium *with full Conſent, Approbation and Concurrence of all the States of* Hungary, *who have for a long time poured out their Prayers and Tears, and Sighs before God, that at length through the Divine Mercy, they might obtain the Enjoyment of this long wiſhed Felicity. Be it therefore Enacted, Eſtabliſhed, and made known to this preſent, and to future Ages; That to the Glory of the Omnipotent God, and for the more quiet, and proſperous State of this Principality, both in this, and in Ages to come; We the ſaid Plenipotentiaries deputed by the Illuſtrious Prince, and States of this Kingdom, do with our free Will and Chriſtian Zeal, Renounce all Protection from the* Turk; *declaring that for the future, We will ſend him no Preſents, nor pay him Tribute; Nor will we maintain any Correſpondence with the* Ottoman *Port, their Adherents or Dependants, whether* Turks *or* Chriſtians; *or with any others, who are Enemies to the Majeſty of the Roman Emperor our gracious Lord, or to his lawful Succeſſours, and Hereditary Kings of* Hungary; *upon Penalty of High Treaſon, to be puniſhed according to the Laws of this Country, after due Conviction of the Crime. And in lieu of that Power which we have now renounced, We do with all Sincerity, and Purity of Heart Enter, and Liſt our ſelves under the Protection of the moſt Auguſt Emperor; and engage not only our ſelves, but our Poſterity of this Kingdom of* Tranſilvania. *And for an Evidence of this our Submiſſion and Agreement, by vertue of the power we have received from his Highneſs the Prince, and the States of the Country, We do admit, and receive the Imperial Forces, into the Fortreſs of* Kôvar, Huſs, Georgim *and* Braſlavia, *beſides other places already garriſoned by German Soldiers. Moreover we declare, That we ſhall be ready at all times, to take up Arms againſt the Common Enemy of Chriſtendom, and againſt all others, as we ſhall be commanded by our moſt gracious Lord; whom with all Humility, We Pray and Beſeech, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to confirm our Priviledges, and the free Exerciſe of our Religion, as we have hither to enjoyed: And alſo, that he would Protect, and Defend our Poſterity, and Succeſſors in the ſaid Liberty and Priviledges: And in the mean time that the Teaty and Convention made with the Duke of* Loraine *may remain in full Force and Vertue; We have in Teſtimony thereof and for greater Evidence and Manifeſtation to all the World, ratified and confirmed this our Abjuration, and Renuntiation of the* Ottoman *Protection under the Seal of the three Nations of the Kingdom of* Tranſilvania. 1688.

Given at *Hermanſtadt* the 9th of *May*, 1688.

Theſe happy Succeſſes made way for the Surrender of *Alba Regalis*, which all this time held out, ſupplying themſelves ſometimes with Proviſions by Sallies and Excurſions, which they often made even to the Walls of *Buda*. Wherefore it being wiſely conſidered, that this Garriſon might ſtill defend it ſelf for a long time, unleſs the Blocade were more ſtreightly watched; and ſuch Forces diſpoſed on all ſides, as might ſuffer none either to go in, or come out of the City; Prince *Herman* of *Baden* Preſident of the Counſel of War, projected a formal Blocade, and with ſome Parties of *Germans* and *Hungarians*, within the Juriſdiction of his own Government, together with ſome Militia of General Count *Bathyani*, Commanded by himſelf; and the former Conducted by Colonel Baron *Arey-*

Alba Regalis *ſtreightned.*

1688.

May.

1688. *zaga* Governour of *Leopolſtadt*, and theſe were enjoyned to make an actual Attack upon the place, in caſe they underſtood, that a Blocade was not likely to ſucceed.

The Turks *make a Sally.*

About the beginning of *May* theſe Forces appeared in view of *Alba Regalis*; and a ſtrict Blocade was formed on all ſides of the Town. Howſoever, the Defendants ſeemed not to loſe Courage, but on the contrary, made a ſtout Sally both with Horſe and Foot; the Iſſue of which was of no greater Importance, than only the taking off the Heads of ſome unfortunate Soldiers on one ſide and the other. And now at length to make their laſt effort, the *Turks* made another Sally on the *Germans*, but ſoon retired again without any Action; which gave opportunity to the Van-guard, to advance within Cannon-ſhot of the Town; with which the Defendants became ſo terrified, that the three Chief Commanders ſent forth a *Turk* well clothed and mounted,to make ſome motion for a Treaty: The *Turk* approaching near the Vanguard, deſired to ſpeak with ſome of the Chief Captains, letting them know, that he had Offers to make of a Surrender; which whilſt he was uttering, ſeveral other *Turks* Sallied out with a kind of cheerful Air and Briskneſs, one of which advancing before, demanded of the Chriſtian Soldiers, what it was they required? To which Anſwer being made: *The Town.* Reply was made; 'But we muſt know firſt on what 'Conditions; may we not, ſaid they, expect to receive the ſame Articles,that were 'given to *Agria*? And may not we obtain 'the Favour to have our Treaty Signed at '*Vienna*, by the great Emperor of the Romans: To which Anſwer was made, That thô they had no Power, nor Authority to give them any aſſurance of the latter, yet they would endeavour to give them ſatiſfaction in that point, as well, as in others.

They Capitulate.

The Articles are agreed, and Meſſengers ſent to Vienna.

1688. Hereupon Articles were drawn into ſeveral Heads and ſent into the City, the which, next day being conſider'd in the *Divan*, and by common conſent agreed unto, were Signed by the three Paſhas, and Chief Commanders of the Garriſon; the Sum of all which being this: That the ſame Conditions ſhould be given in all Points, as to *Agria*. And as to the Confirmation of theſe Articles by the Emperor, that the *Turks* might be ſatisfied therein, an Expreſs was diſpatched to Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, that he might ſend Advice to the Emperor of this Succeſs, and withall to intimate the Deſires of the *Turks* to have their Articles confirmed by the Imperial Signature. The which being granted, *Ali Aga*, and *Ali Beg* were commiſſioned by the Garriſon to carry the Articles to *Vienna*; and being come near to the City, an Officer was ſent to meet them with a Coach, by whom with a Guard they were conducted to the chief Inn of the City, where they were Lodged, and provided with all things neceſſary for their Entertainment. The Emperor not being in the City, but at his Country-Houſe at *Luxemburg*; the *Turks* loſt the curioſity of their Deſires, and Honour of Kiſſing the Hem of the Emperor's Garment: Howſoever, after having been courteouſly treated, they were with much expedition diſpatched away, that the Surrender of the Town might not be delaied; for in War are many Hazards: And perhaps the Commanders of the Town might have projected this pretence for a delay, not knowing what might happen in the interim by Succours from *Belgrade*; which were promiſed, and daily expected to relieve them. In conſideration of which the Marquis *Herman* of *Baden*, Preſident of the Council of War, procured the Imperial Signature to their Capitulations with all haſt imaginable, and having made a Preſent to each of them of a Watch, they were Conducted back to *Alba Regalis* by Count *Ziccky*, who had all that Winter been very Active to Watch that Garriſon, and force them to a Surrender. Thus theſe two Commiſſioners being returned to *Alba Regalis*, with the Articles of Surrender ſigned and confirmed, they enter'd into the *Divan* with the Paſhas, and other Commanders, and after ſome Debate and Conſultation, they reſolved on an immediate Surrender, and without other pauſe or delay, they began to laid their Goods and Moveables on Carts and Waggons: And on the next day being the 19*th* of *May*, they quitted the City, and went out by the Gates, to the number in all of about Eight thouſand Souls, amongſt which there were not above Three hundred Soldiers. The Articles on which the Town was Surrender'd were theſe. 1688. *May.*

First, *That the Caſtle, and City with all the Ammunition, Cannon and Arms, with the Bells, Clocks, and all things of publick uſe, ſhall without Fraud, or Deſign be delivered up; and what Mines that are, either in the Caſtle or Town, ſhall be diſcovered, and made known.*

Secondly, *That permiſſion ſhall be given without let or hindrance, or moleſtation whatſoever to the Garriſon and Inhabitants freely to leave the City with their Arms, Horſes, Beaſts, Goods and Moveables.*

Thirdly, *That the Sons of Chriſtian Women, who are Slaves, and do not paſs the Age*

of

1688. *of Eighteen, ſhall remain in the Power, and under the Government of their Fathers, who were* Turks. *But thoſe who are of riper Years, and paſt that Age, ſhall be left to their own free Will, to chuſe which ſide, or party they will take. And as to thoſe who were Born Chriſtians, and are under Age, as well Males, as Females ſhall be delivered faithfully into the Hands of the Chriſtians; and in caſe amongſt the* Turks, *any Perſon ſhall be deſirous to turn* Chriſtian, *no Perſon ſhall dare to hinder, or pervert him.*

Fourthly, *That Three hundred Waggons ſhall be provided for carrying their Goods and Moveables, as far as* Gian Curtaran *upon the* Danube; *where Seventy Boats or more (in caſe Seventy be not ſufficient) ſhall be furniſhed for Tranſport of the People and their Goods to ſuch Places, as they ſhall deſire; and in the mean while whilſt the Waggons are providing, and the Garriſon is iſſuing forth, the principal* Turks *of the City ſhall remain for Hoſtages.*

Fifthly, *That ſome* German *and* Hungarian *Officers ſhall go with the Convoy, which Conducts the People to the* Danube, *where being Embarked, they ſhall Accompany and Protect them to the next Garriſoned Town of the* Turks; *and for ſecurity of the ſafe return of ſuch Officers, ſome principal* Turks *ſhall be given for Hoſtages, to remain at* Oſeck *until all Conditions are executed, and then afterwards they ſhall have free liberty to depart.*

Sixthly, *All* Chriſtian *Captives, as well young as old, ſhall be ſet at liberty.*

1688. *The Garriſon of* Alba Regalis *Marches out.*

Thus *Alba Regalis* being Surrender'd on the 19*th* of *May*, as we have ſaid, *Te Deum* was Sung in the principal *Moſchs*, and on the 20*th* the *Turks* began to take their way towards *Gian Curtaran*; and a ſufficient Garriſon of Imperialiſts entered the City, to the number of Five hundred *Germans*, and about One thouſand *Huſſars* Horſe and Foot, under the Command of Colonel *Areizaga*, there to remain until farther Orders from the Emperor. Some few days afterwards Count *Stephen Zicchy*, Lieutenant General of *Giavarin*, who by Order of the Counſel of War had with a Guard of Five hundred *Huſſars*, Three hundred Muſquetiers of the Regiment of *Wech*, and Three hundred Horſe of the *Circle* of *Suabia*, convoyed the *Turks* to the place appointed, returned back to *Alba Regalis*, where he reported, the great Senſe the *Turks* had of the faithful obſervance, which was given to the Articles; concerning which they had made many Expreſſions of Satiſfaction; ſaying that it was no wonder, That the *Chriſtians* gather ſo many Laurels of Victory, ſince they knew ſo well with Sincerity, and Religion to obſerve, and comply with the Faith they had given: The which may more evidently appear by the Letter here following, Written to the Marquis of *Baden*. 1688.

Moſt Happy, moſt Honourable and Gentle Prince, Vizier of the Emperor of the Romans, *Friend, and dear Brother, after theſe our ſincere Salutations ſhall be come to your Hands, Be it made known unto you, That in that happy Hour, when the Imperial Decree of your moſt Gracious, and Glorious Emperor, and our Lord, and alſo your obliging Letter filled with courteous Expreſſions, and Demonſtrations of Civility uſed towards our Meſſenger* Ali Aga, *and* Ali Bei *came to Hand, we were greatly comforted, to have found favour, by means of your interceſſion, in the Eyes of your Gracious Emperor, whom the High God reward, and recompenſe with his Divine Grace. For that in purſuance of the Sacred Command Signed by your Emperor, the Honourable General* Bathyani, *and his other Officers have carefully protected us, not only when we quitted the Town, but during all our March towards the* Danube; *ſo that by the regular Diſcipline and watchful Eye of the* Germans, *and* Hungarians *towards us, we are ſafely arrived at* Gian Curtaran. *And ſo much we have thought fit to acknowledge, and expoſe at the Feet of your Highneſs; that it may be made manifeſt to the World, with how much Sincerity and Faith, this Treaty hath been Executed. As to other Matters, we find the Boats and Veſſels all in a readineſs, ſo that we Deſign to Embark and depart early to Morrow Morning; for all which good and punctual performance, we beſeech God to ſucceed, and proſper you.*

Dated the 23*d* of the Moon of *Regeb* 1099. That is, the 22*d* of *May* 1688.
Subſcribed by the Servants of God.

Achmet Vizier Commander in Chief,
Aga of the *Janiſaries*, *Zagargee Paſha*.

Beſides this Letter the ſame Perſons wrote another to Count *Bathyani* of the like Tenure; acknowledging the due Obſervance and Execution of the Treaty.

When the People, and Garriſon of this City, to the number of about Eight thouſand Souls, paſſed down the River by Towns belonging to the *Turks*, great was the Confuſion and Conſternation amongſt them, but more was the ſhame to the principal Officers, who had either by their Negligence or Cowardiſe, or ill Coduct, not relieved ſo important a City, but ſuffered it to be reduced to the utmoſt Extremities of Famine, without hopes of Succour: And at the ſame time, that the Fortreſſes of *Sigeth* and *Caniſa*, were in no better Condition, being reduced almoſt to the

like

1688. like Extremity with *Alba Regalis*, which being well known to the Imperial Counſel of War, Orders were given to ſtreighten thoſe places by a more cloſe, and ſtrict Blocade.

1688. About this time to haſten the Preparations, and to draw out the Meaſures, and Scheme of War for the enſuing Campaign; the Duke of *Loraine* arrived at *Vienna*, where ſeveral Conferences and Counſels were held, by the great Captains and Generals, than which, never did any Age produce more Brave, Valiant and Wiſe of Conduct, than appeared in this preſent year. There are many things concur to form and complete a General of Renown; towards which nothing doth more contribute, than Fortune and Succeſs in War; of which the Imperialiſts had for ſome years had a happy Run, and plaid long with a lucky Hand. The *Turks* on the contrary had loſt the moſt part of their braveſt Officers, and Soldiers; and thoſe which had eſcaped out of the Battles, became a Sacrifice to the Rage, and Fury of Mutinous and Diſſolute Soldiers, who having thrown off the Bridle of all Diſcipline, turned their Swords from their Enemies upon their own Commanders and Generals; and this was not the leaſt Miſfortune of the *Turks*, that the moſt captived People, and ſuch as formerly ſerved with the moſt blind Obedience, had forgot to obey, or revere their *Sultans*. But now if we ſhould compare theſe obſcure Commanders of the *Turks*, Men ſtarted from nothing, unexperienced in War, Thieves and Robbers, ſuch as *Tegben*, and his Maſter *Tedic*, who for ſome Years had lived on Spoils in the leſſer *Aſia*, with the Redoubted, and Valiant Generals of the Imperial Armies, we may without the help of ancient Propheſies, Prognoſticate the continued Succeſſes of the Imperial Arms: The Names of which Generals are theſe, worthy to be Recorded for ever in Hiſtory.

Counſels of War at Vienna.

The Commanders on either ſide compared.

The Chriſtian Generals and Officers.

The Duke of *Loraine*.
The Elector of *Bavaria*.
Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*.
Count *Caraffa*.
Count *de Staremberg*, Marſhal of the Field to the Emperor.
The Prince of *Salm*, a Field Marſhal, to whom the Education of the young King of *Hungary* was committed.
Count *de Rebata*, Commiſſary General of the Emperor's Armies.
Count *Dunewald*, General of the Emperor's Horſe.
Count *Palfi*, another General of Horſe.
Count *de Serau*, General of the *Bavarian* Horſe.
Prince *de Croy*, General of the Artillery.
Gondola, Chief Lieutenant General of Horſe, and a very ancient Officer. 1688.
Count *Taff*, another Lieutenant General of Horſe.
Count *Scheffenburg*, a Lieutenant General of Foot.
The Prince of *Neubourg*, Great Maſter of the Teutonick Order.
The Prince of *Savoy*.
Veterani, a brave General, full of Courage.
Piccolimini the like.
The Prince of *Lommercey*, *Rabutin*, *Negrelli* and *Eſterhaſi*, *Apremont* and *Wallis*, all Major Generals, were Perſons of great Reputation and Bravery, Fit, and Proper to Lead, Conduct, and Command an Army.

To give all theſe Generals a Character agreeable to their Worth and Merit, would be too great a Taſk, and ſavour, ſomething of Flattery, which is diſagreeable to the Sincerity of an Hiſtorian. Howſoever, we may adventure to draw ſome few Lines, in deſcribing the Complexion of thoſe Heros, to whoſe Valour and Conduct Chriſtendom is ſo much obliged for it's Defence and Safety.

Character of the Duke of Loraine.

The Duke of *Loraine* was a Prince Naturally Valiant, and unconcerned in Dangers, expoſing himſelf without Oſtentation or Vanity, into Perils, where he judged, that his forwardneſs was requiſite to animate his Soldiers, and to give them an Example to imitate his Valour. And as his Temperament was uncapable of Fear, ſo amidſt the moſt hazardous Condition he was always ſetled and compoſed, and capable to give and receive Counſel; and willingly hearkned to the Advices of any, that pretended to have an inſight into Matters: Howſoever, thô he was not eſteemed to have a large Proſpect into Matters, or to draw a Scheme for a whole Campaign; yet in the Management of a Battle, or taking all the Advantages, no General in the World was ever more capable. Howſoever it was objected againſt him, That he was over looſe in his Marches, and acted with little Order therein; that he was not careful to ſtrengthen his Convoys, nor to ſecure his Forages, by which, and a thouſand other Overſights of this nature, we read in Hiſtory, that whole Armies have been confounded, and mouldred to nothing: There is no Man, without his Faults and Defects; or, as we ſay, without his blind ſide: Yet the World muſt avouch, that he was a great Captain, and a Perſon of moſt excellent Qualifications; for it is not little to his Honour that he was not Ambitious, or tranſported with vain Glory; but firm and

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zealous for the Intereſt of the Emperor, tho he little regarded his own, by endeavouring to form and project ſtrong Leagues againſt *France*.

Character of the the Elector of Bavaria.

The Elector of *Bavaria* was another General of great Renown; than whom no perſon in the World was endued with more natural Valour; indefatigable in War, and would never be wearied or faint, thô he ſhould be conſtrained to fight every day. Skirmiſhes were his divertiſements; and thô he was a General, yet he could condeſcend to the degree of an inferior Officer, in giving Orders, where they were neceſſary. At this time he was Young, and conſequently had not as yet ſeen many Campaigns; but no Prince was ever more capable, and of greater hopes, which ſome Years afterwards were brought to all Perfection. He loved Battels; and to put the Troops of his Enemies to Flight, and to make himſelf Maſter of the Field, and to gain Victories, were his great pleaſures; but as to the Plunder of the Field, and the great Booties obtained therein, he left all to his Officers and Soldiers, never demanding any ſhare, or account of them. Howſoever he was eſteemed alſo to have his Defects; for it is ſaid, That he looked not with due attention to the care of his Troops; and that as he was very diligent and vigilant in the time of action; yet afterwards he indulged himſelf too much to his Pleaſures in the times of Vacation and Eaſe from his Labours; and it may be ſaid of him as was of a *Roman* General, That he was *Patiens Laboris, indefeſſus in bello, ſed ubi vacuerit, nimiæ voluptatis.*

Character of Prince Lewis *of* Baden.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was a true Man of War, cut out for a Soldier from his Infancy; in which Trade being Educated, he ſoon arrived to a ſingular Perfection, being naturally addicted to Arms. He was full of Courage, Heat, and Bravery; Active, Vigilant, and a Man of Order in diſpoſing of his Troops; always on Horſe-back, and capable of doing great Actions; as we ſhall ſee verified Two or Three Years afterwards: Howſoever he was not without ſome allays, by a too obſtinate adherence to his own Opinion, and Councils; which if at any time he was forced to retract or change, ſo as to follow the Advices and Counſels of others, yet he would do it with an ill Grace and Will, and not without ſome mixture of his own contrivance. He was more fit for an Army than a Court; giving his Tongue too much liberty to Speak and Diſcourſe freely of the Faults and Defects of the chief Miniſters of State; which begot him ſome Enemies, but his Greatneſs of Mind, and Succeſs in War, carried him above all.

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Count Caraffa.

Count *Caraffa* was advanced by the favour of Count *Montecuculi* his Uncle; to which his own Merits contributed very much; for being a Soldier of Fortune, he reſolved to riſe by that way; and being endued with a natural Courage, he ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions. His Enterprizes were always performed with great moderation, and Phlegm, watching his opportunities of advantage upon the Enemy, and ſeldom inclined to hazard any thing; his Counſels were full of prudent Caution, which made his Performances ſuſpected by the Enemy, fearing ſome Turn which they did not foreſee. He was alſo a Courtier as well as a Soldier, and knew how to comport himſelf towards the chief Miniſters of State in the Court; as he did alſo to the Generals, and Officers, and Soldiers in the Camp.

Count Starem-berg.

Count *Staremberg*, one of the Emperor's Field-Marſhals, a Perſon Renowned through the World for the defence of *Vienna*, was a perſon of admirable Courage and much Fire in his Temper, and endued with all Qualities fit for a Soldier, thô not ſo proper for a General, being naturally violent and tranſported with Paſſion. He is, as we find him, more celebrated amongſt Foreigners and Strangers for defending *Vienna*, than amongſt the *Germans*, who ſerved in the Garriſon with him, alledging that he expoſed his Soldiers too frequently to unneceſſary Sallies, and was too prodigal of ſpilling their Blood.

The Prince of Salm.

The Prince of *Salm* was another Field-Marſhal, to whom the Education of the Young King of *Hungary* was committed. It is ſaid, That he hath ſerved long, and gained great Experience in the War: But his Valour, Wiſdom, and Nobility, have endued him with ſuch Vertues, as ſerve not only to render him eſteemed and honoured for himſelf, but capable alſo to inſpire Learning, and Royal Thoughts into the Mind of that Young King.

Count Rabata.

Count *Rabata*, another Field-Marſhal, and Commiſſary-General of the Imperial Army, was eſteemed more capable of the latter, than of the firſt Office. For as to the providing for the ſubſiſtence of an Army, no man was ever reputed more intelligent and induſtrious, being endued with an admirable Faculty to draw out a Scheme for Winter-Quarters, and the manner how to regulate Troops with ſuch Diſcipline, as might tend to the Conſervation of the Proviſions of a Country, which Soldiers are apt to conſume unneceſſarily; eſpecially the *German* Armies, which love Plenty and Exceſs; and do commonly, (if not prevented by good Management) ruin thoſe Countries in Two Months, which

1688. might otherwiſe conveniently maintain an Army for the whole Year.

Dunewald. Count *Dunewald*, General of the Imperial Cavalry, was eſteemed very capable of that Charge; and with all the Reaſon and Juſtice in the World, may be numbred amongſt the beſt of thoſe Officers, who are eſteemed, to be Couragious, Wiſe, and Experienced in War.

Count Palfi. Count *Palfi*, General of the *Hungarian* Horſe, was a man of great Underſtanding; but becauſe he hath not ſerved in any other Wars, than thoſe of *Hungary*, he is not much eſteemed for a Soldier; howſoever being deſcended from one of the moſt Ancient and Noble Families in *Hungary*, the Court of *Vienna* judged it policy, to give in his Perſon an Example and Proof of the Emperor's Favour and good Will towards the *Hungarian* Nobility: By reaſon of which he made a ſpeedier advance into Preferments in the War, than could reaſonably be expected from his Services, and Actions.

Count Serien. Count *de Serien*, General of the *Bavarian* Troops, beſides his other Qualities, hath but too much of Wit and good Management, by which he ſeldom fails of arriving at the end of his deſigns, having by his Conduct and good Fortune, got into the Command of the *Bavarian* Troops: And ſo inſinuated himſelf into the Court of *Vienna*, that they ſeem to ſay, that they are obliged to him, for the ſtrict Alliance which the Elector hath made with the Houſe of *Auſtria*. In ſhort, he was eſteemed for a Perſon of admirable dexterity in avoiding invidious matters, without being either ſuſpected or perceived.

P. of Croy. The Prince of *Croy*, General of the Artillery, was a perſon of undoubted Valour.

Gondola. *Gondola*, firſt Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, was a very Ancient Officer; much beloved by his own Soldiers; in ſhort he is a man without Vice, Vivacity of Spirit, or Ambition, being of a Converſation eaſy, and inoffenſive to all the World.

Count Taff. Count *Taff*, a Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, was a very Gallant man, having in all occaſions of danger acquitted himſelf with great Courage; and yet he is not ſo much to be commended for his Military performances, as for the Character he hath acquired of a juſt, civil, and an honeſt Gentleman. He was of great Underſtanding, pleaſant Converſation, good Literature, and well ſtudied, accompliſhed in all his Exerciſes, doing every thing with a good Grace. In fine, he would be ſupereminent in every thing, did he not prefer thoſe Qualities which rendered him uſeful before thoſe which made him acceptable. I had once the honour to ſee him at *Vienna*, and have ſome acquaintance with him in the Year 1666.

Count *Souches*, chief Lieutenant-General of the Infantry, was greatly advanced by thoſe Employments which his Father had bequeathed to him. 1688. Souches.

Count *Schaffenberg*, Lieutenant-General of the Foot, was a perſon of great Courage, but ſomething tenacious. Schaffenberg.

The Prince of *Neuburg*, Great Maſter of the Teutonick Order, was a very good Man, but heavy and unactive; bold in danger, but without much Application to buſineſs. Neuburg.

The Prince of *Savoy*, a Gentleman of great Courage, of more ſolid Judgment, than quickneſs of Fancy. He was a Man of good Learning, and in his ſtudies had applied his mind to that part of the Mathematicks, which treats of Fortifications; by which, and by practice in War, there was great hope, that with time, he would arrive at thoſe eminent degrees of Honour and Preferment, of which the greatneſs of his Birth, and his own Virtues made him capable. P. of Savoy.

Veterani was as Brave and Valiant as any, having ſignalized himſelf in the laſt War by an extraordinary Action, worthy for ever to be remembred. He was an *Italian* by Birth, but ſo plain and unaffected in his Speech and Behaviour, that he ſeemed to have contracted nothing of the Air of that Nation, but the Name only. Veterani.

Heuſler was a Soldier of Fortune, as ſtout and brave as *Hercules* himſelf; no man more Valiant, and none more Active and Vigilant, and by his Merits only arrived to the higheſt Commands in the Army; his Comportment, Motions, and way of Speaking ſavoured of a man of Quality. Heuſler.

Piccolomini, was not only endued with Courage, which is the firſt Principle of a Soldier; but was a Maſter in the Trade of War: Tho' he hath been maliciouſly traduced, as wanting both; but his own Actions, Conduct, and Succeſs in many Battels, have evinced the contrary. Piccolomini.

To theſe we might add the Prince of *Lommercy*, *Rabbatin*, *Nigrelli*, *Eſterhaſi*, *Apremont*, and *Wallis*, all Major-Generals of Renown, and Famous Reputation, beſides many other Field-Commanders, Captains and ſubaltern Officers; ſo that, as we have ſaid, no Age could ever boaſt of more brave and undaunted Spirits. On the contrary, the *Turks* had in ſeveral Battels, unfortunate to themſelves, loſt the beſt of their brave Soldiers, Paſhas, and Timariots, and what remained were cut off by the *Chiurbas*, and the rebellious Soldiers, (as fore-related;) ſo that now there ſcarce ſurvived one perſon fit, and of ſufficient Experience to conduct an Army, as will appear in the ſequel of this preſent Year.

1688.

Reſult of the Counſels of War at Vienna.

But to return now to the Councils of War held at *Vienna* for haſtening the Campaigne, and forwarding the Troops, and drawing a Scheme for managing the War of this Year; many and various were the Opinions. At length ſtrict Orders were given to Mareſchal *Caprara*, immediately to go to *Oſeck*; and there conſult with Count *Apremont*, Governor of that place, on ſuch methods, as might beſt contribute to the Service of his Imperial Majeſty, both as to the Enlargement of the Conqueſts, and Subſiſtence of the Soldiery: In order unto which, great Numbers of Boats were laden with all ſorts of Proviſion and Ammunition, and diſpeeded down the Rivers of *Danube*, *Vagus*, *Tibiſcus*, and *Drave*, for undertaking ſome conſiderable Enterprize.

Orders were alſo diſpatched from the Council of War to General *Caraffa* in *Tranſilvania*; That having committed the command of the Upper-*Hungaria* to *Nigrelli*, and of *Tranſilvania* to General *Veterani*; and having alſo ſatisfied the Quarters of his own Militia, he ſhould forthwith march along the Banks of the *Danube*, but with ſuch Caution and Vigilance, as might ſecure him and his Forces from the Surprizals of *Tekely*; who ſince the ſurrender of *Agria* and *Mongatz*, had made frequent incurſions from *Temeſwar*, as far as *Lippa*, *Julia*, and ſometimes from *Jeno* to *Waradin*.

It being judged almoſt impoſſible to conſerve *Peter Waradin*, by reaſon of the nearneſs thereunto of *Illock*, where the Enemy maintained a numerous Garriſon, it was reſolved to draw forth the Troops and Proviſions from thence. Howſoever *Caprara* being deſirous firſt to take a view of *Illock*, he conveyed himſelf privately before the place with ſome Horſe of the Regiment of *Palfi*, and about Two hundred Dragoons on Foot, and ſeized on a *Moſch* before the Gate; but being diſcovered by the *Turks*, they Fired ſuch a Volly of Shot upon him, that ſeveral of his Dragoons were killed, and he received Two Muſquet-ſhots through the Folds of his looſe Coat, with which he retired without other hurt or loſs.

1688.

But of more concernment it was to General *Caprara* to defeat the Camp of the *Turks*, which they were forming in the open Plains of *Salankement*; to which end he prepared Boats and Barges, and Bridges to Tranſport over the *Drave* the Forces which were on their march from the Upper-*Hungary*. But the Waters by exceſſive Rains, had ſo ſwollen the Rivers beyond the Banks of their right Channel, that both Horſe and Foot were conſtrained to make a ſtop at *Darda*, to which place the General paſſed over in a Boat, and there remained until the Waters were fallen; as did alſo ſome *Bavarian* Troops deſigned to repaſs the *Danube* near *Buda*, on their march to *Erdeodi*; where having raiſed a Bridge over the *Danube*, and Six more over the Moors and Fenns, they joyned with other Forces, and marched in a Body towards *Illock*.

1688.

1688.

The Duke of Loraine *Sick.*

In the mean time, whilſt the Imperial Court was enjoying the pleaſures of the Country at *Luxemburg*, the Duke of *Loraine* falling ſick, put the Court into ſome diſcompoſure; for that the Seaſon of the Year being now ripe for Action, the want of the General's preſence, would be a neceſſary retardment to the Proceedings of the Campaigne; howſoever that was happily ſupplied by the coming of P. *Lewis* of *Baden*, who every day entred into conſultation with the D. of *Loraine*, in what manner they might beſt carry on the War on the other ſide of the *Save*; which being agreed, P. *Lewis* proceeded to the Camp, where, with Mareſchal *Caprara*, the Imperial Forces were for that time commanded, and with them it was concluded to paſs the *Save*.

The City of Stephanopolis *refuſes to receive a* German *Garriſon.*

But now ſome of the *Tranſilvanians* being allured by Succours, and great Aſſiſtance promiſed them by the *Tartars*, to renounce their ſworn Allegiance to the Emperor; the City of *Stephanopolis* refuſed to receive a *German* Garriſon, which Deſign was chiefly carried on at the perſuaſion of the *Valachians*, who conſidering that by the Submiſſion of *Tranſilvania*, their Province lay open to the *Germans*, and through that an eaſie paſſage into *Tartary*; they both joyned to perſuade the People of *Stephanopolis*, to refuſe to take in a Garriſon of *Germans*. But General *Veterani* immediately marched to the City with the Regiments of *Pace*, *Taff* and *Stirum*, and by ſurprize Attacked the Suburbs in three places, and being come within Piſtol-ſhot of the Walls, the Dragoons diſmounting from their Horſes, and raiſing ſome Barricadoes to cover them from the Enemies Cannon, they began to throw Bombs into the Caſtle, by which, and by help of the Regiments of *Baden* and *Schaffemberg*, who brought with them two Pieces of great Cannon, and four of ſmall, they batter'd the Town, to the Terrour and Conſternation of the Inhabitants; ſo that with common conſent they cried out for Quarter; which was granted to them by General *Caraffa*, at Diſcretion; and the City yielded, as alſo the Caſtle, into which five Companies of the Regiment of *Baden* were admitted. In the mean time General *Caraffa* with like diligence, Marched with a Body of an Army to *Lippa*; and having Summoned the City, he was anſwer'd by their great and Small-ſhot from the Walls: Upon which the General without any delay raiſed,

The City Surrendered.

Lippa attacked.

Lippa yielded.

1688. raiſed two Batteries, by which beating down part of the Wall, he made an Attack on the Breach; from whence, thô he was repulſed at the firſt time by the Bravery of the Defendants; yet renewing the Aſſault again with grater Force and Reſolution, they enter'd the Town by Storm, with the Death of Five hundred *Turks*; the reſt giving Fire to their Houſes and Magazines retired into the Caſtle, which they maintained a while with good Reſolution. But *Caraffa* raiſing two new Batteries, fired inceſſantly from them, and threw Bombs into it with ſuch good effect, that the Defendants terrified therewith, diſplayed a white Flag, and ſubmitted unto Terms of being made Priſoners, to the number of Six thouſand Perſons, Two thouſand of which being Men capable to bear Arms were made Slaves; but the Women and Children were freed, and with a Convoy 1688. were ſent in ſafety to *Temeſwar*: The Surrender of *Lippa* was of great conſequence to the *Germans*, having thereby opened all the Country between the River *Maros*, and the *Tibiſcus*.

Lagos yielded.

This Succeſs was ſoon followed by the Surrender of *Lagos*, a Caſtle four Leagues diſtant from *Lippa*, which after a ſmall reſiſtance yielded to Colonel *Pace* on Articles, according to which about Two hundred Soldiers, with One hundred and Eighty *Raſcians* and *Valachians* marched out, together with the Inhabitants of the lower City, and about Six hundred Women and Children. Within was only one Mortar-piece, and eight Pieces of Cannon; but no Victuals or Ammunition. The like Fortune had ſucceeded at the great Caſtle of *Caranzebes*, had not the Attacks been diſappointed by an exceſſive Rain of four or five days; which forced Colonel *Pace* to return back to General *Caraſa*, who remained ſtill in expectation of his coming to *Lippa*.

The Elector of Bavaria made General.

The Indiſpoſition of the Duke of *Loraine* increaſing, and little hopes of his Recovery to ſuch a ſtate of Health, as was requiſite to Conduct an Army during the preſent Campaign; the Elector *Maximilian* 1688. *Emanuel* Duke of *Bavaria*, was the only perſon looked upon fit for the high Command of General of the Imperial Forces: For he was a Prince thô young in Years, yet for his time, of that vaſt experience, and of that Diſpoſition and Courage, naturally inclined to War, that he ſeemed not to come behind any of thoſe renowned Generals, famed for Heroick Actions in paſt Ages; wherefore being elected by the conſent of all the General Officers, for Commander in Chief of the whole Army, the Count *Kaunitz* was diſpatched with the Imperial Letters to the Elector at *Monaco*, inviting him to accept of this important Charge. 1688. But becauſe the Seaſon of the year was far advanced, and that no time was to be loſt, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was diſpatched to the Army to joyn with Marſhal *Caprara*, both for Conſervation of the new Conqueſts, and to diſpoſe Matters in order to farther Victories.

Nor were the *Turks* only vexed with the ill Succeſſes of War, but were alſo afflicted with Earthquakes, Mutinies, Conſpiracies, amongſt their Soldiers, with Robberies and Diſordes over all *Aſia*.

An Earthquake at Smyrna.

On the 30*th* of *June*, about half an hour 1688. before Twelve a Clock at Noon, which is the common time of Dinner, hapned a moſt dreadful Earthquake at *Smyrna*, which in a few Moments over-threw almoſt all the Houſes in the City, with the Death (as is computed) of Five thouſand of the Inhabitants, many of which were drawn out half Dead from the Ruins. This terrible Judgment, by the good Providence of God hapning to be on a Saturday, (which commonly the Conſul, and Factors of the Engliſh Nation make a Day of divertiſement without any buſineſs) moſt of them were abroad, either in the Country, or on board ſome Ships in the Port, from whence they eaſily heard the lamentable Noiſe, and Cries of the falling City, not now to be ſeen, or diſcerned through the vaſt and thick Duſt which cover'd all the Ruins; thoſe who were in the Ships were ſenſible of the Shake; for the Seas lifted up the Ships, the Guns leaped in the Carriages, and the Seamen on the Deck were as unſteddy on their Feet, as in a Storm at Sea. Some who were on the Shoar, felt the Earth trembling under them, Stagger'd, and were thrown to the Ground. In the Houſes of our Merchants, three only of the Engliſh Nation periſhed, namely, Mr. *Samuel Bernardiſton*, Mr. *Henry Stephens* and Mr. *Richard Pierce*, all killed by the falling of a main Beam, as they were ſitting at Dinner: Several others which remained at Home, are ſtill alive to recount their wonderful Eſcape, whilſt the Tops, Tiles and Rafters of the Houſes fell round about them without any Wound, or touch on their Bodies. But had it ſo pleaſed God, that this Earthquake ſhould have hapned on any other Day in the Week beſides Saturday; it is more than probable, that many more of the Engliſh Factory would have periſhed in the Ruins. Of the *Jews* Four hundred were killed, and amongſt them one of their moſt famous *Rabbis* of the *Eaſt*, called *Aron Ibben Haim*. The Metropolite of *Smyrna* with many of his Papaſſes, who went into their Church to Pray, were killed by the fall of the Roof. The like Fate befel

the

1688.

A Fire breaks out.

the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who with his People was overwhelm'd with the Ruins. Of the *French* Nation the Conſul only was killed; and of the *Dutch* only one Merchant. About three or four Hours after this diſmal Shake, an Irruption of Fire appeared in the *Frank* Street, (which is a Row of Houſes along the Sea ſide, inhabited by the *Frank* Nations) for ſo the *Turks* call all the Weſtern People: This Fire perhaps might at firſt have been extinguiſhed, but that ſmaller Shakes hapning now and then after the greater Earthquake, ſo terrified the People by the falling of Walls and Tops of Houſes, that none daring to come near, ſuffer'd the Fire to prevail; which conſumed much of the Merchants Cloth, melted their Tin, Lead and Money; and burnt up their Papers and Books of Account: So that it cannot be ſaid, whether the Earthquake, or the the Fire did the greateſt Damage and Devaſtation: But this is certain, that the *Engliſh* Merchants were very conſiderable ſufferers, ſome having computed the loſs to a Hundred thouſand pounds Sterling. It is a great Queſtion from whence this Fire ſhould proceed, ſome will have it from the Fires in the *Kitchins*, which were kindled about that time of the Day, for the uſe and purpoſe of dreſſing Meat and other Services; but that ſeems unlikely; for the Kitchin Fires at that time of the Year and of the Day, being not great, might have been more eaſily extinguiſhed, and ſmothered by the fall of ſo much Brick and Rubbiſh, rather than kindled by the Beams and Rafters; wherefore I believe, that this Incendiation did proceed from an Irruption of Subterranean Fires, which are the cauſe of Earthquakes: Thus was it, when the Mount *Veſuvius* was blown up, and ſo it was, and is when *Mongibello* Vomits out it's Flames, making all the Countries tremble round the Iſland of *Sicily*; and ſo it was in the Year 1666, when *Raguſi* was deſtroyed with an Earthquake, the Subterranean Fires deſtroying whatſoever remained under the Ruins: And ſo it was at *Lima* in the *Weſt-Indies*, where after the Earthquake a Fire broke forth, which conſumed that City in the ſame manner, as afterwards it did at *Smyrna*.

1688.

Seditions in the Army.

A Conſpiracy againſt the Vizier plotted and diſcovered.

In the Army were great Diſcontents, as it always happens in times of Misfortune. *Teghen* (as we have ſaid) had forced himſelf upon the Vizier tobe made Seraskier or General; whilſt many better Men than he, were laid aſide: The Force being ſo inconſiderable on the Frontiers, it was judged beneath the Dignity of a Vizier, to appear at the Head of ſo weak an Army; wherefore remaining that year at *Conſtantinople*, where ſeveral of the diſcontented *Giurbas* had concealed them; a Conſpiracy was by them formed againſt the Grand Vizier and the Government, which had in a few hours taken effect, had it not been diſcovered by ſome of their falſe Brethren; to prepare which, ſeveral Libels were thrown about in the *Moſques*, condemning the removal of the Grand Seignior, and his Court to *Adrianople*, to the great Ruin and Detriment of the ancient Seat of the *Sultans* at *Conſtantinople*, and prejudicial to the Empire by ſuch an unneceſſary expence: Theſe Libels were ſeconded by an *Arz*, or Memorial from the Soldiers to the Vizier himſelf, importing, that they would not ſuffer the Sultan to remove from *Conſtantinople*; but in caſe the Vizier would go in Perſon to the Wars, and firſt pay them their Arrears, they would accompany him, when the Seaſon was fit for ſo long a March; but to go and Winter at *Adrianople*, would diſcommode them and their Families, and prove of no benefit to the grand Deſign of War againſt the Common Enemy the *Chriſtians*. This bold Memorial gave Encouragement to the Inferiour *Janiſaries* to commit daily Inſolences in the Streets; which being connived at by their Officers concerned in the Conſpiracy, which was to have been executed on the 23*d* day of *July*, gave Fears and Jealouſies to the Government, that the ſame Tragedy was acting over again, as had been in the time of the late *Giurbas*. For the Plot was laid, that the *Gebegees*, ſhould in a Tumultuous manner go to the Vizier's Houſe to demand their Arrears of Pay; then were the *Janiſaries* upon the Noiſe hereof to joyn with them, and Aſſault the Vizier, and take the Government into their own Hands, as had lately been practiſed by the *Giurbas*. But on the Vigil before the Execution, the whole Plot was diſcovered, and thoſe who were to be the principal Actors therein were made known to the Vizier: Who immediately thereupon Summoned ſuch Guards, as he could confide in; and with Five hundred Men went about the City all that Night, and ſeized all the Conſpirators in their Houſes. The next day, the *Janiſar-Aga* was diſplaced, and made Paſha of *Van*, a City on the Borders of *Perſia*, and one *Mahomet Aga* (the *Segme Baſhee*, Colonel of a ſort of Militia ſo called) was advanced to his Office; he was a Man of above Eighty years of Age, very lame by reaſon of a Wound he had received at the Siege of *Candia* by a Cannon Bullet, which ſhot off one of his Buttocks; But yet he was Vigorous, and of a ſevere Temper, fit to keep ſuch Mutiniers in Diſcipline and Subjection: The *Kiahbei*, or Lieutenant

The Methods of the Plot.

1688.

1688. nant General of the *Janiſaries* was alſo Caſhiered, and thô they both pleaded Innocence and Ignorance; yet the want of knowledge to diſcover ſuch a Contrivance hatching amongſt their Soldiers, was Crime ſufficient to eaſe them of their Commands.

How prevented.

For two Nights following, three Parties of armed Men took their Rounds about the City: The firſt led by the Vizier, The ſecond by the new *Janiſar-Aga*, and the third by the new *Kia-bei*; theſe meeting together in the Morning, and conferring Notes, found that they had cut off about Fifty Perſons, moſt of them *Janiſaries*: And ſeveral Nights afterwards ſome Executions were done, and all acted with ſuch Secrecy, and Silence in the dead of the Night, that no Noiſe or Diſturbance followed thereupon; for there was no Man of great Vogue or Repute put to Death, the higheſt being only in degree a *Chiurbagee* or Captain; all which were put into Sacks and thrown into the Sea, according to the puniſhment by ancient Conſtitution to be inflicted on *Janiſaries*. Amongſt thoſe, who were put to Death was one *Hamedi Effendi*, who was at firſt appointed with others to carry the Grand Seignior's Letter for Peace to the Emperor: Several others being too free in their Tongues againſt the 1688. Vizier, openly ſaying that he was decayed in his Parts, and not capable to mannage ſo great an Employment, uttering other things ſavouring of a high Contempt of his Perſon, were put to Death: And amidſt theſe Executions, the Head of *Dogangee Shuban*, Paſha of *Nicopolis*, on the *Danube*, was brought to Town; he had been one of the *Giurbas*, and *Kiab* to *Siaus* Paſha, and once named by him to have been left *Chimacam*, when the Vizier was at the War: This Report, with the Fame of being deſigned by the Conſpirators to be ſet up for Vizier, was fatal to him, and procured the Hand-writing or Sentence for his Death. *Tegben Bei* was alſo ſuſpected to have had a Hand in promoting, and projecting the Conſpiracy; but he was too great, as yet to be reached by the waining Power of the Vizier: This Suſpicion had ſome Foundation from the Counſels, which *Tegben* had formerly given, concerning the removal of the Grand Seignior to *Adrianople*, which as he ſaid could not be done without Hurt, and Damage to the Empire; declaring in like manner by a ſecond Letter, that in caſe they ſhould, contrary to his Mind and Opinion, remove the Grand Seignior, he would in the Autumn come perſonally to *Adrianople* to demand their Reaſons for the ſame. Howſoever this Vizier was willing to overlook all the extravagant, and inſolent Speeches of *Tegben Bei*, out of Gratitude, as was ſaid, of ſparing his Life; when after the loſs of the late Battle, (he then being *Janiſar-Aga*) the Soldiers would have cut him to pieces, had not the Authority and Intereſt of *Tegben* with the Militia, ſpared and ſecured his Life: In Conſideration, and Remembrance of which, he was no ſooner created Vizier, than he diſcharged the *Nefran*, or Trained Bands of the Country, which the late *Iſhmael* Paſha had raiſed to ſuppreſs *Tegben*, then lying with his Forces near to *Sophia*.

Yeghen ſuſpected to have been in the Conſpiracy.

1688.

The Viziers reſpect to Yeghen.

Howſoever, this Conſpiracy againſt the Vizier would ſcarce have paſſed over ſo eaſily, had not a lucky hit of Two thouſand and ſix hundred Purſes (being the Eſtate of two rich *Kuzlir-Agas* cut off, and brought from Grand *Cairo* in *Egypt*) been ſeaſonably brought to the Exchequer, which ſerved a little to pacifie the Soldiery, which was now nine Months in Arrear. The Vizier alſo not thinking himſelf ſecure from the Plots and Conſpiracies which might ſtill be framed againſt him, removed *Iſhmael* the late Vizier from *Cavalla*, a place near *Salonica*, where he had been Impriſoned, to the Caſtle at *Rhodes*, the famous place for diſgraced and baniſhed Officers: He removed alſo ſeveral from their places of Truſt, putting Creatures of his into their Offices; and amongſt the reſt he made four new Viziers of the Bench; one of which was *Hali Aga*, *Haſnadar* or Treaſurer to the Vizier *Kupri-oglee*, called from *Trapezond*, where he was Paſha; another was *Omer* Paſha, *Tefterdar* or Treaſurer, who laſt year in the beginning of the Troubles was *Segmen Baſhee*, or General of that Militia, and had been pulled off from his Horſe by the *Giurbas* in the Streets, and turned out of Office; a third was the *Niſangi Baſhee*, a young Man taken out of the *Seraglio*, where he was a Page: And a fourth was one of the Vizier's ancient Servants.

Money came from Grand Cairo.

Four new Viziers of the Bench made.

But notwithſtanding the diſlike which the Soldiers ſhewed to the Grand Seignior's removal to *Adrianople*, the Vizier and his Counſellours reſolved to purſue their Deſign; eſteeming it a place more ſecure and ſafe for the Government (according to the *Maxim* of old *Kuperlee*) where the Milita could be more under their Eye; and Plots not ſo eaſily contrived as at *Conſtantinople*, where the numbers and Riches of the People were capable at all times to move Diſturbances. So in the Month of *July*, the 1688. Sultan removed to *Adrianople*, with his depoſed Brother, his Son, and the other Brother *Sultan Achmet*, with the *Valide Sultana* or Queen Mother.

The Court being come to *Adrianople*, at the firſt Conſult a Peace was propoſed, and Ambaſſadors named to go to *Vienna*, *viz.*

Zulficar

1688.

Zulficar Aga, and *Mavrocordato*, who was a *Chriſtian*, and Interpreter to the Vizier; the Diſpatch of theſe Ambaſſadors was the more earneſtly haſtned, by reaſon of the News then come to the Court, that the *Germans* were on their March to Inveſt *Belgrade*. *Tegben* Paſha was then at *Niſſa*, where the Differences between him, and *Haſſan* Paſha grew to that Heat, that their Parties falling to Blows, Two hundred were killed in the Fray; which *Haſſan*, being the Wiſer, and more temperate Commander, interpreted for a bad Omen of Succeſs in the following Campaign. The Court took little Notice of all this Matter; but ſtill continued to encourage *Tegben* with Promiſes of Additional Forces, and new Supplies, ordering him to oppoſe all the Deſigns, and Attempts of the *Chriſtians* to the utmoſt of his Power; giving him alſo a Commiſſion to enter into a Treaty of Peace with the *Chriſtian* General, in caſe any Overture ſhould fairly offer its ſelf. But *Tegben* not having with theſe Commands received the Prophet's Standard, nor the Imperial Seal, which are the Badges and proper Signals of the Office of Grand Vizier, became Angry and Sullen; for tho' he was made General, yet that ſeemed not ſufficient without the Title of Supreme Governor: And whereas before, he was on his March towards *Belgrade*, he returned back again to *Sophia*, declaring that without thoſe powerful Inſtruments, it was impoſſible for him to Govern the Army, and Rule them with ſuch ſtrict Obedience, as was neceſſary againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, and ſo formidable as the *Chriſtians*: And as to the Overtures of Peace he was reſolved to make none, nor ſuffer the Ambaſſadors to paſs until ſuch time, as he had tried the Fortune of the *Ottoman* Sword once more in the Field. To this pitch of Inſolence was this *Tegben* ariſen, that he was ready to Sacrifice the whole concernment of the Empire to his own Pride and Vanity: But Expreſs after Expreſs coming from *Belgrade* with News, that the *Germans* were Marching towards the *Save*, with a Reſolution to paſs that River, ſo ſoon, as the Elector of *Bavaria* ſhould Arrive in the Camp, *Tegben* began to grow a little aſhamed; and fearing that all the Misfortunes impending over *Belgrade*, would be attributed to his ill Government and Sedition, he Marched away from *Sophia*, and being come to *Belgrade*, he made publick Declaration, that the Sultan had created him General of all *Hungary*, upon which the Forces Encamped in the Parts adjacent to the City ſubmitted to his Command; and being now inveſted with the ſole Power, he vented his Spleen againſt his old Competitor, *Haſſan* Paſha, with whom formerly (as we have ſaid) he had a Quarrel in *Boſnia*, and having now an opportunity to ſhew his farther Reſentments, he ſeized on his Tents, Horſes and Money, and would have ſtrangled him, had he not been prevented by the Aga of the *Janiſaries*, and the Son of the *Han* of *Tartary*, who was there preſent with a ſmall Body of *Tartars*.

Yegben in Mutiny.

He returns to Belgrade.

1688.

Seizes on Haſſan Paſha.

But the *Turks* had now ſomething more to do, than to quarrel amongſt themſelves; for the *Chriſtians* came pouring upon them on all ſides; and how to reſiſt them was the preſent Incumbence, and grand Concernment; ſo that laying aſide all Inteſtine differences, *Tegben* with Ten thouſand Soldiers, joyned to the Troops of *Tekeli*, reſolved to paſs the *Save*, and Encamp near *Semblin* on the other ſide of the River. But that deſign was laid aſide, ſo ſoon as News was brought to *Belgrade* that P. *Lewis* of *Baden* was Decamped from *Valkovar*, and that, together with *Caprara*, he had taken his march towards *Illock*; with which, *Tegben* and the *Turks* fainting in their Courage, were inclined rather to Propoſals of Peace, than to a continuance of the War; and to try whether any reaſonable offers of that nature would be accepted. Two ordinary Peaſants were diſpatched to *Oſeck*, with Letters to Marqueſs *Herman* of *Baden*, and Marſhal *Caprara*, deſiring them to intercede with his Imperial Majeſty to put an end to this bloody War, which had already coſt the lives of many innocent People, and laid waſte and deſolate vaſt and large Countries, and Provinces: But ſuch a Meſſage as this being brought by Peaſants, who are improper Inſtruments to be employed in ſo eminent an Action, gave juſt cauſe to the Generals to take and eſteem them for no other than Spyes: Upon which ſuſpicion they were impriſoned, and Advice ſent thereof to the Imperial Court; which not judging fit to take notice of any Offers of Peace propoſed in ſuch Form, gave new Orders and Inſtructions to *Caprara* to purſue with all vigour imaginable the Rules chalked out, and deſigned for carrying on the Work of this Campaigne.

1688.

The Turks ſeek for Peace.

Their Meſſengers are ſuſpected.

In the mean time the Troops of *Bavaria* arrived in the Camp under the Command of General *Serini*, an experienced Captain, and therewith the main Army being reinforced, *Caprara* took his march towards *Illock*, of which ſo ſoon as the *Turks* had received intelligence, they were put into ſuch conſternation, that they abandoned the place; and having packed up what Moveables the ſhortneſs of time would permit, they ſet Fire to the City, and retired in a precipitate and diſorderly Flight. The Smoke being deſcryed at a diſtance, Ca-

Illock *abandoned by the* Turks.

prara

1688.

1688. *prara* detached a Body of *Germans*, and *Hungarians*, to advance towards the Town, to obſerve the face of the Enemy, and the occaſion of that Smoke; and being come near to the Gates, and perceiving that the Soldiers and Inhabitants had deſerted the City; the *Germans* were employed to extinguiſh the Fire, and the *Hungarians* to purſue the flying Enemy; which they performed ſo effectually, that they ſeized a great part of the Goods which were then carrying away, and brought them to the Camp. The News hereof ſo affrighted the Garriſon of *Peter-Waradin*, that with like Terror and Precipitation they abandoned their City, and fled to *Belgrade*.

Theſe Succeſſes gave great encouragement to the whole Army, and to the Imperial Court at *Vienna*, where the Duke of *Mantona* about this time arrived, with intention to paſs forward to the Camp, and ſignalize himſelf and his Followers in a War againſt the common Enemy; his Equipage was very ſplendid, and agreeable to the Spirit of ſo generous a Prince.

1688. *July.* In like manner the Elector of *Bavaria*, *Maximilian Emanuel* the Third arrived at *Vienna*, being called by the Emperor to command the Army in *Hungary* in the place of the Duke of *Loraine*, who was become ſo weak by his Indiſpoſition and want of Health, that he judged himſelf unable to command the Army with ſuch vigour, as was required in ſo active a War. The Elector was ſo intent upon this Expedition, that the very day he arrived at *Vienna* with his moſt Serene Conſort, he had departed, and proceeded to the Camp, had he not been forcibly detained by the obliging invitation of the Emperor, and perſuaded to ſtay until the Evening of the following day.

The E. of Bavaria *at* Vienna, *and haſtens to the Camp.*

In the mean time a deſign was formed to block up Great *Waradin*; but the Garriſon being ſtrong within, the *Turks* made frequent Excurſions with Two hundred Horſe, and a Thouſand *Janiſaries* at a time, and frequently brought Proviſions into the Town, the which was ſo managed by the Paſha and other Commanders, that the Caſtle held out until the Year 1692. Howſoever the Blocade of *Sigeth* and *Caniſia* was greatly ſtraitned; the firſt by General *Gabriel*, Count of *Vecchia*, and the other by *Bathyani*, and *Ziccby*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Giavarin*, or *Rabb*; who appearing before *Caniſia* in order of Battel, the *Turks* diſplayed their Colours of defiance, ſhewing a couragious reſolution to defend themſelves and their Fortreſs. Howſoever the *Huſſars* and *Heydúcks* came under command of the Cannon, and in deſpite of their ſhot, ſet Fire to the Corn and Fruits growing near the City. At which the *Turks* cryed out with lamentable Voice, ſaying, *Set the fear of God before your Eyes, and do not commit theſe grievous ſins, for which we have been puniſhed by God; for the time was, when we did the like outrages, and diſorders, deſtroying without cauſe the Chriſtian Churches, for which we have worthily deſerved the Divine Vengeance, and are now juſtly puniſhed for theſe Offences.* In this Fear and Amazement were the *Turks*, finding themſelves blocked up, and environed round, having Five thouſand Women and Children within, without hopes of being ever relieved, or ſuccoured; ſo that their Courage began to fail, and Thoughts ariſe amongſt them, how they might yield up their City on the moſt advantageous Terms.

Sigeth *and* Kaniſia *ſtraitned.*

1688.

In the mean time, P. *Lewis* of *Baden* continued his march with all expedition towards *Poſſega*; where meeting the Count of *Hoffkirchen*, they conſulted together in what manner they might beſt offend the Enemy on the other ſide of the *Save*; but becauſe the *Turks* kept the Banks of the River well guarded, the Paſſage over ſeemed very difficult, eſpecially wanting Boats to Tranſport their men: At length, whilſt they were conſidering hereof, News was brought by ſome of the *Heydúcks*, that about Two Leagues above on the River near *Proot*, Three Boats lay hid amongſt the Flags, and Boughs, of which the *Turks* had no knowledge; each of which was capable to Ferry Fifteen or Twenty men at a time over to the other ſide; upon which intelligence, it was reſolved, that *Hoffkirchen* and *Serini* ſhould in the Night-time paſs Eight hundred *Heydúcks* over to the other ſide; the which were followed by Eight hundred Horſe, and Two hundred *German* Foot, under command of *Hoffkirchen*; but the Nights were ſo ſhort, and the Boats ſo little, that by Break of day in the Morning, not above Five hundred of the *Heydúcks* had paſſed; who finding themſelves cut off, and ſeparated from the reſt of their Companions, reſolved to attack certain Boats, Barges, and Ferries belonging to the Enemy, which lay on that ſide of the Water; and to make uſe of them for Tranſportation of the other Forces. The deſign ſucceeded very proſperouſly; for the *Turks* taking theſe *Heydúcks* to be their Friends, were eaſily ſurprized and cut to pieces; and two very great Barges were ſeized and brought over to the other ſide, on which *Hoffkirchen* and *Zerini* embarking themſelves with Three hundred Dragoons, paſſed the River, and joyned the *Heydúcks*, who were far engaged in a purſuit of the Enemy; who being ſurprized, had abandoned *Proot*, together with the Works and Trenches which they had made; of which taking poſſeſſion, made a ſpeedy paſſage for the remaining Party of the *Germans*,

Conſultations to paſs the Save.

Five hundred paſs the River.

1688.

1688. and *Heyducks*. In the Heat of this Action, Two hundred of the Enemy, who were Two thouſand ſtrong, were cut in pieces, and many Women and Children were made Priſoners; the Chriſtian Soldiers gained a conſiderable Booty in this Action; for the *Turks* being ſurprized, had not time to ſave any thing of their Moveables and Riches; and with them they had the Fortune to ſet Two hundred Chriſtians at liberty, amongſt which was a Lieutenant of the Regiment of the Upper *Rhine*, with ſeveral other ſubaltern Officers.

Count *Hoffkirchen* looking on this place to be an advantageous Poſt for raiſing a Bridge of Communication between that ſide and *Sclavonia*, and that in Four days they could at any time be carried down the Stream to *Belgrade*; It was reſolved to maintain that Poſt until other Orders ſhould come from P. *Lewis*, to whom an Expreſs was ſent to know his pleaſure: And in the mean time, they repaired the Trenches, and improved the Works with better Fortifications than thoſe which the *Turks* had made; whereby they put themſelves into a condition to reſiſt any force, which the *Turks* could bring againſt them in a ſhort time; and hereof in two or three days afterwards they had an occaſion to make ſome Tryal; for *Topal* Paſha having joyned himſelf with Two other Paſhas lately come from *Adrianople*, came upon them with an Army to the Number of Eight thouſand men; and having intrenched himſelf at the diſtance of about Three hundred Paces from the *Palancha*, he aſſaulted that, and the Trenches about Midnight; but were bravely repulſed by the continual Fire, which the Chriſtians made upon them; ſo that drawing off at ſome little diſtance, they brought Two Guns about Break of day in the Morning, with deſign to batter the place; in which were no more than Three hundred *Germans*, Horſe and Foot, and about One thouſand *Heyducks*; becauſe that *Hoffkirchen* had detached a great part of his Forces towards *Poſſega*, to Convoy ſome Waggons of Proviſions and Ammunition, of which they ſtood in need. The Enemy being well adviſed hereof, and of the weakneſs of the Garriſon within, returned to make a new Attack, covering their approach with Boards, Waggons, and Barrels of Earth. In the mean time the Attachment ſent to *Poſſega* returning, were obſerved by the Turk; who reſolving to hinder their Union, furiouſly made another Aſſault, with Two thouſand brave *Janiſaries*, and as many *Spahees*; who having filled up the ſhallow Ditch with Buſhes, Boards, and Rubbiſh, aſcended as high as to the Parapet, where they planted Two of the Colours belonging to *Topal* Paſha, near to Three of the Imperial Enſigns: Whereupon began a very furious Fight, with Swords and Scymeters at handy blows; and the Imperialiſts mixing with the *Turks*, threw them headlong into the Ditch and Trenches, killing in this Action with very little loſs on their ſide above Five hundred *Turks*, and taking Three Enſigns. After which a Sally was made with ſo much vigour and bravery, that the *Turks* were repulſed, and droven out of their new Works, which they had made near the Banks of the River.

Hoffkirchen *attacked by* Topal *Paſha*,

Who is repulſed.

The Turks *endeavour to be at* Hoffkirchen *out of* Proot.

1688.

Are repulſed.

In the mean time the Detachment which had lately been made, returned and paſſed the Water; with which the Forces in the *Palancha* being reinforced, made a Sally upon the Enemy, both with Horſe and Foot; and intirely beat them out of all their Approaches and Retrenchments, with the loſs of their Baggage and Waggons: This Action continued for the ſpace of Four and twenty Hours; in which, and other Attacks before, the *Turks* loſt above Twelve hundred men.

With great loſs.

1688. This Poſt was maintained for ſeveral days, and until ſuch time as P. *Lewis* of *Baden* ſent Orders to *Hoffkirchen* to withdraw his Troops; it not being adviſable to hazard ſuch brave men in a Poſt, which could not eaſily be maintained; and at ſo far a diſtance, as Four days Journey from the main Body of the Army, C. *Hoffkirchen* abandoned the place accordingly; and having ſacked it, ſet Fire to it, and paſſed the River with a very rich Booty.

Proot *demoliſhed.*

July.

The particulars of this Retreat not being well underſtood, cauſed ſome Diſturbance at *Poſſega*, where it was reported, that the *Turks* in a Body of Fifteen hundred Men, had paſſed the *Save*; and having defeated *Hoff-kirchen*, intended to diſpute the Paſſage with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*: Who being in great Concernment for *Hoff-kirchen*, was come as far as *Poſſega* to enquire after him; and to receive true Information, he diſpatched General *Piccolomini* with Three hundred Horſe, to look after him; but they Marching by different Ways, miſſed of each other: When the General came to *Proot*, where he diſcovered ſome Parties of the Enemy, which cover'd themſelves within thoſe Ruins, having firſt broken down all the Bridges near to that Palanca, he paſſed the Water, and boldly attempted the *Turks*, imagining their numbers to be leſs than they were. The *Turks* gueſſing on the other ſide, that theſe Forces were ſome advanced Troops of the main Body of the Army, retired themſelves into the old Fort over againſt *Proot*, where having no Cannon, they plied their Small-ſhot very plentifully upon the Imperialiſts, by which it

Piccolomini *ſent in queſt of* Hoffkirchen.

He retreats.

being

1688.

He Retreats with much Art, and good Conduct.

being diſcover'd, that the *Turks* were at leaſt Two thouſand in number; *Piccolomini* made a very skilful Retreat, according to the Military Order, and returned towards *Poſſega*, where he found *Hoff-kirchen*, Prince *Lewis*, and all the other other Troops happily joyned.

Prince Lewis Marches towards Gradiska.

The Troops having refreſhed themſelves one day in *Poſſega*, and being provided with all things requiſite for their Subſiſtence, Prince *Lewis* began his March thence towards *Gradiska* on the *24th* of *July*, carrying with him four Demy-culverins, and ſome Field Pieces; reſolving to paſs the *Save* at *Siſſeck* in *Croatia*, and joyn there with a Body of *Croats*, and endeavour to Attack the Enemy, if poſſible: And here we will leave him for a while on this Expedition, and return to the great Camp, where the Elector of *Bavaria* was Arrived, to the great Joy and Triumph of the whole Army.

The Elector of Bavaria prepares his March for Belgrade.

The ſame Evening that the Elector entered the Camp at *Tiska*, he reſolved next Morning to proceed towards *Belgrade*, and accordingly he made a ſtrong Detachment under the Command of Count *Dunewalt* to Advance, and diſcover the Countenance of the Enemy, who (as it was reported) with a Body of Twenty thouſand Men, had fortified the Banks of the *Save* all along the Shoar, as far as to the *Danube*, with Timbers, and Ditches, and Paliſadoes, in the ſame manner as they had done the yeat before under *Eſſeck*; beſides which, *Tekely* had formed a Camp with ſuch Advantage, as that he could in a very ſhort time come in to their Aſſiſtance.

Auguſt. 1688.

The Cannon, &c. joyns the Army.

Reſolved to paſs the River.

1688.

Attempts to paſs the Save.

The Chriſtian Army paſſes the Save.

The Army having the *5th* of *Auguſt* Encamped at *Tiska*, continued their March next day towards the *Save*, and made a Halt at *Bagliutz*, about half a League diſtant from the River; where the Artillery lately brought by Water from *Buda*, together with the Baggage, and the Boats on Wheels, with other Materials neceſſary for making a Bridge, joyned the Army that Evening under a Good Convoy of Horſe and Foot. About the ſame time a Priſoner was brought to the Camp, who upon Examination declared, That the *Ottoman* Army was compoſed of about Twenty five thouſand Men, of which Twenty five Chambers of *Janiſaries*, conſiſting of about Four or five hundred each, were employed to finiſh the Intrenchments they had made on the other ſide of the *Save*, to hinder the Paſſage of the *Chriſtian* Army: A Counſel of War being held thereupon, it was reſolved to force the Paſſage; and to ſend a good Body of Men to burn the Bridge, which the *Turks* had Built near *Belgrade*: But in caſe that Deſign ſucceeded not, then they were to Poſt themſelves as near the Bridge as they could, both to give the Alarum on that ſide, and alſo to ſecure the Convoys which were coming to the Army from *Peter Waradin*; for ſecurity of which, the Detachment of Four thouſand Men, under *Dunewalt* was alſo appointed: In the mean time the groſs Body of the Army moved towards the *Save*, directing their March towards the Iſland of *Zingar* or *Swallows*, which the *Turks* had poſſeſſed, but fled, and quitted it upon a Report, of the near Approach of the Chriſtian Army, ſo that the Imperialiſts without any Oppoſition poſſeſſed themſelves of that Iſland; the Foot paſſed over in Boats, but the Horſe forded the Water: But the great difficulty lay on the other ſide, where the Water was not only deeper; but the oppoſite Banks defended ſo well by the Enemies Cannon and Small-ſhot, that there ſeemed an impoſſibility almoſt to paſs; and the more, becauſe that *Tekely* lay Encamped on the other ſide, joyned to a ſtrong Body of *Turks*, who lay ready to receive them at their landing, and to give them an unpleaſing Welcome. All which being conſider'd; it was reſolved to Alarum the *Turks* that Night in divers places, whilſt Count *Serini* General of the *Bavarian* Forces, aſſiſted with the Generals *Stirum* and *Aſpremont*, ſhould with Six thouſand Men endeavour to paſs the River at a good diſtance from the place, where the chief Alarum was made; which was executed with that Care and Conduct, that the Succeſs proved anſwerable thereunto; for the Six thouſand Men having ſafely paſſed without any Oppoſition, poſted themſelves with the *Chevaux de Friſe* chained and linked together, which ſerved like a Turn-pike againſt the Enemies Horſe and Foot, until the reſt of the Army could follow. But ſo ſoon as it was clear Day, they were furiouſly attacked by Eight thouſand *Janiſaries*, who were as warmly received, and forced to Retreat, leaving Six hundred of their Men dead upon the place, with the loſs only of One hundred and twenty Men on the *Chriſtian* ſide; during this Engagement which laſted about two Hours, a Bridge was laid over the River with ſuch Expedition, that the whole Army paſſed that Day, except only the Cannon, and the Heavy Baggage; which were alſo Tranſported over without any delay. The moſt difficult Point of the whole Campaign being now overcome, the Elector of *Bavaria* diſtributed Two thouſand Ducats amongſt thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves in this Action; and without any demur marched towards *Belgrade*, from whence he was not diſtant above three days March. Had the *Turks* been Men of Courage or

1688.

The Turks *diſcouraged.*

1688.

Auguſt.

The Turks *Fly.*

The Citizens of Belgrade *abandon their Dwellings.*

1688.

Conduct, they might eaſily have hindred the *Chriſtian* Army from paſſing the River; but indeed to ſpeak the Truth, they had loſt all that Bravery and Spirit, by which they had gained ſo many Kingdoms in the *Eaſt*, and advanced ſo far into the Dominions of *Europe*: But being now diſpirited by unfortunate loſſes of their Cities and ſtrong Holds, and by Over-throws and Defeats in Battle, and more eſpecially by their own inteſtine Mutinies and Diſſentions, in which moſt of their brave Men periſhed; they became ſo ſunk in their Spirits, that they were not half the Men, that they formerly had been; but being ſtruck with a Conſternation, as their Enemies were raiſed and fluſhed with Victory and Triumph, they Cowardly gave back, and loſt the advantage, which Nature had given them by the Waters for a defence. The Elector deſigned to purſue the Enemy, before he Attempted the Siege of *Belgrade*; and to raiſe his Camp with the riſing of the Moon, then entring into the laſt Quarter; when he was hinder'd by a violent Storm of Wind and Rain, with Thunder and Lightning which endanger'd the Bridge, and laſted until break of Day of the 10*th* in the Morning: The *Turks* interpreting this Storm, as a bad Omen unto themſelves, abandoned their Camp, leaving many Thouſand Heads of Cattle diſperſed in the Fields, with all their Inſtruments for Intrenching; and fled with ſuch Precipitation and Haſt, that the *Chriſtian* Generals judging it impoſſible to overtake them, directed their Courſe by the neareſt way to *Belgrade*. Prince *Eugeny* of *Savoy* was Commanded by his Electoral Highneſs, to advance with his Regiment and ſome Guards, towards the City, to take a view of the Enemy, and diſcover in what order they were lodged in their Trenches: The Inhabitants of the City having received the affrighting News of the near Approach of the *Chriſtian* Army, had the time of three or four days, to Embark their uſeleſs People, with the beſt of their Moveables, and richeſt Goods on a Thouſand Boats; with which they ſailed down the Stream of the River, landing afterwards at ſeveral places, where Friends or Relations, or other Coveniencies invited them: And in the mean time the remaining Garriſon ſet Fire to the Suburbs, and reduced all to Aſhes. Notwithſtanding which, the Flight was ſo confuſed and haſty, that many of the Inhabitants with their Wives and Children, had not time to Convey themſelves away; of which ſome were killed, and many made Captives: Only ſome *Jews* and *Raſcians* remained behind, who being habited in the *Turkiſh* faſhion, had been expoſed to the Fury of the Soldiery, had not the Generoſity of the Prince reſtrained the Heat of their Martial Fury. Soon afterwards the whole Army came up, and Sacked and Plundered the Suburbs, ſparing neither *Moſque* nor Houſe: And thô the Fire, and Flames were very terrible; yet the Soldiers gained more Plunder and Booty in thoſe Suburbs, than they had done in all *Buda*; becauſe they had the fortune to ſurprize whole Bales of Goods, and Moveables ready Packed up, which the Owners in their Flight had not time to carry away. Howſoever, ſome of theſe Plunderers being over-intent on their Prey, were ſurprized by a Party of the Enemy, and either killed, or made Captives.

1688.

Auguſt.

A Fire conſumes the Suburbs.

The Trenches open'd.

Auguſt. 1688.

Batteries raiſed.

No time was loſt in opening the Trenches, into which Major General *Steinau*, and Count *Ottingen* enter'd on the 21*ſt* of *Auguſt*, and Commanded there that Night, but could not advance much by reaſon of the continual Rains. Howſoever, in two or three days the Trenches were finiſhed, and three Batteries were raiſed, and furniſhed with the Heavy Cannon, which on the 25*th* arrived in the Camp. Twenty ſix Pieces were immediately mounted, and began to play upon the Caſtle; and thô they had raiſed their Batteries, as high as was poſſible; yet the Ruins of the Suburbs lay ſo much in the way, that the Shot could not reach the bottom of the Wall, till the Way was cleared by the Pioniers; and then two new Batteries more being raiſed, and all the remaining Artillery planted thereon, they ply'd inceſſantly on the Walls of the Caſtle with great Shot and Bombs, in the mean time the Enemy was not idle, but returned the like into the *Chriſtian* Camp, making frequent Sallies with much Bravery; in which the *Germans* loſt more Men than the *Turks*, amongſt which was the Count of *Ligneville*, Colonel of Foot, and Adjutant General, who by a Shot received in the Trenches died immediately.

The Town, and Caſtle of *Belgrade* being in this manner formally inveſted, it was believed, That it could not hold out long, by reaſon of the Weakneſs of the Garriſon, which conſiſted of no more than Three thouſand and five hundred Men, Commanded by *Ibrahim* late Paſha of *Bagdat* or *Babylon*, who being a Brave and Valiant Soldier, reſolved to maintain the place to the laſt Extremity, giving out for Encouragement of his Garriſon, that powerful Succours were coming to their Relief, under the Command of *Oſman* Paſha of *Aleppo*; but this Report, grounded on ſome ſtragling Troops belonging to *Tekeli*, ſeen in the Neighbour-hood of *Semendria*,

1688. gave ſome hopes to the fainting Garriſon; but General *Dunewalt* being ſent againſt *Tekeli*, with a ſtrong Detachment of Horſe, ſoon drove him from thoſe Quarters. The chief Force of the *Turks* being no more than Twenty five thouſand Men, under Command of *Oſman* Paſha of *Aleppo*, lay Encamped near *Niſſa*, whilſt *Teghen* was retired with his Horſe (for his Foot had deſerted him) near to *Sophia*, deſtroying and conſuming the Forage round the Country.

The Turks Sue for Peace. The *Turks* finding themſelves in this low and helpleſs Condition, inclined to Counſels tending to Peace, and reaſſumed their former Reſolution of ſending their two forementioned Ambaſſadors, *Zulficar Effendi*, and the Interpreter *Mauro-cordato* to beg a Peace (to whom as we have ſaid, *Teghen* gave lately a ſtop) a Method never before practiſed by the *Ottoman* Emperors, ſince the beginning of their Empire: But the Misfortunes of War, and the Miſeries of their own inteſtine Diſſentions had bowed their Hearts, and Haughty Thoughts to ſubmiſſive and humble Prayers for Peace; in order to which *Oſman* Paſha of *Aleppo* wrote this following Letter to the Elector of *Bavaria*, brought to him by the Hand of a *Chiaus*.

T*O him, who is Dear to God, and ranked in chief Degree amongſt the Princes of* Germany, *powerful in People and Government, Famous and Renowned in all Parts, Duke* Maximilian Emanuel, *Elector of* Bavaria, *and General of the Army of the Emperor of the* Romans, *unto whom may God grant that Health, which I wiſh unto him.*

After Salutations premiſed. Be it known unto you, That one of the Chief Officers of our Emperor of the Turks, *who now Reigns, is diſpatched with an important Letter to your moſt powerful Emperor: This Ambaſſador is a Perſon highly eſteemed amongſt us, both for his Wiſdom and Vertue, whoſe name is* Zulficar Effendi; *with whom goes alſo joyned in the ſame Commiſſion* Alexander Mauro-cordato, *Interpreter to the Port for ſecret Affairs, a Perſon of ſingular Reputation and Fame, and a* Chriſtian *by Profeſſion. Theſe two Perſons are arrived at this place from* Conſtantinople *with deſign to proceed farther to your Camp; in caſe they may be received with the ſame Honourable, Safe and Courteous Entertainment, as hath by ancient Cuſtom, and laudable Practice been ſhewn to thoſe of their Character: They have with them about One hundred Perſons belonging to their Retinue, for whom that ſafe Convoy and Paſports may be diſpatched, I have ſent you this Letter, to requeſt ſuch Security for them as is neceſſary: When they draw near to your Camp, they will ſend again to you, to the end, that a Convoy may come from your Army to meet and receive them from the Paſha, who is ſent with Troops from hence: That ſo the Reſpect, and Safety of Ambaſſadors obſerved by all Nations, as is fit and neceſſary may remain in it's ancient Luſtre. For you know how careful both ſides ought to be of their ſafe Paſſage. Proſperity to thoſe, who follow the true Direction.* 1688.

Signed, *Oſman* Paſha of *Aleppo*.

Given in the Army near *Niſſa*.

The Elector of *Bavaria*'s Anſwer.

To *Oſman* Paſha of *Aleppo*. Greeting, &c.

W*E have received your Letter from the Camp at* Niſſa, *wherein you give us to underſtand, That an Ambaſſador by name* Zulficar Effendi, *and the firſt Interpreter, have Orders from your Emperor to come to our Army: Now althô we being inclined to Military Actions, might well refuſe to receive them here; which none could take amiſs in this preſent heat of Affairs, or might put off their Reception until another time, ſince We judge that their Propoſals will little agree with our preſent Intentions: Yet being moved by a Chriſtian Compaſſion, We do Grant that they may come to the Army: And We will favourably hear, what your Emperor hath Commanded them to propoſe unto us. To which end We have Commanded that a Paſport ſhall be prepared for their Security and delivered to the Perſons, who brought your Letter. We have alſo given Orders to the Governour of* Semandria, *that in the manner directed him, and with a ſufficient number of Troops, he Conduct them ſafe to our Army. Upon which they may firmly Rely.*

Given at our Camp before *Belgrade*.
Auguſt 23*d* 1688.

In purſance of this Letter, Orders were given to General *Caraffa* to go to *Titul*, and receive the Ambaſſadors; but in the mean time the Siege proceeded, and Attacks were made with all the Fury and Vigour imaginable; many Pieces of the Cannon, which came from *Buda*, being caſt in haſt, burſt one after another; ſo that to ſupply their defect, the Elector ſent for moſt of the Cannon from *Semandria*; which being raiſed, and planted, did great Execution; and throwing Bombs and Carcaſſes from Fifteen Mortars at a time, ſtruck Terror into the Defendants, and ſet Fire to divers parts of the Fortreſs. Howſoever, the *Turks* manfully applied themſelves to quench the Flames, and returned the Cannon-ſhot and Bombs, *The Turks throw Bombs and Carcaſſes.*

Bombs, with other artificial Fires made with Pitch, and Sulfur upon the Beſiegers, in the ſame manner, as they had practiſed in the defence of *Buda*. They Sprang alſo one Mine, which venting about eight or ten Paces backwards, did no farther miſchief, than the killing of one Man; but this being followed by a Storm of Bombs, one of which falling into a Magazine, where ſome Hundreds of Weights of Powder, it blew all into the Air, without other Miſchief than the Death of eight Common Soldiers.

They make a ſally, and are beaten back.

The *Turks* believing that this Blow, and Springing of the laſt Mine, had cauſed ſome diſorder in the Trenches, made a violent Sally, with their Scemyters in their Hands into the Approaches; but being ſtrongly oppoſed by a Captain who Commanded a Hundred Men, reinforced alſo by ſome Parties of *Straſſer*'s Regiment, they were repulſed with the loſs of Forty of their Men, eight Imperialiſts only being killed. The Fury of the *Turks* being hereby much abated; Differences, as is uſual, aroſe between the Commanders and the Souldiers; the firſt ſeemed reſolved to defend the Fortreſs to the laſt extremity, and laſt drop of their Blood, knowing that they could not long out-live any Surrender made upon Compoſition: But the Soldiers, who could ſave their Lives on eaſier Terms, were deſirous to be freed from the Showers of Fire, which being continually poured upon them, did in the Night reſemble the dreadful Flames of *Veſuvius* or *Mongibello*.

The Duke of Loraine *comes to the Camp.*

The Elector of *Bavaria* being well aſſured in the mean time, that the Conqueſt of that Caſtle would ſhortly be added to the Triumphs of *Cæſar*, had time, with much quiet of mind, and without any diſtraction to give a Magnificent Reception to the Duke of *Loraine*; who being now in ſome meaſure recovered from his late Sickneſs, could not abſent himſelf from Martial Exerciſes, at leaſt from being a Spectator, or bearing ſome ſhare in this Heroick Enterprize.

Is received by the Elector of Bavaria.

News being come, that the Duke of *Loraine*, having left his Royal Conſort the Queen at *Buda*, was not far diſtant, the Elector accompanied with the Duke of *Mantoua*, and ſeveral of the General Officers, went to him at the Foot of the Bridge, which was made over the *Save*, and there received him with the joyful Salutation of all the Cannon which were planted in the Lines of Circumvallation, and by the Soldiery drawn up in ſeveral Battalions; and having walked over all the Lines, and obſerved the diſpoſition of the Siege; all which being well approved, he was conducted to the *Bavarian* Tents, where he was ſumptiouſly treated by the Elector. After which, whilſt theſe Noble Generals were viewing the approaches, the *Turks* ſprang a ſecond Mine under the main Battery; not far from the perſons of theſe great Commanders; who being reſerved by the Providence of God to reap more Laurels, remained untouched amidſt that danger. Howſoever the *Turks* thinking thereby to have gained ſome great advantage, made a briſk Sally, with Colours flying, and Drums beating, drawn up in poſture of Battel: The *Swedes* and *Franconians* having then that place allotted them to Guard, gave way upon the firſt attack of the Enemy, and abandoned their Poſt, leaving their Officers to the mercy of the Enemy, who were miſerably ſlaughtered by them.

The Turks *ſpring another Mine, and make a ſally.*

Auguſt. 1688.

After which the *Turks* advancing to the Left, were ſo warmly received, that they were repulſed with the loſs of many of their Soldiers: Soon after which theſe Illuſtrious Dukes entred the approaches from whence the *Turks* had been beaten, and beſtowed due Praiſes on thoſe Soldiers, who ſo bravely and valiantly had behaved themſelves to the Reproach of thoſe, who cowardly retreated. After which the Duke of *Loraine* retired to the Quarters of his own Regiment of Horſe, than which he had at that time no other Command in the Army, the whole conduct and General direction being entirely in the power of the Elector of *Bavaria*.

Septem. 1688.

An Attack intended.

The Breaches being now made, ſome wider than others, the 5th of *September* was appointed for a day of a General Aſſault; which being come, the whole Army remained in a readineſs to make the on-ſet, and execute the laſt Orders of their Generals; when unexpectedly a Bomb from the Enemies Works fell amongſt certain Barrels of Powder; which blowing up, over-turned the Works which belonged to Mines then preparing; and burned in a furious manner all things near it, killing divers Soldiers; and amongſt the reſt was Count *Guido* of *Staremberg*, and Count *Berzetti*, Chief Director of the Mines. This Fire was followed by ſuch a terrible Rain, which continued all that day, and part of the Night following, that it was impoſſible to execute the intended Attack; but afterwards the Weather clearing up, the Mines were repaired again in ſuch manner, that at break of day in the Morning, Fire was given to them with ſo good ſucceſs, that the Ditch was filled up, and as it were, levelled as much as was needful.

The Attack was ordered to be made in Four ſeveral Quarters, that in the Front was commanded by the Elector himſelf: That on the Right-hand by the Prince of

1688. *Commercy*, on the Left by the Dragoons of General *Heuſler*, and that next the Water by *Pina* Sergeant Major of the Regiment of *Loraine*.

All things being in this manner diſpoſed in order for a general Aſſault, about Nine a Clock in the Morning the Signal was given to make the Attack, by Firing a Piece of Cannon in the Front of the Line of Circumvallation, which was anſwered by a Shot to the Right, and ſoon afterwards by Two others to the Left; which being the Signal to make the Attack, the Aſſailants entred the Ditch, where they were received by infinite Vollies of Shot pouring upon them from all ſides; which giving no ſtop to the Bravery and Courage of the Soldiers, they mounted to the top of the Breach, thô the Earth was become ſoft and ſlippery by the late Rains.

Belgrade Stormed.

From the height of this Breach, they took a Proſpect of greater difficulties ſtill to overcome; for they were now to deſcend into another Ditch, which the *Turks* had digged at the Foot of the inſide of the Wall; and there to wrench up or beat down the Paliſadoes, which were planted on the top of the Ditch; and this was to be executed in Contempt and Deſpite of all the Shot, which the Beſieged ſhowr'd from all ſides upon them; the which was ſufficient to intimidate and cool the Courage of the moſt valiant Heroes, eſpecially when at the beginning of this danger they ſaw their Leader Count *Scherffemberg*, and ſoon afterwards their Colonel Count *Emanuel de Furſtemburg*, who entred into his place, both killed before them, as was alſo Count *Henric* of *Sturemberg*: And indeed the *German* Soldiers beginning a little to give Ground, were in danger totally to loſe all the advantage which they had gained, had not the Elector himſelf expoſed his own Perſon to all the Shot of the Enemy; and ſtanding upon the Breach with his Sword drawn, threatned the Life of any one who ſhould dare to retire, and accordingly ſome were killed for the Terror of others.

Count Scherffemberg killed.

The Elector ſtands on the Breach.

The Soldiers animated by the Example of their General, and touched with a ſenſe of Honour, deſcended with new Reſolution into the Ditch; and being well ſeconded by others, they mounted to the Top, where the Paliſadoes were Planted.

The *Turks* terrified with ſo bold and ſurprizing an Attempt, fled trembling from the face of their Enemies, and crowded into the Caſtle, between which and the Town, there was only a ſingle Bridge; where diſplaying a White Flag, they demanded to Capitulate for their Lives; But ſome of the more deſperate Aſſailants having no regard to Flags, or Colours, or what was acting, aſcended to the Tops of the Houſes, and into Windows, and entred in at the Port-holes made for the Guns, where they made a moſt horrible Maſſacre of all that ſtood before them, without regard to Age or Sex.

The Turks Capitulate.

This Succeſs was in a great meaſure obtained by the other Attack, commanded by the Prince of *Commercy*; who thô wounded in the Shoulder by a Muſquet-Bullet, did yet overcome all difficulties, and enter victoriouſly within the Walls.

The P. of Commercy *enters on the other ſide.*

On that ſide howſoever, where General *Heuſler* commanded with his Dragoons, the oppoſition was not ſo great; ſo that laying aſide the Ladders which they had prepared for Scaling the Walls, they went directly to the Gate, and in ſpite of all their Shot fixed a Petard thereunto, which intirely forced it from its Bolts and Hinges, and laid all open to the entrance of the Soldiers; howſoever at ſome little diſtance from the firſt, another Wall preſented it ſelf, well guarded, and defended with Soldiers, who made continual Vollies upon the Aſſailants; to which there was an Iron-gate to paſs, before entrance could be made; and that ſo ſtrong, that it was judged almoſt impoſſible to be overthrown, during the Heat of this Action.

G. Heuſler *forces a Gate.*

Howſoever the Dragoons of *Savoy* being encouraged by their Prince, (who but ſome days before had been wounded in the Knee) leaped on the Wall, which was not very high, and deſperately threw themſelves into the City; by which means becoming Maſters of the Gate, they opened it, and let in a whole Torrent of the *German* Forces, who in a ſhort time covered all the Streets with the Bodies of their Enemies: Howſoever this Action coſt the Lives of above One hundred Dragoons of *Savoy*, with ſome of their principal Officers, amongſt which was the Count of *Maſſel*; and General *Heuſler* had his Thumb ſhot off with a Muſquet-Bullet, which hindred nothing in proſecution of this Victory.

Maſſacre and ſlaughter of the Turks.

Many *Turks* endeavouring to eſcape the fury of the Soldiers by paſſing the River in Boats, fell into the hands of the *Germans*, who gave them no better Quarter, than they had done to thoſe who defended the Breach.

All being now ſubdued, and ſubjected to Victorious Arms of the Chriſtians, no place ſtood out, but only a ſmall Trench behind the Caſtle, to which the Paſha or Commander in Chief, with the Aga of the *Janiſaries*, and ſome Officers had retired themſelves; and with them they took thoſe Slaves which they had maintained for their Service in the Caſtle: The Soldiers in their fury, not being ſatiated with the Blood they had already ſpilt, were diſpoſed to bathe their Swords yet farther in the Bodies of this ſmall remainder of their Enemies, and were ready to have executed, and wreak their final Rage on the Paſha, and Officers, when the Clemency of the moſt Serene Elector, being moved by the Cries and Tears of the Chriſtian Captives, at their Petitions and Prayers, ſpared the Lives of the *Turks*; being contented to ſee the *Turks* bound in the ſame Chains which they had newly taken from the Chriſtians: And yet the horrible Maſſacre of the Sword did not ceaſe in other parts of the City, all being filled with Confuſion and Cruelty; when on a ſudden a terrible Fire broke out in the lower Town, which burned with ſo much Violence, that the Conquerors as well as the Conquered were willing to eſcape out at the Gates.

The Paſha and other Officers made Priſoners.

The Cruelty of the Soldiers. 1688.

It was grievous to ſee poor Old men made Priſoners, dragged by their Beards, and Women and Maidens covered with Blood and, Dirt drawn by the Hairs of the Head, and made the Sport and Paſtime of Military Inſolence.

In Fine, the Fire being extinguiſhed, Slaughter ceaſed, and about Noon the City and Caſtle were intirely ſubdued.

On the *6th* of *September* when His Electoral Highneſs, and the other Generals rode Triumphantly into the City, beholding the dead Bodies, which filled the Streets, the Ruins of the Houſes, and the Deſtruction which the Bombs had made; And conſidering theſe Succeſſes to have proceeded intirely from the Bleſſing, and Divine aſſiſtance of the God of Hoſts; His Electoral Highneſs on the *7th* of *September*, cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung in one of the Pleaſure-houſes belonging to the Grand Seignior, ſituate on the Declivity of a Hill, where the Elector thought fit to take up his Lodgings. And a Capuchin after ſaying Maſs, was ordered by a ſhort and devout Sermon to move the minds of the Soldiery to return Thanks unto God, who was the Giver of Victory; and to implore the Divine Benediction on the farther progreſs of their Arms. After which, all the Cannon of the Fortreſs, and of the Camp were Fired Three times, with loud *Vive's* reſounding the Fame of *Leopold*, and *Maximilian Emanuel*.

Sept. 7. Te Deum ſung.

The day following the Elector invited all the Generals, and Chief Officers of the Army to a ſumptuous Banquet, at which alſo the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors happened to be preſent; for whom, and his Retinue, (as we mentioned before) the Paſha of *Aleppo* had deſired a Paſs.

When this Ambaſſador approached near the Camp, he was ſtrangely ſurprized to hear all things ſo quiet, no Noiſe of Guns or other Inſtruments of War; but coming yet nearer, his Eyes convinced him (when he ſaw the Imperial Eagles advanced on the Walls) that the Town was taken.

The Turkiſh Ambaſſador comes to the Camp.

News being brought to the Elector, that the Ambaſſador was come, he was conducted with his Interpreter *Mauro-cordato*, and his Followers on Horſeback into the Court-yard, of the Houſe where the Elector was lodged; and there being alighted, he was conducted up Stairs by Two Gentlemen, to the Chamber where the Elector was ſeated, with whom at his firſt Entrance, he paſſed ſome Complements of Thanks, for the Paſſport and Convoy which he had ſo obligingly beſtowed upon him.

After which he was led into a large Hall, where a ſumptuous Table was ſpread. The Elector took the Upper-end, at his Right-hand was placed the Duke of *Mantoua*, on his Left the Ottoman Ambaſſador; and by his ſide the Interpreter was ſeated.

Is Feaſted with the Generals.

By the Duke were placed the Generals *Caprara*, *Dunewalt*, *Heuſler*, *Rabattin*; Prince *Charles*, *Philip* of *Hannover*, the Vice-Commiſſary *Falchenhan*, Count of *Oetting*, *Sauran*, *Stirum*, *Grousfelt*, *Montecucoli*, *Palfi*, and *Sereni*; which filled and crowned the Table with chearful Countenances, whilſt the Ambaſſador drooping in his Spirits, could not hide and ſuppreſs his Sorrow from appearing in his looks: The jollity of theſe Victorious Officers, was a Ponyard to his Heart, which very ill agreed with ſo much Feſtivity and Mirth of his Enemies; and of the principal Officers, who in very rich Habits encircled the Table. Howſoever being conſtrained to ſay ſomething, which might not betray his dejection of mind; caſting his Eyes round upon the Company, he ſaid to the Elector, *That he was aſtoniſhed at the appearance of ſo many handſome and accompliſhed*

1688.

pliſhed Perſonages: But one thing he obſerved, That the Emperor of the Romans *was ſerved by Young Generals; at which he could not much wonder; for when he conſidered, how they daily expoſed themſelves to the moſt deſperate dangers, there ſeemed an impoſſibility almoſt for them to ſurvive till old Age:* Thus far it had been well, if he had ſtopped at this period of Complement.

But purſuing his Diſcourſe farther, he told them, that the Year before he had been at the Battel of *Hatſchan.* To which the Elector Replied, *That certainly he muſt have had a good Horſe*, meaning to eſcape and run away; which cauſed ſome Laughter.

During the time of Dinner, the Trumpets, Haut-boys, and other Inſtruments were ſounded; and Healths drank round in full Cups of Wine; to the Emperor; to the continuance of proſperous Succeſſes to his Arms; and the Third to the Health of the *Ottoman* Emperor; To all which the Ambaſſador did reaſon in *Sherbet* of *Lemmons* Wine, being both againſt his Religion and his Cuſtom to Drink. The Fourth Health was to the Elector; the Fifth to the Duke of *Mantoua*; the Sixth to the Ambaſſador, and then to all brave Soldiers; and after many other Glaſſes, they concluded all with a Health to a Good Peace, or a Glorious War, with which, breaking their Glaſſes, the Feaſt ended with the Day.

The taking of the Town, and City of *Belgrade*, was of a moſt fatal Importance to the *Turks*; for thereby the Way was laid opened to *Adrianople*, and *Conſtantinople*, no Garriſons lay between them and *Belgrade*, nor Forces to oppoſe the March of the Imperial Arms; unleſs Scarcity and Want of Proviſions through a deſolate Country, in many places full of Rocks and Mountains, to be paſſed, ſhould bring more difficulty to the progreſs of a Victorious Army, than the Troops of their Enemies.

Topal ſigniſie Lame.

Nor did this Campaigne end as yet with the Conqueſt of *Belgrade*, being ſeconded by others of equal advantage in *Boſnia*, under the auſpicious Conduct of that Renowned and Fortunate General, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, whom we left lately at *Poſſega*, with deſign to attack *Topal*, Paſha of *Boſnia*, who had Encamped himſelf under *Tervat* or *Terwent*, near the River of *Ucraine*, about Five Miles diſtant from *Proot*, which Prince *Lewis* had fortified, to facilitate his paſſage more eaſily into *Boſnia*, and to ſecure the Communication between the Neighbouring Forts: And there alſo paſſed a Bridge over the *Save*; which being finiſhed, on the Third of *September*, he cauſed his Baggage to paſs over, and the next day followed with his whole Army, in hopes to have drawn the Paſha from his Encampment; of whoſe Number the Prince had no very good Account; but being reported to be much leſs than they were, the Prince marched the Fourth Inſtant in the Evening ſilently, and without Noiſe to aſſault the Enemy in the Camp; and having paſſed that Night through many ſtrait and difficult Ways, they arrived next Morning by break of day within ſight of the advanced Guards of the Enemy, who gave the firſt Alarum; upon which the Paſhas was the firſt to Mount on Horſeback, and immediately drew forth his Troops, placing them in order of Battel; the Horſe into Two Wings, and the Foot in the middle. The Force conducted by Prince *Lewis*, was no ſtronger in all than Three thouſand Horſe, and Three hundred *Croats*; but the *Turks* by ſeveral Recruits which had lately joyned them, were in all Fifteen thouſand Fighting-men; by which inequality of Numbers, the *Turks* judging themſelves ſecure of Victory, furiouſly attacked the Prince, who had alſo divided his Squadrons of Horſe into Two Wings, the Right Commanded by *Piccolomini*, and the Left by Count *Caſtelli*, both Generals of Battalia.

1688.

1688. *Septem.*

P. Lewis paſſes the Save.

The Turks *aſſault the* Germans.

The *Turks* at firſt falling in with all their power, and Numbers on the Left-wing, were Three times bravely repulſed by *Caſtelli*; when *Piccolamini* coming in to their Aſſiſtance, the Fight became ſo hot and fierce, that the *Chriſtians* and the *Turks* remained for half an Hour ſo mixed together, that having not time to Re-Charge their Fire-Arms, they fought only at handy blows, opening the way with their Swords.

The Turkiſh *Horſe put to Flight, And the Foot expoſed to danger.*

At length the *Turks* being overcome by the unparallel'd Valour of the Imperialiſts, the *Turkiſh* Horſe began to retire, leaving their Infantry naked, and expoſed to the Fury of the Enemy, of whom the greateſt Slaughter was made, that ever was known, between Two ſuch ſmall Bodies.

And indeed, Reflexion being made on the Numbers of the Imperialiſts, it will appear a Miracle that Three thouſand three hundred men ſhould defeat Fifteen thouſand, killing Five thouſand on the place, amongſt which was the General *Topal* Paſha, Two Agas, and the *Kahyá* to the Paſha: The Foot made a brave defence for ſome time;

1688. but at length were diſperſed: About Two hundred of them were drowned in the River, and loſt in the Bogs, and ſuch as eſcaped the Sword, ſubmitted to Quarter. The Imperialiſts had the advantage to be covered by the ſide of a Hill, when the Enemy attacked them.

In this great Action the Imperialiſts loſt not more than One hundred and fifty men, amongſt which was Captain *Maraville*, and Two Lieutenants; the Prince *Auguſt* of *Hannover* was ſlightly Wounded in the Hand by a Lance, and the Count *de Cronſfelt*, Sergeant-Major of the Regiment of *Holſtein* in the Neck.

Prince *Auguſt* was Colonel of a Regiment of Curaſſiers, and conducted a Detachment of Two thouſand men, with which he was commanded to march from *Peter-Waradin*, and joyn with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; the which he performed, and behaved himſelf with incomparable Valour, which is natural to that Illuſtrious Family.

P. Lewis *returns to* Proot.

In this manner Prince *Lewis* Exalted with Glory, and laden with Spoils, returned with many Standards and Colours taken from the Enemy, to his former Camp at *Proot*; where Dedicating the Day following to the Repoſe and Refreſhment of his Soldiery, he retorned Thanks to the God of Hoſts, for ſo ſignal a Victory, which happened to fall out on the very ſame day, that the Elector of *Bavaria* ſang the *Te Deum* at *Belgrade* for the Conqueſt and Subjection of that place.

News ſent to Vienna.

Theſe Two great and ſignal Actions being performed ſo near to each other in time, filled all *Vienna* and *Chriſtendom*, (*France* only excepted) with extraordinary Joy and Triumph.

Prince *Charles* of *Vaudemont* was choſen by the Elector to be the joyful Meſſenger of this Glorious Action of taking
1688. *Belgrade*, to the Imperial Court, which was immediately followed by Baron *Schlick*, diſpatched by the Prince of *Baden*, with Advice of that wonderful Victory obtained over *Topal* the Paſha of *Boſnia*.

The French *K. obſtructs the Wars againſt the* Turks.

In this glorious manner did the Campaigne end in *Hungary*, which might have been farther improved, and a progreſs made by the Imperial Arms to the utmoſt extent of thoſe Dominions which the *Turks* poſſeſs in *Europe*, had not the moſt Chriſtian King, being diſpleaſed at the proſperous Courſe of the Imperial Arms againſt the *Turk*, thought it time to make a diverſion by waging War upon *Germany*. 1688.

And indeed it had been no wonder to have ſeen the Imperial Eagles, as a conſequence of the preſent Conſternation, Erected on the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, and the *Turks* driven over the *Boſphorus* to poſſeſs their more Ancient poſſeſſions in *Aſia*, had not the Menaces of the *French* King recalled the Elector of *Bavaria* from his intended Enterprize, which was very probable and likely to have ſucceeded: For the *Raſcians* were got into a Body of Eight thouſand men between *Semandria* and *Niſſa*, being, beſides their old Feuds, lately exaſperated by the burning of their Houſes, and deſtroying of their Fields by *Teghen* Paſha, which he did to hinder the Imperialiſts from following him in his late Flight from *Belgrade*: In revenge of which, they deſired the *Germans* to furniſh them with experienced Commanders, to direct and diſcipline them; not queſtioning but to become Maſters of all that Country, and to poſſeſs *Sophia* it ſelf; promiſing alſo to bring the *Bulgarians* and *Greeks* into the Intereſt of the Emperor.

The Raſcians *in Arms againſt the* Turks.

But the Elector of *Bavaria*, as we have ſaid, being obliged to return, he arrived at *Vienna* the 18*th* day of *September*, and Three days afterwards was followed by the Duke of *Loraine*, who by reaſon of his late indiſpoſition, could not move ſo vigorouſly as the Elector.

The Elector of Bavaria *returns to* Vienna.

The arrival of the Elector at *Vienna*, happened on the Day of Thankſgiving for the late Succeſſes; where nothing was omitted to render that Day ſolemn and full of Joy and Triumph. The Proceſſion came forth from the Royal Church of the *Auguſtines* diſcalced, and proceeded to the Cathedral of St. *Stephen*'s, being followed by all the Clergy, Gentry, Nobility, and Miniſters of the Court; and laſt of all with Exemplary Devotion and Piety, came the Young King of *Hungary*, and their Imperial Majeſties, attended with the Queen of *Poland*, and the Electreſs of *Bavaria*.

A Solemn Day of Thankſgiving.

This moſt Auguſt Train being entred the Church, an Eloquent Sermon was Preached before them, agreeable to the preſent occaſion; after which, *Te Deum* was Sung, and Maſs Celebrated by the Biſhop of *Vienna*, with the Harmony of the moſt exquiſite Muſick, both Vocal and Inſtrumental, that Human Art could arrive unto. All which Jubilee and Triumph was much augmented
by

1688. by the appearance of his Electoral Highneſs, whom the Fatigues and wearineſs of his Journey could not hinder from bearing part in the Feſtival of this day; and indeed the People beheld him with ſuch Admiration, that their Eyes had ſcarce time to fix on any other Object than his perſon, who had atchieved Two ſuch memorable Actions that Year; namely, in paſſing the *Save*, and ſubduing *Belgrade*, as may compare with the moſt memorable and Heroick Acts of *Alexander*, or the *Cæſars*.

Whilſt theſe Triumphs were celebrating in *Auſtria*, and over all *Germany*, and Meſſengers diſpatched to all Courts of *Chriſtendom* to carry the happy News of ſo many Victories, the *Ottoman* Dominions lay diſconſolate and low, and expoſed to the Incurſions of their Enemies, had the Imperialiſts been inclined to puſh forward their Victories, even to the Walls of *Conſtantinople*.

The French obſtructs the War againſt the Turk.

But the Councils of *France* judging it neceſſary to ſupport the *Turk*, reſolved to break into *Germany*; which was accordingly performed; and ſuch a diverſion made thereby, as protracted the War for ſeveral Years afterwards: Wherefore thô it be my purpoſe only to relate the Wars between the Emperor, and the *Turks*, carried on in the famous Kingdom of *Hungary*; yet conſidering that by the *French* Machinations and Contrivances a ſtop was put to the free Courſe of the Imperial Arms, it may not be from our purpoſe to make a ſmall digreſſion; and deſcribe the Original of that War, which afterwards involved all *Chriſtendom* to the great Advantage and Conſervation of the *Turks*.

We muſt therefore underſtand, that King *Lewis* the 14*th* had, on Account of Madam *d' Orleans*, and a pretended Title ariſing from her, ſwallowed in his mind a right to the whole Palatinate; and nouriſhed for a long time a hatred to that moſt Auguſt Family, watching all Opportunities to ſeize on thoſe Lands and Cities, which he thought were unjuſtly detained from him: Howſoever his Enmity burſt not into open Violence, ſo long as the Cardinal of *Furſtemburg* was joyned in a Coadjutorial power with the Elector of *Cologne*.

But that Biſhop being dead, and *Fuſtemburg* diſappointed of his Election by the Choice of Prince *Joſeph Clement* of *Bavaria*; the King paſſing the bounds of all moderation, breaks with the Emperor, and writes this following Letter to the Pope. 1688.

Moſt Holy Father,

We have reſolved to Write with our own Hand unto your Holineſs, deſiring you to do juſtice to Cardinal de Fuſtemburg, *who hath been choſen Archbiſhop and Elector of* Cologne, *on the* 19th *Current of this Month of* September, *by ſuch plurality of Voices, that this Cardinal doth not doubt, but to obtain the Approbation and Confirmation of your Holineſs in this Election, which hath been performed according to the ſtrict Rules of the Cannon; eſpecially ſince amongſt all thoſe who ſtood Candidates for this ſublime Office, none is or can be ſo capable to govern, and worthy the Dignity of an Archbiſhop, as this Cardinal.*

What therefore I deſire of your Holineſs is but a meer Act of Juſtice: But ſince we could never as yet obtain the leaſt point of favour from you; we find our ſelves obliged to lay before your Holineſs, that in caſe your denial of Conſtituting the Cardinal of Fuſtemburg *Elector by your Bull, ſhould be the Cauſe and Original of a War, which cannot be other than bloody and miſerable; we proteſt before God that your Holineſs is liable to anſwer for all thoſe wretched and fatal Accidents which ſhall trouble and diſquiet the repoſe of* Chriſtendom, *which you, as the common Father, are obliged to prevent.*

And leſt it ſhould be Objected, That the Biſhoprick of Argentina *(with which the Cardinal of* Furſtemburg *is invited) is incompatible with the Archbiſhoprick of* Cologne; *We declare, That the ſaid Cardinal ſhall readily quit that See; for which we Preſent one of the moſt conſiderable Subjects of our Kingdom, who is the Biſhop of* Metz, *againſt whom your Holineſs can have no Objection, conſidering that your Holineſs once gave him the Character of being the Scourge of the Hereticks. Which being the only Occaſion and Sum of this Letter, we crave, Holy Father, the Apoſtolical Benediction.*

Given at *Verſailes September* 22. 1688.

Subſcribed *Lewis* King of *France*, the
Eldeſt Son of the Church.

1688. This Letter being deſivered to Pope *Innocent* 11th by Cardinal *de' Eſtrees*, received not the Anſwer which the King expected; for this Pope being a perſon of Courage, juſt and ſevere in Obſervance of the Canonical Cannons and Conſtitutions, would not be induced out of fear or dread of thoſe Menaces pronounced in the Letter, to diſannul or make void the Lawful Election of Prince *Joſeph Clement* of *Bavaria*, to the Archbiſhoprick and Electorate of *Cologne*. Whereupon the King being highly diſpleaſed, made a ſolemn Proteſt againſt the Validity of that Election; with which he diſpatched Meſſengers and Curriers with a thouſand Menaces into all parts of *Germany*, as alſo into *Holland*; enjoyning them not to intermeddle, or concern themſelves in the Electorate of *Cologne*, declaring that he was reſolved to vindicate the cauſe of the Cardinal of *Fürſtemburg* by force of Arms; and at the ſame time commanded his Troops to march into the Eccleaſiaſtical State near *Avignon*, and into *Germany*; upon which *Philipsburg* was attacked and taken: Some Manifeſtos, were likewiſe publiſhed at the Diet at *Ratisbon*, and other places, declaring, That the King did not deſign to act any thing againſt the Truce made at *Nimeguen*, but rather intended to Convert it into a perpetual Peace, in caſe the Cardinal of *Fuſtemburg* might be eſtabliſhed in the Electorate: Offering alſo to demoliſh *Philipsburg*, and reſtore it to the Biſhoprick of *Spire*; and *Freibourg* to the Emperor, it being firſt demoliſhed. But then as to the pretenſions of Madam *d' Orleans*, relating to her Demands upon the Palatinate, the ſame ſhould be amicably debated; which not being agreed, in the ſpace of one year, they ſhould then be referred to the impartial Mediation of the King of *England*, and the Republick of *Venice*.

1688.

The Cruelty of the French *in* Germany.

But no ſooner was this Declaration publiſhed, than the *French* by Force of Arms made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral Cities, ſeizing, and fortifying Caſtles, miſerably burning and deſtroying the Palatinate; and exacting Contributions in *Suevia*, *Franconia*, and other places upon pain of military Execution, raging over all thoſe Countries with ſuch barbarous Inhumanity, as if men had laid aſide all ſenſe of Bowels, or Compaſſion to each other, waging War in a manner unknown to *Tartars*, *Scythians*, or other more ſalvage People of former Ages.

This ſurprizing Irruption of the *French* into *Germany* being carried by an Expreſs to his Electoral Highneſs at *Belgrade* gave (as we have ſaid) a ſtop to the progreſs of his Victorious Arms againſt the *Turk*; ſo that having committed the Command of the Imperial Forces to the auſpicious Conduct and Care of General *Caprara*; he returned with all Expedition to *Vienna*, commanding his own Forces to follow him. 1688.

The Elector returns to Monaco.

At *Vienna* having paſſed ſome few days and diverted himſelf with his moſt Serene Conſort, at the Imperial Court of his moſt Auguſt Father in Law, he haſted with all expedition to *Monaco*, the place of his Electoral Reſidence; there to take ſuch Meaſures as might ſecure his Brother in the Electorate of *Cologne*, to which he had been fairly choſen, and confirmed therein, by the concurrence of Pope *Innocent* the Eleventh: And likewiſe guard his own Countries from the Incurſions of the *French*, who now like a Torrent carried all before them, burning and laying all places deſolate, even to the very Borders of the *Bavarian* Dominions.

1688.

The German Troops recalled from Hungary.

Thus were the *Ottoman* Dominions in *Europe* reſcued from the fatal Blow of an entire Conqueſt: For not only were the *Bavarian* Troops recalled; but the *French* preſſing hard upon the Upper-*Germany*, the Emperor was forced to give Licence to the Militia of the Circles to return home, and to remand back from *Hungary* ſome of his own Regiments, for ſecurity of the Empire, and of the Electors, and other Princes; who now judged it time to unite themſelves againſt the common Enemy; which tho' once eſteemed to be the *Turk* only, yet now the *French* being become more formidable, more cruel, and bloody, than the *Turks* themſelves, when they came firſt from *Scythia*, it became the common Intereſt of all *Germany* to unite in a Body in oppoſition to the dreadful power of their mighty Foe. So the Elector of *Saxony* joyning with the Princes of *Lunenburg*, *Brunſwick*, *Hanover*, and *Heſſe-caſſel*, they vigorouſly made Head, reſolving to oppoſe all the Attempts, which the *French* made upon the Empire.

In this manner the *Turks* being relieved from imminent deſtruction, by a ſtop given to the Current of the Chriſtian Arms, they had time to take ſome breath, and reſpite, and recover themſelves a little, as will appear in the courſe of the following Year.

The Paſha of *Belgrade* taken Priſoner, as we have ſaid, was carried to *Vienna*, where

1688.

The Paſha of Belgrade *Priſoner.*

where he was treated with Reſpect, and permitted the liberty of the City, under the care of *Cavag*^{re} *Marc Ant*^{o} the Emperor's principal Interpreter, becauſe he was a man of Years, a great Soldier, and one choſen for his Valour and Bravery for the defence of *Belgrade*, having approved 1688. himſelf on all occaſions couragious in Battel; and particularly in the defence of *Belgrade*, which he had maintained to the laſt extremity.

Caprara *commands at* Belgrade.

The Government of the City of *Belgrade* being (as we have ſaid) committed to the Care and Command of Mareſchal *Caprara*; His firſt Employment was to purge and cleanſe the City of the noiſome and fetulent ſmell of Dead Corps, which lay ſcattered in the Streets, under the Walls, and upon the Breaches; the ſame were laden upon Waggons, to the Number of about Eight thouſand, and thrown into the Current of the *Danube*; which being carried down the Stream, found their Graves, or Reſting-places, where the Winds and Torrent carried them.

The Garriſon appointed for Defence of the Town conſiſted of Four thouſand Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe, under the Command of Count *Guido de Staremberg*; the reſt of the Militia being drawn out into Quarters near *Peter-Waradin*, ſome care was taken to repair the Breaches by the Art and Induſtry of the Ingenier *Andrea Cornaro*; howſoever there was ſo much neglect in the progreſs of this work, as tended to the advantage of the *Turks*, who Two Years afterwards retook the Town again to the diſreputation, as well as to the loſs of the Chriſtian Arms.

The Works about Belgrade *negligently repaired.*

But whilſt the Ingenier was at work to repair the Breaches, on a ſudden a Fire burſt forth in the Houſe, or Palace, called the Grand Seignior's Favourite, which conſumed it intirely to Aſhes, no man knowing how, nor by what means thoſe Flames were kindled.

Caprara *ſeizes on* Semandria.

After ſo many happy Succeſſes, Labours, and Travels of the Soldiery, it might now be judged time to put an end to this glorious Campaigne, and refreſh the Soldiery already wearied with Toils and Dangers.

But General *Caprara* willing to make uſe of the Air of Fortune, reſolved to viſit the City of *Semandria*, which, as he was informed, was abandoned by the *Turks*: Being come thither, he was carried with a deſire to proceed yet farther into the Conquered Countries, and advanced as far as 1688. *Reſſkarovert*, an open Town conſiſting of about Three hundred Houſes, which the *Turks* alſo had abandoned, leaving all their Chans, or publick Inns filled with Victuals, and Proviſions of all ſorts for a Booty to their Enemies.

The Raſcians *ſubmit to the Emperor.*

Theſe fortunate Succeſſes induced the *Raſcians* to ſubmit unto the Emperor; ſo that the Inhabitants of *Semandria*, having for their Leader *Paul Diach*, were the firſt to pay Homage unto his *Cæſarean* Majeſty; and in proceſs of time performed great Services againſt the *Turk*.

They take two places and defeat the Turks.

Theſe being animated by General *Caprara* increaſed ſpeedily into a Body of Two thouſand men, who ſurprized a place called *VVaolva* on the River *Drine*, and another Town on the ſame River called *Zolkolova*, where engaging with a Body of the *Turks*, they killed a Thouſand of them on the place, and put the reſt to Flight, of which very few of them had the fortune to eſcape with their Lives. But becauſe the *Turks* made great Spoils and Devaſtations on the Banks of the River *Morava*, carrying away many *Greeks* as well as *Raſcians* into Slavery, General *Caprara* ſent Orders to *Heuſler* to haſten to their help with Five Regiments of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, *Heuſler* being arrived on the River *Morava*; where hearing of the Exploits which the *Raſcians* had performed, and how that they had taken Three other Caſtles upon that River about Twenty Leagues diſtant from *Belgrade*; he paſſed the River and Lodged at *Pazziarovitz*, an open place, well ſituated, and eaſily defended, being guarded in the Front by the Three Caſtles, and in the Rear by *Semandria*.

Caprara *returns to* Belgrade.

All things meeting the deſired Succeſs, Count *Caprara* returned to *Belgrade*, from whence he reinforced *Heuſler* with Fifteen hundred Foot to give a ſtop to the Incurſions of the *Turks*, who with a Body of Twelve thouſand Men ranged all along the River *Morava*; but conſiſting for the moſt part of a ſort of Rabble, rather than formed Troops, they were ſoon diſperſed, and came to nothing, Diſbanding or Deſerting of themſelves: Or at leaſt ſerved only for Plunder and Spoil, rather than to oppoſe or make a Stand againſt a formidable Enemy; and in this manner they made Slaves of their own Chriſtian Subjects, and deſtroyed their Country, until ſuch time as that ſome Parties of them moved with indignation for the unjuſt outrages which the *Turks* uſed againſt them, took up Arms,

1688. and ſeized the City of *Uſſiza*, a place tho' open, yet rich; killing Five hundred *Turks* on the place, and taking Two thouſand Priſoners.

This Town was conſidered as a very important Paſs and Inlet into *Boſnia*; but becauſe the Ways were ſo narrow and rocky, that Cannon could not be drawn thither, it was judged fit not to put a Garriſon of *Germans* into it; but rather to commit it to the Cuſtody and Defence of the *Raſcians*.

Theſe ill Succeſſes falling in this manner one on the Neck of another, ſo diſpirited the *Turks*, that the only way left them to quiet the minds both of the Soldiers and People, was to poſſeſs them with the hopes of Peace by the Negotiation of thoſe Ambaſſadors which were lately diſpatched from the Sultan to the Emperor, who were now arrived at the Caſtle of *Puffendorf*, about Five Leagues diſtant from *Vienna*, where they were ordered to remain, until the Plenipotentiaries from *Poland* and *Venice* ſhould meet at *Vienna*, furniſhed with Commiſſions and Inſtructions from their reſpective Powers in order to a Treaty.

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1688. *Turks* in a Peace, ſo afterwards the Folly and Misfortune was ſo apparent, that the Court of *Vienna* hath often lamented the unhappy Conſequences of that evil Counſel, which the Miniſters of State to throw off from themſelves have caſt on the prevailing Faction of the Jeſuits, and Clergy, which have ever carried a great ſway in that Counſel.

1688. And thus having by God's Aſſiſtance finiſhed the Wars in *Hungary* by a full and ample Relation of all that paſſed in that miſerable Country during the Courſe of the laſt Year of 1688. Let us now proceed to the Martial Actions, which paſſed in the ſame Year between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*.

THE

THE
Venetian Succeſſes
In Their WAR againſt the
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1688.

THE Doge of *Venice* Dying about the End of the laſt Year, the Senate knew not any Subject on whom they could more worthily confer that Dignity, than on the Captain-General *Franciſco Moroſini*, a Perſon not only of an ancient Patritian Family, but one who had ſignalized himſelf both in Peace and War, and Sacrificed all his Time and Intereſt to the Service of the Republick.

Had he not merited more than by his great Atchievements in this preſent War, the Ducal Dignity could not have been beſtowed on any more deſerving than himſelf, of which the Senate was ſo ſenſible; that tho' it was a new thing to Elect a Doge who was abſent, which ſome, envious of his Vertues, and growing Greatneſs, did object; yet the Majority of Voices carried the Election, and accordingly the Ducal Bonnet was, by order, ſent to *Moroſini*, by the Secretary *Zuccato*, who found his Serenity aboard the Admiral Gally in *Porto Poro*, a Port in the *Morea*; where he offer'd in the Name of the Senate, expreſſed in a moſt Eloquent Oration, the Enſigns of the Principality; all the other Ceremonies being ſolemnly perform'd at *Venice*.

F. Moroſini *Elected Doge.*

Before this Happy Inauguration, the Peſtilence had greatly infeſted the *Venetian Armata*; but by God's Bleſſing, it was now ceaſed, and Prattick given at *Venice* to thoſe who came from thence; for which the Doge having returned Thanks in a devout manner to Almighty God, aboard the Fleet, he began to entertain thoughts of undertaking ſome Enterprize worthy his new Dignity, and which might ſerve for a Fortunate Omen of what was to ſucceed in all the Progreſs of his Auſpicious Government, which at the beginning looked fair, and proſperous in all the Circumſtances thereof.

For from *Candia* Advices were brought to the *Armata*, of great Revolutions, and Mutinies in *Candia*, which ended with the Death and Deſtruction of that Vizier, and the principal Paſha's and Bey's of that place: In *Canea* the Diſorders were not leſs, the Souldiery following the Example of thoſe Seditions, and Tragedies acted at *Conſtantinople*, would govern themſelves; and whilſt they knew not what Government to ſet up, there was a Rumour amongſt them amidſt their Confuſion, That they would deliver up thoſe Places into the Hands of the *Venetians*; but their Army being at ſome diſtance, and not near enough to meet the heat of this Popular Inſurrection, theſe Hopes vaniſhed, the *Turks* returning to more ſober, and cooler Counſels.

1688.

Troubles amongſt the Turks *in* Candia.

The Captain Paſha was now ready to come forth with the *Ottoman* Fleet, which conſiſted of ſo few Gallies, as were in no condition to deal with the Naval Forces of the *Venetians*, and yet were of ſome uſe for Tranſporting Soldiers and Relief to *Negropont*, or other Parts, according to the Motion of the Enemy.

The Turkiſh *Fleet very weak.*

But the *Venetian Armata* increaſed daily by the Union of ſeveral Convoys dis-ſpeeded to joyn with the main Body under Command of the Doge.

The firſt Convoy was compoſed of ſeveral Ships, Marſilians, and light Gallies, under the Command of his Excellency *Piſani*, with whom alſo two Noble *Venetians* called *Lorenzo Donato*, and *Girolamo Grimani*, were Embarked, appointed by the Senate to aſſiſt as Counſellors unto his Serene Highneſs the Doge; whom four other Noble *Venetians* accompanied to ſupply Places, and Offices of Truſt, as occaſions ſhould offer.

The Venetian *Armata joyned.*

On another Convoy the firſt Regiment of *Wirtemberg*, and the Prince himſelf, who Commanded them, was Embarked with ſeveral Nobles, and Gentlemen of that Nation, all of them Brave and Experienced Soldiers, attended with many Ships, and Veſ-

1688. ſels laden with Ammunition, Proviſions, and all ſorts of Inſtruments and Utenſils for War. And with them alſo were diſpatched the Syndicks and Officers for better government of the *Morea*.

A third Convoy was alſo prepared, and diſpatched with the Second Regiment of *Wirtemberg*, under the Command and Conduct of the Prince Landgrave of *Armſtadt*, and whilſt theſe Forces were on their Voyage towards *Porto Poro*, there to joyn with the main Body of the *Venetian* Fleet, in order to ſome great Enterprize, his Excellency *Cornaro* Proveditor-General in *Dalmatia*, was giving all the Aſſiſtance he was able, to the *Chriſtians* of that Country; who upon the Rumour of the Misfortunes of the *Turks*, had taken Arms to recover their Freedom.

Cornaro *in* Dalmatia.

The Commander in Chief of the *Turks* in thoſe Countries, was called *Solyman Paſha*, who by ill Succeſſes having lately been droven into the Caſtle of *Podgorizza*, which he had plentifully provided with all ſorts of Proviſions and Ammunition, he gathered unto him all the Soldiers that were in *Scutari*, *Antivari*, *Dolcigno*, *Aleſſio*, *Drino*, *Croia*, *Durazzo*, *Ofrida*, and *Terra Nova*; with which, and with the Auxiliaries of 4000 *Turks* joyned thereunto by *Verlaz Paſha* Sangiack of *Valona*, he had formed an Army of 10000 Fighting Men, with which he reſolved according to Commands received from the Port, to deſtroy the *Cutzi*, *Montegrini*, and *Nixichi*, Inhabitants of the Mountains, who having caſt off the *Mahometan* Yoak, had devoted themſelves to the *Venetian* Republick.

Solyman Paſha *troubles the* Chriſtians

At the firſt beginning *Solyman Paſha* ſent kind Meſſages to them, Exhorting, and Inviting them to return to their former Obedience; but they truſting to their ſtrong Holds in the Mountains, and to the Aſſurances given by the Proveditor-General *Cornaro*, to relieve and ſuccour them on all Occaſions, they rejected all the fair Words and Propoſitions made to them by the *Turks*.

Whereupon *Solyman Paſha* Detached about 3000 Men under the Command of *Ahmethis Kaja*, or Deputy, to fall upon their Rear in the Mountains; but the *Cutzi* ſo bravely received their Attack, and with ſuch Conſtancy, that after a Bloody Fight, which continued for ſeveral Hours, the Kaja was totally Routed, and Defeated, and forced to betake himſelf to a ſhameful Flight: Whilſt on the other ſide *Solyman Paſha* Burned ſome Villages, and cut up the Vines, and ruined the Vineyards of the *Cutzi*; who thereupon were ſo highly Enraged, that purſuing their late Victory with Courage and Indignation, they fell upon the Paſha, and forced him to take Refuge in his Caſtle of *Podgorizza*.

His Kaja *beaten by the* Cutzi.

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The News hereof being brought to the Proveditor-General, he dis-ſpeeded Orders to the Cavalier *John Antonio Polizza*, that with the Borderers on the Channel of *Cattaro*, and to the Super-Intendent *Perini*, that with a Battalion of *Italians*, and 600 of thoſe called *Oltramarini*, who are *Albaneſes*, and other People living on the Coaſts of *Friuli* and *Dalmatia*; they ſhould march to the Succour and Aſſiſtance of the *Cutzi*: And in the mean time to give the *Turks* an Alarm in divers Places, ſome Gallies and Galeaſſes were commanded to paſs along the Coaſt of *Albania*, under the Conduct of that Noble *Venetian* called *Franciſco Grimani*, Nephew to *Cornaro*: This Appearance on the Coaſt, ſometimes at St. *John de Medua*, then again near *Dolcigno*, and ſoon afterwards on the Shoar of *Bolaria*, and *Antivari*, the *Turks* were ſo confounded thereby, that they knew not where to apply themſelves; until at length ſome *Venetians* Landing near *Antivati*, were Attacked by one *Ahmet Aga*, the Son of the Governour of that place, whom they repulſed with much Vigour, and killed *Ahmet* upon the Place; and ſtranded a Brigantine belonging to *Caſtel Nuovo* on the Shoar.

Succours *ſent to the* Cutzi.

But the grand Deſign and Enterprize of this Year, being the Siege of *Negropont*, the whole *Venetian* Fleet with the Gallies of the Pope, and *Malta*, having made their general Rendezvous in *Porto Poro*, on the 19th of *June*, Old Stile, weighed Anchor, directing their Courſe towards the *Archipelago*. The Fleet was divided into three Squadrons; one Commanded by his Excellency *Veniero*, Captain Extraordinary of the Ships; another Squadron conſiſted of Gallies, under Command of the Governour of the *Condannata*, or of ſuch who are Condemned to the Oar, whoſe Poſt was to keep to Windward of the Fleet. The third Squadron was Commanded by the Doge himſelf, who with the remaining part of the Galleaſſes, Gallies, Galleots and Ships, were to take their Station to Lee-ward; beſides which, a Squadron of Ships with 13 *Chriſtian Corſairs*, making in all 26 Sail, were diſpatched before with Orders to advance as far as the *Dardanelli*, and give a ſtop to the Captain Paſha; who upon the News of this powerful Fleet, durſt not adventure Abroad, but kept within the Reach and Covert of the Caſtles: For indeed the *Turkiſh* Fleet, which for many Years paſt had not been of equal force to engage the *Venetians*, was this Year alſo much weakened by the want of Eight Gallies, which the Captain Paſha had diſpatched to the *Black Sea* for relief of their *Saicks* againſt the *Coſſacks*, who much

Part of the Venetian *Fleet ſent to the* Dardanelli.

They ſtop the Captain Paſha from coming out.

infeſted that Coaſt, and for want of forty Galleots, which were remaining on the Stocks in the Arſenal at *Conſtantinople*, having neither Slaves for the Oar, nor Soldiers for Fight and Defence, nor Seamen to Sail and direct them. Nor was the Captain Paſha of ſufficient force to give Convoy to the Fleet expected from *Egypt*, conſiſting of nine great Soltanaes, and diverſe Saicks laden with Ammunition and Proviſions, of which, tho' the Grand Seignior had great want, and had diſpatched divers Commands unto *Alexandria*, to haſten their Voyage; yet the fear they had of being intercepted by the *Venetians*, was a ſufficient Defence for them againſt the reiterated Commands of the Port.

This Squadron of Ships coming to Anchor before the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*, kept the *Turkiſh* Fleet within the Caſtles, whilſt the Doge advanced with the main Fleet towards the Iſland of *Negropont*, in the Form and Manner before deſcribed.

The Deſcription of the City of Negropont.

The Iſland of *Negropont* is the moſt conſiderable of all the Iſles in the *Archipelago*; the ancient Name of it amongſt the *Greeks* and *Latines* was *Eubœa*; it had alſo other Names, as *Macris* from the narrowneſs of the Channel which paſſes between the Iſland, and the Main Land; *Abantias* and the People *Abantiades*; the chief Town was *Chalcis*, now named after the Denomination of the Country; *Pliny* calls the Iſland *Aſopis*, and *Strabo Ocha*; it had alſo the Name of *Ellopia*, from *Ellope* the Son of *Jupiter*. This Iſland, as believed, was once joined to the Main Land, but ſeparated from thence by ſome Earthquake, and now adjoyned by a Bridge; it is 365 *Italian* Miles in compaſs, 90 Miles in length, and 40 in breadth. The City of *Negropont* anciently *Chalcis*, is ſituated on the *Euripus*, which is a narrow Channel, that in a wonderful manner Ebbs and Flows ſeven times in 24 Hours: The Walls of the City are about two Miles in compaſs, but the Suburbs are much larger, and more Populous, by reaſon of the many *Greeks* and *Jews* which Inhabit therein. The Captain Paſha is the Chief Commander thereof; but commonly governs by his Deputy: There is a Bey alſo belonging to it, a Man of great Power, by reaſon that he draws from thence a Yearly Revenue for Maintenance of a Gally.

Negropont *when taken by the* Turks.

This Iſland of *Negropont* formerly belonged to the *Venetians*, and to this Day the Arms of St. *Mark* remain over one of the Gates of the City; when *Pietro Zani* was Doge, it was given by the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* to the *Venetians* in recompence and reward of ſome good Services performed by that Republick towards him; or rather becauſe he could not defend it, he gave it over into the Hands of a good Ally.

But in the Year 1469, *Sultan Mahomet* being deſirous to joyn that Pleaſant Iſle to his other Conqueſts, endeavoured to make a Bridge for the more eaſie Tranſportation of his Troops into the Land; but being repulſed by the Inhabitants, and the Bridge overthrown, the *Turks* were forced to betake themſelves unto their Boats, and Veſſels: Howſoever in leſs than a Month afterwards, the *Turks* returned before the Place with 300 Sail, and then having formed the Bridge, as was intended, *Mahomet* himſelf came with an Army of 120000 Men, and Attacked the City, which was Fortified after the manner of thoſe Times, and defended by a Garriſon of 24000 Men, under the Command of *Giovanni Bondulmiero*, *Ludovico Calvo*, and *Paolo Erizzo*.

The *Turks* raiſed ſeveral Batteries in different Places againſt it, by which they made ſuch large Breaches, that they made four terrible Aſſaults thereon, in which above 40000 *Turks* were Slain, and the Enemies bravely repulſed, but at length being overwhelmed with Numbers, and tired with a long Siege, the Guards which defended the *Porta Bureliana*, conveyed themſelves ſecretly away, and abandoning their Poſt, they entered the Gate without much oppoſition, killing all the People who paſſed the Age of 20 Years. *Calvo* was killed on the Place, and *Bondulmiero* in his Houſe: *Erizzo* having Intrenched himſelf in ſome faſt place, defended himſelf Valiantly, and at length ſurrendred on Conditions of Life; but the *Turks* maintained them not, but cauſed him to be Sawn in two: His Fair Daughter choſe rather to die by her own Dagger, than to give up her Chaſtity to the Luſt of the *Turks*.

Preparations in order to the Siege of Negropont.

The *Turks* having remained Maſters of this City ever ſince the Year 1469; it came at length to be Attacked in hopes of Recovery in this Year 1688; in order unto which, the Captain Extraordinary *Veniero*, was appointed with nine Ships belonging to the Republick, a Fire-ſhip, and a Palandra to guard the Channel of *Negropont*, and to hinder the *Turks* from bringing Succours to the City; to which alſo ſeven Gallies were added under Proveditor *Piſani*. At the ſame time alſo, ſeveral light Gallies were ordered to ſcower the Channel of *Volo*, and hinder all Succours from paſſing on that ſide.

The Venetian *Fleet ſails towards* Negropont.

All the Land Forces being Embarked upon the Ships, Gallies, Galleaſſes, Galleots, Palandras, and other Veſſels; the *Venetian* Fleet weighed Anchor on the 7th of *July* from *Porto Poro*, and Sailed with a fair Wind, directing their Courſe towards the Iſland of *Negropont*; but by what Misfortune not known, a great Ship called the *Smyrna* Merchant, ran upon a Rock, which being high, and eaſily ſeen, it was ſuſpected, to have been done on purpoſe by Treachery of the Captain; the which unhappy Accident gave ſome ſtop to the proceeding of the Fleet, in hopes to ſave moſt of the Rigging, and Materials thereunto belonging: But in fine a Gale of Wind ſpringing up, the Ship was broken in pieces, and no more ſaved than only the Men and eight Pieces of Cannon of the 50 with which ſhe was mounted, beſides ſome Bombs, and other Materials for War. This Accident hindered ſomething of the Proceedings of the Fleet, which received yet a greater Impediment from the Northern Winds, which at this Seaſon of the Year ſo conſtantly reign in thoſe Seas, as if they were Trade-Winds: Howſoever when the Gale abated, as it doth commonly towards Night, the Gallies made uſe of their Oars to row to Windward as high as Cape *Colonna*, where afterwards the Ships joyned them: And taking the Calm of the Night, the Gallies by force of their Oars towed up the Ships, and on the 11th of *July* they entered the Channel of *Negropont*; and on the 13th came to an Anchor in the Road, called the Gardens, about ſix Miles diſtant from the Capital City of *Negropont*.

Some of the Forces landed on Negropont.

Here it was that all the Soldiers, Horſe and Foot which were Embark'd on the Galleaſſes, Gallies, and Galleots, making a Body of about 8000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, Landed without the leaſt oppoſition; having only ſeen a Party of about 50 *Turks* on Horſeback who preſented themſelves in view, to take cognizance of the Motion of their Enemies, amongſt which *Muſtapha Paſha* Commander of the Town was there in Perſon. So ſoon as the Out-guards of the *Turks* poſted on a Tower erected on a Neck of Land which ſtretched out to the *Euripus*, eſpy'd the Troops which were diſembarking, they diſcharged ſome Guns, to give an Alarm to the Town, and immediately quitted the place, as being not tenible; into which ſome Soldiers were entered from the Ducal Gally, being an advantageous Poſt, wherein were found four Iron Guns, and ſome ſmall Proviſions.

Turkiſh *Strength in* Negropont.

The Day that theſe Forces were Landed, ſome *Greeks* of the Country, together with the Captain of a *French Tartana* came, and gave Intelligence, that the whole force of the Iſland conſiſted of about 6000 Men, with *Janizaries* and *Spahees*; but that they did not truſt much to the Faith of the Inhabitants, whom they had lately diſoblig'd by taking from them the beſt of their Goods and Furniture for their Houſes: That the Walls of the City were lined with Earth, and fortified on all ſides with Baſtions, well provided with Cannon: That all the Gates, and Entrances to the City were Mined; and that the Suburbs were ſurrounded with a deep Ditch and Palliſadoes: Beſides which, that there were ſome Out-works lately finiſhed, all provided well with Water, and Proviſions neceſſary for a long Defence. That there were two Governours in chief, one called *Muſtapha Paſha*, a Man of great Reputation, who Commanded the Mount, on which a Battery was erected towards the Sea: The other was *Ibrahim Paſha*, who defended the Outworks of the City, both Men of Reſolution; beſides theſe, who defended the Town, in which the Garriſon was very ſtrong, the Seraskier lay Encamped with 4000 Men, moſt Horſe, not far from *Negropont*.

The Doge, and General Officers, take a view of the Country.

On the 14th of this Month his Serenity the Doge, accompanied with General *Koniſmark*, and the Engenier *Verneda*, attended with many Barges and Felucaes, went to take a Survey of the Country, of the Situation of the City, and the Forts, and Batteries, which tho' more in number, and furniſhed with Cannon beyond expectation, did not yet abate the Courage of theſe Aſſailants. All things being well obſerved by theſe Generals, they diſcovered how the *Turks* had on the left Hand of the Bridge raiſed a Battery with Earth, and planted many Pieces of Cannon thereon, and pitched their Tents along the ſide of the Aqueducts: And on the left Hand had formed a Line of Communication between the Suburbs and the Hill which commands the Sea, from whence they could offend the Gallies with their Shot, and the *Venetian* Tents; beſides which, they diſcovered divers other Trenches in different Forms, ſtrengthned with Palliſadoes, with a deep Ditch full of Sea-Water, 30 Paces long, reaching to the Gate of the City, covered by a Hornwork: And below the Mills another Battery was raiſed of three Pieces of great Cannon, which commanded the Shoar along the Sea-ſide; all which Forts were defended by ſome *Chriſtians* more or leſs in every Work, moſt of them of the *French* Nation, who were skilful in throwing Bombs, and all ſorts of Fireworks.

The Chriſtian *Troops advance.*

Thus the Doge, and his Generals, having taken a full Survey of the ſeveral Fortifications of the City, and the Situation of the Country, on the 15th of the Month, was the Day appointed for the March of the Army towards a riſing Hill oppoſite to another which covers the City: And at the ſame time the Gallies, and Galleaſſes advanced by force of their Oars, againſt the Northern Winds, which continually blow at that Seaſon, and came to an Anchor under

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der that riſing Hill, which is near to a Wood, from whence they could ſee the new Fort of *Karababa*, or *Black Father*. An in regard the Ships could not enter into the Channel of *Negropont*, by reaſon of contrary Winds, the Doge diſpatched away the Captain of the Gulf, with 10 Gallies to take out the Soldiers, and Tranſport them aſhoar to joyn with the reſt of the Army: And for more expedition in this Work, the Proveditor *Piſani*, who Commanded the Gallies which are Manned with ſuch as are Condemned to the Oar, being returned with the nine Ships, of which we have given an Account, to have been ordered to the *Dardanelli*; and by reaſon of contrary Winds, were put into the Port of *Andro*, was alſo commanded to give his Aſſiſtance, for landing Soldiers, Horſe, and all the Inſtruments, and Neceſſaries for War.

The General of Malta *receives Audience of the Doge.*

Whilſt theſe things were preparing for the Siege, the Baly *Spinelli*, a *Neapolitan* Cavalier, General of the Gallies of *Malta*, demanded Audience of the Doge, to paſs his Complement of Congratulation upon his Advancement to the Ducal Throne, the which being granted, the General appeared with a great Attendance, followed by many Boats, Barges, and Felucaes; ſo ſoon as he was aſcended into the Ducal Gally, which was adorned with Flags and Streamers from Stem to Stern, he was ſaluted with four great Guns, and at the Stairs was met and conducted by Lieutenant General *Piſani*, to the Stern of the Gally, where his Serenity was ſeated on his Throne, having on his Head his Ducal Bonnet, and wearing the Senatorian Gown after the ancient *Roman* Faſhion; before him ſtood the four Admirals of the Seas.

The General of *Malta* being entered into the Preſence, the Doge aroſe from his Throne, and received him ſtanding. The General with eight other Knights, Captains of the Gallies, and his Comrades, made a moſt profound Reverence at their Entrance, and having delivered the Letter to the Doge, from the Grand Maſter of *Malta*, full of kind and amicable Expreſſions, all there preſent ſtood Bare-headed whilſt it was reading: After which the General was cauſed to ſit down on a Seat placed on the right Hand of the Doge, and four of the Knights on a Bench on the left Hand, the other four remaining without, ſeated alſo on Banks, the Antiport of the Cabin being drawn up, the Slaves at the Oar were cloathed in White, and the Soldiers clad with divers Colours, armed with Half-Pikes, Muskets, and Swords, each bearing a Burgurdian on his Head, which being to the Number of 500 Men, appeared very pleaſant to the Eye.

1688. July. *A Skirmiſh between the* Turks *and* Venetians

This Complement was no ſooner paſſed, than News was brought, That a Skirmiſh had happened between the Voluntier Adventurers and the *Turks*; but the firſt being reinforced by the Marquis *Corloni*, with ſome of his Dragoons, and Soldiers of the *Greek* Nation, the Fight became very warm, but the *Turks* were at length forced to retire with conſiderable Loſs; tho' this Succeſs coſt the Life of Colonel *Paul Macri*, being ſhot in the Head, who for his Bravery and Deſerts having obtained the Honour of Knighthood, was much deplored and lamented by the whole Army.

By this time the Ships under *Veniero*, and the main Body of the whole Armata were come about, and had doubled the Point of *Karababa*, from whence they received many Shot, but without any damage; ſo that the Ships and Gallies having taken the ſeveral Poſts aſſigned to them, and alſo four of the Duke of *Tuſcany*'s Ships laden with Warlike Proviſions, and 400 Land Soldiers, being come and joyned to thoſe other Forces belonging to the Great Duke's Gallies, compoſed a Body of 800 Men; all which being arrived and united to the Fleet and Army, the Doge prepared every thing ready in order to a formal Siege. The General of the Great Duke's Forces was Named *Chigi*, who having made a Viſit to his Serene Highneſs the Doge, the ſame Ceremonies paſſed, as were ſhown towards the General of *Malta*.

The Town Inveſted.

Eighteen Days after the Forces were Landed, all the Approaches were finiſhed in ſight of the Town; during which Time the *Turks* made not the leaſt Sally to hinder, or diſturb the Works, nor did the *Venetians* fire a Gun againſt the *Turks*, who greatly wondered at ſo long ſilence, as if on both ſides a Ceſſation of Arms had been agreed; and all remained quiet, until the 30th of *July*, when the Cannon began inceſſantly to play about Break of Day in the Morning from the *Venetian* Batteries, with Showers of Bombs and Carcaſſes, which being thrown into the Town and Outwarks of the Enemy, filled the City with Terrour and Conſternation, eſpecially the Women, whoſe Cries and Schreeks were heard into the *Venetian* Camp.

August.

The firſt of *Auguſt* a Reſolution was taken to Attack a certain Fort called *Loppo*, ſituate on a little Hill, but upon diſcovery that the place was Undermined, the Deſign was altered, and Orders given to Bomb the Place with a Palandra, a Veſſel made for that purpoſe, which ruined ſome of the *Turks* Trenches; howſoever this Attempt coſt the Life of two Mariners, and the Loſs of the Captain's Arm, who commanded the Palandra.

After which the *Venetians* advanced under the Mills ſecuring their Poſts with Earth and Baskets; and the *Malteſes* and *Florentines* endamaged the Enemy very much, by the Bombs and Carcaſſes which they threw into a ſmall Fort on the Eaſt-ſide, and thereby it was, as it were, totally deſtroyed and levelled. And as the *Venetians* were diligent in their Approaches, ſo the *Turks* were not leſs active to give them a Repulſe, and to make frequent Sallies as they did one upon the *Malteſes*, of whom they kill'd and wounded about 40, and afterwards retreated, but not without ſome loſs both of Men and Horſe. In the mean time the Cannons play'd continually from the Batteries, and Bombs thrown into the Town, one of which falling into the Houſe of the Paſha, ſo affrighted the Women and Children, that with Schreeks and Cries caſting themſelves at the Feet of the Paſha, begged and beſeeched him to ſurrender up the Town into the Hands of the Enemy upon Terms of Capitulation; but the Paſha inflexible, and refuſing to hearken unto ſuch Intreaties, reſolved to maintain it to the laſt Extremity: To which End many Retrenchments were made within the Walls, and Caverns digged under Ground, to ſecure the People, and Goods, and Soldiers which were not on the Guard, from the Deſolation made by the Bombs.

The Seraskier at Petra.

During all this time the Seraskier, with a Body of about 4000 Men, remained at a Place called *Petra* in *Livadia*, about ſix Miles diſtant from *Negropont*, with deſign not to adventure his Men, until ſome unavoidable Neceſſity happened, or the City was reduced to its laſt Agony; which as yet was not ſo far ſtreightned, but that there remained ſome hopes that it would be able to relieve it ſelf; it being eſteemed better Service to keep the Paſſes free, and an open Commerce with the Town, than to hazard an Engagement with the Enemy, with ſo unequal a Force, which being overthrown, would prove a certain forerunner of the Loſs of the City.

The Venetian *Camp waſted with Sickneſs.*

Negropont a Fruitful Country.

The Temper of the Inhabitants.

The *Venetians* finding it more eaſie to proceed on the Attack of the Town, than to loſe time in taking the Fort of *Carababa*, they raiſed a new Battery upon a ſmall Rock, at the Entrance of the Port under Command of the Captain of the Gulf, which he effected with his own, and the help of another Galley. But what moſt incommoded the *Venetian* Camp, was the exceſſive Heats; for tho' the Winds were Northerly, as they commonly are in thoſe Seas; yet paſſing over the Land, they contracted ſuch Heat, and carried with them ſuch a kind of Noxious, and Sulphureous Vapour, as produced Malignant Fevers amongſt the Soldiers, and Officers, that many of them Died, and the Camp became enfeebled, and much weakened; amongſt which was General *Koniſmark*; who being forced to leave the Camp, to go Aboard his Ship in order to his Cure, his Command was committed to the Charge of Major General *Horn* of *Brunſwick*. The Sickneſs ſtill ſpreading with Fevers and Tertian Agues, a Sergeant General of Battallia, *Pietro Gaſpari*, and Colonel of the *Switzers*, died thereof; and the Count *Palatine* Landgrave of *Heſſe*, reduced to the laſt Extremity; ſo that many Deſigns were neglected, which might have gained the City, and all the Enterpriſes of the Army became faint and languiſhing. Beſides Health there was nothing that wanted; the Iſland it ſelf being very fruitful, abounded with Wines, and all ſorts of Victuals, and Proviſions for the Suſtenance of Humane Life, and were it not for the Depredations made thereon by Pirates, it would be one of the moſt happy Countries of the World: The Inhabitants thereof being of an Open, Free, and Chearful Nature, of a Sanguine Complexion, and Merry like the other *Greeks*, without much Thought, or Care, which renders commonly the Lives of Men very uneaſie to themſelves and others; and tho' the Country abounded with all things, yet the Neighbouring Iſlands brought over their Cattle and Fruits thither; which finding a ready Market, cauſed as great Plenty, and abundance of all things, as could be deſired.

On the 10th of *Auguſt* the *Turks* made a Sally into the *Venetian* Trenches, whence happened a Skirmiſh, but without much damage, or hurt on either ſide; nor had the Enemies Cannon done any great Execution as yet on the *Chriſtian* Camp; which, on the 11th of *Auguſt* had perfected all their Batteries. And to ſpare the Labour of the Soldiers, who had already ſuffered much in opening Trenches, and raiſing Batteries, and Fighting; Orders were given to Seignior *Delfino* Proveditor of the Camp, to gather what *Greeks* he could to ſerve for Pioneers, and that every Gally, and Galleaſs ſhould prepare 500 Faggots, with ſome Palliſadoes, which was readily effected.

The Turks *ſhow themſelves.*

And now about the 13th of this Month, the Enemy began to ſhow themſelves Evening and Morning near the *Venetian* Trenches, but attempted nothing, with deſign as was imagined, to draw their Enemies into a place which they had Undermined; ſo that for three or four Days nothing happened of any thing conſiderable, unleſs it were the burſting of a Cannon, which battered the Palliſadoes of the Enemy, by which the chief Gunner was killed, and five others were wounded; and another Cannon diſmounted by a Shot from the Enemy upon the Wheel of the Carriage.

August. *The* Turks *Attack the* Malteſes.

But on the 16th about Sun-ſet, the *Turks* Attacked the Trenches of the *Malteſes*, where a very hot Skirmiſh began, which continued for the ſpace of an Hour, until Night coming on, the *Turks* retired with conſiderable Loſs, and of the *Malteſes* about 15 were killed, and about 20 wounded: Upon which the *Malteſes* advanced and enlarged their Works, and whilſt they were Fighting on that ſide, a Detachment of 3000 Men Attacked a Fort near the Mills about a Piſtol-ſhot from the Enemies Palliſadoes, of which after ſome reſiſtance, they rendered themſelves Maſters with the Death of above 100 *Turks*, and ſome wounded.

A Fort near the Mills taken.

The loſs of this place being of great importance to the *Turks*, by Break of Day in the Morning on the 17th, they fell upon it with great Numbers to recover it, and ſurprized the *Florentines* and the Regiment of *Atti*, which were the Guard placed there to defend it; which being Sleeping, or found in a negligent Poſture, the *Turks* returned with 150 Heads, amongſt which were ſeveral Cavaliers of *Florence*, and three Captains of the Regiment, and the reſt quitted the Fort and fled, amongſt which were above 100 wounded; which Action coſt the *Turks* very little.

The Turks *recover it.*

The Doge reſolves to Attack the Turks *in their Trenches.*

The Doge being highly enraged at this ill Succeſs, and deſirous of Revenge, reſolved to Attack the Enemies Trenches; which tho' eſteemed by a Counſel of War, to be a hazardous Enterprize, which tho' it ſhould ſucceed, would coſt much Blood; yet the Doge nothing moved, continued his Reſolution to put the Attempt in execution on the 20th of *Auguſt*, being well aſſured, that nothing could be effected on the Town unleſs firſt they could poſſeſs, and make themſelves Maſters of the Enemies Trenches. In order unto which on the 17th the Doge, with the chief Sea-Officers, came aſhoar to take a View, and Survey the Enemies Trenches, the which extended almoſt three Miles from the Hill to the Sea, the Soldiers therein lodged ſecurely, as if they had been Buried; they were very ſpacious and deep, ſo that 50 could march a Breaſt, ſecured by vaſt Oaken Beams, over which were Sacks of Cotton artificially laid, and the void places filled up with Earth; and what damage was done hereunto by the *Venetian* Cannon, or Bombs in the Day, were by the Induſtry and Labour of the *Turks* repaired in the Night. Theſe Trenches were likewiſe defended by five Batteries, on which 26 Pieces of Cannon were mounted, and ſix Mortar-pieces which threw Stones at ſuch diſtance, as ſerved not only to defend their own Trenches, but alſo to offend the *Venetian* Camp.

The Manner of their Trenches.

Whilſt the Doge, and principal Officers were contriving the Attack which was to be executed on the 20th: The *Turks* on the 18th made a Sally on the Regiment of Colonel *Gaſpar* an *Athenian*, who was placed to guard the Aqueducts, but were ſo bravely received by the Valour of that Colonel, that they were repulſed with the loſs of 150 of their Men killed on the place; and 50 or 60 of the *Chriſtians*, amongſt which was Colonel *Gaſpar* himſelf, being ſhot in the Breaſt with a Musket-Bullet; in recompence of whoſe Reſolute and Valiant Behaviour to the general Satisfaction and Applauſe of the whole Army, the Doge beſtowed the Command of the Regiment on his Brother *Demetrio*, with an Annual Penſion to his Son, during his Life.

August *The* Turks *Sally out.*

Colonel Gaſpar *an* Athenian *killed.*

The Morning of the 20th being come every one prepared himſelf for the intended Aſſault on the Enemies Trenches. The Marquis of *Corbon* with his Cavalry, was the firſt to break in upon the Enemies Horſe, which he performed with ſuch Succeſs, that he thereby opened a way for the Foot to Attack the Trenches in three ſeveral places, which was executed with ſuch reſolution, that neither Cannon nor Musket-ſhot were ſerviceable on this occaſion; for the Fight in the Trenches was ſo cloſe with the Swords and Handy Blows; that being intermixed one with the other, the Combatants rather appeared like Gladiators than Soldiers fighting in regular Troops. The *Turks* on one ſide being hard preſſed, began to throw away their Arms and fly; but being ſeconded, and relieved by ſome Troops led on by the Paſha Commander of the place, who at the ſame time promiſed Rewards to the Valiant, and threatned Death to the Cowardly, the Fight increaſed, and the Trenches were filled with the Bodies of Dead and dying Men. The *Venetians* were repulſed twice, and thrice in ſome places: But at length all the Paſſes towards the Mountain being forced by the Regiment of *Bonometti*, and the *Venturieri*, (who are Soldiers of Fortune) the *Turks* began to abandon their Poſts, and betake themſelves to Flight; and other Regiments forcing the Lines in other places, filled all with Slaughter and Confuſion; the Horſe were the firſt began to turn their Backs, running with full Career to take refuge in the Town, and to ſave themſelves: But the Infantry fared much worſe, for ſome Thouſands of them being purſued by the *Chriſtians*, even to the Gates of the City, about 500 of them were cut off, and their Journey ſhortned.

The Turks *Attacked in their Trenches.*

They quit them and fly.

Another Party of the *Turks* flying towards the Sea, were killed by the Horſe, and others threw themſelves headlong into the Water, where ſome were Drowned, and others killed by Vollies of Musket-ſhot from

A terrible Slaughter.

1688.
August.

Girolamo Garzoni ſlain.

The Venetians *Maſters of the* Turks *Trenches & Suburbs.*

from the Shoar, ſo that the Sea was dyed with Blood, and covered with the Garments and Bodies of Men; and beſides thoſe who were killed and wounded of the *Turks*, many Priſoners were taken. This Fight continued about two Hours, at the beginning of which, the *Turks* Cannon offended much the *Venetian* Troops, but without any diſorder, every one giving undoubted Proofs of his Bravery, and conſtancy of his Reſolution. This Action coſt the Lives of 200 Men, amongſt which Seignior *Girolamo Garzoni* was ſlain, the Senior of all the Senators then in the Camp; he at firſt was hurt with a Muſket-ſhot in the Side, but refuſing to yield unto that Wound, or to be carried into the Tent for Cure, he continued to fight, until he was cut down by a *Turkiſh* Scimeter, with which the *Turk* would have taken off, and carried away his Head, but that Seignior *Almoro Moroſini*, covered his Body, and defended it from the Inſults and Indignities of the Enemy. Of the *Venetians* about 200 were wounded, amongſt which was Prince *Harcourt* by a Shot on his Breaſt, Prince of *Turene* in the Arm, but the Prince of *Wirtemberg* mortally. In the Trenches all their Cannon and Mortar-pieces were taken, with great Numbers of Arms, and all their Baggage and Proviſions; after which with little difficulty the *Venetians* made themſelves Maſters of the Suburbs, wherein alſo they found ſome Cannon, Proviſions and Arms, beſides ſome good plunder.

Aug. 21.

The Loſs of the Turks.

The Turks *Sally again.*

The Day following this Action, News was brought by a Deſerter, That the wounded Men brought into the Town, were above 1000, and thoſe who were killed, were much more, amongſt which they reckoned the Son of the Seraskier, and one *Muſtapha Paſha*, who was Bey of five Gallies, with many other Officers: The next Day the *Venetians* continued to batter the Town with Cannon and Bombs; and the 23d the *Turks* made a furious Sally, but were repulſed with the loſs of 150 Men, and 30 killed on the *Venetian* ſide.

For three Days afterwards nothing happened, beſides the continual ſhooting of Cannon and Bombs, until the 27th; when the *Chriſtians* began to open their Approaches nearer to the Town, which continued until the 5th of *September*, without the leaſt damage imaginable to the Pioneers, or Soldiers; when the *Turks* to the Number of 500, made a Sally from the Part of the Suburbs on the Quarters of the *Sclavonians*, and made themſelves Maſters of the firſt Trench; but afterwards rallying again in good order, they drove them out of the Trench, and purſued them to the very Ditch, killing about 40 of them, with the loſs only of 14 *Chriſtians*.

1688.
Auguſt.

General Koniſmark ſick.

Septemb.

General *Koniſmark* continuing ſick, and his Fever increaſing on him, the Doge ſubſtituted the Major of the Troops of *Brunſwick* in his place, to oppoſe the Sally of the Enemies; and tho' this brave Man was alſo at that time laid upon his Bed, and labouring under the Acceſs, or Fit of a Fever; yet he aroſe, and ſtrove againſt his Natural Weakneſs, to comply with the Command of the *Doge*, but ſo ſoon as he was gone out of the Door of his Tent, a Cannon-ſhot from the Enemy ſtroke his Bed and overthrew it. The Night following, Captain *Verneda* the chief Engineer, and a Captain of the Regiment of *Wirtemberg*, with ſome common Soldiers, were killed by Muſket-ſhot as they were advancing their Works towards the Ditch.

A brave Offer made by an Engineer.

The 6th and 7th paſſed without other Action than firing Cannon on both ſides; by which the *Venetians* made a Breach in a Tower on the Sea-ſide at the end of the Ditch; upon which the Engenier *Romagnato*, a Man of reſolute Courage, made an offer with 50 Perſons, how difficult ſoever the Attempt ſeemed, to mount the Breach: This generous Offer being accepted, and greatly applauded, the Doge came aſhoar in Perſon, and placed himſelf in one of the Batteries, to be a Spectator of this Enterprize, and to give the neceſſary Orders therein, which ſhould be required for ſeconding ſo reſolute an Enterprize.

The Venetians *repulſed.*

A remarkable Paſſage.

On the eighth an Attack was made, and with great courage they mounted the Breach, and planted two Enſigns thereon; but becauſe the Breach was very narrow, without any covert from the Shot of the Enemy, and the deſcent into the Town very deep and hazardous, they were forced to quit the Poſt, which they had gained with the loſs of ſix or eight Men, amongſt which was one of the Enſigns, whoſe Colours howſoever were recovered by another Officer: Nor did the *Turks* eſcape without ſome loſs on occaſion of the Attack; for 300 Men being lodged in the Ditch to ſupport thoſe who were to make the firſt Entrance, did great execution on the *Turks* that appeared on the Breach without any covert, or ſhelter. There is one thing very remarkable of a Soldier, who in this Aſſault received ſix Wounds on his Head and in his Body with Scimeters, by which falling on the Ruines, was eſteemed for Dead, and ſo remained until the Dusk of the Evening, when riſing up, it was not ſo Dark but that he was perceived by the Enemy, who made many Shot at him; to avoid which, he threw himſelf into the Sea, bleeding with all his Wounds, and notwithſtanding the many Shot aimed at him, of which he received one in his Shoulder, he ſwam away,

and

1688.
Septemb.

and got aſhore at the Camp, where he was afterwards cured of his Wounds, which made the Doge to give him the Name of the wonderful Man.

The Regiments of Count *Waldeck* and Colonel *Bilz*, belonging to the Troops of *Wirtemberg*, being advanced without any Order for ſo doing, one to the Bank of the Ditch, and the other to the Foot of the Tower, received an unhappy welcome by ſeveral Vollies of ſmall ſhot, both from the Wall, and from the falſe Bray; by which two Colonels, ſeven or eight Captains, twelve or fourteen Subaltern Officers, five Cavalier Adventurers, and about 200 common Soldiers, were all ſlain upon the place, and as many wounded; which was a diſcouraging loſs to the Beſiegers, tho' the Defendants, according to the Report of ſome Deſerters, loſt double the number within the City.

The Venetians again repulſed.

Howſoever, the *Venetians* being not diſmayed hereat, on the 10th of this month forced an Entrance into the Ditch, where they began to form a Gallery for a more near approach unto the Wall, under which they deſigned once to form a Mine; but becauſe it would be the work of fifteen Days at leaſt before the Mine could be brought to Perfection, for want of good Engeniers, of which many were Dead, and Sick; They raiſed a new Battery on the other ſide of the Water, from whence they made a Breach on the other Tower; and with two pieces of Cannon planted on the Bank of the Ditch, they battered the foot of the Courtain between the two Towers.

The Day following, ſome Deſerters from the Town brought Advice, That the whole Garriſon within did not conſiſt of more than 3000 Men, and thoſe much afrighted and diſcouraged by their many loſſes; only that which ſupported their Spirits, was the free and open paſſage by the Bridge, between the Turkiſh Camp and the City; by which every third day they received Recruits of Men, and Supply of Proviſions; ſo that now little hopes remained of taking the City for this year, the Seaſon alſo being far advanced: All therefore that remained to be done, was to continue the Batteries and to throw Bombs, of which above 10000 having been already caſt into the City, few Houſes remained ſtanding, but all reduced to a Maſs of Rubbiſh and Aſhes.

The Difficulties of taking the City.

The *Venetians* being under theſe diſcouraging Circumſtances, the Attacks proceeded but ſlowly; nothing being heard in the Camp, but of the Death or Sickneſs of their great Men; amongſt which, News was brought to the Doge, that Signior *Molino* and *Delfino* were forced to yield unto their ſick Beds; That the Engenier *Ramagnato* was killed with a Musket-ſhot, whilſt he was giving Direction about the Works in the Ditch; That Signior *Aurelio Marcelli* was Dead of a Fever cauſed by his Wounds; as was alſo *Mattio Bon Patritii*, a Nobleman of *Venice*; And that General *Keniſmark* was Dead of a violent Fever, having Breathed his laſt on the 15th of *September*, to the great Grief and Sorrow of the whole Army; but eſpecially of his Lady *Carlotta*, who with great Affection and Tenderneſs, having been his Companion in all this Expedition, was over-whelmed with Sorrow and confuſed Grief at his Death. His Bowels were Interr'd the ſame Night with many thouſands of Torches and Lights; but his Body being Embalmed, was afterwards deſigned for *Strade*, a place in the Dutchy of *Bremen*, there to be Interred in the Burial-place of his Anceſtors. The ſame Night two Engeniers were wounded, and one killed, and many common Soldiers killed and wounded by the Enemies ſhot from the falſe Bray, whilſt they were perfecting their Works in the Ditch.

1688.
Septemb.

The Venetians *diſcouraged.*

General Keniſmark's *Death.*

And now it being the 17th of *September*, the *Florentines* were the firſt to Demand a Diſmiſſion from the Camp, and Licenſe to return home, alledging that the Seaſon of the year was far ſpent, and the long Voyage they had to make unto their own Country. The time alſo appointed by the Great Maſter of *Malta* unto his General, for the Fleet to remain abroad, being alſo expired, Licence was demanded for their return; but the Doge flattering himſelf with hopes of a ſpeedy Surrender of the place, perſuaded that General to ſtay ſome few days longer; to which he conſented, in expectation of taking part of that Glory which would belong to him by the Conqueſt of that place.

The Generals of the Great Duke and Malta *deſire leave to return home.*

But it was not the Will of God that this Place ſhould yield to the Chriſtian Arms, for that from this preſent time, until the End of the Siege, nothing but Misfortunes attended the Actions of the *Venetians*. However, The Courage and Conſtancy of the Generals was ſuch, as that they would not leave one Stone unturned which might tend to the Conqueſt of the place, reſolving not to deſiſt from that Enterprize, whilſt any hopes appeared of becoming Maſters thereof. In order unto which, the Doge *Moroſini*, conſidering with the principal Captains, what was farther to be done to facilitate this Enterprize; [it was obſerved, that the greateſt difficulty, was, how to convey their Forces under the Wall, for the Ditch was 30 Paces broad, and waſhed at each end by the Sea; to do which, the Ingeniers found no other means than by a Traverſe, which was to be covered on the top, and defended by Gabions filled with Earth, which being conſidered, and reſolved, it was put into immediate Execution, all things neceſſary for that work being brought to the place, with the Inſtruments for fixing the Miner to the Walls; but the Waters ſo encreaſed in the Night, that the Labour became much more great, and the Deſign more difficult than was imagined, they being forced to Work under the Enemies ſmall ſhot; by which the Engeniers, *Samuel Miller* was killed, and *Renaldo Della Ruë*, and *Antonio* Captain of the Miners, grievouſly wounded. Howſoever, not diſcouraged from the proſecution of this Deſign, the Marquis of *Corbon*, Serjeant-General, with ſome of his Dragoons, undertook that work of the Traverſe, which notwithſtanding found not the Succeſs expected; he being, whilſt he was giving direction about the Traverſe, wounded by a Musket-ſhot, which paſſed his Left-Thigh.

The difficulty of directing a Traverſe.

The *Turks*, who were very vigilant and induſtrious to deſtroy the Work of the Traverſe; formed a Work in the Falſe Bray, by which they ſo annoyed the Labourers upon the Traverſe by continual firing, that it was not poſſible to proceed, until the Enemy was droven out of the Counterſcarp; to perform which, it was reſolved to take a Bonnet which lay in the way, which ſucceeded according to Deſire; But the Beſieged having conſidered, that that place was of great Importance, they ſoon Aſſaulted it, with ſuch Vigour, that the *Venetians* not being relieved by the farther advanced Line, were droven out from thence with much Blood and Slaughter.

The Venetians *take a Bonnet from the Turks, and again droven out of it.*

Thus all hopes failing of taking the Town, *Camillo Chigi*, Admiral of the Gallies of *Tuſcany*, having as we have ſaid obtained his Diſcharge, ſailed away with his Squadron of Gallies by Night, that the *Turks* might not obſerve his Departure, leaving howſoever behind him two Ships, and ſome Troops in the Service.

The Gallies of Tuſcany *depart.*

The *Venetians* reſolving that the *Turks* ſhould not remain in quiet Poſſeſſion of the Bonnet, attacked them again therein, and drove them thence, and fortified it in ſuch manner, that it would be very difficult for them to regain it. Likewiſe a new Battery was raiſed of fifteen pieces of great Cannon, which ſhot into the Houſes of the Town; and at the ſame time, a Line of Communication was made for relief of the Bonnet.

The Bonnet retaken.

Sickneſs in the Chriſtian Camp.

During which Time and Actions, Diſeaſes increaſed in the Camp, and Officers, as well as common Soldiers fell ſick, by which, and daily ſlaughters of Men in the Aſſaults made, the Army was much diminiſhed. And tho' the Condition of the *Turks* in the Town was rather worſe than better, yet their Spirits being ſupported by the Encouragements given by the Seraskier, who promiſed ſpeedily to relieve them, and to ſend 2000 Horſe into the *Morea* to make a Diverſion, they made ſeveral Sallies out of the Town, which tho' not with much Advantage to themſelves, yet it ſhowed a Vigour of Spirit, and that they laboured not under any Fears, or deſpairing hopes of Defence. On the other ſide, the *Venetians* failed not in their Induſtry, and aſſiduous Projects every day, in acting ſome Enterprize or other, which might facilitate a general Aſſault, and give that deciſive blow, which ſhould put an end unto, and terminate the Labours of that year: But neither the Traverſe, nor the Batteries, found the Effect deſired and expected; wherefore the Engenier *Baſignani*, who had long laboured under a violent Fever, being now a little recovered, projected a Subterranean Gallery under the Water of the Ditch, to paſs unto the Wall; and there underneath to make a Mine, which being ſprang could not fail of making ſuch a Breach, as was requiſite for an Aſſault; but in the execution thereof, there was found too much difficulty, and almoſt an impoſſibility; for the bottom of the Ditch was altogether Mud for many yards deep; and in ſinking the Shaft to the depth required, they met ſo much Water as wholly drowned out the Miners and put them by their Work; and *Baſignani* himſelf, whilſt he was giving Directions, was ſhot by a Musket-Bullet in the Head, which put an end to this Deſign, which had it been practicable, would yet have required more time than what the ſeaſon of the year would admit. The *Turks* alſo on the other ſide had formed a Mine under the Bonnet; which being fired, it had not the due effect, by reaſon that it was not rightly placed; howſoever the Defendants were ſo afrighted with the blow, that they abandoned the Fort; as did thoſe of the Battery, not far diſtant from that place.

The Turks *Sally.*

October.

Baſignani *the Engenier fails in his Deſign, and is killed.*

But what made all things the more deſperate, and to look with an ill Aſpect, was the Indiſpoſition of his Moſt Serene Highneſs the Doge, being not only forced to keep his Bed, but to uſe ſuch Remedies as were neceſſary for his Recovery: Alſo at the ſame time, *Mateo Querini* of Noble Extract, Died, after a ſickneſs of a few days continuance.

The Doge ſick.

1688. October.

And to the farther Weakening and Diſabling of the Camp, the General of *Malta* having obtained his Licence to depart, upon Allegations that he had already tranſgreſſed the time which was allotted him by the Grand Maſter, ſet Sail in the Night without Ceremony, or noiſe of Guns at his departure, which would have animated the *Turks* to a longer perſeverance in Defence of their Town.

The General of Malta departs.

Notwithſtanding all which, the Batteries continued to play with ſo good ſucceſs, that they made ſuch wide Breaches in the Wall, as gave hopes that the Walls might be yet attempted, and made open to an Aſſault; in which matter, whilſt Count *Raperta*, who was Serjeant-Major of Battail, was giving Directions, he was wounded in the Breaſt by a Musket-ſhot, which was a great loſs and diſappointment to the whole Deſign: In like manner, the Marquis of *Corbon*, who was a Serjeant-General, was killed by a Cannon-ſhot from the Battery of *Carababa*, to the great trouble and loſs of the whole Army; there being now much want of good Officers, endued with Bravery and Conduct.

Chief Officers killed.

And tho' all things went thus Ill, yet the Recovery of the Doge, and his Appearance in the Field, inſpired new Courage into the Hearts of the haraſſed Soldiery: But in regard, the weakneſs of the Doge was ſuch, as to diſable him from taking an exact View of what was acting in the Camp, or what Breaches were made, he was conſtrained to take all his Informations from the Proveditors of the Camp, who were Commanded to joyn and concurr in all their Reſolutions with the Prince of *Brunſwick*, who at preſent was poſted in the principal Command of the whole Army; being aſſiſted with the Counſel and Advice of Serjeant-General *Hor*, a Soldier of great Eſteem for his long Experience in War, tho' much weaken'd and faint by a long Sickneſs. The Doge depending much on the Bravery and Conduct of theſe Generals, by whom he was aſſured of the excellent Order and Diſpoſition of all things, reſolved to appoint the Day for a General Aſſault: But that an Enterprize of ſuch high Concernment ſhould not be undertaken without mature Advice and Deliberation, a Council of War was called, which might diſcuſs all Points of Difficulty; and conſider whether ſuch an Action as this might be practicable under the preſent Circumſtances; and the common Safety of the Army, and Glory of the *Venetian* State, not put to Hazard under doubtful Uncertainties. After ſome Debates in this Council, a Report was given to his Serenity the Doge, That an Attack was very feaſible, and might in all probability ſucceed, in caſe the Breaches were made a little more wide and commodious, and that the Mine were ready to be ſprang under that part of the Counterſcarp which was near the Battery, which would open a paſſage to the Aſſailants over the Ditch; for which purpoſe, thouſands of Faggots, and Sacks of Earth were provided, and all things diſpoſed in good order by the Generals, *Brunſwick* and *Hor*; and Directions given to the Commanders of their reſpective Troops, what Rules and Methods they were to obſerve in the Attack, and in what manner they were to Succour and Relieve each other. And to inforce and envigorate this Attack, the Levents, or Marine Regiments were taken out of the Galeots; and Reformades, and Mariners from the Fleet; and amongſt them 200 choice Soldiers belonging to the Ducal-Galley, under the Command of Colonel *Diſſinfeldt*, all deſperate Fellows, were ready to attempt the moſt hazardous Enterprize.

Prince of Brunſwick, *and General* Hor *command the Army.*

1688. October. *The Council of War adviſes an Attack.*

The Preparations made for it.

The day following was appointed for that general Aſſault, which was to determine the Fate of that place; when above 8000 Men were poſted in their ſeveral Stations, and every thing diſpoſed in ſuch manner as was requiſite for this great Work; Likewiſe *Aleſſandro Bon*, the Captain of the Gulf, was Commanded with his Squadron to enter the Port on the Lar-board-ſide, and Inveſt the Fort of *Carababa*, whereby the Garriſon therein might be diverted from ſending their Forces for ſuccour of the Town.

Octob. 12. *An Aſſault made,*

About Ten a Clock in the Morning the Mine was Sprung under the Counterſcarp, which was to be the ſignal for the Aſſault; upon which the Troops appointed to ſtorm the Breach began to move, having ſome Granadiers in their Front; and at the ſame time, *Antonio Medini* their Commander, ſcowred the Ditch with a Party of his Men, being followed by 1500 Soldiers, who were to Repulſe the *Turks*, in caſe of a Salley from the Town; but this unfortunately ſucceeded; for being come to the Traverſe-Line, which was neceſſary to be overcome, the *Turks* ſo vigorouſly defended it with Vollies of ſmall ſhot, that many Captains and Soldiers being there killed, a ſtop was given to their farther proceeding; for not being ſuſtained by the Troops appointed to ſecond them, who Halted at the entrance to the Ditch, they were forced to ſound a Retreat. From this firſt Misfortune ſeveral Diſorders followed; for whilſt a great

And miſcarried.

1688. October. Body of Soldiers marched unfiled through a narrow Paſſage one after another, they were ſo raked by the Cannon from *Carababa*, (there being no other Trench opened) that many were killed, and all put into ſuch confuſion, that there remained no poſſibility of entering the place on that ſide.

All this time, thoſe who had mounted the Breach were in great danger, and many lay Dead thereupon, being deſtroyed by Sacks with Powder, by which they were blown up. Nor was there any better appearance of Succeſs, or hopes of Entrance on the other ſide, where, tho' they had mounted to the top of one of the Towers, being conducted by the ſpecial Valour of their Commanders, and by the ſignal Courage of *Boneſana* a Major General of the Troops of *Milan*; from which heighth they diſcovered ſuch a diſmal Deſcent into the Town, that it was impoſſible to enter, without throwing themſelves Headlong down a Precipice; ſo that no other was the Sequel of this Attempt, but the unhappy and fruitleſs loſs of the Lives of many brave Men.

Many Men loſt.

Great miſfortunes.

Nor was the 4th Attack more ſucceſsful than the former three; for on this ſide the Town was inacceſſible; howſoever the *Troops* marched with their Officers leading them forward, and took their Poſt in the Ditch, without proceeding farther; but this place being neither provided with Bavins, nor Faggots, nor Sacks of Earth, ſome of the Soldiers ſtanding up to the Middle in Water, remained expoſed to the Enemies ſhot, who guarded the Traverſe; which being thus ſuſtained for ſeveral Hours, above 1000 Soldiers, with divers Officers, loſt their Lives; amongſt which were Lieutenant Colonel *Slade*, and the Captains *Pini*, *Pipam*, and *Gilinon*; and of the Stranger, or Foreign Troops, ſeveral were ſorely wounded, amongſt which were General *Spabar*, and the Prince of *Hermanſtadt*, who were the Principal Officers appointed to direct the Aſſault.

The Loſſes ſuſtained by the Gallies.

Nor were the Loſſes on the Sea-ſide, leſs than thoſe on the Land. For the Gallies appointed to make the Diverſion, were ſo droven by a Storm of Wind into the Current, that it was impoſſible to ſave themſelves, but by coming to an Anchor juſt under the Town, from whence they received many Cannon-ſhot. *Antonio Nani* had his Main-Maſt diſabled by a Shot of 1000 weight. *Gredenigo* received the like, which carried away all his Poop, beſides other Damages: The Gally of *Pezzamani* was ſtrook with a Stone-Bullet of three Fathom and a half in Circumference, which had almoſt ſunk the Gally: *Alvige Foſcari* received a Shot of 50 weight in the Midſhip of the Gally, and another which carried away his Rudder: *George Marin* had the Poop of his Galley carried away, and he himſelf wounded in the Throat by the Splinters. Nor did it paſs much better with the Captain of the *Gulf*, by a Shot on the Lar-board ſide of the Galley, by which he received much damage.

1688. October.

Octob. 13

A Counſel of War reſolves to deſiſt from the Attack.

In this manner the Gallies drawing off at a farther diſtance, and the Land Soldiers deſiſting from their Attacks, all hopes of taking the Town began now to fail; ſo the Commanders aſſembling at a Council of War, where every thing was debated, and the impoſſibility conſidered of making another Aſſault, in regard to the Fleet, which (as we have ſaid) was much endamaged; and the Camp much diminiſhed by Sickneſs, Slaughter, and Departure of ſome of their Troops; and the Seaſon of the Year advanced to the beginning of Winter, ſo that it was judged impoſſible longer to maintain the Siege.

A Propoſal made to ſtay all the Winter in the Iſland.

But becauſe much Blood and Treaſure, and the time of a whole Summer had been conſumed before that City, a Retreat from which, would look ſomething ſhameful before the *Turks*, and make an ill noiſe, and report over all *Chriſtendom*; it was propoſed at a Council of War, not wholly to quit, or abandon the place, but to remain before it during the Winter Seaſon; in order unto which it was projected to draw a Line of Circumvallation from one Neck of Land to the other, which was not above the ſpace of an *Italian* Mile, and the Mould, or Soil being all Earth, it might eaſily be effected; the which being fortified with a Ditch, and Palliſadoes, Redoubts, and Cannon, might make a ſufficient place of defence for the Soldiers, and convenient Quarters might be made for them out of thoſe Timbers and Planks which they had ſaved from the Ruines of the Suburbs of *Negropont*. And that they might be in a condition all the Winter to endamage the Town, and hinder the *Turks* from repairing their Breaches, the Mount of *Muſlekat*, and the Hill of *Vilibaba*, were to be ſtrongly fortified with Cannon: In fine all things were propoſed, and provided as far as Humane Reaſon could contrive for ſecurity of the Camp, and Maintainance of the Soldiery; and for Proviſion and Suſtenance, they promiſed themſelves ſufficient from the Inhabitants of the Iſlands, beſides thoſe which might be brought from the other Iſles of the *Archipelago*.

Theſe Matters being thus propoſed, and projected in the Council of War, where Enquiry was made into the Miſcarriages of the late Aſſault, (which was made appear otherwiſe than was repreſented) it was ordered, that the Cannon which were neareſt to the place ſhould be drawn off, and the manner

1688.
October.
Some Cannon drawn off.
Octob. 15.

contrived how it might be executed; and the Night following they began to draw off the covered Cannon, which lay under the Works, the which Attempt was the moſt difficult of any: To prevent which, the *Turks* all that Night aſſaulted the *Bonnet* with quantities of Granadoes, and Sacks of Powder; but a valorous reſiſtance being made by the Defendants, the *Turks* were repulſed with great loſs; ſo that the Night following all the remaining Cannon were drawn off and ſecured: In which Work *Silveſter* the Admiral of *Candia*, having been very active and adventurous, as he had been in many other doubtful and hazardous Attempts, the Doge honoured him with a Gold Chain and Medal, as an evidence of his good Services, and of the Eſteem he entertained of his Perſonal Courage and Conduct.

The Foreign Troops mutiny, and will not Winter on the Iſland.

Had the Project of Quartering all that Winter on the Iſland ſucceeded, it was very probable, and with good reaſon it might have been rationally concluded, that the City would have been obliged to yield before the Spring; but the Foreign Troops being acquainted with the Deſign, began to mutiny, and loudly to declare, That they would not Winter on the Iſland, it being one of their Capitulations of Agreement, when they firſt Enrolled themſelves for Soldiers, that they ſhould at the Seaſon when Armies uſually break up their Camp, be provided with warm and convenient Quarters, and with the Spring return again into the Field.

The Siege raiſed.

To force the Soldiers to an Obedience in this particular, was not eſteemed adviſeable; but to try how far ſoft Terms and perſwaſive Arguments might prevail upon them, ſeveral Noblemen, and chief Commanders were employed to incline the Wills and Conſent of the Soldiery thereunto; but the Plot was deeper laid, for tho' the Commonalty only appeared openly therein, yet it was well known, that their Officers had the chief Hand in the Deſign, and inſtigated their Soldiers to act that part which was moſt deſired by themſelves. But what was moſt prevalent with the Council of War, was the Report made by Sergeant General *Hor*; That the Soldiers in the advanced Lines, were ſo far ſet on a Reſolution to Abandon the Siege, that in caſe it were not done, above 100 of them would deſert, and fly to the Enemy. Whereupon the Doge took a Reſolution before other Misfortunes arrived, to comply with the Soldiery; and as a beginning thereof, to embark all their Sick and Wounded Men, and Baggage; and that the Enemy ſhould not diſcover the Deſign, it was ordered, That the Cannon which were not drawn off from the Lines, Bonnet, and Batteries ſhould continue ſtill to play upon the City.

1688.
October.
Some diſorder.
Octob. 22.

After which, by degrees, all the remaining Cannon was ſhipped, and many of their Horſe embarked; and all things put in order for an entire Deſertion of the Iſland and Siege; which when the *Grecian* Inhabitants obſerved; who had taken the part with the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*, full of Fear, and terrified Conſternation, came running to the Shoar, petitioned to be carried off to the *Christian* Coaſt, to avoid the Fury of the *Turks*; for performance of which, all the Boats and Veſſels of the Iſland were taken up at Freight for Service of the Army, and Tranſportation of the Iſlanders; of which ſeveral of them were cut off by the *Turks*, before they could reach the Veſſels on which they intended to embark. The *Turks* ſeeing their Enemies draw off, and commit themſelves unto the Seas, had cauſe ſufficient to rejoyce; as the *Chriſtians* had to be ſad and dejected, when the Rear of the Army was forced to betake themſelves to a precipitate Flight with ſome Confuſion and Diſorder. Howſoever they all got Aboard on ſuch Veſſels, as they could at firſt come unto, ſo that the lighter Veſſels were overcharged with Soldiers, and with Iſlanders, until ſuch time, as at the adjacent Iſlands, where Veſſels uſually Careen, they could more orderly diſpoſe their Companies, and repart them by a more commodious, and proportionable ſhare unto every Ship, Galeaſs, and Gally.

Orders given to the Admirals, and places appointed where to disbark the Soldiers.
Novemb.

From this place Orders were given by the Doge unto *Venier* Captain Extraordinary, to paſs into the *Archipelago*, to collect the Contribution of the Iſland. Admiral *Zaguri* was diſpatched with four Ships laden with Proviſions and Bisket, to furniſh the Fortreſſes of that Kingdom. The Veſſels laden with the Horſe, were ordered to diſembark them at the firſt Shoar, and thence to march by Land to *Napoli di Romania*. Some other Companies were Landed at the Fortreſs of *Termizi*. All the Foreign Troops were put into Winter Quarters in divers parts of the *Morea*. Other Companies and Troops Embarked on the Squadron of Ships commanded by Captain *Piſani*, were Tranſported to *Modon*, *Navarin*, and *Patras*; from whence *Piſani* had Commiſſion to Sail for *Zant* and *Corfu*, and thence to carry all the Proviſion and Ammunition which had been brought thither from *Venice* for Uſe, and Refreſhment of the Army. All the Galeaſſes were ordered unto the ſecure Port of *Varvaronda* under *Cranidi* in *Romania*. The *Regiments* of *Brunſwick*, *Wirtemberg*, and *Heſſe*, having compleated their time ſtipulated for Service, were diſcharged, and permitted to Sail for *Venice*.

Thus

1688.
Novemb.
The Doge Lands very ſick.

Thus all the Troops being diſmiſſed, and ſent into their Winter Quarters, the Doge intended himſelf to Land at *Napoli di Romania*; but being taken ſhort by the Wind, he could only fetch the Port *Tolon*, where the next Day he Landed, and went to *Napoli di Romania*, but in an ill condition of Health, cauſed partly by the Hardſhips of the Siege, but chiefly by the Troubles and Affliction of Mind for the Loſs and Diſgrace he had ſuſtained before the City of *Negropont*; a great cauſe of which being attributed to the Miſcarriage of ſome Officers, who performed not their Duty in the laſt Attack, he ordered a Proceſs to be made againſt them, and their Tryals to be managed at a Counſel of War.

But here we will leave the *Venetians* for this whole Winter, and return to the Wars in *Hungary*, tranſacted in the Year 1689; at the end of which, we ſhall recount all the Actions performed by the *Venetians* during that Campaign. But Procurator *Girolamo Cornaro* was more fortunate and ſucceſsful in *Dalmatia*, and *Albania*, where he Commanded the *Venetian* Army: For having Landed his Forces at *Scardona* on the 24th of *Auguſt*, they ſpeedily marched towards *Clin*, with deſign to inveſt that place; and on the 27th, the ſeveral Troops took their Poſts, and began a Line of Circumvallation, fortifying the ſame with ſeveral Redoubts. The next Day Summons were ſent to the Garriſon, which being anſwered with Vollies of ſmall and great Shot, the Night following the Trenches were opened, and in the Morning the Cannon and Mortars began to play upon the Town with great execution.

Cornaro *marches againſt* Clin.

Septemb.

The Venetians *ſtorm the Breach.*

In the ſpace of two Days a conſiderable Breach was made in the firſt Wall, which the Beſieged labouring to repair, the Cannon quickly ruin'd their Works. So that by the 1ſt of *September*, the *Venetian* Trenches were advanced ſo far, and the Breach made ſo wide, that it was reſolved to give an Aſſault, which was accordingly executed on the 2d of this Month, and performed with ſuch Reſolution, that the *Venetians* notwithſtanding the Vigorous Oppoſition of the Enemy, mounted the Breach, on which having lodged themſelves, obliged the Defendants to retire within their ſecond Wall, or Retrenchment.

On the 3d and 4th, ſeveral new Batteries were raiſed, from whence the Enemy was greatly annoyed; and a Bomb falling into their Magazine of Powder, blew up, and killed many of the Inhabitants; however the Defendants ſtill continued to maintain their Caſtle and the Lower Town, with great Reſolution. At length it being obſerved by General *Cornaro*, that one ſide of the Town was naturally fortified by Water, without other Guard or Defence; he ordered, that the Regiments of *Corbon* and *Sebenico*, ſhould paſs over, and ſtreighten the Enemy on that ſide, the which they chearfully performed; for moſt of them being practiſed Swimmers, they carried their Swords naked in their Mouths, and ſwam over to the other ſide; which when the *Turks* obſerved, fearing to have their Retreat cut off from the Caſtle, they quitted the defence of the Breach, and retired ſome within the ſecond Retrenchment, and others into the Caſtle. Thus the *Venetians* without farther oppoſition, entered the firſt Retrenchment, where they found ſome pieces of Cannon, 50 Horſes, two Camels, ſome Mules, 100 Head of Oxen, ſome Corn, and a good quantity of Hay.

1688.
Septemb.

They become Maſters of the firſt Retrenchment

The *Venetians* having gained the firſt Retrenchment, appointed Marquis *Borro*, and *Franciſco Grimani*, to maintain the Ground they had gained; which they performed by throwing up Earth for ſhelter of their Men, whilſt on the other ſide they cut off the Pipes, and ruined the Aqueducts which conveyed Water to the Caſtle. The want whereof, and the blowing up of the Magazine of Powder, greatly ſunk the Courage of the Defendants; howſoever the *Venetians* continued ſtill to throw their Bombs and Fire into the Caſtle, and batter the Walls of it with their Cannon, by which they had now made the Breach ſo wide, that an Aſſault might be made thereon: But the Proveditor-General well conſidering that the *Turks* could not long ſubſiſt without Water, deferred for ſome few Days the Aſſault, until he ſaw the Effects which the Extremity of Thirſt would conſtrain them unto, the which ſpeedily happened out according to expectation: For on the 12th of *September*, the Defendants ſpread a White Flag on the Walls, deſiring to Capitulate, and that in the mean time a Ceſſation of Arms ſhould be granted.

The Turks *in want of Water.*

They Capitulate.

Hereupon the Paſha of the place, ſent out two Aga's, who being conducted to the Tent of General *Cornaro*, they offered the Surrender of the Town and Caſtle, upon Licenſe given them to march out with their Arms, and Baggage, as is uſually granted to Valiant Soldiers. But *Cornaro* anſwer'd, That their Behaviour had not merited ſuch kind and honourable Uſage: And growing angry at their Diſcourſe, he told them plainly, That he expected they ſhould immediately yield at Diſcretion, without farther Argument, or Capitulation. The *Turks* aſtoniſhed at this peremptory Reſolution, deſired time to propoſe the ſame to the Garriſon, and to the Inhabitants; but no more time would be allowed than four Hours;

1688. Septemb.

during which, in caſe they did not ſubmit, they threatned them with the laſt Extremity. Within the ſpace of four Hours, the ſame Aga's returned again, declaring their neceſſity to ſubmit to the hard Conditions of the Conquerors; and ſoon after they were follow'd by the Paſha *Atlagiok*, attended with his Son and Nephew, and with *Cernigick* the Sangiack, and five Aga's, with 50 other *Turks* of Condition; who being conducted to the Tent of General *Cornaro*, they were received by him in quality of Slaves; howſoever to demonſtrate the Generoſity of the Conqueror, an Allodgment was aſſigned them in a Tent provided for them, where they were treated with all Conveniencies, both of Victuals and Lodging.

They Surrender at Diſcretion.

The Day following in the Morning, about 900 Women and Children came forth, and about 400 *Turks* capable to bear Arms, with Countenances full of Sorrow, and dejected Looks, which ſhowed the inward Grief which oppreſſed their Spirits. Theſe were follow'd by a Troop of 150 poor *Chriſtians*, who having hereby regained their Liberty, and Freedom from Slavery, changed the Scene of Sorrow into another of Joy and Feſtivity. 22 Pieces of Braſs Cannon were found in the place, 200 Horſe, great quantities of Proviſion and Ammunition both for War, and Suſtenance for Life.

Cornaro *deſigns againſt* Narenta.

October.

Clin being in this manner ſurrendered, the Proveditor *Girolamo Cornaro*, General in *Dalmatia*, deſigned to take *Narenta*, an ancient Port for all ſorts of Merchandize, brought thither in former Times from *Thrace*, *Servia*, *Boſnia*, and *Macedon*, and ſeveral other Provinces; but firſt it was eſteemed neceſſary in order thereunto, to become Maſters of a ſmall Tower called *Narino*, built about three Years before, by the Paſha of *Boſnia*, who had furniſhed it with ſome Guns, and encompaſſed it with a double Paliſado. In purſuance of this Reſolution, the General embarked at *Spalatro*, all his Troops, Proviſions, Cannon, and other Military Appurtenances; with which having looſed from that Port, they were ſo croſſed by contrary Winds, that the Fleet was forced to put into divers Harbours, and the Winds continuing long in that Quarter, they ſpent ſome Weeks without any Action. At length the General being wearied with longing Deſires to act ſomething, the Seaſon of the Year alſo ſpending apace, and the time approaching both for the Fleet and Armies to draw into Winter Quarters, he reſolved to proceed from the Port of St. *George de Leſina* with the Gallies, Galleots, and lighter Veſſels only, leaving Orders with General St. *Paul*, to follow him with the Ships, and Galleaſſes, ſo ſoon as Wind and Weather ſhould ſerve him: And being by force of the Oar come to the Mouth of the Port of *Narenta*; at the Point of which, the Fortreſs of *Narin* was ſituated: *Cornaro* Landed ſome Troops both of Horſe and Foot; upon whoſe approach, the *Turks* of the Garriſon of *Narin*, to the Number of 150, finding themſelves battered by Cannon from the Galley called *Querini*; they quitted the Fort, and betook themſelves to a haſty Flight, in hopes to eſcape with their Liberty; but being purſued by the Horſe, and ſome *Morlacks* who were good Footmen, they were either cut to pieces, or taken Priſoners, amongſt which was *Alaibegh Carovaz*, their Commander in chief. The *Venetians* being encouraged by this Succeſs, the General marched to a certain Village, called *Metrovich*, where he remained ſome Days in expectation of the Fleet under the Command of General St. *Paul*; and of being thereby reinforced with Men, Artillery, Proviſions, Ammunition, and all things neceſſary.

1688. October.

He takes Narin.

The Morlacks *waſte the Country.*

By this unexpected Invaſion, all the People of thoſe Countries being greatly alarm'd, and in much Conſternation, provided to ſave and put themſelves into a poſture of defence. Howſoever the General *Cornaro* having made ſeveral Detachments of *Morlacks* to waſte the Country round, they had the Fortune to ſurprize divers Villages and People, which they having firſt Plundered, put all to Fire and Sword, and returned with a conſiderable Booty both of Cattle, Captives, and Heads.

The Fleet of Ships ſtopt by contrary Winds.

But the Winds ſtill continuing oppoſite to the Ships of Burden; and by Rains, and bluſtering Weather according to the Seaſon of the Year, which was now far advanced and improper for Action, General *Cornaro* having ſecured the Country and Forts which he had conquered, embarked the remainder of his Forces, and returned to *Spalatro*, where he diſpoſed his haraſſed Troops in Winter Quarters, there to refreſh and take Breath againſt the next Campaign. After which, above 1500 Inhabitants of the Country about *Narenta* came in, and put themſelves under the Protection of the *Republick*.

Cornaro *returns to* Spalatro.

And now after all theſe Actions, and Martial Exploits both by Sea and Land; of which the *Turks* have had little cauſe to boaſt in all the courſe of the paſt Year, unleſs in their defence of *Negropont*; it will be time for us to conclude this Years Hiſtory, and proceed to the Tranſactions of the following, being the Year 1689.

The Succeſſes of the

GERMANS,

AGAINST THE

TURKS in Hungary,

In the Year 1689.

1689. January.

THIS Year begins with the Surrender of the ſtrong City of *Sighet*, to the Clemency of His Imperial Majeſty, not being ſubdued by Arms, but by Famine, having almoſt for the ſpace of two Years endured extream Want, and Scarcity of all things neceſſary for the Support of Life. At length common Reports flying, That *Sighet* was upon Capitulations reduced thereunto by extream Want, and a thouſand other miſerable Sufferings; the News thereof came confirmed to *Vienna* by the Duke of *Holſtein*, on the 21ſt of *January*, and that the Surrender was agreed on Articles, not much differing from thoſe of *Alba Regalis*; after the Example of which, one or two Commiſſioners were appointed in behalf of the City to carry the Particulars unto *Vienna*, there to be Signed by His Imperial Majeſty; for which Affair, the Perſon deputed was *Haſſan Bei*, Lieutenant Governour of the place; who on the 28th Day of *January* arrived at *Vienna*, deſiring that the following Capitulations might be confirmed and corroborated by the Imperial Signature, which were expreſſed in this manner.

I.

‘THAT ſo ſoon as *Haſſan Bei* ſhall be returned to *Sighet*, the Governour, and Garriſon therein, ſhall faithfully deliver up into the Poſſeſſion of the *Germans*, the Caſtle and City of *Sighet*, with all the Powder therein without ſpoiling it, or maliciouſly ſuffering it to be made wet, as alſo all other things belonging to Military Services. That upon the Surrender, the *Turks* ſhall retire to ſuch place in the Lower City, as ſhall be aſſigned for their Quarters to lodge in, and there protected by a Guard of Imperial Soldiers; there to remain until the rigour of the Winter Seaſon is paſt, and the *Drave* become Navigable, by Thawing of the Ice; and in the mean time Waggons and Boats ſhall be provided for their faithful and ſecure Tranſportation; and till ſuch time the Arms which belong to them in quality of Soldiers, ſhall be depoſited in ſome ſafe place, and be thence returned to them upon their Departure. All things belonging to the Caſtle ſhall remain, as upon Delivery: And becauſe it is uncertain, when the River will be open, and become Navigable, ſo ſoon as the Ice is Thawed, and the Carts provided, a fixed Day ſhall be ſet for Departure of the *Turks*, after which they ſhall not ſtay longer than 24 Hours: And in the mean time they ſhall lodge quietly in the Lower Town free from all Moleſtation, Damage, or Inſolence of the Soldiers.

1689. January.

‘II. All Priſoners in the Hands of the *Turks*, without concealing any, or Perſwaſions, Allurements, or Promiſes to ſtay, ſhall be ſet at liberty, be they of what Age, Sex, or Quality ſoever.

‘III. That all Conveniences and Neceſſaries ſhall be allowed to the *Turks* for their Money, as well in their Journey, as in the time of their preſent Abode.

‘IV. That no Violence ſhall be offered to any upon their Departure.

‘V. That Carts, or Waggons ſhall be provided, as well for the Old, as for others, to carry them to the Water-ſide.

‘VI. All thoſe who became Renegadoes before this War began, ſhall have Licence to depart in Company with the *Turks*; but ſuch others as have denied their Faith,

ſince

1689.
January.

‘ſince the beginning of theſe Wars, ſhall not be permitted to depart with the others, but ſhall remain ſtill in the City: And whoſoever ſhall deſire to ſtay behind, and live at their former Habitations, ſhall be left to their own Wills and Arbitrement, to do as they ſhall think fit.

‘VII. A ſufficient number of Waggons ſhall be provided to carry all the People to the Water-ſide; where in like manner a ſufficient number of Boats ſhall be furniſhed, to Tranſport the People, under a ſecure Guard to the Confines of the *Ottoman* Dominions.

All theſe Articles being ſubſcribed by His Imperial Majeſty, a ſtrict charge was given to all Officers, and Soldiers, and Subjects whatſoever, to obſerve religiouſly the Contents thereof: But before the ſame had paſſed the Imperial Signature, the Vice-Preſident of the Council of War, ſummoned *Haſſan Bei* ſeveral times to Audience; and at length upon Delivery of the Capitulations into his Hands, he made a moſt Elegant Speech, exalting the generous Piety and Glemency of the Emperour; who having all the Inhabitants and Soldiers of *Sighet* in his Hands, and at his Diſpoſal, ſo as either to put them to Death, or make them Captives, was yet pleaſed, out of a Natural Principle of Mercy, to conſider their Diſtreſſes, to ſpare their Lives, and give them Liberty. In ſenſe of which, *Haſſan Bei* acknowledged the truth of what had been uttered, and in token of Thanks to the Wice-Preſident, in the Name of the Paſha, and People of *Sighet*, with Eyes full of Tears he received the Capitulations, and kiſſed them with profound Reverence and Submiſſion.

So ſoon as *Haſſan Bei* had received theſe Capitulations he departed with all ſpeed by the Poſt towards *Sighet*, being fully ſatisfied with the obliging Entertainment he had received during his ſtay at *Vienna*, where he was ſumptuouſly lodged in the Houſe of Marquis *Ferdinando Obizzi*.

February.

Haſſan Bei being returned with the Articles ſubſcribed, to *Sighet*, no time was loſt to put them into execution; for all things being prepared, and the River open about the beginning of *February*, the *Turks* quitted *Sighet*, leaving one of the chief Fortreſſes in the World, eſteemed both by Nature and Art to be impregnable, in the Hands of the Emperour.

Sighet.

1689.
February.

For *Sighet* hath both a Caſtle and a City fortified after the ancient manner, with Earth lined with Brick; hath four very fair Towers encompaſſed with a very deep Ditch full of Water, and environed round with Fens and Marſhy Grounds, which make the Town inacceſſible. So that it ſeems no wonder, that *Solyman* the Magnificent Emperor of the *Turks* ſhould have ſpent three Years in taking thereof; and not being able to take it in his Life time, his Grand Vizier afterwards ſubdued it by Storm, with the loſs of 36000 Men. The *Turks* took it on the 7th of *September* 1566, after a moſt valiant Reſiſtance made by *Nicholas Eſdrin* Count of *Serini*, Great Grandfather of the Famous *Nicholas Serini*, who vanquiſhed the *Turks* in many Battels, and died in the Year 1664.

The Town hath three Gates, one called *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, another *Siclos*, and a third *Caniſia*, becauſe they lead to thoſe places. The Caſtle is fortified with three Walls, and a treble Ditch, and is the Capital City of that Province ſo named: There are three Moſchs, all ſtately Buildings, and covered with Lead: The Country round is Pleaſant and Fruitful; eſpecially one Hill about two Miles from the City, which the *Turks* call *Turbe Doggi*, which was rarely planted with Vines, and all ſorts of Fruit-Trees, and is famous for Cherries of an extraordinary bigneſs, of which there are none ſo good either in *Hungary*, or in any part of the *Ottoman* Dominions; the Ponds and Lakes are filled with Fiſh, and the Woods yield ſtore of Deer, Hares, Partridges, and all ſorts of Game; ſo that no place in the World can afford greater plenty of all things to ſupport Humane Life, or to furniſh the Tables of the greateſt Monarchs.

Caniſia *refuſes to ſurrender.*

Howſoever *Caniſia* refuſed to follow the Example of *Sighet*, being not as yet it ſeems reduced to ſuch a Condition of Famine, as to oblige them to a Surrender, for living in hopes that the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors would be able by their Negotiations to obtain a Peace, they ſuffered the utmoſt Extremities of Want, with much patience; that in reward thereof they might preſerve their Dwellings and Lands, and obtain the Honour due to the Conſtancy of good Soldiers, and the Praiſe and Commendation of their Prince.

The Turkiſh *Ambaſſadors deſire Audience.*

In the mean time the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors preſſed with much Importunity to be admitted unto Audience, that they might deliver their Credentials, and execute the Commands of their Maſter: But the Imperial Miniſters were not, it ſeems, ſo much in haſte, intending firſt to deliberate in what manner they were to be received, and what Anſwers were to be given to their ſubmiſſive Requeſts for Peace, a Matter unknown before to the *Turks*, who ſince the beginning of their Empire, had never before been acquainted with the manner of ſupplicating for Peace. But the Fortune of the World being now changed, and the Game running high on the Emperor's Hand, Expedients were contrived rather to return a plauſible cauſe of denial, and a juſtifiable ground for continuing a War, than how to form and project advantageous Articles for a Peace. Howſoever the Reſolutions being taken what to do, it was judged neceſſary to admit the Ambaſſadors to Audience, for by the Law of Nations that could not be refuſed; and ſo accordingly it was agreed, That on the 8th of *February* an Audience ſhould be given them: In order unto which, two Days before, the Ambaſſadors were conducted from the Caſtle of *Pottendorff*, into the Suburbs of the City, and lodged in that Street called *Landt Straſs*, being attended by two Regiments of Foot: The Day appointed for the Audience being come, they were brought with a Party of Horſe to the Gate of *Carinthia* about Two a Clock in the Afternoon, and there conſigned up to the Guard of the City, from whence they proceeded to the Emperor's Palace in the manner following.

The Solemnity obſerved at the Audience.

In the firſt place two *Turkiſh* Chiauſes on Horſeback led the way, with Staves in their Hands denoting Peace or Amity, after whom came two led Horſes, followed by the Secretary of the Ambaſſadors carrying the Credentials made up in Purſes of Cloth of Gold, holding them up in his Hand, that they might be ſeen by the People, who flocked in great Numbers to ſee this Entry.

After theſe followed ſeveral Attendants with led Horſes, all richly Harnaſſed, and covered with Embroidered Cloths: Then came *Zulſigar Effendi* the Ambaſſador in the Emperor's Coach accompanied with *Alexander Maurocordato* a *Greek*, Aſſociate to *Zulſigar*, and Interpreter to the Grand Seignior, together with *Lacovitz* the Imperial Interpreter. On the right ſide of the Coach walked the Ambaſſador's Footmen cloathed in Green, and on the left thoſe of *Maurocordato*, being *Raſcians* with Liveries of Yellow; all which were followed by a numerous Train of Attendants belonging to the Ambaſſador, amongſt which there was one Coach with the Ambaſſador's Kinſman, and Senior *Tarſia*, chief Interpreter to the State of *Venice* at the *Ottoman* Port, who were likewiſe attended with led Horſes and Footman.

In this manner being come to the Gate of the Palace, it was permitted only to the Ambaſſadors to enter into the firſt Court-Yard; the others alighted at the Draw-bridge, and walked on Foot to the Stairs; whence the Ambaſſadors, with the Secretary carrying the Credentials before them, were conducted between the Guards of Archers and Halberdiers, to the firſt Antichamber, being followed by great Crowds of People.

The Emperor ſeated on his Throne.

They are admitted to his Preſence.

In the mean time, whilſt they were aſcending the Stairs, His Imperial Majeſty came out of his private Apartment, and entered into the Chamber of Audience, and ſeated himſelf under a rich Canopy of State oppoſite to the Entrance into the Chamber, having the chief Princes and Miniſters of State ranked on each Hand according to their ſeveral Degrees and Qualities. Then were the Ambaſſadors admitted in, without other Attendance than their Secretary, who carried the Credentials before them; they were then conducted to the Foot of the Throne, the *Turk* wearing his Turbant on his Head, and *Maurocordato* carrying his Cap in his Hand, with his Head uncovered after the *Chriſtian* manner. *Zulſigar Effendi* having made three very low Bows in his approach to His Majeſty, took the Credentials into his Hands, and with another profound Obeiſance, was offering to preſent them; when His Majeſty making a Signal with his Hand, they were laid on a Side-Table near the Chair of State; and then both one and the other kneeled a little, and kiſſed the Hem of the Imperial Mantle: After which retiring at ſome diſtance back, *Zulſigar Effendi* made his Speech in the *Turkiſh* Language to this effect.

The Ambaſſador's Speech.

THE Moſt Puiſſant, and Great Emperor of the Muſſelmen, the Higheſt Monarch of the Univerſe, Sultan Solyman Han, *Son of* Sultan Ibrahim Han, *our Lord and Maſter, hath ſent us to you, who are the Moſt High, and Moſt Glorious Emperor amongſt the* Chriſtian *Kings and Princes, to deliver this His Imperial Letter to You His Friend: The Summary Contents of which, is to ſignifie unto You, His Exaltation to the Throne of his Anceſtors, which hath happened in the Year, or* Hegeira 1099. *on the 2d Day of the Month* Meherem: *And alſo to put You in remembrance of the antient Friendſhip, and mutual good Correſpondence which paſſed between his Progenitors, and Your famous Predeceſſors with all Sincerity. And hath commanded us his Servants, to ſignifie unto You His Great Friend, the High Reſpect he bears in His Imperial Breaſt to the ancient Friendſhip which intervened between the Progenitors on both ſides. May the High God inſpire, and inſtill into the Hearts of both Monarchs, that which is profitable and beſt for the Devout Servants of God.*

1689. To this Speech His Imperial Majeſty did not vouchſafe to return an Anſwer by Words from his own Mouth; becauſe that as yet no Treaty was begun, nor the leaſt ſtep made thereunto; and likewiſe becauſe that the Perſons who brought theſe Letters were not qualified with the Character of Ambaſſadors, but rather of Meſſengers ſent to prepare the way, in order to a ſtricter and cloſer Treaty; and therefore the *Baron de Herbert*, a Gentleman of the Emperor's Bedchamber, and Councellor of State, by Command of the Emperor, returned an Anſwer in the manner following.

An Anſwer return'd by Baron *Herbert*.

T*HE Moſt Auguſt, Puiſſant, and Invincible Emperor of the* Romans, *King of* Hungary *and* Bohemia, *Arch-Duke of* Auſtria, &c. *Our Gracious Lord hath heard and underſtood what hath been moſt humbly propoſed to His Sacred* Cæſarean *Majeſty, in the Name of the Moſt Serene, and Moſt Powerful Prince* Sultan Solyman, *notifying by You His Exaltation to the Throne. And whereas You have made mention of the ancient Friendſhip which intervened between the Anceſtors of both theſe Sublime Monarchs; You are to reflect and conſider, That it never entered into the Thoughts of His Imperial Majeſty to trouble, or diſſolve that friendly Correſpondence; but would rather moſt ſacredly have continued the ſame until this very Hour, had he not been moſt Unjuſtly Attacked, againſt the League, and Articles ſtipulated, and Sworn by both Monarchs, by which the Effuſion of much Humane Blood would have been ſpared. Of all which, the Moſt Juſt God being Witneſs, hath Crowned the Peaceable Mind of Our Moſt Auguſt Emperor with Wonderful Succeſs, and Glorious Victories. Howſoever the Mind of His Imperial Majeſty being ſtill inclined to a Peace, he reſolves ſo ſoon as he ſhall have read the Contents of the Letter, to give Order unto His Miniſters to receive and conſider what farther Propoſals ſhall be given thereupon, and to enter into the Particulars of a Treaty; which is all that I am Commanded by my Imperial Maſter to ſay in this Matter.*

To which *Zulfigar Effendi*, made this ſhort Reply.

The Ambaſſador's Reply.

T*HAT tho' many times moſt grievous Wars have ariſen between Great Monarchs, yet frequently, even in the heat thereof a Peace hath unexpectedly enſued. And whereas they had been employed and diſpatched from the* Ottoman *Port, on a Work ſo beneficial and happy to a great part of Mankind, they did not doubt, but upon the Treaty and Conferences ſuch Expedients would be found, as would bring all Matters to a happy Concluſion. And farther he ſaid, That he had another Letter from the Grand Vizier directed to the Preſident of War, beſeeching His Majeſty that he would be pleaſed to behold the ſame with a Gracious Eye.*

1689. *The Ambaſſadors return from Audience.*

The Audience being in this manner ended, which laſted about the ſpace of half an Hour, the Ambaſſadors (for ſo they were called in *Turkiſh*) returned from the Palace, in the ſame Form as they came thither, and conducted to their Lodgings, where at the Charge of the Emperor, a moſt ſumptuous Dinner was provided for them, ſufficient to entertain a Hundred Perſons.

Tho' the Ceremonies obſerved at this Audience, and the Honours and Treatment given to theſe Ambaſſadors, were much inferiour to thoſe, which had at other times been ſhown to Perſons diſpatched on the like occaſions from the *Ottoman* Port, yet the Concourſe of the People, who are fond of new Sights, was not leſs numerous; all the Streets, Balconies, and Windows, being filled with Spectators, who came to behold the mean Reception of the debaſed *Turks*, who never came before to beg Peace, but with a proud and haughty Behaviour to give the Conditions of it.

A Treaty begun.

The next day the Ambaſſadors, much in the ſame manner, were conducted to Audience of Count *Staremberg*, and in his Coach, who was Marſhal, and Vice-Preſident of the Supream Council of War, in the abſence of Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, who reſided at *Ratisbonne*, in Quality of Plenipotentiary for his Imperial Majeſty at the Diet. The Ambaſſadors being Introduced into a Chamber of his Palace, and cauſed to Sit down at a Table oppoſite againſt him, they delivered the Vizier's Letter to him; which being Read, after ſome Complements which paſſed on both ſides, they returned again to their Lodgings.

The Turks *ſubmiſſive.*

The Letters being afterwards Read, and Obſerved, contrary to the Cuſtom of that Proud Nation, to contain unuſual Expreſſions of Submiſſion, and earneſt Deſires for Peace, the Emperor appointed Four Commiſſioners to Treat with theſe Ambaſſadors; Namely, Count *Kinniſek* Great Chancellor of *Bohemia*, Count *Straatman* Great Chancellor of the Court, the Commiſſary General Count *Caraffa*, and Marſhal Count *Staremberg*.

No ſtep made to a Concluſion of Peace, by reaſon of the Demands made by the Turks.

Theſe Commiſſioners being aſſembled together, with Baron *Razinsky*, Envoy Extraordinary from *Poland*, and the Cavalier *Frederico Cornaro*, Ambaſſador from the Republick of *Venice* to the Imperial Court, with his Secretary *Capello*, the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors were called to hold a Conference with theſe Miniſters of the Allies, at a Palace belonging to the States of the Province of *Auſtria*; the which beginning about Ten in the Morning, laſted until Three a Clock in the Afternoon: After which, ſeveral Conferences were held, at which *Maurocordato* was the chief Speaker, expreſſing himſelf in Latin, and ſometimes in Italian; but in fine, Debates ended without making the leaſt ſtep towards the Concluſion of a Peace; for the *Turks*, inſtead of yielding to any Propoſal in favour of the Allies, required ſome of the Conquered Places to be reſtored to them; that *Tranſilvania* ſhould pay a Tribute to the *Ottoman* Port, as formerly; and that the Bloccades ſhould immediately be taken away from before *Caniſia* and *Great Waradin*; ſo that the Letters from the Grand Seignior and Grand Vizier containing nothing but General Terms, which teſtified their Deſires of Peace, and their Negotiations, and Propoſals far from any particular Condeſcentions, their Actions looked, as if they deſigned nothing more than to gain time, and to hear, and obſerve what progreſs the *French* made by their Arms in the *Palatinate*, and other parts of *Germany*.

Their hopes in the French *promiſes.*

Nor indeed were the *Turks* deceived in theſe Meaſures, being ſupported by the *French* Promiſes, and Arms, and without which, the *Turks* would have Condeſcended to any Conditions which the Emperor and his Allies might have offered: Notwithſtanding which, the Faith of the *French* was ſo low in the Eſteem of the *Turks*, that had the Emperor in that Conjuncture propoſed ſome little Advantages, which might have kept up the Credit of the *Ottoman* Power amongſt their own People, a Peace would certainly have enſued, which ſome Years afterwards by the Wiles and Artifices of the *French* could not be obtained, nor the *Turks* inclined thereunto by foul or fair means, by overthrows in Battle, and loſs of Towns, and a long continued Train of Misfortunes; nor by the Mediations of *England* and *Holland*, offered by their reſpective Miniſters to the Port, as may hereafter be declared; ſo that it is an unaccountable piece of Policy, the blame of which the World is apt to Charge on the Clergy, and the ſecret Partiſans of *France* hidden in the Imperial Councels, there being at that time no apparent Reaſon why the Applications and Overtures of the *Turks* were not Embraced, and improved to a Peace; For at that time the *French* had entered the *Palatinate* with Fire and Sword; and their Armies committing all ſorts of Hoſtility, had entered the Archbiſhopricks of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, the Dukedomes of *Juliers*, *Bergue*, and other Places of *Suabia*; ſo that now it was manifeſt, the Emperor had the Wars of two mighty Powers to ſuſtain, which had ſoon overwhelmed all *Germany*, had not a firm Alliance been made between *England*, *Spain*, *Holland*, and moſt of the Princes of *Germany*; which was brought about by a moſt miraculous Providence; which not being the Subject of this Hiſtory, we ſhall turn our Diſcourſe towards the Wars againſt the *Turks*; the Treaty with whom breaking off, the Hoſtilities on both ſides were carried on with the ſame Fierceneſs and Cruelty as before.

The Germans *blamed for not making a Peace.*

The French *encourage the* Turks *to continue the War,*

And endeavour to draw the King of Poland *from his Alliance.*

The *Turks* contrary to their Natural Temper, were become extreamly humble, and Supplicant, debaſing themſelves to ſo low, and mean a Degree of Submiſſion, that the Imperial Miniſters ſuſpected that ſome Deſign lay covered under their fawning Expreſſions, and over-acted Humility: All which would have appeared real, had not the *French* encouraged the Divan with Preſents, and Promiſes of recovering all *Hungary* back, and ſomething more, if they would only reaſſume their Ancient Courage, and patiently ſupport the Inconvenience of a War for a few years longer; to incline them whereunto, the *French* ſent the *Turks* a Minute Account of all the Victories they had obtained over the *Germans*, what Cities and Towns they had deſtroyed, what Devaſtations and what Incurſions they had made into the very Heart of *Germany*, with Fire and Sword; by which they had already rendered all thoſe Provinces on the *Rhine*, ſo weak and miſerable, that it was impoſſible for them to reſiſt the violent Courſe of the *French* Arms, much leſs, when united with the Puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire. And to facilitate this Work, ſeveral Engines were employed to Tamper with the *Poles* and Ambaſſadors ſent to that King; one of which was Monſieur *de Bethune*, who was Brother to the Queen of *Poland*; and to quicken, and give life to this Negotiation, vaſt Sums of Money were ſent, ſufficient to blind and corrupt the Mind of an Avaritious Prince; and tho' theſe means were not productive of a Peace, yet they begot ſuch cold Motions of War, as looked ſomething like a Truce, or an indifferent Neutrality: And indeed, ſe-

The Poles cold in their Actings.

veral Campagnes after this were carried on with ſo ſlow a pace, that the Arms of *Poland* came not into the Field until it was almoſt ſeaſonable to retire from thence; and ſuch Negligence was practiſed in their Martial Diſcipline, that they were commonly ſurprized by the *Tartar*, and defeated: And ſo little care taken to provide the Army with neceſſary food for Horſe and Man, that in the year 1691, (as may hereafter be made appear) all the Horſes of the Army died, even in the very Stables of the King, who was forced afterwards to return home in a Waggon drawn by Buffalo's and Oxen.

The Emperor encourages the Bulgarians *and* Raſcians,

Howſoever nothing was omitted on the part of the Emperor to carry forward two ſuch important Wars, by ſeveral ways. And in the firſt place, to ſecure the New Conqueſts, it was thought neceſſary, to encourage the *Bulgarians* and *Raſcians*, who had made a Defection from the *Turks*, and ſubmitted themſelves intirely to the Service of the Emperor; and as a means to ſecure thoſe People, Count *Marſigli*, the Chief Director and Surveyor of the Fortifications, was diſpatched to erect a Fortreſs in ſome Place or other, the moſt convenient for Defence and Protection of thoſe People; for which no place could be ſituate ſo advantageouſly as that of the *Iron-Gate*; which would very much have ſecured the Chriſtian Conqueſts, and been a good Frontier, between which and *Adrianople* there was not the leaſt Fortification in all that vaſt Country; nor from thence to the very Walls of *Conſtantinople*.

And makes Preparations againſt the Turks.

Tho' the Emperor was greatly burdened by a War againſt *France*, and at the ſame time againſt the *Turk*, yet all Care was taken both in one and the other. The Imperial Chamber iſſued out vaſt Sums to Recruit the Militia in *Hungary*, to Remount their Artillery, and provide all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions for the next Campagne, with which the Magazines both in *Servia* and *Sclavonia* were ſupplied; as alſo Carriages, Bridges, Boats, and all ſorts of Warlike Preparations, which were carried on by the great Induſtry of Count *Caraffa*, Commiſſary-General.

In the mean time the *Turks* made continual Incurſions into *Boſnia*, along the ſides of the Rivers *Unna*, and *Culpa*, but without much Succeſs; they being on all ſides ſtreightned in their Quarters, and Marches by the *Germans*. For *Piccolomini* having notice, that the Paſha of *Boſnia* deſigned to over-run all the Country near the *Save*, detached ſome Parties of *Hungarians* and *Germans* from the Garriſon of *Proot*, to diſcover the Actions of the Turks; and being in the night time advanced ſome Leagues into the Enemies Country, they ſurprized the Town of *Liſnia*, and ſet Fire to it, and killed all the Garriſon, conſiſting of 500 men, ſome few only excepted, which they carried away Priſoners.

A Rebellion in Aſia.

But the Confuſion at the *Ottoman* Court was much greater, by reaſon of a new Rebellion in *Aſia* carried on by *Tedic* a famous Robber in that Country, and Partner with *Teghen Paſha*, whom we mentioned in our Treatiſe of the laſt Year; the which continued for ſome time before it was appeaſed, and *Tedic* cut off: But before we touch upon that Story, it will be neceſſary to declare the Fate of *Teghen*, who had forced himſelf upon the Government, and obliged the Vizier to Create him Seraskier, which happened in this manner.

The Fate of Yeghen.

He kills the Prince of Tartary.

After that *Teghen* had fled from *Belgrade*, he quarrelled with *Noradin Galga*, Son of the *Tartar Chan*; upon which, *Noradin* being a Man of a high Spirit, called him Coward, and pitiful, meanſpirited Raſcal, fit for nothing but to Command a Band of Thieves and Robbers; at which *Teghen*, who looked on himſelf as Seraskier, or General of the Army, was ſo enraged, that ſhaking his *Topuz* at him, (which is a kind of Iron-Mace, carried by the *Turks* on the ſide of their Horſes Saddle) cauſed him to be Strangled before the Eyes of many of the principal Men belonging to the *Tartarian* Court.

The Father meditates Revenge.

The News of this Affront and Outrage committed on the Son, the very hopes of the Houſe, highly enraged the Chan his Father; who ſtudying Night and Day a Revenge, wrote to the Grand Signior and Grand Vizier, in the moſt reſenting Terms poſſible againſt *Teghen*, urging, that that inſolent and unhumane Robber was to be deſtroyed, without which, the Cauſe of the Muſſelmen could not be Bleſſed, nor any Fortune be expected againſt their Enemies.

The Grand Vizier favours Yeghen.

But the Grand Vizier thinking himſelf under ſome Obligations to *Teghen*, who had the Year before ſaved his life before *Niſſa*; when the Janiſaries mutinying for want of Pay, (he being then Janizar-Aga) conſpired to Strangle him: In remembrance of which, being now advanced to the ſublime Office of Grand Vizier, he endeavoured to ſweeten the matter, and render the caſe of *Teghen* as plauſible as might be. But ſuch was the Miſfortune of *Teghen*, that the Tartar Chan coming in Perſon to *Adrianople*, to conſult on ſuch Meaſures as were neceſſary to be taken for the ſucceeding Campagne, he fell on his Quarrel with *Teghen*, who had put

his

1689. his Son to Death, urging to the Divan, that there was an unavoidable neceſſity for putting *Teghen* to Death, as the Cauſe and Fomenter of all the Mutinies in the Army, and the Rebellions in *Aſia*.

Teghen being adviſed by his Friends, and Correſpondents, of which he had many at the *Ottoman* Court, of the Complaints and Endeavours of the *Tartar Chan* againſt him, found himſelf not only thereby defeated of his expected Confirmation in the Office of Seraſkier, but in danger of the Evil which the Wiles and Accuſations of an irreconcilable Enemy at the Court might bring upon him. Wherefore abandoning himſelf to Deſpair, he began again to practiſe all ſorts of Villainy, to rob Villages and Towns, entertaining all ſorts of Robbers, Murderers, and People accuſtomed to Spoil, arrogating to himſelf a power of creating Paſha's, and exerciſing all ſorts of Violence and Cruelty upon the Inhabitants of *Romelia*, or *Greece*. And moreover he wrote to his Friends and Acquaintance in *Aſia*, particularly to *Tedic*, to Declare in favour of his Cauſe, which was alſo ſupported by the Authority of the Grand Vizier.

Yeghen *commits all ſorts of Outrages.*

Commands iſſued from the Port to take Yeghen *either alive or dead.*

But the Grand Seignior and the Divan entertaining Sentiments different to thoſe of the Vizier, conſulting the neceſſity there was of gratifying the Chan, iſſued immediate Orders to the Paſha of *Sofia* to ſuppreſs the Incurſions of *Teghen*, and to Call to his Aſſiſtance the *Neſiran*, which are like our Trained-Bands, or Militia of the Country, to ſeize, and take, either Dead or Alive, this *Teghen* Paſha, who had violated the Laws of their Prophet *Mahomet*, and encouraged and fomented all the Rebellions in *Aſia*.

This diſmal News ſtruck *Teghen* with a ſudden Amazement, ſo that not knowing where to find any ſafety in the Parts where he remained, all the World conſpiring his Deſtruction, he reſolved to retire into *Albania*, and betake himſelf to the Aid and Protection of his old and faithful Friend *Mamoot Bei Oglu*; it having been ſuſpected for ſome time, at the Port, that this *Teghen*, whenſoever he ſhould be droven hard, would endeavour to ſhelter himſelf in *Albania*, under protection of this *Mamoot Bei*; means were contrived before-hand, with a thouſand fair Promiſes made to *Mamoot Bei*, that whenſoever *Teghen* ſhould come for Refuge under his Command, that he ſhould do that Service to the Sultan, as to betray him, or cut him off. Accordingly *Teghen* putting himſelf into the hands of his ancient Comrade, *Mamoot*, was received by him with outward Joy, and the moſt Endearing Terms of Love, and real Sincerity, that could be expreſſed, and deſiring him to continue with him for ſome days, he promiſed him all ſecurity, to joyn with him in his Adventures, and to run with him all the hazards of his Fortune; and ſo continued to Comfort and Encourage him, until all his Troops being got together, when one Night being in Conſultation with *Teghen*, in what manner they might with moſt Advantage annoy the Port, Orders were privately given to the Domeſtick Servants to fall upon him, which was accordingly executed, and his Head on a ſudden taken from his Shoulders, with the Heads of many of his Followers, which were immediately diſpatched by *Mamoot* to the Port, for a Teſtimony of his Fidelity to the Sultan, and in Reward thereof to Challenge the Promiſes which had been made him.

He flies into Albania.

Mamoot Bei *cuts off his Head.*

In the Month of *September* laſt, as we have already related, News was brought to the Port, that the Diſorders in *Aſia* increaſed, where the Robbers appeared in great Bodies, Commanded in chief by *Tedic*, and encouraged by *Teghen*, who ſent Commiſſions over to his Kinſman *Tedic*, by which ſuch numbers of Robbers aſſembled from all Parts, that all the Country was ſpoiled and laid waſte by them; and the People being fled, there was nothing but Rapine and Violence in all Places. To ſuppreſs theſe Diſorders, Commands were ſent by the Vizier, to the Paſhas and Governors; but theſe Officers were ſo far from being able to Execute them, that they returned back ſtripped and plundered. Whereupon new Meaſures were taken to pacifie theſe Mutineers or Robbers rather, with Promiſes, that *Teghen* ſhould be created General of the Army, and that theſe Troops now in *Aſia* ſhould be paſſed over into *Hungary*, there to Fight under the Command and Conduct of their Beloved *Teghen*, where they all hoped to be made Paſha's. But whilſt theſe Mutineers were preparing to march into *Europe*, News came to the Grand Signior of the Death of *Teghen*, with many of his Followers; the which was confirmed by the undoubted Evidence of their Heads, which were laid at the Feet of the Sultan. This particular Action changed the whole Scheme of the *Turkiſh* Councils; and all the ſoft Promiſes made to *Tedic*, were changed into Vengeance and Puniſhment, Orders being given to the Chimacam, not only to oppoſe and hinder the paſſage of the *Aſiaticks* into *Europe*, but to Fight and Defeat them them in their own Country. By this time a great Party of theſe Rebels were come

Diſorders in Aſia *by* Yedic.

Defiance given to Yedic.

very

A Party of his Soldiers defeated.

Yedic marches to Pruſa,

very near to *Scutari*, and ſcattered in the adjacent Villages, where remaining with all ſecurity, not having as yet received the fatal News of the Death of *Teghen*; when by Order of the Chimacam, ſome of the *Ottoman* Troops quartered on the ſide of *Scutari*, fell upon them, and by ſurprize, entirely defeated them, ſome of which were drowned in the Sea, and others killed by the Sword: Thoſe who were already paſſed over to *Conſtantinople*, hearing of this Diſaſter, and the Fate of *Teghen*, retired back into *Aſia*, and recounted thoſe unhappy Stories to *Tedic*, who was upon his March to follow his advanced Troops. Upon this News, *Tedic*, and his Companions, deſpairing of all hopes of Pardon, declared themſelves more openly Rebels than before; ſo that aſſembling all the Scum and Raſcality of the People, to the number of about 6000 Men, they marched towards *Pruſa* in *Bithynia*, pillaging, deſtroying, and ruining all in the way before them: So that there was no paſſage for any, unleſs Emirs or Green-Heads, mounted on Mules and Aſſes with Pack-Saddles.

And defeats the Paſha.

The *Ottoman* Court, which lately by the Death of *Teghen*, and the Defeat of ſo many Troops near *Scutari*, thought all things now ſafe and ſecure from the *Aſiatick* Rebellion, were again ſtrangely ſurprized with a Conſternation to hear that the Rebellion increaſed, and grew hotter than before; to ſuppreſs which, a Paſha was ſent to *Pruſa* to raiſe the Neſiran, who had the Fortune at firſt to Defeat a conſiderable Body of the Enemy; but being a Perſon of no Experience in the War, and ignorant of Martial Diſcipline, he unfortunately engaged with a more expert Body of the Rebels, by whom he was defeated, and made a miſerable Sacrifice to the Fury and Revenge of *Tedic*; who killed and made Priſoners, all the Forces of the Paſha.

Declared King of Anatolia, *beſieges* Angora.

Tedic being encouraged with this unexpected Succeſs, cauſed himſelf to be Proclaimed, King and Soveraign of *Anatolia*; and by his Arbitrary Power, laying Impoſitions, and exacting Contributions from all Cities and Towns of that Country, he laid Siege to *Angora*, a rich City, famous for the Trade of Grogram Yarn, who would not ſubmit it ſelf to the Tyranny and Plunder of *Tedic*: Of which the *Engliſh* and other Merchants at *Smyrna* took ſuch an Alarm, not knowing but that the Rebels, encouraged with the Riches and Openneſs of the Town, without any Walls or Fortifications, might march thither; they Packed up all their Goods, and put themſelves in a readineſs to fly on Shipboard when any Danger approached, where they might remain out of all danger or Violence either to their Perſons or Eſtates.

Angora *pays a Ranſome.*

The People of *Angora*, being in a Condition not long to withſtand a Siege, and Deſpairing of all Relief from the *Ottoman* Port, made their Compoſition with *Tedic*, and Ranſomed their Town from Plunder, by the Payment of 80 Purſes of Money, each Purſe containing 500 Dollars.

The Rebels refuſe all Offers of Grace.

This unhappy State of Affairs, ſuggeſted unto the *Turkiſh* Governors their old Methods of fair Promiſes, and ſmooth Words to work upon the Affections of *Tedic* and his Complices, aſſuring them all of Pardon and Reward in caſe they would return to their Duty: But theſe being a ſort of rough Villains, bred up in Rapine and Violence, who were Conſcious that they could never merit a Pardon, and had tranſgreſſed beyond all Hopes of ever being truſted, they no ſooner heard the fawning Words of the Grand Seignior's Grace and Favour pronounced towards them, but with one Conſent they cryed out loudly againſt it, ſaying, That they had learned not to be Cheated and Betrayed like *Teghen*, and their Brethren near *Scutari*. And that their Rebellion might carry a good Face, and ſome Reaſon with it, *Tedic* and his Complices declared, That they took not up Arms for Spoil, or Diſaffection to the Grand Seignior, but out of pure Zeal to Religion, and true Profeſſion of the *Mahometan* Law, which the preſent Governors had miſerably corrupted: In Defence of which he Summoned all the People and Inhabitants of *Anatolia* to come in under his Standard, and joyn with them to Reform the Abuſes of the Government and State.

The Nature of a Teftiſh Paſha.

Theſe Traiterous Practices of *Tedic* being made known at the Port; it plainly appeared, that there was no other means and expedient left, to reclaim the Practices of ſuch Robbers, and ſuppreſs the diſſolute Lives of Rebels, but only force and dint of Sword; to which end the Paſha of that Country honoured with the Title of Teftiſh, which is as much as an Inquiſitor, who in the Times of Peace, is every two or three Years ordained to enquire into the State of *Anatolia*, and make enquiry into Robberies, Breaches of the Peace, and Abuſes of the Government committed by the Kadees, Aga's, and other Officers: For execution of which, the Paſha is commonly attended with 500 Men, and authorized with ſuch an unlimited power, that he may act and do what he pleaſes with as uncontroulable an Authority, as the Sultan himſelf. I have known this ſort of Teftiſh in

1689. the Summer time having pitched his Camp near ſome great Town, immediately to call for the Kadi, or Judge, and the Imaum or Prieſt of the place, and to demand of them the Names of the Lewd and Diſorderly Young Men of the Place, and the Villages adjacent; and in caſe the Paſha, or the Imaum eſpecially, ſhall give an ill Report of any of them, as of ſuch, who come not conſtantly to Prayers, or frequent the Moſchs, his Buſineſs is done for him; and for as many of them as come under his evil Report. For the Teſtiſh Paſha concluding all ſuch for Thieves, requires no farther Teſtimony or Proofs againſt them; but ſending for them, Condemns them, and Hangs them up on the next Tree.

In this manner the Buſineſs of *Tedic* and his Complices, was committed to the care and conduct of *Teſtiſh Achmet Paſha*, whoſe firſt ſtep was rightly to inform the People of the perfidious Deſigns of *Tedic*, who fought againſt the Sultan and the Laws of the Prophet *Mahomet*, of which the People being once perſwaded, withdrew themſelves from that Party, and turned their Arms againſt *Tedic*, and his Villainous Accomplices; by which means the Teſtiſh having increaſed his Forces to ſuch a conſiderable number, that he might with all ſecurity promiſe himſelf Victory, he marched againſt the Enemy, and after two Days, he came in ſight of their Camp, and found them drawn up in good order, according to Martial Diſcipline. The Paſha readily attacked them with 3000 ſelect and brave Men, and well mounted, and with ſuch Reſolution, that at the firſt Onſet they put the Van-guard of the Enemy into diſorder, and with a Shower of Arrows from the whole Army, they put them all to flight; ſo that their Leader *Tedic*, truſted all his ſafety to the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe; notwithſtanding which, the Teſtiſh preſſing for an entire Victory, purſued him ſo hard, that having incloſed him in the midſt of two Squadrons, *Tedic* himſelf, with many of his chief Captains and Commanders, were either killed, or made Priſoners. The reſt of the Common Soldiery ſeeing themſelves deprived of their Chief, ſubmitted to the Teſtiſh Paſha, deſiring to be enrolled under his Banner; but the Paſha having no good opinion, or hope of getting any benefit from an Union with ſuch a ſort of Rabble, and Scum of the People, who had been bred up, and nurſed in Robbery and Violence; reſolved to make no uſe of ſuch corrupted Companions in his Army, but diſmiſſed them all with Licenſe to return to their Countries, and reſpective Habitations, and afterwards proceeded to reform the Abuſes and Diſorders of thoſe ill-govern'd Provinces.

The Teſtiſh engages Yedic *and defeats him.*

The Port having now entirely ſuppreſſed thoſe two deſperate Rebellions, the moſt dangerous of any in ſuch a time of a decaying Militia, and a victorious Enemy, began to be at leiſure to prepare for their War in *Hungary*; and in the firſt place *Regeb* Paſha was created Seraskier, or General, in the place of *Teghen*: But firſt to extirpate all that Party entirely, they ſeized on the Nephew of *Teghen* in *Philippopolis*, and put him to Death, with 40 of his Followers; as they did alſo the Governor of *Widin*, whom *Teghen* had put into that Place the laſt Campaign, being a Favourite and Creature of his. 1689.

Regeb *Paſha made General in the place of* Yeghen *whoſe Nephew is put to Death.*

The *Turks* to encourage their People to proſecute the War in *Hungary*, did not only cauſe a Report to fly about, That the Sultan had reſolved to appear this Year at the Head of his Army againſt the *Chriſtians*; but the Sultan did really march from *Adrianople* towards *Sophia*, with an Army of about 30000 Men, together with a Train of Artillery, conſiſting of 90 Pieces of Cannon, and 6 Mortar-pieces of a very large ſize, the which being joyned afterwards to a Body of 40000 Men under the Command of the Seraskier *Regeb* Paſha, formed a conſiderable countenance of an Army; but being all raw, and undiſciplin'd Men, would, as was ſuppoſed, be inſpired with new Courage at the preſence of their Sultan.

The Grand Seignior marches to Sophia.

On the $\frac{14}{24}$ of *April*, the Grand Seignior began to move from *Adrianople*, at which time a very great Earthquake was felt both in that City and *Conſtantinople*, which was ſo terrible, that ſeveral Moſchs, Houſes, and Towers were overthrown. At which time the *Tungia* and *Meritz*, Rivers which glide on a Sandy and Gravelly Soil near the Walls of *Adrianople*, overflowed their Banks with ſo violent an Inundation, that they Drowned all the Fields and Meadows round, and forced the *Turks* to remove their Camp, and pitch at ſome farther diſtance; the which Accidents were diverſly diſcourſed by the Learned Men, and the *Turks* being naturally Superſtitious, did generally interpret them as ſiniſter Omens for the ſucceeding Campaign. Howſoever Sultan *Solyman* marched forwards to *Sophia*; where according to the Cuſtom of the *Turkiſh* Army, they ſoiled their Horſe, giving them Graſs, and remained in expectation of the arrival of the *Aſiatick* Troops, and other Forces not yet come up; and here it was that the Sultan entertained himſelf in the Army, not intending to proceed nearer to the Enemy.

April.

An Earthquake about the time of the Grand Seigniors Departure.

In the mean time great Conferences and Conſultations were held at the Imperial Court, for carrying on two mighty Wars againſt France, and the *Ottoman* Empire; to which

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which end the Forces were divided; thoſe which were to ſerve in the Empire againſt *France*, were committed to the auſpicious Conduct of the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Lorrain:* Thoſe which were intended againſt the *Turk* in *Servia*, were to be commanded by that Valiant and Fortunate General Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; and under him as Field Marſhal by the Duke of *Croy*, General of the Artillery was Marquis *Parella*, Lieutenant-General was Count *Veterani*, and Major-Generals were the Counts of *Hoffkirchen*, Duke of *Holſtein*, with the Princes of *Hanover* and *Heiſter:* And on the other ſide in the *Upper Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, *Boſnia*, and *Sclavonia*, the Command was lodged in the Hands of the Counts *Aſpremont*, *Piccolomini*, *Trautmanſdorff*, *Guido* of *Staremberg*, *Herbeville*, and Baron *Herbeville*; whoſe force conſiſted of 11 Regiments of Cuiraſſiers, nine Regiments of Dragoons, and 20 Regiments of Foot; together with the ſeveral Independant Companies of *Hungarians*, *Croatians*, and *Raſcians*, who had lately taken up Arms againſt the *Turks*.

In the mean time *Tekeli*, to keep up his Credit and Reputation with the *Turks*, cauſed a Report to ſpread abroad at the *Ottoman* Port; that by his Spies, and by his Letters of Advice, he had certain Intelligence, that the *French* had ſo diſtreſſed the Empire, that it was impoſſible for the Emperor to ſpare at that time above 10000 Men to carry on the War in *Servia*; and that all his Meaſures in *Tranſilvania*, and the *Upper Hungary*, were entirely broken.

May.

Plots of the French *diſcovered.*

And indeed by the Plots of *Tekeli*, and the Contrivances and Intrigues of the *French*, whoſe Emiſſaries began now to ſpread in all the great and conſiderable Towns, as well in *Hungary* as in *Germany*, Towns and Countries were burnt, and vaſt Devaſtations committed thereon. The City of *Cronſtadt* in *Tranſilvania*, was in the Month of *May* totally deſtroyed and conſumed by fire, which was kindled at the four Angles thereof; which in a few Hours, by the help of a ſtrong Wind, was reduced to Aſhes, notwithſtanding the Endeavours of Colonel *Baron de Pace* to extinguiſh it; only by the help of his Soldiers he preſerved the Caſtle, and the Ammunition therein, notwithſtanding the Flames, which by the forcible Winds were carried to the very Walls of it. At the ſame time the like Misfortune befel the Fortreſs of *Honot* in the *Upper Hungary*, and the Citadel of the *Jews* at *Prague*, ſo that both one and the other were in a few Hours miſerably reduced to Aſhes; all which was ſuſpected to have been done by Treaſonable Practices, and not by Chance, or Accident; and that which gave undoubted Aſſurances thereof, were certain Sacks of Powder found at the Gates of ſome Houſes in *Vienna*; and a Fire breaking out in a Houſe adjoyning to the great Hoſpital of the City, being kindled at a time when the Wind was very high, put all the City into a great Combuſtion; but by the Vigilance of the Magiſtrates, and the activeneſs of the Soldiers, it was ſoon extinguiſhed: The which horrid Practices were ſome Days afterwards diſcovered to have been acted by certain *Frenchmen*, who being convicted by courſe of Juſtice, were ſentenced, as Incendiaries, to be caſt into the Fire, and committed to the Flames. The which Tryals and Proofs being produced, and laid before the Council of State, extorted from the benign Nature of His Imperial Majeſty, a ſevere Edict for Baniſhing all the *French* out of his Dominions, unleſs ſuch as had been Naturalized, or for the ſpace of 10 Years paſt, could prove their Abode, or Reſidence with their Wives, eſtabliſhed in ſome City, were all, without any exception, to depart in the ſpace of 14 Days. The which Edict, how ſevere ſoever it might ſeem at another time, was in the preſent Conjuncture no leſs than neceſſary, when the *French* Nation was crept into every City and Country, and entertained for *Valets de Chambre*, Pedants, Dancing Maſters, Cooks, and ſuch like in moſt of the Houſes and Families of Princes, and Nobles of principal Quality; where they ſerved for Spies, and Traytors to the Empire: But the Wars in *Germany* not being the Subject of this Hiſtory, let us proceed to the Affairs of *Turkey*, where it was reported, That the *Turks* were aſſembling all the force they were able to recover the City of *Belgrade*; and that the Seraskier was already in the Field, and had prepared Bridges to paſs the *Morava* above *Jagodina*; and began to march ſo faſt, as if he intended to force *Belgrade*, before the Grand Vizier was joyned with him, the noiſe whereof cauſed ſome Conſternation at *Belgrade*; but at the appearance of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, ſent thither with Commiſſion of General of the Imperial Forces in *Hungary*, all the Fears of the Soldiers vaniſhed; and every one reaſſumed his Courage, and at the Command of the Prince, fell to work about the Fortifications; the which Work being by direction of His Highneſs put into a way of diſpatch; he proceeded forward to the Army.

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May.

The French *Baniſhed out of the Empire.*

Pr. Lewis *coming to the Army, encourages the Soldiers.*

June.

And on the 14th of *June*, being arrived at *Semendria*, he made it his buſineſs in the firſt place to enquire, and inform himſelf of the true State of the Affairs of the Enemy, who according to common report of the Spies, were ſaid to be very near, being encamped in the Plains of *Jagodina*, to the Num-

Reports of the Turks *Power, alarm Pr.* Lewis.

Haſſan Paſha Palanca.

Number of 40000 Men under Command of the Seraskier, the greateſt part of which were *Aſiaticks*, raw, and Undiſciplin'd Soldiers, to which very ſpeedily the Grand Vizier was to joyn with 10000 *Turks*, and a conſiderable Train of Artillery, which was already on the way from *Sophia*. The Prince being alarm'd hereat by reaſon of the ſmall force he had with him, diſpatched an Expreſs away to the Counts of *Veterani* and *Piccolomini*, with Orders to haſten their March what was poſſible, and come to his neceſſary reinforcement againſt ſo formidable an Enemy; and in the mean time, the heavy Baggage was ſent to *Belgrade*, with about 30000 Inhabitants of that place, who for their better ſecurity, were ordered to paſs the *Save*: But for the more certain Intelligence of all, the Prince diſpatched an Expreſs to *Haſſan Paſha Palanca*, where Count *Hoffkirchen* was Quartered, to know of him what News he had received there from the Camp of the Enemy. At this *Palanca* I lodged one Night, as I remember, which is no other than a ſmall Fortreſs built of Stone in a Woody and a Deſolate Country, at the Charge of one *Haſſan Paſha*, with intent only to cover a Chan, or Inn for Reception of Travellers, and their Goods, from Spoilers and Robbers, which often infeſted that place, where notwithſtanding by means of this Fort, Garriſon'd by 60 Soldiers, Strangers may ſleep, and remain ſecure from Robbers.

The Meſſenger being returned from *Hoffkirchen*, brought Intelligence that the *Turks* were neither ſo numerous, and ſtrong, nor ſo near, as common Fame reported: And they only appeared ſometimes in Parties on the River *Morava*, but with ſome Care, and Caution in apprehenſion of the *Germans*, whoſe Numbers tho' they knew not, yet they were ſenſible enough of their Valour and Vigilance. This News, and the Conjunction with the Militia of *Veterani* and *Piccolomini*, greatly encouraged, and animated the Prince; and more eſpecially, becauſe that *Piccolomini* had paſſed a Bridge over the *Save*, between *Belgrade* and *Sawaz*, for the more commodious Tranſportation of Ammunition, and Victuals, which came from the Parts of *Hungary*.

Veterani *and* Piccolomini *joyn with Pr.* Lewis.

In the mean time *Tekeli* did not remain idle, but made ſeveral Incurſions, with deſign to relieve *Temeſwaer*, *Giula*, and *Waradine*, which were ſtreightly blocked up by the Imperialiſts: In which, tho' he did not ſucceed, yet having joyned with the Paſha of *Siliſtria*, he fell upon *Fetiſlau*, a Garriſon of the *Raſcians*, which after a ſtout defence for 12 Days, and having no hopes of ſuccour, they were forced to yield at Diſcretion, and being made Priſoners, ſeveral of the principal Men, with their Colours, were ſent in triumph to the Grand Seignior, who in recompence thereof, ſent a Scimetar, a Veſt of Sables, and ſome Money unto *Tekeli*, (with an *Aſerum*) or *You have well done, and do ſtill better*. *Tekeli* having put a Garriſon of 1000 Janiſaries into *Fetiſlau*, he marched to *Orſoua*, a place which *Heiſler* had lately deſerted and demoliſhed, which he poſſeſſed, and delivered it into the Hands of the Prince of *Walachia*, to be Garriſon'd, and made a place of Arms, and a Magazine for divers ſorts of Proviſions and Ammunition expected from *Nicopolis*; and which, if well fortified and provided, might be conſidered, as the Key of the *Upper Hungary*.

Fetiſlau *taken by* Tekeli.

And poſſeſs Orſoua.

About the ſame time, Count *Corbelli* made a Detachment of 1000 *Heydukes*, from the Blockade of *Waradine*, who approaching near the Walls with intention to carry off the Cattle which were feeding thereabouts, they were ſo furiouſly attacked by the Enemy, that before they could retreat, they loſt 300 of their Men, and amongſt the reſt Captain *Tugnochy*, a Valiant Soldier, who the laſt Year had ſignalized himſelf on various occaſions againſt the *Turks*.

300 Heydukes *killed by the* Turks.

This Loſs was ſoon afterwards recompenſed by the Succeſs which the *Croats* gained upon the *Turks*; who having formed a Body of about 8000 Men, intended to ſpoil all the Country round about *Coſtanovitza*, near the River *Unna*. On the other ſide the *Croats*, to the Number of 2000 Men, under the Command of Count *Draſcovitz*, marched againſt them, with deſign rather to view the Countenance of the Enemy, than to give them Battel; took their March through certain Woods and Mountains, and unfrequented Ways; when happily near a place called *Czrin*, they met a ſtrong Party of *Turks*, who were come out alſo to diſcover the Enemy; and having eſpied the *Croats*, and believing them to be of greater force than they really were, they betook themſelves to Flight; but being purſued by the *Croats*, ſeveral of them were taken Priſoners; and by them it was known, that 8000 *Turks*, or thereabouts, under the Command of *Sar Muſtapha* Paſha, lay encamped not far from that place.

The Croats *defeat a great Body of the* Turks.

Upon theſe Advices the Count and his *Croats* reſolved bravely to attack the whole Camp; which being performed without other Heſitation or Delay, and taking a ſhort Turn about ſome little Hills, they charged the *Turks* with ſuch Fury, that they being ſurprized with ſome Conſternation, the Spahees betook themſelves to Flight, leaving 2000 Janizaries open and undefended, who all yielded themſelves Priſoners at diſcretion; of which ſome intimation ha-

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ving been given to the *Croats* on the Confines, they marched with ſuch haſte, that they met the Spahee's in their Flight; and the Bridges being broken down, the greateſt part were made Priſoners, beſides many who endeavouring to Swim were Drowned in the Waters; in which Action the *Croats* took 11 Colours, and much Booty. In this Fight the Flower of the Militia of *Boſnia* was cut off; and the Ways were covered with dead Bodies for the whole length of an *Hungarian* Mile; of which many of them by the finery of their Clothing, were judged to be Perſons of Quality: The Commander in Chief, called *Sar Muſtapha* Paſha Kaja, with the Bey, or the Lieutenant-General, were taken Priſoners; and according to the Report of thoſe who came to enquire after ſome who were miſſing, there were 6000 Men killed and ſcattered: In which Action very few *Croats* were killed, or wounded.

A compleat Victory.

Count *Corbelli* having intelligence that the *Turks* of *Jeno* and *Giula* intended to fortifie *Fechedebator*, in revenge for his late Misfortune, reſolved to uſe his Endeavors to ſurprize the Caſtle, and thereby ſave the *Turks* the trouble of their intended Fortifications; and in order thereunto he mounted the Regiment of *Gondola* on Horſeback, and with 500 Huſſars, and 100 Muſqueteers, and about as many *Heydukes*, which he had mounted on Waggons, he paſſed the River *Gereſch* in ſight of the Garriſon of *Waradin*, who had drawn out about 2000 of their Men into the Field: But to amuſe the Enemy, *Corbelli* marched to and again the whole Day; and at Night he detached two great Bodies of *Huſſars* before, to take cogniſance of the place; and being come near to *Fechedebator*, they took two *Raſcians* Priſoners belonging to the place, by whom they underſtood that there were not above 50 armed *Turks* in the place, beſides ſome few *Raſcians*; for the greateſt part of the Garriſon were gone to *Jeno*, to ſolemnize the Marriage of a certain Perſon of chief Quality in that Country; upon which intelligence the Party ſent to diſcover only, without farther deſign, meeting this Opportunity, and reſolving not to loſe it, ſent immediately a Summons to the Caſtle to ſurrender; to which the *Turks* returning an impertinent and ſcornful Anſwer; and ſaying, That when he brought the Keys of their City with him, meaning *Giula*, *Jeno*, and *Waradin*; upon taking of which, they ſhould be forced to ſurrender, that then they would open their Gates to them; until which time they craved their excuſe, intending to defend themſelves to the utmoſt Extremity. At the ſame moment that this Anſwer was returned, a *Raſcian* who had made his Eſcape out of the Town, adviſed that there was a great Diviſion ariſen amongſt the *Turks* in the Caſtle, of the which *Corbelli* deſirous to make uſe, he cauſed the Regiment of *Gondola* to paſs the River on Horſeback, and the Foot on Ferry-Boats and Floats, and being on the other ſide, he drew up in order of Battle in ſight of the Fortreſs, threatning them, that in caſe they did not ſurrender in the ſpace of one quarter of an Hour, that he would give no Quarter to any Perſon whatſoever.

Corbelli *Summons* Fechedebator.

The Governor of the Caſtle being terrified with this ſudden Demand with ſuch affrighting Menaces, he requeſted the reſpite but of one Day only; which being denied, he then Capitulated to have 30 Carts allotted to them, and to be Convoyed with their Arms and Baggage to *Waradin*; but *Corbelli* refuſing that alſo, they were conducted to *Jeno*, a place infected with Sickneſs, and ſtarved with Famine. Accordingly the *Turks* came forth to the Number of 40 Soldiers, 14 Young Men with Arms in their Hands, with about 80 Women and Young Children, who were all carried to *Jeno*.

Fechedebator *is ſurrendred.*

In the mean time *Corbelli* entered the place, and found the Caſtle in good repair, encompaſſed on one ſide with a Ditch full of Water, fortified with Paliſadoes, and on the other ſide with the River *Gereſch*; the which place, tho' in it ſelf ſmall, was yet conſiderable for its Situation, being ſeated in a convenient place to cut off all Communication between *Waradin*, and the Towns ſtreightned by Blockades; and for that reaſon *Corbelli* put a Garriſon into it of 200 *Huſſars* under Command of *Comloſchi* a ſtout and valiant Soldier, and after this Action returned to his Camp.

In the mean time Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* had diſcovered that the Deſign of the Seraſkier was to avoid a Battle; and that the Report he gave out of his March to *Belgrade*, was only to amuſe the *Germans*, and cauſe them to draw their Troops on that ſide, whilſt he encamped his Forces near the Banks of the River *Morava*. Wherefore the Prince having reinforced the Garriſon of *Belgrade* with 2000 Foot, and fortified *Semendria*, he moved with the whole Body of his Army, and towards the end of *July*, encamped near the *Morava*; where Boats being provided, the ſame Night by help of the Moon, a Bridge was caſt over the River, over which 2000 Horſe were Commanded to march under the Command of Colonel *Straſſer*, to obſerve the Countenance of the Enemy; who upon the News of the *Germans* Advance, had made their Retreat. Whereupon Prince *Lewis* having raiſed a Fort, and put a Garriſon into it of

July. Pr. Lewis *encamps near the River* Morava.

The Turks *retreat.*

The force of both Armies.

The Germans contemn their Enemies.

6000 Men to ſecure the Bridge, he marched his whole Army on the 2d of *Auguſt* over the ſame, with deſign to purſue the Enemy, and either force them to a Battel, or to abandon all their Magazines at *Niſſa*. The *Turkiſh* Army under the Command of the Seraskier, did not then conſiſt of above 40000 good fighting Men, and diſciplin'd Soldiers, the reſt were raw and unexperienced Fellows, fit rather to follow the Plough, or Plunder, than to fight a Battle. The Army of Prince *Lewis* conſiſted of about 12000 *Germans*, and 6000 *Hungarians* and *Huſſars*, beſides ſome of the Country People, who were got into a Body in hopes of Booty and Plunder, being animated thereunto by the Succeſs of the *Cæſarean* Arms. Notwithſtanding this great diſadvantage in Numbers, the *Germans* being Spirited with Deſires of farther Glory, and the meaner ſort of them with hopes of Prey and Booty, and all confiding in a continual Courſe and Run of Fortune, boldly proceeded on their March, having the *Turks* in Contempt, whom they had ſo often overthrown and defeated.

The Grand Vizier goes not to the War.

The truth is, the *Turks* were in a bad Condition both at Home and Abroad; the Grand Vizier himſelf durſt not appear in Perſon in the Field, leaſt his Enemies at home ſhould ſuggeſt Matters to the Sultan in his Abſence, which might coſt him his Head, or the Loſs of his Office: And indeed the Army was ſo inconſiderable this Year, that it ſeemed beneath the Dignity of a Grand Vizier to appear in the Field, with other than a Royal Army, which was ever reckoned at 100000 Men; to which it was much inferior, and ſcarce did ariſe to half the Number. For the *Tartar Chan* excuſed his joyning with the *Turkiſh* Army this Year, by reaſon of the Alarms given them by the *Muſcovites*, who in vaſt Numbers threatned their Country, and were on the Frontiers ready to enter with Fire and Sword. The Militia alſo of *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, *Arbekier*, and others of the more Eaſtern Countries of *Aſia*, which always compoſe a great Nerve of the *Ottoman* Arms, began to mutiny for want of Money, not being able longer to ſupport and maintain themſelves: Upon their Remonſtrance of which to the Grand Vizier Anſwer being returned, That the Royal Treaſuries were empty, and exhauſted, and that they were obliged by the Conſtitutions of the Empire, to maintain themſelves out of their Timarlucks, or Lands given them for that Service: The Reply was ſo diſpleaſing, that great Diſorder would have followed, had not the Torrent of the Soldiers Anger been ſeaſonable ſtopped by paying the Spahee's, or Timars, five Dollars apiece, which qualified, and appeaſed the Mutiny, and Sollevation which was ready to break forth into an open Rebellion.

A Mutiny prevented in the Turkiſh *Camp.*

Heiſler *demoliſhes* Orſoua.

Countermanded by Pr. Lewis.

Heiſler *ſick.*

Herbeville *ordered to recover the place.*

Whilſt Prince *Lewis* was on his March, News was brought to him, that *Heiſler* had demoliſhed *Orſoua*, and retired to ſome other Quarters; of which the *Turks* having received Advice, they entered into it, and having ſtrengthned it with ſome Paliſadoes, they put a Garriſon into it. At which Prince *Lewis* was ſo diſpleaſed, that he ſent immediate Orders to that General, that he ſhould forthwith return thither, and endeavour again to recover the place; and with all poſſible ſpeed repair the Fortifications, and conſerve that Poſt, as the moſt convenient Situation, whereby to tranſport Victuals and Ammunition, and cut off all the Succours, and Correſpondences on that ſide, by which the *Turks* might bring in Succours and Relief to *Temeſwaer*, and other places, which had been for ſome time ſtreightned by Blockades. But in regard that General *Heiſler* was much indiſpoſed by Sickneſs, and forced to retire to *Hermanſtadt*, for recovery of his Health, Orders were given to the General Count *Herbeville*, to execute that part which was to be acted by *Heiſler*, and accordingly having diſpatched *Sempſai* with his *Huſſars* in the Van, it was his Fortune to encounter a Party of *Turks*, from whom he carried 30 Heads, made 25 Priſoners, and took three Colours. The General following with the reſt of the Army, and being come near to *Orſona*, another Party of *Turks* appeared, which had newly paſſed from the other ſide of the *Danube* in ſmall Boats; and theſe being Attacked by *Herbeville*, between the Fortreſs and the River, the whole Body was in a moment either cut to pieces, or Drowned, or made Priſoners; of which 50 Horſe were taken, and one Standard.

He defeats a Party of Turks,

And Retires from Orſoua.

After which the groſs Body of the Imperial Army being advanced under the Fortreſs, the place was obſerved to be well fortified; and on the other ſide of the River they diſcovered an Army in their Trenches, well defended and guarded with Cannon; and on the Shoar ſide many well armed Gallies, and 100 Veſſels laden with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions; the which, according to Report, was ſaid to be the Army of *Tekely* joyned to the Forces of the Paſha of *Siliſtria*, and another Paſha. Howſoever the General being deſirous to make trial of his Fortune, advanced with his Forces near the place, and having poſted themſelves under ſhelter of Banks and Sacks of Earth, to take a view of the Enemies State and Condition, they were ſo warmly receiv'd by their Cannon and Granadoes, that they were

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forced to retire towards *Caranſebes*; and at the ſame time News came that *Tekely* had killed 100 *Raſcians*, and taken ſome Boats with the *Huſſars* which were in them, and advanced with reſolution to carry Succours and Relief into *Temeſwaer*.

In the mean time Prince *Lewis* was on his March towards *Niſſa*, but finding the way very bad, and difficult by reaſon of the thick Woods, and Marſhy Grounds, and much Rain, ſo that it was almoſt impoſſible to draw their Cannon and Waggons laden with Proviſions, which began already to be wanting, it was reſolved to retire to *Semendria*.

August 27*th and* 28*th.*

And here it was that Prince *Lewis* altered the Courſe of his March; and being come into the Parts of *Reſſava*, the Foot advanced a Day before, and the Horſe following them the next, they joyned at *Gabrovitz*, where a Survey being taken of the Situation of the Place along the Banks of *Morava*, by ſeveral Engeniers, and particularly by Count *Marſigli*, they fixed on a place the moſt commodious for caſting a Bridge over the River, which was effected in a few Hours, and the ſame ſecured with 16 pieces of Cannon, mounted on a Redoubt which they newly raiſed, and defended by 500 Men.

A Bridge made over the Mo*rava.*

The *Germans* having paſſed all their Forces over the River, a ſtrong Detachment of the Enemy appeared, and ſurprized the Centinels and Out-guards, of which the *Tartars* killed ſome, and purſued the others, until the Imperial Troops, (who were always ready upon the firſt Alarm) gave a ſtop to the Career of the *Tartars*, of which they killed ſome, and took two Priſoners; from whom they received intelligence, that a great Body of *Turks* and *Tartars* under Command of Sultan *Galga*, Son of the Chan of *Tartary*, had paſſed the *Morava* near *Jagodina*, with deſign to attack the *Germans* on that ſide of the River near *Paſſarovitz*. And moreover that the Seraskier was on his March with an Army of 50000 Men towards *Paſſarovitz* and *Semendria*, with deſign ſo to environ the Imperial Army on all ſides, as to cut off the Proviſions from coming to their Camp; the which Reſolution was formed upon the Report of ſome *French* Fugitives, who had deſerted and fled to the *Turks*; and given them intelligence, that the *Germans* were in great want of Proviſions, which was the cauſe of their Retreat to *Semendria*.

The Deſigns of the Turks.

Pr. Lewis *reſolves to Attack the Seraskier.*

Prince *Lewis* being well aſſured, that he was able to march ſecurely to *Paſſarovitz*, notwithſtanding a Thouſand Difficulties which were preſented before him; and tho a Body of *Turks* and *Tartars* were not far diſtant, and the whole Army of the Seraskier encamped not above an Hour and halfs March from the *Chriſtian* Forces; yet truſting to the good Conduct of his General, and the Bravery and Courage of his Soldiers, he reſolved to diſlodge the Camp of the Seraskier, and thereby open a free Communication between the *Palanca* of *Haſſan* Paſha and *Semendria*, whereby the Magazines would be maintained, and the Reputation of the Imperial Arms ſupported.

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His March.

Hereupon on the 29th of *Auguſt* by Break of Day in the Morning, the Prince commanded two Regiments of Dragoons, with all the Quarter-Maſters, and Foragers, and a Party of 500 Horſe to aſcend the riſing of a Hill not far diſtant from the Bridge, to cover and ſecure the March of the Foot, which were ſent before under Command of General *Heiſler*, and Count *Guido* of *Staremberg*, who were appointed to ſecure the Baggage in paſſing the River *Reſſava*: And at the ſame time the Prince himſelf, with his Cavalry, advanced towards the River, keeping the riſing Hill on his right Hand, and the Plain to *Reſſava* on his left; marching always in a Line, the better to withſtand the Enemies Horſe, which ran on all Quarters to find out where they might beſt annoy and break in upon them. And here it was that Prince *Lewis* very wiſely, and with much Policy commanded the Horſemen to diſmount, as if they intended to lodge there, for ſecuring their Baggage: But in regard the ſole Deſign of the Prince was to fight the Enemy, and drive them to the other ſide of the River, he commanded Colonel St. *Croix* with ſome Hundreds of choice *German* Horſe, and the Generals *Czinecky*, *Drach*, and *Badiani* a Captain of *Strigonium*, with their *Hungarians*, privately to paſs the River, and with their *Huſſars* to hide themſelves amongſt ſome Woods and Buſhes in a certain Valley, oppoſite to the Horſe; upon which *Veterani*, and *Piccolomini*, and the *Huſſars*, advanced in full Career againſt the Enemy, whilſt the Prince, with the reſt of his Cavalry, followed upon an eaſie Gallop.

He advances towards the Turks.

At the firſt the *Turks* did not believe that the Deſign of the Prince was to advance ſo far upon them, or to force them to a Battle; and therefore they retired very eaſily with their *Tartars*, keeping a Reſerve of 12000 Horſe, with 500 Janizaries mounted behind, which they emboſked in a Wood to attack *Veterani* and *Piccolomini*, which they looked upon only as a handful of Men: But ſo ſoon as they diſcovered the whole right Wing moving through the Plains under *Veterani*, and the left commanded by *Piccolomini*; and the Prince following with the main Body of the Army, directly marching, and pouring upon them, they made

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more haſte in their Retreat than before, and being attacked on all ſides, both from the Hills, Mountains, and Vallies, they made a haſty March away for the ſpace of four Hours; but being cloſely purſued to a narrow Paſs, where they were forced to make a Stand, they were ſo furiouſly aſſailed by the Troops of *Veterani*, and afterwards ſeconded by thoſe of the Prince, that in a ſhort time they were defeated, and diſperſed in the Woods; in which being purſued, and hunted for the ſpace of an Hour and a half into the Plains on the other ſide; the *Turks* were ſo beaten, that above 400 of their beſt Horſe, both *Turks* and *Tartars* were killed, and many Priſoners taken, amongſt which was the Commander in chief of the 500 Janizaries, with 12 Standards and Timbals which are the Muſick of Paſha's.

The Turks *defeated.*

In this Confuſion many of the *Turks* forſook their Horſes, and betook themſelves to their Heels through Buſhes and Thickets, and the adjacent Hills and Mountains; but being purſued by the *Heydukes* and *Huſſars*, who were acquainted with the private and ſecret Ways and Conveyances of the Country, many of them were killed and taken: Others of them, who to make themſelves more light for Eſcape, threw away their Arms, and whatſoever elſe might incumber them in their Flight; ſo that all the Ways were ſtrowed with Lances, Turbants, Boots, Caps, Cloaths, Veſts and Arms, all which became a welcome Booty and Spoil to the Victorious Soldiery.

This Succeſs ſo encouraged the *Germans*, that Prince *Lewis* to improve this Advantage to an entire Victory, reſolved to defeat and thwart the Deſigns of the Son of the *Tartar* Chan, (who lay encamped on the other ſide of the River) by falling upon him before he could come to joyn with the *Turkiſh* Cavalry lately beaten: And tho' the Imperial Horſe were much tired and haraſſed with the Fatigue of that Days Action, he returned notwithſtanding to the Bridge, where after three Hours March, about ſeven a Clock in the Evening he arrived.

The Cavalry being here refreſhed, and ſet up for a while, the Prince went in Perſon to viſit the Infantry, which he found well encamped out of all danger, and every thing perfectly well diſpoſed, and in good order by the Care and Conduct of thoſe two brave Generals, *Veterani* and *Piccolomini*.

Conſultations to Aſſault the Enemy.

After which ſome Scouts were ſent to diſcover the Ways, and obſerve the Ground on that ſide; upon whoſe Report that there was only a very narrow paſſage through a rough and thick Wood, about half an Hours March in length, by which there was an Entrance into a ſmall Plain, which if the Enemy ſhould poſſeſs, they might eaſily defend the Paſs, and make an Attack on the *Tartars* difficult and hazardous. Prince *Lewis* and the Generals, being well aſſured hereof, detached Count *Solaro* with 500 Men to ſecure the Paſſage into the Plain, but the Enemy having intimation thereof, with 3000 Janizaries, and a good Body of Horſe, not only gave a ſtop to his March, but cauſed him to retire with the loſs of ſeveral Men: But General *Heiſler* coming ſeaſonably in to their ſuccour, ſo advantageouſly poſted himſelf within the Woods and thick Buſhes, that he maintained the Paſs, until ſuch time (which was next Morning by Break of Day) that Prince *Lewis* coming on with his main force in a thick Fogg, poſted himſelf before the Wood, being ſheltored on the right Hand by Thickets and Buſhy Grounds, almoſt unpaſſable, extending his left Wing to the ſide of the *Morava*; and being thus advantageouſly drawn up, immediate Orders were diſpatched to the Cavalry, which were refreſhing themſelves at the Bridge, to haſten unto the Foot; but before they could come up, the Fog clearing away, unexpectedly the whole Body of the *Turkiſh* Army appeared (the moſt part conſiſting of *Moors* and *Arabs*) drawn up in order of Battle, juſt fronting the Imperial Infantry, which the *Turks* aſſailed with ſuch unuſual Fury, and ſudden Violence, that Prince *Lewis* had ſcarce time to draw up his ſecond Line into a poſture of defence. The Imperialiſts howſoever ſtood the Shock with great firmneſs and conſtancy, and received the Fire both of their great and ſmall Shot; and tho' the *Chevaux de Freeze*, were of great uſe to them at this, as on other occaſions, yet many of the *German* Foot were at that time cut to pieces by the *Turkiſh* Scimetars.

The Turks *attack the* Chriſtians.

And now the Fight became very hot on both ſides, and continued ſo for the ſpace of two Hours within Piſtol-ſhot, by which time General Count *Caſſelli* being come up with his Cavalry, and ſounding without the Wood with his Trumpets, Hautboys, and Kettle-Drums, the Enemy were put into ſuch a Fear and Conſternation, that they began to retreat into the neighbouring Wood; by which Prince *Lewis* having gained both Time and Ground, drew up his Horſe behind the Foot; and whilſt he remained in this poſture, a *Bavarian* Soldier, (who had been taken Priſoner at the Siege of *Buda*) having made his Eſcape, came and reported, that the Enemy was retired to another Plain behind the Wood; where for their better ſecurity, they had thrown up ſome Earth, and made new Trenches:

Are beaten & retreat.

Upon this Intelligence the Generals were in great hopes of gaining an entire Victory, if they could handſomely come to Charge the Enemy in the Flank; to perform which they deſigned to open a paſſage by their Muſqueteers; but it ſeems there was no need of ſo much Labour: for Count *Guido* of *Staremberg* being commanded to advance before with a Party to diſcover the Countenance and Diſpoſition of the Enemy, he found a way ſufficiently open and wide for a March, and not above 500 paces to the Plain, where the Enemy was retired not far behind their Trenches.

They quit their ground.

Upon this News the Prince immediately detached 300 Horſe, and a Battallion of his own Regiment, and another of Count *Straſſer's* under Command of that Count, to ſeize that Poſt, which ſucceeded ſo happily, that the *Turks* upon their firſt appearance, cowardly abandoned the place, and fled; which the Imperialiſts poſſeſſed, whilſt another party of Foot came in to their Aſſiſtance; and then the Cannon on both ſides fired with mutual damage, the which continued for the ſpace of an Hour and half; during which time ſeveral *German* Soldiers were killed and wounded, as alſo four Captains killed, beſides Lieutenants and Subaltern Officers who were wounded.

Some German Soldiers kill'd.

And here it was thought fit to take Breath a while, and enter into Conſultation, whether it were adviſeable to proſecute the Victory farther, or not, and purſue the Enemy, who had again poſted themſelves with more advantage in another Trench about 3 or 400 Paces behind the former, and which was much ſtronger, being encompaſſed with a deep Ditch of Water, and only acceſſible in one place, which the *Turks* continued to fortifie without any fear or apprehenſion of danger.

Another Attack on the Turks.

Upon due conſideration of the ſtrength of the place, and the Difficulties of an Attack, it was concluded that an Attempt was to be hazarded, and that with all expedition, and without loſs of time: Accordingly the Prince ordered that the firſt Trench ſhould be levelled for the more eaſie paſſage of the Horſe; and that Count *Piccolomini* (to whom the Command of the Van-guard was that Day committed) ſhould advance with ſome Regiments of Horſe, and ſome Battalions of Foot, and put himſelf into Battalia before the Trench; and Count *Palſi* with his Regiment of *Heydukes*, was ordered to take the left Hand by way of the Wood, and to ſound all his Drums, and Hautboys, and other Inſtruments, making the greateſt noiſe he was able in the Wood, and to give an Alarm, as if ſome great Body were in motion, to Attack them in the Rear, which would ſerve to put them into greater Conſternation and Diſorder.

Matters being thus wiſely ordered, *Piccolomini* began to advance in Battalia, and the Enemy endeavoured to repulſe him with their Cannon; but when they obſerved that the *Germans* without fear of their Fire, advanced ſtill reſolutely upon them, and gained ground; and that the *Heydukes* came on deſperately to the left; ſo fearing to be engaged in the midſt, they abandoned this their laſt advantageous Poſt, and with great Diſorder marched through thick Woods to their Camp at *Patoſchin*.

The Turks *fly to* Patoſchin.

This Cowardly Flight of the *Turks* inſpired new Courage into the *Chriſtians* to purſue them to their ultimate Retirement; which they had done to the entire Deſtruction of the Enemy, but that the Way was ſo narrow, that they were forced to break their Ranks, and march one after the other, which loſt much time, and gave the *Turks* means to eſcape, and the Janizaries having Horſes ready Sadled, notably advanced in their Flight; but Baron *Zant* having Orders to purſue the Rear-Guard of the Enemy, being joyned with the Regiments of *Sarau*, and *Kiſel*, they overtook many of them in the Woods, and purſued the reſt to their very Camp; after which, theſe Colonels not having Orders to follow the Enemy farther, who were 25000 ſtrong, beſides thoſe which ſtraggled in the Woods, they betook themſelves to the riſing of a Hill, where they halted until Prince *Lewis* came up to them with the groſs Body of his Cavalry, and then the *Turks* fled with Diſorder and Precipitation, as the *Germans* purſued with greater Heat and Courage; and had not the Woods been thick, and the *Germans* ignorant of the Ways and Paſſages, they had made a moſt terrible Slaughter, to the entire Defeat and Deſtruction of the *Turkiſh* Army. Howſoever Prince *Lewis* continued the Purſuit with ſome Parties of Horſe, under the Command of Colonel *Zant*; who gave ſo frightful an Alarm to the *Turks*, that forſaking their Camp with Fear and Conſternation, they left all their Cannon, Ammunition, and Proviſions to the Diſpoſal of the Enemy.

They abandon their Camp.

In the Camp they found 105 pieces of Braſs Cannon, and three Mortars, with great Numbers of Bombs, Granadoes, Powder, and all ſorts of Warlike Ammunition, and Proviſions, with their Camels, Oxen, Buffalo's, and Tents; and in ſhort all their Baggage became a Prey to the Victorious *Germans*, whilſt the timorous *Turks* fled in much Confuſion towards *Jagodina* and *Krakolovetz*; and many of them were taken up on the Way by the *Hungarians*, *Huſſars* and *Raſcians*.

The Germans *poſſeſs it.*

Great

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Great was the Joy of the Generals and Soldiers for ſo ſignal a Victory, and having lodged one Night in the Enemies Camp, with much Pleaſure and Feſtivity, the Day following early in the Morning they ſang Praiſes to God for his Mercy and Bleſſings of Victory; and as a ſignal of Triumph, made the Camp to reſound with three Vollies of Shot, with Drums, Trumpets, Timbals, and all ſorts of Warlike Muſick.

Return Thanks to God.

After Thanks were returned to Almighty God, who is the God of Hoſts, and Giver of Victory; the Imperial Generals thought it reaſonable and neceſſary to give ſome repoſe and reſt to the wearied Troops; and to augment their Commons and Refreſhments, Orders were given to the Commiſſaries to diſtribute amongſt the Army the Proviſions found in the Enemies Stores: In the mean time the *Huſſars* and *Hungarians*, who had purſued the Enemy for ſome Days, returned the 3d of *September* to the Camp, bringing ſome Colours, and many Priſoners with them, together with 36 pieces of Cannon of the largeſt ſize.

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And thus the Victory being compleat, Prince *Lewis* permitted the Courier, whom the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors had dis-ſpeeded from *Vienna* to *Conſtantinople*, to proceed; he had been detained for ſome Weeks at *Semendria*, ſo that now beſides the Diſpatch from the Ambaſſadors, he carried another from Prince *Lewis* to the Grand Vizier, giving him to underſtand, that the Imperial Armies having advanced ſo far within the Bowels of the *Ottoman* Dominions, he would now proceed forward to meet him, and ſave him the trouble of a tedious March; but in caſe his Company, and coming ſhould be unwelcome and diſpleaſing to the Sultan, they might thank themſelves for the trouble of ſuch unacceptable Gueſts; which might have been avoided, had they hearkened to the Propoſitions which His Imperial Majeſty and His Allies made to them for a Peace, which they having unadviſedly rejected, had brought upon themſelves all thoſe Misfortunes which had attended them in every Action of this laſt Campaign.

Pr. Lewis *Writes to the Vizier.*

In the mean time the Blockades of *Caniſia* and *Great Waradine*, were daily more ſtreightned, and all the Corn and Graſs burned up in thoſe parts which were neighbouring to thoſe Cities; and tho' they ſuffered much Want and Penury of all things, and had received the unwelcome News of ſeveral Defeats given to the *Turks*; yet ſupporting and comforting their Spirits with hopes that a Peace would ſpeedily inſue, at leaſt in the Winter Seaſon, they reſolved not to ſurrender until the laſt Extremity.

Blockades of Caniſia *and* Great Waradine *continued.*

Prince *Lewis* having refreſhed his Forces with ſeveral Days of reſt, and plenty of Proviſions taken from the Enemy, and reinforced his Army with ſome Troops coming from *Belgrade*, he prepared for a new Enterprize, and began his March towards *Niſſa*, about 20 Leagues diſtant from the Camp at *Patoſchin*, the moſt part of the way Woody and Mountainous; but nothing was now difficult, or inſuperable to the exalted Courage of the *Germans*. The *Turks* on the other ſide, tho' ſomewhat abaſed and mortified, yet ſupported themſelves with the Comfort, That tho' they had loſt their Camp, with their Cannon, Tents, and Baggage, yet moſt of their Army was ſtill in being; That the *Tartars* had beaten the *Muſcovites*; That the Troubles in *Aſia* were pacified, and the Diſcontents in *Albania* wtih *Mamut Ogli* Bey, compoſed. Moreover a Reinforcement of 20000 Men were ſent to the Seraskier, with new Tents, and all the neceſſary Appurtenances for War; and likewiſe it was reported abroad, That the Grand Vizier would come himſelf in perſon, and in deſpight of the preceding Misfortunes, would yet put an Honourable end to this Campaign.

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Pr. Lewis *marches to* **Niſſa.**

Prince *Lewis* little regarding the Talk, and the Reports with which the *Turks* comforted themſelves, committing the charge of *Patoſchin* to a Sergeant Major, with 100 Horſe to cover the Artillery, and to guard them on their Way to *Semendria*, he disſpeeded ſome *Hungarians* and *Raſcians* to take a Survey of the Country, and of the State of the *Turks* Affairs; who accordingly coaſting the Country, brought News, that the *Turks* were not only fled out of all thoſe parts, but had likewiſe abandoned *Niſſa*, having for their eaſier paſſage built a Bridge over a Marſhy Ground near that Town. Whereupon the Prince having fixed his Boats on Wheels, Convoyed by a Party of 500 Horſe, he took his March with the whole Army on the 11th of *September*, and arrived that Night at *Jagodina*, after a hard March through Woods and Marſhes; and to make a paſſage for the Boats which were deſigned to make a Bridge over the *Morava*, a new Way was made through the Woods, where being arrived, they happily met ſome other Boats from *Paſſarovitz*, with ſome quantities of Flour, which came ſeaſonably for relief of the Army.

Pr. Lewis *marches towards* **Niſſa.**

At *Jagodina* News was brought that the *Turks* had quitted *Niſſa*; whereupon Prince *Lewis* detached 50 *Heydukes* of *Palſi*'s Regiments, and 10 Dragoons on Foot to *Cruſſavetz*, to break down the Bridge there, and conſerve that Poſt; and for paſſage of the Army at a more convenient place, another Bridge was made with Boats, and to cover

Bridges broken and others made.

it

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it Colonel *Straſſer* with 2000 Men, made a Redoubt on the other ſide of the River.

And here ſo great was the Mortality of Men and Horſe, and want of Forage, that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to advance farther; but News being brought, that the *Turks* were in great Conſternation in their Camp, and that the Soldiers deſerted by Hundreds every Day; and the Dukes of *Croy*, and *Holſtein* coming about that time to the Camp with ſome Recruits, animated Prince *Lewis* to come to one Battle more with the Seraskier; and having raiſed two Forts at the Bridge, he paſſed over with his Horſe on the 16th, and the Day following with his Foot. The *Turks* had juſt then received a Recruit of 10000 Men, and ſtrongly intrenched themſelves by the ſide of the River near *Niſſa*.

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Pr. Lewis *engages the* Turks *near* Niſſa.

The Prince being ill provided with Victuals in his Camp, had no time to loſe, and therefore marched ſo faſt, that on the 22th of *September*, he pitched his Camp within a League diſtant from *Niſſa*, near a little Stream which falls into the *Niſſava*; from whence he took a proſpect of the Countenance and Situation of the Enemy, and their Camp; and having obſerved every thing, and in what place the Enemy might moſt commodiouſly be Attacked; on the 23th they marched forward in a cloſe, and well ordered Battalia; but nothing happened that Day beſides ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes of little importance; but that Night before the Evening was quite ſhut in, the Prince made as if he intended to make a Bridge over the Rivar to paſs to the *Tartars*, who were poſted on the other ſide; but in the Morning he took another Method, poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſides of the Hills, over the Enemies Camp; which when the *Turks* diſcovered, they detached a Party to engage with them, and with 2 or 3000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, they attacked the Rear-Guard of the Right Wing, by which Count *Veterani* was forced to keep a little behind with the two Regiments of *Hanover* and St. *Croix*, which formed the ſecond Line of that Wing, and were appointed to guard and cover the Baggage, which was always placed in the Rear of the Army: This ſlow motion of the Cannon and Baggage, which could not be avoided, retarded the motion of the advanced Troops, which ever and anon made a Halt, ſo that it was five a Clock in the Evening before they could reach the Foot of the Hill, where both Armies came in ſight of each other.

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And becauſe it might rationally be conjectured, that the *Turks* would before the Morning, fortifie their Camp with ſome Trenches, and Parapets of Earth; the Prince reſolved without giving them ſo much time, to advance upon them with all the Courage and Fury imaginable; extending his right Wing towards the Foot of the Hill, and his left along the Plain to the Banks of the River *Niſſava*; which being orderly diſpoſed, reſolutely Attacked the Enemy, according to the Methods and Meaſures deſign'd.

Pr. Lewis *Attacks the* Turks.

The *Turks* with their accuſtomed Cry of *Allah, Allah*, cauſed the greateſt part of their Cavalry which was drawn up on the declivity of the Hill, to charge the Infantry of the left Wing, Commanded by Count *Guido* of *Staremberg*, and the Regiments of *Kiſel* and *Sarau*; which when the Prince obſerved, he cauſed ſome Cannon to be brought on that ſide; with which, and a Detachment from theſe Regiments, the whole left Wing advanced towards the Enemy; the *Turks* ſeeing this, retired with their Body of Horſe, and wheeled about towards the right Wing, and Attacked them at the Foot of the Hill on the Flank, which could not well be ſecured; which produced ſome Fear and Confuſion amongſt the *Huſſars*, but being ſuccoured by the Regiments of *Holſtein*, and *Noircharmes*, which *Piccolomini* Commanded, and by a Party of brave *Hungarians*, they ſo diſordered the *Turkiſh* Horſe, that they had been put to an open Flight, had they not been ſtopt in their Career by ſome of their own Troops, who met them and Fired upon them: By this Accident the Enemy ſtill maintaining their Ground on the ſide of the Hill towards the right Wing of the *Germans*, gave opportunity and time to the Cavalry to rally again in the Plains: But Prince *Lewis* inceſſantly riding and giving Orders in all places of the Army, commanded the main Body, which was directed by Baron *Heiſler*, to Attack the *Turks* on the Hill, which they performed ſo effectually, that after a long Conflict, they gained the top of the Hill; and then drawing all the Battalions into an equal Line, both the right Wing and the Baggage were both ſecured from the Attempt of the Enemy.

The Turkiſh *Horſe in diſorder.*

Duke of Croy *ſuccours the right Wing*

On the other ſide the Duke of *Croy*, who commanded towards the River, being adviſed by the Prince, that the right Wing was diſtreſſed, and hardly beſet by the Enemy, he preſently reſolved to advance to the top of the Hill in a direct Line towards their Succour, to give a greater Diverſion to the Enemy, and to gain the top of the Hill; the which being effected, the Situation thereof proved ſo advantageous a Poſt, that in a ſhort time they drove the Enemy from thence with a conſiderable Slaughter. Notwithſtanding which, the *Turkiſh* Horſe rallying again in the Plains, made another Vigorous Aſſault on the left Wing, but

were

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were received by them with ſo much Bravery and Reſolution, that they were once more on their Flight, when the Janizaries who were making new Trenches, Fired upon them, and forced them to ſtand another Charge; which they ſteadily performed, and with great Vigour againſt the *Huſſars*, but they being ſuccoured by the Regiment of *Caprara*, forced the Enemy entirely to quit the Field, and purſued them with great Fury to their very Camp.

Whilſt the left Wing had thus gloriouſly acquitted themſelves, another Party of the Enemies Horſe Attacked them in the middle of their Body, but being ſuccoured by Count *Guido de Staremberg*, with ſome Battalions of his own Regiment, and of the *Heydukes* of *Palfi*, they diſcharged ſuch terrible Vollies upon them, that great Numbers of the *Turks* fell Dead on the Ground; and the others ſo cowed and affrighted, that loſing all hopes of Conqueſt, when they ſaw their Trenches poſſeſſed by the Prince, and ſhut up on all ſides by the right Wing, they betook themſelves in good earneſt, to a confuſed and diſorderly Flight; and tho' the Night came on, yet the Victorious *Germans* purſued the *Turks* ſo long, as they could have the leaſt glimpſe or appearance of the Enemy; ſo that many of them to avoid the Sword, threw themſelves headlong into the *Niſſava*; where by the depth of the Water, and rapidneſs of the River, they miſerably periſhed. And here, as well as during the whole courſe of the Battle, the two Brothers *Charles* and *Auguſt* Princes of *Hanover*, with their Regiments, behaved themſelves with great Bravery; and in the heat of the Action, could ſcarce be withheld from following the Enemy into the Water; but only by the Perſwaſions and Injunctions of General *Veterani*, they gave a ſtop to the Purſuit.

The Turks *put to Flight.*

Thus the Night put an end to the Victory, and the Slaughter of the *Turks*, who abandoned the City tho' fortified with a good Ditch, and ſome Paliſadoes, after the *Turkiſh* manner, tho' irregularly planted; the ſame Night Prince *Lewis* put into the Town, ſeveral Battalions to conſerve it from being burnt, as the *Turks* intended to have done. In the Morning Proviſions and Forage were found ſufficient to ſubſiſt the Army for three Weeks. In ſhort, all the Cannon being 30 pieces for Battery, became a Prey to the *Germans*, as alſo many Thouſands of very fine Tents, (amongſt which was that of the Seraſkier, which the Grand Seignior had lately ſent him) with divers Standards, particularly that of *Mamoot Ogli* Paſha of *Albania*. The Horſe-Tayls were alſo taken.

The Chriſtians *gain an entire Victory*

The Numbers ſlain on the Enemies ſide, with thoſe Drowned, were computed to be 10000, amongſt which were 3000 Spahee's, whoſe Horſes and Mules, with rich Furniture and good Lading were brought to the Camp, where for that Night it remained, and next Morning was diſtributed amongſt the Imperial Cavalry.

Numbers ſlain.

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This Victory was ſo much the more Glorious and Wonderful for having been atchieved by 15000 *Germans* tired and haraſſed by Marches, Countermarches, Skirmiſhes and Battles, as before related, againſt 80000 *Turks*; and what is ſtill more miraculous, there was not on the *Chriſtian* ſide above 300 killed and wounded, and none of any conſiderable Quality, beſides the Sergeant-Major of the Regiment of *Stirum*, and Count *Vellen*, the which great Succeſs is entirely to be attributed to the Almighty Hand of the God of Armies.

The Victory wonderful.

This ſecond Victory being in this manner obtained againſt the Seraſkier on the 24th of *September*, the whole Army continued in Arms all that Night; and in the Morning Quarters were regularly ſet out for the Soldiers within the City of *Niſſa*; and on the 26th all things being ſetled in good order, *Te Deum* was ſolemnly ſung in the Seraſkier's Tent, with three Salvoes of all the Cannon, and Vollies of Muskets returning Thanks to Almighty God, for this Wonderful Victory, which none but the Powerful Arm of the God of Hoſts was able to beſtow.

The Chriſtians *enter* Niſſa.

Afterward Prince *Lewis* having viſited the City, obſerved that it was fortified only with a ſingle Ditch and ſome Paliſadoes; howſoever it was judged very convenient for Winter Quarters, and therefore ordered that it ſhould be ſomething better fortified, by the Work of 2000 Foot, which were drawn out of ſeveral Regiments to labour on the Fortifications, which in a ſhort time was brought to that condition, as to render it capable of being the head Quarters for the whole Winter, where Proviſions were accordingly laid up in Store-houſes for Subſiſtence of the whole Army. And to diſcover the Countenance and Condition of the Enemy, Count *Piccolomini* gave Orders to Detach a Party of 1000 Horſe to enter farther into the Country, to view and obſerve the Quality and Situation of all places, as far as *Sophia*, and to poſſeſs all the Paſſes which the Enemy had abandoned.

It is fortified for Winter Quarters.

This Party being returned, brought News to the General, that tho' they had proceeded above half the way towards *Sophia*, they had not met, or ſeen, ſo much as one *Turk* on the Road, having found divers Places and Caſtles without People, and Deſerted; amongſt which, was *Muſtapha Paſha Palanca*, a Fortreſs, as

Muſtapha Paſha Palanca.

I

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I remember, raiſed by a Paſha of that Name, to cover a *Caravaſarei*, for Travellers to Lodge with their Horſes and Goods in ſecurity, from the frequent Attempts of Thieves and Robbers, which in that deſolate Country gained great Spoils and Booty; and that they might be better protected, a Garriſon was put into it of 60 Men; for maintenance of which, this Paſha had given a Revenue ſufficient for it's Subſiſtance: And in this place I ſlept one Night as I remember, without any Care or Fears.

A Party of the Germans near Sophia.

From this place a ſmall Party of *Germans* and *Hungarians* were ſent as far as *Dragoman*, about four hours Journey from *Sophia*; which gave ſuch an Alarm all the way, that the *Turks* every where forſook their Dwellings, and ſo affrighted the Inhabitants, that hundreds of them ran to the Mountains, but ſuddenly returned, ſo ſoon as it was known, that the Party was ſmall which gave the Alarm. Howſoever, the Conſternation was ſo great, that the Soldiers contrary to the Commands given to make their Rendezvous at *Sophia*, fearfully deſerted, and fled to their own Dwellings.

October.

The News of this Defeat was firſt brought from *Sophia* to *Conſtantinople*, on the firſt of *October*, by one called *Muſtapha* Aga, whom *Zulfigar* the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador at *Vienna* had freed from Captivity, and afterwards diſpatched him with ſome Letters to the *Ottoman* Port; but on his way, Prince *Lewis* had ſtopped him for ſome Months at *Semendria*, until the laſt Victory was obtained againſt the *Turks*; after which, he diſcharged, and ſuffered him to proceed, to carry his ſtale Packets from the Ambaſſadors, and freſher News from the *Turkiſh* Army, which was now entirely defeated, and diſperſed in the moſt ſhameful manner that ever was recounted in any Hiſtory.

The Turkiſh Court in great Confuſion.

The News hereof ſtruck all the *Ottoman* Court with confuſed Conſternation, none knowing what to ſay, or what to Counſel, much leſs to Act; but all wiſhed that the Meaſures and Reſolutions taken at *Sophia*, by the Grand Vizier, preſently after the Battle of *Patoſchin*, had been put in Execution, whereby the laſt defeat before *Niſſa* had been avoided, and an end put to the War with more Honour and Advantage than could now be expected.

A General Council of the Turks *called at* Sophia.

For the Grand Viſier had on the 17th of *September*, a thing not uſual, Convened a General Council at *Sophia*, of all the Grand Officers and Miniſters of the Empire; ſuch as the *Nakib Effendi*, who is the Chief of the Green-Heads, or thoſe of the Kindred of *Mahomet*, the Mufti, the two Kadileskers or Chief Juſtices of *Romelia* and *Anatolia*, the Generals of the Spahees and Janizaries, with many other principal Officers of the Army, and Civil Government. At which Council, the Propoſals for a Peace made by the Emperor and his Allies were publickly Read, and with much Attention hearkned unto by this Grand Aſſembly; which though judged in the Opinion of all there preſent, to be very ſevere and diſhonourable, and unknown before to their mighty Empire, which was uſed in former times to give rather than to receive Conditions of Peace; yet conſidering the preſent unhappy poſture of Affairs; it was unanimouſly concluded by them, to Embrace the Offers made, leaſt God who had puniſhed them for the Violation of their laſt Truce or Peace, ſhould puniſh them yet farther, if they ſhould refuſe to accept the Conditions now propoſed to reſcue them from Deſtruction.

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The Grand Seignior conſents to a Peace.

The Articles being drawn up in Paper, were preſented to the Grand Signior for his Approbation, who having Read them, gave Anſwer, *That he deſired to return to his Throne at* Conſtantinople *in Peace*: And having ſigned them, they were committed to *Muſtapha* Aga to carry them to *Vienna*; for which Journey he had received 3000 *Hungarian* Ducats from the Treaſurer. The Articles were as follow, incloſed in a Letter to *Zulfigar* Aga, one of the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors in the Caſtle of *Puttendorf*.

Offers of Peace by the Turks.

I.

THat he ſhould uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to Conclude a Peace, ſo much deſired by all the People; who notwithſtanding the many Arguments, Allurements, and fair Promiſes of the *French* to the contrary, would not truſt to that Nation, which had been falſe to them in all Ages, and now alſo endeavoured to entertain them with a thouſand falſe Hopes.

II. That he ſhould labour by all means poſſible to perſwade the Emperor to quit *Belgrade*, and to make that place the Limit of their Dominions; and the *Save* to Terminate the Frontier on both ſides. And if any ſcruple or difference ſhould ariſe thereupon, that then in lieu thereof he ſhould offer *Caniſa*, or if that ſhould be taken, then to propoſe *Giula*, *Temeſwaer*, or *Great Waradin*.

III. As to the *Polanders*; to Content them, a Propoſal ſhould be made to demoliſh *Kaminiec*; and if that would not ſatisfie them, that it ſhould be ſurrendred.

Laſtly, As to the *Venetians*, They ſhould Enjoy and Keep all that they had taken; and that no mention ſhould be made of *Negropont*.

The News of a defeat given the Turks *hinders the Peace.*

Now whilſt *Muſtapha* Aga was ready to depart with theſe Articles, the unhappy News was brought to the Grand Viſier, That the *Turks* had received a total defeat before *Niſſa*, with the ſlaughter of many thouſands of *Turks*, and with the loſs of all their Cannon and Ammunition, together with the City of *Niſſa* it ſelf: And that the Vizier *Kaja*, or Deputy, with the Treaſurer of the Army, had made his Eſcape out of the Battle to *Sophia* with great difficulty; and that the remainder of the ſcattered Army went wandring through the Woods and Mountains; it not being known as yet, who was killed, or taken, or alive.

So ſoon as this Report was made known to the Grand Vizier, he immediately poſted the ſame by the Meſſenger who brought it, to the Grand Seignior, then at *Adrianople*; and all the way he Rode, he gave Orders in all Places to raiſe the *Neſtran*, or the Trained-Bands of the Countries, by which all things were in ſuch Conſternation, as if the *Germans* had been at the very Gates of *Sophia*.

This Change of Affairs gave a ſtop to the Expedition of *Muſtapha* Aga, until new Reſolutions ſhould be taken by another Divan, or ſome other Aſſembly of Council; the which being again met, they confirmed the former Reſolution, and diſpatched away *Muſtapha* Aga, with the former Propoſitions of Peace; And an Expreſs was diſpatched before him from *Sophia*, to obtain from Prince *Lewis*, a Paſſport and Safe-Conduct unto *Vienna*: The Prince readily granted, and ordered him a Party of 25 Horſe to Convoy him ſafely ſo far as *Pyroth*. And here Prince *Lewis* gave a period to the Proceedings of this year's Campagne: For conſidering, that the Seaſon was entirely ſpent, the diſtance far from the *Danube*, the Difficulties of ſo long a Communication, and the uncertainty of ſubſiſting the Army in the Enemies Country already waſted, and ruinous, he thereupon judged it moſt ſecure to return back to the *Danube*; and accordingly marched away on the 4th of *October*, having committed the Government of *Niſſa*, and of the Conquered Countries, to the Care and Conduct of Count *Piccolomini*, with ſome Regiments of Horſe and Foot, and ſome *Raſcians* under *Paul Dioch*, placing a good guard on the Mountain *Hemus*. But becauſe the Prince was very deſirous to defeat Count *Tekeli*, the great Partiſan of *France*, who was encamped near to *Widin*, he judged it of great importance to fall into his Quarters on his way to the *Danube*; and accordingly on the 6th of *October*, he encamped near the Caſtle *Saverlick*; and the next day he Quartered at the foot of the Mountain of *Temach*, which he paſſed on the 8th, through ſo narrow a ſtreight, that a ſingle Cart could ſcarce paſs; and moreover, the ways were ſo very rocky and incommodious, that the Baggage was greatly retarded; wherefore the Prince commanded ſome *German* and *Hungarian* Troops to advance towards *Widin*, and on the way by ſuch Priſoners as they ſhould take, to inform themſelves of the State of *Widin*, and of the Enemies Camp. Theſe Troops had not been on their way above two hours, before they returned with two *Turkiſh* Priſoners, who informed them, That *Orſoua* and *Fetiſlau* had been burnt on the firſt of this Month, and abandoned by the Enemy; And becauſe they feared, that ſome ſudden Attack would be made upon them by the *Germans*, they had carried away from *Widin* all the Proviſions of that place, and were gone farther by Water into the more diſtant Places of their Country; And that about 2000 *Turks*, and others of *Tekeli*'s Troops were encamped near the River to cover the Boats on which their Baggage was to be laden; and that their Camp conſiſted of about 200 Tents: So Prince *Lewis* lodged that Night in the Country and Plains of *Bergfelt*.

The Ambaſſador proceeds to Vienna.

The Campagne ended.

Deſigns to ſurprize Tekeli.

Orſoua *and* Fetiſlau *burnt.*

Upon theſe Advices, next Morning by break of Day, being the 13th of *October*, the Army then with the Prince, conſiſting but of ſome few Regiments, proceeded on their march towards *Widin*, deſigning to arrive at the place early next day; and becauſe the *Hungarians* returned with the News, that the Enemy quartered near the City with all ſecurity, not ſuſpecting the approach of the *Germans*, having refreſhed their Horſe for ſome few Hours near *Drenoua*, they marched all that Night, and came about 11 a Clock in the Morning within ſight of *Widin*, where they firſt diſcovered the Camp of the Enemy; and having taken a view of the ſituation of the place, and the ſeveral Avenues thereunto, they found that they muſt neceſſarily paſs Three Bridges, or take a round through

Pr. Lewis *marches to* Widin.

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The Horſe paſs the Bridges and enter the Enemies Camp.

through ſome marſhy Grounds, which perhaps were unpaſſable, at leaſt very hazardous, without a faithful Guide or Pilot. Wherefore taking the opportunity, when the Janizaries and People were in the Moſch at Prayers, they cauſed the Horſe to paſs the Bridges, which having done without any Oppoſition, they trotted directly to the Enemies Tents, and entered into them about Three a Clock in the Afternoon: This unexpected Enterprize ſo alarm'd the *Turks*, that part of them, with affrighted Precipitation, betook themſelves to the Boats, and others mounting on Horſeback, drew out with the Janizaries, to the number of 12000, ranging themſelves in poſture of Battle.

The Turks *make a ſtand before* Widin.

Prince *Lewis* (advancing with ſome of his light Cannon in the Front) committed the Conduct of the Right Wing to Count *Veterani* and *Trautmanſdorf*; and the Left he commanded in Perſon, with which ſome Countermarches were made to ſpend time until the Infantry could come up, gaining ſtill ſome ground upon the Enemy. Howſoever, the *Turks* made a ſtand, and fought with ſuch Reſolution, that the Victory ſeemed dubious for a while; but the Dragoons of *Veterani* diſmounting, which were uſed to do Miracles, threw themſelves with their Swords drawn into the Ditch of the Town, killing and ſlaying all that came in their way; which, when the *Turkiſh* Infantry obſerved, part of them came to their aſſiſtance; but the Right Wing, Commanded by the Prince, ſoon relieved them, and came thundring on them with ſuch furious Reſolution, that they put all to the Sword, excepting thoſe who were retired into the Caſtle, or made their eſcape by Water: The greateſt part of the *Turkiſh* Cavalry (unleſs thoſe belonging to the Baggage) fled by the way of the Moor or Marſhy Ground (with which they were acquainted) towards *Sophia* and *Nicopolis*, leaving the Mountains on the Right Hand, and the three Bridges on the Left; and all their Camp, with their Tents and Baggage both within and without the City, for a Prey and Booty to the Victorious Chriſtians: Many Colours, four Horſe-Tails, ſome thouſands of Horſes, and other Beaſts, were taken, with great quantities of Forage: Above a thouſand *Turks* were killed on the place, with many Priſoners: In ſhort, the plunder of the City was given for a Prey to the wearied Soldiers, who had well deſerved it for a Reward of their Valour, and indefatigable Labours, and for an Encouragement to future Services.

The Turkiſh Cavalry put to flight and the Army defeated, and Widin *taken.*

The *Germans* gained greater Honour by this Action than by any other of this Summer's Expedition; for their Forces were few, and the Enemies fought with more Reſolution and Bravery than they had done in any former Engagement; for in none were more killed, and wounded than in this. Count *Veterani* received a Wound with a Muſket-ſhot, and Count *Trautmanſdorf* with a Scimetar, and both in the Head; and Baron *Orlich*, a Lieutenant Colonel, was killed on the place.

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But as yet the Caſtle of *Widin* held out, for which reaſon the Soldiers kept a watch about it all Night, that the Defendants might not have an opportunity to make their Eſcape.

The Turks *refuſe to deliver the Caſtle of* VVidin.

The next Morning the Caſtle was ſummoned, but no Anſwer being given, the Prince ſent a *Turk* to the Commander, to let him know, That unleſs he did Surrender up the Caſtle and Garriſon that very Day, he was not to expect any Quarter, or Conditions of Mercy. It was not long before the *Turk* returned from the Caſtle, with a fierce Anſwer from the Governour, That he and his Companions were reſolved to defend the Caſtle to the laſt drop of their Blood. Prince *Lewis* was not a little diſpleaſed at this Anſwer, becauſe for want of Proviſions he was in ſome haſte to remove his Camp; but not to leave ſuch a neceſſary Work as this imperfect, he immediately diſpatched away to *Semendria*, for Cannon, Mortars, and Ammunition; And having raiſed on the 16th of *October*, a Battery, he plied the Caſtle ſo hard, that the *Turks* ſpread a white Flag and came to Capitulations, which were ſoon agreed, upon Terms; That the Garriſon and People therein might march forth with all their Goods: for Carriage of which, 30 Boats were to be aſſigned them; but in regard Boats were not to be procured, 200 Carts were provided in the place thereof; So that on the 19th of *October*, 2559 Soldiers, all Armed, with about as many Inhabitants, marched out of the place, which were Convoyed by 200 Dragoons towards *Nicopolis*; and the Hoſtages being committed to ſafe Cuſtody, five Companies of the Regiment of *Dunghen*, were placed therein for a Garriſon.

The Caſtle of VVidin *ſurrenders.*

The Soldiers and People march out.

Upon the Report only of the march of the Imperialiſts towards *Widin*, *Tekeli* abandoned the City, tho' he had a ſtately Houſe therein, and very well furniſhed; yet ſo debaſed was he in his Courage, that he fled before the Battle towards *Nicopolis*; from whence he came with a ſad Countenance, and Tears in his Eyes, to meet the Garriſon and People expelled from the Town and Caſtle: Howſoever, he ſhowed a courteous Aſpect to the

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German Soldiers, who were appointed for Convoy to the People of *Widin*, and in a Friendly manner treated them with Wine, and a plentiful Entertainment.

Widin *a place of much advantage to the* Chriſtians.

As *Widin* was a great loſs to the *Turks*, ſo it was of high advantage to the ſucceſsful Arms of the Emperor; for by taking this place, all the Conqueſts made by the two laſt Victories, namely the Territory of *Niſſa*, and other Places poſſeſſed on the Way to *Sophia*, were all covered, and the Way ſecured for importing Forage and Proviſions, and all Neceſſaries for ſupport of the advanced Troops under *Piccolomini*, poſted for guard and defence of the Conquered Countries, and free Communication and Correſpondence with the Neighbouring Principalities: And on the contrary the *Turks* of *Temeſwaer*, and other Garriſons maintained in the *Upper Hungary*, were all greatly ſtreightned and annoyed thereby, without any hopes of being ſuccoured, or relieved; and thereby *Tekeli* alſo was diſlodged from thoſe Parts, in which he had perſwaded the People by his fair Words and Promiſes, to remain conſtant and faithful, and ſtand by the Grand Seignior with their Lives and Fortunes.

Winter Quarters provided for the Soldiers.

It being now towards the end of *October*, it was judged high time to give refreſhment and eaſe to the wearied Soldiery, by putting them into warm and commodious Quarters during the Winter Seaſon. The Province of *Walachia* was a Country near to them, abounding with all ſorts of Proviſions, and there it was intended to Quarter a great part of the Army.

Upon which Reſolution Prince *Lewis* diſpatched to the Prince of *Walachia* theſe following Propoſitions, requiring an immediate Compliance therewith, otherwiſe that he would do himſelf Reaſon with his Sword, giving him only ſix Days time to return an Anſwer.

The Propoſitions made to the Prince of *Walachia* and the States of that Province, dated the 28th of *October*, were as followeth.

Propoſitions made by the Prince of Walachia.

‘WHEREAS it hath pleaſed Almighty God to give many ſignal Victories unto His Imperial Majeſty, whereby ſeveral Cities, Countries, and Provinces have been recovered out of the Barbarous Poſſeſſion of the *Turks*, and thereby alſo *Walachia* ſecured from Servitude and Slavery; in conſideration whereof, it was demanded from the Prince and States, that Winter Quarters be given for the ſpace of ſeven Months for 15000 Men Horſe and Foot, according to the Rules and Proportions which have been ſetled by the Imperial Decrees in former times, both in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*: That is to ſay, from the firſt of *November* 1689, to the laſt of *May* 1690, in the manner following.

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For Winter Quarters.

‘I. That two Pounds of Bread ſhall be provided for every Man *per* Day, with a Pound of Fleſh, and a Meaſure of Wine, beſides his Bed, Salt, Candle, Wood, and all other Neceſſaries for ſupport of Humane Life. That four Buſhels of Oats a Month, eight Pounds of Hay a Day, with two Bundles of Straw a Week, ſhall be allowed for every Horſe.

‘II. That the Prince and States ſhall pay unto the Soldiers 800000 Florins within a certain time.

‘III. That the Prince and States ſhall find 1500 good Horſe, to mount thoſe Cavaliers who have loſt their Horſes, and alſo ſhall find them Armour within a certain time, according as hath been practiſed in Hereditary Kingdoms and Provinces; the Arms for Cuiraſiers ſhall not be valued at more than 30 Dollars for every Horſeman, and 25 for every Dragoon, the which ſhall be defalked out of the Sum of the ready Money which is to be paid.

‘IV. That the Deputies ſent by the Prince and States, ſhall return to them again; and in the ſpace of ſix Days, ſhall come back to the Imperial Camp, with the poſitive Reſolution of what ſhall be performed in this Matter, and ſhall bring with them Commiſſaries, who ſhall allot to the Soldiers their reſpective Quarters.

‘V. That the Prince and States ſhall appoint and ordain Hoſtages; namely, two Barons of the chief Nobility in the Province, who ſhall remain with the Imperial General as Guarantees for performance of the Treaty, and that the Prince may have liberty to change and relieve them every Month (if he pleaſes) with two others.

‘VI. That in caſe the Prince and States ſhall punctually comply with theſe Propoſitions, they are hereby aſſured in the Name of His Imperial Majeſty, That neither the Emperor's General, nor any other Officer, or Soldier ſhall bind, or oblige them to any other Conditions, nor ſhall they in the leaſt manner be farther oppreſſed, or damnified, but to the con-

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‘ trary they ſhall be ſuccoured, defended, ‘ and protected in the free Exerciſe of their ‘ Laws, and maintained in their Rights, ‘ Privileges, and Poſſeſſions.

Given in the Imperial Camp under Fetiſlau, *the 28th of* October, 1689.
Signed,

Lewis *of* Baden.

About this time the Expreſs which Prince *Lewis* had diſpatched lately to *Piccolomini*, returned back with this following Letter.

Count *Piccolomini* to *Prince* Lewis.

IF Your Moſt Serene Highneſs ſhall be pleaſed to return me back all Your Army, I can here give them Quarters and good Subſiſtence. The Albanians *of* Clementa *have ſent their Deputies to me, with Propoſals to ſubmit unto the Emperor, with whom I am now in Treaty. The* Albanians *under the* Turks *have done the like, and have offered to ſurrender unto me all their Caſtles. I have ſummoned all the* Greek *Communities to come unto me; and I have ſent the Draughts of the Imperial Eſcutcheon, or Arms, which I brought painted from* Vienna *to be affixed and ſet up in every Town and City: And I hope ſpeedily to bring all the Countries from* Scutari *to* Novibaſſar *under ſubjection. Upon theſe Succeſſes, I hear that* Mamut Paſha *is fled, and I have ſent to ſeek for his Horſe-Tail which the Vizier gave him. The City of* Priſſeren *being abandoned by its Inhabitants, I intend to make uſe thereof. Ten Thouſand* Raſcians *with Arms in their Hands are come in to me without any Head or Commander, with intention to rob, and live on Violence and Rapin. I know not what to do with theſe Wild Beaſts, for upon pretence of coming in to us, I know not how to reſtrain them, tho' they ruine and ſpoil all the Country, and put me into ſome Fears and Apprehenſions for them, whilſt their Outrages affright others from coming in. To diſmiſs them out of our Army, I fear ſomething worſe, and to keep them, is to ſuffer them to deſtroy all. I am going to the Paſs of* Cavinigh, *intending to ſecure my ſelf on every ſide. How I may ſucceed at* Uſcopia *I do not as yet know. Our People lately diſcovered great Numbers of* Turks *aſſembled together in the Caſtle of* Novibord, *which is upon the Mountains, who upon our Summons ſurrendered at diſcretion. I have many Irons in the fire, but too weak a force for execution of any great deſign, howſoever I will do what I can, as becomes*

Your Highneſs, &c.

Count Piccolomini.

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Upon theſe encouraging Advices, Prince *Lewis* reſolved to detach Prince *Charles* of *Hanover*, with three Regiments, *viz.* of *Sarau Hanover*, and the Infantry of *Croy*, to reinforce *Piccolomini* at *Procopia*, where was a Magazine repleniſhed with Hay, Oats, Flour, and every thing for the Subſiſtence of an Army. With theſe Recruits *Piccolomini* on the 14th of this Month marched from *Procopia* towards *Uſcopia*; and the Day following came to a narrow Paſſage which the *Turks* call a Dervent; where meeting with a Deſerter from *Sophia*, they were adviſed by him that the *Turks* had a deſign upon *Niſſa*, for which reaſon retarding their March, until the 17th, they learned within that time that thoſe Informations were only the Lyes of *Greeks*, who are naturally falſe, and haters of the Weſtern *Chriſtians*; whereupon they took their March for two Days through the Mountains, on which are the two Counties of *Clementa* and *Roſſaiava*, which had never paid Taxes, or Contributions to the *Turks*, but rather the *Turks* unto them. In theſe Countries they made no ſtay, but haſted with all expedition poſſible towards *Priſtina* and *Clina*, where they had underſtood from the advanced Guards, that 6000 *Arnouts*, with 1300 Carts, and many Thouſand Head of Cattle remained in expectation to joyn with the *Germans*, and to oppoſe the *Turks* with all the People of the Country, and to yield themſelves Subjects and Vaſſals to His Imperial Majeſty. Being arrived at *Priſtina*, they concluded a Treaty with thoſe People; and on the 23th they proceeded to a certain little City with a Caſtle called *Kazianech*. Upon the News of this Approach, the *Turks* fled the Night before; but a Party of Horſe purſuing after them, they happily encountered within the Mountains near a Bridge, with 300 *Turks*, which were coming from *Scopia*, to reinforce the Caſtle of *Kazianech*, which was already taken; and tho' it was Night, yet they attacked them, and killed 19, taking ſome Horſes, 4 Colours, and 11 Slaves: And here it was neceſſary to make a Halt for a ſhort time to ſecure a Paſs which was in the middle way, which was ſo rugged and narrow, that the Cannon not being able to paſs, they were remanded back to *Kazianech*, with all the Carts of heavy Baggage.

Picolomini *reinforced.*

Count Picolomini *marches towards* Priſtina *and* Clina.

They conclude a Treaty with the People. And Kazianech.

Defeat a Party of 300 *Turks.*

In two Days time more they marched through this narrow Paſs, and entered into a large Plain, diſtant about three Hours from *Scopia*, where they received different intelligences of the State of Affairs in that City, ſome reported that the *Turks* were reſolved to defend the Place unto the utmoſt Extremity; others, that thoſe People who

the

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Mamut *Paſha encamped in a Valley with* 10000 *Men, flies upon a Report that the* Chriſtians *were marching againſt them.*

Are purſued by the Huſſars.

the Night before had eſcaped from the Attack, had given a terrible Alarm to the Town, inſomuch that the *Turks* and *Greeks* had abandoned the place, and had joyned themſelves to *Mamut* Paſha, who with 10000 Men was encamped in a Valley. Nothing could come more joyful to the *Chriſtian* Army, than to hear that the *Turks* had quitted their Walls, and places of Defence, to draw into an open Plain; with which they were ſo animated, that they gave a Salvo with the 10 pieces of Cannon which they had with them, and with ſuch Shouts of the Soldiers, as if the Victory had been already in their Hands: At the ſound whereof, the *Turks* were put into ſuch a Conſternation, that they quitted their Camp and fled for refuge and ſhelter into the Neighbouring Woods; but being purſued and hunted by the *Huſſars*, and ſome few *Germans*, many *Turks* were killed, and 2000 Carts belonging to the Country People, were ſet at liberty, which the *Turks* had preſſed for their Service, to carry away whole Families of Men, and Women, and Children into Slavery: Moreover ſome *Chriſtian* Slaves were recovered, together with a conſiderable Booty, beſides above 100 *Turks*, and as many *Jews* were made Priſoners.

The Antient Seat of Ladiſlaus Cziacchy *plundered and burnt.*

In this manner the Way being made open, *Piccolomini* marched into the adjacent Countries of *Scopia*, in which he found the ancient Seat of Count *Ladiſlaus Cziacchy*, which was of a much more capacious and large extent than it was ſuppoſed to be; howſoever without a Wall, Ditch, Cannon, People, or Money; howſoever there was in it a large Magazine, filled with all ſorts of Grain, Flour, and other ſorts of Proviſions and Merchandize; but according to the Report of the Inhabitants, much infected with the Peſtilence: There was alſo an old ruinous Caſtle, conſerved only for its Antiquity. *Piccolomini* not giving much credence to theſe Reports, went in perſon to viſit the place; where having conſidered the Situation of it, and the difficulty to maintain it, he gave it over to the plunder of the Soldiery, and afterwards putting Fire to it in ſeveral places, the Houſes were all in a ſhort time reduced to Aſhes together with ſeveral ſtately Moſchs and Fountains.

Piccolomini *retires back to* Kazianech.

Upon theſe Succeſſes *Piccolomini* retired back towards *Kazianech*, which he had left defended with a ſtrong Garriſon, the People flocking thereunto in great Numbers to be protected, and received for Subjects of His Imperial Majeſty.

1689.
October.

Piccolomini *ſick, yet marches towards* Priſſeren.

Novemb.

At this place having divided his Army, he detached a Party under Command of the Prince of *Holſtein*, with a Regiment of Cuiraſiers belonging to the *Hanover* Troops, to march towards the Mount *Hemus*; and with the remainder of the Forces, he went himſelf to *Lippian*, and thence he detached Colonel *Straſſer* with his Regiment of Foot, and ſix pieces of Cannon towards *Boſnia*, to drive the *Turks* out of the Caſtles of *Zwetzey* and *Panza*. And tho' the Sickneſs of *Piccolomini* increaſed upon him, which ſome People termed the Plague; yet his active Soul ſtrugling with the Diſtemper, he took a March with his own Regiment, and that of *Stirum*, with two pieces of Cannon, towards *Albania*, to diſcover and inform himſelf what his Lieutenant Colonel the Baron of *Hebersburg* had acted in *Priſſeren* with his *Albanians*: Whilſt he was in this March his Fever increaſed, ſo that he was conſtrained to reſt a while with his Army at *Capuſchmit*, where he received advice, that Lieutenant Colonel *Maursberg* of the Regiment of *Stirum*, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Caſtle of *Panza*; but that the other of *Zwetzey*, being ſituate on a Rock, refuſed to Surrender, unleſs compelled thereunto by Fire and Cannon.

And to Panni.

The Commander of Pyroth *defeats* 1500 Turks.

The Imperialiſts defeated near Dragoman.

Tho' the Diſeaſe of *Piccolomini* increaſed, yet he could not be perſwaded to take a longer reſt and repoſe, which is neceſſary in Fevers; but being full of Zeal, and deſire of Triumph, he marched with his Regiments towards *Panni*; on the way to which, Advices came to him, That the Commander of *Pyroth*, with a Party of *Germans*, and 800 *Huſſars*, had taken the Field in the Enemies Country, where at the firſt they had the good fortune to defeat a Party of 1500 *Turks*, which they found encamped near *Dragoman*, a place diſtant about ſix or ſeven Hours from *Sophia*, where they had poſted themſelves, to obſerve the Motions of the Imperial Forces; but that ſoon afterwards the *Turks* being Alarm'd in all their Quarters near *Sophia*, they appeared in ſeveral Bodies on both ſides of the Mountain, with Reſerves both of *Turks* and *Tartars*; and having with their Numbers ſurrounded the *Germans*, after a great Slaughter on both ſides, the *Chriſtians* were forced to give back, and betake themſelves to Flight.

To repair the damage, and prevent the ill Conſequences of this Surprize, *Piccolomini* without any delay diſpatched poſitive Orders to Colonel *Straſſer*, to deſiſt from his Enterpriſes in *Boſnia*, and return to *Niſſa*, leaſt the Enemy encouraged by this Succeſs, ſhould adventure to make an Attempt upon that place.

Piccolomini *comes to* Priſſeren.

In the mean time *Piccolomini* continuing his March, on the 6th of this Month came early in the Morning under the Walls of *Priſſeren*, where he was met by the Archbiſhop of *Albania*, and the Patriarch of *Cle*-

1689. Novemb.

menta, carrying a Standard in which a Croſs was painted, and followed by 8000 *Arnouts*, *Geeeks* of *Albania*, *Turks*, and *Chriſtians*, with other Natives of thoſe Countries; who having given their Salvoes with three Vollies of Muskets, they joyned with the *Germans*, declaring their Reſolutions to live and die with them in the common Cauſe.

The Arnouts liſt themſelves.

And formed into regular Troops.

Count *Piccolomini*, tho' in a languiſhing Condition, was yet much relieved by ſuch a ſurpriſing appearance of People, who came with humble ſubmiſſion to devote themſelves to the Imperial Soveraignty, but being acquainted with the unſetled and voluble Temper of that People, he knew not what to think of this ſuddain Revolution, until he had firſt ſatisfied himſelf by the Archbiſhop, and ſome of the Officers, (who were the firſt of thoſe that were come in) that this People would prove obedient, and conſtant to the Emperor's Intereſt; with which Report *Piccolomini* remaining ſatisfied, he cauſed all the Soldiers to be liſted under his Banner; with this Temperament howſoever, that all thoſe who were deſirous to retire, and live like orderly Citizens within the Walls of Towns, or in the Fields to cultivate the Ground, ſhould have a free liberty ſo to do, and be protected by the Imperial Arms: But as to thoſe who were willing to follow the Camp, and be formed into regular Troops, ſhould be obliged to take the Military Oath, binding themſelves to all Obedience and Reſpect towards their Commanders, and to live according to the rigour and exact Rules of Military Diſcipline.

Piccolomini's Death.

So ſoon as *Piccolomini* had made this Declaration, and given this Charge to the new Soldiery, his Diſeaſe increaſed upon him, of which being ſenſible, he ſent to the Archbiſhop to perform all thoſe Offices, which were to be done in the time of the laſt Agony; which being adminiſtred with great Devotion, this brave General expired his laſt, to the unexpreſſible Lamentation of the whole Army, and Sorrow of the Imperial Court.

Decemb.

Prince of Holſtein Commands the Army.

The Command and Government of all the Conquered Countries, having been promiſed to General *Veterani*, upon News of the Death of *Piccolomini*, he prepared to take poſſeſſion thereof; but in the mean time that the Army might not be deſtitute of a General, the Conduct thereof was committed to the care of the Prince of *Holſtein*, to maintain and ſupport the Conqueſts of thoſe parts, until *Veterani* ſhould come and take poſſeſſion thereof.

1689. Decemb.

Muſtapha Aga comes to renew the Treaty of Peace.

Thus ended the Campaign of 1689, glorious in the whole progreſs thereof to the Imperial Arms, the Victories whereof over the *Turks* being ſcarce to be numbered, filled *Vienna*, and the Hereditary Countries with Joy and Triumph. And here it had been happy for the Empire, and all *Europe*, had the *Germans* fixed the Concluſion of the War at this period, before the Air of Fortune, which had blown for ſome Years with a proſperous Gale in favour of the *Germans*, had changed her Kindneſs, which we ſhall find in the following Year inconſtant and favouring the Enterprize of the *Turks*. It is a moſt unaccountable Infatuation, That the Imperial Court, obſerving before their Eyes the vaſt Preparations of *France* to attack the Empire, ſhould not have endeavoured to quench the Fire of War on one ſide, an Opportunity for which ſo fairly offered it ſelf, by the Arrival of *Muſtapha* Aga, ſent with Letters from the *Ottoman* Port to the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors detained in the Caſtle of *Puttendorf*, to renew the Treaty, which had for ſome time been laid aſide.

The Imperial Court was at this time at *Auſpurg* buſied in the Election and Coronation of the King of the *Romans*; and therefore the Emperor appointed Count *Quintinio Jergher*, Knight of the Golden-Fleece, and Counſellor of State, and Lord Lieutenant of the Hereditary Countries of *Auſtria*; together with Baron *Dorſch* Secretary and Counſellor of War, to enter into Conference with the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors; to whom alſo was joyned the Cavalier *Girolamo Venier*, who was Ambaſſador to the Emperor from *Venice*, and there attending the Intereſt of that Republick, in regard to this Treaty. But before the *Turks* would enter into the Particulars, they diſpatched a certain Bey to the Congreſs, with ſome Conſiderations and Reflections which might repreſent the State and Temper of the *Ottoman* Empire, not to remain in ſo vile and debaſed an Eſtate, as to beg a Peace; but that they were ſtill able with their Swords in their Hands to Treat, and in caſe of failure of an Agreement, to maintain a War. The Conſiderations offered were theſe.

Conſiderations Offered by the Turks.

I.

THAT they ſhould conceive a right Notion of the great Power of the *Ottoman* Port.

II. That the *Chriſtians* favoured rather by Fortune, than by the ſtrength of their own Power, had gained all thoſe Victories of which they now Triumph.

III. That all the Inſurrections in *Aſia*, and Civil Commotions amongſt themſelves were now appeaſed.

IV. That the Sultan had diminiſhed much of his Expences, and reduced the Number of uſeleſs Officers in his Seraglio, whereby vaſt Sums were ſpared for Maintenance of the War.

V. That the Taxes on the People, were raiſed from five Dollars on every Houſe, unto a hundred.

VI. That it might now be hoped, that the Anger of God being appeaſed for the Sins of the Believers, the *Chriſtians* turn would ſhortly come, when they alſo ſhould be puniſhed for their Offences.

VII. That the *Ottoman* Empire was ſtill powerful, both in Men and Money.

VIII. That the Sultan would in lieu of *Belgrade*, which upon the Peace muſt be ſurrendered, that the *Save* might be made the Confines of both Empires, yield up to the Emperor ſome other Fortreſſes, as an Equivalent for that important City.

Theſe preliminary Suggeſtions were generally turned into Ridiculous Interpretations, and Commentaries thereupon; ſo that in Anſwer thereunto theſe following Reflections were drawn up, which evidenced the Scorn and Diſdain, the Imperialiſts at that time conceived of the *Turkiſh* Power.

Anſwers to the Conſiderations Offered.

TO the Firſt it was reply'd, That the *Ottoman* Power conſiſted more in Numbers than in Force; an Evidence whereof appears to the World, in that the *Turks*, who for the ſpace of 300 Years had waged a War in *Hungary*, do now ſcarce poſſeſs a Foot, or Palm of that Kingdom, unleſs in ſome few Cities, which are yet ſo ſtreightned by Blockades, that they are ready to periſh with Famine, and offer themſelves up to the Mercy of the Emperor. Witneſs alſo the Succeſs before *Vienna*, when Beſieged by 300000 *Turks*, were not yet able to render themſelves Maſters of the ſame, but were forced to fly, and ignominiouſly to turn their Backs to a quarter part of their Number, and forced to return without other Glory, than that only of burning ſome Villages, which might have been done by a Rabble of People, or 100 Incendiaries.

To the Second it was ſaid, That with the Divine Aſſiſtance, the *Chriſtian* Troops, tho' much inferiour in Number to thoſe of the *Turks*, had won divers Battles during this War, and made themſelves Maſters of many Towns, and Caſtles; and particularly of *Buda* and *Belgrade*, the Capital Cities of great Provinces, which were not ſubdued by long Sieges, but by Storms, and dint of Sword.

To the Third it was ſaid, That the Troubles in *Aſia* ſtill continued, and their Civil and Domeſtick Seditions, not as yet appeaſed, and were yet likely to increaſe higher, by reaſon of their Tyrannical Government, which the oppreſſed People would not longer endure.

To the Fourth it was ſaid, That the Diſcharge of the Women, and Officers, to the Number of 4000 out of the Seraglio, was an evident Token of their want of Money to ſuſtain the War.

To the Fifth it was ſaid, That the heavy Burden of Taxes, from five to a 100, was the ready means to move the People to a Rebellion, of which there are frequent Examples in all Hiſtories.

To the Sixth, that howſoever the *Turks* might flatter themſelves with the pacification of God's Anger againſt them, they would yet find the contrary, and prove the juſt Revenge of the Juſt God, whom they had provoked by the Breach of their Faith, and Oppreſſions of thoſe People whom they had ſubdued.

To the Seventh, That there was great difference between Soldiers and Incendiaries, in the latter of which the *Turks* ought rather to be reckoned, than amongſt the former.

To the Eighth, which concerns the Surrender of *Belgrade*, it was replyed, That the Emperor would ſooner ſurrender *Newſtadt* in *Auſtria*, or the Gardens about *Vienna*, than that City, with which this Conference was concluded.

Amongſt all the foregoing Particulars, we find nothing ſolid or material, or under any Diſpute, unleſs that point of exchanging *Belgrade* for ſome other place or places, not as yet Conquered in *Hungary*; that ſo the River *Save* might be the limit and confine between the two Empires: Nor was it probable, that the *Turks* would have broken off the Treaty on this Point only, had they

1689. Decemb.

The French and Court of Rome, *obſtruct the Peace.*

they not hearkened to the Promiſes of the *French*, who now being ſenſible how uſeful, and neceſſary the Alliance of the *Turks* would be to them, were reſolved not to loſe the Benefit of ſo helpful an Aſſociate; and therefore uſed all their perſwaſive Arguments to continue the War, which were inculcated with mighty Preſents to the principal Officers of State, and Aſſurances that with the next Spring they would not only enter the Empire with ſuch vaſt Armies, as ſhould oblige the Emperor to withdraw his Forces out of *Hungary*; but alſo aſſiſt them both with Money, and with able Engineers and Officers to carry forward the War.

And indeed tho' in the following Year of 1690, we ſhall not find any great matter warmly acted by the *French* on *Germany*, purſuant to the Promiſes they had made unto the *Turk*; yet we ſhall find them in a Year or two afterwards entering *Germany* with Fire and Sword; and in the Year 1693, beſides the Conqueſts gained in *Brabant* and *Flanders*; we ſhall hear of the burning of *Heidelberg*, and all the *Upper Germany* in danger of an entire Deſolation: All which might eaſily have been prevented, had the Emperor hearkened at this time to the Offers of the *Turks*, who came prepared to accept of any Conditions, that in reaſon could have been impoſed upon them. But this Opportunity being let ſlip, Fortune changed its Courſe, and the Exploits of War were acted with various Succeſſes; and tho' afterwards the Emperor ſought for Peace by Interpoſition of Mediators, the *Turks* were ſo far engaged with the *French*, and ſo encouraged by their Succeſſes, that they would now hearken to nothing under the Surrender of *Buda*, and all the Conqueſts in *Hungary*.

1689. Decemb.

The Reaſons for which the Peace was obſtructed.

The Loſs of this Opportunity for gaining a Peace, may be attributed to the Infatuation of the Minds of the *Germans*, blinded for puniſhment of the Sins of *Chriſtendom*. No doubt but the *French* Faction in the Imperial Court, availed much in the defeat of this Deſign, as did alſo the power of the Papal Court, in which at that time *Alexander* VIII. reigned; who hearing of the Overtures of Peace treating at *Ausburg* and *Vienna*, diſpatched away from *Rome*, Cardinal *Colonitz*, with Inſtructions about the Affairs of *Hungary*, who after having aſſiſted in divers Conſultations, and Conferences thereupon, the whole Treaty broke off, and the Ambaſſadors diſmiſſed from all farther Negotiations, of which we ſhall very ſpeedily bewail the fatal Effects.

THE

Venetian Succeſſes

In Their WAR againſt the

TURKS,

In the Year 1689.

1689. January.

IN the preceeding Year we made a Relation of the *Venetian* War againſt the *Turks*, maintained in the Iſland of *Negropont*, and againſt the chief City thereof known by that Name. The Enterprize was of great Importance, and the Preparations for the ſame agreeable to ſo mighty a Deſign, which had it ſucceeded, would not only have ſettled and eſtabliſhed the *Venetians* in their Conqueſts of the *Morea*, but rendered them Maſters of all the Coaſt of *Romania*; but the *Venetians* inſtead thereof, being compelled by Sickneſs, and unfortunate Attacks upon the place, in which they loſt many of their brave Officers, to quit the Iſland with ſome Confuſion, and as it were ſtealing off in the Night, for fear the Enemy ſhould fall on their Rear, Cannon and Baggage; but the *Turks* being deſirous to be rid of ſuch Gueſts, were willing to have made a Bridge for them, rather than to have adminiſtred the leaſt Retardment, or Hindrance to their Departure.

The Venetian *Fleet Winters at* Napoli de Romania.

All the Auxiliary Gallies, as thoſe of the *Pope*, *Malta*, and *Florence*, being retired (as we have ſaid) to their reſpective Countries; the main Body of the *Venetian* Armata entered into the Port of *Napoli di Romania*, with deſign to Winter there, ſo as better to Command the *Archipelago*, and to be near *Negropont*, ſo as to be ready to obſtruct the *Turks* in caſe they ſhould Attempt to repair thoſe Works, it being intended to make another Attack on that place early in the Spring; and to that end Orders were ſent to *Venice* to diſpatch away the Recruits for the Land Forces, with all Neceſſaries for the Fleet, and Proviſions for the Winter, of which there was ſo great want, that both the Land and Sea Forces had much difficulty to ſubſiſt, ſo melancholy a Countenance was put on through the whole Camp, that nothing but the prevailing Authority of their Doge and Captain-General could reſtrain them from a Mutiny; but that which a little comforted the Soldiery, was the mildneſs of the Winter, which gave a cheerful green colour to the Fields, which yielded Herbs, and Winter-Fruits in much Plenty; and becauſe the Buildings of the Town had been much deſtroyed and ruined by the Bombs, and Cannon, they raiſed little Hutts and Cottages for ſhelter, and Lodgings for the Soldiery; to which the *Athenians*, who had no great deſire to return to their own City, had greatly contributed, having Built divers Houſes at their own Coſt, and with their own Labour.

1689. January. *The* Venetians *in ſome diſtreſs.*

But what moſt diſ-ſpirited the Army, was the Sickneſs of the Doge *Moroſini*, who long had laboured under a violent Fever, in ſuch a manner, that the Phyſicians themſelves deſpaired of his Life; for Conſervation of which, ſolemn Prayers and Proceſſions were appointed to be made, both at *Venice*, and in all Places under that Dominion.

The Doge ſick.

February.

At length, after a tedious Expectation, the Convoy arrived, to the univerſal Joy and Conſolation of all the Forces and Country round about; which began to give new Life to all Motions and Enterprizes, and to inſpire the Soldiers with a new ſtock of Courage; for all People having been ſupplied both with Money and Proviſions; the Carpenters fell heartily to Work on the Veſſels, and Gallies, to repair and make them fit for the next Voyage, and the Soldiers remained ready to Embrace any new Enterprize: But the Doge continuing ſick, and reduced to a great weakneſs and debility of Body, put a damp on the Spirits of the Soldiery, and much retarded the proceedings of all Deſigns.

A Convoy with Money and Proviſion arrives from Venice.

For

1689.
February.

Turkiſh forces landed at Negropont.

For tho' the Captain Extraordinary *Venier*, was Commanded with his Ships to watch, and guard one ſide of the Channel of *Negropont*, and Captain *Valier* Commander of the *Great Alexander* to attend the other; yet the Captain Paſha broke into *Negropont*, with ten Gallies, and there landed 500 Men, promiſing them by Order of the Sultan, in a ſhort time, a much greater force, with which they ſhould be ſupplied very ſpeedily: and that in the mean time, they ſhould labour with all poſſible induſtry to repair the Works which the Enemies Bombs and Cannon had ruined; ſo that the *Venetians* were not able to obſtruct the *Turks* from giving Relief to *Candia*, but inſtead thereof, had the Misfortune to loſe two of their Gallies by Storm, and were forced to return back again to *Napoli di Romania*, where their chief Comfort was, that the Sickneſs began to decreaſe, which had for ſome time raged both in the Fleet, Army, and Countries round the City.

March. Moroſini *recovers his Health.*

The Spring coming on, the Doge began to recover his Health and Strength again, to the great Joy of all the Soldiery, ſo that he could now attend to Buſineſs, and give Orders to the Armata, which had been ſo well repaired, and Careened, as that the Gallies were in a Condition already to put to Sea: Notwithſtanding all which, the *Turks* were not obſtructed in their paſſage to *Negropont*, where four Gallies belonging to the *Beyes* arrived, bringing Spades, Shovels, Pick-axes, and ſeveral other Inſtruments for repairing the Breaches made laſt Year by the Enemy; on which, their Slaves, being diſ-enchain'd from the Oar, laboured Day and Night with all diligence; and *Miſſir Ogli*, with ſome Gallies, was alſo arrived, being ſent to forward that Work; for the *Turks* had an Opinion, that the *Venetians* would make another Attempt thereupon, and which ſhould be the Work of the following Summer.

Negropont *ſupplied.*

But the *Venetians* had ſuffered ſo much the laſt Year before *Negropont*, that they eſteemed themſelves in no good Condition for a ſecond Enterprize, they having not as yet licked their Wounds whole, nor recruited their Army, which was much more weak than it was the Year paſt, and unable to undertake an Enterprize in which they had already been foiled. Howſoever, not to ſit Idle, and look about them, their Aim was on *Malvaſia*, to reduce which, ten Gallies, and 12 Galleots were diſpatched by the Captain-General to aſſiſt in the Building of two Forts near the Bridge entering to the Town, on which the *Mainotes*, whom the Captain-General had armed, were labouring to finiſh, being of great importance towards a Blockade, and to hinder all Veſſels from bringing Proviſions to the place: And farther to proceed in this Deſign, the whole Armata was Commanded to Sail to *Porto Porro*, appointed, as it was the laſt Year, to be the Magazine for Arms, Proviſions, and Ammunition for the War; where being arrived, they attended the Duke of *Guadagne*, with his Troops for Reinforcement of the Army; and in the mean time, the Bridge was broken, and the two Forts before *Malvaſia* were finiſhed, and a great number of Boats, Felucca's, and Palandra's, lay before the Town to hinder all ſorts of Proviſions and Succours from being brought into it, by which the place was entirely blocked up on all ſides, both by Sea and Land; for the ſituation of the Town being on a Peninſula, there was no Communication could be had with the Country but by the Bridge, and a narrow ſpot of Land.

1689.
March.

Malvaſia *blocked up.*

Whilſt Matters remained in this Nature before *Malvaſia*, a certain *Greek*, called *Liberachi*, lay encamped near *Xeromero* alias *Miſſolonghi*, with about 100 *Turks*, 150 *Sclavonians*, and ſome Deſerters from the *Venetian* Army. This *Liberachi* or *Liberio*, was a *Mainote* by Nation, a Fellow bold and ſubtle, and did great Services for the *Venetians*, until he was taken Priſoner by the *Turks* and carried to *Conſtantinople*: He had not remained any long time there, before he gained ſuch Credit with the *Turks*, that by his fair Words and Promiſes, they were perſwaded that he could draw all the *Mainotes* to their Party, and cauſe them to Revolt from the *Venetians*. Upon which Opinion, they ſet him at Liberty, and entertained ſuch Confidence of him, that they gave him the Title and Charge of Bey, that is, Lord of the *Mainotes*; whereby many Deſerters from the *Venetian* Camp came in to him; And ſome Propoſitions for joyning Forces paſſed between him and Enſign *Boſſina*, who in the Month of *October* 1687. with moſt part of the People called *Oltramarines*, had Deſerted and liſted themſelves under this *Boſſina*, who ſtiled himſelf Commander in Chief of the Deſerters; and having his Head-quarters at *Carpenizi*, towards the Confines of *Lepanto*, he exacted Contributions from the Villages and Countries round about: With him joyned ſome other ſeditious Captains, and a certain Enſign called *Vito* of Captain *Rado*'s Company, a Fellow of a bold Spirit, without Faith or Honeſty; and with him he debauched ſeveral diſſolute Soldiers to forſake the Camp and joyn with *Boſſina*.

Liberachi *encamped.*

He purpoſes to joyn with Boſſina.

The

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The Vene*tians fear the increaſe of* Libera*chi's Forces.*

The Remedy.

The Troops of *Liberachi* being greatly increaſed by this Conjunction, the *Venetian* Generals conſulted in what manner they might give a ſtop to this Deſertion, and cut to pieces *Liberachi*, *Boſſina*, *Vito*, and their Followers: In the firſt place it was reſolved to declare, That ten Zechins ſhould be given for the Head of every Deſerter, or for any that ſhould be brought alive to the Camp; the which produced an excellent Effect; for hereupon many of the *Albanians*, who had deſigned to be of the Conſpiracy, changed their Minds, and having poſſeſſed themſelves of the narrow Paſſes from *Thebes* to *Petra*, *Negropont*, and *Vola*, ſeized on many of them, and brought them back to the Camp, where they ſuſtained the Puniſhment which their Treachery deſerved; by which means the Conſpiracy was broken, and many of thoſe who watched an opportunity to Eſcape, contained themſelves within the Limits of their Duty.

A Plot laid againſt Liberachi.

A Plot againſt Liberachi.

Dambi *ſent to him*

But the manner how to Ruin *Liberachi* was much more difficult, and ſome Conſultations were held thereupon: At length it was concluded, That the only way to Effect this Stratagem, was either by alluring him into the Hands of the *Venetians*, or by rendring him ſuſpected to the *Turks*; who upon the leaſt Jealouſie were ready to apply the Bow-ſtring to his Throat. To this purpoſe, a certain Captain, called *John Dambi*, offered himſelf, a Perſon of great Bravery and Conduct, and a good Soldier; one who ſpake *Turkiſh*, *Greek*, and *Italian*, and was very well verſed in all the Manners, Ceremonies, and Cuſtoms of the *Turks*; and above all, that which made him the moſt proper Inſtrument for this work, was, That he had been a moſt intimate Friend of this *Liberachi*; for having been a Fellow Slave with him, and linked in the ſame Chain at *Conſtantinople*, they became ſworn Brothers, and made Proteſtations of mutual and unviolable Friendſhip ever to continue; and that after they ſhould be eaſed of their Chains, yet the ſame Bonds of Faith and Affection ſhould never be diſſolved.

Nor was *Dambi* only his Friend; but the Doge *Moroſini* had been *Liberachi*'s Godfather, a Relation much endearing in that Country; and therefore the Title both of Friend, and Godfather, had great Charms with the generous Temper of *Liberio*; who upon the firſt notice given him by *Dambi*, that being at *Lepanto*, not far from *Vracori*, was very deſirous to make him a Viſit, he inſtantly diſpatched a Paſs, or Salvo Condotto to him, inviting him with all the kind Terms imaginable to come to him without the leaſt ſcruple or fear imaginable.

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Is kindly received by Liberachi.

Their Conferences.

In Confidence of *Liberachi*'s Fidelity, *Dambi* departed from *Lepanto* in Company with two Friends, and two Servants; and in two days time arrived at *Vracori*, where he was received with all the Ceremony and kind Treatment that could be expected. Upon the News of a Stranger's arrival in that Town, the *Turks* were curious to know who he was, which *Liberachi* freely declared, ſaying, That he was come from the *Venetian* Armata, on no other Deſign, than as an old Friend, to ſee him, and tell old Stories of what Troubles and Miſeries they had ſuſtained together. The *Turks* ſuppoſing that he might be come over to their ſide, bid him kindly welcome; as did alſo one *Marco Stiſichi*, Captain of a Galleot, whom the Captain-General had for his many Pyracies committed to the Gallies; howſoever, in reſpect to the *Oltramarines*, had ſet him at liberty; but he, ungrateful for the favour received, fled to *Liberachi*, intending to ſide with the diſcontented, or rather licentious *Mainotes* under his Command. After ſome Diſcourſes over a Diſh of Coffee and Sherbet, according to the *Turkiſh* Treatment, the *Turks* and *Stiſichi* withdrew; and then *Liberachi* began to unboſom himſelf to *Dambi*, That the Obligations he had to the Captain-General, who in the year 1657, had Anſwered for him at the Holy Font in *Calamata*, were ſuch, as called for all Reſpect and Duty to him; and moreover, he could not but be ſenſible, that his moſt Serene Highneſs, could not but be diſpleaſed, and troubled to ſee one, whom he had made a Chriſtian, to ſide with the Enemies to that Religion; and therefore he did not doubt, but that he had ſent him, that is, *Dambi*, to endeavour to get him back to the right Way from whence he had ſwerved: *Dambi* hereupon confeſſed the ſame, and aſſured him from the Captain-General of Favour and Promotion, in caſe he would return, and bring over with him the Revolted *Mainotes*, which would be a good Example for *Boſſina*, and his *Oltramarines* to follow.

Liberachi *excuſes his coming over to the* Venetians.

To which *Liberachi* made this Reply; That he would moſt readily comply, were not his Obligations too great at *Conſtantinople*, where he had not only a Wife and Children, but two Friends engaged for his Fidelity to the Grand Seignior, and which would moſt certainly ſuffer with the Ruin of their Families, ſhould he Prevaricate from the Faith he had given to the *Turks*; moreover, he had Married the Widow of the late Prince of *Moldavia*, with an Eſtate of 20000 Crowns; in which Match, the Grand Vizier had been inſtrumental; ſo that his Sin of Ingratitude would be the

more

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Ali *Bey diſturbs the Diſcourſe.*

Liberachi his Compliment ſent to the Doge.

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And his Advices.

more notorious, ſhould he make a Revolt after ſo many Kindneſſes he had received on all ſides. By this time Dinner was brought in, which was with great Plenty both of Diſhes and Wine, well dreſſed, and very ſumptuous; at which there was none preſent unleſs *Liberachi* himſelf, *Dambi*, and his Prieſt. After Dinner, the ſame Diſcourſe was carried on, and *Dambi* perſiſted to urge him with all the Arguments which Reaſon could ſuggeſt to return unto his Duty; but *Liberachi* ſtill perſiſted, that his Obligations to his Wife and Children were ſo great, that they out-weighed the Duty to his Prince; for that the Laws of Nature and Faithfulneſs given to thoſe, who had been Bail, and Security for his Fidelity, ought upon no Conſiderations in the World to be violated, and therefore he deſired his Friend to preſs him no farther upon that Point. At the end of this Diſcourſe, one Ali Bey, ſent with Money from the Seraskier to pay the Soldiery under *Liberachi*, came in, and demanded who this *Dambi* was; and being informed, that he was an Ancient Friend known to him at *Conſtantinople*, and came now to him from the *Venetian* Armata, for no other Reaſon than to make him a Viſit: *Ali* Bey deſired, that he might have him in his Cuſtody, to carry before the Seraskier, promiſing upon his Faith to return him back again in Safety: But *Liberachi* refuſing ſo to do, ſaying, That he had pawned his Word already that he ſhould return back without Hindrance or Moleſtation; *Ali* Bey departed, but with ſome Threats, that he would make this Denial known unto the Seraskier, and how he had given Entertainment to a ſuſpected Stranger. *Dambi* fearing ſome ſtop or trouble from hence would immediately take leave of his Friend, who juſt at his departure, deſired him, that ſo ſoon as he ſhould be arrived in the *Morea*, that he would kiſs the Feet of his moſt Serene Highneſs, and return him a thouſand Thanks for the great Goodneſs and Favours which he had by many inſtances demonſtrated unto him; giving him to underſtand the Reaſons and Cauſes which debarred him from enjoying the true Felicity of thoſe many Offers of his moſt precious Grace and Favour: Howſoever, he gave him Aſſurances of doing all Services poſſible to his Highneſs, by adviſing and informing him of all the Motions and Deſigns of the *Turks*; but becauſe the practice hereof might be dangerous by Letters, which were ſubject to be intercepted; he deſired that his Highneſs would direct the way, and manner of ſuch a Correſpondence; And in the mean time, he pray'd *Dambi* to inform him, That the Seraskier was at *Zittuni*, with 4000 Soldiers, amongſt which were 1200 Horſe; That his Orders from the Grand Seignior were, That in caſe the *Venetians* ſhould make a ſecond Attempt upon *Negropont*, and that he had force ſufficient, that then he ſhould give them Battle, and not ſuffer them to Intrench before the City: But if on the contrary, the *Venetians* ſhould be too ſtrong for him, that then he ſhould endeavour to make a Diverſion, by falling into the *Morea*, waſting and conſuming the Country; and that he, *Liberachi*, was ordered with his Forces, being about 2000 Men, to joyn with the Seraskier in this Action. And farther he deſired him to acquaint the Captain-General, That in *Negropont* they had made a Palliſade round *Carababa*, about a Musket-ſhot diſtant from the Town, which was of great Defence to the place. Likewiſe, That *Ibrahim*, who Commands in *Negropont*, had declared, That in caſe the Seraskier at Land ſhould not aſſiſt him in the Defence of *Carababa*, it would be impoſſible to maintain and conſerve the City; That they were making other Outworks to cover the place; That the Seraskier was ordered not to depend upon any Succours from *Conſtantinople*, but received Commands to raiſe what Men he was able in the Parts where his Army was, as far as to *Lariſſa*; and that the Garriſon of *Negropont* conſiſted of no more than 3000 Men: And that the Orders which he himſelf had received, were to bring all the Country under Contribution from *Salona* to *Santa Maura*; which he was reſolved to do with great rigour, by forcing them to pay ten Dollars a Head; by which means they would be conſtrained to fly for Refuge into *Morea*, which he thought would be of ſome Advantage to the *Venetians*. Diſcourſing farther upon theſe Matters, *Dambi* deſired to know what was become of Captain *Boſſina*, who Commanded the *Oltramarines*, which had deſerted from the Army; to which he gave Anſwer, That they were in the Villages of *Carpenizi*.

Dambi *departs.*

In this manner, the Diſcourſe being ended, *Liberachi* would accompany *Dambi* on ſome part of his way, and brought him four Miles with 70 Horſe, and ſome Footmen, commanding alſo two of his Captains with ſome Men, to give him Convoy ſo far as the River *Lepanto*; to which place being conducted with ſafety, he was admitted with all readineſs to the preſence of his Serene Highneſs, who much applauded the punctual Relations and Services of *Dambi*; hoping from thence, that the Plot could not fail that he had

1689. laid for *Liberachi*; for either he would be forced thereby to leave the Service of the *Turks*, with many of his Followers, or otherwiſe falling into the Jealouſie of the *Turks* by this free Conference, it could not but prove fatal to him; ſo that take it which way they would, *Liberachi* was under a neceſſity with his Men of ſeeking Refuge under the Protection of the *Venetian* Arms.

The Troops embarked.

Theſe Circumſtances being well conſidered, were a ſufficient motive to Embark the Troops, and to order ſome Ships, and other Veſſels to ſail forthwith to *Malvaſia*, and to direct Orders to *Gradenigo* Proveditor-Extraordinary, to march with the Horſe into thoſe Parts. But whilſt the Doge was in a readineſs to Embark, there arrived an Expreſs with Letters from *Demetrio Gaſpari*, an *Athenian*, dated at *Culuri*, adviſing, That he, and thoſe Inhabitants had received Intelligenee, That ſeveral Galleots belonging to the Enemy, were coming upon them, and therefore in all Humility, they ſupplicated, that they would come to their Aſſiſtance and Succour; Whereupon Orders being given to the Galleaſſes, Ships, and Galleots to ſail for *Malvaſia*, the Doge with the Gallies took his Courſe directly for *Culuri*; but before they could come thither, labouring againſt the Winds by force of their Oars, the *Turks* had been there, and tranſported from thence 350 *Greeks*, for the moſt part Women and Children; for the Men had ſecured themſelves in the Mountains; but great Inſtances being made for their Tranſportation to ſome more ſecure place, and that they might be ſet aſhore on the Iſland of *Egena*; it was ordered, that three Veſſels ſhould attend, and carry them to what Place they ſhould determine; and then the Doge proceeded to the Iſland of *Specie*, and the day following to *Malvaſia*.

The Doge ſails for Culuri.

And here having Intelligence, That ſeveral *Barbaroſſe* Ships infeſted the Coaſts of *Zant*, and *Sapienza*, and had already taken a Patach belonging to *Zant*; the Doge began to be in ſome fear for the Convoy expected with Money from *Venice* for Subſiſtence of the Army, under the Command of *Girolamo Cornaro* Proveditor-General of the Sea; the which being debated at a Council of War, and the importance of the Matter well conſider'd, it was reſolved to diſ-ſpeed away immediately, the Proveditor of the Armata, *Auguſtino Sagredo*, with twelve Gallies, and *Lorenzo Venier*, Captain-Extraordinary, with ſix Ships, with Orders to ſail as far as *Corfu* to meet the aforeſaid *Cornaro*, and to bring him and the Ships under his Convoy, laden with Money and other Neceſſaries, in ſecurity to the Fleet. In which matter, both the Commanders of the Gallies and Ships having received their Inſtruction, and having provided themſelves with all things neceſſary for their Voyage, they ſet ſail in few hours before Night.

Some fears for the Convoy coming from Venice.

1689.

In the Morning the Ships were obſerved to be at ſome diſtance from the Shore, and at leaſt ten Miles from the Gallies, which were making their way to Cape St. *Angelo*, the which gave ſome Trouble to the Doge, by thinking, that in caſe theſe two Diviſions were ſo far ſeparated at the beginning, what would become of them before the end of the Voyage; Whilſt the Doge thought of theſe things, a great Fleet appeared Steering directly to that Port, which coming nearer was found to be the Fleet which brought the Duke of *Guadagne*, Serjeant-General Baron *Spaar*, and ſeveral other Officers, with 333 Foot Soldiers.

The Duke of Guadagne *joyns the Fleet.*

Two Venetian *Gallies loſt.*

About this time arrived the unhappy News of the loſs of two *Venetian* Gallies, one Commanded by *Pietro Dona*, and the other by *Henrico Pappafava*, both *Venetian* Noblemen, taken by the Corſairs of *Tripoli* on the Coaſt of *Sapienza*. This Advice was very ſurprizing to the Doge, it being a loſs which had not happened with ſo much Diſgrace for many years to the *Venetian* Arms; and the more ſtrange it was, in regard, That *Franceſco Dona* was on Board the Galley, a Perſon of great Experience in Maritime Affairs, and yet ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by two white Streamers or Pendants which the Enemy had put forth, to be eſteemed *French*, by which the Gallies were decoyed ſo near, as to be out of all poſſibility of Eſcape.

A Relation of the ſtate of the Town.

The Doge having laid Siege to the Town of *Malvaſia* both by Sea and Land, a certain Slave, who had been Captain of a Tartana, having made an Eſcape from the Fortreſs, gave an Account of the State and Condition of the Town and Caſtle; relating, that the Garriſon conſiſted only of 700 ſtout Soldiers, with which, and with the Inhabitants, they might amount to about 2000 Souls, Women and Children, all reſolved to defend themſelves, as appeared by the Sequel. The Commanders in Chief were *Muſtapha* Diſdar, or Governor of the Caſtle, an antient Man, who carried great Authority and Reſolution in his Face and Actions: And *Aſſan* Aga, who Commanded the Town, who upon approach of the Enemy, cauſed their Galleots, Brigantines, and ſmaller Boats and Veſſels to be drawn

cloſe

1689. May.

cloſe under the Wall of the Town, for their better ſecurity; That the Houſes of the Town were ſtrongly built; and that the principal Perſons thereof had filled all their upper Rooms with Earth, to cover them from the Bombs; but that the Streets for the moſt part were very narrow: That the *Turks* were then at work in drawing their Cannon to ſuch parts of the Wall, from whence they might moſt annoy the Bridge: That the rich Inhabitants were well ſupplied with Proviſions, of which they were forced to Communicate ſome part to the poorer ſort: That the Garriſon was not paid; but that conſiſting for the moſt part of Natives of the Country, and Seamen inured to Hardſhip and Pyracy, were contented to ſuffer and undergo any Trouble and Want for the Sake and Defence of their Native City: And in ſhort, That beſides the Garriſon there were about 160 *Greeks*, who kept Watch and Ward, and underwent all the Duties of a regular Militia.

This Information gave ſome Retardment to the formal Siege and Attack of the place; for it was reſolved to attend the arrival of the ſeveral Convoys, and Auxiliary Gallies ſhortly expected; and that in the mean time, the Town ſhould be kept under a ſtrict Blockade, and the Guards placed in all the Avenues and Paſſages to the Town, where the Duke *de Guadagne* the General ſhould judge moſt proper to diſpoſe them; and to loſe no time, all the Troops were drawn into a Body, that a particular Review and Account might be taken of the Numbers and Condition of the whole Army.

June.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, the eight Gallies of *Malta* began to appear, being then Doubling the Cape of St. *Angelo*, Commanded by *Fra. Carlo Spinelli*, who was Bali of *Armenia*; a worthy Soldier, and a Religious Commander, whoſe Fortune being to joyn the *Venetian* Fleet on St. *John*'s Day their Tutelar Saint, added very much to the Joy and Feſtivity of the Day. And what farther increaſed the Satisfaction both of the Fleet and Army, was at the ſame time to ſee the happy arrival of a Convoy Commanded by *Pietro Bembo*, bringing 72000 Zechins in Gold for Service of the Army; upon which alſo arrived, the Prince *de Harcourt*, and Count *Enea Rapetta* Serjeant-Generals, beſides ſeveral ſelect Companies of Foot to the number of 455 Soldiers, with Proviſions of all ſorts for their Support and Maintenance; as alſo the Regiments of *Hiſy*, and *Simon Famſogna*, both Colonels of *Croatia*, conſiſting of about 700 Foot; as alſo a Regiment of Dragoons of the ſame Country, under the Command of Colonel *Strel*. After the Entrance of theſe ſeveral Gallies and Veſſels into Port; and having caſt Anchor in their orderly Diviſions, and the Salutes made and returned by Cannon, and Vollies of ſmall ſhot, according to the cuſtomary Civilities of the Seas, the Admiral of *Malta* attended with his Followers of Knights and Gentlemen, went to pay his Viſit to the Doge, after the ſame manner as he had done the year before, (which happened then to be on the 16th of *July*) the Ducal Galley remain'd with it's Anchor a-Pique, in an open place, having the Galleaſſes for Antiguards, with their Anchors alſo a-Pique, and with Streamers and Colours flying, as is uſual in ſuch Solemnities; The Doge received theſe Generals below on the Deck, and afterwards conducted them into the Poop, where having entertained one the other, with Diſcourſes of their reſpective Voyages, and of the preſent ſtate of the Camp before the Town, and paſſed other Civilities and Compliments, they took their leaves, and returned to their ſeveral Veſſels.

The Malta Gallies arrived the 24th.

The Venetian Convoy arrives.

1689. June.

Viſits made to the Doge.

The next Day the Doge ſent his Lieutenant-General *Andrea Piſani* to return the Compliments in his Name with the like Ceremony, and to deliver unto thoſe Generals the ſeveral Ordinances of War, and the Inſtructions both for Fighting and Navigation. After which, a Council of War was called, at which the Doge, the General of *Malta*, the Duke of *Guadagne*, and all the General Officers both of Sea and Land, were preſent to Conſult, and take ſuch Meaſures as were moſt agreeable to the preſent Exigencies.

The Compliments returned.

There were four Propoſitions made for employing their Arms, and four Deſigns offered, but they were all of ſo different a Nature, that they could not come to any Determination at that Meeting; but at length, after various Reflections made on the neceſſity there was of coming to a Reſolution, it was concluded, That General *Guadagne* ſhould with his Cavalry take a view of the Streight of *Corinth*, (which is that Neck of Land which joyns the *Morea* to *Greece*) and upon a Survey thereof to make a Calculate, how many Men would be required to Maintain and Defend that Paſs in caſe the *Turks* ſhould endeavour to force their entrance that way into the *Morea*, it being of great importance to fortifie that paſſage, and not leave it open, and undefended to the Incurſion of the *Turks*; whilſt the Armata ſhould be employed on other Enterprizes.

The Reſult of a Council of War.

1689.

June.

Liberachi *threatens Villages near Salona.*

He fights, and is defeated.

Whilſt things remained under theſe Uncertainties, News was brought by an Expreſs from *Salona*, That *Liberachi* had wrote a menacing Letter to the Bayliffs and principal Men belonging to the Villages and Parts adjacent, that they ſhould come and pay their Reſpects to him, and bring their Carach, or Poll-Money with them, or otherwiſe he would come and puniſh them according as their Diſobedience ſhould deſerve. To which they unanimouſly made Anſwer, That he might come when he pleaſed, that they feared him not; and that he ſhould find their Scimetars to be as keen, and ſharp as his. *Liberachi* upon this Anſwer, being then at *Zittuni*, not far from *Salona*, immediately put his Troops in order, and marched againſt them; and was boldly encountred by *Charopoliti*, who Commanded the Country People, and being joyned with ſome Troops of the Confederate Provinces, and of the *Oltramarines*, (who under the Command of *Elia Damianovick*, had deſerted the *Venetian* Army) they joyned Battle with *Liberachi*, and after a Bloody Fight defeated him, and carried many of the *Turks* Heads to General *Cornaro*, who with his Gally was nearly approached to that Coaſt.

July.

The Narrow of Corinth *fortified.*

But as to the *Venetian* Arms, all things remained ſtill and without motion; only the Doge and *Guadagne* paſſed with ſome Gallies along the Shoar-ſide by way of the Gardens, to take neceſſary Obſervations of the Countenance of the Enemy, and Situation of the place, without coming to any certain Reſolution. Howſoever at length, after long Debates, they reſolved at a Council of War, (that their Arms might not remain longer unemployed) to dis-ſpeed the Cavalry, which were to march by Land, and 3000 Foot Soldiers to be embarked on the Ships, furniſhed with all ſorts of Proviſions both for Arms, and Victuals, and therewith to ſail to the Streight of *Corinth*, to diſappoint the Seraskier of all hopes of Entrance into the *Morea*: The Prince *Harcourt* was to Command the Horſe, accompanied with the Sergeant-General *Spaar*; who joyning with the Auxiliaries of that Country under the Command of *Dambi*, it was calculated, that they might form a Body of about 7000 fighting Men effective; who were to be attended by *Cornaro* the Proveditor-General, who, with ſome Gallies, was to aſſiſt as any occaſion ſhould occur.

The Plague breaks out.

But whilſt this Deſign was putting in practice, and all things prepared for the March and Voyage of the Soldiers, and ſome already gone, the unhappy News arrived, That the Plague was broken out in the Country of *Tropoliza*, whereby the whole Army might be in danger of Contagion; that being the common Way, and Road by which all the Proviſions were to paſs for Relief of the Army, unleſs they would take a compaſs by Sea round the *Morea*, which would be an uncertain and tedious Navigation. But His Serene Highneſs the Doge, having put all things in the moſt ſecure manner poſſible to avoid Infection, 14 Sail of Ships were diſpatched for Tranſport of the Soldiers, on which were laden the *Chevaux de Friſe*, with all ſorts of Proviſions, and Ammunition for War, and Suſtenance of the Soldiers. And that the City of *Malvaſia* might ſtill remain ſtreightned by a Blockade, and as it were Beſieged, the two Forts were finiſhed, which ſerved to keep the Defendants within the compaſs of their own Walls, and to hinder them from other Avenues on the ſide towards the Gardens, at that place which is called *Palio Dirgo*, ſome Regiments were ordered to raiſe certain Forts and Redoubts on that ſide, the Slaves belonging to the Gallies, which were brought as near as they could come, were employed in the Works to caſt up Earth, and make Faggots; and a Squadron of Gallies under Command of *Piſani*, was poſted there to be aſſiſtant to the Regiments aſhoar.

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Malvaſia *blocked up.*

The Doge in the mean time removed from the Fort of St. *Nicholas*, which was the *Old Malvaſia*, towards the New Forts, which being entirely compleated, four pieces of great Cannon of 50 Pound Bullet were Landed, and planted on the principal Fortreſs, whence they greatly annoyed the *Turks*; howſoever the Enemy was not negligent on the other ſide to ply their Cannon on that part which is neareſt to the Bridge.

The Malta Gallies permitted to cruiſe abroad.

In the mean time alſo the General of *Malta*, (for whom at preſent there was no great Action) by permiſſion of the Doge received licenſe to be abſent for 15 Days, and to cruiſe about the Cape of *Sapienza*, and Watch for the Corſairs of *Barbary*, which did commonly infeſt the Seas.

A Storm endangers the Gallies.

About this time Prince *Maximilian* of *Brunſwick* arrived at the Armata, where the Day following he was received with the uſual Ceremony by the Doge; he brought with him no more force than what ſerved for his own Equipage, and for the better Defence of the Ship, on which he was Embarked: but ſo ſoon as this Prince had performed his Complements, a ſudden Storm aroſe with Hail and Wind, ſo violent, as put all the Gallies into imminent danger; ſome loſt their Boltſprits, others their Main-Yards, others had their Oars broken, ſome had their Poops blown away, and Boats were overturned, with ſuch prodigious Hail,

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July.

as the like had ſcarce ever been ſeen before. In ſhort the whole Armata was in danger of being loſt; but God be praiſed, tho' the Eſcape was wonderful, yet it coſt ſome Trouble, Time, and Charges to repair the Damages; in which alſo the Forces on Land had their ſhare, having had their Tents and Huts overthrown by this Hurricane of Wind; only the *Turks* received ſome benefit thereby, having had their Ciſterns filled with the Showers of Rain and Hail, which fell like a Deluge into all the Receptacles and Veſſels made to receive freſh Water for the Uſe and Service of this City, of which before this Accident, they began to be ſenſible of ſome want.

Reinforcement ſent to the Narrow of Corinth.

And now Letters were brought from the Forces lately ſent to guard the Streight of *Corinth*, that the Defence and Conſervation of that place, would require a 1000 Men more; which His Serene Highneſs being deſired to diſpatch away, they were without any delay embarked on the Squadron of Captain *Piſani*, and by that time the Batteries for the Mortar-pieces being alſo completed, they began to throw their Bombs and Carcaſſes thick into the Town, which ſo incommoded the Defendants, that the *Venetians* began to conceive ſome hopes of a ſpeedy Surrender, and the Forts played ſo conſtantly on the Town, to open and widen the Breaches, as if they had intended to have ſtormed the Walls, for which they had neither Men, nor other Preparations. Howſoever it was hoped, that by the Cannon and Bombs only, the City might be reduced: For that a Magazine of Powder in a place called the Wind-Mill, was blown up, and by a Report received from ſome Deſerters, the Defendants were extreamly annoyed by the Bombs; of which their greateſt damage was to their Ciſterns, and Conſervatories of Water; by this intelligence the Doge was encouraged to ply them inceſſantly with Bombs, not only from the Land-ſide, but from three Palanders, or Bomb-Ships, two of which were placed directly oppoſite to the City, and a third was drawn juſt under the Fortreſs to increaſe the Annoyance which was made by the Cannon.

The Bombs annoy the Town.

The Gallies of Malta *return.*

In the mean time at the expiration of the 14 Days allotted, the *Malta* Gallies returned from cruiſing on the Coaſt of the Cape *Sapienza*, having neither met the Ships of *Barbary*, nor other Booty: And whereas it was repreſented, that theſe Gallies could be little ſerviceable at preſent towards the Subjection and Surrender of the City, it was judged, that they might be beſt employed in cruiſing on the Pirates of *Barbary*, and ſecuring the *Chriſtian* Veſſels which Trade in thoſe Seas; and accordingly thoſe Gallies were without the leaſt delay diſpatched again for the Cape Lands, which are moſt infeſted by the Pirates, being favoured by the Northern Winds, which continued for ſeveral Days, even to the end of this Month.

1689.
July.
They go again to Sea.

But this Wind which was beneficial to the Gallies of *Malta*, was ſo prejudicial and dangerous to the Palanders, as put them beſides all their Works and Operations; ſo that inſtead of annoying the Town, they had Buſineſs enough to ſave themſelves from ſinking in the Seas, which the Northerly Winds drove violently upon them: So that now the Beſiegers had nothing to annoy the Enemy, but what was thrown from the Forts erected on the Land.

Auguſt.

Cornaro joyns the Fleet.

Things in this manner not ſucceeding well on the *Venetian* ſide, ſome little encouragement was adminiſtred by the Arrival of the Proveditor General of the Seas, *Girolamo Cornaro*, who on the 5th of the Month of *Auguſt*, whilſt the Doge was in perſon on the ſide of the Gardens, to invigorate, and by his preſence to animate the Approaches againſt the Town, was diſcovered to double the Cape of St. *Angelo* with two Gallies, and a Galleot, and to bend his Courſe directly towards the Fleet. The Arrival of *Cornaro*, a perſon of ſo much Honour and Eſteem, generally applauded in all parts, gave wonderful ſatisfaction to the Fleet and Army; for tho' the Gallies and Galleot he brought with him, could not contribute much to the Reinforcement of the Armata; yet the Reputation of ſuch a perſon, renowned as well for his Bravery and Conduct, as for the fame of his Family and Anceſtors, gave a general Satisfaction and Confidence to all the Forces.

Attempt to burn the Veſſels of the Town,

It being obſerved by the Doge, that notwithſtanding all their Endeavours, no great Advancement was made on the Town, and that the Defendants continued ſtill reſolute and unterrified, and therefore that ſomething more effectual ſhould be attempted upon them, to force them to a Surrender: It was ordered, that four of the greateſt Ships ſhould be appointed to batter the Town with their Cannon, whilſt an Attempt ſhould be made to burn their Galleots, Brigantines, and Londra's, which were drawn up cloſe under the Walls: To execute this Enterprize, four Boats, or Pinnaces armed with Stout Reſolute Seamen, Commanded by *Peter Ferrari*, were appointed to burn the Veſſels lying under the Walls, and being furniſhed with Fireworks, were to make an Attack on them, under the Smoak of the Cannon, which were to play on the Town from the four Ships.

Things being all prepared for ſuch an Enterprize, the Doge left his own, and mounted the Galley of *Piſani*, who was Captain of the Slaves condemned to the

1689.
August.

But without effect.

Venier & Caraccioli *killed.*

Are greatly lamented.

Oar, and thereon returned to the Garden ſide, to be a Spectator of the Action, knowing that his preſence would much animate and inſpire Courage into the Aſſailants. The next Day being the time appointed, a Body of about 100 *Oltramarines*, were ordered in the Night to hide themſelves under ſome little Hills and Rocks called *Grebani*, and at the Foot of one of the Enemies Forts, to cover the Attack in caſe the *Turks* ſhould make a Sally from the Town. But the Succeſs did not anſwer the Expectation of the Martial Spirits of ſo many brave Officers and Soldiers, who came down in great Numbers to behold the performance of this Action; the which was abſolutely defeated for want of the four Ships, which were detained below by contrary Winds: Howſoever the Expectation being great, the Officers on the ſhoar approached the Town nearer than was neceſſary and ſafe, of which the *Turks* not neglecting their Advantage, made many Shots amongſt them from the Walls, one of which killed *Lorenzo Venier*, Captain Extraordinary of the Ships, and *Michael Angelo Caraccioli*, a Cavalier of *Malta*, whilſt they were both in ſerious Diſcourſe together, having received the Mortal Blow on their Heads. The Death of *Venier* was greatly lamented not only by the Doge, but by the whole Army, and indeed the Loſs was general, being one of the moſt able Citizens of *Venice*, and the beſt Sea Captain belonging to that Republick: And indeed it ſeemed, as if an unhappy Conſtellation had been reigning over him at that time, when being deſirous to be aboard for better direction of the four Ships, the Doge permitted him not, out of a regard to his Perſon, which he did not think fit to adventure on ſo deſperate a hazard, ſo that what was intended for his Conſervation, was turned to his Loſs and Deſtruction.

The Turks *make a Sally.*

Some Oltramarines *put to flight.*

But this was not all the Misfortune; for the *Turks* obſerving ſuch a Concourſe of People, and from thence apprehending ſome intention of an Aſſault, made a Sally, not only from the Town, but from the Rocks, under which the *Oltramarines* had concealed themſelves; where the *Turks* falling on them in the Rear, killed many of them, and put the reſt to Flight; and tho' the Sergeant-Major *Tomaſo Pompei*, with ſome of his Men, came in to their Succour, he got nothing thereby more than a Musket-ſhot in his Thigh, after which he was forced to retreat.

1689.
August.

The Seraskier keeps a Guard on Negropont.

After which unhappy Misfortune, the Doge returned to his Ducal Gally greatly afflicted for the Death of *Venier*; by which the Ships wanting an Admiral, *Domenico Diedo* was ſubſtituted in his place, until the return of *Piſani* from the Gulf of *Corinth*. All which time the Forces ſent to guard that important Paſs and Narrow leading into the *Morea*, remained there without any Action, the Seraskier not intending to make any effort thereon for that Year; for that his Eyes being fixed on *Negropont*, where he expected that the *Venetians* ſhould renew their Attempt, he judged that their appearance before *Malvaſia*, was nothing but a Blind to divert him from the guard of that important place.

The Ships batter the Town.

Things not being very promiſing before *Malvaſia*, and little hopes to ſubdue it by force, the Doge reſolved to ſpend the remainder of the Summer in cruiſing in the *Archipelago*; but not to loſe all the Fruits of the preceding Labours, the Redoubt raiſed at the Bridge was fortified and perfected, and the other Forts ſtrengthned with as many Men and Cannon, as were eſteemed ſufficient both to keep the Enemy from Sallying out, or Proviſions from entring in; but before the Doge departed, four of the greateſt Ships were ordered to batter the Town, and give a farewell to them with their biggeſt Cannon: The which being performed within Musket-ſhot, ruined almoſt all the Suburbs, yet not without ſome Loſs aboard the Ships by the Enemies Small-ſhot from the Walls.

Septemb.

The Preparations for ſecuring the Blockade of the Town being perfected, and the Work of Careening, Waſhing, and Tallowing of the *Venetian*, and *Malteſe* Gallies being ended, it was concluded neceſſary to execute the former reſolution of ſailing up the *Archipelago*, to the Gulph of *Negropont*, whereby the Seraskier might be alarm'd, and amuſed ſo far as to keep his Forces on that ſide, and without farther attempt, to paſs the Streight of *Corinth* into the *Morea*; and that in the mean time all things might be ſecured before *Malvaſia*, four Gallies were appointed to remain there, under the Command of *Frederico Bembo*, and Colonel *Fabio Lanoia* to maintain the firſt Fortreſs, and Colonel *Carlo Montanari* the ſecond, with their reſpective Regiments.

The Doge ſick of a Fever.

All things being thus ordained, and agreed, the Doge weighed Anchor in the Night, and endeavoured to get out, but the Winds being contrary, he was forced to return back again to an Anchor; as the like happened alſo the next Day, not only by contrary Winds, but by ſome Miſunderſtandings between the Veſſels of the Van-Guard. But what was worſe than all the former Misfortunes, the Doge was ſeized with ſuch a violent Fever, as confined him to his Bed, in which the Phyſicians diſcovered very dangerous Symptoms of a long Diſtemper. Moreover ſome unhappy Re-

1689.
Septemb.

ports were then flying abroad, That the Captain Paſha was come out, and roving upon the Seas in the *Archipelago* with 14 Gallies, 31 Ships, including thoſe of *Barbary*, and 18 Galleots, with deſign to raiſe Carach, or Contributions from the Iſlands: But no great credit was given to that Report, by reaſon that the Seaſon of the Year was ſo far advanced, that it ſeemed rather time to lay up Veſſels in Harbout, than to begin a new Expedition. Howſoever the News hereof, and the Diſtemper of the Doge increaſing, which the Phyſicians termed a Relapſe, and therefore more dangerous, declaring alſo that the change of Air would be the moſt proper Remedy for the Diſeaſe, it was reſolved, That the Charge and Command of the Fleet, ſhould be committed to the Conduct of that Wiſe and Prudent Cavalier *Cornaro* the Proveditor-General of the Seas, whoſe Vice-Admiral was *Carlo Piſani*, and Rear-Admirals *Bartolmeo Gredenigo*, and *Giovanni Pizzamano*; to whom alſo the Galley of *Ludovico Balbi* deſigned for *Dalmatia* was joyned, together with the Gallies of *Malta*, which being according to the Seaſon of the Year, recalled home; the Admiral with that Squadron, ſailed with the *Venetians*, eſteeming it a great Honour to accompany the Doge on that occaſion, ſo far as his Way and Courſe would admit.

The Doge returns home.

In this manner the Doge, whoſe Illneſs increaſed, ſet ſail the 15th of *September*, and directing his Courſe towards *Venice*, came the next Day in ſight of *Coron*, and paſſing at no great diſtance from *Modon*, they Anchored that Night at *Prodano*, and the next Day in the Road of *Zant*; where having remained all that Day, they Anchored the next Day in *Port Viſcardo* upon the Iſland of *Ceffalonia*, and the following Day at *Corfu*. We omit all the Ceremonies which paſſed between the Armata, and the Officers of the ſeveral Cities, and Countries by which they ſailed; as alſo the ſhort ſtay made at *Caſopo*, where Prayers and Money were offered at the Miraculous Image of our Lady, for the Health and Recovery of the Doge; and here it was not far from the Rock of *Jaſſena*, that the Gallies of *Malta* taking their leave of the *Venetian* Fleet, returned to their own Country: From *Caſopo* they came to the Entrance of *Cattaro*, where they had intelligence, that *Alexander Molino*, Proveditor-General in that Province, was returned from *Narenta*, having failed of the Deſign he undertook in thoſe Parts, by reaſon that the *Morlacks* had not executed his Orders.

The Gallies of Malta *ſeparate from the Fleet.*

On the 28th they came in ſight of *Raguſi*, from whence the Senate ſent off five of their principal Gentlemen to Complement the Doge; but by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition they were introduced to the Preſence of the Lieutenant-General, to whom, with ſenſible Expreſſions of their Sorrow for the Indiſpoſition of His Moſt Serene Highneſs, they declared the great Honour and Deference they conſerved for the Moſt Serene Republick of *Venice*, being extreamly ſorry, that they ſhould be deprived of the ſatisfaction of laying themſelves at the Feet of His Highneſs: After which they made their Preſents of all ſorts of Refreſhments, ſuch as Confects, Fowl, Fruit, Wax, Herbs, and Ice, with whatſoever elſe might be acceptable at Sea.

1689.
Septemb.
The Doge at Raguſi.

October.
Spalato.

The 1ſt of *October* they Anchored before the City and Caſtle of *Spalato*, the ſtrongeſt *Venetian* Garriſon that is on the *Dalmatian* Shoar, commanded by *Bartolmeo Gritti*, who with the Archbiſhop attended with many Followers, came to the ſide of the Ducal Galley, where they were received by the Lieutenant-General. And here it was thought fit to paſs the *Quarantene*, which is obſerved with indiſpenſible Rigour by all Veſſels coming from the *Levant*; for which this being eſteemed a commodious place, Orders were given for fitting and preparing the *Lazaretto*, and to provide it with all things neceſſary, and with faithful and diligent Guardians.

Octob. 3d

And here it was that the *Doge* having all things fitly accommodated for him, went aſhoar to enjoy ſomething of Repoſe and Reſt, being much weakned by his Sickneſs and Fatigues of his Voyage. From hence was diſpatched an Expreſs to the Senate, to give them notice, that the Doge reſolved to make his Contumacia at that Place, and was already entered into *Quarantene*. In anſwer unto which, the Senate diſpatched their Ducal Letters to ſignifie their Pleaſure, that the Doge might continue to finiſh his *Quarantene* at *Spalato*; to which end the Prior, and Overſeers of the Health, were diſpatched from *Venice* to take care that all things relating to that Matter, ſhould be performed with due Care and Punctuality; and accordingly all things were inſpected by them, whether of Goods or Merchandize, and nothing of rigour omitted with the leaſt reſpect to the Perſon of the Doge, or his Retinue.

The Doge makes his Quarantene at Spalato.

Novemb.

At the beginning of *November*, News was brought to *Spalato*, That the Proveditor-General *Molino*, had ſucceeded in his Deſign againſt *Trebigne*, having poſſeſſed himſelf in that Country of 10 Towers, of which he had demoliſhed ſeven, and retained three, into which he had put ſome Forces, which might ſerve to incommode the *Turks* in their Excurſions.

During the time of this *Quarantene*, nothing paſſed at *Spalato*, but only Triumphs

and

1689.
Novemb.
They rejoyce for the Succeſſes of Pr. Lewis *of* Baden.

and Feſtivals for the Succeſſes of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* againſt the *Turks*, and for the Election of Cardinal *Ottoboni* to the Papal Throne, under the Name of *Alexander* VIII. Letters alſo were brought from the Ports of *Malvaſia*, of the 4th of *October*, That the General of the Seas *Cornaro*, departed from thence the 23d of *September*, with the Gallies under his Command; having left four Gallies behind for Guards under Rear-Admiral *Bembo*, and 10 Ships under *Marco Piſani*; and that ſince the Departure of the Doge, about 30 Perſons had made their eſcape out of *Malvaſia*, declaring the great Miſery which was in the City, beſides the raging Diſeaſes of Fluxes and Convulſions.

The Pratcick given to the Doge.

Decemb.

The Doge departs from Spalato, *and arrives at* Venice.

In performance of the *Quarantene* the Month of *November* paſſed, and an entrance made into the Month of *December*, by which the Doge being returned to a better State of Health, and all the Gallies well refreſhed, and in a good Condition, and ſupplied with Proviſions, come from *Venice*; and all things put into a Poſture for Sailing; Prattica was given to the whole Fleet, (that is, a Licenſe of Converſe and Communication) by the Officers of Health; and next Day being the 17th of *December*, Anchors were weighed, and the Doge proceeded on his Voyage towards *Venice*, where he arrived about the end of this Month; with which the Year expiring, we ſhall not need to deſcribe the glorious Reception of the Doge into the Palace of St. *Mark*, with all the Pomp and Magnificence which the Riches, and fervent affection of this celebrated City, and Wiſe Senate could confer on a Prince ſo famous and deſerving as this: And ſo let us proceed to the following Year.

Anno 1690.

1690.
January.

THUS far had the Affairs of *Chriſtendom* ſucceeded proſperouſly againſt the *Turks*; for tho' the *Venetians* had for the two laſt Years performed no great Feats, yet the Imperial Arms under the Conduct of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, had been Proſperous even to a Miracle; but now the *German* Empire being furiouſly Attacked within the Bowels of it by the Arms of *France*, there was a neceſſity to look homewards, and for the ſeveral Princes to provide for their own Safety, and guard their own Countries, for which reaſon many of the *German* Troops being called out of *Hungary*, the main Burden of the War fell upon the Emperor, and was carried on with various Succeſs, tho' for the moſt part Proſperous, whilſt his Affairs were under the Auſpicious Government of that Valiant and Renowned General Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*.

1690.
January.

This Month of *January* began not very favourably on the *Chriſtian* ſide; for the Prince of *Holſtein* hearing that the *Turks* miſerably deſtroyed the Countries round about, he marched to *Priſſeren*, with ſome Troops to meet them, and thence, not being able to ſpare many Forces, he detached the Prince of *Hanover*, and Colonel *Straſſer*, to relieve the Paſs of *Caſſeneck*, which was ſaid to be Beſieged by the *Turks*: On the the 1ſt of *January*, when they decamped from before *Priſſeren* or *Priſſina*, their Troops conſiſted of 120 Foot, drawn from the Regiment of *Aſpremont*; 80 of *Averſperg's*, five Companies of Dragoons of the Prince of *Hanover's* Regiment, eight Troops of Horſe of *Holſtein*, ſix Troops of Horſe of *Hanover*, four Troops of Horſe of the Regiment of *Stirum*; all which did not amount unto more than 1600 Men, with which they marched ſo diligently, that the next Day they arrived near *Caſſeneck*, in ſight of the Enemy; their Orders were not to approach too near, nor advance too far, until they had well obſerved the true ſtrength of the Enemy, and diſcovered whether they were ſo ſtrong as had been reported: Accordingly they at firſt poſted themſelves with their Backs to a Moraſs, and planted four Field-Pieces againſt the Enemy, who durſt not Attack them in that Place; but keeping within the Hills and Woods, they detached 1000 *Tartars* into the open Fields, upon ſight of which, Colonel *Straſſer* quitting his Advantageous Poſt, forced them to retreat with the Death of ſome of them; but the *Germans* being now in the open Field, and not able to retreat, they found themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides with 30000 of the Enemy, againſt which having ſuſtained a Battle from Nine in the Morning, till Three in the Afternoon, and having ſpent all their Powder and Ammunition, they were at laſt totally defeated. In this Fight the Prince of *Hanover*, Colonel *Straſſer*, Count *Solari*, with moſt of the Officers, and many of the Common Soldiers were killed on the Place, moſt of the Priſoners being wounded, died; all their Colours, Kettle-Drums, &c. were taken by the Enemies; nevertheleſs 6 or 700 Men, by help of the Night, and of Woods and Mountains, came ſafe to *Belgrade*, from whence they were diſpatched to their Regiments.

The Germans defeated.

This News being brought the ſame Night to the Prince of *Holſtein* unto *Priſſina*, he retreated from thence to *Niſſa*, leaving behind all the Forage and Baggage of the Regiment of *Stirum*.

On

Count Monte-celli *Attacked by the* Tartars.

On the 4th the Regiment of *Piccolomini*, which was to joyn with *Straſſer*, having no Advice of the Defeat, came near to *Caſſeneck*, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel Count *Montecelli*, ſo ſoon as he came in ſight of the *Tartars*, they immediately Inveſted him, but he very prudently retreated towards a Moraſs, over which there was a Bridge; on the other ſide whereof he commanded a Lieutenant with 30 Horſe to guard that end of the Bridge, until he put himſelf in a Poſture to fight on the other ſide. After ſome time the *Tartars* Attacked them on both ſides, the Lieutenant with 30 Men defended himſelf for a good while; until being over-powered, he was relieved by two Companies ſent to his Aſſiſtance, and on both ſides defended themſelves ſo valiantly until Night, that under ſhelter of the Darkneſs, they made their Retreat; the *Tartars* followed them with great noiſe for the ſpace of an Hour, but could not put them into diſorder; ſo about Midnight, they arrived at *Priſſina*, which Place they found Abandoned; but having refreſhed themſelves and their Horſes there for a while, they proceeded to *Procopia* with the loſs only of about 30 Men, and one Captain and ſome wounded, their Baggage was not with them, they having ſent it to *Poza*, and *Novibaſſa*, which afterwards fell into the Hands of the Enemy, with moſt of thoſe which accompanied it, the reſt ſaved themſelves in the Woods.

He makes his Eſcape with ſome loſs.

By this time *Veterani* who was appointed General in the Place of *Piccolomini* deceaſed, arrived at *Niſſa* from *Tranſilvania*, with ſome Troops; which being a Place open to the Attack of the Enemy, and much feared, they cauſed the Garriſon and Inhabitants to work Night and Day upon the Fortifications; *Veterani* alſo provided *Pyrot*, *Procopia*, *Muſtapha Palanca*, being Paſſes, with all Neceſſaries, and demoliſhed *Coſſova*, *Albania*, and ſome other little Places, from whence he withdrew the Soldiers to ſtrengthen Places of greater moment.

Caſſeneck *ſurrendred.*

The Paſs *Caſſeneck* which was Beſieged, (wherein was a Garriſon of 180 Men) and before which the *Turks* had raiſed a Battery of ſeven Guns, defended it ſelf ſeveral Days, and at length ſurrendred on Conditions, one of which was that they ſhould be conducted to *Belgrade*.

Corbelli *deſtroys the* Palanca *of* Bellingeſh.

Whilſt things were acting on this ſide, Colonel *Corbelli*, who commanded the Blockade of great *Waradin*, received Advice that the *Turks* at *Bellingeſh* had provided a great Number of Cattle, and 100 Waggons with Proviſions, under a ſtrong Convoy, to be put into *Waradin* for relief of the City, whereupon making a Detachment of 200 Horſe, 300 Dragoons, 300 *Huſſars*, and 200 *Heydukes*, he marched therewith towards *Bellingeſh*; but thoſe of the Place having received early notice hereof from *Waradin*, withdrew all their Proviſions into the Caſtle; ſo that the original Deſign of *Corbelli* was defeated, yet not to return empty, he ſtormed and entered the Palanca, where after the Slaughter of ſeveral *Turks*, he plundered, and carried away every thing that was in it: He could not Attack the Caſtle which was well fortified, for want of Cannon; and therefore having deſtroyed the *Palanca*, with the Gardens thereabouts, he returned back with good Booty.

On the 15th *Tekeli* with his Men, and 2000 *Turks*, arrived near *Oraviza*, with a deſign to Attack *Temeſwaer*; but he miſcarried therein, and was forced to retreat.

The Germans *get an Advantage.*

On the other ſide the Governor of *Lippa*, Captain *Chriſtopher Morris*, with Captain *Baltaſar*, having under them 100 *Huſſars*, 100 Horſe of *Heiſler's*, and 100 Dragoons, marched towards *Temeſwaer*, with deſign to ſurprize ſome *Turks* in the Villages thereabouts, but meeting with none, they proceeded until they came in ſight of the City; leaving the greateſt part of their Troops in Ambuſcade at ſome diſtance from them: Upon their Approach, the *Turks* ſallied out with Horſe and Foot, and poſted themſelves in a hollow Way, where the *Germans*, under the cover of a Miſt or Fog, attacked them, the *Huſſars* falling upon their Horſe, and the Dragoons on the Janizaries, with ſuch bravery, that they put them to flight; after having killed above 300 on the Place, and taken ſeveral Priſoners, and having only four Men killed, and nine wounded, they retired back again to *Lippa*.

The Tartars *barbarous Uſage of the poor People.*

About this time 50 Soldiers having deſerted the Service of *Tekeli*, took the Oaths of Fidelity to the Emperor, and were ſent to *Priſſina* to recruit the Garriſon of that Paſs, conſiſting of ſome Imperial, and *Raſcian* Troops. Theſe Deſerters gave Intelligence to General *Veterani*, that Sultan *Galga* the *Tartar*, was deſigned in a few Days to joyn with *Tekeli*, and to make an Invaſion into *Tranſilvania*; upon which, Orders were given to work on the Fortifications on the Frontiers, with all diligence: And now Advices came to *Niſſa*, That the *Turks* had burnt *Uranic*, with all the Villages round that Place; as alſo *Coſſova*, and the adjacent Places near to *Priſſina*; but ſome little time before this piece of Execution was performed, the *Turks* had allured the poor Peaſants, with their Wives and Children, to return from the Woods and Mountains, to their own Dwellings, where they promiſed them Quietneſs, Protection, and Safety; but the *Tartars* not having been concerned in this

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this Guaranty, the poor People were no ſooner returned to their Habitations, but they were barbarouſly attacked by the *Tartars*, who killed all the Old Men and Women, and carried away the Young of both Sexes into Captivity: After this unhamane Butchery Sultan *Galga* retreated with moſt of his Hords to *Sophia*, and thence by way of *Nicopolis* he made all the haſte poſſible to return for *Budziack*, becauſe he had received Advices, That the *Moſcovites* with a very numerous Army, were on the Frontiers, ready to Invade his Country; but his March was not ſo haſty, but that he had time, after the *Tartarian* Faſhion, to deſtroy the Province of *Schnepoli*; and to kill, and aſſaſſinate all the Country People that they met; and tho' this Retreat of the *Tartars* was Unfortunate to theſe poor Wretches, yet thereby General *Veterani* was delivered from his Apprehenſions for *Niſſa*; which was howſoever labouring under great want of Ammunition, and Proviſion of all ſorts; and how to ſupply them was not as yet reſolved. For tho' the Country of *Schnepoli* had engaged to furniſh *Niſſa* with a good quantity of all ſorts of Proviſions, yet being now burnt and deſtroyed by the *Tartars*; and the remainder of what was left pillaged by the *Turks*, there could be no expectation of any ſupply from thence: And as to what was to be conveyed to them from *Belgrade*, by reaſon of the Winter Weather, Snows, and tired Cattle, came ſo ſlowly over the Mountains, that General *Veterani*, and the other chief Officers, had Abandoned the Place, had not ſome Horſes at the very inſtant arrived at *Niſſa* with 50 Waggons, all laden with Proviſions and Ammunition, together with four Pieces of Cannon which had been taken out of the Fort of *Jagodina*, and great Quantities of Flour, and Oats, much more of which was daily expected, by which Stores, tho' *Niſſa* was abundantly relieved, yet the Fortifications proceeded more ſlowly than was fit for a Frontier Garriſon, expoſed to the main and chief Power of the Enemy.

They return to Budziack.

Niſſa *in want of Proviſions.*

February.

Caniſia *inclining to capitulate.*

Thus things ſtood at *Niſſa*, when the Blockade of *Caniſa* was ſo narrowly watched and obſerved, that the Garriſon began to be reduced to the utmoſt Extremity; ſo that the People would have forced the Paſha to Capitulate; but he remaining reſolute to endure the laſt Extremity, perſwaded them with Preſents, and fair Words, to a longer Patience: But the Inferiour and Subaltern Officers not enduring longer, diſpatched a Meſſenger, (without making the Paſha, or Janizar-Aga privy to their Deſign) with Letters to the Grand Vizier, deſiring that he would either take ſome Meaſures for the Relief of the Place, or to ſend his Orders to the Paſha for the Surrender thereof; but this Expreſs was not got far from the Town, before he was overtaken, brought back and Executed; but ſuch was the Miſery in the Town, that he who could eſcape, got out, amongſt which was a *Turkiſh* Imaum, or Prieſt, and an *Arabian Jew*, who reported, That about *Palm-Sunday*, the City would Capitulate, which afterwards proved true accordingly.

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Places taken and burnt.

In the mean time the *Croats* made an Invaſion into *Boſnia*, burnt *Kazaraz*, and took ſome Hundreds of ſmall and great Cattle: Howſoever in their Retreat being purſued by the *Turks* of *Bannialuca*, and Attacked by them near the *Save*, ſome of the Cattle were recovered, ſeveral of their Men killed, 15 Priſoners, and five Horſes taken.

And about the ſame time the Governour of *Novi* having gotten together a ſmall Body of Men drawn out of that Garriſon, and that of *Zim*, made an Incurſion into the Enemies Country, where he burnt *Oſtrovitz*, *Ztergarick the Little*, and the *Great Badick*, with Houſes belonging to Gentlemen in the Country, in which Expedition they killed about 200 of the Enemy, took 76 Priſoners, 100 Head of Cattle, 32 Horſes, and much other Booty, and all this with the loſs of one Man killed, and 10 wounded.

March.

In revenge hereof, the *Turks* of *Novi-Portu*, Attacked with a ſtrong Party, ſome *German* Horſe, as they were Foraging abroad, but were ſo warmly received by *Brumati* the Governour of *Leſcoviza*, and with ſuch Valour, that the *Turks* were put to the Rout, and forced to fly, leaving 20 of their Men dead on the Place.

Whilſt Matters thus paſſed with various Succeſſes, there were ſome Fears of the Conſtancy and Steadineſs of the *Raſcians* towards the Emperor, but thoſe Apprehenſions were ſoon taken away by *Antonio* their Captain, who being ſent by General *Veterani*, to take a View of all the Paſſes round about, reported at his return, That he had met within the Paſs of *Priſſina*, with one *Haram* Baſſa, who in the Name of all the Inhabitants of *Coloſſi*, *Moloch*, *Letaner*, and *Gaas*, had aſſured him of the Faith and Allegiance of thoſe People to the Emperor, having refuſed the Protection of the *Turks*, which had been offered to them: And hereof they ſoon gave a Teſtimony by an Aſſault they had made on a Party of 500 *Turks*, under the Command of the Paſha of *Oſtrolub*, in their March towards the Caſtle of *Zwetſey*, ſituate in the Paſs of *Boſna*, of which they killed 60 Men, took four Priſoners, and 90 Horſes, of which 30 were laden with Flour, beſides a great Booty of

The Raſcians faithful to the Emperor.

other

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other things. On the other ſide *Mahomet* Paſha roved round about the Country of *Novi Paſſar*, burning and deſtroying all the remaining Villages, killing the Country People that they met with, and acting all the Cruelties that Fire and Sword could execute.

But what was of moſt importance at this time, was the Surrender of the ſtrong City and Fortreſs of *Caniſia*, having been reduced thereunto by Famine, after a long and ſevere Blockade, by which being brought to ſuch Extremities, that not being able to ſupport themſelves any longer, the Paſha on the 16th of *March*, ſent out two Aga's to the *Chriſtian* Army to treat with the Commanders of the Blockade, who were Count *Adam Bathiani*, and Count *Stephen Zitchi*: to whom being conducted by Lieutenant Colonel *Piſterski*, after the uſual Complements had been paſſed on both ſides, the *Turks* deſired that four Weeks might be granted them to make their Surrender; offering in caſe no Succours came to them within that time, they would then reſign the City into the Hands of the Emperor's Generals, with all the Cannon and Ammunition therein, (four Guns only excepted) which they pretended to carry with them: But in regard it was then late in the Evening, when theſe Offers were delivered, the Meſſengers were kept all Night in the Camp, and well treated; and the next Morning a Council of War being called, an Anſwer was returned them to this Effect. ‘That it being well known, that neither in four Weeks, nor in four Years, any Relief, or Succour could be expected for them; and that tho' their Extremities were ſo evident, that they were certainly aſſured they could not ſubſiſt any longer, yet that they might taſte of the Grace and Clemency of the Emperor, they promiſed them their Lives, (provided they ſhould Surrender themſelves in the ſpace of 24 Hours:) With which Anſwer the two Aga's returned back to the City, on which ſome Conſultation being there had on the 19th, three *Turks* were ſent out again to the *Chriſtian* Army, declaring to the Generals, in the Name of the Paſha and the Garriſon; ‘That tho' they were ſtill furniſhed with four Months Proviſion in the Town, yet they would no longer refuſe the Clemency of His Imperial Majeſty, but deliver up the City unto him. And for the further management of this Treatiſe, they propoſed, That three *German* and *Hungarian* Officers might be ſent into the Town for Hoſtages, in lieu of five *Turks*, who ſhould be employed to Capitulate in the Army. The *Chriſtians* having aſſented hereunto, the three Meſſengers were next Day returned with this Anſwer. ‘That the Clemency of His Imperial Majeſty was ſuch, that he never deſired to ſhed the Blood of his Enemies, when they implored his Mercy; and that the General *Bathiani* had full Power to pardon them, which he was ready to do, on Condition that they Surrendred the Place in the ſpace of 24 Hours. With this Anſwer the *Turks* returning to the Town, they deſired a third Conference on the 21ſt; the which, after a long Diſpute, was granted, and agreed, That five *Turks*, of which the Janizar-Aga ſhould be one, ſhould come into the Camp; and that in the Place of them, a *German* and two *Hungarian* Officers ſhould be ſent for Pledges into the City. This being performed on the 22d Day, theſe following Capitulations were agreed and ſigned.

Caniſia treats.

Anſwer to the Garriſon of Caniſia.

Hoſtages given.

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Capitulations Agreed.

I.

‘THAT whatſoever is belonging to the Arſenal, and Publick Stores, either of Proviſion, Ammunition, Cannon, or other Arms ſhould be delivered to the Imperial Commiſſaries, to whom alſo all Mines made about the City ſhould be diſcovered.

‘II. That the Priſoners on both ſides, ſhould be releaſed without Ranſom.

‘III. That all the Inhabitants of the City, and Strangers, ſhall have liberty to march out with their Arms, Moveables, Cloaths, Servants, Children, Horſes, and all other Cattle, who ſhall have ſafe Paſſage, and Conduct into the *Ottoman* Dominions, but without Flying Colours, or Sound of Drum: Notwithſtanding which, in caſe any of the *Raſcians* who are in pay of the *Turks*, ſhould freely deſire to come over to the *Chriſtians*, they ſhall not be hindered, either on the Score of Debt, or any other Pretence whatſoever.

‘IV. All *Chriſtian* Renegadoes, who ſhall be deſirous to return unto their Ancient Faith, ſhall have liberty to do it, and no *Chriſtian* Children be privately conveyed away.

‘V. A ſufficient Number of Waggons, ſhall be allowed to the *Turks* to carry them to the Water-ſide, and from thence Boats to Tranſport them into the *Turkiſh* Dominions.

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‘VI. That ſo ſoon as theſe Capitulations ſhall be Signed, the Imperialiſts ſhall immediately be put into Poſſeſſion of the Palanca, our Out-work, called *Baſchlar Kapæſi*; in which the *Turks* ſhall have liberty to ſell what they pleaſe of their Goods, or to carry them away.

‘VII. That ſo ſoon as the Imperial Ratification ſhall be returned, the *Turks* ſhall immediately quit the City, and begin their Journey.

‘VIII. The *Turks* ſhall deliver to the Imperial Commiſſaries all the Tax-Regiſters in *Caniſia*, with ſuch Books as concern the Military Sallaries paid from *Boſnia*, and other Diſtricts depending on *Caniſia*, with the Teſter, or an account of ſuch Revenues which the Janizaries uſually Pay, and Receive out of the Homage, and Tributary Countries.

‘IX. That the People of *Caniſia* ſhall be Convoyed with a ſufficient Number of Officers and Soldiers, unto the firſt *Turkiſh* Fortreſs, leaving howſoever behind them the Hoſtages at the laſt *Chriſtian* Fortreſs, until the return of the Convoy.

‘X. That during the March Proviſions ſhall be furniſhed to the *Turks* at moderate Prices.

The Emperor ratifies the Treaty.

April.

With theſe Capitulations, the Imperial Councellor of War, called *Pozo*, the Aga, and two more *Turkiſh* Officers, were on the 24th diſpatched to *Vienna* to have the Capitulations Ratified and Signed with the Imperial Firme; they arrived on the 30th, and the next Day had an Audience of Count *Staremberg*, Preſident of the Council of War, to whom they delivered the Capitulation; and on the firſt of *April* it was returned back again to them Signed by the Emperor, who was graciouſly pleaſed to make a Preſent therewith unto the Aga, of a Watch ſet with Diamonds.

The Town ſurrendred.

With this Ratification the Aga being returned, which was on the 3d of *April*, it was reſolved by the Paſha, and other Officers in the *Divan*, immediately to put the *Chriſtians* into Poſſeſſion of one of the Gates of the City; the which by the 12th, they fully quitted; and the next Day the Paſha being on Horſeback, attended with ſome *Turks* on Foot, delivered unto General *Bathyani* the Keys of the Town in a gilded Baſon hanging on a Gold Chain. The Paſha indeed expected, that the General ſhould have alighted from his Horſe to receive them, but the General refuſing to receive them in ſuch a manner, as a Condeſcention too inferiour to the Dignity of His Imperial and Victorious Maſter, the Paſha inſiſted no farther thereupon, but preſenting the Key, ſaid, *I deliver unto you the Key of a Fortreſs, the like whereof there is none in all the* Turkiſh *Empire*.

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This being done, the General went into the City to viſit the Fortifications, and afterwards entertained the Paſha, the Aga of the Janizaries, and *Zorbagee* Aga at Dinner, with ſome others. Then the Garriſon marched out, conſiſting of 600 *Turks*, which with the Inhabitants, made in all 4000 Souls; the which were conducted into the Dominions of the *Turks*, according to the Capitulation.

The Cannon and Ammunition and Proviſions taken therein.

It ſeems that this ſtrong City was ſurrendred rather by Diviſions amongſt themſelves, than for want of Proviſions: On the Walls were mounted 56 Braſs, and 10 Iron Cannon, the moſt part of them made in the time of the Emperors *Maximilian* I. and II, and of *Charles* V, and *Ferdinand* I. In the Magazine, or Store-houſe under the Governor's Palace, were found 1540 Muſquets, and in the Arſenal 2200 more, with much Lead, Cannon, and Muſquet-Bullets, Swords, Granadoes, with all ſorts of Arms and Warlike Inſtruments in great abundance.

The Situation of Caniſia.

Caniſia, or *Caniſa*, is ſituate on a River towards the Frontiers of *Styria*, near the *Drave*, and not far from the Fort *Serin*; it is ſo environed on all ſides with a Moraſs, or Marſh, that no Army can lie near it, which renders the Town almoſt impregnable, and inacceſſible, notwithſtanding it was taken by the *Turks* in the Year 1600.

The next Year following *Mathias* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria* Beſieged it in the Month of *September*, but was forced to retire after a Siege of two Months.

In the Year 1664, at the beginning of it, in the Month of *January*, Count *Serini*, by favour of the Froſts, which gave him ſome Footing on the Moraſs, after he had taken *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, and ſome other Places, and had burnt *Sighet*, he beſieged *Caniſia*, which he had infallibly taken, if they had ſent him the Succours which were promiſed him; but as I have related in my former Hiſtory, ſo great a Faction was againſt him at the Imperial Court, that they were not willing to ſee him proſperous, but choſe rather to Sacrifice the Publick Welfare to Private Animoſities; but the expected Recruits not arriving at the appointed time, and the Year coming on, the Ice was Thawed, and the Great Vizier advancing with a Powerful Army, the Count *Sereni* being under all theſe Diſcouragements,

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ments, was forced to raiſe his Siege and be gone.

General *Veterani* in the mean time whilſt things were thus acting at *Caniſia*, being much ſtreightned for want of Proviſions, ordered the Garriſons of *Leſcowitz* and *Pyroth*, to make Incurſions into the *Turkiſh* Territories, which they performed ſo effectually, that they returned back with more than 1000 Head of Cattle; the which being divided amongſt the Regiments, ſuch as were fit for the Slaughter were killed, and the reſt employed for drawing the Waggons laden with Ammunition and Proviſions.

Incurſions made into ſeveral places.

On the other ſide the *Turks* ſurprized a Village near *Belgrade*, which they Plundered and Burnt, killing, or carrying away Captives all the Inhabitants of the Place.

Some Skirmiſhes.

But the Garriſon of *Pyroth* being much animated with their late Succeſs, made another Incurſion, as far as within three Leagues of *Philippopolis*, burning the Villages, and killing the *Turks* which they met in their way; but at length being purſued by 1000 *Turks*, they drew themſelves up into good order, and poſting themſelves advantageouſly on the riſing of a Hill, they engaged the Enemy for two Hours ſpace; during which time, 30 *Turks* were killed, and many wounded, and 28 Priſoners taken, with which and ſome Hundreds of Cattle, they returned ſafe to *Pyroth*. In like manner 100 *Germans* and ſome *Huſſars* belonging to the Garriſon of *Zolnock*, encountred a Party of 160 *Turks*, and Male-contents, which belonged to *Giula*, and having engaged them, they killed 20 of them, took 60 Priſoners, of which 16 were of the Male-contents, the remainder throwing themſelves into the River, were for the moſt part drowned.

The Turks *worſted.*

During this Seaſon of the Year, before the Graſs was ſufficiently grown, no other Actions paſſed, but only by Parties ſent abroad to ſurprize Cattle, and burn Villages. Amongſt the reſt, a Party of *Raſcians* having roved over the Country of *Schnepoli*, returned back to *Niſſa* with a Booty of ſeveral Hundred Head of Cattle, and ſome Yoaks of Oxen, taken near to *Sophia*; the which Succeſſes ſtill attending the Imperial Arms, the Country People on all ſides offered to embrace the Imperial Party, and implore their Protection ſo ſoon as the *Chriſtian* Army ſhould take the Field.

On the other ſide *Mahomet Bagavitz* Paſha, who had ſome time quietly Quartered at *Poza*, (having left 1500 Men for Garriſon in that Place) he marched out with a Party of about 4000 Men, towards the Paſs of *Boſnia*, but having in his March received Intelligence, That Captain *Antonio* attended him in the way, and was ready to receive him, returned and marched towards *Bagnia*, from whence alſo by reaſon of the great Snows, he was forced to retreat back to *Poza*, without any Action.

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Little more was acted now, as we have ſaid but by Parties, of which *Kathana* Paſha commanding one, he made an Incurſion therewith into the Neighbourhood of *Pyroth*, where he took ſeveral ſtraggling *Huſſars*. Another Party of *Hungarians* to the Number of about 20, commanded by that Valiant *Hungarian* Captain, called *Baudi*, which had made a bold Incurſion, and roved about 14 Days beyond *Sophia*, near to *Philippopolis*, were at length attacked by a ſtrong Body of *Turks*, with which having fought for a conſiderable time, were at laſt overpowered, and all of them cut off, (two only excepted) who made their Eſcape to *Niſſa*.

Several ſmall Parti engage.

On the other ſide a Party from *Belgrade* ſurprized a Body of *Turks*, the moſt of which they killed, or took Priſoners. Likewiſe a Party of *Raſcians* made an Excurſion as far as *Bagnia* in *Boſnia*, where they killed 20 *Turks*, and took 12 Priſoners, with 400 Head of Cattle: Beſides which, thoſe who guarded the Blockade of *Great Waradine*, beat a Party of the Enemy, brought home 11 Heads, and eight Priſoners. Another Party of 500 *Huſſars*, and 40 *German* Dragoons, made a Sally out of *Sclavonia* under the Command of Lieutenant *Boniau*, and paſſed the *Save*; and having in their way an Information that the *Turkiſh* Garriſon belonging to the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Teockzach* was ſallied abroad, having only left eight Men, and 15 Women therein; they attacked and entered the Fort early in the Morning, with the loſs of ſix of their Men killed, and eight wounded; of the *Turks*, four of the eight, with the Women, ſaved themſelves in a Tower, from whence the Women threw Fire, and Stones, and hot ſcalding Water, but at length were forced to ſurrender, and leave the Place to the mercy of the Enemy, in which they found a good Booty of *Turkiſh* Horſes, and other rich Goods, and therewith repaſſed the *Save*, having left four Troops of *Heydukes* for defence of the Place.

May.

The Seaſon of the Year being now far advanced towards the Summer, and things preparing for greater Action; the *German* Officers were very intent, and ſtudious in what manner to conſerve *Niſſa*; for which they had great reaſon to be apprehenſive, for that according to the Reports of all thoſe who lately came from *Adrianople*, and of ſuch Deſerters who came out from the *Turkiſh* Quarters; the *Turks* were become much more numerous than the laſt Year, and were marching on purpoſe to make *Niſſa* the firſt Atchievement and Deſign of their

Niſſa *provided.*

1690. May.

their Conqueſt. But what could be done for Conſervation of that Place, was not omitted; all the Old Works were repaired, and ſeveral New ones compleated; and the River *Morava* being with much Expence and Labour made Navigable, great Quantities of Proviſions, and Materials neceſſary for War were brought down by that Water to *Niſſa*, ſo that nothing was wanting for Conſervation of the Place, unleſs a greater Garriſon within, and a more numerous Army without.

About this time a ſmall ſort of Venomous Flies ſwarmed about *Niſſa*, which killed many Horſes, Cattle, Camels, and Mules. I remember in a Journey I once made through thoſe Countries in the Month of *May*, that we were much infeſted with this ſort of Animals, which was the ſmalleſt Fly that ever I did ſee, covered with a thin Fluff, or Down; the which would not touch the Fleſh of a Man, but Horſes, Camels, Mules, &c. were killed by them. Whereſoever they fixed on the Sides of a Horſe, or any other Part, they would draw a Bliſter as big as an Egg; and entering into the Noſtrils, immediately poiſoned the Brain, which cauſed a ſudden Death to the Beaſt; but hereof I have diſcourſed more at large in a former Hiſtory, to which I refer the Reader.

Small poyſonous Flies

Tho' the great Armies were not as yet in the Field, yet Parties were roving in all Parts and Places, the Weather becoming moderate according to the Seaſon, and the Graſs grown; the *Turks* encamped near *Gradiſca*, where they ſtaid a while in expectation of ſome Troops to joyn with them, and therewith to paſs the *Save* into *Sclavonia*, with no other Deſign than to ruine and ſpoil the Country; but Baron *Koniſeck* having Advice thereof, marched from *Brod*, with all the *Huſſars*, and *Heydukes* which were Quartered in the adjacent Villages unto a Place where the River is fordable, and therefore the moſt likely place where they might deſign to paſs; by which not only the Paſſage of the *Turks* was obſtructed, but News coming to them that the *Croats* were fallen into their Country on the other ſide, they quitted their firſt Deſign, and marched to oppoſe the *Croats*, who were too quick for them, having taken great Booty, and committed a vaſt Spoil before the *Turks* could come in to the Succour of their Country.

About the ſame time one *Herlniovich*, a *Dalmatian* Captain, marched ſix Days Journey beyond *Niſſa* into the Enemies Country, which he Surprized and Plundered, and returned back with the Heads of ſeveral *Turks*, and ſome Priſoners. The ſame Captain ſoon afterwards having recruited himſelf with ſome more Troops, fell upon *Berkowitz*, in which was a Garriſon of about 127 *Turks*, provided with all things neceſſary for defence of the Place, being fortified on a very advantageous Situation, but coming upon them by Surprize, the Place was taken, and all the Men put to the Sword, except ſome few, who made their Eſcape; the Booty was conſiderable, beſides 90 *Turkiſh* Women, four Standards, and two pair of Kettle-Drums.

1690. May.

Berkowitz *taken by a Captain of* Dalmatia.

In like manner a Captain of the Garriſon of *Pyroth* roving abroad, and ſeeking his Fortune, met near to *Sophia* with 20 Horſes laden with Nails, Iron, and ſeveral Warlike Inſtruments, he ſeized them all, and killed 19 *Turks*, and took one Priſoner alive, who in the Night making his Eſcape, gave Intelligence thereof to *Sophia*, from whence a Party being commanded out, they overtook the *Germans*, and fought with them, but the *Germans* behaved themſelves ſo well, that they forced the *Turks* to leave them, and ſuffer them to eſcape with the Booty they had gained.

Sea Robbers Land.

At this time alſo ſome Sea Robbers landed in the Bay of *Vola*, and made an Incurſion into the Territories of *Macedonia* near *Monaſſir*, burning and ſpoiling all the Country; whilſt another Party of them, to the number of about 600 Men, made a Sally towards *Stippo*, where they ſurprized 500 *Turks*, and put them all to the Sword, without Quarter given to any one; but the Inhabitants they carried away Priſoners, and made uſe of them for Slaves in the Hills and Mountains.

Nor were things more quiet in *Hungary*, where ſeveral Skirmiſhes happened to the Loſs and Damage of the *Turks*; and particularly the Soldiers of the Garriſon, and thoſe of the Blockade had an Encounter, and the latter returned Victorious, with 16 Priſoners, 22 Heads, 49 Horſes, and ſome Cattle.

Moreover Count *Corbelli* ſent out a Party of 500 Horſe, which met, and ſurrounded a Party of *Turks*, of which they killed three or four of the Chief Commanders, with 70 private Soldiers, took 10 Priſoners, and many Horſes; in which Action 12 Men were ſlain and wounded, and 22 Horſes killed.

Moreover 3000 *Raſcians* under the Command of Captain *Antonio*, and 200 *Germans* under *Rusbach*, a Captain of *Hanover*, arrived one Morning about Break of Day near *Bernia*; from which a Detachment being made of five Troops of *Raſcians*, with ſome *German* Muſqueteers; having their Van-Guard led by *Artuſſer* Adjutant-General of *Piccolomini*, and three Lieutenants, puſhed forward into the City without any Halt or Heſitation, or regard to the Troops which followed, with ſuch

Bernia *ſurpriz'd by the* Chriſtians.

Con-

1690. May.

Courage and Valour, that the *Turks* being ſurprized, not having time to gather themſelves into an Orderly Body in the open Market-place; and ſeeing the Enemy already in the City, and more Troops following them, the Paſha, with about 200 of his beſt Horſe, fled out of the oppoſite Gate, leaving the remainder of the Garriſon with the Inhabitants, which conſiſted of about 3000 Men to their own Fate, which ended with the Death of about 1700 of them, moſt whereof were killed Sleeping on their Beds; the Booty taken, was very conſiderable, beſides much Cattle, and 500 good Horſes, with the loſs only on the *Chriſtian* ſide of ſeven *Germans*, and 17 *Raſcians*, who were killed.

The Grand Vizier marches to the Camp at Nicopolis.

It being now towards the end of *May*, which is the uſual Seaſon for Armies to take the Field, News was brought to *Niſſa*, that *Kuperlee* the Grand Vizier, was decamped from before *Adrianople* with 20000 Men, and on his March to joyn with 40000 more, which were Encamped at *Nicopolis* with intention to attack at one and the ſame time both *Niſſa* and *Widin*; and whereas the *Turkiſh* Army was in great want of Artillery, by reaſon of the many Cannon which they had loſt during this War, the *French* furniſhed them with 100 Pieces, which were brought from *France*, and Landed at *Galata*, and thence conducted on Carriages to the Army.

June.

The Palanca of Bellanaſch *ſurprized and taken.*

But the Seaſon not being as yet come for pitched Battles, or Siege of Towns, the Armies not being gathered into a Body, General *Corbelli*, who Commanded the Blockade near *Great Waradine*, detached 220 *Germans* and *Hungarians*, with deſign to attack the Palanca of *Bellanaſch*, where coming to it before Break of Day, and finding no Centinels to obſerve their Appearance, all the People being aſleep with the greateſt Security imaginable, the Soldiers climbed the Walls, and unperceived entered the Place without any oppoſition whatſoever, killing Men, Women and Children, without any diſtinction; ſome *Turks* howſoever eſcaped, and ſaved themſelves in the Caſtle; which General *Corbelli* being deſirous to take, by reaſon that the People of *Great Waradine* had been frequently relieved from thence, he ſent for 500 Men more to reinforce his Troops; but before theſe could come up to joyn, the others laden with Booty and Spoil, were departed, and gone to ſecure what they had gained.

1690. June. *A Deſign on* Noviporto *diſcovered.*

Theſe two late Succeſſes by Surprize, animated the Governour of *Leſcawitza*, and Count *Montecelli* Captain of Horſe in the Regiment of General *Hoffkirchen*, to attempt a third, and joyning with them a Party of *Germans* and *Raſcians*, they marched to *Noviporto*, with intention to ſurprize it, in the ſame manner as the others had been; but ſome of the *Raſcians* having Friends and Relations in the Place, gave information to thoſe within; upon which they all retired into the Caſtle, which was well defended with a ſtrong Tower, and a good Wall, and with Proviſion ſufficient for ſome Weeks, and ſtood upon their Guard; ſo that the Party finding their Deſign defeated, fell upon the Cattle which were feeding near the Place, and carried away ſome of them, to the Number of 6000 Sheep, and 2000 other Cattle; but the *Turks* of the Country gathering themſelves into a Body, purſued after them in ſuch Numbers, that attacking the *Raſcians* in the Rear, they recovered moſt of their Cattle, and took ſome of their Horſes; howſoever the *Raſcians* carried off about 1000 Head of Cattle, and ſome Priſoners, with the Heads of 15 *Turks*, which they had killed.

The *Germans* ſtill continued to rove about the Country with Parties, returning moſt commonly with Succeſs; one of them ſurprized and took *Ubicza* and *Dobran*, two ſmall Palanca's, killing all that they found alive therein.

Radimir *abandoned by the* Turks.

Likewiſe Captain *Schenchendorff* with 800 *Germans*, and ſome *Hungarians*, paſſing near *Radimir*, a *Turkiſh* Garriſon, in hopes to ſurprize it, found the *Turks* vigilant and ready to receive him; upon which being forced to make a Retreat, the *Turks* ſallied out upon them, but were repulſed with the loſs of 50 of their Men killed, and three taken Priſoners, upon which the *Turks* being put to flight, the *Germans* purſued them ſo cloſe, that they entered with them into the Suburbs, which conſiſting of about 400 Houſes, they burnt all to the Ground, and then retired towards *Pyrith*; but in their way meeting with 400 freſh *Hungarian* Horſe, they joyned with them, and returned again towards *Radimir*; but in their March having received Advice, That the *Turks* had abandoned the Town, and laden their Wives, Children, and Goods, on 130 Waggons, and ſent them farther into the Country, a Party of *Huſſars* was commanded to purſue them; which they did, and ſoon came up with them, and took all the Waggons, People, and Goods that were in them; but they were not ſo eaſily carried off, as they were taken; for a Body of about 1200 *Turks* from the Frontiers, coming in to their Aſſiſtance, they not only retook all the Booty from the *Huſſars*, (the Captain *Schenchendorff* being at too far a diſtance to relieve them) but alſo forced them to fly, leaving ſome of their Companions, who were the worſt mounted, unto

A Booty taken from the Huſſars.

the

1690. June.

They Rally and Kill ſome Turks.

the Mercy of the Enemy; after which, the *Turks* purſuing farther, fell in with *Schenchendorff*, who finding himſelf over-matched, made a handſome Retreat to a convenient place, where taking his Advantage, made Head againſt the *Turks*, and killed above 100 of them, took ſeveral of their Horſes, and much Cattle, which they carried off with them.

A Sally made out of Great Waradin.

General *Corbelli* who commanded the Blockade before *Great Waradin*, made an Incurſion with 2000 Men, and ruined all the Corn and Fruit of the Field, ſo near the City, as was within reach of their Guns: Upon which Approach the Garriſon ſallied out, but were repulſed with great loſs, and amongſt the reſt the Chiaus-Baſhee was killed: The Defendants terrified herewith, above 40 Families eſcaped out, and at their Requeſt were Baptized.

The Caſtle of Bellanaſch *ſurrendred.*

July.

In the mean time a ſtricter Watch than ever was kept in the Blockade about the Caſtle of *Bellanaſch*; and the Stream of Water which ran at the Foot of the Palanca, and Caſtle, by which both were ſupplied, being cut off by the *Chriſtians*, and the Currant turned another way, the Defendants were reduced to great Extremities, and more eſpecially they began to be affrighted, when they ſaw a freſh ſupply of Horſe, Dragoons, and *Huſſars*, ready to attack the Place, and that two Batteries were already raiſed, which continued firing for two Days without intermiſſion, they at length inclined to a Surrender, and in order thereunto ſent out two Aga's to make their Capitulations, which were ſoon concluded, and agreed, That the Garriſon conſiſting of 150 Men, beſides their Wives and Children, and other Inhabitants, ſhould the next Day be conveyed to *Giula*, which was accordingly performed on the 4th of *July*.

The Turks *Attack* Strahina.

Whilſt theſe Matters went on, the Parties from *Niſſa*, were always Plundering and ſpoiling the Countries, and Captain *Strahina*, the famous Partiſan, who was continually on Parties, made his Inroads near to *Philippopolis*, and ſurprized the *Turks* in ſeveral Places of that Neighbourhood, with much Spoil and Damage: The *Turks* alarm'd hereat, got into a Body, and purſued after *Strahina*, and having overtaken him, attacked him with great Fury and Bravery; but were as reſolutely repulſed, and their Teſtiſh Paſha killed in the Action; 200 of their Horſe taken, and much Booty, with the loſs only of five *Raſcians*: The like Succeſs *Strahina* had againſt *Kathana* Paſha, who meeting on the Road, whilſt one Party was returning to *Sophia*, as the other was to *Niſſa*; the *Turks* were beaten, and put to Flight, and the Paſha, with his Men that eſcaped, were forced to take Refuge in the Mountains, ſcattered and diſperſed, whilſt *Strahina*, and his Men, with their Booty, returned ſafe to *Niſſa*.

1690. July.

Pernich *ſtormed & taken.*

And now to conclude the Succeſſes of the many Parties which roved abroad in divers Places, the Captains *Schenchendorff*, *Strahina*, and *Wildenham*, with one Lieutenant *Funck*, ſallied abroad with 100 *Germans*, and 1500 *Raſcians*, with which having ſtormed *Pernich* in three ſeveral Places at the ſame time, they entered the Fortreſs, and cut down all the *Turks* in the way, only 50 of them got into a Tower, and refuſing to take Quarter, Fire was put to the ſame, and then the People too late cryed out for Mercy; after which the Town was Plundered, and the beſt of the Goods, with 3000 Head of Cattle, were carried off ſafe to *Pyroth*.

Tekeli *declared Prince of* Tranſilvania.

But to make way to greater Actions, the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Ottoman* Court, after a long Sollicitation, had procured for *Tekeli* a Baratz, or Commiſſion, whereby he was declared Prince of *Tranſilvania*, and to publiſh the ſame, he diſpatched his Circular Letters to all the Cities and Provinces, written in the *Latin* Tongue: The Contents whereof were as followeth:

‘THAT whereas God Almighty, and the High and Mighty and always Flouriſhing *Ottoman* Empire, had created, and ordained him Prince of the Hereditary Countries of *Tranſilvania*, belonging to the *Ottoman* Empire, with an expreſs Clauſe, That he ſhould enjoy the ſame, with ſuch Power, and in the ſame manner, and with as high and ample Privileges as had been given to *Bethlem Gabor*; for which Cauſe and Reaſon, having ſent Greeting to all the People and Subjects of that Country, he did ſtrictly forbid, and inhibit all Perſons to give any Succour or Aſſiſtance whatſoever unto the *Germans*, but on the contrary, to put themſelves into a readineſs to give Aſſiſtance unto him the ſaid *Tekeli*, as alſo the Grand Vizier, and the *Tartars*, who were now coming in great Numbers very ſpeedily into the Field, to deliver their Country of *Tranſilvania* from the Terrible, and Unjuſt Oppreſſion of the *Germans*.

Now follows *Tekeli*'s Declaration in *Latin* joyned hereunto.

Emericus

1690. July.

Emericus Tökölius *Dei Gratiâ, à Fulgidâ Portâ Ottomanicâ declaratus Princeps* Tranſylvaniæ, *Partium Regni* Hungariæ *Dominus, & Siculorum Comes.*

‘QUAM precioſa & inæſtimabilis res ſit, animæ corporiſque libertas, ſi cæterorum Orbis Chriſtiani Regnorum ac Nationum exempla prætereamus, pro ſufficienti tamen exemplo eſſe poterit Nationi Hungaricæ olim tanto ſanguine acquiſita libertas; quantam enim Hungari inquietudinem, arma effuſionemque ſanguinis impenderint in defenſione libertatum ſuarum, apud homines prudentiâ & experientiâ rerum exornatos, manifeſtum eſt; hoc etiam ignotum eſſe nequit, quod à quo Hungariæ Corona & Gubernium in Poteſtatem Nationis Germanicæ devenit, omnia conſilia, labores omnes, in eo vertebantur, quâ ratione Nationem Hungaricam debilitare, bonis omnibus privare, tandem Regnum Hungariæ hæreditarium conſtituendo ad Servitutem ignominioſam, & intoleranda tributa præcipitari poſſit. Quod ipſum cum ante plurimos annos prudentiores, & in ſummâ dignitate conſtituti Proceres vidiſſent, neque per innumeras inſtantias, ſupplicationeſque ſatisfactionem diplomatis à Domo Auſtriacâ obtinuiſſent, è contrario indies læſio libertatum, & intolerabilium contributionum onus incrementa ſumpſiſſet, neſcientes aliud quid facerent, coacti fuerunt, penes leges Patriæ, etiam cum inculpatâ tutelâ, ad vindicandas libertates, arma capere, omnibuſque conſtat, à quot annis bellum continuebatur; quinimo ſi ad hanc calamitatem præcipitata Natio Hungarica Prædeceſſorum ſuorum veſtigiis inſiſtens arma non depoſuiſſet, cervices contumelioſo ſervitutis Jugo ex voluntate Spontaneâ non ſubmiſiſſet, ſperare poterat ex divinâ benignitate poſt multas etiam calamitates antiquæ libertatis reſtitutionem.

‘Tranſylvania quoque, licet tantopere ſicut vicina Hungariæ non fuerit coacta Nationi Germanicæ ſeſe ſubmittere, neque enim in tantis extremitatibus fuerat, ut ad meliora tempora ſe conſervare non potuiſſet, multis fortalitiis, quæ in ſua poteſtate habebat firmata, nihilo tamen minus nonnullis libertatis Patriæ contemptoribus & privato commodo obnoxiis, quomodo tradita ſit, cum omnibus fortalitiis in extraneorum poteſtatem, & in quas oppreſſiones præcipitaverit Dominationes Veſtras, ejuſdem fructus acerbitas adhuc in ore omnium eſt.

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‘Ut autem ad ſcopum noſtrum propius accedamus, etiamſi omnipotentiſſimus Deus nos quoque ad miſerias acerbas redegerit, & per multas mutationes viciſſitudineſque tranſire debuerimus propter quas multi ex præcipuis præpotentis hujus Nationis malefactorum ſuorum premium acceperunt, Deus tamen qui nunquam permittit juſtam cauſam finaliter opprimi, nos ex iis omnibus eliberavit, perſonam cauſamque noſtram, apud præpotentem Nationem, tam gratam honorificamque fecit, ut cauſam tam dedecoroſè ſuppreſſæ Nationis noſtræ non minus in Fulgidâ Portâ, quam apud alios Chriſtianos Monarchas utilitèr promovere valeamus.

‘Quorum intuitu, licet in eo nunquam laboraverimus, Fulgida Porta tanquam Tranſylvaniæ Domina Hæreditaria fidelia ſervitia noſtra, & in fidelitate conſtantem perſeverantiam, quoque ponderando Principatus Tranſylvanici Dignitatem cum omnibus requiſitis & immunitatibus nobis contulit, ſuper indéque diploma & *Achname* ſuum, quod antiqui principes multis expenſis obtinere non potuerunt: Iiſdem conditionibus, qualibus beatæ quondam recordationis ſereniſſimo Principi Gabrieli Bethlem contulerat, nobis quoque dedit ſine injuria Regni, ejuſdemque territoriorum imminutione, una cum ſtatis *reſi*, Reſidentem inſuper, ſive Kapithaiam Tranſylvaniæ, qui hactenus in Porta fuit, ad nos dimiſit: Præterea *Achname* Hani Tartarorum noſtris etiam in manibus eſt.

‘Jam in nomine Dei cum militiâ præpotentis Turcarum Imperatoris pariter & Hani Tartarorum movimus indieſque iter noſtrum continuamus, Dominationes veſtras communiter ex omnibus ſtatibus conſtitutas ſupremi, medii, infimique gradus, ordinis per præſentes informare, requirere & admonere cupientes, non dubitamus, quin Univerſis Patriæ libertas ejuſdemque vindicta in cordibus ſit, ideoque ſinguli ex Dominationibus veſtris, obligationis ſuæ erga deum & patriam memores cogitent de rebus, recta conſcientia inſurgant, & antequam confinia regni ingrediamur monſtrent Realia Documenta obedientiæ expedientes nobis obviam ex omnibus Nationibus ablegatos primariæ conditionis, interim viritim arma ſumentes, difficultates in paſſibus ſemoveant, nemo ſeipſum vel arma ſua Germanis jungat, vel hoſtiliter ſe nobis opponat, ad deſolationem Patriæque ruinam, & multarum millium animarum deprædationem cauſam ſubminiſtret; Literas has patentes nemo ſupprimat, quin potius publicet, quia talium animæ coram judicio Dei rationem reddent, noſtram quoque graviſſimam indignationem cum poſteris ſuis

non

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July.

'non effugient, de his omnibus coram Deo & Mundo proteſtamur, quod nullius ruinæ interituſque cauſa nos erimus.

Datum ex Caſtris ad Kula poſitis die 26 Junij, 1690.
Emericus Tókóly.

'MI Domine Judex, vel quicunque has literas ad manus ſuas acceperit, Deus magnus miſericordiæ, afflictionum gentis ſuæ miſertus, ecce perditum miſerum Emericum Tókóly tanquam aliquem Gideonem ex horreo ad promovendam ſuam gloriam aſſumens id in nomine Domini ad vindicandas oppreſſiones Dominationum veſtrarum, prout ex ejuſdem manifeſto præſentibus incluſo apparet, proinde Dominatio veſtra cum fidis ſuis amicis communicet, promulget, ne opprimatur, quia Dominatio veſtra dabit rationem de illo. *Bukureſs* 28 *Junii*, 1690.
Valentinus Nemeſſay.

'Annexa patente, Mittant Dominationes veſtræ Amicis ſuis unas in Siculiam, alteras in terram Parzenſem & diſtrictum Fogaraſinienſem.

Inſcriptio Literarum.
Nobili Domino Judici Coronenſi, Notario, vel cuicunque ex Magiſtratu Dominis amicis meis trandantur.

By the many Troops of *Tartars* which were already entred into *Valachia*, and by the Increaſe of *Tekeli*'s Forces, which were become much more numerous and formidable, by the Sums of Money which he had received from *France*, the Imperial Generals were greatly alarm'd, and fearing leaſt they ſhould Invade that Country, all the Forces in and about *Tranſylvania*, were ordered to march under the Command of General *Heuſler* towards the Paſſes which lead to *Walachia*; and as they marched, to ſpoil the Ways, and render them as impracticable, and difficult as was poſſible.

By this time News was come to *Niſſa*, that a great Body of *Turks* was aſſembled near *Nicopolis*, and that the Grand Vizier was actually on his March to joyn with them; whereupon General *Veterani*, having provided the Garriſons with neceſſary Proviſions and Ammunition drew all the Troops he was able unto *Niſſa*, where he remained at a Gaze to obſerve the Motions of the *Turks*, and to afford his Aſſiſtance unto any Place which ſhould be diſtreſſed, or in danger.

The Seaſon of the Year was now advanced to the middle of *July*, when Advies came by way of *Walachia*, that Sultan *Galga* was marching with ſome Thouſands of *Tartars* towards *Bulgaria*; and that *Budack* Commander of the *Tartarian* Fleet was with four Gallies, and many Frigats, armed with ſome Guns, and laden with Ammunition and Proviſions, coming up the *Danube*: And moreover that the Grand Vizier was with a very ſtrong Army come as far as *Sophia*, and pitched in thoſe Plains, and cauſed vaſt Stores of Corn, and all other Proviſions, to be laid up in the Magazines of that City.

1690.
July.

The Tartars *retire from* Widin.

Some few Days after which the *Tartars* appeared before *Widin* with their four Gallies, and about 60 Veſſels, on which 5000 Men were Embarked, and immediately began to fire on the Town; the which News being brought to General *Trautmanſdorf*, he marched immediately with the Troops under his Command, to the Relief of the Place, and was followed by ſeveral Veſſels laden with Proviſions, Convoyed by Boats armed with Muſqueteers; which coming in ſight of the *Turks*, they fired inceſſantly upon them, until ſuch time as the Cannon planted by *Trautmanſdorf*, on the ſide of the *Danube*, forced them to quit their Station, and retire farther down the Stream, to the other ſide of the River; after which, the General having provided the Town with a ſufficient Garriſon, and all ſorts of Proviſions neceſſary, conducted the Veſſels ſafely back, and marched farther towards the general Rendezvous at *Jagodina*.

Corbelli *reinforces the Troops in* Servia.

And becauſe the whole force of the *Ottoman* Empire under the Command of the Grand Vizier, was marching from *Sophia* againſt the *Germans*, who were very weak in *Servia*, and not able to keep the Field againſt the *Turks* in thoſe Parts; Count *Corbelli* who Commanded the Blockade before *Great Waradin*, received Orders to march with ſuch Troops as could be ſpared from the Blockade, to reinforce the Army in *Servia*, the which was performed accordingly, leaving the Care and Charge of the Blockade to Count *Schlick*.

Auguſt.

The *Arnouts*, who had before taken part with the *Germans*, obſerving the Weakneſs of the *Chriſtian* Troops and the Strength of the *Turks*, joyned againſt their Inclinations to ſave themſelves with the latter; with which the Grand Vizier being reinforced, a Detachment was made under Command of the Seraſkier, to joyn with *Tekeli* in *Walachia*, whilſt another Paſha was employed to Beſiege *Widin* both by Land and Water; and the Vizier marched in Perſon with the groſs of his Army towards *Niſſa*, with 100 Pieces of Cannon, and 12 Mortars.

Upon this News General *Veterani* ordered all the Commanders of the ſeveral Poſts and Paſſages leading towards *Niſſa*, to leave their Guards, and retire with their Men, Ammunition, Proviſion, and Cannon to the City; which having furniſhed with a ſufficient

1690. August.

The Chriſtian Camp at Alexin.

cient Garriſon of 3000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, he marched back with the remainder of the Army towards *Alexin*, and there formed his Camp.

Pyroth *taken.*

Niſſa *inveſted.*

In the mean time the Grand Vizier on his March to *Niſſa*, at which he aimed, took *Pyroth* in the ſpace of three or four Days, upon Capitulation with the Garriſon, which conſiſted of no more than 150 Men, to be conducted ſafely to *Niſſa*, but the Vizier purſued them ſo cloſe at the Heels, that on the 14th of *Auguſt* he Inveſted the City with his whole Army, and on the 17th began an Attack at *Bergele*, compaſſing one half of the City, on that ſide; and on the ſame Day he ſent a Chiaus with Letters to ſummon the Place, the which Colonel *Jorger* returned back again unopened, with this Anſwer, *That there was none there who could read* Turkiſh.

Upon return of this Anſwer, the Grand Vizier cauſed ſome Cannon to be ſhot into the City; and on the next Day the Trenches to be opened, after which the *Turks* fired without ceaſing, both with their Cannon and Mortars; and becauſe it was believed, that the Town would not hold out for any long time, the *Turks* plied their Buſineſs very cloſe, and made their Attacks with wonderful Courage and Bravery.

A Sally made from the Town.

On the 19th General *Staremberg*, who now Commanded in *Niſſa*, in the Place of Colonel *Jorger*, who was fallen ſick, ordered a Sally to be made by 100 Granadiers, and 200 Fuzeleers, ſuſtained by a Battalion of *German* Foot, and at the ſame time all the Horſe of the Garriſon made a Sally on the other ſide of the Town, which ſucceeded ſo well, that above 1000 *Turks* were killed on the Place, moſt of which were ſlain in their Trenches; beſides thoſe, who upon the Retreat of the *Chriſtians*, purſuing them to the Paliſadoes of the Town, were killed by the Cannon, and Muſquets from the Redoubts, and Outworks. In this Sally the Beſieged had 20 Men killed, and 60 wounded.

Whilſt the Siege of *Niſſa* proceeded in this manner, the Seraskier having joyned his Troops with thoſe of the *Tartars*, of the Prince of *Walachia*, and the Forces alſo of *Tekeli*, (under whom were nine Paſha's) their whole Army conſiſted of 16000 Horſe, 2000 Janiſaries, and 500 Talpats, with which *Tekeli* marched towards a certain Paſs called *Terezwar*, being diſtant about three Leagues from *Cronſtadt*, where General *Heuſler* lay encamped with four Regiments of Horſe, conſiſting in all of about 1700 Men, together with 5000 *Tranſylvanians*, called *Zecklers* from the Province ſo named, under the Command of General *Tolecki*. *Tekeli* not knowing well how he might with Advantage attack *Heuſler*, paſſed his Forces over Mountains, and untrodden Ways, being conducted by the People of the Country, until they came within ſight of the *Germans*; who nothing diſmayed at the appearance of ſo formidable and unequal a force, marched with the right Wing directly againſt that of the Enemies left, and charged them ſo furiouſly that they put them to a ſhameful Flight, and had that Day gained a moſt entire Victory; had the *Zecklers* ſeconded this good beginning; but inſtead thereof, they moſt baſely fled without firing one Muſquet; ſo that then the whole force of the Enemy falling upon General *Heuſler*, and his Men, having quitted their former advantageous Poſt, they were ſo over-powered by them, that after a long and bloody Fight, they were put to the Rout: In this Action General *Nordquermes*, *Tolecki*, *Von Wald*, *Springſelt* and *Winckler*, with ſome Captains, and 500 common Horſemen were killed: General *Magni* eſcaped, and ſaved himſelf in the Church of a Village called *Hansberg*, where a Peaſant killed him with a Pitchfork, and buried him under a Dunghill: General *Heuſler* having his Horſe killed under him, was taken Priſoner by *Tekeli*'s Men, and Marquis *Doria*, and Major *Fisker* by the *Tartars*: Lieut. Col. *Rainin*, with ſeveral Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns, and 32 common Soldiers were made Priſoners by the *Turks*. The Enemies alſo gained four Pieces of Cannon, 29 Standards, and three Waggons with Ammunition, but loſt 3000 of their Men in this Action; the remainder of the *German* Horſe being about 1200 Men, with 13 Standards, retreated under *Hermanſtadt*. After the Fight was ended, Count *Tekeli* being deſirous to reſcue as many Priſoners as he could out of the Hands of the *Tartars*, he bought Marquis *Doria* for 60 Rix-dollars, and many other Officers for a ſmall Matter, and afterwards ſent away the Marquis *Doria* with the following Letter to his Lady at *Vienna*, written in *Latine*.

General Heuſler *defeated.*

Ma q Doria *ſold for 60 Rix Dollars.*

Tekeli's *Letter to his Princeſs.*

GOD Almighty comfort thee, and alſo me with a more happy time. After many Miſfortunes, I have been comforted with a Victory over my Enemies; having had the good Fortune to make General Heuſler *my Priſoner, and Marquis* Doria, *which with ſeveral other* German *Officers, have hunted after my Life. This Accident may give an occaſion for thy Releaſement; to which end I have ſent the ſaid Marquis unto thee (for whom General* Heuſler *remains Security) and with him I have ſent my Servant* Michael *for a Companion; to the end that he being an Eye-witneſs of my State and Condition, may render thee a true Account and Information thereof. God grant that he may bring me good News from thee. Live well.*

Yours Emericus Tekeli.

1690. August. This Letter being delivered to the Princeſs by the Hand of Marquis *Doria*, an Anſwer was returned in *Latine*, as followeth.

The Princeſs's Anſwer. *I Wiſh thee Health, and all Bleſſings from God, (whoſe Name be praiſed) for giving me the happineſs to ſee the proper Hand-writing of my beloved Husband, and therewith his remembrance of me. Marquis* Doria *hath acquainted me with the Love which thou profeſſeſt towards me. I doubt not but Marquis* Doria *will inform His Imperial Majeſty with the Anſwer I have returned to thy Letter,* viz. *That I depend on Almighty God's Providence, and the Emperor's Clemency, and as to other Matters, I am ready to give ſufficient Security, that if leave ſhould be permitted me to go and meet my* Emericus Tekeli, *according to my Nuptial Duty, that I will return again at the time appointed; as to what the Imperial Court will do about the Priſoners, the Marquis will acquaint you; to accept or reject the Conditions, will depend much on your Affections towards me. The Marquis having earneſtly ſollicited his Buſineſs, hath gotten an early Diſpatch; he ſays as much in ſhort as is enough, and you may believe him. I have ſpoken with your Servant, who hath been ſick, but now is better. Perhaps my* Emericus *thought me to be ſome Lady in a Nunnery, becauſe he gives me not the Name of his Wife, perhaps it might be to try me, whether I deſire to be ſo called. Gold is tryed in the Fire, which Tryal I willingly ſuffer from my Beloved, expecting impatiently another Letter. God deliver the Priſoners, and comfort all afflicted Minds, which I heartily wiſh,* Amen.

Your Dutiful Wife,

From Vienna, Septemb. 24. Helena Zrinin.

But let us here leave Marquis *Doria* returning with his Anſwers to *Tekeli*, whilſt we diſcourſe a while concerning what the *Turks* are farther acting before *Niſſa* in *Servia*, now ſtraitly beſieged by the Grand Vizier himſelf. An Attempt was made at the ſame time on *Widin*, by the *Turkiſh* Fleet, which they expected ſhould take the Place without any Land Forces; but they being beaten off, and four of their Ships ſunk, the Vizier commanded that the Place ſhould be Beſieged both by Land and Water; accordingly the Lines were finiſhed, and the Batteries raiſed by the 24th of *Auguſt*. In like manner the *Germans* had perfected a Fort which they had raiſed on an Iſland near *Orſoa*, called *Carolina*, after the Name of the Emperor's ſecond Son; and therein a Garriſon was put of 400 *Germans*, and 1000 *Raſcians*, with 24 Pieces of Cannon, and all other Neceſſaries required for maintenance of the Place.

Widin *inveſted.*

1690. Auguſt. *Pr.* Lewis *at* Jagodina.

Whilſt things were in this doubtful Condition, and the *Chriſtian* Army commanded by General *Veterani*, lying at *Jagodina*, under ſome Diſcouragement by reaſon of the near approach of the Grand Vizier, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* arrived to the great Joy of the Camp, bringing with him a Regiment of *Huſſars*. The Prince had taken a view of the Camp, and entered into a Council of War, touching what was to be done, when the unhappy News arrived of the total Defeat of General *Heuſler* in *Tranſylvania*, which altered all the Meaſures before agreed; and new Reſolutions were taken to march thither with the greateſt force of the Army, of which General *Aſpremont* was to lead the Van by way of *Semendria*, where care had been taken to erect a Bridge for Paſſage of the Troops; and for the better ſecurity of the Ships laden with Proviſions, and with Sick and Wounded People. The Horſe remained on an Eminence, until all were Embarked; and Orders were ſent to the Governor of *Craſſowitz* to demoliſh that Fort, and with the *Germans* National Troops, and the Country People who were with him, to march towards *Belgrade*.

Niſſa *ſtraitly Beſieged*

By this time all Intercourſe with *Niſſa* was cut off, the Vizier having encompaſſed the City on all ſides with an Army, as was reported of 30000 Foot, and 50000 Horſe, beſides 15000 *Tartars* daily expected; the appearance of which, was enough to have affrighted the Place to an immediate Surrender, as was expected by the Grand Vizier; but contrary thereunto he met with a moſt vigorous Reſiſtance, to the great loſs of his Men; and a ſecond time, which was the laſt of *Auguſt*, they made another more violent Attack with freſh Troops, and were ſtill repulſed with greater loſs: At length the *Turks* for ſaving their Men, made a trial of ſome Mines, which they ſprang in divers Places, but moſt commonly they reverſed to the greater Damage and Miſchief of the *Turks* themſelves.

And Attacked.

Septemb.

The Grand Vizier having underſtood, that Prince *Lewis* was on the Retreat, and had withdrawn his Forces from *Widin*, and *Semendria*, detached a part of his Army to *Widin*; the which Garriſon conſiſting of no more than 800 Men, it was not probable, that they ſhould be able to withſtand any long Siege, and therefore being ſenſible, that no Succour was to be expected, they rendered themſelves up to the Enemy on the 29th of *Auguſt*, before any Breach was made, or the Enemy advanced within 40 Paces of the Walls; deſpair of Succour put them upon this Reſolution, whereby they gained ſuch good Conditions, that they marched away, and joyned with the Army of Prince *Lewis*, the 11th of *September*.

Widin *ſurrendered.*

The Garriſon marches and joyns with Pr. Lewis.

1690. Septemb.

Exemplum Epiſtolæ ab Amico ad Legatum *Colyer*, e Caſtris Turcicis ad urbem Nicæam poſitis, miſſæ.

Sept. xvi. *A. D.* 1690.

‘Tametſi per fidum ac certum hominem, qui Sagiri Achmetis Algazirani cauſam, & ablatorum quingentorum Leoninorum reſtitutionem huc miſſus fuerat, Excæ. Væ. cuncta, quæ hic acta, perſcripſi, non male tamen me facturum exiſtimavi, ſi & illa repeterem, & quæ poſt conſecuta ſunt, adjungerem.

‘A. d. ix. Aug. Primus Vizirius cum exercitu ad munimentum Sarkioi acceſſit: quod cum non ſtatim dederetur, vis adhibita eſt: cui impares, qui in præſidio, milites, poſtquam horas 24 hoſti fortiter reſtitiſſent, honeſtas pacti conditiones, deditionem fecêre; exieruntque ducenti Germani, Hungarique milites armati cum impedimentis, & à præfecto Turcico ad munimentum, cui Palanca Muſtafa Paſcia nomen, deducti ſunt. Tria hic tantum tormenta minora campeſtria reperta, cum nonnullis vaſis pulveris pyrii.

‘A. d. xi. Ad paulo ante memoratum Palancæ munimentum venimus, deſertum & exinanitum rebus omnibus à Germanis, qui ibi in præſidio fuerant.

‘A. d. xv. Niſſam perventum, quam abſolutiſſime munitam invenimus. Admotis mox propius caſtris omni vi oppugnatio inſtituta eſt: nec minore virtute oppidum defenſum: ita ut poſt xxiii dierum obſidionem unius Sagargibaſſi cuniculi vix ad crepidinem foſſæ promotæ fuerint. Ab quatuor ſimul locis cœpta oppugnatio eſt: primas partes curabat Janizarorum Præfectus cum Sagargibaſſi: alter ab hoc erat propræfectus Janizarorum: tertiæ Albanis obvenerant: quartas obtinebant Cairini, ſive Ægyptii. His cunctis præſidiarii undique ſimul admirabili virtute, magnaque cum Turcarum pernicie reſtiterunt. E Gallis transfugis cognitum eſt, Ducem Veterani quinto ante obſidionem die ex oppido diſceſſiſſe, ut ſuppetias procuraret, relicto, qui munimentum, dum ipſe abeſſet, tueretur, Stahrembergio, Stahrembergii iſtius, qui Viennam defendit, agnato, cum trium admodum millium militum præſidio, omnique rerum ad obſidionem tolerandam neceſſariarum copia. Uno ante menſe ſex Germanorum millia haud procul Viminatio abſuerant: verum intellecto, Sultanum Galga, Tartarorum Hani filium natu maximum indies in vicinia exſpectari, ad ſex alias cohortes ſub Jagodini ſe mœnia receperant, pariterque cum iis Moravam tranſierant: at poſtpaulo cognito rurſus eorundem Tartarorum ad hæc loca adventu, noſtrarumque copiarum peringenti numero, Tauruni, Semendriæque ſecuritati proſpecturi, Danubium petivêre: quos mox Tartari ſubſecuti ſunt.

1690. Septemb.

‘A. d. xxx. Nuncius huc à Fonduco Muſtaphâ Páſciâ miſſus attulit, ipſum una cum Tókólæo per invios montes, & inacceſſa juga, cum omni peditatu, abſque tormentis impedimentiſque, ſolis acinacibus & bombardis armato in Tranſylvaniam perrupiſſe, obviumque deſcendentibus Heiſlerum obfirmato in mortem animo invaſiſſe, ſtrictiſque acinacibus, non dato ad explodenda tormenta, aut repetendam Sclopetorum majorum minorumque exploſionem tempore, in Germanos, Hungaroſque milites irruiſſe, & mox in fugam actos, ac à Tartaris circumventos occidione cecidiſſe: ita ut de multis millibus perpauci evaſerint. Captos autem Ducem ipſum Heiſlerum, Marchionem Doria, & Comitem Magni. In cæſorum numero repertum primum illius Provinciæ Miniſtrum Telleki; item præfectum quendam cohortis Germanum, & aliquam multos de præcipua Hungarorum nobilitate deſideratos. Hanc porro victoriam trecentorum illis, non amplius militum jactura ſtetiſſe: unum tantum alicujus nominis cecidiſſe præfectum Turcici exercitus Cerkiſium Achmetem. Ex eodem nuncio accepimus, Turcarum, Tartarorum, Walachorum, & Tókólianorum conjunctas copias vix xv millia militum expleſſe. Tókólæus captivos majores minoreſque duces cunctos penes ſe retinet, tranſmiſſis tantum viginti ſignis ad Vizirium: quæ ille èveſtigio eopſe, quo accepit die una cum expugnati intra ſextum diem Viminatii nuncio ad magnum Sultanum miſit.

Vizirium aiunt ſcripſiſſe Tókólæo de mittendo ad ſe Heiſlero: at illum reſpondiſſe, eo ſibi imprimis opus eſſe cum ad ſubjugandam Tranſylvaniam, tum ad recuperandam conjugem ſuam Principem Ragotzki. Idem, quem dixi, Fonducus in Cerkiſii Achmetis locum Copiarum Turcicarum dux ſuffectus eſt.

‘A. d. v Sept. Sultanus Galga ad Vizirii colloquium publice admiſſus, & ab eo equo eximio, ephippio & phaleris ditiſſime exornato, ut & acinace gemmato, ac talari veſte murinis pellibus duplicata donatus eſt: familiaribus autem, & comitibus ad ducentas talares de more datæ. Hic autem Princeps cum Kiamankiſeo, aliiſque duobus Turcicis præfectis a. d. viii. hujus menſis Semendriam oppugnatum abiit, comitantibus duobus Turcarum millibus, avectiſque ſecum decem tormentis campeſtribus.

‘Valachorum Princeps, etiamnum apud Tókólæum hæret in Tranſylvania, aderitque tamdiu Turcico exercitui, donec ille Tranſylvaniæ ſibi principatum certa poſſeſſione vindicarit. Præcipua namque munimenta in poteſtate adhucdum Cæſaris ſunt: duo vero tantum oppida Braſlau & Fogareſt Tókólæo ſemet ſubmiſêre.

‘A. d. vii. Vizirius unum de ſuis Capigibaſſis, ſive viatoribus, ad exercitus præfectum Muſtafam Fonducum, ut & ad Tókólæum in Tranſylvaniam miſit, talarem ſingulis veſtem murinis pellibus ſuffultam, & aliquot ſimplices cæteris minoribus tribunis, ac præfectis, munus illuc delaturum. Valachorum Principi, quique ex ejus comitatu, novem itidem conſimiles veſtes miſſæ ſunt.

‘Hac occaſione uſus centurio Gallus hinc una in Tranſylvaniam abiit, qui anno priore cum Tókólæo Sophiam venerat, & cum Legato Gallico Conſtantinopolin profectus inde in Galliam trajecerat. Nunc autem curſu publico Conſtantinopolin reverſus huc venerat, multa de Gallicis victoriis jactitans, quas de Batavis & Anglis reportaverant. His addebat interpres Gallicus Fontanus, Gallos Batavorum exercitum ſub Waldeckio in fugam conjeciſſe, duodecim millibus cæſis, octo captis: mari vero conjunctas Batavorum & Anglorum claſſes à Gallica victas fugataſque. At id verum eſſe negitant alii: Regem autem Gulielmum Hiberniam imperio ſuo ſubjeciſſe, pulſo ac dein in Galliam ſe recipiente Rege Jacobo. Ad hæc Galli nil reſpondent, niſi, quod certum hujus rei à legato ſuo nuncium necdum ſeſe accepiſſe præ ſe ferant.

‘A. d. ix. Nicææ Præfectus tubicinem ad Galilum Paſcia de deditione miſit, ſi æquis ea conditionibus, ſibique honeſtis permitteretur; petens, ut Vizirius eam in rem tres ad ſe militares duces mitteret. Verum Vizirius, ſi de tradenda urbe ſecum agere decreviſſet, ipſius eſſe reſpondit, certos ad ſe delegatos mittere. Hoc accepto reſponſo, duo eodem die centuriones, cum adjuncto Commiſſario, in Caſtra Turcica profecti ſunt: atque ita inter hos & Kiaiabejum ac Sagargibaſſum, alioſque Janizarorum Duces, præſente etiam pro-Vizirio, convenit, ut oppidum cum omnibus commeatibus & apparatu bellico, nec non Turcis fidem Chriſtianam amplexis, ut & ſervis ac ſubditis Turcicis, qui in oppido invenirentur, dederetur: Germani, Hungari, aliique milites præſidiarii armati, cum conjugibus ac liberis, impedimentiſque omnibus, ſalvi & incolumes egrederentur, conceſſis ad eorum devectionem centum curribus, additoque præſidio & præfecto, qui deducerent eos, quocunque vellent: interea temporis præſidium èveſtigio foſſis & munimentis exterioribus digrediens Janizaris ea traderet. Quod ubi factum, a. d. x Sept. milites nonnulli de præſidio pedites equiteſque cum impedimentis ſuis oppido egreſſi ſunt: viis autem militaribus, cuniculis interruptis corruptiſque, accidit, ut currus aliquot everſi fractique fuerint: Unde qui præcedebant, aliquantum à cæteris disjuncti, cum ad extrema Turcarum caſtra perveniſſent, pars à deducentibus Turcis, aliiſque militibus ſpoliati, nonnulli etiam occiſi ſunt; conjugeſque ac liberi eorum in ſervitutem abducti; quorum numerus ignoratur. At hoc certum eſt, Vizirium, his cognitis, è veſtigio Germanis præſidiariis mandaſſe, ut in oppido reſiſterent, poſteroque die ſervatis ordinibus, & cunctis rite diſpoſitis exirent: vulgato interim per exercitum Turcicum edicto, ut, qui de militibus Chriſtianis, eorumve conjugibus ac liberis quemquam penes ſe haberent, eoſdem intra xii horarum ſpatium dimitterent, atque in libertatem reſtituerent: qui ſecus feciſſent, capital iis fore. Sed pauci eorum ad ſuos rediere. Hanc ob culpam duo ſupremi Equitum præfecti, nunciorumque Sultani Princeps, dignitate dejecti, & cujuſcunque muneris publici adminiſtrandi in poſterum incapaces declarati ſunt; utpote qui milites ſuos in officio continere nequiviſſent.

‘Munimentum illæſum atque integrum inventum eſt: ſiquidem Turcæ, uti ſupradictum, trium & viginti dierum ſpatio vix ad exterioris foſſæ ſupercilium appropinquaverant. Rogavi ego nonnullos è militaribus de præſidio ducibus, quæ maturandæ deditionis cauſa fuiſſet? Reſpondere, nullam auxilii ſpem: cui mandatum acceſſerit clanculum ad ipſos perlatum, uti oppidum dederent, ac ſaluti militum proſpicerent. Certe mirari 'ſatis nequo, quum omnes ad oppidum aditus diligentiſſime obſeſſi fuerint; qui fieri potuerit, ut quis ad eos inobſervatus pertranſierit?

'Poſtquam præſidium oppido digreſſum eſt, interpreti Gallico imperatum, ut Gallos, quorum aliquot centeni erant ad tranſitum in caſtra Turcica invitaret: verum quindecim tantum tranſiere; quorum quinque religionem Chriſtianam Turcica mutarunt: reliqui Conſtantinopolin profecti. Quod autem gentem hanc attinet, bona fide Væ. Excæ. affirmare poſſem, fraternam ipſos Turcis fidem, operamque præſtare.

'A. d. xii. Galilus Præfectus è caſtris ſemet cum Albanis ad Sultanum Galga contulit, ſuas cum illius copias conjuncturus. Hodie vero, qui xvi Septemb. Vizirius caſtra movet, eo animo atque ſpe fore, ut intra paucos dies Semendria potiatur: qua capta Taurunum aggreſſurus eſt: quod mihi inceptum aſperum ac difficile videtur, quum anni tempus intempeſtivum, militumque clanculum ſeſe ſubducentium haud exiguum numerum conſidero.

Exemplum alterius ab eodem Epiſtolæ.

'Deditionem Niſſæ proximis inde literis Excæ. Væ. ſignificavi: hiſce, quæ poſt evenêre, exponam.

'A. d. xvi. Sept. Semendriam inſtitutum iter, & a. d. xxv. caſtra ad urbem poſita ſunt. Verum a. d. xxvii. ante exſpectatum, Albani, Janizarique Portam Flumentanam vi ſumma oppugnantes irrupêre, & univerſum præſidium 250 Germanorum militum, nemini parcentes, trucidavêre.

'A. d. xxx. Motis Caſtris, Taurunum profecti ſumus: eademque veſpera ad octavum ab urbe lapidem caſtrametati, proſtridie ab omni eam parte cinximus. Cum vero ad uſque viii Octobr. multa cum virtute defenderetur, Deo ita permittente, invictum illud munimentum (humano more loquor) arte ſumma munitum, in Turcarum venit poteſtatem.

'Eodem die ſervus Turca ex urbe in Albanorum ſtativa transfugus, & à Galilo Paſcia exactiſſime interrogatus, examinatuſque, turrim in urbe oſtendit, in qua magna vis pulveris pyrij eſſet recondita. Bombis igitur in eam directis, tectum, quod ex ligno erat, incenſum, & deinceps hora circiter promeridiana tertia univerſa interior urbs flammis & ignibus colluxit, turriſque vi accenſi pulveris in aera disjecta muros urbis ita convulſit, ut prolapſi foſſas adimplerent. Hinc ſtatim Albani civitatem invadentes, atque irrumpentes, nec ſexui nec ætati pepercere, quidquid obvium ferro conficientes. Triſtiſſimus hic caſus ita Germanos perturbavit, ut deſubito nullo ſervato ordine ad portum flumenque profugerent, adeo trepide, ut, mortem vitare conantes, in ſcaphas & naviculas ſe præcipitarent, ac divinæ ſe providentiæ permittentes, pars ſecundo flumine deſcenderent, pars eodem adverſo, remorum auxilio evadere conarentur. Verum maximam eorum partem mox immiſſi Tartari conſecuti ceperunt: adeo ut de tribus militum millibus, quibus hoc præſidium conſtitit, vix trecentos effugiſſe exiſtimem, quos noctis ingruentis tenebræ texerunt, atque conſervarunt.

'Inter captivos nemo alicujus nominis repertus: neque ex illorum quoquam, quid Principe Croïaco factum ſit, reſciri hactenus potuit; quamquam diligentiſſime in eum inquiſitum fuit. Hic Princeps eodem menſis Oct. die octavo Taurunum venerat Comitemque Aſpremontium certiorem fecerat auxilii cohortium aliquot Germanarum poſtridie ſecundo flumine adventuri. Sed nec de hoc Aſpremontio certi quidpiam cognoſci, indagarive potuit.

'Non in interiore, neque in exteriore urbe vel minima caſula reſtitit, ſuperfuitve illæſa: adeo cuncta ædificia flammis conſumpta ſunt. Interioris urbis mœnia tota ſedibus ſuis evulſa & disjecta ſunt: ſed exterioris pleraque ſuperſunt. Hac urbis per pulverem pyrium everſione, bomborumque aliquot, qui altero etiam ab urbe capta die diſſiliere, magnus Turcarum numerus interiit.

'A. d. xi. Tartarorum Hanus, corpore licet invalidus, in caſtra ad Vizirium venit; quicum hic belli conſilia agitaturus eſt. Cæterum jam ſedet Vizirio, tres Turcicos præfectos cum omni Tartarorum copia Oſſeckium mittere. Cui rei exſequendæ Savus fl. ponte jungitur, qui intra biduum è navibus & ſcaphis, magno numero ad Belgradum repertis, perfectus erit, paratuſque.

'Hoc porro Excæ. Væ. affirmare auſim, ni tempus anni expeditionibus bellicis commodum jam effluxiſſet, fore, ut Vizirius hoc adhuc anno Budam tenderet. Cognovit enim è captivis, perpaucos tam Budæ, quam Oſſeckii milites in præſidio eſſe, eoſque magnam partem è morbo infirmos.

'Reperta

1690.
Septemb.

‘ Reperta Tauruni tormenta bellica majora centum; minora vero multo plura: quæ cum bombis & pulveris pyrii copia ſub terram reconditi, inventique, quantumvis validæ ſuſtinendæ ſufficiant obſidioni.

‘ De Tókólæo nil certi accepimus, niſi quod plebem ſibi Tranſylvanicam indies magis magiſque concilier, ac ſubjiciat: tum in eo eſſe, ut Albæ Juliæ de more tanquam Princeps Tranſylvaniæ inauguretur. Veruntamen munimenta pleraque in poteſtate adhuc ſunt Cæſarianorum. Quantum inquirendo percipio, ad ultimum hujus menſis Octobris hic ſubſiſtemus: deinde in hyberna miles deducetur. Atque hæc hactenus: cætera proximis literis perſcribam. Vale.

Niſſa *ſurrendred.*

The News of the Surrender of *Widin*, cauſed the Vizier to haſten the taking of *Niſſa*, that he might have time afterwards before the Winter to take in *Belgrade*; to which end he furiouſly aſſaulted the place on all ſides, and continually both by Day and Night fired with Cannon and Bombs into the City; by which the Garriſon being diminiſhed from 3 unto 2000 Men, and the Counterſcarp taken, and no hopes of Relief, General *Staremberg* the Governor thereof was forced to a Capitulation, and Surrendered on the 8th of *September* on very honourable Terms: Namely, That the Garriſon ſhould march out with Bag and Baggage, Trumpets ſounding, and Drums beating, Colours flying, and with all their Arms, and to be conveyed in ſafety to the *Morava*. But the *Turks* did not faithfully obſerve this Agreement, but robbed and diſarmed many of them. The *Tartars* alſo purſued after them as far as *Semendria*, with intent to cut them all off; of which Count *Staremberg* having Advice, he ſpeedily paſſed the *Danube*, and ſo arrived in ſafety at *Belgrade*. The *Turks* found 90 pieces of Cannon and Mortar-pieces in *Niſſa*; after the taking of which they marched directly towards *Belgrade*, and took *Semendria* in their way, of which Lieutenant Colonel *Weingartler*, a ſtout and valiant Soldier, was the Governor; but having no more than 500 *Germans*, and 400 *Raſcian* Soldiers in all, for defence of the place, they ſuſtained a Storm from all the *Turkiſh* Army; but being overwhelmed with Numbers, the Governour with all his Soldiers were put to the Sword and periſhed; and the *Turks* became Maſters of the place, in which they found a good Booty with quantity of Proviſions.

Semendria *taken by Storm, and the Garriſon put to the Sword.*

In the mean time Prince *Lewis* continued his march towards *Tranſylvania*, and having paſſed the *Danube* at *Culitz*, a place ſomething below *Semendria*, he arrived at *Karanſebes* with the Horſe on the 16th, but the Foot and Baggage came not thither until two days afterwards. And here it was that the Prince received Intelligence how that *Tekeli*'s Lieutenant-General was marching againſt him with ſome thouſands of Horſe, by way of the Valley of *Hadegger*, leading to that place, which is called the *Iron-Gate*, with intent to hinder the Prince's paſſage into *Tranſylvania*; but the *Germans* were beforehand with them, and with a Party of Horſe took poſſeſſion of the Paſs before *Tekeli*'s Men could reach it; which they maintained for two or three days before the Army could come and enter into it; and having paſſed it about the 21ſt, they drew into Battalia according to the ſituation of the Ground, and encamped near the Ancient *Romana Colonia Vulpia Trajana*, the Ruins of which do ſtill appear, where they remained until the 24th, before which time their heavy Baggage could not arrive at the Camp.

1690.
Septemb.

P. Lewis *in* Tranſilvania.

The *German* Army being thus entered into *Tranſylvania*, many of the Nobility of that Country applied themſelves to the Prince for Safe-Conducts, or Protections, to live quietly and to ſave their Goods; whilſt in the mean time, the *Raſcians* were entered into *Walachia*, where they plundered, burned, and put all to the Sword with as much Cruelty as enraged Men can exerciſe one againſt the other. But Prince *Lewis* marched with his Army in three Lines, until they came within an hours diſtance from *Huniad*, and here the Army reſted for a while.

The *Turks*, as we have ſaid, having taken *Semendria*, and killed all that were it, the Grand Vizier marched with all his Forces towards *Belgrade*; of which, News being carried to the Imperial Court, the Duke of *Croy* was immediately diſpatched to *Belgrade*, to take upon him the Command of that City.

October
The Grand Vizier inveſts Belgrade.

The Duke was ſent away on the 1ſt of *October*, which was the Day that the Grand Vizier inveſted *Belgrade*, and encamped in the very ſame Places and Poſts which the *Chriſtians* had ſet out and marked two years before; And on the 2d he had ſurrounded the City from the *Danube* to the *Save*; and from that Day to the 8th they fired continually with their Cannon and Bombs without ceaſing, and ſtormed the Palliſadoes with ſuch Rage, without fear or wit, that the Defendants wondered to ſee them run on ſo deſperately before any Breach, or the leaſt opening was made to favour or prepare for an Attack.

On

1690. October.

The Duke of Croy *at* Belgrade.

The Steeple of the Caſtle takes fire.

Again on fire and blows up.

A great ſlaughter thereby.

On the 8th, The Duke of *Croy* arrived in the City by Boat, and immediately applied himſelf to take a View with General *Aſpremont*, and Officers of the Artillery of all the Works and Fortifications, as alſo of the Enemies Trenches, which were already advanced within 12 Paces of the Palliſadoes; which done, he retired to his Lodging; and that night, the Beſieged diſcovered and emptied one of the *Turks* Mines juſt ready to be Sprung: Next Morning the Duke of *Croy* being deſirous to ſend a true account to the Emperor of the State and Condition of the Place, a Draught thereof was drawn and ſubſcribed by General *Aſpremont*, and Officers of the Artillery; which whilſt the Duke, after a ſmall Breakfaſt, was preparing to diſpatch away, giving an Account withall, that there were not above 3200 Men in the place fit for Service, an outcry was made, That the great Blue-Steeple of the Caſtle began to burn; upon which Alarm the Generals and others applying themſelves to extinguiſh the Fire, it was ſoon put out. But no ſooner were the Generals and People returned to their Homes, and buſily employed in their Diſpatches for *Vienna*, which were to be carried by the Count *Archinto*; but by ſome unknown Accident; or as it is rather believed, by the Treachery of a *Turk* diſguiſed in a *German* Habit, or by the villainous and traiterous Practice of ſome *French*, who had been employed to work in the Magazines, and had that Morning Deſerted, and gone over to the *Turk*; the ſaid Blue-Steeple, about three or four a Clock in the Afternoon (which was the principal Magazine for Powder in all the City) took Fire, and blew up, with ſuch Violence, that the Duke was not only wounded, but half buried in the rubbiſh of his own Lodgings, and diſ-interred as it were by a Page of General *Aſpremont*. This blow over-turned the great Bulwark, which defended the Caſtle, together with its Walls, Guns, and other Defences, opening ſo large a Breach for the Enemy, that they might have entered the Town with whole Squadrons: And ſo extraordinary and fatal was this blow, that it deſtroyed a thouſand Men of the Garriſon, which were drawn up on the place of Arms and on the Walls; ſo that when the Generals ordered new Men to ſupply the Places of thoſe who had been killed by this fatal Clap, and defend the Breach, they could not find a ſufficient number to withſtand the Enemy, then ready to take advantage of this dreadful blow; howſoever, they made the beſt reſiſtance poſſible, until their remaining Magazines and Store-Houſes took Fire, and blew up one after the other, in ſuch a diſmal manner, that for Fire, Powder, Smoak, Stones, and Duſt, one Man could not ſee, much leſs know the other; and in this Confuſion, not only the greateſt part of the Garriſon periſhed, but even a thouſand *Turks* ſtorming at that time the Walls, and entring the City, were alſo loſt; and ſuch as remained alive were forced to retreat back to the Camp; at which time it ſeemed, as if a Ceſſation of Arms had been made during this gloomy and diſmal Interval; but ſo ſoon as it had cleared up a little, the *Turks* obſerving the great Conſternation in the City, ſo that thoſe who remained alive, could make no reſiſtance, they rather entered the Walls than Stormed them; And being come within the City, they found very few *Chriſtians* living, or Houſes ſtanding, and the very Boats in the River were ſunk by the weight of the Stones and rubbiſh which were fallen into them; ſo that thoſe who eſcaped, ſaved themſelves for the moſt part by Swimming. ſome over the *Danube*, and ſome over the *Save*; on which occaſion, howſoever ſome few Boats remained, by which many paſſed over, and amongſt the reſt, the Duke, and General *Aſpremont*, with ſome of their Servants; but no Man could ſave more than what he carried about him.

1690. October.

All the Magazines of Powder and Proviſions blown up.

Belgrade *taken.*

The Duke of Croy *eſcapes with the Generals.*

Count *Aſpremont* being blamed for this Action, was cleared by this following Copy.

Copie de l'Atteſtation donnee par le Prince Louis de Bade, a Monſieur le Comte d'Aſpremont au ſujet de la parte de la Fortereſſe de Belgrade.

La Fortereſſe de Belgrade ayant été malheureuſement priſe par les ennemis l'an 1690. *enſuitte de la grande confuſion que cauſa l'embraſement du Magazine a poudre, pluſieurs perſonnes mal informées des circonſtances de cette affaire en ont voulu attribuer principalement la faute au Comte d'Aſpremont quoyqu'il n'y commandaſt plus en Chef; ce qui a extremement diminué dans le monde le bon credit dans le quel il etoit, ſur tout a cauſe qu'il avoit été mis en arreſt comme Sa Majeſté Imperial a accoutumé de faire en de ſemblables rencontres.*

N'ayant donc appris autre choſe de Monſeigneur le Duc de Croy, ainſi que des autres Generaux & Officiers qui ont été commandez dans la dite Fortereſſe; ſi non que le ſuſdit Comte d'Aſpremont y a fait en toutes ma-

1690. October.

nieres ſon devoir, & y a montré ſon zéle en tout ce qui pouvoit concerner le ſervice de Sa Majeſté Imperiale, tellement qu'ayant été pleinement informé de tout le ſuſdit, & en conſideration de la verité du fait je n'ay pû faire moins que de donner a Monſieur le Comte d'Aſpremont non ſeulement la preſente Atteſtation, mais auſſi pour ſon unique Conſolation, & afin qu'un chacun puiſſe voir & connoitre le contraire des Calomnies dont on l'a voulu charger, de le recommander aupres de nôtre tres Clement Maitre & en tous lieux ou il pourroit en avoir beſoin pour ſon avancement, étant hors de doute que ſa été entierement contre la Clemente Intention de Sa Majeſté Imperiale qu'il a dû ſouffrir toutes ces Calomnies. En foy de quoy j'ay ſigné la preſente & y ay fait appoſer mon cachet. Fait a Vienne, ce 10 Fevrier 1693.

Louis Margrave de Baden de Sa
Majeſte Imperiale Lieutenant
General, Marechal de Camp,
Colonel & Gouverneur de
Raab.

And thus every Man ſhifting as well as he could for himſelf, the Duke rallied about 400 Men in all, with which he arrived at *Titul*, and afterwards marched with them to *Peter Waradin*; but the Duke remained not long here, before he departed, and took his march for *Eſſeck*, emptying all the Garriſons by the way, ſuch as *Illock*, *Sabaz*, and *Brod*, and joyning all the Forces he was able to Conſerve that important place; it being conjectured, that after having rendred themſelves Maſters of *Belgrade*, the *Turks* would not ſtop there, but following the air of their good Fortune, would endeavour alſo to take *Eſſeck*: But the Seaſon of the Year being far ſpent, it was believed that the Grand Vizier would think he had done enough for this Summer, and therefore would conclude the Campagne with an Action of ſo much Glory; but the Grand Vizier reſted not here, but having left 10000 Men for a Garriſon in *Belgrade*, and recommended the repair of the Breaches to the Care of ſome *French* Ingeniers that followed the Army, and leaving ſome of their Horſe Cantoned near the City; the greateſt part of their Cavalry was ordered for the *Upper Hungary*; upon the News of which, the *Germans* were ſo Alarm'd, that they quitted the Blockade before *Great Waradin*, and with other Troops which were in the Neighbourhood, they marched towards the *Tibiſcus*, to ſecure the paſſage of that River.

The Germans quit the Blockade of Great-Waradin.

In the mean time the Paſha of *Boſnia* was Commanded by the Grand Vizier to take *Eſſeck*, whilſt he himſelf, with a ſtrong Army of *Turks* paſſed the *Danube*; whereupon the *Germans* quitted *Lugos*, and *Caranzebes*, and the Vizier marched directly to *Lippa*; which place having been attacked with much Reſolution, and continual Storms, and in want of all Proviſions, was forced to Surrender, but on very honourable Capitulations, being permitted to march out with Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, and with Colours flying: The Beſieged loſt but ten Men, but the *Turks* 800 in this Action.

1690. October.

P. Lewis *continues his march.*

Whilſt Matters ſucceeded in this manner with the Vizier's Army, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* continued his march by way of *Weiſſenburg* and *Mullenbach*, and arrived the 3d of *October* at *Hermanſtadt*, where for want of Proviſions he was forced to remain for ſome days; but being at length ſupplied with all things neceſſary, they decamped, and came to *Medies*, where they attacked, and beat ſeveral Parties of the Enemies, whoſe Heads they brought with Triumph into the Camp: For as to *Tekeli*, and his Troops, they never ſtood their Ground, but as Prince *Lewis* advanced, they always retreated, keeping at leaſt ſix Leagues diſtant from the *German* Army. At length he came to *Czick* upon the Borders of *Walachia*; where to encourage and keep his Followers together, he boaſted of great Succours coming from the *Turks*: But this Report would not ſerve his turn; for the Prince of *Walachia* having received Intelligence that the *Raſcians* did much Infeſt and Ruin his Country, he was the firſt to deſert the Army, and return home to defend and preſerve the ſame. Soon afterwards, the *Zecklers* and *Tranſylvanians* following the Example of the former, left the Army, and returned to their Homes; the which Misfortunes were ſoon ſeconded by the ill News, That 200 of his Men, who blocked up the Caſtle of *Terezwar*, had been ſurpriſed, and cut to pieces by the *Germans*. After which, the Prince purſued *Tekeli* towards *Czick*, from whence likewiſe he decamped, and fled through the whole Country, being hunted from one place to another; but ſeeing that *Tekeli* could be fixed in no place, the Prince ſent back all his Baggage to *Medies*; and having alarm'd *Tekeli* on every ſide, he cauſed all the Roads into the *Georgian* Country to be ſtopped up, and rendered unpaſſable; and being in a full march, and freſh purſuit after him, he almoſt ſurprized him, and had certainly taken him, had not the Prince been diſcovered in his paſſage over the River near *Marienburg*; at which *Tekeli*

And beats ſeveral Parties of the Enemy.

Tekeli *flies from place to place.*

1689. October.

He flies into Walachia.

keli was ſo affrighted, that he betook himſelf to flight, and with great Confuſion retired through the Paſs of *Bozz* in *Walachia*; but being ſtill purſued by ſome *German* Horſe, they overtook ſeven or eight Waggons with Baggage, which they ſeized with ſeveral Priſoners; But *Tekeli* ſtaid in no place, but rode Poſt away until he came as far as *Tergovitz* in *Walachia*. And thus ending the ſhort Reign of this *Tranſylvanian* King, the Emperor became a ſecond time the Maſter of that Principality; the Care and Preſervation of which was committed to the Charge and Government of General *Veterani*, who with eight Regiments, and a good part of the Army, returned back to *Zatmar*.

Effeck ſummoned.

According to Orders received from the Grand Vizier, *Chuſacin* Paſha of *Boſnia*, appeared on the 29th of *October*, with *Muſtapha* Paſha, and one Beg or Lord of that Country, before *Effeck*, with 12 or 15000 Men; and the day following ſent a Summons to the Duke of *Croy*, to Surrender up the Fortreſs unto the invincible Power of his Sovereign, the *Ottoman* Emperor, and in failure of a ready Compliance herewith; he threatned to deſtroy the whole Garriſon, Man, Woman, and Child, and not ſo much as to ſpare or give Quarter to Infants in the Womb of their Mothers.

The Anſwer to the Summons.

Hereunto the Duke returned for Anſwer, *That the* Germans *did not uſe to be terrified with high and menacing Words; That they had not a Woman in the Town, and conſequently no Children to be concerned for who were unborn; but they ſhould find Men there who were reſolved to defend the Town to the utmoſt of their power.*

The Turks repulſed.

Upon this Anſwer, the Paſha immediately ſtormed the Counterſcarps, which were without any Parapet, and provided only with ſome ſmall Palliſadoes: Howſoever, tho' the Garriſon conſiſted only of 2000 Men, the *Turks* were repulſed with great loſs and ſlaughter. The Paſha finding himſelf miſtaken in his Meaſures, and that the place was reſolved to make a better reſiſtance than he expected, he began to form an Attack in good Order, opening Trenches, and raiſing Batteries, which was performed with ſuch diligence, that on the 2d of *November*, two Batteries were finiſhed, from whence with eight Guns, and two Mortar-pieces, they fired continually into the Town. The Duke one Evening walking with ſome Officers through the Palliſadoes to take a view of the Enemy, was diſcovered by them, and thereupon a whole Volley of ſhot was poured upon them; amongſt which, one Musket-ſhot took of the Hat and Perriwig of the Duke, and grazing on his Forehead, took off the Skin for the breadth of a Finger, without other hurt or miſchief.

Novemb.

1690. Novemb.

A Salley made from the Town.

On the 4th about Noon the Duke cauſed a Salley to be made by 200 Foot, 30 Granadiers, and 100 Horſe, which ſo well ſucceeded, that the Turks were beaten out of their Trenches, having 200 of their Men killed on the place, and five Standards taken, with the loſs only of two Men killed and about 30 wounded: Had the Lieutenant who commanded the Horſe, done his Duty, and advanced as he ought to have done, to cut off the Enemies Retreat, above 40 Colours had been taken, and not one of them had eſcaped out of their Trenches; for which Default the ſaid Lieutenant was ſeized, and arreſted.

On the 5th, The *Turks* had advanced within 15 Paces of the Palliſadoes, and Counterſcarp, and had ſo battered, and ruined the Houſes within the Town, eſpecially that in which the Duke had his Quarters, that very few were ſtanding, and ſcarce any place to remain or abide in. The *Turks* likewiſe began again to appear in great numbers, threatning a general Storm; But the Duke, and the other Generals, providing to make the beſt Reſiſtance, and moſt vigorous Defence they were able, entered into the Counterſcarps with undaunted Reſolution; but the Enemy attempted nothing, as if ſome ſtrange fear had poſſeſſed them. In the mean time, the Duke being returned to his Lodgings; the *Huſſars* brought to him three *Turks*; who being in Examination, demanded for what Reaſon the Enemies had made ſo violent an Aſſault without Trenches or Earth to cover them; it was anſwered, That there being a Report in the *Army*, that the *Chriſtians* were coming with a powerful Army to relieve the Town; it was reſolved to take the place, if poſſible, before the Succours came; for which reaſon they endeavoured to carry all at once, by dint of Sword, or force of Arms.

A Stratagem to deceive the Turks.

The Duke, and General *Staremberg* having received this Information, ſent out by Night all the Drums and Trumpets, and Bag-Pipes which were in the Town, to the Regiment of *Hoſkirchen*, and ſome *Huſſars*, which were quartered on this ſide of the *Drave*, with Orders and Inſtructions, that when the Evening was come, they ſhould under the Obſcurity of the Night, march to and fro, cauſing the marches of Muſqueteers, and Dragoons, at convenient diſtances to be beaten, and Trumpets and Kettle-Drums to be ſounded from ſeveral Places; which being exactly performed according to Orders, cauſed

1690.
Novemb.

It ſucceeds to the terrour of the Turks.

ſuch an Alarm in the *Turkiſh* Camp, as ſtruck all with Fear and Confuſion, believing that the Succours, which they feared, were now arrived, which cauſed ſuch a Conſternation in the *Turkiſh* Camp, that they quitted all their Trenches in the Night with a confuſed Precipitation, making what haſte was poſſible for *Boſnia.*

The Turks *raiſe the Siege by a pannick fear.*

Of this the Beſieged knew as yet nothing, but perceiving towards ſix a Clock in the Morning, that not the leaſt noiſe was heard in the *Turkiſh* Trenches, the Duke gave 50 Dollars to a Musketeer to adventure out, and take a view of the Camp and Trenches; the which having done, he returned, and gave a Report, That not a *Turk* was remaining, either in one or the other. So ſoon as the Day-broke, the Garriſon ſallied out, and entered the deſerted Camp, in which they found great Spoils, three pieces of Cannon, 100 Bombs, and other warlike Inſtruments which the *Turks* had left behind in their affright, which poſſeſſed them with ſuch pannick Fear, that they ſtopped not, or looked behind them, till they had paſſed the Bridges at *Walcowar*, where they ſtayed no longer than only to break them down to ſecure their flight.

The Story hereof was pleaſantly related by a certain *German*, who had three years before been taken by the *Turks*, and had for his skill in the *Turkiſh* Language, been received into Service of the Paſha's Secretary: This Man during the flight had thrown himſelf into a Cock of Hay and Straw, where he lay hidden until the *Turks* were gone, and then creeping out, eſcaped to *Eſſeck*, and there told the Duke; That the Paſha was a dull, old, timorous Fellow; who when he heard all the Drums beat, and the Trumpets and Bagpipes ſound, he was ſtruck with ſo much Fear, that he trembled, his Hands and Feet ſhook, his Knees knocked one againſt the other, and his Legs were not able to ſupport his Body: and he farther ſaid, That the Paſha had been ordered by the Grand Vizier, that ſo ſoon as he had made himſelf Maſter of *Eſſeck*, that he ſhould not ſtop there, but ſhould make Excurſions round the Country, ruining and deſtroying all with Fire and Sword; but this Stratagem ſo well ſucceeded, that the People and Country were freed of the *Turks*, and the Ruin which they threatned.

Joy at Vienna.

The Siege being thus raiſed, Lieutenant Colonel *Lyon* was diſpatched with the News to the Imperial Court; which ſo much rejoyced the Emperor and the whole City, that all the former ſiniſter Succeſſes of the Campagne ſeemed forgotten, and ſwallowed up in the Joy of this Action; for which the Duke of *Croy*, and General *Staremberg* were ſo cryed up, that never any thing ſeemed comparable to this Stratagem, and gained them not only the Fame of valiant, but wiſe Generals: This News was the more wellcome, becauſe it was ſurprizing, and unexpected; for the Town was ſo ill fortified, that the Soldiers would never have been perſwaded to hold out, had not the Duke liberally diſtributed his Money in the Garriſon, and treated the Soldiers plentifully at the Rate of a Pound of Fleſh, and a Quart of Wine for every Day; And indeed there was a neceſſity thereof in that moiſt Country, which is nothing but marſhy and wet Places, and in that Seaſon of the Year, ſubject to Rain, Fogs, Froſt, and all extremities of the Weather.

1690.
Novemb.

Thus this Siege being happily raiſed, *Te Deum* was ſung in *Eſſeck*; and all the Trenches of the Enemy being levelled, the Duke committed the Command of the Town to General *Staremberg*, and returned himſelf to *Vienna.*

Decemb.

P. Lewis *complimented by all the States of* Tranſylvania.

In the mean time, Prince *Lewis* continued his march for *Zatmar*, where he arrived the firſt of *December*, having been Complimented all along in his march by the States of *Tranſylvania*; particularly at *Enget*, where Thanks were particularly returned him, for having delivered them from the Tyrannical Government of Count *Tekeli*: Which poor Prince, after many Difficulties, being come into *Walachia*, 300 *Zecklers* which had followed him did then Deſert him; but marching home without leave, were purſued by ſome of his Troops, and cut down in ſuch manner, that none of them eſcaped. The *Walachians* alſo, unwilling to have their Country ruined by the *Raſcians*, who deſigning to make their Winter-quarters there, cauſed great Fears, ſo that he laboured under perpetual Troubles and Hardſhips.

C. Tekeli *in a ſad Condition.*

At *Zatmar*, Prince *Lewis* was forced to continue for ſome Days for Refreſhment, both of his Soldiers, Horſes, and Mules, the which were ſo extreamly tired by their long Marches, eſpecially the Beaſts which had carried the Baggage, that they would not ſtir nor riſe, until they put fire under them.

In the mean time the *Turks* under the Command of the Grand Vizier's Son, continued to over-run and ſpoil all the Country on the other ſide of the *Theyſſe*, and ſent a Summons to the Governor of St. *Job* to Surrender the place to them; but he anſwered, That the Place being a Fortreſs belonging to the Emperor, of which General *Nigrelli* had the Keys, he was not capacitated to comply with their Deſires.

Hereof

1690. Decemb.

P. Lewis prepares to fight the Turks.

The Turks *return with loſs to* Temeſwaer.

Hereof News being brought to Prince *Lewis* at *Zatmar*, who had not with him above 2000 good Horſe; the Enemy being 15000 ſtrong, did not think himſelf in a Condition to fight them, but ſending to Colonel *Schick*, who with his Regiment was quartered near *Zolnock*, and to the *Huſſars* who were in thoſe parts, to joyn as ſpeedily as they could poſſibly with him, and to put themſelves into a poſture to meet and fight the Enemy. Whilſt things were forming and contriving for this Action, a certain ſtout Fellow, who uſed to go out upon Parties, named *Kis Ballad*, had a Rencounter with the *Tartars* in the Parts adjacent, of whom he killed 100, and took 50 Priſoners. Of this Body, thoſe that eſcaped carried News to the *Turks* and *Tartars*, that the Prince had quitted *Tranſylvania*, and lay encamped near *Zatmar*; upon which Advice, 12000 *Turks* made an Excurſion into that Country: But Prince *Lewis* having now got together 4000 good Horſe, adventured to ſeek the Enemy; and on the 20th of this month came to *Clauſſenburg*, where two Days before the *Turks* had been, and ſummoned the place to make a Surrender; but the Summons being rejected, the *Turks* having burned the Suburbs, returned to *Enget*, and in their march paſſing in ſight of *Clauſſenburg*, they burnt and deſtroyed all Places in their way, and attacked the Foragers, and advanced Guards; took ſome few *German* Priſoners, with the loſs only of about 50 of their Men, and ſo marched directly towards *Temeſwaer*: But Prince *Lewis* having been joyned by General *Nigrelli* with 2000 Horſe, by which and his own he made a Body of 4000 well armed and accoutred, he purſued them ſo cloſely at the Heels, that the Enemy entirely quitted *Tranſylvania*, with the greateſt haſte and confuſion imaginable; and falling in with their Rear, cut down about a 1000 of their Men, took three pieces of Cannon, with a great many Camels and Horſes, and moſt of their Baggage; and haſting away with all the ſpeed poſſible, more in the Nature of a Flight than a Retreat, they at length arrived at *Temeſwaer*, but with much diminution of their numbers, cauſed by toilſome and long Marches, and the exceſſive Colds in the Night, whereby ſome were frozen to Death, and others ſeized by Catarrhs and Rheums, which made them uncapable of farther Service.

Orſoua *ſurrendred to the* Turks.

After this, the Iſland of *Orſoua* ſurrendred to the *Turks* for want of Ammunition; the Governor upon the Articles granted, deſired to be conducted to *Belgrade*, not knowing but that it remained ſtill in the hands of the *Germans*; and tho' the *Turks* told him the contrary, yet not believing them, he ſtill perſiſted ſo earneſtly to be Convoyed to *Belgrade*, that the *Turks* at length carried him and his People thither, conſiſting of 600 Men, beſides Women and Children; but this miſtruſt of the *Turks* words coſt them dear, for arriving there, they were put for two days into a Fort of the City; and afterwards commanded them to bring out their Arms, and lay them upon Waggons, on promiſe of ſending them for *Eſſeck*, which being done, they commanded them to come forth two by two, that they might be the better counted. After which, they drove them back to the Fort like Cattle, and chained them there with Iron-Chains, where they kept them in ſo ſevere an Impriſonment, that moſt of them died with Want and Hunger, except ſuch as were under 20 years of Age, whom they Shaved and Circumciſed, and made *Turks*; but the Women and Children they Sold, and pillaged all the Goods, which they brought out with them. In this Iſland the Enemies found 23 great Guns, 15 Field-pieces, and three Mortars, but the Bombs and Powder were thrown into the River: And thus ended this Year, which proved the moſt unfortunate to the Emperor of any, that had happened ſince the beginning of this War.

THE
Venetian Succeſſes
In Their WAR againſt the
TURKS,
In the Year 1690.

1690. WE concluded the *Venetian* Succeſſes of the laſt Year's Expedition, with the Triumphant, and Glorious Entry of that Illuſtrious Prince *Franciſco Moroſini* Cavalier, Captain General, and Elected Doge of *Venice*, to whom his Country teſtified as much Honour and Glory as could be contrived and expreſſed; the Particulars of which are long and not neceſſary to be inſerted in this Hiſtory; only it may not be improper to recount in ſhort ſome of the Exploits of this Great Man, with that Applauſe which is due unto his Memory.

This *Franciſco Moroſini* deſcending from the moſt Ancient Patrician Family in *Venice*, was Born in the Year 1618. He was in his Infancy dedicated by his Parents to the Service of his Country, and educated in all Martial Exerciſes; and riſing by degrees and ſteps to ſeveral Offices, both Military and Civil, he at length arrived at the Supream degree of Government in that Republick, being elected Doge during the time that he was fighting abroad in defence of his Country, he was at firſt made a Noble Commander of a Gally, which is the firſt ſtep and degree which a Noble *Venetian* takes, then he was made a Vice-Admiral and Governour of a Galleaſs; next Captain of the Golf, Proveditor-General of the Arms in *Candia*, and then Captain General, in which Office he continued a long time until the Year 1661, behaving himſelf with incomparable Valour; in which Year he fought a Battle with the Gallies of *Barbary*, under the Fortreſs of *Valona*, he took a great Ship called a Sultana, richly laden from *Egypt*, near the Iſland of *Milo*, he defended the Breaches of *Candia*, and took another great Sultana, the Captain of which was called Admiral *Nicolo* of *Nadalin Furlano*, and made him Priſoner; he laid the Captain Paſha's Gally Aboard, and almoſt entirely ruined it; he took the Gally of the Paſha of *Cyprus*, together with the ſeveral Fortreſſes of *Calamo*, *Egena*, *Volo* and *Megara*; and having made himſelf Maſter of thoſe Seas, he deſtroyed 13 Galleots under the Fortreſs of *Preveſa*. He made many Sallies from *Candia* in the Face of the Enemy, deſtroying many of their Works and Intrenchments; he ſubdued the Fortreſs of *Calamata*, and made himſelf Maſter of two *Turkiſh* Gallies commanded by *Hali* Paſha; he alſo took the Fortreſſes of *Toron*, *Chiſme*, *Caſtel-rugio*, and *Schiato*, putting them and other Iſlands under Contribution. He alſo took the Caſtle of *Capricorno*, and deſtroyed the Forts of *Calogero*, *Sancta Veneranda*, and *Calami*, which commanded the Fortreſs of *Suda*. He likewiſe took two Ships bound from *Alexandria*, laden with Soldiers and Proviſions, with another Convoy bound from the ſame Place for *Conſtantinople*, under which were divers Ships and Veſſels.

The Atchievements of Franciſco Moroſini.

In fine, after all theſe Succeſſes and Triumphs, being returned to *Venice*, he was made Proveditor of *Friuli* to oppoſe the Incurſions of the *Turks*, who at that time threatned thoſe Countries very much; but thoſe Fears being blown over, he was ſent back a ſecond time to Command both the Seas, and the City of *Candia*, then ſtreightly Beſieged by the Grand Vizier *Kuprogli*, with the main force of the *Ottoman* Empire; the which Siege having continued for the ſpace of almoſt three Years, the *Turks* were concluded to have loſt 128000 Men before it. During which time this Hero behaved himſelf with all imaginable Wiſdom and Bravery; and tho' at length he was forced after many Conflicts, and various Succeſſes (which we have diſtinctly recounted in our Hiſtory of the Lives of the three laſt Emperors,) yet the fame of that renowned Defence, accompanied with an enſuing Peace,

The Praiſe of Moroſini.

1690.

Peace, will much more immortalize his Fame than any other of his Martial Succeſſes, it being the moſt memorable Siege that ever happened in the World.

Finally in the Year 1683, when the Grand Vizier *Kara Muſtapha* appeared before *Vienna* with an Army of 200000 Men, he was then appointed Proveditor-General of *Friuli*, to oppoſe the vaſt Inundations of the *Turks*, which had happened to all thoſe Countries, had the Succeſs of that Vizier anſwered the Expectations of ſo mighty a Power.

After which he was ſent a third time in quality of Captain-General againſt the *Turks* in the *Morea*, where in the ſpace of five Years, he performed all thoſe great Actions which have been before recounted; by which he acquired ſuch immortal Honour and Fame, that he was by the Death of *Contareno*, exalted to the Supream Throne of that Victorious and Renowned Republick; where we ſhall now leave him employed in the exerciſe of the Sublime Dignity, and ſo proceed to recount the Actions of that Noble General the Cavalier and Procurator *Girolamo Cornaro*, who when the Doge, about the latter end of the laſt Year, returned to *Venice*, was left in the Command before *Malvaſia*, of the Blockade, which continued during the whole Winter paſt.

The Venetians *reſolve to beſiege* Napoli di Malvaſia.

But the Summer coming on, and the Army and Navy reinforced conſiderably with Men, Proviſions, and Money, diſpatched from *Venice* under ſeveral ſtrong Convoys, and being joyned with the Pope's and the *Malteſe* Gallies, it was propoſed to convert the Blockade into a Formal Siege. It was now full 17 Months, that the Beſieged had with much patience ſtood out in defence of their City, ſo that it was believed, that they were reduced to the utmoſt Point of Famine, and Penury; the which Opinion, the *Turks* were willing to confirm in the Minds of the Beſiegers, that they might take them off from the Attempts of Attacking, Bombing, or other Methods for forcing the Town. But the Captain-General having diſcovered, that the Defendants were ſtill provided for a longer Subſiſtence, and able to hold out for ſome Months, reſolved on ſome more expedite means, than by the dilatory ways of a Siege, and the lazy Formalities of a Blockade; for tho' it was moſt deſirable for ſparing the effuſion of *Chriſtian* Blood to take it, by ſafe and certain Proceedings; yet when it was made known, that the Victuals, and all ſorts of Proviſions, did not fail; it came to a final Determination, to take them by a lively and vigorous force: To which end the Engenier *Baſſignani*, with the Count St. *Felice* Sergeant-General, was ordered to take a Survey of the Town on the Lands ſide, and to deſign, and draw out the Trenches, and Platforms for Battery, the which in a few Days, by the encouragement which the Preſence of the Captain-General gave, was performed and perfected; ſo that they began on all ſides, with the advantage of two Palanders, to batter the Town, and with their great Guns from the Ships and Gallies, to thunder in ſuch a terrible manner, that the Inhabitants diſmayed, and diſ-ſpirited by their long Sufferings, and the unexpected Attacks of their Enemies, cauſed their Drums to beat a Parly, and ſent forth a Cadi, with two Aga's, to make Offers of Surrender on theſe Conditions, *viz.*

1690.

The Town battered.

They Capitulate.

'That they might carry off all their 'Cannon, and have 20 Days given them 'to make a Surrender.

But theſe Propoſitions appearing unreaſonable, they were without farther Diſcourſe, or Expoſtulation diſmiſſed, and ſent back to the City.

The Inhabitants tired with the long Blockade of 16 Months, and fearing now a forcible Aſſault, after ſome Conſultation held amongſt themſelves, they reſolved to deliver up the City, and returned the ſame Meſſengers with theſe more reaſonable Conditions,

The Articles agreed.

I.

'THAT the City ſhould be Deli-'vered.

'II. The Soldiers and Inhabitants ſhould 'go forth with their Goods, and Baggage, 'in the ſpace of 10 Days, and ſafe Convoy 'given them to be Tranſported to *Can-'dia.*

'III. Liberty given to the Inhabi-'tants, either to remain in the City, or 'depart.

Malvaſia *delivered up.*

In vertue of theſe Articles, 1200 Souls marched out of the City, a great part of which were Men. In the Town they left 78 Pieces of Cannon, part of Braſs, and part of Iron, with great Quantities of Bisket, and with other Proviſions, and Ammunition, ſufficient for ſeveral Months.

The People having quitted the City, and Tranſported as was agreed to *Candia*, the Captain-General entered into it with much Pomp and Triumph on the 12th of *Auguſt*, where the principal Moſch being dedicated to God under the Invocation of the Bleſſed

1690. Virgin of *Carmen*, was delivered up to the care of the *Franciſcan* Fathers, and a ſufficient Garriſon being put therein, the Command thereof was committed to the Government of that Noble *Venetian*, *Vicenzo Gritti* of St. *Alviſe*, in quality of Proveditor. Many Gentlemen ſignalized their Valour and Conduct in ſubduing this Fortreſs, namely the Duke of *Guadagni*, *Chabrillan* General of *Malta*, with ſeveral other Noble Perſons, and Subaltern Officers, worthy of immortal fame. In this laſt Action, 400 Men were killed and wounded.

The Venetians *deſign upon* Valona.

Septemb.

By the Fall of this City of *Malvaſia*, taken the 12th of *Auguſt*, the *Turks* were entirely beaten out of the *Morea*, and the *Venetians* became abſolute Maſters thereof: But to loſe no farther time, the Captain-General *Cornaro* having given ſome time for the Refreſhment of his Troops, ſet ſail from *Malvaſia* with the whole Armata, towards the Gulf; and being on the 11th of *September* come within ſight of *Valona*, the *Turks* had time to form a Body of 7000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe; and having taken poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous Poſts, and Paſſes, they endeavoured vigorouſly to diſpute the Landing of the *Venetians*. But things were ſo well ordered, that nothing could give a ſtop to the Reſolution of Men accuſtomed to Succeſs and Victory.

They Land.

The firſt that ſet Footing on Shoar, were the *Malteſes*, which were followed by the Pope's Militia; but the *Venetians* were the firſt to attack the Enemy under Command of Major-General *Spaar*; which they perform'd with ſo much Bravery and Reſolution, that having repulſed the Enemy from the Shoar, they purſued them to the Fortreſs of *Cannina*, which is ſituate on the top of a high and craggy Rock, about four *Italian* Miles diſtant from *Valona*; theſe were ſeconded by the Duke of *Guadagni*, and ſeveral other Auxiliary Troops, together with ſome *Venetian* Troops commanded by Sergeant-General *Borri*; in this Action the *Turks* loſt ſome Men, and the *Venetians* about 8 or 10, amongſt which the Count of St. *Felice* was ſhot in the Head by a Musket-Bullet.

The Army being alſo joyned with a Body of *Cimarriotes*, and *Albaneſes*, and conſiderably increaſed thereby, advanced ſo far, as to lodge that Night in the Neighbourhood, deſigning next Morning to attack the Suburbs of the Town, whilſt *Lavettin*, General of the Deſcent, was taking a Survey of its Situation, he was grievouſly wounded with a Musket-ſhot; and in the mean time the *Turks* making a Sally with 2000 Men, were repulſed, and forced to retire into their Houſes fortified with Stone, barricading up their Streets, and in many Places opening Trenches to give a ſtop to the advanced Troops of the Enemy, by which the Captain General foreſeeing that length of time might be advantageous to the Enemies, which in a ſhort time expected new Forces; the Cannon, Bombs, and other Warlike Inſtruments, were ſent for from the Fleet, which was performed with ſo much diligence, that in the ſpace of 24 Hours, the great Cannon was brought, and ſome Batteries raiſed, to the great Admiration and Terrour of the Enemy, againſt the Fortreſs of *Cannina*; in the expedition of which Work, all the *Ciurma*, that is, the Slaves of the Gallies and Galleaſſes, were greatly ſerviceable, by mending and breaking the Ways to make them paſſable for the Artillery; but whilſt the Batteries were playing very hotly on *Cannina*, a ſtrong Party of 3000 Foot, and 400 Horſe, were detached under Command of General *Spaar*, to attack the Enemy, who had made a Retreat, after the late Repulſe upon the Sea-coaſts, into ſome fortified Houſes and Places of Retirement. *Spaar* having marched for the ſpace of 10 Miles through Woods, and Mountains, and difficult Places, came at length in ſight of the Enemy, who were poſſeſſed with ſuch Fear and Conſternation, that tho' at firſt they made an appearance of Fighting, yet upon a more near Approach, they turned their Backs, and fled with Shame and Confuſion.

1690.

Cannina *battered.*

The Turks *overthrown in the Field.*

The Fort of Cannina *capitulates*

In the mean time whilſt General *Spaar* was in purſuit of the Enemy, General *Borri*, with ſeveral others of the chief Officers, made an Attack upon the Fort, without any fear or regard to the continual Fire which was made from thence, and being ſeconded at the ſame time by the Duke of *Guadagni*, together with the *Malteſes* and the Troops of the Religion, and of the *Papalins*, or the Pope's Forces; they all in their ſeveral Stations aſſaulted the Places appointed to them, and in this general Storm the Auxiliaries forced into the middle of the Town, ſeparating the Defendants on the Right Hand from thoſe of the Left, who finding themſelves diſtreſſed on all ſides, ſpread a White Flag, demanding to Capitulate; the which being granted, ſome Perſons came forth demanding ſuch exorbitant Terms, as were not thought fit to be granted. At length all was reduced to theſe Particulars; namely,

'That they ſhould, without further de-
'lay, Surrender the Fortreſs into the
'Hands of the *Venetians*, and march forth
'immediately with their Families, Bag and
'Baggage.

Thus

1690. Septemb. Cannina *ſurrendred.*

Thus was the Fortreſs of *Cannina* delivered up to the Will and Pleaſure of the Captain-General, out of which came forth about 3000 Souls, beſides 546 of the Garriſon, and were with ſafe Convoy conducted to their Camp: The loſs on the *Venetian* ſide was not conſiderable as to the Numbers, but for the Quality of the Perſons killed and wounded, amongſt which *Alviſe Sagredo* was wounded with a Muſquet-Bullet in the Thigh; and General *Borri* through the Body, of which he died, to the great Sorrow and Lamentation of the whole Army; likewiſe Monſieur *de Moroglie*, Lieutenant General of the Forces of *Malta*, whoſe Place was ſupplied by Sergeant-Major *de Broſſie*, a Perſon of approved Valour, and prudent Conduct.

Perſons of Quality killed.

The Captain-General not being willing to loſe the favourable advantage of the preſent Conſternation the Enemy was in, their Army being beaten in the Field, and put to flight, and the Fortreſs of *Cannina* delivered, and the Cannon for ſeveral Batteries playing upon the Town of *Valona*, it was thought fit to make an appearance of the whole Army before the City, and to affright them the ſooner into a Surrender; a threatning Summons was ſent them, with Menaces of giving no Quarter in caſe of Refuſal; but hereunto no Anſwer was returned by the *Turks*, ſo that nothing but an obſtinate Reſiſtance was expected, all things being ſilent and quiet in the Town, during the whole Night: At length in the Morning the like Quietneſs and Silence continuing, it was diſcovered, that the *Turks* had privately in the Night conveyed themſelves away, and cowardly abandoned the Town to the Pleaſure and Will of their Enemies, on the 18th of *September* 1690.

The Turks *abandon* Valona.

In the Fortreſs of *Cannina*, and in the Town of *Valona*, 134 Pieces of Cannon were taken of ſeveral ſorts of Metal, as well of Braſs as of Iron.

And in this manner this Enterprize ending, to the great Glory of the *Venetian* Arms, *Te Deum* was ſung in *Venice* with much Joy and Triumph, and greatly to the Honour and Praiſe of the Captain-General *Cornaro*, who with equal Valour followed the Footſteps of his fortunate Predeceſſor *Moroſini*.

The Paſha of Arzigovina, *deſigns on the* Greeks

Nor were the *Venetian* Arms leſs ſucceſsful under the Command of General *Molino* in *Dalmatia*, where *Zenalee* the Paſha of *Arzigovina*, had a deſign with a Body of 3000 Horſe and Foot, to attack the new Subjects lately conquered by the *Venetians*, the which being for the moſt part *Chriſtians* of the *Greek* Church, it was reſolved to ſurprize them in the *Eaſter* Week, when they were more attentive to Devotion, than to the Exerciſe of their Arms; but this Deſign was not ſo ſecretly managed, but that it was diſcovered, and brought to the knowledge of *Pietro Duodo*, Proveditor Extraordinary of *Cataro*, who upon the News, immediately diſpatched by an Expreſs, an Information thereof to the People of *Nixichi*, adviſing them to be watchful againſt the Surprizes of their Enemy. Accordingly at the time appointed, the Paſha moving from *Neviſſigne*, entering into the adjacent Parts of *Nixichi*, began to execute all Acts of Hoſtility, burning Houſes and Villages, making Slaves, and taking a conſiderable Booty. The News hereof being brought to the Churches, where the People were aſſembled and intent at their Devotions, they all ran out of their Churches, and betook themſelves to their Arms, with ſuch wonderful Celerity and Reſolution, that they unexpectedly aſſailed the *Turks*, and after a ſharp Conflict routed them, and put them to Flight. The Paſha endeavouring to ſtop their Career, killed two of his affrighted Officers with his own Hand; but Fear and Conſternation had ſo poſſeſſed their Minds, that nothing could give a hindrance or ſtop to their Courſe; for all being in Confuſion, they trampled one on the other, and in the Purſuit 400 Foot, and 300 Horſe were cut to pieces; the Slaves which they had taken, were ſet at liberty, and the Booty recovered; many Priſoners were taken, amongſt which were ſome principal *Turks*, with the Paſha himſelf, who being put into Chains, offered 3000 Zechines, with two Veſts of Sables for his Ranſome, with ſome fine Horſes, and Arms of conſiderable value; but the People of *Nixichi* were too generous to accept of a Ranſome, and rather choſe to carry their Priſoner in Triumph unto *Cataro*, than to accept of any Preſent whatſoever in lieu thereof. From *Cataro*, by order of General *Molino*, the Paſha was on a Gally tranſported to *Spalatro*. And leaſt the *Turks* of *Arzigovina* being hereby incenſed, ſhould be provoked to take a Revenge with greater force, the General *Molino*, for better ſecurity of that People, ordered the Commander of that Diſtrict to march with a Body of 300 Men to their aſſiſtance, and to put all People into Arms; that taking advantage on the preſent Conſternation with which the *Turks* were affected, they might with more eaſe enjoy the laſting Fruit of the preſent Victory.

1690. Septemb.

He attacks Nixichi.

Is beaten off.

The Paſha taken Priſoner.

Filiporich taken.

With like happy Succeſs was the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Filiporich* ſituate in the Neighbourhood of *Glamoz* in *Dalmatia*, taken and deſtroyed, by order of *Molino* directed to the Proveditor of *Knin*, who accordingly executed the ſame with ſuch Prudence, and

1690. and Vigour, that having dis-ſpeeded 500 Men, to a Place called *Dervis*, their fortune was to take 60 *Turks*, which kept the Towers, Houſes, and Moſchs within that Precinct, together with four ſmall Guns, ſome Muſketoons, Colours, and other Arms of the *Turks*, as alſo a conſiderable number of Cows and Sheep; they alſo burnt three great Villages belonging to the *Turks*, conſiſting of 500 Houſes, and took 32 Slaves.

Thus had all the Adventures of this Year anſwered the Expectations of the *Venetians* at Land, better than thoſe of the *Germans* had done at the Court at *Vienna*; but yet an unhappy Encounter at Sea, gave the *Turks* ſome cauſe to rejoyce, and not a little tempered the Triumph of the *Venetians*; the which happened in this manner.

A Sea-Fight.

About the opening of the Campaign on the 22th of *March* of this Year, the Captain-General gave Orders to Admiral *Valier* Commander of the Ship St. *Iſeppo*, carrying 44 Braſs Guns, that taking with him for his Conſort, the Ship called the St. *Mark*; he ſhould ſail to *Milo*, there to collect the uſual Charaeh, or Tribute of that Iſland, being about 10000 Dollars a Year: And being towards the Evening come near the Iſland, a ſtrong Gale of contrary Winds, put them off from the Shoar, driving them towards *Candia*, and ſo continued until Midnight, when the Wind abating, and the Weather becoming more favourable, they directed their Courſe towards the Iſland.

The two Ships, St. Iſeppo, *&* St. Mark, *attack'd by* 10 Turkiſh *Veſſels.*

Upon Break of Day 10 Ships were diſcovered ſo near, that they were eaſily known to be Enemies; at which Alarm the Matches were lighted, and the Ships fitted, and all prepared for a Fight: Theſe 10 Ships proved to be Soltano's, Commanded by *Mezzo Morto*, a famous Pyrate belonging to *Algier*, of which he became Dey and Captain, which having carried the uſual Preſent to the Sultan, was ſome time afterwards Captain-Paſha of the Grand Seignior's Fleet.

The St. Mark *blown up.*

Now returning back to *Algier*, and unhappily meeting with theſe two Ships in their way, ſix of them inveſted the St. *Iſeppo*; and the other four undertook the St. *Marco*, a Ship of 60 Braſs Guns: After ſome Hours Fight, an unlucky Shot from the Enemy entered the Powder-Room of the St. *Mark*, with which the Ship blew up, and thereby the Soldiers and Seamen, with all the Equipage were loſt, and that brave Ship entirely periſhed. Hereupon the whole Number of the 10 Ships uniting together, fell upon the St. *Iſeppo*, which ſuſtained the Conflict valiantly for the whole Day, and making a running Fight, was in hopes, by the ſound of the Guns, to call out ſome help from the Fleet, which lay then at *Napoli di Malvaſia*; but no Succour coming, Admiral *Valier* entered the Line into the midſt of the Enemies, where by ſome unlucky Shots, the Maſts and Helm, or Rudder were ſhot away. In this diſtreſſed Condition was Admiral *Valier*, when ſtill fighting with his Sword in his Hand upon the Quarter-Deck, he called to him his Lieutenant, Captain *Petrina*, and made him ſwear, That whenſoever he was dead, he would blow up the Ship, rather then render it up into the Hands of the *Turks*; then he threw Overboard all his Publick Letters, Orders, and Inſtructions, as alſo all the Flags and Colours in which the Lion and Arms of St. *Mark* were deſcribed, that nothing which belonged to the Republick, might fall into the Hands of the Enemy; and conſequently he cauſed both the Pumps to be unfixed, that the Veſſel might ſink, and not fall into the Hands of the *Turks*. And afterwards ſeeing two of the Enemies Ships preparing to come Aboard, he called to thoſe few of his Men, who were left alive, and coming on the Quarter-Deck, animated them to ſtand by him, and whenſoever thoſe two Ships were aboard, to give Fire to the Powder, and periſh with the Enemies on either hand: But whilſt *Valier* was giving theſe Inſtructions, he was taken off by a Cannon-Bullet, and immediately, as he had ordered, his Body was caſt into the Sea, having proteſted, That neither Alive, nor Dead, would he fall into the Hands of the Enemy.

1690.

Valier *killed.*

Valier being dead, and his Lieutenant, Captain *Petrina* grievouſly wounded, and very few Soldiers and Seamen remaining alive, or unwounded, and the Ship after a whole Days fight, entirely diſabled to make any longer reſiſtance; the *Turks* howſoever durſt not adventure to come near the Ship, but at length diſplaying White Colours, they adventured to lay the Ship aboard with their Long-Boat, where being entered, they enqured firſt for the Admiral, and his Lieutenant, and being informed, that the firſt was killed, and his Corps thrown Overboard, and the latter mortally wounded, they made Priſoners of all thoſe remaining alive in the Ship; and having demanded of *Petrina* the reaſon why he had with ſuch obſtinacy fought againſt 10 Ships? He anſwered, That it was not accuſtomary to ſuffer the Ships belonging to the Republick, to fall into the Hands of the Enemy; and that in caſe he had not been wounded, he would have blown the Ship up, rather than have ſeen the *Turks* become Maſters of her: In fine, whilſt the *Turks* were Aboard,

Pilla-

1690.

The St. Iſeppo ſinks.

Pillaging and Plundering what they could find, about four Hours in the Night the Ship ſunk with all the Cannon; only ſome few Seamen and Soldiers getting the Skiff, when it was very Dark, made their way for *Milo*, where finding a *French* Tartana, they were thence tranſported to the Armata. This Fight, tho' unfortunate, was yet Glorious to the *Venetians*; and for that reaſon, tho' it happened at the beginning of the Year, we ſhall yet in honour to that Republick conclude their Campaign with this glorious Action, and proceed to the next Year; in which we ſhall find the Imperial Forces much more fortunate, and crowned with Glory and Succeſs, than in the preceeding Year.

Anno 1691.

1691.

The Turks deſpiſe a Peace.

THE *Turks* having the laſt Year regained *Niſſa*, *Widin*, and *Belgrade*, with ſome other Advantages, began to recover their Courages, which before were ſunk very low, and would gladly have accepted any tolerable Conditions of Peace whatſoever; but now as there was no ſpeaking thereof on leſs Terms, than a Surrender of all that the Emperor had conquered and gained from the *Turks* in *Hungary*; ſo this Reſolution was heightned and confirmed in them by the Mediation which the Ambaſſadors of *England* and *Holland* had offered and preſſed upon them; wherefore the War going forward, the Grand Seignior returned to paſs his Winter at *Conſtantinople*, where, and in the Black-Sea, ſix or eight great Ships were put on the Stocks, to ſerve the next Summer againſt the *Venetians*, on the Coaſt of *Morea*, with which addition to their Naval Force, they hoped to overmatch the *Venetian* Fleet, and do great Feats on the Coaſt of *Morea*.

The Engliſh Trade in a bad condition.

In the mean time the *Engliſh* Trade in *Turkey* was in a moſt unhappy and unfortunate Condition; for it had not been long ſince the terrible, and affrighting Earthquake, which had about two Years before, (as we have already related) deſtroyed the whole City of *Smyrna*; and by an irruption of Fire, conſumed vaſt quantities of Goods belonging to the *Engliſh Levant* Company; and what was of great Conſideration, the Books, Accounts, and Papers of the Merchants periſhed with them. After this amazing Judgment of God, the War breaking out between *England* and *France*, the Navigation for Merchant-Ships, both in the Mediterranean Seas, and in the Ocean, became very hazardous, eſpecially for Ships of ſo great a value, as thoſe from *Turkey*, which were ſufficient to open the Eyes, and tempt the Avarice of the *French* at the Expence of a ſtrong Fleet to lie in wait, and watch for them, of which the Intereſted were ſo ſenſible, that ſome of the Ships lay two Years at *Smyrna*, before they could take the Courage and Reſolution to adventure on ſo hazardous a Voyage; but Neceſſity having no Law, for they muſt either periſh in Port, or proceed, in which doubtful caſe they choſe the latter, and with the Bleſſing of God arrived ſafe at *Leghorn*; where having joyned a ſtrong Squadron of 16 Men of War commanded by Sir *Francis Wheeler*, they proceeded for *England*, and ſome of the Merchant-men being ſtout Ships, and of conſiderable defence, they eſteemed themſelves equal to any force the *French* could ſend againſt them: But whilſt they ſailed forward without fear of any danger from their Enemies, the *French* having had Advice of all their Motions, and of that great Treaſure they carried, thought it a Prize fit for their Royal Navy, and accordingly diſ-ſpeeded Monſieur *Tourville*, with all their great Ships out of *Breſt*, to cruiſe upon them, and ſo well timed their Affair, that they had certainly taken ſight of them, had it not pleaſed God to cover them with a thick Miſt, which laſted until ſuch time, as they were out of their reach, and having a proſperous Wind, arrived ſafe in *England* in the Month of *July*, to the great Joy and Triumph of the Merchants.

1691.

The Turkey *Trade in a bad condition.*

The Turkey *Ships arrive in* England.

January.

The Prince of Hanover *killed.*

But to proceed to the Wars in *Hungary*: Count *Tekely* in the beginning of the Month of *January* appeared with a good Body of Men at the Paſſage of *Terez*, againſt whom the Prince of *Hanover* was detached with a ſtrong Party; but he being of a Valiant and a warm Spirit, natural to that moſt Illuſtrious Family, advanced ſo far with a few Men before his Troops, that unexpectedly he fell into an Ambuſcade which lay hidden and covered in Hedges and Buſhes; where receiving a whole Volley of Small-ſhot, he was with one of his Men, (who died by his ſide) pierced with ſeveral Bullets near a Village called *Serniſt*, and tho' the General followed cloſe afterwards with a ſtrong Body, yet he came too late to ſave this Hopeful and Gallant Prince, tho' not to repulſe the Enemy, who at the noiſe of his coming, fled with all the precipitate haſte they were able.

But Colonel *Pohland* was more ſucceſsful in his Undertaking; for he having given Orders to *Antonio* the chief Captain of the *Raſcians*, to drive away all the Cattle which were grazing about the Caſtle of *Facket*, and whilſt he was executing the ſame, the *Turks* ſallied out upon him with all their force, but with ſuch ill ſucceſs, that being

1691.

January. Facket *taken and burned.*

beaten, and forced to retire unto their Caſtle; *Pohland* and his Men ruſhed in with them at the ſame time, and cut down 500 of their beſt well-mounted Spahees, beſides the Foot belonging to the Garriſon, which was ſurrounded with a double Ditch, and beſet with Paliſadoes; the which having plundered, they afterwards Burnt, and left it.

As alſo a Fort called Waradin.

This Succeſs was ſeconded by another upon the Palanca, or Fort called *Waradin;* in which was a Guard of 200 Men, the which they ſtormed and entered, killed all the Garriſon, and burnt the Fort, and treated it in the ſame manner as they had done *Facket*.

After this Excurſion Colonel *Pohland* having retired to his Quarters to refreſh his Men, the General of the *Walachians* gave a falſe Alarm near the Paſs of *Fackau*; but in reality marched with moſt of his Troops to a Place called *Karanſebes*, ſpoiling and deſtroying the Country round about; but *Pohland* having notice thereof, attacked them, and both he with his Dragoons, and Captain *Antonio* with his *Raſcians*, attacked the General ſo briskly, that he was forced to retreat with the loſs of 300 of his Men, and of all the Spoil and Plunder which they had taken.

In revenge hereof the *Turks*, and *Tartars* conſiſting of a very ſtrong Body, intended to break into *Tranſylvania* by way of the Iron-Gate, of which *Pohland* and *Antonio* having notice, they poſted themſelves in ſuch an advantageous place, that falling on them by way of Surprize, they routed them, and killed upwards of 1000 Men on the place, took more than 300 Priſoners, with much Baggage, Horſes, and Booty.

February.

In the beginning of the Month of *February*, continual Skirmiſhes happened with various Succeſſes, as if both ſides intended to practiſe and exerciſe themſelves againſt the time of the great Battle which was to be fought this Year at *Salankement*.

Some Turks *of* Great Waradin *defeated.*

In the firſt place the Garriſon of *Great Waradin* made an Excurſion towards *Debrezin*, and had the fortune to meet not far from thence, with a weaker Party of *Germans* and *Hungarians*, of which they killed ſeveral, and took 40 Priſoners; but they did not long enjoy the pleaſure of this Succeſs; for Count *Nigrelli* having notice thereof, detached *Lucas Janos*, a Lieutenant Colonel of Horſe, to purſue the *Turks*, whom he overtook and ſurprized in their Retreat, killed 200 of them, and releaſed the 40 Priſoners, with about 450 Horſe, which the *Turks* had taken in that Adventure. Some other *Turkiſh* Parties had paſſed the *Tibiſcus* upon the Ice, but were forced to retreat with great precipitation.

1691.

February: *Several Skirmiſhes.*

Likewiſe 400 *Turks* which had paſſed the *Danube* near *Illock*, were met by 300 *Raſcians*, under the Command of Captain *Toſar*, who killed about 140 of them, and took 40 more with three Standards, ſome good Horſes, and other Booty.

Novi *delivered to the* Turks.

In like manner the *Turks* appeared with a Body of Men before the Caſtle of *Novi*, which they forced to ſurrender upon Capitulations; but the *Croats* deſirous to regain it, marched with a Body of Men towards the place; which the *Turks* with a like Body of Men reſolved to oppoſe; whereupon a Fight enſued between theſe two little Armies, in which the *Turks* were worſted, 1000 of them being killed on the ſpot, many Priſoners taken, and amongſt them a Paſha, with ſeveral other principal *Turks*.

The Turks *worſted.*

The *Croats* encouraged with this Succeſs, proſecuted their deſign againſt *Novi*, and ſtormed the place; the which being provided with a ſtrong Garriſon, and freſh Troops marching for its relief, the *Croats* retired with their Priſoners and Booty, in very good order.

The Garriſon of Lugos *make a ſally.*

The *Turks* more active, than fortunate, ſallied out again this month from *Lugos* to paſs the *Maroſch*, and by the way upon the Ice, to make an Excurſion into *Tranſylvania*. Colonel *Pohland* having notice hereof, deſigned with his 400 Dragoons joyned to the 1000 *Raſcians* under Command of *Antonio*, to ſtop them in their march; and being advanced ſo far as *Dobra*, intelligence was given him, that the Enemy was returned to *Lugos*; upon which, being deſirous to try his fortune, *Pohland* drew up his Regiment of 400 Men in view of the place, placing his *Raſcians* in a certain Ambuſcade, well covered and undecerned; The *Turks* ſeeing ſo ſmall a number drawn up before them, detached from the Town a Body of 700 Spahees, and 100 *Tartars*, to take a view of them: Upon appearance of this Party, the Dragoons retired to the Ambuſcade, into which the *Turks* unwarily purſuing them, unhappily were fallen; and ſeeing their danger, betook themſelves to a precipitate and diſorderly flight towards their Forts; but being cloſely purſued, the *Raſcians* and Dragoons, entered the *Palanca* together with the *Turks*, cutting down and killing all that were before them. In this Confuſion, many of the *Turks* betook themſelves to the Caſtle, but with ſo much haſte, that they had not time to draw the Bridge up after them; ſo that the *Raſcians* paſſing thereon, cut down one of the Caſtle Gates with their Battle-Axes; and being come to the laſt Gate, the *Turks* hung out

Are put to flight.

The Town and Caſtle of Lugos *taken.*

1691. February. out a white Flag, deſiring to Capitulate; the which admitted of no long diſpute, it being in a moment Agreed, That thoſe who were in the Caſtle ſhould have their Lives given them, and ſecurely Convoyed to *Temeſwaer*; there were remaining in all no more than 152 fighting Men, with their Teſterdar, or Treaſurer, Bey or Governour of the Caſtle: Out of the whole number of 1000 effective Men, as they were before this fight began; the ſame according to Capitulation, were ſafely conducted to *Temeſwaer*; the remainder being 850, were killed in this Action; on the other ſide, 10 *Germans* were killed, and about 100 *Raſcians*, beſides the wounded; of which there were ſome *Raſcians*, and 22 *Germans*, amongſt which *Pohland* was ſhot through the Arm. In this place of *Lugos*, four Braſs Guns, and one Mortar piece were taken with 15 Standards. After which 700 *Raſcians*, and 100 Dragoons, were left for a Garriſon in the place.

The Garriſon of Bech *makes a* Salley.

The News of this Succeſs encourageing all the *Imperialiſts* round about, the *Hungarians* in the Garriſon at *Beche*, about eight Leagues diſtant from *Segedin*, ſallied out with a Party of Horſe and Foot, and met a Party of *Tartars*, not far from *Zatmar*, pillaging and robbing the Country, the which he having attacked with great vigour, they returned with 200 Heads, together with two of their Captains Priſoners, and 300 Horſes. Another Party of *Hungarians* of the Gariſon of *Zento*, met with a Party of 60 *Turks*, of which they killed 20, and made 40 Priſoners; and in their return they took the *Palancha* of *Gariawiez*, and killed all the People, and found a rich Booty in it.

The Garriſon of Segedin *ſurprize* Chonad.

The Garriſon of *Segedin* being informed of all theſe Succeſſes of their Neighbours, were reſolved not to ſit idle, but to try their fortune in the ſame manner; and accordingly by break of Day, attacked the City of *Chonad*, and entered it by ſurprize, before the *Turks* knew that their Enemy was near them: All in the Town were killed; and thoſe in the Caſtle being terrified by the Flames round about them, abandoned the place the night following.

These frequent Misfortunes of the *Turks* made them more cautious and circumſpect in all their Motions for the future, retiring and keeping themſelves cloſe in their ſtrong Holds, and Fortreſſes. On the other ſide, the *Imperial* Court took all poſſible care to reinforce their Army, and make it more ſtrong and numerous than it had been the laſt year: To which end, Orders were given to repair and ſtrengthen the Fortifications of *Buda* and *Eſſeck*; and eſpecially the latter, where the Counterſcarps were enlarged, and two whole, and two half Batteries were raiſed; and the Ice of the *Danube*, (for it was now the month of *March*) being thawed, the River was open to bring all neceſſary Materials for the Fortifications, whereby that work went on with all Diligence. This Employment did not hinder the Governor of *Eſſeck* from making ſome Attempts on the *Turks*; the which he proſecuted with ſome vigour, for having given Orders to a Captain of *Walkowar*, *Percilia* by Name, with 400 *Huſſars* and *Heydukes*, to fall into the Dominion of the *Turks*: He accordingly ſurprized *Irrick*, burnt and plundered, and put all to Fire and Sword: He deſtroyed alſo the Neighbouring Villages, and cut down all the *Turks* and *Tartars* who had their Quarters in thoſe Parts: In this Action *Percilia* got ſo conſiderable a Booty, that he laded 70 Waggons with the Spoil, beſides a conſiderable number of ſtately Horſes; only 40 *Turks* of Note and Quality were made Priſoners; and ſeveral Standards, as a ſignal of Victory, were ſent to *Vienna*. With this Booty, a great quantity of Copper-Money was taken for payment of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, together with 12000 Ducats in Gold, and 3000 in Silver, with Clothing for the Souldiers, and rich Habits belonging to the General Officers. The Report of this Action being noiſed abroad, a Paſha of that Country, called *Kathana Muſtapha*, with 200 Horſe purſued and overtook them; but finding them too ſtrong for him, and preparing to attack him, he retired and ſaved himſelf in a Caſtle not far diſtant from thence. Nor was this all; for *Percilia*, meeting with another Party of *Tartars*, cauſed his Trumpets to ſound a *Turkiſh* March: In anſwer to which, the *Tartars* called, and ſpoke to them in the *Turkiſh* Language, which *Percilia* returned with good Blows, falling on them ſo ſuddenly, that they entirely routed them, took all their Colours, and a good Booty, and releaſed many *Chriſtians* which had been enſlaved by the *Tartars*; in which Action, and in the former, they killed 1200 *Turks* and *Tartars*, and ſo returned ſafe with all their Priſoners and Booty to *Walkowar* and *Eſſeck*.

1691. March.

Irrick *ſurprized, with much Booty taken.*

A Paſha purſues them, but retires.

Percilia *routs a Body of* Tartars.

A like Exploit was done by *Antonio*, Captain of the *Raſcians*, who having joyned with 600 *Heydukes*, and 400 *Huſſars*, attacked a Caſtle, called *Karakowar*, a place ſituate on a high Rock, and by a Stratagem took it, and found therein great quantities of Corn; the which he diſtributed amongſt his Men; only he put a Garriſon into the place, and left with

Karakowar *taken.*

1691. March. them 2000 Sacks of Corn for their Subſiſtence.

Tho' the *Turks* had the laſt year been more ſucceſsful than they had been any time during the War; yet by their long and tedious Marches, and by the Loſſes they had ſuſtained in ſmall Parties beforementioned, they could not put themſelves into a poſture of taking the Field until the middle of the month of *July*: Howſoever, in the mean time, they made great preparations both by Land and Water; ordering their Troops from the remoteſt parts of *Aſia* to march for *Hungary*; ſeveral of their Ships laden with Ammunition and Proviſions arrived at *Widin*, with deſign to tranſport the ſame to *Belgrade*, where the Magazine of Stores was to be made. *Antonio*, who was now made a Colonel, had notice hereof, and ſuffered two of their ſmall Ships to paſs by, without interruption; herewith the *Turks* being encouraged, ſent 10 more; but theſe *Antonio* attacked, and took two of them, and two more of them were taken by the *Raſcians* near *Modava*, the reſt returned back to *Widin*.

May. Theſe great Preparations made by the *Turk* obliged the Emperor to do the like; and accordingly a great Train of Artillery, with vaſt quantities of Ammunition, Bullets, Bombs, and Carcaſſes, were ſent down the River to *Buda* and *Eſſeck*; at the latter of which places the General Rendezvous of the *Imperial* Army was appointed.

The *Turks* on the other ſide began to draw ſome Troops out of their Garriſons of *Great Waradin* and *Temeſwaer*, conſiſting of 200 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, carrying ſome great Guns with them in their march, ſeeming, as if they intended an Attempt upon *Lugos*, with hopes to ſurprize it; of which *Antonio* having had ſome intelligence, happily met with them; and having a ſtronger Body of Horſe and Dragoons, fell on the 200 Foot, and defeated them, killed 61 of them on the place, took ſome Priſoners, the reſt ſaving themſelves in the Marſhes and Woods adjacent: By ſome of theſe Priſoners, *Antonio* received Information, that the 1000 Horſe were marched towards *Lugos*, and accordingly directing his Courſe thither, he ſurprized and took ſeveral of them who were ſeparated from the reſt; and cauſing all the *Raſcian* Drums, Trumpets, and Kettle-Drums to ſound, they ſtruck ſuch a Terrour in the *Turks*, that they fled from their ſeveral Quarters with ſuch Confuſion, that diſperſing themſelves, many of them were taken, and amongſt them, an Aga, with many other principal *Turks*.

1690. June. The time now approaching near for Action, Count *Guido* of *Staremberg* drew out ſeveral Troops which were quartered in the Neighbourhood, into a Body; the other Troops which lay about *Peſt*, where they had had their Winter-quarters, were drawn over to the oppoſite ſide, where joyning with thoſe of *Buda*, they encamped at *Souſeberg*: Whilſt theſe Troops were drawing together, a Party of *Raſcians* ſurprized and took *Titul*, in which they found 400 *Turks*, and put them all to the Sword. In this interim, General *Veterani* received Intelligence, That 300 Ships laden with Proviſions, under the Convoy of 4000 Men, were ſpeedily deſigned from *Widin* to *Belgrade*, for ſubſiſtence of that place; and hereupon the General ſent Orders to the Colonels, *Pobland* and *Antonio*, to intercept them in their paſſage. Theſe two Braves having joyned their Forces, making together 4000 Men, lay in wait for the Enemy about two days, and on the third, ſeeing them begin to appear, they drew their Forces ſo cloſe together, that they ſeemed not to make above 400 Men in all: The *Turks* contemning ſo ſmall a number, detached a Party of 1000 Janizaries to attack them; which running upon them with fury and precipitation, were ſo rudely treated by the *Raſcians*, that the *Turks* were forced to ſend a ſtronger Party to their aſſiſtance; the which alſo were ſo bravely received, that above 1000 *Turks* were killed on the place, and many drowned in their retreat; but the Ships betaking themſelves to the other ſide of the River, were ſaved.

Nor were the *Raſcians* leſs fortunate, ſome days afterwards having taken 400 Waggons laden with Ammunition and Proviſions in their paſſage from *Belgrade* to *Temeſwaer*, beſides ſeveral Priſoners, amongſt which were three *Turks* of good Quality.

Another ſtrong Party of *Raſcians* making an Incurſion near *Mitrovitz*, attacked *Kathana Muſtapha*, and killed 1500 of his Men on the place, took ſeveral Priſoners, four Guns, and all his Baggage; upon which the *Turks* quitting *Mitrovitz*, the *Raſcians* entered and poſſeſſed themſelves of it.

Theſe Succeſſes being the Preludes to the enſuing Campagne, were good Omens of a happy and glorious Victory, the truth whereof will ſpeedily appear, by what is to follow before the Concluſion of this Year.

By all the Miſfortunes which had attended the *Turks* in this War, it was believed not only at *Vienna*, but concluded as well in *England*, as in all parts of *Germany*,

1691.
June.

many, that the *Turks* were become weary of the War, and that there was nothing now wanting to beget a Peace, but a good Mediator acceptable to both the Emperor and the Sultan. The *Turks* had already given Proofs of their Inclinations to a Peace by the Ambaſſadors, which (contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Turks*, and which had never been practiſed before) had ſent their Ambaſſadors in a manner to ſupplicate Peace with the Emperor, and who remained ſtill in the Imperial Dominions, tho' confined to the Caſtle of *Puttendorf*, in the nature of Priſoners; the which was excuſed by the *Auſtrians*, by the conſtant practice of the *Turks*, who had for the moſt part Impriſoned Ambaſſadors, or put Guards upon them, at all times when their Negotiations ſucceeded not; or that Propoſitions were offered not very pleaſing to the Grand Seignior.

But be it how it will, it being now evident, that both Parties had need of a Peace, no Princes appeared capable of the Office of Mediation, but only *William* King of *Great Britain*, and the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, being both Friends to the Port, and to the Emperor and his Allies.

About that time, Sir *William Trumball*, ſent by King *James* II. to reſide Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, being recalled, Sir *William Huſſey*, one of the Members of the *Turky* Company, was Elected by that Company, according to their Privileges, to reſide Ambaſſador at the *Ottoman* Port: And being afterwards preſented to His Majeſty King *William*, to receive His Royal Conſent and Confirmation, he was accepted by His Majeſty, and received his Commiſſion and Inſtructions accordingly; by which he was appointed in the Name of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to Offer unto the Sultan Their Majeſties Mediation.

Sir Will. Huſſey *choſen Ambaſſador for* Turky.

For better effecting of which, Sir *William Huſſey* was appointed to take a Journey by Land to the *Ottoman* Port, and in his way to call at *Vienna*, there to receive ſuch Directions about Treating this Peace as ſhould be delivered him by the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the State of *Venice*, then in an Alliance together.

Sir *William Huſſey* not leaving *England* until the latter end of the year 1690. and having his Lady, with her Women in his Company, he arrived not at *Vienna* until the beginning of the Winter; when the *Danube* being frozen up, and no paſſage without great danger by Land; and the Inſtructions according to the ſlow Motions of the *Imperial* Court not formed, nor delivered to the hands of Sir *William Huſſey* until towards the Spring; he arrived not at *Adrianople* till the Month of *June*, where the Grand Vizier was ſtill remaining, and preparing for his march with the Army towards *Belgrade*. But before he departed, he firſt gave Audience to Sir *William Huſſey* the Engliſh Ambaſſador; at which, little paſſing beſides Ceremony, no Judgment could be made of the Viziers Inclinations to a Peace, whoſe Thoughts were taken up with the Contrivances for the War; for the *Turks* being reſolved to try the fortune of the, following Campagne, would not much hearken to Propoſals of Peace, eſpecially being offered with an *Uti Poſſidetis*, that is, to make ſhort work, That both Parties ſhould be contented with what they had in Poſſeſſion, and ſo an Amneſty to paſs. What the Vizier had in his Mind, he was not willing to declare; but by the Sequel it appeared, that he reſolved to Fight, and to adventure his own Life with the Fortune of the *Ottoman* Empire, on the hazard of a Battle, eſteeming it more glorious to die in the Field, than poorly and meanly in a private Chamber by a Cord applied to his Neck by the Hands of two Executioners: With theſe thoughts the Grand Vizier proceeded to *Belgrade* to Head the Army, which was full of Hope and Aſſurance of Victory, under the Auſpicious Conduct of this *Kuperlee*, Son of Old *Kuperlee*, and Brother to that Prudent and Moderate Vizier, who ſubdued *Candia*, and put an end to the *Venetian* War, which had laſted for 27 or 28 Years; for the *Turks* attribute more to the Fortune of a Man, and of his Family, and the Stars under which he is Born, than to his Wiſdom, Conduct and Experience: And for this reaſon, the *Turks* ſo often change their Miniſters, doing as Gameſters do with their Dice and Cards, throwing them away, in hopes by this Change, to change their Fortune.

1691.
June.

The Grand Vizier not inclined to a Peace.

The Turks *in hope of Victory under this Grand Vizier.*

In this manner, as we ſaid, the Grand Vizier marching haſtily away to the Frontiers, the Buſineſs of the Mediation went not forwards, but this great Work being at a ſtand, Sir *William Huſſey* proceeded to *Conſtantinople*, which hath for many Years been the uſual place of Reſidence for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors.

The Engliſh *Ambaſſador haſtens to* Conſtantinople.

On the 18th of this Month of *June*, Sir *William Huſſey* made a Solemn Entry into the City, being met on the way by at leaſt 50 of the *Engliſh* Nation, all well and bravely mounted on Horſeback, with rich Furniture and Cloathing. Moreover, to make this Solemnity the more ſplendid, the *Holland* Ambaſſador the Heer *Colliers*, ſent his two Brothers with the Officers of his Court, to make up the Train, and in this man-

And makes his Entry.

1691. June.

manner the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador was conducted in great Order and Triumph to his Houſe at *Pera*.

The Death of Sultan Solyman.

Much about the time, or perhaps the ſame Day that Sir *William Huſſey* departed from *Adrianople*, being the $\frac{12}{22}$ of *June*, Sultan *Solyman* died at that place; the News of which being known and divulged every where to the People in the ſpace of five Hours afterwards; the Mufti, Caimacham, Kadileskier, Nakib Effendi, and all the other great Men then preſent at *Adrianople*, aſſembled together, and without any delay proclaimed Sultan *Achmet*, Brother of the Depoſed *Mahomet*, and Deceaſed *Solyman*, for Emperor of the *Ottoman* Empire; and having firſt ſet him on the Throne, and kiſſed the Hem of his Veſt in token of Obedience, he was carried to St. *Jub*, as accuſtomary, on Horſeback; where having his Sword girt to him by the Mufti, he was reconducted back to the Seraglio amidſt the Throngs of People, who attended him through the Streets with Prayers, and loud Acclamations for his Proſperity and long Life: And ſolemn Prayers were publickly made in two ſeveral Moſchs, which continued from Break of Day, until five a Clock in the Evening, all loudly praying for the Proſperous and Auſpicious Inauguration of the new Sultan, and alſo for the Soul of the Deceaſed *Solyman*.

Sultan Achmet, *Brother of* Solyman, *proclaimed Emperor.*

Sultan *Achmet* being thus exalted to the Throne, the common People began to expect a change of Fortune, conceiving higher thoughts of this Prince, than they had done of the late *Solyman*, who merited no other Character than what we have already given him at the beginning of his Reign. The former was dull and heavy, ſtudious, and given to Books, and much of the Behaviour of a Dervis; but this preſent *Achmet* was more lively, free, and jocund in his Humour; he was both a Poet, and a Muſician, made Verſes, and ſang them, plaid well upon the Cittern, and Coloſſeo, after the *Perſian* manner.

The Character of Sultan Achmet.

In his Jovial Humours he would ſometimes make Viſits to the Diſconſolate *Mahomet* his Brother, ſinging and playing before him with his Inſtruments, bidding him be Merry, and telling him that he ſhould not lament his Fortune. *I have been* (ſaid he) *a Priſoner for* 40 *Years, during which time you were Sultan, and did what you pleaſed; now my time is come, and yours may return*: And then he would take his Inſtruments and play, and ſing, ſaying, *Brother you have let me live, and ſo ſhall you, and be merry*: And in this good Humour he would often paſs his time, to the great comfort of his Depoſed Brother.

The Body of *Solyman* deceaſed, was embalmed, and brought to the Royal Moſch, built at *Conſtantinople* by *Solyman the Magnificent*, and there Interred.

1691. June. Solyman *interred.*

So ſoon as Sultan *Achmet* came to the Throne, and the Ceremonies, and Solemnities paſt, he immediately called the Mufti, and gave order to diſpatch away with all expedition two Capugi-Baſhees, the one to the Grand Vizier with a new Seal, a Scimetar ſtudded and ſet with Jewels, and a Coſtan, or Veſt lined with Sables, as an encouragement and evidence of his Confirmation in the Office of Prime Vizier: In this manner another Meſſenger was diſpatched with the like Preſent to the *Tartar* Han, with Orders forthwith to march unto *Belgrade*, and join the Grand Vizier with his Forces, which having been divided into three Bodies, the Han could not ſupply the Vizier with more than 8000 Men for the preſent Campagne

The Grand Vizier confirmed.

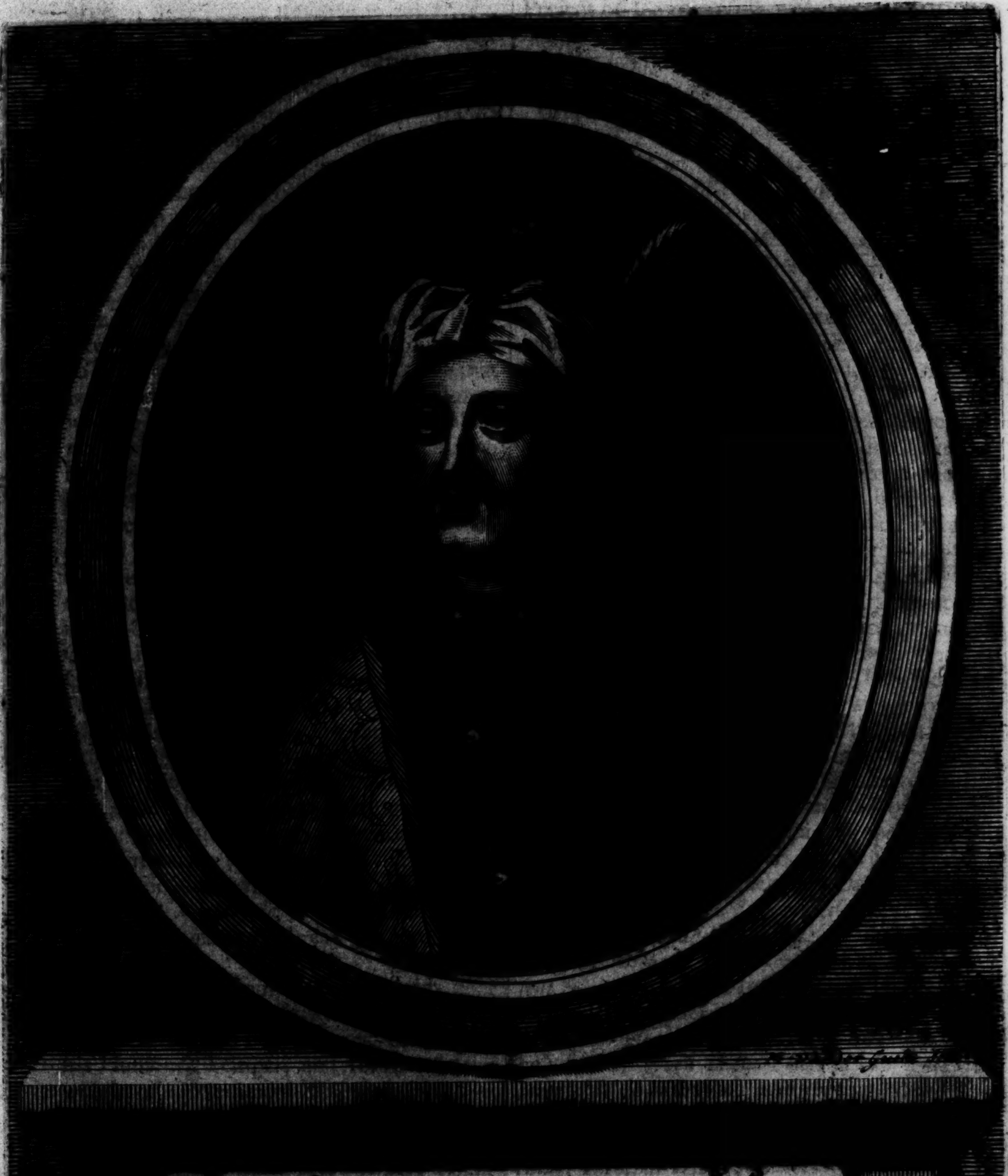
Theſe Forces with ſeveral *Aſiatick* Paſha's, amongſt which there was a conſiderable Body of *Curds*, or *Gordi*; and another of 2000 *Arabs* paſſed over to the Vizier's Army; with which, and with an Army of 12000 *Albanians*, the *Turkiſh* Army was ſo increaſed, that it was eſteemed to amount unto 100000 Men; and in reality, and according to a moderate Computation, it did not amount unto leſs than 80000 good experienced, and diſciplin'd Soldiers: Beſides which 10000 Men were ordered for *Great Waradin*, under the Command of *Topal Huſaein*, Paſha of *Siliſtria*, and Seraskier, for Reinforcement of that Garriſon.

The ſtrength of the Tur*kiſh Army.*

In the mean time *Tekeli* being fallen under the jealouſie of the Port, he was forbidden to enter into *Tranſylvania*, where the People having a deſire that the Son of *Apaſi* ſhould be placed over them, rather than *Tekeli*; the latter was commanded not farther to meddle in the Affairs of *Tranſylvania*, but only in the Concernments of the *Upper Hungary*.

At this time ſome Mutinies happened amongſt the Soldiers of the *Turkiſh* Army, upon Pretence and Demand of Donative due to the Militia at the Inauguration of every new Sultan, which, according to ancient Cuſtom, was ſix Dollars to every Soldier, beſides the conſtant Pay; but this amounting unto a vaſt Sum, which was not at preſent to be found, the Soldiers were forced to content themſelves with fair Words of being paid at the end of the Campagne, and at their return home; in which matter, that real Compliance might be made with the Soldiery, when time ſhould come, the *Chriſtians* were taxed over all the Empire at four *Hungarian* Ducats a Head; that is, Men of ſome Eſtate, and two Ducats for thoſe of Inferiour Conditi-

Great Taxes on the Chriſtians.



The Grand Seignior Achmat the II. 15th.
Emperour of the Turks was proclaimed
Sultan the 12th of June 91.

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Campagne, and at their return home; in which matter, that real Compliance might be made with the Soldiery, when time should come, the *Caftans* were tax'd over all the Empire at four *Hungarian* Ducats a Head; that is, Men of some Estate, and two Ducats for those of Inferiour Condition;

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on; as alſo in like manner the *Armenians* and *Jews* were taxed; from which, it was believed, that a vaſt Sum of Money would ariſe.

Principal Men in Aſia put to Death.

The Grand Vizier, that he might ſecure his Government the better, during his abſence in the War, had before his departure cauſed ſeveral of the principal Governours in *Aſia* to be ſtrangled, and amongſt them, a Seditious Mutinous Fellow, called *Charachehaia*; who might have been the Author of Dangerous Commotions; howſoever there ſtill remained a deſperate Rebel in *Aſia*, who with 1000 Men, roved over all the Countries of *Sivas*, or *Sebaſte*; but that being a Country far diſtant from the Port, gave little care or apprehenſion of danger to the Vizier, or Grand Seignior. But that which adminiſtred moſt of fear at Home, was the Commotion of the Common People, caus'd by the Copper Money; which having been permitted to paſs for Currant by the Government, was yet refuſed to be received in Payment by them; the which cauſed ſuch Confuſion in Trade, and eſpecially in buying Proviſions at the Markets, that there ſeemed a Dearth or Famine almoſt in the Countries; upon which many bold Complaints and Menaces were carried to the Caimacham, who was forced to give the People good Words, aſſuring them that Silver Money was Coining, and that the Copper Money, by Hatteſheriff of the Grand Seignior, ſhould be no longer Currant; the which for the preſent gave a ſtop to the Murmurings, and prevented a general Inſurrection; tho' the great ſcarcity of Corn, and all Proviſions, both in *Conſtantinople*, and *Adrianople*, made the People very uneaſie, and apt to break out into Mutinies.

The Copper Money the cauſe of trouble.

Auguſt.

It is the Cuſtom in the World, that when a Prince comes firſt unto the Throne, for the People to be inquiſitive concerning his Humour, Temper, and Abilities for the weight of Government.

The Character of Sultan Achmet.

The Character of this Sultan *Achmet* being now the common Diſcourſe, he was repreſented to be much more lively, briſk, and quicker of Apprehenſion than his Brother and Predeceſſour Sultan *Solyman*, who (as we have ſaid) was as dull and as heavy as an Oxe; a weak, ſimple Man, more fit to be a Dervis than an Emperor; but this *Achmet* was ſaid to delight to ride on Horſeback, and to throw the Gerit, a Sport uſed by the Cavaliers, and mettled Sparks and Soldiers amongſt the *Turks*. Farther, he was ſaid to love Juſtice, and to be rigorous in the execution thereof; an Enemy to Tyranny, and Oppreſſors of his People; but a great Admirer of the Fair Sex; which Qualities were thought very laudable, and for them, whether true, or falſe, he was had in high eſteem with the People; and particularly becauſe he was entered into the Project of Coyning Silver Money, and debaſing the Copper to half the value of what it lately paſſed for in ordinary Payments.

The forces of the Turkiſh *Army.*

But the important Affair of all was the Succeſs of a Battle, which the Grand Vizier reſolved to adventure, both in confidence of the ſtrength of his Army, and his numerous Troops, which now were ſaid to amount unto 87226, Horſe and Foot, as they were counted by faithful Perſons, whom the Grand Vizier had appointed to tell them, as they paſſed the Bridges over the Save; beſides 3000 Seamen, and ſome Spahees from *Aſia*, which lagged behind, and the Rabble which attend Armies.

The French *Ambaſſador perſwades to a Battle.*

This great Force, with the encouragement which the *French* Ambaſſador gave the Grand Vizier to put the Diſpute to the Deciſion of a Battle, promiſing him undoubted Victory, prevailed very much with the Vizier, who conſidering the Applications which the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors made for a Peace, was an Argument both to him and all the *Turkiſh* Officers, that the Emperor was in a dangerous condition, and unable to maintain the War: Howſoever when the *French* Ambaſſador was inſtilling this Conſideration into the Mind of the Chimacham at *Adrianople*, and that as his Maſter had already brought great Ruine and Deſtruction into the Dominions of the Emperor, ſo he would aſſiſt and ſupport the Grand Seignior in his Wars both with Men and Money. To which the Caimacham made this Anſwer. *That if it were true, what the Ambaſſador alledged, the Imperialiſts could not be in ſuch a condition as at preſent to come down upon the* Ottoman *Armies, and be able to overmatch them both in Numbers and Valour: What diverſion then* (ſaid he) *hath be given to the Power of the Emperor? If he hath Wars with the* Engliſh *and* Hollanders, *what is that to us? We believe nothing but what we ſee, nor eſteem of any thing, but what brings us immediate and maniſeſt relief.*

Sir William Huſſey *at* Conſtantinople.

Sir *William Huſſey* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, as we have ſaid, being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, was admitted three Days afterwards to an Audience with the Caimacham, who received him with great State and Pomp, and in a Friendly manner demanded of him the Particulars of his long Journey, and aſſured him of the Protection of the Port, both for his own Perſon, and ſecurity of his Nation; after which, and that the uſual Ceremonies were performed, the Ambaſſador and his Followers were veſted with 22 Coſtans, which was as many as at any time

July.

time were given to the *French* Ambaſſadors at other times, 18 or 19 were beſtowed on the *Engliſh*; but now the Number was made equal, to ſhow that the Eſteem they made of the *Engliſh* Nation, was equal with that of the *French*.

The Friendſhip between the Turks *and* French.

But how civil ſoever was the Behaviour of the Chimacham towards the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, the Grand Vizier ſeemed to be of another Temper; for he not only neglected the Addreſſes of the *Engliſh*, but privately gave the *French* Ambaſſador to underſtand all that had paſſed between him and the *Engliſh*; and this Confidence between the *Turks* and the *French* was much increaſed at that time, by the arrival of a skilful Engineer from *France*, well practiſed in all Military Exerciſes and Arts, relating to Mines, Sieges, Encampments, &c. and with him came 22 *French* Officers, who were all cloathed in good Green Cloth, after the *Turkiſh* Faſhion; and with theſe, Monſieur *Darmans* a famous *French* Phyſician, was recommended by the *French* Ambaſſador to the Vizier, who took this Offer the moſt kindly of any thing; for as the *Turks* have very few Phyſicians of their own, they highly eſteem thoſe who come from the Parts of *Chriſtendom*; ſo that the Grand Vizier took this Doctor with him, and kept him always near his own Perſon.

Auguſt.

Count Marſigli.

The Ambaſſador, Sir *William Huſſey*, having continued ſome few Days at *Conſtantinople*, to ſettle the Affairs of the *Turkey*-Company, and his own Domeſtick, and private Concernments, Count *Marſigli* arrived from *Vienna*, bringing a Chiaus with him: This *Marſigli* had the Title of Secretary to Sir *William Huſſey*, appointed by the Emperor to aſſiſt in the Matters of Peace, being a Perſon well practiſed in all the Treaties relating to the Emperor and the *Turks*. The ſame Day that *Marſigli* arrived, both he, and Sir *William Huſſey* had a Conference with the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, Heer *Colier*; at which it was reſolved to take a Journey to the Grand Vizier at *Belgrade*, and there again to preſs the Reaſons and Arguments for a Peace.

Accordingly the two Ambaſſadors departed from *Conſtantinople* the 11th of *Auguſt*, and entered into *Adrianople* the 16th of that Month, with intention to proceed to *Belgrade* in a few Days, had not the News of the total Defeat of the *Turkiſh* Army in a Battle given near *Salankement*, with the Death of the Grand Vizier, put a ſtop to their Journey for a while, until a new Vizier ſhould be created; the which was ſoon performed, for immediately one *Ali* Paſha, formerly *Kahya* of the deceaſed Vizier, and late Paſha of *Scio*, was conſtituted in the Place of his Maſter; and he being commanded to proceed in 10 or 12 Days, the Ambaſſadors reſolved to accompany him to *Belgrade*, there to attend his Motion, and thoſe Overtures which might open a way to a Treaty.

A new Vizier made.

Now ſince this great Defeat given the *Turks*, in all appearance might cauſe an Alteration, and Change in the Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, and be improved to a happy Agreement between the *Chriſtians* and the *Turks*; it is moſt neceſſary, and natural to this Hiſtory, to give a ſuccinct Relation thereof.

The March of the Chriſtian *Troops, to the place of Rendezvous.*

The greateſt part of the Month of *July*, was ſpent in the Marches of the Armies towards the Field of Battle: The Troops under the Command of the Count *de Souches*, deſigning their Marches towards *Eſſeck*, they came to *Pax*, where they joyned with five Companies of *Houchins*, and five of *Amenzaga*'s Regiments, and at *Mohatz* they were reinforced by 6000 *Brandenburgers*; about the middle of the Month of *July*, Prince *Lewis* arrived in the Camp, being welcomed with all the Cannon of *Mohatz*, and the ſame Day he took a View of all the Troops, at that Place, commanded by General *Souches*, and the next Day of the *Brandenburgers*; which having done, he ſent Expreſſes to the Army which was behind to haſten their March to *Eſſeck*; to which Place the Prince in Perſon riding Poſt, he arrived the 17th of *July*, where having been received in the ſame manner as at *Mohatz*, he took a View of all the Fortifications of that Place, and of the ſeveral Regiments which were encamped near thereunto: In the mean time the Cavalry of Count *Souches*, having paſſed the *Drave*, arrived in the Army, and were next Day followed by the Infantry of that Body; and the Day after that by the 6000 *Brandenburgers*: So that now the whole Imperial, and *Brandenburg* Forces being joyned; Orders were ſent to the General, Count *Averſperg*, to ſend down towards *Segedin*, all neceſſary Materials for Bombing the Places down the River; ſo that on the 20th of this Month, the Army decamped from the ſide of the River *Drave*, and marched as far as *Bonce*, where News being brought that part of the *Turkiſh* Army had paſſed the *Save*, a Lieut. Colonel was immediately detached with 150 *Germans*, and all the *Raſcian* Foot, and commanded to Embark on Boats, and haſten down the Stream to take their Station at *Peter Waradin*; and for farther Reinforcement of that Garriſon, the *Hungarian Heydukes* of *Illock*, were commanded forthwith to joyn this Officer at *Peter Waradin*; ſo as on all occaſions to be in a readineſs to oppoſe the Enemies Excurſions into thoſe Parts.

Pr. Lewis *views the Troops.*

1691.

August.

The Forces joyn.

The great Army on the 20th joyned with the Regiment of *Staremberg* at *Walkowar*, which was eſteemed the beſt in all the Army: On the 24th they came to *Bachin*, and there joyned with five Companies of Foot of the Regiment of *Archinto*, and with the Regiment of Horſe of *Baſſompierre*: On the 26th the Army encamped under *Illock*, and there reſted that Day, when News was brought, That the Grand Vizier was arrived at *Belgrade*, and having laid two Bridges over the *Save*, he had begun to paſs the River with his Army, which conſiſted of 100000 Men, extending it ſelf from the Mountains on the ſide of the *Danube*, as far as to the Iſland of *Zigan* in the *Save*.

Titul *ſurrendered to* **the Turks.**

Beſides which numerous Army the *Turks* had a vaſt number of Ships and Gallies, 190 of which, under the Command of a Paſha, were ſent to attack *Titul*, with which coming before the Place he immediately inveſted it; the Town was commanded by Captain *Thos*, the Garriſon of which conſiſted only of 120 *Germans*, and 200 *Raſcians*, and with them he defended the Place for three or four Days; but conſidering that for want of Ships, he could not be relieved by Water, nor by Land, by reaſon of the vaſt Deluge of Rains which had filled all the Marſhes, and made them unpaſſable for the intended Succours; Captain *Thos* capitulated on Conditions, that the Garriſon ſhould be ſafely conducted to the Army of Prince *Lewis*; but this Capitulation was not well obſerved by the *Turks*; for as the Garriſon was marching out, the Lieutenant of the Paſha would not ſuffer the *Raſcians* to paſs, ordering them all to be put to the Sword; but Captain *Thos* not allowing this piece of Treachery, and Breach of Faith, he came to high Words with the Paſha; upon which, the Paſha in a Fury drew his Scimetar; but Captain *Thos* being more ready than he, killed him with one of his Piſtols, and with the other ſhot another *Turk* dead, who ſtood next to him: Hereupon the Quarrel growing high beyond all Reconciliation, or means of Agreement, Captain *Thos* cauſed his Men to fire upon the *Turks*, who were then 4000 Men ſtrong; yet this handful of Men, armed with Deſpair, ſtoutly defended themſelves, until being overpowred with Numbers, they were all put to the Sword, except ſome few who were made Priſoners, and ſix *Raſcians* and one *German*, who made their Eſcape from this Bloody Action; the which howſoever coſt the *Turks* dear, for they loſt 500 of their Men, who were killed on the Place, and as many wounded.

The Turks *falſifie their Faith.*

July.

Peter Waradin *fortified.*

Prince *Lewis* continuing his March, arrived the 28th of this Month at *Peter Waradin* with the groſs of his Army, attended with all the Ships and Veſſels, which carried the Proviſions, Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries; This Place being very advantageous for its Situation, was ordered by Command of the Prince to be fortified; and here it was that a Regiment of Horſe of the Duke of *Newburg*, and a Battalion of the Regiment of *Huſchin*, with 19 Field-Pieces joyned the Army.

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August.

On the 30th of this Month of *July*, a *Raſcian* Peaſant, or Country-fellow, was taken, ſent by the Vizier for a Spy, to take a view of the *Chriſtian* Camp; whom the Prince would not ſuffer to be puniſhed; but returned him back to the Grand *Vizier*, to give him notice, that he was marching towards him with his whole Army; the truth of which was verified ſoon after by the enſuing Battle, which, as we ſhall ſee, was given on the 12 of the Month of *Auguſt*.

Preparations for a Battle.

This interval of time, between the laſt of *July*, and the 19th of the following Month, was taken up in recruiting the Forces, and other Preparations for that great Day; ſo that on the beginning of this Month, 6000 *Raſcians*, and 2000 *Hungarians* were added to the Army, under the Command of General *Batthiani*, beſides 2000 *Bavarian* Foot commanded by Colonel *Zacko*; ſo that now the whole Imperial Army conſiſted of near 66070 Men; with which Body the Prince marched as far as *Carlowitz*, where the Army having reſted ſome few Days, they marched to *Salankement*, and there encamped; and in the mean time the *Turks* blew up *Titul*, making their Eſcape by Water to *Belgrade*.

The *Turks* hearing of this Advance of the *Chriſtian* Army, ſent 4000 Spahee's under the Command of *Kathana* Paſha, to recognize, or take a view of them in their March; but a Party of *Huſſars* commanded by *Raab*, and *Badiani* being ſent out againſt them, the *Turk* withdrawing, they retreated back to the Army, and with them a *Chriſtian*, who having been a Slave, made his Eſcape, and reported, That the whole *Turkiſh* Army had already paſſed the *Save*; ſo that the Prince reſolving now to meet them, continued his March to *Semblin*, a Place near to *Belgrade*; between which two Places, nothing but the River intervenes.

The **Turks** *ſtrong in Ships, hinder the Proviſions of the Army.*

The *Turks* being much ſtronger in Shipping than were the *Chriſtians*, they were always paſſing up and down the River, ſo that all the Ships attending the Imperial Camp were forced to remain at *Peter Waradin*; from whence, with great inconvenience, all Proviſions and Ammunition were brought by Land to the Camp; until ſuch time as General *Dunewaldt* being come to the Army, had diſpatched 300 *Germans*, and 200 *Hungarians*, back to *Salankement*, to cover and ſecure 300 of the *Chriſtian* Veſſels, which were arrived at that place laden with Proviſions; which was of great Relief to the whole Army.

Skirmiſhes in Parties.

The two Armies being now very near to each other, Parties were daily detached on both ſides to make Diſcoveries, and bring Intelligence; one of which from Prince *Lewis* on the 8th of this Month, had an Encounter with ſome advanced Guards of the *Turks* near *Semblin*, which upon appearance of the *Chriſtians*, immediately retreated; and a Fog covering the whole *Turkiſh* Camp on a ſudden, that Party returned without being able to give other Informations.

In like manner the Grand Vizier on the 10th of this Month, came in Perſon with all his Horſe to take a view of the *Chriſtian* Camp; upon which the whole Army was drawn out into Battalia; and ſome Volunteers, and other Troops, advanced ſo far on the *Turks*, that being attacked by great Numbers of them, they were repulſed, and droven back with ſome loſs, until the left Wing of the Army (in which Prince *Lewis* was in Perſon) came in to their Succour; howſoever 20 of them were killed, and the reſt were purſued to the very Camp; but in revenge the *Turks* were alſo beaten back, ſeveral of them being killed in their Retreat.

The ſame Day the Imperial Army advanced two Leagues farther towards *Semblin*, where they poſted themſelves in ſuch a manner, that the *Danube* was on their Backs, and the left Wing guarded with *Chevaux de Frize*, which are a kind of Turn-pikes to keep off the Horſe from breaking into the Foot.

The Armies near.

On the 12th the Army advanced in order of Battle, within Cannon-ſhot of the *Turks* Retrenchments, near to *Semblin*; being attacked on all ſides by many Hundreds of the Enemies Horſe, which never ſtood any Ground, but retreated to their Camp, which was ſo poſted on a riſing Hill, or Eminence, that the Generals judged it not to be attacked without great diſadvantage.

On the 13th, whilſt the Army reſted, a certain Page to the Major of the Regiment of *Piccolomini*, who had been taken Priſoner formerly by the *Turks*, made his Eſcape, and informed Prince *Lewis*, that the *Turks* had certainly made an Attack on the *Chriſtian* Army, had they not been diſſwaded by the *French*, who adviſed them not to loſe the advantage of their Trenches, but to remain in them in expectation of being aſſaulted therein by the Enemy, or at leaſt until they could draw out into a more advantageous Ground, or until the arrival of the *Tartars*, which were hourly expected.

During this time the Officers and Soldiers of the Imperial Army, kept themſelves in a readineſs to receive the Enemy; not ſtripping themſelves of their Cloaths, for ſeveral Nights.

Pr. Lewis marches back to Salankement.

That Evening it was concluded at a Council of War, not to engage the Enemy on that Ground, but to return back to *Salankement*, becauſe that there being a neceſſity to bring all the Proviſion from thence for the Army; the Convoys could not eaſily be defended from the Enemies Horſe, which in great and ſtrong Parties lay in continual wait for them: So that on the 14th in the Morning, by Break of Day, the Trumpets and Drums were ordered to give warning to the Army to prepare for a March, the Baggage being ſent before, and in the mean time, until nine a Clock in the Morning, the Army ſtood in view of the Enemy, who moved not out of their Trenches, ſending only a Party of *Tekeli*'s Men to obſerve their motion.

The Turks repulſed.

On the 15th the Army lay ſtill, and ſo did the *Turks*; and the next Day Prince *Lewis* marched an Hour nearer towards *Salankement*: And on the 17th proceeding one Hour farther, the *Turks* imagined that this Motion was a Flight, little thinking that it was only in deſign to Encamp about *Salankement*, where they remained near to their Ships laden with Proviſions, and where they could chooſe the moſt advantageous Ground for a Battle. The *Turks* encouraged with this Imagination, marched after the *Chriſtian* Army, and fell in the Rear of them with ſeveral Thouſands of Horſe; but Count *Stirum* General, and Count *Hoffkirken* Major-General of the Horſe, charged them ſo briskly, beſtowing ſome Shot amongſt them from their Field-Pieces, as cauſed them to retire with loſs, and to remain more quiet for a while. Howſoever about Midnight a great Number of the Enemies Horſe, Camels, and Mules, having been ſtung by a ſort of Venomous Fly, had broke their Halters and Bridles, and with their Sadles, and Harneſſes, came running into the *Chriſtian* Camp, which gave an Alarm to the whole Army: But that being over, it was expected, that the next Day a Battle would enſue, which both the Imperial Officers, and Soldiers, did heartily deſire. But the Grand Vizier following the Advice of the *French*, who were about him in great Numbers, would not adventure that Day to attack the Army; but inſtead thereof, that they might cut off all Communication between the *Germans*, and

An Alarm given.

Peter

1691. Auguſt.

Peter Waradin, they marched half a League beyond them, and there poſted themſelves with ſuch haſte and diligence, that in 24 Hours they had fortified their Camp with Regular Walls of a Man's heighth, and Baſtions on which Cannon was planted, leaving only a narrow Paſſage for coming in, and going out from the Camp.

The Germans in danger.

By theſe means the *Turks* had almoſt cut off all Correſpondence between the Imperial Army, and *Peter Waradin*, and ſo hindered the paſſage of all Proviſions, that the *Germans* had infallibly periſhed in this unfortunate occaſion, had not God Almighty viſibly aſſiſted them by His Omnipotent Hand.

Count Bucquoy's *Regiment cut to pieces.*

The Chriſtians *loſe all their Proviſions.*

To this another Misfortune happened, the News whereof was brought by a *French* Deſerter from the *Turkiſh* Camp; how that the Regiment of Dragoons of Count *Bucquoy*, Commanded by their Major, Count *D'Arco* in all 1000 brave and well mounted Men, together with 400 others, ſent for Recruits to the Regiment of *Caprara* and *Hoffkirchen*, contrary to the Order of Prince *Lewis*, were fallen into the Hands of the Enemies; the occaſion whereof was, that theſe Soldiers preferring the ſecurity of their Baggage before that of their Lives, reſolved to take that with them; and ſo marching very ſlowly, they came to ſtop about two Hours in a Place, diſtant about a *German* League from the Imperial Army; where being attacked, and ſurrounded on all ſides by the *Turks*, they defended themſelves with much Bravery for the ſpace of two Hours, but at length they were all cut down, not above 30 eſcaping of the whole Number of 1400; the Major only was taken Priſoner, and the next Day after the Battle, was found Chained Hand and Foot in the Enemies Camp.

Beſides this the *Turks* took 250 Waggons carrying Proviſions to the Imperial Army, with a 100 Ships belonging to the Sutlers of the Army; the Men whereof for the moſt part were ſaved, for joyning themſelves with the Rabble of the Army, they fought ſtoutly for their Lives, killing great Numbers of the *Turks*.

This great Loſs was very ſenſible to the *Chriſtians*, who having loſt all their Proviſions, without hopes of any other Supply, found no other Deliverance and Safety, but in their Arms, and ſo reſolved on a Battle: The *Turks* on the other ſide growing Arrogant, and bold on theſe Succeſſes, began now to contemn their Enemies, and to look only on them as ſo many loſt Men, whom they now condemned, and ſentenced to Deſtruction, reſolving to give them no Quarter in the Field.

1691. Auguſt. 19th.

The *Chriſtian* Soldiers thus armed with Deſpair, on the 19th of this Month of *Auguſt*, by Break of Day in the Morning, having put themſelves into poſture of Battle, marched directly towards the *Turks*; and about Noon both Armies being drawn up, they faced each other at a ſmall diſtance. The Prince of *Baden* Commanded the right, and Count *Dunewaldt* the left Wing.

The Diſpoſition of the two Amies.

The *Turkiſh* Army conſiſted of about 100000 Men, of which 60000 were the beſt Soldiers in all the *Ottoman* Empire, beſides 15000 of the beſt, and moſt experienced Janiſaries; all which Force was advantageouſly poſted, having the *Danube* on their Back, and in their Front a deep Ditch, with Earth thrown up behind them; but their left Wing was not ſo well fortified, but that it lay ſomething more expoſed to the *Chriſtians*, whoſe Army was likewiſe drawn up in a Martial Poſture.

The Battle of Salankement.

The greateſt part of their Infantry being divided into 20 Battalions; that is to ſay, The Regiment of *Erneſt Staremberg* four Battalions, of *Souches* three, of *Chizzola* one, of *Guido Staremberg* three, of *Salm* one, of *Beck* one, of *Otting* two, of *Brandenburg* three, of *Caunitz* one, of *Vaudemont* one; the which were flanked with the two Regiments of Horſe of *Nieuburg* and *Holſtein*, with the greateſt part of the biggeſt Cannon: The reſt of the Army was drawn up after the uſual form of Battle in a right Line oppoſite to the Enemy; and in this Poſture upon firing a Bomb, which was the Signal given, they all marched in an equal Line, until they came within 200 Paces of the Enemy; and then the Cannon on each ſide began to play: At the firſt it was intended to attack the Enemies left Wing, before the right, to give room for the Foot, which was placed on the riſing of a Hill oppoſite to the main, and ſtrongeſt Intrenchment of the *Turks*, which was fortified with 80 Pieces of Cannon; and alſo to charge the Enemies Horſe, which were drawn up below the Hill in the Plains, with deſign that having Overthrown them, to force through the Camp, unto that part where the Enemies were leſs fortified and ſecured. It ſeems that the right Wing was ſomething too forward, and began to engage before the left could come up, being hindred by the high Graſs and Buſhes; howſoever here was no ſtaying or retreating for the right Wing; but, on they went, looking on the Enemy before them, and proceeded to their very Ditches and Intrenchments; but the Janiſaries having a good Parapet, or Breaſt-work before them, fired ſo furiouſly from thence, that many both of the Chief, and Subaltern Officers were killed and wounded; and here it was that General *Souches* upon a numerous Sally ly of the Enemy, was forced to give way, until the Foot came up, which was not far behind; but in the mean time being ſuſtained by the four Regiments of *Nieuburg*, *Holſtein*, St. *Croix*, and *Darmſtadt* under the Command of the Dukes of *Holſtein* and *Aremberg*, they advanced to the very brink of the Enemies Retrenchments, with which Example of Bravery both Horſe and Foot, being again animated, the Infantry made ſeveral Attacks on the Enemy, and tho' they were ſometimes repulſed, yet being relieved, and guided by thoſe brave Officers both of Horſe and Foot; the Fight was continued from three a Clock in the Afternoon, until it was Night, by which time all the Superiour Officers of the Infantry were killed, excepting only General *Guido* of *Staremberg*, and Prince *Charles* of *Vaudemont*, tho' both of them were alſo wounded.

Nor was the reſt of the Army in the mean time idle; for the Enemy attacking them in the left Wing, and in the Flank with great fury, were as bravely repulſed by the Brigades of *Caſtelli* and *Hoffkirchen*; but the *Turks* rallying all their Horſe into a Body, fell on with greater Fury, in deſpight of the ſmall and great Shot, and charged the Brigade of General *Sarau*, which was part of the Right Wing: And the *Turks* being very numerous on that ſide, they ſo over-powred this Brigade, that two of the Battalions were cut down on the Ground where they ſtood, in which Action, the Battalions of *Otting*, *Beck*, and alſo the Old Regiments of *Staremberg*, and *Brandenburg*, ſuffered very much; ſo that until that time being about ſix a Clock, Fortune favoured the *Turks*; and things had ſuch a diſmal and deſperate Face, that the Generals themſelves began to deſpair of ſaving one Man from this Bloody Action; for here was no Retreat, or Sanctuary, nor Place to fly unto for Succour: And thus both Officers and Soldiers armed with Deſpair, redoubled their Endeavours, and in contempt of Death ruſhed on the Enemies Squadrons; the which being obſerved by thoſe who attended the Baggage, and remained for Reſerves, how that their Companions were beſet on all ſides, and in a continual Fire, were aſhamed to be Lookers on, and Spectators of this Tragedy, came in to the Succour of thoſe who were ready to turn their Backs, and with their Cries and Prayers, gave a ſtop to their Flight.

The Chriſtians *in a dangerous poſture.*

Matters ſtanding in this deſperate State and Condition, the main Body of the Army under the Command of the *Brandenburg* Generals, *Barfus* and *Brandt*, came timely in to the Aſſiſtance of Count *Sarau*, who by theſe Succours rallied his Men, and defended his Poſt, until about an Hour before Night, when the Brigades of *Hoffkirchen*, and *Caſtelli*, with the left Wing, which at this time was Commanded by the Prince of *Baden* in Perſon, were advancing towards that ſide of the *Turkiſh* Army, which was not as yet Intrenched, and ſo furiouſly aſſaulted them, that by the Divine Aſſiſtance, and Arm of the God of Hoſts, viſibly appearing for them, they at laſt forced, and entred the Enemies Camp, driving them from the riſing Grounds where they had planted their Cannon; which when the *Hungarians* and *Raſcians* obſerved, they, who until then had been ſomething backward, and watched the time to Eſcape, came thundering down with renewed Courage, and furiouſly entered the *Turkiſh* Camp, cutting down all that preſented before them; by which means a Way was opened for the right Wing to advance; and ſo the *Turks* being brought into the middle, and attacked on all ſides in a narrow Ground between their Trenches and the *Danube*, were entirely ſubdued, and overcome, and began to fly. And tho' the *Turkiſh* Cavalry for the moſt part found a way to eſcape, through a void Interval laid open for the right Wing, howſoever the Foot continued to defend themſelves ſo furiouſly and firmly in their Trenches, that tho' the Field was yielded to the *Chriſtians*, yet here they received their greateſt loſs; for this Action coſt the Life of the Duke of *Holſtein*, with a Deluge of Blood, entirely to ſubdue the already conquered Enemy.

The Chriſtians *enter the Enemies Camp.*

The Anger, Rage, and Deſpair of the *Turks* on one ſide, and the Fury of the *Chriſtians* on the other, was ſuch, that the firſt ſcorned to accept Quarter, and the others not willing to give it; for which reaſon very few Priſoners were taken.

The remainder of the *Turkiſh* Cavalry, amongſt which was the Grand Vizier in Perſon, were forced to break their way through the narrow Paſſages, and Diſtances between the Lines, with their uſual Cries of *Allah*, *Allah*, which is a calling upon the Name of God: In this Paſſage many of them fell, and many were mortally wounded, ſo that the Roads, to the very *Save*, were filled with dead Bodies; and on the other ſide thereof, the Grand Vizier, with many other principal *Turkiſh* Officers, ended their Days.

In this memorable Battle, which was the moſt Bloody of any that hath happened in ſeveral Ages, the *Turks* loſt in all upwards of 25000 Men, and amongſt them the Grand Vizier; what Officers were killed on both ſides, or wounded, appears in the following Liſt. The *Turkiſh* Fleet, bringing their Veſſels cloſe to the Shoar, and as near as they could

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The Turks land 5000 Men out of their Fleet.

could to their Army, landed 5000 Men out of it, which might have turned the Ballance, had they come timely in unto the Aſſiſtance of their Brethren; but finding the whole Army in Confuſion, and all the Field in diſorder, they retired with much Precipitation Aboard their Fleet.

It would be impoſſible to deſcribe all the Circumſtances, Turns, Changes, Paſſages, and Chances of this Battle, which was fought on both ſides with admirable Reſolution and Courage; for which thoſe of the *Chriſtian* Army who were ſlain, deſerve for ever to be Chronicled in Hiſtory; and thoſe who ſurvive, are worthy of a laſting Fame, and Immortal Glory.

Much is owing by all *Chriſtendom* to the Valour and Conduct of that Noble General Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; as alſo to the Marſhal-General Count of *Dunewaldt*, to Count *Souches*, General of the Artillery; to Count *Stirum*, General of the Horſe; and to Lieutenant-General *Barfus* of the *Brandenburg* Troops, beſides all the Sergeants, Generals, and Officers, who behaved themſelves with that Bravery, Conduct, and Zeal in the Cauſe of *Chriſtendom*, and of the Empire, that they merit to be mentioned with all Honour and Reſpect, whenſoever this Battle comes to be recounted in theſe preſent Days, or in future Ages: And ſo bloody was this Battle, that the *French* King, to comfort the *Turks*, ordered his Ambaſſador to tell them, That ſuch another Victory would ruine the Emperor.

After the Battle the Imperialiſts became Maſters of all the Enemies Artillery; namely, 154 Pieces of Cannon of all ſorts, great and ſmall, great Numbers of Enſigns and Colours; and amongſt the reſt of the Standard of the Grand Vizier, with thoſe of the Paſha's, and of the whole Spoil and Plunder of the Field, with all the Camels, and Mules, and Beaſts of Burden belonging to the Camp, which amongſt the *Turks* are vaſtly numerous: Alſo 10000 Tents, 10 Waggons laden with Copper Money, found in the Vizier's Tent; in the Treaſurer's 54 Trunks of Copper, and 12 with Silver, and 24 Cheſts of Kaftans. Moreover all the Standards and Colours belonging to the Regiment of *Bucquoy*, taken the Day before by the *Turks*; 24 Enſigns, and four Horſe-Tails were ſent to *Vienna*, and amongſt them the Grand Vizier's Standard, which the Emperor ſent to the Pope.

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The Loſs the *Turks* have had in this Action, appears irreparable; for about 10 or 12000 of their beſt Diſciplined, and *Veterane* Janiſaries being killed, they have not as yet been recovered to this very Year of 1694; the which is evident, for of all the Army they could make in that Year of *Turks* and *Tartars*, with Thouſands of raw, and ill compoſed Troops, conſiſting of Plow-Men, and Cow-Boys, they could not make up an Army of 50000 Men; which indeed is wonderful, and ſhows the ſtrange Cataſtrophies of this unſtable World; and deſerves our ſerious Contemplation of the Uncertainty of Humane Affairs? For whereas the *Ottoman* Empire, which hath been famed in paſt Ages for Multitudes and Swarms of Men, by which, over-powering their Enemies by Numbers, rather than by Valour, made all their Conqueſt from *Baſora*, as far as *Buda*, are now dwindled to a Condition, which many of our ſmaller Princes in *Chriſtendom* are able to equal.

All which we are to attribute to the Almighty Hand of God, who commiſerating the wretched Eſtate of *Chriſtendom*, at a time when the Victorious Arms of *France* were employed in ruining and laying waſte one end of it, the *Turks* had Invaded the other, and threatned an entire Deſolation of all *Germany*.

The Killed and Wounded, on one ſide, and the other, are according to the following Liſts.

A LIST of the Dead and Wounded on the Emperor's ſide.

Of the Infantry,

DEAD.

THE Duke of *Holſtein*, Sergeant-General.

Colonels.

Count *Caunitz*.
Count *Bucquoy*.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Count *de Petting*, of Col. *Becks* Regiment.
Count *Stahrenberg* of *Chizzola*'s Regiment.

Sergeant-Majors.

Fingerman of *Daun*'s Regiment.
N. Grones of *Otting*'s Regiment.
Kilch de Lorch of *Vaudemont*'s Regiment.

Captains	15
Lieutenants	6
Enſigns	8
Subaltern Officers, and Common Soldiers	1724
Sum of the Dead	1761

WOUNDED.

Count *Souches* General of the Artillery, who Died the 26th of his Wounds.
General-Major Count *Guido* of *Stahrenberg*.
General-Major Count *Aremberg*, who Died the 24th.
General-Major *Corbelli*.

Colonels.

Prince *Charles* of *Vaudemont*.
Count *Zacko* of the *Bavarian* Regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Count *Henry* of *Stahrenberg*.
Baron *D'Elmpt* of *Salms*'s Regiment.
Marquis *Bagin* of *Stahrenberg*'s Regiment.
Marquis *Maſler* of the *Bavarian* Regiment.
Count *Herberſtein* of *Souches* Regiment.

Majors.

Baron *Winkehoven* of *Beck*'s Regiment.
Wiltprat of *Stahrenberg*'s Regiment.
Baron *Loben* of *Caunitz* Regiment.

Captains	33
Lieutenants	33
Enſigns	18
Subaltern Officers and Soldiers	2460
The Sum of the Wounded	2557

Of the Cavalry,

DEAD.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Count *Zrin* of *Caprara*'s Regiment.
Count *Moulion* of *Stirum*'s Regiment.
George de Werth of *Darmſtadt*'s Regiment.

Sergeant-Majors.

Permaitinger of *Sarau*'s Regiment.

Captains	8
Lieutenants	12
Cornets	3
Subaltern Officers and Commons	829
Sum of the Dead	852

WOUNDED.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Baron *Ketler* of *Dunewaldt*'s Regiment.
Count *Hobenembs* of *Nieuburg*'s Regiment, who Died the 24th.
Count *Marcin* of *Holſtein*'s Regiment.
Baron *Chauviſe* of the Regiment of *St. Croix*.

Sergeant-Majors.

De Fortenau of *Darmſtadt*'s Regiment.
Fiſcher of *Rabutin*'s Regiment.

Captains	16
Lieutenants	20
Cornets	21
A Chaplain of a Regiment	1
Subaltern Officers and Commons	950
The Sum of the Wounded	1014

Of the Artillery,

Sixteen Men were Killed.

WOUNDED.

Sergeant-Major *Werner*.
A Captain, an Adjutant, and 15 more.

In all 34

The

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The *Brandenburgh* Troops, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Barfus*, having behaved themſelves moſt Valiantly in this Bloody Day, contributed very much towards the Happy Event thereof, had alſo their Share of Dead and Wounded, *viz.*

DEAD.	
Colonel Baron *de Bilau.*	
Lieutenant-Colonel Mr. *Kalſteyn.*	
Captains	3
Lieutenants	7
Cornets and Enſigns	3
Adjutant	1
Subaltern Officers and Commons	508
In all Killed	524
The Sum of all the Dead is	3161

WOUNDED.	
Sergeant-Major *Ruchat.*	
Captains	10
Lieutenants	14
Cornets and Enſigns	10
Subaltern Officers and Commons	505
	540
Of the Artillery.	
Killed	4
Wounded	5
And of the Wounded Men	4136

The *Turks* on their Side, had a far greater Loſs; which, tho it cannot be diſtinctly certified, however may be gueſſed at, by what will appear from the following LIST of ſeveral of their Great and Smaller Officers, found Dead on the Field of Battle, and which were known and Named by a *Turkiſh* Priſoner, to be, *viz.*

THE Great Viziers *Kapitſchler Chibaſaſi.*
Aly Beg, Chief of *Caramania.*
A Sain, or Baron of the Province of *Begh Shehetr* in *Aſia.*
Another Sain of the Neighbourhood of *Sophia.*
A Captain of the Grand Vizier's Horſe-Guard.
A Divan-Chiaus, who carries the Vizier's Orders.
Thurnatſchi Baſſa, who is the 6th Perſon in the Command of the Janiſaries.
Aly a Ciorbaſſi of the 4th Oda, or Company of *Janiſaries.*
Solyman Aga-Ciorbaſſi of the 6th Oda.
Oſman Ciorbaſſi of the 21ſt Oda.
Chalill Ciorbaſſi of the 15th Oda.
Iſmael Ciorbaſſi of the 25th Oda.
Aly Ciorbaſſi of the 77th Oda.
Haſſan Aga-Ciorbaſſi of the 66th Oda.
Chalill Aga-Ciorbaſſi of the 31ſt Oda.
Chalill Aga-Ciorbaſſi of the 24th Oda.
Beker Aga-Ciorbaſſi of the 16th Oda.
Beker Aga of the 61ſt Oda.
Oſman Aga-Ciorbaſſi of the 8th Oda.
Omer Ciorbaſſi of the 21ſt Oda.
Veli Ciorbaſſi of the 38th Oda.
Aibad Ciorbaſſi of the 71ſt Oda.
Together 17 Aga's of the Janiſaries.
21 Oda Baſſi, or Lieutenants;
15 Pairackdar, or Enſigns.
10 Chiauſes, or Fourriers of the Janiſaries.

Several Principal Men more, and Officers of the Spahee's were found amongſt the Dead, but unknown to the aboveſaid *Turk*; and beſides thoſe which were found on the Field of Battle, great Numbers of Dead Corps of all ſorts were found on the Road for *Belgrade*; which together with the dead *Turks* found on the Field of Battle, are eſteemed to exceed 25000 Men, beſide the great Numbers of Wounded, amongſt which were the Grand Vizier, the Seraskier, and the Colonel of the Janiſaries, all which Died of their Wounds at *Belgrade.*

1691.
August.

Informatione delli Stendardi

I.

Queſto Stendardo è del Gran Veſiro, che ſuole il Gran Signiore di Turchi mandarlo al Gran Veſiro quando và alla Guerra, è deve eſſer nella Cima differente dall' altri.

II. *Queſtu Stendardo è d'un Seraſcher che doppo il Gran Veſiro ſuol eſſer conſtituito, queſto ſerve per direttore della Battaglia che ſtà alla ſua mano deſtra, dove aſſiſte anco l'Agha di Gianizzari.*

III. *Queſto Stendardo è propriamente dell' Agha di Gianizzari che fà la Differenza dalli Paſcia col pomo d'oro alla Cima.*

IV. *Queſto è del Spahilar Aghaſi.*

V. *Queſto è del Chehaia bei che è la prima perſona doppo l'Agha di Gianizzari, quale vien temuto più dalli Ciorbagi, è Gianizzari, & hà più autorità in Campagna, che l'iſteſſo Agha di Gianizzari.*

VI. *Queſto è un Standardo del Paſcia d'Alepo, ò di Damaſco.*

VII. *Vi ſono doppo l'Agha di Gianizzari quatro ſupremi Generali dell' Infanteria, ſotto li quali Marchiano li Ciorbagi: L'uno detto Zaghargi baſſi del quale è queſto Stendardo; il ſecondo detto Samſengibaſſi, il terzo detto Turnagibaſſi, & il quarto detto Cap Aghaſi. Queſti devono formar il Campo di Gianizzari è ſempre ſtanno alla teſta della Militia.*

VIII. *Queſto è del Samſengibaſſi.*

IX. *Queſto è del Turnagibaſſi.*

X. *Queſto è del Cap' Aghaſi.*

XI. *Queſto è il Stendardo ſotto il quale Marchiano li Volontarij che ſi ſcrivono per primi nella Zeffa, è vien conſtituito un Baſcia per loro Capo, e Conduttore.*

XII. *Queſto è delli Arabi.*

XIII. *Queſto anco è delli Arabi.*

XIV. *Queſto è d'un Ciorbagi di Gianizzari.*

XV. *Queſto è d'un Bullukbaſſi di Seimani, civè d'un Capitano da Aſia, che conduce qualche cento Seimani. Si vedono quattro Tugh, ò Code, che paiono del Gran Veſiro è Seraſchero.*

Sopra li primi Stendardi ſi vede una repetitione quattro cinque volte il ſimbolo delli Turchi in Arabo, quale ſe qualche Chriſtiano lo pronuntiaſſe, deve eſſer fatto Turco è ammazzato, che dice; non eſt Deus, niſi Deus & ipſius Legatus Propheta Mehmet; è nell' altri ſi vede una benedittione del loro Alcorano.

And here I ſhall add this particular Paſſage.

'That the Count *de la Tour*, Vice-Chancellor of *Bohemia*, aſſur'd Mr. *Aſh*, now 'a Biſhop in *Ireland*, That the Evening the 'Battle was fought at *Salankement*, Count 'Zerins, (who was a Young Man, and the 'laſt of the Family) his Lady walking in 'her Garden, with ſome other of her 'Friends, ſuddenly perceiv'd their great 'Hall illuminated as it was wont to be for 'Funerals; but upon ſearch all diſappeared.

'The ſame Lady ſitting down in an Arbor where ſhe us'd to ſit with her Huſband, ſhe felt one haſtily ſit down by 'her; at which being ſurprized, ſhe ſuddenly ſtarted up, but found nothing. 'Soon after a Clap of Thunder and Lightning fell on the Ancient Tomb of the '*Zerins*, broke into the Vault, and burnt 'up all the Bodies and Coffins that were 'there.

The ſame Gentleman aſſerts, 'That 'the very Evening the Battle was fought, 'and as near as could be gueſs'd, the very 'Moment the *Turks* began to Fly, an Old '*Turkiſh* Priſoner, kept in the Common 'Priſon at *Vienna*, ſuddenly cry'd out 'with a great Paſſion, *We are Ruin'd and* '*Undone*, &c. And being aſk'd, What 'was the Reaſon of his Noiſe, he could 'give no other Account, but that he had 'an Impulſe, which forc'd him to cry out 'in that manner.

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir *WILLIAM HUSSEY*'s Reception, and Negotiations at *Belgrade*, dated the 30th of *April* 1691. To Chancellor *Straatman*.

‘AMET Paſſa of *Dierbekir*, and Seraskier in theſe Parts of the *Save*, has deſired me for the Common Good of the Poor *Chriſtians* hereabouts ſo much oppreſſed, to write to your Excellency, and interpoſe in their behalf the good Offices of His Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, my Maſter; which I the more readily perform, as being purſuant to the Orders of my King (equally a Friend to both Empires) to contribute all poſſible Means, and apply my beſt Endeavours to the removing the pernicious Effects of this ſo long and Bloody a War, and changing it into an honourable laſting Peace.

‘Your Excellency may be ſenſible, that beſides the Obligations of *Chriſtian* Charity, 'tis my Intereſt alſo to correſpond and cheriſh (by good Offices) that Confidence and Eſteem which they here expreſs for the King my Maſter, and therefore I doubt not but your Excellency will comply herewith, as far as is in your Power, and likewiſe ſollicit the Court for more ample and poſitive Orders, to which Charitable Work my Lord *Pagett* (His Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary at *Vienna*) will (I am ſure) be earneſtly aſſiſtant.

‘I intreat your Excellency alſo to ſend this Original by a Staffettee to his Lordſhip, that he may underſtand how well I have been received here, and give an Account thereof to the King my Maſter.

‘As ſoon as I entred into the States of the *Ottoman* Empire, I was met by the Beg, or Commandant of every Place, attended by the Militia, who furniſhed me with all Neceſſaries both for my Journey and Subſiſtence: At *Peter Waradin* I was Complemented by an Aga, ſent from the Seraskier; and at the Mouth of the *Theyſſe*, was met by many Barks, guarded by *Janiſaries*, who conducted me to *Belgrade*, where I was preſently Complemented by the principal Officers of the Seraskier's Court, who ſent his own Horſes to convey me and my Family to the Tents, which were pitch'd on the Shoar, and appointed to receive me.

‘The next Day I was received by the Seraskier in full Divan, compoſed of all the Principal Officers both Civil and Military; where when I had given Thanks for the Honours received, the Paſſa anſwered me, That ſuch were the Ancient Cuſtoms of the *Ottoman* Empire, which they were reſolved to obſerve,and aboliſh the Abuſes introduced by the late Grand Seignior, and his Prime Vizier *Muſtapha*. Then the Seraskier, with much earneſtneſs, did exaggerate the Unjuſt Oppreſſion which was practiſed by *Chriſtians* to thoſe of the ſame Faith, who Inhabited the Country called *Syrmium*, ſituate between the *Drave*, *Save*, and *Danube*, who were barbarouſly ſpoil'd of their Cloaths, robb'd of their Cattle, and obliged to pay exceſſive Impoſitions againſt all Laws of Humanity and a regulated Government; whereas on the contrary, their Sultan ſent Money to be diſtributed among the Poor Subjects, to buy them Cattle and Seed, thereby ſhewing himſelf a Father of the Miſerable, and not a Tyrant; and this Charity (continued he) which ought to be natural to you *Chriſtians* towards one another, need not hinder the Hoſtility of Soldiers when they meet and encounter, leaving the poor Country-Men in Peace, who labour only for the Publick Good, and the Service of that Prince whom God ſhall place over them. I anſwered with applauding ſuch Pious Maxims, and that I hoped ſo good Diſpoſitions would incline them more favourably to hearken to what I was to propoſe in the Name of my King, towards the ending this Bloody War between the two Empires; and that as to the Particulars he mentioned, I being a Stranger knew nothing of them. He then proceeded to charge Count *Chizzola* (Commandant of *Eſſeck*) to have deceived him on ſeveral Occaſions after his Word given; a Crime (ſays he) which will be puniſhed by God; and if the Charity of my Emperor towards

wards the Poor Subjects and Countrymen had not reſtrained me, what wou'd have hindred me this Winter to have made Excurſions even to *Buda*? But all I ſhou'd have gained, wou'd have been only the Tears and Curſes of the Miſerable: I anſwer'd with commending the generous Clemency and Mercy of the preſent Government; and our Conference ended with the uſual Ceremonies of Coffee, Sherbet, and Perfumes.

‘In the Afternoon I was call'd for by the Seraskier to a Private Audience, at which only his Effendi, and my Secretary (who was inſtead of an Interpreter) were preſent: I repreſented to him, that this perillous Journey I had undertaken, and by a way ſo unuſual to Ambaſſadors from *England*, was a Mark of the high Friendſhip and Affection which the King my Maſter bore to the two Empires of *Germany* and *Turkey*, who reſenting ſenſibly the fatal Conſequences of ſo long and bloody a War, commanded me to paſs by *Vienna*, there to receive the Orders and Inſtructions of the Emperor of the *Romans*, towards the amicable ending of it, to which good Work ſhou'd not the Grand Sultan and His Miniſters likewiſe correſpond, it might be juſtly feared, that the Miſchiefs and Deſolations hereafter enſuing, wou'd call down Vengeance from God upon the Muſſelmen. The Seraskier applauding the King's Generous Deſign, took notice that there never yet was between *England* and the *Ottoman* Empire, either War or any alienation of Affection, but always perfect Friendſhip, which he beg'd God wou'd continue: He commended the Wiſdom of the preſent Vizier, his Humanity and Treatableneſs, and approved my Solicitous Earneſtneſs to continue my Voyage, leaving it to my Choice, either to go by Land or Water. I told him, I reſolved to go by Water as far as *Ruſgiuk*, a Days Journey below *Nicopolis*, and to Travel thence by Land: He again renew'd the Complaints made in the Divan, in behalf of the Poor Inhabitants of *Syrmium*, and preſs'd me to Write to your Excellency to forbid the Plundering of Villages, and Excurſions of the *Heydukes*, who behave themſelves more like Thieves than Soldiers; and that your Excellency wou'd order, that they who are Peaceable and Diſarm'd, may continue not only in Repoſe, but alſo be protected to the Benefit of that Prince to whom God ſhall give the Government. He aſſured me further, That whatſoever Expedient ſhall be propoſed by the Imperialiſts, towards the preventing ſuch Violences, he will readily agree to, and cauſe it to be rigorouſly obſerved; and in this ſo *Chriſtian* a Cauſe, intreated me to interpoſe the good Offices of my King. I do therefore beſeech your Excellency to Correſpond herein with *Amet* Paſſa, either by Letter, or by Deputies on both ſides, to meet on the Confines, and to be pleaſed to inform me of your Reſolution herein, by an open Letter ſent to the Seraskier, with whom I alſo leave a Copy of this, as I will likewiſe do with the Grand Vizier, not deſigning to expoſe the Confidence they have in my King to the Hazards of any Accidents which might prove equally prejudicial to both Empires.

‘I took this Opportunity to ſhew my ſelf equally Charitable towards the Poor *Chriſtians* taken in *Orſova*, and made Slaves (as was reported) after they had Capitulated to have ſafe Conduct into the Emperor's Territories. I was anſwer'd, That they had Surrendred themſelves with condition, That if *Belgrade* were loſt, they would be Priſoners of War, and that the Grand Vizier was not capable of violating the Publick Faith ſo ſhamefully. I demanded concerning ſome other Priſoners, recommended to me by their Friends; but was anſwer'd, That they were all the Grand Seignior's Captives, and without his expreſs Order they could not treat either for their Ranſom or Exchange: He told me, That all Officers were well treated, and kept without Irons in a Chamber apart, with their Servants, at the Expence of the Grand Seignior. I left 100 Ducats of Gold to be diſtributed by Capt. *Runkel*, to the Pooreſt of them, which was all the Service I could do them, and of which I intreat your Excellency to give their Friends an Account.

‘A Courier being diſpatched to *Conſtantinople*, I have had Permiſſion to Write to the Grand Vizier, and Sir *William Trumbal*, giving Information of my Arrival; I purpoſe ſuddenly to continue my Voyage with full intention to do all the Service I can to both Empires, in execution of the Commands of my King, in whoſe Name I continue to preſs (as deſired) your Excellency, that ſome Means may be found out to prevent the Rapines daily practiſed upon the Poor Country People.

‘The incloſed ſhort Letter for my Lord *Pagett*, I intreat your Excellency wou'd tranſmit to him, as alſo this Original, that his Lordſhip being ſufficiently informed, may better know what to ſollicite from the Emperor, and what to acquaint the King my Maſter. I am,

Belgrade, $\frac{\textit{April } 30.}{\textit{May } 10.}$ 1691.

Sir *William Huſſey*'s Letters to the Lord *Pagett* at *Vienna*.

Adrianople, May 25. 1691.

My Lord,

I *Sent a full Account of our Arrival at* Belgrade, April 30. S. N. *From thence we came by Water to* Ruſtick, *two Days lower than* Nicopolis, *and thence in eight Days Land-Journey hither; whence we advanced forwards two Days, but met there by my Secretary and Interpreter from* Conſtantinople, *with Letters and Advice from* Sir William Trumbal, *that the Vizier was upon departure, and ordered us to ſtay his Arrival at* Adrianople. *We returned back two Days paſt: I have been received and treated in all Places with ſingular marks of Reſpect and Honour, equal to any in the ſame Character. I ſend this upon Fortune to inform your Lordſhip of our Arrival. As to our Negotiation, I muſt attend the Audience before I can give you any Account, ſtill in ſuſpence. God be praiſed we are all well, and my Secretary I brought from* Vienna. *The* Turks *pretend to have a great Army, and deſign chiefly towards* Tranſylvania. *If this meets a quick conveyance, I beg your Lordſhip to acquaint my Lord* Nottingham *of my Arrival. I have wrote to the* Dutch *Ambaſſador for his Advice and Conſideration, in reſpect to me, and his Stay, or Journey hither, ſince I cannot be permitted to attend him at* Conſtantinople. *How I ſhall proceed to* Conſtantinople, *ſtay here, or follow the Campaign, your Lordſhip muſt expect hereafter. My Secretary has added a few Lines, I incloſe to your Lordſhip. My humble Duty to all the Miniſters. Nothing ſhall be wanting which is in my Power. I am,* &c.

Adrianople, June $\frac{3}{13}$. 1691.

My Lord,

T*HE Vizier made his Entrance firſt, with no great Train, nor in the Publick Streets, but paſt direct to his Tents; half an Hours diſtance, the Grand Seignior enter'd, on the 29th, with a fair ſhew to us, but to others very ſhort of former Splendour; he was in a Litter, one of his Court with him at the other end. The Vizier ſent his* [illegible] *Chewſe, (the 2d in that Office) with eight more, the ſame Afternoon he entred, that he being in haſte, deſired me to be ready to come to Audience next Day. We were ſurprized, becauſe our Druggermen in good Manners thinking that Day due to his Repoſe, did not deſign to have carried my Complement, and to deſire leave of Audience till next Day; but I ſent them immediately to perform my Duty in congratulating his Excellency's Arrival, and to concert Matters for next Day, alſo to deſire it might be private, in regard I was without Equipage ſuitable to a Publick Appearance. The Chewſe Baſſa told the Vizier, in regard I had no great Retinue, his Perſonal Attendance might be wav'd, but he commanded him to come in Perſon: Accordingly on* Monday *Morning* June $\frac{1}{11}$ *about nine a Clock, we ſet forward in the beſt Accoutrements we could: I was in my Embroider'd Scarlet Coat, ſix* Engliſh *Footmen in my* Engliſh *Lac'd Liveries, ſix in red Liveries* al modo Turcheſco, 18 *Chewſes in Van, two Druggermen after them, then my ſelf with the Chewſe-Baſſa on my right Hand, and about* 10 *Gentlemen on Horſeback following me, ſome of my own Company, others that came from* Belgrade *with me, and ſeveral other* Turks, *that we made a large Train, and drew Crouds of Spectators. In half an Hour we arrived at his Camp; conducted into his Tents, we paſt one very large one, and through that into another; his Officers were all drawn in Lines; they brought me a Stool to ſit on, and immediately the Vizier enter'd, ſat down upon a Bed carpeted; his People made a Prayer at his Entrance; he bid me welcome, and I acquainted him with my Commiſſion, delivering him the King's Letter and its Tranſlation; after this was over, the Tent full of Officers, and his two Sons ſtanding on his right Hand, I ask'd his Excellencies leave now, or when he pleas'd, to ſpeak in private; he told me, after Sherbet, Coffee,* &c. *the* Turkiſh *Treat, the Company ſhould retire, and he being in haſte deſired it now, when we diſcourſed according to the Relation I ſend incloſed* Veıbatim, *as nigh as we four could remember, and to which we all put our Hands,* viz. *my ſelf, Senior* Marſigli, *Mr.* Coke *Secretary, and Senior* Antonio Perrone *chief Interpreter; there remained none in the Room but the Vizier, as before mentioned, and one Druggerman more. At Departure I was Veſted and* 11 *more, all that I had of Quality, and conducted back with ſome Reſpect. His Excellency was very courteous, and we had all the Marks poſſible of a very kind Reception, with as much Honour as any in the Character.*

My Lord, *The Point reſolved was, That his Excellency would not own the* Turks *at* Vienna *under any Publick Character, would neither write to them, or ſend any other; When I told him the Emperor had accepted the King of* England *and States of* Holland *to aſſiſt, and was well diſpoſed to a Peace, and if his Excellency did incline alſo, I hop'd there*

1691. *might be a happy iſſue; he reply'd, He was for Peace, but upon Terms of Honour, and if I had Power to treat, would call for Pen. I reply'd, It could not be expected I ſhould have full Authority before his Excellency's Mind had been known, and that* Vienna *was thought the propereſt Place, in regard there had been ſome Overtures already made, and Repreſentatives of all Parties preſent: That to arrive at an end, there muſt be a beginning; and that, if his Excellency permitted, I would ſend my Secretary to* Vienna, *to perſwade His Imperial Majeſty to impower his General, that ſo his Excellency being now upon departure for the Confines, they might treat there; and if his Excellency judged my Perſon and Preſence neceſſary to ſo bleſs'd a Work, I would wait upon his Excellency, and attend his Camp: He told me there was no occaſion I ſhould take ſo much trouble; but ſaid, Send your Secretary to* Vienna, *that the Emperor ſend a Perſon according to cuſtom, fully impowred to treat here, or elſe that we are as we are: And to this he added two or three Lines: To this there's no Reply.*

My Lord, *I ſpoke ſeveral times that the Commiſſion was to me and the* Dutch *Embaſſador equally; which I did, and now repeat to avoid all Thoughts, becauſe the Vizier when he ſpoke, ſaid, Let the Emperor ſend his Commiſſion to me, not naming the* Dutch, *and to this no Reply: 'Tis not an Ambition I deſire, nor ſhall I leſs communicate with the* Dutch *Embaſſador, whoſe Counſel I ſhall always deſire.*

My Lord, *I am very glad I have the Opportunity of returning Count* Marſigli, *who will ſupply by Parole what I may omit, or what is not convenient for a Letter, and that your Lordſhip will tranſmit it to my Lord* Nottingham: *'Tis abſolutely neceſſary that the Emperor reſolves that he adjuſts the Points with the Allies, or treats without them, which the* Turks *would imbrace greedily; but ſince His Imperial Majeſty will not relinquiſh them, nor they able to defend, but muſt diſgorge, and be ſwallowed up if alone; 'tis I think very reaſonable that the Emperor requires them to poſitive and convenient Conditions. The* Turks *Nature is to do at once, and therefore conſidering well there muſt be a Power intruſted. I ſhall be very ready to give all the poſſible aſſiſtance I can, and if required, readily paſs to the Camp, or Confines, for obtaining ſo pious a Work, grateful, and moſt heartily wiſh'd by the poor Subjects of both Empires; and I hope I ſhall have the better fortune for the many hearty Prayers and good Wiſhes I have gain'd on both ſides. God Almighty proſper and direct you to compleat it. What you ſend to me, pray let be clear, to avoid Replies, and that Count* Marſigli *may be perfectly inſtructed, who knowing the poſture and humour of Affairs here, will, I hope, expedite their Counſels, and reſolve them. The Juncture ſeems very favourable, and the Allies, I believe, very preſſing; this Opportunity loſt, God knows the Conſequences. Senior* Marſigli *will tell your Lordſhip ſome things I have charged to his Memory, and deſire your Lordſhip to ſend to my Lord* Nottingham. *My haſte and length of Letters will not permit me to uſe Cypher at preſent: I have preſumed to write to His Imperial Majeſty, and moſt of the Miniſters, to acknowledge my Obligations and readineſs in their Intereſts, which I humbly beg of your Lordſhip to deliver; and if the Bearer, who goes directly to your Lordſhip be preſent, he can ſupply all that is deficient. God Almighty proſper your good Offices. I am with all Reſpect,*

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's Moſt Devoted Servant,

William Huſſey.

In the laſt Month of *July* we left the two Ambaſſadors Sir *William Huſſey*, and the Heer *Collier* at *Adrianople*, where having received the News of the total Defeat of the *Turkiſh* Army, with the Death of the Grand Vizier, a ſtop was given to their preſent Motion towards *Belgrade*, with intention to proceed with the New Vizier thither, and there to reaſſume the Mediation towards a Peace, for which the preſent Conjuncture ſeemed very ſeaſonable.

A New Vizier Ali Paſha.

The New Vizier was called *Ali Paſha*, had been Paſha of *Scio*, and *Kahya*, or Deputy to *Kupriogli*, the Grand Vizier now ſlain in Battle: But whilſt they were meditating of theſe Matters, and preparing to accompany the New Vizier in 10 or 12 Days, as was given out, unto *Belgrade*; it pleaſed God, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, Sir *William Huſſey*, fell Sick, and Died the 14th of *September* after 15 Days of Sickneſs at *Adrianople*: He was a Perſon much lamented by all for his excellent Qualities and Experience in the Affairs of *Turkey*, of which he had learned much at *Aleppo*, and there gained a good Eſtate, with which returning for *England*, he Married the Daughter of that Worthy Perſon and Citizen, Sir *John Buckworth*; after whoſe Death he was choſen by the *Levant* Company, to be their Deputy Governour, in the Place of Sir *John Buckworth*, his Father-in-Law Deceaſed; in which Office having acquitted himſelf for ſome Years with much Honour, he was afterwards ſent by

The Death of the Lord Ambaſſador Sir William Huſſey.

King

1691. King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to ſucceed Sir *William Trumball* in that Embaſſy: His Excellent Lady reſolving to accompany him in all his Travels and Dangers, patiently bore, and ſuſtained all the Fatigues and Inconveniencies of a Journey over Land; which was never performed before by any other *Engliſh* Ambaſſador deſigned for *Turkey*; who were always Tranſported either in the Companies own Ships, or the King's Men of War, by Sea: But now things had changed their Face, and as it was dangerous, whilſt the *French* were Maſters of the *Mediterranean* Seas, to expoſe thoſe rich Ships to the danger of the Enemy; ſo it was thought moſt convenient to haſten the Journey of the Ambaſſador by Land; and that taking the Imperial Court at *Vienna* in his way, he might there receive ſuch Inſtructions from the Emperor and his Allies, the King of *Poland*, and the State of *Venice*, as were moſt proper at that time in order to a Peace with the Sultan, of which King *William* of *England*, and the States of *Holland* offered themſelves, by their Ambaſſadors, to be the Mediators: Upon this Occaſion Sir *William Huſſey*, with his Lady, remained ſome Months at *Vienna*, before he could procure his Diſpatches; and then the Winter coming on, when the *Danube* was frozen up, he departed not from *Vienna*, until the Spring, and arrived, as we have related before in the Month of *June* of this preſent Year. And whereas the Mediation of this Peace was of high Concernment to all *Europe*, we ſhall here inſert the Methods, Rules, and Inſtructions, which the Emperor and his Allies gave to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in this Matter.

The firſt Paper given to Sir *William Huſſey* at *Vienna*, was dated *March* 1691, and called, *Informations for the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador, deſigned to be Mediator of the Peace at* Conſtantinople, and which may ſerve to obviate the Objections which the *Turks* may make.

Annotata ad informationem à Dominis Ablegatis Turcicis ultimo exhibitam, pro informatione Excellentiſſimi Domini Legati Anglici, ad Portam Ottomanicam proficiſcentis.

MISSIS omnibus iis, quæ Negotii tractandi ſubſtantiam alterare non videntur, ad ea tantùm reſpondere viſum fuit, quæ prædictam ſubſtantiam tangunt, vel contra Legationis jura admiſſa prætenduntur à præfatis Portæ Ottomanicæ Dominis Ablegatis ad concludendam pacem huc Miſſis. 1691.

‘ Quorum in ordine primùm occurrit, quod Domini Ablegati Turcici in præterita ſua informatione de Colloquio inter Eminentiſſimum Dominum Cardinalem à Kollonitſch & illos in Cœnobio PP. Auguſtinianorum extra urbem inſtituto, commemorant, in quo parum refert an Dominus Cardinalis à Kollonitſch illos Ablegatos Turcicos, an verò hi præfatum Dominum Cardinalem à Kollonitſch ad Colloquium illud invitaverint, in eo tamen ſubſtantia poſita eſt, quod nunc aſſeverent Domini Ablegati Turcici propoſitionem quam ſe Domino Cardinali à Kollonitſch tùm feciſſe fatentur, non ex mandato Portæ, verùm propriâ mentis occurrentiâ nunc demùm ſe feciſſe profiteantur; etenim ſæpe ſæpius per literas interrogati, num ſuper illa tractare ſufficienter inſtructi ſint? Non tantùm ſe, adæquatâ Plenipotentia proviſos conſtanter reſponſoriis ſuis affirmarunt, verùm etiam patefactam ſibi diffidentiam Miniſterii Cæſarei ſuper hac qualitate conceptam ſæpius repetitam ægrè demum ferre cœperunt & quæſtiuncularum inutilium nomine appellantes moram principali negotio per hæc fieri queſti ſunt, quod ſi ab initio ſtatim ejuſmodi propoſitionem Domino Cardinali factam non ex Portæ mandato, ſed ſuâ tantùm privatâ mente originem ducere profeſſi fuiſſent, Miniſterium Cæſareum vel ejuſmodi propoſitionem planè ab initio non recepiſſet, vel de modo legis timandæ dictæ propoſitionis dictis Dominis Ablegatis temperamentum aliquod idoneum ſuggeſſiſſet, quam circumſtantiam cùm tacuiſſent & tacere perſeveraſſent Domini Ablegati Turcici, eam nunc demùm profeſſi, ſatis conſtat, unde mora, & illorum detentionis cauſa proceſſerit, & cui conſequenter imputanda ſit, nam ſæpius per literas interrogati, num puncta propoſita Domino Cardinali à Kollonitſch & ipſis copialiter tranſmiſſa menti ſuæ conformia eſſent? Affirmative reſponderunt, quamvis non ſuper iis, quæ Domino Cardinali à Kollonitſch propoſita fuerunt, aliquis Tractationis motus à Cæſareo Miniſterio oſtenſus, ſed tùm demùm fides rei adhibita fuit, cum hanc ob cauſam ad ſe miſſo Secretario intimo Domino à Werdenburg puncta Domino Cardinali à Kollonitſch propoſita non tantum confirmaſſent, verùm & Turcico idiomate exhibuiſſent, & Latine ad calamum dictaſſent, tùm demùm animus his adjectis, & deſuper

‘ cum

1691. ‘cum Dominis fœderatis Sereniſſimo nimirum Poloniæ Rege, & Sereniſſima Republica Veneta communicari cœpit: Quorum ſenſa, ſi priùs delata fuiſſent, prius etiam formaliter cum illis Dominis Ablegatis Turcicis ex parte Cæſarei Miniſterii, tractari cœpiſſet, eo vel maxime fundamento, quod Domini Ablegati Turcici, poſtquam ipſis clarè ſcriptum fuiſſet, quod Sacra Cæſarea & Regia Majeſtas literis D. Fœderatorum ſuorum de eo monita fuerit, quod Ablegatus Chami Tartarorum ad Sereniſſimum Regem Poloniæ miſſus clare edixerit, Viennenſibus Ablegatis Turcicis, mutato ſupremo Viſirio nullam concludendæ pacis Plenipotentiam ſupereſſe, ii reſponderint, non ſe à Supremo Viſirio ad proponendam pacem, verùm ipſomet regnante Turcarum Imperatore huc miſſos, nec Plenipotentiam ſuam à Supremo Viſirio, ſed ab ipſomet regnante Imperatore propria manu ſubſcriptum attuliſſe & exhibuiſſe. Cui proinde vel fides adhibenda vel propoſitiones ultimas ab iis exhibitas acceptandas non fuiſſe; cùm verò his propoſitis nulli tractantium partium conveniens videretur, culpam non ſubſecutæ Pacis ſponte vel levi de cauſa in ſe ſuſcipere, placuit confidentiam in ſupra qualificatam Plenipotentiam Imperatoris Ottomanici potiùs oſtendere, quàm leviter almum hoc negotium abrumpere; Communicatis igitur, ut dictum, exhibitæ propoſitionis capitulis præfatis Sereniſſimis Confœderatis hactenus eorum ſenſa deſuper expectata fuerunt, nulla ex eorum protracta dilatione in Cæſareum Miniſterium reſultante culpâ protractæ Pacis aut Tractatuum, cùm ſæpe ſæpius dictum & ſcriptum fuerit Dominis Ablegatis Turcicis, Sacram Cæſaream Regiamque Majeſtatem ſine Fœderatorum ſuorum ſatisfactione almam pacem nec concludere velle nec poſſe, quare cùm ſæpius memorati Sereniſſimi Fœderati ſenſus ſuos ſuper propoſitis ex propinquo oſtendere cœpiſſent, huc Pottendorffium Domini Ablegati revocati fuerunt, quod verò nunc demùm ſe facultate tractandi carere profiteantur & exinde Tractationem Pacis proſequi non valeant, certè nullatonùs Miniſterio Cæſareo, verùm Dominis Ablegatis Turcicis ea, quæ ab initio candidè proferre debuiſſent, ſtudio tacentibus imputandum venit.

‘Quod porrò Domini Ablegati Turcici prætendant, propoſitiones pacis Domino Secretario à Werdenburg ſcripto editas & ad calamum dictatas ad conditionem acceptationis intra decem dierum ſpatium reſtrictas fuiſſe, provocatur ad literam exhibitarum & dictatarum propoſitionum, ex qua, uti nihil de decem diebus dictum eſſe conſtat, ita nec hanc conditionem informationi ſuæ nunc demùm adjectam ſubſiſtere conſtabit. 1691.

‘Quod verò facie rerum mutata, ut malè prætendunt & priores conditiones Pacis & poſterius oblatas evanuiſſe prætendant, ignoratur, quo fundamento hoc ſuſtineri poſſit, eò quod factum infectum fieri nequeat, nec res in eum caſum reciderit, ut Partes belligerantes Pacem petere ſibi conveniens arbitrentur; vel nova & à prioribus & poſterioribus conditionibus aliena deponendi belli vel reducendæ Pacis ratio adinveniri & excogitari poſſit, cùm materia, ob quam ſeu bellum geritur, ſeu Pax placitis utrinque conditionibus reduci poſſit, ob ſibi imaginatam rei mutatæ faciem à Dominis Ablegatis Turcicis nec ſuapte naturâ variet, nec immutari poſſit.

‘Alterum, quod priori in ordine ſuccedit, eſt querela Dominorum Ablegatorum Turcicorum, quod in longum hîc detineantur; verum enimverò & toti Orbi & ipſis conſtat, traditis Recredentialibus eos non animo detinendi hinc Viennâ dimiſſos, & Comaromium verſus directos fuiſſe, verum enimverò cùm per propoſitionem, ſc. De qua Sacræ Cæſareæ & Regiæ Majeſtati abſenti, & tùm Auguſtæ præcipuis Imperii Romani negotiis implicitæ, ante finem Januarii, & jam tùm Dominis Ablegatis Turcicis Viennâ profectis, conſtare potuit; Domino Cardinali à Kollonitſch factam novam ſuæ retentionis cauſam præbuiſſent, nec, ut ſupra dictum, alterutri partium Tractantium ſe præcipiti abruptione Tractatuum ream Mundo conſtituere conveniret neceſſariò, ubi tum deprehendi poterant Domini Ablegati Turcici apud eoſdem de ſubſiſtentia & qualitate Propoſitionis factæ inquirendum erat, hoc cùm fortè Comaromii acciderit, nullo præmeditatæ retentionis animo, ſed forte id factum ſibi certo perſuadeant, qui liberè abiviſſent, niſi materiam novis ſuis propoſitionibus redintegrandi Tractatûs ſuppeditare conveniens arbitrati fuiſſent.

‘Neque verò hac in re vel contra Legationis jura, vel contra Portæ Ottomanicæ intentionem factum fuiſſe aliquid ex ſequentibus conſtabit. Etenim quod prius membrum ſpectat, ita cum Cæſareis Legatis nunc Eminentiſſimo Domino Cardinale à Goeſs, Domino Reninger piè defuncto, ac ipſiſmet Dominis Hoffman, Comite Caprara, & Kunif tempore flagrantis belli proſtantia exempla per Portam Ottomanicam obſervatum fuiſſe clarè demonſtrant, quorum priores duo ex Portæ Ottomanicæ ditionibus huc ad Confinia cum ipſo Magno Vizirio & Exercitu devecti, &

cuſtodiis undequaque circumſepti, Cardinalis à Goeſs ſerò dimiſſus, Reninger autem retentus, & poſt cladem ad S. Gotthardum acceptam ex abrupto Pacis componendæ inſtrumentum fuit, Hoffman naturali morte apud eos obiit, Comes à Caprara ad muros Viennæ devectus, & bene cuſtoditus dimiſſus quidem fuit, ſed Kuniz retentus qui pari honore habitus repulſis ab Obſidione Turcis ultrò è Caſtris ad Urbem ſe recipiens proſiliit; alia ſunt Legationum jura tempore Pacis, alia belli tempore, quorum differentia, ut per ſe nota eſt, ita longa deductione non eget, nec hac in parte Dominos Ablegatos Turcicos aliquid recipere, quod cum Miniſtris Cæſareis obſervatum non fuiſſet, probare poterunt, qui magno honore habiti & largè alimentati ultra centum millia florenorum ærario Cæſareo abſumpſerunt, nullo ſane alio, quam reſtrictæ liberæ converſationis, quatenus tamen id jure Gentium & licitum & neceſſarium eſt, incommodo affecti.

‘Intentionem Portæ Ottomanicæ quod attinet, quicquid Domini Ablegati Turcici dicant, & ſe morum ac legum Portæ Ottomanicæ cæteris gnariores eſſe aſſerunt, interpreteſque literarum editarum ſe adſtruant, clarum tamen eſt, quod indubia interpretatione non egeant, & literæ à Primo Viſirio ad Præſidem Conſilij Bellici ultimo ſcriptæ ſic habent: *Verùm enimverò ſi temporis ac ſtatûs ratio impedimento ſit, atque Negotii perfectio nequaquam arrideat, hoc poſito ibi exiſtentes Plenipotentiarij ne diutiùs commorentur ſine cauſa, ſed quàm citiſſime nullo interpoſito die ſalvo paſſu & plenâ incolumitate ad Excelſi Imperii ditionem traducantur.* ‘Ex quibus, ut ſatis conſtat, non pure, ſed hoc ſuppoſito, quod Pacis negotium conficiendum non arrideat, revocatos fuiſſe, in aprico pariter eſt, quod propoſitione ſuâ denuo factâ diſcutiendis conditionibus propoſitis novam occaſionem ſuæ detentionis Domini Ablegati Turcici proprio facto ſuppeditaverint, præcipuè cùm ut ſæpe dictum, Neutri belligerantium parti excuſſæ Pacis fama conveniret, quam ſi defectu Plenipotentiæ porro tractare & concludere non poſſint, certum eſt, quod culpa non ſubſecutæ Pacis non in Cæſareum ſed Portæ Ottomanicæ Miniſterium vel ipſos Dominos Ablegatos redundet.

‘Tertium, Quod duo priora ſubſequitur, eſt querela Dominorum Ablegatorum Turcicorum ob negatos ſibi curſores, ut aiunt, formata; verùm ſi res penitius introſpiciatur, nunquam ſibi aliquem Curſorem petitum denegatum fuiſſe probare poterunt Domini Ablegati Turcici, etenim recordabuntur, quàm in Seſſionibus habitis graviſſimis de cauſis, Miniſtri Cæſarei eos adhortati fuerint, ut Curſorem cum difficultatibus in Tractatu Pacis obortis ad recipiendas inſtructiones expedirent, quantoque conſtiterit eos ad hoc perſuadere, quem ubi demum petierunt nullâ morâ interpoſitâ obtinuerunt, obtinebuntque toties quoties illum clarè petere placuerit.

‘Etſi verò etiam querantur, quod poſt propoſitiones poſteriores ſuper iis mentem Miniſterii Ottomanici reſcire & indagare per Curſorem illis non fuerit permiſſum, reſpondetur, tùm eos Curſorem non petiiſſe, ſed hoc quidem, ut acceptatis conditionibus & tranſactâ Pace alterutri illorum liberum foret ad Portam Ottomanicam Tractatus concluſos deferre, & liberum ratificandi arbitrium Portæ Ottomanicæ reſervatum expiſcari; quanta verò diſtinctio inter Legatum ſic proficiſcentem & Curſorem ſimpliciter mitti petitum interſit, conſtat ex rerum naturali differentia, præcipuè cùm res ad ſtatum acceptatarum conditionum, & cum acceptatis mittendum alterutrum ex Legatis propter defectum intentionis fœderatorum eo uſque pervenire non potuerit.

‘Cæterum, quæ de ſua hinc inde Tranſlatione & incompetenti eorum Tractatione D. Ablegati Turcici queruntur, non ſubſiſtere, ex ſupradictis cuilibet conſtabit, quam præterea omnium pariter Regnantium commune deſiderium latere non poteſt, quo quiſque à ſe miſſos debitè honorari cupit, & vel propterea ad ſe miſſis congruentia honorifica non negat, quo in paſſu Sacram Cæſaream & Regiam Majeſtatem Religioſiſſimam & eſſe & fuiſſe ſemper, omnium Principum Legati Miniſtri, qui ultrò citroque hactenus commeati ſunt, atteſtabuntur; nec ipſi Domini Ablegati Turcici, ſepoſitis, quibus jactari videntur, animi paſſionibus, inficiabuntur.

Viennæ, Martii, 1691.

Conditions and Inſtructions given by the King of Poland, *to the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador: Entituled,*

Conditiones ad Tractatum Pacis ex parte Sereniſſimi Regis & Reipublicæ Poloniæ.

I.

‘TRACTATUS omnis & prætextus quocunque modo per fulgidam Portam acquiſitus ad Podoliam & Ukrainam, uti avitas & hæreditarias Regni Poloniæ Provincias, ac recenter armis recuperatas, in perpetuum aboleatur, Præſidiumque Turcicum ex fortalitio Cameneceſi abducatur, cum integra ejuſdem fortalitii ac rei tormentariæ ibidem exiſtentis in manus Polonorum traditione.

II. Moldavia, quæ jam magna ex parte armis Sacræ Regiæ Majeſtatis Poloniæ occupata: Et Valachia, quæ utræque olim Provinciæ Sereniſſimorum Regum Poloniæ tributariæ erant, juri & poſſeſſioni Sacræ Regiæ Majeſtatis Poloniæ relinquantur, unà cum omnibus iſtis ditionibus, quas Budziacenſes & Bialogradenſes Tartari incolunt, itá ut limes ſit Fluvius Danubius.

‘III. Hanus & Tartari Crimenſes uti cauſatores omnium bellorum & damnorum per fulgidam Portam ab excurſionibus & inferendis damnis contineantur & cohibeantur, ita ut quoties illata fuerint, fulgida Porta eadem reſarciat & refundat.

‘IV. Damna bellorum & Provinciæ deſolatæ ac in cinerem redactæ juſto & æquo valore compenſentur.

‘V. Coſacis univerſaliter omnibus tam Ukrainenſibus quam Zaporeſcenſibus nullo unquam prætextu Porta Ottomanica directe vel indirecte rebellionis fautoratum aut protectionem præbebit.

‘VI. Boriſtenes Fluvius munitionibus & Præſidiis Turcicis tam vetuſtioribus quam recentioribus expurgetur & evacuetur.

APPENDIX.

‘Conditiones ex parte Czarorum Muſcoviæ circa Tractatum à Sereniſſimis Colligatis proponendæ ut locum ſuum habeant, & à fulgida Porta acceptentur.

The Emperor's Articles and Inſtructions for concluding a Peace, given to the Engliſh *Ambaſſador at* Vienna, February 15. 169$^{1}_{2}$.

Ad ſtabiliendam Pacem inter Auguſtiſſimum Romanorum Imperatorem, Germaniæ, Hungariæ, & Bohemiæ Regem, ſc. ejuſque Conſæderatos, Sereniſſimum Poloniæ Regem & Rempublicam, ac Sereniſſimam Rempublicam Venetam ex una? Et Sereniſſimum ac Potentiſſimum Turcarum Imperatorem ex altera parte ſequentes conditiones à Cæſareis ad hoc Negotium Deputatis, pro Reſponſo ad Propoſitiones per Ablegatos Turcicos die 15. Februarii, 1689, exhitas, reponuntur.

I.

‘CUM ex parte Portæ Ottomanicæ in prædictis Conditionibus offeratur Ceſſio hoc bello recuperatorum, quæ abſque hoc avito jure ad Sacram Cæſaream Majeſtatem Regnumque Hungariæ & ditiones ei ab antiquo annexas ſpectant, vel abinde dependent, & fere omnes aut armorum ſucceſſu, aut ſpontaneâ deditione à Juſtitia Divina quaſi Jure poſtliminii in poteſtatem ſuæ Majeſtatis redierunt, prætenditur ex parte Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtatis ad tollendum omne diſſidium inter partes nunc belligerantes, futuris quoque temporibus præcavendum, ut reliquæ adhuc ditiones, populi & loca ab antiquo ut ſupra dictum ad Regnum Hungariæ, Ditioneſque eidem annexas pertinentia ei pariter ſupremo jure cedantur, & continuò evacuentur, cum omnibus ad ea antiquitùs vel hactenus ſpectantibus aut attributis territoriis & dependentiis, quorum ſpecificatio & Conſinia per præſentem Conventionem determinabuntur, nullâ in iis ſub prætextu tributorum, aut quacunque aliâ Portæ Ottomanicæ prætenſione Juris remanente; caſſatis etiam & annullatis ex integro omnibus prioribus Tractatibus quatenus de ſupra poſitis aliter, quàm hic conventum fuerit, diſponunt.

‘II. Liceat verò Cuique partium paciſcenti Conſinia propria exſtructione Fortalitiorum & Munimentorum, vel alio quocunque meliori viſum fuerit modo in propriam ſecuritatem & populorum quietem munire ac tuta reddere.

III. In-

1691.

‘III. Incurſiones hoſtiles, devaſtationes & depopulationes territorii utriuſque Dominii, aut eorum, qui ſub protectione Contrahentium Imperatorum deinceps vivent, omninò & ita quidem prohibitæ ſint, ac illicitæ maneant, ut omnes Turcarum Confiniariorum vel Tartarorum in Cæſareas proprias aut præmemoratorum ſuorum Clientium Ditiones factæ incurſiones, invaſiones, depopulationes, & exactiones pacifragii pœnam incurrant, ac parti læſæ cauſam damni bello vindicandi juſtam & ſufficientem præbeant, niſi ad ejus requiſitionem damna data reſarta; & nomine eorum ſatisfactum, ſimulque Authores damni dati exemplariter puniti fuerint.

‘IV. Maneat porrò etiam illicitum futuris quoque temporibus receptaculum vel fomentum dare malis hominibus Rebellibus, ſubditis aut utriuſque paciſcentis Cæſaris inimicis.

‘V. Libera ſint utriuſque partis ſubditis in omnibus & ſingulis utriuſque partis Imperiis, Regnis, Ditionibus, Provinciis, Territoriis & Portubus terrâ mariqueCommercia, ſine fraude & dolo peragenda, nullis Teloniorum & Vectigalium exactionibus adſtricta: Permiſſis etiam ut cæteris Nationibus, quibus cum Turcico Imperio Commercium eſt, in locis ad hoc electis, Cæſareis Conſulibus, jure Gentium, omni immunitate privilegiatis, & Cæſareâ protectione gaudentibus.

‘VI. Captivati ex utraque parte, ſive per Turcas ſive per Tartaros capti fuerint, exiſtentes, libertati & propriis Dominis abſque lytro bonâ fide reſtituantur.

‘VII. Cuſtodiam Sanctiſſimi Sepulchri & aliorum Sanctorum locorum in Judæa circa Hieroſolymam exiſtentium antehac Chriſtianis & Sacerdotibus Franciſcanis ſemper permiſſam, ac paucis demum abhinc annis iiſdem ereptam, Græciſque traditam reſtituet prædicti Ordinis Religioſis & Chriſtianis Romano-Catholicis Sereniſſimus ac Potentiſſimus Turcarum Imperator, ſervabitque liberam & quietam præfatis Religioſis Franciſcanis ſub ſua protectione conſtantem poſſeſſionem deinceps non auferendam. Concedet inſuper liberam peregrinis Chriſtianis Romano-Catholicis adeundi & redeundi facultatem, non interturbato aut impedito iis in partibus Religionis Romano-Catholicæ obeundæ exercitio.

‘VIII. Regula & norma Curialium in recipiendis, receptis honorandis & tractandis Miniſtris ultrò citroque commeantibus his pactis certa conſtituatur, deinceps ab utrinque ſanctè & religioſè ſecundum diſtinctam Characteris miſſorum prærogativam inter Gentes obſervanda.

1691.

‘IX. Turcarum Imperator Sacræ Cæſareæ & Regiæ Majeſtatis fœderatis, ſcilicet Sereniſſimo Poloniæ Regi & Reipublicæ, Et Sereniſſimæ Reipublicæ Venetæ competentem præſtabit ſatisfactionem juxta Conventionem cum iis ſimul & ſemel ineundam.

‘X. Moldaviæ Territorium quoque à Tartaris in priſtinas ſuas ſedes ultra Boriſthenem ex Budziac tranſlatis omninò evacuabitur, fietque Moldavis per Tartaros erepti Territorii, deinceps non eripiendi, plenaria reſtitutio.

ANNOTATIONES.

I.

‘PACEM hoc modo concluſam Ablegati & Plenipotentiarii Turcici à Sereniſſimo & Potentiſſimo Imperatore & Domino ſuo, ad formam hic mutuò placitam ratihabitum iri ſeque infallibiliter præſtituros, ut ſolenne, Ratificationis Inſtrumentum intrà ſpatium triginta dierum à die ſubſcriptionis computandum, aut citiùs ſi fieri poterit, hic reciprocè recteque commutetur, ſe obligent, dictæ ratificationis adventum hic præſtolantes.

‘II. Pax iſta, quamvis ſecundum propoſitas Conditiones concluſa, tùm demum robur Obligationis & debitæ Obſervantiæ vinculum accipiet & inducet, cùm in omnibus ac ſingulis, quæ de locis evacuandis & tradendis, atque etiam de Confiniis per Deputatos ab utrinque Commiſſarios conſtituendis ſecundùm præmiſſa ſtipulabuntur & acceptabuntur plenariè executioni demandata fuerit: Qua in re ad accelerandam Pacis executionem & publicationem ſiſtendamque humani ſanguinis effuſionem placuit utrinque, ut deſignatis ad terminos Dominiorum ponendos & exequendam Pacem ab utrinque Commiſſariis ſpatium bimeſtre præfigatur, cujus decurſu Confinia, prout conventum fuerit, ſtatuant, evacuanda tradant, & Articulo Pacis juxta ſibi commiſſa exequantur.

‘III. Quia omnia, quæ ſupradictis conditionibus Generalibus propoſita fuerunt, individualiter & localiter conceptis hujus

'Pacificationis articulis exprimere, & inſerere neceſſe eſt, ideò de omnibus & ſingulis in ſpecie porrò tractandi & conveniendi liberam ſibi reſervant Deputati Cæſarei facultatem.

'IV. Nefandum Tókelii proditoris & Rebellis improbiſſimi, hujus cruenti belli Authoris & execrandi Impoſtoris caput ſecundum Juris Gentium naturalem Obligationem quondam à Turcis ſuſceptam & male obſervatam, ſemotâ omni tergiverſatione poſt pacem concluſam mox noxæ tradent, ad ſumendas de eodem meritas pœnas, & ſtatuendum violatæ fidelitatis exemplum: Interim captivando de ejuſdem perſona pace concluſâ fideliter conſignanda, ita ſe ſecuros reddent Ablegati Turcici, ut & Deputatis Cæſareis ſecuram & ſinceram ſtipulatorum executionem oſtendere & perſuadere poſſint.

'Quæ annotatio Cæteris omnibus in Tractatu præponenda & de illa bonâ fide, priuſquam cætera pertractentur, conveniendum erit, cùm ſit conditio ſine qua non.

Now follow the Propoſitions which the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors gave to the Imperial Court; with the Emperor's Anſwers thereunto; upon which a Peace might probably have been eſtabliſhed, had it not been obſtructed by Men of different Intereſts, who hoped to have benefited themſelves by the War.

DECLARATIO

ABLEGATORUM

Portæ Ottomanicæ,

IN

Negotio PACIS.

In Nomine Domini.

I.

'CUM, ut alma Pax inter utrumque Imperium refloreſcat, ac Subditi utrinque quiete ac ſecuritate fruantur, neceſſum ſit, ut manifeſtis limitibus Confinia dividantur, quibus omnia diſturbia & incurſionum occaſiones de medio tollantur, magni Fluvii Danubius atque Savus pro limitibus ponantur.

'II. Proinde à Porta ferrea uſque ad Savi

Reſponſio Cæſarea.

'PROPOSITIO, quam Domini Ablegati Turcici nomine Imperii Ottomanici offerunt, illa ipſa eſt, ad quam tractando de Conditionibus Pacis ſenſim perventum fuiſſet, ſi Domini Ablegati Turcici ad diſcuſſionem locorum, quam Cæſarei Commiſſarii ad hoc negotium Pacis conficiendum deputati ſæpius propoſuerunt, condeſcendiſſent, ſed cùm illi eam conſtanter deprecarentur & aliter negotium Pacis confici non valeret, ſerò ſed nec legaliter quidem ab initio Domini Ablegati Turcici ad hanc Propoſitionem devenerunt, cujus velociori manifeſtatione, & citius vetus amicitia reſtabiliri & multo humano ſanguini ob pacem dilatam hinc inde effuſo parci potuiſſet, quod autem ad hanc propoſitionem ex parte Cæſarea hactenus reſponſum non ſit, eò factum eſt, quod Sacra Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtas non niſi ex Condicto cum fœderatis ex Religione fœderum, quæ eidem cum ipſis intercedunt, reſponſum ſuum dare potuerit, quod ob longinquitatem locorum moram aliquot Menſium cauſavit: Igitur

Ad I. & II.

'CUM, ut alma Pax inter utrumque Imperium refloreſcat, ac Subditi utrinque quiete ac ſecuritate fruantur, neceſſum ſit, ut manifeſtis limitibus Confinia dividantur, quibus omnia diſturbia & incurſionum occaſiones de medio tollantur, proinde trans Danubium finis & limes Cæſareæ juriſdictionis & Imperii ſit Porta ferrea & Varadinum, Temeſvarinum, Gyula, Jenova, aliaque omnia, quæ in partibus

1691. 'Oſtium omnis cis Danubiana Ditio, itemque ab Oſtio Savi uſque ad priſtina Croatiæ Confinia cis Saviana Regio ſubjaceant Ottomanico Imperio reſtitutis Alba Græcâ, & aliis locis quæcunque in prædictis cis Danubium & Savum ditionibus Cæſariis Præſidiis tenentur, ita ut à priſtinis Croatiæ limitibus ad exitum Savi atque illinc ad uſque inferiora in Regionibus cis Danubium & Savum nulla remaneat Cæſareæ Majeſtati prætenſio.

'III. Vice verſa à Porta ferrea ad Oſtium Savi, & ab Oſtio Savi uſque ad priſtina Croatiæ Confinia ultra Danubiana & ultra Savana Regiones cum reſtitutione Temeſvarini & aliorum locorum, quæ in partibus ultra Danubianis armis Ottomanicis tenentur, ſubſint poteſtati Cæſareæ Majeſtatis, & nulla fiat à fulgida Porta prætenſio.

'IV. Valachica atque Tranſylvanica ultrà Danubiana verſus Hungaricas partes Confinia in priſtino ante præſens bellum ſtatu permaneant.

'V. Tranſylvania in priſtinum ante præſens bellum ſtatum reſtituatur, annuumque ſuum tributum integrè fulgidæ Portæ ſolvat, & ſub utriuſque Imperii protectione antiquis ſuis privilegiis fruatur.

'VI. Confinia Croatiæ maneant in eo ſtatu, in quo fuerant ante præſens bellum.

'VII. His Conditionibus vel ſuſpenſio armorum plurium aut paucorum annorum, vel etiam Pax perpetua ineatur.

'VIII. Ab utroque Imperio tales limites atque Coloni, atque ſub talibus Generalibus & Officialibus, quorum fides ac diſciplina probata ſit, ad lubitum utriuſque Imperatoris in Confiniis ſibi ſubjectis collocentur, ita ut Pacem integerrime colant nulliſque diſturbiis aut excurſionibus communem tranquillitatem interturbent.

'IX. Quæcunque conditiones in antiquis ſacris capitulationibus expreſſæ uſque ad præſens bellum obſervatæ ſunt, nec prædictis octo punctis adverſantur, poſthac etiam colantur.

'ultra Danubianis armis Ottomanicis tenentur, uſque ad eandem Portam ferream incluſivè evacuentur & reſpectivè maneant Cæſareæ ſuæ Regiæque Majeſtati, nullâ in iis partibus remanente Portæ Ottomanicæ juris prætenſione vel juriſdictione. 1691.

'Ad III. E contrà omnis illa terrarum plaga cis Danubium & ultra Savum jacens maneat Portæ Ottomanicæ, ita, uti fuit ante hoc bellum addicta, nullâ Cæſareæ Regiæque Majeſtati Juriſdictione iiſdem in partibus remanente.

'Ad V. Tranſylvania Armis Cæſareis occupata, & Avito jure quæſita maneat; porrò ſub ejuſdem Sacræ Cæſareæ Regiæque Majeſtatis protectione, nulla Portæ Ottomanicæ ibidem reſervatâ Juris cujuſcunque competentiâ.

'Ad VI. Croatiæ Confinia ita decurrente fluvio Unnâ terminentur, ut quæ terrarum ſpatio ſiniſtræ manûs ripæ adjacent, Cæſareæ Regiæque Majeſtati addicta maneant, quæ verò dextræ manûs ripæ ejuſdem Fluvii alluuntur, Salva Ottomanicæ Portæ permanebunt: Sublatis in cujuſque Imperii competenti Territorio partis alterius juriſdictione & juris Exercitio.

'Ad VII. His Conditionibus fiant induciæ ad triginta annos.

Ad VIII. Placet.

'Ad IX. Quæcunque conditiones in antiquis Sacris Capitulationibus expreſſæ uſque præſens bellum obſervatæ ſunt, nec prædictis punctis ſtipulatis, aut liberrimo cujuſque poſſidentium dominio & uſui ejuſdem adverſantur, aut præjudicant, poſthac etiam colantur, caſſatis & annullatis viciſſim iis, quæ ſupradictis repugnant.

‘ Repetuntur præterea, quæ in reſponſo Cæſareo ad primam Ablegatorum Portæ Ottomanicæ propoſitionem conditione ſecunda de libertate Confinia utrinque Obſtructione Fortalitiorum muniendi: Item in tertia de inhibendis ex utraque parte incurſionibus hoſtilibus, præſertim Tartarorum; & quarta de receptaculis Rebellibus aliiſque malis hominibus non præbendis: In quinta, de libertate Commerciorum: In ſexta, de mutua Captivorum abſque lytro reſtitutione: In ſeptima, de cuſtodia Sanctiſſimi Sepulchri aliorumque Sanctorum locorum in Judæa circa Hieroſolymam, Franciſcanis & Chriſtianis reſtituendâ, concedendaque peregrinis Chriſtianis Romano-Catholicis adeundi & redeundi facultate, neque ipſis Religionis Romano-Catholicæ exercitio iis in partibus impediendo; prætereà in conditione octavâ, de conſtituenda certa norma Curialium in recipiendis, honorandis, tractandis, remunerandiſque Miniſtris, ultro citroque Commeantibus; ſicuti & in Annotatione prima ejuſdem reſponſi de Obligatione Ablegatorum Portæ Ottomanicæ ratificationes concluſi tractatûs intra ſpatium triginta dierum à die ſubſcriptionis computandorum, hic reciprocè commutandi; itidem ſecunda de Pace hac non prius quam ſtipulata executioni plenè demandata fuerint, robur habiturâ præfigendoque ad dictam executionem peragendam bimeſtri termino, & quarta de Tókelio proditore noxæ tradendo, contenta ſunt.

‘ Reſpublica Raguſea nullo à Porta Ottomanica tributo aut alia exactione poſthac gravetur, gaudeatque libertate Commerciorum terrâ marique.

APPENDIX.

‘ NEGOTIUM circa Confœderatos cum ſua Cæſarea Majeſtate Principes remittitur diſpoſitioni ejuſdem ſi velit, aut à pacis Tractatibus excludat aut includat; ſi includere placebit, hoc item duplici ratione fieri poſſe videtur, ſive in puncto ſeparato terminis generalibus ponatur, ut cùm inter utrumque Imperium Pax & amicitia renovata ſit, Poloniæ etiam Sereniſſimi Rex & Reſpublica inter terminum quadraginta ſive quinquaginta dierum honeſtis conditionibus paciſcantur, vel expreſſe ac ſpecifice item in ſeparato puncto declaretur, ut Confiniis reſtitutis in ſtatum, qui præceſſerat bellum Obſidionis & Occupationis Kaminecii & Confuſionem rerum,in iiſdem confiniis paulò ante ipſum bellum, atque Conſtitutis in illo ordine, in quo erant, quando ante diſſidia illius belli firma amicitia & bona vicinitas inter fulgidam Portam & Polonos intercedebat, alma Pax inter fulgidam Portam & Poloniarum Sereniſſimum Regem & Rempublicam coaleſcat; Quoad DD. Venetos verò pariter hoc ſpecificari poteſt, quod retentis occupatis Pacem cum fulgida Porta ineant.

Ad APPENDICEM.

‘ INHÆRET porrò Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtas iteratis ſuis declarationibus circa incluſionem ſuorum Dominorum Fœderatorum in hiſce Pacis Tractatibus, nec ſine iis Pacem ullo pacto aut modo concludet, prouti etiam ea, quæ in ultima Dominorum Ablegatorum Portæ Ottomanicæ declaratione contenta ſunt, iiſdem communicavit, è quorum reſponſis ſubſecuturis æquanimem eorum declarationem Domini Ablegati Turcici fuſius percipient.

‘ Demum Cæſarea ſua Regiaque Majeſtas ultrà dictos ſuos Dominos Fœderatos etiam Dominos Czaros Muſcoviæ cum eorundem Dominiis, jure amicitiæ, ita in præſenti pacificatione comprehendit, ut ipſis intra annum à dato hujus Tractatûs cum Porta Ottomanica concluſi eidem accedere, ejuſque participes fieri liberum ſit.

1691.

The Turkiſh *Ambaſſador's Complaints and Expoſtulations about their Impriſonment.*

Ottomanicæ Portæ Ablegatorum pro Informatione Aulæ Cæſareæ Domino Werdenburgio facta Declaratio,

‘ SIVE ex literis Dominorum Cæſareorum Miniſtrorum Nobis tùm in Suburbio Commaromii morantibus, tùm Pottendorffium ingreſſis traditis, ſive aliqua ex parte ex diſcurſu Dominationis Tuæ ita conjicimus, cum Dominis Cæſareis Miniſtris Tractatus cum fulgida Porta reaſſumendi quædam inclinatio oborta ſit, ut à ſpecioſa & honeſta ratione exordium ducatur quibuſdam tanquam motivis fuiſſe perſuaſos. Verum enimverò, cùm rem planè cognitam à Nobis aliter ſe habere deprehendamus, ſinceritatis, quam erga utrumque Imperium profitemur, intereſſe duximus, ut ſolidè declaratis indubiis, quæ ad præaſſumptas ſuppoſitiones pertinent, circumſtantiis, illiſque penitus à DD. Miniſtris perceptis, nec ſibi, nec Nobis negotium faceſſat obſcuritas. Etſi autem ex iſta noſtra expoſitione aliqua diſplicentia ſuboriri poſſe ſuſpiciatur, nos tamen coram DEO teſtamur, ex mera integritate illam promanaſſe & ſanè ſi penitius introſpiciatur, Candorem noſtrum laudatum iri ſperatur.

‘ Primum itaque quo prætitulatos Miniſtros ductos fuiſſe cogitamus id eſſe videtur, quod quæ in colloquio cum Domino Cardinali ante diſceſſum noſtrum Viennâ dicta ſunt, ea in longam Negotiationem protrahantur, & ingens pro lubitu moles ſuperſtruitur, atque variæ deductiones & Conſequentiæ ſubnectuntur; ſtatus autem genuinus & exitus illius rei ita ſe habet: A nobis equidem nemo ad Colloquium invitatus eſt, ipſi Domino Cardinali Nobiſcum colloqui placuit & ſeſe exhibuit, ac tanquam à Cæſarea Majeſtate inſtructus facultate cùm in Congreſſu Auguſtiniani Monaſterii Pacis reſtituendæ rationem aliquam ſemetipſum indagabundum præbuiſſet, à Nobis quoque etiamſi præter ante declaratam in Solemnibus Conſeſſibus rationem, nulla ulterius expreſſe à fulgida Porta fuerit inſinuata, menti tamen Noſtræ obſervata & pro rerum tunc temporis coincidentia viſa poſſibilis altera quoque forma ad rem componendam propoſita fuit, utrinque verò tunc declarata fieri non poſſe utroque Noſtri perſeveranter aſſerente, & alterutro allatas Propoſitiones abnuente in ea ipſa ſeſſione & Colloquium & diſputatio ſoluta fuêre & ſic Viennâ diſceſſimus, verùm cùm intentionem aliam ſubeſſe appareret & in Suburbium Commaromii tranſvectos Deputati ad Nos uſque ad Confinia comitandos Miniſtri in aprico deſerentes clam ſeſe ſubtraxerint, de detinendis Nobis Commiſſio liquidius innotuit, quod literæ quoque & emiſſi ſubinde variis Occaſionibus venientes confirmarunt, quibus nempe per Commendationem Pacis ad paciſcendum adhortabantur: Cùm igitur Naves, quibus devehi debebamus, nequaquam appellerent, & detentio Noſtra in propatulo eſſet, nihilominus ad Omnia connivere cœpimus & quaſcunque ſemitas, ſive illegales, ſive legales, digreſſi ac divagati ſumus, & in remotiſſima quoque almi Tractatûs ſpecie multum fiduciæ ponentes, nihil omiſimus, quod ſinceritatem & candorem Noſtrum explicare poſſet, atque cum ſuperveniente Domino Werdenburgio conſerto ſermone Noſtræ menti oborta quædam pro pace punctorum juxta rerum tunc temporis coincidentiam forma eidem expoſita fuit, nempe hiſce ſub conditionibus, ut acceptationis à Cæſarea Aula Reſponſio intra decem Dies redderetur, alterque Noſtri ad fulgidam Portam dimiſſus ei acta referret, Portæ autem liberum relinqueretur ratificationis arbitrium.

1691.

‘ His ita projectis, Communicationis cum Confœderatis, ſeu prætextu, ſeu cauſa, ſemel iterumque ab Aula Cæſarea bini Menſes interjecti fuere, aſt nobis nequaquam permiſſum, ut remiſſo Curſore fulgida Porta certior fieret, itaque Nobis voluntas aliqua ſuboluit ex punctis haud acceptatis captandæ ex induſtria dilationis: Interea verò DEO ita volente mutatâ rerum facie Occaſio etiam effluxit; & Propoſitiones tam priores in Conſeſſibus pronunciatæ, quàm Dominationi Tuæ poſterius inſinuatæ penitus invanuêre, ut plane nihil Nobis reliquum & integrum ſit, quod in medium afferatur; Septimus jam labitur Menſis, à quo iteratis literis Cæſareæ Aulæ ſignificatum eſſe candide voluimus, nullum hic Nobis ſupereſſe Negotium & pro continuando ad Portam itinere multiplices ſupplicationes porrectæ ſunt, preces tamen noſtræ nequaquam exauditæ fuêre: Certè in nihilum dilapſæ Propoſitiones iſtius Noſtræ hucuſque detentionis in cauſa eſſe minimè poſſe videntur: Cœlorum ne Motus deſiit? An ab illorum Opifice conſtituta re-

‘ volutio

1691. ‘ volutio Orbis ceſſavit? Ut rerum Univerſitas eidem Cardini defixa deſiſtat. Præterea à moderno Supremo Vizirio Domino Noſtro nullas ad nos vel ex duabus Syllabis literas perveniſſe & Noſtræ cuſtodiæ cauſâ omninò reali rerum notitiâ nos carere, præterito etiam anno conteſtati, & poſthac nulla Nos aliquid dicendi audacia pollere, ingenuè faſſi fueramus; ab illo verò tempore, cùm jam fermè annuum tempus elabitur, prædictis duabus de cauſis, multo minus aliquod verbulum Nobis ſuppetit, quinimò etſi Noſtram Cognitionem nullius rei notitia tetigit, tamen quod à celeberrimi Crimenſis Chani Ablegato in Polonia de Nobis prolatum eſt, ab ipſis Dominis Miniſtris fuerat Nobis ſignificatum, quid plura? Sicuti cuſtoditi ſumus, ita à tribus annis rerum omnium & Caſuum notitiâ ſumus orbati, quæ uti ſincere relata ſi ab Aula Cæſarea penſitentur, veritati omnino congruere deprehendentur.

‘ Aula Cæſarea alio quoque duci motivo videtur, quòd nimirum erga Cæſareos Miniſtros eâdem normâ tractationis Ottomanica Porta uſa ſit, & pro lubitu ſuo juxta rerum exigentium, illos circumduxiſſe feratur, per DEUM teſtamur, verſùs Germanos Miniſtros nunquam talem quampiam formam admiſſam fuiſſe, vetera faceſſant, ſub initio præſentis belli à Cæſarea Majeſtate ad tractandam pacem duo Internuncii miſſi fulgidam adiêre Portam, quorum alteri Baro Hoffmannus, alteri Comes Caprara nomen erat, uterque ſive Adrianopoli ſive Conſtantinopoli cum Imperatoria Aula commorati ſunt, & in tranſmigratione Regiæ aulæ penes ſimul iter & ſtativa habuere; Baro Hoffmanus Adrianopoli Conſtantinopolim Comes autem Caprara Conſtantinopoli Adrianopolim proprio inſtinctu & poſtulatu unà cum Porta profecti, famulitii ſui partem Mari, partem terrâ tranſmiſêre, nemo verò euntibus obſtitit, in Urbibus autem plures Domos habitantes ad placitum circumvagati ſunt & cum aliarum Gentium Legatis converſati, & omni libertate uſi recreabantur, omnimodâque rerum notitiâ informabantur, ſervitio etiam eorum deſtinati Viziriani Aga & Regii Chauſii & Janizarii placitis illorum nequaquam reniti juſſi ad amuſſim illos coluerunt, atque obſecundati ſunt, conſueto etiam ſalario exacte & ex Conſueto præſtito, nemo à tergo proſpiciebat, & Comes Caprara tandem cum revocatus fuiſſet, illico dimiſſus & poſt brevem Budæ moram quo intereà tempore Exercitus pergebant, ſanus atque incolumis ad Cæſarea Confinia traductus eſt, Cæſareus autem Reſidens in Porta quâ 1691. affluentiâ in Imperatoriis Caſtris vixerit, quâve libertate famulitium ejus circumierit toto Orbe cognitum compertumque habetur.

‘ Ecquis ex Miniſtris Cæſareis receptus reſponſoriis literis ad integrum annum detentus fuit? Aut ſolutis tractatibus nullum ulteriùs expetens aut expectans reſponſum è via retractus eſt? Aut cuſtodiæ & detentionis tot loca commutavit? Aut à Servis Portæ enormibus verbis fuit compellatus & obtrectatus? Ottomanica Porta modone promicavit? An non Cæſarei Legati illam frequentarunt? Annon ultro ſubſiſtentiam ibi ſuam protexêre, & altero mortuo nonne alter ſubſecutus eſt, uti Cæſareæ Aulæ prout placuit, & ei è re fuit, ita ex ſuomet inſtinctu agebat, quibus autem rebus Porta nequaquam aſſuevit, qui ad eas invita compellitur? Negotia non aſperitate, ſed reciproca moderatione & mutuâ ſatisfactione ad optatum finem deducuntur, adſtitêre ne aliquando Reſidentes Ottomanici Cæſareæ Aulæ, aut Legati ad plures annos detentíne unquam fuêre? Nunquam à Veteri ſibi calcata ſemita deflecti Portam fieri poterit, ut nova in præſens norma inſtituatur; Eſto nobiſcum cùm in poteſtate aliena ſimus, ita ſit actum, tamen Portæ incumbit ſuam ſervare conſuetudinem, & ab ea ne latum unguem diſcedet, id tantum fiet, ut Nobis ſupervacanea afflictio, cum Porta verò acerbitas inimicitiæ magis augeſcat: Id etiam motivum, quod Aulæ Cæſareæ ſuggeſtum eſt, videant DD. Miniſtri, cujuſnam vigoris ſit.

‘ Ultimum tamen, quod DD. Miniſtris inſinuatum eſſe videtur, tale quidpiam videtur, quod cùm nos fulgida Porta iterum atque iterum identidem non revocaverit conjicitur, malle noſtram hìc moram quam reditum, aſt verò hæc etiam aliter ſe habet & ſuper iſta relatione quæcunque conſtruitur moles labaſcit, Nos planè Portæ mentem ſcimus, ejuſque explicatio & elucidatio ad Nos attinet; quiſque ſui Imperii mores bene callet, rerum ſcientia & multiplici cognitione imbuto animo præditus modernus Imperii poſſeſſor Supremus Vizirius ampliſſimus Dominus Noſter ab hac delegatione multum abhorrebat, propter aliquorum annorum in bellicis expeditionibus proſperitatem qualiter excipiendam fore prævidebat ac prædicebat, cùm verò poſteà ipſemet ſupremam adminiſtrationem adornandam ſuſceperit, videtur experimento comprobatæ ſententiæ conſtantius inhæſiſſe, atque aptioribus & magis appoſitis rationibus Reipublicæ regimen aggreſſus eſſe, ac diſpoſuiſſe, pro-

‘ inde

1691.

‘inde Imperii vires noſcens & à pueritia cum donii ſuæ, quæ plurium Primorum Viziriorum nidus extitit, praxin gerendarum rerum publicarum adeptus, quibus mediis Bellum & Pax agatur, populus Ottomanicus precatur, ut DEUS imposterum etiam opem ſuam ſociam illi adjungat.

‘Hæc itaque eſt cauſa, quod neutiquam ad nos reſpexerit, verùm ſi ulterius interrogabitur, & cur expreſſe non revocaverit, iſtius etiam dubii ſolutio clara eſt, cùm in literis Imperialibus ad Cæſaream Majeſtatem Scriptum fuerit, ut quam citiſſimeremittamur, & pro eodem reditu Noſtro in prioribus & poſterioribus ante ſupremam Imperii adminiſtrationem functi Primi Vizirii literis inculcatum ſit, Imperialibus ne literis aliquis reſpectus adhibitus? An Vizirianis literis aſſenſus præſtitus? Legationi iſti æſtimatio tributa? An almæ Pacis merito aliquod temperamentum allatum fuit? An non ſpatio fermè trium annorum Unici tantùm Curſoris Expeditio conceſſa eſt? Et ipſemet diuturnam paſſus detentionem ab itinere reprehenſus fuit; Cùm ita revera res iſta ſe habeat, qui Nos principales Noſtri ſive per literas ſive per expreſſos inviſitant? An verò Nobiſcum affligendum aliquem emittant? Teſtamur ſincere miſertos infimi cujuſque nullum ex ſuo famulitio ad nos miſiſſe: Certè ſi ex Nobis liquidum & candidum reſponſum expetatur, id eſt, ſi hic ad decennium ita detinebimur, nemo ad Nos accedet, hæccine quæ pronunciamus, plane veriſſima ſunt, quæſumus ne his vocibus quiſpiam offendatur, ut expreſſi ultrò citroque permeent, veterem inter Gentes conſuetudinem reciprocè literas Commeatus obſervari religioſè, cuicunque liberam permitti voluntatem, fontem, qui à DEO ad extinguendum belli ignem erectus eſt, apertum eſſe neceſſum eſt; quouſque verò his in deſpectu habitis Nos in iſto eodem ſtatu perſeveramus, ſanè nihil ad bonum commune peragetur, ſin verò in Aula Cæſarea ambigitur, an Noſtram hîc moram fulgida Porta velit, dimiſſio Noſtra poſthac fulgidæ Portæ diſpoſitioni remittatur & Curſoris in Portam, expeditio nobis concedatur: Favente DEO Potentiſſimi Imperatoris Noſtri quidcunque in animo eſt, nobis revelabitur; ſperamus tamen fidem adhibendam eſſe noſtræ conteſtationi, ita ut iteratis Interrogationibus non opus ſit, ac proinde nos neutiquam detinendos, & ſi quid præterea tempori præſenti conſentaneum & Imperii Ottomanici Magnitudini conſonum proponendum videbitur, ſi placet, eo quoque pronunciato, Nos quamprimùm eſſe remittendos: Fortè poſtquam nos ſalvi & incolumes & contenti redierimus, almus aliquis aditus aperietur, & utrinque permanentibus Miniſtris opportuno momento ac loco ex mutua propenſione & ſatisfactione, ſi ita Divinæ Majeſtati placuerit, ſacroſanctus Pacis Tractatus coaleſcat, ex vi certè nullum emolumentum emanabit, hæc ex ſinceritate & integritate Noſtri erga utrumque Imperium promanant, teſtis eſt DEUS, nullam ſubeſſe hypocriſin, hæccine juxta inter Germanum & Ottomanicum Imperium intercedentes res in quonam ſtatu reperiantur facile ab Aula Cæſarea deprehendetur, ne ſe incaſſum defatiget.

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Treaties of Peace are laid aſide.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador being Dead, an end was put to the Treaty, and all thoughts of Peace were laid aſide, on one ſide and the other; for after the Battle of *Salankement* the Circumſtances of things were changed, and there was a neceſſity of conſulting again the Emperor and his Allies, before any farther Meaſures could be taken on the former Inſtructions. In like manner the *Turks* were in great Confuſion and Diſtraction, not knowing which way to turn themſelves; ſometimes it was thought neceſſary, that the Grand Vizier ſhould haſten to *Belgrade* to take the Care and Command of the ſcattered Troops, which were now at a loſs for want of a *Chief Head*, and a Place whereunto to reſort, and take refuge: Beſides the Preſence of a Vizier was eſteemed of great encouragement to the broken Army, and the only means to retard the Flight of thoſe who were ready to break up their Camp, and betake themſelves to their own Habitations.

The Army at Belgrade *diſperſed.*

Whilſt the Vizier was conſulting hereof News came that the Army at *Belgrade* was all, or for the moſt part diſperſed; that the ſmall Number of the Janiſaries which ſurvived, were reſolved not to remain longer at *Belgrade*, but were already on their March towards *Adrianople*, in a Naked and Poor Condition, without Money, or Cloaths. In like manner it was reported, That the Spahees, who lately went to the War with a good Epuipage, and well Mounted on Horſe-back, were now returning back on Foot, miſerably Deſpoiled, and Poor, without Money, Horſe, or Arms: Many of them who had Eſcaped with their Horſes and Arms, were paſſing the *Dardanelli* into *Aſia*, and thence travelling into their own Countries, perhaps as far as *Iconium*, *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, or ſome other more remote Countries; other Spahees, who had neither Horſes, or Arms, were marching towards *Adrianople*, there

to

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The Miſery of the Turkiſh *Army.*

to demand the Donative, which hath always been given by a New Sultan at his firſt Inauguration: This Pretenſion of the Soldiery, which amounted unto more than a Million, ſtroke great Terrour into the Minds of the Chief Officers; for the Exchequer being wholly empty, and the Soldiery in the utmoſt Extremity, and armed with Rage and Deſpair, no Man knew what theſe Miſeries might produce; and the Soldiers approaching every Day nearer and nearer, all People were affected with the ſame Conſternation, as if the *Germans*, and the worſt of Enemies had been at their Gates.

In few Days after, the Aga of the Janiſaries, with the ſmall remainder of his Janiſaries arriving at *Adrianople*, cauſed the Grand Vizier, the Mufti, Kadileſchers, (who are the Lords Chief Juſtices) together with the Prime Officers of the ſeveral Ogiacks to be convened, and amongſt themſelves they held a long Conference.

A Conſultation held at Adrianople.

At which they concluded upon ſeveral Particulars.

Firſt, It was reſolved to Confirm, and Maintain Sultan *Achmet* upon the Throne; it being eſteemed a thing unworthy of the Grandeur, and Wiſdom of the Sublime Port to change ſo ſuddenly, and frequently, the Perſon of their Sultans.

Secondly, It was reſolved, That the Grand Seignior ſhould Winter that Year at *Adrianople*.

Thirdly, That the Mint ſhould diligently Work Day and Night, to make Silver Money for Payment of the Soldiery.

And Laſtly, It was reſolved, that (coſt what it would) *Great Waradin* was to be Succoured and Relieved.

The which Reſolutions, eſpecially that about Coyning Money for Payment of the Soldiery, gave a ſtop to their Mutinies, and Inſurrections, which were daily feared: But what more ſenſibly conſummated all the Miſeries of the *Turks*, was the want of Bread, as well as of Money; there having never been known in thoſe Countries ſo great a Dearth of Bread, as alſo of all ſorts of other Proviſions, as at that time, which joyned to all theſe Misfortunes, farther News was brought, That there had been another Grievous Earthquake at *Smyrna*: And that an Expreſs was come out of *Aſia*, That all that Country was over-run, with Robbers, and Murderers, who were aſſembled in a Body near *Sebaſte*, the Ancient Neſt, and Nurſery of Rebellion.

The Miſeries amongſt the Turks.

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Novemb. The French *Ambaſſa*[illegible] *encourages the* Turks.

In the mean time the *French* Ambaſſador laboured by all means poſſible, to give Heart, and Courage to the *Turks*, to continue the War; aſſuring them, That his King would the next Campaign go himſelf in Perſon to the War; and continue the ſame, as well in Winter, as in Summer, which would make ſuch a Diverſion in the Empire, as that the Emperor ſhould not be able to make Head, nor ſo much as look the *Ottoman* Army in the Face. Notwithſtanding all which Aſſurances of the *French* Ambaſſador, and Promiſes to furniſh the *Turkiſh* Army with 30 able Ingineers; the People, or Rabble, would give little or no Credence to all his Engagements, and Aſſurances; and ſcarce could the Great Men in the Government, preſerve him from the Violence of the Soldiery and People.

He ſcarcely eſcapes the People.

After the firſt Conference held, as we have ſaid, by the Prime Officers; another was called, at which, the Reſolution to continue the War, was confirmed by all there preſent, except two Perſons only; namely, the Kadileſcher of *Rumelia*, and the Chaimacam of *Conſtantinople*, who diſſented from the others, being of an Opinion that a Peace was to be made by reaſon that the War could not longer be Maintain'd; howſoever the major Party carrying it to the contrary, Commands were ſent by an Expreſs into *Albania*, to raiſe Forces in that Country; it being agreed on all Hands that they were the beſt Soldiers in the Empire, and had done extraordinary Service in the laſt Battle.

Counſels held by the Prime Officers.

In like manner at this Congreſs great were the Complaints againſt *Murad Ghirei Han*, who commanded the Forces of *Tartary* before *Vienna*, and ſhamefully ran away; the which being proved againſt him, the Council choſe another called *Seffa Ghirei*, eſteemed a good Soldier, and a Valiant Man, who was then at *Jamboli*, not far diſtant from *Adrianople*; and upon this Election, he was immediately diſpatched away to take Poſſeſſion of his Government; for the Grand Seignior hath a Power to Depoſe, and Set up any Prince of the *Crim Tartar*, provided he continues him in the right Line of Sultan *Galga*: And for the Depoſed *Tartar* to avoid all Diſturbances and Conteſts, he was exiled together with his Son into the Iſland of *Rhodes*; and alſo *Battir Aga*, who was the Chief Miniſter, and General of the Depoſed *Tartar*, was Baniſhed into the Iſland of *Lemnos*, ſituate in the *Archipelago*.

Complaints againſt the Tartars.

And againſt other Paſha's of the Army.

After which divers Paſha's, and Officers of the Army, were called to this Congreſs, by whom ſeveral Complaints were made and exhibited againſt certain Captains, and Soldiers of the Army, who in the laſt Battle

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tle had ill behaved themſelves and Cowardly betook themſelves to flight. In which Accuſations, ſingle Allegations were ſufficient to Convict any Man; and upon the ſole Teſtimony of one Perſon, many were proſcribed, and in the Night privately without Noiſe, were ſtrangled, and in the Morning found Dead in their Beds; and amongſt the reſt was the Kahya of the late Deceaſed Vizier, put to Death at *Belgrade*, upon a Suggeſtion, that ſo ſoon as he had ſeen his Maſter Wounded, he betook himſelf to flight, and was followed by all the Pages of the Court, who were well Mounted, and Armed, and might have done great Service had they not followed the Ignominious and Baſe Example of their Maſter. The like Fate attended the Spahilar-Agaſee, or General of the Horſe, who was ſaid to have been the firſt to turn his Back on the Enemy. And at *Adrianople* three other Paſha's were put to Death, for the ſame Crime, or Default.

Are Puniſhed:

After theſe Executions done, the General of the Janiſaries was Named for not behaving himſelf well; but becauſe there are ſome Points of reſpect reſerved for the Order of Janiſaries, he was only diſmiſſed from his Government, and with a good Grace ſent to be Paſha of *Gaza*, the meaneſt Paſhaluck in the whole Empire; and this would have been a Favour, had they not ſent an Executioner after him, and in his way taken off his Head, as is the uſual Cuſtom amongſt the *Turks*; with ſuch Orders and Methods as theſe, the *Turks* reaſſumed ſomething of their Courage; diſpatching without delay Commands for Liſting and Enrolling Janiſaries, and other Orders of Militia, as alſo *Timariots*, *Zaims*, *Segmen* and others; and that they would augment their Numbers, as far as to 100000 Men, or at leaſt to the ſame degree, as they were the laſt Year.

But before we proceed farther on the *Turkiſh* ſide, we muſt look a little back, and ſee what the *Germans* are doing after ſo Signal a Victory.

Auguſt.

The 20th of this Month of *Auguſt* being the next Day after the Battle, ſome Parties of *Hungarians*, and *Raſcians* were commanded to Purſue the Enemy in their Flight, which they did with ſuch Expedition, that they brought back with them, many of the Fugitives, diſperſed, and ſtragling thro' Private Ways, and unknown Paths; and reported, That the whole *Turkiſh* Army were Flying in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable; and that a great part of them had already paſſed the *Save*, and had broken all the Bridges behind them; and that great Numbers of Dead Bodies, were found on the Roads, and covered the Ground for ſome Diſtance from the Camp: For which great Victory *Te Deum* was ſang on the 21ſt, with a Triple Diſcharge of all the Guns; as well of thoſe which were taken from the *Turks*; as thoſe belonging to the *Chriſtian* Army: And here on the 22th the *Chriſtian* Army repoſed, and reſted it ſelf in the Field of Battle.

The Turks *purſued by the* Raſcians.

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Te Deum *ſung.*

In the mean time before the News of the Victory, Colonel *Mackeri*, Governour of *Verovitza*, with a Party of 1600 Men, attacked the Caſtle of *Velicko*, and having thrown ſome Bombs into it, it was forced to Surrender at Diſcretion, having had about 300 Men Killed, and not above 60 left Alive; the Booty was not great, unleſs it were the Releaſement of *Chriſtian* Priſoners, of which 300 obtained their Liberty.

The firſt Motion the Army made from the Field of Battle, was to *Carlowitz*, where the Duke of *Holſtein* was Buried. The next Day, being the 25th, they marched to *Peter Warudin*, where the Dukes of *Ahremberg*, and *Arſchot*, the General *Souches*; together with ſeveral other Officers, Died of their Wounds, the great Heats having contributed much to their Deaths.

On the 30th, a General Council of War was held in the Imperial Army; at which it was reſolved, That the Duke of *Croy*, Field-Marſhal, with the Generals *Saurau*, and *Hoffkirchen*, and five Regiments of Horſe, and as many of Foot; beſides *Raſcians* and *Hungarians*, ſhould March towards *Eſſeck* to cover that Country, and Paſs, and accordingly they began their March on the laſt of the Month, whilſt Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* remained in the Camp to ſecure, and cover them in the Rear.

A Reſolution at a Council of War.

Of all which Matters the News being ſent to *Vienna*, both as to the Victory, and the Methods taken after it, we may imagine that all the Imperial Court, as well as all Parts of *Chriſtendom*, were filled with an extraordinary Joy for ſo ſignal a Victory; and as the Emperor ſent his Gracious Encouragements to all the Officers; ſo more eſpecially to the General Officers, declaring Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, Lieutenant-General of the Imperial Army in *Hungary*; where whilſt theſe things were agitating, the News came of the Victory, which King *William* of *England* had gained at the *Boyne* in *Ireland*, which ſerved to augment the Triumphs with another triple Diſcharge of all the Cannon in the Army.

Pr. Lewis *made Lieutenant-General.*

The Winter drawing near, the greateſt part of the *Turkiſh* Militia, being under great Diſcouragements, and having a long Journey Home, thought fit to leave the Camp: So did the *Tartars*, Plundering all in

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The Turkiſh *Forces diſperſe.*

their way, ſo did the *Arnouts*, and *Albanians*, and all the Soldiers whoſe Towns, and Houſes were not at a far diſtance; ſo likewiſe the Spahee's ſtole privately away, and the *Aſiatick* Horſe made towards the *Dardanelli*, where they paſſed into *Aſia*; and in this manner did all the Forces diſperſe, that ſcarce any appearance remained of an Army, or a Camp; and thoſe few who kept to their Colours, were poſſeſſed with great Conſternation upon the News that the *Poles* had actually Invaded *Walachia*, and brought great Deſtruction, and Ruine upon that Province.

The Weather beginning now to be Cold and Wet, much incommoded the Soldiers of Prince *Lewis* his Army in their March, eſpecially the Foot, who traſhing through the Waters in a Country where was no Wood to Dry them, or Warm, and Dreſs their Victuals, many of them fell Sick and Died. And indeed that Country, as I have my ſelf obſerved, hath neither Timber, nor Underwoods; ſo that the Inhabitants live in Caves under Ground, the Soil being of a ſtiff Clay, grows hard with Fires, like a Stone; all their Fuel being Turf, of which, by the Lazineſs of the Inhabitants, a ſufficient ſtore had not been gathered to furniſh the preſent uſe of the Army.

Lippa *ſurrendered to General* Veterani.

Whilſt the Army quartered in this Barren Country, News was brought to Prince *Lewis*, That General *Veterani* having heard of the Defeat of the *Turks*, had Decamped from *Dobra*, and was marched to *Lippa*; where coming before the Town, he ſent his Summons to Surrender, which being refuſed, ſome few Bombs were caſt into it, which brought the Garriſon to a Deſire to Capitulate, but nothing would be granted but a Surrender at Diſcretion.

In fine, all the Men, being 216 in number, were made Priſoners, together with three Paſha's, *viz. Mahomet Bey*, and one *Ali Paſha* (who had been ſent thither for a Place of Baniſhment by the Grand Vizier) and alſo another Bey, with a Ziorbaſſi, or Captain. In the Town were three Guns, and two Mortar-pieces only, with a good quantity of Ammunition, but little of Proviſions. After which Count *Guttenſteyn* was made Governour of the Place, with ſome Hundreds of Men for a Garriſon: And whereas News was brought, That *Tekeli*, with five or 6000 Men was Quartered about *Temeſwaer*, it gave ſome Apprehenſions of his Deſign to Invade *Tranſilvania*; for which reaſon General *Veterani* kept his Station at *Lippa* to obſerve his Motions.

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Pr. Lewis *continues his March.*

In the mean time Prince *Lewis* continued his March to *Segedin*, where he refreſhed his Army for ſome Days: And here it was that a certain *Turk* came from *Belgrade* under a Pretence to demand the Exchange of 4000 *Turks* againſt ſo many *Chriſtians*; but this Propoſal ſeeming fictitious, he was ſuſpected for a Spy, ſeized, and committed to Priſon.

Reinforces Lippa.

It being thought fit to ſecure *Lippa* lately taken, the Prince ſent his Adjutant-General with 12 Saicks laden with Proviſions, and ſome Money, by way of the River *Maroth* to *Lippa*, to Mend and Repair the Fortifications of that Place, and raiſe new ones where the Works were defective; and for its better Reinforcement, 2000 *Raſcians*, and *Hungarians*, both Horſe and Foot, were ſent to ſtrengthen the Garriſon.

A Party of Tekeli's *Men defeated.*

The Prince likewiſe with the remaining part of the Army, marched to *Zolnock*, where the Horſe having paſſed the Bridge for that purpoſe erected, met on the ſame Day of their Arrival, with the Field-Marſhal Count *Mansfelt*, and Major-General *Aversberg* at the ſame place, who had lately been detached in two Parties; the latter of which had the fortune to ſurprize a Party of 600 Men belonging to *Tekeli*, of whom they killed above 100, and made 32 Priſoners; which gave ſo great an Alarm to others of their Companions, which were poſted near *Great Waradin*, that in a precipitate Flight and Confuſion, they betook themſelves to their Heels, carrying withal their Bag and Baggage, with whatſoever elſe was portable.

C. Schlick *defeats a Party from* Gr. Waradin.

Nor was Count *Schlick* who Commanded the Blockade of *Great Waradin*, leſs ſucceſsful; for having received Information, That ſome Hundreds of Oxen belonging to that Garriſon, were Graſing in the Meadows near thereunto; poſted himſelf with 400 Horſe in a ſmall Wood over againſt the Place, ordering ſome *Huſſars* to drive the Oxen towards the Wood where he lay in Ambuſcade. The *Huſſars* following their Inſtructions in driving the Cattle, were purſued by the Garriſon till they came near the Wood, when *Schlick* ſallied out upon them, and ſo vigorouſly Attack'd them, that 400 *Turks* were killed on the Place, many Priſoners taken, and the Oxen carried clear away to the great damage of that Garriſon.

This Succeſs was followed by another of the like Nature, for *Schlick* having underſtood from the Priſoners, that a conſiderable Body of *Tekeli's* Men were Quartered in a Village on the other ſide of the City; he took the opportunity of the Night to paſs ſilently along, and without any Noiſe ſurprize them, and killed moſt of them in their Quarters, after which he

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he repaſſed with the like Privacy back without the leaſt oppoſition, to his own Camp.

It being now divulged that the Deſign of Prince *Lewis* was to turn the Blockade of *Great Waradin* into a Formal Siege, Count *Aversberg* was Detached from the Army with a Body of Dragoons and Pioneers, to Mend and Repair the Roads which were become almoſt unpaſſable, eſpecially for Cannon, and Waggons laden with Proviſions and Neceſſaries for the Army.

Count *Schlick* who was not as yet privy to this Deſign of the Prince, obſerving by his Motion, That *Great Waradin* was to be formally Beſieged, he privately conveyed himſelf and Troops into ſome Iſlands between the Rivers *Koroſh* and *Bozze*, and drove away the Enemies Cattle, being about 900 Head, and took ſome Priſoners from under the very Walls of the City, and brought them all to his Camp. As *Schlick* returned, the *Turks* of the Place called to him, and the Paſha deſired a Parly with him in the open Field upon Parole, which *Schlick* refuſed to do, until he underſtood that Count *Marſigli*, and his Chiaus were in the Town, having been employed on the Negotiation of Peace; and then he yielded to an Interview with the Paſha, who declared to him, That the loſs of their Cattle droven from under their Walls, was not ſo much cauſed by the Negligence of the Garriſon, as by their attention to their New Gueſts, whom they were entertaining with all Freedom and Friendſhip; and ſo would ſeem to inſinuate that for that reaſon, it would be but Juſt and Agreeable to the Laws and Rights of War, that they ſhould be again reſtored; but *Schlick* wou'd underſtand none of theſe Laws and Ceremonies, but retired without other Anſwer, and Count *Marſigli* was ſuffered to go to the Camp of Prince *Lewis*.

Count Marſigli *and his Chiaus at* Great Waradin.

October.

On the firſt of *October*, the Prince continued his March, and on the 10th arrived within a League of *Great Waradin*, where the next Day he joyned with all the Foot, and received Intelligence, That *Tekeli* had releaſed General *Heuſler* on Parole, whom he had ſome time before taken Priſoner; and that he was already come as far as *Hermanſtadt*; And from hence it was, that Count *Marſigli*, with the *Turkiſh* Chiaus, was alſo diſpatched to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Adrianople*; of whoſe Death they had not as yet received any Report whilſt the Prince of *Baden* was making Preparations for a Siege before *Great Waradin*, the Duke of *Croy* Attacked the Fortreſs of *Brod* in *Sclavonia*, in which there was a Garriſon of 300 *Turks*; who upon appearance of the Enemy before the Walls, put out five Red Enſigns, and in a manner of Defiance and Scorn, Danced upon the Ramparts; but this Sport continued not long; for the Duke that Evening took a Poſt near the Walls with 400 Men, and immediately began to Work; and notwithſtanding the continual Fire of the Enemy, they finiſhed a Battery before One in the Morning, together with a Line of Communication, on which they planted four Guns, and one Mortar-piece, and before Day began to batter the Town: The *Turks* affrighted hereat withdrew, and retired into a Fort on the other ſide of the River, leaving two ſmall Guns, and ſome Pedreros behind them; and the Place unto their Enemy, who took poſſeſſion of it, and therein placed 150 *Germans* to defend it. Howſoever the *Turks* continued to Fire out of their Fort on the other ſide, but without any conſiderable Damage to the *Germans*; for they remained not long there, before they deſerted that Fortreſs alſo, being terrified to ſee *Percilie* a *Raſcian* Captain with 80 *Huſſars*, and about 100 Foot in ſmall Boats to paſs the *Save*; and hearing in the Night the Sound of Trumpets and Drums, and all ſorts of Inſtruments to play, they were immediately ſtruck with a fear, and apprehenſion that the whole Imperial Army had paſſed the River with intention next Morning to Attack them, with which imagination affrighting one the other, they retired in a confuſed manner out of the Fort towards the Foreſts and Woods, being in all about 1500 Perſons, beſides the Peaſants of the Country, who with Arms in their Hands, but without any Order fled into the ſame Forreſts; but being purſued by the *Huſſars* and ſome *German* Horſe, they were cut down, and moſt of them Killed, very few eſcaping alive.

1691.
October.

Brod *de-ſerted by the* Turks,

And fly to another Fort.

Which was alſo deſerted by them, and flying into the Woods, are for the moſt part cut off.

In the mean time Prince *Lewis* was buſied in preparing things, and putting all in a readineſs for the Siege of *Great Waradin*; and Commanded Count *Stirum*, with a conſiderable Body of Men, and ſome Artillery to approach nearer to the City, and ſoon after followed in Perſon with all the Horſe and Foot, pitching his Camp on the Banks of the River *Koroſch*; and having planted a Battery on a riſing Ground, he ſhot into the Town, and raked the Streets from one end unto the other: At the ſame time alſo two Mortar-pieces being well fixed threw into the City ſeveral Bombs, which ſet Fire to the Houſes, and burnt whole Streets. In this Conſternation the Beſieged attempted nothing by Sally, but only plyed their Great Guns, and ſet Fire to the Hay and Straw, of which they had raiſed great Stacks in their Gardens, and void Places of the City, leaſt the Enemy ſhould ſerve themſelves of it.

Great Waradin *Attacked.*

The Palanca of Great Waradin *taken.*

The Bombs continued firing, whilſt *Barſus* General of the *Brandenburghers*, and Count *Guido* of *Staremberg*, with nine Battalions, placed themſelves in a deep Ground, where they could not be overſeen by the Enemy, from whence 1500 Men iſſued in the Night, and opened the Trenches, whilſt others were buſied in raiſing a Battery overagainſt the Gate of the *Palancha Ottorſi*, on the Right Hand of which, a Redoubt was made, between which, and the Battery, a Line of Communication was drawn; by this time a Battery of ſix great Guns was perfected, and began to play; which the Enemy anſwered with their Guns from the Wall, firing without any intermiſſion: The ſix Guns being at ſome diſtance, did not the execution which was deſired; and therefore the Night following the Battery was brought nearer to the Palanca which was on the Right Hand; and next Night a New Battery was raiſed to the Left Hand of it; on which Guns and Mortar-pieces being planted, many Houſes were ſet on Fire, and a great part of the Palanca conſumed by them: Howſoever the *Turks* labouring with all Diligence poſſible, repaired what Damage and Ruine the great Guns had done, which they eaſily did; for the Walls being for the moſt part made of a ſtrong ſort of Timber, or Oak, which doth not Shiver, or Splinter, the Bullet made no greater Hole in the Walls than the ſize of the Shot; beſides which, the Ditch was very deep about them, and ſix Paces broad; howſoever by frequent firing, the Holes became ſo wide and large, as gave Encouragement to make a Storm on the Walls; the which was ordered for the 16th at Night. General *Barſus*, and Count *Staremberg* Commanded the Attack, which was performed with the greateſt Reſolution imaginable: The Muſqueteers with Hatchets in their Hands ran to the Gates, in which the Guns having made ſeveral Holes, they cut them down with the more eaſe. On the other ſide Col. *Mollner's Heydukes*, ſtormed the Walls with much Bravery and Reſolution; one of them Kneeling down, ſupporting himſelf on his Hands and Arms, another ſtood upon him, whilſt a third climbing over both, with his Scymiter in his Mouth, threw himſelf into the Palanca; and in this manner many of them having paſſed the Wall, began to cut down all that were before them; with which the *Turks* being terrified, abandoned the Fort, and fled over the Bridge into the City.

The Town Beſieged.

This place being thus taken, with the loſs of very few Men, ſome Guns were found in it, with one Mortar-piece only. Some Battalions being lodged in the Palanca, Prince *Lewis* with his Army paſſed the Rivers of *Koroſch* and *Poze*, and Encamped on the other ſide of the Town, where that Night 1500 Men were Commanded to open the Trenches, which was performed with much diligence, and a Battery was raiſed, and another alſo in the Palanca of *Ollorſi* now taken. The *Huſſars* in the mean time Encamped on the other ſide, to diſtreſs and ſtreighten the City the more narrowly; and now the Approaches being conſtantly carried on nearer, and nearer; and another Battery raiſed, on which 11 Guns were planted, they began to fire from thence and from the Palanca, with a like Number into the Streets which much annoyed the Town. Theſe Batteries fired ſo conſtantly on the Walls, that a ſufficient Breach was made, on which to make an Aſſault, and accordingly a Storm was appointed for the 24th of this Month, which the *Turks* perceiving by the Preparations that were made, had not the Courage to ſtand the Shock, but ſetting fire to the City, which they believed they could not maintain, retired to a Fort which they had raiſed between the City, and the Fortreſs; the City being now on Fire, and no oppoſition on the Walls, the *Germans* crowded into it with great Throngs, where they took much Cattle, and releaſed ſome Hundreds of *Raſcians*, who were Inhabitants in that City, which the *Turks*, had they not been prevented, had carried off with them. The reſigning this Place, which was ſo well fortified with ſeveral Retrenchments and Works one behind the other, was to the great Wonder of the *Germans*, who hereby were well advertiſed, and aſſured of the fear of the *Turks*; by which they took freſh Courage, and poſted themſelves in the great City over againſt the Fortreſs, and in the ſpace of two Days, they advanced very near to the Ditch of the Fortreſs; and in two Days more they finiſhed a Work on which they planted 18 Mortar-pieces, and from thence threw ſuch quantities of Bombs into the Fortreſs, and with that effect, that one of them falling into one of the Magazines of Powder, it blew up, and ſhowed a dreadful Spectacle of the Arms and Heads of Men carried into the Air.

The *Turks* having other Magazines of Powder and Proviſions remained reſolute in their Defence; and on the other ſide the *Chriſtian* Army continued to throw Bombs into the Fortreſs, by which a Steeple took fire, which ſpread it ſelf through the whole Fortreſs, and in leſs than ſix Hours time one half thereof was reduced to Aſhes:

1691. October. In the mean time a Party of *Tartars* of about 600 fell in upon the Foragers, and took both the Men and Horſes, and Booty which they had by them, but being immediately purſued and overtaken by the *Huſſars*, all was ſeized again and brought to the Camp with ſeven Heads, and three Priſoners.

Novemb. The Month of *November* being now entered, the *Turks* began to be of Opinion, that the *Chriſtians* could not continue long before the Place; for that the long and wet Nights, Snow, and Froſts of that Country muſt needs force them to raiſe the Siege; the Conſideration of which moved the Paſha of the Place to refuſe the acceptance of the Prince's ſecond Summons; ſaying, *That there would be time enough for that ſix Months hence.* This Anſwer obliged the Beſiegers to throw their Bombs continually into the Fortreſs, to force the *Turks*, ſo ſoon as was poſſible, to a Surrender: But in regard the bad Weather came on, and that Forage became ſo ſcarce in the Camp, that many of the Horſes died, tho' Proviſion for Men was plentiful and cheap; it was concluded by the General Officers, that the Seaſon of the Year was too far advanced for continuance of the Siege; and therefore it was eſteemed moſt adviſeable to turn it to a Blockade; but before the *Germans* bid a Farewell to the Place, they beat down a great Tower with their Cannon, on which the *Turks* having planted ſeveral Guns, did very much annoy the *Germans*.

On the 2d Inſtant the throwing of Bombs was continued, and a Great Fort was raiſed for the ſecuring of the Poſts if the advanced Seaſon of the Year, and the Obſtinacy of the *Turks* ſhould oblige the Prince to raiſe the Siege, and to leave the City narrowly Blocked up during the Winter.

On the 3d the Cannon of the Beſiegers beat down a great Tower on which the Beſieged had ſeveral Guns which much incommoded the *Germans*.

The 4th and 5th the Guns and Mortar-pieces of the Beſiegers continually fired on the *Turks*. That Day a *Poliſh* Envoy, who came into the Prince's Army ſome Days before. departed from thence for *Tockay* to expect there the Arrival of the Plenipotentiaries both of the Allies and *Turks*, who had appointed to meet there for the reaſſuming of the Treaties of Peace.

But about this time Forage begun to be very ſcarce to be had in the Army, the Horſe being obliged to fetch their Hay five Miles off, for which reaſon many Horſes periſhed, but Proviſions for the Army were plentiful and cheap enough. Several of *Tekeli*'s Men came over to the Prince before *Waradin*; all which unanimouſly confirmed, That the Body of *Turks*, *Tartars*, and Rebels, (or *Tekelians*) which hitherto were Encamped between *Gena* and *Gyula*, ſuffered extreamly for want of Proviſions, being for the moſt part obliged to ſuſtain themſelves with Wild Fruits, which cauſed them to Die in great Numbers; their Horſes wanting Forage, periſhed likewiſe in abundance. 1691. Novemb.

On the 6th Inſtant cold Rains and Snow began, and continued until the 10th, notwithſtanding which the Bombing continually went forward; the Prince alſo ſent a Letter to the Baſha-Governour, Summoning him to Surrender the Fortreſs, which Letter the Baſha would not at all receive, but told the Bearer it was not yet time to ſpeak of Capitulations or Surrendring that Fortreſs.

Novemb. 10th. The 10th of *November*, (on which Day the *Raſcian* Lieutenant-Colonel *Antonio*, returned back to the Army with 400 Wagons, which he had taken from *Tekeli* as he marched homewards) the great Fort diſtant five or 600 Paces from the Gate of the Fortreſs, was finiſhed and brought to its entire Perfection, which Fort was more elevated and higher than the Walls and Batteries of the Fortreſs, in which 1000 *Germans* and ſome Hundred were Commanded as a Garriſon: Beſides this Fort, a leſſer was made on a certain Eminence, from whence the Guns fired in the inſide and Streets of the Fortreſs which was provided with a proportionable Garriſon. In the Great City of *Waradin*, a far greater Garriſon of Horſe and Foot than that in the Great Fort was ordered, and Colonel *Mollner* was Commanded to remain in the Palanca *Ollorſi* with his Regiment of *Huſſars*, and ſome Foot, which being thus ordered, and by that means the Fortreſs ſo cloſed up, that nothing could come out or go into it, there being alſo not the leaſt appearance of any Succours to relieve the Place, the Prince thought it more expedient to ſend his Army into Winter-Quarters in the Neighbouring Villages, and Cities of *Debrezin*, and St. *Job*, then to expoſe them to the hardſhips of the long cold Nights, Wet and Snowy-Weather, eſpecially ſince Count *Tekeli* was already decamped from about *Gyula*, and marched with his ruined and fatigued Army of *Turks*, and *Tartars*, and Rebels to Winter-Quarters, as it was confirmed by upwards of 300 *Tekelians* Deſerted from him, and arrived at *Lippa*, *Zolnock*, *Belneſch*, or in the Army, ſince that our Trenches alſo were carried on to the very Ditch of the Fortreſs; that their Bridges over the ſaid

Ditches

1691.
Novemb.

Ditches were beaten down, and moſt of the Water drained thereout, that their Works were ſo ruined that none dared to ſhow himſelf, our Guns continually firing on the inſide, that our Bombs, and the noiſome ſtinking Smell of ſome Fireworks, together with the reſtleſs State of the Beſieged, who were always forced to ſtand on their Guard, and continually alarmed, having no ſhelter but ſome Sellars and Vaults, could not but oblige them e're long to Capitulate, or Periſh by Fatigues and other Wants: All which, I ſay, being conſidered by the Prince of *Baden*, he having provided his Forts, Palanca, and the City with Garriſons very commodiouſly placed, ſent the reſt of his Army into Winter-Quarters.

The Manner of the Blockade.

The Blockade being thus reſolved, a Great Fort was raiſed for ſecuring the ſeveral Poſts, being about the diſtance of five or 600 Paces from the Gate of the Fortreſs; this Fort was built upon an Eminence or ſome higher Ground than the Walls and Batteries of the Fortreſs; for defence of which, above 1000 *Germans* were appointed for the Garriſon: Beſides this, a ſmaller Fort was alſo raiſed on a riſing Ground, and furniſhed with a good Garriſon, from whence they could ſhoot into the Streets and Houſes of the Fortreſs. Moreover the City it ſelf of *Great Waradin* was maintained with a more numerous Garriſon, than what the *Turks* had in their Fortreſs; and the Palanca of *Ollorſi* was Commanded by Col. *Mollner*, and Garriſon'd with his Regiment of *Huſſars*, with ſome Foot.

Pr. Lewis *marches off*

Things being thus ſecured, and the Fortreſs on all ſides cloſed up, that nothing could go out, or come into it; the Prince judged it more neceſſary to ſend his Army into Winter-Quarters in the Neighbouring Villages, and Cities of *Debrezin*, and St. *Job*, then to expoſe them to the Hardſhips of Long, Dark, and Wet Nights, and Snowy Weather, which began to fall in great abundance. In which Reſolution the Prince was the more confirmed by the Report of 300 of *Tekeli*'s Men, who had Deſerted their Commander; and aſſured the Prince upon Oath, That *Tekeli* with his *Turks* and *Tartars*, was already Decamped with his Army about *Giula*, and marched into Winter-Quarters.

So now we muſt leave the Prince and his Army alſo in their Quarters, and the Fortreſs of the *Turks* ſtraitly Blockaded, until about the Months of *May* and *June* 1692, next enſuing.

Thus have we finiſhed the Relations of the Succeſſes in the Campaign for the Year 1691; the which proved as Unfortunate to the *Turkiſh* Affairs, and Arms, as moſt of the former Years ſince the beginning of this War; and when things go Unluckily Abroad, we cannot expect that they ſhould look very Smiling, or Pleaſant at Home.

1691.

Sultan Achmet *fallen into a Fever by ill News.*

He Recovers.

The Grand Vizier ſick, and recovered.

The Sultan who had fanſied to himſelf mighty things under the Auſpicious Conduct of *Muſtapha Paſha Kupriogli*, ſuch as an entire Victory in the Field over the *Germans*, and as the Conſequences thereof, the Surrender of *Oſeck* and *Buda*, and all other Cities and Fortreſſes in *Hungary*, which during theſe Wars, had yielded themſelves to the Victorious Arms of the Emperor, being now on a ſudden fallen from the hopes of all thoſe things, (which with a ſtrong Fancy and Imagination he had figured in his Mind; by a quite contrary Event, he was ſo Surprized and ſtruck with the ſudden News, That his Army was Defeated, his General the Grand Vizier killed, with the Flower of the *Turkiſh* Militia, all the Cannon taken, and the Camp expoſed to the Violence and Rapine of the *German* Soldiery; his Spirits ſo ſunk within him, that he did nothing but Sigh, and being poſſeſſed with a Lumpiſh Melancholy, fell often into heavy, but not refreſhing Sleeps; ſo that having his Mind troubled in the Day, and his Fancy with Horrid Dreams in the Night, he fell into a Fever, which endangered his Life; and gave occaſion to the People to Talk much of his Death, and ſetting up in the Throne Sultan *Muſtapha*, the Son of Sultan *Mahomet* IV, who had been Depoſed: But this Paſſion of Mind which poſſeſſed the Grand Seignior, paſſing over with a little Time, he being Naturally of a Jolly Temper, given to Muſick and Wine, his Fever quitted him, and he recovered. So alſo did the Old *Ali Paſha*, who had been Chimacam at *Adrianople*; and upon the Death of *Kuprioglí* (as we have ſaid) was made Grand Vizier, his Diſeaſe was the ſame with that of the Grand Seignior, proceeding from Afflicting himſelf at the News of the Rout of the whole *Turkiſh* Army, and the Apprehenſions he had of new Turbulencies ariſing thereupon amongſt the Soldiery, the which had ſtruck him with a kind of Apoplexy, and a Stupidity in his Underſtanding; but it went off, ſo ſoon, as he perceived the Soldiery to return more mildly Home than was expected, and then he began to revive, and take upon him the Power and Authority of his Government. He was an Ancient Man, and of great Experience, but he was neither eſteemed for a Wiſe, nor an Undertaking Man, which are two Qualities very neceſſary in a Grand Vizier. But the Mufti made ſome amends for the Inabilities of that Great Miniſter; for being a Perſon of a deep Underſtanding, and highly eſteemed by all Parties for his profound Wiſdom, he became very helpful to the Grand Vizier, who had the good quality to hearken unto the Counſels of thoſe who were wiſer than himſelf; it being one of his Infirmities to be irreſolute, which ſhows an Imbecility of Mind; and is a quality the moſt diſagreeable to an abſolute Monarchy. But being puſhed forward by his Friends, he governed well; for being a Man not very Avaritious, (as few *Turks* but are) he preferred none but ſuch as were Men of Merit, and had ſignalized themſelves by long Services, or ſome great or good Actions; his Country was *Boſnia*, which hath given many Valiant and Stout Soldiers to the *Turks*, being reputed Men of Bravery, and Fidelity in their Words and Actions.

His Qualifications.

Never had the *Ottoman* Empire, ſince it came to be an Empire, more need of Able, Valiant, and Wiſe Men, than at preſent; and never were they more rare and hard to be found: For what with the War which deſtroyed their brave, and beſt of their Gallant Soldiers, and Commanders; and with their Seditions, and Tumults at Home, in which their Principal Officers, both Civil and Military, were cut off; none remained alive but only Upſtarts, or ſome Leaders of the Inſolent, or Seditious Soldiery: And this was the State of the Empire, not only oppreſſed by the Victorious Enemy on the Frontiers; but by a want of all things at *Adrianople*, even to a Famine, which raiſed the Out-cries and Clamours of the People againſt the Government, which being joyned to the Abuſe of Copper-Money, (than which, at that time no other was to be ſeen, or currantly paſſed) diſcouraged the Country-Men from bringing Proviſions to the Market, and cauſed the People more earneſtly to cry out for a Peace, and exclaim againſt the *French*, for having now for four Years engaged them in a War the moſt Bloody, the moſt Ruinous, and moſt deſtructive to the *Ottoman* Empire that was ever known. The *French* Ambaſſador fearing that theſe Tumults, and the Inclinations of ſome of the Miniſters would at length prevail for a Peace, he beſtowed his *Money* very liberally, where he thought it might be well placed (for as yet the *French* King wanted not Money, as he did ſome Years afterwards) but he could not as yet fix any on the Chimacam Chuſaein Paſha at *Conſtantinople*, who always told the Ambaſſador's Servants, that he wanted none of his Preſents, being well provided with what was neceſſary for his Maintenance, and Equipage. The Difficulty of this Great Miniſter's Proceedings did not a little trouble the Thoughts of the Ambaſſador, eſpecially when he had underſtood that this Chimacam had wrote to the Mufti to perſwade to a Peace, the League with *France* being apparently deſtructive to the Empire; ſaying, as it were, *How long ſhall theſe People be a Snare to us?* And hereof the Ambaſſador was the more apprehenſive when he heard that the Sultan was returning to *Conſtantinople* for his Health; being perſwaded by the Phyſicians, That the Air of that City and the Sea, would be more conducing to his Health, than that of *Adrianople*; by which he feared, that the Chimacam might have the better opportunity to inſtill theſe Imaginations into the Head of the Grand Seignior, than he could at a diſtance.

The Chimacam of Conſtantinople, *an Enemy to the* French.

But before the Departure of the Grand Seignior from *Adrianople* for *Conſtantinople*, a General Council of War was held by all the Chief Officers of the Army: At which three principal Points were concluded.

The Firſt was, To do their beſt Endeavours, and uſe all poſſible means for the Relief of *Great Waradin*: But on the other ſide it was conſidered, That the Militia on the Frontiers was tyred out, and become weak by their Labours and Diſgraces of the preceding Campaign; ſo that the Means for executing this Deſign was not preſcribed.

Reſolutions at a Council of War.

A Second Propoſal was not to confide much in the Counſels of the *French*; but to conſult the Opinion of the Soldiery, whether they were inclinable to a Peace.

And Thirdly, In caſe the Soldiery ſhou'd be averſe to a Peace, that then Preparations ſhould be made with all diligence to raiſe Men, and make Proviſions of War for the enſuing Year.

But whilſt Matters were diſpoſing to quiet the Minds of the Soldiery, of which great Numbers were paſſed over into *Aſia*, much haraſſed and diſcontented; ſo that ſome Inſurrections were feared in thoſe Countries: Behold on a ſudden the People murmured againſt the baſe Allay of the Money, which was nothing but Copper, or at beſt mixed with a little Silver, which was a mighty prejudice to Trade, and cauſed a dearneſs of all Proviſions, ſo that the Poor were almoſt Starved; whereupon the Rabble, in a furious manner, aſſaulted the Mint-Office, and Killed the Maſter who was ſet over the Coinage, and committed many other Inſolences, and were not appeaſed until an Order was publiſhed, That

Tumults againſt Copper-Money.

the

1691. the Copper-Money ſhould be no longer Currant; at which the People diſperſing, Silver-Money was iſſued from the Mint; where the Officers worked Day and Night in Coining Aſpers,and greater Money; and with Promiſes of being paid ſhortly in this Money, the Soldiers were very much pleaſed and ſatisfied; tho' the Diſcontents of the *Aſiatick* Soldiers,gave great Apprehenſions and Fears to the Port of ſome Revolt or Inſurrection in *Aſia*; which had it at that time happened, it had in all probability produced a Peace. But this Bleſſing both to the *Chriſtians* and the *Turks*, was reſerved for a more happy time; as we ſhall ſee, if God gives us Life, ſome Years afterwards; with which we ſhall put a Period to this Hiſtory.

Anno 1692.

1692. THE *Engliſh* Ambaſſador Sir *William Huſſey*, deſigned to Negotiate the Peace, together with Monſieur *Colyer* the Ambaſſador of *Holland*, between the Emperor and the Sultan *Achmet* (as we have ſaid) being Dead, an end was put for the preſent to that Negotiation, and the Ambaſſador of *Holland* returned back from *Adrianople*, without being able to effect any thing in order thereunto; the Reſolution of continuing the War, was the loud Report, and Diſcourſe common in the Mouths of all People; and that no Treaty ſhould be ſet on Foot, until the Recovery of *Buda* from the *Germans*, and of *Morea* from the *Venetians*; and herein were the *Turks* more animated by the Aſſurances of the *French* Ambaſſador, that his Maſter was ſending two great Men of War from *France*, laden with Bombs, Granadoes, Carcaſſes, and with all ſorts of Military Preparations, and with them 200 *French* Engineers, and Gunners, of great Experience in the Management of Fire-Works, and other Warlike Inſtruments, fit, and proper both for Sea, and Land: And farther to ſhow his Zeal in this Cauſe, the Ambaſſador promiſed to go himſelf in Perſon to the War.

The Turks *reſolve to continue the War.*

To give more life to the Ambaſſador's Words, the Son-in-Law to *Tekeli* returned from *France*, and in the beginning of this Year arrived at *Smyrna*, whence immediately without any ſtop, or ſtay, he took Poſt for *Adrianople*, being fully freighted with Letters, and Promiſes from the *French* King to the Sultan, and preſents to the Chief Officers of State to perſwade them to Continue, and Maintain the War; ſo that now all Thoughts and Imaginations of a Peace were vaniſhed, and laid aſide.

Wherefore in order to a War, a Project 1692. was laid by the two Cadileskers, or Chief Juſtices, to raiſe both Men and Money by a more eaſie way, and manner, than had formerly been done; for theſe being the Chief Juſtices on whom all the other Inferiour Juſtices of the Empire depended, an Exact and Secret Calculate was made of the true Number of the Spahees, and of the People in the ſeveral Provinces, and Diſtricts through the whole Empire.

This Calculate was ſecretly carried to the Vizier, and Mufti, where after it had been very ſeriouſly debated, it was well approved, as a Means to eaſe the Publick Treaſury, by a more equal Tax on all Villages and Towns, according to the Number of the Inhabitants, and hereon a great Foundation was made of raiſing many Thouſands of Men, and much more Money than the laſt Year.

During all this time, the *Turks* remained in great apprehenſion of ſome ſuddain Inſurrection of the *Arabs*; and diſcontented Militia in *Aſia*; and whereas the greateſt danger appeared to be in the Parts, and Country of *Sebaſte* or *Sivas*; a Teſtiſh Paſha, or General Inquiſitor was ſent with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, to enquire after all looſe People, Vagabonds, or ſuch as could give no good Account of themſelves, with a full Power of Life, and Death, which the *Turks* commonly execute with all Rigour, and Arbitrary Power imaginable. I have known a Teſtiſh Paſha ſent into *Aſia*, to enquire after Vagabonds, with a Party of 500 Men, who pitching his Tents near ſome Town, or Village, into which he hath ſent ſome of his Men to take up ſuch Perſons as the People ſhould offer to them for diſorderly Livers, the which being brought before the Paſha, the Imaum, or Pariſh Prieſt hath alſo been cited; and ſetting the Perſons before him in Rank and Order, it hath been demanded of the Imaum, Whether ſuch a Perſon be a Good Man, or not? How he Lives? What Trade he follows? Or, Whether he comes conſtantly to the Moſche to Prayers, according to the Rules which the Alchoran requires? In caſe the Imaum anſwers, that he knows him not, or his Way of Living; or that he is not a Good Man, he is immediately, without other Proceſs, Accuſation, or Proof, Hanged up upon ſome Tree, or Bough, which is near to the Paſha's Camp.

A Teſtiſh Paſha ſent into Aſia.

Howſoever this could not hinder two Princes of the *Arabs*, belonging to *Arabia Deſerta*, from Robbing, and Infeſting the Countries about *Damaſcus*, who gave a ſtop to all *Mahometan* Pilgrims going to *Mecca*, until they had paid ſuch Caſar, or Head-Money for their Paſſage, as they demanded,

manded, and until the Grand Seignior had paid them a very conſiderable Sum in Gold for what was in Arrears due formerly from the *Mahometan* Pilgrims.

A Perſian *Ambaſſador at A*drianople.

In the mean time an Ambaſſador from *Perſia* to the Grand Seignior, arrived at *Scutari*, which is a Town in *Aſia* on the other ſide of the Water, juſt oppoſite to *Conſtantinople*, to which Place, upon the News hereof, the Chimacam ſent over four Commiſſaries to Entertain him. The Train, and Equipage of this Ambaſſador was very Noble and Great, having an Attendance with him of 338 *Perſians* bravely Mounted on Horſe-back, and richly Habited, with 60 Camels laden with Preſents for the Grand Seignior, and his Court; conſiſting of very rich *Perſian* Carpets interwoven with Gold; as alſo many Veſts of Cloth of Gold, beſides other Gallantries, and Rarities of that Country, with an Elephant, and 12 White Camels.

February.

This Ambaſſador ſtayed not more than a Night at *Scutari*, before he paſſed over into *Europe*, and continued his Journey to *Adrianople*, where the 2d of the Month of *February*, he made a Solemn, and a Stately Entry; he was a Perſon of a Comely Stature, of a Chearful Countenance, Prudent, and Generous in his Behaviour, which are Qualities greatly taking in all Courts of the World. In his Retinue he had the Sons of ſeveral Princes of *Perſia*, which ſerved to add unto the Splendour, and Grandeur of his Embaſſy. He was Lodged, by Command of the Sultan, in that Magnificent Palace of *Kara Muſtapha*, the late Vizier, which was richly Furniſhed for him; but there was no great need of any of the *Turkiſh* Moveables, for he had ſpread the Rooms with his own Rich Carpets, and other Coverings, the like of which had never been ſeen in the *Ottoman* Court. Moreover all the Kettles, and Utenſils of the Kitchin were all of Silver, together with the Tables, ſuch as never any Ambaſſador had before: And for better Adornments of this Noble Palace, there were certain Fountains which ſpouted Water as high as the Upper Story of the Houſe. The Original Intention of this Embaſſy was deſigned at firſt to Congratulate the coming of Sultan *Solyman* to the Throne; but the News of *Solyman*'s Death meeting the Ambaſſador on the Road; and that Sultan *Achmet* his Brother, had ſucceeded to his Place; the Ambaſſador ſtaid on the way for other Inſtructions, which were not altered at the *Perſian* Court in any other manner, than only to change the Name of *Solyman* in the Credential Letters, to that of *Achmet*.

The *Turks* haſtned the Return of this Ambaſſador ſo much as was poſſible; howſoever his Departure could not be precipitated before the uſual and common time of other Ambaſſadors, to whom it is the Cuſtom to ſhow the Lutfe, or the ſolemn manner of giving out the Pay to the Janiſaries in the Divan, where the Ambaſſador is Treated with a Dinner at the Vizier's Table; but this not being to be performed until the 25th of *March*, the *Turks*, who had magnified ſo much the Grandeur of their Empire to the *Perſians* on all Occaſions, were in a Bodily Fear, leaſt in the mean time ſome Unhappy and Diſhonourable News ſhould come from the Frontiers; or that the *Perſians* ſhould diſcover the Weakneſs of the *Ottoman* Force, who formerly uſed to boaſt of 2 or 300000, could now ſcarce bring an Army of 60000 Men into the Field; howſoever the Arrival of this Ambaſſador did not a little trouble the Minds of ſome principal *Turks*, who being affectionate to their Country and People, would be very ſorry to have the Nakedneſs thereof diſcovered to their Inſulting Neighbours.

The Perſian *Ambaſſador's Manner of going to Audience.*

The Day of the Ambaſſador's Audience being come, a Horſe was ſent out of the Grand Seignior's Stable, for the Ambaſſador to Ride upon, richly adorned with Furniture and Trappings, according to the Cuſtom; likewiſe 47 Chiauſes with their Aga, were alſo appointed, with an Oda, or Chamber of Janiſaries, with their Ciorbagee, or Captain, and likewiſe that Aga which had been ſent lately into *Perſia*, to notifie the Exaltation of Sultan *Solyman*: Being now returned, they all with the Ambaſſador's own Retinue, attended to conduct him to his Audience with the Grand Seignior.

Things being put into this Poſture, the Ambaſſador in a Glorious Habit, and great Pomp mounted on Horſe-back; the Preſents were all ſent before, valued in *Perſia* at 100000 Dollars, but being, at *Conſtantinople*, might be eſteemed at double the Value; they were carried by Camels covered with Cloth of Gold, each of them bearing two great Cheſts, in which were Cloaths Embroidered with Gold, and Cloth of Gold, the fineſt Linen of *Perſia*, ſome Pieces of them were worked with Golden Thread: Beſides there were *Perſian* Girdles very rich; Turbants of the fineſt ſort proper for Princes; ſome Bows and Quivers with Arrows Richly Inlaid; ſome great and large Pieces of Amber, with a good quantity of *Lignum Aloes*, the moſt Precious ſort of any in *India*, of which much is conſumed in the Grand Seignior's Seraglio; ſome Strings of large Pearl of the biggeſt Size, with many other Gallantries, and Curioſities of *India*; Five very fine *Perſian* Horſes, covered with Cloth of Gold: Sixty large Camels, of which 30 were laden with *Perſian* Carpets woven with Silk and Gold-Thread, with various Colours rarely mixed: Theſe Camels were ſent before by 30 *Perſians* on Horſe-back, very richly Cloathed.

The Ambaſſador himſelf was Cloathed with the moſt Rich Tiſſue and Weighty Cloth of Gold that could poſſibly be made; On his Head he had a Cap in form and Manner of a Crown, with Seven Feathers, the Handles of which were ſtudded with Jewels and Precious Stones; the like Habit the Vice-Ambaſſador wore, being appointed to ſucceed in the Embaſſy, in caſe the firſt ſhould fail by any Accident; and before him five Horſes were led. Next followed the Secretary with the Credential Letters in a Bag of Cloth of Gold, which he carried in his Hand lifted up as high as his Head, on which he wore a Turbant Embroidered with Gold, with four Feathers. On one ſide of the Ambaſſador rode the Chiaus-Baſhee, and on the other the Vice-Ambaſſador, and by his ſide, the Aga who was returned from *Perſia*; theſe were immediately followed by two *Perſians* with Beards, well Mounted, and richly Habited, who were the Maſters of the Horſe, each carrying a Scimetar in the Scabbard richly adorned with Jewels, and carried under the Arm after the *Turkiſh* Faſhion: Next followed the Attendance of 60 Men on Horſe-back, with Beards cut ſhort after the *Perſian* Faſhion, all well Habited, amongſt which was not one, whoſe Beard was not grown, for the Young Youths were left at Home, being Scandalous to ſhow them Abroad.

March.

When the Ambaſſador and Vice-Ambaſſador were come into the Divan, where the Grand Vizier was preſent, they cauſed them to ſit down in the Rank with the Viziers of the Bench, amongſt which the Chimacam of *Adrianople*, was reckoned; but he who carried the Letters ſtood all the time during the Lutfe, or Payment of the Soldiers; after which, according to the uſual Cuſtom, they all ſate down to Dinner, where the Grand Vizier was preſent: After which they were richly Veſted, but without Sables, and with them 60 others of the Retinue had Veſts, which is much more than what are given to the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor, the Kings of *England*, *France*, or *Holland*; to the firſt of which, as I remember, are given 35 Veſts, and to thoſe of the two Kings 22 a piece, and to that of *Holland* 19; by which we may obſerve the Value which the *Turks* put on the *Perſian*, before thoſe of the *Chriſtian* Powers. After the Audience with the Grand Seignior was performed, they returned to their Lodgings in the ſame manner as they came from thence.

The Perſian *Ambaſſador continues at* Adrianople *againſt the Inclination of the* Turks

A Character of the Grand Vizier.

The Artifices of his Son.

The Arts by which the Grand Vizier was kept in his Office.

This Audience being over, the *Turks* hoped that the *Perſian* Ambaſſador would immediately, and without farther delay return back to his Maſter, the King of *Perſia*; but the Ambaſſador had other Intentions in his Mind: For being deſirous to be a Spectator of the Confuſions amongſt the *Turks* at Home, and the Weakneſs of their Army on the Frontiers, he pretended to renew the Ancient Capitulations, which had been made between the *Perſians* and the *Turks*, which was a good Excuſe to delay Time: And tho' notwithſtanding the Report cauſed to be ſpread Abroad, That the *Indians* had declared War againſt the *Perſians*, it little moved the Ambaſſador from his Purpoſe of delaying his Departure, that he might the better diſcover the Weakneſs and Nakedneſs of the *Turks*, whoſe Affairs could not go well Abroad, whilſt they were governed by an unable Head at Home; for the Grand Vizier was Old, and Cholerick, and had it not been for his Son, who was a Perſon well in Years, Diligent, and Conſiderative, who Diſcourſed, and Prepared all Matters, weighed, and conſulted them with Perſons of Experience, and Underſtanding, he could never have carried them to any Maturity, or remained long in that Sublime Office. Beſides, he was Naturally Cruel, that upon the leaſt Suſpicion, or Murmurings of any Paſha, or great Man, he without the leaſt noiſe ſent the Bow-ſtring for him, and privately cut him off: Amongſt the reſt, there was one *Omer* Paſha, who having in ſeveral Fights ſignalized himſelf by his Bravery, ſeemed to aſpire unto ſome high degree of Preferment; whereof the Vizier growing Jealous, he ſent and took him off. But what moſt confirmed him was; that he promiſed the Militia to deliver out their Pay to them, at the end of every three Months in good Gold and Silver, and not in Copper-Money, againſt which there had been ſuch Outcries, and Tumults amongſt the People; to perform which Promiſe, (for there was no dallying with the Licentious Soldiery) the Gold and Silver-Smiths were commanded to ſhut up their Shops, and prohibited to Work or make any Veſſels of Gold, or Silver, but to bring the Gold and Silver which they had in their Hands, into the Mint, there to be Coined into good Money, which ſo altered on a ſudden the manner of Traffick in Buying and Selling, that none of the Copper-Money would paſs in Payments under three or four for one; by which Artifices and Projects,

1692. jects, he kept up, and ſecured the Government to himſelf for ſome time: To which we may add one thing more, which reconciled the Minds of the Mufti, and of the *Ulama*, and Religious Votaries to him. For whereas his Predeceſſor, who was a Man of a Gentle, Moderate Spirit, and not ſo Cruel, and Barbarous, as this, had granted Licences to the *Chriſtians* to ſell Wine, (by which a conſiderable Revenue ariſes to the Grand Seignior.) This Vizier to ſhow his Hatred to the *Chriſtian* Religion, iſſued out moſt ſtrict Proclamations againſt the uſe of Wine, making it Death, either to Sell, or Buy, or Drink it; which much affected the Hearts of thoſe, who were the moſt Superſtitious, and Hypocritical; and gained him great Credit in general with the Muſſelmen, or *Mahometan* Believers.

Tekeli *at* Adrianople.

About the time that the *Perſian* Ambaſſador made his Entry into *Adrianople*, and received his Audience of the Grand Seignior, Count *Tekeli* arrived there alſo, attended with 30 Officers of his own Creatures, and Confidents; he entered with great State, and Pomp, and was conducted to his Lodging in the Palace of *Iſaac Efendi*, where the greater Honours were ſhown him by the Inſtigation of the *French* Ambaſſador.

His Audience with the Grand Vizier.

The Day following being conducted to his Audience with the Grand Vizier, he appeared very Rich and Stately in his Habit, wearing, after the *Hungarian* Faſhion, a large Plume of Heron's Feathers on his Head, the bottom of which, where they were fixed, being ſet and ſtudded with Precious Stones of great Value; he ſtaid above an Hour in Conference with the Grand Vizier, being treated with Careſſes, and Kindneſs beyond the Manner which is uſual amongſt *Turks*: After which he received a Coftan lined with Sables, as is given to the greateſt Paſha's, and with him 15 of his Officers were alſo Veſted; at this Conference *Tekeli* adviſed the Grand Vizier to provide two great Armies, one to act on the Frontiers in *Hungary*, and the other in *Tranſilvania*.

The French *Ambaſſador viſits him.*

After this Audience which *Tekeli* had with the Grand Vizier, the *French* Ambaſſador having firſt obtained Licenſe for the ſame from the Vizier, made him a Viſit; at which the uſual Ceremonies paſſed, with great Proteſtations of Friendſhip, and Promiſes of Aſſiſtance from the King his Maſter.

The *Turks* were very uneaſie all this time, during the Abode of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador at the *Ottoman* Court, leaſt he ſhould diſcover, as we have ſaid, the Weakneſs of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, and the Commotions of the *Arabs* againſt the *Ottomans*; ſo that every thing was Whiſpered, and Concealed with all the Secrecy that was poſſible; and accordingly what Letters came either from *Hungary*, or the *Eaſtern* Parts; they were committed to ſome of the Renegade *Chriſtians* to be read, who having been Educated in all the Learning of the Seraglio, were capable to Interpret them, and being confined within thoſe Schools, had no means of Converſation with People without the Seraglio. 1692.

Tekeli *and the* Tartar *diſpatched away.*

Tekeli, and the *Tartar Han* having finiſhed their Buſineſs at *Adrianople*, and agreed on all the Methods they were to act for the enſuing Campaign; they were diſpatched away, the firſt towards *Hungary*, and the other to the Crim.

Change of Officers.

It being now time to prepare and provide for the War, ſeveral Changes and Alterations were made amongſt the Officers. The Captain Paſha was put out of his Office, and the Treaſurer of the Grand Seignior's Private Caſh, was put in his Place, a Perſon wholly ignorant of *Maritime* Affairs, but preferred as an Old Servant, and for his Merits in other Employments; and his Predeceſſor *Miſſiroglu*, who had been always bred up a Seaman at *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, was ordered for *Hungary*; as was alſo the Chimacam of *Conſtantinople*. The Aga, or General of the Janiſaries, had alſo been deprived of his Office; and being a Man of good Eſteem amongſt the Soldiery, many adhered to his Party, which began to create a ſtrong Faction amongſt the Soldiery; to prevent the increaſe of which, many Officers amongſt the Janiſaries were ſecretly Strangled in the Night, whereby all thoſe Plots were overthrown which were deſigned to promote that General of the Janiſaries, who had the Eſteem for his Courage, and good Conduct, to the Sublime Office of Grand Vizier; by which the *Chriſtians* received a conſiderable Prejudice, he being a Friend to the Peace, and an Enemy to the *French*. But to keep the *Turks* fixed, and ſteddy to the War, the *French* Ambaſſador aſſured the *Turks*, That his Maſter the King had diſpatched already from *France* 200 Officers expert in the War, who might arrive in very few Days, and that amongſt them were ſome famous Engineers, skilful in throwing Bombs and Granadoes, and making all ſorts of Artificial Fire-works. And moreover he aſſured them, That every Day he expected two Men of War laden with Bombs, and Arms, and all ſorts of Military Inſtruments, with ſome Thouſands of Muskets to Arm the Janiſaries. Moreover this Ambaſſador offered the Port, in the Name of his Maſter, to maintain three Regiments of Janiſaries, and to Cloath them all in Blew Veſts; but

The French *Ambaſſador encourages the* Turks.

1692. March.

this piece of Generoſity looking too mean and diſagreeable to the Grandeur of the *Turks*, was refuſed with ſome Indignation, and Diſdain: Howſoever the *French* Engineers, upon their Arrival were accepted, and Enrolled amongſt the other Gunners; over which, the Maſter of the Artillery was a *Turk*.

Preparations for the War.

Inſtances for a Peace promote the War.

The Spring coming now forward, great Preparations were making both by Sea and Land for the approaching Campaign. At the Arſenal, the new Captain Paſha was very diligent to forward the Naval Preparations; of which twelve great Mahoones, or Galleons, and two new Galleaſſes were preparing, with ſix new Frigats, beſides the Gallies belonging to the Beys of the *Archipelago*, which are commonly 36 in number. Moreover, great Quantities of Bisket and Ammunition, were preparing to be ſent on Saicks by the *Danube* for the uſe of the Army. Nor were the Preparations, and Recruits for the Land Army neglected; for a Door, (as they call it) was opened for making Janiſaries; of which they pretended to form for this Year 25000, and to have a greater Army this Year, than they had the laſt, before the Battle of *Salankement*, in which the *Turks* were the more animated, and made to believe better of their own Condition than it really was, by the Applications which the *Chriſtian* Ambaſſadors made to Mediate a Peace; believing that neither the Emperor, nor the *Venetians* would preſs ſo hard for a Peace, were they able to maintain the War.

But what gave ſome ſtop to the Warlike Preparations, were the Factions amongſt the *Turks* themſelves; by which the Muſti was ſuſpended, and ſent into Baniſhment; and a Pitiful, Decrepit Old Fellow, who had been Imaum, or Chaplain to Old *Kupriogli*, put into his Place, of whom we have given a Character before, and that he was unconſtant in all his Reſolutions.

The Perſian *Ambaſſador continues at* Adrianople.

The *Perſian* Ambaſſador ſtill continuing at *Adrianople*, the *Turks* knew not in what manner to be rid of him; they wiſhed for his Departure, not ſo much to ſave the daily Charge which they beſtowed upon him, as to be quit of a Spy, who looked as if he came to ſee the Nakedneſs of the Land. It was not ſeemly to order him to be gone, but it was thought that he would not ſtay long after the Horſe-Tail was ſet out, (which is a Sign that the Grand Vizier reſolves in 40 Days to take the Field) upon which it was given out, That he was to be at *Sophia* about the 7th or 8th of *May*, whence in a few Days he was to proceed, and to expect the Forces of *Aſia* at *Belgrade*.

1692. March.

Preparations for the War.

In order hereunto all Preparations poſſible were made for the War; the Grand Vizier deſigning to be in the Field before the *Chriſtians*, ſeveral Brigantines were diſpatched for the *Danube* by way of the *Black-Sea*, with *Saicks* for *Aſack* laden with Ammunition and Proviſions for the War, moſt of which Veſſels were deſigned up as high as *Belgrade*.

Factions in the Court.

The Grand Vizier ſeeks the Life of the Chimacam.

He is ruined thereby.

But for all this haſte which the *Turks* made, the Factions amongſt themſelves retarded their Expeditions, and cauſed every thing to move ſlowly. We have already given a Character of the Grand Vizier, as a Man infirm both in Body and Mind, and endued with no other Abilities to conſerve himſelf, and his Government, beſides a Cruelty natural to him, by which he conſerved himſelf by the deſtruction of others; he had, as we have ſaid, put many of the Chief Officers to Death; and had cauſed the Muſti to be diſplaced and baniſhed; he alſo proceeded ſo far, as to take the Kuſlir Aga from the daily Service of the Sultan; and in deſpight of his great Power in the Seraglio, to ſend him into Baniſhment: After which there remained but one Perſon, of whom he conceived any Fear, or Jealouſie, and that was the Chimacam of *Adrianople*; and until he was taken off, he could conceive no Quiet within his own Breaſt, nor could he think himſelf ſecure after his departure to the War, unleſs he firſt ſaw his Competitor under the ſame Fate with his other Enemies, and his Son placed in his Stead and Office: With theſe Thoughts this wretched Vizier went boldly to the Sultan to demand licenſe to give the Fatal Blow to the Chimacam, the which recoiled upon himſelf; for he being much in Favour, and in Eſteem with the Grand Seignior for his Prudence and Dexterity in Affairs, and for the Truth which he had always told him: The Sultan no ſooner heard him ſpeak againſt the Chimacam, but putting himſelf into a Violent Paſſion, called immediately for his Band of Black Eunuchs to remove him away out of his Preſence, and to ſtrangle him as a Faithleſs and an Unworthy Miniſter.

But it ſeems the Eunuchs, contrary to their Natural Temper, taking Compaſſion of an Aged and Decrepid Perſon, fell down at the Feet of the Sultan, imploring his Mercy and Commiſeration towards an old Servant, whoſe Years might plead for his Pardon.

The Sultan being a Prince of an Eaſie Temper, hearkened to their Petitions, and cauſing him to be put into an inward Room for a while, ſent immediately to call for the Chimacam to come to him; who all Pale and Wan, fearing leaſt his Enemy the

Vizier

March.

Vizier had prevailed with the Grand Seignior againſt his Life, came all Trembling, and caſt himſelf down at the Feet of the Sultan; but he was ſoon put out of his Fears, by the comfortable Words of the Grand Seignior, declaring him Vizier, and therewith a Veſt of Sables was thrown over him, and the Seals delivered to him. But he being a Perſon of Prudence, and Experience of the uncertainty of that Sublime Office in ſuch a Conjuncture of Time, as was at preſent; began before the Grand Seignior, much to bewail his hard Fate, which hurried him into an Honour too high and weighty for him to ſupport; declaring, That he only deſired to live in the Degree of Chimacam, that he might never depart from the ſide of his Lord and Maſter.

The Chimacam refuſes to be Vizier.

With theſe, and ſuch like Words as theſe, he moved the Sultan to Compaſſionate his Caſe, and to grant his Requeſt: And in his Place was named *Halil* Paſha, at that time Paſha of *Diarbekir* in *Meſopotamia*, who had been Chief Chamberlain to *Kara Muſtapha*, when he lay in the Siege before *Vienna*.

Another Vizier named.

To execute this Great Affair, two Aga's were diſpatched immediately away by the Poſt, to bring this *Halil* Paſha to *Adrianople*; and in the mean time all the Affairs of the War remained at a ſtand, which was very ſtrange at ſuch a Seaſon, when the Armies were ready to take the Field; and that all things muſt give way to the Conſideration of a ſingle Man, who was to be fetched at the diſtance of above 1000 *Engliſh* Miles from *Adrianople*; as if no Man could be found like him equal to that great and heavy Charge.

In the mean time the Depoſed Vizier, was Baniſhed to the Caſtles of the *Dardanelli*; the which proved not all his Puniſhment; for his Eſtate, according to the Cuſtom of the *Turks*, was Arreſted; 500 Purſes of Money, with half a Million of Dollars, were ſeized for Service of the Sultan, with about 18000 Soltanini, or Gold Ducats, belonging to the Vizier's Son; the Kahya alſo was put into Priſon, of whom nothing more having been heard, it was believed that he had been put to Death.

The Old Vizier Baniſhed;

And his Eſtate ſeized.

Upon the News hereof the Soldiery at *Belgrade* Conſpired together to preſent before the Grand Seignior, *Halil* Paſha their Seraskier, or General at that time of their Army, as the fitteſt Perſon for the Office of Grand Vizier, and the moſt able of any to contend with thoſe great Difficulties, which oppreſſed the Empire: But in regard that Poſt was already filled, the Port refuſed to hearken thereunto; and leaſt ſuch a Denial ſhould cauſe any diſturbance, *Halil* Paſha was ſent to *Negropont*, where he formerly had ſhown great Bravery, and good Conduct; and thus all things remained at a ſtand, until the Arrival of the New Vizier, till which time alſo the *Perſian* Ambaſſador could not be diſpatched; nor did he haſtily deſire it, being taken up with Admiration and Pleaſure to ſee ſo many Tragical Changes, and Confuſions, far different from thoſe Days, when the *Ottoman* Union, and abſolute uncontrouled Power gave a Terrour to *Perſia*, and all the *Eaſtern* World.

The Soldiers at Belgrade offer to prefer another, but denied.

The Perſian Ambaſſador pleaſed herewith.

In the mean time for want of the Grand Vizier all things were at a ſtand; for the *Tartars* refuſed to move until they received Inſtructions from the New Grand Vizier, and the *Aſiatick* Troops which were upon their March at this time, and ready to paſs into *Europe*, retarded, and ſlackned their Pace, until they knew what new Orders this Vizier would give them. Howſoever the Officers both of Horſe and Foot, which were already in *Europe*, were haſtned on their March with all ſpeed, that at the Arrival of the Grand Vizier, the whole Army might be found in a good poſture on the Frontiers near *Belgrade*: And the Preparations for the Sea in the mean time went forward with all Chearfulneſs, it being deſigned, that the Maritime Force ſhould be equal to that of the laſt Year, being reinforced with many Veſſels from *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Algier*; in all which Expeditions the Chimacam of *Adrianople* was very vigilant and active.

All at a ſtand until the Vizier's coming.

At length, about the beginning of *May*, the Grand Vizier arrived at *Adrianople*, near which Place he was met at *Haſſa*, about three Hours diſtant from thence, by many of the Principal Officers, and at an Hours diſtance from the City, by the Mufti, and Chimacam, and others; who in great Pomp and State conducted him to the Preſence of the Sultan, by whom he was graciouſly received, and the Seals delivered to his Hand; after which being Veſted with a Coſtan lined with Sables, he made a ſhort Prayer, and withdrew himſelf from the Preſence of the Sultan; and being come to the Vizier's Palace, he beſtowed Coſtans on all the Paſha's, and Officers of his Court, confirming the Old Ones in their Places, and declaring New where they were vacant.

The Vizier arrives; and received by the Grand Seignior.

Having taken ſome Refreſhment that Night, the next Day he held a Solemn Council, at which it was concluded, what Methods were to be taken, for the future; and it was agreed, That on the 31ſt of this Month the Vizier's Tents were to be pitched at the uſual Place without the City; and

A Counſel of War, May 1692.

1692.

The Vizier marches towards Belgrade.

The Janiſaries mutiny for Pay,

Are pacified.

alſo the Janiſar-Aga's; and that the Day following they were both in Perſon to March out into their Tents; and that on the 6th of *June* they were to begin their Journey towards *Belgrade*; accordingly the Janiſaries led the Van, as was uſual, and proceeded a Day before the Vizier, and the Spahee's; but they had not marched a Day before that being united with the other Militia, they began to Mutiny, exclaiming for their Pay, and proteſting that they would not proceed until firſt they had received their ſix Months Pay in Arrear, with their Veſts of thick Cloth, as alſo the Donative due to them at the Inauguration of every New Sultan: To content theſe People, the Grand Vizier iſſued out to them with all ſpeed their ſix Months Pay; and with fair Words and Promiſes, he ſo pacified them, that they quietly marched forward to *Belgrade*, proteſting howſoever, not to paſs the *Save* without their Cloth and Donative.

A New Chimacam made.

With this Pacification the Grand Vizier taking a little Breath, began to conſider of the manner how to eſtabliſh himſelf; and becauſe an Able, and Faithful Chimacam, who remains near the Perſon of the Grand Seignior, is always a great ſupport to a Vizier, he ſent for the Paſha of *Aleppo*, named *Muſtapha*, to come to him, who in the Time of *Solyman* the Grand Vizier, had been Seraskier, or General againſt the *Poles*: This Perſon being come to him, he made him Chimacam, and diſplaced the other (who, as we have ſaid, refuſed lately the Vizier's Office) and ſent him to remain Paſha at *Erzirum*, which is in *Armenia Major*.

One would have imagined that this Vizier might have thought himſelf ſecure with that Chimacam, who had refuſed, (as we have ſaid) the Vizier's Office, ſo fairly and ſo lately offered to him by the Sultan, ſo that a little kind Aſpect, and few obliging Words might have made him entirely his own; but there is a Fate amongſt the *Turks*, that neither the Grand Seignior is conſtant to his Viziers, and Chief Officers, nor they to the Inferiour Miniſters, who act under them, never believing themſelves ſecure, but with thoſe who are their own Creatures, by which continual Revolutions all things remain in diſtraction, and a Vizier hath ſcarce learned, or become Maſter of his Trade, before he is diſgraced, and thrown down from his Sublime Office, with all his Kindred and Dependances, to the Abyſs of Miſery, and Ruine, of which we have diſcourſed at large in another Treatiſe.

1692.

The Mufti recalled.

Upon which Maxime this Vizier called for his own Creature to make him Chimacam, and recalled the late Mufti, whom the preceding Vizier had Exiled, which was the more eaſily done, the Place being vacant by the Death of the Mufti who was laſt made.

Waradin *in great diſtreſs.*

All theſe Embroils and Changes could not do leſs than hinder the Proceedings of the main Buſineſs; for the *Budziack Tartar* refuſing to follow the Command of the *Tartar Han*, the Grand Seignior ſent one Meſſenger after the other to haſten the March of the *Tartars*, commanding them with 3 or 4000 Horſe to carry on each a Sack of Wheat, or Meal, for the Relief of *Great Waradin*, from whence frequent Letters came, that they being reduced to the Extremity of Famine, could not longer ſubſiſt, but ſhould be forced to deliver themſelves up into the Hands of the Enemy, unleſs ſpeedily ſuccoured.

In this manner unthought of Accidents fell out full of Diſappointments, by which neither the Forces at Land, nor at Sea amounted to half the Power they were of the laſt Year.

Thus far in this Year of 1692, have we ſhown the State of Affairs in *Turky*, whilſt at *Vienna* things were in preparation for the following Campaign, and many Counſels of War were held by the General Officers, in Preſence, and with the Aſſiſtance of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*.

May.

We being now in the Month of *May*, all the Endeavours were bent for taking *Great Waradin* before the *Turkiſh* Army ſhould take the Field, and come to relieve it, of which there was now no great probability, in regard that from all ſides Advices came, that the Town laboured under the laſt Extremity of Famine; the which was not only confirmed by Letters from thence to *Adrianople*; but by a Meſſenger diſpatched with Letters to *Giula* and *Temeſwaer* from the Beſieged, to give an account of the miſerable Condition of the Place, the Circumſtances of which were reported to be ſo wretched, that in all probability the Place could not hold out much longer.

But becauſe many times Reports are falſe, and that Men do often, eſpecially in War, magnifie, or diminiſh things according to their Humour or Intereſt; it was judged fit not to expect until Famine had forced the Beſieged to ſurrender, for that might prove ſtill the Work of ſome Months, and in the mean time give the Enemy means to relieve the Place; wherefore it was reſolved to force the Surrender, and the care thereof being committed to General *Heuſler*, he with all Expedition and Diligence having drawn his Troops together from their Winter-Quarters, and adjacent Places, poſted himſelf near the Old Fort,

1692.

Fort, in which the *Heydukes* had kept a Garriſon during the Winter Seaſon, from whence he ſent a Summons to the *Turks* to Surrender, and deliver up the City; which they reſolutely refuſing to do, he began the Day following to open the Trenches, and raiſed two Bulwarks exactly oppoſite to the Bulwarks of the Enemies, called *Zingar*, and *Capudon*; and cauſed a Bridge to be laid from the Palancha *Oloſchi*, reaching to the Old City. To diſturb theſe Works, the *Turks* plyed their Great Guns continually, and made a furious Sally, but were repulſed with ſome loſs. In like manner alſo the Beſiegers drew another Line on the other ſide of the River, ſo that the Town was now environed on every ſide, and the *Chriſtians* lodged at the Ditch of the City.

Heuſler Summon's the Town. They refuſe to yield.

The Turks *make Sallies, and are repulſed.*

On the 7th the *Turks* made another Sally, but were repulſed; And on the 8th, made another, with much more Bravery than they had done the Day before, but were repulſed with like Loſs: Upon which the Janiſaries went to the Paſha to conſult with him what was to be done in this preſent Exigency; and all agreed, To hold out ſome Days longer in expectation of the promiſed Relief; during which time, both ſides employed themſelves to ply their Cannon, and throw their Bombs inceſſantly.

On the 11th ſome Hundreds of the Beſieged ſhew'd themſelves without the Fortreſs, but withdrew without farther Attempt; on which Day 11 Heydukes were killed, and 15 wounded.

On the 13th the *Turks* made another Sally on the *Heydukes*, but were briskly received, and ſoon repulſed.

The 16th, 17th, and 19th, little or nothing of moment was done, by reaſon of the continual Rains; but by this time the more heavy Cannon being come, the Breach was made wider and larger; ſo that General *Heuſler* ſuppoſing that the Enemy might be terrified thereby, he ſent a Trumpeter to make them the laſt Summons, threatning them in Default thereof, to give no Quarter either to Man, Woman, or Child; but as yet the *Turks* ſhowed no fear of the Menaces pronounced againſt them; and an Old, Grave *Turk* ſhowing himſelf on the Walls, called to the Beſiegers, and admoniſhed them to withdraw their Troops from under the Walls of the City, which they ſhould never take, the Beſieged being reſolved to Live and Die together in the ſame. This declared Reſolution of the *Turks*, quicken'd the Operations of the General, ſo that throwing Fire into the Town, and plying the great Guns continually Day and Night, the Breach was made much wider than it had been ſome few Days before, and ready for Storm, which was deſigned for the 28th of the Month: The *Turks* ſeeing the Troops in a readineſs for an Attack, their Hearts began to fail; and thereupon a White Flag was diſplayed, and five Deputies were ſent to the Army to treat, and Hoſtages being given on both ſides, theſe Articles were agreed on, and an Inſtrument drawn up in this Form following.

Continue reſolute to maintain the Town.

1692.

Howſoever they Capitulate,

The Paſha of *Waradin*, His Addreſs to the *Emperor*.

MOST *Happy* Cæſar, *Emperor of the* Romans, *in whom reſides the Heighth of Majeſty, Honour, and Glory, and of higheſt Eſteem amongſt the* Chriſtian *Princes; We the Soldiers and Muſſelmen of* Waradin, *having been ſtreightned and oppreſſed by a long and tedious Siege, and being at laſt reduced to the laſt Extremities by your Imperial Army Encamped againſt us, and being not able longer to hold out, do caſt our ſelves at the Happy Feet of the Imperial Majeſty: And being at length conſtrained to yield unto Fate, and Deſtiny, we fly unto your Clemency, and moſt Pious Benignity, which is a Ray, or Emanation from the Moſt Sublime Creator, declaring that voluntarily, and of our own proper Motions, (ſince God will have it ſo) to ſave our Lives, we have Pawned and Surrendered this our Fortreſs, with all the Ammunition therein; that is, Cannon, Muskets, and other Arms, and Military Inſtruments, to your Commiſſary, the Moſt Honourable, and Moſt Excellent* Heuſler. *And confiding in the Grace and Favour of an Emperor who governs ſo many Nations, that he will not permit, or ſuffer theſe our Muſſelmen to be damnified, or robbed, or deſpoiled of their Goods, or Baggage which they carry with them; but be Protected, Conducted, and Convoyed ſafe from the Fortreſs of* Waradin, *to the Neighbouring, and Adjacent Places on the* Danube, *that is to the Palanca called* Panzova, *and to command, That in our Way thither, no* Chriſtian *of what Nation ſoever, ſhall take our Goods from us either by Day or by Night, nor damniſie us either Privately or Secretly: All which we offer to the Benignity and Clemency of the Imperial Majeſty, in theſe Sixteen Articles following.*

The Articles of Surrender.

I.

'THAT the *Turks* and their Goods 'be taken from the Palanca's of '*Patmeso*, and *Solmeso*, and that they may 'in Safety be Conducted, and Convoy'ed to the ſame Place with thoſe of *Wa'radin*.

'II. That we may be ſafely Conducted 'through all the Paſſages and difficult Paſ'ſes of *Erdurich* and *Zanat*, until we ar'rive at the Palanca called *Panzova*.

'III. That to this intent 1200 Carts, 'and 200 Horſes ſhall be given us; and 'that five Days time ſhall be given us to 'ſell our Goods, and that they may have 'time to buy what Goods they pleaſe, ac'cording to their Convenience.

'IV. That all Men and Women Slaves, 'who are deſirous to remain in the *Chriſti'an*, or *Turkiſh* Faith, ſhall not be hindred.

'V. That ſuch Rebels or Malecontents as 'are taken in the Fortreſs, ſhall not be de'tained, but permitted to remain with us.

'VI. That the Beſieged may carry their 'Enſigns, and Arms with them.

'VII. That they may carry all their 'Writings and Regiſters with them.

'VIII. That in caſe on the Way any 'Waggon ſhould chance to break, another 'ſhall be given in the place thereof; and 'the Goods ſhall not be ſtollen, or broken 'open.

'IX. That no Money, or Charges, 'ſhall be demanded on the Way for Lodg'ings.

'X. That no Child, or Youth, Male, 'or Female, ſhall be taken from us; nor 'ſhall Money, or Expence be demanded 'of us on the Way, but our Charges ſhall 'be Defrayed, with all neceſſary Proviſi'ons, until we come to *Panzova*.

'XI. That when we are proceeded out 'of the Fortreſs, until we come to *Bel'grade*, neither Subjects, or others, ſhall 'ſtop, or detain any of us on Pretenſion 'of Debt.

'XII. But that all of us ſhall be permit'ted to proceed freely with all ſafety.

'XIII. That for the more convenient 'Paſſage of the Carts into the Fortreſs, a 'Bridge ſhall be made.

'XIV. That care be taken to puniſh all 'the Inſolencies of thoſe who ſhall forcibly 'rob our Goods.

'XV. That the *Turks*, who have by 'Order of the Grand Seignior, ſerved for 'Officers in the Garriſon, ſhall receive no 'Moleſtation.

'XVI. That all Strangers of different 'Nations who are with us, ſhall not be 'Pillaged, or Plundered; and herein a par'ticular care is to be had to Waggoners, 'and other Pilfering Fellows.

Given the 20th of the Moon, called Ramazan, *in the* Hegeira 1103; *which is the 3d of* June 1692.

Seifullah Cadi di Varadin.
Abdulatif *Paſha and Chief Governour of* Waradin.
Ibrahim *Paſha, the late preceeding Governor of* Waradin.
Oſman *Agha*.

An Inventory of what was found in the Fortreſs.

Five Thouſand Meaſures of Barley.
1000 Meaſures of Wheat.
300 Sacks of Rice.
50 Fats of Flour.
50 Braſs Guns, moſt of which were *German*.
22 Mortars.
70000 Pounds of good Powder; And
723000 of old decayed Powder.
3500 Cannon Bullets.
30000 Pounds of Iron: And
4300 Pounds of Wrought Iron.

The Articles being thus ſigned on the 3d of *June*, the Day following the Bridge was repaired, and the *Turks* marched out of the Fortreſs, to the Number of about 1200 Fighting Men, and in all 12000 Souls, which were ranged in good Order on a convenient Ground without the *Town*, where they remained until the *German* and *Raſcian* Militia, which was in Garriſon in *Peſcabara* June. *The Turks march out of Waradin.*

Peſcabara was releaſed, and which the Turks had detained there contrary to the Capitulations.

And thus ended the Siege of this Important Place, the Conqueſt of which ſerved much towards the Security of Tranſilvania to the Emperor.

June.

The Turks repulſed by the Raſcians from Titul and Titz.

The Turks being deſirous of a Revenge, detached a ſtrong Party from Belgrade towards Eſſeck, intending by that way to make an Incurſion into Sclavonia; but the Raſcians having notice of this March, Attacked them at Unawares, and cut down 200 of them, and took 40 Priſoners. Another Party of Turks alſo embarking at the ſame time on three large Boats, fortified with divers Guns, with which approaching near Titul, wherein was a ſtrong Garriſon of Raſcians, they defended the ſame with ſo much Courage, that many Turks being Killed and Wounded, they were forced to quit the Deſign, and return back with Diſgrace, and ſome Loſs; and in the Town, the Captain of the Raſcians was killed, with about 20 Men.

Nor better Succeſs had the Turks on Titz, which was defended by a Garriſon of 1200: The Turks Embarking themſelves on 50 Ships, made a furious Aſſault thereon, which laſted for ſeveral Hours; but they were ſo well received, that they were repulſed, and forced to retire with the loſs of ſome Hundreds Killed, and 30 Priſoners taken.

The Croats take Behatz from the Turks.

The Croats had ſtill better Succeſs upon the Turks on the other ſide the River Unna, which Country they had often Invaded; and particularly about the beginning of July the Governour of Novi advancing with 3 or 400 Horſe as far as Behatz; the Suburbs whereof they Attacked with the Sword in their Hands, Entered and Plundered, and then Burnt the Place, putting all to the Sword, except about 20 Perſons of Quality whom he made Priſoners; beſides other Booty he took 100 Head of great, and 500 of ſmaller Cattle.

After this Action the ſame Troops Attacked Oſtroſatz on two ſides, and totally deſtroyed it, notwithſtanding the vigorous Reſiſtance which the Turks had made. About this time alſo a violent Storm caſt away 35 Turkiſh Barks on the Danube laden with Corn, Flour, Rice, and other Proviſions, and did much other Damage by Thunder and Lightning.

The Turks in confuſion by changes.

Such ſmall Matters as theſe paſſed, before the Vizier was in a capacity to take the Field; nothing went well at Home, nor proſperous Abroad. For after the Vizier had changed the Chimacam, he ſent to call a certain Perſon named Muſtapha Paſha, who had continued for a long time Seraskier at Baba in the War againſt the Poles; and being a Perſon of great Experience, and good Conduct in Civil, as well as in Military Affairs, the Vizier judged him the more proper for this Office, by which it was greatly in his Power to do him Services with the Grand Seignior during his Abſence at any time from the Perſon of the Sultan; and of ſuch a Faithful Friend as this, the Vizier had more than ordinary occaſion at a time when he had lately diſcovered a New Faction Combining againſt him, which being neceſſary to be ſuppreſſed before he marched into the Field, or withdrew himſelf from the Preſence of the Sultan, he ſeized on the Principal Conſpirators againſt him; namely, the Chimacam, and the Aga or General of the Janiſaries, and tho' he was then in a readineſs to begin his March, yet he Arreſted him, and deprived him of his Office, placing in the ſame Iſmael Paſha, who had lately been Chimacam of Conſtantinople, and before that time had been made a Priſoner by General Tenevolt; and from his Youth having been always Educated in great Places, he was eſteemed the more capable of any Employment: in this Secret Plot, the Teſterdar or Lord High Treaſurer, was one of the Conſpirators, whom the Vizier alſo deprived of his Charge, with divers others of principal Note; but what moſt ſenſibly touched him, was the Diſobedience of the Janiſaries, which is always the Fore-runner of Misfortunes to Great Men; the Apprehenſion of which caſt the Vizier into an Indiſpoſition of Body, which continued upon him for three Days, but afterwards recollecting himſelf, and taking Courage, he raiſed up his Spirits, and in a handſome manner appeaſed the Janiſaries; howſoever he lived in a continual fear of their Mutinies at Belgrade, having rendered himſelf Odious to the Soldiery and others, by his Unſatiable Avarice, which he had learned from the Principles and Methods of his Old Maſter Kara Muſtapha, by which Vice he had ſuddenly fallen, had he not been ſupported by his Creature, Iſmael Paſha the Chimacam, whom he had raiſed to that Dignity.

Conſpiracy againſt the Vizier.

July.

Had it not been for theſe, and the like Rubs and Confuſions, the Turkiſh Army would have been before this time in the Field, tho' not ſo ſtrong perhaps as the laſt Year; for the Aſiatick Militia came ſlowly in, and thoſe in ſmall Numbers; The Grand Vizier marched not with more than 10000 Men from Adrianople, and the Albanians (the beſt of their Soldiery) were ſent to Negropont to guard that Iſland, upon a Report, That the Venetians had another Deſign on that Coaſt. Another Detach-

1692. ment was alſo made of certain Paſha's, with ſome *Tartars* to the Number of 6000, who were under one of their Sultans appointed to drive the *Poles* out of *Moldavia*, and regain the Places which they poſſeſſed, and amongſt theſe, the late Janiſar-Aga, who was diſpoſſeſſed of his Office, was made Seraskier, or General of thoſe Forces. During this Weak Eſtate and Condition of the *Turks*, an Unhappy Misfortune befel the *Turkiſh* Fleet, which lay in *Nicopolis*, and *Widin*, where 35 great Boats laden with Wheat, and Flour for the Army, were caſt away by Storm.

The Perſian *Ambaſſador takes his Conge of the Grand Seignior.*

The *Perſian* Ambaſſador, who had continued longer at *Adrianople*, than the *Turks* deſired, it being neither conſiſtent with their Policy, nor their Riches, to entertain a Gueſt, whoſe Buſineſs was chiefly to diſcover the Decay, and Nakedneſs of their Country, did now about the end of this Month of *June* begin to think it time to return unto his Maſter, being well enough informed, as he imagined, of the true Eſtate of the *Turkiſh* Affairs; received his Audience of Congé from the Sultan privately in a Garden, where the Imperial Letters were delivered, and the Capitulations mutually exchanged; and a Preſent made to him of a Horſe richly adorned with Royal Capariſons.

The Marquis of Lorand, *arrives from* France.

Theſe and ſuch like Troubles retarded the Grand Vizer's March towards *Belgrade*; by which Diſappointments the Marquis of *Lorand* had the Fortune to arrive timely at *Conſtantinople*, and to Diſembark ſecretly, or *incognito*, from a *Tartana*, and thence in a Day or two he proceeded to *Adrianople*, with the Equipage of a Trumpeter, and 10 Servants, all richly cloathed, and his Table nobly furniſhed with Plate. In few Days after his Arrival, he received his Audience of the Grand Vizier in Company with Monſieur *de Chateau-neuf*, the preſent reſiding Ambaſſador, at which (according to the uſual Cuſtom of the *French* at all their Audiences) their Buſineſs was to extol the Greatneſs and Power of their Maſter; and to report unto the *Turks*, That their King had furniſhed King *James* with a Mighty Fleet, and 30000 Men to Invade *England*, which were all ready at the time of his Departure to Embark, and conſiſted with Men of War, and Tranſport Ships of more than 600 Sail; the which joyning in *England* with the contrary Party to that which then Governed; would no doubt carry all before them in that Country, and conſequently cauſe great Confuſions in *Holland*, and amongſt all the Allies.

His Reports made to the Turkiſh *Court.*

Moreover that his King was ready to enter into the Field in Perſon, with a moſt formidable Army, (as he had promiſed the Sultan) againſt the Emperor; of the Succeſs of which they would ſpeedily hear from their fortunate King who had ever been Proſperous in all his Enterpriſes; Moreover he added, That all theſe great things the King had done, were to ſupport the *Ottoman* Empire, which would certainly have been ſtaggering under that Mighty Power of the Allies, had it not been ſupported by the *French*, and their Forces diverted from the *Ottoman* Dominions in *Hungary*; all which the Grand Vizier heard with Pleaſure and Attention, aſſuring the Marquis, and the Ambaſſador, that he never had any Deſign, or Imagination of making a Peace with the Emperor, without the Concurrence of the *French*. Howſoever the Marquis not knowing how conſtant and firm to their Reſolutions the *Turks* might be, in caſe that things ſhould ſucceed ill in the *Turkiſh* Army, or that the Imperialiſts ſhould take *Belgrade*; he obtained Licence from the Vizier to accompany him to the War, during this Campaign, where he might be ready at hand to oppoſe all Propoſals tending to a Peace, in caſe any Endeavours ſhould be made therein. And in this manner the Grand *Vizier* departed the 30th of *June* from *Adrianople*, towards *Belgrade*; having pointed out 32 Days March from one Place to the other; beſides Days of *Otorack*, or Days of Repoſe.

The Vizier promiſes to continue the War.

The Marquis permitted to go to Belgrade.

Reports from the Tartars.

But before the Vizier's Departure, two Mirzes, or *Tartarian* Noblemen, with ſix other *Tartars*, arrived at *Adrianople*, bringing News, That *Batter Gherei*, one of the Sultan *Tartars*, had entered into *Volbinia* a Province belonging to *Poland*, and had carried away Captive above 30000 Souls; which Rumour was ſpread abroad to encourage the *Turks*, when in truth there were not above 2000 taken; and farther to give Life to the Soldiery, it was reported, That *Adil Gherei* the Younger Brother was remaining within the Confines of *Valachia*, attending his Elder Brother, that they might with a joynt force March into *Hungary*.

Howſoever to ſecure the *Tartars*, the Grand Vizier before his Departure from *Adrianople* diſpatched away three Capugi-Baſhees, with preſſing Commands to the Han of *Budziack*, to march with all ſpeed to *Belgrade*, and not to delay their time as they had done the laſt Year, and that they ſhould have a care not to deceive him, for that he depended much on their Forces; but herein the Vizier was not well informed, for the *Budziack Tartar* could not furniſh more than 3000 Men; and as to the *Nogbai Tartar*, they were Numerous; but withal, they were ſuch a ſort of Salvage

Crea-

1692.
July.

The Turks repulſed from Portſea.

Creatures, Rebellious, and Diſguſted by the *Turks*; that no great account could be made of them. Nor yet of Sultan *Galgha* Prince of Crim *Tartary*, who was engaged in a War againſt the *Coſſacks*, and had enough to do to defend himſelf againſt ſuch a Stout and an Active Enemy. Moreover to make the Aſſiſtance of the *Tartars* the leſs conſiderable this Year, the *Tartars* rebelled againſt their New Han, in their March towards *Belgrade*: At firſt this Mutiny appeared only in ſome Diſlikes, which the Principal *Tartars* ſhowed againſt their New Sultan, the which daily increaſing, came to ſuch a heighth, that the whole Army forſook and left him, and returned in a Body back to *Budziack*, and were followed ſoon after by the Han himſelf, with ſome of his Menial Servants; the News hereof being brought to the Grand Seignior, and Grand Vizier, they knew not how to carry on the War for this Year; ſo that all the Remedy which remained, was to re-eſtabliſh the Old Han, *Selim Gherey*, in his Place; the which tho' it pleaſed the Soldiers better, yet by this time the Seaſon was ſo far ſpent, that nothing of moment could be expected to be put in Action for that Year. Some ſmall Matters indeed the *Turks* did attempt, but always with loſs; in *July* they Attacked a ſmall, but a ſtrong Fortreſs, called *Portſea*, near *Peter-Waradin*; the which was ſo well defended by a Garriſon of *Raſcians*, that the *Turks* were ſeveral times repulſed; and at laſt hearing that ſome Imperial *Heydukes*, and Dragoons, had paſſed the *Save*, and had cut down great Numbers of *Turks*, they quitted their deſign on *Portſea*, and returned back to *Belgrade*: Howſoever upon better conſideration, concluding that the Place was of ſo high importance, that they might be called into queſtion for quitting the Siege, they returned back again, and on the 5th of *Auguſt* made another Attack upon the Place, and reſolved to carry it by force of Arms; but News coming, That a ſtrong Body of the Imperial Troops were ſent to relieve the Place, and were already in their March, they quitted the Siege; and being Attacked in the Rear, they left many Dead and Wounded Men behind them.

The Ban of Croatia Attacks the Turks.

About the ſame time the Vice-Ban, or Lieutenant-General of *Croatia*, having got together a ſtrong Body of 5500 *Croats* and *Raſcians*, made an Incurſion towards *Meydan*; in which Expedition, he not only had the good fortune to releaſe 400 Poor *Chriſtians*, who were Condemned to Die, and ſhould have been executed the next Day (had they not been ſeaſonably relieved by the *Croatians*) but to return back with a conſiderable Booty of Cattle, and Moveables, together with ſome principal *Turks* of Quality and Note, whoſe Houſes and ſtately Buildings they Burnt and Deſtroyed little or nothing more remarkable farther paſſed all this Campaign, unleſs it were a Matter of two conſiderable Convoys ſent to *Temeſwaer*, the latter of which conſiſted of ſeveral Thouſands of *Turks*, conducting 100 Waggons and many Camels laden with all neceſſary Proviſions; and ſo having provided the Town for the whole Winter, they returned back to *Belgrade*. At the ſame time a Body of *Raſcians* broke into the *Morava*, and there attacked and beat another *Turkiſh* Convoy, which carried 200000 Dollars to the *Turkiſh* Army, which was a brave Booty for the *Raſcians*; for tho' the Grand Vizier upon the News thereof, had Detached a Body of 10000 *Arnauts* after them, yet the Prey had given them Wings, and they eſcaped ſafe into their Towns and Garriſons of Refuge.

1692.
Auguſt.

The Raſcians take great Booties.

Some later Actions paſſed beſides, but none of great conſequence, expecting that the *Turks* having a mind to look big, and put a good Face on it towards the latter end of the Campaign, paſſed the *Save*, to recognize the Imperial Camp at *Salankement*; but ſo ſoon as the News thereof was brought to the General, a ſtrong Party of *Heydukes* and Imperial Dragoons, were Detached to meet them; at the noiſe of which the *Turks* Retired, and therewith the Campaign ended in *Hungary*: For the Janiſaries being debaſed in their Courages by the ill Succeſs of the laſt Year, refuſed to return into the Field, complaining of the Cowardice of the Spahees, by whom they had been expoſed in open Field, and given up to the Fury of the Enemy, whilſt the Spahees fled, and ſaved themſelves in *Belgrade*; and the *Tartars* not returning to the War, gave the Janiſaries juſt cauſe to put an end more early than was accuſtomary, to this Years Campaign; who according to the Military Conſtitutions of the *Ottoman* Empire, may be obliged to continue in the Field until the 28th of *October*, but not longer; for in ſuch caſe, if not provided with Winter-Quarters by that Day, the Janiſaries may leave the Camp, againſt the Will and Command of their Generals, and ſhift for themſelves.

The Campaign of the Year 1692 ends.

Poland.

Tho' the Campaign was ended in *Hungary*, yet ſomething of Action continued in *Poland*, where on the 27th of *September*, the *Turks* Attacked a Fortreſs called *Soroka* with an Army of 30000 Men, Commanded by the Seraskier *Muſtapha Paſha*; the ſame conſiſting of 8000 *Turks*, 2000 under the Paſha of *Siliſtria*, 6000 under the Hoſpodar of *Valachia*, 2000 under the General of the *Coſſacks*, with 12000 *Tartars*.

1692.

The Turks *vigorouſly Attack* Soroka.

With this Army, (as we ſay) *Muſtapha Paſha* Inveſted this ſmall Fortreſs, which was defended by a Garriſon of 600 Men, with moſt of which, the Governour made a Sally on the ſame Day that the Enemy came before it, and killed about 80 of the Beſiegers, and ſo returned to the Fort, having firſt burnt the Suburbs, to prevent the Enemy from taking Shelter therein. So inconſiderable a Fort as this, which might have been taken by this Powerful Army with open Breaſts without the Methods of Trenches and Approaches, was now Inveſted with all the Formalities of a Siege: For the firſt Night the *Turks* began their Trenches, and to throw Bombs into the Place, and to raiſe a Battery of Great Guns, which they plyed for three or four Days and Nights continually.

Is well defended.

On the 1ſt of *October* they advanced their Trenches to the Ditch-ſide; the which having filled up, they ſtormed the Fortreſs, but were repulſed with the loſs of 600 Men; notwithſtanding which, they made a ſecond Attempt, and entered the City, and Burnt it; but being again beaten out of it, they continued the following Day to Fire without ceaſing for the ſpace of three or four Days; by which time, tho' great Breaches were made, yet the Beſieged with indefatigable Induſtry repaired in the Night, what the Enemies had ruined in the Day.

October.

The Turks *repulſed.*

On the 5th and 6th the *Turks* took Poſt in the Ditch, and endeavoured to fortifie themſelves there; but the Beſieged Sallying out, diſlodged them from thence, the *Turks* howſoever recruiting themſelves with freſh Forces, recovered their Poſt; and having drained out all the Water from the Ditch, they encompaſſed the Fortreſs round on all ſides, throwing thereinto Bombs, Carcaſſes, Stink-Pots, and other Artificial Fires: But neither theſe, nor Batteries availing to terrifie the Beſieged, the *Turks* applied themſelves to ſink Mines; which the Beſieged having diſcovered, made ſome of them uſeleſs by Countermines; howſoever the *Turks* intending to Storm the Place on the 9th of that Month, fired one of their Mines early that Morning, which threw down part of the Wall, and immediately they began to Storm the Place, which the Beſieged withſtood for four Hours together, driving the *Turks* from the Walls, as often as they advanced, and planted their Colours thereupon. In this Action the Beſieged took three Standards, and killed 800 of the Enemy; and proſecuting this Succeſs, they drove them out of moſt of their Poſts and Lodgments, with the loſs of 1000 of their Men; and having gained ſix Enſigns, they returned with Joy and Triumph to their Fortreſs.

1692.

October.

Raiſe the Siege.

This Vigorous Defence ſo aſtoniſhed the *Turks*, and cauſed them to deſpair of taking the Fortreſs; that ſilently in the Night they raiſed their Camp with ſo much Precipitation, that they left behind them two Great Guns, and three Mortar-pieces, with much Ammunition and Proviſions.

The next Morning being the 11th of the Month, the Beſieged Sallying out, found no Enemy near them: The Action was very ſtrange, and almoſt Miraculous, conſidering that the *Turks* had loſt more than 4000 Men, and the *Chriſtians* had 150 Killed, and 120 Wounded; the *Turks* had an Army of 30000 Men to oppugne the Caſtle, and the *Chriſtians* no more than 600 to defend it: And with this Action the Campaign ended, as well in *Poland*, as in *Hungary*.

After the Death of Sir *William Huſſey*, who Died, as we have ſaid, the laſt Year at *Belgrade*; *William* King of *England*, &c. immediately diſpatched away Mr. *Herbert*, in Quality of Ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior, with Orders to reaſſume the Mediation of Peace between the Emperor, and his Allies, with the Sultan, and not to loſe the preſent Opportunity, which looked favourable in regard to both ſides.

Mr. Herbert *ſent Ambaſſador to the* Turks.

Mr. *Herbert* had very little time given him to provide himſelf for ſo great an Undertaking and Journey over Land; and tho' he was often afflicted with the Gout, and not very well at eaſe, when he begun ſo long a Journey, yet being a Man of a great Spirit, he forced himſelf, that he might not loſe the Merit and Honour of being the Inſtrument of procuring that Peace between the Emperor, and the Sultan, in which all *Europe* was concerned: the *Turks* being then very low, and much debaſed in their Spirits, ſeemed flexible and inclinable to a Peace: And not to loſe this favourable Conjuncture, the Journey of Mr. *Herbert* was preſſed with all the haſte imaginable; but what with the Fatigue of the Journey, and the Unquietneſs of his Mind for being obſtructed in a Negotiation ſo much deſired by him, he became ſo violently Attacked by the Gout, that he was forced to yield unto his Diſtemper, and lay himſelf up for ſome Months at *Frankfort*, ſo that it was *March* before his Arrival at *Vienna*, and far in the Month of *April* before his Departure from thence; during which time I received two Letters from him, the chief ſubſtance of which was to complain of his want of Health, and of the little appearance of a

Mr. Herbert's *Letters to the Author.*

Peace

1692. Peace between the Emperor and the *Turks*; they deſpiſing (as he ſaid) all the Overtures that had been made to them, which had ſerved only to exalt the *French* Ambaſſador, and to keep the *Turks* from a Peace, who imagined that ſuch Inſtances would never have been made for Peace, had the *Chriſtians* not been droven to Extremities and want of Power to ſupport and continue a War: Howſoever Mr. *Herbert*, in Obedience to His Majeſty's Commands, reſolved to proceed, and try his Fortune; and being furniſhed by the Emperor, the *Venetians*, and the King of *Poland*, with their Conditions reſpectively, on the which they were contented to eſtabliſh the Foundation of Peace, he took his way down the *Danube*, which was the moſt convenient Paſſage for a Perſon labouring under his Diſtemper: And on this occaſion, I have thought fit to Inſert the Propoſitions offered from the Allies unto the *Turks*, which are theſe which follow. 1692.

PROPOSITIONS

For a Laſting PEACE,

Offer'd at the Sublime Port, by Mr. *Herbert*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, 1692.

Propoſitions Offered by the Emperor.

In Nomine Dei.

Inter duos Imperatores pro fundamento almæ Pacis prolatæ Propoſitiones.

Prima Propoſitio.

Ne futuris quoque temporibus inter utrumque Imperatorem aliquod intercedat diſſidium, ſed firma Pax coaleſcat, Cæſarea Majeſtas occupatorum aliquam partem reſtituens, reliqua verò retinens moderationem, & æquanimitatem oſtendat, ſi autem abnuerit, retentis occupatis fœderi terminus temporis præfigatur.

Secunda Propoſitio.

‘Sub patrocinio fulgidæ Portæ exiſtens ſitaque prope Confinia Cæſareæ Majeſtatis Chriſtianæ Regio Tranſylvaniæ in priſtinum ipſius ſtatum reſtituatur, annumque ſuum tributum Ottomannorum Imperatori ſolvat, atque prout declaratur in Sacris antehac confirmatis Diplomatibus ſub protectione utriuſque Imperialis Majeſtatis quieto ſtatu fruantur ejus incolæ.

Tertia Propoſitio.

‘Arcium, quæ hucuſque tenentur à fulgida Porta, viæ quæcunque interceptæ & oblocatæ ſunt, operiantur, néve in territoriis & attinentiis earum aliqua fiat interturbatio ſeu prætenſio.

Quarta Propoſitio.

‘Multum hic morati ſumus, qua de cauſa, neſcimus, jam veris tempus adventat, in Negotio Tractatûs & Concluſionis de Pace multæ difficultates oboriantur, quæ menti obverſari non poterant: Pro enodandis omnibus difficultatibus, reque-ſtabilienda quies ab armis eſſe neceſſaria videri cœpit, ne interrumpatur almi & Sacroſancti iſtius negotii continuatio, armiſtitii neceſſitas apparet, pro quo honeſtum & conveniens temporis ſpatium præfigendum occurrit.

The Articles Propoſed by the Venetians, *for a Peace with the* Turks.

I.

‘LO Stabilimento del ſuo Dominio Vecchio è nuovo, è ſotto queſto s'intendono gl' acquiſti fatti per i quali ſendoſi.

‘II. Impatronita del tutto Regno di Morea colla preſa di Napoli di Malvaſia, pretende liſiano ceduti, li ſcogl' ed Iſol' aggia, centi, è qualche Territorio fuori del ſtretto di Corintho verſo la Livadia & Atene, à Lepantho ed à luoghi ſopra 'l Golfo di Corintho i ſuoi Territorii, coſi alla fortezza della Preveſa il ſuo Territorio ed à luoghi, che ſono ſopra 'l Golfo della Preveſa, come dipendenze di St. Maura.

‘III. L' Territorio attorno della Valona.

‘IV. Nella Dalmatia pretende per Confini i due fiumi Obroazzo e Bojana, col mar' aggia, cente è le Montagne della Boſnia.

‘La facolta di fabricare forteſſe nel proprio Territorio.

‘Che non ſi pretenda dalla parte de Turchi 'l pagamento per 'l Zante, mà queſto reſt' affatto abolito anco per l'auvenire.

‘Regolamento del Commercio à regolarſi, quando ſi veniſſe à più ſtretti Trattati co' Turchi.

Sacra Cæſarea & Regia Majeſtas Dominus noſter Clementiſſimus, ut ſincero affectu & magno æſtimio Sereniſſimi & Potentiſſimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis & Præpotentium Dominorum Generalium Ordinum Fœderati Belgij ad promovendam pacem cum Porta Ottomannica officia ſibi oblata acceptat, ita quemadmodum ſummâ etiam in fortuna, & geminatis victoriis pacem honeſtam & tutam æquis conditionibus inire deſideravit & etiamnum inire parata eſt; Nos juſſit Excellentiſſimum Dominum Legatum Angliæ ad Portam Ottomannam proficiſcentem ſuper hoc negotio Pacis Viennæ jam inchoato, de ejuſdem proceſſu, & ubi hærere cœperit, plene informare, ſimulque ejuſdem Cæſaream mentem circa ea quæ adhuc facienda reſtant, ut Pax intentata coaleſcere poſſit adaperire.

‘VENERUNT huc Turcæ pacem offerentes circa finem anni milleſimi ſexcenteſimi octuageſimi octavi, quæ tum propoſuerint, propoſitio Cæſareis Commiſſariis ad hoc negotium deputatis, ab ipſis Ablegatis Turcicis tradita, hic ſub A. appoſita fuſius demonſtrabit, ſic *A.* etiam, quæ ad hanc Propoſitionem Cæſarei Commiſſarii reſponderint, contra-propoſitio B. exhibebit; Verum cum Propoſitio *B.* Turcica interdicto Uti Poſſidetis fundaretur; ſed intermixtis Territoriis Pax ſolida, vel armiſtitium durabile non videretur poſſe coaleſcere: Ideo ſimpliciter à Cæſareis Commiſſariis ad negotium Pacis deputatis acceptari non potuit; ne tamen proptereà mox ſub ipſo ingreſſu tractatus Pacis abrumperetur, urſerunt prædicti Cæſarei Commiſſarii, ut locorum reſpectivè cedendorum & retinendorum ſingulorum diſcuſſio individualis iniretur; verùm cum hoc ab Ablegatis Turcicis impetrari non poſſet & hi deſuper mittendum Curſorem, ad reportanda mandata à Porta Ottomannica primùm conſtanter recuſarent, poſt ultrò peterent, expedito Curſore Turcico & reduce, expectabatur quænam mandata deſuper Ablegati Turcici accepiſſent, & propoſituri eſſent; cùm verò nulla nova præter propoſita ſe accepiſſe conteſtarentur, viſum fuit illos dimittere; priuſquam verò actualiter Viennâ diſcederint, primùm ſpecie ſecreti Eminentiſſimo Domino Cardinali à Kollonitſch Propoſitionem ſuam poſteriorem adaperuerunt,

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‘runt, eamque Domino à Werdenburg posteà dictatam & Turcico idiomate compoſitam exhibuerunt, & ſponte ad ſingula cedenda vel retinenda ſpecificè devenerunt, juxta eandem propoſitionem illorum poſteriorem Excellentiſſimo Domino Legato Angliæ ſub C, communicatam. Et quia hæc Propoſitio Turcica poſterior generalem dictorum locorum cedendorum vel retinendorum continet ſpecificationem, omnia verò de locorum appertinentiis, formâ ac modo cedendi reticet, certum eſt, & hanc ipſam Propoſitionem ulteriorem ſingulorum diſcuſſionem requirere: Super quo cùm ſufficiens tractandi materia reſtaret, ad facilitandam dicti tractatus reaſſumptionem cum Turcis, poſt factam prædictæ Propoſitionis Turcicæ Fœderatis communicationem & expectata deſuper eorum ſenſa, Cæſarei Commiſſarii, revocatis ad hunc finem Pottendorffium ſæpe dictis Ablegatis Turcicis, reſponſum ſuum ad latus dictæ Propoſitionis Turcicæ ſub nominato C. ſcripto exhibuerunt: Quod reſponſum ſæpe memorati Ablegati Turcici eo prætextu quod nihil novi in ſe contineret, & tam prima quam poſterior eorum Propoſitio olim exhibita, mutatâ interim rerum facie evanuiſſet & ſibi nulla amplius tractandi & concludendi tractatûs facultas ſupereſſet, acceptare recuſârunt; reprehenſi poſtea deſuper ſe reſponſum Cæſareum ſuſcepturos, abſque tamen eo quod & illi deſuper iterum reſponderent, ſe offerre; præteritum verò errorem per id excuſare cœperunt, quod gravius ſibi viſum fuerit, acceptare Cæſareum reſponſum, & ad id non replicare, quam deficiente ſibi tractandi facultate illius acceptionem ab initio ſtatim deprecari.

C.

‘Quoniam verò rebus his in circumſtantiis poſitis, duo indiſpenſabiliter neceſſaria ſe produnt; Primùm, quod ſi pacem Turcæ practicabilem velint, utrique imperio tutam & honeſtam, neceſſariò diſtinctis limitibus utriuſque Imperii Dominia ab invicem ſeparari & diſtingui debeant; quare intermixtis Territoriis, nec Pacem nec armiſtitium tutè & honeſtè coaleſcere poſſe, pro infallibili axiomate ſtatuendum & obſervandum eſt: Alterum, quod ut ad diſtinctionem confiniorum realem & ſolidam deveniri poſſit, præciſè requiratur, ut Porta Ottomannica congruis mandatis & ad facultatem tractandi & concludendi idoneis Ablegatos ſuos hic degentes inſtruat, juxta quæ illi hinc inde reſpectivè cedendorum, retinendorum, vel permutandorum diſcuſſionem, modum cedendi vel appertinentias ſingulorum definire, & ſic concordatis utrinque placitis conditionibus, Pacis vel armiſtitii tractatus inire, & cum fructu proſequi ac concludere poſſint. Ad hunc ergò obtinendæ novæ inſtructionis & facultatis pro ſæpe dictis Ablegatis Turcicis ſcopum, ſumma Negotiationis Excellentiſſimo Domino Legato Angliæ creditæ dirigenda, eoque omni poſſibili conatu allaborandum eſt, ut facultatem ſuper præfata ultima Cæſarea Propoſitione tractandi Ablegatis Turcicis à Porta Ottomannica mittendam obtineat, nec inde facile recedendum, cum non ſit in promptu, omnia materialia, quæ his Generalibus continentur, de loco ad locum ſpecificare & Excellentiſſimo Domino Legato Angliæ ſuggerere, multa enim ab oculari ſituationum inſpectione dependent, de quibus haud aliter tranſigi poterit; Et hoc ad Articulum Primum & Secundum Cæſarei ultimi reſponſi.

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‘Ad Tertium Art. Nihil Cæſareæ Propoſitioni addendum vel demendum venit, eò quod diſtinctio Confiniorum Cæſarei Dominii ab Ottomannico ibidem clarè expoſita habetur: Multis in contrarium facientibus argumentis & rationibus amore Pacis ſepoſitis: Et ea propter in favorem Portæ Ottomannicæ admiſſa.

‘Ad Quartum Art. Cæſarei reſponſi de tractu Valachiæ & Moldaviæ nihil habetur in Cæſareo reſponſo; non equidem propterea quod ad prædictum tractum jus fundatum deſit, ſed quod nec novis tricis pacis negotium involvere, nec Fœderatorum cuipiam in eo præjudicare viſum fuerit.

‘Ad Art. Quintum. Tranſylvaniæ Negotium omni dubio procul erit in tractatu Petra Scandali, ad quam Jure Avito ad Regnum Hungariæ ſpectantem Armis Cæſareis, ſuffragante ſpontanea Magnatum & Populi ſubmiſſione, occupatam & poſſeſſam, Turcis cedendam, nihil eſt quod Sacram Cæſaream Majeſtatem compellere queat, nec faciet unquam; Ut tamen perficiendæ pacis nullus modus à Cæſarea Majeſtate intentatus relinquatur, ſi Turcæ nullo modo Cæſareæ ſupra citatæ contra Propoſitioni C. locum dare vellent, ſed olim Propoſito interdicto Uti Poſſidetis pacem coaleſcere mallent, Cæſarea Majeſtas nec id comprehenſa & in ſua poſſeſſione relicta Tranſylvania aſpernabitur, verùm non obſtante multo ſibi cum Ottomannica Porta communi incommodo exinde reſultante, tractatum Pacis propter ea abrumpi non patietur, tum ut Sereniſſimo Magnæ Britanniæ Regi & Dominis Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus Generalibus Pacem cum Ottomannica Porta ſummè

The greateſt difficulty in all this Treaty was this 5th Article about Tranſylvania.

‘deſiderantibus, quantum fieri poteſt, deferat, tum etiam ut pro ſua naturali pietate & clementia effuſioni Sanguinis humani parcat, & quà licet poſſibilibus conditionibus ſiſtat, quinimò, ut poſſibili modo realem pacis ineundæ promptitudinem ſupra memoratis potentiis ſibi Fœderatis teſtatam reddat, ſi Turcæ per oblatum & hactenus in pacificationibus cum Porta Ottomannica fere ſemper obſervari ſolitum interdictum Uti Poſſidetis, incluſa Tranſylvania, pacem inire non poſſe mordicùs tuerentur & hujus temperamenti Cæſarea ex parte ineundi ſpem ab Excellentiſſimo Domino Legato Angliæ Turcis pro obtinenda pace injici poſſe permittit, ſcilicet ſi reſtitutâ Tranſylvaniâ Juniori Apafi: Quem ſtatus elegerunt & cùm Cæſar tum Porta Ottomannica confirmavit: In perpetuum tamen abinde excluſo proditore Tökelio, ſuis antiquis juribus, libertatibus & privilegiis, ſub æquali utriuſque Imperii protectione & commodo deinceps liberè vivere ſinat; Contra, Porta Ottomannica trans Danubium, Varadinum, Temeſvarinum, Gyula, Jenova, Lippa, aliaque omnia loca quæ armis Ottomannicis in ultra Danubianis & Tibiſcanis partibus tenentur & partium Hungaricarum nomine audiunt, ad Portam Ferream uſque incluſivè, ſimul etiam quæ inter Danubium & Savum ultra Dravum momentanea & dubiâ poſſeſſione tenet, Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtati in ſtatu quo munita cedat, nulla ibidem Portæ Ottomannicæ remanente prætenſione.

‘Ad Art. Sextum, Nihil dicendum occurrit, ſed omnia ad contenta hoc Art. Sexto Cæſarei reſponſi comprehenſa deducenda ſunt, propterea quod de iis alio modo ſuppoſitâ honeſtâ & tutâ pace ab utrinque facienda tranſigi non poſſit.

‘Ad Art. Septimum. Cæſarei reſponſi nihil dicendum cum per ſe clarus ſit & Cæſaream intentionem ſine omni æquivoco explicet.

‘Quæ verò Articulis, Octavo & Nono, Cæſarei reſponſi comprehenſa leguntur, vix eſt quod Pacis Negotium moreantur, eo duntaxat excepto, quod Art. Nono de liberè muniendis Utriuſque Imperii placitis confiniis ſtipulandum proponitur quod nullatenus alterari vel omitti poteſt, eò quod utriuſque Imperii ſecuritas in hoc potiſſimum ſita deprehendatur.

‘Ad Appendicem Cæſarea ex parte præſupponitur quod, Turcis in ſuis exhibitionibus reſpectu Fœderatorum Sereniſſimorum Regis Poloniæ, & Reipublicæ Venetæ exhibitis permanentibus, magna Pacis facilitandæ ratio apparitura ſit, quamvis deſuper cum iis potiſſimum tranſigendum maneat.

‘De quibus omnibus pacis ineundæ & facilitandæ temperamentis, ſuo ordine gradatim proponendis, ut Excellentiſſimus Dominus Legatus Angliæ cum Portæ Ottomannicæ Miniſtris & Magno Vizirio præcipuè colloqui, ſpemque obtinendorum à Cæſareis commodè facere poterit, ita meminerit, dictorum temperamentorum proponendorum ac deſuper Turcarum ad Pacem inclinatorum, vel ab ea averſorum ſenſum penetrandi liberam, ut ſupradictum, ſibi facultatem quidem creditam, verùm ipſius negotii Pacis concluſionem, Auguſto Imperatori, Domino Domino noſtro Clementiſſimo reſervatam habere & ita remanere debere, ut ſuper propoſitis & acceptatis temperamentis demum hic Viennæ tractatus formaliter concludi debeat, cùm vel maximè id præterea obſervandum, quod Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtas ſine Fœderatis ſuis Sereniſſimo Poloniæ Rege & Sereniſſima Republica Veneta Pacem, uti ſæpius declaravit, nec factura ſit nec facere poſſit; Quare ad ſeponendum inter Cæſarem Auguſtum & Turcarum Imperatorem currens bellum præciſè requiritur, ut & cum Cæſareis Fœderatis præmemoratis, de pacificatione ipſorum quoque tractetur, & ad tractandum cum ipſis Ablegati Turcici convenienter inſtruantur.

‘Suggerendum præterea occurrit Excellentiſſimo Domino Legato Angliæ quod Sacra Cæſarea Majeſtas his conditionibus ultra finem Junii circiter ſe adſtrictam permanere non intendat.

‘Porrò ſi ſupremus Vizirius per præſentes Portæ Ottomannicæ Miniſtros tractatum continuare nollet vel alios ſubmittere vellet, nullam ex parte Cæſarea hac in re difficultatem experietur.

‘Et quia ſæpe memorati Ablegati Turcici varias male fundatas querelas & actorum exculpationem, nomine ſinceræ cujuſdam informationis ſub D, huc ad Aulam Cæſaream remiſerunt & in dubium videtur, has ipſas querelas eorum, cumulatis ſiniſtris informationibus, ad Portam Ottomannicam delatas fuiſſe; viſum fuit de earum querelarum momento Excellentiſſimum Dominum Legatum Angliæ per adjacens ſcriptum E. informare, ſimulque materiam fundatiſſimæ refutationis, ſi quæ ſibi de his apud Portam Ottomannicam objicerentur, ſuppeditare.

D.

E.

‘Deſide-

1692. ‘Desideratur hoc præterea ab Excellentiſſimo Domino Legato Angliæ; ut nihil nomine Cæſareo ſed omnia quaſi ex mandato ſui Sereniſſimi Regis hic in aula Cæſarea penetrata proferat & agat, ſimul etiam quam Propoſito apud Portam Ottomannicam ad ſanciendam Pacem vel continuandum bellum diſpoſitionem repererit, expreſſis & feſtinis Curſoribus nunciare non gravetur.

‘PERPENSIS Inſtructionibus, quæ mandato Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtatis Excellentiæ Veſtræ 31 Martii, Dominis Legato & Ablegatis Sereniſſimi & Potentiſſimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis & P. P. Dominorum Ordinum Fœderati Belgii impertire voluere reſpondent:

‘Accepta eſſe Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtati dicti Magnæ Britanniæ Regis & D. D. Ordinum ad promovendam cum Porta Ottomannica pacem officia, per Excellentiſſimos Dominos Huſſey & Collier, ad Portam Ottomanicam Legatos oblata & ipſis concredita, ſe grato animo percepiſſe, utque jam tantum negotium eò efficacius aggrediantur, de aliquibus communicatis & tractandis, quo plenius informari poſſint, decenter rogant.

‘In Propoſitione ab Ablegatis Turcicis data, (Litera C.) recluſa fulgidæ Portæ ſententia de ſatisfactione Fœderatis Imperialibus præbendâ, Regi ſcilicet Poloniæ & S. Reip. Venetæ, proferri videtur, cui nullum datur reſponſum, quamvis in replicatione ejuſdem expectatio ſuggeritur, ideoque prædicti Legatus & Ablegati nonnihil mirantur Articulum tanti momenti tacitum præteriiſſe Excellentias Veſtras, eò magis quod ratio productæ Domini Legati Commorationis credebatur eſſe Fœderatorum reſponſi expectatio, quod & etiam ita fuiſſe dicebatur, & de quo proculdubio Fœderati prædicti Oratores ſuos hic reſidentes, quantum ad ipſorum prætenſiones attinet, certiores fecere. Perpendere velint Excellentiæ Veſtræ expreſſe in Inſtructionibus Legato & Ablegatis concreditis ſtatui, ut nihil omninò, priuſquam Fœderatis ſatisfiat conſentiretur, atque igitur materiâ illâ non lucidatâ incapaces planè ſe putant Legati ſervitia huic tractatui utilia præſtare, cum facile nimis exponi viderentur dignitas Regis & DD. Ordinum, aliqua etiam ratione Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtatis Conſilia & Excellentiſſimorum Dominorum Legatorum character; non probabile enim eſt, fulgidam Portam velle de conciliandâ pace agere, priuſquam reſciverit, quibus legibus cum Fœderatis tractari poſſit, juſtè ſuſpicante Viſirio, ne tractatu inito ipſiuſque ita mente perſpecta Sociorum aliquis poſtmodo iniquas & non approbandas exigendo Conditiones à quibuſvis pactis recedere, nulliſque unquam ſtipulationibus teneri queat, hac ſolutâ difficultate Excellentiſſimi DD. Legati alacri animo opus promptiſſimi aggredientur. Quâ ergò par eſt inſtantiâ Excellentias Veſtras orant Legatus & Ablegati, ut plenius materia iſta aperiatur, quæ Conſiderationi Excellentiarum Veſtrarum remittitur, & cui neceſſarium creditur, ut reſpondeatur.

1692. ‘De remittendâ Tranſylvaniâ Principi Apafi cum omnibus Privilegiis, &c. tributoque quod petunt Turcæ promittendo, ſi arrogati pro hac ceſſione territorii partem tantum aliquam concedere immoretur Viſirius, an pertinaciter Propoſitioni Imperiali inſiſtendum ſit, petitur.

‘Si velit Magnus Viſirius tractatum inire, ea conditione, ut unicuique Imperio maneant acquiſita, quomodo ſe gerere debeant Legati, nulla Fœderatorum mentione factâ, quæritur.

‘An terminus, qui ad finem Junii effluit, non ſit extendendus conſiderationi Excellentiarum Veſtrarum exhibetur; aut ſi poſt illud tempus omnis ulterioris tractatus Propoſitio rejiciatur.

1692.

Instructions for the English *and* Holland *Ambaſſadors, in reſpect to the Three Allies,* Vienna, April 12th. 1692.

Collaudato Excellentiſſimi Domini Legati Angliæ & Dominorum Ablegatorum Angliæ & Hollandiæ de Re Chriſtiana bene merendi ſyncero ſtudio & prudenti de amovendis obſtaculis, quæ negotium creditum morari vel turbare poſſent, ſuſcepta curâ ad puncta oblata reſpondendum duxerunt Deputati ad hoc Cæſarei Miniſtri.

Ad Primum.

‘ IN Cæſareo ad Turcicam Propoſitionem ultimam concepto reſponſo Articulum de fœderatis tractantem nullatenus omiſſum fuiſſe, ſed aliter quam ibi reperitur, propterea concipi non potuiſſe, quod Sereniſſimus Poloniæ Rex & Sereniſſima Reſpublica Veneta, etſi in proſequendo bello Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtati fœdere ſociati, & pariter ad pacem ſeorſivam non faciendam, nec aliter quam ſimul ſanciendam obligati ſint, nihilominus tractandarum ſuarum conditionum Pacis arbitri manſerunt; quare permiſſâ ipſis ſingulorum cum Turcis complanatione de iis, quæ eoſdem fœderatos tangebant, non niſi per generalia loquendum erat; Cæterum Ablegatus Poloniæ Dominus Prosky communicationem ſuarum conditionum cum D. D. Miniſtris Angliæ & Hollandiæ non quidem abnuit, ſed ulteriorem tractationem & concluſionem non aliter, quam hîc Viennæ faciendam reſervavit, quas allegatum A. repræſentabit. Excellentiſſimus Legatus Venetus, ubi Cæſaream contra Propoſitionem per Ablegatos Turcicos repudiatam intellexit, cum ſua ſibi reticendum exiſtimavit, conſtanter aſſeverans, tractatum Pacis ſimultaneum per fœderatos cum Turcis inſtituendum non alibi, quàm hîc Viennæ proſequi & concludi poſſe, unde ſpecie confidentiæ, & reſervato, ne aliter quam pro mea directione communicata crederentur, conditiones ſuæ Sereniſſimæ Reipublicæ Turcis quandoque communicandas allegato B. comprehenſas mihi Comiti Kinsky exhibuit; Verùm cùm prædicti miniſtri uterque ulteriorem cum Turcis ſuper ſuis oblatis conditionibus tractationem hic Viennæ inſtituendam ſibi reſervent, ſatis conſtat, has ipſas ſuas conditiones non eſſe ultimas, ſed agendo deſuper cum Turcis in pluribus fortè adhuc moderandas; quare horum omnium intuitu requiruntur Domini Legati Angliæ & Hollandiæ, ut primo puncto Cæſarei ſcripti ſibi communicato de obtinendis pro Ablegatis Turcicis novis Inſtructionibus ad proſequendum tractatum Pacis neceſſariis preſſè inhæreant, nec indè facile recedant, cùm experientia edoctura ſit, majori incommodo & minori fructu ad Pacem inter fœderatos & Portam Ottomannicam ſanciendam tractatus alibi, quam hic Viennæ reaſſumendos & perficiendos fore.

A.

B.

1692.

Ad Secundum.

‘ Conſtat, intuitu Officiorum à Sereniſſimo & Potentiſſimo Magnæ Britanniæ Rege & Præpotentibus Dominis Generalibus fœderati Belgii Ordinibus oblatorum Cæſaream Majeſtatem temperamenta ſcripto Excellentiſſimo Domino Legato Angliæ, & Dominis Ablegatis exhibita, non ad ipſam concludendam Pacem, ſed potiſſimum ad introducendam diſpoſitionem ad tractatum Pacis hic Viennæ reaſſumendum propoſuiſſe; quare ſi Magnus Viſirius reſtitutâ Apafio Tranſylvaniâ ſub æquali protectione & Commodo utriuſque Imperii cum ſuis juribus & Privilegiis potius territoria non omnia, ſed tantùm eorum partem concedere vellet, nullatenus ipſi aſſentiendum, ſed deſideratis impenſè inhærendum fore, cùm abſque ceſſione petiti Territorii nihil ſit, quod Sacram Cæſaream Majeſtatem ad reſtitutionem dictæ Tranſylvaniæ permovere, vel obligare poſſit; verùm quia ejuſmodi tractatus graves & momentoſi non uno, ut dici ſolet, ictu perficiuntur, ubi Domini Legati Angliæ & Hollandiæ certiora de Turcarum intentionibus ad nos perſcripſerint, commodior tùm de porrò faciendis vel omittendis deliberatio inſtitui poterit.

Ad Tertium.

‘ Fœderatorum ſatisfactionis debitæ, cùm ſine ea Pax coaleſcere non poſſit, ſemper erit facienda mentio & remonſtranda Turcis cum iiſdem Fœderatis deſuper ulterius tractandi neceſſitas, hoc tamen verum eſt, quod complanatis inter Sacram Cæſaream Majeſtatem & Portam Ottomannicam ad proſequendum tractatum diſpoſitionibus Sacra Cæſarea Majeſtas omnia officia adhibitura ſit, ut & tùm Fœderatos ſuos ad juſtas & honeſtas

‘Pacis Conditiones acceptandas deducat.

Ad Quartum.

‘De prorogatione termini in Obligatione ad has Conditiones perſiſtendi ſapientiſſime monuerunt Excellentiſſimus Dominus Legatus & Illuſtriſſ. Domini Ablegati Angliæ & Hollandiæ, quia tamen res in continuo motu conſtitutæ naturaliter & facile alterantur, ideoque difficile eſt, ad temperamentorum propoſitorum acceptationem ſe indefinitè obſtringere & ſimili vinculo abſque ulla reſtrictione inhærere, ideò dicto Menſi Junio totum Menſem Julium denominando ſubſtituere viſum fuit, quem intrà ſi diſpoſitio ſæpedicta ad reaſſumendos tractatus, rejecta huc Viennam ejuſdem concluſione, apud Portam Ottomannicam induci non poſſet, non equidem propterea de iis porrò tractandis ceſſandum foret, ſed ita de iis agere continuandum ut ſubſecutâ rerum notabili alteratione de eadem complanandâ miſſis Curſoribus neceſſariæ quæſtiones inde emanatæ proponantur, quæ dicta rerum alteratio, ſi Cæſareis armis, ut in Deum confiditur, proſpera foret, omni conatu de eadem Legatos Angliæ & Hollandiæ certiores reddere, & monere non intermittetur.

Viennæ, 12 *Aprilis* 1692.

The following Papers, tho' in order of Time they ſhould have been inſerted in 1690, *and* 1691, *having relation to the Tranſactions now on foot, were thought fit to be inſerted here.*

Summa Portionum in Hungaria, Tranſylvania, ac Partibus Regno Subjectis ab Ann. 1683, uſque ad Ann. 1690. ſolutarum.

Anno 1683	Habuit Hungaria Inferior Portiones	70000 :	facit per 7 Menſes Flor. 3185000
1684	Hung. Inferior Port.	50000 :	Fl. 2275000
	Superior	45000 :	Fl. 2047500
1685	Infer. & Super.	80000 :	Fl. 3640000
1686	Hungaria cum Partibus	100000 :	Fl. 4550000
1687		85000 :	Fl. 3867500
	Tranſylvania Portiones	:	Fl. 1200000
1688	Hungaria	90000 :	Fl. 4095000
	Tranſylvania	39000 :	Fl. 1774500
1689	Hungaria	50000 :	Fl. 2275000
	Solvit Tranſylvania per partes	:	Fl. 1200000

Summa itaque Portionum ſolutarum, præter Regnum Croatiæ, & Partes Conquiſtas, ac infinitos Militum ac Officialium exceſſus, & extorſiones, atque tranſmigrationes facit ad Minimum Flor. 30106500.

Id eſt,

Triginta Milliones, centum ſex Millia, & quingentos Florenos.

1692.

Deus ſit vobiſcum, mi Domine.

ACCEPTIS his Dominatio veſtra veniat ad me Quinque Eccleſias; habeo enim aliqua, quæ conſeram cum Dominatione veſtra pro bono veſtro: Aſſecuro autem Dominationem Veſtram de omni ſecuritate, liberoque itu & reditu.

Datum quinque Eccleſ. 14 Febr. Ann. 1690.

(L. S.) TULLIUS MIGLIO,
Commiſſarius Cæſareus.

Literæ
Prædicantibus quibuſlibet
in Barovia tranſmiſſæ.

Deus ſit vobiſcum.

QUONIAM ego quibuſdam de cauſis negotium ſuæ Majeſtatis Concernentibus veſtros Prædicantes huc ad Commiſſionem Cæſaream accerſivi, illi autem comparere prorſus recuſarunt; idcirco impero, & demando vobis, ne illos in pagis veſtris perſiſtere permittatis, quin imo conſortes liberoſque eorum Prædicantium ſtatim ejiciatis, & numquam eos, familiaſque eorum Prædicantium immittere audeatis. Nam ſi contrarium meo mandato feceritis, mittam ad vos, tamquam ejuſmodi obedire neſcios, ducentos milites Muſcatarios, qui in pagis veſtris pro diſcretione ſunt victuri. Ne ergo damnum & injuriam ſuæ Majeſtatis incurratis, in omnibus huic meo pareatis mandato, & præſpecificati Prædicantes intra quatriduum compareant ante ſuæ Majeſtatis Cæſareæ Commiſſarios audituri edictum. Deus vobiſcum.

Datum quinque Eccleſiis, die 21 Febr. Ann. 1690.

(L. S.) TULLIUS MIGLIO,
Cæſareus Commiſſarius.

Literæ Comminatoriæ
Vereſmarthienſibus, Szólóſienſibus, Kóſepſeienſibus, Euzaienſibus, & Karaneſienſibus incolis tranſmiſſæ. Ex Hungarico idiomate in latinum genuine tranſſumptæ.

1692.

Deus Benedicat & Convertat vos.

VIDEO, quod nolitis mihi obtemperare, ideo quicumque veram Romanam fidem amplecti noluerit, (ſine qua impoſſibile eſt ſalvari) cum in Epiſcopatu & ditione mea degere nolo.

Dominus Commiſſarius, & Dominus Epiſcopus Sirmienſis cis Danubium & Dravum, & in diſtrictu Eſſekienſi, Prædicantes omnes vel incaptivant, vel eliminant. Id etiam vobiſcum agetur, ſi vel Sacerdoti Szalontaienſi, vel Patribus Jeſuitis quinque Eccleſ. non confeſſi fueritis, ſin autem carnem ex vobis aliquis ederit, gravi luet pœna. Sequenti Dominica Judices cum codicibus fide dignis ingrediantur.

Datum Bavars-ſzólós, die 28. Febr. Ann. 1690.

Veſter bonus Dominus,
MATTHIAS RADHONAI,
Epiſcopus quinque Eccl. & ſupremus Comes.

(L. S.)

Literæ
Szávaienſibus, Gurienſibus, Viſtoienſibus, Sterdalienſibus, Koracſhidaienſibus, Marſa, Ferchegienſibus, & aliis diſtrictus illius Calviniſtis exaratæ, &c.

Deus Benedicat & Convertat omnes Calviniſtas in Diſtrictu Siklos degentes.

UT jam antea crebro vos verbis & literis admonui, neminem hæreticum, prædonem, Judæum, Calviniſtam, Thracem Schiſmaticum, ſcortum, & ſcortatorem, aut ſceleratum alium, & in Deum calumniantem in Epiſcopatu ſervaturum, & perpeſſurum; eo magis ſi quem invenero Prædicantem: Profecto docebo, & interrogabo, ex cujus nutu & voluntate in Epiſcopatum meum venerit animas ad tartara dejicere, Filii Dei Sanguine pretioſo redemptas. Idcirco ſcribo de novo, & demando, qui velit manere ſub Epiſcopa-

tu

1692. ‘tu meo, fidem veram Romanam, (ſine ‘qua impoſſibile eſt ſalvari) amplectatur, ‘& de omnibus ſuis peccatis pœniteat, om‘nes unanimi voto Deum laudaturi & ado‘raturi. Qui autem animum ad hæc non ‘induxerit, eo, ubi hæreſis tolerabitur, ‘concedat: Reperiam ad parata obedien‘tes, Deum timentes, & veræ fidei homi‘nes, quos ſubſidere faciam in locum ipſo‘rum, qui in vera fide nolunt Deo Servire. ‘Prædicantes autem reſipiſcere nolentes E‘piſcopatu meo illico excedant, ſi velint, ‘ne cum ipſis more Prædicantis Nadaſdi‘enſis & Mohachienſis, & aliorum aga‘tur.

Actum Ocſard die 2 Martii, 1690.

Veſtræ Converſionis Cupidus,

MATTHIAS RADHONAI,
Epiſcopus quinque Eccleſi-
enſis & ſupremus Comes.

L. S.

Literæ Szavaienſibus, Garaienſibus, Czarnoraienſibus, Biſſovienſibus, Judienſibus, Totfaluſienſibus, Harſanii, Nagi Harſanienſibus, Veneczvienſibus, Odnogarenſibus, Vitoienſibus, Magienſ. Gordiſavienſ. Haboczaienſ. Babonanaienſ. Crehienſibus, Szerdahelyenſibus, Vizloienſibus, Czepelienſibus, Kemetkienſibus, St. Martonienſib. Hederhelienſib. Baskienſibus, Zaletienſibus, Zeyenſ. Quinque Eccleſiaſ. Siklos, Bile, Basky, & Bigetvar diſtrictuum Calviniſtis incolis tranſmiſſæ.

Lettres du Roy Tres-Chriſtien à Monſieur Caſtaigneres.

Monſieur de Caſtaignere,

J'AY receu vos Lettres des 27 Avril, 7 & 27 May, avec les Lettres du Grand Seigneur, & du Vizir; le Decret, ou barat, pour les Religieux Francs de Jeruſalem, & toutes les autres pieces, qui y eſtoient jointes. Vouz ne devez pas Douter, que je ne ſois tres ſatisfait de la conduite, que vous avez tenue dans tout cette affaire, & de l'heureux ſuccés, qu'elle à eue. Je ni aſſure auſſi, que s'il ſe reconntre quelque obſtacle dans l'execution des ordres, que la Porte à donné ſur ce ſujet, vous n'obmetrez rien pour les faire lever, & pour maintenir les Religieux Latins dans la paiſible poſſeſſion des Saintes lieux. 1692. 305. 406. 324. 256. 228. 26. 54. 167. 53. 136. 403. 331. 38. 288. 76. 352. 294. 54. 347. 41. 77. 193. 15. 98. 38. 232. 53. 3. 159. 301. 88. 8. 288. 98. 278. 76. 167. 51. 260. 337. 167. 56. 290. 71. 195. 199. 401. J'approuve pareillement tout ce, que vous avez fait pour 47. 405. 44. 118. 341. 98. 50. 245. 181. 53. 232. 152. 288. 29. 15. 205. 401. 71. 202. 53. 197. 198. 51. 260. 2. 195. 272. 14. 51. 267. 202. 388. 206. 3. 83. 45. 215. 65. 14. 50. 401. 198. 53. 243. 50. 311. 54. 277. 195. 86. 56. 57. 98. 83. 197. 208. 80. 202. 311. 56. 288. 257. 59. 288. Mais ce n'eſt qu'a condition que 78. 66. 198. 188. 291. 193. 3. 6. 205. 71. 2. 44. 98. 68. 402. 347. 32. 3. 60. 88. 193. 14. 98. 331. 38. 286. 167. 51. 403. 245. 103. 53. 232. 167. 65. 54. 337. 324. 119. 59. 54. 177. 50. 166. 202. 35. 83. 104. 114. 51. 2. 185. 20. 88. 298. 233. 301. 298. 80. 337. 314. 119. 27. 53. 401. 252. 237. 2. 59. 223. 60, 53, 270. 202. 45. 118. 86. 56. 57. 98. 83. 311. 301. 53. 185. 198. 60. 195. 146. 347. 403. ne ſe doit point étendre 266. 277. 185. 106. 32. 192. 109. 14. 266. 277. 185. 89. 185. 347. 15. quand à la 45. 118. 288. 8. 298. 80. 347. 35. 193. 202. 355. 39. 202. 15. 167. 50. 245. 54? 254. 59. 89. 50. 57. 401. 177. 56. 118. 8. 321. 188. 38. 222. 51. 401. 72. 256. 86. 53. 188. 266. vous deves 235. 84. 403. 381. 38. 276. 27. 56. 98. 337. 235. 257. 195. 98. 54. 218. 59. 51. 311. 11. 97. 193. 98. 302. 59. 39. 401. 233. 202. 195. attachements aux Intereſts de 405. 232. 152. 288. 30. 14. 205. 21. 2. 53. 103. 5. 205. 51. 3. 99. 9. 335. 37. 405. 53. 97. 83. 284. 42. 59. 83. 388. 166. 78. 193. 281. 202. 245. 202. 308. 59. 51. 256. 51. 202. 218. 38. 114. 50. 2. 198. 98. 298. 98. 50. 302. 106. 38. 138. 2. 59. 86. 41. 60. J'ay aſſez de raiſon dene pas ſouffrir 3. 60. 341. 256. 3. 59. 56. 98. 178. 337. 185. 301. 308. 205. 337. ff 4 ff. 403. 337. 32. 337. 44. 118. 288. 73. 2. 298. 80. 337. 195. 154. 199. 119. 59. 54. 3. 27. 56. 323. 14. 202. 256. 167. 53. 84. 185. 167. 26. 63. 347. 32. 256. 35. 83. 3. 26. 57. auparavant que 405. 252. 3. 109. 53. 167. 50. 401. 119. 59. 54. Je ne crois pas, qu'on doive faire beaucoup de fondement ſur 60. 256. 208. 243. 26. 6. 195. 2. 53. 228. 88. 38. 311. 347. 256. 33. 83. 104. 114. 3. 108. 83. 166. 141. Je ne juge pas à propos di 133. 50. 302. 3. 59. 341. 39. 83. 104. 114. 146. 2. 99. 8. 260. 347. 35. 83. 177. 9. 234. 202. 84. 185. 167. 26. 63. 258. 188. 247. 321. 167. 298. 80. 305. 183. 331. 38. 109. 83. 11. 88. 2. 60. 291. 202. 355. 59. 118. 39. 256. Il ſuffit, que vous conti-

nuez

1692. nuez à parler dans le ſens que je vous ay preſcrit par mes precedentes depéches a la relation que des vous envoie de & la Victoire, que ma flotte à ramportée ſur celle de mes Ennemis vous donnerà encore de nouveaux moyens de faire voir aux Miniſtres, que 78. 53. 222. 26. 99. 76. 261. 93. 14. 51. 352. 234. 59. 98. 50. 63. 228. 8. 311. 68. 202. 86. 53. 161. 53. 71. 337. 79. 53. 83. 277. 118. 76. 298. 98. 50. 202. 154. 53. 181. 54. 53. 78. 53. 331. 38. 298. 286. 14. 77. 185. 164. 2. 99. 9. 109. 20. 99. 59. 51. 401. 71. 223. 50. 86. 288. Sur toutes nous faites leur bien comprendre, que 78. 53. 256. 222. 26. 99. 76. 167. 53. 244. 98. 234. 38. 202. 50. 337. 202. 217. 27. 14. 60. 50. 54. 3. 38. 256. 14. 54. 185. 167. 26. 62. 198. 213. 53. 198. 133. 106. 65. 71. 52. 173. 71. 337. 274. 2. 311. 337. 195. 138. 11. 141. 53. 97. 98. 278. 5. 205. 228. 51. 195. 56. 118. 256. 78. 198. 348. 88. 352. 402. 212. 233. 341. 33. 288. 68. 27. 38. 228. 51. 106. 38. 278. 6. 245. 401. 2. 185. 98. 59. 266. 80. 352. 267. 53. 82. 54.

Ne manques pas de me faire ſcavoir par vos premieres depéches, à quoy montent les effects, que le feu Seignior Vouir à laiſſes. Il y ade l'apparence, que le 53. 401. 265. 54. 202. 185. 331. 59. 51. 202. 317. 2. 99. 8. 9. 183. 202. 149. formez vous de nouvelles difficultez à la 405. 59. 38. 338. 202. 167. 27. 62. 247. 341. 205. 14. 98. 133. 245. 317. 97. 53. 401. 71. 245. 368. 166. 311. 185. 256. 119. 59. 54. 11. 97. 167. 53. 83. 177. 12. 234. 50. 212. 84. 358. 308. 59. 57. 311. 347. 119. 60. 53. 198. 88. 197. 53. 208. 5. 195. 277. 402. 185. 89. 38. 311. 50. 72. 185. 331. 38. 9. 225. 98. Sur ce je prie Dieu, qu'il vous ait Monſieur de Caſtaigneres en ſa Sancte garde. Ecrit à Verſailles le 31 Juillet, 1690.

Signe, LOUIS.
Plus bas.
COLBERT.

Monſieur de Caſtaigneres,

J'AY receu vôtre Lettre datte de Conſtantinople du 15 Juin avec celles, que le Grand Seigneur & ſon premier Miniſtre m'ont écrites au ſujet du Retabliſſement des Religieux Latines dans les Saintes lieux é je vous ay deſia temoigné la ſatisfaction, que j'ay du ſucces, que vos ſoins ont eu ‘ dans la pourſuitte de cette affaire. Quelque ſujet que vous ayez de 402. 119. 59.

54. 202. 233. 14. 51. 352. 275. 53. 337. 1692.
245. 121. 59. 51. 368. 41. 76. 15. 8. 108. 288. 53. 3. 59. 154. 199. 71. 337. 195. 53. 99. 288. 88. 268. 403. à fait porter diligentement des 406. 2. 3. 38. 12. 108. 276. 44. 195. 401. Il n'y a paſs lieu nean moins de croire, que 410. 63. 40. 420. 185. 167. 26. 63. 198. 207. 26. 54. 198. 84. 133. 32. 173. 2. 99. 9. 198. 53. 3. 32. 205. 14. 68. 232. 256. 167. 50. 57. 71. 245. 368. 202. 185. 59. 57. 98. Vous pouvez même 1. 407. 3. 54. 228. 98. 50. 195. 154. 199. 337. 401. Je ſcay de bonne paſt, que la 98. 218. 225. 298. 80. 2. 193. 14. 45. 108. 198. 302. 195. 351. 202. 33. 173. 202. 84. 98. 56. 88. 38. 9. 234. 50. 195. 207. 202. 328. 347. 32. 2. 83. 284. 83. 202. 301. 202. 185. 108. 109. 14. 98. 202. 106. 88. 89. 277. 65. 202. 116. 98. 50. 228. 51. 185. 282. 26. 99. 41. 406. tout le reſte de la Campagne 71. 202. 116. 266. 51. 185. 139. 202. 266. 53. 188. 202. tout ce qui eſt neceſſaire pour 188. 282. 15. 402. a moy les Turcs ne doivent pas craindre de trouver des grandes obſtacles aux entrepriſes qu'ils voudront former : é comme mes armes par terre, & parmer ne ſeront pas moins formidables l'anné prochaine, que cellecy, ce Miniſtre peut s'aſſurer, que s'il fait des efforts un peu conſiderables, il aurà la gloire de retablir l'Empire Ottoman au même etat, qu'il etoit avant cette guerre, & mes ennemis, la confuſion d'avoir perdu tout ce, qu'ils avoient acquis avant que de ſe brouiller avec moy. Je ne donte pas neantmoins, qu'ils ne faſſent beaucoup valoir au pays on vous eſtez le ſucces, que le Prince d' Orange à eu en Irlande. Mais comme avec une armée de 40000 hommes de navoir eu à combattre, que 4 on 5000 hommes des mes trouppes, & environ 15000 Irlandois, gens ramaſſez, ſans diſcipline, & fort mal armez, on ne doit tirer au lieu, où vous eſtez, aucune conſequence de ces achevemens. D'autant plus, que mes troupes ſe ſont retirez à Limbrick ſans aucune peſte conſiderable ; & on peut juger de l'avenir par les grandes Victoires, que mes armes ont ramportez tant ſur mer, que ſur terre, ſur le grand nombre d'Ennemis, que j'ay à combattre.

Je vous ay deſia ecrit, que je ne 252. 197. 26. 76. 202. 177. 38. 208. 80. 2. 60. 152. 288. 29. 14. 205. 71. 337. 324. 256. 335. 2. 65. accorde 352. 20. 88. 298. 233. 301. 298. 80. 53. 33. Lors qu'il poſſedoit le 405. 185. 45. 185. 311. 202. 106. 38. 104. 56. 68. 71. 277. 185. 65. 202. 50. 3. reſiſter aux armes de l'Empereur, ainſi c'eſt ſans fondament, que l'on vent 202. 355. 38. 202. 185. 177. 38. 208. 80. 14. 12. 401. 9. 264. 15. 232. 288. 35. 54. 232. 53'. 270.

1692. 71.——Je vous 282. 202. 108. 83. 167. 24. 51. 3. 59. 212. 56. 152. 258. un ordre expres de moy, vous permettant ſeulement au cas, que 78. 53. 97. 96. 53. 83. poſſeſſion actuelle 410. 53. 420. 202. 185. 388. 72. que par l'appuy que 260. 335. 252. 88. 245. 103. 232. 167. 65. 54. 185. 65. 83. 97. 98. 331. 286. 277. 239. 267. 218. 59. 99. 198. 38. En ce cas, & non autrement, vous 86. 38. 204. 124. 14. 68. 2. 84. 167. 15. 50. 278. 76. 3. 59. 199. 327. 59. 224. 35. 352. 278. 374. 24. 185. 331. 38. 341. 50. 88. 38. 311. 352. 49. 96. 32. 24. 341. 54. 337. J'avois permis au 212. 56. 93. 270. 202. 35. 44. 215. 65. 14. 50. 277. 311. 56. 203. Ne voulant pas, que vous 167. 53. 208. 14. 68. 311. 56. 288. 218. 35. 86. ſoit au 154. 199. 42. 60. 3. 69. 224. 36. en ſorte que ce que je ſerai obligé de 403. 254. 50. 2. 225. 38. 71. 3. 185. 59. 56. 98. 256. 65. 311. 202. 167. 54. 83. 308. 59. 57. 245. 212. 53. 49. 96. 32. 24. 341. 53. Je ne deſire pas, que vous vous donniés aucun movement, pour empecher, que le Seignor Chandos ne ſoit reconnu à la porte en qualité d'Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, 37. 406. 2. 136. 337. 119. 59. 54. 256. 218. 66. 24. 68. 3. 53. 228. 98. 202. 237. 339. 84. 98. 253. 198. 50. 245. audience. 53. 83. 311. 56. 288. 327. 205. 288. & vous ne devez pas ainſi vous mettre en peine de la 351. 198. 256. 24. 232. 31. 56. 128. 35. 190. 32. Surce je prie Dieu, qu'il vous ait, Monſieur de Caſtaigneres, en ſa ſaincte garde. Ecrit à Verſailles le 9. d'Aouſt 1690.

Signé, LOUIS.

Plus bas, COLBERT.

Excellentiſſimi ac Illuſtriſſimi Domini!

Domini Gratioſiſſimi,

QUALITER Maritus meus Eccleſiæ Evangelicæ Rolanii quondam Miniſter, non obſtante eo, quod ibidem omnes ſint nobiles, & libera Religionis Evangelicæ facultate ab antiquo fruantur, ex inquieta Cleri ſubordinatione (de quo contra authoritatem ſuæ Majeſtatis Sereniſſimæ inſurgendo nec cogitare quidem unquam quiſquam poterit) aliqui vagabundi Hungari pluſquam more prædonico, nocturno quietis tempore, cum ſclopetorum diſploſionibus irruendo; cum eorum propter ejuſdem loci inhabitatorum confluxum 1692. & tumultum capi non potuiſſet, brachiali tandem Germanorum militum aſſiſtentia, nocturno pariter tempore, per eoſdem Hungaros, & certos Cleros, miſere captus, vinculatus, huc & illuc ad diverſa loca, ad inſtar canum, deductus, pede tenuſque ſuſpenſus, & ineffabilibus cruciatibus afflictus, omnibuſque bonis privatus, ad diros Eminentiſſ. D. Cardinalis à Kolonitz carceres Sabarienſes, in deſpectum ſtatus Evangelici, publico ſpectaculo expoſitus, lamentabiliter deductus ſit, quin Excellentiis Veſtris jam innoteſcat, non dubito. Quo propter prædicationem Verbi Divini, à ſua Majeſtate Sereniſſima diætaliter clementiſſime conceſſam, ſatis crudeliter capto, vinculato, duriſſimiſque aliquot centenarum plagarum verberibus multis vicibus afflicto, & omnibus bonis privato: Ego in miſera jam ſorte conſtituta, eoque magis, quod jammodo ſub prætextu homicidii contra ſanam Conſcientiam à nonnullis apud Auguſtam Aulam ipſi innocentiſſimo Sanguini adſcripti, (ac ſi, inquam, tempore prioris tumultus, aliquis ex illis nocturnis latronibus, quod alias omnes omnino omni jure promeriti fuiſſent, interfectus fuiſſet; cum illi ex adverſo ipſos inhabitatores potius ejuſdem loci globo trajecerint, & sauciaverint:) Et in præſentiarum in Eminent. D. Cardinalis carcerum Sabarienſium ſqualore, ad inſtar principalium notabiliumque latronum vel beſtiarum, pedibus manibuſque concatenatis & vinculatis, ſine ulla crudelitatis remiſſione detineatur, & tractetur, nec non durioribus verberibus, miniſque variis aggravetur, & territetur, ſicque ad fidem contrariam amplectendam, contra diploma Regium indies crudelius compellatur: Sed vel maxime, quod jam nec liberi, imo nullus noſtrum acceſſum ad eum ſub gravi animadverſione & indignatione amplius habere poſſint, panemque piorum Chriſtianorum Commiſeratione oſtiatim mendicando acquiſitum, nec per alium aliquem ipſi porrigere permittant: Et quod majus, centum adhuc imperiales multis minis & terriculamentis extorquere à miſero non deſinant: Omnium ſolatiorum medio deſtituta, & jamjam deſperabunda, ſpe adhuc in Gratioſa Excell. veſtrarum Commiſerationis dexteritate repoſita, cum miſerrimis meis liberis derelictis preces noſtras ad earundem Excellentiarum Veſtrarum ſinum Miſericordiæ genu flexo dirigimus, per viſcera miſericordiæ Divinæ, & vulnera Chriſti, omni ſubjectionis humilitate orantes, dignentur nos, omni jam eliberationis & ſolatiorum medio deſtitutos, & miſere derelictos, propterque prædicationem verbi Divini ſic preſſos;

ſos, in eundem miſericordiæ ſinum gratioſe ſuſcipere. Et cum hoc Sacræ ſuæ Majeſtatis hæc fuerit intentio, ut Miniſtri Evangelico-Eccleſiaſtici verbo ſuo Regio priori Religionis profeſſioni & exercitio revocati, & integre reſtituti, clandeſtina tyrannica aliqua modalitate vel crudelitate perſequantur, & ad normam multorum jam Prædicantium his quoque præterlapſis temporibus captorum, & ad mutationem uſque Religionis duriter tractatorum, omnium cruciatuum generibus iterum, iterumve affligantur, diſſipentur, & exſtirpentur: Verum ut afflictio eorum nova gaudii viciſſitudine ſuppleatur, ſub benigniſque Sereniſſimæ ſuæ Majeſtatis Alis quietam vitam, & functionis, profeſſioniſque libertatem ſecurius habere poſſint, pro ſublatis ulterioribus exceſſibus, diſſenſionibus, & malis, in negotio Religionum ſuboriendis, auctoritatem complanationis ſibi diplomatice quam clementiſſime reſervarit, & non alicui Contra-parti vindicationem conceſſit: Ex ea etiam fiduciæ certitudine eædem Excellentiæ Veſtræ gratioſa apud ſuam Majeſtatem Sereniſſimam interpoſitione miſeriis noſtris ſuccurrere, jugumque preſſuræ contra auctoritatem Regiam tam crudeliter illatum tollere, & maritum meum in carcerum ſqualore ita lamentabiliter patientem, per eandem Dei miſericordiam & ſalutem eliberationis ſolatio ſublevare ne graventur. Propter quod genus miſericordiæ ſummus ille miſericors Deus ex ſumma Deitatis miſericordia, miſericorditer ut iiſdem Excellentiis Veſtris cumulatiſſime benedicat & proſperet. Eundem fundendis precibus noſtris aſſiduis implorare non ſimus intermiſſuri.

Earundem Excell. Veſt.

Humillima Ancilla,
Prædicantis Poſſeſſionis Polanii mœſtiſſima Cenſors,
cum miſerrimis liberis,
gratioſam præſtolaturi reſolutionem.

Excellentiſſime Domine.

Domine mihi Gratioſiſſime,

‘BENIGNE recordabitur Excellentia veſtra queruloſæ ac genuinæ expoſitionis afflictiſſimæ ſortis meæ, eidem Excellentiæ veſtræ ante complures dies medio ſupplicis libelli humillime factæ: Qualiter nempe Præpoſitus Sabarienſis circa feſtum S. Joannis Baptiſtæ non pridem tranſactum, miſſis certo numero ad locum ordinariæ Reſidentiæ meæ in Poſſeſſione Polanii (alias more nobilitari) habitæ Germanicis militibus, datiſque mandatis, me capi, diverſimode excruciari, percuti, pedibuſque ſuſpendi, ſicque ineffabilibus cruciatibus affectum ad Arcem Sabarienſem ſub juriſdictione Eminentiſſimi Principis Cardinalis à Kolonitz conſtitutam, deductum, ac compedibus vinctum, aliquot centenarum plagarum verberibus ſauciatum, manibus fractis, aliiſque corporis mei membris concuſſis ad ſqualidos carceres conjici curaſſet, ubi impræſentiarum miſerrime detineret.

‘Dum autem juxta quorundam benevolorum affidatione beatam deſideratiſſimæ liberationis meæ horam momentaneæ exſpectarem, deteriora experiri cogor: Ubi his non longe præteritis diebus cum præſenter concluderem, ærumnoſus ego homo deductus in portam arcis, niſi me per unam vaccam redemiſſem, aliquot plagas ſuffere coactus fuiſſem. Accepi jam, Excellentiſſime Domine, quadringentas plagas; gloriam tamen tribuens Deo meo, quod me dignum fecerit pati pro nomine ſuo. Imo hoc me maxime angit, quod, qui captivum me detinerent, & qui contumulant me carcere exemptum, & (ſalvo honore) inter canes coactè ſedentem, gravi ſub comminatione, liberatis videlicet ad caput meum ferreis clavis, adigerent, dicentes, Canito, canito, inquiunt, ſciviſti equidem in ſtabulo, id eſt in templo, boare, rugire, & clamitare. His & ſimilibus ſine intermiſſione aures meæ obtunduntur, & gravantur, adque fidem Religioni meæ contrariam omni ſeveriore modalitate, imo brevi me ad triremes mittere velle, & aliis terriculamentis compelleret.

‘Ob id iterato ſcripti hujuſce humilitate Excellentiæ Veſtræ demiſſe ſupplico, humillime ac per viſcera Miſericordiæ Divinæ orans, quatenus ex Zelo Miſericordiæ dignetur afflictiſſimæ ſortis meæ miſe-

reri

1692. ‘ reri ſeque debetis in locis gratioſis ſuis partibus interponere, & me ex his ſqualidis carceribus eliberari facere. Quam gratiam Excellentiæ Veſtræ perpetua animi devotione, gratæque mentis recordatione quam demiſſiſſime demereri omni ſtudio conabor, tanquam

Ejuſdem Excellentiæ Veſtræ

Humillimus Cliens
Petrus Nemus, quondam
Poſſeſſionis Polanii
Helveticæ Confeſſionis Prædicans, nunc
Sabariæ in Eminentiſſimi Cardinalis carcere patiens.

Sacratiſſima Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtas.

Domine, Domine nobis Clementiſſime,

‘ FIDEI & Conſcientiæ noſtræ Dominium unice præpotenti Deo earundem directori, intemeratæ vero fidelitatis noſtræ obſequium Majeſtati Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ, qua poſt Deum ſummo in his terris Monarchæ, Regique ac Domino, Domino noſtro Clementiſſimo, nos omnino debere, effato divino edocti, dum huic conformi, parendi ſtudio inexplicabilibus turbinum fluctibus agitatæ, incomparabilibuſque procellis, periculoſis ſcopulis alliſæ, indeque concuſſæ & laceræ ſtatus noſtri Evangelici Naviculæ, inter ancipitia, ſummaque diſcrimina jamnum verſantem miſerrimam ſortem ſupra biennium, à diæta nimirum Poſonienſi, ad uſque anni præteriti diſceſſum, Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Auguſtam-Vindelicorum conſtitutum, medio certorum hominum noſtrorum, copioſiſſimis ſupplicibus libellis noſtris, in omni ſubjectionis humilitate, eidem Majeſtati Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ repræſentaſſemus, confractarumque tabularum memoratæ calamitoſiſſimæ Naviculæ noſtræ Evangelicæ reparationem, priorique ſuæ redintegrationi ad mentem Articuli I. Ann. 1608. ante Coronationem editi, mediante alias diplomate Regio Anni 1647. in ſuum genuinum & nativum ſenſum redacti & declarati, ſubſequenterque etiam Ann. 1659. pari Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ diplomate ad Conditionem ſextum Articuli I. quin & Articulo 25, 1681. diætæ Sopronienſis per expreſſum confirmati, 1692. per determinationem intimi ſui Conſilii dignandam reſtitutionem, à Majeſtate Veſtra Sacratiſſima de ſubmiſſiſſimo genu impenſe efflagitaſſemus: Fatemur equidem, nos haud parvum ſubiiſſe gaudium, poſteaquam ſub præmemoratum Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ diſceſſum per Ser. Principem à Dittrichſtein, ſupremum Auguſtiſſimæ Majeſtatis veſtræ aulæ Præfectum præattacti homines noſtri Clementiſſimam Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ imploratæ medelæ ex intimo ſuo Conſilio factam determinationem jam extra datam, manibuſque Eminentiſſimi Principis Cardinalis à Kolonich, tamquam Excelſæ Delegatæ Cæſareo-Regiæ Commiſſionis ſupremi Præſidis debitæ & indilatæ Expeditioni & effectuationi mancipandam, aſſignatam eſſe, adeoque abinde concupitam expeditionem noſtram, poſt ſæpe repetitum diſceſſum Majeſtatis Veſtræ, ipſiſmet expectandam venire affidati fuiſſent, noſque eatenus per eoſdem etiam certiores redditi fuiſſemus. Aſt ubi ex debito obtemperandi obſequio altetitulati Principis à Dittrichſtein factæ amandationi iidem homines noſtri condignum morem gerentes ſuam Eminentiam Principalem prærepetitæ Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ extra datæ benigniſſimæ determinationis convenientis expeditionis elargiendæ cauſa quam devotiſſime requiſiviſſent, áque ſua Eminentia ad Ill. D. intimi Conſilii Bellici Secretarium à Krapff, cujus officii & muneris eſſet eoſdem juxta prædeclaratam Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ determinationem expedire, remiſſi fuiſſent, per ſuam tamen Illuſtritatem, ut ut condecenter requiſitam, ſæpe ſæpiuſque interpellatam, in tantum protractum eſt præmentionatæ expeditionis noſtræ negotium, ut altememoratæ ſuæ Eminent. Principalis Cardinalis à Kolonich quoque inopinatus diſceſſus Romam ſupervenerit, eoque ipſo ruptum, ac tandem diverſis certorum neceſſariorum Actorum, præviæ expeditioni accommodandorum, non reperibilium, & fors per ſuam Eminent. Principalem, vel inclytam Cancellariam Hungaricam, có tum abſentem, & ad latus Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ exiſtentem, recluſorum protelationibus interjectis, maxima omnium noſtri cum infelicitate, & ſumma Conſcientiarum noſtrarum, liberique Exercitii noſtri Evangelici cum coanguſtatione, ad præattactæ ſuæ Eminent. Principalis reditum relegatum, in ſuo priori turbato ſtatu remanſerit impræſentiarum, citra ullam cordialium deſideriorum noſtrorum effectuationem, & Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ pientiſſimam Ordinationem.

‘Et cum vel maxime ex cognitione abſentiæ & longæ diſtantiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ medio tempore plurimi dominorum Catholicorum eo liberiorem in nos graſſandi, contraque noviſſimos Diætales Articulos ulterius quoque impune nos injuriandi ſibi ſumpſiſſent licentiam, adeo, ut Tokaini, loco alias articulariter denominato, templo perprius jamnum vero parochia, per Evangelicos ex fundamento exſtructa, una cum univerſis proventibus Conſervationi Eccleſiæ eorundem dicatis (in quorum continuo & actuali uſu fuiſſent, ad mentemque 26 Articuli, Ann. 1681. diætæ Sopronienſis pro actualibus eorundem poſſeſſoribus uſuanda relinqui debuiſſent) per Dominos Catholicos occupatis, ac ejuſdem loci Miniſtro expulſo Evangelici liberum eorundem Religionis exercitii interruptum querularentur curſum. Itidem Comitatus Zemplinienſis Oppidum Thallya, prævio modo Articulari indulto gaudens, capto ſuo Prædicante Evangelico, Caſſoviamque deducto, ubi de facto captivus detineretur, ſui inſimul exercitii & acceſſoriorum Evangelicorum orbatum ſuſpiraret ſtatum. Comitatus adhæc Abauyvarienſis oppidum Sepſſy, æque ſicut præmentionata loca, in poſſeſſione ſui templi, parochiæ, & ſcholæ Articulariter relictum, iiſdem non tam pridem privatis, inque exilium Eccleſiæ ſuæ Miniſtro & Rectore Evangelicis pulſis, ulteriorique exercitio ibidem quoquomodo impoſterum uſuando ſevere inhibito, ſuam lamentaretur violenter ademptam indemnitatem. Comitatus porro Szathmarienſis privilegiatum alias oppidum Felkö Banya dictum, Templi, parochiæ, & Scholæ, in quorum continuo uſu & poſſeſſione ante, in & poſt diætam Sopronienſem fuiſſet, per inclytam Cameram Sepuſienſem, ante circiter tres Menſes factam violentam occupationem, Prædicantiſque ſui deploraret expulſionem. Ejuſdem identidem Comitatus Szathmarienſis poſſeſſio Totthfalu nuncupata, Prædicantis etiam ſui Evangelici privata auctoritate Reſidentiæ Nagybanyajenſis Patris Jeſuitæ Pravaſz nominati factam injurioſam incaptivationem, vinctique ad carceres Szathmarienſes, ubi etiam nunc aſſervaretur, curatam deductionem conquereretur. Et ſupra hæc prævii omnes, ſicut & alii etiam Superiorum Hungariæ partium Evangelici ratione harum & ſimilium aliarum illatarum gravium injuriarum ſuarum, Majeſtati Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ ſupplicandi ſeveram interminationem ingemiſcerent.

‘Poſt auſpicatiſſimum proinde & feliciſſimum Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ reditum ſumme omnino neceſſarium duximus, (nixi innata Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Pietate & Clementia, quæ tantis importunitatibus noſtris, ex infinitis perpeſſis, Majeſtatique veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ mediantibus demiſſiſſimis Memorialibus noſtris fuſiſſime alias deductis injuriis ſubortis, gratioſiſſimam nobis impertituræ ſunt veniam;) prærecenſitam infelicitatem noſtram, citra expectationem noſtram, cum gravi impenſorum ſumptuum & fatigiorum diſpendio, multarumque millenarum Conſcientiarum oppreſſione remoratæ & protractæ, clementiſſime alioquin per Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam, uti ſupra attactum, propter bonum domeſticæ Pacis & Unionis Articulariter reſtituendis nobis determinatæ & ordinatæ expeditionis noſtræ, Commiſerativo Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ qua Regis & Domini, Domini noſtri benigniſſimi ſinui, ſolitæ nempe juſtitiæ noſtræ ſedi, medio ſupplicis hujus libelli noſtri, profundiſſima animorum noſtrorum cum demiſſione inſinuare: Repetitiſque prioribus univerſis gravaminibus noſtris, iiſdemque adjunctis ſupplicibus Memorialibus, Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam ardentiſſime, ut fideles ſubditos addecet, exorare, quatenus poſt tam longi etiam temporis patientiſſimam præſtolationem noſtram, præſcitæ Communi omnium noſtri calamitati & adverſitati miſereri, condignaque medela auctoritate ſua Imperatoria & Regia, vi gratioſiſſimi ſui decreti, ex intimo Conſilio clementiſſime elargiendi, adhibita, univerſos nos, qua nimiopere læſos, injuriatos, & damnificatos, quoad juſtiſſima poſtulata noſtra jam tandem in integrum reſtitui, afflictumque ſtatum noſtrum Evangelicum priſtinæ & firmæ ſuæ ſecuritati, in qua juxta glorioſiſſimorum Prædeceſſorum ſuorum, ac etiam Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Diplomata Regia, Verbo Regio confirmata, legaleſque Regni Sanctiones, conſtituti eramus, quam propenſiſſime collocari facere non dedignetur.

‘Quam Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ gratiam ſic Deus Opt. Max. non ſolum Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ, ſed & Auguſtiſſimæ ſuæ Domui Auſtriacæ, copioſiſſimis & glorioſiſſimis de hoſtibus ſuis triumphis, longæva item Auguſtiſſimi Cæſareo-Regii ſui, ac deſideratiſſimorum prolium, indubitatorum ſucceſſorum ſuorum, Throni ampliatione & firmatione, largiſſima, omnigenaque Celeſti

1692. ‘ſua benedictione compenſet, inceſſantes fundemus preces. Clementem optatamque exſpectantes reſolutionem, manemus,

Ejuſdem Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ,

Humillimi perpetuoque fideles ſubditi Superiorum & Inferiorum Regni Hungariæ Partium, Comitatuum, Regiarum, ac Liberarum, Montanarumque Civitatum, Oppidorum item ac Pagarum Univerſi Evangelici.

Exhib. ſuæ Majeſt. die 17 Martis 1690.

Sacratiſſima Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtas.

Domine, Domine nobis Clementiſſime,

‘MAJESTATI veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ tot ac tantis S. R. I. Regnorumque ſuorum pacandorum curis alias implicitæ, rebuſque publicis Chriſtianis conſervandis paternè intentæ, ſubinde ac ſubinde importunos nos eſſe debere fatemur, erubeſcimus: Verum juſto dolore aſſiduos gemitus querimoniaſque noſtras exprimente, urgentiſſima neceſſitate cogimur & compellimur, dum jam ſupra duos annos integros & medium hic apud Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Auguſtam Aulam multifariam contra Articulos Sopronienſes læſæ Religionis noſtræ negotium continua quaſi actione medio certorum hominum noſtrorum quam humillime ſollicitamus: Neque vero eatenus ad innumera fere memorialia noſtra eidem Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ, ejuſdemque ſummis Miniſtris in omni ſubmiſſione porrecta aduſque quicquam certæ & ſolidæ reſolutionis obtinere potuimus, præter quod proxime ex relatione Celſiſſimi Principis à Dietrichſtein Supremi Aulæ præfecti intellexerimus, Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam præattactos Articulos Sopronienſes de negotio Religionis conditos ſanctè omnino & illibatè conſervare, iiſdemque firmiter inhærere velle. Interea nos obſcura quadam ac à longe petita interpretatione eorundem Articulorum plura, quam iidem continerent, & admitterent, petere. Hinc conformia nos iiſdem, poſtulare, adeoque Gravamina noſtra juxta evidentiſſimas continentias eorundem Articulorum edocere debere, ſicque etiam nos convenienter expediendos fore gratioſiſſime reſolviſſe & declaraſſe: 1692.

‘Cui Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ benigniſſimæ Reſolutioni noſmet in omni humilitate obſequioſiſſime accommodantes, (quamvis ſatis ſuperque Gravamina, & injurias noſtras ad manifeſtum Articulorum Sopronienſium ſenſum ac tenorem deduxerimus) ut jam tandem clementiſſimam Cæſareo-Regiam Reſolutionem adeoque ad deſideria noſtra concupitam expeditionem aſſequi valeamus, præſenti iterata dictorum Articulorum Sopronienſium per contigua eorundem membra formalis contextus primum partitione & conſignatione, tandem multiplicium grandium injuriarum, tam per ordinatas Commiſſiones Regias, quam earum homines, ac alios etiam ingerentes diverſimode exquiſitis ſub prætextibus nobis illatarum, juxta quodlibet memoratorum Articulorum membrum, perſpicua declaratione & remonſtratione, juſtiſſimæ denique, & per omnia clariſſimo Articulorum ſenſui conformis Inſtantiæ noſtræ luculenta deductione & elucidatione nos iiſdem Articulis, donec futurarum diætarum occaſione ex toto in integrum reſtituamur, ſtare, nec tranſverſa aliqua interpretatione, quam iidem expreſſiſſimis verbis ſe ſolos clare explicarent, aliud, ſed nec plus, quam permitterent, petere: Sumpto fiduciali ad Gratiæ, Clementiæ, & Juſtitiæ pleniſſimum Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Thronum recurſu noſtro Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ in profundiſſima ſubjectione recapitulatis Gravaminibus noſtris repræſentandum conveniens duximus, & quidem modalitate ſequenti.

Primo, quoad Articul. XXV. Ann: 1681. Diætæ Sopronienſis, ejuſque Primum Membrum, cujus formalis Continentia hæc eſt.

ET quia propter bonum Pacis, Tranquillitatemque Regni publicam, in Negotio Religionis quoque ſua Majeſtas ſeſe benigne reſolvere dignata eſt, ideo eandem etiam Reſolutionem Articulis Regni ſtatus & Ordines inſerunt: Ac imprimis quidem, cum liberum Religionis exercitium jam antea in Anno 1606. vigore Pacificationis Viennenſis con-

1692. *ceſſum, his motibus à parte nonnullorum interturbatum fuiſſet, confirmato hic loci Articulo* I. *dictæ Pacificationis, idem Exercitium omnibus & ubique per Regnum (ſalvo tamen jure Dominorum terreſtrium) juxta Artic.* I. *Ann.* 1608. *ante Coronationem editum, liberum permittitur.*

‘Contra hoc Membrum primum in eo nos injuriatos reſentiſcimus, quod cum benigniſſima hac Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ reſolutione, & tenore hujus Articuli membri primi liberum Religionis Exercitium, priorum annorum ſub tumultibus à parte nonnullorum interturbatum, generaliter omnibus & ubique per Regnum, nullo regnicolarum, cujuſcumque tandem ſtatus & conditionis eſſet, ſed nec ullo etiam loco Regni Caſtrenſi, Comitatenſi, Civitatenſi, Oppidano, Confiniario, & Villano exceptis, ad mentem præallegatorum Articulorum denuo liberum permiſſum, & nec ad hunc, vel illum locum reſtrictum, quin tali generalitate confirmatæ libertatis coactio amplectendarum Religionum penitus ſublata eſſet.

‘Excelſæ nihilominus Commiſſiones Regiæ, ad Superiores & Inferiores Regni Hungariæ Partes diverſis temporibus Annorum præteritorum emiſſæ, partim per ſe, partim vero per homines privatos tali libero Exercitio Religionis libere alias & manifeſte, etiam in privatis ædibus, per totum Regnum, non tamen ſimpliciter, verum medio miniſtrorum ante & poſt diætam Sopronienſem exercito & uſuato, non ſolum.

‘Primo, complures liber[illegible], Regias, ac Montanas Civitates, ſignanter in inferiori Hungaria, Puſztienſem, Kuſzeghienſem, Szent-Györgyenſem, Bazinienſem, Tyrnavienſem, Szakolczenſem, Veterozolienſem, Carponenſem, (de nomine alias in Articulo 26. ſpecificatam) & Breznobanienſem. In Montanis Civitatibus vero, Schemniczienſem, Libethbanienſem, Belobanienſem, & Uybanienſem: Et in ſuperiore Hungaria, recentiſſime Nagybanienſem, contra expreſſas Articulares Sanctiones, & eorum permiſſiones, & quidem

I. *Citati primi Membri ad verba: Ideo confirmato hic loci Articulo* I. *dictæ Pacificationis idem Exercitium omnibus & ubique per Regnum liberum permiſit.*

II. *Ibidem Confirmatæ Pacificationis primi Articuli ad expreſſa verba: Nimirum, quod omnes & ſingulos Status & Ordines, tam intra ambitum Regni Hungariæ ſolum exiſtentes, tam Magnates, Nobiles, quam liberas Civitates, Oppida privilegiata immediate ad Coronam ſpectantia: Item in Confiniis quoque Regni Hungariæ Milites Hungaros in ſua Religione & Confeſſione nuſquam & nunquam turbabit, nec per alios turbari & impediri ſinet, (ſcilicet ſua Majeſtas Sacratiſſima) verum omnibus prædictis Statibus & Ordinibus Regni liber Religionis ipſorum uſus & exercitium permittetur.*

1692. III. *Itidem ibidem allegati & confirmati, Ann.* 1608. *ante Coronationem editi Articuli* I. *æque expreſſa verba: Quantum itaque ad primum Conſtitutionis Viennenſis Articulum attinet, deliberatum eſt per Status & Ordines Regni Hungariæ, ut Religionis Exercitium tam Baronibus, Magnatibus, & Nobilibus, quam etiam liberis Civitatibus, ac univerſis Statibus & Ordinibus Regni, in ſuis & Fiſci bonis: Item in Confiniis quoque Regni Hungariæ Militibus Hungaris, ſua cuique Religio, nec non oppidis & villis eam ſponte & libere acceptare volentibus, ubique liberum relinquatur, nec quiſquam omnium in libero ejus uſu ac exercitio, quoquam modo impediatur: Quinimo, ad præcavenda inter Status & Ordines aliqua Odia & diſſenſiones, quælibet Religio ſuos ſuperiores, ſeu ſuperattendentes habeat, ſtatutum eſt,*

‘Citra ullam conſiderationem, quod Liberæ, ac Regiæ, & Montanæ Civitates, adeoque ex ordine Statuum cum reliquis civitatibus quartus Regni liber ſtatus eſſent, parique cum iiſdem libertate gauderent, inque confirmatis hiſce Articulis generaliter comprehenderentur, ex eo ſolum capite, quod de nomine in Articulis Sopronienſibus ſpecificatæ non eſſent, gravi cum earundem injuria, & extrema Religionis internecione, amotis earundem Eccleſiæ Evangelicæ Miniſtris, frequentatione item locorum, ubi Religionis exercitium vigeret: Prout & omnium Actuum Miniſterialium ibidem fruitione, admiſſione adhæc quorumcunque Prædicantium ad infirmos ſuos, & in agone conſtitutos, conſolandos, & communicandos abſolute vetita: Quin ut in his, & ſimilibus præciſe introductorum Catholicorum Plebanorum & Parochorum opera utantur, ſeria injunctione facta, cum aggravatione Conſcientiarum omnimode conſtrictas, ex integro privarunt: Verum

‘Secundo: Comitatus quoque quamplurimos: Uti Poſonienſem, Moſſonienſem ex toto, Nitrienſem, Trenchinienſem, Arvenſem, Lyptovienſem, Turoczienſem, Zolienſem, Barſienſem, Honthenſem, Sopronienſem, Caſtriferri, aliosque

1692. ‘ oſque infinitis eorundem templis Evangelicis occupatis, Miniſtriſque inſimul ſuis relegatis in ſimili Religionis eorundem libero exercitio, æque contra præmiſſorum Articulorum apertiſſimam Conſtitutionem turbarunt, ac ad duo ſaltem obſcuriſſimorum pagorum inconvenientia loca, exquiſita quaſi opera, adhuc extra eoſdem pagos in campo, erectioni novorum Templorum, Scholarum, & Parochiarum, Exercitioque Evangelico ibidem tenendo deſtinata, & exciſa, totidemque Miniſtros, & non plures intertenendos, reſtrinxerunt, quibus ægrotantibus, nullo potiri poſſent exercitio.

‘ Villanis vero, ſeu Ruſticis, qui à prærepetita Generalitate juxta ſæpe allegatos Articulos excludi nequirent, vi nimium præjudicioſæ, inque exterminium Evangelicorum adjectæ clauſulæ: Salvo jure Dominorum Terreſtrium (quæ tamen non jus Dominii in conſcientias, quod ſolius Dei proprium eſſet, ſed jus ſervitutis Corporalis reſpiceret) indiſcriminatim totali Evangelico exercitio, ejuſdemque Miniſterialium Actuum uſu ubilibet locorum abſtinendo, inhibuerunt, ac ad Eccleſias Catholicas frequentandas, harumque Miniſterio & ritibus in omnibus utendis, alioquin per vim & fortia compellendi venirent, ſtrictiſſimo edicto coarctarunt.

‘ Tertio: Reliquas etiam civitates, quamvis Articulariter (juxta nempe Artic. 26. membrum quintum) in ſpecie, uti, Poſonienſem, Modrenſem, & Trenchinienſem, in inferiori Hungaria: Et in Montanis, Cremniczenſem, & Novizolienſem; ac in ſuperiori Hungaria in genere denominatas, quales eſſent Caſſovia, Leutſchovia, Bartpha, Epperiés, Cibinium, Keimarkinum, (ad quas Nagybania quoque in Comitatu Szathmarienſi ſituata civitas pertineret: Noviter tamen poſt inclytam Commiſſionem Preynerianam, ſuo permiſſo libero exercitio, ut infra declarabitur, integre privata) quibus poſt ademptionem omnium templorum liberum Religionis exercitium eſt permiſſum, certorum ædificandis Templis, Parochiis & Scholis locorum (non tamen pleriſque adeo commodorum & convenientium, ut infra Articuli 26. Membro ſecundo innuetur) exciſione & aſſignatione circa eſſentialia Religionis Evangelicæ requiſita, plane extra continentias Articulorum Sopronienſium inconvenientibus conditionibus.

‘ 1. Ut nonniſi duos Prædicantes ipſis intertenere liceat.

1692. ‘ 2. In caſu obitus unius alterum in ejuſdem locum introducere ipſis vetitum ſit.

‘ 3. Ne Miniſtri eorundem vicinorum, aut etiam aliorum peregrinorum locorum Evangelicis quibuſcunque actibus Miniſterialibus, ac etiam ſacris, quoquo modo ſubſervire, ſed nec etiam eorundem infirmos & agonizantes viſitare audeant.

‘ 4. Cehæ & Collegia Evangelicorum Opificum ut proceſſionibus interſint Catholicorum, conſuetaque vexilla ſub amiſſione privilegiorum ipſiſment fieri curent.

‘ 5. Scholas tantum triviales aliquantum legere & ſcribere docentes teneant.

‘ 6. Ut Parochis & Plebanis Catholicis ex publico proventu Civitatum Salarium, Evangelicis vero Miniſtris & Scholarum Rectoribus ex propria Evangelicorum pecunia pendatur.

‘ 7. In Xenodochiis plures mendicos Catholicos, quam Evangelicos interteneant.

‘ 8. Officiales Evangelicos, ut ut idoneos, ab officiis amoveant, & quoſcunque Catholicos ſubordinent.

‘ 9. Officia Civilia magna & præcipua ſaltem Catholicis conferant, aliſque circumſcripſerunt: Sed &

‘ Quarto: Illos inſuper Comitatus, qui in actuali uſu omnium fere templorum, horumque acceſſoriorum Evangelicorum, tempore conditorum Articulorum Sopronienſium fuerunt, ac etiam in reali eorundem Dominio (vi 25 Articuli inferius allegandorum tertii & ſexti Membrorum) relicti ſunt, & relinquendi erant, adeoque à ſimilibus Commiſſionibus immunes omnino declarati, deque nomine ſpecificati eſſent, uti Szaladienſem, Veſzprimienſem, Jaurienſem, Comaromienſem, Abauyvarienſem, Saaroſienſem, Zemplinienſem, Ughoczienſem, Bereghienſem, Thornenſem, Gomorienſem, Borſodienſem, Honthenſem, Nogradienſem, Szolnokienſem, & Heveſſienſem; nec non Peſtienſem, Piliſienſem, & Solitenſem unitos: Item Szabolczenſem, Unghenſem, & Szathmarienſem, majori ex parte potioribus ſuis templis & acceſſoriis, integralique libero exercitio cum expulſione Miniſtrorum, indiſcriminatim orbarunt.

‘ Quæ omnia confrontatione ad præmiſſum Membrum primum hujus Artic. 25. inibique citatos, & expreſſiſſimis verbis allegatos, facta cum præviæ confirmatæ libertatis generalitati ad omnes & ſingulos Status & Ordines Regni, adeoque omnes Magnates & Nobiles, Civitates, omnia etiam confinia, oppida & villas evidentiſſime ſe extendenti è diametro oppoſita eſſent, actuque ipſo ex libera Religione non liberam, ex non turbanda ſtudio turbatam & turbandam facerent.

Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ demiſſe ſupplicamus, quatenus æqua ſapientiſſimi judicii ſui lance penſitata:

‘ Primum; Præſpecificatarum quatuordecim Civitatum totali liberi ſui exercitii beneficio contra manifeſtas memoratorum Articulorum Statutiones (vigore quarum ipſis quoque qua liberis, & montanis Civitatibus, adeoque quarto Statui Regni liberum apud ſe, & ubique ſuæ Religionis exercitium habere permiſſum eſſet) privatarum ſumma injuria eiſdem (non obſtante, quod nominatim in Articulis Sopronienſibus non exſtent, quippe iſtiuſmodi libertate in genere permiſſa ſufficiebat, duas, tres, quatuorve Civitates, uti ſequenti Artic. 26. ejuſdemque Membro quinto fit, pro exemplo denominare, cum denominatio & poſitio unius alteriuſve Civitatis non eſſet reliquarum à præmiſſa libertate excluſio; alioquin ſequeretur unius conditionem alterius conditione eſſe deteriorem) æque ſicut aliis congrua, & (reflexione habita ad caput verborum 26 Articuli Sopronienſis pro Commoditate Evangelicorum ædificandis Templis, Parochiis, & Scholis, &c.) omnino commoda exſcindenda loca demonſtrari & aſſignari curare, eoque ipſo hactenus ſublatum liberum Religionis ipſarum exercitium rurſum integre reaſſumere, medioque Miniſtrorum ſuorum pro beneplacito vocandorum exercere, & continuare, ex indulto Articulari, auctoritateque ſua Regia benigniſſime permittere.

‘ Tandem, habita Comitatuum quoque præmiſſorum conſtrictorum condigna ratione, caſſatis præmemoratis extra pagenſibus obſcuris & inconvenientibus deſignatis locis, ipſis templa in articulariter denominatis pagis exiſtentia, ubi alias vix duo vel tres Catholici, alibi vero vix unus quidem reperirentur, nec etiam duo templa, duas Parochias, duas Scholas, duplices etiam Miniſtros diverſarum Religionum in tam exiguis & obſcuris pagellis, dum duplici horum intertentioni non ſufficerent, tenere, vel ad evitandas æmulationes & ſcandala ex diverſitate rituum facile enaſcenda, congruum eſſet reſtitui facere, omnibuſque in medio ſui exiſtentibus cujuſcunque ſtatus & conditionis hominibus, juxta vigorem præſcriptorum Articulorum, & Paragraphum ipſius 25 Articuli Sopronienſis: Omnibus & ubique per Regnum, reſciſſa contra nutum & voluntatem Evangelicorum adjecta clauſula: Salvo jure Dominorum terreſtrium; ejuſdemque exotica interpretatione, per Clerum & Dominos Catholicos ad conſcientias abuſive extendente, indeque Dominium in conſcientias, quod ſolius Dei, non vero hominum eſſet, ſibimet vendicante, Religionis ſuæ exercitium medio Prædicantium ſuorum ubique libere exercendum, nec quanquam invitum ad contrarias Ceremonias quoquomodo amplectendas compellendum permittere.

‘ Poſthæc prænotatarum pariter Articulariter denominatarum liberarum & Montanarum Superiorum & Inferiorum partium Regni Civitatum incircumſcriptæ admiſſæ libertatis conditione conſiderata, eaſdem in præſpecificatis memoratarum Commiſſionumpræjudicioſis conditionibus & limitationibus, de quibus prævii omnes Articuli omnino ſilerent, nec liberum Religionis exercitium quoquomodo circumſcriberent: Alias enim non liberum, ſed reſtrictum, atque adeo captivum eſſet hoc exercitium, de plano abſolutas reddere.

‘ Denique præenumeratorum ſimiliter Comitatuum in Actuali poſſeſſione, uſu, & Dominio Templorum, & omnium acceſſoriorum Evangelicorum, vi Articuli 26. relictorum, ad conformitatem datæ gratioſiſſimæ Reſolutionis Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ dijudicata ſpeciali exemptione, juſta & effectiva omnium ademptorum templorum, appertinentiarum, & acceſſoriorum, hæcque concomitantium liberi exercitii, & Miniſtrorum ſuorum reſtitutione, eoſdem in priſtinum eorundem jus, & poſſeſſionem præmiſſorum ad mentem prædeclaratorum Articulorum reduci curare, Clementiſſime dignetur.

Contra Secundum Membrum, quod ſic ſonat.

Prædicantibus quoque & Scholarum Magiſtris, alias vel proſcriptis, vel propter certas Reverſales munia ſuæ profeſſionis exercere non valentibus, liber in Regnum reditus, liberaque

1692. *beraque Religionis ſuæ profeſſio & exercitium, caſſatis eatenus etiam ipſorum Reverſalibus, conceditur.*

'Ut ut lucidiſſime vi membri hujus non modo illi Prædicantes & Scholarum Magiſtri, qui tempore diætæ Sopronienſis in ſua in Regno habitatione, & libera Religionis Profeſſione ſunt ſtabiliti, verum ſimul illis etiam, qui quavis de cauſſa tum e Regno exulabant, libera in Regnum redeundi, ubilibetve in Regno libere ſubſiſtendi, & Religionis ſuæ exercitium ac munia peragendi, data ſit facultas, adeoque qualeſcunque etiam datæ vel dandæ Reverſales Articulariter ſint abolitæ & caſſatæ.

'Huic tamen in contrarium dictæ Commiſſiones paſſim ubique per Regnum duobus ſaltem Prædicantibus in ſingulo Comitatu, ac uno vel altero in quibuſdam Civitatibus permiſſis, reliquos omnes ex cæteris omnibus civitatibus, oppædis, confiniis, & villis, partim ſub decurſu quindenæ, partim tridui ſpatio, uti in Comitatibus Lyptovienſi, Arvenſi, Thuroczenſi, Zolienſi, & Honthenſi, aliiſque factum, removerunt, partim vero extortis ab iis ſtrictis Reverſalibus ſuper abdicatione officii, ad privatos angulos relegarunt.

'Inſuper Gymnaſia & Scholas Evangelicorum ad Trivialia, aliquantum ſolum legere & ſcribere diſcere reſtrinxerunt, unde ob carentiam harum, earumque docentium ex parte ſui nil amplius ſperandum haberent, quam impendentem reſpectu juventutis ſuæ barbariem.

'Inde ſumpſit occaſionem Eminentiſſimus Princeps Cardinalis à Kolonich quinque Evangelicos Prædicantes, uti Puchovienſem, Nozdroviczenſem, Ledniczenſem, Bakabayaienſem, & Kochkovienſem, anno præterito 89 capi, & ad arcem Ledniczenſem deduci curare, ibique ſtrictiſſima incaptivatione ad ſubſcriptionem inconvenientium Reverſalium, ſtatutionemque ſub onere 200 Imperialium certorum fidejuſſorum adigere.

'Alios inſuper tres Prædicantes, putà, Nemes Holloſienſem Helveticæ & Szentbenedekienſem ac Dobrajenſem Auguſtanæ Confeſſionis A. ſimiliter antecedente 89. in abſentia Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ incaptivatos, & Sabariæ ſqualidiſſimis carceribus diriſſime excruciatos ad defectionem Religionis cogere.

'Reverendiſ. item D. Archiepiſcopus Strigonienſis Georgius Szekeni Poſſeſſionis Hodos in inſula Czallokóz adjacentis Prædicantem Samuelem Bickay medio deſtinatorum hominum ſuorum binariis vicibus expilandi, perque Plebanum Szerdakellyienſem tandem capiendi, & Poſonium ad reſidentiam ſuam 22. præteriti Menſis Martii anni currentis, ceu prædonem vinctum deducendi, compedibuſque conſtrictum in carceres conjiciendi, ac ibi tam diu miſerandum in modum emacerandi ac percutiendi, donec ad renunciationem Religionis & Eccleſiaſtici ſui officii abominandis reverſalibus eum compulliſſet: *Aſſerendo expreſſe, ſicut hunc, ita cæteros etiam omnes Prædicantes Evangelicos, qui extra loca in Articulis ſpecificata viverent, & munia ſuæ profeſſionis exercerent, à Majeſtate veſtra Sacratiſſima proſcriptos eſſe, hinc in omnes pari proceſſu deſævire velle.* 1692.

'Reſidentiæ pariter Nagybanya Pater Jeſuita Ravaſz nuncupatus poſſeſſionis Totthfalu in Comitatu Szathmarienſi ſituatæ Prædicantem æque capiendi, & Szathmarinum ad carceres deferendi, ibique ad præſens detinendi, ad ſimilem defectum à Religione, & depoſitionem Miniſterii ſui, reverſalibus præjudicioſis conſtringere miſerum intendens; & quæ alia aliorum plurima eſſent attentata.

'Quæ ſiquidem directiſſime contrariarentur Articuli hujus Membro ſecundo, Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam proni oramus, quatenus Regia ſua prohibitione quorumcumq; Prædicantium & Scholarum Rectorum Evangelicorum per quoſcunque tandem quoque modo turbandorum, perſequendorum, damnificandorum, incaptivandorum, & ad quaſcunque Reverſales dandas cogendorum, ad omnes ſuos fideles Status & Ordines Regni decretaliter extendenda (antelato interim miſero Totthfaluſienſi Prædicante Szathmarino Capto è ſuis carceribus libere ad ſuos dimitti mandato) juxta claram Membri hujus ſecundi mentem omnibus Prædicantibus & Scholarum Magiſtris libere in medio noſtri permanendi, & Profeſſionis ſuæ munia atque exercitia extra quamvis limitationem, Scholariumque facultatum reſtrictionem peragendi facultatem attribuere.

'Et ſiquidem omnes tales Prædicantes ad duo, ut ſupra attactum, extra loca in Artic. 26. denominata collocari non poſſent, relaxata & ſublata juxta uberiorem modo citati Articuli Membri octavi, inferius deducendi ſenſum, & Indultum in oratoriis Arcenſibus & Reſidentialibus Dominorum Magnatum & Nobilium exercendi Religionis exercitii inhibitione per præfatas

‘ tas Commiſſiones facta, ut ſimiles extra Parochiales Prædicantes ibidem in privato accommodari valeant, gratioſiſſime admittere velit,

Contra Tertium Membrum tenoris
ſequentis :

Et nullus Regnicolarum in libero ſuæ Religionis exercitio amodo impoſterum quoquo modo turbetur.

‘ Quamvis tertii hujus membri generalitate nullum Regnicolarum, nec Eccleſiaſtici, nec ſeculares ſtatus, adeoque nec Magnates, nec Nobiles, nec Cives, nec Ruſticos in libero Religionis ſuæ exercitio, nec in Perſona, nec in Eccleſiis, ſed nec in Miniſtris ſuis ullo modo peramplius turbandum venire apertiſſime caveretur :

‘ Hoc nihilominus præviæ Commiſſiones Regiæ, & privatæ quæque perſonæ, non curato, exquiſitis ſub prætextibus & modis, quibus exprimendis vix verba nobis ſufficiunt, ex Cleri & Status Catholici Sententia, quamplurimas Eccleſias in præmiſſo primo Membro ſpecificatorum Comitatuum & Civitatum expulſis, & è Regno ire juſſis eorundem Miniſtris, tanquam cauſis exercitii exercendi inſtrumentalibus, ſine quibus alias nullius ſane Religionis exercitium exerceri quiret, in libero exercitio turbarunt.

‘ Sic Magiſtratus modernus Catholicus Civitatis Epperies mox ex mandato Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ, mox titulo Dominii Terreſtris prætextum vendicatæ ſibi licentiæ præ ſe ferens, omnes omnino trium Nationum Evangelicos Prædicantes è Civitate, alias loco Articulariter denominato, adhuc Ann. 1688, ipſo feſto S. Bartholomæi Apoſtoli, expellere, territorioque ejuſdem prohibere, Eccleſiamque Articularem libero ſuo admiſſo exercitio, quo jam nunc careret, ipſo facto privare non eſt veritus.

‘ Ita nihil penſi duxit non campridem moderna Commiſſio Praineriana in ſuperiore Hungaria Civitatis Nagybanya (unius nempe ex ordine, ut præmiſſum cæterarum Superiorum, partium liberarum Civitatum, per commiſſionem alias anticipativam Czahianam in permiſſo ſuo libero exercitio Evangelico ad inſtar aliarum Articularium libere uſuando relictæ) cives & incolas Evangelicos amandatione Prædicantium, & Scholæ Rectorum ſuorum cum ſevera interminatione omnium actuum Miniſterialium alibi locorum præter Catholicos Nagybanyenſium uſuandorum, totali ſuo exercitio, cultu & Miniſtris orbare Comitatus item Szathmarienſis oppidum Felſóbanya, quod in poſſeſſione & continuo uſu ſui Templi, acceſſoriorum, & horum proventuum ante, in, & poſt Diætam Sopronienſem ad annum uſque præſentem fuiſſet : Prout & Comitatus Abauyvarienſis aliud oppidum Sepſy, in poſſeſſione alias templi ſui, & omnium appertinentiarum vi 26 Articuli Sopronienſis, Membri tertii & ſexti relictum, pariformi abolitione Prædicantium & Scholæ Rectorum Evangelicorum, præmiſſorumque, uti Nagybanyæ, ſtrictiſſima injunctione integrali eorundem exercitio viduare.

‘ Aliis plurimis plurium, uti Reverendiſſimorum Matthiæ Radonay quinque Eccleſienſis Epiſcopi, & Franciſci Jany Pechvaradienſis Abbatis in ſuperiori & inferiori Barovia circa quinque Eccleſias in Nadaſdienſibus & Klanyokienſibus Prædicantibus, aliiſque earundem partium, præcipue in Vereſmartienſibus Incolis, ſupra immanitatem fere Turcicam attentatis exceſſibus, peculiari memoriali Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ fuſius repræſentatis, brevitatis cauſa hic præteritis.

‘ Cum hæc & ſimilia contra tam manifeſtam Articuli hujus conſtitutionem militarent, nec etiam hoc ipſo liberum exercitium eſſe, aut dici poſſet, ſi cauſa, ſine qua non, inhibeatur.

‘ Apud Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam quam profundiſſima humilitate inſtamus quatenus præſcriptorum ſpecifice in Membro primo appoſitorum, & in hoc quoque tertio generaliter commemoratorum Comitatuum & Civitatum optimo & fundamentali jure, quod circa admiſſum liberum Religionis exercitium, vi omnium trium Membrorum Articuli hujus haberent, eodem vero non citra parvam injuriam privati eſſent, clementiſſime conſiderato, eoſdem & eaſdem tam quoad exercitium reaſſumendum, quam quoad exturbatos Prædicantes & Rectores ſuos rurſum recipiendos, non ſolum integre reſtituere, verum in ſpecie prælibatæ etiam Civitatis Epperies Evangelicos ſuos expulſos Miniſtros ad ſua munera Eccleſiaſtica obeunda iterum reducendi, vel loco horum alios, citra ullam coarctationem & limitationem certi numeri, verum quotquot ob interveniententiam fortuitorum caſuum, adhæc frequentiam etiam civium intertenere poſſent, vocandi & ſurrogandi plenariam poteſtatem gratioſiſſime impertiri.

1692. ‘Adhæc memoratæ quoque Civitatis Nagybania, ſicut & prædictorum Felſöbanya & Sepſy oppidorum Evangelicis, illis quidem prohibitum eorundem exercitium cum revocatione ejectorum Prædicantis & Rectoris, ex integro reaſſumere : His vero adempta ſua Templa, Parochias, & Scholas cum acceſſoriis, & remotis Eccleſiarum ſuarum Miniſtris ac Rectoribus priori ſuo ſtatui ex vi præmiſſorum Articularium ſuorum jurium rurſus reſtitui facere, benigne demandare, ſicque præviis omnibus Articulariter accommodatis ulteriores Regnicolarum & Religionis exercitiorum turbationes gravi ſub animadverſione & pœna per Clementiſſimum Decretum ſuum ad Univerſos Comitatus & Civitates miſſiliter tranſmittendorum, accedente Gratia ſua Regia, ſerio inhibere non dedignetur.

Contra Quartum Membrum hujus Contextus :

Sed neque Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addicti ad Cæremonias ſuæ Confeſſioni contrarias compellantur.

‘Licet Membri quoque hujus Generalitas antecedentia confirmaret, clareque inferret, ullius ſtatus & conditionis Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictos homines ad Confeſſioni eorundem ritus contrarios compelli debere.

‘Eo tamen non obſtante præviæ Commiſſiones omnes vel maxime Membro primo allegatas Civitates exercitio Evangelico privatas ad omnes actus Miniſteriales ritui ipſorum contrarios amplectendæ Religionis Catholicæ cauſa omnino adigendas Plebanis Catholicis indifferenter mandarunt, ac paſſim Catholicis gubernia gerentibus Cives & inhabitatores ſuos, quibus potirentur, potiſſimum opifices & Mechanicos Evangelicos ad Vexillorum Proceſſionalium Comparationem, ac ipſas etiam proceſſiones, cogendos pronunciarunt.

‘Hinc inibi ægrotantibus & agnonizantibus Sacraque Euchariſtia uti volentibus Evangelicis nulli Prædicantes ex quibuſcunque tandem locis permittuntur. Neonati infantes alibi locorum Evangelicorum baptizari prohibentur. Puerperæ etiam exactis ſuis Hebdomadibus ab introductione, copulandi à copulatione, mortui ab inhumatione ſimilium locorum accipiendis penitus arcentur, & non admittuntur : Sed præciſe Miniſterio Parochorum & Plebanorum Catholicorum in his & aliis uti inviti compelluntur. 1692.

‘Unde ipſi quoque Domini Patres Jeſuitæ Ann. præterito 89. circa initium Octobris eo proceſſere licentiæ Poſonii, quod juniorem Prædicantem Poſonienſem Joannem Vider hoſpitale ejuſdem loci, miſeræ cujuſdem provectæ alias ætatis, & jam agonizantis feminæ Evangelicæ conſolandæ & communicandæ cauſa accedentem cum ſuo pane foras ire comminatorie præceperint, ac abinde amandarint, ita ut miſera Mulier ſine communione & ſolatio animæ ultimum ſuum claudere debuerit diem, nec jam amplius licitum ſit tali in caſu Prædicantibus Poſonienſibus idem Hoſpitale ingredi, minus diverſarum Religionum copulandas Perſonas, quarum una Catholica, altera vero Evangelica eſſet copulare: Sed nec talium conjugatorum proles baptizare, vel etiam inhumare, ſub alioquin citationis ad ſedem Metrapolitanam Tyrnavienſem Comminatione, & gravis pœnæ incurſione per Parochum Poſonienſem iiſdem ſignificata.

‘Non abſimili Coactionis licentia abutitur quoque modernus Parochus Civitatis Leutſchovienſis Caſimirus Miners Ord. Præmonſtr. præpoſitus contra ejuſdem Civitatis univerſos Nobiles pariter & Ignobiles, cives & incolas Evangelicos, horumque Prædicantes libero Religionis ſuæ exercitio indultu Articulari alias fruentes, quippe quos à Communione ac omnibus aliis actibus Miniſterialibus quibuſcunque exteris Evangelicis quocunque tandem modo adminiſtrandis, hæc omnia ſibi vendicans ſevere arceret. Peregrinos etiam quoſcunque Evangelicos copulandos, ſi, licet Leutſchovienſes, vel è converſo, qui Leutſchovienſium alterius loci Evangelicas ducerent uxores, præciſe apud ſe copulandos adigeret. In caſu vero funerandorum Evangelicorum ad ſuas Cæremonias præ demortuorum ædibus ſuo ritu peragendas, adeoque in deductionibus etiam uſque portam Civitatis concomitando capeſſendas, inconvenientis ſolutionis exigendæ ergo actu cogeret : Inſuper copioſiſſimam earundem duarum nationum, Germanicæ nimirum admodum frequentis, & Sclavicæ in tertialitate Minoris Eccleſiam ad duorum ſaltem miniſtrorum intertentionem, unicuique nationi unum ſaltem admittendo, cum Germanicæ vix tres ſufficerent, auctoritate ſua coarctaret.

‘His accederet Comaromii, Gyóngyóſini, alibique incolas Evangelicos per Clerum loci, ruſticos vero ubique fere per Regnum tam mandato præmiſſarum Commiſſionum Regiarum, quam juſſu quorumcunque Dominorum Catholicorum Terreſtrium, ad frequentationem Catholicorum Templorum, horumque omnium Cæremoniarum & rituum uſuationem compelli.

Quæ quum per omnia huic clariſſimæ ſtatutioni Articulari adverſarentur, Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam per omnia ſibi chara humillime petimus, quatenus relaxatis omnibus præmiſſis violentis coactionibus circa cæremoniarum, rituum, ac Religionum contrariarum uſuationem & acceptationem maximo conſcientiarum cum gravamine indiſcriminatim cuicunque Evangelicorum per quoſcunque Dominos Catholicos quocunque modo impoſitis, abolitis inſuper omnibus inhibitionibus, in libero Religionis exercitio qualitercunque factis, unicuique fidelium Regnicolarum ſuorum Evangelicorum citra ullam Religioſæ præſcriptionis præſcriptionem in hoc vel illo, id vel illud faciendi, aut omittendi, liberum ſuum exercitium, prout uniuſcujuſque admitteret conſcientia, ex integro ubilibet, libere ad mentem ſæpe mentionatorum allegatorum Articulorum uſuandum & exercendum, ex Cæſareo-Regia Gratia & Clementia quam propenſiſſime concedere dignetur.

Secundo, quoad Artic. XXVI. ejuſdem Anni & Diætæ, primum Membrum hoc innuit.

AD hæc templa quoque per Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictos ædificata, & ritu Catholico necdum reconciliata per certos Commiſſarios eiſdem aſſignanda.

‘Articulari hac Conſtitutione quamquam per expreſſum exſtante, ac Evangelicis ſuis ſumptibus ædificata, rituque Catholico necdum reconciliata Templa & Capellas excidenda, aſſignanda, & relinquenda venire pronunciante; Commiſſiones nihilominus eædem nullo habito hujus reſpectu in Comitatu Thuroczienſi, in Poſſeſſionibus Bella, Zaturcza, & Pribocz, ſimilia Templa, & in Comitatu Lyptovienſi in Poſſeſſionibus Kirally, Lehota, Pothurnya, & Virbicze, ſimiliter Capellas per Evangelicos & Dominos terreſtres ædificatas, rituque Catholico ante conditum Articulum necdum reconciliatas, alibique in aliis Comitatibus habitas & repertas, indifferenter occuparunt, ab earumque uſuatione & ibidem peragendo cultu Evangelicos ſtrictiſſime inhibuerunt, & ad duo ſaltem loca, uti præmemoratum, ubi Templa ædificari permiſſa ſunt, aliquot mille hominum incapacia, imo propter diſtantiam incongrua, periculoſa, difficiliaque, relegarunt, & reſtrinxerunt.

‘Unde tot millium Evangelicorum in Comitatibus potiſſimum calamitoſa, proh dolor! ſors eo devinit, ut propter indifferentem ademptionem Templorum, & amotionem Miniſtrorum ſuorum, maximum ſine communione, plurimi vero infantes abſque baptiſmate decedant.

‘Quæ cum contra permiſſionem Articularem, & dictamen etiam Communis juſtitiæ ſuum cuique tribuentis, Evangelicis eſſent ablata: Proinde reſtitutionem & reaſſignationem talium Templorum & Capellarum ad mentem hujus Membri primi memoratorum Comitatuum, aliorumque, Evangelicis pro exercendo Religionis ſuæ cultu legaliter fiendam à Majeſtate veſtra Sacratiſſima ſuppliciter petimus.

Secundum Membrum hoc decernit.

In aliis vero locis juxta benigniſſimam ſuæ Majeſtatis Reſolutionem loca pro ædificandis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis erigendis, pro commoditate eorundem Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictorum, per eoſdem Commiſſarios deſignanda decernuntur.

‘Etſi Conſtitutio hæc loca pro Commoditate Evangelicorum ædificandis novis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis erigendis omnino commoda & congrua deſignanda aperte ordinaſſet, exindeque eædem Commiſſiones huic ordinationi conformiter, potiſſimum vero in Regiis, Liberis, & Montanis Civitatibus, quibus, Templa, Scholæ, & Parochiæ, aliaque ſunt adempta, ſe accommodare, citraque aliquam exteriorum locorum coarctationem, in ipſis Civitatibus, intraque eaſdem (juxta genuinum, ſanum, & literalem Articuli etiam hujus ſequentis Membri quinti expreſſe ita ſonantium clauſularum ſenſum: *Ac tandem in liberis & Montanis Civitatibus*, &c. *Ac in Superiore Hungaria omnibus itidem Civitatibus*, &c. ‘Quæ interiora, non exteriora Civitatum loca declararent:) Convenientia & commoda loca exſcindere & aſſignare debuiſſent: Commiſſio tamen Regia ad Superiores Regni Hungariæ partes exmiſſa, medio Cameraticorum & his adjunctorum hominum inter cæteras Civitates Epperieſſini Evangelicis, Germanicæ Nationi prope Carnificis pratum, cada-

1692. ‘veribus deglubendis deſtinatum, Hungaricæ erga Civitatis patibulum, & Sclavoniæ in Fimeto, locis ſane extra deſolata Suburbia longe diſſitis, campeſtribus, iiſque contumelioſis exiſtentibus: Caſſoviæ vero æque tribus ſimilibus nationibus pariter extra ſolo æquatum Suburbium in ſqualido & ſumme lutoſo campo, ad officinam tegulariam erga itidem patibulum ſituatam, conſtituto maximo Evangelicæ Religionis cum deſpectu erigendorum novorum Templorum, Scholarum, Parochiarumque loca indecentia, & incommoda deſignavit.

‘Quocum ob ſacrum etiam finem Sanctiſſimo Deo dicanda Templa & acceſſoria ædificare piaculum omnino eſſet, adeoque deſpectuoſa hujuſmodi deſignatio præviæ quoque Articulari Sanctioni nimium præjudicaret.

‘Pro eo virtute legalis Conſtitutionis Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam pro Commemoratorum obſcœnorum & ſqualidorum, ex privato privatorum quorundam hominum erga Religionem Evangelicam affectu, exciſorum locorum totali caſſatione, aliorum vero commodorum & condecentium in iiſdem Civitatibus, earumque mœniis (ita citra ambiguitatem ſenſus innuentibus præallegati hujus Articuli Membri quinti expreſſis verbis) ubi ſat commoda & capacia haberentur loca, ipſis Epperienſibus & Caſſovienſibus Evangelicis gratioſiſſime impertienda exciſione & aſſignatione, devotiſſima cum ſubjectione exoramus.

Tertium Membrum hoc ſtatuit:

In aliis vero Comitatibus, veluti in Szaladienſi, Veſzprimienſi, Jaurienſi, Comaromienſi, Abauyvarienſi, Saaroſienſi, Zemplinienſi, Ughoczienſi, Bereghienſi, Thornenſi, Gömbrienſi, Borſodienſi, Honthenſi, Nogradienſi, Szolnok, & Heves, nec non Peſt, Pilis, & Soldt unitis? Item Szabolczienſi, Ungh & Szathmarienſi, ſiquidem de præſenti eſſent in actuali uſu omnium fere Templorum ibidem habitorum. Ideo eadem pro actualibus eorundem poſſeſſoribus uſuanda relicta ſunt.

‘Hi de nomine ſpecificati Comitatus (qui omnia ſua caſtra, oppida, & villas, ſeu poſſeſſiones cum omnibus ſuis Templis, Sacellis, Oratoriis, Scholis, & Parochiis involverent) dum etiam juxta manifeſtum Membri hujus ſtatutum, præmiſſa ex ratione, quod tempore conditi hujus Articuli in actuali uſu omnium fere Templorum & acceſſoriorum fuiſſent, in reali poſſeſſione, liberoque & pacifico eorundem uſu relicti, & cæterum etiam taliter imperturbate relinquendi declarati eſſent, adeoque ab omnibus quorumcunque occupationibus Templorum & appertinentiarum ſuorum immunes omnino & integri eſſe debuiſſent.

1692. ‘Hac tamen Articulari Declaratione poſthabita partim ſæpedictæ Commiſſiones per ſe, & diverſos ſubſtitutos Mandatarios, partim inclytæ Cameræ, partim Officiales Dominiorum, partim Clerus in pleriſque Comitatibus; in Szaladienſi, in Confinio Legrad, in Comaromienſi, in Poſſeſſione Mocza, in Abauyvarienſi, in Oppidis Regecz, Szanto, Sepſy, & inferiore Meczenzeff; poſſeſſionibus item Bodokó, Ujifalu, & Fony, in Saaroſienſi, in oppido Saaros, & poſſeſſionibus Tólkzek, Aſgutth, & Sóóvar; in Zemplinienſi, in oppidis Thokay, Tarczal, Kereſzthur, Maad, Liſzha, Thállya, Tolzua, Benye, Patak, Borſy, Ujihelly, & Bottyan: In Ugoczenſi, in oppido Nagy Szólós: In Bereghienſi, in oppidis Munkacz, Beregſzas, Vári, & Berégs: In Tornenſi, in poſſeſſione Almás: In Honthenſi, in Civitatibus, oppidis, & villis exiſtentia Evangelicorum Templa, Parochias, & Scholas, excepto unico exili Templo in contemptiſſimo pago Drino dicto, non tam pridem per Evangelicos ædificato, Evangelicis relicto: In Unguarienſi, in oppidis Unguar, Naghy-mihálly, & Vinna, ac Poſſeſſione Sztara: In Heveſſienſi, in oppidis Gyóngyós, Jaſzberény, ac poſſeſſione Maklár: In Peſtienſi, in oppido Vacz, & poſſeſſione Thótfalu: In Szathmarienſi, in oppido Felſóbanya, & poſſeſſione Giroth-Thótfalu, & Tarpa, aliiſque, Evangelicorum Templa, Parochias, & Scholas violenter occuparunt, amotiſque eorundem Miniſtris totali Religionis ſuæ exercitio privare præſumpſerunt, ut ut prærecenſiti Comitatus Articulariter in poſſeſſione præmanibus habitorum præſcriptorum Templorum relicti fuiſſent.

‘Quorum inconveniens occupatio, cum ſimiliter Articulari huic adverſaretur ſtatuto, Majeſtatiſque veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Regio Indultui, quapropter Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam pro effectiva præſpecificatis in Comitatibus, eorundemque denominatis oppidis & poſſeſſionibus occupatorum Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum, prioribus ſuis poſſeſſoribus Evangelicis ex attributo jure fienda reſtitutione & reaſſignatione, qua poſſumus animi devotione ſupplices oramus.

Quartum Membrum hoc concedit:

Præterea in Confiniis Regni, & quidem in Generalatu contra Caniſam, in Szent-Gróth: In Generalatu Jaurienſi, in Tikany, Vazony, Papa, Veſprim, Jaurini, & Comaromii: In Generalatu Superioris Hungariæ in Puthnok, Onod, Szendró, Tokay, Kallo, & Szathmar: In Generalatu Antemontano Levæ, Carponæ, & Fúlekini.

‘Quamquam vi Conceſſionis hujus evidens eſſet, Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictis in prædenominatis Confiniis liberi Exercitii, & Templorum, ac Acceſſoriorum ibidem habitorum, temporeque hujus conditi Articuli poſſeſſorum realem uſum relictum, & ſtabilitum eſſe:

‘Regia nihilominus Commiſſio ad Inferiores Regni Hungariæ partes Ann. 1688. ordinata, Carponæ de nomine hoc in Membro ſpecificata Civitate, occupatis Templo, Parochia, & Schola Evangelicis, remotiſque Prædicantibus & Scholæ docentibus, totale exercitium à memoria hominum ibidem continuo uſu libere ſemper practicatum & habitum, ac etiam eodem in uſu prævio modo Articulariter relictum, maximo exercitii Spiritualis nullam moram patientis cum præjudicio, optimique juris Articularis, verbo & indulto Regio confirmati, derogamine ſevera cum Comminatione inhibuit, & eodem penitus abſtinere univerſos Nobiles & Ignobiles ibidem habitantes, qua præſidiarios, qua incolas, & Cives Evangelicos coegit, eoſdem ad ulteriorem Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ benigniſſimam eatenus obtinendam Reſolutionem & Gratiam relegando.

‘Comaromii porro; ubi pariter vi hujus Articuli libera Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſionis exercitii praxis, quam etiam parium duorum Templorum, Parochiarum & Scholarum pacifica poſſeſſio & uſus eſſet confirmata, in iis utriuſque Confeſſionis incolæ, ſtipendiarii item milites Hungarici, ibidem exiſtentes imperturbate ad fatales uſque præteritorum Annorum belli tumultus, & inſperatam, Ann. 1683. totius ejuſdem oppidi, Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum Conflagrationem perſtitiſſent; ob præfatos vero caſus tam Civibus Evangelicis, quam eorum Miniſtris hinc inde diſperſis, tale liberum exercitium Religionis quodammodo intermitti contigiſſet, dum ſupervenientibus jam fatis clementioribus diſperſi Evangelici rurſum rediiſſent, ac virtute præſcripti hujus Articuli publicum Religionis ſuæ exercitium reaſſumere, Prædicanteſque & Scholæ docentes ſuos reducere, Templa adhæc, & Parochias, & Scholas, in conſuetis ſuis de facto deſolatis exſtantibus locis reædificare voluiſſent, ac etiamnum vellent, per Excellentiſſ. Dom. Comitem à Hoffkircher, dicti confinii Commendantem, ſicut & clerum loci talia effectuare gravibus ſub minis arcentur, inhibito iiſdem totali exercitio quoquomodo uſuando, prout & precibus in privatis ædibus alias peragi ſolitis, ſuperaddita ſevera interminatione etiam ad circumjacentia loca devotionis peragendæ cauſſa cuiquam Evangelicorum exeundi ſub incaptivatione & aliis gravibus pœnis incurrendis pulſu tympani per plateas confinii Anno præterito publicata.

‘Thokaini, loco & confinio æque Articulariter denominato identidem per Proviſorem & Clerum loci occupatis Templo & Parochia ſumptibus Evangelicorum ex fundamento ædificata, piis item legatis & proventibus dotata, exturbatoque abinde ſuo Prædicante, libero exercitio prohibentur.

‘Quæ loca cum nomine tenus Articulo hoc ſpecificarentur; inque uſu liberi ſui exercitii, imperturbatoque Dominio Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum, horumque acceſſoriorum permanenda decernerentur, neque tali eorundem jure privari quirent, tamen, ut præmiſſum, per prævios privata eſſent, prohiberenturque effective.

‘Hinc firmiſſime inhærentes Articulari & Regiæ huic Conceſſioni Carponenſes, Civitatenſes, & Thokayenſes oppidanos Evangelicos eorundem libero Religionis exercitio, cum Templorum, Parochiarum, Scholarum, & horum acceſſoriorum ademptorum plenaria reſtitutione, remotorumque Prædicantium & Docentium ſuorum integra reductione, priſtino ſuo ſtatui & ordini gratioſiſſime reddi.

‘Comaromienſibus vero Caſſata Prætitulati Dom. Comitis à Hoffkircher præinſinuata inhibitione reaſſumptionem Religioſi ſui exercitii, Miniſtrorumque Eccleſiaſticorum, ſicut & Scholæ Docentium reductionem, adeoque Templorum etiam & appertinentium in extantibus horum deſignatis & exciſis locis reædificationem clementiſſime admitti, ac etiam impertiri à Majeſtate veſtra Sacratiſſima demiſſe imploramus.

Quintum Membrum hoc conſtituit:

Ac tandem in liberis & Montanis Civitatibus, utpote Trenchinienſi, Modrenſi, Cremniczienſi, & Novizolienſi, ac in Superiore Hungaria omnibus itidem Civitatibus, ſimiliter loca pro ædificandis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis aſſignanda conceduntur.

‘Quid hinc clarius & directius inferri poteſt, quam quod in ſingulis liberis & Montanis quoque Civitatibus (quales ſunt ordinis ſui gratiæ recenſendæ, in Inferiore Hungaria liberæ Civitates: Sopronium, Kuſzeginum, Ruſt, Poſonium, Szent-Gyorginum, Bazinga, Modra, Tyrnavia, Szakoliza, Trenczinium, Veterozolium, Carpona, & Brezna; & in Superiore, Caſſovia, Leutſchovia, Bartpha, Epperies, Cibinium, Keſmarck, & Nagybanya: In Montanis vero, Neozolium, Schemniczium, Cremniczium, Libethbanya, Bakabanya, Belobanya, & Ujibanya) pro quarum modalitate (reflexione habita ad antecedentis Articuli 25. primi Membri, inibique citatorum Articulorum præmiſſam generalitatem permiſſæ libertatis fuſius deductam, quo ſe hic Paragraphus quoque referret) diſtinctione & diverſitate quadam, proque exemplo, ex utroque ordine liberarum videlicet Inferioris Hungariæ binæ, uti Trenchinium & Modra; & Montanarum ſimiliter binæ, nempe Cremniczium & Neozolium Civitates recenſentur, & denominantur, Superiorum vero Hungariæ liberarum Civitatum generifica fieret mentio, dum omnes una eademque libertatis prærogativa perfruerentur, nec conditio unius ſequior eſſet alterius, ſimiliter loca commoda, & quidem in Civitatibus ipſis, ſive in medio ipſarum, ad genuinam mentem verborum Membri hujus: *In Liberis & Montanis Civitatibus*, &c. *In Superiore Hungaria: Omnibus itidem Civitatibus*, &c. Quæ non ſpecificatæ etiam à libertatis ſuæ generalitate hic ſano ſenſu intellecta, & comprehenſa non excluderent ædificandis Templis, Parochiis, & Scholis aſſignanda venirent. Commiſſiones vero Regiæ extra attacto hoc Membro quinto denominatas Civitates, reliquas omnes quatuordecim Liberas & Montanas Civitates à deſignatione & exciſione locorum excluſerunt, omnique exercitio, & quidem adhuc cum certa (ut Superius in Articuli 25. Membro primo repræſentatum) incancellatione privarunt.

‘In Superiore porro Hungaria potiſſimum Epperieſſini & Caſſoviæ plane abominanda loca (ut Membro præcedenti ſecundo repræſentatum) deſignarunt.

‘Quæ quum cum ſancito hujus Articuli, & ad initium Membri primi Art. 25. allegatorum, horumque recto ſenſu, adeoque ipſa etiam ſana ratione non convenirent, nixi ob id talibus fundamentis Articularibus Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam pari gratioſiſſima uti cæteris Denominatis, ita prædeclaratis, non ſpecificatis, hincque ex miſſis & reſtrictis Civitatibus, locorum commodorum ædificandorum novorum Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum deſervientium demonſtratione, liberique Religionis eorundem exercitii, cum & alias tali benigniſſimo Indultu Regio ipſis etiam, uti aliis libere perfrui fas omnino & æquum eſſet, nec eodem quoquo modo privari deberent integra admiſſione; præattactis vero Caſſovienſi & Epperienſi Civitatibus aliorum, ob ſacrum finem Deo dedicandorum convenientium locorum intra eaſdem Civitates, Suburbiis plane carentes, reperibilium deſignatione & aſſignatione fiendis, perquam humillime rogamus.

Sextum Membrum hoc ſancit:

Templa demum, in quorum actuali poſſeſſione idem Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addicti de facto ſunt, modo prævio præ manibus eorundem, una cum Parochiis & Scholis, proventibuſque eorundem propter bonum Pacis, ut nimium quiete & pacifice vivant, relinquuntur, uſu Sepulturæ & Campanarum pro Catholicis ibidem degentibus æque ac ipſis relicto.

‘Quam evidens etiam eſſet hoc Membrum ſextum, antecedenſque hujus Articuli tertium explicatiori declaratione Evangelicos in actuali & pacifica Templorum, Parochiarum, Scholarum, & proventuum ſuorum, præ manibus, tempore hujus conditi Articuli habitorum poſſeſſione, Campanarum inſuper & Sepulturæ Communi uſu relictos, & relinquendos ſtabiliret, & confirmaret.

‘Eo tamen repudiato tam memoratæ Commiſſiones Regiæ, quam inclytæ quoque cameræ, & officiales quique, prout & Clerus, in Comitatibus, præſcripto Membro tertio fuſius enumeratis, talia Templa una cum Appertinentiis & Proventibus univerſis, contra dictamen hujus Articuli, occuparunt, & hæc concomitantia, liberum nimirum exercitium, & functionem Miniſterialem, ejectis Miniſtris, prohibuerunt, Campanarum etiam & Se-

1692. pultura communem Uſum fere ubique Evangelicis interdixerunt.

‘Sic exemplificandi cauſſa Commiſſio Regia in Comitatu Honthenſi, qui unus eſſet ex præſcriptis Membro tertio enumeratis, quive tam ex vi hujus ſexti, quam etiam præfati tertii Membrorum à ſimili Commiſſione immunis eſſe debebat, omnia Templa, unico excepto, eoque parvulo Mediante Vice-Comite ejuſdem Comitatus occupari, & Prædicantes amoveri fecit.

‘Ita in Comitatu Heveſſienſi Mandatione Reverendiſſimi Domini Archiepiſcopi Strigonienſis Georgii Szeckenii, & Illuſtriſſimi Dom. Comitis Georgii Erdódii oppidum Gyóngyós Helveticæ Confeſſionis, qui in continua ſemper poſſeſſione Templi, Parochiæ, & Scholæ, Acceſſoriorumque ipſorum à longis temporibus Ante, in, & poſt Diætam Sopronienſem fuerant, iis una cum omnibus ſuis piis legatis & proventibus, undecim præcipuis vineis, quinque Molendinis, uno Macello, & una Domo, adhæc aliquot centenis urnis vini per Joannem Almaſy Heveſſienſis, & Franciſcum Sutter Peſtienſis Comitatuum judices Nobilium die 22 Maii, Ann. 1688. ſunt privati, ámotioneque Eccleſiæ, & Scholæ docentium, totali eorundem Evangelico exercitio, etiam in privatis ædibus continuando, prout & Sepultura ac Campanarum uſu inhibiti, poſſeſſione horum omnium Clero loci tradita.

‘Pariter in Comitatibus Abauyvarienſi & Zemplinienſi, ſignanter in Dominio Ragocziano, oppida Thallya, Máád, Szántó, Kereſzthur, Tarczal, Liſzka, Bennye, Tolchva, Patak, Ujihelly, Borſy, Regacz, & Thokay, aliaque, quæ æque in actuali & pacifico Dominio Templorum, Scholarum, Parochiarum, & acceſſoriorum, horumque proventuum, tam ante hunc conditum Articulum, quam conditionis ejuſdem Tempore fuiſſent, de cæteroque præpoſſeſſione horum relinqui debuiſſent, omnibus his per officiales ejuſdem Dominii ſunt privata, ac libero Religionis exercitio, vel in privata etiam Domo uſuando, ſeveriſſimis ſub minis inhibita.

‘Non abſimiliter in Civitatibus Caſſovienſi & Epperienſi quoad proventus Eccleſiaſticos omnia Evangelicorum pia legata; Caſſovienſibus quidem quatuor Domus, unus adhæc hortus, certæ item terræ arabiles, & in promontorio Tokay una vinea Varga dicta; Epperienſibus vero certæ inſimul vineæ, diverſis in Promontoriis partium Superiorum ſituatæ cum ſuis reditibus, per Magiſtratum loci Catholicum utrobique via facti ſunt ereptæ: Quibus Campanarum quoque & Sepulturæ communis uſus abſolute denegatur. Funerum adhæc intra mœnia Civitatum cum ſolitis ſuis cæremoniis condecens deductio etiam cavetur, & non admittitur. 1692.

‘Quibus ſimilibus cum expreſſe contra Artic. hunc injuriati eſſent memoratorum locorum Evangelici.

‘Exinde Sanctiſſimæ eatenus declaratæ Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Reſolutioni & Articulari Conceſſioni firmiter inhærentes, à Majeſtate veſtra Sacratiſſima horum omnium, & præattacto etiam Membro tertio Commemoratorum Comitatenſium locorum occupatorum Evangelicos præciſe concernentium Templorum, Parochiaram, Scholarum, & acceſſoriorum, omnium adhæc legatorum, indeque ſubſecutorum proventuum, campanarum item ac Sepulturæ uſum, contra mentem hujus Articuli & Membri violenter ademptorum, ſuis antiquis poſſeſſoribus Evangelicis reali cum effectu fiendam benigniſſimam Reſtitutionem & redintegrationem de genu flexo deſideramus.

Septimum Membrum determinat:

Interea vero nec Catholici Miniſtris Auguſtinæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictis, nec vero horum ſequaces Plebanis Catholicis ad mentem Articuli undecimi 1647. *ſolvere obligentur.*

Hujus Membri ſtatutione clariſſima licet, & perconfirmati etiam Artic. 11. 1647. *per expreſſa verba: Ne Evangelici ſtatus Catholicis Plebanis, & è converſo ſtatus Catholici Evangelicis Miniſtris ad ullas ſolutiones præſtandas ſint obligati:*

‘Imo ſubſequentis Articuli 12. ejuſdem Ann. 1647. explicatiora: *Ubi vero Parochias non haberent auditores Evangelici, ſolutionem pendant ſuæ Religionis Miniſtris, cujus videlicet Miniſterio, ſeu opera, uſi fuerint: Sicut & Catholici Parochis Catholicis: Ubi autem auditores Evangelici hactenus non ſolviſſent plebanis Catholicis, impoſterum etiam ad nullas ſolutiones præſtandas ullo ſub prætextu cogantur ad ſolvendum, prout nec Catholici Evangelicis.*

‘Adhæc quoad Stolarum proventus & penſiones allegati 12 Articuli Ann. 1647. immediate ſubſequentia formalia:

Stolares autem proventus, ſeu ſolutiones, in quibuſvis locis Plebani Catholici & Miniſtri Evangelici à ſuæ Religionis auditoribus totaliter percipiant: ' Adhuc magis elucidatiore exiſtente, ac unicuique partium convenientes ſuas penſiones attribuente, adeoque Evangelicos ab omni prorſus ſolutionis obligamine, Clero & Plebanis Catholicis fienda abſolute exemptos pronunciante.

' Minus tamen nihilo Commiſſiones Regiæ ubique in Comitatibus (extra duo ſaltem in quovis Comitatu deſignata loca) omnes ſolutiones Plebanis Catholicis addixerunt: In Civitatibus vero, ubi etiam liberum exercitium permiſſum, ut ex Fiſco, ſeu Communi Civitatum ærario (ad quem reſpectu pluralitatis Evangelicorum Catholici minimum quantum contribuerent) ipſis Plebanis, ſeu Parochis Catholicis ſolutio fiat, & Evangelici tam Miniſtris, quam etiam Scholæ doctoribus ſuis extraordinarie ex propriis proſpiciant, contra præſcriptum manifeſtum Articulum conſtituerunt, cui abuſivæ Conſtitutioni ubilibet locorum ipſi Plebani & Clerus potenter inſiſterent, & via facti quaſlibet ſolutiones, ac univerſos ſtolares proventus pro ſe indifferenter tam in Comitatibus, quam etiam omnibus Civitatibus exigerent.

' Inde Officiales etiam ſæpe fati Dominii Rakocziani in Superiori Hungaria indiſcriminatim nobiles pariter, & ignobiles Evangelicos brachio quoque militari ad ſolutionem Plebanis in eodem Dominio pendendam omni conatu adigunt.

' Quæ cum contra poſitivam Articuli hujus determinationem facta eſſent, adeoque cum maximo etiam ejuſdem & inibi allegatorum abuſu per Plebanos Catholicos erga Evangelicos univerſim practicarentur.

' Inde hoc in paſſu ad præſcriptum Articulum & ſuas leges provocantes apud Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam demiſſiſſime inſtamus, quatenus virtute harum omnes Evangelicos ab omni prorſus ſolutione Parochis Catholicis præſtanda immunes pronunciare, ac ut quilibet ſtatus ſuos ſibi ſervientes interteneat, & exſolvat, iiſdem etiam ſuos pendat ſtolares proventus, Clementiſſima, juſtitiæque conſona ordinatione decernere dignetur.

Octavum Membrum hoc ordinat:

Omnibus porro Magnatibus & Nobilibus in Regno degentibus, in Arcibus & ſolitis Reſidentiis, pro ritu cujuſvis Profeſſionis, Oratoria & Sacella exſtruere, & dotare liberum ſit.

' Virtute membri hujus licet omnibus Magnatibus & Nobilibus Evangelicis in Arcibus & reſidentiis ſuis Oratoria & Sacella exſtruendi & dotandi permiſſa ſit libertas, quæ liberam omnino in iis Religionis ſuæ profeſſionem, ſacrorum & acceſſoriorum celebrationem, Miniſtrorum item intertentionem, tanquam cauſam ſui Principalem, & ſine qua non, reſpicerent, & ſecum ferrent; alioquin abſque his eluſoria plane & ſupervacanea foret hæc Articularis Conceſſio.

' Prætitulatæ tamen Commiſſiones Regiæ praxin hanc poſt occupationem Templorum vi præſcriptæ Articularis Ordinationis per Comitatus in Arcibus & Reſidentiis Magnatum & Nobilium longo tempore uſitatam & acceptatam, in pleriſque Comitatibus, ſignanter Lyptovienſi, Tuteczienſi, Arvenſi, Trenchinienſi, Zolenſi, Honthenſi, aliiſque totaliter inhibuerunt, & contra præinſinuatum ſanum Articuli ſenſum in ſimilibus locis liberum Religionis ſuæ exercitium per peculiares Miniſtros exercendum penitus vetarunt, & nonniſi (quod ſi celebratione cultus ſui in Reſidentiis ſuis uti vellent) alterutrius duorum deſignatorum in Comitatu locorum Miniſtri, nullatenus vero alterius accerſendi, & ejus opera utendi, hocque etiam præciſe, per cujuſque propria & familiæ ſuæ, non vero ullorum vicinorum neceſſitate, ſub pœna alioquin militaris invaſionis ſimilis Præſidentiæ facultate admiſſa, Articularem hanc libertatem mira circumſcriptione coarctarunt.

' Unde in Comitatu Lyptovienſi Parochi & Plebani aliquot talium, Nobilium Domos per Milites Arcis Lykava invadi & expilari curarunt.

' In Comitatu Trenchinienſi Anno præterito 89 Nobiles Familiæ Nozdrovizky Prædicantes in reſidentia ſua pro adminiſtratione exercitii ſui intertenentes, ſimiliter inſtinctu Plebanorum per milites Regiminis Merſiani damnificati ſunt, Miniſtro ad carceres Arcis Lednicze raptato, & ſtrictiſſima incarceratione ad ſubſcriptionem ſumme præjudicioſarum Reverſalium pro ſui eliberatione adacto.

‘ Quæ cum directe repugnarent præattactæ legalitati, nec etiam Magnates & Nobiles (quibus tamquam Secundi & Tertii Liberorum Statuum & Ordinum Regni, liberis perſonis, liberum ſuum exercitium ubique, ſive in propriis Reſidentiis, ſive in fundis ſuis, ſive ſub Dio, æque libere, intertentione, ſi modo potuerint, & uſu Miniſterii exercere liberum eſſet, Religioſa hac eorundem, eaque Articulari in libertate reſtringi quirent.

‘ Quocirca apud Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam pro relaxatione, & ſublatione præviæ Commiſſionalis inhibitionis, & circumſcriptionis, è converſo juxta indultum hujus Articuli, ejuſdemque ſanam mentem, omnibus Magnatibus & Nobilibus in Regno, in Capellis, & Oratoriis eorundem Arcenſibus & Reſidentialibus, per quoſcunque peculiares Miniſtros, quos intertenere poſſent, liberi exercitii, omniumque Acceſſoriorum, quibuſlibet Regnicolis libere exercendi gratioſiſſima admiſſione ardentiſſime efflagitamus.

Nonum Membrum hoc perhibet:

Poſthac vero nullæ Templorum, Scholarumque & Parochiarum occupationes, vel Exercitii turbationes ab utrimque, ſub pœna in Articulo 8 *Uladiſlai decreto* 5, *expreſſa, fiant.*

‘ Expreſſa lege licet cautum ſit, (quolibet Regni ſtatu propter bonum Pacis & Tranquillitatem Regni publicam in præſcriptis ſuis Articularibus terminis poſſeſſionum Templorum, Scholarum, Parochiarum, liberique Religionis ſuæ exercitii relicto) amplius quæque Templa, Scholas, & Parochias Evangelicorum occupare, horumque libera exercitia quoque quoquo modo interturbare;

‘ Non tamen deſiit, ſed ne nunc quidem deſinit Status Catholicus eatenus miſeros Evangelicos indiſcriminatim per totum Regnum exquiſitis ſub coloribus (ut jam ſupra fuſius repræſentatum) per vim & fortia, citra ullius pœnæ formidinem & incurſum impune ſane infeſtare, eoſque religioſa eorundem legitima privare.

‘ Quare ſi contra eundem tamquam præmiſſis manifeſtiſſime contravenientem effectiva deſignatæ pœnæ deſumptione procederetur, polliceretur equidem ſtatus Evangelicus ſibimet in præmiſſis pacificam & imperturbatam permanſionem, tolleretur que omnis diſſidiorum fomes.

‘ Quæ cum non fiant, quantumcunque nobis etiam lamentantibus, querulantibus, & injurias noſtras repræſentantibus, circaque harum ſublationem, & noſtri accommodationem, Articularem Medelam implorantibus, crevit exinde, & adhucdum creſcit ſtatus Catholici eo liberior in nos graſſandi audacia, contraque omne jus & æquum libertatibus noſtris nos exuendi licentia.

‘ Hinc ut tales & ſimiles violentæ occupationes & interturbationes præmiſſorum omnimode præcaveantur, præſcriptam legem ſtrictiſſime contra tranſgreſſores prævios, ac etiam futuros quoſlibet ſuis viis & modis obſervandam, & proſequendam iri à Majeſtate veſtra Sacratiſſima ſollicite petimus.

Accederet præmiſſis quoque adjungendum quoad Libertatem vel Maxime Civilem Politicam.

‘ ARticulo 11. Sopronienſi præmemoratæ noviſſimæ diætæ gratioſiſſima Regiarum & liberarum, Montanarumque Civitatum Communium privilegiorum confirmatione, deſuperque ibidem allegatarum, & paſſim conditarum Legum renovatione per expreſſa verba:

Liberarum quoque, ac Regiarum, Montanarumque Civitatum non exiguæ fuiſſent querelæ, quod in jure liberæ electionis Magiſtratus Civilis, necnon jure patronatus, &c. ac aliis ſuis immunitatibus, partim à parte Cameræ Hungariæ, partim vero ab Officialibus bellicis contra privilegia ipſorum, & regni leges, turbatæ & impeditæ exſtitiſſent; ideo confirmatis eatenus ipſorum privilegiis & immunitatibus, &c. Articuli etiam Regni, ut ſunt Anni 1659. *Art.* 129. 1649. *Artic.* 16. 1647. *Art.* 83. 1638. *Art.* 35. *ac alii ſuperinde conditi renovantur, ac tam per Cameras, quam Officiales bellicos, ac alios quoſcunque ſtrictiſſime obſerventur, neque in libero Magiſtratus Civilis jure, ac aliis privilegiis ipſorum longo uſu roboratis à quopiam quoquo modo turbentur.*

‘ Conſtitutum eſſe eaſdem leges, & Articulos, tam per Camerales & Bellicos Officiales, quam quoſcunque etiam Regnicolas ex omni parte ſervandos venire, id quod ex conſenſu omnium & Catholicorum & Evangelicorum æquali in uſum quoque deductum erat per Civitates.

‘Nihilominus prævia Excelſarum Commiſſionum, ut ſuperius memoratum, in omnibus Regiis,Liberis & Montanis Civitatibus Evangelicorum amovendorum, & Catholicorum in Magiſtratum ſurrogandorum Nomine Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Regio facta præſcriptione, vel maxime in ſuperioribus partium Regni Hungariæ Civitatibus, Caſſiovienſi, Eperienſi, Bartphenſi, aliiſque inclytæ Cameræ Scepuſienſis inde ſumptæ occaſionis ingeſſione, præcitato alias Articulo 83. 1647. &c. prohibita, eo proceſſit dictarum Civitatum Magiſtratus reformatus Catholicus licentiæ, ut jam omnes Caſſovienſes, Epperienſes, & Bartphenſes, alioſque, tam in Senatorii, quam Communitatis ordinum Evangelicos, ad publica Officia, & dignitates Civiles gerendas bene meritos & aptos, ex mero duntaxat privato affectu erga Religionem contra manifeſtas præfati Articuli, ibique citatorum, ſignanter Articulorum 13. 1608. ante Coronationem, item 44. 1609, ac 12. 1647. annorum Conſtitutiones, notabili Evangelicorum cum oppreſſione, à publicis dignitatibus, honoribus, & officiis civilibus removerit, & horum loco aut minus idoneos, aut obæratos, aut negotia Civitatum nihil intelligentes, magiſque privata curantes Catholicos ſumma dictarum Civitatum cum ruina & damnificatione ſurrogaverit, & conſtituerit.

‘Quæ ſiquidem cum apertiſſimo Confirmatarum Communium Libertatum, & privilegiorum civilium præjudicio facta eſſent, ac fierent impræſentiarum,

Quamobrem,

‘Primo, Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ, pro liberi Magiſtratus & Communitatis Civilis eligendi juris, hactenus, ut jam præinſinuatum, diverſimode per diverſos interturbati, ac ex parte Evangelicorum penitus everſi, unice & mere penes eaſdem ac quaſcunque Civitates, earumque utriuſque Religionis Catholicæ & Evangelicæ Juratos benemeritos Cives permanendi priori ſuo ſtatui admittenda reductione, ſolidaque conſervatione.

‘Secundo: Civilis mutuæ concordiæ conſervandæ, nocivarumque diſſenſionum, & ſimultatum amovendarum gratia, eorundem Magiſtratuum & Communitatum Civilium, abſque ullo Catholicæ & Evangelicæ Religionis diſcrimine, ex honeſtis, benemeritis,nullaque labe maculatis, iiſque aptis Juratis Civibus liberæ electionis, officiorumque, & quarumvis aliarum dignitatum Civilium ad mentem præſpecificatorum Articulorum 13. 1608. ante Coronationem, & 44. 1609. fienda indifferenti & coæquali collatione, mutuaque ad honores civiles publicos promotione.

‘Tertio: Obſervandæ alternatæ æqualitatis, bonique Civitatum publici cauſa Judicatus, & Tribunatus Officiorum, juxta modo citatorum, & 12 Articuli 1647. Anni ſenſum, alternatim & mixtim gerendorum, gratioſiſſima annuentia, & permiſſione; clementiſſime ordinanda, profundiſſima animorum cum humilitate ſupplices noſtras deponimus preces.

‘Et hæc ſunt, Sacratiſſime Imperator, inter cætera prævio modo Articulariter Sancitarum, & ad genuinum ac literalem Articulorum Sopronienſium ſenſum membratim perſpicue deductarum Religioſæ & Politicæ libertatum noſtrarum conſenſu totius Regni permiſſa beneficia:

‘Quæ quum ita clara & illuſtria, ut nullam explanationem patiantur, niſi quis illos Articulos manifeſte obſcurare velit, & nos cum reſervata juxta etiam præcitati Articuli 26. Sopronienſis ultimam clauſulam:

Per hancque Articularem Conceſſionem iiſdem Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictis ulterior prætenſionum ſuarum via in futuris diætis inſtantias ſuas promovendi (non obſtantibus Cleri & aliorum ſecularium Catholicorum contradictionibus) minime præcludatur.

Salvis ſemper eatenus legibus Regni diplomate Regio firmatis.

‘Ampliores Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ propenſæ Cæſareo-Regiæ Clementiæ gratias, etiam extra diætales conventus (dum extra hos Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ vulneribus noſtris convenientes Medelas adhibere impoſſibile non eſſet, ad ſubſequentes vero diætas nimium infeſtantibus, ac nullas leges, nullas conſtitutas pœnas curantibus Clero, & Dominis Catholicis, exſpectantibus nobis facile Religionis noſtræ totale evenire poſſet exterminium) petendi & urgendi facultate, in illos noviſſima in diæta Poſonienſi Conſenſerimus, fieri nequit, ut jam nunc ſupra quam concedunt, expoſtulare præſumamus.

'Nihil illegalitatis, nihilque novitatis, verum legibus regni benigniſſime confirmatis Sopronienſibus Articulis conformem præmentionatorum Gravaminum & injuriarum noſtrarum præmiſſo modo Articulariter ac diſtinctim deductarum, evidentiſſimiſque adverſantium exemplis illuſtratarum complanationem, quæ ad aſſerendam Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Regiam Auctoritatem & pientiſſimam Verbo Regio ratificatam voluntatem, tranquillam item Regni & Civitatum permanſionem, ac bonum Pacis publicæ vergit, inceſſantibus precibus noſtris jam ſupra decem ſemeſtria, magna cum impenſione ſumptuum, demiſſiſſime petentes, ne ulterioribus etiam lamentis noſtris, de cætero quoque Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam ejuſdem Auguſtiſſimam Aulam onerare oporteat.

'Eandem Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam per immenſam Dei Miſericordiam, cujus vices agit in Terris, per Regale ſolium, quod divinitus Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ eſt datum, perque felicitatem ſuam, apud Regium Juſtitiæ Tribunal, præ mœrore & dolore proſtrati, ima cum demiſſione obſecramus, quatenus jam tandem tot & tantarum humillimarum precum, juſtiſſimarumque Inſtantiarum noſtrarum, ex innata oppreſſos vel maxime juvandi clementia miſerta, Articularia & legalia hæc Poſtulata noſtra per intimum ſuum Conſilium gratioſiſſime revideri facere, perque ejuſdem avidiſſime exſpectatam Conſolatoriam Reſolutionem & definitionem cuilibet prædictorum Articulorum Membri, Regia ſua auctoritate, à qua ſola (poſt Deum) ſalus & permanſio noſtra dependet, nos erigere, liberumque Religionis noſtræ Exercitium cum Miniſtrorum noſtrorum Evangelicorum imperturbata, & non reſtringenda noſtri in medio permanſione, & vocationis ipſorum, ubilibet, libera adminiſtratione, adhæc injurioſe à nobis ademptorum reali & effectiva reſtitutione, introductorumque abuſuum totali abrogatione in priſtinam, quoad ſtatum etiam Civilem politicum, Libertatem Articularem benigniſſime aſſerere, inque eadem ſartos & tectos ſemper conſervare clementiſſime dignetur.

'Quam Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ gratiam & clementiam perpetuis fidelitatis noſtræ obſequioſiſſimis ſervitiis ſanguinis etiam profuſione conteſtandis, quam ſubjectiſſime demereri adnitemur.

'Benigniſſimam prævie petitorum Determinationem præſtolantes, manemus

Ejuſdem Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ

Humillimi perpetuoque fideles ſubditi

Superiorum & Inferiorum
Regni Hungariæ Partium ac Comitatuum,
Regiarum, Liberarum, &
Montanarum Civitatum,
Oppidorum, Confiniorum, item & Pagorum
Univerſi Evangelici.

Exhibita ſuæ Majeſtati Sacratiſſimæ Laxemburgi, die 27 Menſis Maii, 1690.

Exemplum alterius Libelli Memorialis Cæſareæ Majeſtati à Legatis Saxon. & Brandeburg. Electorum pro Proteſtantibus Hungaris Auguſtæ Vindelicorum exhibiti.

Sereniſſime, &c.

'IN recenti Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ memoria eſt, quid nos a. d. $\frac{6}{16}$ Januar. cum ad Cæſariam & Regiam Majeſtatem veſtram publice admiſſi eſſemus, nomine utriuſque Electoris Saxonici & Brandeburgici, Dominorum noſtrorum Clementiſſimorum, inter alia de Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ Regni Hæreditarii & Provinciarum incolis Evangelicis ſubmiſſiſſime propoſuerimus; & inprimis de libera toties ab univerſis Evangelicis Ordinibus invictis argumentis repetita Teſſerekenſium ita appellatorum incolarum emigratione, & in Feriolenſi ditione retentorum infelicium liberorum reſtitutione, liberoque diſceſſu permittendo, humillimis precibus petierimus. Quemadmodum igitur Clementiſſimi Domini noſtri, ambo præfati Electores, certam illam ſpem de Cæſareæ & Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ Chriſtianiſſimo benigniſſimoque animo conceperunt, fore, ut Cæſarea ac Regia Majeſtas veſtra ſubmiſſiſſimis hiſce pre-

1692.

precibus faciles ſit aures præbitura & tot millium preſſas & afflictas animas quæſito ſolatio reſectura: Ita nonnullas aliis de rebus clementiſſimas reſolutiones à Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtate veſtra impetravimus tam ante, quam poſt Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ ex illa urbe diſceſſum: Verum de Negotio Hungarico nihil omnino obtinuimus. Quapropter juſtiſſimis Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ oculis rurſus eorundem infelicium in Hungaria Evangelicorum Miſerrimum ſtatum, novis indies oppreſſionibus aggravatum, uti ex annexis liquebit, humillime ſubjicere auſi ſumus, nulli dubitantes, quin Cæſarea ac Regia Majeſtas veſtra, quæ Divini nobis in terris Numinis imago eſt, afflictorum tacta miſeratione, qui ſuppliciter Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ throno advoluti ſunt, infelicium illorum preces clementiſſime acceptura, & miſeriam ſublevatura ſit: Simul & gratioſiſſime imperatura, atque curatura, ne nupero Receſſu de integro Confirmatum liberum Religionis Evangelicæ exercitium, contra Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ Clementiſſimam animi intentionem, amplius lædatur, interrumpaturque: Verum contra ea ſuæ cujuſque conſcientia libertati, tranquillitatique permittatur, atque reſtituatur: Ipſi vero gravaminibus ſuis, præſertim ratione abuſus clauſulæ: Salvo jure Dominorum terreſtrium, (quæ quidem querelarum præcipua cauſſa eſt) liberentur, atque exſolvantur. Quamvis autem Clementiſſimæ iſtius Reſolutionis (pro qua interim, humillimas gratias agimus) Clementiſſimorum Dominorum noſtrorum Electorum nomine explicationes aliquot obſcurioris ſenſus demiſſiſſime rogare habeamus, his tamen ad tempus poſtpoſitis, illud præcipue obnixis precibus à Cæſarea ac Regia Majeſtate veſtra petimus, humillimeque obſecramus, ut, quoniam res liquida & clara eſt, atque celeberrimæ expeditionis, conceſſam gratioſiſſime emigrationem Teſſerkonſium liberorum declarare digneretur, miſeriſque parentibus liberos ſuos devehere ipſis liceat, remque ſuam familiarem expedire, conceſſis in hunc finem, quæ requiruntur, literis commeatus: Utque hac ratione vinculum illud naturæ ſanctiſſimum, quod parentes liberis & hos illis, mutuo nexu adſtrinxit, integrum, illæſumque conſervetur. Quæ res uti Electoribus Dominis noſtris Clementiſſimis longe Maximam animi allatura eſt voluptatem, ita eoſdem magis magiſque devinciet, atque Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtati veſtræ obſtrictos reddet, velut ſuam ipſorum in gratiam conceſſa, omnibuſque ſubmiſſiſſimæ venerationis & obſequii officiis rependenda. Nos autem pro noſtri muneris debita obedientia humillima cum veneratione perpetuum erimus

Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtati veſtræ

Devotiſſimi & Humillimi

Elect.Sax.& Brandenb.Plenipot.Legati,

N.E. Baro von Gerſdorff.
S.I. von Dankelman.

Exemplum libelli Memorialis Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtati à Legatis Saxon. & Brandeburgicis Auguſtæ Vindelicorum in gratiam Hungarorum Proteſtantium exhibiti.

Sereniſſime, &c.

QUEMADMODUM res à Cæſarea ac Regia Majeſtate veſtra in Hungaria adverſus Chriſtiani nominis hoſtem feliciſſime geſtæ, recuperatæque poſt tam diuturnum, ſub barbaro jugum regnum illud, nemini plus voluptatis attulerunt, quam clementiſſimis Dominis noſtris Electoribus, cæteriſque etiam Imperii Rom. Ordinibus ac ſtatibus Evangelicis lætiſſimo fuere gaudio: Præſertim quod & ipſi pro viribus ad tutandam Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ magnitudinem arma ſua Cæſareis enixiſſime conjunxerint, quo Divina favente gratia, prout hoc ſummum ipſorum votum eſt, barbarus ad accipiendam decoram Nomini Cæſareo, certamque & conſtantem Pacem conſtringatur, cogaturque: Ita & ulterius hoc ſuum votum extendunt, ut Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ indefeſſo & patrio erga ſibi ſubditos amore, nobiliſſimum illud regnum in priſtinum reſtituatur florem, vigoremque: Subditiſque illius incolis fideliſſimis atque obedientiſſimis juſtiſſimo Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ imperio atque patrocinio, quoad privilegiorum immunitatumque veterum conſervationem ad ſpem optimam excitatis, multo quam antehac firmius & tutius cum Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ provinciis, tum Imperio Rom. ſive potius univerſo orbi Chriſtiano ſit propugnaculum. Quoniam vero Cæſarea ac Regia Majeſtas veſtra hunc in finem jam Ann. 1681. & 87. in Comitiis Sopronienſibus & Poſonienſibus optima tranquillitatis

1692. publicæ jecit fundamenta, neque ullum dubium eſt, quin, ſi Cæſarea ac Regia Majeſtas veſtra pro cognitiſſima ſua Gratia ac juſtitiâ illud ſoluſmodo præſtare dignetur, ut ibidem concluſi, conventi, atque conceſſi Articuli, præſertim quoad liberum Religionis Evangelicæ exercitium, & illius cultores incolas, ab delegatis in eam rem Commiſſariis & Miniſtris bona fide obſerventur, neque vel per ipſos, vel per ipſis ſuccedaneos, tam Eccleſiaſticos, quam ſeculares (uti proh dolor! graviſſimis comminationibus nonnulli eorum miſerrimos Evangelicos contra Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ clementiſſima juſſa, decreta, atque interdicta multimodis ac ſæpiſſime terruere) violentur; propoſitum bonum pacis, tranquillitatiſque regni publicæ feliciter ſubſecuturum ſit: Memorati ambo Domini noſtri Clementiſſimi Electores, etiam nunc eum in finem, ſicut & ſæpe antea ab aliis factum Imperii Ordinibus Evangelicis, nobis in mandatis dederunt, uti dictos eorundem ſacrorum participes Hungaros Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtati veſtræ humillime commendaremus, atque pro iis apud Cæſaream ac Regiam Majeſtatem veſtram intercederemus. Qui quidem Domini noſtri Clementiſſimi eam in Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ innata lenitate atque juſtitia ſpem & fiduciam collocarunt, ut non dubitent, quin Cæſarea ac Regia Majeſtas veſtra quietem publicam, (quæ in cauſa Religionis in eodem Regno ſecundum Regni Conſtitutiones hactenus ſatis tranquilla & immota fuit, verum pauculos ante annos turbari, lædique cœpta eſt) cultoribus Evangelicæ Religionis ſartam tectamque præſtitura ſit, libertatemque conſcientiæ integram & illæſam, Eccleſias, Scholas, exercitium Religionis publicum, inviolata cunctis & ſingulis permiſſura, inſultus ac violationes ſeveriſſima coercitura, & inſimul Evangelicorum Electorum, Principum, atque Ordinum in recuperando, & à Turcico jugo liberando Regno Hungarico lubentiſſimis animis navatam fideliſſimam operam, ſubmiſſaque valida auxilia, clementiſſima reſpicere atque conſiderare dignatura ſit. Præcipue vero Clementiſſimorum Dominorum noſtrorum Electorum deprecatio in hunc ſcopum collimat, ut, quum Cæſarea ac Regia Majeſtas veſtra hac & aliis de cauſis Regios delegabit Commiſſarios, iſtiuſmodi illos cum mandatis delegare dignetur, quæ ipſos clementiſſimam exſequi Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ voluntatem, ſanctamque obſervare juſtitiam cogant, neque ſuis ſervire affectibus, Zelumque Religionis ſummo cum rigore, ſævitiaque, adverſus afflictos Evangelicos exſerere permittant. Hanc Cæſareæ & Regiæ Majeſtatis veſtræ gratiam, ac favorem ſummum, Clementiſſimi Domini noſtri Electores plurimo cum animi ſolatio, voluptateque accepturi ſunt, ſummaque fide atque devotione conſtantiſſima, cæteriſque gratæ mentis demonſtrationibus oſtenſuri, nihil ſibi à Cæſarea & Regia Majeſtate veſtra gratius accidere potuiſſe. Nos autem, quæ noſtra eſt tenuitas, ſubmiſſiſſime atque humillime noſmet profitemur 1692.

Cæſareæ ac Regiæ Majeſtati veſtræ

Devotiſſimos & Obedientiſſimos

Sereniſſ. D. D. Electorum Saxonici &
Brandeburgici hic commorantes
legatos,

Auguſtæ Vindel.
a. d. $\frac{6}{16}$ Jan.
1690.

Von Gerſdorff.
B. von Zinzendorff.
Baro von Frieſſen.
S. I. von Dankelman.
N. B. von Dankelman.

ANNEXA.

EA ſpecies eſt Ann. 1681. in Comitiis Sopronienſibus per Catholicum ſtatum, inſciis tamen Evangelicis, de negotio Religionis conditorum, & per ipſos Articulis quoque Diætalibus inſertorum duorum Articulorum 25. & 26, ac ſi hac ratione Evangelicis Hungariæ Regni incolis, aliquot mille Eccleſiarum, Scholarum, & appertinentiarum ereptione nulla facta foret injuria, verum potius res grata & accepta, plurium locorum enumeratione ac deſignatione in quibus liberum ipſis Religionis exercitium concederetur. Quod ſi vero iidem ad Meridianum ſolem inſpiciantur, & juſta exactaque rationis trutina expendantur, minus ipſo nihilo Hungaris conceſſum videbitur, permiſſumve, niſi, quæ ſequitur, damnoſiſſima clauſula cum illius interpretatione & extenſione reapſe inde deleatur, tollaturque. Quicquid enim Conceſſum videtur, per Cleri & Dominorum Catholicorum exoticam interpretationem, & potiſſimum nimium præjudicioſe in totale Evangelicorum, eorundemque Evangelici Exercitii exterminium adjectam clauſulam: *Salvo jure Dominorum Terreſtrium*; (Contra quam clauſulam tamen Evangelici proceres prima

1692. vice Sopronii, atque poſt illa in Comitiis Poſonienſibus omnibus modis proteſtati ſunt: Proteſtationem vero hanc ultimam Hungaricus Perſonalis D. Stephanus Urbanus, contra quam ipſum decuit, non admiſit:) Omnino ſubverſum, & irritum factum eſt. Nam licet dictorum Sopronienſium Comitiorum 25 Articulus generaliter, & in univerſum liberum Evangelicæ Religionis exercitium cunctis & ſingulis permittat, nec huic, illive loco alliget, aut adſtringat, verum potius ad mentem confirmatæ pacificationis Viennenſis Ann. 1661. Artic. 1. & præcipue Ann. 1608. itidem Artic. 1. ante Coronationem (qui in memorato 25 Art. Comitiorum Sopronienſium confirmati ſunt) omnibus & ubique per Regnum, nullo loco excluſo, multo minus indigena cujuſcunque conditionis, dignitatis, ſtatus, ac natalium fuerit, libertatem concedat publice ſuam Religionem exercendi: Eam nihilominus Domini Catholici ſiniſtram ſibi ſumunt & arrogant interpretationem, acſi hæc liberi Religionis exercitii conceſſio non aliter accipienda ſit, multo minus permiſſa, niſi ſub iſta clauſula, *Salvo jure Dominorum Terreſtrium*: Quod jus terreſtre (quod jus tantum ſervitutis corporalis reſpicit) ipſi ad jus & Dominium in Conſcientias quorumcunque, ſoli Deo competens, omnimodo trahunt, & extendunt, ſibique actu ipſo in toto Regno violenter vindicant. Sic illo utitur Strigonienſis Archiepiſcopus Georgius Szechenius in univerſo ſuo territorio ac Diœceſi, tamquam Dominus Terreſtris, & Epiſcopus Strigonienſis, adverſus omnes abſque ullo diſcrimine ordines, Nobiles, Ignobiles: Iiſque non ſolum pleno Religionis exercitio interdicit, verum etiam vehementiſſime eos perſequitur, Miniſtros Verbi Divini Evangelicos per ſuos ejiciens, expellens, ſpolians, in vincula conjiciens, & in iis Contumelioſiſſime detinens: Donec tandem vel Religioni priori valedicant, vel plane ſe Miniſterii Evangelici munere ſemet abdicaturos validiſſima manus propriæ teſtatione ac ſyngrapha ſpondeant. Eandem vim Eminentiſſimus Dominus Cardinalis ſibi ſumit, & uſurpat Collonitius, ſine ullo diſcrimine perſonarum, non modo in Javarinenſi adminiſtratura atque Comitatu, ſed & tutorio Orphanorum Rakotzhianorum nomine, in eorum in Superiore & Inferiore Hungaria Dominiis, adverſus Eccleſiaſticæ & Civilis, Nobilis & Ignobilis conditionis atque ordinis Evangelicos: Præcipue autem in Javarinenſi, Sopronienſi, Eiſenburgico, & aliis Comitatibus: Nec non in Lebnicenſibus, Rachoczianis terris, in Trenchinienſi Comitatu; ut & in Superiore Hungaria in Zempliniano, Hevezano, & Abauyarenſi Comitatibus, in XII. oppidis privilegiatis, quæ ſunt Thuoa, Mari, Szantho, Keretzthur, Tarczal, Liska, Benxe, Tholizva, Patak, Ughelly, Borſy, & Tokay; aliiſque item in locis plurimis: Ubi omnium Reformatorum partim de integro condita, partim è ruderibus redintegrata Templa, Scholæ, Domus paſtorum Parochiales, cum ſuis appertinentibus (quorum omnium tempore conditi Articuli Sopronienſis reapſe fuere poſſeſſores, quæque ipſis juxta Articuli contentum relicta ſunt) vi ipſis erepta ſunt, Eccleſiarumque Miniſtri munere ſuo depulſi, atque deturbati: Ut ſilentio vis ipſis eorum perſonis illata, atque etiamnum indeſinenter exercitæ injuriæ, atque violentiæ tranſmittantur.

‘Quin & hujus clauſulæ prætextu Omnes alii Epiſcopi, Præpoſiti, & Abbates ſuis in ditionibus, inprimis autem in ditionibus Tóckelianis quondam, nunc Turcæ ereptis, ubi plurimi habitant, ac commorantur Reformati, abutuntur: Imo vero & omnes Magiſtratus, ac nobiles quicunque, & Eccleſiaſtici ſuis in Territoriis: Adeo ut & Civitates nonnullæ, interque eas Catholicus urbis Epperies Magiſtratus, ſub prætextu Dominii Terreſtris, ex Urbe illa, quæ per Articulum illum diſertim libertatis fruebatur privilegio, Eccleſiaſtas Evangelicos expulerint, & in exilium egerint; cæteros uſu liberi Religionis exercitii privarint, nullo alio jure, quam quod illius clauſulæ abuſus, & iniquiſſima interpretatio ſuggeſſit, & ſuppeditavit: Quæ revera omnis ad hoc uſque tempus exercitæ perſecutionis unica ſcaturigo eſt.

Oratio

Oratio ad Cæſarem Leopoldum Maximum, Wiennæ in ſpeciali audientia die 22 Junii, Ann. 1690. circa horam 8. Veſpertinam habita, pro ſtatu Evangelico Hungarico, & nominatim pro Comitatu Thuroczienſi, per Generoſum D. Paulum Okoliczani dicta & inſtituta, adſtantibus egregiis Joanne Scredy, & Paulo Sallay, ejuſdem ſtatus Evangelici Ablegatis.

‘ADMISSI ad Auguſtum Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ conſpectum, quod ipſi afflictiones noſtras proprii oris Miniſterio in benignum ſinum effundere poſſimus, primum hoc nomine nobis gaudemus: poſtea, quod Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam ſalvam & incolumen nobis, infimis licet, attamen fidelibus ſubditis intueri, contemplarique Deus conceſſit, nomine Principalium noſtrorum Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ in lætitiam effuſi gratulamur. Oramus etiam ejus Divinam Majeſtatem ut, qua Omnipotenti Cœlica ope hactenus univerſis Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ adfuit Regiis negotiis, eadem impoſterum quoque victricibus armis, & fortibus militibus adeſſe velit, ut conculcatis univerſis ad ultimum hoſtibus, tandem ad tranquillum amœnæ Pacis portum ex belli fluctibus cum fidelibus populis ſuis emergere poſſit.

‘Tertius jam vertitur annus, Auguſtiſſime Imperator, ex quo homines noſtri univerſorum ſcilicet ſtatuum Evangelicorum Hungaricorum, demiſſorum fideliumque Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ ſubditorum, humillimi Ablegati, qui hic mecum adſtant, ad Auguſtam Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Aulam continuis quaſi excubiis hæſitantes Sacrum Majeſtatis veſtræ pectus de libertate oppreſſæ Religionis Evangelicæ aſſiduo pulſant, & ſollicitant. Quibus ſollicitationibus, & ipſi etiam Religionis oppreſſioni, Commiſſarii Majeſtatis veſtræ in hoc negotio ad mentem Articulorum exmiſſi, ac ante biennium procedentes, dederunt, præbueruntque vel maximam anſam atque materiam: Quippe illi extra benignam Majeſtatis veſtræ inſtructionem, & contra ſenſum Articulorum, ea, quæ ibidem clariſſima ſunt, peregrina quapiam interpretatione ad libitum pro obſcuris habuerunt, & quæ ibidem non habentur, adjecerunt, nobiſque Sacro Majeſtatis veſtræ nomine portanda impoſuerunt. Quemadmodum hæc omnia tot Memorialibus noſtris per iſtos dimiſſos Ablegatos noſtros à dicto triennio, vix non quotidie porrigi ſolitis, exacte clareque liquidavimus.

‘Ad quæ omnia, & imprimis ad id, quod die 27 Maii in Laxenburg benignis Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ manibus ſupplices porrexere, dum noſmet relegamus, Majeſtatem quoque veſtram ſupplices provocamus, per Deum immortalem obteſtantes, ut jam tandem benigne ſeſe ad ea reſolvere, & ex Commiſſionibus ortam dubietatem auctoritate ſua Cæſareo Regia tollere non dedignetur. Sed quia Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima toto hoc triennii tempore, aliis etiam Regiis Curis obruta, necdum ſeſe benigne reſolvere potuit, Adverſarii noſtri hinc arrepta occaſione novos contra nos aſſumunt animos, & in vulgus jactant; Majeſtati veſtræ miſeram ſortem noſtram, quam ipſi augent, cordi non eſſe: Nos à Regia gratia, benignaque Protectione prorſus abjectos eſſe: Adeoque ipſis quodlibet in nos licere. Conteſtati ſumus ſæpenumero, Invictiſſime Cæſar, brevi fore, niſi cohibeantur, illorum inſolentiam in apertam vim, effuſionemque innocentis Sanguinis noſtri erupturam; & jam hujus rei tragicæ quoddam præludium in Comitatu noſtro Thuroczienſi perſentiſcere cogimur, quando certo Majeſtatis veſtræ mandato nobis neque citatis, neque auditis, ex inclyta Hungarica Cancellaria emanato, facti ſumus quaſi catharmata ad immolationem deſtinata. Unde ego, fidelis Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ ſubditus, peculiariter miſſus ad Regium Majeſtatis veſtræ Thronum, ſupplex compareo, ſpe plenus, me non tantum clementer auditum iri, ſed ſimul ad Principales meos vitam, ſalutem, & libertatem, pro innocentia noſtra, à Majeſtate veſtra reportaturum eſſe. Attulerunt videlicet Domini Plebani Catholici certum mandatum contra nos, cujus vigore non jam juris proceſſum, ſed violentam rerum noſtrarum direptionem, & perſonarum arreſtationem minitantur: Imo jam ipſo facto exequuntur.

‘Petiimus equidem inſtantiſſime Paria iſtius Mandati, ſed non aliud reſponſum tulimus, quam quod à Majeſtate veſtra Sacratiſſima, vel à quopiam alio, interdictum ſit illis, ne Paria ejus nobiſcum communicentur: Quo pacto non modo Sacro Majeſtatis veſtræ nomini injuriam faciunt, ſed & trahunt in ſuſpicionem, quaſi vero Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima ta-

‘lia ibi ſubſcripſerit, quæ in apricum devenire indecens eſſet. *Dum tamen legeretur, & publicaretur idem Mandatum, quantum animadvertere potuimus, in hæc verba eſſe obſervavimus: Intellexiſſe nimirum Majeſtatem veſtram quomodo Prædicantes noſtri (quos illi ita per contemptum vocant) per Arces, per Caſtella, per Domos, & ſic conſequenter evagentur: Quomodo in Parochias eorum involent: Quomodo ſacra eorum turbent, & ſuo ritu Evangelico populis adminiſtrent: Quomodo (quod ſcelus nefaſque eſt, noſtra Religione indignum) Nobiles æque ac ignobiles ad ſeditionem diſponant, & hinc nos Magnates, Nobiles, & Ignobiles concitatos neque Templa frequentare velle, neque feſta celebrare velle, neque aliquid illis ſolvere velle, imo ſuſque deque contra Articulos, contra ordinationem Commiſſionis facere omnia.* Quorum enumeratorum veluti minima leviſſimaque pars certo reſpectu & conſideratione legum vera eſſe poteſt, ita potior eorum pars falſa & ſiniſtra eſt. Verum id quidem eſt, nos illis nihil ſolvere, ſed id non facimus temere, verum beneficio ſacri diplomatis & Articulorum Sopronienſium, qui expreſſe dictant: Evangelicum Catholico, & contra Catholicum Evangelico nihilo teneri. Quod celebrationem feſtorum ſiniſtrum eſt, quippe ſiquid propria laus valeret, auderem dicere Majori nos Communia feſta celebrare obſervatione, quam illos, qui ſæpe (& ſi illos accuſatum non veni) leviſſimo munuſculo corrupti diebus feſtis craſſos permittant labores. Non nego unum alterumve eſſe feſtum, quod Religio noſtra non recepit; tamen & his diebus à craſſioribus abſtinendo laboribus conſulto ita nos gerimus, ne illis nos criminandi anſa ſuperſit. Porro ubi de non frequentatione Templorum ajunt, verum dicunt, quia omnia ademerant: Ne unum quidem ergo cum ſit, quod frequentare permittant pro libertate noſtræ Religionis, inter reliquos divinos ritus noſtros pro incolumitate Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ ſub dio etiam orare ſolemus. Quod de ſeditione dicunt, quemadmodum Maximum ac ſiniſtrum eſt, ita injurioſiſſimum, ac niſi docuerint, quæ accuſant, talione pœnæ compenſandum. Nuper in Generali Congregatione, ubi Clerus, noſtri accuſatores, frequenti numero aderant, publice proteſtati ſumus, ut, quis ſit ille ſeditioſus, denominent, nos eſſe futuros primos, qui capiemus, & quo Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima juſſerit, aut ducemus, aut juſto juris ordine ſervato puniemus. Sed nonnihil tacentes poſtea publice profeſſi ſunt, ſe de ſeditione apud Majeſtatem veſtram neminem accuſaſſe. Ad extremum, non ut contra Articulos Sopronienſes quidquam patraremus, quin potius propterea hæc omnia patimur, quod Ordinationibus Commiſſionum non acquieſcentes à tenore & beneficio legis nos abſtrahi non permittamus.

Hæc illa ſunt, Auguſtiſſime Imperator, conficta crimina, quorum cauſſa neque citati, neque auditi, à Majeſtate veſtra Sacratiſſima tamen capi jubemur.

‘Quæ cum non vera eſſe conſtanter aſſevero; ſimul de genu flexo pro Principalibus meis Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ humillimis fidelibuſque ſubditis ſupplico, dignetur Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima Clementi nos oculo reſpicere: Dignetur in periculo conſtitutis adeſſe: Dignetur illos, ſiquid contra nos prætenſionis habent, ad juris viam, non potentiam, relegare; illiſque ſuapte natura in nos perſequendos proclivibus Mandati ſui occaſionem tollere, idemque caſſare. Eripiat nos Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima ab inſultibus & libidine Inimicorum noſtrorum, paratos, ſiquid peccavimus, Ordini juris nos ubicunque ſiſtere. Faciat Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima ut perſentiſcant, Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam æque nobis eſſe benigniſſimum Regem, atque illis: Quam benignitatem de omnium gentium jure expoſcimus: Siquidem non minore fidelitate, non minore promptitudine, quam illi, univerſa Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ pro quavis neceſſitate ferimus onera, & præſtamus Regia ſervitia.

Ad hæc Cæſar repoſuit:

‘Percepi Orationem veſtram nomine omnium Inclytorum ſtatuum Evangelicorum, & comitatus noſtri Thuroczienſis, fidelium ſubditorum noſtrorum, per Te factam: Quemadmodum ante hac ſæpe, ita nunc Nos reſolvimus, quod ſicuti unice intendimus, ut penes Articulos ultimarum diætarum conſervaremini, ita numquam erat intentio noſtra, ut vos ex Gratia & Protectione noſtra excludamus. Confidite igitur. Quæ autem hic verbo repoſuiſtis, ea perlecto etiam hoc ſupplici libello nunc nobis porrecto conſiderabimus, captoque conſilio, quidquid juxta benignam Intentionem noſtram, æquitatemque juſtitiæ conveniens fuerit, faciemus, habebitiſque congruam reſolutionem.

De cætero Vobis, veſtriſque Principalibus, Cæſareo-Regia Gratia noſtra propenſi manemus.

‘ Hæc elocuta ſua Majeſtate Sacratiſſima viciſſim Ablegatus ait:

Sereniſſime Imperator, periculum noſtrum, in quo jam Principales mei facto ipſo conflictantur, moram non patitur; ac proinde per omnia Dei Sacra, & per omnia jura regalia obteſtor, ut Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima benigne, & quidem cito ſuccurrat.

Imperator reſpondit: Jam, jam erit.

‘ His flexo poplite diſceſſum.

Sacratiſſima Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtas.

Domine, Domine nobis Clementiſſime,

‘ NIXI Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ benigniſſima Reſolutione nupera in Perſonali audientia Hominibus noſtris jam à triennio apud Auguſtiſſimam Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Aulam, in calamitoſiſſima jam agonizantis Religionis noſtræ Evangelicæ Materia, maxima cum profuſione ſumptuum degentibus, ac ejuſdem Regio-auctoritativæ opitulationis legalem medelam toties ac toties ſuppliciter implorantibus, clementer impertita, ut ut fiducia pleni juxta (uti certo inaudivimus) qua ſcripto tenus, qua etiam ore tenus, jam ſubſecutam & extradatam Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ clementiſſimam nos Articulariter omnino accommodandi Declarationem, & Reſolutionem, ejuſdem realem effectuationem de die in diem avidiſſime præſtolaremur; nihil tamen, quod huic noſtræ exſpectationi reſponderet, adusque maxima noſtri cum infelicitate obtinere potuimus, ſicut nec poſſumus: Quin (juſſis & mandatis Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ, uti anno præterito ante diſceſſum ſuum Auguſtam Vindelicorum, ita nunc quoque neſcimus, quibus cunctationibus in majorem noſtri adflictionem ipſa morte acerbiorem citra ullum effectum ſuppreſſum euntibus) indies major ac major, nimia inſolentia cleri univerſaliter in Regno ad libitum in Evangelicos graſſantis, nihilque Leges & Conſtitutiones Regni curantis; ſed omnia ex arbitrio ſuo agentis, nos ſubit calamitas.

‘ Hic etenim (brevitatis cauſa) ejuſdem illegales, Articulariterque vetitorum certorum Salariorum ab Evangelicis indifferenter ſibi pendendorum prætenſas ſolutiones, hactenus indiſcriminatim in Comitatibus, maxima Magnatum & Nobilium, horumque ſubditorum Evangelicorum cum oppreſſione, brachio quoque militari extortas prætereuntes (ejectis perprius ante circiter biennium è Civitate Superioris Hungariæ Epperies, loco alias Articulari Miniſtris trium Nationum Evangelicis, Scholæque docentibus, jamnum iterum ibidem Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ nomine (quo nimium præjudicioſa abuteretur) docentem quoque puerorum & puellarum eoſdem in Lectura, Scriptura, & Arithmeticis, aliiſque convenientibus pietatis ſtudiis informantem, ſub pœna relegationis ſevere inhibere, temere audens.

‘ Recentiſſime adhæc in Regia Superioris itidem Regni Hungariæ partium Civitate Nagybanya (quæ etiam una è Reliquis Civitatibus & locis Articularibus libero Religionis Evangelicæ exercitio, & Commiſſionali exciſione locorum, ædificandorum novorum Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum Articulariter inſimul dotata: Jam vero Anno præterito 89. circa initium Menſis Novembris interventu Commiſſionis Prainerianæ tali beneficio citra ullam legalem cauſam inſtinctu ſolum Dominorum P. P. Jeſuitarum exquiſito ſub prætextu violatarum quarundam Reverſionalium per minas & terriculamenta Excellentiſſimi Domini Stephani Cſaky, Anno adhuc 1674. dudum præterito extortarum; virtute tamen 25 Articuli Sopronienſis caſſatarum, iterum ex integro privata & orbata eſſet) Reverendiſſimus Pater Franciſcus Ravaſz Soci. Jeſu, aſſiſtentia ejuſdem loci commendantis, inclyti regiminis Houchiniani locum tenentis, cœtum Evangelicum præmiſſa publicatione, Ne quiſquam diebus feſtis ullos labores exerceat: Ne neo-natas proles aliorſum extra civitatem baptizandas efferat: Ne audiendarum concionum Evangelicarum, cultuſque ſui exercendi cauſſa ad circumjacentia extera loca exeat: Ne horum familia domeſtica domi cantet, legat, oretque, &c. Ad cæremonias Religioni ipſorum contrarias, ſub duri alioquin Arreſti comminatione, gravibuſque pecuniariis extorſionibus cogere & compellere: Evangelicorum domos, feſtivis diebus medio Muſquetariorum perluſtrare & rimari, eoſdem in vineis, & promontoriis inſectari, & vel ex minima ſuſpicione, utut etiam nihil operarum feciſſent, citra ullam diſtinctionem perſonarum captivare, inque ſqualidum locum

‘ arreſti

1692. 'arreſti includere, ac abinde non prius niſi depoſita, à Commendante denuntiata, 10, 20, 30 Florenorum (ſi eo pauperior etiam eſſet) ſumma dimittere: Neonatos liberos ſuos ad extera loca medio Confeſſioni ſuæ addictorum Miniſtrorum baptizandos efferentes, poſt perpeſſos ſqualidos carceres ad libitum lytrare. Miſeris mendicantibus ex Hoſpitali Evangelico ejectis, inque ſtabulum quoddam ſe receptis, niſi Templum Catholicorum frequentaverint, Cæſionem è Civitate per Carnificem fiendam apertiſſime indicere. Studioſos quoſcunque, quamvis etiam patricios ab ingreſſu Civitatis, & viſitatione parentum Conſanguineorum, Cognatorum, & amicorum ſuorum contra dictum naturæ omnimode arcere, & ſiqui per inanimadvertentiam Civitatem intraverint, immediate capere, hinc inde raptare, verberibus fœdare, arreſto includere, tandemque deſumpta arbitraria taxatione, tamquam prædonem & adulterum per Germanos milites Civitate expellere: Uno verbo, omnium afflictionum generibus eoſdem acerbiſſime affligere, & angere, auſu proprio præſumens, paſſim ubique omnia ſuſque deque omnino proterve ageret.

'Et quæ alibi locorum his ſimilia alia, aut etiam majora ejuſdem cleri, ſicut & ſecularium Dominorum Catholicorum, uti noviſſime Domini Sigiſmundi Eſzterhazy Jazygum Vice Capitanei, & Franciſci Sûtter, ſubſtituti Vice Comitis Comitatus Peſtienſis, cum eorundem famulitio, Evangelicos oppidi Jazbéreny, ante tres circiter ſeptimanas improviſe adorientium, captiſque perprius potioribus Evangelicis, ac Carceri ejuſdem oppidi iiſdem injectis, inque præſentiarum detentis, eorundem Templum ſumptibus propriis exſtructum, Turrim adhæc, & campanas occupantium, ac ibidem ſecuritatis cauſa in depoſito exiſtentia bona diripientium, inſuperque omnia Pia legata majori ex parte ex rebus aureis & argenteis conſtantia, fide mediante extorquentium, & auferentium, tandemque Templum funditus diruentium, eſſent violenter attentata.

'Hinc afflictiſſimæ Religionis noſtræ calamitas, & in paterna Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ erga miſeros nos fideles ſuos ſubditos propenſione locata fiducia hanc nobis impoſuit neceſſitatem, ut repræſentata ingraveſcentium indies ærumnarum noſtrarum mole, qua à clero, ſine intermiſſione premimur, ad Majeſtatis Veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ, Clementia, Miſericordia & juſtitia pleniſſimum thronum tali in coanguſtatione & oppreſſione ſpirituali conſtituti, inde ſinentibus pronis precibus noſtris confugientes Regiæ Auctoritatis ſuæ vindicias, ſecundum libertatem noſtram Articularem demiſſo hocce Memoriali noſtro iterum atque iterum imploremus.

'Quare habita reflexione ad præmiſſas iteratas noſtras articulariter deductas ſupplicationes, Laxenburgi die 27 Maii, & Viennæ 22 Junii præteritorum Menſium ſub perſonali audientia Hominum noſtrorum Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ humillime exhibitas, denuo ad pedes Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ, qua ſummi Juſtitiarii noſtri, Legumque Aſſertoris Maximi provoluti, per ſalutifera Chriſti vulnera, profunda ſubmiſſione Majeſtatem Veſtram Sacratiſſimam exoramus, quatenus tot ac tantis gemitibus, lamentis, & querulationibus noſtris Regio ſuo Cordi ſumptis, nos plane depreſſos per dudum exoptatam, totque memorialibus humillime expetitam per Intimum Conſilium ſuum, non vero Judicatum Cleri (nobis alias infenſi, exterminationemque noſtri minitantis, & ob id etiam juſſa & mandata Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ ocyus exſequenda ſtudio protrahentis, majorique calamitatum labyrintho nos inducere ſatagentis) determinandam Reſolutionem Regia auctoritate erigere, afflictiſſimumque ſtatum noſtrum ab omnibus adverſitatibus Cleri vindicare, inque legalem, ſecuram, & mille votis deſideratam Conſcientiarum tranquillitatem jam tandem locare, & conſtituere non dignetur, quo illæſa conſcientia Deo, illibataque fidelitate Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ debita ſervitia noſtra eo pacatiori & alacriori animo præſtare, ſicque ſub auſpicatiſſimis Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ tutelaribus Alis tranquillam ſemper una cum poſteris noſtris tranſigere poſſimus vitam. Quam impetratam gratiam perpetuis fidelitatis noſtræ obſequentiſſimis ſtudiis, omnibus viribus demereri conabimur. Clementiſſima præſtolata Reſolutione permanemus

Ejuſdem Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ

Humillimi perpetuoque fideles ſubditi

Superiorum & Inferiorum
Regni Hungariæ, Partium, Comitatuum, Civitatum, Oppidorum,
Confiniorum, & Pagorum Univerſi Evangelici.

Exhib. die 2 Aug. ſuæ Majeſt. Sacr.

Sacratiſſima Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtas.

Domine, Domine Clementiſſime,

‘DICTU fere inexplicabile, Sacratiſſime Imperator, jam ab integro triennio apud Auguſtiſſimam Majeſtatis veſtræ Aulam, maximo gravium ſumptuum cum impendio laborantibus nobis, quot & quanta lamenta, quantas item querulationes, & ſupplices preces noſtras, nimium turbatæ Articularis Religionis noſtræ Evangelicæ in materia, ad Sacratiſſimos Cæſar. Majeſtatis veſtræ pedes, profundiſſimo de genu, quam humillime depoſuerimus, hac indubia ſpe freti, nos jam tandem in tanta Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ perbelle cognita calamitate & oppreſſione noſtri, Conſcientiarumque noſtrarum coanguſtatione, Categorico-Conſolatoriam Regio-auctoritativam per Intimum Conſilium ſuum determinandam obtenturos reſolutionem. Aſt nedum quicquam ſcire poſſumus, An Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ amore, an vero odio digni habeamur? Cum à præſcripto tempore citra omnem exſpectationem, & toti animo pendentes detineremur, & plane ancipites relinqueremur impræſentiarum: Interea vero (percrebeſcente in Regno tam infelici Conſtitutione noſtra) indies eo liberior clero nos majoribus ac majoribus oppreſſionum injuriis laceſſenti, creſceret audacia, & afflictiſſimarum animarum noſtrarum augeretur moles; (cujus rei inter alia recentiſſima in Superiori Hungaria in Dominio Rakocziano diſtrictu Hegyallia vocato, & in Regia Civitate Nagybanya, alibique, miſeranda ſane teſtatum facerent exempla,) miſera etiam & lacera Evangelica Navicula noſtra æſtuantis ejuſdem Oceani turbinum fluctibus agitata, & periculoſis ſcopulis alliſa, ſicque tota ipſi naufragio ad interitum ſubmergenda, nullo vero aliquo proſpero Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Clementiæ afflante Favonio ſecundata, hocque modo in felicem ſecuritatis portum promovenda, ibique priori integritati ſuæ reſtituenda, ſubmitteretur.

‘Proinde, quandoquidem poſt Deum, in Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ naturaliter congenita Regia Clementia, & miſericordia, unicam noſtram ſalutis, vitæ, & fortunarum noſtrarum ſervandarum ſpei anchoram defixam haberemus, nec deſit in tantis Calamitatum fluctuationibus anxie clamantibus, ac Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ opem & liberationem avidiſſime implorantibus nobis, Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ potentia hujuſmodi ferventes turbinum procellas ipſius Cleri, ſeria Regiæ auctoritatis ſuæ demandatione, tranquillandæ talis tempeſtatis, ſedandi, noſque juvandi, & felici exitu ad ſpecialis Regiæ ſuæ Gratiæ Sereniſſimum portum benigniſſime deductos integre conſervandi, ac ſpiritualis vitæ libertate, Articulariter alias gratioſiſſime impertita, ulterius quoque clementiſſime donandi: Conſtanti demiſſæ ſupplicationis obtinendæ Articularis juſtitiæ noſtræ propoſito, iterum atque iterum ad Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam quam ſubjectiſſime recurrentes, eandem per immenſam Miſericordiam Dei, perque viſcera ſalvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti obſecramus, dignetur jam tandem ſe nobis exorabilem reddere, noſque compatibilibus Regio-paternæ miſericordiæ ſuæ oculis benigniſſime intuendo, à tam acerbiſſimis Cleri inſultibus & perſecutionibus, (antecedentibus ſupplicibus libellis noſtris ſatis ſuperque Majeſtati veſtræ repræſentatis,) vindicare, neque permittere, ut Sanctiſſimo Verbo ſuo Regio firmato, Articuliſque Regni admiſſo, & ſtabilito libero Religionis noſtræ Evangelicæ, cultuſque Divini exercitio, ejuſque acceſſoriis, ruptis contra jus gentium & diplomate Regio, & etiam omnibus ſolemnibus mutuæ tolerantiæ Articularibus pactionibus, privemur, adque inſuetas cæremonias, & Sacra Religioni noſtræ contraria, reluctante conſcientia præſtanda, violentis mediis compellamur: (*Hujuſmodi ſiquidem cultus Deo plane eſſet invitus, præſtantibus periculoſus, ſtatui vero Catholico, & ejus doctrinæ contumelioſus: Cum Chriſtus Dominus neminem ad ſuorum numerum, niſi voluntarium militem adſcribi voluit, ut divinis juſſis ſponte obtemperans æternam ſalutem conſequatur: Ita perhibente Tridentina Catecheſi in Doctrina de baptiſmo: Nec enim Evangelici rigoroſis & adverſis illis modis, quibus per Clerum ad amplectendam Religionem Catholicam divexari ſolerent, ac etiamnum divexantur, adigi venirent, inſigni & prope ſingulari, aiente Huetio Prop. 9. c. 8. de Gentili ſuperbia ac morum feritate per vim Evangelii depoſita; Chriſti Jeſu, ejuſque ſectatorum, charactere, manſuetudine & lenitate exiſtente: Armaque, quibus bellum gereret Chriſtus, eſſent verba ſpiritus, Juſtitia & Fides, inquiente eodem Huetio Demonſtrat. Evang. Propoſ. 9. cap. 65. hæc vero à ſpiritu Dei ex ejus verbo proficiſci, & non per compulſiva media generari ſolerent. Hinc etiam gladio ſpiritus, verbo nempe Dei, non vero gladio corporali & formali, qui S. Petro ſuæ vaginæ recondendus, ſub gravi Comminatione à Chriſto Domino demandatus eſſet, ad devincendum*

1692. *cendum eos, opera per clerum impendenda foret, merus alioquin incrudeſceret Atheiſmus, ſi omnium Evangelicorum & Reformatorum cultum proterere ſtuduerit, ægritudineque animi ſuſpicarentur quam multi, ſi jam reluctante Conſcientia Deo ſerviendum eſſet, non eſſe, qui curam rerum agat humanarum :)* ‘ Quin Clero ſuis contentum vivere finibus, non vero Dominii ſui fimbrias ad Evangelicos Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Confeſſioni addictos cœtus (dum nullam Juris & Dominii Spiritualis proprietatem in eos haberet, ipſeque æque atque illi Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ poteſtati, Dominatui, & obſequio parendi ſubditus eſſet) extendere, Regiæ ſuæ auctoritatis decretali præſcripto, per univerſum Regnum benigniſſime publicando, in conſolatorium omnium noſtri, Libertatiſque noſtræ Spiritualis ſtabilimentum, noſtram reſtitutionem, conſervationem, & ſecuram permanſionem, ultimum jam clementiſſime determinare, ſicque ulterioribus querulationibus & lamentis noſtris cohibitione præmiſſorum enormium Cleri exceſſuum, & ardentiſſimis petitionibus noſtris Cæſareo-Regii intimi Conſilii ſui dudum concupita quam propenſiſſima Reſolutione erga effectivam Articularem ſatisfactionem fienda ſuum finem quam gratioſiſſime imponere, ac eo ipſo conteſtari actu, Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam Regem, Dominum, & Patrem noſtrum eſſe Clementiſſimum, benigniſſimum, & Miſericordiſſimum, adeoque nos magis amore Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ quam odio dignos eſſe. Pro qua ergo nos depreſſos efferenda Gratia Regia, D. Opt. M. & Cæſareo Regium ejuſdem Thronum, & Auguſtiſſimam Domum ſuam Auſtriacam omnigenarum felicitatum ubertate, cumulatiſſimaque benedictione affluenter beabit. Clementiſſimam præſtolantes Reſolutionem

Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ

Humillimi, perpetuoque fideles Subditi

Superiorum & Inferiorum
Regni Hungariæ Partium,
Comitatuum, Regiarum,
& Montanarum Civitatum, Oppidorum, Confiniorum, & Pagorum
Univerſi Evangelici.

Exhib. die 28 Menſ. Aug. 1690. Viennæ in perſonali audientia.

1692.

Monſieur,

Le vingtiéme du mois paſſé arriva icy devant la ville une Tartane de Marſeille, avec des Lettres expreſſement depechées de la part de la Cour de France pour l'Ambaſſadeur d'icelle, qui reſide icy. Le dit Ambaſſadeur fit un peu aprés ſcavoir au Caimacam Paſcià, que l'armée Royalle ſons la conduite du Duc de Luxembourg avoit touta fait battu l'armé des Etats des Provinces Unies, avec la perte de tout leur bagage, artillerie, & amunition de guerre: Combien qu'elle fut un peu auparavant renforcée de vingt mille Alemans: Et que la Flotte Froncoiſe, aprés avoir cherchée & trouvée l'es Flottes des Anglois & Hollandois combinées dans le Canal, lés avoit attaquées & miſes en fuitte, avec la perte de vingt vaiſſeaux de guerre, pris ou ruinez. Il y adjouta encor beaucoup des autres nouvelles inventées, receues de Allemagne, Angleterre, Ecoſſe, Irlande, & Savoye: Les quelles furent debitées entre la populace avec une telle vray ſemblance, que la pluſpart les creurent étre abſolument veritables.

En ſuitte de cela demanda le dit Ambaſſadeur la permiſſion de fair publiquement des feux de joye: & la commodité de la poſſe pour un gentilhomme, qu'il diſoit étre expreſſement envoyé du Roy ſon Maitre, pour communiquer ces nouvelles au Grand Vizir. On luy accorda l'un ſecrettement, & l'autre ouvertement: & parce que je n'avois receu le moindre âvis de tout celà, ny de l'état des autres affairs de la Chrétienté, je ne pouvois rien faire contre le debite de ces nouvelles. Mais cette joye ne dura pas longtems; mais ſeulement juſques au 22. quand il arriva icy un expreſſe du Grand Vizir: & peu apres le Caimacam Padiſcià me fit tenir deux de vos Lettres tres civiles du 4 & 6 du mois paſſé d' Aout, bien Seellées & conditionnées, avec les Lettres des Meſſieurs les Etats Generaux, & des autres. Par celleſcy j'appris la conquête abſolve d' Irlande, & la treraitte du Roy Jaques en France. Je ne doute pas, ſi le Roy Guillaume pourroit encor cette étée employer ſes forces contre la France, que cette campagne ſe termineroit heureſement pour les Alliez.

Les Batailles ont été aſſez rudes & difficiles: Mais puiſque le Prince de Waldecq a remiſe l'armée des Etats en meilleur état le 24 de Juillet, qu'elle ne fut devant la bataille, & qu'il même en a donné avis aux Etats, qu'il vouloit le 27 chercher l'ennemy, & luy livrer bataille de nouveau: &,

que les Flottes d' Angleterre & d' Hollande ſont en état de ſe remettre bien tôt en mer, j'eſpere, que nous en aurons en peu de tems des bonnes nouvelles, comme auſſi des armées des Alliez, principalement de cella de Savoye, que je croy & conſidere comme la principalle.

Je ſuis en cela du même ſentiment, que V. Excel. que la France ſuccomberà tôt ou tard, qu'elle ſe remue, tant qu'elle veuille; & principalement, quand toutes les Forces d'Angleterre ſe jetteront ſur elle. J'ay fait une ouverture de tout celà, & de tout ce, qui me parût etre utile aux nos affaires, au Grand Vizier: & je l'ay exhorté dienvoyer plein pouvoir aux Miniſtres de la Porte, qui ſont a Comarom, de traitter & conclurre la Paix, ou la treſue, avec les Imperiaux: En quel ces je l'aſſurois, que V. Exc. & l'Envoyé d' Angleterre diregeroient ſelon les ordres du Roy & des Etats l'affaire de telle ſorte, que cette guerre ſi ſanglante ſeroit bien tôt heureuſement terminée d'une on d'autre maniere, avec ſatisfaction & au contentement des Parties. J'adjoutois encor à tout cela la feibleſſe de la France, & le grand peril, que ce Roya-Court: & j'ay luy remontré de nouveau, & aſſuré, que le Roy, pour eviter ſa totale ruine, ſollicite continuellement ſous main le Pape & la Republique de Veniſe, pour obtenir la Paix par leur interceſſion: & par Conſequence, qu'il ſoit tems, que les principaux Miniſtres de la Porte ouvrent enfin les yeux, & que ſe reſſouvenans de la perfidie des Francois tant de fois eprouvée contre tous les contracts faits avec la Porte, ils ayent enfin une horreur de cette nation perfide & trompeuſe, qui ne cherche rien d'autre choſe, que ſon prope interêt, & qui ne ſe ſoncie point des plaintes des leurs Alliez, formées ſur le dementy de leur parole, honneur, & ſermens, quand elle peut Seulement parvenir au bout de leur deſſeins. J'ay auſſi donné avis au grand Vizir de la reſtitution & du renforcement des Armées des Etats par terre, & par mer: & l'ay parfaitement informé del état des Armées des Alliez ſur le Rhin, & la Meuſe, dans le Pays Bas, la Savoye, Catalogue, & le Milanois, & principalement de la victoire remportée en Irlande. J'ay envoyé cette lettre par poſte au Camp des Turcs: & j'en attens la reponce avant encor que je ferme celle cy, afin de la communiquer à V. Excel.

Le Caimacam Paſcia me demanda, aux quelles conditions je croiois qu'on pourroit faire une Paix: Sur celà je luy remontray le vray interêt de ſon Maitre, & dis, que j'attois d'opinion, qu'on feroit la tréve à cette condition, que chacum retiendroit, ce, qu'il poſſede. Ce Caimacam eſt aſſez porté pour la paix, mais il depend tout du Grand Vizir: C'eſt pourquoy qu'il faudrà attendre ſa reponce ſur ma derniere, pour ſcavoir ſa reſolution la deſſus. Mais je ne m'imagine pas, que cette cour ferà queſque choſe dans cette affair ay, devant que la Campagne ſera finie; parce que les trouppes des Imperiaux dans ces quartiers là ſont ſi peu conſiderables, & celles des Turcs fort nombreuſes, d'autant plus, que le Grand Vizir ait deſia mis le Siege avec ſon Armée de vant Nizze, & que le Tökely joint avec les Turcqs ait fait une invaſion dans la Tranſylvanie avec une terrible Maſſacre des Trouppes Imperiales, & la priſe de leur General Heiſler, du Marquis Doria, & du Comte Magni, avec beaucoup des autres Officiers: Joignez-y la priſe de Widin. Tout celà cauſerà un tres grand changement dans les traittez de Paix, & dans les affaires. On a au commencement traitté cette Nation, comme tout a fait abatue, & vaincue: Juſques à ce, qu'on oſoit pretendre d'elle le tribut: Ce qu'irrita les Turcs de telle ſorte, qu'etans au deſeſpoir ils ſe ſont portez à une vigoureuſe defence: & on aurà à faire de les remettre à la raiſon, ſi la Campagne ſe termine pour eux ſi heureuſement, comme elle êt commencée. Connoiſſant donc, combien il importe au Roy d' Angleterre & aux Etats, que cette guerre ſoit finie, je ne laiſſeray pas d'avertir V. Excell. de tems en tems de tout ce, que s'y paſſe.

Le 25 du mois paſſé, quand toutes les preparations étoient faittes par l' Ambaſſadeur de Francoiſe pour les rejouiſſances publiques, le Caimacam, étant mieux informé, fit defence aux Muſiciens de s'en aller au palais du dit Ambaſſadeur: & ainſi diſparut toute cette joye Francoiſe; de ſorte qu'on alluma ſeulement quelques centaines des lampes, & qu'ondechargea troſfois quelques pierriers retirez des barques Francoiſes, mis dans la baſſecourt du dit hôtel. Cette Ceremonie ſe finit à huit heures du ſoir: & le jour ſuivant l'Ambaſſadeur fit ôter tout cet appareil à l'inſtance Serieuſe du Caimacam: Mais il ne peut pas digerer cela, ſans en montrer ſon mecontentement, & chagrin.

A Pera di Conſtan-
tinopoli, ce 14 de
Sept. 1690.

AYANT achevé calle-cy juſques là, & deſtitué d'une occaſion favorable de l'envoyer à V. Excell. je receus le 29 par mon dragoman, qui revenoit du Campement Turcq une Lettre du Grand Chancelier de cett' Empire. Il in écrit, que le Premier Vizir avoit receu ma Lettre avec les Relations, qui y etoient jointes, du 25 d' Août, & qu'il l'avoit leue avec beaucoup de plaiſir & ſatisfaction, ſans s'expliquer d'avantage: Mais il y adjoute ſeulement, que le Grand Vizir me prie de luy faire ce plaiſir de l'informer doreſenavant de tems en tems de tout ce, qui ſe paſſera dans la Chrétienté. Cette reponce me fait juger (ſauf un meilleur jugement) que le Grand Vizir attendrà juſques à la fin de cette Campagne, & qu'il prendrà ſes meſures, ſelon le ſucces de ſes entrepriſes, & de celles des Armées des Alliez: & qu' après il formerà la deſſus ſes reſolutions de faire la Paix, ou de continuer la guerre.

Le 9 Sept. ſe rendit la ville de Nizza par accord au Grand Vizir: & le 16. l'Armée decampa & marcha vers Semendria. On m'a averty, que le Grand Vizir voyant le miſerable état des Trouppes Imperialles qui ſe trouvent ſur les frontieres, étoit de reſolution d'attaquer Belgrado. V. Excell. jugerà aiſement, ayant connoiſſance parfaitte de l'humeur & naturel des Turcqs, combiens les affaires ſe changeront par ces heureus ſucces. Je ſeray neanmoins tout mon poſſible de diſpoſer le Grand Vizir à embraſſer la Paix, auſſitôt qu'il Sera de retour dans les Quartiers d'hyver. Mais j'ay beſoin pour celà des nouvelles inſtructions. Quelque avantage remporté ſur les Francois contribueroit beaucoup pour mettre cette Nation à raiſon. Si céla ſe peut faire, il ſerà treſutile, que V. Excell. m'avertiſſe de mois en mois par la voye d'Hongrie de tout ce, qui ſe paſſe dans la Chrétienté, envoyant la duplique par Veniſe. Quand les Trouppes Turcques ſeront dans leurs Quartiers d'hyver, j'eſpere, que j'auray la Commodité d'entretenir cette correſpondance avec V. Excell. par la voye de la Valachie. Je demeure, &c.

De V. Excellence

A Pera di Conſt. ce 3 d'Octob. 1690. le Treshumble Serv.

COLYER.

Voicy une Lettre, qui m'eſt envoyée du Camp Turcq: Dans la quelle V. Excel. trouverà beaucoup des particularitez.

Sacratiſſima Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtas, Domine Domine Clementiſſime.

Auguſtiſſime Imperator,

CUM graviſſimo ſatis Cordolio neceſſitor Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ humillime detegere, quomodo & qualiter afflictiſſimum Hungariæ Regnum in ultima ſua gemat calamitate, ubi jam à viginti & amplius annis hæc miſerrima patria tot bellorum motibus adeo exhauſta, & deſolata, & conquaſſata eſt; ut, ſi ſingula notarentur, in eorundem enumeratione non horæ, aut dies, verum anni cum magnorum voluminum conſcriptione requirerentur: Jam ex infinitis Regni hujus calamitatibus ſolummodo hæc pauca ſubnecto: Quod, poſtquam Anno 1683. ante Septennium evoluto Chriſtiani nominis hoſtis Turca totam Hungariam exceptis aliquot arcibus in fidelitate Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ perſiſtentibus ſui juris feciſſet, ac ipſam Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ reſidentiam, urbem inquam Viennam, obſediſſet, explicari non poteſt, quot millia animarum in Comitatibus Moſonienſi, Sopronienſi, Jaurinenſi, Veſzprimienſi, Comaronienſi trucidaverit, aut in diram abduxerit captivitatem. Oppida & pagos centenos incineravit; Arces, caſtella, curias igne conſumpſit; verbo; milliones damnorum fecit. Quibus peractis, cum Do adjuvante, victricibus Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ ac aliorum Principum Chriſtianorum armis idem hoſtis à Vienna repulſus fuiſſet, quænam damna amicus quoque exercitus Hungariæ intulerit, nemo etiam diſertiſſimus ſatis deſcribere valebit. Nam plurimi pagi totaliter incinerati; incolæ omnibus bonis ſpoliati ac trucidati ſunt: & quod acerbius fuit, illi iidem, qui propter fidelitatem à Turcis in nihilum quaſi redacti fuere, ad ſolvendas tamen contributiones, & ſuſtinenda hyberna quarteria adacti ſunt: Quum tamen vicinæ Auſtriæ ſimiliter ruinatæ ad aliquot annos exemptio data ſit: Quo beneficio Hungariæ partibus à Turca obſervatam fidelitatem totaliter incineratis præter unicum Moſonienſem Comitatum frui non licuit, ſed ad inſtar aliorum contribuere debuerunt, prout hoc in toto illo tractu ſupra Sopronium ſito factum eſt. His acceſſit fames horribilis, ubi comprobari poteſt, homines fame enectos à Sociis inaudito hactenus exemplo devoratos fuiſſe. Poſt hæc ſecuta eſt immenſarum portionum ſolutio: Ubi ſolvi

‘etiam debebat pro iis, qui numquam in rerum natura fuerunt: Quæ in tantum excrevit, ut poſtquam omnem ſuam ſubſtantiam miſeri incolæ proportionibus ſolviſſent, filios ſuos, & filias Turcis vendere coacti ſint, ut ab exſecutione militari ſe liberarent: Qui omnes ad Othomannicam perfidiam tranſiere. Sed cum nec hoc ſufficeret, tandem afflictiſſimi ſubditi charas conjuges ſuas & filias militibus ad illas violandas præbuerunt, & vendiderunt, ut ſaltem aliquod liceret eiſdem habere reſpirium. Hinc adulteria, ſtupra, virginum violationes, innumerabiles ſunt conſecutæ. Sed nec his contenti fuere portionum Exactores, cum ſumma prætenſa omnes incolarum vires & facultates ſuperaret. Itaque ad extrema remedia converſi deplorandi incolæ fœtum quoque in utero materno exiſtentem taxarunt: Sed & animalia prægnantia taxata fuere ad ſolvendas contributiones: Quod in Comitatibus Peſt, Pilis, & Solz contigiſſe ipſimet exactores faſſi ſunt. Super hæc non pauci, dum hanc nimiam contributionem ſolvere non poſſent, præ deſperatione laqueo vitam finiverunt: Alii occiſis prius prolibus ac uxore ſibimet mortem intulerunt violentam: Qui caſus in Comitatu Trenchinienſi, ac in Superiore Hungaria contigit. Præterea millenæ animæ, non valentes tam immenſum jugum ſupportare, ad alias regiones tranſmigrarunt, vacuam & deſertam relinquentes patriam: Ob quæ ſuper alios innocentes facta eſt executio militaris. Miles itidem nullam ſervat diſciplinam militarem, ſed omnia libere agit, totum Regnum depilando, & devaſtando. Cum vero per aliquam regni partem tranſit, non aliter ac cum hoſtibus agit; & ubi currus, aut equos pro vectura ſufficientes habere non poteſt, nobiles & ruſticos onerat, velut jumenta: Sicque eos horribiliter verberando ad onera portanda propellit: Quod factum eſt in Comitatibus Sopronienſi & Caſtriferrei. Et paſſim in aliis innumerabiles pagos combuſſit, nobiles perſonas vulneravit: Etiam non paucos occidit: Prout hoc cum duobus innocentibus Nobilibus Scholaribus Tyrnaviæ accidit. De quibus Cæſibus etſi ſæpius querela apud eos, ad quos pertinebat, expoſita fuerit, nulla tamen data eſt deſuper ſatisfactio: Quin potius tales querulantes novis afficiebantur injuriis: Adeo, ut juſtitiam prorſus exulaſſe nemo non videat. His accedit, quod Commendantes locorum occupatorum longe lateque in circuitu & diſtrictu illo imperitant, & miſeros ſubditos ſibi contribuere cogunt. Item Adminiſtratores Camerales ad vecturas, gratuitos labores, Contributiones, aliaſque infinitas exactiones pendendas cum executione militari ſuper omnes portionum ſolutiones afflictam plebem impellunt, taliqueque pacto incolas ad ultimam adigunt deſperationem. Et ſane hæc inaudita contributio ad tantam excrevit ſummam, ut ab Ann. 1683. uſque ad hunc 1690, triginta Milliones ſuperat data ſolutio, præter Tranſſylvaniam & Conquiſta. Super hæc autem quanti conſtent militum exceſſus, ſolus ille ſcire poteſt, ante cujus conſpectum nihil occulti eſt: Partes quoque antea Turcis dedititiæ uno ore fatentur, ſe intra hos ſeptem annos Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ, plus debuiſſe ſolvere, quam centum annis immani Chriſtiani nominis hoſti Turcæ. Quinimo à quo Hungaria ſtat in fide Chriſtiana, tanta onera, quanta modo, numquam ſupportare coacta fuit. Et quod plane mirandum eſt, reſpectu vicinarum Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ Provinciarum nulla proportio ſervatur. Verum Hungaria, quæ alias etiam ſedes belli eſt, majoribus oneratur contributionibus. Unde apparet ex præmiſſis, quaſi intentio ſit, ut Hungaria ſit hominibus penitus vacua, ac ferarum habitaculum; quæ tamen à tribus & amplius ſeculis pro defenſione reliquæ Chriſtianitatis ſuum fudit Sanguinem; ac generoſe contra Turcas dimicando vicina regna Chriſtiana protexit. Hinc quid amplius faciant miſeri incolæ, qui jam ultimum ſanguinem ſuum cum tota ſubſtantia dederunt? Non habent, quod contribuant. Itaque efflagitant reſpirium aliquod, ut ſaltem vivere illis cum uxoribus ac prolibus liceat, & poſſint poſt tam inſupportabile jugum ad aliquam pervenire requiem; cum alias etiam vix ulla detur in orbe natio, quæ talia cogitur ſupportare onera.

‘Nihilominus etſi totaliter ruinati ſunt miſeri patriotæ, videntes tamen hoſtium Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ acceſſionem, ecce parati erunt arma capere, & cum exercitu Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ ſe conjungere, ac in hoſtem proficiſci. Unde ſpero, quod ſex millia hominum, equitum videlicet & peditum ex parte regnicolarum prodibunt, ſi Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima futuram hanc hybernarum portionum ſolutionem ipſis clementiſſime relaxare, & in hanc militis conductionem, & intertentionem commutare dignabitur: Quibus ſi adjungantur milites confiniarii, facile decem millia virorum efficere poterunt: Qui omnes utile ſane ſervitium præſtabunt, & ad modum ac normam Regiminum ordinari, & hac hyeme exerceri deberent: Eſſentque decem formalia Regimina, quinque equitum, & quinque peditum, qui in Hungaria ad liberam Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ diſpoſitionem applicari poſſent. Neque vero iiſdem diffidendum eſt: Ipſi enim hactenus quoque in debita fidelitate perſtiterunt tam diu, quam diu immanis Turca non totam occupavit Hungariam: Ubi reſiſtere nemo potuit; cum & arma quoque Majeſtatis Veſtræ Cæſareæ receſſerint. Auguſtiſſime Imperator, exiſtimo hoc ſervitium ſpontaneum afflictiſſimorum regnicolarum pro ſervitio Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ utilius fore, quam portionum ſolutionem; quæ utinam non ad ultimam deſperationem adigat patriotas miſeros: Unde ſi Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ benigne placuerit hæc modalitas, oportet, ut intra breve tempus cognoſcam clementiſſimum Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ aſſenſum; & tum diſpoſitionem quoque facere poſſim ſuper contribuendis militibus: De cujus modalitate Majeſtatem veſtram Sacratiſſimam etiam, hic Viennæ humillime informare non intermittam. Et ſane, Auguſtiſſime Imperator, cum neceſſario miles Germanicus in Hungariam migrare pro hac hyeme debeat, miles Hungaricus hac conditione offertur, ut prælibatus miles Germanicus proprio vivat ſumptu, tam in tranſitu, quam in quartirio: & non onerentur loca non cincta actuali quartirio, cum ſint alias etiam ſufficientiſſima & capaciſſima loca, in quibus magna Armata poteſt optime collocari: Quæ etiam, ſi Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima clementiſſime mandaverit, paratus ſum in aliqua conferentia proximis diebus inſtituenda demonſtrare; humillime iterum atque iterum ſupplicando, Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima dignetur ex innata Cæſarea Regiaque Clementia ſua Nationem Hungaricam, eidemque annexos incolas paterno affectu ſuo proſequi, & humillimos ſuos ſubditos ſublevando benigniſſime conſolari. Pro qua Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ, gratia Deus Opit. Max. longævum ac feliciſſimum concedat Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ ejuſdemque Auguſtæ domui, Regimen: Hæc erant, quæ Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ velut Regni Palatinus ſumma cum demiſſione repræſentare volui. Viennæ 7 Novembr. Ann. 1690.

Sacr. Cæſar. Regiæq; Majeſtati veſtræ

Humillimus perpetuoque fidelis Servus

PAULUS ESZTERHASY.

Deus Benedicat.

EX querela Commiſſionis Cæſareæ ſuæ Majeſtatis bene animadverti, quaſi vero ego eſſem cauſſa, quod veſtri Prædicantes coram Commiſſione Cæſarea non compareant. Eo facto volebat emittere ad vos ducentos milites Muſquetarios: Sed inſtiti pro dilatione exmiſſionis illorum, dicens: Quod ex veſtris hominibus percepi vos injunxiſſe Veſtris Prædicantibus, aut coram Commiſſione ſuæ Majeſtatis compareant, aut vero nolentes abſcedant. Quæ veſtra obſequiatis accommodatio valde fuit ad placitum Commiſſionis Cæſareæ: Voſque adhortatur ſerio modo incluſarum, ſub pœna damni maximi pagis meis infligendi ad parendum, damnumque evitandum. Quocirca ne mandatum Commiſſionis Cæſareæ ſuæ Majeſtatis ego quoque contemptim negligere inſimuler, eadem à Commiſſione Cæſarea vobis indicta impono peragenda, ſub mulcta ducentorum thalerorum; & in omnibus ita pareatis, ut damna vobis inſequentia præcaveatis: Quæ ſi intervenerint, non noſtra, ſed veſtra culpa factum eſſe putetis. Deus vobiſcum.

Quinque Eccleſiis
die 15 Febr. An.
1690.

Dominus veſter terreſtris

Franciſcus Jani Abbas
Pecſváradienſis.

P. S. Relationem à vobis de acceptis his meis Literis eo facto expectabo, excuſaturus me coram Commiſſione ſuæ Majeſtatis, nullamque propter vos jacturam paſſurus.

Literæ,

Vereſmarthienſibus, Ciuzaienſibus, Sepſcienſibus, & Karanczienſibus incolis tranſmiſſæ.

Exemplum literarum Domini Referendarii Regni Szezuka ad Reſidentem Cæſareum Szymoinsky.

LITERÆ Illuſtriſſ. Dominationis veſtræ tam Sacræ Regiæ Majeſtati Domino meo Clementiſſimo, quam mihi,

1692. ‘ redditæ ſunt per Curſorem circiter vel ultra octiduum. Poſt quas ſiquidem promiſſum Dominationis veſtræ Illuſtriſſ. adventum ſubſecuturum indies ſperabam, commendatum ab ipſo negotium differebatur ad præſentiam ejuſdem.

‘ Dum vero rurſus de 6 Febr. gratiſſimas Illuſtriſſ. Dominationis veſtræ accipio, communicavi eaſdem quam primum Sacræ Regiæ Majeſtati Domino meo Clementiſſimo. Cujus mentem & ſtudia erga Auguſtiſſimum, prout ſemper, ita etiam & nunc ardentiſſimis affectibus exuberare cognovi, licet non abſque ſummo angore animi hucuſque hic detineatur, ob nullam reſolutionem Neoburgo ad hoc ipſum momentum, nec ſciat, quomodo ulterius rebus ſuis & diſpoſitionibus inſiſtere debeat. Si enim quamcunque Neoburgo categoricam accepiſſet notitiam, jam non modo in itinere, ſed Varſaviæ pridem fuiſſet. Accedit ad ejuſdem Sacræ Regiæ Majeſtatis graviſſimam moleſtiam, quod ne Vienna quidem hucuſque ullam firmitudinem habeat de quantitate jungendarum quomodo & qualiter copiarum, Auguſtiſſimi cum ſuis pro futura belli expeditione, qua jam vix unico à nobis menſe diſtare videtur.

‘ Sed nec in Moſcoviam pridem deſtinari promiſſus hucuſque comparet Ablegatus, de cujus adventu Sacra Regia Majeſtas jam dudum certa proprium etiam Aulicum ablegare jam deſignaverat. Interim in Moſcovia continuus aliquis percrebeſcit rumor ſuſpiciones vel timores hoſtium ciens. Vel ſi hoc deeſſet periculum, donec perveniat deſideratus Ablegatus, donec aliquid ſuaſum effecerit, Vernum tempus tranſibit, adeoque illa auxilia vel nulla, vel poſt bellum.

‘ Legati etiam à Palatino Moldaviæ illuc perveniſſe certo dicuntur cum conditionibus Pacis à Porta proponendis. Quæ omnia dum Sacra Regia Majeſtas Dominus meus Clementiſſim. Illuſtriſſ. Dominationi veſtræ expoſita eſſe voluit, deſiderare videtur, ut tamquam optimus Miniſter publicæ Communis, ac Reipubl. Chriſtianæ felicitatis percupidus, Auguſtiſſimo Imperatori ita repræſentare velit, quomodo expeditior rerum omnium, ac negotii futuræ bellicæ expeditionis fieri valeat determinatio.

‘ Quantum ſpectat propoſitum negotium reſpectu Conditionum Pacis cum Porta per Angliæ & Hollandiæ Ablegatos communicandarum, jam id Sacram Regiam Majeſtatem Dominum meum Clementiſſimum ante quatuor forte ſeptimanas præſtitiſſe, punctaque earum Conditionum 1691. in Manus Domini Ablegati, Reſidentis ſui, tranſmiſiſſe, neceſſum eſt conſtare Illuſtriſſ. Dominationi veſtræ, ægre licet in id ipſum conſentiente Senatu Leopoli pro tribunali Theſauri Regni aſſidente, ob eam vel maxime rationem, quod per Miniſtros externos, nec ullum commercium in dicto negotio nobiſcum habentes, res devolvatur.

‘ Effecit tamen Sacra Regia Majeſtas Dominus meus Clementiſſimus quo ſine mora prædictæ Conditiones, quarum hic annecto copiam, Viennam mitterentur, ut re ipſa exhiberet, quantum etiam in arduis voluntati Auguſtiſſimi obſecundare contendat: Cui quod me commendandum promittat, intra fortunam vitæ reputabo, ſi ſaltem nomine tenus innotuiſſe Auguſtiſſimæ Majeſtati Domino Clementiſſimo licuerit: Qui etiam mortibus duorum fratrum meorum patruelium ad Belgradum redimere annixus ſum memoriam mei. Quod reliquum eſt, obſequia mea Illuſtriſſimæ Dominationi veſtræ plurimum commendo, manſurus ſemper, &c.

Zolkiewiæ, d. xiii. Febr.
Anno 1691.

Conditiones ad Tractatum Pacis cum Fulgida Porta Othomannica ex parte Sereniſſ. Regis & Reip. Poloniæ Conſtantinop. deſignandæ.

I.

‘ TRACTATUS omnis & prætextus quocunque modo per Fulgidam Portam acquiſitus ad Podoliam & Ukrainam, uti avitas & hæreditarias Regni Poloniæ Provincias, ac recenter armis recuperatas, in perpetuum aboleatur, præſidiumque Turcicum ex fortalitio Camenecenſi abducatur, cum integra ejuſdem fortalitii ac rei tormentariæ ibidem exiſtentis in manus Polonorum traditione.

II. Moldavia, quæ jam magna ex parte à Sacr. Reg. Majeſt. Poloniæ occupata, & Valachia, quæ utraque olim Provincia Sereniſſimorum Regum Poloniæ tributaria erat, juri & poſſeſſioni Seren. Reg. Majeſt. Poloniæ relinquantur, una cum omnibus iſtis ditionibus, quas Budziacenſes & Bi-

1692. ‘ alogrodenſes Tartari incolunt: Ita ut limes ſit Fluvius Danubius.

‘ III. Hanus & Tartari Crimenſes, uti cauſatores omnium bellorum, & damnorum, per Fulgidam Portam ab excurſionibus & inferendis damnis contineantur, & cohibeantur: Ita ut, quoties illata fuerint, Fulgida Porta eadem etiam refundat.

‘ IV. Damna bellorum, & tot provinciæ deſolatæ, ac in cineres redactæ, juſto & æquo valore compenſentur.

‘ V. Cozacis univerſaliter omnibus tam Ukrainenſibus, quam Zaporoſienſibus, nullo unquam prætextu, Porta Othomannica directe vel indirecte rebellionis fautoratum, aut protectionem præbebit.

‘ VI. Boryſthenes Fluvius munitionibus & præſidiis Turcicis, tam vetuſtioribus, quam recentioribus, expurgetur, & evacuetur.

APPENDIX.

‘ Conditiones ex parte Czarorum Moſcoviæ circa tractatum à Sereniſſimis Colligatis proponendæ, ut locum ſuum habeant, & à Fulgida Porta acceptentur.

Sacratiſſima Cæſarea Regiaque Majeſtas, Domine Domine nobis naturaliter Clementiſſime.

‘ DEMISSE repræſentare cogimur Majeſtati veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ quod quamvis Majeſtas veſtra Sacratiſſima tempore glorioſæ Inaugurationis & Coronationis Neo-Regis noſtri Joſephi, in Comitiis Poſonienſibus, inclytis Statibus & Ordinibus Regni Hungariæ hoc ipſum proponi curaverit: Quod videlicet bona Neo-acquiſita, ac victricibus armis è faucibus gentis Othomannicæ glorioſe erepta, eripiendaque, denuo Regno huic Hungariæ benigne incorporare, iiſdemque legibus, & non novis gubernare, in ſuis immunitatibus & libertatibus conſervare vellet, ac niteretur: Ac inſuper Articulos quoque Sopronienſes ſuper Religionis exercitio conditos 25 & 26 in iiſdem Comitiis gratioſe confirmaſſet: In quibus Templa omnia, in quorum tempore conditionis eorundem Articulorum actuali poſſeſſione ſtatus Evangelicus extitit, una cum Parochiis & Scholis, ac earundem proventibus, præ manibus eorundem relinqui ac permanere gratioſe reſolviſſet, & quod impoſterum nullæ Templorum, Scholarum, & Parochiarum Occupationes, vel exercitii turbationes fiant, in hoc Regno Hungariæ, ſub pœna ibidem expreſſa, ſevere inhibuiſſet: Nihilominus tamen poſtpoſitis iſtis & poſtergatis omnibus, Reverendiſſimi Domini Matthias Radonai, Epiſcopus quinque Eccleſienſis, & Franciſcus Jani, Abbas Peczvaradienſis, qui in partibus noſtris in Superiori & Inferiori videlicet Barovia; circa quinque Eccleſias, è faucibus immaniſſimi hoſtis Ottomannici victricibus armis veſtræ Majeſtatis glorioſe ereptis, non ut liberum Religionis exercitium imperturbatum relinquerent, quin imo diverſis modalitatibus & viis, quoſlibet exceſſus in præjudicium præfatorum Articulorum ac verbi Regii licenter & pro placito attentarent. Cum enim, Auguſtiſſima Imperatoriaque Majeſtas; iidem præfati Domini Clerici, non, ut mens & intentio veſtræ Majeſtatis eſſet, Regnum in ſtatum priorem è deſolato reducere intenderent; quin imo in eo quoque, quo nunc eſſet, omni ſtudio evertere & deſolare, miſerrimos partium noſtrarum incolas bonis & avitis poſſeſſionibus privare, & ſi eorundem intentionem aſſequi nollent, omnes poſt Turcas relegare non vererentur: Imo ex eo, quod confiteri noluiſſent, variis excogitatis ſub prætextibus incaptivarunt, nonnullis in formam crucis defixis & alligatis hoſtia ori vi intruſa fuit; plenæque poſſeſſiones integræ expilantur, ut hæc manifeſta violentiæ exempla in Civibus Varkonienſibus, Joanne nimirum & Andrea Czoma, pluſquam mille talleras imperiales valenti poſſeſſione ob cauſſam Religionis deſpoliatis, ſatis ſuperque edocent. Ac inſuper ut hæc talia conamina prædictorum D. D. Clericorum perſequi felicius poſſent, Commiſſarium veſtræ Majeſtatis Sacratiſſimæ ad partes Neo-recuperatas exmiſſum, Illuſtriſſimum videlicet Tullium Miglionem, extra ſphæram ſuæ inſtructionis, neſcitur quibus exquiſitis mediis, pro fautore ſibi adſciſcendo, qui denique certos Prædicantes, ut Nadaſdienſem & Manjokienſem, alioſque cives & incolas partium noſtrarum, variis ac variis ſigillo ſuo munitis Commiſſionibus citatos, eoſdemque de libero itu & reditu aſſecuratos, iiſdem D.D. Prælatis inauditis proceſſibus vexandos tradidit, pro uti hæc omnia ex unis literarum citatoriarum paribus ejuſdem

‘ D. Tullii Miglionis ſub dato 14 Februar. emanatis, literaque A notatis, ac literis prætitulati D. Abbatis, dieque ſequenti præfati menſis editis, literaque B ſignatis, & aliis Comminatoriis prædicti D. Commiſſarii, ex idiomate Hungarico in Latinum genuine tranſlatis 21 Febr. extractis, literaque C ſignatis, nec non præfati D. Epiſcopi quinque Eccleſ. ſimiliter in Latinum tranſſumptis, quaſi ſui facti teſtimonialibus 2 Martii exaratis, literaque D notatis, & huic ſupplici libello annexis, clariſſime apparerent. Unde, proh dolor! iſta immanitas exiliit. Ubi ponit fundamentum hæc nobis inflicta crudelitas? Hæc enim omnia Sanctæ determinationi veſtræ Majeſtatis repugnarent, contraque benignam mentem & intentionem veſtræ Majeſtatis practicarentur: Quia pro lubitu in nos graſſari, liberum noſtrum Exercitium interturbare, armorum ſtrepitu, terriculamentis, aliiſque exquiſitis ſub coloribus opprimere nihil penſi ducerent, uti hoc iidem præfati D. Prælati, ac prætitulatus D. Commiſſarius, cum aſſociato Illuſtriſſimo D. Gabriele Veicſi, Commendante Szigetvarienſi, qui adſcitis hinc inde militibus miſeros Vereſmarthienſes, ex eo ſolum fundamento, quod antecedenter intentionem ſuam in eorum excidium intendentem exſequi non permiſerint, manu fere hoſtili crudeliterve adoriendo, omnibus eorundem bonis primum expilatis, tandem iiſdem incolis quibuſdam diſperſis, aliis vero, quos ad manus habere poterant, captis, inque diram captivitatem ſecum abducendo; Miſerandum & horrendum nobis omnibus dederunt exemplum. Cujus rei teſtis eſt prætitulatus D. Epiſcopus quinque Eccleſ. in aliis literis Minatoriis in Latinum ſimiliter tranſſumptis, dieque 17 Martii datatis, literaque E ſignatis. Nam cum ſub jugo Turcico gemebundi tot annorum decurſu jacebamus, pacifico uſu & libertate noſtra ſpirituali utebamur: Æquum eſſet eo magis, ut ſub auſpiciis alarum veſtræ Majeſtatis Sacratiſſimæ tutam & imperturbatam ab omnibus veſtræ Majeſtatis ſubjectis habeamus. Quocirca ad pedes Auguſtiſſimos veſtræ Majeſtatis humillime provoluti per vulnera Chriſti oramus ſupplices, quatenus nobis taliter oppreſſis, & fere in extremitatibus conſtitutis, Majeſtas veſtra Auguſtiſſima (in qua alioquin poſt Deum omnem ſpem & fiduciam liberationis ponimus) paterne ſuccurrere dignetur. Cum enim noſtra libertas conſiſtit vel maxime in libero Religionis exercitio, quod etiam piæ reminiſcentiæ Regum, antequam fortuna novercante noſtras provincias Turca hoſtis Chriſtiani nominis immaniſſimus ſuæ ditioni adjeciſſet, ad hoc uſque tempus permanſit libero uſu intactum, juxta ſuum verbum regium ſanctum, & irrevocabile, Articulis quoque confirmatum, ne ſinat nos taliter opprimi: Verum in ſinum gratiæ ſuæ receptos, contra quoſvis illegitime & indigne impetitores defendere, ac inſuper literas protectionales benigne elargiri non dedignetur, ut nos virtute earundem liberum Religionis noſtræ exercitium reaſſumere, reaſſumptum in tota Superiori & Inferiori Barovia continuare poſſimus ac valeamus. Ac tum præfatis Dominis Prælatis, quam etiam prædicto D. Commiſſario Cæſareo (ita & Commendanti Szigethienſi) decreto mediante clementer demandare, ut ab iſtis perſecutionibus verbo Regio contravenientibus ſuperſederent. Ut tandem nos clementem paternamque Invictiſſimæ Imperatoriæ veſtræ Majeſtatis gratiam experti eo alacriori animo obſequia Majeſtati veſtræ præſtanda exſequi poſſimus. Quam Gratiam & Clementiam Majeſtatis veſtræ Sacratiſſimæ non ſolum ardentibus ad Deum fundendis precibus, verum etiam perpetua fidelitatis noſtræ ſubjectione omni ſtudio remereri contendemus, gratioſam quantocitius præſtolaturi reſolutionem,

Sacr. Cæſ. Regiæque Majeſtatis veſtræ

Humillimi, perpetuoque fideles Subditi

Superioris & Inferioris Baroviæ, Confiniorum, Oppidorum, & Pagorum Cives Evangelicæ Religioni addicti.

Exhib. die 16 April. 1690.

RATIONES,

‘ PROPTER quas à Sacrâ veſtrâ Cæſarea Majeſtate per commiſſum mihi ſupremum exercitus regimen immeritas Imperiales gratias, mihi ad agnoſcendum traditas, magno animi mei mœrore, ſubmiſſiſſime deprecari coactus fuerim. Obligationi ſic tamen meæ incumbat Sacra Cæſarea Majeſtas veſtra (quam ſemper ſubmiſſiſſimo poplite venerari ſtudui, & ſtudebo) quam breviſſime calculum in Hungaria, Tranſylvania, Sclavonia, Servia, & Bulgaria, ſubſiſtentis militis, omniumque neceſſariorum mediorum tam ad oppugnanda, quam defendenda

1692. 'denda confinia, ſecundum exiguam artis ac Martis mei capacitatem, ſine ullius rei notæ neceſſariæ omiſſione, ut & genuinas rationes, cur miles ſuæ Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtatis ita ſit diviſus, omneſque illorum, qui in acie ceciderunt, circumſtantias, & defectum commeatuum, ac qualiter contra tam ingens inimici agmen, ob nobis imminens periculum, diſtantes Provinciæ ac Regiones ſub ſuæ Sacræ Majeſtatis Cæſareæ protectione ultra proferri valeant, exponere, ac declarare.

'I. Igitur, niſi tractatus pacis aliquo temporis intervallo ſepulti reſumantur, & Pax, quæ mihi tamen ignota, à ſuâ Sacrâ Cæſareâ Majeſtate intra breve tempus concludatur, non concipio, qualiter Niſſa & Widdinum, omneſque trans Savum ſiti paſſus, ſine ſpeciali detrimento poſſunt defendi. Widdinum enim locus diſtans, ac nullum niſi Niſſa, & hinc adhuc difficillimum ſuccurſum ſperare poteſt, cum ſpatio unius diei penes Tinock, & illa ardua Starra Planina arctus & plane impenetrabilis paſſus reperiatur, in quo inimicus exiguo tantum milite nobis reſiſtere poteſt, ita ut nominatum Widdin, quod tum à noſtro milite offenſive agendo recuperatum ac munitum eſt, ſi hodie dum intenderet offenſive hoſtem aggredi, jam non ſolum illi omnis offenſiva actio foret prohibita, verum certam jacturam illius munitionis cum omnibus præſidiariis intra breve temporis ſpatium experiremur, & hac quidem de cauſſa: Nam etſi foret aliqua ſpes, aut reſolutio lucrandi temporis, ſciendum tamen eſt, nullum effectum inde emanaturum, cum tunc Tartaris liberum foret Valachiam irrumpere, & inde cum exercitu ſuo Danubium navibus ſine ullo impedimento tranſnavigare Ratio enim eſt, cum permagnum inde apud Widdin ſitam inſulam Danubius ita dividatur, ut etiam cum maximis navibus ſurſum & deorſum navigandi nullum obſtet impedimentum, nec à præſidiariis videri poſſit tunc oppugnari, ex his quoque plus metuenda jactura hujus munitionis, quamvis effective ab hoſte aggredi, & oppugnari non poſſit ; tamen à concurſu vulgi ita includi, ut certo hunc fortificatum paſſum obtineat.

'II. Niſſam quoque ſecundum debilem capacitatem ingenii mei aliter defendi, quam per ingentem exercitum poſſe, non invenio, cum ſecundum omnium opinionem nullo alio modo defendi poſſe judicatum ſit, niſi prius omnes paſſus ex Macedonia & Bulgaria à noſtro milite aſſecurentur, & à copioſo, benêque exercito milite occludantur, omniſque inimico in Boſniam & Serviam introitus impediatur. In toto enim Niſſenſi diſtrictu maximus defectus eſt graminis, quia ille in nimia ſiccitate terræ fundatus eſt : Ita ut ſi hoſtis Procopiam appropinquaret, ibi in omni ſecuritate vivere poſſet, nec ullum ex ſuis Provinciis, propter advehentes diverſa ac neceſſaria vitæ victualia defectum ſperandum haberet. Noſter vero miles non ſolum ob ſimilem defectum circa Niſſam ſubſiſtere non poſſet, verum etiam eidem timendum eſſet, omnia neceſſaria tam per aquam, quam per terram adnavigantibus & advehentibus poſſe impediri, cum tali caſu ab hoſtili conflictu non ſolum navigatio Bulgariæ, Moravæ, & impenetrabilis via circa Jagodinum & Niſſam omnimode invaderetur, verumetiam iis liberum eſſet, ſive magnis, ſive parvis turmis, trans viam, quæ Cruſſa, vel Cracolovetz ducit, ſine omni impedimenti cura uſque Belgradenſem portam accurrere. Multo minus etiam Boſnienſibus, qui ad viginti millia exerciti milites ſunt, in nullo abſoluto loco reſiſti poſſibile eſt, ne penes Servianum Moravam, & illud tantum, tantoque labore recuperatum fortiſſimum Belgradum, uſque ad Danubium perveniant : & tandem ultimo, uti nec dubitari poteſt, hoſtilis exercitus, ſive parvus, ſive magnus, ſe citra Danubium Fetiſlau appropinquaret, uti per experientiam anno præterito captam conſtat, quod etiam viliſſimis & exiguis turmis vel apud Poſſavaretz, vel in vicinia Reſſava, per Gulſcheinæ viam quidem laborioſam, curribuſque periculo expoſitam, ſine omni etiam minimo impedimento Servianum Moravam invadere, & hunc fluvium denuo totaliter inutilem & impracticabilem reddere poſſent (cui malo tamen præcavendum) noſterque exercitus ob ſuas totaliter debilitatas vires tantum tolerare non poſſet, ob tot ac tam difficiles, laborioſaſque vias, quas ſpero ſat clare me demonſtraſſe, quod tam debilis ac parvus exercitus Niſſæ ſubſiſtens tam forti ac tam maghæ hoſtili armadæ non valeat reſiſtere.

'III. Jagodinæ verſabatur exiguus Cæſareus miles, ibi ſtans, ex ſupradictis rationibus in ſimili periculo, maxime cum augendo numerum militum Niſſæ à tam paucis adhuc aliquid plus detrahere neceſſitas cogeret. Vereor itaque, ne cogatur reſiduum, quod ſupereſt, uſque ad inter tormenta, vel ob defectum victualium trans Savum abducere.

'IV. Quod ſi tamen ſua Sacra Cæſarea Majeſtas omnibus his ſepoſitis Clementiſſime annueret Niſſam ad ultimam, eti-

1692. am extremam neceſſitatem oppugnanti hoſti reſiſtere, ſubmiſſiſſime peto veniam, veſtræ *Sacræ Cæſareæ* Majeſtatis informando, huic loco, etiamſi aliquis conflictus, aut exercitus adeſſet, non poſſe ſuccurri, cum per quandam, nempe viam Regiam, quæ unica hora Niſſa, penes Montana & Bulgaricum Moravam ſemialterius horæ arctiſſimus paſſus formatus ſit, ut nullatenus dubitari poſſit, quin hoſtis talem non occupet, & ibi ſuccurſum noſtris impediat. Locus enim iſte, ſi per hunc tempus lucrari quæramus, minimum ſeptem, vel octo millibus, cum omnibus circumſtantiis, ac omnibus neceſſariis, præmuniatur neceſſe eſt, & omnis defectus fortificationis, ſi quis aderit, pugnando compleatur. Ita tamen hoc ſtante, illa militia tanquam ad victimam ducenda ſit, & quid inde emolumenti eruendum, omnium expertorum, imo ſapientiſſimo veſtræ *Sacræ Cæſareæ* Majeſtatis judicio committo, quidque per tot ponderoſas informationes agendum videbitur.

‘V. Quod ſi tamen ſupra relevantia motiva in tam periculoſo ſtatu pro ſecurioribus conſiliis locum obtinuerint, ex ſupradictis cauſis (quod tamen vix poſſibile amplius erit, jamjam appropinquato inimico) Niſſa & Widdinum cum toto ſitu à Servia penes Danubium & Savum retineri non poſſint, cum tamen ad divertendum à Savo hoſtem, & defendendum Belgrad exiguus hic miles vix ſufficiat. Nam licet Belgradum aliquo tempore aucto populo ſe poſſit defendere, tamen propter defectum ſuccurſus, qui ex parte terræ comparere nequiret, in Danubio per eundem ſuis navibus repelleretur, ab eodem facile recuperari valet: & hinc non immerito timendum, quod per ſimilem defenſionem noſter exercitus minuatur, hoſtique nullo modo valeat reſiſtere: Imo etiam, ut nullo modo dubitandum, finita aliqua rigoroſa defenſione forte totam Sclavoniam deſerere, conſequenter, cum nullus paſſus præterea reperibilis ſit, uſque ad Dravum, vel adhuc ulterius recedere cogamur.

‘VI. Quod ſi tamen Belgradum non actualiter oppugnaretur, infallibiliter tamen Albanenſes & Boſnenſes uno forti Turcico agmine confortabuntur in illo diſtrictu, qui partim penes Savi paſſus ſubſiſtentem ſolidum exercitum occupare valenti talis ut impediatur, pariter magnus exercitus ex noſtra parte deſiderabitur tali reſiſtendi.

‘VII. His & ſimilibus aliis niſi Deus immediate concurrerit, naturaliter aliter credendum non eſt, quam quod inimicus aliquo conflictu ſui totius exercitus, conjunctis Tartaris, Valachis, & Moldenſibus, ſimul per aquam & terram Tranſylvaniam invadet, illamque Provinciam lucrari tentaturus penes Danubium jacentem: Cui qualiter reſiſtendum ſit, non video, ubi miles ſufficiens, ſufficienterque inſtructus, in his partibus inveniendus ſit: Maxime cum illi malè contenti populi maximis gaudiis exultent, ſiſe ſecundatos, aut aliunde ſibi alios cognationales faventes reperiant. Illudque nobis etiam non parvum obſtaculum eſt, quod certanti militi penes Danubium alteri parti nullum auxilium communicationis ergo, tali tempore ſumme neceſſariæ, taliqpe periculo difficillimæ, adferendum erit. Tum nec domus annonæ, nec alia neceſſaria in loco ſint: Ita ut ipſá natura dictet, hæc confinia, nempe Tranſylvaniam, & Hungariam Superiorem, omniaque ab his dependentia, in ſummo periculo verſatura, niſi Deus nos ſua ſpeciali gratia erexerit. 1692.

‘VIII. Hungarica enim militia hujus uſus & naturæ eſt, ut quamvis in aciem ordinata ſit, non compareat, maxime, ſi longe à ſuis domibus in alienam Provinciam commendetur, partim quod jam longo tempore nullam ſolutionem acceperit, partim cum homines nauci & indiſciplinati æſtimandi ſint. Nec conſultum eſt, iſtam copioſam ac barbaram gentem noſtro parvo ac debili exercitui aggregare. Si enim, quod Numen èvertat, unicus infelix conflictus nobis acciderit, nullum dubium, illam barbaram gentem contra nos arma in ipſo aggreſſu apprehenſuram.

‘IX. Præſidia locorum, quæ numero quam breviſſimo ſunt expoſita, diminui vix poterunt. Aeque eodem modo timendum, ne apud tam paucum ac debilem exercitum pro conſervanda Provincia ſumme neceſſarium infelix caſus contingat. Si enim populus ab ipſiſmet incolis facile ſuperari poteſt, ob plurimas ac graviſſimas diſtractiones tali non foret ſuccurrendo: Sed ſummum detrimentum ſentiremus: & ita tam totam Hungariam, quam Tranſylvaniam, in ſummam, & quidem prima pejorem rebellionem & tumultus, quos quotidie ejulat & ſuſpirat, excidere perciperemus.

‘X. Si tamen ſecundum adjacentes extractus ſumme neceſſarii exercitus formandi ſint, qualiter ſine maximo periculo jam ſupra adducta abſurda devenire nihil contrarietur, & è contra effective ſtatus mihi

1692. ' ab Conſilio bellico tranſmiſſæ liſtæ examen obſervatum fuerit, deductis deducendis numerus remanet, ut pluris alicui conflictui, quam pleno exercitui adnumerandus ſit, ac impoſſibile tam late patentem lineam tam potentis hoſtis vincere, aut impedire, ne illi in uno alióve loco pariter in hac parte Danubii, quam altera, infringat, aut unam, alteramve provinciam devaſtet.

' XI. Et quamvis dicatur, quod ſucceſſive deceſſus regiminum per noviter electum militem ſuppleatur, & compleatur, conſiderandum tamen eſt, quod non ſolum complendus numerus illorum inter quædam regimina vix inceperit, partim quod nec ſibi debitam ſolutionem acceperint; ita tamen, quod ſi feliciter Belgradum adduci deberent, ſex aut ſeptem Menſibus, ut migrent ex Provinciis hæreditariis neceſſe habent, & ita demum ad finem campi bellici; & cum difficultate adhuc vix proſunt: & ita ſine omni utilitate de his loquendum. Nec loci ſitus his poterit demonſtrari; tacendum, ut tandem defeſſus miles tot tantiſque curis & vigiliis, portanſque contra inimicum, etiamſi non in tantas, certe in plures nauſeas devenire poſſet.

' XII. Victualibus pro neceſſitate Niſſæ aliquot menſibus proviſum eſſe conſtat: Quæ autem utilitati exercitus parum proſunt, aut in abſentia illius plane nihil utilitatis adferre poſſunt, ſinon plane inimici cederent. Belligradi, in quantum notum eſt, huc uſque nullam ſtabilitam domum annonæ; & quamvis actualiter hic Viennæ de iis mature tranſmittendis contractum ſit, tamen ejus certitudo multis impedimentis ſubjacet. Et hinc quid expectandum eſt, quam ultimas & periculoſiſſimas extremitates, ut ante annum contigerunt; cum neque in altera parte Danubii meliores conditiones obſervatæ, qualiter verſus Orſowa & Caranzebes, cujus vicinitati etiam hoc conflictu copioſus ac bene inſtructus miles relinqui debet.

' XII. Currus pro vectigalibus ſumme neceſſarii in tempore, & ante finem Auguſti, in quo bono eſſe conſtituti ſint, nullis quidem Ciceronianis verbis explicandum eſt: Maxime, cum in Hungaria huc uſque numerus curruum ultra 130 ſe non extendat: Reliqui vero partim Poſonii nondum parati, nec pecus coemptum eſt; nec mihi conſtat, an media illud ademendum data ſint: Ubi tamen, quocunque vertimus, ſine copioſis, & quidem bene præparatis curribus ſubſiſtere nullatenus poſſimus. Navigium enim Moravæ ex ſupra allegatis rationibus, & ob incertitudinem ventorum in Danubib incertum ac periculoſiſſimum eſt: & ideo quidem plurimum, cum hoſtis ſecundum unanimem conſenſum omnium captivorum magna copia navium Danubium verſus naviget, hujus opinionis vivens, quod ſi in defectu noſtrarum non ſufficientium, aut non bene armatarum navium, vel alicujus ſortis alterius, ſe præpotentem in Danubio viderit, velle ſua vi vectigalia noſtra noſtrorum victualium plane infringere, & ſibi aſſociare. 1692.

' XIV. Similiter adſunt & aliæ adhuc innumeræ difficultates ratione pontium navigabilium, horumque requiſitorum, imo ſpecialis pontis alicujus volantis cis Inackée, cujus nullus ordo, nec alia præparatoria inſtituta ſunt: &, etiamſi hæ omnes neceſſitates adeſſent, tamen in his locis, circa finem Junii, aut Julii, aquis diffundentibus ac diffuſis, nullo anno fidendum eſt, & ita in abſentia noſtri totius exercitus, turma aliqua hoſtilis, cui ſi non rurſum noſter miles ob defectum reſiſtere poſſet, certo hoſti non detrimento, ſed emolumento eſſet.

' XV. Munitiones & inſtrumenta bellica, aliaque materialia, prætereaque omnia in antiquo eſſe, uti reliqui ante aliquot elapſos menſes, ante meum diſceſſum, finito campo bellico, inveni; quibus nihil niſi omnia exercitui ſumme neceſſaria deſunt.

Lettre de Monſieur Colyer, Ambaſſadeur d'Hollande à Conſtantinople.

Monſieur,

J'EUS, le 20 Decembr. de l'année paſſée, l'honneur de vous avertir par le Seigneur Baron Gall de tout ce qui ſe paſſoit icy: & en voicy la duplique. Depuis ce tems là, le 23 du même mois, fit le Premier Vizir ſon entrée publique dans Conſtantinople: Auquel je fis en perſonne le compliment de congratulation, le 19 Janvier; & fus receu & traitté de luy avec beaucoup de courtoiſie & civilité, ſans que ni l'un ni l'autre dit un mot, ou nomma l'Empereur & les Princes Allemans, ou le Roy de France. Cela ſe fit de ma part à deſſein, & avions

nous

1692. nous, moy & l'Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, concerté & conclu celà, afin de donner quelque ſoupcon au Gr. Vizir, qui avec beaucoup de faſte & d'orgueil ſe retiroit, & revenoit de la guerre, des deſſeins & preparations à la Guerre de l'Empereur, pour la Campagne ſuivante: Principalement étans tres aſſurez, que, combien que nous euſſions euës les ordres abſoluës de traiter avec luy de la Paix, il ne nous écouteroit pas, ou qu'il nous feroit des Propoſitions ſi exorbitantes, que cette negotiation ſe romperoit incontinent de ſoy-même. Nous jugeâmes donc, que nous ferions mieux de n'en parler un ſeal mot: & que nous cauſerions en luy par nôtre ſilence quelque ſoupcon des forces Imperiales. Ce qui nous reüſſit juſques là, que le dit Vizir laiſſa tomber apres ces paroles: Il faut, que l'Empereur & les Princes Allemans n'ayent plus de crainte pour la France: Autrement les Ambaſſadeurs d'Angleterre & d'Hollande n'euſſent pas manqué de preſſer la Negotiation de la Paix. Adjouſtez-y, que le Teckely ſe ſoucie fort peu des ordres de la Porte, ruinant la Walachie de fons en comble.

Un vaiſſeau de guerre Anglois du Convoy de Smyrne a pris une Tartane Francoiſe dans l'Archipel: & on à trouvé là dedans deux Lettres du Roy à ſon Ambaſſadeur icy: Des quelles ayant obtenu la Copie, je me crûs obligé de vous en faire part, avec cette eſperance, qu'on ne manquerà pas à Vienne de trouver des maîtres en cette art, pour les deciffrer: & qu'on en tirerà des lumieres, & particularitez de grande conſequence.

Un Ingenieur, qui ſe nomme Signior Stefano, m'a confié, qu'il eſt le Comte Nicola Guaſco, natif de St. Amant, trois lieux de Valencienne, mais d'Origine Milanois: & qu'il a des Ordres de preparer en toute diligence 6000 Bombes pour la Campagne ſuivante. Il ſe repent de ſon erreur, & il m'a promis, qu'il ferà quelque choſe d'importance, que je n'oſe pas vous Communiquer par cettecy, faute des ciffres. Il envoye par cette occaſion un ſien valet tres affidé, nommé Pietro Mollier, à Vienne, qui vous ferà le recit de beaucoup des particularitez. On attend icy de jour en jour le nouveau Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, qu'on dit étre dêja avancé juſques à Eſſeck. J'eſpere, que je recevray par ſon arrivement icy quelques ordres, pour remettre icy ſur le tapis la Negotiation de la Paix. Le Grand Vizir fait tout ce qu'il peut pour ramaſſer des grandes ſommes d'Argent, & de redreſſer les finances: C'eſt pourquoy qu'il a retranché une partie du train du Gr. Seigneur, & fait une Inquiſition fort exacte 1692. ſur les gages des Officiers, & Soldats: Mais il fait encor fort peu des Preparations pour ſe mettre de bonne heure en Campagne. On n'equipperà par mer que fort peu des Vaiſſeaux de guerre, & comme on dit, ſeulement dix, avec 25 Galeres: Auſſi a't on pris la reſolution de ne ſe ſervir pas cette année des Pirates de Barbarie. Je demeure, &c.

Monſieur,

De V. Excellence

A Pera di Conſt. ce
15 Fevr. 1691.

le Tres humble Serv.

COLYER.

Lettre de Monſieur Colyer, Ambaſſadeur d'Hollande à Conſtantinople.

Monſieur,

MA derniere étoit du 15 de Fevrier, de la quelle j'ay joint icy la duplique, ayant envoyée la principalle par mer, par Veniſe. Depuis ce tems là le Gouverneur de Belgrade avertit la cour icy de l'arrivée du nouveau Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre Monſieur Huſſey à Eſſeck, & demanda pour luy permiſſion pour pourſuivre ſon Voyage par Belgrade juſques icy: & combienque l'Ambaſſadeur de France ayt fait tout ce qu'il à peu pour l'empecher, le Prime-Vizir neanmoins a expedié d'icy un Aga par poſte à Belgrade ſuſdit, le dernier du Fevrier, avec des ordres, de recevoir le dit Seigneur Huſſey proche d'Eſſeck, & de le conduire & defrayer juſques à Conſtantinople: De ſorte qu'on l'attend icy apres Pâques. J'attens l'arrivée du dit Seigneur, avec beaucoup d'impatience, avec eſperance certaine d'en entendre l'Etat des Affaires de la Chrêtienté.

Cet Ambaſſadeur de France retient àpreſent toutes les Lettres addreſſées aux Anglois & Hollandois, qui ſont icy, & à Smyrne, comme auſſi celles, qui appartiennent aux Miniſtres publiques de ces deux Nations, leſquelles nous viennent par les vaiſſeaux Francois, ou ſous le pavillon de France, Il arrête auſſi tous leurs effects: Mais le Grand Vizir étant par mes plaintes informé de ces Inſolences, s'en eſt montré fort mal content, & a ordonné au Doüanier d'y prendre garde treſexacte. Ce qu'étant entendu par l'Ambaſſadeur de France, il a retenu quelques effects, & Argent contant, qu'on avoit recommandé icy de Veniſe aux Marchands Anglois & Hollandois, avec le vaiſſeau San Joſeppe, Cap. Luigi Juliano nouvellement icy arrivé.

Mais on m'aſſure apreſent, qu'on ne laiſſerà pas partir ce vaiſſeau d'icy, avant que d'avoir reſtitué tout ce qu'on a arrêté, aux proprietaires : Ce qui ſerà, que le dit Ambaſſadeur en recevrà une petite Mortification.

Le 4 de ce mois on envoya d'icy à Jambol, par ordre de la Cour, quelques Officiers, qui en ramenerent le 10 un Prince Tartare, nommé Saadet Jeray, pour ſucceder au Han des Tartares, qui fut depoſſedé le même jour de ſa dignité. Le jour Suivant le Grand Vizir preſenta le dit Prince au Grand Seigneur; & fut il couronné, mais avec fort peu de Ceremonies, Empereur de Tartarie, & renvoyé le 18 à la Crim, pour mettre ordre neceſſaire ſur les Affaires, avec un commandement expres, de faire une Invaſion en la Pologne.

On dit, que ce changement eſt arrivé à cauſe, que le vieux Han a taché de divertir le Grand Vizir contre le Sentiment du tout le conſeil de guerre, de s'en aller en perſonne en Campagne, afin de ne hazarder pas derechef la reputation de cet Empire, puiſqu'il ne pouvoit pas aſſurer la Porte de la ſecourir avec ſes Trouppes Tartares, parce qu'on y attendoit, & craignoit, l'arrivement de l'Armée Moſcovite : & que les Albanois, ou Arnottes, auroient aſſez à faire de garder leur propre païs, menacé par les armes victorieuſes des Venitiens : & qu'ainſi ces Trouppes ne ſe pouvans joindre avec l'Armée capitale des Turcs, on ſeroit contraint de ſe ſervir & contenter des ſeules Trouppes ordinaires des Janiſſaires & des Spahis, avec celles d'Aſie ; leſquelles jointes enſemble ne ſeroient en aucune maniere ſuffiſantes pour reſiſter à l'Armée Imperialle. C'eſt pourquoy le Han des Tartares étoit d'avis, qu'on feroit mieux de garder Seulement les frontieres par des Seraskiers Particuliers, & que le Grand Vizir les pourroit ſoutenir de tems en tems de Conſtantinople, ou d'Adrianople avec des Trouppes fraiches & nouvellement levées : & que de cette maniere on defendroit aiſement non ſeulement les Frontieres, mais auſſi la reputation des armes du Grand Seigneur.

Et parceque cet avis, ou conſeil, du Han des Tartares fut rejetté, & refuté par le Kiahaia Bei, ou Lieutenant General des Janiſſaires, & de ceux de ſa faction, avec des autres raiſons, lequel Lieutenant eſt à preſent en Fort Grand Credit à la Cour, & que le Han s'en fachoit, on a, apres qu'il fut ſorty du Conſeil, arrêté de le demettre de ſa dignité. Ce qu'étant peu apres entendu du Grand Han, il renonca le lendemain au Governement de la Crim, pour prevenir cet affront : & il demande apreſent la permiſſion de faire le pelerinage de Mecca.

Le Grand Vizir ne fait que ſe preparer à la Guerre : Mais ſelon ce qu'on en peut juger, il ne ſerà pas aux Frontieres avant la fin du Juillet. C'eſt pourquoy que je m'imagine, que l'Armée Imperialle feroit un grand coup, & cauſeroit une grande Confuſion dans les Trouppes Turques, ſi elle ſe mettroit de bonne heure en Campagne.

Je vous puis aſſurer, Monſieur, que, ſi on n'entreprend pas quelque choſe de conſideration dans cette Campagne contre les Turcs, & Francois, on n'aurà pas même ſujet de penſer ſeulement à la Paix : Mais au contraire, ſi l' on aurà le moindre avantage contre cette Nation, qu'elle abandonnerà le partie Francois, & rechercherà la Paix incontinent. Il eſt donc tres-neceſſaire, que l'Armée Imperialle ſoit la premiere en Campagne, & qu'elle previenne les deſſeins du Grand Vizir : D'où on tirerà toutes les avantages imaginables.

Les mauvais ſucces de la Campagne paſſé ont extremement avancé icy le credit de l'Ambaſſadeur de France, & au Contraire fort diminué le reſpect & la reputation des Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre & d'Hollande : & principalement à l'egard de l'eſquadre des Vaiſſeaux de Guerre, qu'on attendoit dans la Mer Mediterranée, du quel Meſſieurs les Etats Generaux m'avoient fait avertir : Mais puiſqu' on n'en a aucunes nouvelles, & qu'on même n'en oſe pas parler d'avantage, cela fait, qu'on donne l'entier credit aux vanteries des Francois : De ſorte que les Turques commencent à ſe perſuader que le Roy de France a aſſez des Forces pour non ſeulement faire de reſiſtance aux tous les autres Princes Chêrtiens, mais encore de les attaquer par tout, & combattre.

Dans ces jours paſſez arriverent icy quelques Deputez de la Valachie pour faire leurs plaintes au Grand Vizir, que le

Teckely faiſſoit des terribiles ravages avec ſes gens dans leur Province : & le prierent d'y mettre des ordres neceſſaires, & d'avoir de la Compaſſion pour un païs deſolé, & tout afait appauvrie. On leur à donné des belles paroles de la part du Teckely, & pour le reſte accordé quelques demandes, qui concernoient leurs autres griefs.

Le Chef de cette Deputation eſt l'Oncle de l'Hoſpodar, qui m'a prié d'aſſurer par vôtre entremiſe ſa Majeſté Imperialle de la fidelité & tres humbles ſoumiſſions de ſon Couſin, lequel n'a de plus Grand deſir, que de rendre quelque Service conſiderable à ſa Majeſte ce qu'il eſpere de faire voir la Campagne prochaine. Cependant le dit Seigneur me pria inſtamment, de prier V. Excellence de luy faire cette grace, ſi cela ſe pouvoit faire, & d'obtenir, par ſon interceſſion, que ſon frere le Seigneur Georgio Cantacuzeno qui eſt apreſent à Vienne, eut la permiſſion, de ſe retourner dans ſon païs : Puiſqu'il n'y peut rendre aucune Service à ſa Majeſté & qu'au contraire étant de retour chez ſoy il pourroit étre employé dans toutes les occurrences pour ſervir dans les Negotiations entre le General de la Tranſylvanie & l'Hoſpodar. Vous me ferez donc, Monſieur, un tres grand plaiſir, ſi vous pourriez obtenir cette permiſſion, ſi cela ſe peut faire ſans quelque prejudice aux Affaires de l'Empire : Puiſque je ſeray contraint d'oreſenavant d'envoyer la pluſpart de mes Lettres par la Valachie, la Tranſylvanie, & l'Hongrie, à Vienne, & de là en Hollande : Ce qui ſe pourrà faire tant plus aiſement, parce que, comme on m'a averty, il y à une tresbonne correſpondence entre le General Veterani, & le dit Hoſpodar de Valachie.

Le Grand Vizir reüſſit extremement bien dans toutes ſes entrepriſes dans cet Empire, juſques à l'étonnement de tout le monde. Il a ces jours paſſez fait Gouverneur d'Iſmit le Haſſan Paſcià, beaufils du dernier Sultan Mohamed, étant de retour de ſon Gouvernement d'Egypte : & celà pour luy ôter tout le credit, & autorité, luy donnant une charge de treſpetite conſideration, & qui le mettrà hors des yeux & de la ſouvenance du peuple.

Le même a inventé ſur les Sujets Chretiens & Juifs une Taxe par tête de dix, cinq, & de deux & demy ecus, les ayant diviſez en trois ſortes, des riches, de moyenne condition, & des pauvres ; & oté toutes les autres Impoſitions : Ce qui luy ferà ramaſſer des treſgrandes ſommes d'Argent.

J'envoye cellecy par la Valachie, & la Tranſylvanie : & je vous prie, Monſieur, de me faire l'honneur par le même chemin, d'un petit mot, de reſcription : Ce que j'attendray avec impatience, demeurant,

Monſieur,

Votre tres humble Serviteur,

COLYER.

A Péra di Conſtantinople le dernier de Mars, 1691.

Mr. Herbert at Belgrade.

In this manner Mr. *Herbert* came provided to *Belgrade*, with Inſtructions for proſecution of the Treaty which Sir *William Huſſey* had begun ; but he ſoon found that the minds of the *Turks* were not as yet inclined to a Peace, and that all his labours and endeavours would prove ineffectual, whilſt the *Turks* harkned to the Suggeſtions of the *French*, who had now got ſo far into their good Opinion, that their Intereſts being made the ſame, their Counſels could not be other than ſincere, and their friendſhips of advantage ; and therefore it was apparent to Mr. *Herbert*, that the *Turks* regarding no other Ambaſſador but the *French*, reſolved to take no other Methods than ſuch as ſhould be dictated by them. The caſe being thus manifeſt, ſtruck Mr. *Herbert* to the heart, who was a hot-ſpirited, and a paſſionate man, and not able to endure to ſee that a Frenchman, which lately came from *France*, named Monſieur *Marquis de Lorain*, placed in the Affections of the Grand Vizier, with deſign to thwart him in all his Negotiations, he grew ſo impatient, that his blood boyl'd within him, to ſuch a degree, as Fevour'd him into a kind of Madneſs, which joyn'd with his old Enemy the Gout, he died thereof on the 31ſt of *July*, 1692. The death of theſe two Ambaſſadors, ſo near the time to each other, ſeemed as if there had been a kind of fatallity in the Treaty of Peace ; or that the *French* had by unlawful means contrived the death of theſe Miniſters : but for my part, I have no belief or jealouſie thereof ; not but that the *French* may be ready enough to enter into ſuch ſecret Machinations, where the Intereſt of their Monarch may be advanced ; but like as the Devil, when he hath catched a Sinner cloſe within his Clutches, is not very haſty to bring him to his end, ſo the *French* who had wholly poſſeſſed themſelves of the minds and humours of the

His Death.

Old Style.

Reflexions on the Death of the two* English *Ambaſſadors.

1692. *Turks*, had no need of having recourſe to facinorous actions which were deteſtable to God and Man. And thus did the *Marquis de Loran* remain with the Vizier at *Belgrade*, whilſt the late Ambaſſador Monſieur *de Chauteauneuf* returned by order of the King into *France*.

The Grand Vizier at Belgrade.

The Campagne (as we have ſaid) being ended, nothing of action happened during the reſidence of the Vizier at *Belgrade*, who kept himſelf wholly on the defenſive; and leſt the *Germans* ſhould think fit to attack his Forces which lay encampt on the other ſide of the Rivers near *Belgrade*, he made two Bridges, one over the *Save*, and the other over the *Danube*; over which, upon news that the Chriſtians were advancing, he cauſed his Army to retreat, and to paſs the Bridges into the Town, where their Head-quarters were kept during the Winter ſeaſon; and thus all Military Actions ceaſing, licenſe was given to the Militia of *Anatolia* to return home about the 20th of *October* unto their own Countries; the which was more readily granted, in regard to the great Mutinies, and Inſurrection of the People in the *Leſſer Aſia*, and to the *Venetian* Succeſſes at Sea in the *Archipelago*.

A thouſand French deſert the Venetian Service.

During the whole courſe of this Years Actions the *Venetians* were unproſperous, their Deſign upon *Canea* failing them; which they had ſtreightly beſieged for the ſpace of a full Month; and had hopes of carrying the Place, had not a Thouſand *French*, leavied for Service of the *Venetians*, deſerted, and at their firſt landing gone over to the *Turks*; by whoſe aſſiſtance the *Venetians* were obliged moſt ſhamefully to raiſe the Siege, with the loſs of many Men, and of moſt of their Cannon; which was the ſubſtance, and ſum of all their Expedition for this Year, 1692.

Fires in Conſtantinople.

About the end whereof the Grand Seignior had two Sons born to him, who were Twins, the one named *Ibrahim*, and the other *Selim*; on which occaſion great rejoycing being ſhown, amidſt thereof a dreadful fire happened at *Conſtantinople*, which began at *Balaſa*, and conſumed above 4000 Houſes, with about 2000 Shops. This Fire happened in three ſeveral places of the City; one of which being near the Great Moſche of Sultan *Soliman*, one of the Menarees or Steeples thereof fell to the ground, which the People interpreted for an evil Omen, and Preſage for the ſucceeding Year.

The Grand Vizier being returned from the War towards the end of *October*, gave an account to the Grand *Seignior* of the ſtate of the War, and that he had given the Command of the Army unto *Lame Huſaein Paſcia*, and odered him with 10000 men to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and eſpecially to take care of *Temeſwaer*. 1692.

Anno 1693.

THIS Year begins with the Death of the depoſed Sultan *Mahomet* IV. who died of a Dropſie on the 4th of *January*, 1693, which had like to have produced a Peace; for the great Officers of the Empire being at that time aſſembled together at *Adrianople*, a Council was held, in which it was debated and concluded, that the preſent ſtate of the *Ottoman* Empire was ſuch as required a Peace: Howſoever another Party prevailed, excited by the *French* Ambaſſador, who very liberally diſpenſed his Preſents amongſt the Military Men, in whoſe Hands at that time remained the Balance of War and Peace; the which was actuated by two different Principles, the one by the Preſents given by the *French*, and by the Arrival of ſeveral *French* Officers, Engineers, Gunners, Artificial Fire-workers, and ſome Money diſtributed amongſt the Chief *Turkiſh* Officers for carrying on the War. On the other ſide the Mediators, as the *Engliſh*, and *Hollanders*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to procure a Peace, ſeemed to over-act their Parts, and by their Sollicitations, and earneſt Importunities, enhanſed the Price thereof, and made the *Turks* believe, that either the Emperor could not ſubſiſt without a Peace, or that ſome Fraud lay couched under ſuch Specious and Importunate Preſſures. 1693.

Debates about a Peace.

March.

My Lord *Paget* (as we have ſaid) arriving at *Adrianople* the 31ſt of *January*, and having receiv'd his firſt Audiences with the Grand Seignior, and Vizier, he had another on the 14th of *March* following in Company with the two Ambaſſadors of *Holland*, *Heemskirk* and *Colyer*, wholly relating to the Peace, at which were preſent, the Chief Officers of the Empire; but nothing more was done, beſides reading their Credentials publickly, with the Propoſitions; and ſo were diſmiſſed for that time without a final Anſwer; telling them that they ſhould receive the ſame in four or five Days; but on the 18th of this Month the Grand Vizier being diſplaced, (as was reported) at his own ſeeking, *Muſtapha Paſha* the Chimacam ſucceeded him in the Sublime Office, ſo that all Matters of the Treaty were at a ſtand, and were to begin again; but for the better underſtanding the true ſtate of theſe Affairs, nothing can be more authentick and particular, than what was

Written in a Letter from Mr. *Coke* the Secretary to Sir *William Trumball*, which was as followeth.

The Copy of a Letter from Mr. *Coke*, to Sir *William Trumball*, late Ambaſſador with the *Grand Seignior*.

Adrianople 28. May *O. S.* 1693.

As to the Negotiations of Peace, I know it will be no ſurprize to hear they are in the ſame ſtate as you left them. For my part I was too ſhort-ſighted to diſcover thoſe great Inclinations in the Port towards it, which Seignior Colyer *repreſented, which had made ſuch Impreſſions in Seignior* Heemskirk, *that upon* Mr. Herbert's *Death, he came flying with a full Sail down the* Danube, *not to begin the Treaty, but conclude the Peace; and thought it was ſo eaſie, that it was only to ſpeak with the Vizier, and the Buſineſs was done.*

He arrived at Belgrade *the firſt of* October S. V. 1692, *the next Day had Audience of the Vizier, and the third he gave in Writing to* Mauro Cordato *to Tranſlate and give the Vizier his Propoſals for a Peace or Truce for* 30 *Years: The ſubſtance of which for the Emperor was on the Foot of* Uti poſſidetis; *under which Notion* Tranſylvania *to retain to him, each liberty to fortifie in their Confines;* Teckely *to be delivered up; the Republick of* Raguſa *not to be called to Accounts for Arrears of Tribute, or for the future pay any to the Port: For* Poland, *Reſtitution of* Caminieck, *and with-hold in* Podolia, *all* Ucrania, *the* Caſtelli *on the* Boryſthenes, Moldavia, *and* Wallachia; *and if the* Tartars *made any Incurſions into their Territories, the Port to pay the Damages that Crown receiv'd: For* Venice, *the Province of* Levadia, Athens *and* Thebes *to be given them as an Equivalent for the* Morea, *and in like manner ſeveral Territories on the ſide of* Lepanto, *and in* Dalmatia: *He expected an Anſwer to this, and that the Port would change their Old Style of receiving Propoſals, and making none, into an open Negotiation by Writing; but he found all this imaginary, and not to be reduced to Practice.*

Mauro Cordato *told him, Theſe Propoſals were injurious to the Empire; and ask'd, If he had no other to make? The Reply was, He had no more to ſay, till he had an Anſwer to what he had already propoſed, which he had earneſtly preſſed for many Days in ſix Letters to* Mauro Cordato: *The Anſwer was, The Vizier was returning to* Adrianople, *and muſt acquaint the Grand Seignior with what paſſed, and he muſt go thither for his Anſwer. This ſtartled him, who thought to have concluded the Treaty at* Belgrade, *and immediately return'd, ſo he preſſed for an Anſwer, or to be diſmiſſed; but was told, He could not deveſt himſelf of his Character, which remained till my Lord* Paget *arrived, to whom Accidents might happen, as had to other Ambaſſadors, ſo he was forced to go by the* Danube *to* Ruſic, *and ſo to* Adrianople, *where he arrived the* 24*th of* November, *departing from* Belgrade *the* 23*d of* October.

When he arrived firſt at Belgrade, *Marquis* D'Orat, *who was with* Teckely *and the* French, *ſaid, He was no* Engliſhman, *but a* German, *and came from the Emperor. The Port had been ſenſible it was too great a Condeſcenſion to ſend their Ambaſſadors at* Vienna; *which Point of Honour they thought regain'd, by having one come to make Overtures to them, and a particular Miniſter for that Buſineſs in their Hands, whom perhaps they may not eaſily part with.*

When Seignior Heemskirk *was come to* Adrianople, *he would have Viſited the Chimacam, who excus'd it, the Grand Vizier not being arrived, who came the* 2*d of* December, *and a few Days after an Audience was deſired of him, which he put off, as not having diſcourſed with the Grand Seignior. A private Council was held, Orders ſent out to all parts for raiſing Men, and to the Treaſurer to give Money for providing Cannon, Ammunition, and all things neceſſary, to be early in the Field. The* Staſſaki-*Aga was ſent to the* Tartar Han, *with Money to be diſtributed among them to meet the Grand Vizier with a conſiderable Force at* Belgrade.

Seignior Heemskirk *continued his Sollicitations all* December, *and the beginning of* January, *by his own Druggerman, to the Vizier's Kiab, and by Letters to* Mauro Cordato; *and wrote a Complaining Letter to the Vizier of his being come hither for an Anſwer, and after ſo long time, and being come ſo far nothing was done. To which he was anſwer'd by Word of Mouth, never in Writing, That my Lord* Paget *being come to* Belgrade, *and in his way hither, it was thought fit in a Council to attend his Arrival, to ſee if he brought no other Propoſals; for if they were the ſame, one Anſwer would ſerve them both.*

Lord Paget *arrives at* Adrianople.

The

1693. *The ſixth of* January *Seignior* Colyer *came to* Adrianople *againſt the Deſire of Seignior* Heemskirk, *who wrote to him not to come; and at firſt there was great Coldneſs between them, and* Tyles *was never employed by Seignior* Heemskirk.

The laſt of January, *his Excellency my Lord* Paget *arrived; he would have enter'd privately, but the Vizier deſired the contrary, that it might not be thought the Port had wanted in their Reſpect to him, and his Lordſhip was received with a great deal of Ceremony, and Numerous Attendance of Chiauſes and Janiſaries.*

His Audiences. *The 18th of* February *his Excellency had his firſt Audience of the Grand Vizier, and gave him his Credentials, one for his Reſidence, the other for the Mediation.*

The ſeventh of March *his Lordſhip had his Audience of the Grand Seignior, and was very kindly received: He ſpoke his Complement, which was Interpreted by* Mauro Cordato; *and the Grand Seignior anſwered, That His Majeſty was a good Friend to the Port, and all ſuch ſhould be ever kindly received by him.*

The ſeventeenth of March, *his Excellency had a private Audience of the Vizier, where was the Mufti. His Lordſhip made the Offers of His Majeſty's Mediation for a Peace, or Truce between the Emperor, and his Allies, and the Port, on the Foot of* Uti poſſidetis, *only* Caminieck *to be reſtored, or razed. The Vizier ſaid in a Buſineſs of ſo great Import, he muſt conſult the Heads of the Law, and the Militia, and an Anſwer ſhou'd be given.*

The 14th ditto, *his Excellency Signior* Heemskirk, *and* Colyer, *were called to the Vizier to a Publick Audience, where on the Safra ſate the Vizier, the Mufti and Cadelesker on his Left Hand; on his Right the Chimacam,* Iſmael Paſſa *Janiſar-Aga, the Niſangi Paſſa, and the Teſterdar, and the three Ambaſſadors, the two Generals on Stools; below the Safra, the Kiah-Beg and all the Heads and Ojacks of the Janiſaries, the two Generals, chief of the Spahy's, and chief of the Treaſury in all near 100 Perſons: The Rais Effendi came into the middle of the Safra, and read aloud Signior* Heemskirk's *Propoſals, which he owned. This was done only to exaſperate the Militia: The Vizier ſaid, They muſt conſider of them, and give an Anſwer.*

1693. *The 17th the Vizier was turned out, and his Excellency finding the Vizier had his Deſign in Irritating the People by ſuch Extravagant Demands, went to the new Vizier, Mufti, Cadelesker, and Janiſar-Aga, telling them theſe Propoſals read were none of his, which was only one plain Propoſition on a* Uti poſſeditis, *which His Majeſty thinking equal, was willing to interpoſe his Offices thereon, if the Port thought fit, out of real Friendſhip. The Vizier ſaid, They would conſider of it, and give an Anſwer. The Mufti ſaid, The coming of three Embaſſadors had rais'd great Expectations in the People, and they could do no leſs than make known what Propoſals had been made: They were very well ſatisfied of His Majeſty's Friendſhip. The Cadelesker and Teſterdar ſaid, Without Reſtitution of the* Morea, *there could be no Peace. The Janiſar-Aga, who was come from* Conſtantinople *ſaid he had ſeen the Propoſals; That God would humble the Pride of the Enemy, and chaſtize it, he hop'd, this Tear.*

But his Excellency Lord Paget, *had vindicated himſelf clearly to all Miniſters, as his Propoſal was, but the other was ſent over all the Empire to prepoſſeſs the People; but Signior* * Tyles *had ſet all right in three Days.*

* Interpreter.

It is obſervable, when Signior Heemskirk *had no Intimacy with* Tyles, *he wrote to my Lord* Paget *in* January, *and to the Emperor, there was no hopes of Peace; but when he came into a Familiarity with* Tyles, *he was Illuminated, and in* March *wrote His Majeſty, the Peace was in a fair way, and he hoped to be himſelf the bringer of the News of it; and yet now* Tyles *ſays to us, in eight Months he has been here, they have never done any thing, and the Port will not have Peace, nor were inclin'd to it.*

Signior Heemskirk *was much Embroil'd, and preſſed my Lord* Paget *much to ſollicite the Vizier with Memorials; but his Excellency had ſeen ſo ill Effects of his Writing, that he thought it much better to ſeem Indifferent, than Importune, and to attend their Anſwer to his Propoſal.*

Extract of my Lord *Paget*'s Letter to a Friend, of the ſame Date with the preceding.

NOTWITHSTANDING *all their ſeeming Reluctancies, and high Words, I am of Opinion the* Turks *may be perſwaded to hearken to Peace, eſpecially if the Imperial Army do any thing to purpoſe this Summer: The State here is ſhortly thus.*

This preſent 7th of June, *N. S. the Janiſſar-Aga is not yet gone into the Camp, nor will he go (as I think this 10 Days: About a Week after him the Grand Vizier goes; and about a Fortnight after that, the Army will begin to March.*

It is not at preſent ſtrong, not of above 5 or 6000 Men, but the Aſiaticks *and* Tartars *are to joyn them at* Sofia: *How many they may be is very uncertainly reported; the firſt however will not be Numerous; they reckon upon 20000* Tartars, *that will be their greateſt Strength, and theſe altogether cannot be at* Belgrade *till the latter end of* July *at ſooneſt; ſo that if the Imperial Army be as ſtrong and as ready, as when I came from* Vienna, *I thought it would be, they will have time enough to attempt any thing, before theſe Forces can appear to hinder them.*

And ſuch was the true State of Affairs at this time in the *Ottoman* Court in relation to a Peace.

The Ambaſſadors Heemskirk, *and* Colyer's *Letter to the Emperor touching the Peace.*

Sereniſſime, Potentiſſime, Invictiſſime Cæſar, Imperator ſemper Auguſte.

‘SACRÆ Cæſareæ Majeſtatis ſubmiſſiſſimâ reverentiâ ſignificandum cenſuimus, quod abhinc quindecim diebus inter primum Viſirium, Caimacanum, Janiſſerorum Agam, Romeliæ Cadeliſquerium & Teſterdarium in ædibus dicti Viſirii circa Pacis Negotium alterum Conſilium fuerit exquiſitum & ibidem nominatim diſcuſſum. Quid de Dominis Legatis & reſponſione ad Pacis propoſita efflagitatâ & promiſſâ denique ſtatuant ſingulorum ſententias enucleatim enarrare opportunum non arbitramur, ne forſan informationis debitæ penuriâ in uno altreóve erremus: Verum enimverò Cæſareæ veſtræ Majeſtati indicandum hanc finalem fuiſſe conclusionem, quippe cum variarum Regionum, Ditionum & Provinciarum deſertione hic ſit quæſtio Regiminis & Imperii participes ſuper hoc deliberando tanquam maximi ponderis Negotio ullatenus negligere ipſis integrum non eſſe, & nominatim Tartarorum Hannum dicentes hunc ex Crimeâ quidem diſceſſiſſe, verum probabiliter in finibus Viſirii exercitui ſeſe additurum; inſuper excuſantes reſponſionem Dominis Legatis tradendam eo uſque eſſe protelandum: porro exiſtimantes grato animo officia conciliatoria Magnæ Britanniæ Regis & Dominorum Ordinum Fœderati Belgii acceptando ſatis ſigni datum fuiſſe (dum modo æquis Pax fiat conditionibus) ſeſe non renixuros eóſque id idcirco à nobis tam ardenter ad dictum reſponſum pronunciandum non oportere impelli quod parum prolationis æquæ Pacificationis promotioni quam diſſolutioni forſan conducet. Quantum vero ad Dominos Legatos ab iiſdem ex æquo efflagitari non poſſe, ut omnes cum Viſirio hinc ad limites proficiſcantur Domino Paget, idcirco Conſtantinopolim eſſe petendum nec non Domino Colyer niſi hic mallet diutius commorari, aſt Domino de Heemskirk ſoli Viſirium comitaturo dictam reſponſionem poſitivè & in ſcriptis in caſtris circa fines vel itinere extradituros.

‘His autem totis obſiſtere viribus nullatenus defuimus, obnoxia incommoda planè edocendo, verum fruſtrà illis ubique replicantibus leviora & minoris momenti Negotia ubiquè cedere majoribus, prædictas quoque locorum ceſſiones unicè non eſſe animadvertendas, ſed applauſus & approbationes univerſales ad Majorem Imperii ejuſque gubernacula tenentium cautelam non minus reputandas, quocirca immutabilem ſtare ſententiam non abs re opinamur credimuſque fore quod dudum præſagivimus, nimirum inchoantibus bellorum operationibus eos hoſtium numerum & forſan virtutes prius experturos quam quid ſtabilis & fixi de Pace decernant, interim tamen quævis ſpes ſerius ocyus felicis exitus noſtris non cecidit animis.

'Dominum de Heemskirk ante Vigeſimum Menſis futuri iter facturum non ſuſpicamur.

'Vigeſimo quinto alter juniorum Principum geminorum naturæ vitam reddidit.

'Caput Aly Pachiæ abhinc parum plus anno Viſirato privati & in Rhodum proſcripti nuper huc apportarunt. Principi Moldaviæ initio Hebdomadis futuræ Jaſſum petenti Principatum occupandi animo mandatum eſt ut Tartarorum Hanni ſub auſpicio ardentiſſimè in id incumbat ut Polonorum Regem ad Pacem peculiarem ſtatuminandam perſuadeat. Gallorum Legatus deſeruit partem oppoſitam quàm non ita pridem fovebat novumque hunc Principem ſibi devincire enititur. His nos uberrimæ Sacræ Cæſareæ veſtræ Majeſtatis gratiæ committentes ſumus conatu ſummo,

Sereniſſime, Potentiſſime, Invictiſſime
Cæſar, Imperator ſemper Auguſte,

Sacræ veſtræ Cæſareæ Majeſtatis

Adrianop. 31 May, 1693.

Humillimi & Devotiſſimi Servi,

H. HEEMSKIRK.

COLYER.

All thoughts of Peace, and Treaties, being thus laid aſide, the Government employed its utmoſt Endeavours, and Counſel were taken in Matters and Contrivances tending to the War: It was reported, That the Grand Seignior, Sultan *Achmet*, had reſolved to go as far as *Sophia*, where he would paſs the Summer, being nearer to *Belgrade*, and the Frontiers in *Hungary*; but the Phyſicians perſwaded the contrary, as being prejudicial to the Health of the Sultan, who was already affected with the Dropſie, (the fatal and common Diſeaſe of that *Ottoman* Family) for Cure of which, many Conſultations were held by the Phyſicians; who, in regard that they found as yet a Schirrus only upon the Liver, they gave great hopes of his Recovery; howſoever the People took occaſion from hence to diſcourſe, That in caſe this Sultan *Achmet* were Dead, he would be ſucceeded by Sultan *Muſtapha* his Nephew, and Son to the late Sultan *Mahomet*, who had been Depoſed; which would be a happy Change for the whole Empire, he being Young and Brave, and as to all appearance, of a Martial Spirit, and a Lover of Juſtice.

Sultan Achmet ſick of the Dropſie.

To forward the Preparations for the War with all Expedition poſſible, ſtrict Orders were given to provide *Caminieck* with Proviſions, and neceſſary Food, for want of which, the Place laboured under the greateſt Extremity.

Preparations for the War.

Letters alſo, and Commands were diſpatched to all Parts in *Aſia*, to haſten the March of the Janiſaries and Spahees, and to enroll new Janiſaries, a Method not uſed in former Times; by which, taking every Pitiful Fellow that offered to come in, they compoſed ſuch a Band of raw Soldiers, not only unexperienced in War, but Poor, and Feeble, and Old, that ſcarce one half of them were judged able to hold out a March to *Belgrade*.

The *Turks* alſo diſpatched away 2000 Janiſaries to reinforce the Garriſon at *Negropont*; likewiſe they reinforced *Canea* with Men and Proviſions; as they alſo did their Army in and about the *Morea*, and ſtrengthned their Caſtles at the *Dardanelli*, with Soldiers, Gunners, and Engineers, under Command of *Huſaein* Paſha, who had formerly been Chimacam with the Grand Seignior, but the Troops deſigned for *Hungary*, marched ſlowly. Theſe Preparations being much retarded by the late Change of thoſe two great Officers, namely, the Grand Vizier, who, as we ſaid, voluntarily reſigned, and the Teſterdar, or Lord Treaſurer, called *Iſmael Effendi* Matulled, or put out, Diſgraced, and Exiled; tho' ſome reported, That he was ſecretly Strangled; which was a ſtrange, and an unſeaſonable Policy at ſuch a time as this, to put all things backward by the Death of two prime Officers of State, who perhaps were Innocent, and Good Miniſters: But under ſuch a Government as this, it is not ſufficient to be Wiſe, Honeſt, and Induſtrious, but you muſt alſo be Succeſsful, and free of Enemies, which are things not in our power.

Changes at Court.

By theſe Changes, place was made for other Officers; for *Oſman* Paſha, a Cunning, Knaviſh Candiot (as moſt of that Nation are) was made Chimacam in *Adrianople*. *Muſtapha* Paſha, who had been Chimacam, and Seraskier on the *Danube* was declared Grand Vizier; and *Cantemir* the Son of *Dica* Bey, who had for 30 Years paſt been Prince of *Moldavia*, was made Succeſſor to his Father. This Grand Vizier, before he could be warm in his Place, or provided with things neceſſary for the War, or acquainted with his Soul-

diery,

The New Vizier ſent to the Army.

diery, and the Chief Commanders, which were to fight under him, was commanded to be gone with all expedition to the Army; which he prepared to do with what ſpeed was poſſible. And in regard that all intentions for Peace were laid aſide, the Mediators were diſmiſſed from their further Attendance, and Mr. *Heemskirk* was licenſed to return to *Vienna*; tho' ſome difficulties aroſe thereupon at the inſtance of the *French*, who ſuggeſted, that *Heemſkirk* was an Inſtrument, and Spye of the Emperor, and a *German*; and not ſent as a Mediator from the King of *England*, whoſe true Miniſter my Lord *Paget* was: And this colour had like to have coſt *Heemskirk* dear, had not my Lord *Paget* own'd him for a Miniſter of the King, and unridled the Secret of the two Ambaſſadors. In like manner my Lord *Paget* had leave to go to his Houſe at *Pera* near *Conſtantinople*, which is the uſual place of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadar's reſidence.

May. *The Mediators diſmiſſed.*

But as to the *French* Ambaſſador he continued ſtill at *Adrianople*; and when the Vizier marched, he ſent *Fontaine* his Dragoman, or Interpreter with him to attend all the Motions of the Vizier, and his Camp.

Whilſt theſe things were in Action, the news from *Aſia* was unpleaſing, and adminiſtred Matter for ſerious Conſideration at the *Ottoman* Court; where it was reported, That the Army of *Baſſora*, under their New *Arabian* Prince did daily increaſe, and that the Paſha of *Sivas*, or *Sebaſſe*, on the Frontiers of *Perſia* were in Arms; and that ſuch was the confuſion in thoſe Eaſtern Countries, as obliged the moſt powerful of the *Aſiatick* Spahees to remain at home on the guard of their own Country and Eſtates; ſo that the preſent *Ottoman* Force was inferiour to that of the preceding year; and by reaſon of the forementioned Changes; to which we may farther add, that of the *Seimen* Paſha, who was Lieutenant General of the Janiſaries, and advanced to be Aga, or General of the Janiſaries, in the place of *Iſmael* Paſha. Likewiſe divers Captains, who had been Creatures and Favourites of the late General, were deprived of their Commands, leaſt they ſhould make Deſturbances, or raiſe Factions in the Army; all which, as it dimimiſhed and enfeebled their Force, ſo it hindered the early appearance of the *Turks* in the Field.

Preparations for the Seas.

But the Preparations at *Sea* againſt the *Venetians* proceded more briskly than they did at Land; for in the Month of *May*, 22 Sail of Gallies, and 13 Great Men of War were provided and fitted out of the Arſenal at *Conſtantinople*, and ordered to ſail down to the Caſtles of the *Dardanelli*, there to join with the Gallies of the Beyes of the *Archipelago*; to which ſome Ships of the *Barbarouſes* being added, they computed, that they might form a Fleet of 24 Sail of Men of War, beſides Gallies.

Things proceding thus ſlowly by Land, for the Cauſes before-mention'd, the Vizier did not begin his *March* from *Adrianople* towards the Chriſtians, until the 26th of *June* Old Syle, deſigning at firſt for *Belgrade*; when on a ſudden, expreſs Orders were given to the Army to change the courſe of their March, and leave the Road to *Belgrade*, and take that for *Valachia*, and through that Country to enter into *Tranſilvania*: This alteration was the more ſurpriſing to the *Germans*, who expected not the *Turks* on that ſide, becauſe it was not known above a Week or 10 Days before the departure of the Vizier, the which Counſel was judged to have been given by the *French* Ambaſſador, or otherwiſe by the *Tartars*, who propounded to the Vizier to join him on the way with ſuch a Force, as ſhould make up his Army at leaſt 80000 Men.

The Vizier begins his march from Adrianople.

But whilſt theſe Matters were conſulting, news came that the *Germans* had a deſign to lay ſiege to *Belgrade*; and on their way thither had deſigned againſt the Palancha's of *Jeno*, and *Julia*, and threatned the *Turks* with devaſtations over all the plain Countries; and ſince the taking of *Great Waradin*, ſtreightned *Temeſwaer* with want of Proviſions; which put the *Turks* into ſome confuſion both at home and abroad, and diverted entirely the deſign of the *Turks* upon *Tranſilvania*, where the moſt miſchief might have been done on the Imperial Dominions; becauſe *Tranſilvania* hath ever been eſteemed the moſt convenient Door to let the *Turks* into *Germany*.

Fire at Conſtantinople.

But what about the ſame time alſo cauſed ſome deſturbances at home, was a Terrible Conflagration which happened at *Conſtantinople*: the Fire began firſt in the Street called *Zubali*, where they make the Muſquets, and all ſorts of Arms for the Grand Seignior's ſervice, deſtroying all the Forges, and Inſtruments belonging to that Work: and the fire taking its way, conſumed all before it, untill it came to the great Capan, which is the chief, and only Magazine for Flour, and Corn, and all Proviſions whatſoever, laid up for the Uſe of the City; and afterwards taking up the Hill, it took its courſe down by the way of *Balata*, and conſumed at leaſt a third part of that Diviſion, ſo that the *Turks* report, that above 20000 Shops, and Houſes were conſumed.

This great Conflagration being over, People began to enquire after the News which the Expreſſes brought from the Armies, from all parts; and particularly that from *Aſia* was of conſiderable importance; giving a Relation, that the New *Arab* Prince, *Emir* by Name, who reckned his Deſcent in a Direct Line from their Prophet *Mahomet*, brought an Army into the Field, pretending to make himſelf Soveraign of *Baſſora*, to which he had an Hereditary Right, and Title: His Army daily increaſing, obliged the Grand Seignior to ſend many of his Troops out of *Europe* under the Command of the Paſha of *Boſnia* to reinforce the Militia of thoſe Countries.

July. The European Generals being unacquainted with the ſituation, and qualities of thoſe Countries, and not knowing that in the Month of *July* the Rivers upon the melting of the Snows ſwell to a prodigious heighth, were ſtrangely ſurprized to find themſelves without any cauſe, or knowing how it came about, in the midſt of a deep Water: For being encamped in the Vally of a flat Country, the *Arabs* opened their Sluces, and having made ſome Channels like Aquæducts, they let ſo great a Flood of Waters out of the Neighbouring Rivers into the Turkiſh Camp, that before the *Turks* underſtood from whence that Inundation proceded, 6 or 7000 of them were drowned, and the reſt being put into confuſion, and endeavouring to ſave themſelves, fell into the hands of the *Arabs*, and were all cut in pieces, or made Priſoners; only the Paſha of *Boſnia* with 14 more eſcaped of all that multitude: And ſoon after this defeat the *Arabs* attacked, and took a Caravan, with the Spoils of which they enriched themſelves.

The Turks in Aſia drowned in the Waters.

The news of this Defeat very much diſcouraged the *Turks* in *Europe*, having loſt by this accident 25000 Men of their own Friends and Acquaintance, which became the more ſenſible to them at that time, when the Turkiſh Army became ſo feeble in *Hungary*, that had not the Tartars aſſiſted them with great Numbers, the Vizier would have been forced to return home with Confuſion, and Diſhonour.

The *Tartars* being made ſenſible of the great need that the *Turks* had of them, ſtood the more ſtrongly on their Terms, and made ſome difficulties of joining with them, but at length ſuffered themſelves to be worked upon, when they ſaw the rich Preſents which the Grand Signior had ſent to the New *Tartan Han*, to engage him to come early this Year into the Field; and when they ſaw the rich Veſts lined with Sables, and the Sword ſet with great Diamonds, with 40000 Zaichins in Mony, they needed no other Rhetorick, or perſuaſive Arguments to prevail upon them, but all unanimouſly prepared to make an early Campagne.

Upon the news that the Chriſtians deſign'd to beſiege *Belgrade*, the Vizier haſtned his march thither; where by reaſon of the many loſſes which that Garriſon had ſuſtained, a Recruit was ſent of 1000 men out of *Boſnia*, and 2000 *Arnouts* to reinforce the Garriſon. And alſo 15000 *Turks* more were detached from the Army in *Boſnia* to recognize, or take a view of the Chriſtian Forces in thoſe Countries; and having paſſed the *Save* over three ſeveral Bridges, came and ſhewed themſelves before *Oſeck*, which was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Baron *Ogiley*: This Governor finding himſelf unable to oppoſe the *Turks* in the Field, kept himſelf within his Bulwarks and Fortifications; until the *Turks* having at their leiſure taken a view of the Place, and Country round about, retired back towards *Belgrade*, plundering every thing they could carry with them, together with Men, Women and Children, which they carried into ſlavery, to the number of about 3000 Souls. After which *Ogiley* drawing together a Body of about 800 ſelect and choiſe Men, he paſſed the *Save*, and with them ſurpriz'd a Town called *Bratzein*, to which having given fire, 200 *Turks* were burn'd therein, and the like number endeavouring to ſave themſelves from the flames, ran out of the City, of which near 100 men were killed on the Place; and many Chriſtians lately taken by the *Turks*, were releaſed, and ſent back to their own Habitations.

Since the taking of *Great Waradin*, *Temeſwaer*, *Giula*, and *Geno*, were ſo ſtreightned for want of Proviſions, that they were forced to ſend away all Women, and Children, and unneceſſary Perſons from the Places, the better to conſerve the Victuals, and Proviſions for the uſe of the Garriſon: For General *Heuſler* having for ſome time blocked up *Geno*, he made a nearer approach to it; and on the 16th and 17th day of *June* placing his Camp within half a mile of the place, he attacked the Suburbs, which were ſurrounded with a Ditch, and fortified with Paliſadoes; howſoever the *Germans* forced the place and took it, the *Turks* retiring with much confuſion into the City. June.

The next day being the 18th, General *Heuſler* having received four pieces of Cannon,

1693. non, he fired with them into the City, and threw ſome Bombs thereinto; after which he ſummoned the Place, and threatned them, that in caſe they did not immediately ſurrender, he would afterwards give them no Quarter. But the *Turks* not hearkning hereunto, a Battery was raiſ'd, from whence the Guns fired without ceaſing; and thereby in the ſpace of five or ſix days a Breach being made, all matters were prepared for a Storm on the Place; which the *Turks* not daring to withſtand, and adventure, they reſolved to capitulate; and on the 27th hung out a White Flag, and ſent out three of their Principal Men into the *German* Camp: Where entring into a Treaty, it was agreed, that the next day one of their Gates, and Bulwarks ſhould be delivered up into the Hands of the Beſiegers; which being performed the following day, the Garriſon of the *Turks* conſiſting of about 800 fighting Men, with 200 Horſe, were convoyed within half an hour's march from *Lippa*.

This City was provided with four Bulwarks, fortified with a high and ſtrong Wall, broad and deep Ditches, into which the River *Kerez* hath a paſſage; and within it hath another retreat fortified with four Towers. In this Place the *Germans* found 35 Braſs, and three Iron Guns, with other Warlike Stores, as 20000 pounds of Powder, and other Ammunition proportionable. In this Siege, within the Town, 350 Men were killed, and wounded.

Immediately after the ſurrender of *Geno*, General *Heuſler* inveſted the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Philagoras*, ſituated between *Geno* and *Lippa*, which yielded unto him; and having repaired the Breaches of *Geno*, and placed a ſmall Body of Men in thoſe parts, under the Command of General *Hoſkirken*, he returned to *Great Waradin* with his remaining Forces.

The Grand Vizier being on his march to *Belgrade*, the news of what had happened at *Geno*, and *Philagoras* was brought to him; and thereby ſuſpecting that *Temeſwaer* would be the next enterprize of *Heuſtler*, diſpatched immediately Orders to the Paſha of *Belgrade* to ſend another Convoy, and more Troops thither to reinforce the Garriſon of *Temeſwaer* with Men and Proviſions. But the Paſha with ſeveral other Commanders refuſing to obey, upon certain pretences, that ſuch a Detachment would be the Ruin of the Place, and that to ſave *Temeſwaer*, they ſhould loſe *Belgrade*; the Vizier became ſo enraged, that with his own Hand he killed July 11. ſix of the Principal *Turks*, who were Complices with the Paſha, and left their Dead Bodies in the Streets to the view and terror of others. 1693.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed at *Belgrade*, the Duke of *Croy*, who commanded the Imperial Army, prepared all neceſſaries to beſiege the Place. And in the firſt place he cauſed a Bridge to be laid over the *Danube* at *Vereſmarton*, of an hours journey in length; over which he paſſed one half of his Army, and the other half he tranſported in Ships and Boats, and were followed by the *Hanover* Troops, and the Artillery: And tho' he had by theſe means gotten together in a Body, yet many things were wanting to begin, and carry on the ſiege; to ſupply which, being encamped on the 25th of this Month near *Peter Waradin*, he diſpatched an Expreſs to ſome *Brandenburgher* Troops, which remained in the Rear, to advance forwards, and haſten their march: And having aſſembled a Council of War, it was reſolved forthwith to paſs the *Save* over the Bridge of *Peter Waradin*, and proceed to *Belgrade*. And accordingly towards the end of this Month, marching with great diligence, the *Huſſars* having the Vanguard, ſurprized the *Turks* near *Belgrade*, of whom they took many Priſoners, with ſome Cattle, which they brought back into the Army; by which the *Turks* were ſo alarm'd, and by the march of the Imperial Army towards them, that they endeavoured to carry away, and ſave the beſt of their Goods, but the Imperial Horſe prevented their deſign.

The Christians approaching near the August. *Turks* on the firſt of *Auguſt*, began to fire on all ſides from the Town; whilſt the Germans on the contrary, were buſily working on their Lines of Circumvallation, had not finiſhed any Battery until the fifth, when they likewiſe began to fire on the City. It was farther at that time deſigned that two of the Chriſtian Gallies, well armed, ſhould drive away from before the Town ſome light Turkiſh Gallies, by which means that ſide lying open, they could eaſily encompaſs the City on all ſides.

On the ninth the Brandenburgher Troops joyned the Army, and on the ſame day, ſome *Turks* belonging to the Garriſon of a Palanca called *Boskona*, ſituated about *The Palanca of Boſkona capitulates.* three hours diſtance from the Army, came to the Camp, and offered to capitulate; the which being granted with ſuch Conditions as were propoſed, the Fortreſs ſurrendred, and the Soldiers and Inhabitants were convoyed ſafe to *Semendria*: In the Palanca they found nine Guns with ſome Ammunition, with good ſtore of Hay and Corn.

On

1693. August.

On the 12th of this Month the *Turks*, to celebrate their Annual Feaſt of the Bairam, fired all the Guns round the City and Caſtle; and the Day following made a briſk Sally with ſuch Bravery, that at the firſt they brought the *Germans* into ſome Confuſion; but rallying themſelves again into good Order, they beat the *Turks* back into the City.

The Turks *make a Sally. Are driven in with loſs.*

On the 14th they made another Sally more furious than the former, but with leſs Succeſs, being repulſed with the loſs of 500 Men killed and taken Priſoners: This Blow gave the *Chriſtians* an advantageous Opportunity, in the ſpace of two Days to advance their Approaches to 150 Paces from the Counterſcarp.

Another Sally.

On the 17th another Sally was made by the *Turks*, but were repulſed with the loſs of about 100 Men; by which the *Germans* advanced their Works within 80 Paces of the Counterſcarp. And

Bombs thrown into the Town.

On the 19th threw ſeveral Bombs into the City, which did great execution; and poſted ſix Regiments on the other ſide of the *Danube*; by which all Succours coming to the Town from *Temeſwaer*, or other Parts on that ſide, were hindred from giving any Relief; and the *Turks* Ships were bridled, and obliged to keep at a diſtance.

On the 26th the great Battery of 36 Guns was finiſhed, from which the Beſiegers continually fired on the City, and the *Turks* again on the Battery, where the Duke of *Croy* ſtanding open was ſhot through the Hat with a Musket-Bullet, and his Adjutant-General killed by his ſide with the like.

The next Day being the 30th of *Auguſt*, *Kathana Muſtapha* Paſha, with a Body of 300 Horſe, Attacked the Emperor's advanced Troops near *Semblin*, but were ſo received by them, that 40 of them remained upon the Spot, ſeveral Wounded, and many made Priſoners. The ſame Day Intelligence was brought to the Duke of *Croy*, That the Grand Vizier had drawn together from all Parts, as many Forces as he had been able to do, with Reſolution to relieve the Town.

The Grand Vizier marches to relief of the Town.

On the laſt Day of *Auguſt*, the Chief Ingineer *Keyſerfelt* entering the Trenches, was killed by a Musket-ſhot.

Septemb.

In the firſt ſix Days of *September* nothing was performed which was conſiderable, but that the Approaches were ſtill advancing; ſo that on the 7th, the Beſiegers Stormed the Counterſcarp, which continued until the going down of the Moon, when the Darkneſs of the Night put an end to the Aſſault, in which the *Chriſtians* loſt 1000 Men, killed and wounded, on the Place, and amongſt them the *Bavarian* General *Sybeldorf*, with two Lieutenant-Colonels, and other Officers.

The Chriſtians loſs.

1693. Septemb.

The ill Succeſs that the *Chriſtians* had ſuſtained by the Storm made on the Counterſcarp, being the cauſe of Raiſing the Siege, it may be very proper to inſert here a Relation, which a principal Officer gave thereof, who was preſent at the Attack made thereon the 7th of *September* 1693. in this manner.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, News came, That the *Tartars* had appeared in the Neighbourhood with a Body of 2000 Men, and had droven away with them ſome Cattle: And

On the 10th Inſtant News was brought by ſeveral Expreſſes, That the Grand Vizier with an Army of 80000 Men, was arrived, together with a great Fleet of Ships and Gallies, before *Widin*: Upon which News, and the ſharp Blow received ſome few Days before, upon the Counterſcarp of the Town, it much diſcouraged the Proceedings of the *Germans*: Upon which a Council of War being called, it was judged dangerous to expect the Arrival of ſo great an Army, or to attend and ſtand their Shock; and therefore it was concluded beſt to Decamp, and quit the Siege, which accordingly was executed with good Order, and the whole Army drew off with Bag and Baggage, Guns, and all other Materials; and ſo paſſing the River *Save*, over the Bridge which they had made, they Burnt and Deſtroy'd it: And thus ended this Expedition with no ſmall Charge and Expence of Blood and Men to the Emperor.

The Siege of Belgrade *raiſed.*

In the Management of which, many Errors and Blunders were committed: The Trenches were not opened until 13 Days after the Place was Inveſted; and that the Batteries were not ready until 13 Days after that: It was another Overſight, That the Fleet, which ſhould have hindered all Proviſions from the Town, coming from *Temeſwaer*, was not ready before the Town was Inveſted; which was as ridiculous, as when the King of *Devmark* forgot his Mortars, going before *Hamburg*; and ſo were the *Germans* Cannon, which were not brought before the Town till five Weeks after it was Inveſted.

Copie de la Relation envoyée à & ſur l'aſſaut de la Contreſcarpe de Belgrade, du 7 Septembre, 1693.

QUOYQUE je n'aye pas manqué de rappreſenter icy qu'il étoit dangereux de donner un aſſaut de Contreſcarpe, quand elle ſe trouve encore eloignée plus de cent pas des approches, comme effectivement étoit celle de Belgrade le 7 Septembre, parceque ceux qui portent la faſcine devant venir de ſi loin à decouvert ſont la plus part tués ou bleſſéz avant qu'ils arrivent a la Palliſade, & par conſequent n'en peuvent fournir aſſez, ny aſſez vite pour faire le Logement requis & ſa Communication aux approches avant l'arrivée du jour, outre que par cette grande diſtance on expoſe plus dangereux de commencer le dit aſſaut aprés la nuit clauſe par les Raiſons ſuivantes: Et

I. Parceque nôtre Artillerie, & nos Fuſeliers ne pouvant ajuſter leurs coups aux Parapets, & defences de l'Ennemy ne ſcavroient auſſi l'empecher de plonger à decouvert ſon feu ſur les aſſailants, & ſur les travailleurs.

II. Puiſque nos Grenadiers par l'Obſcurité ne voyant pas la contenance de l'Ennemy, ny pouvant reconnoître ſa foibleſſe dans les poſtes, qu' il occupe pandant la Chaluer de l'aſſaut, ils n'ont pas lieu auſſy de profiter du moindre avantage, que la Confuſion du d'Ennemy luy peut donner dans l'action, apres quoy il peut ſe remettre, & revenir a ſon devoir.

III. Parceque les Turques ont accouteméz de redoubler la garde dans chacun de leurs poſtes pendant la nuit ſeulement.

IV. Le Soldat, & bien ſouvent l'Officier ne ſe piquant pas d'une égale bravoure, quand ils ne ſont pas obſervés de leurs ſuperieurs comme ils feroient s'ils agiſoient pendant la lumiere, ils profitent ſouvent de la Moindre confuſion pour ſe cacher ou ſe derober a leur devoir.

V. Parceque le tems du travail devenant par ce moyen plus court on né ſcavroit ſe mettre a couvert ſur la Palliſade par un bon Logement, ny faire la Communication en arriere avant l'arrivée du jour ſans la quelle on ſeroit enſuite forcé par l'Ennemy d'abandonner le poſte.

On ne laiſſa neantmoins pas le jour 7 Septembre deux heures apres le ſoleil couché d'ordonner l'aſſaut de la Contreſcarpe de cette place, qui fût diſposé comme il s'en ſuit. A ſcavoir 400 Grenadiers avec deux Capitaines ſous le commandement du Baron de Flouk major du vieux Staremberg partagéz moitié à la gauche, & moité a la droite devoient donner depuis le Ravelin du Roy juſques a la Contregarde de la gauche de nôtre attacque ſoutenu par 200 Fuſiliers, qui étoient auſſi commandéz par deux Capitaines, les quels devoient être ſecondés par 400 autres Fuſiliers, a ſcavoir par 200 ſous le commandement du Lieutenant Colonel de Thaun, qui étoit deſtiné a la droite, & ſontenu par le Colonel Comte Marſigli avec deux Bataillons, & les autres 200 ſous le commandement du Lieutenant Colonel d'Anali qui étoit deſtiné a la gauche ſoutenu par le Colonel Danois Stockamer avec deux autres Bataillons. L'attacque ſudit étant mené par le General Seiberſtorf ſous la direction, & commandement du General Comte Guido Staremberg. Ce qui fût executé immediatement aprés le ſignal donné. Quand nos Grenadiers virent l'Ennemy qui ſortit en même temps auſſi de ſa Palliſade, ſur le Glacis vers l'ouvrage à Corne, chacun tenant un Flambeau allumé d'une main, & le ſabre de l'autre pour les recevoir, mais pouſſez par la vigueur des nôtres, & par le grand feu qu'ils luy firent deſſus il fût obligé de rentrer au plus vite dans ſon chemin couvert, & dans ſes contre-approches, ou nos gens le chargerent avec une ſi grande quantité de Grenades, & le Fuſil creviſé a la palliſade qu'ils en firent reſter un grand nombre, ſur la place, & le mirent partie en confuſion, lors qu'on Capitaine des dits Grenadiers ayant fait dire a Monſieur le General Séiberſtorf de luy envoyer du monde pour le ſoutenir & pour faire le Logement ſur la Palliſade; Le dit General luy fit reſpondre, qu'il ſcauroit bien luy envoyer tout cela, quand il ſeroit temps il étant pas ſon Affaire d'entrer dans ces ſortes de diſpoſitions, de maniere que nos Gens furent une grande heure & demy a decouvert ſur la Palliſade, ſans qu'on leur envoya ny les Fuſiliers deſtinés pour les ſoutenir, ny les travailleurs avec les Faſcines, & Gabions pour les Loger, quoyqu'ils en fiſſent toutes les inſtances poſſibles, aprés quoy les dits 400 Grenadiers ne ſe trouvant plus fort qu'au nombre d'environ 150 le reſte ayant été tuéz ou bleſſés, on fit ſortir les Fuſiliers pour les ſoutenir; &

Monſieur

1693. Monſieur le Comte Guido de Staremberg voyant la perte conſiderable de nôtres ſans aucun fruit, commandà qu'on deut ſe retirer de l'enterpriſe lors qu'on luy vint fauſſement rapporter, que nos Gens s'etoient logéz à la gauche ſur la Palliſade, ce qui luy fit ſuſpendre ſa reſolution, ordonnant de continuer le travail, & dans ce tems là le Colonel Comte Marſigli ſortit ſur la droite pour le ſoûtenir avec ces deux Bataillons, étant rentré un moment aprés avec une Legere bleſſure a la jambe apres quoy Monſieur le Comte Guido ayant appris que nos Gens ſur la gauche bien loin d'être logés à la Palliſade, comme on luy avoit fait croire, avoient abandonné le travail, & qu' a la droite au Lieu d'avoir attaqué entre l'angle ſaillant du Ravelin du Roy, & la Contregarde du Côté de la Save, s'êtoient attachés entre le dit Ravelin & l'Ouvrage a Corne, contre la diſpoſition faite, & toute raiſon, a cauſe du grand feu de Flanc & de Front, dont l'Ennemy les chargeoient, crut a propos avec le reſte de la Generalité de faire retirer le monde ſe contentant de pouſſer un petit Zic Zac avancé d'environ 20 pas hors de nôtre paralele êloignée encore plus de 60, pas de la Palliſade, qui n'êtoit qu'environ deux pieds profond, lors que le jour arrivá.

Quoyque la bravoure de nos Gens alla juſques a l'opiniatreté celle des Ennemies fut aſſurement toute extraordinaire puiſqu' il ſe deffendit avec une telle conſtance, & fit un feu du Mouſquet ſi continué pendant deux bonnes heures, qu'on ne pouvoit diſtinguer un coup de l'autre, outre les Bombes, & Grenades, qu'il tirá ſans ceſſe particulierement du chemin couvert entre l'ouvrage a Corne & le Ravelin du Roy, ou nos Gens attaquerent parme priſe contre la diſpoſition faite, & ou il y avoit trois Palliſades l'une devant l'autre, dont de la plus avancée l'Ennemy ſe deffendoit avec le Mouſquet, de la ſeconde il jettoit des pierres, & de la troiſiême des Grenades avec des Cuilleres ſans diſcontinuer un moment.

S'il eſt extraordinaire, qu'on aye manqué de faire un logement de Contreſcarpe particulierement avec des ſi braves Gens, comme nous avions, il doit l'être encore plus qu'on n'aye pu reuſſir devant un Ennemy, qui ne'n a jamais deffendu juſques a preſent, & on ne ſcauroit en attribuer la faute qu'a la mauvaiſe diſpoſition a ſcavoir parceque on l'a attaquée de trop loin, que l'on a voulu attacquer la nuit contre les raiſons adduites, que l'Artillerie n'a jamais tiré aux deffenſes, & Palliſades des lieux que nous devions attaquer. 1693. Que les Ingenieurs (Particulierement Morando) Abandonnerent d'abord le poſte. Que les Grenadiers de la droit en'attaquerent pas ou il falloit. Que ceux-cy, & ceux de la Gauche ne furent pas ſoutenús, & parceque enfin l'Ingenieur, qui avoit la direction du travail ſur les autres ne ſortit jamais le fiant aux faux rapports qu'on luy faiſoit.

Cependant ſi le mallieur vouloit qu'il fallut quitter cette Place, il eſt conſtant que, Laiſſant a part la principale raiſon de n'avoir pas coupé a l'Ennemy la communication de la Riviere, Les Ingenieurs, & l'Artillerie ont par leur negligence, particulierement contribués a cette perte, puiſque les premiers ont commencés travailler a la ſappe êtant encore à 150 pas loin, faiſant ainſi les paraleles, & 4 ou 5. Clôter d'ouvrage en 24 heurs, & les ſeconds n'ont jamais voulu avancer leurs Batteries, on il falloit pour rompre les deffenſes de l'Ennemy, ny tirer cette quantite de Bombes, & Canons neceſſaries pour ruiner cette place, particulierement le jour de l' aſſaut ſuſdit pendant le quel jour ils ne tirerent jamais ny aux Palliſades du Chemin couvert, ny aux deffences des Contreaproches, & pieces, que nous devions attaquer, ce qui donna lieu a l'Ennemy de ſoutenir ſi bien ſes Ouvrages, qui êtoient encore touts entiers.

L'on aura perdu dans cette aſſaut environ 1000 hommes, tant tuéz que bleſſes parmy les uqels il y a 254 Grenadiers bien comptéz & beaucoup d'Officiers, & entre autres Monſieur le General Seiberſtorf tué.

Nous ſommes environ 80 pas de la Palliſade de la Place, de ſort que Samedy 12 du mois nous ſerons en êtat d'attaquer la Contreſcarpe une ſeconde fois qui ne reuſſira pas mieux que la premiere, ſi les diſpoſitions n'en ſeront meilleures.

Ce matin 9 de Septembre, ſur les 9 heures, les Tartares ſont venus juſques à nôtre retranchement & ont emmenéz plus de 800 Beufs, & quelques chevaux de l'Armée, & partrois ou deux faits Priſonniers on eſt averti, que le ſecour ſera icy dans cinque a ſix jours fort de 90000 Hommes, avec 80 pieces de Canon, cecy cependant ne ſe conforme point, avec les nouvelles du General Veterani ; De quelle facon que cela ſoit, ſi le ſecours vient je ne vois pas que nous ayons aſſez d'Infanterie pour ſoutenir les Approches, Garner les Lignes pour mettre au de la du Danube, & empecher

1693, cher le ſecour, & pour Garder les ponts, & proviande, qui ſerà ſans doute coupée par les Tartares, qui paſſeront là Sauve ou a la nage ou à Sabagg de ſorte que, non obſtant que ſur le commencement nous ayons eu aſſez de temps, & moyens, pour emporter cette place, Je vois tres neceſſaire d'en abandonner le Siege, & repaſſer au plus vite la Sauve, ſi l'on veut conſerver l'Armée, le Royaume d'Hongrie, & toutes ſes Conquêtes, &c.

Continuation du Journal de Siege de Belgrade, depuis le 5 juſqu'au 9 Septembre, 1693.

LE 5 le feu de nos Batteries fut fort grand, & nous jettemes quantité de Bombes & de Carcaſſes ſur l'ouvrage à Corne. Nous commencâmes auſſi a faire une grande Ligne parallele a notre droite.

Le General Archinto fut dangereuſement bleſſe d'un coup de Mouſquet, & pendanr tout le travail nous n'eûmes qu'un Soldat de bleſſé & pas un de tué.

Sur le ſoir un transfuge de la ville, qui étoit Chrêtien & qui avoit travaillé aux Mines des Ennemis rapporta qu'il n'y en avoit encore pas une de remplie. Il s'offrit a nous decouvrir toutes celles qui avoient été faites contre notre Attaque ce qu'il fit le lendemain, & on a trouvé que cela étoit conforme aux avis que quelques uns de nos Ingenieurs, qui avoient fortifié autrefois Belgrade, avoienr donné & a ceux qu'on a eu depuis.

Le 6 il arriva 2 Expres que le General Veterani renvoya de Tranſylvanie avec nouvelle certain que le Grand Viſir avoit paſſé le Danube avec les Turcs, & que parmy les Tartares il regnoit une Maladie contagieuſe qui en faiſoit mourir pluſieurs.

Le méme jour on fit la Parallele gauche & on l'avanca beaucoup, & en pluſieurs endroits on ſappa. Nous commencames auſſi a fermer le Danube avec des bateaux de Moulins a la Turque & une maniere des chaiſnes Flottantes, au deſſous de la Ville, entre deux Forts que nous avons aux deux bords de la jiviere depuis nos Lignes de Circonvallation. 1693.

Le 7, a 4 heures du Matin le General Archinto mourut de ſa bleſſûre & a 7 heures on fit aſſembler les Generaux de l'Infanterie & on tint conſeil pour ſcavoir de quelle maniere on attaqueroit la Contreſcarpe & on reſolut pour mieux tromper l'Ennemy d'attaquer le poligone par pluſieurs endroits a la fois, & a chaque endroit premierement avec 100 Grenadiers enſemble, enſuite avec 300, qui devoient pourſuivre ceux des Ennemis qu'ils trouveroient. Ceux ci devoient étre ſuivis de 300 autres qui avoient ordre de prendre poſte ſur les Paliſſades.

Les Grenadiers devoient étre ſontenus de 600 Fuſeliers, & tous enſemble devoient étre couverts de 1200 Mouſquetaires des dernieres Lignes. On deſtina 1700 hommes pour toutes ſortes de travaux & 6 Bataillons de reſerve. Excepté ce qui étoit de reſerve il n'y eut que 4100 hommes pour l'Attaque, dont 2 tiers des Imperiaux & un tiers des Brandebourgeois & Lunebourgeois devoient donner à la droite.

Le General Guido Stahremberg eut l'Attaque droite, & le General Bavarien Monſieur Seybelſdorf la gauche. Les Auxiliaires avoient leur poſte au milieu, chacun devoit commander les ſiens & avoir ſon Corps de reſerve particulier en cas de beſoin.

L'Attaquc devoit commencet une demi-heure avant la nuit, afin que pendant la nuit on puſt ſe fortifier & avoir toutes les Communications neceſſaires.

A midi on amena tout le monde dont on avoit beſoin & a 2 heures apres Midi S. A. le Duc de Croy & le General Heuſler vinrent eux mémes donner les ordres ſur la place ainſi on fit en toute diligence apporter des Faſcines, des Gabions & autres choſes neceſſaires; mais avant qu'on fuſt preſt non ſeulement le tems deſtiné pour l'atraque ſe paſſa, mais on traſſna juſqu'a 10 heures du ſoir lorſque la lune ſe couchoit de ſorte qu'on croioit de renvoyer au lendemain, mais l'ardeur des Soldats & des Officiers etoit ſi grande & la contenance de l'Ennemi qui ſe tenoit pres de ſes feux donna ſi bonne eſperance qu'on voulut faire une tentative.

Les

1693.

Les Grenadiers qui coururent d'abord, firent fort bien, & ſauterent en pluſieurs endroits dans la Contreſcarpe, les autres commencerent a prendre poſte : Nos Canons & nos Bombes les ſeconderent a merveille, & c'etoit un beau feu a voir ; mais les Ennemis qui etoient aſſembléz dans la Contreſcarpe & dans les ouvrages de dehors en ayant eu le vent ſans qu'on s'en doutaſt, illuminerent tout par le moyen de leurs feux d'Artifice.

Ils firent une opiniatre reſiſtance & attirerent a eux avec des Crochets nos Faſcines & Gabions, & en jettant continuellement des Sacs de Poudre, des pierres & des Grenades ils empecherent que nous ne gardaſſions poſte ſi prés de la Contreſcarpe.

Outre que pendant l'obſcurité ceux qui étoient a l'Attaque gauche s'avancerent ſi fort de là droite & y pouſſerent tellement ceux du milieu, que chacun n'etant pas dans ſa veritable place, & ce poſte etant ſi eloigné de nos Lignes qu'on ne pouvoit s'y maintenir de nuit, encore moins de jour, on trouva bon de faire reculer nôtre Monde & de le faire avancer peu a peu juſqu'a l'endroit on nous ſommes preſentement. Ce qui ſe fit aprés un rude choc qui dura pendant 2 heures, & nous nous ſommes logés a 24 pas par le Moyen d'une nouvelle Ligne. Nous avons eu 6 ou 700 Hommes de tuéz & bleſſez.

Le General des Bavarois Monſieur Seyberſdorf a été tué dans cette occaſion, comme auſſi le Lieutenant Colonel Horn, le jeune Comte Beck : Parmi les bleſſez ſe trouverent le Colonel Marſigli, le Colonel Blankenſee, le Comte de Thaun Lieutenant Colonel de Guido Stahremberg, les Barons d'Alman & d'Andremont Capitaines. Les Ennemis doivent avoir auſſi beaucoup perdu de Monde.

Le 8 on a beaucoup avancée la nouvelle Ligne, & on a achevé un grand travail ſans faire aucune perte, en ſorte que dans 3 jours on eſpere d'étre pres de la Contreſcarpe. On a detaché des Partys pour aller reconnoitre l'Ennemi qu'on croit d'etre bientot icy aux environs.

Le 9 un Party de Tartares vint juſques vers nôtre Camp. Il a emmené quantité de beſtail, qu'on faiſoit paitre malgré la deffenſe au de la des Sentinelles. On les a pourſuivi & on a fait 2 Priſonniers qui diſent que le Grand Viſir eſt vers la Morava avec ſon Armée & qu'il doit inceſſamment s'avancer vers Semendria.

1693.

Septemb.

The Grand Vizier having entered the Town on the 15th, the *Chriſtians* retired from before it, the Vizier cauſed all the Works which the *Germans* had made, to be filled, and levelled; and what damage the Cannon and Bombs had made, to be repaired ; and ſent freſh Proviſions for *Temeſwaer* under a ſtrong Convoy ; and having cauſed the *Tartars* to make ſome Excurſion near *Peter Waradin*, and taken a view of the Imperial Camp, the Vizier attempted nothing more of moment. Nor did the Imperial Army undertake any thing farther, than to Retrench it ſelf near to *Peter Waradin*, and act on the Defenſive, which was all that had been done of moment, during the remainder of this whole Campaign, unleſs in theſe two Particulars following.

On the 17th of *September*, Count *Batheim* Ban of *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Sclavonia*, marched from the River *Unna*, and *Coſtannizza*, with the Land Militia, and arrived on the 19th at three a Clock in the Afternoon, before the *Turkiſh* City call'd *Brunzein Maidan*; where having taken a Survey of the Ground, the following Night the Trenches were opened : And

Brunzien *taken by Storm.*

On the 20th, they began to fire their great Guns, and to throw Bombs into the City : The Garriſon, and the Inhabitants defended themſelves bravely ; for tho' they were twice Summoned, they refuſed to Surrender, ſaying, That the Place was a Magazine belonging to the Sultan, which therefore they were obliged to maintain to the laſt Drop of their Blood : The Place was alſo of greater importance, by reaſon of the Iron and Copper Mines, which aroſe in the Neighbourhood, out of which they forged Mortar-pieces, and great Quantities of Iron Bullets.

The Beſieged defended themſelves very valiantly for the ſpace of two Hours ; but at laſt the Palliſadoes being pulled up, or cut down, the Walls of the City were forced, and taken, and above 500 Men and Women were put to the Sword, amongſt which there were two Chief Commanders, and a third, *Chachilovich* by Name, was taken Priſoner, together with many principal Perſons more of both Sexes.

Within the Town the Beſiegers found great quantities of Bombs, of which ſome were of 200 weight, with ſtore of Braſs of rare and cunning Workmanſhip, together with other very rich Booty ; of all which having Plundered the Inhabitants,

and

1693.

Plunder'd and Burnt.

and carried away all that was worth the taking, they burned the City and Suburbs to Aſhes, with the Houſes that were in the Neighbourhood, with the loſs only of about 40 Men.

The other Succeſsful Enterprize was executed on the 19th of *October* by General *Hoffkirken*, againſt *Giula*, of which the General himſelf gave this Narrative in a Letter to the Duke of *Croy*, ſent him by an Expreſs in this manner.

General *Hoffkirken*'s Letter to the Duke of *Croy*.

‘THIS *Morning I fell upon the Turks and Tartars very early, when they leaſt expected me, and having at the firſt onſet forced them to retreat beyond the firſt Palanca, I cauſed the Dragoons, with* 500 *Horſemen to alight from their Horſes, and with their Swords in their Hands to paſs the Ditch : The Enterprize was bold, but vigorouſly executed. The Turks were very ſtrong, their Force conſiſting of* 40 *Troops of Horſe,* 1200 *Janiſaries, with* 2800 *Tartars newly arrived to Convoy Proviſion into that Fortreſs ; but being on the other ſide of it, they were ſo hotly attacked, that they were driven to the Caſtle, and upwards of* 1000 *of them were killed, and* 2500 *Horſes and Camels taken from them. All the Proviſions which ſhould have been brought into* Giula *were yet lying in their Moſques within the Palancha, together with ſome thouſands of Meaſures of Corn which came laden on Camels, were burn'd in the ſight of the Turks, and thereby all their coſt and labours loſt, which were deſigned to ſupply that Place with Proviſions. Had I come but eight Hours ſooner, I had alſo met with the Tartars marching to* Debrezin; *howſoever I am now preparing to follow them, and hope to come up with them to morrow, or the day following.*

The *Tartars* returning homewards to *Budziack*, and paſſing through *Walachia*, they entirely ruin'd and deſtroyed the Country. But before we end this Year, and the Accidents which happened therein, we are to take notice of another terrible fire at *Conſtantinople :* For as there happened one before in the Month of *May* laſt paſt, ſo now another broke out on the 26th of *Auguſt*, more grievous and terrible than any had done for many years before. The former Fire in *May* began at *Balata*, as we have related ; but that in the Month of *Auguſt* broke out at *Odun Scheleſi*, or the Wood-wharf, being the common place where all the Timber for building Houſes and Ships is laid, and in which are many hundreds of Chambers of vaſt bigneſs for receiving all ſorts and ſizes of ſquar'd Timber, with millions of Boards, and other Timber fitted for building ; the Damage of which amounted to an incredible ſum ; and was of ſuch a general terror and conſternation, that had it happened at the time when *Belgrade* was laſt beſieged, the People for very affrightment would have fled from *Philopopolis* and *Adrianople* ; and at *Conſtantinople* it ſelf the People were poſſeſſed with ſuch a Panick Fear, that thouſands of Families were ready to abandon the City, and to fly into *Aſia*, for a quarter part of the City was burn'd down ; and to encreaſe this terror amongſt the People, it was given out, that the *Germans* were coming upon them with a very numerous Army. And it is here very obſervable, that about that time things being in a doubtful condition, and no news coming from the Army, nor from *Belgrade*, the Grand Seignior in a moſt furious rage ſwore, that if that City were loſt, he would take off the Heads of the Grand Vizier, and of *Oſman* Paſha, the Chimacam, who affrighted with this Menace, fell ſick, and died with fear. The Eunuchs alſo in the Seraglio took the confidence from hence to ſpeak againſt the Government, exclaiming openly, that if ſuch Miſcarriages were permitted in, and amongſt the Principal Officers, the Sultan would be forced to quit *Europe*, and take refuge in *Anatolia*.

1693.

August:

Conſtantinople *burn'd a ſecond time this Year.*

But when the news came that the Siege of *Belgrade* was raiſed, the Anger of the Sultan began to abate, and to be appeaſed againſt the Chief Officers ; and then the language of the People changed its tone, and praiſed the Officers, who but a few days before they had curſed and condemned to utter Ruine, ſaying that the raiſing of this Siege was a Miracle of God, who had heard their Prayers ; which brought a vaſt Confluence of People to their Moſches, to give Thanks to God, and to make *Corban*, as they call it, which is a kind of Sacrifice, offered in this manner ; they who are of the richer ſort, kill Sheep and Lambs, and having prepared them, they cut them in pieces, and give them to the Poor, which is a great Charity and Relief to them ; and

Corban made at Conſtantinople *and* Adrianople.

1693. this in ſuch caſes of Joy, and Thankſgiving, is the moſt Solemn Act in all their Religion.

The *Turks* before this Action were grievouſly dejected and caſt down, but were again revived by the news that the Siege of *Belgrade* was raiſed. To theſe Misfortunes and Miſeries the raging Peſtilence of this Year contributed very much, of which thouſands of People died in all parts of the *Ottoman* Dominions; and thus the *Turks* had three Judgments of God upon them this laſt Year, namely Fire, Sword, and Peſtilence.

And this is all that paſſed this Year of any moment; for the *Venetians* had neither done, nor attempted any thing; and the *Turks* having loſt nothing, took courage againſt the next Year to be early in the field, with a far greater Army than they had this, and likewiſe at Sea with a ſtronger, and a more numerous Fleet, having 20 Sail of Stout Men of War in the *Archipelago* already fitted, from 50 to 80 Guns, beſides the increaſe of their Galiots, and Brigantines on the *Danube*. Theſe and ſuch like matters encouraging the *Turks*, with the Expectation of a Peace with *Poland*, which the *French* Ambaſſador fomented, and forwarded ſo far, that an Ambaſſador being ſent from *Varſovia* to *Adrianople* to treat, the ſame backed with the *French* Intereſt; it was generally believed that the Peace was concluded; but how true that was, the Succeſſes of the next Year will demonſtrate unto us.

Anno 1694.

1694. THIS following Year of 1694 produced no greater Actions than the former, but yet continued ſtill to be ſucceſsful to the Emperor. In the beginning of *March* the Grand Vizier was diſpoſſeſſed of his High Office, and ſucceeded by *Ali*, Paſha of *Tripoli*; the cauſe whereof was on a ſlight occaſion, which was this; the Vizier being deſirous to take ſome recreation with hunting Hares on a certain day, his Enemies took the opportunity to bring the Sultan that way, where he unluckily met with the Vizier's Dogs, and a noiſe of hunting; of which the Grand Seignior enquiring what it meant, ſome Enemies to the Vizier anſwered, that it was the Grand Vizier, who might have employed his time in management of the Affairs of the Empire, better than in Sports and Recreations, reſerved, and more becoming the pleaſures of his Maſter, than his own; but this (as they added) was no wonder, it being his conſtant trade and practice. With which the Sultan became ſo enraged, that he immediately ſent for him, and taking the Seals from him, he deprived him of his Office.

1694. *The Grand Vizier depoſed.*

Hereupon *Ali* Paſha was ſent for, being eſteemed a Man of great Courage, and Experience in all State Affairs, and being Arrived at *Adrianople* in the beginning of *May*, he immediately put forth the Horſe-Tail, which is a Signal that the Vizier deſigns his march for the Camp in 40 days afterwards; and to ſhew his readineſs, and zeal for the Grand Seignior's Service, he raiſed and equipped 3000 Men at his own Charge, and out of his own Eſtate. But here we may obſerve, that before the former Vizier was depos'd, Orders had been given, that henceforward no *Venetian* Ships ſhould be permitted to come into any of the *Ottoman* Ports under *Engliſh* or *French* Colours, upon confiſcation of Ship and Lading; howſoever two Months were allowed for execution of the Penalty, on thoſe Ships which were already arrived within the Ports.

Ali *Paſha Vizier.*

As the Grand Vizier was depos'd for the reaſons aforeſaid, ſo alſo was the Chimacam, called *Calailicos Ahmet* Paſha, of Greek Extraction, in danger of being ſtrangled, had not the Queen Mother, and the Kuzlir Aga, or Chief Eunuch procured the favour to have his Puniſhment altered, and changed to an Exile into *Egypt*, for the many Tyrannies and Cruelties he had committed; and particularly for that he had taken away the Ancient Church called St. *George* at *Conſtantinople*, belonging to the Patriarchate for ſome hundreds of Years before that time: In his place *Jeien* Paſha, a prudent Perſon, and one very well practiſed in Affairs, was conſtituted Chimacam; and being the Nephew of the famous *Kupriogli*, gave genoral ſatisfaction to all People, and particularly to the Greeks and Chriſtians, to whom he always ſhewed much favour.

Chimacam Ahmet *Paſha baniſhed.*

At this time, as is uſual, there were two great Factions at *Adrianople*, one in the Seraglio, conſiſting of the Queen Regent, the Kuzlir-Aga, and other Principal Courtiers; the other Party in oppoſition to theſe, were the Mufti, the Grand Vizier, and Principal Officers of the Janizaries, and Spahees: To ſtrengthen theſe, after the Death of *Oſman* Paſha, the Selictar-Aga was choſen Chimacam, being a Young Man, a *Chircaſſian* by Nation, of a very good underſtanding, and for his years very well verſed in Affairs: This Perſon being promoted to this Office without the knowledge or conſent either of the Grand Vizier,

1694. zier, or the Muſti, but only by the Machination or Contrivance of the Kuzlir-Aga and Queen Mother, rendred his Condition the more unſetled, and uncertain. And indeed not only the Court, but all the Empire was in great Confuſion by reaſon of the weakneſs of three or four Sultans ſucceſſively, of whom we have already given a Character, and particularly of this Sultan *Achmet*, of whom the beſt we can ſay is, that he was a Good Natur'd Jolly Prince, and feared no hurt, nor wiſhed it to any Perſon whatſoever.

But how the ſtate of Affairs were in thoſe days, we may learn from a Letter, which my Lord *Paget* wrote to a Perſon of Quality at *Vienna*, dated *April* 24. *N.S.* 1694.

Lord *Paget*'s Letter.

SIR,

THEY ſo often change their Miniſters here, that an Ambaſſador can ſcarce come to treat twice with the ſame Perſon. Since my arrival here at the Port, they have had three Grand Viziers, three Chimacams of Adrianople *, four Chimacams, of* Conſtantinople, *three Aga's of the Janiſaries, three Teſterdars or Lord Treaſurers, two New Cadileſchers or Judges of* Aſia, *and* Romelia; *and in ſhort, all the Great Officers of the Empire were changed, (the Muſti only excepted) by which there was ſuch a New Set of Idiots and Fools got into Places, as would overturn the beſt ſettled Government in the World. For theſe Officers being only ſuch, as Chance offers, it is a doubtful Wager, whether he proves a Fool, or a Wiſe Man; and in caſe he ſhould prove a Man of Parts, yet he is ſuffered ſo ſhort a time to remain in his Office, that he is in no capacity to improve them.*

Ambaſſadors, unleſs it be at their firſt Audience, and at that of Congedie, *have no Converſation or Acceſs to the Grand Seigniors, and then they affect ſuch a ſort of Grandeur, as may beſt cover all their Thoughts by a Silence, ſo that they give no place for any debate; and a Man can never lay any foundation upon their Words: For as their Ally of* France *ſcorns to be a Slave to his word; ſo they hold it to be no diſhonour to be open, and eſteem nothing for a Secret. It is true, that very ſeldom or never, a Miniſter ſhall receive a flat denial from a* Turk, *for he ſhall train you on to the very laſt point; and when you come to the laſt Argument, and Upſhot of all, then a Sum of Money muſt make the Concluſion.* 1694.

The diſorders made by the *Arabian* Princes in the Countries about *Aleppo* did ſtill continue, which cauſed great fears, and apprehenſions at *Conſtantinople* it ſelf: but thoſe Countries being far remote, and diſtant made little alterations or noiſe at Court.

April. The Negotiations of *Poland* at *Adrianople* had no ſucceſs, ſo that the Envoy was diſpatched away, *re infecta*. Some few days afterwards, the Tartar Han quitted the Court with diſſatisfaction, and all things ſeemed in much diſorder; however they talked high of great preparations for the following Campagne: And to make ſome evidences thereof, they diſpatched away 1200 Janiſaries from *Adrianople* to *Belgrade*; moreover they ſent away 32 Saiques for the *Danube*.

About this time the Grand Vizier arrived from *Tripoli de Soria*, where he had been Paſha, and was ſent for by the Grand Seignior to head the Army in *Hungary*, having been recommended by ſome Favourites to have been the wiſeſt and moſt experienced General in the Empire, but the trial ſhewed him to be a Man rather of the Pen and good Language, than of Arms.

But to ſpeak more fully and pertinently concerning the Negotiations of the *Poliſh* Envoy at *Adrianople*, he was lodged at *Demerdeſh*, about an *Engliſh* Mile from the City, in a poor Village, without Ceremony, or any great Equipage; he had a Coach with ſix Horſes, in which was a *French* Jeſuit: His Buſineſs was declared rather to be deſigned to the *Tartar* Han, who was at that time at *Adrianople*, than to the Grand Seignior, and accordingly had Audience of him.

Poliſh Envoy's *Audience with the* Tartar *Han at* Adrianople.

In the firſt place it was obſervable, that during the time of his Audience with the *Tartar* Han, the Poliſh Envoy kept his Cap off, until he was bid to ſit down and be covered; after a few words of Complement, he aroſe up and delivered his Letter. The *Han* asked him, whether he had any other Letters for him; to which he replied no. He asked him from whom that Letter was, he anſwered, from the King his Maſter. The Han asked him, whether he had any thing to ſay to him by word of Mouth, to which he anſwered no, for that all was contained within the Letter. The Han ſpake in the *Tartar* Language, and the *Pole* in his own. The Audience ended, the

1694.

the *Pole* aroſe, kiſſed the Han's Veſt, retired backwards with his Face towards the Han, which is a part of reſpect amongſt *Turks* and *Tartars*, and moſt of the Eaſtern People, all which was over in leſs than half an Hours time.

A ſham Envoy from Poland.

The which Paſſage ſeemed very Myſterious, and not well underſtood, from whence, and from whom this Envoy was ſent; but being gone out of the Preſence of the Han, the Negotiation appeared to concern War and Peace, and a Treaty propoſed to be held in order thereunto, between the *Turk* and *Tartar* on one ſide, and of the Emperor, King of *Poland*, and the *Venetian* State on the other. Hereof intelligence was given by my Lord *Paget*, Monſieur *Heemskirk*, and Heer *Colyer*, to the Emperor, *Venetians*, and all the Allies whom it might concern; the which ſeemed very ſtrange, that ſuch a Negotiation ſhould be ſet on foot unknown to them, or to the Mediators of the Peace; the which was ſtill more ſurprizing, when the Orders for ſuch a Treaty given to a *Poliſh* Miniſter, were diſavowed, and unexpected by the Emperor and the *Venetians*; and what made the Buſineſs the more doubtful, was, That this Envoy brought no Letters for the Mediators, from any of the Allies, or Princes concerned; nor did he admit of any Salutes from the Foreign *Chriſtian* Miniſters; for tho' my Lord *Paget* had his Secretary Mr. *Coke*, and the Ambaſſador *Colyer* had his Chief Interpreter upon the Place, yet the *Pole* would admit of none of their Addreſſes, or Viſits, but adhered cloſe to the *French* Ambaſſadors, with whom he had long and frequent Conferences.

1694.

The Turks averſe to a Peace, with the Surrender of Caminiect

This unuſual way of management of Treaties, gave juſt reaſon of ſuſpicion to all Perſons, that this Negotiation was nothing but an Artifice of the *French*, to bring *Poland* into a ſeparate Peace with the *Turk*, which perhaps by the Cunning and Crafty Inſinuations of the *French* might have ſucceeded, had not the *Pole* too earneſtly inſiſted on the Surrender of *Caminieck* into their Hands, with all the Proviſions, Arms, and Fortreſſes, and with the *Uti Poſſidetis*; which was a Term at that time, and during the late Treaty, mortally hateful to the *Turks*: Had not that Term, I ſay, been unluckily ſtarted, it is very probable, that the *Turks* would have accepted of a ſeparate Peace with the *Poles*: And moreover this particular Article would go down the worſe, in regard that the *Turks* had lately repaired that ſtrong Fortreſs, and ſupplied it with all ſorts of Proviſions, and of all Parts had made it almoſt impregnable: And another Difficulty was, That *Poland* was not willing to Surrender ſome ſmall Places which they had taken on the Frontiers of *Moldavia*; by which it plainly appears, That all this Treaty was nothing but an Artifice of the *French*, to amuſe the *Turks*, and try, if poſſible, by ſome Overtures of this Nature, to bring the *Poles* into a ſeparate Peace.

The Poliſh *Envoy ſent away with Diſgrace.*

The Cham of *Tartary* being a Chief Actor, and deſigned to bear a principal part in this diſguiſed Treaty, finding that hereby he began by his Friendſhip with the *Poliſh* Envoy, to loſe his Credit, and Reputation, and that his good Friend the Grand Vizier, (tho' newly put into Place) was tottering, and near being Depoſed, and to be himſelf commanded to return into his own Country, he haſtned away this ſuppoſititious Envoy all he could, and accordingly, by Order of the Grand Seignior, he was diſpatched away with ſome Indignity, and Diſgrace; neither the *Tartar* Cham, nor the Grand Vizier daring to open their Mouths in his Behalf, or to mention any of the Conditions he had propoſed for a Peace: And ſuch a Perſon muſt have been endued with a good Stock of Confidence, and Impudence to manage a Buſineſs of the higheſt Importance on ſuch weak Grounds as he had to pretend, eſpecially at a time when all the Grand Officers of the Empire were upon their Change. But ſuch as ſpeak moſt favourably of this Buſineſs ſay, That this *Poliſh* Envoy, or Agent, was not ſent to make a ſeparate Peace, but to prepare things in order thereunto, by advancing their Conditions, on which the Port might afterwards treat with the Emperor and the *Venetians*, ſending their Miniſters into *Tranſylvania* with Powers to that purpoſe; but all this came to nothing as will appear by the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

In the mean time all things were in great diſorder in the Court between thoſe Officers who live within and without the Seraglio, to make up theſe Differences. The Grand Vizier, with the *Tartar* Han, Teſterdar, Paſha, and Janiſar Aga, and ſome others held a Council in the Month of *February*, where it was reſolved, To move the Grand Seignior, to remove the Kuzlir-Aga, and the Haznadar-Aga; and to that end the Vizier made *Talkiſh* to the Grand Seignior, and the other *Arz*, for removal of thoſe Perſons, who were Mutinous, and Intriguing in Matters of State.

Upon this Complaint the Grand Seignior grew very angry, and told the Vizier, That the Kuzlir-Aga deſerved indeed to be puniſhed, for recommending him, the Vizier, to that high Office; adding, That he was neither a Fool, nor a Child, to be governed by other Mens Humours; and that the

1694. Report was falſe, That the Kuzlir-Aga medled in Affairs of State.

The Grand Seignior ſhowing in this manner ſome Diſpleaſure againſt the Vizier, who had now but little Support beſides the *Tartar* Cham; it was inſinuated to the Sultan, That it was improper for two Princes to live in the ſame City; and that it had never been the Practice of former times, for the Cham to reſide at the Port, there to pry into the Secrets of the Empire.

Hereof the Cham having had ſome Intimation, and ſeeing the Diſorders ariſing in the Court, and fearing to be ſent away, he deſired to be diſmiſt, pretending that his Preſence was neceſſary in his own Country, he took leave of the Sultan at a Solemn Audience; and being richly preſented, he began his Journey homewards, being accompanied out of *Adrianople* by the Grand Vizier.

After the Departure of the Cham, the Grand Vizier's Wife, who was Siſter to the Grand Seignior, was forbidden the Court, which was an evident demonſtration that her Husband was not likely to continue long in that Office.

The Heer *Heemskirk*, who had been ſent to the Aſſiſtance of Monſieur *Colyer*, Ambaſſador for the States-General at *Conſtantinople*, for management of the Peace between the Emperor and the *Turks*; or rather for want of an *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, the two former, Sir *William Huſſey*, and Mr. *Herbert* being both Dead, At that time the *Turks* ſeeming inclinable to a Peace, King *William* thought it not fit to let paſs this Opportunity for want of an Ambaſſador from *England*; but rather qualified Monſieur *Heemskirk* then at *Vienna*, with the Title of *Engliſh* Ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior (of which we have formerly made ſome mention) the which had currantly paſſed with the *Turks*, had not the *French* diſcovered the matter, and declared that this *Heemskirk* was no *Engliſh* Man, nor no Miniſter of the King of *Enland*, but a *German*; and one under Notion of an Ambaſſador, ſent for a Spy to deceive the *Turks*.

Mr. Heemskirk *ſent back.*

Upon which Inſinuation, *Heemskirk* was not able afterwards to treat with the *Turks*, nor would they accept of any Propoſitions from him, or acknowledge him for a publick Miniſter, but committed him to Cuſtody, and kept him under a ſtrict Guard; and ſo was detained for ſome Months, until the Lord *Paget* was ſent to ſupply the Office of a true and undoubted Ambaſſador; at which time Heer *Heemskirk* was called to Audience, and had his Diſmiſſion.

Upon Departure *Heemskirk* ſaid, *He was ſorry that his Endeavours for putting an end to this Bloody War, had been unſucceſsful.* To which the Vizier anſwered, *That Peace would be, when God pleaſed, and was not at the Pleaſure and Will of Man*: And ſo without ſaying any thing more material, *Heemskirk* was diſmiſſed; and began his Journey from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade* on the 2d of *March*.

During theſe Matters, great were the Diſorders at Court; the Grand Vizier grew weary of his Office, and would gladly have been rid of it, could he have done it with ſafety, and Name his Succeſſor; and in the mean time his Wife endeavoured to accommodate Matters between her Husband, and the Kuzlir-Aga: Notwithſtanding which Differences, and the great Animoſities, yet they ſlackned nothing of their Diligences to be early this Year in the Field, and accordingly Commands were iſſued out to diſpoſe all things thereunto: And an Aga was ſent to *Walachia* for 500 Horſes to carry Flour to *Belgrade*.

The *French* Ambaſſador perſwaded the *Turks* to open their Campaign this Year, by way of *Tranſylvania*; and to induce them to follow his Advice, he aſſured them that his King would have an Army this Year in *Germany* of 100000 Men, but the *Turks* never gave much Credence to the Boaſtings of the *French*, whom they commonly ſtyled with the Name of *Talangi Francos*: And to ſecond this Opinion of the *French*, the *Nogay Tartars*, who were ſetled in a Part of *Moldavia*, made an Incurſion through that Province into *Tranſylvania*, and took from thence about 6000 Captives, and a conſiderable Booty.

The Nogay Tartar.

Theſe *Nogay Tartars* were called into thoſe Countries by the *Tartar* Han, to ſuccour and aſſiſt him at the time, when the *Moſcovites* came againſt *Crim*, and were then placed with their Families in good Numbers about *Budziac*, and part of *Moldavia*; the Prince of which made Complaint to the Grand Seignior, that being deprived of a great part of his Country by his new come Gueſts; the Provinces were entirely ruined, and the People no longer able to ſupport the Charge, and pay their Tribute: But this Complaint having but little Effect, the whole Blame of theſe Miſcarriages were attributed to the ill Conduct of the Grand Vizier; for which cauſe he was Depoſed, and the Embrahor, or Maſter of the Horſe, was ſent to demand and receive the Seals from him, and the Chimacam of *Adrianople* employed to Seal up his Houſe.

The Grand Vizier depoſed.

Hereupon

1694. Hereupon the Depoſed Vizier obtained by the aſſiſtance of Friends, a Hatteſhetiffe, or Royal Command from the Grand Seignior, to return towards his Government of *Tripoli de Soria*, without moleſtation; for which he gave the Meſſenger that brought it five Purſes of Money.

Notwithſtanding which, a Capigi, with ſeveral Boſtangees, were diſpatched after him to bring him back, and having overtaken him, he was committed Priſoner between the Ports, from whence very few eſcape with their Lives; nor did he long ſurvive, his Eſtate being all ſeized, and confiſcated to the Uſe of the Sultan.

Another Capigi-Baſha was likewiſe ſent to fetch the Head of *Ali Paſha*, who was Great Vizier before this laſt Depoſed Vizier. Likewiſe about the ſame time, the Kahya of *Oſman Paſha*, the lately deceaſed Chimacam of *Adrianople*, was put under Arreſt, and his Maſter's Money, Jewels, and Goods, with his own, were demanded to bring Money into the Seraglio.

But before we proceed any farther, it may not be from our Purpoſe to declare an Action which happened in the Port of *Smyrna*, in the Month of *March*, as follows. **March.**

One Capt. *Hely* Commander of a Merchant's Ship of 30 Guns, having brought ſome Goods to *Smyrna* from *Legorne*, and finding no Goods that preſented for a Voyage back again, he reſolved to ſeek his Fortune in ſome other Port: The ſame Morning Captain *Marine*, a *French* Merchant-Man, and Captain *Teiſſere* another *French* Man weighed alſo, and accompanied the *Engliſh* Ship half way to the Caſtle, where they remained a Back-ſtays for ſeveral Hours; and ſeeing Captain *Hely* turning out, watched an Opportunity to bear down upon him; which *Hely* endeavouring to avoid all that was poſſible, could not yet hinder the *French* Man from falling foul of him, by which he broke his Sprit-ſail Yard, and Jack-ſtaff, and preſented many Muſquets, and Piſtols at the Men to provoke them to Fight, or commit ſome raſh Action, to the Breach of the Peace in the Grand Seignior's Port; but Captain *Hely* managed his Buſineſs with ſuch Moderation, and Courage, that he ſaved the King's Jack, and took it in, and then hoiſted it again; and the *French* cutting ſome of their own Mizen-Shrouds, *Hely* got clear, and Sailed away towards the Caſtle, with a good part of the *French* Man's Colours, being foul of a Block.

That Night *Hely* having procured Materials to repair his Damage, ſailed away, and the next Day got within five Miles of *Marine*, Rowing to come up to him, which he did near Cape *Caraborno*, and there engaged him, and after four Hours Fight, in which *Hely* fired above 200 of his Cannon, he took the *French* Ship, which was ſaid to be worth more than a 100000 *Lyon* Dollars. 1694.

The New Vizier. There being two Viziers lately Depoſed, it was commanded, That the New Vizier ſhould be actually at *Adrianople* on the 15th of *April*, ſo as that he might be with the Army in the Field before the Month of *June*.

This New Vizier was called *Ali Paſha*, as was alſo his Predeceſſor, and both had been Paſha's at *Tripoli* of *Soria*, and came from thence; but as to this, he had no great Reputation for his Qualities: He had five Years ago been Tefterdar, or Lord Treaſurer, at the Port; he had been a great Favourite, and an old Friend of the late Kuzlir-Aga; but others who knew him well, had no great Opinion of him, but looked upon him, as a Man of little Experience, without Parts, or Abilities for ſo great a Charge, and eſteemed for a Perſon not likely to continue long in that Sublime Station. *Character of the New Vizier.*

Whilſt Matters were preparing for the Camp, againſt the Arrival of the New Vizier. *Ahmet Paſha* who had been Chimacam of *Conſtantinople*, was declared Paſha of *Arzrum* in *Armenia* Major, and was actually Liſting Soldiers in *Nicomedia*; at which every one wondered, and commonly reported, That he having been diſobliged by the Court, was there Raiſing and Liſting Soldiers to joyn with the Rebels in *Aſia*; of which ſome Murmurings coming to the Ears of the Kuzlir-Aga his Friend, he adviſed him to haſten away with all diligence poſſible, for that his loytering in thoſe Parts, gave juſt Jealouſie and Ground to the contrary Faction, to report Evil and Dangerous Matters concerning him; and for that reaſon he urged him to be gone on the Buſineſs for which he was employed; promiſing, That in caſe he dealt Faithfully and Wiſely in this Buſineſs, he would at his Return uſe his beſt Endeavors to make him Grand Vizier. The leaſt Whiſperings of this Nature in the Time of another Sultan, had been ſufficient to have taken the Heads both of the Paſha, and of his Friend the Kuzlir-Aga, but this preſent Grand Seignior feared no Evil, nor deſigned it unto others; ſo that *Ahmet Paſha* lived boldly, and without controul in *Nicomedia*, being Proud, Obſtinate, and Capricious, carrying no reſpect to the Commands and Orders of the Port; but gave out his own Commands to ſeveral Places, to raiſe ſome Thouſands of Segmen, which are a ſort of Foot Soldiers; which he acted

1694. ſo openly, that the World could not but take notice thereof, and declare him a Rebel: Upon which, fearing ſome worſe Proceedings, he quitted *Nicomedia*, and marched towards his Brethren in *Aſia*, to take part with them in their Rebellious Deſigns.

In the mean time News came that the Grand Vizier was ſpeedily expected at *Adrianople*, and that he was already arrived at *Chalcedon*, which was a Place anciently famous for one of the four General Councils, and oppoſite to *Conſtantinople*; from whence on the 18th of *April* he paſſed the Channel into *Europe*, and taking the ready Road leading to *Adrianople*, he entered that City on the 21ſt of that Month, where he was received with all imaginable Kindneſs by the Faction then predominant in the Seraglio.

And the Vizier to demonſtrate all Duty and Obedience to the Sultan, as alſo Affection to the People, and Militia, he iſſued forth the Horſe-Tails on the ſecond Day after his Arrival, which denotes the Intentions of the Grand Vizier to begin his March in 40 Days from the time, or at fartheſt on the firſt of the following *June*.

According to this Ancient Cuſtom, the Vizier 20 Days before his Departure pitched his Tents, and ſent out the Horſe-Tails into the Camp near *Adrianople*, with intent as was reported, to march towards *Belgrade*; but *Tranſylvania* was this Year chiefly in their Eye, as was adviſed by the *French* Ambaſſador; but it appearing, that great Preparations were making by the Imperialiſts, to fall upon *Belgrade*, the *Turks* altered their Deſign, and took their way towards that Place, to Fortifie, and Strengthen it with what Forces they were able.

Upon the Arrival of the Grand Vizier at *Belgrade*, many ſad Complaints and Lamentations were brought him from *Temeſwaer*, and *Giula*, complaining of their ſtreightned Condition for want of Proviſions; upon which it was reſolved to ſupply them with Rice and Corn of all ſorts; and the Chimacam of *Adrianople*, in the abſence of the Vizier, ſent them ſeveral Horſe Ladings of Proviſions, and Money to the value of 40000 Dollars, or 80 Purſes, under the Convoy of 800 Janiſaries.

Whilſt the Grand Vizier was acting in *Hungary*, Advices came from all Hands in *Aſia*, and was reported as well from *Europeans*, as from *Aſiaticks*, that the Sheriffs Army increaſed daily, and had Plundered a very rich City, in which were great Quantities of Rich Goods of all ſorts, and that this Army lived under exact Diſcipline; the which Army (as was reported) was divided into two Parts, one Diviſion remained with the Sheriff, and lay Encamped between *Mecca* and *Medina*; and another part of this Army was encamped in the Province, or Kingdom of *Baſſora*, where they made Head againſt thoſe Paſha's which were Conſtituted by the Sultan, endeavouring to obſtruct all thoſe Ways leading to *Aleppo*. The News hereof did not a little trouble the Mind of the Grand Seignior, and ſerved to increaſe his Diſeaſe of the Dropſie, which had been very fatal to the *Ottoman* Family; howſoever a certain famous Phyſician gave hopes of his Recovery, pretending to Cure him, by opening four Iſſues in his Legs and Feet; but an acute Fever coming thereupon, People began to deſpair of his Life, which cauſed a great Silence in all Parts, particularly in the Army in *Hungary*, where it was reported, That the Sultan was Dead, or out of all hopes of Recovery; beſides which, all things went ill for the *Turks*, for the three Paſha's which were diſpatched from *Sofia* to receive Taxes from the *Venetians*, not far from *Narenta*, returned back without Contributions towards the War; which ſo grievouſly troubled the Grand Vizier, that he diſpatched away three other Beyes with a good Detachment of the *Albanian* Militia, to force and collect his Taxes. And tho' the *Turks* put a good Face on their Misfortunes; yet the Villanous Rebels, and Tumultuous Robbers in *Aſia* continued their Outrages, ſo that nothing came from thence, but Complaints and Unhappy Tydings: All the force that they could make, or expect from thence, was no more than the Yearly Succours for guard of the Caſtles upon the *Helleſpont*, together with three Paſha's, and two Beys, making in all 3600 Men appointed for Recruits for the Grand Vizier.

Sultan Achmet *in danger of Death.*

To add farther to all theſe Misfortunes Advices were carried to all Places, That the *Venetian* Fleet was arrived before *Mytilene* with 30 Gallies, four Galleaſſes, 12 Ships of War, on which were Shipped 15000 Soldiers, the greateſt part of which conſiſted of *Albanians*, *Greeks*, and *Sclavonians*.

Moreover farther intelligence came from *Salonica*, or *Theſſalonica*, That they greatly feared the *Venetian* Fleet, which threatned to make a Deſcent within that Gulf, and were in ſome apprehenſions leaſt the Enemy ſhould make an attempt on the Iſland of *Scio*.

About

1694. August. About the middle of *Auguſt* the *Turkiſh* Forces began to arrive at ſeveral Quarters about *Belgrade*, where the 14th at Night, all was in Alarm by a *Turkiſh* Gally, which took Fire by the Negligence of the Men, and having much Powder and Ammunition aboard, blew up, to the terrible affrightment of the *Turks* in *Belgrade*, who apprehended, that the *German* Army was already under the Walls of the City; tho' at the ſame time they were no nearer than *Peter Waradin*, within the Rettenchment of laſt Year; where finding their Troops increaſe but ſlowly from other Quarters, they reſolved there to remain Encamped, and act upon the Defenſive.

Septemb. On the 8th of *September*, the Day before the Vanguard of the *Turkiſh* Army appeared in ſight of that Retrenchment, a moſt Terrible Storm happened, which carried away the Tents of the Imperial Army, ſunk ſeveral of their Ships, broke their Bridge of Boats, and drove five Ships of the Fleet down to the Iſlands. All which they had much adoe to repair, and bring in order again before the whole *Turkiſh* Army came to aſſault them; for the Grand Vizier having received a poſitive Order from the Sultan, to Attack and Fight the Imperialiſts whereever they could meet with them, in compliance therewith Decamped on the ſeventh Inſtant from *Salankement*, and marched directly for *Peter Waradin*: And

A Storm on the Danube.

On the ninth, ſome of the Van-guard appeared in ſight of that Place; the Grand Vizier with the Body of the Army then Encamping at *Carlowitz*, three Hours diſtant from the Imperial Army.

On the 10th, the whole Army came within half an Hour of the Imperial Retrenchment, the Foot taking their Quarters next to our Front, and the Horſe placing themſelves to the left of their Foot, and on the left of theſe were Camped the *Tartars*. Their Fleet conſiſting in 110 Ships, came likewiſe within Cannon-ſhot of the Imperial Ships, and caſt their Anchor there, being poſted in a Line of Battle.

The whole Day the *Huſſars* were Skirmiſhing with the *Turks* and *Tartars*; and on the 11th it was thought the *Turks* would have Stormed the Imperial Camp; wherefore all was prepared to receive them: They appeared with 3 or 400 Enſigns, or Companies, within 800 Paces of the Retrenchment, but behind the Earth of a Ditch which they had made, and which covered them ſo well, that the Imperial Guns could but little annoy them.

A Fight by Water and Land. On the 12th the *Turks* begun to fire from all ſides on the Imperial Camp, with their Great Guns: Their Fleet alſo advanced higher up, and fired furiouſly on the Imperial Ships, and on the Bridge, but were anſwered as hotly both from the Imperial Ships, and from the Batteries on the Shore: Two Waggons with Ammunition were ſet on fire by a Shot of the *Turks*, and about 30 Men were thereby Killed or Burnt. Count *Solms*, Major of the Regiment of Cuiraſſes of Count *Herberſteyn*, was alſo Killed with a Cannon-Bullet.

1694. Septemb. On the 13th, the firing both by Water and by Land, was again renewed: The Attack made by the *Turks*, ſeeming to be a formal Seige both of *Peter Waradin*, and of the Imperial Camp; they having either on their Ships, or Batteries, upwards of 500 Great Guns continually firing, tho' with little damage to the *Germans*: The Deſign of the *Turks* being to ruine the Imperial Bridge.

This great Shooting continued at the ſame rate the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th; which laſt Day the *Turks* not only threw Bombs out of three Mortar-Pieces into the Imperial Retrenchments, but alſo from the Point of the Iſland with two Mortars, into *Peter Waradin*, and carried more Guns on their Batteries.

But the Night betwixt the 17th and 18th, the *Turks* were pretty quiet, but after Break of Day they again fired more hotly than ever, and ſhewed themſelves beyond the Imperial Retrenchments; but being briskly Attacked by the *Huſſars*, they were droven back to their Camp. The *Turks* alſo drew a new Parallel-Line 60 Paces nearer to the Imperial Camp, and were very buſie to cloſe the ſaid Line with their Line of Communication.

On the 19th in the Afternoon, the *German* Right Wing fired with Great Guns and Muſquets from an Eminence on the firſt Lines of the *Turks*, and annoyed them very much, ſo that a great Alarm aroſe amongſt them, and the *Turks* came running from all ſides with Horſe and Foot, to ſtrengthen and aſſiſt their Left Wing: That Evening the *Brandenburgh* Foot, conſiſting of ſix Battallions, arrived in the Camp; which were received with three Salvo's of the Guns from the Caſtle and the Batteries on the Water-ſide: This Reinforcement being arrived, the *Turks* ſeemed leſs brisk in their Attack; but that which moſt incommoded them, was, That the Governour of *Titul* ſurprized and took 25 *Turkiſh* Ships laden with Proviſions for their Army, and ſunk two or three of their Frigats. That the *Tartars* having at the Requeſt of the Grand Vizier ſwam over the *Donau* near *Cobila*, (where indeed they had taken about 1000 Horſe, and part of the Imperial Baggage) were overtaken in their

The Brandenburgers reinforce the Germans.

Retreat

The Grand Vizier raiſes the Siege.

Retreat by General *Baſſompiere*, who cut down above 1500 of the *Tartars*, amongſt which was the Han's Son; and that thereupon the *Tartar* Han fell out with the Grand Vizier and Commanded his Troops, conſiſting of 7000 *Tartars* which remained, to prepare for their return Home; notwithſtanding the Grand Vizier continued his Endeavours againſt the Imperial Retrenchments, and *Peter Waradin*, and the Bridge, till the 13th of *October*; but ſeeing that they loſt more than they got at this ſport, and that alſo becauſe the ſix or ſeven following Days of great Rains, the *Turkiſh* Soldiers were up to their Knees in the Water in their Approaches, which cauſed Numbers of 'em to Die, having alſo been ſeveral Days without Bread, by the taking of the aboveſaid Ships; and not knowing when any would arrive, the Grand Vizier on the 13th at Night, cauſed all the Guns from the Forts and Batteries to be carried off, and Shipped on their Gallies; and thereupon quitted at once all his Approaches, Guards, and Retrenchments, and marched back with the whole Army to *Salankement*, leaving nothing in his Camp but ſome few Shovels, and three Dead Bodies; neither could the *Germans* follow them, their Horſe being Encamped on the other ſide of the River, and the Retreat of the *Turks* not having been perceived till the next Day; when immediately upon the diſcovery ſome Horſe were ſent after them, which returned with ſome ſtragling *Turks* only, the reſt of their Army having paſſed the *Save*, and broke their Bridge down after 'em: And thus the *Turks* ended this Campaign; but the *Germans* had the good fortune to joyn the City of *Giula* to their other Conqueſts.

Scio *taken by the* Venetians.

Towards the end of this Month of *September*, News came in an unexpected and aſtoniſhing manner to *Adrianople*, That the *Venetians* had Surprized the Iſland of *Scio*, and in a few Days, without much difficulty, had made themſelves Maſters of the whole Iſland.

At firſt both the Caſtle and the Forts Capitulated, and on the 19th all was yielded up; and the ſame Day the *Turkiſh* Garriſon was by agreement Tranſported into *Anatolia*, and Disbarked at *Chiſme*, (as the *Turks* call it) being the neareſt Land unto the Iſland.

With this News the *Turks* were affected with a moſt Terrible Conſternation; and then thoſe two long Words might have been ſaid of them *Conſternabantur Conſtantinopolitani.* The News was ſo ſurprizing at firſt, that no Man would believe it; but various and frequent Reports confirmed the Truth thereof; and tho' to the great Mortification of the *Turks*, the News came confirmed from all Hands, yet the *Turks* comforted themſelves with the Thoughts, that that Iſland could not remain long in the Hands of the *Venetians*.

The Sultan howſoever cheared himſelf up with better Succeſſes by Land; and gave order to the Grand Vizier to fight the *Germans* upon what Terms ſoever ſhould be offered; but the Vizier returned for Anſwer, That his Forces were ſo weak this Year for want of the *Aſiatick* Troops, that he was unable to fight the *Chriſtians*; which if he ſhould attempt to do, he ſhould undoubtedly Sacrifice all to the Ruine of the Muſſelman Cauſe, and Deſtruction of the *Ottoman* Army. For the truth was, the Grand Vizier had then but a very ſmall Army, conſiſting of 11000 Janiſaries, and 6000 *Albanians* under their General *Mehmet Oghla*, an *Albanian*, together with 20000 between Spahees and Segmen, with ſome Troops belonging to Paſhees, and 7000 *Tartars*: Beſides which, Money was all this Year very ſcarce.

The ill condition of the Turkiſh *Affairs.*

Aſia was all in Confuſion, and in want of every thing; ſo that it was no wonder that the Number of true Janiſaries ſhould be no greater in the Field; for *Kara Muſtapha* when he went againſt *Vienna*, had no more than 14000; and the famous Sultan *Morat*, when he went againſt *Bagdat*, had no more than 16000, which would not appear ſtrange, in caſe it were conſidered, that in the whole Empire, the entire number of Janiſaries conſiſts not of more than 40000 truly Lawful, and Legitimate Janiſaries; three parts of which, in the times of Peace, are lodged in Garriſons, as *Candia*, *Negropont*, *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, and in other Iſlands, as alſo in *Greece*, which are parts of the *Morea*, and on the Confines of *Perſia*, where the moſt conſiderable Numbers are lodged; to which may be added *Caminieck*, *Oſi*, *Aſack* in the *Black-Sea*, as alſo in *Dalmatia*, *Boſnia*, and other Confines. With this Anſwer of the Grand Vizier to the Sultan, and repreſentation of the preſent State of the War, the Grand Seignior yielded to the Urgency of the Times, and permitted the Vizier to return to *Adrianople*, and the Soldiers to their Winter-Quarters; the which was done with ſo much Precipitancy, that the Motion looked more like a Flight, than a Retreat.

The which News being on the 18th of *October* brought to *Adrianople*, all things looked very melancholy, and the People began to droop with ſad Countenances, the Grand Vizier returning back with Shame and Silence; when on the 15th of the Month all things appeared in a moſt Tumultuous

multuous

1694. multuous manner at *Adrianople*, and particularly in the chief Moſch there, called Sultan *Solim*, in which at all times of Prayer, there is a great Concourſe of People, and thoſe of the beſt ſort, and of the greateſt Officers of State, having their beſt and moſt ſumptuous Palaces near that Moſch, which is the fineſt and ſtatelieſt part of all the City.

A Seditious Preacher.

It was now early about the time of Morning Prayer, or ſo ſoon as the *Sabbana Maaz* was ended, People being ſtill upon their Knees with much Silence and Devotion, as their cuſtom is, when a bold *Turk* well Learned, and of a ſmooth Tongue, mounted the Pulpit, having ſeveral Complices attending beneath to defend him, in caſe any Attempt ſhould be made upon: He began with a daring Speech, to inveigh againſt the Government; crying out,

Muſſelmen, or Believers,

YOU are all at this time obliged to ſtand up for the Faith, for your Country, and Government.

You cannot but be ſenſible that the Chriſtians *Attack us both by Sea and Land: That we have a Sultan who Attends to nothing; and a Great Vizier who is not Acquainted, or Practiſed in Affairs either Civil, or Military: Wherefore let us all run to the Gate of our Mufti, and there cry out, and exclaim for a Change of Government.*

Do you not obſerve what a Capricious Fool we have for a Vizier, how Obſtinate, and Ignorant, and how he daily commits a thouſand Follies?

Whilſt all People were attentive to hear him, two Aga's belonging to the Chimacam, being near the Gate of the Moſch, and over-hearing the Diſcourſe, run away with it to the Chimacam their Maſter; who immediately without any delay, or ſtop, in a trembling manner mounted on Horſeback, and taking with him his Servants, Officers, and Janiſaries all Armed, and Commanded by the Lieutenant-General of the Janiſaries, ran to the Moſch, and made this Seditious Preacher to be ſeized, which cauſed great Confuſion and Noiſe through the whole City; for appeaſing which, the Chimacam took a large Turn through all the High Streets of *Adrianople*.

1694. October.

At that time it happened that a certain Paſha arrived within a few Hours of *Adrianople*, who had been Baniſhed by Command of the Sultan, for many Robberies and Thefts he had committed in the Publick Treaſury; his Name was *Benli Huſaein* Paſha, whoſe Head he took off; as he did in like manner, and at the ſame time the Head of one *Muſa* Aga, and threw them both into the firſt Court-yard of the Seraglio, before the Gate of the *Divan*, declaring that theſe two were of the Seditious Mutineers, who had raiſed the Tumult in the City, which terrified a little for the preſent; which when the Chimacam perceived, he was encouraged to proceed, and took 11 Officers, who were Ring-leaders of the Sedition, whoſe Heads were heaped up together before the Divan-Door, and their Bodies thrown into the Cannels in divers parts of the City: Amongſt theſe, was an Officer of the Grand Seignior's Stables, called *Bekir Aga*, a Talking, Mutinous Fellow; as alſo a Fooliſh Aſtrologer, with 22 others, who were one Night all Strangled, and their Bodies thrown into the River *Tongr*, (which runs near to the Grand Seignior's Palace at *Adrianople*) and in this manner the Chimacam prevented a Mutiny, and quaſhed a Rebellion which was riſing to a dangerous height: Howſoever the People murmured, but durſt not ſpeak ſo Audaciouſly as before.

A Sedition quelled.

After theſe Tumults were over at *Adrianople*, People began to diſcourſe of Prodigies, ſtrange Sights, and Apparitions; and among others, a Report was at *Conſtantinople*, That an Owl was ſeen at Noon-day, ſitting on the Old Pyramid in the Market-place; which as was reported, fell down of it ſelf that Night, and next Morning there was found within the Baſis of the Pyramid, a piece of Wax, on which was inſcribed in *Greek* Characters, theſe Words.

After 300 Years, this Monarchy will ſuffer Great Deſtruction and Ruine, both by Enemies at Home and Abroad; And this City will be Infeſted by Peſtilence, and by Earthquakes reduced to a Heap of Stones.

All theſe Stories and Reports being aggravated to the Grand Seignior, put him into a grievous Affrightment, ſo that in all haſte he diſpatched Poſts one after the other to fetch the Grand Vizier from *Belgrade* to *Adrianople*; but howſoever he would not move until firſt he had ſupplied *Temeſwaer* with all ſorts of Proviſions; for want of which the *Turks* died of Fluxes, and all ſorts of Camp Diſeaſes; and lying

The Sultan ſends in haſte for the Grand Vizier.

on

1694. on wet Grounds, and upon Moraſſes, more Men died than would have done in a Day of Battle.

By theſe means the whole *Turkiſh* Army was reduced to 30000 fighting Men; to repair which, and make the Numbers to ſeem a little more formidable, they forced, and Preſſed about 10000 Artiſans and Country Men, Raw, and Unexperienced Fellows, to make a Shew of, which had they moſt died, the World would ſcarce have miſſed them, only the *Albanians*, a Stout and Valiant People, were to be lamented, of which not one half returned into their own Country.

The Mufti and others growing ſenſible of their Low and Miſerable Condition, and overwhelmed on all ſides by Enemies, by Sickneſſes, by Famine, and Poverty, wrote a Letter to the Scheriff, exhorting him to Peace, at ſuch a time as this is, when the Enemies to the *Mahometan* Cauſe overwhelmed them in all Parts; declaring, That without betraying the Muſſelman Cauſe, they could not perſiſt in their Wars againſt the Sultan; and therefore they exhorted them to retire into their own Dominions, and to live quietly there, rather than to expoſe the Holy Religion to the Inſults of Infidels.

The Mufti's Letter to the Scheriff

Letters to Exhort the Scheriff to Peace.

By this Letter, and other Advices, which were ſeconded by many Exhortations of the Religious, and Holy Seighs, or Preachers, in their reſpective Monaſteries, the Scheriff ſeemed to be ſomewhat appeaſed, and to relent a little of his revengeful Humour againſt the *Turks*: Beſides the meaner Princes of the *Arabians*, who are the moſt Religious, and Superſtitious of all the others, falling off from the Alliance with the Scheriff, on the ſcore of Religion, things became more quiet in *Arabia*, and gave the *Turks* leſs Fears, and Apprehenſions than before.

Moreover *Calailicos Ahmet Paſha*, a cunning Sophiſter (of whom we gave lately an Account) having been ſent from *Conſtantinople* with ſome Forces againſt the Scheriff, changed his Method from Arms, to Epiſtles, Sermons, and Exhortations, perſwading him, that ſince he ſaw ſo many Martyrs on all ſides, Dying for the *Mahometan* Cauſe, that he ſhould not add to the Slaughter of the Muſſelmen, nor joyn with Infidels to the Deſtruction of the True Faith.

To theſe were added alſo divers Letters from other Paſha's, as alſo from Mulla's, Seighs, and Cadi's of the moſt eſteem in *Aſia*; which ſo prevailed upon the Mind of the Scheriff, that he for ſome time deſiſted from all Hoſtilities upon the *Turks*.

Notwithſtanding which, the Eaſtern Princes bordering on *Arabia*, were a little cautious how they truſted the ſincerity of the Scheriff; for in deſpight of all his fair Words, they would not be decoyed to leave their Country open, and expoſed to the Mercy of the *Iſhmaelites*, a People that never kept Faith; ſo that the *Turks* received no more Forces from *Aſia*, the following Year, than they had done in this preſent, by reaſon of the Jealouſie they conceived of the *Arabians*. 1694.

The Vizier delays his return.

Notwithſtanding the preſſing Deſires of the Sultan, to haſten the return of his Vizier, he made his Excuſes to delay his Journey; alledging, That Prince *Lewis* had been reinforced by conſiderable Recruits, and therefore it was neceſſary to obſerve his Motions; that the Floods by the Land-Waters, cauſed by perpetual Rains, made it impoſſible for the Army to march without Hardſhips, and unſupportable Labours: But at length the old Year drawing towards an end, and it becoming neceſſary to provide for the Actions, Wars, and Counſels of the New, the Vizier was forced to leave the Army; which he did with great haſte, and arrived before *Adrianople* about the 8th or 10th of *December*; where he remained under his Tents, making a ſhow as if he intended to march into the *Morea*, with intention to recover *Scio*; but before this Deſign was reſolved, a Conference was held in the Vizier's Tents, where the Mufti was preſent; after which the Chimacam was called, as alſo the Aga of the Janiſaries, and the Aga of the Spahee's, with divers other Officers, who returned back with the Grand Vizier; at which Aſſembly it was concluded, That by reaſon of the urgency of the Times, and that the Imperialiſts were chiefly to be attended, as being the ſtrongeſt, and moſt conſiderable Party, the Grand Vizier ſhould remain at *Adrianople*, to raiſe new Forces, and prepare for the Wars of the following Year. But as to the preſent, that all their Thoughts and Stratagems ſhould be employed for the recovery of the Iſland of *Scio*, the which obſtructed all Correſpondencies and Commerce with *Smyrna*, *Rhodes*, and even with *Egypt* it ſelf; ſo that Coffee, Rice, and Sugar, were raiſed to an exceſſive Price: Wherefore coſt what it would, it was agreed, That that place was the firſt to be taken; for which Expedition *Miſir-Oghli* was appointed Captain-Paſha, an old experienced Sea-Captain. To provide againſt which Attempt, the *Venetians* put all things in good order both by Sea, and Land; and in all Places where they ſuſpected that the Enemy might Land, and make their Deſcent, they

The Turks deſign to recover Scio.

1694. they raiſed Forts, and planted Cannon, and ſupplied all neceſſary Proviſions againſt a Siege, giving a report, That they would make it as ſtrong as *Malta* it ſelf.

The good Qualities of Muſtapha Paſha.

The Sultan being ſenſible that his People were become much diſheartned and weakned by the many Misfortunes and Troubles which they had ſuſtained, gave Orders to the Chimacam of *Adrianople*, named *Muſtapha Paſha*, to treat the People with Kindneſs and Civility: This Chimacam was a prudent Perſon, and being a lover of Juſtice, and tender of the Welfare of the People, was eſteemed and well ſpoken of by all; and having known Miſeries and Hardſhips during the time that he had undergone a Slavery in *Poland*, he knew the better how to commiſerate the Afflictions of others: But above all, as Matters ſtood now in theſe Times, the great Concern of a Chief Governour was to prevent Tumults and Inſurrections of the People; of the danger of which the late Diſturbances had given a pregnant Example, and ſo moved the Spirit of the Chimacam to proſecute the Offenders, that 315 were put to Death at *Adrianople*, for the aforeſaid Sedition; and ſix of the principal Officers being forced to fly to *Conſtantinople*, were there taken, and being put into Sacks, were ſtrangled, and after the Ancient Faſhion thrown into the Sea; the which had been amongſt the *Romans* the Puniſhment for Parricides,

> *Inſui voluerunt in culeum vives & dejici in mare.*

After the Conference which the Grand Vizier had held at his Tents with the Principal Miniſters of State, he made divers Diſpatches into ſeveral Parts; namely *Halil* Paſha, whom he made Seraskier in the *Morea*, with Inſtructions to keep a watchful Eye upon the Iſland of *Negropont*.

Likewiſe three Aga's were diſpatched to *Algier*, *Tripoli*, and *Tunis*, to haſten their Maritime Preparations, tho' with little hopes of ſucceſs, by reaſon that thoſe Governments in *Barbary* were at Wars one with the other, and had great Jealouſies amongſt them.

At this time alſo Orders came from *Adrianople* directed to the Chimacam, and Lieutenant-General of the Janiſaries, to provide Quantities of Rice, and other Proviſions for the Relief of *Temeſwaer*, which for want thereof was greatly diſtreſſed; and ſo Orders were given all the way on the Road thither, to take up all the Waggons and Carts that they could meet with, by that time that they came to *Philippopolis* and *Sophia*, might make up a Number of 1694. 300; which might probably prove a ſufficient Convoy to ſecure them; And for a better Reinforcement, Orders were given for the enrolling of 300 Janiſaries, being new raiſed Soldiers; and with ſuch Preparations as theſe for the next Campaign, ended this Year.

Anno 1695.

1695. THIS Year began with a moſt Terrible Fire in *Conſtantinople*, which conſumed 4000 Houſes and Shops towards that part where ſtands the Hiſtorical Pillar, which is about the middle of the City; which Accident gave ſome ſtop to the Counſels then in hand; howſoever the Preparations for the next Years War by Sea and Land proceeded.

The *Tartar* came to *Adrianople*, where he ſpent the remainder of the Winter in Conferences with the Grand Vizier, and other Principal Officers of State, in order to carry on the War both by Sea and Land: And whereas all ſorts of Proviſions were become very dear both in *Adrianople* and *Conſtantinople*, by reaſon that the Seas were obſtructed by the *Venetians*, ſo that no Coffee, Rice, nor Sugar, could be tranſported from *Egypt* into thoſe Parts; the *French* Ambaſſador undertook to ſupply the ſame with *French* Ships, demanding only, That when ſuch Commodities arrive, the *Turks* ſhould pay no more for them, than in Times of Peace; which beſides ſome other private Contracts were very pleaſing to the *Turks*, and ſerved to confirm the Friendſhip, and increaſe the Confidence between the two People.

As the Eyes of all the *Turkiſh* Officers were intent on the War, there being a Deſign to recover *Scio* in the Winter Seaſon, before the *Venetians* could come forth with their Fleet, the Sultan ſent for *Mezzo Morto*, who was Admiral of the Fleet, together with ſix Captains of the Men of War, reproaching them for Cowardice; for that in caſe they had done their Duty in the laſt Engagement againſt the *Venetians*, *Scio* had not been loſt; wherefore theſe Officers were diſcharged of their Commands, and *Sarbos* or Drunken *Chuſaein Paſcha*, was declared Captain Paſha, or Admiral, in the Place of *Mezzo Morto*; being eſteemed a Man of more Boldneſs, and Courage, and Conduct, than the other; and ſuch was the Shame, and Confuſion that the *Turks* conceived for the loſs of *Scio*, that even in the Winter, a thing not practiſed by the *Turks*, Orders were given to the New

Admiral to prepare, and equip an hundred Frigats.

Sultan Achmet's *Death.*

Whilſt all things were preparing for this Years War, and in an eſpecial manner for the recovery of *Scio*, on the 27th of *January*, Old Stile, the Grand Seignior Sultan *Achmet* dyed, which for that preſent put a ſtop to all Buſineſs then in agitation both in regard to the War, or Peace: For as to the latter my Lord *Paget* arrived at *Adrianople* on the 23d, and next Day deſired an Audience of the Grand Vizier, which was promiſed to him on the 31ſt, when the Propoſitions he had to make, were ſo reaſonable, and the *Turks* in ſo good a Temper that the Ambaſſador perſwaded himſelf that they would be accepted, the Great Vizier, and Chimacam ſhowing themſelves not averſe, but rather well inclined to a reaſonable Peace.

But whilſt they were thinking of theſe things, the Court, and City, and all People were ſurprized to hear the News of the Death of the Sultan; who at the time of his laſt Agony, deſired to ſee and ſpeak with his Succeſſour Sultan *Muſtapha*, who could not be perſwaded to go to him, and ſo he died without that Satisfaction, by a great Defluxion, or Catarrh, which fell upon his Lungs: Only he left it in Commiſſion to his Servants, to acquaint his Nephew, Sultan *Muſtapha*, who was undoubtedly to ſucceed him, That all he had to deſire of him was, to deſire him that he would permit his Son to live; but whether this Requeſt was granted him or not, is not yet known; for Matters of this Nature are ſeldom reported without the Walls of the *Seraglio*.

So ſoon as he was dead, *Muſtapha* Eldeſt Son to Sultan *Mahomet* IV. was proclaimed, and ſaluted Emperor, and all paſſed without any Diſturbance, Diſorder, or Inconvenience whatſoever.

In very few Hours afterwards the Body of the Deceaſed *Achmet* was hurried away to *Conſtantinople*, and with a ſmall Attendance buried in the Sepulcher of his Brother, and immediately the Sultana, his Mother, was required to haſten thither and retire, and Expreſſes diſpatched to all Parts to carry and divulge the News, and moſt eſpecially acquaint the New Valide Sultana with the Exaltation of her Son to the Throne of his Father. For the preſent Sultan *Muſtapha* being about 33 Years of Age, and in his Prime, appeared very Robuſt, and Comely, and to ſhow a mildneſs of Spirit at the beginning, he for the preſent confirmed the Great Vizier in his Place, by reſtoring the Seals to him which he had reſigned into his Hands, and giving him a Caftan lined with Sables. His Mother was now every Day expected at *Adrianople*, until whoſe coming thither, nothing was to be done; for as ſhe was a Perſon highly beloved, and eſteemed by her late Husband Sultan *Mahomet*, Father of the preſent Sultan *Muſtapha* (as we have manifeſted in our foregoing Hiſtory) ſo ſhe was a Woman of Intrigue, and one who had ſo great a Power over her Son, that he entirely gave himſelf up to the Government and Guidance of his Mother. She was a Native of *Canea* (tho' ſome ſay ſhe was a *Circaſſian* born) and taken from thence when the Place was firſt poſſeſſed by the *Turks*; her Father was a Protopapa, or Biſhop of that place.

The Queen Mother.

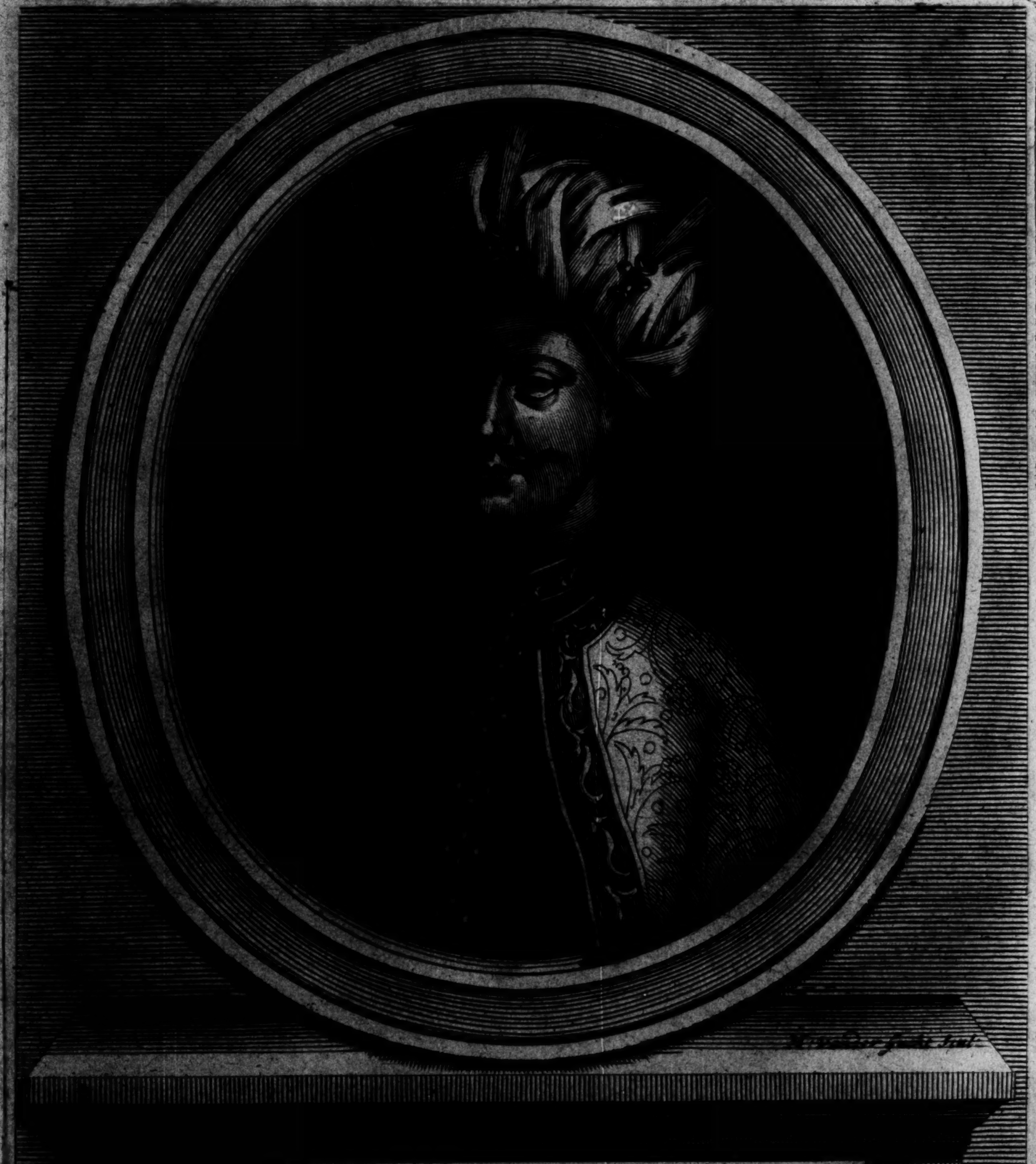
Sultan Muſtapha's *Beginnings.*

His firſt entrance into Buſineſs was to enquire after the State of the Treaſury; and to inform himſelf therein, he called for the Treaſurer, and demanded of him, How much Money there was in the Treaſury? To which Anſwer was made, Fifteen Purſes: *What then* (ſaid he) *is become of all the reſt?* To which it was anſwered, That his Predeceſſor had diſpoſed of it: *It is well,* (ſaid he) *and I ſhall take it from them who have received it.*

With theſe Beginnings it was much feared that he would prove a troubleſome Neighbour to all *Chriſtendom*; and a Cruel and a Severe Maſter to all the ſurviving Miniſters of State; but things were carried ſo cloſely, that the Government had no News of any thing until the Succeſſor had carried his Point, and ſecured every thing for his Eſtabliſhment; to which many things concurred, as that he was the Son, and lineally deſcended from Sultan *Mahomet* IV, who after a Reign of 48 Years, was Depoſed, by reaſon of the Ill Fortune, and Avaritious Temper of ſome of his Miniſters, or to pleaſe the Soldiers, who ſaid, That he had Lived and Reigned long enough. Moreover the People had a great Eſteem for this his Son, being Young and Handſome, and in his Robuſt and Mature Age; nor was there any Perſon able to ſtand againſt him, nor capable of being offered to the Soldiery for their Emperor: There was none of the *Ottoman* Family known unto the World, but a Child of two Years old, the Son of the late Sultan *Achmet*, and of ſuch an one in ſuch a Conjuncture of time, it was not ſo much as to be thought of; tho' moſt of the Miniſters in Power did all they could to keep Sultan *Muſtapha* from the *Throne*.

The Grand Vizier put into fear.

His Beginnings were very briſk, (for beſides what he ſaid to the Treaſurer) he ſtartled the Grand Vizier, and all the Pa-ſha's of the Bench, who knew not what to ſay, or act, or reſolve, or whom to truſt,



Sultan Muſtapha the Second, the Present Emperour Eldest Son to Sultan Mahomet the 4th

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1695. This ſuddain change humbled much of the Spirit of the Grand Vizier, ſo that he did not adventure to act ſo freely in Buſineſs as he had formerly done in the time of Sultan *Achmet:* For tho' he had received ſeveral Favours of his New Maſter, which ſerved to encourage him at firſt, yet they were ſo mixed with his Frowns, and Imperious Threats, that he thought not himſelf ſafe, but lived in a continual apprehenſion of Death.

When the Grand Seignior Veſted him, as is commonly done by every Sultan at his Inauguration; he told him, 'That he 'ſhould be careful what he did, that he 'ſhould treat his Soldiers well, and above 'all, that he be ſure to tell him the truth; 'and if not, he ſhould ſoon know and be 'ſenſible of what would follow: But ſince this Severity, and ſharp Saying, he remitted ſomething of his Angry Temper, and became more mild and eaſie; ſo that to encourage and raiſe his Spirit a little, he ſent his Kuzlir-Aga in Ceremony with a great Attendance, to carry to the Grand Vizier a Prayer, which he himſelf had compoſed in the time of his Solitude, and Secluſion from the World, which were received with profound Reſpect; the Bearer himſelf had five Purſes preſented to him, and the Chief of his Attendants was treated with ſeveral Rich Veſts, and the others of meaner Degree had a good number of Zaichins diſtributed amongſt them. The Grand Seignior alſo would not want his own Preſent, which was in Horſes, and Jewels, ſeveral Young Damſels, richly adorned, with above 100 Purſes of Money; and yet for all this the Vizier thought not himſelf ſafe, nor did the bitter Thoughts of Death paſs from him: for whilſt he was trembling for himſelf, he received a Hatteſheriff, or a Royal Command from the Hand of the Grand Seignior, requiring him to command the Chiaus Paſha to Arreſt the Chimacam of *Adrianople*, the Vizier's own chief Creature and Confident, and to put him between the Gates, a Priſon for great Perſonages: The Fault objected to his Charge was, That in the time of the late Sultan *Achmet*, he had put to Death two of this preſent Sultan's Favourites, for endeavouring to promote the Intereſt of their Maſter, to the Prejudice of the Riſing Prince. Notwithſtanding all which Mortifying Commands, and Accidents, the Grand Vizier appeared outwardly with a chearful Countenance, for the leaſt Sadneſs would have been interpreted for Contumacy, and a Diſcontented Spirit againſt the Commands and Pleaſure of his Maſter; for which reaſon he bore up bravely againſt all Misfortunes, concealing the Agitations of his Mind from all thoſe who had Buſineſs with him, and even from his own Domeſticks. 1695.

Sultan Muſtapha *his Saying.*

The Sultan's Humour.

February.

At this time my Lord *Paget* Ambaſſador from His Majeſty King *William*, was then at *Adrianople*, watching an Opportunity to make Propoſals for a Peace with the Emperor, of which, tho' about the latter time of Sultan *Achmet*, there was a great and a fair appearance; yet after his Deceaſe this young Sultan mounting the Throne, all the hopes vaniſhed, he himſelf being of a hot and fiery Spirit, was fully reſolved to try his Fortune in the War, from which Deſign neither his Mother, nor his Women, nor his greateſt Favourites could divert them. And the Kiah-Bey himſelf, who was Lieutenant-General, of the Janiſaries, a Perſon of great Eſteem, and Power in the Army, was diſgraced, and put out of Office, for arguing in the Divan againſt the Grand Seignior's taking ths Field this Year in Perſon.

Lord Paget *at* Adrianople.

Theſe Changes had diſconcerted all the Meaſures which my Lord *Paget* had taken towards a Peace, of which there now remained no hopes for this Year; for the Sultan was not to be removed from his Reſolution, nor the Soldiery averſe to it, having fixed it in their Minds, that this Sultan was Lucky and Fortunate, and was to reſtore all that had been loſt, ſince the Siege of *Vienna*, and the fatal Managements of the Grand Vizier *Kara Muſtapha*. And to this purpoſe the Grand Seignior diſcourſing with the Vizier, he told him, how ſenſible he was of the evil management of Affairs in the Empire, and that they were much worſe than they had been in the time of his Father; to reſtore which to a better Condition, he again declared his Reſolution to try his Fortune for another Year; the which not ſucceeding well, he was of an Opinion, That he could at any time make a Truce with the *Chriſtians*, which perhaps he might be inclined to accept next Year, not out of a Neceſſity thereof, but in conſideration to his People, to whom, after a long War of 17 or 18 Years, he was glad to give Eaſe and Quiet; for he was ſenſible, that the *Ottoman* Empire was in great Diſorder, by reaſon of the Ignorance, Negligence, and ill Adminiſtration of ſome of the principal Miniſters of State, which he would make it his Care to remedy.

With theſe Reſolutions of the Sultan, all things were preparing to take the Field early with a ſtrong Army; it being divulged, and publiſhed amongſt the Soldiery, that their firſt March ſhould be to-

1695. wards *Belgrade*, from whence if they could have made any Conqueſt on the other ſide of the *Save*, the *Turks* might yet (as low as they were) have proved a troubleſome, and a dreadful Enemy to all *Germany*. And indeed the *Chriſtians* were more ſenſible hereof than formerly; for the *Turks* had lately had many lucky Hits to encourage them, and which did indeed animate the People very much, ſeeming to them like good Omens of Change of Fortune in their favour: For the *Venetians* had in two ſeveral Engagements at Sea been worſted by the *Turks*, which was the cauſe of the Surrender of *Scio* to the *Turks*, of which they poſſeſſed themſelves without any great Difficulty; where tho' the loſs the *Venetians* had ſuſtained both in Ships, and Men, was very conſiderable, yet the loſs of their Reputation at Sea, was much more, and of a more evil Conſequence; for the *Turks* animated hereby, fell boldly upon the *Venetians* in the *Morea*, and put them to the Rout, fanſying the Summer following to regain all again, deſpiſing now the Enemy which lately they durſt not ſee, and were affraid to approach.

To theſe good Fortunes of the Sultan, the News was added by way of *Moldāvia*, of a great Victory that the *Tartars* had obtained againſt the *Poles*; which with the Succeſſes the *Ottoman* Paſha's had obtained againſt the Rebels in *Aſia*, put all things at the Port into a ſmiling Condition, no Man doubting, but that the influence of theſe proſperous Beginnings would crown all the Actions of this New Sultan, with Succeſs and Victory.

The Fight between the *Poles* and the *Tartars*, in the Suburbs of *Leopolis*, happened on the 11th of *February* of this Year, being Extracted out of a Letter of the Great General, Written to the Envoy Cavalier *Proſki*, of the 16th of *February* from *Leopolis*.

An Extract of the Great General's Letter, Written to the Envoy Cavalier Proſki.

‘WE have not only in the Seaſon of the laſt Spring, but during the whole Summer, and Autumn, lived in continual Alarms, and Skirmiſhes with our Enemies, but even in this very Winter been engaged with them in divers Bloody Fights: And particularly on the 1695. 11th of this Month of *February*, a Battle was made between 3000 of our Soldiers, againſt 70000 *Tartars*, within the Suburbs, and under the Walls of *Leopolis*: The Particulars of which, are theſe.

A Fight between the Poles *and the* Tartars.

‘Sultan *Zabas Gerei*, Son of the *Tartar-Han*, who in the Month of *October* laſt, gave up to our Hands, all the Proviſions belonging to the *Turks*, which he had taken into his Care and Conduct to be Convoyed to *Kaminieck*; of which Diſgrace, and Diſhonour his Father being very ſenſible, urged the Son to repair his Credit by ſome great Action worthy the Fame of his Valour, and his Proweſs in War: Accordingly being aſſiſted by all the Power of the *Tartars*, as well thoſe of *Budziac*, *Bialogrod*, and *Dobrucz*, as thoſe of *Crim*, who the laſt Year had joyned with the *Turks* under *Peter Waradin*, came on the 10th of this Month of *February*, and Encamped themſelves in the Plains of that Town, which is called the *Cracovian Leopolis*, with intention to fix his Camp there; and from thence to ſend out his Parties to all Places, where they could Burn and Spoil, make Slaves, and put all to Fire and Sword; and ſo they Ravaged every where for the ſpace of eight Days, until at length all the Countries round being alarm'd hereat, I raiſed all the Forces that I was able, and brought them together from their reſpective Quarters, which alas, was a moſt inconſiderable Power againſt ſo Mighty an Enemy; for all that we could gather, and unite, did not amount to more than 3000 fighting Men.

‘The Day following about Eight of the Clock in the Morning, the Sultan *Tartar* drew out his Men into form of Battle; and I alſo having my Confidence in God, drew out that Handful of Men which I had with me, and made a Sally out of the City to cover the Suburbs. The Enemy ſtaid not long to look on us, but ſeeing ſome *Poliſh* Companies to march boldly againſt them, they Detached a Party of *Tartars* to meet and engage them, and to force the Outworks, which were only fortified with Hedges, and a kind of Wall made up with Mats and Ruſhes well woven together. This Command was executed with ſuch Vigour, that doubtleſs the Place had been carried at the firſt Attack, had not the danger wherein they were of loſing their Lives, and Eſtates, and all they had, made them deſperate,

‘and

1695. ‘and forced them to make all the reſiſtance that they were able; and in effect they fought like Lyons, receiving the Enemy ſo bravely, that in a ſhort time all the Fields were covered with the Dead Bodies of the Slain. The *Tartars* made Thirteen Attacks to try their Fortune, and were as often repulſed by the *Chriſtians*, without any great loſs on their ſide.

‘This Fight continued four Hours, until at length the Enemy obſerving that all their Aſſaults prevailed little, but were very Bloody, and of great loſs, they reſolved, That at the ſame time, when they engaged us in the Front with one Party, they ſhould break in upon the Hedge with another, and whatever loſs, or Blood it ſhould coſt, to carry it by main force, as it immediately proved; for the Enemy having by this means got between us and the City, we remained without any hopes imaginable of relief; howſoever with a Courage full of reſolution to overcome, or die like Brave Men, turning our Faces upon them, to whom we had but newly turned our Backs, we did not only overcome them, but cut a great Number of them in pieces; and after another Engagement, which laſted about two Hours more, drove them out of the Suburbs of the City; tho' in the time of this Fight, the *Tartars* having ſet Fire thereunto, the Wind, and Smoak, and Duſt did ſo incommode our People, that they were in a manner Blinded, and knew not which courſe to take; howſoever their Invincible Courage was ſuch, as that the Enemy was put to Flight.

The Tartars *beaten.*

‘This Fight continued until Three a Clock in the Afternoon, by which time they had been ſo beaten, that they were forced to withdraw before the Evening, about a League and a half from the City, and the next Day proceeded on their March; and the third Day paſſed the *Neiſter*, on their way homewards.

The Tartars *withdraw.*

‘The Number of the Slain on the *Chriſtian* ſide did not exceed above 100, and about 160 Wounded; what the Enemy loſt, is not to be known.

But ſuch Matters as theſe, at ſo far a diſtance, and between *Tartars* and *Poles*, did not much affect, or trouble the *Ottoman* Court; but ſuch as were nearer hand, as Naval Fights, and the Taking and Recovering of the Iſland of *Scio*, being near the Royal Cities, made great noiſe both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, and raiſed the hopes of the People to great and high Expectations of the future Fortune of this New Sultan, as if he had been born to be Reſtorer of the decaying Condition of the *Ottoman* Empire. 1695.

Scio *regained by the* Turks.

We have related already the ill Succeſs which the *Venetians* had had in two ſeveral Fights at Sea againſt the *Turks*, which being unuſual, and of many Years not known, made it matter of Wonder to all the World. For after the *Turks* had beaten the *Venetian* Fleet, all things were put into great Conſternation at *Scio*, ſo that the *Venetian* Commanders moſt ſhamefully abandoned the Place, ſtealing away in the Night without giving time for ſome of their Troops which were abroad to guard the Iſland, to Embark with them, which gave cauſe to ſome of their Officers, who thereby became Slaves to the *Turks*, to vent out Thouſands of Imprecations and Curſes upon them; and indeed their Caſe was ſad, but Neceſſity had no Law, for the *Venetians* had now been beaten twice at Sea by the *Turks*, who had they followed their Blow, might have utterly deſtroyed the *Venetian* Fleet; but the *Turks* being contented with this unuſual Succeſs, a thing not known to them for more than a hundred Years paſt, were contented with the Flight of the Enemy, and therewith a Ceſſion to them of the whole Iſland; and the *Turks* entered triumphant thereupon without any Oppoſition.

The firſt Act of the *Turkiſh* Clemency was to Hang up four Men of the *Latine* Rite, who were of the *Romiſh* Church, and of the *Italian* Race; namely, Signior *Pietro Giuſtiniani di Antonio*, Signior *Domenico Stella*, who were Deputies, ordained to protect that Religion; Signior *Franceſco Draco*, and *Giovanni Caſtelli di Brecci*. Signior *Soſiati*, who was Vice-Conſul for the *Engliſh* Nation in that Iſland, fled with his Family, and was well received at *Tino*; *Domenico Caſtelli* Son of *Vincenzo Caſtelli*, eſcaped alſo, (with whom I was well acquainted) together with forty of the chief Families of the *Latine* Rite, leaving their Poſſeſſions, and Moveables behind them: *Antonio Rendi* happened to be then at *Smyrna*; but his Family deferring their Departure, his Houſe was Plundered, and all his Eſtate ruined like that of his Neighbours; for tho' they fled to *Smyrna* for refuge, by this Revolution the *Greeks* gained a clear Victory and Aſcendant over the *Latines*: For whereas formerly there were great Animoſities between thoſe two Rites; the *Latines* by reaſon of their Riches, having the Pope on their ſide, were always eſteemed

1695.

ed the Superiors, and by the great Collections made for them, and Legacies bequeathed, they gained much more of the Hearts and Favour of the *Turks*, than the Poverty of the *Greeks* was able to purchaſe; but now a fair Opportunity happening of gaining and Confiſcating all that appertained to the *Latines*, they ſeized on all that belonged to them; treating the *Greeks* more favourably, becauſe they believed them to be the leſs culpable, having the leſs Riches; and in reality the *Greeks* having been under the Dominion of the *Turks* for ſome Ages, were become almoſt their Natural Lord, from whom they expected better Quarter than from the *Venetians*, or other *Italians*; and ſo always wiſhed well to the *Turks*. Thus was *Scio* in a ſhort time fallen again into the Hands of the *Turks*, from whence they are never again likely to recover it, unleſs the *Venetians* amend their Politicks, and prove more Vigilant and Brave in the Wars both by Sea and Land; but that is not now to be expected, nor thoſe of the *Latines* permitted to live in that Iſland, unleſs they conform to the Rites of the *Greek Church*, the greateſt part of which were reſtored to the Enjoyment of their Eſtates, with their Ancient Privileges; but the *Latines* were deprived of both, by the Inſtigation of their old Inveterate Enemies the *Greeks*; tho' at firſt they were put in hopes of obtaining the like, or equal Favours with them.

The Greeks *in* Scio *favoured by the* Turks.

After the Death of Sultan *Achmet*, and that Sultan *Muſtapha* was exalted to the Throne; in the firſt place *Achmet Paſha*, Chimacam of *Adrianople* was Diſgraced, and all his Goods and Eſtate Confiſcated to the Uſe of the Grand Seignior, and he himſelf made a Priſoner in the Seraglio, but pardoned at the Interceſſion of the Grand Vizier, and ſent Governour to the Iſland of *Mytilene*, where I had once a Paſha for a Friend Married to a Sultana, which had like to have coſt me dear; but (God be praiſed) I eſcaped him without much loſs.

Changes at Court.

In the Place of this Chimacam, the Niſangi Paſha, who ſets the Grand Seignior's *Firme* to certain Writings, was put in his place; and the Vizier's *Kahya* into the Place of the Niſangi, and *Gelegi Ibrahim* Aga, was made Kahya.

1695. March.

Upon the Arrival of the Valide Sultana at *Adrianople*, *Iaſtiff Aga*, who had been formerly Kahya to the Haſaki Sultana, or the Royal Queen, was Conſtituted Aga, or General of the Janiſaries, and at the ſame time Vizier of the Bench: Theſe were ſucceeded by the Spahyler Agaſi, who is General of the Horſe, and his Place ſupplied by a Salakiar of the Seraglio.

About the beginning of *March*, *Tmam-Sade Mahomet Effendi*, then Kadileſker of *Romelia*, was created Mufti by the Grand Seignior; and his Predeceſſor was ſent to *Conſtantinople*, from whence the Sultan ſent for *Mimadi Effendi* to be Kadileſker of *Anatolia*.

The Nakib, who is the Chief of the Green Heads, or thoſe of the Race of *Mahomet*, was deprived of this Office, and *Mahomet Effendi*, Kadi of *Conſtantinople*, which was as much as Recorder of that City, was put into his Place.

In like manner the Teſterdar-Kahyaſi, or the Lord Treaſurer's Steward, or Secretary, called *Galil Effendi*, was alſo changed, who had been Treaſurer in the Time of the foregoing Vizier *Ali Paſca*; and thus had he formed all his Court according to his own Humour and Fancy.

And as to the High and Sublime Offices Abroad, he began alſo to form and modelize them: That of *Egypt*, he Conferred upon *Iſhmael Paſha*, who had been lately Beglerbeg of *Damaſcus*; and the Government of this latter he beſtowed on the Kadileſker of the Deceaſed Sultan *Achmet*.

Haſſan Paſha, who was Kinſman to the Queen Regent, late Governour of *Scio*, was called back to Court from his Baniſhment at *Hatſack*, and made the Deputy-Chimacam, or Vikil-Chimacam, to Govern at any time during the Grand Seignior's Abſence.

A LIST of ſuch as were put to Death for the late Conſpiracy at *Adrianople.*

STRANGLED.

B*ENGLI HASSAN PASHA*, late Governour of *Tripoli* of *Soria.*

BEHEADED.

Haſſan Turcman Agaſi.
Beſter Aga, Salahor of the Grand Seignior.
Weli, Aga of the Chimacam.
Haſſan Effendi, Kahya of the Chimacam.
Mutpach Emmini, or Cuſtomer.

HANGED.

An Aſtrologer.

Theſe following were Baniſhed.

Fiſula Effendi, formerly Muſti, who had been Baniſhed to, and afterwards Exiled into the *Upper Egypt.*

Johain Effendi, late Kadileſcher, ſent to *Aleppo.*

Mahomet Effendi Nakib, Baniſhed to *Aleppo.*

Gahziack Effendi, under Kadi of *Galata*, was ſent to *Lemnos.*

As was alſo *Niſſani Oglu Huſſaein Aga*, Favourite to the aforementioned Vizier, *Ali Paſha.*

Beſides theſe, were above a Hundred more Strangled of Inferiour Quality, whoſe Bodies were thrown into the River *Meritz*, which runs by *Adrianople.*

The Valide Sultana being arrived at *Adrianople*, was received with open Arms by her Son, who governed himſelf much by the Meaſures had been given him by his Mother, who made ſeveral Changes and Alterations every Day amongſt the Officers of State; only the Grand Vizier and Muſti continued in their Offices, and the greateſt part of the others conſiſted of Old Servants of the Court, eſtabliſhed in the time of his Father Sultan *Mahomet* IV. of which the Queen-Mother had an Opinion that they would prove the moſt Faithful Servants of any in the Court. To make room for theſe Men, the Chimacam, the Great Maſter of the Horſe to the Sultan, the Chehaya Bey, or Lieutenant General of the Janiſaries, (who is always more feared, and eſteemed by the Soldiery than the Aga himſelf) were all diſplaced, with the Janiſar-Aga, as alſo the Principal Officers of the Spahees; having an Opinion, That the Youngeſt are always the more Bold, and Daring, their Courages being excited with Ambition, and Vain-Glory.

Things being in this manner modellized both for Domeſtick and Martial Affairs, the Grand Seignior again confirmed, and publiſhed his Reſolution to go this Year to the War; and to make Proviſions of Money to maintain the ſame, with the uſual Donative to the Soldiery, which was always given in former times, whenſoever the Sultan made his firſt Years Campaign.

Thoſe who were againſt the Grand Seignior's going in Perſon to the War, preſſed very hard the prevailing Argument of want of Money, to raiſe which, all means poſſible were contrived; for the Sultan would not be put by his Reſolution, alledging, That the Negligence of his Father and Unkle's not going to War in Perſon, had been the Ruine of the *Ottoman* Army, and the Cauſe of all thoſe Loſſes, and Diſgraces which his Empire had ſuſtained; but Money muſt be found by one way or other; to do which, the Grand Vizier was ſtrictly enjoyned to give an Account of Eighteen Millions in the ſpace of Thirty Days, beſides the Arrears due to the Soldiery, in the Time of the laſt Sultan *Achmet*: And tho' the Grand Vizier alledged, That it ſeemed reaſonable, that ſuch as had managed the Publick Offices during the two preceding Reigns, ſhould be anſwerable for the Miſcarriages, and not he, who had been employed therein but only ſome few Months before; yet the Sultan would not admit of this Excuſe for a Reaſon, but required the Account of the Eighteen Millions: His Mother alſo furniſhed her Son with Seven Millions and a half in ready Money, and Fifteen Millions in Jewels, which ſhe had been collecting in the ſpace of fifteen Years that ſhe had been the Wife of his Father; and from the Widow of the late Deceaſed Sultan *Achmet*, they took another half Million; the Vizier was Taxed at a Million and a half, and five Millions in Jewels; likewiſe a good round Sum was demanded from the Chimacam, and other Paſha's and Perſons in great Offices.

There was a farther Propoſition made to ſcrew Money out of all the *Arabians*, and Negro's at Court: The Kuzlir-Aga was the firſt of that Rank from whom the moſt conſiderable Sums were exacted; to pay which, their Eſtates and Faculties ſent and conveyed out of ſight to *Conſtantinople*, were all called from thence. The like was alſo demanded from the *Ulema*, and all the Eccleſiaſtical Lands and Eſtates were Taxed.

March.

All Perſons Taxed.

To execute all theſe Contrivances and Ways for raiſing Money, the Grand Seignior was ſolely intent, labouring Day and Night to amaſs Money; and ſpent his whole time to heap up Riches; to do which, he acted many things without the knowledge of the Vizier, and wrote Letters, and received Anſwers relating to the raiſing Men, and providing Subſiſtence for the Troops without intereſting his Grand Vizier therein; the which ſtruck ſuch a Fear and Terrour into the Minds of all thoſe who had to do with the Publick Intereſt, that none durſt to act any thing privately, or in an obſcure manner, which might be of prejudice to the Grand Seignior, and his Government.

To keep this Sultan in the Humour of going to the War, his Mother laboured to keep up his Spirits; which being obſerved by the great Men, ſuch as the Mufti, the Grand Vizier, the Lord Treaſurer, and the Generals of the Janiſaries, and of the Spahees, they all ſubmitted thereunto, only they gave in a Petition to be delivered to the Sultan by the Hand of the Valide Soltana, or Queen-Mother; repreſenting, That ſince they had obſerved that it was His Majeſty's Reſolution to go in Perſon to the War, they were concurring with him in the ſame, promiſing to be helpful therein to the beſt of their Powers; beſeeching only, That His *Ottoman* Majeſty would be pleaſed to Indulge them ſo much time, as might ſerve to aſſemble, and gather their Militia into a Body, and to make Proviſions for their Subſiſtence, as alſo Ammunition, and Cannon, with Powder and Bullet ſufficient to attend ſo great an Army: Of all which they gave the Sultan in Writing a particular Account in what forwardneſs all things were; and concluded, That ſince it is the Cuſtom of the *Germans* to be late in the Field, they did not doubt but to be more forward than they, and to Grace and Honour the Sultan's firſt Expedition with the Succeſs of Glorious Archievements, of which the Miſcarriage would prove of evil Conſequence, as the contrary would be of mighty advantage to the whole *Ottoman* Empire, which languiſhing after a Fortunate Sultan, would then think the Wheel turned in caſe they could ſee the end of a Campaign concluded with Honour of a New Sultan.

The Grand Seignior being ſenſible hereof, raiſed all the Forces he was able, both in *Aſia* and *Europe*: And to Engage the *Tartar Han* on his ſide, certain Aga's were diſpatched to *Tartary* with Purſes of Money, with Preſents of a Sword richly adorned with Diamonds, and with rich Coftans; as alſo with Preſents to the other Kinſmen of the Han, and to the Mirzees, who are the Noble Men, and Chief Officers both of War and Peace, deſiring them all to be early at the War; by which great Aſſiduity of the Sultan, all the Great Officers were in fear of him, knowing that as he Rewarded generouſly, ſo he Puniſhed ſeverely.

The Grand Vizier in the mean time conſidering the Troubles under which he was to labour, as alſo the Invincible Difficulties of the preſent War, in caſe the Sultan ſhould perſiſt in his Reſolution of going in Perſon to Command the Army, he endeavoured what he could to obtain the Favour that he might lay down his Office, and quietly and ſafely retire from all Buſineſs; for which he made Talkiſh to the Grand Seignior, which is a Petition made by the Maſter of Requeſts; (of which there is but one belonging to the Court called *Talkiſhgee*) the ſubſtance of which was to lay before the Grand Seignior the impoſſibility of making the Donative to the Soldiers, amounting unto Twelve Millions, the which was always given by the Sultans to the Soldiers, whenſoever they

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A Donative refuſed, to the Soldiers.

In this manner, the Wiſeſt and moſt Experienced Officers obſerving how difficult, and almoſt impoſſible it was to divert the Grand Seignior from his Reſolution of going in Perſon to the War, they all agreed to joyn with their Maſter, and to applaud his happy Deſigns, which they prayed to God might be proſperous, promiſing to give all Aſſiſtance with their Lives and Fortunes, that he might return with Victory and Succeſs: So ſoon were their Minds changed to the Will and Pleaſure of their Abſolute and Uncontroulable Lord, that none durſt open his Mouth againſt his Determination, nor no Murmurings heard unleſs by ſome few Janiſaries, who Talked a little, without any Notice taken thereof.

The Grand Vizier finding himſelf alſo under Invincible Difficulties, thought it the ſafeſt way to cloſe with the Sultan, which he accordingly did, and with much outward Zeal diſſembled a Chearfulneſs of Spirit in Compliance with his Maſter.

This Matter being reſolved, it was concluded, That an Army ſhould be formed of 80000 Fighting Men, and the Tugh, or Horſe-Tail, being with Prayers, after the uſual manner, expoſed at the Vizier's Gate, the 30th of *March*, was appointed to take the Field, and enter the Tents, which are commonly pitched about two *Engliſh* Miles diſtant from the Gates: And the Grand Seignior to loſe no time, Commanded that 2000 of his Pages, and as many others on Horſeback, appointed for his Guard, ſhould be at the appointed time in a readineſs to attend the Sultan: But yet things went but ſlowly on, by reaſon of the great Diſcords ariſen in *Aſia*, whereby many of the Chief Men had been killed, which gave a ſtop to the March of the Militia.

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Retardments to the Motion of the War.

To which alſo another ſtop was given by the News which the *Tartar Han* received, That the Czar of *Muſcovy* being joyned with the *Coſſacks*, was paſſing down the *Tanais*, with deſign to fall upon *Aſac*; of which he gave Advice to the Grand Seignior, by an Expreſs diſpatched to *Adrianople*, acquainting him, That the Enemies were grown ſo numerous, that he could not this Year ſend his Troops to *Hungary*, having hard Work to defend his own Country, and People, from ſo numerous an Army as that of the *Muſcovites* joyned with the *Coſſacks*. But the Grand Seignior not ſatisfied with this Excuſe, returned an Anſwer, That notwithſtanding all Impediments to the contrary, he muſt by all means come with a Numerous Army, and appear in his Preſence; but this was impoſſible to be done, the Soldiers and People not being contented to pleaſe the Grand Seignior to ſee their Country laid open, and expoſed to ſuch a Powerful Enemy.

This Grand Seignior Sultan *Muſtapha*, when he came firſt to the Throne, was Feared, Eſteemed, Loved, and Obeyed; but the Affection of his People was ſoon eſtranged from him, ſince he Depoſed the late Mufti, and cauſed the Grand Vizier, with many other Perſons, Innocent and Worthy, to be Strangled, with Ignominy and Diſhonour. But the Mufti was moſt of all lamented, having the Reputation of a Juſt, Sincere, Honeſt, and a Holy Man, in whoſe place the Sultan eſtabliſhed his late Hogia, or School-Maſter, named *Feizulah Effendi*, a Wicked, Falſe, Perfidious, and Covetous Wretch, as he was generally eſteemed to be.

The Mufti Depoſed, the Vizier Strangled.

The Grand Vizier, (as we have ſaid) was always affraid of the Changeable Humour of the Sultan, and could not cover his Paſſion, nor diſſemble his Countenance; of which the Sultan taking notice, deprived him of his Office, and Baniſhed him at Midnight to *Chiſme*, which is a ſmall Village on the Coaſt of *Anatolia* over againſt *Scio*; but this Proſcription continued not long, before he was brought back again to *Adrianople*, and Strangled, and his Body

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flung out at the Seraglio-Gate, where it remained until the next Day at Noon, with the Face and Beard all beſmeared with a ———

At *Adrianople* all the Court was changed; only the Grand Seignior when he firſt entered upon the Throne, confirmed the Janiſar-Aga in his Place, who was an Honeſt Man, and a good Soldier, but ſoon afterwards he put him out, and Conſtituted another in his Place, called *Baltagée Deli*, which ſignifies Mad Battle-Axe Man, the Son of an *Armenian Renegade*, a Vile Fellow, without Sence, or Manners: Likewiſe the Kahya-Bey, or Lieutenant-General of the Janiſaries; and the Kuzlir-Aga, or Eunuch of the Women were diſplaced; and in ſhort ſince this Sultan came to the Throne, there was nothing done but placing and diſplacing of the Principal Officers; all which was acted by the Counſels of Women, and Favourites in the Seraglio, who neither had Sence, nor Experience in the Affairs of the World. The like ſoon after happened to the Chimacam, who being a Friend to the late Vizier, and one of his Creatures, was Baniſhed firſt to *Mytilene*, where he was likewiſe Strangled; from whence his Head being brought to *Adrianople*, was thrown before the Gate of the Seraglio, with divers others eſteemed Innocent by the People.

June.

Thus the Sultan, as he thought, having purged his Army of Cowards, and his Counſels of Ill-affected Miniſters, began his March from *Adrianople* on the 10th of *June*; the Janiſar-Aga marched away on the 3d: The Army was ſaid to be very powerful, and compoſed of Choice Men, which ſo encouraged the *Turks*, that they talked of nothing leſs than the taking of *Buda*; and about that time News came from *Stalida de Zetuns*, a ſmall Iſland near *Negropont*, That *Ibrahim*, Paſha of that Iſland, had entered into the *Morea* with 30000 Men, and was Encamped under *Corinth*, expecting the Captain-Paſha, who was then deſigning to depart from *Conſtantinople* in ten Days, where he had been detained longer than was uſual, to repair the Damages which the *Turks* had received in their late Engagement againſt the *Venetians*: Belonging to this Fleet, ſeven Ships were appointed for *Alexandria* to fetch Soldiers thence for the *Morea*; and likewiſe about this time Recruits were ſent to the *Black-Sea* to ſeveral Ports there, the *Turks* being in fear of the *Moſcovites*, who being very ſtrong, the *Tartars* were affraid to encounter them, and would have excuſed themſelves this Year from the War, but the Sultan would not hearken thereunto, but proceeded with Reſolution on his March.

But before the Sultan began the ſame, he cauſed the *Tallol*, or Common-Cryer, to make Publication, That the Grand Seignior's Will and Pleaſure was,

New Orders for the Army.

'That no Man going to the Wars,
'ſhould be ſerved by Young Boys.

'That good Order and Diſcipline ſhould
'be obſerved in the March.

'That no Man ſhould ride out of the
'Common High-Road, or by Bye-Ways,
'into the Corn-Fields, or Vine-yards,
'or other Grounds belonging to the Huſ-
'band-Man.

The Grand Seignior's Severities.

In purſuance of theſe Commands, the Sultan on the very Day that he departed from the Camp before *Adrianople*, being then Teptil, or in Diſguiſe, he found a Man cutting another's Corn to give his Horſe; and only asking him, Whether he had heard of the Grand Seignior's Command? He ordered the Selictar-Aga, who was General of the Spahee's, for he had no other with him (excepting the Kapugiler-Kahyaſe) at the ſame time to kill him, which he preſently executed with his Lancet, not giving the Unhappy Wretch one Moment to ſpeak for his Life. At the ſame time alſo, the Grand Seignior eſpyed another walking through the Corn, whom he took and carried to the Tents, where he cauſed his Head to be cut off. The Topgibaſhee, or Maſter of the Ordnance, likewiſe the Day or two before very hardly eſcaped; for having a Boy in his Company, of whom the Grand Seignior had ſome Jealouſie, or ill Thoughts, had certainly been put to Death for the ſame, had he not had ſome preſent Witneſſes at hand to prove him to be his Son.

Theſe and ſuch like Acts of Severity, rendered this Sultan very formidable, ſo that all People were afraid of him, not only in their Publick Actions, but even in their Private Converſation, ſcarce truſting their own Thoughts. Amongſt theſe Severities *Achmet Paſha*, late Chimacam to Sultan *Achmet*, was turn'd out of his Office by this preſent Sultan, and Baniſhed to *Mytilene*; and after having taken from him an hundred Purſes of Money, his Head was brought to *Adrianople*, about two Days after the Vizier had been Strangled.

All things being now prepared for the March of the Army towards *Belgrade*, the Janiſar-Aga with his Janiſaries, according

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to the uſual Cuſtom took the Van, and marched away one Days March before the reſt of the Army, ſo that the Grand Seignior, attended by the Mufti, Grand Vizier, Spahilar-Aga, or General of the Spahees, Tefterdar, or Lord-Treaſurer, began their March, following the Janiſaries, on the 20th of *June*, but after ſome few Hours, they made a Halt to give time to three of the greateſt Paſhas, or Beglerbeys of the Empire, to come up with them; that is to ſay, to the Paſha of *Damaſcus*, the Paſha of *Aleppo*, and Beglerbey of *Anatolia*, every one of which brought with him about 1200 Men, recounting Spahees, and Sarigiaus, and Segmen on Horſeback, with all which and others attending the Sultan in his March, they did not amount to more than 12000 Horſe, with which he marched from *Adrianople* in ſix Days to *Philippopolis*, and Encamped over againſt that City in thoſe Plains, where a great Council of War was held, touching the Methods which were to be obſerved in the War, and the Places which were to be Attacked.

The Numbers of this Army appeared ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, that the Sultan remained very much unſatisfied, and would not be contented, unleſs the *Tartar Han* would follow him with all his Force unto the Camp at *Belgrade*; but he poſitively refuſed it, and ſaid, That it could not be done, unleſs he ſhould expoſe, and lay his People open to the Incurſions of the *Muſcovites*, who were coming down in vaſt Numbers to over-run all the Regions of the *Tartars*: Howſoever not to diſpleaſe overmuch the Grand Seignior, the *Tartar Han* forced himſelf to appear in the *Turkiſh* Camp with an Army of about 5000 *Tartars*, which was a good addition to the *Turkiſh* Force, ſo that in all they compoſed an Army of about 50000 Men.

The *Chriſtian* Army led by the Elector of *Saxony*, was not much ſtronger, but very deſirous to meet the *Turks*, who had taken their March towards *Tranſylvania*: But in regard the *Turks* were ſo far advanced before the Imperial Army, that it was impoſſible for the Elector to come in opportunely, and in ſeaſon to ſuccour the Places which the Sultan deſigned to Inveſt, unleſs they could take a ſhorter way, which was offered unto them, being guided by ſome of that Country; but the Ways proved ſo bad, being all Marſhes and Wet Grounds, that it was impoſſible to paſs them with the Cannon and heavy Baggage of an Army; ſo that after great Fatigues of three or four Days Marches, the Elector was obliged to return back again to his former Camp; and in the mean time the *Turks* had got ſuch a way before them towards *Tranſylvania*, that it was impoſſible for them to be overtaken by the *Chriſtian* Army; and having liberty to rove every where without any Oppoſition equal to them, they fell in upon the Palanca of *Lippa* on the 7th of *September*, without Breaſt-works, or Parapets, or any Approaches, Defence, or Shelter before them, but only with the Scimiter in their Hands, they Attacked the Palanca at four ſeveral Places, with ſuch incredible Reſolution, that after four Hours Engagement, they took the Place by Storm, and put all to the Sword, excepting only Major *Toldo*, who was Governour of the Place, with ſome others of the Principal Officers, whom the *Turks* after their uſual Cuſtom, reſerved to carry in Triumph, and to ſhow them to the People at the Port, as one Signal of their Victory.

1695.

Septemb.

In the mean time the Imperial Army continued their March near to *Chonad*, ſituate upon the River *Maros*; and on the 13th of that Month, pitched their Camp before *Natla*, where they repoſed that Day, and the 14th marched directly to *Lippa*, hoping to overtake the *Turks*, and to come time enough to Attack the Enemy, and relieve the Place, but they found it too late, and the *Turks* reinforced with an Army of 6000 *Tartars*, Commanded by the *Han* in Perſon: This News gave a ſtop to the March of the Imperial Army under the Command of the Elector of *Saxony*; and what was moſt diſcouraging, was the News, That the *Turks* lead by the Sultan himſelf in Perſon were marched into *Tranſylvania*, to Attack Count *Veterani* in his Camp, which conſiſted not of above 6500 Men; who tho' they were very well fortified, and Reſolute Men, and good Soldiers, yet being too unequal a March for the whole *Turkiſh* Army, which conſiſted of 18000 Janiſaries, and 40000 Spahees, they were all cut off, with the moſt part of their Officers, and as to General *Veterani* himſelf he was ſhot through the Body with a Muſquet-Bullet, and cut over the Head with a Scimiter; notwithſtanding which, he being ſtill alive, Endeavours were uſed for his Recovery, but he Died of his Wounds.

Veterani *defeated.*

This ill News was followed by the unfortunate Loſs of *Titul*, which the *Turks* having Attacked by Land and Water with 15000 Men, the Place Surrendered it ſelf to the *Turks* by Treaty, in vertue of which the Garriſon conſiſting of 1600 Men, ought according to Articles, to have been Convoyed to *Peter Waradin*; but the *Turks* re-

1695. turning after they had Burnt, and Abandoned the Place, carried all the Garriſon with them to *Salankement*.

This Place was taken by the *Turks*, before that General *Herberville*, who was Encamped with 6000 Men near *Kobila*, as alſo fortified with 8 Galleys and 16 Frigats, could hinder the Enemies Approaches: After which the *Turks* leaving the Place, the Imperialiſts entered into the ſame, and took Poſſeſſion of all what the *Turks* had ruined, for nothing was left but heaps of Rubbiſh.

In the mean time the great Army under the Command of the Elector of *Saxony*, advanced ſo far as *Solnak*, where the Grand Seignior having received intelligence, That the *Chriſtian* Army was marching towards him, haſtned with all ſpeed for *Temeſwaer*, with intention to enter into *Sclavonia*; Upon which the Elector of *Saxony* made a Halt, and on the 17th marched back, and pitched his Camp about half an Hours diſtance from *Chonad*; and the next Day being the 18th, continued his March as far as *Mokoua*. But whereas Advices came, That the Enemy deſigned to enter *Tranſylvania*, the Elector reſolved to ſend all the Infantry to *Peter Waradin*, whilſt he in Perſon, marched with the Horſe to oppoſe the Enemy, giving Commands to the National Militia of *Sclavonia* to joyn with the *Croats*, to oppoſe the Entrance of the *Turks* into that Province: And here it was, that certain Intelligence was given of the Defeat of that Worthy General *Veterani*, and that he was dead of his Wounds; which News was received with much grief of all Brave and Worthy Champions for the *Chriſtian* Cauſe.

After which Count *Heiſler* took the Van of the Army, and marched before them for *Deva*, there to provide all ſorts of Proviſions for ſuſtenance of thoſe who were to follow and to aſſemble the Eſtates of *Tranſylvania*, commanding them to meet His Electoral Highneſs, and conſult with him in the beſt manner, how things might be put into a poſture of Defence for the Safety and Security of that Province. At which time alſo came the unhappy News of the loſs of *Titul* taken by the *Turks*.

It was the common Opinion at that time of all the well experienced Soldiers, That the Martial Affairs of the Empire, were all very ill managed for that Year: For had the *Chriſtians* inſtead of Ingulfing themſelves amongſt Maraſſes and Mooriſh Grounds unpaſſable for an Army, in which they loſt ſix or ſeven Days, and gave the *Turks* the advantage of marching ſo many Days before them to *Temeſwaer*, and thence to *Lippa*, they had ſaved the loſs of *Veterani* and his Forces at *Lugos*, as alſo *Titul*, and *Karanſebes*, all which fell that Year for want of good Conduct; for the *Turks* were eſteemed not ſtronger at that time than 40000 Men, and one half of them Raw and Undiſciplined Soldiers; but the Slowneſs, and Negligence of the *Chriſtians* in that Years Expedition, broke all Meaſures, as if there had been a Fatality attending this Years Actions: For no ſooner did the *Turks* underſtand that the Imperial Army was marching after them, but being ſtruck with a ſuddain Conſternation, they Decamped with their whole Army from *Lippa*, more like Cowards flying before the Enemy, than in Order and Poſture of War, marching Day and Night to get into *Temeſwaer* before the Enemy could overtake them. But ſo ſoon as it was known to the *Turks*, that the Imperial Army was marched to *Segedin*, they took Courage, and gave a ſtop to their precipitate Flight. And here it was that Fortune changed, and gave unexpected Succeſs to the *Turks* in this Years Expedition, which turned greatly to the Fame and Renown of this New Sultan *Muſtapha*: For conſidering that he was but a raw Soldier, and kept himſelf in every Action at a diſtance and out of Musket-ſhot, yet the whole matter being carried on againſt the Opinion of all his Miniſters, and the Inclinations of almoſt all his Soldiers, eſpecially the Janiſaries, and all the prime Officers of the Army and the State, things looked at firſt with a very bad Face, and promiſed nothing but Deſtruction. 1695.

The ill Conduct of the Imperial Army, in Anno 1695.

Yet afterwards ſucceeding quite otherwiſe than were expected, all was attributed to the Courage, Wiſdom, and Conduct of the Sultan; ſo that it became a Wonder to the World how it was poſſible for a Sultan without Experience, who had but newly come out from an Impriſonment of eight Years, and known nothing yet of War, to be attended with ſuch Succeſs, that all his Army did avow, That his Victories were due to his Valour and Conduct, which gained him a wonderful Eſteem amongſt all the great Men of his Empire, both Martial and Civil; the Effect of which was found in the following Year, when all the Soldiery being fluſhed with Blood and Spoil, came willingly to the War, and ſtruck an Awe and Fear into the Hearts of all the *Ottoman* Subjects, believing this Prince to be ſent them from God, to reſcue them and the Empire from Ruine and utter Deſolation.

Great Honour gained by the Sultan.

The

1695. The Sultan being ſenſible of the great Honour and Fame which he had gained by the unexpected Succeſſes of this Campaign, being unwilling to loſe the ſame, ſo ſoon as he heard that the Imperial Army was marched towards *Tranſylvania*, he reſolved to return homewards, and not to tempt Fortune again for this Year, and accordingly marched again with his whole Army to *Temeſwaer*, whence he ſent Commands and Decrees one after the other, with Letters to *Ziafer* the Paſha of *Belgrade*, to provide *Temeſwaer* with all ſorts of Victuals neceſſary for maintenance of the Place; and that he ſhould take care to ſend them thither, with a Convoy ſufficient to defend them from the Enemy: And farther he ordered that Paſha to take notice, That he was returning to his Palace at *Adrianople*, by the way of *Walachia*, of which Advice was given to the Prince, and Commands ſent him to repair the Bridges, and mend the Ways of that Country, and to enlarge them for the more eaſie Paſſage of the Army: The like Decrees and Commands were ſent to the Prince of *Moldavia*; and divers Letters were Wrote by the Grand Seignior himſelf to his Mother the Valide Soltana; as alſo to all the Chief Governors of the Provinces in *Anatolia*, and to the Chimacums of *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople*; in which, after he had recounted unto them all his great Actions and Succeſſes, he Commanded that Days and Nights of Rejoycings ſhould be celebrated for the ſame through all the Dominions of his Empire, in regard that he had Taken, and laid Deſolate a greater City and Territory than that of *Belgrade*, and that he had ſlain more than 10000 *Germans*, and made above 3000 Priſoners, with the Officers belonging to them; for which Glorious Victories and Fortunes Commands were given to offer Thankſgivings in all Places of the Empire, and to praiſe God, for that he had been pleaſed to appeaſe his Wrath againſt the Muſſelmen, who had long provoked the Divine Anger.

The Sultan Orders for his Return to Adrianople.

The Sultan being in this manner reſolved to make his Return to *Adrianople*, by way of *Walachia*, notice was given thereof (as we have ſaid) to the Prince of the Country, who was thereby put into a moſt grievous Terrour and Conſternation of Mind, not knowing what to do, or how to help and protect his Poor Miſerable Province already waſted and conſumed by the War; and what was now to be more done on the Paſſage of divers *Aſiaticks*, *Albanians*, *Turks*, &c. was not to be reſolved; until the Prince conſidering, and revolving all things in his Mind, concluded, That the beſt and ſafeſt way was, immediately to depart and meet the Sultan on his way, according to his urgent and reiterated Commands; ſhewing no Fears or Jealouſies, but a Confidence of the Grand Seignior's Favour to him: In purſuance of which, he proceeded, and met the Sultan over againſt *Widin*; where being ſeen by him, and looked upon with a tender Eye, and a kind Aſpect, the poor Prince began to take Courage, and eaſe the Throbs of his Trembling Heart. Howſoever being acquainted with the Humour of the Sultans, who often ſpeak fair to their Paſha's, and yet nouriſh a ſecret Deſign to take away their Lives, he could not ſettle his Thoughts, or believe that the bitterneſs of Death was yet over; but there was nothing to be done now, nor any ſtarting back, but on he muſt go, as he did to the Place called *Turno* on this ſide of the *Danube* over againſt *Nicopolis*, where the Army Encamped on the 13th of *October*, and the Sultan took ſome Repoſe for certain Days, called by the *Turks* Days of *Otoracke*, the Officers of the Prince proceeding in the mean time to prepare the Ways, and to make them wider.

The Grand Seignior marches back.

The Grand Seignior coming very weary to *Turno*, repoſed there about an Hours time, and then Embarking in his own Boat, paſſed to the other ſide of the *Danube*, after which the Grand Vizier followed with the whole Army, there being Boats and Floats ſufficient to Ferry them over. And here it is to be for ever recorded to the honour of this Sultan *Muſtapha*, That in paſſing this Province of *Walachia*, ſtrict Diſcipline was kept, and which was obſerved with ſo much Rigour, that a Soldier durſt not ſteal an Egg, a Pullet, or a Hen; and a *Tartar* was known to be Hanged, for taking away a Kid by force; and two *Aſiatick Turks* were Hanged on a Tree for Robbing a Bee-hive, by which Severity, to the Wonder of the whole World, the *Ottoman* Army paſſed that Afflicted Province without the leaſt damage or hurt to the People.

The Turkiſh *Diſcipline.*

And here at this place of *Turno*, it is to be noted, That before the Grand Seignior paſſed the River, he called to him the Prince of *Walachia*, and beſtowed upon him a rich Coſtan, or Veſt, which is a Signal of the Favour of the Sultan, and told him, That he was greatly pleaſed and ſatiſfied with his Service and Diligence, commanding him to return Home to his Place of Reſidence, but above all he charged him to obſerve Juſtice; which if he did, he ſhould always enjoy his Favour; the like ſaid the Grand Vizier to him, who giving

him

1695. him a Veſt as an Evidence of his Favour, gave him licence to return to his own place of Government.

When the *Turks* were come on the Confines over againſt *Fetiblam*, they Embarked all their Cannon and Ammunition for *Belgrade*; but the lighter Field-pieces, (of which they found ſome in *Karanſebes*) they carried with them, to render their Entry into *Adrianople*, the more Stately and Magnificent.

But whilſt they were contriving all things for the more Triumpant Entry of the Grand Seignior; it was judged moſt requiſite and proper for the preſent State of the *Turkiſh* Affairs, to make the Triumph into *Conſtantinople*, which was ever eſteemed the Head of the Empire, and the Place where the *Ottoman* Throne was ever ſeated: And as to *Adrianople*, it was ordered, that the Sultan ſhould make a ſhort ſtop there of four or five Days only; and in the mean time the Valide Soltana, with all the Female Court, was ordered to take up their Quarters in the uſual Places of the Great Seraglio, which was prepared on all ſides to be fitted for Reception of the Grand Seignior.

The Grand Seignior marches to Conſtantinople.

This coming of the Grand Seignior to *Conſtantinople*, was a ſuddain Reſolution, and unexpected, being the effect of his Thoughts on his March, only for conſidering that *Conſtantinople* (ever ſince the *Turks* entered into *Europe*) was always eſteemed the Head and Seat of the *Ottoman* Empire, and the Place where the *Ottoman* Emperors were ever Enthroned with the Benediction of the Mufti, aſſiſted by the Nakib, who is Chief of the Emirs, who wear green Tulbants; and alſo the Place where the Mufti girds the Sword to the Sultan's Thigh, called St. *Juob*, in Memory of that Soldier, who was the firſt that ſtormed the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, when it was in the Poſſeſſion of the *Greeks*; for which reaſon, his Memory hath ever been held in great Veneration with the *Turks*. The Thoughts whereof incited the Grand Seignior with a ſort of Impatience and Ambition to imitate the Practice of his Anceſtors, at a time when he eſteemed himſelf Great, Proſperous, and in a way to recover the loſt Honour and Reputation of the Empire.

Moreover, his Deſign being to be as great at Sea as at Land, or at leaſt of equal Match with the *Venetians*, or to have a better Army to enter into the *Morea*, and recover the Country, his Thoughts were fixed upon *Conſtantinople*, as the proper Place for that Deſign; as *Adrianople* was for the Wars by Land ſo no time was loſt in the March of the Army, to poſſeſs the Ancient Seat of the *Oſmanlees*. 1695.

The Grand Seignior having repoſed ſome few Days (as we have ſaid) at *Adrianople*, proceeded forwards and arrived in Company with his Mother at *Conſtantinople*, tho at firſt it was appointed otherwiſe, and that ſhe ſhould go firſt, and lead the way; but it afterwards ſeemed more Great and Glorious, and of leſs Charge to go together, which accordingly they did, and arrived at the Great Seraglio about the latter end of *October*, or beginning of *November*: But on the Road the Court and Army happening to feel ſome Scarcity and Want of Proviſions, the Sultan became very angry and diſpleaſed againſt the Treaſurer of the Army, and againſt thoſe Officers whoſe Buſineſs it was to Overſee the Proviſions, and not to ſuffer any Want to be in Court or Army: Upon which Occaſion, the Grand Seignior Diſcharged the Teſterdar of his Office, with Threats and Menaces of his Life: And the Commiſſaries for that Buſineſs being in like manner faulty, as alſo the ſecond Perſon under the Teſterdar, was Diſcharged of his Office, and great care was taken to ſupply their Offices with Men of Skill and Induſtry.

Novemb.

The Allai, or Triumph at the Entrance into Conſtantinople.

And now about the beginning of this Month of *November*, the Grand Seignior with all his Court, entered into the Capital City of his Reſidence, with ſuch Applauſe and Triumph, and Joy of the People, that the like was never heard or known in the Time of any former Sultan, all which ſerved to comfort the People, and encourage the Militia.

Amongſt the Particulars of this Triumph, 300 Slaves were ſhown, and all repreſented for Great Generals and Captains; for tho' there were but very few Officers amongſt them, yet they were given out for ſuch, and for *German* Princes: All the light Cannon, and Field-Pieces, with the Ammunition, Colours, Flags, Drums, and Trumpets, were all ſhowed, and brought into the Account of Spoil; with a Report amongſt the Soldiery, That the *Turks* had not loſt above 500 Men, killed in the Field, tho' others of them which came out of the Army, and had been Eye-Witneſſes of the whole Battel, and of the *Turkiſh* Army, which conſiſted of 50000 Men, with the Sultan at the Head of them, and yet were hard put to it to fight againſt 8000 of *Veterani*'s Men; who having maintained a Fight for ſix Hours, were at length forced to retire for want of Powder and Ammunition, and other Warlike Proviſions.

Thus much the *Turks*, who had been in the Battel, confeſſed themſelves; whilſt others who came from all the Countries round to ſee the Show, and Triumph, Wept for Joy, ſaying, That *the Time was now come, that God would Avenge himſelf on the* Chriſtians, *for their Pride; and would for the future blind them in their Deſigns, and infatuate them in all their Counſels.*

Sahin Paſha killed.

Howſoever all the World cannot but confeſs, That the loſs of ſo many Brave Men, could not but prove a fatal Blow to all *Chriſtendom*, eſpecially to the *Germans*, who fought almoſt to the laſt Drop of Blood: Nor were the *Turks* unſenſible of their Loſſes alſo, both as to Numbers and Quality; for one of the Sultan's Brothers-in-Law, called *Sahin Mehmet Paſha*, a briſk daring Man, and a good Soldier, and ſo Named from *Sahin*, which ſignifies a Falcon, and was the next to the Grand Vizier, and carried three Horſe-Tails gilded before him, was killed by a Carbine-ſhot; for which reaſon he was much lamented at the Court, and moſt eſpecially by the Queen-Mother, not only becauſe he had been her Son-in-Law, but a Perſon endued with many Rare and Excellent Vertues: Beſides which, the famous *Mahmud Paſha*, Celebrated by all to be one of the moſt Accompliſhed Soldiers of this Age, and the moſt Warlike Cavalier of all the *Ottoman* Nation: He was an *Albanian* Born, a Man of great Reputation and Fame, called *Mahmud Bei Oghli*, and was ſlain with three Carbine-ſhots, and fell amongſt the moſt Renowned Officers of the *Turks*: Theſe two were ſaid to be the firſt who broke into *Veterani*'s Army, one to the Right, and the other to the Left-Wing, where they found and encountred ſuch unexpected Oppoſition, that the *Turks* confeſſed, That they had never met the like, and had not prevailed againſt their Enemies at that time, had it not been for the Reſolution and Bravery of their Fortunate Sultan, who ſtanding in the Rear with his Scimiter in his Hand, hindered the baſe intended Flight of his Soldiery.

This Action gave a full ſtop to all the following Deſigns of this Year; for the *Turks* reaſoning with themſelves, That in caſe ſo ſmall an Army as that of *Veterani*, was able to do ſuch Feats, what would become of their Forces, were they to engage againſt the whole entire Army of the *Kral*, that is the Elector; for they call the King of *Poland Kral*, and ſo other Inferiour Princes to the Emperor, whom they call *Kaiſar*; but the King of *England*, they could never be taught to call otherwiſe than *Kral*.

The Grand Seignior having made his Triumphant Entry into *Conſtantinople*, the Militia of *Aſia* which attended the Sultan from the War, had licence given them to return Home to their own Countries, and Orders were given to open a Door, as they call it, to enroll Janiſaries, according to the uſual Ceremonies uſed on thoſe Occaſions, and care was taken to Arm them, as well the New Janiſaries as the Old *Veterane Albanian* Troops; as alſo the Levents, or Marine Regiments, and to recruit their Numbers, of which ſeveral had been loſt in the late Engagements at Sea; the which, tho' they had not for many Years been fought with ſo much equality of Fortune between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*, as they had been for this Year, yet it was not determined which ſide had gained the better; tho' the *Turks* avoided the Fight, ſo much as was poſſible, and thereby gave an evidence of their own Weakneſs, and doubtful Condition.

Tekely neglected.

It hath been long ſince we have heard any Diſcourſe of *Tekely*, being not regarded ſo much by any as by the *French* Ambaſſador; for as to the *Turks*, they had no Opinion of him, nor would they have it be thought that they had any need of his Forces, or Intereſt of his Party in *Hungary*; but ſuffered him to Lodge in one of the vileſt Streets in the Town, amongſt *Jews*, and the meaner ſort of the *Armenians*, called *Balata*; his Countenance was much changed, pale, and fallen, and his Feet Swelled, ſo that his Enemies ſcorned him, and his Friends could expect nothing more of good from him.

The Year drawing now towards an end, all the Endeavours of the *Turks* were to begin the following Year with greater Forces than that of the preceding; and herein they were the more concerned, in regard of the *Moſcovites*, who were coming down upon the *Tartars* with vaſt Numbers of Soldiers, and all things prepared to make War upon them, and to take *Aſac*, at leaſt the Diverſion hereby would be great, and ſo employ the *Tartars*, that to defend their own Countries, they would be obliged to deſert the Service and Cauſe of the *Turks*: Howſoever the Succeſſes of the *Turks* had been this Year ſo great, as gave them courage to conſider in what manner they might be able to form two Armies for the next; with one of which the chief Deſign was to enter *Tranſylvania*, and if poſſible, to make Peace with the *Moſcovites* by the Negotiations of the *Tartars*; but all this came to nothing, as we ſhall ſee by the Sequel of the following Year.

Anno 1696.

1696. THO' the *Turks* had gained ſome advantage the laſt Year over the *Venetians* both by Sea and Land; namely, in the Recovery of *Scio*, and by giving a Check or Stop to the *Venetian* Fleet; yet they gained little more thereby, than ſome little Fame and Reputation to the preſent Sultan *Muſtapha*, whom the People began to conſider, as a Deliverer ſent to them from Heaven to recover their almoſt loſt Empire, which lay under ſad Diſtreſſes as well in *Aſia* as in *Europe*.

This Opinion of the People when they obſerved the Juſtice, the Courage, and the Reſolution of this Sultan to go in Perſon to the War, and that nothing could divert him from it, gave them Courage and Aſſurance to expect a turn of Fortune, and hopes of better Succeſſes for the future; and tho' the *French* promiſed them not to make Peace without them, but to joyn with them in a perpetual League of Friendſhip; yet the *Turks* did not much truſt them, but kept a watchful Eye over them, knowing very well how little ſtreſs there is to be laid on the Promiſes of the Great Monarch of *France*, who was alſo equally Jealous of the Faith of the *Turks*, and both of them equally doubtful of one another.

This Great *Ottoman* Empire had the laſt Year changed both their Maſter, and the Chief Officers, without any conſiderable Change, or Troubles in the State amongſt themſelves, for that this Sultan, in whom clearly appeared a Spirit of greater Wiſdom and Courage than in his Father *Mahomet* IV, or in his Uncle's ſucceeding him, gave the Soldiery and the People ſuch Hopes and Expectations from him, that none durſt open his Mouth, or lift up his Hands againſt him; there appeared alſo ſomething more of Juſtice and Vertue in him, and of Diligence, and Care, and Sedulity in his Buſineſs, than was found in his Father, or in any of the ſucceeding Uncles, as we have formerly ſaid; which gave hope to the great Governors of the Empire, that under him the Loſſes which the Empire had ſuſtained in theſe laſt Wars, might be repaired; for tho' the Recovery of the Iſle of *Scio* was made before he came to the Throne, and conſequently might be looked upon, as an effect of his Uncle's Counſels; for that *Muſtapha* did not enter upon the Government until the end of *January* 1695, when that *Scio* had been taken about a Month before by the *Turks*; but that falling ſo near to the time that *Muſtapha* came to the Throne, that piece of good Fortune was looked upon as an effect of the Wiſdom of the New Emperor, rather than of the Uncle *Achmet*'s Counſel, by which, and by ſome other Exploits of the preceding Year in 1695, *Muſtapha* grew high in the Opinion of the People, and the Soldiery; to which ſome Succeſſes being added, as the taking of *Titul* and *Lippa*, with the Defeat given to *Veterani*; for which the *Turks* paid very dear, and would not have been cried up for a Victory, had not Victories become very rare in thoſe Days; their Hopes were very big, and that he might make theſe Actions the more Triumphant and Glorious, the Grand Seignior diſpatched away ſeveral Meſſengers to the Kings of *Perſia*, and the Princes of *Arabia*, and to other Tributaries, to communicate unto them all his Succeſſes and Victories of the laſt Year, whereby he hoped to encourage the drooping Spirits of his own Soldiers, and confirm thoſe of his Friends and Allies unto him.

The Loſs of *Scio* was certainly not very conſiderable to the *Venetians* at that time after they had gained it from the *Turks*; for Conqueſts at ſuch a diſtance from them can never turn to any Account, or benefit.

The *Morea* indeed may be a more uſeful Conqueſt, than any of thoſe on the Coaſt of *Aſia*, where the *Turks* are far ſtronger than on the Coaſt of *Europe*, and this Year alſo the *Venetians* had been moſt ſucceſsful in thoſe Parts of the *Morea*, having Defeated the *Turks* there in all their Attempts, in this as well as ſeveral other Years; but theſe Succeſſes are not likely to be continued, for unleſs the *Venetians* increaſe the Number of their Ships at Sea, and augment their Forces at Land; and make good choice of their principal Commanders; all Matters will probably go backwards; for ſuch Generals as *Moroſini* and *Koniſmarc* are not eaſily to be found, under whom all things thrived and proſpered, ſo that it were now to be wiſhed, that the *Venetian* Forces were more numerous than formerly, and compoſed of their own Subjects, rather than of Foreigners.

But the *Turks* had a more watchful Eye over their War in *Hungary*, and the Parts about *Belgrade*, and *Tranſylvania*, than either in *Aſia*, or other Countries of *Europe*, or over the Province of *Baſſora*, or *Baſorat*, of which the *Arabians* had made a late Conqueſt over the *Turkiſh* Baſha of that Country, who having but 2000 Men with him, was forced to ſubmit to the

1696. greater force of the *Arabs*, and upon his Surrender made a Capitulation with them, That he might paſs into *Perſia*, where he was well received at *Iſpahan* by the King, being a Wiſe Man, and a Soldier.

About the ſame time likewiſe *Solyman Bey*, a *Turk*, a Native of *Curdiſtan*, having routed a Party of *Perſians* on the Frontiers, had a Commiſſion given him by the Grand Seignior, to do all the Miſchief he was able on the Frontiers of *Perſia*, not on the *Perſians* only, but on the *Georgians* and *Arabians*, who had joyned together and made themſelves Princes of thoſe Provinces.

The Venetians *at Sea give a Defeat to the* Turks.

Nor did the Affairs of the *Turks* proſper better at that time in the *Morea*, where a ſtrong Party of the *Venetian* Forces made an Irruption upon the *Turks*, and advanced ſo far as *Thebes*, where the *Turks* received an entire Defeat, all the Country being Spoiled, Plundered, and Sacked by the *Venetians*, who upon their return carried with them a great Booty, with vaſt Numbers of *Turkiſh* Slaves.

Whilſt thoſe Matters were tranſacting, the Sultan was diligently employed at the Port in forming a Numerous Army, and providing all things for the Support and Maintenance of them. Nor was the like Diligence wanting in preparing and ſetting forth their Fleet, and putting them into a poſture capable to Fight and Engage the *Venetians*; but as to the Land-Forces, the Campaign of this Year began early in the Month of *May*, when the *Heydukes* in divers places of *Sclavonia*, aſſembled themſelves in a Body to the Number of 400 Men, with which they paſſed the *Save*, and made an Inroad ſo far as *Niſſa*, about eight or nine Days to the Eaſtward of *Belgrade*, and in that March, they drove away great Numbers of ſmall and great Cattle; after which they contrived in what manner to make their Retreat; but as they thought thereupon, the Garriſons of *Belgrade*, and other Neighbouring Places, made a Sally out upon them with a Party of about 2000 Men, Horſe and Foot, who being informed of the Enemies Deſign, they drew up ſo advantagiouſly in a Wood, and received them with ſo great Bravery, that after ſeveral Repulſes given them, in which great Numbers were Killed and Wounded, were at length forced to fly and quit the Field, whilſt the *Sclavonians* made good their Retreat, and proceeded happily in their Deſign, which is all the Prologue that was made to the ſucceeding Actions of the following Campaign; only every thing began then to diſpoſe it ſelf towards a Bloody War, and for Action of the following Year: When the Duke of *Lorain* made his firſt Campaign in *Hungary* in Quality of Major-General of the Imperial-Army, Commanding in particular the Regiments of St. *Croix*, *de Commerci*, and *Baſſompierre*, in which Commands this Young Prince evidenced to the World, a clear Inclination, and Diſpoſition to the War, agreeable to the Mind of his Illuſtrious Anceſtors. 1696.

The Paſha of Diarbekir *put to Flight.*

Whilſt things were thus preparing in *Hungary*, News came to the Port from *Diarbekir*, giving the Relation of a Fight between the Rebels in thoſe Parts, and the *Turks*, in which the *Turks* had been Defeated, and their General, the Paſha of *Diarbekir*, put to Flight, at a Place not far from *Sivas*: The Particulars of which ſucceeded in this manner.

And the Turks *defeated.*

When the Paſha heard where the Rebels were Encamped, he preſently marched againſt them with a Body of 3600 Horſe, Commanding two other Paſhas with a force of 2000 Horſe more to fall upon the Rebels, and getting between them began to Kill and Deſtroy them without giving Quarter to any of them: The Rebels having had timely notice of this Motion of the Paſha's, they mounted their Horſes with much Courage and Activity, towards the Evening, and taking a Round about the Mountain, by favour of the Moon, they marched all that Night, and in the Morning early they fell in with the *Turkiſh* Seraskier, or General, with their Swords, or Scimyters, and with their Pikes and Lances, whence aroſe a very Bloody Fight, which held for the ſpace of two Hours, to the great loſs and diminution of the Army of the *Turks*, and danger of the Paſha's Life, who being put into great fear quitted the Field and fled, leaving the Spoil to the Enemy; with which they being encouraged, they marched towards *Aleppo*, and from thence exacted what Money and Proviſions that rich Province could afford them, upon pain of Military Execution; at which the Sultan was ſo enraged, that he gave out preſent Orders to raiſe the *Neſiran*, which is the Militia of the Eaſtern Countries; and like one Man to riſe and joyn themſelves againſt the Enemy. Beſides which, many other things were to be done, both by Sea and Land, and that with all Expedition, in regard that the force of the Rebels growing daily greater, their Power would with much more difficulty be ſubdued.

And in regard there was a neceſſity of putting the Fleet to Sea with all expedition; all other Affairs were laid aſide, until this was diſpatched, which was performed after the *Biram*, and then about the beginning of *May* the Sultan began his March towards *Hungary* at the Head of his Army, when ſeveral were of Opinion that due care ſhould be taken to ſuppreſs the Rebels in *Aſia*; but the Sultan would hear of nothing more than to raiſe the *Neſiran* of the Country upon them, which are a ſort of Soldiers like our Trained-Bands, and not better exercifed in the Wars.

The Sultan who intended to have brought this Year 80 or 100000 Men into the Field againſt the Emperor, was contented to fall ſhort at leaſt 10000 Men of that Number which he had the laſt Year: And in regard the *Aſiatick* Soldiers could not, or would not leave their own Country to attend the Armies in *Hungary*; the whole Army of the *Turks* did not amount to more than 50000 Men; and ſcarcely to that neither conſidering the Diverſions made on one ſide by the *Perſians*, and by the *Muſcovites* on the other; wherefore conſidering theſe Difficulties and Diſtreſſes, all the *Ottoracks* were called to the Wars, being in the Nature of *Milites immeriti*, who after their long Services in the War, have liberty given them to withdraw to their own Homes, with two Pence or three Pence a Day, which is called a dead Pay; and of theſe there may be about 40000 Men, which may be ſome Addition to the Number of the *Turkiſh* Army, and with theſe the *Turks* were now obliged to help themſelves.

But to underſtand more diſtinctly the Tranſactions and Progreſs of all the *Turkiſh* Affairs both by Sea and Land for this Year following,

The Grand Seignior, with the Queen Mother leaves Conſtantinople.

In the firſt place we are to take notice, That in the Month of *March* of this Year, 30 Frigats were diſpatched for *Aſac*, which ſoon afterwards were followed by eight Gallies.

As to the Land Matters, *March* the 28th the Grand Seignior and Grand Vizier made their Alloy to their Tents, which were pitched as uſual at *Daout Paſha*; but that being very early in the Morning, the Show was but indifferent. The Grand Seignior was dreſſed in the manner, as when he made his Entrance. The Valide followed about two Hours after, with great Attendance.

April.

Mezzo Morto the Admiral, having left the *Baſtarda* Gally behind him, ſailed out of Port the 6th of *April*; and the Grand Seignior and Grand Vizier marched for *Adrianople*, where they arrived the 17th of this Month.

The 23d of this *April* being the Day of the Great Biram, News was brought of the Birth of a Daughter Born to the Sultan in the Seraglio, whereupon the Chimacam, to ſhow his Reſpect and Duty to the Grand Seignior, cauſed four Days of Rejoycing to be proclaimed; but on the 24th Day a little after Midnight, there happening a very great Fire, the Rejoycings were forbidden and recalled.

A Fire at Conſtantinople.

The Fire began without the Gate of *Tophana*, the Wind at N. E. which being very fierce and ſtrong, ſoon reduced all that Quarter into Aſhes, where it continued burning till Five in the Afternoon of the 25th; during which time 3000 Houſes were computed to have been Burnt, and amongſt them all our Merchant's Houſes, excepting one who had the good Fortune to be ſaved: But God be praiſed not much of our *Engliſh* Goods were burnt.

June.

About the beginning of *June* of this Year, the Marquis *de Lore* arrived at *Conſtantinople*, in Quality of Ambaſſador Extraordinary from the *French* King: He was brought as far as *Tenedos* by a *French* Man of War of 60 Guns, and from thence by a *Tartan* he was Tranſported to *Conſtantinople*, from whence, on the 10th of this Month he was carried to *Adrianople*, and thence without loſs of time he followed the Camp, which had marched thence the eighth of *June*.

The 23d of this Month, *Tekely* was Commanded by the Grand Seignior, to follow the Camp, but his Princeſs remained at *Conſtantinople*, both of them being in great Neceſſity to live, being only allowed five Dollars a Day, beſides ſome ſmall matter ariſing from the Impoſts of Wine, which the Grand Seignior permitted them to bring in. The Beauty of this Lady could prevail little either for her ſelf or Prince; for I have heard, That ſhe was a Lady of a very hard Countenance, and her Air, and Carriage, in no wiſe engaging.

July.

The *Turkiſh* Army being arrived at *Belgrade*, they began to move on the 30th of *July*, and that Day to paſs the *Danube*, when publick Prayers were begun at *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople* for their Succeſſes and Bleſſings of their Army, which was this Year eſteemed very powerful, and deſigned (as the common Report was) againſt *Tranſylvania*: But whilſt the *Turks* marched full of hopes of Succeſs, with a great Army ſuppoſed to conſiſt of 100000 Men; their Boldneſs was much tempered by the News of the Surrender of *Aſac* to the *Muſcovites* after 57 Days Siege, and the Advices wanting 16 Days, it was ſaid, That the *Tartar Han* arrived two Days after the Surrender, tho' had he come ſooner,

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1696. he could have done nothing; for it was ſo cloſely Beſieged, that the *Turks* themſelves were of Opinion, That all the Succours ſent thence, namely, from all parts of the *Turkiſh* Dominions, would not have been able to effect any thing: Neither were the Gallies, which were with five more than the 13 ſent the laſt Month, able to approach the Place by ſome Leagues: Hereupon the Corn at *Conſtantinople*, was riſen 50 *per Cent.* and the People were ſo apprehenſive of a Famine in all the Dominions of the *Turks*, that in caſe the *Muſcovites* ſhould make any Progreſs, they ſhould not know which way to proceed.

At that time *Mezzo Morto* with the *Turkiſh* Fleet was ſtill at *Scio*, intending about the middle of this Month to Sail from thence; he had with him about 40 Sail of Ships beſides Gallies; the *Venetians* were not very ſtrong, nor did either ſide endeavour to engage.

But the moſt important Deſign of this Summers Campaign, was laid in *Hungary* and *Tranſylvania*, where the Sultan fixed his greateſt hopes, and both Sides intended to do their beſt, and to bring things to a deciſive Action; to perform which, His Electoral Highneſs of *Saxony* having fixed the Imperial Camp at a Place called *Olaſch*, on the 30th of *Auguſt* N. S. giving out, as if the Deſign was to Beſiege *Temeſwaer*, and thereby to draw the Enemy into a Neceſſity of Sallying out, and coming to a Battle, that they might be better able to relieve the Place; to which end the *Turks* having paſſed the *Danube*, the nearer to approach their Enemies, made two Days March, one after the other; by which being four Leagues diſtant from each other.

On the 20th of this Month they held a Council of War, at which it was reſolved to advance one Day nearer to obſerve the Countenance of the Enemy.

So that very early in the Morning on the 21ſt, they marched in good Order of Battel, and by nine a Clock they diſcovered ſome of the Enemies Cavalry, whom they Attacked and Repulſed ſeveral times with conſiderable loſs to the *Turks*.

And on the 22d ſome Parties of the *Chriſtians* brought ſeveral Priſoners into the Camp, amongſt which was a Chiaus, who reported, That the Janiſaries were very advantageouſly poſted on the right ſide of a Moraſs, confined, and reaching to the Banks of the River *Temes*, and another Body of them Encamped to the Left along the Banks of the Brook *Begl*, their Cannon being pointed upon that Place, where was the only Avenue, or Acceſs where the Enemy could come upon them; and their 1696. Camp on all ſides ſo fortified, that the *Chriſtians* could not Attack them without much Difficulty and Danger; wherefore, to give the Enemy room to advance, and invite them to a Battle, the *Turks* on the 24th Sallied out from their Retrenchments, which was done only with Deſign to make other Lines, which were finiſhed in two Hours time, or leſs; and having there planted their Cannon, they began to play one upon the other on both ſides, and as the Priſoners who had been made in ſeveral Skirmiſhes, aſſured the *Chriſtian* Army, their Artillery was well ſerved, and had killed many of their Soldiers, and ſeveral of their beſt Gunners, tho' the loſs on the *Chriſtian* ſide had been but very indifferent.

On the 25th nothing very conſiderable was acted: But

On the 26th the *Chriſtians* advanced Guards acquainted the Generals, That the Body of the Enemies Army was in motion, and marched in poſture of Battle, under Covert of Buſhes, Shrubs, and ſome Trees, and that they had already poſted themſelves between *Temeſwaer* and the *Chriſtian* Army, the Generals of which ſending to take a view of the Countenance of the Enemy; they were of Opinion, and ſaw evidently, that the Body, which they diſcovered, conſiſted of the whole *Turkiſh* Army, and not a Detachment; upon which the *Chriſtian* Army marched directly upon them to Attack and Engage them; but before they could come ſo near as to Engage them, they had covered and fortified themſelves under the Buſhes and Ditches, that it was difficult to come at them; and having alſo a Bog behind them, and a Marſh on their left Hand, with three Ranks of Waggons faſtned to each other with Chains of Iron in the Front, made the Attack almoſt impoſſible to be made: Howſoever the Generals reſolved, whatſoever Difficulties might offer, to Attack the Enemy; *The Battle of* Olaſch. and accordingly about five a Clock in the Evening, ſix Battalions of Foot, ſuſtained by two Regiments of Dragoons, Charged the Enemy in the Flank under the Command of General *Heuſler*, and commanded them to march into the Wood, which they performed with great Bravery, and much galled the *Turks* with their Fire. The Enemies Horſe hereupon advanced, and finding that the *Chriſtians* had formed their Line, charged them with great Fury, when 1200 of their beſt Horſe broke through the two *Saxon* Battalions, notwithſtanding the latter made a very brave Reſiſtance; but Lieutenant-General *Zui-*

zendorf, with ſome Regiments of Horſe of the ſame Line, beat back the Enemy, and again cloſed the Line with ſome *Saxon* Battalions, and Attacked the Janiſaries in their Intrenchments, and beat them from their Poſt; but the Enemies Foot being reinforced, and their Horſe taking our Men in the Flank, they were obliged to retire; only two Regiments of our Dragoons, Commanded by the Young Prince of *Vaudemont*, advanced to ſuſtain them, and repulſed the *Turkiſh* Horſe; but the Janiſaries returning, and Charging them again, the Dragoons ſuffered very much by their Fire, and many Soldiers and Officers were killed and wounded; but General *Heuſler* bringing up another Regiment to their Aſſiſtance, beat back the Enemy to their Intrenchments, but was himſelf dangerouſly wounded.

Whilſt this was doing, another Body of the Enemies Horſe Charged another Body on the ſecond Line, where the *Chriſtian* Troops received them in ſuch a manner, as gave a Check to their Fury, and then General *Roſes* advancing with the Horſe of the ſame Line, drove them back, and purſued them about two *Hungarian* Miles, when the Victory began to declare it ſelf in favour of the *Chriſtians*, and the *Turks* to put themſelves into Flight, when Orders came to General *Roſes* to ſtop the Purſuit, and to march back with the Troops; howſoever ſome other Squadrons of Horſe followed the Enemies unto their Intrenchments; from whence the *Turks* made ſo great a Fire both with their Cannon and Small-ſhot, that thoſe Squadrons were forced to retire; and being purſued by the Enemies Horſe, they encountred another of the *Chriſtian* Regiments, which they alſo put into Diſorder; which General *Roſes* obſerving, advanced with the Regiment of *Caprara*, and Charging the Enemy in the Flank, cut off above 1000 of them: Then the whole *Chriſtian* Line advanced, and puſhed the Enemy into their Trenches, where they were in ſuch a Conſternation, that the Sultan himſelf with much difficulty prevailed upon them to keep their Ground, and defend their Intrenchments, killing ſeveral with his own Hand, that would have fled; and at length Night coming on, it put an end to the Battle.

The Turks *worſted.*

Thus the *Chriſtians* remaining Maſters of the Field, or Place of Battle, intended to Attack again the Enemies Camp by Break of Day in the Morning; but they laboured ſo hard all that Night, that they fortified their Camp, and made it almoſt impregnable; which hindered the *Germans* from making another Attempt in the Morning.

The *Chriſtians* loſt a great many Men in this Fight, amongſt which were divers Officers of Fame and Renown, as *Heuſler*, General of the Horſe, and Major-General *Polland*, beſides others who died of their Wounds.

The *Turks* loſt above 8000 Men, as was reported by a Paſha, who was taken Priſoner in the Battel.

The Troops on both ſides often mingled, and gave no Quarter on either ſide. A great Booty was taken from the *Turks*, amongſt which were many fine Horſes, with ſeveral Standards.

In the heat of this Action the *Germans* loſt ſome Pieces of Cannon, by reaſon that their Carriages were ſhot in pieces and the Horſes which drew them were killed.

Septemb. 27, *and* 28.

The 27th of this Month of *September*, the whole *Chriſtian* Army remained that whole Day in Poſture of Battle before their Camp; but the Enemy not appearing, His Electoral Highneſs reſolved to paſs the *Beque*, and to march towards the River *Theyſſe*, to ſupply the Army with Proviſions, of which they began to be in want, which was done the 28th when the *Turks* paſſed the River in like manner.

And on the 29th the *Chriſtian* Army Encamped at *Olaſeb*, near the *Theyſſe*, where General *Staremberg* joyned the reſt of the Army with ſix Regiments of Horſe from *Titul*; and Orders were ſent to the *Brandenburghers*, and other Troops, that were not in the Battle, having been poſted in ſeveral Flying Camps, to joyn the Army, which being refreſhed, were ordered to march again to obſerve the Enemy in their Motion.

This is the Account which the *Turks* themſelves give of this Battle, which being finiſhed, as here deſcribed, both Armies thought it now to be the Time and Seaſon to withdraw out of the Field; and ſo the Elector withdrew out of the Field, and came to *Vienna*; by which it was judged, that no farther Action would happen for that Year; and in confirmation thereof, the *Turkiſh* Fleet retired into *Salankement*, without having done any thing of moment for this whole Year: It is not to be doubted, but that the Iſſue of this Battel turned to the Advantage of the Imperialiſts, unleſs it be that they left 26 Pieces of Cannon in the Buſhes.

The Seaſon of the Year declining now towards the Winter, and the Elector of *Saxony* withdrawn from the Field to *Vienna*, the Sultan alſo following the like Example, (which diſpleaſed not the *Turkiſh* Army) returned from *Belgrade* to *Adrianople*, on the

1696. October. the 17th of the laſt Month of *October*, where being arrived, they did not much brag or boaſt of their Succeſs, tho' to ſpeak truly, they had this Year withſtood a greater Force of the *Chriſtians*, than they had for ſeveral Years before, which they attribute in a great meaſure, to the Perſonal Valour and Bravery of the Sultan himſelf, whoſe Preſence ever gives Courage to his Army: And it is ſaid, That he kept all the time of the Battle in the Rear, with 3000 Choice Men, to kill all Perſons whom he ſhould find or meet turning their Backs, upon whom he did ſome Execution.

In all theſe Actions, both in this and ſeveral other Years, the *French* did great Services to the *Turks*, both by their Counſels, and Management of their Affairs, and eſpecially the Marquis *de Lore* was very Eminent, and Signal in all his Behaviour; tho' there was never any good Underſtanding between him and the Ambaſſador Monſieur *Chaterneau*. The French *do great Services.*

This Year was not very ſignal on either ſide for any conſiderable Exploits at Sea, or on the Watry Element: Only that the *Turks* deſtroyed three of the Emperor's Veſſels, or Gallies on the *Danube*, and took one of very good force.

After which all things remained quiet as to the Camp in *Hungary* and elſewhere, except the great Preparations which were making for the re-taking of *Aſac* from the *Moſcovites*; from whence five Gallies were about this time returned, having left eight others with the Brigantines at *Ozul*.

On the firſt Day of *November* an Ambaſſador from *Perſia* made his Entrance into *Conſtantinople*, where a great Ship four Days after was Launched, carrying 100 Guns, four whereof would ſhoot a Shot of 24 Okes, every Oke weighing two Pounds and a half, with deſign to be fitted for the Service of the following Year, with three others, which were built in the *Black-Sea*, much of the ſame bigneſs and ſized with that which was built at *Conſtantinople*, and now Launched for Entertainment of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, who ſtaid not long in that City before he proceeded to *Adrianople*, where he arrived about the 20th of *November* with a Retinue of about 150 Attendants, beſides thoſe which were appointed to ſerve him by the *Turks*, whoſe Entrance was in this manner. Novemb.

1696.

The Manner of the Perſian *Ambaſſador's Entrance.*

About an Hours diſtance from the City, at a Place called *Solak Chiſme*, the Ambaſſador was met by the Chiaus-Baſha, with about 60 of his Chiauſes, as alſo by the Lieutenant-General of the Spahees, who with a great Retinue, conducted him to his Lodgings in the Palace of the Treaſurer *Achmet Paſha*, who had Orders to aſſign him 250 or 300 Dollars a Day for his Entertainment, for the Subſiſtence of him and his Retinue: Beſides which allowance was given for the Food of an Elephant, and for Fodder for Camels and Horſes; and alſo a 100 weight of Sugar a Day for Sweetmeats for the *Perſians*, who are great lovers of that kind of Diet, with Amber and Perfumes.

The Ambaſſador having remained about 12 Days at *Adrianople*, and there well entertained, he demanded Audience of the Grand Vizier, to whom he delivered the Credentials from the King his Maſter; and having been entertain'd in Diſcourſe for about the ſpace of three Quarters of an Hour, he departed from the Grand Vizier, having only received one ſingle Veſt, which ſeemed very ſtrange, in regard it had been the Cuſtom for other Ambaſſadors from *Perſia* to receive 60, at leaſt diſpoſed between them and their Retinue.

Upon the 16th of *December*, the Ambaſſador received his Audience from the Grand Seignior, on a *Tueſday*, which is the uſual Day of the *Divan*, when it was formerly the Cuſtom to give out the Pay to the Janiſaries and Soldiers; at which time alſo there being an Appearance of the Chief Officers both Civil and Military, renders all things the more ſtately, and magnificent: But it ſeems at this time contrary to all former Cuſtoms, the Pay was not given out to the Janiſaries and Soldiers, becauſe perhaps that the principal Officers of the Army were at *Belgrade*, and upon the Frontiers of *Hungary*: Howſoever as great an Appearance there was of the Chiauſes, as had been the Cuſtom at the Audiences given to other Ambaſſadors. *Audience of the* Perſian *Ambaſſador.*

And then the Preſents were ſent unto the Grand Seignior, which conſiſted of

The

1696.

The Preſents from Perſia.

A Female Elephant covered with a Furniture of Cloth of Gold, which came down to the Foot; and on the place of the Saddle, there was a Chair of State erected, lined within with thin Silver Plates.

Beſides which, were ſix Camels, each of which carried two Sapets, or Hampers uſed in the Wars, in which were contained the Royal Preſents made up in little Bales with Coverings of Silk.

Moreover there were Ten Camels laden with *Perſian* Hangings, ſix of which were of fine Silks, and four ordinary ones, but very large, and of a more than uſual ſize: As alſo three Camels laden alſo with Cloth of Gold.

Upon the Ambaſſador's Arrival at the Grand Seignior's Seraglio, the Janiſaries were preſented as running for their Porridge, and *Pilao*, or Rice, being about Noon, which was their Dinner time, as was their Daily Practice, as was ſhown to all Ambaſſadors.

The Place reſerved for the Ambaſſador, was the ſame as was prepared for others, juſt over againſt the Grand Vizier, that the manner how that Great Miniſter diſtributes Juſtice to the People, might more plainly appear.

The Supream Vizier ſate at the ſame Table with the Ambaſſador; ſix of whoſe Gentlemen were placed at the Table with the Chimacam *Chaſſan Paſha*, and ſix others at the Table with the Aga, or General of the Janiſaries: And in regard the Companions of the Ambaſſador conſiſted of more than 40 Noble Men, the *Turks* were obliged to place them at three other Tables; leaving out the Paſha's of the Bench, and other Officers; ſo that it happened out that Day, that no Place was left for the Kadileſchers, or Lords Chief Juſtices, all being taken up for the *Perſians*.

At this time the Royal Preſents contained in the 12 Cheſts which had been carried upon the ſix Camels, were taken out, and carried by the Hands of 150 Men, as the Cuſtom of the *Turks* was: The which conſiſted of Cloth of Gold, Damasks, Sables, Boxes of Muſk and Amber, Silks, and Sattins of various Colours, Turbants, Hangings of Silk, ordinary Damasks, Bezoar-ſtones, *Perſian* and *Indian* Sattins, Bridles of Gold, a Topus or Mace of Gold, with a Sword of the like Metal: After all which Ceremonies, according to the Ancient Cuſtom, the *Perſian* Ambaſſador being upon his Return from the Preſence of the Sultan, he introduced 20 of his *Perſian* Nobles, and then he delivered the Royal Letter. The which Ceremony being over, he proceeded out from the Royal Preſence Cloathed in a Rich Veſt, like unto that which he had received at his Audience with the Great Vizier, which was like to that which they had uſually given in former times to *Chriſtian* Ambaſſadors; beſides which, the Grand Seignior preſented him with the ſame Horſe which was ſent him to carry him to his Audience with the Sultan, and Veſted 90 Gentlemen of his Retinue. After which he returned to his Lodgings which had been provided for him and with the ſame Attendance as had accompanied him to his Audience.

After ſome Days continuance at the *Ottoman* Court, it was made known by ſome of the Principal Miniſters of State, that one part of the Subſtance of the Letter was, after the Salutes and kind Wiſhes, and Congratulations at his Aſcenſion to the Sublime Throne of his Anceſtors, The King of *Perſia* made the following Requeſt to the Grand Seignior:

The King of *Perſia*'s Requeſts and Demands.

The Firſt Article demanded.

THAT *he would be pleaſed, if it were poſſible, to Remove* Bebek Suliman Bei *from the Government of* Caramania, *and to put another Prince into his place, who might prove of a more Quiet and Placid Diſpoſition than this* Bebek, *who was of a Turbulent Spirit, and gave much Moleſtation to the* Perſians; *the which the King of* Perſia, *or* Sofi, *did not doubt but to obtain from that Friendſhip which intervenes between their great Powers and Dominions. And whereas Yearly many* Perſian *Pilgrims travel to* Mecca, *where having no Place to Pray in, and make their Devotions ſeparately and apart from other Nations, they found themſelves much hindered, and incommoded in the Exerciſe of their* Mahometan *Devotions; wherefore their Deſire was, That they might have a Place aſſigned them for the Uſe of the* Perſians.

The Second Article demanded.

Farther it was deſired, *That the preheminence of Place and Superiority in the* Holy Land, *might be given to the* Armenian *Patriarch, before others of the* Chriſtian *Rite, who were Subjects to the King of* Perſia; *the which ought not to be refuſed them, in regard that they profeſs the ſame Faith with other* Chriſtians; *namely,* Greeks, *and* Franks.

But in regard that it hath never been the Cuſtom of the *Turks* to return a ſpeedy Anſwer to fair Promiſes, or Flattering Inſinuations, a term of 25 Days paſſed before an Anſwer was returned to the preceding Demands; and that was done when the Ambaſſador received Audience with the Chimacam: And then he was Invited with all his Court and Attendance, to an Entertainment with the Grand Vizier, where they met about two a Clock in the Afternoon, the Feaſt held until five a Clock, and concluded without other Preſents than good Muſick, unleſs it were of a ſtately Horſe, with an agreeable Furniture.

Some Days afterwards, he was Invited to Dinner by the Chimacam *Haſſan Paſha*, and in a Week afterwards, he was in like manner treated by the Aga, or General of the Janiſſaries, who alſo preſented the Ambaſſador with a very fine Horſe.

After all which Feaſts, and Bankets, and Preſents, the Ambaſſador thought it time to ſend his Preſents to the Grand Vizier, by his Kahya, and other Principal Officers of his Court, in number about 40.

The Perſian *Preſents to the* Turks.

There were ſix Camels, two of which were laden with Preſents, and the other four with fine Tents and Furniture for the ſame, with rich Garments: The Preſents were all carried by the Hands of 28 *Perſians*; that is to ſay, with Cloth of Gold, Damasks,. *Indian* Sattins, *Perſian* Turbants, with a rich Sword.

Moreover two ſmall Bails to the Vizier's Kahya, which contained about 25 Pieces of Sattins, Damasks, and Cloth of Gold.

In like manner the Preſents to the Chimacam *Chavan Paſha*, contained about 40 Pieces. And that which was for the Janiſſar-Aga, was not much inferiour to it.

After ſome Days ſtay, a Meſſenger was ſent from the Grand Seignior, with the Anſwer to the Letter of Buſineſs which the *Perſian* Ambaſſador had brought: Which was in this manner.

The Grand Seignior's Anſwer, to the *Perſian* Ambaſſador.

THAT Solyman Bebek *being an Inheritary Prince, could not be removed from his Government; it being againſt the* Mahometan *Law to be removed from thence; nor was it poſſible for them to Allow, or Aſſign any ſeparate Place to the* Perſians *to Pray, and Exerciſe their Devotions in, becauſe that* Mecca *is a Holy Place, and free, and common to all* Mahometans.

The Holy Land *hath alſo been Aſſigned to the Standard-Bearer* Omer, *as alſo to the* Franks; *the which having not been much Eſteemed, or ſet by in the Time of* Muſtapha Paſha *Vizier, the Preheminence of that Place was given as a Law to the* Franks, *which was ſo ſolemnly given, that it could not be taken away, Corrupted, or Violated.*

The Perſians *depart.*

Five or ſix Days afterwards the Ambaſſador went to the Vizier to take his Letter, which being delivered to him, about three or four Days afterwards the Vizier ſent him, by Order of the Grand Seignior, 50 Bags, or Purſes of Money, by the Chiaus-Baſha; ten Days after which, he departed from *Adrianople*, and went to *Conſtantinople*, taking 60 Days Journey within the Dominion of the *Ottomans*, accounting *Tocat* in *Meſopotamia*, and other Parts; the which was ſo divided, that a *Perſian* Merchant coming to die within that Dominion, his Goods may be challenged by his Relations, and conveyed away to their Inheritance.

The *Perſian* Ambaſſador had ſtill another Requeſt to make, in reſpect to his Nation.

That the Perſian *Subjects who Inhabit at* Balata *in* Conſtantinople, *wanting a Place for their Devotions, may have that Place reſtored to them for their Prayers, which was formerly belonging to the* Armenians.

The which Requeſt was granted to them before the Departure of the Ambaſſador,

1696. with Power to rebuild the ſame again in what ſhould be wanting; the which was taken away ſoon after the Departure of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador from *Conſtantinople*. And tho' the *Armenian* Commiſſary endeavoured to proceed, and made his Complaints at *Adrianople*, againſt the Impediments he had found; yet no Remedy was found, but an end was put to all the Work, and the Workmen deſiſted from all other Proceedings in that Building.

And here it may be enquired, How it came to paſs that ſo many Embaſſies were ſent from *Perſia* to the *Turks* ſucceſſively, one after the other? The Cauſe of which is evident from the Succeſſion of the Three Sultans one after the other; namely, *Solyman*, *Achmet*, and *Muſtapha*, who now Reigns; to every one of which, as it is the conſtant Cuſtom for the *Perſians* to ſend an Ambaſſador; ſo on the other ſide, on the ſame Occaſion, it is for the *Turks* to ſend unto the *Perſians*.

Septemb. Towards the end of this Month, the Elector of *Saxony* returned to *Vienna*, which was an evident Demonſtration, that there would be no farther Action in *Hungary* for this Year; and at the ſame time the *Turkiſh* Fleet retired to a Bay near *Salankement*, without having done any great Damage.

The *Perſians*, as we have ſaid, being departed, and on their way homewards; the Sultan conſidered in what manner he might moſt conveniently and readily pay his Army both of Horſe and Foot; for which important Service Money did not readily offer; wherefore to ſupply that Want, the Grand Seignior ſent for the Teſterdar, or Treaſurer, to come to his Preſence, but he not being able to appear with ready Money in Hand, the Teſterdar could ſcarce make a ſhift to ſave his Head; tho' with great labour and difficulty he ſatisfied the Spahee's, charging them to return timely at the beginning of the next Year, to follow him to the Wars: And in the mean time Commiſſaries were ſent from all Parts to collect and gather all the Taxes which had been laid on the People in all parts, whether in *Europe* or *Aſia*, within the *Ottoman* Empire, as likewiſe what Revenue was ariſing to the Grand Seignior from Offices, Cuſtoms, Taxes, *&c.* which are uſually ſold every Month, eſpecially in the Month of *March* over all the Empire, which commonly brings in ſeveral Millions: So that the Teſterdar, or Treaſurer, was forced to employ Spies to adviſe him where the Money was, and in whoſe Coffers, which yielded great Sums for ſupply of the Grand Seignior's Occaſions.

Theſe things being over, great Preparations were making for the following Campaign, both by Sea and Land; ſeveral half Gallies were already built for the *Black-Sea*, Commanded by *Derviſh Ogli Bei* of *Smyrna*. The Fleet under the Command of *Mezzo Morto*, who was Captain-Paſha, conſiſted of 25 Sail of Men of War, all of them being the Grand Seignior's own Ships, and ſuch as being joyned with thoſe of *Barbary*, would be too ſtrong a Match for the *Venetians*. 1696.

This whole Winter the Grand Seignior paſſed at *Adrianople*, where after the Example of his Father, he delighted much in Hunting. Howſoever as the Year came on, he neglected not the thoughts of War, nor the Preparations for the enſuing Year; but as yet the Scheme for the War was not deſigned nor laid.

Anno 1697.

THE Embroils in *Aſia* with the beginning of this Year ſeemed to be a little quieted, gave hopes to the *Turks*, that *Baſora* would ſhortly be reſtored to them. 1697.

'Twas thought at this time, that the Marquis *de Lore* making little or no ſhow at *Adrianople*, being then in Quality of Envoy Extraordinary, would follow the Camp for the enſuing Campaign; but as to the Ambaſſador *Caſtelneuf*, he reſolved to remain at *Adrianople*, acting for the Affairs of their King and Nation, between whom and the Marquis appeared no good underſtanding.

The Friendſhip ſtill continued, and ſeemed to increaſe between the *French* and the *Turks*, till the latter began to be ſomething doubtful of them, upon the Reports and Rumours which flew about, That the *French* were buſied in making a General Peace with all the Allies; tho' they at firſt confidently denied it to the *Turks*, who notwithſtanding grew Jealous of them; and from that time their Mutual Friendſhip began much to abate.

The Tumults in *Aſia* ſtill continued; to quiet which, and to carry on the War in *Hungary*, the *Turks* prepared to enter into *Tranſylvania*, to which end they daily Liſted and Enrolled New Spahee's and Janiſaries in all the Provinces of *Aſia*, iſſuing forth very rigorous Orders, That the Militia in all thoſe Parts ſhould this Year appear early in the Field; and greater Preparations were making for this Year, than for a long time before, by reaſon that the

Sultan

1697.

Sultan out of his Glory and Pride, reſolved to make his utmoſt Effort this Year on *Hungary*, and *Tranſylvania*, and accordingly to win all back again, and if not to put an end to the War, to come to an Honourable Accommodation of Peace, which the *Turks* were ſenſible could not be avoided, in caſe they ſhould receive any Blow, or ſuddain Foyl the next Year from the *Chriſtians*.

This the Ambaſſadors of *England* and *Holland* ſo plainly foreſaw, that they lay upon the watch to obſerve all the Inclinations and Motions of the *Turks*; and both ſides now eſteeming themſelves upon the Criſis, laboured all that was poſſible to bring things to their deſired Iſſue; when daily Spahees and Commiſſaries were employed to gather and collect Sums of Money in all the *Aſiatick* Provinces, were obſerved to paſs the *Boſphorus*, and other Seas, for Service of the War; of which the *Tartars* being informed, wrote to the Sultan to ſend them Money to ſupply their Occaſions againſt the *Moſcovites*, of whom they were more affraid than of the *Polanders*. Howſoever the *Turks* being Headed by ſo Brave a Sultan as this preſent Grand Seignior, as they thought, did not ſeem to fear any thing, but to carry all before them, which ſo elevated them to ſuch a heighth of Pride and Inſolence, that the Mediators were of an Opinion, That until a conſiderable Blow were given to the *Turks*, it would be impoſſible to reduce them to any Terms of Reaſon and Moderation.

Preparations for the Turkiſh *Fleet.*

In which Humour they made Preparations for the following Year both by Sea and Land: That for the Sea deſigned for the *Euxine*, was chiefly provided at a Port called *Sinap*, in the Country of *Trabeſonda*, where they alſo were caſting many great and heavy Cannon: And into the Arſenal of *Conſtantinople*, were in this Month of *January* 120 Cannon more brought in and lodged there.

But what other Sultans have not done, this hath had the Ambition to perform; that is, under his own Name all the Pieces of Gold and Silver ſhould paſs, within his Empire; the like of which was never known in any other Country, unleſs in *England* under the Reign of King *William* III, and the Great. I cannot ſay that all the Gold and Silver within the *Turkiſh* Dominions was brought into the Mint to be new Coined, but it is certainly reported, that a great part thereof was; to which the five Sol Pieces made by the *French*, *Italians*, and other Nations, greatly helped and contributed, of which there had been many Millions Imported in 15 Years, from 65 to 80, which were very beneficial to the Coynage of thoſe Countries.

Alteration of the Coyn in Turky.

1697.

It was alſo farther commanded, That all thoſe who had any *Venetian* Zechins, ſhould bring them to the Mint, there to be new ſtamped with the Letters of this Sultan's Name, and there to be changed with the old ones of *Venice*, or otherwiſe changed for Silver, at the rate of two Dollars and a half *per* Zechin: Likewiſe all the *Lion* Dollars, commonly imported by the *Dutch* with the Figure of a Lion thereupon, were order'd to be brought into the Exchequer, where the Figure of the Lion being beaten out with the Hammer, the *Turkiſh* Impreſſion with the Name of the Sultan, was to be fixed in the place thereof: To bear the Charges of this new Coyning, a quarter of a Dram of Silver was taken from every Lion-Dollar, and then it was put into the Fire, where it was Hammered again, and ſome *Chriſtian* Letters on the ſide thereof were permitted to remain, that thereby it might appear, that the ſame were reformed Dollars, and ſuch as came from the *Chriſtians*; and that for the Alterations thereof, the *Turkiſh* Workmen were not to be blamed; for which Work the *Turks*, *Grecians*, *Armenians*, and *Jewiſh* Workmen, had ſo much allowed them by the Day, according to their Agreement.

About this time, being the Month of *February*, Advices were brought frequently to the Sultan then at *Adrianople*, from the *Tartars*, That the *Moſcovites* were fully reſolved this Year to fall down by Sea upon *Caffa*; which being believed, and ſo expected, very ſtrict and ſevere Orders were given by the *Turks*, to provide and equip 80 Frigats, with 15 Gallies, and many other Tranſport-Ships, to carry the Militia into the *Black-Sea*, to hinder the Deſcent, or Landing of the *Moſcovites*; which Report gave great Fears and Apprehenſions to the *Turks*, who thereupon took different Reſolutions and Meaſures in their Affairs.

Beſides the Preparations for the *Black-Sea*, there were others made for the *Euxine*, or *White-Sea*, where *Mezzo Morto* was appointed Captain-Paſha, or General againſt the *Venetians*, being accounted a Man of great Courage, and Conduct, at which time there was building a Ship of an immenſe bigneſs, which had been already many Months upon the Stocks, being built by *French* and *Greek* Maſters, the like of which, that is ſo large, had never been built in that Arſenal; for it could carry more than 600 Soldiers, beſides Seamen, and Levents; the which being put into ſome tolerable condition of readineſs to

Maritime Preparations for the Year 1697.

Sail, the Sultan to ſhow his Greatneſs at Sea, as well as at Land, to the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, (who remained behind, after the great Embaſſy) iſſued out his Commands to three Paſha's, whom he had made Generals, to equip and fit themſelves bravely.

The firſt was *Mezzo Morto*, who was to Engage the *Venetian* Fleet at Sea, and to return Victorious; and in caſe they did, he aſſured them, that they ſhould gain his ſingular Grace and Favour; and as an evidence thereof, he beſtowed upon each of them a very rich Coſtan, or Veſt, richly lined with Sables.

The Second was alſo a Paſha Vice-Admiral, deſigned againſt the *Moſcovites*.

The third was alſo a Paſha, in Quality of a Rear-Admiral, who was to mount the *Danube*, and engage againſt the Imperial Fleet, whereſoever they ſhould encounter them, either about *Belgrade*, or *Buda*, or any other Parts of the *Danube*.

After the Sultan had paſſed this Ceremony, he gave leave to his Generals to depart, and ſpeaking very kindly and graciouſly to them, he encouraged them to put themſelves in order for their Reſpective Voyages: So that now it was very apparent, that tho' the *Turks* would be much weaker this Year by Land, than they were the laſt, yet they would be far ſtronger by Sea, having *Mezzo Morto* for their Admiral, and every thing in their ſeveral Fleets diſpoſed for Maritime and Naval Engagements; the Succeſs of which, we may ſhortly hear in the courſe of thoſe Months which are proper for Actions of the Sea.

But before we proceed ſo far, it may be pertinent to our Buſineſs to recount how the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Turkiſh* Court loſt a Law-Suit which he had with a certain *Jew* at *Gran Cairo*, to his great Mortification; for ſuppoſing that he was able to avail in all Points, where his Maſter's Intereſt was concerned; he was highly troubled to find himſelf diſappointed in a Buſineſs at *Gran Cairo*, relating to ſo inconſiderable a Perſon as a *Jew*. The Matter was in this manner.

A Story of the Conſul and a Jew *at* Gran Cairo.

We muſt know, that the *Jews* in *Egypt* have commonly very great Power, by reaſon that every Paſha of *Gran Cairo*, who is the greateſt Beglerbey in all the Empire, when he enters upon that Office, he commonly takes with him from *Conſtantinople*, ſome Subtle *Jew*, who is a Man of great Riches, to manage the vaſt Revenue of that Province; which ſets him up ſo high, that he is above the reach of all the Grandees of the Empire, and is Honoured and Reverenced as the *Dominus Fac totum*, or as *Joſeph* in the Land of *Egypt*.

The *French* Nation had at that time a Conſul in *Cairo*, who thought himſelf a Match for the *Jew*; who on the other ſide eſteemed himſelf higher than all the *Chriſtians*, or Beyes, or Agaw's of *Egypt*; and conſequently comported himſelf with Neglect and Diſeſteem towards the *French* Conſul, which he not being able to ſupport, made his Complaints to the *French* Ambaſſador at *Adrianople*, againſt the Inſolence of a *Jew*, of which the Conſul gave a moſt Paſſionate Report to Monſieur *de Chateauneuf*, then Ambaſſador for the *French* King at the Port; where he ſo managed the Buſineſs, that a Chiaus was ſent for to fetch the *Jew* from *Cairo*, to the Divan at *Adrianople*; who accordingly taking this long Journey, appeared in Judgment before the Grand Vizier.

This *Jew* had the Report amongſt all People, of being a Perſon very Judicious, Prudent, and of a patient Temper; and ſince it was the Office of the Ambaſſador to appear againſt this *Jew* in Judgment before the Grand Vizier, the *Jew* behaved himſelf with ſo much Modeſty, and Prudence, that he gave unto all the Standers by, ſome deep Impreſſions of his Underſtanding and Innocence, and that he had been injured by the *French* Conſul at *Cairo*, of whoſe Honeſty and Wiſdom, the World in thoſe Parts, had not conceived any high Opinion, nor yet of the *French* Nation: But that depending too much on their great Friendſhip with the *Turks*, they preſumed to inſult over a People, which had not for ſome Ages been accuſtomed to hard Uſages from *Chriſtian* Nations. Notwithſtanding all which, and that the Grand Vizier had patiently underſtood the Pleadings on both ſides, and was as well poſſeſſed with the Cabals of the *French* Nation, yet he gave Orders to the Chiaus-Baſhee to take the *Jew* into Arreſt; the which was ſaid to have been done out of Policy by the Vizier, to cool, and moderate the Anger of the Ambaſſador, who plainly declared, *That unleſs his Maſter, the King, had ſatisfaction in this particular, he was commanded to retire back into* France, *and to bring with him all the* French *Merchants, and all others of that Nation, into their own Country*.

It not being now a time for the *Turks* to Quarrel with the *French*, or to create more Enemies than they have already, they took theſe Menaces with an unaccuſtomed Patience, tho' the Great Officers being offended hereat, vented an abundance of Reproaches againſt the *French*

1697. Nation; only the Grand Vizier uſing his accuſtomed Patience, ſaid, *That Juſtice could never do Injury to any, for that their Law, and the Alcboran, commanded it ſo to be done.*

And in this manner this Difference paſſed over, with ſome Advantage to the *French*, who had obliged ſo great a Perſon as the *Jew*, who is the Negotiator of all the Affairs of *Egypt*, to leave his Employment to attend the Summons of the *French* Ambaſſador at ſuch a diſtance as it is from *Gran Cairo* to *Adrianople*: Howſoever after all this, the *French* Nation did not ſeem to be fully ſatisfied, becauſe that the Vizier after all ſhewed ſome Reſpect to the *Jew*, beſtowing upon him a Coſtan, or Veſt of Favour and Honour, declaring himſelf in favour of the *Jew*, that he had been falſely accuſed; and injuriouſly drawn away from the Grand Seignior's Service. To repair which Affront and Neglect to the King of *France*, a Demand was made by the Ambaſſador, That Licenſe might be given to Repair and Rebuild the Cathedral Church in *Galata*, which had for above 500 Years remained in the *Chriſtian* Hands, and laſtly had been Repaired and Rebuilt at the Charges of the Moſt Serene Republick of *Venice*, ſoon after the laſt War which they had with the *Turks* in *Candia*; but now the *French* depending on the great Services they had done the *Turks*, ſeized on the Church, which had been the Cathedral of that Dioceſe, and affixed the Arms of *France* upon the Gates thereof; at which the *Venetians* being greatly offended, who were the Patrons thereof, and had many Years paſt purchaſed the Advowſon from the *Turks*, made their Complaints to the Grand Vizier of the Injuſtice which had been done them: Upon which, the Vizier reſolving to end the Controverſie between the *Chriſtians*, ſeized the Church of Saint *Francis* or *Franciſco*, in *Galata*, and Converted it into a *Turkiſh* Moſch; and in ſuch like manner commonly end all the Controverſies which *Chriſtians* have between themſelves, that are referred to, or to be termined by, the *Turks*.

The Ceremony which the *Turks* uſed in turning the *Chriſtian* Church into a Moſch, was by a Command from the Sultan to the Chimacam, to enter the Church with 200 Men of his Followers, together with a good Number of their Imaums, who began at their firſt Entry into the Church, to ſing with a loud Voice, the Tune and Song called *Selm* which is a Hymn extracted out of the Alcoran, to the Praiſe and Glory of God; the which cauſed great Sadneſs in the Hearts and Eyes of many good *Chriſtians* in *Galata*; which had not been done, as many *Turks* confeſs, had not the *French* pretended a Right to that Church; with which they in a ſhort time were forced to ſwallow two very bitter Pills, to the Diſhonour of *France*, and Prejudice to the *Chriſtian* Cauſe. 1697.

March. Towards the end of the Month of *March*, the Sultan equipped out ſeven great Men of War of 50 and 60 Pieces of Cannon each, and all armed with 500 Levents, or ſo many Sea-Soldiers apiece; beſides which there were 14 light Gallies, with 25 Frigats, and all accompanied with divers Saiches laden with Proviſions, every one of which will carry as much as 200 Carts, which are laden with Biskets, Meal, and all ſorts of other Ammunition.

Whilſt theſe things were in Action, the *French* Ambaſſador, Monſieur *de Chateaneuf*, offered this Summer to make his Campaign with the Grand Seignior in *Hungary* againſt the Emperor, with which the *Turks* were well enough pleaſed, in regard they eſteemed this Ambaſſador to be a Man of great Wiſdom and Experience.

Tekely likewiſe about this time was preparing himſelf to accompany the Vizier to the War in *Hungary*, the which ſome were of an Opinion, That it would be of good conſequence to the Sultan; upon which account the Vizier conceived a great eſteem for him; and was deſirous to ſee the good Effects of all thoſe Promiſes, which *Tekely*'s Princeſs had made to him.

This Lady of *Tekely* went unto, and returned from *Adrianople*, and was obſerved to be of an Humour very Aſſiduous, Diligent, and Malitious againſt the Imperialiſts, but very kind and obliging towards the *French*, but moſt eſpecially to Monſieur *de Laurent*, who the laſt Year was with the Sultan in the Campaign of *Hungary*, and was often invited by *Tekely*'s Lady, and by Count *Tekely* himſelf, to take a Dinner, or a Supper, or ſome other Repaſt with them, at which Monſieur *de Laurent* was often welcomed, and highly Treated.

A Friend of mine once acquainted me, That having a Curioſity to ſee the Wife, or Princeſs of *Tekely*, he had the Fortune to hear Maſs with her at the *Capuckin*'s Church at *Galata*, where well obſerving her Phyſiognomy, it appeared very Ill-favour'd, Old, and Ugly: She profeſſes to be a *Roman Catholick*, of which ſhe boaſts to many People, and that her Husband hath divers Correſpondents almoſt in every Regiment belonging to the Imperial Army, from whom he hath all the Correſpondencies imaginable with the Principal

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pal Commanders both of Horſe and Foot, by means of which nothing paſſes, but what he hath a good and perfect Account of, from all parts of the Imperial Army.

The Army which was formed and drawn up againſt the *Moſcovites*, conſiſted for the moſt part of Spahee's from *Anatolia*, and of a ſort of a Militia of *Paſcialagio*, belonging to *Siliſtra*, of which they reckoned about 35000 Men, beſides *Tartars*.

The Reputation of this preſent Sultan was ſo great, that in all Parts both of *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, he was eſteemed the moſt Fortunate of all the Sultans; for that in the ſpace of two Years only appearing in the Wars, he had ſhowed ſo much Courage and good Conduct, that he had always beaten the *Germans*; that is to ſay, when he went himſelf in Perſon to the Wars; for which cauſe he was highly Eſteemed, Honoured, and Obeyed.

But as to the Rebels in *Aſia*, they drew themſelves up very formidably in the Field, expecting to encounter the Army of the Port, and to give them Battel.

The great Power and Nerve of the *Ottoman* Force is at preſent in *Aſia*, that of the *Turk-men*, who are a ſort of People well mounted on very ſtrong and Warlike Horſes, Brave, and Valiant, and well Exerciſed in the Lance, and Bow; ſo that there was great expectation when ſome Feats of Arms would begin: And on the other ſide of *Anatolia*, they began to Tranſport over their Militia, being deſigned early this Year againſt the *Moſcovites*, after which the Actions in *Hungary* were to begin.

The Greek *Patriarch a Raſh Man.*

But before that ſomething may be diſcourſed in relation to the preſent State of the *Greek* Church, the Patriarch of which was very Froward and Paſſionate, ready to act any thing which came into his Head, without conſideration of the Prejudice which might reſult thereby: And accordingly having a Quarrel with the Metropolite, or Biſhop of *Salonica*, he deprived him of his Title and Office, on occaſion of ſome Diſobedience to certain Commands, to which the Patriarch would oblige him; but the Biſhop not being able to ſupport the ſame, out of a Madneſs, and Fury, and tranſport of Rage, he made a Voyage from *Salonica* to the Grand Vizier, to whom he offered 15 Purſes, on condition, That in Deſpight of the Patriarch he might be re-eſtabliſhed again in his Dioceſe of *Salonica*, or *Theſſalonica*: And to incline the Vizier the better hereunto, he demonſtrated that hereby the Grand Seignior in this time of War might gain great Advantages; For that in caſe the Vizier would accept of theſe 15 Purſes, it might be an Example to other Metropolites, to offer ſome 20, ſome 15, and others 10, according to the Value, and Riches of the Dioceſe; the which Propoſition much pleaſed the Sultan, having a good pretence thereby to chargo all the Metropolites, or Biſhops; the which being many in the *Greek* Church, brought a conſiderable Sum to the Grand Seignior.

The *Greek* Patriarch hearing hereof, made his Journey to *Adrianople*, there to make his Complaints againſt this hard Uſage offered to the *Greek* Church and Nation; the which irritated very much the Anger of the *Moſcovites* againſt the *Turks*: And tho' the *Moſcovites* did greatly at this time threaten *Caffa*, and give Terrour and Affrightment ſo far as to *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, yet the Sultan did not neglect the Thoughts and Contrivances of carrying forward his War in *Hungary*, with as little Expence as was poſſible, all Charges being retrenched; amongſt which one particular, was that of *Tekely*, to whom no more than five Dollars were allowed a Day, that was for the Maintenance of his Lady, Servants, Horſes, and other Parts of his Epuipage; only to help them they gave a Liberty, or Licenſe to ſell Wine, which was at that time prohibited: And here it was that he ſet up his Wine-Sellar within the *Greek* Liberties, near to the Privileges of the Patriarchate, where he continued to exerciſe the Trade of ſelling Wine with very good Benefit and Advantage; without which, the five Dollars *per* Day could not have yielded to him and Family half his Subſiſtence.

Tekely's *Poor State and Condition.*

April.

And being now entered into the Month of *April*, four of the Men of *War* belonging to *Barbary*, arrived before the Arſenal of *Galata*, where other Men of War remained alſo at an Anchor, and frequently fired their Cannon, with a *Chi viva* at every Shot, or to the Fortune of the Fortunate Sultan.

On this occaſion, the *Barbarouſes* brought their uſual Preſents, as accuſtomary to the Sultan, and deſigned to remain in the Port until the Departure of the Fleet prepared againſt the *Venetians*, conſiſting of 23 Men of Mar, ſhould be in a readineſs to Sail; And thus the Sultan being reſolved to carry on the War both by Sea and Land, did neither reſt Day nor Night, but buſied himſelf in the proving of his Cannon, and making his Warlike Preparations with diligence, was ſo pleaſing to the People, that never was any Sultan ſo acceptable to the Soldiery, as was this *Muſtapha*, and the

more

1697. more highly was he eſteemed, in regard he was a great Lover of Juſtice, which is the Prime Ornament of Emperors, and of the higheſt Monarchs: But notwithſtanding all the Care of this Grand Seignior, and the Preparations he made for the War of the following Year, yet his Force neither by Sea nor Land, did amount unto the Strength of that of the preceding Year; by reaſon the Rebels in *Aſia* becoming more powerful, a Proclamation was iſſued forth, *That none ſhould Tranſport themſelves out of* Aſia *into* Europe, *on Penalty of having their Houſes demoliſhed, and their Poſſeſſions of* Timar *and* Ziamet *to be all Ruined and Deſtroyed, with all the Lands they held of the Sultan.* With which Menaces the Rebels, who were Soldiers, were ſo incenſed, that ſuch as they took for Priſoners, they did not Kill, but what was worſe, they cut off their Noſes and Ears, and in that Condition they ſent them to the Port, that therewith they might make a report of their Strength and Power.

Farther, there was a Report, That theſe Rebels (as formerly it had been done) demanded the Life of the Valide Soltana, which is the Queen Mother, and whereof there have been two Examples in former Times, and of one *Mulcbi Kadun*, a great Favourite, whom they cut in Pieces, by reaſon that they would not endure the Government nor Counſel of Women; ſuffering howſoever the Queen Mother to live, becauſe ſhe did not make Intrigues in the Affairs of State: Of which the *Aſian* Soldiers being put in mind, and alſo the *Europeans* of their Tumults, let us expect to ſee the Iſſue of theſe Tragedies.

The Tumults in *Aſia* gave great Diſquiets to the Affairs of the *Turks* in *Europe*, and retarded all things, or put them backward, and all in expectation of Succours from the *Levant*, but none coming, the Sultan reſolved howſoever to begin his March, and to that end appointed the Days thereof, the ſeveral Camps, and the Days of their Movements, it being determined to remain nine Days under the City of *Philippapolis*, and on the 4th of *July* to paſs *Sophia*, and to make ſeven Days March thereof, where having fixed their Tents for ſome Days, then to proceed for *Niſſa*, and there alſo to halt for ſome Days; all which was done with ſuch ſlowneſs, as might give time to the *Aſian* Troops to overtake the main Body of the Army; the which not appearing, the Sultan received divers Letters from the Paſha of *Boſnia*, begging with great Inſtances that he might have Relief and Succours ſent to him, whereby to raiſe the Siege of *Bihatz*, which the *Imperialiſts* had cloſely begirt on all ſides: Whereupon the Sultan diſpatched away thoſe few Paſha's which he had with him, and all the Forces near *Belgrade*, and alſo all the *Arnauts*, and all for the Succours and Relief of *Bihatz*. 1697.

The *Turks* found themſelves much more Weak than they had been the Year before, and no appearance of Recruits from *Aſia*, nor any hopes of quieting the Troubles in thoſe Countries, whereupon the Grand Seignior, finding himſelf greatly Diſtreſſed, he very urgently ſent his Imperial Commands from his Camp before *Philippopolis*, to thoſe Paſha's who were appointed to attend and watch the Motion of thoſe Rebels, commanding them, that (laying aſide all Excuſes, they ſhould in the *Divell's* Name, leave thoſe Rebels to their own Imaginations, and ſend him five of thoſe Paſha's with 300 Horſe a piece, in the lieu of thoſe which he formerly diſpatched for thoſe Parts; namely, the Paſha of *Damaſcus*, call'd *Muſtapha Paſha*, who had been the late Vizier; the Paſha of *Aleppo*, *Oſman*; the Paſha of *Sebaſte*, *Uſuf Paſha*; the Paſha of *Diarbekir*, *Muſtapha Paſha*; and the Paſha of *Adana*, call'd *Fuſli Paſha*; but when theſe might be expected from ſo long a Journey, was very uncertain; ſo that the *Turks* themſelves were very doubtful of the Event and Succeſſes of this Year; for that all the Power which the *Turks* could make up, could not amount unto above 40000 Men, with Horſe and Foot.

Things remaining in this poſture, it was the Opinion of moſt People, That the Sultan would not go this Year to the War, but only in appearance, and that he would only be upon the Defenſive, avoiding all Fights and Encounters in the Field. And as to the *Moſcovites*, the Reports were various, and full of uncertainty.

All this time the Sultan remained at *Sophia*, chearful, and much pleaſed to underſtand that the *Polanders* had declared the Prince of *Conti* for their King, which could not but produce a Peace with that Kingdom, and an Union with that Crown; which tho' not true, yet it gave the *Turks* hopes of an Addition of 30000 *Coruzzi* unto their Forces againſt the *Germans*; who as they did aſſault *Tokay* the laſt Year with good Succeſs, ſo they were full of hopes to do the like for this alſo, with the Poſſeſſion of ſeveral other Caſtles and Fortreſſes: But then it was thought neceſſary that *Tekely* ſhould be ſent to them with Title of King of *Hungary*; which when the Sultan underſtood, with the good Tydings, That *Bihatz* did bravely defend it ſelf, with Aſſurances of conſerving the ſame againſt all Enemies, it was eſteemed News of ſuch Importance, that the Grand Seignior gave Commands to the Grand Vizier, to Write the News into all Parts, and particularly unto *Tekely*, That the Grand Seignior had declared him King of *Hungary*, for which the Sultan had ſent him a Commiſſion, with a Letter, the Superſcription of which was, *Orla Maggiar Croli*, which ſignifies in the *Hungarian* Language, *To the King of* Hungary: To which were added alſo ſome Purſes of Money for defraying the Charges of his Journey, and adorning his Equipage.

Tekely's *Afflictions.*

This Command came very unfortunately at this time for *Tekely*, who was then grievouſly afflicted with the Gout, and preparing, for Recovery of his Health, to paſs over to the Baths, and Medicinal Waters of *Pruſia*, or *Bruſcia*, which fall from that Mountain, which was anciently called, *Mount Olympus*: But what was worſe, the Chiauſes came furiouſly upon him at *Pruſia*, and without Compaſſion, Complement, or good Manners, threw him into a Carr like a Log to make him a King, without any Reſpect, which was moſt miſerable for him; for he had not only the Gout, but had a Paralytical Diſtemper upon him, ſo as that he was ſeized with a Palſie in his Head, Neck and Arms: And in this manner he was carried Day and Night in a Waggon, until he came unto the ſight of the Sultan.

All this time the Sultan remained at *Sophia*, whilſt the Army, or greateſt part thereof, marched towards *Belgrade*, and ſome into *Boſnia*; and having received ſome Advices out of *Aſia*, That the Rebels of that Country, were inclinable to a Submiſſion, and made ſome Evidences as if they intended to return to their Duty and Obedience: The Sultan became very much pleaſed, and put himſelf that time into an excellent Humour, and thereupon was induced to diſpatch ſeveral Aga's into *Anatolia*, with Letters written under his own Hand, in an Humble and Careſſing Style, not uſual for any Sultan before that time to Write, Swearing,

In the firſt place, *To grant Pardon to all, and a general Amneſty to ſuch, as ſhould return to their Duty of Obedience.*

Secondly he ſwore, *That he would do Juſtice to all in their Juſt Demands and Pretenſions.*

Thirdly, *That he would give every Man ſatisfaction.*

Fourthly, *That he would damniſie no Man either in his Goods, or Eſtate, or Life; but on the contrary reward every Man according to his Deſerts, provided that they became Obedient, and Deſerted the Party of the Malecontented Beys, or Paſha's, againſt whom are ſo many Examples of God's Vengeance and Juſtice: Of which he adviſed them well to conſider before they entered into a March, which would conduct them to his Terrible and Affrighting Preſence; which if they did not accept and do, he Swore, That he would make up a Peace with the* Chriſtians, *and March in Perſon into* Anatolia, *there to take Vengeance upon them for their Offences, and extirpate the whole Race of thoſe who have taken up Arms againſt the Muſſulman Cauſe; for which, by the Laws of the Alcoran, they are to Die, and without Mercy to ſuffer Death.*

This News being carried to the hearing of the Male-contents, about 10000 of them Deſerted the Cauſe, and proceeded to paſs over from *Anatolia* into *Europe*, and without any delay took the neareſt way to reach and overtake the Army of the Sultan; to haſten which, the Grand Seignior wrote Commands to the Chimacam, and Boſtangibaſhi, to prepare Quarters for them in the Imperial Gardens and Houſes as they paſſed, and that they ſhould in all their Marches, want nothing of Refreſhments, nor thoſe who are unprovided want Arms, or any other thing neceſſary for the War; amongſt which there were 3000 Boſtangees fitted out for the War, from the Grand Seignior's Seraglio: And ſuch Rigorous Courſes were ſpread over all the Countries of the *Leſſer Aſia*, that thoſe Laws and Commands of the Sultan being put into execution, it was believed impoſſible for any Embroils, or Seditions, for ever after to ariſe in the *Leſſer Aſia*, tho' they could not but be ſometimes apprehenſive of Troubles from *Perſia*; for ſince the time that this King was Crowned, he was always eſteemed a Troubleſome and a Dangerous Enemy to the *Turks*; for tho' he was not wanting in his Courtſhips, and Embaſſies to the *Ottoman* Court, as we have ſeen, yet he was ſtill encouraging the *Georgians*, and the *Perſians* in the Parts of *Baſora*, to be troubleſome to the *Turks*.

August.

The Sultan ſtill remained at *Sophia*, where having Advices from the Frontiers, he diſpatched away a Capugibaſhee to his Mother the Valide Soltana, giving her to underſtand, That his Forces had fallen upon a Body of *Germans*, which he had routed;

1697. ed; and taken the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Titul*, in which he had put all the Garriſon to the Sword; and did not doubt, but ſpeedily to enter into *Tranſylvania*; from whence he promiſed to ſend his Mother a Preſent of ſome fine Young Ladies to attend, and wait upon her, and to be conducted by ſome of thoſe Black Eunuchs, which were attending at that time upon his Perſon.

After ſuch Vapours and Boaſtings as theſe, which the Sultan expreſſed to his Mother, it was not judged to be longer Honourable for the Grand Seignior to remain at *Sophia*, a place ſo far diſtant from the *Ottoman* Camp in *Hungary*; whereupon marching with the Main Body of his Army, ſlowly, and in good Order, Meſſengers were ſent unto *Sarchan Paſha*, then at *Belgrade*, who was then the General, and eſteemed an excellent Soldier, and a Couragious Man, and well acquainted with the Countries about thoſe Confines, to haſten his March to meet the *German* Army: And ſo alſo the Sultan followed, and arrived in good time to joyn the Main Body of the Front about *Titul*. In the Relation of which Battel, there were two Accounts ſent from *Conſtantinople*; one of the 29th of *October*, and another of the 5th of *November*.

The Battle of the Tibiſcus.

Such as were on this ſide of the *Tibiſcus*, and ſaw the Battel, report, That the Rout conſiſted only of ſuch, as with great difficulty paſſed the *Tibiſcus* by their Swimming, and they report, That the *Turks* could never imagine, that it was poſſible for the *Imperialiſts* ſo ſoon to Attack them, as that Day they did; much leſs that it was poſſible for the Grand Vizier to paſs his Cannon, Ammunition, Proviſions, with all the Militia of Janiſaries over that Bridge, and thence to proceed to *Segedin*, and ſo into *Tranſylvania*, and into the *Upper Hungary*.

In the mean time the *Imperialiſts* kept on their March to meet the *Turks*, and having prepared their Trenches, they fortified themſelves therein, which cauſed the Grand Vizier to aſſemble all his Paſha's, which were to the Number of 15, leaving the Sultan on the other ſide of the Water, with a Body of Spahee's, and Siliſhars, which are a ſort of Spahees belonging to the Court, together with the Solakbaſſees, who are a ſort of Pages alſo belonging to the Court; but the Taraklee Spahees, who are *Timars* and *Zaims*, followed the Paſha of their own Province and Country; of which making an Account of their Numbers, they calculated them to amount unto 25000, all Expert Men, who managed their Arms to a Miracle, but were in this Battle either Killed, or Drowned. 1697.

The *Arnauts* obſerving the *German* Army to be marching to Attack them, were the firſt who endeavoured to paſs the Bridge, and to put themſelves to Flight:

The Janiſaries alſo had the like Intentions to do the ſame, ſaying, *That they had been Abandoned and Deſerted by the Spahees*: And as they approached near to the Bridge, the Grand Vizier obſerving a Diſpoſition in the *Arnauts* to paſs the Bridge, and fly, he aſſembled a Body of his own Aga's together, intending therewith to hinder and prevent the Flight, which was done by killing a great Number of them.

The *Arnauts* finding themſelves ſo ill Treated, they put themſelves into a Mutiny, or rather into a Rebellion againſt the Grand Vizier, and killed him: After which ſome Thouſands of the Spahee's placing themſelves on the other ſide of the Bridge, with their Swords drawn in their Hands, they defended the Bridge, and ſuffered none to paſs over it.

By this time the *Imperialiſts* having put themſelves into good Order of Battel, furiouſly Attacked the *Turks* on all ſides: At the firſt Charge the *Turks* made ſome Reſiſtance, but at the ſecond they began to give way; and obſerving the great Deſtruction, and Slaughter, that the Fire and Sword made, being terrified therewith, they reſolved to caſt and precipitate themſelves into the River, where the greateſt part of them periſhed; all which, as was ſaid, happened in the ſpace of two or three Hours; where could never be greater Confuſion, nor greater Effuſion of Blood of their own Soldiery, of which the Chief Commanders were Slain without Mercy, or any Quarter, and ſuch a Multitude of *Turks*, and Chief Paſha's are ſaid to have periſhed upon the Spot, that during the whole War, the like Slaughter never happened as this: For according to the Report of thoſe, who were not far from the Preſence of the Sultan, during all the time of the Battle, they agree, That according to an Account and Liſt of the Slain, there never happened ſo Great, and ſo Terrible a Deſtruction as this to the *Ottoman* Army, which more unhappily fell upon the Principal Commanders, than upon the Common Soldiers, which they eſteem to be a juſt Judgment of God upon them; for that no leſs than 15 Paſha's were killed in this Engagement; five of which had been Beglerbeys, or Viziers of the Bench, beſides the Supream Vizier.

And ſuch a Slaughter, or Deſtruction as this, was never known to have happened,

1697. for never in the Memory of Man, or any Age, was it ever known, that five Viziers had ever fallen in one Battle; amongſt which was the Supream Vizier, *Giafer Paſha*, another Paſha, the Aga of the Janiſaries, a Paſha and Vizier; *Miſſir Oglü* a Vizier, *Faſli Paſha* a Vizier, and the reſt of them were all Paſha's of Provinces and Governments.

There were 74 Captains, with their Officers and Soldiers of their ſeveral Chambers, all ſlain: In every Chamber they account 100 Janiſaries, of which there may be in ſome Chambers, 10 or 20 Supernumeraries; ſo that it may be the general Opinion, That above 8000 Janiſaries were ſlain, and thoſe of the braveſt and beſt Soldiers of all the *Turkiſh* Militia, of which the Sultan was ſo ſenſible, that he declared, *He was not ſo much troubled for the Number, as for the Quality of ſuch Brave and Experienced Soldiers, who had ſo often, and in ſo many Engagements Worſted and Overthrown the* Germans.

Beſides theſe, were killed in this Battle, the Kahya-Bey, or Lieutenant General of the Janiſaries, with his 600 Braves, which are always attending upon his Perſon, having ſo many in that Company, or Regiment, being the firſt Oda, or Chamber of the Janiſaries; for indeed the Kahya-Bey is always more Eſteemed, Obeyed, and Feared, than the Janiſar-Aga himſelf.

Amongſt the four other Generals of the Militia of the Janiſaries, the Zargagi-bashee, who was the Major-General of the Janiſaries, was ſlain; of the other three were ordained one againſt the *Muſcovites*, and the other two againſt the *Venetians* by Sea and by Land: And beſides the 74 Captains, as many Beiracters, or Enſigns, were alſo ſlain.

And beſides theſe 2500 Segmens of *Boſnia*, being divided into ſeveral Diviſions of the Great Vizier, and divers other Paſha's, with all the Gebegees, who are Armourers, together with their Captains, and General; as alſo the Gunners and Topegibashees, or Maſters of the Ordnance, which are divided into two ſeveral Orders of Militia.

The gaining of this Battle was of that high Concernment, and the Conſequences thereof ſo conſiderable, that from thence the Peace following was derived; ſo that we may believe all the World to be intereſted therein, and to be the Subject of the Speculation of the greateſt Monarchs of this World.

An Inſtance whereof we have in the following Letter, Written by the Emperor himſelf, and with his own Hand, in *Latin*, to King *William* of *England*, in this Style. 1697.

The Emperor of Germany's *Letter, to King* William *of* England.

‘PAUCAS ante horas deſiderato ex Hungariâ nuntio recreamur, quod exercitus noſter ſub ductu Principis Eugenii de Sabaudia die decimo currentis Menſis, Ottomanica Caſtra ad Tibiſcum triplici aggere munita, & triginta fere hoſtium Millibus propugnata, non ſolum fortiter aggreſſus ſit, verum etiam Divino juvante numine fœliciter ſuperavit, cæſis in loco decem & amplius millibus quos inter Supremus Viſirius, & Janiſariorum-Aga numerantur, reliquique quos Pontis Anguſtia capere non potuit in Flumen præcipitati & maximam in partem ſubmerſi, Tormentis etiam 72, una cum aliquot mille curribus, & commeatu in poteſtatem redactis, noſtra vero ex parte tantum 500 occiſis, & totidem ſauciatis.

Engliſhed thus.

IT is within ſome few Hours, that the Poſt is arrived from Hungary, *bringing News, That our Army under the Command and Conduct of* Eugenius *Prince of* Savoy; *did not only on the* 10*th of this inſtant Month, Valiantly Attack the* Ottoman *Camp fortified upon the Banks of* Tibiſcus, *or* Theyſſe, *with a treble Ditch, and with a Force of Thirty Thouſand Men therein, but aſſiſted by the Gracious Favour of Almighty God, moſt happily ſubdued them, killing Ten Thouſand of them upon the Place; amongſt which, were the Supream Vizier, and Aga of the Janiſaries, and the reſt, which the narrowneſs of the Bridge could not contain, threw and precipitated themſelves into the River, where the greateſt part of them were Drowned; with Seventy two Pieces of their Cannon, with ſome Thouſands of Waggons laden with Proviſions, which all fell into our Hands; and all which was done on our ſides with the loſs only of* 500 *Men, and about as many Wounded.*

After

1697.

After this Battle was ended, all was in great Confuſion amongſt the *Turks*, and every one ſhifted as well as he could to eſcape.

The Grand Seignior himſelf poſted to *Temeſwaer*, from whence he diſpatched a Black Eunuch to his Mother, with the unhappy News of the late ill Succeſs, and the Particulars of it, to avoid falſe Reports, which upon this Occaſion might be apt to be ſpread abroad of the Death of himſelf; and other Siniſter Rumours more fatal to the Empire than ever was known afore times, and might terrifie the Valide Soltana; who by the News of the Life of her Son, might take Heart, and receive Comfort, and prevent the Mutinies amongſt the Soldiery and People, who were too ready upon ſuch an Evil Report, to Enthrone the Brother of Sultan *Achmet*, the laſt Brother of the three lately Deceaſed: But it being known that Sultan *Muſtapha* was certainly Alive, all was pacified; which being of ſo great Importance, the Grand Seignior ſent a Letter, as I ſaid, to his Mother, by a Black Eunuch, by way of *Nicopolis*, who was a *Magriplee*, or an *Abyſſine*, or *Ethiopian*, well beloved by the Queen, and greatly Confided in by her. The Relation on the ſide of the *Turks*, was repreſented as favourably as the thing would bear; in which he declared, That there had been a very great Battle near a River, in which his Perſon was not preſent, and ſo was ſafe; but his Vizier being Engaged againſt an Army of 100000 Men, was Slain, together with the greateſt Number of Janiſaries, and Foot Soldiers, and thoſe of the Principal Officers; the which Relation he alſo diſpatched by the ſecond Maſter of the Horſe, with a Coſtan to *Huſſaein Paſha*, declaring him to be Grand Vizier, which happened well for the *Chriſtians*; for he was a Man always inclined to a Peace, and no great Friend to the *French*; he was a great Lover of Wine, which mollified the Rigorous Temper of a *Turk*, and made him more Jocund and Eaſie than commonly the Water-Drinkers amongſt the *Turks* profeſs to be; at which News the *Chriſtians* immediately conceived an abundance of Joy, not doubting but that a Peace would immediately enſue, as it did accordingly; for all People were grown weary of ſo long a War, which had now continued for about twenty Years, with very Unfortunate Succeſſes to the *Turks* both by Sea and Land.

Inclinations of the Turks *towards a Peace.*

After all which the Grand Seignior returned with what ſpeed he could to his Seraglio at *Adrianople*, where all things had put on a Countenance of Melancholy and Sadneſs.

1697.

In the mean time the *Chriſtians* reſolving to proſecute and follow their Blow, whilſt the *Turks* with Fear and Diſorder were flying homeward, the Prince *Eugenius* of *Savoy*, ſpent the whole Day on the 12th of *October* in paſſing the Imperial Army over the *Save*; but the River being narrow, and the Weather good and favourable, they arrived early in the Camp on the other ſide:

October.

And next Morning of the 13th, they began their March towards *Boſnia*, which was difficult to paſs, by reaſon of the Mountains, Woods, and Rocks in the way, which was rude, and unbeaten.

Upon the 14th of this Month, the Body of the Army Encamped about *Kottor*, where the March had been worſe, and more difficult, and longer by an Hour than the Day before; and tho' Colonel *Kyba* with his Squadron was marched before, howſoever he proceeded not in his March, becauſe he had News on the way, and chiefly from *Bagnaluca*, That the Enemy had not the leaſt Intelligence of the Advance of the Imperial Army, ſo that he made a Halt until His Moſt Serene Highneſs was come up to joyn the Body under his Command, that ſo they might hold a Conference, and Council of War together, which they performed ſtanding not to loſe time; and then Colonel *Kyba* proceeded with his Forces unto *Caſtle Doboy*, where was a Garriſon of *Turks*, and was ſituated two or three Hours from the *Chriſtian* Camp: And here it was thought fit not to go farther this Night, becauſe they concluded, that they were not as yet diſcovered by the Enemy, becauſe they had not heard them ſhoot the Alarm, as their Cuſtom was to do whenſoever they diſcovered any Body of Men approaching towards them; and ſo to keep all things ſtill without any diſcovery, they marched with much ſilence, without Beat of Drum, or Sound of Trumpet: And the very ſame Day the Prince of *Savoy* arrived in the Camp; where a Council of War being called, it was concluded, That Colonel *Kyba* ſhould be diſpatched away before, to take Poſſeſſion of ſome Ground near to the *Turkiſh* Caſtle of *Doboy*, as was formerly agreed, and there to form his Camp, where he was reinforced with 600 Men: Upon appearance of which, his Orders were, That in caſe the Caſtle did not preſently Surrender, he ſhould march immediately forward, and without loſs of time march into the Country, leaving the laſt 600 Men before the Caſtle to incloſe the Enemy, who ſhould ſoon be reinforced by 200 Men more: And ſo ſhould proceed to the ſecond Caſtle, called *Maglay*;

where finding Oppoſition, he ſhould leave that likewiſe, and ſo proceed forward.

By this time, or towards the Morning of the 15th of this Month, ſome Shooting was heard, which was the firſt Signal of an Alarm: Howſoever they continued to March without beating their Drums, or ſounding their Trumpets; but this Days March was more troubleſome and difficult than the Day before, by reaſon that it was through Hilly and rough Places: Howſoever coming at length to *Caſtle Doboy*, they Summoned the Place to Surrender, the which being denied at firſt, by the *Turks* in Garriſon, the *Chriſtians* laboured all Night, and in that time raiſed a Battery, on which they planted ſix Pieces of Cannon, with two Mortar-pieces.

Caſtle Doboy *Surrenders.*

The Day following the Cannon beginning to play, the *Turks* Capitulated, and Surrendered themſelves at Diſcretion and Mercy of the Enemy.

The Garriſon conſiſted of about 80 Men, out of which they made Priſoners of ſuch as appeared to be the moſt Soldier-like Men; as for others, who were Old, and Infirm, with Women, and Children, they gave them liberty to ſhift for themſelves, and go to what Places they pleaſed.

In the Caſtle little Proviſion was found, and few Arms, ſo that Colonel *Kyba*, according to his Inſtructions from the General, proceeded in his March: And

On the 17th came to the Caſtle *Maglay*, which upon the firſt Summons Surrendered, on condition only to go out with their Wives and Children, leaving all other things behind them.

On the 18th by Break of Day in the Morning, the Garriſon of *Maglay* marched out, and Surrendered the Place: About which time nothing more was heard from the Enemy, only that the Kahya, the Son of the Deceaſed Paſha, was Encamped near *Oraſſa Viza*, and that the Imperial Foragers were annoyed much by the Meroders of the Enemy.

On the 18th they appeared before the Palanca or Paſs called *Schebze*, wherein were 300 *Turks*: which upon the Summons demanded a time of Conſideration until the next Day, which the General of the Imperialiſts would not grant them; but advanced with 400 Foot Soldiers, and 300 Dragoons, with the Artillery belonging to them, and mounting 12 Pieces of Cannon againſt the Palanca, in the Night they ſtormed it in two Places: in which Attack having loſt 12 or 15 Men within the Palliſadoes, without any ſtop, they ſtill advanced forward, whilſt Colonel *Kyba* meeting with 200 Horſe of the Enemy, whoſe Deſign was to caſt themſelves into the Paſs *Schebze*, but were prevented, being in part killed, and in part taken Priſoners: And having Intelligence, That the Kahya was with a Body of about two or 3000 Men, between *Schebze* and *Branduck*, he cauſed Batteries to be raiſed to hinder their ready Paſſages.

On the 19th they marched on through the *Orohovizar* Valley, being a very troubleſome Paſſage at the firſt Entrance thereinto, not only for the Narrowneſs and Streightneſs of the Road, but alſo becauſe the Enemies on both ſides had cut and ruined the Ways; ſo that about three a Clock in the Afternoon, the laſt Regiments, which were Horſe, entered the Field, and joyned the former Troops, but the Infantry came not thither until it was Night; and as to the Artillery and Baggage, they remained full half an Hours March behind, at a diſtance from the narrow Paſſage, where it remained all the Night guarded by two Regiments of Dragoons, which in the Morning marched in ſafe Conduct, and guarded them in ſafety to the Body of the Army.

The 20th the March was through Narrow and Rocky Paſſages, worſer than the former, or that way which leads to the Caſtle *Branduck*, which was ſo difficult, that the Imperial Army would have been in a very ill Condition, had the *Turks* been capable of diſputing vigorouſly the Paſſage with them: But at length having paſſed the moſt rough and difficult Ways of *Branduck*, which were ſo inconvenient, that the Artillery and Baggage could not be brought after them, but were forced to be lodged under a ſtrong Guard on the *Orohovizar* Valley, where the Places were fairer and more pleaſant, but the Inhabitants were fled and gone, but had left behind them all ſorts of good Fruits, with ſmall and large Cattle in great Numbers, with ſufficient Herbage and Suſtenance to maintain them.

The 21ſt the Imperial Army arrived near the River *Boſna*, over which there was a Bridge, but ſo Old and Ruinous, that the Army was not willing to adventure a Paſſage over it, but rather eſteemed it more ſecure for every Dragoon, or Horſeman to take a Man behind him, and therewith to Wade through the River; with this Burden and Equipage they marched over a very high Hill for the ſpace of two Hours, which nevertheleſs was more eaſie to paſs over than the former: So they continued their March again over the *Boſna*, by the help and convenience of a good ſtrong Bridge, not ruined by the Enemy, and ſo

1697. advanced into the Camp, near the Village *Doboy*, where Colonel *Kyba* joyned again with Prince *Eugenius*, advancing ſtill before the ſame Night towards *Sarai*, or *Seraglio*, to obſerve the Place, to which great Numbers of People of that Country were fled for ſecurity: But becauſe that City was not capable to receive ſuch Multitudes of People, great Numbers of them were forced to lodge before the City Gates, ſo as the Priſoners declared, which together with thoſe in the City, would make up a Body of 30000 Men, but they wanted Arms very much: So that tho' the Kahya was then perſonally preſent in the City; October. yet his Power and Authority was weak to diſpoſe Matters into any tolerable State and Condition of Defence.

But the *Imperialiſts* found this Part very Fair, Fruitful, and well Built; and therefore the *Chriſtians* and Inhabitants of that Land went to the Imperial Camp to render themſelves up under their Protection.

At the beginning of this March, on the 22d, the Troops found the Ways Narrow, Crooked, and Deep, but afterwards paſſed into a more pleaſant Place, called *Viſega*, and then repaſſed again the River *Boſna*, over a Bridge; at the end of which, after an Hours time they Encamped; and by this time Colonel *Kyba* was come back with his People, who had done ſome Execution againſt the Inhabitants in their March, killing ſome, and making Priſoners of others, which put the City of *Seraglio* into great Amazement and Confuſion, whilſt ſeveral Parties of the Enemy roved round the adjacent Parts, and took ſeveral Priſoners; at which time a Cornet, with a Trumpeter, were ſent into *Seraglio*, to Summon the City to ſubmit willingly, or otherwiſe no Quarter ſhould be given to any of them.

The 23d two Parties ſent out the Day before, returned back again very early in the Morning, before the breaking up of the Imperial Army, bringing no News, or Advice from the Enemy: Only the Cornet gave a Relation, *That as he was going to* Seraglio, *for almoſt a Quarter of an Hours time he had met with no Body at all; but afterwards falling in amongſt the* Turks, *to whom having made a Sign with his Hand, he ſhowed them the Writing he had with him, which were Propoſals for the Surrender of the City; but that he happened to ſee the Trumpeter killed before his own Eyes, and with much difficulty, with divers Wounds eſcaped himſelf*: And farther reported, *That all the Inhabitants in great haſte went out of* Seraglio.

After this the Army in a Body marched to the City, which the *Turks* had quitted, and abandoned, leaving none remaining but *Chriſtians* and *Jews*, from whom they took all they could find, but nothing of great Value, in regard the *Turks* had not only diſpoſed of the beſt of their own Goods, but likewiſe before their Flight had Plundered the Houſes of the *Chriſtians*, and committed the Guard of the Caſtle to a Garriſon of 150 Men; and the ſame Day towards Evening a Fire broke out in the City, of which no care being taken to Extinguiſh it, it was totally burnt and conſumed. The Caſtle howſoever was not burnt, for it being built of Stone, required leiſure to demoliſh, which at that time could not be allowed. 1697.

Howſoever ſeveral Parties on the 24th returned from abroad, bringing ſome Priſoners with them, and many poor *Chriſtians* came likewiſe Voluntarily in, with Reſolution to paſs the *Save*, upon the Return of the Imperial Army; which happened to be on the 25th and 26th, but Colonel *Kyba* ſtaid, (as he uſually did) ſome time behind to burn and deſtroy every thing that remained, as yet unconſumed.

And on the 27th they marched on, until they came to the Camp, which was before *Seniza*.

And on the 28th they entered into bad Defiles, and at length into the Valley of *Orobovitz*, where the Artillery and Waggons joyned again with the Army.

The 29th they Encamped near *Schebze*, where Advices were brought to the Generals in what manner the Enemy was gathered into a Body near *Belgrade*, conſiſting of ſeveral Thouſands of Men.

Laſtly, The *Imperialiſts* returned again over the *Save*, carrying with them a great quantity of *Turkiſh* Cloth, with many *Turkiſh* Women, and Goods belonging to the ſaved *Chriſtians*, with a great quantity of ſmall and great Cattle.

After the Return of the *Chriſtian* Army under the Command of Prince *Eugenius* of *Savoy*, from the Fortunate Succeſſes in *Boſnia*, the Troops were commanded on the 30th of *October*, to march from *Marga*, towards *Caranzebes*; from whence, on the very ſame Evening, Lieutenant-Colonel Count of *Herberſtein*, was Commanded to March before, with his National Militia of *Raſcians*, joyned with ſome *Germans*.

And the 31ſt was appointed for a Day of Repoſe, and Reſt for the whole Army; and on that Occaſion ſufficient Proviſions were made both for Horſe and Man.

When on the firſt of *November* the Body of the Army began to move from *Caranzebes*, and in grievous Weather, with Rain and Snow, marched all the way ſo far as *Soczan*: And then about two a Clock in the Afternoon they made a Halt near *Gialuk*, in the Valley of *Caraſſona*.

And on the third they pitched near the deſerted Village of *Petrovizas*.

From whence on the 4th Days March, a Detachment was ſent before to Inveſt the Fort of *Vypalancha*, where the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of *Rabutin*, Lord of *Graſer*, with a Body of 500 Horſe, had taken his Poſt, or Poſſeſſion, and ſeated himſelf on the ſide of the *Danube* about 100 Paces from the River, advancing to the Palliſadoes, and there immediately began to fire upon the Place, and to Entrench with ſo much diligence, that in a ſhort time they had opened the Trenches 200 Paces; and having prepared the ſmall Pieces of Cannon, which they brought with them, and one Mortar-piece, they began therewith to make their Batteries.

The 5th Day in the Morning, they ſet in order their Batteries, and began alſo to throw Bombs into the Palanca, which they found to be much more ſtrong than it was believed at firſt; for that it was encompaſſed with a double Ditch, and treble Rows of Palliſadoes, and a place of Retreat guarded with 400 Men, and well provided of all things; and for the better Security, they had made ſome hundreds of Faggots; and in the mean time the *Turks* in a great Body ſhowed themſelves upon another Stream of the *Danube* above, and others at the Foot of the Mountain, near to *Rham*, together with Saicks, and Frigats on the River. Likewiſe on the other ſide of *Belgrade*, near *Kroska*, *Semandria*, *Columbas*, *Isbeck*, and *Gradiska*, which were all places ſo near, that in 24 Hours time, Succours might be brought from them, at leaſt to hinder, if not totally prevent the Deſigns of the Enemy: For which reaſon, the General, Count *Rabutin*, reſolved to loſe no time, but forthwith to make an Aſſault upon the Place, and if poſſible, to take it by force, to which end he prepared 500 *Germans*, and 200 *Raſcians* to make the Attack upon the Place.

On the 6th with dawning of the Day, appeared on the other ſide of the River, a great number of the *Turkiſh* Boats, battering with their Cannon, as they had done all the Day before againſt the *Chriſtian* Camp: And in the mean time, with the Break of Day, the Attack began in two Places at the ſame time; that is, upon the left Hand of the *Danube*, where the greateſt difficulty was, under the Command of Heer *Viart*, Sergeant-Major of the *Hanover* Troops; and then on the right Hand, on the River *Ceraſſe*, where the Soldiers to paſs the Water, Waded up to the Middle, under the Command of Captain *Beaumont*, of the Regiment of *Rabutin*: And to give the greater Inconvenience to the Enemy, they fired their Cannons continually without Intermiſſion, as alſo their Bombs; beſides Small-ſhot from 250 Men out of the Trenches; but in regard that in the Night before certain Recruits were ſent to reinforce the Place, together with a Boat, on Board of which were 100 Men from *Columbas*, and *Isbeck*, with new Ammunition, ſo that they met with very much reſiſtance; beſides, they Storm'd without making any Breach, and that in the ſight of 20 or 30 Saicks and Frigats, which appeared above and below the Place; inſomuch as things looked more doubtful and hazardous, than with any promiſing Countenance of Succeſs. Howſoever General *de Rabutin* and Sergeant-General Count *de Leiningen* applyed all poſſible care and Induſtry to hinder and prevent the Enemies Succours from coming upon them, by which the Soldiers at the appearance, and ſo near an approach of their Enemies, again reaſſumed new Courage; and tho' they were at firſt well enough animated, when they obſerved the *Turks* come upon them, with their Cries of *Allah*, *Allah*, which they uſually make upon their Charge, and that 400 of their Horſe remained for a Reſerve, the Vigour and Spirit was renewed on all ſides, and then with Axes and Hatchets they cutting down the Palliſadoes, gained ſo much Ground, that all things laid open before them: So that after a doubtful Conflict of about an Hour and a half, the Place was overcome, and taken by the Valour of the *Chriſtians*; ſo that not only the Commander in Chief *Hay Beigh*, but all the Garriſon, with the Inhabitants, without any Exception, were Killed, or droven into the *Danube*. All which was done and acted in a very ſhort time, which was well that it ſo happened; for had it admitted of any farther delay, the *Chriſtians* would have encountred many more Difficulties, for that the *Turks* were bringing over many Succours, which would have cauſed very dangerous Diverſions. When on the contrary, the *Turks* loſt 800 Perſons, and the *Chriſtians* only 10, which was almoſt a Miracle to conſider.

1697. General *Rabutin* was always preſent on the right Hand, during the Aſſault, and after it, the better to Encourage the Soldiers, he alighted from his Horſe, and having Commended and Praiſed every one publickly in his Place according to his Deſerts, and eſpecially the Sergeant-General Count of *Leiningen*, who had the left Wing under his Conduct, and had done and acted as much as could be expected on ſuch an Occaſion; and indeed both he and Sergeant-Major *de Viart*, ſhowed as much Bravery, Conduct, and Military Experience as could be deſired of the greateſt Captains in the World.

But now in regard this Paſs of *Vypalancha* was too far within the Territory of the Enemy, to be any long time maintained; for that ſhould the Garriſon be *German*, or *Raſcian*, it would be too much expoſed, without any poſſibility of Relief, the General *Rabutin* reſolved to Slight and Demoliſh the Place, and accordingly he gave all up to the Flames. 1697.

And on the ſeventh Day, ſo ſoon as the Cannon were carried away, it was put into execution, which was ſoon effected by the great Numbers of Country-men and Peaſants employed upon that Work; and the ſame Morning the Camp was removed nearer to the Palancha.

The Particulars of Men Killed and Wounded in the Aſſault of *Vypalanca*.

GERMANS.

Killed, Men	10	Wounded, Men	87
Horſes	26	Horſes	21

Of the ARTILLERY.

Killed,	0	Wounded,	1

RASCIANS.

Killed,	4	Wounded,	18

Found in the Place.

16 Enſigns expoſed round the Town.
63 *Turkiſh* Priſoners, and 32 Women.
11 Pieces of Cannon of Copper, carrying from two to eight Pound Ball.
200 Granadoes for the Hand, ſome Powder, and ſome few other Warlike Arms.
About 200 Buſhels of Grain, with ſome Flour of Wheat.
Beſides which, all other things were given up to the Plunder of the Soldiers.
Beſides which, there were above 1000 Pieces of Rock-Salt, which were brought from *Valachia*.

These Succeſſes which the *Chriſtians* had gained over the *Turks* in all Places, through the whole Courſe of this Year 1697, put them into a Kind of Deſpair of being any more Victorious, but rather to yield to the Hand of God, and to fix a Period to the Limits of their Empire, which they believed, by the Providence of God, was no farther to be extended.

Theſe Thoughts put all the Great Men, and Governors of the *Ottoman* Empire into ſuch a Melancholy, that contrary to their uſual Humour of Pride, and Vain Imaginations of Riches, and Enlargement of Empire, as if the *Ottoman* Arms were never to be weakened, or brought low; all the Powerful and Warlike Men, together with the Sultan, concluded, That after ſuch a Series of Misfortunes, both by Sea and Land, God frowned on their Enterpriſes, and would no longer favour their Martial Proceedings: And therefore, that until

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1697. ſuch time as God's Anger againſt them was appeaſed, there was no ſafety but in a Happy Peace, to be Negotiated by the only true Allies of the *Ottoman* Empire; namely, the Great King *William* of *Great Britain*, and the Moſt Potent Lords, the States General of the Low-Countries, or United Provinces; for whom at that time, namely, for the firſt the Lord *Paget* was then Ambaſſador at the Port; and for the latter was the Heer *Colyer*, both of them Perſons qualified by their Offices, and long Experiences in the *Turkiſh* Affairs, to become Mediators and Miniſters for their Powerful and Puiſſant Maſters, in Treating a Peace of the greateſt Importance of any that hath happened in this, or in the preceeding Age; unleſs it be the General Peace, in which all *Chriſtendom* was ſo nearly concerned.

What farther moved the *Turks* to deſire and promote this Peace, was their Ill Succeſſes at *Baſſora*, where that Paſha, whom we have formerly mentioned, had carried for ſome time all before him; and tho' the *Perſians* had often promiſed their Aſſiſtance to the *Turks*, for Suppreſſion of that Rebellion, yet nothing was acted by them in reality, until the Grand Seignior, and the whole Government became ſenſible, that nothing was to be expected of good either by War, or Peace, but by their own Negotiations; in purſuance of which the Mediation ſo often offered, was at length accepted, and put into execution at the beginning of the Year 1698.

Anno 1698.

1698. January. THIS Year was happily begun with a Reſolution on all ſides to make the Peace: Howſoever at the beginning thereof things looked very frowningly, without that gentle Proſpect, which is commonly the Fore-runner of a Peace: For at the beginning of this Month, three Aga's were diſpatched from *Adrianople*, to the Chimacam of *Conſtantinople*, with Orders to facilitate their Paſſage into *Aſia*, by the moſt Expedite Poſts that could be formed; howſoever in their Paſſage they entered into Conferences with the Chief Miniſters at *Conſtantinople*, giving them to underſtand, That they had Orders to Summon the *Tartar Han*, to appear in Conference at *Adrianople*, with the Sultan, Mufti, and Grand Vizier, whoſe Opinions and Reſolutions were at firſt to continue the War; which they declared themſelves very able to do; for tho' it was true, that they had loſt the beſt part and the moſt flouriſhing of their Janiſaries, and Infantry, yet their Cavalry was almoſt entire, and able to Engage the Enemy with an Advantage; and were able to form a better Army this, than the laſt Year. 1698.

The *Tartar Han* declared, That he did not fear the *Muſcovites* ſo much as he did the *Coſſacks*, and the *Poles*, but of them they are in no great Apprehenſions neither; for that the *French* Ambaſſador had promiſed and aſſured them, That the Prince of *Conti* ſhould ſo diſturb the Affairs of *Poland*, that no danger needed to be feared from that People.

And now to ſtrengthen theſe Propoſals, the Sultan decreed, That new Contributions ſhould be required over all *Aſia*, and Men of great Authority were ſent with Bands and Troops of Segmen, and other Militia, to raiſe the Money by force and power.

Orders were alſo ſent to the Chimacam of *Conſtantinople*, to put the Forges of *Conſtantinople* at work for founding great quantities of Cannon.

And that the Maritime Affairs might not be neglected, *Mezzo Morto* was continued in the Office of Captain-Paſha, or Admiral, with Orders, and Inſtructions to fight the *Venetians*.

Thus all things looked as if nothing had been intended beſides a War. Howſoever the Great God of Hoſts, in whoſe Hands remains the Balance of Peace and War, having deſigned otherwiſe, and at length to give repoſe, and reſt after ſo long Wars, to the Nations of the Earth, was pleaſed in his Divine Providence to direct a Conference in the Month of *May*, between the Great Vizier, the *Tartar Han*, and the Mufti, at *Adrianople*, who having conſidered of the many Difficulties under which the *Mahometan* Religion, and the *Ottoman* Empire laboured, gave it as their Opinions to the Sultan, that there could be no ſafety to either, but in a Peace, for which they produced many Reaſons, but none of greater force than that for this Year, no Aſſiſtance could be expected from *Aſia*; nor was it poſſible to recruit in one Years time, the loſt Body of the Janiſaries, which is the Nerve of the *Ottoman* Militia; in which Opinion the Chimacam of *Adrianople*, called *Muſtapha Paſha*, who had formerly been Grand Vizier, concurred with the others, and all of them joyning together in the ſame Opinion, made their Applications to the Sultan, giving him to underſtand, That having duly conſidered of this important matter, nothing ſeemed ſo neceſſary as a Peace, which God had now pleaſed in his Goodneſs, for the Comfort and Relief of the *Mahometan* Cauſe, to offer unto them: The which Declaration and Counſel of theſe Great Men made to the Sultan, took ſo much amongſt the People, that the Report flew like Lightning, and in five Days time was divulged almoſt over all the Empire.

All the Perſons that were preſent at this private Conference, were the Mufti, *Han* of *Tartary*, Aga of the Janiſaries, Aga of the Spahees, and Grand Vizier, and the Sultan himſelf.

To make ſome little appearance of unwillingneſs to make a Peace, as if they had been able to continue the War, they ſent away towards *Belgrade*, ſome Field-pieces of Braſs, which had been lately Caſt, or Founded; and on that Occaſion 15 Chambers of Janiſaries, with their Ciurbagees, or Captains, of which every Chamber conſiſted of 100 Men, but were computed in all to make up 2200 Janiſaries, 200 Zebegees, or Armourers, 70 Gunners, which were commanded by a certain Perſon, called *Ali Paſha*, who was Brother in Law to the late Grand Vizier: It was reported, That all the Chambers had their full and compleat Numbers, but upon the true Computation, they were found to be much ſhort, and not above 70 in a Chamber; by this kind of Computation, the poor Eſtate of the other Militias of the *Ottoman* Army being to be judged, made the Propoſition of a Peace to become much more acceptable to all Sorts and Conditions of Men: One Evidence of which, was the readineſs and haſte the Grand Seignior and Vizier ſhowed to be upon their March towards *Sophia*.

In order to which, it was appointed, That the Aga of the Janiſaries, ſhould on June. the 6th of *June* begin their March, and that the Sultan ſhould follow two Days afterwards being the 8th; for that already towards the latter end of *May*, all the Camels, and Horſes, which were provided to carry the Tents and Baggage, were arrived at *Adrianople*.

In purſuance whereof the Grand Seignior, and Grand Vizier, began their March on the 8th of *June*, when it was ſuppoſed, That taking *Sophia* in their way, and making that Place a Quarter of ſome Days Repoſe, there to Celebrate the Feaſt of their little *Biram*, they might arrive at *Belgrade* by the 15th of *July*; when all the Army of the *Turks* could not amount to more than 40000 Men, tho' they ſhould receive an Addition of 10000 Men from *Aſia*, which was the greateſt Number of Soldiers that they could expect this Year from thoſe Parts, and hereof many Hundreds failed of making up that Number. Howſoever in regard that the Peace in *Hungary*, and other Parts with the *Chriſtians*, was almoſt ſecure and certain, it raiſ'd a Chearfulneſs amongſt the *Turks*, ſo that they little regarded any Apprehenſions of a War againſt the *Perſians*, or their Conjunction with *Bebek Sulyman*, a Bold, Inſolent, Daring Perſon, who lived on the Confines of *Perſia*, whom the *Turks* deſired might be ſuppreſſed by the *Perſians*: But the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, notwithſtanding the great Treatments and Civilities he had received from the *Turks*, made ſome Difficulties thereof, ſaying, *That it could not be foreſeen, or meaſured, how far ſuch a War as this might go; this* Bebek Sulyman *being a moſt Peſtilent Fellow, feared as well as beloved, by all the* Arabian *Princes; ſo that a War with him might cauſe much Blood.*

Howſoever the *Turks* preſſed moſt earneſtly to have this *Sulyman* ſuppreſſed, alledging, Both the Honour and Safety of the *Perſians* was concerned: And to Encourage them herein, the Grand Vizier promiſed them the Sultan's Aſſiſtance; for that having now made a Peace with the Emperor, and the other *Chriſtians*, (as might be preſumed to be) his Hands were at liberty to carry the War into what Parts of the World that he ſhould think fit; which he ſhould not more readily do to any Region, than againſt thoſe who might be troubleſome on the Frontiers of *Perſia*, and bring Diſturbance to the *Ottoman* Port.

Such Friendly Diſcourſes as theſe paſſing between the Grand Vizier, and the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, a Promiſe was farther made unto him, *That the Sultan would not deny any thing to the King of* Perſia, *which might be of ſatisfaction to him; being reſolved to cultivate a moſt ſincere, and laſting Friendſhip with him, according to the Capitulations lately made and agreed between thoſe two Great and Mighty Monarchs.*

After which they did Eat, and Feaſted together, with high Expreſſions of Love, and a laſting Friendſhip; in farther Confirmation of which, a Preſent was made to the Ambaſſador of another Horſe, well Equipped with a Rich and Noble Furniture, and then the *Teſter Emini*, who was deſigned to be Ambaſſador from the Sultan to the King of *Perſia*, and was preparing for his Journey, was introduced into their Preſence, that an Acquaintance might be begun between them; the which was eaſily effected, conſidering that the *Teſter Emini* was a Perſon of a good Addreſs, and

Skilful,

1698. Skilful, and Practiſed in the *Perſian* Language; he was a Refined Perſon, and fit, and proper for ſuch an Embaſſy as this to the *Perſian* Court, whom the Grand Vizier had Choſen, and Elected for this Employment; for which he was preparing himſelf with fine Horſes of Price, well Equipped with rich Embroidered Saddles, with Arms inlaid with Jewels, and other Gallantries, which might ſerve for Preſents at his Arrival at the Court of *Iſpahan*, to the *Perſian* King, ſuch as Quivers, Bows, and Arrows.

Beſides all which kind Treatment, the Grand Seignior himſelf Treated him at his Tents without the City of *Adrianople*; as alſo did the Chimacam of *Conſtantinople* at his Palace on the *Boſphorus*, or *Black-Sea*.

Thus we may ſee how freely and frankly the *Turks* Treated the *Perſians* at this time; for now having ſecured the Peace with the Weſtern Princes in *Hungary*, who were much more formidable at all times than the Eaſtern Nations: Howſoever, that no Advantages might be taken neither on that ſide, ſtrict Commands and wiſe Inſtructions were ſent to the Beilerbey of *Gran Cairo*, a Perſon of great Courage, Wiſdom, and Experience, one of the Sultan's Bed-Chamber, to take the Care and Charge of thoſe Eaſtern Kingdoms, giving him alſo the Title of Seraskier, or General, and Beylerbey of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, with Orders forthwith to form an Army with the People of the Country, and therewith to Attack *Baſſora*, and drive out from thence the Rebellious Paſha, and ſettle in his Place another Paſha Commiſſionated by the Port to ſucceed in his Employment, with a Hatteſheriff from the Sultan: But principally above all things it was recommended to him, to hinder and prevent all Incurſions of Rebel *Sulyman* upon the *Perſians*, who being good Friends to the Sultan, he could not permit, or ſuffer, that they ſhould receive any Affront, or Injury, from ſuch as go under the Denomination of Subjects to the Port.

But theſe Eaſtern Countries ſo far diſtant as *Perſia*, were not now the care of the *Turks*, whoſe Thoughts were wholly taken up in what manner they might finiſh the War with the *Chriſtians*, which were divers; as with the Emperor, the *Venetians*, the Old and Irreconcileable Enemies to the Port; alſo with the *Polanders*, and *Moſcovites*, the latter of which were not much known to the World, either for Friends, or Foes, tho' they began now under the preſent Czar by the taking of *Aſac*, and ſome other Actions, to make themſelves known to the *Turks*, and other Nations of the World. 1698.

It being now reſolved on all ſides to make the Peace, the Mediators who were to manage the Treaty, were nominated and appointed, and the moſt proper Perſons eſteemed to be the Ambaſſadors from *England*, and *Holland*, both of which having never been Engaged in the War on any of the ſides, but had always been true and ancient Friends to the Port, the *Turks* could have no Objections to alledge againſt either, nor had the *Chriſtian* Princes any cauſe to ſuſpect the Faith and Friendſhip of two ſuch Ambaſſadors, whoſe Offices and Perſons were acceptable to the *Turks*, and not diſpleaſing to the *Chriſtians*.

The Names of theſe Ambaſſadors deſigned to this ſo Neceſſary and Moſt Honourable Employment, were the Lord *Paget*, Ambaſſador for *William* King of *Great-Britain*; and the Heer *Colyer*, Ambaſſador for the Lords the States of the *United Provinces*.

All Matters being now ripe for Action, and a willing mind for Execution, the *Turks* moved with their Camp on the 11th of *June* 1698. commanded by the Grand Vizier, (the Grand Seignior ſtill remaining behind in his Tent) and with them alſo moved the two Ambaſſadors with their Equipages: And to put every thing into a good poſture, and a way of Diſpatch, the Lord Ambaſſador's Secretary was diſpatched away a ſecond time, as he had been the firſt on the 10th of *May* for *Vienna*, from whence he returned on the 5th of *July* to *Sophia*; where on the ſame Day he there met with the Lord Ambaſſador *Paget*, to whom he Communicated the good News of the Happy Inclinations of the Emperor and that Court towards the Peace: But that no delay ſhould be made therein, the ſame Secretary was again diſpatched away, to haſten the Emperor's Ambaſſadors to the Place appointed, and agreed upon for the Treaty, and to procure, and bring with him Paſſes, and ſafe Conducts for the *Turkiſh* Plenipotentiaries, who were the *Reis Effendi*, Chief Chancellor, or Secretary; and *Maurocordato*, who was the principal and firſt Interpreter to the Grand Seignior.

Theſe two Perſons, together with the Lord *Paget*, and the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, ſet out from *Sophia* before the Camp, on the 15th of *July*, and on the 24th they had paſſed 10 Hours beyond *Niſſa*, and on the 31ſt they arrived happily at *Belgrade*.

The Ambaſſadors remained at this place for the ſpace of two Months; that is, of *Auguſt* and *September*, the which paſſed

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1698. ſoon away, in regard that the Expectations of Peace had ſo filled Mens Hearts, that nothing was heard in all Places but the Voices of Peace and Joy in all their Quarters.

At length the Month of *October* being entered, the Proclamation of Neutrality was firſt publiſhed at *Peter Waradin*, to the great Pleaſure and Satisfaction of all People, both *Chriſtians* and *Turks*, and afterwards at *Belgrade*.

On the $\frac{9}{19}$th of *October*, the Lord *Paget*, and the *Dutch* Ambaſſador left their Camp near the City, raiſed on an Eminence, where was a good Air, and a good Proſpect over the Countries round about; and upon the ſame Day early in the Morning they paſſed the *Save*, a River which runs from *Boſnia*, and falls into the *Danube* at *Belgrade*, where it loſes its Name.

In paſſing this River this Order was obſerved.

Firſt went an Allai-Bey, or the Marſhal of the Show, with about 50 Horſe.

Then 60 Chiauſes on Horſeback.

A Guard of Janiſaries, being about 330 Men, all on Foot.

An Aga belonging to the Ambaſſadors, with his own Servants, and ſix Domeſtick Janiſaries.

After which followed two Flags, one with the *Engliſh* Coat of Arms, and the other was a large Red Croſs in a White Field.

Then followed the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's 6 led Horſes covered with very rich Furniture, followed by the Gentleman of the Horſe to my Lord Ambaſſador, attended by a *Giovane di Lingua*, or a young Druggerman, or Interpreter.

Then came up the two Interpreters attending His Excellency the Lord Ambaſſador, on each ſide of his Horſe, and they attended with two *Heydukes* in their own Country Habit; and on both ſides 10 *Chiobadars*, or Servants, who carry the Cloaks, or Veſts of the Great Men, in White Veſts, with their Carbines on their Shoulders.

The Brother to the Lord Ambaſſador road afterwards with ſix *Chiobadars*.

Then followed the Secretary, and Doctor, with two *Engliſh* Gentlemen; one from *Aleppo*, and the other from *Tripoli*.

Alſo ſix Pages with the Lord Ambaſſador's Coach, with a *Turkiſh* one, which went before the Common Servants, who marched all on Horſeback, two and two.

At their Paſſage over the Bridge of the *Save*, which was lined with Janiſaries, three 1698. Guns were fired from the Caſtle; and the Gallies, Saicks, and the Frigats as they paſſed fired each a Gun.

About half the way to *Semblin*, the Chiaus, and others, whom the Vizier had ſent along with them, made a Halt, and having wiſhed a good Journey to thoſe whom they conducted, returned back.

About an Hour after theſe Matters had paſſed, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador followed, and was uſed with the ſame Civility as thoſe preceding.

The Emperor's Ambaſſadors, becauſe they ſent Paſſports to the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors Signed by the Emperor's Hand, deſired to have others Signed by the Sultan: But becauſe it was conſidered that this exchange of Paſſports would take up a great deal of time, the Mediators found out, and agreed upon this Expedient, That the Proclamation being made in both the Emperors Names, no Paſſports ſhould be delivered, either from the *Germans* to the *Turks*, or from the *Turks* to the *Germans*; but that a Pleni-power ſhould be given to the Midiators to grant Paſſports to People, who were going up and down within the Limits of Neutrality agreed on both ſides: So the *German* Ambaſſadors reſolved to go to *Carlowitz* within three Days time, tho' their Wooden Houſes were not arrived as yet.

The Mediators alſo agreed upon the ſame, and to place themſelves ſo, that their Doors might be over againſt each other at a good diſtance, whereby the *Turks* remained wholly on the *Belgrade* ſide, and the *Germans* towards *Peter Waradin*.

The $\frac{11}{21}$ſt the *Venetian* Ambaſſador arrived at *Futack*, but the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador, after their unthinking manner, came directly the ſame Day to *Peter Waradin*, without giving the Governour Notice of his coming; by which Neglect of the *Moſcovite*, no Salutes were paſſed on him, of which he complained to the Governour; but that was eaſily anſwered, by ſaying, *That he knew nothing of his coming down the River, and therefore hoped to be excuſed.*

In fine, To Accommodate this Matter, it was agreed, That the Boats of the *Moſcovites* ſhould remove from the place where they firſt Landed, and by a Signal given by the Ambaſſador's Trumpets, the Guns ſhould be fired, which was done both from the Caſtle, the Town, and the Fleet.

1698.

On the $\frac{15}{25}$th of this Month of *October*, the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors arrived at two Hours diſtance from the Tents of the Mediators; but both ſides having conſidered, that the Days being ſhort, and that at ſuch a diſtance from the Quarters of the Plenipotentiaries, much time would be ſpent and loſt in going to and fro, it was concluded, That the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors ſhould go to *Carlowitz*, and the *Germans* and Allies ſhould take their Quarters about half an Hour above them towards *Peter Waradin*, and the *Turks* about a Quarter of an Hour below towards *Belgrade*.

Upon the Arrival of the Mediators at *Carlowitz*, they were received by the *German* Horſe and Foot, and a Captain-Lieutenant and a Standard, with 50 Horſe, and alſo with another Captain-Lieutenant, and an Enſign, with 70 Foot, which were appointed to each Ambaſſador for the Mediators Guards. The *Turkiſh* Soldiers were at the Right of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and at the Left of the *Dutch*.

On the $\frac{20}{30}$th the Plenipotentiaries were ſhowed to each other; and ſhortly after the Conferences began; but firſt the Preparations were making for building the Houſe for Conferences: But in the mean time to ſupply that Convenience, a great Tent was rais'd in the midſt of that void place which was between the Tents of the Mediators; where it was farther ordered, That inſtead of Chambers for the ſeveral Parties, there ſhould be Tents pitched on both ſides.

Some Points were here projected to be agreed on, as Preliminaries regulating the Ceremonies of the Congreſs; about which the *Poles* gave ſome trouble at the beginning, who ſeemed rather to hinder than to forward the Peace; for the Diſputes they made upon nothing, took up ſeven Days time; the which being at length overcome,

Octob. 26. O. S. Novemb. On the 6th of *November*, *N. S.* all the Preliminary Points were adjuſted, and agreed by all the Allies, which tended chiefly to prevent and avoid all Conteſts about Precedence, and the diſannulling all uſeleſs Ceremonies, during the Congreſs, as well as thoſe Impediments which might cauſe Confuſion and Diſturbance.

1698.

The Articles for Facilitating the Negotiation, were theſe.

I.

To take away Notifications, and Viſits of Ceremony and Precedence.

II.

That every Plenipotentiary ſhall advance his own Buſineſs, without being obliged to ſtay for one another, which in that caſe is to be put into the Hands of the Mediators, until the time that the General Subſcription is made.

III.

That no Plenipotentiary ſhall hinder or delay the Progreſs of the Treaty; but that every one ſhall endeavour to aſſiſt each other in removing the Difficulties which obſtruct the way.

IV.

For confirming the Diſtrict of Neutrality, and covering the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, and their Retinues from Inſults and Wrongs, both during their Abode at the place of Treaty, and their Departure thence.

V.

And for keeping the Train and Domeſticks of each Ambaſſador in order, and that no Diſturbance, or Quarrel might ariſe between them, it was Ordered,

VI.

That a Prohibition ſhould be given to every one to ſtir Abroad at Night; and that whoſoever ſhould be caught Abroad after the Sun was Set, ſhould be kept in the Cuſtody of the Guards until Morning, and then to be delivered into the Hands of the Ambaſſador to whom he belongs, to be puniſhed.

The Points were Signed and Sealed by the Ambaſſadors at *Carlowitz*, the 26th of *October*, or the 6th of *November*, N. S.

On the $\frac{3}{13}$ of *November*, the Ambaſſador from the Emperor, appeared in the Camp of *Carlovitz*; as alſo did thoſe from the Sultan, who placed themſelves on both ſides, not far from the Houſe appointed for the Conferences to be held, and not far from the Places where the Mediators had their Lodgings, in which void Places ſeveral Magnificent and Stately Tents were erected; at which, about nine of the Clock in the Morning, the Emperor's Ambaſſador arrived, being attended with four Coaches of State, and a Numerous Retinue.

And in the firſt place they went to the Tents of the Mediators, where at the ſame time appeared the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador, attended with a very ſtately Retinue of Cavaliers, well mounted on Horſes of the fineſt Shapes that could be found in all Quarters of the *Eaſtern* World, and beſides their Cloathing which was very rich, they made as beautiful an Appearance, as the *Germans* had done before them: And both Parties at the ſame time preſented themſelves before the Mediators, in the Tent appointed for the Conferences: Where after the Salutations, and Complements on both ſides, ſufficiently Courteous and Obliging, they took their Seats in the middle of the Tent, purpoſely ſet, and laid for them, one directly againſt the other, in ſuch a manner, that no Perſon could take Exception againſt his Place, or Seat appointed for him.

This being agreed and ſetled, the firſt Conference began, which was to determine this Great and Solemn Peace; which was the firſt of this kind, that ever paſſed between the *Chriſtians* and the *Turks*; not but that ſeveral Treaties and Concluſions of Articles had paſſed before, but not on ſuch equal Terms, and with ſo much Honour, and Deference given to *Chriſtian* Mediators, which will be recorded in all Ages, to the Glory of *William the Third*, King of *Great-Britain*, and of the States-General, His Worthy and Wiſe Allies.

Nor will it be leſs Memorable in Honour of that Noble and Ancient Family of the Lord *Paget*; who with the Heer *Colyer*, Ambaſſador from the Lords the States-General of the *United Provinces*, bore ſo great a ſhare in this Everlaſting, and never to be forgotten Treaty.

The Tent appointed for this Congreſs had four Doors, which fronted each other, at one of which entered the Imperial Ambaſſador, and at the oppoſite thereunto entered the *Turkiſh*; and at the two others, which were likewiſe oppoſite, entered the Mediators.

The Imperial Ambaſſador, was Named the Moſt Excellent Lord the Count of *Ottingen*: And on the *Turkiſh* ſide was the *Reis Effendi*, which I take to be principal Secretary of State with us.

Behind the Emperor's Ambaſſador the Secretary of the Embaſſy was placed; as alſo at a ſmall Table behind the *Engliſh* Mediator, was placed the *Engliſh* Secretary: And behind the *Ottoman* Ambaſſador the *Turkiſh* Secretary, called *Mauro Cordato*, by Extraction a *Greek*, and of that Rite, or Religion; he ſtood a while behind the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador upon his Legs, but afterwards was ordered to ſit on the Ground after the *Turkiſh* Faſhion; both which Secretaries took the Minutes, or *Protocollo* of what was propounded, or what paſſed.

The Doors of the Tent was on all ſides guarded equally by *Germans* and *Turks*, and both filled up the Doors of the Tent, amongſt which were many Commanding Officers, who had room ſufficient to ſee every thing that paſſed: The Conferences began commonly about ten a Clock, or half an Hour paſt ten in the Morning, and laſted until half an Hour paſt two in the Afternoon: And then ended the firſt Day of Conference.

On the $\frac{4}{14}$th the Imperial Ambaſſador diſpatched a Meſſenger by way of *Peter Waradin* towards the Places where the Regiment of *Corbelli*, and the two Battalions of *Anhalt*, and *Turcheim*, were Quartered, which were ſetled there for Guards near to the Congreſs; as alſo for the ſame reaſon had appointed 200 Horſe of the firſt Rank, and 100 Foot of the ſecond: Likewiſe the *Turkiſh* Miniſters remanded to *Belgrade* as many of their People, as they could well ſpare.

The ſame Day that this Exchange was made, the Plenipotentiaries from the Sultan not being uſed to ſit upon Stools, or Chairs, but very uneaſily, cauſed a Safraw to be placed for them, covered with rich Carpets, and Embroidered Cuſhions, upon which they ſate Croſs-legg'd after the *Turkiſh* Faſhion.

After which the Company riſing, the Imperial Ambaſſador went to Dinner with the Mediators, where having remained for the ſpace of about two Hours, they returned to the Conference about three a Clock, which continued until half an Hour paſt four in the Evening.

1698.

The next Day being the $\frac{5}{15}$, the Imperial Ambaſſador appeared at the place of the Conference in moſt Rich and Pompous Habit in Honour to the Day, which was the Emperor's Birth-Day; and which after the Conference was ended, was honoured with a moſt ſplendid and ſtately Dinner, and Entertainment.

The $\frac{6}{16}$ the Plenipotentiaries again aſſembled about ten a Clock in the Morning, which continued with much diligence until eight a Clock in the Evening.

The $\frac{7}{17}$th the *Venetian* Ambaſſador came for the firſt time with a moſt ſplendid Equipage to the Conference, in which that whole Day was entirely ſpent.

On the $\frac{7}{17}$th, the *Turks* made a Propoſition to have the Principality of *Tranſylvania* to be reſtored to its priſtine State and Condition, but ſo as to remain under the Emperor's Protection; but this Point was poſitively rejected by the Imperialiſts, the which not taking.

On the $\frac{11}{21}$, the *Turks* made another Offer about this Principality, leaving it wholly in the Power and Poſſeſſion of the Emperor, ſtipulating howſoever, That an Honorary Tribute ſhould be paid unto the Port for the ſame, but this was likewiſe rejected by the Imperialiſts: For the truth is, the Emperor would hearken to nothing which could give the *Turks* any Footing or Demand upon *Tranſylvania*, which is the Entrance, and the Lock and Key into the *Upper Hungary*, and into *Germany* it ſelf.

So on the $\frac{14}{24}$, after long Debates on both ſides, the Point of *Tranſylvania* was agreed in the ſame manner as propoſed by the *Germans*.

The $\frac{15}{25}$th was entirely ſpent upon the Argument of the Limits, in which things were ſo prepared, that

On the $\frac{16}{26}$th a good progreſs was made about the Regulation of the Confines; and before they aroſe, or ſeparated for that Evening, it was agreed, which of the other Allies ſhould have their Buſineſs come next to the Conference, and was agreed, That it ſhould be the *Venetians*, which was the more eaſily aſſented unto, becauſe they had agreed with the Imperialiſts to treat upon the Foot of *Uti Poſſidetis*.

1698.

Accordingly on the $\frac{17}{27}$, the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors met the *Turks*, and had a long Conference with them; but the *Turks* making ſome new Demands, which the Ambaſſadors not being prepared to anſwer, or to gratifie them in, it ended for that Day without any Determination.

The $\frac{18}{28}$th, the *Venetians* renewed their former Conference, where the ſame Difficulties offering and not removed, all ended again without any farther poſitive Reſolution.

The $\frac{19}{29}$ the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador went to Conference, in which having held a Diſcourſe only in general Terms, without entering upon Particulars, nothing was concluded, or determined for that Day.

The $\frac{20}{30}$ was ſpent by the Mediators in going between the Plenipotentiaries to diſpoſe them towards the ultimate Agreement.

The 21ſt of *November*, or firſt of *December*, the Imperialiſts had a Conference with the *Turks* in the Morning, at which they proceeded yet farther in adjuſting and ſetling the Limits of each Empire: And the ſame Day in the Afternoon the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador went to Conference; at which his Diſcourſe was looſe and general, ſo that nothing was concluded for that time.

The next Day being the 22d of *November*, or the 2d of *December*, the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador had another Conference with the *Turks*, who pretended the Ceſſion, or Demolition of the Places Conquered by the Czar, but that Demand was rejected, the Ambaſſador ſaying, *That he would neither give unto, nor take any thing from the* Turks; *but that his Maſter required the Fortreſs of* Keres *from the Cham of* Tartary.

The 23d of *November*, or the 3d of *December*, the Ambaſſador of *Poland* began to abate, and remit ſomething of his high Demands, which gave ſome hopes of an Accommodation between the *Poles* and the *Turks*, in caſe an Equivalent could be found for the Town and Fortreſs of *Caminieck*.

The $\frac{24}{4}$ in the Afternoon the *Venetian* Ambaſſador had a Conference which laſted until Night, but could come to no ſatisfactory Reſolution; the *Turks* ſtill adhering to their Demands, that ſeveral places ſhould be razed, which are in the Poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*, which the Ambaſſador alledged that he had not power to grant.

The $\frac{27}{7}$th the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador went again to Conference, after which, it was obſerved, That the *Turks* diſpatched an Expreſs Courier to the Port thereupon.

The $\frac{26}{6}$ in the Afternoon, the Imperialiſts went again to Conference, but concluded nothing for that time.

The $\frac{28}{8}$ the Imperialiſts had another Conference with the *Turks*, which held from nine a Clock in the Morning, till five in the Afternoon; during which time the Articles between the Emperor and the Sultan were for the moſt part agreed.

The $\frac{29}{9}$th the Imperial Ambaſſador held another Conference with the *Turks*, but that Day was for the moſt part ſpent in Debates without any concluſion.

The $\frac{30}{10}$th my Lord *Paget* went to the *Ottoman* Ambaſſador in the Morning, and to the Imperialiſts in the Afternoon, endeavouring to diſpoſe both Parties to a Peace.

December $\frac{1}{11}$th the Imperial Ambaſſador had this Day the tenth Conference with the *Turks*, at which the remaining Articles were debated and agreed, ſo that little or nothing was wanting to perfect the Emperor's Treaty.

On the $\frac{2}{12}$th the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador was at Conference from 10 a Clock to 12 at Noon: At which the *Turks* required the Demolition, and Reſtitution of *Dogan Caluſi*, and three other Forts which the Czar holds upon the *Boriſthenes*, to which the *Moſcovites* would give no ear; howſoever they relinquiſhed their Pretenſions upon *Keres*; ſo that it was not doubted but that a Medium might now be eaſily found to compoſe Matters remaining.

The $\frac{3}{13}$th was ſpent by the Mediators in trying to rectifie ſome Miſtakes and Miſunderſtandings which might remove ſome Difficulties.

The $\frac{4}{14}$th the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador was at Conference, at which four Articles were drawn and agreed unto.

In one of which there was yielded unto the *Turks* the Caſtles which the *Poles* then had, and poſſeſſed in *Moldavia*.

In another, it was agreed, That in Exchange for thoſe Caſtles, the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Caminieck*, and the Provinces of *Podolia*, and *Ukrania*, ſhould be Surrendered into the Hands of the *Poles*.

The $\frac{5}{15}$ was ſpent in preparing Matters for a farther Progreſs.

The $\frac{6}{16}$ the Imperialiſts went to Conference with an Intention to reduce the Articles which were already agreed, into order, but the *Turks* not having fully finiſhed the Tranſlation of them, it was deferred to another Convention.

On the $\frac{7}{17}$th, the *Moſcovite* delivered into the Hands of my Lord *Paget*, the Articles which he had promiſed to conſign to the Mediation.

And accordingly on the $\frac{8}{18}$th, he ſent a Supplement thereunto, which did not anſwer expectation, ſo that Buſineſs remained for ſome time undetermined.

The next Day $\frac{9}{19}$ the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador had another Conference with the *Turks*, at which the remaining Points of the Treaty were agreed upon; ſo that in a manner that whole Peace was agreed, and finiſhed.

The $\frac{10}{20}$th of *December*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador communicated a new Commiſſion, and Project which he had received from the State of *Venice* to the Mediators.

And in the Afternoon the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador entertained a Diſcourſe with the Mediators, and *Mauro Cordato*, but at that Meeting they cleared no Buſineſs.

With theſe frequent Conferences on all ſides, much time paſſed away, until *Chriſtmas* approached, and then was the Seaſon that Labours ſhould give place to Devotion and Mirth, and to the Solemnities of that Feſtival, which continued until the Twelve Days were over; and then all ſides began again, after the Plenipotentiary Ambaſſadors had paſſed their time very Jovially, to renew again their Treaties: Only the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors having little to do with the *Chriſtian* Rites, wiſhed heartily that the Feaſts were over, and preſſed heartily for an end thereof; alledging, That their Preſence was required at the Port, and that the Sultan would no longer allow of their Abſence.

1698.

The firſt that betook himſelf to Buſineſs, (which was ſtrange) was the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador, who on the $\frac{14}{24}$th of *January* 1699, was the firſt who Subſcribed the Inſtrument of Amneſty, and the Treaties of the Peace of the Emperor, and *Poland*, with the Port, were Signed on the $\frac{16}{26}$th by their Ambaſſadors: And the *Venetian* Treaty being very well adjuſted and perfected, all Parties appeared to be very well ſatisfied; and the *Venetian* Ambaſſador as well as the others, tho' for want of ſufficient Power, he could not then Sign his Inſtrument, but ſuppoſed that Orders would come to him for doing the ſame, before the Imperial Ratifications, which were to be exchanged on the Line of Limits between *Peter Waradin*, and *Belgrade*, could be diſpatched, in which caſe the Mediators had Power to receive it. *Monday* the $\frac{16}{26}$ of *January* was appointed for the Solemn Day of Signature.

Monday the $\frac{16}{26}$th of *January*, was the Solemn Day of Signature, the which having been paſſed in the Morning, all the Ambaſſadors, *Turks* as well as *Chriſtians*, with all their Attendants, Guards, &c. with many Perſons of Quality out of the Country, making about 5000 Perſons, Dined at my Lord *Paget*'s Quarters, at whoſe Table, the King of *England*'s Health was the firſt that was drank, then the Emperor's, and the laſting Continuance of the Peace, which was Signed that very Day: And then we may believe, and fanſie, that moſt People there preſent were all heartily Merry, with as much Solemnity as that Place could afford: And amongſt other things of Mirth it was obſerved, That my Lord *Paget* had an Oxe Roaſted whole for the Soldiers, a thing never known before in thoſe Parts.

On the $\frac{17}{27}$th, the Mediators Dined with the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, where they were entertained with the like Rejoycings, and in the Evening with Fire-Works, Fountains of Wine, Drums, Trumpets, Muſick, and with the Diſcharge of Great and Small Guns.

The $\frac{18}{28}$th, the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador took his leave of my Lord *Paget*, with many Lofty Expreſſions of Civility and Acknowledgments.

The $\frac{19}{29}$th, my Lord *Paget* Viſited the Imperial Ambaſſadors, as he did the *Turks* on the $\frac{20}{30}$th, and $\frac{21}{31}$ſt, which was in return of that Compliment which the *Turks* had made to him ſome time after the firſt Conferences.

The 21ſt of *January*, or the firſt of *February*, the *Turks* were to viſit the Imperial Ambaſſadors, and to take their leaves of them.

On the $\frac{24}{3}$th, the Imperialiſts were to take their Leaves of the *Turks*, and return their Viſit.

And on the $\frac{24}{4}$th or $\frac{25}{5}$th in the Morning, the Mediators, and *Turks*, deſigned to take their Journey towards *Belgrade*, where the Mediators were to continue until the Exchange of the Ratifications.

The 26th at Night, *O. S.* the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador departed by the Poſt, after having paſſed many high Complements on my Lord *Pagett*, expreſſing the Tranſport he was in, for the Succeſsful Aſſiſtances he had received from His Excellency in the Management and Concluſion of his Buſineſs.

The *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador alſo declared, That he would leave *Peter Waradin* on the $\frac{2}{12}$th of *February*; and in three or four Days after which, the Mediators declared, That the Place of Congreſs was likely to be quite cleared.

The Houſe of Conference was beſtowed by Count *Ottingen* on the *Franciſcan* Fryars, who at the ſame time declared, That their Intentions were to make a Church thereof, in memory of that Peace which had been there tranſacted.

For which God be praiſed; which being of a High Concernment to all *Chriſtendom*, and to which the knowledge of the particular Articles may be uſeful to all Nations, we have thought fit to add them hereunto in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, as here followeth.

INSTRUMENTUM PACIS Cæſareo-Ottomanicum,

Subſcriptum Januarii 26. 1699.

AD perpetuam rei memoriam, Notum ſit omnibus & ſingulis, quorum intereſt, poſteaquam per ſedecim hucuſque annos ſævum, exitiale, & multâ humani Sanguinis effuſione cruentum adeò bellum, cum plurimarum Provinciarum deſolatione geſtum eſſet inter Sereniſſimum, & Potentiſſimum Principem & Dominum Leopoldum, Electum Romanorum Imperatorem ſemper Auguſtum, Germaniæ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, Sclavoniæ Regem, Archiducem Auſtriæ, Ducem Burgundiæ, Brabantiæ, Styriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ, Marchionem Moraviæ, Ducem Luxemburgiæ, Superioris & Inferioris Sileſiæ, Wirtembergæ, & Teckæ, Principem Sueviæ, Comitem Habſpurgi, Tyrolis, Kyburgi & Goritiæ, Marchionem Sacri Romani Imperii, Burgoviæ, ac Superioris & Inferioris Luſatiæ, Dominum Marchiæ Sclavinicæ, Portus Naonis & Salinarum, &c. ab una: Et Sereniſſimum, atque Potentiſſimum Principem & Dominum Sultanum Muſtapha Han Ottomannorum Imperatorem, ac Aſiæ & Græciæ ejuſque glorioſos Prædeceſſores ab altera parte, miſeritique tandem afflictæ Subditorum Sortis ſummè dicti ambo Potentiſſimi Imperatores finem tantis in perniciem Generis Humani indies augeſcentibus malis ponere, ſeriò in animum induxiſſent, factum Divinâ bonitate eſſe, ut annitentibus, & Conciliantibus Sereniſſimo, & Potentiſſimo Principe, & Domino Guillielmo Tertio, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rege, uti & Celſis ac Præpotentibus Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus Unitarum Belgii Provinciarum Solennes ea de cauſa Tractatus Carlovizii in Sirmio propè Confinia utriuſque Imperii inſtituti atque ad finem perducti fuerint. Comparentes quippe dicto loco utrinque legitimè conſtituti Plenipotentiarii nomine quidem Sacræ Cæſareæ, & Romanorum Imperatoriæ Majeſtatis, Illuſtriſſimi & Excellentiſſimi Domini, Dominus Wolffgangus Sacri Romani Imperii Comes ab Oettingen Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtatis Cubicularius, Conſiliarius intimus; & Conſilii Imperialis Aulici Præſes: Et Dominus Leopoldus Schlik Sacri Romani Imperii Comes in Paſſaun, & Weiskirchen, ejuſdem Sacræ Cæſareæ Majeſtatis Cubicularius Generalis, Vigiliarum Præfectus, & Legionis Deſultoriorum Equitum Tribunus: ambo ad Tractatus hoſce Pacis cum Porta Ottomannica deputati legati Extraordinarii, & Plenipotentiarii: nomine verò imperialis Ottomannicæ Majeſtatis, Illuſtriſſimi & Excellentiſſimi Domini, Dominus Mehemet Effendi, Supremus Imperii Ottomannici Cancellarius & Dominus Alexander Mauro Cordato ex nobili Stirpe de Scarlati intimus jam dicti Imperii Conſiliarius, & Secretarius, interventu & operâ Illuſtriſſimorum, & Excellentiſſimorum Dominorum, Domini Guilielmi Paget, Baronis de Beaudeſert, Sereniſſimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis, & Domini Jacobi Colyer, Celſorum & Præpotentium Generalium Fœderati Belgii Ordinum, amborum apud Excelſam Portam Ottomannicam oratorum & ad reſtabiliendam pacem univerſalem legatorum Plenipotentiariorum, qui munere Mediatoris integre, ſedulo & prudenter perfuncti ſunt: poſt invocatam æterni Numinis opem, & commutatas ritè mandatorum tabulas ad Divini Nominis gloriam, & utriuſque Imperii Salutem, in ſequentes viginti mutuas Pacis, & concordiæ leges convenerunt.

I.

REGIO Tranſylvaniæ, quemadmodum, de præſenti eſt in poſſeſſione, & poteſtatate Cæſ. Majeſtatis, ita maneat in ejuſdem Dominio: Et à Podoliæ confinio, uſque ad extremum Vallachiæ Confinium, ſuis Montibus, qui antiqui fuerunt limites ante præſens bellum inter Tranſylvaniam ex una parte, & Moldaviam atque Vallachiam ex alia parte, atque à Confinio Vallachiæ uſque ad Flumen Maruſum, pariter ſuis Montibus, qui antiqui fuerunt limites, circumſcribatur, & ſic utrinque obſervatis antiquis Limitibus, nec ultrà nec citrà ab utroque Imperio fieri poſſit extenſio.

II.

Provincia Subjecta Arci Temeſwarinenſi cum omnibus ſuis diſtrictibus, & interfluentibus Fluviis maneat in poſſeſſione, & poteſtate Excelſi imperii Ottomannici, atque à parte Tranſylvaniæ fines ejus ſint ab extremo confinio Vallachiæ uſque ad Fluvium Maruſium in Superiori Articulo conſtituti Tranſylvaniæ antiqui Limites. Tum à parte Maruſii uſque ad Fluvium Tibiſcum citerioribus ripis ejuſdem Maruſii, & à parte Tibiſci uſque ad Danubium citerioribus ripis Fluvii Tibiſci fines ejus limitentur: Quæ vero intra prædictos limites ſita ſunt loca, nempe Caranſebes, Lugos, Lippa, Cſanad, Kiſcaniſia, Betſche, Betskerech, & Sablia citerius & intra præconſtitutos ante præſens bellum prædeclaratam rationem intra ripas Fluminum Maruſii & Tibiſci in Temeſwarinenſibus Territoriis, qualiſcunque alius ſimilis locus reperiatur, eâ conditione deſtruantur per Cæſareos, ut vi Pactorum amplius reædificari non poſſint: Et prædicta Regio Temeſwarinenſis omnino libera relinquatur, & impoſterum neque in dictis hiſce locis, neque prope ripas Fluviorum Maruſii atque Tibiſci alia vel majora vel minora loca, quæ poſſint Speciem Fortificationis exhibere, exſtruantur.

Fluviorum Maruſii ac Tibiſci inter Provinciam Temeſwarinenſem, & Provincias Cæſareæ poteſtati, & poſſeſſioni ſubjectas uſus ſit communis Subditis utriuſque imperii, tum ad potum pecorum omnis generis, tum ad piſcationem, & alias commoditates Subditis perquam neceſſarias.

Cum verò onerariæ Naves à partibus Superioribus Subjectis Cæſareo Dominio, tum per Maruſium Fluvium in Tibiſcum, tum per Tibiſcum in Danubium, ſive aſcendendo ſive deſcendendo ultrò citroque meantes nullo obice præpediri debeant, navigatio Navium Germanicarum, aut aliorum Subditorum Cæſareorum, nullo modo poſſit in curſu ſuo ultrò citróque incommodari, ſed liberè atque commodiſſimè fiat ubique in prædictis duobus Fluviis: Et ſi quidem reciprocæ amicitiæ & mutuæ benevolentiæ convenientia id etiam requirat, ut Subditi imperiali Ottomanicæ poteſtati ſubjecti poſſint uſûs prædictorum Fluviorum eſſe participes, ſine impedimento Navibus piſcatoriis etiam ac Cymbis utantur.

Molendinariæ autem Naves in locis tantum, quibus Navigationi alterius, nempe Cæſarei Dominii, nullatenus impedimento eſſe poſſint, communicatione Gubernatorum utriuſque Dominii, & conſenſu ponantur: quinimò ne diverſione aquarum in Maruſio curſus Cæſarearum Navium incommodum aliquod patiatur, nullatenus permittetur, ut ſive Molendinorum, ſive alia occaſione ex Maruſio aquæ aliò deriventur ſeu diducantur.

Inſulæ quæcunque in prædictis Fluviis, cum actu ſint in poteſtate Cæſarea, maneant, uti poſſidentur: & ſubditi utriuſque Dominii omnino pacificè atque tranquillè vivant, Severiſſimiſque Edictis ab inſolentiis, & contraventione Pactorum contineantur.

III.

Cum Regio inter Fluvios Tibiſcum, & Danubium vulgò dicta Batska ſit in ſola poſſeſſione & poteſtate Cæſareæ Majeſtatis, ſic maneat deinceps etiam in præfata poteſtate, & Dominio Cæſareo, neque Titelium magis quam in præſenti eſt, fortificetur.

IV.

Ab extrema ripa citeriore Tibiſci, oppoſita Titelianæ ripæ & angulo terræ ibidem per conjunctionem Tibiſci, & Danubii terminato deducatur linea recta uſque in ripam Danubii: Item è regione citerioris ripæ Tibiſcanæ ſitam, & ulterius protrahatur pariter recta ad Moravizii ripam citeriorem amnis Boſſut, & inde ad locum uſque ubi prædictus amnis Boſſut principali alveo in Savum illabitur: & Moravizio ſine ulla Fortificatione relicto, exſtructiſque tantùm in oppoſita utrinque ripa, apertis pagis, ſeparentur per prædictam lineam firmatam atque diſtinctam ſive foſſis, ſive lapidibus, ſive palis, ſive aliâ ratione Imperia ſequenti modo: Regio Verſus Belgradinum intra modò dictos limites permaneat ſub ſola poteſtate Poten-

tiſſimi

1699. tiſſimi Ottomannorum Imperatoris : Regio vero extra prædictam lineam ſita, maneat ſub ſola poteſtate & poſſeſſione Potentiſſimi Romanorum Imperatoris : & ſecundùm prædictos limites pariter poſſideantur Fluvii qui ſunt Territoriis permanentibus in poſſeſſione utriuſque partis.

V.

Ab oſtio amnis Boſſut in Savum effluentis uſque item in Savum elabentis Unnæ Fluvii oſtium Savi altera quidem pars pertinens ad Ditionem Cæſaream poſſideatur ab ejus Majeſtate, altera verò pars poſſideatur ab Imperatore Ottomannorum.

Interfluens Fluvius Savus, & Inſulæ in hoc communi tractu ſitæ, ſint communes, & uſus tum ad Navigationem ultrò citróque, tum ad alias commoditates utriuſque partis Subditis pariter communis ſit, utriuſque religioſè obſervantibus, pacificum, & imperturbatum ultrò citróque commercium ; Uſque ad Unnam Fluvium Regio pertinens ad Dominium Imperialis Ottomannicæ Majeſtatis, quâ Boſniam ſpectat, citerioribus ripis Unnæ Fluvii definiatur atque terminetur evacuatis Novi, Dubizza, Jeſſenovizza, Doboy, & Brod ex parte Boſnenſi : & qualicunque alio ſimili loco in hoc Tractu exiſtente, & deductis inde Præſidiis Cæſareis, iſta pars omni modo libera relinquatur: Caſtanoviz autem, & inſulæ infra Terram Novi verſus Savum cum ulterioribus ripis ejuſdem Unnæ, cum ſint & maneant in poteſtate Romanorum Imperatoris, prædictis limitibus hinc diſtinguantur.

Loca demum ultra Unnam longè à Savo ſita, & ab utraque parte Præſidiis conſervata atque poſſeſſa cum Terris ante præſens bellum ad eadem ſpectantibus, maneant iterum in poteſtate utriuſque poſſidentis partis, ea Conditione, ut Commiſſarii utrinque mox deputandi Diſtrictus atque Territoria ſingulatim deductis particularibus lineis ſeparantes, per foſſas, lapides, palos, aut aliâ quacunque ratione, ad evitandam confuſionem poſita Signa, ſegregent atque disjungant, in partibus Croatiæ uſque ad ultimum Confinium, & terminum locorum in utriuſque Dominii poſſeſſione permanſurorum.

Et ex utraque parte, ſi quis auſus fuerit alterare, mutare, evellere, tollere, aut quovis modo violare aliquod ex prædictis Signis, ille per omnimodam inquiſitionem deprehenſus ad exemplum aliorum ſeveriſſimè puniatur.

Commiſſariis verò ad diſtinctionem, & poſitionem limitum in iſto confinio quoad fieri poterit, quàm celerrimè deputandis Regiis Edictis demandetur, ut ad Tranquillitatem, & Securitatem Subditorum utriuſque Dominii ſedulo animum adhibentes ſine controverſia, & ſine quacunque particulari complacentia Terras optimè ſeparent, atque manifeſtè diſtinguant. 1699.

Cùm ſiti in altera Savi parte, qua Dominium Imperiale Ottomannicum recipit, munimenti Brod Fortificationes utpote recenter à Militiis Cæſareis factæ, tempore educendi Præſidii Cæſarei, everti debeant; locus autem ille ſit commodiſſimus ad Mercaturam, poterit ibidem erigi cum honeſto & commodo recinctu civitas, ita tamen ut in Arcis aut Munimenti formam non redigatur.

VI.

Definiti tandem per hoſce Tractatus, & ſubſecutâ, ubi opus fuerit, locali Deputatorum Commiſſariorum ſeparatione ſtabiliti, ſive deinceps idoneo tempore per operam Commiſſariorum utrinque ſtabiliendi Confiniorum limites ſanctè utrinque; & religioſè obſerventur, ita ut ſub nulla ratione aut prætextu extendi, transferri, aut mutuari poſſint : neque liceat alicui paciſcentium parti in alterius partis Territorium ultra ſtatutos ſemel terminos, aut lineas quidquam Juris aut poteſtatis prætendere aut exercere, aut alterius partis Subditos ſive ad deditionem, ſive ad pendendum tributum qualecumque, ſive præteritum, ſive futurum, ſive ad quamvis aliam humano ingenio excogitabilem exactionis aut vexationis ſpeciem adigere aut moleſtare, ſed omnis altercatio juſte amoveatur.

VII.

Licitum & liberum eſto utrique partium pro confiniorum ſuorum ſecuritate quocunque meliori viſum fuerit modo, arces, munimenta, & loca per præſentes Tractatus pacifice poſſeſſa, quæcunque de facto extant, reparare, munire, & fortificare, exceptis illis, de quibus utrinque nominatim cautum eſt ; ad Incolarum verò commodas habitationes in extremis Confiniis apertos pagos ædificare ubique ſine impedimento & ſine exceptione utrique parti liceat, dummodo ſub hoc prætextu Fortalitia non erigantur.

VIII.

Incurſiones hoſtiles, & occupationes, omneſque inſultus clam aut ex improviſo facti devaſtationes, & depopulationes Territorii utriuſque Dominii omnino, & ſeveriſſimis Mandatis prohibitæ ſint ac illicitæ: tranſgreſſores verò articuli hujus ubicunque deprehenſi ſtatim incarcerentur, & per Juriſdictionem loci, ubi captivati fuerint, pro merito puniantur abſque ulla remiſſione, & rapta quæcunque ſint diligentiſſimè perquiſita, & adinventa, cum omni æquitate Dominis ſuis reſtituantur: Capitanei quoque ipſimet, Commendantes, & Præfecti utriuſque partis ad juſtitiam nullâ admiſſâ injuriâ integerrimè adminiſtrandam ſub amiſſione officii non ſolum, ſed etiam vitæ, & honoris adſtricti ſint, atque obligati.

IX.

Maneat porrò etiam illicitum futuris quoque temporibus, receptaculum vel fomentum dare malis Hominibus, rebellibus Subditis, aut malè contentis, ſed ejuſmodi Homines, & omnes prædones, raptores, etiamſi alterius partis Subditi ſint, quos in ditione ſua deprehenderint, merito ſupplicio afficere, utraque pars adſtricta ſit: qui ſi deprehendi nequeant, Capitaneis aut Præfectis eorum, ſicubi eos latitare compertum fuerit, indicentur, iique illos puniendi Mandatum habeant: quod ſi nec hi officio ſuo in punitione talium ſceleratorum ſatisfecerint, indignationem Imperatoris ſui incurrant, aut officiis exuantur, aut ipſimet pœnas pro reis luant: Quoque magis nefariorum hujuſmodi petulantiis cautum ſit, neutri partium liceat intertenere, & alere Haydones, quos liberos nuncupant, Plagiarios Pribeck dictos, atque id genus facinoroſorum Hominum, qui non ſunt alterutrius Principis ſtipendio conducti ſed rapto vivunt, tamque ii quam qui eos aluerint, pro demerito puniantur; taleſque nefarii, etiamſi conſuetæ vitæ emendationem præ ſe ferant, nullam fidem mereantur nec prope confinia tolerentur, ſed ad alia remotiora loca transferantur.

X.

Cum tempore præſentis hujus belli plures ex Hungaris & Tranſylvanis à Subjectione ſuæ Cæſareæ Majeſtatis ſecedentes ad Confinia Excelſi Imperii ſeſe receperint, atque hac in parte etiam concluſæ per inducias inter utrumque imperium almæ huic Paci debitis modis in futuram ſecuritatem providendum ſit, de prædictis ita pactum eſt, ut in ditionibus antè nominati Excelſi Imperii ad lubitum poſſint locari & accommodari: Ne tamen aliquo modo Confiniorum tranquillitas, & Subditorum quies perturbari queat, loca ubi prædicti collocabuntur, remota ſint ab omnibus limitaneis, & confiniariis partibus, & uxoribus illorum dabitur facultas ſequendi maritos ſuos, iiſque in Imperatorio aſſignato ad hoc diſtrictum cohabitandi. Cumque impoſterum in reliquos Subditos Potentiſſimi Ottomannorum Imperatoris annumerandi veniant, non liceat illis à ſubjectione ejuſdem amplius recedere, & ſi qui receſſerint, atque ad Patriam iterum reverti voluerint, in numero & conditione malevolorum recenſeantur, neque illis à Cæſareis fomentum aut receptaculum præbeatur, quinimo deprehenſi Ottomannis Confiniorum Gubernatoribus extradantur, quo magis utrinque ſecuritati Pacis proſpiciatur.

XI.

Ad tollendas penitus quaſcunque in Confiniis ſuper aliquo articulorum Armiſtitii hujus aut quavis de re impoſterum enaſcentes controverſias, differentias, aut diſcordias, ubi prompto & maturo remedio opus ſit ordinentur utrinque in Confiniis primo quoque tempore electi pari numero Commiſſarii viri neutiquam avidi, ſed graves, probi, prudentes, experti, atque pacifici: Hique loco opportuno convenientes ſine exercitu cum æquali pacificarum perſonarum comitiva, omnes & ſingulas hujuſmodi controverſias emergentes, audiant, cognoſcant, decidant, & amicabiliter componant, talem denique ordinem, & modum conſtituant, quo utraque pars ſuos Homines, & Subditos citra omnem Tergiverſationem vel prætextum graviſſimis pœnis ad ſinceram ac firmam pacis obſervantiam compellat. Quod ſi verò negotia tanti momenti occurrerent, quæ per Commiſſarios utriuſque partis componi & expediri non poſſent, tunc ad ambos Potentiſſimos Imperatores remittantur, ut ipſi complanandis iiſdem, ſedandis, & extinguendis modum & rationem invenire & adhibere valeant, ita, ut tales controverſiæ quàm fieri poterit intra breviſſimum temporis ſpatium componantur, nec earum reſolutio ullâ ratione negligatur, aut protrahatur.

Cumque præterea in antecedentibus Sacris Capitulationibus duella, & mutuæ ad certamen provocationes fuerint vetitæ, impoſterum etiam ſint illicitæ; & ſi qui ad ſingulare certamen venire auſi fuerint, in illos ut tranſgreſſores graviſſimè animadvertatur.

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XII.

Captivi tempore præſentis belli ex utraque parte in captivitatem abacti, & in publicis carceribus adhuc ſuperſtites, cùm occaſione iſtius almæ Pacis eliberationem tandem aliquando meritò ſperent, nec poſſint ſine læſione Majeſtatis Imperatoriæ, & laudatæ conſuetudinis in eadem Captivitatis miſeria, & calamitate relinqui: uſitatis ab antiquo, vel honeſtioribus adhuc rationibus, per commutationem in libertatem aſſerantur, & ſi plures, aut melioris conditionis in una quam in altera parte invenientur, pro reliquorum etiam eliberatione, quando Solennes legati inſtantias afferent, gratioſa, & huic almæ Paci conveniens utriuſque Imperatoris pietas nequaquam denegetur: Cæteris verò, qui in privatorum poteſtate ſunt, vel apud ipſos Tartaros, licitum ſit eliberationem ſuam honeſto, &, quam fieri poterit, mediocri lytro procurare; quòd ſi cum Captivi Domino honeſta accommodatio fieri non poterit, Judices locorum litem omnem per compoſitionem dirimant: Sin autem prædictis viis id etiam confici haud poſſet, Captivi pretiis eorum ſive per teſtimonia, ſive per juramenta probatis atque ſolutis eliberentur. Nec poſſint Domini aviditate majoris lucri ſeſe redemptioni eorundem opponere, & quandoquidem ex parte Excelſi Imperii Ottomannici Homines non emitterentur, qui taliter eliberandis Captivis operam adhibeant, ſpectabit ad probitatem Cæſareorum Præfectorum, ut ad dimittendum Ottomannos Captivos, quo empti ſunt pretio ſincere liquidato, Dominos illorum adſtringant, atque ita Sanctum hoc opus pari utrinque pietate promoveatur: quouſque demùm Captivi utrinque prædictæ ratione eliberentur, legati Plenipotentiarii ex utraque parte officia ſua adhibebunt, ut interea miſeri Captivi benignè tractentur.

XIII.

Pro Religioſis, ac Religionis Chriſtianæ exercitio juxta ritum Romanum Catholicæ Eccleſiæ, quæcunque præcedentes glorioſiſſimi Ottomannorum Imperatores in Regnis ſuis ſive per antecedentes Sacras Capitulationes, ſive per ſigna Imperialia, ſive per Edicta, & Mandata Specialia favorabiliter conceſſerunt, ea omnia Sereniſſimus, & Potentiſſimus Ottomannorum Imperator impoſterum etiam obſervanda confirmabit, ita ut Eccleſias ſuas præfati Religioſi reparare atque reſarcire poſſint, functiones ſuas ab antiquo conſuetas exerceant, & nemini permiſſum ſit, contra Sacras Capitulationes, & contra leges Divinas aliquo genere moleſtiæ, aut pecuniariæ petitionis eoſdem Religioſos cujuſcunque ordinis, & conditionis afficere, ſed conſuetæ Imperatoriâ pietate gaudeant, & fruantur. Præterea Sereniſſimi, & Potentiſſimi Romanorum Imperatoris ſolenni ad fulgidam Portam legato licitum ſit, commiſſa ſibi circa Religionem, & loca Chriſtianæ Viſitationis in Sancta Civitate Jeruſalem exiſtentia exponere, atque inſtantias ſuas ad Imperiale ſolium afferre.

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XIV.

Commercia juxta antecedentes etiam Sacras Capitulationes libera ſint utriuſque partis ſubditis, in omnibus Imperiorum Regnis, & Ditionibus; ut autem utrique parti utili ratione, & ſine fraude, & dolo peragantur, inter Deputatos Commiſſarios rem mercatoriam bene intelligentes tempore ſolennium utrinque Legationum contractabitur, & ſicuti cum aliis Excelſi Imperii amicis Nationibus obſervatum eſt, ita etiam ſubditi cujuſcunque Nationis Cæſareæ Majeſtatis ſecuritate, & utilitate Commerciorum in Regnis Excelſi Imperii idoneis modis, & uſitatis Privilegiis gaudebunt, & perfruentur.

XV.

Quæcunque conditiones in antiquis Sacris Capitulationibus expreſſæ ſunt, nec prædictis Punctis hoc Tractatu ſtipulatis, aut liberrimo cujuſque poſſidentium Dominio, & uſui ejuſdem adverſantur, aut præjudicant, poſthac etiam colantur ſanctè, & obſerventur, caſſatis & annullatis iis, quæ ſupradictis quocunque modo repugnant.

XVI.

Ut quoque tantò magis Armiſtitium hoc bonáque inter ambos Potentiſſimos Imperatores amicitia firmetur, ac coaleſcat, mittentur Solennes utrinque legati ex quo uſitatis cæremonialibus ab introitu in Confinia uſque ad reditum in locum ſecundæ permutationis excipiendi, honorandi, tractandi atque proſequendi, qui in ſignum amicitiæ Spontaneum munus, conveniens tamen, & utriuſque Imperatoris dignitati conſentaneum afferent; Et primâ æſtate in menſe Junio iter, præviæ mutuâ correſpondentiâ, uno eodemque tempore ſuſcipientes in Sirmienſi confinio, more jam pridem inter utrumque imperium obſervato, permutabuntur. Solennibus porrò legatis in Imperatoriis Aulis, quidquid libuerit, petere liceat, ac permittatur.

XVII.

Regula, & norma Curialium in recipiendis receptiſque pariter honorandis, & tractandis Miniſtris ultrò citròque commeantibus, & commorantibus juxta uſitatam, prioribus etiam temporibus modalitatem deinceps ab utrinque cum æquali decore, & ſecundum diſtinctam characteris miſſorum prærogativam obſervetur. Legatis Cæſareis, & Reſidentibus, & quibuſvis eorundem Hominibus pro ſuo arbitrio quibuſcunque placuerit Veſtibus uti licitum ſit, neve quiſquam impedimento eſſe poſſit. Miniſtri porrò Cæſarei, ſive oratoris, ſive legati, ſive Reſidentis, ſive Agentis munere fungantur, quibus reliquorum Principum Fulgidæ Portæ amicorum legati, & Agentes immunitatibus, & Privilegiis perfruuntur eædem libertate, imò ad diſtinguendam Cæſareæ dignitatis prærogativam uſitatis melioribus modis fruantur, habeantque liberam poteſtatem conducendi interpretes: Curſores etiam, & alii eorum Homines Viennâ ad Fulgidam Portam, atque iterum redeuntes, & ultrò citròque venientes Salvo paſſu tutò, & ſecurè permeent, atque ut commodè iter ſuum perficiant, omni favore coadjuventur.

XVIII.

Pax iſta quamvis ſecundum propoſitas conditiones concluſa, tum demum integrum ex omni parte robur obligationis, & debitæ obſervantiæ vinculum accipiet & inducet, cum omnia, & ſingula, quæ de Confiniis ſuprà recenſito modo ultro citróque promiſſa, & acceptata ſunt, tam de diſtinctionibus limitum, quàm de evacuationibus, & demolitionibus plenarie in effectum, & executionem deducta fuerint, ita ut abſolutæ deſignatione limitum in unoquoque Confinio ſtatim ſubſequatur demolitio, aut evacuatio, quod ut quam celerrimè ſuccedat, deſignentur ad limites, & terminos Confiniorum ponendos, & diſtinguendos, ex utraque parte Commiſſarii, qui die Æquinoctii, ſcilicet 22. menſis Martii, aut 12 ſecundum veterem Stylum, Anni Milleſimi Sexcenteſimi Nonageſimi noni in locis inter Commiſſarios conſenſu Gubernatorum utriuſque Confinii determinandis, mediocri, & pacifico Comitatu conveniant, atque intra ſpatium duorum Menſium, ſi poſſibile ſit, aut etiam citius, ubi fieri poterit, Confinia limitibus, & terminis manifeſtis per ſuperiores articulos conſtitutis diſtinguant, ſeparent, determinent, & Statuta inter legatos Plenipotentiarios utriuſque imperii accuratiſſimè, & citiſſimè exequantur.

XIX.

Has vero conditiones, & articulos ad formam hic mutuò placitam à Majeſtatibus utriuſque Imperatoris ratihabitum iri, atque ut ſolennia ratificationis Diplomata intra ſpatium triginta dierum à die Subſcriptionis vel citius in Confiniis per Illuſtriſſimos & Excellentiſſimos legatos Plenipotentiarios Mediatores reciprocè rectèque commutentur, legati Plenipotentiarii utriuſque imperii ſeſe infallibiliter obligant, atque præſtituros compromittunt.

XX.

Duret Armiſtitium hocce, & extendatur, (favente Deo) ad viginti quinque Annos continuè ſequentes à die, qua ejuſdem ſubſcriptio facta fuerit; quo Annorum numero elapſo, vel etiam medio tempore priuſquam elabatur, liberum eſto utrique partium, ſi ita placuerit, Pacem hanc ad plures adhuc Annos prorogare.

Itaque mutuo, & libero conſenſu quæcunque ſtabilita ſunt Pacta inter Majeſtatem Sereniſſimi, & Potentiſſimi Romanorum Imperatoris, & Majeſtatem Sereniſſimi & Potentiſſimi Ottommannorum Imperatoris & Hæredes eorundem imperia quoque & Regna ipſorum: Terrâ item marique ſitas, Regiones, civitates, urbes, ſubditos, & clientes obſerventur ſanctè, religioſè, ac inviolabiliter, & demandetur ſeriò omnibus utriuſque partis Gubernatoribus, Præfectis, Ducibus Exercituum, atque Militiis, & quibuſvis in eorundem clientela, obedientiæ & ſubjectioni exiſtentibus, ut illi quoque prædeclaratis conditionibus, clauſulis, pactis, & articulis ſeſe adæquatè conformantes omnibus modis caveant; ne contra Pacem, & amicitiam hanc ſub quocunque nomine, aut prætextu, ſe invicem offendant, aut damnificent, ſed quolibet prorſus inimicitiæ genere abſtinendo bonam colant vicinitatem, certò ſcientes, quod ſi eatenus admoniti morem non geſſerint, ſe-

veriſſimis

1699. veriſſimis in ſe pœnis animadvertendum fore.

Ipſe quoque Crimenſis Chanus, & omnes Tartarorum Gentes quovis nomine vocitatæ ad Pacis hujus, & bonæ vicinitatis, & reconciliationis Jura ritè obſervanda adſtricti ſint, nec iiſdem contraveniendo, hoſtilitates quaſcunque exerceant erga quaſvis Cæſareas Provincias, earumque Subditos aut Clientes: Porro ſive ex aliis Exercituum generibus, ſive ex Nationibus Tartarorum, ſi quis contra Sacras Imperatorias haſce Capitulationes, & contra Pacta, & Articulos eorum quidpiam auſus fuerit, is pœnis rigoroſiſſimis coerceatur.

Incipiat verò modo dicta Pax, Quies, & Securitas ſubditorum utriuſque Imperii à ſupradata die Subſcriptionis, & ceſſent exinde, atque ſuſtollantur omnes utrinque inimicitiæ, & Subditi utriuſque partis ſecuritate, & tranquillitate fruantur; Eoque fine, & quò magis per ſummam curam, ac ſedulitatem hoſtilitates inhiberi poſſint, tranſmittantur quàm celerrimè Mandata, & Edicta publicandæ Pacis ad omnes confiniorum Præfectos, cumque ſpatium aliquod temporis requiratur, intra quod officiales in remotioribus præſertim Confiniis iſtam concluſæ Pacis notitiam obtinere valeant, ſtatuuntur viginti dies pro termino, poſt quem ſi quis hoſtile quidpiam alterutra ex parte admittere præſumpſerit, pœnis ſuperius declaratis irremiſſibiliter ſubjaceat.

Ut demum Pacis Conditiones Viginti hiſce articulis concluſæ utrinque acceptatæ, & debito ſummóque cum reſpectu inviolatæ obſerventur: Si quidem Domini Plenipotentiarii Ottomannici vi conceſſæ iiſdem facultatis Imperatoriæ inſtrumentum Turcico ſermone exaratum, & ſubſcriptum, legitimum, & validum nobis exhibuerint: Nos quoque vi Mandati, & Plenipotentia noſtra, propriis manibus, & propriis Sigillis Subſcriptas, & Signatas haſce Pactorum literas in Latino Idiomate tanquam legitimum, & validum viciſſim Inſtrumentum extradidimus.

THE

THE INSTRUMENT OF THE Treaty of Peace, BETWIXT THE *GERMAN* and *OTTOMAN* Empires,

Subſcrib'd, *January* 26. 1699.

FOR the perpetual Memory of the Thing, Be it known to all whom it may Concern, That after a cruel and pernicious War had for 17 years been carried on with the Effuſion of much Blood and Deſolation of many Provinces, between the moſt Serene and moſt Potent Prince and Lord *Leopold*, Elect of the *Romans*, and Emperor of *Germany*, always Auguſt, King of *Hungaria*, *Bohemia*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, Duke of *Burgundy*, *Brabant*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, Marquis of *Moravia*, Duke of *Luxemburgh*, of the *Upper* and *Lower Sileſia*, of *Wirtemberg* and *Tecka*, Prince of *Swevia*, Count of *Habsburgh*, of *Tyrol*, *Kyburgh* and *Goritia*, Marquis of the Sacred *Roman Empire*, of *Burgovia*, of the *Upper* and *Lower Luſatia*, Lord of the Marquiſate of *Sclavinia*, of the Port of *Naon*, and the *Salt Mines*, on one part: And between the moſt Serene and moſt Potent Prince and Lord, Sultan *Muſtapha Han*, Emperor of the *Ottomans*, and of *Aſia* and *Greece*, and his Glorious Predeceſſors, on the other Part. Theſe two moſt Potent Emperors, out of a juſt Senſe of Compaſſion towards their afflicted Subjects, at length, reſolving to put an End to theſe Miſchiefs every Day encreaſing with Deſtruction to Mankind, the Divine Goodneſs brought it to paſs, that by the Endeavours and Mediation of the moſt Serene and moſt Potent Prince and Lord, *William* III. King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the High and Mighty Lords, the *States General* of the *United Belgic Provinces*, that Solemn Treaties of Peace were ſet on foot at *Carlowitz* in *Sirmium* upon the Confines of both Empires, and there brought to a Concluſion; There Meeting at the ſaid place, on the part of his Sacred *Cæſarean* and Imperial Majeſty of the *Romans*, as his Plenipotentiaries, the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Lords, *Wolfang*, Count *d'Ottingen*, of the Sacred Roman Empire, Chamberlain of his Sacred *Cæſarean* Majeſty, and Privy-Counſellor and Preſident of the Imperial *Aulic* Council; and the Lord *Leopold Schlik*, Count in *Paſſaun* and *Weiskirchen*, of the Sacred Roman Empire, Chamberlain of his ſaid *Cæſarean* Majeſty, Captain General of the Guards, and Colonel of the Regiment of *Deſvetorii*: Both theſe, at theſe Treaties of Peace, with the *Ottoman* Port, Deputed Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries; But on the part of his Imperial *Ottomannick* Majeſty, the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Lords, *Mehemet Effendi*, Supreme Chancellor of the *Ottoman* Empire, and the Lord *Alexander Mauro Cordato*, of the Noble Family of *Scarlati*, Privy Counſellor and Secretary of the ſaid Empire; By the Intervention and Care of the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Lords, the Lord *William Paget*, Baron *Beaudeſert*, and the Lord *Jacob Colyer*, Ambaſſadors from the moſt Serene King of *Great Britain*, and the High and Mighty *States General*, to the *Ottoman* Port, and both of 'em Ambaſſadors Extraordinary for the Eſtabliſhment of this Peace, and both of 'em perform'd the Office of Mediator with Integrity, Induſtry and Prudence, after having Invok'd the Name of GOD, and Exchanged the Powers, receiv'd the Twenty following Articles of Peace, which were Agreed upon to the Glory of GOD, and the Safety of both Empires.

I.

THE *Region of* Tranſylvania, *as it is at preſent in the Poſſeſſion, and in the Power of his* Cæſarean *Majeſty, ſo it ſhall remain under his Dominion, Bounded by the Confines of* Podolia, *and with the Mountains on the ſide of* Walachia, *which were its Antient Limits before the preſent War, between* Tranſylvania *on one part, and* Moldavia *and* Walachia *on the other; and on the ſide of* Walachia, *it is to extend to the River* Meriſch, *to be Circumſcrib'd by the Mountains, that were its Antient Boundaries, and ſo the Antient Limits are to be obſerv'd by both Empires, without extending or diminiſhing them on either ſide.*

II.

The Province ſubject to the Fortreſs of Temeſwaer, *with all its Diſtricts and Rivers, ſhall remain in the Poſſeſſion and under the Power of the Sublime* Ottoman *Empire; and it ſhall remain Bounded by* Tranſylvania *on one ſide, and by* Walachia *on the other, to the River* Meriſch, *the Antient Boundaries of* Tranſylvania, *mention'd in the former Article: Then from the River* Meriſch *to the nearer Banks of the* Tibiſch; *and from the* Tibiſch *to the* Danube, *to be Limited by the hither Banks of the* Tibiſch; *and as for* Caranſebes, Lugos, Lippa, Cſanad, Kiſcaniſia, Betche, Betskerecke, *and* Sablia, *which are comprehended within theſe preſcrib'd Limits between the* Meriſch *and the* Tibiſch, *and were before the preſent War belonging to the Territories of* Temeſwaer, *both theſe and any other place of the like Nature, ſhall be ſlighted by the Imperialiſts, ſo that by Virtue of this preſent Treaty they may not be Rebuilt, and this foreſaid Region of* Temeſwaer *is to be left Free and Entire; ſo that for the time to come, neither in theſe Places, nor on the Banks of* Meriſch *or* Tibiſch, *ſhall it be lawful to Build any Places that ſhall carry the Appearance of Fortifications.*

The uſe of the Rivers Tibiſch *and* Meriſch *between the Province of* Temeſwaer, *and thoſe ſubject to the* Imperialiſts, *ſhall be left Free and Common to thoſe Subjects of both Empires, as well in relation to the Watering of their Cattle, as to the Fiſhing, and any other Conveniencies to both Subjects.*

Ships of any Burden, coming from Parts ſubject to the Imperialiſts, *whether it be from the* Meriſch *into the* Tibiſch, *and from the* Tibiſch *into the* Danube, *are by no means to be hindred or ſtop'd, whether they are going up or down the Streams; ſo that the Navigation of* German *Ships, or other Subjects of the Empire, are neither going nor coming to be Incommoded, but their Paſſage, both going and coming, is to be Free in both the ſaid Rivers; And becauſe the common Convenience of mutual Friendſhip and Kindneſs requires, that the* Ottoman Subjects *ſhould likewiſe partake of the Benefits of theſe Rivers, therefore they may freely make uſe of Fiſhermens Ships, or other Boats.*

But Mills built on Bottoms of Ships can be only planted there, where they do not Obſtruct the Navigation of the Imperialiſts, *and that to be done by Communicating with, and Conſent of the Governours on both ſides; and the Intent of this is, That the Navigation of the* Meriſch *be not rendred worſe to the* Imperialiſts, *whether it be by leſſening the Stream for the ſake of Mills, or any other pretence whatſoever.*

The Iſlands in both the ſaid Rivers, that are in the poſſeſſion of the Imperialiſts, *are to remain ſo; and that the Subjects on both ſides may live Quietly and Peaceably, is to be provided by ſevere Edicts, forbidding all ſort of Inſolencies and Contraventions to the preſent Articles.*

III.

Conſidering the Region commonly call'd Batska, *betwixt the* Tibiſch *and the* Danube, *is in the ſole Poſſeſſion, and under the Power of his Imperial Majeſty, it is agreed, it ſhall for the future continue ſo, and* Titul *is not to be more Fortify'd than it is at preſent.*

IV.

A right Line to be drawn from the Extreme Bank of the Tibiſch *oppoſite to that of* Titul, *and to that Angle of Land made by the Conjunction of the* Tibiſch *and* Danube *to the Bank on the other ſide the* Danube, *and thence to be ſtretch'd ſtreight to* Moravitz *on the hither Bank of the River* Boſſut, *and from thence to the place where the Grand Stream of the River* Boſſut *falls into the* Save, *and* Moravitz *is to remain without*

1699. *without any Fortification, and only open Villages to be built on both ſides the River, and the Empires ſhall remain ſeparated by the foreſaid Line, to be mark'd out either by Ditches, Stones, or Pales, or any other way, after the following manner,* viz. *That part of the Country within the foreſaid Limits towards* Belgrade, *ſhall remain Subject to the* Ottoman *Emperor; but the Country on the other ſide the ſaid Line ſhall continue under the Dominion and in the Poſſeſſion of the moſt Potent Roman Emperor, and according to the foreſaid Boundaries, the adjacent Rivers are to remain in the Poſſeſſion of each Party.*

V.

Reckoning from the River Boſſut *flowing into the* Save, *and likewiſe the Entrance of the River* Unna *into the ſame River, that part of the* Save *adjoyning to the Imperial Country, is to remain to his Imperial Majeſty, and the other part to the Turkiſh Emperor.*

The River Save, *flowing betwixt both Dominions, and the Iſlands ſituated in it, ſhall be common to the Subjects of both Empires, as well for the Uſe of Navigation up and down the River, as any other ſort of Conveniencies, who are to enjoy a peaceable and undiſturb'd Commerce: That Country on the ſide the River* Unna *towards* Boſnia, *belonging to the Turkiſh Empire, ſhall be terminated by the Banks of that River* Novi, Dubizza, Jeſſenovitza, Doboy, *and* Brod, *on the ſide of* Boſnia, *are to be Evacuated, and ev'ry other ſuch like place in this Tract of Land, and the Imperial Garriſons to be all withdrawn, and the Country to be left Free: But* Caſtanovitz, *and the Iſlands on this ſide* Novi, *towards the* Save, *and the further Banks, ſhall be left diſtinct from theſe Limits, conſidering it is Agreed, they ſhould remain in the Poſſeſſion of the* Roman *Emperor.*

As to the Places beyond the Unna, *of great diſtance from the* Save, *which are Garriſon'd and Poſſeſs'd ſome of 'em by one Party to this Treaty, and ſome by the other, with the Lands that were Appendages, and belonging to the ſaid Places before the preſent War, it is Agreed, They ſhould remain to the Poſſeſſor, with this Condition, That Commiſſaries on both ſides ſuddenly to be appointed ſhall ſeparate each Diſtrict or Territory by particular Lines to be diſtinguiſh'd by Ditches, Stones, Poſts, or any other evident Marks to avoid Confuſion; particularly the Confines of* Croatia *are thus to be diſtinguiſh'd, and the Bounds of all other Places now in the Poſſeſſion and under the Power of each Party to this Treaty.*

And on both ſides, it is Agreed, That if any one dare preſume to alter, change, remove, pull up, deſtroy, or violate any thing that is thus ſet for diſtinguiſhing Land-Marks, he if found out, or convicted by any manner of Enquiry, ſhall for an Example to others, be moſt ſeverely puniſhed.

It ſhall likewiſe be an Inſtruction to the Commiſſaries to be as ſoon as poſſible Deputed on each ſide by the Sovereign Authority, that as the end of their Deputation is the fixing the Limits and Boundaries of each Empire, ſo their principal Intention ſhall be the Security and Quiet of the Subjects of both Empires, and this to be ſo manag'd, that without Perſonal Heats on either ſide, or without any particular Regards, they plainly diſtinguiſh the Limits of each Empire.

The Fortifications of Brod *on the other ſide the* Save, (*lately made by the* Imperialiſts) *at the time the Place is Evacuated by the Garriſon, it is Agreed, ſhould be Slighted, yet conſidering that Place is very convenient for a Staple for Merchants, it ſhall be lawful to Encloſe that Place with convenient Walls, but ſtill not ſuch as ſhall ariſe to the Nature of a Fortification.*

VI.

The Limits thus fix'd by this Treaty, and afterwards, as Occaſions require, to be more diſtinctly ſettled by the perſonal view of Commiſſaries on both ſides, ſhall for times to come be with ſo much Exactneſs and Religion obſerv'd, that they ſhall not be extended, alter'd, transferr'd, or chang'd upon what pretence ſoever.

Nor ſhall any of theſe Parties, the Limits thus ſet forth and eſtabliſh'd, pretend to Exerciſe any ſort of Juriſdiction beyond the Lines and Bounds thus deſcrib'd, whether it be upon pretence of Collecting of Tribute or Contributions for times paſt, or for the preſent, or for times to come, or upon pretence that theſe Subjects deliver'd themſelves over to the other ſide, or upon any other Colour or Account whatſoever, be permitted, allow'd, or conniv'd at to make Collections out of each others Diſtricts, or in the leaſt to moleſt each other, that all Occaſion of Quarrel and Diſpute may be for ever remov'd.

VII.

It ſhall be lawful for each Party, for the Security of their Confines on the Lands thus peaceably ſet out and poſſeſſed by this preſent Treaty, in the beſt manner they can, to repair and ſtrengthen all Caſtles, Fortifications, and other Places now in being, except it be thoſe againſt which there are particular Proviſions made: But in the Extreme Confines of both Empires, it is Agreed, That open

Villages may be without any Lett or Hindrance, raiſ'd, yet ſo that there be not any Fortifications erected.

VIII.

All ſudden or private Inſults, all hoſtile Incurſions or Devaſtations, or Executions from the Subjects of one Empire upon the other, are forbid upon the ſevereſt Penalties; The Contraveners or Tranſgreſſors of this Article, whereſoever they are found, ſhall immediately be Impriſon'd, and by the Juſtice of the Place where they are taken, ſhall be puniſh'd without Pardon or Reprieve; Diligent Search ſhall be made after what they have thus Rob'd or Unjuſtly Acquir'd; and when it is found, it ſhall be wholly reſtor'd to its proper Owner. The Captains, Commanders, and Governors, in both the Empires, ſhall Adminiſter equal Juſtice, under the Penalty not only of their Office, but of their Life and Honour.

IX.

It ſhall not be Lawful for either of the Emperors to Receive or Comfort in his Dominions, the Rebels or Malecontents of the Others; But ſuch Fugitives as theſe, as likewiſe all Robbers, Thieves, altho' they are the Subjects of the Other Empire, yet ſhall they be puniſh'd in the Country they are found in: If they lie Conceal'd, then all Endeavours may be us'd to diſcover 'em to the Governours of thoſe Places, and they upon ſuch Diſcovery are oblig'd to puniſh 'em; If theſe Governours be Remiſs in Puniſhing of theſe wicked Men, then ſhall they incur the utmoſt Diſpleaſure of their Emperor, and ſhall be put out of their Employment, or loſe their own Lives. And that a Securer Reſtraint may be made to the Extravagancies of theſe Wretches, it is provided, That neither of the Parties ſhall Entertain or Nouriſh the Haydones, whom they call Freebooters, and thoſe Partymen nam'd from Pribecke, or any other ſort of Men, who not being in the Pay of either Empire, live upon Robbery and Rapine, and both theſe and thoſe that nouriſh and aſſiſt 'em, ſhall be puniſh'd according to their Demerits; And ſo intolerable are ſuch Wretches, that tho' they promiſe Amendment of their Cuſtomary Life, yet is not Credit in this caſe to be Indulg'd to 'em, but they are to be remov'd from the Confines to ſome more remote Parts of the Empires.

X.

In the time of the War, ſeveral of the Hungarians and Tranſilvanians withdrew themſelves from the Subjection of his Cæſarean Majeſty into the Confines of the Sublime Port, and by the preſent Truce it is Agreed, theſe ſhall be Indemnify'd in the manner following, viz. They ſhall have convenient Habitations allotted them in the Ottoman Empire; But leaſt the Peace and Tranquillity of the Bordering Subjects ſhould be endanger'd to be diſturb'd, the Places appointed for their Abode ſhall be remote from the Boundaries of the Empires: The Wives likewiſe of theſe ſhall be permitted to follow 'em, and to Cohabit with 'em in the Places thus aſſign'd. But conſidering theſe Men are always hereafter to be taken as Subjects of the Ottoman Empire, it ſhall never hereafter be Lawful for 'em to Forſake or Renounce to that Subjection; And in caſe they pretend to Recede from it, and to return into their Native Country, they ſhall be deem'd Rebels or Malecontents, nor ſhall they receive Entertainment or Succour from the Imperialiſts, but being taken they ſhall be deliver'd to the Ottoman Governours on the Borders; that by this means the preſent Peace may on both ſides be better ſecur'd.

XI.

In Order to remove all Differences, Controverſies, or Diſcords, which might ariſe concerning the Interpretation of any of theſe Articles or any other matter during this Truce, it is Agreed, That where there ſhall be occaſion for a ready and effectual Remedy, an equal number of Commiſſaries ſhall on both ſides be immediately choſe on the Confines: Theſe ſhall be Sober, Prudent, Experienc'd, and Peaceable Men, who without Troops meeting with an unarm'd Retinue of equal number on both ſides, ſhall hear, conſider, decide, and amicably Agree all ſuch Controverſies as can ariſe, and ſhall propound and appoint ſuch Order and Methods, by which either Party ſhall without delay or fraud, reduce or compel their Servants and Subjects to a ſincere Obſervance of this Peace; But if Matters of ſuch great Moment ſhould ariſe, that ſuch Commiſſaries are not able to Agree or Determine 'em, then ſhall Affairs be refer'd to the two moſt Potent Emperors themſelves, that they themſelves may find out and apply ſo proper Means or Expedients for the ſetling ſuch Differences, that they may in as ſhort a time as poſſible be finally determin'd; nor ſhall ſuch Reſolutions be neglected or long Protracted.

Whereas in the Sacred Articles of former Treaties between the two Empires, Duels, and all ſort of Challenges in order to 'em, have been forbid; it is now likewiſe Agreed, that in like manner for the time to come they ſhall remain unlawful, and if any dare

1699. *preſume to enter into ſingle Combates, they ſhall be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt rigour.*

XII.

The Captives, that during this preſent War have on each ſide been carry'd away, and are at preſent remaining in the publick Priſons, conſidering from this happy Peace, they may reaſonably expect Releaſe, nor can they be retain'd in this Miſery without Indignity to the Imperial Majeſty, and Offence of laudable Cuſtom, ſhall be reſtor'd by way of Exchange upon the uſual or more eaſie Conditions; and in caſe there are more on one ſide than on the other, or ſome of greater Quality on one ſide than on the other; yet the Solemn Demands of the Ambaſſador on each ſide ſhall ſo far prevail upon the Clemency of each Emperor, that theſe Supernumeraries ſhall with the reſt find a Releaſe: But as for the Priſoners that are in private Hands, or amongſt the Tartars, *they ſhall be Redeem'd upon Equitable and as moderate Terms as poſſible: But if ſuch fair Agreement cannot be made with the Patrons of theſe Slaves, the particular Judges of the Places where they live ſhall ſettle this Matter of what is to be pay'd for their Redemption; but if thoſe ways ſhould fail, then the Captives themſelves making it appear by Teſtimonies or Oaths, what their Maſters pay'd for 'em, upon the Repayment of that Money ſhall be Releas'd; Nor ſhall it be permitted to their Maſters to oppoſe themſelves to this Releaſe upon the pretence of a greater Price; and conſidering that on the part of the* Ottoman *Empire there may be no particular Society of Men employ'd to look after this Redemption of Captives; yet it is Agreed, That the* Cæſarean *Magiſtrates ſtand in Honour oblig'd to ſee the* Turkiſh *Slaves Releas'd upon the Payment of what they coſt their Maſters, ſo that this work may be carry'd on with equal Sincerity on both ſides: And that ſuch Captives may at length gain their Liberty, the Ambaſſadors of each Empire ſhall in the mean time uſe all good Offices, that they may in the mean time be treated with Mildneſs and Humanity.*

XIII.

As concerning the Religious Orders, or Exerciſe of the Chriſtian Religion, according to the Rites of the Roman Catholick *Church, it is Agreed, by the moſt Serene and moſt Potent* Ottoman *Emperor, That whatſoever Indulgences have been made by the precedent moſt Glorious* Ottoman *Emperors in their Dominions, whether it were by Antecedent Sacred Capitulations, by Imperial Signets, by Edicts or Special Mandates, that all theſe ſhall ſtand good and confirm'd; ſo that the foreſaid Religious may repair and rebuild their Churches, may Exerciſe their uſual and accuſtom'd Functions; ſo that it ſhall not be lawful from any one, contrary to theſe Sacred Capitulations and Divine Laws, to impoſe upon 'em any ſort of trouble or pecuniary Exaction, let theſe Religious be of what Order or Condition ſoever, they ſhall enjoy the uſual Protection and Goodneſs of the* Imperial Ottoman *Empire.* 1699.

Beſides, it ſhall be allow'd to the Ambaſſador of the moſt Serene and moſt Potent Roman *Emperor to the* Fulgid *Port, to enter into Treaty there according to his Inſtructions about the Religion and Places of Chriſtian Pilgrimage or Viſitation in the Holy City of* Jeruſalem, *and he ſhall there lay before the* Imperial *Throne his Demands about theſe Matters.*

XIV.

The Commerce according to the former Sacred Capitulations, ſhall be free to the Subjects on both ſides, through all the Kingdoms and Dominions of both Empires, but this intercourſe of mutual Trade may be perform'd without Fraud, and with juſt Profit, at the times of the Solemn Embaſſies on both ſides, there ſhall be appointed Commiſſioners well vers'd in Mercantile Affairs, who ſhall Debate this Matter; and the ſame Privileges the High Empire allows to other Nations in Friendſhip with it, ſhall with the ſame Security and Advantages to the Subjects of his Cæſarean *Majeſty of what Nation ſoever they may be.*

XV.

Whatſoever Conditions are expreſs'd in the Antient Sacred Capitulations, ſhall ſtand good and be religiouſly Obſerv'd, provided they do not contradict the Articles of this preſent Treaty, or are no ways prejudicial or obſtructive to that free Exerciſe of Power, which each Empire is intended to have in its own Dominions; and in caſe any former Articles come under this Diſcription, then they are declar'd by theſe Preſents null and void.

XVI.

And that this preſent Truce may the better grow and be confirm'd into a mutual Friendſhip and Confidence betwixt the two moſt potent Emperors, Extraordinary Ambaſſadors ſhall be ſent on both ſides, who are to be Receiv'd, Treated, and Attended from their Entrance into the Confines, and during their ſtay, and to the time of their Return

till

1699. *till they are again Exchang'd with the uſual Ceremonies, and for a more manifeſt Declaration of the Friendſhip between the two Emperors, theſe Ambaſſadors ſhall bring and make voluntary Preſents, yet ſuch as ſhall correſpond to, and be agreeable to the High Dignity of each Emperor. And the ſaid Ambaſſadors, by Concert in* June *in the enſuing Summer, at the ſame time beginning their Journey, ſhall be Exchang'd in the Confines of* Sirmium, *after the manner that has been us'd upon ſuch Occaſions.*

And it ſhall be permitted to each of the Ambaſſadors at the Imperial Courts, to make what Requeſts they ſhall think convenient.

XVII.

The Rule for Receiving, Entertaining, or Treating the Miniſters by the Courtiers of each Empire, ſhall be taken from the practice of former times, to be executed with all imaginable Candor and Decency, according to that diſtinct Prerogative which the Characters of thoſe that are ſent ſhall Demand. The Cæſarean *Ambaſſadors, Envoys, or Reſidents, and their Attendants, ſhall without the hindrance of any one, enjoy a full liberty of uſing what ſort of Garments they pleaſe. Beſides, the* Cæſarean *Miniſter, whether he be Veſted with the Character of Ambaſſador, Envoy, Reſident, or Agent, ſhall at the* Fulgid *Port enjoy the ſame Privileges and Immunities, which the Ambaſſadors or Agents of any other Princes there enjoy, and to make a Diſtinction of the Prerogative of the* Cæſarean *Dignity, with the uſual Marks of Preference: They ſhall have liberty of Hiring their own Interpreters, and their Meſſengers that come to the* Fulgid *Port, or return from it to* Vienna, *ſhall have free Paſſage going and coming, with all convenient Favour and Aſſiſtance in their Journey.*

XVIII.

This Peace tho' it now ſtands concluded upon the preſent Conditions, yet it ſhall then only be eſteem'd to have and to receive its full force of Obligation and Effect, when all and ſingular Conditions, ſtipulated and accepted on both ſides, as well concerning the Diſtinctions of the Borders, as the Evacuations and Demoliſhments ſhall be fully executed in this manner, after the Limits are ſettled, then ſhall the Evacuations and Demoliſhments of Places follow, and that all this may as ſoon as poſſible be put in practice, Commiſſaries to ſettle theſe Diſtinctions, ſhall on both ſides be appointed, who at the Equinoctial, *S. N. 22. S. V.* 12 *of* March, A. D. 1699. *ſhall with a moderate and peaceable Attendance, meet at Places to be determin'd by the Governors of the Confines, and theſe Commiſſaries ſhall within two months or leſs, if poſſible, by manifeſt marks deſcrib'd in the former Articles ſeparate and ſet apart theſe Confines, and ſhall with all exactneſs and expedition, execute all other things that ſhall be Agreed by the Plenipotentiaries of both Empires.* 1699.

XIX.

The Plenipotentiaries of both Empires do mutually Oblige themſelves, and Promiſe, that theſe Conditions and Articles thus reduc'd into Form, ſhall be mutually Ratify'd by the Majeſty of each of the Emperors, and that within 30 *days or ſooner from the time of Subſcription, the Ratifications ſhall in Solemn manner be mutually Exchang'd in the Confines by the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Lords the Plenipotentiary Mediators.*

XX.

This Truce ſhall continue, and God willing, extend to full 25 *years, to be reckon'd from the day of the Subſcription, after the Expiration of which Term, or in the middle of it, it ſhall be in the Power of either of the Parties, that ſo ſhall think fit, to prolong it to a greater number of Years.*

Therefore what things ſoever are here eſtabliſh'd by the mutual and free Conſent of the Majeſty of the moſt Serene and moſt Potent Emperor of the Romans *on the one part, and the Majeſty of the moſt Serene and moſt Potent* Ottoman *Emperor on the other, and their Heirs, ſhall be Religiouſly and Inviolably obſerv'd thro' all their Empires and Kingdoms, by Land and Sea, through all their Cities and Towns, and by all their Subjects and Dependants; and it is likewiſe Agreed, that it ſhall on both ſides be ſtrictly enjoyn'd to all Governours, Commanders, Captains, Generals, to all the Soldiery, to all under their Protection, to all in Subjection and Obedience under them, that they take diligent Care to Conform themſelves to all the above-mention'd Conditions, Clauſes, Compacts and Articles, that under what pretence or colour ſoever, contrary to the Peace and Friendſhip thus eſtabliſh'd, the Subjects on either ſide do not offend or injure one another; but abſtaining from all ſort of Enmity, they are commanded to become good Neighbours to each other, under the ſevereſt Penalties, if after they are thus admoniſh'd, they do not yield a ready Obedience.*

The Tartar Cham *likewiſe, and all the Nations of the* Tartars, *by whatſoever Names they are call'd, ſtand engag'd to the Obſervance of this Peace, Good Neighbourhood, and Reconciliation; nor ſhall it be permitted 'em in prejudice of theſe Agreements to commit any Hoſtilities in the Provinces; or upon*

1699. *any of the Subjects, or upon any under the Protection of his* Cæſarean *Majeſty. Moreover, if any one ſhall preſume to Act contrary to theſe Sacred Imperial Capitulations, Agreements or Articles, whether he belongs to the* Tartar *Nations, or to any other Forces by whatſoever Name call'd, he ſhall be moſt rigorouſly puniſh'd.*

This Peace, Ceſſation, and Security of the Subjects on both ſides, ſhall commence from the Date of this Subſcription, and thence all Enmities on both ſides ſhall ceaſe and be extinguiſh'd, and the Subjects on both ſides ſhall enjoy full Security and Tranquillity, and for that end, and in order all Hoſtilities may be carefully prevented, Mandates and Edicts for publiſhing the Peace ſhall as ſoon as poſſible be ſent to all Governours of the Confines; but conſidering ſome time will be requiſite, that the Officers in the remoter Confines may have notice of this Peace, 20 days are for this purpoſe appointed, after which, if any one on either ſide preſume to commit any ſort of Hoſtility, he ſhall without Mercy, ſuffer the Puniſhments before declar'd.

In the laſt place, that theſe Conditions of Peace, contain'd in 20 Articles, and accepted of on both ſides, may with great and due reſpect be inviolably obſerv'd; The Lords the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, by Virtue of an Imperial Faculty granted to 'em for that purpoſe, have deliver'd to us an Authentick and Inſtrument, writ and ſubſcrib'd in the Turkiſh *Language, are likewiſe by Virtue of a Special Order, and by our Plenipotentiary Power have on our part deliver'd theſe Writings of the Articles Sign'd and Subſcrib'd by our proper Hands and Seals in the Latin Tongue, as a True and Authentick Inſtrument.* 1699.

This Treaty between the Emperor, being thus finiſhed and agreed, the next thing was to appoint Commiſſaries to regulate the Limits between *Croatia*, and *Boſnia*, as was concluded by the Treaty of Peace at *Carlowitz*, to appear upon the ſaid Limits on the $\frac{14}{24}$th of *March* following, in order to which Affair his Imperial Majeſty appointed Count *Marſilii* for his Commiſſary, giving him Orders to depart from *Vienna* in a Wecks time. But the Ratifications relating to the Articles of Peace concluded on both ſides were ſooner diſpatched, for the Grand Seignior's Ratification of the Treaty arrived at *Belgrade*, the 9th of *March* N. S. 1699. of which Advice was given the ſame day to the Secretary of the Imperial Embaſſy, who waited at *Peter-Waradin* with that of the Emperors, that the Exchange might be made on the ſame Day, the which was accordingly done.

COPIA

COPIA INSTRUMENTI TURCICI CUM MOSCOVITA.

Hic eſt Deus, maxime aperiens omnia, Potentiſſimus, Firmiſſimus.

In Nomine Dei miſericordis, ſemper miſerentis.

Cauſa exarationis hujus veritatè præcellentis Scripti, & neceſſitas deſcriptionis hujus realitate inſigniti Inſtrumenti hæc eſt; Incorruptibilis Domini Creatoris, & immortalis Opificis liberrimi arbitrii, Domini Dei, cujus Gloria extollatur extra omnem ſimilitudinem, & paritatem, æternarum confirmationum ubertatis conceſſione, & gratiâ honoratiſſimæ Meccæ, & lucidiſſimæ Medinæ Servi, & Sanctæ Hieruſalem, & aliorum Locorum benedictorum Defenſoris, & Rectoris, binarum Terrarum Sultani, & Regis binorum Marium, Dominatoris potentis Ægypti, & Abyſſinarum Provinciarum, ac Felicis Arabiæ, & Adenenſis Terræ, & Cæſareæ Africanæ, & Tripolis, & Tuneti, & Inſulæ Cypri, & Rhodi, & Cretæ, & aliarum Albi Maris Inſularum, atque Imperatoris Babylonis, & Boſitræ, & Laxæ, & Revani, & Carſiæ, & Erzirum, & Sehreſul, & Muſſul, & Diarbekir, & Ricæ, & Damaſci, & Aleppi, & Sultani Perſicæ & Arabicæ Irachienſis Regionis, & Regis Ghiurdiſtaniæ, & Turchiſtaniæ, & Giurziſtaniæ, & Daghiſtaniæ, & Trapezuntis, & Imperatoris Provinciarum Rum, & Zul-chadriæ, & Maras; Imperatoris Regionum Tartariæ, Circaſſiæ, & Abaſtorum, atque Crimeæ, ac Deſti-Capzac, Imperatoris Orientis, & Occidentis, & Anatoliæ, & Rumeliæ, Poſſeſſoris Sedis Regiæ Conſtantinopolis, & protectæ Pruſſæ, ac defenſæ Adrianopolis, & præterea Imperatoris latiſſimarum tot Provinciarum, totque Climatum & Urbium ac celeberrimi Dominatoris, Sultani Sultanorum, Regis Regum, Sereniſſimi, Potentiſſimi, Auguſtiſſimi Domini noſtri Imperatoris, Refugii Muſulmannici, Sultani Filii Sultanorum, Sultani Muſtafa Regis, Filii Sultani Mehmet Regis, cujus Imperium Deus perenne faciat, ac Principatum ſtabiliat uſque in diem judicii, Majeſtatis, Excelſum Imperium inter, & Glorioſiſſimum inter eximios Principes Chriſtianos, & Prælectiſſimum inter magnos Dominatores Chriſtianos, Directorem magnorum negotiorum ChriſtianarumRerumpublicarum, Chlamyde Amplitudinis &Majeſtatis exornatiſſimum, Argumentis magnitudinis & gloriæ condecoratiſſimum Czarum Moſcoviticarum Regionum, & omnium Ruthenicarum Provinciarum Dominatorem, & Poſſeſſorem ſubjectarum illis Terrarum, & Urbium, ſublimem Czarum Moſcoviæ Petrum Alexovicium (cujus fines Deus ſalute & rectitudine coronet) cùm intercedens aliquibus annis diſſidium fuerit in cauſa calamitatis Subditorum, & Subjectorum utriuſque partis, eâ intentione, ut iterum in amicitiam, & benevolentiam commutetur, ad bonam conſtitutionem rerum Civitatenſium, & ad reducendum in meliorem conditionem Statum Servorum Dei, in Sirmio in Confiniis Carlovicii facto Congreſſu, cum Illuſtriſſimo, & Excellentiſſimo inter Chriſtianos Magnates, Domino Procopio Begdanouiz Voinizin, altè memorati Czari

1699. Plenipotentiario Commiſſario, & Extraordinario Legato, & intimo Conſiliario, & Locumtenente Bolchiæ, ab eodem Czaro ad Tractatus, & Concluſionem Pacis negotii perfectâ authoritate deſtinato, & deputato: atque explentibus Mediationis manûs bonis officiis, ac diligenti operâ, deputatis à Glorioſiſſimis inter eximios Chriſtianos Principes, & Refugiis Magnorum Dominatorum ejuſdem Gentis, Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ Rege, Wilhelmo Tertio, & Generalibus Statibus Nederlandenſibus (quorum fines Deus ſalute & rectitudine coronet) ad exequendam Mediationis ſuæ functionem ad Tractatus Pacis, Illuſtriſſimis & Excellentiſſimis inter Magnates Chriſtianos, Wilhelmo Lord Pagett, Barone de Beaudeſert, &c. & Domino Jacobo Colyer, etiamſi ab utraque parte adhibita ſit ad Pacem, & Conciliationem propenſio, & inclinatio, cùm tamen non eſſet facile, brevi tempore, ut ablatis difficultatibus omnes res, convenientes Amicitiæ, & Vicinitati, perfectè, & debitè ad bonum ordinem redigerentur, ne interrumperetur continuatio iſtorum almorum Tractatuum, ſed ut pertractentur, & ad finem perducantur, hâc utrinque intentione per mutuum conſenſum à Die vigeſimo quinto Decembris, Anni milleſimi, centeſimi, decimi, nempè Natalitio Domini Jeſu Chriſti, uſque ad integros duos annos terminus conſtitutus eſt, intra quem ſcilicet almus iſte Tractatus ad bonum ordinem reducatur, & inter Excelſum Imperium, & Moſcoviticum Czareatum, favente Deo Altiſſimo, Pax, ſive per inducias, ſive perpetua coaleſcat, & vetus amicitia renovetur. Itaque intra ſtatutum unanimi conſenſu terminum ceſſet omne prælium, & bellum, & pugna, atque conflictus, & utrinque amoveantur, & tollantur hoſtilitates, Moſcorum Czaro ſubjectis à Moſcovitis & Coſaccis, & aliis in ſubjecta Excelſo Imperio Muſulmannica Confinia, ſive alia, ſive Crimenſia & Loca, & Subditos, nulla fiat excurſio, & hoſtilitas nullumque damnum inferatur, neque clam, neque palam. Pariterque à parte Excelſi Imperii nullius conditionis Exercitus, præſertim Crimenſis Chanus, & omnia genera Tartarorum & Hordæ, nullam penitus excurſionem faciant, nullumque damnum inferant, neque clam, neque palam, in Civitates, & Oppida, & Subditos & Subjectos Noſtro Czaro. Atque ſi qui ſive clam, ſive palam, motum aliquem, ſive diſpoſitionem, & hoſtilitatem, & incurſionem fecerint contra hoc Pactum, & hanc conditionem, quæ inter nos confecta eſt, & ſeſe contumaces, & minùs obedientes reddiderint, ex quacunque parte ſint, deprehendantur, incarcerentur, & ſine remiſſione puniantur. Proinde præfatâ ratione colendi, & obſervandi hujus Armiſtitii tempore, conflictatio & hoſtilitas penitùs amoveantur atque tollantur, & ab utraque parte perfecta propenſio, & plena inclinatio adhibeatur ad concluſionem Pacis; & Crimenſis Chanus propter ſuam obedientiam, & ſubjectionem ad Excelſum Imperium, adjungatur huic Paci. Utque ab utraque parte acceptatum, & obſervatum ſit, & altè memorati Czari Plenipotentiarius Legatus & Commiſſarius vigore ſuæ Facultatis, & Auctoritatis Moſcovitico Sermone deſcriptum, legitimum, & validum Inſtrumentum tradiderit. Nos quoque Facultatis & Vicariæ noſtræ Deputationis vigore, noſtris Manibus ſubſcriptum, & noſtris Sigillis firmatum hoc Scriptum, tanquam validum & legitimum Inſtrumentum tradidimus. 1699.

Deus favens eſt æquitati.

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CUM

TURCIS.

IN Nomine Domini Dei Omnipotentis in Trinitate Sancta unius; Ejuſdem Gratiâ Sereniſſimum, & Potentiſſimum Magnum Dominum Czarum, & Magnum Ducem Petrum Alexovicium, totius magnæ, & parvæ, & albæ Ruſſiæ Autocratorem, Moſcoviæ, Kioviæ, Wolodimiriæ, Novogardiæ, Czarum Caraniæ, Czarum Aſtrachani, Czarum Siberiæ, Dominum Pleſcoviæ, & magnum Ducem Smolenſci, Treriæ, Ingoriæ, Permiæ, Viatkæ, Bolgariæ, & aliorum Dominum, & magnum Ducem Novogardiæ, inferioris Terræ, Cſernihoviæ, Reſaniæ, Roſtoviæ, Jaroſclaviæ, Belovroriæ, Valoriæ, Obdoriæ, Condiniæ, & totius Plagæ Septentrionalis Imperatorem, & Dominum Iverienſis Terræ, Cartalinenſium & Gruzinenſium Czarum, & Kabardienſis Terræ, Cſercaſſorum, & Montanorum Ducem, ac aliorum multorum Dominiorum, & Terrarum Orientalium, Occidentalium, Septentrionaliumque Paternum Avitumque Hæredem, Succeſſorem, & Dominum, ac Dominatorem, ſuam inter Majeſtatem, atque inter Sereniſſimum, & Potentiſſimum Magnum Dominum Sultanum Muſtafam, Chanum, Filium Sultani Mehmet Chani, Dominum Conſtantinopoleos, Albi Maris, Nigri Maris, Anatoliæ, Vrumiæ, Romaniæ, honoratiſſimæ Meccæ, & Medinæ Sanctæ, Hieruſalem, Ægypti, & Abyſſinarum, Babylonis, & Ricæ, & Damaſci Dominatorem, Tartaricarum & Crimenſium Hordarum, nec non aliorum multorum Dominiorum, Regnorum, & Urbium, Inſularum, & Provinciarum Imperatorem, ab aliquot annis intercedens diſſidium cauſa fuit calamitatis Subditorum, & Subjectorum utrique parti, ex intentione, ut rurſus in Amicitiam, & Benevolentiam, ad bonam rerum Civilium conſtitutionem, reducendumque in meliorem conditionem ſtatum transmutetur, in Sirmio ad Confinia Carlovizii facto Congreſſu cum Illuſtriſſimis & Excellentiſſimis, Selectiſſimo Domino Magno Cancellario Reis Mehmet Effendi, & cum Selectiſſimo Domino ab Intimis Secretis Alexandro ex Proſapia Scarlati Mauro Cordato, altè memoratæ ſuæ Sultanicæ Majeſtatis Plenipotentiariis Commiſſariis, & Extraordinariis Legatis ad Tractatum, & Conſtitutionem Negotii Pacis perfectâ Authoritate deſtinatis ac deputatis, Mediationem inter Sereniſſimi & Potentiſſimi ſuæ Regiæ Majeſtatis Magnæ Britanniæ, & Præpotentum Generalium Statuum Nederlandenſium Hollandiorum, Illuſtriſſimorum, & Excellentiſſimorum Plenipotentiariorum Eorundem Extraordinariorum Legatorum, Domini Wilhelmi Lord Pagett, Baronis de Beaudeſert, &c. & Domini Jacobi Colyer, &c. ab utraque autem parte ad Pacem, & Inducias propenſio, & inclinatio adhibita fuit; attamen non facile fuit, intra breve tempus, ſublatis difficultatibus res univerſas, convenientes amicitiæ, & vicinitati, perfectè, & debitè in bonum ordinem redigere; ſed ne interrumperetur continuatio horum almorum Tractatuum, quinimo deinceps perficiatur, & ad finem deducatur, hac intentione utrinque per mutuum conſenſum, id eſt, à Die 25 Decembris anno 1698. à Nativitate Domini Dei Jeſu Chriſti, in futuros duos integros annos, inter altè fatos ambos Magnos Dominos fiant Induciæ, in quibus almus hicce Tractatus in bonum ordinem reducatur, atque inter ſuam Czaream Majeſtatem Moſcoviticam, & Sultanicam Majeſtatem Turcicam, Deo

Altiſſimo ſecundante, Pax perpetua, aut in ſufficientes annos Induciæ concludantur, & vetus Amicitia reſtauretur. Proinde in hoc conſtituto determinato unanimi conſenſu deſinat omne prælium, bellum, pugna, & conflictus, & utrobique amoveantur, & tollantur hoſtilitates, & à Subditis ſuæ Czareæ Majeſtatis, Moſcovitis, & Coſaccis, ac aliis, Confiniis Muſulmannicis, & Crimenſibus, atque reliquis ſuæ Sultanicæ Majeſtati ſubjectis Terris, & Subditis, nulla incurſio & hoſtilitas fiat, neque clam, neque palam ullum damnum inferatur. Pariter ex parte ſuæ Majeſtatis Sultanicæ adverſus partem ſuæ Czareæ Majeſtatis nullius ordinis Exercitus, potiſſimùm verò Crimenſis Chanus, & omne genus Tartarorum, & Hordarum penitùs ullas incurſiones faciant, nec ullum damnum palam aut clam in Civitatibus, & Oppidis, & ſubditis Territoriis ſuæ Czareæ Majeſtati perpetrent. Et ſi qui clam vel apertè motum aliquem, & diſpoſitionem, hoſtilitatem, ac incurſionem contra hanc conſtitutionem, & conditionem, quæ nos inter confecta eſt, fecerint, & ex quacunque demùm parte tales contumaces repe: riantur, apprehendantur, incarcerentur, & ſine remiſſione indefenſè puniantur. Hâc itaque præfatâ ratione, tempore colendi, & obſervandi hujus Armiſtitii, conflictatio, & hoſtilitas abſolutè amoveatur, & tollatur, ac ab utraque parte ad concludendam Pacem perfecta propenſio, & plena inclinatio adhibeatur, & Crimenſis Chanus ex munere ſuæ erga Imperialem ſuam Majeſtatem Turcicam obedientiæ, & ſubjectionis, huic Paci adjungatur; Quæ omnia ut ab utraque parte acceptentur, & obſerventur, quoniam altè memoratæ ſuæ Sultanicæ Majeſtatis Plenipotentiarii Legati, & Commiſſarii, vigore ſuæ facultatis, & Authoritatis Turcico Sermone ſcriptum legitimum, & firmum Inſtrumentum, ex eoque Latino Sermone propriis manibus, & Sigillis firmatam Copiam dederunt, pariter & ego facultatis, & Plenipotentiæ mihi datæ vigore, manu propriâ ſubſcriptum, & Sigillo firmatum hoc Scriptum Ruthenico & Latino Sermone copiatum, tanquam firmum, & legitimum Inſtrumentum tradidi. Scriptum in Carlowiz, Ann. 1698. Menſe Decem. Die 25.

THE

A COPY OF THE Turkiſh Treaty WITH THE MUSCOVITE,

It is God the moſt Powerful, the moſt Juſt, who brings all Things to paſs.

In the Name of God the Merciful, always Compaſſionate.

THE *Reaſon of the making this Writing Refulgent in Truth, and the neceſſity of the Deſcription of this Inſtrument ſtamp'd with Reality, is this; The War betwixt the Sublime Empire of* Muſtapha, *by the Conceſſions of the Plenitude of the Eternal Confirmations of the Incorruptible Lord Creator, and the Immortal Maker of moſt Freewill, the Lord God, whoſe Glory be extoll'd beyond Similitude or Equality, and by the Grace of the moſt Honour'd* Mecca, *and the Servant of the moſt Illuſtrious* Medina, *Defender and Rector of the* Holy Jeruſalem, *and other Bleſſed Places, Sultan of the two Earths, and King of the two Seas, Lord of Potent* Egypt, *and the* Abyſſine *Provinces, and* Arabia *the Happy, and the Land of* Adenum *and* Cæſarean Africk, *and* Tripoly *and* Tunis, *and the Iſland of* Cyprus *and* Rhodes, *and* Crete, *and other Iſlands of the* White Sea, *and Emperor of* Babylon, *and* Boſnia, *and* Laxa, *and* Revanum, *and* Carſia, *and* Erzirum, *and* Sehreſul, *and* Muſſul, *and* Diarbekir, *and* Rica, *and* Damaſcus, *and* Aleppo, *and Sultan of the* Perſic *and* Arabic Irachian *Region, and King of* Ghiurdiſtania *and* Turchiſtania, *and* Daghiſtania, *and* Trapezuntum, *and Emperor of the Provinces of* Rum, *and* Zulchadria, *and* Maras, *Emperor of the Regions of* Tartary, *of* Circaſſia, *and the* Abaſtahs, *and the* Crimea *and* Deſti-Capzac, *Emperor of the Eaſt and Weſt, and* Anatolia *and* Rumelia, *Poſſeſſor of the Royal-Seat of* Conſtantinople, *and Protected* Pruſſia; *and Defended* Adrianople, *and beſides of ſo many the moſt large Provinces, and of ſo many Climates and Cities, and moſt Celebrated Governour, Sultan of Sultans, King of Kings, moſt Serene, moſt Potent, moſt Auguſt Lord our Emperor, the Refuge of* Muſulmen, *Sultan Son of Sultans, Son of Sultan King* Mehmet, (*whoſe Empire God perpetuate, and eſtabliſh his Government to the Day of Judgment;) And the moſt glorious amongſt the principal Chriſtians, Director of the great Affairs of the Chriſtian Commonwealths, Adorn'd with the Robes of Greatneſs and Majeſty, Conſpicuous with the Power of Greatneſs and Glory, the Czar of the* Muſcovite *Regions, and Lord of all the* Ruthenic *Provinces and Poſſeſſor of the Lands and Cities Subject to them, the Sublime Czar of* Muſcovy, Peter Alexovic, (*whoſe End let God crown with Salvation and Righteouſneſs,) conſidering this War for ſome Years has been the Occaſion of Calamity to the Subjects on both ſides, with an Intent, that it might be chang'd into Friendſhip and Kindneſs, that Affairs might be put into bet-*

1699. *ter Order, and the State of the Servants of God might be reduc'd into a better Condition, in the Congreſs of* Sirmium *in the Confines of* Carlovitz, *upon Treaty with the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent amongſt the Chriſtian Grandees, Lord* Procopius Begdanoviz Voſniziri, *Plenipotentiary Commiſſionated by the Czar, and Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and Privy-Counſellor, and Lieutenant of* Bolchia, *Deſign'd and Deputed by the ſaid Czar with full Powers to Treat and Conclude a Peace, and the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent amongſt the Chriſtian Grandees,* William *Lord* Pagett, *Baron of* Beaudeſert, &c. *and Lord* Jacob Colyer, *performing the part of Mediators, with great good Offices and Diligence, Deputed ſo to do by the moſt Glorious amongſt the moſt Illuſtrious Chriſtian Princes, and the Reſort of the Rulers of the Nations,* William III. *of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *King, and the* States General, *(whoſe Ends God crown with Salvation and Righteouſneſs,) altho' both Parties ſhow'd a. Propenſity and Inclination to Peace and Reconciliation; but conſidering in ſo ſhort a time it was not eaſie to remove all Difficulties, and to ſettle all things Agreeable to Friendſhip and good Neighbourhood; Therefore, leaſt the Continuance of theſe good Treaties ſhould be interrupted, but that they ſhould proceed and be brought to an End, with this Intent on both ſides, by mutual Conſent, the Term of Two Years is Agreed on to begin from the 25th of* December, Chriſtmas-day, A. Heg. 1110. *within which time this good Treaty may be reduced into Order, and by the Grace of the moſt High God, a Peace or Truce may be concluded betwixt the Sublime Empire, and the Muſcovitiſh Czareate, by which perpetual and ancient Friendſhip may be Renew'd. Therefore within the Term thus prefix'd, by unanimous Conſent, all War, Battles, and Skirmiſhes ſhall ceaſe, and all Hoſtilities ſhall be remov'd and forbid to the Subjects of the Czar of* Muſcovy, *both* Muſcovites *and* Coſſacks, *and all others, there ſhall be no Excurſion, Hoſtility, Damage, whether privately or publickly done or committed, upon the* Muſulman *Confines, ſubject to the Sublime Empire, whether in the* Crimea, *or any other Places, or upon the Subjects of this Empire: In like manner on the part of the High Empire, no Army of what Condition ſoever, eſpecially belonging to the* Crimean Cham, *and all ſorts of* Tartars, *or* Hords, *ſhall make any ſort of Excurſion, nor commit Damage privately or publickly, upon the Cities and Towns, and Subjects or Dependants upon the Czar: And if contrary to this Compact and Agreement, which is made betwixt us, any, either privately or publickly, ſhall raiſe any Commotion, or make Preparation for it, or ſhall commit Hoſtility, or make Incurſion, or ſhall be Obſtinate, or not Obedient, let every one of what ſide they will, they ſhall be Apprehended, Impriſon'd, and Puniſh'd without Mercy; Therefore after this method ſhall this Truce be cultivated and obſerv'd during the time of it, all Conflicts and Hoſtilities ſhall be remov'd and extinguiſh'd, and both Parties with full Inclination ſhall apply themſelves to the Concluſion of a Peace, and the* Crimean Cham *ſhall be included in this Place, by reaſon of the Obedience and Subjection he owes to the Sublime Empire: That it may be receiv'd and obſerv'd on both ſides, the Plenipotentiary Ambaſſador and Commiſſary of the highly forementiond Czar, by Virtue of his Powers and Authority, has deliver'd an Authentick Inſtrument in due Form, written in the* Muſcovite *Language: We likewiſe by Virtue of our Powers and Deputation, have deliver'd this Authentick Inſtrument in due Form, Subſcrib'd with our Hands and Seal'd with our Seals.* 1699.

God is favourable to Juſtice.

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Whereas the War for many years has been the Cauſe of the Miſery of the Subjects, and Dependants on both Parties, that Friendſhip and Kindneſs might be reſtor'd, and by that means the Civil Affairs might become better ſettled, and all things chang'd into a more flouriſhing Condition; with this intent a Congreſs was had in Sirmium *on the Confines of* Carlovitz, *with the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent the moſt Select Lord Great Chancellor* Reis Mehmet Effendi, *and the moſt Select Lord of the Privy Council,* Mauro Cordato, *of the Family of* Scarlati, *Plenipotentiary Commiſſioners, and Ambaſſadors Extraordinary of the highly mention'd Sultan Majeſty, Deputed with full Powers to Treat of and Settle the Buſineſs of a Peace, through the Mediation of his moſt Serene and moſt Royal Majeſty of* Great Britain, *and of the* States General *of the* Netherlands, *by their moſt Excellent Plenipotentiaries, Ambaſſadors Extraordinary, the Lord* William *Lord* Pagett, *Baron de* Beaudeſert, *&c. and Lord* Jacob Colyer, *&c. both ſides ſhow'd an Inclination to a Peace and Truce, but in ſo ſhort a time it was not eaſie to remove all Difficulties, and put all things into an Order agreeable to Friendſhip and Good Neighbourhood; yet leaſt the Continuance of theſe Treaties ſhould be Interrupted, and that they might be perfected and brought to an end, with this Intent, by mutual Conſent on both ſides, a Truce, betwixt the two great highly mention'd Lords, is Agreed on for Two Years, to Commence from* Chriſtmas-day, *the 25th day of* December, Anno Domini 1698. *within which Term, this Treaty may be reduc'd into good Order; and by the Bleſſing of God, a perpetual Peace* ter Order, and the State of the Servants of God might be reduc'd into a better Condition, in the Congreſs of Sirmium in the Confines of Carlovitz, upon Treaty with the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent amongſt the Chriſtian Grandees, Lord Procopius Begdanoviz Voſniziri, Plenipotentiary Commiſſionated by the Czar, and Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and Privy-Counſellor, and Lieutenant of Bolchia, Deſign'd and Deputed by the ſaid Czar with full Powers to Treat and Conclude a Peace, and the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent amongſt the Chriſtian Grandees, William Lord Pagett, Baron of Beaudeſert, &c. and Lord Jacob Colyer, performing the part of Mediators, with great good Offices and Diligence, Deputed ſo to do by the moſt Glorious amongſt the moſt Illuſtrious Chriſtian Princes, and the Reſort of the Rulers of the Nations, William III. of England, Scotland, and Ireland, King, and the States General, (whoſe Ends God crown with Salvation and Righteouſneſs,) altho' both Parties ſhow'd a. Propenſity and Inclination to Peace and Reconciliation; but conſidering in ſo ſhort a time it was not eaſie to remove all Difficulties, and to ſettle all things Agreeable to Friendſhip and good Neighbourhood; Therefore, leaſt the Continuance of theſe good Treaties ſhould be interrupted, but that they ſhould proceed and be brought to an End, with this Intent on both ſides, by mutual Conſent, the Term of Two Years is Agreed on to begin from the 25th of December, Chriſtmas-day, A. Heg. 1110. within which time this good Treaty may be reduced into Order, and by the Grace of the moſt High God, a Peace or Truce may be concluded betwixt the Sublime Empire, and the Muſcovitiſh Czareate, by which perpetual and ancient Friendſhip may be Renew'd. 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God is favourable to Juſtice.

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A COPY OF THE Muſcovite Treaty WITH THE TURKS.

I*N the Name of the Omnipotent Lord God, One in Holy Trinity: By whoſe Grace the moſt Serene and Potent Lord Czar, and Great Duke,* Peter Alexovic, *Emperor of the Whole Great and Little* Ruſſia, *of* Muſcovy, Kiovia, Wolodimiria, Novogardia, *Czar of* Carania, *Czar of* Aſtrachan, *Czar of* Siberia, *Lord of* Pleſcovia, *Great Duke of* Smolenſcum, *Lord of* Treria, Ingoria, Permia, Viatka, Bolgaria, *and of other Dominions; Great Duke of* Novogardia, *of the Lower Country, of* Cſernihovia, Reſania, Roſtovia, Jaroſclavia, Belovroria, Valoria, Obdoria, Condinia, *and Emperor of all the Northern Country, and Lord of the Land af* Iveria, *Czar of the* Cartalinenſians *and* Grunizenſians, *and Duke of* Karbardia, *of the* Cſercaſſians *and* Mountaneers, *and many other Dominions and Lands to the Eaſt, Weſt and North, from Father and Anceſtors, Heir, Succeſſor, Lord and Commander, between his Majeſty and the moſt Mighty Great Lord Sultan* Muſtapha Han, *Son of Sultan* Mehmet Han, *Lord of* Conſtantinople, *of the* White Sea, *the* Black Sea, *of* Anatolia, Rumia, Romania, *of the moſt Honour'd* Mecca *and* Medina, *and* Holy Jeruſalem, *of* Egypt, *of the* Abyſſines, *of* Babylon *and* Riea, *and Commander of* Damaſcus, *Emperor of the* Tartarian *and* Crimean Hords, *as alſo of many other Dominions, Kingdoms and Cities, Iſlands and Provinces.*

Whereas the War for many years has been the Cauſe of the Miſery of the Subjects, and Dependants on both Parties, that Friendſhip and Kindneſs might be reſtor'd, and by that means the Civil Affairs might become better ſettled, and all things chang'd into a more flouriſhing Condition; with this intent a Congreſs was had in Sirmium *on the Confines of* Carlovitz, *with the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent the moſt Select Lord Great Chancellor* Reis Mehmet Effendi, *and the moſt Select Lord of the Privy Council,* Mauro Cordato, *of the Family of* Scarlati, *Plenipotentiary Commiſſioners, and Ambaſſadors Extraordinary of the highly mention'd Sultan Majeſty, Deputed with full Powers to Treat of and Settle the Buſineſs of a Peace, through the Mediation of his moſt Serene and moſt Royal Majeſty of* Great Britain, *and of the* States General *of the* Netherlands, *by their moſt Excellent Plenipotentiaries, Ambaſſadors Extraordinary, the Lord* William *Lord* Pagett, *Baron de* Beaudeſert, &c. *and Lord* Jacob Colyer, &c. *both ſides ſhow'd an Inclination to a Peace and Truce, but in ſo ſhort a time it was not eaſie to remove all Difficulties, and put all things into an Order agreeable to Friendſhip and Good Neighbourhood; yet leaſt the Continuance of theſe Treaties ſhould be Interrupted, and that they might be perfected and brought to an end, with this Intent, by mutual Conſent on both ſides, a Truce, betwixt the two great highly mention'd Lords, is Agreed on for Two Years, to Commence from* Chriſtmas-day, *the 25th day of* December, Anno Domini 1698. *within which Term, this Treaty may be reduc'd into good Order; and by the Bleſſing of God, a perpetual Peace*

1699. *or a Truce for a ſufficient Number of years may be Concluded, and Antient Friendſhip reſtor'd betwixt his Czariſh* Muſcovite *Majeſty, and* Turkiſh *Sultan Majeſty; Therefore within this prefix'd time, all War, Battles, Fights, and Skirmiſhes, ſhall Ceaſe, and on both ſides all Hoſtilities ſhall be remov'd and extinguiſh'd; nor ſhall any Incurſion or Hoſtility be done, or any Damage committed, either privately or publickly by the Subjects of his* Czariſh *Majeſty, whether* Muſcovites *or* Coſſacks, *or others, within the* Muſſulman *or* Crimean *Confines, or within any other of his Sultan Majeſty's Dominions, or on any of his Subjects. In like manner on the part of his Sultan Majeſty no ſort of Troops of what Condition ſoever ſhall be brought againſt his* Czariſh *Majeſty, eſpecially the* Crimean *Cham, and the Tartars of what Nation or Hord ſoever ſhall be oblig'd not to make any Incurſions, or do any Damage publickly or privately, either in the Cities, Towns, or Territories, Subject to his* Czariſh *Majeſty: And if contrary to this Conſtitution and Agreement made betwixt us, any privately or publickly ſhould raiſe any Commotion, or make Preparation for it, or make Incurſion, or Commit Hoſtility, ſuch obſtinate and diſobedient Perſons of what ſide ſoever they are, ſhall be Apprehended, Impriſon'd, and Inevitably puniſh'd without Mercy: By this Method for the time appointed for this Ceſſation of Arms, all Conflicts and Hoſtilities ſhall be abſolutely taken away and aboliſh'd, and both Parties ſhall apply to conclude a Peace, with ſincere Endeavours and full Inclination, and the Crimean Cham, according to his Duty and Dependance upon his Imperial Turkiſh Majeſty ſhall be concluded by this Peace. That all theſe Things may be accepted of, and obſerv'd by both Parties, becauſe the highly mention'd Plenipotentiary Ambaſſadors and Commiſſaries of his Sultan Majeſty, by Virtue of their Powers and Authorities, have deliver'd in due Form an Authentick Inſtrument written in the Turkiſh Language, and from that a Copy in Latin, Sign'd with their Hands and Seals; in like manner, I by Virtue of the Authority and full Power granted me, have deliver'd in due Form, an Authentic Inſtrument Subſcrib'd with my own Hand, and Confirm'd with my Seal, Written in the* Ruthenic *and Copy'd in the Latin.* 1699.

INSTRUMENTUM PACIS

INTER

Sereniſſimum, & Potentiſſimum Regem,

ET

Rempublicam Poloniarum,

ET

Excelſum Imperium Ottomannicum,

Ad Carlowiz in Sirmio, in Congreſſu Generali Confœderatorum Plenipotentiariorum confecta.

In Nomine Sanctiſſimæ & Individuæ Trinitatis.

AD perpetuam Rei memoriam. Omnibus & ſingulis, quorum intereſt notum ſit, Quandoquidem inter Regnum Polonicum, & Excelſum Imperium intercedens diuturnum diſſidium, Sereniſſimo & Potentiſſimo Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hyberniæ Rege, Guilielmo III. & Præpotentibus Generalibus Fœderati Belgii Statibus, ſiſtendi humani Sanguinis, & reducendæ reciprocæ Quietis deſiderio, ad procurandos hujus almæ Pacis Tractatus, Mediationem ſuam interponentibus, atque officia omnia, & omnes conditiones Mediationis, diligenti operâ & ſtudio explentibus, Excellentiſſimis Dominis ad Fulgidam Portam Legatis Plenipotentiariis, Guilielmo Domino Pagett, Barone de Beaudeſert, in Comitatu Staffordienſi, ejuſdem Comitatus Regis Locumtenente, nomine Majeſtatis Britannicæ, & Domino Jacobo Colyer, ex parte Præpotentium Generalium Fœderati Belgii Ordinum, favente Deo, ſuſceptâ utrinque mediatione atque propenſione ſopiri, & penitùs extingui placuerit, atque Carlovizii ad Confinia Sirmii, ubi Congreſſus Legatorum Plenipotentiariorum ex Inclytæ Mediationis diſpoſitione inſtitutus fuerat, initis Tractatibus de Pacis Articulis cum Illuſtriſſimo & Excellentiſſimo Domino Mehmet Effendi, Magno Cancellario Excelſi Imperii, & Illuſtriſſimo atque Excellentiſſimo Domino Alexandro Mauro Cordato, de Nobili Stirpe Scarlati, ab Intimis Secretis ejuſdem Excelſi Imperii, ad tractandam Pacem Legatis Plenipotentiariis, poſt aliquas Seſſiones, tandem annuente Divinâ Clementiâ, Negotium hoc almæ deſiderataque Pacis feliciter in mutuas Leges coaluerit, & integerrima iterum Amicitia, & Pax inter Sereniſſimum, & Potentiſſimum Muſulmannorum Imperatorem Sultanum, Filium Sultani Mehmeti, Sultanum Muſtapha: & Sereniſſimum ac Potentiſſimum Regem, Auguſtum Secundum, Dominum meum Clementiſſimum & Rempublicam Poloniarum, ſuper undecim, mutuo conſenſu compoſitis

hiſce

1699. hiſce Articulis, perpetuò religioſè inter utrumque Dominium obſervanda, perfecta & concluſa, reſtituta & renovata eſt, qui articuli ſubinde ſingulatim deſcribuntur.

I.

CUM Excelſo perpetuitati ſubnixo Imperio, multo abhinc tempore intercedente ope, & favore Dei Altiſſimi ſublatâ hoſtilitate, conciliationi & bonæ vicinitati congruâ cum Sinceritate, antiquâ amicitiâ iterum coaleſcente, ut hoſtilitates utrinque amoveantur, & Subditi priſtinâ ſecuritate, quiete, ac tranquillitate fruantur, ante ultima duo bella conſtituti veteres Limites reſtituantur ac ſtabiliantur, & Confinia Provinciarum ſubditarum Poloniæ, à Confiniis Imperialibus tum Moldaviæ, tum aliorum Diſtrictuum, ſubjectorum Excelſo Imperio, antiquis Limitibus ſeparentur ac diſtinguantur, nevè utrinque aut prætenſio, aut extenſio deinceps fiat, ſed Limites antiqui ſine mutatione aut perturbatione, tanquam ſacri, religioſè obſerventur atque colantur.

II.

Quæcunque ſive Munimenta, ſive Loca vel majora, vel minora intra veteres Moldaviæ Limites, ante penultimum bellum exiſtentes, ſita, atque hucuſque detenta ſunt à Dominis Polonis, eductis atque extractis inde Polonicis Militiis, evacuentur, & Moldaviæ Provincia maneat ex integro libera, ante poſtremum bellum, in quo erat pacifico Statu.

III.

Intra veteres quoque ante poſtrema duo bella, verſus Poloniam, Limites ſitum Camenici Fortalitium, eductis inde Muſulmannicis Militiis, evacuetur, & integrum relinquatur, & Podoliæ atque Ukrainæ Provinciarum nulla deinceps ab Excelſo Imperio fiat prætenſio, & Ukrainæ Koſacorum Hatmani nomine Subſtitutus, qui modò in Moldavia reſidet, Hatmanus amoveatur. Cumque Limites antiqui Poloniæ & Moldaviæ manifeſti ſint, ſi commodum fuerit tempus, ab initio futuri Martii inchoetur evacuatio, & quàm citiùs fieri poterit, quamprimùm Polonica Militia è Moldavia educatur, & Munimenta & Loca illius evacuentur, & Moldavia maneat libera. Simulque ab initio Martii Caminecenſis Fortalitii evacuatio inchoetur, atque evacuationis negotium, ubi priùs perfici poterit, ſine hæſitatione, & ſine tarditate ac negligentia in executionem deducatur, & Caminecenſis Fortalitii evacuatio ad ſummum uſque in decimum quintum menſis Maii ad finem perducatur; & quò cum facilitate & celeritate dicti Fortalitii fiat evacuatio, ad onera imponenda, & tranſvehenda, quoad fieri poteſt, curribus & Jumentis tranſportationem coadjuvent Poloni, & ubique evacuationis negotium cum ſecuritate & ſalva re peragatur: in quibus evacuationibns Fortalitiorum, & aliorum Locorum, quoquo Pacto munitorum è Subditis, quicunque voluntariè exire velint, cum propriis rebus & Suppellectile exeant tutò & ſecurè, & quicunque remanere velint, item tutò remaneant, & utrinque nullatenus impediantur. Et cùm evacuatio Fortalitiorum & Locorum à principio Martii Menſis utrinque inchoari debeat, inſtantiam de Tormentorum Camenieci relictione, ſcilicet ex propriis atque ibi repertis, Ablegatus Polonus quamprimùm ad Fulgidam Portam expediendus, afferat ad Solium Imperatoris.

IV.

Nemo Subditorum Excelſi Imperii cujuſcunque conditionis, præſertim verò Tartari, cujuſcunque Gentis, ſub cujuſvis prætenſionis, & controverſiæ prætextu, in Subditos Regis & Reipub. Poloniarum, & in Limites eorum hoſtilitates exercere, excurſiones agere, Captivos rapere, Pecora abigere, aut quidquid damni inferre, nevè eos offendere poſſit, expreſſis Regiis Edictis committatur, & demandetur Veſiriis, Beglerbegis, & feliciſſimo Crimenſi Hano, Carelgaio, & Nuradino, & reliquis Soltanis, ac Woiewodæ Moldaviæ, ut adhibitâ maximâ ſedulitate obſervent & conſervent Confiniorum pacificam tranquillitatem, & conciliationem atque quietem, nevè aut in captivationibus, aut Pecorum abactionibus, aut quacunque aliâ ratione damnis & moleſtiis afficiant Poloniæ Subditos, & ſeveriſſimè inquirant in perturbatores & tranſgreſſores conditionum Pacis, atque habitâ notitiâ ad exemplum aliorum in illos animadvertant, & rapta adinventa propriis Dominis reſtituantur, & ſi qui hac de re negligenter ac oſcitanter agant, ſive amotione Officiorum, ſive privatione vitæ, prout ex divinis Legibus convenerit, juſtè puniantur. Pariter Poloni has conditiones Pacis omninò diligenter ſedulò obſervent atque colant, & nemo in oppoſitum quidpiam audeat.

Cùm Regnum Poloniæ ab antiquo ſit liberrimum, ab Excelſo Imperio aut ſubjectis eidem Gentibus, quâcunque prætenſionis aut expeditionis prætextu, nullâ gentium hoſtilitate perturbetur, &

1699. concluſæ iſtius almæ Pacis Pactorum vi, ad tales prætenſiones nequaquam adſtringantur.

VI.

Tempore hujuſce belli Budziacenſes, & alii Tartari è propriis Locis exeuntes, atque in Terras Moldavorum ingreſſi, hoſtilitates ac offenſiones hac occaſione in Moldavos & Moldaviam exercent: quod cùm ſit contrarium ſacris Capitulationibus ante hac conceſſis Regibus Poloniæ, ac proinde ceſſare ac ſuſtolli debeat, à quibuſque Locis & poſſeſſionibus, & prædiis, & hyemalibus in Moldavia aut occupatis, aut de novo extructis Tartari amoveantur, & nativis propriis Locis habitent, atque pacificè vivant, & impoſterum nullas offenſiones faciant.

VII.

Religioſi Chriſtiani Romano-Catholici juxta conceſſa ab Excelſo Imperio edicta, ubicunque Eccleſias ſuas habent, conſuetas ſuas functiones ſine impedimento exerceant, & pacificè vivant: & ulteriùs ſibi commiſſas Inſtantias de Regione extraordinarias ad Fulgidam Portam Magnus Legatus ad Imperatorium Solium exponat.

VIII.

Cum Res Mercatoria è fructibus Pacis exiſtat, atque Provincias in meliorem conditionem reducat, utriuſque Dominii Mercatores impoſterum non per occulta loca meantes, ſed per loca tranſitui opportuna ultrò citroque euntes & redeuntes, poſtquam ſolverint juxta conſuetum ab antiquo Telonium rerum portatarum & exportatarum, novis exactionibus, & expoſtulationibus nequaquam moleſtentur, nevè ex numerata pecunia Telonium exigatur: & quicunque nativi Subditi Poloniarum, & Lithuaniæ, & aliarum ſubjectarum iiſdem Nationum ad Mercimoniam agendam venientes, & nullum damnum inferentes, prædictâ ratione mercaturam & coemptionem, & venditionem, ſicuti in antecedentibus ſacris Capitulationibus etiam declaratur, exactione tributi dicti Haracz, & aliis inordinatis exactionibus ne moleſtentur. Verùm enimverò, ſi qui relictis ſuis Regionibus in Imperii regnis ſedem figant, & ſi qui alii Exteriores ſeſe Polonis immiſceant, tales ne poſſint eſſe detrimento Reipublicæ,. Mercatores Polonorum redeuntes ex armis, & equis, & jumentis, & captivis, qui liberationis ſuæ inſtrumentum legitimum habentes in Patriam redire voluerint, nihil exigatur, & ne quiſquam impedimento ſit taliter abeuntibus captivis. 1699. Verùm ſub iſto prætextu ſine facultate nemini liceat vetita abducere. Præterea opibus & rebus Mercatorum utriuſque Dominii, quibus in aliis Regionibus mori contingat, publici Confiſcatores & Partitores ne ab utralibet parte ſeſe immiſceant, ſed inter Mercatores, cui fides adhibetur, tradantur, ut juxta catalogum depoſitionis hæredibus tradat; ſi quis autem caſus acciderit inter Mercatores, inter ipſos Præpoſiti deciſione definiatur, ipſe verò, quibus debet, rationem reddat. Ad debitum ſive Scripto, ſive Inſtrumento Judiciario non affirmatum ſolvendum contra Divinas Leges nemo compellatur, nevè Teſtimoniis ſolis conductitiis lites debitorum & ſponſionum dicantur, aut audiantur, Inſtrumentis ſcilicet legitimis & Scriptis ante extraditis, ſacris Mandatis perlectis atque conſideratis, juſtè ac debitè cauſæ decidantur, atque in ſimilibus cauſis contexta & ſtatuta in ſacris Capitulationibus, ut aliis confœderatis Nationibus conceſſa, in Polonos etiam Mercatores extendantur, & ulteriùs ſpeciatim Polonis antehac conceſſorum, & in manibus eorundem ſervatorum ſactorum Edictorum ſenſus quoque colatur & obſervetur.

IX.

Captivi tempore belli abacti, pretiis illorum juxta Leges comprobatis aut datis Juramentis in manifeſtum productis atque ſolutis juxta antecedentium Capitulationum hac de re declarationem eliberentur. Si verò tales Captivi multo tempore ſervierint, ex diſcretione pretia emptionum cùm imminui debeant, ſi honeſto & mediocri pretio cum Domino Captivi conveniri non poterit, Judices Locorum legitimè procedentes, tales differentias componant. Si aliquâ occaſione poſt concluſionem Pacis ex Regionibus Polonicis Captivi rapiantur, ſine pretio dimittantur: & in Regnis Excelſi Imperii, & inter Tartaros etiam ad eliberandos Polonos captivos circumeuntes Homines, quandocunque res ſuas pacificè agerent, prætextu operæ eliberationi Captivorum navatæ, aut aliâ ratione neutiquam offendantur, quinimò offendentes & detrimentum inferentes puniantur, Captivi in publicis Carceribus detenti permutatione utrinque in libertatem aſſerantur. Magnus verò Poloniarum Legatus de Captivis ſuas Inſtantias ad Solium Imperiale afferre poterit.

X.

Quandocunque Sereniſſimus Rex Poloniæ in ſtabilita cum Excelſo Imperio Pace, firmiter

1699. miter permanebit, ſicuti in antecedentibus Capitulationibus declaratur, Moldaviæ Woiewodam eâ ratione, quâ ab antiquo cum Regibus Poloniarum ſincerè ſeſe præſtitit, rurſùs conſuetâ ratione ſincerè tractet: cæterum inſtar aliorum Subditorum Excelſi Imperii, uti priùs, pacati ſint, & è Moldaviæ atque Wallachiæ Provinciis, ſi qui transfugerint, ne recipiantur; ſi qui aliâ methodo in Poloniæ Dominium irrepſerint, ac poſtea Provinciam ſuam perturbare, & corrumpere deprehenſi fuerint, ſimiles Homines, quando perquirentur, reddantur, & conditio iſta, cùm in antecedentibus Capitulationibus clarè, & manifeſtè poſita ſit, obſervetur. Pariter & Subditis Polonis, ſive Poloni illi ſint, ſive Koſaci, cujuſcunque Nationis extiterint, quando perturbationem afferent, hinc etiam neque recipiantur, neque protegantur, ſed retrò reddantur. Et univerſi, quicunque turbare voluerint Pacem atque Amicitiam, haccine ratione concluſam, ex merito puniantur.

XI.

Quæcunque conditiones, & Clauſulæ in antecedentibus Capitulationibus deſcriptæ atque contentæ, nullatenus adverſantur de recenti concluſis Pactis, neque oppoſitæ ſunt liberis, & perpetuis Juribus utriuſque Dominii, deinceps etiam colantur, & obſerventur, quæ verò contrariæ ſunt, caſſentur, & annihilentur, favente & annuente Deo Altiſſimo. Quæ utrinque declaratis, & exaratis Articulis perfectiori, & exactiori ratione concluſa Pax, & Conciliatio inter Majeſtates Sereniſſimi & Potentiſſimi altè memorati Poloniarum Regis, Domini mei Clementiſſimi, & Succeſſorum ejus, & Rempublicam Polonam, & ex altra parte Sereniſſimi, & Potentiſſimi Muſulmannorum Imperatoris, ejuſdemque Hæredum, ex voluntate & Clementia Dei perpetua, ſtabilis, firma, & inconcuſſa permaneat, & conſervata, atque cuſtodita ſit ab omni turbatione, & mutatione, & confuſione, & violatione, & uno eodemque tenore firmiſſimè perſeveret, & conſtantiſſimè continuet; & ut omnes omnino hoſtilitates amoveantur atque ſuſtollantur, quàm citiſſimè notitia præbeatur in Confiniis, Præfectis & Gubernatoribus, ut ſibi caveant, ne impoſterum tranſgreſſiones fiant, nevè altera pars alteri damna inferat. Verùm enimverò omnes utrinque ſincerè & amicè ſeſe præſtent juxta iſtam almam Pacem. Ut autem omnibus cognita, & comperta ſit iſtius almæ Pacis Concluſio, triginta dies pro termino ponantur: poſt quem nullus prætextus, nullaque excuſatio acceptabitur, ſed in eos, qui adverſabuntur, editis Edictis exactam obedientiam merentibus ſeveriſſimè animadvertatur. Poſt Subſcriptionem autem Inſtrumentorum utriuſque Partis Ablegatus priùs à Polonia miſſus, & ad Fulgidam Portam veniens, juxta antiquam conſuetudinem afferat Regias publicas Literas, Ratificationem Pactorum Inſtrumentis declaratorum continentes, atque Literas Imperatorias ratificatorias item accipiat & deducat; Poſtea verò ad ſolennem confirmationem Pactorum Pacis, & perfectionem reciprocæ ſinceritatis, & abſolutam terminationem mutuæ Amicitiæ, & diſpoſitionem, ac digeſtionem reliquarum rerum, juxta laudatum veterem morem, adventurus Magnus Legatus, quamprimùm commodè fieri poterit, moveat, ac proinde undecim numero Pactis concluſa juxta iſtas concluſiones alma Pax ab utraque Parte acceptetur atque colatur. Cùm verò altè memorati Illuſtriſſimi, & Excellentiſſimi Domini Excelſi Imperii Plenipotentiarii & Commiſſarii exiſtentes Legati, vi ſuæ Facultatis, & auctoritatis Turcico Sermone exaratum legitimum & validum inſtrumentum tradiderint, ego quoque vi Facultatis, & Deputationis meæ propriâ manu ſubſcriptas, & Sigillo ſigillatas à me præſentes Pactorum Literas tanquam legitimum, & validum Inſtrumentum tradidi.

THE TREATY OF PEACE

BETWEEN

The Moſt Serene and Moſt Potent King,

AND

Republick of *POLAND*,

AND

The Sublime *OTTOMAN* Empire,

Made at *Carlovitz* in *Sirmium*, in a General Congreſs of the Confederate Plenipotentiaries.

In the Name of the moſt Holy and Individual Trinity.

TO the perpetual Memory of the Thing; Be it known to all and every one, whom it may Concern: Whereas there has been a long War between the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the Sublime Empire, to ſtop the Effuſion of humane Blood, and with Deſires of Reſtoring a mutual Quiet, the moſt Serene and moſt Potent *William* III. King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, in order to ſet on foot this Treaty of a happy Peace, have interpos'd their Mediation, all the Duties and Conditions of which Mediation have with great Study and Induſtry been perform'd by their Excellencies the Plenipotentiary Ambaſſadors to the *Fulgid* Port, on the behalf of his *Britannick* Majeſty, by *William* Lord *Pagett*, Baron de *Beaudeſert* in the County of *Stafford*, Lord Lieutenant of the ſaid County; and on the part of the *States General*, by Lord *Jacob Colyer*; which War, through GOD's Bleſſing, by Reciprocal Inclinations on both ſides, has been Compos'd and wholly Extinguiſh'd, at *Carlovitz* on the Confines of *Sirmium*, where, according to the Deſignment of the Illuſtrious Mediation, a Congreſs of the Plenipotentiary Ambaſſadors was appointed, and Treaties of Articles of Peace begun with the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Lord, *Mehmet Effendi*, Creat Chancellor of the Sublime Empire, and the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Lord, *Alexander Mauro Cordato*, of the Noble Family of *Scarlati*, and Privy-Counſellor of the Sublime Empire, Ambaſſadors Extraordinary for the Treaty of Peace; and after ſome Seſſions, at length, by the Divine Goodneſs, this

1699. Buſineſs of a happy and deſir'd Peace was Digeſted into Terms agreed on both ſides, and a moſt entire Friendſhip and Peace was Perfected and Concluded, Reſtor'd and Renew'd, between the moſt Serene and moſt Potent Emperor Sultan of the Muſulmen, Sultan *Muſtapha*, Son of Sultan *Mehmet*, and the moſt Serene and moſt Potent King *Auguſtus* II. my moſt Noble Lord, and the Republick of *Poland*, which Peace is to be Religiouſly obſerv'd betwixt both Dominions, and is Digeſted into Eleven Articles, which follow one by one.

I.

BY the Help and Bleſſing of God, Hoſtility with the High Empire founded on Eternity, having for ſome time ceas'd, and now the Ancient Friendſhip Agreeable to the Nature of Reconciliation and good Neighbourhood reviving, that all Acts of Hoſtility may be prevented, and the Subjects enjoy their Ancient Security, Quiet and Tranquillity, the Ancient Limits ſhall be eſtabliſh'd and reſtor'd to what they were before the two laſt Wars, and the Confines of the Provinces ſubject to Poland, *ſhall by theſe Ancient Boundaries be ſeparated and diſtinguiſh'd, as well from the Imperial Confines of* Moldavia, *as of thoſe of all other Countries ſubject to the Sublime Empire, nor ſhall there on either ſide be any Pretenſion or Extenſion made but the Ancient Limits, without Change or Diſturbance, ſhall as Things Sacred, be Religiouſly obſerv'd and maintain'd.*

II.

Whatſoever Fortifications or Places, great or leſs, which before the War, before this lay within the Limits of Moldavia, *and have hitherto been in the Poſſeſſion of Poliſh Maſters, the Poliſh Garriſons ſhall be withdrawn, and they ſhall be Evacuated, and the Province of* Moldavia *ſhall remain as free as ever, and in the ſame peaceable State it was before the laſt War.*

III.

The Fortreſs likewiſe of Caminiec *being before the two-laſt Wars ſituated within the Ancient Limits towards* Poland, *ſhall be Evacuated, and the* Muſulman *Garriſon withdrawn, and ſhall be entirely left; Nor ſhall the Sublime Empire hereafter make any Pretenſions upon the Provinces of* Podolia *and the* Ukrain; *and the Deputy of the* Ukrain *Coſſacks, who goes by the Title of* Hatmannus, *now reſiding in* Moldavia, *ſhall be remov'd. And conſidering the Ancient Limits of* Poland *and* Moldavia *are very plain, if the Seaſon permits, the Evacuations on this ſide* 1699. *ſhall be begun by the beginning of the enſuing* March, *and the Poliſh Troops ſhall be withdrawn out of* Moldavia *as ſoon as poſſible, and the Fortifications and Places ſhall be Evacuated, and* Moldavia *left free; And at the ſame time from the beginning of* March, *the Evacuation of* Caminiec *ſhall Commence, and the Buſineſs of the Evacution ſhall without Heſitation, Neglect, or Delay, be put in Execution, as ſoon as it can be perform'd; and the ſaid Evacuation of this Fortreſs of* Caminiec, *ſhall at fartheſt be compleated by the 25th of* May, *and that the Evacuation of the ſaid Fortreſs may be perform'd with Speed and Eaſe; The Poles, ſhall, as much as poſſible, in order to the Lading and Carrying away of Goods, aſſiſt the Tranſportation with Carriages and Cattle; and on all hands the Evacuation ſhall be carry'd on with Security and Safety: In all which Evacuations of Fortreſſes, and other Places, in whatſoever manner they are fortify'd, whoſoever of the Subjects ſhall voluntarily deſire to depart, may do it ſecurely, and ſafely, with all their Effects and Goods; and whoſoever of 'em have a mind to continue where they are, may in like manner ſafely do it; and there ſhall by no means be any Lett or Impediment on either ſide; and conſidering the Evacuation of all Fortreſſes and Places is to be commenc'd in the beginning of* March: *As to the Affair of leaving behind the Artillery at* Caminiec, viz. *thoſe that were belonging to it, and were found there; the Poliſh Envoy that is to be ſent to the* Fulgid *Port, ſhall lay that Demand before the Throne of the Emperor.*

IV.

None of the Subjects of the Sublime Empire, of whatſoever Condition, eſpecially the Tartars, *let 'em be of what Nation ſoever, ſhall under the colour of any Pretenſion or Controverſie preſume to commit any Hoſtilities upon the Subjects of the King and Republick of* Poland, *or upon their Borders; and ſhall not preſume to make Excurſions, to take Captives, to drive away Cattle, or to do any ſort of Damage, or give any ſort of Diſturbance, which ſhall be particularly expreſs'd in Royal Edicts, and commanded to be put in Execution by Viſiers, Beglerbegs, and the moſt Happy* Crimean *Cham,* Carelgaius *and* Nuradinus, *and the other Sultans, and the Weywode of* Moldavia, *that they, with utmoſt Diligence, ſecure the Peace, Quiet, and Tranquillity of the Borders; that neither by the Captures of Men, or driving away of Cattle, or by any other Means, the Poliſh Subject ſuffer any Loſſes or Diſturbance, and that they make ſtrict and ſevere Enquiries after the Diſturbers and Tranſgreſſors of theſe Conditions of Peace, and when they come to* the knowledge of 'em, they Inflict Puniſhments upon 'em for Example to Others; and if in theſe matters any one acts careleſly or negligently, he ſhall be duly puniſh'd as is Agreeable to the Divine Laws. In like manner, the Poles on their part ſhall carefully obſerve and proſecute theſe Conditions of Peace, and let no Man dare to act any thing contrary to 'em.

V.

Conſidering the Kingdom of Poland was from Ancient Times entirely Independent, it ſhall not, by the Sublime Empire, and by any Nations ſubject to it, under the colour of any Pretenſion or Demand whatſoever, be diſturb'd with any Hoſtility, nor upon the force of any Compacts of that happy Peace, ſhall they ſtand oblig'd to any ſuch Pretenſions.

VI.

In this War, the Budziac and other Tartars, leaving their proper Seats, and entring upon the Lands of the Moldavians, do upon that pretence Exerciſe Hoſtilities upon, and Create Diſturbances to Moldavia, and its Inhabitants, which being contrary to the Sacred Capitulations formerly granted to the Kings of Poland, for that Reaſon ought to Ceaſe and be prevented; therefore ſhall the Tartars be remov'd from all Places and Poſſeſſions, and Lands and Winter-Quarters, whether theſe were taken from others, or newly rais'd by them, and ſhall inhabit their Native Places, and live peaceably, and for the time to come Create no Diſturbances.

VII.

The Regulars of the Church of Rome, according to the Edicts granted by the Sublime Empire, whereſoever they have Churches, may without hindrance Exerciſe their uſual Functions, and live peaceably; and beſides, the Extraordinary Envoy to the Fulgid Port may lay before the Imperial Throne any new Demands upon this Head.

VIII.

Conſidering Merchandize is one of the Fruits of Peace, and brings the Provinces into a more thriving Condition; therefore the Merchants of each Party, not practiſing by any obſcure Ways, but going and coming through convenient and open Roads, after they have pay'd the uſual and ancient Duty for things Exported and Imported, ſhall by no means be burden'd with new Exactions and Demands; nor ſhall a Duty in ready Money be Exacted; and whatſoever Native Subjects of the Two Polands and Lithuania, and of other Nations ſubject to them, after this manner coming to exerciſe their Merchandize, their Buying and Selling, as is declared in former Sacred Capitulations, ſhall not be troubled with the Exaction of the Tribute call'd Haracz, or any other unuſual Exactions: But ſtill with this Proviſo, that any reſolving to leave their Native Country, and ſet up their Reſt in the Dominions of the Empire, or any Foreigners mixing themſelves with Polanders, ſuch ſhan't to the Detriment of the Government enjoy this Exemption. Poliſh Merchants leaving the War, and returning Home with their Horſes and Carriages, and Captives, having an Authentick Certificate of their Diſmiſſion, and being deſirous to return to their own Country, ſhall not be ſubject to any Exaction, nor ſhall any Lett or Obſtruction be made to Captives thus going away. But ſtill under this pretence, none without leave obtain'd, ſhall preſume to carry away things prohibited. Beſides, the publick Officers of Juſtice ſhall not pretend to intermeddle in the Confiſcation or Diſtribution of the Goods or Effects of Merchants Subjects to the one, dying in the others Dominions, but they ſhall be deliver'd into the hands of Merchants of Credit, that according to the Inventory they may be diſpos'd of to the Right Heirs: But if any Difference happens betwixt the Merchants themſelves, this ſhall be Decided by the Conſul or Chief, and let him be Accountable to thoſe whom he is ſubject to. None, contrary to the Divine Laws, ſhall be Compell'd to pay any Debt, not verify'd in Writing, or by ſome Judiciary Inſtrument; nor ſhall the Cauſes of Debts or Contracts be Try'd or Decided by hireling Evidences, becauſe upon the reading and conſidering the Divine Precepts, ſuch ſort of Suits are to be Decided only by Authentick Inſtruments and Writings of an Antecedent Date; And ſo in all Controverſies of the like Nature, whatſoever Privileges are intermix'd and eſtabliſh'd in the Sacred Capitulations, ſhall, as in the Grants to the other Confederate Nations, be Interpreted and Extended to the Poliſh Merchants; and beſides the true meaning of all Grants by Sacred Edicts, (which are ſtill preſerv'd in their hands) particularly indulg'd to the Poles, ſhall be maintain'd and obſerv'd.

IX.

Captives carry'd away in time of War, ſhall be Releas'd purſuant to the Declaration about this matter in former Capitulations, upon Proofs made according to the Laws, of their Value, or by Oaths that make that manifeſt, the due Prizes being pay'd. But if the Captives have ſerv'd a long time, the Prizes of their Redemption ought to be proportionably

1699. Abated; but if the Maſter of the Captive cannot be brought to a fair and moderate Price, the Judges of the Places proceeding in a legal Courſe, ſhall compoſe ſuch Differences: If after the Concluſion of the Peace, Captives ſhall be taken out of the Poliſh Territories, they ſhall be Diſmiſs'd without Ranſom; Beſides, Men going about for the Redeeming Poliſh Captives, whether in the Kingdoms of the Sublime Empire, or amongſt the Tartars, as long as theſe Men ſhall behave themſelves peaceably, they are by no means to be diſturb'd, either upon this very pretence, that they make it their Buſineſs to deliver Captives, or upon any other Account whatſoever; nay, thoſe that do Diſturb 'em, or do 'em any Injury, ſhall be puniſh'd: Captives detain'd in publick Priſons, ſhall on both ſides be Releas'd by Exchange: Farther, the Great Embaſſy of Poland may preſent his Demands concerning Captives to the Imperial Throne.

X.

As long as the moſt Serene King of Poland ſhall continue in this eſtabliſh'd Peace with the Sublime Empire, as is expreſs'd in former Capitulations, the Waywode of Moldavia ſhall continue to behave himſelf towards the Kings of Poland in the manner as was anciently us'd: Let the Moldavians remain in Peace like the reſt of the Subjects of the Sublime Empire; and if any fly out of the Provinces of Moldavia, or Walachia, and take Refuge in Poland, they ſhan't be receiv'd; If any by more Subtle means ſlide themſelves into the Poliſh Dominions, and ſhall be afterwards found out to Diſturb or Corrupt their own Country, ſuch ſort of Men, when demanded, ſhall be ſurrendred up, and this Agreement as it remains, clearly and manifeſtly expreſs'd in former Capitulations, ſhall be obſerv'd. The like Meaſures ſhall be us'd towards Poliſh Subjects, whether they be Poles or Coſſacks, or of whatſoever Nation, when they ſhall create any Diſturbance, they ſhall not be receiv'd nor protected on this part, but ſhall be ſurrendred up. And in general, whoſoever go about to Diſturb this Peace and Friendſhip thus concluded, ſhall be puniſh'd according to their Demerits.

XI.

All Conditions and Clauſes deſcrib'd and contain'd in former Capitulations, ſo far as they are not oppoſite to the preſent Compacts, nor contrary to the Independent and perpetual Rights of either Soveraignty, ſhall hereafter be obſerv'd and maintain'd; but thoſe that are contrary, ſhall by the Bleſſing of the moſt High God be utterly Aboliſh'd and Annihilated. Which Peace and Agreement betwixt 1699. the Majeſties of the moſt Serene and moſt Potent highly above-mention'd King of Poland, (my moſt Gracious Lord) and his Succeſſors, and the Republick of Poland; and on the other part, of the moſt Serene and moſt Potent Emperor of the Muſſulmen, and of his Heirs, as it ſtands concluded in theſe deſcrib'd Articles, in a more perfect and exact manner; ſo by the Will and Goodneſs of God let it remain perpetual, ſtable, firm, and unſhaken, and may it be preſerv'd and kept from all Diſturbance, Change, Confuſion and Violation, and ſo without any Interruption, may it moſt firmly Perſevere, and moſt conſtantly Continue, and that all Hoſtilities may be remov'd and taken away, notice ſhall as ſoon as poſſible be given in the Confines, to all Commanders and Governours, that they take care to themſelves, that no Tranſgreſſions be committed, and that neither ſide does Injury to the other; but that in great Sincerity and Friendſhip, all on each ſide Comport themſelves as this happy Peace directs: That the Concluſion of this happy Peace may become known and certain to all, a term of Thirty days are appointed, after which no Pretence nor Excuſe ſhall be receiv'd, but Edicts being iſſued, requiring an exact Obedience, whoſoever ſhall do any thing contrary ſhall be moſt ſeverely puniſh'd. After the Subſcription of the Inſtruments of Peace on both ſides, an Envoy ſent from Poland, and coming to the Fulgid Port, according to Ancient Cuſtom, ſhall bring the Royal Publick Letters, containing a Ratification of the Pacts declar'd in theſe Inſtruments, and likewiſe ſhall receive and carry back with him the Imperial Letters of Ratification: But after this, in Order to a more ſolemn Confirmation of theſe Agreements, and an abſolute Completion of a mutual Friendſhip, and for a more perfect Diſpoſition and Digeſtion of all other Matters, the great Embaſſy, that according to Ancient Cuſtom is to be ſent, ſhall, as ſoon as poſſible, ſet forward; and therefore this happy Peace, compris'd in Eleven Articles, ſhall on each ſide be receiv'd and maintain'd. Now in Conſideration that the highly mention'd moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Lords, Plenipotentiaries and Ambaſſadors Commiſſionated of the Sublime Empire, have by Virtue of their full Powers and Authority, deliver'd in due Form an Authentick Inſtrument of this Peace, written in the Turkiſh Language, I likewiſe by Virtue of full Powers, and my Deputation, have deliver'd the preſent Writing of the ſaid Peace, Subſcrib'd with my proper Hand, and Seal'd with my Seal, as a Valid and Authentick Inſtrument.

TRATTATO
DI
PACE
TRA
L'Eccelſo Imperio Ottomanno;
E LA
Sereniſſima Republica di Venezia.

TRattato di Pace tra' l'Eccelſo Imperio Ottomanno, e la Sereniſſima Republica di Venezia, conchiuſo nel Congreſſo di Carlouiz nel Sirimio ſotto le Tende alli 26 di Genaro 1699; eſſendovi Ambaſciatori Plenipotenziarii del l'Eccelſo Imperio gl'Illuſtriſſimi & Eccellentiſſimi Signori Mehemet Effendi Gran Cancelliere, & Aleſſandro Mauro Cordato; e per la Sereniſſima Republica l'Illuſtriſſimo & Eccellentiſſimo Sig. Carlo Ruzini Cavalliere; Mediatori gl'Illuſtriſſimi & Eccellentiſſimi Signori Gulielmo Paghet Ambaſciatore di Sua Maeſtà Brittannica, e Giacomo Colyer Ambaſciatore degli Alti e Potenti Stati Generali delle Provincie Unite: oltre gl'Illuſtriſſimi, & Eccellentiſſimi Signori Ambaſciatori Plenipotenziarii di Sua Maeſtà Ceſarea, e di Polonia, &c.

I.

LA Morea colle ſue Citta, Fortezze, Caſtelli, Terre, Ville, Monti, Fiumi, Laghi, Boſchi, Porti, & ogni altra coſa, che ſi ritrova dentro la Circonferenza della medeſima, ora poſſeſſa dalla Republica di Venezia, reſti pacificamente nel poſſeſſo, e Dominio dell' iſteſſa Republica, tra'i ſuoi limiti del Mare, e dell' Eſſamiglio, ove ſono li Veſtiggi dell' antica muraglia, così che nè dal canto di Morea ſi faccia veruna eſtenſione nella Terra Ferma, nè dal canto della Terra Ferma ſi faccia alcuna eſtenſione oltre i Limiti della Morea.

II.

La Terra ferma eſſendro nel poſſeſſo dell' Eccelſo Imperio, reſta totalmente nel poſſeſſo, e Dominio dell' iſteſſo Imperio, per appunto nello Statò, che ſi trovava nel principio di queſta ultima Guerra. La Fortezza di Lepanto reſtarà evacuata dalla Republica di Venezia. Il Caſtello detto di Rumelia nella parte di Lepanto ſi demolirà, e ſi demolirà parimente la Fortezza di Preveſa, e ſi laſciarà in quella parte la Terra ferma nel ſuo primiero, & intiero Stato.

III.

L'Iſola di Santa Maura colla ſua Fortezza, e Capo di Ponte, detto Peracia, ſenza veruna eſtenſione maggiore in Terra ferma, e l'Iſola di Leucade attaccata à Santa Maura, reſtaranno nel poſſeſſo, e Dominio della Republica di Venezia.

IV.

L'Evacuazione di Lepanto, e la Demolizione del Caſtello di Rumelia, e di Preveſa, ſi eſſeguiranno ſubito doppo la diſtinzione de'i Limiti in Dalmazia; & in queſto mentre per levare tutte le oſtilità, & anco le occaſioni di queſte, li Preſidii de'i detti trè Luoghi ſi conteneranno dentro, nè faranno alcuna eſcurſione nella Terra ferma, nè veruna pretenſione per qualſivoglio preteſto, e gli Abitanti delli ſudetti Luoghi poſſano reſtare, e partire, ſecondo che vorranno, ſenza uſarſi alcuna violenza.

V. Li

V.

Li Golfi, che ſi trovano frà la Terra ferma, e la Morea reſtano all' uſo commune, obligandoſi l'una, e l'altra parte di conſervarli immuni, e franchi da qualſivoglia cattiva Gente.

VI.

Le Iſole dell' Arcipelago, e di quei Mari reſtaranno in quello Stato, che erano avant'il principio di queſta ultima Guerra, nel poſſeſſo dell' Eccelſo Imperio, nè ſi pretenderanno dalla Republica caraggi, ò ſiano contribuzioni, od altra introdotto nel tempo della preſente Guerra.

VII.

Per l'avenire l'Eccelſo Imperio non pretenderà dalla Republica di Venezia per l'Iſola di Zante, nè dalli ſuoi Abitanti alcuna Penſione paſſata, ò futura. L'Iſola di Egina colla ſua Fortezza come adgiacente alla Morea, e poſſeduta dalla Republica di Venezia, rimanerà col ſuo preſente Stato nel poſſeſſo, e Dominio del l'iſteſſa Republica.

VIII.

Nella Dalmazia le Fortezze di Cnin, Sing, e Ciclut, e Gabella, eſſendo al preſente nel poſſeſſo, e Dominio della Republica di Venezia, reſtaranno nel pacifico poſſeſſo, e Dominio della medeſima; mà poiche ſi devono porre li Limiti in tale forma, che li poſſeſſi reſtino chiari, e li Sudditi di ambe le parti in quiete, e tranquillità, nè ſi poſſa venir à qualſivoglia imaginabile differenza, che poſſa in alcuna maniera diſturbare la tranquillità delli Confini: ſi è accordato, che dalla Fortezza di Cnin alla Fortezza di Verlika, e da quella alla Fortezza de Sing, e da queſta alla Fortezza di Duare detta Zadvaria, e da queſta alla Fortezza di Vergoratz, e parimente da queſta alla Fortezza di Ciclut, e Gabella, ſi tirino Linee rette, e ſi ſeparino li Confini, ſiche dentro le dette Linee verſo il Dominio Veneto, & il Mare tutte le Terre, e li Diſtritti colli Caſtelli, Forti, Torri, e Luoghi chiuſi, reſtino nel ſolo poſſeſſo, e Dominio della prememorata Republica: e le Terre, e Diſtritti, che ſaranno fuori della detta Linea, reſtino nel poſſeſſo, e Dominio dell' Eccelſo Imperio, colli Caſtelli, Forti, Torri, e Luoghi chiuſi, eſſiſtenti in quelli, e non ſi permetterà per l'avenire alcuna eſtenſione, e dilatazione, ò reſtrizione nè dall'una, nè dall' altra parte. E le dette Linee ſecondo l'abilità de'i Luoghi ſi faranno chiare, e manifeſte colli termini ò di Colli, e Boſchi, ò di Fiumi, & acque correnti, & ove il luogo non darà l'evidenza, ſi poneranno ſegni di Foſſe, ò Pali, ò Colonne, come frà li Commiſſarii d'ambe le parti deſtinati à queſta deſignazione di commune concerto ſi trovarà à propoſito; e perche dette Fortezze nel poſſeſſo della Republica habbiano anche in fronte ſpazio conveniente di Territorio, alle Fortezze di Cnin, Verlika, e Sing, Duare, e Vergoratz, e Ciclut, ſi aſſignarà dalli Commiſſarii lo ſpazio di un'ora di Paeſe, con rettitudine ò linea ſemicircolare, conforme lo permetterà, ò lo richiederà la convenienza del Terreno; la Fortezza di Cnin haverà il ſuo fianco verſo le parti della Croazia, ſin'al Confine del Ceſareo Dominio, ſenza verun pregiudizio delli trè Dominii, che haveranno in quella parte li termini delli loro Confini, mà ſi haverà ſempre da oſſervarſi il Jus accordato à cadaun di queſti trè Dominii per queſta univerſale Pace.

La ſudetta linea ſi oſſervarà dall'una, e dall' altra parte; mà ſe vicino, ò dentro in quella, veniſſe à reſtare qualche Fortezza dell' Eccelſo Imperio, reſtando nelle ſpalle di quella il ſuo Territorio intiero, nella fronte ſemi-circolarmente haverà da goder il Terreno poſto dentro la circonferenza parimente dello ſpazio d'una ora, e per la Fortezza di Ciclut parimente nella fronte ſi darà il territorio nello ſpazio di un'ora, e nel fianco fuori della linea lo ſpazio di due ore di Terra, tirandoſi una linea retta ſin'al Mare.

Et in queſta forma, e regola eſſendo diſtinto il Confini, e poſti li termini, e ſeparate le Terre da poſſederſi, ſi oſſervaranno inviolabilmente, e ſenza veruna mutazione; e ſe alcuno mai haverà l'ardire di violare qualche ſegno, ò di traſgredire qualche termine, e gli Uffiziali ancora, che mancaranno, nella dovuta cura col meritato caſtigo delli delinquenti, tanto dall'una, quanto dall' altra parte, ſaranno ſeveramente puniti.

E ſe à caſo li Commiſſarii haveſſero l'incontro di qualche difficoltà, che non poteſſero accordarſi: informaranno li loro Padroni ſinceramente, e realmente, affinche cogli Uffizii delli Rappreſentanti delle Maeſtà Ceſarea, e Brittannica, e degli alti Potenti Stati Generali delle Provincie Unite preſenti alla fulgida Porta ſi definiſca amichevolmente: E per ſimile od altra qualſivoglia differenza di Confine non ſi venirà ad alcuna oſtilità, nè s'intorbidarà la quiete delli Sudditi, nè s'intenderà alterare la Pace conchiuſa coll' Eccelſo Imperio.

IX.

Il Territorio, e li Diſtritti della Signoria di Raguſa ſaranno continuati colli Territorii, e Diſtritti dell' Eccelſo Imperio, levandoſi ogni oſtacolo, che impediſce la continuazione, e la communicazione delle Terre della detta Signoria colle Terre del medeſimo Imperio.

X.

Nella vicinanza di Cattaro, Caſtelnuovo, e Riſano, eſſendo attualmente nel poſſeſſo, e Dominio della Republica di Venezia, reſtino nel pacifico poſſeſſo, e Dominio della medeſima Republica, colle lora Terre; e l'iſteſſo s'intenda per qualunque altra Fortezza in quella parte eſſiſtente attualmente nel poſſeſſo della medeſima. E li Commiſſarii, che ſaranno deſtinati dall'una, e l'altra parte, ſiino d'eſperimentata probità, affinche ſenza alcuna propria paſſione, giudicando realmente queſto importante affare, anco in quella parte ſeparino li Territorii, e li diſtinguano con evidenti ſegni, ſiche ſi levi l'occaſione d'ogni torbidezza, mà da quella parte ancora ſi avertiſca, che non s'interrompa la continuazione intiera delle Terre di Raguſa, con quelle dell' Imperio.

XI.

Dovendoſi cominciare la deſignazione del Confine di ambe le parti in Dalmazia; e nella parte di Cattaro al primo tempo che ſarà commodo, li Commiſſarii Deputati à queſta opera corriſpondendo con previi aviſi faranno la loro congiunzione in luogo conveniente, con comitiva di Gente militare bensì, mà pacifica, e quieta, d'ugual numero, e coll' ajuto d'Idio comminciaranno la loro funzione dal giorno dell' Equinotio de'i $\frac{22}{12}$ Marzo dell' anno corrente, & adopraranno ogni diligenza nella diſtinzione dell' uno, e dell' altro Confine delle ſudette parti, affinche con preſtezza finiſcano nel termine di due Meſi, e più preſto, ſe ſi può fare.

XII.

Quanto più è deſiderata la fermezza dell' amicizia, e la quiete delli Sudditi di ambe le parti, tanto più devono eſſere ugualmente abominati quelli, che portati dal reprobo loro ò genio, ò coſtume, anco nel tempo di Pace con ladronecci, & altri oſtili eſſercizii intorbidano la tranquillità del Confine, perciò nè dall' una parte nè dall' altra ſi darà ricetto, ò fomento à tali foruſciti di qualſivoglia ſorte, mà ſaranno perſeguitati, preſi, e conſegnati, acciò che ad eſſempio di altri ſiino col meritato caſtigo puniti, e ſarà per l'avenire proibito l'appoggio, & il mantenimento di queſti mali Huomini.

XIII.

A cadauna delle parti ſia lecito di riſarcire, riparare, e fortificare le poſſeduto Fortezze, mà non già di fabricarne di nuovo altre Fortezze, appreſſo il Confine, ò le Fortezze demolite dalla Republica di Venezia nelle Sponde della Terra ferma; Per la commodità però de'i Sudditi ſia lecito di porre Borghi, e Villaggi per tutto, oſſervandoſi trà di loro pacificamente ogni buona corriſpondenza, e vicinanza, e contenendoſi nelli proprii termini; e ſe à caſo ſuccedeſſe frà lora alcuna differenza, ſubito convenendo li Prefetti del Confine d'ambe le parti amichevolmente, e con ogni giuſtizia levino l'occaſione di qualſivoglia contraſto.

XIV.

Tanto per la Religgione, e par la libertà, e permuta degli Schiavi, quanto per il Traffico, ſi oſſervarà lo Stile, e tenore delle antecedenti Capitolazioni, e ſarà lecito all' Ambaſciatore della Republica di portarne le ſue ulteriori iſtanze al Soglio Imperiale: Intanto circa il Traffico ſiano confermati anco per queſta Pace li ſacri commandamenti conceſſi peravanti alla Republica, & il Traffico haverà da godere la ſua forma, che haveva avanti queſta ultima Guerra, e li Mercanti della Nazione Veneta tutti li Privileggi, che le ſono ſtati conceſſi.

XV.

Sin' al giorno delle immediate Sottoſcrizzioni frà li Plenipotenziarii dell' Eccelſo Imperio, e della Republica di Venezia, dal giorno della Sottoſcrizzione delli Plenipotenziarii di Sua Maeſtà Ceſarea, e di Polonia dell' accordato per la Republica, deve ceſſar ogni oſtilità d'ambe le parti tanto per Terra, quanto per Mare; & oſſervarſi ogni buona corriſpondenza, & affinche li Rettori di ogni Confine habbiano la notizia di queſto Armiſtizio, ſi pone per le parti di Boſnia, Albania, e Dalmazia il termine di trenta giorni, e per le parti dell' Iſola di Candia, e di Morea, e gli altri Confini di quelle parti, ſi pone il termine di giorni quaranta, doppo e dentro quali termini al poſſibile dal canto dell' Eccelſo Imperio, e dal canto della Republica di Venezia non ſi contravenirà ad alcuno di queſti Articoli, che ſi potranno oſſervare.

Si concede inoltre alli Sudditi una vera, & univerſale amneſtia, e qualſivoglia loro fatto, ò delitto commeſſo in tempo di Guerra, paſſando in totale oblivione, niſſuno di eſſi, come delinquente, ſarà per l'avenire caſtigato, e moleſtato.

THE

THE
TREATY of PEACE
BETWEEN
The Sublime *OTTOMAN* Empire,
AND
Moſt Serene Republick of *VENICE*.

THE Treaty of Peace between the Sublime *Ottoman* Empire, and the moſt Serene Republick of *Venice*, concluded in the Congreſs of *Carlovitz* in *Sirmium*, under Tents, the 26th *Jan.* 1699. The Ambaſſadors there preſent on the part of the Sublime Empire, were the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Signiore's, *Mehmet Effendi*, Great Chancellor, and *Alexander Mauro Cordato*, and on the part of the moſt Serene Republick the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Signior *Charles Ruzini*, Kt. The Mediators, the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Signiore's *William Pagett*, Ambaſſador of his *Britannick* Majeſty, and *James Colyer* Ambaſſador of the High and Mighty States General of the *United Provinces*; beſides, the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Signiore's, Ambaſſadors Plenipotentiaries of his *Cæſarean* Majeſty, and of *Poland*, &c.

I.

T*HE* Morea, *with all its Cities, Fortreſſes, Caſtles, Lands, Villages, Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Woods, Ports, and ev'ry thing elſe, that is found within the Circumference of it, now in the Poſſeſſion of the Republick of* Venice, *ſhall remain peaceably in the Poſſeſſion and the Dominion of the ſaid Republick, as it ſtands Bounded by Sea and by Land, by that Line where remain the footſteps of the Antient Wall, ſo that from within the* Morea, *that Land ſhall not be Extended any farther towards the* Terra Firma, *nor on the ſide of the* Terra Firma *ſhall they exceed theſe Limits of the* Morea.

II.

The Terra Firma *that is in the Poſſeſſion of the Sublime Empire, ſhall remain entirely in the Poſſeſſion and Dominion of the ſaid Empire, exactly in the State it was in, in the beginning of the laſt War. The Fortreſs of* Lepanto *ſhall be Evacuated by the Republick of* Venice, *the Caſtle of* Rumelia *on the ſide of* Lepanto, *ſhall be Demoliſh'd, and likewiſe the Fortreſs of* Preveza *ſhall be Demoliſh'd, and the* Terra Firma *on that ſide ſhall be left in its firſt intire State.*

III.

The Iſle of St. Maura, *with its Fortreſs, and that Entrance upon the Bridge call'd* Peracia, *without any farther Extenſion of it towards the* Terra Firma, *and the Iſland of* Leucade *adjoyning to* St. Maure, *ſhall remain in the Poſſeſſion and Dominion of the Republick of* Venice.

IV.

The Evacuation of Lepanto, *and the Demoliſhment of the Caſtle of* Rumelia, *and of* Preveſa, *ſhall be perform'd immediately after the Separation made of the Limits of* Dalmatia; *and in the mean time to prevent all Hoſtilities and all Occaſions of Complaint, the Garriſons of the Three ſaid Places ſhall keep themſelves at Home, and ſhall not make any Excurſion into the* Terra Firma, *nor any Demand upon what pretence ſoever, and the Inhabitants of the ſaid Places may either ſtay behind, or go away, without any Violence to be us'd towards 'em.*

V.

The Gulphs that are betwixt the Terra Firma *and the* Morea, *ſhall remain in Common, and each Party does oblige it ſelf to Clear and Preſerve 'em free from Robbers.*

VI.

The Iſlands of the Archipelago, *and of thoſe Seas ſhall remain in the State they were before the beginning of this laſt War, in the poſſeſſion of the Sublime Empire, and the Republick ſhall not pretend from 'em any Duties*

1699. or Contributions, or any thing elſe introduc'd in the time of the preſent War.

VII.

For the time to come, the Sublime Empire ſhall not pretend from the Republick of Venice, or from the Inhabitants, any Penſion paſs'd or future upon account of the Iſland of Zante. The Iſland of Egina, with its Fortreſs being adjacent to the Morea, and in poſſeſſion of the Republick of Venice, ſhall in its preſent State remain in the Poſſeſſion and Dominion of that Republick.

VIII.

In Dalmatia, the Fortreſſes of Cnin, Sing, Ciclut, and Gabella, being at preſent in the Poſſeſſion and Dominion of the Republick of Venice, ſhall remain in the quiet Poſſeſſion and Dominion of the ſame; but becauſe the Limits ought to be put into ſuch a Form, that Poſſeſſions may be diſtinguiſh'd, and the Subjects of both Parties reſt in Quiet and Tranquillity; and that they may not come to any ſort of imaginable Difference, which might Diſturb the Peace of the Confines, it is agreed, that a ſtreight Line be drawn from the Fortreſs of Cnin to the Fortreſs of Verlika, and from that to the Fortreſs of Sing, and from that to the Fortreſs of Duare call'd Zadveria, and from that to the Fortreſs of Vergoratz, and likewiſe from that to the Fortreſs of Ciclut and Gabella a ſtreight Line ſhall be drawn, and thus the Confines ſhall be ſeparated, ſo that within the Lines towards the Venetian Dominion and the Sea, all the Lands and Diſtricts, with the Caſtles, Forts, Towers, and incloſ'd Places, ſhall remain in the ſole Poſſeſſion and Dominion of the foreſaid Republick, and the Lands and Diſtricts, which ſhall be without the ſaid Line, ſhall remain in the Poſſeſſion and Dominion of the Sublime Empire, with all the Caſtles, Forts, Towers, and incloſ'd Places that are there, and for the time to come no ſort of Encroachment, Extenſion, or Reſtriction on one ſide or other ſhall be permitted: And the ſaid Lines, according to the nature of the Place, ſhall be made plain and manifeſt by the Boundaries either of Hills or Woods, or Rivers or Currents, and where the place won't afford the evidence of ſuch Marks, there ſhall theſe Diſtinctions be made by Ditches, or Pales, or Pillars, as ſhall be agreed by the Commiſſaries of both Parties by common conſent deſign'd for this purpoſe, and that theſe Fortreſſes might have in the Front of 'em, a convenient ſpace of Territory; The Commiſſaries ſhall aſſign a quantity of Land of about one Hour (about three miles) to the Fortreſſes of Cnin, Verlika, and Sing, Duare, and Vergoratz, and Ciclut, to be meaſur'd either in a right or ſemicircular Line, according as the Convenience and Circumſtances of the Land will 1699. permit; the Fortreſs of Cnin ſhall have its Flank towards the Parts of Croatia, even to the Confines of the Cæſarean Dominion, without any prejudice to thoſe Three Potentates, the Boundaries of whoſe Dominions terminate thereabouts; but the Rights accorded to each of theſe Three Governments by this Univerſal Peace ſhall always be obſerv'd.

The foreſaid Line ſhall be obſerv'd by each Party, but if in the Neighbourhood of it, or within it, there happens to be any Fortreſs belonging to the Sublime Empire, which juſt behind it has an entire Territory belonging to it, then ſhall it enjoy from the Front the quantity of Land of an Hour, Circumſcrib'd within Semicircular Circumference; and as to the Fortreſs of Ciclut, that ſhall likewiſe have from the Front a Territory of one Hour, and in the Flank, beſides that Line, the ſpace of two Hours of Land, to be meaſur'd by a right Line to the Sea.

And in this Form, and by this Regulation, the Confines diſtinguiſh'd, and the Limits ſettled, and the Lands of each Poſſeſſion ſeparated, ſhall be inviolably obſerv'd, and without any alteration; and if any one ſhall have the Boldneſs to violate theſe Marks for Boundaries, or commit Treſpaſſes on theſe Limits; and even Officers that ſhall be wanting of a due Care in puniſhing Delinquents, ſhall be ſeverely puniſh'd, as well on one ſide as on the 'tother.

And in Caſe the Commiſſaries ſhall meet with any Difficulty which they can't Agree, they ſhall truly and ſincerely inform their Patrons, to the end that by the good Offices of the Repreſentatives to the Fulgid Port of their Cæſarean and Britannick Majeſties, and of the High and Mighty States General of the United Provinces, the matter may be amicably determin'd, and from any ſuch like Difference about the Confines, no Hoſtilities ſhall enſue, nor ſhall the peace of the Subjects be diſturb'd, nor ſhall it be interpreted to break the Peace concluded with the Sublime Empire.

IX.

The Territory and Diſtricts of the Signory of Raguſa, ſhall continue joyned to the Territories and Diſtricts of the Sublime Empire, and all Obſtacles ſhall be remov'd that may hinder the Continuation and Communication of the Lands of the ſaid Signory with the Lands of the foreſaid Empire.

X.

All in the Neighbourhood of Cattaro, Caſtelnuovo and Riſano, that is actually in the poſſeſſion and Dominion of the Republick of Venice, ſhall remain in the peaceable Poſſeſſion and Dominion of the ſaid Republick, with all the Lands appertaining; and this ſame is to be underſtood of any other Fortreſs on that ſide being now actually in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Republick; And the Commiſſaries that ſhall be appointed on one ſide, and the other, ſhall be Men of an Experienc'd Probity, that they may without partiality and prejudice, equally decide this important Affair; And here two Separations ſhall be made by evident Signs, that all occaſions of Diſturbance may be remov'd, but good notice is to be taken, that the ſaid entire Continuation of the Lands of Raguſa be not interrupted.

XI.

The Diſtinction of the Limits on both ſides in Dalmatia and about Cattaro, being to be ſet on foot as ſoon as ever the Seaſon will permit, the Commiſſaries deſign'd for this work giving previous Advices, they ſhall indeed have a Military Attendance, but a peaceable and quiet one, of equal number on each ſide, and by the help of God they ſhall enter upon this Office on the day of the Equinox of this inſtant Year, viz. $\frac{11}{21}$ March, and ſhall in the foreſaid Places uſe all their Diligence in diſtinguiſhing and ſeparating one Confine from the other, that they may with Expedition finiſh the matter in two Months and ſooner if it be poſſible.

XII.

As the Continuance of the Friendſhip and Quiet of the Subjects on both ſides is earneſtly deſir'd, ſo ought thoſe to be equally abominated, who, carry'd on by their own ill Diſpoſition or Cuſtom do in the time of Peace, with Robberies, and other hoſtile Acts, diſturb the Tranquillity of the Confines; therefore no Reception nor Encouragement ſhall be given to theſe Banditti of what ſort ſoever by either Party, but they ſhall be purſu'd, taken, and deliver'd up, that for an Example to others, they may undergo their deſerv'd Puniſhment, and for the time to come all Aſſiſtance and Maintenance ſhall be forbid to be given to ſuch evil Men.

XIII.

It ſhall be lawful for each Party to amend, repair, or fortifie the Fortreſſes in their Poſſeſſion, but not to build Fortreſſes a-new near the Confines, or to rebuild the demoliſh'd Fortreſſes of the Republick of Venice, on the ſides of the Terra Firma; But for the Convenience of the Subjects, it ſhall be lawful for them any where to erect open Towns or Villages, maintaining peaceably amongſt themſelves good Correſpondence and Neighbourhood, and containing themſelves in their proper Bounds; and if by chance any Difference happens amongſt them, the Governours of the Confines for both Parties meeting peaceably amongſt themſelves, ſhall with all Juſtice take away the occaſion of any manner of Diſpute.

XIV.

The Ancient Method and the Tenor of the Antecedent Capitulations ſhall be obſerv'd as well in the matter of Religion, and Liberty, and Exchange of Slaves, as in Traffick; and it ſhall be lawful for the Venetian Ambaſſador to lay his farther Demands on theſe Subjects, before the Imperial Throne: In the mean time the Sacred Edicts granted heretofore to the Republick, ſtand alſo confirm'd by this preſent Peace and Traffick, ſhall enjoy the ſame Form it had before the laſt War, and the Merchants of the Venetian Nation all the Privileges that have been granted to 'em.

XV.

All Hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe, as well by Land as by Sea, and a good Correſpondence be maintain'd, as well from the day of the immediate Subſcriptions of the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Empire, and of the Republick of Venice, as from the day of the Subſcription of the Plenipotentiaries of his Ceſarean Majeſty and of Poland to this Agreement by the Republick; and that the Governours of the Confines may have notice of this Truce, for the Countries of Boſnia, Albania, and Dalmatia, Thirty days are appointed, and Forty days for the Parts about the Iſland of Candia and the Morea, and all the other Confines on that ſide; and after and within thoſe Terms, as far as poſſible, neither on the part of the Sublime Empire, nor on the part of the Republick of Venice, ſhall any Contravention be made to theſe Articles, which can any ways be obſerv'd.

Moreover, by theſe Preſents, a true and univerſal Amneſty is granted to all Subjects upon the account of any Fact or Crime committed during the War, all thoſe things ſhall be paſs'd over in Oblivion, nor ſhall any one for the time to come upon that account be puniſh'd or moleſted as a Delinquent.

Extract of a Letter from Conſtantinople, *of the* [illegible]*th of* February, 1700.

ON the 29th of *January*, O.S. Count *Otting* the Emperor's Ambaſſador, made his publick Entry here: Firſt, marched the Baſha of *Nicopoli*, with his Retinue, who conducted the Ambaſſador from *Rutſick* hither; after him an Oda of Janiſaries, with their Aga and Officers; then came the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors Gentleman of the Horſe, his led Horſes, my Lord *Pagett*'s Secretary, with three Gentlemen, and 12 Men in Liveries, all the Engliſh Nation; and then followed the Chiouſſes, Viſier Agas, the *German* Ambaſſadors Officers, five Led Horſes, the Gentlemen Hautboys, Trumpeters, Noblemen, and he himſelf on Horſeback, having 20 Trabants on both ſides, his Drugoman, and the reſt of his Retinue: He came in by *Adrianople* Gate, through part of the City, and out again by *Fenar*-Gate on the Water-ſide, ſo to *Uſun Kebathana*, and finally to *Pera*, where he is lodged in *Hattum Huſſein* Aga's Houſe, not far from my Lord *Pagett*'s.

The $\frac{3}{13}$th Inſtant he had his Audience of the Viſier, where he was Clothed with a Sable Veſt, and his Gentlemen to the number of 100 with Caſtans.

The $\frac{6}{16}$th his Excellency went in Pomp to the Sultan: The reaſon why he had his Audiences ſo ſoon, is, becauſe the Turks *Ramazan* or *Lent* begins on Friday the $\frac{9}{19}$th, and therefore they could not then receive him with the uſual Ceremonies.

There being here at preſent more Ambaſſadors than has been ſeen theſe 18 years, there paſſes a great many Viſits between them; my Lord *Pagett* has been the 19th of *January* to Viſit the French Ambaſſador, and he my Lord the 1ſt inſtant; on the 5th my Lord went to the Venetian Ambaſſador, and the 7th to the Emperors: The 8th, The French Ambaſſador ſent a Gentleman to Count *Otting*, to Compliment him upon his Audience of the Sultan, adding, that he hoped to have the Honour to Salute him, and doubted not but that his Excellency (according to the Cuſtom of this place) would ſee him before any other Ambaſſador; upon which Count *Otting* ſent a Gentleman to the French Ambaſſador to aſſure him of his Intention to keep Friendſhip and good Correſpondence with him; but as for the Viſits, he could not but obſerve the Cuſtom practiſed in all the Courts of *Chriſtendom*, to pay the Viſits in the order as they were given him; and as the Engliſh Ambaſſador had firſt ſent to him to felicite his Arrival, and had viſited him in Perſon, he could not but repay him the firſt Viſit; whereupon the French Ambaſſador told the Gentlemen, *Je ſuis faché que de la maniere que les choſes ſont, je ne puis pas me donner l'honeur de ſalver ſon Excellence*; time will ſhew if he perſiſts in this Reſolution. The Venetians are alſo much Incenſed againſt the Hollander, for having Viſited the Imperial Ambaſſador the firſt, and thereby Uſurped, as they ſay, their Right of Precedency.

I will trouble you further with the Deſcription of my Lord's Cavalcade when he delivered the King's Letters.

His Excellency with his Retinue went on Horſeback from his Palace to the Waterſide, where 40 Boats, each with 7 Oars on a ſide, were prepared for the Tranſportation of himſelf and his Retinue: He Embarked, and in his paſſage was Saluted by the *K. William* and *Dalaware*, two Engliſh Ships then in Port, which had placed themſelves in the middle of the River for that purpoſe: Being landed on the other ſide, we found our Horſes in a readineſs, and every thing diſpoſed to begin a regular March: Firſt went ſix Janiſaries, then the Gentlemen of the Nation all mighty well mounted, and their Horſes richly accoutred; then 50 of his Excellencies Liveries, two and two, his 16 Interpreters, his Gentlemen of the Horſes at the Head of 7 led Horſes; after that, the Honourable *Thomas Pagett*, encompaſſed with Footmen, two of which held the Reins of his Bridle, he himſelf carrying the King's Letters at Arms length: After him went his Excellency, preceded by 6 Pages, and ſurrounded with Heydukes and Selict-Cohadars, his Excellencies Gentlemen and Officers to the number of 30, all well mounted. In this manner we rode through the Principal Streets of *Conſtantinople* to the Grand Viſier's Palace, where his Excellency was received with all the Demonſtrations of Civility and Reſpect, he himſelf being firſt Veſted by the Viſier *Azem*, then ſuch of his Retinue as were thought by his Excellency deſerving that Honour. The Ceremony being over, his Excellency returned in the ſame manner to his Palace, where was prepared a ſumptuous Entertainment for all that accompanied him.

On the 16th of *February*, *N. S.* the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador had Audience of the Emperor, and was conducted to the Palace. The Emperor received him in the Council-Chamber, ſeated on his Throne under a rich Canopy, and attended by his Principal Miniſters of State, and other Perſons of the firſt Quality: The Ambaſſador when he entred the Room, made a low Reverence, another in the middle of the Chamber, and the third near the Throne. He went up the Steps of the Throne, preſented his Credentials, and laid them on the Table that was before the Emperor, and then returned to the Place, where he made his Speech in his own Language, containing an Aſſurance of the Sultan his Maſter's Friendſhip, and ſincere Intentions, ſtrictly to obſerve the Treaty between the two Empires lately concluded, which being interpreted by the Sieur *Della Torre*, the Emperor commanded Count *Caunitz*, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, to return an Anſwer, which he accordingly did in High *Dutch*, and the ſame was Interpreted to the Ambaſſador by the Sieur *Della Torre*. Then the Ambaſſador ordered his Steward to bring in the Grand Signior's Preſents; a Liſt of which he laid upon the Table, with a Letter from the Grand Vizier, and going once more up the Steps to the Throne, kiſſed the Border of the Emperor's Robe, his Attendants at the ſame time making a very low Reverence. After which the Ambaſſador withdrew, walking backwards while he was in the Emperor's Preſence, and making three Reverences in like manner as when he came into the Room, and was reconducted to his Houſe, and nobly entertained.

A LIST *of the* Preſents *preſented to the* Emperor *by the* Turkiſh *Ambaſſador*.

A Large Tent or Pavillon, very richly adorned with Teſtons of Gold Embroidery, the Staves finely gilt and painted. A Plume of Red and White Feathers, ſet with 52 Diamonds great and ſmall. A Bridle covered with Gold, and enamelled with Red and White, ſet with 531 Diamonds, and 338 Rubies; the Bit, Curb, and other things belonging thereto, all of fine Gold. A pair of Stirrups of Gold, ſet with 128 Diamonds, and 204 Rubies. A Houſſe wrought with Flowers in Gold, richly ſet with Rubies, Pearls, and Emeralds. A great Silver Mace inlaid with Gold, and ſet with 16 Rubies and 25 Emeralds, with Straps to hang it up by, made of Red Brocado Silk embroider'd with Pearl, Emeralds. A red Velvet Saddle embroider'd with Pearl, Emeralds and Gold. A Velvet Saddle-Cloth, embroider'd with 3 Gold Roſes. A Sumpture-Caſe of Scarlet Cloth, embroidered with Gold. A Bridle covered with Gold, enamelled with dark Blue, the Bit and other Appurtenances of Gold; the whole ſet with 112 Emeralds, 381 Rubies, and 49 Diamonds. A pair of Silver-gilt Stirrups. A Houſſe, embroidered with 26 Roſes of Pearl and Coral. A Velvet-Saddle, wrought with Gold and Silver. A Velvet Saddle-Cloth, embroidered with three golden Roſes. A Sumpter-Caſe of Scarlet Cloth, embroidered with Flowers of Gold. A Piece of Amber, weighing 89 Ounces. Fifteen Bezoar Stones. Ten Lumps of Musk. Two Pieces of Cloth of Gold. Two Pieces of Red Sattin, wrought with Gold. Six Pieces of very rich Gold Brocado. Four Pieces of Silk Brocado, wrought with Gold. Ten Pieces of fine Callico, called *Duezarbi*. Thirty five Pieces of fine Callico, commonly called *Imperial*. Twenty Pieces of fine Callico, wrought with Gold. Four *Perſia* Carpets, wrought with Gold. Four other Carpets of *Turky*-work. A Dun-coloured Horſe of *Turcomania*. A Bay Horſe of *Turcomania*. A Light-dun Horſe of the Country called *Beideleugh*. A Bay Horſe of *Arabia*. Two Silver Chains to faſten Horſes to the Stall. A Silver Trough for the Horſes to drink in. Two Leopards covered with Clothes of *Perſia* Brocado, and tied with Silver Chains.

Particulars of the Preſents *which the* Emperor *by his Ambaſſador gave to the* Grand Seignior.

THirty-ſix Seiket Cups with Covers and Sotto Coppe. Twelve Ewers and Baſons, ſix of which were gilt. Ten hanging Clocks, in Silver emboſs'd Frames. Eight great Clocks, in form, like the Pedeſtal of a Pillar, and the Clock-work in the middle. A curious inlaid Cabinet. Abundance of very rich Brocades. A great oval Looking-Glaſs, in a ſquare inlaid Frame. A great Silver Fire-Pan (*alla Turca*) 1 ½ foot high from the ground, curiouſly wrought and very ſubſtantial. A Silver Screen ſix foot high, very ſolid, and the top made like a Schollop Shell. A Fire Hearth (*alla Franca*) the Bars of which were of poliſhed Steel, the fore part of it of Silver; at each end it had a pyramid of Silver, and in the middle a great Ball. A pair of Tongs, Fire-Shovel and Proger of poliſhed Steel, with Silver Heads. Twenty-four Silver Sconces, with Looking-Glaſſes in the middle of them. Two great Silver Tables (*alla Turca*) at leaſt an Ell in Diameter. Twelve gilded Tumblers. Two great Silver emboſs'd Diſhes, at leaſt 7 foot in Diameter. Two great gilded Ewers and Diſhes of the ſame bigneſs. Six great Silver Flower-Pots. Six ſtanding Lamps, emitting Branches like thoſe in our Churches. A Silver Fountain, 8 foot high, in Foliage-work. Two Frank Tables, and two pair of Stands very prettily inlaid. Two ſtanding Clocks, the Caſes of which were of the ſame Work. A great Looking-Glaſs ſet about with Stones of divers colours, having a Dial-Plate in the middle of it, and the Figures ingeniouſly cut.

The

The Laſt Account of

Count TEKELY.

TEKELY was a Count of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and one of the moſt Ancient Families thereof, and one of the moſt Zealous Profeſſors, and Aſſertors of the *Proteſtant* Religion, which cauſed him to joyn with the *Turks*, through the whole Courſe of the laſt Wars, of which we have given an ample Account in the due places of this Hiſtory, whereby appear the great Services which this Noble Perſon did them, and how ill and barbarouſly they ſometimes uſed him.

I have particularly inſtanced how this preſent Sultan being at *Belgrade*, where having occaſion for this *Tekely*'s Services, he ſent a Capugi-baſhee or two, to fetch him thither from *Conſtantinople*, where he had Lodged himſelf for Recovery of his Health, being informed by the Phyſicians at *Conſtantinople*, that the Air of that City was much better than that of *Adrianople*. The Officers who are ſent from the Grand Seignior to execute any of his Commands, do commonly perform them without any Conſideration, or Ceremony, or Reſpect to the Perſon to whom they are ſent, and ſo they did to *Tekely*, whom finding in his Bed, labouring under a grievous Fit of the Gout, they rudely forced him to ariſe, and without any Remorſe, threw him into a Waggon, and hurried him away to *Belgrade*, to receive ſuch Commands as the Grand Seignior had to employ him in; and on all Occaſions as the hopes of a Peace appeared, the Neglects put upon him did daily increaſe.

It is commonly the Humour of the *Turks*, after they have done with the Service of any Perſon, never more to treat them kindly; nor if they can to ſuffer them to Live: Of which we have a freſh Inſtance by Letters of the 15th of *July* laſt from *Conſtantinople*, which tell us, That the Chimacam of that place had received an Expreſs Command, or Decree, from the Sultan, to Exile or Baniſh *Tekely*, into ſome Iſland of the *Archipelago*.

At the firſt coming of this News *Tekely* was ſtrangely Surpriſed, and was half Dead with the Apprehenſions thereof; the Remembrance of his Journey to *Belgrade*, and Terrours thereof were ſcarce out of his Mind, before another Scene of Baniſhment was preſented to him, into an Iſland where was no Suſtenance fit for his Weak Indiſpoſed Body, nor no Conſolation, or Comfort to be expected from Society, or Converſation of Mankind; nor yet from his Wife neither, who, poor Lady, by this hard Uſage, was ſtruck with an Aſtoniſhment, and both joyned together in their loud Exclamations againſt the Ingratitude, and Tyranny of Princes, who have no Tenderneſs of Compaſſion for any but themſelves; for if they had had, they would never have expoſed two ſuch Noble Families unto Ruine and Deſtruction.

After all which Hardſhip, it is believed, that the *Turks* will ſcarce ſuffer them to arrive unto the Place of their Baniſhment, but by the way take their Lives, as hath been the Practiſe commonly amongſt the *Turks* on the like Occaſions. And this ſad Account ſhall ſuffice to put an end to the many Tragedies of this Hiſtory.

FINIS.

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